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HISTORY OF DHARMASASTRA

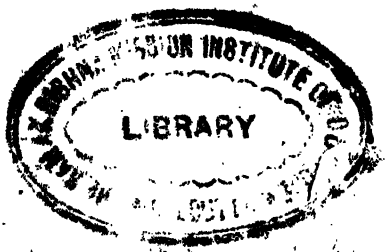
(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY

PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M.A., LL.M.

Advocate, High Court, Bombay; Vice-President and Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch; Sometime Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay; Author of 'A History of Sanskrit Poetics' Etc.

Vol. I



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Ānan. or Ānan. P. } = Ānandāśrama series, Poona.

Āp. or Āp. Dh. S. } = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.

Āp. Gṛ. S. = Āpastambagṛhyasūtra.

A. S. B. = Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Baud. or Bau. Dh. S. or Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Mysore edition).

Bau. Gṛ. S. = Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra (Mysore edition by Dr. Shama Śāstri).

B B R A S. = Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports.

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Messrs. Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).

B. I. or B. I. S. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

Bṛ. Upaniṣad or Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

B. S. or BSS. = Bombay Sanskrit series.

Cat. = Catalogue.

Caturvarga. = Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (B. I. series).

C. O. = Calcutta Oriental Series.

D. C. = Deccan College collection of Sanskrit mss. now lodged at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.

Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.

Gau. Gaut. } = Gautama-dharmasūtra (Ānandāśrama edition).

Gṛ. S. = Gṛhya-sūtra.

H. A. S. L. = Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.

Hir. = Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental series.

Hp. cat. or Hp. Nepal cat. = Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri's catalogue of palmleaf and paper mss. belonging to Durbar Library, Nepal.

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.

I. L. R. = India Law Reports series, Bom. standing for Bombay, Cal. for Calcutta, All. for Allahabad and Mad. for Madras series.

Ind. Ant. or I. A = Indian Antiquary.

I. O. cat. = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. at the India Office in London (ed. by Dr. Eggeling).

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

JBORS = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

Jivananda Sm. = Dharmaśāstra-saṁgraha, published by Jivananda at Calcutta in 1876 (two parts).

L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals, the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.

Mad. H. C. R. = Madras High Court Reports.

M. Gṛ. S. or Mānava Gṛ. S. = Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra.

Mit. = Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya.

Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.

N. = Nāradasmṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

P. Gṛ. S. = Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra.

P. S. series = Punjab Sanskrit series.

Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.

R. u. S. = Recht und Sitte (by Dr. Jolly).

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series.

S. B. H. = Sacred Books of the Hindus Series.

Tai. = Taittirīya.

Tai. S. = Taittirīya-saṁhitā.

Tri. Cat. = Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Sanskrit mss.

Tri. ed. = Trivandrum edition.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya-Saṁhitā.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra (B. S. series).

Viś. = Viśvarūpa.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. or Vi. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra.

W. B. = West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law (3rd ed.).

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

आ. गृ. सू. or आप. गृ. or आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र.

आप. ध. सू. or आ. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण.

काम. = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

कौ. = कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र (Dr. Shamasastri's edition).

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

जीमूत. = जीमूतवाहन.

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण.

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक.

तै. ब्रा = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण.

तै. सं = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु.

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय (B. S. series).

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी.

पू. मी. सू. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र.

प्रायश्चित्तम. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र.

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात (B. I. series).

मनु. = मनुस्मृति.

मिता० = मिताक्षरा

मेधा० = मेधातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति

या० or याज्ञ० = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

वि० चि० = विवादचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

वि० र० = विवादरत्नाकर (B.I. edition).

विश्व० = विश्वरूप on याज्ञ० (Tri. ed).

वीर० = वीरमित्रोदय (on व्यवहार ed. by Jivananda).

व्य० म० = व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ (my edition).

व्य० मा० = व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

शतपथ or शतपथब्रा० = शतपथब्राह्मण.

सं० कौ० = संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सरस्वती० or स० वि = सरस्वतीविलास.

स्मृतिच० = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (ed. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(N. B. Errors in printing that can be easily detected have been passed over).

Sec. 4 pp. 12-20 *The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.* Mr. Batakrishna Ghose (in I. H. Q. vol. III for 1927, p. 607 ff) has an exhaustive note on the mutual relations of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. He holds that Gautama is not the oldest extant author, that Āp. and Gautama stand in the same relation as Manu and Yājñavalkya, that Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra is not older than Āpastambadharmasūtra, that the reference to the views of some in Gautama 15. 30 may easily be to Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 21. Some of the reasons on which he relies for these views have already been examined in the body of the work. That the extant sūtra of Gautama has been in some places revised may be admitted ; but that Gautama as an author on dharma preceded Āpastamba's work cannot be denied. There is nothing of chronological value so far as Gautama is concerned in Āpastamba's rejection of the view of Śvetaketu that even a married man should continue Veda-study. That Āpastamba says nothing about mixed castes is on a par with his silence as to *niyoga* and the secondary sons. Āpastamba knew the lowest castes such as Cāṇḍāla and Paulkasa and Vaiṇa (Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 6). As to beef-eating allowed by Āpastamba, vide p. 45 of text and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 11 where beef-eating is not allowed to a dīkṣita). Doctors of law were not agreed on many points of dharma and hence no certain chronological conclusion about individual authors can be drawn merely from their views on certain points. It is not correct to say as Mr. Ghose does that Āpastamba knows no fines for crimes. Āpastamba does say that in case of dispute between litigants elders were to decide, that in case of doubt they were to decide by inference or divine proof, that witnesses were to tell the truth and that if the witnesses were found to be false they were to be fined (II. 11. 29. 5-8). This shows that fines were not unheard of in Āpastamba's days and if he omits a detailed statement the reason must be sought for elsewhere

than in his being prior to all dharmasūtras. Fines for crimes are as old as the Taittirīya Saṁhitā II. 6. 10. 2.

Sec. 9 p. 56 l. 18 read 'note 41' for 'note 46.'

Sec. 10 p. 60 ll. 25-27. After the words 'the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kaṭha' the following should be added 'Vācaspati in his Śrāddhakalpa alias Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī says that the sūtra of Viṣṇu is meant for students of the Kaṭhaśākhā, as Viṣṇu is a sūtrakāra of that Śākhā'; यत्त्वाग्निं परिस्तीर्य पौष्णं श्रपयित्वा पूषा गा इति विष्णुस्मृतावुक्तं तत्कठशाखिपरं तस्य तत्सूत्रकारत्वात् (ms. of पितृभक्ति० in the India Office, folio 17a (I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730). The sūtra referred to is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 9.

Sec. 11 p. 71 Vide Ind. Ant. vol. 25 for 1896 pp. 147-48 for an account of the ms. of the Hārītadharmasūtra found by the late Pandit Vaman Śāstri Islampurkar.

Sec. 13 p. 84 l. 10 read '110' for '108'.

Sec. 14 *The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.* There is a perennial stream of articles and works inspired by the Arthaśāstra. Some of them that appeared after this work was sent to the press and some that had appeared before but had been omitted through oversight are noticed here. Dr. Stein has a note on the word 'suruṅgā' occurring in the Arthaśāstra and its connection with the Greek word 'syrinx'; (vide I. H. Q. vol. I. pp. 429-432) and holds that the Arthaśāstra must be later than the 2nd century B. C. The same scholar contributes a note on 'Pāṇḍyakavāṭa' occurring in the Arthaśāstra II. 11 (in I. H. Q. vol. IV p. 778) and concludes from comparison with Bṛhat-saṁhitā and other works that the list of countries cannot be earlier than 6th century A. D. I am glad to note that the veteran *savant* Dr. Jolly (in 'Zeitschrift für Indologie and Iranistik' for 1927 pp. 216-221) approves of my view that the original name was Kauṭilya and not Kauṭalya. In the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (E. I. vol. 19 p. 245, at p. 248) doneés of Kauṭilya-gotra are mentioned. The verse in the second Act of the Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti (गुणापेक्षाशून्यं कथमिदमुपक्रान्तमथवा कुतोपत्यस्नेहः कुटिलनयनिष्णातमनसाम् ।) contains a hit at

the name Kauṭilya and his teaching. Mr. E. H. Johnston contributes in the J R A S for 1929 pp. 77-102 an article on 'two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,' wherein he examines the works of Aśvaghoṣa, the Laṅkāvatāra and the Jātakamālā and holds that the Arthaśāstra is not much earlier than Aśvaghoṣa and not later than 250 A. D. It is gratifying to see that from the untenable position of relegating the Arthaśāstra to the 3rd century A. D., western scholars are receding to the first century of the Christian era. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar contributes an appreciative and lengthy review of Dr. Meyer's work 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt-&c' in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1928 pp. 348-383. Dr. Meyer has brought out another work 'on Hindu Law-books and their relation with one another and with Kauṭilya' (über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften &c.). This work compels admiration for the author's patience and industry, but is seriously marred throughout by wild generalisations, perverse and startling propositions unsupported by weighty evidence. He makes Gautama the latest of the Smṛtis and Nārada one of the earliest, places Nārada several centuries before the Christian era, regards the compiler of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti as a stupid brāhmaṇa. He is blissfully ignorant of the references to Gautama occurring in the Tantravārtika, which I collected in my paper on 'the Tantravārtika and the dharmaśāstra literature' (JBBRAS vol. I new series for 1925 pp. 66-67). He propounds the absurd theory that the Brāhmaṇas were *people like gypsies roving about in bands without any* morals or principles of conduct. I can agree with some of his conclusions, viz. the non-existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra, the non-existence of a floating mass of verses on which authors of dharmaśāstra could draw. Mr. Batakrishna Ghose submits Dr. Meyer's work to a scholarly and trenchant criticism in I. H. Q. for 1928 vol. IV. pp. 570-592. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently published in a book-form his lectures on 'some aspects of ancient Hindu polity.' Vide I. H. Q. vol. V (1929) p. 780 for an article on 'salaries and allowances in Kauṭilya'.

Sect. 15 pp. 105-107 *Vaikhānasadharmapraśna*. Dr. Eggers recently published (Göttingen, 1929) his work ' Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa ', which is reviewed in JRAS for 1929 pp. 916-918.

Sec. 29 pp. 129-131 *Sumantu*. For a dharmasūtra of Sumantu, vide Madras Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. (1919-1922) pp. 5160-62.

Sec. 31 p. 154 read ' In other places ' for ' In another places '.

Sec. 34 pp. 170-175 *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. Dr. Hans Losch writes a monograph on ' Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti un Beitrag zur Quellen-kunde des Indischen Rechts' (Leipzig 1927). His conclusions may be briefly summarised as follows : (I) the text of Yājñavalkya that we have and that is commented upon is not the original, but is enlarged with interpolations such as Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti (which are borrowed from Agnipurāṇa chap. 266 and 164 respectively by the compiler of Yāj. Smṛti), the section on rājadharma (which is a versified copy of ideas contained in arthaśāstra literature), verses 60-205 of the third chapter (of Yāj.) : (II) the 2nd book of Yāj. (on vyavahāra) is a later addition corresponding to an older redaction of the Agnipurāṇa ; (III) that the first and 3rd books of Yāj. are a recast of an ancient text which has been better preserved in the Garuḍapurāṇa. I have shown in my history of Sanskrit Poetics that the Agnipurāṇa was compiled about 900 A. D. and in this book it has been shown that the Garuḍapurāṇa must have been compiled about the same time, that it summarises Parāśara-smṛti and that it presents a text of Yāj. which is intermediate between that of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. Dr. Locsh's work adduces no proofs that would shake these conclusions. I am pleased to find that Mr. Chintaharana Chakravarti holds (JASB for 1928 vol. 24 p. 467) that the *nīti* portion of Garuḍapurāṇa belongs to the 9th or 10th century. The indefatigable scholar Dr. Meyer appears to have criticized Dr. Losch in a monograph (vide review of it by Mr. Batakrishna Ghose in I. H. Q. for 1929 pp. 367-375). Mr. Batakrishna Ghose holds that vyavahāra did not originally form part of the Yājñavalkya

smṛti on the ground that otherwise it is very difficult to explain its absence in the Garuḍapurāṇa. But this is quite unconvincing. We have no sure criterion for judging on what bases the eclectic purāṇas (Agnipurāṇa and Garuḍapurāṇa) proceeded. But in the case of the Garuḍapurāṇa the omission of the vyavahāra section is easily explicable in several ways. The Garuḍapurāṇa was concerned more with purely religious matters and so omitted the rather secular chapter on vyavahāra. One might ask, why did the Agnipurāṇa omit the first and third kāṇḍas of Yājñavalkya if they existed in its day. One may with equal logic argue that those two kāṇḍas did not exist in the Yājñavalkya smṛti when the Agnipurāṇa was compiled.

P. 181 The late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar outdid even Western scholars in assigning Yājñavalkya to a date not earlier than the 6th century A. D. In his work 'Vaishṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 148) the learned doyen of modern Sanskrit studies in Western India holds that the worship of Ganeśa is a late one, as it is not mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. The veteran scholar did not notice the points brought out in my book (such as the mention of nakṣatras from Kṛttikā). He is willing to assign Amarasiṁha to the 5th or 6th century A. D. (ibid. p. 45). The great lexicographer mentions Vināyaka and his synonyms (such as ekadanta &c), but the words Mita, Sammita that are given as the appellations of Vināyaka in Yāj. are conspicuous by their absence in Amara's lexicon. Hence the conclusion is that Amara wrote centuries after Yājñavalkya and that Vināyaka worship had taken a complexion before Amara flourished that was very different from what it was in Yājñavalkya's day.

Mita and Sammita occur as names of Maruts in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

P. 186 That गजच्छाया and व्यतीपात had nothing to do with 'rāśis' follows from the following. 'योगो मघात्रयोदश्यां कुञ्जरच्छायसंज्ञितः। भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिन्यर्के करे स्थिते ॥ (quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 319 as from ब्रह्मपुराण); श्रवणाश्विधनिष्ठार्द्रानागदैवतमस्तके। यदाऽऽ रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥ quoted in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन as from बृहन्नारद.

Sec. 38 pp. 213-221 *Kātyāyana.* Mr. Narayana Chandra Bandopadhyaya has recently published (Calcutta 1927) about 800 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra culled from five *nibandhas.* In the Hindu Law Quarterly recently started in Bombay I am editing a reconstruction of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra (reconstructed text from twenty *nibandhas*, references to the places whence verses are taken, translation, notes &c.). About 300 verses have been printed in the first two issues for January and April 1930.

Sec. 38 p. 215 read 'Manu' for Bhṛgu' in l. 11.

Sec. 39 pp. 221-223 *Aṅgiras.* In the 2nd Act of the Mālatīmadhava (p. 104 of Bhandarkar's edition) we have a prose quotation from Aṅgiras 'गीतश्रवायमर्थोङ्गिरसा यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्यासृद्धि-रिति'. In the Apastambagṛhya (I.3. 19-21) this is cited without name as the view of some 'बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत। बन्धुशीलक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत्। यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्त-स्यासृद्धिर्नेतरदाप्रियेतेत्येके'. It is not likely that Bhavabhūti who was a great scholar would commit a mistake and it is extremely probable that he had a sūtra of Aṅgiras before him.

Sec. 44 pp. 226-227 *Pitāmaha.* Dr. Karl Scriba collected together from several *nibandhas* about 200 verses of Pitāmaha and published them with translation (Die Fragmente des Pitāmaha, Leipzig, 1902) on the eight constituents of karaṇa (i. e. the court of justice), fifty *chalas*, twenty-two wrongs (in which king acted *suo motu*), ordeals (162 verses) and the four kinds of ascetics.

Sec. 64 pp. 275-279 *Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.* In the Madras Tri. Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 4562 No 3078 there is a ms of Bhujabalanibandha by Bhojarāja in 18 chapters on astrological matters in relation to vratas, marriage &c.

In the Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotations from a Kṛtyasamuccaya of Bhūpāla or Bhūpālasamuccaya are cited (at pp. 278, 289, 449, 461, 496 &c). It appears that this is entirely a different work from the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Bhujabalabhīma.

Sec. 68. p. 285. l. 20 read 'Misarumiśra' for 'Harinātha'.

Sec. 71. pp. 294-296 *Kāmadhenu.* That Bhoja was not the author of the Kāmadhenu follows from the following words of the कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 156) 'एतानि वाक्यानि अलवणतृतीयाव्रतबोधक-वाक्यमध्ये भूपालकामधेनुकल्पतरुषु लिखितानि.' At p. 30 of the same work the कामधेनु is spoken of as equal in authority to the Rājā (राजतुल्ययोगक्षेम). These references show that the Kāmadhenu was not regarded by Caṇḍeśvara as the work of Bhūpāla (or Bhojadeva); other passages of the Kṛtya-ratnākara where Gopāla, Kalpataru, and Bhūpāla are spoken of in the same breath indicate that Gopāla was as great an authority as the Kalpataru; and knowing as we do that Caṇḍeśvara looked upon Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha as his best authorities, it follows that Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. Vide कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 277, 443 (गोपालभूपालकल्पतरुपारिजातेषु तु).

Sec. 72 pp. 298-299 *Halāyudha.* There is a Ms. of a work called Paṇḍitasarvasva in the Madars Tri. cat. of Sanskrit mss. for 1919-22 p. 5165. In the manuscript itself there is no reference to the author or his parentage. It is a large work and deals with वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैवतिथिनिरूपण, उपवास, शौच, अशौच, श्राद्ध, ज्योतिःशास्त्र, विवाहादिसंस्कार, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, प्रतिष्ठा, स्त्रीधर्म, दिव्य, अभक्ष्यविचार, शुद्धि. From the style it seems more likely that it is not the work of Halāyudha.

In the Ekāḍaśītattva (Jivananda vol. II p. 51) and Śuddhi-tattva (Jivananda vol II p. 327) Halāyudha is said to be the author of Saṁvatsarapradīpa.

Sec. 73 pp. 301-306 *Bhavadevabhaṭṭa.*

There was another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Sam-bandha-viveka. This work is mentioned in the Saṁskāra-tattva (Jivananda vol I p. 890) and in the Vivāhatattva (vol. II p. 143).

Sec. 74 pp. 306-308 *Prakāśa.*

The Vivādaratnākara and other Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara generally refer to Prakāśa only, but sometimes Caṇḍeśvara speaks of Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa e. g. on p. 326 of Kṛtyaratnākara we have 'जाबालमत्स्यपुराणवाक्यपरामर्शाच्चिराग्नि-सकलपुत्रैः साग्निभिश्चेतरपुत्रैरेकोद्दिष्टं कार्यमिति स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाशकार इति

कल्पतरौ लिखितमन्यैश्चानुमोदितं तल्लघु. This also shows that Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa was a work referred to by the Kalpataru and so earlier than 1100 A. D.

Sec. 87 pp. 354-359 *Hemādri.*

In the Marathi Quarterly of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka-maṇḍala, vol. X part 2 p. 84, Mr. Y. K. Deshpande quotes from a work called Bhānuvijaya of the Mahānubhāva sect passages wherein Hemādri is charged with having been won over by Turks (Mahomedans) and with having brought about the imprisonment of Bhānubhaṭṭa alias Bhāskara Kavīśvara Vyāsa (a Mahānubhāva saint) 'जरि करावा रणकन्दन। हेमाद्रि तुर्का लागले पण। दिल्लीश्वरें देवोनि धन। मंत्री पा वश्यु केला॥ भानुगणीं असाहणेंपणें। अहिता प्रेरिलें दुर्जनें। तुर्का कांई असे आंगवणें। हेमाद्रियेची बंधाविलें॥'.

But in the absence of other corroborative evidence hardly any reliance can be placed on this charge, as it might have been levelled at Hemādri in revenge for his imprisoning a leader of a dissenting sect like that of the Mahānubhāvas.

P. 359 In the Śivadigvijaya (printed at Baroda in śake 1817) at p. 442 Hemāḍapanta (Hemādri) is credited with having brought from Laṅkā (Ceylon) in śake 1193 (1271-2 A. D.) the 'Piśācca lipi' (Moḍi script).

P. 368 l. 16 Read 'contemplate' for 'complete'.

P. 398 foot note 969 Read 'अलभत सुनयं' for 'अलभत तनयं.'

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

Sec. 1 *Meaning of dharma* : ... pp. 1-4

Defies exact rendering in English - In the Ṛgveda, used as adjective or noun - means 'upholder or supporter' in some Ṛgvedic passages - in most Ṛgveda passages means 'religious ordinances or rites' and in rare cases 'fixed principles or rules of conduct' -- in Aitareya-brāhmaṇa dharma means 'whole body of religious duties-' in Chāndogya-Upaniṣad *dharma* means 'peculiar duties of āśramas-' *dharma* came to mean 'duties and privileges of a person as a member of the Āryan community, as member of one of the varṇas or as in a particular stage of life' - the same meaning in Taittirīya Upaniṣad (I. 11), Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti and other smṛtis - according to Medhātithi, dharma five-fold viz., varṇadharma, āśramadharma, varṇāśramadharma, naimittikadharma, guṇadharma - this meaning of dharma taken in this work - definitions of dharma according to Jaimini, Vaiśeṣikasūtra, Hārīta, Mahābhārata and Buddhist works - subjects treated in this work, viz. sources of dharma, contents of works on dharma, their chronology.

Sec. 2 *Sources of dharma* : ... pp. 4-7

According to Gautama, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Manu, Yājñavalkya -- principal sources were Veda, smṛtis and custom - Vedas do not contain positive precepts on dharma, but give information incidentally - examples from Vedic literature suggesting dharmaśāstra rules.

Sec. 3 *When dharmaśāstra works were first composed* ... pp. 8-10

It is difficult to say when composed - Nirukta (III. 4-5) exhibits controversies about inheritance and quotes a verse (śloka) from some work on dharma - Bühler's view about such verses -- Gautama and Baudhāyana speak of dharmaśāstra - Baudhāyana and Āpastamba mention numerous sages on *dharma* - Vārtika of Kātyāyana and Jaimini speak of dharmaśāstra - Patañjali on dharmasūtrakāras - dharmaśāstra works existed prior to Yāska or at least before 600 B. C. and in 2nd century B. C. dharmasūtras had become authoritative - method of dealing with the whole dharmaśāstra literature followed in this

book, first dharmasūtras, then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya, later versified smṛtis, then commentaries and digests, such as the Mitākṣarā - chronology of early writers very difficult to settle - Max Müller's view that works in continuous śloka metre followed sūtra works not acceptable.

Sec. 4 *Dharmasūtras* : ... pp. 10-12

Many of them formed part of the Kalpa and were studied in distinct sūtra-caraṇas - dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana presuppose gṛhysūtras of their *caraṇa* - no dharmasūtras extant corresponding to the śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Mānava-Tantravārtika on what dharmasūtra was studied in what particular Vedic Śākhā - all dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools - close connection between gṛhyasūtras and dharmasūtras on certain topics - scope of dharmasūtras - gṛhyasūtras sometimes refer to dharmasūtras - points of distinction between dharmasūtras and the other smṛtis.

Sec. 5 *Dharmasūtra of Gautama* : ... pp. 12-20

Gautama's is the oldest extant dharmasūtra - specially studied by followers of Sāmaveda - Gautama one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyanīya school of Sāmaveda - Gautamadharmasūtra points to close connection with Sāmaveda - Gautama refers to his own previous dicta - contents of 28 chapters of Gautamadharmasūtra - the work is entirely in prose - Gautama's language agrees more with Pāṇini's rules than Āpastamba's - explanation of this - Haradatta prefers Pāṇinian readings of Gautama's text - some sūtras of Gautama quoted in the Mitākṣarā and other works not found in extant text - extent of literature known to Gautama - the only author named is Manu - the meaning of 'ācāryāḥ' whose views are cited by Gautama - earliest reference to Gautama on dharma is in Baudhāyana- dharmasūtra - Baudhāyana (III. 10) borrows chap. 19 of Gautama - close correspondence between many other sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana - Vasiṣṭha (4. 34 and 36) refers to views of Gautama -Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is borrowed from 19th of Gautama - many sūtras the same in *Gautama and Vasiṣṭha* - Gautama referred to by Manu as son of Utathya - Gautama referred to by Yājñavalkya, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṁkarācārya, Medhātiṭhi - Gautama's reference to *Yavana* - probable age between 600 -

400 B. C. - Haradatta and Maskarin commented on Gautama - Asahāya also did so - śloka - Gautama and Vṛddha - Gautama.

Sec. 6 *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* : ... pp. 20-32

Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Black Yajurveda - arrangement of Baudhāyana kalpa according to Dr. Burnell and Dr. Caland - Baudhāyanagṛhya presupposes the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra - gṛhya (III.9.6) speaks of pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana and sūtrakāra Āpastamba - tarpaṇa in Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27) mentions Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin - contents of Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra - extant sūtra has not come down intact - fourth praśna probably an interpolation - third praśna also not free from doubt - Baudhāyana III. 10 taken from Gautama - Baudhāyana III. 6 agrees closely with Viṣṇudharmasūtra 48 - Dr. Jolly thinks both borrowed from a common source - probably Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana - repetitions exist even in the first two praśnas - form and structure of Baudhāyana - quotes numerous verses, even in the first two praśnas - language of Baudhāyana often departs from Pāṇinian standard - literature known to Baudhāyana - several authors on dharma together with their views mentioned by Baudhāyana - Asura Kapila said to be originator of āśramas- Śabara, Kumārila, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi refer to Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - home of Baudhāyana - Baudhāyana is styled pravacanakāra and Āpastamba sūtrakāra - Bühler holds that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher - age of Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - later than Gautama - Bühler's reasons for placing Baudhāyana a century or two earlier than Apastamba not convincing - divergences between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba - style of Baudhāyana compared with that of Āpastamba - Baudhāyana to be placed between 500-200 B. C.- numerous sūtras of Baudhāyana identical with those of Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha - Baudhāyana mentions several appellations of Ganeśa, just as Mānavagṛhya does and mentions seven planets, Rāhu and Ketu - Govindasvāmin commented on Baudhāyana.

Sec. 7 *Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba*: ... pp. 32-46

The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Black Yajurveda divided into 30 praśnas, dharmasūtra constituting 28th and 29th praśnas thereof - *Āpastamba is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikeya school of Taittirīyaśākhā* - Āpastambagṛhya and dharma sūtras are composi-

tions of same author - some sūtras of the two are identical - Āp. gṛhya does not treat of some topics as they are dealt with in dharma sūtra - contents of Āp. dharmasūtra - form and structure of Āp. dharmasūtra - Āp. is more archaic and un-Pāṇinian than any other dharmasūtra - many unfamiliar words in Āp. - several verses quoted in Āp. - literature known to Āp. - Ap. mentions six aṅgas of Veda and ten writers on dharma by name - Śvetaketu and Āp. - Hārīta quoted frequently by Āp. - Āp. controverts several views - striking coincidences between Gautama and Āp. - Āp. quotes a verse from Purāṇa and speaks of the view of Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa - Āpastamba and Manu - Āpastamba presupposes many rules of the Mīmāṁsā and agrees closely with Jaimini's sūtras - age of Āp. Dh. S. - quoted by Śabara, Kumārila, Śaṁkarācārya, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - home and personal history of Āpastamba not known - Āp. is later than Gautama and probably Baudhāyana - his age between 600-300 B. C.- Āp. condemns *niyoga*, rejects secondary sons, does not admit *paiśāca* and Prājāpatya forms of marriage - divergence between the views of Āp. and Gautama and other sūtrakāras - Haradatta's is the only commentary extant on Āp. - Āpastamba smṛti in verse.

Sec. 8. *Hiraṇyakeśidharmasūtra* : ... pp. 46-50

Hiraṇyakeśidharmasūtra forms 26th and 27th *praśnas* of the Hiraṇyakeśikalpa-Hiraṇyakeśin's can be hardly called an independent work, as it borrows hundreds of sūtras word for word from Āp. - a few additions made to Āp. in Hiraṇyakeśi Dh. S. - Hiraṇyakeśin's readings are smoother and more classical than Āpastamba's - arrangement of sūtras also is somewhat different in the two - com. of Mahādeva called Ujjvalā on Hiraṇyakeśin is almost the same as Haradatta's on Āp. - Bühler thinks Mahādeva borrows from Haradatta - Mahādeva's com. in a few places contains more matter than Haradatta's and Mahādeva differs from Haradatta.

Sec. 9 *Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra* : ... pp. 50-60

Different editions of Vasiṣṭha contain different numbers of chapters - Kumārila says it was specially studied by Ṛgvedins - explanation of this statement - nothing special in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra to connect it with Ṛgveda - contents of the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra - style of Vas. Dh. S. resembles Gautama's - many sūtras of Vas. identical with Gautama and Baudhāyana - form of Vasiṣṭha

dharmasūtra resembles Baudhāyana dharmasūtra - Medhātithi and Mitākṣarā quote from almost all chapters of extant Vasiṣṭha and so does Viśvarūpa - literature known to Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha prohibits learning language of Mlecchas - authors on dharmaśāstra named by Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's references to the views of Manu are made with reference to a work of Manu almost identical with the present Manusmṛti and do not compel us to formulate the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler wrong in taking Vas. Dh. S. 4. 8 as a quotation from Mānavadharmasūtra - Only Vas. Dh. S. 12.16 and 19. 37 where Manu is quoted have no corresponding verses in the present Manusmṛti - Over forty verses are entirely common to Vas. and present Manusmṛti - conclusion that Vas. contains borrowings from the present Manusmṛti or its prototype in verse - Vas. Dh. S. 22 is same as Gautama 19 - Dr. Jolly's view that Vas. Dh. S. 28.10-15 and 18-22 are borrowed from Viṣṇudharmasūtra chap. 56 and 87 or its original the Kāṭhakadharmasūtra is wrong - home of Vas. to the north of Narmadā, according to Bühler - this is mere speculation - earliest reference to Vasiṣṭha as a writer on dharma is in Manu (8-140) - age of Vasiṣṭha - Vasiṣṭha's views are ancient, praticularly about secondary sons, about Dattaka son, about *niyoga* and remarriage - he mentions only six forms of marriage - but in other matters differs from Gaut. or Baudh. viz. on adoption, on documents - Vas. Dh. S. between 300-100 B. C. - whether Vas. 18. 4 (Rāmaka v. l. Romaka) contains a reference to the Romans - Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, an early compilation - there is a Bṛhad Vasiṣṭha and a Jyotir Vasiṣṭha - Yajñasvāmin commented upon Vas. Dh. S.

Sec. 10 *Viṣṇudharmasūtra*: ... pp. 60-70

Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains 100 chapters and yet sūtra not extensive- several chap. (40, 42, 76) contain only one sūtra and one verse - first chap. and last two are entirely in verse, the rest in mixed prose and verse - Viṣṇu Dh. S. closely connected with Kaṭhaśākhā - Dr. Jolly says chap. 21, 67, 73 and 86 of Viṣṇu closely correspond with Kāṭhaka gṛhya - but Viṣṇu Dh. S. is not the work of the author of Kāṭhaka gṛhya - contents of Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu resembles Vas. Dh. S. - its peculiar feature that it professes to be revealed by God Viṣṇu - its style, easy and diffuse - work contains old

and new material - hundreds of sūtras are prose renderings of hundreds of verses occurring in our Manu - hypothesis of a common origin or borrowing by both from a floating mass of verses untenable - extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu - Viṣṇu contains verses identical with the Bhagavadgītā and Yājñavalkya smṛti - Dr. Jolly's view that Yājñavalkya borrows his anatomical section from Viṣṇu not correct - Viṣṇu Dh. S. contains long list of tīrthas, the word Jaiva for Jupiter - those wanting in Yājñavalkya - extant Viṣṇu Dh. S. later than Manusmṛti and Yājñavalkyasmṛti - Viśvarūpa does not quote a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name, though he refers to Viṣṇu (ch. 97) for orders of saṁnyāsins - Mitākṣarā quotes hardly any verse from Viṣṇu - Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā quote Viṣṇu profusely-verses were added at a late date to original sūtra - literature known to Viṣṇu Dh. S. - Viṣṇu mentions the seven days of the week, recommends the practice of *satī*, speaks of pustakas, of many good and evil omens among which the sight of yellow-robed Buddhist ascetics is included - it prohibits speech with Mlecchas and journeys to Mlecca countries, it dilates on worship of Vāsudeva - though Viṣṇu agrees in some respects with Kāṭhakagṛhya, on some points it differs from it -- date of older kernel of Viṣṇu may be 300 to 100 B.C. - additions made after 3rd century A.D. and before 7th century - some sūtras agree closely with Nārada - Bṛhad Viṣṇu and Vṛddha Viṣṇu and Laghu Viṣṇu - Nandapaṇḍita's com. on the Viṣṇu Dh. S. - probably Bhāruci also commented on it.

Sec. 11 *The dharmasūtra of Hārīta* : ... pp. 70–75

Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote Hārīta as an authority - Mr. Islampurkar secured a ms. of Hārīta-dharmasūtra at Nasik in 30 chapters - contents of that ms. - its relation to Maitrāyaṇīyasaṁhitā - it mentions the Kaśmirian word "Kaphella" -- quotations in commentaries and digests show that Hārīta dealt exhaustively with the same topics that are found in other dharmasūtras - Kumārila mentions Hārīta as dharmaśāstrakāra but does not assign him to any particular caraṇa as he does Āpastamba and others- notable doctrines of Hārīta - mentions worship of Ganeśa - Hārīta's verses on vyavahāra quoted in nibandhas are later than the sūtra - Laghu Hārīta and Vṛddha Hārīta - latter in verse is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana.

Sec. 12 *The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita* : ... pp. 75-79

From Tantravārtika it appears that dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was studied by Vājasaneyins - Mahābhārata (Śānti 23) contains story of brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita - Various compilations ascribed to Śaṅkha alone or Likhita alone or to both - Restoration of Dharmasūtra in Annals of Bhandarkar Institute (vol. VII, VIII) - Verse Śaṅkhasmṛti stricter than prose Śaṅkha - Likhita - com. on dharmasūtra mentioned in Kalpataru and Vivādaratnākara - doctrines of dharmasūtra similar to those of other dharmasūtras - speaks of twelve secondary sons - allows *niyoga* - speaks of several ordeals - defines Āryāvarta as between Sindhu - Sauvīra and Kāmpilya - Literature known to Śaṅkha Likhita - probable age between 300-100 B. C.

Sec. 13 *Mānavadharmasūtra : Did it exist ?* ... pp. 79-85

MaxMüller and Weber responsible for the theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra now lost - hardly any data for the sweeping generalisation of Max-Müller that all genuine dharmaśāstras are nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharma* - one main plank of this theory that the continuous employment of the śloka metre was unknown in the sūtra period is now exploded - Bühler supports Max Müller's theory by some additional arguments - Vasiṣṭha IV. 5-8 on which Bühler relies not properly understood by him - Vasiṣṭha (19-37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the Anuṣṭubh metre and not found in extant Manu and Bühler thinks it is taken from Mānavadharmasūtra - Bühler's reliance on a fragment of Uśanas which is corrupt is not worth consideration - Bühler relies on Kāmandakīyanītisāra (II. 3. and XI. 67) where Mānavas are said to hold that there are three vidyās for a king and that Manu said that king's council should consist of 12 ministers - These views not the same in extant Manu- Bühler's conclusion not correct - Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing Kauṭilīya - Bühler's generalisation about Mānava or Mānavāḥ without foundation - Kumārila, Śaṅkara, and Viśvarūpa all employ 'Mānava' for Manusmṛti - Bühler relies on analogy of the complete set of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana sūtras for holding that a Mānavadharmasūtra existed - Proper explanation of Vas. Dh. S. IV. 5-8 - Bühler not right in saying that Vas. Dh. S. 11. 23, 12. 16, 23. 43 either contradict Manu or find no counterpart

therein - analogy of Āpastamba sūtras of no use - excepting the three caraṇas of the Black Yajurveda, no caraṇa of any Veda has a dharmasūtra attributed to the founder of that caraṇa - an explanation suggested - existing materials not sufficient to establish theory that a Mānavadharmasūtra once existed.

Sec. 14 *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya* : ... pp. 85-104

First translated by Dr. Shāma Sāstri and text published in 1909 - other editions - numerous works and articles inspired by the publication of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra - Kauṭilīya is oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra - scope of arthaśāstra and relation to dharmaśāstra - arthaśāstra an upaveda of Atharvaveda - purpose of this śāstra - rule in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra - Cāṇakya, Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta are names of the same person - glowing tribute paid to Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta by Kāmandakīyanītisāra, Tantrākhyāyikā, Daṇḍin - Bāṇa and Pañcatantra on Kauṭilya as author of Arthaśāstra - Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya contained his story - Mudrārākṣasa connects his name with Kuṭila - controversy as to whether Kauṭilīya can be the work of a busy minister of Candragupta Maurya - Jolly, Winternitz and Keith hold that extant work is not by the minister of Candragupta - Megasthenes' silence about Cāṇakya explained - whether the Kauṭilīya is the product of a school or of an individual author - Kauṭilya's views cited about 70 times in the work in the third person - explanation of this - Dr. Jolly wrong in his explanation of *apadeśa* (in XV. 1) - Keith thinks that an author would not parade an uncomplimentary epithet like Kauṭilya (derived from kuṭila) - Is the name Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya - works on gotra and pravara give various forms such as Kauṭali, Kauṭilya and Kauṭili - form, style and contents of the Kauṭilīya - a few verses interspersed in the work, generally at the end - in all 340 verses excluding *mantras* - some verses are certainly quotations - work abounds in numerous technical and rare words - deviations from Pāṇini - summary of contents - section on judicial administration interesting - greatest correspondence between Kauṭilīya and Yājñavalkya - some striking examples - it is Yājñavalkya that borrows - reasons - Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage

of juristic principles than Kauṭilya - close agreement between Manu smṛti and Kauṭilya also - but they differ on *niyoga*, as to nomenclature of vyavahārapadas, about heirship of mother and paternal grandmother, on remarriage of widows, divorce, gambling - Kauṭilīya long anterior to the extant Manusmṛti - Kauṭilya's five references to Mānavas explained - references to Svāyambhuva and Prācetasa Manu contained in the Mahābhārata suggest that there were two works in verse on dharma and politics attributed to these or perhaps one work containing both, subsequently recast as the extant Manusmṛti - only two views ascribed to Mānavas in Kauṭilīya not found in extant Manusmṛti - in the dharmasthīya section the only other authors or schools cited are Bārhaspatyas and Auśanasas - none of the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others are anywhere quoted by name - views cited on the question as to whom a child belongs (to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten) can be traced to Baudhāyana, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha - views of Ācāryas cited in the Kauṭilīya - Kauṭilīya later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than extant Manusmṛti - date of Kauṭilīya - it is certainly not later than 2nd century A. D. and not earlier than 325 B. C. - schools named by Kauṭilya and also individual authors - views of Ācāryas are quoted over fifty times and Kauṭilya differs in each case - meaning of 'ācāryas' - literature known to Kauṭilya - Sanskrit official language and the work mentions guṇas of composition - Kauṭilīya agrees with Kāmasūtra in several respects - Dr. Jolly and Prof. Keith opine that both works composed about same time - points of difference between the two works - countries and peoples mentioned by Kauṭilya -- silks from Cīna and blankets from Nepal - corporations of Licchavis, Vṛjikas and others mentioned - meaning of 'rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ' (in XI-I) - best breeds of horses - Mlecchas sold or pledged children - references to Buddhists and Ājīvakas - weights to be made from stones of Magadha and Mekala - doubtful whether Kauṭilya knew extant text of Mahābhārata - most of the stories cited as illustrations by Kauṭilya occur in the Mahābhārata, but some divergence exists in the case of Janamejaya, Māṇḍavya - Kauṭilya's knowledge of drugs and of rasa (mercury) - references to shrines of Śiva, Skanda &c.- traditional date of 300 B. C. more likely to be correct than 3rd cen-

tury A. D. approved of by Dr. Jolly and Winternitz - two commentaries on Kauṭilīya, Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan and Pratipadapañcikā of Bhaṭṭasvāmin - sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya - several nīti collections in verse ascribed to Cāṇakya are later than Kauṭilīya.

Sec. 15 *Vaikhānasadharmasūtra* : ... pp. 105-107

Vaikhānasa is one of the six sūtra caraṇas of the black Yajurveda mentioned by Mahādeva in his Vaijayantī on Satyāṣāḍha śrautasūtra - Vaikhānasa occurs in Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha (9. 10) and Manu (6. 21) - Vaikhānasadharmapraśna divided into three praśnas - contents of the work - its age later than Gautama and Baudhāyana - names more mixed castes than even some of the verse smṛtis - devotion to Nārāyaṇa looms very large in the work - Dr. Caland's view that Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagṛhya not correct.

Sec. 16 *Atri* : ... pp. 107-110

Atri named in Manu (III. 16) - Ātreyadharmaśāstra in nine adhyāyas - summary of contents - form of Atridharmaśāstra - several works styled Atri - smṛti - summary of Atrisaṁhitā printed by Jīvananda - Atri quoted as an authority on adoption - Laghu Atri and Vṛddhātreyasmṛti - Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 65. 1) quotes a verse of Atri.

Sec. 17 *Uśanas* : ... pp. 110-116

Uśanas wrote on politics, as Kauṭilīya shows - Mahābhārata (Śānti 56. 29-30) refers to work of Uśanas on politics - Nītiprakāśikā on Śukra as arranger of rājaśāstra - An Auśanasa dharmaśāstra in verse - contents - peculiar views of Uśanas about offspring of inter-caste marriages - several verses common to Uśanas and Manu - names the views of numerous writers on dharma - Haradatta and Smṛticandrikā knew a work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of dharma - Uśanas smṛti in verse - verses of Uśanas on vyavahāra - Śukranītisāra edited by *Oppert*.

Sec. 18 *Kaṇva and Kāṇva* : ... pp. 116-117

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19) shows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct authors - verses of Kaṇva quoted in Smṛticandrikā.

Sec. 19 *Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa* : ... pp. 117-118

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11.20) cites a verse in which Kāśyapa's view is contained - there was a dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa - a Kāśyapa smṛti in prose contained in Deccan College Mss. - contents thereof- Smṛticandrikā includes Kāśyapa among 18 upasmṛtis.

Sec. 20 *Gārgya* : ... p. 119

A sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma existed - Gārgya and Vṛddha Gārgya - a Gārgīsaṁhitā on astronomy and astrology - Jyotir Gārgya and Bṛhad Gārgya.

Sec. 21 *Cyavana* : p. 119

Seems to have written a sūtra work on dharma.

Sec. 22 *Jātūkarṇya* : ... pp. 119-120

A verse of Vṛddha Yājñavalkya names Jātūkarṇya as a dharma śāstrakāra - quotations in verse in Mitākṣarā and later works.

Sec. 23 *Devala* : ... p. 120

A dharmasūtra of Devala existed once - Mitākṣarā and other works also contain quotations in verse on ācāra, vyavahāra, srāddha - this latter a later compilation - Devalasmṛti in 90 verses on purifications is also a late work - jurist Devala flourished about the same time as Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana.

Sec. 24 *Paiṭhīnasi* : ... pp. 121-122

An ancient sūtrakāra, as Viśvarūpa quotes his sūtras - Dr. Jolly thinks he belongs to Atharvaveda - Paiṭhīnasi on *satī*, inheritance, on absence of untouchability under certain circumstances.

Sec. 25 *Budha* : ... p. 123

A sūtrakāra cited by Hemādri, Aparārka, Kalpataru and Jīmūtavāhana - a brief compilation and not very early in age.

Sec. 26 *Bṛhaspati* : ... pp. 123-126

An ancient teacher of arthaśāstra mentioned in Kauṭilīya - Mahābhārata (Śānti 59. 80-85) credits him with compression of vast work of Brahmā on *trivarga* and mentions several of his views- Kāmasūtra speaks of Bṛhaspati as writer on *artha* - peculiar views of

Bṛhaspati according to Kauṭilīya - Bṛhaspati also wrote a prose work on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta - probably the authors of the two are different - 700 verses on vyavahāra ascribed to Bṛhaspati are quoted in the Mitākṣarā - this is an independent work composed between 300-500 A. D. - smaller compilations in verse ascribed to Bṛhaspati - Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. Thomas is a late work.

Sec. 27 *Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja* : ... pp. 126-128

A śrautasūtra and gṛhya of Bhāradvāja exist - Viśvarūpa's work establishes existence of a sūtra work on dharma of Bharadvāja - there was smṛti in verse also attributed to Bhāradvāja - Kauṭilīya shows that Bhāradvāja was an ancient author on politics - some views of Bhāradvāja - Mahābhārata on Bhāradvāja - verses on vyavahāra attributed to Bhāradvāja - this probably different from work on politics.

Sec. 28 *Śātātapa* : ... pp. 128-129

A sūtra work of Śātātapa on dharma dealing with prāyaścitta, śrāddha and ācāra must have existed - verses of Śātātapa quoted in Mitākṣarā and other later works - this is probably different from smṛti work - several verse compilations ascribed to Śātātapa - Vṛddha Śātātapa and Bṛhat Śātātapa.

Sec. 29 *Sumantu* : ... pp. 129-131

A sūtra work on ācāra and prāyaścitta ascribed to Sumantu existed - Yājñavalkya and Parāśara do not enumerate Sumantu among expounders of dharma - Sumantu mentioned in Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata - verses from Sumantu on dharma are cited by Aparārka - this is a different work - numerous verses on vyavahāra quoted from Sumantu in Sarasvatīvilāsa.

Sec. 30 *The Smṛtis* : ... pp. 131-135

Two senses of the word smṛti, viz. all orthodox ancient non-Vedic works (such as Pāṇini's grammar, Śrauta sūtras, Mahā bhārata Manu, &c.) and (a narrower sense) dharmaśāstra - smṛti, a source of dharma according to Gautama and others - number of smṛtis went on increasing - Yājñavalkya enumerates twenty writers of smṛtis, Parāśara 19 - Tantravārtika speaks of 18 dharmasaṁhitās - Catur-

viṁśatimata gives views of 24 writers - a smṛti called Ṣaṭ - triṁśan-mata - Paiṭhīnasi enumerates 36 and so does Aparārka - Vṛddha Gautama enumerates 57 - Vīramitrodaya enumerates 18 smṛtis, 18 upasmṛtis and 21 more- total number of smṛtis about 100 - these are products of widely separated ages - some entirely in prose, some entirely in verse, some are mixed - chronology of smṛtis presents perplexing problems - two or three smṛtis go under the same name, e. g. Hārīta, Atri, Śātātapa - sectarian zealots fabricate certain smṛtis - the prefixes laghu, bṛhat and vṛddha applied to smṛtis - well-known verses are ascribed to different authors, as authors quote from memory.

Sec. 31 *The Manusmṛti*: ... pp. 135-158

Numerous editions - Manu as the father of mankind in the Ṛgveda and other Vedas - Manu and the deluge in Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa - Manu in the Nirukta - Manu quoted as law-giver in Gautama, Āpastamba and Mahābhārata - introduction to Nāradasmṛti and Manu - how the Manusmṛti is narrated - four versions of Svāyambhuva śāstra according to Bhaviṣyapurāṇa - almost impossible to say who composed extant Manusmṛti - Bühler's theory that our Manu is a recast of Mānavadharmasūtra shown above to be unsustainable - the Mānavagṛhya differs from Manusmṛti in several particulars - Vināyakaśānti of Mānavagṛhya and tests for selecting a bride not contained in our Manu - Mahābhārata distinguishes between Svāyambhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu, former promulgating dharmaśāstra - these two works combined in the present Manu - extant Manu has 12 chapters and 2694 verses - its style - contents of Manusmṛti - extent of literature known to Manusmṛti - the author of the Manusmṛti is not the first legislator - age of Manusmṛti - external evidence - Medhātithi's is first extant commentary - Viśvarūpa quotes nine verses - Śaṅkara, Kumārila and Śabara refer to Manu - Bṛhaspati knew the present text of Manu before him - Aśvaghoṣa in his Vajrasūci quotes several verses from 'Mānavadharma' some of which are found in our Manu - Rāmāyaṇa (*Kiṣkindhā 18. 30-32*) contains Yājñavalkya VIII. 318 and 316 - Manu attained present form long before 2nd century A. D. - there are earlier and later strata in Manu - contradictary statements as to Brāhmaṇa marrying a śūdra woman - about appropriate forms of marriage, about niyoga, about

flesh-eating - Bühler's conclusion is that cosomological and philosophical portions in 1st and 12th books, rules about mixed castes and duties of castes in 10th book are later additions - all additions made before 3rd century A. D.– Manusmṛti has not suffered several recasts - quotations cited as Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu are later than Manusmṛti - extant Manu older than Yājñavalkya - Manu mentions Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas - extant Manusmṛti composed between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. - relation of Mahābhārata and Manu - conflict of views between Mandlik, Hopkins and Bühler - Hopkins holds that there was a mass of floating verses ascribed to mythical Manu on which both Manusmṛti and Mahābhārata drew - Bühler says that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu - Manu mentions stories and names that occur in the Mahābhārata but these names go into Vedic antiquities – Manu never names the Mahābhārata, while the latter often refers to 'rājadharmas or śāstra of Manu' or to 'what Manu said' - Both Hopkins and Bühler hold that the Anuśāsanaparva and Śāntiparva knew a Manusmṛti, but earlier books, whenever they speak of Manu, refer to floating mass of popular verses - this conclusion not correct – final conclusion, viz., long before 4th century B. C. there was a dharmaśāstra in verse attributed to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu, there was another work on rājadharma attributed to Prācetesa Manu, that probably there was one work, then between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. Manusmṛti was recast · extant Mahābhārata later than extant Manusmṛti – influence of Manu spread to Cambodia and other countries beyond India- Manu had several commentators, Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Kullūka, Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra - Asahāya commented on Manu - Udayakara is another commentator and so is Dharaṇīdhara – Nārāyaṇa flourished between 1100-1300 A. D. – Rāghavānanda later than 1400 A. D. – Vṛddha Manu and Bṛhan-Manu - explanation as to how these originated

Sec. 32 *The two Epics* : pp. 158-160

Rāmāyaṇa is relied upon as a source of dharma though less frequently than the Mahābhārata - Ayodhyākāṇḍa and Araṇyakāṇḍa contain disquisitions on politics - age of the epics a problem more appropriate for a separate treatise - table in which where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

Sec. 33 *The Purāṇas* : ... pp.160-for

Purāṇas as a class of literature mentioned in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Gautama Dh. S., Mahābhāṣya - extant purāṇas are recasts made of older material - some of the extant Purāṇas like Vāyu earlier than 6th century A. D. - Names of principal 18 Purāṇas - 18 Upapurāṇas - Matsyapurāṇa contains much dharmaśāstra material - Agnipurāṇa contains disquisition on rājadharma and chapters 253-258 contain almost the whole of the vyavahāra section of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍapurāṇa borrows about 400 verses from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - chronology of Purāṇas passed over - Divergence as to the names of the principal 18 purāṇas and as to their extent - Purāṇas very valuable for study of social and religious questions as to mediæval and modern India - Padmapurāṇa divides 18 Purāṇas into three groups of sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa and divides eighteen smṛtis also in the same way - table showing which dharmaśāstra topics are dealt with in which purāṇa.

Sec. 34 *The Yājñavalkyasmṛti* : pp. 168-190

Yājñavalkya, a name most illustrious among Vedic sages - stories about strained relations between Vaiśampāyana and Yājñavalkya - Yājñavalkya and Janaka in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa - Yājñavalkya, a great philosopher in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka - Yājñavalkya smṛti claims that the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra were composed by the author of the smṛti - slight variation in the number of verses contained in Yājñavalkyasmṛti according to Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - arrangement of verses different in Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā, particularly in the prāyaścittakāṇḍa - readings of the two commentators also differ - Agnipurāṇa affords excellent check for consideration of text of Yājñavalkya - Readings of Agnipurāṇa compared with those of Viśvarūpa and the Mitākṣarā - conclusion is that the Agnipurāṇa represents a text midway between Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā - So Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current about 900 A. D. - total number of verses on vyavahāra in the Agnipurāṇa is 315, out of which the first 31 are not taken from Yājñavalkya - almost all of these 31 taken from Nārada- Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93) expressly says that the dharma promulgated by Yājñavalkya was imparted therein - Garuḍa (chap. 93-106

xxvi ntains dharmaśāstra material taken from ācāra and prāyaścitta sections of Yājñavalkya - Garuḍa (93-102) deals with ācāra and 102-106 with prāyaścitta-Garuḍapurāṇa omits rājadharma section of Yājñavalkya – only a few verses of Yāj. are repeated word for word, while a summary only is given of several verses – comparison of the text of the Garuḍapurāṇa with Viśvarūpa's text and that of the Mitākṣarā – Garuḍapurāṇa represents text intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā – are there different strata in Yājñavalkya? text mainly the same from 700 A. D. and little evidence to show that the text of Yājñavalkya as we have it contains several strata – comparison of Yājñavalkyasmṛti with Manusmṛti – close agreement in phraseology between the two – Yājñavalkya usually tries to compress Manu's dicta - Yāj. adds Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti and ordeals, while Manu omits first two and cursorily refers to two ordeals – Yāj. silent on origin of world which we have in Manu – style of Yājñavalkya – contents of smṛti – literature known to Yājñavalkyasmṛti – enumerates 19 authors on dharma – close agreement between Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Yājñavalkya and between Kauṭilya and Yāj. – Manu and Yāj. differ on several points and Yāj. represents a more advanced state of thought than Manu – Manu allows brāhmaṇa to marry śūdra girl, Yāj. does not – Manu condemns niyoga, Yāj. does not – same case with gambling – Yāj. takes Vināyakaśānti from Mānavagṛhya – Yājñavalkyasmṛti in intimate relation to white Yajurveda and literature appurtenant to it – Yājñavalkya closely agrees with Pāraskaragṛhya – Dr. Jolly's theory that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of White Yājurveda is without foundation – date of Yājñavalkyasmṛti – Viśvarūpa separated from the smṛti by several centuries – probable date of Yājñavalky between 100 B. C. and 300 A. D. – Laṅkāvatārasutra (gāthās 814-81[illegible]) refers to Yājñavalkyasmṛti – Dr. Jolly thinks that Yāj. shows acquaintance with Greek astrology – Dr. Jacobi's theory that naming of week days after planets first introduced by Greeks and borrowed by Indians – these theories untenable – Yāj. does not mention week days, but only the nine planets (in I. 296) – Yāj. does not mention the zodiacal signs – he arranges the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī (I. 268) as the Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa does – 'susthe iṣṭadau' in Yāj. explained by Viśvarūpa without reference to zodiacal signs – from Vedic times nakṣatras divided into auspicious and inauspicious – Yājñavalkya's reference to nāṇakas – Yāj. regards sight of yellow-

robed people as an evil omen – Dr. Jolly's date of 400 A. D. for Yājñavalkya is far too late – there is a Vṛddha-Yāj., a Yoga-Yāj., and a Bṛhad-Yāj. - Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed much earlier than 800 A. D. as Vācaspatimiśra quotes a half verse from Yoga-Yāj. and Aparārka quotes profusely from him – mss. of Yoga-Yājñavalkya in Deccan College collection in 12 chapters and 495 vereses and of Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya in 12 chapters and 920 verses – Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya of the mss. are entirely different works - several commentaries on Yājñavalkya, viz. of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi.

Sec. 35 *Parāśarasmṛti* : ... 190–196

Yāj. mentions Parāśara, but the extant Parāśarasmṛti is probably a recast of an older smṛti – Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) gives a summary of 39 verses of Parāśarasmṛti – From Kauṭilya it appears there was a work of Parāśara on politics - extant Parāśara in 12 chapters and 592 verses deals with ācāra and prāyaścitta alone – Parāśara, an ancient name – Parāśara mentions 19 smṛti writers – contents of the smṛti – Parāśara has peculiar views – authors cited by Parāśara – views of Manu frequently cited - several identical verses in Manu and Parāśara – age of Parāśarasmṛti between 100–500 A. D. - a Bṛhat-Parāśara saṁhitā in 12 chapters and 3000 verses – contents thereof – it is a late work – Vṛddha Parāśara quoted by Aparārka.

Sec. 36 *The Nāradasmṛti* : ... pp. 196-207

Two versions of Nārada on vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one – com. of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa is contained in Dr. Jolly's edition – Nārada not mentioned by Yāj. or Parāśara in list of expounders of dharma – three introductory chapters on judicial procedure and on sabhā, then 18 *vyavahārapadas*, then an appendix on theft from Nepal ms. – some difference in the names of titles between Nārada and Manu – printed Nārada contains 1028 verses – about 1700 verses of Nārada quoted in digests – Viśvarūpa's and Medhātithi's quotations from Nārada agree with printed Nārada – Agnipurāṇa chap. 253 contains thirty verses of Nāradasmṛti defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīrṇaka in the same order – Nārada's verses on ācāra, śrāddha and prāyaścitta quoted in Smṛti candrikā, Hemādri – probably this is a different Nārada – form, style and matre of Nārada – Literature known to Nārada – 50 verses rose

Sec. 41 *Kārṣṇājini* : ... p. 223

Sec. 42 *Caturviṁśatimata* : ... p. 223-225

Embodies in 525 verses the opinions of 24 sages - contents - quoted by Mitākṣarā and Aparārka, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi - probably compiled about 8th or 9th century A. D. - Bhaṭṭoji commented upon it.

Sec. 43 *Dakṣa* : ... pp. 225-226

Mentioned by Yāj. - Viśvarūpa quotes him several times - Aparārka quotes a prose passage - contents of printed Dakṣasmṛti in 220 verses.

Sec. 44 *Pitāmaha* : ... pp. 226-227

Quotations from Pitāmaha occur mostly on vyavahāra, particularly ordeals - he treats of nine ordeals - 50 *chalas* enumerated by Pitāmaha in which king took action without a complaint - views peculiar to Pitāmaha, viz. 18 lowest castes, eight constituents of hall of justice, &c. - mentions Bṛhaspati - flourished between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 45 *Pulastya* : ... p. 228

An expounder of dharma named in a verse of Vṛiha Yājñavalkya - Viśvarūpa, Mitākṣarā, Aparārka cite many verses on āhnika and śrāddha - Dānaratnākara cites a prose passage : Pulastya-composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

Sec. 46 *Pracetas* : p. 229

A dharmaśāstra writer mentioned by Parāśara, though not by Yāj. - prose and verse quotations cited by Mitākṣarā and Aparārka - a few prose quotations in Haradatta on Gautama and Smṛticandrikā - Vṛddha Pracetas and Bṛhat Pracetas.

Sec. 47 *Prajāpati* : ... pp229-230

Prajāpati cited as authority by Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I 4. 15) and Vasiṣṭha (III. 47 &c.) - they mean probably Manu's compilation in 198 verses ascribed to Prajāpati - Mit. and Aparārka and others quote Prajāpati on āśauca, prāyaścitta, śrāddha, ordeals and vyavahāra.

Sec. 48 *Marīci* : ... pp. 230-231

Quoted on āhnika, āśauca, śrāddha and vyavahāra by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā - recommends writing as essential for sale, mortgage, gift and partition of immovables.

Sec. 49 *Yama* : ... pp. 231-235

Yama quoted in Vas. Dh. S. (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) - various printed compilations in verse ascribed to Yama — Bṛhad Yama in 5 chapters and 182 verses— Viśvarūpa and others quote about a hundred verses of Yama on all topics including vyavahāra—some of these found in printed text - a few prose passages of Yama quoted by Aparārka - Anuśāsanaparva 104. 72-74 quotes gāthās of Yama - some views of Yama on vyavahāra set out - Bṛhad Yama, Laghu Yama and Svalpa Yama.

Sec. 50 *Laugākṣi* : ... pp. 235-236

Mitākṣarā quotes verses on āśauca and prāyaścitta, while Aparārka quotes prose and verse passages on saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva &c.

Sec. 51 *Viśvāmitra* : ... p. 236

Named by Vṛddha Yājñavalkya - verses quoted on all topics except vyavahāra.

Sec. 52 *Vyasa* : ... pp. 236-238

Printed compilation ascribed to Vyāsa in 250 verses - contents - about two hundred verses of Vyāsa on vyavahāra cited in Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works - his doctrines closely agree with those of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana - some of his views on vyavahāra set out - flourished between 200-500 A. D. - Aparārka cites many verses from Vyāsa on saṁskāras, śrāddha &c. - probably Vyāsa the jurist is identical with the latter - Gadya-Vyāsa, Vṛddha-Vyāsa and Bṛhad-Vyāsa, Mahāvyāsa and Laghu Vyāsa.

Sec. 53 *Saṭ-triṁsan-mata* : ... pp. 238-239

This was a compilation like Caturviṁśati-mata - quotations from it cited in Kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Smṛticandrikā and Aparārka - Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention it - date between 700-900 A. D. - no verse quoted from this on vyavahāra.

Sec. 54 *Saṁgraha or Smṛtisaṁgraha* : ... pp. 239-242

Quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā on sevaral topics of dharma—quotations on vyavahāra are many and important for history of Hindu Law - views of Saṁgrahakāra and Dhāreśvara coincide in many respects and were criticized by Mitākṣarā - date of Saṁgraha between 8th and 10th centuries.

Sec. 55 *Saṁvarta* : ... pp. 242-244

Mentioned as dharmaśāstrakāra by Yāj. - cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā - Aparārka quotes about 200 verses - some of his views on vyavahāra - contents of printed Saṁvarta in 230 verses - Bṛhat Saṁvarta and Svalpa Saṁvarta.

Sec. 56 *Hārīta* : ... p. 244

Verses from Hārīta on vyavahāra deserve special treatment - some of his views set out, e. g. definition of vyavahāra, four aspects of vyavahāra, importance of writing, defects of plaint and reply, protection of long possession, when title by itself is decisive against long possession, five kinds of sureties, treatment of erring wives - his date between 400-700 A. D.

Sec. 57 *Commentaries and Nibandhas* : ... pp. 246-247

Dharmaśāstra literature falls into three periods, the first from 600 B. C. to 100 A. D. being the period of the dharmasūtras and of the Manusmṛti, the 2nd from 100 A. D. to 800 A. D. of Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis and third from 700 to 1800 of commentators and authors of digests - first part of this last period contains commentaries - digests written from 11th century - no hard and fast line between commentaries and digests - these to be treated of in chronological order as far as possible.

Sec. 58 *Asahāya* : ... pp. 247-251

Portion of his bhāṣya on Nārada (up to verse 21 of abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā) published hy Dr. Jolly - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised it - exact relationship of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's revision to original not clear, but he took great liberties - Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa was encouraged by

Keśavabhaṭṭa – Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 263-264) mentions Asahāya by name and quotes latter's explanation of Gautama 22. 13. - Hāralatā of Aniruddha speaks of bhāṣya of Asahāya on Gautama – from a passage of Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Asahāya commented on Manu also – Medhātithi on Manu 8. 156 quotes Asahāya - Mitākṣarā mentions the views of Asahāya – date of Asahāya between 600-750 A. D.– a few views of Asahāya set out, viz. definition of dāya, succession to Śulka of a woman, succession to a childless brāhmaṇa.

Sec. 59 *Bhartṛyajña* : ... pp. 251-252

An ancient Bhāṣyakāra mentioned by Medhātithi (on Manu 8. 3) – his views cited by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana - he wrote bhāṣya on Kātyāyana śrautasūtra and Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra – probably he commented on Gautamadharmasūtra – flourished about 800 A. D.

Sec. 60 *Viśvarūpa*: ... pp. 252-264

His commentary called Bālakrīḍā on Yāj. published at Trivandrum - Mitākṣarā refers to it in introductory verses and on Yāj. (I. 80 and III. 24) – printed com. of Viśvarūpa on vyavāhāra portion of Yāj. is very meagre - literature referred to or quoted by Viśvarūpa - most of the quotations from Svāyambhuva found in extant Manu, but not so those ascribed to Bhṛgu – quotes prose passages of Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra – quotes a verse of Viśālākṣa on politics and refers to arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas – Kauṭilya not named, yet Viśvarūpa seems to have had his work before him - Viśvarūpa's work saturated with doctrines of Pūrvamīmāṁsā – quotes Śabara and Ślokavārtika – quotes his own kārikās on Yāj. I. 7. and other places – his philosophical views identical with Śaṁkarācārya's– Dr. Jolly's view that citations of Viśvarūpa in the Smṛticandrikā on certain points not traced in the printed Bālakrīḍā examined and shown to be incorrect – some citations of Viśvarūpa's views in Gṛhastharatnākara and Hemādri not found in printed text of Viśvarūpa – points in which Viśvarūpa and Mitākṣarā differ set out - Viśvarūpa must have flourished between 750 and 1000 A. D. – If Viśvarūpa identical with Sureśvara, pupil of Śaṁkara, then he flourished between 800-850 - reasons for identity set out – Maṇḍana and

Sureśvara not identical – Bhavabhūti and Umbeka identical, but not same as Sureśvara – a digest called Viśvarūpanibandha by another Viśvarūpa – a Viśvarūpasamuccaya mentioned by Raghunandana.

Sec. 61 *Bhāruci*: ... pp. 264–266

His views quoted by Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 124 – a Bhāruci mentioned as an ancient teacher of Viśiṣṭādvaita system by Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṁgraha – Bhāruci the philosopher is probably identical with Bhāruci the jurist – from notices in the Sarasvatīvilāsa Bhāruci seems to have commented on the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra - Bhāruci and Mitākṣarā disagreed on numerous points.

Sec. 62 *Śrīkara*: ... pp. 266-268

Views of Śrīkara set out – first writer to propound the view that spiritual benefit was the criterion for judging of superior rights to succession – probably a Maithila – difficult to say whether he wrote a commentary or an independent digest – flourished between 800–1050 A. D.

Sec. *Medhātithi*: ... pp. 266-275

Wrote an extensive commentary on Manu - printed bhāṣya corrupt in 8th, 9th and 12th chapters - reference to king Madana having restored Medhātithi's bhāṣya explained – Dr. Jolly says Medhātithi was a southerner – this is wrong – He was a northerner and probably a Kashmirian – literature known to Medhàtithi – smṛtis quoted by him – mentions Asahāya, Bhartṛyajña, Yajvan, Upādhyāya, Ṛju, Viṣṇusvâmin - Medhātithi saturated with Pūrva-mīmāṁsā – his reference to Śārīraka explained – Medhātithi and Śaṅkarācārya - peculiar views of Medhātithi set out – wrote Smṛti-viveka from which he quotes verses in his Manubhāṣya – date of Medhātithi – flourished between 825–900 A. D.

Sec. 64 *Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva*: ... pp. 275-279

Mitākṣarā (on Yàj. II. 135 and III 24) mentions views of Dhāreśvara – Dhāreśvara is to be identified with king Bhojadeva of Dhārā – works on numerous branches of knowledge attributed to Bhoja of Dhārā such as on Poetics, Rājamṛgāṅka (on astronomy), a com. on Yogasūtras - Śuddhikaumudī of Govindānanda / mentions

Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja on srāddha – Mitākṣarā and Dhāreśvara disagree on several points, e. g. on the question whether ownership was known from śāstra alone, on the meaning of 'duhitaraḥ' in Yāj. – on other points the two agree – Bhūpālapaddhati or simply Bhūpāla or rāja refers to a work of Bhojadeva – Bhujabalabhīma of Bhojarāja quoted in Tithitattva and Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana as distinct from the Rājamārtaṇḍa - Bhoja reigned from 1000 to 1055 A. D. - Dharmapradīpa of Bhoja is the work of another Bhoja, who was son of Bhāramalla and king of Āśāpura – it was written between 1400–1600 A. D.

Sec. 65 *Devasvāmin* : ... pp. 279–281

Said by Smṛticandrikā to have composed a digest of smṛtis – Nārāyaṇa, commentator of Āśvalāyanagṛhya, relies on bhāṣya of Devasvāmin – he composed a digest on ācāra, vyavahāra and āśauca – Smṛticandrikā quotes his views on the meaning of Yautaka, on the meaning of duhitaraḥ in Yāj., on Manu 9. 141 – A Devasvāmin commented on Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras and on the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa – difficult to say whether he is identical with the writer on dharmaśāstra - Devasvāmin flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 66 *Jitendriya* : ... 281-283

He is frequently quoted by Jīmūtavāhana in his three works - Jitendriya held that the wives of a person whether separated or joint succeeded to their deceased husband - no early writer other than Jīmūtavāhana cites him - flourished between 1000-1050 A. D.

Sec. 67 *Bālaka* : ... pp. 283-284

Mentioned by Jīmūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi, Raghunandana - several views of Bālaka set out - flourished before 1100 A. D.

Sec. 68 *Bālarūpa* : ... pp. 284-286

The opinions of Bālarūpa are cited in the Smṛtisāra and Vivādacandra - also in the Vivādacintāmaṇi – he wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla – Bālaka and Bālarūpa are probably identical - Bālarūpa is certainly earlier than 1250 A. D. - Vivādacandra once speaks of 'author of Bālarūpa', suggesting thereby that Bālarūpa was a work.

Sec. 69 *Yogloka* : ... pp. 286-287

Known only from works of Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana - Jīmūtavāhana only rarely agrees with him and generally criticizes him and taunts him with being a logician merely – Bṛhad Yogloka and Svalpa Yogloka – Yogloka wrote at least on vyavahāra and Kāla – flourished between 950-1050.

Sec. 70 *Vijñāneśvara* : ... pp. 287–293

The unique position of the Mitākṣarā on account of being esteemed as of paramount authority by British Indian courts - the several names of the Mitākṣarā - quotes a host of smṛti writers and six predecessors as authors of commentaries and digests - personal history of Vijñāneśvara - profound student of pūrvamīmāṁsā– date of Vijñāneśvara – between 1070-1100 – out of many commentators of the Mitākṣarā three famous – peculiar doctrines of the Mitākṣarā – seems to have been author of Āśaucadaśaka also – several commentaries on Āśaucadaśaka by Harihara, Raghunātha and Bhaṭṭoji - Vijñāneśvara not the author of Triṁsat-ślokī – Nārāyaṇa, a pupil of Vijñāneśvara, wrote Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi.

Sec. 71 *Kāmadhenu* : ... pp. 293-296

An ancient digest not yet discovered - quoted by Kalpataru, Hāralatā, and other works - Gopāla, the author of Kāmadhenu - Aufrecht's view that Śambhu is the author of Kāmadhenu wrong - Śambhu is a nibandhakāra on dharma cited by Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri - Mr. Jayasval wrongly ascribes Kāmadhenu to Bhoja - probable date of Kāmadhenu between 1000-1100 A. D.

Sec. 72 *Halāyudha* : ... pp. 296-301

A jurist quoted by Kalpataru, Smṛtisāra and other works - he flourished between 1000-1100 A. D. - he was probably a Maithila or a Bengal writer - Halāyudha, author of Abhidhānaratnamāla, Kavirahasya and Mṛtasañjīvanī (com. on chandaḥ-sūtra), is different - he hailed from the Deccan and flourished between 940-995 A. D. - another Halāyudha, author of Brāhmaṇasarvasva - personal history of this Halāyudha – judge of Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Bengal - Halāyudha's literary activity between 1175-1200 A. D. – another Halāyudha, author of Prakāśa, commentary on the śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana - he flourished between 1150 and 1500 A. D.

Sec. 73 *Bhavadevabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 301-306

Author of Vyavahāratilaka - also of Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarmapaddhati - contents of latter - another work is Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa - light on personal history of Bhavadeva in inscription at Bhuvaneśvara - he was a great builder of temples and tanks - flourished between 1050-1150 A. D. - Bhavadeva and Pradīpa - other authors on dharmaśāstra named Bhavadeva.

Sec. 74 *Prakāśa* : ... pp. 306-308

An ancient work on vyavahāra, dāna, śrāddha &c. - whether an independent digest is doubtful - was probably a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti composed between 1000-1100 A. D. - Mahārṇavaprakāśa, Smṛtimahārṇava or Mahārṇava quoted by Hemādri are all names for the same work - probably Prakāśa and Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa are identical.

Sec. 75 *Pārijāta*: ... pp. 308-309

Several works on dharma end in Pārijāta - an ancient work called Pārijāta quoted by Kalpataru - it dealt with at least vyavahāra, dāna - composed between 1000-1125 A. D.

Sec. 76 *Govindarāja* ... pp. 309-315

Wrote com. on Manusmṛti and a work called Smṛtimañjarī - personal history of Govindarāja - he is not to be identified with king Govindacandra of Benares - Kullūka frequently criticizes Govindarāja - contents of Smṛtimañjarī - date of Govindarāja between 1050-1140 A. D.

Sec. 77 *The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara* : ... pp. 315-318

An extensive work which exercised great influence over early Mithilā and Bengal writers - personal history of Lakṣmīdhara - work divided into fourteen kāṇḍas - their arrangement - contents of vyavahāra, rājadharma and dāna kāṇḍas - date of Kalpataru between 1100-1150 A. D. - Caṇḍeśvara borrowed extensively from Kalpataru.

Sec. 78 *Jīmūtavāhana* : ... pp. 318-327

He is first of the three great Bengal writers on dharmaśāstra - only three works known, Kālaviveka, Vyavahāramātṛkā and Dāya-

bhāga - these three parts of a projected digest called Dharmaratna - object and contents of Kālaviveka - works quoted in Kālaviveka - profound study of Pūrvamīmāṁsā displayed therein - contents of Vyavahāra-mātṛkā - works quoted in it - Dāyabhāga most famous of his works and of paramount authority in Bengal on Hindu Law - contents of Dāyabhāga - doctrines peculiar to Dāyabhāga - authors and works named in the Dāyabhāga - personal history of Jīmūtavāhana - his date - divergent views - literary activity lies between 1090-1130 A. D. - Did Jīmūtavāhana know the Mitākṣarā ?

Sec. 79 *Aparārka* : ... pp. 328-334

Wrote a voluminous commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti - authors and works quoted by Aparārka - studiously avoids naming his predecessors who were writers of digests - peculiar views of Aparārka - evidence to show that Aparārka knew the Mitākṣarā - date of Aparārka - Smṛticandrikā criticizes Aparārka - Aparārka was a Śilāhāra prince - inscriptions of Śilāhāras - commentary written about 1125 A. D.

Sec. 80 *Pradīpa* : ... pp. 334-335

An independent work on vyavahāra, śrāddha, śuddhi and other topics - betwern 1100-1150 A. D.

Sec. 81 *Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara* : ... pp. 335-337

Contents of - personal history of Śrīdhara - authors and works relied on as authorities - Śrīdhara probably composed another larger work - date between 1150-1200 A. D.

Sec. 82 *Aniruddha* : ... pp. 337-340

An early and eminent Bengal writer - wrote Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā alias Karmopadeśinīpaddhati - contents of Hāralatā and of Pitṛdayitā - authors and works named in them - personal history of Aniruddha - flourished in 3rd quarter of 12th century.

Sec. 83 *Ballālasena* : ... pp. 340-341

Compiled at least four works, Ācārasāgara, Adbhutasāgara, Dānasāgara, Pratiṣṭhāsāgara - subjects dealt with in Dānasāgara - Adbhutasāgara left incomplete and finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena - Dānasāgara valuable for checking the text of the *Purāṇas* -

literary activity in 3rd quarter of 12th century, as Dānasāgara was composed in śake 1091 - Aniruddha was *guru* of Ballālasena.

Sec. 84 *Harihara* : ... pp. 341-343

A writer on vyavahāra - he flourished before 1300 A. D. - Harihara composed commentary on Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra - this Harihara flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. - whether he was pupil of Vijñāneśvara - a Harihara comments on Āsaucadaśaka - jurist Harihara probably identical with bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara - several Hariharas known.

Sec. 85 *Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 343-347

An extensive digest - printed text deals with saṁskāra, ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha and āśauca - he wrote on prāyaścitta also - name variously written - profusely quotes Smṛtikāras, 600 verses of Kātyāyana alone on vyavahāra being quoted - authors and works named - author a southerner - contents - points in which Mitākṣarā and Smṛticandrikā differ - date between 1150 and 1225 A. D. - several works named Smṛticandrikā.

Sec. 86 *Haradatta* : ... pp. 347-353

His fame high as a commentator - his Anākulā on Āpastambagṛhya, Anāvilā on Āśvalāyanagṛhya, Mitākṣarā on Gautamadharmasūtra, Ujjvalā on Āpastambadharmasūtra and a com. on the Āpastambamantrapāṭha - explains grammatical peculiarities at great length - he was a southerner - a great devotee of Śiva - tradition says Rudradatta and Haradatta are identical - Haradatta on widow's right of succession - interesting information from Haradatta - date, a difficult problem - between 1100-1300 A. D. - Haradatta, commentaror of dharmaśāstra works, is identical with Haradatta, author of Padamañjarī - Haradattācārya mentioned in Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa and Śivarahasya is probably the Haradattācārya cited in Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha - Hariharatāratamya and Caturvedatātparyasaṁgraha are works ascribed to Haradatta.

Sec. 87 *Hemādri* : ... pp. 354-359

He and Mādhava the two outstanding dākṣinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - his Caturvargacintāmaṇi is a huge work of an ency-

clopædic character – projected to contain five sections – printed parts comprise vrata, dāna, śrāddha and kāla – Hemādri a profound student of Pūrvamīmāṁsā - predecessors named by him – personal history of Hemādri – his connection with Yādavas of Devagiri – genealogy of the Yādavas – Caturvargacintāmaṇi composed about 1270 A. D. – com. on Śaunaka's Praṇavakalpa and a śrāddhakalpa according to Kātyāyana are attributed to him – Vopadeva, a friend and a protegee of Hemādri – references to Hemādri's work in grants.

Sec. 88 *Kullūkabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 359-363

A famous commentator of Manusmṛti - he drew largely upon Medhātithi's bhāṣya and Govindarāja - Sir William Jones on Kullūka - authors and works quoted by him – personal history - he wrote Smṛtiviveka, of which Aśaucasāgara, Śrāddhasāgara and Vivādasāgara were parts - contents of Śrāddhasāgara - this is full of Pūrvamīmāṁsā discussions - date of Kullūka uncertain – flourished between 1150-1300 A. D.

Sec. 89 *Śrīdatta Upādhyāya* : ... pp. 363-365

One of the earliest *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra from Mithilā - contents of Ācārādarśa and authors quoted therein - his Candogāhnika - his Pitṛbhakti - authors quoted in it - his Śrāddhakalpa - his Samayapradīpa - contents of the work - flourished between 1200-1300 A. D., probably about 1275-1300 A. D. – another Śrīdattamiśra, a Maithila writer, who flourished towards end of 14th century.

Sec. 90 *Caṇḍeśvara* : ... pp. 366–372

Most prominent among Maithila *nibandhakāras* - compiled extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara in seven sections on *dāna*, kṛtya vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and gṛhastha - contents of Kṛtyaratnākara, Gṛhastharatnākara, Dānaratnākara, Vivādaratnākara and other ratnākaras - he also compiled Kṛtyacintāmaṇi, the Rājanītiratnākara, Dānavākyāvali and Śivavākyāvali – contents of Rājanītiratnākara - he drew principally upon five viz. Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Prakāśa and Halāyudha - authors and works quoted - personal history of Caṇḍeśvara – genealogy - he was minister of Harisiṁhadeva of Mithilā and later of Bhaveśa and weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. - literary activity between 1314-1370 A. D.

Sec. 91 *Harinātha* : ... pp. 372-374

Author of a digest called Smṛtisāra - names numerous authorities - contents - flourished in first half of 14th century - several works styled Smṛtisāra.

Sec. 92 *Mādhavācārya* : ... pp. 374-381

The most eminent of dākṣinātya writers on dharmaśāstra - two works on dharmaśāstra deserve special notice, viz. Parāśara Mādhavīya and Kālanirṇaya - authors and works quoted in them - contents of Kālanirṇaya - family and personal history of Mādhavācārya - his brother Sāyaṇa - Mādhava founded Vijayanagar in 1335 A. D. - pedigree of Vijayanagar kings - the two works were composed between 1340-1360 A. D. - literary activity of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya between 1330-1385 A. D. - Mādhava Vidyāraṇya different from Mādhava *mantrin* who was governor of Banavase and Goa - several commentaries of Kālanirṇaya.

Sec. 93 *Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa* : ... 381-389

Four works attributed to Madanapāla, a great patron of learning like Bhoja, viz. Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇava or Madanamahārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudī - Madanapārijāta really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa - contents of Madanapārijāta - Mahārṇava ascribed to Māndhātā, a son of Madanapāla - principal topics of the work - Tithinirṇayasāra - Smṛtikaumudī deals with dharmas of *Sudras* - contents - all the above four works probably composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa - Subodhinī, com. on Mitākṣarā by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa is a leading authority in Benares school of Hindu Law - pedigree of Madanapāla - other works on astronomy and medicine attributed to Madanapāla - date of Madanapāla, between 1300-1400 A. D. - Madanavinodanighaṇṭu composed in 1431 of Vikrama era i. e. 1375 A. D.

Sec. 94 *Madanaratna* : ... pp. 389-393

An extensive digest on dharmaśāstra, variously styled - seven *uddyotas* of it on *samaya, ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, dāna, śuddhi, śānti* - contents of uddyotas on *samaya, dāna,* and *śānti* - work composed under Madanasiṁhadeva, son of Śaktisiṁhadeva - pedigree of the family - Madanasiṁha called together four learned men,

Ratnākara, Gopīnātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara, and entrusted composition of work to them - date of Madanaratna between 1350-1500, probably about 1425-50.

Sec. 95 *Śūlapāṇi* : ... pp. 393-396

His authority in Bengal is next only to Jīmūtavāhana's - Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, his earliest work - holds archaic views on inheritance - his Smṛtiviveka, of which fourteen parts ending in '*viveka*' are known - Durgotsavaviveka is amongst his latest works - Śrāddhaviveka is his most famous work - authors and works named by him - personal history little known - exact age uncertain - flourished between 1375-1460 A. D.

Sec. 96 *Rudradhara* : ... pp. 396-398

A Maithila writer - wrote Śrāddhaviveka, Śuddhiviveka, Vratapaddhati and Varṣakṛtya, the first being the most famous of his works - flourished between 1425-1460 A. D.

Sec. 97 *Misarumiśra* : ... pp. 398-399

Wrote Vivādacandra - contents - work composed under orders of queen Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasiṁha of Mithilā - flourished about 1450 A. D.

Sec. 98 *Vācaspatimiśra* : ... pp. 399-405

The foremost nibandhakāra of Mithilā - his Vivādacintāmaṇi of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā - a voluminous writer - several works of his styled Cintāmaṇi on ācāra, āhnika, kṛtya, tīrtha, dvaita, nīti, vivāda, vyavahāra, śuddhi, śūdrācāra, śrāddha - works named by him - a group of his works ends in '*nirṇaya*' viz. Tithinirṇaya, Dvaitanirṇaya, Mahādānanirṇaya, Vivādanirṇaya, Śuddhinirṇaya, - he also contemplated writing seven works styled Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña - other works of his- Śrāddhakalpa or Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī his last work - personal history of Vācaspati - connected with king Bhairava and his son Rāmabhadra - genealogy of Kāmeśvara kings - Vācaspati flourished between 1425-1480 A. D. - philosopher Vācaspati different.

Sec. 99 *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda* : ... pp. 406-410

An encyclopædic work - divided into 12 sections called 'sāra' - the author's name variously given as Dalapati or Dalādhīśa - personal

history - writers and works named - contents of the work - flourished between 1400-1510 A. D., probably about 1490 to 1510.

Sec. 100 *Pratāparudradeva* : ... 410-414

He was king of the Gajapati dynasty in Orissa and composed Sarasvatīvilāsa - pedigree and history of family - purpose and contents of Sarasvatīvilāsa -works quoted - composed between 1497-1539 A. D. - Foulke's theory about date not acceptable - the Pratāpamārtaṇḍa or Prauḍhapratāpamārtaṇḍa of Pratāparudradeva.

Sec. 101 *Govindānanda* : ... pp. 414-415

Author of Dānakaumudī, Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakaumudī and Varṣakriyākaumudī and a com. called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa and a com. Tattvārthakaumudī on the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi- literary activity between 1500-1540 A. D.

Sec. 102 *Raghunandana* : ... pp. 416-419

Last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra - wrote an *encyclopaedia* called Smṛtitattva in 28 sections - names over 300 authors and works - 28 tattvas enumerated - other works besides these 28- wrote also com. on Dāyabhāga - personal history - authors and works quoted - flourished between 1500- 1575.

Sec. 103 *Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 419-421

The most famous member of the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares - personal history - born in 1513 A. D. - among his works are Antyeṣṭipaddhati, Tristhalīsetu, Prayogaratna, and com. on verses of Kālamādhava - literary activity between 1540-1570 A. D. - Nārāyaṇa author of Dharmapravṛtti different.

Sec. 104 *Toḍarānanda* : ... pp. 421-423

An encyclopaedia on dharma, several parts of which were called Saukhya - authors and works quoted - personal history of Toḍaramalla - he died in 1589.

Sec. 105 *Nandapaṇḍita* : ... pp. 423-432

A voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra - author of com. on Parāśarasmṛti and on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara - his Śrāddha-

kalpalatā - his Śuddhicandrikā, a com. on the Ṣaḍaśīti - his work styled Smṛtisindhu and a summary of it styled Tattvamuktāvalī - his Vaijayantī, a com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra - his agreements and disagreements with Mitākṣarā – Dattaka-mīmāṁsā, his most famous work - it is regarded by British Indian courts and Privy Council as standard work on adoption - his views set out - personal history – he had various patrons - his thirteen works - Vaijayantī composed in 1623 A. D.

Sec. 104 *Kamalākarabhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 432-437

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa – personal history - composed more than 22 works on several śāstras – about a dozen works on dharmaśāstra, the Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdrakamalākara and Vivādatāṇḍava being most famous – he meant all the works on dharmaśāstra to be parts of a digest called Dharmatattva - contents of Pūrtakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Śūdrakamalākara and Nirṇayasindhu – the last, one of his earliest works composed in 1612 A. D. and so his literary activity lies between 1610-1650 A. D.

Sec. 107 *Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa* : ... pp.438-440

Grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa - personal history - his work Bhagavantabhāskara divided into twelve mayūkhas composed in honour of Bhagavantadeva, Bundella chieftain–also wrote Vyavahāratattva–estimate of his qualities as a writer - his Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority on Hindu Law in Gujerat, Bombay Island and North Konkan - his literary activity – flourished between 1610–1650 - divergence of views between the cousins Kamalākara and Nīlakaṇṭha..

Sec. 108 *The Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra* : ... pp. 440-446

Vīramitrodaya, a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra on all topics of dharmaśāstra - sections called prakāśas - contents of the printed prakāśas on Lakṣana, āhnika, vyavahāra, tīrtha, pūjā, saṁskāra, rājanīti – highly controversial work – generally follows Vijñāneśvara, but at times severely criticizes him – a work of high authority in Benares school of modern Hindu Law - Mitramiśra also wrote a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti – personal history - account

and pedigree of his patron Vīrasiṁha – meaning of title 'Vīramitrodaya' – his literary activity lay in the first half of the 17th century.

Sec. 109 *Anantadeva* : ... pp. 447-453

Composed a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha on saṁskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and saṁvatsara - Saṁskārakaustubha is most popular work - contents of Saṁskārakaustubha – portion of it on adoption called Dattakadīdhiti - summary of important views on adoption – contents of Abdadīdhiti and Rājadharmakaustubha - pedigree of his patron's family - Anantadeva wrote at command of Baz Bahadurcandra - Anantadeva was great-grand-son of Ekanātha, a great Marathi poet and saint – his younger brother Jīvadeva – literary activity between 1645–1695.

Sec. 110 *Nāgojibhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 453-456

His learning of an enclyclopaedic character – wrote standard works on grammar, dharmaśāstra, yoga, &c. – total number of works about 30 - wrote about ten works on dharmaśāstra - personal history – his patron Rāma of the Bisen family – pedigrees of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Nāgoji's connection with Bhaṭṭoji – literary activity between 1700-1750 A. D.

Sec. 111 *Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa* : ... pp. 456-462

Lakṣmīvyākhyāna or Bālambhaṭṭī is a com. on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara – Bālambhaṭṭī favours latitudinarian views about the rights of women – estimate of Bālambhaṭṭī according to judicial decisions - author of Bālambhaṭṭī somewhat of an enigma – introductory verses about the authoress Lakṣmīdevī – real author Bālakṛṣṇa, son of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, who was a pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa – Bālakṛṣṇa also wrote Upākṛtitattva, Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha - Vaidyanātha, the commentator of Alaṁkāra works, different from Vaidyanātha, Pāyaguṇḍa, the father of Bālambhaṭṭa – flourished between 1730–1820 A. D.

Sec. 110 *Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya* : ... pp. 463-465

Composed extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra – leading work in Deccan now on religious matters – subjects of the work –

personal history – his other works – Dharmasindhu composed in 1790-91 A. D.

Sec. 113 *Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana* : ... pp. 465-466

Among digests compiled under the British the Vivādabhaṅgārṇava of Jagnnātha is the most famous - Colebrooke translated it in 1796 - topics treated of in it - Jagannātha died in 1806.

Sec. 114 *Conclusion* : ... pp. 466-467

Motives actuating writers on dharmaśāstra - their contribution to culture - their defects - their admirable and useful work.

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA.

1. Meaning of Dharma.

Dharma is one of those Sanskrit words that defy all attempts at an exact rendering in English or any other tongue. That word has passed through several vicissitudes. In the hymns of the Ṛgveda the word appears to be used either as an adjective or a noun (in the form *dharman*, generally neuter) and occurs at least fifty-six times therein. It is very difficult to say what the exact meaning of the word *dharma* was in the most ancient period of the vedic language. The word is clearly derived from root *dhṛ* (to uphold, to support, to nourish). In a few passages, the word appears to be used in the sense of 'upholder or supporter or sustainer' as in Ṛg. I. 187.1[1] and X. 92.2[2]. In these two passages and in Ṛg. X. 21.3[3] the word *dharma* is clearly masculine. In all other cases, the word is either obviously in the neuter or presents a form which may be either masculine or neuter. In most cases the meaning of *dharman* is 'religious ordinances or rites' as in Ṛg. I. 22. 18, V. 26. 6, VIII. 43. 24, IX. 64. 1 &c. The refrain 'tāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan' occurs in Ṛg. I. 164, 43 and 50, X. 90. 16. Similarly we have the words 'prathamā dharmā' (the primeval or first ordinances) in Ṛg. III. 17. 1. and X. 56. 3 and the words 'sanatā dharmāṇi (ancient ordinances) occur in Ṛg. III. 3. 1. In some passages this sense of 'religious rites' would not suit the context, e. g. in IV. 53. 3[4], V. 63. 7[5], VI. 70. 1[6], VII. 89. 5[7]. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In the Vājasaneyasaṁhitā the above senses of the word *dharman* are found and in II. 3 and V. 27 we have the words 'dhruveṇa dharmaṇā'. In the same Saṁhitā

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1 पितुं नु स्तोषं महो धर्माणं तविषीम् । This occurs in शुक्लयजुर्वेद 34.7.

2 इममञ्जस्पामुभये अकृण्वत धर्माणमग्निं विदथस्य साधनम् ।

3 त्वे धर्माण आसते जुहूभिः सिञ्चतीरिव ।

4 आप्रा रजांसि दिव्यानि पार्थिवा श्लोकं देवः कृणुते स्वाय धर्मणे ।

5 धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षेथे असुरस्य मायया ।

6 द्यावापृथिवी वरुणस्य धर्मणा विष्कभिते अजरे भूरिरेतसा ।

7 अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ।

the form 'dharmaḥ' (from dharma) becomes frequent, e. g. X. 29, XX. 9. The Atharvaveda contains many of those verses of the Ṛgveda in which the word *dharman* occurs, e. g. VI. 51. 3 (acittyā chet tava dharmā yuyopima), VII, 5. 1 (Yajñena yajñamayajanta) VII, 27. 5 (triṇi padā vicakrame). In XI. 9. 17 the word 'dharmaḥ' seems to be used in the sense of 'merit acquired by the performance of religious rites[8].' In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, the word *dharma* seems to be used in an abstract sense[9], viz. 'the whole body of religious duties'. In the Chāndogya-upaniṣad[10] (2. 23) there is an important passage bearing on the meaning of the word *dharma* 'there are three branches of *dharma*, one is (constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i. e. the stage of house-holder); the second (is constituted by) austerities (i. e. the stage of being a hermit); the third is the *brahmacārin* dwelling in the house of his teacher and [illegible] himself stay with the family of his teacher till the last; all making [illegible] to the worlds of meritorious men; one who abides these attain[illegible] attains immortality.' It will be seen that in this passage the word '*dhar*[illegible]*ma*' stands for the peculiar duties of the *āśramas*. The foregoing brief discussion establishes how the word *dharma* passed through several transitions of meaning and how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life.' It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil contained in the Taittirīya-upaniṣad (I. 11) 'speak the truth, practise (your own) *dharma* &c.' It is in the same sense that the Bhagavadgītā uses the word *dharma* in the oft-quoted verse 'svadharme nidhanaṃ śreyaḥ.' The word is employed in this sense in the *dharmaśāstra* literature. The Manusmṛti (1. 2) tells us that the

8 ऋतं सत्यं तपो राष्ट्रं श्रमो धर्मश्च कर्म च । भूतं भविष्यदुच्छिष्टे वीर्यं लक्ष्मीर्बलं बले ॥

9 धर्मस्य गोप्ता जनीति तमभ्युत्कृष्टमेवंविदभिषेक्ष्यन्नेतयाचीभिमन्त्रयेत । ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 17; *vide* also a similar passage at A. Br. VIII. 13. The form *dharman* occurs in the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit in Bahuvrīhi compounds, e.g. अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् and the sūtra धर्मादनिच् केवलात् (पा. V. 4. 124).

10 त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एवेति द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोमृतत्वमेति । Vide वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 18-20 for a discussion of this passage.

sages requested Manu to impart instruction in the *dharmas* of all the *varṇas*. The Yājñyavalkya-smṛiti (I. 1) employs it in the same sense. In the Tantra-Vārtika[11] also we are told that all the dharma-sūtras are concerned with imparting instruction in the *dharmas* of *varṇas* and *āśramas*. Medhātithi commenting on Manu says that the expounders of *smṛtis* dilate upon *dharma* as five-fold, e. g. *varṇadharma, āśrama-dharma, varṇāśrama-dharma, naimittikadharma* (such as prāyaścitta) and *guṇadharma* (the duty of a crowned king, whether Kṣatriya or not, to protect)[12]. It is in this sense that the word *dharma* will be taken in this work. Numerous topics are comprehended under the title dharmaśāstra, but in this work prominence will be given to works on *ācārā* and *vyavahāra* (law and administration of justice).

It would be interesting to recall a few other definitions of *dharma*. Jaimini[13] defines dharma as 'a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (Vedic) passages.' The word *dharma* would mean such rites as are conducive to happiness and are enjoined by Vedic passages. The Vaiśeṣikasūtra[14] defines *dharma* as 'that from which results happiness and final beatitude.' There are several other more or less one-sided definitions of *dharma* such as 'ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ' (Anuśāsanaparva 115. 1.), 'ānṛśaṁsyam paro dharmaḥ' (Vanaparva 373. 76), 'ācāraḥ paramo dharmaḥ' (Manu I. 108). Hārīta defined dharma as 'śrutipramāṇaka[15]' (based on revelation). In the Buddhist sacred books the word *dharma* has several senses. It often means the whole teaching of Buddha (S. B. E. Vol. X. p. XXXIII). Another meaning of *dharma* peculiar to the Buddhist system is 'an element of existence, i. e. of matter, mind and forces[16].'

The present work will deal with the sources of *dharma*, their contents, their chronology and other kindred matters. As the

11 'सर्वधर्मसूत्राणां वर्णाश्रमधर्मोपदेशित्वात्' p. 237.

12 हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 19. 1 and गोविन्दराज on मनु 2.25 give the same fivefold classification.

13 चोदनालक्षणोर्थो धर्मः। पू. मी. सू. I. 1. 2.

14 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। यतोभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः। वैशेषिकसूत्र.

15 अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः। श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च। quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु. 2. 1.

16 *Vide* Dr. Stcherbatsky's monograph on 'the central conception of Buddhism' (1923) p. 73.

material is vast and the number of works is extremely large, only a few selected works and some important authors will be taken up for detailed treatment. More space will be devoted to comparatively early works.

2. Sources of Dharma.

The Gautamadharmasūtra[17] says 'the Veda is the source of *dharma* and the tradition and practice of those that know it (the Veda).' So Āpastamba[18] says 'the authority (for the *dharmas*) is the consensus of those that know *dharma* and the Vedas.' Vide also the Vasiṣṭhadharma-sūtra[19] (I. 4-6). The Manusmṛti[20] lays down five different sources of *dharma* 'the whole Veda is (the foremost) source of dharma and (next) the tradition and the practice of those that know it (the Veda); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction.' Yājñavalkya[21] declares the sources in a similar strain 'the Veda, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation—this is traditionally recognised as the source of dharma.' These passages make it clear that the principal sources of *dharma* were conceived to be the Vedas, the Smṛtis, and customs. The Vedas do not contain positive precepts (*vidhis*) on matters of *dharma* in a connected form; but they contain incidental references to various topics that fall under the domain of dharmaśāstra as conceived in later times. Such information to be gathered from the Vedic Literature is not quite as meagre as is commonly supposed. In another place[22] I have brought together about fifty Vedic passages that shed a flood of light on marriage, the forms of marriage, the different kinds of sons, adoption of a son, partition, inheritance, *śrāddha*, *strīdhana*. To take only a few examples. That brotherless maidens found it difficult to secure husbands is made clear by several Vedic passages.

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17 वेदो धर्ममूलम्। तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले। गौ. ध. सू. I. 1-2.

18 धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 2.

19 श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः। तदलाभे शिष्टाचारः प्रमाणम्। शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा।

20 वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम्। आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च॥ मनुस्मृति II. 6.

21 श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः। सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम्॥ याज्ञ. I. 7.

22 *Vide* JBBRAS. vol. XXVI (1922), pp. 57-82.

'Like (a woman) growing old in her parents' house, I pray to thee as Bhaga from the seat common to all[23]'. Vide also Ṛgveda I 124. 7; IV. 5. 5 and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 and Nirukta III. 4-5. These passages constitute the basis of the rules of the dharmasūtras and the Yājñavalkya-smṛti against marrying a brotherless maiden[24]. This bar against marrying a brotherless maiden seems to have been due to the fear that such a girl might be an appointed daughter (*putrikā*) and that a son born of such a girl would be affiliated to his mother's father. This custom of *putrikā* is an ancient one and is alluded to in the Ṛgveda, according to Yāska[25]. Ṛgveda X. 85 is a very interesting hymn as regards marriage; verses from it are used even to this day in the marriage ritual.[26] It shows that in the remote Vedic age the marriage rite resembled in essence the Brāhma form as described in the Dharmasūtras and Manu.[27] But the purchase of a bride (i. e. what is called Āsura marriage in later literature) was not unknown in the Vedic age. A passage of the Maitrāyaṇīyasaṁhitā (I. 10. 11) is referred to in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra[28] in this connection, viz. 'she who being purchased by the husband'. The Gāndharva form is hinted at in the words[29] 'when a bride is fine-looking and well adorned, she seeks by herself her friend among men'. The importance of the *aurasa* son was felt even in the remote Vedic ages. 'Another (person) born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of (as to be taken in adoption[30])'. The Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VI. 3. 10. 5) propounds the well-known theory of the three debts[31]. The story

23 अमाजूरिव पित्रोः सचा सती समानादा सदसस्त्वामिये भगम् । ऋग्वेद II. 17. 7.

24 अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् । याज्ञ. I. 53; *vide* also मनु III. 11.

25 Vide Ṛgveda III. 31. 1. and Nirukta III. 4.

26 e. g. the verse गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय (ऋग्वेद X. 85. 36). Vide आप. गृ. सू. II. 4. 14.

27 गौ. ध. सू. IV. 4; बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 2; आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 17; मनु III. 27.

28 वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 36-37; note आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11 where the word 'purchase' is tried to be explained away and also पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15. 'क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्'

29 भद्रा वधूर्भवति यत्सुपेशाः स्वयं सा मित्रं वनुते जने चित् । ऋग्वेद X. 27. 12.

30 न हि प्रभायारणः सुशेवो अन्योदर्यो मनसा मन्तवा उ । ऋग्वेद VII. 5. 8.

31 जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्यः ।

of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 3) suggests that a son could be adopted even when there was an *aurasa* son. The Taittirīya-saṃhitā (VII. 1. 8. 1) tells the story of Atri who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva. The Kṣetraja son of the Dharmasūtras is often referred to in the earliest Vedic literature. 'What (sacrificer) invites you (Aśvins) in his house to a bed as a widow does a brother-in-law or a young damsel her lover'[32]. The Taittirīyasaṃhita makes it clear that a father could distribute his wealth among his sons during his own life time 'Manu divided his property among his sons' &c.[33] Another passage of the same *Saṃhita* seems to suggest that the eldest son took the whole of the father's wealth 'therefore people establish their eldest son with wealth '[34]. Even in the Vedic ages the son excluded the daughter from inheritance 'a son born of the body does not give the paternal wealth to (his) sister'[35]. A passage of the Taittirīya-saṃhitā is relied upon by ancient and modern writers on *dharmaśāstra* for the exclusion of women in general from inheritance 'therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion and speak more weakly than even a low person'[36]. The Ṛgveda eulogises the stage of studenthood and the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the duties of the Brahmacārin such as not partaking of wine and offering every evening a *samidh* to fire[37]. The

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32 को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ । ऋग्वेद X. 40. 2.

33 मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् । तै. सं. III. 1 9 4. This passage is relied upon by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 11 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 2.

34 तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै. सं. II. 5. 2. 7. This passage is referred to by आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 12 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 5.

35 'न जामये तान्वो रिक्थमारैक्' ऋग्वेद III. 31. 2. Vide निरुक्त III. 5 for explanations of this verse.

36 तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरिव पापात्पुंस उपास्ततरं वदन्ति । तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2. Here the portion spoken of is really that of the *soma* beverage. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 47 for reliance on this passage and also हरदत्त (on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1) and सरस्वतीविलास (para. 21 and 336). Vide also शतपथब्रा. IV. 4. 2. 13 for a similar passage.

37 ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद्विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम् । ऋग्वेद X. 109. 5. The शतपथब्रा. (XI. 5. 4. 18) reads 'तदाहुः । न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वश्नीयात्'. Compare मनु II. 177. Vide शतपथब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 1 for *samidh*.

Taittirīya-saṁhitā (VI.2. 8. 5) relates[38] how Indra consigned *Yatis* to wolves (or dogs) and how Prajāpati prescribed a Prāyaścitta for him. The Śatapathabrāhmaṇa speaks of the king and the learned Brāhmaṇa as the upholder of the sacred ordinances.[39] The Taittirīya-saṁhitā says 'therefore the Śūdra is not fit for sacrifice[40].' The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tells us that when a king or other worthy guest comes, people offer a bull or a cow[41]. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa speaks of Vedic study as *yajña* and the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka[42] enumerates the five *yajñas*, which are a prominent feature of the Manusmṛti. The Ṛgveda eulogises the gifts of a cow, horses, gold and clothes[43]. Another passage of the Ṛgveda[44] (thou art like a *prapā* in a desert) is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini (I. 3. 2) and by Viśvarūpa on Yājñavalkya as ordaining the maintenance of *prapās* (places where water is distributed to travellers). The Ṛgveda condemns the selfish man who only caters for himself[45].

The foregoing brief discussion will make it clear that the later rules contained in the *dharmasutras* and other works on *dharmaśastra* had their roots deep down in the most ancient Vedic tradition and that the authors of the *dharmasutras* were quite justified in looking up to the Vedas as a source of *dharma*. But, as said above, the Vedas do not profess to be formal treatises on *dharma*; they contain only disconnected statements on the various aspects of *dharma*; we have to turn to the smṛtis for a formal and connected treatment of the topics of the *dharmaśastra*.

38 इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् । मेधातिथि (on मनु XI. 45) quotes this. Vide ऐ. ब्रा. 7. 28 and ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. 8. 1. 4, 13. 4. 17 and अथर्ववेद II. 5. 3.

39 एष च श्रोत्रियश्चेतो ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु भूतवतो । शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5.

40 तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः । तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6.

41 तद्यथैवादो मनुष्यराजे आगतेन्वाहार्हत्युक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त एवमस्मा एतत्क्षदन्ते यदग्निं मथ्नन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 1.15. Compare वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 4. 8.

42 पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति सन्तिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञः । तै. आ. 2. 10. 7.

43 उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण । हिरण्यदा अमृतत्वं भजन्ते वासोदाः सोम प्र तिरन्त आयुः ॥ ऋग्वेद X. 107. 2.

44 धन्वन्निव प्रपा असि त्वमग्न इयक्षवे पूरवे प्रत्न राजन् । ऋग्वेद X. 4. 1.

45 केवलाघो भवति केवलादी । ऋग्वेद X.117. 6.

When Dharmaśāstra works were first composed

of Śunaḥśepa son could ' important question is to find out when formal treatises Taittirīya *rma* began to be composed. It is not possible to give a definite only sor er to this question. The Nirukta (III. 4-5) shows that long sūtras ore Yāska heated controversies had raged on various questions of (sac heritance, such as the exclusion of daughters by sons and the rights doe f the appointed daughter (putrikā). It is very likely that these dis- yas cussions had found their way in formal works and were not merely a confined to the meetings of the learned. The manner in which Yāska writes suggests that he is referring to works in which certain Vedic verses had been cited in support of particular doctrines about inheritance[46]. It is further a remarkable thing that in connection with the topic of inheritance Yāska quotes a verse, calls it a śloka and distinguishes it from a ṛk.[47] This makes it probable that works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed either composed in the śloka metre or containing ślokas. Scholars like Bühler would say that the verses were part of the floating mass of mnemonic verses, the existence of which he postulates without very convincing or cogent arguments in his Introduction to the Manusmṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25 Intro.xc). If works dealing with topics of *dharma* existed before Yāska, a high antiquity will have to be predicated for them. The high antiquity of works on *dharmaśastra* follows from other weighty considerations. It will be seen later on that the extant *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba certainly belong to the period between 600 to 300 B. C. Gautama[48] speaks of *dharmaśastras* and the word *dharmaśāstra* occurs in Baudhāyana also (IV. 5.9). Baudhāyana speaks of a *dharmapāṭhaka* (I. 1. 9.). Besides Gautama quotes in numerous places the views of others in the words ' ityeke ' (e. g. II. 15, II. 58, III. 1, IV. 21, VII. 23). He refers to Manu[49] in one place and to ' Ācāryas ' in several places (III. 36, IV. 18 and 23).

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46 अथैतां जाम्या रिक्थप्रतिषेध उदाहरन्ति ज्येष्ठं पुत्रिकाया इत्येके । Vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, LXI (footnote) for Bühler's view refuting Roth's opinion that the whole discussion in the Nirukta is an interpolation.

47 तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि...स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायो भवति धर्मतः । मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायम्भुवोब्रवीत् ॥

48 गौ. ध. सू. 9.21 ' तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गानि उपवेदाः पुराणम् '. The words पृथग्धर्मविदस्त्रयः in गौ. ध. सू. 28.47 appear to refer to students of धर्मशास्त्र.

49 त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्देश्यानि मनुः । गौ. ध. सू. 21.7.

3. When Dharmaśāstra works were first composed

Baudhāyana mentions by name several writers on dharma, v[illegible] for him. jaṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Maudgalya and Hārita. [illegible]āhmaṇa tamba also cites the views of numerous sages such as those of [illegible]aṁhita Kaṇva, Kautsa, Harīta and others. There is a Vārtika which sp[illegible]areya of Dharmaśātra[50]. Jaimini speaks of the duties of a Śūdra as l[illegible]es, down in the dharmaśāstra[51]. Patañjali shows that in his days *dharma* [illegible]of *sūtras* existed and that their authority was very high, being next to [illegible]e the commandments of God[52]. He quotes verses and dogmas that [illegible] have their counterparts in the dharmasūtras. The foregoing dis cussion establishes that works on the *dharmaśāstra* existed prior to Yāska or at least prior to the period 600–300 B. C. and in the 2nd century B. C. they had attained a position of supreme authority in regulating the conduct of men.

In this book the whole of the extant literature on *dharma* will be dealt with as follows :- First come the dharmasutras, some of which like those of Apastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana form part of a larger Sūtra collection, while there are others like those of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha which do not form part of a larger collection ; some *dharmasūtras* like that of Viṣṇu are, in their extant form, comparatively later in date than other *sutra* works ; some *sutra* works like those of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnasi are known only from quotations. Then early metrical smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya will be taken up for discussion ; then later versified smṛtis like that of Narada ; there are many smṛti works like those of Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana that are known only from quotations. The two epics, the Mahabhārata and the Ramāyaṇa, and the Purāṇas also have played a great part in the development of the Dharmaśāstra. The commentaries on the smṛtis, such as those of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, Haradatta will be next passed

50 धर्मशास्त्रं च तथा । Vide महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 242.

51 शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । पू. मी. सू. VI.7. 6.

52 नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्तामिति । महाभाष्य vol. I, p. 115 and vol. II, p. 365. पतञ्जलि quotes आस्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः (vol. I. p. 14) for which vide आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 तद्यथाम्रे फलार्थे निर्मिते छाया.गन्ध इत्युत्पद्येते. पतञ्जलि says 'तैलं न विक्रेतव्यं मांस न विक्रेतव्यम्' and लोमनखं स्पृष्ट्वा शौचं कर्तव्यम् (vol. I p. 25).

in review and then the digests on *dharma* such as the works of Hemādri, Toḍaramalla, Nīlakaṇṭha and others.

It is very difficult to settle the chronology of the works on dharmaśāstra, particularly of the earlier ones. The present writer does not subscribe to the view of Max Müller (H. A. S. L. p. 68) and others that works in continuous Anuṣṭubh metre followed sūtra works[53]. Our knowledge of the works of that period is so meagre that such a generalisation is most unjustifiable. Some works in the continuous śloka metre like the Manusmṛti are certainly older than the Viṣṇudharmasūtra and probably as old as, if not older than, the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra. One of the earliest extant dharmasūtras, that of Baudhāyana, contains long passages in the śloka metre, many of which are quotations and even Āpastamba has a considerable number of verses in the śloka metre. This renders it highly probable that works in the śloka metre existed before them. Besides a large literature on *dharma* existed in the days of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana which has not come down to us. In the absence of that literature it is futile to dogmatise on such a point.

4. The Dharmasūtras.

It seems that originally many, though not all, of the *dharmasūtras* formed part of the Kalpasutras and were studied in distinct *sutracaraṇas*. Some of the extant dharmasutras here and there show in unmistakable terms that they presuppose the Gṛhyasutra of the *caraṇa* to which they belong. Compare Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 16 with Ap. Gṛ. S. I. 12 and II. 5; and Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 20 with Baud. Gṛ. S. II. 11. 42 (and other sūtras)[54]. The Dharmasūtras belonging to all sūtracaraṇas have not come down to us. There is no dharmasūtra completing the Aśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras; no Mānavadharmasūtra has yet come to light, though the

53 Vide S. B. E vol. II, p. IX, but see Goldstücker's Pāṇini (pp. 59, 60, 78) against Max Müller and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael lectures for 1918, pp. 105-107.

54 अग्निमिद्ध्वा परिसमूह्य समिध आदध्यात् सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 16; अग्निमिद्ध्वा प्रागग्रैर्दर्भैरग्निं परिस्तृणाति । आप. गृ. I. 12 and इध्ममादाया-...यति दर्शपूर्णमासवत्तूष्णीम् । आप. गृ. II. 5; शेषमुक्तमष्टकाहोमे (बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 20) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 11. 42; मूर्धललाटनासाग्रमाणा याज्ञिकस्य वृक्षस्य दण्डाः (बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 16) refers to बौ. गृ. II. 5. 66 and other places where पलाश is one of the याज्ञिक trees.

Mānava Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras are extant; in the same w
the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras, but no Śāṅkhāyan
sūtra. It is only in the case of the Āpastamba, Hiraṇyak
Baudhāyana Sūtracaraṇas that we have a complete *kalpa* tra
with its three components of Śrauta, Gṛihya and Dharma sūtras
Tantravārtika of Kumārila contains very interesting observations
this point. It tells us that Gautama (dharmasūtra) and Gobhil
(gṛhyasūtra) were studied by the *Chandogas* (Sāmavedins)
Vasiṣṭha (dharmasūtra) by the Ṛgvedins, the dharmasūtra of
Śaṅkha-Likhita by the followers of Vājasaneya-saṁhitā and the
sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Tait-
tirīya Śākhā[55]. The Tantravārtika (p. 179) establishes it as a *sid-
dhānta* (on Jaimini I. 3. 11) that all the *dharma* and *gṛhya* sūtras
are authoritative for all Aryan people. From this it appears that
although originally all sūtracaraṇas might not have possessed
dharmasūtras composed by the founder of the *caraṇa* or ascribed
to him, yet gradually certain dharmasūtras were specially taken over
or appropriated by certain *caraṇas*. As the *dharmasūtras* were
mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members
of the Āryan community and did not deal with ritual of any kind,
all *dharmasūtras* gradually became authoritative in all schools.

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The *dharmasūtras* were closely connected with the *gṛhyasūtras*
in subjects and topics. Most of the Gṛhyasūtras treat of the sacred
domestic fire, the divisions of Gṛhya sacrifices, the regular morning
and evening oblations, sacrifices on new and full moon, sacrifices
of cooked food, annual sacrifices, marriage, *puṁsavana*, jātakarma,
upanayana and other *saṁskāras*, rules for students and *snātakas* and
holidays, śrāddha offerings, madhuparka. In most cases the Gṛihya-
sūtras confine themselves principally to the various events of
domestic life; they rarely give rules about the conduct of men, their
rights, duties and responsibilities. The dharmasūtras also contain
rules on some of the above topics such as marriage and the saṃskāras,

55 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 179 'पुराणमानवौतिहासव्यतिरिक्तगौतमवासिष्ठशङ्खलिखितहारीतापस्तम्ब-बौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत्प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यव-स्थोपलभ्यते। तद्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये छन्दोगैरेव परिगृह्येते। वासिष्ठं बह्वृचैरेव शङ्ख-लिखितोक्तं च वाजसनेयिभिः। आपस्तम्बबौधायनीये तैत्तिरीयैरेव प्रतिपन्ने। एवं तत्र तत्र गृह्यव्यवस्थाभ्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम्। किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणान्युत सर्वेषाम्। (on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 11).

brahmacarya and snātakas and holidays, on śrāddha and in review ka. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in the Hemādri pa-grhyasūtra the topics of the duties of the Brahmacārin the house-holder, of *atithis* and of *śrāddha* are meagrely Iy a as compared with the Āpastamba-dharmasutra. The dharma-dhar as very rarely describe the ritual of domestic life; they merely d uch upon it; their scope is wider and more ambitious; their a rincipal purpose is to dilate upon the rules of conduct, law and custom. Some sūtras are common to both the Āpastamba-grhya and the dharma sūtra[56]. Sometimes the grhyasūtra appears to refer to the dharmasūtra[57]. There are certain points which distinguish the dharmasūtras (the more ancient of them at least) from smṛtis. (a) Many dharmasūtras are either parts of the Kalpa belonging to each sutracaraṇa or are intimately connected with the grhyasūtras. (b) The dharmasūtras sometimes betray some partiality in their Vedic quotations for the texts of that Veda to which they belong or in the caraṇas of which they are studied. (c) The authors of the (older) dharmasūtras do not claim to be inspired seers or superhuman beings[58], while the other smṛtis such as those of Manu and Yājñavalkya are ascribed to Gods like Brahmā. (d) The *dharmasutras* are in prose or in mixed prose and verse; the other smṛtis are in verse. (e) The language of the *dharmasutras* is generally more archaic than that of the other smṛtis. (f) The *dharmasūtras* do not proceed upon any orderly arrangement of topics, while the other smṛtis (even the oldest of them, viz. Manusmṛti) arrange their contents and treat of the subjects under three principal heads viz. *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prayaścitta*. (g) Most of the *dharmasūtras* are older than most of the other smṛtis.

5. The Dharmasūtra of Gautama.

This has been printed several times (there is Dr. Stenzler's edition of 1876, the Calcutta edition of 1876, the Ānandāśrama

56 e. g. पालाशो दण्डो ब्राह्मणस्य...इत्यवर्णसंयोगेनैक उपदिश्यन्ति। आप.गृ. IV. 17. 15. 16 and आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 38.

57 e. g. the आप. गृ. says 'मासि श्राद्धस्यापरपक्षे यथोपदेशं कालाः' (VIII. 21. 1.). This has in view आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 4–22.

58 Compare गौ. ध. I. 3-4 and आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 4. 'तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात्' and आप. ध. सू. II 6. 13. 9 तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः.

edition with the commentary of Haradatta, and the Mysore Government edition with the bhāṣya of Maskari; it was translated by Bühler in S. B. E., Vol. II. with an introduction). The Ānandāśrama edition of 1910 which is incorrect in a few places (e. g. 21. 7) has been used in this work. This dharmasūtra is, as we shall see, the oldest of those we have. The Gautama-dharmasūtra was specially studied by followers of the Sāmaveda (see note 55 above). The commentary on the Caraṇavyūha tells us that Gautama was one of the nine subdivisions of the Rāṇāyanīya school of the Sāmaveda. A teacher Gautama is mentioned frequently in the Lāṭyāyanaśrautasūtra (e. g. I. 3. 3 and I. 4. 17) and in the Drāhyāyaṇaśrauta (e. g. I. 4. 17, IX. 3. 15) of the Sāmaveda. The Gobhilagṛhya (III. 10. 6) which belongs to the Sāmaveda cites Gautama as an authority. Therefore it is not improbable that a complete Gautamasūtra embodying Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma doctrines once existed. There are other indications pointing to the close connection of the Gautama-dharmasūtra with the Sāmaveda. Chapter 26 of the dharmasūtra about *Kṛicchra* penance is the same, almost word for word, as the Samavidhāna[59] Brāhmaṇa (I. 2, Burnell's ed.). Among the purificatory texts (21 in number) mentioned in Gau. Dh. S. (19. 12) there are nine that are Sāmans. The mention of the five utterances ('Vyāhṛtis') resembles the number in the Vyāhṛtisāma[60] though the order is different. It is however to be noted that Gautama is a generic name. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad, both Naciketas (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6) and his father (I. 1. 10) are styled Gautama. In the Chāndogyopaniṣad there is a teacher Hāridrumata Gautama (IV. 4. 3).

59 There are however considerable divergences; e. g. गौ. ध. सू. 26. 10–12 are 'आपो हि ष्ठेति तिसृभिः पवित्रवतीभिर्मार्जयीत हिरण्यवर्णाः शुचयः पावका इत्यष्टाभिः। अथोदकतर्पणम्। नमोहमाय &c. while the सामविधान is 'आपोहिष्ठीयाभिरथोदकतर्पणं नमोहमाय'. गौ. ध. सू. 26.12 contains many additions. Wherever there is divergence, it is generally Gautama that amplifies the passages found in the सामविधान.

60 गौ. ध. सू. I. 52 ओंपूर्वा व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः. Again in गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 we have प्रतिषिद्धवाङ्मनसापचारे व्याहृतयः पञ्च सत्यान्ताः; while in गौ. 28. 8. the five व्याहृतिs seem to be भूः, भुवः, स्वः, तपः, सत्यं. As हरदत्त remarks the five व्याहृतिs in व्याहृतिसाम are भूः, भुवः, स्वः, सत्यं, पुरुषः. The व्याहृतिs are generally declared to be seven (तै. आ. 10. 28.1), the first three being styled महाव्याहृतिs (vide मनु II. 81.)

According to Haradatta the dharmasūtra has 28 chapters. The Calcutta edition adds one chapter on *Karmavipāka* after chapter 19. In many places Gautama unmistakably refers to his own previous *dicta*; e. g. Yathoktam vā (23. 16) refers to 23. 10; 23. 26 refers to 17. 8-26; 17. 18 refers to 15. 18. The following are briefly the contents of the Gautamadharmasūtra :—1. Sources of dharma, rules about interpretation of texts, time of *Upanayana* for the four *varṇas*, the appropriate girdle, deer skin, cloth and staff for each Varṇa, rules about *śauca* and ācamana, method of approaching the teacher; 2 rules about those not invested with sacred thread, rules for the *brahmacārin*, control of pupils, period of study; 3 The four āśramas, the duties of *brahmacārin*, *bhikṣu*, and *vaikhānasa*; 4 rules about the house-holder, marriage, age at time of marriage, eight forms of marriage, sub-castes; 5 rules about sexual intercourse on marriage, the five great daily sacrifices, the rewards of gifts, *madhuparka*, method of honouring guests of the several castes; 6 rules about showing respect to parents, relatives (male and female) and teachers, rules of the road; 7 rules about the avocations of a brāhmaṇa, avocations for him in distress, what articles a brāhmaṇa could not sell or deal in; 8 the forty saṁskāras and the eight spiritual qualities (such as *dayā*, forbearance &c.); 9 the observances for a *snātaka* and householder; 10 the peculiar duties of the four castes, the responsibilities of the king, taxation, sources of ownership, treasure-trove, guardianship of minor's wealth; 11 Rājadharma, the qualities of the king's *purohita*; 12 punishments for libel, abuse, assault, hurt, adultery and rape, theft in the case of the several varṇas and rules about money-lending and usury and adverse possession, special privileges of brāhmaṇas as to punishments; payment of debts, deposits; 13 rules about witnesses, falsehoods when excusable; 14 rules of impurity on birth and death; 15 Śrāddha of five kinds, persons not fit to be invited at Śrāddha; 16 Upākarma, period of Vedic study in the year, holidays and occasions for them; 17 rules about food allowed and forbidden to Brāhmaṇas and other castes; 18 the duties of women, *niyoga* and its conditions, discussion about the son born of *niyoga*; 19 the causes and occasions of prāyaścitta, five things that remove sin (*japa*, *tapas*, *homa*, fasting, gifts), purificatory Vedic prayers, holy food for one who practises *japa*, various kinds of *tapas* and gifts, appropriate times and places for *japa* &c; 20 abandoning a sinner who does not undergo prāyaścitta and the way of doing it; 21 sinners of various grades, mahāpātakas, upapātakas

&c.; 22 prāyaścittas for various sins such as *brahmahatyā*, adultery, killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, cow and other animals &c.; 23 prāyaścitta for drinking wine, and nasty things, for incest and unnatural offences, and for several transgressions by brahmacārin; 24 secret *prāyaścittas* for *mahāpātakas* and *upapātakas*; 26 the penances called Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; 27 the penance called Cāndrāyaṇa; 28 partition, strīdhana, reunion, twelve kinds of sons, inheritance.

The Gautama-dharmasūtra is written entirely in prose and it contains no verses either quoted or composed by the author himself, as is the case with the other *dharmasutras*. Here and there occur sūtras that look like portions of Anuṣṭubh verses e.g. 23. 27[61]. The language of Gautama agrees far more closely with the standard set up by Pāṇini than the *dharmasūtras* of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. It is not very easy to account for this difference. It is obvious that commentators and generations of students that were brought up in the tradition of the Pāṇinean grammar tampered with the text and improved it in accordance with their notions of correct Sanskrit. But why this process should not have been carried out to the same extent in the case of Apastamba it is difficult to say. A conjecture may be hazarded that the Āp. Dh. S. being a well-knit component of the Āp. *Kalpa* and being studied as such was less liable to being tampered with than the Gautama Dh. S., which probably did not in its origin belong to any particular *kalpa*. The same commentator, Haradatta, explained both Gautama and Apastamba. Haradatta, who as will be seen later on, was a great grammarian, shows in several places that the current reading was ungrammatical from the Pāṇinean stand-point and that he preferred readings that were in consonance with Pāṇini's rules[62]. There are still a few un-Pāṇinean words, e.g. in 1. 14 ('dvāviṁśateḥ' for dvāviṁśāt') and 9. 52 (kulaṁkula). The Tantravartika (p. 99) appears

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[61] आक्रोशानृतहिंसासु त्रिरात्रं परमं तपः ।

[62] e.g. on गौ. ध. सू. 16. 21 (ऋग्यजुषं च सामशब्दो यावत्) he says 'ऋक्च यजुश्च ऋग्यजुषम् । अचतुरेत्यादिना निपातः । षष्ठ्यन्तपाठस्तु (i.e. ऋग्यजुषां) नास्मभ्यं रोचते ;' on गौ. ध. सू. 25. 8 (प्रतिषिद्धवाङ्मनसापचारे) he says वाङ्मनसोरिति पाठोस्मभ्यं न रोचते । अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गात् । '

to discuss the various readings in Gautama (I. 45[63]). A few sūtras quoted from Gautama in the Mitākṣarā (e. g. the sūtra 'utpatyaiva arthsvāmitvam labhante), the Śmṛticandrikā ('dvyaṁśam vā pūrvajaḥ syāt) and other works are not found in the extant text. This fact along with the fact of an interpolation of one chapter makes it clear that the present text of Gautama is of somewhat doubtful authority.

The literature known to the Gautama-dharmasūtra was extensive. Besides the Vedic saṁhitās and Brahmaṇas it mentions the following works; Upaniṣads (19. 13), the Vedāṅgas (8. 5 and 11. 19), Itihāsa (8. 6), Purāṇa (8. 6 and 11. 19), Upaveda (11. 19), dharmśāstra (11. 19). That he borrows a chapter from the Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa has been mentioned above. He borrows the first six sūtras of the 25th chapter from the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (11.18). The śramaṇaka (in Gautama III. 26) is, according to Haradatta, the Vaikhānasa-śāstra (either composed by Vikhanas or treating of the duties of hermits). Gautama refers to Ānvikṣiki (XI. 3). The only teacher of *dharma* he quotes by name in Manu (in 21. 7) who is cited for the proposition that there is no expiation for the three sins of *brahmahatyā*, drinking wine and violation of the bed of the *guru*. Haradatta says that in the extant Manusmṛti the same propositions are laid down about *brahmahatyā* and *surāpāna* (in Manu 11. 89 and 146 respectively), but that as to violation of *guru-talpa* a passage from the Manusmṛiti has to be searched out (i. e. such a passage is not found there). From this Bühler drew the conclusion that Gautama refers to the dharmasūtra attributed to Manu (and not to any versified Manu-smṛti). But Bühler is not right in drawing this inference. In the first place in spite of what Haradatta says there *are* verses in the extant Manusmṛiti (XI.104-105) which say that death is the expiation for violation of the *guru's* bed. In the second place there is nothing to show, even if Haradatta were correct, that Gautama refers only to a *dharmasutra* of Manu and not to a versified work. Besides Manu, Gautama frequently quotes certain views ascribed to the 'Acāryas' (e. g. III. 35, IV. 18). What teachers are meant by the word 'Ācāryāḥ' (which occurs in the Nirukta, in Kauṭilya and various other works), it is difficult to say.

63 It follows from the discussion in the तन्त्रवार्तिक that the ancient *pāṭha* in its day was 'लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचममेध्यलिप्तस्य' while the present text has 'ºशौचममेध्यस्य'. *Vide* वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र III. 48 which reads 'ºकर्षणे शौचममेध्यलिप्तस्य' etc.

Probably the word means 'the general traditional view of most writers in that particular śāstra on a particular point.' In numerous places Gautama refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (2. 15, 40 and 56, 3. 1, 4. 17, 7. 23 &c.) and 'ekeṣām' (28. 17 and 38). This proves that Gautama was preceded by great literary activity in the sphere of dharmaśāstra. Gautama 11. 28 seems to be a reminiscence of the Nirukta (II. 3)[64].

The earliest reference to Gautama as an author on dharma occurs in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra. Baudhāyana discusses the authoritativeness of usages peculiar to the north or the south and quotes Gautama as saying that it is wrong to hold that certain customs must be held authoritative in certain countries (even though opposed to Vedic tradition and smṛti). This refers to G. Dh. S. 11. 20. In another place Baudhāyana gives it as his view that a Brāhmaṇa, if he cannot make a living by teaching, officiating as a priest or by gifts, should earn his livelihood as a Kṣatriya and quotes the views of Gautama as opposed to this[65]. The extant Gautama on the other hand teaches the same view as that of Baudhāyana[66]. Buhler made the plausible suggestion that the sūtra in the extant Gautama is an interpolation. Govindasvāmī, the commentator of Baudhāyana, suggests that another Gautama is referred to by Baudhāyana. It is possible to suggest that in the Ms. of Gautama used by Baudhāyana the sūtra about living as a *Kṣatriya* did not occur and the next sūtra about living as a Vaiśya alone occurred. Chapter 19 of the Gautamadharmasūtra which forms an introduction to *prāyaścittas* in Gautama seems to have been borrowed wholesale by Baudhāyana (III. 10) with slight changes. That Baudhāyana borrows follows from the fact that the chapter in Baudhāyana occurs in the middle of the discussion about prāyaścittas and not as an introduction, which is the case in Gautama. Baudhāyana treats of penances in several places (II. 1, III. 5. 10 and IV. 1. 4). There are besides many sūtras in both Gautama and Baudhāyana that exhibit a close correspondence, e. g.

64 'दण्डो दमनादित्याहुस्तेनादान्तान्दमयेत्.' The निरुक्त has दण्डो ददते...दमनादित्यौपमन्यवः'.

65 अध्यापनयाजनप्रतिग्रहैरशक्तः क्षत्रधर्मेण जीवेत्प्रत्यनन्तरत्वात्। नेति गौतमोत्युग्रो हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य। बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 69-70.

66 याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहाः सर्वेषाम्। पूर्वः पूर्वो गुरुः। तदलाभे क्षत्रवृत्तिः। तदलाभे वैश्यवृत्तिः। गौ. ध. सू. 7. 4-7.

Gautama III. 25-34 and Baudhāyana II. 6. 17 about Vaikhānasa, Gaut. 3. 3 and 35 and Baud. II. 6. 29, Gaut. 15. 29 and Baud. II. 8. 2, Gaut. 23. 8-10 and Baud. II. 1. 12-14, Gaut. 24. 2 and Baud. II. 3. 8. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 25 speaks of Smṛti as laying down that up to *upanayana* there is no *adhikāra* for *homa*. This probably refers to Gautama II. 1-3. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra also quotes the views of Gautama in two places (4. 34 and 36, impurity on death). The first refers to Gautama 4. 41 but the second cannot be traced in the extant Gautama. Chapter 22 of Vasiṣṭha is borrowed from the Gautamadharmasutra, chapter 19. There are besides many sutras that are the same or almost the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha, e. g. Gautama 3. 31-33 and Vas. 9. 1-3, Gaut. 3. 26 and Vas. 9. 10, Gaut. I. 44 and Vas. 3. 37, Gaut. 1. 40 and Vas. 3. 38, Gaut. 1. 45-46 and Vas. 3. 48, Gaut. 1. 28 and Vas. 3. 49, Gaut. 14. 5-7 and Vas. 4. 24-26. Gautama is referred to in the Manusmṛti (III. 16) as the son of Utathya. Gautama is one of the authors of *dharmaśastras* enumerated in Yājñavalkya (I. 5). Aparārka quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which speaks of Gautama's prohibition about drinking[67]. Similarly Kullūka (on Manu XI. 146) quotes a verse from the same Purāṇa which refers to Gautama 23.2. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika quotes over a dozen sūtras from Gautama which present the same text as we have[68]. Gautama 11. 29 and 12. 4 are quoted by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8 and I. 3. 38 respectively. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yajñavalkya quotes numerous sūtras from Gautama. In Medhātithi's *bhāṣya* on Manu the writer more frequently quoted than any other is Gautama (e. g. on Manu II. 6, VIII. 125 &c.).

The foregoing discussion about the literature known to the Gautama Dh. S. and the authors and works that mention Gautama or quote the dharmasutra helps us in arriving at the approximate age of the dharmasūtra. He is separated by a long interval from the Samavidhāna Brahmaṇa. He is later than Yāska and wrote at a time when Pāṇini's system was either not in existence or had not attained a pre-eminent position. The extant text was known to Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and was in the same state long before 700 A. D. The sutra betrays no knowledge of the onslaught delivered on Brahma-

67 प्रतिषेधः सुरापाने मद्यस्य च नराधिप । द्विजोत्तमानामेवोक्तः सततं गौतमादिभिः ॥ भविष्यत्पुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 1076.

68 Vide JBBRAS vol. I (new series) for 1925, pp. 66-67.

nism by Buddha and his followers. He uses the term Bhikṣu (3. 10) instead of the term parivrājaka that occurs in Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and other sūtra works and lays down that a *bhikṣu* is to stay in one place in the rains, which reminds one of the Buddhist 'bhikkhu' and 'Vasso'. Gautama cites the opinion of some that Yavana is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male and a Śūdra female (4. 17). It is supposed by many scholars that the Yavanas became known to the Indians only at the time of Alexander's invasion and hence every work in which the word *yavana* occurs must be later than 320 B. C. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. II. Intro. LVI.) seems to suggest that the sūtra where the word Yavana occurs in Gautama may be an interpolation. This is not a satisfactory explanation. One may ask, if Bühler believes that the Indians borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date. Taking all these things into consideration the Gautama-dharmasūtra cannot be placed later than the period between 600-400 B. C.

Haradatta wrote a learned commentary on the Gautama-dharmasūtra called Mitākṣarā. For an account *vide* sec. 87 below. In numerous places he quotes the explanations of other commentators of Gautama (e. g. 9. 52; 10. 12, 56, 66; 11. 17; 12. 32; 21. 9 &c.). The *bhāṣya* of Maskari, son of Vāmana, is also a learned one, but may probably be later than Haradatta, since the interpretations which he quotes as given by others are found to be those of Haradatta (vide on Gaut. 12. 30, 13. 20-22).

Asahāya seems to have written a *bhāṣya* on Gautama; *vide* sec. 59 below.

The Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri, Mādhava, and other writers quote a śloka-Gautama. *Vide* Parāśara-Mādhavīya, vol. I, part I, p. 7. Aparārka, Hemādri and Mādhava quote Vṛddha-Gautama, while the Dattakamīmāṁsā (p. 72) quotes Vṛddha-Gaut. and Bṛhad-Gaut. side by side on the same point. These are later works. Jivānanda publishes a smṛti of Vṛddha-Gautama in 22 chapters and about 1700 verses (part II, pp. 497-636), where it is said that Yudhiṣṭhira asked Kṛṣṇa about the *dharmas* of the four castes. This smṛti seems to have been originally taken from the Āśvamedhikaparva of the Mahābhārata, as Mādhava and others cite

verses occurring in it as from that parva (vide Parāśaramādhavīya vol. I, part I, pp. 108-110).

6. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.

This has been edited several times (text by Dr. Hultzsch at Leipzig in 1884, text in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis and in the Mysore Government Oriental Series in 1907 with the commentary of Govindasvāmin; translated in S. B. E., Vol. 14, with an Introduction). The Mysore edition has been used in this work. Baudhāyana is a teacher of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. A complete set of the Baudhāyanasūtras has not yet been recovered and has not been as carefully preserved as the sūtras of Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin. Dr. Burnell arranges Baudhāyana's sūtras into six sutras, the Śrautasūtra in 19 praśnas (probably); Karmāntasūtra in 20 adhyāyas; Dvaidhasutra in four praśnas; Gṛhyasūtra in four praśnas; Dharmasūtra in four praśnas; Śulvasūtra in three adhyāyas. The commentators offer no indication as to the place originally assigned to the *gṛhya*, *dharma* and *śulva sūtras* in the whole collection. Dr. Caland in his monograph (A. D. 1903) 'Uber das Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana' gives on p. 12 the contents of the Baudhāyanasūtra as follows: Praśnas I-XXI Śrauta, XXII-XXV Dvaidha, XXVI-XXVIII Karmānta; XXIX-XXXI Prāyaścitta, XXXII Śulvasūtra, XXXIII-XXXV Gṛhyasūtra, XXXVI Gṛhyaprāyaścitta; XXXVII Gṛhyaparibhāṣā, XXXVIII-XLI Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa; XLII-XLIV Pitṛmedha, XLV Pravara, XLVI-XLIX Dharma. Dr. Caland edited nine *praśnas* of the Śrautasūtra for the B. I. Series (A. D. 1904). Dr. R. Shamsastri published for the Mysore University (in 1920) the Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra with *paribhāṣā*, gṛhyaśeṣa, Pitṛmedhasūtra. The Gṛhyasūtra cites the view of Baudhāyana himself (I. 7). The Baudhāyana-dharma refers to the Gṛhya and presupposes it in several places (vide note 54). In the Baudhāyanagṛhya (III. 9. 6) we have a reference to *padakāra* Ātreya, Vṛttikāra Kauṇḍinya, pravacanakāra Kaṇva Bodhāyana, and Sūtrakāra Āpastamba.[68a] A similar passage

68a अथ दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीतिनो वैशम्पायनाय फलिङ्गवे तित्तिरये उक्षायोरुयायात्रये आत्रेयाय पदकाराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय कण्वाय बोधायनाय प्रवचनकारायापस्तम्बाय सूत्रकाराय सत्याषाढाय हिरण्यकेशाय वाजसनेयाय याज्ञवल्क्याय भरद्वाजायाग्निवेश्यायाचार्येभ्य ऊर्ध्वरेतोभ्यो वानप्रस्थेभ्यो वंशस्थेभ्य एकपत्नीभ्यः कल्पयामीति. The epithets must be understood as arranged above, since elsewhere the epithet सूत्रकार is specially appropriated to आपस्तम्ब. The हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य (II. 20. 1,

occurs in the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 27 Ṛṣitarpaṇa) we have Kaṇva Bodhāyana, Āpastamba sūtrakāra and Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin one after another. These references show that Kaṇva Bodhāyana was an ancient sage when the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was written and that he could not have been the author of the gṛhya or the dharma sūtras of Baudhāyana. Baudhāyana may have been a descendant of this Kaṇva Bodhāyana. This surmise is supported by Govindasvāmin who explains Baudhāyana occurring in Baudhāyanadharmasūtra I. 3. 13, as Kāṇvāyana. In the dharmasūtra Baudhāyana is himself cited as an authority several times (e. g. I. 4. 15 and 24, III. 5. 8, III. 6. 20). In all these places the Mysore edition reads Bodhāyana, while the Ānandāśrama reads Baudhāyana. In one or two places he is styled 'bhagavān' (III. 6. 20). Several explanations are offered by the commentator Govindasvāmin (on I. 3. 13). He says that it is the practice of the Ācāryas to refer to themselves in the third person (as Medhātithi says on Manu [69]) or that the author of the dharmasūtra is a pupil of Baudhāyana as the Manusmṛti is promulgated by Bhṛgu, the pupil of Manu, or there was some other Baudhāyana whose works have not come down to us.

The following are the contents of the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra:—*Praśna* 1:—Sources of *dharma*, who are *śiṣṭas*, *pariṣad*, different practices of northern and southern India, countries where śiṣṭas reside and where mixed castes reside, prāyaścitta for visiting countries of the latter type; 2. Studenthood for 48, 24 or 12 years, time of *upanayana* and the girdle, skin, staff appropriate to each caste, duties of *brahmacārin*, eulogy of *brahmacarya*; 3. The duties of the *snātaka* who has completed his studies and observances but has not yet married; 4. directions about carrying the earthen jar (in the case of the *snātaka*); 5. bodily and mental śauca, purification of various substances, impurity on birth and death, meaning of *sapiṇḍa* and *sakulya*, rules of inheritance, purification on touching a corpse or a woman in her menses or on dog-bite, what flesh and food was

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ed. by Kirste in 1889) makes this clear. It reads 'आत्रेयाय पद्काराय कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय सूत्रकारेभ्यः सत्याषाढाय प्रवचनकर्तृभ्य आचार्येभ्यः &c. भारद्वाजगृह्य (quoted by Dr. Caland in 'Uber das Rituelle &c. p. 3. n. 2) reads 'बोधायनाय भरद्वाजाय सूत्रकारायापस्तम्बाय सर्वेभ्यः सूत्रकारेभ्यः &c.'

69 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवते.'

allowed and forbidden ; 6. Purification from the point of view of sacrifice, purification of clothes, ground, grass, fuel, vessels, and articles used in sacrifice ; 7. Rules about the importance from the sacrificial point of view of sacrifice, of the sacrificial utensils, priests, the sacrificer and his wife, ghee, cooked offerings, the victim, *soma* and fires; 8. The four *varṇas* and the sub-castes ; 9. Mixed castes ; 10. the duties of kings, the five great sins and punishments for them, punishments for killing birds, witnesses ; 11. The eight forms of marriage, holidays ; *Praśna* II. 1. Prāyaścittas for *brahmahatyā* and other great sins, prayaścittas for a *brahmachārin* violating his vow of celibacy, for marrying a *sagotra* girl, for marrying before elder brother, sins lesser than the great ones, description of such penances as Parāka, Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra; 2. Partition of heritage, larger share for the eldest, the several substitutes for an *aurasa* son, exclusion from inheritance, dependence of women, prāyaścitta for adultery by men and women, rules about *niyoga*, means of subsistence in distress, continuous duties of the house-holder such as Agnihotra &c.; 3. The daily duties of the householder such as bathing, ācamana, Vaiśvadeva, giving food; 4. *Sandhyā*; 5. Rules about the manner of bathing, of Ācamana, worship of the sun, and about the method of propitiating ('*tarpaṇa*') gods, sages and pitṛis; 6. The five great daily *yajñas*; the four castes and their duties; 7. regulations about dinner; 8. Śraddha; 9. eulogy of sons and spiritual benefit from sons; 10. rules about *saṃnyāsa*; *Praśna* III. 1 modes of subsistence for the two kinds of householders, Śālina and Yayāvara; 2 the means of subsistence called '*Ṣaṇnivartanī*'; 3. the duties of the forest hermit and his means of livelihood; 4. prāyaścitta for not observing the vows of *brahmacarin* or householder; 5. method of reciting *Aghamarṣaṇa*, the holiest of texts; 6. the ritual of *prasṛtayāvaka*; 7 the purificatory *homa* called Kūṣmāṇḍa; 9. the penance called *candrayaṇa*; 9 the recital of the Vedas without taking food; 10. theories about purifications for sin, purifying things; *Praśna* IV. 1. prāyaścittas of various kinds viz. for eating forbidden food or drink &c.; 2. *praṇayāmas* and *Aghamarṣaṇa* as purifiers in case of several sins; 3. secret prāyaścittas; 4. Various Vedic texts as prāyaścittas; 5. Means of securing *siddhi* by means of *japa, homa, iṣṭi* and *yantra:* the penances called Kṛcchra, Ati-Kṛcchra, Sāntapana, Parāka, Cāndrāyaṇa; 6 the muttering (japa) of holy texts, the iṣṭis; 7 praise of *Yantras,* various Vedic texts used in *homa*; 8 censure of those who enter on the means of *siddhi* out of great greed, permis-

sion to get these things done through another in certain circumstances.

The extant Dharmasutra does not appear to have come down intact. The fourth *praśna* is most probably an interpolation. Most of the eight chapters of that *praśna* are full of verses, the portion in prose being very small. The last three chapters (6-8) are entirely in verse. The style is quite different from that of the first two *praśnas*. The first five chapters of the fourth praśna dealing with prāyaścittas are more or less superfluous, the same subject having been dealt with in II. 1 and III. 4-10. Some of the sūtras in the earlier *praśnas* are repeated *verbatim* in the fourth, e. g. II. 1. 33-34 and IV. 2. 10-11 (avakīrṇi-prāyaścitta). The third *praśna* also is not free from doubt. The tenth chapter of the third *praśna* is as said above taken from Gautama. The sixth chapter of the third *praśna* agrees very closely in phraseology with the 48th chapter of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. But it is rather difficult to say which is the borrower. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. Vol. VII. p. XIX) is inclined to think that both borrowed from a common source. It seems more probable that Viṣṇu borrows from Baudhāyana, as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra uses the form 'punita' in place of 'punatha' (in Baud.) and as the Viṣṇu-Dharmasutra omits all reference to Rudra (Baud. III. 6. 12.) and omits the words "gaṇan paśyati, gaṇadhipatim paśyati ... bhagavān Bodhayanaḥ" (Baud III.6. 20.). In the Mysore edition all the four *praśnas* of the *Dharmasutra* are divided into *adhyāyas*, but the Mss used by Bühler appear to have divided the first two *praśnas* into kaṇḍikās and the last two into adhyāyas. There are many repetitions even in the first two praśnas, which therefore make one rather doubtful about the authenticity of the first two praśnas also in their entirety. For example II. 6. 11 and 31 are indentical; in II, 7, 22 and II. 10. 53 the same verse ("aṣṭau grāsa" &c.) is quoted. Such repetitions are frequent in the two last praśnas e. g. III.2.16 and III.3.23; III.4.5 and III.7.12. Some of the quotations ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Mitakṣara and other works are not taken from the *dharmasutra*, but from the Gṛhyasūtra or its supplements (e. g. the words 'ekaṁ śākhām-adhīte śrotriyaḥ" quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24, which are cited by Hultzsch (on p. 125) are taken from the Gṛhya (vide note 78 below).

The Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana is somewhat loose in structure and is not concise. Govindasvāmin remarks (on I. 2. 19.) that

Baudhāyana does not aim at brevity.[70] Several subjects are treated of in two places and often without any logical connection with what precedes or follows. Rules of inheritance (dāya-bhāga) occur in the midst of rules about prāyaścitta (in II. 2.); rules about holidays (anadhyāya) occur immediately after the eight forms of marriage and the condemnation of the sale of a daughter (I. 11). Rules about *snātaka* occur in two places (I. 3 and II. 3. 10 ff.). Baudhāyana quotes at least 90 verses introduced by the words "athāpyudāharanti," more than 80 being from the first two praśnas alone. There are over two hundred other verses, about 80 of which occur in the first two praśnas and about ten are Vedic. Some of the verses even in the first two praśnas do not appear to be quotations e. g. I. 1. 16, II. 2. 1, II. 3. 50, II. 3. 52-54 and 56. A verse quoted is in the Vaṁśastha metre (IV. 3. 14); there are two verses in the Upajāti metre taken as a quotation (II. 3.18). There are some prose quotations introduced with the words "athapyudāharanti" (e. g. II. 4. 5 and II. 6. 30 which refers to the *asura* Kapila, son of Prahlāda). The language of the Baud. Dh. S. is archaic and often departs from the Pāṇinean standard. Baudhāyana employs such un-Pāṇinean forms as "grhya" (for grhītvā in II. 5. 1), pūjya (II. 9. 5.), "adhigacchānaḥ" (in II. 9. 9.), ānayitvā (III. 3. 6), "punatha" (in III. 6. 5, probably a quotation), "tebhiḥ" (for taiḥ in III. 2. 16, a quotation). In several places Baudhāyana states opposite views and then gives his own opinion on the point, e. g. Baud. I. 5. 105-109 (about impurity on birth); II. 1. 49-51.

As regards the literature known to Baudhāyana the following points may be noted. All the four Vedas are mentioned by name in II. 5. 27 (*tarpaṇa*). He quotes very frequently the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Tai. Brahmaṇa and the Tai. Araṇyaka (in the Āndhra recension). Well-known hymns of the Ṛgveda such as the Aghamarṣaṇa, the Puruṣasukta and also simple '*ṛks*' are frequently referred to. In III. 10 (which is almost the same as Gautama 19) there is a sūtra enumerating the Upaniṣads, the Saṁhitās of all the Vedas and several *sāmans* as purificatory texts. There are long quotations taken from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (XI. 3. 3. 1 ff and XI. 5. 6. 3) in Baud. (1.2.52 about *brahmacāri* and II.6. 7-9 about *brahmayajña*). It is noteworthy that in the *tarpaṇa* there is an invocation of the

70 ननु द्विजातिषु स्वकर्मस्थेषु इति सूत्रायितव्ये किमिति सूत्रद्वयारम्भः। सत्यं, अयं ह्याचार्यो नातिव ग्रन्थलाघवाभिप्रायो भवति।

Atharvaveda and immediately afterwards of the Atharvāṅgirasaḥ. The same is found in the Baudhāyanagṛhya also (III. 2. 9 and 22). In the Upaniṣads (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II.4.10, IV. 1.2) it is the word Atharvāṅgirasaḥ that stands for the Atharvaveda. Baudhāyana quotes a gāthā of the Bhāllavins (I. 1. 29) about the geographical limits of Āryāvarta. Vasiṣṭha adduces the same verse (I. 15) and says that it is taken from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins. The Nirukta also mentions a school of Vedic interpretation called Naidānāḥ. It is difficult to say what Nidāna works contained. *Itihāsa* and Purāṇa occur in the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 27). The *aṅgas* of the Vedas occur in I. 1. 8 and the six *aṅgas* in II. 8. 2. Whether the word "rahasya" in II. 8. 3 means the Araṇyakas (as Govindasvāmin explains) is doubtful. Baudhāyana mentions a Vaikhānasa-śāstra in II. 6. 16, which appears to refer to the work of Vikhanas on hermits and speaks of Śrāmaṇaka (the rites prescribed by Vikhanas for initiation as hermit), just as Gautama does. Among the authors on *dharma* mentioned by name are: Aupajaṅghani (II. 2. 33 for the view that only *aurasa* son was to be recognised and not the other kinds of sons[71]), Kātya (I. 2. 47), Kaśyapa (or Kāśyapa in other editions, I. 11. 20 on the point that a woman bought cannot be a *patnī*), Gautama (I. 1. 23 and II. 2. 70), Prajāpati (II. 4. 15 about failure in Sandhyopāsana, and II. 10. 71 about *sannyāsa*), Manu (IV. 1. 14 and IV. 2. 16), Maudgalya (II. 2. 61, about observances of a widow being restricted only to six months after her husband's death), Hārīta (II. 1. 50). Baud. I. 2. 7 quotes a verse, which Vasiṣṭha ascribes to Hārīta (Vas. II. 6). As to Gautama, *vide* p. 17 above. Manu is only mentioned in the fourth praśna, the authenticity of which, as said above, is very doubtful. Baudhāyana II. 2. 16 (about the efficacy of *Aghamarṣaṇa*) closely agrees with Manu XI. 260. The first reference to Manu's teaching cannot be traced in the Manusmṛti. Prajāpati (in III. 9. 21) seems to stand for god Brahmā and not for any real or mythical writer on *dharma*. One remarkable piece of information contained in Baudhāyana (II. 6. 30) is that he quotes from a work (of the Brāhmaṇa class in language) a prose passage wherein the division into four āśramas is ascribed to an *asura* Kapila, son of Pralhāda. In II. 2. 79 Baudhāyana quotes a *gāthā* from the

71 One of the verses (अप्रमत्ता रक्षत तन्तुमेनं) is referred to by शबरस्वामी on पू. मी. सू. I. 2.13 (अपराधात् कर्तुश्च पुत्रदर्शनम्).

dialogue between the daughter of Uśanas and the king Vṛṣaparvan[72], which is nearly the same as Mahābhārata I. 78. 10 and 34. Baud. quotes the view of *Ācāryas* (II. 6. 29) as Gautama does. In several places he refers to the views of his predecessors on *dharma* as "others" (*eke, apare*) e. g. I. 4. 23, I. 5. 16, I. 6. 105-106, II. 5. 2. In II. 3. 18 two verses in the Upajāti metre are quoted as sung by "*anna*" (food). From the numerous quotations in verse cited by Baudhāyana on topics of *dharma*, it follows that the Dharmasūtra was preceded by a considerable number of works on *dharma* in verse. Bühler (SBE vol. XIV, p. XLIII) says that Vijñāneśvara was the first writer who quoted the Baud. D. S. But there are writers who flourished centuries before Vijñāneśvara that regarded Baudhāyana as a writer on *dharma* and either quoted his words or pointedly referred to them. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini, I. 3. 3 says that the rule in the Smṛtis about the period of Vedic study being 48 years is opposed to the Vedic injunction "one who has begot sons and whose hair are dark should consecrate the sacrificial fires[73]." This must be regarded as referring to the words of Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1). Śabara uses the same word "Vedabrahmacarya" that Baud. employs. It is true that Gautama and Āpastamba both refer to the rule about 48 years, but they do not employ the word "*veda-brahmacarya.*" The Tantravārtike of Kumārila says that the words of Āpastamba (*II. 6. 15. 1*) *which seem to accept the validity of local and family* usages (even though opposed to Smṛti tradition) stand refuted by the words of Baudhāyana (I. 1. 19-24) who cites only such censured usages as are opposed to Smṛti. Kumārila appears to think that Baudhāyana attacks the extant work of Āpastamba, i. e. the present Baud. is later than the present Āpastamba. It is not necessary to follow

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[72] स्तुवतो दुहिता त्वं वै याचतः प्रतिगृह्णतः । अथाहं स्तूयमानस्य ददतोप्रतिगृह्णतः ॥

[73] शबर's words are 'अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोग्निमादधीत-इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्' on I. 3. 3, and again on I. 3. 4 'अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः'. बोधायन's words are अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 2. 52 and आ. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12.

[74] तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 139 'आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बोधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम्'. The words in the बौ. ध. सू. (I. 1. 22) 'तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात्' are opposed to the words of आपस्तम्ब 'एतेन देशकुलधर्मा व्याख्याताः.'

Kumārila implicitly as regards chronological details, where he is speaking of writers that flourished over a thousand years before him. But his opinion deserves weight. The Tantravārtika quotes a Smṛti passage which bears a close resemblance to Baudhāyana (II. 3.28)[75]. In the commentary of Viśvarūpa (who as we shall see below flourished about 800 A. D.) on Yājñavalkya, Baudhāyana is quoted at least nine times in the chapter on *ācāra* alone. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 21, 26, 29, 53, 64, 69, 72, 79, 195 (Trivandrum edition), where Baud. I. 5. 14, I. 2. 30, I. 5. 5, I. 1. 17, IV. 1. 15, IV. 1. 18, IV. 1. 22, IV. 1. 20 and I. 5. 47 are respectively quoted. There are very few variations from the present text and the only serious variation is as regards the last (I. 5. 47) which is in prose (while Viśvarūpa quotes a verse). It is remarkable that Viśvarūpa quotes several verses from the fourth *praśna*, which shows that even if the fourth praśna be an interpolation, it is comparatively an ancient one. The Mit. also (on Yāj. III. 306) quotes a long passage from the fourth praśna (IV. 1. 5-11). The words of the Śākuntala[76] that the first precept is that a girl is to be given away to a meritorious person are probably a reminiscence of Baud. IV. 1. 12. Medhātithi on Manu. V. 117 quotes Baudhāyana I. 5. 47 and on IV. 36 quotes Baud. I. 4. 2 (which is mutilated as printed). On Manu. V. 114 he says that all the rules about purification of substances are contained in Baudhāyana-smṛti. On Manu. V. 118, he quotes Baud. I. 5. 50.

About the home of Baudhāyana it is difficult to advance any positive conclusion. In modern times Baudhāyanīyas are mostly confined to the south. We know that Sāyaṇa, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a Baudhāyanīya. A grant of Nandivarma, a Pallava, of the 9th century mentions Brāhmaṇas of the *pravacana-sūtra* as recipients.[77] As Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra in the Gṛhya-sūtras Bühler thinks (S. B. E. vol. 14 p. xlii) that the Brāhmaṇas

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[75] तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 993 'तथा च स्मृतिः। ...धारयेद्वेणवं दण्डं शुभे रौक्मे च कुण्डले—इत्यादि सूपपत्स्यते।' Baud. has वेणवं दण्डं धारयेद्रुक्मकुण्डले च. Compare मनु IV. 36. It is probable that the तन्त्रवार्तिक combines बौ. and मनु.

[76] 'गुणवते कन्यका प्रदेया इति तावदयमः कल्पः' शाकुन्तल 4th Act; while Baud. has 'दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे'.

[77] I. A. vol. 8, pp. 273-274.

belonged to the Baudhāyanacaraṇa. Buhler is probably right. In the grant most of the donees are students of the Āpastamba Sūtra. First the Gotra, then the Sūtra and then the name of the donee are introduced in the grant. Therefore as some of the donees are said to be students of "pravacanasūtra," it follows that "pravacana" stands for some sūtra school. It appears that *sūtra* and *pravacana* are two different things, whatever the latter term may mean. Baudhāyana is called pravacanakāra and Āpastamba is styled sūtrakāra. We are told by the Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra[78] that a Brāhmaṇa who studied *sutra* and *pravacana* was styled "bhrūṇa." Bühler was inclined to hold that Baudhāyana was a southern teacher for several reasons. Baudhāyana mentions customs of the south and includes sea-faring as a custom peculiar to the north (I. 1. 20), while in another place he places sea-faring at the head of sins (*patanīyas*) lesser than the mortal ones (II. 1. 41). Therefore it is said that he was not a northern teacher. But as against this we have to remember that Baudhāyana (I. 1. 29) quotes with apparent approval a verse in which the countries of Avanti (Ujjain), Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar) and Dakṣiṇāpatha are declared to be the home of mixed castes. Dakṣiṇāpatha was generally supposed to be the whole peninsula south of the Narmadā. Baudhāyana, if he was a native of the south, would not have spoken of his country as the home of mixed castes only, unless he put a restricted meaning on the word Dakṣiṇāpatha (which sometimes meant in later days Mahārāṣṭra). Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 620.

The extant Baudhāyanadharmasūtra is certainly later than Gautama, as it mentions Gautama twice by name and as one quotation at least is found in the extant Gautama. Besides Baudhāyana quotes by name several teachers on *dharma*, while Gautama quotes only one, Manu. Baudhāyana is far removed from the times of the Upaniṣads. Baud. (II. 7. 15) quotes a verse which is itself an adaptation of a passage from the Chāndogya-upaniṣad.[79] He

78 The whole passage is interesting 'उपनीतमात्रो व्रतानुचारी वेदानां किंचिदधीत्य ब्राह्मणः। एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियः। अङ्गाध्याय्यनूचानः। कल्पाध्यायी ऋषिकल्पः। सूत्रप्रवचनाध्यायी भ्रूणः। चतुर्वेदादृषिः। अत ऊर्ध्वं देवः।' बा. गृ. सू. I. 7. 2-8.

79 Baud. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति– यथाहि तूलमेषीकमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदीप्यते। तद्वत्सर्वाणि पापानि दह्यन्ते ह्यात्मयाजिनः॥'; compare छान्दोग्योपनिषद् V. 24. 3. 'तद्यथेषीकातूलमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदूयेतैवं हास्य सर्वे पाप्मानः प्रदूयन्ते' &c.

quotes Harīta. It is uncertain whether the Hārītadharmasūtra, a manuscript of which was discovered by the late Vaman Śastri Islampurkar at Nasik, is the one intended. Bühler thought that the work of Baudhāyana was earlier than that of Āpastamba by a century or two. His first reason was that Kāṇva Baudhāyana receives homage in the *tarpaṇa* before Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin and that the same order is observed in the Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra. But this reason is far from convincing. It may be conceded that Baudhāyana was regarded as the oldest (or the most authoritative or respectable) of the three schools of the Black Yajurveda. But from this it does not at all follow that the extant *dharma-sūtra* of the Baudhāyanīyas is earlier than that of the Āpastambīyas. For aught we know the sūtra compiled for the school of Baudhāyana may be later than the sūtra manual of the Āpastambīyas. We saw above that orthodox opinion, represented by Kumārila, regards Baudhāyana's work as later than Apastamba's. All the three founders of the three schools are mentioned in the Baudhāyanagṛhya and dharma sūtra. One may equally argue with good reason that both these works knew a sūtra work of Āpastamba and that the extant dharmasūtra of Apastamba is that work. Another reason assigned for the priority of Baudhāyana's work over Āpastamba's is that, though both have numerous sūtras that agree almost word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows that Āpastamba lays down stricter and more puritanic (and therefore later) views on certain points than Baudhāyana. Gautama, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha mention several secondary sons, while Āpastamba is silent about them. Gautama, Baudhāyana (II. 2. 17, 62), Vasiṣṭha and even Viṣṇu approve of the practice of *niyoga*, while Āpastamba condemns it (II. 6. 13. 1-9). Gautama and Baudhāyana (I. 11. 1) speak of eight forms of marriage, while Āpastamba speaks of only six and omits Prājāpatya and Paiśāca (II. 5. 11. 17-20 and II. 5. 12. 1-2). Baudhāyana (II. 2. 4-6) allowed a larger share to the eldest son on a partition, while Āpastamba condemns such a procedure (II. 6. 14. 10-14). The Baudhāyana-gṛhyasūtra (II. 4. 6) allows upanayana to *rathakāra*, while Āpastamba (gṛhya 4. 10. 1-4) does not do so (dharmasūtra I. 1. 1. 19). These points are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence of opinion among the doctors of the law on most, if not on all, of these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were up-

held by early writers and condemned by later ones. Baudhāyana himself quotes the views of an ancient writer, Aupajaṅghani, who condemned all secondary sons. The verses that Baudhāyana quotes on this point (II. 2. 34-36) are quoted by Āpastamba also but without the author's name (Ap. II. 6. 13. 6), there being variants only in the first verse. *Niyoga* was allowed by Manu (9. 56-63) and then condemned (9. 64-68) and Bṛhaspati refers to this attitude of Manu (vide Kullūka on Manu 9. 68). Even so late a writer as Yājñavalkya (II. 131) approves of *niyoga*. About the *rathakāra* being allowed to consecrate the sacred fires there is a discussion in the sūtras of Jaimini (VI. 1. 44 ff). Vedic passages supported both methods *viz*. equal division among sons and the bestowal of a larger share on the eldest. Even Yājñavalkya (II. 118) allows a larger share to the eldest son. Therefore hardly anyone of the circumstances relied upon by Bühler as indicating a later age for Āpastamba is conclusive or convincing. The third ground for placing Baudhāyana before Āpastamba is that the style of the former is simpler and older as compared with the latter's. That Baudhayana is simpler than Apastamba may be admitted. But this may be due to the fact that Baudhāyana has been tampered with more than Āpastamba. On the other hand Apastamba contains more un-Pāṇinean forms more uncouth constructions, more words in an archaic sense than is the case with Baudhāyana. All that is almost certain about the age of the Baudhāyana-dharmasutra is that it is later than the work of Gautama, that its style, its doctrines and its general out-look on different subjects do not compel us to assign it a later date than that of the other dharmasūtras. We have adduced evidence to show that long before the days of Śabara (whose latest date cannot be later than 500 A.D.) the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra was an authoritative smṛti ; it follows that the dharmasūtra must be placed somewhere between 500-200 B. C. Numerous sutras are identical in Baudhāyana and Āpastamba e. g. Ap. I. 1. 2. 30 = Baud. I. 2. 40-41, Āp. I. 2. 6. 8-9 = Baud. I. 2. 39, Ap. I. 5. 15. 8 = Baud. I. 2. 31, Āp. I. 11. 31. 11 and 16 = Baud. II. 3. 39 and 32. There are several verses that occur in both *e.g.* Baud. II. 1. 42 = Ap. I. 9. 27. 11, Baud. II. 2. 34-36 = Āp. II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses condemning secondary sons), Baud. II. 10. 63 = Āp. 11. 9. 21. 10, Baud. II. 7. 22--23 = Āp. II. 4. 9. 13. (two verses), Baud. II. 6. 36. = Āp. II. 9. 24. 8. Besides these there are numerous Vedic quotations that are common to both. All this,

however, does not establish anything about their relative position. The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra also has numerous quotations in common with Baud. Vide Vas. I. 15. = Baud. I. 1. 28, Vas. III. 5, 6, 11, 20, 56 = Baud. I. 1. 10, 12, 11, 8 and I. 5. 58 (respectively); Vas. 6. 20-21= Baud. II. 7. 22-23; Vas. VIII. 17 = Baud. II, 2, 1; Vas. XI. 27-28 = Baud. II. 8. 21-22; Vas. XVI. 34 = Baud. I. 10. 35, Vas. XVII. 73 = Baud. IV. 1. 17, Vas. XVII. 86 = Baud. I. 5. 102; Vas. XXII. 10 = Baud. I. 1. 33. It is to be noted that some of these quotations (Baud. II. 8. 21-22, I. 10. 35) occur in the extant Manusmṛti also (III. 125-126 and VIII. 98). There are a few prose sūtras in Vas. that are transformed into verse in Baud. and *vice versa* e. g. Vas. III. 41 (prose) = Baud. I. 5. 20 (quoted as a verse), Vas. III. 57 (quoted as a verse) = Baud. I. 6. 19-20. It is not likely that one borrows from the other. There are two other possible explanations, viz. that both Baud. and Vas. (and Manu also) quote from or adapt a common source or that the three works have been tampered with and interpolations introduced at every step. The latter alternative is too sweeping as the number of verses is very large and makes all the old sūtras except that of Gautama valueless for all chronological purposes. One cannot subscribe to the view that such extensive interpolations took place as the latter theory demands. The first alternative appears more reasonable. What that common source was, whether it was a regular work in verse or whether there was a floating mass of such popular verses as Bühler holds, are questions that present very great difficulties. It is not easy to believe that there were hundreds of floating verses on *dharma* no body knew by whom composed, on which writers of the centuries preceding the Christian era drew for supporting their opinions. That does not sound as a very likely procedure. It is more probable that such verses were contained in a work or works now lost. 151768

In the *tarpaṇa*, Baud. (II. 5. 21) mentions several appellations of Gaṇeśa, viz. Vighna, Vināyaka, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara. But this affords no certain clue as to date. The worship of Vināyaka is found in the Mānavagṛhya also. In the *tarpaṇa* (II. 5. 23) we have the seven planets mentioned in the order of the days of the week and also Rahu and Ketu; besides the twelve names of Viṣṇu occur in II. 5. 24. In II. 1. 44 Baud. speaks of the profession of an actor or of a teacher of dramaturgy (Nāṭyācārya) as an upapātaka. Several

sūtras attributed to Baudhāyana on the subject of adoption in the Dattakamīmāṁsa and other later works are taken from the Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 6), the sūtras agreeing very closely with Vasiṣṭha (15. 1-9).

According to Burnell the oldest commentator on the Baudhyānaśrauta-sūtra was Bhavasvāmin, whom he placed in the 8th century. The commentary of Govindasvāmin on the Dharmasūtra is a learned one and is generally to the point. He appears to be a very late writer.

7. Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba.

This has been edited several times (*viz.* by Bühler in the Bombay Sanskrit series with large extracts from Haradatta's commentary called Ujjvala and also at Kumbhakonam with the complete commentary of Haradatta and translated by Bühler with an introduction in S. B. E. vol. II). The Āpastambakalpasūtra of the Taittirīya Śākhā of the black Yajurveda is divided into 30 *praśnas*. According to Bühler, the first 24 praśnas contain the treatment of Śrauta sacrifices; the 25th contains *paribhāṣās*, pravarakhaṇḍa, and Hautraka prayers to be recited by Hotṛ priests; 26th and 27th *praśnas* constitute the Gṛhyasūtra, the 28th and 29th Dharmasūtra and the 30th *praśna* is the Śulvasūtra. Bühler seems to be slightly inaccurate here. According to Cauṇḍappa, who commented on the Āpastambīya sūtras in the 14th century, the Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha forms the 25th and 26th praśnas of the Kalpasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra forms 27th praśna.[80] The Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba was edited by Dr. Garbe in the B. I. series; the Gṛhya and Mantrapāṭha were edited by Dr. Winternitz. The Gṛhya with the commentary of Sudarśanārya has been edited in the Mysore Govt. Oriental series by Pandit Mahadeva Sastri (in 1893). It is divided into eight paṭalas and 23 khaṇḍas. According to the Caraṇavyūha, Apastamba (or "bha" as written in many southern mss.) is one of the five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikīya school of the Taittirīyaśākhā of the Black Yajurveda. Whether the author of the Āpastambīya Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras is the same is difficult to determine. One sūtra in

[80] पंचविंशेथ षड्विंशे गृह्यमन्त्राः प्रपञ्चिताः। प्रश्नेथ सप्तविंशे स्याद्गृह्यनन्त्राविधिक्रमः॥ (Dr. Winternitz's edition of Āp. Mantrapāṭha p. IX). The editor further states (p. IX n. 2) that Paribhāṣās form part of the 24th praśna and not of the 25th, as Bühler says.

the Āpastambadharma (II. 2. 5. 17) is the same as Ap. Śrauta (III. 17. 8 and VIII. 4. 6). Oldenberg (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. XXXII) does not subscribe to Bühler's view (S. B. E. Vol. II, pp. XIII-XIV) that the authors of the Ap. *Śrauta* and *Dharma* were identical and gives it as his own view that another person of the same school might have imitated the style of the author of the Śrauta. Whatever may be said of the identity of the authorship of the Śrauta and Dharma sūtras, the Grhya and Dharma seem to be very closely related and both seem to be the compositions of the same author. The Ap. Grhya sūtra, as compared with the Aśvalayana-grhya or Gobhilagrhya, is extremely brief and leaves out many rules that are given in other Grhya works. For example, about the choice of a girl Ap. grhya gives only a single rule (1. 3. 19[81]). While it is the Dharmasūtra that tells us that the bride must not be *sagotra* nor *sapiṇḍa* (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15-16). The Ap. Grhya is silent about the forms of marriage, about holidays, about the duties of *brahmacārins* and such other subjects which are generally treated of in other Grhyasūtras. These subjects are dealt with in the Ap. Dh. S. and there are several places where the Dharmasūtra presupposes the existence of the Grhya and refers to it. Compare Ap. Dh. S. II. 1, 1. 10-11[82] with Ap. Gr. S. III. 7 (particularly sūtras 1, 17, 23). Vide note 54 above. Some sutras are identical in the Grhya and Dharma, e. g. Ap. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 and Grhya IV. 11. 15-16 (about the staff of Brahmacārin); Ap. Dh. S. II. 4. 8. 7 and Grhya V. 13. 19. In some cases the Grhya-sūtra itself seems to refer to the teachings of the Dharmasutra, e. g. Grhya 8. 21. 1 and Dharma II. 7. 16. 6-7. All these facts make it highly probable, if not certain, that the Grhya and Dharma sūtras were composed by the same author and that the details of certain topics were purposely omitted in the

81 बन्धुशीलरूपवयसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत ।

82 'श्वोभूते स्थालीपाकः । तस्योपचारः पार्वणेन व्याख्यातः' । आप. ध. सू.; 'अथैनामाग्नेयेन स्थालीपाकेन याजयति । एवमत ऊर्ध्वं दक्षिणावर्जमुपोषिताभ्यां पर्वसु कार्यः । पार्वणेनातोन्यानि कर्माणि व्याख्यातान्याचाराद्यानि गृह्यन्ते । आप. गृ सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 6 'सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम्', and आप. गृ. सू. 8. 21. 9 'सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेषस्य ग्रासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयात्;' 'उभयतः परिषेचनं यथा पुरस्तात्' आप. ध. II. 2. 3. 17 and आप. गृ. I. 2. 3.; 'समावृत्तं चे...यथोपदेशं पूजयेत्' आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 4 refers to आ. गृ. सू. V. 13. 2-19.

Gṛhya to avoid repetitions. The Smṛticandrikā (III, p. 458) distinctly asserts that the author of the Dharmasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra was the same.

The contents of the Āpastamba dharma-sūtra are :—

1. the authoritative sources of *dharma* are the Veda and the usages of those who know *dharma*; the four *varṇas*, their precedence; definition of *ācārya* and his greatness; time for *upanayana* according to the *varṇas* and according to one's desire; prāyaścitta if proper time for *upanayana* is gone; he whose father, grand-father and great-grand-father have not undergone *upanayana* becomes *patita*, but he can be purified by prāyaścitta; the duties of *brahmacārin*, residence with teacher for 48 years, 36, 18 or as long as one desires to be a *brahmacārin*, his staff, girdle and garments, rules about begging for food, bringing fuel and offering to fire; duties of *snātakas* are his *tapas*, rules about saluting teachers and others according to *varṇas*; giving dakṣiṇā to the teacher at the end of study; rules for *snātaka*; rules about holidays and about the time and place for Vedic study; rules about holidays apply to study of the Veda and not to the use of *mantras* in Vedic rites; the five great daily *yajñas* to the *bhūtas*, men, gods, pitṛs, and sages, honouring men of higher castes, old men, parents, brothers and sister and others, method of inquiring about one's health &c. according to *varṇas*; occasions of wearing yajñopavīta; times and manner of *ācamana*; rules about forbidden and permitted food and drink; the avocation of a *vaṇij* not allowed to a Brāhmaṇa except in distress; rules forbidding the sale or exchange of certain things, grave sins (*pātakas*), such as theft, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa or other manslaughter, abortion, incest, drinking wine etc; other sins are not so grave, though they make the perpetrator impure; discussion of some metaphysical questions such as the knowledge of the soul, *brahman*, the moral faults that lead to perdition such as anger, avarice, hypocrisy &c; the virtues that lead to the highest goal, such as absence of anger or avarice &c. truthfulness, tranquility; compensation for killing a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, a Śūdra and women; prāyaścittas for killing a Brāhmaṇa and an Ātreyī Brāhmaṇa woman, for killing a *guru* or a Śrotriya; prāyaścitta for violating the bed of a *guru*, for drinking wine and for theft of gold; prāyaścittas for killing several birds, cows and bulls, and for abusing those who should not be abused, for sexual intercourse with a Śūdra woman, for taking forbidden food

and drink &c.; rules about Krcchra for twelve nights; what constitutes theft; how one should act towards a fallen (*patita*) *guru* and mother; various opinions about prāyaścitta for violating *guru's* bed, prayaścitta for a husband who has intercourse with another woman and for wife's adultery; prayaścitta for killing a *Brāhmaṇa* (a learned brāhmaṇa); Brāhmaṇa was not to wield arms, except in self-defence against bodily injury; prayaścitta for *abhiśasti*; *prāyaścittas* for lesser sins; various views about *snātaka* (Vidyāsnātaka, Vratasnātaka and Vidyāvratasnātaka); the observances (*vratas*) of snātaka as regards garments, answering calls of nature, about scandalous talk, about not seeing the rising or setting Sun, avoiding moral faults such as anger; II (*praśna*) the householder's observances commence on marriage (*pāṇigrahaṇa*); rules of conduct for a householder about taking food and fasting, about sexual intercourse; all the *varṇas* attain unmeasured bliss by performing their duties and are re-born in conditions appropriate to their actions and by means of evil deeds are re-born in evil surroundings e. g. a Brāhmaṇa who is a thief or a murderer of a brāhmaṇa becomes a Caṇḍala, a similarly guilty *rājanya* becomes a *pukkaśa*, the three higher castes should after bathing perform Vaiśvadeva, Sudras may cook food for their masters of higher castes under the supervision of Āryas; offerings (*bali*) of cooked food; guests (*atithi*) should [illegible] food, then children, old men, sick persons and [illegible] women and [illegible] the householder himself); no one should [illegible] food which comes at the end of Vaiśvadeva; rules of receiving guests, such as unlearned brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śudras; a householder should always wear an upper garment of his sacred thread may serve that purpose; in the absence of a Brāhmaṇa teacher, a Brāhmaṇa may learn from a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya teacher; duties of a married man when his [illegible] a guest; duty of a householder to eat and to observe [illegible] conduct laid down [illegible]; in case of doubt [illegible] guest's caste and [illegible] not to exceed; who is an *atithi*; praise of honouring an *atithi*; procedure [illegible] comes to a [illegible] who has consecrated [illegible] whom [illegible] [illegible] invited, the six [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

brahmacārin, householder, hermit &c.; occasions for begging are the teacher, marriage, sacrifice, maintenance of parents and avoidance of the cessation of some worthy obervance (like *agnihotra*); the peculiar *karmans* of Brāhmaṇas and the other castes; rules of war; the king to appoint a *purohita* skilled in *dharma* and art of government, who is to carry out punishments and penances; punishments including death sentence according to the gravity of the offences, but a Brāhmaṇa was not to be killed or injured or to be made a slave; rule of the road; a man of the lower caste by practising his duties rises higher and higher when re-born and a man of the higher castes goes lower by *adharma*; one should not marry another wife, when the first has children and is helpful in the performance of *dharma*; rules about marriageable girl, i. e. she must not be *sagotra* and *sapiṇḍa* of the mother; six forms of maraiage, brāhma, ārṣa, daiva, gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa; preference among the six; rules of conduct after marriage; sons born of wives of the same caste can perform the duties appropriate to the father's caste and inherit parent's property; the son of a woman who was once married or who is not married according to prescribed forms or who is not of the same caste is censured; whether the son belongs to the begetter (or to him on whose wife he is begotten); there can be no gift or sale of a child; partition during father's lifetime and equal division; exclusion from inheritance of the impotent, lunatics and sinners; the inheritance in the absence of son goes to nearest *sapiṇḍa*, then to the teacher and then to the pupil, or the daughter and ultimately to the king; the opinion of some that the largest share goes to the eldest son is opposed to the Vedas; no partition between husband and wife; usages of countries and families not to be followed if opposed to the Vedas; impurity on death of agnates, cognates &c; gifts to be made at proper time, place and to proper person; *śrāddhas;* times of *śrāddha*; materials required at śrāddha, food (including flesh) appropriate at *śrāddhas*; what Brāhmaṇas are to be called at *śrāddha*; the four *āśramas*; rules about *parivrāj* i. e. *sannyāsin*; the duties of forest hermit; praise of the meritorious and condemnation of evil-doers; special rules about kings; founding of his capital and palace; position of the *sabhā*; extirpation of thieves; gifts of land and wealth to Brāhmaṇas; protection of people; persons exempt from taxation, such as Śrotriyas, women of all castes, students and ascetics; punishment of young men for adultery; punishment varied according as the woman wronged was Ārya or

Śūdra; punishments for abuse and for homicide; punishments for various breaches of conduct; dispute between cowherd and master; the perpetrator, the abettor and one who approves of the act are all guilty; who are to decide disputes; in case of doubt decision by inference and by divine proof (ordeals); punishment for perjury; all other *dharmas* should be learnt, according to some, from women and people of all castes.

Each of the two *praśnas* of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra is divided into eleven *paṭalas*, there being 32 and 29 *khaṇḍikās* in the two *paṭalas* respectively. The Dharmasūtra is written in a more concise and compact style than that of Baudhāyana and has more archaic and un-Pāṇinean forms than any other extant Dharmasūtra. For example, the following are against the rules of Pāṇini; Adhāsana (for adha āsana) in I. 1. 2. 21, aglaṁsnu (I. 2. 3. 22), muhūṁśca (I. 2. 8. 22), agṛhyamāna (I. 4. 12. 8), sarvatopeta (for sarvata upeta) in I. 6. 19. 9, sakhim (for sakhīm) in I. 7. 21. 9. Haradatta points out in many places that the current reading was un-Pāṇinean and therefore he read differently (e. g. in II. 2. 5. 2 he reads 'viprakramaṇa', while the current reading was 'viprakramiṇa')[83]. This makes it probable that in the original text there must have been many more un-Pāṇinean forms than in the one preserved by Haradatta. There are many unfamiliar or rare words used by Apastamba, i. e. ananiyoga (I. 6. 19. 12), anaiścārika (I. 8. 22. 1), Kartapatya (I. 2. 5. 3), vyupatoda and vyupajāva (-'pa') in I. 2. 8. 15, brahmahasaṁstuta (I. 1. 1. 32). We meet with strange forms of certain words, such as paryānta (I. 3. 9. 21), praśāsta (II. 8. 19. 3), anātyaya (I. 1. 1. 21 for anatyaya), brahmojjham (for -ojjhaḥ) in I. 7. 21. 8, śvāviṭ (1. 5. 17. 37), ṣṭhevana (I. 11. 30. 19 for ṣṭhivana), ācāryadāre (for -dāreṣu) in I. 2. 7. 27. Though the Ap. *Dharmasūtra* is mainly in prose, there are verses here and there. Some of the verses are expressly stated to be taken from other sources by being introduced with the word "udāharanti" or with "athāpyudāharanti" e. g. I. 6. 19. 13 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa), I. 6. 19. 15 (compare Manu 8. 317 and Vas. 19. 44), I. 11. 31. 1, I. 11. 32. 24, II. 4. 9. 13 (two verses, same as Baud. II. 7. 22-23), II. 7. 17. 8, II. 6. 13. 6 (three verses almost the same as in Baud. II. 2. 34-36), II. 9. 23. 4-5 (two ślokas from a Purāṇa). Besides these there are several isolated verses, most of which

[83] 'प्रायेण मकारात्परमिकारमधीयते । तत्राप्येष एवार्थः । इकारस्तु छान्दसोपपाठो वा ।'.

seem to be quotations, though not introduced with words like "udāharanti". They are I. 4. 14. 25, I. 6. 19. 14 (the first pāda of which is Manu 4. 212), I. 9. 27. 10, I. 9. 27. 11 (same as Baud. II. 1. 42), II. 2. 4. 14 (compare Manu III. 101). Some of these verses are defective in metre, there being nine syllables in one anuṣṭubh pāda as in I. 9. 27. 10, II. 9. 23. 4-5, II. 2. 4. 14. One of the verses is in the classical Upajāti metre (II. 7. 17. 18), while another closely approaches that metre (I. 9. 27. 11). Besides these there are a few half-verses, II. 5. 11. 5-6 (same as latter half of Vanaparva 133. 1), II. 9. 21. 10 (Manu 6. 43 has the first pāda). Thus in all there are about twenty verses, of which at least six occur in Baudhāyana. Some sūtras that are printed as prose are parts of verses, e. g. I. 2. 5. 11. Besides these there are several verses in the paṭalas dealing with metaphysics (I. 8. 22. 4-8 and I. 9. 23. 1-3) that are pieced together largely from Upaniṣad passages. Āpastamba in several places employs the first person plural about himself[84], e. g. I. 1. 1. 27, I. 8. 22. 3, I. 8. 23. 4. Haradatta points out that in his day there was difference in the text as handed down in Northern and in Southern India.[85]

Āpastamba quotes, besides the *Saṁhitās*, the Brāhmaṇas very frequently (e. g., I. 1. 1. 10-11, I. 1. 3. 9, I. 1. 3. 26, I. 2. 7. 7, I. 2. 7. 11, I. 3. 10. 8). He quotes the Vājasaneyaka (I. 5. 17. 31) and the Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 12. 3 on svādhyāya), he speaks of the Upaniṣads (II. 2. 5. 1), his quotations (II. 2. 3. 16-II. 2. 4. 1-9) from the Tai. Araṇyaka agree, according to Bühler, with the text current in the Andhra country. He speaks of the six *aṅgas* of the Veda (II. 4. 8. 10) and in the next sūtra enumerates Chandas, Kalpa, grammar, Jyotiṣa, Nirukta, Śikṣā, (phonetics) and Chandoviciti (metrics), which are seven (Śikṣā being probably intended to be included in grammar). There are passages in Āpastamba which agree with the Nirukta, e. g. the definition of ācārya[86].

84 'आषोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्य...यथा ब्रवीतु समर्थः स्यादिति वक्ष्यामः।' आप. I. 1. 1. 27; तत्रात्मलाभीयान् श्लोकानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 22. 3; 'अथ भूतदोहोच्छ्वासदोषानुदाहरिष्यामः' I. 8. 23. 4.

85 On the sūtra अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात् (II. 7. 17. 25) he says 'उदीच्यास्त्वेतत्प्रायेण न पठन्ति। तथा च पूर्वेण व्याख्यानम्'.

86 'यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः' आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 14; 'आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ग्राहयति आचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा' निरुक्त I. 4 and 'तस्मै स द्वेष्यतमश्चनाह' (quoted in निरुक्त II. 3).

He quotes the views of ten writers on *dharma* by name, viz. Eka (I. 6. 19. 7), Kaṇva (I. 6. 19. 3 and I. 10. 28. 1), Kāṇva (I. 6. 19. 7), Kuṇika (I. 6. 19. 7), Kutsa (I. 6. 19. 7), Kautsa (I. 6. 9. 4 and 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7, I. 10. 28. 1), Vārṣyāyaṇi (I. 6. 19. 5 and 8, I. 10. 28. 2), Śvetaketu (I. 4. 13. 19 and I. 2. 5. 6), Hārita (I. 4. 13. 11, I. 6. 18. 2, I. 6. 19. 12, I. 10. 28. 1, 5 and 16, I. 10. 29. 12 and 16). Some of the names (viz. Kautsa, Vārṣyāyaṇi, and Puṣkarasādi) occur in the Nirukta. He quotes the view of Śvetaketu in Śvetaketu's own words (in I. 4. 13. 20) that even a married man should every year stay with his teacher for two months to refresh his studies and gives it as his own opinion that Śvetaketu's view is opposed to the Śāstras (the Vedas). In another place (I. 1. 4. 5-6) he speaks of Śvetaketu as an *ārāra* (a person belonging to later ages) and as one who on account of the remnant of his meritorious actions done in a former life or lives was able to grasp the four Vedas in a short time. It is usual to see in this a reference to Śvetaketu in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1. 1-2), where it is stated that Śvetaketu mastered all the Vedas in twelve years. But this identification is somewhat of doubtful value. Āpastamba quotes Śvetaketu as a teacher of *dharma*. The quotation from Śvetaketu given by Āpastamba has nothing corresponding to it in the Upaniṣad. Besides the Chāndogya Upaniṣad appears to make a distinction between two Śvetaketu's (in VI. 1 and VI. 8), one being called Āruṇeya and the other Āruṇi (son of Aruṇa). Hārita, whose views are cited so frequently, is quoted by Baudhāyana (II. 1. 50) and also by Vasiṣṭha (II. 6.). From the two sutras (I. 6. 19. 3 and 7) it follows that Kaṇva and Kāṇva are two distinct writers. The Kumbhakonam edition reads Kāṇva in I. 10. 28. 1, while Bühler reads Kaṇva there. Kāṇva Bodhayana is a teacher, whose name occurs in the *pitṛtarpaṇa* in many works. The view ascribed to Kāṇva by Āpastamba in I. 6. 19. 7 seems to be the same as that of the Baudhāyana-dharmaśūtra (I. 2. 19[87]). It has been shown above that there are close parallels in thought and expression

[87] 'क आश्यान्नः। य ईप्सेदिति कण्वः। ...शुद्धा भिक्षा भोक्तव्येककुणिकौ काण्वकुत्सौ तथा पुष्करसादि.।' आप.ध.सू. I. 6. 19. 2, 3 and 7. Here various views on the question as to whose food should be partaken by begging are set forth. Baudhāyana says 'ते ब्राह्मणाद्याः स्वकर्मस्थाः' which tallies with शुद्धा भिक्षा &c.

between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. In several places Āpastamba seems to be controverting the views of Baudhāyana or similar views held by others. Āpastamba condemns the view of giving the paternal wealth to the eldest son as opposed to the Vedas and explains the Vedic text (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 quoted above) about the eldest son being endowed with all wealth as a mere *anuvāda* and and not a *vidhi* (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 6-13). Baudhāyana cites both the texts of the Tai. S. about equal division among sons and about the eldest son's larger share and seems to favour the latter view by putting it last (II. 2. 2-7.). Similarly the discussion in Āpastamba (I. 1. 4. 5-12) about a *brahmacārin* eating the leavings (ucchiṣṭa) of his *guru*, provided the things are not directly forbidden by Śruti, seems to be directed against Baudhāyana (II. 1. 25-26). Although Āpastamba does not expressly quote Gautama, he appears to have had before him the Gautama-dharma-sūtra. He speaks of a smṛti (II. 6. 15. 25) that lays down that *upanayana* confers *adhikāra* on a man for śāstric actions and that before *upanayana* one is free to do anything and to eat anything. This, as interpreted by Haradatta, refers to Gautama (II. 1)[88]. There are striking coincidences between Gautama and Āpastamba, e. g. Gaut. I. 19.=Āp. I. 1. 1. 41 (about some teachers prescribing the yellow robe to a *brahmacārin*), Gaut. I. 3 = Āp. 11. 6. 13. 7 (about the violation of *dharma* by the great in former ages), Gaut. 9. 52=Āp. I. 11. 31. 13), Gaut. 23. 9= Āp. 1. 9. 25. 2; Gaut. 16. 19 = Āp. I. 3. 9. 14-15). Āpastamba frequently refers to the views of his predecessors in the words 'eke' (I. 1. 2. 37, 38, 41: I. 1. 4. 17; I. 2. 5. 20; I. 2. 6. 4: I. 3. 9. 3: I. 3. 11. 3 &c.) and 'aparam' (II. 6. 15. 22). It is somewhat remarkable that in many of these cases (where 'eke' occurs), the views are those either held by Gautama or ascribed by him also to others, e. g. Āp. I. 1. 2. 38 about the staff of a *brahmacārin* refers to Gaut. I. 23; Āp. I. 1. 2. 41 is almost same as Gaut. I. 19, Ap. I. 2. 5. 20 seems to refer to Gaut. 1. 54-59, Āp. 1. 3. 9. 3 (the view of some that Vedic study lasts for four months and a half) seems to refer to Gaut. 16. 2, and Āp. I. 3. 11. 3 (about not studying after dining at a sacrifice for deities that are manuṣya-prakṛti) pointedly refers to Gaut. 16. 34 which contains the word 'manuṣyayajñabhojana'. Āpastamba twice

[88] अत्र अधिकारः शास्त्रेर्भवति। सा निष्ठा। स्मृतिश्च। आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 15. 23-25; प्रागुपनयनात् कामचारः कामवादः कामभक्षः। अहुतात्। गौ. ध. सू. II. 1-2.

quotes verses from a Purāṇa (I. 6. 9. 13, II. 9. 23. 3) and in one place gives in prose the view of a Purāṇa (I. 10. 29. 7.)[89]. Āpastamba (II. 9. 24. 6) speaks of the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa (about creation of the world after a periodic dissolution). In one place Āpastamba (II. 11. 29. 11-12) says that 'the knowledge that exists (traditionally) among women and śūdras is the furthest limit of *vidyā* and it is said to be a supplement of the Atharvaveda.' Here he probably refers to Arthaśāstra, which according to the caraṇavyūha, is the Upaveda of the Atharvaveda. Āpastamba refers (II. 7. 16. 1) to Manu as founder of the institution of śrāddha. But this appears to be a reference to Manu, the mythical progenitor of mankind, and not to the Manusmṛti. It is noteworthy that Āpastamba (II. 7. 17. 8) quotes a verse, which is the same as Anuśāsanaparva 90. 46 (sambhojanī nāma &c.).

The Āpastambadharmasūtra stands in a peculiar relation to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. It is the only extant Dharmasūtra that contains many of the technical terms and doctrines of the Mīmāṁsā. He says (I. 1. 4. 8) 'a positive Vedic text is more cogent than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost[90]). This refers to Jaimini's rule (I. 3. 3) "if there is a conflict between an express Vedic text and Smṛti, the latter is to be disregarded: but if there be no conflict an inference (may be made that the Smṛti is based upon some Śruti)". In another place Āpastamba says (I. 4. 12. 11) 'where an action is done on account of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) Śāstra'. This is the same as Jaimini's teaching (IV. 1. 2)[91]. He speaks of the

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89 'यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे'। आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; this seems to be a summary of a verse like the one in Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 10. 12) and Vasiṣṭha (III. 18) 'स्वाध्यायिनं कुले जातं यो हन्यादाततायिनम् । न तेन भ्रूणहा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति ॥' (Baud. has अध्यापकं कुले and भ्रूणहा भवति).

90 'श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्' आप. ध. सू; 'विरोधे त्वनपेक्ष्यं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्' पू. मी. सू.
Vide also 'विप्रतिषेधे श्रुतिलक्षणं बलीयः' आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 9 for the same position.

91 'यत्र तु प्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति' आप.; यस्मिन्प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्साथलक्षणाविभक्तत्वात' पू. मी. सू. Vide also आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 9-10 'दृश्यते चापि प्रवृत्तिकारणम्। प्रीतिर्ह्युपलभ्यते' and 'हेतुदर्शनाच्च' पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 4.

convention (*samaya*) of those who know Nyāya (i. e. Mīmāṁsā) that aṅgas (such as the Kalpasūtras are) cannot be designated the Vedas (which are the principal), which is clearly a reference to Pūrvamīmāṁsa (I. 3. 11-14)[92] and he says that those who know Nyāya lay down that a mere *anuvāda* (affirming or reciting) of what is well-known to all is not a positive rule (a *vidhi*), which is similar to Jaimini's rule[93]. The dictum of Āpastamba that the word "sale" (*kraya*) applied to a bride in some Vedic texts is merely figurative closely resembles Jaimini's[94] remarks on the same point. The remark of Āpastamba that the rules of *anadhyāya* only apply to Vedic study and not to the recital of *mantras* at sacrifices corresponds to a rule in Jaimini[95] almost in the same words. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṁsā doctrines had been far advanced and that works existed that dealt with Mīmāṁsā topics (Nyāyas). The correspondence in language with the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to advance the view that Āpastamba knew the extant Mīmāṁsā-sūtra or an earlier version of it that contained almost the same expressions. It cannot be said that all these passages are later interpolations. They have all been explained by Haradatta and one of the sūtras referring to Mīmāṁsā topics occurs in so early a work as the commentary of Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. 1. 7) who quotes "Brāhmaṇoktā vidhayaḥ". (Āp. I. 4. 12. 10). The last passage is quoted by Medhātithi also (on Manu II. 6).

The dharmasūtra of Āpastamba has been quoted from very ancient times as authoritative. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini VI. 8. 18 quotes one sūtra of Āpastamba and a paraphrase of another.[96] The Tantravārtika refers to the sūtras of Āpastamba about local and

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92 'अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरव्यपदेश इति न्यायवित्समयः । ' आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 8. 13.

93 'अथापि नित्यानुवादमविधिमाहुर्न्यायविदः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 13 ; ' अर्थवादो वा विधिशेषत्वात्तस्मान्नित्यानुवादः' पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 30.

94 तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रम् । धर्माद्धि सम्बन्धः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11-12 ; 'क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्' पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 15.

95 'विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम्' आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 9 ; 'विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य' पू. मी. सू. XII. 3. 19.

96 "यथैव स्मृतिः 'धर्मे च अर्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' इति, 'धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत' इति च एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव ' अन्यतरापाये अन्यां कुर्वीत इति ।' शबरः; आप. says ' धर्मप्रजासम्पन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतराभावे कार्यो प्राणव्यावियोगात् ' II. 5. 11. 12-13.

family usages,[97] about drinking wine and about the conflict between the views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba (vide above page 26 also). Śaṅkarācārya in his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra IV. 2. 14 quotes Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3 (about the planting of trees for fruit as a meritorious act and the collateral benefits of shade and fragrance). He also cites (on Brahmasūtra II. 1. 1.) about the supreme soul a half verse from Apastamba (I. 8. 23. 2)[98]. In his bhāṣya on Bṛhadāraṇyaka, he cites Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 (upāsane gurūṇām &c.). The two *paṭalas* of Āpastamba (I. 8. 22 and 23) dealing with *adhyātma* (philosophy) were commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, who, from the general style and method of the commentary (vide Trivandrum edition of the adhyātmapaṭala), seems to be the same as the great ācārya. Sureśvara in his *Vārtika* (I. 1. 97) on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad quotes the sūtra about the planting of mango (Āpastamba I. 7. 20. 3[99]) trees. Viśvarūpa, who according to Mādhava, was the same as Sureśvara,[100] quotes (Trivandrum edition) in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (ācāra and vyavahāra only) Āpastamba's sūtras about twenty times. The quotations show that the text of Āpastamba was identical with the one printed, barring a few variations that are no more than mere slips on the part of the scribes of Mss. In his commentary on Yāj. III 237 Viśvarūpa quotes eighteen sūtras of Āpastamba (I. 9. 24. 6-23) consecutively which are the same as those in the printed text. Medhātithi quotes Āpastamba II. 5. 11. 2, II. 4. 7. 16, II. 8. 19. 20, I. 4. 14. 30-31 on Manu II. 247, III. 102, III. 273 and VIII 357 respectively and appears to refer to Āpastamba I. 4. 13. 6 (about "om") on Manu II. 83. The Mitākṣarā has several quotations and Aparārka contains

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97 तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 138 'प्रतिदेशं व्यवस्थया । आपस्तम्बेन संहृत्य दुष्टादुष्टत्वमादृतम् ॥'. This has in view 'एतेन देशकालधर्मा व्याख्याताः' आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 1; 'यापि चापस्तम्बस्मृतिवचनात्तुल्यबलत्वाशङ्का भवेत्तापि तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबेदिति एतेन प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविधिना निराकृतेति नैवं विप्राचारप्रामाण्यमाशङ्कितव्यम्.'

98 परमात्माननमेव प्रकृत्यापस्तम्बः पठति 'तस्मात्कायाः प्रभवन्ति सर्वे स मूलं शाश्वतिकः स नित्यः'.

99 आम्रे फलार्थे इत्यादि आपस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् । बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक. आपस्तम्ब's words are 'तथा आम्रे फलार्थे निर्मिते छाया गन्ध इत्यनुत्पद्येते एवं धर्मं चर्यमाणमर्था अनुत्पद्यन्ते ।'

100 Vide my article in JBBRAS for 1923 pp. 205-206.

about two hundred sūtras of Āpastamba, though rather in a mutilated form. But it is not necessary to refer to these and other later works in detail, since Haradatta's commentary, as will be shown later on, was wtitten about the time of Aparārka. Thus from the days of Śabara (500 A. D. at the latest) to 1100 A. D. we have a host of writers who vouch for the authenticity of the extant text of Āpastamba.

About the home and personal history of Āpastamba little is known. Āpastamba is not an ancient name. It does not occur in the Vedic texts. It occurs in the *gaṇa* "Bidādi" in Pāṇini IV. 1. 104. He speaks of himself as belonging to later ages (*avarā*). Vide Āpastamba[101] I. 2. 5. 4. and II. 6. 13. 9. In the *tarpaṇa* he is generally mentioned after Bodhāyana and before Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśin (vide note 68a above). Therefore according to tradition his school was elder or more authoritative than that of Hiraṇyakeśin. In one place Āpastamba refers to a peculiar śrāddha usage of the *udīcyas* (II. 7. 17. 17).[102] Āpastamba must be supposed to have embodied in his work the usages of his own country. If he specially mentions the usages of a particular locality, it would follow that he did not hail from that locality. But the exact meaning of " Udīcya " is doubtful. Haradatta quotes a verse of the grammarians, according to which the country north of the Śarāvatī was called "Udīcya". According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary on the caraṇavyūha the Āpastambīyas were to be found to the south of the Narmadā, in the south-east, that is, in Āndhra and the territory about the mouth of the Godāvarī. Therefore it is natural to suppose that Āpastamba's school had its origin in the south and probably in Āndhra. The Pallavas made land grants to Āpastambīyas. Vide I. A. vol. V. page 155.

The age of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra can be settled within only approximate limits. It is probably later than the Gautama Dharmasūtra and also the Baudhāyayanadharmasūtra and before 500 A. D. it was an authoritative smṛti work according to Śabara. Āpastamba is enumerated by Yājñavalkya as a writer on *dharma* (I. 5)

101 'तस्मादृषयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात्' and 'तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः'.

102 उदीच्यवृत्तिस्त्वासनगतानां हस्तेषूदपात्रानयनम् । on this हरदत्त says शरावत्या उदक्कीरवासिन उदीच्यास्तेषां वृत्तिराचारः.

and by Śaṅkha-Likhita. Its style and grammar (which is un-Paṇinean in the extreme) entitle it to great antiquity. There is no clear reference to Buddhism and other schisms anywhere. It appears to look upon Śvetaketu as not far removed from its own epoch. It was probably written at a time when Jaimini had founded his school. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we assign it to some period between 600--300 B. C. On several points his views are opposed to those of his predecessors, e. g. he rejects secondary sons, condemns *niyoga*, does not admit Paiśāca and Prājāpatya as valid forms of marriage (vide above page 29). There are other points also wherein Āpastamba differs from Gautama and the other sūtra-kāras. Gautama (IV. 14-17) and Baudhāyana (I. 8. 7-12) give long lists of mixed castes and Gautama includes Yavana among them. Āpastamba is silent on this point. But this has hardly any bearing on chronology. Even the Vedic works mention the Niṣāda and the Pūrvamīmāṁśāsūtra has a speçial adhikaraṇa (VI. 1. 51) devoted to him ; the Bṛ. Upaniṣad mentions (IV. 3. 22 and 37) such castes as Cāṇḍāla, and the Gītā mentions the Śvapāka. The Āp. Śrauta speaks of the Niṣāda (9. 14. 12-13). The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) mentions Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa and Vaiṇa. Gautama (17. 30) forbids the eating of the flesh of cows and bulls, while Āp. (I. 5. 7. 30-31) seems to allow it and cites the Vājasaneyaka for support. In this connection it has to be noted that Vasiṣṭha also has a similar sūtra (14. 46). Āp. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a penance for one who practises usury and lays down that one should not eat at the usurer's (I. 6. 18. 22), while Gautama appears to allow usury to a Brāhmaṇa as a calling if done through an agent (X. 6). Baudhāyana, on the other hand, quotes verses that condemn usury in strong language as even worse than brahmahatyā, holds that a Brāhmaṇa who is a usurer should be treated as a śūdra and allows the first two castes to practise usury only towards atheists, śūdras and such like persons (I. 5. 79-81). So these differences of Āp. from others are hardly conclusive as to his chronological position.

The commentary of Haradatta called Ujjvalā-vṛtti is the only one so far recovered. For an account of Haradatta, vide sec. 86. The Smṛticandrikā (I, page 25) quotes a passage from the *bhāṣya* of Āpastamba (II. 6. 15. 19-20) and (II. p. 300) quotes the explanation of the bhāṣyakāra on Āpastamba II. 6 14. 1. Both these passages

are not found in the commentary of Haradatta, though in the latter case, Haradatta holds the same view as that of the Bhāṣyakāra. Similarly the Vīramitrodaya (Vyavahāra, page 671) quotes the bhāṣyakāra of Āpastamba, but that quotation does not agree with Haradatta. Haradatta himself does not call his work *bhāṣya*, but *vṛtti*. Besides the Subodhinī on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 132) quotes a passage from the Āpastambadharmavṛtti which is found in Haradatta on Āp. II. 6. 14. 1. Haradatta himself cites sometimes two or three other interpretations of the same sūtra (e. g. on Ap. I. 2. 5. 2; I. 3. 10. 6; I. 5. 15. 20; II. 2. 3. 16). So the *bhāṣyakāra* was probably one of his predecessors.

In Aparārka, Haradatta, Smṛticandrikā and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Āpastamba. These quotations are concerned with topics of Āhnika, Śrāddha, and Prāyaścitta. The Smṛticandrikā (III. pp. 423 and 426) quotes a Stotrāpastamba. Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18) quotes several verses on prāyaścitta from Āpastamba. Three of these verses are found in the Āpastamba-smṛti in verse (Jivananda's collection vol. I pp. 567-584 chap. I verses 16, 19, 31). The Smṛti printed by Jivananda contains about 207 verses in ten chapters on prāyaścitta and purifications. But the quotations from the Smṛticandrikā and Aparārkra show that the verse Āpastamba was a much larger work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sūtra work, the versified smṛti must have been comparatively an ancient work.

8. Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra.

The Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra forms the 26th and 27th *praśnas* of the Hiraṇyakeśi-kalpa. The Śrauta sūtra has been published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona). The Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra was edited with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta by Dr. Kirste (Vienna, 1889). The Gṛhya forms the 19th and 20th *praśnas* of the Kalpa, each *praśna* being divided into eight paṭalas. The Śrauta-sūtra is largely based on the Śrauta-sūtra of Āpastamba. The Gṛhya-sūtra is indebted to the Gṛhya-sūtra of Bhāradvāja. The Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin can hardly be called an independent work. Hundreds of sūtras are borrowed word for word from the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra. The Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin is therefore the oldest voucher for the authenticity of Āpastamba's text and is very valuable for checking the latter.

The Hiraṇyakeśins form a sūtra-caraṇa of the Khāṇḍikeya section of the Taittirīyaśākhā and were formed later than the Āpastambīya School. In a grant of the Kongu kings dated in 454 A. D. Brāhmaṇas of the Hiraṇyakeśi School are mentioned (I. A. vol. V. page 136). According to the Mahārṇava quoted in the commentary of the caraṇavyūha, the Hiraṇyakeśins were to be found in the south-west between the Sahya mountain and the ocean and near Paraśurāma (i. e. in the Konkan). There are at present many Brāhmaṇas in the Ratnagiri District who call themselves Hiraṇyakeśins. The Dattaka-mīmāṁsā of Nanda-paṇḍita twice quotes passages from the commentary of Śabarasvāmin on the sūtra of Satyāṣāḍha. If he was identical with the great commentator of the Pūrva-mīmaṁsā (which is almost certain), then we have unimpeachable evidence for the existence of the works of the Hiraṇyakeśins long before the fifth century A. D.

Bühler in his second edition of the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra (1893) gave (in appendix II) the various readings of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra from two MSS. I secured a modern transcript of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra from the Deccan College collection (No 138 of 1881-82), which contains the text and also the commentary of Mahādeva thereon. There are 18 folios for the sūtra and 101 for the commentary. That ms. presents some readings which are not noticed by Bühler as found in the two mss. consulted by him. For example, the ms. reads " saptama āyuṣkāmamaṣṭame brahmavarcasakāmam (reversing the order of years in Āp. I. 1. 1. 21-22), omits the words " yadi snāyāt daṇḍavat plavet' (from Āp. I. 1. 2. 30.), reads 'vastrāṇyeva vasītobhaya &c.' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 9 omits vasīta), reads ' gurave ' for ' ācāryāya ' in Āp. I. 1. 3. 31. The ms. of the Hiraṇyakeśi-dharmasūtra contains certain additions to the sūtras of Āpastamba. For example, a sūtra ' kṣāralavaṇa-madhumāṁsāni ca varjayet ' is added after Āp. II. 9. 22. 14, a sūtra ' teṣām pūjā śreyasyātmanaḥ kāryā ' occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 8, and the sūtra ' sarva-dharmāṇām svadharmānuṣṭhānāniyameṣu ca yuktaḥ syāt ' occurs after Āp. II. 9. 25. 13. The manuscript contains a few verses, that are not found in the Āpastambadharmasūtra, introduced by the words ' athāpyudāharanti[103], ' (except in one case

[103] ' पशवश्च मुखादाना अश्मा चालवणोधृ (द्धृ)तः । एतद् ब्राह्मण ते पथ्यं तन्तुभ्यारजनीकृतः ॥ ' after आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 4.; अन्यापकं कुले जातं वो इत्यादानताधिनम् ।

viz. 'putreṇa, &c.) The manuscript also omits certain sūtras found in Āp. e. g. 'varṇajyāyasām cetarair varṇaiḥ' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 8), 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt' (Āp. II. 7. 17. 25), 'athopanayanaṁ tata udakopasparśanam' (Ap. I. 1. 1. 36.). In the case of some sūtras the readings of Hiraṇyakeśin present a smoother and more classical Sanskrit than that of Āpastamba and are manifestly attempts to bring them in a line with the requirements of the śiṣṭas at the time when the Āpastambasūtras were taken over into the Hiraṇyakeśi school. Hiraṇyakeśisūtra has 'pādonam' and 'ardhonam' for 'padūnam' and 'ardhena' of Āpastamba (I. 1. 2. 13-14), 'asandarśane' for 'asandarśe' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 29), 'aglāniḥ' for 'aglāṁsnuḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 22), 'prakṣālayet' for 'prakṣālayīta' (Āp. I. 1. 3. 36), 'kartṛpatyam' for 'kartapatyam' (Āp. I. 2. 5.3) 'yathāśakti' for 'śaktiviṣayeṇa' (Āp. II. 5. 12. 1). Another noticeable feature is that the arrangement of the sūtras into subsections is a good deal different in the two works. Bühler notes that from the 13th khaṇḍikā (6th paṭala) of the second praśna both the manuscripts consulted by him do not indicate the *paṭalas*. The Deccan College manuscript does not number them from the second paṭala in the second *praśna*. The number of paṭalas in the first *praśna* of Hiraṇyakesi is eight, while Āpastamba has eleven paṭalas in each of the *two praśnas*. The distribution of sūtras in the khaṇḍikās is therefore different in the two works. Hiraṇyakeśi has 31 khaṇḍikās in the first *praśna* and 20 in the second. Besides a few of the khaṇḍikās are differently placed. The first khaṇḍikā of Hiraṇyakeśi (first *praśna*) stops after Āp. I. 1. 2. 1, the third reaches up to Āp. I. 1. 4. 6; Āp. I. 8. 22 and 23 (the adhyātmapaṭala) come in Hiraṇyakeśi immediately after Āp. I. 6. 19 and are Hiraṇya. I. 6. 20; Āp. I. 7. 20 and 21=Hir. I. 6. 21-22; Āp. I. 9. 24 and 25. 1--4= Hir. I. 6. 23; Āp. I. 9. 25. 4-13 and I. 9. 26. 1-10=Hir. I. 7. 24; Āp. I. 9. 26. 11-14 and I. 9. 27=Hir. I. 7. 25; Āp. I. 10. 28=Hir. I. 7. 26; Āp. I. 11. 31. 1-10=Hir. I. 8. 29; Āp. I. 11. 31. 11-23=

न तेन भ्रूणहा भवति मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छतीति। which is हिरण्यकेशि I. 7. 27. 8 and comes after आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणामृतं सूते। अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण आप्नोति अन्नस्य विष्टपम्॥ दौहित्रस्तत्प्रतिमुञ्चति यत्पापं मद्वयम्। ब्राह्मदेवास्त्वधिकारिणः॥ after आप. II. 5. 12. 4; 'वेदाध्यायी पञ्चाग्निश्चिद्रुपर्णो ज्येष्ठसामिकः। ब्राह्मदेयानुसन्तानी पञ्चैते पङ्क्तिपावनाः॥' after आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 17. 21. The verse अध्यापकं is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 12 and Vas. III. 18 with for पुत्रेण &c. compare मनु 9. 137..

Hir. I. 8. 30. In the second *praśna* the variance in distribution of sūtras into khaṇḍikās is still greater. Besides Āp. II. 4. 8-9 are placed in Hiraṇyakeśi before Āp. II. 3. 6-7 and Āp. II. 6. 13-15 before Āp. II. 5. 10-11. Sometimes a single sūtra of Āpastamba is split up into two and placed in two different khaṇḍikās, e. g. Āp. I. 9. 25. 4 is split into Hir. I. 6. 23. 31 and I. 7. 24. 1 (the portion from 'rājānam gatvā' being the first sūtra of Hiraṇyakeśi's 24th Khaṇḍikā.

The com. of Mahādeva Dīkṣita called Ujjvalā, is almost word for word the same as that of Haradatta's Ujjvalā. That one has borrowed from the other admits of no doubt and Bühler thinks that Mahādeva is the borrower. But there is hardly anything to turn the scale in favour of Haradatta. Sometimes Mahādeva's commentary contains more matter than Haradatta's (e. g. on the sūtras 'Saptame brahmarcasakamam &c. 'Upanayanam vidyārthasya śrutitaḥ', 'dvādaśāvarardhyam') and sometimes Haradatta contains more explanation (e. g. on 'tasmiṅsca vidyākarmāntam &c.; on 'nāpsu ślāghamānaḥ snāyāt', on 'pāṇisaṁkṣubdhenodakenaika &c.'). Mahādeva differs from Haradatta's explanation of the word 'atha', which the former takes in the sense of 'ānantarya or adhikāra', while the latter takes it only in the sense of 'ānaṇtarya'. That Mahādeva also is an early writer follows from the fact (noted by Bühler p. 117n) that portions of his commentary are contained in the Munich Ms. of Haradatta dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). It is to be noted that Haradatta after saluting Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his Ujjvalā does obeisance to Mahādeva (which may mean God Śiva or the author Mahādeva if he was the *guru* or father of Haradatta). Mahādeva often comments on the sūtras as found in Āpastamba and not on the readings of them as existing in the Hiraṇyakeśi school; e. g. he comments on 'padūnam', on 'adhāsanaśāyi' for ardhāsanaśāyī (the reading of the sūtra), on 'ātmasvastyayanārthena' (Āp. II. 5. 11. 9) for 'svastyayanārthena' of the ms. of Hir. The explanations of the two writers sometimes differ, as for example on 'ācaryādhīnas syād-anyatra patanīyebhyaḥ' (Āp. I. 1. 2. 19[104]). One more circumstance that is worthy of note is that the Ujjvalā of Haradatta does not contain many quotations from Smṛtis as com-

[104] हरदत्त explains 'आचार्याधीनो भवेत्युपनयनान्ते यत्संशासनं तत्सिद्धयेवाचार्याधीनतानूद्यते,' while महादेव makes it a विधि 'आचार्याधीनतया स्थातव्यमिति विधिः'.

pared with his commentary on the Gautamadharmasūtra. Although one may be inclined to hold that it is Mahādeva who borrows, it must be clearly recognized that there is hardly any positive evidence in support of such a view. There is a commentary called Vaijayantī on the Hiraṇyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra. This Mahādeva is very likely identical with the Mahādeva who commented upon the dharmasūtra.

9. Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

This *dharmasūtra* has been printed several times. The collection of Jivananda (part II, pp. 456-496) contains only 20 chapters and a portion of the 21st and so does the collection of Mr. M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1908). The Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis (1905, pp. 187-231) and the edition of Dr. Führer in the B. S. series (1916) contain thirty chapters. According to Dr. Jolly (R. u S., p. 6) some mss. give only six or ten chapters. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra with the commentary called Vidvanmodinī was printed at Benares. In the following Dr. Fuhrer's edition has been used.

Kumārila (vide note 55 above) tells us that the dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha was specially studied by the students of the Ṛgveda, but that along with other dharmasūtras it is authoritative for all *caraṇas*. No śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of Vasiṣṭha, if they ever existed, have come down to us. We have therefore to fall back upon one of two hypotheses, *viz*. either the dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha is the solitary remnant of a school that might have once possessed a complete *kalpa* or that it was composed as an independent work on *dharma* and was subsequently seized upon by the students of the Ṛgveda, who had only śrauta and gṛhya sūtras of Āśvalāyana. For reasons given elsewhere I incline to the latter view. The *dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha cites quotations from all Vedas and beyond the name Vasiṣṭha there is hardly anything special in the dharmasūtra to connect it with the Ṛgveda. It is true that in the 17th chap. several verses of the Ṛgveda (such as I. 21. 5, I. 124. 7, V. 4. 10 which occur in sūtras, 3, 16 and 4 respectively) and several passages from the story of Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa are quoted by the sūtra and that several hymns of the Ṛgveda, such as the *asyavāmīya* (Ṛg. I. 164), *haviṣpāntīya* (Ṛg. X. 88), *Aghamarṣaṇa* (X. 190), are referred to in the 26th chap. But there is nothing remarkable in this as some of the verses and *sūktas* are mentioned in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra also. Besides the Vas. Dh. S. quotes several

passages from the Taittirīyasaṁhitā (as in Vas. V. 7-9, which quotes Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 6 and Vas. XI. 48 which quotes Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5), the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, the Maitrayṇīya-saṁhitā (in Vas. I. 37).

The contents of the Vas. Dh. S. are :— I Definition of *Dharma*, limits of Āryāvarta, who are sinners, the mortal sins, a brāhmaṇa can marry a girl of any of the three higher castes, six forms of marriage, the king was to regulate the conduct of people and to take the sixth part of wealth as a tax ; II. The four *varṇas*, the greatness of *ācārya*, before *upanayana* there is no authority for religious rites, the privileges and duties of the four castes, in distress a Brāhmaṇa could subsist by resorting to the calling of a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to sell certain things, usury condemned, rates of interest allowed ; III. Censure of illiterate Brāhmaṇa, rules on finding treasure-trove, who are *ātatāyins*, when they could be killed in self-defence, who are *paṅktipāvanas*, constitution of a *pariṣad*, rules about *ācamana*, *śauca* and purification of various substances ; IV. The constitution of the four castes is based upon birth and the performance of *saṁskāras*, the duties common to all castes, honouring guests, *madhuparka*, impurity on birth and death ; V. dependence of women, rules of conduct for a *rajasvalā* ; VI. usage is transcendental *dharma*, praise of *ācāra*, rules about answering calls of nature, moral characteristics of a brāhmaṇa and the peculiar characteristics of a śūdra, censure of partaking food at the houses of śūdras, rules of etiquette and good breeding ; VII the four āśramas, and the duties of a student ; VIII. Duties of an householder, honouring guests, IX. rules for forest hermits ; X. rules for *saṁnyāsins* ; XI. six persons who deserve special honour, viz. the priest at the sacrifice, son-in-law, king, paternal and maternal uncles and a *snātaka* ; order of precedence in serving food, guests, rules about śrāddha, times for it, the brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, rules about *agnihotra*, *upanayana*, the proper time, staff, girdle &c. for it ; method of begging for alms, prāyaścitta for those whose *upanayana* is not performed ; XII. rules of conduct for a *snātaka* ; XIII. rules about the beginning of Vedic study, rules about holidays for Vedic studies, rules about falling at the feet of the *guru* and others, guiding principles in precedence as regards respect (learning, wealth, age, relationship, avocation, each prior deserving more consideration than each succeeding one), rule of the road ; XIV. rules about forbidden and permitted food, rules about the flesh of certain birds and animals ; XV. rules of adoption,

about excommunication of those who revile the Vedas or perform sacrifices of śūdras and for other sins; XVI. About administration of justice, king as guardian of minors, threefold *pramāṇas*, viz. documents, witnesses and possession; rules about adverse possession and about king's advisers; qualifications of witnesses; perjury condoned in certain cases; XVII. praise of *aurasa* son; conflicting views about *kṣetraja* son, viz. whether he belongs to the begetter or to him on whose wife he is begotten; twelve kinds of sons; partition between brothers, grounds of exclusion from partition, rules of *niyoga*, rules about grown-up unmarried girl, rules of inheritance, king as ultimate heir; XVIII. *pratiloma* castes such as cāṇḍāla, no Vedic studies for śūdras or in their presence; XIX. king's duty to protect and to punish; importance of *purohita*; XX. about prāyaścittas for various acts unknowingly or knowingly done; XXI. prāyaścitta for adultery by Śūdra and others with women of the Brāhmaṇa caste or for cow-killing; XXII. prāyaścitta for eating forbidden food and sacred texts that purify in case of sins; XXIII. penances for *Brahmacārin* having sexual intercourse, for drinking wine &c.; XXIV. Kṛcchra and Atikṛcchra; XXV. secret penances and penances for lesser sins; XXVI-VII. virtues of prāṇāyāma, Vedic hymns of Gāyatrī as purifiers; XXVIII. praise of women, eulogy of Vedic *mantras* like *aghamarṣaṇa* and of gifts; XXIX. rewards of gifts, *brahmacarya*, *tapas* &c.; XXX. eulogy of *dharma*, truth and *brāhmaṇa*.

The Vas. Dh. S. resembles in several respects the other dharmasūtras described above. It contains almost the same subjects and is similarly composed in prose interspersed with verses. The Vas. Dh. S. is in style like the Gautamadharmasūtra and has many sūtras identical with or closely resembling those of the latter. Vide. p. 18 above. It has also several sūtras closely corresponding with the sūtras of Baudhāyana. Grave doubts have been entertained about the authenticity of the whole of the text of the Vas. Dh. S. as the mss. contain varying numbers of chapters from 6 to 30, and as the text is hopelessly corrupt in several places (e. g. vide note 108 below). The Vas. Dh. S. contains many verses which bear the impress of a comparatively late age. Chapters 25-28 are entirely in verse, while there are other chapters (like III. 2-12, VI. 1-13, XI. 20-42) which contain many verses interposed between prose passages. In this respect Vasiṣṭha's work is on a par with Bau-

dhāyana's, in the fourth praśna of which there are chapters entirely consisting of verses. It has therefore been argued that the text of Vasiṣṭha was tampered with freely, particularly as regards the chapters at the end. But as shown below it will have to be admitted that the interpolations, whatever they may be, were made at a very early period. The Mitākṣarā quotes Vas. by name about 80 times and the quotations are taken from almost every chapter from the first to the last. For example, Mit. quotes Vas. 27. 1 on Yāj. III. 311, Vas. 27. 21 on Yāj. III. 324, Vas. 28. 7 on Yāj. III. 298, Vas. 28. 18, 19 and 22 on Yāj. III. 310. Even Medhātithi quotes Vasiṣṭha over twenty times. The quotations are mostly taken from the first chapter to the 21st. Only one quotation from the last few chapters (viz. 27. 16) has been found in Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 211) and that too is not quoted as Vasiṣṭha's, but is ascribed to 'others.' Viśvarūpa, who flourished about the first quarter of the 9th century quotes Vas. about thirty times in his commentary on the *ācāra* and *vyavahāra* sections of Yāj. These quotations hardly differ in any respect from the text of Dr. Führer's edition and are scattered over almost all chapters from the 1st to the 17th, six quotations being taken from chapters 3 and 17 each. In the prāyaścitta section Viśvarūpa quotes Vas. even more frequently. Besides several sūtras from the 1st, 4th, 10th and 11th chapters, he quotes here no less than 22 sūtras of the 20th chap. and 9 of the 21st. Moreover sūtras 37 and 39 of the 23rd chap. are quoted (on Yāj. III 281-282). What is more remarkable is that two verses (2-3) of the 28th chapter are ascribed to Vasiṣṭha and explained in detail (on Yaj. III. 256), while Vas. 28. 4 is quoted without the author's name. These facts make it certain that the Vas. Dh. S. contained in Viśvarūpa's day all the chapters from the first to the 23rd and also the 28th. Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya in Bṛ. Upaniṣad (III. 5. 1) quotes Vas. X. 4 and on Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 15 he quotes Vas. VII. 3. The Vas. Dh. S. quotes numerous verses preceded by the words 'athāpyudāharanti', which is the case with Baudhāyana also. Several verses occur without these words being prefixed, but most of them seem to be quotations (e. g. Vas. II. 3 which combines Manu. II-169 and 170, IV. 6 which is Manu 5. 41, VI. 6 and 8 which are Manu IV. 157 and 158). Some of these verses introduced with the words 'athāpi' &c. as well as some of those not so introduced are in the regular classical Upajāti, Upendravajrā or Indravjrā (vide. I. 38, X. 20 for verses with *athapi* &c.

and VI. 9 and 25, X. 17, XVI. 36 for verses without them). Some of the verses are in the ancient Triṣṭubh form (e. g. VI. 3 and 30, VIII. 17, XVII. 71). In one verse (VI. 5) there are twelve letters in the first *pāda* and 11 in the rest. One quotation with the words "athāpi" &c. is in prose (II. 5). There are a few un-Pāṇinean forms like 'Vivadanti' in XIV.47 (vide Pāṇini I. 3.47). It looks as if the dharmasūtra once ended with the 24th chapter, where we have an injunction (in sūtra 6) against imparting the dharmasūtra to one who is not a son or pupil. The same sūtra occurs in Baudhāyana Dh. S. IV. 4. 9 and the succeeding sūtra is the same in both. But the words 'prāyaścitta has been described in the *rahasya* sections for playing false to the husband' (in Vas. V. 4) apparently refer either to chapters 25-28 (which contain *rahasya* penances) or to some prototype of those chapters now lost.

The Vas. Dh. S. quotes largely ftom the Ṛgveda and other Vedic *Saṁhitās*. Among the Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and Śatapatha are frequently cited. The Vājasaneyaka (Vas. 12. 31 and 23. 13) and the Kāṭhaka (Vas. 12. 24 and 30. 5) are mentioned by name. The Tai. Āraṇyaka is quoted in Vas. 23. 23. The Upaniṣads and Vedānta occur in 22. 9. Vasiṣṭha quotes a *gāthā* of the Bhāllavins from their Nidāna work about the extent of the home of Brāhmanism, which is quoted by Baudhāyana also (Dh. S. I. 1. 27). He speaks of the *aṅga*s of the Veda (3. 23 and 13. 7) and gives their number as six (3. 19). Itihāsa and Purāṇa are mentioned in 27. 6. The science of words (grammar), of omens and portents and of astrology and astronomy (Nakṣatravidyā) are referred to in 10. 20-21. He prohibits the learning of the language of the Mlecchas (in 6. 41). Vas. quotes a verse that states that the view holding the *aprāmāṇya* of the Vedas leads to perdition (12. 41). In Vas. II. 8–11 occurs the Vidyāsūkta in four verses that we meet with in the Nirukta (II. 4). Vasiṣṭha calls his own work dharmaśāstra (in 24. 6) and probably refers to other works on *dharma* in the words 'one who studies dharmas' (in 3. 19). The study of dharmaśāstra as a penance for even mortal sins is spoken of in 27. 19. Vas. quotes several authors on dharmaśāstra. He quotes a verse from Hārīta (in II. 6) which occurs in Baudhāyana also with slight variations (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 7), though without the author's name. The two halves of this verse are almost the same as the latter halves of Manu. 2. 171-172. Bühler is therefore not quite accurate when he

says without qualification that the verse attributed to Hārīta occurs in Manu (p. XX, S. B. E. vol. XIV). Vas. quotes Gautama twice (in 4. 35 and 37) about impurity on death, the first corresponding to Gautama (14. 41), while there is nothing in Gautama to correspond to the 2nd. Vas. quotes a verse (11. 20) which mentions Yama by name and embodies the latter's views. Vas. (18. 13-15) quotes three ślokas sung by Yama, one of which (14) is the same as Manu 4. 80 and another (15) is very similar to Manu 4. 81. Another śloka of Yama is quoted by Vas. (19. 48) which is almost the same as Manu 5. 93. From these facts and others Bühler draws the conclusion (S. B. E. vol. XIV, p. XX) that these verses were taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra, which occupied the same position in Vasiṣṭha's day as the Manusmṛti does at present. I demur to this conclusion, which will be discussed later on in detail (under Manusmṛti). Vas. (14. 30-32) quotes ślokas of Prajāpati, the first of which mentions Yama by name. Vas. 14. 16-19 and 24-27 are quoted as ślokas of Prajāpati, three of which (14. 16, 18 and 24) are practically the same as Manu. 4. 248, 249 and 5. 127. Vas. 14. 19 contains a *pāda* which occurs in Manu 4. 212. It is remarkable that the Vas. Dh. S. cites Vasiṣṭha himself with great reverence (as *bhagavān*) in 2. 50 (about the rate of interest), 24. 5 (about Kṛcchra penance), 30. 11. In numerous places the Vas. Dh. S. either refers to Manu by name or quotes the views of Manu (under the form 'iti Mānavam') or a śloka of Manu (with the words 'Mānavaṁ ślokam). All these passages have an important bearing on the age of the Manusmṛti and on the supposed existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. They therefore deserve to be carefully examined. Vas. I. 17 is in prose (about local, family or caste usages) and summarises the views of Manu. The absence of the word 'iti' before 'abravīn' Manuḥ' and the form of the sūtra itself clearly establishes that Vas. is not directly quoting a sūtra of Manu. That sūtra is only a summary of our Manu I. 118. Vas. 3. 2 (which is preceded by the words 'Mānavaṁ ślokam') is Manu II. 168. And so are Vas. 13. 16, 20. 18, which are Manu 4.117 and 11.151 (with very slight variations). That the latter existed in Vasiṣṭha's text is vouched for by Aparārka (p. 1075). Vas. 4. 5 is in prose and cites the view of Manu that animals may be sacrificed only for worshipping and honouring the

manes, deities and guests [105]. There is hardly anything to show that it is a direct quotation from Manu and not a summary of Manu's views. The sūtra briefly summarises the views that we find expressed in our Manu 5. 22, 32, 41 and 42 (the words of 42 'eṣvartheṣu paśuṁ hiṁsan' are interesting and bear a close resemblance to 'paśum hiṁsyād' in Vas.). That sūtra is followed by a verse which is the same as Manu 5. 41. It is to be noted that the same verse occurs in the dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu (51. 64) which reads 'nānyatreti kathaṁcana' for 'nānyathetyabravīn Manuḥ'. This change appears to have been purposely made to keep up the impression that the Viṣṇu-Dh. S. emanated from Viṣṇu himself and so could not have borrowed from a human author. Vas. 4. 7 is very similar to Manu 5. 48. Bühler (S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxxi) is wrong in taking Vas. 4. 8 as a quotation from the Mānavadharmasūtra. There is nothing to show that it is so taken. It is more probably a quotation from or a summary of a Brāhmaṇa passage (compare a quotation in Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 109, which is similar). Vide note 46. Vas. 23.43 (where Manu is referred to as prescribing an easy penance called Śiśukṛcchra for children and old men) corresponds more or less with Manu 11. 211 and 219 and Vas. 26. 8 has evidently Manu 11. 260 in view. There are only two places in Vasiṣṭha where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the Manusmṛti. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19 37. The latter is cited as a Mānavaśloka and is in the Upajāti metre.[106] Because this is not found in our Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars seem to think that the verse is taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra which once existed in mixed prose and verse and is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the Manusmṛti and about a dozen verses which, though not strictly identical, are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the

[105] पितृदेवातिथिपूजायामप्येव पशुं हिंस्यादिति मानवम् । वसिष्ठ 4. 5; वसिष्ठ 4. 8 is अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय महोक्षाणं वा महाजं वा पचेदेवमस्मा अतिथ्यं कुर्वन्तीति ।

[106] शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—न भिन्नकार्षापणमस्ति शुल्के न शिल्पवृत्तौ न शिशौ न दूते । न भैक्षलब्धे न हुतावशेषे न श्रोत्रिये न प्रव्रजिते न यज्ञे ॥. The वि. र. (p. 305) says 'वसिष्ठः शुल्के चापि मानवं श्लोकमुदाहरति न भिन्नम्' &c.

verses of Manu almost word for word.[107] The hypothesis that commends itself to me is that Vas. contains borrowings from the Manusmṛti or its purer ancient original in verse.

In the words 'Śrāmaṇakenāgnimādhāya' (Vas. 9. 10), the sūtra of Vikhanas seems to be referred to. Gautama (Dh. S. 3. 26) contains the same words. Vasiṣṭha's 22nd chap. is the same as Gautama's 19th and Baudhāyana's tenth in the 3rd *praśna* and seems to have been borrowed from Gautama. Vasiṣṭha refers to the views of others in the words 'eke' or 'anye' (Vas. 1. 12, 13, 25; 4. 10; 17. 66; 20. 2). Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII, p. xviii) thinks that Vas. 28. 10–15 and 18–22 are borrowed from the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra chap. LVI and LXXXVII for its original the Kāṭhakadharma-sūtra. Dr. Jolly is not right with regard to both the places. Bühler has already pointed out his mistake as to the second passage (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XXII). The verses in Vas. 28. 10–15 occur in several smṛtis (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti, 10th chap. in Jivananda's ed. part II. pp. 356–357 for the same verses). Besides Vas. 28. 11 occurs in Baud. Dh. S. IV. 3. 7. Hence it is hardly proper for any scholar to make the dogmatic assertion that one particular smṛti must have borrowed from any other. The rather very corrupt passage in Vasiṣṭha (16. 21-23[108]) very closely resembles a passage of Śaṅkha, which is cited by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 305 and by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (I. O. Cat. Ms. No. 852, folio 8a).

Bühler is of opinion that the home of the school to which the Vas. Dh. S. belonged lay to the north of the Narmadā and the

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107 वसिष्ठ 7. 3. 'तेषां वेदमधीत्य वेदौ वेदान्वाविशीर्णब्रह्मचर्यो यमिच्छेत्तमावसेत्।' compare मनु 3. 2; वसिष्ठ 13. 61 'तृणभूम्यग्न्युदकवाक्सूनृतानसूयाः सतां गृहे नोच्छिद्यन्ते कदाचन।', compare मनु 3. 101; वसिष्ठ 16. 30 'क्षीणां साक्षिणः स्त्रियः कुर्याद् द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः शूद्राणां सन्तः शूद्राश्चान्त्यानामन्त्ययोनयः', compare with मनु 8. 68 'क्षीणां साक्ष्यं स्त्रियः कुर्युर्द्विजानां सदृशा द्विजाः। शूद्राश्च सन्तः शूद्राणामन्त्यानामन्त्ययोनयः॥'.

108 The printed Vas. reads 'वेधसो वा राजा श्रेयान् गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात्। गृध्रपरिवारं वा राजा श्रेयान्। गृध्रपरिवारं स्यान्न गृध्रो गृध्रपरिवारं स्यात्'. This hardly makes any sense. The कृत्यकल्पतरु presents a good reading (from शङ्खलिखित) 'न गृध्नुपरिवारः स्यात्। कामं गृध्रो राजा श्रेयान् हंसपरिवारः। परिवाराद्धि दोषाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति। तेऽलं विनाशाय।'.

Vindhya (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. XVI). When it is extremely problematical whether the Vas. Dh. S. was the product of a school, it is idle to speculate as to the home of the Vas. Dh. S. Bühler's is no more than a mere conjecture and it is better to admit that we know nothing positive at present on the point.

The earliest work to refer to Vasiṣṭha as an authority on *dharma* is our Manu (8. 140), saying that Vas. allowed 1/80th of the principal as interest per month. This appears to refer to the rule in Vas. 2. 50. We saw above that Vas. borrows from the Manusmṛti, which in its turn quotes a rule of Vasiṣṭha. The explanation of this is twofold. Both the Manusmṛti and Vas. have received later additions and further it is possible that the present Vas. Dh. S. is the work of some one who had received the teachings of Vas. through a succession of teachers and disciples. Yāj. mentions (1. 4) Vasiṣṭha as a writer on *dharma*. The Tantravārtika as seen above (note 55) remarks that the Vas. Dh. S. was studied by Ṛgvedins. The same work when speaking of works on dharma puts Manu, Gautama and Vasiṣṭha in the forefront.[108a] Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other early commentators largely quote from Vas. The verse 'agnerapatyam' (Vas. 28. 16) occurs in the Ragiṁ copperplate of Tīvaradeva of the last quarter of the 8th century (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No. 81). Therefore the existence of a work of Vasiṣṭha on dharma at least in the first centuries of the Christian era is vouched for with certainty and the authenticity of its text is supported by eminent writers from the 7th century downwards. Aparārka quotes passages from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa which have in view the present text of Vas.[109] Some of the views held by Vasiṣṭha are very ancient. For example, he speaks of the twelve secondary sons, assigns a very inferior position to the Dattaka son (17th chapter), allows *niyoga* (17. 56 ff) and the remarriage of child widows (17. 74); like Āpastamba he mentions only six

108a 'प्रायेण मनुगौतमवसिष्ठादिप्रणीताः समानेष्वर्थेषु धर्मसंहिता वर्तन्ते । तेनाविगानात्ताभ्य एव श्रुतयः स्वनुमानाः । न च व्याकरणस्य तामिः समानार्थत्वम् ।' तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 24.

109 'वसिष्ठेन समाख्यातं ब्रह्महत्याव्यपोहनम् । द्वादशरात्रमब्भक्षो द्वादशरात्रमुपवसेत् ॥' अपरार्क p. 1067 (this is वसिष्ठ 23. 38); 'वसिष्ठेन तथोक्तं वै प्रायश्चित्तं सुरार्थिप । कामतो मद्यपाने तु न सुरायाः कदाचन ।' अपरार्क p. 1075 (this is वसिष्ठ 20. 19).

forms of marriage (1. 28-29), *brāhma, daiva, ārṣa, gāndharva, kṣātra and mānuṣa.* In some respects his views are different from those of early writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana. He prohibits the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman (I. 25-26). Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2 for the contrary view.' He elaborates rules of adoption (15th chapter) which are not found in Gaut. or Baud. or Āpastamba. He speaks of documents as one of the three means of proof (Vas. 16. 10-15), while Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent on the point, though in Gautama (13. 4) there appears to be a reference to documents. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Vasiṣṭha is later than Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, but much earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era and may tentatively be assigned to the period between 300-100 B. C. It has been asserted by an eminent authority (Cambridge History of India vol. I, p. 249) that Vasiṣṭha 18. 4 (vaiśyena brāhmaṇyām-utpanno Rāmako bhavatītyāhuḥ) probably contains a reference to the Romans. This assumptiou is gratuitous and does not deserve serious consideration. The reading Romaka (on which the learned writer relies) is not supported by the best mss. and it is most hazardous to seize with avidity on a variant reading and to build an imposing structure of chronology thereon. The offspring of a Vaiśya male from a Brāhmaṇa woman is designated Rāmaka by Vasiṣṭha, while Gautama calls him Kṛta (4. 15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7) calls such an offspring Vaidehaka ; so Rāmaka has as much to do with the Romans as with Rameses. In the *nibandhas* there are several quotations ascribed to Vasiṣṭha which are not found in the printed Dharmasūtra. For example, Haradatta on Gaut. (22. 18) quotes a verse in the Upajāti metre which is not found in the present text [110].

So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 19) the views of a writer called Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. The Mit. on Yāj. (II. 91) quotes the definition of a *jayapatra* (judgment) from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha and on III. 20 quotes him about impurity on miscarriage. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about 20 verses from Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha on *āhnika* and śrāddha ; Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on the Caturvimśatimata

110 The verse is न नालिकेरेण न शङ्खवालैर्न चापि मौञ्जेन न वल्कशूलैः । [illegible] न नियन्धनीया वधूजनस्तिष्ठेत् परशुं प्रगृह्य ॥ The same verse is quoted in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 264) without the author's name.

(p. 12) seems to quote a prose passage fron Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha. From the above it follows that Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha was an early compilation and dealt with almost all such topics (including Vyavahāra) as are dealt with by Yāj. The Mit. also quotes a Bṛhad-Vasiṣṭha. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 300) quotes a few verses from a Jyotir-Vasiṣṭha. The I. O. catalogue (No. 1339 p. 392) speaks of a Vasiṣṭha-smṛti in ten *adhyāyas* about the religious observances and duties enjoined on devotees of Viṣṇu.

That Yajñasvāmin wrote a commentary on the Vas. Dh. S. follows from Govindasvāmin's comment on Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 51), where he quotes Vas. 21. 13 and Yajñasvāmin's comment thereon.

10. Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra has been printed several times in India, viz. by Jivananda in his Dharmaśāstrasaṅgraha (1876 part I pp. 70-176), by the Bengal Asiatic Society (1881, ed. by Dr. Jolly with extracts from the commentary Vaijayantī), by M. N. Dutt (Dharma-śāstra texts, vol. II. pp. 541-666, Calcutta, 1909) and translated by Dr. Jolly (in the S. B. E. vol. VII with an Introduction). In the present work Dr. Jolly's edition has been used. The sūtra contains one hundred chapters. Though the number of chapters is so large, the sūtra is not very extensive. There are several chapters such as 40, 42 and 76 that contain only one sūtra and one verse. The first chapter and the last two are entirely in verse; the remaining chapters are in mixed prose and verse, the versified portion being generally at the end of each chapter. As pointed out by the Vaijayantī the sūtra is in close relation to one of the oldest schools of the Yajurveda, viz. Kaṭha. It also stands in a peculiar relation to the extant Manusmṛti. According to the Caraṇavyūha, Kaṭha and Cārāyaṇīya are two of the twelve sub-divisions of Caraka-śākhā of the Yajurveda. Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. VII p. XII) says that the Viṣṇudharmasūtra has four chapters (21, 67, 73 and 86) in common with the Kāṭhak-gṛhya (except the final parts in 21, 67, 86) and that both drew from a common source. Bühler points out (West and Bühler's digest, 3rd ed. p. 35) that the Kāṭhakagṛhya found in Kashmir agrees closely with the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu and the *mantras* in the latter agree with the Kāṭhaka recension of the Yajurveda. But the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra is not the work of the same author that composed the Kāṭhaka Śrauta or Gṛhya sūtras, nor does it appear that it formed part of the

Kāṭhaka Kalpa. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 7) says that Govindarāja (12th century) in his Smṛtimañjarī cites a passage in prose from a Kaṭhasūtrakṛt on the penance for Brāhmaṇa murder which is wanting in our Viṣṇusmṛti (vide S. B. E. Vol. 25, p. xxi n for the passage).

The contents of the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra are :-1. The earth being lifted out of the surging ocean by the great Boar, went to Kaśyapa to inquire as to who would support her thereafter, and was sent by him to Viṣṇu who told her that those who would follow the duties of *varṇas* and *āśramas* would be her support, whereupon the earth pressed the great God to impart to her their duties; 2. the four *varṇas* and their *dharmas*; 3. the duties of kings (rājadharmāḥ); 4. the Kārṣāpaṇa and smaller measures; 5. punishments for various offences; 6. debtors and creditors, rates of interest, sureties; 7. three kinds of documents; 8. witnesses; 9. general rules about ordeals; 10-14. ordeals of balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (*kośa*); 15. the twelve kinds of sons, exclusion from inheritance, eulogy of sons; 16. offspring of mixed marriages, aud mixed castes; 17. partition, joint family and rules of inheritance to one dying sonless, re-union, strīdhana; 18. partition among sons of a man from wives of different castes; 19. carrying the dead body for cremation, impurity on death, praise of Brāhmaṇas; 20. the duration of the four Yugas, Manvantara, Kalpa, Mahākalpa, passages inculcating that one should not grieve too much for the departed; 21. the rites for the dead after period of mourning, monthly śrāddha, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa; 22. periods of impurity on death for *sapiṇḍas*, rules of conduct in mourning, impurity on birth, and rules about impurity on touching various persons and objects; 23. purification of one's body and of various substances; 24. marriage, forms of marriage, inter-marriages, guardians for marriage; 25. the *dharmas* of women; 26. precedence among wives of different castes; 27. the saṁskāras, garbhādhāna and others; 28. the rules for *brahmacārins*; 29. eulogy of ācārya; 30. time for the starting of Vedic study and holidays; 31. father, mother and ācārya deserve the highest reverence; 32. other persons deserving of respect; 33. the three sources of sin, viz. passion, anger, greed; 34. kinds of *atipātakas*, deadliest sins; 35. five *mahāpātakas*; 36. *anupātakas*, that are as deadly as the mahāpātakas; 37. numerous upapātakas; 38-42. other lesser sins; 43. the twenty one hells and the duration of hell torments for various sinners; 44. the various low births to which sinners are consigned for various sins; 45. the

various diseases suffered by sinners and the low pursuits they have to follow by way of retribution; 46-48. various kinds of kṛcchras (penances), sāntapana, cāndrāyaṇa, prasṛtiyāvaka ; 49. actions prescribed for a devotee of Vāsudeva and the rewards thereof; 50. prāyaścitta for killing a brāhmaṇa and other human beings, for killing cows and other animals; 51-53. prāyaścittas for drinking wine and other forbidden substances, for theft of gold and other articles, for incest and sexual intercourse of other kinds; 54. prāyaścittas for miscellaneous acts ; 55. secret penances ; 56. holy hymns like *Aghamarṣaṇa* that purge sin ; 57. whose society should be avoided, Vrātyas, unrepentant sinners, avoiding gifts; 58. the pure, variegated (mixed) and dark kinds of wealth ; 59. The duties of house-holders, *pākayajñas*, the five daily *mahāyajñas*, honouring guests; 60. the daily conduct of a householder and good breeding ; 61-62. rules about brushing the teeth, *ācamana*; 63. means of livelihood for a house-holder, rules for guidance, good and evil omens on starting on journey, rule of the road; 64. bathing and *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes; 65-67. worship of Vāsudeva; flowers and other materials of worship, offering of food to deities and *piṇḍas* to ancestors and giving food to guests; 68. rules about time and manner of taking food; 69-70. sexual intercourse with wife and about sleep; 71. general rules of conduct for a *snātaka*; 72. value of self-restraint; 73-86. śrāddhas, the procedure of śraddhas, aṣṭakā śrāddha, the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered, times of śrāddha, fruits of śrāddha on the several week days and the 27 *nakṣatras* and the *tithis*, materials for śraddha, brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at śrāddha, brāhmaṇas who are *paṅkti-pāvana;* countries unfit for śrāddha, tīrthas, letting loose of a bull; 87-88. gifts of antelope skin, or a cow; 89. kārtika snāna; 90. eulogy of gifts of various sorts ; 91-93. works of public utility such as wells, lakes, planting gardens, embankments, gifts of food, flowers &c.; difference in merit according to the recipient ; 94-95. rules about forest hermit (vānaprastha); 96-97. about *saṁnyāsa*, anatomy of the bones, muscles, veins, arteries &c.; concentration in various ways 98-99. praise of Vāsudeva by the Earth and of Lakṣmī; 100. rewards of studying this Dharmaśāstra.

The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra somewhat resembles the Dharma-sūtra of Vasiṣṭha. Like the latter it is full of verses. But one feature which is peculiar to the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is that it professes to be a revelation by the supreme Being. None of the other dharma-

sūtras so far described assumes this role. The style of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra is easy and somewhat diffuse. It presents hardly any ungrammatical forms. The printed text is corrupt only in a few cases; the verses occur generally at the end of chapters. Sometimes the number of verses in a chapter is very large e. g, in chapter 20 there are 21 sūtras and 32 verses, in chapter 23 there are 24 verses, in chap. 43 there are 14, in chap. 51 there are are 20 verses. Some of the verses are in the classical Indravajrā (19. 23-24) and the Upajāti metres (23.61 and 59. 30) and a few are Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 47, 72. 77). The three Triṣṭubhs (29. 9-10, 30. 41) are three out of the four verses of the Vidyā-sūkta occurring in the Nirukta (II. 4). There is one verse (72. 6) which has eleven letters in the first *pāda* and twelve in the remaining three.

In determining the age of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra one is confronted with a difficult problem. Some of the chapters undoubtedly contain material which is comparatively old and on a level with the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba. Such are the chapters about rājadharma and punishments (3 and 5), the rules about twelve sons and the mixed castes (15-16), funeral rites and mourning (21 and 22). But there are very large portions of the work that bear a clear impress of a later date. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra and the Manusmṛti have at least 160 identical verses. But this is not all. There are hundreds of sūtras which are merely the prose equivalents of verses from the Manusmṛti. For example, Viṣṇu 2. 3 and Manu 2. 16, Viṣṇu 3. 4 and 6 and Manu 7. 69-70, Viṣṇu 3. 7-10 and Manu 7. 115, Viṣṇu 3. 11-15 and Manu 7. 116-117, Viṣṇu 4. 1-13 and Manu 8. 132-137, Viṣṇu 5. 4-7, and Manu 9. 237, Viṣṇu 20. 1-21, and Manu I. 67-73, Viṣṇu 51. 7-10 and Manu 4. 209-212, Viṣṇu 59. 21-25 and Manu 3. 70, Viṣṇu 62. 224 and Manu 2. 59, Viṣṇu 71. 48-52 and Manu 4. 80, and Viṣṇu 96. 14-17 and Manu 6. 46 agree almost word for word. The verses that are identical in both are found in all the chapters of the Manusmṛti from the second to the last, the largest number (about 47) occurring in the 5th and chapters eleven, two, and three respectively contributing 25, 24, and 19 verses. Therefore the question whether the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from Manu or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common original assumes very great importance. As the correspondence extends over several hundred verses of the Manusmṛti, the last hypothesis of borrowing from a common original does

not recommend itself to me. No such common source is known to have existed and to say that there were hundreds of floating popular verses whose authorship was unknown and which were drawn upon by both works appears to me to be an extremely gratuitous and unsatisfactory assumption. In my opinion it is the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra that borrowed the verses *ad hoc* or adapted them from the Manusmṛti. There are several lines of reasoning that strengthen this hypothesis. There are some verses that are identical in both, in which the name of Manu occurs, which the Viṣṇudharmasūtra omits by making slight verbal changes. For example, Viṣṇu 23. 50 substitutes 'tat parikīrtitam' for 'Manur-abravīt' in Manu 5. 131 and Viṣṇu 51. 64 reads 'nānyatreti kathaṁcana' for Manu 5. 41 'nānyatretyabravīn-Manuḥ' (this last occurs in Vas. 4. 6). The reason for these changes is obvious. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra professes to be a direct revelation from Viṣṇu and it is in keeping with this assumed role that not one human author is mentioned by name in the sūtra. Therefore where the name of Manu occurred in any verse, it was purposely omitted. Another reason why the sūtra must be presumed to be the borrower is the character of the extant work itself. It is a kind of hotchpotch and contains verses that are identical with those of other works. For example, several verses of the Bhagavatgītā occur in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Viṣṇu 20, 48-49 and 51-52 are the same as Gīta 2. 13. 23, 24, 28; Viṣṇu 72. 7 and Gīta 13. 14-18 are almost identical. Viṣṇu 96. 97 and the first half of 98 are the same as Gīta 13. 1-2, except that in keeping with its character of a revelation to the Earth, the Viṣṇudharmasūtra substitutes 'vasudhe' for 'kaunteya' and 'bhāvini' for 'bhārata.' Several verses of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti are identical with those of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For example, Viṣṇu 6. 41 and Yāj. 2. 53, Viṣṇu 8. 38 and Yaj. II. 79, Viṣṇu 9. 33 and Yāj. 2. 97, Viṣṇu 17. 17 and Yāj. 2. 138, Viṣṇu 17. 23 (first half) and Yāj. 2. 210 (latter half), Viṣṇu 62. 9 and Yāj. 1. 21, Vi. 63. 51 and Yāj. 1. 117 are identical. Besides these there are hundreds of prose sūtras that are identical with passages of Yājñavalkya. For example, Vi. 3. 72-74 = Yāj. II. 1-4; Vi. 3. 82 = Yāj. 1. 318-320 (rules about land grants); Vi. 5. 65-69 = Yāj. II. 217-220, Vi. 5. 73 = Yāj. II. 221; Vi. 45. 3-12 = Yaj. 3. 209-211 (about diseases suffered by sinners); Vi. 60. 24 = Yāj. 1. 17; Vi. 96. 55-79 = Yāj. 3. 84-90 (about 360 bones of the body); Vi. 96. 80-88 = Yāj. 3. 100-102 (about the number of arteries, veins, muscles etc.); Vi. 96. 89-92 = Yāj. 3. 93-99. Dr. Jolly

thinks that Yājñavalkya borrows from Viṣṇu the whole of the anatomical section (vide S. B. E. vol. VII, p. XX). With great respect I differ from this opinion. There is nothing to show that the anatomical details were first given to the world by Viṣṇu. They must have first been embodied in works on medicine such as those of Caraka and Suśruta[111] and were probably copied by Dharmasūtra writers. But if there is any borrowing between Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya I think from the character of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that it is the sūtra that must be regarded as borrowing from Yājñavalkya. There are several matters in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra which are wanting in Yājñavalkya and which induce one to place the extant sūtra later than Yājñavalkya, viz. the name 'Jaiva' for Thursday (Vi. 78. 5), the long list of tīrthas (Vi. chap. 85) which include Śrīparvata and the five rivers of the south called southern Pañcanada, the importance of the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter on a full moon day (Vi. 49. 9-10), the vague definition of Āryāvarta[112] (Vi. 84. 4). The verse in Viṣṇu 54. 33 (about half prāyaścitta for boys and old men) is ascribed to Aṅgiras by the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 243).

Therefore the most probable conclusion is that the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra borrows from the Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya and other authors. It would be too much to assume that the Manusmṛti, the Bhagavatgītā and Yājñavalkya borrow from such a comparatively unimportant work as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by certain other considerations. The Manusmṛti has been quoted with utmost reverence by a host of writers from the fifth century downwards, such as Śabara, Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya. Yājñavalkya was commented upon by Viśvarūpa in the first half of the 9th century. Viśvarūpa in his commentary quotes scores of sūtras from Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha and Hārīta. But it is significant that Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya does not quote even a single sūtra of Viṣṇu by name. It is true that Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 66) says that

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111 Vide चरक, शारीरस्थान chap. 7 and सुश्रुत, शारीरस्थान chap. 5; in the अष्टाङ्गहृदय of वाग्भट, शारीर chap. 3, we find 360 bones and 700 muscles.

112 चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः ॥ It is to be noted that Yāj. (I. 2) lays down *dharmas* for the country in which the black deer moves about, following Baud. I. I. 28 and Vas. 1. 13.

the four forms of asceticism (*pārivrājya*) should be understood from other smṛtis like those of Viṣṇu[113]. This probably refers to chap. 97 of the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. Medhātithi (on Manu 3. 248) quotes Viṣṇu (21. 12) and on Manu 9. 76 quotes a sūtra of Viṣṇu which I could not trace in the printed Viṣṇu.[114] The Mitākṣarā mentions Viṣṇu about thirty times. The quotations are taken from chapters 19, 21, 22, 35-42, 50, 51, 52, 75 and 79 of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 18 sūtras of chap. 22 (on āśauca and kindred topics) being quoted on Yāj. III. 23, 24, 27, 29-30. But it is a remarkable fact that not one of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra is cited as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā. The only exception is a verse cited as Viṣṇu's on Yāj. III. 265, which has the same purport as Viṣṇu 52. 14 (a verse) and the first *pāda* of which is identical with that of the verse in the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.[115] A few verses that are quoted as Viṣṇu's in the Mitākṣarā could not be traced in the extant dharmasūtra.[116] It is not unlikely that the sūtra first contained mostly prose sūtras based on Manu and the Kāṭhakagṛhya and verses were tacked on later. Among later writers of *nibandhas* Aparārka quotes Viṣṇu most profusely and the Smṛticandrikā also quotes Viṣṇu about 225 times.

113 स्मृत्यन्तरेभ्यश्च विष्ण्वादिभ्यो विशेषतश्चतुर्विधः पारिव्राज्यप्रकारभेदोभ्युपगन्तव्यः।

114 The quotation is 'अष्टौ विप्रसूताः षट् राजन्याश्चतुरो वैश्या द्विगुणं प्रसूतेति न शूद्रायाः कालनियमः स्वात्संवत्सरमित्येके'; compare for a somewhat similar rule Vas. 17. 78.

115 यथाह विष्णुः। दत्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं स्वामिने व्रतमाचरेदिति। while विष्णुधर्मसूत्र reads 'दत्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायतः। प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कल्मषस्यापनुत्तये॥.'

116 The verse are: ओष्ठौ विलोमकौ स्पृष्ट्वा वासो विपरिधाय च। quoted on Yāj. I. 195; 'अप्रशस्तास्तु कानीनगूढोत्पन्नसहोढजाः। पौनर्भवश्च नैवैते पिण्डरिक्थांशभागिनः॥ quoted on Yāj. II. 132; अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः। पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रका मताः॥ on Yāj. II. 135; आरूढस्ताडितो वापि धनेर्वा विप्रयोजितः। यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्प्राणांस्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम्॥ ज्ञातिमित्रकलत्रार्थं सुहृत्स्वेत्रार्थमेव च। यमुद्दिश्य त्यजेत्...घातकम्॥ उद्दिश्य कुपितो हत्वा तोषितः श्रावयेत् पुनः। तस्मिन् मृते न दोषोस्ति द्वयोरुच्छ्रावणे कृते॥ on Yāj. III. 227; क्षीणामर्धं प्रदातव्यं वृद्धानां रोगिणां तथा। पादो बालेषु दातव्यः सर्वपापेष्वयं विधिः॥ on Yāj. III. 243; गोघ्नस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम्। प्रत्यहं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि वा॥ on Yāj. III. 263.

Many of the verses found in Vi. are quoted by Aparārka as Viṣṇu's, e. g. Vi. 84. 4 on Yāj. 1. 2; 68. 46-47 on Yāj. 1, 106; 67. 33 on Yāj. 1. 107; 5. 183 on Yāj. 2. 60; 10. 9-11 on Yāj. 2. 102. But there are numerous verses quoted as Viṣṇu's by Aparārka which are not found in the sūtra, e. g. on Yāj. I. 21, 53, 89, 100. Aparārka quotes almost whole chapters of Viṣṇu, e. g. Vi. 68 on Yāj. I. 106 and 90 on Yāj. I. 208, 70 on Yāj. 1. 114. It is to be noted that Vi. 70. 17 (a verse) is quoted by Aparārka as a prose sūtra (on 1. 114) with slight verbal changes. All these facts make one feel naturally sceptical about the authenticity of most of the verses in the extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra. They probably formed no part of the sūtra at the time when the Mitākṣarā was composed. At all events it cannot be gainsaid that the verses are a very late part of the sūtra.

The Viṣṇudhamasūtra contains quotations from all the Vedic saṁhitās and from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (as in Vi. 15. 45). It mentions the Vedāṅgas very frequently (30. 3 and 38, 28. 35, 83. 6), it speaks of Vyākaraṇa (83. 7), of itihāsa (3. 70, 30. 38, 83. 7), of Dharmaśāstras (3. 70, 30. 38, 73. 16, 83. 8), of Purāṇa (3. 70, 30. 38 &c.). About the close correspondence between Baud. III. 6 and Viṣṇu. 48 and between Vas. 28. 10-15 and 18-22 and Viṣṇu 56 and 87 vide remarks made above pp. 23, 57. The sūtra quotes several verses (called gāthās) and says they were sung by pitṛs; vide 78. 52-53, 80. 14, 83. 21, 85. 65-67. They bear close resemblance to the gāthās sung by the pitṛs quoted in the Anuśāsana-parva 88. 11-15 and a half verse 'eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yadyekopi Gayāṁ vrajet' is the same in Vi. 85. 67 and Anu. 88. 14. The Viṣṇusmṛti enumerates twenty one hells (43. 1-22), which are almost the same as Yājñavalkya's (3. 222-224). It mentions the names of the seven days of the week (78. 1-7), Thursday being called Jaiva, while Yājñavalkya mentions only the seven planets (with Rāhu and Ketu) in the same order (I. 296). It recommends the practice of *satī* (25. 14), speaks of *pustakas* (18. 44, 23. 56), a word which is not used by the other dharmasūtras so far described. It gives a long list of good and evil omens at the time of starting on a journey (63. 33-39). Among evil omens it includes the sight of yellow-robed ascetics (i. e. Buddhists probably) and Kāpālikas (63. 36). It prohibits speech with Mlecchas, Antyajas (71. 59) and journeys to Mleccha countries (84. 2). It contains special directions about the worship of Vāsudeva in chap. 49

and speaks of Śvetadvīpa as the reward of devotion to Vāsudeva (49. 4). Here and there, there are eulogies of Vāsudeva (1. 50-57, 65. 1, 97. 10, 98 which gives one hundred names of Viṣṇu). It speaks of the four vyūhas of Vāsudeva (67. 2) and of the Varāha incarnation. It gives a vague location of Āryāvarta as a country where the four varṇas exist (84. 4). It enumerates numerous sacred places (85. 1-52), among which Śrīparvata, Saptārṣa (modern Satara?), Godāvarī and southern Pañcanada deserve to be specially noted. Though it does not specifically enumerate the eighteen titles of law just as Yājñavalkya does not, yet it contains rules (in chapters 5-6) on almost all of them.

As Yājñavalkya enumerates Viṣṇu among the propounders of dharmaśāstras, it follows that a work of Viṣṇu existed in comparatively early times. What matters that work embraced it is difficult to say. It probably contained the topics found in the works of Gautama, Āpastamba and others. It may have included portions borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya. When Dr. Jolly says that certain chapters of Viṣṇu agree closely with the Kāṭhakagṛhya, all that is meant is that some of the sūtras of Viṣṇu are the same or almost the same as those of the Kāṭhakagṛhya (e. g. compare Viṣṇu 21, 73 and 86 with Kāṭhakagṛhya V. 12, V. 9, and V. 3 respectively). But in all these places Viṣṇu contains more details than the Kāṭhakagṛhya. It may however be noted that in a few cases the views of the Kāṭhakagṛhya differ from those of Viṣṇu. For example, Viṣṇu (30. 1) speaks of Vedic studies for 4½ months only in the year when once they are started on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada, while the Kāṭhakagṛhya (I. 9. 10) gives three alternatives, viz. 4½, 5 or 5½ months; Viṣṇu prescribes that the proper year for the upanayana of a kṣatriya is the 11th from conception (27. 16), while the Kāṭhaka prescribes the 9th, without specifying whether it is from conception or birth (IV. 1. 2); Viṣṇu enumerates eight forms of marriage (24. 18), while the Kāthaka (II. 3 and 4) speaks of only two, Brāhma and Āsura, and is silent about the rest; Viṣṇu (46. 19-20) defines Sāntapana and Mahāsāntapana differently from the Kāṭhaka (I. 7. 3-4), but agrees with Yājñavalkya (III. 315-316). Here the recent Lahore edition of the Kāṭhakagṛhya by Dr. Caland has been used. As it used Kāṭhaka *mantras* and borrowed from the Kāṭhakagṛhya, the dharmasūtra may have been a text-book of the Kāṭhaka school and probably originated in Kashmir and Punjab which is the home

of the Kaṭhas. The date of the older portion of Viṣṇu may be placed between 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. But this is no more than a mere conjecture. It is to be noted that Kumārila does not mention the Viṣṇudharmasūtra among the sūtras studied by particular schools. Then several centuries later on the whole of the sūtra was recast from the Vaiṣṇavite point of view and received large additions both in prose and verse. When these additions were made we have no exact means of determining. It is probable that they were not made very long before Viśvarūpa. At all events the additions were made long after the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and after the 3rd century. The mention of the week days makes the sūtra comparatively a late work. The earliest epigraphic mention of a week day is in the Eran inscription of 484 A. D. (vide Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp. 88-89) and Varāhamihira (6th century) knew the week days well. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 55) mentions Sunday and the Padmapurāṇa mentions Thursday (Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 11. 34). The Sūrya-siddhānta (XII. 6 and 78) speaks of the lords of days. Thus although the extant Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra is a late recast, it contains a few doctrines that were held in ancient times. For example it allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a girl of anyone of the four castes (24. 1) and does not inveigh against *niyoga* as Manu does.

A few of the sūtras agree closely with Nārada. Vide Vi. 7. 10-11 and Nārada (Ṛṇādāna verses 136-137).

The Mitākṣarā quotes all the prose passages of chapters 35-42 and ascribes them to Bṛhadviṣṇu (on Yāj. 3. 242). Similarly on Yāj. 3. 261 it ascribes Vi. 35. 3-5 to Bṛhadviṣṇu. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 298) ascribes Vi. 17. 4 ff to Bṛhad-Viṣṇu. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. 3. 267) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which summarises some sūtras of Viṣṇu [117] (50. 6 and 12-14).

In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Laghu-Viṣṇu-smṛti in five chapters and 114 verses dealing with the duties of the *varṇas* and the four āśramas. Aparārka in his commentary on Yāj. 3. 258 quotes four verses from Laghu-Viṣṇu, which are not found in the Ānandāśrama text. So Aparārka used some other work or perhaps a larger work. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya often quotes gadya-

117 The verse of वृद्धविष्णु is विप्रे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं क्षत्रिये स्मृतम् । वैश्येर्धमेक-पादस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शस्यते ॥ The sūtras are ब्राह्मणं हत्वा द्वादशसंवत्सरं कुर्यात् । पादोनं क्षत्रियवधे । अर्धं वैश्यवधे । तदर्धं शूद्रवधे ।

Viṣṇu and padya-Viṣṇu. The former from a quotation in vol. I. part 2, p. 234 seems to be the Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra itself. In the Sarasvatīvilāsa numerous sūtras of Viṣṇu with the explanations of Bhāruci thereon are quoted, which are not found in the printed Viṣṇu.[118]

The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra was commented upon by Nandapaṇḍita, author of several works on dharmaśāstra, who wrote at Benares the commentary called Vaijayantī (according to certain mss.) in 1679 (i. e. 1622-23 A. D.) of the Vikrama era. Dr. Jolly publishes extracts from this commentary in his edition of the sūtra.

From the fact that the Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes several times the sūtras of Viṣṇu with Bhāruci's explanation, it looks probable that Bhāruci commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. For further information on Bhāruci vide sec. 61.

So far only the printed and well-known dharmasūtras have been passed under review. But there were nnmerous other dharmasūtras which are either now extant in rare mss. or are not yet discovered but are only to be reconstructed from quotations. It is now time to discuss them.

11. The Dharmasūtra of Hārīta

That Hārīta was an ancient sūtrakāra on *dharma* is quite patent from the fact that the dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha quote him as an authority (vide pp. 25, 39, 54). Āpastamba quotes Hārīta more frequently than any other author. From this it may

118 e. g. para 637 यथाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति। (Viṣṇu's sūtra seems to have been बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात्); para 719 अत्र भारुचिः (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'पितृव्यपितृभ्रातृभिरेव संसर्गो नान्यैः) वैकल्पिकोयं संसर्गविधिरिति, para 736 अत्र भारुचिः भिन्नोदराणामिति निर्धारणे षष्ठी (on विष्णु's सूत्र 'भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः'); para 847 contains a long sūtra of Viṣṇu 'आपित्र्यं गार्भं धार्मं मैत्रं वैद्यमाकस्मिकमादशाब्दं प्रविभाज्यमत ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम्' and para 848 contains भारुचि 's explanation of it.

Vide pp. 32, 50, 165, 166, 243, 244 &c. of the recently published Mysore edition of the सरस्वतीविलास for sūtras of Viṣṇu which are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu. It appears that the सरस्वतीविलास had a very much larger version of the sūtra before it.

be concluded that they belonged to the same Veda. The Tantravārtika (vide note 55 above) mentions Hārīta along with Gautama and other sūtrakāras on dharma. From Viśvarūpa down to the latest writers on dharmaśāstra Hārīta is most profusely quoted. From the quotations it appears that his dharmasūtra was perhaps the most extensive of all dharmasūtras.

The late Pandit Vamansastri Islampurkar discovered at Nasik a ms. of the Hārīta-dharmasūtra. It was not possible for me to make use of it for the present work. Dr. Jolly (in R. und S. pp. 8-9) gives an account of the ms. from which I give a summary. It is so faulty that an edition based on it alone cannot be thought of. The ms. contains thirty chapters. So far as the language and contents are concerned the work impresses one as ancient, but the material citations ascribed to Hārīta in later digests on court procedure and the law of crimes &c. are not found in the ms. The prose is mixed up with verses in Anuṣṭubh and Triṣṭubh metres, which are often introduced with the characteristic words " athāpyudāharanti " as in other dharmasūtras. The ms. quotes ' bhagavān Maitrāyaṇi ' and the verse " Śatadāyo vīro " which is Maitrāyanīya Saṁhitā I. 7. 5. Dr. Caland points out remarkable correspondence between the citations of Hārīta and the Maitrāyaṇīya Pariśiṣṭa and Mānavaśrāddhakalpa. All this tends to show that he was a sūtrakāra of the Black Yajurveda. The numerous quotations from Hārīta in Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are not however found in the ms. The ms. was found at Nasik, which is also the source of two mss. of the Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā. The Kashmirian word 'kaphella' is cited in Hārīta and so the Hārīta-dharmasūtra probably originated there. Hemādri (caturvarga III. 1. p. 559) mentions a commentator (bhāṣyakāra[119]) of Hārīta.

From the numerous quotations from Hārīta in the *nibandhas* it appears that the dharmasūtra dealt exhaustively with the same topics as are dealt with in other dharmasūtras, viz. sources of dharma, brahmacārin of two kinds (upakurvāṇa and naiṣṭhika), *snātaka*, the householder, the forest hermit, prohibitions about food, impurity

119 The sūtra of Hārīta is ' पालङ्क्या-नालिका-पौतीक-शिग्रु-सृसुक-वार्ताक-भूस्तृण-कफेल्लु-माष-मसूर-रुतलवणानि च श्राद्धे न दद्यात्' on which हेमाद्रि says, ' कफेल्लुः आरण्यविशेषः काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्ध इति हारीतस्मृतिभाष्यकारः.'

on birth and death, śrāddha, the paṅktipāvana, general rules of conduct, the five yajñas, Vedic study and holidays, duties of kings, rules of statecraft, court procedure, the various titles of law, duties of husband and wife, various kinds of sins, prāyaścittas, expiatory prayers &c.

According to Kullūka (on Manu 2. 1) the Hārīta-dharmasūtra opened with the words 'now then we shall explain *dharma*; dharma is based upon revealed texts (śruti); revealed texts are of two kinds, the Vedic and the Tāntric.[120]' The quotations show that this very style was pursued in the body of the work. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 322) quotes a sūtra[121] in similar style about a penance 'tulāpuruṣa' said to have been promulgated by Śiva himself. The sūtra often introduces verses as quotations with the words "an author says thus" (evaṁ hyāha; *vide* Aparārka on Yāj. I. 83, I. 154, III. 135, Vivāda-ratnākara pp. 443, 626). Numerous passages quoted as Hārīta's are identical with passages from other dharmaśāstra works. The sūtra 'Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyate' is quoted as from Hārīta by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 268), which is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16. The same work quotes 'pratyakṣavidhānād gārhasthyasya' as from Hārīta which is part of Gautama 3. 35. A verse about the enormity of usury quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 177) as Hārīta's is almost the same as Baudhāyana (I. 5. 79) and Vasiṣṭha[122] (2. 42). A verse about atipātakins (quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 231) is the same as Viṣṇu 34. 2. Manu is mentioned by name in several verses (*vide* Smṛticandrikā III. p. 426, Vivāda-ratnākara p. 552-553). Two verses are cited in the Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana as found in Hārīta, Baudhāyana (I. 10. 30) and Manu (8. 18-19). A verse quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 21) is almost the same as Manu 8. 95. Several times we have the words 'Prajāpativaco yathā' (vide Aparārkā on Yāj. I. 154 and Smṛticandrikā I. p. 181). Hārīta seems to have relied upon the views

120 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रुतिप्रमाणको धर्मः। श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ॥'. The Brahmayajña probably takes the words अथातो... स्यामः' from हारीत and not from the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra.

121 अथातस्त्रिनयनोक्तस्य तुलापुरुषस्य कल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः।

122 The verse is 'ब्रह्मघ्नं वृद्धिजीवं च तुलया समतोलयत्। अतिष्ठद् ब्रह्महा कोट्यां वृद्धिजीवस्त्वकम्पत ॥

of 'ācāryas' in several places.[123] He often quotes the views of others (eke, apare[124]) and sometimes refutes them.[125]

Hārīta refers to the Vedas, the Aṅgas, dharmaśāstra, metaphysics, and other branches of knowledge.[126] The quotations do not show that he belonged to any particular Veda, as he quotes from all the Vedas promiscuously. In this connection it is worthy of note that though Kumārila mentions Hārīta as an ancient dharmasūtrakāra, he does not assign him to any particular school, while he assigns Āpastamba and Baudhāyāna to the Taittirīya school.

Some of the doctrines of Hārīta are worth noting. He speaks of eight forms of marriage, but two of them are styled Kṣatra and Mānuṣa, while Ārṣa and Prājāpatya are omitted (vide Vīramitrodaya, Saṁskāraprakāśa, p. 84). Vasiṣṭha has the same nomenclature (I. 29). Hārīta speaks of two sorts of women (*brahmavādinīs* and *sadyovadhas*) and states that the former were entitled to have the Upanayana performed, to keep the sacred fire and to study the Vedas.[127] He speaks of the twelve kinds of sons (vide Haradatta on Gautama 28. 32). He looks down upon the profession of an actor and forbids the employment of a Brāhmaṇa actor in any śrāddha or rite for gods.[128] Aparārka (on Yāj. II.$\frac{3}{3}$32) quotes from Hārīta a lengthy passage in mixed prose and verse, where the worship of Gaṇeśa comes in.[129]

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123 विश्वरूप on Yāj. I. 195. 'तन्मात्रच्छेदनमेके वाससाम्। न वा साधारणत्वात्। साधारणं हि वास इत्याचार्याः। तस्मात्सर्ववाससामुपघातापनोदनादेव शुद्धिः।'; अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 154. 'आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्याचार्याः;' मिता., p. 704. 'न शूद्रानामयं लोको न परः इत्याचार्याः'.

124 *Vide* मद. पा. pp. 607, 706; स्मृतिच. III. p. 422, अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 127.

125 अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 183. 'यानशयनान्यपरिहार्याण्येके मन्यन्ते। तन्न। वर्णविशेषात् शुक्लमलिनसंसर्गदर्शनात् पापसंसर्गयोगाच्च तस्मात् पृथक् शौचाच्छ्रेयांसः।

126 स्मृतिच. III. p. 290. वेदा अङ्गानि धर्मोऽध्यात्मं विज्ञानं स्थितिश्चेति षड्विधं श्रुतम्।

127 द्विविधाः स्त्रियः। ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च। तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्या। quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 24. and चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्या (Benares ed.) p. 113.

128 कुशीलवादीन् देवे पित्र्ये च वर्जयेत्। quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. I. 222-224.

129 We have there the names शालकटंकट, कूष्माण्डराजपुत्र, महाविनायक, वक्रतुण्ड, गणाधिपति. For the first two *vide* मानवगृह्यसूत्र II. 14 and याज्ञ. I. 285 ff.

A very interesting question is the relation of the verse quotations from Hārīta with the prose quotations from Hārīta. The dharmasūtra was probably interspersed with verses as is the case more or less with all dharmasūtras except that of Gautama. But there are numerous verses ascribed to Hārīta in the *nibandhas*, which are manifestly modern. Both the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 86) quote Hārīta's verses eulogising the satī. The Smṛticandrikā (III. p. 344) quotes his verses that refer to the signs of the Zodiac. There are numerous verses containing elaborate rules of procedure, ascribed to Hārīta, which are quite foreign to the general atmosphere of the ancient dharmasūtras. All such verses must be ascribed to a comparatively later date. In the Śuddhimayūkha it is said that certain verses quoted from the Mahābhārata by Hārīta are not found in several copies of the Mahābhārata.

Dr. Jolly (in 1889) collected together most of the prose and verse citations from Hārīta on the Vyavahāra section. In Jivananda's collection, we have a Laghu-Hārīta smṛti (I. pp. 177-193) and a Vṛddha-Hārītasmṛti (I. pp. 194-409). The former contains seven *adhyāyas* and about 250 verses, dealing with the duties of the four castes and the *āśramas* and with Yoga. The latter is professedly a Vaiṣṇavite work, said to have been proclaimed by Hārīta to Ambarīṣa; it is divided into eight chapters and contains about 2600 verses, dealing with the *nitya* and *naimittika* rites of the *varṇas* and āśramas, the nature of the individual and supreme self and the means of attaining mokṣa. In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis, Vṛddha-Hārīta is divided into eleven chapters, the first two of Jivananda's being split up into five. The Ānandāśrama collection contains a Laghu-Hārīta-smṛti in 117 verses which is different from the Laghu-Hārīta of Jivananda. The former deals with purification from pollutions of various kinds, with prāyaścittas, rules about impurity on birth and death, śrāddha and a few rules about inheritance, partition &c.

It is noteworthy that Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 254) quotes Vṛddha-Hārīta and Hārīta, both in prose, one immediately after another.

That the Vṛddha-Hārīta in verse is comparatively a late work follows from the fact that it distinctly recites that the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Kātyāyana were known to it as authorities

on rāja-dharma.[130] Some of the quotations ascribed to Laghu-Hārīta in Aparārka and other works are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, e. g. the verse 'vinā yajñopavītena' (Laghu-Hārīta, Ānandāśrama, verse 25) is quoted by Aparārka on Yāj. III. 289. Some verses that are ascribed to Hārīta are found in the Laghu-Hārīta, for example, the verse 'snānam kṛtvā tu ye', cited by the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 203), occurs in the Laghu-Hārīta (Ānandāśrama, verse 41). It appears that several compilations were made at different times, embracing different topics of *dharma* and ascribed to Hārīta, probably because they were based more or less on the Hārītadharmasūtra.

That some of the verses ascribed to Hārīta are very ancient follows from several considerations. For example, Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. III. 246) a verse from Hārīta. The Sarasvatīvilāsa quotes from Hārīta a brief passage which appears to be a portion of a verse and Kātyāyana's explanation thereon.[131] It follows that long before the sixth century A. D. Hārīta existed in verse.

For Hārīta on Vyavahāra, vide sec. 56.

12. The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita

From the Tantravārtika we learn (note 55 above) that the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was specially studied by the Vājasaneyins (the followers of the white Yajurveda). The Tantravārtika also quotes a few words from that dharmasūtra which constitute an Anuṣṭubh *pāda*.[132] The Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 23) contains the story of the two brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita. In the Śāntiparva (130. 29 and 132. 15-16) the word Śaṅkha-Likhita seems to be used in a double sense, Śaṅkha also meaning the forehead. Yājñavalkya (1. 5) mentions Śaṅkha-Likhita among the writers on dharmaśātra. The Parāśarasmṛti says (1. 24) that in the four ages of Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, the ordinances of Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara are respectively of paramount authority

130 राजधर्मोयमित्येवं प्रसङ्गात् कथितो मया। कात्यायनेन मनुना याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता॥ नारदेन च संप्रोक्तं विस्तरादिदमेव हि। तस्मान्मया विस्तरेण नोक्तमत्र नृपोत्तम॥ (Jīvananda I, 4th chap. p. 265; Ānandāśrama, 7th chap. 270-272).

131 हारीतेनापि केचन भेदा उक्ताः। एकमूलो द्विरुत्थानो द्विस्कन्धो द्विफलः। कात्यायनस्तु तान् व्याचष्टे। 2nd उल्लास, p. 61 (Mysore edition).

132 तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 139. 'स्मार्तधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्खलिखिताभ्यामुक्तम्—आम्नायः स्मृतिधारकः.'

in matters of *dharma*. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 248) quotes a verse from an ancient author which says that Śaṅkha and Likhita pondered deeply over the *dharma* promulgated to the sages by Manu and drew upon the Veda[133] also. Commentators and *nibandhakāras* from Viśvarūpa downwards profusely quote Śaṅkha-Likhita. A considerable portion of these quotations is in prose. Hence it is quite clear that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita is an ancient one, that it was largely if not entirely in prose and that it was once easily accessible though it has not yet been discovered. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (vol. VII-VIII) I made an attempt at a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

Jivananda (collection of smṛtis, part II., pp. 343-374) prints in 18 chapters and about 330 verses a smṛti of Śaṅkha and a smṛti of Likhita in about 93 verses (part II., pp. 375-382). The Ānandāśrama collection also prints the same text of the two smṛtis. The latter also contains a Laghu-Śaṅkha-smṛti in 71 verses and a Śaṅkha-Likhita-smṛti in 32 verses. All these, except perhaps the Śaṅkha-smṛti in 18 chapters, are late compilations. The smṛti in 18 chapters seems to have been compiled very early. About fifty verses from it are quoted by the Mitākṣarā. In the 11th and 12th chapters occur a few prose passages, one of which is quoted even by Medhātithi. The numerous prose quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita do not however occur in these smṛtis. One point deserves special notice. Comparatively early writers sometimes ascribe the same text to Śaṅkha-Likhita or to Śaṅkha simply. The well-known sūtra about succession to a son-less man (athāputrasya svaryātasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam &c.) is ascribed to Śaṅkha by Viśvārūpa and the Mitākṣarā, but to Śaṅkha-Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 135-136). Similarly the sūtra 'pitaryaśakte kuṭumbavyavahārān jyeṣṭhaḥ' &c. is asaribed to Śaṅkha by Aparārka and to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Vivāda-ratnākara, Dāyatattva and Madanapārijāta. Quotations ascribed to Likhita are few and far between. Some passages are ascribed by some writers to Śaṅkha and by others to Likhita. For example, a prose passage 'Uddhṛtya parīkṣitābhiḥ' &c. is ascribed to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 18) and to Śaṅkha by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 20) and by the Vīramitrodaya (Āhnikaprakāśa p. 68). Similarly the sūtra 'ubhābhyāmapi hastābhyām prāṅmukho devatīrthena kuryāt' is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita by the Pārāśaramādha-

[133] समीक्ष्य निपुणं धर्ममृषिभ्यो मनुभाषितम्। आम्नायात्सम्यगुद्धृत्य शङ्खश्च लिखितस्तथा॥

vīya (I. 1. p. 352) and to Likhita by Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 101). The relation of the Śaṅkha-smṛti in verse to the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha seems to be this. The former is based upon the latter and is a versified paraphrase or adaptation of portions of the dharmasūtra.[134]

The versified Śaṅkha shows a tendency towards greater strictness. The dharmasūtra allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry a woman of any of the four castes, while the verse Śaṅkha restricts him to the first three castes.[135] It is not unlikely that the dharmasūtra contained a few verses as is the case with Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha. Even so early a writer as Viśvarūpa looked upon the prose and verse portions as the composition of the same author (vide his comment on Yāj. III. 237, and Aparārka pp. 1149, 1154, 1161).

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita was commented upon early. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kalpataru (Ghose's Hindu Law vol. II., p. 504) draws attention to the fact that the *bhāṣyakāra* of Śaṅkha read a well-known sūtra as 'sa yadyekaḥ syāt' instead of 'sa yadyekaputraḥ syāt'. Lakṣmīdhara flourished between 1100–1160 A. D. as he was a minister of Govindacandra of Kanauj. The Vivādaratnākara (1314 A. D.) also cites the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. The Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 67) quotes from the bhāṣyakāra of Śaṅkha-Likhita.

The dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita would appear, from the quotations in the *nibandhas*, to have closely resembled the other extant sūtras on dharma in style and contents. It embraced almost all the topics treated of in Gautama or Āpastamba. It agrees very closely with the words of Gautama and Baudhāyana in several places.[136] It is curious to note that a quotation from Śaṅkha

134 Compare उद्धृत्य परिपूताभिरद्भिरिवोक्षिताभिरक्षाराभिरनधिश्रिताभिरफेनाभिरबुद्बुदाभिः (quoted as Śaṅkha's by the वीर०, आह्निकप्रकाश, p. 68) with शङ्खस्मृति 9. 6 'आद्भिः समुद्धृताभिस्तु हीनाभिः फेनबुद्बुदैः। वह्निना चाप्यदग्धाभिरङ्गुलीभिरुपस्पृशेत्॥

135 The दायभाग (ed. of 1829, p. 210) quotes 'भार्याः कार्याः स्वजातीयाः श्रेयस्यः सर्वेषां स्युरिति पूर्वकल्पः। ततोनुकल्पश्चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्यानुपूर्व्येण'; the शङ्खस्मृति (4. 7) says 'ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या ब्राह्मणस्य प्रकीर्तिता॥

136 Compare 'नाब्राह्मणोतिथिर्ब्राह्मणस्य' (quoted in वीर०, आह्निक०, p. 452) with गौ. ध. सू. 5. 39–42; 'दन्तवदन्तलग्नेषु' (quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 195) with गौ. ध. सू. I. 41–43; 'न तिष्ठन्न प्रणतो नाङ्गुलीभिः' (चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1, p. 977) with बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 15.

containing the names of writers of smṛtis cites Śaṅkha-Likhita as authority.[137]

The dharmasūtra seems to have permitted *niyoga*, speaks of twelve secondary sons, and did not favour (like Āpastamba) the claims of females to succeed to males. On certain points the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha marks a more advanced state of opinion than is the case with Gautama or Āpastamba. Śaṅkha speaks of several kinds of ordeals and appears to have contained elaborate prose rules about them (vide Aparārka on Yāj. II, 95; Smṛticandrikā II., p. 112, Vīramitrodaya, p. 270). As regards partition and inheritance, Śaṅkha-Likhita gives more detailed information than Āpastamba or Baudhāyana. The limits of Āryāvarta[138] stretched over wider areas according to Śaṅkha (i. e. to the east of Sindhu-Sauvīra and to the west of Kāmpilya) than is the case with Baudhāyana (I. 1. 25) or Vasiṣṭha (I. 8-9). The style of Śaṅkha reminde one of Kauṭilya rather than of Gautama. The quotations hardly exhibit any ungrammatical forms. It is noteworthy that Yājñavalkya is included among the authors of smṛtis by Śaṅkha (vide note 137 above). If it is the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti that is meant to be referred to, then the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha will have to be assigned to a late date. But this does not seem to be likely. From the fact that the Yājñavalkya-smṛti itself enumerates Śaṅkha-Likhita among ancient authors on *dharma*, from the general style of the work, from the development of the legal conceptions it presents and from its doctrines about the rights of women, it appears almost certain that the extant Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much later than the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha. There are close correspondences between Śaṅkha and Yājñavalkya.[139]

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137 'स्मृतिर्धर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतारो मनुयमदक्षविष्ण्वङ्गिरोबृहस्पत्युशनआपस्तम्बगौतमसंवर्ताश्रिहारीतकात्यायनशङ्खलिखितपराशरव्यासशातातपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः। quoted in चतुर्वर्ग. I. p. 527; वीर० परिभाषा०, p. 16 and स्मृतिच.

138 'देश आर्यो गुणवान् ... प्राक् सिन्धुसौवीराद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्रादनपवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम्।' quoted in वीर०, परिभाषा०, p. 57.

139 compare 'षष्ठेऽष्टमे वा सीमन्तः' शङ्ख quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 734 with याज्ञ. I. 11; 'चूडाकर्म यथाकुलम्' शङ्ख (quoted in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2., p. 743) with याज्ञ. I. 12; 'दायानार्हैरसदृशानसमानार्षेयानसम्बन्धानासमपञ्चमात् पितृमातृबन्धुभ्यः' शङ्ख (quoted in उज्ज्वला on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 16) with याज्ञ० I. 53.

The prose quotations from Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to the Vedāṅgas, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, dharmaśāstra. Śaṅkha recognised eight forms of marriage. The views of Śaṅkha about the status of the offspring of mixed marriages differed from those of Baudhāyana (I. 8. 6) and Manu (X. 6) and were intermediate between the latter two.[140] The *tarpaṇa*[141] (which resembles the one in Baudhāyana, though it is more elaborate) refers to the six Vedāṅgas, Bhārata (but not Mahā-bhārata), to twenty writers on *dharma* and contains numerous details about geography, mythology, and cosmogony which are generally found in the Purāṇas. The dharmasūtra frequently cites the opinions of others. It mentions by name the views of Prajāpati, Āṅgirasa and Uśanas (Vivādaratnākara p. 537), Prācetasa (Vivādarat. p. 557-560), Vṛddha-Gautama (Madana-pārijāta pp.701-2). The verse quotations ascribed to Śaṅkha further mention Yama, Kātyāyana, and Śaṅkha himself. But in drawing chronological conclusions it is better to leave the verse quotations out of account. The same verses are ascribed to Manu and Śaṅkha[142] and a few sūtras closely resemble the Manusmṛti.[143] Six identical verses occur in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (28. 10-15) and in the Śaṅkha-smṛti (10th chap.).

All these circumstances lead to the conclusion that the dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha is probably later than Gautama and Āpastamba but earlier than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and so must be assigned to some date between 300 B. C. to 100 A. D.

13. Mānavadharmasūtra—Did it exist ?

Following the orthodox view of Western Sanskrit scholars that most of the dharmasūtras are older than almost all, if not all, the metrical smṛtis, I gave the first place of honour to the dharmasūtras of Gautama and others. But my own views differ to a great extent from those of the orthodox school of Sanskritists represented by Max Müller and Bühler. It is high time to state here my views about

140 ' ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पन्नो क्षत्रिय एव भवति ' शङ्ख quoted in मिताक्षरा on Yāj. I. 91.

141 *Vide* चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. pp. 950-955 and वीर०,आह्निक, p. 356. ff. for तर्पण.

142 The verse गर्भाष्टमे वे कुर्वीत in चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 112 is मनु. 2. 36; ' भूतकाव्यापको यस्तु स उपाध्याय उच्यते ' quoted in स्मृतिच० I, p. 34. is मनु II. 141.

143 ' हवुं गृह्णाति राजन्या प्रतोदं वैश्या दशार्न्तं शूद्रा ' quoted in परा. मा. I. 2., p. 98. Compare मनु 3. 44.

the existence of a Mānava-dharma-sūtra supposed to be the original of our extant Manu.

Some western scholars, particularly Max Müller and Weber, started the ingenious theory that the extant Manusmṛti was a recast or remodelling of an ancient Mānavadharmasūtra. Max Müller went so far as to enunciate the bold generalisation "There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine dharma-śāstras which we possess now, are *without any exception* nothing but more modern texts of earlier sūtra works on *kuladharmas* belonging originally to certain Vedic caraṇas" (H. A. S. L. pp. 134-135). For this sweeping generalisation there were very few data when it was made, as is admitted by Bühler. This theory of Max Müller was as hasty, as unfounded and as uncritical as several other theories of his such as that about the renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, about the absence of the art of writing in India before Pāṇini and about the uniform employment of the śloka for literary purposes in his so-called sūtra period and earlier. Western Scholars had to give up such theories before the stern logic of facts, but they have tenaciously clung to the theory about the Manusmṛti being a recast of the Mānavadharmasūtra. One of the main planks of Max Müller's edifice was the now exploded theory about the non-employment of the *anuṣṭubh* during the sūtra period (which he tentatively placed between 600 B. C.–200 B. C.) for continuous composition. In spite of the fact that one of the main planks has totally collapsed Bühler makes strenuous efforts to rehabilitate Max Müller's theory by additional *á priori* arguments (S. B. E. vol. 25, pp. xviii-xxiii and xxxi-xxxix). The main points brought forward by Bühler are:- (I) The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (IV. 5-8) contains four sūtras, the first of which is 'The Mānava says that one may kill an animal only in honouring the Manes, gods and guests.' There follow two verses and a passage in prose with *iti* at the end. Bühler argues that all the four sūtras are quotations and as the extant Manusmṛti is in verse, they must be regarded as taken from the Mānavadharmasūtra. (II) There are other quotations in Vasiṣṭha attributed to Manu which either contradict the present Manusmṛti or have no counterpart in the latter. Bühler draws special attention to the fact that Vasiṣṭha (19. 37) quotes a Mānava śloka which is not in the anuṣṭubh metre and which has nothing corresponding to it in the extant Manusmṛti.

(III) A fragment of Uśanas quotes an opinion of Manu about impurity, which is in prose.[144] Bühler himself points out that here one ms. reads 'Sumantuḥ' for 'Manuḥ'. Therefore this argument is of very little use in establishing the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides, it is possible that the mutilated passage is not a quotation at all, but a mere summary of Manu's views. There is no 'iti' at the end to show that it is a quotation. (IV) Kāmandakīya-nītisāra (II. 3) says that according to the Mānavas the *vidyās* to be studied by a king are three, viz. the three Vedas, Vārtā, and Daṇḍanīti and that what is called Ānvīkṣikī is but a branch of *trayī*; while the Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the four as distinct *vidyās*.[145] Kāmandaka (XI. 67) says that Manu prescribed that the council of ministers should consist of twelve;[146] while Manu (7. 54) says that the '*sacivas*' should be seven or eight. Bühler therefore argues that Kāmandaka has in mind the Mānavadharmasūtra and not the Manusmṛti and on the word 'Mānavāḥ' makes the following observations 'It is a very common practice of Indian authors to refer in this manner to the books restricted to special schools. But I know of no case where the doctrines of the Mānavadharmaśāstra or of any other work, which is destined for all Aryans and acknowledged as authoritative by all, are cited in the same or similar way' (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII). In the first place it has to be noted that Kāmandaka is only paraphrasing the words of Kauṭilya in the above two places.[147] Further it is note-

144 In No. 644 of Viśrambag (I) in the Deccan College there is a fragment of Uśanas where we read उपस्पृश्य... (gap) मनुराह। बाले देशान्तरस्थे चानग्निके वोराण्याने (?) अनाशकेग्निप्रवेशे युद्धहते च सद्यः शौचम्. The words बाले देशान्तरस्थे occur in Manu 5. 78 in the same connection. For the rest, compare Manu 5. 93 and 95. We must probably read देशान्तरस्थे च साग्निके. No. 191 of A 1881–82 is another fragment of Uśanas which contains the same passage. Bühler's mss. read सद्यः शौचानष्टपतिताभितनिन्दिताचौरैर्न सह संवसेत् and he proposes शौचामिष्टमिति.

145 The words of the मनुस्मृति are त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम्। आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः॥

146 कामन्दक says 'द्वादशेति मनुः प्राह षोडशेति बृहस्पतिः। उशना विंशतिरिति मन्त्रिणां मन्त्रिमण्डलम्॥

147 'त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः। त्रयीविशेषो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीति' कौटिल्य I. 2; 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः' कौटिल्य I. 15.

worthy that Kāmandaka employs the word 'Manuḥ' while Kauṭilya uses the word 'Mānavāḥ' (about the number of ministers). Therefore according to the Kāmandakīyanītisāra there was no difference between the two, viz. the words 'Manuḥ' and 'Mānavāḥ' denoted the same thing, a work. What Bühler means by his emphasis on the word 'Mānavāḥ' is not quite clear. Early writers like Kumārila and Viśvarūpa employ the word 'Mānavam' with reference to the Manusmṛti just as they use the word Vāsiṣṭham to denote the Vaṣiṣṭhadharmasūtra (vide Tantra-vārtika pp. 80, 115, 642 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 245 and 257). Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Upaniṣad I. 4. 17 applies the word 'mānava' to the Manusmṛti 'mānave ca sarvā pravṛttiḥ kāmahetukyeveti' (referring to Manu II. 4). Besides, there is hardly any conflict between the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti on the point of the number of the *vidyās*. The Mānavas knew that Ānvīkṣikī was counted as a fourth *vidyā* but said that it was really comprehended in the study of the Vedas. The Manusmṛti only lays down from whom the *vidyās* were to be learnt. As regards the number of ministers, we cannot afford to forget that the Manusmṛti (7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. Another explanation also is possible. In the final remodelling of the Manusmṛti from its original in verse it is not unlikely that a few changes were made. (V) On the strength of the preservation of the complete set of the sūtra works of Āpastamba on śrauta, gṛhya and dharma (also of Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin), it is urged that the Mānava *caraṇa* had a sūtra on dharma. The Mānavaśrautasūtra (parts 1-5 edited by Dr. Knauer and the *chayana* by Miss Gelder at Leipzig in 1921) and the Mānava-gṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer in 1897 and recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series) are extant. Bühler admits (S. B. E. vol. 25, p. XXXVIII) that the main pillars of his arguments are the quotations ascribed to Manu in the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra.

The four sūtras of Vasiṣṭha (IV. 5-8) which are the sheet anchor of Bühler's argument have been dealt with above under Vasiṣṭha (pp. 53-56). If, as Bühler says, the four sūtras are one quotation, since 'iti' occurs at the end of the 8th sūtra, then we have here a quotation within a quotation, as 'iti' occurs also in sūtra 5. But this would be absurd. Besides sūtra 8 is really summarised from some Brāhmaṇa passage, as indicated above. The proper construction of the four

sūtras is as follows :— The fifth sūtra merely summarises the views of the Manusmṛti to be gathered from Manu V. 41 and 48. The word 'Mānavam' stands for the Manusmṛti just as it does in the Tantravārtika and in Viśvarūpa. Then the two verses of Manu are quoted. In the 8th sūtra a Brāhmaṇa passage is cited in support of the position that sacrificing an animal is not 'killing' (that leads to sin).

As regards the few quotations which cannot be found in the extant Manusmṛti the following points deserve consideration. The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra contains numerous verses identical with those of the Manusmṛti. Most of the quotations attributed to Manu are found in the Manusmṛti. Hence even if a few quotations are not found in our Manu, we cannot at once jump to the conclusion that Vasiṣṭha had before him not the Manusmṛti, but the Mānavadharmasūtra. Besides Bühler is not right in saying that Vasiṣṭha 11. 23, 12. 16 and 23. 43 either contradict or find no counterpart in our Manu (S. B. E. vol. 25 p. XXXIV). Vasiṣṭha 11. 23 corresponds with Manu 3. 245-246.[148] None of the three contradict anything contained in the Manusmṛti. Vasiṣṭha 23. 43 (about Śiśukṛcchra) has nothing corresponding to it word for word in our Manu, but it seems to be an echo of Manu 11. 211.[149] In Vasiṣṭha 12. 16 (paryagnikaraṇam

148 'प्राक्संस्कारात्प्रमीतानां स्ववंश्यानामिति स्थितिः। भागधेयं मनुः प्राह उच्छिष्टोच्छेषणे उभे ॥ वसिष्ठ 11. 23. Should we not read स्ववश्यानाम्, which would correspond to the word दासवर्ग in Manu? मनु reads 'असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिनां कुलयोषिताम्। उच्छिष्टं भागधेयं स्याद् दर्भेषु विकिरश्च यः ॥ उच्छेषणं भूमिगतमजिह्मस्याशठस्य च। दासवर्गस्य तत्पित्र्ये भागधेयं प्रचक्षते ॥' 3. 245-246, The close correspondence between Vas. and Manu in ideas and phraseology should be specially marked.

149 वसिष्ठ (23. 43) 'अहः प्रातरहर्नक्तमहरेकमयाचितम्। अहः परार्कं तन्त्रैकमेवं चतुरहो परौ ॥ अनुग्रहार्थं विप्राणां मनुर्धर्मभृतां वरः। बालवृद्धातुरेष्वेवं शिशुकृच्छ्रमुवाच ह ॥'; मनु 11. 245. 'त्र्यहं प्रातस्त्र्यहं सायं त्र्यहमद्यादयाचितम्। त्र्यहं परं च नाश्नीयात्प्राजापत्यं चरन् द्विजः ॥. It would be noticed that the शिशुकृच्छ्र comes to one-third of the प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्र, as the शिशुचान्द्रायण (मनु. 11. 218) is a milder edition of the चान्द्रायण. The प्रायश्चित्त for minors and women was one half or one third of that for adult males (vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 51. and आङ्गिरसस्मृति verse 33). बौ. ध. सू. (II. 1. 65) describes the four day's observance as the कृच्छ्र for women, minors and old men. याज्ञ. III. 319 calls it पादकृच्छ्र.

hy-etan-manurāha Prajāpatiḥ) there is nothing that contradicts our Manu; that half and the preceding verses bear a close correspondence to Baudhāyana Dh. S. I. 4. 2. Similarly Bühler's argument about Mānava śloka in the Triṣṭubh metre is not quite sound. The text of Vasiṣṭha is far from satisfactory. On the non-occurrence of that verse or a corresponding śloka in our Manu no superstructure can be built. Vasiṣṭha quotes (4. 37) a sūtra or opinion of Gautama which is not found in the extant Gautamadharmasūtra. Verses ascribed to Vasiṣṭha in the nibandhas are not found in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (*vide* n. 108 above.)

The analogy of the works of the schools of Āpastamba and others can furnish no proof. There are on the other hand weighty grounds for discarding that analogy altogether. It is a remarkable fact that excepting the three *caraṇas* (of the Black Yajurveda) of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Hiraṇyakeśin that arose and flourished in the southern portion of India, no *caraṇa* of any of the other Vedas has an extant dharmasūtra ascribed to the founder of the *sūtra-caraṇa*. An explanation is suggested in the following lines. The Brāhmaṇas in southern India were in the very early days of their colonisation surrounded by an alien culture and by alien customs. It was necessary therefore to formulate distinctly the rules of general conduct for the Aryan community in southern India, that studied the Black Yajurveda. The same necessity did not exist in northern India, where the members of the *sūtracaraṇas* knew their ordinary every day duties very well, and were more or less a homogeneous community with the same ideals and culture. Therefore in the beginning when manuals of śrauta and gṛhya ceremonies were first composed, it was not thought necessary to compose set treatises on *dharma* for each *caraṇa*. Some of the rules of conduct were embodied in the gṛhya sūtras because they were germane to the subjects treated of in them (such as the duties of Brahmacārins and householders, holidays etc.). Works, however, dealing with the general usages prevalent among the Aryan community in various parts of northern India must have been composed early enough. When the knowledge of the existence of the complete set of the sūtra works in the Āpastamba and other *caraṇas* of the Yajurveda in southern India permeated to northern and central India, the leaders of the *caraṇas* cast about for works that would complete the works of their *caraṇas* and bring

them in a line with those of Āpastamba and others. Therefore the various *caraṇas* seized upon several dharmasūtras and adopted them in their schools for study. This must have occured at a comparatively early date. For Kumārila, as we saw above, enlightens us as to what dharmasūtras were specially studied in which Vedic schools. The fact that, though Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are said to have been specially studied by the students of the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda respectively, there is hardly anything in these dharmasūtras that specially connects them with the two Vedas affords some corroboration of the above hypothesis. This assimilation of independent dharmasūtras into individual *sūtracaraṇas* probably took place before or in the first centuries of the Christian era. Śabara (on Jaimini I. 3.4) seems to make fun of the dharmasūtras when he says that the direction to observe *brahmacarya* for forty-eight years was a device of those who wanted to hide their impotence (Gautama 2. 52, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 11-12, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 1. speak of *brahmacarya* for 48 years). This shows that these dharmasūtras could not have been regarded as very authoritative by all early writers. Jaimini I. 3. 11 (according to Śabara) denies the independent authority of Kalpasūtras. It appears that the Mānava school, which according to the caraṇavyūha was a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīya, dwindled in numbers very early. Kumārila, who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit literature, nowhere mentioned the Mānavadharmasūtra as studied by followers of the Black Yajurveda, though he mentions Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as studied by them. He places the Manusmṛti even higher than the Gautamadharmasūtra and betrays no knowledge of the existence of the Mānavadharmasūtra. Viśvarūpa who is generally identified with Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara, remarks that the Mānavacaraṇa is not existent (or found).[150]

The foregoing discussion will, it is hoped, induce every impartial critic to endorse the conclusion that on the materials so far available the theory that the Mānavadharmasūtra once existed and that the extant Manusmṛti is a recast of that sūtra must be held not proved.

14. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

This epoch-making work was first published by Dr. Shamasastri in 1909 in the Mysore Sanskrit Series and was also translated by him. Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri of Trivandrum has published the work

[150] 'न च मानवादिचरणोपलब्धिरस्ति' p. 18 of विश्वरूप's comment on आचार section.

with his own commentary called Śrīmūla. Dr. Jolly and Dr. Schmidt edited the text with a valuable introduction and the commentary, called Nayacandrikā, of Mādhavayajvan on portions of the text in the Punjab Sanskrit series at Lahore. In this work the edition of 1919 by Dr. Shamasastri has been used. This work has given rise to frequent and furious controversies about its authorship, its authenticity and its age and it cannot be said that we have heard the last of this din of controversy. Moreover this work has inspired besides numerous articles in journals several monographs, some of which have somewhat high sounding titles, such as Narendranath Law's 'Studies in Ancient Indian Polity,' Dr. P. Banerji's 'Public Administration in Ancient India,' Ghosal's 'History of Hindu Political Theories,' Majumdar's 'Corporate Life in Ancient India,' Benoy Kumar Sarkar's 'Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus,' Jayasval's 'Hindu Polity,' Prof. S. V. Visvanathan's 'International Law in Ancient India (1925)'. It is not possible to discuss at great length all the problems about Kauṭilya here. Only a brief statement can be attempted. For fuller study reference may be made to the following works and papers :— Hillebrandt's 'über das Kauṭilyaśāstra und Verwandtes' (Breslau 1908), Z D M G vol. 67, pp. 49-96 (Dr. Jolly), Z D M G vol. 68, pp. 345-359 and vol. 69, p. 369 ff; J R A S 1916, pp. 130-137 (Prof. Keith), I. A. for 1918, pp. 157-161 and pp. 187-195 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Dr. Sukthankar), Dr. Kalidas Nag's 'Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra' (Paris 1923) and its translation in 'Journal of Indian History' vol. V, Dr. Otto Stein's 'Megasthenes und Kauṭilya' (Vienna 1922), K. V. Rangasvami Ayyangar's lectures on Ancient Indian Polity (Madras 1916), Dr. Winternitz in Calcutta Review 1924 and in his history of Indian Literature (vol. III, pp. 509-524), I. A. for 1924, pp. 128-136 and 141-146 (Dr. Jacobi translated by Prof. Utgikar); Dr. Johann J. Meyer's 'Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya' (Leipzig, 1925) and Prof. N. C. Bandopadhyaya's exposition of the social ideal and political theory of Kauṭilya. The Indian Antiquary for 1925 (pp. 175 and 201) gives an exhaustive bibliography on the date of Kauṭilya.

The Kauṭilīya is the oldest extant work on Arthaśāstra. Though Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra are often contradistinguished on account of the difference of the two śāstras in ideals and in the

methods adopted to reach them, Arthaśāstra is really a branch of Dharmaśāstra as the former deals with the responsibilities of kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on *dharma*.[151] For this reason and the further reason that the Kauṭilīya contains two sections (called dharmasthīya and kaṇṭakaśodhana) on the administration of justice, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya deserves careful consideration in this work. According to the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, Arthaśāstra is an Upaveda of Atharvaveda. The purpose of this Śāstra as stated in the Kauṭilīya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving (power over) the earth '.[152] Yājñavalkya distinctly states (II. 21) that in case of conflict between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the rule is that the former prevails [153]. Nārada also (I. 39) says the same thing.[154] From comparatively ancient times Cāṇakya *alias* Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta has been credited with the composition of a work on Arthaśāstra. The Kāmandakīyanītisāra [155] pays a glowing tribute of praise to Viṣṇugupta, who, singlehanded, brought about the downfall of Nanda, bestowed the earth on Candragupta and distilled from the ocean of Arthśāstra the quintessence, his work on politics. Kāmandaka further tells us that he looked upon Viṣṇugupta as his *guru*.[156] The Tantrākhyāyikā (H. O. S. vol. 14) which is certainly not later than 300 A. D. pays homage to Cāṇakya the Great as one of the authors of treatises on Politics. [157] Daṇḍin in his Daśakumāracarita

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151 'धर्मशास्त्रान्तर्गतमेव राजनीतिलक्षणमर्थशास्त्रमिदं विवक्षितम्' मिता० on Yāj. II. 21.

152 तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति । कौ. 15. 1. So also the very first sentence is 'पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।'

153 अर्थशास्त्रात्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।

154 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

155 यस्याभिचारवज्रेण वज्रज्वलनतेजसः । पपात मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वा नन्दपर्वतः ॥ एकाकी मन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्या शक्तिधरोपमः । आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ॥ नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्दुद्मे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ काम. I. 4-6.

156 'विद्याश्चतस्र एवैता इति नो गुरुदर्शनम् ।' काम० II. 6; 'चतस्र एव विद्या इति कौटिल्यः' कौटिलीय I. 2.

157 मनवे वाचस्पतये शुक्राय पराशराय सत्सुताय । चाणक्याय च महते नमोस्तु नृपशास्त्रकर्तृभ्यः ॥ verse 2.

(section VIII, p. 131, 2nd edition B. S. Series) says that the teacher Viṣṇugupta compressed Daṇḍanīti for the sake of the Maurya king into six thousand ślokas and quotes passages from Cāṇakya.[158] Bāṇa associates the work of Kauṭilya with harsh and cruel expedients.[159] The Pañcatantra identifies Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta and speaks of Cāṇakya as the author of Arthaśāstra (*vide* part I. p. 2 ed. by Kielhorn part II. p. 65 and part III. 50 ed. by Bühler). Kauṭilya figures very largely in the Purāṇas (vide Pargiter's 'dynasties of the Kali age' pp. 69-70 and Viṣṇupurāṇa 4. 24. 26-28). He has a prominent place in the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, as appears from the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. The Mṛchhakaṭika (I. 39 B. S. series) refers to Cāṇakya. The Mudrārākṣasa identified Cāṇakya and Kauṭilya and suggests the derivation of the latter name from 'Kuṭila' (crooked).[160] Some of the above items of information are supported by the personal references contained in the Arthaśāstra itself. At the end of the first chapter of the first *adhikaraṇa*, Kauṭilya is said to be the author of the Śāstra and at the end of the 10th chapter of the second *adhikaraṇa* Kauṭilya is said to have laid down the rules for royal edicts for the sake of the king.[161] The last verse[162] tells us that he who impatiently wrested the earth from the Nanda king composed the work and after the colophon a verse tell us that seeing the differing interpretations of bhāṣyakāras on the Arthaśāstra, Viṣṇugupta himself composed the sūtra and the bhāṣya.

The first question that arises for consideration is the authenticity of the work, that is, the question whether it can be the work of the

158 'इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता।' दशकुमार० VIII; सत्यमाह चाणक्यः 'चित्तज्ञानानुवर्तिनोऽनर्था अपि प्रियाः स्युः। दक्षिणा अपि तद्भावबहिष्कृता द्वेष्या भवेयुः' दशकुमार VIII. Compare कौटिलीय V. 4 verses at the end.

159 'येषामतिनृशंसप्रायोपदेशनिर्घृणं कौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम्' कादम्बरी p. 109 (Peterson).

160 कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन क्रोधाग्नौ प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः। मुद्राराक्षस I.

161 सुखग्रहणविज्ञेयं तत्त्वार्थपदनिश्चितम्। कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तग्रन्थविस्तरम्॥ कौटिलीय I. 1; सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च। कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः॥ कौटिलीय II. 10.

162 येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः। अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम्॥ दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम्। स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च॥

famous minister of Candragupta Maurya, who was a contemporary of Alexander, and who must therefore have flourished about 320 B.C. This question very largely depends upon the age of the work. But other considerations, more or less of a subjective character and depending upon the absence of certain things from the Kauṭilīya, must be dealt with first. Jolly, Keith and Winternitz hold that the extant Kauṭilīya is not the work of the Maurya minister. One argument, viz. that a person like Cāṇakya who had to build a vast empire such as that of Candragupta and who was bent down with the cares of the empire could not have found time to write such a work, may be brushed aside as entirely futile, being a purely subjective argument. Some persons may say that he could have found time, just as Sāyaṇa and Mādhava could find in later days, to write such a work in the midst of all cares, while others may deny the possibility of such a thing. Similarly most of the arguments from the silence of the Kauṭilīya are also quite unconvincing and lead to no certain and universally acceptable conclusion. The non-mention of Pāṭaliputra or of the empire of Candragupta is of very little use in deciding the question of the authenticity of the work. The argument of Stein and Winternitz that in Megasthenes' account of India no great person named Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya appears and that the former's account of the condition of India does not tally with that presented by the Kauṭilīya is of very little weight. We have no means for finding out what proficiency Megasthenes had acquired in the languages of India so as to be able to hold conversation with all sorts and conditions of men. Besides it is well known that Megasthenes' writings have been handed down in a fragmentary state and that he often spins his own yarns. Megasthenes declares the Indians to be unacquainted with writing. But no Western scholar would now subsribe to the view that writing was unknown in India about 320 B. C. Dr. Jolly himself has to remark that the idealising tendency in Megasthenes greatly impairs the trustworthiness of his statements (p. 40, Introduction to Kauṭilīya). This question of the authenticity of the work is bound up with the question whether it can be the work of an individual author or whether it is the product of a school. Hillebrandt vehemently argues that it is the product of a school and Jacobi as vehemently repudiates that hypothesis. The great stumbling block according to many scholars in the way of regarding Kauṭilya as the author of the work is the fact that the views of Kauṭilya are cited by name about 80 times in the work

itself almost always in opposition to the views of other teachers. But there is nothing specially to be wondered at in this. In order to avoid looking too egotistic, ancient authors generally put their own views in the third person as said by early writers like Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.[163] It has to be admitted that the first person singular also is used by ancient writers, though rarely.[164] Jacobi (I. A. for 1918 p. 188) and Keith are both wrong in thinking that the view of Kauṭilya is criticized by Bhāradvāja in V. 6. Kauṭilya states his position first and then mentions the view of his predecessor.[165] Dr. Jolly (Intro. to Kauṭilīya p. 44) is wrong in his explanation of Apadeśa (in XV. 1.[166]). That word is applied to passages which mean 'this or that author says this or that' and the Kauṭilīya cites from his own work a case of the statement of various views on a certain point. These words do not at all indicate that according to the Arthaśāstra Kauṭilya was a stranger. Keith thinks (J. R. A. S. 1916 p. 135) that as Kauṭilya is derived from Kuṭila, an author will not cite his own views under such an epithet. It is not unlikely that Cāṇakya acquired the epithet Kauṭilya on account of his methods in dealing with the Nandas and that as he did so from no purely selfish motives but for ridding the country of such tyrants as the Nandas are represented to have been, he might have come to relish the name given to him by the people. It has to be noted in this connection that many of the writers quoted in the Kauṭilīya bear nicknames (such as Piśuna, Vātavyādhi, Kauṇapadanta). This leads to the question as to whether the name is Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya. Hillebrandt seems to imply that all mss. employ the first form, while Pandit T. Ganapatisastri says his mss. support the latter form though in the first few pages he prints Kauṭilya. Mss. of the Kādambarī, the Pañcatantra and other works support the form Kauṭilya and the Mudrārākṣasa does the same by pointedly hinting at the etymology.

163 'प्रायेण ग्रन्थकाराः स्वमतं परापदेशेन ब्रुवते' मेधातिथि; on याज्ञ. I. 2 विश्वरूप says किं तु भगवतैव परोक्षीकृत्यात्मा निर्दिश्यते स्वप्रशंसानिषेधात्।'.

164 यास्क says 'तान्यप्येके समामनन्ति ... तत्समामने' निरुक्त VII. 13; vide याज्ञ. I. 56. (न तन्मम मतं यस्मात् &c.) and II. 133.

165 एवमेकेश्वर्यममात्यः कारयेदिति कौटिल्यः। नैवमिति भारद्वाजः।

166 एवमसावाहेत्यपदेशः। 'मन्त्रिपरिषदं द्वादशामात्यान् कुर्वीतेति मानवाः षोडशेति बार्हस्पत्याः विंशतिमित्यौशनसाः, यथासामर्थ्यमिति कौटिल्यः' इति.

A com. on the Kāmandakīyanītisāra styles the Kauṭilīya as Kuṭalabhāṣya and Kuṭala is said to be a *gotra*. The form Kauṭalya is said to occur in an inscription at Ganesar in Dholka dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1291 (i. e. 1234-35 A. D.). Vide Indian Historical Quarterly vol. I. p. 786. It is very difficult to decide between the rival claims of the two forms, but it appears that the form of the name, Kauṭalya, is due to a later attempt to solve the difficulty of an author parading his views as those of a man nicknamed "crooked". Whether Kuṭala or Kauṭalya was known as a gotra ṛṣi in ancient times is extremely doubtful. Neither the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra (Uttaraṣaṭka, 6th chap., 10th Kaṇḍikā) nor the Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-10) mentions Kuṭala among the several gotra groups. In later works on *gotras*, we find the name in several forms. In the Pravaradarpaṇa of Kamalākara Kauṭali is said to be one of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa group of the Bhṛgus (p. 156, edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore) and Kauṭilya is assigned to the Yaska group of the Bhṛgus (p. 158). The Pravaramañjarī enumerates the Kauṭilyas (p. 32, of the edition by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore) among the Yaska group of the Bhṛgus, also among the Śaradvanta group of the Gautamas, a branch of the Āṅgirasas, (p. 161) and Kauṭili as one ot the Bhṛgus (p. 42). We have to remember that so early a writer as Kāmandaka (who was well known to Bhavabhūti and Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra-vṛtti) who is assigned to the third centery A. D., and the Tantrākhyāyikā distinctly assign a work on politics to the minister of Candragupta. No weighty arguments have been advanced so far why this tradition vouched for so early should be disregarded. Keith finds it impossible that in the words 'six thousand ślokas' used by Daṇḍin the word śloka could mean a unit (in prose) of 32 letters. But Daṇḍin is evidently repeating the words that occur in the Arthaśāstra itself at the end of the first chapter.[167]

Before proceeding to discuss the age of the Kauṭilīya, it is advisable to say a few words on the form, style and contents of the work. The work is divided into 15 adhikaraṇas, 150 chapters, 180 topics and contains 6000 ślokas (i. e. units of 32 letters). The work is in prose interspersed with a few verses. Each chapter has

[167] शास्त्रसमुद्देशः पञ्चदशाधिकरणानि सपञ्चाशद्ध्यायशतं साशीतिप्रकरणशतं षट्श्लोक-सहस्राणीति । These words of the Kauṭilīya must mean 6000 units of 32 letters and nothing else.

at the end at least one verse and sometimes more. A few verses occur also in the midst of some chapters as in I. 8, I. 15, II. 10, II. 24, V. 6, VII. 5, VII. 6, VII. 9, VII. 13, X. 3, XIII. 4. There are about 340 verses excluding *mantras*. Almost all these verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, only eight verses being in the classical Indravajrā or Upajāti metres (in II. 9, II. 10 and X. 3). In our utter ignorance about the literature on Arthaśāstra prior to Kauṭilya it is impossible to say how many of these verses are borrowed and how many are of his own composition. There can be no doubt that some of these verses were composed by him (e. g. the two verses in I. 10, where the views of Ācāryas are given, and the words 'etat Kauṭilya-darśanam' occur). It appears that some verses are clearly quotations. For example, the verse 'nāsya guhyam' at the end of I. 15, and the verse 'saṁvatsareṇa patati' at the end of IV. 7 are Manu 7. 105 and 2. 180 respectively. The last occurs in Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62 and also in Vas. I. 22. The two verses in the Upajāti metre in X. 3 'yān yajñasaṅghaiḥ' and 'navaṁ śarāvam' occur respectively in the Parāśaradharmaśāstra (chap. III. p. 12 of Jivananda, part II) and in the Pratijñā (IV. 3[168]). It is noteworthy that they are introduced with the words 'apīha ślaukau bhavataḥ' and follow a quotation from or summary of a Vedic passage. Twelve verses in VII. 9 are introduced with the words 'tatraitad bhavati' and may be quotations. A few of the verses bear a close resemblance to verses of other works; e. g. the verse 'pṛṣṭaḥ priyahitam brūyāt' (in V. 4) which is very similar to Manu. 4. 138. In some cases he connects verses with his own words, e. g. the words 'kurvataśca' with 'nāsya guhyam' (at the end of I. 15) and the last verse of II. 25. The style of the Kauṭilīya is simple and direct. It is not concise like that of the Vedānta or Vyākaraṇa sūtras. It resembles the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Hārīta and Śaṅkha-Likhita, but is not as archaic as that of Āpastamba. According to the commentaries the several headings of the prakaraṇas are sūtras and the contents of them the bhāṣya (vide Nayacandrikā pp. 137, 143-44 &c., edited by Dr. Jolly). It abounds in numerous technical and rare terms. It is generally in

[168] The manner in which the गाम्रसेवक brings in this verse does not show that it is the author's own. The verse is preceded by the words मृण्वन्तु ब्रुवन्तः and is probably put in as a weighty utterance from some ancient source.

accordance with Pāṇini's grammar, though such un-Pāṇinean words as 'pāpiṣṭhatama' (in VII. 11) rarely occur. It employs the word 'avyaya' in the masculine (II. 10), while Pāṇini (I. 1. 37) employs 'avyayam'.

The whole work on account of its careful arrangement of topics and unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The Kauṭilīya sheds such valuable light on the social, economic, political and religious life of ancient India and contains information on so many topics that it is not possible to convey any idea of its contents in a brief summary. The subjects of the fifteen *adhikaraṇas* are :— I. the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of Ānvīkṣikī and politics, qualifications of ministers and purohita and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards harem, king's personal safety; II. about superintendents of various state departments, founding villages, pastures and forests, forts, duties of the chamberlain (sannidhātā), the commissioner for revenues from forts, country, mines, forests, roads &c.; accountant-general's office; embezzlement of public funds; royal edicts; examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines; superintendent of gold (i. e. of coins issued from the mints); superintendent of store-house (of agricultural produce &c.), of commerce, of forests, of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, of the capital and cities; III. Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, strīdhana, twelve kinds of sons; other titles of law; IV. removal of thorns, protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc; suppression of those who live by foul means; detection of juvenile crime; arrest of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions; protection of all kinds of state departments; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death with or without torture; intercourse with maidens; punishment of fine for various wrongs; V. conduct of courtiers, award of punishment for treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency; salaries of state servants, qualifications of courtiers, consolidation of royal power; VI. constitution of the maṇḍala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work

as the source of prosperity; sixfold royal policy; threefold *śakti*; VII. circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six *guṇas* (saṁdhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter and dvaidhībhāva); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of states; saṁdhi for the acquisition of a friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of states; VIII. about *vyasanas* (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and the kingdom; troubles of men and of the army; IX. work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection; traitors, enemies and their allies; X. about war; encamping the army, march of the army, battle-fields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants &c.; array of troops for battle in various formations; XI. concerning corporations and guilds; XII. concerning a powerful enemy; sending an envoy; intrigues, spies with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries; capture of the enemy by stratagems; final victory; XIII. capture of forts; sowing dissensions; enticing of king by stratagem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country; XIV secret means, strategems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances; medicines and incantations; XV division of this work into sections and their illustrations.

It would be interesting to say a few words separately on the chapter about judicial administration. Dr. Jolly has collected together the passages of the Kauṭilīya on judicial administration that bear a very close resemblance to the several works on ancient Indian Law (vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 67, pp. 51-90). It will be seen therefrom that there is the greatest correspondence between the Kauṭilīya and Yājñavalkya. It is no doubt true that many passages from Manu and Nārada agree closely with those of the Kauṭilīya but not to the same extent as those of Yājñavalkya. A few striking examples are quoted below.[169] The question then arises whether there is

169 (a) अभियुक्तो न प्रत्यभियुञ्जीत अन्यत्र कलहसाहससार्थसमवायेभ्यः। न चाभियुक्तेऽभियोगोस्ति। कौ. III. 1; अभियोगमनिस्तीर्य नैनं प्रत्यभियोजयेत्। कुर्यात्प्रत्याभियोगं च कलहे साहसेषु च॥ याज्ञ. II. 9-10; (b) प्रतिरोधकव्याधिदुर्भिक्षभयप्रतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः। कौ. III. 2; दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधके। गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति॥ याज्ञ. II 147; (c) सोदर्याणामनेकपितृकाणां पितृतो दायविभागः। कौ. III. 5; अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना। याज्ञ. II. 120;

borrowing and if so who the borrower is. The agreement in phraseology is so close that it must be regarded as a case of borrowing and in my opinion it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti that borrows. The reasons are many. Yājñavalkya represents on numerous points of law a very great advance upon the doctrines of Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya does not contain distinct directions upon the four stages of a law suit (plaint, reply, proof and judgment) nor upon the threefold aspects of proof (documents, witnesses, prescription). Yājñavalkya goes into all these matters. The Kauṭilīya does not recognise the widow or mother as heir to a sonless man ; Yājñavalkya does so. Kauṭilya does not mention the *bandhus* as heirs ; he hardly says anything about re-union.[170] The Kauṭilīya divides the strīdhana of a woman dying during her husband's lifetime among her sons and daughters, while Yāj. prefers the daughters to the sons.[171] It is not necessary to multiply examples. It goes without saying that Yājñavalkya represents a far too advanced stage of juristic principles than the Kauṭilīya and so must be later than the latter by several centuries. The Kauṭilīya agrees very closely with Manu also, but considerations of space prevent me from going into the points of agreement. There are however numerous fundamental points on which Manu and the Kauṭilīya disagree.

Kauṭilya allows *niyoga* even in the case of Brāhmaṇas (last verse of III. 6 and at the end of I. 17 about kings). Manu first speaks of *Niyoga* and then condemns it (vide 9. 57-63 and 9. 64-68). As Bṛhaspati refers to this fact in Manu's work,[172] it appears that the

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(d) नष्टापहृतमासाद्य स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्राहयेत् । देशकालातिपत्तौ वा स्वयं गृहीत्वोपहरेत् । कौ. III. 16 ; नष्टोपहृतमासाद्य हर्तारं ग्राहयेन्नरम् । देशकालातिपत्तौ च गृहीत्वा स्वयमर्पयेत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 169 ; (e) वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणामाचार्यशिष्यधर्मभ्रातृसमानतीर्थ्यो रिक्थभाजः । कौ. III. 16 ; वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणां रिक्थभागिनः । क्रमेणाचार्यसच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥ याज्ञ. II. 137.

170 But see ' अपितृद्रव्या विभक्तापितृद्रव्यैः सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेरन् ' कौ. III. 5. This contains a reference to reunion.

171 जीवति भर्तरि मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन् । अपुत्राया दुहितरः । तदभावे भर्ता । कौ. III. 2 ; अप्रजःस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि । दुहितॄणां प्रसूता चेच्छेषेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 145.

172 बृहस्पति's word are 'उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु '; vide कुल्लूक on मनु 9. 68 for the whole quotation.

passages condemning *niyoga* were put in probably earlier than the fitst centuries of the Christian era. Though Kauṭilya speaks of almost the same 18 titles as those in Manu (8. 4-7) almost under the same names, there is a slight difference. Manu has no such title as *Prakīrṇaka*. Kauṭilya speaks of upanidhi and extends the same rules to Nikṣepa, while Manu speaks of the title as Nikṣepa. The ancient dharma-sūtras do not give the technical names of the eighteen titles of law, though some of them do occur therein. Vāk-pāruṣya and daṇḍapāruṣya occur in G. Dh. S. (12. 1) and Vas. (17.61). Baud. seems to have known the term 'Strīsaṅgrahaṇa' (Dh. S. II. 2.54). *Steya* occurs in all. Gautama speaks of *nidhi* (Dh. S. 12. 39). Manu positively says (9. 155) that the son of any member of the first three *varṇas* from a Śūdra woman does not inherit his father's wealth (though the preceding verses 151-154 seem to lay down different rules), while Kauṭilya allows such a son a share when there are sons born to a Brāhmaṇa from wives of higher castes or one third when he has no other sons (III. 6). Manu expressly mentions the mother and paternal grandmother as heirs (9. 217), while Kauṭilya appears to ignore them. Manu prohibits the remarriage of widows (V. 161-165), while Kauṭilya allows not only widows to remarry, but also wives whose husbands have not been heard of for a year or more according to circumstances (III. 4). Kauṭilya allows a wife to desert her husband, if the latter is of a bad character, has become a traitor to the king, endangers her life or has become an outcaste or impotent[173] (last verse of III. 2). Kauṭilya further seems to have allowed divorce which is unknown to any other known lawgiver, but he bases it only on the ground of mutual hatred and says that a marriage in the approved forms cannot be dissolved[174] (III. 3). Manu is very harsh upon gamblers and asks the king to supress gambling and banish gamblers (9. 221-224), while Kauṭilya only brings gambling under the control of the king for the purpose of detecting thieves &c. (III. 20). Manu first allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry even a Sūdra woman and then condemns such a thing (III. 13-19), while Kauṭilya does not condemn such unions. These divergences and others lead us to conclude

173 नीचत्वं परदेशं वा प्रस्थितो राजकिल्बिषी। प्राणाभिहन्ता पतितस्त्याज्यः क्लीबोपि वा पतिः॥ कौ०.

174 अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या। भार्यायाश्च भर्ता। परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः। अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति। कौ०.

that the Kauṭilīya is much older than the extant Manusmṛti, which is in many matters carried away by puritanic zeal, while its older portion is more in harmony with the spirit of the Kauṭilīya. Therefore the Kauṭilīya is long anterior to the time when the extant Manusmṛti took its present form. The Kauṭilīya refers to the opinion of the Mānavas in five places. Two of the views ascribed to the Mānavas by Kauṭilya are the sama as those which Kāmandaka (II. 3 and XI. 67) ascribes to Manu. According to the Mānavas, the *vidyās* to be studied by a prince were three, viz. trayī, vārtā and daṇḍanīti, what is called ānvīkṣikī being but a branch of trayī; and the council of ministers was to consist of twelve. The Manusmṛti (7. 43) appears to regard the *vidyās* as four and lays down (7. 54) that the Council should consist of seven or eight *sacivas*. Bühler and others on account of this difference in the views of the Mānavas and the Manusmṛti thought that Kauṭilya was referring to the Mānvadharmasūtra. In my humble opinion the evidence for the existence of a Mānavadharmasūtra is practically nil, as detailed above in section 13. From the references to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu contained in the Mahābhārata, particularly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* it appears that there were two works in verse on *dharma* and politics attributed to these two or there was one work containing both. These works were subsequently recast as the Manusmṛti. It is therefore that some difference is noticed between the views ascribed to the Mānavas aud the extant Manusmṛti. Besides there is no real conflict in the matter of *vidyās*. The Manusmṛti does not positively say that the *vidyas* are four and not three; it simply says from whom trayī and the other three are to be learnt. The Manusmṛti (in 7. 60) allows more ministers than seven or eight. It is possible that in recasting several changes were made. The third opinion of the Mānavas quoted by Kauṭilya is about the fine to be imposed upon officers of the state occasioning loss of revenue (II. 7). The other two views of the Mānavas quoted are concerned with the fine to be imposed on false witnesses and for forcible seizure of jewels[175] &c. It must be admitted that in the extant Manusmṛti there is nothing exactly corresponding with these views. But from this fact no one conclusion alone can be drawn. There may be a mistake in quoting, or there may be inter-

[175] कूटसाक्षिणो धर्मार्थमूतं वा नाशयेयुस्तद्दशगुणं दण्डं दद्युरिति मानवाः। कौ. III. 11; 'रत्नसारफल्गुद्रव्याणां साहसे मूल्यसमो दण्ड इति मानवाः। कौ. III. 17.

polations, it may be that some of the verses in the original Manu-smṛti have dropped out or that Kauṭilya is quoting not the Manu-smṛti itself, but the views of works based on or explanatory of Manu. It is noteworthy that Bṛhaspati[176] contains a verse very similar to the views on sāhasa attributed to the Mānavas. We shall see below that Bṛhaspati's work was more or less a supplement of Manu. The only authors or schools, besides the Mānavas, cited by name in the dharmasthīya section are the Bārhaspatyas and the Auśanasas. It is remarkable that the well-known and ancient Dharmasūtrakāras like Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Hārīta are nowhere quoted by name. It is noteworthy that in the dharmasthīya section Kauṭilya several times quotes the views of ācāryas and of some others under the word "apare". Some of these views correspond closely with the discussions in the ancient dharmasūtras. One of these is the question as to whom the child belongs, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten. Kauṭilya first quotes the view of the ācāryas that it belongs to the husband of the mother of the child, then says that some hold that it belongs to the begetter, while Kauṭilya holds that it belongs to both.[177] It is to be noted here that both Baud. and Āp. say that according to the Brāhmaṇas the sons belong to the begetter, while Vasiṣṭha says there is a dispute on the point, both views being supported by ancient authorities. Gautama speaks of both views and at last (18. 13 "dvayorvā") seems to come to the same conclusion as Kauṭilya. It is not unlikely that Kauṭilya has in mind this discussion in the Dharmasūtras and also in Manu (9. 48–54 where the view is that the child belongs to the husband of the woman). Some of the other views attributed to ācāryas are that a woman could visit the houses of her husband's relations, of prosperous men, of village headmen, of female ascetics &c. (III. 4); that very poor men could divide even waterpots at a partition (III. 5); that the master who did not employ a servant ready to work according to agreement had to

176 [illegible] quoted in व्यवहारमयूख on साहस.

177 परपरिग्रहे बीजमुक्तपूर्वं क्षेत्रिण इत्याचार्याः। माता भर्तुः यस्य रेतस्तस्यापत्यमित्यपरे। नियमानमुभयमिति कौटिल्यः। को. III. 7. Compare गौ. ध. सू. 18. 9–13, बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 34–36; आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5–8 (where the first three verses are identical. Some) [illegible] 17. 6–9.

pay the wages agreed upon as if the work had been finished (compare Viṣṇu V. 157); he who forcibly confined a man or woman or who by force released another from imprisonment was to be fined between 500 and 1000 (III. 17); that disputes of a remote date shall not be complained of and that he who is the first to complain wins, since one runs (to court) as one cannot bear the pain (III. 19); that in a complaint by one gambler against another, the successful party has to pay the fine called pūrvasāhasa and the defeated party the fine called madhyasāhasa (III. 20).

The foregoing discussion about the dharmasthīya section shows that in the sphere of the administration of justice, Kauṭilya is far in advance of the dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana and so is much later than these (though in certain matters such as the rights of women to succeed to males he closely agrees with Gautama and Āpastamba), while he is earlier than the extant Manusmṛti (though not earlier than the oldest kernel of the Manusmṛti) and very much earlier than Yājñavalkya.

The question of the date of the Kauṭilīya can be settled only approximately and for that we have to rely only on the internal evidence. The external evidence does not carry us far; we can only say that the Kauṭilīya is certainly not later than the 2nd century A. D., since Kāmandaka, the Tantrākhyāyikā, and Bāṇa, speak of it with admiration. No one claims it to be earlier than 300 B. C. Even Keith who assigns it a late date and cannot place it earlier than 100 B. C. at the most has to admit (J R A S 1916, p. 135) that for a precise date we have no real ground.

The Kauṭilīya quotes five schools by name: Mānavāḥ (five times), Bārhaspatyāḥ (6 times), Auśanasāḥ (7 times), Pārāśarāḥ (4 times), Āmbhīyāḥ (once) and the following individual authors; Kātyāyana (1), Kiñjalka (1), Kauṇapadanta (4), Ghoṭakamukha (1), (Dīrgha) Cārāyaṇa (1), Parāśara (2), Piśuna (6), Piśunaputra (1), Bāhudantiputra (1), Bhāradvāja (7, once as Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja), Vātavyādhi (5), Viśālākṣa (6). He either differs from all these authors or they differ from each other in all the places where they are cited. All the individual authors that are cited only once occur on the same page (except Bāhudantiputra). He quotes the views of *ācāryas* over fifty times and in each case differs from them. "Ācāryas" means the ancient authors on the śāstra

collectively. Even the Nirukta quotes certain views as those of ācāryas. Kauṭilya is cited about 80 times. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana mentions a Ghoṭakamukha and a Cārāyaṇa. Whether they are identical with the authors cited by Kauṭilya is extremely doubtful. The Mahābhārata mentions among writers on Daṇḍanīti the following who occur in the Kauṭilīya also :—Bṛhaspati, Manu, Bhāradvāja, Viśālākṣa, Śukra (the same as Uśanas) and Indra (probably Kauṭilya's Bāhudantiputra), whose abridgment of Brahmā's work is called Bāhudantaka in the Śāntiparva (chap. 59).

According to the Nayacandrikā, Piśuna, Bhāradvāja, Kauṇapadanta and Vātavyādhi stand for Nārada, Droṇācārya, Bhīṣma and Uddhava respectively (pp. 73, 69, 74, 91).

The Mahābhārata mentions other writers on politics, viz. Gauraśiras, Kaśyapa, Utathya, Vāmadeva, Vasuhoma, Kāmandaka, (Śāntiparva 123. 11) and a few others which are not found in the Kauṭilīya.

The Kauṭilīya knows the four Vedas, the charms and incantations of the Atharvan, the six *aṅgas*, includes under itihāsa, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra ; it knows the Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata[178] schools of thought. It mentions Mauhūrtikas, Kārtāntikas (astrologers), Jupiter and Venus. It refers to dhātuśāstra (Metallurgy). Sanskṛit was the official language and in the Śāsanādhikāra it mentions such *guṇas* of composition as mādhurya, audārya, spaṣṭatva, which show the beginnings of the Alaṁkāra śāstra. There is nothing to wonder at in this. In the second century A. D. we have the inscription of Rudradāman, which enumerates the guṇas of Kāvya. The Kauṭilīya does not mention edicts on stone or copper. It refers to Vaiśikakalājñāna (II. 27). The Kauṭilīya closely agrees with the Kāmasūtra in several respects, and the two works contain several identical passages (such as the list of kings that fell victims to intrigues and about *trivarga*). Keith argues from this that the Kauṭilīya and the Kāmasūtra are not separated by a long interval and that it is a late work. Dr. Jolly also is of the same opinion (p. 24 Intro. to Arthaśāstra). If the Kāmasūtra held up the Kauṭilīya as its model, then the two works would certainly look very much alike. There are points of difference

178 लोकायत occurs in the महाभाष्य on वर्णका तान्तवे (पा. VII. 3. 45). Vide Kielhorn vol. III., pp. 325-326.

between the two works, e. g. they differ in their attitude towards flesh-eating and the Kāmasūtra speaks of planetary influence and *lagna*, while the Kauṭilīya is silent on these points and only condemns in general terms the consulting of stars. We must note here that the Kauṭilīya (IX. 4) speaks of consulting *nakṣatras*, which were known from the earliest Vedic period and some of which were looked upon as auspicious for sacrificial purposes even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 1-2) and the Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras. The Kauṭilīya follows the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa in the system of a *yuga* of five saṁvatsaras, in prescribing two intercalary months in a *yuga* and in saying that at the end of one *ayana* the variation between the length of the day or the night comes to six muhūrtas (vide II. 20). Keith argues that the ślokas in the Kauṭilīya are more classical than even those of the Rāmāyaṇa and that it contains correct Triṣṭubh stanzas which are wanting in the Bṛhaddevatā (a work of the 4th century B. C.). But this argument can produce no impression on those scholars who ascribe the Rāmāyaṇa to the 5th century B. C. or earlier. Nor is the date of the Bṛhaddevatā beyond the pale of discussion. There is no consensus of opinion among scholars as to the exact time when classical ślokas and correct Triṣṭubhs first came into vogue. It is to be noted that the Kauṭilīya defines *pada* as varṇasaṅghāta and not as in Pāṇini (sup-tiṅantaṁ padam).

Among the countries and peoples frequently mentioned by Kauṭilya, several are interesting. He speaks of silks from the land of the Cīnas[179] and blankets from Nepal. Keith says that the name Cīna being derived from the Thsin dynasty in China (which began its rule in 247 B. C.) this would show that the Kauṭilīya could not have been composed about 300 B. C. No one however knows how the word Cīna was derived and besides as Keith admits the passage may be an interpolation. He speaks of the *Saṅgha* of the Vṛṣṇis (1. 6) and the *Śreṇis* (corporations) of Kṣatriyas in the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra that lived by vārtā (agriculture and trade) and by the profession of fighting and the corporations of the Licchcivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, and the Kurupañcālas that live on the title 'rāja' (XI. 1). Some of these tribes such as the Licchavis, Vṛjis (Vajjis in Pāli) and Mallas are well-known from ancient Buddhist works. What is meant by 'rājaśabdopajīviṇaḥ'

179 तथा कौशेयं चीनपट्टाश्च चीनभूमिजा व्याख्याताः । कौ. II. 11.

is not quite clear. It probably means that the organisation of the Licchavis and others was on democratic lines and that there was very keen competition for the honour of being elected the chief or president of those corporations, the latter being designated 'rāja'.[180] The Nayacandrikā explains that they bear the proud designation of 'rāja' but are penniless (and so can be easily employed in military service as mercenaries). We are told that the breed of horses from Kāmbhoja, Sindhu, Āraṭṭa and Vanāyu was the best and that Bāhlīka, Pāpeya, Sauvīra and Taitala breeds were of middle quality. The Kauṭilīya speaks of Mleccha tribes and tells us that among them one's own children could be sold or pledged without incurring punishment (III. 13).

There is hardly any distinctive reference to things Buddhist except one passage (III. 20) where a fine of one hundred (*paṇas*) is prescribed for him who invited to dinners in honour of gods or Manes a Buddhist (Śākya), an Ājīvaka, a śūdra ascetic.[181] This shows that the work was written at a time when Buddhism was yet not a widespread religion and had not secured an honourable place among the people. The Ājīvika was a well-known sect in ancient India, said to have been founded by Makkhali Gosāla (vide V. A. Smith's Aśoka, pp. 134, 198 of edition of 1909, I. A. 1912, p. 286, 'Dialogues of Buddha' I, p. 71, n. 1, Journal of Bihar & Orissa Society, 1926, pp. 53-62). Aśoka bestowed some caves on them. Kauṭilya says that weights should be made of iron or of stones from Magadha and Mekala (country near the sources of the Narmadā).[182]

It is extremely doubtful whether the Kauṭilīya knew the extant text of the Mahābhārata. Most of the stories used as illustrations in the Kauṭilīya occur in the Mahābhārata (e. g. Aila, Duryodhana, Haihaya Arjuna, Vātāpi, Agastya, Ambarīṣa, Suyātra i. e. Nala). But in some cases there is slight divergence between the two works, e. g. Janamejaya is said to have perished through having attacked Brāhmaṇas in anger, while the Mahābhārata (XII. 150) gives a different version; Kauṭilya says (IV. 8) that Māṇḍavya, though not a thief, declared

180 In the Jātakas (Fausböll vol I., p. 504 and vol. III., p. 1) reference is made to the 7707 *rājas* of the Licchavis in Vesāli.

181 पाषण्डाजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतः शाक्यो दण्ड्यः। कौ. III. 20.

182 मितिमानाव्ययोमयानि मागधमेकलमौलमयानि। कौ. II. 19.

himself to be a thief while the Mahābhārata (I. 107. 9) says that he spoke nothing; Kauṭilya mentions Jayatsena as the opponent of Nala (VIII. 3) in gambling, while the Mahābhārata gives his name as Puṣkara; the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa do not know that a Jāmdagnya ruled long as a king.[183] Kauṭilya seems to have known the Purāṇas. He says (III. 7) that *sūta* and māgadha of the Purāṇas are quite different[184] from members of the mixed castes called sūta and māgadha and includes Purāṇa (I. 5) among the subjects of royal study grouped under the head of *itihāsa*.

Kauṭilya exhibits a wonderful knowledge of herbs and drugs and Dr. Jolly thinks that his *Materia Medica* is more extensive than even Suśruta's. But the dates of Caraka and Suśruta are far from being settled and no approximately certain conclusion can be drawn from the drugs mentioned in the Kauṭilīya. Kauṭilya speaks of 'rasada' (one who administers mercurial poison) and prescribes banishment for those who trade in or administer 'rasa' for money in order to do away with a person secretly (IV. 4.) In II. 13 he speaks of gold that is 'rasa-viddha' (amalgamated with mercury) and in II. 12 of liquids containing gold (rasāḥ Kāñcanikāḥ) and of Hinguluka. Dr. Jolly thinks that this knowledge of metallurgy and alchemy is of Graeco-Syriac origin and so the Kauṭilīya is a work of the third century A. D.

It is of great importance to note that Kauṭilya lays down (II.4) that in the midst of the fort were to be constructed the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Lakṣmī and Madirā (Durgā ?) and niches were to be set apart for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta and that the tutelary deities of the gates were to be Brahmā, Indra, Yama and Senāpati (i. e. Skanda). We know from the Mahābhāṣya[185] (Kielhorn Vol. II. p. 429) on Pāṇini (V. 3. 99 'jīvikārthe cāpaṇye') that the Mauryas set up images out of greed for money and that in its day images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped.

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183 शतुषद्वर्णमुत्सृज्य जामदग्न्यो जितेन्द्रियः। अम्बरीषश्च नाभागो बभूजाते चिरं महीम् ॥ काे. I. 6.

184 दीर्घणिकस्त्वन्यः सूती मागधश्च ब्रह्मक्षत्रादिशेषतः।

185 'अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति। शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति। किं कारणम्। लोभाद्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। आदरेणाः संमानं पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति। महाभाष्य.

The foregoing discussion clearly shows that the Kauṭilīya has certainly an ancient atmosphere about it, and that all that has so far been gathered from it agrees with its traditional date of 300 B. C. and no cogent arguments have been yet brought forward that would compel us to assign it a date later than the above by six centuries.

Two commentaries on the Kauṭilīya have been brought to light so far, one composed by Bhaṭṭasvāmin being called Pratipadapañcikā and the other the Nayacandrikā of Mādhavayajvan. Both are fragments. The first was published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1925-1926, vol. XI and XII) by Messrs. K. P. Jayasval and A. Banerji-sastri. The com. is incomplete and begins with the 8th adhyāya of the 2nd adhikaraṇa and reaches up to the 36th adhyāya of the adhikaraṇa. The commentary on the whole work must have been very extensive, as the portion already printed on a part of the 2nd adhikaraṇa alone occupies 214 pages. This commentary quotes the explanations of previous commentators in the words 'anye', 'apare'. It quotes several ślokas of Bṛhaspati on the blemishes of diamonds and on prakāśa-taskaras. The commentary Nayacandrikā contained in Dr. Jolly's edition (Lahore) also is incomplete and begins with the 7th adhyāya of the 7th adhikaraṇa and breaks off in the 4th adhyāya of the 12th adhikaraṇa. It also refers to the views of its predecessors in the words 'kecit' &c. (vide pp. 35, 61, 62, 104, 115, 131, 191). It discusses various readings (pp. 136, 183, 188, 193 &c.).

Dr. Shamasastri includes in his edition 571 sūtras attributed to Cāṇakya. Their relation to the Kauṭilīya is a subject which requires careful investigation. In my own opinion they are later than the Kauṭilīya. It would be beyond the scope of this work to enter into details. Vide Dr. Jacobi's article in Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. III., pp. 669-676.

There are several *nīti* collections attributed to Cāṇakya and published several times in different parts of India. All of them are later than the Kauṭilīya and are compilations of maxims and fine sayings. One of them the Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra (published in Calcutta Oriental series, 1921, 2nd edition) contains 660 verses and was compiled under Bhojarāja. Several other compilations pass under the names Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Laghu-Cāṇakya &c. All these are passed over here from considerations of space and utility.

15. Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna

This work has beem published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri (1913).

Mahādeva in his commentary called Vaijayantī (Ānandāśrama ed.) on the Satyāṣāḍha Śrautasūtra speaks of six Śrauta sūtras of the Black Yajurveda, viz. Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, Vādhūla and Vaikhānasa, and frequently cites passages from the Vaikhānasa-śrautasūtra. In the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, Vādhūla and Vaikhānasa are not mentioned. But that Vaikhānasa was a very ancient writer follows from the references contained in the ancient dharma works. In Gautama the word 'Vaikhānasa' occurs (Dh. S. III. 2) as the name for the order of forest hermits (vānaprastha) and in another sūtra (III. 26) he lays down that fire was to be consecrated according to the Śrāmaṇaka,[186] which latter is explained by Haradatta as Vaikhānasa Śāstra. Baudhāyana (Dh. S. II. 6. 17) has the same sūtra[187] and defines a Vaikhānasa as one who follows the rules of conduct laid down in Vaikhānasa Śāstra (Dh. S. II. 6. 16). The Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (9. 10) also has the same sūtra as Gautama (Dh. S. III. 26). The Manusmṛti (VI. 21) speaks of the Vānaprastha as one who abides by the views of Vaikhānasa (Vaikhānasamate sthitaḥ).

The Vaikhānasadharmapraśna is divided into three praśnas, each praśna being subdivided into khaṇḍas. There are in all 41 khaṇḍas. The work is a small one. The contents of the work are :- 1. the four *varṇas* and their privileges, and the four *āśramas*; duties of *brahmacārin*; four kinds of *brahmacārins*; duties of the householder; four kinds of gṛhastha, *vārtāvṛtti* (subsisting by agriculture), śālīna, yāyāvara and ghorācārika; forest anchorites; vānaprasthas are either sapatnīka (accompanied by their wives) or apatnīka (not so accompanied); Sapatnīka are of four sorts, Audumbara, Vairiñca, Vālakhilya and Phenapa; apatnīka Vānaprasthas; of four kinds of *bhikṣus*, viz. kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa and paramahaṁsa; sakāma (performed with desire of wordly gain) and niṣkāma (not so performed) *karma*; pravṛtti and nivṛtti; three kinds of

186 'श्रावणकेन (श्रामणकेन?) अग्निमाधाय' गौ. ध. सू. 3. 26 and बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 17.

187 गोविन्दस्वामी, the commentator of Baud. says 'वैखानसोपि वानप्रस्थ एव। संज्ञान्तरकरणं तु संव्यवहारार्थम्। विखनसा ऋषिणा प्रोक्तं वैखानसशास्त्रम्। तत्र हि बहवो वानप्रस्थस्योक्ता ग्रीष्मे पञ्चतपा इत्यादयः समुदाचाराः'.

Yogins and their subdivisions ; II. the details of the śrāmaṇaka rites of the vānaprastha (khaṇḍas 1-4); duties of the forest hermit ; details of joining the order of saṁnyāsins (khaṇḍas 6-8); age for saṁnyāsa (above seventy or when childless or widower) ; every day duties and observances of saṁnyāsins ; about *ācamana* and Saṁdhyā ; saluting (abhivādana) of all relatives, male and female ; holidays for study (anadhyāya) ; bath and Brahmayajña ; rules about taking food ; forbidden and permitted food ; III. rules of conduct for gṛhastha (khaṇḍas 1-3), rules of the road ; purification of golden and other metallic things ; purification of other things ; about vānaprastha ; *bhikṣu* ; burial of a saṁnyāsin ; Nārāyaṇabali on the death of a saṁnyāsin, *tarpaṇa* in the case of saṁnyāsins with twelve names of Viṣṇu, Keśava &c. and with water ; *anuloma* and *pratiloma* ; the intermediate castes ; *Vrātyas*, their origin ; name and means of subsistence (khaṇḍas 11-15).

The Vāikhānasadharmapraśna appears by its style and its contents to be a work of comparatively later date than the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is probably a recast of older materials. It contains the names of more mixed castes than the dharmasūtras and than even some of the later smṛtis. The present work seems to have been either written or retouched by a devotee of Viṣṇu. Faith in and devotion to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa loom very large here (I. 5. 5 nārāyaṇa-parāyaṇāḥ, I. 7. 6 and 9 ; II. 4-5 bhaktyā Viṣṇuṁ dhyāyan, III. 7. 3 Nārāyaṇaparaṁ brahmeti śrutaḥ, III. 9. 3 Viṣṇorālayapārśve). It speaks of the eight *aṅgas* of Yoga (I. 10. 9), of the Āyurveda with its eight *aṅgas* and of some treatise on evil spirits (bhūtatantra III. 12. 7). It refers to the views of some in the word 'eke' (I. 7. 4. and II. 9. 10). It speaks of the Śrāmaṇaka fire (in I. 6. 2 and I. 7. 3-4). It does not allow *saṁnyāsa* to Kṣatriyas (I. 1. 11). Vikhanas is cited as an authority (II. 5. 9 and III. 15. 14).

Bühler found a ms. of the Vaikhānasasūtra, consisting of a gṛhya in seven praśnas, three praśnas of dharma (the same as described above) and a fourth on pravaras. In the gṛhya a reference to Budhavāra occurs (R. and S. p. 9). Dr. Caland in his paper on Vaikhānasa-sūtra holds that the Manusmṛti borrows from Vaikhānasagṛhya and that the author of the latter was saturated with the idiom of Dravidian languages (vide Prof. Keith's review in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 1927, p. 623). Dr. Caland's

view about Manu is entirely wrong as will appear from the section on Manu. Vide Th. Bloch in 'über das Gṛhya-und Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasa' (Lipzig, 1896).

Other Sūtra Works on Dharma.

It will be proper to say a few words about some other sūtra works on dharma thar are only available in mss. or are to be reconstructed from quotations in the digests. It is by no means to be supposed that these works that will be spoken of here were composed as early as those of Gautama, Āpastamba and others or were composed before the extant Manu and Yājñavalkya. But as the chronology of all ancient works on dharma is somewhat in a nebulous state, it is best to treat here of all works written in the sūtra style, even though in individual cases they may really belong to a later age than the works composed entirely in verse. They will be taken up in alphabetical order (Sanskrit).

16. Atri

That Atri was an ancient writer on *dharma* follows from a refer ence to him in Manu (III. 16) as holding the view that a *dvijāti* taking as wife a śūdra woman became fallen (*patita*). In the Deccan College collection there are several mss. (Nos. 185-187 of A 1881-82) of the Ātreyadharmaśāstra in nine *adhyāyas*. They treat of gifts, prayers (*japya*) and *tapas* by which men are freed from all sins. Some of the chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The first three chapters are entirely in verse and some of the verses (such as ekākṣaraṁ param brahma) occur in the Manusmṛti. The fourth opens with a long sūtra, which, in style, resembles later bhāṣyas and commentaries.[188] The 5th also is in verse and contains several verses found in Vāsiṣṭha (Dh. S. 28. 1, 4, 6). The sixth speaks of the specially holy hymns and verses of the Veda. Some of the verses here are the same as Vasiṣṭha (28. 10-11). The seventh refers to secret prāyaścittas and the very first sūtra after the opening words speaks of several non-Aryan tribes such as the Śakas, Yavanas, Kām-

188 अचीर्णप्रायश्चित्तानां यमविषयनरकयातनानिश्च (?) पतितानां यदि कदाचिन्मानुष्यं भवति तदेतच्चिह्नाङ्कितशरीरा जायन्ते। तद्यथा। अनृतवादी खली ब्रह्महा कुष्ठी &c.

189 अथातो रहस्यानि व्याख्यास्यामः। नटनर्तकगायन-गान्धर्विक-श्वपाककारुकवीशोत्कट-वीणाशाङ्ख-शक-यवन-काम्बोज-बाह्लीक-खश-द्रविड-वङ्ग-पारश-चील्वातदीनां (?) भुक्त्वा प्रतिगृह्य च, स्त्रीगमने सहभोजने रहस्ये रहस्यातिप्रकाशे प्रकाश्यानि चरेत्।

bhojas, Bālhīkas, Khaśas, Vaṅgas and Pāraśa (Persians?) &c. It is to be noted that the same sūtra (with slight variations) is quoted as Atri's by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 266 p. 1123). The 7th and 8th chapters are in mixed prose and verse. The 9th is in verse and speaks of Yoga and its *aṅgas*. It refers to the fact that Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, because in his hatred of Govinda he always thought of the latter, went to heaven. The same sūtra work is noticed in I. O. Cat., pp. 380-81, Nos. 1305 and 1306.

There are several works styled Atri-smṛti or saṁhitā in the mss. One of them is in six chapters on secret prāyaścittas, gifts, pitṛmedha and ācāra (vide I. O. Cat., p. 381, No. 1308). There is another work styled Atrisaṁhitā printed in Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 13-46). It contains about 400 verses and deals with the following topics :— importance of honouring *guru*, duties of four castes; purifications of several *malas*; virtues of Brāhmaṇās such as śauca, anasūyā; definition of *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*, ten yamas and niyamas; importance of sons; adopted sons, prāyaścittas for taking forbidden food or drink and for other transgressions, impurity on birth and death; cāndrāyaṇa, Kṛcra, Sāntapana; gifts; purifications from avoidable contacts with rajasvalā &c.; Śrāddha and the Brāhmaṇas to be invited for it.

In this work Atri is himself cited as an authority. Other authors and works quoted are : Āpastamba (p. 30), Yama (p. 41), Vyāsa (p. 24), Śaṅkha (pp. 22, 35), Śātātapa (p. 35). The Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Purāṇas, Bhāgavatāḥ (p. 45) are mentioned. It contains (on p. 14) the verse ' sadyaḥ patati māṅsena ' which is found in Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (2. 27) with the words 'athāpyudāharanti'. There are other verses also which occur elsewhere e. g. 'atha cenmantravid' occurs in Vasiṣṭha 11. 20, 'tryahaṁ sāyaṁ tryahaṁ prātaḥ' (p. 23) is also Manu XI. 211. On p. 26 occur the words ' atrāpyudāharanti ' and so what follows is a quotation. On p. 32 there are three verses in another metre.

Atri's verse about adoption [190] is quoted as the first authority on adoption in the Dattakamīmāṅsā. He mentions the seven *antyajas* to be the washerman, the shoemaker, *naṭa*, *buruḍa*, kaivarta

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190 अपुत्रेणैव कर्तव्यः पुत्रप्रतिनिधिः सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्तस्मात्प्रयत्नतः ॥ आत्रि p. 17.

(fisherman), meda, and *bhilla* (p. 29). He further says[191] that there is no question of untouchability in fairs, marriage seasons, in Vedic sacrifices and in all festivals. He says that Brāhmaṇas from Magadha, Mathurā and three other places are not honoured (at a śrāddha) though as learned as Bṛhaspati.[192]

The work mentions the signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā and the Scorpion (p. 43), and hence was not composed before the first centuries of the Christian era.

In Jivananda there is a Laghu-Atri (part I, pp. 1-12) in 6 chapters and about 120 verses, dealing with the means of being freed from sins (such as prāṇāyāma, sacred formula, gifts &c.), with purifications from impurity on death and birth, with gifts. It mentions Manu. In the fourth chapter there are about ten lines in prose. There are numerous verses that occur also in the Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, e.g. Vas. 26. 8-9 and 16-18 occur on p. 3; Vas. 28. 11-16 occur on pp. 4-5. It is difficult to say who the borrower is.

There is a Vṛddhātreyasmṛti in Jivananda (part I. pp. 47-59) in five chapters and about 140 verses. This closely resembles the Laghu-Atri-smṛti described above. In the commencement both have the same six verses beginning with 'bhagavan kena dānena' and the works have many verses in common. In the fourth chapter of both the same prose passages occur.

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 257) quotes two verses from Atri on prāyaścitta which are found in none of the three works described above.[193]

In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 65. 1) Atri is credited with the view that those who make a gift of gold give (practically) all

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191 देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृश्यास्पृश्यिर्न विद्यते॥ p. 33.

192 मागधो माथुरश्चैव कापटः कीटकानुजौ। पञ्च विप्रा न पूज्यन्ते बृहस्पतिसमा यदि॥ (p. 45). What is कापट? Should we read कीकटाङ्गजौ (residents of the countries of कीकट and अङ्ग)?

193 The verses are भुक्त्वा तु प्रतिलोमानां सूतादीनामकामतः। प्राजापत्यं चरेत्कृच्छ्रं त्रिरात्रं स्वाहुताशनः॥ चण्डालवर्जिते चान्ने स्पृष्ट्वा चैनं विशोषतः। भुक्त्वा कृच्छ्रमविज्ञाते ज्ञात्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥

objects. This bears a close resemblance to two verses that occur in Laghvatri (Jivananda part I. p. 5) and Vṛddhātri (part I. p. 51).[194]

17. Uśanas.

That Uśanas wrote a work on politics follows from several circumstances. The Kauṭilīya quotes the Auśanasāḥ seven times. It is almost certainly referring to a work. That work contained directions on the administration of justice also, as Kauṭilya speaks of Auśanasa method of partition (in allowing a tenth additional share to the eldest son, III. 6), as Auśanasāḥ prescribed fines in cases where witnesses proved stupid &c. (III. 11) and fines for forcible seizure of jewels &c. (III. 17). The Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva[195] (chap. 56, 29-30 and 57. 3) refers to a work on politics by Uśanas and quotes three verses, the last being found in Sabhā 55. 14. In other places also we have a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Bhārgava (Śānti 210. 20) and certain verses are ascribed to him (Śānti 57, 40-41 and 139, 70-71). *Vide* also Anuśāsana 39, 8-9 and Sabhā 62. 11-12. The Nītiprakāśikā of Janamejaya refers to a succession of teachers of politics from Brahmā down to Janamejaya and says that Śukra was

194 सर्वान् कामान् प्रयच्छन्ति ये प्रयच्छन्ति काञ्चनम्। इत्येवं भगवानात्रिः पितामहसुतोऽब्रवीत्॥ अनुशासन 65. 1. The verses in the two Atris are अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः। लोकास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात्॥ सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम्। हाटकक्षितिधेनूनां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम्॥ The first verse occurs in Vas. 28. 16, in Vanaparva 200. 28, in the Rajim plate of Tīvaradeva (Fleet's Gupta inscriptions No. 81).

195 श्लोकौ चोशनसा गीतौ पुरा तात महर्षिणा। तौ निबोध महाराज त्वमेकाग्रमना नृप॥ उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे। निगृह्णीयात्स्वधर्मेण धर्मापेक्षी नराधिपः॥ विनश्यमानं धर्मं हि योभिरक्षेत्स धर्मवित्। न तेन धर्महा स स्यान्मन्युस्तं मन्युमृच्छति॥ शान्तिपर्व 56. 28-30; भगवानुशना चाह श्लोकमत्र विशांपते। तदिहैकमना राजन् गदतस्तं निबोध मे॥ द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमिः सर्पो बिलशयानिव। राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम्॥ शान्ति० 57. 2-3; श्लोकश्चायं पुरा गीतो भार्गवेण महात्मना। आख्याते रामचरिते नृपतिं प्रति भारत॥ राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनम्। राजन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम्॥ शान्ति० 57. 40-41; निश्चयः स्वार्थशास्त्रेषु विश्वासश्चासुखोदयः। उशना चैव गाथे द्वे प्रह्लादायाब्रवीत्पुरा॥ शान्ति० 139. 70.

one of those who abridged the enormous extent of rājaśāstra.[196] The Mudrārākṣasa (I. p. 71 Telang's ed.) also speaks of Auśanasī Daṇḍanīti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 307) asks the king to appoint ministers in accordance with the views propounded in the śāstras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas and quotes a long passage in prose from Bṛhaspati in which the śāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas are joined together. This work on politics probably contained verses also. Medhātithi on Manu (7. 15) quotes two verses speaking of eight activities of a king.[196a] So also on Manu 8. 50 Medhātithi cites from Uśanas the words 'prakṛtīnām balaṁ rājā,' which are an Anuṣṭubh *pāda*. This sūtra work on politics by Uśanas has not yet been discovered. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa says that Kāvya Uśanas was the purohita of the Asuras (7. 5. 20).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. of an Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra in prose with a few verses, *viz*. No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881-82. The first contains only two folios (2 and 4) and the available portion begins in the midst of the 2nd chapter. In the second ms. also the first folio is wanting and there are gaps in the fourth chapter. It is noteworthy that the second folio of the second ms. begins just at the beginning of the 2nd folio of the first. The work is a brief one (8 folios) in seven adhyāyas. Their contents are:—II. impurity on birth and death ; purification of certain things in certain ways such as with water, ashes &c.; III. the four varṇas and the mixed castes such as Rathakāra, Ambaṣṭha, Sūta, Ugra, Māgadha &c, the Vrātyas ; IV. no bodily injury to be done to Brāhmaṇa ; prāyaścittas for killing a Brāhmaṇa or a man of the other varṇas and for other Mahāpātakas, prāyaścitta for eating

196 ब्रह्मा महेश्वरः स्कन्दश्चेन्द्रः प्राचेतसो मनुः । बृहस्पतिश्च शुक्रश्च भारद्वाजो महातपाः ॥ वेदव्यासश्च भगवान् तथा गौरशिरा मुनिः । एते हि राजशास्त्राणां प्रणेतारः परंतपाः । लक्षाध्यायाञ्जगौ ब्रह्मा राजशास्त्रे महामतिः । पञ्चाशच्च सहस्राणि रुद्रः संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ॥ It is further said that Skanda, Indra, Prācetasa Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Gauraśiras and Veda-Vyāsa abridged respectively to 25000, 10000, 6000, 3000, 1000, 700, 500 and 300 adhyāyas and that Janamejaya abridged even the last.

196a आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः । पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥ दण्डशुद्ध्योः सदा युक्तस्तेनाष्टगतिको नृपः । अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्चितः ॥ These are quoted also by कुल्लूक on Manu VII. 154.

the flesh of certain animals and for eating certain plants like garlic, prāyaścitta for adultery; discussion whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śudra woman; prāyaścittas for killing various beasts and birds; fourteen vidyās; V. śrāddhakalpa; what Brāhmaṇas are *pankti-pāvana*; details of śrāddha, food and flesh at śraddha; who are unfit to be invited at śrāddha; VI. what things a Brāhmaṇa could not sell; VII. punishments for the Mahāpātakas; what are pure things at all times. Some of the views of the Auśanasa-dharmaśāstra are worth special notice. The son of a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya from a wife of the varṇa immediately next to it belonged to the caste of the father.[197] No sin or punishment attached to one if one killed an *ātatāyi* armed Brāhmaṇa. The fourteen vidyās are said to be the six *aṅgas* and the four Vedas, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa.[198]

The work very often quotes the views of others with the words 'eke'; for example it says 'the impurity on birth is ten nights for the parents of the child, but according to some only for the mother.'[199] The son of a Brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman is called *pārāśava*, but according to some he is *niṣāda*. The whole of the portion in the ms. about the mixed castes bears a very close resemblance to Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 9) except in a few particulars.[200] At the end of all chapters from the second (except the third) there are verses and also in the midst. There are verses introduced with the words 'there is a śloka on this point' (bhavati cātra ślokaḥ) or with the words 'api codāharanti'.

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197 ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायां जातो ब्राह्मण एव सः। chap. III folio 3 a.

198 चतुर्दश विद्यास्थानानि पुनः षडङ्गाश्चत्वारो वेदा मीमांसा न्याय एव च। धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥. It will be noticed that there is a śloka from षडङ्गाः which is almost the same as Yāj. I. 3.

199 दशरात्रं मातापितृभ्यः सूतकं मातुरित्येके। folio 2 a; compare गौ. ध. सू. 14. 14 'मातापित्रोस्तन्मातुर्वा।' (and हरदत्त's comment thereon for various views); बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 105-109, where Baudhāyana's own view is that both are impure for ten days, but according to some the mother and according to others the father has to observe impurity for ten days.

200 The ms. (3rd chap.) has तत्र सवर्णासु सवर्णाः। ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रिया ... सः। वैश्यायामम्बष्ठः। शूद्रायां पारशवो निषाद इत्येके। क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायां क्षत्रियः शूद्रायामुग्रः। वैश्येन शूद्रायां वैश्यः। शूद्रेण वैश्यायामायोगवः क्षत्रियायां क्षत्ता ब्राह्मण्यां चण्डालः &c.

There are about 45 verses in the work, the 7th and last chapter being almost entirely in verse. As the mss. are corrupt and full of gaps, it is often difficult to find out whether a particular passage is prose or verse. In several verses the words 'Manur abravīd' occur and in one place 'tan manor anuśāsanam'. The latter closely agrees with Manu. Several verses are common to Manu and Uśanas. The verse 'gurutalpe bhagaḥ kāryaḥ' (Manu 9. 237) occurs in the ms. So also the verse 'yena yena cidaṅgena' occurs in both.[202] The words of Manu (V. 78) 'bāle deśāntarasthe' are expressly quoted with the words 'Manur-āha'. There are many other verses which, though not cited expressly as from a particular author, are found in other ancient works. For example, the verse 'āpaḥ śuddhā bhūmigatāḥ' is Manu 5. 128 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 57. The half verse 'kāruhastaḥ śucir nityam' is Manu 5. 126 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 48. The verse 'yadekarātreṇa karoti pāpam' occurs in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 11) and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 42. The verse 'tryaham prātas tryaham naktam' is Manu XI. 211. It is a remarkable fact that some of the verses in this dharmasūtra agree closely with the verses in the Uśanas-smṛti in verse, published by Jivananda, e. g. the verse 'dattvā tu Vedānatyartham' occurs on p. 525 and the verse 'nimantritastu yo vipro adhvānaṁ saṁprapadyate' on p. 527. Even the prose passages bear a close resemblance to the versified smṛti on many points, e. g. the prose passages about the duration of the satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of the flesh of various animals occur almost in the same words in the versified smṛti of Uśanas (Jivananda, part I, p. 522).

The Auśanasa-dharmasūtra contains several passages in prose which are the same as some verses in Manu.[203] The sūtra

201 The ms. reads 'दृशस्थानानि दण्डस्य चात्मनो (तन्मनो ?)रनुशासनम् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु सामान्यं ब्राह्मणस्त्वक्षतो भवेत् ॥ '; while मनु (8.124) is दश ... दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायंभुवोब्रवीत् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु यानि स्युरक्षतो ब्राह्मणो व्रजेत् ॥

202 The ms. reads येन येन हि चण्डेन (चिदङ्गेन ?) हिंस्याच्छ्रेयांसमन्त्यजः । तदेव तस्य छेत्तव्यं छिन्ने निर्विषहो भवेत् ॥ ; in मनु (8. 279) the last pāda is तन्मनोरनुशासनम्.

203 The ms. has (in chap. II) रहःसु स्त्रीमुखं शुचिः । शुचयः फलपातने पक्षिणः । प्रसवे वत्सः । शृङ्ग (मृग ?)ग्रहणे श्वा । ऊर्ध्वं नाभेः पुरुषः । गौर्मेध्या पृष्ठतः । पुरस्ताद्वजः । स्त्रियः सर्वतः । हृदयमासामशुचि । Compare मनु I. 92, बो. ध. सू. I. 5. 49 and वसिष्ठ 3. 45.

quotes in one place the divergent views of Vasiṣṭha,[204] Hārīta, Śaunaka, and Gautama on the question whether a Brāhmaṇa could marry a śūdra woman. The view of Vasiṣṭha (as quoted in the ms.) is that a Brāhmaṇa could take to wife girls of all the four castes, but in the printed text of Vasiṣṭha (I. 24) a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to marry girls of the three higher castes only. It is possible that the ancient reading of Vasiṣṭha's text was 'catasraḥ' (as quoted in the Auśanasa) which was changed into 'tisraḥ'. The passage reminds us of Manu III. 16 (Śūdrāvedī patatyatreḥ), but the views ascribed to Śaunaka and Gautama in the ms. differ from those ascribed to them in Manu. In another passage Vasiṣṭha's views seem to be quoted.[205]

From quotations in Haradatta's commentary on Gautama and from the Smṛticandrikā it appears that they had access to a sūtra work of Uśanas dealing with all branches of *dharma*, viz., ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes prose passages of Uśanas on *anadhyāya* (I. p. 59), on *dantadhāvana* (I. p. 106) and Haradatta quotes a prose passage on *anadhyāya* (on Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 1) and a prose passage on the fine for a kṣatriya abusing a śūdra (on Gau. Dh. S. 12. 10) and on *Niyoga* (on Gau. Dh. S. 18. 5). These passages are not found in the ms. But there are others that are found. For example, the Smṛticandrikā quotes two passages, which occur in the mss.[206] It

204 The ms. (chap. IV) has पतितो वृषलीपतिरित्याचक्षते। न पततीत्येके। ब्राह्मणस्य कल्पविहिताश्चतस्रो-(स्रो?)नुपूर्वेण भार्या भवन्तीति वसिष्ठ आह। पतति न पततीति संशयः। वृषलीं पतीति (वृषलीं गत्वा पततीति?) हारीतः। जननात्पततीति शौनकः। तदपत्यः पततीति गौतमः। The words of वसिष्ठ are 'तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्वेण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकेका वैश्यशूद्रयोः। शूद्रामप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत्। तथा न कुर्यात्। I. 24-26. It should be noted that one ms. of वसिष्ठ omits the words 'वर्णानु ...कुर्यात्'.

205 यस्तु पुनर्ब्राह्मणो धर्मपत्नीमृतुस्नेन मैथुनं सेवेत स दुष्यतीति वैवस्वतः (वै वसिष्ठः?) प्राजापत्येन शुध्यतीति हारीतः (chap. 4); compare वसिष्ठ 12. 23. and Manu XI. 67 and 173. The reading वैवस्वतः also is explicable. वैवस्वत may stand for मनु.

206 The passages are 'तत्र गोमयोदकैर्भूमिभाजनभाण्डशौचं कुर्यात्' (chap. V, about śrāddha) and 'श्वविड्वराहमार्जारकुक्कुटनकुलशूद्रराजस्वलाशूद्रीभर्तारश्च दूरमनपायितव्याः (०मपनेतव्याः). They occur in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (III. p. 409 and p. 411).

appears therefore that the mss. either contain a portion only of the complete Auśanasa-dharma-sūtra or an independent sūtra work. The former alternative looks more probable. The foregoing discussion has shown that the sūtra work is later than the dharma-sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and also than the Manusmṛti, which it probably knew in a very ancient version slightly differing from the extant one.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis there is an Auśanasa-dharma-śāstra in 51 verses (part I. pp. 497-501). It deals with mixed castes and their avocations, such as sūta, māgadha, cāṇḍāla, śvapaca, pulinda &c. The same work occurs in the Ānandāśrama collection, pp. 46-48. The Mit. (on Yāj. 1. 94) remarks that the means of livelihood for the mixed castes should be sought for in the works of Uśanas and Manu.[207] It is probably this smṛti that is meant. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 says that the sale of hides and working on hides were the means of livelihood for Dhigvaṇas according to the Auśanasa.

In the same collection (part. I. pp. 501-554) there is another smṛti ascribed to Uśanas in 9 chapters and about 600 verses. It treats of Upanayana, daily observances like *ācamana*, Vedic study, occasions of *anadhyāya*, the dharmas of *snātaka* ; śrāddha, proper Brāhmaṇas for śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, rites after death, prāyaścittas for the mortal sins and lesser sins.

This smṛti quotes Uśanas himself, also Manu, Bhṛgu (Bhṛgu-putra III), Prajāpati and speaks of dharmaśāstras, Purāṇas, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Pāñcarātras, Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas. Numerous verses from the Manusmṛti are found in it (e. g. Manu II. 42, 49, 50, 125) occur in the first chapter alone. There is a brief prose passage towards the end of the 9th chapter. It speaks of Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and atheists together (p. 525).

None of these smṛtis in verse contains the passages in verse on vyavāhara ascribed to Uśanas that occur in the Mitākṣarā, Smṛti-candrikā and other works.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 260) and Aparārka (e. g. p. 158, 192, 255) contain prose passages ascribed to Uśanas and the same works contain numerous verses ascribed to Uśanas most of which are not

[207] एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता.

found in the two smṛtis in Jivananda. Some of the verses in Aparārka ascribed to Uśanas are found in the Auśanasasmṛti (e. g, Aparārka p. 418 'kuryād-aharaḥ śrāddham' is Jivananda I. p. 521).

In other cases the verses quoted from Uśanas in Aparārka, though not quite identical, bear a very close resemblance (e. g. the four verses in Aparārka p. 450 closely resemble Jivananda I. p. 525 and have some verses in common).

Among the views on Vyavahāra quoted from Uśanas are some interesting ones. It was he who said that a son was not bound to pay his father's debt, if it was a fine or unpaid toll or what is not vyāvahārika.[208] He holds that even blind, deaf or old men, women, minors could be witnesses in charges of *sāhasa* (Aparārka p. 671). He is quoted also on ordeals, on svāmipālavivāda and on steya.

A work styled Śukranītisāra was edited by Oppert (Madras 1882) and by Jivananda (Cal. 1892) and translated by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. Series. That work is a very interesting one, but is comparatively of a late date.

18. Kaṇva and Kāṇva

From the Āp. Dh. S. it appears that Kaṇva and Kāṇva were two distinct writers on dharma. In I. 6. 19. 2 Āpastamba starts the question as to the persons, food at whose house was permitted. He states various views on that point and says that Kaṇva was of opinion that food may be taken at anybody's house provided the latter offered it with a request (I. 6. 19. 3) and that the opinion of Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi (I. 6. 19. 7) was that only that food that was offered by a pure and religious man should be partaken. In another place (I. 10. 28. 1) Āpastamba gives it as the opinion of Kautsa, Hārīta, Kaṇva and Puṣkarasādi that a man became a thief if in any case whatever he appropriates another's belongings. The Kumbhakonam edition of Pandit Halasyanatha reads Kāṇva for Kaṇva.

Kaṇva is quoted a few times in the Smṛticandrikā on Āhnika (daily duties) and śrāddha. One of these quotations is in prose (I. p. 97).[209] Haradatta in his commentary on Gautama cites

[208] दण्डो वा दण्डशेषो वा शुल्कं तच्छेषमेव वा। न दातव्यं तु पुत्रेण यच्च न व्यावहारिकम्॥ मिता. and अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 47.

[209] अभ्यरे वेदेतिहासपुराणानीति व्याचक्षाणेन ब्राह्मणेन तीर्थेनौद्वयोः सलोमदेशमुन्मृजेत्।

verses of Kaṇva in several places (e. g. Gautama Dh. S. 21. 3, 23. 3 and 11).[210] The first verse bears a close resemblance to Manu XI. 180 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 62. Kaṇva is quoted in the Ācārmayūkha and the Śrāddha-mayūkha.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 58) quotes a verse of Kāṇva on the length of the stay of a *saṁnyāsin* in a village or town. On Yāj. III. 260 the Mit. quotes a verse of Kaṇva stating the prāyaścitta for a Brāhmaṇa having intercourse with the Kṣatriya wife of his teacher.

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Library there is a ms. of Kaṇva (vol. V, p. 1929 No. 2624).

19 Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa.

Baudhāyana (Dh. S. I. 11. 20) cites a verse which contains the view of Kaśyapa that a woman who is bought cannot be a *patnī* and that she is not authorised to take part in religious (daiva) rites or rites for the Manes.[211] This verse is ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 87). The Vanaparva quotes *gāthās* of Kāśyapa on forbearrance (29. 35-40). Whether Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa are two different writers of dharmasūtras it is rather difficult to say. Probably they are identical. It appears that the dharmasūtra of Kāśyapa comprised all the usual topics of dharmasūtras, such as daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, prāyaścitta. This sūtra has been quoted by all eminent writers from Viśvarūpa downwards. Viśvarūpa quotes Kāśyapa (in prose) on the prāyaścitta for contact with caṇḍālas[212] and for killing a cow when the sinner is a Brāhmaṇa or a member of another caste.[213] The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 23) quotes a prose passage from Kāśyapa on freedom from impurity on death.[214]

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210 The verse is संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन समाचरन्।
यानाशनासनैर्नित्यमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः॥

211 क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते।
सा न देवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां कश्यपोऽब्रवीत्॥

212 चण्डालश्वपाकपुल्कसादिसंकरे सव्यवधाने षण्मासान् गोमूत्रयावकाः पश्चाद्दकालं पातव्याः। एवं प्रतिमासवृद्ध्या वृद्धिरा परिवृत्तेः सूर्यस्य। विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 257.

213 प्रायश्चित्तमकामावापो कामकृतेप्येके। ... ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेदयित्वा सशिखं वपनं कृत्वा प्राजापत्यं कृच्छ्रमाचरेत्। चीर्णान्ते धेनुं तिलधेनुं दद्यात्। ... तेन चर्मणा प्रावृतो मासं गोष्ठे वसेत्। विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 263.

214 बालानामदन्तजातानां त्रिरात्रेण शुद्धिः।

The quotations in the Smṛticandrikā on āhnika and śrāddha are all in verse. Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18) quotes a sūtra on the prāyaścitta for *govadha*,[215] which is also quoted by Viśvarūpa. Haradatta (on Gaut. 23. 26) quotes a very long sūtra on the prāyaścitta for eating several things and doing several forbidden acts.[216] Haradatta (on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 2) quotes several verses mentioning the seven kinds of punarbhūs. The Hāralatā quotes a sūtra from Kaśyapa on āśauca. Aparārka quotes several sūtras and a few verses under both names Kaśyapa and Kāśyapa (vide Yāj. I. 64, III. 265, I. 222-25, III. 251, 288, 290, 292 for verses).

In the Deccan College collection there are two mss. (No. 200 of 1884-87 and No. 122 of A. 1881-82) which contain a Kāśyapa-smṛti in prose (4 folios having 8 lines on each side). It begins 'athātaḥ Kāśyapīyān gṛhasthadharmān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It deals with the duties of householders, with prāyaścittas for doing mischief to wells, dikes, ponds, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas, for killing a cow and other beasts and birds, with rules on mourning after death and impurity on birth, with prāyaścittas for eating garlic and other similar things, with the five mortal sins, with prāyaścittas when such portents as earthquakes, lightning flashes occur, or for such accidental occurrences as the breaking of the milk pot, with purification of vessels of wood, metals, with the visible physical sins of sins committed in previous lives, with the seven *punarbhus*.

In this work some of the sūtras quoted as Kāśyapa's in the commentaries are found, (e. g. the quotation No. 216 'laśuna' &c. above). So also the verses about punarbhūs of seven kinds quoted by Haradatta are found in the mss. In this smṛti, Kāśyapa is frequently cited as an authority.

It is to be noted that Kāśyapa is not mentioned by Yāj. as one of the dharmaśāstraprayojakas, though Parāśara (chap. I) mentions Kāśyapā dharmāḥ. The Smṛticandrika (I. p. 1) and the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 13) speak of 18 Upasmṛtis in which Kāśyapa's is included.

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215 गां हत्वा तच्चर्मणा परिवृतो मासं गोष्ठेशयस्क्षिपवणस्नायी नित्यं पञ्चगव्याहारः ।

216 लशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनकुक्कुटभक्षणे मेदःशुक्रपानेऽयाज्ययाजनेऽभोज्यभोजनेऽभक्ष्यभक्षणेऽगम्यागमने चैवं प्रायश्चित्तं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो निवेद्य चतूरात्रोपोषितश्चीर्णान्ते प्राच्यामुदीच्यां दिशि गत्वा यत्र ग्राम्यपशूनां शब्दो न श्रूयते तस्मिन्देशेऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य ब्राह्मणमास्तीर्य तत्प्रणीतेन विधिना पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति ।

20. Gārgya

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Gārgya is enumerated among the expounders of Dharma (dharmavaktāraḥ). He quotes two sūtras, one from Gārgya (on Yāj. I. 72[217]) and the other from Vṛddha-Gārgya[218] (on Yāj. I. 195). Therefore it seems that a sūtra work of Gārgya on dharma did exist. The Mit. (e. g. on Yāj. III. 326), Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote several verses of Gārgya on āhnika, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Parāśara also mentions Gārgya among writers on dharma. Aparārka contains (pp. 124, 190, 368, 544) verses from Gārgya on topics of dharma. It seems that the two writers are identical. Aparārka also quotes several verses from Gārgya of astronomical import (e. g. p. 547 on the nomenclature of the months as *Caitra* in connection with the signs of the zodiac). This was probably an independent work. Fragments of a Gārgī saṁhitā on astronomy and astrology have been recovered and it contains valuable historical information (vide Kern's preface to Bṛhat-saṁhitā pp. 33-40 and Mr. Jayasval in JBORS. vol. 14, p. 397 ff). A Jyotir-Gārgya and a Bṛhad-Gārgya are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā. The Nityācārapradīpa (p. 20, BIS) mentions Garga and Gārgya separately as smṛtikāras.

21. Cyavana

The Mit., Aparārka and other works cite several sūtras and some verses from Cyavana. Aparārka quotes a very long prose passage from Cyavana (on Yāj. I. 207) about the procedure of making the gift of a cow and about the *mantras* to be recited in that ceremony. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 30) and Aparārka both cite a sūtra of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for coming in contact with a dog, a śvapāka, a corpse, smoke from a funeral pyre, wine, wine-vessel &c. Aparārka cites prose passages of Cyavana on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 264-265), for touching, carrying or burning the corpse of one who commits suicide (on Yāj. III. 292), on the method of the purification of houses, vessels, articles of food when touched by cāṇḍālas (on the same verse).

22. Jātūkarnya

Viśvarūpa on (Yāj. I. 4-5) quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya in which Jātūkarṇa is mentioned as an expounder of

[217] पतिताः स्त्रियस्त्याज्या भर्तृवधप्रतिज्ञार्था च ।

[218] अनेकोद्धारे काष्ठाशैले भूमिसमे ।

dharma.[219] The name is variously written as Jātukarṇi or Jātūkarṇya or as Jātukarṇa. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a passage from Aṅgiras in which Jātūkarṇya is enumerated among writers of Upasmṛtis. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Jātūkarṇya a number of times.[220] On Yaj. I. 1, he gives a sūtra about "pratilomas"; on Yāj. I. 2 there is a sūtra sying that a pupil should not all of a sudden put a question to his teacher in an assembly of people, on Yāj. I. 29 about a Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wearing an Upavīta of hemp and wool when initiated for sacrifice, on Yāj. I. 37 as to the age when a Brāhmaṇa became a vrātya, about the prohibition of marrying another wife of a different caste when one has already married a savarṇa wife (on Yāj. I. 79), about the time for śrāddhas (on Yāj. I. 215). These quotations show that Jātūkarṇya composed a sūtra work on ācāra and śrāddha, which was comparatively ancient. The quotations of Jātūkarṇya in Mitākṣarā Haradatta, Aparārka, and later writers are in verse and so it appears that by that time the work had been lost or forgotten. Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse of Jātūkarṇya which refers to the zodiacal sign Virgo. This would place the verse Jātūkarṇya not very much earlier than the 3rd or 4th century A. D.

23. Devala

In the Mit. there are several prose passages quoted from Devala, e. g. on Yāj. I. 120 there is a sūtra on the dharmas of the śūdra and the avocations open to him;[221] on Yāj. I. 128 there is a sūtra dividing householders into Yāyāvara and Śālīna and describing each of them.[222] In Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are several

219 भूयांसो धर्मवक्तार उत्पन्ना भाविनस्तथा। निधानं सर्वधर्माणां वेद एव हि शाश्वतः॥ नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः। बौधायनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितामहः॥

220 'प्रतिलोमास्त्वन्तावसायिनः'; 'नाकस्मात्तमवाये गुरुं पृच्छेत्'; 'दीक्षितौ चेद्राजन्यवैश्यौ शाणाधिके कुर्याताम्'; 'द्विगुणां गायत्रीमतिक्रम्य ब्राह्मणो व्रात्यः स्यात्'; 'सवर्णया कृतदारो नान्यामिच्छेत्सन्तानस्यान्यगामित्वात्'; 'अथ श्राद्धमपरपक्षे सर्वत्राविशेषात्। नभस्य एव वा सामर्थ्योपपत्तिभ्याम्'.

221 तानि च देवलोक्तानि। शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपोषणं कर्षणपशुपालनभारोद्वहनपण्यव्यवहारचित्रकर्मनृत्यगीतवेणुवीणामुरजमृदङ्गवादनादीनि।

222 यथा हि देवलः। द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च। तयोर्यायावरः प्रवरः याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहरिक्थसंचयवर्जनात्। षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेत्यचतुष्पदगृहधामधनधान्ययुक्तो लोकानुवर्ती शालीन इति।

prose quotations from Devala. On Yāj. III. 58 Aparārka quotes a long prose passage on the rules of conduct for a yati; on Yāj. III. 109 Aparārka cites a very long passage, in which Sāṅkhya and Yoga are defined, reference is made to extensive *Tantras* on the two systems and a brief résumé is given of the Śāṅkhya system, which greatly resembles the Tattvasamāsa. On Yāj. III. 227 Aparārka has a prose quotation from Devala about *patitas*. In the Smṛticandrika (I. p. 63) there is a lengthy passage from Devala on the daily duties of the *brahmacārin*, a sūtra (I. p. 52) is quoted about *brahmacarya* for 48 years and in another place there is a prose passage about the wife's duties.[223]

In the Mit., in Haradatta, Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā there are numerous quotations in verse from Devala on ācāra, vyavahāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta and other topics. That seems to have been an independent work. In the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a Devalasmṛti in 90 verses dealing with purification and prāyacittas for contact with Mleñcchas. This appears to be a late compilation. Some of the verses contained therein are ascribed to other authors, e. g. verses 17-22 are ascribed to Āpastamba by Aparārka (on Yāj. III. p. 1200) and verses 30-31 are ascribed by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 290) and Aparārka to Viṣṇu.

The Mahābhārata ascribes the view to Devala that in man there are three *jyotis*, viz. offspring, *karma*, and learning.[224]

Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā cite verses from Devala on partition, inheritance, on woman's power over strīdhana. These show that Devala, the jurist, flourished about the same time as the great jurists Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana.

24. Paiṭhīnasi

Though not enumerated in Yājñavalkya, Paiṭhīnasi seems to have been a comparatively ancient sūtrakāra on dharma. On Yāj. III. 262 Viśvarūpa quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. Dr. Jolly (R. und S. p. 12) following Dr. Caland (Ahnencult &c. pp. 99, 109) thinks that Paiṭhīnasi belongs to the Atharvaveda as the prose quotations on śrāddha agree with the ritual of

[223] पतिशुश्रूषा सहधर्मचर्या तत्पूज्यमानपूजनम्।

[224] त्रीणि ज्योतींषि पुरुष इति वै देवलोऽब्रवीत्। अपत्यं कर्म विद्या च पतः पुत्राः प्रजास्ततः॥ समापर्व 72. 5.

the Atharvans. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 53) quotes a sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi to the effect that a person should marry a girl who is beyond the third degree on the mother's side and beyond the fifth on the father's side.[225] On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two sūtras relating to impurity on death.[226] The Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and other writers quote numerous sūtras of Paiṭhīnasi. The Smṛticandrikā has a prose quotation on the duties of women.[227] In another place the Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 263) cites a sūtra on partition.[228] Aparārka (p. 112) quotes two verses of Paiṭhīnasi recommending the practice of *satī* to women of all castes except Brāhmaṇa women. Aparārka (p. 239) quotes a sūtra saying that the food of astrologers, bell-makers and grāmakūṭas is poison.[229] Aparārka quotes (on p. 744) a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita and Paiṭhīnasi about inheritance to a deceased sonless man.[230] Aparārka quotes another important prose passage[231] "the wealth of (a heirless) *śrotriya* goes to the *pariṣad* and not to the king, the king should not appropriate the wealth of temples and guilds, deposits and the wealth of minors and women." Then the sūtra quotes a verse on the same topic, which seems to refer to Manu 9. 194 in the word 'of sixfold origin' (ṣaḍāgama). Another sūtra quoted by Aparārka (p. 754) says 'when an appointed daughter dies, her husband does not take her wealth; if she be issueless, her mother or mother-in-law should receive it.' Aparārka quotes a verse of Paiṭhīnasi (p. 921) 'at the time of marriage, famines, sacrifices, fairs and pilgrimages there is no impurity due to birth or death.'

225 श्रीनर्तीत्य मातृतः पञ्चमीत्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना &c.

226 नित्यानि विनिवर्तेरन् वैतानवर्जं श्मशानमौ चैके । सावित्र्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायेन्नमस्कुर्यात् ।

227 स्त्रियो गृहदेवतास्तासां न शौचं न क्रतं नोपवासः । पतिशुश्रूषयैव स्त्रियो गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ स्मृतिच० II. p. 252.

228 पैतृके विभज्यमाने दायादे भ्रातृणां समो विभागः ।

229 सांवत्सरिकघाण्टिकग्रामकूटान्नं विषम् । The word ग्रामकूट (a village officer) is well known from inscriptions.

230 अपुत्रस्य स्वर्यातस्य भ्रातृगामि धनं तदभावे मातापितरौ लभेतां पत्नी वा ज्येष्ठा ।

231 'परिषद्गामि वा श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न राजगामि । न हार्यं राज्ञा देवतागणसंस्थितं न निक्षेपोपनिधिक्रियाकमागतं न बालस्त्रीधनानि । एवं त्याह । न हार्यं स्त्रीधनं राज्ञा तथा बालधनानि च । नार्याः षडागमं वित्तं बालानां पैतृकं धनम् ॥'. This whole passage is ascribed to शङ्ख in वि. र. p. 598.

25. Budha

This sūtrakāra is not mentioned by Yāj. nor by Parāśara. He is very rarely cited. Aparārka on Yāj. 1. 4-5, Kalpataru (quoted in Vīra-mitrodaya, Paribhāṣā p. 16), Hemādri,[232] Jīmūta-vāhana's Kālaviveka are probably the earliest writers to mention him. In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of a Budha-dharma-sāstra in prose (No. 507 of 1881-82 and No. 145 of 1895-1902, 2 folios). The work is very brief[233] and speaks of *upanayana*, marriage, eight forms of marriage, the saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to Upanayana, the five daily great *yajñas*, śrāddha, pākayajñas, haviryajñas, somayāga, the means of subsistence for a Brāhmaṇa, the duties of Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the orders of forest hermits and *sannyasins*, removal of thorns by the king, administration of justice, king's duties.

The work does not produce the impression of being early. It is in the nature of a summary of larger works on dharma. All quotations in Hemādri cited from Budha are not found in the mss.

26. Bṛhaspati

That Bṛhaspati was an ancient teacher of Arthaśāstra follows from the Kauṭilīya, wherein the Bārhaspatyas are cited six times. In the Mahābhārata (Śāntī, chap. 59. 80-85) Bṛhaspati is said to have compressed into 3000 chapters the work on dharma, artha and kāma composed by Brahmā. The Vanaparva (32. 61) speaks of Bṛhaspati-nīti. The Mahābhārata several times cites verses (*gāthās* or *ślokas*) said to have been sung by Bṛhaspati[234] (vide Śānti. 23. 25, 56. 38-39, 57. 6-7). *Vide*

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232 चतुर्वर्ग० (दानखण्ड p. 527) says 'आदेशब्दाच्च बुधदेवलसोमप्रजापतिवृद्धशातातप-पैठीनसिछागलेयव्यवनभरीचिवत्सपारास्करपुलस्त्यपुलहक्रतुऋष्यशृङ्गत्रेयाणां ग्रहणम्'.

233 The Budha sūtra opens as follows:—अथातो बुधधर्मशास्त्रं व्याख्यास्यामः। श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधनो धर्मः। गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आत्मानमुपनयेत्। एकादशे क्षत्रियो ग्रीष्मे। द्वादशे वैश्यो वर्षासु। मेखलाजिनदण्डकमण्डलूपवीतानि धारयेत्। &c. हेमाद्रि (परिशेष, काल, p. 309) quotes this as Budha's from स्मृति-महार्णव.

234 भूमिरेतौ निगिरति सर्पो बिलशयानिव। राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम्॥ शान्ति. 23. 15. This verse (with the reading द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमिः सर्पो &c.) is ascribed by शान्तिपर्व 57. 3. to Uśanas; vide note 195 above. बार्हस्पत्ये च

also Śānti. 58. 13-16, 69. 23-24. The Anuśāsana (39. 10-11) speaks of the Arthaśāstra composed by Bṛhaspati and others. In some of these places there are distinct references to a śāstra or *mata* of Bṛhaspati and sections of his work are referred to (as e.g. rājādhikāra). The Śāntiparva (170. 12) describes how a king could, according to Bṛhaspati's views, secure his goal in four ways.[235] In the Vanaparva (150. 29) men are said to be upheld by the *nayas* proclaimed by Bṛhaspati and Uśanas. Vide also Sabhā 50. 9, 55. 6, 73. 7-8, Udyoga 33. 71-72, 55. 66. The Kāmasūtra repeats the tradition that Brahmā composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* and that Bṛhaspati dealt with a portion of that work, viz. on *artha*.[236] Vide note 196 above. Aśvaghoṣa (Buddhacarita I. 46) speaks of the rājaśāstra of Śukra and Bṛhaspati. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya some of the special views of Bṛhaspati's school were that there were only two vidyās for kings viz. vārtā and daṇḍanīti and that the council of ministers should comprise 16 members. According to Kāmandaka and the Pañcatantra (II. 41) 'aviśvāsa' was the sheet-anchor of royal policy according to Bṛhaspati. The Yaśastilaka (p. 13) says that the nīti of Bṛhaspati had no place for Gods.[237] The commentary on the Nītivākyāmṛta gives the first verse of Bṛhaspati.[237a] Viśvarūpa contains several prose quotations which from their context must have been taken from Bṛhaspati about the qualifications of a senāpati, pratīhāra, dūta, &c. It is somewhat strange that in this quotation the *mantrin* is required to be deeply conversant with the śāstras of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanas. For similar prose quotations, *vide*

शास्त्रे च श्लोको निगदितः पुरा। ... क्षममाणं नृपं नित्यं नीचः परिभवेज्जनः। इस्तियन्ता गजस्येव शिर एवारुरुक्षति ॥ शान्ति 56. 38-39; मरुत्तेन हि राज्ञा वै गीतः श्लोकः पुरातनः। राजाधिकारे राजेन्द्र बृहस्पतिमते पुरा ॥ गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः। उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य दण्डो भवति शाश्वतः ॥ शान्ति 57. 6-7.

235 चतुर्विधा ह्यर्थसिद्धिर्बृहस्पतिमते यथा। पारम्पर्यं तथा दैवं काम्यं मैत्रमिति प्रभो ॥ शान्ति० 170. 12.

236 प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा तासां स्थितिनिबन्धनं त्रिवर्गस्य साधनमध्यायानां शतसहस्रेणाग्रे प्रोवाच। तस्यैकदेशिकं मनुः स्वायम्भुवो धर्माधिकारिकं पृथक् चकार। बृहस्पतिरर्थाधिकारिकम्। 5-7

237 बृहस्पतिनीतिय इवादेवमातृकाः।

237a वाचा कायेन मनसा प्रणम्याङ्गिरसं मुनिम्। नीतिशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि भूपतीनां सुखावहम् ॥

Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 323, II. 154. That Bṛhaspati also wrote a sūtra work on vyavahāra and other topics of dharma follows from the quotations contained in Viśvarūpa and Haradatta. For example, Viśvarūpa cites a prose passage from Bṛhaspati (on Yaj. II. 38) about the duty of the king to restore property stolen from his subjects if he could not recover it from the thief, about the rising scale of the rates of interest according to the castes, about the debts of a deceased man being payable by those who took his wealth, by his wife or by his son, about a surety being made to pay when the principal died, about the illegitimate son of a śūdra getting a share on his father's death and about his taking the whole estate with the king's permission if there were no legitimate issue of the śūdra.[238] Haradatta on Gautama 22. 18 quotes a prose passsage from Bṛhaspati on the prāyaścitta for killing a cow. These quotations establish that Bṛhaspati wrote a sūtra work on dharma also (i. e. at least on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta). Viśvarūpa also quotes a few verses from Bṛhaspati on vyavahāra and prāyaścitta and in one place at least indicates that the verse he attributes to Bṛhaspati occurred in the same work in which a prose passage quoted by him occurred.[239] From this it follows that the sūtra work of Bṛhaspati on dharma contained verses also in Viśvarūpa's time. Whether the two works on arthaśāstra and dharma were composed by the same Bṛhaspati cannot be determined. It looks probable that they were composed by different authors. Yāj. (I. 4-5) mentions Bṛhaspati among the expounders of dharma. He is probably referring to the sūtra work on dharma disclosed by quotations from Viśvarūpa.

238 तथा च बृहस्पतिः 'चोरापहृतं तु सर्वेभ्योन्विष्यार्पणीयम्। अलाभे स्वकोशाद्वा। अददच्चोरः किल्बिषी स्यात्।' on याज्ञ. II. 38; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—पादोपचयात् क्रमेणेतरेषाम्—इति on याज्ञ. II. 39; बृहस्पतिश्च धनस्त्रीहारिपुत्राणां पूर्वाभावे यथोत्तरमाधमर्ण्यं तदभावे क्रमशोन्येषां रिक्थभाजाम्। on याज्ञ. II. 47; तथा च बृहस्पतिः उपस्थाप्य विपत्तावुपस्थाप्यस्य पुनः प्रतिभूर्दाप्यः इति। on याज्ञ. II. 55; तथा च बृहस्पतिः—'कामतश्च शूद्रावरोधजस्य भ्रातुरंशं समानमात्रं प्रेते पितरि दद्युः शुश्रूषुश्चेत्' इति। on याज्ञ. II. 138.

239 on याज्ञ. III. 262 विश्वरूप says 'बृहस्पतिना तु द्वादशाहेन, गोघाती तस्मात्पापात्प्रमुच्यते। क्षीराहारो भवेत्तत्र क्षीरदध्यशनोपि वा॥' तथेदमन्यत् 'गायत्र्या दशसाहस्रं &c. (two verses)'। तथेदं तत्रैवान्यत् 'द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः षडूरात्रं वा यावकाहारो गोष्ठे वसेत्। ... ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा शुध्येदित्याह बृहस्पतिः' इति। The words द्वादशरात्रं पञ्चगव्याहारः are attributed to बृहस्पति by हरदत्त also,

In the Mit. and other commentaries and nibandhas over seven hundred verses on vyavahāra and a few hundred more on ācāra and prāyaścitta are cited from Bṛhaspati. That seems to have been an independent work composed between 300 and 500 A. D., which will be discussed later on (vide sec. 37).

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 644-651) and in the Ānandāśrama collection there is a Bṛhaspatismṛti in 80 verses in which Bṛhaspati is represented as instructing Indra about gifts. Several mss. in the Deccan College Collection contain this smṛti, but in an abridged form in 70 and 49 verses (No 130 of 1884-86 and No 147 of 1895-1902). Vide also I. O. cat. p. 386 No. 1324, 1325-1328. Aparārka quotes (p 1225) verse 7 of this smṛti (in verse) and the Dānaratnākara quotes verses 6 and 7 as from Dāna-Bṛhaspati.

The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Lahore, 1921) is a later work and does not deserve more than a passing notice. In six chapters it deals with the conduct, duties, studies of kings, omens, rules of policy &c.

27. Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja

There is a Śrauta sūtra and a Gṛhya sūtra attributed to Bhāradvāja. The Ms. of the śrauta in the Bombay University Library contains nine praśnas and a portion of the 10th and begins 'darśapaurṇamāsau vyākhyāsyāmaḥ'. It quotes Ālekhana and Āśmarathya frequently. The Gṛhya has been edited by J. W. Salomons. It appears from quotations in Viśvarūpa and other early commentators that a sūtra work on dharma attributed to Bharadvāja or Bhāradvaja was in existence. The forms Bharadvāja and Bhāradvāja probably refer to the same work. On Yāj. (I. 15) Viśvarūpa quotes a prose passage from Bhāradvāja prohibiting the learning of *mleccha* tongues and calling upon the preceptor to teach his pupil pure words, observance of Saṁdhyā and the kindling of fire;[239a] on Yāj. I. 32 Bhāradvāja is quoted as prescribing a penance for even thinking of causing harm to beings;[239b] on Yāj.I.185 a lengthy sūtra of Bharadvāja on the purification of certain things is quoted, wherein is cited the view of some that boys are purified by a mere bath

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239a तथा च भारद्वाजः—न म्लेच्छभाषां शिक्षेत । म्लेच्छो ह वा एष यदपशब्द इति विज्ञायते । तस्माच्छिष्यमुपनीय साधुशब्दान् शिक्षयेत् सन्ध्योपासनाग्नीन्धनानि ।

239b तथा च भारद्वाज :— 'मनसा प्राणिहिंसायां त्रिर्द्रुपदामावर्तयेत्' इति ।

when touched by *antyajas*;[240] on Yāj. I. 236 a prose passage of Bharadvāja forbids in śrāddhas the use of certain cereals as food.[241] Aparārka quotes a long prose passage (p. 1155) from Bharadvāja in connection with the prāyāścitta for cessation of gṛhya fires for various periods.

In the Smṛticandrikā, in Haradatta and in several other works verses of Bhāradvāja are quoted, which appear to be taken from a smṛti in verse.

That Bhāradvāja was an ancient writer on arthaśāstra follows from the Kauṭilīya, wherein the views of Bhāradvāja are cited seven times and of Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja once. Some of the views of Bhāradvāja as described in the Kauṭilīya are that a king should choose his ministers from amongst his fellow-students, that the king should consider his line of policy alone in secret, that the princes should be punished secretly when they manifest no love for the king their father, that the minister should set one prince against another when the king is on his death-bed, that when calamities befall the king and the minister, the former is the lesser of two evils, that one should bow down before the strong. This last view occurs in the Mahābhārata in the same words.[242] The Śāntiparva (chap. 140) contains a dialogue between Bhāradvāja and king Śatruñjaya of Sauvīra in which daṇḍa is said to be the most pre-eminent among the expedients. The same parva (chap. 58. 3) mentions Bhāradvāja in a list of writers on rājaśāstra. The Yaśastilaka[243] (4th Āśvāsa p. 100, Nirṇayasāgara ed.) quotes two verses of Bhāradvāja from his treatise on the topic of the six *guṇas*. This shows that Bhāradvāja's work on politics was available in the 10th century and contained verses (probably intermixed with prose).

[240] यत्तु भारद्वाजः–'न शौचं शयनासनकटप्रस्तरयानप्रस्तरगण्डोपधानकशिपुकम्बलकुगृहधान्यमणिफलकशिलासहस्रशरोष्णामनिस्नातानां च काष्ठानां तृणपलालदाम्नां कुमाराणामन्यत्र प्रोक्षणादन्यस्पर्शने स्नानं कुमाराणामेके' इति ।

[241] माषाढकीमुद्गवर्जं विदलानि न दद्यात्–इति भरद्वाजः ।

[242] कौटिल्य says (12.1) इन्द्रस्य हि स प्रणमति यो बलीयसो नमति–इति भारद्वाजः; शान्तिपर्व 67. 11. has 'इन्द्राय स प्रणमते नमते यो बलीयसे ।'

[243] अवक्षेपेण हि सतामसतां प्रग्रहेण च । तथा सत्त्वेष्वभिद्रोहादधर्मस्य च कारणात् ॥ विमाननाच्च मान्यानां विश्वस्तानां च घातनात् । प्रजानां जायते लोपो नृपतेश्चायुषः क्षयः ॥ इति कथमिदमभाषत षाड्गुण्यप्रस्तावे भारद्वाजः ॥

The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III. p. 231) quotes a verse of Bharadvāja which divides a pledge into four varieties. A few quotations from Bharadvāja on matters of vyavahāra are cited in other works. For example, the Sarasvatī-vilāsa cites a verse of Bharadvāja that a compromise, an exchange and a partition, if fair and equal, could be annulled only for ten days, but could be annulled till the 9th year, if unfair.[244] It appears that the verses of Bharadvāja on vyavahāra are taken from a work other than the ancient work on politics.

28. Śātātapa

Śātātapa is enumerated among the expounders of dharma by Yāj. (I. 4-5) and by Parāśara. Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka quote several prose passages of Śātātapa on prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 236) tells us that Śātātapa spoke of only eight upapātakas and that without dealing with śrāddha as a principal topic he spoke of some of the subsidiary details of śrāddha.[245] The latter passage quoted from Śātātapa is a half verse. So Viśvarūpa had a prose work of Śātātapa before him, mixed with verses. Haradatta on Gaut. (Dh. S. 22. 18) quotes a prose passage of Śātātapa about the penance for killing a cow. In the Mit., the Smṛticandrikā and other works numerous verses of Śātātapa are quoted on ācāra and śrāddha. This wotk of Śātātapa in verse is most probably a different one from the sūtra work. It appears that there are several smṛtis ascribed to Śātātapa. In Jivananda's collection there is a smṛti of Śātātapa called Karmavipāka in six chapters and about 231 verses. Its contents are: certain diseases are concomitants of certain sins; gifts of land, cows &c.; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; penances for killing a Brāhmaṇa, a cow &c., penances for drinking wine, for incest and forbidden sexual intercourse of various sorts, for thefts; rites for those who meet with violent and accidental death. The last verse declares that the Smṛti was promulgated by Śātātapa to his pupil Śarabhaṅga. It is a late production. It prescribes the reading of the Harivaṁśa (II. 30) as a penance for infanticide.

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244 सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विभागश्च समा यदि। आदशाहं निवर्तेत विषमे नववत्सरात्। सरस्वतीविलास pp. 314, 320.

245 यथा शातातपः श्राद्धमनुक्त्वैव तद्गतान्गुणानाह-'विना यज्ञोपवीतेन गन्धैर्यस्तु समालभेत्' इति। विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 4-5.

No. 1362 of the I. O. catalogue (and cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. V. pp. 1994-96) is a Śātātapa-smṛti in twelve chapters dealing with prāyaścittas for mahāpātakas, prāyaścittas fot injuries to various beings, marriage, vaiśvadeva, śrāddha, pitṛtarpaṇa, rules about taking one's dinner, prāyaścitta for dogbites and similar matters; impurity on birth and death, rules of conduct (ācāra).

No. 1361 of the I.O. catalogue is a treatise in mixed prose and verse on prāyaścittas for the Mahāpātakas and Upapātakas. Several verses of Manu (such as III. 8, 11, 171) occur therein. It contains 139 verses. In Mitra's Notices (II. p. 4) there is a ms. called Karmavipāka in 87 chapters and 2376 verses, of which the work in Jivananda's collection seems to be a part or abridgment.

Aparārka in several places quotes the views of Śātātapa immediately followed by quotations from Vṛddha-Śātātapa or *vice versa* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 190, on III. 292 p. 1195 and p. 1201).

No. 205 of A. 1882-83 of the Deccan College Collection is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 64 verses on prāyaścittas for doing various things, on śrāddha, on washing the teeth. I. O. Cat. No. 1360 p. 398 is a Vṛddha-Śātātapa-smṛti in 97 verses on defilement and purifications. The Ānandāśrama collection contains a Vṛddha-Śātātapa smṛti in 68 verses (pp. 232-235) on prāyacittas, purification from various defilements and other miscellaneous matters. There are two prose passages therein.

Hemādri mentions a Vṛddha-Śātātapa along with several other smṛtikāras (vide note 232 above). In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana (p. 305) Vṛddha-Śātātapa is cited on the six kinds of *uttara* (defendant's reply).[246] This shows that Vṛddha-Śātātapa wrote on Vyavahāra also.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 290) cites a Bṛhat-Śātātapa.

Hemādri (III. 1. 801) speaks of a bhāṣyakāra of Vṛddha-Śātātapa.

29. Sumantu.

From Viśvarūpa, Haradatta and Aparārka it follows that Sumantu composed a sūtra work on *dharma*, particularly on ācāra and prāyaścitta. Viśvarūpa quotes prose passages from Sumantu on upapātakas,[247]

[246] बृद्धशातातपवचनं तु बहुक्षाजीर्णकृतनिबन्धेस्माभिर्दृष्टं न पुनर्भोजदेवे ।

[247] एवं सुमन्तुः ' क्षीरजतगोस्तैल्यं गोश्च गमनं नाशकं भूम्यनृतं क्षत्रियवैश्यगोघ्नता परिवित्तिताधकीर्णिता प्रतिरूपकवृत्तिश्चेत्युपपातकानि ' इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 239-236.

on prāyaścitta for Brāhmaṇa-murder (on Yāj. III. 237), for drinking wine (on Yāj. III. 250), for theft of gold (on Yāj. III 252), for incest (on Yāj. III. 253-54), for killing a cow and about ātatāyin (on Yāj. III. 261). In one quotation from Sumantu cited by Viśvarūpa the views of ācāryas and of Āṅgirasa are mentioned.[248] The prāyaścittas for Brāhmaṇa-murder and for killing a cow contained in Viśvarūpa occur in Haradatta (on Gaut. 22. 13 and 18). Most of the quotations cited by Viśvarūpa occur in Aparārka also. The Hāralatā (p. 68) quotes sūtras of Sumantu on āśauca. One well-known sūtra of Sumantu is ' no prāyaścitta (or blame) is incurred by killing an ātatāyin, except cows and brāhmaṇas '.[249] Aparārka quotes sūtras from Sumantu condemning marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter and recommending the abandonment of a young wife in certain circumstances.[250] In the Sarasvatīvilāsa a prose passage of Sumantu is cited on the seven constituents of rājya.[250a]

These quotations from Viśvarūpa and others establish that a prose work on dharma by Sumantu existed early enough. It appears however that the work was not a very ancient one. Neither Yājñavalkya nor Parāśara mentions Sumantu among the propounders of *dharma*. On the other hand the name of Sumantu is an ancient one. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XII. 6. 75 and 7. 1). Sumantu is said to have been a pupil of Jaimini and a promulgator of the Atharvaveda. Vide Śāntiparva 341. 19 for Sumantu and other pupils of Vyāsa. In the daily *tarpaṇa* the name of Sumantu occurs along with Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila.

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248 न ब्राह्मणस्य पतनमिच्छन्त्याचार्याः किल्बिषस्युपगतः पातव्य इत्याङ्गिरसः—इति । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 237.

249 विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 262 quotes it as 'नाततायिवधे प्रायश्चित्तमन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः,' while the मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 21 quotes it as ' नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् '; the स्मृतिमञ्जरी of गोविन्दराज (I. O. ms. No 1736) has 'आततायिन्यदोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः'.

250 मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समानार्षगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत् परित्यज्यैनां बिभृयात् । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 53; 'कन्या कुत्सितान्यजातिकर्मशीला व्याध्युपहता परिणीता यद्यक्षतयोनिः स्यात्परित्यक्तव्या' अपरार्क on याज्ञ. I. 65.

250a अतः सप्ताङ्गानि सर्वथा संरक्ष्याणीत्याह सुमन्तुः ' स्वाम्यमात्मना संरक्षेत् । अमात्यान् संमानेन । वर्णान् रञ्जनेन । जनान् वर्णधर्मरक्षणेन । दुर्गं धनधान्यादिसमृद्ध्या । कोशमुचितव्ययेन । दण्डं स्वधर्मेण । मित्रं सत्यभाषणेन । इति ।' सरस्वती० p. 46.

Numerous verses on dharma are also cited from Sumantu by Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works. This may probably be a different work from the sūtra work of Sumantu. In one verse of Sumantu (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 223) occur the words 'Śaṅkhasya vacanaṁ yathā' and in another (Aparārka on Yāj. I. 217-218) the Kanyā sign of the zodiac is referred to.

It is remarkable that the Mit. and Aparārka contain no verses of Sumantu on vyavahāra. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa is rich in quotations from Sumantu on vyavahāra. A compromise, exchange or partition, if fair, could be annulled up to the tenth day, but if unfair up to the 9th year (vide note 244 above). 'If even as much as a *māṣa* went from the buyer to the seller, that would support the sale of the land (sold) just as a small dose of poison permeates the whole body and when no purchase-money is paid or only a portion is paid, then the purchase is called *avākraya* and is liable to be set aside if the price is not paid in (good time).' Sumantu prescribes a fine for selling and purchasing land without the consent of the neighbouring members of the family and says that in case of pre-emption, the neighbours on the east are preferred to all and those on the south come last.[252] Sumantu defines a mortgage by conditional sale (called 'uktalābhakraya') and a sale for arrears of revenue by the king's orders (called ājñākraya).[253]

30. The Smṛtis

The word smṛti is used in two senses. It is applied to all ancient orthodox non-Vedic works such as Pāṇini's grammar, to the śrauta, gṛhya and dharma sūtras, to the Mahābhārata, to Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. In a narrower sense smṛti and dharma-

[251] माषमात्रमपि द्रव्यं क्रेतुर्विक्रेतरि स्थितम् । व्याप्नोति सकलां भूमिं कायमल्पं विषं यथा ॥ अर्धदत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवक्रयम् । अवक्रयो निवर्तेत यदि काले न दीयते ॥ सरस्वती० p. 321.

[252] ज्ञात्यादीनननुज्ञाप्य समीपस्थानतन्द्रिनाम् । क्रयविक्रयकर्तारौ तत्समं दण्डमर्हतः ॥ सरस्वती० p. 322; 'चतुःसामन्तसांनिध्ये प्राची दिग्बलवत्तरा । उदीची च प्रतीची च सर्वाभावे तु दक्षिणा ॥ p. 323.

[253] किंचिच्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते क्वचित् । नो चेन्मूलमिदं त्यक्तं केदारस्येति यः क्रयः ॥ स उक्तलाभ इत्युक्त उक्तकालेऽप्यनर्पणात् ॥ सरस्वती० p. 324; मूल्यस्य पादमर्धं वा मूल्यमाक्राक्रये स्थितम् । मूल्यं तदाप्तमखिलं दत्त्वा क्षेत्रं समाप्नुयात् ॥ आ त्रिभोगात् ततः क्रेतुः परतो दृढतामियात् । p. 323.

śāstra are synonyms, as Manu says.[254] The word smṛti occurs in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (I. 2). Gautama (Dh. S. I. 2) and Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S. I. 4) speak of smṛti as one of the sources of dharma. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 25) employs the word smṛti and has in view Gautama's dharmasūtra according to Haradatta. In the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra the word smṛti occurs (vide VI. 8. 23 and XII. 4. 42).[255] In the Vedāntasūtras the word smṛti is employed in a wide sense, in one place as referring even to the sāṅkhya system.[256] In that work the word is used according to Śaṅkara with reference to the Mahābhārata or the Manusmṛti (Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14 and 21, IV. 2. 14).

In ancient times the number of smṛtis (i. e. works on dharma-śāstra) must have been very small. Gautama mentions by name no smṛtikāra except Manu, though he speaks of dharmaśāstras (XI. 19). Baudhāyana names seven (besides himself) authors on dharma, viz. Aupajaṅghani, Kātya, Kāśyapa, Gautama, Prajāpati, Maudgalya and Hārīta. Vasiṣṭha names only five authors, Gautama, Prajāpati, Manu, Yama, and Hārīta. Āpastamba mentions a large number, viz. ten, some of whom like Eka, Kuṇika and Puṣkarasādi are no more than mere names to us. Manu speaks of only six (besides himself) viz. Atri, the son of Utathya, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Vaikhānasa (or rather Vikhanas) and Śaunaka. But in all these works the writers are mentioned only casually and there is no regular enumeration or list of writers on dharma in one place. Aparārka quotes (p. 7) a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed G. Dh. S.) in which sixteen authors of dharmaśāstras including himself are enumerated.[257] The same sūtra with slight variations is ascribed to Śaṅkha-Likhita in the Vīramitrodaya (Paribhāṣā-prakāśa p. 16). Yājñavalkya is probably the earliest writer who enumerated in one place (I. 4-5) twenty expounders of dharma (including himself and counting Śaṅkha and Likhita as two distinct persons). It will be noticed that Yāj. omits Baudhāyana. Parāśara also gives a list of 19 expounders of dharma (excluding

254 श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः। मनु II. 10.

255 स्मृतेर्वा स्याद् ब्राह्मणानाम्। पू. मी. सू. XII. 4. 42 (refers to आर्त्विज्य).

256 स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेन्नान्यस्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गात्। वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 1.

257 अत्र गौतमः। स्मृतिर्धर्मशास्त्राणि तेषां प्रणेतारो मनुविष्णुदक्षाङ्गिरोत्रिबृहस्पत्युशनः-आपस्तम्बगौतमसंवर्तोशनोयमकात्यायनशङ्खलिखितपराशरव्यासशातातपप्रचेतोयाज्ञवल्क्यादयः।

himself), but his list differs slightly from that of Yāj. Parāśara omits Bṛhaspati, Yama, and Vyāsa and adds Kāśyapa, Gārgya and Pracetas. The Tantra-vārtika (p. 125) of Kumārila speaks of eighteen dharmasaṁhitās. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, who adds ten names to the list of Yājñavalkya (vide note 219 above), The Caturviṁśatimata is a work which professes to give the views of 24 sages on dharmaśāstra, viz. all those listed by Yāj. (except Kātyāyana and Likhita) and six more, viz. Gārgya Nārada, Baudhāyana, Vatsa, Viśvāmitra, Saṅkha (Śāṅkhyāyana ?). Aṅgiras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 1), Hemadri (Dānakhaṇḍa p. 528), the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 13) and other works mention Upasmṛtis.[259] There is a smṛti called Ṣaṭtriṁśanmata quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and other works. Paiṭhīnasi as quoted in the Śmṛticandrikā, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works enumerates 36 smṛtis.[260] Aparārka says that the Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa speaks of 36 smṛtis and his enumeration of them is slightly different from that of Paithīnasi.[261] The Vṛddhagautamasmṛti (Jivananda part II. pp. 498-499) gives a list of 57 dharma-śāstras. The Prayoga-pārijāta as quoted in the Vīramitrodaya enumerates 18

258 वक्तारो धर्मशास्त्राणां मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोङ्गिराः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः॥ आपस्तम्बोशनोव्यासाः कात्यायनबृहस्पती । गौतमः शङ्खलिखितौ हारीतोत्रिरहं तथा ॥ याज्ञ. I. 4-5 (Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. reads the two verses differently though the names are the same.

259 नारदः पुलहो गार्ग्यः पुलस्त्यः शौनकः क्रतुः । बौधायनो जातुकर्णो विश्वामित्रः पितामहः॥ जाबालिर्नाचिकेतश्च स्कन्दो लौगाक्षिकश्यपौ । व्यासः सनत्कुमारश्च शन्तनुर्जनकस्तथा ॥ व्याघ्रः कात्यायनश्चैव जातूकर्ण्यः कपिञ्जलः बौधायनश्च काणादो विश्वामित्रस्तथैव च ॥ पैठीनसिर्गोभिलश्चेत्युपस्मृतिविधायकाः॥ quoted as from प्रयोगपारिजात by वीरमित्रोदय (परिभाषाप्र. p. 18). The वीर. adds that these upasmṛtis were enumerated by the Madanaratna also.

260 तेषां मन्वङ्गिरोव्यासगौतमाश्युशनोयमाः । वसिष्ठदक्षसंवर्तशातातपपराशराः ॥ विष्वापस्तम्बहारीताः शङ्खः कात्यायनो गुरुः । प्रचेता नारदो योगी बौधायनपितामहौ॥ सुमन्तुकाश्यपौ बभ्रुः पैठीनो व्याघ्र एव च ॥ सत्यव्रतो भरद्वाजो गार्ग्यः काष्णाजिनिस्तथा ॥ जाबालिर्जमदग्निश्च लौगाक्षिर्मैत्रसंभवः । इति धर्मप्रणेतारः षट्त्रिंदृषयः स्मृताः ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and संस्कारमयूख.

261 ताश्च मनुविष्णुयमदक्षाङ्गिरोत्रिबृहस्पत्युशनापस्तम्बवसिष्ठकात्यायनपराशरव्यासशङ्खलिखितसंवर्तगौतमशातातपहारीतियाज्ञवल्क्यप्रचेतोबुधदेवलसोमजमदग्निविश्वामित्रप्रजापतिनारदपैठीनसिपितामहबौधायनछागलेयजाबालिच्यवनमरीचिकश्यपा इति षट्त्रिंशदेव स्मृत्यन्तरे पठिताः । अपरार्क p. 7.

principal smṛtis, 18 upasmṛtis and 21 other smṛtikāras.[262] If all the smṛtis cited in the later *nibandhas* such as the Nirṇayasindhu, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha and the Vīramitrodaya be taken into account, the number of smṛtis will be found to be about 100.

The smṛtis thus relied upon are the products of different and and widely separated ages. Some of them are entirely in prose or in mixed prose and verse, while the large majority are in verse. A few of them are very ancient and were composed centuries before the Christian era. Such are the dharmasūrras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and the Manusmṛti. Some were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era such as the smṛtis of Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada. Most of the smṛtis other than the above fall between the period from 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. The chronology of all these smṛtis presents perplexing problems. Some of the metrical smṛtis are remodellings of older sūtras as in the case of Śaṅkha. There are sometimes as many as two or three different smṛtis going under the same name, e. g. Śātātapa, Hārīta, Atri. Then the confusion is worse confounded by the fabrications of sectarian zeal, such as the Hārītasmṛti which is full of Vaiṣnavaite teachings. There are several works going under the names of well-known smṛtikāras with the prefixes Vṛddha, Bṛhat, Laghu. In many cases the works going under these names are different from the smṛtis that are without these prefixes and this differentiation took place at a very early date in certain cases, for example, so early a writer as Viśvarūpa distinguishes between Yājñavalkya and Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Gārgya and Vṛddha-Gārgya. Similarly Viśvarūpa quotes (on Yāj. I. 69) Vṛddha-Manu and (on Yāj. I. 19) Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha, which latter probably was different from the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, as the latter does not contain the details given

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262 The 18 principal स्मृतिकार[s] according to the प्रयोगपारिजात are मनु, बृहस्पति, दक्ष, गौतम, यम, अङ्गिरस्, योगीश्वर, प्रचेतस्, शातातप, पराशर, संवर्त, उशनस्, शङ्ख, लिखित, अत्रि, विष्णु, आपस्तम्ब, हारीत. The उपस्मृति[s] have been enumerated above (in n. 259). The other 21 smṛtis are: वसिष्ठो नारदश्चैव सुमन्तुश्च पितामहः। विष्णुः काण्वाजिनिः सत्यव्रतो गार्ग्यश्च देवलः॥ जमदग्निर्भारद्वाजः पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः। आत्रेयश्च गवेयश्च मरीचिर्वत्स एव च॥ पारास्करश्चर्ष्यशृङ्गो वैजवापस्तथैव च। इत्येते स्मृतिकर्तार एकविंशतिरीरिताः॥ वीर०, परिभाषाम० p. 18.

by Viśvarūpa.[263] In some cases the works designated Vṛddha or Bṛhat are larger and in all cases later than the works without those prefixes. For example, Parāśara and Bṛhat-Parāśara (Jivananda part II. pp. 55-310), Gautama and Vṛddha-Gautama (Jivananda part II. pp. 497-638). Some of the works with the prefix Vṛddha are versified compilations of prose works, e. g. Mit. on Yāj. III. 267 quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Viṣṇu which is merely the versified equivalent of Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra chap. 50. 6, 12-14. It appears that sometimes the same work is cited with the prefix Vṛddha or Bṛhat, e. g. the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 quotes a passage from Bṛhad-viṣṇu which is the same as the Viṣṇudharmasūtra 17. 4-7.

As most of the writers of digests quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions, even well known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses 'bhrātṛṇām-aprajāḥ' &c. which are quoted as Nārada's (Nārada 16.25-26) in the Vyavahāramayūkha are attributed to Śaṅkha in the Madanapārijāta (p. 680). The three verses about *bandhus* are ascribed to Baudhāyana by Mādhava and to Vṛddhaśātātapa by the Madanapārijāta (p. 674).

In spite of all these drawbacks, an attempt will be made in the following pages to arrange some of the leading versified smṛtis in chronological order beginning from the Manusmṛti.

All these smṛtis are not equal in authority. Most of them are obscure and are only rarely cited by ancient commentators. Exclusive of the dharmasūtras hardly a dozen smṛtis have found commentators. If we are to judge of the authority of a smṛti by the commentaries thereon, then the Manusuṛti stands pre-eminent. Next to it is the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

31. The Manusmṛti

So many editions of this work have been published in India since 1813 (when the Manusmṛti was first published at Calcutta), that it is not possible to name them. In this work the Nirṇaya-sāgara edition with the commentary of Kullūka has been used throughout. Another edition of Manu well known on this side of India is that of the late V. N. Mandlik who published several com-

263 वृद्धवासिष्ठेष्वेवमेव मध्ये सौम्यमिति तु विशेषः. Vide वसिष्ठध. सू. III. 64-68 for the five तीर्थs on one's hand.

mentaries snch as those of Medhātithi, Govindarāja and others. The Manusmṛti has been translated into English several times. The best known translation is that of Dr. Bühler in the S. B. E. series (vol. 25). Dr. Bühler also added an exhaustive and very scholarly introduction to his translation and dealt with numerous problems connected with the Manusmṛti.

In the Ṛgveda Manu is spoken of as the father of mankind (Ṛg. I. 80. 16, I. 114. 2, II. 33. 13) and a Vedic poet prays that he may not be led away from the ancestral path of Manu.[264] Another Vedic bard says that Manu was the first to offer sacrifice (Ṛg. X. 63. 7). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa it is said 'whatever Manu said is medicine.'[265] Taittirīya-Saṁhitā (II. 1. 5. 6) also says that mankind is Manu's (Mānavyo hi prajāḥ). In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā (III. 1. 9. 4-5) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (V. 14) we have the story of Manu dividing his wealth among his sons and of the exclusion of his son Nābhānediṣṭha. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 216) gives us the story of Manu and the deluge. In the Nirukta (chap. III) there is a discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father's wealth and a *ṛk* and śloka are cited in support of that position.[266] The śloka refers to the opinion of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. It is noteworthy that that śloka is opposed to a *rik*, which means that the śloka is not Śruti but is Smṛti. So before Yāska wrote there were smṛti texts in verse in which Manu was spoken of as a lawgiver. We have seen how Gautama and Vasiṣṭha quote the views of Manu and how Āpastamba connects Manu with the promulgation of śrāddhas (II. 7. 16. 1). The Mahābharata in numerous places speaks of Manu, sometimes as Manu simply, sometimes as Svāyaṁbhuva Manu (Śānti 21. 12) and also as Prācetasa Manu (Śānti 57. 43). In the Mahābhārata (Śānti. chap. 336. 38-46) we are told how the supreme being composed a hundred thousand ślokas

264 मा नः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधि दूरं नैष्ट परावतः। ऋग्वेद VIII. 30. 3.

265 यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम्। तै. सं. II. 2. 10. 2; 'मनुर्वै यत्किंचावदत्तद्भेषजं भेषजतायै' ताण्ड्य० 23. 16. 17.

266 अविशेषेण मिथुनाः पुत्रा दायादा इति। तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामुक्तम्। अक्षादक्षात्संभवसि हृदयादधिजायसे। आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम्॥ इति। अविशेषेण पुत्राणां दायोऽविशेषेण धर्मतः। मिथुनानां विसर्गादौ मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत्॥

on *dharma*, how Manu Svāyaṁbhuva promulgated those *dharmas* and how Uśanas and Bṛhaspati composed *śāstras* based on the work of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva.[267] In another place the account is slightly different and Manu does not figure therein. Śānti-parva (chap. 59. 80-85) describes how the original work of Brahmā on the three, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*, in 100000 chapters was successively reduced to 10000, 5000, 3000 and 1000 chap. respectively by Viśālākṣa, Indra, Bāhudantaka, Bṛhaspati and Kāvya (Uśanas). The prose introduction to the Nārada-smṛti says that Manu composed in 100000 ślokas, 1080 chap. and 24 *prakaraṇas* a Dharmaśāstra and imparted it to Nārada, who abridged it into 12000 verses and taught it to Mārkaṇḍeya, who in his turn compressed it into 8000 ślokas and passed it on to Sumati Bhārgava, who again reduced it to 4000 ślokas. The Nārada-smṛti then gives the first verse[268] of that work which is a combination of the extant Manu I. 5-6 and says that vyavahāra was the 9th prakaraṇa out of 24 in the original work of Manu. It will be noticed how this version differs from that of the Mahābhārata wherein Nārada is altogether ignored. The extant Manusmṛti (I. 32-33) narrates how from Brahmā sprang Virāj, who produced Manu, from whom were born the sages including Bhṛgu and Nārada, how Brahmā taught the śāstra to Manu, who in his turn imparted it to the ten sages (I. 58), how some great sages approached Manu and sought instruction in the *dharmas* of the *varṇas* and the intermediate castes and how Manu told them that his pupil Bhṛgu would impart to them the śāstra (I. 59-60). This appearance is kept up throughout the work. The sages interrupt Bhṛgu's discourse in several places (as in V. 1-2 and XII. 1-2). Manu is said to be omniscient (II. 7) and Manu is mentioned by name dozens of times in the work with the words "Manurāha" (IX. 158, X. 78 etc), or "Manur-abravīd" or "Manor-anuśāsanam".

[267] ऋषीनुवाच तान्सर्वानदृश्यः पुरुषोत्तमः। कृतं शतसहस्रं हि श्लोकानामिदमुत्तमम् ॥ लोकतन्त्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य यस्माद्धर्मः प्रवर्तते। ... तस्मात्प्रवक्ष्यते धर्मान् मनुः स्वायंभुवः स्वयम्। ... स्वायंभुवेषु धर्मेषु शास्त्रे चौशनसे कृते। बृहस्पतिमते चैव लोकेषु प्रतिचारिते ॥

[268] तत्रायमाद्यः श्लोकः। आसीदिदं तमोभूतं न प्राज्ञायत किंचन। ततः स्वयंभूर्भगवान्प्रादुरासीच्चतुर्मुखः ॥. Manu I. 5 is quoted as the verse of a स्मृतिकार by कमलशील in his comment on शान्तरक्षित's तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3118) in the middle of the 8th century A. D. *Vide* सुरेश्वर's बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक p. 487.

(VIII. 139, 279, IX. 239, etc). That the introductory words in the Nārada-smṛti are not spurious or a later addition follows from the remark of Medhātithi that, according to the Nāradasmṛti, Prajāpati composed a work in 100000 ślokas which was abridged by Manu and others.[269] No one should take very seriously these varying accounts even in the Mahābhārata and in the Nāradasmṛti, as they are intended to glorify some particular text or texts. According to the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as quoted in Hemādri, the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other works, there were four versions of the Svāyaṁbhuva śāstra composed by Bhṛgu, Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Aṅgiras.[270] So early a writer as Viśvarūpa cites verses from Manusmṛti as those of Svayaṁbhū (vide com. on Yāj. II. 73, 74, 83, 85, where Manu 8. 68, 70-71, 380 and 105-6 are respectively quoted as Svayaṁbhū's), while quotations from Bhṛgu cited by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 187 and 252) are not found in the Manusmṛti. In the same way most of the verses quoted from Bhṛgu by Aparārka are not found in the Manusmṛti. One verse which Aparārka quotes from Bhṛgu (on Yāj. II. 96) speaks of the view contained therein as that of Manu.[271]

It is almost impossible to say who composed the Manusmṛti. It goes without saying that the mythical Manu, progenitor of mankind even in the Ṛgveda, could not have composed it. What motives could have induced the unknown author to palm it off in the name of the mythical Manu and to suppress his identity it is difficult to say. One motive may have been to invest the work with a halo of antiquity and authoritativeness. Bühler following Max Müller says (SBE vol. 25 p. XVIII) that the Manusmṛti is based on or is a recast of an ancient dharmasūtra, viz. that of the Mānavacaraṇa. The question whether the Mānavadharmasūtra existed has been discussed above (sec. 13, pp. 79-85). Bühler himself candidly admits (SBE vol. 25, p. XXIII) that the recovery of the writings of the Mānavas has not only not furnished any facts in support of the alleged relation between the Mānavadharmasūtra and the

269 नारदश्च स्मरति । शतसाहस्रो ग्रन्थः प्रजापतिना कृतः स मन्वादिभिः क्रमेण संक्षिप्त इति । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 58.

270 भार्गवीया नारदीया च बार्हस्पत्याङ्गिरस्यपि । स्वायंभुवस्य शास्त्रस्य चतस्रः संहिता मताः ॥ चतुर्वर्ग०, दानखण्ड p. 528, संस्कारमयूख p. 2.

271 येषु पापेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिशुद्धानि यत्नतः । कारयेत्सज्जनेस्तानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क.

Manusmṛti, but on the contrary has raised difficulties as the doctrines of the Mānavagṛhyasūtra (edited by Dr. Knauer) differ very considerably from those of the Manusmṛti. To take only a few examples, Mānava Gṛ. S. II. 12. 1-2 are opposed to Manu 3. 1; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 4. 7 to Manu 4. 95; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 20. 1 to Manu 2. 34; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 21. 1 to Manu 2. 35; Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 22. 1 to Manu 2. 36; Mānava Gṛ. S. II. 12. 1-2 to Manu 3. 84-86. Besides there is nothing in our Manu corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti in the Mānavagṛhya (II. 14) nor to the tests for selecting a bride prescribed in Mānava Gṛ. S. I. 7. 9, which corresponds to Āśvalāyana Gṛ. S. I. 5. 5-6. Dr. Caland points out (R. und S. p. 17) that though single verses of the Manusmṛti tally with the Śrāddhakalpa of the Mānava School, yet the descriptions of funeral rites widely differ in the two works. There are no doubt some parallels as pointed out by Bradke (in ZDMG, vol. 36, pp. 417-477). There is one circumstance about the authorship of the Manusmṛti that deserves to be noted. The Mahābhārata seems to distinguish between Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Prācetasa Manu. The former is said to be the promulgator of dharmaśāstra and the latter of arthaśāstra (or politics). For example Śānti 21. 12 speaks of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and Śānti 57-43 and 58-2 speak of *Prācetasa* as an author on *rājaśāstra* or *rājadharma*. In some places Manu alone without any epithet is associated with *rājadharma* or *arthavidyā*. It is not unlikely that originally there were two distinct works, one on dharma and the other on arthaśāstra attributed to Manu. When the Kauṭilīya speaks of the Mānavas, he probably refers to the work on politics attributed to Prācetasa Manu. It is extremely doubtful whether Rājaśekhara, when he mentions the several views on the number of vidyās (including that of the Mānavas that they were three), had the Arthaśāstra of the Mānavas before him or only copied a passage from Kauṭilya (vide Kāvyamīmāṁsā p. 4). It is not unlikely that the work on *dharma* attributed to Manu may have contained general directions on the duties of kings. It is therefore (i. e. because there were two different works on dharma and arthaśāstra attributed to Manu) that the views ascribed to the Mānavas by the Kauṭilīya are not found word for word in the extant Manusmṛti. One may

[272] अश्रौषीस्त्वं राजधर्मान्यथा वै मनुरब्रवीत् । वनपर्व 35. 21; वेदं षडङ्गं वेदार्थमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम् ॥ द्रोणपर्व 7. 1.

hazard the conjecture that the author of the Manusmṛti, whoever he might have been, combined in his work the information contained in the two works on *dharma* and *arthaśāstra* and supplanted both the earlier works and that this result had not been either accomplished at the time when the Kauṭilīya was composed or was then quite recent. In the extant Manusmṛti, the work is ascribed to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu and then six other Manus of whom Prācetasa is not one are enumerated (I. 62).

The extant Manusmṛti is divided into twelve *adhyāyas* and contains 2694 ślokas. Dr. Jolly's edition (published in 1895) prepared after collating numerous mss. and printed editions contains only one śloka more. The Manusmṛti is written in a simple and flowing style. It generally agrees with Pāṇini's system, though it contains some deviations from it as in the verse ' sākṣiṇaḥ santi metyuktvā ' (8. 57). The foregoing pages have sufficiently shown how it agrees closely with the doctrines contained in the Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba. We have also seen how numerous verses are common to the dharmasūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu and the Manusmṛti. The Kauṭilīya also exhibits remarkable agreement with the Manusmṛti in phraseology and doctrines.[273] What conclusions are to be drawn from this will be discussed later on. Some verses are repeated, e. g. V. 164-165 are the same as IX. 30 and 29. The contents of the Manusmṛti may be briefly summarised as follows :--(I) Sages approach Manu for instruction in the *dharmas* of the *varṇas* ; Manu describes the creation of the world from the self-existent God more or less in the Sāṅkhya manner ; the creation of Virāj, of Manu from Virāj, of ten sages from Manu ; creation of various beings, men, beasts, birds etc. ; Brahmā imparts dharmaśāstra to Manu, who teaches the sages ; Manu bids Bhṛgu to instruct the sages in *dharma* ; six other Manus sprang from Svāyaṁbhuva Manu ; units of time from *nimeṣa* to year, the four *yugas* and

273 Compare अलब्धलाभार्थी लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेष प्रतिपादनी च । कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 101 अलब्धमिच्छेद्दण्डेन लब्धं रक्षेदवेक्षया । रक्षितं वर्धयेद्वृध्या वृद्धं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥ ; 'तस्माल्लोकयात्रार्थी नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्' कौटिल्य (I. 4) with मनु 7. 102 नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यात्, 'असंभाष्ये देशे साक्षिभिर्मिथः संभाषते ' कौटिल्य (III. 1) with मनु 8. 55 'असंभाष्ये साक्षिभिश्च देशे संभाषते मिथः ' ; 'साहसमन्वयवत्प्रसभकर्म' कौटिल्य (III. 17) with मनु 8. 332 'तत्साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत् कृतम्.

their twilights; one thousand *yugas* equal a day of Brahmā; extent of *Manvantara, pralaya*; successive decline of *dharma* in the four *yugas*; different dharmas and goals in the four *yugas*; the special privileges and duties of the four varṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas and of the *śāstra* of Manu; ācāra is the highest dharma; table of contents of the whole śāstra; (II) definition of *dharma*, sources of *dharma* are Veda, smṛti, ācāra of the good, one's own satisfaction; who has *adhikāra* for this *śāstra*; limits of Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta; why saṁskāras are necessary; such *saṁskāras* as *jātakarma*, nāmadheya, chūḍākarma, upanayana; the proper time of upanayana for the *varṇas*, the proper girdle, sacred thread, staff and skin for the Brahmacārī of the three *varṇas*; duties of the Brahmacārī and his code of conduct; (III) Brahmacarya for 36, 18, 9 years; *samāvartana*; marriage; marriageable girl; brāhmaṇa could marry a girl of any of the four *varṇas*; eight forms of marriage defined; which form suited to which caste; duties of husband and wife; eulogy of women; the five daily yajñās; praise of the status of householder; honouring guests; madhuparka; śrāddhas; who should not be invited at śrāddhas; (IV) mode of life and means of subsistence for a house-holder, the code of conduct for a *snātaka*; occasions for cessation from study; rules about prohibited and permissible food and drink; (V) what vegetables and meat are allowed; period of impurity on death and birth; definition of *sapiṇḍa* and *samānodaka*; purification from contact with various substances in various ways; duties of wife and widow; (VI) when one should become a a forest hermit; his mode of life; parivrājaka and his duties; eulogy of *gṛhastha*; (VII) rājadharmas, eulogy of daṇḍa (the power to punish); the four *vidyās* for a king; the ten vices of kings due to *kāma* and eight due to *krodha*; constitution of council of ministers; qualities of a *dūta*; forts and capital; *purohita* and superintendents of various departments; code of war; the four expedients, *sāma, dāna, bheda*, and *daṇḍa*; hierarchy of officers from the village headman upwards; rules about taxation; the constitution of a circle of twelve kings; the six *guṇas*, peace, a state of war, march against an enemy, āsana, taking shelter and dvaidha; duties of victor; (VIII) king's duty to look to the administration of justice; the 18 titles of law; the king and judge; other persons as judges; constitution of *sabhā*, king's duty to look after minors, widows, helpless people; treasure trove; king's duty to restore stolen wealth; creditor's means of recovering his debt; grounds on which the claimant

may fail in his suit; qualifications of witnesses; who were not proper persons as witnesses; oaths; fines for false witnesses; methods of corporal punishment; Brāhmaṇa to be free from corporal punishment; weights and measures; lowest, middling and highest fines; rates of interest; pledges; adverse possession does not affect a pledge, boundary, minor's estate, deposit, king's estate etc.; rule of *damdupat*; sureties; what debts of the father the son was not liable to pay; fraud and force vitiated all transactions; sale by one not the owner; title and possession; partnership; resumption of gift; non-payment of wages; violation of conventions; rescission of sale; dispute between owner and herdsman; pastures round villages; boundary disputes; abuse, libel and slander; assault and battery and mischief; whipping only on the back; theft; *sāhasa* i. e. offences in which force and hurt are an element, such as robbery, homicide etc; right of private defence; when even a Brāhmaṇa may be killed; adultery and rape; no sentence of death, but of transportation for a Brāhmaṇa; parents, wife, children must not be forsaken; tolls and monopolies; seven kinds of *dāsas*; (IX) legal duties of husband and wife, censure of women; eulogy of chastity; to whom does the child belong, to the begetter or to him on whose wife it is begotten; niyoga described and condemned; supercession of the first wife when allowed; age of marriage; partition, its time, eldest son's special share; *putrikā*; daughter's son; adopted son; rights of Brāhmaṇa's son from a śūdra wife; twelve kinds of sonship; to whom piṇḍas are offered; nearest *sapiṇḍa* succeeds; *sakulya*, teacher and pupils as heirs; king ultimate heir except as to Brāhmaṇa's wealth; varieties of *strīdhana*; succession to *strīdhana*; grounds of exclusion from inheritance; property not liable to partition; gains of learning; reunion; mother and grandmother as heirs; impartible property; gambling and prize fighting must be suppressed by the king; the five great sins; *prāyaścittas* for them; open and secret thieves; jails; the seven *aṅgas* of a kingdom; duties of Vaiśya and Śūdra; (X) Brāhmaṇa alone to teach; mixed castes; *mlecchas*, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas; rules of conduct common to all; privileges and duties of the four *varṇas*; modes of subsistence for a Brhāmaṇa in adversity; what articles should not be sold by Brāhmaṇa; seven proper modes of acquisition and the means of livelihood; (XI) eulogy of gifts; different views about *prāyaścitta*; various seen results, diseases and bodily defects due to sins in former lives; five mortal sins and *prāyaścittas* for them; upapātakas and prāyaścittas

for them ; prāyaścittas like Sāntapana, Parāka, Cāndrāyaṇa ; holy *mantras* for removing sin ; (XII) disquistion on *karma* ; kṣetrajña, *bhūtātma, jīva;* tortures of hell ; the three *guṇas, sattva, rajas* and *tamas* ; what brings about *niḥśreyasa* ; knowledge of the self is the highest means of bliss ; *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta karma* ; the latter is karma done without an eye to reward ; eulogy of Vedas ; place of *tarka* ; *śiṣṭas* and *pariṣad* ; reward of studying the Mānava śāstra.

The extent of the literature known to Manu was considerable. He mentions the three Vedas and the Atharvaveda is spoken of as the Atharvāṅgirasī Śruti (XI. 33). He refers to Āraṇyaka (IV. 123). The Vedāṅgas are said to be six (III. 185) and they are often referred to without stating the number (II. 141, IV. 98). He speaks of dharmaśāstra (II. 10) and also knew many dharmaśāstras (III. 232). By dharmapāṭhaka (XII. 111) he probably means one who has studied dharmaśāstras. He mentions several authors on dharmaśāstra, viz. Atri, the son of Utathya (i. e. Gautama according to commentators), Bhṛgu and Śaunaka (all these in III. 16), Vasiṣṭha (on the rate of interest in VIII. 140 which agrees with Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra II. 50), Vaikhānasamata (in VI. 21). He mentions Ākhyānas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Khilas (III. 232). He speaks of *brahma* as described in the Vedānta (in VI. 83 and 94) and is probably thinking of the Upaniṣads. That he knew some generally accepted works opposed to the teaching of the Vedas is quite clear from his reference to 'Vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ' (XII. 95). He is probably referring to the writing of the Bauddhas, Jainas and others. He speaks of heretics and their guilds (IV. 30 and 61). He refers to atheism and calumny of the Vedas (IV. 163) and of various tongues spoken among men (IV. 332). He frequently refers to the views of others in the words "kecit", "apare", "anye" (as in III. 261, X. 70, IX. 32).

Numerous interesting and difficult problems are connected with the Manusmṛti. Bühler in his elaborate introduction (S B E vol. 25) exhaustively deals with these problems. It is not possible to go at great length into those questions here. A separate volume would be required to deal with the problems raised by Bühler and to examine the arguments of Bühler, Hopkins and others who have written on them. Only a brief discussion of some of these problems can be attempted.

Bühler takes considerable pains to refute the claims of Manu to be regarded as the first legislator (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XXIII-XXX). But no serious refutation of the claim is really needed. The very extent of the literature known to the Manusmṛti and the mention of several writers on dharmaśāstra by name are sufficient to negative that claim.

Bühler devotes a great deal of space to the consideration of the question as to what circumstances led to the substitution of a universally binding Mānava-dharmaśāstra for the manuals of the Vedic schools (S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. XLVI-LVI) and as to why the special law schools selected just the Mānavadharmasūtra among the large number of similar works for the basis of their studies (ibid. pp. LVII-LXV). Bühler then considers the question how the Mānavadharmasūtra was converted into the present Manusmṛti. Bühler concedes that the last is a problem of great difficulty and admits of an approximate solution only. The discussion of all these questions by Bühler is extremely thought-provoking and brilliant in many places, though it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often *à priori* and savour more or less of special pleading. As I question the very foundation of Bühler's edifice (viz. the actual existence of a Mānava-dharmasūtra), it would be futile for me to enter into a discussion of the problems referred to above.

I shall now address myself to the discussion of the age of the Manusmṛti from external and internal evidence. That question is bound up with other problems, viz. whether there are earlier and later strata in the extant Manusmṛti, whether the Manusmṛti was recast several times or once only, what relations exists between the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata.

First the external evidence may be taken up. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi is the earliest extant commentary on the Manusmṛti and was composed about 900 A. D. as will be shown later on (sec. 36). The text commented upon by Medhātithi was the same (barring a few various readings) as the one we now possess. Therefore long before 900 A. D. the Manusmṛti was the same as now. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yāj. quotes over two hundred verses of the Manusmṛti either wholly or in part from all the twelve chapters beginning with the very first verse. The text that Viśvarūpa had before him was the same as the present Manusmṛti and the verses

were arranged in the same order as at present. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses (Manu XI. 108–115) from Manu (on Yāj. III. 262). Śaṅkarācārya in his Vedāntsūtra-bhāṣya quotes the Manusmṛti very frequently. For example, he quotes Manu I. 5 and 21 (on V. S. I. 3. 28), I. 27 (on V. S. IV. 2. 6), II. 87 (on V. S. III. 4. 38), X. 4 and 126 (on V. S. I. 3. 36), XII. 91 and 105-6 (on V. S. II. 1 and 11). In his bhāṣya on the Bṛ. U. he quotes Manu dozens of times and calls the Manusmṛti[274] 'Mānavam' (on Bṛ. U. I. 4. 17). He looks upon the Manusmṛti as one of the authorities on which the author of the Vedāntasūtra relies.[275] The Tantravārtika of Kumārila stands in a special relation to the Manusmṛti. *Vide JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 98–100.* He places Manu at the head of all smṛtis, even higher than the dharmasūtra of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the Manusmṛti to the last. He looks upon all parts of the extant Manusmṛti as equally authoritative and regards the Manusmṛti as the highest authority on matters of *dharma*. The Mṛcchakaṭika[276] (9. 39) refers to the ordinance of Manu that a Brāhmaṇa sinner was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished. An inscription of the Valabhi king Dharasena dated in the year 252 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 571 A. D.) speaks of a king as one who obeyed the rules composed by Manu[277] (I. A. vol. 8. p. 303 = Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). *Vide* also I. A. vol. IV. p. 105 where the same words occur in an inscription from Valabhi dated 216 of the Valabhi era (i. e. 535 A. D.). Śabarasvāmin, the bhāṣyakāra of Jaimini's sūtras, who cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may be a few centuries earlier still, says " Manu and others have given

274 मानवे च सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः कामहेतुक्येवेति. Vide मनु. II. 4.

275 On the sūtra स्मरन्ति च (वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1. 14) Śaṅkara adds 'मनुव्यासप्रभृतयः शिष्टाः '.

276 अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् । राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥. Compare मनु 8. 380 न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्वपि स्थितम् । राष्ट्रादेनं बहिः कुर्यात्समग्रधनमक्षतम् ॥. The words राष्ट्र and अक्षत occurring in both may particularly be noted.

277 मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानकर्मा.

instruction[278] " and quotes a verse as a smṛti passage which is practically the same as Manu IX. 416 and similar to Udyoga-parva[279] 33. 64. Aparārka and Kullūka point out how the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa expounds passages of the Manusmṛti (vide Kullūka on Manu XI. 72, 73, 100 and Aparārka pp. 1071, 1076).[280] It will be shown below that Bṛhaspati must have composed his work before 500 A. D. Bṛhaspati says that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position because it correctly represents the sense of the Veda and that a smṛti which is in conflict with Manu is not esteemed.[281] Bṛhaspati in numerous places pointedly refers to the present text of the Manusmṛti. One such quotation about *niyoga* has been cited above (note 172). Bṛhaspati says " Manu has spoken of quantities (units of weights) beginning from the mote in the sun-beam to the kārṣāpaṇa.[282] " This is obviously a reference to Manu 8. 132-136. Bṛhaspati says " Manu enumerated thirteen sons and just as in the absence of clarified butter, oil is a substitute, so in the absence of an *aurasa* son or a *putrikā*, the eleven kinds of son are a substitute.[283] " This has in view Manu 9. 158-160, 180, 127-130, where Manu speaks of the twelve sons, out of whom eleven are substitutes and

278 उपदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वादयः on पूर्वमीमांसा I. 1. 2 (vol. I. p. 4).

279 एवं च स्मरति । भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते । यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥. Manu reads भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः, while उद्योग० reads त्रय एवाधना राजन्भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः .

280 On मनु XI. 73 कुल्लूक says ' मनुश्लोकमेव लिखित्वा यथा व्याख्याने (तं ?) भविष्यपुराणे '; on मनु XI. 100 'अत एव मन्वर्थव्याख्यानपरे भविष्यपुराणे '.

281 वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात्प्राधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ (quoted by अपरार्क on Yāj. II. 21 and by कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1, who adds one more verse from बृहस्पति ' तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थमोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुर्यावन्न दृश्यते ॥)'.

282 संख्या रश्मिरजोमूला मनुना समुदाहृता । कार्षापणान्ता सा दिव्ये नियोज्या विनये तथा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 99 and by the स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 211).

283 पुत्रास्त्रयोदश प्रोक्ता मनुना येन पूर्वशः । संतानकारणं तेषामौरसः पुत्रिका यथा ॥ आज्यं विना यथा तैलं सद्भिः प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतम् । तथैकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकौरसयोर्विना ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 128-132 and the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 39).

advocates that a sonless man should appoint a daughter (*putrikā*, who then is the 13th kind of son). In another place Bṛhaspati declares "Manu forbade gambling as it destroys truth, purity and wealth; but others allowed it provided a share was given to the king (in the gains of gambling[284])." This very aptly describes the attitude of Manu (9. 224) and of Yāj. (II. 201-203). Bṛhaspati says "If a man kills a cow with a weapon &c., he should perform the penance laid down by Manu, but if he kills a cow by forcible restraint, then he should perform the penance laid down by Aṅgiras or Āpastamba." The reference is to Manu XI. 108-115, Āpastamba Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 and Āṅgirasa verse 27 (Jivananda, part I p. 556). In one place Bṛhaspati seems to criticise Manu (9. 219) when he says "those who declared clothes and other things to be impartible have not considered the position that the wealth of the rich may consist of clothes and ornaments.[285]" In another place Bṛhaspati says "Bhṛgu spoke of sale without ownership after deposit; listen to it attentively, I shall speak of it with more details.[286]" This keeps in view Manu 8. 4 and clearly shows that Bṛhaspati was well aware of Bhṛgu's connection with the extant Manusmṛti. Aṅgiras as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 7) speaks of the dharmaśāstra of Manu. In the Vajrasūci of Aśvaghoṣa (ed. by Weber) several verses are quoted as from the 'Mānavadharma' which occur in the extant Manusmṛti,[287] though it must be admitted that there are others that

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284 द्यूतं निषिद्धं मनुना सस्य-(त्य ?)शौचधनापहम्। तत्प्रवर्तितमन्यैस्तु राजभागसमन्वितम्। सभिकाधिष्ठितं कार्यं तस्करज्ञानहेतुना।. It is striking that याज्ञ. uses the word तस्करज्ञानकारणात् in II. 203.

285 वस्त्रादयोऽविभाज्या यैरुक्तं तैर्न विचारितम्। धनं भवेत्समृद्धानां वस्त्रालङ्कारसंश्रितम्॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 119 and by the व्यवहारमयूख.

286 निक्षेपानन्तरं प्रोक्तो भृगुणास्वामिविक्रयः। श्रूयतां तं प्रयत्नेन सविशेषं ब्रवीम्यहम्॥ विवादरत्नाकर p. 100. The words of मनु are तेषामाददानो निक्षेपोस्वामिविक्रयः.

287 e. g. उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे—सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन वा। व्यहाच्छूद्रश्च भवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयात्॥ (this is मनु X. 93); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे 'वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निःश्वासोपहतस्य च। तस्यैव च प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्नोपलभ्यते॥' (this is मनु III. 19); उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे 'अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् साङ्गोपाङ्गेन तत्वतः। शूद्रात्प्रतिग्रहग्राही ब्राह्मणो जायते खरः॥ खरो द्वादश जन्मानि षष्टिजन्मानि सूकरः। श्वानः सप्ततिजन्मानि इत्येवं मनुरब्रवीत्॥' (this cannot be traced in the extant Manusmṛti); इह हि मानवधर्मेभिहितम्। अरणिगर्भ-

do not occur. In the Rāmāyaṇa also there are verses cited as from Manu which occur in the extant Manusmṛti; vide Kiṣkindhā 18.30-32 (Gujarati Press, 1915-1920) where two verses are quoted as 'sung by Manu' which correspond to Manusmṛti VIII. 318 and 316 respectively.

The foregoing discussion of the external evidence shows that writers from the 2nd century onwards (if not earlier) looked upon the extant Manusmṛti as the most authoritative smṛti. This position it could not have attained unless several centuries intervened between it and these writers. Therefore it must be presumed that the Manusmṛti had attained its present form at least before the 2nd century A. D. Even the Mahābhāṣya contains a verse which is Manu II. 120.[288] But as the verse occurs also in the Anuśāsana (104. 64-65) no chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom. The Pratimānāṭaka (after V. 8) speaks of "mānavīya-dharmaśāstra' and 'Prācetasa śrāddhakalpa,' but as it is in controversy whether that work can be ascribed to the ancient Bhāsa, this reference will serve no useful purpose.

The next question is whether the Manusmṛti contains earlier and later strata. There can be no doubt on this point. On numerous points the Manusmṛti contains conflicting doctrines. In Manu III. 12-13 a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to have a *śūdra* woman as wife, while in III. 14-19 it is emphatically asserted that a śūdra woman cannot be the wife of a Brāhmaṇa and heavy disabilities are prescribed for him who breaks the injunction. In III. 23-26 there are contradictory statements about the appropriate forms of marriage for the several castes. In one breath Manu seems to permit *niyoga* (9. 59-63) and immediately afterwards he strongly reprobates it (9. 64-69). The lengthy discussion on flesh-eating in Manu V. 27-56 discloses different mentalities. At several places the work seems even to recommend flesh-eating in sacrifice, *śrāddhas* and *madhuparka* (V. 31-32, 35, 39, 41), while elsewhere it recommends total abstinence from meat on all occasions whatever (V. 48-50). In

संभूतः कठो नाम महामुनिः। तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम्॥ This is followed by several verses citing instances of व्यास, वसिष्ठ, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, विश्वामित्र, नारद and others who though born of women of low class became sages. These verses also are not found in the extant मनुस्मृति.

288 उरसैं प्राणा त्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति। प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते॥ महाभाष्य vol. III, p. 58. This verse occurs also in the उद्योगपर्व (38. 1).

one śloka (Manu II. 145) the father is said to be equal to a hundred ācāryas, while in the next verse the ācārya is said to be superior to the father. In V. 1 Bhṛgu is said to have sprung from fire, while in I. 35 he is said to be one of the ten sons of Manu Svāyaṁbhuva. Vide also IX. 32-56.

Bühler devotes considerable space to this question (S B E vol. 25. pp. LXVI-LXXIII). He arrives at the conclusion that the cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisition in II. 89-100, the classifications of *pitaraḥ* in III. 193-201, the means of subsistence for Brāhmaṇa in IV. 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X. 1-74) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X. 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the Mānavadharmasūtra. Though one may not agree with all the details of Bühler's examination and with his theory about the versification of the Mānavadharmasūtra, it may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him have rather the flavour of comparative modernism about them. My own position is that the original Manusmṛti in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the change in the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating, *niyoga* &c. But all these additions must have been made long before the 3rd A. D., as the quotations from Bṛhaspati and others show.

Another problem is whether the Manusmṛti has undergone several recasts. This does not seem likely and the evidence adduced in support of the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts is quite inadequate for the purpose. The occurrence of several conflicting passages can as well be explained on the theory of a single recast and it has also to be borne in mind, as Bühler points out, that Sanskṛit writers down to the most recent times are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to others. The tradition of the Nāradasmṛti that the śāstra of Manu was successively abridged by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava is, as has been observed above, not worth much, since it is merely intended to glorify Nārada's work. The other traditions given above either ignore Nārada altogether or assign him a secondary position. The present Manusmṛti is put into the mouth of Bhṛgu. Nārada's smṛti is clearly based upon Manu, though the former diverges from the latter on many points. Bṛhaspati

generally takes Manu as his text and amplifies the dicta of the Manusmṛti (as the verses quoted above in notes 281-86 show) and so his work may by analogy be regarded as a Vārtika on Manu, as Dr. Jolly puts it. Aṅgiras also looks upon Manusmṛti as most authoritative. It is therefore that the Pauranic account (note 270 above) regards Bhṛgu and other works as the redactions of the original Manusmṛti. The quotations cited from Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu do not establish that the original Manusmṛti underwent many recasts. Quotations cited under these names are later than the Manusmṛti. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) quotes the views of Vṛddha-Manu on *niyoga*, who allows it only to śūdras. The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Vṛddha-Manu about the widow of a sonless man being entitled to all her husband's wealth, while Manu is silent on that point.[289] The Mitākṣarā quotes a verse from Bṛhan-Manu also (on Yāj. III. 20). Mādhave quotes a verse from Bṛhan-Manu about *sapiṇḍa* and samānodaka relationship which are expansions of Manu[290] (V. 60). The fact that many quotations ascribed to Manu in several works are not found in the extant Manusmṛti is explicable in several ways and not only by the theory of several recasts. For one thing the authors quoting from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Cālukyas of the 7th century two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant Manusmṛti.[291] No one can for a moment doubt that the extant Manusmṛti was an authoritative work in the 7th century. Therefore there is hardly any reliable evidence to support the theory that the Manusmṛti suffered several recasts.

Turning now to the internal evidence, the extant Manusmṛti seems to be much older than Yājñavalkya, since the rules of judicial procedure are incomplete and awkward in Manu as compared with Yāj., since there is no reference to documents as evidence in Manu,

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289 अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता । पत्न्येव दद्यात्तत्पिण्डं कुलमंशं लभेत च ॥ मिता on याज्ञ. II. 135.

290 तदुक्तं बृहन्मनुना—सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकभावस्तु निवर्तेताचतुर्दशात् । जन्मनामस्मृतेरेके तत्परं गोत्रमुच्यते ॥ पराशरमाधवीय vol. III, part 2, p. 528.

291 मनुगीतं श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति—बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । and स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । &c. I. A. vol. VIII. p. 97,

as ordeals are not treated of in Manu, as legal definitions are almost absent in Manu, while frequent in Yāj. and as Manu is silent about the widow's rights, while Yāj. gives her the first place among the heirs of a sonless man. So the Manusmṛti will have to be placed some centuries earlier than the third century A. D., the latest date to which the Yājñavalkya smṛti can be assigned with any show of reason. In X. 44 Manu mentions the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Śakas, Pahlavas and Cīnas[292] and in X. 48 Medas and Āndhras. This shows that the extant Manusmṛti could not be much earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The Yona, Kāmboja and Gāndhāra people are mentioned in the 5th rock edict of Aśoka. Manu forbids Brāhmaṇas to dwell in the kingdom of a Śūdra (IV. 61) and condemns the appointment of a śūdra as a judge (VIII. 20-21). The former is possibly a reference to the Mauryas, though one cannot be certain of it. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 15, p. CCC) goes too far in supposing that in the word ' senāpatya ' occurring in Manu (XII. 100) there is a reference to Senāpati Puṣyamitra. The extant Manusmṛti in its arrangement and doctrines is much in advance of the ancient dharmasūtras, such as those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. Taking all these things into consideration Bühler (S B E vol. 25 p. CXVII) was certainly right in saying that the extant Manusmṛti was composed between the second century B. C and 2nd century A. D. But the question of the date when the original Manusmṛti to which additions were made between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. was composed presents very great difficulties. That question is largely bound up with the relation of the Mahābhārata to the Manusmṛti.

This question is an extremely intricate one. The late V. N. Mandlik (Intro. to the Vyavahāramayūkha XLVII) held that the Manusmṛti borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Bühler after an elaborate examination of the question (S B E vol 25, pp. LXXIV-XCVIII) came to the conclusion that it was indisputable that the 12th and 13th *parvans* of the Mahābhārata knew a Mānavadharma-śāstra which was closely connected with but not identical with the present Manusmṛti. Bühler expresses himself very cautiously and it seems to me that the great scholar was unduly prepossessed

[292] पौण्ड्रकाश्चोड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥

in favour of the Mahābhārata as against the Manusmṛti. Bühler somewhat contradicts himself when he says that the author of the epic only knew the dharmasūtras (S B E vol. 25, p. XCVIII). Hopkins (Great Epic of India p. 21-22) seems inclined to hold that the 13th book which alone, according to him, recognises the śāstra declared by Manu, knew the present Manusmṛti, though the earlier books cannot be held to have known a śāstra of Manu even when they employ such expressions as " Manu said. " He thinks that there was a floating mass of verses containing philosophical and other lore attributed to the mythical Manu on which the earlier books of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti both drew and that the matter that is common to both works was not borrowed from any systematic treatise. Bühler accepts this view with the slight modification that the floating mass of verses was not all attributed to Manu (S B E vol. 25 p. XC). Before giving my individual views on this vexed question as against the array of such eminent scholars as Bühler and Hopkins some facts must be clearly set forth. The Mahābhārata is nowhere mentioned by name in the Manusmṛti though the word " itihāsa " (in the plural) occurs in Manu (III. 232). The Manusmṛti mentions many historical and legendary personages, about most of whom the Mahābhārata contains similar stories. The following are the persons so mentioned in the Manusmṛti. Āṅgirasa (in II. 151-152, addressing his elders as ' putrakāh '), Agastya (V 22, in connection with sacrificing animals), Vena, Nahuṣa, Sudās Paijavana and Nimi (all in VII. 41, coming to grief through insolence), Pṛthu, Manu, Kubera and the son of Gādhi (VII. 42, benefiting by their good conduct), Vasiṣṭha (in VIII. 110, taking an oath before king Paijavana), Vatsa (in VIII. 116, undergoing fire ordeal), Akṣamā and Sāraṅgī (in IX. 23, though of low birth respectively were united to Vasiṣṭha and Mandapāla), Dakṣa (in IX. 128-129, gave his daughters to Dharma, Kāśyapa and Soma), Ajīgarta (in X, 105, who was ready to sacrifice his own son), Vāmadeva (in X, 106, desired dog's flesh to save his life), Bharadvāja (in X. 107. who accepted the gift of many cows), Viśvāmitra (in X. 108, who took from a cāṇḍāla's hand a dog's leg). Pṛthu is also mentioned (in IX. 44) as the husband of the earth and in IX. 314 Brāhmaṇas are credited with having made fire all-devourer, the ocean undrinkable and the waning (pthisical) moon to wax. Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities.

For example, Vasiṣṭha's oath occurs in Ṛgveda (VII. 104. 15[293]) and the Bṛhaddevatā (VI. 32-34), Ajīgarta figures in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII. 16) and Āṅgirasa's story occurs in the Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa (13. 3. 24). Besides the Manusmṛti does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The Mahābhārata also was not the first to originate these stories but is only a storehouse and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions that were current in ancient India. When our Manu (9. 227) says that gambling was seen to have produced in former ages deep-rooted enmities, it is unnecessary to suppose that there is a reference to the Mahābhārata, for from Vedic times the evil effects of gambling were known (vide Ṛgveda X. 34) and even the Mahābhārata contains the same verse (Udyoga 37. 19), though this fact was not noticed by Bühler. On the other hand there are numerous passages in the Mahābhārata scattered over almost all the *parvans*, where occur such expressions as, ' Manur-abravīd, ' ' the rājadharmas of Manu, ' ' the *śāstra* of Manu ' etc. Some of these passages agree with the extant Manusmṛti, while some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the Mahābhārata that are identical with the verses of the Manusmṛti, though they are not expressly attributed to Manu. Dr. Bühler says that in the Vana, Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* alone he could identify either wholly or partly 260 verses with those of our Manu. What then is the conclusion ? *Prima facie* it should be, on account of all these abovementioned facts, against the Mahābhārata and in favour of the Manusmṛti being the earlier of the two. Hopkins at all events holds that the Anuśāsana-parva knew a Manusmṛti essentially the same as we have now. Bühler expresses himself more cautiously and says that the Śānti and Anuśāsana *parvans* knew a Mānava-dharmaśāstra closely connected with the extant one, though not identical. Both are agreed that the earlier books when they speak of Manu are either referring to the Mānava-dharmasūtra or to the floating mass of popular verses, but not to our Manu.

We must now closely examine the data. The Anuśāsana-parva distinctly speaks of 'a śāstra declared by Manu.'[294] In the Śāntiparva

[293] अया मुरीय यदि' यातुधानो अस्मि &c.

[294] मनुनाभिहितं शास्त्रं यच्चापि कुरुनन्दन । अनु. 47. 35.

are quoted two ślokas 'sung by Manu in his own dharmas,' one of which is identical with Manu[295] (9. 321). In another place the Śāntiparva speaks of the 'rājadharmas of Prācetasa Manu' and quotes two verses therefrom.[296] In the Droṇaparva (7. 1) 'Mānavī arthavidyā' is referred to (vide note 272 above) and in Vanaparva the rājadharmas as proclaimed by Manu are referred to (vide note 272 above). In another places, the words 'Manu Svāyaṁbhuva said' occur (e. g. Śānti 21. 12, Anuśāsana 114. 12, Vanaparva 180. 34-35, Ādiparva 73. 9, 120. 32-36, Udyoga 37. 1-6). In most cases the words 'Manu said occur' without the appellation 'Svāyaṁbhuva' or 'Prācetasa' (e. g. Śānti 78. 31, 88. 14-16, 121. 10-12, 152. 14, 152. 30, 266. 5; Anuśāsana 44. 18 and 23, 65. 1 and 3, 67. 19, 68. 31, 88. 4, 115. 52-53; Vanaparva 32. 39, Udyogaparva 40. 9-10, Ādiparva 41. 31, 74. 39). The words 'Manor-anuśāsanam' occur in a few cases as in Anuśāsana 61. 34-35. Hopkins says that the words 'the śāstra of Manu' occur only in the Anuśāsana-parva and so only that *parvan* knew the Manusmṛti, while in the other *parvans* we have the expression 'Manu said,' and therefore these other books did not know the Manusmṛti but are only referring to floating verses attributed to the mythical Manu. This, however, is not a reasonable conclusion. The words 'śāstra of Manu' occur only once even in the Anuśāsana, while in about ten places in the same *parvan* we come across only the words 'Manu said'. If the words 'Manu said' in the Anuśāsana indicate in the Anuśāsana a reference to the extant Manusmṛti, there is no cogent reason why the same words in other *parvans* should not be regarded as referring to the Manusmṛti. Besides in the Śāntiparva also we meet with the words 'Dharmas or rājadharmas of Manu' and in Ādiparva the word 'dharma-darśane' (120. 32). That is obviously a reference to some work of Manu. Hopkins further says (Great Epic of India, p. 21) that all the

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295 मनुना चैव राजेन्द्र गीतौ श्लोकौ महात्मना। धर्मेषु स्वेषु कौरव्य हृदि तौ कर्तुमर्हसि॥ अदृश्योग्निर्ह्यतः क्षत्रमश्मनो लोहमुत्थितम्। तेषां सर्वत्रगं तेजः स्वासु योनिषु शाम्यति॥ अपो हन्ति यदाश्मानमग्निना वारि हन्यते। ब्रह्म च क्षत्रियो द्वेष्टि तदा सीदन्ति ते त्रयः॥ शान्ति० 56. 23-25.

296 प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोकौ चेमावुदाहृतौ। राजधर्मेषु राजेन्द्र तावितैकमनाः शृणु। षडेतान्पुरुषो जह्याद्भिन्नां नावमिवाम्भसि। अप्रवक्तारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम्॥ अरक्षितारं राजानं भार्यां चाप्रियवादिनीम्। ग्रामकामं च गोपालं वनकामं च नापितम्॥ शान्ति. 57. 43-45.

express citations of Manu in the Anuśāsana, except one, agree very closely with our Manu, while in the other *parvans* the citations agree only up to one-third or one-half. In the first place I demur to the latter statement. The agreements of the citations in the other books are as close and almost as frequent as in the Anuśāsana, e. g. excepting Śānti 21. 12 and 57. 43-45 all citations of Manu therein, referred to above, agree closely with Manu 7. 89, 9. 225-26, 9. 17-19 and 27, 6. 33 and 81, 11. 259-60, 5. 43 and 45 and 48-49. The same is the case with the few citations of Manu in the Vanaparva. Bühler says that the Mahābhārata knew only of the dharmasūtras. But there is positively not one express citation attributed by name to the well-known writers of dharmasūtras, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha or Śaṅkha-Likhita. That the Mahābhārata knew several dharmaśāstras is clear from over a dozen references to dharmaśāstras, often in the plural (e. g. Śānti 167. 4, 298. 40, 341. 74 ; Anuśāsana 19. 89, 45. 17-20, Vanaparva 207. 83, 293. 35, 313. 105 ; Ādiparva 3. 32 and 77 etc.). The only place where a sūtrakāra is cited on matters of *dharma* is Anu. 19. 6 ; but no name is mentioned.[297] Hastisūtra, Aśvasūtra are mentioned in Sabhā 5. 20, but no dharmasūtra or Nītisūtra occurs any where. On the other hand Bühler is not prepared to admit that the views expressly attributed to Manu in the Mahābhārata are taken from a treatise and refers them to a floating mass of verses the authorship of which was unknown and was fathered upon the mythical Manu. Distrust of ancient Indian authors could go no further. Bühler's assumptions are, to say the least, gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to a versified smṛti of Manu. Not only are there identical verses in Manu and the Mahābhārata, but some verses of the latter (e.g. Udyoga 35. 31 and Śānti 111. 66) occur in the Nāradasmṛti (pp. 103 and 26 respectively). In my humble opinion the following seems to be the relation of the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. I must state frankly that it is a mere theory, a conjecture which may be taken for what it is worth. Long before the 4th century B. C., there was a work on Dharmaśāstra composed by or attributed to Svāyaṁbhuva Manu. This work was most probably in verse. There was also another work on Rājadharma attributed to Prācetasa Manu, which also was prior to the

[297] अनृताः स्त्रियं इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्यति । अनु० 19. 6 ; compare मनु 9. 18
निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोनृतमिति स्थितिः ।

4th century B. C. It is not unlikely that instead of there being two works there was one comprehensive work embodying rules on *dharma* as well as politics. There is one circumstance that points in this direction. The Mahābhārata quotes a saying (vacana) of Prācetasa which is almost the same as our Manu[298] (3. 54). It is to these works (or work) that Yāska, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Kauṭilya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Mānavas. The Mahābhārata also (particularly in the earlier portions) probably refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present Manusmṛti. Then between 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D. the Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu. That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others. This hypothesis would explain why some of the verses and views quoted as Manu's occur in the extant Manusmṛti and why some do not.[299] In my opinion the extant Mahābhārata is later than the extant Manusmṛti. When Nārada mentions the tradition that Sumati Bhārgava compressed the vast work of Manu into 4000 verses, he is somewhat obscurely hinting at the truth. The extant Manusmṛti contains only about 2700 verses. Nārada probably arrives at the larger figure by including the verses attributed to Vṛddha-Manu and Bṛhan-Manu. The influence of the Manusmṛti spread even beyond the confines of India. In A. Bergaigne's 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge' (p. 423) we have an inscription in which occur verses,[299a] one of which is identical with Manu (II. 136) and the other is a summary of Manu (III. 77-80).

298 प्राचेतसस्य वचनं कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः । यस्याः किंचिन्नाददते ज्ञातयो न स विक्रयः । अर्हणं तत्कुमारीणामानृशंस्यतमं हि तत् ॥ अनुशासन. 46. 1-2.

299 It is to be noted that so early a writer as शान्तरक्षित in his तत्त्वसंग्रह (कारिका 3584, G. O. S.) expressly attributes the verse (पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः) to मनु which was not commented upon by मेधातिथि and later commentators. शान्तरक्षित flourished about 750 A. D. i. e. a century earlier than मेधातिथि.

299a आचार्यवद् गृहस्थोपि माननीयो बहुश्रुतः । अभ्यागतगुणानां च परा विद्येति मानवम् ॥ वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी । एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद्यदुत्तरम् ॥. The latter is मनु II. 136 and the former summarises मनु III. 77-80.

The Burmese are governed in modern times by the *dhammathats* which are based on Manu. Vide Dr. Forchhammer's essay on the sources and development of Burmese Law (1885, Rangoon). Dr. E. C. G. Jonker (Leyden 1885) wrote a dissertation on an old Javanese lawbook compared with Indian sources of law like the Manusmṛti (which is still used as a lawbook in the island of Bali).

Manu had numerous commentators. As to Medhātithi, Govindarāja and Kullūka, vide below sections 63, 76, 88. Besides these Nārāyaṇa, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Rāmacandra also wrote commentaries on Manu. Mr. Mandlik published all these commentaries. Dr. Jolly published (in 1885 for Bengal Asiatic Society) extracts from all these commentaries (except Kullūka's and Rāmacandra's) and from an anonymous Kashmirian commentary on the first three chapters. Asahāya seems to have written a commentary on Manu (vide below section 58). The Vivādaratnākara quotes a commentary on Manu by Udayakara (pp. 455, 560, 583, 590). The same work seems to suggest that Bhāguri wrote a commentary on Manu.[300] For the predecessors of Medhātithi vide sec. 63. Kullūka on Manu 8. 184 tells us that Bhojadeva arranged the four verses of Manu 8. 181-184 in a particular manner and therefore suggests that Bhojadeva probably commented on Manu. He also names a commentator Dharaṇīdhara on Manu 2. 83 and says that he was later than Medhātithi. He is also referred to elsewhere by Kullūka (on Manu 4. 50).

The commentator Nārāyaṇa is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. as his commentary is cited by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṁśatimata (vide p. 61 of the Benares Sanskrit Series edition, 1907). A ms. of Nārāyaṇa's commentary was written in 1497 A. D. and he appears to have been quoted by Rāyamukuṭa in 1431 A. D. (Jolly in R. und. S. p. 31). He is later than Govindarāja and flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. Rāghavānanda mentions by name Medhātithi, Govindarāja, Nārāyaṇa, and Kullūka and so is later than about 1400 A. D. When Nandana flourished it is difficult to say. But he is a late writer. There are several other commentators.

300 On मनु 8. 198 the विवादरत्नाकर (p. 104) remarks कल्पतरुकारस्तु अपसरत्यनेन स्वामिनः सकाशादुनामिति प्रतिग्रहादिर्धनोपायः अपसरः स न विद्यते यस्य तथा। एतच्च भागुरिमेधातिथिवृत्तिकाराणामनुमतमित्याह।

mentioned in the catalogues of mss. who may be passed over for want of space.

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69), the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, the Parāśaramādhavīya and other works quote dozens of verses from Vṛddha-Manu on *āhnika*, *vyavahāra*, and *prāyaścitta*. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 20) and other works cite a few verses from Bṛhan-Manu. No independent works going under these names have yet been unearthed. Those works, if they ever existed independently, appear to have been later than our Manu. For example, our Manu is silent about the widow's right to inherit to her husband, but Vṛddha-Manu recognises the right of a chaste widow to take the entire wealth of her husband (Mit. on Yāj. II. 136); similarly Bṛhan-Manu (according to the Mit.) seems to refer to Manu's view about the meaning of 'samānodaka' (Manu 5. 60) and modifies it. It is not unlikely that those verses which were not recognised as Manu's by ancient commentators like Medhātithi and were yet found in the mss. of the Manusmṛti were regarded as Vṛddha- or Bṛhan-Manu.

32. The Two Epics

The two epics, particularly the Mahābhārata, contain in numerous places passages bearing on dharmaśāstra and are relied upon as authoritative Smṛtis in later works. The Mahābhārata is styled a dharmaśāstra in the Ādiparva (2. 83).

The Rāmāyaṇa is pre-eminently a kāvya; yet on account of its noble ideals it was almost as popular as the Mahābhārata and is relied upon as a source of *dharma* in the *nibandhas* though much less frequently than the other great epic. The Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (canto 100) and the Āraṇya-kāṇḍa (33) contain disquisitions on politics and state administration. The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 57) quotes the well-known verse of the Rāmāyaṇa (Sundara 59. 31) about cessation of study on the first day of a month.[301] The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 193 and III. p. 416) quotes two verses on *tarpaṇa* and *śrāddha* from the Rāmāyaṇa.[302] The Hāralatā (pp. 64 and 152) quotes

301 सा प्रकृत्येव तन्वङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता । प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता ॥

302 पादशौचमनभ्यङ्गं तिलहीनं च तर्पणम् । सर्वं तत्र जले तुभ्यं यच्च श्राद्धमदक्षिणम् ॥
इक्ष्वदैर्वदरैर्बिल्वै रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन् । यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥
The second verse is almost the same as Ayodhyā 103. 30 and Ayodhyā 104. 15 calls it लौकिकी श्रुति.

verses from the Rāmāyaṇa. Aparārka on Yāj. III. 8-10 quotes four verses from the Rāmāyaṇa on sorrow for the dead.

For considerations of space it is impossible to enter into any discussion as to the age of these two epics, as to the earlier and later strata in them and other allied questions. These questions are passed over here as more appropriate to separate treatises on the epics. The following works will give some idea of the problems connected with these two great heirlooms of Indian antiquity :— Das Mahābhārata seine Entstehung, sein Inhalt, seine Form, by Oldenberg (Göttingen, 1922); Das Mahābhārāta als Epos und Rechtsbuch, by Dahlmann (Berlin 1895); Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata by Holtzmann (Kiel, 1892-94); Mahābhārata, a criticism by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1903); das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt, by Dr. Jacobi (Bonn 1893); The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa by Mr. C. V. Vaidya (1906, Bombay).

In these pages the Bombay oblong edition of the Mahābhārata with the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha has been used.

In the following table an attempt is made, though not exhaustive, to indicate where dharmaśāstra topics occur in the Mahābhārata.

Abhiṣeka (coronation)—Śānti 40.
Arājaka (evils of anarchy)—Śānti 67.
Ahiṁsā—Śānti 264 and 266.
Āśrama-dharmas—Śānti 61, 243-246.
Ācāra—Anuśāsana 104. Āśvamedhika 45.
Āpad-dharma—Śānti 131 ff.
Upavāsa—Anu. 106-107.
Gostuti—Anu. 51 and 73.
Tīrthas—Vanaparva 82 ff, Anuśāsana 25-26, Śalya. 35-54.
Daṇḍastuti—Śānti 15, 121, 268, 295.
Dāna—Vanaparva 186, Śānti 235, Anu. 57-99.
Dāyabhāga—Anu. 45 and 47.
Putras (of several kinds)—Anu. 48-49.
Prāyaścitta—Śānti 34-35, 165 (33ff).
Brāhmaṇa's means of subsistence—Śānti 76-78.
Bhakṣyābhakṣya—Śānti 36, 78.
Rājanīti—Sabhā 5, Vana 150, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 59-130 and 298, Āśramavāsika 5-7.
Varṇadharma—Śānti 60 and 297, mixed castes—Śānti 65, 297 and Anu. 48-49.
Vivāha—Anu. 44-46.
Śraddha—Strīparva 26-27, Anu. 87-95.

The following table will give some idea of the topics of dharmaśāstra that are dwelt upon in the Rāmāyaṇa, though briefly. The Gujarati Press Edition (1915-20) is referred to—

Abhiṣeka—Ayodhyā 15,
Yuddha 128.
Arājaka—Ayodhyā 67.
Pātakas—Kiṣkindhā 17 (36-37),
18 (22-23) &c.
Rājadharma—Bāla 7,
Ayodhyā 100,
Āraṇya 6 (11-14)
,, 9 (2-9)
33
,, 40 (10-14)
,, 41 (1-6)
Yuddha 17-18 and
,, 63.
Śrāddha—Ayodhyā 77
,, 103
,, 111 (104-120)
Satyapraśaṁsā—Ayodhyā 109.
Strīdharma—Ayodhyā 24, 26-27,
29, 39, 117-18.

33. The Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas as a class of literature existed from very ancient times. Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of "Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, and Nārāśaṁsī gāthās."[303] In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VII. 1. 2 and 4) "itihāsa-purāṇa" is spoken of as the fifth Veda and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (IV. 1. 2) speaks of "Itihāsa and Purāṇa." The Gautama Dh. S. (8. 6 and 11. 19) refers to "itihāsa" and "Purāṇa." It is not unlikely that there was originally a single work called Purāṇa. The words of the Matsya that in former ages there was a single Purāṇa probably embody a tradition that has a substratum[304] of truth. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. I. page 9.) speaks of Purāṇa in the singular. The Āp. Dh. S. quotes the views of a Purāṇa, twice cites two verses from a Purāṇa, and summarizes the view of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.[305] The quotations show that the Purāṇa or

303 ब्राह्मणानीतिहास...न् पुराणानि कल्पान्गाथा नाराशंसीः &c.

304 पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेषु । मत्स्यपुराण chap. 53 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

305 यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं स्पृशति न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 29. 7; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । उद्यतामाहुतीं भिक्षां पुरस्तादप्रवेदिताम् । भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥ न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दश वर्षाणि पञ्च च । न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यधिमन्यते ॥ इति । आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13; अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । अशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीयिरेऽग्नयः । दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥ अशीति... प्रजां नेयिरेऽग्नयः । उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 23. 3; पुनः सर्गे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यत्पुराणे । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 24. 6.

Purāṇas contained verses and were composed in a somewhat archaic language. The extant Purāṇas are recasts made of the ancient Purāṇas during the first centuries of the Christian era, when there was a revival and restatement of the ancient Brahmanical religion, philosophy and literature after the onslaughts of Buddhism and Jainism had abated in their strength and fury. The Mahābhārata (Vana. 191. 16) speaks of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu (i. e. the Vāyupurāṇa). Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita refers to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1925, p. 122) refers to the subjects dealt with by many of the extant purāṇas and quotes passages that occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇas. Thus it is clear that at any rate some of the extant purāṇas, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A. D.

The orthodox number of the principal purāṇas is 18 and there are 18 Upapurāṇas also. There is considerable divergence about the names of the 18 principal purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-purāna (chap. 53) enumerates them as follows :—Brāhma, Padma, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Liṅga, Varāha, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3. 6) on the other hand omits Vāyu from the above list and adds Śaiva. The Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 14) follows the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. Vide Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 13. 4-8 and commentary thereon for the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas.

Among comparatively early commentators and writers of digests, it is Aparārka, Ballālasena and Hemādri that quote most profusely from the purāṇas as sources of dharma. We saw above (p. 146) that Kullūka describes passages of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa as glosses on Manu. The Matsya-purāṇa is pre-eminently a work containing much dharmaśāstra material. For example, chapters 16-22 deal with śrāddha, chapters 55-57 and 59-82 with vratas, chap. 54, 83, 278 with gifts, chap. 93 with śāntis, chap. 102 with tīrthas. Similarly in chapters 216-243 the Matsya speaks of rājadharma. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (in III, chap. 8-16) contains a good deal of information on the duties of the varṇas and āśramas, nitya and naimittika acts, good manners for a house-older, the five great yajñas, Jātakarma and other saṁskāras, impu-on death, śrāddha &c. Viṣṇudharmottara (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press) 2nd khaṇḍa contains several chapters dealing with matters of

dharma, e. g. chap. 24 gives the qualifications of state officers, chap. 65-72 speak of rājadharma, expedients of policy, punishments, 73-74 deal with prāyaścittas, 75 with impurity on death and birth, 79 with purification of dravyas, 80-81 with the four varṇas and mixed castes, 60 with various purely legal matters. The Agni-purāṇa also in chapters 220-225, 227, 233-242 contains a disquisition on rājadharma. Almost the whole of the vyavahāra section in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti occurs in chapters 253-258 of the Agnipurāṇa (Ānandāśrama edition) and many verses in chap. 253 are identical with verses of the Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 93-106) contains about 400 verses that are taken from the first and third sections of Yājñavalkya though not in the same order.

The chronology of the purāṇas is, like that of the epics, a subject full of perplexing problems and is hence passed over here.

The annexed table will give an idea as to what topics of dharmaśāstra are dealt with in the principal purāṇas.

The constitution of the original text of the purāṇas is a Herculean task which has not yet been attempted. Not only is there difference of opinion among the purāṇas about the names of the 18 Mahā-Purāṇas, but there is divergence as regards the extent of the several purāṇas. For example, the commentator Viṣṇucitta of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa says (on III. 6. 20-22) that the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is variously given at 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, but that he comments on a text of 6000 ślokas only. The Agnipurāṇa (272. 10-11) says that it contains 12000 ślokas, while the Bhāgavata (XII. 13), the Brahmavaivarta, the Padma (ādi. 62) say that it contains 15400 ślokas and the Skanda (V. 3) and the Matsya 53 give the extent of the Agni as 16000. The Kūrma, according to the Bhāgavata contains 17000, according to the Matsya 18000 and only 8000 according to the Agni (272. 19). Though there is a remarkable continuity in India as to religious thoughts and practices, yet the popular religion of modern Hindus is pre-eminently paurāṇic. The purāṇas contain thousands of ślokas on dharmaśāstra matters, they are a rich mine awaiting exploration by careful students of social and religious questions and shed a flood of light on the development of religious beliefs and practices in medieval and modern India. Therefore the re-constitution of the text of the purāṇas is a problem which will have to be tackled in the near future. Besides the several

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purāṇas, eighteen Upapurāṇas also are enumerated in some of the Purāṇas. Vide Garuḍa (223. 17 ff), Skanda (V. 3. chap. I. 45-62 and VII. I. chap. 2), Padma (Pātāla-khaṇḍa chap. 111. 95-98) and Matsya (53. 59 ff) for Upapurāṇas.[305a] Besides the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas, there are other works of the purāṇa class such as Gaṇeśa, Maudgala, Devī, Kalki &c. The Padmapurāṇa (Uttara-khaṇḍa chap. 263) divides the 18 purāṇas into three groups, *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*, and says that the Viṣṇu, Nāradīya, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Padma, and Varāha are *sāttvika*. The Matsya (53) also speaks of this division. The Liṅgapurāṇa (39. 63-66) speaks of the twenty expounders of dharma just as Yājñavalkya does and quotes the two verses in the form in which the Mit. presents them (and not Viśvarūpa), while the Padma (Uttarakhaṇḍa 263. 86-89) divides the eighteen smṛtis into three groups of *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*.[305b] It would be quite clear to any reader of the purāṇas and the smṛtis that most of the former in their extant form are later than the smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Nārada &c.

The following table will give some idea as to how the eighteen principal purāṇas are rich in dharmaśāstra material. Besides the eighteen principal purāṇas, the Kālikā-purāṇa (Veṅkaṭeśvara press ed.) and the Saura-purāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) have been drawn upon. The Ānandāśrama edition of the Agni and Padma, the Nirṇayasāgara edition (1905) of the Bhāgavata, the Poona edition (1870 Jagaddhitecchu Press) of the Matsya have been referred to here and the Veṅkateśvara editions of all the other purāṇas.

305a अन्याम्युपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु । आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहमथापरम् ॥ तृतीयं स्कान्द-(नान्द !)मुद्दिष्टं कुमारेण तु भाषितम् । चतुर्थं शिवधर्माख्यं स्यान्नन्दीश्वरभाषितम् ॥ दुर्वाससोक्तमाश्चर्यं नारदोक्तमतः परम् । कापिलं वामनं चैव तथैवोशनसेरितम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्डं वारुणं चाथ कालिकाह्वयमेव च । माहेश्वरं तथा साम्बं सौरं सर्वार्थसंचयम् । पराशरोक्तमपरं मारीचं भार्गवाह्वयम् ॥ गरुड. 223. 17-20.

305b वासिष्ठं चैव हारीतं व्यासं पाराशरं तथा । भारद्वाजं काश्यपं च सात्त्विका मुक्तिदाः शुभाः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यं तथात्रेयं लैखितं दाक्षमेव च । कात्यायनं वैष्णवं च राजसाः स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ॥ गौतमं बार्हस्पत्यं च सांवर्तं च यमं स्मृतम् । शाङ्खं चौशनसं देवि तामसा निरयप्रदाः ॥.

Ācāra—Brahma 113 ; Garuḍa 50; Kālikā 88 ; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 13 ; Liṅga (pūrvārdha) 89 ; Mārkaṇḍeya 31 ; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 26 ; Padma (Ādi 52-56, pātālakhaṇḍa 9, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 46) ; Skanda I (Kaumārikā 41), III. (dharmāraṇya 6), IV. I (pūrvārdha 38, 40) ; Śiva (kailāsasaṁhitā) chap. 18-20 (on ācāra of yati, making of a disciple ; yogapaṭṭa) ; Vāyu 16 ; Viṣṇu III. 11-12.

Āhnika—Agni 155 ; Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa) 26 ; Garuḍa 50 and 213-217 ; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 18-19 ; Liṅga 26 ; Mārkaṇḍeya 27 ; Nārada (pūrvārdha) 27 ; Padma (sṛṣṭi 46, uttara 233); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 35 and III. 2 (dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa) chap. 5.

Āśauca—Agni 157-158 (both kinds, on death and birth) ; Brahma 113 (on birth) ; Garuḍa (preta-khaṇḍa) chap. 5, Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 23); Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89).

Āśramadharmas—Agni 160-161 ; Bhāgavata VII. 12 and 13, XI. 17 ; Brahma 114 ; Garuḍa 49; Kūrma (uttarārdha) 14-16 (brahmacārin and gṛhastha) and 27-28 (vānaprastha and yati); Mārkaṇḍeya 25-26; Nārada (pūrvārdha 27 and 43); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 58-60 for vānaprastha and yati, bhūmikhaṇḍa 59 for gṛhastha, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 15); Saura 17, 20 (vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin); Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha) chap. 41 (vānaprastha and yati); Viṣṇu III. 9.

Bhakṣyābhakṣya—Brahmavaivarta (brahmakhaṇḍa 27, 4th khaṇḍa, uttarārdha chap. 85); Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 17); Padma (ādikhaṇḍa 56).

Brāhmaṇa—*vide* under *varṇadharmas* ;
greatness of -Padma (brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 14 and sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa chap. 45) ;
duties of -Kūrma (uttarārdha chap. 12 and 19) ; Saura 18 ;
who is a worthy-Padma (sṛṣṭi 15) ; means of livelihood for -Kūrma (uttarārdha 25), Padma (sṛṣṭi 45).

Dāna—*vide* under *pratiṣṭhā* and *utsarga*.
Agni 209-213 (mahādānas) ; Bhaviṣya IV. 150 ff ; Brahma 109 (specially annadāna); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 27) ; Garuḍa 51 ; Kūrma, uttarārdha 26 (4 kinds, nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vimala) ; Liṅga, uttarārdha 28 (16 *mahādānas*); Matsya 81-91, 205-206, 274-289 (16 *mahādānas*); Nārada (pūrvārdha 13 and 31, uttarārdha 41-42) ; Padma (ādi 57, bhūmikha[illegible] 39-40 and 94, brahmakh[illegible]

24, sṛṣṭi 45 on godāna and 75, uttara 27 on *annadāna*, 28 and 33); Saura 9-10; Śiva (Umāsaṁhitā chap. 11 and 14); Skanda I (Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa 2 for names of famous donors), III. 2 (dharmāraṇya 34), VII. I. 5 and 208; Varāha 99-111.

Dravyaśuddhi—Agni 156; Bhāgavata XI. 21; Brahma 113; Liṅga (pūrvārdha 89); Mārkaṇḍeya 32.

Gotra and *Pravara*—Matsya 194-201; Skanda III. 2 (dharmāraṇya-khaṇḍa) 9.

Kalisvarūpa—vide under *Yugadharmas*.

Brahma 122-123; Brahmāṇḍa (anuṣaṅgapāda chap. 31); Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 7); Kūrma 30; Liṅga 40; Nāradīya (pūrvārdha 41); Skanda I (Kaumārikā-khaṇḍa chap. 40 and 218-248), II (puruṣottamamāhātmya chap. 39), VI. 272; Vāyu I. 58.

Kalivarjya—Nārada (pūrvārdha chap. 24).

Karmavipāka—Brahma 108; Brahmavaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa 26 and 28 and 4th khaṇḍa uttarārdha 85); Mārkaṇḍeya 15; Padma (Brahma-khaṇḍa 5, pātālakhaṇḍa 48); Vāmana 12.

...ukas—vide under *pātakas*. Agni 203 and 371; Brahma 20 (25 names given), 105 (22 names); Brahmavaivarta, prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 (for names of 86 narakakuṇḍas) and 33; Padma (uttara, chap. 227 for names of 140); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā chap. 8 for 28 narakas and chap. 16); Skanda I (kaumārikā-khaṇḍa 39), VI. 226-227, Viṣṇu I. 6. and II. 6.

Nīti—vide under *rājadharma*. Garuḍa 108-114 (summary of Bṛhaspati-nīti) and 115 (summary of Śaunaka).

Pātakas—vide under prāyaścitta Agni 168 (mahāpātakas and lesser sins); Brahma 20 and 105-106; Mārkaṇḍeya 12-14; Nārada (pūrvārdha 15); Śiva (umāsaṁhitā 5 for mahāpātakas and 6 for upapātakas).

Pratiṣṭhā—Agni 38-106 (building and consecration of temples, idols of Viṣṇu &c); Garuḍa 45-48, Padma (uttarakhaṇḍa chap. 122 and 127 for Śālagrāma); Matsya 258-270; Śiva I (vidyeśvara-saṁhitā chap. 11).

Prāyaścitta—Agni 170-174; Brahmāṇḍa (upasaṁhārapāda chap. 8); Garuḍa 52 (specially for *mahāpātakas*) and 222; Kūrma, uttarārdha 30-34; Liṅga 90 (for lapses of *yatis*); Nārada, pūrvārdha 14 and 30; Padma (brahma-khaṇḍa 18-19); Saura 52; Varāha 68

(for *agamyāgamana*), 131-136 (for various lapses), 179; Vāyu (pūrvārdha 18 for lapses of yati).

Rājadharma—Agni 220-242; Kālikā 87; Mārkaṇḍeya 24; Matsya 216-227, 240

Saṃskāra—*vide* under *Vivāha* also.
Agni 153-154 and 166; Bhaviṣya I (Brāhmaparva chap. 3-4 and 7); Nārada, pūrvārdha 25-26; Skanda IV. I (pūrvārdha 36 and 38); Viṣṇu III. 10.

Śānti—Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-268, 290-91, 320-324; Bhaviṣya IV chap. 141 ff; Brahmavaivarta IV (uttarārdha chap. 82); Matsya 92-93 and 228-239

Śrāddhas—Agni 117 (according to Kātyāyana) and 163; Brahma 110-113, Brahmāṇḍa (upodghātapāda 9-20); Kūrma, uttarārdha 20-22; Mārkaṇḍeya 27-30; Liṅga, uttarārdha 45 (jīvat-śrāddha); Matsya 16-22; Nārada, pūrvārdha 128; Padma (pātālakhaṇḍa 101, sṛṣṭi 9-11 and 47); Śiva (kailāsasaṃhita 21-23) (about after-death rites of *yati*); Saura 19; Skanda VI. 215-225 and VII. I. chap. 205-207; Varāha 13-14 and 187-188; Vāyu (uttarārdha chap. 10-21); Viṣṇu III. 13-16.

Strīdharma—Bhāgavata VII. 11; Bhaviṣya I chap. 11-15; Brahmavaivarta (brahmakhaṇḍa 9 about greatness of *pati*, 4th khaṇḍa, uttarārdha 83 (about *pativratā*); Padma (bhūmikhaṇḍa 41, pātāla 102, sṛṣṭi 47 and 49, uttara 234 (duties of wife and co-wives); Śiva (rudrasaṃhitā, Pārvatīkhaṇḍa 54); Skanda III. 2. (dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa 7).

Tīrtha—Agni 109-116; Bhāgavata VII. 14; Brahma 23, 26 (Koṇārka in Orissa), 39 (Ekāmra), 40-48 (Jagannātha), 54 (Mahākāla at Ujjayinī); Garuḍa 81-86; Kūrma, pūrvārdha 31-35 (Benares), 36-38 (Prayāga), uttarārdha 35-44; Liṅga, pūrvārdha 92; Matsya 179-183 and 188-193; Nāradīya, uttarārdha 39-40 (Gaṅgāsnāna), 45-47 (Gayā), 48-49 (Benares), 50 (Śivaliṅgas), 52-61 (Jagannātha), 62-81 (numerous tīrthas); Padma I. 13-49, Padma, bhūmikhaṇḍa 90 and 92, sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 14-15 and 18-19, 60, uttarakhaṇḍa 2, 20-25, 113, 129 (numerous tīrthas named), 130-169, 195; Saura 67; Śiva I. 12 (koṭirudrasaṃhitā 1-2, 8-33); Skanda I. (aruṇācala-māhātmya, [illegible]rārdha 2), II (puruṣottama-

māhātmya 1-49); II. Badarikā-māhātmya 1-8; III. 1; III 2. 31; V. 3 (Revākhaṇḍa is full of tīrthas in 232 chapters) and also VI and VII; Vāmana 33-42 and 50; Varāha 141-176; Vāyu, uttarārdha 43-50 (Gayā).

Tithi—*vide* under *vratas* also. Brahma 120 (ekādaśī); Nārada, pūrvārdha 29 (what tithi should be taken, *paraviddhā* or pūrvaviddhā); Nārada, uttarārdha 2; Padma, brahmakhaṇḍa 13 (janmāṣṭamī), 15 (ekādaśī); Saura 51; Varāha 23-35 (all tithis from 1st to amāvāsyā).

Utsarga—(works of public utility such as tanks and wells, parks, prapās &c.)—*vide* under *dāna* and *pratiṣṭhā*. Bhaviṣya II; Nārada, pūrvārdha 13; Padma, sṛṣṭi 54-56, uttara 28; Śiva (Vidyeśvarasaṁhitā 11).

Varṇadharmas — Agni 151; Bhāgavata VII. 11. and XI. 17; Brahma 114-115; Garuḍa 49; Mārkaṇḍeya 25; Nārada, pūrvārdha 24, 43, 59, 70; Skanda VI. 242; Viṣṇu III. 8. mixed castes-Brahmavaivarta (Brahmakhaṇḍa 10).

Vivāha—*vide* under *saṁskāra*. Padma, uttara 223 and 232; Skanda IV, pūrvārdha 38.

Vrata—Agni 175-200, 204 (upavāsa); Bhaviṣya I. 17 ff, IV (several hundred vratas); Brahma 27 (upavāsa); Brahmavaivarta (4th khaṇḍa, pūrvārdha 8 and 26); Garuḍa 116-137, Liṅga, pūrvārdha 83-84; Nārada, pūrvārdha 17-22, 110-124; Matsya 54-80, 94-100; Padma (bhūmi 87, brahmakhaṇḍa 3-4, 7, 11, 13, 15-16, 21-23, pātālakhaṇḍa 86-96, 108, sṛṣṭi 20-24, 31, 76, 79-82, uttara 26, 31-32, 35-65, 66-71, 78, 85, 97, 125, 170, 240-41, 262; Skanda I. (kedāra 33), II. 4. 1-36, II. 5 and 7, V. I. 60-61, VI. 232-241; Śiva (Koṭirudrasaṁhitā 38-40, Umāsaṁhitā 51): Varāha 39-65.

Vyavahāra — Agni 253--258; Skanda I. (Kaumārikākhaṇḍa) 44(eight ordeals described).

Yugadharmas—*vide* also under *Kalisvarūpa*.

Garuḍa 223; Liṅga 39; Matsya 141-143, 164; Nārada, pūrvārdha 41; Skanda VI. 272; Vāyu I. 32 and 58.

34. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti

This Smṛti has been published dozens of times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition edited by Śāstri Moghe (1892 A. D.) has been used and the Trivandrum edition when speaking of Viśvarūpa.

The name of Yājñavalkya is one of the most illustrious among Vedic sages. He is credited with having promulgated the White Yajurveda. In the Śāntiparva (chap. 312) we are told that there was a rupture between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil Yājñavalkya and that by worshipping the Sun the latter received the revelation of the White Yajurveda, the Śatapatha &c. The accounts in the Viṣṇu (3. 5), the Bhāgavata (XII. 6. 61–74) and other purāṇas differ somewhat from the one in the Mahābhārata, but all agree on the fact of the strained relations between Yājñavalkya and his teacher. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in several places alludes to the dialogues of Yājñavalkya and king Janaka of Videha on agnihotra (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 46). Vide Śatapatha (ed. by Weber) XI. 6. 2. At the end of the Śatapatha we are told that Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya promulgated the bright Yajus formulæ from the Sun.[306] In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya appears as a great philosopher teaching the recondite doctrines of Brahma and immortality to one of his two wives, the philosophically minded Maitreyī (II. 4 and IV. 5). In the same Upaniṣad Yājñavalkya is represented as carrying away the one thousand cows set apart by Janaka for the most learned Brāhmaṇa (III. 1. 1-2) and Yājñavalkya is said to have imparted to Janaka the knowledge of the destiny of the soul after it is released from the bonds of flesh and worldly affections. Kātyāyana in his Vārtika on Pāṇini (IV. 3. 105)[307] speaks of the Brāhmaṇas of Yājñavalkya and very heated controversies have raged round the correct interpretation of the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya thereon (*vide* Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 360, Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 132 ff and S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. xxxv-xxxviii). It is to be noted that in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti itself[308] (III. 110) the

306 आदित्यानीमानि शुक्लानि यजूंषि वाजसनेयेन याज्ञवल्क्येनाख्यायन्ते । शतपथ XIV. 9. 4. 33.

307 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । पा. III. 3. 105.

308 ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान् । योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सुभिः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 110.

सर्गे

author, whoever he may be, claims the authorship of the Āraṇyaka that he received from the Sun and the Yogaśāstra composed by him. This is simply put in to glorify the Yājñavalkya-smṛti as the work of a great and ancient sage, philosopher and yogin. From the style and the doctrines of the smṛti it is impossible to believe that it was the work of the same hand that gave to the world the Upaniṣad containing the boldest philosophical speculation couched in the simplest yet the most effective language. Even orthodox Indian opinion was not prepared to admit the unity of authorship in the case of the smṛti and the Āraṇyaka. The Mitākṣarā says at the beginning that a certain pupil of Yāj. abridged the dharmaśāstra in the form of a dialogue.[309] It will be shown later on that, though the sage who promulgated the Āraṇyaka and the author of the smṛti cannot be identical, yet the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is much more closely connected with the White Yajurveda and the literature particularly belonging to it than with any other Veda.

The Yājñavalkyasmṛti contains (in the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of 1892) 1010 verses, while the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Viśvarūpa contains 1003 verses and Aparārka gives 1006 (Ānandāśrama edition). The difference in the number is mostly due to the fact that Viśvarūpa in the first section on ācāra omits five verses that occur in the Mitākṣarā.[310] As regards one of them (the verse 'rathyākardamatoyāni' I. 197 according to the Mit.) Viśvarūpa notices it and says that some read it after the verse "mukhajā vipruṣā" and that it adds nothing to what precedes. Aparārka explains that verse. In the second section on vyavahāra Viśvarūpa reads verses[311] which do not exist in the Mitākṣarā nor in Aparārka. On the other hand Viśvarūpa seems to doubt the authenticity of the well-known verse on re-union and reads it also

309 याज्ञवल्क्यशिष्यः कश्चित्प्रश्नोत्तररूपं याज्ञवल्क्यप्रणीतं धर्मशास्त्रं संक्षिप्य कथयामास ।

310 Viz. the verses आज्ञासंपादिनीं (1. 76), रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि (I. 197), यावद्वत्सस्य पादौ (1. 207), two half verses तथाच्छादनदानं च (I. 232) and अपहृता इति तिलान् (I. 234), दृष्ट्वन्नं (I. 289).

311 For example, the verse आगमेन विशुद्धेन भोगो याति प्रमाणताम् । अविशुद्धागमो भोगः प्रामाण्यं नाधिगच्छति । (Tri. ed. II. 29) and कुलानि जातयः श्रेण्यो गणान् जनपदानपि । स्वधर्माच्चालितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत्पथि ॥ (Tri. ed. II. 24) do not occur in the Mit. The first is नारद (ऋणादान 85) and also occurs in the अग्निपुराण 253. 56-57.

differently[312] (anyodaryasya saṁsṛṣṭī). Not only this but in some cases the arrangement of verses is not the same in both Viśvārūpa and the Mit. For example, verses 14-29 of the prāyaścitta section present very different sequences in both. What is verse 29 in the Trivandrum edition is verse 19 in the Mit. Besides the Mit. reads one verse (III. 23 ā dantajanmanaḥ &c.) which is wanting in Viśvarūpa and is also not commented upon by Aparārka. Viśvarūpa adds two half verses,[313] which do not occur in the Mit. and Aparārka. There is further a good deal of variance in the readings adopted by Viśvarūpa and the Mit., though the meaning is not often affected. For example, the two verses enumerating the names of writers on dharma are differently worded in both.[314] But Medhātithi favours the reading of Viśvarūpa.[315] Viśvarūpa reads "asvattaṁ lokavidviṣṭam" (I. 155) and notices a reading "asvantam", while the Mit. reads "asvargyam loka·&c.". Both the Mit. and Aparārka read "pitā pitāmaho bhrātā &c." (I. 63), while Viśvarūpa reads "pitā mātāmaho bhrātā", remarks that "mātāmaha" is put in earlier as a guardian for marriage for metrical reasons and then notices "pitā pitāmaho bhrātā" as a various reading. Even in the days of Viśvarūpa there were various readings in Yāj. (*Vide* com. on I. 1, 2, 51, II. 119, 179 etc.).

The Agnipurāṇa affords an excellent check for the consideration of the text of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. A good-sized monograph will be required to deal exhaustively with the questions raised by the comparison of the vyavahāra portion of the Agnipurāṇa with Yājñavalkya's vyavahāra-kāṇḍa. I shall only briefly examine the materials and state the conclusions at which I have arrived. We know that Viśvarūpa, the first extant commentator of Yāj., flourished about 800-825 A. D. The author of the Mitākṣarā flourished about 250 years later. Interesting results follow by a comparison of the text that these two commentators had before them with the

312 अत्रापरे पूर्वश्लोकविवरणस्थानीयमिमं श्लोकं पठन्ति अन्योदर्यस्य संसृष्टी &c. (II. 143).

313 The two half verses are ब्राह्मणस्य दशाहं तु भवति प्रेतसूतकम्। (19 a) and प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषाद्यैरिच्छतां स्वयं (24 b) in Tri. ed.

314 Vide note 258 above.

315 अतः स्मर्तृपरिगणना मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोङ्गिरा इति निर्मूला तथा हि पैठीनसि-बौधायन-प्रचेतःप्रभृतयः शिष्टैरेवंरूपाः स्मर्यन्ते। न च परिगणनायामन्तर्भाविताः। मेधा० on मनु II. 6.

Agnipurāṇa. I shall select chap. 256 of the Agnipurāṇa for a detailed examination. It contains 36 verses which all occur in Yāj. II. (verses 118-153 of Tri. ed. and verses 114-149 of the Mit.). It is found that the Agnipurāṇa agrees with the text of 12 verses word for word as contained in Viśvarūpa and 19 verses as contained in the Mit. Viśvarūpa puts three verses between the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvināśena &c' and 'kramādabhyāgataṁ dravyaṁ', while the Mit. brings the two verses together. Agnipurāṇa agrees with Viś. In several cases the readings of the Agnipurāṇa agree with Viśvarūpa's text and not with that of the Mit. For example, Agni. reads 'kāryāḥ patnyaḥ samāṁśikāḥ' with Viś. (119), reads 'bhūryā . . . dravyam-eva vā . . . putrasya cobhayoḥ' with Viś. (124), reads 'pitṛdravyāvināśena' (and not 'ºvyāvirodhena' as Mit. does) with Viś. (122), reads 'dadyāt-cāpaharec-cāṁśaṁ' with Viś. (142 b), reads 'patitas-tatsutaḥ klībaḥ' with Viś. (144 a), reads 'aprajāyāmatītāyām' with Viś. (148). The Agnipurāṇa however in a far larger number of cases agrees with the readings of the Mit. Agni (256. 8) reads with the Mit. (122) 'vibhakteṣu suto jātaḥ savarṇāyāṁ vibhāgabhāk,' Agni. (256. 10) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samaṁ haret' with the Mit. (123), while Viś. (127) reads 'mātāpyaṁśaṁ samāpnuyāt.' Viśvarūpa's reading leaves it undecided as to what the share of the mother is to be, while the Mit. makes it definite by stating that it is equal (to that of a son). Agni (256. 12) reads 'catustri-dvyeka-bhāgāḥ syuḥ' and 'vidjāstu dvyekabhāginaḥ' with the Mit. (125); Agni. (256. 21) reads '-rdhabhāgikaṁ' with the Mit. (134). Agni. (256. 27) reads 'andho'cikitsyarogādyā' with the Mit. (140), while Viś. (144) reads 'rogī ca.' The reading of the Mit. makes provision by the word 'ādya' for other persons like deaf-mutes mentioned in other smṛtis as not entitled to inherit, while Viś. has to put a forced interpretation on 'ca' as including such persons. The Agni (256.33) reads 'vyayaṁ dadyāc-ca sodayam' with the Mit. (146), while Viś. (150) reads 'dāpyaś-ca sodayam'. Agni (256. 36) reads 'vibhāgabhāvanā jñeyā gṛha-kṣetraiś-ca yautakaiḥ' with the Mit. (149), while Viś. (153) reads 'ºbhāvanādeyagṛha-kṣetrakayautakaiḥ'. Here the former reading is easy and gives a complete sentence. With Viś. we have to separate 'ºbhāvanā' and 'ādeya &c.'. Besides no predicate (like jñeyā or kāryā) is expressly mentioned in the verse if we take the reading of Viś. and the 'ka' in 'kṣetraka' is a redundancy. We find that the tendency of the readings of the Mit. is to smooth down

harsh or involved constructions and that the Agnipurāṇa presents most of the changes in the text found in the Mit. but not found in Viś. In the same direction points the fact that Agni (256. 35) reads 'na dattaṁ strīdhanaṁ yasyai' with the Mit. (148) and not 'yasyā' as Viś. (152) does, as 'yasyai' is grammatically more regular than 'yasyāḥ' with the form 'dattaṁ'. But as against this we may note that both Viś. and Agni read 'aprajāyāmatītāyām', while the Mit. reads 'atītāyāmaprajasi'. The reading 'aprajasi' is correct according to Pāṇini (V. 4. 122) and not 'aprajāyām'. Therefore the conclusion that follows is that the text of Yāj. preserved in the Agnipurāṇa is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā. As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A. D., the Agnipurāṇa represents a text of Yājñavalkya current somewhat later i. e. about 900 A. D. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (pp. III-V) I established, from the fact that the extant Agnipurāṇa quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of *dhvani*, that it was composed about 900 A. D. That date is strikingly corroborated by the evidence derived from the chapters on vyavahāra discussed above. It is no doubt true that the Agni presents some readings that are found neither in Viś. nor in the Mit. For example, it reads (256. 4) 'tābhya ṛte 'rpayet', while both Viś. and Mit. read 'tābhya ṛte'nvyaḥ'. It is probable that this is an error of the copyists or the reading may be due to the difficulty of understanding the meaning of 'anvayaḥ' there. Agni reads (256. 5) 'svayam - arjayet' for 'svayam - arjitam' (of Viś. and Mit.), and 'jātopi dāsyāṁ śūdrasya' (256. 20) for '°śūdreṇa' (of Viś. and Mit.). A detailed examination of the other chapters on vyavāhara will yield the same results. But it cannot be undertaken here. A few examples may however be cited. Viś. (II. 167) reads 'pālo yeṣām ca te mocyā daiva- rājapariplutaḥ', Agni (257. 14) 'pālo yeṣām tu te mocyā daivarājapariplutāḥ', while Mit. (163) reads 'pālo yeṣām na te . . . tāḥ'. Similarly Viś. (II. 179) and Agni (257. 26) read 'svakuṭumbāvirodhena deyam' while the Mit. (175) reads 'svam kuṭumbāvirodhena'. Viś. (II. 203) reads 'galat - sabhikavṛddhistu', while both Agni (257. 49) and Mit. (199) read 'glahe śatikavṛddhestu', which certainly is an easier reading. Agni 258. 45 occurs in Mit. (255), but is wanting in Viśvarūpa. Yāj. II. 228 in Viś. becomes in the Mit. verse 263, Agni. following the order of Viśvarūpa.

The total number of verses on vyavahāra in Agnipurāṇa, chap. 253-258, is 315. Out of this the first 31 are not taken from Yāj. All of them except the first half verse and verse 31 (chap. 253) occur in Nārada. Of the remaining 284 verses, only 4½ (Agni 253. 35, 255. 43a, 255. 49b and 50, 258. 83) do not occur in Yāj. (in both Viś. and Mit.). There are also a few verses that occur in the Agnipurāṇa and in Viśvarūpa, but not in the Mit. and also a few verses that are common to the Mit. and Agni but are not found in Viś. The first three verses of Yāj. II are compressed by the Agnipurāṇa into 1½ verses.

The Garuḍapurāṇa affords, like the Agnipurāṇa, material help towards examining the authoritativeness of the text of the first and third sections of Yāj. The Agnipurāṇa does not expressly say that it drew upon Yāj., but the Garuḍapurāṇa is explicit on the point. In chap. 93. 1. it is expressly said that the *dharma* formerly promulgated by Yājñāvalkya is being narrated 'Yājñavalkyena yat (yaḥ ?) pūrvam dharmam (dharmaḥ ?) proktam (°taḥ ?) katham Hare | tan me kathaya keśighna yathā tattvena Mādhava ||'. Chapters 93-106 contain dharmaśāstra material more or less taken from the Yājñavalkysmṛti. There are 376 verses in these chapters. Considerations of space forbid any detailed examination of this material. A few salient facts only are brought out here. Chapters 93-102 deal with the several topics (prakaraṇas) of the first kāṇḍa in the same order, the only exception being the topic of rājadharma (I. 309-368), which is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Chapters 102-106 treat of topics that occur in the third kāṇḍa of Yāj. and contain 121 verses only. In these chapters the order of the prakaraṇas in Yāj. is not observed at all, but Garuḍa speaks of them in the following order, vānaprastha-prakaraṇa, yati, karmavipāka, prāyaścitta, āśauca and āpaddharma (the last two being the first two prakaraṇas in Yāj.). A feature which strikes one as regards the Garuḍapurāṇa (particularly chap. 102-106) is that a few verses only of Yāj. are repeated word for word, that very often the Garuḍapurāṇa gives only a summary by omitting and transposing the words and phrases of the original and that sometimes it adds verses of its own. This may be illustrated by what the Garuḍa says on vānaprastha and yati (chap. 102-103, 12 verses in all). Chap. 102 begins 'vānaprasthāśramaṁ vakṣye tac-chṛṇvantu maharṣayaḥ | putreṣu bhāryām nikṣipya vanaṁ gacchet sahaiva vā ||.' The latter

half is a paraphrase of Yāj. III. 45a. Then III. 45b-46 (Mit.)= Garuḍa 102. 2-3a (with slight variations), III. 47 = Garuḍa 102-4 b-5a; III. 48 = 3b-4a; III. 49-50 = Garuḍa 5b ('pakṣe māsetha vāśnīyād-dantolūkhaliko bhavet, which summarises and retains some words of the original), III. 71 = Garuḍa 102. 6a (cāndrāyaṇī svapedbhumau karma kuryāt phalādinā, which includes a few words of III. 49b also), III. 52 = Garuḍa 6b-7a (the last pāda in Garuḍa is 'yogābhyāsāt dinam nayet', while in Yāj. it is 'śaktyā vāpi tapaś caret'), III. 53 = Garuḍa 102. 7. Chap. 203 contains only five verses. III. 56, 58-59 = Garuḍa 103. 1b-4a (with variants) and then Garuḍa adds 1½ verses which are not found in Yāj. (viz. 'bhavet-paramahaṁso vā ekadaṇḍī yamāditaḥ ॥ siddhayogas-tyajan deham-amṛtatvam-ihāpnuyāt । dātātithipriyo jñānī gṛhī śrāddhepi mucyate ॥'). The mere fact that a prakaraṇa is omitted in the Garuḍapurāṇa should cast no doubt on the existence of that prakaraṇa in the original Yāj. We do not know on what principles the borrowing took place. Besides we find that such prakaraṇas as Vināyakaśānti and grahaśānti are included in the Garuḍa (chap. 100-101), while rājadharma-prakaraṇa is omitted. We know that 'rājadharma' figures in the sūtras and Manu, but none of the ancient dharmasūtras, nor the Manusmṛti speaks of Vināyaka. Hence conclusions must be drawn only from what positively occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and not from the absence of any topic in it. The Garuḍapurāṇa sometimes follows the arrangement and form of the verses presented in Viś., sometimes it agrees with the Mit. and sometimes it is independent. For example, the two verses enumerating the authors of dharmaśāstras (Yāj. 1. 4-5 = Garuḍa 93. 4-5) follow the readings of Viś., but not those of the Mit. In the 3rd kāṇḍa, verses 14-19 of the Mit. are differently arranged by Viś., and Viś. omits (as does Aparārka also) one verse found in the Mit. (III. 23) as said above, while the Mit. omits two half verses that are found in Viś. (vide note 313). The verse 'ā danta &c.' occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa and the two half verses in Viś. omitted by the Mit. are also omitted in Garuḍa. So far the Gāruḍapurāṇa agrees with the arrangement preserved in the Mit. But it does not agree entirely with the Mit. The verse 'ādanta &c' is III. 23 in the Mit. and occurs before 'ahastvadatta°' but in the Garuḍa it occurs before 'trirātram daśarātram vā' (which is III. 18 in the Mit.). Besides verse 22 of the Mit. is read differently in the Garuḍa (daśa dvādaśa varṇā-

nām tathā pañcadaśaiva ca | trimśad dināni ca tathā bhavati preta-sūtakam). It must therefore be said that the Garuḍapurāṇa represents an intermediate stage of readings between Viś. and the Mit. As the Garuḍapurāṇa was a popular work read by and recited for the benefit of slightly educated or illiterate people, it often introduces changes to suit their understanding. For example, the Mit. (I. 296) reads (as also Viś.) 'sūryaḥ somo mahīputraḥ somaputro bṛhaspatiḥ ', while Garuḍa reads (chap. 101. 2) 'sūryaḥ somo *maṅgalaś* ca *budhaś* caiva bṛhaspatiḥ,' thus substituting the well-known words Maṅgala and Budha for mahīputra and somaputra. The verse 'kṛtāgnikāryo bhuñjīta' (I. 31 in the Mit.) is placed by Viś. after ' ekadeśam - upādhyāya,' while the Mit. places it three verses earlier. The Garuḍapurāṇa here agrees with the Mit. In some cases Garuḍa strikes an independent path. For example, in Yāj. I. 11 Viś. reads ' māse'to jātakarma ca,' the Mit. reads ' māsyete jātakarma ca ' while Garuḍa (chap. 93. 11) gives the easy reading 'prasave jātakarma ca'. Mit. reads (Yāj. I. 76 b) ' tyajan dāpyas-tṛtīyāṁśam--adravyo bharaṇaṁ striyāḥ '; Viś. omits the whole verse, while Garuḍa omits I. 76a (of Mit.) and reads the other half as ' śuddhām tyajaṁstṛtīyāṁśam dadyādābharaṇaṁ striyāḥ ' (95. 23b). Verses I. 91-92 of the Mit. on the offspring of mixed marriages are differently read by Viś. (I. 90-91), while the Garuḍa (96. 1b) has the same half verse as the Mit. I. 91a and the same half verse (96. 3a) as Viś. (91b) and reads the two half verses between them as ' jāto'mbaṣṭhastu śūdrāyāṁ niṣādaḥ parvatopi vā ॥ māhiṣyaḥ kṣatriyājjāto vaiśyāyāṁ mlecchasaṁjñitaḥ '.

The foregoing makes it clear that the text that the Garuḍapurāṇa had before it could not have been older than that commented upon by Viśvarūpa and that it represents a stage intermediate between Viś. and the Mit.

The above gives rise to an important question whether one can detect several strata in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. From the fact that the sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita cites Yājñavalkya among the promulgators of dharmāśāstras (vide note 137), while Yāj. himself includes Śaṅkha-Likhita among the propounders of dharma (note 258), it may be plausibly said that Śaṅkha-Likhita refer to an earlier Yājñavalkyasmṛti than the extant one. Beyond this there is no evidence to establish that there was an earlier version of the present smṛti. A comparison of the readings of Viśvarūpa and the Mit.

with those in the Agni and Garuḍa purāṇas has established that the text of the smṛti no doubt underwent slight verbal changes between 800 and 1100 A. D. and that a few verses were added and also omitted during these centuries. But the text remained in the main the same from 700 A. D. What the original smṛti contained, whether it was in prose or verse or both and whether it dealt with only ācāra and prāyaścitta sections are questions on which conjectures may be advanced, but there are no substantial materials for arriving at even tolerably certain conclusions.

Yājñavalkya's work is more systematic than that of Manu. He divides the work into three sections and relegates all topics to their proper positions and avoids repetition. He treats of almost all subjects that we find in Manu, but his treatment is always concise and he makes very great and successful efforts at brevity. The result is that for the 2700 verses of Manu, he requires only a little over a thousand. He often compresses two verses of Manu into one, e. g. Manu II. 243, 247-248 are equal to Yāj. I. 49, Manu III, 46-48 and 50 are concisely put in one verse by Yāj. (I. 79); vide also Manu IV. 7-8 and Yāj. I. 128 (contain almost same words also), Manu IV. 84-85 and Yāj. I. 141. In a few cases Manu and Yāj. convey the same meaning in one verse without compression, *e. g.* Manu III. 70 and Yāj. I. 102, Manu III. 119 and Yāj. I. 110, Manu VII. 171 and Yāj. I. 348, Manu VII. 205 and Yāj. I. 349. The correspondence of Yājñavalkya's words with the text of Manu is in most cases very close, so much so that one cannot help feeling that Yāj. had the Manusmṛti before him and purposely made an attempt to abridge the somewhat loose expressions of Manu. The passages set forth above as examples of compression will also serve as illustrations of this fact. The word Kāya (from Ka) is used by both in the sense of 'prājāpatya form of marriage' (Manu III. 38 and Yāj. I. 60); vide also Manu II. 109 and Yāj. I. 28, Manu III. 43-44 and Yāj. I. 62, Manu V. 26-27 and Yāj. I. 178-179, Manu VII. 56 and Yāj. I. 312 for further close agreement in phraseology. Yāj. adds some subjects which have either no counterpart in our Manu or which are only noticed in passing by Manu. The Manusmṛti contains nothing corresponding to the Vināyakaśānti and Grahaśānti of Yāj. (I. 271-308). Yāj. gives a detailed treatment of five kinds of ordeals (II. 95-113), while Manu makes only a cursory reference to the ordeals of fire and water (VIII. 114). Yāj.

contains considerable anatomical and medical matter (III. 75-108), which is wanting in Manu. On the other hand there are some subjects on which Yāj. is silent though they are dealt with in detail by Manu. This is the case with the account of the origin of the world.

The whole of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti is written in the classical Anuṣṭubh metre. Though the author's great aim has been to be concise, his verses are hardly ever obscure. The style is flowing and direct. There are not many un-Pāṇinian expressions, though he employs 'pūjya' in I. 293 and 'dūṣya' in II. 296. In the latter case both Viśvarūpa and Aparārka avoid the fault by reading differently. The verse 'kulāni jātayaḥ śreṇyo' is ungrammatical (Tri. ed. II. 34), as 'jāti', and 'śreṇi' must be in the accusative case. According to the Mit. Yājñavalkya addressed his words to Sāmaśravas and other sages (vide com. on I. 1. 178 and 330-333). In this the Mit. is probably drawing upon the Bṛ. Up. (III. 1. 2) where Yāj. asks Sāmaśravas to take away the 1000 cows. The sages interpose (vide III. 118, 129) as in Manu, while the great teacher is passing in review one topic after another. The teacher himself addresses his auditors (as in I. 178 'śruṇudhvam').

It is said that the sages approached Yājñavalkya in Mithilā and requested him to impart to them the dharmas of the varṇas, āśramas and others. The contents of the work may be briefly summarised as follows :— Kāṇḍa I. fourteen *vidyās* ; twenty expounders of dharma, sources of dharma ; constitution of a *pariṣad*, the *saṁskāras* from Garbhādhāna to marriage, upanayana, its time and other details, every day duties of brahmacārī, persons fit to be taught, what things and actions a brahmacārī was to avoid, period of studenthood ; marriage, qualifications of girl to be married, limits of *sapiṇḍa* relationship, intercaste marriages ; the eight forms of marriage and the spiritual benefits therefrom, guardians for marriage, Kṣetraja son, grounds of supercession of wife, duties of wife ; principal and intermediate castes, duties of householder and keeping sacred domestic fire, the five great daily yajñas ; honouring a guest, madhuparka, grounds of precedence, rule of the road, privileges and duties of the four varṇas, ten principles of conduct common to all, means of subsistence of a householder, and solemn vedic sacrifices ; duties of *snātaka*, days of cessation from study ; rules

about prohibited and allowed food and drink; rules about flesh-eating; purifications of various materials, such as metal or wooden vessels; gifts, who is fittest to accept them, who should accept gifts, rewards of gifts, gift of cow, rewards of other gifts, highest gift is knowledge; śrāddha, proper time for it, proper persons to be invited at it, unfit persons, the number of Brāhmaṇas to be invited, procedure of śrāddha, various śrāddhas such as pārvaṇa, vṛddhi, ekoddiṣṭa; sapiṇḍīkaraṇa; what flesh to be offered at śrāddha, reward of offering śrāddhas; propitiatory ceremonies as regards Vināyaka and the nine grahas; rājadharma, king's qualifications, ministers, *purohita*, royal edicts, king's duties of protection, administration of justice, taxation and expenditure, allotment of the day to various duties, constitution of maṇḍala, the four expedients, the six guṇas, fate and human effort, impartiality in punishment; units of measure and weight, grades of fine; Kāṇḍa II. members of hall of justice, judge, definition of vyavahārapada, rules of procedure, plaint, reply, taking security, indicia of a false party or witness, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra; means of proof, documents, witnesses, possession; title and possession, gradation of courts, force, fraud, minority and other grounds of invalidity, finding of goods; treasure trove; debts, rates of interest, debts of joint family, what debts of father son need not pay; devolution of debts; suretyship of three kinds, pledge; deposit; witnesses, their qualifications and disqualifications; administering oaths, punishment for perjury; documents; ordeals of balance, water, fire, poison and holy water; partition, time of it, wife's share on partition, partition after father's death, property not liable to partition, joint ownership of father and son; twelve kinds of sons; illegitimate son of śūdra, succession to a sonless man, re-union, exclusion; husband's power over wife's *strīdhana*; boundary disputes; dispute between master and herdsman; sale without ownership; invalidity of gift, rescission of sale; breach of contract of service; slavery by force; violation of conventions; non-payment of wages; gambling and prize fighting; abuse, defamation and slander; assault, hurt etc.; sāhasa; partnership; theft; adultery; miscellaneous wrongs; review of judgment; Kāṇḍa III. cremation and burial; offering of water to various deceased persons; for whom no mourning was to be observed and no water to be offered; periods of mourning for various persons; rules for mourners; impurity on birth; instances of immediate purification on death or birth; means of purification, such as time, fire, ritual,

mud etc ; rules of conduct and livelihood in distress ; rules for forest hermit ; rules for a *yati* ; how the individual soul is clothed in a body ; various stages of the fœtus, number of bones in the body, the various organs such as liver, spleen etc. ; the number of arteries and veins ; reflection over ātman, use of music in the path of *mokṣa* ; how the originally pure ātman is born among impure surroundings ; how some sinners are born as various kinds of animals or inanimate things ; how *yogin* attains immortality ; three kinds of actions due to *sattva, rajas* and *tamas ;* means of *ātmajñāna* ; the two paths, one to immortality and the other to heaven ; the various diseases from which sinners suffer ; purpose of prāyaścittas ; names of 21 hells ; the five mortal sins, and other acts similar to them ; upapātakas ; prāyaścittas for Brāhmaṇa murder or for killing other persons ; prāyaścittas for drinking wine, for other mortal and venial sins and for killing animals of various sorts ; greater or lesser expiation according to time, place, age, ability ; ostracising the non-conformist sinner ; secret expiations ; ten *yamas* and *niyamas* ; Sāntapana, mahāsāntapana, taptakṛcchra, parāka, cāndrāyaṇa and other expiations ; rewards of reading this smṛti.

Besides the four vedas, Yāj. refers to the Vedāṅgas as six and enumerates fourteen vidyās (four Vedas, six aṅgas, purāṇa, nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, dharmaśāstra). He refers to the Āraṇyaka and Yogaśāstra composed by himself. Āraṇyakas in general are spoken of in I. 145 and Śukriya Āraṇyaka in III. 309. The Upaniṣads are mentioned in III. 189, where purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Itihāsas, Purāṇa, Vākovākya, and Nārāśaṁsī gāthās are mentioned in I. 45 (also I. 101 for purāṇa and itihāsa). He enumerates at the commencement nineteen authors on *dharma* besides himself. But it is remarkable that in the body of the work not one individual author of a dharma-śāstra is mentioned by name. He speaks of Ānvīkṣikī (Metaphysics) and Daṇḍanīti (I. 311). He lays down the dictum that where dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra conflict, the former shall prevail (II. 21). He speaks of smṛtis in general (II. 5 and I. 154). In III. 189 he speaks of sūtras and bhāṣyas. What works are intended it is most difficult to say ; the only extant bhāṣya which can be said with certainty to be older than the extant Yāj. smṛti is that of Patañjali. He refers to other writers on dharma in the word ' eke ' (I. 36). The view referred to there occurs in Baud. Dh. S. 1. 2. 4.

Yājñavalkya agrees very closely with the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. What conclusions are to be drawn therefrom has been discussed above (see sec. 10). Similarly there is close correspondence between the Kauṭilīya and Yāj. If there is any borrowing at all, it must follow from the date above assigned to the Kauṭilīya that it is Yāj. who borrows. There are numerous passages in Yāj. that show remarkable agreement with the text of Manu. But there are several points on which Yāj. differs from Manu and shows in general a more advanced state of thought and feeling than the Manusmṛti. The following are the principal points wherein Yāj. differs from Manu. Manu seems to allow a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra girl (III. 13), while Yāj. emphatically states it as his opinion that this is wrong (I. 59); Manu first describes the practice of *niyoga* and then severely condemns it (9. 59-68), while Yāj. does not condemn it (I. 68-69). Manu enumerates eighteen vyavahārapadas; Yāj. does not expressly enumerate them in one place, though he defines vyavahārapada and adds verses of a miscellaneous character (prakīrṇaka) in his section on vyavahāra. Manu is silent about the rights of inheritance of the widow of a sonless man and gives only a vaguely expressed order of succession, while Yāj. places the widow at the head of all heirs and enumerates several classes of heirs in a regular order. Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 224-226), while Yāj. brought it under state control and made it a source of revenue to the king (II. 200-203). There are several other matters which Yāj. treats at much greater length and more systematically than Manu, e. g. ordeals (as indicated above), means of proof in courts (Manu altogether ignoring documentary evidence, though he knew documents 8. 51-52), rules of procedure in courts (compare Manu 8. 53-56 with Yāj. II. 5-11 and 16-21), the doctrine of possession and prescription (Yāj. II. 24-29 and Manu 9. 44 and 54). All these points tend to show that the Yājñavalkya smṛti is much later than the extant Manusmṛti.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti seems to have taken the section on Vināyakaśānti from the Mānavagṛhya-sūtra (II. 14); verses 281-283 of Yāj. (I) occur in the Mānavagṛhya II. 14, but in a different order.[316] The Mānavagṛhya takes the Vināyakas to be four, while Yāj. says that there is a single Vināyaka, whose appellations are Mita. &c.

[316] अथातो विनायकान् व्याख्यास्यामः । शालकटङ्कटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चोस्मितश्च (पुत्रश्च मितश्च ?) देवयजनश्चेति । मानवगृह्य II. 14. 1-2 ; विनायकः कर्मविघ्नसिद्ध्यर्थं विनियोजितः।

The details of information about Vināyaka in Yāj. (I. 272-276) appear to be versified from the prose[317] of the M. Gṛ. S. The details of worship also and the *mantra* (Yāj. I. 291) are taken from the same work (*vide* M. Gṛ. S. II. 14. 30 for the *mantra*). At one time the section on Vināyakaśānti was thought to be a sure indication of the late date of Yāj. But since the discovery of the Mānavagṛhya that position had to be given up. In the Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (II. 5. 21) we have Vināyaka and his several appellations (in the *tarpaṇa*). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 275 quotes a long passage from the Baijavāpa gṛhya which bears a very close correspondence in phraseology to the passage from the M. Gṛ. S. quoted above and which gives the names of the four Vināyakas as Mita, Saṁmita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍa-rājaputra.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti stands in a very intimate relation to the white Yajurveda and the literature that clusters round it. Most of the *mantras* quoted (in part) or referred to by Yāj. occur in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā (e. g. in Yāj. I. 22, 24, 229, 230, 238, 239, 247). But there are a few *mantras* that do not occur in the Ṛgveda, but only in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā or other saṁhitās (e. g. 'yavosi' in Yāj. I. 230, which is Vāj. S. 5. 26, 'ye samānā in Yāj. I. 254 which is Vaj. S. 19. 45, 'imam deva' and 'udbudhyasva' in Yāj. I. 300 which are Vaj. S. 9. 40 and 15. 54, 'annāt pariśrutaḥ' and 'kāṇḍāt' in Yāj. I. 301 which are Vāj. S. 19. 75 and 13. 20). Verses (Yāj. III. 191-197) are a paraphrase of certain passages of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, so much so that the very words of the latter are used throughout in the former, as the

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...मितश्च संमितश्चैव तथा सालकटङ्कटौ। कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्च जपेत् स्वाहासमन्वितान्। नामभिर्बलिमन्त्रैश्च नमस्कारसमन्वितैः॥ याज्ञ. I. 267. 281-82 (Tri. ed.). The Mit. seems to have read; 'ेकटङ्कटौ। कूष्माण्डो राजपुत्रश्च.'

317 एतैरधिगतानामिमानि रूपाणि भवन्ति। लोष्टं मृद्नाति। तृणानि छिनत्ति। अङ्गेषु लेखान् लिखति। अपः स्वप्नं पश्यति। मुण्डान् पश्यति। जटिलान् पश्यति। काषायवाससः पश्यति। उष्ट्रान् सूकरान् गर्दभान् दिवाकीर्त्यादीनन्यांश्चाप्रयतान् स्वप्नान् पश्यति। अन्तरिक्षं क्रामति। अश्वानं व्रजन्मन्यते पृष्ठतो मे कश्चिदनुव्रजति। एतैः खलु विनायकैरविष्टा राजपुत्रा लक्षणवन्तो राज्यं न लभन्ते। कन्याः पतिकामा लक्षणवत्यो भर्तृन्न लभन्ते। ... रुधिकराणां रुधिरल्पफला भवति। मानवगृह्य II. 14. 3-21 (ed. by Knauer)

quotations given below will show.[318] Then again Yāj. very closely agrees with the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra as was pointed out by Dr. Stenzler in his introduction to the edition of Yāj. (1849, Berlin) and in the journal of the German Oriental Society (VII. 527). Viśvarūpa points out that Yāj. I. 142-143 are based upon Pāraskara. The *mantra* 'ayaṁ me vajraḥ' in Yāj. I. 135 (Trivandrum ed.) is given in Pāraskara-gṛhya II. 7. 7. In the following also there is close verbal correspondence[319] between Yāj. and the P. Gṛ. S; Yāj. III. 1-2 and P.Gṛ. S. III. 10. 1, 5, 8-9 and 12; Yāj. III. 3 and P. Gṛ. S. III. 10. 16 and 19-20; Yāj. III. 4 and P. Gṛ. S. III. 10. 46-47; Yāj. III. 16 and P. Gṛ. S. III. 10. 26-27. Similarly the verses of Yāj. on śrāddha (I. 217-270) offer many points of contact with the śrāddha-kalpa of Kātyāyana edited by Dr. Caland (pp. 127-130 of his work 'Ahnencult &c.' From these facts Dr. Jolly concludes that Yājñavalkya's work goes back to a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda (R. u. S. p. 21). In another place Dr. Jolly hazards another conjecture based on the close correspondence between Yāj. and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra that he probably belonged to the Kāṭhaka sohool of the Black Yajurveda (Journal of Indian History, 1924, p. 7). Yāj. also shows great similarity to the Kauṭilīya and borrows the Vināyaka-śānti from

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318 स ह्याश्रमैर्विजिज्ञास्यः समस्तैरेवमेव तु । द्रष्टव्यस्त्वथ मन्तव्यः श्रोतव्यश्च द्विजातिभिः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 191; compare बृहदारण्यक II. 4. 5. and IV. 5. 6 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यः &c.'; य एनमेवं विन्दन्ति ये चारण्यकमाश्रिताः । उपासते द्विजाः सत्यं श्रद्धया परया युताः ॥ क्रमात्ते संभवन्त्यर्चिरहः शुक्लं तथोत्तरम् । अयनं देवलोकं च सवितारं सवैद्युतम् ॥ ततस्तान् पुरुषोभ्येत्य मानसो ब्रह्मलोकिकात् । &c. याज्ञ. III. 192-194; compare बृहदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्ये चामी अरण्ये श्रद्धा सत्यमुपासते तेर्चिरभिसंभवन्ति ... तान् वैद्युतान्पुरुषो मानस एत्य ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति.' The next three verses of Yāj. summarise बृहदारण्यक VI. 2. 15 using the last words of the latter 'कीटाः पतङ्गा यदिदं दन्दशूकम्'.

319 पौषमासस्य रोहिण्यामष्टकायामथापि वा । जलान्ते छन्दसां कुर्यादुत्सर्गं विधिवद् द्विजः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 142; compare पारस्कर II. 12. 1-2. (Venkateśvara press ed.) 'पौषस्य रोहिण्यां मध्यमायां वाष्टकायामध्यायानुत्सृजेरन् । उदकान्तं गत्वा &c.'

320 ७. ८-सप्तमाद् दशमाद्वापि ज्ञातयोभ्युपयन्त्यपः । ऊर्ध्वं नः शोशुचदघमनेन पितृदिङ्मुखाः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 3; 'सर्वे ज्ञातयोपोभ्यवयन्त्यासप्तमात्पुरुषाद्दशमाद्वा । ... सव्यस्थानामिक्ष्वापनोदाप नः शोशुचदघमिति दक्षिणामुखा निमज्जन्ति ।' पारस्कर III. 10. 16 and 19-20.

the Mānavagṛhyasūtra. From these facts one may argue at least with as much logic and force as underlies Dr. Jolly's guess-work that Yāj. probably belonged to the Mānava school of the Black Yajurveda or to the school of Kauṭilya. If Yāj. knew his business as a writer on Dharmaśāstra, he must have consulted the works of his predecessors and his work is bound to show traces of that fact. One may conclude at the most that the author of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti may have possibly been a student of the White Yājurveda and so the *mantras* of the White Yājurveda and the Gṛhyasūtra of Pāraskara were far more familiar to him than the other Vedas, sūtras, smṛtis, and other works. No such conclusions that there was a dharmasūtra of the White Yajurveda and that the Yājñavalkyasmṛti was based thereon are warranted by the facts so far discovered.

For settling the date of Yāj. we need not consider the evidence after the 9th century. For in the first quarter of that century (as we shall see later on) Viśvarūpa wrote his extensive commentary on Yāj. That he was separated from Yāj. by many centuries follows from several considerations. Not only had numerous various readings arisen in the text of Yāj. when he wrote, but various interpretations of the same words and verses of Yāj. had arisen. For example, he gives several meanings of the words 'putronanyāśritadravyaḥ' (in Yāj. II. 47), 'sāmudrāḥ' (II. 41); he gives different interpretations of I. 265, II. 160, II. 173 &c. He refers to the interpretations of his predecessors in several places by the word 'anye' (I. 3, 25, 155, 169; II. 21, 119, 121; III. 201, 209, 246 &c.). In several places he appears to be referring to two other interpretations than his own (vide on III. 250, the words 'kecittu' and 'anye tu' and the same words on III. 261 and 264). That Viśvarūpa had before him actual commentaries on Yāj. and was not merely giving scholastic interpretations started by himself is made very clear in several cases by his actually citing certain portions from those works. On I. 252 Viśvarūpa says 'others take from somewhere the following śloka (then the śloka is quoted), but this śloka is of no help, as its origin is not known'.[321] Similar words occur in the

[321] अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमदृष्टमेवं श्लोकं पठन्ति–'यः सपिण्डीकृतं प्रेतं पृथक्पिण्डेन योजयेत् । विधिघ्नस्तेन भवति पितृहा चोपजायते ॥ इति । अयं त्वस्पष्टमूलत्वादकिंचित्करः । विश्वरूप on याj. I. 252.

comment[322] on Yāj. III. 222. On II. 193 he styles some predecessor as 'paṇḍitaṁmanya' and on III. 257 he ridicules a predecessor who regards the verse of Manu IV. 222 as an arthavāda by saying that that commentator wanted to show off that he knew the technical term arthavāda.[323] It is not unlikely that Viśvarūpa in this last passage refers to some ancient commentator of Manu such as Asahāya. In the Prāyaścittamayūkha,[324] Nīlakaṇṭha (Benares edition of 1879) says that Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra (III. 4. 43) explained the application of Yāj. III. 226. Unfortunately in the printed editions of Śaṅkara I could not find this. But from the Bhāmatī where Yāj. III. 226 is explained, it is clear that the passage must have occurred in the text of Śaṅkara used by the Bhāmatī. Dr. Jolly lays great emphasis in assigning a late date to Yāj. on the fact that Kumārila, who cites Manu, Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana frequently, ignores the Yājñavalkya-smṛti altogether. But this silence of the great mīmāṁsaka can only mean that he did not assign the same pre-eminent and venerable position to Yāj. that he assigned to Manu, Gautama and others. Dr. Jolly himself is prepared to place Yāj. three or four centuries earlier than Kumārila. It will be shown hereafter that Nārada and Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than 500 A. D. and may have flourished two or three centuries earlier still. On a comparison of their doctrines with those of Yāj. it will have to be conceded that they represent a far greater advance in juristic principles and exactitude than Yāj. So the latter cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A. D. As Yāj. is shown above to have followed the Manusmṛti and the Kauṭilīya his smṛti cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C. We shall not be therefore far from the truth if we place his smṛti somewhere between the first century B. C. and the third century of the Christian era. In the Laṅkāvatārasūtra (ed. by B. Nanjio, 1923,

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322 अन्ये तु कुतश्चिदागमदृश्येमं श्लोकं पठन्ति--रागाद् द्वेषात् प्रमादाद्वा स्वतः परत एव वा। यो हन्याद् ब्राह्मणं काश्चित् स सर्वो ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ इति। तत्त्वाविज्ञातमूलत्वाद् विचार्यम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 222.

323 अन्ये तु भुक्त्वातोन्यतमस्यान्नमित्येवमादीन्यर्थवादत्वेन व्याचक्षते। ... न चात्र किंचिदर्थवादसारूप्यमस्य स्यात्। अतोर्थवादो नाम वाक्यप्रकारोस्ति तमप्यहं जानामीत्येतावानेवाभिप्रायः। इत्युपेक्षणीयम्। विश्व० on याज्ञ. III. 257.

324 श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु कामतोऽप्यवहार्यस्तु इत्यकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं याज्ञवल्क्यवचो बहिस्तूभयथा स्मृतेराचाराच्चेति सूत्रे कृतप्रायश्चित्तनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यादिपरम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्तम, p. 7.

Kyoto) gāthas 814-816 are 'Kātyāyanaḥ sūtrakartā yajñavalkastathaiva ca ... Valmīko Masurākṣaśca Kauṭilya Āśvalāyanaḥ ! ... '. From the context it appears that the author of the smṛti is referred to as Yajñavalka.

Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 21) following Dr. Jacobi (Z D M G 30, p. 306) thinks that Yāj. shows an acquaintance with Greek astrology. Dr. Jacobi's position amounts to this that the naming of the week days after the planets was established among the Greeks towards the end of the 2nd century A. D. and as the names of the week days and the arrangement of the planets in correspondence with them was borrowed by the Indians from the Greeks, no Indian work which enumerates the week days or arranges the planets in the well-known sequence (of Sun, Moon, Mars &c.) could have been composed before the third century after the Christ. As is very often the case with Western Sanskrit scholars in matters of Indian chronology, this grand generalisation is based upon very slender data. The premises are mere assumptions without hardly any evidence worth the name to support them. No one knows exactly when the week-days were named and who were the people that first employed the current names of the week-days. It is well-known that as far back as the days of Herodotus the Egyptians had a presiding deity for each day and that in the times of Julius Cæsar there were days of Saturn (*vide* I. A. vol. 14, p. 1, General Cunningham's article for the Indian origin of week-days). At least from the third century B. C., as vouched for by the 13th edict of Aśoka, India was in close touch with Syria and Egypt, where Buddhist missionaries had been sent by Aśoka while Antiochus and Ptolemy ruled in the two countries respectively. Therefore, if Indians at all borrowed the week-days and the arrangement of planets from foreigners, there is nothing to prevent us from holding that they borrowed them from the Egyptians. The earliest dated Indian record wherein a week-day is mentioned is the Eraṇ Inscription of 484 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 89) where we have " Suraguror divase. " It is to be noticed that Yāj. does not mention the week-days. In I. 296 he mentions the nine *grahas* in order as the Sun, the Moon, Mars (the son of the earth), Mercury (the son of Soma), Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Ketu. No one can gainsay that at least the Sun, the Moon, Bṛhaspati and Venus were known to the Ṛgvedic India. Bṛhaspati in the highest heaven is

spoken of in the Ṛgveda[325] and the conjunction of Jupiter and Tiṣya (constellation of Puṣya) is spoken of in the Tai. Brāhmaṇa.[326] We know so very little of the ancient astronomical science in ancient India that one must think twice before dogmatising. Yāj. nowhere mentions the zodiacal signs (rāśis) and probably did not know them. Not only so, in his day the *nakṣatras* were still arranged from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī as was the case in the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. Vide Yāj. I. 268 (Kṛttikādi bharaṇyantam). We know from Varāhamihira that in the 5th century A. D. the signs of the zodiac and the arrangement of *Nakṣatras* from Aśvinī to Revatī were established facts in all parts of India. Therefore Yāj. who uses the ancient arrangement of Nakṣatras cannot be placed so late as the 4th century A. D. When Yāj. (I. 80) speaks of "susthe indau" we should not, following such commentaries as the Mit., connect the words with the signs of the zodiac or the houses of the horoscope. Viśvarūpa does not speak of *rāśis* in this connection, but of Nakṣatras only. From very ancient times certain Nakṣatras had come to be regarded as auspicious or suitable for particular acts. The Tai. [327]Br. directs that one should not finish a thing or begin to sacrifice on a nakṣatra with an evil name. The same Brāhmaṇa says that ploughing was to be begun on the Maitra asterism (Anurādhā) and consecration of fire on the Āditya nakṣatra. Even the Ṛgveda speaks of auspicious days[329] and the Tai. Br. speaks of Deva-nakṣatras and Puṇyāhas, and says that a daughter should be given away in marriage on the Svāti nakṣatra if she was desired to be her husband's favourite.[330] Vide Baudhāyana Gṛhya (I. 1) for the marriage nakṣatras; also Āp. Gr. S. II. 15. 12-14, Gobhila Gṛhya 4. 4. 28 and 2. 1. 1. Therefore, when Yāj. speaks of planets being badly placed (I. 307), or of Vyatīpāta, Gajacchāyā and the passing

325 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानो महो ज्योतिषः परमे व्योमन्। ऋग्वेद 4. 50. 4.

326 बृहस्पतिः प्रथमं जायमानस्तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव। तै. ब्रा. 3. 1. 1. 5.

327 तस्मादश्लीलनामर्क्षत्रिये नावहस्येन्न यजेत यथा पापाहे कुरुते तादृगेव तत्। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 6.

328 मैत्रेण क्षुवन्ते ... आदित्येन आदधते। तै. ब्रा. 1. 8. 4. 2.

329 स्तोतारं विप्रः सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम्। ऋग्वेद VII. 88. 4.

330 यान्येव देवनक्षत्राणि तेषु कुर्वीत यत्कारी स्यात् पुण्याह एव कुरुते। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 9; यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निरुथायां दध्यात्। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 2. 3.

(saṅkrama) of the Sun (I. 218), we have no right to connect this with the *rāśis*. In III. 171 and 172 he speaks of only the conjunction of planets and of the passage (of them) through *tārās* and *nakṣatras*. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 23 speaks of the nine *grahas* in the same order as that of Yāj. Therefore there is hardly any evidence to show that Yāj. knew more astrology than was current in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and the Gṛhyasūtras. Yāj. (in II. 240-241) speaks of the fine to be imposed on those who counterfeited "nāṇakas" (coins) and on those examiners of "nāṇakas" who falsely declared a good coin to be counterfeited and *vice versa*. Mr. Jayasval (Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. 17, p. CLIX) says that nāṇaka is the gold coin of the Kushans bearing the picture of the Goddess Nanaia and that the Kushans did not rise to importance before 78 A. D. This would place Yāj. after 100 A. D. But it must be remembered that this connection between the Goddess Nanaia and the word "nāṇaka" is quite conjectural and that the chronology of the Kushans is far from being settled.

Yāj. speaks of the sight of yellow-robed people as an evil omen (I. 273), which is probably a reference to the Buddhists; though it has to be remembered that he prescribes old yellow (kāṣāya) robes for his seeker after *mokṣa* (III. 157). He speaks of the founding of monasteries of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas (II. 185). The philosophical doctrines contained in the third section (verses 64-205) approach that phase of the Vedānta that was taught by Śaṅkara. *Vide* particularly III. 67, 69, 109, 119, 125, 140. He employs in elucidating the philosophy of ātman the well-known examples of ghaṭākāśa and of the reflection of the Sun in water (III. 144), of the various ornaments made from gold, of the spider spinning webs out of his own body (both in III. 147), of the actor representing various parts (III. 162). All these illustrations frequently occur in Śaṅkara's Śārīrakabhāṣya (e. g. ghatākāśa on II. 1. 14, spider on II. 1. 25). All these points, however, are of very little use in arriving at a definite age for the smṛti of Yāj. The foregoing discussion has established that Dr. Jolly's date (viz. 4th century A. D. in R. u. S., p. 21) is much later than the data warrant. There is nothing to prevent us from holding that the extant smṛti was composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier.

Besides the Yājñavalkyasmṛti we have to reckon with three other works connected with the name of Yājñavalkya, viz. Vṛddha Yāj., Yoga-Yāj., and Bṛhad-Yāj. All these three works are comparatively ancient. Viśvarūpa quotes (vide note 219 above) two verses of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya saying that many writers on dharma have been born and will be born and enumerating ten such writers. The Mit. and Aparārka quote Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya frequently. One quotation cited from Vṛddha-Yāj. by Mādhava refers to the means of proof in case of doubt whether there was a partition.[331] So Vṛddha-Yāj. wrote also on Vyavahāra. Most of the quotations occur in the prāyaścitta section. It is interesting to note that one of these quotations in Aparārka[332] regards the touch of Pārasīkas as on the same level with that of Cāṇḍālas, Mlecchas and Bhillas. The Dāyabhāga[333] says that Jitendriya cited the words of Bṛhad-Yājñavalkya (viz. "sodaro nānyamātṛjaḥ"). The Mit. cites Bṛhad-Yājñavalkya on prāyaścitta. So this also is a work that must be held to be earlier than 1000 A. D. Yāj. himself is styled Yogīśvara by the Mit. and other works, but Yoga-Yājñavalkya is a different work from the Yāj. smṛti and existed probably prior to the latter work. Yāj. (in III. 110) claims the Yogaśāstra to be his own work. So either Yāj. the author of the smṛti composed such a work or the author of the smṛti in order to glorify it claimed that he was the same as the author of a well-known Yogaśāstra ascribed to a Yājñavalkya. At all events Yoga-Yājñavalkya existed certainly much earlier than 800 A. D. Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya.[334] Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (of the Vikram era) i. e. 841-42 A. D. Aparārka quotes profusely from Yoga-Yājñavalkya. One of the quotations (on III. 198-201) is an Āryā

331 विभागधर्मसन्देहे बन्धुसाक्ष्यभिलेखितैः । विभागभावना कार्या न भवेद् दैविकी क्रिया ॥ पराशरमाधवीय III, part 2, p. 571; compare याज्ञ. II. 149.

332 चण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारसिकादिकम् । महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकम् ॥ on याज्ञ. III. 29-30.

333 संसृष्टपदमेव वा सोदरमभिधत्ते । अत एव बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं सोदरो नान्यमातृज इति जितेन्द्रियेण लिखितम् । दायभाग p. 298 (ed. of 1829).

334 ननु हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः — इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेः कथं पतञ्जलेर्योगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य &c. The words हिरण्यगर्भो &c. occur in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5.

(on the duration of a mātrā[335]). The quotations refer to prāṇāyāma, Gāyatrī, bathing, tarpaṇa and jñāna. His position is that even a householder becomes *mukta* by performing his duties, by contemplating on *ātman* and by knowledge of the Vedānta, that the highest goal is reached by a combination of jñāna and *karma* and that the view that *mokṣa* results from knowledge alone is a sign of indolence.[336] The Parāśaramādhavīya quotes a verse from Yogi-Yāj. saying that only the Brāhmaṇas can pass through the four āśramas, the Kṣatriya through three (excluding the last), the Vaiśya through two and the Śūdra only through one (viz. that of householder).[337] Kullūka on Manu (3. 1) quotes the view of Yogi-Yāj. that Brahmacarya extended to twelve years or five for each of the four Vedas.[338]

In the Deccan College Collection there are two mss. of Yogi-Yājñavalkya (Nos. 91 and 388 of 1899-1915) in twelve chapters and about 495 verses. The colophon at the end of the first chapter in the latter ms. describes it in the style of the Bhagavadgītā.[339] Yājñavalkya is said to have learnt Yogaśāstra from Brahmā and expounds it to his wife Gārgī. The whole work deals with the eight aṅgas of *yoga*, their divisions and subdivisions. Out of the several quotations cited above from Yoga-Yāj. only one was found in this work. It contains a verse (I. 68 aṣṭau grāsā muneḥ proktāḥ &c) which is practically the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 7.

335 अङ्गुलिमोक्षत्रितयं जान्वोः परिमार्जनं वापि । तालत्रयमपि तज्ज्ञा मात्रासंज्ञं प्रशंसन्ति ॥ अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 198-201. This is उपगीति, a variety of आर्या. It occurs in the ms. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञ० VIII. 12, where we read जानूर्वोः परिमार्जनमथापि । तत्कालत्रयमपि &c.

336 स्वकर्मणामनुष्ठानात्सम्यगात्मनिदर्शनात् । वेदान्तानां परिज्ञानाद् गृहस्थोपि विमुच्यते ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 57. This occurs in बृहद्योगियाज्ञ० (ms.) XI. 47; परिज्ञानाद्भवेन्मुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम् । कायक्लेशभयाच्चैव कर्म नेच्छन्ति पण्डिताः । ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परमाप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भावो न सिध्येत उभे तस्मात् समाश्रयेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. III. 205; these two are बृहद्योगि. IX. 34 and 28.

337 चत्वारो ब्राह्मणस्योक्ता आश्रमाः श्रुतिचोदिताः । क्षत्रियस्य त्रयः प्रोक्ता द्वावेको वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥ quoted in परा. मा. vol. I., part 2, p. 153. This is योगयाज्ञवल्क्य I. 30.

338 यदाह योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः 'प्रतिवेदं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशाब्दानि पञ्च वा'.

339 इति श्रीयाज्ञवल्क्यगीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गीसंवादे प्रथमोध्यायः.

22 and another verse (X. 19) which is a quotation from the Bhagavatgītā.[340] There is another ms. (No. 354 of 1875-76) in the same collection called Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti in twelve chapters and about 930 verses. Yājñavalkya in Mithilā is asked by Janaka and the sages and then expounds the following subjects:— how *mantras* are to be studied in connection with metre, deity, sage and viniyoga, about *oṁkāra* or praṇava; seven Vyāhṛtis; Gāyatrī; nyāsa of Gāyatrī; sandhyopāsana; snāna; Japa; prāṇāyāma; dhyāna; sūryopasthāna; eulogy of *yoga*; eulogy of Vedaśāstra.

From the above it is clear that Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-yogi-Yājñavalkya are entirely different works and that the latter is comparatively an early work, as quotations from it are cited by Vācaspatimiśra (9th century) and Aparārka. The latter work contains numerous quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and the Manu-smṛti and a few from the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (the verse about the 14 vidyāsthānas is the same in both). So it must have been composed between 200 and 700 A. D.

There are many commentaries on the Yāj. smṛti. Out of these those of Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka and Śūlapāṇi are the most famous. For these see sections 60, 70, 79 and 95 below. On account of the paramount importance of the Mit. in modern Hindu Law as administered by British Courts in the whole of India, the smṛti of Yāj. has indirectly become the guiding work for the whole of India and this position it richly deserves by its concise but clear statement of principles, its breadth of vision and its comparative impartiality towards the claims of both sexes and the different varṇas.

35. The Parāśara Smṛti

This work has been published several times, but the edition of Jivananda (part II. pp. 1-52) and that in the Bombay Sanskrit Series with the voluminous gloss of the great Mādhava are the best known. In the following pages Jivananda's edition has been used.

The smṛti of Parāśara must have been an ancient one as Yāj. (I. 4) mentions him among the ancient writers on dharma. But it is doubtful whether we possess the ancient smṛti of Parāśara. The extant smṛti is probably a recast of it as it mentions Yāj. in the first

[340] यं यं वापि स्मरन्भावं &c. योगयाज्ञवल्क्य X. 19.

chap. (p. 2). The Garuḍapurāṇa in chap. 107 gives a summary in 39 verses of the Parāśara-smṛti. In doing so it takes parts of the latter and pieces them together. For example, verses 2-4 in the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) are 'śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācāro yaḥ kaścid vedakartṛkaḥ । vedāḥ smṛtāḥ brahmaṇādau dharmā Manvādibhiḥ sadā ॥ dānam kaliyuge dharmaḥ kartāram ca kalau tyajet । pāpakṛtyaṁ tu tatraiva śāpam phalati varṣataḥ ॥ ācārāt prāpnuyāt sarvaṁ ṣaṭ karmāṇi dine dine । sandhyā snānam japo homo devātithyādipūjanam ॥'. These are taken *verbatim* or with slight changes from the Pārāśara-smṛti ; compare na kaścid vedakartā ca vedasmartā caturmukhaḥ । śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ sadācārā nirṇetavyāś ca sarvadā । tathaiva dharmaṁ smarati Manuḥ kalpāntarāntare । tapaḥ paraṁ . . . dānamekaṁ kalau yuge ॥ . . . tyajet-deśam kṛtayuge . . . kartāraṁ ca kalau yuge । . . . kṛte tū tatkṣaṇāt śāpaḥ . . . kalau saṁvatsareṇa tu ॥ chap. I. verses 20-21, 23, 25, 27 and vide 39 for verse 4 of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. This establishes that the Garuḍa regarded the Parāśara-smṛti authoritative and ancient. There is another problem to be considered. Kauṭilya mentions six times the views of Pārāśara or the Pārāśaras on various aspects of politics and state administration. Therefore it appears that there was a work of Pārāśara on politics, in which it is possible that vyavāhara also was dealt with.

The extant Pārāśarasmṛti is divided into twelve chapters and contains according to the last verse but one 592 verses. It deals only with ācāra and prāyaścitta. Mādhava introduced his disquisition on vyavahāra, which forms about a fourth of his extensive gloss, in an indirect way by regarding vyavahāra as a part of the duties of Kṣatriyas on which the Parāśarasmṛti has something to say.[341]

The name Parāśara is an ancient one. In the Tai. Araṇyaka (I. 1. 3. 37) we have a Vyāsa Pārāśarya. In the Vaṁśa that occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka we have a Pārāśarya. The Nirukta

341 क्षत्रियो हि प्रजा रक्षन् शस्त्रपाणिः प्रचण्डवत् । विजित्य परसैन्यानि क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेत् ॥ पराशर chap. I. p. 6. (B. S. Series); 'अत एवाचारकाण्डे व्यवहाराणामन्तर्भावमभिप्रेत्य पराशरः पृथग्व्यवहारकाण्डमकृत्वा क्षितिं धर्मेण पालयेदिति सूचनमात्रं व्यवहाराणां कृतवान् । परा. मा. p. 8.

gives an etymology of Pārāśara.[342] Pāṇini attributes a bhikṣusūtra to Pārāśarya.[343]

The introductory verses of the smṛti say that sages went to Vyāsa and requested him to instruct them in the dharmas and conduct beneficial to mankind in the Kali age and that the great Vyāsa took them to his father Pārāśara, son of Śakti, in the Badarikāśrama, who then propounded the dharmas of the four *varṇas*. The first chaptar recites the smṛtis then known (19 in all) and lays down that in the four ages of Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara, and Kali, the dharmas proclaimed by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were respectively to be the guiding ones. The following are briefly the contents of the Pārāśara smṛti :—

I. Introductory verses; Pārāśara imparts to the sages knowledge of dharma; the dharmas of the four *yugas*; differentiation of the four *yugas* from various points of view; six daily duties, viz. sandhyā, bath, *japa*, *homa*, Vedic study, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests, eulogy of honouring guests, the proper means of livelihood for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra; II. duties of householder; agriculture; the five unconscious acts of injury to animal life; III. purification from impurity due to birth and death; IV. concerning suicide; punishment for wife deserting her husband though poor, foolish or diseased; definition and rules about Kuṇḍa, Golaka, Parivitti, and Parivitta; remarriage of women; rewards for chaste widows; V. expiation for minor things (such as dog-bite); about a Brāhmaṇa who has consecrated fires dying on a journey or committing suicide; VI. Expiation for killing various beasts and birds, for killing Śūdras, artisans, women, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas, sinful Brāhmaṇas; eulogy of Brāhmaṇas; VII. purifications of various articles (such as vessels of wood, metal &c); about a woman in her menses; VIII. Expiations for killing cows and oxen unwittingly in various ways; approaching a pariṣad for expiation, constitution of a pariṣad; praise of learned Brāhmaṇas; IX. proper thickness of sticks for beating cows and bulls; expiations for using thicker sticks and injuries to them; X. other expiations such as cāndrāyaṇa for intercourse with women with whom intercourse is forbidden; the expiation called Sāntapana; XI. expiation for partaking food from

[342] पराशरीणिदय वसिष्ठस्य जज्ञे। निरुक्त VI. 30.

[343] पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः। पा. IV. 3. 110.

Cāṇḍālas &c.; rules as to whose food may be taken and whose not; purification of wells &c. when animals fall in them; XII. bath prescribed after evil dreams, vomitting, shaving &c.; expiations for drinking wine and nasty things through ignorance; five kinds of bath; when bath at night allowed; what things should always be kept in the house or seen; definition of the unit of ground called gocarma; expiations for the deadly sins of Brahmahatyā, drinking liquor, theft of gold &c.

Parāśara contains several peculiar views. He speaks of only four sons (aurasa, kṣetraja, datta and kṛtrima) though he does not expressly negative a larger number (chap. 4 p. 14). He eulogises the practice of *Satī* (last two verses of chap. 4). The well-known verse of Nārada (Strīpuṁsa-yoga 97) "naṣṭe mṛte &c." is read at the end as " patir-anyo na vidyate " (p. 15). There are a few verses in the Indravajrā metre (e. g. on pp. 11-12 and 36). The Parāśarasmṛti quotes the views of several writers on dharma. Manu is frequently cited in the words " Manur-abravīd. " In the 7th chapter alone those words occur four times.[344] None of them corresponds exactly with any verse of the Manusmṛti. Yet Manu V. 133 may be compared with the first two. Besides these, in the 9th chapter Manu's view is quoted that on killing an animal the guilty party should restore a similar one to the owner or its price.[345] In the 10th he says that according to Manu uncooked food, milk or oil brought from a śūdra's house and used in cooking in a Brāhmin's house could be eaten by a Brāhmaṇa. This is similar to Manu IV. 223.[346] In the 12th chapter Parāśara cites the view of Manu that a Brāhmaṇa fed on food (cooked) from śūdras would become a vulture for twelve births, a pig for ten and a dog for seven.

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344 मार्जारमक्षिकाकीटमृदङ्गकृमिदर्दुराः । मेध्यामेध्यं स्पृशन्त्येव नोच्छिष्टान्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥. There are two more ending with नोच्छिष्टं ... ब्रवीत्. प्रभासादीनि तीर्थानि गङ्गाद्याः सरितस्तथा । विप्रस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे सांनिध्यं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पराशर chap. 7; compare बौ. ध. सू. I. 4. 2. for the last.

345 प्रमापणे प्राणभृतां दद्यात्तत्प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यानुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ पराशर 9th chap.

346 शुष्कान्नं गोरसं स्नेहं शूद्रवेश्मन आगतम् । पक्वं विप्रगृहे पूतं भोज्यं तन्मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पराशर 10th chap.; नाद्याच्छूद्रस्य पक्वान्नं विद्वानश्राद्धिनो द्विजः । आददीताममेवाद्यादुत्तावेकरात्रिकम् ॥ मनु. IV .223.

There is nothing corrosponding to this in Manu. In the 9th Manu is spoken of as one who knows all śāstras.[347] The first verse of the 6th chapter says that Manu deals at length with expiation for killing animals.[348] This is probably a reference to Manu XI. 131-141. Numerous verses in the Parāśara-smṛti are word for word the same as those of the Manusmṛti. For example, Manu I. 85-86 occur in the first chapter of Parāśara, Manu V. 160 (about a widow remaining chaste) occurs with slight variations in the 4th; Manu XII. 114-115 (about *pariṣad*) occur in the 8th chap. (p. 29); Manu XI. 212 (about the definition of Sāntapana) is the same as Parāśara (10th chap. p. 40). Several verses are common to Baudhāyana and Parāśara, e. g. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 8, 11, 14 occur in the eighth chapter of Parāśara (pp. 29, 30). The verse "na nārikelair na ca śaṇabālair" occurring in Parāśara (9th chap. p. 35) is quoted as Vasiṣṭha's by Haradatta on Gautama (22. 18). Parāśara is mentioned by name several times (chap. III. 2, p. 8, chap. VI. 1. p. 18 and p. 23, chap. VII. 1. p. 24, chap. X. 12. p. 38). Uśanas is cited on p. 49 (chap. 12), Prajāpati (in IV. 3. p. 13), Śaṅkha (chap. 4 p. 15). Veda, Vedāṅgas, dharmaśāstras and smṛtis are spoken of on p. 23 (6th chap.). In the 11th chap. Parāśara refers to several Vedic *mantras*, most of which occur in the Ṛgveda, but two of them, "tejosi śukram" and "devasya tvā" are not found in the Ṛgveda, but in the Vāj. S. (22. 1 and 1. 24 respectively). Parāśara appears to have been a practical man. He exhorts his readers to save their bodies first in invasions, journeys, diseases, calamities and then care for dharma. He recommends the non-observance of rules of purity in times of difficulty and adherence to the strict rules of dharma when one is at ease.[349]

The Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Hemādri and other later works quote Parāśara very frequently. Most of these are found in the extant Parāśarasmṛti. For example, vide pp. 1169, 1177, 1180, 1191 &c. of Aparārka, all of which are traced in Parāśara pp. 42, 43, 42 and 16 respectively. Viśvarūpa quotes Parāśara several times

347 मनुना चैवमंकेन सर्वशास्त्राणि जानता। पराशर 9th.

348 अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि प्राणिहत्यासु निष्कृतिम्। पराशरेण पूर्वोक्तां मन्वर्थेपि च विस्तृताम्॥

349 देशभङ्गे प्रवासे वा व्याधिषु व्यसनेष्वपि। रक्षेदेव स्वदेहादि पश्चाद्धर्मं समाचरेत्॥; आपत्काले तु संप्राप्ते शौचाचारं न चिन्तयेत्। स्वयं समुद्धरेत् पश्चात् स्वस्थो धर्मं समाचरेत्॥ 7th chap., last three verses.

and these quotations can be verified ; e. g. on Yāj. III. 16 the verse "anātham" ascribed to Parāśara is found in Parāśara chap. III p. 10; on Yāj. III. 257 ten verses are cited by Viśvarūpa from Parāśara which occur in Parāśara with considerable variations (chap. VII. pp. 20-21); on Yāj. III. 262 the verse "gavām bandhana" is cited from Parāśara, which is the first verse of the 8th chapter. Therefore it is quite clear that in the first half of the 9th century the Parāśarasmṛti that we have now was considered to be authoritative and the work of an ancient sage. It seems to have known a work of Manu, as seen above. Therefore it must be assignad to some period between the first and the 5th century of our era. In the same direction points the fact that the Garuḍapurāṇa (chap. 107) seems to have known the introductory verses of Parāśara and as shown above (p. 191) combines passages of Parāśara in a summary of its teachings.[350] The Viṣṇu-dharmottara which is frequently quoted by Aparārka and other later works cites verses that are borrowed from Parāśara. For example, chap. 75. 1 of the former is the same as a verse of Parāśara.[351]

There is an extensive work called Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā (published by Jivananda, part II. pp. 53-309). It is divided into 12 chapters and the last verse says that it contains 3300 verses and that Suvrata proclaimed the śāstra imparted by Parāśara. The introductory verses contain the same story as that in the Parāśara-smṛti and many of the verses in the first chapter of the two works (such as those about the 19 writers on dharma &c.) are almost the same in both. The total of verses in the printed work comes to about 3000 and not 3300. It appears that the work is a recast of the Parāśarasmṛti made by Suvrata. The subjects of the twelve chapters are :—I. Introductory, the proper sphere of Āryas; summary of contents ; II. Disquisition on the 6 daily *karmas*, sandhyā, bath, *japa*, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and honouring guests ; Gāyatrī ; the dharmas of the *Varṇas*; III. duties and manners of a householder ; agriculture, honour to cows ; IV. forms of marriage ; duties of wives ; Jātakarma and other rites ; gifts ; proper persons to

350 पराशरोऽब्रवीद् व्यासं धर्मं वर्णाश्रमैादिकम् । कल्पे कल्पे क्षयोत्पत्त्या क्षीयन्ते तु प्रजादयः ॥ गरुडपुराण 107. 1. (Venkateśvar Press ed.).

351 अनाथं ब्राह्मणं प्रेतं ये वहन्ति द्विजातयः । पदे पदे यज्ञफलमानुपूर्व्याल्लभन्ति ते ॥ पराशर chap. 3. p. 12.

receive gifts; V. concerning śrāddhas; VI. impurity on birth and death; prāyaścittas for various acts; VII. cāndrāyaṇa and other penances; VIII. gifts; IX. rites for propitiating Gaṇeśa and the planets, Rudra &c; X Rājadharma; dharmas of forest hermit and *yati*; XI. the different varieties of Brahmacārin, householder, forest hermit and yati; XII. prāṇayāma and other aṅgas of *yoga*.

This Bṛhat-Parāśara contains a considerable number of verses mostly in the Indravajrā metre and a few in tha Vasantatilakā (e. g. p. 134).

The Bṛhat-Parāśara appears to be a late work. It is a recast of the Parāśara-smṛti. It contains the Vināyakaśānti as elaborated by Yājñavalkya, since it speaks of only one Vināyaka (9th chap. p. 247) and not of four as in M. Gr. S. On p. 249 it quotes Yāj. I. 285 (about the names of Vināyaka) with the readings found in the Mit. It speaks of the rāśis (p. 244). It is not quoted by Viśvarūpa, the Mit. or Aparārka. It is mentioned in Bhaṭṭoji's comment on the Caturviṁśatimata (p. 138) and by Nandapaṇḍita in the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā, which quotes a verse (Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 153).[352]

A Vṛddha-Parāśara is quoted by Aparārka (on Yāj. II. 318) immediately after Parāśara and as holding a different view. Mādhava also quotes a Vṛddha-Parāśara (Parāśara-Mādhavīya vol. 1, part 1, p. 230). This seems to be a different work from the Parāśara-smṛti and the Bṛhat-Parāśara. Hemādri (Caturvarga. vol. III, part 2, p. 48) and Bhaṭṭoji in his gloss on Caturviṁśatimata (p. 138) quote a Jyotiḥ-Parāśara.

36. The Nārada-smṛti

There are two versions of Nārada on Vyavahāra, a smaller and a larger one. The smaller version was translated by Dr. Jolly in 1876 (Trübner & Co., London). The text of the longer version was published by the same scholar in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1885) and was translated by him in the Sacred Books of the East Series (vol. 33). The edition of the text is accompanied up to verse 21 of the 5th title 'abhyupetyāśusrūṣā' by extracts from the commentary of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, who was encouraged in the task of revision by Keśavabhaṭṭa.

[352] अपुत्रस्य पितृव्यस्य तत्पुत्रो भ्रातृजो भवेत्। स एव तस्य कुर्वीत श्राद्धं पिण्डोदक-क्रियाम्॥ दत्तकमीमांसा p. 36.

From verse 22 of the same title the printed text is the same as the smaller version. A verse quoted as Nārada's by Kṣīrasvāmin is not found in the larger version but is found in the smaller version.[353] An ancient Ms. of Nārada from Nepal dated 1407 A. D. contains two additional chapters on theft and ordeals. Dr. Jolly includes the first as an appendix and omits that on ordeals on the ground that it is not authentic. One of the colophons of the Nepalese Ms. describes it as 'iti Mānava-dharmaśāstre Nāradaproktāyāṁ saṁhitāyām &c' This corroborates what was said above (pp. 149, 156) as to the close connection between Manu and Nārada.

Nārada is not mentioned by Yājñavalkya in the list of ancient writers on dharma, nor does Parāśara mention him. Viśvarūpa however quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya (on Yāj. I. 4-5), where Nārada is the first among ten expounders of dharma enumerated therein (vide note 219).

The printed Nārada contains three introductory chapters on the principles of judicial procedure (Vyavahāra-mātṛka) and on the judicial assembly (sabhā). Then the following titles of law are dealt with one after another :—ṛṇādāna (recovery of debts), upanidhi (deposit, lending, bailment), saṁbhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dattāpradānika (gifts and resumption thereof), abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā (breach of contract of service), vetanasya-anapākarma (non-payment of wages), asvāmivikraya (sale without ownership), vikrīyāsaṁpradāna (non-delivery after sale), krītānuśaya (rescission of purchase), samayasyānapākarma (violation of conventions of corporations, guilds &c.), sīmābandha (settlement of boundaries); strīpuṁsayoga (marital relation); dāyabhāga (partition and inheritance); sāhasa (offences in which force is the principal element) such as homicide, robbery, rape &c.; vākpāruṣya (defamation and abuse) and daṇḍapāruṣya (hurt of various kinds); prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous wrongs). The appendix deals with theft, though a few remarks are made on that topic under the title of 'sāhasa.'

It will be noticed that Nārada follows the Manusmṛti to a considerable extent in the nomenclature and the arrangement of the

[353] क्षीरस्वामी on the word वृषल in अमरकोश quotes the verse वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते लवम् । which is मनु 8. 16 and शान्तिपर्व 9. 15.

eighteen titles. Some of the titles are differently named by Nārada, e. g. he speaks of upanidhi, while Manu employs the word nikṣepa. Nārada seems to have included the svāmipālavivāda of Manu in vetanasya-anapākarma. He makes one title of dyūta and samāhvaya. Nārada includes strīsaṃgrahaṇa under sāhasa and adds three titles, viz. abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā, vikrīyāsampradāna and prakīrṇaka. The smṛticandrikā expressly[354] says that it follows the work of Nārada in preference to that of Manu as regards the nomenclature and sequence of the titles of law. Nārada follows Manu in speaking of witnesses in the section on ṛṇādāna and in treating of theft after the eighteen titles have been dealt with (vide Manu IX. 256 ff.).

The printed Nārada contains 1028 verses (including 61 on theft in the appendix). About seven hundred of these verses occur in various *nibandhas* as quotations. Up to the 21st verse of the section 'abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā' the commentary of Asahāya furnishes a valuable check for the authenticity of the text. For the remaining portion, there are important data as to its authenticity, sequence and readings. Viśvarūpa, who belongs to the first half of the 9th century, quotes about fifty verses of Nārada (generally by name). The text that he had before him was essentially the same as that of the printed edition, except in a very few cases. Out of the seven verses of Nārada on 'samayasya-anapākarma' Viśvarūpa quotes five (on Yāj. II. 190 and 196) and expressly states that Nārada wound up his chapter on that topic with the verse 'doṣavat karaṇam &c'. as the printed text does. On Yāj. II. 226 Viśvarūpa distinctly says that the verse 'yameva hyativarteran' &c. is followed immediately by 'malā hyete manuṣyeṣu'. This is the case with the printed text also (dyūtasamāhvaya verses 13-14). On Yāj. III. 252 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse af Nārada about the three kinds of wealth, śukla, śabala and kṛṣṇa, which does not occur in that form in Nārada, though the latter contains similar dicta.[355] Viśvarūpa contains no quotation from Nārada on the topics of ācāra or prāyaścitta. The same is the case with Medhātithi and the Mitākṣarā. Medhātithi somewhat inaccurately summarises the

354 नारदीयोद्देशक्रमानुसारिणश्च वयमित्यनवद्यामिहाभिधानम् ।

355 शुक्लं च शबलं चैव कृष्णं च त्रिविधं धनम् । शुक्लं न्यायार्जितं धर्म्यमितरद् व्यावहारिकम् ॥ ; तत्पुनस्त्रिविधं ज्ञेयं शुक्लं शबलमेव च । कृष्णं च तस्य विज्ञेयाः प्रभेदाः सप्तधा पृथक् ॥ (नारद, ऋणादान 44).

the introductory words (in prose) of Nārada (vide note 269 above). Medhātithi frequently quotes Nārada particularly from the sections on ṛṇādāna (vide on Manu 8. 47, 155, 149) and dāyabhāga (on Manu 8, 28, 29, and 207, 209, and 143). On Manu 8, 349 he quotes Nārada on partnership (verse 10), on 8. 216 he quotes Nārada (vetanasya-anapākarma verse 5). In some cases Medhātithi cites Nārada's verses without naming him e. g. on Manu 9. 76 he quotes the well-known verse 'nashṭe mṛte pravrajite &c.' (Nārada on marital relation, verse 97) as 'smṛtyantara'. It was shown above (p. 172) that the vyavahāra section of the Agnipurāṇa dates from about 900 A. D. Chap. 253 of the Agnipurāṇa contains thirty verses of the extant Nāradasmṛti, viz. Agni 253. 1b--9a= Nārada (vyavahāra-mātṛkā chap. I. 8-15); Agni 253. 9b--12 =Nārada (vyavahāra-mātṛkā chap. I. 26-29a); Agni 253. 13--30 are the verses defining the eighteen titles from ṛṇādāna to prakīrṇaha contained in Nārada and occur in the same order in both. The readings preserved in the Agnipurāṇa deserve some discussion. Agni (253. 3-4) reads 'dharmaś ca vyavahāraś ca ... uttaraḥ pūrva-sādhakaḥ', while Nārada has 'pūrvabādhakaḥ'. Agni reads 'caritraṁ saṁgrahe pūṁsāṁ rājājñāyāṁ tu sādhanam' (253. 5), while Nārada has 'caritraṁ pustakaraṇe rājājñāyāṁ tu śāsanam'. Agni (253. 15) reads 'dattvādravyaṁ ca samyag-yaḥ', while Nārada (dattāpradānika 1) reads 'dattvā dravyamasamyag-yaḥ'. The Agni (253. 11) reads 'Śaṅkā sadbhistu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ ṣoḍhābhidarśanāt' and avoids the rare word 'hoḍhābhi-' in Nārada 'Śaṅkāsatām tu saṁsargāt tattvaṁ hoḍhābhidarśanāt' (Vyavahāramātṛkā I. 27). For Nārada's 'akṣabradhnaśalākādyair &c.' (dyūtasamāhvaya I) Agni reads 'Akṣavajra &c.' (253. 29). The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 199) and Vīr. (p. 718) follow printed Nārada in the last case and also in the other cases. In the Smṛti-candrikā, Hemādri, Parāśaramādhavīya and other later *nibandhas* numerous verses of Nārada are quoted on topics of ācāra, śrāddha, prāyaścitta. For example, Hemādri (caturvarga vol. III. part 2, pp. 159, 183, 185, 223, 235) quotes several verses of Nārada on Ekādaśī and a verse of Nārada about the astrological *yoga* called padmaka. The Smṛticandrikā (I. pp. 198-199) quotes 26 verses on the worship of Nārāyaṇa, the last of which is the well known verse 'dhyeyaḥ sadā savitṛmaṇḍala-madhyavartī &c.' and the same work (on śrāddha p. 354) quotes a verse of Nārada in which Sunday and Saṁkrānti are mentioned. The question arises whether

these quotations of Nārada on ācāra and prāyaścitta and allied topics are the work of the same Nārada that wrote on Vyavahāra. From the fact that early writers like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara do not contain a single quotation of Nārada on topics other than that of vyavahāra, it appears probable that the quotations on ācāra and prāyaścitta belong to a later date than the Nāradasmṛti on vyavahāra and either did not exist in the days of Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi or had not attained canonical authority in those days. There is in the India Office Library a ms. of Nāradasmṛti in three chapters and 322 verses dealing exclusively with ācāra and prāyaścitta (vide Jolly's Introduction p. 5 to edition of text).

The Nāradasmṛti, excluding the introductory passage in prose about the successive abridgments of the original work of Manu by Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya and Sumati Bhārgava, is written in the śloka metre except in the case of two verses (verse 38 of the 2nd chap. of vyavahāra-mātṛkā and the last verse of the chapter on sabhā). Nārada himself is mentioned by name in connection with the ordeals (ṛṇādāna verse 253).[355a] The first person also occurs in 'ataḥ param pravakṣyāmi' (ṛṇādāna 343). Ācāryas are cited in 'dattāpradānika' (verse 5). Dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra are mentioned (vyavahāramātṛkā, chap. I, 37 and 39) and Nārada lays down the rule as in Yāj. (II. 21) that in a conflict between the two the former should furnish the rule of conduct.[356] Nārada refers to Vasiṣṭha's rule about interest (ṛṇādāna 99). Two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa.[357] Manu is named in several places (ṛṇādāna verses 250, 251, 326).[358] The first passage about Manu is quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yaj. (II. 98) and corresponds closely with the teaching of Manu (8. 113). But the other passages

355a सन्दिग्धेर्थेभियुक्तानां विशुद्ध्यर्थं दुरात्मनाम् । प्रोक्तानि नारदेनेह सत्यानृतविशुद्धये ॥

356 यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

357 पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः । यः परार्थे प्रहिणुयात्स्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः । आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥ वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मूला वाग्विनिःसृताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 227-228).

358 सत्यं वाहनशस्त्राणि गोबीजकनकादि च । ...इत्येते शपथाः प्रोक्ता मनुना स्वल्पकारणे । ऋणादान 248, 250; दैवं पञ्चविधं ज्ञेयमित्याह भगवान्मनुः । ऋणादान 251; छायानिवेशितो रक्ष्यो दिनशेषमभोजनः । विषवेगक्षमातीतः शुद्धोऽसौ मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ ऋणादान 326.

crediting Manu with dividing ordeals into five kinds and giving his view about poison ordeal have no corresponding passage in the extant Manu. Therefore Nārada had a version of Manu before him that was somewhat different in certain respects from our Manu or Nārada may be referring to Vṛddha or Bṛhat Manu. Besides this there is one remarkable fact to be noted about the relation of Manu and Nārada. There are about 50 verses that are common to Manu and Nārada. Manu 8. 12-14 and 18-19 are Nārada (sabhā, verses 8-10 and 12-13 in a different order), Manu 8. 140-141 = N. (ṛṇādāna 99-100), Manu 8. 148-149 =N. (ṛṇādāna 80-81), M. 8. 143 =N. (ṛ. 129, M. 8. 64=N. (ṛ. 177), M. 8. 72=N. (ṛ. 189), M. 8. 93 and 113 =N. (ṛ. 199, 201), M. 98-99=N. (ṛ. 208, 209 and Udyogaparva 35.33-34), M. 8. 89=N. (ṛ. 225), M. 8. 186-187, 189, 191= N. (upanidhi 10-13), M. 8. 232-233, 235 = N. (vetanasya-anapākarma 14-16 in a different order), M. 9. 47=N. (marital relation, verse 28), M. 8. 224-225= N. (marital relation, 33-34), M. 9. 357-358=N. (marital relation, 65-66 in reverse order), M. 9. 3=N. (dāyabhāga 31), M. 9. 216 = N. (dāyabhāga 44), M. 8. 267-269 = N. (vākpāruṣya 15-17), M. 9. 270-272 = N. (vākpāruṣya 22-24), M. 8. 281-284 = N. (daṇḍa-pāruṣya 26-29), M. 4. 87 = N. (prakīrṇaka 44).

Nārada (ṛṇādāna 158) 'śrotriyās-tāpasà vṛddhā ye ca pravrajità narāḥ | asākṣinas-te vacanān nātra heturudāhṛtaḥ' has probably Manu 8. 65 in view where we read 'na sākṣī . . . na śrotriyo na liṅgastho na saṅgebhyo vinirgataḥ'.

Besides these there are several cases where Nārada closely agrees with Manu though the verses are not identical, e. g. Nārada (sāhasa 19) may be compared with Manu 9. 271 and Nārada (appendix on theft, verses 1-4) may be compared with Manu (9. 256-260). These facts establish that Nārada is based on a version of Manu that was essentially the same as the extant text of Manu, though there was some difference here and there. Nārada contains several verses that occur in the Mahābhārata. For example, Śānti 111. 66 = N. (vyavahāra-mātṛkā 72),[359] Udyoga 35. 58 = N. (sabhā, verse 18), Udyoga 35. 31-32 = N. (ṛ. 202-203). There are several cases where the text of Kauṭilya agrees with

[359] तलवद् दृश्यते व्योम खद्योतो दृश्यवाडिव । न तलं विद्यते व्योम्नि न खद्योते हुताशनः ॥
M. D. 26.

Nārada.[360] In some of these cases the agreement is almost word for word.[361]

Though Nārada is based on Manu, he differs in several essential matters from Manu. We have seen the difference between them in the nomenclature of the titles of law. Manu only casually mentions the ordeals of fire and water (8. 114), while Nārada enumerates five kinds of ordeals, describes them at length and adds two more viz. *taṇḍula-bhakṣaṇa* and *taptamāṣa* (ṛṇādāna, verses 259-348). He allows *Niyoga* (marital relation, verses 80-88), while Manu strongly condemns it. He allows remarriage of women (Nārada, marital relation, 97), while Manu is against it. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves (8. 415), while Nārada raises their number to fifteen (abhupetyāśuśrūṣā, verses 26-28); Manu condemns gambling outright (9. 221-228), while Nārada allows it under state control and as a source of revenue ; Nārada is further far more systematic than Manu and is full of divisions and subdivisions. For example, he divides property into three kinds, each of which is again subdivided into seven varieties (ṛṇadāna 44-47); Nārada divides the law of gift into four sections, which are further subdivided into 32; he subdivides the eighteen titles into 132 (vyavahāra-mātṛkā I. 25).

There are a few points which are almost peculiar to Nārada, such as the fourteen kinds of impotent persons (strīpuṁsayoga 11-13), the three kinds of *punarbhūs* and four kinds of svairiṇīs (ibid. verses 45-52).

Nārada is probably later than Yājñavalkya. Yāj. knows only five kinds of ordeals, while Nārada knows seven and the former's treatment of them is not so exhaustive as Nārada's. The rules of judicial procedure in Nārada are more systematic and exhaustive than those of Yāj. Nārada contains more definitions than Yāj. In some respects however Nārada is more conservative than Yāj. For example, Nārada nowhere recognises the rights of the widow to

360 Compare कौटिल्य, धर्मस्थीय, chap. I, verses at the end with नारद, व्यवहारमातृका 1st chap., verses 2, 10-11, 39-40.

361 धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः ॥ तत्र सत्ये स्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु । चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे राजाज्ञायां तु शासनम् ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका I. 10-11 ; the first half in each verse is the same in कौटिल्य.

succeed to her deceased husband as Yāj. does; Nārada gives no rules about the succession of *gotrajas* and *bandhus* as Yāj. does. In a few respects Nārada agrees with the views of Manu instead of with Yāj., such as allowing a Brāhmaṇa to marry a śūdra woman. Nārada regards sexual intercourse with a pravrajitā (female ascetic) as a mortal sin (strīpuṁsayoga 74-75), while both Manu (8. 363) and Yāj. (II. 293) treat it lightly. Taking all these things into consideration it may be said that Nārada flourished nearly at the same time as or somewhat later than Yāj.

Nārada contains several rare words such as "hoḍha" (in vyavahāramātṛkā I. 27, meaning 'one's property when lost or stolen'). He gives expression to certain principles of law and politics, such as that a man is master of his own house, in other words, a man's house is his castle;[362] he highly eulogises the office of king, almost assigning it a divine origin and exhorts the people to obey and honour even a weak and undeserving king.[363] Mr. Jayasval sees in this and in the fact that Nārada speaks of dīnāra while the Mṛcchakaṭika speaks of nāṇaka indications that Nārada belongs to the fourth century, is later than the drama, is propping up the authority of a new dynasty and flourished under the Imperial Guptas (C. W. N. vol. 17, p. CCLXXXV). He regards a person as minor till the sixteenth year.[364] This limit was probably first fixed by Nārada. Nārada further boldly says that in case of conflict between *dharmaśāstra* and usages, the latter have to be followed, as they are directly observed.[365]

As Nārada's is regarded as an authoritative smṛti by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and other later writers and as Asahāya, who is mentioned by name in the commentary of Viśvarūpa, wrote a comment on

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362 अयः स्वतन्त्रा लोकेस्मिन्राजाचार्यस्तथैव च। प्रतिवर्णं च सर्वेषां वर्णानां स्वे गृहे गृही॥ ऋणादान 32. This idea occurs in शान्तिपर्व 321. 147 'सर्वः स्वे स्वे गृही राजा'.

363 Vide प्रकीर्णक verses 20–22 राजेति संचरत्येष भूमौ साक्षात् सहस्रदृक्। न तस्याज्ञामतिक्रम्य संतिष्ठेरन् प्रजाः क्वचित्॥...निर्बलोपि यथा स्त्रीणां पूज्य एव पतिः सदा। प्रजानां विगुणोप्येवं पूज्य एव प्रजापतिः॥

364 बाल आ षोडशाद् वर्षात् पोगण्ड इति शास्यते। परतो व्यवहारार्हः स्वतन्त्रः पितरौ विना॥ ऋणादान 35–36.

365 धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः। व्यवहारो हि बलवान्धर्मस्तेनावहीयते॥ व्यवहारमातृका 40.

Nārada, the Nāradasmṛti must be older by some centuries than the 8th century, the latest date to which Asahāya can be assigned. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī compares the royal palace to Nāradīya.[366] Ordinarily Nāradīya standing by itself would denote the Nārada-purāṇa (compare Viṣṇu-purāṇa 3. 6. 21 where we have the form Nāradīya for the purāṇa). The Nārada-purāṇa (Venkateśvara Press edition, Bombay) contains, however, no treatment of rājadharma. Bāṇa may have intended a violent pun, meaning 'the palace where the duties of kings were being expounded (āvarṇyamāna), like the Nāradīya in which rājadharma has not been set forth (avarṇyamāna).' European scholars like Dr. Jolly and Bühler hold that Bāṇa refers to the extant Nāradasmṛti. But on this explanation also the difficulty is not entirely got over. The extant Nārada can hardly be described as a treatise on rājadharma. It deals only in an indirect way with one aspect of the king's duties and is rather concerned with vyavahāra and the duties of the subjects towards each other from the strictly legal point of view. If we turn to the Mahābhārata and other works, we shall find that rājadharma meant something different from what is treated of in the Nāradasmṛti. Therefore Bāṇa's reference to the Nāradīya is of a doubtful character. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara frequently quotes Nārada on politics (pp. 3, 13, 79). These quotations are not traced in the printed Nārada. Therefore it is highly probable that Bāṇa refers to a distinct work of Nārada on politics which has not yet been recovered.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana and the Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. III, part I, p. 203) quote a verse from Nārada, the latter half of which is the same as the latter half of a verse in the Vikramorvaśīya.[367] The doctrine attributed to Nārada is found in Yāj. (II. 20) and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra, (6. 22) but not in the same words. Unfortunately the date of Kālidāsa is far from being universally accepted, but the fourth or first half of the 5th century is often accepted as the probable date. There is further diffi-

366 'नारदीयमिवावर्ण्यमानराजधर्मम्' (राजकुलं) p. 91 of Peterson's ed.

367 अनेकार्थाभियुक्तेन सर्वद्रव्यापलापिना। विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यदभियुज्यते॥ अपरार्क (on याज्ञ. II. 20); व्यवहारमातृका of जी. pp. 310-11; हंस प्रयच्छ मे कान्तां गतिरस्यास्त्वया हृता। विभावितैं ... युज्यते॥ विक्रमोर्वशीय IV. 17 (Pandit's ed).

culty in the fact that the text of the Vikramorvaśīya has been largely tampered with. If the verse is a genuine part of the drama, it seems natural to suppose that Kālidāsa turns a well-known legal maxim to a somewhat humerous use. It is hard to suppose that Nārada would borrow the words of a dramatist for setting forth a legal maxim. This would push back the date of Nārada far beyond the 5th century. Nārada in two places uses the word "dināra", once in the sense of a golden ornament and again as a coin or unit of value also called "suvarṇa." In this last case he says that "dināra is equal to 48 Kārṣāpaṇas or twelve dhānakas." Jolly (R. u. S. p. 23) thinks that Indian *dināras* can scarcely be older than the 2nd century A. D., although in the times of the Indo-Scythian kings coins of the weight of dināra occur. Therefore Jolly is of opinion that Nārada is later than 300 A. D. Winternitz (History of Indian Literature, vol. II. p. 216 n. 4) follows him in this assumption that all Sanskrit works in which the word *dināra* occurs must be later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It may be that the golden dināras most numerously found in India belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. But as Keith points out (J. R. A. S. 1915 p. 504) Jolly's assumption is wrong and the introduction of *dināras* into India need not be later than the beginning of the Christian era. Golden *dināras* were first coined in Rome in 207 B.C. and the oldest Indian pieces corresponding in weight to the Roman Denarius were struck by Indo-Scythian kings who reigned from the first century B. C. (W. B. p. 44). Therefore there is nothing to prevent us from holding that Nārada flourished in the first centuries of the Christian era, i. e. between 100 and 300 A. D. Mr. Jayasval assigns him to the 4th century A. D. and after the Mṛcchakaṭika. Most scholars would not be prepared to assign to the Mṛcchakaṭika so early a date as the 3rd century A. D. Besides Mr. Jayasval builds his theory on very slender foundations. Because the drama employs the word nāṇaka and Nārada speaks of dināra only, no chronological conclusion as to the priority of the one to the other can be drawn. After both words became current in the language, one author, though later, may employ one word, while another, though earlier, may employ the other.

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368 मणयः पद्मरागाद्या दीनारादि हिरण्मयम् । मुक्ताविद्रुमशङ्खाद्याः प्रवृत्ताः स्वामिगामिनः ॥ नारद, व्यवहारमातृका II. 34; कार्षापणोण्डिका गेया ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानकः । तद्-द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव च ॥ परिशिष्ट verse 60.

It is difficult to say anything as to the home of Nārada. In the appendix on theft Nārada in one place says that in the south a silver kārṣāpaṇa is current, that in the east it is equal to twenty paṇas and that he does not follow the standard of kārṣāpaṇa current in the land of the five rivers.[369] From these data and from the fact that the oldest mss. of Nārada come from Nepal and that an old commentary on Nārada in Newari was composed in Nepal, Dr. Jolly conjectures that Nārada's home was to be sought in Nepal. This is all pure guess-work. There is no reason why Nārada could not have hailed from central India. The places where the oldest and best mss. of a work are found can hardly ever be indications of the original home of an ancient author. Bhāmaha is by common consent a Kashmirian writer on Poetics, but the only mss. of his work so far found come from southern India.

Prof. Dr. Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures 1918, p. 90), probably following the Nayacandrikā, hazards the conjecture that the writer called Piśuna cited in the Kauṭilīya is another name of Nārada. Beyond the bare fact that Nārada is often credited in the purāṇas with the role of instigating feuds and quarrels and that the word piśuna means "wicked, back-biter", there is nothing to support this identification.

A Jyotir-Nārada is quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in his commentary on the Caturviṁśatimata (p. 11). A Bṛhan-Nārada is quoted by Raghunandana and a Laghu-Nārada in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-Kaustubha.

In the Mahābhārata several opinions are attributed to Nārada. One of them condemns the eating of flesh.[370] The first half of the last verse is the same as Manu 5. 52. Nārada is credited with having divided utpātas (portents) into three varieties.[371] Nārada is said to have held the view that one must always be active.[372] It appears that all these views are taken from some work or works of a Nārada.

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369 कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते । पणैर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां विंशतिस्तु पणाः स तु ॥... पाञ्चनद्याः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञा या व्यावहारिकी । कार्षापणप्रमाणं तु निबद्धमिह नेतया ॥ चौर्यप्रतिषेधप्रकरण 57 and 59.

370 स्वमांसं परमांसेन यो वर्धयितुमिच्छति । नारदः प्राह धर्मात्मा नियतं सोपसीदति ॥ अनुशासन 115. 14.

371 उत्पातांस्त्रिविधान् प्राह नारदो भगवानृषिः । दिव्यांश्चैवान्तरिक्षांश्च पार्थिवांश्च पितामह ॥ सभा 46. 8-9

372 तस्मात्कर्मैव कर्तव्यमिति होवाच नारदः । उद्योगपर्व 49.

The first is probably taken from Nārada's version of the Manusmṛti of which the purāṇas speak as stated above (note 270).

For Asahāya the commentator of Nārada vide section 58 below.

37. Bṛhaspati

Bṛhaspati as a sūtra writer on politics has been dealt with above (section 26). In this section Bṛhaspati the jurist will be spoken of. The complete smṛti of Bṛhaspati on law has not yet been discovered. It will be, when discovered, a very precious monument of ancient India, exhibiting the high-water mark of Indian acumen in strictly legal principles and definitions. Dr. Führer collected together 84 verses ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the legal treatises of Aparārka and others with German translation and notes (Leipzig, 1879) and Dr. Jolly collected about 711 verses of Bṛhaspati on law and translated them in the Sacred Books of the East (vol. 33).

Yāj. (I. 4-5) enumerates Bṛhaspati among the writers on dharma, but he is probably referring to Bṛhaspati's work on politics. The com. on the Nītivākyāmṛta (p. 7) quotes the first verse of Bṛhaspati's Nītiśāstra.

We saw above how Bṛhaspati closely follows the extant Manusmṛti, how he pointedly refers to the text of Manu (notes 282-286) and therefore might by analogy be styled a vārtikakāra of Manu. In many places Bṛhaspati explains and illustrates the laconic treatment of Manu. Manu (8. 153) speaks of four varities of interest (Cakra, Kāla, Kārita, and Kāyika), but does not explain these terms. Bṛhaspati explains them clearly.[373] Manu (8. 49) enumerates five modes of recovering a debt (dharma, vyavahāra, chala, ācarita, bala) but leaves them unexplained ; Bṛhaspati devotes several verses to the explanation of these terms (vide Kullūka on Manu 8. 49). Bṛhaspati gives elaborate rules regarding partnership. Bṛhaspati enumerates nine ordeals (of fire, water, poison, balance, kośa, taptamāṣa, taṇḍulas, dharmādharma, phāla); while Manu barely alludes to two. Manu devotes only three verses to saṁvidvyatikrama (8. 219-221), but Bṛhaspati must have devoted at least a score of verses to this topic, as Aparārka alone quotes 17 verses of Bṛhaspati on this title.

373 Vide कुल्लूक on मनु 8. 153: तासां स्वरूपमाह बृहस्पतिः । कायिका कायसंयुक्ता मासमाद्या च कालिका । वृद्धेर्वृद्धिश्चक्रवृद्धिः कारिता ऋणिना कृता ॥

The order in which the topics of law appeared in Bṛhaspati can be settled with tolerable certainty from the quotations in Aparārka, Vivādaratnākara, Vīramitrodaya and others works. It was as follows:—the four stages of a law-suit, proof (kriyā, human of three sorts and divine), witnesses (of 12 kinds), documents (ten kinds), bhukti (possession), ordeals (nine), 18 titles, ṛṇādāna, nikṣepa, asvāmivikraya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna, dattāpradānika, abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, svāmipālavivāda, saṁvid-vyatikrama, vikriyāsaṁpradāna, sīmāvivāda, pāruṣya (of two kinds), sāhasa (of three kinds), strīsaṁgrahaṇa, strīpuṁdharma, vibhāga, dyūta, samāhvaya, prakīrṇaka (otherwise called 'nṛpāśraya vyavahāra,' wrongs for which proceedings are set on foot by the king).

Bṛhaspati was probably the first jurist to make a clear distinction between civil and criminal justice.[374] He divided the eighteen titles into two groups, those springing from wealth (14 titles) and those springing from injury to beings (4 titles). This distinction was probably dimly perceived by even Gautama, when he says that in disputes based on injury there is no hard and fast rule about witnesses (i. e. about their interest in the subject of dispute).[375] Bṛhaspati like Nārada lays down the rule that a legal decision should not be arrived at merely on the basis of śāstra and that when a decision is devoid of reasoning, there is loss of dharma, for even a good man may be held to be a bad one or what is good may be held to be sinful in a judicial proceeding, just as Māṇḍavya was held to be a thief on a decision without thoughtful reasoning.[376] Bṛhaspati gives such elaborate definitions and rules about procedure from the filing of the plaint to the passing of the decree that he can very well stand comparison with modern legislators on the same subjects.

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374 तदाह बृहस्पतिः। द्विपदो व्यवहारश्च धनहिंसासमुद्भवः। द्विसप्तधार्थमूलश्च हिंसामूलश्चतुर्विधः॥ व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत० p. 277; vide also स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 9) 'पारुष्ये द्वे वधश्चैव परस्त्रीसंग्रहस्तथा। हिंसोद्भवानि चत्वारि पदान्याह बृहस्पतिः'.

375 न पीडाकृते निबन्धः। गौ. ध. सू. 13. 9 on which हरदत्त says 'पीडाकरणे हिंसाविषये। साक्षिणां निबन्धो न निरूप्यः। अर्थसंबन्धादि न किंचिदपि दूषणं भवति।'

376 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः। युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते॥ चौरोऽचौरो साध्वसाधु जायेत व्यवहारतः। युक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डव्यश्चौरतां गतः॥ quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 1; compare नारद (व्यवहारमातृका chap. I. 42): यात्यचौरोपि चौरत्वं चौरश्चायात्यचौरताम्। अचौरश्चौरतां प्राप्तो माण्डव्यो व्यवहारतः॥ For the story of माण्डव्य, who kept silent, vide Ādiparva 107.

Nārada and Bṛhaspati agree very closely in several respects. For example, both speak of three kinds of proof, four parts of a judicial proceeding, almost the same defects of plaints, four kinds of answer, four divisions of the law of gift and their subdivisions, five modes of recovering debts, four kinds of sāhasa.

We have seen that Nārada departs from Manu in several essential matters. On the other hand Bṛhaspati follows Manu very closely. But he too differs on some points from Manu, for example, we saw above how Bṛhaspati dissents from Manu on the question of the divisibility of clothes &c. (note 285). He appears to differ from Manu as to the maximum interest allowed on corn, fruit, wool and beasts of burden.[377] Manu and Nārada are both silent as to the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate. But Bṛhaspati agreeing with Yājñavalkya makes her the first heir of her sonless husband.[378]

These considerations make it clear that Bṛhaspati is certainly later than Manu and Yāj. It is difficult to state his exact relationship to Nārada. He agrees more closely with Manu than Nārada does, but in some respects such as definitions and the rights of women he shows great advance over Nārada. So he is probably a contemporary of or not much later than Nārada. He employs the word nāṇaka.[379] He defines a dināra, also called "suvarṇa", as equal to twelve dhānakas and says that a dhānaka was equal to four aṇḍikas, an aṇḍikā being a copper paṇa weighing a *karṣa* and bearing a stamp.[380] This agrees with what Nārada says about dināra.

377 हिरण्ये द्विगुणा वृद्धिस्त्रिगुणा वस्त्रकुप्यके । धान्ये चतुर्गुणा प्रोक्ता शदे वाह्ये लवेषु च ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 39 ; compare मनु 8. 151.

378 आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्धं तस्य जीवति । जीवत्यर्धशरीरेऽर्धं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानैस्तु पितृभ्रातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य प्रमीतस्य पत्नी तद्धागहारिणी ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 135. The Mit. has the last verse.

379 कुलीनदक्षानलसैः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः । अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 259 ; वि. र. p. 711 and वीर० p. 383.

380 Vide note 368 above. ताम्रकर्षरूता मुद्रा विज्ञेयः कार्षिकः पणः । स एव चाण्डिका प्रोक्ता ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानका ॥ ता द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव तु । बृह० quoted in स्मृतिच० p. 99, वि. र. p. 667. कात्यायन is quoted on same page by the स्मृतिच० for a similar definition.

Dr. Jolly (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 276) assigns Bṛhaspati to the 6th or 7th century A. D. But this is much later by several centuries than the evidence warrants. Kātyāyana was looked upon as an authoritative writer along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. So he cannot be placed later than the 6th century. Kātyāyana in several places quotes Bṛhaspati as an authority. Aparārka quotes Kātyāyana as saying that according to Bṛhaspati pastures, ways, clothes that are worn on the body, debts (or books for use according to others) and what is set apart for religious purposes should not be partitioned.[381] Kātyāyana says that according to Bṛhaspati, that wealth which a man acquires by means of his learning after refuting an opponent in a contest with a stake for the winner is styled " vidyādhana " and is not liable to partition[382]; and what is acquired through valour &c. by persons that were taught in the family or learnt under their father should be partitioned among the brothers, according to Bṛhaspati. If a man falsely denies his liability and if only a part of the claim is brought home to him, then he should be made to pay the whole.[383] That the statement of a witness may be relied upon on a matter under his direct perception owing to his being near the plaintiff and the defendant and not otherwise; so says Bṛhaspati.[384] The foregoing examples show that Kātyāyana looked upon Bṛhaspati as an authority who must therefore have flourished several centuries before. Therefore Bṛhaspati cannot be placed later than the 4th century A. D. As he knew the extant Manusmṛti, was later than Yāj. and probably than Nārada, Bṛhaspati must have flourished between 200 and 400 A. D. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes, without making any difference, prose and verse passages of Bṛhaspati and thereby shows that in his opinion the jurist Bṛhaspati

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381 गोप्रचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं यच्चाङ्गयोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च बृहस्पतिः ॥ वि. र. p. 505 and अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 119.

382 परं निरस्य यल्लब्धं विद्यातो द्यूतपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्यान्न विभाज्यं बृहस्पतिः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 119; परा. मा. III. 2. p. 559.

383 सर्वापलापं यः कृत्वा मिथ्यात्वमपि संवदेत् । सर्वमेव तु दाप्यं स्यादिति युक्तो बृहस्पतिः ॥ व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 311.

384 अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसान्निध्यादनुभूतं तु यद्वदेत् । तद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथाह बृहस्पतिः ॥ quoted in the व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूत. p. 317.

(in verse) was identical with the political writer Bṛhaspati and was a very ancient writer in his day. Medhātithi (on Manu 9.153) quotes the verse "na pratigrahabhūr" (ascribed to Bṛhaspati by others) as Smṛtyantara. Bṛhaspati is cited in a few cases as referring to his own views in the third person[385]; sometimes he uses the first person also.[386] Nothing can be said about his country at present. In a well-known passage Bṛhaspati refers to the usages of the southern people, of the people in the Madhyadeśa, of the eastern and northern people.[387] In a striking and beautiful passage Bṛhaspati compares vyavahāra with yajña,[388] the king with Viṣṇu, the successful party with the sacrificer and the defeated party with the victim, the plaint and the reply to food and the *pratijñā* to the sacrificial offering (prepared from food), the śāstras to the three Vedas and the *sabhyas* to the priests in a sacrifice. Bṛhaspati seems to have been very fond of such long-drawn metaphors.[389]

The Smṛticandrikā quotes about seventy verses of Bṛhaspati in the Āhnika portion and about forty on Śrāddha. In the later works like the Parāśara-Mādhavīya, the Nirṇayasindhu and Saṁskāra-Kaustubha, the number of verses quoted from Bṛhaspati is much larger than even those quoted by the Smṛticandrikā. Those verses are quoted on such saṁskāras as puṁsavana, nāmakaraṇa, caula, upanayana, vivāha and also on āśauca and purification of dravyas. Even the Mitākṣarā quotes several verses of Bṛhaspati on matters

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385 ताडनं बन्धनं चैव तथैव च विडम्बनम्। एष दण्डो हि शूद्रस्य नार्थदण्डो बृहस्पतिः॥ परा. मा. III. 1. p. 212; स्मृतिच०

386 एष दण्डः समाख्यातः पुरुषापेक्षया मया। quoted by अपरार्क on याज्ञ. II. 211.

387 उच्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः। मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः॥ मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः। उत्तरे मद्यपा नार्यः स्पृश्या नृणां रजस्वलाः॥ वीर. p. 29, व्य. म. &c.

388 यज्ञो संपूज्यते विष्णुर्व्यवहारे महीपतिः। जयी तु यजमानोत्र जितः पशुरुदाहृतः॥ पूर्वपक्षोत्तरावार्यं प्रतिज्ञा च हविः स्मृता। त्रयी शास्त्राणि सभ्यास्तु ऋत्विजो दक्षिणादने॥ quoted in व्य. मा. p. 284.

389 e. g. विप्रो धर्मद्रुमस्यादिः स्कन्दशाखे महीपतिः। सचिवाः पत्रपुष्पाणि फलं न्यायेन पालनम्॥ यशो वित्तं फलरसो भोगोपग्रहपूजनम्। अजेयत्वं लोकपंक्तिः स्वर्गे स्थानं च शाश्वतम्॥ वीर० p. 14. Compare नारद (व्य. मा. I. 33 for the second verse),

other than vyavahāra. For example the Mit. on Yāj. I. 210 quotes a verse of Bṛhaspati that a nivartana (of land) is equal to 30 daṇḍas in area (daṇḍa being seven cubits in length) and ten *nivartanas* are equal to a *gocarma*.[390] On Yāj. III. 17 the Mit. quotes two verses of Bṛhaspati about impurity on birth or death &c. On Yāj. III. 21 the Mit. cites the definition of deśāntara given by Bṛhaspati.[391] On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's opinion that the period of mourning on the death of one's maternal grandfather, ācārya or śrotriya is three days. On Yāj. III. 253 the Mit. quotes Bṛhaspati's rule as to prāyaścitta for consciously drinking wine.[392] Vide also Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, 250, 254, 260, 290 for other quotations from Bṛhaspati.

The foregoing therefore establishes that Bṛhaspati was known at least to the Mit. and later writers as an expounder in verse not only of vyavahāra but also of other topics of dharma as well. As over a thousand verses of Bṛhaspati (including about 800 on vyavahāra) are quoted it appears that his work must have been an extensive one comprising several thousand verses. Such a work of Bṛhaspati has yet to be recovered.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 261 quotes a Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati on the nine varieties of saṁkara.[393] Kullūka on Manu (9. 181) cites a verse of Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati about the eleven subsidiary sons (vide note 283 above, where the verse is ascribed to Bṛhaspati). Hemādri (Caturvarga vol. III, part 2, p. 472) quotes a Jyotir-Bṛhaspati on the prohibition of a śrāddha on the thirteenth tithi of the dark half. Aparārka on Yāj. II. 3-4 quotes three verses from Vṛddha-Bṛhaspati

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390 सप्तहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद् दण्डा निवर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गोचर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ A similar verse occurs in the बृहस्पतिस्मृति (Jīvananda part I. p. 645) where the reading is दशहस्तेन.

391 महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः । वाचो यत्र विमिद्यन्ते तद् देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्वदन्त्यन्ये त्रिंशदन्ये तथैव च ॥

392 सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिक्षिपेत् । मुखे तथा विनिर्दग्धे मृतः शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥

393 यथाह वृद्धबृहस्पतिः । एकशय्यासनं पङ्क्तिभाण्डपङ्क्त्यन्नमिश्रणम् । याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह भोजनम् । नवधा संकरः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योधमैः सह ॥ This is ascribed to बृहस्पति by the गृहस्थरत्नाकर (folio 130a of D. C. of A 1883-84).

about the derivation of the word "prāḍ-vivāka" and one on the punishment for sabhyas who take bribes. Three of these verses are ascribed to Bṛhaspati in the Pārāśara-Mādhavīya and other works and one of them to Kātyāyana in the Vyavahāra-mātṛkā.

38. Kātyāyana

Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana form a triumvirate in the realm of the ancient Hindu Law and procedure. The work of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, like that of Bṛhaspati, has yet to be recovered. The following account is based on the quotations from Kātyāyana contained in about a dozen works from Viśvarūpa to the Vīramitrodaya.

Kātyāyana is enumerated as one of the expounders of dharma by Śaṅkha-Likhita, Yājñavalkya (I. 4-5) and Parāśara. A Kātya. is quoted as an authority in the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (I. 2. 47). A Śrautasūtra and Śrāddhakalpa of the white Yajurveda are ascribed to Kātyāyana.

Kātyāyana appears to have taken Nārada and Bṛhaspati as his models in the order and treatment of the subjects to be dealt with in vyavahāra. He closely follows both the writers in terminology and technique. On several points he presupposes Nārada and expounds and elucidates the latter's dicta. For example, Nārada (Intro. chap. I. 10-11) lays down that vyavahāra has four pādas, each later one prevailing over the preceding, viz. dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, rājaśāsana (note 361) and then Nārada very briefly in one verse explains these four terms. Kātyāyana on the other hand devotes at least nine verses to the elucidation of the rule as to each succeeding one prevailing over its predecessor.[394] Nārada contains very little on the topic of strīdhana (dāyabhāga chap. verses 8-9). He merely enumerates the six kinds of strīdhana and then lays down the rule of succession. Kātyāyana's treatment of strīdhana has attained classical rank. It appears that he was probably the first to carefully define the several kinds of strīdhana (such as adhyagni, adhyāvahanika, prītidatta, śulka, anvādheya, saudāyika), to lay down woman's power of disposal over the several varieties of strīdhana and to prescribe lines of devolution as to strīdhana. The verses on this topic occurring in the nibandhas number about thirty.

394 Vide पृ. मा. vol. III, part I, pp. 16-17, and वी. p. 9-10. 180-181.

The leading nibandhas contain only a few quotations from Bṛhaspati on strīdhana. Hence it may be surmised that Kātyāyana probably was the first smṛti writer to give elaborate rules on this topic.

It has been already shown (notes 381-384) how Kātyāyana often quotes the views of Bṛhaspati. A few more examples may be added here. According to Bṛhaspati, says Kātyāyana, when a man who stands surety with others on a joint liability goes abroad, his son would have to pay the whole debt, but if the man dies then the son would be liable for his father's share only.[395] When cattle stray into fields, gardens, houses or cowpens, they may be, according to Bṛhaspati, caught hold of (by the ear &c.) or beaten.[396] According to Bṛhaspati, a man of the kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra caste may employ one of his own caste to do the work of a dāsa (slave or serf), but even a Brāhmaṇa could never employ another Brāhmaṇa in the same way.[397]

About a dozen nibandhas on vyavahāra quote about 900 verses of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the Smṛticandrikā alone citing about 600 of them. In these verses Kātyāyana refers at least a score of times to the views of Bhṛgu. It is remarkable that only a few of the views ascribed to Bhṛgu are found in the extant Manusmṛti. Kātyāyana says, according to Bhṛgu, whatever (ancestral) wealth was concealed by one coparcener from others, whatever was badly divided should be divided in equal shares when afterwards discovered (Parāśara-Mādhavīya III, p. 566). This may well be compared with Manu 9. 215. Kātyāyana says according to Bhṛgu, it is not Brāhmaṇa-murder to kill an ātatāyin who is foremost by his austerities, learning and caste. This has in view Manu 8. 360. Kullūka distinctly says that Kātyāyana simply explains the verse of Manu by referring to it as Bhṛgu's. On the other hand there are several places where the views ascribed to Bhṛgu find no counterpart in the extant Manu. According to

395 एकच्छायाश्रिते सर्वं दद्यात्तु प्रोषिते सुतः। मृते पितरि पित्र्यंशं परणं न बृहस्पतिः॥ परा. मा. III, p. 251.

396 क्षेत्रारामविवीतेषु गृहेषु पशुपादिषु। ग्रहणं तत्प्रविष्टानां ताडनं वा बृहस्पतिः॥ वि. र. p. 241.

397 क्षत्रविट्शूद्रधर्मस्तु समवर्णे कदाचन। कारयेद् दासकर्माणि ब्राह्मणं न बृहस्पतिः॥ वि. र. p. 152.

Bhṛgu in all *sāhasas* of the worst type the truth should be found out by means of divine proof (ordeals &c.) even though there may be witnesses.[398] There is nothing in the Manusmṛti corresponding with this. According to Bhṛgu the ordeals of balance &c. are prescribed for those who are suspected to be in league with marauders and who have incurred popular censure, but in such cases there is no undertaking (by the complainant to pay fine).[399] The Manusmṛti has not a word on this point. Household paraphernalia, beasts of burden, cattle, ornaments, slaves should be divided when discovered; if they are (alleged to be) concealed, the ordeal of kośa should be resorted to ; so says Bhṛgu.[400] Another important circumstance deserves to be noted. Kātyāyana several times refers to the views of Manu. Kātyāyana says that the view of Manu was that in certain charges (such as the commission of mahāpātakas) the ordeals for the accused were to be performed by good men.[401] According to Manu if a woman deserted her son, though he may be able (to pay), her strīdhana should be seized and the paternal debt should be paid thereout.[402] Manu declared, says Kātyāyana, that if animals be killed, the offender should offer (to the owner) another similar animal or its proper price (note 345 above where Parāśara also quotes it as Manu's view). All these views attributed to Manu by Kātyāyana are not found in the extant Manusmṛti. In certain places Kātyāyana refers to the views of the Mānavas ; e. g. according to the Gārgīyas and Mānavas if a bribe had already been paid, the person receiving it should be made to repay it and should be fined eleven times as much ;[403] according to

398 उत्तमेषु च सर्वेषु साहसेषु विचारयेत् । सद्भावं दिव्यदृष्टेन सत्सु साक्षिषु वै भृगुः ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 90.

399 लोकापवाददुष्टानां शङ्कितानां च दस्युभिः । तुलादीनि नियोज्यानि न शिरस्तत्र वै भृगुः॥ अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

400 गृहोपस्करवाह्याश्च दोह्याभरणकर्मिणः । दृश्यमाना विभज्यन्ते कोशं गूढेऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क p. 723 and परा. मा. III, p. 557.

401 एषु वादेषु दिव्यानि प्रतिषिद्धानि यत्नतः। कारयेत्सज्जनैस्तानि नाभिशस्तं त्यजेन्मनुः ॥ अपरार्क p. 696 who ascribes it to भृगु. The टोडरानन्द reads त्यजेन्नरः.

402 या स्वपुत्रं तु जह्यात्स्त्री समर्थमपि पुत्रिणी । आहृत्य स्त्रीधनं तत्र पित्र्यर्णं शोधयेन्मनुः ॥ वि. र. p. 65.

403 अथ प्रागेव दत्ता स्यात्प्रतिदाप्यस्तथा बलात् । दण्डं चैकादशगुणमाहुर्गार्गीयमानवाः ॥ अपरार्क p. 782; वि.र. 652 (which reads आम्भीयमानवाः).

the Mānavas thieves caught red-handed with their booty should be at once banished.[404] As regards both these references, the teaching of the Manusmṛti seems to be different ; vide Manu 9. 231 and 270 respectively. These facts about Kātyāyana's references to Bhṛgu and Manu raise several difficult questions, whether Bhṛgu and Manu stand for two entirely different works or for the same work and whether he refers to some other version of the Manusmṛti ascribed to Bhṛgu. In my opinion he is not referring to two separate works, and that he had before him a version of the Manusmṛti promulgated by Bhṛgu but somewhat different from and probably larger than the present Manusmṛti.

In the *nibandhas* several verses are ascribed to Kātyāyana along with Manu, Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati. For example, the well-known verse about the sixfold division of strīdhana (adhyagnyadhyāvahanikam &c.) is ascribed by the Dāyabhāga to Manu and Kātyāyana. The half-verse "varṇānāmānulomyena dāsyam na pratilomataḥ" is the same in both Yājñavalkya (II. 183) and Kātyāyana. The Vīramitrodaya (p. 140) ascribes a verse to Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, in which the opinion of Bṛhaspati is cited. There is very close agreement between the definitions proposed by the two last writers of dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, and rājaśāsana. Besides Manu (or Mānavas), Bṛhaspati and Bhṛgu, Kātyāyana cites the views of several other writers on dharma. For Gārgyas and Gautama vide notes 403 and 404 above. He says, according to Kauśika, powerful robbers were to be guarded by chains of iron, were to be low-fed and were to undergo hard labour for the state till death (Aparārka p. 849). He quotes the view of Likhita that where a woman is deprived of food, raiment and dwelling (by her husband's coparceners) she would be entitled to demand her own (strīdhana) and a share from the coparceners. In one case (Aparārka p. 755). a verse is cited as Kātyāyana's in which Kātyāyana himself is named (Parāśaramādhavīya III. p. 235).

Kātyāyana contains the same advanced views about law and rules of procedure as are found in Nārada and Bṛhaspati. He is even in

404 मानवाः सह एवाहुः सहोढानां प्रवासनम् । गौतमानामनिष्टं यत्प्राण्युच्छेदाद्विगर्हितम् ॥ वि. र. 332. It is not unlikely that the correct reading is प्रमापणं for प्रवासनं, as the immediately following view of गौतम suggests. The words of मनु are सहोढं सोपकरणं चातपेदविचारयन्.

advance of these two writers in certain matters, such as definitions in general and the elaboration of rules about strīdhana. He gives numerous definitions, such as those of vyavahāra, prāḍvivāka, stobhaka, dharmādhikaraṇa, tīrita and anuśiṣṭa, sāmanta &c. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between the plaintiff and the defendant, while the term *jayapatra* is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by the defendant or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds.[405] He lays down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less cogent one, he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court.[406] This resembles the 4th explanation to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code (1908) about *res judicata*. The verses about kārṣāpaṇa and dīnāra quoted above (note 368) from Nārada (pariśiṣṭa verses 58-60) are ascribed to Kātyāyana by the Smṛticandrikā.

The date of Kātyāyana can be settled only approximately. He is certainly much later than Manu and Yājñavalkya. As shown above he presupposes Nārada and regarded Bṛhaspati as a very leading authority on vyavahāra. Hence his upper limit is the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Viśvarūpa quotes eight verses as Kātyāyana's by name (vide on Yāj. II. 5, 6, 47, 63, 281) on such topics of Vyavahāra as the defects of the plaint, the contents of the plaint, the liability for the debts of a deceased person, payments of debts of honour (satyaṁkāra), punishment for abortion, grievous hurt and homicide of a Brāhmaṇa woman. Medhātithi (on Manu 7. 1) ascribes to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 216) speaks of Kātyāyana-sūtra, appears to quote a portion of it in prose and explains it.[407] Medhātithi

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405 निरस्तास्तु क्रिया यत्र प्रमाणेनैव वादिना । पश्चात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वासु विधीयते ॥ अन्यथाद्यादिहीनेभ्य इतरेषां प्रदीयते । वृत्तानुवादसंसिद्धं तच्च स्याज्जयपत्रकम् ॥ स्मृतिच०, टोडरानन्द, वीर०

406 क्रियां बलवतीं मुक्त्वा दुर्बलां योऽवलम्बते । स जयेवधृते सभ्यैः पुनस्तां नाप्नुयात् क्रियाम् ॥ मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 80; व्य. मा. p. 281; वीर० p. 108.

407 'यो वाग्यः कस्यचित्कर्मणि धनमावश्य अर्धतो निवर्तेतेति कात्यायनीये सूत्रे धनमावश्य आसज्य धनव्ययं कारयित्वा यदि अर्धरुते निवर्तेत सोपि तद्वदेदित्यनुवाक्यः ॥'

H. D. 28.

says that Kātyāyana extended the maxim of the trader carrying merchandise (bhāṇḍavāha-vaṇik maxim) to all similar transactions. All known quotations of Kātyāyana are in verse. When Medhātithi speaks of a sūtra and quotes a portion of it (as "vā" and "iti" after "nivarteta" indicate) in prose, we must either suppose that he is referring to some other work of Kātyāyana than the one in verse from which hundreds of verses are cited by other writers or that Kātyāyana's work on vyavahāra also contains some prose passages. As hardly any other writer quotes a prose passage of Kātyāyana on vyavahāra, the second alternative appears somewhat unlikely. Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi regarded Kātyāyana as an authoritative *smṛtikāra* along with Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in less than a few hundred years. Therefore the lowest limit to which Kātyāyana can be assigned is the 6th century. Hence it may be said that Kātyāyana flourished between the 4th and 6th century A. D.

The Vyavahāramātṛkā (p. 307) quotes a Bṛhat-Kātyāyana on the question of proof. The Dāyabhāga mentions a Vṛddha-Kātyāyana. The Sarasvatīvilāsa also quotes verses of Vṛddha-Kātyāyana on rescission of purchase and other topics (p. 320). In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say whether these two are different works. The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (vol. III, part 2, p. 657) speaks of Upakātyāyana. Aparārka quotes a verse from śloka-Kātyāyana which is not found in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda's ed.), but appears to be a summary of a prose passage quoted as Kātyāyana's immediately before by Aparārka.

In Jivananda's collection of smṛtis (part I, pp. 603-644) there is one of Kātyāyana in three prapāṭhakas and 29 khaṇḍas and about five hundred verses. The same work is printed as Gobhilasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 49-71). It contains also a few prose passages in the 12th, 13th and 14th khaṇḍas. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, a few verses being in the Indravajrā and other metres. The work is styled the Karmapradīpa of Kātyāyana. The opening verse justifies this name when it states that like a lamp the work will clearly show the mode of performing certain rites treated by Gobhila and other rites which are not clearly elucidated.[408] The contents of this work are briefly as follows :— how

408 अथातो गोभिलोक्तानामन्येषां चैव कर्मणाम् । अस्पष्टानां विधिं सम्यग्दर्शयिष्ये प्रदीपवत् ॥

to wear the sacred thread; sipping water and touching various limbs with water; the worship of Gaṇeśa and fourteen mātṛs in every rite; kuśas; śrāddha details; consecration of sacred fires; details about araṇīs, sruc, sruva; rules about cleansing the teeth and bathing; saṁdhyā; prāṇāyāma, muttering of Vedic *mantras*; tarpaṇa of gods and manes; the great daily *yajñas*; who is to offer śrāddha; rules about periods of impurity due to death; duties of wife; śrāddhas of various kinds.

The Karmapradīpa mentions by name several authors. It very frequently cites the views of Gobhila (pp. 603, 626, 638) and Gautama (pp. 619, 620, 626, 630, 636, 639). The Karmapradīpa as the opening verse says is intimately related to the Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra. It distinctly says that as Gobhila did not dilate upon the details as to time and procedure of goyajña and vājiyajña, Kātyāyana dilates upon them. This is borne out by the Gobhila gṛhya-sūtra.[409] Another[410] passage of Kātyāyana about the Aṣṭakas is based upon the very words of the Gobhila gṛhya. Frequent reference is made to the views of Vasiṣṭha on the worship of Mātṛs (p. 605), on śrāddha (pp. 608, 625). Vide also p. 642 (28. 16). Among the other authors named are Nārada on the sticks for dantadhāvana (p. 615), Bhārgava (probably Uśanas) on p. 640, Śāṇḍilya and Śāṇḍilyāyana on p. 626. Kātyāyana is named in several places (pp. 624, 627, 638) and once the first person is used (as in "mamāpyetad hṛdi sthitam" p. 643). The Kātyāyanasmṛti quotes the verse of Manu (III. 70) on the five great *yajñas*. On p. 633 four verses forming the consolation to be offered to the relatives of a person departed are the same as Yāj. (III. 8-11) and one verse in the same context occurs in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva

409 Vide p. 638 verses 1–11 of 26th khaṇḍa and compare with Gobhilagṛhya-sūtra III. 6. 10–15 (गोयज्ञे पायसश्चरुः। अग्निं यजेत पूषणमिन्द्रमाश्वरम्। ऋषभपूजा। गोयज्ञेनैवाश्वयज्ञो व्याख्यातः। यमवरुणौ देवतानामन्नाधिकौ। गन्धैरभ्युक्षणं गवाम्।).

410 यस्तु शाकादिको होमः कार्योपूपाष्टकावृतः। अन्वष्टक्यं मध्यमायामिति गोभिलगौतमौ। वार्कखण्डिश्च सर्वासु कौत्सो मेनेष्टकासुच॥ कात्यायन० 17. 24 (p. 626); compare गोभिलगृह्य III. 10. 4-7 'चतुरष्टको हेमन्तः तां: सर्वाः समांसाश्रिकीर्षेदिति कौत्सः। त्र्यष्टक इत्यौद्गाहमानिः। तथा गौतमवार्कखण्डौ। योर्धमासहायण्यास्तामिलाष्टमी तामपूपाष्टकेत्याचक्षते।'

27. 31 and other places).[411] On p. 631 Kātyāyana speaks of Rāma having performed yajñas taking as his spouse the golden image of Sītā.

The question is:—what is the date of this Kātyāyanasmṛti (Karmapradīpa) and whether it is the work of Kātyāyana the great jurist. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254) quotes a verse as Kātyāyana's which occurs in Jivananda's text (p. 624 verse 20); similarly the Mit. quotes two verses as Kātyāyana's (on Yāj. III. 247) which have a place in the Karmapradīpa (Jivananda p. 634 verses 4-5). Scores of verses cited as Kātyāyana's by Aparārka (on ācāra and prāyaścitta) are found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, *vide* Aparārka p. 43 (three verses) and Karmapradīpa (p. 605, 1110-12), Aparārka p. 51 (three verses about samidh) and Karmapr. (p. 613, 8. 17-19), Aparārka p. 135 (four verses about bathing in rivers) and Karma. (p. 615, 10. 5-7 and 14), Aparārka p. 532 (four verses on śrāddha in which Kātyāyana himself is cited as an authority) and Karma. (p. 624, 16. 16-19), Aparārka p. 872 (six verses) and Karma. (21. 2-7 p. 632), Aparārka p. 1066 (three verses about an *agnihotrin* being guilty of mahāpātaka) and Karma. (23. 4-6 p. 634). The Smṛticandrikā also quotes profusely from Kātyāyana on *ācāra*, śrāddha etc. and cites from the Karmapradīpa by name passages which occur in Jivananda's edition. The above references show that in the eyes of the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka the Karmapradīpa was an authoritative work. Therefore it follows that it must have been composed centuries before the 11th century A. D. It is however remarkable that several quotations ascribed to Kātyāyana in the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka and other works are not found in the Karmapradīpa. For example, the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 242) cites Kātyāyana's verse about five varieties of lapses in conduct viz. mahāpātaka, atipātaka, pātaka, prāsaṅgika, upapātaka and on Yāj. III. 260 quotes a verse of Kātyāyana about what are atipātakas. These are not to be traced in the Karmapradīpa printed by Jivananda. Similarly Aparārka (pp. 94-95) quotes three verses of Kātyāyana that are very interesting but are not found in

411 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जीवितम् ॥

Jivananda's edition.[412] Later works like the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha, the Madanapārijāta quote numerous verses of Kātyāyana on upanayana, marriage and other saṁskāras which we vainly seek to find in the Karmapradīpa. Hence it follows that there was some large work of Kātyāyana of which the Karmapradīpa is either an abridgment or only a portion.

The next question is whether Kātyāyana the jurist and the author of the Karmapradīpa are identical. There are not sufficient data to identify the two. The only fact that points to the identity is that such eminent and early writers as Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka appear to make no distinction between the two. Besides the Karmapradīpa is also an early work. Against this it has to be remembered that Viśvarūpa, probably the most ancient of all extant commentators, nowhere quotes Kātyāyana on ācārā and prāyaścitta. This absence of quotations is not a very cogent argument; still it raises a doubt in one's mind whether a work of Kātyāyana on ācāra and other non-jural topics was known to Viśvarūpa.

The other principal versified smṛtis will now be described in (Sanskrit) alphabetical order.

39. Aṅgiras

From Viśvarūpa downwards Aṅgiras is quoted very frequently on all topics except that of civil law (vyavahāra). Aṅgiras is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 9) states that according to Aṅgiras a *pariṣad* may comprise 121 Brāhmaṇas. On Yāj. I. 50 Viśvarūpa quotes a verse of Aṅgiras that what is done according to one's own will without following the dictates of śāstra is fruitless.[413] On Yāj. III. 248 Viśvarūpa says that the *vrata* called Vajra was prescribed by Aṅgiras for Brāhmaṇas guilty of deadly sins. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 265) quotes two verses of Aṅgirās on the prāyaścitta for killing the wife of a Brāhmaṇa who has kindled the sacred fires, for killing wives of

[412] वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चिन्मणश्येत्पुरुषो यदा । रक्तागमांक्षीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरयेद्वरम् ॥ प्रदाय गच्छेच्छुल्कं यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ पूर्वदत्ता तु या कन्या अन्येनोढा यदा भवेत् । संस्कृतापि प्रदेया स्यादन्यस्मै पूर्व प्रतिश्रुता ॥.

[413] स्वस्वाभिप्रायकृतं कर्म यत्तु धर्मविवर्जितम् । क्रीडाकर्मैव बालानां तत्सर्वं निष्प्रयोजनम् ॥

other Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. On Yāj. III. 266 he quotes two verses of Aṅgiras laying down prāyaścitta for killing certain beasts and birds, wherein Aṅgiras himself is mentioned with honour (bhagavān). Aparārka (pp. 22-23) quotes thirteen verses from Aṅgiras on the constitution of *pariṣad*, wherein such terms as chāturvidya, vitarkī, aṅgavid, dharmapāṭhaka are explained and the last of which says that a *pariṣad* sitting in judgment over those who are guilty of mahāpātakas may consist of hundreds. The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. I. 86) quotes several verses on the practice of *satī* and ascribes them to both Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras.[414] Aparārka (pp. 109, 112) quotes four other verses on the same practice, one of which is in the Indravajrā metre and another prohibits a Brāhmaṇa wife from following that practice. Medhātithi (on Manu. V. 157) quotes the view of Aṅgiras on *satī* and disapproves of it. The Mitākṣarā, Haradatta and others quote numerous verses of Aṅgiras on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Haradatta on Gautama (20. 1) quotes a verse of Aṅgiras about the seven *antyajas*.[415] Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. III. 237) quotes a sūtra of Sumantu in which Āṅgirasa is cited as an authority. The Śuddhi-mayūkha quotes a verse of Aṅgiras which relies upon Śātātapa.[416] The Smṛticandrikā quotes Aṅgiras on the enumeration of Upasmṛtis (vide note 260 above). The Smṛticandrikā also contains a few prose quotations from Aṅgiras; the same work cites a verse of Aṅgiras holding the dharmaśāstra of Manu as the supreme guide.[417]

The Aṅgiras-smṛti (in Jivananda part I, pp. 554-560) in 72 verses is probably an abridgment. It lays down prāyaścittas for various occasions, such as taking food and drink from antyajas, for cruelly beating or causing various injuries to cows. It also lays down various rules for the wearing of the dark cloth (nīlīvastra) by women. It cites Aṅgiras and Āpastamba by name. The penultimate verse condemns those who rob women of their wealth.

414 One of them is the well known verse तिस्रः कोट्यर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे । तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गे भर्तारं यानुगच्छति ॥

415 चण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहिकस्तथा । मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेन्त्यावसायिनः ॥

416 सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके मृतके तथा । दशाहाच्छुद्धिरत्तेषामिति शातातपोब्रवीत् ॥

417 यत्पूर्वं मनुना प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । नहि तत्समतिक्रम्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥ स्मृतिच० (आह्निक).

There are several mss. in the Deccan College Collection which contain a varying number of verses on prāyaścitta agreeing more or less with Jivananda's text. For example, No. 53 of 1879-81 contains about one hundred verses, No. 205 of 1882-83 contains 54 verses, while No. 65 of Viśrāmbāg collection and No. 83 of 1895-1902 contain only 32 ; No. 81 of 1884-86 is styled Bṛhad-Aṅgiras and contains 151 verses, many of which are identical with those in the Calcutta text.

The Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. III. 277) and the Smṛtiratnāvali of Vedācārya (I. O. cat. No. 1552 p. 475) quote a Bṛhad-Aṅgiras and the Mitākṣarā also quotes a Madhyama-Aṅgiras several times (on Yāj. III. 243, 241, 258, and 260).

40. Ṛsyaśṛṅga

This is a writer who is frequently quoted on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha, and prāyaścitta by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works. Aparārka (p. 724) quotes as Ṛsyaśṛṅga's a verse ascribed to Śaṅkha in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 119) and other works, which states that when one coparcener recovers with his own efforts family property that was lost to the family, he gets a fourth share of it and the others become sharers in the rest.[418] The Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 32) quotes 'api vāsasā yajñopavītārthān kuryāt tadabhāve trivṛtā sūtreṇa', which is in prose.

41. Kārsnājini

This writer is quoted by the Mit. (Yāj. III. 265 three verses), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and other works mostly on śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 138) quotes a verse from him which enumerates the seven sons of Brahmā, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍha (?) and Pañcaśikha. Aparārka (p. 424) quotes a verse which refers to the two signs of the Zodiac, Kanyā, and Vṛścika.

42. Carurvimśatimata

There are two Mss. of this work in the Deccan College Collection (No 244 of A. 1881-1882 and 111 of 1895-1902). It contains 525 verses. The work is so called because it embodies the essence of the teachings of 24 sages, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Atri, Viṣṇu,

[418] पूर्वनष्टां तु यो भूमिमेकश्चेदुद्धरेत् क्रमात् । यथांशं तु लभन्तेन्ये दत्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् ॥

oth/asiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Uśanas, Āpastamba, Vatsa, Hārīta, Guru qu(Bṛhaspati), Nārada, Parāśara, Gārgya, Gautama, Yama, Baudhāyana, ce/Dakṣa, Śaṅkha, Aṅgiras, Sātātapa, Sāṅkhya (Sāṅkhyāyana?), F Saṁvarta. The subjects treated of are:—The usages of the varṇas and āśramas, śauca, *ācamana*, cleansing the teeth, bath, prāṇāyāma, repeating the Gāyatrī, study of the Vedas, marriage, agnihotra, five great daily yājñas, means of livelihood, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins, duties of Kṣatriyas and the other two varṇas, prāyaścittas for the deadly sins and other lesser misdeeds, means of livelihood, śrāddha, āśauca (on birth and death).

The work often quotes the views of Uśanas, Manu, Pārāśarya, Aṅgiras, Yama, Hārīta. It quotes Manu III. 5 (asapiṇḍā ca yā etc.) and Manu 12. 95 (yā vedabāhyāḥ smṛtayaḥ.). Two other verses which it contains are indicated as interpolated in several editions of Manu.[419] It says that the teachings of Arhat, Cārvāka and Buddhas delude people.[420] Its position is that whatever is not found in the Veda or the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa, or Mahābhārata or in the śāstras of Manu and others is as good as non-existent.[421]

The Caturviṁśatimata is frequently quoted by the Mit., Aparārka and later works, but not by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. It was probably compiled about the time when the latter two writers flourished. Aparārka (p. 1121) quotes a prose passage from the work on the prāyaścitta for a dvijāti procreating children on a Śūdra wife. This passage could not be traced in the two mss. referred to above.

The portions of the work on saṁskāra and śrāddha together with the commentary of Bhaṭṭoji, son of Lakṣmīdhara, have been

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[419] वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः। अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ (after मनु. XI. 10); पुराणं मानवो धर्मः साङ्गो वेदश्चिकित्सितम्। आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥ (after मनु XII. 110.). This occurs in यशस्तिलक, 4th आश्वास p. 117 and the first half of it occurs in the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

[420] अर्हच्चार्वाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च। विप्रलम्भकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत् ॥ This occurs in the स्मृतिच० I. p. 5. (Gbarpure) and परा. मा. vol. I, part I, p. 10.

[421] यन्नास्ति वेदे न च यत्पुराणे रामायणे भारतसंगरे वा। मन्वादिशास्त्रेषु च यन्न गीतं तन्नास्ति नास्तीति न तेन कार्यम् ॥

published in the Benares Sanskrit Series (Nos. 137 and 139). The commentary is a very learned one and refers to a host of writers. This commentary is in some mss. ascribed to Rāmacandra (vide I. O. cat. No. 1554, p. 475).

43. Dakṣa

Dakṣa is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Yāj. Viśvarūpa quotes verses of Dakṣa several times, viz. on Yāj. 1. 17 (on clods of earth for purifying the body), on Yāj. III. 30 (two verses on āśauca), on Yāj. III. 66 (about a parivrājaka), on Yāj. III. 191 (about padmāsana). The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 89) quotes a half verse of Dakṣa to the effect that a dvija should not remain unattached to an āśrama (i. e. without a wife in the context) even for a moment; on Yāj. III. 58 two verses about bhikṣus; on Yāj. III. 243 (one verse). Aparārka cites numerous verses of Dakṣa on ācāra, āśauca, śrāddha and similar topics. In one case (p. 368) he attributes a prose passage to Dakṣa about the gift of gold.[422] Two of Dakṣa's verses most frequently quoted by writers on vyavahāra are those that lay down what nine things cannot be the subjects of gift.[423]

In Jivananda's collection there is a Dakṣasmṛti (part II, pp. 383-402) in seven chapters and 220 verses (vide also Ānandāśrama collection pp. 72-84). The principal subjects treated of are:— Four āśramas, two kinds of brahmacārins; the daily round of duties for dvijas; various subdivisions of actions, nine karmans, nine vikarmans, nine actions that should be concealed, nine acts that should be made public, nine things that should not be gifted; gifts; eulogy of a good housewife; śauca of two kinds; impurity due to birth and death; Yoga and its six aṅgas viz. prāṇāyāma, dhyāna, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, tarka and samādhi, maithuna of eight kinds to be avoided by ascetics, duties of bhikṣu, dvaita, and advaita.

This smṛti is certainly a very old one. All the quotations from Dakṣa cited by Viśvarūpa occur in the printed Dakṣa (vide pp. 395,

422 सुवर्णमेव स्वर्णमस्य च देशकालपात्रसुवर्णपरिमाणाश्च फलविशेषः। अपरार्क.

423 सामान्यं याचितं न्यस्तमाधिर्दारांश्च तद्धनम्। अन्वाहितं च निक्षेपः सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति॥ आपत्स्वपि न देयानि नव वस्तूनि पण्डितैः। यो ददाति स मूढात्मा प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः॥ अपरार्क p. 404. These occur in the दक्षस्मृति (Jivananda part II, p. 391).

'396, 384, 397 which reads 'na pathyāśanād yogo'). Similarly all the quotations in the Mit. from Dakṣa are found in the Calcutta text. Aparārka contains over forty verses from the printed Dakṣa, though there are a few verses cited by him as Dakṣa's which are not found therein. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses of Dakṣa on woman which are all found in the 4th chap. of the Calcutta text.

In the Deccan College collection there is a ms. of Dakṣa (No. 120 of 1895-1902) which contains 197 verses on the same topics as above, many of which are identical with the Calcutta text. The Bombay University has also a similar ms. Vide I. O. cat. No. 1320 p. 385 for a similar ms. in 197 verses.

44. Pitāmaha

Pitāmaha is enumerated among writers on dharma in a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñvalkya quoted by Viśvarūpa. The Smṛti of Pitāmaha is drawn upon mostly on vyavahāra. Viśvarūpa cites (on Yāj. I. 17) a verse from him on śauca.[424] Mit. and Aparārka quote verses from Pitāmaha only on vyavahāra and specially on ordeals. The Smṛticandrikā quotes about ten verses on āhnika, 130 on vyavahāra and only a few on śrāddha. Pitāmaha regards the Vedas with the aṅgas, Mīmāṁsā, the smṛtis, Purāṇa and Nyāya system as dharmaśāstras.[425] Pitāmaha like Bṛhaspati enumerates nine kinds of ordeals,[426] while Yāj. and Nārada name only five, though the latter seems to have known two more, viz. taṇḍula and taptamāṣa. The Smṛticandrika quotes a dozen verses about 50 *chalas* on which a king took action without any complaint.[427] Pitāmaha seems to have followed Vyāsa in defining documents called krayapatra, sthitipatra, saṁdhipatra, viśuddhipatra.[428] The Smṛticandrikā cites

424 त्रिषु ये नोपनीयन्ते शूद्राः सौधन्वनाः स्त्रियः । गन्धलेपापक (र्षणं ?) तेषां शौचं मृदाम्भसा ॥

425 वेदाः साङ्गास्तु चत्वारो मीमांसा स्मृतयस्तथा । एतानि धर्मशास्त्राणि पुराणं न्यायदर्शनम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 601; compare याज्ञ. I. 3.

426 अष्टमं फालमित्युक्तं नवमं धर्मजं भवेत् । दिव्यान्येतानि सर्वाणि निर्दिष्टानि स्वयंभुवा ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 694.

427 छलानि चापराधांश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकैर्विना ॥ स्मृतिच.

428 Vide परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128 and स्मृतिच०.

Pitāmaha for an enumeration of the 18 prakṛtis viz. washerman, leather worker, etc.[429] The same work states that according to Pitāmaha the titles of law to be taken cognisance by the king himself were twenty-two. In the hall of justice, he says, there should be eight constituents viz. the scribe, the accountant, śāstra, the sādhyapāla, the assessors, gold, fire and water.[430] Some of the other noteworthy dicta of Pitāmaha are:—a suit should be[431] first tried before the village (pancāyat), then before the town (court of appeal), then before the king; between litigants of the same country, town, societies, cities and villages, the decision should be arrived at according to their own peculiar conventions and usages, but when there is a dispute between these and strangers, the decision must be according to the śāstra; possession[432] in order to be recognised by the courts as decisive must have five characteristics, it must have title, long duration, it must be uninterrupted, it must not have been impeached and it must be before the eyes of the opponent; a private document[433] under one's own hand is inferior to a *jānapada* (a publicly written and attested) deed, the latter is inferior to a royal edict, this last is inferior to possession continued for three generations.

Pitāmaha is later than Bṛharpati,[434] as he cites the latter's view that a litigation between members of the same village, society, town, guild, caravan or army must be decided according to their peculiar usages. Therefore Pitāmaha must be assigned to some date between the 4th and 7th century A. D.

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429 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तकश्च विज्ञेया म्लेच्छभिल्लौ तथैव च॥ वेसरस्थिरविव्याधहस्तलाक्षद्रुघट्टकाः। कौसेदकाभीरपदमातङ्गाण्डापगोपकाः॥ एताः प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः। वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु बहिः स्थिताः॥ स्मृतिच०.

430 लेखको गणकः शास्त्रं साध्यपालः सभासदः। हिरण्यमग्निरुदकमष्टाङ्गकरणं स्मृतम्॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य.); compare नारद (Intro. chap. verse 15).

431 ग्रामे दृष्टः पुरे यायात्पुरे दृष्टस्तु राजनि। राज्ञा दृष्टः कुदृष्टो वा नास्ति तस्य पुनर्भवः॥ स्मृतिच०; देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वासिनाम्। तेषां स्वसमयेधर्मशास्त्रतोन्येषु तैः सह॥ स्मृतिच०.

432 सागमा दीर्घकाला चाविच्छिन्नापरोज्झिता। प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधाना च भुक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता॥

433 स्वहस्तकाज्जानपदं तस्मात्तु नृपशासनम्। ततस्तत्पुरुषो भोगः प्रमाणतरमिष्यते॥

434 ग्रामगोष्ठपुरश्रेणिसार्थसेनानिवासिनाम्। व्यवहारश्चरित्रेण निर्णेतव्यो बृहस्पतिः॥

45. Pulastya

Pulastya is one of the expounders of dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya. Viśvarūpa quotes a verse from him on śārīra-śauca.[435] The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 261) cites a verse from Pulastya that a Brāhmaṇa should principally use ascetic's food (i. e. vegetable food) in śrāddha, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas should use meat and śūdras honey.[436] The Mit. (Yāj. III 253) quotes two verses of Pulastya who enumerates eleven intoxicating drinks together with *surā* as the twelfth.[437] Aparārka quotes several verses from Pulastya on saṁdhyā, śrāddha, āśauca, duties of yatis, prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes two verses from Pulastya propounding the view that a combination of jñāna and karma is the correct view.[438] The first of these verses is ascribed by him to Yoga-Yājñavalkya elsewhere (note 336). The Smṛticandrikā quotes about forty verses from Pulastya on āhnika and śrāddha. In one place it quotes Pulastya on the efficacy of bathing on Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday.[439] In another place it refers to the *japa* of Rāma, Paraśurāma, Nṛsiṁha, Trivikrama.

The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites a prose text from Pulastya on the gift of deer-skin.[440]

The Pulastya-smṛti must have been composed between 4th and 7th century A. D.

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435 स्नातकस्य त्रयोपाने पञ्चापानेग्निहोत्रिणः । सर्वानेवं गृहस्थेषु शौचकल्पान्नियोजयेत् ॥ विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

436 मुन्यन्नं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः । मधुप्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत् ॥

437 पानसं द्राक्षमाधूकं खार्जूरं तालमैक्षवम् । मधूत्थं सैरमारिष्टं मैरेयं नारिकेलजम् ॥ समानानि विजानीयान्मद्यान्येकादशैव तु । द्वादशं तु सुरामद्यं सर्वेषामधमं स्मृतम् ॥

438 ज्ञानकर्मसमायोगात्परं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः । पृथग्भावान्न सिध्यन्ति उभे तस्मात्समाश्रयेत् ॥ ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्महीनं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिहीनम् । तस्माद्वयाभ्यां तु भवेत्प्रसिद्धिर्न ह्येकपक्षो विहगः प्रयाति ॥ अपरार्क on या. III. 57, p. 911.

439 रव्यङ्गारशनैवारैः स्नानं कुर्वन्ति ये नराः । व्याधिभिस्ते न पीड्यन्ते मृगैः केसरिणो यथा ॥ स्मृतिच०.

440 अथातः कृष्णाजिनविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । कार्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्यां वैशाख्यां च चन्द्र-सूर्यग्रहे विषुवयोर्वा कृष्णाजिनं सखुरं सशृङ्गमव्रणं मनोहरम् । ms. No. 114 of 1884-86 from Deccan College (folio 51 a).

46. Pracetas

Pracetas finds a place among the sages enumerated by Parāśara though not in Yājñavalkya. In both Mit. and Aparārka there are passages in prose and verse ascribed to Pracetas on daily duties, śrāddha, āśauca, prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 27) quotes a verse from Pracetas saying that workmen, artisans, physicians, male and female slaves, kings, royal officers have not to observe periods of impurity[441] (on death). This verse is cited as a smṛti by Medhātithi on Manu V. 60 without ascribing it to Pracetas. So Medhātithi looked upon Pracetas as equally authoritative with Manu, Viṣṇu and others.

The Mit. (on Yāj. III 20, 263-64), Haradatta (on Gautama 22. 18) and Aparārka frequently cite verses from Bṛhat-Pracetas on āśauca and prāyaścitta. The Mit. and Aparārka also quote verses on the same topics from Vṛddha-Pracetas.

A few prose quotations from Pracetas are noted in the Smṛti-candrikā and by Haradatta (on Gautama 23. 1).

47. Prajāpati

Prajāpati is cited as an authority by the Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II. 4. 15 and II. 10. 71). Vasiṣṭha several times quotes Prājāpatya ślokas (viz. III. 47, XIV 16-19, 24-27, 30-32). It has been shown above that most of these verses are found in the Manusmṛti or have close correspondence with verses of Manu. So it is not unlikely that both the writers of dharmasūtras mean Manu by Prajāpati.

In the Ānandāśrama collection (p. 90-98) there is a smṛti of Prajāpati in 198 verses on the various details of śrāddha, such as the time, place, the persons authorised to perform, proper food, Brāhmaṇas to be invited etc. The prevailing metre is Anuṣṭubh, but there are nine verses in the Indravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā (verse 137) and Sragdharā (verse 96). It speaks of Kalpaśāstra, smṛtis, dharmaśāstra, purāṇas. It contains a verse referring to the Kanyā and Vṛścika (scorpion) signs of the zodiac, which is almost the same as a verse of Kārṣṇājini.

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[441] कारवः शिल्पिनो वैद्या दासीदासास्तथैव च । राजानो राजभृत्याश्च सद्यःशौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 25 and 260) quotes verses of Prajāpati on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites verses of Prajāpati on purification of various substances, śrāddha, witnesses, ordeals and āśauca. None of these is traced to the printed text of Prajāpati. Aparārka (p. 952) gives a long prose text of Prajāpati on the four orders of parivrājakas, viz. kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa, paramahaṁsa. Aparārka (p. 542) cites a verse of Laugākṣi which refers to the view of Prajāpati that the son of a putrikā was to offer piṇḍas to his mother by the gotra of his maternal grand-father.[442] Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Parāśara-Mādhavīya and other works quote several verses of Prajāpati on vyavahāra. Witnesses are of two kinds, kṛta and akṛta. In this he seems to have followed Nārada (ṛṇādāna, verse 149). Prajāpati lays down the characteristics of valid reply (uttara) of the defendant and defines[444] the four varieties of uttara. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya cites several verses of Prajāpati on ordeals. Prajāpati recognised the right of the sonless widow to succeed to her husband's wealth[445] and enjoined on her the duty of offering śrāddha every month and year to her husband's manes and to honour his relatives.[446]

48. Marīci

This sage is relied upon as an authority by the Mit., Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā on Āhnika, Āsauca, Śrāddha, Prayaścitta and Vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes several verses on *tarpaṇa* one of which speaks of Sunday.[447] Marīci disallows bathing in the rivers in the months of Śrāvaṇa

[442] मातामहस्य गोत्रेण मातुः पिण्डोदकक्रियाम् । कुर्वीत पुत्रिकापुत्र एवमाह प्रजापतिः ॥ अपरार्क.

[443] साक्षी द्विभेदो विज्ञेयः कृत एकोऽपरोऽकृतः । लेख्यारूढः कृतो ज्ञेयः मुक्तकोऽकृत उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p. 666, स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 80 reads उत्तरोऽकृत).

[444] स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 42-43), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 69-73.

[445] पूर्वं प्रमीताग्निहोत्रं मृते भर्तरि तद्धनम् । लभेत् पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एष सनातनः ॥

[446] जङ्गमं स्थावरं क्षेम कुप्यं धान्यरसाम्बरम् । आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं माससंवत्सरादिकम् ॥ पितृव्यगुरुदौहित्रान् भर्तृस्वस्रीयमातुलान् । पूजयेत्कव्यपूर्ताभ्यां वृद्धानाथातिथींस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० (p. 291), परा. मा. vol. III. p. 536.

[447] सप्तम्यां रविवारे च गृही जन्मदिने तथा । भृत्यपुत्रकलत्रार्थी न कुर्यात्तिलतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 132; स्मृतिच० (आह्निक p. 123).

and Bhādrapada.[448] Marīci made a very near approach to the modern conceptions underlying the Transfer of Property Act. 'Completeness is not attained without writing in the transactions of sale, mortgage, partition and gift of immoveable property'.[449] If a buyer purchases a chattel before a row of merchants and to the knowledge of the king's officers and in broad daylight, he is free from blame and gets back his money (if the thing turns out to be another's property), while if the price (paid by a buyer for a chattel) cannot be recovered (from the vendor who sells without title) owing to the vendor's address being not known, the loss should be apportioned between the buyer and the original owner of the chattel.[450] Marīci divides ādhi into four varieties, bhogya, gopya, pratyaya, ājñādhi.

It is to be noted that Aparārka (p. 908) quotes a prose passage of Marīci on āśauca.

49. Yama

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra (18. 13-15 and 19. 48) cites four ślokas of Yama and quotes (11. 20) one verse in which Yama is spoken of as an authority. All the ślokas except one are found in Manu.[451] Vasiṣṭha quotes a śloka of Prajāpati wherein Yama's view

448 नभोनभस्ययोर्मध्ये सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत देवर्षीपितृतर्पणम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 235.

449 स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने विभागे दान एव च । प्रतिग्रहे च क्रीते च नालेख्या सिध्यति क्रिया ॥ परा. मा. vol. III. p. 128 ; स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 60 reads लिखितेनाप्रयात् सिद्धिमविसंवादमेव च).

450 अविज्ञातनिवेशत्वाद्यत्र मूल्यं न लभ्यते । हानिस्तत्र समा कल्प्या क्रेतृनाष्टिकयोर्द्वयोः ॥ अपरार्क p. 775.

451 अथापि यमगीताश्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । श्मशानमेतत्प्रत्यक्षं ये शूद्राः पापचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ॥ न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यान्नोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् । न चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं न चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ यश्चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं यश्चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् । सोसंवृत्तं तमो घोरं सह तेन प्रपद्यते ॥ वसिष्ठ 13. 13-15. The last two are almost the same as मनु IV. 80-81 and the first is a paraphrase of आप. श्रौ. 'पशु ह वा एतच्छ्मशानं यच्छूद्रः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्'. नाधदोषोस्ति राज्ञां वै व्रतिनां न च सत्रिणाम् । ऐन्द्रस्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा ॥ वसिष्ठ 19. 48 and मनु V. 93. 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । अथ चेन्मत्रविद्युक्तः शारीरैः पङ्क्तिदूषणैः । अदुष्यं तं यमः प्राह पङ्क्तिपावन एव सः ॥ वासिष्ठ॥ 11. 20; vide बृहद्यम 3. 41. घृतं वा यदि वा तैलं विप्रो नाद्यान्नरश्च्युतम् । यमस्तदशुचि प्राह तुल्यं गोमांसभक्षणैः ॥ वसिष्ठ. 14. 30.

is set forth. Yama is one of the sages enumerated in the list of Yājñavalkya. Govindarāja (on Manu 5. 16) and Aparārka quote a verse of Śaṅkha wherein Yamas' view that the flesh of certain birds could be eaten is referred to.[452] Aparārka (p. 1231) also cites a verse of Śaṅkha in which the view of Bhagavān Yama that one should save one's life in all ways (even by incurring sin) is relied upon.

In Jivananda's collection (part I. pp. 560–568) there is a smṛti of Yama in seventyeight verses on prāyaścitta and purification (śuddhi). In this smṛti Yama himself is cited in the third person (verse 65). One verse (33) refers to the view of Bhāsvati (son of the sun, by which may be meant either Manu or Yama himself).[453] Some of the verses are identical with those of Manu (e. g. verses 26, 28 are the same as Manu 11. 178 and 3. 19). Verse 44 is in the Upajāti metre. In the Ānandāśrama collection there is a Yamasmṛti in 99 verses on prāyaścitta, śrāddha, and purification. Most of the topics of this smṛti are the same as those of the Calcutta text, but most of the verses are not identical. A few verses are found in both, e. g. the verses about the seven lowest castes[454] (antyajas). Verse 11 quotes the view of Śātātapa. This smṛti contains the well-known text that a woman passes on marriage into the gotra of her husband, which is cited by the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 254).[455] In the same collection there is a smṛti of Bṛhad-Yama (pp. 99-107). It is divided into five chapters and contains 182 verses. It deals with prāyaścittas for various lapses, purification from various kinds of contacts (śuddhi), śrāddha, partition and a few matters of medical procedure. In this smṛti Yama is frequently cited by name. Śātātapa is cited on partition (V. 20). Many of the verses of this text are identical with those of Yama in Jivananda's text. For example, Jivananda (p. 561) verses 15-17 are the same

452 तित्तिरिं च मयूरं च लावकं च कपिञ्जलम् । वाधीणसं वर्तकं च भक्ष्यानाह यमः सताम् ॥ (सदा v. l.) अपरार्क p. 1167.

453 ततो देवलकश्चैव भृतको वेदविक्रयी । एते वर्ज्याः प्रयत्नेन एतद्भास्वतिरब्रवीत् ॥ Compare मनु 3. 180.

454 रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते अन्त्यजाः स्मृताः ॥ Jivananda verse 54, Ānandāśrama verse 33.

455 स्वगोत्राद्भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात्सप्तमे पदे । स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्यास्तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥ verse 78.

as Bṛihad-Yama III. 1-3, Jivananda p. 563 verses 29-33 are the same as Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38, Jivananda verses 35-36 are the same as Bṛhad-Yama III. 16-17. The verse in the Upajāti metre (Jivananda 44) is Bṛhad-Yama III. 61. Two of the verses at the end of chap. V. are the same as Yāj. II. 17 and 23.

The numerous mss. of Yama contain either one or other of the above three texts or different texts bearing on the same topics. For example, Deccan College collection Nos. 209-211 of A 1881-82 and No. 153 of 1895-1902 are the same as the Yamasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection, No. 401 of 1891-95 seems to be the same as Bṛhad-Yama in the Ānandāśrama collection. But the I. O. Cat. No. 1334 p. 390 contains 57 ślokas, the last 20 of which are in the Indravajrā metre.

Viśvarūpa, Vijñāneśvara, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other later works quote over three hundred verses of Yama on all topics of dharmaśāstra including vyavahāra. This establishes that they had an extensive work of Yama before them from which it is probable various abridgments corresponding with the printed works were made. Viśvarūpa quotes about ten verses of Yama on water as purifier (on Yāj. I. 187), on śrāddha (on Yāj. I. 225 and 252) and on prāyaścitta for killing a cow (on Yāj. III. 262). The identical verses are not found in the printed texts. Some of the verses quoted from Yama in Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā can be traced in the printed text. For example, Aparārka (p. 42) quotes a verse of Yama in which Yama himself is referred to as an authority.[456] It occurs in Jivananda's text (verse 65). The two verses in Jivananda's text (verses 26, 28) that are identical with Manu are cited in the Smṛticandrikā as Yama's. Two verses of Bṛhad-Yama (III. 20-21) about the proper age of marriage in the case of girls are quoted as Yama's in the Smṛticandrikā.[457] In some of the verses quoted by Aparārka from Yama, the opinions of Manu are cited which can be identified with the views of the Manu-

[456] अपः करनखस्पृष्टा य आचामति वै द्विजः। सुरां पिबति स व्यक्तं यमस्य वचनं यथा ॥ This is attributed to यम in the स्मृतिच० also.

[457] अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गौरी नववर्षा च रोहिणी। दशवर्षा भवेत्कन्या अत ऊर्ध्वं रजस्वला ॥ प्राप्ते द्वादशमे वर्षे कन्यां यो न प्रयच्छति। मासि मासि रजस्तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम् ॥ स्मृतिच० (आह्निक p. 79.).

smṛti. For example, according to Yama food polluted by the touch of hair, moths and insects, or seen by sinners and women in their courses is purified by water, holy ashes etc.[458] This refers to Manu V. 125. Similarly the Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which says that according to Manu those who administer poison, who are incendiaries and robbers and those guilty of homicide and abetment thereof should pay the extreme penalty of death.[459] Aparārka (p. 988 on Yāj. III. 109) quotes five verses of Yama which refer to the 26th *tattvas* well known in the Sāṅkhya system, regard Puruṣottama as a 26 *tattva* and propound that he who correctly understands the 25 *tattvas*, in whatever āśrama he may be, reaches the highest abode of Viṣṇu. Aparārka quotes a few prose passages from Yama on the garments to be worn by brahmacārins,[460] on prāyaścitta for killing various kinds of birds and insects, for cutting trees and bushes, for drinking wine, for stealing gold and for the other deadly sins etc.[461]

The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 104. 72-74) quotes *gāthās* of Yama.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse of Yama which speaks of the sun being in the zodiacal sign Virgo.[462]

Yama required the king to look into the disputes of litigants carefully and impartially.[463] Yama cites the authority of Manu for the proposition that everything brought about by coercion such as a gift or a deed was liable to be set aside. This is almost identical with Manu 8. 168. Yama lays down that a Brāhmaṇa was never to be awarded corporal punishment, but that a Brāhmaṇa guilty of

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458 अवक्षुतं केशपतङ्गकीटैरुदक्यया वा पतितैश्च दुष्टम् । अलातभस्माम्बुहिरण्यभागैः संस्पृष्टमन्नं मनुराह भोज्यम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 267.

459 विषाग्निदायकाश्चोरा घातकाश्चोपघातकाः । स्वशरीरेण दण्ड्याः स्युर्मनुराह प्रजापतिः ॥ स्मृतिच०; vide मनु. 9. 278.

460 सर्वेषां रौरवशाणक्षौमाविकानि सामर्थ्यादधोवस्त्राणीतराणि न । अपरार्क p. 58.

461 Vide pp. 1130, 1135, 1218, 1222.

462 हंसे वर्षासु कन्यास्थे &c. स्मृतिच० (श्रा. p. 366 Gharpure.).

463 राजा मन्त्रिसहायस्तु द्वयोर्विवदमानयोः । सम्यक्कार्याण्यवेक्षेत रागद्वेषविवर्जितः ॥ अपरार्क p. 596.

464 बलाद्धृतं बलाद्भुक्तं बलाच्चापि लेखितम् । सर्वान् बलकृतानर्थान् निर्वर्त्यानाह वै मनुः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 130).

crimes was to be imprisoned and made[465] to work. Yama, like Yāj. (II. 145), prescribed that the strīdhana of a woman married in the Āsura form went to her father,[466] if she died childless. Aparārka (p. 822) quotes two verses of Yama that prescribed the first ammercement for him who, though forbidden, wrongfully takes the water of a lake or disturbs a water-course and the highest ammercement for him who breaks a lake. Aparārka (p. 860) also cites Yama for the fine of five kṛṣṇalas in the case of adultery with another's wife of the same caste as that of the paramour and twelve paṇas in case the wife is of a lower caste. The Smṛticandrikā and the Vyavahāramayūkha on the other hand direct that the king should punish the Brāhmaṇa woman guilty of adultery with a Śūdra by throwing her to dogs and by forcible tonsure and riding on an ass in case of adultery with a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. The Smṛticandrikāra, Parāśara-Mādhavīya and Vyavahāramayūkha quote a verse of Yama about a debtor, who, being able to pay, does not wantonly pay, being punished by taking twice the amount. Yama remarks that the order of saṁnyāsa is not allowed to women in the Vedas or in the śāstra[467] (dharmaśāstra) and that her real dharma is to be the mother of children from one of her own caste. A Bṛhad-Yama is cited by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 255 and 290), Haradatta and by Aparārka on prāyaścitta. Similarly a Laghu-Yama is cited by Haradatta and Aparārka and a Svalpa-Yama (probably same as Laghu-Yama) by the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya.

50. Laugākṣi

The Mit. (on Yāj III. 1-2,260, 289) quotes verses of Laugākṣi on āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka quotes prose passages and verses of Laugākṣi on the saṁskāras, vaiśvadeva, cāturmāsya, purification

[465] न शारीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कर्हिचित् । गुप्ते तु बन्धने बद्ध्वा राजा भक्तं प्रदापयेत् ॥ ... यथापराधं विप्रं तु विकर्माण्यपि कारयेत् । अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो लोकेस्मिन् वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 316).

[466] आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु प्रदीयते । अप्रजायामतीतायां पितैव तु धनं हरेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 286.). Note अप्रजायामतीतायां, which is the reading in विश्वरूप (p. 172 above).

[467] स्त्रियाः श्रुतौ वा शास्त्रे वा प्रव्रज्या न विधीयते । प्रजाः हि तस्याः स्वो धर्मः सवर्णादिति धारणा ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 254).

of substances, śrāddha, āśauca and prāyaścitta. Aparārka cites (p.512) a verse of Laugākṣi which regards Prajāpati as an authority. The Mit. and almost all works on vyavahāra cite a verse of Laugākṣi defining yoga and kṣema and prescribing that they are impartible.

51. Viśvāmitra

Viśvāmitra is one of the writers on dharma enumerated by Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya as quoted by Viśvarūpa. Aparārka, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana and other works quote verses of Viśvāmitra on almost all topics of dharma except vyavahāra, such as on the five deadly sins, on śrāddhas, prāyaścitta etc. Viśvāmitra defines dharma as that which is esteemed by Āryas (respectable people) who know the Vedas.[468] His verses on the mahāpātakas are frequently quoted.[469] The Madras (Govt.) Mss. cat. (p. 1985 No. 2717) notices a smṛti of Viśvāmitra in verse in nine chapters.

52. Vyāsa

In Jivananda (part II pp. 321-342) and in the Ānandāśrama collection of smṛtis there is a smṛti ascribed to Vyāsa. The two texts are the same with a few variations. It is in four chapters and contains about 250 verses. Vyāsa is said to have declared the smṛti in Benares. The contents briefly are :— the dharmas herein laid down prevail only in that region where the black deer roam about; the authoritativeness of śruti, smṛti and purānas; mixed castes; sixteen saṁskāras; duties of Brahmacārī; marriage; Brāhmaṇa may marry Kṣatriya or Vaiśya girl but not Śūdra; duties of a wife; the nitya, naimittika and kāmya acts of householders, eulogy of the householder stage and of gifts.

Viśvarūpa quotes a few verses of Vyāsa. They are mostly taken from the Mahābhārata and are concerned with topics of marriage, daily duties (such as washing the teeth and bathing), śrāddha and prāyaścitta. Similarly Medhātithi quotes several verses from the

468 यमार्याः क्रियमाणं तु शंसन्त्यागमवेदिनः। स धर्मो यं विगर्हन्ति तमधर्मं प्रचक्षते॥ स्मृतिच० (आह्निक p. 6).

469 ब्राह्मणो न च हन्तव्यः सुरा पेया न च द्विजैः। ब्राह्मणस्वर्णहरणं न कर्तव्यं कदाचन॥ गुरुपत्नीं न गच्छेच्च संसर्गं तैश्च नाचरेत्। महापातकिसंज्ञा तु निर्दिष्टैषा मनीषिभिः॥ अपरार्क p. 1044.

Mahābhārata as Vyāsa's. In Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works about two hundred verses of Vyāsa are cited on vyavahāra. From these it appears that Vyāsa dealt with rules of procedure and the several titles of law (vyavahāra-padas) and that his doctrines closely agreed in most respects with those of Nārada, Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati. He gives rules on the four kinds of uttara (mithyā, saṃpratipatti, kāraṇa and prāṅ-nyāya), divides documents in three varieties (svahasta, jānapada, rājaśāsana), divides laukika documents into eight sub-varieties (just as Kātyāyana seems to have done); he closely follows Bṛhaspati in his requirements about royal grants and two of his verses about grants (ṣaṣṭiṁ varṣa &c. and sāmānyoyaṁ dharmasetur nṛpāṇām) occur very frequently in inscriptions (vide Aparārka on Yāj. I. 318). Vyāsa lays down that if a stranger enjoy a person's land for twenty years when the king is there (i. e. when there is no revolution or anarchy) and when the owner is able (to resist) the latter loses his property.[470] He speaks of adverse possession as having five characteristics.[471] He mentions seven kinds of sureties, while Hārīta and Kātyāyana speak of only five and Bṛhaspati of four. He speaks of only five kinds of ordeals. He defines a *niṣka* as equal to 14 suvarṇas, a suvarṇa being equal to eight palas.[472] Vyāsa seems to represent a middle stage in the evolution of the rights of the widow to succeed to her deceased husband. He says that a woman was to get a maximum of two thousand (kārṣāpaṇas) from the estate of her deceased husband[473] (besides what he gave her when living). Vyāsa gave to the father and sons equal shares in ancestral property and allowed partition even against the wish of the father.[474] From these important charac-

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470 वर्षाणि विंशतिर्यस्य भूर्भुक्ताथ परैरिह। सति राज्ञि समर्थस्य तस्यं सेह न सिध्यति ॥ अपरार्क p. 632.

471 सागमो दीर्घकालश्च छेदोपाधिविवर्जितः। प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्को भोग उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p. 635.

472 पलान्यष्टौ सुवर्णस्य सुवर्णाश्च चतुर्दश। एतन्निष्कप्रमाणं तु व्यासेन परिकीर्तितम् ॥ स्मृतिच०.

473 द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य च। यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममाप्नुयात् ॥ अपरार्क p. 752.

474 क्रमागते गृहे क्षेत्रे पितृपुत्राः समांशिनः। पैतृकेण विभागार्हाः पुत्राः पितुरनिच्छतः ॥ अपरार्क p. 728.

teristics of Vyāsa it may safely be concluded that Vyāsa flourished about the same time as Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati, i. e. between the second and the fifth century.

In Aparārka and other works there are numerous verses attributed to Vyāsa which are certainly not taken from the Mahābhārata or from the Vyāsasmṛti in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 357-371). For example, on Yāj. I. 12 he cites a verse of Vyāsa in the Vasantatilakā metre about the auspicious asterism for *caula* and another verse laying down Saturday, Sunday and Friday as unsuitable for *caula*. Similarly Vyāsa's verses dealing with the merit of bathing on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in conjunction with certain *tithis* are cited by Aparārka (p. 213). Vyāsa speaks of śrāddhas when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Aparārka p. 424). These indications are sufficient to assign Vyāsa to a comparatively later date. But as Aparārka evidently makes no distinction between Vyāsa the jurist, Vyāsa the reputed compiler of the Mahābhārata (e. g. he quotes on p. 961 six verses of the Bhagavatgītā as Vyāsa's) and Vyāsa who wrote on the saṁskāras, śrāddha and other topics, it appears that the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma were separated from him by several centuries. Whether the jurist and the writer on other topics of dharma are identical is a difficult problem. All that can be said is that the two may probably be identical. The Smṛticandrikā quotes a Gadya-Vyāsa and about 450 verses of Vyāsa on āhnika, vyavahāra and prāyaścitta.

Aparārka quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Vyāsa on Saudāyika, a kind of strīdhana. The Mit., the Prāyaścitta-mayūkha and other works cite verses of a Bṛhad-Vyāsa. Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara quotes Mahā-Vyāsa and Laghu-Vyāsa as authorities and also Dāna-Vyāsa, which probably means the dāna-dharma portions of the Mahābhārata.

53. Sat-triṁśan-mata

This appears to have been a work like the Caturviṁśatimata described above. Quotations from it are cited in the Kalpataru, the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Haradatta and a host of writers and works. Mitramiśra[475] says that though the Ṣaṭ-triṁśan-

475 षट्त्रिंशन्मतादिकं तु केश्चिदेव परिगृहीतत्वाद्विगीतत्वाद्प्रमाणमित्युक्तम्। कल्पतरुणा विश्वानेश्वरापरार्कशूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिस्तु प्रमाणत्वेन परिगृहीतम्। परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 17.

mata has been accepted as an authority by the above-mentioned writers, yet certain other writers did not hold the work authoritative. The fact that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not mention this work, taken along with the above statement of Mitramiśra, may be relied upon for holding that this compilation must have been among the latest products of the age of smṛtis and was probably compiled some time between 700-900 A. D. Almost all the quotations from this compilatiou are concerned with the topics of purification of substances (śuddhi), śrāddha and prāyaścittas for sins and pollutions of various sorts. No verse of this compilation dealing with vyavahāra could he discovered. One verse quoted from it prescribes a bath on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, atheists and followers of Kapila.[476] Another verse quoted by Aparārka cites the view of Bṛhaspati.[477] In another verse the view of Vaivasvata is referred to.[478] Aparārka quotes a prose passage from this compilation prescribing the prāyaścittas for touching the corpse of a cāṇḍāla etc. As no ms. was available, it is difficult to say what 36 sages are relied upon as authorities.

54. Saṁgraha or Smṛtisaṁgraha

This work is frequently cited by the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and other works on all topics of dharma. The quotations on vyavahāra are copious and are very important for the history of Hindu Law. A few of the important views of the Saṁgrahakāra are set out below. He gives the requisite characteristics of a plaint in five verses.[479] According to him documents are of two kinds, rājakīya and jānapada. The ordeals from dhaṭa (balance) to poison (i. e. four) are prescribed in cases where the subject matter is of great value (i. e. above 500 paṇas), while kośa and the (other)

[476] बौद्धान् पाशुपताञ्जैनान् लोकायतिककापिलान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० 1. p. 118; अपरार्क p. 923 omits जैनान् and reads लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्.

[477] तिलहोमायुतं चैव पराकद्वयमेव च । गायत्र्या लक्षमेकं च समान्याह बृहस्पतिः ॥ अपरार्क p. 1249.

[478] समुच्छिष्टस्तु यो भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते वा मुक्तभोजनः । एवं वैवस्वतः प्राह भुक्त्वा सान्तपनं चरेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 1174.

[479] Vide मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 6, स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 36), व्यवहारमयूख (p. 12), वीर० (p. 62).

ordeals (in all three) are prescribed in disputes for lesser sums.[480] This is slightly opposed to Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 336) according to whom the five ordeals from tulā to kośa were prescribed in substantial disputes.[481] The Saṁgrahakāra has in view the seven ordeals spoken of by Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 252, 337, 343), while Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha enumerate nine. He defines dāya as the wealth that is handed down through father and mother.[482] He held that ownership arose from the dictates of śāstra and was not an affair of the world (laukika) and puts forward two reasons in support of his theory, viz. if ownership were laukika, then it would not be possible to make such assertions as 'his wealth has been wrongfully seized by another' and the texts (vide Gautama X. 39) laying down the means of acquisition of wealth for the several varṇas would be meaningless.[483] Dhāreśvara held the same view. These views were elaborately criticized by the Mit. According to the Saṁgrahakāra,[484] partition creates ownership in the son as regards paternal wealth (in which he has no rights by birth). Dhāreśvara entertained the same opinion, which was vehemently controverted by the Mit., holding that partition takes place of that in which one has already ownership. Accordingt o the Saṁgraha,[485] ownership does not consist in being able to dispose of a thing at one's sweet will, since it is the śāstra that prescribes the proper disposal or application of all things. The Saṁgraha[486] laid down that the special share given to the eldest son, the practice of niyoga and the offering of a cow are all forbidden in the present age. Dhāreśvara also held the same

480 धटादीनि विषान्तानि गुर्वर्थेषु दापयेत् । कोशादीनि पुनस्त्रीणि लघ्वर्थेषु यथाक्रमम् ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. 98); परा. मा. III. p. 153.

481 कोशान्तानि तुलादीनि गुरुष्वर्थेषु दापयेत् ।

482 पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोधुनोच्यते ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 478.

483 अस्यापहृतमेतेन न युक्तं वक्तुमन्यथा । विहितोऽर्थागमः शास्त्रे यथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् ॥ प्रतिग्रहाजिवाणिज्यशुश्रूषाख्या यथाक्रमम् । स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 257).

484 क्रियते स्वं विभागेन पुत्राणां पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वे सति प्रवर्तन्ते तस्माद्धर्म्याः पृथक् क्रियाः ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 259.).

485 न च स्वमुच्यते तयत्स्वेच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते॥

486 यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 266); परा. मा. III. p. 492.

view about the eldest son's rights and the Mit. also approves of it and quotes anonymously the same verse (on Yāj. II. 117). The Saṁgraha in two verses, apparently following Manu 9. 182-183, lays down that, if of several full brothers one has a son, all thereby have issue and that, if one out of the several wives of a person has a son, all the co-wives may be regarded as putravatī. The Smṛticandrikā says that Devasvāmī explained this dictum of the Saṁgrahakāra. The Saṁgraha says that the widow of a separated coparcener dying childless would inherit his whole estate if she submitted to *Niyoga* at the behests of her elders.[487] This was also the opinion of Dhāreśvara and was refuted according to the Smṛticandrikā by Viśvarūpa. The Mit. also criticizes this view. He names Manu in connection with the succession of a person dying without leaving any one out of the twelve kinds of sons.[488] He has in view Manu 9. 185. According to the Saṁgrahakāra the order of succession to a sonless man is :— widow, the daughter who is a putrikā, mother, paternal grandmother, father, full brothers, half-brothers, the line of the father (pitṛsantati), the grandfather's line, the great-grand-father's line, other sapiṇḍas, sakulyas, the preceptor, the pupil, a fellow-student, a learned Brāhmaṇa. The Mit. notes that relying on Manu (9. 217) Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grandmother after the mother and before the father (thus agreeing with the Saṁgraha). The Saṁgraha says that homicide and other offences when commited with force are called *sāhasa*.[489]

It will be seen from the above that the views of the Saṁgrahakāra closely agreed with those of Dhāreśvara in many respects and were not approved of by the Mit. and other later writers. In vyavahāra the Saṁgraha certainly marks a far more advanced stage than Yājñavalkya and Nārada, whose works do not contain the controvertial questions about ownership, partition etc. As Dhāreśvara agrees very closely with the Smṛtisaṁgraha it may be argued that they were not separated by a long interval of time. It has to be

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[487] भ्रातृषु प्रविभक्तेषु संसृष्टेष्वसत्सु च। गुर्वादेशान्नियोगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात्॥ परा. मा. III. p. 533.

[488] अशेषात्मजहीनस्य मृतस्य धनिनो धनम्। केनेदानीं ग्रहीतव्यमित्येतन्मनुरब्रवीत्॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 290.).

[489] मानुष्यमारणाद्दीनि कृतानि प्रसभं यदि। साहसानीति कथ्यन्ते यथाक्रमान्यन्वथा पुनः॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 7).

also noted that Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi do not refer to the Saṁgraha. It is not unlikely that the Saṁgraha was in vogue in the territory ruled over by Bhoja of Dhārā and was therefore followed by Bhoja Dhāreśvara. Taking all things into consideration the Saṁgraha was probably compiled between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era. The Smṛticandrikā no doubt says in one place that the Saṁgrahakāra follows the views of Dhāreśvara.[490] But this statement should not be emphasized and interpreted too literally. All that it means is that both held the same opinion. There is no intention to state that Dhāreśvara preceded the Saṁgrahakāra. Chronology was never the strong point of Indian commentators, particularly when the writers whose opinions were referred to flourished several centuries earlier. We know that Bhāruci and Dhāreśvara preceded the Mitākṣarā which names both; but the Sarasvatīvilāsa in several places (e. g. pp. 347, 361, 383) says that Bhāruci cannot tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara and also says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmī follow the view of Vijñānayogin (p. 395).

The Smṛticandrikā quotes several verses from the Saṁgraha on topics of śrāddha in which Gautama, Kātyāyana, Parāśara, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Yama and Śaunaka are cited by name.[491]

55. Saṁvarta

Saṁvarta occurs as a Smṛtikāra in the list of Yājñavalkya. He is cited on all topics of dharma by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mit., Haradatta, Aparārka, the Smṛticandrikā and a host of other writers. Viśvarūpa quotes either wholly or in part about twenty verses of Saṁvarta on evening *sandhyā-vandana*, on the duties of a yati and on the prāyaścittas for theft, adultery of various kinds, deadly sins. Medhātithi quotes verses of Saṁvarta on Manu V. 88 and XI. 116. The Mit. quotes him on prāyaścitta and āśauca (Yāj. III. 6, 17, 19 etc.). Aparārka had a large work before him and quotes about 200 verses.

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490 संग्रहकारस्य धारेश्वरमतानुसारित्वात्।

491 For example: 'याज्ञवल्क्यो विसर्गात्प्राक् पात्रमुत्तानमिच्छति। धर्मो विसर्जनं कृत्वा गृह्यकर्तापि शौनकः॥ प्रीतिप्रश्नादि देवानां पूर्वं कात्यायनादयः।' स्मृतिच० (I. p. 484); compare या. I. 248. 'यस्मिन्ने संस्रवाः पूर्वमर्घ्यपात्रे निवेशिताः। पितृपात्रं तदुत्तानं कृत्वा विप्रान् विसर्जयेत्॥'.

A few of the views of Saṁvarta on topics of vyavahāra may be noted here. According to him oral testimony when in opposition to writing was to be discarded.[492] This is in striking agreement with section 92 of the Indian Evidence Act. He says that if houses and fields are being enjoyed (by one person as against another) when the king is there (i. e. when the central government is strong and there is no anarchy), then it is possession that counts and not mere writing (i. e. possession will be protected and not mere paper title without possession).[493] He lays down that no interest was to be allowed if not stipulated for in certain cases, viz., on strīdhana (when used by the husband), on interest, on deposit (as long as it is not lost or deteriorated) and in suretyship.[494] He enumerates ten wrongs (*aparādhas*) of which the king was to take cognisance *suo motu* without any private person's complaint, viz., restraint of the defendant (before judgment), obstruction of the public road, women conceiving in adultery, becoming rich without any ostensible means, destruction of a meeting-hall and of trees and crops, kidnapping of maidens, sinning Brāhmaṇas, champerty and maintenance, destruction of the roads where tolls are to be paid, the danger of robbers, rape, injury to cows and Brāhmaṇas.[495] He prescribed that disputes were not be investigated on the full moon and new moon day, and on the 14th and 8th *tithis*.

492 लेख्ये लेख्यक्रिया प्रोक्ता वाचिके वाचिकी मता । वाचिके तु न सिध्येत्सा लेख्यस्योपरि या क्रिया ॥ लेख्यस्योपरि यत्साक्ष्यं कृतं तदभिधीयते । अधर्मस्य हि तद् द्वारमतो राजा विवर्जयेत् । वाचिकर्णादि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणां विहन्यते । क्रियाणां रुदनाशः स्यादनवस्था च जायते ॥ अपरार्क pp. 691-92.

493 भुज्यमाने गृहक्षेत्रे विद्यमाने तु राजनि । भुक्तिर्यस्य भवेत्तस्य न लेख्यं तत्र कारणम् ॥ परा. मा. III. p. 146.

494 न वृद्धिः सीधने लाभे विक्षेपे च यथास्थिते । संदिग्धे प्रातिभाव्ये च यदि न स्यात्स्वयंकृता ॥ स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 257).

495 आसेधं पथि भङ्गं च यश्च गर्भः पतिं विना । स्वयमन्वेषयेद्राजा विना चैव विवादिना ॥ यस्य दृश्यस्य (?) संपत्तिर्न दृश्येतागमः क्वचित् । स्वय ... दिना ॥ सभाभङ्गं तरुच्छेदं सस्यव्याघातमेव च । स्व... ॥ कन्यापहारकं पापं विप्रं च पतितं तथा । परार्थवादसंयुक्तं स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ षड्भागकरशुल्कार्थे मार्गभेदकमेव च । स्वराष्ट्रचौर्यमीतिं च परदाराभिमर्शनम् ॥ गोब्राह्मणनिहन्तारं सस्यानां चैव घातकम् । दृष्टानपराधांश्च स्वयं राजा विचारयेत् ॥ स्मृतिच० ; परा. मा. III. 44-45.

In Jivananda's collection (part I, pp. 584-603) and in the Ānandāśrama collection (pp. 411-424) there is a smṛti of Saṁvarta in 227 and 230 verses respectively. It purports to have been declared to Vāmadeva and other sages by Saṁvarta. Its main contents are:— that is the religious country where the black deer roam about, rules of conduct for a Brahmacārin, prāyaścittas for various lapses on the part of a student, duties of householder, eulogy of liberality, duties of forest hermit and saṁnyāsin, prāyaścittas for various sins and actions. Saṁvarta is sometimes cited as an authority (verses 38, 123). He recommends the marriages of girls at the age of eight (verse 67) and condemns marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter (verse 157).

In a few Mss. (e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1367) the Saṁvartasmṛti comprised is different from the printed Saṁvarta.

The printed smṛti appears to be an epitome of a portion of the original smṛti of saṁvarta. Many of the verses in the printed texts are found in Aparārka. For example Aparārka p. 49=Saṁvarta verse 6; Aparārka p. 693=Saṁvarta verses 107-108; Aparārka p. 1053=Saṁvarta verses 111-113; Aparārka p. 1094 (eight verses out of which five)=Saṁvarta verses 130-134. The pāda of Saṁvarta which Viśvarūpa quotes (ardhāstamitabhāskarām) on Yāj. I. 25 occurs in verse 6 of the printed text. This shows that the printed smṛti preserves very ancient material, the authenticity of which is vouched for by so early a writer as Viśvarūpa.

The Mit. quotes a Bṛhat-Saṁvarta (on Yāj. III. 265, 288).

A Svalpa-Saṁvarta is quoted in Harinātha's Smṛtisāra.

56. Hārīta

The verse quotations from Hārīta on topics of vyavahāra deserve some treatment. He defines vyavahāra as that whereby the recovery of one's own wealth and the avoidance of (doing) the duties peculiar to another (caste or class) are effected in due course of law.[496] He further says that that judicial proceeding is proper which is based on the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, which is in conformity with the usages of respectable people and which is free from

[496] स्वधनस्य यथा प्राप्तिः परधर्मस्य वर्जनम्। न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते॥ स्मृतिच०.

fraud.[497] Hārīta calls upon the king to know the śāstras, the duties of the varṇas and of the lowest castes.[498] He like Nārada said that vyavahāra had four aspects, each succeeding one prevailing against the preceding one[499], viz., dharma, vyavahāra, caritra, nṛpājñā. He attached the greatest importance to writing and said that a transaction consigned to writing is effective even after great lapse of time and that he who has a writing in his hands is entitled to possession (probably in cases of mortgages and pledges).[500] He lays down very elaborate rules about the requisites and defects of plaints, about summoning the defendant, about the contents, faults and kinds of the defendant's reply, and about the burden of proof.[501] He protects long possession of property even if it originated without title provided it had lasted for three generations.[502] He says that title is the decisive factor as to various kinds of possession, viz., when possession is forcibly taken by soldiers and freebooters, when a thing is stolen or kept concealed, when it was delivered through affection and friendship or when it was lent on hire, or when it was handed over for wearing or safe custody or was borrowed through friendship.[503] To illustrate the relation of title and possession he uses a very apt figure, viz. just as a branch cannot be seen expanding in the sky unless it is supported by the roots, so title is the root and possession

497 धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रोक्तः शिष्टाचारादिलक्षणः। दृष्टेन च व्यपेतो यः व्यवहारः स धार्मिकः॥ स्मृतिच०.

498 शास्त्राणि सर्वधर्मांस्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः। व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत्॥ स्मृतिच०.

499 धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया। चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः॥ सरस्वतीविलास p. 58 (Mysore ed.). Vide नारद (Intro. chap. verse 10).

500 सुदीर्घेणापि कालेन लिखितः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात्। स्मृतिच०; लेख्यं यस्य भवेद्धस्ते भोगं तस्य विनिर्दिशेत्। अपरार्क on या. II. 90.

501 Vide मिता. on या. II. 6 and 7.

502 अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा भ्रात्राथवापि च। न तच्छक्यं पराहर्तुं तृतीयं समुपागतम्॥ स्मृतिच०; 'यद्धिनागममत्यन्तं भुक्तं पूर्वैरभिर्भवेत्। न तच्छक्यमपाहर्तुं क्रमाच्चिपुरुषागतम्'॥ मिता. on या. II. 27.

503 भटचाटबलाद्भुक्तं हृतं गुप्तमथापि वा। क्षेत्रप्रणयदत्तं च प्रदत्तं भाटकेन वा॥ तथा वसनरक्षार्थं याचितं प्रणयेन वा। एवं बहुविधे भोगे आगमो निर्णयः स्मृतः॥ न मूलेन विना शाखा अन्तरिक्षे प्ररोहति। आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं भुक्तिः शाखा प्रकीर्तिता॥ स्मृतिच०.

is its offshoot. According to him sureties are of five kinds,[504] abhaya (for keeping the peace), pratyaya (for confidence), dāna (return of money or carrying out one's obligations), upasthāna (return of money lent on pledge) and darśana (for appearance). He prescribed an absolute tutelage for women as regards the giving away of the husband's wealth and allowed only maintenance to a young widow of improper conduct.[505] But Hārīta was humane in his treatment of even erring wives. He does not allow a husband to cast adrift an adulterous wife and prescribes that she should be given food to keep body and soul together and bare clothes.[506]

It appears from the above that Hārīta the jurist must have flourished nearly at the same time as Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana, i. e. between 400 and 700 A. D.

57. Commentaries and Nibandhas (digests)

The literature on Dharmaśāstra falls into three well-marked but somewhat over-lapping periods. The first period is that of the ancient dharmasūtras and of the Manusmṛti. It is a period dating from at least the 6th century B. C. to the beginnings of the Christian era. Next comes the period when most of the versified smṛtis were composed and it ranges from the first centuries of the Christain era to about 800 A. D. The third period is that of the commentators and the writers of digests. This covers over a thousand years from about the 7th century to 1800 A. D. The first part of this last period was the golden era of famous commentators. Commentaries on smṛti works continued to be written almost to the end of this period, *e. g.* Nandapaṇḍita wrote the commentary called Vaijayantī on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra in the 17th century. But the general tendency from the 12th century onwards was to write works not professing to be commentaries on a particular smṛti, but works that were in the nature of digests containing a synthesis of all the dicta of smṛti writers on topics of dharma. Examples of this class

504 अभये प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थानेथ दर्शने। पंचस्वेव प्रकारेषु ग्राह्योपि प्रतिभूर्बुधैः॥ स्मृतिच०.

505 दानार्थे वा धनार्थे वा धर्मार्थे वा विशेषतः। आदाने वा विसर्गे वा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्य मर्हति॥ स्मृतिच०; विधवा यौवनस्था चेन्नारी भवति कर्कशा। आयुषः क्षपणार्थं तु दातव्यं जीवनं तदा॥ मिता० on या. II. 135.

506 भार्याया व्यभिचारिण्या परित्यागो न विद्यते। दद्यात्पिण्डं कुचेलं च अधःशय्यां च कारयेत्॥ स्मृतिच०.

of works are the Kalpataru, the Smrticandrikā, the Caturvargacintāmaṇi, the Ratnākaras of Caṇḍeśvara. Even when in the earlier part of this period writers professed to compose only commentaries on particular works, they adopted the style of digests trying to introduce order out of a chaotic mass of Smṛti dicta and explaining away apparent contradictions. For example, Viśvarūpa's commentary (in the ācāra and prāyaścitta sections), the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka's work, though professing to be commentaries on Yājñavalkya, are really in the nature of digests. In fact there is no hard and fast line of demarcation between a *ṭīkā* and a *nibandha* (digest). Vijñāneśvara is described by the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa as the most eminent of all writers of *nibandhas*. Therefore, though it is usual to speak of the third period as one of commentators and nibandhakāras, there is no necessity in this work to observe any sharp line of distinction between the two. In the following pages a few prominent and typical commentators and nibandhakāras who have written on all or most of the branches of dharmaśāstra and whose works have attained classical rank will be dealt with in chronological order as far as that can be done with any accuracy.

58. Asahāya

Dr. Jolly in his edition of the Nāradasmṛti (B. I. series) has incorporated a portion of the bhāṣya of Asahāya as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa. Even this revised version comes up to only verse 21 of the fifth title *abhyupetya-aśusrūṣā*. The exact relation of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa's labours to the original *bhāṣya* cannot be accurately gauged from the opening[507] words 'finding that the *Nāradabhāṣya* composed by Asahāya was spoilt (*bhraṣṭa*) by bad scribes, Kalyāṇa composes this after revising the ancient one'. The colophon at the end of the first chapter of the Vyavahāramātṛkā says that Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa revised the bhāṣya of Asahāya at the encouragement of Keśavabhaṭṭa.[508] Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have taken great liberties with the text of the original bhāṣya. On p. 9 verse 15 (rājā satpuruṣaḥ sabhyaḥ śāstram gaṇakalekhakau), the comment on śāstra is 'Manu-Nārada-

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[507] दृष्ट्वासहायरचितं नारदभाष्यं कुलेखकैर्भ्रष्टम् । कल्याणेन क्रियते प्राक्तनमेतद् विशोध्य पुनः । (first-verse).

[508] इति असहायनारदभाष्ये केशवभट्टप्रोक्ताज्ञान-कल्याणभट्टपरिशोधित-व्यवहारमातृकायां प्रथमोध्यायः ।

Viśvarūpātmakam'. If Viśvarūpa named here be identical with the the Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj. (as is almost certain), this passage could not have occurred in Asahāya's bhāṣya. Viśvarūpa, in commenting on Yāj. III. 263-64, mentions Asahāya by name and cites his explanation of a sūtra of Gautama (22. 13). The name Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa frequently occurs in the printed commentary itself (p. 81, 86, 89).[509]

In the I. O. ms. there is a salutation to Śivā and Gaṇeśa at the beginning. There is a ms. of the Nāradīyabhāṣya as printed by Dr. Jolly in the Deccan College collection (No. 27 of 1874-75). It does not contain the first folio and curiously enough it ends just where the printed text stops. Dr. Jolly omits a few lengthy passages occurring in the ms. and generally indicates such omissions by dots. In a few cases Dr. Jolly omits only a word or two for no apparent reason, e. g. on p. 8 (folio 7b of No. 27 of 1874-75) he omits the wotd 'paramasamṛddhyā' after 'vyavahāraḥ' and before 'caturṇām-api varṇānām'.

The Hāralatā of Aniruddha who was the *guru* of king Ballālasena of Bengal the author of Adbhutasāgara (about 1168 A. D.) tells us that Asahāya composed a bhāṣya on the Gautamadharmasūtra.[510] Viśvarūpa also cites, as said above, Asahāya's explanation of a sūtra of Gautama.

It appears that Asahāya probably wrote a commentary on the Manusmṛti also. A passage of the Sarasvatīvilāsa[511] says that partition of dharma was approved of by smṛtikāras like Manu,

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509 तथा चोक्तमेव सामान्यग्राहपत्रलक्षणविचारप्रकरणे कल्याणभट्टेन। p. 81; यथोक्तं त्रिषष्टिलेख्यप्रकरणकारकल्याणभट्टेन। p. 86; कल्याणकृतं श्लोकत्रयमस्ति। p. 89.

510 हारलता (B. I. series) p. 35. 'गौतमः। बालदेशान्तरितप्रव्रजितानां सद्यःशौचम्। (गौ. ध. सू. 14. 44) यत्र मृतोऽशौचाभ्यन्तरे न श्रूयते तद्देशान्तरं तत्र मृतो देशान्तरित इति गौतमभाष्यकृतासहायेन व्याख्यातम्।'; हारलता p. 97 'गौतमः। पिण्डनिवृत्तिः सप्तमे पञ्चमे वा। (गौ. ध. सू. 14. 12)। अत्रासहायव्याख्या। यदा पितृपितामहप्रपितामहास्त्रयो जीवन्ति तदा प्रपितामहादूर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यः पिण्डदानम्। ... इदं तु व्याख्यानं न शोभनं प्रतिभाति।'

511 धर्मविभागो मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिकाराणां तत्स्मृतिव्याख्यातॄणामसहायमेधातिथिविज्ञानेश्वरापरार्काणां निबन्धॄणां चन्द्रिकाकारादीनां च संमत एव। सरस्वतीविलास para. 83 and p. 348 (Mysore ed.).

Yājñavalkya, by their commentators, viz. Asahāya, Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka and by writers of *nibandhas*, viz. the author of the Candrikā and others. Here the order in which the commentators are named requires that Asahāya like Medhātithi was known to be a commentator of Manu. This conclusion is to some extent corroborated by the fact that the Vivādaratnākara[512] quotes with reference to Manu 9. 182 the words of Asahāya thereon. On Manu 8. 156 Medhātithi quotes the opinion of Asahāya.[513]

The foregoing establishes that Asahāya composed bhāṣyas on the Gautamadharmasūtra, on the Manusmṛti and on Nārada. When the Smṛticandrikā[514] refers to a bhāṣya of Nārada it is most probably referring to Asahāya. In the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) the opinion of Asahāya and Medhātithi on the right of an unmarried sister to receive one-fourth as provision for her marriage from her brothers is preferred to that of Bhāruci.[515] This seems to be rather a reference to Asahāya's commentary on Manu (9. 118) which contains a rule similar to Yāj. (II. 124), while Nārada contains no such rule about a fourth share. It is a strange irony of fate that the

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The सरस्वतीविलास often refers to a writer called निबन्धनकार. He is likely to be असहाय. Vide सरस्वतीविलास p. 457 ' अत्र (मनुस्मृतौ) वाक्पारुष्य-दण्डपारुष्यस्त्रीसंग्रहणानन्तरं दायविभागः क्रमिकः । निबन्धनकारेण तु त्रयोदशविवाद-पदं दाय इत्युक्तम् । उभयोर्महान् विरोधः । स परिहियते । तथोक्तं नारदेन । ... नारदवचनानुसारि निबन्धनकारवचनम् । अतश्च **तदुव्याख्येयस्यापि गौतमसूत्रस्य** नारदवचनानुसारित्वमेव ।' ; तथा **च गौतमः** । प्रतिषेधे पुमान्दण्ड्यस्तदर्धं स्त्री इति । **अस्यार्थो विवृतो निबन्धनकारेण** ' p. 468.

512 The verse of मनु is भ्रातॄणामेकजातानामेकश्चेत्पुत्रवान् भवेत् । The words of असहाय are ' अत्रासहायेनोक्तं पुंसां सति भ्रातृजे स्त्रीणां सपत्नीपुत्रे क्षेत्रजादयः प्रतिनिधयो न कर्तव्या इति ।' वि. र. p. 583.

513 यज्वासहायनारदानां तु मते काकिणीमात्रमपि शक्तः कारणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः । on the verse अदर्शयित्वा तत्रैव.

514 स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 36) on दर्शनविधि says ' एवं तदीयभाष्ये व्याख्यातम् । '; तथा च नारदः । स्त्रीकृतान्यप्रमाणानि कार्याण्याहुरनापदि ।...अत्रापवादप्रदर्शनार्थमाह स एव । विशेषतो गृहक्षेत्रदानाधमनविक्रयाः । इति । गृहक्षेत्रयोर्दानाधमनविक्रयास्त्वापद्यप्यस्वतन्त्रकृता न सिध्यन्तीत्यर्थः । एवं तद्भाष्ये व्याख्यातम् ।

515 अतोसहायमेधातिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेव चतुरस्रं न भारुचेः । मिताक्षरा.

very name of Asahāya who is profusely quoted by the Sarasvatī-vilāsa in the first half of the sixteenth century was forgotten by later writers, so much so that the Bālaṁbhaṭṭī understands the word Asahāya (in note 515 above) as an attribute of Medhātithi in the sense of ' peerless '.

As Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi both name Asahāya, his lowest limit is about 750 A. D. How much earlier he flourished it is difficult to say. He can hardly be earlier than the 6th century. In the com. on Nārada (p. 48) there is a story from Pāṭaliputra about the repayment of a debt by sons, grandsons and great-grandsons. It has been argued (Calcutta Law Journal, vol. 17 p. 59) that, as Pāṭaliputra was a deserted city in the middle of the 7th century and as the reference shows that Pāṭaliputra was a living and flourishing city, Asahāya must have lived long before the 7th century. But as the very authenticity of the text of the bhāṣya is doubtful owing to the drastic 'revision' of Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, such a conclusion is extremely hazardous. In the ms. of the bhāṣya other places such as Vaṭapadraka (probably modern Baroda), Avāvadu and Saṁvāduka are mentioned. There is nothing to show that the author was either a native of or had a first-hand knowledge of Pāṭaliputra. He might have been relying on traditions when he gave the story. Dr. Jolly not being aware of the express mention of Asahāya by Medhātithi argued that he flourished earlier than Medhātithi (Tagore Law Lectures p. 5 ; S. B. E. vol. 25 p. VII) on the ground that the Mit. and the Sarasvatīvilāsa always place Asahāya before Medhātithi whenever authorities on vyavahāra are enumerated. Dr. Jolly's conclusion is right as shown above, but his reasoning is faulty. There is hardly anything of chronology in the order in which authors are named, since we find that the Sarasvatīvilāsa[516] names Vijñāneśvara even before Asahāya, though the former flourished centuries after the latter.

Some of the views attributed to Asahāya may be quoted here. The definition of *dāya* (heritage) given by the Mit. was identical with Asahāya's.[517] Asahāya explained the dictum of Uśanas that

[516] स. वि. (para 195) ' विज्ञानेश्वरासहायमेधातिथीनामियं व्याख्या ' (p. 371 of Mysore ed.).

[517] असहायविज्ञानयोगिप्रभृतीनां तु यस्स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तद् दायशब्देनोच्यते इति । स. वि. (para 19).

fields were impartible by taking it to refer to the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kṣatriya wife, who does not participate in land gifted to a Brāhmaṇa.[518] The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 takes the same view. Asahāya held that as regards succession to the *Śulka* of a woman even step-brothers should be given something, though the major portion would go to the full brothers.[519] According to Asahāya, the wealth of a childless Brāhmaṇa went to the teacher, then to the teacher's son, then to the teacher's widow, the pupil, pupil's son, pupil's widow (one after another) and then to the fellow-student.[520] The Vivādaratnākara[521] (p. 578) quotes the Prakāśa as referring to the views of Asahāya and Medhātithi on Manu IX. 198 that the special rule of Manu applies to all the *strīdhana* belonging to a Kṣatriya woman who has a brāhmaṇī co-wife. The Vivādaratnākara[522] quotes a verse of Nārada about *māṣa* and a verse of the bhāṣyakāra thereon. It probably refers to Asahāya's bhāṣya.

59. Bhartṛyajña

This seems to have been a very ancient commentator. Medhātithi[523] in his bhāṣya on Manu 8. 3 says 'other explanations have been well brought out by Bhartṛyajña and they should be understood from his work'. Trikāṇḍa-Maṇḍana (who flourished before 1100 A.D.) in his Āpastambasūtradhvanitārtha-kārikā[524] (I. 41) refers to the views of Bhartṛyajña that one who had committed to

518 स. वि. para 195 (or p. 371).

519 अतश्च कन्याशुल्कविषये सोदरासोदरविभागेऽसोदराणामपि किंचिद् देयमित्यसहायव्याख्यानमसहायम् । स. वि. para 314 (or p. 384). Here there is a play on the word असहाय which means ' unsupported, baseless.'

520 स. वि. para 608.

521 स्त्रिया दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति (थी इति ?) प्रकाशकारः।

522 तथा चोक्तं नारदेन–मासो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य च । स च राजतो विवक्षितः । तथा च भाष्यकारः। सौवर्णैर्माषकैः संख्या दण्डकर्मसु शस्यते । पशूनां शस्यचरणे माषैरन्यैश्च राजतैः ॥ वि. र. p. 234.

523 व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक्कृतानि इति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाणमूलानि ।

524 यद्वाप्ययनसंसिद्धविज्ञानरहितोपि सन् । नालीवाधिक्रियाशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादिदर्शनात् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (B. I. series).

memory the text of the Veda had the privilege (the *adhikāra*) of consecrating the sacred fires, though he may be innocent of the meaning of the Vedic texts. From Ananta's bhāṣya it appears that Bhartṛyajña composed a bhāṣya on the Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra which had been lost (utsanna) in the former's day. From Gadādhara's comments on the Pāraskara gṛhyasūtra it appears that Bhartṛyajña commented on Pāraskara.[525] The Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes Bhartṛyajña's explanation of the word *saṁvibhāga* occurring in Gautamadhārmasūtra (10. 39 'svāmī riktha-kraya-saṁvibhāga-parigrahādhigameṣu)'.[526] The Nityācārapradīpa (B. I. series) after quoting Gautamadharmasūtra (11. 29 varṇāśramāḥ svadharmaniṣṭhāḥ &c.) cites the comment of Bhartṛyajña[527] on the word *tac-cheṣeṇa* occurring in that sūtra. Therefore it appears probable that Bhartṛyajña like Asahāya was an ancient commentator of the Gautamadharmasūtra. The Gṛhastharatnākara, after quoting from Vasiṣṭha (17. 1) and Viṣṇu the well-known verse of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (ṛṇam-asmin saṁ-nayati) cites the explanation of Bhartṛyajña as to the word 'jātasya' occurring therein.[528]

Since Bhartṛyajña is quoted by Medhātithi who also mentions Asahāya but not Viśvarūpa, it follows that Bhartṛyajña must have flourished before 800 A. D. and was probably a contemporary of or slightly later than Asahāya.

60. Viśvarūpa

The commentary of Viśvarūpa called Bālakrīḍā on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti has been recently published in two parts by M.M.T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The Mit. states in the introductory verses that the dicta of Yāj. were expanded by

525 on पारस्करगृह्य I. 1. 2. 'एते पञ्च भूतसंस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये अन्यथा इति कर्कोपाध्यायाः'; on पारस्कर I. 2 1. the भाष्य of भर्तृयज्ञ on the word दारकाले is quoted; on the सूत्र 'केशश्मश्रुमितो ब्राह्मणस्य &c.' (पारस्कर II. 5. 28) गदाधर says 'इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रत्वेन हरिहरभाष्ये तिष्ठति भर्तृयज्ञककर्कादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यते'.

526 संविभागो भर्तृदाय इति भर्तृयज्ञः। गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 78a of D. C. ms. No 44 of 1883-84.

527 अत्र तच्छेषेण इति तस्यैव नित्याचारकर्मणः शेषेणेति भर्तृयज्ञः। नित्याचारप्रदीप p. 12.

528 अत्र जातस्येति ऋणपाकरणयोग्यस्येति भर्तृयज्ञः। गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 133a.

the voluminous or ample (*vikaṭa*) explanations of Viśvarūpa. In commenting on Yāj. I. 81 the Mit. tells us that Viśvarūpa looked upon the words of Yāj. I. 79 (tasmin yugmāsu saṁviśet) as a *niyama*. In Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yāj. I. 80 (evaṁ gacchan &c.) we do find that the verse of Yāj. and similar passages of Manu (3. 45), Vasiṣṭha and Gautama (5. 1) are understood to contain a *niyama* and not a *parisaṁkhyā*.[529] On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. informs us that Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara looked upon certain texts of Ṛṣyasṛṅga on *āśauca* as in conflict with well-known smṛtis and discarded them. Mr. S. Sitaram Śāstri published (in 1900 at Madras) the text and translation of Viśvarūpa's comment on inheritance and Mr. Setlur also published the vyavahāra section. In the following pages the Trivandrum edition is relied on.

The printed com. of Viśvarūpa on the *vyavahāra* section is extremely meagre and scarcely merits the epithet *vikaṭa* applied to it by the Mit. But the comment of Viśvarūpa on the *ācāra* and *prāyaścitta* sections is truly voluminous and compares favourably with the Mit. The style of Viśvarūpa is simple and forcible and resembles that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He quotes profusely from Vedic works, mentions the Carakas and Vājasaneyins (on Yāj 1. 32), the Kāṭhaka (on Yāj. III. 237 and 243) and very often supports his position by quotations from the Ṛgveda (e. g. on Yāj. II. 121 and 206), the Brāhmaṇas (e. g. the Śatapatha on Yāj. 1. 53 and III. 257) and from the Upaniṣads (e. g. on Yāj. II. 117, the well-known Chāndogya passage about the ordeal for theft and on Yāj. I. 50 Chāndogya II. 23. 10 about the three branches of *dharma*). He speaks of the *pada-pāṭha* and the *kramapāṭha* as due to human agency (on Yāj. III. 242). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and less frequently those of Bhāradvāja and Āśvalāyana. He cites a host of smṛtikāras.[530] Most of the quotations attributed to

529 मानवं तु ' ऋतुकालाभिगामी स्यात् ' इति ... नियमपरतयैव व्याख्येयम् । एतेनैव... वासिष्ठं व्याख्यातम् । ... गौतमीयं त्वनृतुपरिसंख्यार्थं ' ऋतावुपेयात् ' इति केचित् । ...तस्मात्तदपि नियमार्थमेव व्याख्येयम् ।.

530 The स्मृतिकारs mentioned by name are : अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्, कात्यायन, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, वृद्धगार्ग्य, गौतम, जातूकर्ण (or-र्णि), दक्ष, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, वृद्धमनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, शौनक, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, स्वयंभु (i. e. मनु), हारीत.

Svayaṁbhū are found in the extant Manusmṛti, but this is not the case with the quotations ascribed to Bhṛgu (vide p. 138 above). Most of the quotations from Bṛhaspati (even on such topics as repayment of debts, sureties, the rights of śūdrāputra) are in prose, only a few being in verse (e. g. a verse about ordeals on Yāj. II. 117, a verse about the method of partition on Yāj. II. 153). It appears therefore that Viśvarūpa either knew a work of Bṛhaspati in prose on arthaśāstra in which occurred a few verses or he had before him a prose work of Bṛhaspati and a versified smṛti of Bṛhaspati, both of which he regarded as the compositions of the same author. He quotes a verse (on Yāj. I. 328) from Viśālākṣa, a well-known writer on politics quoted even by Kauṭilya. He refers to the arthaśāstra of Uśanas along with that of Bṛhaspati. Kauṭilya is nowhere quoted by name. The learned editor of Viśvarūpa thinks (Intro. p. V) that Viśvarūpa took Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as *ārṣa* writers long anterior to Yāj. and therefore used their *dicta* to elucidate and support Yāj., while he omits Kauṭilya because he thought Kauṭilya to be posterior to Yāj. This argument contains several fallacies. In the first place it is wrong because Viśvarūpa quotes verses from Nārada and Kātyāyana to supplement Yāj. There is nothing to show that Viśvarūpa regarded Nārada and Kātyāyana also as anterior to Yāj. and we have seen above that they are several centuries later than the smṛti of Yāj. Moreover Kauṭilya himself looked upon both Bṛhaspati and Viśālākṣa as high authorities and so Viśvarūpa might have quoted them rather than Kauṭilya. Even taking the latest date assigned to Kauṭilya (about 3rd century A. D.), he flourished several centuries before Viśvarūpa. It is impossible to believe that Viśvarūpa was in possession of the exact chronological relation of Yāj. and Kauṭilya. Many scholars, besides, place Kauṭilya's work centuries before Yāj. It appears, however, that Viśvarūpa had the work of Kauṭilya before him. On Yāj. I. 307 he speaks of ministers tested by the four allurements (*upadhā*) of *dharma, artha, kāma* and *bhaya*. This is an echo of Kauṭilya (I. 10). On Yāj I. 343 Viś. refers to the view of some that a march should be made when neighbouring chiefs are overwhelmed in calamities.[531] This is the view of Kauṭilya almost in

[531] तथा चाहुः-सामन्तव्योर्व्यसनसाम्येन यातव्यं तममित्रमेव यायात्-इति । विश्वरूप; compare 'तुल्यसामन्तव्यसने यातव्यमभित्रं वा इत्यमित्रमभियायात् । कौटिल्य VII. 5; किं पुनस्तन्मन्त्रणीयम् । उक्तं च दिक्प्रचारदूतसंप्रेषण-कापटिकोदास्थित-

the same words. On Yāj. I. 341 Viś. speaks of the manifold aspects of the work of a minister, some words of his comment being almost identical with Kauṭilya's.

Viśvarūpa's work is thoroughly saturated with the lore of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. He quotes Jaimini by name (on Yāj. I. 225 where Jaimini VI. 8. 15 is quoted). Curiously enough he applies the term *nyāya* to Mīmāṁsā. He takes ' nyāya-mīmāṁsā ' in Yāj. I. 3 as one *vidyā*, while he notes that others explain *nyāya* as the system of logic propounded by Akṣapāda. He quotes the sūtras of Jaimini as those of Yājñikas who know *nyāya* (e. g. on Yāj. I. 53 he quotes Jaimini I. 3. 16 and on Yāj I. 87 he quotes Jaimini VI. 8. 17). He applies the epithet *naiyāyika* to a mīmāṁsaka like Śabara and speaks of the mīmāṁsakas as *nyāyavidaḥ*.[532] He mentions the Śābarbhāṣya by name (on Yāj. III. 243) and in several places quotes the very words of Śabara (e. g. on Yāj. III. 181).[533] He quotes the ślokavārtika of Kumārila (I. 12 the verse 'sarvasyaiva hi &c.) in his introductory remarks. In his comment on Yāj. I. 7 he cites over fifty verses in the nature of *kārikās* dealing with the relation of śruti and smṛti and kindred topics. These verses are his own composition, as in one of them he assures us that a certain point will be dealt with by him in detail in the section on śrāddha.[534] In interspersing his commentary with *kārikās* of his own and in their style and pithiness he greatly resembles Kumārila. Throughout his work he relies upon mīmāṁsā maxims and methods of

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गृहपतिकवैदेहककतापसव्यञ्जनावस्थितचारप्रपञ्चनिरूपणपरप्रयुक्तकापटिकायुच्छेददुर्गादिकरणकन्यासंप्रदानकुमारचिन्ता—अन्तःपुरप्रचाराद्यनेकविधं च । विश्वरूप. The words कापटिको ... व्यञ्जन occur in कौटिल्य (I. 11) and कौटिल्य has chapters on राजपुत्ररक्षण (i. e. कुमारचिन्ता), अवरुद्धवृत्त (i. e. अन्तःपुरप्रचार), दुर्गविधान and दूतप्रणिधि.

532 न्यायविदश्च धार्मिकाः ' आपे वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात् '; न्यायविदश्च याज्ञिकाः सर्वार्थत्वात्पुरार्थे न प्रयोजयेदित्याहुः (this is जैमिनि VI. 8. 17); न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य विशेषणं विवक्ष्यत इति न्यायविदः (on याज्ञ. III. 250). The last is a well-known मीमांसान्याय. "तथा च नैयायिकाः 'नहि वचनस्यातिभारोस्ति' इत्याहुः." These words occur in शाबरभाष्य on जैमिनि III. 2. 3.

533 तथा चोक्तं 'चोदना भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तमित्यादेवंजातीयकमर्थं शक्नोत्यवगमयितुम्' इति । This is शाबरभाष्य p. 4 (B. I. edition).

534 सर्वं चैतत्प्रपञ्चेन वक्ष्यामः श्राद्धसंग्रहे । विश्वरूप part I. p. 16.

discussion. For example, on Yāj. I. 4-5 he discusses the rule of Jaimini II. 4. 8 ff (about 'sarvaśākhāpratyayam ekaṁ karma') in its application to smṛtis; on Yāj. I. 225 he relies upon the position that words like *yava* and *varāha* are to be taken as employed in the Vedas in the same sense in which *śiṣṭas* use them (vide Jaimini I. 3. 9); on Yāj. II. 144 he speaks of wealth (dravya) being *puruṣārtha*, where he alludes to the well-known distinction between *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*, the subject of Jaimini's 4th chap. His commentary on Yāj. III 212, 237, 262 are fine examples of his superb skill in the interpretation and reconciliation of apparently conflicting texts.

Though Viśvarūpa was a past master in Purvamīmāṁsā lore, his philosophical views seem to have been identical with those of the great Śaṅkara. According to him, *mokṣa* results from correct knowledge alone and the whole saṁsāra is due to *avidyā*.[535] He quotes anonymously one of Gauḍapāda's kārikās[536] (III. 5) on Yāj. III. 134.

He speaks on Yāj. III. 103 of Nārada who knew the Veda of music (gītivedavid), of purāṇa (on III. 175), and quotes verses (on Yāj. III. 85) from an abhidhānakośa (lexicon) and from a Nāmaratnamālā (on III. 266). He speaks of the śloka of Bhikṣāṭana (on III. 66). He is in this probably referring to the Bhikṣāṭanakāvya,[537] which is mentioned by the Sāhityadarpaṇa. Among commentators he mentions Asahāya's bhāṣya on Gautama by name (on Yāj. III. 263). On Yāj. III. 256 he explains Mleccha as *pulindas* and *Tājikas* (i. e. Arabs).

535 In his com. on याज्ञवल्क्य III. 66 he says 'अपवर्गार्थं हि पारिव्राज्यं ज्ञानैकसाधनं न तत्र कर्मणा प्रयोजनमित्युक्तमेव'।, 'तत्त्वावग्रहणात्मकेनाविद्योत्थत्वात्मपश्वस्यैवमादिचोद्यानवकाश एव। ... तत्त्वेन ब्रह्मणो नान्यद्वस्त्वन्तरमस्तीति ब्रह्मविदां स्थितिः।'.

536 तथा चाह–यथैकस्मिन्घटाकाशे रजोधूमादिभिर्युते। न सर्वे संप्रयुज्यन्ते सुखं दुःखं तथात्मनः॥ इति। तथान्यैरपि–धूमपूर्णघटानां च यस्यैकस्यैव रेचनम्। उत्पाट्य क्रियते तत्र जायते व्योम निर्मलम्॥ इति. In the Ānandāśrama edition of गौडपाद the fourth *pāda* is तद्वज्जीवा सुखादिभिः. I could not trace the *kārikā* धूमपूर्ण०.

537 Vide I. O. cat. p. 1448 for the भिक्षाटनकाव्य of शिवभक्तिदास alias उत्प्रेक्षावल्लभ who names वाल्मीकि, कालिदास and the कादम्बरी of बाण.

It has been shown above (§34 pp. 169-170) how Viśvarūpa's text of Yāj. varied in some respects from that of the Mit. ; how he frequently refers to the views of commentators of Yāj. earlier than himself (in the words ' apare, ' ' anye '), how he proposes several explanations of the same words in several cases.

Dr. Jolly (Journal of Indian History 1924, pp. 7-8) says that the citations of Viś. in the Smṛticandrikā about his having refuted the views of Dhāreśvara cannot be traced in the printed Bālakrīḍā, as also the reference to Viś. in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 and II. 135. It has been shown above (note 529) that the printed Viś on Yāj. I. 80 *does* contain the view attributed to it by the Mit. As regards the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 it has to be noted that the Mit. does not mention Viś. by name there, but only speaks of ' bhagavān ācārya,[538] ' which words are interpreted by the Subodhinī and the Bālambhaṭṭī as referring to Viśvarūpa. It is true that the printed Viś. does not contain in so many words the explanation attributed by the Mit. to ' bhagavān ācārya. ' But it is worth considering that in the printed Viś. the two quotations from Manu and Śaṅkha do occur and are put in the mouth of an objector and are explained away in a way somewhat similar to that put forth in the Mit.[539] As regards the passages of the Smṛticandrikā, the matter requires careful examination. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 294 Gharpure's ed.) says that according to the Saṁgrahakāra a widow was allowed to succeed to her sonless husband's wealth if she submitted to *niyoga*, that the

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538 The words of the Mit. are: यदपि मतं पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य रिक्थं भ्रातर एव वा (मनु 9. 185) इति मनुस्मरणात्, तथा—स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगामि द्रव्यं तद्भावे पितरौ हरेयातां ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नीति शङ्खस्मरणाच्च अपुत्रस्य धनं भ्रातृगामीति प्राप्तं भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरन् क्षीणामाजीवनक्षयादित्यादिवचनाच्च भरणोपयुक्तं धनं पत्नी लभत इत्यपि स्थितम् । एवं स्थिते बहुधने अपुत्रे स्वर्याते भरणोपयुक्तं पत्नी गृह्णाति शेषं च भ्रातरो यदा तु पत्नीभरणमात्रोपयुक्तमेव द्रव्यमस्ति ततो न्यूनं वा तदा किं पत्न्येव गृह्णाति उत भ्रातरोपीति विरोधे पूर्वबलीयस्त्वज्ञापनार्थं पत्नी दुहितर इत्यारब्धमिति । तदप्यत्र भगवानाचार्यो न मृष्यति । यतः । पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य ... इति विकल्पस्मरणान्नेदं क्रमपरमपि तु धनग्रहणेधिकारप्रदर्शनमात्रपरम् । तच्चासत्यपि पत्न्यादिगणे घटते इति व्याचचक्षे ।

539 ननु एतदप्यस्ति । ' पिता हरे ... वा ' इति । मातर्यसत्यामेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । कथं शङ्खवचनं ' स्वर्यातस्य ... पत्नी ' इति । उक्तलक्षणपत्नीदुहित्रभावे सोदर्यभ्रात्रभिप्रायं तत् । विश्वरूप.

same was the view of Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa refuted the view of Dhāreśvara. In no place does the printed Viś. name Dhāreśvara. The words of the Smṛticandrikā are not to be taken literally. It will be shown below that the author, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, flourished about 1200 A. D., while Dhāreśvara flourished between 1000-1050 A. D. Devaṇṇa had no correct idea of their relative chronological position. It has been shown above (p. 249) how though Asahāya is named by the Mit., the Sarasvatīvilāsa very often says that Asahāya does not like (or tolerate) the views of Vijñāneśvara. Similarly the same work (para 392) says that Dhāreśvara and Devasvāmin do not tolerate the view of Vijñāneśvara, but Dhāreśvara is one of the predecessors of Vij. actually named by him. So all that the Smṛticandrikā means is that Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa differed in their views on the particular points mentioned by it. The word *patnī* is taken by Viś. to mean a widow who is pregnant at the time of her husband's death and quotes the sūtras of Vasiṣṭha and Gautama in support of his view as *jñāpakaṣ*. So this view entirely differs from the view of Dhāreśvara that the widow of a sonless person succeeds if she submits to *niyoga*. The Smṛticandrikā (II. p. 300) says that the Saṁgrahakāra placed the father's mother immediately after the mother and before the father, that the Saṁgrahakāra relied on the same arguments that were employed by Dhāreśvara and that Viśvarūpa and others refuted those arguments. The passage in the printed Viś. is somewhat corrupt in this place. Viś. *does place* the mother before the father on the ground of the word *mātā* occurring first when the word 'pitarau' or the compound '*mātāpitarau*' is expanded. The comment does mention the verse of Manu (9. 217) about the grandmother, but it makes no clear sense, as it stands.[540] For the reason given above Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1912, p. 345 and for 1915, p. 322) is not right when he places Viśvarūpa later than Bhojadeva because of the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā.

In the works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātṛkā), in the Smṛticandrikā, the Hāralatā, and other later works like the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the views of Viśvarūpa are frequently cited and discussed. Several such citations have been

[540] क्षत्रियादिषु पुत्राणां तु पितरि मातुरभावे 'पितुर्माता हरेद् धनम्' इत्यस्य विषयः।

already examined by me (JBBRAS for 1926, pp. 200-204). From considerations of space I do not repeat here the discussion of those passages. In the Gṛhastharatnākara[541] of Caṇḍeśvara (D.C. No. 44 of 1883-4, folio 133a) the explanation of Viśvarūpācārya on Yāj. I. 135 is cited, which does not exactly tally with the printed Viś. Hemādri[542] refers to Viśvarūpa's explanation given in his section on partition which does not occur in the printed text. The result of the examination of these citations is that the printed text of Viś. is in the main genuine, but that in a few cases (particularly in the vyavahāra section) it is corrupt or deficient.

Though Viś. holds the same view as the Mit. that ownership does not for the first time arise on partition but that partition takes place of what is already (jointly) owned, yet on numerous points the two disagree. A few of them may be set out here.

(1) Viś. allows (on Yāj. II. 118) the father unrestricted freedom of distribution of property among his sons during his lifetime, while the Mit. expressly says that this power of unequal distribution is restricted to self-acquired property.

(2) Viś. (on Yāj. II. 119) allows a share of property to the widows of predeceased sons and grandsons of a man when a partition takes place during his lifetime. The Mit. restricts the words ' patnyaḥ ' to the father's own wives when he effects a partition during his lifetime.

(3) Viś. connects the words ' without detriment to the paternal estate ' (in Yāj. II. 122) with the words ' whatever else is acquired by himself ' and not with ' maitra ' (gifts from a friend) and ' audvāhika ' (gifts on marriage), while the Mit. connects the half verse ' whatever else is acquired by the man himself without

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[541] विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 135 is तथा चाम्नायः । तस्माद्वर्षत्यप्रावृतो न व्रजेत्--इति । अयं मे वज्रः पाप्मानमहृतात्--इत्येतदेव मन्त्रस्य कात्स्न्र्यम् । यदा वर्षति गच्छेत् तदैवमिति व्याख्येयम् । ; while the गृहस्थरत्नाकर says ' अयं मे वज्रः सर्वं पाप्मानमहन्ति--इति सर्वं मन्त्रं पठन् वर्षत्यपावृतो (? प्रावृतो) गच्छेद् यावन्मन्त्रसमाप्तिः ऊर्ध्वमनियमः । तावतैवातिपाप्मनोपहृतत्वादिति विश्वरूपाचार्यः ।

[542] भ्राता वा भ्रातृपुत्रो वा सपिण्डः शिष्य एव च । सपिण्डकक्रियां कृत्वा कुर्यादाभ्युदयिकं ततः ॥ इत्यत्र वचने अभ्युदयशब्देन आभ्युदयिकं श्राद्धं विभागप्रकरणे विश्वरूपाचार्येण व्याख्यातम् । चतुर्वर्ग० (कालनिर्णय p. 43).

detriment to the paternal estate' as a qualifying clause to the next half verse and to another verse 'kramād abhyāgatam &c.' In the Mit. the two verses 'pitṛdravyāvirodhena &c.' and 'kramād &c.' occur consecutively, while in Viś. they are separated by three verses and Viś. takes the verse 'kramād' &c. as referring to the re-opening of a partition for a son born after partition.

(4) Viś. allows *niyoga* only to *śūdras* in general and to kṣatriya kings in case of danger of extinction of line (vide com. on Yāj. I. 69 and II. 131), while Mit. forbids *niyoga* in general and holds the texts speaking of it as applicable to a girl who is only betrothed and not married.

(5) Viś. appears to allow one share out of ten to the son of a sūdra wife from a brāhmaṇa without restriction of any kind, while Mit. restricts the share to estates other than land acquired by gift.

(6) Viś. interprets the expression 'half share' (in Yāj. II. 138) with reference to the illegitimate son of a *śūdra* as meaning 'some portion, not necessarily exactly half,' while Mit. interprets it literally.

(7) Viś. allows a widow to succeed to her husband if she is pregnant at his death, while Mit. allows a widow to succeed without any restriction except that of chastity.

(8) Viś. restricts the word 'duhitaraḥ' in 'patnī duhitaraś-caiva' (Yāj. II. 138) to *putrikā* only and so does not allow all daughters whatever to succeed, while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

(9) Viś. reads 'anyodaryasya saṁsṛṣṭī' for anyodaryastu &c.' and 'sodaro' for 'saṁsṛṣṭo' in Yāj. II. 143 and his interpretation of the verse is entirely different from that of the Mit.

(10) Viś. reads 'ādhivedanikaṁ caiva' for 'ādhivedanikādyaṁ ca' of Mit. and holds that *bandhudatta*, *śulka* and *anvādheyaka strīdhana* of a childless woman goes on her death to her full brother; while Mit. connects these three with the preceding verse and takes the half verse 'atītāyām' as laying down a general rule of succession to *strīdhana* of all kinds and interprets 'bāndhavāḥ' as meaning 'husband and the rest'.

(11) Viś. takes the verse 'adhivinna-striyai' &c. (on Yāj. II. 152) as applicable to a wife superseded without any ground of

supercession allowed by the texts; while Mit. does not introduce any such qualification.

As Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Ślokavārtika and is mentioned by the Mit. as an authoritative commentator it follows that he flourished between 750 A. D. and 1000 A. D. A greater approximation as to the date of Viśvarūpa can be made, if the identity of Viśvarūpa with Sureśvara be held established. Sureśvara, as he himself tells us in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, the Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika and other works, was a pupil of the great Śaṅkarācārya whose generally accepted period is 788-820 A. D. Mādhavācārya in several works of his quotes as Viśvarūpa's passages from the well-known works of Sureśvara. For example, the Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. I, part I, p. 57) quotes a kārikā of Sureśvara as that of Viśvarūpācārya.[543] In the Vivaraṇaprameyasaṁgraha (Vizianagaram series p. 92) also Mādhava quotes a verse from the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika as Viśvarūpa's.[544] In the Puruṣārthaprabodha[545] of Brahmānanda-bhāratī (ms. in Bhau Daji collection, Bombay) composed in 1476 (probably of the Śaka era) the author speaks of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi as a work of Viśvarūpa. In the Saṁkṣepa-Śaṅkara-jaya Viśvarūpa is said to be the author of the two vārtikas on Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.[546] According to tradition embodied in the various lives of Śaṅkara, the latter had four pupils, Sureśvara, Padma-pāda, Toṭaka and Hastāmalaka. Several works mention Viśvarūpa as one of the four pupils and omit the name Sureśvara. For example, in the Dvādaśa-vākya-vivaraṇa of Gopāla (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. No. 557, p. 227 b) the four pupils of Śaṅkara are named as Viśvarūpa, Padmanābha, Toṭaka and Hastāmalaka. In the Māna-sollāsa-vṛttānta-vilāsa of Rāmatīrtha we are expressly told that Sure-

543 इदं च वाक्यं नित्यकर्मविषयत्वेन वार्तिके विश्वरूपाचार्य उदाजहार—आग्ने फलार्थं इत्यादि ह्यापस्तम्बस्मृतेर्वचः । फलवत्त्वं समाचष्टे नित्यानामपि कर्मणाम् ॥. The sūtra of आपस्तम्ब is आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 3 and the कारिका occurs in the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक (I. 1. 97).

544 The verse is on p. 640 of the बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक.

545 इत्येवं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धौ ब्रह्मांशैर्ब्रह्मवित्तमैः । श्रीमद्भिर्विश्वरूपाख्यैराचार्यैः करुणार्णवैः ॥ (folio 6).

546 इत्थं स उक्तो भगवत्पदेन श्रीविश्वरूपो विदुषां वरिष्ठः । चकार भाष्यद्वयवार्तिके (ते!)आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया ॥ संक्षेपशाङ्करजय 13.68 (Aufrecht's Oxford Cat p. 257).

śvara is another name of Viśvarūpa, a pupil of Śaṅkara (vide Mitra's Notices vol. V, No. 1763, p. 82). In the Saptasūtra-saṁnyāsapaddhati (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 296) the four pupils are said to eb Svarūpācārya, Padmācārya, Toṭaka and Pṛthvīdhara. The Guruvaṁśakāvya (Vanivilas ed.) identifies Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa (II.59) and makes him a pupil of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. It may therefore be held as fairly established that Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara are identical. Some corroboration is afforded by the fact that Viśvarūpa quotes Gauḍapāda the ' paramaguru ' of Śaṅkara and holds the same philosophical views as those of Śaṅkara. Just as Viśvarūpa quotes Kumārila's Ślokavārtika, Sureśvara also in his Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya-vārtika quotes a *kārikā* of Kumārila and styles the latter Mīmāṁsakaṁ-manya.[547] This shows that Sureśvara treated Kumārila with scant respect, which seems unlikely if he was at any time Kumārila's pupil. Viśvarūpa in his introduction[548] performs an obeisance to the Sun, the great serpent (Śeṣa), Tilaksvāmin and Vināyaka. The Bhāmatī of Vācaspati-miśra has a similar salutation. Vācaspati-miśra wrote his Nyāyasūci-nibandha in 841-42 A. D. i. e. he was almost a contemporary of Śaṅkara and his pupils. The learned editor of Viś. tells us that in a commentary on Viś. called Vacanamālā Sureśvara is bracketed with Manu and Yogīśvara (Yājñavalkya) as an expounder of Śāstra (i. e. dharmaśāstra).[549] Therefore that commentator looked upon Viś. and Sureśvara as identical. From all these several considerations it follows that

[547] मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायजिहासया ॥ इति मीमांसकंमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् । ते. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक I. 9-10. The verse मोक्षार्थी &c. is श्लोकवार्तिक (संबन्धाक्षेपपरिहार verse 110).

[548] प्रणम्यार्कं महानागं तिलकस्वामिनं तथा । विनायकं च सद्बोधिः स्मृतिरुद्व्योत्यते मया ॥ विश्वरूप ; vide याज्ञ. I. 289 आदित्यस्य सदा पूजां तिलकस्वामिनस्तथा । महागणपतेश्चैव कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ . The भामती has मार्तण्डतिलकस्वामिमहागणपतीन् वयम् । विश्ववन्द्यान्नमस्यामः सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनः ॥. तिलकस्वामी would mean तिलकप्रियः स्वामी. The मिताक्षरा reads तिलकं स्वामिनस्तथा.

[549] अवनम्य मनुसुरेश्वरयोगीश्वरतीव्रकिरणगुरुचरणान् । शास्त्राणां व्याकर्तॄन् कर्तॄनपि देवता निखिलाः ॥ One of the verses at the end of the वचनमाला is भवभूतिनिबन्धनोदधौ तिमिभीमप्रतिवादिके गुरोः । सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणप्लुतं (वः !) पतितं मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥. Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4458-4460 for वचनमाला.

Viśvarūpa flourished about 800–825 A. D. But this problem presents further difficulties. The mutual relations of Sureśvara, Bhavabhūti, Umbeka and Maṇḍana are a great puzzle. I have dealt with this question in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289-293. The conclusions arrived at there are that Maṇḍana's literary activity lies between 690–710, that of Umbeka between 700-730 and Sureśvara's between 810–840 A. D. and that Umbeka and Bhavabhūti are identical, but that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are separated by about 100 years.

Dr. Jolly has brought together in the Journal of Indian History (vol. III. pp. 1–27) some valuable information about Viśvarūpa.

In several later works a digest called Viśvarūpa-nibandha is frequently cited. That appears to be the composition of another Viśvarūpa altogether. For example, the ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha-nirṇaya of Śivabhaṭṭa (which is later than 1650 A. D.) tells us that Viśvarūpācārya composed a *vivaraṇa* (commentary) on the Śrāddhakalikā.[550] The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi of Śivarāma (D. C. No. 221 of 1879) quotes several[551] verses from Viśvarūpanibandha on Sapiṇḍa relationship in marriage, which are not found in the Bālakrīḍā, but which agree remarkably with the words of the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53. The Varṣakriyākaumudī (pp. 378, 380) mentions Viśvarūpa-nibandha and quotes two verses cited therein. The Tithi-nirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya (later than 1450 A. D.) quotes certain *kārikās* of Viśvarūpa on the 18 varieties of Ekādaśī.[552] The Kālanirṇayasiddhāntavyākhya (composed in 1653 A. D.) quotes certain verses of Viśvarūpa on the question of the disposal of food prepared for a marriage when a period of impurity on death supervenes.[553] The

[550] अत एवोक्तं श्राद्धकलिकायां--मासिकानि सपिण्डं च अमावास्या तथाब्दिकम् । अन्नेनैव तु कर्तव्यं यस्य भार्या रजस्वला ॥ इति । अन्नेनैव कर्तव्यं न त्वामान्नादिनेति च कलिकाविवरणेपि श्रीमद्विश्वरूपाचार्यव्याख्यानम् । Ms. in the Bhadkamkar Collection, folio 7 b.

[551] विश्वरूपनिबन्धे । एवमुक्तप्रकारेण पितृबन्धुषु सप्तमात् । ऊर्ध्वमेव विवाहत्वं पञ्चमान्मातृबन्धुतः ॥ सन्तानो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजादुभयत्र च । तमादाय गणे (गणेद्) धीमान्वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम् ॥ इति । कृत्यचिन्तामणि folio 150. The Mit. says ' सन्तानभेदेपि यतः सन्तानभेदस्तमादाय गणयेद्यावत्सप्तम इति सर्वत्र योजनीयम् ।'.

[552] एवं स्मार्ताभिप्रायेण विश्वरूपेणापि अष्टादश भेदा उक्ताः । Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 19 a.

[553] Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection folio 137 b on verse 82.

Nirṇayasindhu also quotes verses of Viśvarūpa. From these data it follows that a Viśvarūpa composed a commentary on Srāddha-kalikā and also wrote a digest on matters of ācāra and other topics of dharma in prose and verse. Raghunandana in his Udvāhatattva (ed. by Jivananda, p. 116) names a Viśvarūpa-samuccaya. It is likely that it is the same as Viśvarūpa-nibandha.

61. Bhāruci.

The Mit. on Yāj. (I. 81) says that Bhāruci like Viśvarūpa held the view that the rule ' ṛtau bhāryāṁ gacchet ' was a *niyama* and not a *parisaṁkhyā*. On Yāj. II 124 the Mit. says that the explanation of ' the fourth share ' to be given to unmarried sisters offered by Asahāya and Medhātithi was the proper one and not that of Bhāruci. The Parāśaramādhavīya[554] and the Sarasvatīvilāsa (para 133) inform us that Bhāruci was of opinion that unmarried sisters were only entitled to a provision for their marriage and were not entitled to a fourth share.

Bhāruci, being mentioned by the Mit., is certainly older than 1050 A. D. Rāmānujācārya in his Vedārthasaṁgraha (reprint from the *Pandit*, ed. of 1924, p. 154) mentions six *ācāryas* that preceded him as expounders of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, viz. Bodhāyana, Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin and Bhāruci. Similarly the Yatīndramatadīpikā[555] of Śrīnivāsadāsa (Ānandāśrama ed.) enumerates (p. 2) a host of teachers as the predecessors of Rāmānujācārya in propounding the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. Vyāsa is the reputed author of the Vedāntasūtras, Bodhāyana is said to have composed a *vṛtti* on the Vedānta-sūtras, called Kṛtakoṭi according to the Prapañca-hṛdaya (p. 39, Trivandrum ed.). Ṭaṅka and Brahmanandin are identical. Dramiḍa is credited with the authorship of a *bhāṣya* on the Vedānta-sūtras (which is quoted by Rāmānuja in his bhāṣya on II. 2. 3). Nāthamuni is said to have been the grand-father of Yāmunamuni, who was born about 916 A. D. Rāmānuja refers to him with great reverence as his teacher's teacher (*parama-guru*, vide Vedārtha-saṁgraha, p. 149) and is said to have been young

554 भारुचिस्तु चतुर्थभागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगि द्रव्यं विवक्षितं, अतो दानभागत्वमसंस्कृतकन्यानां नास्तीति मन्यते । परा. मा. vol. III, 2. p. 510.

555 ' व्यास-बोधायन-गुहदेव-भारुचि-ब्रह्मनन्दि-द्रमिडाचार्य-श्रीपराङ्कुश-नाथमुनि-यतीश्वर-प्रभृतीनां मतानुसारेण &c.,

when Yāmuna died (vide J R A S for 1915, p. 147 and I. A. for 1909, p. 129). It is therefore obvious that the teachers are arranged by the Yatīndramatadīpikā in chronological order. Hence Bhāruci, being placed earlier than even Dramiḍa and Nāthamuni, was comparatively an ancient author and could not have flourished later than the first half of the 9th century. Bhāruci the jurist also flourished before 1050. It is difficult to believe that there were two famous writers of the same name nearly about the same time. Hence it may provisionally be held that Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra and Bhāruci the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher are identical. If this identity be accepted, then Bhāruci the writer on dharmaśāstra becomes comparatively an early writer, being at least as old as Viśvarūpa. His views agree on several points with those of Viśvarūpa, which is a circumstance that lends some corroboration to the date proposed for him.

One interesting point about Bhāruci deserves mention here. From numerous notices contained in the Sarasvatīvilāsa it appears that Bhāruci either commented upon the Viṣṇudharmasūtra or wrote some work in which he took great pains to incorporate explanations of several sūtras of Viṣṇu. For example, para 637 tells us that Bhāruci explained the word ' bīja ' occurring in a sūtra of Viṣṇu as ' piṇḍa '.[556] In para 674 we are told that Bhāruci explained the word ' niṣkāraṇa ' in a sūtra of Viṣṇu and that he held that a daughter's son has not to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather if the latter has a son. Sudarśanācārya in his comment upon Āpastambagṛhya (8. 21. 2) ascribes the same view to Bhāruci and quotes the very words of Bhāruci.[557] Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 210-211 for further examples. There is nothing unnatural in Bhāruci, the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosopher, having composed a commen-

[556] यथाह भारुचिरेतद्विष्णुवचनव्याख्यानावसरे बीजशब्दः पिण्डवाचीति । स. वि. para 637 (pp. 422-23 of Mysore ed.). The sūtra of विष्णु is ' बीजग्रहणानुविधायमंशं गृह्णीयात् ' स. वि. para 636.

[557] अत्र भारुचिः । निष्कारणमिति वदता विष्णुना समनन्तरकर्तृणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दौहित्रस्य न कर्तृत्वसंक्रान्तिरिति । स. वि. para 674 (p. 427). The sūtra of विष्णु is दौहित्रस्य मातामहश्राद्धं निष्कारणम्. The words of सुदर्शनाचार्य are इममेवार्थं भारुचिरप्याह यस्मिन्पक्षे अपुत्रो मातामहः पुत्रिकासुतश्चाखिलद्रव्यहारी तस्मिन्पक्षे तस्य पिण्डदाननियमः इत्यादिना मन्थेन ।

tary on the Viṣṇudharmasūtra. The extant Viṣṇudharmasūtra contains doctrines peculiar to the Viśiṣṭādvaita system such as the worship of Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva, the four Vyūhas of Vāsudeva &c. If Bhāruci was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin he would naturally turn to the sūtra of Viṣṇu as having the greatest claim on his attention. Many of the sūtras of Viṣṇu quoted in the Sarasvatīvilāsa with the explanations of Bhāruci are not found in the printed text of Viṣṇu, on which Nandapaṇḍita commented in the first half of the 17th century. It appears that the Sarasvatīvilāsa had before it a larger version of Viṣṇu current in the south (vide note 118, p. 70 above).

On scores of points there is divergence between the views of Bhāruci and those of the Mit. Bhāruci differed from the Mit. as to the definition of *dāya* and *vibhāga*, he allowed *niyoga* to childless widows, while the Mit. condemned it in the case of all widows; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, did not mention *sapratibandha* and *apratibandha dāya*; Bhāruci, like Viśvarūpa, held that a coparcener who concealed some joint property was not guilty of theft, while the Mit. held that he was. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 pp. 211-13 for more examples and details.

62. Śrīkara

The Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 alludes to the view of Śrīkara and others that the widow succeeded as heir to her deceased husband's estate if it was small.[558] The Smṛtisāra[559] of Harinātha attributes the same view to Śrīkara and disapproves of it. On Yāj. II. 169 the Mit.[560] cites the view of Śrīkara about that topic and disapproves of it. Viśvarūpa also gives two explanations of that verse of Yāj., the first of which agrees with that of the Mit. and the second is akin to Śrīkara's.

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558 एतेनाल्पधनविषयत्वं श्रीकरादिभिरुक्तं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।

559 न च स्वल्पबलत्वे (धनत्वे ?) पत्नी दुहितर इति बहुधनत्वे भ्रातृणामप्रजा इति वचनमिति श्रीकरमतमुचितम् । स्मृतिसार I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a.

560 अथाविदितदेशान्तरं गतः कालान्तरे वा विपन्नस्तदा मूलसमाहरणाशक्तेर्विक्रेतारमदर्शयित्वैव स्वयमेव तद्धनं नाधिकस्य समर्पयेत् । तावतैवासौ शुद्धो भवतीति श्रीकराचार्येण व्याख्यातं तदिदमनुपपन्नम् । मिताक्षरा, the स. वि. p. 307 (Mysore ed.) quotes these very words ' अथाविदित ... समर्पयेदिति श्रीकरप्रभृतयो आहुः । विज्ञानेश्वरस्तु &c. '

The works of Jīmūtavāhana (viz. the Dāyabhāga and the Vyavahāramātṛkā), the Smṛticandrikā and the Sarasvatīvilāsa contain very interesting notices of Śrīkara's views. Many of them were brought together by me in J B B R A S for 1925, pp. 213-215. Śrīkara like Viśvarūpa held the view that 'duhitaraḥ' in Yāj. refers to the *putrikā*, he allowed the parents of a childless person to succeed together at the same time. The Dāyabhāga very severely criticizes the views of Śrīkara on the succession to re-united members, on *vidyādhana* and on Yāj. II. 24 (about enjoyment for 20 years).[561] Most of the views attributed to Śrīkara were also entertained by Viśvarūpa or are more antiquated than Viśvarūpa's.

Śrīkara was probably a writer from Mithilā and seems to have propounded the view of spiritual benefit as the criterion for judging superior rights of succession. The Smṛtisāra[562] of Harināṭha ascribes such a view to a Śrīkara-nibandha.

Whether Śrīkara wrote a commentary on a smṛti or a general digest (nibandha) it is difficult to say. The Smṛticandrikā[563] says that Śambhu, Śrīkara and Devasvāmin compiled digests of smṛtis and added their own explanations of them. The Smṛtyarthasāra[564] of Śrīdhara asserts in the introductory verses that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled up the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about (by introducing order out of chaos). Śrīkara's explanations of Yājñavalkya are frequently cited by the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and

561 Vide व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 47 where श्रीकर is the first of a host of writers who held, following Yāj. II. 24, that adverse possession for twenty and ten years in the case of immoveable and moveable property respectively conferred ownership.

562 Vide स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 147 a) मृतसन्तानाभावे तत्पितृसन्ततेस्तद्धनं तदभावे च तत्पितामहसन्ततेः ... इति त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यमित्यादिना दर्शितम् । एतदूर्ध्वं त्रयाणामपि जन्यजनकक्रमेणैव पूर्ववत्सन्निधानादर्थग्राहितेति सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यानां धनभागितेति अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्यः इत्यादिना दर्शितम् ।

563 ये पुनः स्मृतिसमुच्चयकाराः शम्भुश्रीकरदेवस्वाम्यादयः संन्यस्तुं रविषमविभागयेः शिष्टाचारं मन्यमाना उद्धारादिविषयाणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि विचार्ययितुं ग्रन्थवितरं चक्रिरे। स्मृतिच० (व्य० section p. 266).

564 श्रीकण्ठश्रीकराचार्यैः श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणगैः । स्मृतिशास्त्रेष्वनेकेषु विप्रकीर्णेष्वनेकधा । अनुग्राह्योपकारार्थं स्मृतिच्छिद्रं प्रयत्नतः । पुराणन्यायमीमांसासाङ्गवेदैः प्रपूरितम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार (D. C. ms. No. 44 of 1870-71 copied in संवत् 1495 has these verses).

others. But the Mit. does not connect Śrīkara's name with Yājñavalkya as a commentator, though Viśvarūpa is expressly so connected. It appears therefore more likely that Śrīkara wrote a digest of smṛtis in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya. The Rājanītiratnākara[565] of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the views of Śrīkara on rājanīti, one of which is that the poor and helpless are entitled to a share of the royal wealth.

Hemādri[566] quotes the view of Śrīkara on Viṣṇu and disapproves of the faults found therein by the author of the Paṇḍita-paritoṣa.

As Śrīkara is quoted by the Mit., he is certainly earlier than 1050 A. D. As his views agree largely with Viśvarūpa's, he may provisionally be regarded as nearly of the same period as Viśvarūpa's. He cannot be earlier than Asahāya who is named both by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, though both of them are silent about Śrīkara. Hence Śrīkara must be placed somewhere between 800 and 1050 A. D. and probably flourished in the 9th century.

This Śrīkara must be distinguished from another Śrīkara, the father of Śrīnātha.

63. Medhātithi.

Medhātithi is the author of an extensive and erudite commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the Manusmṛti. It is the oldest extant commentary on that smṛti. The bhāṣya of Medhātithi was first published about forty years ago by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik in Bombay and recently Mr. J. R. Gharpure of Bombay brought out an edition of Medhātithi which closely follows Mandlik's edition. A critical edition of the bhāṣya based upon all the available Mss. is a great *desideratum*. An English translation of the *bhāṣya* by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha is in progress and several parts have been published so far. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used. The *bhāṣya* as printed is corrupt in many places, particularly in the 8th, 9th and

565 'राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वं बहुनायकत्वाद्राज्यविनाशश्चेति युक्तिरिति गोपाललक्ष्मीधरश्रीकरादयः।' राजनीतिरत्नाकर pp. 40-41 (ed. by Jayaswal).

566 अत्र श्रीकरः प्राह। यदा गतकाले अमावास्याद्वयं भवति तदा मिथुनादितरेष्वाषाढीभावात्।... अत्र च पण्डितपरितोषकृता दूषणमभिहितम्। अनुपपन्नमेतत्।... तेन श्रीकराणां मतमेव साधु। चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2, pp. 900-903.

12th *adhyāyas* In Mr. Gharpure's edition there is no *bhāṣya* on verses 182-202 of the 9th chapter.

Bühler in his learned and exhaustive Introduction to the Manusmṛti (S. B. E. vol. 25) brings together a good deal of information about Medhātithi (pp. CXVIII-CXXVI). In JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 217-221 I have offered criticisms on some of Bühler's views and have given certain additional information.

In several Mss. of the *bhāṣya* at the end of several *adhyāyas* occurs a verse[567] which says that a king named Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, brought copies of Medhātithi's commentary from another country and effected a restoration (*jīrṇoddhāra*). This does not refer to the restoration of the text of Medhātithi, but to the completion of the library of the king, who was Madanapāla, son of Sādhāraṇa and flourished, as we shall see later on, in the latter half of the 14th century.

Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 6) holds Medhātithi to be a southerner on account of the fact that his father's name was Vīrasvāmin and on account of the attention paid to his *bhāṣya* by southern writers. It cannot be said that names ending in 'svāmin' were a monopoly of the south. The Rājatarangiṇī gives several literary celebrities whose names ended in 'svāmin' (e. g. V. 34 mentions a Śivasvāmī). Kṣīrasvāmin was a Kāshmirian. The south has always been famed for preserving Mss. of valuable works from the north. Mss. of the Kāvyālaṁkāra of Bhāmaha, a Kāshmirian, are very rare and have been found only in the south. Bühler (p. CXXIII) seems to be right in holding that Medhātithi was a Kāshmirian (or at least an inhabitant of Northern India). In explaining such words as 'svarāṣṭre' and 'janapadaḥ' (Manu VII. 32 and VIII. 42) Medhātithi introduces Kashmir. He gives (on Manu VIII. 400) the monopoly of the sale of elephants as a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron abounds.[568] He says

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[567] मान्या कापि मनुस्मृतिस्तदुचिता व्याख्या हि मेधातिथेः सा लुप्तेव विधेर्वशात् क्वचिदपि प्राप्यं न यत्पुस्तकम् । क्ष्मोणीन्द्रो मदनः सहारणसुतो देशान्तरादाहृतेर्जीर्णोद्धारमचीकरत्तत इतस्तत्पुस्तकैर्लेखितैः ॥ सहारण is a *Prākrit* form of साधारण.

[568] यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगितया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमप्रायेषु पट्टोर्णादीनि प्रतीच्येष्वश्वा दाक्षिणात्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि &c. Should we not read यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं प्राच्येषु पट्टोर्णादीनि ? The meaning then would be elephants are the monopoly of kings everywhere, saffron in Kashmir &c,

that the rainbow is called 'vijñāna-chāyā' in Kashmir (on Manu IV. 59). He very frequently refers to northerners e. g. on Manu III. 234 he says 'kutapa' is the word for what is well-known as 'kambala' among northern people and on III. 238 he says 'northern people wrap their heads with *śaṭakas*' (garments). He says on Manu II. 24 that in the Himālayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform the daily *saṁdhyā* in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira'. On Manu II. 18 he says 'in other countries, some say, people marry one's maternal uncle's daughter; but that is opposed to the words of Gautama' (4. 3) and proceeds 'even in that country taking food in the same plate with (or in the company of) one whose thread ceremony is not performed is not at all regarded as dharma (but as improper conduct)'. This is clearly a reference to Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 1. 19) according to which 'mātulasutā-pariṇayana' and taking food in the same plate with one whose *upanayana* is not performed are two of the five usages peculiar to the south. It is fair to add that later writers like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (Nirṇayasindhu, 3rd pariccheda on sāpiṇḍya) regard Medhātithi as a southerner.

Medhātithi quotes from or names numerous smṛti writers, such as Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Śaṅkha, Manu, Yāj., Nārada, Parāśara, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and others. He refers to Bṛhaspati as a writer on 'vārtā' (Manu VII. 43 and IX. 326) and to Bṛhaspati and Uśanas as writers on politics and government (Manu VIII 285, VII. 2 and 155). On Manu VII. 43 he refers to *Cāṇakya* as a writer on 'daṇḍanīti'. In numerous places he seems to have drawn upon Kauṭilya's work. For example, on Manu VII. 155 in interpreting 'pañcavarga' as 'kāpaṭika, udāsthita, gṛhapatika, vaidehika and tāpasavyañjana' he explains them almost in the words of Kauṭilya (I. 2). On VII. 148 he quotes the five aṅgas of *mantra* in the very words of Kauṭilya.[569] Vide also his remarks on Manu VII. 54 (testing of ministers by *upadhās*). He names Asahāya (on 8. 156) and certain writers as Smṛtivivaraṇakārāḥ (on II. 25). Bühler is not quite accurate (p. cxx, n. 1) when he states that 'Medhātithi gives only once the name of an

569 इमान्यङ्गानि कर्मणामारम्भोपायः पुरुषद्रव्यसंपत् देशकालविभागः विनिपातप्रतीकारः कार्यसिद्धिरिति। मेधातिथि, compare कौटिल्य I. 15 'कर्मणामारम्भोपायः ... कार्यसिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः'।

early commentator'. On VIII. 3 he refers to the interpretations of Bhartṛyajña. He refers to the interpretations of Yajvan (on VIII. 151 and 156). Yajvan is only the last part of a name (as in Devarājayajvan). He quotes the interpretation of Manu by Upādhyāya (on II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147). Bühler holds that Medhātithi refers to his own teacher. It is more likely that Upādhyāya, like Yajvan, is the name or part of the name of a previous commentator of Manu. On VIII. 152 the explanations of Ṛju are twice cited. On IX. 253 Medhātithi cites the view of one Viṣṇusvāmin.[570] From the tenor of the quotation it appears that Viṣṇusvāmin was a writer on Mīmāṁsā and not a commentator of Manu as Bühler thought (p. cxx, n. 1). Some Mss. read the word preceding Viṣṇusvāmī as 'kovara', others as 'kāvara'. It is probably 'kāvera' (residing on the Kāverī river).

He quotes (on Manu I. 19) a verse from the Sāṅkhyakārikā ('prakṛter mahān &c). He speaks of Vindhyavāsa[571] as a Sāṅkhya and says that he does not admit a subtle interim body (antarābhavadeha). This is probably taken from Kumārila's words.[572] He repeatedly refers to the *purāṇas*, tells us (on III. 232) that they were composed by Vyāsa and contained accounts of creation. He quotes (on XII. 118) a verse from the Vākyapradīpa.[573]

He tells us (on II. 6) that the Pāñcarātras, Nirgranthas (Jains) and Pāśupatas were outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy.[574]

Medhātithi had drunk deep at the fountain of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. His bhāṣya is full of the terms *vidhi* and *arthavāda*. He quotes Jaimini's sūtras frequently and applies them to the interpretation of smṛti texts at every step. Vide J B B R A S for 1925 p. 219 for examples. He cites passages from Śabara's *bhāṣya* (e. g. on III. 1). He mentions Kumārila by name (on I. 3) and as Bhaṭṭapāda (on Manu II. 18).

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570 अतो यावती काचित्कलश्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कोवरविष्णुस्वामी ।

571 सांख्या हि केचिन्नान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतयः । मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55.

572 अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना । श्लोकवार्तिक p. 704.

573 उक्तं च वाक्यप्रदीपे—न तदस्ति च तन्नास्ति इत्यादि । Dr. Kielhorn told Dr. Bühler that the verse is not found in the वाक्यप्रदीप of हरि (S. B. E. vol. 25, CXXIII. n. 1)

574 एवं सर्व एव बाह्या भोजकपाञ्चरात्रिकनियन्थानार्थवादपाशुपतप्रभृतयः ।

Bühler at first took the remark (on Manu XII. 19) about 'Śārīraka' as[575] referring to Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra, but later on changed his opinion (S B E vol. 25, p. cxxii) and held that it probably implies a reference to the Śārīraka sūtras. Bühler's considered opinion does not seem to be right. The words 'yatheha rājā ... apaiti' are a summary of Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 34 and II. 3. 42. and I. 2. 11-12. On Manu II. 83 he refers to the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya[576] on Chāndogya II. 23. 4 and says that that passage has been differently explained in the *bhāṣya*. Śaṅkara does explain that passage of the Chāndogya differently. But this is not all. In various other places Medhātithi seems to have in view the Śārīrakbhāṣya of Śaṅkara. For example, on I. 80 he has[577] before him Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the sūtra 'lokavat tu līlākaivalyam' (Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 33). He, however, seems to have favoured the position that the attainment of *mokṣa* is due[578] not to mere correct knowledge but to the combination (*samuccaya*) of knowledge and karma (vide remarks on Manu VI. 32, 74-75,

575 ननु च धर्माधर्मयोरिच्छां प्रति नियन्तृत्वे ऐश्वर्यं हीयते। तथा शारीरके दर्शितं यथेह राजा सेवानुरूपं ददाति न च तस्येश्वरत्वमपैति अतो महत्परमात्मानौ पश्यत इति व्यपदिश्यते।

576 उपनिषद्भाष्ये चैतदन्यथा व्याख्यातं तत्त्विहानुपयोगान्न प्रदर्शितम्। मेधातिथि. The उपनिषद् passage is 'तद्यथा शङ्कुना सर्वाणि पत्राणि संतृण्णानि एवमोङ्कारेण सर्वा वाक् संतृण्णा'. मेधातिथि explains 'सर्वो ह्यर्थो वाग्व्यवहारानतीतो वाचश्च सर्वस्या ओङ्कारो मूलम्। तथा च श्रुतिः। तद्यथा शङ्कुना &c. ... अन्तर्धानमनुस्मृतिराश्रयभावापत्तिर्वा। कथं पुनः सर्वा वागोङ्कारेण संतृण्णा। वैदिक्यास्तावदोङ्कारपूर्वकत्वमुक्तम्। लौकिक्या अपि तदादीनि वाक्यानि स्युरित्यापस्तम्बवचनात्।'. शाङ्करभाष्य explains 'यथा शङ्कुना पर्णनालेन सर्वाणि पर्णानि पर्णावयवजातानि संतृण्णानि विद्धानि व्याप्तानीत्यर्थः। एवमोङ्कारेण ब्रह्मणा परमात्मनः प्रतीकभूतेन सर्वा वाक् शब्दजातं संतृण्णा। अकारो वा सर्वा वागित्यादिश्रुतेः।.

577 लीलयापि कौतुकेनापि लोके राजादीनां प्रवृत्तिर्दृश्यत इति ब्रह्मविदः। मेधा०; 'यथा लोके कस्यचिदाप्तैषणस्य राज्ञो ... लीलारूपाः प्रवृत्तयो भवन्ति' शाङ्करभाष्य.

578 On I. 50 he says 'परब्रह्मावाप्तिस्तु मोक्षलक्षणा केवलानन्दरूपा ज्ञानात् ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयाद्वेति वक्ष्यामः।'; on मनु VI. 74-75 'इदं तु ज्ञानकर्मणोः समुच्चयान्मोक्ष इति श्लोकद्वयं ज्ञापकम्।'; on XII. 87 अतश्च ब्रह्मनिष्ठापरेणापि वेदाभ्यासादीन्यनुष्ठेयानि।

and XII. 87-90). This was probably due, as Kullūka remarks[579] (on I. 3), to his being a profound student of Mīmāṁsā.

From Medhātithi's bhāṣya it is perfectly clear that the text of Manu on which he commented was practically the same that we have now. He refers to ancient (*cirantana*) expositors of Manu (on V. 127) and to former (*pūrva*) expositors (IV. 176, II. 134, X. 21). He discusses various readings in several places (vide III. 119, IV. 99, 185, 229, VIII. 53). On VIII. 182-183 he notes[580] that the order of the verses was traditionally different. Kullūka also notices that those two verses and the next two were read in one order by Medhātithi and Bhojadeva and in another by Govindarāja. On 9. 93 he notes that according to some that verse is not Manu's.[581]

Medhātithi's bhāṣya is full of very interesting information. But for want of space it cannot be analysed in detail. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 124) refers to the view of Asahāya and Medhātithi (on Manu 9. 118) about the fourth share to be given to an unmarried sister at a partition between brothers and follows it in preference to Bhāruci's. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. tells us that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about varying periods of impurity for Brāhmaṇas and others were not accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. According to him[582] *saṁnyāsa* does not mean the giving up of all the obligatory duties laid down by *śāstra*, but the giving of *ahaṁkāra*. He[583] allowed a brāhmaṇa to adopt even a kṣatriya boy. He explains away the well-known verse 'naṣṭe mṛte... patiranyo vidhīyate' by

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579 मेधातिथिस्तु कर्ममीमांसावासनया वेदस्य कार्यमेव तत्त्वरूपोर्थस्तं वेत्तीति कार्यतत्त्वार्थविदिति व्याचष्टे ।.

580 The verses are यो निक्षेपं याच्यमानः &c. and साक्ष्यभावे &c. मेधातिथि says on the first व्यत्यस्तक्रमोयं श्लोकः समाम्नाये पठ्यते । प्रथमस्यार्धश्लोकं पठित्वा साक्ष्यभाव इति पठितव्यम् । ततः स याच्य इति । एवं पाठो युक्तः ।

581 केचिदाहुरमानवोयं श्लोकः.

582 अथाप्युच्येत कर्मसंन्यासिनो निवृत्तिमार्गावस्थायिनो नैव केचिच्छास्त्रार्थविधयः सन्ति । नायं शास्त्रार्थः । अहंकारममकारत्याग एव संन्यासो वक्ष्यते नाशेषशास्त्रार्थत्यागः । मेधा० on मनु VI. 32.

583 सदृशं न ज्ञातितः किं तर्हि कुलानुरूपैर्गुणैः क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते । मेधा० on मनु 9. 168.

taking the word 'pati' in its etymological sense and says[584] that the verse suggests that in order to maintain herself in such calamities the woman may take service with another person as her protector.

Medhātithi quotes several verses from his own work called Smṛtiviveka on Manu II. 6 (in all 24 verses) and on X. 5. he says that he has dealt with the topic of mixed castes in Smṛtiviveka. That work therefore was either entirely in verse or contained numerous verses. The Parāśara-Mādhavīya (vol. I, part 2, pp. 183-186) has a long quotation in verse on the duties of *yatis* from a work called Smṛtiviveka and the same work several times quotes verses attributed to Medhātithi (vol. I. part I p. 276 and part 2 p. 172). Hence the Smṛtiviveka cited by the Parāśara-Mādhavīya most probably is Medhātithi's work. Lollaṭa[585] an early writer quotes several verses of Medhātithi in his work on śrāddha. In the Tithinirṇaya-sarvasamuccaya (Bhadkamkar collection) several verses of Medhātithi on obstacles to marriage such as death are quoted.[586] In the Yatidharmasaṁgraha of Viśveśvara-sarasvatī (Ānandāśrama ed. p. 27) two well-known verses about ' *aṣṭaṅga-maithuna* ' (viz. *smaraṇaṁ kīrtanaṁ keliḥ* &c.) are ascribed to Medhātithi and another verse[587] is cited (on the same page) about the six duties of *yatis*. These quotations show that Medhātithi

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584 तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत सैरन्ध्रकर्मादिनात्मवृत्त्यर्थम् । मेधा० on मनु. 5. 156.

585 पुत्राभावे सपिण्डा मातृसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च दद्युः, तदभावे ऋत्विगाचार्यावीति मेधातिथि-स्मरणात् । (folio 4b of the ms. of श्राद्धप्रकरण by लोल्लटाचार्य in the आनन्दा-श्रम library at Poona); जाताशौचमृताशौचविषये त्वाह मेधातिथिः । पादप्रक्षालने श्राद्धे स्वनलस्थापनं कृतौ । मधुपर्के विवाहे वै आशौचेप्यूर्ध्वमाचरेत् । (*ibid.* folio 10a).

586 वधूवरार्थं घटिते सुनिश्चिते वरस्य गेहेप्वथ कन्यकायाः । मृत्युर्यदि स्यान्मनुजस्य चित्त-(वित्त ?)दानं कुर्यात्खलु जातमङ्गलम् ॥ (folio 45 b); वाग्दानानन्तरं यत्र कुलयोः कस्यचिन्मृतिः । तदा संवत्सरादूर्ध्वं विवाहः शुभदो भवेत् ॥ (folio 46 a); चौले च व्रतबन्धे च विवाहे व्रतकर्मणि । भार्या रजस्वला यस्य प्रायस्तस्य च (न ?) शोभनम् ॥ (folio 47 a); पृथग्मातृजयोः कार्यो विवाहस्त्वेकवासरे । एकस्मिन्मण्डपे चैव पृथग्वेदिकयोस्तथा ॥ (folio 51 a). The first two verses occur in गदाधर's commentary on the पारस्करगृह्य and the last three are cited in the कृत्यचिन्ता-मणि of शिवराम (D. C. ms No. 221 of 1179-80, folios 54 b, 55a, 56 b.)

587 भिक्षाटनं जपो ध्यानं स्नानं शौचं सुरार्चनम् । कर्तव्यानि षडेतानि यतिना नृपदण्डवत् ॥ यतिधर्मसंग्रह.

wrote an extensive work in verse on several topics of dharma. It is to be fervently hoped that this work of Medhātithi would be brought to light some day or other. Coming as it does from such an erudite and ancient writer, it would throw a flood of light on the development of dharmaśāstra.

As Medhātithi names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śaṅkarācārya, he is later than 820 A. D. As the Mit. looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A. D. Most probably he flourished between 825 and 900 A. D. Kullūka[588] on Manu III. 127 says that Medhātithi is much earlier than Govindarāja (1050–1100 A. D.). Lollaṭa is mentioned as a predecessor in the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara, which was composed between 1150-1200 A. D. So Lollaṭa is much earlier than 1150 A. D. He looked upon Medhātithi as a writer whose work was as authoritative as a smṛti. A work called Prakāśa[589] which is quoted in the Kalpataru appears to have mentioned Medhātithi. Hemādri quotes at great length Medhātithi's comments in several places.[590] Hence the above date is amply corroborated. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that, though he names Asahāya, he does not mention Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci or Śrīkara. If by Miśra[591] in his comment on Manu XII. 118 he refers to Vācaspati-miśra, the author of the Bhāmatī and other works, then he will have to be placed after 850 A. D.

64. Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva.

The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) says that Dhāreśvara tries to reconcile the conflicting texts about the right of the widow to succeed to her husband's estate by saying that she succeeded if her husband was separate and if she was willing to submit to *niyoga*. On the same verse the Mit. says that following Manu 9. 217 Dhāreśvara placed the paternal grand-mother immediately after the mother as an heir and even before the father. On Yāj. III. 24 the Mit. says that certain texts of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga about impurity on death were not

588 मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्गोविन्दराजादपि वृद्धतरैरनभ्युपेतत्वात्।

589 Vide note 185.

590 Vide चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1062–63 where मेधातिथि's comment on मनु III. 265 is cited.

591 प्रमाणान्तराणामपि एकत्वप्रतिपादनपरत्वादेव ग्राहिणः प्रत्यक्षस्य मिश्रैः कृत एव क्लेशः।

accepted as authoritative by Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. Vide (sec. 60 on Viśvarūpa) about the remarks of the Smṛticandrikā on Dhāreśvara and Viśvarūpa. The Hāralatā[592] (p. 117) remarks (as does the Mit. on Yāj. III. 24) that Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu did not cite certain texts as Jātūkarṇa's and that therefore they were not authoritative.

That Dhāreśvara is to be identified with Bhojadeva of Dhārā, perhaps the most famous Indian prince as a patron of learned men, follows from several considerations. The Dāyabhāga[593] cites Bhojadeva and Dhāreśvara without making any distinction between the two. Some views that are ascribed to Dhāreśvara in one work are ascribed to Bhojadeva in another. The Vivādatāṇḍava of Kamalākara ascribes to Bhojadeva the same views as to the widow's rights as are ascribed to Dhāreśvara by the Mit. Mss. of the Rājamārtaṇḍa (commentary on the Yogasūtras) have colophons saying that the work was composed by Dhāreśvara Bhojarāja. Dhāreśvara is styled *ācārya* by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 24) and *sūri* by the Smṛticandrikā (II p. 257). Works on numerous branches of knowledge were composed by (or in the name of) Bhoja of Dhārā. On poetics we have twe extensive works of his, viz. the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa and the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. A verse at the[594] beginning of the Rājamārtaṇḍa tells us that Bhoja composed a work on grammar, a commentary on the Yogasūtra and a work on medicine called Rājamṛgāṅka just as Patañjali wrote on these three subjects (vide Mitra's Notices of Mss, vol. I, p. 115 for the medical work of Bhoja called Rājamārtaṇḍa alias Yogasāra). He composed a work on astronomy called Rājamṛgāṅka. A work of his on the Śaiva *āgama* called Tattvaprakāśa has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. There are several other works ascribed to him, which need not be

592 यानि जातूकर्णनाम्ना वचनानि लिखितानि तानि भोजदेव-विश्वरूप-गोविन्दराज-कामधेनुरुद्धिरलिखितत्वान्मत्स्यपुराणविरोधाच्च निर्मूलान्येव ।

593 दायभाग (p. 53, ed. of 1829) 'अयं वा धारेश्वरपुरस्कृतो वचनार्थः । इच्छया विभागदानप्रवृत्तस्य पितुः पैतामहधने सदृशं स्वाम्यं पुत्रैः सह न तत्र स्वोपार्जितधन इव न्यूनाधिकविभागमिच्छातः कर्तुमर्हतीति ।'; दायभाग (p. 280) 'अत एव भोजदेवेनापि कृताकृतदुहित्राधिकारे बृहस्पतिरित्यभिधाय यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यमिति वचनं लिखितम् ।'.

594 शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातञ्जले कुर्वता वृत्तिं राजमृगाङ्कसंज्ञकमपि ख्यातन्वता वैद्यके । वाक्चेतोवपुषां मलः फणभृतां भर्त्रेव येनोद्धृतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमल्लनृपतेर्वाचो जयन्त्युज्ज्वलाः ॥ Intro. 4th verse.

set out here. That he composed an extensive work on the principal subjects of dharmaśāstra follows from the numerous references to him contained in the Mit., the Dāyabhāga, the Hāralatā and other works. The Śuddhi-kaumudī[595] (B. I. edition) of Govindānanda frequently speaks of a work called Rājamartaṇḍa of Bhoja on śrāddha. The Jayasiṁha-kalpadruma (p. 26) quotes Rājmārtaṇḍa and Bhojarājīya on the same page. Whether Bhoja composed on Dharmaśāstra one work or two (as he composed two on poetics), and whether his work was a commentary or an independent digest it is difficult to say. M. M. Haraprasādaśāstri in one of his reports threw out the suggestion that the Kāmadhenu was the work of Bhoja, but this is entirely wrong, as the words of Śrīdatta in his Pitṛbhakti[596] will show.

Besides the two points noted above (about widow's rights and about the grandmother), there are others on which the Mit. and Dhāreśvara disagreed: viz. Dhāreśvara held ownership to be known only from śāstra, while the Mit. held it to be *laukika* (vide Vīramitrodaya pp. 528, 536); Dhāreśvara held that the word 'duhitaraḥ' in in Yāj. stands for *putrikā* in the order of succession (Smṛti-candrikā II. p. 295-96). On other points the views of Dhāreśvara coincide with those of the Mit., viz. on the usage of giving a special share to the eldest son having fallen into desuetude, on the daughter's son's right to succession, on the father's inability to give a greater or smaller share to his sons in ancestral property on a partition during his life-time. Vide my article on Bhojadeva in JBBRAS for 1925 pp. 223-224 for details of these and other views ascribed to Bhojadeva. A few other references may be noted here. The Nirṇayāmṛta[597] (p. 68) quotes a Bhojarājīya text. In the Kālaviveka of

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595 अत एव राजमार्तण्डे भोजराजः-श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने मृतस्याविदिते दिने । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत वदन्त्येके मनीषिणः ॥ p. 18. Vide also the श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 480 for the same verse from the राजमार्तण्ड, which is perhaps more frequently quoted by गोविन्दानन्द् than any other *nibandha*.

596 तदेतानि वाक्यानि राज्ञालिखितत्वान्नादेयानीति केचित् । तदयुक्तं कामधेनावपि राजलिखितस्यापरिग्रहात्संशयं नार्हन्तीति चेत्, न राजालिखितत्वस्यादर्शनेनाप्युपपत्तेः । न हि यावन्ति स्मृतिवाक्यानि तावन्ति सर्वाण्येव राज्ञा दृष्टानीति प्रमाणमस्ति । पितृभक्तौ (folio 38 of the D. C. ms No. 152 of 1892-95).

597 यत्तु भोजराजीयं- न दिवा न निशासु च विधिहता न च सप्तमीशल्यसमोपहतेति । इदं सप्तमीशल्यनिषेधपरम् । निर्णयामृत.

Jīmūtavāhana two verses about taking food at the time of eclipses are cited from Bhojadeva (p. 539). In several works certain views are stated to be those of a Bhūpālapaddhati or of Bhūpāla or of Rāja. The reference seems to be to a work of king Bhoja. For example, in the Dānaratnākara a Bhūpāla-paddhati and Bhūpāla are frequently quoted.[598] The Samayapradīpa[599] and Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta speak of both Bhūpāla and Rāja. In other works also the views of Bhoja are often referred to as those of Rāja (the king *par excellence*). For example, the Ekāvali[600] (a work on Poetics) says that in the Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa the king accepted only one *rasa*. The Varṣakaumudī (p. 107) says that a certain verse is cited by the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī without naming the author, but as it is not cited by the Rājā and the rest, it is unauthoritative.

The several *tattvas* of Raghunandana mention two works of Bhojadeva or Bhojarāja. For example, the Tithitattva (Jivananda vol. I, p. 17) cites a text as quoted in the Bhujabalabhīma by Bhojarāja ; similarly in the Śrāddhatattva, (Jivananda vol. I, p. 266) two texts are cited as quoted qy Bhojadeva in Bhujabalabhīma. Raghunandana also mentions Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhojarāja (vide Āhnikatattva, vol. I, p. 451). He often cites the Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Bhujabalabhīma on the same page without the author's name (e. g. *vide* Udvāhatattva, vol. II, p. 124). Raghunandana often speaks of a Bṛhad-Rājamārtaṇḍa along with the Rājamārtaṇḍa on the same or the next page (vide Tithitattva, vol. I, pp. 25-26 and Jyotistattva pp. 605 and p. 655). That the Bhujabalabhīma and the Rājamārtaṇḍa are two different works appears to be clear. Whether the Bṛhad-Rājamārtaṇḍa and the Rājamārtaṇḍa are distinct works is not quite clear. (Vide Tri. Cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

598 पद्मासनगतांस्तद्वद् ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वरान् । लोकपालान्सहेतांश्च स्वबाहनसमन्वितान् ॥ इति श्लोकार्धपादो भूपालपद्धतियोगश्वियोर्दृष्टः । दानरत्नाकर (D. C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-86) folio 34 b ; *vide* folios 19a, 28a, 29a, 50 b for भूपाल.

599 तदेवं गौडीयवचनानि प्रमाणयतां तदनुसारेण व्यवस्थोक्ता । भूपालादिमते तु सप्तम्येकादश्योर्वाचनिकी व्यवस्था तिथ्यन्तरेषु प्रधानकालानुरूपन्यायादुदयकालव्यापिन्यादर इति । समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76) folio 8 b ; केचिदत्र राजाद्यलिखितवाक्यबलात् युगाद्येषु युगान्तेषु संक्रान्तिषु पिण्डं न मन्यन्ते । समयप्रदीप folio 54 a ; इदं च बौधायनवाक्यं राजाद्यलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतत्वाल्लिखितम् । आचारादर्श (D. C. ms. No. 342 of 1875-76) folio 29 a.

600 राजा तु शृङ्गारमेकमेव शृङ्गारप्रकाशे रसमुरीचकार । एकावलि p. 98 (B. S. series).

1919-22, p. 4562, No. 3079 for Bhujabalanibandha of Bhojarāja in 18 adhyāyas on astrological matters in relation to dharmaśāstra such as strījātaka, karṇādivedha, vrata, vivāhamelaka-daśaka, gṛhakarmapraveśa, saṁkrāntisnāna, dvādaśamāsakṛtya). The Bhujabalabhīma is also mentioned by Śūlapāṇi and by Rudradhara in his Śrāddhaviveka.

Bhoja of Dhārā, according to the Bhojaprabandha, had a long reign of 55 years. There are three certain dates of his. A grant of Bhoja is dated *saṁvat* 1078 (i. e. 1021-22 A. D.). *Vide* I. A. vol. VI, p. 53; *vide* also I. A. vol. 41, p. 201 for Bhoja's grant dated *saṁvat* 1076 Māgha (Jan. 1020) and E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 320 for Betma plate of Bhoja dated 1076 Bhādrapada (September 1020 A. D.). His astronomical work, the Rājamṛgāṅka, takes *śake* 964 (1042-43 A. D.) as its initial date.[601] Bhoja's uncle Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. and Muñja was succeeded by Sindhurāja or Sindhula also styled Navasāhasāṅka. An inscription of Jayasiṁha, the successor of Bhoja, is dated *saṁvat* 1112, i. e. 1055-56 A. D. (vide E. I. vol. III, pp. 46-50). Therefore Bhoja must have reigned between 1000 and 1055 A. D.

There is a work named Dharma-pradīpa by Bhoja (Deccan College No. 26 of 1874-75). It is a work by another Bhoja later than 1400 A. D., as it quotes Vijñāneśvara and the Madanapārijāta. It was composed by an assembly of *pandits* at the bidding of king Bhoja of Āśāpura, son of Bhāramalla. The ms. was copied in *saṁvat* 1695 (i. e. 1638-39 A. D.).

65. Devasvāmin

The Smṛticandrikā tells us that Devasvāmin composed like Śrīkara and Śambhu a work in the nature of a digest of *smṛtis* (*smṛtisamuccaya*). Vide note 563 above. The commentary of Nārāyaṇa of the Naidhruva gotra, son of Divākara, on the Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra[602] says that it relies upon the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin on the same work. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, son of Narasiṁha, in his commentary on the Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra, tells us that he follows the bhāṣya of Devasvāmin thereon. It is hardly

[601] शाके वेदर्तुनन्दोनो रविघ्नो माससंयुतः। अधो देवान्वितो द्विस्थखिवेदघ्नस्तयोर्हृतः॥ राजमृगाङ्क (D. C. ms. No. 105 of 1873-74).

[602] आश्वलायनगृह्यस्य भाष्यं भगवता कृतम्। देवस्वामिसमाख्येन विस्तीर्णं तत्समादृतः॥

likely that two writers of the same name flourished about the same time. Hence it may be assumed that Devasvāmin wrote bhāṣyas on the Āśvalāyana Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras and a digest of smṛtis, where he discussed all topics of dharma, such as ācāra, vyavahāra, āśauca &c. The commentrry of Bhaṭṭoji[603] on the Caturviṁśatimata refers to the view of Devasvāmin on *śraddha* and *aśauca*. Hemādri[604] (vol. III, part 2, p. 324) and Mādhava (on Parāśara, vol. I, part 2, p. 328) also quote Devasvāmin. The Smṛticandrikā quotes the views of Devasvāmin on vyavahāra and āśauca several times. For example, Devasvāmin[605] explained the word Yautaka differently from the Nighaṇṭu (which explained it as the wealth that was given to a woman when she was seated on the same seat with her husband at the time of marriage). Devasvāmin explained that the words of the Saṁgraha[606] that, when a son was born to one of several full brothers, he stood as a son to all and that the same rule applied to several co-wives when one of them had a son, meant that in both cases another son should not be adopted. Devasvāmin held the view (like Bhojadeva) that the word 'duhitṛ' in Yājñavalkya's verses on succession meant *putrikā*.[607] Devasvāmin explained

603 देवस्वामिमाधवपारिजातकारप्रभृतयस्तु मासिके आशौचेनोपहते सूतकानन्तरशुद्धिदिन एव कर्तव्यं पुरस्तदहरेव वेति। चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान p. 135 (Benares ed.).

604 यदि पूर्वाह्णे पर्वसन्धिः समाप्येत तदा नितरामेव च शोभनं यदि पुनरपरात्रे रात्रौ वा तदहरुपोष्य श्वोभूते याग इति। हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III, 2, p. 324; vide pp. 496 and 565 of the same volume for mention of देवस्वामी.

605 देवस्वामी तु पितृगृहालब्धं भर्तृगृहालब्धापेक्षया पृथग्धनतया मातुर्यौतकं मातृधनं मातुरेवेत्याह तच्चिन्त्यम्। स्मृतिच० II, p. 285; *vide* वीर० p. 696 'भर्तृगृहलब्धात्पृथग्धनतया पितृगृहलब्धं मातृधनं यौतुकम्। यौतशब्दस्यामिश्रणमप्यर्थः। यु मिश्रणामिश्रणयोरिति धातुपाठात्। युतसिद्धाविति प्रयोगाच्चेति देवस्वाम्याह तदसत्।'.

606 The verses of the संग्रह are : यद्येकजाता बहवो भ्रातरस्तु सहोदराः। एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते पुत्रिणः स्मृताः॥ बह्वीनामेकपत्नीनामेष एव विधिः स्मृतः। एका चेत्पुत्रिणी तासां पिण्डदस्तु स इष्यते॥. The स्मृतिच० (II, p. 289) says 'तस्य पूर्वोक्तेन सहाविरोधाय देवस्वामिना तात्पर्यार्थ उक्तः उभयत्र नान्यः प्रतिनिधिः कार्य इति ग्रन्थेन'. The same words occur in the स. वि. (para 392 and p. 305) and in the दत्तकमीमांसा (p. 42).

607 एवं सोपपत्तिकां पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामितां ब्रुवता बृहस्पतिनैव यद् दुहितृगामि धनमिति विधायकं वचनजातं तत्पुत्रिकाविषयमेव न पुनरपुत्रिकादुहितृविषयमिति धारेश्वरदेवस्वामिदेवरातमतं स्मृतितन्त्रत्वाभिज्ञत्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम्। स्मृतिच० II. 295.

Manu[608] 9. 141 as saying that the adopted son (in the particular case mentioned by Manu) took all the wealth and the *gotra* of his adoptive father. Vide Smṛticandrikā (Mysore ed.) on āśauca p. 22. The Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita (on Viṣṇu 22. 32) quotes the view of Devasvāmin that on the death of unmarried daughters mourning was to be observed for ten days.[609] The Smṛticandrikā quotes a verse from Devasvāmin[610] on śrāddha also.

In the Prapañcahṛdaya (Tri. S. series, p. 39) we are told that Devasvāmin composed a brief gloss on the 12 adhyāyas of the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra and the four adhyāyas of the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa, seeing that the bhāṣyas of Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa were vast. The Govt. collection of Mss. at Madras has Devasvāmin's bhāṣya on the Saṁkarṣakāṇḍa (*vide* Tri. Cat. vol. III, part I, Sanskrit C, p. 3841). There are not sufficient data available to establish the identity of this writer with Devasvāmin, the writer on dharmaśāstra.

As the Smṛticandrikā quotes Devasvāmin so profusely, he cannot be later than 1150 A. D. His earlier limit can be determined in several ways. Gārgya Nārāyaṇa's comment on Āśvalāyanaśrauta (II. 1. 14) is quoted by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, who is himself quoted by Hemādri. Therefore Gārgya Nārāyaṇa could not have flourished later than 1100 A. D. (vide Bhandarkar's Report on search for mss., 1883-84, pp. 30-31). Therefore Devasvāmin probably flourished about 1000-1050 A. D., if not earlier. The fact that Devasvāmin held certain views similar to Bhojadeva's also corroborates the chronological position thus assigned to him.

66. Jitendriya

Jitendriya is one of those writers who at one time held an eminent position but in course of time sank into unmerited oblivion. The works of Jīmūtavāhana bear abundant testimony to the fact that Jitendriya wrote an extensive work on dharmaśāstra. In his Kālaviveka (p. 380) Jīmūtavāhana says that Jitendriya[611] wrote on the

608 अत्र तृतीयपादार्थो देवस्वामिना विवृतः तदीयं सर्वं रिक्थं गोत्रं च हरेतैवेति ।

609 देवस्वामी त्वमत्तास्वपि दशाहमाह.

610 श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने अन्तरा मृतसूतके । अमावास्यां प्रकुर्वीत शुद्धिमेके मनीषिणः । स्मृतिच० II. p. 385.

611 जितेन्द्रियशशङ्कधरान्धुकसंभ्रमहरिवंशधवलयोर्लोकैः । कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति ॥

topic of *kāla* (i. e. on determining doubtful points about the months, the tithis, saṁkrāntis, &c. and the religious rites to be performed on them). In several passages of the Kālaviveka the very words of Jitendriya are quoted. Jitendriya said that a rite that occupies in performance only a short time must be performed at the principal time indicated for it[612] (and not at a *gauṇa* time). From another quotation it appears that Jitendriya controverted the views of a predecessor Sambhramabhaṭṭa.[613] Jitendriya is said to have enumerated the names of the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day from the Matsyapurāṇa[614]; vide pp. 257, 367 of the Kālaviveka for other places where the views of Jitendriya on *kāla* occur. In the Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana also Jitendriya is frequently mentioned. The Dāyabhāga says that, if a man takes another's gold believing it to be iron or takes what is another's believing (in good faith) that it is his own, Jitendriya held in his remarks on the section of *prāyaścitta* that he is not guilty of theft.[615] The peculiar doctrine of the Dāyabhāga that the widow of a person, whether he was separate or a member of a joint family, succeeded to her deceased husband's estate had been already expounded by Jitendriya.[616] The view of Jitendriya was that whatever is acquired by a person without using means or materials jointly owned by all members of a family is his exclusive property and that *maitra* (gifts of a friend) and *audvāhika* are

612 तथा जितेन्द्रियेणाप्युक्तं यत्पुनरल्पकालीनमेव क्रियं स्वकाले समापयितुं शक्यते तन्नोत्कर्षहेतोः कर्मवैगुण्यस्यासामर्थ्यस्याभावान्मुख्यकाल एव कर्मानुष्ठानमित्यन्तम्। कालविवेक p. 489.

613 अन्यान्यपि एवंविधानि संभ्रमभट्टकल्पिताम्युपेक्षणीयानि इत्येदन्तं, तदयमतिमन्दतमो वादः कथं सुन्दरमतिना जितेन्द्रियेणाभिनन्दितः। कालविवेक p. 255.

614 अत एव जितेन्द्रियेण 'रौद्रश्चैत्रश्च मैत्रश्च ... भटः पञ्चदश स्मृताः॥' एतान्मत्स्यपुराणोक्तानेकैकमुहूर्तपरिमितान् यावन्नियतक्रमसंज्ञानमिधाय दर्शितम्। कालविवेक p. 370.

615 अत एव प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे जितेन्द्रियेण भणितं यदि स्वर्णमेव परकीयं लोहादिबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति असुवर्णं सुवर्णबुद्ध्या आत्मीयसदृशं परकीयमेवात्मीयबुद्ध्या गृह्णाति सर्वत्र नापहारनिष्पत्तिः सर्वत्र यथावस्तु परकीयबुद्धेरभावात्। दायभाग p. 350 (ed. of 1829, p. 224 of Jivananda).

616 अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वायनपेक्षयैवापुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः। दायभाग p. 256.

only cited (by Yāj.) as examples of this proposition.[617] Jitendriya held the daughter's son entitled to succeed after the daughter, just as Viśvarūpa, Bhoja and Govindarāja did. In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana also Jitendriya's views are cited (on pp. 302, 334). This shows that he wrote also on procedure in law courts. Jitendriya is also referred to in the Dāyatattva of Raghnnandana.[618] But no other early writer quotes Jitendriya. Therefore it appears that Jitendriya was probably a Bengal writer and flourished about 1000–1050 A. D. and that he was completely eclipsed by the brilliant Jīmūtavāhana.

67. Bālaka.

Bālaka like Jitendriya is no more than a name to us. Jīmūtavāhana's works make frequent reference to him. He held the view that the daughter's son, not being expressly mentioned as an heir by Yāj., came in after those expressly mentioned from the widow to the brother.[619] The Dāyabhāga notices that Bālaka read a text of Āpastamba in a wrong way.[620] Bālaka said that the words of Śaṅkha 'svaryātasya-aputrasya bhrātṛgāmi dravyam. . . jyeṣṭhā vā patnī' apply either to a widow belonging to a caste other than her husband's or to a very young widow or in case her husband was undivided or re-united.[621] Bālaka says that when some property is acquired by one brother by means of learning, other brothers are not entitled

617 जितेन्द्रियेणापि बहुप्रकारं विमृश्योक्तं तदस्य यावदुक्तप्रपञ्चस्य संक्षेपेणायमर्थः प्रत्येतव्यः यत्किंचिद्धनमसाधारणोपायार्जितं तदसाधारणं प्रदर्शितमित्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 189.

618 अत एव परकीयत्वेन विशेषतो जानतस्तदपहारे स्तैन्यं न तु स्वद्रव्यधर्मेण परद्रव्यव्यवहर्तुरपीति जितेन्द्र-(जितेन्द्रिय ?)दायभागप्रायश्चित्तविवेकरुन्मतम् । दायतत्त्व p. 182 (vol. II of Jivananda's ed.); compare the view of बालक set out below from the दायभाग (note 623.).

619 यत्तु बालकवचनं पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा इत्यादि नियतक्रमादधस्तन एव दौहित्रस्याधिकार इति तद् बृहस्पतिविरोधाद् बालवचनमेव । दायभाग p. 282.

620 इदं बालकेनाकुलीकृत्य पठितं यस्तु धर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठस्तं पितृसमभागं कुर्वीतेति तदनाकरम् । दायभाग p. 161. The sūtra is Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 15 'यस्त्वधर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोपि तमभागं कुर्वीत.'

621 यच्च बालकेनोक्तं— असवर्णाविषयं वा युवत्यभिप्रायं वा अविभक्तसंसृष्टविषयं वा बन्धादिवचनं इति तेनाप्यवस्थितशास्त्रार्थकथनेनात्मनो बालरूपत्वमेव प्रकटीकृतं सन्देहादेकतरानुष्ठानानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग p. 262. Here there is a play on the word बालक.

to that wealth.[622] The Dāyabhāga refers to a passage from Bālaka in which the latter relies on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā example of *mudga* and *māṣa*.[623] In the Vyavahāramātṛkā of Jīmūtavāhana (p. 346) it is stated that Bāla held the same views as those of Śrīkara-miśra on a certain point. In the Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa of Bhavadeva a writer named Vāloka is mentioned (vide JASB 1912 at p. 336). This seems to be a Bengali scribe's way of pronouncing the name Bālaka. Bālaka is mentioned in Raghunandana's Vyavahāratattva (p. 47) also as holding the view with Śrīkara and others that adverse possession for twenty years conferred ownership in the case of immovable property.[624] Śūlapāṇi in his Durgotsaviveka twice quotes the views of Bālaka and once refutes the latter.[625] Hence it appears that Bālaka was an eastern or Bengal writer, composed a work on several branches of dharmaśāstra (such as vyavahāra and prāyaścitta) and flourished before 1100 A. D.

68. Bālarūpa.

In the Smṛtisāra of Harināthа (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 128a ff) there is a long passage setting out the views of Bālarūpa on the question of the succession to a childless man. In the Vivāda-candra[626] of Misaru-miśra the opinions of Bālarūpa (Bālarūpamata)

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622 बालकेनाप्युक्तं न ह्येकेन भ्रात्रा विद्यादिना लब्धेऽपरेषामधिकारसंभवः प्रमाणाभावादित्यन्तेन । दायभाग p. 190.

623 अतो यद्बालकवचनं यथा मुद्गापचारे माषप्रतिनिधौ मुद्गानां माषाणां च यङ्गसंबन्धे—अयङ्गिया वै माषा—इति माषा निषिद्धाः, तथात्मीयानात्मीयहरणेऽपि अनात्मीयापहारो निषिद्धः, तद्बालवचनमेव पूर्वव्याहृतस्य स्तेयपदार्थस्यैवाभावात् । दायभाग p. 356.

624 तस्माद्याज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनाद्विंशतिवर्षदशवर्षादिकालेभोग एव स्वत्वं जनयति तथा कालप्राप्तिबलेन बीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरवश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेपि शास्त्रोक्तकालीनभोगात्स्वाम्यमन्यस्य भवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः पररात्रूधने इति । एवमेव श्रीकरबालकजोग्लोकभवदेवभट्टशूलपाणिकुल्लुकभट्टचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिनव्यवर्धमानोपाध्यायप्रभृतयः । व्यवहारोपि नादृगेव । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 223 (Jivananda vol. II).

625 इति आश्विनाधिकारीयविष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनमात्रदर्शिना बालकेनात्र विषये पूर्वदिने नवमीकृत्यं युग्मादिति यदुक्तं 'भगवत्याः प्रवेशादिविसर्गान्ताश्च याः क्रियाः' इत्यादि वचनेन विरोधात्तद्धेयम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक p. 16 (Sanskrit Sāhityaparisad ed.). Vide p. 9 also for reference to बालक's view on देवीपूजा.

626 दुहितॄणामभावे तदन्वयस्तत्सुत्रादिर्विभजेदित्यर्थः । मातुरन्वय इति बालरूपकृतः । विवादचन्द्र (D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84) folio 33a; बालरूपमते तु संसृष्टसहोदरत्वमपि संसृष्टविभागग्रहणे हेतुः । *ibid.* folio 35a.

that the words of Yāj. (II. 117 tābhya ṛte'nvayaḥ) mean the offspring of the mother and on the succession to reunited coparceners are cited. In the Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati[627] the views of Bālarūpa are frequently cited. Relying on the words of Parāśara, Bālarūpa held that an unmarried daughter was entitled to preference over a married one as an heir to a sonless man. As regards the verse of Hārīta that if a young widow was *karkaśā* (quarrelsome, 'suspected of unchastity' according to others), then she was to be given maintenance alone (out of her husband's estate), Bālarūpa's view was that it refers to the widow of a re-united coparcener.[628] Bālarūpa was of opinion that *ātmabandhus*, *pitṛbandhus* and *mātṛbandhus* succeeded in the order stated.[629] The Kālādarśa of Ādityabhaṭṭa names Bālarūpa among the authorities on which it relies. This shows that Bālarūpa wrote not only on *vyavahāra* but also on *kāla*.

As Harinātha and the Vivādacandra mention Bālarūpa he is certainly earlier than about 1250 A. D. The important question is whether Bālaka and Bālarūpa are identical. I think, though with some hesitation, that they are identical. The difficulty is caused by the fact that Harinātha speaks of 'the author of Bālarūpa,' which implies that Bālarūpa is a *work* and *not* an *author*, while the others speak of Bālarūpa as an *author*. The Dāyabhāga always speaks of Bālaka and never of Bālarūpa, while the Mithilā writers, Misaru-miśra, Vācaspati and Harinātha, speak of Bālarūpa and not of Bālaka. Bālaka is not mentioned by any writer belonging to a province other than Bengal. It is not likely that there were two early authors belonging to the same locality on *vyavahāra* bearing two names so nearly the same as Bālaka (or Bāla) and Bālarūpa. Moreover if we read one quotation from the Dāyabhāga between the lines (vide note 621) where Jīmūtavāhana makes fun of Bālaka by charging him with having exposed his *Bālarūpatva* (being Bālarūpa, being childish) it appears that the Dāyabhāga looked upon Bālaka and Bālarūpa as identical. If so Bālaka or Bālarūpa

[627] अपुत्रस्य कुमारी रिक्थं गृह्णीयात्तदभावे चोढा चेति पराशरवचनात्तथैवात्र क्रम इति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 153.

[628] संसृष्टिभार्यापरमिति बालरूपः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 152.

[629] एतेषां क्रमेणाधिकारः । बालरूपोप्येवम् । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 155.

becomes an ancient writer, who flourished certainly before 1100 A. D. As he held the same views as Śrīkara and an antiquated view about the rights of the daughter's son he must not be later than 1050 A. D.

69. Yogloka

Yogloka like Jitendriya and Bālaka is a writer about whom we know only from the works of Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He is the last of the series of writers enumerated in one place by the Kālaviveka as having dealt with the subject of *kāla* (vide note 611 above). The Vyavahāra-mātṛkā of Jimūtavāhana very frequently[630] cites the views of Yogloka and generally twits him with thinking himself as being a logician or a new-fangled (*nava-tārkikam-manya*) logician. Both in the Kālaviveka and the Vyavahāramātṛkā Yogloka is generally cited for being refuted (e. g. pp. 457-58, 465, 483 of the Kālaviveka). It is only very rarely that Jīmūtavāhana agrees with Yogloka (as on p. 369 of the Kālaviveka). From certain passages of the Kālaviveka it follows that Yogloka composed two works, one called Bṛhad-Yogloka (larger work) and the other styled Svalpa-Yogloka (a smaller-work).[631] It appears that Yogloka was later than Śrīkara and accepted certain illustrations given by the latter.[632] The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana informs us that like Śrīkara and Bālaka, Yogloka held the view that twenty years' adverse possession of immoveables conferred ownership (vide note 624 above). The same work tells us that the Maithilas followed the view of Yogloka that the verse of Kātyāyana (yadyekadeśa-vyāptāpi... nṛṇām) was intended to apply to a case where a litigant threw down the challenge that if even one out of several

630 Vide pp. 291, 293, 295, 310, 312, 313, 347.

631 योग्लोकेन तु स्वल्पबृहद्ग्रन्थभेदेन द्वयमेवोक्तं बलाबलनिरूपणाक्षमत्वात् । कालविवेक p. 365; तस्मान्मूलार्थार्थिककल्पितं योग्लोकस्य बृहद्ग्रन्थे प्रक्षिप्तम् । अस्यैव स्वल्पग्रन्थे अन्येषु च निबन्धेषु दर्शनाद् योग्लोकीयबृहद्ग्रन्थपुरातनपुस्तकाप्राप्तेश्च । तस्मात्स्वयमेवैतद् योग्लोकेनापि बृहद्ग्रन्थे लिखितम् । कालविवेक p. 273; vide also pp. 177, 221 490 for references to योग्लोक.

632 यत्तु दुर्बलोदाहरणं तार्किकंमन्यस्य योग्लोकस्य मदीयेयं क्रमागता भूरिति भाषायां मदीयेयं दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वात् इति श्रीकरोदाहरणस्वीकरणं तदसंगतम् । व्यवहारमातृका p. 302.

items of property charged were brought home to him as having been stolen by him, he would restore all the items claimed.[633]

The foregoing establishes that Yogloka wrote at least on *kāla* and *vyavahāra* and composed two treatises on *kāla*.

Jīmūtavāhana[634] says that a predecessor of his styled Dīkṣita criticized a certain reading of Yogloka's, i. e. Yogloka preceded Dikṣita, who was a predecessor of Jīmūtavāhana. Jīmūtavāhana further refers to ancient (*purātana*) mss. of Yogloka's work. Hence Yogloka must have preceded Jīmūtavāhana by at least a hundred years. He is later than Śrīkara (note 632 above). Therefore he must have flourished between 950-1050 A. D.

70. Vijñāneśvara

The Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara occupies a unique place in the Dharmaśāstra literature. Its position is analogous to that of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali in grammar or to that of the Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa in Poetics. It represents the essence of dharmaśāstra speculation that preceded it for about two thousand years and it became the fountain head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis and developments. Under the decisions of the Courts in British India, the Mitākṣarā is of paramount authority in several matters of Hindu Law (such as adoption, inheritance, partition etc.) throughout India except where, as in Bengal, the Dāyabhāga prevails.

The Mit. professes to be a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. In the colophons of several mss. it is described as Ṛju-mitākṣara, Pramitākṣarā or simply Mitākṣarā. These names are probably due to some of the verses appended at the end of the commentary.[635] The Mit. is not only a commentary explanatory

633 व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 217 (Jivananda vol. II) 'न च वयेषां मध्ये एकमपि मया गृहीतं विभावयसि तदा सर्वमेव दातव्यमिति प्रतिज्ञाविषयत्वमेकदेशविभाविनत्वं वचनस्येति जोग्लोकमतानुसारिमैथिलमतं युक्तमिति वाच्यम्।'.

634 श्रावण इति तु पठितं योग्लोकेन तद्बहुष्वदर्शन्न भवतीति दीक्षितेनोक्तम्। कालविवेक p. 280.

635 इति याज्ञवल्क्यमुनिशास्त्रगता विवृतिर्मे कस्य विहिता विदुषः। प्रमिताक्षराऽपि विपुलार्थपदा परिपिप्रुषति श्रवणयोरमृतम्॥ गम्भीराभिः प्रसन्नाभिर्वाग्भिर्यस्ता मिताक्षरा। अनल्पार्थाभिरल्पाभिर्विवृतिर्विहिता मया॥

of the verses of Yājñavalkya, but it is in the nature of a digest of smṛti material. It brings together numerous smṛti passages, explains away contradictions among them by following the rules of interpretation laid down in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system, brings about order by assigning to various dicta their proper scope and province (*viṣayavyavasthā*) and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected smṛti injunctions.

The Mit. quotes a host of smṛti writers[636] and six predecessors, who were commentators and authors of digests on dharmaśāstra, viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, Śrīkara, Bhāruci and Bhojadeva. Besides it quotes Vedic works (like the Kāṭhaka), the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, the Garbhopaniṣad, the Jābālopaniṣad, the Nirukta, Bharata (author of Nāṭyaśāstra), Yogasūtra, Pāṇini, Suśruta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Amara, Guru (i.e. Prabhākara).

The author styles himself Vijñānayogin in the concluding verses of his commentary and later writers frequently refer to him in that way. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and was son of Padmanābhabhaṭṭa. He was a *paramahaṁsa* (i. e. an ascetic) and was the pupil of Uttama. He tells us that when he wrote the Mitākṣarā, king Vikramārka or Vikramādityadeva was ruling in the city called Kalyāṇa[637] (now in the Nizam's dominion). The verses at the

636 The स्मृतिs and स्मृतिकारs quoted by name are: अङ्गिरस्, बृहदङ्गिरस्, मध्यमाङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, उपमन्यु, उशनस्, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, कश्यप, काण्व, कात्यायन, काण्णाजिनि, कुमार, कृष्णद्वैपायन, क्रतु, गार्ग्य, गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, गोभिल, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत, च्यवन, छागल (or छागलेय), जमदग्नि, जातूकर्ण्य, जाबाल, (or-लि), जैमिनि, दक्ष, दीर्घतमस्, देवल, धौम्य, नारद, पराशर, पारस्कर, पितामह, पुलस्त्य, पैङ्गल्य, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, बृहत्प्रचेतस्, वृद्धप्रचेतस्, प्रजापति, बाष्कल, बृहस्पति, वृद्धबृहस्पति, बौधायन, ब्रह्मगर्भ, ब्राह्मवध, भारद्वाज, भृगु, मनु, बृहन्मनु, वृद्धमनु, मरीचि, मार्कण्डेय, यम, बृहद्यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, लौगाक्षि, वसिष्ठ, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, वृद्धवसिष्ठ, विष्णु, बृहद्विष्णु, वृद्धविष्णु, वैयाघ्रपाद, वैशम्पायन, व्याघ्र (or व्याघ्रपाद), व्यास, बृहद्व्यास, शङ्ख, शङ्खलिखित, शाण्डिल्य, शातातप, बृहच्छातातप, वृद्धशातातप, शुनःपुच्छ, शौनक, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवर्त, बृहत्संवर्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत, बृहद्धारीत, वृद्धहारीत.

637 कासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरं नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमार्कोपमः। विद्यानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किंचाप्यदभ्रोपमश्चाकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेतन्नयम् ॥ 4th verse at the end.

end containing the personal history appear to be genuine. They occur in the oldest Mss. of the Mit. such as the Government of Bombay Ms. dated *śakasaṁvat* 1389.

The author of the Mit. was a profound student of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system. Throughout the Mit. discussion of Pūrva-mīmāṁsā *nyāyas* and their application to dharmaśāstra are sown broadcast. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I. 81 (whether it is a *niyama* or *parisaṁkhyā*), I. 86, II. 114, II. 126, II. 265 &c., may be consulted. The Mit., as the very name implies, is generally concise and to the point. But in his desire to make his work a repository and synthesis of varied smṛti dicta the author does not mind if he has occasionally to expand his commentary to enormous lengths. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 and 290 occupies several pages of closely printed text.

As the Mitākṣarā names Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, it must have been composed after 1050 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā[638] of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa (which as will be seen later on was composed about 1200 A. D.) several times criticizes the views of the Mit., viz. the latter's remarks that the giving of an additional share to the eldest son is disapproved of by the people, the reasons given for preferring the mother to the father and the definition of *dāya*. Vijñāneśvara is named in the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara[639] (composed in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century). This shows that the Mit. was composed before 1120 A. D. A greater approximation can be arrived at in several ways. The Kalpataru mentions

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638 यत्पुनर्विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं सत्यमयं विषमो विभागः ... हेयः। एतदपि वाक्यान्त्रेणैतदुद्धारविषमविभागादौ लोकविद्वेषोस्ति प्रत्युत विद्यागुणपुण्यकर्मसंपन्नज्येष्ठादौ भागाधिक्ये लोकानुरागो दृश्यत इति यत्किंचिदेतत्। स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 266; 'न च दायशब्देन यद्धनं स्वामिसंबन्धादेय ... तदुच्यत इति दायादिशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम्' स्मृतिच. II. p. 267; 'पिता सपत्नीपुत्रेष्वपि साधारणो माता तु न साधारणीति प्रत्यासत्त्यतिशयोस्तीति विप्रलम्भसदृशामिदं न हि जननीजनकयोर्जन्यं प्रति संनिकर्षतारतम्यमस्ति।' स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 297.

639 'क्षत्रधर्मस्तु ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं दासकर्माणि न कारयेदिति विज्ञानेश्वरस्वरसः' folio 380 of the Benares Sanskrit College transcript of कल्पतरु (on व्यवहार).

Vādibhayaṃkara[640] who, the Vīramitrodaya[641] tells us, was an admirer and follower of Vijñāneśvara and yet found fault with his explanation of Yāj. II. 51 (rikthagrāha ṛṇam &c.). Therefore the Mit. must have been composed at the latest before 1100 A. D. Among the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, the only king named Vikramārka or Vikramāditya during whose reign Vijñāneśvara could have flourished is Vikramāditya VI who reigned for over fifty years from about 1076 to 1127 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, part 2, pp. 446-453, I. A. vol. 48 p. 6 (for pedigree of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa with dates), I. A. vol. 12 p. 212 (for an inscription of Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla dated *śake* 1047) and I. A. vol. 22, pp. 296-298. From all these considerations it follows that the Mit. was composed between 1070-1100 A. D.

Out of the numerous commentaries on the Mit. those of Viśveśvara, Nandapaṇḍita and Bālambhaṭṭa are the most famous. *Vide* sections 93, 105, 111. Considerations of space preclude any detailed statement of the doctrines peculiarly associated with the name of Vijñāneśvara. There are however some which must be mentioned. He laid down (on Yāj. I. 52) that wherever the word *sapiṇḍa* occurred, it denoted either directly or mediately connection with particles of one body (i. e. blood-relationship with an ancestor). He also strictly adheres to the principle that propinquity is the guiding principle in matters of inheritance and succession. He divides *dāya* into *apratibandha* and *sapratibandha* and affirmed that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons acquired by birth ownership in ancestral property. On all these matters he is diametrically opposed to Jīmūtavāhana.

Aufrecht in his great catalogue makes conflicting statements about a work called Āśaucadaśaka. On I. p. 55 he notes that Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Harihara with a commentary by Vijñāneśvara and again on I. p. 571 he ascribes Āśaucadaśaka-ṭīkā to Vijñāneśvara. On I. p. 762 he ascribes the Āśaucadaśaka and Daśaślokīvivaraṇa to Harihara and appears to distinguish him from that Harihara who

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640 शोच्यस्य जननी तातः पुत्रो वा तत्सहोदरः । भार्या पुत्रवती धर्म्या ज्ञातयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥ इति वादिभयंकरे बृहस्पतिवचनात् । *ibid.* folio 230.

641 विज्ञानेश्वरानुयायी यथात्र वादिभयंकरस्तदाह । अहो बत जगत्ख्यातविज्ञानेश्वरयोगिनः । पूर्वापरविरोधेपि नानुसन्धानमद्भुतम् ॥ वीरमित्रोदय p. 350 (Jivananda).

composed a bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra. On I. p. 795 he corrects himself by saying that Harihara wrote only the commentary on the Āśaucadaśaka and that the latter is identical with the Daśaślokī-vivaraṇa. On III. p. 121 he is doubtful whether the Āśaucadaśaka is a work of Vijñāneśvara. In the Deccan College collection there is an ancient Ms. (No. 196 of 1884-1887) of the Āśaucadaśaka.[642] It was copied in *saṁvat* 1578 Mārgaśīrṣa (i. e. December 1522 A. D.). It distinctly says that Vijñāneśvarayogin composed in ten Śārdūla-vikrīḍitā stanzas a work on *āśauca* and that Harihara composed a commentary on it. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is an old Ms. of the Āśaucadaśaka, the colophon of which ascribes the work to Vijñāneśvara. Vide I. O. cat. p. 565, No. 1749 for a ms. of Āśaucadaśaka with Harihara's commentary dated *saṁvat* 1589 (1532-33 A. D.) That the Āśaucadaśaka was a very popular work follows from the several commentaries thereon that are available even now. Raghunātha[643], son of Mādhava and nephew of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, composed a commentary on the Daśaślokī in śake 1500 (D. C. No. 82 of A. 1882-83). There is another commentary on the same work by Bhaṭṭoji (D. C. No. 99 of 1582-83). Harihara quotes in his bhāṣya, besides several well-known smṛtikāras, a work called Viśvādarśa (folio 4b).[644] Harihara, the commentator of the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra, is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara in several mss. Harihara in his bhāṣya on Pāraskaragṛhya quotes Vijñāneśvara and Kalpataru. The Viśvādarśa praises Vijñāneśvara very highly.[645] Therefore it appears that

642 The ms. begins: अथ विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितमुनिज(न)वाक्यैर्मिताक्षरामध्यात् । आशौचदशकवृत्तिं वदति हरिहरो हरिं नत्वा ॥ अत्र तावद्विज्ञानेश्वरयोगीन्द्रश्चतुर्वर्णात्मकस्य जन्मनि सूतौ भवं सूतकं मरणे शवे भवं शावं सूतकशावसिद्ध्यर्थं वृत्तदशकं शार्दूलविक्रीडितेन चकार तत्राद्यं वृत्तमाह मातुर्गर्भविपत्स्वधं &c. The colophon at the end is इत्याशौचदशकभाष्यं श्रीहरिह(र)विरचितं समाप्तम् ।

643 रघुनाथ criticizes विज्ञानेश्वर ' यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेण प्रतिलोमानां त्वाशौचाभाव एवेत्युक्तं तद्वचनविरोधादुपेक्षणीयम् । प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इत्येतत्तु पाकयज्ञाद्यभिप्रायम् ' folio 19b.

644 संप्रति विशेषो विश्वादर्शात् ' प्रत्तक्षीणां त्रिरात्रं पितृविपदि भवेत् '.

645 यथा वै विज्ञानेश्वरविरचितेयापि महतो महीभर्तुः कीर्तिस्त्रिजगति यथा पुण्यरुदिति । यथा (तथा ?) श्रीमन्नागार्जुनतनुज धन्य प्रतिगृहं स्फुरद्विश्वादर्शे स्फुरतु तव कीर्तिः सुकृतिनः ॥ IV. 53 ; श्रीरामस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य च यथा रामायणे भारते कीर्तिर्भाति यथा च मुञ्जनृपतेः सा कारिका भूषणम् । श्रीमद्भन्य मिताक्षरादिषु यथा श्रीवृद्धभर्तुस्तथा विश्वादर्शनिबन्धने तव शुभश्लोका जयन्त्यूर्जिताः ॥ ms. of विश्वादर्श (in Bhadkamkar collection).

Vijñāneśvara composed the Āśaucadaśaka *alias* Daśaślokī and that Harihara, who was either Vijñāneśvara's pupil or not very far removed from him (as he is quoted by Hemādri) composed a commentary thereon. The first verse of the Daśaślokī is cited below as a specimen of the concise style attempted by the author.[646]

Aufrecht (II. p. 50 and I. p. 236) credits Vijñāneśvara with a bhāṣya on Triṁsat-ślokī, a work in thirty Sragdharā stanzas on *āśauca*. This work together with the commentary was printed in *pothi* size at Benares in *saṁvat* 1918 (1861-62 A. D.). The printed text contains[647] the same colophon at the end and date as the D. C. ms. No. 217 of 1879-80, which was copied in *saṁvat* 1711 *Caitra* (i. e. April 1655 A. D.). It is extremely doubtful, however, whether Vijñāneśvara wrote a bhāṣya on the Triṁśat-ślokī. In the bhāṣya Vijñāneśvara and the Mitākṣarā are cited by name.[648] The manner of referring to them rather suggests that the commentary on the Triṁsat-ślokī was composed by some person other than Vijñāneśvara, who, however, drew largely on the Mit. There is a ms. of the Triṁśat-ślokī with a commentary in the Bhau Daji collection which is ascribed to Hemādri on the cover (vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 209, No. 667).

In the Madras Govt. mss. library there is a ms. of the Vyavahāra-śiromaṇi of Nārāyaṇa, who says that he learnt dharmaśāstras under Vijñāneśvara (adhītya dharmaśāstrāṇi Vijñāneśvara-sadguroḥ). The work deals with the *vyavahāra* portion and was composed for the benefit of the un-initiated (bālabodhārtham). The ms. contains the portion dealing with the king's duty to look into the disputes of people, the time for doing that, sabhā, definition of prāḍ-vivāka (judge), the plaint and its defects, āsedha (restraint of the

646 मातुर्गर्भविपत्स्वघं त्रिदिवसं मासत्रयेतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु सूतकाधधिरतः स्नानं पितुः सर्वदा । ज्ञातीनां पतनादि जातमरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः प्राक् तदपैति सूतक-वशाद्धातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥

647 The colophon is इति विज्ञानेश्वरकृते त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीयभाष्यं संपूर्णम् ।

648 त्रिरात्रं दशरात्रं वा ... सूतकं मातुरेव हि ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानसमये विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यैः स्पष्टीकृतम् ॥ p. 3b of the printed text and 2b of the ms. The verse referred to is याज्ञ. III. 18. On verse 14 of the त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी we have 'एतच्च आचार्यपित्र्युपाध्यायान् ... न च तैः सह संविशेत् ॥ इत्येतद्व्याख्यानमिताक्षरायां स्पष्टीकृतम्' p. 9b of the printed text and 5a of the ms.

defendent), means of proof the eighteen titles of law, ṛiṇādāna, nikṣepa, saṁbhūya-samutthāna, dattapradānika, abhyupetya-aśuśrūṣā, vetanasya-anapākarma, asvāmivikraya, vikrīyāsaṁpradāna, krītvānuśaya, samayasyānapākarma, sīmāvivāda, strī-puṁsayoga, dāyavibhāga. The work breaks off in the middle of the explanation of the verse 'patnī duhitaraścaiva'. He closely follows the Mitākṣarā in all that he says; but in one place he expressly differs from his teacher, viz. whereas the Mitākṣarā mentions four different times for partition, Nārāyaṇa says that there are really two times of partition, when the father desires partition and when the son or sons desire it.[648a] On *saṁbhāyasamutthāna* he quotes a passage from Kauṭalya (the ms. uses this form), which agrees closely with the printed text (vide Arthaśāstra III. 14, p. 186, ed. by Shama Sastrī).[648b]

71. Kāmadhenu

This was an ancient digest on the various branches of Dharmaśāstra. Unfortunately no ms. of this work has yet come to light. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara refers to the view of Kāmadhenu and others that what was bestowed upon a slave (*dāsa*) by his master through favour was also under the control of the master.[649] The Hāralatā which was composed in the third quarter of the 12th century several times mentions the views of Kāmadhenu.[650]

[648a] अनया चातुर्विध्यमस्मद्गुरुचरणैर्मिताक्षरायां प्रतिपादितं पितुरिच्छायां पुत्रेच्छायां च विभागः संभवति नान्यथेति कालद्वयमेव विभागस्येति तु युक्तम् । न च पित्रनन्तरकाल एक इति त्रैविध्यमिति वाच्यं पित्रनन्तरकालेपि पुत्राणामिच्छाभावे विभागस्यैवाभावेन उक्तकालद्वय एवानन्तरकालस्याप्यन्तर्भावात् ।

[648b] अत्र विशेषमाह कौटल्यः । अग्निष्टोमादिषु दीक्षणीयाया ऊर्ध्वं य आपन्नः पञ्चममंशं लभेत सोमविक्रयादूर्ध्वं चतुर्थं प्रवर्ग्योद्वासनादूर्ध्वं तृतीयमग्निष्टोमीयादूर्ध्वं पादोनं माध्यंदिनादूर्ध्वं समग्रंनीतासु दक्षिणासु भवतीति ।

[649] On the verse of कात्यायन 'दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्यात् स्वामी तस्य प्रभुर्मतः' the कल्पतरु says ' यदा प्रसादे स्वामिना दासस्य कृते दत्तं तत्र दासधनेपि स्वामी प्रभुरिति प्रकाशहलायुधकामधेनुपारिजातप्रभृतयः । ' folio 876 of the कल्पतरु (Benares College transcript).

[650] e. g. on p. 41 'अत एव जातमृते मृतजाते वा कुलस्य त्रिरात्रमिति हारीतवचनं कामधेनुकृता गर्भस्रावाशौचप्रकरणे लिखितम् । '. Vide pp. 117, 174, 200 also for other references to the कामधेनु and note 596 above.

Śrīdharācārya, in his Smṛtyarthasāra,[651] enumerates the Kāmadhenu among the works and writers who dwelt upon the teachings of the Smṛtis. The Vivādratnākara[652] of Caṇḍeśvara speaks of the Kāmadhenu several times. In the Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī certain verses from the Kāmadhenu are cited in connection with the rites on certain *tithis* of the month of Āśvina (p. 261). Śūlapāṇi in his Śrāddhaviveka names as his authorities the Kāmadhenu and other digests after the smṛtis.[653] The Samayapradīpa[654] of Śrīdatta notices that the Kāmadhenu read 'dvitīyā caitramāsasya,' while the Kalpataru read 'tṛtīyā.' The same reading of the Kāmadhenu is noticed in the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha (I. O. cat., No. 634, folio 79b). In the Rājanītiratnākara the Kāmadhenu is quoted on the definition of 'rājā' and on the two varieties of rulers (pp. 2 and 5). In Hemādri there is a quotation from Smṛtikāmadhenu (vol. IV, p. 992) about the freedom in *kali* from incurring sin on account of contact with great sinners.

The question arises who is the author of the Kāmadhenu. If we rely upon a highly paronomastic passage of the Vyavahāraratnākara[655] of Caṇḍeśvara, Gopāla was the author of the Kāmadhenu. In the Rājanītiratnākara (p. 81) Gopāla is said to have held, with

651 कामधेनौ प्रदीपेब्धौ कल्पवृक्षलतासु च । शम्भुभद्रविडकेदारलोलुटार्योश्च भाषितम् ॥ मन्वाद्यनेकस्मृतिषु व्याख्यातृप्रतिपादितम् । स्मृत्यर्थसारं वक्ष्यामि सुखानुष्ठानसिद्धये ॥ Intro. verses 4–5 (Ānandāśrama ed.). प्रदीप्ते is a wrong reading for प्रदीपे.

652 यं कामधेनुरनुयानि सकल्पवृक्षो(क्षा?)यं सेवते निजफलाय स पारिजातः । तं वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसदृक्षदृष्टिं चण्डेश्वरं तुलयितुं कतमे भवन्तु ॥ विवादरत्नाकर (verse at the end); there is a play on the words कामधेनु, कल्पवृक्ष (कल्पतरु) and पारिजात which are names of works on धर्मशास्त्र also; vide विवादरत्नाकर pp. 78, 80, 135, 498, 651 for other references to the कामधेनु.

653 The श्राद्धविवेक begins विलोक्य धर्मशास्त्राणि कामधेन्वादिसंग्रहान् । विवेकः पार्वणादीनां क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥

654 अत्र च कामधेनौ द्वितीया चैत्रमासस्येति लिखितं कल्पतरौ तृतीयेति लिखितं तदत्र पाठद्वैधे ज्योतिःशास्त्रे मधौ तृतीयेति पाठाच्चैत्रतृतीयैव ग्राह्या । समयप्रदीप D. C. ms. No. 471 of 1875–76, folio 53b.

655 यन्न्यायामृतसेचनात्सफलतां पुष्णाति कल्पद्रुमः सद्यः पल्लवमातनोति नितरां श्रीपारिजातोपि सः । गोपालस्य च कामधेनुरमणं काम्यार्थदुग्धं स्वयं संदुग्धे स्वयमेव कस्य भवने सेव्यो न रत्नाकरः ॥ व्यवहाररत्नाकर (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 66). कल्पद्रुम (कल्पतरु), पारिजात, कामधेनु and रत्नाकर have two senses,

Lakṣmīdhara and Śrīkara,[656] the view that on the state wealth poor and helpless people have a claim and that the state perishes if the supreme authority is wielded by many (and not by one). The same work (p. 84) cites the opinion of Gopāla that the coronation rites mentioned in works on *rājanīti* are merely illustrative and that according to the particular usages of countries and families a king may be proclaimed without those rites by merely being seated on a throne.[657] The Pitṛbhakti of Śrīdatta expressly mentions that it is based on the works of Gopāla and others. The Vīramitrodaya cites the view of Gopāla that vyavāhara comes under what is called *jalpa* in the technique of the Nyāya system and that the view of Miśra that Vyavahāra is comprised under the term *vāda* of the same system is wrong. Whether the Gopāla mentioned by Mitramiśra is the same as the author named by Caṇḍeśvara it is difficult to say. But it seems to me that they are identical. Aufrecht in his great catalogue (I. 93) ascribes the authorship of the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. Whence he derived this information is not clear. The authors and works cited by him do not, so far as I know, ascribe the Kāmadhenu to Śambhu. It is true that Śambhu is credited by the Smṛticandrikā with a digest on *dharmaśāstra* (vide note 563 above) and the Smṛtyarthasāra also names him as one of the authorities on which it relies. Hemādri[659] also tells us that Śambhu was a *nibandhakāra* and refuted the views of Medhātithi on Manu III. 125. The Smṛticandrikā frequently cites the views of Śambhu on vyavahāra and generally refutes them. For example, on the word 'pitarau' occurring in Yāj. II. 135 Śambhu remarked that no difference should be made between the parents (father and mother) as heirs, since whoever out of the two took the wealth of their son it would come

656 Vide note 565 above.

657 गोपालमते त्वभिषेकादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि तदभ्यवहारः-र्दिति।

658 यत्तु गोपालेन तत्त्वनिर्णयेषु कथात्वाद्वादत्वमेवास्येति मिश्रमतत्वेनोपन्यस्य जयभङ्ग-फलकत्वात् स्थापनावसानत्वाच्च जल्प एवायमिति तन्निरस्तं तद् द्वयमप्ययुक्तम्। वीर० p. 3.

659 द्वौ देवे ... कमुभयत्र वा॥ यदप्येकैकमुभयत्र वेत्ययं विधिरेव न भवतीति तेनैवोक्तं तत्तु शम्भुप्रभृतिभिर्निबन्धकारैः पराकृतमिति अस्माभिर्नाद्रियते। चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1 p. 1148; तदेवं तावद् दक्षिणाग्नौ होमस्तदभावे तूपासनाग्नाविति शम्भुषड्गुरुधरप्रभृतयः चतुर्वर्ग III. 1. p. 1331.

to both.[660] Vide also Smṛticandrikā II, pp. 205, 216. Therefore Śambhu also, being mentioned by the Smṛticandrikā and the Smṛtyarthasāra, is certainly earlier than 1150 A. D. In this state of the authorities I am doubtful whether Śambhu was the author of the Kāmadhenu. I am inclined to hold that he was not the author of that work and that Gopāla was the author. This conclusion is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the Smṛtyarthasāra mentions both Kāmadhenu and Śambhu as authorities on which it relies. If Śambhu had been, in the opinion of the Smṛtyarthsāra the author of the Kāmadhenu, the mention of both would have been superfluous. Mr. Jayasval (in JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts 3-4, p. VII) ascribes the Kāmadhenu to Bhoja, but this is wrong (vide p. 277, note 576).

As the Kāmadhenu is named as an authority by the Kalpataru and the Hāralatā it is certainly not later than 1100 A. D. It cannot be very much earlier since it is not mentioned by Medhātithi and the Mitākṣarā. It may therefore be assigned to the period between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

72. Halāyudha

The Kalpataru[661] of Lakṣmīdhara in its vyavahāra section quotes the views of a jurist Halāyudha several times. The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara mentions Halāyudha dozens of times. In the Smṛtisāra of Harināṭha[662] Halāyudha-nibandha on possession is quoted. The Smṛtisāra also says (folio 140 a) that Halāyudha favoured *niyoga* by the widow of a son-less deceased person and deprived the widow of succession to her deceased husband if she did not submit to *niyoga*. This was the view of Dhāreśvara also. According to Halāyudha[663] parents succeeded before brothers to a deceased person

660 यत्तूक्तं शम्भुना अव्यक्तधनत्वाद् दम्पत्योर्येन केनचिद्गृह्यमाणमुभयार्थमिति न विशेषो वक्तव्य इति तदयुक्तम्। स्मृतिच० II. p. 298.

661 Vide note 649 above; and folio 380 (of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

662 अत्र हलायुधनिबन्धे स्वरसः। आगमस्मरणाईकाले सागमेव भुक्तिः प्रमाणं त्रैपुरुषिकभोगे तु आगमास्मरणे भुक्तिः प्रमाणं स्मार्तकाले क्रिया भूमेः ... पुरुषागता इति कात्यायनवचनात्। हानिप्रतिपादकानां च वाक्यानां प्रमाणपरिपालनकर्तव्यताशेषत्वात्। स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 107 b).

663 याज्ञवल्क्येन पितरौ भ्रातर इति भ्रातृसद्भावेपि पित्रोरधिकार उक्तः स पितृपितामहार्जितधनविषयः। यापितृद्रव्याविरोधार्जितं तत्पित्रोः सद्भावेपि भ्रातृणामेव। स्मृतिसार folio 140 b.

if the property in the hands of the deceased was ancestral, but that if it was acquired without detriment to ancestral property then brothers succeeded even before parents. Halāyudha is cited in the Vivādacintāmaṇi also, e. g. Halāyudha[664] held the view that the verse of Yāj. (II. 126) was intended to convey that where joint property was concealed by a member and was discovered after partition, he did not incur the guilt of theft. This same view was held by Jitendriya and others. Raghunandana quotes Halāyudha in his Divyatattva, Dāyatattva and Vyavahāratattva. The Vīramitrodaya[665] also quotes Halāyudha.

The foregoing shows that the work of Halāyudha, the jurist, was a very valuable one. This Halāyudha must have flourished before 1100 A. D., since the Kalpataru (1125-1150 A. D.) looked upon him as an authority. As Halāyudha is not mentioned by any of the early commentators like Medhātithi and by the Mit. and as he held opinions similar to those of Dhāreśvara, Jitendriya and others, he cannot well be placed earlier than 1000 A. D. Therefore he flourished between 1000 and 1100 A. D. He was probably a Maithila or Bengali writer, as, among the comparatively early writers on dharma, it is the writers of the north, particularly of Mithilā and Bengal, that rely upon him as a great authority.

The name Halāyudha (an epithet of Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa) was a common one in India. It seems to have been borne by several eminent writers and this fact has created a great deal of confusion. There is one Halāyudha who was the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā (edited by Aufrecht), the Kavirahasya (edited by Sourindra Mohan Tagore in 1879 and by Heller in 1900) and probably the Mṛtasañjīvanī, a commentary on the Chandaḥ-sūtra of Piṅgala. In the Kavirahasya he gives the various forms of roots in the several conjugations and connects all verses with Kṛṣṇa, the

664 अन्योन्यापहृतं ... स्थितिः ॥ अत्राविभक्तत्वादेव विभागे प्राप्ते वचनारम्भोत्र चौर्यदोषाभावं ज्ञापयतीति हलायुधः । विवादचिन्तामणि p. 143. *Vide* दायतत्त्व (p. 182 Jivananda, vol. II) for the same view of हलायुध.

665 'अक्षः पादस्तम्भयोरुपरि निहितस्तुलाधारपट्ट इति मिताक्षरा । दाढर्यप्रयोजकः कीलक इति हलायुधः ।' वीर० p. 254; वीर० p. 572 says हलायुध read in मनु 9. 207 स निर्वात्यः for स निर्वास्यः (निर्भाज्यः).

emperor of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇāpatha).[666] This Kṛṣṇarāja was most probably the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa whose dates range from 940 A. D. to 959 A. D. (*vide* JBBRAS, vol. 18, page 239 ; Bom. Gazetteer I., part 2, p. 210 ; I. A. vol. 11, p. 109 and Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 8-9.). In the colophon to the Mṛtasañjīvanī the author is described simply as bhaṭṭa-Halāyudha. In that commentary verses are quoted as illustrations wherein Muñja alias Vākpatirāja is highly extolled.[667] Muñja was slain by Tailapa between 994-997 A. D. Hence Halāyudha, the author of the commentary on Piṅgala, must not have flourished much earlier than the latter half of the 10 century. It is not unlikely that Halāyudha after being at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas migrated to Avanti when the star of Muñja, who was himself a scholar, rose on the horizon of central India and when the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas waned. But this Halāyudha who hailed from the Deccan cannot be the first Halāyudha who appears to have flourished in Mithilā or Bengal.

There is another Halāyudha, author of a famous work called Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva printed at Benares in saṁvat 1935. But this was not available to me and hence I used a Ms. of it in the Deccan College collection (No. 9 of A 1883-84). He gives some account of himself and his family in the introductory verses. He belonged to the Vātsya gotra and was a son of Dhanañjaya who is described as *dharmādhyakṣa* (judge). Lakṣmaṇasena, the king of Bengal, gave him dharmādhikāra (i. e. made him judge).[668] He had two elder brothers[669] Paśupati and Īśāna of whom the former composed Śrāddha-kṛtya-paddhati and Pākayajña-paddhati and the latter the

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666 अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे । कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्य-दीक्षितः ॥ verse 6 (Heller's ed.). Verse 164 (Heller) describes him as राष्ट्रकूटकुलाद्रह.

667 e.g. जयति भुवनैकवीरः सीरायुधतुलितविपुलबलविभवः । अनवरतवितरणनिर्जित-चम्पाधिपो मुञ्जः ॥ स जयति वाक्पतिराजः &c.—मृतसञ्जीवनी 4th chap.

668 बाल्ये ख्यापितराजपण्डितपदः श्वेतांशुबिम्बोज्ज्वलच्छत्रोत्सिक्तमहामहत्तमनुपदं दत्त्वा नवे यौवने । यस्मै यौवनशेषयोग्यमखिलस्मापालनारायणः श्रीमाँल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवनृपतिर्धर्मा-धिकारं ददौ ॥ verse 12; vide also Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. p. 138, extract No. 356.

669 भ्राता पद्धतिमग्रजः पशुपतिः श्राद्धादिकृत्ये व्यधादीशानः कृतवान् द्विजाह्निकविधौ ज्येष्ठोपरः पद्धतिम् । verse 24.

Dvijāhnika-paddhati. He tells us in the Brāhmaṇasarvasva that he composed Mīmāṁsāsarvasva, Vaiṣṇavasarvasva, Śaivasarvasva, Paṇḍitasarvasva.[670] Unfortunately no Ms. of any of these works has so far been discovered. The chief object[671] of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva is to explain the meaning of the *mantras* used by Brāhmaṇas in daily observances from the brushing of the teeth to going to sleep and in the *saṁskāras* on birth, marriage, death etc. He wrote for the Vājasaneya Kāṇva Śākhā and acknowledges[672] his debt to Uvaṭa who wrote a bhāṣya on the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā in Avanti while Bhoja ruled the earth (mahīṁ Bhoje praśāsati). In some introductory verses and the several colophons of the sections of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva Halāyudha styles himself *āvasathika*, *mahādharmādhyakṣa* or simply *dharmādhyakṣa*, *dharmādhikārin* and his brother Paśupati also is styled *āvasathika*. It is very difficult to say what is the exact meaning of this last word. It probably means one who regularly performs all the *gṛhya* rites.[673] Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922, pp. 5165 for a ms. of Paṇḍita-sarvasva which deals with the usages of varṇas and āśramas, tithi, śuddhi, the time for śrāddha, jyotiḥśāstra, marriage, gifts, prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā &c. But whether it is Halāyudha's work it is difficult to say from the extracts given.

The time when Halāyudha the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva flourished can be easily settled as he was the dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The Adbhutasāgara was begun in *śake* 1090[674]

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670 मीमांसासर्वस्वं वैष्णवसर्वस्वमकृत शैवसर्वस्वम् । पण्डितसर्वस्वमसौ सर्वस्वं सर्वधीराणाम् ॥ , verse 19.

671 दन्तधावनमारभ्य यावदन्येद्युरीरिता । मन्त्राणां तावता तस्मिन् व्याख्यानमुपदर्शितम् ॥

672 व्याख्यातो मतिशालिनाथमुवटाचार्येण वेदः परम् । अस्पष्टं तदपीत्यनेन विदुषा विश्वप्रसिद्धैः पदैः । सन्ध्यादिद्विजकर्ममन्त्रवचसां व्याख्यानमेतत् कृतम् &c.

673 Compare पारस्करगृह्य I. 2. 1-2 ' आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले । दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम् । '

674 शाके खनवसेन्दूब्दे आरेभेऽद्भुतसागरम् । गौडेन्द्रकुञ्जरालानस्तम्भबाहुर्महीपतिः ॥ यन्थेस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनयं साम्राज्यरक्षामहादीक्षापर्वणि दीक्षणान् निजकृतेर्निष्पत्तिमभ्यर्थ्य सः । नानादानमिनाम्बुसत्रमलभ्तः (1) सूर्यात्मजासङ्गमं गङ्गायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥ श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुयोगतो निष्पन्नोद्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ बल्लालभूमीभुजः ॥ &c. folio 3a of D. C. ms. No. 231 of 1887-91.

(i. e. 1168-69) by Ballāla-sena and it was ultimately finished by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. That these verses are not spurious follows from a reference in the Ṭoḍarānanda-saṁhitā-saukhya about the position of the constellation of the Great Bear according to the Adbhutasāgara in the *śake* year 1082 (1160-61 A. D.) while Ballālasena was ruling.[675] The Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa[676], who was a contemporary of Lakṣamaṇasena, furnishes us with the exact year of the accession of Lakṣamaṇasena viz: that *śake* 1127 corresponded with the 27th year of Lakṣamaṇasena's reign, i. e. he began to reign in 1178-79 A. D. Therefore the literary activity of Halāyudha, the author of the Brāhmaṇasarvasva, lies between 1175-1200 A. D. There is, I am aware, a very heated controversy about the dates of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣamaṇasena, but I am inclined to hold, particularly on account of the explicit reference contained in the body of the Adbhutasāgara[677] itself and in the Ṭoḍarānanda, that Lakṣamaṇasena came to the throne about 1178-79 A. D. The Brāhmaṇasarvasva and the Paṇḍitsarvasva of Halāyudha are quoted by Raghunandana in the Āhnika (pp. 389, Jivananda, vol. I), Prāyaścitta (pp. 531, vol. I for Paṇḍitasarvasva) and other Tattvas. Sourindra Mohan Tagore (introduction to Kavirahasya p. I-II) says that Ādiśūra brought to Bengal five Brāhmaṇas from Kanoj of whom Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was the most famous and was the author of the Prayogaratna and also of the Veṇīsaṁhāra and that Halāyudha was 16th in descent from that Nārāyaṇa. These traditions of the matchmakers of Bengal and panegyrists of big families are entirely worthless for literary and chronological purposes,

675 'अश्विन्याद्यभिप्रायेण चाद्भुतसागरे भुजवसुदशमित १०८२ शाके श्रीमद्बल्लालसेन-राज्यादौ वर्षैकषष्टिभोगा मुनयस्त्वासन् विशाखासु तस्य चाभिप्रायोयम्' folio 39b of टोडरानन्दसंहितासौख्य D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92.

676 शाके सप्तविंशत्यधिकशतोपेतदशशते शरदाम्। श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षितिपस्य रसैकविंशेब्दे॥ सवितुर्गत्या फाल्गुनविंशेषु परार्थहेतवे कुतुकात्। श्रीधरदासेनेदं सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं चक्रे॥ Vide Indian Historical Quarterly, 1927, vol. III, p. 186; vide also JASB 1921, p. 7, Ind. Ant. vol. 48 (for 1919) at 171-176 and Ind. Ant. 1922, p. 146, 158 for discussion of the date of लक्ष्मणसेन. Vide E. I., vol. XV. p. 278 for the views of Mr. R. D. Banerji who holds that लक्ष्मणसेन ascended the throne in 1118-19 A. D.

677 In the printed edition of the अद्भुतसागर (at p. 235) we have अतस्तत्र तेनैतद् ग्रन्थारम्भशकाद् वर्षाधिपगणनं सनवदशशेषशाके &c. (published in 1905 by Prabhakari and Co.).

particularly for events of comparatively early times. In their zeal to extol their patrons' families to the skies they were most unscrupulous and threw to the winds all chronology. The Prayogaratna was composed at Benares by Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa whose family migrated from Paithan in the 16th century, while the Veṇīsaṁhāra was composed about a thousand years earlier. Yet both works are fathered upon Nārāyaṇa, the ancestor of the rich and influential Tagore family.

There is yet another Halāyudha. On the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana a commentary called Prakāśa was composed by Halāyudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa (vide BBRAS cat. No. 518, p. 170). In this commentary he refers to Karka, Kāmadhenu, Kalpataru, Govindarāja, Lakṣmaṇopādhyāya, Mitākṣarā, Śaṅkhadhara and Paśupati. He is therefore later than 1150 A. D. He cannot be identified with the author of the Kavirahasya, as the latter flourished much earlier under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Nor can be the same as the jurist Halāyudha, since the latter is named in the Kalpataru, which in its turn is quoted in the Prakāśa. The dharmādhyakṣa of Lakṣamaṇasena was a son of Dhanañjaya, while the author of the Prakāśa was a son of Saṅkarṣaṇa. The Śrāddhakāśikā of Kṛṣṇa (Gujarati Press ed. p. 430) on the Navakaṇḍikā or Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana says that first Karka[678] explained the sūtra in pregnant words and then Halāyudha explained it and yet it remained as difficult as before. Kṛṣṇa is mentioned in the Nirṇayasindhu and the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha. Therefore Halāyudha, the author of the Prakāśa on Kātyāyana must have flourished before 1509 A. D. and later than 1150 A. D.

Vide J. A. S. B. 1915 pp. 327-336 where M. M. Chakravarti brought together interesting information about Halāyudha.

73. Bhavadevabhaṭṭa

The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana and the Vīramitrodaya tell us that Bhavadevabhaṭṭa composed a work called Vyavahāratilaka on judicial procedure. The Vyavahāratattva[679] tells us that Bhavadeva

678 कर्को व्याख्यदिदं गभीरवचनैः सूत्रं यतोस्मादभूद् दुर्बोधं च ततो हलायुध इति व्याख्यत्तथाप्यस्फुटम् ॥

679 ' अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापि अनन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्यवहारतिलके भवदेवभट्टः ' । व्यवहारतत्त्व (p. 207, vol. II, Jivananda) ; भवदेवेन तु अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापीति पाठं लिखित्वानन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तमिति व्याख्यातं व्यवहारतिलके । वीर० p. 85.

read 'astavyastapadavyāpi' instead of 'yadvyastapadamavyāpi' in Kātyāyana's verses enumerating the blemishes of *uttara* (defendant's reply). The Vyavahāratattva[680] mentions Bhavadevabhaṭṭa's discussion and illustration of a reply (uttara) with a weak plea (kāraṇa). The same work informs us that Bhavadeva held the same views on adverse possession as Śrīkara, Bālaka and others did (vide note 624 above). The Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra[681] several times refers to the views of Bhavadeva. The Vīramitrodaya[682] gives in great detail the remarks of Bhavadeva on the well-known text of Sumantu about killing an *ātatāyin*. The Sarasvatīvilāsa[683] and the Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita quote the very same views of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on Sumantu's text.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that Bhavadeva's Vyavahāratilaka must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately that work has not yet come to light.

Bhavadeva also wrote several other works.

In the Deccan College collection there are two Mss. (No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91) of a work of Bhavadeva variously named Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati or Daśakarma-paddhati or Daśakarma-dīpikā. M. M. Chakravarti in his informing article on Bhavadeva (J. A. S. B. 1912, pp. 333-348) says that the work has often been printed. I was not able to secure a copy. That work[684] deals with

680 दुर्बलकारणोत्तरं यथा ममेयं भूः क्रमागतत्वादिति वाद्युक्ते ममेयं भूर्दशवर्षभुज्यमानत्वादिति प्रत्युत्तरं तत्तु धनमात्रप्रयुक्तं पश्यतोहरवतो ह्यनिर्धनस्य दशवार्षिकीति याज्ञवल्क्यीयं बीजं किं तु नैतद्युक्तं परेण भुज्यमानाया भूमेर्विंशतिवार्षिकीति भूमिमात्रविषयकं तत्परार्धेनापादितत्वादिति भवदेवभट्टाः। व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 208.

681 यस्य दृश्येत सप्ताहादुक्तसाक्ष्यस्य साक्षिणः। अत्र यद्यपि भवदेवेन कृतदिव्यस्येति लिखितं तथाप्युक्तसाक्ष्यस्येत्यभिधानादकृतदिव्यस्यापि द्रष्टव्यं कृतदिव्यस्येति प्रायोवादः। विवादचन्द्र (folio 51a of D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); 'भवदेवेन तु न रोगाग्निज्ञातिमरणं शुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेदिति लिखितम्।' *ibid* (folio 55 b).

682 अत्र भवदेवभट्टः। न च सुमन्तुवचनेन नाततायिवधदोषोन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणादित्यनेन विरोधः सूत्रच्छेदापरिज्ञानात्। तथाहि सूत्रत्रयमिदम्। आततायिवधे नेत्येकम्। दोषोन्यत्रेत्यपरम्। गोब्राह्मणात्स्नातः प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यादित्यन्यत्। वीर० p. 22.

683 Vide स. वि. p. 154 (Mysore ed.). and वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 5. 189 (I. O. cat. No. 915 folio 50a).

684 It begins चतुर्वदनसदास्थचतुर्वेदकुटुम्बिने। द्विजानुष्ठेयसत्कर्मसाक्षिणे ब्रह्मणे नमः॥ गृह्यसूत्रार्थमालोक्य छन्दोगानामियं क्रमात्। कृता श्रीभवदेवेन कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धतिः॥

the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Brāhmaṇas who study the Sāmaveda. The principal subjects are :—The *Homa* to the nine planets (*Navagraha-homa*), *mātṛpūjā*, *pāṇigrahaṇa* and other essential rites of marriage, *homa* on the fourth day after marriage, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, soṣyantīhoma (*homa* when a woman is on the point of delivery), jātakarma, niṣkramaṇa, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, samāvartana (the student's returning from the teacher's house after finishing his studies), Śālākarma (first entrance in a new house).

Another work of Bhavadeva, who is styled Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga therein, is the Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa (I. O. cat. No. 1725 p. 554, Mitra's notices, vol. IX, No. 3138, pp. 214-15). In that work he mentions over 25 smṛtikāras, the Matsya and Bhaviṣya purāṇas, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara and Bāloka (? Bālaka). This work was held in high esteem, as the Smṛtiratnākara[685] of Vedācārya places Bhavadeva after Manu among the authorities on prāyaścitta that he follows. The Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda (B.'I. series) quotes a text from Bhavadevabhaṭṭa on the prāyaścitta for eating in a solar or lunar eclipse (p. 106).

There is yet another work of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa called Tautātita-matatilak, a ms. of which exists in the India Office (cat. No. 1591). It is doubtful whether that ms. contains the whole of the work. That work is concerned with elucidating the doctrines of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā system from the standpoint of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (who is also called Tautātita). From the colophons at the end and elsewhere it appears that the work was intended to explain Jaimini I. 4 and II. 1, but in the body of the work contained in the Ms. only sūtras from the first *pāda* of the 2nd adhyāya are dwelt upon. Bhavadeva is styled Bālavalabhībhujaṅga here also and invokes a terrific curse[686] upon those who would borrow from his work without acknowledg-

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[685] मन्वादिस्मृतिशास्त्रार्थं भवदेवादिसंमतम्। प्रायश्चित्तमहं वक्ष्ये विज्ञाय पापनिष्कृतौ ॥ स्मृतिरत्नाकर (I. O. cat. p. 473).

[686] The colophon at the end is इति श्रीबालवलभीभुजङ्गपरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य कृतौ तौतातितमततिलके द्वितीयस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः। यो नाम कश्चिदिह संविधित्सं प्रमेयं ग्रन्थान्तरे लिखति वा वदति स्वयं वा। मत्कर्तृतामनुकीर्त्य स कीर्तिलोपान्निःसंततिर्जगति जन्मशतानि भूयात् ॥

ing their debt. The work opens with the well-known sūtra 'bhāvārthāḥ karmaśabdāḥ &c. (Jaimini II. 1. 1). It goes on explaining the principal topics of Jaimini's 2nd adhyāya, first *pāda*. The sūtras explained are II. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40 46-49. It mentions the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara), Vārtika (folio 12 a), Gurumata (17b), Prabhākara (21b), Vārtikakārapāda (22 b, in the plural). It frequently quotes kārikās from the Tantravārtika with the words 'taduktam.' Hemādri[687] quotes Bhavadeva's explanation of the words of Kumārila allowing an option between *jāghanya* and *ājya* and disapproves of it. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. Mss. for 1919-1922 p. 5527 for the same work.

Unexpected light is thrown on the personal history of Bhavadevabhaṭṭa by an inscription found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District of Orissa edited by Kielhorn in E. I. vol. VI, p. 203, which eulogises Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavalabhībhujaṅga applied to the latter.[688] The eulogy is composed by a person called Vācaspatikavi. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarṇa gotra of the Kauthumī school of the Sāmaveda. The family belonged to Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍhā (west of the Hugli and south of the Ganges). Bhavadeva's remote ancestor Bhavadeva obtained in gift the *agrahāra* of Hastinībhiṭṭa from the Gauḍa king. The father of Bhavadeva was Govardhana, a warrior and a scholar. His mother was Sāṅgokā, daughter of a Vandhyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. With the advice of Bhavadeva king Harivarmadeva is said to have reigned long in prosperity. Bhavadeva is stated in the above mentioned inscription to have composed works on *horā* (astrology), *smṛti*, and *mīmāṁsā*. Bhavadeva is eulogised as a great builder. He constructed a reservoir of water in Rāḍhā, he set up a stone image of Nārāyaṇa and founded a temple in which he placed images of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta, ann Nṛsiṁha. He also gave

687 तथा च जाघन्याधिकरणसिद्धान्ते जाघन्याज्ययोर्विकल्पे वार्तिककृतोक्ते भवदेवेनोक्तम्। इदं त्विह वक्तव्यम्। कथं सामान्यविहितेनाज्येन विशेषविहितजाघन्यविकल्पः सर्वत्र सामान्यविशेषशास्त्रयोर्बाध्यबाधकभावोच्छेदप्रसङ्गात्। नैतत्। द्वयोरपि विशेषशास्त्रत्वात्। &c. चतुर्वर्ग० (कालनिर्णय) p. 120. Vide also p. 404 for another reference to भवदेव.

688 यस्य स्वलु बालवलभीभुजङ्ग इति नाम नाहतं केन। भीमांसयापि सपुलकमाकर्णितवर्णितोद्गीतिम्॥ verse 24.

to Harimedhas female attendants, dug a tank and laid out a garden. Neither Kielhorn nor Chakravarti has attempted any explanation of the epithet Bālavalabhībhujaṅga. I hazard an explanation. Bhavadeva probably made some innovation in the structure of the roofs or balconies of the temples he built and he was therefore styled a lover (a gallant or paramour) of little (*bāla*-small sized or girlish) *valabhīs*. From the nature of the character Kielhorn conjectured that the inscription belonged to the 12th century A. D.

The date of Bhavadeva can be approximately settled to be about 1100 A. D. as he is quoted by Hemādri, the Vivādacandra of Misaru and the Smṛtisāra of Harinātha. He is certainly earlier than 1200 A. D. A period of at least half a century must have elapsed before a Bengal writer like Bhavadeva came to be looked upon as an authority on mīmāṁsā by Hemādri who wrote in distant Berar. It appears that he was quoted in the Karmopadeśinī of Aniruddha (I. O. cat. No. 1853, p. 474). But that Ms. is bound up with another work by a later author and the reference in the cat. is not quite clear. If we rely on the Vīramitrodaya, a work called Pradīpa criticised the views of Bhavadeva on the verse of Yāj. II. 24 (about adverse possession for 20 and 10 years). Bhavadeva held that twenty years' enjoyment of immovable property by a stranger implied that the real owner meant to abandon it for the benefit of the stranger enjoying it, that such abandonment for the enjoyment of another leads to the inference of the extinction of previous ownership and that the property being abandoned by the owner in favour of the stranger who takes hold of it, ownership also (of the stranger) arises. The Pradīpa[689] points out that it does not invariably follow

[689] भवदेवस्तु ... तस्मादेवं वाच्यं यदयं यथोक्तो भोगः पूर्वस्वामिनो भोक्तुद्वेशेन त्यागात् तत्स्वत्वध्वंसमर्थापयति अनुमापयति वा। ... तथा च तदुद्वेशेन त्यक्ते तत्परिग्रहणादेव परस्य तत्र स्वत्वमप्युपपद्यते। ... अत्र प्रदीपकृतः। यत्र हि मत्कृत्ये- (प्ये?) दानीं नात्र फलसम्भावना तदधुना तावत्पर एव भुक्त्वा (भुंक्तां?) पश्चादेतत्सकाशात्सफलोपभोगां भुवं ग्रहीष्यामीत्यभिसंधाय भूम्यादिस्वामी तत्र परोपभोगं क्षमते तत्रापि विंशत्यभ्यधिको भोगोस्ति स्वामिनस्तदुद्वेशेन त्यागश्च नास्तीति व्यभिचारान्नेदृशभोगस्य पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वत्यागे प्रामाण्यम्। किं च भूस्वामी सचेताः किमिति वृथैव तत्र स्वत्वं जह्यात्। न ह्यत्र दृष्टमुद्वेश्यं नाप्यदृष्टं धर्मशास्त्रोकेतिकर्तव्यताविरहात्। ... नापि यदुद्वेशेन यत्त्यज्यते तत्तस्य स्वामिति नियमः। उद्देश्येनागृहीते व्यभिचारात्। वीर० p. 212-14.

that, because a srranger is allowed to enjoy land, the owner intends to abandon the land for the stranger, nor is it an invariable rule that what is abandoned for another becomes the property of that other. It will be shown later on that the Pradīpa must have been composed before 1150 A. D. Hence it follows that Bhavadeva flourished about 1100. He cannot be very much earlier than that, as he is not mentioned by any writer of the 11th century and as he not only mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara, but also writers who criticised Prabhākara's views.

There were several other later persons named Bhavadeva who wrote on topics of Dharmaśāstra such as Bhavadeva, author of Dānadharmaprakriyā (middle of 17th century), and Bhavadeva, the author of Smṛticandrikā, who flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

On Bhavadeva's Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati there is a commentary called Saṁsārapaddhatirahasya.

74. Prakāśa.

A work called Prakāśa has been quoted by very early *nibandhakāras*. The Kalpataru quotes the interpretation of Prakāśa, Halāyudha and Kāmadhenu on a verse of Kātyāyana.[690] The Vivādaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara cites the views of Prakāśa scores of times (e. g. p. 131, 145, 456, 460, 462, 474, 485, 504 etc). Frequently Prakāśa is coupled with Pārijāta (e. g. p. 497). On page 518 of the Vivādaratnākara a remark of Prakāśa wherein both Asahāya and Medhātithi are named is cited.[691] The Dānaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes a passage of Saṁvarta with Prakāśa's explanation of it.[692] In the Śrāddhasaukhya of Ṭoḍarānanda Prakāśa's explanation

690 Vide note 521 above. On पणे जितः, one of the 15 kinds of *dāsas* enumerated by नारद, the कल्पतरु quotes the remarks of the प्रकाश ' यद्यस्मिन्विवादे पराजितो भवामीत्यादिपरिभाषणेन दासीभूतः द्यूतजित इति प्रकाशपारिजातौ।' (folio 368 of Benares Sanskrit College transcript).

691 पित्रा दत्तमिति स्त्रीधनमात्रोपलक्षणमित्यसहायमेधातिथिरिति (० थी इति) प्रकाशकारः। वि. र. (on मनु 9.198). Vide p. 509 of वि. र. where प्रकाश cites मेधातिथि alone ' पत्युरनुज्ञातेनाप्यदत्तोप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं धृतः सोपि दायादैर्न हर्तव्य इति मेधातिथिरिति प्रकाशः '.

692 ' संवर्तः । सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् । हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥ गौर्योत्र गावः प्रकरणात् । गौरी अष्टवर्षा कन्येति प्रकाशः । ' दानरत्नाकर (D.C. ms. No. 114 of 1884-86 folio 52 b).

of the word 'Yānevata' occurring in a passage of Śaṅkha about the fruits allowed in śrāddha is quoted.[693]

These quotations establish that Prakāśa was a work that not only dealt with vyavahāra, but also with such topics as *dāna*, *śrāddha* etc.

Whether the Prakāśa was an independent work or a commentary is somewhat doubtful. But from a passage of the Vivādaratnākara it seems to follow that it was a commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. There we are told that the Kalpataru[694] read 'abhijānatā' for 'avijānatā' in Yāj. II. 258, but that since that reading is opposed to Yājñavalkya-prakāśa, Halāyudha and Pārijāta it must be, regarded as a wrong reading. As it is a reading of Yāj. himself that was being discussed, it would be somewhat strange if it were said that it was opposed to Yāj. and Prakāśa and therefore it is necessary to suppose that Yājñavalkyaprakāśa is one work.

The Vivādacintāmaṇi in several places gives the explanation of Prakāśa.[695] The Smṛtisāra[696] gives at great length the explanation of Prakāśa on the controversial verses of Yāj. (II. 138-139). The Vīramitrodaya[697] quotes at length Prakāśa's explanation of Manu (9. 207) and disapproves of it on the ground (among others) that the verse can more clearly be explained so as to convey

693 'आम्रान्यानेवतानिक्षूमृद्वीकाभव्यदाडिमान्। . . . श्राद्धकालोपपादयेत्॥ यानेवतः काश्मीरे वोड इति प्रसिद्धः। प्राचीनामलकमिति प्रकाशकारः।' श्राद्धसौख्य folio 42 a (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87).

694 कल्पतरौ तु अविजानतेति स्थाने अभिजानतेति पाठो दर्शितः स तु याज्ञवल्क्यप्रकाश-हलायुध-पारिजातविरोधात् प्रमादपाठ इति लक्षितः। वि. र. p. 198.

695 विद्ययापि साधारणधनानुपश्लेषेण यदर्जितं तदेवाविभाज्यमिति प्रकाशकारः। तन्न उभयोपादानानर्थक्यात्। वि. चि. p. 135; 'परिसंख्यानबलात्पितृभ्रातृपितृव्यैरेव विभागपूर्वकं धनमेलनं संसर्ग इति प्रकाशः।' वि. चि. p. 157; vide pp. 130, 140 also.

696 प्रकाशे तु मृतस्य संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्टपहरेत् गृह्णीयात्। विभागकाले अज्ञातगर्भायां पितृभार्यायां पश्चादुत्पन्नस्यासंसृष्टयेव दद्यात्। सोदरस्य तु संसृष्टिनो धनं संसृष्टी सोदरो गृह्णीयान्न भिन्नोदरः संसृष्टपपीति पूर्वोक्तस्यापवादः। अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी धनं गृह्णीयादिति शेषः। नान्योदर्यधनं हरेदिति संसृष्टपपीत्यनेन संबध्यते &c. स्मृतिसार (I. O. cat. No. 301, folio 148 b).

697 Vide वीर० p. 572; the same also occurs in वि. चि. p. 130.

a meaning similar to that of Yāj. II. 116. The Prakāśa is mentioned in the Dāyatattva (vol. II, p. 173) and in the Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 288).

As the Prakāśa is quoted in the Kalpataru it is certainly earlier than 1125. It mentions Medhātithi. Besides the Mit. does not refer to it. There is room for thinking that it follows the Mit. Yāj. II. 116 is, according to the Vivādaratnākara,[698] explained by the Prakāśa in almost the same words as the Mit. It is possible that both borrow from the same original. At all events the Prakāśa must have been composed between 1000 and 1100 A. D.

Hemādri frequently cites a work called Mahārṇavaprakāśa.[699] According to the latter the sandal unguents, flowers, incense, lamp presented in śrāddha are to be offered to the Brāhmaṇas invited and not to the *pitṛs*. In another place Hemādri quotes the explanation of the word '*nimantraṇa*'[700] given by the Mahārṇavaprakāśa. In some places Hemādri refers to a work called Smṛtimahārṇava or simply Mahārṇava.[701] It appears to me that all these three are the names of the same work. The question then arises whether the Smṛtimahārṇavaprakāśa is the same as the Prakāśa mentioned by the Kalpataru and Caṇḍeśvara. In the present state of our knowledge it appears that they are identical. The Madanaparijāta (p. 93) quotes a verse from the Smṛtimahārṇava about *upākarma*.

75. Pārijāta.

Several works bear the appellation Pārijāta such as the Vidhānapārijāta (composed in 1625 A. D.), the Madanapārijāta (about 1375 A. D.) and the Prayogapārijāta (between 1400-1500). But

698 अत्रापि प्रकाशः किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कर्तव्यः तत्पुत्राणां विवादनिवृत्यर्थमिति। वि. र. p. 485; यत्किंचिदसारमपि दत्त्वा पृथक्क्रिया विभागः कार्यः पित्रा। तत्पुत्रादीनां दायाजिघृक्षा मा भूदिति। मिताक्षरा.

699 किं गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपाच्छादनानि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयान्युत पितृभ्य इति। तत्र तावद्वचनार्थदर्शनन्यायोपलब्धेर्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देयानीति महार्णवप्रकाशकारो मन्यते। चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 1031.

700 निमन्त्रणं नाम देवपितृकार्यार्थोऽप्रत्याख्येयो नियोग इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः। अभ्येषणपूर्वकमभ्युपगमसंपादनमिति मेधातिथिमहार्णवप्रकाशकारौ। चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 1131; vide also p. 1151 for another reference to महार्णवप्रकाश.

701 तथा च स्मृतिमहार्णवे आह बुधः। गर्भाष्टमे वर्षे वसन्ते ब्राह्मण आत्मानमुपनाययेत्। चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. 112; on pp. 183, 545 of the same only महार्णव occurs.

there was an ancient work called Pārijāta quoted by even some of the earliest *nibandhakāras*. The Kalpataru several times quotes the views of a work called Pārijāta. The Prakāśa and Pārijāta are frequently mentioned[702] together in the Kalpataru and the Vivādaratnākara. The latter regarded the Kalpataru, Pārijāta, Halāyudha and Prakāśa as its most eminent predecessors.[703] The Dānaratnākara[704] quotes several times the views of Pārijāta on gifts. The Smṛtisāra of Harinātha sets out at length the order of succession to a sonless man according to the Pārijāta (vide I. O. Ms. No. 301, folio 134 a). One of the striking opinions of the Pārijāta was that the widow of a sonless man should raise offspring by *niyoga* and give the wealth of the deceased to the son so born.

From the above it appears that the Pārijāta was an independent work on *vyavahāra, dāna* and other topics. Being quoted by the Kalpataru it was earlier than 1125 A. D. and as it held views similar to those of Bhojadeva and Halāyudha on the widow's rights and as it is not quoted by the Mit. or other earlier works it must be assigned to a date between 1000-1125 A. D. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 356 the learned judges hold that the Pārijāta frequently cited as an authority by the Vivādaratnākara is the Madanapārijāta. But this is entirely wrong. The latter work, it will be shown (*vide* sec. 93), was composed about 1375, while the Vivādaratnākara was composed about 1320 A. D. Hence the Pārijāta of the Vivādaratnākara is the ancient work mentioned in the Kalpataru.

76. Govindarāja.

The commentary of Govindarāja on the Manusmṛti was published by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and a portion of it was published by

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[702] कात्यायनः । विण्मूत्रोत्सर्जनं चैव नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनम् । प्रायो दासीसुताः कुर्युः कचादिग्रहणं च यत् ॥ नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनं परिधापनम् । नग्नत्वे परिमर्दनं संवाहनमिति पारिजातः । कल्पतरु folio 368 (Benares S. College Transcript) ; vide notes 649 and 690 above.

[703] कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे । यत्सारमस्मादधिकं च यत्तद्बुधाति रत्नाकर एक एव ॥ verse at the end of वि. र.

[704] ऋत्विग्भ्यस्तु दक्षिणामात्रम् । भूपालसागरपारिजातादयोप्येवम् । दानरत्नाकर folio 28 a ; अथवा तुलापुरुषवदर्धं गुरवे निवेद्यार्धमृत्विग्भ्यो दद्यादिति पारिजातः । ibid folio 28 b (about कामधेनुप्रदान).

Dr. Jolly in the Manuṭīkāsaṁgraha. In his commentary[705] on Manu III. 247 and 248 he tells us that he has treated at greater length the subject of those verses in his own work called Smṛtimañjarī. Kullūka[706] in his comment on Manu IV. 212 twits Govindarāja with having explained '*ugra*' in one way in his commentary on Manu and in a different way in his Mañjarī. A Ms. of a portion of the Smṛtimañjarī exists in the India Office (cat. p. 471).

From these two works a brief account of the personal history of Govindarāja can be extracted. The colophons at the end of the Manuṭīkā describe Govindarāja as the son of bhaṭṭa Mādhava. The first verse[707] of the Smṛtimañjarī and one at the end (though somewhat corrupt) give the information that he was the son of Mādhava and grand-son of Nārāyaṇa and appears to have lived on the holy banks of the Ganges.[708] Those who like Sarvadhikari identify Govindarāja with Govindacandra, prince of Benares, are therefore entirely wrong since he was a Brāhmaṇa and not a Kṣatriya. The first verse[709] of his Manuṭīkā contains an obeisance to god (or Śiva) and states that he had received the śāstra of Manu in an unbroken tradition of teacher and pupil and that he had examined previous commentaries of Manu.

705 'साधितं चैतत्सविस्तरं स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामृजुपञ्जिकायां च। इह तु ग्रन्थकारभयान्न प्रतार्यते (प्रस्तीर्यते ?)' on मनु III. 247: 'इति सपिण्डीकरणसांवत्सरिकेपि स्मृतिमञ्जर्यामृजुपञ्जिकायां विस्तरतो निरूप्येते' on मनु III. 248.

706 गोविन्दराजो मञ्जर्यामुग्रं राजानमुक्तवान्। मनुवृत्तौ च शूद्रायां क्षत्रियोत्पन्नमभ्यधात्॥

707 स्मृतिविरचितैस्तैस्तैर्वाक्यैर्द्विरुक्तिपराङ्मुखीमखिलकललब्यालुप्तार्थामतो व्रतसंहतिम्। अलिखदखिलां गोविन्दाख्यश्चिरं गुरुसंश्रयादुपचिततनुर्ज्ञानामोदः स माधवनन्दनः॥ स्मृतिमञ्जरी 1st verse.

708 स्मृतिमञ्जरी folio 150 b 'स्वर्वाहिनीपुलिनलाञ्छनलब्धकीर्तिर्नारायणस्य तनयात्मज उच्चिचकाय। वाक्यावलीमखिलसच्चरणावतंसाद् (तंसा ?) गोविन्दराज इह माधव इह भूमिः (? इह माधवभूमिरार्यः)॥'.

709 संसाराध्वगतागतक्लमतृषापीयूषमीशं शनैर्व्यात्वानर्गलसंप्रदायगुरुतः प्राप्ते मनोः शासने। दृष्ट्वा ग्रन्थरुदाशयाननुसृतिं व्याख्यान्तराणामिमां टीकां शास्त्ररुदाशयानुसरिणीं गोविन्दराजो व्यधात्॥

The Smṛtis mentioned by him in the two works of his are given below.[710] Besides he mentions the Vāyupurāṇa (on Manu III. 232) and Purāṇa in general (on Manu I. 74 and 80). He frequently quotes the Gṛhyasūtras, also the Bahvṛcagṛhyapariśiṣṭa, the Yogasūtra. He says (on Manu 2. 23) that Mleccha countries like Āndhra and others were not fit for performing sacrifices. He appears to have held like Medhātithi the view that *mokṣa* was to be attained by a combination of *jñāna* and *karma*.[711] As compared with the bhāṣya of Medhātithi his commentary is very concise. Kullūka largely drew upon Medhātithi and Govindarāja, mentions them hundreds of times, criticizes[712] both of them and particularly holds up Govindarāja to ridicule often enough.[713] Kullūka notes that Govindarāja in opposition to Medhātithi and Bhojadeva arranged Manu 8. 181-184 differently (putting 8. 182 as the last of those four verses). In the printed edition there is no comment of Govindarāja on the verses of the 9th chapter from verse 72. But it appears that the Dāyabhāga had that part of the commentary, as it quotes the views of Govindarāja on the rights of the daughter's son which could have appeared only on Manu IX. 130-136.

A few words may now be said about the Smṛtimañjarī, Mss. of which are rare. At the end of the India office Ms. a summary of the contents of the whole work is given (for which see footnote

[710] अङ्गिरस्, आपस्तम्ब, उशनस्, ऋष्यशृङ्ग, काश्यप, गौतम, चतुर्विंशतिमत, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पैठीनसि, प्रचेतस्, बृहत्प्रचेतस्, बृहस्पति, बौधायन, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, शातातप, वृद्धशातातप, षट्त्रिंशन्मत, संवर्त, सुमन्तु, हारीत.

[711] On मनु 2. 28 गोविन्दराज says ' ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयान्मोक्षावाप्तेः '.

[712] Note the following where गोविन्दराज is criticized by कुल्लुक. मनु. II. 1, 22, 127 ; III. 11, 53, 127, 129, 285 ; IV. 7, 162 ; VI. 14, 79, 86 ; VII. 94, 211 ; VIII. 37, 142-143, 184, 333 ; IX. 68, 136, 141, 162, 206 ; X. 3 ; XI. 82, 180 ; XII. 86.

[713] On मनु II. 125, III. 50 and VIII. 37 गोविन्दराज is held up to special ridicule. इत्थं गोविन्दराजेन विशेषमविवृण्वता । व्यक्तमङ्गीकृतमृतौ स्वदारसुरतं यतेः ॥ on मनु III. 50 ; स्वेषु तिष्ठत्स्विति पदद्वितयं न विवक्षितम् । इमां गोविन्दराजस्य राजाज्ञां नाद्रियामहे ॥ on मनु V. 104. It should be noted that the printed text of गोविन्दराज on मनु V. 104 is corrupt as it reads ' स्वेषु तिष्ठत्सु विवक्षितम् '.

below).[714] It appears that the Smṛtimañjarī dealt with all principal topics of dharmaśāstra such as the saṁskāras, the daily duties viz: bath, saṁdhyā, brahmayajña, the duties of the student, householder, the forest hermit, and the *saṁnyāsin*, the duties of the four *varṇas*, gifts, the purifications of various materials, foods forbidden and allowed, impurity on birth and death, *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas*, funeral rites, *śrāddha* and its various details, prāyaścitta. The ms. in the India office deals with the *adhikārī* for prāyascitta, the *parṣat* (i. e. the assembly of learned men who are to determine what prāyaścitta is to be prescribed), the means of atoning for sins and violations of religious duties, the prāyaścittas for the *mahāpātakas* (viz. the murder of a Brāhmaṇa, drinking wine, theft of gold, incest) and for other lesser and similar sins, meaning of the word prāyaścitta, prāyaścittas for killing men of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes and for killing women, prāyaścittas for the killing of a cow and of various beasts and birds, prāyaścittas for eating forbidden or polluted food and for selling articles forbidden to be sold, secret *prāyaścittas*. The India Office Ms. which deals only with *prāyaścittas* contains 152 folios. This gives us an idea as to how extensive the whole work must have been

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714 अस्य सुप्रतिपत्तये काण्डानि लिख्यन्ते । तत्रादौ परिभाषाकाण्डं गर्भाधानादि उपनयनादि । संध्योपासनविधिः । अन्ये ब्रह्मचारिधर्माः । अध्ययनादि । पुनरन्ये ब्रह्मचारिधर्माः । ब्रह्मयज्ञविधिः । विवाहादिगृहस्थधर्माः । शूद्रधर्माः । वृत्त्युपदेशाः । स्नानविधिः । यमनियमकाण्डम् । प्रास्थानिकम् । दानविधिः स्वापविधिः प्रोषितभर्तृकाधर्माः । द्रव्यशुद्धिः मूत्रादिशौचं आचमननिमित्तानि द्विराचमननिमित्तानि आचमनापवादाः । आचमनविधिः । अत्रैव प्रतिषेध्याः । कमण्डलुचर्या । अन्यदाचमनगतम् । स्नानशुद्धिः । सचेलानि । प्रक्षालनादिशौचम् । इति कायिकम् । सौवर्णादिशौचं वेलादिशौचं तथा सिद्धान्नादि भूम्यादि उदकादि अशुद्धयपवादाः । भोजनविधिः । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यप्रकरणम् । प्रेतशुद्धिः । ब्राह्मणाशौचं क्षत्रियाद्याशौचं जननाशौचं, अनुजाताद्याशौचं स्त्रियाशौचं सपिण्डसमानोदकत्वं बीजसंबन्ध्याद्याशौचं देशान्तरमृताशौचमाचार्याशौचमनेकाशौचसंनिपाताद्याशौचम् । निर्हरणादि । अनुगमनाद्याशौचम् । उदकक्रियादि पिण्डदानादि । अस्थिसंचयः । उदकादिनिषेधः । स्पर्शाशौचम् । यमनियमाः । श्राद्धप्रकरणम् । कालादि । ब्राह्मणपरीक्षा । भोजनीयाः । वर्ज्याभिमन्त्रणादि । देशः कालः । अत्रैवेतिकर्तव्यता । ब्राह्मणसंख्या । पुनरन्येतिकर्तव्यता । अमावास्यादिश्राद्धम् । एकोद्दिष्टं सपिण्डीकरणम् । आब्दिकं मातृश्राद्धम् । अन्ये श्राद्धधर्माः । वृद्धिश्राद्धम् । वानप्रस्थकाण्डं प्रव्रजितकाण्डम् । शूद्रधर्मकाण्डम् । अनुलोमप्रतिलोम । तद्वृत्त्युपदेशकाण्डम् । प्रायश्चित्तकाण्डम् ।

The Vyavahāramātṛkā as its very name implies deals with the elements of vyavahāra (i. e. judicial procedure). It speaks of the eighteen titles of law, the derivation of the word prāḍvivāka (judge), the persons fit to be appointed judges, different grades of courts, duties of *sabhyas*, four stages of vyavahāra, pūrvapakṣa (plaint), pratibhū (surety), blemishes in a plaint, *uttara* (reply of the defendent), four kinds of *uttara*, blemishes in *uttara*, *kriyā* (proof or burden of proof), divine (*daivī*) and human (*mānuṣī*) proof (viz : ordeals, inference, witnesses, documents, possession), persons incompetent to be witnesses. Ordeals have not been dealt with by the author. The first verse of the work[741] styles it Vyavahāra-mātṛkā. The last verse[742] but one suggests the name Nyāyamātṛkā which practically is a synonym of Vyavahāra-mātṛkā and the colophon at the end of a ms. in the Deccan College collection calls it Nyāyaratnamālikā.

About twenty smṛtikāras[743] are mentioned in the Vyavahāra-mātṛkā. Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati and Nārada are the three smṛtikāras most frequently quoted, nearly two-thirds of the quotations in the entire work being derived from them. Among the *nibandhakāras* the following are named :— Jitendriya, Dīkṣita, (p. 302), Bāla (p. 346, the same as Bālaka), Bhojadeva (pp. 284, 305), Mañjarī-kāra (i. e. Govindarāja), Yogloka, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara (pp. 292, 334 or Śrīkaramiśra p. 342). About Viśvarūpa he says[744] 'I have put forward this conclusion of the ancient writers, I have

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[741] व्यवहारमातृकैषा सकलविवादेषु धर्मवादार्थम् । लोकद्वयेपि रक्षति सुतमिव शुश्रूषया माता ॥

[742] पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमाञ् जीमूतवाहनः । विदुषां परितोषाय निर्ममे न्यायमातृकाम् ॥

[743] They are उशनस्, कात्यायन, बृहत्कात्यायन, कौण्डिन्य, गौतम, नारद, पितामह, प्रजापति, बृहस्पति, मनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, लिखित, बृहद्वसिष्ठ, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्ख, वृद्धशातातप, संवर्त, हारीत.

[744] मया प्राचां निबन्धृणामियं वापि (वाणी ?) पुरस्कृता । दूषणं विश्वरूपादेर्निरूत्य प्रपञ्चितम् ॥ p. 352. M. M. Chakravarti is not right in taking (JASB 1915 p. 317) 'prācām' to mean 'eastern' in this verse, as in the previous verse also जीमूतवाहन refers 'to all *munis*' and 'former works' 'इति सकलमुनीनां भुक्तिवाक्यं विमृश्य स्वरसन इह सोर्थो गम्यते न्यायतश्च । स पुनरुपनिबन्धो (द्वो ?) गृह्यतां बुद्धिमद्भिर्भवति यदि न जाड्यं श्रद्धया माकृतेषु' ॥

refuted the objections of Viśvarūpa and others and dealt with them at length.' Yogloka and Śrīkara are generally quoted for being refuted and the former is frequently jeered at as 'tārkikaṁ-manya' or 'nava-tārkikaṁ-manya'. In this work Jīmūtavāhana displays great familiarity with the ancient dialectics. In some cases what the printed text exhibits[745] as prose really constitutes verses. Sir Asutosh Mukerji is not accurate when he says in the preface that 'Jīmūtavāhana refers to a number of jurists not mentioned by any other author, e. g. Jitendriya, Yogloka, Bālaka, Viśvarūpa, Śrīkara and Mañjarīkāra.' It has been shown above that both Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara have been mentioned by the Mit. which is certainly earlier than Jīmūtavāhana and by a host of other writers who were either earlier than or contemporaries of Jīmūtavāhana. The Vyavahāramātṛkā is quoted in the Vyavahārtattva[746] (pp. 199, 214, vol. II) and the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana.

The Dāyabhāga is the most famous of Jīmūtavāhana's works. In matters of Hindu law such as inheritance, partition, *strīdhana*, re-union, it is of paramount authority in modern British Indian courts in Bengal, except in those cases where the Mitākṣarā is applicable. The names of more than a dozen commentators of it are known and Pandit Bharatacandra Siromani published it with seven commentaries (1863-1866). It was translated into English by Colebrooke. In many editions (such as that of Jivananda) it is divided into sections though there were no divisions in the original work. The contents of the Dāyabhāga are :— Definition of dāya ; father's power over ancestral property ; partition of father's and grand-father's property ; division among brothers after their father's death ; definition, classification and devolution of *strīdhana* ; persons excluded from inheritance and partition on the ground of disabilities; property which is impartible (in its very nature or because it is self-acquired); order of succession to one dying sonless; re-union, partition of coparcenery property concealed but discovered afterwards, *indicia* of partition.

745 e. g. on p. 348 the words 'तस्मादाकाशकुसुमसमान एव प्रमाणभावोऽस्याः । भुक्तेर्दूरनिरस्तं लिखितादिभ्यो बलीयस्त्वम् ॥' constitute an Āryā. Similarly on p. 349 the words 'तस्मादस्मात्तिरियमुक्ता भुक्तेः प्रमाणता भ्रान्तैः । ... स्ववचनमात्राधीनस्वत्वफलत्वात्प्रमाणं सा ॥' make two Āryās.

746 'युक्तिर्न्याय्यः स च लोकव्यवहारः इति व्यवहारमातृका' व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 199, vol. II.

Some of the peculiar doctrines of the Dāyabhāga which are of fundamental importance and which sharply distinguish it from the Mit. are : sons have no interest in ancestral property by birth, sons can claim partition only after extinction of their father's ownership (i. e. after his death or on his becoming *patita* or a *samnyāsin*) or partition can take place between father and sons if the father so desires, a widow succeeds to her husband's interest on his death even if he be joint with his brother, the right to take a deceased person's estate is regulated by the spiritual benefit conferred by the person claiming as heir (by means of the offering of *piṇḍas*)and not by the principle of consanguinity (as in the Mit.).[747]

Besides the smṛtikāras,[748] the Mahābhārata and the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa the following authors are referred to by name in the Dāyabhāga :—Udgrāhamalla, Govindarāja (as author of Manuṭīkā), Jitendriya, Dīkṣita, Bālaka, Bhojadeva or Dhāreśvara, Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara. Udgrāhamalla is referred to on the distribution of strīdhana and it is said that Udgrāhamalla (i. e. his view) is throttled[749] by the text of Devala. It appears therefore that Udgrāhamalla was not a smṛti writer, but a *nibandhakāra*. Dīkṣita[750] is credited with the view that, among daughters, those who have sons or are likely to have sons are preferred to those who are either barren, widowed or who give birth to daughters alone and the Dāyabhāga approves of this yiew. There is one more writer who is referred to twice with great respect as *Niravadyavidyoddyota*.

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747 Note the following ' तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एकः कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितुः स्वाम्ये पितुरिच्छयेति कालद्वयम् ।' दायभाग p. 38 ; अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्तत्वाद्यनपेक्षयैवापुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः । p. 256 ; उपकारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धो मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्यते इति निरवद्यविद्योद्द्योतेन द्योतितोऽयमर्थो विद्वद्भिरादरणीयः । p. 336.

748 The स्मृतिकार[s] named are : उशनस्, कात्यायन, वृद्धकात्यायन, गौतम, दक्ष, देवल, नारद, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति, मनु, बृहन्मनु, यम, याज्ञवल्क्य, विष्णु, व्यास, शङ्खलिखित, वृद्धशातातप, हारीत.

749 एतावताप्युद्ग्राहमल्लस्य देवलवचनं गलहस्तः यथा सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यानां मृतायां स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियाम् । दायभाग p. 127.

750 अतः पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा चाधिकारिणी । वन्ध्यात्वविधवात्वदुहितृप्रसूत्वादिना विपर्यस्तपुत्रा पुनरनधिकारिण्येवेति दीक्षितमतमादरणीयम् । दायभाग p. 271.

Whether this is a mere description or title ('the refulgence of whose learning is spotless') or whether the author's name was Uddyota and *niravadyvidya* ('whose learning is spotless') is an epithet, it is difficult to say. For a correct knowledge of the origin and development of the theory of spiritual benefit propounded in the Dāyabhāga, it would be extremely desirable to know who this writer was, as Jīmūtavāhana tells us that that view was brilliantly set forth by Niravadyavidyoddyota. The same writer is also quoted on the well known verse of Yājñavalkya 'bhūryā pitāmahopāttā &c.,' which is the sheet-anchor of Vijñaneśvara's theory about the son's rights by birth in ancestral family property.[751]

Jīmūtavāhana gives very little information about himself. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya and at the end of the Vyavahāramātṛkā (vide note 742 above) he tells us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (*kula*).[752] It is said that this name of the family still survives in the Parihal or Pāri Gai, a section of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas (Ghose's Hindu Law, 3rd edition, pp. XVI-XVIII and JASB 1915 p. 320). It is also said that Edumiśra in his Kulakārikā tells us that Jīmūtavāhana was chief judge in the reign of Viṣvak-sena of Bengal and that he was 9th in descent from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, one of the five Brāhmaṇas brought by Ādiśūra. The information supplied by the match-makers of Bengal is, as shown above, not worth reliance, unless corroborated by independent evidence. It is also said that for fourteen generations the Brāhmaṇas of Pārigrāma have been degraded and so Jīmūtavāhana would not have paraded the fact that he was Pāribhadrīya if at the time when he wrote his subcaste had been degraded (Intro. to Kālaviveka p. VIII). The fact that Jīmūtavāhana was a native of Rāḍhā is testified by his statement in the Kālaviveka that Agastya (Canopus) rose in Ujjayinī

751 यत्तु याज्ञवल्कीयवचनं-भूर्या ... भयोः-तस्य निरवद्यविद्योद्द्योतेन द्योतितस्तत्स्वतोमर्थः। यत्र द्वयोर्भ्रात्रोर्जीवत्पितृकयोरप्राप्तभागयोरेकः पुत्रानुत्पाद्य विनष्टोन्यो जीवति अनन्तरं पिता मृतस्तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं प्राप्नोत्यतिसंनिकर्षात्। तदर्थं सतृणं स्वाम्यमिति वचनम्। p. 50.

752 In some editions of the दायभाग, the last verse is पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः। दायभागं चकारेमं विदुषां संशयच्छिदे॥

when four days of the month of Bhādrapada remained, but that in Rāḍhā Agastya rose when seven days of the month were yet to run.[753]

Extremely divergent views have been held as to the date of Jīmūtavāhana. He has been assigned to various dates from the 11th to the 16th century. In L. R. 41 I. A. at p. 298 it is said by their Lordships of the Privy Council that the Mit. was earlier by five centuries than Jīmūtavāhana. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) assigns him to the 15th century. For a statement of the various dates and their examination the article of M. M. Chakravarti in JASB. for 1915, pp. 321-327 and Mr. Panchanan Ghosh's learned article in 26 Calcutta Law Journal (journal portion p. 17 ff.) may be consulted. Since Jīmūtavāhana mentions Dhāreśvara Bhojadeva and Govindarāja, he cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century. Since he is quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana, he cannot be later than the middle of the 15th century. The Kālaviveka furnishes important data. On a ms. of the Kālviveka there is a note made about the birth-date of the son of a certain Ghaṭakasiṁha with the horoscope of the child. The year specified therein is *śake* 1417, i. e. 1495 A. D. It follows from this that the Ms. itself must have been copied ometime before this and the original work must be much earlier still. So the Kālaviveka cannot be placed at any rate later than about 1400 A. D.

In the Kālaviveka Jīmūtavāhana tells us that his predecessor Andhuka[754] exhibited a certain astronomical matter in *śake* 952 (i. e. 1030 A. D.) and that he declared an intercalary month in *śake* 955.

Similarly Jīmūtavāhana expatiates upon several[755] minute astro-

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[753] तथाहि राढादिषु सप्तदिनावशिष्टे भाद्रे तस्योदयः। उज्जयिन्यां च दिनचतुष्टयावशिष्टे। कालविवेक p. 290 ; vide p. 291 also.

[754] एवंविध एव कार्तिको द्वापञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्याते शकाब्दे अन्धुकाविर्दर्शितवान्। कालविवेक p. 51; तथाहि पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकनवशतसंख्यके शकाब्दे तुलासंक्रान्तिरमावास्यायां भूता ... अन्धुकेन लिखितः। कालविवेक p. 119.

[755] ननु सूर्याचन्द्रमसोर्भिन्नराशिस्थत्वेपि अमावास्या दृश्यते। तथा च चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्रशकवत्सरे सिंहस्थे रवौ द्वित्रिदण्डान् चतुर्दशी परतोऽश्लेषानक्षत्रं सप्तदण्डान् परतो मघा

nomical and astrological details which were observed in the *śake* years 1013 and 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D.). It is impossible to supposse that an author would enter into such minute details about a time which was anterior to his own by centuries. Generally astronomical works take for their calculations starting points or years which were within their own experience or very nearly so. Therefore it appears to be a sound conclusion to hold that the Kālaviveka was composed soon after *śake* 1013 or 1014 (i. e. 1091 and 1092 A. D.). Hence it follows that the literary activity of Jīmūtavāhana lay between 1090 and 1130 A. D. The Kālaviveka seems to be his first work. The Vyavahāramātṛka would naturally come before the Dāyabhāga. He seems to have contemplated writing[755][756] on ṛṇādāna also, as he says in the Dāyabhāga that a certain matter would be expounded by him in ṛṇādāna.

The most cogent argument that can be advanced against the above early date assigned to Jīmūtavāhana is that neither Jīmūtavāhana nor any of his compositions is mentioned by Bengal writers and works on Dharmaśāstra belonging to the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries such as the Hāralatā, the commentary of Kullūka etc. No satisfactory explanation can be offered of this silence. But is is a very precarious thing to conclude from this silence that Jīmūtavāhana's works did not exist during those centuries. It is safer to base conclusions about his date on the positive evidence contained in his works rather than rely upon the negative argument from silence in later works. When some of his commentators say that he criticises the views of Caṇḍeśvara, Miśra and others we should not take them seriously. The commentators had no idea of the exact chronological position of writers long anterior to them. All they mean is that Jīmūtavāhana criticises views that were shared also by Caṇḍeśvara and others. Another important question is whether Jīmūtavāhana who is certainly a little later than the Mit.

तेनाश्लेषासमयेऽमावास्यायां कर्कटे चन्द्रः सिंहे चादित्यः । कालविवेक p. 21; तथा त्रयोदशोत्तरशकाब्दशेषे मीनस्थे सूर्ये पूर्वोत्तरफाल्गुनीभ्यामा पूर्णिमा तदनन्तरं मेषसूर्ये हस्तचित्राभ्यां युक्ता पूर्णिमा हस्तयोगात्फाल्गुनोप्यसौ त्रयोदशोत्तरसहस्राब्दीयकुम्भादित्यात्प्रभृति चतुर्दशोत्तरसहस्राब्दान्तमानभोगपर्यन्तेन मासद्वयलोपः । कालविवेक p. 45. Vide also pp. 41, 46–49.

755 एतच्च विस्तरेण (ऋणा-) दाने वक्ष्यते । दायभाग p. 45.

criticizes it. The Vivāda-tāṇḍava of[757] Kamalākara says that Jīmūtavāhana held that the view about the equal ownership of father and son in ancestral property was put forward for precluding the possibility of the uncle taking the whole estate of a man dying (in union) leaving a son or a predeceased son's son or for precluding the possibility of an unequal distribution of ancestral property by a father among his sons and that Jīmūtavāhana took up this position, being blinded by his hatred of the Mit. The Vīramitrodaya[758] also says that Jīmūtavāhana criticizes the Mitākṣarā definition of *vibhāga* and the view of the Mit. about the times for partition. The Vyavahāramātṛka[759] also appears to criticizes several times views which were held by the Mit. and the correspondence is very striking. On this point this much may be said that the points selected for attack by Jīmūtavāhana do occur almost in the same words in the Mit. but, since the Mit. is not expressly mentioned and since it is likely that other writers like Asahāya and Bhāruci whose works have not yet been discovered might have contained the very same words that are found in the Mit., it is somewhat hazardous to assert that Jīmūtavāhana criticizes the Mit. alone and no other work. All that one can advance is that it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Jīmūtavāhana criticizes the Mit.

For Raghunandana one of the famous commentators of the Dāyabhāga, vide sec. 102 below.

757 यत्तु जीमूतवाहनः—मृतपितृके पौत्रे पुत्रे च सति संनिकर्षात् पितृव्यस्यैव सर्वधनप्राप्तिनिरासार्थं समस्वाम्योक्तिः पुत्राणां विषमविभागनिवृत्त्यर्था वा न तु पितुः समभागार्था पुत्रस्वातन्त्र्यार्था वा तेन पैतामहेपि पितुर्भागद्वयमिति । तन्मिताक्षराप्रद्वेषजान्व्यकृतम् । folio 109 of the Mandlik collection ms. in the Fergusson College, Poona.

758 'यच्च जीमूतवाहनेनैव मिताक्षरोक्तं विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविषयाणामनेकस्वाम्यानां तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनमिति विभागशब्दार्थः इति दूषयित्वोच्यते' वीर० p. 547; 'अत्र पित्र्युपरम एकः कालो निवृत्ते चापि रजसीति द्वितीयो जीवति चेच्छतीति तृतीय इति मिताक्षरायां जीमूतवाहनेनोक्तं दूषणम् ।' वीर० p. 552.

759 व्यवहारमातृका p. 296 'तदेव (वं ।) स्वयमेव अप्रसिद्धादेर्व्याहृतत्वात् यदन्यैः कल्पितं अप्रसिद्धमिति मदीयं शशविषाणमनेन गृहीतं निराबाधमस्मदीयगृहस्थितो दीपः प्रकाशमेतद्गृहे करोति ... तन्नास्तां दूषणान्तरं किं तु शास्त्राद्यन्यथाकल्पनमशास्त्रादर्शित्वमेव तेषां कल्पयति ।;' compare मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. II. 6 'अप्रसिद्धं मदीयं शशविषाणं गृहीत्वा न प्रयच्छतीत्यादि निराबाधमस्मद्गृहे दीपप्रकाशेनायं स्वगृहे व्यवहरतीत्यादि.' It is to be noted that these examples occur in अपरार्क also.

79. Aparārka

On the smṛti of Yājñavalkya Aparāditya wrote a voluminous commentary styled Aparārka-Yājñavalkīya-dharmaśāstra-nibandha (published in two volumes by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1903 and 1904). In a verse[760] at the end and in the colophons the author is called Aparāditya, a Śilāhāra king, born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana of the Vidyādhara race. In the introductory[761] fifth verse also the author is styled 'an ornament of the family of Jīmūta' and is highly eulogised for his devotion to Śiva and his brilliant intellect.

Aparārka's work, like the Mitākṣarā, though professedly a commentary on Yāj., is really in the nature of a digest. It is far more voluminous than the Mit. It quotes profusely from the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras and the metrical smṛtis. Several features distinguish it from the Mit. The Mit. is generally very chary of quoting from the purāṇas, while Aparārka contains long extracts sometimes extending over pages from several purāṇas, viz, the Ādipurāṇa, the Adityapurāṇa, the Kūrma, the Kālikāpurāṇa, Devī, Nandi, Nṛsiṁha, Padma, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhaviṣyat, Bhaviṣyottara, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Liṅga, Varāha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇudharmottara, Śivadharmottara, Skanda. The index at the end of the printed Aparārka gives the names of the various smṛtikāras quoted in the work. Another feature not found in the Mit. is that Aparārka quotes long passages of the dharmasūtras and explains them at length, e. g. on Yāj. III 294 (p. 1205) he quotes Gautama (Dh. S. 20. 2-9) and then offers a lengthy explanation ; on Yāj. III. 294-295, he quotes long passages of Vasiṣṭha (Dh. S.15. 11-14 and 17-21) and gives detailed explanations of them. It is probable he had not before him commentaries on these dharmasūtras. On p. 11, he

760 राष्ट्रं यस्य निरङ्कुशा वसुमती कोशः समृद्धः सुहृच्छक्तो दुर्गमनागमं श्रुतपरा सेना हिता मन्त्रिणः । शास्त्रार्थामृतचर्वणापितमतिर्विश्वैकनाथोऽप्यसौ शौर्योदार्यशोधनोमुमपरादित्यो निबन्धं व्यधात् ॥ इति श्रीविद्याधरवंशप्रभवश्रीशिलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूत-श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवविरचिते याज्ञवल्क्यीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धेऽपरार्के प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणम् ।

761 भक्त्या यस्य सविस्मयः स्मररिपुर्बुद्ध्या च वाचस्पतिर्विक्रान्त्या द्विषतां भयः शुचितया भास्वान्शुभित्वेन भूः । जीमूतान्वयभूषणं स विपुलां योगीश्वरेणोदिते शास्त्रे वाक्य-नयानुगां वितनुते व्याख्यां सतां संमताम् ॥

gives brief summaries in the style of the Śaṅkarabhāṣya of the tenets of the Śaiva, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra, Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems. He does not appear to have been an ardent admirer of the Advaita Vedānta though he refers to the Śārīrakamīmāṁsā.[762] In one place he sets out the arguments of those who hold that correct knowledge alone leads to *mokṣa* and of those who hold that a combination of correct knowledge and works is essential for *mokṣa* and leaves his readers to choose for themselves whatever view they take.[763] It is remarkable that, while even the Mit. names at least six *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra viz. Asahāya, Viśvarūpa, Bhāruci, Śrīkara, Medhātithi and Dhāreśvara, Aparārka observes a studied silence in the matter of citing the names of his predecessors. He employs such vague expressions as *kecit, anye, apare,* though he cites views that were ascribed by the Mit. and others to Dhāreśvara and others, e. g. on pp. 741-42 he says[764] that the text of Yāj. 'patnī duhitaraḥ' according to some refers to the widow who submits to *niyoga* (this is the view of Dhāreśvara); on p. 744 he refers to the view of some that the word *duhitṛ* in Yāj. means only the appointed daughter (*putrikā*). This last was the view of Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara. On p. 761 he refers to the reading of some in Yāj. II. 150 as 'sāmantā sthavirā gaṇāḥ' which is found in Viśvarūpa (II. 154) and not in the Mit. Aparārka names (p. 926) a Vāgbhaṭa-smṛtisaṁgraha and a Smṛtimīmāṁsā of Jaimini (p. 206) from which two verses are quoted, variant readings therein are noticed and detailed explanations thereof are offered. He refers to several works and authors on astronomy and astrology such as Garga, Kriyāśraya (p. 872), Sārāvali. On pp. 570 and 572 of the printed text occur two references to a *pustaka* of rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha.[765] That was probably a marginal

[762] शास्त्रं च तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः संभूतः-इत्यादिकमेकाकिन एव परमात्मनः सकलकार्यकारितामाचष्टे । तस्य च तर्कविरोधः शारीरकमीमांसाभ्यासशालिनामपरिहर एव । p. 975 on याज्ञ. III. 68.

[763] Vide pp. 1029-1034 on याज्ञ. III. 205. On p. 1034 he says 'तदनयोर्मतयोर्यन्न्याय्यं तद्ग्राह्यम्'.

[764] अत्र केचिदाहुः-या देवरादन्यस्माद्वापि सपिण्डाद्गुरुश्वशुरादिवचनात्पुत्रमिच्छति तद्विषयं पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादि वचनमिति । . . . एतेन यदुक्तं केनचित् पत्नी दुहितर इत्यत्र दुहितृशब्देन पुत्रिकोच्यत इति तन्निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् ।.

[765] इति राजानकशितिकण्ठपुस्तके विशेषः । p. 572.

note in a ms., the copyist or owner of which found on comparison with another ms. belonging to rājānaka Śītikaṇṭha additional matter. Aparārka quotes from Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Kumārilabhaṭṭa).[766] Aparārka does not appeal as frequently to the doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā as the Mit. does and he does not generally enter into acute discussions of Pūrvamīmāṁsa in its application to Dharmaśāstra as the Mit. does. It must be said that Aparārka is much inferior to the Mit. in lucid exposition, in dialectic skill, in subtelty of argument and in the ordered presentation of heterogenous material.

Some of the views that are usually associated with Jīmūtavāhana were propounded by Aparārka also. Aparārka bases the right to take a deceased person's property on the superior spiritual benefit conferred by the claimant on the person deceased.[767] In several other respects also Aparārka differs from the Mit., though in general the two closely agree. For example, Aparārka prefers the father over the mother as an heir (p. 745) ; Aparārka explains the word ' apratiṣṭhitā ' in Gautama's text (18. 22) as ' one who is issueless or is indigent or a widow, ' while the Mit. explains it to mean only ' indigent. '

Whether Aparārka knew the Mit. is a vexed question. Some scholars while holding that Aparārka does criticize the Mit. explain away the non-mention of the Mit. by saying that Indian etiquette required a royal author not to mention the name of the servant of another king, while the existence of the master himself was ignored (Dr. Jolly in Journal of Indian History vol. III p. 17). It is doubtful whether any such etiquette ever existed and further Aparārka studiously avoids the express mention of every ancient commentator. Works of royal authors, such as the Madanpārijāta or the Sarasvatīvilāsa, do not appear to have followed the etiquette. In

766 ततश्च यदुक्तं भट्टेन-तस्माद्गुरुगृहे तिष्ठन् मधुमांसादि वर्जयन् । जिज्ञासेनाविरुद्धत्वाद्धर्ममित्यवगम्यते ॥ इति तदनेन विरुध्यते p. 76.

767 तत्र प्रत्यासन्नः पूर्वं धनभाक् । यदाह मनुः । अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेदिति । ... संप्रदानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां त्रयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तत्संततिजोन्योपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । तदत्र तु सोदरो भ्रातातिशयेन प्रत्यासन्नः समानसंप्रदानोदकादिदातृत्वात् । तत्पौत्रस्तु ततोपि व्यवहितः पितृपितामहपिण्डयोर्भिन्नसंप्रदानकत्वात् । तत्प्रपौत्रस्त्वत्यन्तव्यवहितः पिण्डत्रयेपि संप्रदानभेदात् । pp. 744-45.

my opinion the Mit. was known to Aparārka. Aparārka reads Yāj. III. 17 as 'Vaitānopāsanāḥ kāryāḥ kriyāśca śruticoditāḥ,' explains the first word as a karmadhāraya compound, gives the explanation of this verse offered by others, disapproves of it and then says that others read 'śruticodanāt' for 'śruticoditāḥ'.[768] Viśvarūpa reads 'vaitānikāśrayāḥ... śrutidarśanāt' and offers no comment on this verse beyond the word 'spaṣṭārthametat' (it is III. 15. in the Trivandrum ed.). The Mit. does contain the reading referred to by Aparārka and the śruti passage 'yāvaj-jīvam' etc. Aparārka refers on Yāj. III. 254 to the reading 'samām'[769] adopted by some, says that the latter explain the verse as prescribing the penance for three years and observes that the verse of Manu (IX. 92) does not apply, as the latter say, to him alone whose palate has merely come in contact with liquor (without his having actually swallowed it). Viśvarūpa (III. 248) does not explain the verse as prescribing a three

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[768] अत्र केचिद् व्याचक्षते-विताने वेदे भवाः वैतानाः तथा उपासने गृह्ये भवा औपासनाः। वैतानाश्चौपासनाश्च वैतानोपासनाः क्रिया इति। तदेतद्व्याख्यानमनुपपन्नम्। वैतानोपासन्य इति हि तदा शब्दः स्यान्न पुनर्वैतानोपासना इति।... यच्च तैः **श्रुतिचोदनादिति** पाठं रुत्वा हेतुपरत्वेन व्याख्यातं तदपि न युक्तम्। **एवं हि ते मन्यन्ते। यस्माच्छ्रुत्या यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं** जुहुयात्, यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत, इत्यादिकयावश्यकार्यतया विहितत्वान्न स्मृत्या शक्यमाशौचेपि तन्निवर्तनं विधातुमिति। अपरार्क p. 891: compare the मिताक्षरा 'वितानोग्नीनां विस्तारस्तत्र भवा वैताना: त्रेताग्निसाध्या अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासाद्याः क्रिया उच्यन्ते। ... उपासनो गृह्याग्निस्तत्र भवा औपासनाः सायंप्रातर्होमक्रिया उच्यन्ते ता वैतानोपासना वैदिक्यः क्रियाः कार्याः। कथं वैदिकत्वमिति चेत्। श्रुतिचोदनात्। तथाहि यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहुयादित्यादिश्रुतिभिरग्निहोत्रादीनां चोदना स्पष्टैव॥'.

[769] 'केचिदत्र समाशब्दं बहुवचनान्तं वर्षत्रयपरत्वेन व्याचक्षते। ... अस्मादेव च सुरापानापनुत्त्यर्थमिति वचनात् कृतसुरापानस्यैतद् व्रतमिति गम्यते न **पुनस्तालुमात्रसंयुक्तसुरस्येति**।' अपरार्क p. 1072; compare the मिताक्षरा 'अथवा पिण्याकं पिण्डितं त्रिसमाः वर्षत्रयपर्यन्तं रात्रौ भक्षयेत्। ... यत्तु मनुवचनं कणान्वा ... सकृन्निशि। सुरापानापनुत्त्यर्थं बालवासा जटी ध्वजी॥ इति **तत्तालुमात्रसंयोगे सुराया अबुद्धिपूर्वे द्रष्टव्यम्**'. The printed text of याज्ञ. in the मिताक्षरा reads पिण्याकं ... भक्षयेत्रिसमा निशि', the printed अपरार्क reads भक्षयेत्तु समां निशि, while विश्वरूप reads भक्षयीत समां निशि. The remarks of अपरार्क show that he had a ms. of a com. where the reading was भक्षयेत्तु समा निशि.

years' penance nor does he refer to the contact of wine with the palate. The Mit. however contains both these particulars. On p. 1084 also[770] Aparārka seems to be referring to the view of the Mit.

The date of Aparārka can be settled within very narrow limits. The Smṛticandrikā[771] in several places quotes the views of Aparārka and sometimes contrasts them with those of the Mit. The Smṛticandrikā refutes the view of Aparārka that the words of Yāj. 'jyeṣṭhaṁ vā śreṣṭhabhāgena' are meant to comprehend all various modes of giving an additional share (*uddhāravibhāga*) to the eldest son on partition mentioned by Manu and others and it follows Aparārka's explanation of 'apratiṣṭhitā' in Gautama's text. It will be shown later on that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed about 1200 A. D. If the above conclusion that Aparārka knew the Mit. and criticizes it be correct, Aparārka must have flourished after 1100 A. D. and before 1200 A. D. Here epigraphical research comes to our help. We know from the commentary that the author Aparāditya was a Śilāhāra prince of Jīmūtavāhana's family. Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras show that there were three branches of that family, one ruling in the northern Konkan at Thana, the second in the southern Konkan and the third at Kolhapur (vide JBBRAS, vol. XIII p. 10-17 for the three branches). All the branches traced their descent from Jīmūtavāhana. There is only a single inscription of the second branch which had ten kings reigning from about 808 to 1008 A. D. (JBBRAS vol. I, p. 209, E. I. vol. III. p. 292). There is no Aparāditya in this line. Vide E. I. III p. 207, 211 and 213 for several grants of the Kolhapur branch. Inscriptions

770 'तत्रापि ब्राह्मणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियां पितृभार्यां गच्छतो नववार्षिकं वैश्यां षड्वार्षिकं शूद्रां त्रैवार्षिकं गुरुतल्पव्रतं भवतीत्येके मन्यन्ते। अपरार्क p. 1084; the मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 260 has 'ब्राह्मणीपुत्रस्य क्षत्रियायां मातुः सपत्न्यां गमने &c.

771 यत्पुनरपरार्केण ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठभागेनेत्येतदुद्धारप्रदर्शनार्थं तेन ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्यादिभिर्मन्वादिशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वे चोपलक्षिता भवन्तीति तदप्यपास्तम्। स्मृतिच० II. p. 261; compare अपरार्क p. 717 'ज्येष्ठस्य विंश... यवीयसः इत्यादिभिरुद्धारशास्त्रैर्यावन्त उद्धारप्रकारा विहितास्ते सर्वेत्रोपलक्षिता भवन्ति'. 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा। एवमपरार्कानुसाराद्भौतमवचनं व्याख्यातम्। अस्य विज्ञानेश्वररुता व्याख्या हेया। स्वबुद्धिमात्रेणाध्याहारादिकरणात्।' स्मृतिच० II. 5. 285; vide स्मृतिच० II. 218, 367, 377, 428 for other references to अपरार्क. Vide चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2, p. 495 for mention of अपरार्क.

of the northern Śilāhāras speak of two kings who are named Aparādityadeva. In JBBRAS vol. XXI, pp. 505-516 there is a grant dated *śake* 1049 (expired) of Aparādityadeva who donated a village named Vaḍavali in the Thana District to a brāhmaṇa studying the Mādhyandina recension of the Vājasaneya-saṁhita. The king is there styled once as Aparājita and several times as Aparādityadeva. He was son of Anantadeva and grand-son of Nāgārjuna and traced his descent to Jīmūtavāhana, son of Jīmūtaketu, far famed in legend and literature as an exemplar of self-sacrifice[772], e. g. in the drama Nāgānanda. In this inscription Aparādityadeva is styled *Śilāhāranarendra* and *Jīmūtavāhanānvayaprasūta* as in the colophon of the commentary on Yāj. (vide note 760 above) and also *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and *Tagarapuraparameśvara*. In the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. V, part 2, p. 169 there is a grant made at Somnath-Paṭan in Kathiawar of Vikramsaṁvat 1176 (1119-20 A. D.) while Aparādityadeva of the Śilāhāra family was reigning, almost in the same words as in the grant in JBBRAS vol. XXI p. 505. In I. A. vol. IX, p. 33 there is a grant of Anantadeva father of Aparādityadeva dated in *śake* 1016 (i. e. 1094-5 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. I. part 2, p. 15 for a list of 20 kings of the northern Konkan branch from 810 to 1260 A. D. *Vide* also an inscription of Aparādityadeva dated śake 1051 (i. e. 1129 A. D.) in Festgabe Dr. Jacobi pp. 189-193 (1926). Therefore it appears that the dates of Aparādityadeva I referred to in these grants fall between 1115 and 1130 A. D. It was most probably this king who composed the commentary on Yāj. We know from the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha that king Aparāditya[773] of Konkan sent Tejakaṇṭha on an embassy to an assembly of learned men in Kashmir during the reign of Jayasiṁha of Kashmir (1129 to 1150 A. D.). Aparārka's commentary continues to be the standard law-book used by the *pandits* of Kashmir (Jolly's Tagore Law lectures p. 24). Aparārka's work

[772] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन इति त्रिजगत्प्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृणमिवाकलयन् परार्थं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात् स्वलु शङ्खचूडम् ॥ तस्यान्वये . . कपर्दी शीलारवंशतिलको नृपतिर्बभूव ॥ p. 507.

[773] वचोभिर्नुनुदे दन्तद्युतिश्रीखण्डपाण्डुभिः । वादिनां वाददर्पोष्मा येन शूर्पारकाध्वसु ॥ यः श्रीमदपरादित्य इति दूत्यप्रसिद्धये । प्रजिघाय घनश्लाघः काश्मीरान् कुङ्कुणेश्वरः ॥ तेन श्रीतेजकण्ठेन सोत्कण्ठमनुबध्नता । इति सोधिकवैशद्यनिरवद्यमगद्यत ॥ श्रीकण्ठचरित 25. 109-111.

betrays familiarity with Kashmir. I have already noticed the reference to rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha above. On a passage from Brahmapurāṇa speaking of a śrāddha at Mārtaṇḍapādamūla, Aparārka notes (p. 903) that[774] the latter is well known in Kashmir. It is therefore most probable that the work was composed about 1125 and was introduced into Kashmir when an embassy was sent from the Konkan king to Kashmir in the reign of Jayasiṁha. The dates of the second Aparāditya range from 1184 to 1187 A. D. (*Vide* Bombay Gazetteer vol. XIII, part 2, p. 427; JBBRAS vol. XII, pp. 333-335 for an inscription of Aparāditya dated 1109 *śake* i. e. 1187 A. D. (wherein he is styled Koṅkaṇa-cakravarti). It is difficult to hold that this was the author of the commentary on Yāj. The Smṛticandrikā is mentioned by Hemādri and hence could not be later than the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Therefore if Aparārka who is frequently cited by the Smṛticandrikā were to be regarded as having flourished about 1187 A. D., very little distance is left between him and the Smṛticandrikā in order that the former should come to be looked upon as an authority by the latter. Therefore it appears probable that Aparārka wrote the commentary on Yāj. in the first half of the 12th century (about 1125 A. D.). Vide Tri. cat. Mad. Govt. Mss. for 1919-22, pp. 4853-54, for the Nyāyamuktāvali of Aparādityadeva, which is a com. on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña.

80. Pradīpa

The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara enumerates the Pradīpa among its authorities after the Kāmadhenu.[775] The Smṛticandrikā in a highly paronomastic verse appears to refer to a work called Pradīpa.[776] The Sarasvatīvilāsa[777] quotes the view of the Pradīpa

774 मार्तण्डपादमूलं काश्मीरेषु प्रसिद्धम् । अपरार्क p. 903.

775 Vide note 651 above.

776 पदे पदे प्रस्खलतां प्रदीपादिस्थितावपि । द्रष्टृणां दृष्टिविषये चन्द्रिका प्रवितन्यते ॥ प्रदीप (lamp and a work) and चन्द्रिका (moonlight and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका) are paronomastic.

777 प्रातिभाव्यागतमपि पौत्रेणापि दातव्यमिति प्रदीपः । स. वि. p. 253; vide p. 361 for another reference to प्रदीप.

that even the suretyship debt of a person must be paid by his grandson. The Jīvatpitṛkanirṇaya[778] of Rāmakṛṣṇa (about 1600 A. D.) quotes the Pradīpa on the question that when brothers are separated they should perform separately the annual śrāddha of their father and other ancestors. Nandapaṇḍita in his commentary on the[779] Ṣaḍaśīti cites the view of the Pradīpa that the sūtra of Paiṭhīnasi (a woman delivered of a son bathing after twenty nights from delivery is entitled to perform all religious rites, while one who is delivered of a female child is so entitled after a month) applies to the wife of one who is not a *dīkṣita* (one who has consecrated the Vedic fires). It has been shown above (note 689) how the Pradīpa criticizes Bhavadeva, according to the Vīramitrodaya, which in several places cites the views of the Pradīpa (vide pp. 78, 89, 215 & etc.).

The foregoing discussion shows that the Pradīpa was probably an independent work on vyavahāra, śrāddha, śuddhi and other topics. Being mentioned by the Smṛtyarthasāra and Smṛticandrikā, it cannot be later than about 1150 A. D. As it criticizes Bhavadeva it cannot be earlier than 1100 A. D.

Hemādri[780] refers to the explanation of the word *kala* occurring in a text of Gārgya offered by a Smṛtipradīpa. It is not unlikely that he means the same work as is referred to by others as Pradīpa.

81. The Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara

This well-known work was published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, in 1912 A. D. The principal topics discussed by it are: the acts allowed in former ages but forbidden in the *kali* age ; the number of *saṁskāras*, the detailed treatment of *Upanayana*, the

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778 प्रदीपेपि । विभक्तास्तु पृथक् कुर्युः प्रतिसंवत्सरादिकम् । एकेनैवाविभक्तेषु कृते सर्वैस्तु तत्कृतम् ॥ folio 20 b of जीवत्पितृकनिर्णय । (in Bhadkamkar collection).

779 पैठीनासिः । सूतिकां पुत्रवतीं विंशतिरात्रेण स्नातां सर्वकर्माणि कारयेन्मासेन स्त्रीजननीमिति । इदमपि सर्ववर्णसाधारणमिति प्राञ्चः । अदीक्षितस्त्रीविषयमिति प्रदीपः । षडशीतिटीका folio 8a (in the Bhadkamkar collection) ; vide folio 38 b for another reference to प्रदीप.

780 यदाह गार्ग्यः । यत्रकालस्तिथिर्द्वैधे षट्कलो यदि लक्ष्यते । पर्व तत्रोत्तरं कार्यं हीने पूर्वमुपक्रमेत् । कलात्र मुहूर्तं न तु घटिका । . . . स्मृतिप्रदीपरुताप्यत्र कलाशब्दस्य मुहूर्तार्थतोक्ता । चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) p. 355.

duties of Brahmacārin, holidays, marriage, its various forms, prohibitions on the ground of *sapiṇḍa* relation, discussion about *gotra* and *pravara*, daily duties such as *śauca, ācamana*, brushing the teeth, bathing, the five *yajñas*, daily saṁdhyā, daily worship; detailed treatment of *śrāddha*, proper time, articles, and brāhmaṇas to be invited at it, various kinds of *śrāddha*, discussion about various *tithis*; intercalary month; forbidden and allowed food; purification of various substances and of one's own body; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; rules about *saṁnyāsa*; prāyaścittas for various grades of sins and lapses.

From the colophon it appears that Śrīdhara was himself a performer of Vedic sacrifices and was the son of Nāgabhartṛ Viṣṇubhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmitra gotra. This colophon does not however occur in the ancient ms. of the work in the Deccan College collection (No. 44 of 1870-71) dated *saṁvat* 1495 (1438-39 A. D.). In the 2nd introductory verse (vide note 564 above) the author tells us that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya filled the gaps in the smṛtis that were scattered about (i. e. they composed digests thereof with their own remarks). He also says (vide note 651 above) that he relies on the Kāmadhenu, the Pradīpa, the Abdhi, the Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Kalpalatā, Śambhu, Draviḍa, Kedāra and Lollaṭa and the various commentators of Manu and other smṛtikāras. In dealing with *saṁnyāsa* he says that he would treat of the procedure of *saṁnyāsa* following the opinion of Govindarāja and of Baudhāyana.[781] At the beginning of some sections (p. 48 and p. 49 on *śrāddha* and *prāyaścitta* respectively) he again repeats the verse about Kāmadhenu and the other authorities. The Abdhi named therein seems to be the Smṛtimahārṇava quoted in Hemādri, in the Vivādaratnākara and other works. He refers to Mitākṣarā also (p. 56). For Lollaṭa see above (under Medhātithi). It appears that Śrīdhara also composed another and a larger work on dharmaśāstra. For example, Hemādri who[782] knew

781 Vide note 723 above.

782 On the words of ज्योतिर्गार्ग्य 'सौरमासो विवाहादौ यज्ञादौ सावनः स्मृतः' चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) p. 20 says आदिशब्दार्थः श्रीधरेण दर्शितः। विवाहोपनयनचूडाव्रतनियमप्रतिष्ठागृहकरणक्षौरयात्राग्रहाषष्ठीमहासप्तमीविजयदशमीदशहराधुगादिमहाज्येष्ठाप्रभृत्यादिशब्देनोपादीयते। यज्ञादावित्यादिशब्देन यागदानहोमगर्भाधानसीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्म-ऋण-क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारग्रहणम्।

the Smṛtyarthasāra quotes certain views as Śrīdhara's which do not occur in the Smṛtyarthasāra. The Prayogapārijāta, the Nirṇaya-sindhu, and the Saṁskārakaustubha quote the views of a work called Śrīdharīya which are not found in the Smṛtyarthasāra. Śrīdhara seems to have been a writer from southern India.

The date of the Smṛtyarthasāra can be fixed within approximate limits. As it names the Mit., the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru and Govindarāja, it is later than 1150 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri[783] both quote it as an authority. For example, the Smṛti-candrikā says that the Smṛtyarthasāra holds that the Tulasī is among the things the use of which is to be avoided in *śrāddha*. Therefore the Smṛtyarthasāra must have been composed between 1150 and 1200 A. D.

82. Aniruddha

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa is one of the early and eminent Bengal writers on Dharmaśāstra. His Hāralatā was published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (1909) and his Pitṛdayitā alias Karmopadeśinīpaddhati was recently published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad at Calcutta (No 6).

The Hāralatā deals with impurity on birth and death, with the acts allowed to be done or forbidden during impurity, with periods of impurity on death in a distant land or on the deaths of infants and women, with rules when two periods of impurity overlap each other, with impurity on the death of *sapiṇḍas*, the meaning of

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[783] स्मृत्यर्थसारे तुलस्यपि वर्ज्येत्युक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेध-स्यादर्शनात्। स्मृतिच० II. p. 435; compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 53; 'यत्तु स्मृत्यर्थसारे-भिहितं पाणिहोमे त्विष्मभेक्षणविप्रानुज्ञा न संततिः (सन्ति?) तत्र विप्रानुज्ञाभावो-किरेतद्वचनादर्शननिबन्धनेत्युत्प्रेक्षणीया। ... यच्च तत्रैवाभिहितं परिसमूहनपर्यु-क्षणे स्त इति तदपि चिन्त्यम्।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 463; vide for the very words quoted स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 52. स्मृतिच० II. 366 quotes some passages from स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 57 and 60.

चतुर्वर्ग० vol. IV. p. 992 (प्रायश्चित्त), स्मृत्यर्थसारे कलियुगे संसर्गदोषो नास्ती-त्युक्तम्', compare स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2. 'संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः। ... कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः॥'. मदनपारिजात (p. 329) quotes the words संसर्गदोषः &c. expressly from स्मृत्यर्थसार.

sapiṇḍa, persons who have not to observe periods of impurity, cremation and burial, offering of water to the deceased, observances during mourning, persons entitled to perform rites after death, observances after the period of mourning, persons to whom no water should be offered.

The Pitṛdayitā is a work intended for the followers of the Sāmaveda. Its contents are :—the duties on rising from bed, brushing the teeth, bath, *saṁdhyā, tarpaṇa,* vaiśvadeva, *pārvaṇa-śrāddha,* eulogy of gifts, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa and other śraddhas, antyeṣṭi and rites during the days of mourning after death, the letting loose of a bull. The printed work appears to be the same that is described in the I. O. cat. at p. 474 as Karmopadeśinī. But the India Office Ms. appears to have certain various readings e. g. a reference to Kāmadhenu and Kalpataru at the end of the section on antyeṣṭi does not occur in the printed text.[784].

The first verse of the Hāralatā states that the author consulted the commentaries on Manu and other smṛtis.[785] Besides the well-known smṛtikāras such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada etc., the authors and works named in the Hāralatā are :—Asahāya as the *Bhāṣyakāra* of Gautama, Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Bhojadeva, Viśvarūpa and Śaṅkhadhara. The Pitṛdayitā[786] says that it was composed after consulting the Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, the Chāndogyapariśiṣṭa, the smṛtis, purāṇas, the śāstras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha and various saṁgraha works. In the work itself, besides the above, Kātyāyana, Varāhapurāṇa and the smaller (svalpa) Matsyapurāṇa are quoted.

From the last verse[787] of the Hāralatā we know that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and was

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784 कल्पतरुकामधेन्वादिसंग्रहारूढे महोपाध्यायेन विरचिते शुद्धिप्रकरणेभ्येष्टिविधिः । folio 114b.

785 प्रणम्य पुण्डरीकाक्षं पूर्वाचार्यप्रवर्तिताः । व्याख्या मन्वादिशास्त्राणां समालोक्य विधिष्यते ॥

786 गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रं दृष्ट्वा छन्दोगपरिशिष्टम् । दृष्ट्वा स्मृतिश्च बहुशः परिसंख्यानं पुराणवाक्यानि ॥ गौतमवसिष्ठशास्त्रे नानासंग्रहवचांसि चालोक्य । युक्त्या स्वयं निरूप्य ज्ञात्वा सर्वं मतं च वृद्धानाम् । रचिता पद्धतिरेषा सम्यक् कर्मोपदेशिनी रुचिरा ।

787 सुरापगातीरविहारपाटके निवासिना भट्टनयार्थवेदिना । कृतानिरुद्धेन सतामुरःस्थले विराजतां हारलतेयमर्पिता ॥

a student of the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). From the colophons[788] at the end of the Hāralatā and the Pitṛdayitā it appears that he was a Dharmādhyakṣa and a Cāmpāhaṭṭīya (a section among Vārendras) Brāhmaṇa of Bengal. The ms. in the India Office has a colophon in which Aniruddha is styled Dharmādhikaraṇika (Judge). From the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena we learn (verses 6 and 7) that Aniruddha was a *guru* of that king of Bengal and rendered assistance in the composition of that work. The Dānasāgara[789] was composed in *śake* 1091 (i. e. 1169 A. D.). From this it appears that Aniruddha was at the height of his fame in 1168, i. e. his literary activity may be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century A. D. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Hāralatā names Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, and the Kāmadhenu as authorities and is therefore later than 1100 A. D. The Hāralatā is named as an authority in the Śuddhiviveka of Rudradhara[790]. The Śrāddhakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda (about 1510-1545 A. D.) frequently quotes Aniruddha and includes him among ancient authors.[791] The Pitṛdayitā is named in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (p. 503). In the Āhnikatattva (vol. I, p. 421) and Śuddhitattva (vol. II, p. 314) of Raghunandana the views of Pitṛdayitā are quoted. There is a commentary on the Hāralatā called Sandarbhasūcikā composed by Acyuta Cakravartin, son of Haridāsa Tarkācārya (vide I. O. cat. p. 567, No. 1753).

[788] इति चाम्पाहट्टीयमहोपाध्यायधर्माध्यक्षश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिताशौचव्यवस्था हारलता समाप्ता; इति चाम्पाहट्टीयमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीमदनिरुद्धभट्टविरचिता छन्दोगानां पद्धतिः पितृदयिता समाप्ता ।

[789] निखिलभूपचक्रतिलकश्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवेन । पूर्णे शशिनवदशमितशकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः ॥ at the end of the दानसागर; vide I. O. cat. p. 542 and Mitra's Notices I. p. 151. This very verse is quoted by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Vide JASB 1915, p. 347 n. 1.

[790] सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलतादयोन्ये । तथापि तन्त्रालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः ॥ I. O. cat. p. 563, No. 1742; Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 35. No. 1736.

[791] किं तु अनिरुद्धादीनां प्राचामनुसारात् &c. श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी p. 388; vide p. 188 'अतो गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रविच्छेदमनाकलय्याधुनिकेन गौडमैथिलसंग्रहकारानिरुद्धश्रीदत्तादीनां विरुद्धं भट्टभाष्यादीनामसंमतं चोक्तं हेयमेव ।

In the proceedings of the ASB (for 1869 p. 137) a Cāturmāsya-paddhati of Aniruddha is noted. Mitra notices a work called Bhagavattattvamañjarī on Vaiṣṇava philosophy written by Aniruddha (Mitra's Notices vol. III. p. 155, No. 2700).

83. Ballālasena

This famous king of Bengal compiled at least four works. His Ācārasāgara is mentioned in the Smṛtiratnākara of Vedācārya and in the Madanapārijāta (p. 58). He also wrote the Pratiṣṭhāsāgara. Both these works are referred to as already composed in the Dānasāgara.[792] The Dānasāgara deals with the sixteen great *dānas* and other lesser gifts. The subjects dealt with by the Dānasāgara are as follows : eulogy of brāhmaṇas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be gifted away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas*, lesser dānas of various kinds (the author himself says at the end that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts), the names of various purāṇas and their extent. The Dānasāgara contains extremely valuable information about the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas. As it quotes extensively from the purāṇas, it serves as an excellent check for the textual restoration of purāṇas. For example it says that the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradīya purāṇas do not contain *dānavidhis* and hence they are not drawn upon in the work. In another verse he says that it is well-known that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya are of the nature of mere compilations and so have not been relied on in the work. The Devīpurāṇa, he says, is approved of by the heterodox systems and is not included in various lists of purāṇas and upapurāṇas and hence it is not included in the Dānasāgara. He says that the subject of the dedication of reservoirs of water and of temples has been dealt with at length in ihe Pratiṣṭhāsāgara, so it is omitted in the Dānasāgara and that the gifts made in accordance with the divisions of the year (into *ayana*, season, month, pakṣa &c.) are not spoken of in their entirety in the Dānasāgara, as they are described in the Ācārasāgara. The work is mentioned in the Dānaratnākara

792 Verses 55 and 56 of his दानसागर (I. O. cat. 542, No. 1704-5).

of Caṇḍeśvara and in the Nirṇayasindhu. His Adbhutasāgara has been printed by Messrs. Prabhakari and Co. (1905). The authorities on which he relies therein are noted below.[793] The Adbhutasāgara is mentioned in Ṭoḍarānandasaṁhitā-saukhya and Nirṇayasindhu. This was his last work which he left unfinished and which was completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena. It deals with the rites and observances appropriate on certain celestial and terrestrial portents for removing the evil foreboded by them.

Ballālasena began the work in 1090 *śake* and the Dānasāgara was composed in 1091 *śake*. Therefore Ballālasena's literary activity must be placed in the third quarter of the 12th century (vide notes 674, 676 above). *Vide* also IHQ vol. V, p. 133 for the date of Ballālasena.

It appears that Raghunandana believed that the Dānasāgara was really the work of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa though published in the name of Ballālasena.[794] In the Dānasāgara itself it is distinctly stated that Ballālasena composed it under the directions of his *guru* (Aniruddha).[795] In the colophon he is styled mahārājādhirāja and and niḥśaṅka-śaṅkara.

84. Harihara

From quotations in the Vivādaratnākara it appears that Harihara wrote on vyavahāra. For example, the Vivādaratnākara first quotes (on p. 220) the definition of 'saṁsaraṇa' given by Bṛhaspati and then cites three verses of Kātyāyana defining a *catuṣpatha* and a *rājamārga* and prescribing punishments for causing obstruction and

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793 आथर्वणाद्भुत, उशनस्, कठश्रुति, कालावलि, काश्यप, गर्ग, वृद्धगर्ग, चरक, देवल, नारद, पराशर, पालकाप्य, बादरायण, बार्हस्पत्य, बृहस्पति, ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त, भार्गवीय, मयूरचित्र, यवनेश्वर, राजपुत्र, वराहमिहिरग्रन्थ, वसन्तराज, वसिष्ठ, विन्ध्यवासि, विष्णुगुप्त, वैजवाप, शालिहोत्र, षड्विंशब्राह्मण, सुश्रुत, सूर्यसिद्धान्त.

794 Vide एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II, p. 44) 'विष्णुरहस्यानार्षत्वस्य दानसागरे अनिरुद्धभट्टेनाभिहितत्वाच्च'. The words of the दानसागर are: लोके प्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णुरहस्यं च शिवरहस्यं च। द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥

795 अधिगतसकलपुराणस्मृतिसारः श्रद्धया गुरोरस्मात् । कलिकल्मषावसादं दाननिबन्धं विधत्ते नु ॥ . . . श्रीबल्लालनरेश्वरो विरचयत्येतं गुरोः शिक्षया स्वप्रज्ञावधि दानसागरमयं श्रद्धावतां श्रेयसे ॥ verses 7 and 9 of दानसागर I. O. cat. p. 542.

committing nuisance thereon. Then it notices that the verse 'yas-tatra' cited by it from Kātyāyana is cited by Harihara as from Prajāpati when the topic immediately preceding is 'saṁsaraṇa'.[796] The Vivādaratnākara quotes a sūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita prescribing the punishment for sexual intercourse with a virgin against her will and Harihara's explanation of the word 'dvyaṅgulaccheda'.[797] From these it is clear that Harihara wrote some work on vyavahāra, which has not yet been recovered. He must have flourished earlier than 1300 A. D.

There is a commentary on the Pāraskargṛhyasūtra composed by Harihara who is styled *agnihotrin* in the colophons. In one ms. copied in śake 1707 (1785-86 A. D.) he is described as the pupil of Vijñāneśvara. In the introductory second verse he says he relies on Vāsudeva. In the body of the work he refers (Gujarati Press edition) to Karkopādhyāya (p. 200), Kalpatarukāra, Reṇudīkṣita, and Vijñāneśvarācārya (p. 370). Therefore he is later than 1150 A. D. Harihara's views are mentioned by Hemādri,[798] the Samayapradīpa and Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta and in the Smṛtisāra of Harināṭha. Therefore this Harihara must be earlier than 1250 A. D. Whether he was really the pupil of Vijñāneśvara is doubtful. In his bhāṣya Harihara refers to words current in Kanoj.[800] Hemādri mentions Harihara's explanation of *nepālakambala* wherein the latter says that it is well known among the northerners.[801] Harihara-

796 हरिहरादिभिः संसरणानुवृत्तौ प्रजापतिरिति मस्तके दत्त्वा यस्तत्रेति वाक्यमवतारितमिह न फलतो विशेष इति । वि. र. p. 221.

797 शङ्खलिखितौ – कन्यायामसकामायां द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदो दण्डः । ... हरिहरस्तु द्व्यङ्गुलपरिमाणलिङ्गच्छेद इत्याह । वि. र. p. 402.

798 तस्मात् त्रयोदशे श्राद्धं न कुर्यान्नोपतिष्ठते इत्येव बहुग्रन्थदृष्टः काश्मीरलिखितश्च पाठो ज्यायान् । तथा च हरिहरादिग्रन्थेष्वेवमेव पाठो गृह्यते । चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 52 ; *vide* pp. 447, 483 of the same vol. for other references to हरिहर and also vol. III. 1. pp. 159, 1131, 1139, 1177, 1280.

799 तत्र हरिहरो मेघादिच्छन्नस्यापि निमित्तत्वमाह मासावच्छिन्नकालस्य गणितप्रमितत्वात्। समयप्रदीप (D. C. ms. No. 371 of 1875-76 folio 52a).

800 समाविश्रामार्थं काष्ठपाषाणविन्यासविशेषः पट्टकः । पट्टहर इति कान्यकुब्जे प्रसिद्धः । p. 376 of हरिहर's पारस्करभाष्य (Gujarati press ed.).

801 हरिहरेण तु पार्वतीयाजलोमभिर्निर्मितः कम्बलाकारः पट उदीच्येषु प्रसिद्ध इत्येवं व्याख्यातः । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. p. 1177.

paddhati is mentioned in the Śrāddhatattva (vol. I, p. 281) and Harihara in the Yajurvediśrāddhatattva (vol. II, p. 488). We have seen above that a Harihara commented upon the Āśaucadaśaka of Vijñāneśvara. This fact together with his being not far from Vijñāneśvara's time may have led to the belief that he was a pupil of Vijñāneśvara. It appears probable that the jurist Harihara who flourished before 1300 and Harihara the bhāṣyakāra of Pāraskara who flourished between 1150 and 1250 A. D. are identical. The views ascribed to Harihara by Hemādri in his section on śrāddha are not found in the bhāṣya on Pāraskara. Therefore Hemādri is referring to some other work of Harihara. From a passage of Hemādri it appears that Harihara wrote after the Mahārṇava[802] (Prakāśa). Hemādri also tells us that Harihara refuted the views of Jayantasvāmī on a certain verse.[803] The same Harihara who commented on Pāraskara also wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana's Snānavidhisūtra wherein he mentions the Kalpatarukāra (vide D. C. ms. No. 101 of 1891-95). Several Hariharas are known. There is Hariharabhaṭṭācārya, the father of the great Bengal writer Raghunandana. A Hariharācārya composed an astrological work Samayapradīpa in *śake* 1481 (1559-1560 A. D.).

85. The Smṛticandrikā of Devannabhaṭṭa

This is a well-known digest on Dharmaśāstra. An English translation of the portion of it which is concerned with *dāyabhāga* was published in 1867 by T. Kristnasvami Iyer at Madras. The text has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (up to śrāddha) in Bombay and also in the Mysore Government Oriental series (up to āśauca). In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used and the Mysore edition for āśauca section. The Smṛticandrikā is a very extensive digest. It is almost the earliest (except the Kalpataru) among digests on dharmaśāstra of which mss. have yet been discovered. The printed text deals with the topics (kāṇḍas) of *Saṁskāra, Āhnika, Vyavahāra, Śrāddha, Āśauca.* It appears that

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[802] अथान्यान्यपि हरिहरेण कुहूग्रहणपराण्येषामनिर्ज्ञातकर्तृत्वेन महार्णवलिखितत्वेन चोपालभ्य कैश्चिदुक्तानीत्युक्त्वोपन्यस्तानि । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 183.

[803] इह जयन्तस्वामिमतं हरिहरेणोपन्यस्तम् । अन्यभावे तु विप्रस्येति श्लोकस्य कदाचित्कचिदसंनिहितामिः सामिरेव विषयः । ... तदेतज्जयन्तस्वामिसंमतं त्रैवर्णिकमात्रविषयत्वमस्य तेनैव दूषितम् । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 1339.

he wrote on prāyaścitta also. In the colophons of mss. of the work the name of the author is variously written as Devaṇṇa, Devaṇa, Devananda or Devagaṇa (vide I. O. cat. pp. 405-406). He is also described therein as the son of Keśavādityabhaṭṭa and as a *Somayājī*.

The Smṛticandrikā quotes most profusely from numerous smṛtikāras and affords valuable assistance in reconstructing some of the smṛtis and checking mss. and editions thereof. For example, it quotes about 600 verses from Kātyāyana on *vyavahāra* and about the same number from Bṛhaspati. Among works, commentators and authors of digests named by it the following may be noted: Aparārka, Trikāṇḍī, Devarāta, Devasvāmī, Āpastambakalpabhāṣyārthakāra (Āśauca p. 84), Dhāreśvara, Dharmabhāṣya, Dhūrtasvāmī, Pradīpa, Bhavanātha, Bhāṣya on Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, Dharmadīpa or Pradīpa (Āśauca p. 63), Bhāṣyārthasaṁgrahakāra, Manuvṛtti, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā, Vaijayantī (a lexicon), Viśvarūpa, Viśvādarśa (Āśauca p. 164), Śambhu, Śrīkara, Śivasvāmī, Smṛtibhāskara, Smṛtyarthasāra. He mentions a Bhaṭṭācārya on Āśauca (p. 1, 2), probably Śrīnivāsa, the author of Śuddhidīpikā who wrote about 1159-60 A. D. (JASB 1915 p. 334). He quotes a passage from the work of an author, whom he styles Guru (probaly his own teacher or father).[804] The Smṛticandrikā often critisizes these works and authors and advances its own views after considering the positions of others. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa was a southern writer and his work is according to judicial decisions of great authority in southern India.[805] But it has been held that in spite of its high authority it cannot override the Mitākṣarā even in the Madras Presidency.[806]

The contents of the Smṛticandrikā are : various Dharmas, such as those of *varṇas*, āśramas; usages of countries; saṁskāras, garbhā-

804 ततश्च द्वादशरात्रादिष्वप्येतत्सूचितमिति गुरुणा व्याख्यातं ततश्च दशमेऽहनि यदि दिवाशौचोत्पत्तिस्तदापि द्वाभ्यामित्येतदुवोदितव्यमित्येतदन्तेन ग्रन्थेन । स्मृतिच० (आशौच p. 63).

805 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487, 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 209, I. L. R. 3 Mad. 290 (P. C.) at p. 302, I. L. R. 33 Mad. 439 and I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) for the high authority of the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका in southern India.

806 *Vide* I. L. R. 3 Mad. 265, 269 (barren daughter not excluded by a daughter having sons), I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 160 for this proposition.

dhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, cūḍākaraṇa, upanayana, marriage, etc., duties of student-hood and holidays; daily duties such as *śauca*, ācamana, brushing the teeth, bathing, *saṁdhya*, *śrauta* and *smārta* rites; duties of householder; the five daily *yajñas*; rules about taking food, forbidden food; procedure of law courts, means of proof, ordeals, the various titles of law such as deposit, partnership, *dāyabhāga*; detailed rules about śrāddha, its various kinds, persons entitled to perform śrāddhas, the brāhmaṇas proper to be invited at śrāddha etc.

The Smṛticandrikā refers to Vijñāneśvara with great respect.[807] Yet there are several interesting points on which the Smṛticandrikā differs from the Mitākṣarā. The Smṛticandrikā questions (vide note 638 above) the statement of the Mit. that unequal distribution by the father of ancestral property among his sons should not be resorted to, as it has come to be abhorred by the people. The Smṛticandrikā does not approve of the definition of *dāya* given by the Mit.[808] The Smṛticandrikā does not accept Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the word 'apratiṣṭhitā' occurring in the sūtra of Gautama, but upholds Aparārka's explanation of it (vide note 771 above). The Smṛticandrikā favours the theory of spiritual benefit in matters of succession and therefore among daughters prefers one that has sons over another daughter who is sonless.[809] It criticizes the reasons advanced by the Mit. for preferring the mother over the father as an heir to their deceased son and says that both parents succeed together.[810] Though the Smṛticandrikā in this way in some

807 व्याख्यातं चान्यथा विज्ञानेश्वरपादैः। मातरि पूर्वं प्रमीतायां ... पक्षिणीं क्षिपेदिति। स्मृतिच० (आशौच p. 64). This is a quotation from मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 20.

808 न च दायशब्देन यद्धनं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तदुच्यत इति दायादिशब्दनिरूपणार्थं मिताक्षरायामुक्तं युक्तम्। एवं हि पत्युः स्वं पतिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तात्पत्नीस्वं भवतीति तस्यापि दायत्वापत्तिः। ततश्च अदायाः स्त्रिय इति श्रुतिविरोधो दुर्वारः स्यात्। अस्मन्मते तु विभागार्हं स्वं स्वामिसंबन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भूतं दायशब्दार्थ इति विभागानर्हं पत्नीस्वं न दायः। स्मृतिच० II. pp. 267-268.

809 एवं च दुहितृषु संतानमुखेनादृष्टोपकारसंबन्धेनासन्नता। स्मृतिच० II. p. 295.

810 चशब्देन सूचितस्य द्वौहित्रस्थानन्तरमेव मातापितरौ समसमये धनभाजौ तयोरवान्तरक्रमन्यायाभावादित्यवगन्तव्योभिप्रायः। अन्यैः पुनरन्यथोत्प्रेक्षितम्। पिता सपत्नीपुत्रेष्वपि साधारणः &c. स्मृतिच० II. p. 297; vide note 638 above for the full quotation.

cases criticizes the Mit., it generally follows its lead. It holds, just as the Mit. does, that sons acquire by birth ownership in ancestral property. The author asserts that he puts forward no imaginary views but only such views as are based on (authoritative) texts.[811]

As the Smṛticandrikā names the Mit., Aparārka and Smṛtyarthasāra, its upper limit cannot be placed earlier than 1150 A. D. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Buddhasingh vs Lalta-singh*[812] that Devanandabhaṭṭa is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aparārka. But this supposition is not quite correct. Since Aparārka is quoted several times as an authority to be preferred even to the Mit., it looks more probable that there is some distance of time between Aparārka and Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Hemādri quotes the views of the Smṛticandrikā probably oftener than those of any other *nibandhakāra*. In one place[813] he does not approve of the explanation given by the Smṛticandrikā of a verse occurring in the Mahābhārata about a man with male issue performing śrāddha on the thirteenth *tithi*. In another[814] place Hemādri refers to the view of the Smṛticandrikā on the question whether the *śrāddha* on *amāvāsyā* is optional with śrāddha in dark half. Therefore it follows that the Smṛticandrikā must have been composed at least a generation earlier than Hemādri, i. e. before 1225 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā is frequently quoted by the Sarasvativilāsa, the Viramitrodaya and other digests.

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811 सर्वलोकहितार्थाय क्रियते स्मृतिचन्द्रिका ॥ स्वाभिप्रायेण हि मया न किंचिदिह लिख्यते। किं तु वाचानिकं सर्वमनो ग्राह्यैव निर्भयैः ॥ Intro. verses.

812 L. R. 42. I. A. 208 at p. 223.

813 यत्तु महाभारते दानधर्मेषु-ज्ञातीनां तु भवेच्छ्रेयः कुर्वन् श्राद्धं त्रयोदशीम् । नावश्यं तु युवानोऽस्य प्रमीयन्ते नरा गृहे ॥ –इति पुत्रमरणरूपस्य दोषस्यापस्तम्बायुक्तस्य निराकरणं कृतं तदपि नात्यन्तकृतम् । ... यत्त्ववश्यं न म्रियन्त एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारस्य व्याख्यानं तदद्युक्तम् । चतुर्वर्ग० (काल) vol. III. 2. p. 482 ; the स्मृतिच० does quote the text of the महाभारत and remarks ' अवश्यं निश्चितं न म्रियन्त इत्यर्थः ' p. 369.

814 यन्निगमस्मरणं–अपरपक्षे यदहः संपद्येताममावास्यायां विशेषेणोक्तं तत् पृथक्त्वेपि उभयपक्षाविरोधीति न विकल्पे प्रमाणमिति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारः । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2. 461 ; the स्मृतिच० does contain the text quoted and remarks, अतो यत्कश्चिदुक्तममावास्याश्राद्धमपरपक्षिकेण श्राद्धेन विकल्प्यत इति तदुपास्तम् । II. p. 399.

Several authors composed works styled Smṛticandrikā, e. g. there is a Smṛticandrikā of Śukadeva-miśra (I. O. cat. p. 471 No. 1549), another by Āpadeva (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 301), another by Vāmadevabhaṭṭācārya (Mitra's Notices, vol. IX, p. 137).

86. Haradatta

Haradatta's fame stands very high as a commentator. He wrote a commentary called Anākulā on the Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra (D. C. Ms. No. 2 of 1866-68), a commentary on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (vide Dr. Winternitz's ed. of 1897, p. XIII), a commentary called Anāvilā on the Āśvālāyana-gṛhya-sūtra (published in the Trivandrum series), a commentary called Mitākṣarā on the Gautamadharmasūtra and a commentary named Ujjvalā on the dharmasūtra of Āpastamba. His commentaries are very good models of ideal commentaries. His commentary on the dharma-sūtra of Gautama (printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Pooona) is more concise than that on the Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba (large extracts of which were published by Bühler in his edition in the B. S. series, the whole being printed by Halasyanath Sastri at Kumbhakonam and in the Mysore Government Oriental Library series). In his commentary on the Dharmasūtras he quotes verses from numerous smṛtis and from the purāṇas but hardly ever mentions by name any commentator or *nibandhakāra*. In his Anāvilā (page 9) he quotes the views of a Bhāṣyakāra who is probably Devasvāmin and mentions also a Caṇḍogagṛhyabhāṣya-kāra (on I. 2. 3). In his commentaries on both the Dharmasūtras he frequently quotes the opinions of previous commentators with the words 'anye,' 'aparaḥ,' 'kecit;' *vide* G. Dh. S. II. 28, VII. 4 and 14, IX. 52, XI. 17, XII. 32 and 33, XXIV. 5, XXVI. 9, XXVIII. 7 and 44 ; Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 24, I. 2. 5. 2 and 18, I. 3. 10. 4, I. 3. 11. 20, I. 5. 15. 20. etc. From the fact that he mentions two interpretations on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 2. with the words 'apara āha' and 'ityanye' and several interpretations on II. 7. 17. 22 it follows that he had before him two or three commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. In Bühler's edition Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38 appears to refer to a gṛhya-vṛtti, but in the Kumbhakonam edition the reading is different (viz. *gṛhye gatam*). He is very careful to

point out the un-Pāṇinean forms in the sūtras of Gautama[815] and Āpastamba, explains at great length all grammatical matters and generally prefers readings that are in consonance with the rules of Pāṇini. He very often says that the text of the sūtras, particularly of Āpastamba, as handed down by oral tradition was either wrong or followed Vedic usage as regards grammar.[816]

From various references Haradatta seems to have been an inhabitant of Southern India or was at least very familiar with its usages. On Gautama XI. 20 he instances several usages of the Colas. On Gautama XV. 18 he gives a synonym in the Dravida language for[817] a skin disease called 'Kilāsa.' On Āp. Gṛ. S. VI. 6 (the sūtra 'nadīnirdeśaśca etc.) he gives Kāverī and Vegavatī as instances. On Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 (last sūtra) he refers to certain practices of the Draviḍas observed when the Sun is in Aries or Virgo.[818] The Vīramitrodaya classes Haradatta and the Smṛticandrikākāra among southern *nibandhakāras*.[819] From his remark on Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 25 (the sūtra 'anyatra rāhudarśanāt)' that the northerners do not recite that sūtra it appears that he affirms that he was a southerner.

Haradatta seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. He begins his commentary on Gautama, on Āśvalāyana-gṛhya and Āp. Gṛ. with an obeisance to Rudra and his commentaries on Āp. Dh. S. and on the Āpastambīya-mantra-pāṭha (otherwise called Ekāgni-

815 e. g. on गौ. ध. सू. XXV. 8 he says 'वाच्यनसोरिति पाठोस्मभ्यं न रोचते। अचतुरेति समासान्तविधिप्रसङ्गात्।

816 e. g. on आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 21 'प्रायत्यब्रह्मचर्यकालेचर्यया च' he says 'प्रायत्यब्रह्मचर्याभ्यां काले चर्यया च। अयं तावदर्थानुरूपः पाठः। अधीयमानस्तु प्रमादश्छान्दसो वा।'. Vide remarks on आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 5. 2 and II. 3. 7. 7 also.

817 किलासः त्वग्दोषो वलतीति द्रविडानां प्रसिद्धः।

818 तत्र द्रमिडाः कन्यामेषस्थे सवितर्यादित्यपूजामाचरन्ति भूमौ मण्डलमालिख्येत्यादीन्युदाहरणानि।

819 Vide वीर० p. 705 शृङ्गग्राहिकया यत्र कण्ठोक्तः पत्नी दुहितर इत्यादौ यासां स्त्रीणां धनाधिकारस्तासामेव। अन्यासां तु श्रुतिमनुवचनाभ्यां दायग्रहणनिषेध एवेति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकाकारहरदत्तादीनां दाक्षिणात्यनिबन्धृणां जीमूतवाहनादिपौरस्त्यसर्वनिबन्धृणां सिद्धान्ताच्च।

kāṇḍa, 25th and 26th *praśnas* of Āpastamba-kalpa) with an obeisance to Mahādeva. Burnell (Tanjore mss. cat. p. 170) tells us that according to tradition in Southern India, Rudradatta, the commentator of the Āp. Śrauta-sūtra, is the same as Haradatta. In his commentary on Āp. Gṛ. S. I. 13. 5 (ghoṣavad caturakṣaraṁ vā) he gives as instances of the names of males Hara, Rudra, Deva, Haradatta and Bhavanāga. In the colophons the Anāvilā is described as the work of Haradattācārya-miśra.

Ghose in his Hindu Law (3rd ed. Intro. p. XV) says that, like Medhātithi, Haradatta denies the heritable rights of widows and must have come before Vijñāneśvara and not after. But Ghose appears to be wrong. Haradatta first says that according to the *ācārya* (i. e. Āpastamba) the *sapiṇḍas* of the deceased who took the property were obliged to maintain the widow of the deceased, while the view of Gautama was that the widow took, on failure of male issue, an equal share along with the *sapiṇḍas*, and then Haradatta says that he himself liked the latter view.[820] He often gives interesting information. On Gautama XVII. 33 he tells us that *asafoetida* is eaten by all, even though it is a matter for consideration whether being the exudation of a tree, it is to be regarded as due to cutting (and so forbidden).[821] On Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 5. 14 he cites as an example of reviling (*ā-krośa*) the following : ' the Taittirīya is a Śakhā that is *ucchiṣṭa* (the leavings of food eaten), the Yājñavalkya and other Brāhmaṇa works are modern '.[822] On Gautama IV. 5. he says that what distinguishes the Prājāpatya form of marriage from the Brāhma and others is that there is in the former a stipulation that the husband is not to enter into another order of life (*āśrama*) nor is he to marry another woman.[823] On Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 15 he says that whereas in the case of marriage with a paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter, the act springs

820 On आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 2 ' पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः ' he says ' भार्यां तु रिक्थग्राहिणः सपिण्डाद्या रक्षेयुर्न तु दायग्रहणमित्याचार्यस्य पक्षः । ... गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्न्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समांशमाह । ... वयमप्येतमेव पक्षं रोचयामहे ।'.

821 हिङ्गस्तु निर्यासो ब्रश्चनप्रभवो न वेति चिन्त्यम् । सर्वथा क्षिप्ता अपि भक्षयन्ति ।

822 तैत्तिरीयमुच्छिष्टशाखा याज्ञवल्क्यादीनि ब्राह्मणानीदानीन्तनानीत्यादय आक्रोशाः ।

823 नाश्रमान्तरं प्रवेष्टव्यं नापि स्त्र्यन्तरमुपयन्तव्यामीति मन्त्रेण समयः क्रियते । एष ब्राह्मादेः प्राजापत्यस्य विशेषः ।

from the fact that one is pleased thereby, there is no necessity to infer a *śāstra* (a Vedic passage) once existing but now lost (in support of such usage).[824]

The date of Haradatta is a rather difficult problem. Bühler (S. B. E. vol. II. p. xliii) at first thought that Haradatta probably wrote in the 16th century, but in his 2nd edition of the Āp. Dh. S. he says (p. viii) that the Munich ms of the Ujjvalā written in Poona about 1600 A. D. shows the interpolated text found in all Devanāgarī copies and that therefore Haradatta is older than at least 1450-1500 A. D. The Vīramitrodaya[825] frequently cites the Mitākṣarā of Haradatta on Gautama. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.) in his Prayoga-ratna quotes Haradatta's comment on Gautama VIII. 14-22 about saṁskāras and his son Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa names both the Mitākṣarā and the Ujjvalā of Haradatta in his Dvaitanirṇaya. The Prayogapārijāta of Nṛsiṁha, which is quoted in the Prayogaratna of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and is therefore not later than the first quarter of the 16th century, cites Haradatta's explanation of Āp. Gṛ. S. (on ' pravāsād-etya putrasya śiraḥ parigṛhya japati ' etc.) and contrasts it with Nārāyaṇa's view. The Subodhinī of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa (about 1375 A. D.) on Mit. (Yāj II. 132) quotes certain smṛti passages as found in the vṛtti of Āpastamba which are found in Haradatta's gloss.[826] Hence it follows that Haradatta cannot be later than about 1300 A. D. The fact that Haradatta hardly ever names any commentator except perhaps Devasvāmin, the Bhāṣyakāra of Āpastambe-gṛhya, and that he holds antiquated views about the widow's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate are strong arguments in favour of the view that Haradatta is comparatively an early writer. Hardly any writer after Vijñāneśvara assigns the same position to the widow as Hara-

824 यत्र पितृष्वसृमातुलसुतापरिणयनादौ प्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्रोत्सन्नपाठं शास्त्रमनुमीयते प्रीतेरेव प्रवृत्तिहेतोः संभवात् ।

825 Vide वीर० pp. 169, 655.

826 पूर्वाभावे परः पर इति रिक्थग्रहणक्रमोपि दर्शितो वाक्यशेषे स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वन्यथा दर्शितः। तथाहि आपस्तम्बवृत्तौ स्मृत्यन्तरसंग्रहः। औरसः पुत्रिकाधीजक्षेत्रजौ पुत्रिकासुतः। पानर्भवश्च कानीनः सहोढो गूढसंभवः। दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयंदत्तः कृत्रिमश्चापविद्धकः। यत्र क्व चोत्पादितश्च स्वपुत्रा दश पञ्च चेति। सुबोधिनी. This occurs in हरदत्त's comment on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 1 (Bühler's ed. of 1894, p. 81).

datta does. Hence it appears that Haradatta could not have flourished much later than 1100 A. D. So he must be placed between 1100-1300 A. D., very probably near the earlier limit than the later one.

One important question is as to the identity of Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharma and Gṛhya sūtras and Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, a commentary on the Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya. Bühler felt uncertain about the identity. Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa in his Dvaita-nirṇaya speaks of Haradatta as expounding[827] a *kārikā* of Hari (Vākyapadīya III. p. 260, Benares ed.) and also speaks of Haradatta as the author of the Ujjvalā and the Mitākṣarā without making any distinction between the two. This shows that he regarded the two as identical. Haradatta in his commentaries on the Dharmasūtras gives far more attention to grammar than almost any other commentator of Dharmaśāstra.[828] His grammatical disquisition on Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 ('plāvanam ca nāmno' etc.) is almost identical with the Padamañjarī on Pāṇini VIII. 2. 83 ('pratyabhivādeśūdre'). On Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 17 he quotes a verse as from the grammarians for defining the location of the *udīcyas*.[829] The Mādhavīya Dhātu-vṛtti mentions the Padamañjarī. From this it follows that the Padamañjarī was composed before 1300 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar places Haradatta, the author of the Padamañjarī, about 1100 A. D.[830] The learned editor of the Anāvilā in the Trivandrum series points out that, as Haradatta is

827 तदुक्तं हरिणा—गुणक्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्यात् प्रेषणे कर्मतां गतः। नित्यमात्कर्मसंज्ञायाः स्वधर्मेणाभिधीयते ॥ अस्यार्थो हरदत्तेन विवृतः। द्वैतनिर्णय.

828 Vide comment on आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 1 (तदतिक्रमे विद्याकर्म निःस्रवति) where हरदत्त says 'स्रवतेः सकर्मप्रयोगो भाष्ये दृष्टः स्रवत्युदकं कुण्डिकेति' where he refers to the महाभाष्य of पतञ्जलि (*vide* Keilhorn, vol. II. p. 69).

829 'प्रागुदश्चो विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदकं यथा। विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती। इति वैयाकरणाः। अस्याः शरावत्या उदक्तीरनिवर्तिन उदीच्याः।'. हेमाद्रि quotes on the same sūtra of आप. the same verse with the reading सरस्वती for शरावती and styles it the saying of the ancients (चतुर्वर्ग. III. 1. p. 1350). The अमरकोश makes शरावती the boundary of भारतवर्ष. Is Śarāvatī the modern Rapti, a tributary of the Sarayū, or is it the modern Shirāvati near Honavar in North Canara ?

830 'Systems of Sanskrit Grammar' pp. 39-40.

quoted in the Puruṣakāra which in its turn is mentioned in the Dhātu-vṛtti of Mādhava and as Śaraṇadeva, the author of the Durghaṭa-vṛtti, who wrote in *śake* 1095, cites the Jainendra and Kaiyaṭa but not Haradatta nor the Padamañjarī, Haradatta wrote about the close of the 12th century A. D. These circumstances render it highly probable (if not certain) that Haradatta the commentator of the Dharmasūtras is the same as the author of the Padamañjarī and that he flourished between 1100 and 1300 A. D. and probably about 1200 A. D. The Smṛticandrikā twice refers to the bhāṣya of the Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra.[831] Haradatta's commentary is styled *vṛtti* and not bhāṣya and the citations do not occur in his work. Hence it appears that the Smṛticandrikā did not know Haradatta's works and the latter could not have flourished much earlier than the Smṛti-candrikā.

In the Padamañjarī Haradatta is said to have been the son of Padma (Rudra)-kumāra, younger brother of Agnikumāra and a pupil of Aparājita.[832] In his Padamañjarī Haradatta employs the word 'kūcimañcī' which is a Telugu word.[833] The Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa printed in Grantha characters contains 12 chapters (54 to 65th) and the Śivarahasya printed in the said characters has one chapter (17th) which set out the life (*carita*) of a Haradattācārya. It is there stated that Haradattācārya's original name was Sudarśana, that he was the son of Vāsudeva and that he died 3979 years after Kaliyuga began[834] (i. e. 878 A. D.). This Haradattācārya, being the son of Vāsudeva, was not the same as the author

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831 अत्र हि अधिकारत इति हेतुबलात् अन्येत्यादिपक्षत्रयं पूर्वपक्षत्वेनोपन्यस्तमित्युक्तं तद्भाष्ये । स्मृतिच० I. p. 25 (on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 19-23); अत एव जीवन्पुत्रेभ्यो दायं विभजेदित्यापस्तम्बसूत्रं व्याचक्षाणेन तद्भाष्यकारेण पुत्रेभ्य एव दायं विभजेन्न स्त्रीभ्यो दुहितृभ्य इत्युक्तम् । स्मृतिच० II. p. 300.

832 Vide Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri pp. pp 13-20 and pp. 171-178 (extract).

833 या पुनर्देशभाषाभिः संज्ञाः कूचिमञ्चीत्यादयो न तासां साधुत्वम् । p. 16 of the Report on Sanskrit and Tamil mss. for 1893-94 by S. Seshagiri Sastri.

834 कल्यादौ च चतुःसहस्रसहिते यत्रैकविंशोनके पुण्ये मासि विलम्बिनाम्नि समगादष्टप्रजो मौद्गलः । पञ्चम्यां सितपक्षके भृगुदिने सह्यात्मजोदक्तटे कंसग्रामनिवासिभिः सुदर्शनः सार्धं विमानोज्ज्वलः ॥. कंसग्राम is in the Tanjore District.

of the Padamañjarī, who was the son of Padmakumāra. This earlier Haradatta may probably be the same as the Haradattācārya cited as an authority in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha on the Nakulīśa-pāsupatadarśana.[835] Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 33) identifies without sufficient foundation the Haradattācārya of the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha with Haradatta, the commentator of Āpastamba and Gautama.

A work called Hari-hara-tāratamya and another called Caturveda-tātparya-saṁgraha are ascribed to a Haradatta. Of the latter there is a ms. in the Deccan College collection (No. 109 of 1871-72), which contains 154 verses of fine penmanship. The first and last are given below.[836] Whether these two works were composed by Haradatta, the commentator of the Dharmasūtras, it is difficult to say. In the latter work the author sings a hymn of praise to Śiva as the supreme deity, points out how the Vedic *mantra*s refer to him, how the various rites are meant for him, refers to the mythological representations of Śiva as *Kirāta*, or as wearing skin etc. All the verses upto 143 are in the Vasantatilakā metre, while towards the end there are a few verses in other metres such as Śikharinī and Rathoddhatā. He was a staunch Śaivite,[837] though the hymn breathes a spirit of tolerance and sympathy for different religious and philosophical systems. He refers to the Maitrāyaṇa Śruti, Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa, Kātyāyana-gṛhya, Bhagvadgītā, the Purāṇas as supplementing the Vedas (vedopabṛṁhaka), the Sāṁkhya and Yoga.

[835] तत्र विधीयमानमुपायफलं लाभः । ज्ञानतपोनित्यत्वस्थितिशुद्धिभेदात् पञ्चविधः । तदाह हरदत्ताचार्यः । ज्ञानं तपोथ नित्यत्वं स्थितिः शुद्धिश्च पञ्चमम् । &c. सर्वदर्शन-संग्रह pp. 162-63 (Govt. Oriental series, Poona).

[836] यस्मै नमो भवति यस्य गुणाः समग्रा नारायणोपनिषदा यदुपासनोक्ता । यो नः प्रचोदयति बुद्धिमधिक्रतौ यस्तं त्वामनन्यगतिरीश्वर संश्रयामि ॥ first verse: अघटित-घटनापटवे प्रकटितकरुणाय सिन्धुभृते । वटतरुमूलस्थितये विघटिततमसे महेश्वराय नमः ॥ last verse.

[837] Verses 144-145 are विधातारं कश्चिद्भजति भजते कश्चन हरिं सुरानन्यानन्ये जगति सफलाः सर्वविधयः । तथापि त्वद्भक्ते शिव ननु यदा चर्मवदिति श्रुतो मन्त्रो देवान्तर-भजनदैन्यं न सहते ॥ क्वशे शृङ्गं पुष्पं नमसि मृगतृष्णासु सलिलं प्रसूतिर्वन्ध्याया-मनवधिकमायुस्तनुभृताम् । विमुक्तिर्वा देवान्तरभजनलभ्या पशुपते न शक्यं नः संभावयितुमपि सर्वं विमृशताम् ॥

87. Hemādri

Hemādri and Mādhava are the Castor and Pollux in the galaxy of *dākṣiṇātya* writers on Dharmaśāstra. Hemādri is a very voluminous writer. He is the author of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, an encyclopædia of ancient religious rites and observances. According to the statements contained in the work itself the author intended to treat Dharmaśāstra in five sections, called vrata, dāna, tīrtha, mokṣa and pariśeṣa.[838] The Pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa was divided into four parts, viz., Devatā, Kālanirṇaya, Karmavipāka, Lakṣaṇasamuccaya.[839] The Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Four volumes containing 6 parts and covering about 6000 pages have been so far printed. The second and third volumes have two parts each. The fourth volume which deals with *prāyaścitta* does not appear to be the work of Hemādri.[840] The work so far published is concerned with *vrata, dāna, śrāddha* and *kāla* (the latter two being parts of the pariśeṣa-khaṇḍa). That portion of the Caturvarga-cintamaṇi which was intended to treat of *tīrtha* and *mokṣa* has not yet come to light. It is extremely doubtful whether the author was able to carry out his gigantic scheme. Mss. of portions of the great work are described in the catalogues under various names, e. g. I. O. cat. No. 1379, p. 407 on *śāntika-pauṣṭikāni* is the same subject that is treated in *vratakhaṇḍa* pp. 1003ff., though there are considerable variations between the Ms. and the printed text.

Hemādri's is a standard work on the subjects with which he deals. He quotes most profusely from smṛtis and purāṇas and names a host of writers. He appears to have been a profound student of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. The discussions in his work, particularly on śrāddha and kāla, cannot be well understood without thorough acquaintance with the numerous *nyāyas* of the mīmāṁsā

838 खण्डानि चास्मिन्व्रतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधानि क्रमशो भवन्ति। यत्पश्चमं तत्परिशेषखण्ड-मखण्डितो यत्र विभाति धर्मः॥ चतुर्वर्ग० vol. II. part I verse 16; खण्डैश्चतुर्भि-र्व्रतदानतीर्थमोक्षाभिधैर्वर्गचतुष्कमुक्त्वा। विरच्यते तत्परिशिष्टवस्तुव्यावर्णनार्थं परिशेष-खण्डम्॥ vol. III. part 1 verse 25.

839 तस्मादौ देवताकाण्डं ततः कालविनिर्णयः। विपाकः कर्मणां पश्चाल्लक्षणानां समुच्चयः॥ महाप्रकरणानीह चत्वार्येतान्यनुक्रमात्॥ चतुर्वर्ग० III. 2. verse 26.

840 It begins 'अथेदानीं हेमाद्रिकारेण लोकोपकारार्थं &c.'.

which he employs at every step. To illustrate this a few instances may be cited at random. On pp. 137, 143, 156, 159, of his kāla-nirṇaya (vol. III part 2) he makes use of four different nyāyas of the *mīmāṁsā*.[841] The eminent commentators and *nibandhakāras* on dharmaśāstra and other works named by him are given below.[842] It is somewhat remarkable that though he quotes Aparārka and the Smṛti-candrikā scores of times he hardly ever mentions by name the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. Though he does not promise a treatment of vyavahāra, here and there he makes sallies into the domain of vyavahāra. For example, he quotes the well-known sūtra of Gautama (10. 39) on the sources of ownership and holds a lengthy discussion thereon.[843] In another place he digresses into the question of the various kinds of *strīdhana* and their devolution (vol. III, part 1, pp. 530-531). He was of opinion that everyone, to whatever *śākhā* he may belong, should perform śrāddha in accordance with the directions thereon in all śākhās, kalpa and gṛhya sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and usages.[844] He makes the important

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841 तेन ज्योतिष्टोमादिवत्-एकस्य तूभयत्वे संयोगपृथक्त्वमिति न्यायेन नित्यत्वमपि स्वीक्रियते । p. 137 ; this refers to जैमिनि IV. 3. 5-7 ; भोजनप्रतिषेधस्य नित्यजन्माष्टमीव्रत-स्तुत्यर्थता वेदितव्या (applying the न्याय based on न पृथिव्यामग्निश्चेतव्यः) p. 143 ; this refers to जैमिनि I. 2. 5 and 18 and शाबरभाष्य thereon ; 'पुरोडाशं चतुर्धा करोति आग्नेयं चतुर्धा करोति ' p. 156 (this is उपसंहारन्याय in जै. III. 1. 26-27); यानि पुनर्वाक्यानि व्रतशब्दवन्ति दृश्यन्ते तानि न निषेधपराणि नोद्यन्त-मादित्यं वीक्षेतेतिवत् । p. 159 (this is पर्युदास).

842 अपरार्क (very frequently), आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्रभाष्य, कर्कोपाध्याय (frequently quoted), गोविन्दराज, गोविन्दोपाध्याय, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, देवस्वामी (frequently), निर्णयामृत, न्यायमञ्जरी, पण्डितपरितोष, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, बृहत्कथा, बृहद्धार्तिक, भवदेव, मदनविनोदपारिजात, मधुसूदन, मेधातिथि, वामदेव, विधिरत्न, विश्वप्रकाश, विश्वरूप, विश्वादर्श, शङ्करधर (very frequently), शम्भु, वृद्धशातातपभाष्यकार, शिवदत्त, श्रीधर, सोम-दत्त, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (very frequently), स्मृतिप्रदीप, स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश (or स्मृति-महार्णव or महार्णव very often), स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरिहर (very frequently).

843 चतुर्वर्ग० vol. III. part 1, p. 525 where he says 'स्वामिसंबन्धेनैव निमित्तेन यदन्य-दीयं द्रव्यमन्यस्य संभवति (स्वं भवति ?) स दायः । '; here evidently he has in view the मिताक्षरा.

844 सर्वशाखागृह्यकल्पसूत्रस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासाचारावगतधर्ममात्रयुक्तमेव सर्वैः श्राद्धं कर्तव्यमिति स्थितम् । चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. p. 753. The discussion is started on p. 748.

statement[845] that a person following any particular Vedic śākhā may enter into alliance by marriage with any other person of the same country following another Vedic *śākhā*.

Hemādri gives some account of himself in his work. The Mss. present great variations from the printed text. He belonged to the Vatsagotra.[846] He was the grandson of Vāsudeva and the son of Kāmadeva. The introductions to the *khaṇḍas* contains fulsome praise of Hemādri. One verse says that Hemādri scored out by showering wealth on poor people the lines that Brahmā had drawn on their forehead at the time of their birth (foredooming them to eternal poverty) and that Brahmā acquiesces in such conduct of Hemādri.[847] Another verse says that none existed, exists or will exist surpassing Hemādri.[848] He describes himself as in charge of the imperial records of Mahādeva, the Yādava king of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad).[849] In the colophons and the body of the work also he is described as the *karaṇādhīśvara* of Mahādeva, as highly honoured by the king and as a minister (*mantrin*) of the king.[850] He gives in the introduction to the Vratakhaṇḍa a detailed pedigree of the Yādavas of Devagiri. In the section on kāla (vol. III, part 2) he starts with Saṅghaṇa (i. e. Siṅghaṇa

845 आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशाखाध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः सर्वतो विवाहसंबन्धाः । ... अतो न कन्यादाने नापि हविर्दाने स्वशाखीयद्विजनियम इति सिद्धम् । vol. III. 1. p. 381.

846 तेषामेव शिरोमणिर्विजयते विश्वाभिधानो मुनिः ॥ गोत्रे तस्य बभूव निर्मलगुणश्रेणीभृतामग्रणीर्विद्याचारविवेकविक्रमनिधिः श्रीवासुदेवः क्रती । verses 1 and 2 of vol. III. 1. The D. C. ms. No. 312 of 1884-87 reads वत्साभिधानो मुनिः and it appears that विश्वाभिधानो of the printed text is a mistake.

847 लिपिं विधात्रा लिखितां जनस्य भाले विभूत्या परिमृज्य दुष्टाम् । कल्याणिनीमेष लिखत्यथैनां चित्रं प्रमाणीकुरुते विधिश्च ॥ vol. I, verse 15 ; vol. III. 1. verse 17.

848 नैवासीन्न च वर्तते न भविता हेमाद्रिसूरेः परः । vol. I. verse 20, vol. III. 1. verse 22.

849 अस्ति शस्तगुणस्तोमः सोमवंशविभूषणम् । महादेव इति ख्यातो राजराजेव भूतले ॥ ... तस्यास्ति नाम हेमाद्रिः सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः । निजोदारतया यश्च सर्वश्रीकरणप्रभुः ॥ vol. I. verses 6 and 13. करण means a document. श्रीकरण may also mean ' writing the word śrī ' (on official documents).

850 The colophon is श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहादेवस्य समस्तकरणाधीश्वरः &c; महादेवमहीपालमान्यो हेमाद्रिरादरात् । करोति निपुणं पुण्यमन्वीकरणनिर्णयम् ॥ vol. III. 1. p. 1318,

of the inscriptions), then speaks of his son Jaitrapāla (i. e. Jaitugi), his son Kṛṣṇa (or Kanhara) and lastly of Mahādeva, son of the younger brother of Kṛṣṇa. This is not the place to go into the genealogy of the Yādavas. There are some discrepancies between the genealogy as presented by Hemādri and as gathered from the inscriptions and numerous copperplate grants of the Yādavas. *Vide* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 248-249 for Hemādri and pp. 268-275 for extracts from the Vratakhaṇḍa, pp. 252 and 519 for two pedigrees of the Devagiri Yādavas and pp. 511-534 for history. The following may be consulted for the principal grants of the Yādavas :-- Ind. Ant. vol. 17, p. 117 (Kalasbudruk plate of Bhillama dated *śake* 948 or 1025 A. D.), E. I. vol. III p. 110 (Bahal inscription of Siṅghaṇa dated *śake* 1144), E.I. vol. III p. 217-18 (Gadag inscription of Bhillama dated *śake* 1113 i. e. 1191 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 68 (grant of Kṛṣṇa or Kanhara dated 1249-50 A. D.), Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 314 (Paithan plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1193), E. I. vol. XIII, p. 198 (Thana plate of Rāmacandra dated *śake* 1194 i. e. 1272 A. D.), E. I. vol. XIX, p. 20 (Mamdapur inscription of Kanhara dated *śake* 1172 i. e. 1250 A. D. wherein his younger brother Mahādeva is described as *yuvarāja*). Mahādeva reigned from 1260 to 1271 and Rāmacandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa, from 1271 to 1309 A. D. Since in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi Hemādri is said to be the keeper of the state records of Mahādeva, that work must have been composed at some time between 1260 and 1270 A. D. There are contemporary records available showing that Hemādri was in high favour not only with Mahādeva but also with his successor Rāmacandra. The Thana plate of Rāmacandra (dated *śake* 1194, i. e. 1272 A. D.) records the the grant of a village called Vaul in Sāsaṭi (modern Sāṣṭi in the Thana District) to thirty-two brāhmaṇas by Acyuta Nāyaka of the Gautama gotra and descendant of Jalhana, who was the governor of Konkan, and describes[851] Hemādri as one who had attained a pre-eminent position in the government through the favour of Rāmacandra and as one who was in charge of all (state) records and was the foremost minister.

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851 इत्यादिसमस्तविरुदावलिविराजमाने सकलभूवलयमनुशासति यदुकुलकुमुदचन्द्रे श्रीरामचन्द्रनरेन्द्रे तथैतत्प्रसादावाप्तनिखिलराज्यधुरीणतां वहति समस्तहस्तिपकाध्यक्षे ... समस्तकरणाधिपत्यमङ्गीकुर्वाणे च निर्जितशाडिमण्डले मन्त्रिचूडामणौ गुणरत्नरोहणाद्रौ हेमाद्रौ &c. E. I. vol. XIII at p. 202.

Hemādri is credited with a commentary on Śaunaka's Praṇava-kalpa.[852] He appears to have written a śrāddha-kalpa according to the rules of Kātyāyana which is distinct from his Śrāddhakhaṇḍa (vide Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat,. vol. II, p. 163, No. 217 and Stein's cat. p. 105). Hemādri also wrote a commentary[853] called Kaivalyadīpikā on the Muktāphala of Vopadeva, the famous author of the Mugdhabodha grammar. The Muktāphala embodies the philosophy of the Bhāgavata purāṇa in 19 adhyāyas and 784 verses (and a few lines in prose in 5th and 6th chapters). Vopadeva was a friend and protegee of Hemādri, who wrote several works at the encouragement of the latter. He says that he wrote the Harilīlā (published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3), an index of the Bhāgavata for pleasing the minister Hemādri.[854] There is a commentary on this work called Viveka with which both Hemādri and Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī had something to do.[855] Hemādri also wrote a commentary called Āyurvedarasāyaṇa on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa.

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852 I. O. cat. p. 594 No. 1808.

853 टीकां मुक्ताफलस्येमां नाम्ना कैवल्यदीपिकाम् । हेमाद्रिः कटके चक्रे कामराजस्य (? रामराजस्य) वेश्मनि ॥ इति श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापचक्रवर्तिमहाराजाधिराजसोमवंशोद्भव-रामराजमन्त्रिवर्यहेमाद्रिदेवविरचिता मुक्ताफलटीका समाप्ता । Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 67-68 No. 1466. The मुक्ताफल with the com. of हेमाद्रि has been published in the Calcutta Oriental Series No. 5 (1920). This edition reads रामराजस्य.

854 श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा वोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥ ms. in Bhadkamkar collection; the last verse is यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश प्रख्याता नव वैद्यकेपि तिथिनिर्धारार्थमेकोद्धृतः । साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवत-तत्त्वोक्तौ त्रयस्तस्य च भूगीर्वाणशिरोमणेरिह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥ This verse occurs at the end of the मुक्ताफल also.

855 The ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection folio 5 has 'इति श्री हरिलीलायां मधु-सूदनसरस्वतीनिर्मितं प्रथमस्कन्धविवरणम्'. A ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society Library ascribes the com. to हेमाद्रि and says मधुसूदनसरस्वती saw it through 'हरिलीलाविवेकोयं रामराजस्य वेश्मनि । कटके रचयांचक्रे तुष्टये हेमाद्रिणा सताम् ॥ सरस्वतीश्रीमधुसूदनेन निर्व्यूढमेतद्बुधमोदनेन । जनः समस्तोपि रसायनन व्रजेशभक्तिं व्रजतादनेन ॥ (BBRAS. cat. p. 329 No. 1157).

Altogether Hemādri was a towering personality. His name is associated throughout the Maratha Country with the construction of numerous temples having a peculiar style of architecture. He is also credited with having invented the Modi script. Within a few decades his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, particularly its *dāna* and *vrata* sections, came to be looked upon as the standard work in the whole of the Deccan and southern India. Mādhava in his Kālanirṇaya (p. 67) expressly mentions the Vratakhaṇḍa of Hemādri as an authority. This work was composed about 1340 A. D. In an inscription of Bhāskara *alias* Bhavadūra, son of Bukka I, dated *śake* 1291 (i. e. 1369 A. D.) the king is described as making various gifts following the composition of Hemādri.[856] This is obviously a reference to his *dānakhaṇḍa* and establishes that long before 1369 A. D. Hemādri had become a standard author in the Telugu country. The Vanapalli plate of Anna-Vema dated *śake* 1300 (about 1380 A. D.) describes Vema as giving the various gifts in Hemādri and his son as one who observed the *vratas* and *dānas*[857] described by Hemādri. Pedda--Komaṭi--Vema is described in a grant of *śake* 1344 as eager in bestowing gifts described in the rules of Hemādri.[858] Hemādri is quoted in the Madanapārijāta,[859] the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, the Nirṇayasindhu and other works.

88. Kullūkabhaṭṭa

Kullūka's commentary on the Manusmṛti styled the Manvarthamuktāvali is the most famous of all commentaries on Manu. It has been printed several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1909 has been relied upon. Kullūka's commentary is concise and lucid and his remarks are always to the point. He avoids all unnecessary discussions and is never prolix. He was not however original. He drew upon the commentaries of Medhātithi and Govindarāja and incorporated a great deal from them

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[856] हेमाद्रिरुतिमार्गेण कुर्वन्दानान्यनेकशः । E. I. vol. XIV p. 102.

[857] हेमाद्रिदानान्यकरोदशेषाण्यभुङ्क्त भूमिं द्विजभुक्तशेषाम् । and हेमाद्रिदानव्रती. Vide E. I. vol. III. pp. 59 and 61.

[858] हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षः । E. I. vol. XI. p. 325.

[859] ये तु षट्त्रिंशन्मतेपि विचिकित्सन्ते तेषामपरार्कविज्ञानेश्वरचन्द्रिकाकारहेमाद्रिप्रभृतयः प्रतिभटीकर्तव्याः । मदनपारिजात p. 536.

into his own work without acknowledgment. For example, on Manu XI. 95 he simply summarises the remarks[860] of Govindarāja and cites only one out of the several quotations that are found in Govindarāja's Manu-ṭīkā. He severely criticizes both Medhātithi and Govindarāja, particularly the latter. He frequently pours ridicule on the latter (vide note 713 above). At the end of his commentary he says[861] that Medhātithi's skill lay in expounding what texts were authoritative and of substance and what were not so, Govindarāja in concise words explained the hidden meaning of the brief text (of Manu), while Dharaṇīdhara had his own method of explanation which was independent of previous tradition; and therefore he undertook to write a commentary that would clearly set forth the real meaning of Manu. He was very proud of his achievement and says that neither Medhātithi nor Govindarāja nor other commentators explained in the way he did and that explanatory material like his would be difficult to find elsewhere.[862] He notices the explanations of Medhātithi and Govindarāja hundreds of times, discusses various readings and his commentary deserves to a considerable extent the eulogy pronounced by Sir William Jones[863] "At length appeared Cullūca Bhaṭṭa, who, after a painful course of

860 'पुंस एव ब्राह्मणस्य मद्यप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत्। सुरालशुन ... अभक्ष्याणि स्युः ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति इहैव सा दुर्गतिः क्षीणपुण्या अप्सु जलोद्भवेति शुक्तिका वा पतिलोकं न सा यानि ... इति शङ्खवसिष्ठयाज्ञवल्क्यैर्ब्राह्मण्या अपि निषेधस्मरणात्'। गोविन्दराज on मनु XI. 95; 'अत्र केचित् ... ब्राह्मणस्य पुंस एव मद्यप्रतिषेधो न स्त्रिया इत्याहुस्तदसत् पतिलोकं न सा याति ... सूकरी चोपजायते इति याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिविरोधात्।' कुल्लूक.

861 सारासारवचःप्रपञ्चनविधौ मेधातिथेश्चातुरी स्तोकं वस्तु निगूढमल्पवचनाद्गोविन्दराजो जगौ। ग्रन्थेस्मिन्धरणीधरस्य बहुशः स्वातन्त्र्यमेतावता स्पष्टं मानवमर्थतत्त्वमखिलं वक्तुं कृतोयं श्रमः॥. Vide his remarks about धरणीधर on मनु II. 83 and IV. 50 'धरणीधरेण तु एकाक्षरपरं ब्रह्म प्राणायामपरं तपः इति पठितं ... मेधातिथिप्रभृतिभिर्वृद्धैरालिखितं यतः लिखनात्पाठान्तरं तत्र स्वतन्त्रो धरणीधरः' and परंपरीयमाम्नायं हित्वा विद्वद्भिरादृतम्। पाठान्तरं व्यरचयन्मुधेह धरणीधरः॥.'

862 प्रायश्चित्ते बहुमुनिमतालोचनाद्यन्मयोक्तं सद्व्याख्यानं खलु मुनिगिरां तद्धजध्वं गुणज्ञाः। नैतन्मेधातिथिरभिदधे नापि गोविन्दराजो व्याख्यातारो न जगुरपरेप्यन्यतो दुर्लभं वः॥ last verse of chap. XI.

863 *Vide Pedda Ramappa* v *Bangari Seshamma* I. L. R. 2 Mad, 286 at p. 291.

study and the collation of numerous manuscripts, produced a work of which it may perhaps be said very truly that it is the shortest yet the most luminous, the least ostentatious yet the most learned, the deepest yet the most agreeable, commentary ever composed on any author, ancient or modern."

Among the authors and works quoted by him (besides the usual smṛtis) are the following :—Garga (on II. 6), Govindarāja, Dharaṇīdhara, Bhāskara (bhāṣyakāra of the Vedāntasūtras, on I. 8 and 15), Bhojadeva (on VIII. 184), Medhātithi, Vāmana (author of the Kāśikā), Bhaṭṭavārtika-kṛt (on XII. 106), Viśvarūpa (the commentator of Yājñavalkya, on II. 189 and V. 68). The Viśvarūpa that he quotes on Manu V. 215 is the lexicographer and not the jurist as Aufrecht (in his great catalogue) appears to hold.

He gives us a little information about himself in the introductory verse.[864] He came of a Vārendra Brāhmaṇa family of Bengal (Gauḍa) residing in Nandana and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Divākara. He wrote his commentary in Kāśī in the company of *Pandits*. On Manu VI. 14 he mentions the names of certain vegetables that were current in Malwa and among the Vāhīkas.[865]

It appears that Kullūka also composed a digest called Smṛtisāgara. A Ms. of a portion of it called Śrāddhasāgara exists in the Calcutta Sanskrit College (cat. vol. II. p. 405, No. 446). In this his Āśaucasāgara and Vivādasāgara are referred to.

I secured a transcript of the ms. of the Śrāddhasāgara in the Calcutta Sanskrit College through the kindness of the Principal. The Śrāddhasāgara deals with the following subjects :—definition of of śrādha ; whether it is of the nature of *yāga*, dāna and homa ; various kinds of śrāddhas such as nitya, naimittika &c. ; the proper and improper places for śrāddha ; the proper times for śrāddha ; Aṣṭakā-śrāddha ; śūdras can perform aṣṭakā aud other śrāddhas ; intercalary month ; who are paṅkti-pāvana brāhmaṇas ; meaning of

[864] गौडे नन्दनवासिनाम्नि सुजनैर्वन्द्ये वरेन्द्र्यां कुले श्रीमद्भट्टदिवाकरस्य तनयः कुल्लूकभट्टो-
भवत् । काश्यामुत्तरवाहिजह्नुतनयातीरे समं पण्डितैस्तेनेयं क्रियते हिताय विदुषां मन्वर्थ-
मुक्तावली ॥

[865] भूस्तृणं मालवदेशे प्रसिद्धं शाकं शिग्रुकं वाह्लीकेषु प्रसिद्धं शाकम् ।

nimantraṇa and āmantraṇa ; the number of brāhmaṇas to be invited ; the *darbhas* ; śrāddhadevatās ; the sacred thread etc.

The Śrāddhasāgara is full of Pūrvamīmāṁsā discussions. The author says that he wrote it and the other two works (Vivādasāgara and Āśaucasāgara) at the order of his father. He quotes profusely from the Mahābhārata, the Mahāpurāṇas and Upapurāṇas and from the dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. He names the Kalpataru oftener than any other *nibandhakāra*. The other authors and works named are : Bhojadeva, Halāyudha (probably the author of Prakāśa on the Śrāddhakalpasūtra of Kātyāyana), Jikana, Kāmadhenu, Medhātithi, Śaṅkhadhara. In one place we have a reference to Prabhākara and Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (on Kāla and Kāma being devatās) and in another place to Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayūkhabhaṭṭāḥ (which are probably marginal notes creeping into the ms. or refer to authors other than the well-known ones). He refers to the opinion of his own *guru* in opposition to that of the Kalpataru.

The date of Kullūka cannot be settled with certainty. Bühler held that he lived probably in the 15th century (S. B. E. vol. xxv. p. cxxxi). Ghose (Hindu Law, 3rd edition p. XVI) and M. M. Chakravarti (JASB 1915, p. 345) are of the same opinion. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 Sir Asutosh Mukerji places Kullūka in the 15th century (at p. 688). As Kullūka mentions Bhojadeva, Govindarāja, Kalpataru and Halāyudha he is certainly later than 1150 A. D. Raghunandana[866] in his Dāyatattva and Vyavahāratattva, and Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka frequently mention his views. Śrīnātha's com. on the Dāyabhāga refutes the view of Kullūka. The Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda refers to Kullūka's explanation of the word 'ākāṅkṣan' as 'Vīkṣamāṇaḥ' in Manu III. 258. The Rājanīti-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quotes the explanation of Kullūka.[867] Therefore Kullūka must have flourished before 1300

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866 एको लुब्धस्तु साक्षी स्यादिति कुल्लूकभट्टधृतपाठः, एको लुब्धस्त्वसाक्षी स्यादिति जीमूतवाहनधृतपाठस्तु न युक्तः । व्यवहारतत्त्व (vol. II, p. 213); समांशाः समभागा एव भवेयुर्नोद्धारः कस्यचिद् देय इति कुल्लूकभट्टः । दायतत्त्व (vol. II, p. 193).

867 अत एव कुल्लूकभट्टः-राजशब्दोपि नात्र क्षत्रियजातिपरः किं त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपालयितृपुरुषपरः । राजनीतिरत्नाकर (ed. by Mr. Jayaswal, 1924) p. 2. These are the words of कुल्लूक on मनु 7. 1.

A. D. Kullūka in his by no means small work nowhere refers to the Dāyabhāga, though he himself came of a Bengal family. This silence is explicable in two ways. As we have seen, Kullūka wrote in Kāśī and not in Bengal. Therefore if he flourished not long after Jīmūtavāhana, it is quite natural that writing in Benares he had not heard of the Dāyabhāga or read it. It has been shown above that Jīmūtavāhana probably wrote about 1100-1150 A. D. Therefore Kullūka flourished between 1150 and 1300 A. D. and probably wrote about 1250 A. D. M. M. Chakravarti is not sure as to how early Kullūka flourished but opines that he could not have flourished later than the first quarter of the 15th century (JASB 1915, p. 345 n. 1).

89. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya

Mithilā has made extremely valuable and substantial contributions to Dharmaśāstra Literature. From the days of the Yājñavalkya smṛti down to modern times the land of Mithilā has produced writers whose names are illustrious. Śrīdatta Upādhyāya is one of the earliest among the mediaeval Maithila *nibandhakāras*. He is the author of several works which will be briefly noticed.

The Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta was printed in Benaras at the Divakara Press and by the Venkateśvara Press in Bombay in *saṁvat* 1961. It is a manual of the daily religious duties of the followers of the white Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins),[868] such as *ācamana*, brushing the teeth, morning bath, *saṁdhyā*, *japa*, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, daily worship of gods, *vaiśvadeva*, feeding guests etc. Among the works and writers named are the following[869]:—Ācāra-cintāmaṇi, Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Kālikāpurāṇa, Gaṇeśamiśra, Rājā (probably Bhojadeva), Smṛtimahārṇava, Harihara and Halāyudha-nibandha. There is a commentary on this work called Ācārādarśabodhinī

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[868] अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निबध्यते निबद्धो यो धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धुभिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse in D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76; समूलवचनाभोगो मीमांसान्यायनिर्मलः । श्रीदत्तेन सतामेष आचारे दर्पणः कृतः ॥

[869] Vide for गणेशमिश्र and राजा 'अशिरस्कं मार्जनमिति गणेशमिश्राः' folio 15 b of आचारादर्श (D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1875-76); 'इति राजाद्यलिखितं मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्टवचनं न प्रमाणमित्याहुः' folio 26 a; 'इदं च बौधायनवाक्यं राजाद्यलिखितमपि बहुजनसंमतत्वाल्लिखितम् ।' folio 29 a.

composed by Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa, son of Dāmodara Maithila, at Benaras in 1640 A. D (Dr. Bhandarkar's report, 1883–84, p. 347). In this work he uses several vernacular words; e. g. he says that 'Śāla' tree is known as Sagavana[870] (in the vernacular).

Another work of his is the Chandogāhnika on the daily duties for Sāmavedins. He refers to it in his Samayapradīpa[871] and Pitṛbhakti. A supplement to it named Chandogāhnikoddhāra was written by Śaṅkaramiśra, son of Bhavanāthamiśra (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI p. 10, No. 1989).

The Pitṛbhakti is a manual on the śrāddha rites for students of the Yajurveda. It was based[872] on the Kātīyakalpa with Karka's bhāṣya thereon and on the works of Gopāla and Bhūpāla (i. e. Bhojadeva). It is frequently quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara. Among the writers named are (besides those that occur in the Ācārādarśa also): Pitṛhitākaraṇikāra, Nārāyaṇavṛtti (on Āśvalāyana Gr. S.), Mitākṣarā, Ratnakaraṇḍikā, Vidhipuṣpamālā (26 a), Śubhākara, Smṛtimañjarī, Smṛtimañjūṣā, Halāyudha's Śrāddhādhyāya. This work first treats of the details of the *Pārvaṇaśrāddha*, then of ekoddiṣṭa, of the monthly śrāddhas, the śrāddha on the 11th day after death, of Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, of ābhyudayika śrāddha. It then proceeds to consider the definition of śrāddha.

The Śrāddhakalpa was composed by him for the Sāmavedins. It is referred to in his Samayapradīpa[873] and Pitṛbhakti (folio 33b)

The Samayapradīpa treats of the proper times for various *vratas*.[874] It is divided into three chapters (*paricchedas*). The

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870 'शालवृक्षः सगवन इति प्रसिद्धः' folio 9 b of the आचारादर्श. Compare Marathi 'सागवान.'

871 'उक्तमस्माभिराह्निके' folio 53a of समयप्रदीप D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76; 'न च सपत्नीकानामिति प्रपञ्चितमस्माभिश्छन्दोगश्राद्धकल्पे' पितृभक्ति folio 24 a.

872 कातीयकल्पं सहकर्कभाष्यं गोपालभूपालमतादि दृष्ट्वा। सतां च वाक्यानि निशाम्य सम्यग्यजुर्विदां श्राद्धविधिं विधास्ये॥ first verse of पितृभक्ति (D. C. Ms. No 152 of 1892-95).

873 'निर्णीतमस्माभिः श्राद्धकल्पे' समयप्रदीप folio 49 a (D. C. Ms. No. 371 of 1875-76).

874 श्रीदत्तेन व्रतादीनां सारमाकृष्य लिख्यते। verse 2 of समयप्रदीप.

first is called Samayapariccheda and dilates upon the definition of *vrata*, on the procedure about fasts, *nakta* and the *vratas* of Ganeśa and other deities, the second is called Saṁvatsara-kṛtya-pariccheda and treats of *vratas* from the *pratipadā* to the *amāvāsyā* in the several months and the third is called prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) dealing with the *vratas* on *saṅkrānti* (the Sun's passage into another Zodiacal sign) etc. In this work Śrīdatta often refers to the views of the Gauḍas and contrasts them with his own. He also refers to Gauḍanibandha. No other writers or works except those that are already enumerated under Ācārādarśa and Pitṛbhakti are named in this work. On folio 7a there is a name which is somewhat indistinct and appears to be 'Mitāmitrādibhiḥ'. The Samayapradīpa is mentioned in the Kṛtya-ratnākara (pp. 400, 479, 505) of Caṇḍeśvara and in Śūlapāṇi's Durgotsavaviveka.[875] Śrīdatta is more frequently quoted in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda than almost any other author or work.

As Śrīdatta names the Kalpataru, Harihara and Halāyudha's work on Śrāddha he must have flourished later than 1200 A. D. As Caṇḍeśvara mention his Samayapradīpa, Srīdatta must have flourished before the first quarter of the 14th century. If Gaṅeśamiśra mentioned in the Ācārādarśa be the same as Ganeśvaramiśra, the author of Sugatisopāna and uncle of Caṇḍeśvara (which appears extremely probable), then Śrīdatta flourished a short time before Caṇḍeśvara and must have composed his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D.

It appears that there was another Maithila writer called Śrīdattamiśra, son of Nāgeśvaramiśra, who composed the Ekāgnidānapaddhati and one or two other works (Hp. Nepal cat. p. 129). The Nepal Ms. of the Ekāgnidāna-paddhati was copied in La-Sam 299 (Lakṣamaṇasena era 299, i. e. 1418 A. D.). Vide Hp. Nepal cat. XII, 45 and 129. So this Śrīdatta flourished towards the end of the 14th century in the reign of Devasiṁha son of Bhaveśa. Vide JASB for 1915 pp. 379-381 and 388-390 for Śrīdatta.

[875] समासरुधिरदानमाह श्रीदत्तोपाध्यायकृतसमयप्रदीपे भविष्यपुराणम् । दुर्गोत्सवविवेक p. 21 (Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad ed.).

90. Candeśvara

Caṇḍeśvara is the most prominent figure among Maithila *nibandhakāras* on Dharmaśāstra. He compiled an extensive digest called Smṛtiratnākara or simply Ratnākara. This digest was divided into seven sections viz., on kṛtya, dāna, vyavahāra, śuddhi, pūjā, vivāda and gṛhastha.[876] Out of these the Vivādaratnākara dealing with dāyabhāga and the other titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*) has been printed in the B. I. series and has been translated into English by Mr. G. C. Sarkar and by Mr. Justice Digambara Chatterjee. The Vivādaratnakara of Caṇḍeśvara and the Vivādacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati are of paramount authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā (modern Tirhut) so far as British Indian Courts are concerned.[877]

The Kṛtya-ratnākara deals in 22 *taraṅgas* with the discussion of *Dharma* (its real nature, its rewards, means of knowing it and the occasions for it), the various vratas and observances in the several months from *Caitra*, the observances in the intercalary month, various *vratas* on the several days of the week, the Sun's passage into a new sign, eclipse on the new-moon day etc. This work is referred to in his Dānaratnākara, which in its turn is quoted in the Gṛhastha-ratnākara.[878] The work has recently been printed in the B. I. series (1925).

The Gṛhastharatnākara is a very extensive work in 68 *taraṅgas* on the duties of householders. The Deccan College Ms. that I could consult is incomplete, has only folios 30, 72-133 and contains the last 23 *taraṅgas* only. Some of the subjects dealt with are :— from whom gifts were to be accepted by gṛhasthas; duties and

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876 श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहारशुद्धिपूजाविवादेषु गृहस्थकृत्ये। रत्नाकरा धर्मभुवो निबन्धाः कृतास्तुलापूरुषदेन सप्त ॥ verse towards the end of the विवादरत्नाकर, last verse of दानरत्नाकर (D. C. Ms. No. 114 of 1884-85, where we have धर्मसु ये निबद्धाः कृताः श्रीचण्डीश्वरमन्त्रिणा ते)

877 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174; I. L. R. 20 All. 267 (P. C.) at p. 290; I. L. R. 10 Cal 392 at p. 399; I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 at p. 351.

878 अत्रोक्तमपि यद्दानं कृत्यरत्नाकरे पुनः। मासादिकृत्यसामस्त्यं गौरवात्तदुदीरितम् ॥ Intro. verse in दानरत्नाकर (D.C. M.s. No. 114 of 1884-86); अस्मत्प्रतिग्रहश्राद्धान्यस्माभिर्दानरत्नाकरे देयादेयतरङ्गे प्रदर्शितानि। गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 76 a.

actions proper for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras; the observances of a *snātaka*; *yama* and *niyama*; *śauca*; the observances of *brahmacarya*; what ruins families; proper abode for a gṛhastha; what a gṛhastha should or should not speak or should or should not see; things not to be given to *śudras*; the avoidance of anger, adultery and intermixture of castes (*saṁkara*); requiting of debts etc.

The Dānaratnākara contains 29 *taraṅgas* and deals with the following subjects:—meaning of *dāna*; what may or may not be gifted; fit objects of charity; the gifts called *mahādānas*; gifts of a thousand cows and heaps of corn; various gifts, such as those of food, books; gifts appropriate to certain months, *nakṣatras* and *tithis*; miscellaneous gifts; dedication of wells and tanks for public use; planting of trees.

The Vivādaratnākara is an extensive work (671 pages in print) in 100 *taraṅgas* on civil and criminal law and deals with the 18 titles of law such as *dāyabhāga* (on partition and inheritance), ṛṇādāna (recovery of debts) and others. It formed the basis of the Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati and the Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna. It is mentioned in his own Gṛhastharatnākara.[879]

The Vyavahāraratnākara deals with judicial procedure, such as the plaint, the reply, the burden of proof, means of proof, judgment etc. Vide Mitra's notices, vol. VI. p. 66, No. 2036.

The Śudhiratnākara is in 34 *taraṅgas* and deals with impurity on birth and death, persons who have to observe no āśauca, meaning of *sapiṇḍa*, rites on death up to the end of the period of mourning, purifications of food and various substances. Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. VII. p. 149, No. 2384 and I. O. cat. p. 412, No. 1389.

For the Pūjāratnākara, vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 162, No. 2398. That work is mentioned by Raghunandana in the Śuddhi-tattva (vol. II, p. 299 on Śālagrāma stone).

Besides this digest Caṇḍeśvara compiled several other works.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is one of such works. It is a question when it was composed. In his Gṛhastharatnākara he says that certain

[879] इत्यादीनि चान्यानि पुत्रदेशे विवादरत्नाकर एवास्माभिर्वर्णितानीति। गृहस्थरत्नाकर folio 188 b.

architectural and decorative constructions called Śrīvṛkṣa, Vardhamāna and Nandyāvarta have been spoken of by him in the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi[880] But the Kṛtyacintāmaṇi says that he has already composed the seven ratnākaras.[881]

The Kṛtyacintāmaṇi is divided into sections called prakāśas. It deals with astronomical matters in relation to the performance of several religious ceremonies and saṁskāras, such as *tārāśuddhi*, the intercalary month, garbhādhāna, sīmantonnayana, birth of a child on the Mūla nakṣatra, the rites on the 6th day after birth, nāmakaraṇa, the movements of Saturn, Sun's passage from one sign into another, the results of eclipses etc.

Another work of Caṇḍeśvara, the Rājanītiratnākara, has been recently edited at Patna (1924) by Mr. K. P. Jayasval with a learned introduction dealing with the personal history of Caṇḍeśvara, his relations with the Maithila kings and the mediaeval Indian literature on politics. It appears that Caṇḍeśvara did not complete the writing of a work on politics when he compiled his great digest. He wrote the work at the command of the king Bhaveśa (or Bhaveśvara) of Mithilā.[882] The work contains 16 *taraṅgas* (waves, i. e. chapters) on the following subjects :—definition of a king, different grades of kings, the eighteen vices or calamities for kings, duties of kings ; the characteristics and duties of amātyas (councillors) ; the characteristics of *purohita* ; the characteristics and duties of a prāḍvivāka (Judge); the members of the hall of justice (sabhyas), their number and qualifications; concerning forts; the time and place and accessories of the settlement of royal policy; concerning the state treasury; the army; the commander-in-chief and the discipline of the army; ambassadors, allies, and spies; the general obligations of kings, conflict of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the six *guṇas* -- saṁdhi etc., the maṇḍala of kings; the king's power of punishment; abdication by king, the heir-apparent, impartibility of the kingdom ; the eldest son's right to succeed, the

880 श्रीवृक्षवर्धमाननन्द्यावर्ताः प्रासादविशेषाः सुवर्णदार्वादिनिर्मिताः कृत्यचिन्तामणावस्माभिरुक्ताः । folio 113a of D. C. Ms. No. 44 of 1883-84.

881 आम्नायस्मृतिनिर्णयाय कृतवांस्तान्सप्तरत्नाकरान् । Intro. verse 12 of कृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat. p. 511, No. 1261).

882 राज्ञा भवेशनाम्नेमो राजनीतिनिबन्धकम् । तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः कृती ॥ 3rd intro. verse राजनीतिर०.

seven constituent elements of the state; the state's obligation towards the poor, the helpless etc.; the coronation of the heir-apparent or his investiture.

There are two more works composed by Caṇḍeśvara viz., the Dānavākyāvali and the Śivavākyāvali (vide I. O. cat. p. 1409, No. 3724 for the latter).

Caṇḍeśvara names in his works, particularly in the Kṛtyaratnākara and the Vivādaratnākara, a host of writers and works. In his great digest he drew largely upon five predecessors and incorporated often without acknowledgment much or almost all that was valuable in them. These five predecessors were the Kāmadhenu, the Kalpataru, the Pārijāta, the Prakāśa (i. e. Smṛtimahārṇava) and Halāyudha, all of which he quotes scores of times. At the end of the Vivādaratnākara he boasts that whatever is of the essence in the above five works and even more is comprehended in his single work the Ratnākara.[883] Among the authors and works mentioned in his seven ratnākaras, those mentioned below deserve to be noted.[884] In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 348 (at p. 356) the learned judges appear to hold that the Pārijāta mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi is the Madanapārijāta. But this is obviously a mistake (vide p. 309 above on Pārijāta). Besides these in his Rājanītiratnākara he names Kāmandaka, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, Pallava and Pallavakāra, Śrīkara. What

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883 कल्पद्रुमे वाप्यथ पारिजाते हलायुधे वाप्यथवा प्रकाशे। यत्सारमस्मादधिकं च यत्त-द्बुधाति रत्नाकर एक एव॥ यं कामधेनुरनुयाति सकल्पवृक्षो (क्षा?) यं सेवते निज-फलाय स पारिजातः। तं वैरिगोत्रभिदमुच्चसहस्रदृष्टिं चण्डेश्वरं तुलयितुं कतमे भवन्तु॥ (vide notes 652 and 703 for these two verses).

884 असहाय, उदयकर (commentator of मनु, vide विवादरत्ना० pp. 453, 560, 590), कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यसमुच्चय, गोपाल, गोहेश्वरमिश्र (वि. र. p. 46), जिक-नीयनिबन्ध, दानसागर (folio 15a दानर०), देवेश्वरधर्माधिकरणिक, पारिजात, प्रकाश, प्रतिमासंग्रह, भर्तृयज्ञ (गृहस्थर० folio 78a, on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), भाष्यकार (of शङ्खलिखित), भागुरि (वि. र. p. 104), भूपाल, भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपाल-पद्धति, माधवस्वामी (गृहस्थर० 116 a), मिश्र (वि. र. p. 595), मिताक्षरा, मुरारिराज, मेधातिथि, राजमार्तण्ड, लक्ष्मीधर, वर्षदीपिका, वसन्तराज, विश्वरूपाचार्य, व्रतसागर, श्रीदत्त, समयप्रदीप, सागर (दानरत्नाकर 10 b), स्मृतिरत्नविवेक, स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश, हरिहर, हलायुधनिबन्ध. The कृत्यसमुच्चय, भूपालपद्धति and भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय seem to be the same work.

is printed as Naṭasūtra in the Vivādaratnākara (p. 477) is really Lāṭa (i. e. Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra). Caṇḍeśvara mentions many vernacular words (e. g. Krityaratnākara pp. 109, 111, 306, 338, 443).

We learn a great deal about the family and personal history of Caṇḍeśvara from his works. The Vivādaratnākara in the introduction and in the colophon tells us that Caṇḍeśvera was a *mantrin* (a minister), was entrusted with the office of minister for peace and war, that he conquered Nepal and weighed himself against gold on the banks of the Vāgvatī in *śake* 1236 (1314 A. D.).[885] There are more or less similar colophons at the end of the Rājanītiratnākara and the other ratnākaras. The grand-father of Caṇḍeśvara was Devāditya,[886] who was minister of Harasiṁhadeva of Tirhut and who belonged to the Kārṇāṭa family. One of the sons of Devāditya was Vīreśvara who was also a minister for peace and war of the same king and is said to have made grants to learned Brāhmaṇas in Rāmapura (i. e. Simraon in Champaran District) and other cities (verse 10 of Kṛtyaratnākara). Mr. Jayasval points out in his introduction to the Rājanīti-ratnākara (j) that the correct name of the king was Harisiṁhadeva. Another son of Devāditya was Gaṇeśvara who was younger than Vīreśvara and who was also a great minister and author of Sugatisopāna. A copy of this work bears the date *La-sam* (Lakṣmaṇasena era) 224 (i. e. 1343-44 A. D.).[887] In the colophon of this work Devāditya is called 'mahāmatta' (mahāmātra) and Ganeśvara is styled mahārājādhirāja. In the

885 श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा मतिमतानेन प्रसन्नात्मना नेपालाखिलभूमिपालजयिना धर्मेन्दुदुग्धाब्धिना । वाग्वत्याः सरितस्तटे सुरधुनीसाम्यं दधत्याः शुचौ मार्गे मासि यथोक्तपुण्यसमये दत्तस्तुलापूरुषः ॥ 3rd Intro. verse; at the end we have रसगुणभुजचन्द्रैः संमिते शाकवर्षे सहसि धवलपक्षे वाग्वतीसिन्धुतीरे । अदित तुलितमुच्चैरात्मना स्वर्णराशिं निधिरखिलगुणानामुत्तमः सोमनाथः ॥ इति समक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिकठक्कुरमन्त्रिवरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मजसमक्रियमहासान्धिविग्रहिकठक्कुरश्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते विवादरत्नाकरः संपूर्णः ।

886 आसीन्मैथिलतीरभुक्तिविषये मन्त्रप्रभावाद्भुतः ... देवादित्य इति त्रिलोकमहितो मन्त्रीन्द्रचूडामणिः ॥ 2nd intro. verse to कृत्यचिन्तामणि (I. O. cat p. 511, No. 1621); अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेवनृपतिर्निःशेषविद्वेषिणां निर्मार्थी मिथिलां प्रशास्तदखिलां कार्णाटवंशोद्भवः । verse 4 of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

887 *Vide* cat. of Nepal palm-leaf and paper mss. p. 133 (Haraprasad Sastri).

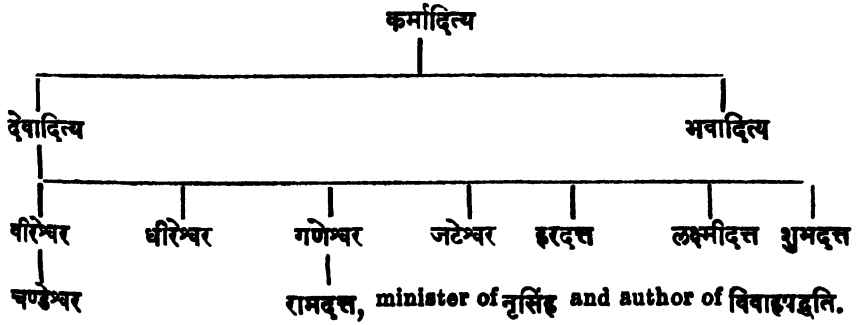
Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara the Sugatisopāna is said to be the work of one who was *pratihastaka* (deputy) of Bhavaśarma.[888] Caṇḍeśvara was the son of Vīreśvara and like his father and grandfather became minister of Harisiṁhadeva. This must have happened about 1310 A. D., as he weighed himself in 1314 A. D. The Kṛtyaratnākara (verse 15) says that he touched the very idol of Paśupati in Nepal and worshipped it after conquering the country.

From the Vyavahāraratnākara it appears that Caṇḍeśvara was Chief Judge as well as Minister for peace and war.[889] Caṇḍeśvara and his ancestors are highly praised for their liberality.[890] In the Dānaratnākara (verse 2 at the end) he is said to have rescued the earth submerged in the flood of Mlecchas.[891] This probably refers to the defeat of some Mahomedan generals. Harisiṁhadeva was routed by Ghiasuddin Tughlak in 1324 and retired from Tirhut

888 श्राद्धविवेक p. 4 (Benares ed. of 1920 संवत्) 'इति सुगतिसोपानादौ भवशर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थे क्रमः।'

889 निर्णीय व्यवहारसागमदृशा यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन्
विचारचारुधिषणो धर्मं नयत्युन्नतिम्।
तेनायं गुरुसन्धिविग्रहधुरां धौरेयसंनीतिना
श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः॥

Mitra's Notices, vol VI. p. 67. The second pāda has four syllables less. The genealogy of चण्डेश्वर's family is



890 यस्य दानातिरेकेण लोके निर्जितगौरवः। कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः क्वचित् क्वचित्॥ 4th verse at end of दानरत्नाकर, Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 135; verse 21 of कृत्यरत्नाकर says that चण्डेश्वर dug a large lake in अभिरामपुर.

891 मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया.

into Nepal.[892] Hence it follows that the seven Ratnākaras some of which (like vivāda and dāna) refer to his weighing himself against gold in 1314 A. D. and his high position at the court of Harisiṁhadeva were composed between 1314 and 1324 A. D. His Rājanītiratnākara was composed at the command of Bhaveśa. This last belonged to the line of the Kāmeśvara dynasty which began to rule Tirhut in the third quarter of the 13th century, in 1370 A. D. according to Mr. Jayasval (introduction to Rājanītiratnākara, *r*). Therefore the literary activities of Caṇḍeśvara extended over about 50 years from 1314 and the Rājanīti-ratnākara was probably his last work composed at a very advanced age. For the somewhat controversial and confused chronology of the Tirhut kings of the Kārṇāṭa and Kāmeśvara dynasties, vide Hp. cat. (Introduction p. 31); Grierson in Ind. Ant. vol. 14, p. 182-196 and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, p. 57; JASB 1915 pp. 407-433 (M. M. Chakravarti); JBORS vol. IX, p. 300 and X, p. 37 (Jayasval).

Caṇḍeśvara exercised very great influence over Maithila and Bengal writers. Misarumiśra, Vardhamāna, Vācaspati-miśra and Raghunandana[893] very frequently quote him. The Vīramitrodaya (p. 181) calls the Ratnākara 'Paurastya-nibandha' (eastern digest).

91. Harinātha

Harinātha is the author of a digest called Smṛtisāra on several topics of dharmaśāstra. No part of this work has been yet printed. In the India Office there are two mss. of the Smṛtisāra (I. O. cat. p. 448, No. 1488 and p. 449, No. 1489). The first cites 67 authorities (*pramāpakāḥ*) on Dharmaśāstra, out of which the Karmapradīpa, the Kalpataru, the Kāmadhenu, Kumāra, Gaṇeśvaramiśra, Vijñāneśvara, Vilamba (?), Śmṛtimañjūṣā and Harihara deserve special mention. This ms. contains the portion of the Smṛtisāra on the saṁskāras, rites on death, śrāddha and prāyaścitta. The other ms. deals with the principal topics of vivāda (various titles of law) and vyavahāra (judicial procedure), viz. partition, father's share

892 The *Pañji* historian of Mithilā thus describes the departure of हरसिंहदेव 'बाणाब्धियुग्मशशिसंमितशाकवर्षे पौषस्य शुक्लनवमीरविसूनुवारे । त्यक्त्वा सुपट्टनपुरीं हरसिंहदेवो दुर्दैवदेशितपथोथ गिरिं विवेश ॥'.

893 The दानरत्नाकर, पूजारत्नाकर and शुद्धिरत्नाकर are quoted in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (e. g. pp. 284, 299, 301, vol. 1).

on partition, larger share to eldest son, persons excluded from partition and inheritance, impartible property; *strīdhana*; the several kinds of sons; succession to the property of the sonless; re-union; gambling and prize-fighting and other titles of law; various methods of *daṇḍa* (punishment); the various units of measure etc.; judicial procedure i. e. the plaint, the reply, the means of proof, viz, documents, witnesses, possession, reasoning, oaths, and ordeals; review of judgment; minority and dependence; rules about succession according to various authors. This last portion appears to be a sort of supplement, wherein the views of Bālarūpa, Pārijāta, Halāyudha, Kalpataru and of the Smṛtisāra itself on the order of succession to a man dying sonless are set forth. Viśvarūpa and Śrīkara are named in the summary of Bālarūpa's views and the Prakāśa at a later stage (folio 148 b). Bhavadeva-nibandha is also expressly named on possession.

No information is given in the mss. about Harinātha himself. He is styled in the colophons ' mahāmahopādhyāya. ' In several places he refers to the views of the Gauḍas on *ācāra*; e. g. he cites the view of the Gauḍas that on a fasting day or śrāddha day one should not employ the twig used in dantadhāvana and that when there is Ekādaśī on two days a house-holder should observe a fast on the first and a *yati* on the second. It appears that he was not a Gauḍa but rather a Maithila.

The India Office ms. of the *vivāda* portion of the Smṛtisāra is dated *saṁvat* 1614 (i. e. 1558 A. D.). Another ms. of the same portion (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. V, p. 232, No. 1913) was copied in Lakṣmaṇa *saṁvat* 363 i. e. 1469-1470 A. D. Śūlapāṇi quotes the Smṛtisāra in his Durgotsavaviveka. Misarumiśra in his Vivādacandra several times refers to the opinions of the Smṛtisāra.[894] Hence it follows that the Smṛtisāra was composed before the last quarter of the 14th century. Caṇḍeśvara in his voluminous work

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894 e. g. न बाधेः कालसंबोधान्निसर्गोस्ति न विक्रय इति वचनात् कालसंबोधः कालावस्थानं निसर्गोत्र व्यधिकरणम् । भोग्याधिविषयमिति स्मृतिसारः । folio 5a of विवादचन्द्र (D. C. ms. No. 57 of 1883-84); अत एव स्मृतिसारे यदा पितैव केनचित्पुत्रेण संसर्गो (संसृष्टो ?) तदा तद्धनं संसृष्टपुत्रो गृह्णीयान्नासंसृष्टपुत्रः संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीत्यविशेषेणाभिधानादित्युक्तम् । folio 37 b ; vide also 57 b for another reference to स्मृतिसार.

nowhere refers to Harinātha nor does the latter refer to him. Hence they were probably contemporaries or not separated by any appreciable interval of time. As Harinātha mentions the Kalpataru and Harihara, he must be later than about 1250 A. D. If Ganeśvaramiśra[895] mentioned by Harinātha be the author of the Sugatisopāna (which is extremely probable) who was an uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, then Harinātha cannot be earlier than about 1300 A. D. and flourished at about the same time as Caṇḍeśvara, viz, the first half of the 14th century A. D. Harinātha is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Raghunandana (in Udvāhatattva vol. I, pp. 108, 119, Āhnikatattva vol. I, p. 240, Śuddhitattva vol. II, p. 240), Kamalākara, Nīlakaṇṭha and a host of other later writers. In the Ekādaśītattva p. 45 Harinātha is spoken of as *upajīvya* by Vardhamāna and Vācaspati.

There are several works styled Smṛtisāra e. g. of Kesavaśarma (Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 76), of Yādavabhūṣaṇa-bhaṭṭācārya (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV p. 213 No. 1642), of Devayājñika (D. C. Ms. No. 266 of 1884-87 and 344 of 1886-92, the latter being called Smṛtisārasaṁgraha). Hence it often becomes difficult to say in the case of later works, what particular Smṛtisāra is being quoted.

92. Mādhavācārya

Mādhavācārya is the brightest star in the galaxy of *dākṣiṇātya* authors on dharmaśāstra. His fame stands only second to that of the great Śaṅkarācārya. He had a most versatile genius and either himself wrote or inspired his brother Sāyaṇa and others to write voluminous works on almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. As an erudite scholar, as a far-sighted statesman, as the bulwark of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the first days of its foundation, as a *saṁnyāsin* given to peaceful contemplation and renunciation in old age, he led such a varied and useful life that even to this day his is a name to conjure with. Among his numerous works two deserve special mention here, viz : the Parāśara-mādhavīya, his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti and the Kālanirṇaya.

895 श्वः कर्तास्मीति निश्चित्य दाता विप्रान्निमन्त्रयेत् । निरामिषं सरुद्भुक्त्वा सर्वभुक्जने गृहे । असंभवे परेद्युर्वा ब्राह्मणास्तान्निवेदयेत् ॥ अत्र गणेश्वरमिश्राः । इदं वाक्यं निरामिषसरुद्भोजनविशिष्टे निमन्त्रणविधायकमतो निमन्त्रणाङ्गानि निरामिषसरुद्भोजनां श्रुतिबलात् । स्मृतिसार (I. O. ms. No. 1488).

The Parāśara-mādhavīya has been published several times, the edition in the B. I. series and in the Bombay Sanskrit series being the best known. In the following the Bombay edition has been used. This work is very extensive and occupies about 2300 printed pages in the Bombay edition. It is not a mere commentary on Parāśara's text, but is in the nature of a digest of civil and religious law. The original smṛti of Parāśara contains no verses on *vyavahāra*, but Mādhavācarya hangs, on the slender peg of a single verse of Parāśara calling upon the king to rule his subjects with righteousness, his treatise on *vyavahāra* that covers a little over a fourth part of the whole commentary (vide note 341 above an Parāśara). The Parāśara-mādhavīya is a work of authority on modern Hindu Law in southern India.[896] His style is lucid and he generally avoids lengthy and abstruse discussions. Besides numerous smṛtikāras and purāṇas he names the following authors and works — Aparārka, Devasvāmin, Purāṇasāra, Prapañcasāra, Medhātithi, Vivaraṇakāra (on the Vedāntasūtra), Viśvarūpācārya, Śambhu, Śivasvāmin, Smṛticandrikā. The Parāśara-mādhavīya was amongst his earliest works. He tells us that there was no commentary on Parāśara before him.[897]

The Kālanirṇaya of Mādhavācarya has been published several times. In the following the B. I. edition has been used. He states that he wrote this work after he composed his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti.[898] The work is divided into five *prakaraṇas*. The first (Upodghāta) deals with a scholastic disquisition on *kāla* (time) and its real nature ; the 2nd (called *vatsara*) speaks of the year, its various lengths according as it is *cāndra*, *sāvana* or *saura*, of the two *ayanas*, of the seasons and their number, of the months (*cāndra* and *saura*), of the intercalary months, and the religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months, of the two *pakṣas* (fortnights); the third *prakaraṇa* (pratipatprakaraṇa) deals with the meaning of the word *tithi*, duration of a

896 2 Mad. H. C. R. p. 206 at p. 217 ; 11 Moo. I. A. p. 487 at p. 508 ; I. L. R. 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

897 पराशरस्मृतिः पूर्वैर्न व्याख्याता निबन्धृभिः । मयातो माधवार्येण तद्व्याख्यायां प्रयत्यते ॥ 9th Intro verse.

898 व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्माम्भोराशरानथ । तदनुष्ठानकालस्य निर्णयं वक्तुमुद्यतः ॥ 4th Intro. verse of कालनिर्णय.

tithi, the fifteen *tithis* of a *pakṣa*, two kinds of *tithis*, viz. śuddhā (i. e. not intermixed with another *tithi* on the same day) and *viddhā* (intermixed with another *tithi* on same day), rules about the preference of the first *tithi* for particular religious rites and observances (for Gods and Manes) when intermixed with the preceding and following *tithis*, the fifteen *muhūrtas* of the day and of the night; the *fourth* (dvitīyādi-tithi-prakaraṇa) extends the application of the rules about *pratipad* to the *tithis* from the second to the fifteenth and decides on what *tithi* (whether intermixed with the preceding or the following) certain *vratas*, such as Gaurīvrata on the third, Janmāṣṭamī on the 8th, were to be performed; the *fifth* (*prakīrṇaka* i. e. miscellaneous) deals with rules about the determination of *nakṣatras* for various acts, the *yogas* and *karaṇas* and rules about saṁkrānti and eclipses and the actions proper for them.

The Kālanirnaya besides the names of numerous sages, purāṇas, astronomical and astrological writers mentions the following works and authors :—Kālādarśa (p. 83), Bhoja (as having composed in Āryā metre a work on the Śaiva *āgama*), Muhūrta-vidhāna-sāra (p. 341), Vateśvarasiddhānta, Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa, the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi (of Bhāskarācārya), Hemādri (p. 67 his *vratakhaṇḍa* and *puruṣhaṇḍa*).

A good deal about the family and personal history of Mādhavācārya can be gleaned from the above-mentioned two works and other treatises of Mādhavācārya. From the Parāśara-mādhavīya we[899] learn that he was the son of Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī, that Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were his younger brothers, that he was a student of the black Yajurveda and of the Baudhāyana-sūtra-caraṇa and belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra. The introductory verses and the colophon of the Prāyaścitta-sudhānidhi[900] of Sāyaṇa corroborate most of these particulars. A verse at the beginning of the

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[899] श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिर्मायणः पिता । सायणो भोगनाथश्च मनोबुद्धी सहोदरौ ॥ यस्य बौधायनं सूत्रं शाखा यस्य च याजुषी । भारद्वाजं कुलं यस्य सर्वज्ञः स हि माधवः ॥ Intro. verses 6 and 7 of पराशरमाधवीय.

[900] यस्य मन्त्रिशिरोरत्नमस्ति मायणसायणः । यः ख्यातिं रत्नगर्भेति यथार्थयति पार्थिवीम् ॥ and the colophon इति माधवभोगनाथसहोदरस्य मायणनन्दनस्य सायणाचार्यस्य &c. Descriptive cat. of Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. vol. VII. p. 2620 No. 3490. The king referred to is सङ्गम.

Kālanirṇaya tells us that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratītīrtha and Śrīkaṇṭha were his teachers.[901] The Parāśara-Mādhavīya highly eulogises[902] Mādhava, compares him to divine and semi-divine councillors like Aṅgirasa of Indra and says that he was the hereditary teacher (*kulaguru*) and *mantrin* of king Bukkaṇa (or Bukka). The colophons to the several works of Sāyaṇa, the younger brother of Mādhavācārya, show that these brothers were closely connected with four rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty, viz. Bukka and his son Harihara, Kampa and his son Saṅgama. In the Yājñatantra-sudhānidhi[903] (ms. in the Bhau Daji collection) Sāyaṇa, the author of the bhāṣyas on the vedas, is said to be the *kulaguru* of Harihara, son of Saṅgama. In the Guruvaṁśa-kāvya (Vāṇīvilāsa Press ed.) it is said that Vidyāraṇya was the pupil of Vidyātīrtha, that he composed Vedabhāṣyas and published them in the names of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava, that Harihara and Bukka were the most valiant of the five sons of Saṅgama (*v.* 48), that Vīra Rudra was the sovereign of Harihara and Bukka and was defeated by the *suratrāṇa* i. e. *sultan*. The same work says that Vidyāraṇya founded Vijayanagarī in śake 1258, vaiśākha śuddha 7 Sunday (i. e. 30th April 1335 A. D.) and crowned Harihara king.[903a]

Burnell in his introduction to the Vaṁśabrāhmaṇa started the theory that Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were identical and put forward an esoteric meaning on the verse that states that Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha

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[901] सोहं प्राप्य विवेकतीर्थपदवीमाम्नायतीर्थं परं मज्जन् सज्जनसङ्गतीर्थनिपुणः सद्वृत्ततीर्थं श्रयन्। लब्धामाकलयन्प्रभावलहरीं श्रीभारतीतीर्थतो विद्यातीर्थमुपाश्रयन् हृदि भजे श्रीकण्ठमव्याहतम् ॥ 2nd verse of कालनिर्णय.

[902] इन्द्रस्याङ्गिरसो नलस्य सुमतिः शैब्यस्य मेधातिथिर्धौम्यो धर्मसुतस्य वैन्यनृपतेः स्वौजा निमेर्गौतमिः। प्रत्यग्दृष्टिररुन्धतीसहचरो रामस्य पुण्यात्मनो यद्वत्तस्य विभोरभूत्कुलगुरुर्मन्त्री तथा माधवः ॥ 4th verse of परा. मा.

[903] तस्याभूदन्वयगुरुस्तत्त्वसिद्धान्तदेशिता। सर्वज्ञः सायणाचार्यो मायणार्यतनूद्भवः। उपेन्द्रस्येव यस्यासीदिन्द्रः सुमनसां प्रियः। महाक्रतूनामाहर्ता माधवार्यः सहोदरः ॥ अधीताः सकला वेदास्ते च दृष्टार्थगौरवाः। त्वत्प्रणीतेन तद्भाष्यप्रदीपेन प्रथीयसा ॥ Intro. verses 7, 8, 14.

[903a] नागेष्वर्कैर्मिते इह शके शालिवाहस्य याते धात्रयब्दे शुभसमुचिते मासि वैशाखनाम्नि। शुक्ले पक्षे सुगुणपितृभे सूर्यवारे सुलग्ने समग्यां श्रीविजयनगरीं निर्ममे निर्ममेन्द्रः ॥ गुरुवंशकाव्य VI. 8.

were the younger brothers of Mādhava. But the facts as culled from the works of these two great men and the inscriptions of contemporary Vijayanagara kings are too strong for the hypothesis of Burnell and make it look absurd. The whole subject about the relationship of Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha has been carefully examined by Rao Bahadur R. Narsimhachar in Ind. Ant. vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17ff and the theory of Burnell has been thoroughly refuted. Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha were as real personages as Mādhavācārya himself. Mādhavācārya in his later years became a *saṁnyāsin* and was named Vidyāraṇya. To the items of evidence adduced by R. B. R. Narsimhachar for establishing the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 18) I may add one more. The Vīramitrodaya ascribes the commentary on Parāśara composed by Mādhava to Vidyāraṇya.[904] It has however to be noted that the Guruvaṁśakāvya (Vāṇīvilāsa Press ed.) says (V. 41-44) that Vidyāraṇya was different from both Sāyaṇa and Mādhava.

The chronology of the kings of Vijayanagara has been a fruitful source of controversy. It is not necessary to go into that chronology in great detail here. It may be studied in such works as Sewell's 'Forgotten empire' and in E. I. vol. III. p. 36, E. I. vol. XIV p. 68, E. I. vol. XV p. 8. The following pedigree[905] will be sufficient for the purpose of connecting Mādhava and his brothers with the kings of Vijayanagara. The earliest inscription is that of Harihara I dated *śake* 1261 (1339-40 A. D.) wherein Harihara

904 व्याख्यानं चेदं शङ्खवचनं विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणैः पराशरस्मृतिटीकायां पैतृकद्रव्यविभागकाले स्वधृतालङ्कारादिकमपि कन्या प्राप्नोतीत्याह शङ्ख इति। वीर० p. 583; *vide* p. 672 'विद्यारण्यश्रीचरणोक्तं प्राग्लिखितं तस्मान्निरिन्द्रिया इत्यादिश्रुतिव्याख्याने तु स्त्रीणां दायग्रहणप्रतिषेधत्वमेवास्याः श्रुतेर्नास्तीति।'. This refers to the remarks in परा. मा. vol. III. p. 538.

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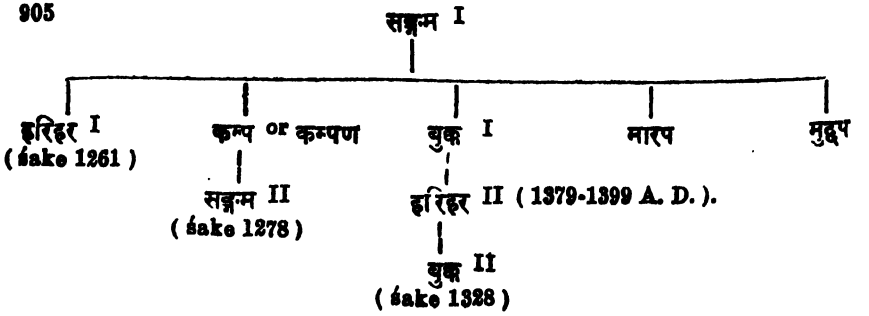

is said to be a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and is spoken of as 'Śrī-Vīra-Hariyappa-Voḍeya.'[906] The colophon of the Mādhavīya Dhātu-vṛtti describes Mādhava as the great minister of Saṅgamarāja, the son of Kamparāja.[907] The Biṭraguṇṭa grant in *śake* 1278 (1356 A. D.) by Saṅgama II at the request of his teacher Srīkaṇṭhanātha shows that Bhoganātha[908] who composed the contents of the grant was a *narmasaciva* (gay or humorous companion) of Saṅgama II. We saw above that Śrīkaṇṭha was a teacher of Mādhavācārya ano that Bhoganātha was the youngest brother of Mādhavācārya. Bhoganātha in order to be a poet and a *narmasaciva* of a reigning sovereign must have been a grown-up man in 1356 A. D. and so Mādhavācārya must have been quite an elderly person about that time. The Kālanirṇaya tells us that in the cyclic year Īśvara following immediately after *śake* 1258 *śrāvaṇa* was an intercalary month and that in the cyclic year Bhāva that preceded *śake* 1258 (i. e. in *śake* 1256) Fālguna was an intercalary month and then examines the intercalary months that occurred iu the cyclic years up to Vikārī thereafter (i. e. up to *śake* 1281).[908a] As the Kālanirṇaya examines the intercalary months from *śake* 1256 (i. e. 1334 A. D.) to *śake* 1281 (i. e. 1359 A. D.), it follows that it was either composed during these years or immediately after this period. The Parāśara-mādhavīya was composed before the Kālanirṇaya. Rao Bahadur Narsimhachar states that in a copperplate grant dated 1386 A. D. it is said that Harihara (II) gave in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda certain donations to three scholars who were the promoters

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906 'महामण्डलेश्वरपूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्राधिपतिश्रीवीरहरियप्पवोडेय' Int. Ant. vol. X, p. 63.

907 श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणसमुद्राधीश्वरकम्पराजसुतसङ्गमराजमहामन्त्रिमायणपुत्रमाधवसहोदर-सायणाचार्यकृता माधवीया वृत्तिः ।

908 इति भोगनाथसुधिया सङ्गमभूपालनर्मसचिवेन । श्रीकण्ठपुरसमृद्धये शासनपत्रेषु विलिखिताः श्लोकाः ॥ E. I. vol. III. at p. 30.

908a तादृशं चाधिमासमुदाहरामः । अष्टपञ्चाशद्युक्तशतद्वयाधिके शकवर्षाणां सहस्रे गते सति समनन्तरभावी योयमीश्वरसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन्श्रावणमासोधिकः । ततः पूर्वभावी यो भावसंवत्सरस्तस्मिन् फाल्गुनमासोधिकः ... ननु अधिकमासस्य क्वचिद्विंशतमत्वं व्यभिचरति न्यूनाधिकसंख्याया अपि दर्शनात् । तथा हि यथोक्तेश्वरसंवत्सरोत्तरभाविनि चित्रभानुसंवत्सरे वैशाखमासोधिकः ... तथा दुर्मुखसंवत्सरे श्रावणमासोधिकः । हेमलम्बिविलम्बिसंवत्सरद्वयव्यवहिते विकारिसंवत्सरे ज्येष्ठोधिकः । तथा च तत्र पञ्चत्रिंशत्त्वं संपद्यते । कालनिर्णय pp. 70–71.

(*pravartaka*) of the commentaries on the four Vedas (Ind. Ant. vol. 45 p. 19). Another inscription speaks of Vidyāraṇya in 1378 A. D.[909] This shows that Mādhavācārya had become a *saṁnyāsin* at least in 1377 A. D. Tradition says that Vidyāraṇya died in 1386 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. Therefore we shall not be far wrong if we place the literary activity of Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya between 1330-1385 A. D. From the remarks about intercalary months it appears that the Parāśaramādhavīya and Kālanirṇaya were composed between 1335-1360 A. D. There was a tradition among *pandits* that it was Mādhavācārya who composed bhāṣyas on the Vedas and ascribed them to his brother Sāyaṇa. Kāśīnātha, in his Viṭṭhala-ṛṅmantra-sāra-bhāṣya says so.[910]

Great confusion has been caused by identifying Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya with another scholar named Mādhava who was also a *mantrin* of Bukka, who was a great warrior and was governor of Banavase and the country round Goa on the western coast. In a grant[911] of the village Kucara, also called Mādhavapura, dated *śake* 1313 (1391 A. D.), it is said that he routed the armies of the Turuṣkas, wrested Goa the capital of Koṅkaṇa from them and re-established the temple of Saptanātha (i. e. Sapta-koṭīśvara). There is another inscription dated *śake* 1290 (i. e. 1368 A. D.) where the great minister (*Mahāpradhāna*) Mādhavāṅka is stated to have ruled over Banavase 12000 under king Bukkarāya (Ind. Ant. vol. IV, p. 206). Fleet is wrong in identifying the minister Mādhavāṅka with Mādhavācārya-Vidyāraṇya. Another grant from Goa (found by Dr. Bhau Daji) says that Mādhava-mantrin, son of Cauṇḍibhaṭṭa, established the *liṅga* of Saptanātha (JBBRAS vol. 9, p. 228). Vide E. C. vol. VIII, Sorab No. 375 dated śake 1268 (Sunday Mādhava 30, i. e. 11th Feb. 1347), where we are told that Mādhavamantrin was governor of Candragutti, capital of Banavase 12000, that he was minister of Mārapa, younger brother of Harihara I and that he was a disciple of

909 Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. VI. Koppa30.

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Kriyāśakti, a Śaiva teacher. In E. C. vol. VII, Shikarpur 281 dated śake 1290 Kārtika bahula 8 (i. e. 15th November 1368) Mādhava is said to have been a son of Cāuṇḍa of the Āṅgirasa gotra and a minister of Bukka I and his *guru* is said to have been Kāśivilāsa Kriyāśakti.

From this it follows that the Mādhava *mantrin* who was a governor of Banavase and Goa and was living in 1391 A. D. was the son of Cauṇḍibhaṭṭa and cannot be identified with Mādhavācārya who was the son of Māyaṇa.

There is a ms. in the Bombay University Library of a work called Kālanirṇayakārikā in 130 verses, which contains the introductory verses of the Kālanirṇaya dealing with the contents, though in a somewhat different order. There are several commentaries on the Kālanirṇaya, viz. Kālanirṇayadīpikā by Rāmacandrācārya composed about 1450 A. D., a commentary called Lakṣmī by Lakṣmīdevī, wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. There is a Vivaraṇa of the Kālanirṇayadīpikā, by Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandrācārya (vide D. C. Ms. No. 99 of 1871-72).

93. Madanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa

The Madanapārijāta compiled under the patronage of king Madanapāla by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa is a famous work. Like Bhoja, Madanapāla seems to have been a great patron of learning and several works are attributed to him. At least four works on dharmaśāstra are ascribed to him (i. e. were written under his patronage) viz the Madanapārijāta, Smṛtimahārṇva or Madanamahārṇava, Tithinirṇayasāra and Smṛtikaumudī.

The Madanapārijāta is an extensive work printed in the B. I. series. There are 23 introductory verses, the first 13 of which give the genealogy of Madanapāla. In the printed edition these 13 verses are stated to have been added by *Purohita* Śrī-Rāmadeva. The last of the introductory verses states that the work was composed after a careful study of Hemādri, Kalpavṛkṣa (i. e. Kalpataru), Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā, Smṛtyarthasāra and Mitākṣarā.[912] That Madanapāla was only the patron and not the real author of the

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work is made clear in several places. In the introductory verse 20 it is stated that the work was compiled through (lit. by the mouth of) learned men.[913] In two places in the body of the work[914] it is said that the author has explained the matter under discussion in his work called Subodhinī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. Therefore the Madanapārijāta was really composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the author of the Subodhinī. The Madanapārijāta contains nine *stabakas* (bunches i. e. chapters) on brahmacarya, the *dharmas* of householders, the daily duties (*āhnika-kṛtya*), the *saṃskāras* from *garbhādhāna* onwards; impurity on birth and death, the purification of various substances (*dravyaśuddhi*), *śrāddha*, *dāyabhāga* (partition and inheritance) and *prāyaścitta*. In the portion on the Dāyabhāga it very closely follows the Mitākṣarā. Its style is simple and lucid. Besides the authors and works mentioned above it cites those noted below.[915]

There is a work called Mahārṇava ascribed to Māndhātā, a son of Madanapāla. In several mss. of this work deposited in the Deccan[916] College there are introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla that agree almost word for word with the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta. Moreover two verses that speak of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa occur here also as well as in the Madanapārijāta and Subodhinī. This work also is said to have been compiled by

913 श्रीमानयं मदनपूर्वकपारिजातनामाङ्कितं स्मृतिपथानुगतं निबन्धम् । वर्णाश्रमप्रमुखधर्म-विवेचनाय विद्वन्मुखेन सुरुती मितमातनोति ॥

914 यथा चायमेव क्रमस्तथास्माभिरुपपादितो विज्ञानेश्वरटीकायां सुबोधिन्यां दायभाग-प्रकरणे । मदनपारिजात p. 654; vide p. 603 also for similar words.

915 आचारसागर, गाङ्गेय, गोविन्दराज, चिन्तामणि (on श्राद्ध. p. 607), धर्मविवृति (p. 772), नारायण, मण्डनमिश्र, मेधातिथि, रत्नावलि (on श्राद्ध, p. 607), शिव-स्वामिन् (p. 619), सुरेश्वर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी (p. 554), स्मृतिमहार्णव.

916 For the महार्णव vide D. C. ms. No. 131 of 1882-83 and Nos. 259 and 260 of 1886-1892. No. 260 does not contain the verses about the genealogy, but the two verses माता पुण्य० and मतिर्येषां (which are 21 and 22 in the मदनपारिजात) occur in all the three; in No. 131 and No. 259 the verse माता पुण्य० occurs in the introdoctory verses and the verse मतिर्येषां occurs at the end of the work and in No. 260 the two verses are the 2nd and 3rd of the introductory verses.

Māndhātā through the learned.[917] It is said to have been based on a study of the *śruti*, the *smṛtis* and the *puraṇas*. The work is divided into 40 *taraṅgas* (waves). The principal subject[918] of the work is to describe how the various diseases which human bodies are heir to are the result of evil deeds done in past lives (this subject being called Karmavipāka in dharmaśāstra works) and to prescribe various rites and penances for the eradication of the evil results of evil deeds. Among the various rites and penances that are set forth in great detail may be mentioned the Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa, Rudraikādaśinī, Mahārudrābhiṣeka, Vināyakaśānti, the Nava-grahayajña &c. The Mahārṇava mentions the Karmavipāka of Śātātapa, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (folio 234 a of D. C. no. 259 of 1886-1892), the Mitākṣarā, the Karmavipāka-samuccaya &c. It is worthy of note that in the Smṛti-kaumudī the authorship of the Mahārṇava is claimed by the author himself and is not ascribed to Madanapāla's son.[919]

The Tithinirṇayasāra is another work compiled under Madana-pāla. Stein in his cat. of mss. at Jammu (p. 306) gives extracts from this work. The first fourteen verses are the same as those in the Madanapārijāta. It appears to have been composed by Viśvanātha, which is most probably a paraphrase of the name Viśveśvara.[920]

The Smṛtikaumudī contains an introduction of 17 verses, 13 of which set forth the genealogy of Madanapāla. The fourteenth verse tells us that Madanapāla composed works called Yantraprakāśa, Mahārṇava, Pārijāta, Siddhāntagarbha and Tithinirṇayasāra.[922] The 15th verse says that he composes the Smṛtikaumudī through

[917] सोयं सुरुतविधाता रिपुकुलजेता ननोति मान्धाता। विद्वन्मुखेन मतिमान् सत्कृतिरत्नं महार्णवं नाम ॥ 18th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.

[918] The work begins 'तत्र तावद्वक्ष्यमाणसकलकर्मोपयोगित्वेन कर्मविपाकरूपयोगादिनि-वृत्त्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तादेरवश्यकर्तव्यता प्रतिपाद्यते।'.

[919] विनायकशान्तिप्रकारोस्माभिर्महार्णवे निरूपितः।

[920] श्रीविश्वनाथसुधिया स्मृतितत्त्वमार्गपान्थेन शास्त्रविलसन्मतिपाटवेन। अस्मिन् व्यधायि तिथिनिर्णयसारनाम्नि ग्रन्थे कियानखिललोकहिते प्रयासः ॥

[921] For the स्मृतिकौमुदी, vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 275 b, I. O. cat. p. 524, No. 1649 and D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73.

[922] यन्त्रप्रकाशसमहार्णवपारिजातसिद्धान्तगर्भतिथिनिर्णयसारमुख्याः। ग्रन्थाश्च येन रचिताः &c.

the learned.[923] The 17 verse says that his predecessors have generally dilated upon the dharmas of the three higher *varṇas* and the *dharmas* of the śūdra have not been dealt with by them as a principal topic, therefore he would clearly expound the *dharmas* of the last *varṇa*. At the end of the ms. in the I. O. cat. it is described as the younger sister of the Madanapārijāta and of the Mahārṇava.[924] This is not found in the D. C. ms. which was copied in *saṁvat* 1615. This work is divided into four kalollāsas, each kalollāsa being subdivided into kiraṇas (rays). The first kalollāsa has two kiraṇas, the second has four, the third and fourth five kiraṇas each. The subjects dealt with are: I two kinds of śūdras, viz : the kevalaśūdra (simple śūdra) and one who is of mixed descent, being born of a śūdra woman from a man of the higher castes ; the mixed castes ; II. general discourses on the śūdra's *adhikāra* for engaging in various acts and performing various rites, such as the study of the vedas and smṛtis, the performance of garbhādhāna and other saṁskāras and the consecration of sacred fires ; saṁdhyāvandana ; the śūdra's capacity for attaining the knowledge of brahman ; III. marriage ; different forms of marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationship (sāpiṇḍya), the various rites of marriage such as kanyādāna ; such saṁskāras as nāma-karaṇa (naming the child), the duties of śūdras in ordinary and difficult times ; āśauca for śūdras ; the various śrāddhas for them ; the letting loose of a bull in honour of the dead ; IV. śūdra's daily duties such as śauca, brushing the teeth, baths in the morning and at other times, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily *śrāddha*, dinner, &c.

The Smṛtikaumudī mentions among others Aparārka, Kṛtya-kalpataru, Mitākṣarā, Medhātithi, Yajñapārśva and Smṛtimañjarī. It also quotes from the Vedānta-kalpataru[925] and the author claims the Madanapārijāta as his own work.

It has been seen how all the four works set out above were composed under the patronage of Madanapāla and how they were

923 विद्वन्मुखेन तनुते विनतोर्जितश्रीरुत्पन्नचारुकिरणां स्मृतिकौमुदीं सः ॥

924 अनेन रुतिना रुता स्मृतिपदाङ्किता कौमुदी महार्णवसहोदरी मदनपारिजातानुजा ।

925 यदुक्तं सत्यामप्युत्पत्तौ प्रवाहस्याविच्छित्तेरनादित्वमिति तच्च कार्यात्मके संसारे । तदुक्तं वेदान्तकल्पतरौ ॥ तदाम्रत्युपरक्तानां (?) व्यक्तीनामेकया विना । अनादिकालावृत्तिर्या सा कार्यानादिता मतेति ॥ folio 3a of the D. C. ms. No. 51 of 1872-73 ; folio 55a of the same has ' अत्र च प्रापकानि मदनपारिजातेस्माभिर्दर्शितानि '.

probably from the pen of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. There is one more work on Dharmaśāstra which Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa composed in his own name without the shelter of a patron's name. It is the Subodhinī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara. The vyavahāra portion of it has been published in Bombay by Mr. S. S. Setlur and also by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. Mr. Govind Das had seen portions of the Subodhinī on the prāyaścitta section also. The Subodhinī does not comment on each word of the Mitākṣarā but explains only important passages. It is a learned work. This was the earliest composition of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, since it is mentioned even in the Madanapārijāta. The first verse of the Subodhinī is also the opening verse of the Mahārṇava and of the Smṛtikaumudī.[926]

From the verses[927] 21 and 22 in the introduction to the Madanapārijāta it appears that Viśveśvara was the son of Pedibhaṭṭa and Ambikā, that he was of the Kauśikagotra and was the pupil of Vyāsāraṇya-muni. In the Subodhinī also the verse 'mātā &c.' occurs at the end with slight suitable variations and the verse 'matiryeṣām' in the beginning. The second introductory verse in Mr. Gharpure's edition makes Viśveśvara the son of Appabhaṭṭa,[928] while Mr. Setlur reads 'Peṭṭibhaṭṭa' which is probably a misreading for Pedibhaṭṭa. From his father's name it appears that Viśveśvara was a native of the Draviḍa country[929] and migrated to Northern India in search of patronage after he wrote the Subodhinī. Viśveśvara is regarded as one of the leading authorities of the Benares School

926 नमः सकलकल्याणभाजनाय पिनाकिने । नमो लक्ष्मीनिवासाय देवतायै गिरां नमः ॥ सुबोधिनी. The स्मृतिकौमुदी (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 275b has कल्याणकारणाय) and Descriptive Ca. of Govt. Sanskrit mss. (Madras) vol. VII p. 2625, No. 3495 has परमकल्याण० and गिरे नमः.

927 मतिर्येषां शास्त्रे प्रकृतिरमणीया व्यवहृतिः परा शीलं श्लाघ्यं जगति ऋजवस्ते कतिपये । चिरं चित्ते तेषां मुकुरतलभूते स्थितिमियादियं व्यासारण्यप्रवरमुनिशिष्यस्य भणितिः ॥ माता पुण्यचरित्रकीर्तिविभवा यस्याम्बिका नामतः शाकल्यापरमूर्तिरार्यचरितः श्रीपेदिभट्टः पिता । सोयं कौशिकवंशभूषणमणिः श्रीभट्टविश्वेश्वरो वेदस्मार्तमते नये च सपदे वाक्ये कृती वर्धते ॥

928 योप्पभट्टात्मजः श्रीमान् भट्टविश्वेश्वरः सुधीः ।

929 One of the donees mentioned in the Biṭrāguṇṭa grant of king Saṅgama dated 1356 A. D. is Peddibhaṭṭa; *vide* E. I. vol. III at p. 28. Biṭrāguṇṭa is in the Nellore District.

of modern Hindu law.[930] Madanapāla belonged to the family of Ṭāka kings that ruled in Kāṣṭhā (modern Kath) on the Jumna to the north of Delhi.[931] The printed Madanapārijāta makes the family name to be 'Kāṣṭhā,' but this is most probably a wrong reading, as in the Mahārṇava and the other works of Madanapāla the family name is distinctly stated to be Ṭāka. The pedigree of the family as gathered from the Madanapārijāta and the other works is given below. Some works such as the Mahārṇava omit mention of Sahajapāla. About Sādhāraṇa it is said that he brought about the remission of all taxes at the three *tīrthas* (Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā).[932]

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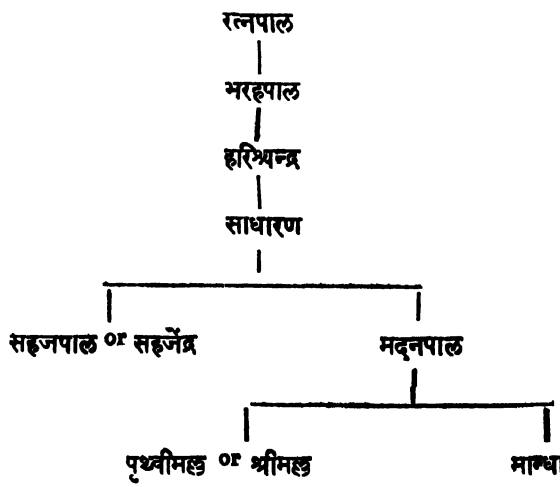
930 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

931 अस्ति प्रशस्तविभवोपगतप्रशस्तिविस्तारिणी भुवि शकाधिपराजधानी । दिल्लीति विश्वविदिता नगरीगतल्ली पल्लीव भाति पुरतस्त्रिदिवोपि यस्याः ॥ तामुत्तरेण यमुनातटदेशनिष्ठा काष्ठेत्यभूदनुपमा नगरी गरिष्ठा । यस्यामनल्पविभवोपचिता बभूवुः काष्ठान्वया महितकीर्तिजुषो महीशाः ॥ verses 4-5 of मदनपारिजात, at the end of the मदनविनोदनिघण्टु we read टाकान्वये महति भूमिभुजां विशुद्धे काष्ठेति नाम नगरं जयति प्रसिद्धम् । Vide Aufrecht's Oxf.. cat. p. 275 a (ms. of मदनपारिजात) where the reading is टाककुलाम्बुराशौ for काष्ठकुलाम्बुराशौ of the printed text. The pedigree is :



932 तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरत्यः । verse 10 of the महार्णव, D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92; कीनाशपाशचयबद्धविमोचनार्थं तीर्थत्रयीकरविमुक्तिमचीकरत्यः ॥ verse 10 of स्मृतिकौमुदी.

In the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka of Madanapāla the father of Madanapāla is said to be Sahāraṇa[933] which is a Prakrit equivalent of Sādhāraṇa. Madanapāla appears to have been a very great patron of learned men and is said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja.[934] Besides the four works described above he compiled several other works, the most famous of which is his dictionary of drugs called Madanavinodanighaṇṭu. That work is very extensive, contains about 2250 verses and is divided into fourteen *vargas*, the last of which contains a *praśasti* of his family.[935] This work contains the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals. Some of the words given as synonyms for Sanskrit words occur in the modern Marathi.[936] We saw above that his Smṛtikaumudī refers to Yantra-prakāśa and Siddhāntagarbha as two of his works. These two were works on astronomy.

Another work of his is the Sūrya-siddhāntaviveka or Vāsanārṇava, which is a commentary on the Sūryasiddhānta. There is a ms. of this work in the Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society.[937] Therein after giving his pedigree he says that by his works on Smṛtiśāstra, on astronomy and mathematics and on medicine he came to be known as *abhinava* Bhoja.[938] In this treatise he refers to his own works already composed called Siddhāntagarbha[939] and Yantraprakāśa. He also refers to a Rājamṛgāṅka

[933] भवनाङ्गणबद्धवारणस्तनयस्तस्य नृपः सहारणः। उदियाय जनस्य वीक्षिते नृपतौ यत्र पुरन्दरश्रमः॥ 5th Intro. verse of सूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेक (BBRAS cat. part I pp. 95-97.).

[934] परिशीलयता कलाकलापं विदुषानेन च भूरिशो निबन्धान्। मदनेन महीभृताथ येन प्रथिता नूतनभोजराजकीर्तिः॥ verse 18 of मदनपारिजात; this verse, particularly the 4th pāda, occurs in the तिथिनिर्णयसार (17th verse), स्मृतिकौमुदी (13th verse), the महार्णव (13th verse in D. C. ms. No. 259 of 1886-92.).

[935] Vide D. C. ms. Nos. 1065 and 1066 of 1886-92 for मदनविनोदनिघण्टु. In No. 1065 there is no प्रशस्ति.

[936] e. g. such words as दह्विडा (for दधिपूपक), लापसी, घेवर, हरडे, नागरमोथा, हळद, बदाम &c.

[937] Vide BBRAS cat. part I. pp. 95-97 for this ms.

[938] प्रतिदिनमुदितैर्नवैः प्रबन्धैः स्मृतिसरणौ गणिते चिकित्सिते च। जगति विजयते विजृम्भमाणैरभिनवभोज इति प्रथा यदीया॥ 7th Intro. verse.

[939] अत ऊर्ध्वमागोलाध्यायमन्त्रस्थं प्रमेयमस्मत्कृते सिद्धान्तगर्भसंज्ञके मदनविनोदापरनाम्नि ग्रन्थे द्रष्टव्यम्।

of Bhoja and to Bhāskara's works. The ms. was copied in *saṁvat* 1459, i. e. 1402-3 A. D. In the colophon of this work his *birudas* (titles) are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Abhinava-Bhoja, and he is also styled Mahārājādhirāja.[940] In the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava the *birudas* are Paṇḍitapārijāta and Kaṭāramalla or Kaṭṭāramalla. A work called Ānandasañjīvana on singing, dancing, musical instruments and rāgas is ascribed to Madanapāla.[941] The king Madana, son of Sahāraṇa, who is connected with the restoration of Medhātithi's bhāṣya, must be this Madana.

A great deal has been written concerning the date of Madanapāla. The introductory verses giving the genealogy of Madanapāla must be held to be genuine, as they occur in the ancient ms. (D. C. No. 131 of A 1882-83) of Mahārṇava copied in saṁvat 1645 (1588-89 A. D.) and in the still older ms. (dated *saṁvat* 1459) of the Sūrya-siddhānta-viveka. As the Madanapārijāta mentions the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi not only in the introductory verses of the Madanapārijāta but in the body of the Madanapārijāta and the Mahārṇava, Madanapāla must be certainly later than 1300 A. D. As the Smṛtikaumudī mentions the Vedāntakalpataru that was composed in the time of the Yādava princes Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, it follows that the work was composed after the third quarter of the 13th century. The Madanapārijāta is quoted in the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda, the Antyeṣṭipaddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the Āhnikatattava (pp. 326, 397, 479, vol. I) of Raghunandana, the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (pp. 327, 489) of Govindānanda. Therefore it is certainly earlier than 1500 A. D. And if we rely on the date when the ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka was copied (viz. 1402-3 A. D.), it follows that Madanapāla flourished before 1400 A. D. The Madanavinodanighaṇṭu[942] gives the date of its

940 इति श्रीपण्डितपारिजाताभिनवभोजेत्यादिबिरुदावलीविराजमानेन मदनपारिजात-महार्णव-सिद्धान्तगर्भ-यन्त्रप्रकाशाद्यनेकग्रन्थकर्त्रा श्रीमहाराजाधिराजेन श्रीमदनपालदेवेन विरचितः श्रीसूर्यसिद्धान्तविवेको वासनार्णवः समाप्तः । ; but at the end of the D. C. ms. of the स्मृतिकौमुदी, the colophon is simply इति श्रीरायमदनपालविरचितायां शूद्रधर्मोत्पलद्योतिन्यां स्मृतिकौमुद्यां &c.

941 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 509.

942 अब्दे ब्रह्मजगद्युगेन्दुगणिते श्रीविक्रमार्कप्रभोर्माघे मासि वलक्षपक्षलालिते षष्ठ्यां सुधांशोर्दिने । verse 14 of the last वर्ग in D.C. ms. No. 129 of 1884-87 and No. 1066 of 1886-92. The last has a corrupt reading षष्ठ्यां गुरौसर्द्धिने. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 47 for the date.

composition as 'Brahmajagad-yugendu' of the Vikrama era, *māgha* 6 of the bright half and Monday (i.e. 8-1-1375 A.D.). This was interpreted by Sarvadhikari (Tagore Law Lectures pp. 297-298, ed. of 1922) as equal to 1231 of the Vikrama era (i.e. 1175 A.D.). He held that 'yuga' meant two. But herein he was entirely wrong. Besides, the date proposed by him is impossible, since it would lead us to hold that Madanapāla wrote in 1175 A.D. and since, as we saw above, he could not have flourished before 1300 A.D. It has been already shown (pp. 309, 369) that the view of Sarvadhikari and others that the Pārijāta mentioned by Caṇḍeśvara is the same as Madanapārijāta is quite wrong. Astronomical usage as found in Bhāskara and other writers always interprets *yuga*[943] as meaning four (and not two) and hence the date of the composition of the Madanavinodanighaṇṭu is 1431 of the Vikrama era (i.e. 1375 A.D.). Vide Jolly's Tagore Law lectures pp. 14-15, Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 47 and 347 and S.B.E. vol. 25, p. cxxv n. 2. A ms. of the Sūryasiddhāntaviveka, which is one of the last (if not the last) works of Madanapāla is dated in 1402-3 A.D. Hence the literary activity of Madanapāla and of his protegee, Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, must be placed between 1360-1390 A.D.

94. Madanaratna

The Madanaratna is an extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra no part of which has yet been printed. In the colophons of mss. it is also called Madanaratnapradīpa or simply Madanapradīpa. The work was divided into seven[944] sections called *uddyotas* on *samaya* (or *kāla*), *ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, dāna, śuddhi, śānti*. The order of the various sections was the one indicated, the *samayoddyota* being the first part. I have not been able to examine the mss. of all the uddyotas.

943 e.g. भास्कराचार्य in his गणिताध्याय (कालमानाध्याय verse 24) says 'खखाभदन्तसागरैर्युगाग्निभूयुगभूगुणैः। क्रमेण सूर्यवत्सरैः कृतादयो युगाङ्घ्रयः॥' where युग must mean 'four' and युग्म is employed for two.

944 उद्योताः समयाचारव्यवहारविवेचकाः। प्रायश्चित्तस्य दानस्य शुद्धिशान्त्योश्च सप्तमे॥ तत्रादौ राजसिंहेन सर्वधर्मोपयोगतः। तन्यते मदनेन्द्रेण समयस्य विनिर्णयः॥ verses 24-25 of ms. of समयोद्योत in Viśrambāg collection I. No. 146 and verses 26 and 27 in the I.O. cat. ms. (p. 537 b) and Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss. No. 1410 and extract No. 336 at p. 131.

The Samayoddyota deals with the subjects usually treated of in works on *kāla*, vix discussions about the year, the seasons, the months, the intercalary months, the rules about *tithis*, the rules about the proper times for various religious observances, gifts, *homa*, the rules about *kalivarjya*.

There is a ms. of the Dānoddyota in the Ānandāśrama collection at Poona (No. 2378). The following are the subjects treated of :- eulogy of *dāna* ; the nature of *dāna*, various kinds of *dānas* ; the constituent elements (*aṅgāni*) of *dāna* ; the donor, proper persons for gifts, persons undeserving of gifts, what things cannot be given away, proper and improper times and places for *dāna*, measures of corn and other substances and weights and units of length &c., finding out the east and other directions, characteristics of a *toraṇa*, *patākā* and *maṇḍapa*, *tulā-puruṣa* (weighing oneself against gold or silver), gift of a thousand cows and other magnificent gifts, dedication of a tank or well and planting of a garden &c. In this work the author refers to Kalpataru and to Hemādri as a dākṣinātyanibandhakāra.

Deccan College ms. No. 392 of 1891-95 deals with the *śānti* section. It treats of rites for propitiating gods and planets and averting the evil consequences of great or small portentous phenomena, such as Vināyaka-snāna, sūrya-śānti, navagraha-śānti, śāntis for birth on certain evil *nakṣatras* like *mūla*, *āśleṣā* and evil astrological conjunctions like *vyatīpāta*, *vaidhṛti*, *saṁkrānti* ; rites for the safety of the foetus and of the newly born infant ; *ayutahoma* ; *lakṣahoma*, *koṭihoma* &c. In this section sages like Uttara-Garga, Kātyāyana, Nārada, Baijavāpa (on gṛhya), Mānava-saṁhitā, Yājñavalkya, Śaunaka and purāṇas like the Skanda, Bhaviṣyottara, Viṣṇudharmottara are very frequently cited. Besides the following are among the authors and works referred to :—Apekṣitārthadyotinī, a commentary of Nārāyaṇa, Karmavipākasaṁgraha, Karmavipākasamuccaya, Kumāratantra promulgated by the son of Rāvaṇa, Prayogasāra, Vijñāneśvarācārya (in the plural).

A ms. of the Ācāroddyota is noticed by Burnell in his Tanjore cat. (p. 137 b). Stein (in his cat. of Jammu mss.) notices an incomplete ms. of the Vyavahāroddyota (p. 98 No. 2437). M. M. Haraprasad Sastri notices a ms. of the Prāyaścittoddyota (Nepal Palmleaf and Paper mss. cat. XVIII and p. 223).

From the colophons at the end of the several mss. of the Madanaratna it appears that the work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasiṁha-deva, son of Śaktisiṁha.[945] The king is styled mahārājādhirāja and one of his titles is kodaṇḍa-paraśurāma (meaning 'who was a veritable Paraśurāma in wielding the bow). The introductory verses[946] to the Samayoddyota in the Viśrām-bāg collection and the Ulwar ms. refer to Delhi-deśa and its king named Mahīpāladeva. Then verse 9 speaks of Dāmodara whose exact relationship with Mahīpāladeva is not clear. Dāmodara is said to have made the *yavanas* of *Mulasthāna* (modern Multan in the Punjab) give up the slaughtering of cows. The whole pedigree is given below.[947] Śaktisiṁha is said to have eclipsed even Bhoja.

945 इति श्रीकोदण्डपरशुरामेत्यादिविरुदावलीविराजमानमानोन्नतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशक्तिसिंहात्मजमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमदनसिंहदेवविरचिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे दानविवेकोद्योते &c. in ms. (Ānandāśrama No. 2378) ; there is a similar colophon at the end of the शान्ति section.

946 तस्मादाकस्मिकोद्यद्दहनघनमहस्तुत्यतापप्रतापज्वालातालाभिभूतद्विषद्वनिपतावन्वये भास्करस्य । राजा राजावतारो वरसमरधुरोद्दामरामानुभावप्रध्वस्ताराति[भू]मीपतिदनुजवयो-भूम्महीपालदेवः ॥ यत्रासीद्भुवनेषु विश्रुतचणो दामोदराख्यः कृती श्रीमान्पुण्यवदग्रणीर्जितरिपुक्ष्मापालसङ्घः प्रभुः । मूलस्थानपुरे तुरुष्कनिवहाक्रान्ते परित्याजितो येनाद्यावधि गोवधो यवनकैः शत्रापि (कुत्रापि ?) न स्मर्यते ॥ verses 8 and 9 of the Ulwar ms. of समयोद्द्योत.

947 The pedigree is

महीपालदेव
|
दामोदर
|
देवीदास
|
सूर्यदास
|
शक्तिसिंह
|
मदनसिंह

It is further said that Madanasiṁha called[948] together four learned men, viz., Ratnākara, Gopīnātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa and entrusted the composition of the digest to them. The colophons[949] at the end of the Śāntyuddyota in the Deccan College says that it was composed by Viśvanātha, a resident of Benares and son of Bhaṭṭapūjya, a Śrīmālī Gurjara (Brāhmaṇa). There is a similar colophon at the end of the Prāyaścittoddyota noticed by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri.

Since the Madanaratna mentions the Mit., the Kalpataru and Hemādri, it must be certainly later than about 1300 A. D. It is quoted as a great authority by the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra. In the Vyavahāra-mayūkha Nīlakaṇṭha relies upon the Madanaratna as often as (if not oftener than) the Mitākṣarā. The Vīramitrodaya[950] says that the author of the Madanaratna refers to the views of the Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, and Halāyudha. From this it follows that the Madanaratna was composed at some time between 1350-1500. Madanasiṁha and his ancestors are spoken of as ruling the country about Delhi. Though Madanasiṁha bears the high-sounding title of mahārājādhirāja it is highly probable that he was some feudatory chief under the Mahomedan rulers of Delhi. It is difficult to conceive of a period between 1300 and 1500 A. D. when a Hindu ruler was king of Delhi. It may be that during the troublous times of Muhammad Tughlak (1325-1351 A. D.), when the capital was transferred from Delhi to Doulatabad, or during the weak rule of the last kings of the Tughlak dynasty (1388-1413 A. D.) Madanasiṁhas' predecessors might

948 तेनाहूय मनीषिमण्डनमणिं सन्मिश्ररत्नाकरं गोपीनाथमनुत्तमं च सुधियं श्रीविश्वनाथं तथा। मुग्धं पण्डितमुन्नतद्युतिमतिं भट्टं च गङ्गाधरं राज्ञा शक्तिन (क?) सूनुना सुकृतिना ग्रंथोयमारभ्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 537, No. 1681, verse 53; this is verse 21 in the Viśrāmbāg ms.

949 महाराजाधिराजस्य मदनेन्द्रस्य शासनात्। श्रीमाली (लिना ?) गुर्जरेण भट्टपूज्यात्मजेन वा। भट्टश्रीविश्वनाथेन काशितीर्थनिवासिना। शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं वापि यथाशास्त्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ The Ulwar ms. (Peterson's Ulwar cat. No. 353) reads श्रीमल्लिनाथगुर्जरेण.

950 तत्र मदनरत्नकारेण मिताक्षराकल्पतरुहलायुधादिसर्वग्रन्थान्तरेष्वलिखनान्निर्मूलत्वमस्य जङ्गमं स्थावरमिति प्राजापत्यस्य लिखनात्समूलत्वमिति दूषणमुक्त्वा &c. वीर० p. 626; vide वीर० pp. 5, 29, 36, 59 for references to मदनरत्न.

have usurped some territory about Delhi and ruled over it. At all events it would not be far from correct if the Madanaratna be placed about 1425-1450 A. D. Dr. Jolly (R. u. S. p. 37) says that the Madanaratna names the Ratnākara and the Mādhavīya. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri (Report on palm-leaf and paper mss. from Nepal, Intro. pp. 31-32) tells us that the dynasty to which Madanasiṁhadeva belonged ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran (Western Tirhut), that Madanasiṁhadeva was preceded by Śaktisiṁhadeva, whose predecessor was Pṛthvīsiṁhadeva. The learned Sastri further says that a ms. of the Madanaratnapradīpa-prāyaścittoddyota applies the title 'kodaṇḍaparaśurāma' to Madana (p. 223), that a ms. of the Amarakośa was copied in saṁvat 1511 (1454-55 A. D.) when Madanasiṁha ruled over Campakāraṇyanagara (p. 51 of the body of the Report) and that a ms. of the Narasiṁhapurāṇa was copied in La-saṁ 339 (1457-58 A. D.) when mahārājādhirāja Madanasiṁhadeva ruled over Gorakṣapura i. e. modern Gorakhpur (p. 29 of the Report). The great similarity of the names Madanapāla and Madanasiṁha misled J. C. Ghose (Hindu Law, vol. II, p. XIV, ed. of 1917) into holding that the Madanapārijāta and the Madanaratna were written under Madanapāla. But it is clear from the ancestry of the two kings, Madanapāla and Madanasiṁha, and the names of the real authors of the digests (Madanapārijāta and Madanaratna) that they have no connection with each other.

95. Śūlapāṇi

Next to Jīmūtavāhana, Śūlapāṇi is the most authoritative Bengal writer on dharmaśāstra. Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti gave a very interesting account of his works and time in JASB for 1915, pp. 336-343.

The earliest work of Śūlapāṇi appears to have been his Dīpakalikā, a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. It is a very brief commentary. The portion on the dāyabhāga section (Yājñavalkya II, verses 114-149) is contained in five printed pages (vide Ghose's Hindu Law, edition of 1917, vol. II. pp. 550-554). In this commentary, besides the sages he names only a few writers and works on dharma, e. g. the Kalpataru, Govindarāja, the Mitākṣarā, Medhātithi and Viśvarūpa.. He entertained somewhat archaic views on matters of inheritance. For example, he holds that the text speaking of the right of the parents to succeed before the brothers of the

deceased has reference to property acquired by the deceased from his father or grand-father. He explained the word 'apratiṣṭhitā' in the sūtra of Gautama 'strīdhanaṁ duhitṛṇām-aprattānām-apratiṣṭhitānāṁ ca' in the same way as Aparārka, Jīmūtavāhana and the Smṛticandrikā.[951] He says that a full brother though not re-united succeeded before a half-brother though re-united.[952] This explanation of the much canvassed verse of Yāj. offered by Śūlapāṇi is refered to by the Vīramitrodaya.[953] The Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana several times refers to Śūlapāṇi's explanations of Yāj.[954]

Śūlapāṇi wrote several small treatises on topics of dharmaśāstra and intended them to form part of a huge digest called Smṛtiviveka. Fourteen such works are known to have been so written with titles ending in the word 'viveka,' viz. Ekādaśī-viveka, Tithi-viveka, Dattaka-viveka, Durgotsavaprayoga-viveka, Durgotsava-viveka, Dolayātrā-viveka, Pratiṣṭhā-viveka, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Rāsayātrā-viveka, Vratakāla-viveka, Śuddhi-viveka, Śrāddha-viveka, Saṁkrānti-viveka, Saṁbandha-viveka (on marriage). Of these the Durgotsavaviveka seems to have been amongst his latest works, since he names therein five of his *vivekas* on durgotsava-prayoga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi and śrāddha. The Śrāddha-viveka is the most famous of his works and has been printed. His Prāyaścittaviveka and Durgotsava-viveka have also been published, the former by Jivananda (1893) and the latter by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad at Calcutta in Bengali characters. In the Durgotsava-viveka he deals with the worship of Durgā in Āśvina and also in spring (hence the deity is called Vāsantī). In the Durgotsava-viveka, besides such purāṇas as the Kālikā, Bhaviṣyottara, Bhāgavata, Devī, he names a host of writers and works as noted below.[955] In spite of Aufrecht's view

951 अनपत्या निर्धना अभर्तृका दुर्भगाश्च। ता विना अन्वयः पुत्रपौत्रादिः।

952 असंसृष्टेऽपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयान्न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता।

953 'याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीकायां शूलपाणिः। अन्योदर्यः संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यधनं गृह्णीयात्। असंसृष्टेऽपि सोदर एव गृह्णीयात्। न तु संसृष्टः सापत्नभ्राता &c.' वीर० pp. 682-683.

954 e. g. आवेदयति चेदित्यनेन स्वयं विवादोत्थापनं राज्ञा न कर्तव्यामिति शूलपाणिमहामहोपाध्यायाः। व्यवहारतत्त्व.

955 They are: कालकौमुदी, कालमाधवीय, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, चक्रनारायणी, जिकन, जीमूतवाहन, ज्योतिषार्णव, बालक, महाकपिलपञ्चरात्र, वर्षकृत्य, वसन्तराज, शारदातिलक, श्रीकरमिश्र, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, संवत्सरप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप (of श्रीदत्त), सारसमुच्चय, स्मृतिसागर.

the Saṁvatsara-pradīpa is not his own work. A Sārasamuccaya is also mentioned in Hemādri (Dāna-khaṇḍa page 135). The Smṛtisāgara is probably the same as the Govindārṇava of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha or the work of the same name which Kullūka appears to have composed. Śrīkaramiśra is probably the ancient author referred to even by the Mitākṣarā.

The Śrāddha-viveka has several commentaries by eminent writers such as Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi and Govindānanda. So there are commentaries on the Prāyaścittaviveka. Besides the above, the works and authors mentioned in the other vivekas are noted below.[956] The Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi is referred to (as Gauḍīya-śrāddha-vivcka) by Rudradhara,[957] by Vācaspati in his Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi, by Govindānanda in his Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*.

We know very little about the personal history of Śūlapāṇi. In the colophons of his works[958] he is styled Sāhuḍiyāla (or -na) Mahāmahopādhyāya and Raghunandana also calls him Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Sāhuḍiyāla was a degraded section of the Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas in Bengal from the days of Ballālasena. As Rudradhara calls him Gauḍīya, it follows that Śūlapāṇi was a Bengal Brāhmaṇa. There is a tradition that he was the Judge of king Lakṣamaṇasena of Bengal. But this is impossible as the following discussion about his date will show.

There is some uncertainty about the exact age of Śūlapāṇi. As Śūlapāṇi names the Ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara and the Kālamādhavīya, he must be later than about 1375 A. D., since some time must have elapsed before a work from Vijayanagar came to be regarded as an authority in Bengal. As Śūlapāṇi's works are mentioned by Rudradhara, Govindānanda and Vācaspati, the former must be earlier than about 1460. In this connection it has to be noted that Govindānanda not only comments upon Śūlapāṇi's

956 कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, गोविन्दराज, धर्मप्रदीप, पारिजात, भवदेव, भुजबलभीम, भोजदेव, महार्णवप्रकाश, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रत्नाकर, शङ्कधर, स्मृतिमञ्जरी, हलायुध.

957 Vide folio 25 a of the Benares edition of शङ्कधर's श्राद्धविवेक (printed in संवत् 1920).

958 Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No, 1287 and D, C. ms. No. 98 of 1895-98.

works but probably looks upon Śūlapāṇi as an old writer along with Aniruddha.[959]

A ms. of the Prāyaścittaviveka was copied at Benares in *śake* 1410 (i. e. 1488 A. D.).[960] From all these data it follows that Śūlapāṇi flourished between 1375 and 1460 A. D.

From the Śuddhittatva it appears that Śūlapāṇi wrote Pariśiṣṭa-dīpakalikā (probably a commentary on a Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa)[961].

96. Rudradhara

This is a well-known Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra, who composed several works. His Śuddhi-viveka has been published several times (at Benares in 1866, in 1878 and by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay, *saṁvat* 1978). That work is divided into three *paricchedas* and deals with purification from impurity on birth and death, the persons liable to undergo purifications, the meaning of the word *putra*, purification of the body and of various substances when polluted, purification of cooked food and water and women in their menses. He tells us that after[962] having examined seven works (*nibandhas*) on śuddhi and being encouraged by his father and brother he composed the Śuddhiviveka. He further says that he made the effort for the benefit of those who were not disposed to go through such works as the Ratnākara, Pārijāta, Mitākṣarā and the Hāralatā.[963] Besides these he mentions the Ācārādarśa, Śuddhi-pradīpa, Śuddhi-bimba, Śrīdattopādhyāya, Smṛtisāra and Harihara.

The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara is the most famous of his works. It was printed at Benares in *saṁvat* 1920. The work is

959 यच्च मैथिलैरासनान्नदानयोर्ये चाथ त्वेति मन्त्रो नास्तीत्युक्तं तदनिरुद्धशूलपाणिप्रभृतीनां प्राचामसंमतम्। p. 71 of श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. The word प्राचां may here mean 'eastern writers.'

960 शाके गते दशसमुद्रहिमांशुसंख्ये मासे त्विषे शिवमुदे शिवशर्मणा यः।

961 अत एव पितृदयिता-परिशिष्टप्रकाश-शूलपाणिकृत-परिशिष्टदीपकलिकाप्रभृतिषु मन्त्राभिधान-पूर्वकवाक्येन वृषोत्सर्ग इत्युक्तम्। शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II, p. 380).

962 शुद्धो सप्त निबन्धान् दृष्ट्वानुमतः पितुस्तथा भ्रातुः।

963 सन्त्येव रत्नाकरपारिजातमिताक्षराहारलतादयोन्ये। तथापि तन्मालसमानसानां भवेत्प्रमोदाय मम प्रयासः॥

divided into four *paricchedas*. He first defines śrāddha, and then treats of several topics, viz. the varieties of śrāddha, the procedure at śrāddhas, the *mantras* that are recited, the proper time and place for śrāddhas, the Brāhmaṇas worthy to be invited at śrāddha and the proper food etc. Among the numerous works and authors referred to in the work the undermentioned ones deserve notice.[964] He refers to his own Śuddhiviveka as already written.

In several places he tells us that he follows a different tradition on certain matters from that of the Pitṛbhakti or of the Sugatisopāna. He points out that the *prasātikā* is a kind of grain known in Madhyadeśa as Śāṭhīlā.[965]

For his Vratapaddhati, *vide* Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 15, No. 1995. He says that he was urged by his brother's advice to write the work and that he follows the Samayapradīpa.[966]

Another work of his is the Varṣakṛtya which deals with festivals and fasts.

He was the son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīdhara and youngest brother of Haladhara. His works are quoted by Vācaspati in his Dvaitanirṇaya, by Govindānanda in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, by Raghunandana in several of his *tattvas*, by Kamalākara and Nīlakaṇṭha.

As Rudradhara mentions the Ratnākara, the Smṛtisāra, Śridattopādhyāya and the Śrāddhaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, he is certainly later than 1425 A. D. A ms. of his Vratapaddhati is dated in Lakṣmaṇa *saṁvat* 344 i. e. 1463 A. D.[967] Besides he is quoted by Vācaspati and Govindānanda. Therefore he must have flourished between 1425 and 1460 A. D.

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964 कल्पतरु, गोभिलगृह्यभाष्य, छन्दोगपरिशिष्टटीका, पारिजात, पितृभक्ति (of श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय styled प्राचीन), भुजबलभीम, भोजराज, महार्णव, रत्नाकर, श्राद्धकल्प, श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धविवेक (गौडीय i. e. of शूलपाणि), सुगतिसोपान (styled भवशर्मप्रतिहस्तकग्रन्थ), स्मृतिसार, हलायुधनिबन्ध.

965 प्रसातिका मध्यदेशे शाठीला इति प्रसिद्धं धान्यम् । folio 21 b of the Benares ed. of संवत् 1920.

966 एष श्रीभ्रातृचरणोन्नीतः समयप्रदीपानुसारी पन्थाः । at the end of the व्रतपद्धति.

967 Vide M. M. Haraprasad Śastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. XIII and p. 73.

The Rudradhara who was a pupil of Caṇḍeśvara and author of the Kṛtyacandrikā, the Vivādacandrikā and the Śrāddhacandrikā appears to be a different author.

97. Misarumisra

Misarumiśra is famous for his works called Vivādacandra and Padārtha-candrikā (on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system). There is a ms. of the Vivādacandra in the Deccan College (No. 57 of 1883-84). That work deals with the titles of Law (vyavahārapadas) such as ṛṇādāna (recovery of debt), nyāsa (deposit), asvāmivikraya, saṁbhūya-samutthāna (partnership), dāyavibhāga, strīdhana; and then with procedure, viz. the plaint, reply, pramāṇas, witnesses, possession etc. It frequently quotes the Ratnākara (on vivāda and vyavahāra) of Caṇḍeśvara and several times criticizes him. Besides numerous smṛti writers the other authors and works named are : Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Bālarūpa (often), Bhavadeva and Smṛtisāra (frequently).

In the mss. and colophons the name of the author seems to be Misarūmiśra.[968] He tells us that he wrote the work under the orders of princess Lachimādevī, wife of prince Candrasiṁha who appears to have been the younger brother of Bhairavasiṁhadeva of the Kāmeśvara dynasty of Mithilā. The work was probably called Vivādacandra to connect it with the prince Candrasiṁha. The Vivādacandra first[969] speaks of king Bhaveśa of the Kāmeśvara dynasty, then of his son Harasiṁhadeva, then of his son Darpanārāyaṇa and the latter's queen Hīrā or Dhīra and then of Candrasiṁha and his queen Lakhimā or Lachimā. We saw above that Caṇḍeśvara who had weighed himself against gold in 1314 A. D. wrote in his old age

968 श्रीचन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयिता लछिमा महादेवी । रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रं मिसरूमिश्रोपदेशेन ॥ Intro. verse 2 in Mitra's Notices vol. IX p. 12 No. 2901; *vide* I. O. cat. p. 454 No. 1500 ' इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमिसरूमिश्रविरचितो विवादचन्द्रः समाप्तः'.

969 अभूदभूतप्रतिमल्लगन्धो राजा भवेशः किल सार्वभौमः । अत्याजयद्यो बहुमत्सरित्वं दोषं भुवोपि प्रभुरप्रधृष्यः ॥ तस्मादनूजोजनि सूनुसारो धीमान्रमासूनुसमानसारः । राजोपजीव्यो हरसिंहनामा ततो नृपो दर्पनरायणोभूत् ॥ दर्पनरायणनृपतेः श्रीमद्धीरा महादेवी । अलभत तनयं तनयं नरपतिगुणराशिपूरितं शूरम् ॥ श्रीमल्लखिमादेवी तस्य चन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयितस्य । नाम्ना मिसरूमिश्रद्वारा रचयति विवादचन्द्रमभिरामम् ॥ Intro, verses in the Deccan College ms.

under Bhaveśa his work on Rājanīti. Lachimādevī was queen of the great-grandson of this Bhaveśa, who became king of Tirhut in the third quarter of the 14th century. Therefore Candrasiṁha must have flourished about the middle of the 15th century and Misarumiśra's work must be assigned to that period. M. M. Chakravarti points out (JASB for 1915, p. 425) that for Dhīrasiṁha, a son of Darpanārāyaṇa, there is an authentic date, viz. 321 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in Tirhut (i. e. 1438 A. D.), when a ms. of Śrīnivāsa's Setudarpaṇī (com. on Setubandha) was copied during Dhīrasiṁha's reign.

That the Vivādacandra is a work of authority on Hindu Law in Mithilā has been recognised from very early days in the British courts.[970] The Vivādacandra held that the word strīdhana was to be applied to such woman's property as was technically so called (by the sages) and not to all property that comes to a woman.[971]

98. Vācaspatimiśra

Vācaspatimiśra is the foremost *nibandha* writer of Mithilā. His Vivādacintāmaṇi has been recognised by the High Courts in India and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu Law in Mithilā.[972] Vācaspati was an extremely voluminous writer and appears to have composed dozens of works. In the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī, almost his latest work, he says that he wrote in his youth ten works on śāstra and thirty *nibandhas* on smṛti and composed the work in question in his declining years.[973] At least eleven works of his bearing the title 'cintāmaṇi' are known. They are briefly noticed below.

The Ācāracintāmaṇi deals with the daily rites of Vājasaneyins.[974] The Āhnikacintāmaṇi is quoted in his Śuddhicintāmaṇi. The

970 *Vide* 2 Moo. I. A. p. 132 at p. 147 and p. 152 (where there is a citation in English from the विवादचन्द्र).

971 ' स्त्रीधनं पारिभाषिकमेव न सर्वम् ' folio 33 a of the D. C. ms.

972 *Vide* 11 Moo. I. A. 139 at p. 174 and 487 at p. 508, I. L. R. 20 All. 267 at p. 290 (P. C), I. L. R. 10 Cal. 392 at p. 399, I. L. R. 12 Cal 348 at p. 351.

973 शास्त्रे दश स्मृतौ त्रिंशन्निबन्धा येन यौवने । निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्येष विनिर्ममे ॥ vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.

974 अहोरात्राश्रितो धर्म इह वाजसनेयिनाम् । निबध्यते हरिं नत्वा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा ॥ Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 169, No. 1857.

Kṛtyacintāmaṇi was published in Bengali characters at Benares in *śake* 1814 (vide JASB. for 1915, p. 395) and deals with the festivals that are celebrated on different days in the year. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi has been published in the B. I. series. It is divided into five *prakāśas*, viz. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Purī), Gaṅgā, Gayā and Vārāṇasī and deals with such topics as the purpose of pilgrimages, the preliminaries of pilgrimage, the various rites to be performed at the several *tīrthas*, the subsidiary sacred places at the principal *tīrthas* etc. He mentions the Kalpataru, Gaṇeśvara-miśra, Jayaśarmā, the Mitākṣarā, Smṛtisamuccaya and Hemādri. In the introduction he explicitly states that he composed the work after carefully examining the Kṛtyakalpadruma and Pārijāta, the Ratnākara and other works.[975] The Dvaitacintāmaṇi is mentioned in his Kṛtyacintāmaṇi. The Nīticintāmaṇi is mentioned in the Vivādacintāmaṇi (p. 72). The Vivādacintāmaṇi (text) was published at Calcutta in 1837 (which edition is used in this work) and was translated into English by Prasannakumar Tagore (in 1863) with a learned preface. It explicitly states that the author carefully studied the Kṛtyakalpadruma, Pārijāta and Ratnākara.[976] The work deals exhaustively with the eighteen titles of law (*vyavahārapadas*). The principal authors and works, besides the usual smṛtis and purāṇas, mentioned in the work are noted below.[977] In this work he mentions several vernacular equivalents for Sanskrit terms. The Vyavahāracintāmaṇi[978] deals with judicial procedure, viz. the four principal topics thereof, viz. *bhāṣā* (the plaint), *uttara* (reply of defendant), kriyā (evidence),

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975 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् । प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥ *तीर्थचिन्तामणि*, vide p. 268 also.

976 श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम ... यत्नात् । वाचस्पतिः श्रीपतिनम्रमौलिर्विवादचिन्तामणिमातनोति ॥

977 कल्पतरु, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, पारिजात, प्रकाश, बालरूप, भाष्यकार (of शङ्खलिखित, p. 67, the same quotation occurring in the वि. र. p. 234), मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रत्नाकर, लक्ष्मीधर, स्मृतिसार, हलायुध. Note the following words 'व्युत्करोवकरः गोव्दतल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 63), 'आरक्षकः कोटाल इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 95, i, e. *Kotwal* in Marathi), 'संक्रमः साकम इति प्रसिद्धः' (p. 101; compare Marathi साकव).

978 भाषोत्तरक्रियापादा निर्णयः सोपदेशकः । चतुष्पात्तत्त्वविषयो व्यवहारो निरूप्यते ॥ I. O. cat. p. 417 No. 1400.

nirṇaya (decision). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814 (JASB for 1915, p. 396 *n* 2). The Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi deals with the duties of śūdras (Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 22, No. 2001). The Śrāddhacintāmaṇi is a standard work and was printed at Benares in Bengali characters in *śake* 1814.

Besides the works and authors enumerated in the foot-note above, the others mentioned by him in his several Cintāmaṇis are noted below.[979]

Besides these there is a group of Vācaspati's works with the title 'nirṇaya'. The Tithinirṇaya[980] starts with an invocation of the highest Being (*paramātman*) while most of his works are begun with an obeisance to Hari or Kṛṣṇa. It first divides *tithis* into śuddhā and viddhā (commingled with another tithi) and then discusses all the *tithis* from the first to the fifteenth and also *amāvāsyā*; it deals with the questions as to the rites of that *tithi* which is *kṣaya*, with śivarātrivrata, naktavrata, holidays, fasts, jayantīvrata, holikā festival etc. The Dvaitanirṇaya,[981] as its name implies, is concern-

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[979] अनिरुद्ध, असहाय, आचारप्रदीप, उदयकर, कर्क, कर्मप्रदीप, कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुलार्णव, गोविन्दराज, दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी, पितृभक्ति, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भीमपराक्रम, भोजराज (or simply राज), राजमार्तण्ड, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, विवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, शुद्धिसार, श्राद्धकल्पचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धविवेक, श्रीदत्तोपाध्याय, सुगतिसोपान, स्मृतिपरिभाषा, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिसागर, हरिहरमिश्र, हरिहरपद्धति, हारलता.

[980] अद्वैतोद्बोधगम्याय निर्गुणस्थितिहेतवे ।
जगतामादिभूताय नमस्ते परमात्मने ॥
विलोक्य मुनिवाक्यानि संप्रदायानुसारतः ।
तिथिद्वैतविधौ यत्नात्क्रियते तिथिनिर्णयः ॥
Mitra's Notices, vol. V. p. 149 No. 1139.

[981] Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. I, p. 149 No. 275 and vol. V, p. 296 No. 1973 for the द्वैतनिर्णय.

ed with the settlement of some doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra such as the names to be given to brāhmaṇas and the other *varṇas*, doubts on gifts and consecration of tanks and wells, doubts about daily bath, *saṁdhyā*, *devapūjā*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily offerings to manes, about judicial proceedings and the taking of interest, about various *vratas* like ekādaśī and janmāṣṭamī, about intercalary months, about the proper time for marriage and *upanayana*. The Mahādānanirṇaya[982] expatiates on the sixteen munificent gifts such as weighing against gold and silver. In the introductory verses Vācaspati gives the genealogy of his patron's family from Bhaveśa, whose son was Harasiṁhadeva, whose son was Narasiṁha, whose son Bhairavendra bore the *biruda* (appellation) Hari-nārāyaṇa. A verse[983] at the beginning and one at the end attribute the work to Bhairavendra and to Rūpanārāyaṇa respectively. Rūpa-nārāyaṇa was the *biruda* of Rāmabhadra, a son of Bhairavendra. Therefore it looks probable that the work was commenced in the reign of Bhairava and was completed in the reign of his son Rāmabhadra. M. M. Chakravarti says that Bhairava himself bore at one time the *biruda Rūpanārāyaṇa*. M. M. Haraprasad Sāstri (Nepal cat. p. 90) mentions a Vivādanirṇaya of Vācaspati. The Śuddhinirṇaya of Vācaspati deals with impurity on birth and death, the religious acts that must be performed even in times of impurity, *sapiṇḍa* relationship, periods of impurity for the principal varṇas and mixed castes; periods of impurity on abortion, the deaths of infants and women, accidental deaths etc., over-lapping of several periods of *aśauca*; impurity arising from carrying a corpse ; rites after the death of a *saṁnyāsin* ; impurity from contact of lower castes, such as washermen and cāṇḍālās, freedom from impurity at tīrthas and marriages etc.

982 Vide Haraprasad Sastri's cat. of palm-leaf and paper Nepal mss. p. 122 for the महादाननिर्णय.

983 श्रीवाचस्पतिधीरं सहकारितया समासाद्य । श्रीभैरवेन्द्रनृपतिः स्वयं महादाननिर्णयं तनुते ॥ ; श्रीरूपनारायणभूमिपालकृतो महादानविनिर्णयोयम् । यशःप्रसूनाञ्चितदिक्पतीनामाकल्पमाकल्पतु भूपतीनाम् ॥ at end.

Besides these, Vācaspati appears to have either composed or contemplated writing seven works called Mahārṇava on kṛtya, ācāra, vivāda, vyavahāra, dāna, śuddhi and pitṛyajña. Of these the Kṛtya-mahārṇava is found and deals with festivals and fasts and the proper times therefor (vide JASB for 1915, p. 398). He also wrote the Gayāśrāddhapaddhati, the Candana-dhenupramāṇa and the Dattaka-vidhi. Probably his last work, as stated above, was the Śrāddhakalpa *alias* Pitṛbhaktitaraṅgiṇī.

Apart from the works on dharmaśāstra, Vācaspati wrote also on the systems of philosophy. But it is not necessary for our purpose to go into that question.

Most of his works styled ' cintāmaṇi 'are mentioned by Raghunandana in the *tattvas* (e. g. Kṛtyacintāmaṇi in Ekādaśītattva, Vivāda- and Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi in Dāyatattva). The Śuddhicintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śuddhitattvārṇava of Śrīnātha-ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, the Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Śrādhha-kriyā-kaumudī (pp.265, 475) and in the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 89, 93) of Govindānanda, the Vivāda-cintāmaṇi is quoted in the Vīramitrodaya (p. 697) and the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi is criticized in the same work (p. 288). His Pitṛbhakti-taraṅgiṇī is mentioned in the Śuddhitattva and Śrāddhatattva. Vācaspati vouchsafes very little information about himself or his family. In the colophons of his works he is generally styled mahāmahopādhyāya and *miśra* or *sanmiśra*. In the colophon of the Śūdrācāra-cintāmaṇi[984] he is described as the *pariṣad* (the adviser of the king in finally deciding difficult points of Dharmaśāstra) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Hari-nārāyaṇa. We saw above that his Mahādānanirṇaya connects itself with two kings Bhairava and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa. At the end of the Śrāddhakalpa we are told that Vācaspati who was the *pariṣad* of Rāmabhadradeva *alias* Rūpanārāyaṇa, son of Hari-

[984] महाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्धरिनारायणपरिषदा सकलपण्डितमण्डलीशिरोमणिना श्रीवाचस्पति-मिश्रेण विरचितः शूद्राचारचिन्तामणिः &c. Mitra's Notices, vol. VI. p. 22 No. 2001.

nārāyaṇa, composed the work at the bidding of his patron.[985] Vardhamāna in his Daṇḍaviveka says that one of his *gurus* was Vācaspati.[896] It is probable that it is this Vācaspati that is meant. But as against this we must remember that Vācaspati in his Śrāddhakalpa quotes Vardhamāna Upādhyāya on śrāddha. Vardhamāna wrote his Daṇḍaviveka while king Bhairava was reigning and his Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka for Rāmabhadradeva. So Vācaspati was an elder contemporary of Vardhamāna.

Prasannakumar Tagore assigned 1423 A. D. as the time of the Vivādacintāmaṇi (vide preface p. xxviii). Ghose in his Hindu Law (vol. II p. xiv) says that Vācaspati wrote the Śrāddhacintāmaṇi by order of queen Jayā, widow of king Bhairavadeva and

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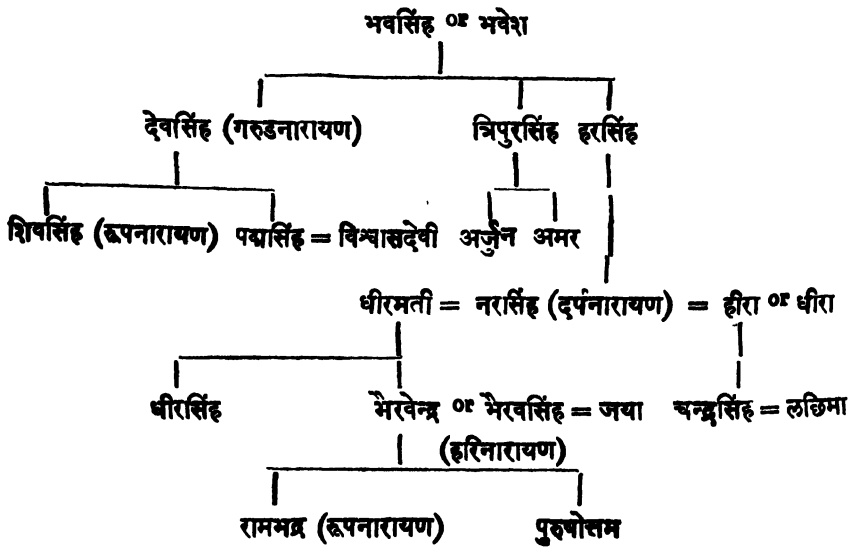
985 समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीहरिनारायणात्मज-समस्तेत्यादिमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरूपनारायणपदवीसमलङ्कृतमिथिलामण्डलाखण्डलश्रीमद्रामभद्रदेवचरणादिष्टेन तत्परिषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्मणा विरचितोयं श्राद्धकल्पः परिपूर्णः । I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1730.

The pedigree of the कामेश्वर kings of Mithilā from भवेश is :



Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV, p. 196 for a detailed pedigree gathered from Pañjas of Mithilā (though somewhat confused) and Ind. Ant. vol. 28, pp. 57–58.

986 ज्यायान्गण्डकमिश्रः शङ्करवाचस्पती च मे गुरवः । दण्डविवेक verse 6.

mother of Puruṣottamadeva,[987] that Harināràyaṇa (i. e. Bhairava) ruled from 1513 to 1527 and that the latter was killed by Nasrat-shah, the Pathan king of Bengal. M. M. Chakravarti holds that the literary activity of Vācaspati lay between 1450 to 1480 A. D. Since Vācaspati mentions the Ratnākara (of Caṇḍeśvara) and Rudradhara as his authorities he must be later than about 1425 A. D. Vācaspati's works are quoted by Govindānanda and Raghunandana. Therefore Vācaspati is certainly earlier than 1540 A. D. The ms. of the Mahādānanirṇaya found in Nepal is dated in 392 of the Lakṣmaṇasena era (Monday of Vaiśākha, dark half, 12th *tithi* i. e. 22nd April 1511 A.D.) The ms. of the Śuddhinirṇaya (Mitra's Notices vol. X, p. 58, No. 3308) was copied in *saṁvat* 1416, which must in this particular case be taken as equivalent to *śake* 1416 i. e. 1494-95 A. D.., since Vācaspati could not have flourished about 1360 A. D. (which corresponds to Vikrama *saṁvat* 1416). Hence the period assigned by Chakravarti for the literary activity of Vācaspati appears to be correct. That date is further corroborated by the fact that Vācaspati wrote under Bhairavendra and his son Rāmabhadradeva, that were 4th and 5th in descent from king Bhaveśa of Mithilā, who as we saw above began to rule over Mithilā in the third quarter of the 14th century.

This Vācaspati who flourished in Mithilā in the latter half of the fifteenth century is very often confounded with other authors bearing the same name. The great philosopher Vācaspati who was author of the Bhāmatī on the Śārīrakabhāṣya of Śaṅkara and of several other commentaries on other systems of philosophy flourished in the first half of the 9th century as he wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in 898 (most probably of the Vikrama era).[988] There was another (Candraśekhara) Vācaspati who wrote the Smṛtisārasaṁgraha (cat. of Calcutta San. College mss. vol. II, p. 181, No. 203) and flourished in the first half of the 18th century.

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[987] Compare विष्णोर्व्यक्तः(?) पुरमिव शम्भोरिव देहवामार्धम्। देवीसनाभिरेषा जयति जयात्मा महादेवी ॥ श्रीभैरवेन्द्रधरणीपतिधर्मपत्नी राजाधिराजपुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता। वाचस्पतिं निखिलचन्द्रविदं नियुज्य द्वैते विनिर्णयविधिं विधिरुत्तनोति ॥ verses 5 and 7 of द्वैतनिर्णय, Mitra's Notices, vol. I p. 149.

[988] न्यायसूचिनिबन्धोसावकारि सुधियां मुदे। श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वङ्कवसुवत्सरे ॥

99. Nṛsiṁhaprasāda

This is an encyclopaedic work on dharmaśāstra, no part of which has been yet printed. The Benares Sanskrit College has a complete ms. of this vast work. I could examine the whole of it. Besides, the Deccan College collection has two mss. of portions of it, viz. of the Dānasāra (No. 353 of 1875-76) and of the Tīrthasāra (No. 352 of 1875-76). The Dānasāra and Śāntisāra are also noticed in Mitra's cat. of Bikaner mss. (pp. 429-430) and six sections out of twelve are noticed in the I. O. cat. p. 434 No. 1467. Unless otherwise stated the references here are to the Benares Sanskrit College ms.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda is divided into twelve[989] sections called '*sāra*' on saṁskāra, āhnika, śrāddha, kāla, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta, karmavipāka, vrata, dāna, śānti (the averting of evil foreboded by natural portents and other strange occurrences), tīrtha and pratiṣṭhā (consecration of temples, idols etc.). Each section[990] begins with an invocation of Nṛsiṁha(the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu) after whom the work is named Nṛsiṁhaprasāda (the fruit of the grace of Nṛsiṁha). In the Saṁskārasāra, after invoking Nṛsiṁha, the introduction tells us that[991] when king Rāma ruled in Devagiri (modern Daulatabad), Śāmavit was ruler of Delhi and that after the latter Nijāmasāha wielded power over the world. Then after pronouncing an eulogy on Nijāmasāha (verses 10-13) the author

989 संस्कारसारः प्रथमो द्वितीयस्त्वाह्निकाभिधः। श्राद्धसारस्तृतीयस्तु चतुर्थः कालनिर्णयः॥ पञ्चमो व्यवहाराख्यः प्रायश्चित्ताभिधो ... (torn) नाशकः (सप्तमस्त्वघनाशकः)॥ अष्टमो व्रतसाराख्यः पुराणोक्ताभिधायकः। नवमो दानसाराख्यः सर्ववर्णाधिकारकः॥ दशमः शान्तिसंज्ञो वै तैर्थ एकादशः स्मृतः। देवप्रतिष्ठासारश्च द्वादशः परिकीर्तितः॥ verses 17-20 of संस्कारसार.

990 e. g. verse 8 of the संस्कारसार. The first verse of आह्निकसार is प्रणम्य श्रीनृसिंहेन (हं तु ?) दलाधीशेन भूभुजा। श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादेन दिनानुष्ठेयमुच्यते॥; the श्राद्धसार begins 'श्रीनृसिंहं नमस्कृत्य दलाधीशमहीपतिः। श्राद्धसारं प्रकुरुते सर्ववैदिकतुष्टये॥'

991 श्रीमद्देवगिरौ पुरन्दरपुरस्पर्धाधिवद्वादरे रामे राजनि शामवित्किल बभौ राजा स दिल्लीश्वरः। दिल्लीशादुपरि प्रभुः समभवन्नैजामसाहो महान् यद्दोर्दण्डनिजप्रतापमहिमा राज्यं वशे चानयत्॥ verse 9.

speaks of himself. We[992] are told that the author was Dalapati (or Dalādhīśa), son of Vallabha, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and of the Yājñavalkīya śākhā (i. e. Śuklayajurveda) and that he was the keeper of the imperial records of Nebajana (?). There are elaborate colophons[993] at the end of almost each section (called sāra) in which we are told that Dalapati was the pupil of Sūryapaṇḍita, that he was a great exponent of the Vaiṣṇavadharma, that he was the chief minister and keeper of the records of Nijāmasāha, who was the overlord of all Yavanas (Mahomedans) and ruler of Devagiri. In some colophons he is styled Mahārājādhirāja. It is doubtful whether Dalapati or Dalādhīśa was the real name of the author or was merely a title. It is not unlikely that Sūryapaṇḍita said to be the *guru* of the author is the same as Sūrya, the father of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha, who wrote his Bhāgavata at Benares in *śake* 1495 (i. e. 1573 A. D.) and who states that he was born in a family of devout Vaiṣṇavas.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda names numerous authors and works. In the beginning of the Saṁskārasāra, he mentions a host of writers and works that he consulted.[994] Besides these he mentions Some-

[992] प्रौढश्रीद्विजराजवंशतिलकालङ्कारहीरः प्रभुर्भारद्वाजकुलानुगः प्रथमया यः शाखयालङ्कृतः। श्रीमन्नेबजनसमस्तकरणाधीशः सतामग्रणीः श्रीमद्वल्लभभूश्रियं विजयते श्रीमान्दलाधीश्वरः ॥ verse 14 of संस्कारसार. The third line is metrically faulty in the 6th syllable. This verse occurs in each सार at the end with variations. In the D.C, ms. No. 358 of 1875–76 the last two lines are श्रीमद्वल्लभसूनुरात्मनिरतस्तत्संप्रदायाग्रणीः सारे दानकसंज्ञकेतिचतुरे श्रीमान्दलाधीश्वरः ॥

[993] e. g. at the end of the श्राद्धसार 'श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापमहाराजाधिराज-सर्वपुरीसुन्दरीदेवगिरिपुरवराधीश्वर -समस्तयवनाधीश्वर -श्रीमन्निजामसाहसमस्तकरणाधीश्वर-सकलविद्याविशारद -याज्ञवल्कीयलुप्तशाखाप्रवर्तक -द्विजराजकुलालङ्कारहीर -श्रीवैष्णवप्रवर्तक -श्रीवल्लभात्मज-श्रीवल्लभपण्डितप्रसादासादितसूर्यपण्डिताभिधगुरु-मन्वादिप्रणीतनीतिशास्त्राभिज्ञ-महाप्रभुस्वकार्यवीक्षणप्रतिनिधीकृत-श्रीमहाराजदलपतिराजविरचिते श्रीनृसिंहप्रसादे &c.

[994] कालादर्शानन्तभट्ट-विज्ञानेश्वर भट्टहेमाद्रि-दीपिकाविवरण-असहाय-प्रयोगपारिजात-मदनपारिजात-कृत्यकल्पतरु-माधव-स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-स्मृतिरत्नावलि-स्मृतिदर्पण-स्मृतिचिन्तामणि-स्मृतिभास्कर-मेधातिथि-विज्ञानतिलक-अपरार्क-विज्ञानमार्कण्ड-भोजराजीय -विश्वरूपनिबन्ध-नारायणीय-गणेश-वाक्यमीमांसा-स्मृतिमीमांसा-निबन्धसर्वस्व-स्मृतिमहार्णव -शातातपीयकर्मविपाकसमुच्चय-माधवीय-मैथुनिकधर्मविपाक-प्रवराध्याय-प्रवरमञ्जरी -जातिविवेकप्रमुखानेकनिबन्धान् &c. folio 3b.

śvara (commentator of the Tantravārtika) and Kāladīpa in the Saṁskārasāra ; the Purāṇasāra in the Āhnikasāra; Pārijāta and Vādibhayaṅkara in the Vyavahārasāra ; Kāmika, Jñānaratnāvali, Balārkodaya in the Dānasāra.

The contents of some of the sections of the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda may be set out here. In the Saṁskārasāra the author treats of the meaning of *dharma*, śruti, smṛti, the authoritativeness of purāṇas, kalivarjya (usages prohibited in the kali age), puṇyāhavācana, madhuparka, vṛddhiśrāddha, garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, upanayana, marriage and other *saṁskāras*, the duties of brahmacārins, snātakas, householders, vānaprasthas and saṁnyāsins. In the Āhnikasāra the author after dividing the day into eight parts speaks of the actions appropriate to each viz : in the first getting up from bed at the brāhma-muhūrta, śauca, brushing the teeth, decoration of the hair, bath etc; in the second study ; in the third, looking after dependents and pursuit of one's livelihood ; in the fourth midday bath, brahmayajña, tarpaṇa, vaiśvadeva, daily śrāddha ; in the fifth dinner and foods prescribed and forbidden ; in the sixth and seventh reflecting over itihāsa and purāṇa ; in the 8th decision about worldly affairs, evening saṁdhya etc. In the Kālasāra (which is incomplete in the Benares ms.) he defines the nature of *kāla* and gives rules and decisions about months, *tithis* and such festivals as Navarātra, Janmāṣṭamī etc. In the Vyavahārasāra the author deals with the meaning of vyavahāra, the eighteen titles of law, the four-fold method of deciding dharma, the pramāṇas (means of proof), dāyavibhāga etc. In the Vratasāra he speaks of the several principal *vratas* in each month, some of which are for both men and women, some for men only and some for women only. In the Dānasāra he dilates upon the nature of dāna, its varieties, the various results of dānas, the proper time and place for dānas, proper recipients of dāna, what things can be the subjects of gifts, units of gold, silver etc., the description of kuṇḍa, maṇḍapa and vedī, the sixteen great dānas such as tulā, hiraṇyagarbha, brahmāṇḍa, kalpapādapa etc. and three *atidānas*, viz. land, cows and learning ; gifts of images, food, ornaments, bed-stead etc. ; gifts on saṁkrānti and eclipses etc. The Tīrthasāra is interesting for this that as the author hailed from Devagiri he speaks principally of *tīrthas* of the Deccan and Southern India. In this work he speaks

of Setubandha, Puṇḍarīka[995] or Pauṇḍarīka (modern Pandharpur in the Sholapur District, it seems), Gayātīrtha, eulogies of Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā-Veṇyā, Narmadā, Malaprahāriṇī etc.

The Nṛsiṁhaprasāda being a work from the Deccan held the view that marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter was sanctioned by the Veda and was not to be censured.[996] It says that where there is (irreconcileable) conflict between the smṛtis and purāṇas there is an option.[997]

As the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda relies upon the Mādhavīya and the Madanapārijāta, it is certainly later than 1400 A. D. As it is mentioned as an authority in the Dvaitanirṇaya of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and in the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha it must be earlier than about 1575 A. D. If by the Dīpikāvivaraṇa which it enumerates among its principal authorities is meant the com. of Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandrācārya, on his father's commentary of the Kālanirṇaya (which is most probable), then the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda must be later than about 1500 A. D. Dr. Bhandarkar[998] says that Rāmacandrācārya lived about 1450 A. D. A ms. of the Dīpikāvivaraṇa was copied in *saṁvat* 1604 (1548 A. D.).[999] The Benares Sanskrit College ms. appears to have been copied for Rāmapaṇḍita Dharmādhikarī at Benares, who is said to have been the father of Nandapaṇḍita[1000] (see sec. 105 below). At the end of several *saras* either *saṁvat* 1568 (1511-12 A. D.) or 1569 occurs as the date.[1001] This may be said to be the

995 भैम्याश्चैव तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् ... घर्मरीरा नदी यत्र करवीरकुशाकुशैः। शोभिता सङ्गता भैम्यास्तस्माद्योजनमन्ततः। पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यातं तत्तीर्थं तीर्थपूजितम्। पाण्डुरङ्गस्तत्रास्ते &c.

996 वस्तुतस्तु मातुलसुतापरिणयनं वेदाभिहिततया न दोष इति ... विस्तरेण वक्ष्यामः। संस्कारसार folio 9.

997 यत्र स्मृतिपौराणयोर्विरोधस्तत्र विकल्पः। संस्कारसार folio 14a.

998 Report, 1883-84, pp. 58-60.

999 Vide I. O. cat. p. 530, No. 1662.

1000 *Vide* Benares 'Pandit' (New series) vol. V. pp. 377-78 for an announcement about the नृसिंहप्रसाद by a learned descendant of नन्दपण्डित.

1001 At the end of the colophon of the आह्निकसार we have the date 'संवत् १५६८ समये आश्विनवदि ११ शुक्रवारे' and on the back of that part of the ms. the date 'संवत् १५६९ वैशाखवदि ७ शुक्रे' i. e. 7th May 1512 A. D. At the end of the कर्मविपाकसार we have 'संवत् १५६९ समये कासीपुरी-श्रीविश्वेश्वरचरणसंनिधाने'. At the end of the तीर्थसार we have 'संवत् १५६८ समये वैशाखसुदि द्वितीया रवौ'.

date of the actual composition of the work or of the copying of the ms. for Rāmapaṇḍita. It seems difficult to believe that Rāmapaṇḍita for whom the ms. was copied in 1511-12 A. D. was the father of the famous Nandapaṇḍita. We know that Nandapaṇḍita composed his Vaijayantī in 1623 A. D. Rāmapaṇḍita must have been a man of middle age before he could order the copying of a huge ms. like the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda. If he did this in 1511-12 A. D. his son could hardly have been alive 120 years later. Therefore it looks probable that the dates (*saṁvat* 1568 and 1569) are not the dates when the ms. was copied for Rāmapaṇḍita, but rather the dates of the composition of the original work or of the copying of the ms. from which Rāmapaṇḍita got his own ms. copied. At all events it is clear that the Nṛsiṁhaprasāda could not have been composed later than 1512 A. D. As the author was a minister of Nijāmasāha who ruled over Devagiri, it appears that he is referring to Ahmad Nizam Shah who ruled from 1490-1508 A. D. or to his son Burhan Nizam Shah (1508-1533 A. D.), most probably the former.[1002] It may be taken as certain that the work was composed between 1490 and 1512 A. D.

100. Pratāparudradeva

The Sarasvatīvilāsa was compiled by Pratāparudradeva, a king of the Gajapati dynasty who ruled at *Cuttack* (Kaṭakanagarī) in Orissa. The Dāyabhāga portion of this work was published with an English translation by Rev. Thomas Foulkes in 1881. An edition of the whole of the vyavahāra section of the Sarasvatīvilāsa has recently been published in the Mysore Government publication Series. Through the kindness of the Editor, Dr. Shamasastri, I was able to secure the printed sheets of 352 pages before publication. In the following reference is made to the paragraphs of Foulkes' edition and the pages of the Mysore edition.

After invoking deities the work starts with the *praśasti* of the king and his family (pp. 2-11). Descent is traced to the Sun himself through Daśaratha, Rāma and his sons. Kapilendra was the founder of the Gajapati family whose son was Puruṣottama. His queen was Rupāmbikā. Pratāparudradeva or Vīra-Rudra-deva

1002 Vide Lane-Poole's 'Muhammadan dynasties' (ed. of 1925) p. 320 for the names and dates of the Nizam Shahs.

was the son of Puruṣottama. He is spoken of as having given protection to Sultan (Suratrāṇa) Husanshah who threw himself on his mercy.[1003] In the colophons[1004] the king is styled Gajapati, Gauḍeśvara (king of Gauḍa), lord of Kalubariga (modern Gulbarga) in the Karṇāṭaka country of nine crores (probably of revenue) and as the protector of Sultan Husanshah of Jamunāpura. It is significant that the same titles are applied to Puruṣottama[1005] in his Poṭavaram grant of *śake* 1412 (1490 A. D.) and in other inscriptions. Pratāparudradeva, while ruling his capital[1006] Kaṭaka-nagarī, called together an assembly of *Pandits* and compiled an extensive digest of civil and religious law. The royal author feels qualms of conscience on the question of eulogising himself and his family but stifles them easily by saying that a poet can also be an appreciative critic of his own productions.[1007] He boasts that he composed the work for saving scholars the trouble of bringing harmony among the conflicting dicta of Vijñānayogī, Aparārka, Bhāruci and others, that there was no work that could equal his own and that his literary effort would make his predecessors' works afford illustrations of the maxim that when a certain purpose is served by one the existence of others is superfluous.[1008] Then it

1003 p. 11 'शरणागतहुसनसाहिसुरत्राणवज्रपञ्जरः.'

1004 इति वीरश्रीगजपति-गौडेश्वर-नवकोटिकर्णाटककलुबरिगेश्वर-शरणागतजमुनापुराधीश्वर-हुशानसाहसुरत्राण-शरणरक्षण-श्रीदुर्गावरपुत्र-परमपवित्रचरित्र-राजाधिराज-राजराजपरमेश्वर-वीरप्रतापरुद्रदेवमहाराजविरचिते स्मृतिसंग्रहे सरस्वतीविलासे व्यवहारकाण्डे &c. I. O. cat. p, 419 No. 1404.

1005 वीरश्रीगजपतिगौडेश्वरनवकोटिकर्णाटकलुबरिगेश्वरप्रतापपुरुषोत्तमदेव &c. E. I. vol. XIII p. 155; vide Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, appendix pp. 165–167, Ind. Ant. vol. I. p. 355 and M. M. Chakravarti's article on 'Uriya Inscriptions of 15th and 16th centuries' in JASB vol. 62, part 1, pp. 88-104 for inscriptions of this dynasty.

1006 'स चायं वीररुद्रो गजपतिरयोध्यामिवायोध्यां ... भूकान्ताकटकं कटकनगरीं समानयन्' p. 11.

1007 अत्र वर्णयितृवर्ण्ययोरभेदैकनियतयोरपि अवस्थाभेदेन भेदकथनमेकस्यैव कवेः कविसहृदयत्ववन्न विरुध्यते। p. 11.

1008 यथाविहितसभामण्डपान्तरे सभ्यपाङ्क्तिविवाकामात्यपुरोहितज्योतिर्विदादिसहितो विज्ञानयोगि-भारुच्यपरार्क-मेधातिथ्यसहाय-चन्द्रिकादिबहुग्रन्थैकवाक्यतात्पर्यालोचनवशायातत्क्लेशो मा भूदिति सकलस्मृतिसमुच्चयमतिगम्भीरं नातिविस्तृतं प्रबन्धं प्रस्तौति। ... हंनि गर्वमहो नैव नैव गर्वमहोधिके। समे तु गर्वं शङ्केत न समस्ति समस्तु नः॥ pp. 11-12; एकेन चरितार्थत्वादितरानर्थतानयः। पूर्वप्रबन्धैर्विषयीभवेदिति ममोद्यमः॥ p. 14.

is said that the vyavahārakāṇḍa was first taken in hand even before the ācārakāṇḍa following the special desire of the king Vīrarudra Gajapati.[1009] But it appears from references in the vyavahārakāṇḍa itself that before that part was finished the ācārakāṇḍa had been completed.[1010] The Sarasvatīvilāsa, being a work composed under the express orders of a king for the benefit of his subjects, makes the nearest approach to the Austinian conception of law as a command addressed by political superiors to political inferiors and enforced by a sanction.

The principal topics dealt with in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa are : the hall of justice, the method of judicial procedure, the plaint, the reply, documents, possession, ṛṇādāna, dāyavibhāga, sāhasa and other titles of law. In the beginning of the work he sets out at great length the views of ancient writers on politics about the constitution of the *maṇḍala*, such as those of Parāśara, Uśanas, Viṣṇu, Bṛhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Manu etc. He generally follows the views of Vijñāneśvara on dāyavibhāga, but here and there strongly criticizes him, e. g. he says that Vijñāneśvara gave a very far-fetched interpretation[1011] of Yājñavalkya's verse ' rikthagrāha ṛṇam dāpyaḥ.' The Sarasvatīvilāsa is a work of authority in Southern India on matters of Hindu Law, though inferior to the Mitākṣarā.[1012] It informs us that, though the Smṛticandrikā passed over the ordeals of water and poison on the ground that they had gone out of vogue, in Utkala the ordeal of water alone was resorted to and in Śūrasena (Mathurā) and Magadha (Bihar) the ordeal of poison alone was administered.[1013]

1009 ततश्चाचारकाण्डाद् व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रथमारब्धः । ... तथापि वीररुद्रगजपतिमहाराजस्याकांक्षानुसारेण प्रथमं व्यवहारकाण्डः प्रक्रम्यते ॥ p. 15.

1010 अत्र यद् बहु वक्तव्यमस्ति तदस्माभिरपि आचारकाण्डे विवाहप्रकरण एव प्रपञ्चितमिति तत एवावधार्यम् । p. 343.

1011 एतद्व्याख्यानक्रमं (?) विज्ञानयोगिना पूर्वाचार्यच्छलानुगच्छता (०च्छायामनुगच्छता ?) अधिक्षेपसमाधानाभ्यामतिक्लेशमाश्रित्य कृतम् । p. 262 ; vide p. 207 for another example of the criticism of विज्ञानेश्वर.

1012 *Vide* 2 Mad. H. C. R. 206 at p. 217, 33 Mad. 439 at p. 441, 35 Mad. 152 at p. 156.

1013 यथोक्तं चन्द्रिकाकारेण जलविषयोरुत्सन्नानुष्ठानत्वात्तद्विधिमनारभ्याय कोशविधिरुच्यत इति । उत्कलादिषु क्वचिद्देशेषु जलविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन व्यवह्रियमाणत्वात् । शूरसेनमागधादिषु क्वचिद्देशेषु विषविधेरेव प्रामाणिकत्वेन परिगृहीतत्वात् । p. 200.

Besides the usual dharmasūtras and other smṛtis, the principal authors and works named in the Sarasvatīvilāsa are noted below.[1014] The Sarasvatīvilāsa presents in the case of the dharmasūtras, particularly of Viṣṇu and Gautama, great variations from the printed texts of these works (vide sec. 10, p. 70 above). The Sarasvatīvilāsa in scores of places gives the conflicting views of Bhāruci and the Mitākṣarā (for which see under Bhāruci, sec. 61). The Sarasvatīvilāsa also contains valuable information about the views of such authors as Asahāya, Bhavadeva and Śrīkara whose works have not yet come to light.

Burnell (introduction to Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa p. vii) took Pratāparudradeva to be the king of that name who belonged to the Kākatīya-Gaṇapati dynasty of Warangal and who was carried captive to Delhi in 1322 A. D. But in this he was wrong. It has been shown above that the king connected with the composition of the Sarasvatīvilāsa belonged to the Gajapati dynasty that ruled at Cuttack and not at Warangal. Pratāparudradeva ruled from 1497 to 1539 A. D. Therefore the Sarasvatīvilāsa must have been composed in the first quarter of the 16th century. Foulkes thinks (Intro. p.xx) that the work was composed about 1515 A. D. His argument is that though the commentary of Mādhavācārya was written about two hundred years before the Sarasvatīvilāsa, the latter is entirely silent about it in his work and that the reason of this is to be sought for in the rivalry of the two dynasties of Pratāparudra and Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara which was set at rest by a marriage alliance about 1516 A. D. Vide Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'sources of Vijayanagar History' (p. 116), where we are told that the daughter of the Orissa king married to Kṛṣṇadevarāja was named Jaganmohinī (according to some) or Tukkā (according to others) and Sewell's 'A forgotten empire' p. 320. Another argument advanced by Foulkes for 1515 A. D. as the date of the work is that during the latter part of his reign Pratāparudradeva had come

1014 अपरार्क, असहाय, कर्किभाष्य, कुलार्क, गुरु (प्रभाकर), चन्द्रिका (i. e. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका), देवरात, देवस्वामी, धारेश्वर, निबन्धनकार, प्रदीप, प्रदीपिकाकार, भवदेव, भवनाथ, भारुचि, मिताक्षरा, यज्ञपति, मेधातिथि, राजलासक, लक्ष्मीधर, वरदराज (called आधुनिक as contrasted with भारुचि), विज्ञानेश्वर, वृत्तिकार (on आप० श्रौत), वैखानस-संहिता, शालिकानाथ, श्रीकर, संग्रहकार, सोमशेखर, सोमेश्वर.

under the influence of the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya, who made Purī his residence during the last years of his life and that the Sarasvatīvilāsa has in the beginning an invocation of Śiva. Caitanya was born in śake 1407 Fālguna Full-moon (i. e. in 1486 A. D.); vide Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' (p. 83) and Caitanya is said to have gone to Purī about 1510 A. D. and died in 1533 A. D. (Beames in Ind. Ant. vol. II, p. 1 ff). Both these arguments are not of much weight. As a matter of fact in some mss. there is an invocation of both Viṣṇu (Hayagrīva) and Śiva; *vide* Descriptive Cat. of Government S. mss. at Madras vol. VI, p. 2426 No. 3221. The latest work of certain date that the Sarasvatīvilāsa names is the Smṛticandrikā and it is rather matter for surprise that no work belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries is quoted or named by the Sarasvatīvilāsa. But this circumstance alone is hardly of any worth in face of the positive statement in the work itself that it was composed by Pratāparudradeva Gajapati. Vide JBORS. vol. V, pp. 147-148 and Ind. Ant. for 1929, pp. 28-33 for information about the Empire of Orissa and its emperors, Kapilendra (who died in 1470 A. D.), Puruṣottamadeva (1470-1497) and Pratāparudra-deva.

There is a ms. of a work called Pratāpamārtaṇḍa or Prauḍha-pratāpamārtaṇḍa (D. C. ms. No. 48 of 1872-73) which is ascribed to Pratāparudra, ruler of Utkala, whose capital was Kaṭaka on the banks of the Citrotpalā. It mentions Kapileśvara Gajapati, his son Puruṣottama, father of Pratāparudra. In the colophon the king is described as 'Gajapati-Gauḍeśvara-navakoṭi-karṇāṭa-kalabarageśvara-rūpa-nārāyaṇa' &c. The work is divided into five Prakāśas on Padārthanirṇaya, Vatsarādinirūpaṇa, Tithinirūpaṇa, Vratanirṇaya (such as Navarātra &c.), Viṣṇubhakti. He expressly mentions as his authorities Hemādri, Kalpataru, Ratnākara, Mitākṣarā, Mādhavīya, Anantabhaṭṭa, Smṛticandrikā, Aparārka, Pārijāta, Kālādarśa, Devadāsa. Here there is an express mention of Mādhava which refutes Foulkes' theory set out above.

101. Govindānanda

Govindānanda wrote several works out of which four have been printed in the Bibliotheca Indica series, viz: the Dānakaumudī, Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakaumudī, Varṣakriyā-kaumudī. The last work deals with *tithinirṇaya*, *vratas* on several *tithis* all the year

round, festivals like Durgotsava, Kojāgara etc. All these works appear to have formed part of a general digest called Kriyākaumudī. Besides these he wrote a commentary called Arthakaumudī on the Śuddhidīpikā of Śrīnivāsa which was printed in Bengali characters, and also a commentary called Tattvārtha-kaumudī on Śūlapāṇi's Prāyaścittaviveka (published by Jivānanda at Calcutta). His works are of great utility on account of the numerous authors and works quoted therein. The following deserve special mention.[1015] He was the son of Gaṇapatibhaṭṭa and was styled Kavikaṅkaṇācārya. From the introductory and final verses of his works it appears that he was a Vaiṣṇava. His father was a resident of Bāgri in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

Since he quotes the Madanapārijāta, the Gaṅgā-vākyāvali, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he must be later than about 1500 A. D. He is quoted by Raghunandana in his Malamāsatattva and Āhnikatattva. So he cannot be later than 1560 A. D. His Śuddhi-kaumudī examines intercalary months[1016] from *śake* 1414 to *śake* 1457 (i. e. from 1492 A. D. to 1535 A. D). Therefore it appears that he wrote his Śuddhikaumudī immediately after *śake* 1457 (i. e. 1535 A. D.). He wrote the Śrāddha-kaumudī and Varṣa-kriyākaumudī after the Śuddhi-kaumudī. Therefore we shall be very near the truth if his literary activity be placed between 1500 and 1540 A. D.

Vide M. M. Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 355 for information about Govindānanda.

[1015] कुल्लूक, चण्डीदास, (com. of काव्यप्रकाश), गङ्गावाक्यावलीकार, मदनपारिजात, राजमार्तण्ड, रुद्रधर, वर्धमानोपाध्याय, वाचस्पति, विशारद, शुद्धिविवेक, सायणभाष्य.

[1016] अत एव विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—समाद्वये साष्टमासे तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमासकः प्रोक्तः काम्यकर्मसु गर्हितः ॥ इति । तथा चतुर्दशवर्षाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे वैशाखो मलमासः । ततः परं षोडशाधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे भाद्रे ऊनत्रिंशद्मासे मलमासः । ... ततः परं द्वाविंशत्यधिकचतुर्दशशतशकाब्दे ज्येष्ठे पञ्चत्रिंशन्मासे मलमास इत्याद्यनेकशो व्यभिचारो दृश्यते । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 266; vide p. 270 for intercalary month in *śake* 1449 and 1457.

102. Raghunandana

Raghunandana is the last great writer of Bengal on dharmaśāstra. He compiled an encyclopædic work on the different branches of dharmaśāstra styled Smṛtitattva, divided into 28 sections called *tattvas*. He cites the names of over 300 authors and works in his encyclopaedia, which have been collected together by M. M. Chakravarti (JASB for 1915 pp. 363-375). His wonderful mastery over *smṛti* material and his erudition displayed in the Smṛti-tattva earned for him the appellation *smārtabhaṭṭācārya* or simply '*smārta*' from later writers. For example, the Vīramitrodaya refers to him in that way and so does Nīlakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha.[1017] His Smṛtitattva was printed at Serampore in Bengali characters so far back as 1834-35 A. D. and it has also been published by Jivananda (in two volumes). Some *tattvas* have been separately published as e. g. the Vyavahāra-tattva and the Dāyatattva (published at Calcutta in 1828 by the Department of Public Instruction). His Dāyatattva was translated into English by Golapcandra Sarkar. In his Malamāsatattva the names of his *tattvas* are given.[1018] Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p. 50 No. 1081 and I. O. cat. p. 420 No. 1405 for an enumeration of the *tattvas* and for reference to the volumes and pages in the Serampore edition. The *tattvas* are not arranged in the verses quoted below according to their chronological order, but according to the exigencies of the metre. In this work I have used Jivananda's edition.

1017 Vide वीर० p. 697 on गौतम's sūtra 'स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणामप्रजानामपतिष्ठितानां च'; व्यवहारमयूख (text p. 112 of my edition) 'स्मार्तहरिनाथावप्येवमेव'.

1018 मलिम्लुचे तथा द्वाये शुचौ च दशसंस्कृतौ। प्रायश्चित्ते विवाहे च तिथ्यां जन्माष्टमीव्रते॥ दुर्गोत्सवे व्यवहृतावेकादश्यादिनिर्णये। तडागभवनोत्सर्गे वृषोत्सर्गत्रये व्रते॥ प्रतिष्ठायां परीक्षायां ज्योतिषे वास्तुयज्ञके। दीक्षायामाह्निके कृत्ये क्षेत्रे श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे। सामश्राद्धे यजुःश्राद्धे शूद्रकृत्यविचारगे। इत्यष्टाविंशतिस्थाने तत्त्वं वक्ष्यामि यत्नतः॥

The 28 तत्त्वs are on मलिम्लुच (intercalary month), द्वाय, शुद्धि, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, तिथि, जन्माष्टमी, दुर्गोत्सव, व्यवहार, एकादशी, तडागभवनोत्सर्ग, वृषोत्सर्ग (3 तत्त्वs on छन्दोगवृषो०, यजुर्वृषो०, and ऋग्वृषो०), व्रत, प्रतिष्ठा (two on देवप्रतिष्ठा and मठप्रतिष्ठा), दिव्य (i. e परीक्षा), ज्योतिष, वास्तुयज्ञ, दीक्षा, आह्निक, कृत्य, पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्र, सामश्राद्ध, यजुःश्राद्ध, शूद्रकृत्य. In the Serampore edition ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not printed (vide Chakravarti in JASB 1915 p. 363). In Jivananda's edition also the ऋग्वृषोत्सर्ग is not included and the जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व seems to be included under तिथितत्त्व.

It is not feasible to give even brief summaries of Raghunandana's *tattvas*. Their vary names indicate the subject matter. But one of them, the Dāyatattva, deserves special mention. It treats of partition made by father, partition among brothers after their father's death, persons not entitled to a share, property not liable to partition, evidence of separation, *strīdhana* and its devolution, inheritance to one dying sonless etc. His Tithi-tattva contains a description in Sanskrit of the game called *Caturaṅga* played on the full moon of Āśvina by four players.

Besides the 28 *tattvas* Raghunandana is said to have composed several other works. There is a commentary on the Dāyabhāga attributed to him. Colebrooke suspected its genuineness, but the colophon of the commentary[1019] gives the same details about Raghunandana as are found in his admitted works. It is to be noticed that the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana sets forth the same principles of Hindu law that are peculiar to Jīmūtavāhana, though in matters of detail they disagree in a few cases. The Vīramitrodaya styles the author of the Dāyatattva a follower of Jīmūtavāhana.[1020] It has been held by the Calcutta High Court that Raghunandana's is the best commentary on the Dāyabhāga and that the authority of Raghunandana is acknowledged and respected universally in the Bengal School.[1021]

Besides the above, Raghunandana wrote also Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva, the Dvādaśayātrātattva (on the principal festivals at Jagannāthapurī, one in each month), Tripuṣkaraśānti-tattva, Gayāśrāddhapaddhati and Rāsayātrāpaddhati. His works however are not very much in vogue elsewhere than in Bengal.

Raghunandana was the son of Hariharabhaṭṭācārya and was a Bengal Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa. He was a pupil of Śrīnāthaācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, whose works are frequently quoted in the several *tattvas* (vide Chakravarti in JASB for 1915 p. 351 n. 2). According to tradition Raghunandana and the great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya were pupils of the same teacher, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, who was

[1019] इति श्रीवन्द्यघटीयहरिहरभट्टाचार्यात्मजरघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्यकृता दायभागटीका समाप्ता ।

[1020] जीमूतवाहनस्तु ब्राह्मादिविवाहेषु यद्धनं तदेवानेन व्यवस्थाप्यते न तु तत्तद्विवाहोढायाः सर्वं धनम् । ... इत्याह । तदनुगामी दायतत्त्वकृदप्येवम् । वीर० p. 703.

[1021] I. L. R. 4 Cal. 550 at p. 554 ; I. L. R. 22. Cal. 347 at p. 351

H. D. 53.

the shining light of the new logic (navyanyāya) at Navadvīpa and were residents of that place (Sarvadhikari's Tagore Law Lectures, first edition p. 403ff.).

Among the authors and works quoted in his encyclopaedia by Raghunandana those noted below deserve mention.[1022]

Aufrecht placed Raghunandana between 1430-1612 A. D. Dr. Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures p. 10) places him early in the 16th century. In I. L. R. 48 Cal. 643 (F. B.) at p. 695 it is said that Raghunandana belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. As Raghunandana's works are quoted and criticised by the Vīramitrodaya (pp. 79, 531, 683, 697, 703 etc.,) and by Nīlakaṇṭha, Raghunandana is certainly earlier than 1600 A. D. As he names Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Rāyamukuṭa, Rudradhara and Vācaspati, he is later than about 1500 A. D. If tradition is to be believed that he was a fellow-student of Caitanya he must have been born about 1490 A. D. Caitanya is said to have been born in 1485 or 1486 A. D.[1023] In his Jyotistattva he mentions *śake* 1421[1024] in connection with the position of Viṣuva. That shows that the work was not composed probably very much long after that date (i. e. 1499-1500 A. D.) In the same Tattva (vol. I. p. 568)

1022 अद्भुतसागर, अनन्तभट्ट, अनिरुद्ध, अपिपाल, आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारचिन्तामणि, आचारादर्श, कर्मोपदेशिनी, कल्पतरु, कविकान्तसरस्वती, कामधेनु, कामरूपीयनिबन्ध, कालकौमुदी, कालनिर्णय (of माधव), कालविवेक, कालादर्श, कुल्लूकभट्ट, कृत्यकौमुदी, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव, गङ्गावाक्यावलि, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, गोविन्दभट्ट, गोविन्दमानसोल्लास, चण्डेश्वर, जिकन, जीमूतवाहन, दुण्ढुपद्धति, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, दानवाक्यावलि, दीपकलिका, दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी, द्वैतनिर्णय, नव्यवर्धमानोपाध्याय, निर्णयामृत, पण्डितसर्वस्व, पशुपति, पारिजात, पितृदयिता, पितृभक्ति, पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी, पृथ्वीधरमिश्राचार्य, प्रयोगसार, प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, बल्लालसेनदेव, बालक, ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, भवदेवभट्ट, भीमपराक्रम, भुजबलभीम, भोज, मदनपारिजात, महादाननिर्णय, माधवाचार्य, युद्धजयार्णव, योगलोक, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, रायमुकुट, रुद्रधर, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, विद्यापति, विवादचिन्तामणि, व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शूलपाणि, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका (of his teacher), श्रीदत्त, सुगतिसोपान, हरिनाथ, हरिभक्ति, हरिहर, हेमाद्रि.

1023 Vide Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's 'Chaitanya's pilgrimage and teachings' for 1485 (as birth date) and M. T. Kennedy's 'Religious life of India' (1925) p. 13 for 1486 A. D.

1024 विषुवं मीनकन्यार्धे त्वेकाक्षीन्द्रे शकाब्दके । (Jivanand,a vol. I, p. 568).

for calculating ravi-saṁkrānti he takes śake 1489 as the basis (i. e. 1567 A. D.). So that Tattva was composed just about that year. A ms. of the Chandoga-śrāddha-tattva was copied in *śake* 1497 (1575-76 A. D.)[1025] and a ms. of the Maṭha-pratiṣṭhā-tattva was copied in *śake* 1498 (i. e. 1576-77 A. D.).[1026] Therefore he must have flourished before 1575. Thus he flourished between 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity, which must have been spread over a long period if we consider the number of his works, lies between 1520-1570. Vide an interesting discussion about his date in JASB for 1915, pp. 354-357 by M M. Chakravarti who places Raghunandana between 1510-1565 A. D.

103. Nārāyanabhaṭṭa

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the most famous of the celebrated family of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. For a detailed account of the family and the contribution of the several members thereof to dharmaśāstra, *vide* my Introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha (v-xvi). M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri has brought to light a biography of this family written by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, a son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Ind. Ant. for 1912 vol. 41, pp. 7-13). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's father Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa whose *gotra* was Viśvāmitra migrated from Pratiṣṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan to Benares. Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa was a very learned man and his learning drew to him students from the whole of India. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born according to Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's biography in *śake* 1435 in the month of Caitra (i. e. about March 1513 A. D.). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was the eldest of three sons, the other two being Śrīdhara and Mādhava. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa learnt all the śāstras at the feet of his father. *Pandits* all over India looked up to him as their leader and patron and he was an assiduous collector of Sanskrit mss. It is said that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa brought down by his holiness rain in a season of drought and thereby induced the Mahomedan ruler that had razed the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares to the ground to allow him to rebuild it. For his erudition and piety Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was honoured with the title 'Jagadguru' and his family was given the first place of honour in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas and at the recitations of the Vedas. It was Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his equally worthy descendants that raised dākṣiṇātya *pandits* to the

1025 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 50 No. 1081.

1026 Mitra's Notices, vol. III, p. 53 No. 1083.

position of high eminence at Benares which they still hold. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote numerous works on dharmaśāstra among which may be mentioned the Antyeṣṭipaddhati (printed by Nirṇayasāgara Press), the Tristhalīsetu (dealing with the ceremonies to be performed generally at all sacred places and particularly at Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā) and the Prayogaratna (printed at the Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1915 A. D.). This last contains detailed descriptions and rituals of the saṁskāras from *garbhādhāna* to *vivāha*. His are standard works on the subjects they deal with and are used even now almost throughout the whole of India. He composed a commentary on the introductory verses contained in the Kālamādhava (vide Madras Triennial cat. vol. III. Sanskrit C. p. 4114 No. 2852) and a commentary on portions of the Śāstradīpikā of Pārthasārathimiśra. He composed a work on ordeals which is referred to in the Vyavahāratattva of Nīlakaṇṭha (vide p. 457 of my edition and Bikaner cat. p. 387 No. 832 for a Divyānuṣṭhāna-paddhati of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa) and also paddhatis on the dedication of gardens, tanks etc. He exercised a profound influence over later writers directly and indirectly through his sons and grand-sons.

As he was born in 1513 A. D. and composed the commentary on the Vṛttaratnākara in 1545 A. D., his literary activity must be placed between 1540 and 1570 A. D. This is further corroborated by the fact that his grandson Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed the Nirṇayasindhu, one of his earliest works, in 1612 A. D.

There is a work on dharmaśāstra called Dharmapravṛtti composed by a Nārāyaṇa. Mr. K. P. Jayasval holds that this was composed by *jagadguru* Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (JBORS for 1927, vol. XIII, parts III-IV, p. IX). The same view is held by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri (Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 7). But this identity is extremely doubtful. The benedictory verses[1027] in the Dharmapravṛtti are different from those of the Prayogaratna and Tristhalīsetu, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the Dharmapravṛtti does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nīlakaṇṭha in his Vyavahāramayūkha

1027 The introductory verse is नारायणं नमस्कृत्य कामदां च सरस्वतीम् । गणनाथं गुरूंश्चैव धर्मसंरक्षणाय वै ॥ धर्मप्रवृत्त्यै क्रियते कलौ नारायणेन तु । I. O. cat. p. 480 No. 1560.

finds[1028] fault with the Dharmapravṛtti by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.

104. Ṭoḍarānanda

Rājā Ṭoḍaramalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar, compiled an extensive encyclopædia of civil and religious law, astronomy and medicine. The several parts of that encyclopædia dealing with *ācāra, dāna, vyavahāra, śrāddha, viveka, prāyaścitta, samaya* were called *saukhyas*. An account of some of the *saukhyas* that were available to me may be concisely given here. The Vyavahārasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 366 of 1875-76) begins with an invocation of Śiva, speaks of the *pārasīka* emperor[1029] (Akbar) of Hind (India) and then deals with the several topics of judicial procedure such as the king's duty to look into disputes, the *sabhā*, judge, meaning of the word *vyavahāra*, enumeration of 18 *vyavahārapadas*, time and place of *vyavahāra*, the plaint, the reply, the agent of the parties (*pratinidhi*), *pratyākalita*, the superiority of one mode of proof over another, witnesses, documents, possession, inference, ordeals and oaths, grades of punishments and fines. The Vyavahārasaukhya does not dwell on the exposition of the several titles of law. Besides the smṛti writers, it principally relies on the Kalpataru, the Pārijāta, Bhavadeva, the Mitākṣarā, the Ratnākara, Harihara and Halāyudha. The several sections are styled *harṣas*.

The Vivāhasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 868 of 1884-87) is concerned with the astrological aspects of marriage (e. g. the proper year, month, day, sign, nakṣatra &c., for marriage). It names numerous authors and works, some of which are noted below.[1030]

1028 Vide p. 134 of व्यवहारमयूख (my edition).

1029 श्रीमान्हेन्दवपारसीकधरणिशक्रस्य राजाग्रणी राजा टोडरमल्लचण्डकिरणस्तीव्रप्रतापोदयः । लोकानामतिगाढदुर्नयतमोध्वंसाय पद्योत्सवानातन्वन् व्यवहारनिर्णयकरश्रेणीं तनोत्युज्ज्वलाम् ॥ 2nd verse.

1030 उत्पल, चण्डेश्वर (on राजाभिषेक), चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, जयतुङ्ग, त्रिविक्रम, दैवतमनोहर (दैवज्ञ ?), दैवज्ञचिन्तामणि, पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय, भीमपराक्रम, भुजबल, माहेश्वर, राजमार्तण्ड, रत्नकोश, लक्ष्मट, विवाहपटल (of वराह), विवाहवृन्दावन, व्यवहारचण्डेश्वर, व्यवहारोच्चय, श्रीपति, सत्याचार्य, सारावलि, संहिताप्रदीप, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

The Śrāddhasaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 257 of 1884-87) is an extensive work and deals with the usual topics such as the different kinds of śrāddhas, the time and place for śrāddha, the proper brāhmaṇas, sapiṇḍikaraṇa &c. The sections of this work also are divided into *harṣas*. Besides those enumerated above the authors and works mentioned are noted below.[1031]

The Jyotiḥsaukhya (D. C. ms. No. 915 of 1886-92) constitutes the Saṁhitā branch of Indian astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the appearance of comets, the rise of Agastya, Ursa major, the signs of the Zodiac &c. It frequently refers to Kāśyapa, Garga (or Vṛddhagarga), Parāśara, Mayūracitra, Varāha. The colophons state that Ṭoḍaramalla was a scion of the Ṭaṇḍala (or - na) family and that the work was compiled by Nīlakaṇṭha at the order of Ṭoḍaramalla.[1032] This Nīlakaṇṭha appears to be the author of the Sañjñatantra on which a commentary was written by his son Govinda in 1622 A. D., in which it is stated that Nīlakaṇṭha was honoured by Akbar and had composed the Ṭoḍarānanda.[1033] In the Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī of Nīlakaṇṭha it is stated that the author composed works on the three branches of Jyotiṣa which gave delight to Ṭoḍara.[1034]

The Jyotiḥsaukhya was composed in śake 1494[1035] (i. e. 1572 A. D.). The ms. of the Vyavahārasaukhya bears at the end the date *saṁvat* 1638 (1581-82[1036] A. D.) which seems to be the date of its composition. Ṭoḍaramalla was a man of versatile genius. He distinguished himself as an able commander as well as a great

1031 कर्क, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, नारायण, प्रकाशकार, माधवीय, वर्धमान, वासुदेव, श्राद्धपल्लव, श्राद्धविवेक, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिमञ्जरीकार.

1032 इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीटंडलवंशातिलकटोडरमल्लकारिते श्रीदैवज्ञवर्यनीलकण्ठविरचिते टोडरानन्दे ज्योतिःसुखे संहितास्कन्धे &c. folio 23a.

1033 Vide cat. of BBRAS mss. part I, p. 187 No. 262.

1034 यन्नाम प्रथितं हि भूमिवलये शिष्यप्रशिष्यैर्महद् भूमीपालसमूहसेवितपदाम्भोरुहद्वरेणान्वितः । श्रीदिल्लीप्रभुणा हि टोडरविभोरानन्ददं ज्योतिषं त्रिस्कन्धं स्वकृतैः सुपद्यनिवहैस्तत्ताजिकं चाकरोत् ॥ 9th verse, Peterson's cat. of Ulwar mss., extract No. 502.

1035 ' तथा च सांप्रतिकः शकः १४९४ षट्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुतः ४०२० ' folio 38.

1036 ' संवत् १६३८ समये कुरसुदि २ शुक्रवार ' D. C, ms. No. 366 of 1875-76.

financier and statesman. For a brief account of his life, vide Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, vol. I. pp. 351-352. It is there stated that he was *Khetri* by caste, that, though it is generally stated that he was born at Lahore, he was really born at Laharpur in Oudh (p. 620) and that he died at Lahore on the 11th day of 998 of the Mussulman era [1037] (i. e. 1589 A. D.). The Marathi magazine 'Itihāsasaṁgraha' publishes an inscription on a stone found in the Draupadīkuṇḍa at Benares wherein it is said that Ṭoḍara of the Ṭaṇḍana family constructed that beautiful reservoir in 1646 of the Vikrama era[1038] (i.e. 1589 A. D.). Therefore it follows that literary works were compiled under the patronage of Todarmal between 1565-1589 A. D.

105. Nandapaṇḍita

Nandapaṇḍita was a voluminous writer on dharmaśāstra. An account of his principal works on dharmaśāstra is given below, particularly because most of them are yet unpublished.

He composed a commentary called Vidvanmanoharā on the Parāśarasmṛti. He expressly mentions therein that he follows the commentary of Mādhavācārya.[1039] This commentary is referred to in his Vaijayantī.[1040]

He also appears to have written a commentary called Pramitākṣarā or Pratītākṣarā on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.[1041] This com-

1037 Vide also 'Akbar' in the Rulers of India series (1890) p. 134 where the date of his death is given as 10th Nov. 1589 A. D.

1038 Vide इतिहाससंग्रह ed. by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, vol. I, part 4, p. 20. ऋतुनिगमरसात्मासंमिते (१६४६) वत्सरेशे सुकृतिकृतिहितैषी टोडरक्ष्मोणिपालः । विहितविविधपूर्तीचीकरच्चारुवापीं विमलसलिलसारां बद्धसोपानपङ्क्तिम् ॥

1039 धर्माधिकारिकुलकैरवकाननेन्दुश्रीरामपण्डितसुतेन विनायकेन । व्याख्यायते कलियुगोचितवर्णधर्मशास्त्रं पराशरमुखोद्गतमल्पशब्दैः ॥ माधवाचार्यनिर्दिष्टव्याख्यामार्गानुसारिणः । स्खलन्नपि (स्खलतोपि ?) न मे दोषः परप्रत्ययगामिनः ॥ verses 3 and 5, I. O. cat. p. 377 No. 1301.

1040 विवृतं चैतत्पराशरस्मृतिविवृतौ विद्वन्मनोहरायां दत्तकमीमांसायां चास्माभिरिति नेह प्रतन्यते । वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 42.

1041 On विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15.9 he says 'स्वैरिण्याः पुनःसंस्काराभावश्चोपपादितोस्माभिः सविस्तरं मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रतीताक्षरायामिति नेहोच्यते ।' folio 86 b of the I. O. ms. (of वैजयन्ती); on विष्णु० 16. 1 'विशेषस्तु मिताक्षराटीकायां प्रमिताक्षरायामस्मृत्कृतायामवगन्तव्यः' (folio 93 b).

mentary was probably not completed, as only fragments are found with his descendants.

Nandapaṇḍita also composed a work called Śrāddhakalpalatā, which is referred to in his Śuddhicandrikā[1042] and in the Vaijayantī. In this work[1043] he refers to a city called Sādhāraṇa (probably modern Saharanpur) where the Sahagila family ruled. He speaks of Siṁhamalla, Vasāvana, Rūpacandra, Bhūpacandra and Paramānanda as successive members of the dynasty and says that he was urged to write the work by the last of them and that he relies upon the Śrāddhadīpikā of Govindapaṇḍita.[1044] At the end of the ms. of the Vaijayantī in the Deccan College Collection it is said that the Vidvanmanoharā, the Smṛtisindhu and the Śrāddhakalpalatā were the commentaries composed by Nandapaṇḍita.[1045] But from the contents given in the India Office Catalogue it does not appear that the work was a commentary. It is divided into five *stabakas* and deals with the usual topics, viz. what is śrāddha, the proper time and place for it, the proper brāhmaṇas, various kinds of śrāddhas &c. The principal authors and works named therein are given below.[1046] The Śuddhicandrikā, a commentary on the Ṣaḍaśīti or Āśaucanirṇaya of Kauśikāditya, is also one of the works of Nandapaṇḍita. It is referred to in his Vaijayantī[1047]. The Bhadkamkar collection made by Prof. Velankar contains a ms. of this work and it has recently been published in the Chowkhamba S. series. The principal authors and works quoted therein are noted below.[1048]

1042 'स च ज्येष्ठ एवेत्युपपादितं श्राद्धकल्पलतायाम्' folio 31 b of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका; on विष्णु 21. 19 'अत्रान्यो विशेषः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामस्माभिरुपपादित इति नेहोच्यते'। folio 123 b (वैजयन्ती).

1043 Vide I. O. cat. p. 556 No. 1731 for श्राद्धकल्पलता.

1044 गोविन्दपण्डितरुतामवलम्ब्यातियत्नतः। श्राद्धकल्पलतामेतां कुर्वे तां श्राद्धदीपिकाम्॥ I. O. cat. p. 557.

1045 'पराशरस्मृतेष्टीका विद्वन्मनोहरा स्मृतिसिन्धुः। श्राद्धकल्पलता चैता नन्दपण्डितरुता टीकाः॥' D. C. ms. No. 39. of 1866-68.

1046 कालविधान, कालादर्श, चन्द्रप्रकाश, धर्मप्रदीप, निर्णयप्रदीपिका, पुराणसमुच्चय, श्राद्धकमल, श्राद्धकौमुदी, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धनिर्णय, श्राद्धप्रदीप, स्मृतिदर्पण, स्मृतिरत्नावलि, स्मृतिसार.

1047 on विष्णु 22. 8 'विस्तरस्तु शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायामवगन्तव्यः' folio 125 b of वैजयन्ती.

1048 अमृतव्याख्या (on पारस्करगृह्य), धर्मप्रदीप, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नारायणसर्वज्ञ, भट्टभालूक (!), मदन, माधव, ललित, लोल्लट, वर्धमान, विज्ञानेश्वर, विश्वादर्श, विश्वेश्वर, शङ्खधर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृत्यर्थसार, हरदत्त (on गौतमधर्मसूत्र), हारलता, हारलताविवरण.

Another work of Nandapaṇḍita is the Smṛtisindhu, which seems to have been an extensive digest of smṛti material. Portions of it have been recovered. In the Deccan College Collection there is a ms. of the Saṁskāra-nirṇayataraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu, which, according to a verse at the end, was composed by Nandapaṇḍita at the command of king Harivaṁśa-varman of the Māhendra family and son of king Maṅgo.[1049]

It appears that he compiled a summary of the doctrines of his work Smṛtisindhu. That summary was called Tattvamuktāvalī.[1050] It is almost certain that the fragment of the Tattvamuktāvalī noticed in the BBRAS cat. at p. 217 is part of this work. That fragment contains 8 verses on upākarma and three on holikā with commentary and the verses are numbered from 557 to 564 and then 607-609. If the above surmise be correct, the work was a large one and contained over 610 verses. Two of the verses name Hemādri and Pārijāta.[1051]

The Vaijayantī or Keśava-Vaijayantī is a famous work of his. It is a commentary on the Viṣṇudharma-sūtra. Extracts from it have been published by Dr. Jolly in his edition of Viṣṇu. This is an extensive work. The following account is taken from the ms. in the India Office Library (vide cat. p. 393 No. 1342 for a brief description). In this work he refers to a Brāhmaṇa dynasty of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* at Vijayapura (Vijayanagara ?) in Karṇāṭa country, in which was born Koṇḍapanāyaka, whose son was Keśavanāyaka, whose son was Ananta *alias* Vāvarasa, whose sons were Keśava and Rudra. Keśava, son of Koṇḍapa, seems to have gone

1049 'अस्ति श्रीहरिवंशवर्मनृपतिर्मङ्गोनृपस्यात्मजो माहेन्द्रान्वयमौलिभूषणमणिः सङ्कल्पचिन्तामणिः । निर्बन्धेन निबन्धराजमसृजत्तत्कीर्तिबन्धोज्ज्वलं तस्याज्ञामनु नन्दपण्डित इमं धर्माधिकारी भुवः ॥ D. C. ms. No. 612 of 1883-84 ; vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 353 for extract.

1050 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 476 No. 1204 for a ms. of the तत्त्वमुक्तावली with the commentary बालभूषा. The last verses are : तत्त्वमुक्ताः समुद्धृत्य स्मृतिसिन्धोः स्वयंकृतात् । तत्त्वमुक्तावलीमेतां निर्ममे नन्दपण्डितः ॥ तत्त्वमुक्तावलीव्याख्या बालभूषा कृता मया । बाललीलाधरः कृष्णः प्रीयतामनया सदा ॥

1051 It begins श्रावणे श्रवणे कुर्युरुपाकर्माश्वलायनाः । 557; verse 561 is घटिकाद्वयमप्युक्तं पारिजातमतश्रुतेः । and 564 is हेमाद्रिरप्युवाचात्र पञ्चमीं केवलामपि ।

H. D. 54.

to Benares with his sons and grand-sons and made extensive gifts of all kinds.[1052] There is a hyperbolical description of his great gifts (*mahādānas* including *tulā*, i. e. weighing against gold or silver). Keśavanāyaka enjoined upon Nandapaṇḍita the task of composing a commentary on the Viṣṇusmṛti.[1053] In the colophons at the end of the chapters of Viṣṇu, Koṇḍapanāyaka is styled Mahārājādhirāja and it is said that Nandapaṇḍita was encouraged in the task by Keśavanāyaka *alias* Tammasānāyaka. At the end of chapter 101, we are told that Keśavanāyaka, Nandapaṇḍita's patron, secured *mokṣa* by breathing his last on the Maṇikarṇikā in Benares.[1054] There are six verses at the end one of which says that in the Kali age there is no one more liberal than Vāvarasa (a son of Keśavanāyaka) and no one more learned than Nandapaṇḍita.[1055] As he wrote on the encouragement of Keśava, the commentary is also styled Keśava-Vaijayantī. Among the authors and works mentioned in this commentary are Devasvāmī, Budhasmṛti, Bhavadeva, Mādhavācārya, Vācaspati, Sarvajña, Subodhinī (com. on the Mit.), Haradatta, Hemādri. In the Vaijayantī he refers to no less than six of his works viz : the Vidvan-manoharā, the Pramitākṣarā, the Śrāddhakalpalatā, the Śuddhicandrikā, the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā (vide note 1040 above). But in the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā itself he refers to his Keśava-Vaijayantī as already composed.[1056] Therefore it follows that both works were probably being composed at the same time. The Vaijayantī is one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of modern Hindu Law.[1057]

1052 श्रीविश्वनाथेक्षणकाम्ययासौ पुत्रैश्च पौत्रैश्च युतः प्रपौत्रैः। गम्भीरवेदीव गजः स्वयूथ्यैः कदाचिदानन्दवनं विवेश ॥ (verse 63).

1053 धर्मार्थयापि कोटिशोत्र विहिताः संतोषमन्तस्ततो नैव प्राप यदा तदा रचयितुं विष्णुस्मृतेर्व्याकृतिम्। ऐच्छत्तत्र च रामपण्डितसुतं श्रीकेशवः क्ष्मापतिर्विद्वत्सांसदि नन्दपण्डितमतिप्रीत्या न्ययुङ्क्त स्वयम् ॥ verse 91.

1054 कामो वावरसाङ्कणप्रभृतिभिः पुत्रैः शुभैः स्थापितो मोक्षः श्रीमणिकर्णिकामुषि तनुत्यागेन संपादितः ॥

1055 कलौ वावरसादन्यो वदान्यो न महीतले। श्रीनन्दपण्डितादन्यो विद्वान्गण्यो न जातुचित् ॥

1056 'अस्मत्कृतायां विष्णुस्मृतिटीकायां केशववैजयन्त्यामवधेयम्'। (on priority among the twelve kinds of sons) p. 112 of दत्तकमीमांसा.

1057 Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 372.

Nandapaṇḍita, though he generally follows the Mitākṣarā, was not a slavish admirer of Vijñāneśvara. He does not accept the explanation the Mitākṣarā gives of Yāj II. 17 (sākṣiṣūbhayataḥ etc.). Similarly on Viṣṇu 8. 12, 22. 41, 23. 11, 27. 2 he emphatically says that the Mitākṣarā is wrong.[1058] He prefers the father to the mother as an heir (on Viṣṇu 17. 6-7) and seems to have placed the paternal grandmother as an heir after the mother but before the brother (folio 101 b). He explains *sapiṇḍa* relationship in the same way as the Mit.[1059] does. He says that the word 'bhrātaraḥ' in Yāj. should be explained as standing for 'brothers and sisters' and that in the father's line, after the brother and brother's son, the brother's grandson succeeds and, on failure of the brother's grandson, the paternal grandfather, his son and grandson are heirs one after another, i. e. in each line three generations succeed and then there is a devolution in favour of the next higher line. This view is opposed to that of the Subodhinī and the Smṛticandrikā, which take only the son and grandson of each paternal ancestor. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha for fuller details (pp. 253-254). Nandapaṇḍita stands alone among modern *nibandhakāras* in having recognised a uterine brother[1060] (i. e. the son of the same mother but of a different father) as an heir. It is remarkable that Nanda-

1058 एतेन पुंसवनस्य क्षेत्रसंस्कारतयासकृत्करणं मन्यमानो विज्ञानेश्वरोपि परास्तः। वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 27. 2.

1059 पिण्डो देहो जनकः स समानो येषां ते सपिण्डास्तेषां भावः सपिण्डता। वैजयन्ती on विष्णु. 22. 5 (folio 124 a).

1060 Vide वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 8 (folio 102 a). The important portion is 'तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो गृह्णीयुः। पित्रवयवाधिक्येन प्रत्यासन्नतरत्वात्। तदभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो गृह्णीयुः। तासां भिन्नमातृकभ्रात्रपेक्षया संनिहितत्वात्। भिन्नोदराणां मात्रा भिन्नबीजानां पित्रा विप्रकर्षात्। तदभावे तु तेपि गृह्णीयुः। ... तत्रापि प्रथमं समानपितृकाः पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्प्रत्यासत्तेश्च क्रमनियामकत्वात्। तद्यथा। एकस्य द्वे पत्न्यौ। तत्रैकस्यां द्वौ पुत्रावन्यस्यामेकः पुत्रस्तेन जनितोनन्तरं च द्विपुत्रान्यपतिमाश्रित्य पुत्रान्तरं जनयामासेति तस्मात्रयः पुत्रा बभूवुः। तत्र पूर्वयोरन्यतरस्मिन्प्रमीते तद्वनं समानमातापितृक एव प्रथमं गृह्णीयात्। तदभावे समानपितृको भिन्नोदरोपि गृह्णीयात्। बीजप्राधान्यात्। तदभावे समानमातृको भिन्नपितृकोपीति'.

paṇḍita preferred a person's predeceased son's widow (i. e. widowed daughter-in-law) as an heir to that man's own daughter.[1061]

The Dattaka-mīmāṁsā is the most famous work of Nandapaṇḍita. It was translated very early by Sutherland (comprised in Stoke's Hindu Law Books). In the following the edition of Bharatacandra Śiromaṇi (published in 1885 with his own commentary) has been used. In this work he lays down rules as to the person who may adopt, when he may adopt, who can give in adoption, who may be adopted, the motives of adoption, the necessary ceremonies of adoption, the results of adoption. Among the authors and works quoted or referred to those mentioned below may be noted.[1062]

From very early days of the British rule in India the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā came to be regarded as the standard work on adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga*[1063] the Privy Council says "Again of the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā of Nandapaṇḍita and the Dattaka-candrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that, when they differ, the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern jurists, while the former is held to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithilā and Benares." That this estimate is somewhat too strongly put has been said by the Privy Council itself in *Bhagwansingh v. Bhagwansingh*[1064] 'to call it infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Bühler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law.' The Privy Council further lays down 'their Lordships cannot concur with Knox J. in saying that

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1061 वैजयन्ती on विष्णु 17. 4 (folio 100a) श्वशुरमरणे श्वश्वूस्नुषयोः स्वत्वसाम्येन श्वश्वूमरणे स्नुषाया एव साधारणसाम्यात् (?)। तद्भावे क इत्याह। तद्भावे दुहितृगामि। तेषां पुत्रादिस्नुषान्तानामभावे दुहितरो धनं गृह्णीयुः। Vide I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at p. 376 where this view is referred to.

1062 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, देवस्वामी, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रवरमञ्जरी, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, वाचस्पति, वैजयन्ती, सर्वज्ञ, सुबोधिनी, शबरस्वामी (com. on सत्याषाढश्रौत), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि.

1063 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 437.

1064 L. R. 26 I. A. 153 at p. 161.

their (of the Dattaka-mīmāṁsā and Dattaka-candrikā) authority is open to examination, explanation, criticism, adoption or rejection like any scientific treatises on European jurisprudence'.[1065] Even in those parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority, the Dattakamīmāṁsā has on the subject of adoption been preferred in certain matters to the Vyavahāramayūkha. For example, the Bombay High Court, following the Dattakamīmāṁsā, has laid down that among the three higher castes a man cannot adopt his own daughter's, sister's, or mother's sister's son. The view of the Vyavahāramayūkha, on the contrary, is that he can take these in adoption. The limits to which Nandapaṇḍita will be followed by the courts are laid down in *Ramachandra v. Gopal*: 'The authority of Nandapaṇḍita must be accepted except where it can be shown that he deviates from or adds to the *smṛtis* or where his version of the law is opposed to such established custom as the Courts recognise'.[1066]

Several views expressed in the Dattakamīmāṁsā have been set at naught in the various provinces by the British Indian Courts. Nandapaṇḍita held that a widow could not adopt at all.[1067] Except in Mithilā this view has nowhere been entertained in India and the Courts have held that the Law of Benares, Bengal, Madras and Bombay is different. Nandapaṇḍita put forward the position that the brother's son must be preferred for adoption over any other *sagotra* or *sapiṇḍa*.[1068] This has, however, been treated in all provinces as no more than a mere recommendation and that failure to observe it entails no legal or religious consequences whatever. The expression 'putracchāyā' in 'putracchāyāvaham' occurring in the text of Śaunaka was explained by Nandapaṇḍita to mean 'similarity to a son born' and he said that the similarity consisted in the possibility of being begotten by means of *niyoga* and the like.[1069] Sutherland wrongly introduced the word 'marriage' after

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1065 L. R. 26 I. A. 113 at p. 132.

1066 I. L. R. 32 Bom, 619 at p. 624.

1067 अनेन विधवाया भर्त्रनुज्ञानासंभवात् अनधिकारा गम्यते।

1068 संनिहितसगोत्रसपिण्डेषु च भ्रातृपुत्र एव पुत्रीकार्यं इति।

1069 पुत्रच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्वं यथा भ्रातृसपिण्डसगोत्रादिपुत्रस्य। ततश्च भ्रातृपितृव्यमातुलदौहित्रभागिनेयादीनां निरासः।

niyoga in his translation and some of the High Courts in India, following this wrong translation, evolved the rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopting father could not have legally married in her maiden state.[1070] But the Bombay High Court has laid down that the rule is restricted to the three specified cases of the daughter's son, the sister's son, and the mother's sister's son.[1071] From the text (brāhmaṇāditraye nāsti bhāgineyaḥ sutaḥ kvacit), Nandapaṇḍita evolved the curious rule that a widow cannot adopt to her deceased husband her own brother's son. But the Privy Council has refused to follow this *dictum* on the ground that the gloss of Nandapaṇḍita is an extension not based on the authority of any smṛti and has upheld such an adoption.[1072]

About the personal history of Nandapaṇḍita we do not know much. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (LXXII, *n.* 3) gives what information he could gather from descendants of Nandapaṇḍita living in Benares. According to him the founder of the family was Lakṣmīdhara who was a resident of Bidar (now in the Nizam's dominions) and who went to Benares. Nandapaṇḍita was the sixth in descent from him. Dr. Jolly visited at Benares Pandit Dhuṇḍirāja Dharmādhikārī who was 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita (Tagore Law Lectures, p. 15) and Mandlik's information also was gathered from persons who were 9th in descent from Nandapaṇḍita. Mandlik also gives a detailed genealogical tree. We learn from several works of Nandapaṇḍita and their colophons that he was also named Vināyakapaṇḍita and was the son of Rāmapaṇḍita of Benares who is styled Dharmādhikarī. Nandapaṇḍita also is described as Dharmādhikarī in the Saṁskāranirṇaya-taraṅga of the Smṛtisindhu (vide note 1049 above). It appears that Nandapaṇḍita was at different times patronised by rich patrons from different parts of India. He composed the Śrāddhakalpalatā for Paramānanda of the Sahagila family of Sādhāraṇa, the Smṛtisindhu for Harivaṁśavarman of the Māhendra family and the Vaijayantī for Keśavanāyaka of Madhurā.

1070 Vide I. L. R. 11 Mad. 49 (F. B.), I. L. R. 27 All. 417, I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830.

1071 Vide I. L. R. 32 Bom. 619, I. L. R. 36 Bom. 533, 15 Bom. L. R. 824 (paternal aunt's son could be validly adopted), I. L. R. 39 Bom. 410 (adoption of half-brother held valid).

1072 *Puttulal v. Parbati* I. L. R. 37 All. 359 (P. C.).

Mandlik notes that Nandapaṇḍita is credited with the authorship of 13 works. Eight works of Nandapaṇḍita have been named and described above. Mandlik names six of these. Besides these he is said to have written Navarātra-pradīpa, three sections of a work named Harivaṁśavilāsa (viz. dānakautuka, āhnikakautuka and saṁskārakautuka), Bālabhūṣā, Tīrthakalpalatā, Kālanirṇayakautuka, Kāśīprakāśa, Mādhavānanda. But we saw above (note 1050) that the Bālabhūṣā is only a commentary on the Tattvamuktāvalī (probably composed by another writer). The Kāśīprakāśa was certainly composed by Nandapaṇḍita as he is described in the India Office ms. to have been the son of Rāmapaṇḍita.[1073] That work was composed at the order of one Sarvabhaṭṭa, who was the *guru* of Kṛṣṇanāyaka of Madhurā. In Mitra's Notices two works, Jyotiḥśāstrasamuccaya and Smārtasamuccaya, are described as composed by Nandapaṇḍita, son of Devaśarman and Vṛndā.[1074] The latter seems to have been an extensive work and dealt with *tithinirṇaya*, intercalary month, marriage, sapiṇḍa relationship, the saṁskāras, daily observances, *antyeṣṭi* (funeral rites), *āśauca*, *śuddhi*, *śrāddha*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāyabhāga* and *vyavahāra*. Though the name of the father, Devaśarman, creates suspicion in one's mind, both these works must be regarded as the works of Nandapaṇḍita, son of Rāmapaṇḍita, as in the Smārtasamuccaya the author refers his readers to his Dattakamīmāṁsā for the subject of adoption. It is not unlikely that just as Nandapaṇḍita had the *alias* Vināyaka, his father Rāmapaṇḍita was also called Devaśarman.

Mandlik (Hindu Law LXXII, n. 3) notes that on a copy of the Mādhavānanda-kāvya composed by Nanda the year *saṁvat* 1655 (1599 A. D.) is given, probably in Nandapaṇḍita's own handwriting. The Vaijayantī was one of Nandapaṇḍita's latest works. That work, we are told, was composed at Kāśī in Vikrama *saṁvat* 1679 (Nov. 1623) on the Full moon of Kārtika when the sun was in Scorpion and the moon in Taurus.[1075] Therefore the literary

1073 Vide I. O. cat. p. 391 No. 3701.

1074 Vide vol. V. p. 80 No. 1762 and vol. VI, p. 165 No. 2105.

1075 वर्षे विक्रमभास्करस्य गणिते नन्दाद्रिषड्भूमिभिः
पूर्णे कार्तिकमासि वृश्चिकगते भानौ वृषस्थे विधौ।
काश्यां केशवनायकस्य नृपतेराज्ञामवाप्य स्मृते-
र्विष्णोर्व्याकृतिमाचकार विमलां श्रीनन्दशर्मा सुधीः॥ 7th verse at the end.

activity of Nandapaṇḍita must be placed between 1595 and 1630 A. D. Mandlik in his Hindu Law (p. 281) says that the Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita is referred to in the Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha. I have not been able to find the reference in the latter work.

106. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa

Kamalākarabhaṭṭa was one of the foremost scions of the Bhaṭṭa family. He was a grandson of the famous Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa. He was one of three brothers, the eldest being Dinakara *alias* Divākara[1076] and the youngest was Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa,[1077] who studied under Kamalākarabhaṭṭa. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's father Rāmakṛṣṇa also was a very[1078] learned man and a profound *mīmāṁsaka* and his mother Umā immolated herself as a *satī*. Kamalākara was a man of profound erudition and composed works on almost every śāstra. In some of his own works there are high eulogies of his learning and proficiency in Tarka, Nyāya, grammar, mīmāṁsa (in both the schools of Kumārila and Prabhākara), Vedānta, Poetics, dharmaśāstra and Vedic sacrifices.[1079] He composed more than twenty-two works. At the end of his Vivādatāṇḍava, it is said that he composed the Nirṇayasindhu, a commentary on the Vārtika (of Kumārila), a work on the *mīmāṁsā* (śāstratattva) and a series of 20 other works.[1080] At the end of a ms. of the

1076 बिन्दुमाधवपादाब्जरोलम्बीकृतविग्रहम् । ज्यायांसं भ्रातरं भट्टदिवाकरमुपास्महे ॥ 6th Intro. verse of निर्णयसिन्धु.

1077 अधीत्य लक्ष्मणाख्येन कमलाकरसोदरात् । आचाररत्नं सुधिया यथामति वितन्यते ॥ 7th Intro. verse of आचाररत्न.

1078 यो भाट्टतन्त्रगहनार्णवकर्णधारः शास्त्रान्तरेषु निखिलेष्वपि मर्मभेत्ता । योत्र श्रमः किल कृतः कमलाकरेण प्रीतोमुनास्तु सुकृती बुधरामकृष्णः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर.

1079 तर्के दुस्तर्कमेधः फणिपतिभणितिः पाणिनीये प्रपञ्चे न्याये प्रायः प्रगल्भः प्रकटितपटिमा भाट्टशास्त्रप्रघट्टे । प्राभः प्राभाकरीये पथि पथितदुरूहान्तवेदान्तसिन्धुः । श्रौते साहित्यकाव्ये प्रचुरतरगतिर्धर्मशास्त्रेषु यश्च ॥ from काव्यप्रकाशव्याख्या D. C. ms. No. 433 of 1895-1902.

1080 येनाकारि प्रोद्भटा वार्तिकस्य टीका चान्या विंशतिग्रन्थमाला । श्रीरामाद्यैरर्पिता निर्णयेषु सिन्धुः शास्त्रे तत्त्वकौतूहले च ॥ Vide I.O. cat. p. 455 No. 1502; also vide D. C. ms. No. 122 of 1883-84 for a ms. of कमलाकर's commentary on the first *pāda* of the 2nd chap. called भावार्थ of the तन्त्रवार्तिक.

Śāntiratna in the Bhau Daji collection there is a list of 22 works of his out of which the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been the first.[1081] More than half of these works are concerned with topics of Dharmaśāstra, viz. the Nirṇayasindhu, the Dānakamalākara, Śāntiratna, Pūrtakamalākara, Vratakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna, Vivādatāṇḍava, Bahvṛcāhnika, Gotrapravaradarpaṇa, Karmavipākaratna, Śūdrakamalākara, Sarvatīrthavidhi. The Śūdrakamalākara, the Vivādatāṇḍava and the Nirṇayasindhu are the most famous of his works on dharmaśāstra. Brief references may be made here to some of the works of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa other than the three mentioned above. It appears from the introductory verses of the Vratakamalākara that Kamalākara intended to compose a digest on dharma called Dharmatattva in ten paricchedas[1082] and not only carried it out but added some more works on dharma. It will be noticed that nine out of these 10 sections are enumerated under the same names at the end of the Śāntiratna quoted above, the one not named being the section on *ācāra*. Burnell mentions a work called Ācāradīpa by Kamalākara on daily duties and on the same page notices another work on āhnika by Kamalākara.[1083] It is difficult to say whether both are names of the same work. It is not unlikely that the ācāra section of the digest Dharmatattva is the same as the Bahvṛcāhnika enumerated at the end of the Śāntiratna. There is a ms. of the Bavṛcāhnika at Bikaner.[1084] It deals with daily duties commencing with rising

करः ॥ शान्तिरत्नं ततः पूर्णव्रतयोः कमलाकरः । ग्रन्थौ पदान्तरत्नं च तस्मादाकुरुतं हलम् ॥ प्रायश्चित्ते रत्नमेकं व्यवहारे तथापरम् । वृद्धौ चाह्निकमन्यच्च गोत्रप्रवरदर्पणः ॥ रत्नं कर्मविपाकाख्यं कार्तवीर्यस्य पद्धतिः । सोमप्रयोगैः शूद्राणां धर्मो रुद्रस्य पद्धतिः ॥ टिप्पणी च तथा शास्त्रदीपिकालोकसंज्ञिता । मीमांसायां तथा शास्त्रतत्त्वस्य कमलाकरः ॥ सर्वतीर्थविधिश्चैव भक्तिरत्नं तथोत्तमम् । रामकृष्णसुतेनेत्थं कमलाकरशर्मणा । द्व्यधिका विंशतीनां च ग्रन्थानां रत्नमालिका । सेवां कर्तुमशक्तेन ह्यर्पिता रामपादयोः ॥ concluding verses of शान्तिरत्न.

1082 रामकृष्णतनूजेन कमलाकरशर्मणा । क्रियते धर्मतत्त्वानां कमलानामिहाकरः ॥ व्रतदाने कर्मपाकः शान्तिपूर्ते तथैव च । आचारो व्यवहारश्च प्रायश्चित्तमथापरम् ॥ शूद्रधर्मस्तीर्थविधिः परिच्छेदा दशात्र तु । Intro. verses to व्रतकमलाकर, vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 499, No. 1071.

1083 Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 135 b.

1084 Vide Mitra's Bikaner cat. p. 355 No. 767.

from one's bed at the *brāhma muhūrta*. In this work Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa refers to his own Prāyaścittaratna, and to the Madanapārijāta, Madanaratna, Mādhava and Śūlapāṇi. The Pūrtakamalākara[1085] was an extensive work and dealt with the dedication of tanks, wells, trees and gardens to the public, the dedication of Aśvattha tree and five sacred trees, dedication and laying the foundation of public buildings, consecration of sacred images, of Śālagrāma, of temples and flags, repairing of images, accidental breaking of temples, consecration of Vināyaka, pacification of planets, coronation of kings and emperors. In this work he mentions his own Dāna-kamalākara.

The Śāntiratna or Śāntikamalākara is a huge work.[1086]

It deals with various rites for propitiating Vināyaka, the nine planets, and for averting the consequences of portentous occurrences and evil omens, birth on such constellations as *mūla*, the observances known as Ekādaśinī, Laghurudra, Mahārudra, Śatacaṇḍī &c. He refers to his own Nirṇayasindhu in this work.

For his Gotrapravaradarpaṇa or Gotrapravaranirṇaya, vide I. O. cat. p. 579 No. 1780. He follows the Pravaramañjarī in this work. This work is referred to in his Nirṇayasindhu.

In the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library there is a ms. of his Saṁskāra-prayogakamalākara which appears to be over and above the 22 works enumerated above.[1087] He starts with an enumeration of the 48 *saṁskāras* mentioned by Gautama, deals with the several saṁskāras of puṁsavana, jātakarma, marriage &c., and with utsarjana and upākarma, propitiatory rites on the first appearance of menses, the Aṣṭakā śrāddha &c.

His Śāstratattva-kautūhala or Tattva-kamalākara appears to have been a work of considerable interest dealing with the bearing of the doctrines and maxims of the Mīmāṁsā system on ritual and dharma-śāstra.[1088] A ms. of it is dated *saṁvat* 1695 caitra śukla 4 Friday (i. e. 9th March 1638 A. D.).

1085 Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 138 No. 1881 for पूर्तकमलाकर; in the Bombay Asiatic Society's collection there is a portion of this.

1086 Vide I. O. cat. p. 568 No. 1758 and BBRAS cat. p. 234 No 729 for शान्तिरत्न.

1087 Vide I. O. cat. p. 514 No 1630 for संस्कारकमलाकर.

1088 Vide Mitra's Notices, vol. III. p .335 No. 1331 for तत्त्वकमलाकर.

For the Prāyaścittaratna, vide Bühler's report, 3, p. 108.

I was able to secure a ms. of the Vivādatāṇḍava from the Mandlik collection in the Fergusson College at Poona. That work closely resembles in method and matter the Vyavahāramayūkha of Kamalākara's cousin Nīlakaṇṭha, the section on ordeals being almost the same in both. It treats of the following subjects: the *sabhā*; members of the *sabhā*; Judge, amātya; the scribe and the accountant; conflict of smṛtis; the plaint, the reply, the modes of proof, viz., documents, witnesses, possession; modes of punishment; the principal and secondary sons; the enumeration of the eighteen titles of law; partition of heritage and detailed description of the other titles. Like the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Vivādatāṇḍava quotes the Madanaratna as frequently as (or perhaps more frequently than) the Mitākṣarā. The other writers and works quoted are noted below.[1089] As it mentions several works of his own, viz. Nirṇaya-sindhu, the Dānakamalākara, the Prāyaścittaratna and the Śūdra-dharma (i. e. Śūdrakamalākara), the Vivādatāṇḍava was one of his latest works. On several points he differs from his own cousin Nīlakaṇṭha. For example, he prefers the mother to the father as an heir and does not give the sister a high place among the *gotraja* heirs as Nīlakaṇṭha does. The Vivādatāṇḍava has been frequently noticed in judicial decisions.[1090]

The Śūdrakamalākara (also called Śūdra-dharmatattva or Śūdra-dharmatattvaprakāśa) has been printed in Bombay several times (with Marathi translation). I used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1895. In this work he refers to his own Dānakamalākara, Pūrtakamalākara, Prāyaścittaratna and Nirṇayasindhu. Out of about two hundred authors and works quoted therein, prominent ones are noted below.[1091] This work is a standard treatise on the duties and religious observances of Śūdras.

1089 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोविन्दराज, जीमूतवाहन, दिव्यतत्त्व (of गौड i. e. रघुनन्दन), भोज, मनुटीका, माधवीय, रत्नाकर, विश्वरूप, शिरोमणि, शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्य.

1090 Vide I. L. R. 33 Bom. 452 at p. 459, I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324, I. L. R. 39 Cal. 319 at p. 331 for references to विवादताण्डव.

1091 आचार्यचूडामणि, तिथितत्त्व, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, रूपनारायणीय, शुद्धिविवेक (of रुद्रधर), शूलपाणि, श्रीदत्त, स्मृतिकौमुदी, हरिहरभाष्य.

He first starts with the discussion that the Śūdra is not authorised to study the Vedas, but that he can listen to the recitation by Brāhmaṇas of smṛtis and purāṇas and religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Purāṇic *mantras*. Then the following subjects are dealt with:– worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras and the observances of *vratas* and fasts by them; Śūdra can make gifts of works of public utility (pūrta); Śūdra can adopt a son; the conflicting views as to the number of saṁskāras for a Śūdra, most authors holding that he is entitled to ten saṁskāras (without Vedic *mantras*), viz. garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiśuniṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākarma, karṇavedha and vivāha; the five great daily yajñas were to be performed for the śūdra according to the Vājasaneyaśākha;[1092] śrāddhas for Śūdra (to be performed with uncooked food); actions prescribed and forbidden in the case of Śūdras; the details of various rites and saṁskāras of Śūdras; the daily duties of Śūdras; impurity on birth and death; rites after death; duties of wives and widows; persons of mixed castes who have to follow the rules laid down for Śūdras; rules for those who are born of *pratiloma* connections; about *Kāyasthas*.

The Nirṇayasindhu or Nirṇayakamalākara is the most famous of Kamalākara's works. It is a monument of erudition, industry and lucidity. It has been judicially referred to as a work of authority.[1093] I have used the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1905 (with Marathi translation). In the whole range of nibandhakāras there is hardly any other writer, except perhapas Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitramiśra, who lays under contribution as many works as Kamalākara does. In the Nirṇayasindhu about one hundred smṛtis and over three hundred nibandhakāras are mentioned by name. In the introductory verses he expressly says that he pondered over the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and other learned writers. The work is divided into three *pariccheḍas*. The following is a very concise

1092 This is interesting 'तथा शूद्राणां पञ्चमहायज्ञाश्च भवन्ति। ... ते च वाजसनेयिशाखया कार्याः। शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिबन्धे दृश्योक्तेः। हरिहरभाष्ये विवाहप्रकरणेप्येवमुक्तम्' शूद्रकमलाकर p. 51; vide शूद्रकृत्यविचारतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 634) and मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I, p. 792) for an explanation of this.

1093 I. L. R. 3 Bom. at p. 197; *Khushalchand v. Bai Mani* I. L. R. 11 Bom. 247 at p. 254; I. L. R. 46 Bom. at p. 556; I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 757; I. L. R. 9 Cal 315 at p. 324.

statement of the contents of this voluminous work. The principal subject is to give decisive opinions as to the proper times for various religious acts; the various views about the year being solar, lunar, sidereal etc., months of four kinds, lunar, solar etc., saṁkrānti rites and gifts; intercalary month; *kṣayamāsa*; about *tithis*, *śuddhā* and *viddhā* (combined with another *tithi* on same day); *vratas*; the various *vratas* and festivals during the twelve months of the year; the *saṁskāras* from garbhādhāna onwards; sapiṇḍa relationship; consecration of images; auspicious times (*muhūrtas*) for various actions such as sowing operations, buying horses and cattle &c.; śrāddha; impurities on birth and death; rites after death, rites for *satī*; saṁnyāsa.

The time when Kamalākara flourished can be determined with great accuracy. We saw above that the Nirṇayasindhu was one of his earliest works and that it is referred to in several works of his. According to a verse at the end of the Nirṇayasindhu the work was composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Māgha when cyclic year was Raudra (i. e. on the 20th February 1612 A. D.). In a ms. noticed by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri the same verse is read differently, so as to refer the composition to Vikrama *saṁvat* 1678; but it is clearly a copyist's error or misreading, since the cyclic year Raudra cannot tally with Vikrama 1678.[1094] We saw above that a ms. of the Tattvakamalākara is dated 1638 A. D. Kamalākara was a voluminous writer and therefore we shall be not far wrong if his literary activity be assigned to the period between 1610 A. D. and 1640 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. His grandfather Nārāyaṇbhaṭṭa was born in 1513 A. D. and he quotes in his Nirṇayasindhu the Ṭoḍarānanda compiled in the last quarter of the 16th century. Gāgābhaṭṭa *alias* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, who officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D., was Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's nephew.

[1094] वसुऋतुऋतुभूमिते गतेब्दे नरपतिविक्रमतोथ याति रौद्रे। तपसि शितिथौ समापितोयं रघुपतिपादसरोरुहेर्पितश्च ॥ 6th verse at end; vide Notices of mss. by Haraprasad Śāstri vol. X, p. 394, No. 4233 where the reading is वसुधातुऋतुभूमिते.

107. Nīlakanthabhatta

In my introduction to the Vyavahāramayūkha (Poona, 1926) I have dealt exhaustively with the personal history of Nīlakaṇṭha, his works, their contents, their position in dharmaśāstra literature, the period of Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity and his position in modern Hindu Law. In the following a brief résumé of the conclusions there arrived at is given.

Nīlakaṇṭha was a grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and a son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa. Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa was a profound *mīmāṁsaka* and composed several works on mīmāṁsā, viz. a com. on the Śāstradīpikā, the Vidhirasāyaṇadūṣaṇa, the Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa. He also wrote Dvaitanirṇaya (vide Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol, III part 2. pp. 67-72 for an account of it) and the Dharmaprakāśa or Sarvadharmaprakāśa. Nīlakaṇṭha composed an encyclopaedia of religious and civil law, styled Bhagavantabhāskara, in honour of his patron Bhagavantadeva, a Bundella chieftain of the Seṅgara clan, that ruled at Bhareha near the confluence of the Jumna and the Chambal. This work is divided into 12 sections (called *mayūkhas* ' rays ') on saṁskāra, ācāra, kāla (or samaya), śrāddha, nīti, vyavahāra, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, prāyaścitta, śuddhi, śānti. These have been printed at Benares and some of them have been printed in Bombay at the Gujarati Press and by Mr. Gharpure. Besides this encyclopaedia he composed also a work called Vyavahāratattva, which is a summary of the Vyavahāramayūkha, and probably a work styled Dattakanirṇaya. The Vyavahāratattva has been for the first time published by me as appendix I to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha.

Nīlakaṇṭha is one of the foremost *nibandhakāras*. Being brought up in a family that had made the study of mīmāṁsā its own for several generations, he is very acute in applying the maxims and rules of *mīmāṁsā* to dharmaśāstra. He stands unsurpassed by any mediaeval Sanskrit writer on dharmaśāstra in mastery over the vast smṛti lore, in lucidity of exposition, in conciseness and ease of style, in clarity of vision and sobriety of judgment. Though he admired the learning and labours of such predecessors as Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri and others, he does not slavishly follow their dicta and expresses his dissent from them most frankly.

His Vyavahāramayūkha is a work of paramount authority on matters of Hindu law according to the decisions of the Bombay High Court in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and northern Konkan.[1095] Even in the other parts of the Bombay Presidency such as the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District the Vyavahāramayūkha occupies a very important place though it is subordinate to the Mitākṣarā.[1096] The general principle on which the Bombay High Court acts in construing the rules laid down in the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayūkha is that the two works are to be harmonized with one another wherever and so far as that is reasonably possible.[1097] Though the Mitākṣarā is a paramount authority in the Maratha country and the Ratnagiri District and though it is silent about the sister's right as a *gotraja* heir, the courts, in deference to the authority of the Vyavahāramayūkha, have assigned to the sister a high place as an heir even in the Maratha country and in Ratnagiri. Among the other Mayūkhas, the Saṁskāramayūkha has been frequently relied upon by the courts.[1098] The Prāyaścittamayūkha and the Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha[1099] have also been relied upon in the High Court.

The period of Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity can be settled within very narrow limits. He was the youngest son of Śaṇkarabhaṭṭa. In the Dvaitanirṇaya, Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa quotes the views of the Ṭodarānanda which, as we saw above, must have been composed between 1570 and 1589 A. D. So the Dvaitanirṇaya could not have been composed before 1590 A. D. Nīlakaṇṭha, the youngest son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, could hardly have commenced his literary career earlier than Kamalākarabhaṭṭa who was the second son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's elder brother. Kamalākara composed his Nirṇayasindhu in 1612

1095 Vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 418; I. L. R. 6 Bom. 541 at p. 546; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at pp. 623-624; I. L. R. 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) at p. 373.

1096 Vide *Krishnaji v. Pandurang* 12 Bom. H. C. R. 65 at pp. 67-68; 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J) 181 at p. 185; 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J) at p. 169; I. L. R. 14 Bom. 612 at p. 616.

1097 *Gojabai v. Shrimant Shahajirao* I. L. R. 17 Bom. 114 at p. 118 and *Kesserbai v. Hunsraj* I. L. R. 30 Bom. 431 at p. 442 (P. C.).

1098 I. L. R. 2 Bom. 388 at p. 425; I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361; I. L. R. 32 Bom. 81 at pp 88 and 96; 46 Bom. at p. 884.

1099 *Vide Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34 Bom. 278 at p. 283 (for प्रायश्चित्तमयूख) and 22 Bom. L. R. p. 334 (for प्रतिष्ठामयूख).

A. D. So Nīlakaṇṭha's literary activity must have commenced a good deal after 1610. One ms. of the Vyavahāratattva bears the date *saṁvat* 1700 (1644 A. D.). This shows that the Vyavahāratattva was composed not later than 1644 A. D. The Vyavahāratattva refers to the Vyavahāramayūkha as already composed. Hence we may say, without being far from the truth, that Nīlakaṇṭha's literary career falls between 1610 and 1645 A. D. This date is confirmed by the fact that Nīlakaṇṭha's son Śaṅkara wrote the Kuṇḍabhāskara in 1671 A. D. and Divākarabhaṭṭa, the son of Nīlakaṇṭha's daughter, composed his Ācārārka in 1686 A. D. It appears that there was probably a rivalry between the two great cousins Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭha. On many matters their views diverged. Though the Nirṇayasindhu is said to have been composed in 1668 of the Vikrama era, yet from the references to several works of his own in the Nirṇayasindhu it looks as if Kamalākara revised it from time to time by adding on references to his own other works and to those of others. The Nirṇayasindhu (III *pariccheda*, section on Dattakagrahaṇa) emphatically says that he who asserts the absence of ownership in one's son in spite of Vedic indications is a fool.[1100] It is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a hit at Nīlakaṇṭha who must have been younger than Kamalākara and who tries hard in his Vyavahāramayūkha to establish that there is no ownership in one's wife and children.

108. The Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra

The Vīramitrodaya is a vast digest composed by Mitramiśra embracing almost all branches of dharmaśāstra. Excepting the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, this work is probably the largest known on dharmaśāstra. But it surpasses in interest and usefulness even Hemādri's work since it deals with vyavahāra also. It was divided into sections called *prakāśas*. So far the *prakāśas* on vyavahāra, paribhāṣā, saṁskāra, rājanīti, āhnika, pūjā, tīrtha and lakṣaṇa have been published, the first by Jivananda (Calcutta 1875) and the rest in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The text of the dāyabhāga portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa was also published by Golapchandra Sarkar Sastri with an English translation (Calcutta 1879). It appears that

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1100 'पुत्रे स्वत्वाभावं वदन् मूर्ख एव' निर्णयसिंधु, contrast व्यवहारमयूख p. 88 'पत्नीवदिव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तदधीनोत्पन्नेपत्ये तदभावात्।'

Mitramiśra wrote on prāyaścitta also.[1101] But that work has not yet been met with. The very names of the sections of the Vīramitrodaya convey an idea of the subjects dealt with in them. The Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa deals with the auspicious signs of men, women, the several parts of human body, elephants, horses, thrones, swords, bows and with the characteristics and qualities of the queen, the ministers, the astrologer, physician, doorkeeper, description of śālagrāma, śiva-liṅga, rudrākṣa beads etc. In the *āhnikaprakāśa* he dilates upon the daily duties beginning with one's rising from bed on brāhma-muhūrta, śauca, ācamana and ending with going to bed. The Vya-vahāraprakāśa is probably the largest *nibandha* on *vyavahāra*. This is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the meaning of *vyavahāra*, the constitution of the *sabhā* (court of justice), the appointment of judges, conflict of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, assessors, the various grades of courts, the procedure about plaints and defendant's replies and their faults; the burden of proof and the means of proof. The second gives a detailed exposition of the means of proof, viz. witnesses, documents, possession and ordeals. The third treats of the eighteen titles of law including *dāyavibhāga* and the fourth very briefly speaks of those matters which were to be started *suo motu* by the king and not by a private individual. The *dāyavibhāga* portion of the Vyavahāraprakāśa occupies a little more than one-fourtth of the whole of the work.

In the Tīrthaprakāśa he deals with the nature of *tīrthas*, the utility thereof for men, the persons entitled to undertake pilgrimage, the proper times for pilgrimage, the ceremonial acts to be performed at *tīrthas* such as shaving, fasts, bathing, gifts, the description of the several *varṣas* and *dvīpas* and of sacred rivers like the Ganges, Narmadā, sacred places like Gayā, Prabhāsa, Badrī, Puṣkara and Purī.

In the Pūjāprakāśa he speaks of the definition of *pūjā*, persons entitled to perform *pūjā* (worship of gods), the rewards of *pūjā*, proper times and places for *pūjā*, śālagrāma, the proper articles and clothes for the worship of idols, proper flowers, fragrant substances, *naivedya*, the detailed method of worshiping Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Durgā, Brahmā etc. In the printed edition there are no introductory verses here.

1101 अत्योद्वहत्याक्षतयोनिसंयोगपतितानां त्यजनेनापि निष्कासनमित्यादि प्रायश्चित्तप्रकारो (प्रकरणे) विवेच्यते: । वीर० p. 640 (व्यवहार section, Jivananda).

In the Saṁskāra-prakāśa the author enumerates the saṁskāras and describes in detail garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, anavalobhana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, śiśuniṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍā, upanayana, *vivāha* etc., the duties of brahmacārins, *gotras*, *pravaras* and *sapiṇḍya*, all astrological matters in connection with marriage, piṇḍapitṛyajña, sarpabali, aṣṭakāśrāddha, śūlagava.

The Rājanītiprakāśa treats of the definition of *rājan*, the proper time and procedure of coronation, the daily routine for kings, the qualifications of ministers, commander-in-chief and the dependents of the king, forts, capital, palaces, the four expedients of *sāma* etc., the six *guṇas*, auspicious and evil signs, marching for battle, Kaumudī and Indradhvaja festivals etc.

In all his works Mitramiśra mentions hundreds of authors and works. The portion on vyavahāra is full of long-drawn controversies in which he refutes the views of numerous predecessors. The Vīramitrodaya enters into polemics far more frequently than Nīlakaṇṭha. He generally upholds the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara against all its critics, particularly the writers of the Bengal school. But he does not slavishly admire the Mitākṣarā in every thing. Now and then he rebukes even Vijñāneśvara. For example, he does not approve of what the Mitākṣarā says about the son called *Kānīna*.[1102] He finds fault with Vijñāneśvara's explanation of the verse 'anyodaryastu' as extremely forced and far-fetched and as simply exhibiting the author's pedantry.[1103] Out of the host of works and writers that he names in the vyavahāra section the important ones are noted below.[1104]

1102 या तु मिताक्षरारुक्ता यद्यनूढायामुत्पन्नस्तर्हि मातामहसुतोप्यूढायां तदा वोढुरेवेति व्यवस्था रुता सापि मनसि न चमत्कारमादधाति । वीर० p. 606.

1103 विज्ञानेश्वरेणापि मानवसंवादाद्यान्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्यो धनं हरेदिति पाठेन योगीश्वरवचनस्थ यत्तदप्यावृत्त्यध्याहारादिना क्लिष्टमत्यन्ताप्रतीयमानार्थकं स्वप्रज्ञाविलसितमात्रम् । वीर० p. 681 ; vide वीर० pp. 183, 668 for other criticisms of the मिताक्षरा.

1104 अपरार्क, कल्पतरु, गोपाल, चण्डेश्वर, जीमूतवाहन, तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि (of उदयन), दायतत्त्व, धारेश्वर, नयविवेक, पारिजात, पार्थसारथि, प्रकाश, प्रदीप, भवदेव, भवनाथ, मदनरत्न, माधवीय, मिताक्षरा, मेधातिथि, रघुनन्दन, रत्नाकर, लीलावती, वाचस्पति, वादभयङ्कर, विज्ञानयोगिन्, विद्यारण्य, व्यवहारतत्त्व, व्यवहारतिलक (of भवदेव), व्यवहारचिन्तामणि, शारदातिलक, शास्त्रदीपिका, शूलपाणि, सोमेश्वर, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतितत्त्व, हलायुध.

The Vīramitrodaya is a work of high authority in the Benares School of Hindu Law. The Privy Council has laid down that 'the Vīramitrodaya is properly receivable as an exposition of what may have been left doubtful by the Mitākṣarā and declaratory of the law of the Benares school.'[1105] Similarly it has been said by the same high tribunal that the Vīramitrodaya may be referred to even in Bengal where the Dāyabhāga is silent.[1106] But where the text of the Mitākṣarā on any point is quite clear, the gloss of the Vīramitrodaya on the text of any sage which is in conflict with the rule laid down in the former cannot be referred to for the purpose of casting a doubt on the clear rule of the Mitākṣarā.[1107] The Vīramitrodaya is inferior to the Vyavahāramayūkha in Western India[1108] and its doctrines are not followed in those provinces when in conflict with those of the other two works. Their Lordships of the Privy Council say in *Vedachala v. Subramania*[1109] 'although the Smṛticandrikā in the Southern Presidency is regarded as the most authoritative commentary on Vijñāneśvara's work, the Vīramitrodaya holds, as in Western India, a high position. It supplements many gaps and omissions in the earlier commentaries and illustrates and elucidates with logical preciseness the meaning of doubtful prescriptions.'

There is a ms. of the Dānaprakāśa in the Deccan College (No. 305 of 1884-1887). It is an extensive work and contains the usual topics about gifts.

Besides the digest called Vīramitrodaya Mitramiśra composed a commentary on the smṛti of Yājñavalkya. There is a ms. in the Deccan College (No. 58 of A 1883-84) which contains portions (with gaps) of the commentary on the three kāṇḍas (ācāra, vyavahāra, prāyaścitta). From the portion available it appears that

1105 Vide *Gridharilal v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moo. I. A. 448 at p. 466 (where following the Vīramitrodaya the maternal uncle was held to be an heir as a *bandhu*); vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438.

1106 *Moniram v. Keri Kolitani* I. L. R. 5 Cal. 776 (P. C.) at p. 789 (where it was held that unchastity in the case of a widow subsequent to her inheriting her husband's property does not work forfeiture of her rights).

1107 I. L. R. 25 Cal. 354 at pp. 367-368.

1108 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 and I. L. R. 3 Bom. 369.

1109 I. L. R. 44 Mad. 753 (P. C.) at p. 764 = L. R. 48 I. A. p. 349.

the commentary was of considerable extent, though not as voluminous and as full of polemics as his digest. The ācāra portion had at least 446 folios (with 6 lines on each side and 30 letters in each line), the vyavahāra at least 257 and prāyaścitta a great many more than 153. Besides the works noted above he quotes the Karmapradīpa and the Smṛtisāra. In this work he does not quite approve of the reasons for the preference shown to the mother over the father as an heir by the Mitākṣarā, viz. the occurrence of the word 'mātā' as the first word when the word 'pitarau' is dissolved and the greater propinquity of the mother as compared with the father, since the latter can beget sons from another wife.[1110] The commentary gives three varieties of *dāsī*. [1111] Vide I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 and Peterson's 2nd report pp. 49-53 for further details about this commentary.

In the Ācāraprakāśa he quotes besides some of the works mentioned above the following also, viz. Kullūka, Prayogapārijāta, Prāyaścittaviveka, Madanapārijāta, Śrīdatta (vide I. O. cat. p. 437 No. 1471).

In the introductions to the several sections of his digest and also in the colophons therein Mitramiśra furnishes considerable information about himself, his family and the family of his patron. Mitramiśra was the son of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita and grandson of Haṁsapaṇḍita. Haṁsapaṇḍita seems to have been a native of Gopācala (Gwalior) and was endowed with the rare combination of wealth and learning. One Caṇḍeśvara of Kāśī was the *guru* of Paraśurāmapaṇḍita. Mitramiśra indulges in hyperbolic[1112] descrip-

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1110 इत्थं च विग्रहवाक्ये मातृशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातात् पित्रपेक्षया वैमात्रेयाजनकत्वेनासाधारण-प्रत्यासत्तिसत्त्वाच्चेति मिताक्षरालिखनं चिन्त्यम् । folio 149 of the com. on व्यवहार section of याज्ञ०; compare वीरमित्रोदय p. 666 (Jivananda) where Mitramiśra is apologetic about the same reasons of the Mit.

1111 दासी पुरुषविशेषेण विवाह्यापरिगृहीता । सा च त्रिविधा । एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरभोगतो निरुद्धा भुजिष्या वेश्या चेति । भुजिष्या च स्वाभिन्ननियतपुरुषान्तरो-भोगविषया स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी । folio 247.

1112 मा कुर्वन्तु मुधा बुधाः परिचयं ग्रन्थेषु नानाविधे-
व्यत्यन्तं न हि तेषु सर्वविषयः कश्चित् क्वचिद्वर्तते ।
पश्यन्तु प्रणयादनन्यमनसो ग्रन्थं मदीयं त्विमं
धर्माधर्मसमस्तनिर्णयविधिर्यस्मिन्दरीदृश्यते ॥ verse 39 of आह्निकप्रकाश.

tions of his own learning and naively tells his readers that they need study only his work and may neglect all other *nibandhas*. Mitramiśra was commanded by Vīrasiṁha to compose his great digest.[1113] The introduction to the Āhnikaprakāśa starts with king Medinīmalla who was a scion of the Kāśīrāja family. His son was Arjunadeva who became ruler of Bundelkhand. His son was Malakhāna, whose son was Pratāparudra (founder of the capital Orccha). His son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Vīrasiṁha. Vīrasiṁha's son was[1114] Jujhāra who is described as 'young' (yuvā in verse 23). His son was Vikramārka whose son was Narasiṁhadeva. There is no such introduction to the printed Pūjāprakāśa and Narasiṁhadeva is not mentioned in the introductions to the other prakāśas. From the article of Mr. Lala Sitaram in the Calcutta Review (May and July 1924) further information can be gathered about Birsinghdeo (i. e. Vīrasiṁhadeva). In the article it is shown how and under what circumstances Vīrasiṁha killed Abul Fazal, the friend of Emperor Akbar and a great literary genius. We are told there that there is a work called Vīrasiṁhadeva-carita composed in Vikrama year 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) by Keśavadāsa, author of Kavipriyā and Rasikapriyā. Vīrasiṁha was 7th out of the eight sons of Madhu-

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1113 स्वस्ति श्रीयुतवीरसिंहनृपतेराज्ञावशादुत्सुकः
श्रीमित्राभिधपण्डितः प्रतिदिशं कीर्त्यानिशं मण्डितः ।
नानानिर्णयवर्णनं व्यसनिनां संख्यावतां प्रीतिदं
संप्राप्तव्यवहारसाधकमिमं कुर्वे प्रकाशं परम् ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to व्यवहारप्रकाश (Jivananda).

1114 राज्यं प्राप जुझारसिंहनृपतिर्यस्यामतो भूपते–
स्तत्पुत्रोपि गुणार्णवः समजनि श्रीविक्रमार्को नृपः ।
तत्सूनुर्नरसिंहदेवनृपतिस्तं वीरसिंहं विना
लेभे राज्यपरम्परासुखमिदं मन्ये महेन्द्रोपि किम् ॥ verse 27 of आह्निकप्रकाश.
The colophon at the end of the first part of व्यवहारप्रकाश is इति श्रीमत्सकलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिमञ्जरीधिमञ्जरीनीराजितचरणकमलश्रीमहाराजाधिराजप्रतापरुद्रतनूज-श्रीमन्महाराजमधुकरसाहसूनु-श्रीमहाराजाधिराजचतुरुदधिवलयवसुन्धराहृदयपुण्डरीकविकासदिनकरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवोद्योजित-श्रीहंसपण्डितात्मज-श्रीपरशुराममिश्रसूनुसकलविद्यापारावारपरीणधुरीणजगद्दृग्विरुद्यमहागजपारीन्द्रविद्वज्जनजीवातु-श्रीमन्मित्रमिश्रकृते वीरमित्रोदयाभिधनिबन्धे व्यवहारप्रकाशे &c.

Vide Pogson's 'History of the Boondelas' pp. 10–11 for Arjunadeva and his descendants.

karasāha. Not only was he a soldier, but he was a great builder. He built the palace forts of Orcchha and Datia, the temple of Keśavadeva at Mathurā, several lakes called Bīrasāgara, Siṁhasāgara and Deosāgara (after the three parts of his own name). He is said to have ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627 A. D. From the introduction to[1115] the commentary on Yājñavalkya it appears that Vīrasiṁha commanded Mitramiśra to write it and that a learned man Sadānanda, the ornament of Tīrabhukti (Tirhoot), was also connected with its composition. It will be seen that the title Vīramitrodaya very cleverly suggests that Mitramiśra wrote it under the patronage of Vīrasiṁhadeva. The title may mean 'the rise of Vīra and Mitra' or 'the rise of the friend of Vīra' or 'the rise of the sun, viz. Vīra'.

The time when Mitramiśra flourished can be easily settled on account of his relations with Vīrasiṁhadeva. In his Āhnikaprakāśa he mentions the great-grand-son of Vīrasiṁha. Therefore that section must have been written when Vīrasiṁha was advanced in age. Vīrasiṁha ruled at Orchha from 1605 to 1627. Hence the literary activity of Mitramiśra must be placed in the first quarter of the 17th century. This date agrees with the fact that he names Vācaspati and Raghunandana. We thus see that Mitramiśra was almost a contemporary of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and Nīlakaṇṭha. The two latter do not refer to him nor does Mitramiśra name them.

In the Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī of Anantāśrama[1116] of Puṇyastambha (Puṇtāmbe) on the Godāvarī, a commentary on the Rasamañjarī of Bhānudatta, the author gives a pedigree of his patron. He describes the Kāśīrāja family at Benares, in which was born Pratāparudra whose son was Madhukarasāha, whose son was Vīrasiṁhadeva. Ananta wrote the commentary for Candrabhānu, a son of Vīrasiṁhadeva, in 1635 A. D. This corroborates the dates above given by Mr. Lala Sitaram. Therefore it is almost beyond doubt that the literary activity of Mitra-miśra lies between 1610 and 1640 A. D.

1115 I. O. cat. p. 371 No. 1288 'वित्तं मत्वाप्यसारं वितरदविरतं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिमुक्त्वा वारं स्मृत्यर्थसारं रचयितुमथ स प्रादिशन्मित्रमिश्रम्। उत्तंसस्तीरभुक्तेरखिलबुधगुरुः श्रीसदानन्दधीमान् श्रीभाजो मित्रमिश्राज्जगदुपकृतये विश्वदादेशदीपम् ॥ ज्ञानानां दैन्यदोषापहमकलिमयं याज्ञवल्क्योक्तिकोशाद् दृष्ट्वा स्मृत्यर्थसारं समचिनुत यशो धर्मलक्ष्मीविहारम्। verses 15 and 16.

1116 Vide I. O. cat. p. 356 No. 1224.

109. Anantadeva

Anantadeva compiled a vast digest called Smṛtikaustubha divided into several sections on saṁskāra, ācāra, rājadharma, dāna, utsarga, pratiṣṭhā, tithi and saṁvatsara. The section on saṁskāras and that on rājadharma are also called Saṁskāra-kaustubha and Rājadharma-kaustubha. Each Kaustubha is subdivided into parts called dīdhiti. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha is the most popular and most well-known work of his. It has been printed several times, the best editions being that of the Nirṇayasāgara Press (1913) and that issued at Baroda (1914) under the patronage of H. H. the Maharaja Gaikwad (with a Marathi translation by Sastri Venkatacarya Upadhyaya). I have used the latter. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha is recognised as an authoritative work by the highest court for India.[1117] The following is a very brief summary of the contents :-

The sixteen saṁskāras, the first being garbhādhāna, the astrological aspects of the first appearance of menses and the various propitiatory rites therefor ; the proper times for garbhādhāna and the several rites connected therewith ; puṇyāhavācana, nāndīśrāddha, matṛkāpūjana ; nārāyaṇabali and nāgabali ; pañcagavya, kṛcchra and other prāyaścittas ; cāndrāyaṇavrata ; adoption, who is entitled to adopt, who can be adopted, rites of adoption, *gotra* and *sāpiṇḍya* of the adopted son, mourning to be observed by the adopted, succession of the adopted ; putrakāmeṣṭi ; puṁsavana ; anavalobhana ; sīmantonnayana ; rites on the birth of a child or son ; impurity on birth ; propitiatory rites for evil aspects at birth; nāmakaraṇa; niṣkramaṇa ; annaprāśana ; piercing the ear ; celebration of birth day ; caula ; upanayana, proper times for it, the necessary materials for it, the *gāyatrī*, the vows of a brahmacārin; samāvartana; marriage, sāpiṇḍya for it, *gotras* and *pravaras*, proper times for marriage, forms of marriage, vāg-niścaya, sīmāntapūjana, madhuparka, kanyādāna, vivāhahoma, saptapadī, homa on the entrance of the married couple etc.

The portion of the Saṁskāra-kaustubha on the subject of adoption is frequently cited separately as Dattakadīdhiti and is so entered in the catalogues of mss. It is a treatise of great importance and deserves to be studied along with the Dattakamīmāṁsā, the Vyava-

1117 *Vide Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramalinga* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 438 ; *Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 361.

hāramayūkha and other similar works. The more important of his views are set out below. Like the Dattakamīmāṁsā he recommends that the nephew is the most suitable for adoption, then one may select any *sagotra, sapiṇḍa*, then an *asagotra sapiṇḍa*, then a *sagotra* but *asapiṇḍa*, then any one of the same caste though not *sagotra*, but a daughter's or sister's son cannot be adopted nor can a brother, a paternal or maternal uncle be adopted. A Śūdra may adopt a daughter's or sister's son. The person to be adopted must not be an only son or the eldest. A wife can adopt with the consent of her husband and a widow does not require the express permission of her husband. The boy to be adopted may be below five or above five and may be taken before or after the *cūḍā* ceremony is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva refers to the[1118] view of some that the verses of the Kālikāpurāṇa on this subject are not found in several mss. and so are unauthoritative and tells us that others hold that the whole passage refers to the adoption of an *asagotra* boy. Anantadeva himself holds, like the Vyavahāramayūkha, that even an *asagotra* boy may be adopted after his upanayana is performed in the natural family. When the ceremony of *caula* and the rest are performed in the family of the adopter, the adopted boy belongs to the *gotra* of the adopter, but where the *upanayana* alone is performed in the adoptive family or the adoption is made after *upanayana* the boy belongs to both *gotras*. But this holds good only as regards obeisance, śrāddha etc. while for marriage every adopted boy has to avoid the *gotra* and *pravara* of both families. If a natural son be born to the adopter after he takes a boy in adoption, the adopted boy becomes an equal sharer with the *aurasa*, if all the saṁskāras up to *upanayana* are performed by the adoptive father for the adopted boy, or he takes only a

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1118 एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेष्वदर्शनान्निर्मूलत्वादिति केचित् । अन्ये तु समूलत्वेपि आद्यश्लोकत्रयस्यासगोत्रदत्तकविषयत्वात्तत्प्रायपठितत्वेनान्त्यश्लोकस्यापि तद्विषयत्वमेवोचितम् । अतः सगोत्रस्य दत्तकस्य नायं नियम इति परिणीतोपि दत्तको भवेदित्याहुः । वस्तुतस्तु नासगोत्रेप्युपनयनान्तसंस्कारोत्तरं दत्तकत्वसामान्यनिषेधः कर्तुं शक्यः पुराणवचोभिर्वैदिकलिङ्गविरुद्धस्मृतिवचसां प्रामाण्यासंभवस्य बलाबलाधिकरणवार्तिकेनकसिद्धत्वात् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ pp. 169-170; compare व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 for remarks on the कालिकापुराण passage. The निर्णयसिंधु appears to regard the कालिकापुराण verses as genuine and holds on their strength that the adoption of a boy after *upanayana* is prohibited.

fourth share if only some of the saṁskāras ending with *upanayana* are performed by the adopter and he gets no inheritance but only provision for marriage if he was adopted after upanayana is performed in the natural family. Anantadeva, disagreeing with Nīlakaṇṭha, holds that a girl may be adopted.[1119]

Like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha, Anantadeva in the Saṁskārakaustubha and elsewhere names several hundred authors and works. It is not necessary to set out the whole lot. His authorities are practically the same as those of the former. He principally relies among *nibandhas* upon the Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, Hemādri, Mādhava, Madanaratna, Madanapārijāta. The Smṛtikaustubha was divided into several *dīdhitis* (rays, parts). In the Smṛtikaustubha published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press it is expressly stated that the *tithidīdhiti* has been already[1120] expounded. At the end also it is said that the work is only the complete *abdadīdhiti* (i. e. portion dealing with saṁvatsaras of five kinds). The year is said to be of five kinds, cāndra, saura, sāvana, bārhaspatya and nākṣatra. The printed work treats of the several rites, observances, festivals and *vratas* on the important *tithis* of the twelve months of the cāndra year with the intercalary month and observances thereof, the rites proper to saura year and saṁkrāntis (the sun's passage from one sign into another), the rites of the *sāvana* year, the rules about rites when Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the rites of the nākṣatra year, the actions forbidden and allowed in Kali age according to Anantadeva and discussion of the views of Hemādri, Mādhava and the Madanapārijāta thereon.

The Rājadharmakaustubha[1121] was divided into several parts (dīdhitis). The first deals with the characteristics and defects of

1119 दत्तकपुत्र्या अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्यः । वक्ष्यामि पुत्रसंग्रहमित्यादिगतपुत्रस्य पुमान् पुत्र इत्यादिवैदिकप्रयोगमूलकेन वृत्तिरुक्तन्यायेन पुत्रीसाधारण्यात् । दानप्रतिग्रहविधिषु उद्देश्यविशेषपुंस्त्वाविवक्षायाश्च । इतिहासपुराणेषु कुन्त्या दत्तकत्वोक्तेश्च । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 188 ; contrast व्यवहारमयूख p. 108 ' दत्तकश्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या &c. ' (my edition, Poona).

1120 तिथिदीधितिरुक्ता प्राग्वक्ष्यामोऽब्दौघदीधितिम् । अब्दभेदाद्वदाम्येनां माधवोक्त्यनुसारतः ॥ Intro. verse 20 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

1121 Vide Mitra's Bik. cat. p. 444 : No. 955 at the end ' राज (बाज ?)बाहदुरचन्द्रभूपतेः कौस्तुभेऽत्र नृपधर्मगोचरे । दीधितिः प्रथमभाग ईदृशस्तोषकृत्सुकृतिनां व्यजायत ' ; vide also Mitra's Notices vol, I p. 196 No. 346 for the same.

kings, the qualities and characteristics of queens, ministers, *purohita*, astrologer, the rites to be performed at coronation, duties to be observed after coronation. Another portion of the same work deals with vyavahāra viz., the sabhā, the judge, the plaint, the reply, means of proof, ordeals etc.

It is unnecessary to go into details about the other treatises on prāyaścitta, pratiṣṭhā[1122] &c. Anantadeva also wrote several prayogas such as the Agnihotraprayoga, Cāturmāsyaprayoga. In the Bhadkamkar collection there is a ms. of a drama called Kṛṣṇa-bhakti-candrikā composed by Anantadeva in which the characters are a Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Mīmāṁsaka, Tārkika &c.

In the Smṛtikaustubha (Nirṇayasagara edition of 1909) Anantadeva gives a pedigree[1123] of his patron's family. The family claimed descent from the moon. Whether the first three kings mentioned in the Smṛtikaustubha were related as father and son is doubtful. Lakṣmaṇacandra is said to have been the son of Rudra-candra and it was he who conquered several chiefs wielding sway over the Himalayan territories.[1124] Trimallacandra, the successor

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1122 Vide Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 272b where there is a reference to प्रतिष्ठादीधिति 'अथ राजधर्मा उच्यन्ते तत्र राज्याभिषेकदीधित्युक्तलक्षणलक्षितो राजा प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधित्युक्तप्रकारेण दुर्गगृहनिर्माणं भद्रासनं च निर्माय ... व्यवहारा निरूप्यन्ते।'; vide also Mitra's Notices, vol. II. p. 21 No. 556 for the same.

1123 The pedigree is as follows :—

ज्ञानचन्द्र
|
कल्याणचन्द्र
|
रुद्रचन्द्र
|
लक्ष्मणचन्द्र (son)
|
त्रिमल्लचन्द्र
|
नीलचन्द्र
|
बाजबाहादुर

1124 तेनानेकहिमाचलस्थनृपतीन् दुष्टान्विजित्य स्वके
राज्ये वृद्धिरकारि तुष्टिरमिता चाधायि विद्वद्बुधैः ॥ verse 5.

(and probably the son) of Lakṣmaṇacandra, is praised for his continual liberality to the learned men of Benares.[1125] It was at the command of Baz Bahadurcandra and for pleasing him that Anantadeva compiled his Smṛtikaustubha.[1126] At the end Anantadeva tells us that Baz Bahadurcandra conquered several mountain forts in the Himālayas.[1127] After giving a pedigree of his patrons' family Anantadeva gives some information about himself. He was a descendant of the great Maratha saint Ekanātha whom he describes as endowed with Vedic sacrifices and as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.[1128] That this Ekanātha is the same as the great Maratha saint is vouchsafed by Kāśīnātha, author of Dharmasindhu, in another work of his.[1129] Anantadeva was the great-great-grand-son of Ekanātha and he was the grandson of Ananta and son of Āpadeva, the author of the Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa *alias* Āpadevī-.

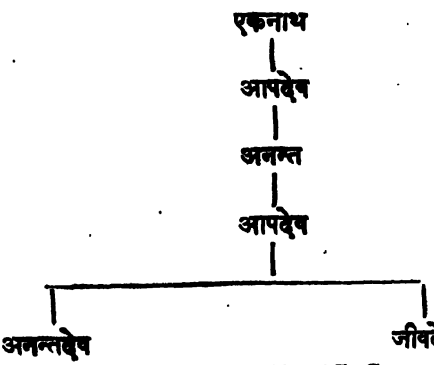
1125 काशीस्थ विद्वदादिभ्यो धनराशीनदात्सदा ॥ verse 6.

1126 तस्यात्मजं वैदिकशास्त्रविज्ञं सन्तोसकृत्प्राहुरनन्तदेवम् ।
बाजाहुराज्ञो वचसा विधेयं निबन्धसारोद्धरणं त्वयेति ॥
अनन्तदेवेन तदाज्ञयाथो मुदे हरेः पूर्वनिबन्धरूपम् ।
क्षीराम्बुधिं बुद्धिगुणैर्मथित्वा प्रकाश्यतेयं स्मृतिकौस्तुभः कौ ॥ verses 17-18.

1127 येनार्जितानि युधि सर्वरिपून् विजित्य दुर्गाणि दुर्ग्रहतराणि धनैर्युतानि । श्रीबाजबाहदुरचन्द्रनृपस्य तस्य वाचा हिमाचलगतावनिदेवतुष्टये ॥ योनन्तदेवकृतमन्थनसन्निबन्धक्षीराब्धिजोथ सततं हरिणा धृतो यः । नित्यं निजे हृदि सतां प्रमुदेस्तु तस्य सर्वाब्ददीधितिरियं स्मृतिभास्करस्य ॥ verses 2 and 3.

1128 आसीद्गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः । श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः ॥ verse 13 of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

The pedigree of अनन्तदेव is



1129 Vide his विहलकल्पद्रुमसारभाष्य folio 37 a (D. C. ms. No, 100 of 1869-70).

Mīmāṁsā lore seems to have been a hereditary endowment in the family as in the case of the Bhaṭṭas of Benares. In all his works, particularly in the Saṁskārakaustubha, Anantadeva applies at every step the maxims and doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā for the decision of doubtful points of Dharmaśāstra. Anantadeva had a younger brother Jīvadeva whose Gotrapravaranirṇaya he draws upon in the Saṁskārakaustubha while dealing with sāpiṇḍya for marriage.[1130] Bhandarkar notices an Āśaucanirṇaya of Jīvadeva in which the Nirṇayasindhu is cited as an authority.[1131]

West and Bühler in their digest[1132] thought that Anantadeva flourished about the same time as the author of the Nirṇayasindhu. But this requires some correction. Baz Bahadur, the patron of Anantadeva, seems to have been a scion of the Candra (or Chand) family and ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A. D. It is said in the Imperial Gazetteer[1133] that the first of the Chandra-rājas was Somachand who hailed from Jhūsi near Allahabad and came to the Himalayan regions in the 10th century and that in 1563 the capital was transferred to Almora by Kalyancand, whose son Rudracandra was a contemporary of Akbar and made his obeisance to the latter in 1587 A. D. at Lahore. The Smṛtikaustubha does mention the ancestors Kalyanacandra and Rudracandra of Baz Bahadur. Between Baz Bahadur and Rudracandra there are three names. Supposing that they are the three direct ascendants of Baz Bahadur and allowing a period of 25 years for each after Rudracandra's known date of 1587 A. D., we get the year 1662 A. D. for Baz Bahadur. We are told in the Gazetteer that in 1672 Baz Bahadur introduced a poll tax, the proceeds of which he remitted to Delhi as tribute. Therefore Anantadeva must have been patronised by Baz Bahadur between 1645 and 1675 A. D. A greater approximation can be made in another way. The saint Ekanātha finished his Marathi Bhāgavata at Benares in śake 1495 and 1630 of the Vikrama era on Kārtika full-moon day (i. e. 9th November

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1130 अथ गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयो मदनुजजीवदेवकृत एवास्मिन्नवसरे प्रदर्श्यते। संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 687.

1131 Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 53 (for जीवदेव).

1132 Vide Digest p. 24 (3rd ed.) and p. 25 (4th ed.).

1133 Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India vol. XVIII. p. 324 and vol. V. p. 245.

1573) as he himself tells us.[1134] Anantadeva was the fourth in descent from him (exclusive of Ekanātha). Counting 25 years for each of the four generations, Anantadeva should have been a grown up man in 1673 A. D. There are controversies about the dates of the birth and death of Ekanātha, the commonly accepted dates being śake 1450-1521 (b. 1528-d. 1600 A. D.).[1135] The date of his death is *śake* 1521 Fālguna dark half 6th day (25th February 1600). Others give 1548-1599 A.D. as the dates. Whichever date is correct, the literary activity of Anantadeva must be assigned to the third quarter of the 17th century. This date is confirmed by the fact that in the Āśaucanirṇaya of Jīvadeva, younger brother of Anantadeva, the Nirṇayasindhu composed in 1611-12 A. D. is cited as an authority.

110. Nāgojibhatta

The learning of Nāgojibhaṭṭa was of an encyclopaedic character. Though his special *forte* was Vyākaraṇa (grammar) he wrote standard works also on poetics, dharmaśāstra, yoga and other śāstras. The total number of his works is about thirty. On dharmaśāstra he composed several works, viz. Ācārenduśekhara, Āśaucanirṇaya, Tithīnduśekhara, Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara or Prāyaścittasārasaṁgraha, Śrāddhenduśekhara, Sapiṇḍīmañjarī and Sāpiṇḍyadīpikā or Sāpiṇḍyanirṇaya. Of his far-famed works on the Paṇinean system, such as the Mahābhāṣya-pradīpoddyota, the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā (in large and small recensions), the Subdenduśekhara (big and small) and of his

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1434 वाराणसी महामुक्तिक्षेत्र । विक्रमशक वृषसंवत्सर ।
शके सोळाशें तिसोत्तर । टीका एकाकार जनार्दनरूपा ॥
महामंगळ कार्तिकमासीं । शुक्लपक्ष पूर्णिमेसी ।
सोमवार शिवयोगेंसी । टीका एकादशी समाप्त झाली ॥
स्वदेशींचा शक संवत्सर । दण्डकारण्य श्रीरामक्षेत्र ।
प्रतिष्ठान गोदावरीतीर । येथील उच्चार तो ऐका ।
शालिवाहनशक वैभव । संख्या चौदाशें पंचाण्णव ।
श्रीमुख संवत्सराचें नांव । टीका अपूर्व तें जाहली ॥
verses 552-555 of the last अध्याय (Nirṇayasāgara edition).

1135 Vide Mr. Bhave's महाराष्ट्रसारस्वत ed. of *śake* 1846 part 1 p. 245 and Mr. L. R. Pangarkar's life of Ekanath (Marathi) chap. II (ed. of 1911).

commentaries on the Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa, the Kuvalayānanda, the Rasagaṅgādhara, the Rasataraṅgiṇī, the Rasamañjarī, nothing can be said here for want of space.

For his Prāyaścittenduśekhara, *vide.* Mitra's Notices vol. V, p. 23 No. 1735, where detailed contents are given ; for the Śrāddhenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. extract No. 360 p. 139, for the Tīrthenduśekhara, Ulwar cat. p. 120, extract No. 312.

Nāgojibhaṭṭa was the son of Śivabhaṭṭa and Satī and was a Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kāla (Kaḷe). At the beginning and end of several works of his (such as the Rasagaṅgādhara-marmaprakāśa, the Mañjūṣā) he tells us that he was patronised by Rāma of the Bisena family,[1136] the ruler of a city named Śṛṅgavera (which seems to be on the Ganges above Allahabad). He was the pupil of Haridīkṣita,[1137] son of Vīreśvara and pupil of Rāmāśrama and grandson of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.[1138] Tradition says that he composed the grammatical work Śabdaratna and ascribed it to his teacher Haridīkṣita in gratitude. In the[1139] commentary on the Prauḍhamanoramā Haridīkṣita refers to the Śabdaratna as his own work and to the Śabdenduśekhara as that of his pupil.

Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita was a pupil of the Mīmāṁsaka Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa and of Śeṣa Śrīkṛṣṇa and almost a contemporary of Jagnnāthapaṇḍita. Bhaṭṭoji's pupil Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla wrote a work in saṁvat 1663 (Dr. Belvalkar in ' Systems of Sanskrit Grammar ', p. 47). Therefore he flourished in the first half of the 17th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji's grandson. Therefore Nāgojibhaṭṭa must have flourished towards the end of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th century. Nāgojibhaṭṭa's literary activities, looking

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1136 याचकानां कल्पतरोरिक्षुहुताशनात् । नागेशः शृङ्गवेरेशरामतो लब्धजीविकः ॥ रसगङ्गाधरमर्मप्रकाश.

1137 अधीत्य फणिभाष्याब्धिं सुधीन्द्रहरिदीक्षितात् । at the end of the मञ्जूषा.

1138 गूढोक्तिग्रथितां **पितामहकृतां** विद्वत्प्रमोदप्रदां भक्त्याधीत्य **मनोरमां** निरुपमाद्ग्रामाश्रमात्सद्गुरोः । तस्वाज्ञानवशात्परेण कलितान्दोषान् समुन्मूलयन् व्याचष्टे हरिरेव तां फणिमतान्यालोच्य **वैरेश्वरिः** ॥ 2nd Intro. verse to the शब्दरत्न, I. O. cat. p. 174 Nos. 651-52.

1139 विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते शब्दरत्ने मदन्तेवासिकृतशब्देन्दुशेखरादा च द्रष्टव्यः । at end of D. C. ms. No. 520 of 1886-1892 and Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4913 (1st verse).

to his vast out-put, must have extended over a long period of more than 50 years. The pedigree[1140] from Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, through a succession of teacher and pupils or father and son, is given below. *Vide* introduction to the Rasagaṅgādhara (Nirn. ed); Trivedi's introduction pp. 18-20 to the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣana of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a nephew of Bhaṭṭoji (B. S. series); Dr. Belvalkar's Systems of Sanskrit grammar pp. 46-50 and Kielhorn's preface to the Paribhāṣenduśekhara p. xxv (where the succession of teacher and pupil is brought down to the days of Kielhorn himself) for further details. In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 41 p. 247, Mr. S. P. V. Ranganātha

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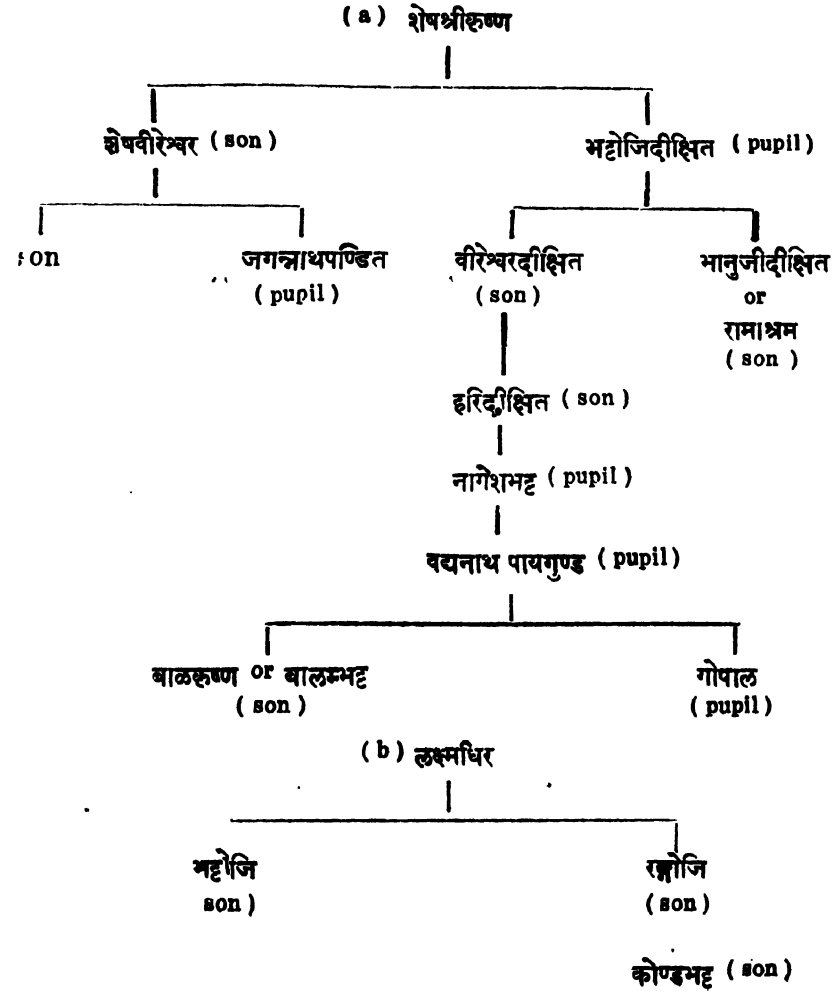
1140 The pedigrees are :—



Svāmi makes Bhaṭṭoji a pupil of Śeṣa Vīreśvara and not of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the passage of the Manoramākucamardana, if properly interpreted, makes it clear that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and not of Vīreśvara.[1141] A ms. of Nāgojibhaṭṭa's commentary on the Rasamañjarī is dated *saṁvat* 1769, Māgha 7th bright half, Wednesday, i. e. 21st January 1713 A. D. (vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 365). It is not unlikely that Nāgojibhaṭṭa first composed his commentaries on the comparatively easy śāstra of poetics and that he then worked upon Dharmaśāstra and Vyākaraṇa. The edition of the Rasagaṅgādhara in the Kāvyamālā series says that there is a tradition that Nāgoji was invited by king Savai Jaising of Jaipur to a horse-sacrifice in 1714 A. D., but that Nāgoji declined on the ground of *Kṣetra-saṁnyāsa*. Therefore his literary activity must be placed between 1700 and 1750 A. D. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstri says (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 12) that Nāgoji died about 1775. But this appears rather improbable. If one of his works was copied in 1713 A. D. he could hardly have lived up to 1775, unless he was about 100 years old at that time.

111. Bālakrsna or Bālambhatta

The Lakṣmīvyākhyāna *alias* the Bālambhaṭṭī is a commentary on the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara, ascribed to a lady named Lakṣmīdevī. The commentary is a voluminous one and displays uneven workmanship. The commentary on the ācāra section of the Mitākṣarā is the most learned part of the whole book and is almost an

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1141 इह केचित् ... शेषवंशावतंसानां श्रीकृष्णपण्डितानां चिरायार्चितयोः पादुकयोः प्रसादासादितशब्दानुशासनाः तेषु च पारमेश्वरं पदं प्रयातेषु ... तत्रभवद्भिरुल्लासितं प्रक्रियाप्रकाशमाशयानवबोधनिबन्धनैर्दूषणैः स्वयं निर्मितायां मनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्षुः। सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकृतां पौत्रैः ... अस्मद्गुरुपण्डितवीरेश्वराणां ननयैर्दूषितापि स्वमतिपरीक्षार्थं पुनरस्माभिर्निरीक्ष्यते ॥ p. 3 of the Intro. to the रसगङ्गाधर. If पादुका means 'pupil' here as Mr. Ranganath Svami contends (Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 251), why should the dual be necessary or be used and not the singular or plural? The प्रक्रियाप्रकाश is a com. on the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Vide Journal of Oriental Research vol. III, part 2, p. 146 where it is said that Jagannātha was a pupil of वीरेश्वर, son of शेषकृष्ण, who lived under the partronage of Giridhārī, son of Toḍarmal and that Bhaṭṭoji was pupil of शेषकृष्ण and later of अप्पयदीक्षित.

independent work. The ācāra portion has been published by Mr. J. R. Gharpure. The vyavahāra portion of the Bālambhaṭṭī was published by Mr. S. S. Setlur, Advocate, Bombay in 1911 and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure (1914). This portion of the commentary explains the Mitākṣarā word by word and also engages in lengthy discussions on important topics. The portion of the commentary on the prāyaścitta section has not yet been published ; but Mr. Govinda Das who examined it (vide Mr. Gharpure's edition of the ācāra portion, p. 27 at end) reports that it is meagre as compared with the preceding sections. In the following Mr. Gharpure's edition has been used.

In the Bālambhaṭṭī the author quotes by name a host of writers and works. As the Bālambhaṭṭī is almost the latest work on Dharmaśāstra worth special mention in this work, no useful chronological purpose will be served by giving the names of all such writers and works. It may however be stated that he names the Nirṇayasindhu, the Vīramitrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Saṁskārakaustubha, Siddheśvarabhaṭṭa the nephew of Nīlakaṇṭha, Khaṇḍadeva the author of Bhāṭṭadīpikā on the Mīmāṁsāsūtra, the Kāyasthadharmapradīpa of Gāgābhaṭṭa and the author's father's commentary thereon.

Of the Bālambhaṭṭī ascribed to Lakṣmīdevī,[1142] West and Bühler say ' she generally advocates latitudinarian views and gives the widest interpretation possible to every term of Yājñavalkya. Her opinions are held in comparatively small esteem and are hardly ever brought forward by the *śāstris*, if unsupported by other authorities '.[1142] For example, in the Bālambhaṭṭī the word ' bhrātaraḥ ', occurring in Yājñavalkya's verses laying down the order of succession to a man dying without male issue, is interpreted as including sisters and the author says that sisters succeed immediately after brothers.[1143] This dictum of Bālambhaṭṭa taken along with the words of the Vyavahāramayūkha seems to have influenced their Lordships of the Privy Council in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai* on the question of the rights of the sister as an

1142 **Digest of Hindu Law, 3rd ed. p. 17.**

1143 ' भ्रातृपुत्रो इत्येकशेषेण प्रागुक्तसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं भ्राता तदभावे स्वसा ।' बालम्भट्टी p. 209 (Gharpure) on याज्ञ. II. 135 ; ' तत्पुत्रा इति भ्रातुः पुत्राः कन्याश्च स्वसुः पुत्राः कन्याश्चेत्यर्थः ' p. 210.

heir.[1144] In *Sakharam v. Sitabai*[1145] Sir Michael Westropp C. J. went so far as to say on the construction of the term 'brethren' in the Mitākṣarā as including sisters, which construction was adopted in that case (in *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*) both by the Supreme Court and the Privy Council, "we must treat the Mitākṣarā also as preferring sisters to half brothers, whom it brings in after brothers." But this was a mere *obiter dictum*, since the case in which these observations were made was governed by the law of the Vyavahāramayūkha which expressly prefers full sisters to half brothers. It has been laid down in several cases in Bombay[1146] that Bālambhaṭṭa's doctrine that the word 'brothers' includes 'sisters' has not been accepted in that Presidency and that Sir Michael Westropp was under a misapprehension as to the exact drift of the Bālambhaṭṭī which nowhere says that the term 'brothers' excludes half brothers and which does not bring in the full sister before the half brother, but expressly says that the full brother inherits first, then the half brother and then comes the sister. The Bālambhaṭṭī not only brings in the sisters after full and half brothers, but places the sons and daughters of sisters after the sons and daughters of brother's, full or half. This is in direct conflict with the order of succession expressly mentioned by the Mitākṣarā and the Bombay High Court has refused to give the sister's son the place which the Bālambhaṭṭī assigns to him and treats him as a mere *bandhu*.[1147] The Bālambhaṭṭī is regarded as of little authority in the interpretation of the Mitākṣarā in the Bombay Presidency and its interpretations cannot be accepted without due caution and examination.[1148] Even in the Benares[1149] School where the Bālambhaṭṭī has been accepted as one of the leading authorities, the authority of Bālambhaṭṭa has been held to be inferior to that of Nandapaṇḍita in matters of adoption, it being held that a widow cannot adopt in the Benares School without express authority from her husband (while Bālambhaṭṭa holds that she can adopt without such authority). Similarly it has

1144 9 Moo. I. A. 516 = 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at pp. 122-123; *vide* also *Sakharam v. Sitabai* I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at pp. 360 and 363.

1145 I. L. R. 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363.

1146 *Vide Mulji v. Cursandas Natha* 24 Bom. 563 at p. 579 and *Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 305.

1147 *Vide Bhagwan v. Warubai* I. L. R. 32 Bom. 300 at p. 312.

1148 *Vide Dattatraya v. Gangabai* I. L. R. 46 Bom. 557 at p. 558.

1149 Vide *Tulshi Ram v. Behari Lal* I. L. R. 12 All. 328 at p. 368 (F. B.).

been held that the Bālambhaṭṭī cannot prevail over the views of the Vīramitrodaya and that a daughter-in-law is not in the line of heirs at all though the Bālambhaṭṭī says that she is so.[1150]

The author of the Bālambhaṭṭī is somewhat of an enigma. Such women as Śīlā, Vijjā, Avanti-sundarī have been worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of Poetry. A lady has been associated with the composition of a work on Mathematics, viz. the Līlāvatī. Inspiration for several works on Dharmaśāstra was, we know, derived from queens and princesses, as in the case of the Vivādacandra compiled by Queen Lakṣmīdevī through Misarumiśra, the Dānavākyāvali compiled by Mahādevī Dhīramatī of Mithilā through Vidyāpati, the Dvaitanirṇaya composed by Vācaspati at the bidding of queen Jayā, wife of king Bhairavendra. It gives one great pleasure to contemplate that at least one work on Dharmaśāstra, the Bālambhaṭṭī, is claimed by a lady as her own. But this pleasure receives a rude shock if the question of the authorship of the Bālambhaṭṭī is dispassionately considered. The introductory verses no doubt start by saying that Lakṣmī, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, and the daughter of Mahādeva of the Mudgala *gotra* and surnamed Kheraḍā, composed the work, her maiden name being Umā.[1151] The colophon at the end of the ācāra portion says that the work was composed by Lakṣmī, the daughter of Mahādeva and Umā, the wife of Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa and the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa.[1152] At the end of the vyavahāra section in the printed editions we have the words ' mother of Lālākṛṣṇa ' but this is obviously a misreading of the mss. or a mistake of the copyists. The pretence that the work was composed by a lady is made extremely plausible by

1150 I. L. R. 9 Cal. 315 at p. 324 ; *vide* also I. L. R. 16 Cal. 367 at pp. 376-77 (about brother's widow).

1151 श्रीलक्ष्मीरमणं नत्वा लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीं शिशुप्रसूः । खेरडामुद्गलापत्यगणेशापत्यरुष्णकः । महादेवः सुतस्तस्य वेदमूर्तिर्जटान्तवित् । श्रौतस्मार्तार्थनिपुणो दीक्षितो राजपूजितः ॥ पत्नी तस्य उमारूपा साध्युमा तस्य कन्यका । पायगुण्डोपाख्यवैद्यनाथपत्नी पतिव्रता । मिताक्षराया विवृतिं तनुते सर्वसंविदे ॥ बालम्भट्टी, Intro. verses of आचारकाण्ड.

1152 इति श्रीमन्मिताक्षराव्याख्याने महादेवभट्टात्मजोमाङ्कज्येष्ठनाथार्धाङ्गभूतबालकजननी-पायगुण्ड इत्युपाख्यश्रीलक्ष्मीदेवीविरचिते लक्ष्म्याभिधे आचारप्रकरणम् । . Vide for an identical colophon at the end of the व्यवहार section, I. O. cat. p. 369-370 No. 1282 and Aufrecht's Oxford cat. p. 262 b.

the frantic efforts made in it for the rights of women in matters of inheritance. But this pretence is not kept up in the body of the work at all. In several places the author of the Bālambhaṭṭī refers to the Mañjūṣā and other works of his *guru* and to works of his father.[1153] We know that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa,[1154] who composed several Mañjūṣās (on grammar) and a work on prāyaścitta. Therefore it follows either that the Bālambhaṭṭī was composed by Vaidyanātha himself and ascribed to his wife or that the work was composed by Bālakṛṣṇa *alias* Bālambhaṭṭa, son of Vaidyanātha, and was ascribed to his mother. Nāgojibhaṭṭa who certainly attained a very advanced age was the *guru* of Vaidyanātha as well as of the latter's son Bālakṛṣṇa. That Bālakṛṣṇa or Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa was a learned man like his father Vaidyanātha follows from several circumstances. He wrote a work called Upākṛtitattva.[1155] Gopāla *alias* Manudeva, in his commentary called Laghubhūṣanakānti on the Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣanasāra, styles Bālambhaṭṭa Pāyaguṇḍa his *guru*.[1156] Looking to the colophons where Lakṣmī is referred to as the mother of Bālakṛṣṇa and to the fact that the work is known as Bālambhaṭṭī, we must conclude that it was composed by Bālambhaṭṭa and not by his father Vaidyanātha. What motive impelled Bālambhaṭṭa to publish the work in the name of his mother it is difficult to say. Tradition

1153 e. g. आचार० p. 448 'अत्र मनुवाक्ये नञोल्पार्थकत्वेन यागीयहिंसायामपि स्वल्पदोषोस्त्येवेति प्रतिपादितं गुरुचरणैर्मञ्जूषायाम्। विशदीकृतं चैतत् पाषण्डखण्डनेपि अष्टपशुप्रकरणेस्माभिरिति दिक्'; p. 314 'तथा उग्रादिरूपक्षत्रियसत्त्वेपि तेषां न क्षत्रियत्वं किं तु शूद्रत्वमेवेति गुरुचरणरुतव्रात्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णये स्पष्टम्। तत एव बोध्यम्। स्फुटीकृतं चैतत्पितृचरणैः कायस्थनिर्णये। ... तत्सर्वं गागाभट्टकृतकायस्थप्रदीपे पितृचरणकृततत्प्रदीपे च स्पष्टमिति नेह प्रपञ्च्यते।'. The first passage is not properly arranged in Mr. Gharpure's edition; vide p. 415 for व्रात्यप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय.

1154 वैद्यनाथः पायगुण्डो नत्वा नागेश्वरं गुरुम्। व्याख्यां प्रभाख्यां तनुते कौस्तुभस्य स्ववुद्धये॥. Vide I. O. cat. p. 163 No. 610 for the प्रभा, a com. on भट्टोजि's शब्दकौस्तुभ.

1155 Vide Stein's cat. p. 302 श्रीम्हालसापतिं नत्वा खण्डेरायं कपर्दिनम्। पायगुण्डो बालकृष्णः प्राह तत्त्वमुपाकृतौ॥

1156 बालम्भट्टाभिधं पायगुण्डेपाख्यं परं गुरुम्। गोपालदेवनामासौ पण्डितो बालबुद्धये॥ कृष्णदेवानुजो लोके मनुदेवापराभिधः। I. O. cat p. 189 No. 717.

says that he did so to console Lakṣmīdevī in her bereavement on the death of a child. Vaidyanātha composed several commentaries on grammatical works such as on the Mahābhāṣyapradīpoddyota of Nāgojibhaṭṭa, on the Paribhāṣenduśekhara (com. called Kāśikā and Gadā), on the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūṣā (com. called Kalā), on the Laghuśabdenduśekhara (com. Cidasthimālā), on the Laghuśabdaratna (com. Bhāvaprakāśa). Mr. Govinda Das (p. 27 in Mr. Gharpure's edition of ācāra portion) says that these works were really composed by Bālambhaṭṭa and ascribed to his father. In these grammatical works the names of Vaidyanātha's parents are given as Mahādeva and Veṇī.

The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-59, No. 1507) notices an incomplete work called Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha compiled by Bālaśarman Pāyaguṇḍa, son of Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī and patronised[1157] by Colebrooke. The work dealt with topics of civil law, viz. definition of vyavahāra, *sabhā*, the judge, the sabhyas, the relative strength of smṛtis etc., return of debts etc. It breaks off at folio 79. On the ms. there is a note in Colebrooke's own hand (which is not complimentary to the honesty of Bālaśarman) dated 1st may 1800 " fresh sheets were received from Bālaśarma Pāyaguṇḍa on this date. This is little else but the Vīramitrodaya revised. As it is a scarce book and very little known Bālaśarma and his pupil Manudeva did not suspect I could detect the plagiarism."

The foregoing shows that Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyaguṇḍa was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, that his father and mother were Vaidyanātha and Lakṣmī, that his maternal grandfather was Mahadeva, also a Deccani Brāhmaṇa surnamed Kheradā, that he was the pupil of Nāgojibhaṭṭa and that he was a *pandit* of Colebrooke. Mr. Govinda Das is not right when he identifies (p. 27) Vaidyanātha the commentator of several grammatical works of Nāgojibhaṭṭa with Vaidyanātha the author of several commentaries on Alaṅkāra works (such as the Udāharaṇacandrikā on the Kāvya-prakāśa and the Prabhā on the Kāvyapradīpa). The reasons are two. Vaidyanātha, author of the Udāharaṇacandrikā,

[1157] श्रीकोंपणी विजयते रणरङ्गधीरः ॥ ४ श्रीशं नत्वा श्रीनिवासी दाक्षिणात्यो निबन्धरुत् । नागेशपादनिरतो वैद्यनाथात्मजः सुधीः ॥ ५ सुमनःकुलुबुरुकसाहेबाख्यबुधजीविकः । लक्ष्मीसूनुर्भवन्यम्बो विप्रद्वयविलेखकः ॥ ६ धर्मशास्त्रिमहादेवमन्तू (नु ?) देवसहायकः । बालशर्मौबालबुद्धिः पायगुण्डोपनामकः ॥ ७.

was the son of Rāmabhaṭṭa, son of Viṭṭhala Tatsat, while Vaidyanātha the grammarian was a son of Mahādeva and Veṇī. Besides the Udāharaṇacandrikā was composed[1158] in *saṁvat* 1740 Kārtika śuddha 8, Wednesday (i. e. 17th October 1683). We saw above that Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa was a pupil of Nāgoji, who flourished towards the end of 17th and the first half of the 18th century. If Vaidyanātha, the writer on poetics, were the same as the commentator of Nāgoji, he could not have composed a work on poetics so early as 1683 A. D. Dr. Belvalkar (Systems of Sanskrit Grammar p. 60) says 'Lakṣmīdevī, the wife of king Candrasiṁha of Mithilā, was probably his patroness in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahārakāṇḍa of the Mitākṣarā.' This throws to the winds all chronology. We saw above (pp. 399 and 404) that the Mithilā princess Lakṣmī or Lachimādevī flourished in the first half of the 15th century, while the Bālambhaṭṭī quoting as it does writers and works like Gāgābhaṭṭa and the Kaustubha could not have been composed before 1700 A.D.

Mr. Govinda Das says that a ms. of the ācārakāṇḍa of the Bālambhaṭṭī in the Benares palace library is dated *saṁvat* 1831 (i. e. 1774-75 A. D.). The I. O. cat. (pp. 458-459) notices that Bālambhaṭṭa was about 80 years old when Colebrooke entrusted the Dharmaśāstrasaṁgraha to him about 1800 A. D. Besides both Bālambhaṭṭa and his father Vaidyanātha were the pupils of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The ms. of the Upākṛtitattva (Stein's Jammu cat. p. 302) is dated *saṁvat* 1848 i. e. 1791-92 A. D. and the ms. of the Laghubhūṣanakānti of Bālambhaṭṭa's pupil is dated *saṁvat* 1856 (i. e. 1799-1800 A. D.). Hence it follows that Bālambhaṭṭa must have flourished between 1730 and 1820 A. D. Mr. Govinda Das says that Bālambhaṭṭa died at the age of 90 and gives his dates as 1740 to 1830 A. D. (p. 29 of Mr. Gharpure's ācāra section of Bālambhaṭṭī at the end).

1158 Vide I. O. cat. p. 329 No. 1151 for the उदाहरणचन्द्रिका and its date वियद्वेदमुनिक्ष्माभिर्मितेब्दे कार्तिके सिते । बुधाश्चन्द्राभिमं ग्रन्थं वैद्यनाथोभ्यपूरयत् ॥ ; vide Stein's cat. pp. 60, 61, 62, and 80 for commentaries on the काव्यप्रदीप, कुवलयानन्द, चन्द्रालोक and the कादम्बरी by वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र.

112. Kāśināṭha-Upādhyāya

Kāśināṭha Upādhyāya or Bābā Pādhye composed an extensive work called Dharmasindhusāra or Dharmābdhisāra, which is popularly known as Dharmasindhu. It is now the leading work in matters of religious observances in the Deccan and has been referred to even in judicial decisions.[1159] It has been published several times. In the following the Nirṇayasāgara edition of 1926 with Marathi translation has been used. He says that he consulted former *nibandhas* and, following the order of the subject matters in the Nirṇayasindhu, composed the work which sets forth only the established conclusions after eliminating the original smṛti texts.[1160] At the end he says that the work is not meant for learned men conversant with *mīmāṁsā* and Dharmaśāstra, but for men whose intellect is not sharp and yet who want to know the established conclusions on matters of dharma. The work is divided into three *paricchedas*, the third being the longest and split into two parts. The first deals with *kāla* in general, viz. the kinds of year, month, the saṁkrāntis, intercalary months and kṣayamāsa, what *tithis* are proper for what rites, conclusions about *tithis* from the first to the 15th and about amāvāsyā, eclipses; the second deals with the festivals, fasts and observances of particular months from Caitra to Phālguna; the third in the first part speaks in detail about the saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to marriage, sāpiṇḍya, gotras and pravaras, duties of brahmacārin, the daily duties from rising to going to bed, the five daily mahāyajñas, consecration of sacred fires, idols and dedication of tanks and works of public utility, kalivarjya; the latter part of the third *paricchedа* dilates upon the details of śrāddha, impurity on birth and death, the rites after death, the duties of widows, *saṁnyāsa*.

Kāśināṭha was a very learned man and a great devotee of God Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District. He wrote several other works, such as the Prāyaścittenduśekhara (Bühler 3. 110), an exposition of the Vedastuti in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 87)

1159 I. L. R. 49 Bom. 739 at p. 756.

1160 नत्वार्यान् वितनोमि माधवमुखान् **धर्माब्धिसारं** मितम् ॥ 3rd Intro verse; तस्यानन्ताभिधानस्योपाध्यायस्य सुतः कृती । काशीनाथाभिधो **धर्मसिन्धुसारं** समातनोत् ॥ last verse; दृष्ट्वा पूर्वनिबन्धान् निर्णयसिन्धुक्रमेण सिद्धार्थान् । प्रायेण मूलवचनान्युज्झित्वा लिखामि बालबोधाय ॥ 4th Intro. verse.

and a work called Viṭṭhala-ṛṅmantrasārabhāṣya.[1161] In the latter he takes several Ṛk verses (such as Ṛgveda I. 95. 1-11 and I. 164. 31) and explains them as applying to God Viṭṭhala.

We know a good deal about the family of Kāśīnātha Pādhye from his own works and from the biography of the great Marathi poet Moropant published by Mr. L. R. Pangarkar (ed.of 1908, chap. 16 pp. 107-119). His family hailed from Golavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. They were Karhādā Brāhmaṇas and had the Joshi and Upadhye *vṛtti* of seventy-two villages in the Saṅgameśvara *taluka* of the Ratnagiri District. At the end of the Dharmasindhu he says that his grandfather was Kāśyupādhyāya who had two sons Yajñeśvara and Ananta. Ananta was a very pious man and a great devotee and left his native land Koṅkaṇa, and resided at Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhīmā. The Dharmasindhu does not give the reason for Ananta's migration from Koṅkaṇa. But it is said that the Pādhyes had a dispute with another family about the *upadhye vṛtti*, took it for decision to the Peshwa's Court at Poona and were defeated, on which they cursed the Peshwa, vowed not to stay in the territories under the Peshwa's rule and migrated to Pandharpur. The Dharmasindhu was composed[1162] in *śake* 1712 i. e. 1790-1 A. D. Kāśīnātha was related to the great Marathi poet Moropant, as his daughter Āvaḍī was married to Rāmakṛṣṇa, the second son of the poet. He had great veneration for Moropant and refers to the Mantrabhāgavata of the latter.[1163]

1161 Vide D.C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70 dated *śake* 1731. In this विठ्ठल is derived as 'वित् वेदनं ज्ञानं तेन ठाः शून्याः तान् लाति स्वीकरोति.'

1162 'अयनांशाः ज्योतिःशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धाः । ते चैतद्दानीं द्वादशाधिकसप्तदशशतसंख्याके शालिवाहनशके एकविंशतिरयनांशा इति &c.' धर्मसिन्धु p. 3.

1163 एकेनैव प्रकारेणैकत्रैव पद्ये क्रमेण वर्णोद्धारे व्यवधानेपि चमत्कारातिशयोनुभवसिद्धो नापलपितुं शक्यः । अत एव श्रीमयूरेश्वरपण्डितकवीश्वरेण मन्त्रमयभागवते मन्त्रमयरामायणे च द्वादशाक्षरमन्त्रवर्णाः श्रीरामजयरामेत्यादित्रयोदशाक्षरवर्णाश्च क्रमेणोपनिबध्य वर्णान्तरसंमिश्रणेन कथार्थं बोधयन्तो मन्त्रानुपूर्वीमपि बोधयन्तीति चमत्कारविशेषात्तादृशकाव्यरचनोपपद्यते । विठ्ठलकृतभाष्य folio 56a of D. C. ms. No. 100 of 1869-70.

Kāśīnātha became a saṁnyāsin and died in Śake 1727 i. e. 1805-6 A. D.[1164]

113. Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana

After the British took over the administration of Bengal from the Nabobs, attempts were made to compile easily accessible digests of the personal law of the Hindus. The Vivādārṇavasetu[1165] compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by several *pandits* was translated into English from a Persian rendering and was published in 1774 A. D. as Halhed's Gentoo Code. But this was a very unsatisfactory work. Another attempt was made at the instance of Sir William Jones by Trivedi Sarvoruśarman who compiled in 1789 A. D. a digest of civil law called Vivādasārārṇava[1166] in nine *taraṅgas*. But the most famous of such digests that owed their inspiration to the British is the Vivādabhaṅgārṇava compiled by Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Triveṇī on the Ganges, son of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa. This digest was suggested by Sir William Jones and two parts of it on contracts and succession were translated by Cole-

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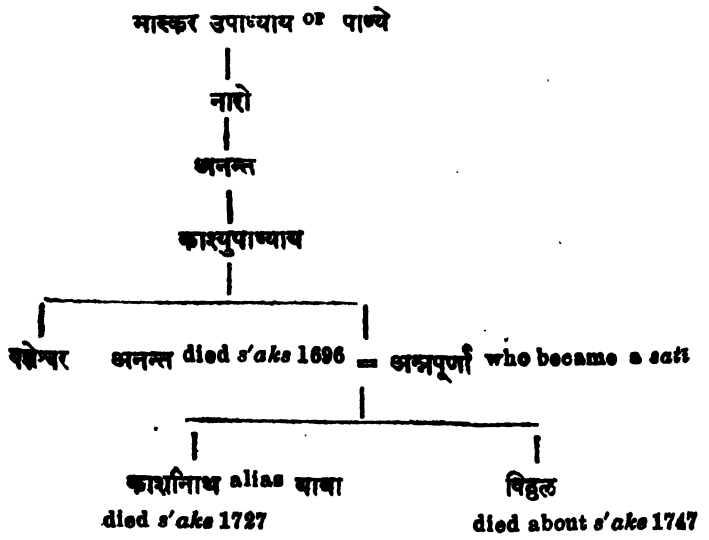
1164 The pedigree is :—



1165 The विवादार्णवसेतु is published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press in Bombay (śaka 1810); vide also I. O. cat. p. 458.

1166 Vide I. O. cat. p. 457 for विवादसारार्णव.

brooke in 1796. The translation was first published in 1797 A. D. and is known to the legal profession as Colebrooke's Digest. This work exercised great influence over the courts in their administration of Hindu Law in the early days. The work is divided into *dvīpas*, each *dvīpa* being subdivided into *ratnas*. The principal topics dealt with are : recovery of debts, deposits, sale without ownership, partnership, rescission of gifts, non-payment of wages, rescission of sale and purchase, emancipation from slavery, disputes between master and servant, duties of man and wife, inheritance and partition. Jagannātha is said to have died at the venerable age of 111 in 1806.[1167] Though Jagannātha exercised great influence in moulding Hindu Law in Bengal, his work has been held from very early times not to have any binding authority in Western India.[1168]

114. Conclusion

In the foregoing pages most of the classical works and the most prominent writers on Dharmaśāstra during a period of about twenty five centuries have been passed in review. The number of authors and works on dharmaśāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged and very little emphasis on the privileges of men. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders. They preserved Hindu culture and literature in the midst of alien cultures and in spite of bigoted foreign domination. There is no doubt that the authors on dharmaśāstra in their desire to evolve order out of chaos and to adjust and harmonise the varying practices of people with the dicta of ancient sages were guilty of the faults of raising hair-splitting arguments, divisions and

1167 Vide 'Dawn of new India' by Mr. Brajendranath Banerjee, 1927, Calcutta (pp. 81-91).

1168 Vide *Vinayak v. Lakshmibai*, 1 Bom. H. C. R. 117 at p. 124.

sub-divisions and also of thinking that religious rites and formularies were the be-all and end-all of human existence. But living as most of the later writers did in the midst of aggressive and violently unsympathetic cultures and rulers and possessing no powerful central government that sympathised with their ideals, they were driven more and more to revolve within their own narrow grooves and could not see far in order to regulate society in a free and buoyant spirit. In spite of these defects, the work done by the writers on dharmaśāstra should excite our admiration and entitles them to the regard of all those that are interested in the study of the vicissitudes of Hindu society for thousands of years.

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Vedāṅgas, pp. 67, 143, 179.

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APPENDIX A.

List of Works on Dharmaśāstra

It is necessary to say a few words about the methods followed in preparing this list of the works on dharmaśāstra. Purely śrauta works have generally been excluded, except where they have been profusely quoted or relied upon by dharmaśāstra writers. Works of the Tantra class and the Purāṇas have been passed over, inasmuch as they form in themselves independent and extensive branches of Sanskrit literature requiring an exhaustive and detailed treatment, which from considerations of space had to be abandoned here. All individual prayogas, māhātmyas, vidhis, vratas, śāntis, stotras have been omitted, except where the names of the authors are well-known or there is some importance or peculiarity attaching to them. Purely astrological works on jātaka, and tājika have not been included, but works of the muhūrta class that are closely connected with everyday religious practices have been included. Though the gṛhyasūtras and their commentaries were not dwelt upon in the body of the present work, they have been included in this list as their subject-matter is closely allied to dharmaśāstra. Only works up to about 1820 A. D. have been entered here. Works on politics (arthaśāstra) have also been included. I am afraid that all the restrictions set out above have not been rigorously observed in the following and crave the indulgence of scholars in this respect. I must gratefully acknowledge, as everyone engaged in preparing a similar list on any branch of post-Vedic literature must do, my indebtedness to the monumental Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht. But even that catalogue leaves many things doubtful and necessarily gives meagre information. For removing such doubts I was compelled to read and compare the original catalogues of Sanskrit mss. such as that of the India Office, the Notices of Sanskrit mss. by Dr. Mitra and and M. M. Haraprasāda. Besides the third part of Aufrecht's Catalogue was published in 1903. Since then several other catalogues, such as the Descriptive Catalogues and Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Govt. mss. Library, Notices of mss. (new

series, part III) by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri, Catalogue of Palmleaf and Paper mss. of Nepal Durbar Library by M. M. Haraprasad Śāstri, Hultzsch's Report (part III), Catalogue of Central Provinces Sanskrit mss. by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Catalogue of the mss. collected by the Bihar and Orissa Govt. (vol. I), have been published. Moreover I have consulted hundreds of mss. from collections like those at the Deccan College (now in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute at Poona), at the Ānandāśrama Institution (Poona), the Bhadkamkar memorial collection started by Prof. H. D. Velankar in Bombay at the Wilson College and the vast collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute. In preparing this list I give wherever possible and desirable the names of the authors and of their ancestors, the names of the works quoted by them or of the works that quote them, the age of the work (or of the mss.) their contents &c. In most cases the very name of the work indicates its subject-matter. In spite of all this many doubtful points are still left. Various circumstances tend to create confusion in preparing such lists as are offered here. The same work appears under two, three or even more names in the mss. and the catalogues. Sometimes the names of the authors and even their fathers' names are the same as in the case of Divākara, son of Mahādeva and Śaṅkara, son of Nīlakaṇṭha. Very often portions of a large work appear separately as distinct works in the Catalogues. The same author appears under several forms, as Narasiṁha and Nṛsiṁha, Nāgeśa and Nāgoji. I have made great efforts to remove such doubts as far as I could and hope that I have been able to make my own humble contributions to the work so ably done by Aufrecht and others. I do not give references to catalogues in the case of each work, nor do I give all possible references to catalogues against each entry. Only in imporant cases have I given references to catalogues. It has been my endeavour to give earlier references to works and authors wherever I could than those given by Aufrecht and to find out the age of a work or author by resort to various devices. Only a detailed comparison with Aufrecht can show this, which task I must in all humility leave to the readers who will use this list. One more feature of this list to which I wish to draw the attention of the reader is that I have pointed out what works have been printed. In doing this I generally refer only to well-known series and editions like the Bombay Sanskrit series,

the Benares Sanskrit series and have not set out editions to which very few can have access. For those who want exhaustive information on this point, the catalogues of printed works in the British Museum Library which have now been brought up to 1928 will be found helpful.

Besides the abbreviations given at the beginning of this work, the following abbreviations have been employed in this list and the next.

a = author of.

Ānan. sm. = The collection of smṛtis published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

Ānan. P. = Ānandāśrama Press (Series of books).

Ano. = Anonymous.

Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford by Dr. Aufrecht (1864).

Baroda O. I. = Colletion of Mss. at the Baroda Oriental Institute.

Ben. S. Series = Benares Sanskrit Series.

Bhad. col. = Bhadkamkar Memorial Collection made by Prof. H. D. Velankar of Wilson College, Bombay.

Bik. Cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner by Rajendralal Mitra (1880).

B. O. cat. = Cat. of mss. collected for the Bihar and Orissa Government, vol. I.

Burnell's Tanj. Cat. = Classified Index to the Sanskrit mss. in the palace at Tanjore by Dr. A. C. Burnell (1880).

C = commentary (of a work under which this letter occurs).

CC = commentary on a commentary.

Ch. S. Series = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

com. = commentary or commentator, according to context.

C. P. cat. = Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal (1926, Nagpur).

G.O. Series = Gaikwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

Govt. O. Series. = Government Oriental Series, Poona.

Hultzsch's R. = Reports on Sanskrit mss. in Southern India by Dr. Hultzsch, parts I-III.

Jivananda sm. = collection of smṛtis edited by Jivananda in two parts.

m. = mentioned (by or in).

Mysore G. O. L. = Mysore Government Oriental Library Series.

N. = Notices of Sanskrit mss. in Bengal vol. I-XI (vol. I-IX by Dr. R. Mitra and X-XI by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri).

N. (new series) = Notices of Sanskrit mss., new series, vol. I-III by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstri.

Nir. P. = Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay.

pr. = printed.

q. = quotes.

Stein's cat. or Stein = Catalogue of the Sanskrit mss. in the Raghunath temple Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, by Dr. M. A. Stein (1894).

Ulwar cat. = Catalogue of mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar, by Dr. Peterson.

Venk. P. = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

W. and K. = Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. in the Bodleian Library, vol. II (1905) by Dr. Winternitz and Prof. A. B. Keith.

अंशावलि gives propitiatory rites (Śānti) for any particular aṁśa of a man's rāśi.

अकालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश; composed in Śake 1636 (अङ्काग्निरसक्षोणी) on intercalary months, how to calculate them and on the special duties performed in them.

अक्षमालामतिष्ठा.

अखण्डादर्श by अखण्ड (?) m. in स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ. Divided into kāṇḍas on dharma and vyavahāra.

अगस्त्य or अगस्तिसंहिता-m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in अपरार्क.

अग्निकार्य.

अग्निकार्यपद्धति.

अग्निनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

अग्निसंधानवचन on ceremonies performed to make up for omission in the daily performance of aupāsana.

अग्निस्थापन.

अग्निहोत्रकर्मन्.

अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र, son of विट्ठल. About 1683 A. D.

अग्निहोत्रिदाहविधि.

अघदीपिका.

अघनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ and grandson of सरस्वतीवल्लभ; names विज्ञानेश्वर, अखण्ड, स्मृत्यर्थसार, वरदराज.

C. by author.

C. called दीपिका by रामानुजयज्वन्.

C. by वैदिक सार्वभौम (this is probably the same as the author's own com.).

अघनिर्णय by वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र.

अघपञ्चविवेचन by मथुरानाथ.

अघपञ्चषष्टि by मथुरानाथ (in 65 verses).

अघपञ्चषष्टि by वीथि (-वि- or -जि -नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र).

C. स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्र बुध.

अघप्रकाशिका (in 11 khaṇḍas).

अघप्रदीप.

अघप्रदीपिका ascribed to याज्ञवल्क्य.

अघबाडव or दानसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 7129 C.).

अघविमोचन.

अघविवेक by नीलकण्ठदीक्षित, son of अप्पयदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य of भारद्वाजगोत्र (in 6 प्रकरणs).

अघविवेचन by रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजकुल, in two परिच्छेदs.

C. refers to मुक्ताफल.

C. by रुचिदत्त.

अघशतक.

अघषट्क.

अघसंशयतिमिरादित्यसूत्र.

अघसंग्रह.

अघसंग्रहदीपिका (Hultzsch R. I. No. 270).

अङ्कुरार्पणप्रयोग (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

अङ्कुरार्पणाविधि (from पाञ्चरात्रागम).

,, (from शारदातिलक).

अङ्गिरस् Vide sec. 39.
C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

अचलनिबन्ध.

अणुछलारीय by शेषाचार्य.

अण्णादीक्षितीय by अण्णादीक्षित.

अतिक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्त.

अतिरुद्रशान्ति.

अतीचारनिर्णय by महेश (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 2, No. 3).

अतीचारनिर्णय by भुजबलभीम (B. O. cat. vol. I, p. 3, No. 4).

अत्रि Vide sec. 19.
C. by कृष्णनाथ.
C. by तकनलाल. Later than 1686 A. D.
C. by हरिराम.

अद्भुतदर्पण or अद्भुतसंग्रह by माधवशर्मन् of the बुधबाण family, son of रघुनाथ and elder brother of गोविन्द. Based on the अद्भुतसागर of बल्लालसेन. On दिव्य, नाभस and भौम phenomena. Quotes मयूरचित्र. N (new series) vol. I. pp. 2--4.

अद्भुतविवेक by महीधर.

अद्भुतसागर by बल्लालसेन son of विजयसेन (printed in 1905 by Prabhakari and co, Calcutta); m. by रघुनन्दन, कमलाकर, नीलकण्ठ, अनन्तदेव; begun in 1090 śake (1068 A.D.) and finished by लक्ष्मणसेन.

अद्भुतसागरसार by चतुर्भुज.
,, by श्रीपति.

अद्भुतसिन्धु; quoted by नारायण in शान्तितत्त्वावृत.

अद्भुतावृत on उत्पातs of three kinds, दिव्य, आन्तरिक्ष, भौम.

अद्भुतोत्पातशान्ति of शौनक.

अधिकमासप्रकरण

अधिकमासनिर्णय- vide मलमासनिर्णय

अधिकमासफल.

अधोमुखजननशान्ति attributed शौनक.

अध्यायोपाकर्मप्रयोग.

अनन्तभाष्य- m. in समयमयूख.

अनन्तव्रतपूजापद्धति (from the व्रतार्क of शङ्कर).

अनन्तव्रतोद्यापन.

अनन्तभट्टी or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of अनन्तभट्टदीक्षित son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत. Vide under प्रयोगरत्न.

अनन्ताह्निक.

अनाकुला, com. of हरदत्त on आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र. Vide sec. 86.

अनाचारानर्णय.

अनावृष्टिशान्ति of शौनक.

अनुभोगकल्पतरु by जगन्नाथ.

अनुमरणप्रदीप by गौरीशभट्ट.

अनुमरणविवेक (quoted by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व).

अनुयागपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of जनार्दन.

अनुयागपद्धति by कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती.
C. by आर्याधवरीन्द्र (Baroda O. I. No. 12537).

अनुष्ठानपद्धति.
C. by रघुनाथ.

अनूपविलास or धर्माम्भोधि written under Anūpasiṁha Rāthor by मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गराम, son of शिवदत्त, divided into six parts, आचाररत्न, समयरत्न, संस्काररत्न, वत्स-

रत्न, दानरत्न, शुद्धिरत्न. Refers to Alamgir, emperor of Delhi. अनूपसिंह was contemporary of Shah Jehan. About 1660 A. D.

अनूपविवेक attributed to अनूपसिंहदेव of Bikaner. Treats of the ग्रामपरीक्षण in five ullāsas. अनूपदेव ruled in 1673, son of कर्णसिंह (1634). Vide D. C. ms. 22 of 1902-1907 copied in śake 1691. Vide under दानरत्नाकर.

अन्तरिक्षवायुवीर्यप्रकाश.

अन्त्यकर्मदीपिका by हरिभट्ट दीक्षित.

अन्त्यकर्मपद्धति.

अन्त्यक्रियाविधि by मणिराम. Quotes शुद्धिमयूख. Later than 1640 A. D.

अन्त्योष्टि.

अन्त्येष्टिक्रियापद्धति.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by केशव, son of अनन्तभट्ट of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puntāmbe on the Godāvarī). Later than 1450 A. D.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by रामाचार्य

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by हरिहर, ...n of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट, following भारद्वाजसूत्र and the भाष्य thereon; says there are a hundred पद्धतिs following भारद्वाज, but his is quite different.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वर; vide sec. 103.

अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति or और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. N (new series) vol. III. p. 3.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशी) by केशवभट्ट from his प्रयोगमणि.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग by विश्वनाथ, based on आश्वलायन.

अन्त्येष्टिविधि by जिकन, quoted by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्व.

अन्त्येष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.

अन्त्येष्टिसामग्री.

अन्त्येत्यष्टार्क printed in Bombay in 1890 A. D.

अन्नदान.

अन्नप्राशन.

अन्नप्राशनप्रयोग.

अन्वष्टका.

अन्वष्टकानवमीश्राद्धपद्धति.

अपमृत्युञ्जयशान्ति ascribed to शौनक.

अपिपालपद्धति (or शुद्धपद्धति) of अपिपाल m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

अपिपालकारिका m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

अपेक्षितार्थद्योतिनी, com. by नारायण; m. in मदनरत्न (शान्त्युद्द्योत).

अब्दपूर्तिप्रयोग or वर्षसिद्धि.

अब्दमूर्तिपूजा.

अभिध by केदार (?); quoted by श्रीधर in स्मृत्यर्थसार.

अभक्ष्यभक्ष्यप्रकरण.

अभिनवप्रायश्चित्त.

अभिनवमाधवीय by माधवाचार्य.

अभिनवषडशीति (on अशौच) by सुब्रह्मण्य, son of वेङ्कटेश of पौण्ड्रवंश (printed in Telugu script, Madras 1874). Vide Hultzsch's R. vol.II p. 113 and preface p. VI.

C. धर्मप्रदीपिका by the author himself; refers to चन्द्रिका, माधवीय and षडशीति of कौशिकादित्य. Later than 1400 A. D.

अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि, alias मानसोल्लास by चालुक्य king सोमेश्वर (vol. I in G. O. S. and also in Mysore G. O. L); composed in 1051 śake (i. e. 1129 A. D.); has 100 chapters divided into five विंशतिs on 'means of acquiring rājya,' 'means of the stability of the kingdom,' 'royal enjoyments,' '*vinoda* or recreations 'and 'krīḍā (games and sports).

अभ्युदयश्राद्ध.

अमृतव्याख्या m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित. Earlier than 1575 A.D.

अम्बिकार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

अयननिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

अयाचितकालनिर्णय.

अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमाः by राम, a protegee of अनूपसिंह of Bikaner. About 1650 A. D.

अयुतहोमविधि by नारायणभट्ट. Vide sec. 103.

अरुणस्मृति m. in दानचन्द्रिका, निर्णयसिन्धु. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1253 and extract 285, which show that there are 149 verses on acceptance of gifts and प्रायश्चित्तs connected therewith.

अर्कविवाहपद्धति by शौनक.

अर्कविवाह (on marriage with the Arka plant before marrying a third wife on the death of the first two). BBRAS. cat. p. 240.

अर्घ्यदान.

अर्घ्यप्रदानकारिका.

अर्घ्यानुष्ठान.

अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता by रामचन्द्र (on worship of कार्तवीर्य).

अर्जुनार्चापारिजात by रामचन्द्र.

अर्थकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका. Vide sec. 101.

अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य; vide sec. 14.

C. प्रतिपदपञ्जिका of भट्टस्वामिन् (ms. on chap. 8-36 of 2nd अधिकरण).

C. नयचन्द्रिका of माधवयज्वमिश्र.

C. श्रीमूल by गणपतिशास्त्रिन् (Tri. S. S.).

अर्थप्रदीप m. in राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

अर्धोदयपर्वपूजन (Baroda O. I. No. 3742).

अर्हन्नीति of हेमाचार्य; 1088-1172 A.D. (printed at Ahmedabad, 1906).

अलङ्कारदान.

अलसकाजीर्णप्रकाश.

अल्पयम m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

अवधूताश्रम—Ano. Gives denominations of ten classes of saṁnyāsins and their duties. N (new

series) vol III preface p. IX and p. 8.

अवसानकालप्रायश्चित्त.

अशुद्धिचन्द्रिका (or rather **शुद्धिचन्द्रिका**) by **नन्दपण्डित**. Vide sec. 105.

अशौचनिर्णय by **उमानाथ** (B. O. cat. No. 10 p. 7).

अशौचप्रकाश-vide under **आशौचप्रकाश**. Many works on **अशौच** indiscriminately use the words **अशौच** and **आशौच**.

अशौचसार by **सत्यण्डितभीबलभद्र**; mentions **कुबेरपण्डित, भीमोपाध्याय, भवदेवभट्ट** and **स्मृतिसमुच्चय**.

अश्वत्थपूजा.

अश्वत्थप्रतिष्ठा.

अश्वत्थोद्यापन (from **शौनकस्मृति**) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अश्वत्थोपनयनपद्धति-(acc. to **शौनक**) BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 240.

अश्वदान.

अष्टकाकर्मन्.

अष्टकाकर्मपद्धति.

अष्टकाशौचभाष्य-vide **सूतकनिर्णय**.

अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय by **रघुनाथ**, son of **माधव** (Baroda O. I. No. 12586 A). About 1550-1625 A. D.

अष्टमहामन्त्रपद्धति quoted in **स्मृत्यर्थसागर**.

अष्टविंशतिस्मृतिमत (Baroda O. I. No. 12743).

अष्टश्राद्धविधानविधि.

अष्टादशगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 3854).

अष्टादशजातिनिर्णय (Stein p. 82).

अष्टादशविवादसंक्षेप (Stein p. 82).

अष्टादशसंस्काराः by **चतुर्भुज**.

अष्टादशस्मृतिसार.

अष्टादशस्मृतिसारसंग्रहः (Baroda O. I. No. 10214).

असगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा by **अहोबल**. N (new series) vol. III. p. 11.

असपिण्डासगोत्रपरीक्षा- probably the same as **असगो...परीक्षा** above.

असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहविधि by **अहोबलशास्त्रिन्**.

आस्थिप्रक्षेप (from **चन्द्रप्रकाश** Baroda O. I. No. 5478).

अस्थिशुद्धि.

अस्थिशुद्धिप्रयोग.

अस्थ्युद्धरण.

अहर्विधि.

अहल्याकामधेनु (Ms. in Benares S. college) by **केशवदास**, called after **अहल्या**, wife of **खण्डेराव**, son of **मल्लारिराव** ; seems to refer to Ahilyābai, the famous ruler of Indore in the latter half of the 18th century).

अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता (Pr. at Adyar by Schrader).

अर्हन्नीति by **हेमाचार्य**, **दायभाग** portion, pr. at Lucknow in 1891.

आग्रयणपद्धति by **विट्ठल दीक्षित**- Part of **यजुर्वल्लभा** (q. v.).

आङ्गिरसस्मृति on **प्रायश्चित्त** in 12 chapters. (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1304).

आचारकाण्ड.

आचारकौमुदी by **गोपाल** (Baroda O. I. No. 11133).

आचारकौस्तुभ by राजाराम son of सोमेश्वर (Vaiṣṇavite treatise on good conduct and devotion to Viṣṇu) ms. (N. vol. VIII. 191) dated संवत् 1782 (1725-26 A. D.).

आचारखण्ड (Baroda O. I. No. 12796).

आचारचन्द्रिका by त्रिविक्रमसूरि.

आचारचन्द्रिका by पद्मनाभदत्त. In 1367 A.D. he composed his सुपद्म grammar and his पृषोदरादिवृत्ति in 1375 A.D.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रत्नेश्वरमिश्र.

आचारचन्द्रिका by रमापति.

आचारचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथाचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य (on duties of शूद्रs and द्विजs), ms. copied in Śake 1410 (1488-89 A.D.); m. by रघुनन्दन; flourished about 1475 A.D.; vide I. O. cat. p. 524 for date Śake 1410 of the ms.

आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश by महेश, son of सारस्वतदुर्ग and pupil of विद्वल पुरुषोत्तम कविवर of मिथिला; divided into 8 परिच्छेदs in relation to the duties of the eight parts of the day for Vājasaneyas; composed under माधव, youngest of the three sons of a chief named नानू, king of लाबपुर on the banks of इरावती on the Western coast of India. Later than 1500 A. D. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 97 and I. O. cat. p. 506.

आचारचन्द्रोदय by सदाराम.

आचारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; m. by रघुनन्दन, श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 98.

आचारतरङ्गिणी by रघिनाथमिश्र.

आचारतत्त्व by हरिप्रसाद son of मकरन्द (Stein's cat. pp. 83 and 301).

आचारतिलक quoted in द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका and निर्णयदीपक; earlier than 1500 A. D.

आचारतिलक by गङ्गाधर in 108 verses. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 for a fragment.

आचारदर्पण by श्रीदत्त-same as आचारादर्श; vide sec. 89.

आचारदर्पण of बोपदेव, m. in पूर्तदिनकरोद्द्योत.

आचारदर्शन.

आचारदीधिति part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

आचारदीप-or प्रदीप by कमलाकर resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godāvarī.

आचारदीप by नागदेव on āhnika in 8 अध्यायs; quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his आचारमयूख and by अग्निहोत्रिहरिहर on कात्यायन's स्नानविधिसूत्र; ms. (B. O. cat. No. 22) dated 1436 A. D.

आचारदीपक of गंगाविष्णु, patroniesed by त्रिविक्रम; ms. copied 1752 A.D.

आचारदीपिका.

आचारदीपिका by कमलाकर.

आचारदीपिका, a com. by हरिलाल on the आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

आचारदीपिका-from सारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. No. 10910).

आचारद्वैतविवेक by विभाकर, composed under king रामभद्र of मिथिला; solves doubts on श्राद्ध. About 1500 A. D.

आचारनवनीत by अप्पा दीक्षित, a native of गौरीमायूर; composed in the time of Shahaji (1684-1711 A.D.); divided into four kāṇḍas on आचार, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि and कालनिर्णय.

आचारनिर्णय by गोपाल.

आचारनिर्णय-- in 66 verses on duties of ब्राह्मणs, origin of कायस्थs &c.

आचारपञ्चाशिका by महाशर्मन्.

आचारपद्धति by वासुदेवेन्द्र.
,, by विद्याकर.
,, by श्रीधरसूरि.

आचारप्रकाश by भास्कर, son of आप्पाजी (Baroda O. I. No. 12789).

आचारप्रकाशिका quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

आचारप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट, quoted in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचारप्रदीप by नागदेव. He wrote निर्णयतत्त्व also.

आचारप्रदीप by भट्टोजि.

आचारप्रशंसा.

आचारभूषण of त्र्यम्बक राम ओक (in 1741 Śake) in 9 किरणs; pr. in Ānan. P.

आचारमञ्जरी by मथुरानाथ.

आचारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ (ed. by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by Gujarati P., Bombay). Vide sec. 107.

आचारमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य, the first part of his com. on पराशरस्मृति.

आचारमाला by निधिराम.

आचाररत्न m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

आचाररत्न by मणिराम (first part of अनूपविलास).

आचाररत्न by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. He was younger brother of कमलाकरभट्ट and so flourished 1580-1640 A. D. Pr. at Nir. P.

आचाररत्न by चन्द्रमौलि.

आचाररत्नाकर quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

आचारवाक्यसुधा.

आचारवारिधि by रमापति उपाध्यायसन्मिश्र. He wrote विवादवारिधि also.

आचारविधि.

आचारविवेक by मानसिंह.

आचारविवेक by मदनसिंह (part of मदनरत्न).

आचारव्रतादिरहस्य.

आचारसंग्रह by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली संजीवेश्वरशर्मा.

आचारसंग्रह by हरिहरपण्डित, son of नारायण.

आचारसागर of बल्लालसेन quoted in the मदनपारिजात (p. 58), स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, and in author's own work दानसागर (composed about 1168 A. D.).

आचारसार—m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 900.)

आचारसार by लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, son of नारायण; seems to be the same work as आचाररत्न above.

आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव, son of गदाधर.

आचारादर्श, by श्रीदत्त (मैथिल). About 1300 A.D. (pr. at Benares, samvat

1920 and by Ven. P.); m. in the शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर and mentions कामधेनु, कल्पतरु and हरिहर; vide sec. 89.

C. by गौरीपति. son of दामोदर, composed in Benares in 1696 संवत् (1640 A.D.). Pr. by Ven. P.

C. आचारदीपिका by हरिलाल.

आचारादर्शिका, abridgment of the आचारादर्श.

आचारार्क- a part of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण; refers to नीलकण्ठ author of मयूखs who was his maternal grandfather; composed in संवत् 1743 (i. e. 1686-87 A. D.).

C. by तकनलाल.

आचारार्कक्रम (अनुक्रमणिका of आचारार्क) by the author's son वैद्यनाथ who wrote अनुक्रमणिका to दानहीरावलि and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका also.

आचारार्क by मथुरानाथ.

आचारार्क by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

आचारेन्दु of त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे. Composed in Śake 1760 (1838 A.D.) at सप्तर्षि (modern Satara). Pr. in Ānan.P.

आचारेन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110.

आचारोद्द्योत by टोडरानन्द.

" part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप by मदनसिंहदेव.

आचारोल्लास first part of the परशुरामप्रकाश by खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित धर्माधिकारिन् at Benares at the bidding of परशुरामभिश्र, who was a शाकद्वीपीयब्राह्मण and son of होलिल (र) भिश्र, who was given the title वाणीरसालराय by the Emperor. The 25th मयूख speaks of the origin of शाकद्वीपीयब्राह्मणs. N (new series) vol. II. pp. 10-12).

आचारोल्लास by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

आचार्यगुणादर्श, of वेङ्कटाचार्य son of शतक्रतुतातार्य (Madras ms. contains only the chap. called पंचकालक्रम dealing with rites and worships performed by वैष्णवs during the day divided into five parts).

आचार्यचूडामणि.

C. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक, quoted by रघुनन्दन and in शूद्रकमलाकर.

आतिथ्येष्टि.

आतुरसंन्यास- Vide B. B. R. A. S. Cat. Vol. II. p. 241.

आतुरसंन्यासकारिका.

आतुरसंन्यासपद्धति (Baroda O. I. No. 5803).

आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by आङ्गिरस.

आतुरसंन्यासविधि by कात्यायन.

आतुरादिपद्धति- D. C. Ms. No. 138 of 18886-92.

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र in 9 अध्यायs (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 380 No. 1305). There is another in 6 chapters (I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381, No. 1308).

आत्रेयधर्मशास्त्र m. by विश्वरूप, हेमाद्रि.

आत्रेयस्मृति (in 369 verses). I. O. Cat. vol. III. p. 381.

आथर्वणगृह्यसूत्र (ms. in Bom. University Library) in 14 adhyāyas and 141 khaṇḍikas ; ends with anadhyāya (school holidays) ; m. in नीतिमयूख.

आथर्वणप्रमिताक्षरा by वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति. (Baroda O. I. No.7603). Mentions हेमाद्रि and त्रैविक्रमीपद्धति.

आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to Tulājirāja (1765-88 A. D.).

आदिस्मृत्यर्थसार- Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार.

आनन्दकरनिबन्ध- m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी- vide प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

आपस्तम्बयज्ञाजीय.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डन by भास्करमिश्र, son of कुमारस्वामिन्. It contains four काण्डs on अधिकार, प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधान, आधान (pr. B. I. series).

C. Vide Stein (Cat. p. 12).

C. पदप्रकाशिका or त्रिकाण्डमण्डनविवरण ano. (Is it same as above?)

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र (ed. by Winternitz and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30).

C. अनाकुला by हरदत्त (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. Series).

C. by कर्क.

C. कपर्दिकारिका (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1916).

C. गृह्यतात्पर्यदर्शन by सुदर्शनाचार्य (pr. Kashi S. series).

C. प्रयोगवृत्ति by तालवृन्तनिवासिन् (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1902).

आपस्तम्बगृह्यप्रदीपिका.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह quoted by हेमाद्रि.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसार by महामहोपाध्याय-गोपनभट्ट (आन्ध्र).

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रकारिका by सुदर्शन, son of वाग्विजय.

आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रकारिकावृत्ति by नरसिंह (exposition of आपस्तम्बगृह्य in 969 verses composed in śake 1536, 1614-15 A. D.; pr. in 1922 with Telugu tr.).

आपस्तम्बजातकर्म by बापण्णभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र Vide sec. 7.

C. उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त (pr. in B. S. Series and at Kumbhakonam).

आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

आपस्तम्बपद्धति by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र (edited with two com. in Mysore G. O. L. series 1894 and in Ānand. series No. 93).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन्.

C. by हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगकारिका.

आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति by शिङ्गभट्ट (Hultzsch R. 1. No. 87).

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न by नारायणयज्वन्.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार by गङ्गाभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बप्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

C. by वेङ्कटवाजपेयिन्.

आपस्तम्बश्राद्धप्रयोग.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रकारिका.

आपस्तम्बसूत्रसंग्रह.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse in 10 chapters) pr. by Jivananda.

आपस्तम्बस्मृति, quoted by विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव, हरदत्त.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by काशीनाथभट्ट.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by गोवर्धन कविमण्डन.

आपस्तम्बाह्निक by रुद्रदेव तोरो.

आपस्तम्बीयद्वादशसंस्काराः.

आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ ed. by Dr. Winternitz.

आपस्तम्बीयसंस्कारप्रयोग.

आब्दिकनिर्णय.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध.

आभ्युदयिकश्राद्धपद्धति.

आरामादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by गङ्गाराम महाडकर.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति-see जलाशयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by भट्टनारायण.

आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति by शिवराम.

आरामोत्सर्गप्रयोग (Baroda O. I. No. 5424).

आर्धचन्द्रिका.

आर्धचन्द्रिका by वैद्यनाथ.

आर्षिषेणस्मृति m. by निर्णयसिन्धु.

आवसथ्याधानपद्धति of श्रीदत्त.

आशौच by वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचकाण्ड, part of दिनकरोद्योत.

आशौचकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित (a part of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल).

आशौचकारिका.

आशौचगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर.

आशौचचन्द्रिका.

आशौचचन्द्रिका by वेदाङ्गराय, son of त्यगलाभट्ट or तिगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 83).

आशौचचन्द्रिका by राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

आशौचतत्त्व- vide शुद्धितत्त्व.

आशौचतत्त्व by महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ of the अगस्त्यगोत्र, in 48 verses. Hultzsch R. II. p. 143

C. by शिवसूरि (महाजन), son of त्र्यम्बक.

आशौचतत्त्वविचार.

आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी-see त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी ; pr. at Aligarh.

C. दीप by राघवभट्ट, whose guru was मुकुन्द ; quotes स्मृत्यर्थसारनिर्णयामृत.

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 3883 is dated संवत 1579, 1522-23 A. D.).

C. by भट्टोजि.

आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी by विज्ञानेश्वर ; vide under दशश्लोकी also.

C. विवरण by भट्टोजि.

C. by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; composed in A. D. 1578.

C. (विवृति) by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर and वाचस्पति, भट्टोजि (Stein's cat. p. 302 for extract); later than 1650 A.D.

C. by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

C. by श्रीधर.

C. by **हरिहर** (I. O. ms dated **संवत्** 1589 i. e. 1532 A. D. ; vide cat. p. 565).

आशौचदीधिति, part of the **स्मृतिकौस्तुभ** by **अनन्तदेव**.

आशौचदीपक by a prince of **कोटिलिङ्गपुरी** (Cranganore).

C. by author.

आशौचदीपिका by **अघोरशिवाचार्य**.

आशौचदीपिका by **विश्वेश्वरभट्ट** alias **गागाभट्ट**. N. VI. p. 136. Portion of **दिनकरोद्योत** on **आशौच**.

आशौचदीपिका by **श्यामसुन्दर-भट्टाचार्य**.

आशौचदीपिका by **कम्भालूर नृसिंह**, who consulted **हेमाद्रि**, **माधवीय**, **षडशीति**, **पारिजात**.

आशौचनिर्णय or **षडशीति**. Aufrecht II. p.11 identifies **षडशीति** with **अभिनवषडशीति**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **आदित्याचार्य** or **कौशिकादित्य**.

C. **शुद्धिचन्द्रिका** by **नन्दपाण्डत** (pr. Ch. S. series), between 1590-1625 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय of **कौशिकाचार्य** (in Bhadkamkar collection); contains 146 verses, refers to 86 verses of **कौशिकादित्य** and adds certain texts of **गोभिल**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **गोपाल**, composed in **शके** 1535 (1613 A.D.); quoted by him in **शुद्धिनिर्णय**. N. IX p. 267.

आशौचनिर्णय by **गोविन्द**, son of **बृहर्याचार्य** who is styled **मातामह** also by **गोविन्द**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **जीवदेव**, son of **आपदेव**; born on the Godāvarī ; probably brother of **अनन्तदेव**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **त्र्यम्बक पण्डित**, son of **रघुनाथ**, son of **नारायण** of the **आङ्गिरसगोत्र** (divided into **अंशs**). (pr. at Nir. P.). Quotes **निर्णयसिन्धु** and **नागोजिभट्टीय** ; about 1760 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय by **नागोजि**, son of **शिवभट्ट**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **भट्टोजि** (1560-1620 A. D.).

आशौचनिर्णय by **माधव** son of **रामेश्वर**; about 1515-1570 A. D.

आशौचनिर्णय by **रघुनन्दन**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **रघुनाथपण्डित** ; vide under **त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **रामचन्द्र**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **वरद**, son of **श्रीनिवास**. Refers to **आशौचदशक** and **आशौचशतक** as his authorities.

आशौचनिर्णय by **वीरेश्वर**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **वेङ्कटाचार्य** ; see **अघनिर्णय**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **वेदान्तरामानुजततातदास**, son of **वङ्कटशवरदताताचाय**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **वैदिकसार्वभौम** (Is it same as **आशौचशतक** ?).

C. by **शठकोपदास** (Baroda O. L. No. 6380 b.).

आशौचनिर्णय by **श्रीनिवासतर्कवागीश**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **सोमन्यास**.

आशौचनिर्णय by **हरि**.

आशौचनिर्णय or **स्मृतिकौस्तुभ** by **रायस वेङ्कटाद्रि**.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसंग्रह.

आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिसार, a com. on some work of वेङ्कटेश.

आशौचनिर्णयसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 12600).

अशौचनिर्णयटीका by मथुरानाथ.

आशौचपरिच्छेद.

आशौचप्रकाश by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य; probably the same as that m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आशौचप्रकाश (from धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि) by पृथ्वीचन्द्र.

आशौचमञ्जरी.

आशौचमाला by गोपालसिद्धान्त.

आशौचविवेक.

आशौचव्यवस्था by राधानाथशर्मन्.

आशौचशतक.

आशौचशतक by रामेश्वर.

आशौचशतक by वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटनाथ, son of रङ्गनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र, with his own com. Vide अघनिर्णय above. Hultzsch R. II. No. 1499.

C. आशौचनिर्णय by रामानुजदीक्षित.

आशौचशतक by नीलकण्ठ.

आशौचशतक by वैदिकसार्वभौम (probably same as वेङ्कटाचार्य above).

आशौचषडशीति- see above आशौचनिर्णय.

आशौचसंक्षेप by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

आशौचसंग्रह by सत्याधीशशिष्य (Baroda O. I. 5862).

आशौचसंग्रह by चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रहविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

आशौचसंग्रह by रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनारायण.

आशौचसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश; quotes आचारनवनीत, अघनिर्णय, अघविवेक, अभिनवषडशीति.

आशौचसंग्रहत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी- Vide under त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

आशौचसागर of कुल्लूक- m. in his श्राद्धसागर.

आशौचसार by बलभद्र.

आशौचसिद्धान्त.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका by सदाशिव surnamed दशापुत्र, son of गदाधर; compiled for prince जयसिंह (of जयनगर). The author also wrote लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका.

आशौचादर्श quoted in सारसंग्रह.

आशौचाष्टक by वररुचि (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. anonymous. Names निर्णयकार, मस्करिन् on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and सहस्रस्वामिन्.

आशौचादिनिर्णय by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचीयदशश्लोकीविवृति by विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर; see आशौचदशक alias दशश्लोकी above.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by रामदैवज्ञ.

आशौचेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series and translated in S B E, vol. 29).

C. अनाविला by हरदत्त (pr. Tri S. series).

C. by आनन्दरायवाजपेययज्वन्, minister of Tanjore king Shahji and Sarfoji I.

C. by गदाधर.

C. विमलोदयमाला by जयन्तस्वामिन्, father of अभिनन्द and son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. N. vol. X. p. 163. About end of 8th century.

C. by देवस्वामिन्; m. by नारायण. About 1000–1050 A. D.

C. by नारायण, son of दिवाकर of नैध्रुवगोत्र (pr. B. I. series and Nir. P.); refers to bhāṣya of देवस्वामी. Doubtful whether he is identical with नारायण, son of नरसिंह, commentator of आश्वलायनश्रौत. Vide B B R A S. cat. vol. II. p. 202.

C. by विष्णुगूढस्वामिन्. Follows देवस्वामिन्, नारायण and others.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका in 22 adhyāyas and 1296 verses.

C. विवरण by a pupil of बुध्यदेव or उपदेवभट्ट.

C. by नारायण.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by कुमारिलस्वामिन् (? कुमारस्वामिन्). Refers to नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनगृह्य and to जयन्तस्वामिन्. B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 203; pr. in Bombay, 1894.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका by रघुनाथदीक्षित.

आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली by गोपाल.

आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (pr. Nir. P. and B. I. series at end of गृह्यसूत्र).

आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिभाषा.

आश्वलायनगृह्यप्रयोग.

आश्वलायनगृह्योक्तवास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

आश्वलायनधर्मशास्त्र in 22 अध्यायs on duties of द्विजs and on श्राद्ध, प्रायश्चित्त, जातिनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 8708).

आश्वलायनपूर्वप्रयोग (Hultzsch R. I. No. 431).

आश्वलायनप्रयोग.

C. वृत्ति by विष्णु.

आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका by तिरुमल सोमयाजिन्, son of तिरुमलयज्वन्.

आश्वलायनयाज्ञिकपद्धति.

आश्वलायनशाखश्राद्धप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति by नारायण.

आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग by त्रैविद्यवृद्ध.

आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका by मञ्चनाचार्यभट्ट (pr. Benares S. series).

आश्वलायनस्मृति (ms. in Bombay University Library) in eleven adhyāyas and about 2000 verses; refers to आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र and वृत्ति thereon and कारिका also. Quoted by हेमाद्रि and माधवाचार्य.

आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि (आश्वलायनीय).

आहिताग्निमरणे दाहादि by भट्टनारायण, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 102.

आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग.

आहिताग्न्यन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग.

आहततीर्थकस्नानप्रयोग.

आह्निक- numerous works are so styled. Only some are noted below.

आह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्रकुल.

आह्निक by आपदेव.

आह्निक by कमलाकर son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106; same as बृहच्चाह्निक.

आह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

आह्निक by गोपालदेशिकाचार्य.

आह्निक by छल्लारि नृसिंह for followers of मध्वाचार्य.

आह्निक by ज्ञानभास्कर. He wrote आह्निकसंक्षेप also.

आह्निक by दिवाकरभट्ट.

आह्निक by बलभद्र.

आह्निक by भट्टोजि (from चतुर्विंशतिमतटीका).

आह्निक by रघुनाथ, son of माधवभट्ट.

आह्निक by विट्ठलाचार्य.

आह्निक (बौधायनीय) by विश्वपतिभट्ट.

आह्निक by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

आह्निक by व्रजराज (for followers of वल्लभाचार्य).

आह्निककारिका.

आह्निककृत्य of विद्याकर; m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and so before 1500 A. D.

आह्निककौतुक (from हरिवंशविलास).

आह्निककौस्तुभ by श्रीनिवास pupil of यादवाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 8809). This is a com. on सदाचारस्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

आह्निकचन्द्रिका by कुलमणि शुक्ल (Is it चन्द्रिका or चन्द्रिकाटीका?).

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by request of गोकुलचन्द्रवर्मन्.

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by गोपीनाथ.

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव काल, son of रामेशभट्ट; mentions भट्टोजीय (pr. at. Nir. P. with extracts from सायण on Vedic mantras). Same as संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

आह्निकचान्द्रिका by देवराम.

आह्निकचिन्तामणि quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व (and so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

आह्निकतत्त्व or आह्निकाचारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन; pr. by Jivananda. C. by मधुसूदन.

आह्निकदर्पण of रामकृष्ण (pr. with Marathi tr. in Bombay, 1876).

आह्निकदीपक.

आह्निकदीपक by अचल residing, at आनन्दपुर, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अनन्त surnamed मडोड. About 1518 A.D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 291.

आह्निकपद्धति by शिवराम. See आह्निकसंक्षेप.

आह्निकपद्धति by रघुनाथ सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; he was younger brother of विश्वनाथ and प्रभाकर.

आह्निकपद्धति by विट्ठलदीक्षित. Vide यजुर्वल्लभा below.

आह्निकपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

आह्निकप्रकाश- from the वीरामित्रोदय.

आह्निकप्रदीप-- quoted by कमलाकर.

आह्निकप्रयोग by कमलाकर of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon on the गोदावरी). There is confusion of authorship in Baroda O. I. No. 277.

आह्निकप्रयोग by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित ; quoted by अनन्त in his रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

आह्निकप्रयोग by गोवर्धन कविमण्डन (for आपस्तम्बीयs).

आह्निकप्रयोग by मनोहरभट्ट, son of महादेवभट्ट (for हिरण्यकेशीयs).

आह्निकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट; his younger brother प्रभाकर composed रसप्रदीप in 1583 A. D. at the age of 19.

आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला by विश्वम्भरदीक्षित थिटे, son of मयूरेश्वरभट्ट resident of वैराज (modern Wai in Satara District). Mentions भट्टोजिदीक्षित, आचारार्क.

आह्निकप्रायश्चित्त— mentions कमलाकर (I. O. cat. III. p. 555).

आह्निकभास्कर by इन्द्रगणित सूर्यनारायण.

आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका by वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित, son of शिवपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puṇtāmbe) on the Godāvarī); composed in śake वियन्नरशरेन्दुमिते i. e. 1598 A. D.

आह्निकरत्न (on daily duties).

आह्निकरत्न by दाक्षिणात्य शिरोमणिभट्ट. In three प्रकाशs.

आह्निकरत्नचक्र by गङ्गाधरसुत (Baroda O. I. No. 12306-7).

आह्निकविधि by कमलाकर.

आह्निकविधि by नारायणभट्ट.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of कौथुमिशाखा.

आह्निकसंक्षेप of ज्ञानभास्कर.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by वामदेव, written for Lālā Thakkura.

आह्निकसंक्षेप by शिवराम, an abridgment of वैद्यनाथ's आह्निक.

आह्निकसंग्रह of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट, for शुक्लयजुर्वेदिs.

आह्निकसार by दलपतिराज (2nd chap. of न्यासहप्रसाद).

आह्निकसार by बालम्भट्ट (probably same as author of आह्निकसारमञ्जरी below).

आह्निकसार by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

आह्निकसार by हरिराम.

आह्निकसारमञ्जरी by बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट दातार.

आह्निकसूत्र of गौतम in 17 खण्डs on duties of ब्राह्मणs; vide BBRAS. cat. p. 204 No. 651.

आह्निकस्मृतिसंग्रह.

आह्निकाचारराज by रामानन्द वाचस्पति, great-great-grandson of पुष्कराक्ष of the family of सर्वानन्द; compiled under राजा कृष्णचंद्रराय of Nadia about 1750 A. D.

आह्निकामृत of वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रङ्गनाथ, on duties and ritual of the वैखानस school of वैष्णवs.

आह्निकोद्धार quoted by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

इन्द्रदत्तस्मृति.

इष्टिकाल by दामोदर.

ईशानसंहिता m. in समयमयूख.

ईश्वरसंहिता quoted by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व.

उज्ज्वला by हरदत्त, com. on आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

C. कालासृतटीका by वेङ्कटयज्वन्.

उत्तरकालामृत by कालिदास (on marriage, विरुद्धसंबन्ध &c.).

उत्तरक्रियापद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

उत्तरीयकर्मन् (काण्वीय).

उत्पातशान्ति attributed to वृद्धगर्ग.

उत्सर्गकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट.

उत्सर्गकर्मन्.

उत्सर्गकौस्तुभ, part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गनिर्णय by कृष्णराम.

उत्सर्गपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

उत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

उत्सर्गप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्गमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay).

उत्सर्गोपाकर्मप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

उत्सर्जनपद्धति.

उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग by बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव.

उत्सवनिर्णय by तुळजाराम.

उत्सवनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर, composed in śake 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. (Baroda O. I. 2375).

उत्सवप्रकाश.

उत्सवप्रताप by पुरुषोत्तम.

उदकुम्भदान.

उदक्याशुद्धिप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र.

उदयाकरपद्धति (तन्त्र) quoted in मालासंस्कार.

उदीच्यप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8016).

उद्यानप्रतिष्ठा.

उद्यापनकालनिर्णय.

उद्वाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

उद्वाहचन्द्रिका by गोवर्धन उपाध्याय.

उद्वाहतत्त्व— see विवाहतत्त्व.

C. by काशीराम-वाचस्पति-भट्टाचार्य (printed in 1877 at Calcutta in Bengali characters and in 1916).

उद्वाहानर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

उद्वाहलक्षण.

उद्वाहविवेक by गणेशभट्ट.

उद्वाहव्यवस्था N. vol. II. p. 77.

उद्वाहव्यवस्था-vide संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश.

उद्वाहव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 10226).

उपकाश्यपस्मृति.

उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला (महादेवपरिचर्यासूत्रव्याख्या) by ह्रषेश्वरस्वामिन्, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ).

उपनयनकर्मपद्धति.

उपनयनकारिका anonymous.

उपनयनचिन्तामणि by शिवानन्द.

उपनयनतन्त्र by गोभिल.

उपनयनतन्त्र by रामदत्त.

उपनयनतन्त्र by लौगाक्षि.

उपनयनपद्धति by रामदत्त (for वाजसनेयि followers).

उपनयनपद्धति by विश्वनाथदीक्षित.

उपस्थान.

उपाकर्मनिर्णय.

उपाकर्मकारिका (Stein's cat. p. 12).

उपाकर्मपद्धति (कात्यायनीय) by वैद्यनाथ.

उपाकर्मप्रमाण by बालदीक्षित.

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).

उपाकर्मप्रयोग by द्वारकानाथ, son of टीकाभट्ट.

उपाकर्मविधि.

उपाकृतितत्त्व by बालम्भट्ट alias बालकृष्ण पायगुण्ड ; ms. dated संवत् 1848 (1792 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 302.

उपाकर्मविधि by दयाशङ्कर.

उपाङ्गिरःस्मृति.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण.

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम (ms. No. 3862 in Baroda O. I. is dated संवत 1764).

ऊर्ध्वमूल.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by काशीनाथ. Also called ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका.

ऋग्वेदाह्निक by शिरोमणि.

ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका by काशीनाथ.

ऋजुप्रयोग by भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ होसिंग (following तीर्थदर्पण). Baroda O. I. No. 8515 ms. dated 1676 (śake).

ऋजुमिताक्षरा- same as मिताक्षरा.

ऋणमोक्षण.

ऋतुलक्षण.

ऋतुशान्ति.

ऋत्विग्वरणनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

ऋषितर्पण.

ऋषितर्पणकारिका.

ऋषिभट्टी ; see संस्कारभास्कर.

ऋष्यशृङ्गविधान (rite for inducing rainfall). Baroda O. I. 11047 A and C.

ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मृति- vide sec. 40.

एकदण्डिसंन्यासविधि by शौनक.

एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति by गर्ग (Baroda O. I. No. 5661).

एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1640-1680 A. D.

एकाग्निकाण्ड (यजुर्वेदीय) also known as मन्त्रपाठ, मन्त्रप्रपाठक and मन्त्रप्रश्न. (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, 1902). Vide आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ.

एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या by हरदत्त.

एकाग्निदानपद्धति of श्रीदत्तमिश्र ; ms. copied under देवसिंह of मिथिला in ल. सं. 299 i. e. 1418 A. D.

एकादशाहकृत्य.

एकादशिनीप्रयोग (chanting of रुद्राध्याय eleven times).

एकादशीतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. दीप by राधामोहन गोस्वामी, a friend of Colebrooke, residing at Śāntipura. He was a descendant of अद्वैत, associate of चैतन्य.

एकादशीनिर्णय (several works are so called and are ano. in the catalogues).

एकादशीनिर्णय or निर्णयसार by धरणीधर, son of मुरारि ; composed in śake 1408 (1486 A. D.); refers to महाराजाधिराज वीसलदेव ; mentions अनन्तभट्ट, बोपदेवपण्डित, विश्वरूप

(verses on varieties of शुद्धा and विद्धा एकादशी), विज्ञानेश्वर (three अग्धरा verses on एकादशी). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 12052 is dated संवत् 1620.

एकादशीनिर्णय of हरि, son of नरसिंह, of अष्टपुत्र family, at विराटनगर (Wai) on the Kṛṣṇā.

एकादशीनिर्णय by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ (part of सदाचारसंग्रह).

एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या of अच्युतानन्द (a pupil of आनन्दगिरि).

एकादशीविवेक by शूलपाणि- sec. 95.

एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय by देवकीनन्दन.

एकादशीव्रतोद्यापनपद्धति.

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 8332).

एकादशीहोमनिर्णय by रामनवरत्न (Baroda O. I. 8656).

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धपद्धति.

एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग.

एकोद्दिष्टसारिणी by रत्नपाणिभिश्र, son of गंगोलीसभावेश्वर, composed for securing the favour of the king of मिथिला.

ऐन्द्रवमासनिर्णय by गणेशदत्त.

औदीच्यप्रकाश by वेणीदत्त.

औपासनप्रायश्चित्त (from संस्कारदीधिति of अनन्तदेव).

और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली by विश्वनाथ.

और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of ज्योतिर्विद् गोपाल (according to शुक्लयजुर्वेद माध्यन्दिनशाखा). He was गोमतीबालज्ञातीय.

और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय by वासुदेवाश्रम.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण; sec. 106.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or -प्रयोग by कृष्ण-दीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर (according to सामवेद).

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति or अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

और्ध्वदेहिकप्रकरण.

और्ध्वदेहिकाधिकारनिर्णय.

कठपरिशिष्ट quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड.

कठसूत्र quoted by हेमाद्रि in परिशेषखण्ड and संस्कारमयूख.

कण्ठभूषण by वैदिकसार्वभौम, m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका. It is a com. on गृह्यरत्न.

कण्वस्मृति- m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू., आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख.

कदलीव्रतोद्यापन.

कन्यागततीर्थविधि.

कन्यादानपद्धति.

कन्यादानप्रयोग.

कन्याविवाह.

कन्यासंस्कार.

कपर्दिकारिका m. by नि. सि., संस्कार-मयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

कपालमोचनश्राद्ध.

कपिलगोदान.

कपिलसंहिता m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कपिलस्मृति in 10 अध्यायs, each with 100 verses, on degeneration of ब्राह्मणs in Kali, श्राद्ध, purifying ceremonies, adopted son, विवाह, gifts, penances.

कपिलादान.

कपिलादानपद्धति.

कर्णवेधविधान (from प्रयोगपारिजात).

कर्मकाण्डपद्धति.

कर्मकाण्डसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 9506 dated संवत् 1618, i.e. 1561-62 A. D.).

कर्मकालप्रकाश by कृष्णराम.

कर्मकौमुदी by कृष्णदत्त, son of आवसथिक ब्रह्मदत्त.

कर्मकौमुदी by मिश्रविष्णुशर्मन्.

कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (शैव) composed by सोमशम्भु in 1073 A.D.; ms. copied in 1206 A. D.; vide Hp. p. 95.

कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ, on कलिवर्ज्य, आह्निक, संस्कार, श्राद्ध; quotes माधवीय, वामनभाष्य, चन्द्रिका, जयन्त, कालादर्श, मदनपारिजात. About 1400-1550 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 304, extract).

कर्मदीप quoted in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन.

कर्मदीपिका of रघुरामतीर्थ. Incomplete ms. in B B R A S. cat. p. 211-213; a vast work; over 73 adhyāyas on वर्णाश्रमधर्म, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त. Names विज्ञानेश्वर.

कर्मदीपिका of हरिदत्त, son of धूधर (Baroda O. I. No. 6892) on कुण्ड, वेदि, मधुपर्क, कन्यादान, चतुर्थीकर्म.

कर्मनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

C. by जयतीर्थ.

CC. by राघवेन्द्र.

कर्मपद्धति by चिद्घनानन्द.

कर्मपीयूष m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मप्रकाश by कलायखञ्ज.

कर्मप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

कर्मप्रकाशिका of पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ (on पाकयज्ञ, कूष्माण्डहोम, पुत्रस्वीकारविधि, शूलगव).

कर्मप्रदीप attributed to कात्यायन or गोभिल. Also called, छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; quoted by शूलपाणि, माधव, रघुनन्दन, कमलाकर.

C. by आशादित्य or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

C. परिशिष्टप्रकाश by नारायणोपाध्याय, son of गोण (B. I. series 1909).

C. by शिवराम, son of विश्राम.

कर्मप्रदीपिका, a पद्धति to पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, by कामदेव.

कर्मप्रायश्चित्त by वेटङ्कविजयिन्.

कर्ममञ्जरी (Ulwar cat. No. 1277).

कर्मलोचन 108 stanzas on duties of householders.

कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by ब्रह्मदेव who is said to have instructed नारद on the fruits of कर्म in 12 अध्यायs (Ulwar cat. extract 293).

कर्मविपाक by भरत who is instructed by भृगु.

कर्मविपाक by भृगु who is instructed by वसिष्ठ.

कर्मविपाक by माधवाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by मान्धातृ- see महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाक by मौलुगिभूपति m. in कर्मविपाकसारग्राह and नृसिंहप्रसाद; earlier than 1380 A. D,

कर्मविपाक by रवि to अरुण (Ulwar cat. No. 1278 and extract No. 293).

कर्मविपाक by रामकृष्णाचार्य.

कर्मविपाक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- see महार्णवकर्मविपाक; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 242.

कर्मविपाक by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ भट्ट (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 575).

कर्मविपाक by the eldest son of काह्नड-देव, son of पद्मनाभ. Vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाकः.

कर्मविपाक from the ज्ञानभास्कर.

कर्मविपाक from शातातपस्मृति (pr. Jivananda II. p. 435 ff).

कर्मविपाक from the सूर्यार्णव.

कर्मविपाकचिकित्सामृतसागर by पण्डित देवीदास.

कर्मविपाकपरिपाटी.

कर्मविपाकप्रायश्चित्त.

कर्मविपाकमहार्णव; vide महार्णवकर्मविपाक,

कर्मविपाकरत्न by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

कर्मविपाकसंहिता (pr. at Venk. P.), a part of ब्रह्मपुराण.

कर्मविपाकसंग्रह from महार्णवकर्मविपाक, quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in मदनरत्न.

कर्मविपाकसमुच्चय m. in महार्णव of मान्धातृ, son of मदनपाल and in नित्याचारप्रदीप. Earlier than 1350 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार quoted by शङ्कर in कर्मविपाक and in नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 140 and 207.

कर्मविपाकसार by दलपतिराज (about 1510 A. D.).

कर्मविपाकसार by दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1696; vide cat. p. 573). About 1585-1640 A. D.

कर्मविपाकसार by सूर्यराम.

कर्मविपाकसारग्राह by eldest son of कान्हड or काह्नड, son of पद्मनाभ; vide under सारग्राहकर्मविपाक and कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकार्क by शङ्कर. See कर्मविपाक.

कर्मविपाकसारोद्धार.

कर्मसंग्रह m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कर्मसरणि by विट्ठल दीक्षित : vide under यजुर्वल्लभा. Said to have been born about 1519 A. D.

कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त by पुरुषोत्तम (Baroda O. I. 8361) on श्राद्ध, स्वप्नाध्याय &c.

कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेव (vide sec. 73).

C. संसारपद्धतिरहस्य.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of अनिरुद्ध (sec. 82); quoted by रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कर्मोपदेशिनी of हलायुध (sec. 72).

कलानिधि m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

कलिका- vide दीपकलिका; quoted by कमलाकर.

कलिधर्मनिर्णय.

कलिधर्मप्रकरण by कमलाकरभट्ट.

कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती.

कलियुगधर्मसार of विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती in two parts, first on worship of विष्णु and 2nd on शिवपूजा, गंगास्नानफल &c.

कलियुगधर्माधर्म.

कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय by दामोदर, eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ; quoted in आचारमयूख. About 1610 A. D. Mentions मांसमीमांसा of नारायणभट्ट, शास्त्रदीपिकाटीका of his father, रामचन्द्राचार्य, श्राद्धदीपकालिका etc. (Baroda O. I. No. 10793).

कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर; vide sec. 77.

कल्पद्रु quoted in मदनपारिजात and by देवदास.

कल्पद्रुम- see दानकल्पद्रुम, रामकल्पद्रुम and श्राद्धकल्पद्रुम; quoted by चण्डेश्वर and मदनपारिजात (who both mean कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर).

कल्पलता-vide कृत्यकल्पलता.

कल्पलता by लोलुट (?); quoted by श्रीधर, श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कल्पवृक्षदान.

कवषस्मृति quoted in पराशरस्मृतिव्याख्या and मस्करिभाष्य on गौ.ध.सू.

कविरहस्य by कृष्णभट्ट.

कविराजकौतुक by कविराजगिरि.

कश्यपस्मृति quoted in हेमाद्रि, माधव, विज्ञानेश्वर and मदनपारिजात.

कश्यपोत्तरसंहिता.

कस्तूरिस्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर by कस्तूरि.

कांस्यपात्रदान.

काकचण्डेश्वरी.

काठकगृह्य quoted by हेमाद्रि, रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व, श्राद्धमयूख.

काठकगृह्यपञ्जिका.

काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by [illegible] and रघुनन्दन.

काठकगृह्यसूत्र by लौगाक्षि (ed. by Dr. Caland in D. A. V. College series, Lahore 1925, with extracts from three com.).

C. (भाष्य) by देवपाल, son of हरिपालभट्ट.

C. विवरण by आदित्यदर्शन.

C पद्धति of ब्राह्मणबल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु.

काठकाह्निक by गङ्गाधर.

काण्व quoted in आप. ध. सू. I. 19. 7.

कातीयगृह्य- see पारस्करगृह्य; m. in संस्कारमयूख.

कात्यायनगृह्यकारिका.

कात्यायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

कात्यायनस्मृति m. by याज्ञवल्क्य, विज्ञानेश्वर, हेमाद्रि, माधव. See बृहत्कात्यायन; m. by रघुनन्दन; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 603-644. This is also called कर्मप्रदीप and गोभिलस्मृति in Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

कादम्बरी, a com. on the द्वैतनिर्णय by गोकुलनाथ.

कामधेनु of गोपाल; vide sec. 71.

कामधेनु of यतीश, son of टेकचन्द्र, on धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष. Compiled under विजयपाल son of अमृतपाल in four स्तनs (on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष); ms. in Stein's cat. pp. 84 and 303 contains 283 verses on धर्म and breaks off after 206 on अर्थ.

कामधेनुदीपिका by नारायण, commentator of मनुस्मृति (vide मनु V, 56, 80, 104).

कामन्दकीयनीतिसार (pr. in B. I. series and Tri. S. series) m. in महाभारत,

वामन's काव्यालंकार. In 19 सर्गs and 1087 verses. Some mss have 20 सर्गs.

C. by आत्माराम.

C. उपाध्यायनिरपेक्षा (vide Ulwar cat. extract 295 which begins work with the first verse of काव्यादर्श and derives कौटिल्य as कुटिर्घंट उच्यते तं लान्ति संगृह्णन्ति ...नाधिकं...इति कुटिलाः ..., कुटिलानामपत्यं कौटिल्यः विष्णुगुप्तः).

C. by जयराम.

C. जयमङ्गला by शङ्कराचार्य (pr. in Tri. S. series).

C. नयप्रकाश by वरदराज.

कामरूपनिबन्ध quoted by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व and by कमलाकर.

कामरूपयात्रापद्धति by हलिरामशर्मन् in ten पटलs.

काम्बिक m. by हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव, नृसिंहप्रसाद, नि. सि.

काम्यकमकमला.

काम्यसामान्यप्रयोगरत्न.

कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वभ्रमदलनकुठार by लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित.

कायस्थतत्त्व.

कायस्थधर्मदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट (composed about 1674 A. D.).

कायस्थनिर्णय.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर. Printed at Bombay in 1873. Same as कायस्थधर्मदीप. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 9670 is dated संवत् 1727 (1670-71 A. D.).

कायस्थविचार.

कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर.

कारणप्रायश्चित्त.

कारिका by अनन्तदेव.

कारिकाटीका (लघु) by माधव.

कारिकामञ्जरी by कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्गलगोत्र.

C. प्रयोगादर्श by author himself.

कारिकासमुच्चय.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदान by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र.

कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति by लक्ष्मणदेशिक, son of कृष्ण.

कार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप on श्राद्ध.

कार्ष्णाजिनिस्मृति m. by हेमाद्रि, माधव, जीमूतवाहन, मिता०.

कालकौमुदी m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक.

कालकौमुदी by गोपालभट्ट, son of हरिवंशभट्ट, who was a द्राविड. M. by रघुनन्दन, रायमुकुट, कमलाकर ; earlier than 1400 A. D.

कालकौमुदी by नीलाम्बर, son of गदाधर, author of कालसार ; m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

कालगुणोत्तर m. in शान्तिमयूख.

कालचन्द्रिका by कृष्णभट्टमौनिन्.

कालचन्द्रिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वरभट्ट.

कालचिन्तामणि m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (so earlier than 1500 A. D.).

कालतत्त्वविवेचन by रघुनाथभट्ट styled सम्राट्स्थपति, son of भट्टमाधव (and ललिता), son of भट्टराजेश्वर. His elder brother was विश्वनाथ. Composed in संवत् 1677 i.e. 1620 A.D.; deals with तिथिs, मास, अधिकमास.

कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह or -सारोद्धार (based on विवेचन) by शम्भुभट्ट, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of मीमांसक खण्डदेव. About 1700 A.D.

कालतत्त्वार्णव.

C. रामप्रकाश by रामदेव.

कालतरङ्ग first part of स्मृत्यर्थसागर by छलारिनृसिंह.

कालदानपद्धति.

कालदिवाकर by चन्द्रचूडदीक्षित.

कालदीप m. in संस्कारमयूख and नृसिंहप्रसाद (संस्कारसार). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

कालदीप of विन्ध्यसिंह महापात्र.

कालनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ.

कालनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

कालनिर्णय by तोटकाचार्य.

कालनिर्णय (लघु) by दामोदर.

कालनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट (? probably same as कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकाविवरण).

कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त) by भट्टोजि (Baroda O. I. No. 5373).

कालनिर्णय by माधव (called कालमाधवीय). Pr. in B. I. series and Ch. S. series.

C. by मिश्रमोहनतर्कतिलक, son of द्वारकादास; written in संवत् 1670 (खखनिरसेन्दुमितेब्दे) i. e. 1614 A.D. (D. C. No. 264 of 1886-92).

C. कालनिर्णयसंग्रहश्लोकाविवरण by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर.

C. कालमाधवचान्द्रिका by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

C. दीपिका-vide कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य below.

C. by धरणीधर.

C. लक्ष्मी by लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड.

कालनिर्णय from परिशेषखण्ड of हेमाद्रि.

कालनिर्णयकारिका (130 कारिकाs of माधवाचार्य taken from कालमाधव).

C. ano. (N. vol. X. pp. 239-240).

C. by वैद्यनाथ (Stein's cat. p.85), son of रामचन्द्र.

कालनिर्णयकौतुक, a part of हरिवंशविलास of नन्दपण्डित.

कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed काल. About 1660. He was daughters's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमलाकर.

(2) by सीतारामचन्द्र of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of श्रीधर्मभट्ट and कामक्का and grandson of नृसिंह.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट also called शिवानन्दनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and grandson of शिवरामभट्ट and pupil of अनन्त.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट.

कालनिर्णयदीपिका a com. on माधवीयकालनिर्णय by रामचन्द्राचार्य, son of कृष्णाचार्य and great-grandson of अनन्ताचार्य and pupil of परमहंसश्रीगोपाल. About 1400 A. D. He wrote प्रक्रियाकौमुदी.

C. विवरण by his son नृसिंह; ms. dated 1548 A.D.; m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद. This gives a detailed pedigree of the शेष family (Baroda O. I.

Ms. No. 10410, which says it was composed in śake 1331 (शशाङ्ककालानलविश्वसंमिते विरोधिवर्षे).

C. रामप्रकाश by राघवेन्द्र, composed by order of कृपारामनृपति.

C. by सूर्यपण्डित.

कालनिर्णयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र, son of विट्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्ण-तत्सत्. His mother was daughter of रघुनाथभट्ट, author of कालतत्त्व-विवेचन. So about 1670 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 8455 is dated śake 1603 माघ (February 1682 A. D.).

कालनिर्णयसंक्षेप by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर; based on हेमाद्रि's work.

कालनिर्णयसार by दलपतिराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद); sec. 99.

कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त in 118 verses by महादेवविद् son of काह्नजित्; based on prose materials collected by रघुराम, son of जयराम, in वेलावटपुर near modern Sihor; composed in 1709 संवत्, i. e. 1652-53 A. D. in the city of Bhuja (modern Bhuj). Vide D. C. Ms. No. 275 of 1887-91.

C. by same; composed in संवत् 1710.

कालनिर्णयसौख्य or समयनिर्णयसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

कालनिर्णयावबोध by अनन्तदैवज्ञ.

कालप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

कालप्रदीप by दिव्यसिंह.

कालभाष्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथ चक्रवर्तिन् (Baroda O. I. 10260).

कालभास्कर by शम्भुनाथमिश्र (Baroda O. I. 10155).

कालभेद.

कालमयूख or समयमयूख of नीलकण्ठ; sec. 107.

कालमाधव (pr. Kashi S. series and B. I. series). Vide कालनिर्णय above.

कालमाधवकारिका or लघुमाधव.

C. by वैद्यनाथसूरि, son of रामचन्द्र-तत्सत्, son of विट्ठल. Ulwar cat. No. 1293.

कालमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमित्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक and grandson of देवीदत्त-भट्ट.

कालविधान m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

कालविधान of श्रीधर.

कालविधानपद्धति of श्रीधर.

कालविवेक by जीमूतवाहन (B. I. series). Vide sec. 78; m. by नृसिंह, रघुनन्दन and कमलाकर.

कालविवेचनसारसंग्रह by शम्भुभट्ट.

कालसर्वस्व of कृष्णमिश्र of the कौत्स-गोत्र.

कालसार of गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर and जानकी and nephew of हल-धर who was guru of the queen of हरेकृष्णभूपति; pr. in B. I. series. Between 1450–1500 A. D. Mentions कालमाधवीय, कालादर्श, रुद्रधर.

कालसिद्धान्त or सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by चन्द्र-चूड, son of उमापति or उमणभट्ट, son of धर्माभट्ट, surnamed पौराणिक. Later than 1550 A. D.

कालादर्श or कालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ of गर्गगोत्र, pupil of विश्वे-

श्वराचार्य ; ms. dated संवत् 1581 ; quoted by नृसिंह, अल्लाडनाथ, रघुनन्दन, कालमाधव, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक ; composed between 1200-1325 A. D., as it mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमहार्णव, विश्वादर्श.

कालासुत (and C. उज्ज्वला) by वेङ्कटयज्वन्, one of whose four brothers was यज्ञयज्वन्.

(1) (pr. at Madras in Telugu and Grantha characters) Hultzsch R. I. p. 72.

(2) by सुरूभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह and com. by author; pr. at Madras in 1880.

कालावलि m. in अद्भुतसागर.

कालिकार्चनपद्धति.

कालिकार्चनप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कालिकार्चनसंहिता m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

कालिकार्चादीपिका.

कालोत्तर m. in हेमाद्रि, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०; seems to be the Tantric work of that name.

काल्यर्चनचन्द्रिका by नीलकमल लाहाडी; pr. at Murshidabad, 1877-79, in Bengali characters.

काशीखण्डकथाकेलि by प्रभाकर.

काशीतत्त्व by रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती.

काशीतत्त्वदीपिका by प्रभाकर (Is it the same as ०केलि above ?).

काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार by रघुनाथेन्द्राशिवयोगिन् (Stein's cat. pp. 86, 303). Divided into उल्लासs. Probably the same as काशीतत्त्व above.

काशीप्रकरण (from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

काशीप्रकाश by नन्दपण्डित. See 105.

काशीमरणमुक्तिविचार by नारायणभट्ट.

काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदा by रघुनाथदास.

काशीमुक्तिप्रकाशिका.

काशीमृतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय by सुरेश्वराचार्य.

काशीमृतिमोक्षनिर्णय by विश्वनाथाचार्य.

काशीरहस्यप्रकाश, by भट्टनारायण, son of राम, son of नारायण, composed at राजनगर by order of कामदेव.

काश्यपधर्मशास्त्र-vide sec. 19 (Vide I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 384 No.1317).

कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय by दामोदरपण्डित under the patronage of चूहडमल्ल in the reign of Akbar (latter half of 16th century).

कीर्तितत्त्व.

कीर्तिप्रकाश of विष्णुशर्मन्; vide under समयप्रकाश (I. O. cat. p. 538 No. 1682).

कुण्डकल्पद्रुम of माधवशुक्ल, son of कृष्ण, son of व्यासनारायण; composed in 1577 śake (1655-56 A. D.). BBRAS cat. p. 138. He was उदीच्यब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र, mentions कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप, कुण्डशिरोमणि, कुण्डसिद्धि, विश्वनाथ ; pr. at Benares in 1879 A. D.
C. by author.

कुण्डकल्पलता by ढुण्ढिराज, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रामकृष्ण. He was pupil of रामपण्डित, father of नन्दपण्डित. About 1600 A. D.

कुण्डकारिका by भट्टलक्ष्मीधर.

कुण्डकौमुदी or कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी in 103 verses of विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भु.

He is different from विश्वनाथ, a. of कुण्डरत्नाकर; between 1520-1600 A. D., as m. in मण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि and as he mentions मदनरत्न and रूपनारायण.

C. by author.

कुण्डकौमुदी by शिवसूरि son of त्र्यम्बक (महाजन).

C. कुण्डालोक by same. Vide Hultzsch's Report No. III. p. V. and p.80; mentions कौस्तुभ, मयूख, कुण्डसिद्धि and रामवाजपेय. Later than 1680 A. D.

कुण्डगणपति.

कुण्डचमत्कृति.

C. by वासुदेव of the महाजन family, son of शिवसूरि, son of त्र्यम्बक.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाश or -प्रकाशिका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

कुण्डतत्त्वप्रदीप by बलभद्रसूरि शुक्ल, son of स्थावर of वत्सगोत्र; composed at स्तम्भतीर्थ (Khambayat) in 1623 A. D. Has 164 verses.

C. by author composed in 1632 A. D. Vide D. C. Ms. No. 204 of 1884-87.

कुण्डदिक्पाल by बाबाजी पाद्धे.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक by रामवाजपेय, an inhabitant of नैमिषारण्य; composed in संवत् 1506 i. e. 1449-50 A. D.

C. by author.

कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकदीपिका by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कुण्डपद्धति of नागोजिभट्ट.

कुण्डपरिमाण ano. (BBRAS cat. p. 138).

कुण्डप्रकाश by रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण of तोरो family (from the प्रतापनारसिंह). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 299. About 1710 A. D.

कुण्डप्रदीप in 21 verses by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्नजिद्वाडव.

C. by same; quotes कामिक.

कुण्डप्रदीप by महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्नजित् and teacher of हैवतराज (Haibatrao) in 20 fine verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित, स्रग्धरा and अनुष्टुप्.

C. by author.

कुण्डप्रबन्ध by कालिदास, son of बलभद्र in 73 verses. Composed in śake 1544 (1632 A. D.) D. C. Ms. No. 42 of 1882-83.

कुण्डभास्कर vide कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन.

कुण्डमण्डप by वाचस्पति.

कुण्डमण्डपकामुदी vide कुण्डकामुदी by शिवसूरि.

कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका by यज्ञसूरि, son of विश्वनाथ.

कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण by नारायण, son of अनन्त; composed in śake 1500 1578 A. D.; in 49 श्लोक written at टापरग्राम, while his प्रपितामह dwelt at मणौरग्राम.

C. मनोरमा by गङ्गाधर, son of author.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय from परशुरामपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट (Stein p. 86).

कुण्डमण्डपपद्धति.

कुण्डमण्डपमण्डनप्रकाशिका by नरहरिभट्ट surnamed सप्तर्षि. Peterson (Ulwar cat. extract No. 300) wrongly says that the work is called सप्तर्षि.

C. by author.

कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण (same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक above) of रामवाजपेयी, son of सूर्यदास ; composed in संवत् 1506 (1449-50 A. D.) at the order of the king of रत्नपुर. In 74 श्लोकs.

C. by same.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by अनन्तभट्ट.

कुण्डमण्डपविधान by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by केशवभट्ट, son of गोपालदीक्षित.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by बाबूदीक्षित जडे.

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by रामवाजपेयी (probably same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण above).

कुण्डमण्डपविधि by लक्ष्मण देशिकेन्द्र.

कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह by रामकृष्ण.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि by नीलकण्ठ.

कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or कुण्डसिद्धि by विट्ठल दीक्षित, son of बूवशर्मन् of Sangamner (in Ahmednagar District) of the कृष्णात्रिगोत्र ; composed in Śake 1541 (शशियुगतिथिगण्ये) i. e. 1619-20 A. D. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 141.

C. by same ; pr. at Bombay in 1892.

C. by राम.

कुण्डमण्डपहोमविधि.

कुण्डमरीचिमाला by विष्णु. Based on the कुण्डाकृति of राम.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्ददैवज्ञ, son of गदाधर of माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतमगोत्र ; composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D. in 71 verses.

C. प्रभा by अनन्त, son of सिद्धेश्वर residing at पल्लीपत्तन (Pāli in Bhor State). D. C. Ms. No. 43 of A 1882-83. Composed in 1693 A. D.

कुण्डमार्तण्ड of रामवाजपेयी. Probably same as कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण.

कुण्डसूदन by गोपाल (Ulwar cat. No. 1303 and extract 301).

कुण्डरचना.

C.

कुण्डरचनारीति by बालसूरि son of शेषभट्ट.

कुण्डरत्नाकर of विश्वनाथ द्विवेदिन्, son of श्रीपति, son of जगन्नाथ ; quotes कुण्डाकृति of रामवाजपेयी and is quoted in कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि of विट्ठल; flourished between 1450–1615 A. D. In 84 verses.

C. by विश्वनाथ (the author).

कुण्डरत्नावलि by रामचन्द्र जडे, son of कृष्ण alias Bābū ; composed in Śake 1790. Pr. at Nir. P.

कुण्डलक्षण by राम नैमिषारण्यवासिन्. Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक above.

कुण्डलक्ष्मविवृति of राम, son of सूर्यदास (रघुदेव in Stein's cat. p. 186) ; same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकटीका and कुण्डमण्डपलक्षणटीका above ; m. in आचारमयूख. About 1449 A. D.

कुण्डविचार from तत्त्वसार.

कुण्डविधान by विश्वनाथ.

कुण्डशिरोमणि m. in कुण्डकल्पद्रुम. Earlier than 1640 A. D.

कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका of रामचन्द्र; m. in प्रतापनारसिंह (पूर्तप्रकाश).

कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका by रामचरण.

कुण्डसाधनविधि.

कुण्डसिद्धि vide कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि above.

कुण्डसिद्धि by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

कुण्डसिद्धि by रामभट्ट.

कुण्डाकृति by रामवाजपेयिन् नैमिषस्थ, son of सूर्यदास; in 1449 A. D. (at bidding of prince रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर). Probably same as कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकविवृति above.
C. by author.

कुण्डार्क by कृष्णाचार्य.

कुण्डार्क by शङ्करभट्ट son of नीलकण्ठ of the चतुर्धर family; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1873.
C. मरीचिमाला by रघुवीर, son of विट्ठल who was author of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि; pr. at Bombay in 1902. He wrote मुहूर्तसर्वस्व in 1635-36 A. D.

कुण्डार्कमणिदीपिका by बलभद्रसूरि.
C. by author.

कुण्डार्णव by श्रीधर अग्निहोत्रिन्, son of श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; ms. copied in Śake 1661 (1739 A. D.).

कुण्डोदधि in 9 स्रग्धरा verses by रामचन्द्र.

कुण्डोद्द्योत by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट.
C. कुण्डभास्कर by शङ्कर, son of the author.

कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन by अनन्तदेव.

कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन alias कुण्डभास्कर of शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ; same as com. on कुण्डोद्द्योत, composed in 1671 A. D.

कुथुमिस्मृति m. in अपरार्क, कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि.

कुमारतन्त्र, of the son of रावण; m. in मदनरत्न (शान्त्युद्द्योत).

कुमारस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व.

कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय by रामचन्द्र.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप by वनमालिमिश्र, alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and disciple of भट्टोजिदीक्षित; about 1650 A. D.

कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or क्षेत्रमाहात्म्य by माधवाचार्य.

कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर by शङ्कर.

कुरुक्षेत्रानुक्रमणिका of हरिगिरि.

कुशकण्डिका by वंशीधर.

कूपप्रतिष्ठा.

कूष्माण्डहोम.

कूष्माण्डहोमप्रयोग.

कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणलक्षण

कृच्छ्रलक्षण.

कृच्छ्रादिविप्रबोधिनीपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु (Baroda O. I. 10629).

कृतिवत्सर by मणिरामदीक्षित.

कृतिसारसमुच्चय by अच्युतनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकल्पतरु alias कल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर; vide sec. 77.

कृत्यकल्पद्रुम by गदाधर; m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृत्यकल्पलता of वाचस्पति; m. by रघुनन्दन in मलमासतत्त्व.

कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; vide under कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

कृत्यकौमुदी vide sec. 101 on गोविन्दानन्द. It is this that is m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

कृत्यकौमुदी by गोपीनाथमिश्र.

कृत्यकौमुदी by जगदानन्द. He mentions शुद्धिदीपिका.

कृत्यकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. No. 10152 on एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्ध portion of it).

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्तिन्.

कृत्यचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर (a calendar of fasts and feasts enjoined in the स्मृतिs and the rites appropriate to them). About 1360-1400 A. D.

कृत्याचिन्तामणि by चण्डेश्वर; m. in his गृहस्थरत्नाकर; vide sec. 90. Deals with तारादिशुद्धि, गोचर, वेधशुद्धि, संवत्सर, करण, नक्षत्र, मुहूर्त, अधिमास, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, मूलशान्ति, षष्ठिकापूजा, शनैश्चरचार, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहणफल.

कृत्याचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति; sec. 98.

कृत्याचिन्तामणि by शिवराम शुक्ल, son of विश्राम. In five प्रकाशs for सामवेद followers. Based on गोभिलगृह्य, deals with परिभाषा, वृद्धिश्राद्ध, गणेशपूजा, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, अष्टका, संस्कारs. Stein's cat. (Intro. p. XV and p. 86) gives the date of composition as śake 1562 (1640-41 A. D.), but B. O. cat. vol. I. No. 72 and JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IX give 1500 śake (1578-79 A. D.) as the date.

कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

कृत्यतत्त्व alias प्रयोगसार of कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश.

कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव alias कृत्यकालविनिर्णय of श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, नि. सि., रामप्रकाश and quotes महार्णव. About 1475-1525 A. D.

कृत्यदर्पण of आनन्दशर्मा, son of रामशर्मा; m. in his व्यवस्थादर्पण.

कृत्यदीप m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी by रामचन्द्र (pr. at Bombay in 1855.).

कृत्यप्रदीप of कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

कृत्यप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट (this is probably the कृत्यप्रदीप quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, and other तत्त्वs).

कृत्यमञ्जरी by चापूभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर; composed in śake 1640 पौषमास on नित्य, नैमित्तिक, काम्य rites and observances in the 12 months of the year, on संक्रान्ति, eclipses &c. at सातारा (modern Satara). N. vol. X. pp. 217-219.

कृत्यमहार्णव of वाचस्पतिमिश्र under हरिनारायणदेव of मिथिला. Deals with feasts and fasts on important days of the twelve months of the year; m. in आचारमयूख; vide sec. 98.

कृत्यमुक्तावली vide सत्कृत्यमुक्तावली.

कृत्यरत्न m. in नि. सि., श्राद्धमयूख.

कृत्यरत्न of खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट who was honoured by the king of विदर्भ. In 8 प्रकाशs. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधवीय and his own संस्काररत्न. Baroda O. I. No. 1953.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर; vide sec. 90 (pr. B. I. series, 1921).

कृत्यरत्नाकर of मुदाकरसूरि.

कृत्यरत्नावली of रामचन्द्र, son of विट्ठल and grandson of बालकृष्ण तत्सत्. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Composed in संवत् 1705 (1648-49 A. D.). Deals with religious observances of तिथिs from प्रतिपद् and of months from चैत्र to फाल्गुन; quotes हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, नारायणभट्ट.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लक्ष्मीधर.

कृत्यरत्नाकर of लोकनाथ.

कृत्यराज a manual of ceremonial observances for different months of the year compiled under prince कृष्णचन्द्र of नवद्वीप about 1750 A. D.

कृत्यविलासिमञ्जरी.

कृत्यसङ्ग्रह of भूपाल m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 499.

कृत्यसागर m. in वर्धमान and स्मृतिरत्नाकर of देवाचार्य. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

कृत्यसार by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of अच्युतनाथ ओझा (pr. at Bombay).

कृत्यसारसमुच्चय of वाचस्पति.

कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका; vide शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप.

कृत्यार्णव m. in देवदासप्रकाश.

कृष्णपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली alias भक्तिमञ्जरी or हरिभक्तिमञ्जरी-- a work on कृष्ण worship in four parts (मञ्जरीs).

कृष्णभट्टीय the same as कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका; m. in प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and in आह्निकचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका of रत्नपाणि, son of सर्वेश्वर.

कृष्णामृतमहार्णव by आनन्दतीर्थ. N. (new series) vol. III. preface VI.

केशवार्णव by केशव.

कोटचक्र on eight kinds of forts.

कोटिहोमप्रयोग by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट.

कौतुकचिन्तामणि by प्रतापरुद्रदेव. In three दीप्तिs on magic charms and expedients for protecting the king's person and for various other purposes, and on various startling, interesting experiments on women, plants, food. N. IX. pp. 189-190 and D. C. Ms. No. 981 of 1887-91 and 1031 of 1884-87. About 1520 A. D.

कौमुदीनिर्णय.

कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र in 14 अध्यायs (ed. by Bloomfield, 1889).

C. by भट्टारिभट्ट.

C. by दारिल.

C. by वासुदेव.

कौशिकगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति of केशव, son of सोमेश्वर, son of अनन्त; composed at भोजपुर (Stein's cat. p. 248).

कौशिकसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

कौशिकस्मृति m. in निर्णयदीपक, मस्करिभाष्य on गौतम, हेमाद्रि, माधव.

कौषीतकिगृह्यकारिका.

कौषीतकिगृह्यसूत्र (pr. in Ben. S. series). Vide under शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

क्रतुस्मृति m. by the मिताक्षरा.

क्रमदीपिका m. in वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 121) and देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व; before 1500 A. D.

क्रमदीपिका (on worship of कृष्ण) by केशवाचार्य in 8 पटलs. About 1500 A. D.

C. by केशवभट्टगोस्वामी.

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. in Ch. S. series).

क्रमदीपिका by नित्यानन्द.

क्रियाकाण्डशेखर m. in हेमाद्रि.

क्रियाकैरवचान्द्रिका.

क्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (pr. in B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

क्रियाकौमुदी of मथुरानाथ.

क्रियानिबन्ध m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

क्रियापद्धति by विश्वनाथ. Describes rites from the day of death to सपिण्डीकरण for माध्यन्दिनीयs. D. C. Ms. No. 207 of 1884-87,

क्रियापद्धति or षडब्दप्रायश्चित्तादिपद्धति N. X. p. 237.

क्रियाप्रदीप.

क्रियाश्रय (astrological work in relation to dharma) m. by अपरार्क.

क्रियासार m. in नि. सि. and कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि; earlier than 1600 A.D.

क्षत्रियसंध्या.

क्षयमासकृत्यनिर्णय.

क्षयमासनिर्णय.

क्षयमाससंसर्पकार्याकार्यनिर्णय by परशुराम (Stein's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमाससंसर्पकार्याकार्यनिर्णयखण्डन by परशुराम (Steins's cat. p. 87).

क्षयमासादिविवेक of रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोलीसंजीवेश्वर; composed during the reign of छत्रसिंह of मिथिला. Gives a long list of authorities; such as वाचस्पति, वर्धमान, अनन्तपण्डित, महेश, स्मृतिविवेक &c. Vide N. vol. VI p. 44.

क्षयाधिकमासविवृति by गणेशदत्त.

क्षेमप्रकाश by क्षेमवर्मन्; composed in Vikrama 1568 (1512 A. D.) at वीरसिंहपुर, where he was governor. On आचार, विष्णुपूजा, शिवपूजा, दान, उत्सर्ग, व्रत; ms. copied in संवत् 1582 (1526 A. D.) when वीरसिंहदेव was ruler (Stein's cat. p. 305, extract).

क्षौरनिर्णय or -दर्पण by son of गङ्गाधर.

खड्गविवाह (Baroda O. I. 1142.)

खादिरगृह्य (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29). Agrees closely with गोभिलगृह्य.

C. of रुद्रस्कन्द, son of नारायण residing at मखवाट (pr. in above.).

खादिरगृह्यकारिका by वामन.

खेटपीठमाला by आपदेव.

गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक by वर्धमान for king रामभद्रदेव of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधरपद्धति by गङ्गाधर (Stein's cat. p. 87) m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम (vide BBRAS cat. vol. II. p. 226).

गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी by गणपति, son of धारेश्वर, in 3 chapters. He says that king नान्य of मिथिला gave वृत्ति to his grandfather. N. vol. V. p. 183; ms. dated 1766 संवत् (1710 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी by चतुर्भुजाचार्य.

गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश by हरिनन्दन; composed in संवत् 1852 (1795-96 A. D.).

गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय by शिवदत्तशर्मा.

गङ्गासूत्र m. in रघुनन्दन and वर्धमान in गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक.

गङ्गावाक्यावलि by विद्यापति, under the patronage of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला, son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह, son of भवसिंह; m. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन (in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व). About 1400-1450 A. D. Speaks of the advantage of visiting and worshipping the Ganges and bathing therein.

गणपतितत्त्वविवेक.

गणेशपद्धति by सोमेश्वरपुत्र (Ulwar cat. No. 1309).

गणेशविमर्शिनी m. in कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

गणेशशान्ति.

गदाधरपद्धति (आचारसार) pr. in B. I. series.

गयदेवल m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

गयाविष्णु m. in नि. सि.

गयव्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

गन्धर्वप्रयोग (Stein's cat. p. 87).

गभस्तिस्मृति m. by अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०, हेमाद्रि.

गयादासनिबन्ध m. by भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति- part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट.

गयानुष्ठानपद्धति alias गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ. Vide गयापद्धति.

गयापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

गयापद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर; flourished between 1550-1625 A. D.

गयापद्धतिदीपिका by प्रभाकर.

गयाप्रकरण from the त्रिस्थलीसेतु by नारायण.

गयाप्रकाश N. (new series) vol. I. p. 84.

गयाप्रयोग by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

गयायात्राप्रयोग by मणिरामदीक्षित.

गयावाराणसीपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति.

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन् (for वाजसनेयवेद).

गयाश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनन्दन. Vide p. 417 above.

गयाश्राद्धप्रकरण m. in मलमासतत्त्व.

गयाश्राद्धविधि by गोकुलदेव (Baroda O. I. 8688).

गयाश्राद्धादिपद्धति of वाचस्पति. The first verse specially mentions

वायुपुराण, गरुडपुराण and कल्पवृक्ष (i. e. कल्पतरु) as its authorities.

गर्गपद्धति or गृह्यपद्धति, manual of domestic rites (for पारस्करगृह्य) by स्थपतिगर्ग on स्थालीपाकहोम, बलिदान, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, श्रवणाकर्म, शूलगव, वैश्वदेव, मासश्राद्ध, चूडाकरण, उपनयन, ब्रह्मचारिव्रतानि, सीतायज्ञ, शालाकर्म; expressly states that it follows भर्तृयज्ञमत; m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1575 i. e. 1519 A. D. (Vide I. O. cat. p. 515 No. 1633).

गर्गस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, नित्याचारप्रदीप.

गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर; completed by स्वामिठाकुर. About first half of 14th century.

गर्भाधानादिविवाहषोडशकर्मपद्धति attributed to शौनक; mentions जयन्त.

गागाभट्टपद्धति by गागाभट्ट.

गायत्रीपद्धति of भूषणभट्ट.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण or -पद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घारे. He wrote व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी in शके 1675 (1753 A. D.).

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by शिवराम.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरण by साम्बभट्ट.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by काशिनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट and वाराणसी, surnamed भट्ट. His guru was अनन्त. Ulwar cat. extract 618.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट; composed in 1757. A. D.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by अनन्तदेव.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि by गीर्वाणेन्द्रसरस्वती.

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from the गायत्रीपुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (vide Ulwar cat. extract 302).

गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि from शारदातिलक.

गायत्रीभाष्यनिर्णय (Ulwar cat. No. 1312 and extract 304).

गार्गीयपद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213).

गार्ग्यस्मृति m. by विश्वरूप, मिता०, अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०.

गार्हस्थ्यदीपिका by त्र्यम्बक, pupil of यज्ञेश.

गालवस्मृति m. in स्मृतिच०, कालमाधव.

गुणमञ्जरी by त्रिपाठिबालकृष्ण, son of काशीराम of the महाराष्ट्र family. On प्रायश्चित्त.

गुणिसर्वस्व m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर and in तिथितत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

गूढदीपिका of श्रीनाथ आचार्य m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव.

गूढार्थदीपिका by वामदेव. Vide स्मृतिदीपिका; on doubtful points of rites and ceremonies.

गृहपतिधर्म by विश्वेश्वर.

गृहप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

गृहवास्तु by चन्द्रचूड (portion of संस्कारनिर्णय).

गृहस्थमुक्ताफल.

गृहस्थरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर a large work in 589 pages (pr. in B. I. series, 1928); sec. 90.

गृह्यकल्पतरु.

गृह्यकारिका.

(1) आश्वलायनीय by जयन्त.

(2) बौधायनीय by कनकसभापति.

(3) सामवेदीय by भूवाक, son of विशाखभट्ट.

गृह्यकारिका by कर्क.

गृह्यकारिका by रेणुक, composed in 1266 A. D.

गृह्यकौमुदी m. in गोविन्दार्णव.

गृह्यतात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र by सुदर्शनाचार्य.

गृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम, summary of matters connected with domestic rites, according to मैत्रायणीयगृह्यसूत्र.

गृह्यपद्धति.

गृह्यपद्धति (यजुःशाखीय) by भास्करदीक्षित. Ulwar cat. extract 54.

गृह्यपद्धति by रामेश्वर.

गृह्यपद्धति by वासुदेवदीक्षित, in three kāṇḍas on संस्कारs, अष्टका &c.; ms. copied in शके 1720.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट- vide under बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, छन्दोगगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by अनन्तभट्ट.

गृह्यपरिशिष्ट by वैकुण्ठनाथाचार्य.

गृह्यप्रदीपकभाष्य, a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र, by नारायण.

गृह्यप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ. He quotes सुदर्शनाचार्य. Ulwar cat. extract 14.

गृह्यप्रयोग

बौधायनीय.

वाजसनेय.

गृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र (Hultzsch R. I. No. 637).

गृह्यभाष्यसंग्रह or गृह्यभाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि.

गृह्यरत्न by वैदिकसार्वभौम (i. e. probably वेङ्कटेश) in 21 khaṇḍas; deals with बाह्यसंस्कारs like गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नामकरण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, उपनयन, चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि and दैवसंस्कारs like पाकयज्ञ.

C. विबुधकण्ठभूषण or कण्ठभूषा by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ of हारीतगोत्र. Hultzsch R. I. No. 603 and extract, p. 88. Refers to his पितृमेधसार and its टीका and आशौचशतक and its व्याख्या.

गृह्यसंग्रह m. by जयराम in his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य III. 1. 1.

गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

गृह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका (on पारस्करगृह्य) by विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह. About 1600 A. D.

गृह्याग्निसागर alias प्रयोगसार by नारायणभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, surnamed आरड (आरडे); quotes रामाण्डारव्याख्या on धूर्तस्वामी's भाष्य on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगपारिजात, प्रयोगरत्न, निर्णयसिन्धु, भट्टोजिदीक्षित, परशुरामप्रताप and रामवाजपेयी and his own श्राद्धसागर. Later than 1650 A. D.

गृह्यासंग्रह by गोभिलपुत्र (pr. in B. I. series as appendix to गोभिलगृह्य); m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि of शिवराम and in the छन्दोगपरिशिष्टगतत्व and मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

C. by **रामकृष्ण**, son of **दामोदर**.

गृह्यासंग्रहपरिशिष्ट m. in **छन्दोगवृषोत्सर्ग-तत्त्व** and edited by Bloomfield in Z D M G. vol. 35 pp. 537-548 in 209 verses and two **प्रपाठक**s. Begins **अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं पद्म-योनिना । ब्राह्मणानां हितार्थाय संस्कारार्थं तु भाषितम् ॥**. Text same as in B. I. series.

गृह्योक्तकर्मपद्धति.

गोत्रनिर्णय by **केशवदैवज्ञ** of **नन्दिपुर** in 27 **श्लोक**s.

C. **वाक्पुष्पमाला** by **प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ** ; mentions **प्रवरमञ्जरी** of **श्रीधर**.

गोत्रनिर्णय by **बालम्भट्ट**.

गोत्रनिर्णय by **महादेव दैवज्ञ**.

गोत्रप्रवर (Bik. cat. p. 391).

C. **भास्कर**.

गोत्रप्रवर by **प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ** (probably same as **वाक्पुष्पमाला**, a com. on **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय** of **केशव**).

गोत्रप्रवरकारिका.

गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड (taken from **आपस्तम्ब-सूत्र**).

गोत्रप्रवरखण्ड (taken from **धर्मसिन्धु**).

गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण.

गोत्रप्रवरदीप by **विष्णुपण्डित**.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **अनन्तदेव** (in **संस्कार-कौस्तुभ**, which is taken from his brother's work).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **आपदेव** (probably a mistake, as **जीवदेव** was a son of **आपदेव**). Vide Baroda O. I. No. 1870.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **कमलाकर** son of **रामकृष्ण** (also styled **गोत्रप्रवरदर्पण**) (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900). First half of 17 century.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **केशवदैवज्ञ** of **नन्दि-ग्राम** (ms. in Baroda O. I. 8131 dated **शके** 1600). Each verse ends with the words **कुर्वन्तु वो मङ्गलम्**.

C. **वाक्पुष्पमाला** by **प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ**.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **गोपीनाथ** (Baroda O. I. 11041).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **जीवदेव**, son of **आप-देव** and younger brother of **अनन्तदेव**, author of **संस्कारकौस्तुभ** ; quotes **प्रवरमञ्जरी**, **आश्वलायनसूत्र-वृत्तिकार**, **नारायणवृत्ति**. About 1660-1680 ; says **मातृगोत्र** is to be avoided in marriage by **माध्यन्दिनीय**s alone as **सत्याषाढ** says and as the **शिष्टाचार** is to the same effect.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **नागेशभट्ट**.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **नारायणभट्ट** m. in **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय** by **भट्टोजि**.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **पद्मनाभ** (Baroda O. I. 8789).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **भट्टोजिदीक्षित** ; first half of 17th century (also styled **गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर**).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by (**अभिनव**) **माधवा-चार्य**.

C. by **नारायणार्य**, son of **मण्डूरि-रघुनाथार्य** (pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore, 1900).

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **रघुनाथ**, son of **माधव**, son of **रामेश्वर**. 1550-1625 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **विश्वनाथदेव** or **विश्वे-श्वर**, son of **शम्भुदेव** and younger brother of **रामदेव** ; finished at

Benares (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 580). Composed in Śake 1506 (Baroda O. I. 11055). In verse and prose.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by **सदाराम**.

गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्यसुधार्णव by **विश्वनाथदेव** (Baroda O. I. 9375). Different from **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय**.

गोत्रप्रवरभास्कर by **भट्टोजि**; same as **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय**.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by **केशव**, who also wrote **मुहूर्ततत्त्व**.

C. by **राम**; quotes **स्मृत्यर्थसार**, **प्रयोगपारिजात**.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी alias **प्रवरमञ्जरी** by **पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित** (standard work on this subject). Pr. by Chentsalrao, Mysore, 1900. Under each of the eight original gotras quotes passages from **आपस्तम्ब**, **आश्वलायन**, **कात्यायन**, **बौधायन**, **मत्स्यपुराण**, **लौगाक्षि**, **सत्याषाढ**; mentions **धूर्तस्वामी**, **कपर्दिस्वामी**, and **ग्रहदेवस्वामी** as **भाष्यकार**s on **आपस्तम्बसूत्र**; m. in **नि. सि.**, **नृसिंहप्रसाद**, **दत्तकमीमांसा**. Earlier than 1450 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी by **शङ्करतान्त्रिक**; gives exhaustive enumeration of divisions and sub-divisions of gotras; mentions **ज्योतिर्निबन्ध**, **प्रवरदीपिका**, **व्याख्याकार** of **बौधायन**. (Baroda O. I. No. 7657).

गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार by **शङ्करदवज्ञ**, son of **शिव**.

गोत्रप्रवररत्न by **लक्ष्मणभट्ट**, son of **रामकृष्णभट्ट** and younger brother of **कमलाकरभट्ट**. About 1585-1630 A. D.

गोत्रप्रवरविवेक (from the **धर्मप्रदीप** by **धनञ्जय**).

गोत्रप्रवराध्याय vide **प्रवराध्याय**.

गोत्रप्रवरोच्चार (from the **औदीच्यप्रकाश**).

गोत्रामृत by **नृसिंहपण्डित**.

गोदानविधिसंग्रह by **मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्**, son of **व्रजराज**.

गोपालकारिका (**बौधायनीय**) 420 verses on various matters connected with religious observances, such as the measurement and construction of altars.

गोपालपद्धति He is m. even by **नारायण**. Earlier than 1000 A. D. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 183.

गोपालपूजापद्धति by **दिनकर**, son of **नृसिंह** belonging to **दशार्ण** country (on worship of **कृष्ण**). I. O. ms. (cat. p. 587) dated **संवत्** 1664.

गोपालरत्नाकर by **गोपाल**.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in **आचाररत्न**.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका by **लक्ष्मीनाथ**.

गोभिलगृह्यसूत्र (pr. in B. I. series and by Dr. Knauer and tr. in S. B. E. vol. 30.).

C. (**भाष्य**) by **भट्टनारायण** son of **महाबल**; m. in **श्राद्धतत्त्व** of **रघुनन्दन**; ms. copied in **ल. सं.** 431 (1549-50 A. D.).

C. (**भाष्य**) by **यशोधर**, m. in **दानक्रियाकौमुदी** of **गोविन्दानन्द** and in **श्राद्धतत्त्व**. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. **सरला** m. in **तिथितत्त्व** and **श्राद्धतत्त्व**. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. by सायण.

C. सुबोधिनीपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (different from the author's कारिकार्थबोधिनी). About 1640 A. D. (Stein's cat. p. 86).

C. पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिविष्णु, of मथुरा.

C. कारिकार्थबोधिनी by शिवराम, son of विश्राम (Stein's cat. p. 15 and p. 250).

गोभिलपरिशिष्ट (pr. in B. I. series with com.) on सन्ध्यासूत्र, स्नानसूत्र and श्राद्धकल्प.

C. प्रकाश by नारायण; m. by रघुनन्दन.

गोभिलश्राद्धसूत्रभाष्य m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व and श्राद्धतत्त्व. Probably same as भाष्य of महायशस्.

गोभिलसंध्यासूत्र.

गोभिलस्मृति-same as कर्मप्रदीप of कात्यायन. Ānan. Sm. pp. 49-71.

गोभिलीपरिशिष्ट (on rites for propitiating the planets in their evil positions, on ग्रहयाग etc.) N. vol. X. pp. 201-202.

गोभिलीयश्राद्धकल्प.

C. (भाष्य) by महायशस्, m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. महायशस् is probably same as यशोधर above.

C. by समुद्रकर m. in श्राद्धकला of भवदेव's स्मृतिचन्द्र.

गोवधप्रायश्चित्त.

गोविन्दमानसोल्लास m. in एकादशीतत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व. So earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दार्चनचन्द्रिका (pr. at Bombay).

गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर or धर्मतत्त्वावलोक by शेषनृसिंह son of रामचन्द्र; compiled under the orders of महाराजाधिराज गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kāśī, divided into six वीचिs (waves) on संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि, काल and प्रायश्चित्त; quotes कल्पतरु, अपरार्क, माधवाचार्य, विश्वेश्वरभट्ट and is quoted in the निर्णयसिन्धु, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; compiled between 1400 and 1450 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract, 304 for a long description of a town ताण्डेतिका near Benares, which is said to have surpassed Delhi and Kalpī and of the श्रीवास्तक family of kings, of which गोविन्दचन्द्र was a scion and of the शेष family. The Ulwar ms. (verse 85) speaks of only five वीचिs (omitting प्रायश्चित्त). It appears that शेषकृष्ण in his शूद्राचारशिरोमणि claims the गोविन्दार्णव as his work. Vide Ind. Ant. for 1912 p. 248.

गौडनिबन्ध m. in the पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

गौडनिबन्धसागर m. in नि. सि. (probably the श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट).

गौडश्राद्धकौमुदी m. in निर्णयसिन्धु (probably the श्राद्धकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द).

गौडसंवत्सरप्रदीप m. in the कालसार of गदाधर.

गौडीयाचिन्तामाण m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

गौतमधर्मसूत्र- vide sec. 5 ; pr. in B. S. series and Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 403-434.

C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

C. (भाष्य) by मस्करिन् (pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. मिताक्षरा by हरदत्त (pr. in Anan. P.)

गौतमस्मृति.

ग्रन्थराज or स्मृतिग्रन्थराज.

ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकुसुम by शङ्करशर्मन्.

ग्रहणक्रियाक्रम.

ग्रहणनिर्णय (from the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

ग्रहणश्राद्धनिर्णय.

ग्रहदानप्रयोग ; refers to माधव.

ग्रहमखतिलक by माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य, of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Peterson's 5th Report p. 176.

ग्रहमखप्रयोग (N. X. p. 200).

ग्रहयज्ञकारिका

ग्रहयज्ञतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Mentions दीपिका.

ग्रहयज्ञदीपिका by सदाशिव दीक्षित.

ग्रहयज्ञनिरूपण from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

ग्रहयज्ञपद्धति.

ग्रहयज्ञप्रयोग.

ग्रहयज्ञविधान by अनन्तदेवभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट.

ग्रहयागकौमुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य.

ग्रहयागप्रयोगतत्त्व or ग्रहयागतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन, son of हरिभट्ट ; pr. in Bengali type by Sanskrit Sahityaparishad, Calcutta (No. 10). This is over and above his 28 तत्त्वs.

ग्रहयोगशान्ति.

ग्रहशान्ति according to शाङ्खायन and गोभिल.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति or वासिष्ठीशान्ति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्कर. About 1686 A. D.

ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by योद्धराज.

ग्रहस्थापनपद्धति (Peterson's 5th Report p. 98).

ग्रामनिर्णय or पातित्यग्रामनिर्णय (from the सह्याद्रिखण्ड of the स्कन्दपुराण).

घृतप्रदानरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

चक्रनारायणीय m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. So earlier than 1400.

चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध or स्मृतिसारोद्धार by विश्वम्भरत्रिवेदिन् in 12 उद्धारs on सामान्यनिर्णय, एकभक्तादिनिर्णय, तिथिसामान्यनिर्णय, प्रतिपदादितिथिनिर्णय, व्रत, संक्रान्ति, श्राद्ध, आशौच, गर्भाधानादिकालनिर्णय, आह्निक, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, under orders of prince नारायणमल्ल, son of भीममल्ल; mentions प्रतापमार्तण्ड, होरिलस्मृति, रूपनारायणीय, अनन्तभट्टीय. First half of 17th century ; pr. in Ch. S. series.

चण्डिकार्चनदीपिका by काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट, son of शिवरामभट्ट, of the भट्ट family. (Ulwar cat. extract 620).

चण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

चण्डीप्रयोग by नागोजिभट्ट.

चण्डूकानिबन्ध or स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by महामात्य श्रीसम्राट् चण्डूक. On daily duties, श्राद्ध, मलमास, त्रयोदशीनिर्णय &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593).

चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशस्ति by सदाशिव.

चतुर्थीकर्मन् (on the ceremonies to be performed on the fourth night after marriage).

चतुर्दशश्लोकी by भट्टोजि (Baroda O. I. 1488). In fourteen verses on श्राद्ध.

C. by महेश्वर.

चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि. Vide sec. 87 (pr. in B. I. series). Hultzsch R. I. No. 658 contains प्रायश्चित and व्यवहार, but they are most probably by a different author.

चतुर्विंशतिमत or -स्मृति. Vide sec. 42.

C. by भट्टोजि (Ben. S. series publishes on संस्कार and श्राद्ध). The I. O. cat. ms. p. 475 (on संस्कारकाण्ड only) ascribes it in the colophons to रामचन्द्र, son of नारायणभट्ट. Mss. of आह्निक, आचार and प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड are known.

C. by रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण.

चतुर्विंशतिसानिमतसार (Baroda O. I. 2247 and 10540).

चतुर्विंशतिस्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्संस्काराः

चन्दनधेनुदानप्रमाण or -तत्त्व by वाचस्पति. Rites on the occasion of the first śrāddha of a woman dying before her husband and son. Based on रत्नाकर. N. (new series) I. p. 100. H. D. 69.

चन्दनधेनूत्सर्गपद्धति by रत्ननाथ भट्टाचार्य of नवद्वीप. N. (new series) I. p. 101 ; ms. dated 1765 A. D.

चन्द्रकमलाकर.

चन्द्रकालका.

चन्द्रनिबन्ध quoted in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रप्रकाश m. by नि. सि., नन्दपण्डित's श्राद्धकल्पलता, भट्टोजि. Earlier than 1570 A. D.

चन्द्रस्मृति m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रोदय m. in नि. सि. (probably पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय or आचारचन्द्रोदय).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by नारायणभट्ट (pr. at Benares, 1870); m. in आचारमयूख, समयमयूख.

C. मिताक्षरा.

C. अन्वयार्थदीपिका by धर्मेश्वर (pr. at Benares, 1870).

C. by नारायण.

चमत्कारचन्तामणि by राजर्षिभट्ट ; (is probably the work so m. by नि. सि.). It is on astrology. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. (ms. dated संवत् 1657 i. e. 1600-1601 A. D.).

चमत्कारचिन्तामणि by वैद्यनाथ. On संस्कारs of two kinds, ब्राह्म (गर्भाधान and others) and दैव (such as पाकयज्ञ), on मुहूर्तs for गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs and on मलमासकृत्याकृत्य ; D. C. No. 112 of 1895-1902 copied in संवत् 1719.

चलाचलमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा.

चलार्चा (acc. to बौधायन); vide B.B.R.A.S. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

चलार्चापद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

चलार्चापद्धति of नारायण based on गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, त्रिविक्रमपद्धति, कालादर्श, पुरुषार्थप्रबोध, शारदातिलक and बोपदेव. Later than 1450 A. D.

चाणक्यनीति (ed. by Kressler).

चाणक्यनीति or चाणक्यराजनीति or चाणक्यशतक. There is a वृद्धचाणक्य in 660 verses. There is a लघुचाणक्य also.

चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण of गजानन.

चाणक्यनीतिसारसंग्रह in 108 stanzas. It begins 'मूलसूत्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाणक्येन यथोदितम् ।'.

चाणक्यराजनीतिशास्त्र (pr. in Calcutta O. series No. 2, 1921).

चाणक्यसप्तति.

चाणक्यसारसंग्रह.

चाणक्यसूत्र (pr. at end of the कौटिलीय in Dr. Sham Sastri's edition).

चातुराश्रम्यधर्म by श्रीकण्ठायन.

चातुर्मास्यकारिका by गोपाल.

चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्मसंग्रह.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार by गङ्गादत्त.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवरण by गङ्गाधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन by धरणीधर.

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था by धरणीधर.

चारायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

चारुचर्या by क्षेमेन्द्र (pr. in Kāvyamālā series).

चारुचर्या by भोजराज.

चूडाकरणकेशान्तौ.

चूडाकर्म by दत्तपण्डित.

चूडाकर्मप्रयोग.

चौलोपनयन from the विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

चौलोपनयनप्रयोग.

छन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide छन्दोगपद्धति.

छन्दोगगृह्य. Vide गोभिलगृह्य.

C. (भाष्य) m. by हरदत्त in his अनाविला.

छन्दोगपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट ; vide sec. 73.

C. संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य of रामनाथ, composed in Śake 1544 (1622 A. D.).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट- same as कर्मप्रदीप. (It is in verse).

छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट m. by हेमाद्रि.

C. m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर.

C. प्रकाश by महामहोपाध्याय नारायण, son of गोण and grandson of उमापति, who was a great प्राभाकर and patronised by king जयपाल. Vide under कर्मप्रदीप.

CC. सारमञ्जरी by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य.

CC. by हरिराम.

CC. by हरिहर.

C. by आशाधर or आशार्क, son of चक्रधर.

छन्दोगप्रायश्चित्त.

छन्दोगश्राद्ध.

छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीराम, son of राधावल्लभ' son of रामकृष्ण.

छन्दोगश्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकर.

छन्दोगाचारकृत्य m. by रघुनन्दन.

छन्दोगानीयाह्निक by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. (I. O. cat. I. p. 95 ms. dated संवत् 1810 i. e. 1753-4 A. D.). Composed about 1640.

छन्दोगाह्निक by गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास (Baroda O. I. No. 1026). Ms. dated संवत् 1860.

छन्दोगाह्निक by श्रीदत्त, m. by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

छन्दोगाह्निक by सदानन्द.

छन्दोगाह्निकपद्धति by रामकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्.

छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार of शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथमिश्र. Vide under प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप.

छन्दोपहाराघलि.

छागलेयस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य.

जगद्वल्लभा by श्रीवल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र (in more than 24 प्रकरणs).

जगन्नाथकारिका m. in गदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य.

जगन्नाथप्रकाश by सूरमिश्र, composed under orders of जगन्नाथ, of Kāmboja family. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 109 for contents (the ms. was copied in संवत् 1838 i. e. 1782-3 A. D.); in ten प्रभाs.

जटमल्लविलास by श्रीधर compiled under the patronage of prince (महाठक्कुर) जटमल्ल, younger brother of चायमल्ल, who was son of बालचन्द्र, son of ढौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. The family was Mandira from Kosala country and their capital was स्वर्णपुरी. Deals with आचार, काल, श्राद्ध, संक्रान्ति, मलमास, संस्कार, आशौच and शुद्धि. The date in the I. O. ms. is corrupt 'बानान्नबाणक्षिति' (? रत्नाक्षबाणक्षिति 1559) of the विक्रम era. About 1500 A. D. Names कालनिर्णय, कालादर्श, प्रासाददीपिका.

जनिदोषप्रतिकार-ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 2365) dated 1565 संवत् (1508-9 A. D.).

जन्मदिनकृत्यपद्धति.

जन्मदिवसपूजापद्धति.

जन्ममरणविवेक by वाचस्पति (Baroda O. I. No. 12774). On अशौच and श्राद्ध.

जन्माष्टमीतत्त्व or जन्माष्टमीव्रततत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय by विट्ठलेश्वर.

जयतुङ्ग m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयन्तकारिका.

जयन्तीनिर्णय (on कृष्णजन्माष्टमी) by आनन्दतीर्थ.

जयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक, pupil of रामानुजयोगीन्द्र and son of आत्रेय कृष्णार्य.

जयमाधवमानसोल्लास by जयसिंहदेव of गोरक्षपुर (modern Gorakhpur). He was a devotee of नारायण; deals with all religious acts

(nitya, naimittika, and kāmya) about वासुदेव. The प्रशस्ति at the end of D. C. ms. No. 241 of A 1881-82 is by हरिदास राजपण्डित; ms. copied संवत् 1827 (1771 A. D.).

जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम by रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, son of पण्डितश्रीदेवभट्ट of Benares (extensive work in 900 pages pr. by Lakṣmīveṅkateśvara Press at Kalyan in 1925). A digest in 19 स्तबकs on काल, व्रत, श्राद्ध, दान etc. the first being on काल, compiled under the patronage of जयसिंह who performed ज्योतिष्टोम in उज्जयिनी and also पौण्डरीक. His city अम्बिका (Amber) is also referred to. Composed in Vikrama 1770 (1713 A. D.). Gives genealogy as जयसिंह (who brought Shivaji to Delhi)-रामसिंह-कृष्णसिंह-विष्णुसिंह-जयसिंह. Sometimes called °द्रुमोद्द्योत (Ulwar cat. extract 305); pr. in Bombay, 1903.

जयानिर्बन्ध (निबन्ध ?) m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (p. 166).

जयाभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ.

जयार्णव m. by नि. सि. and by गदाधर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य. Vide युद्धजयार्णव.

जलयात्रा.

जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

जलाशयारामोत्सर्गविधि or -पद्धति.

(1) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर; quotes रूपनारायण; 1513-1575 A. D.; sec. 103.

(2) by कमलाकर; sec. 106.

जलाशयोत्सर्गप्रकाश pr. at Ratnagarh (1893 A. D.).

जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Sec. 102.

जातकर्मन् from the संस्कारभास्कर.

जातकर्मपद्धति by केशवभट्ट.

जातकर्मपद्धति by दामोदर.

जातकर्मादिपालाशकर्मान्त by बापण्णभट्ट.

जातरिष्टयादिनिर्णय by विद्यार्णव; N (new series) II p. 55-56.

जातिनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 11003) on कायस्थs etc.

जातिमाला (part of रुद्रयामलतन्त्र).

जातिमाला (vide N. vol. II. p. 151) on the origin of different Hindu castes.

जातिमाला by सोमनाथ, son of शुद्धल and झापाम्बिका, surnamed सकलकल and inhabitant of जलग्राम. Divided into three parts in verse on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति; but contains nothing on धर्म or जातिs. D. C. Ms. No. 302 of 1884-86.

जातिमाला (from पराशरपद्धति); Stein's cat. p. 94.

जातिविवेक m. in क्षुद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण and in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

जातिविवेक by कृष्णगोविन्द पण्डित. Part of a larger work callen वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका.

जातिविवेक by त्र्यम्बक.

जातिविवेक by नारायणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 11147).

जातिविवेक by पराशर.

जातिविवेक by रघुनाथ.

जातिविवेक by विश्वनाथ (N. vol. IX p. 179). Stein's cat. calls it °विवेकसंग्रह (p. 89).

जातिविवेक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (probably same as first part of कायस्थधर्मदीप).

जातिविवेक by व्यासगोपीनाथकवि of वासिष्ठगोत्र, son of शार्ङ्गधर, grandson of विश्वनाथ, of प्रत्यण्डपुर (Paraṇḍā in Mahārāṣṭra ?). In three उल्लासs ; ms. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 519 No. 1639) is dated śake 1564 (1642 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat.No.1323) says that it is part of विश्वम्भरवास्तुशास्त्र, which is quoted by हेमाद्रि and he gives the father's name as व्यासराज previously called विश्वनाथ and grandfather as ' Samaraja '.

जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न attributed to सायण.

जातिविवेकसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ.

जातिसाङ्कर्य by शिवलाल शुक्ल.

जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद by अनन्ताल्वार.

जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद by वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन्.

जिकनीयनिबन्ध m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि and by कुल्लूक.

जीर्णोद्धारविधि (according to त्रिविक्रम) on repairing temples, images of gods &c. N. vol. X. p. 271.

जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग by शौनक.

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रङ्गोजिभट्ट. N. (new series) vol. III p. 64 (ms. dated संवत् 1785).

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण पायगुण्डे (Baroda O. I. Nos. 358 and 5549).

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय or-कर्मनिर्णय by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1570-1590 A. D.

जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यसंचय by कृष्णभट्ट.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था by मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्, son of व्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्थासार by मधुसूदनगोस्वामिन्, son of व्रजराज.

जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था -सारसंग्रह- abridgment of the above ms. (Ulwar cat. No. 1324) copied in संवत्-1812 (1755-6 A. D.).

जीवश्राद्ध Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 611.

जैमिनिगृह्य (ed. by Dr. Caland, Panjab Oriental Series 1922).

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास (extracts printed in above).

जैमिनिगृह्यमन्त्रवृत्ति.

ज्ञातिभेदविवेक.

ज्ञानभास्कर (in the form of a dialogue between सूर्य and अरुण). Divided into प्रकाशs on प्रायश्चित्त, कर्म &c.; vide Bik. cat. p. 398. Burnell (Tanjore ms. cat. p. 136 b) says that the author's name appears to be दिङ्मणि. Baroda O. I. 1136 is a part of it (कर्मप्रकाश on रोगाधिकार) and ex-

tends over 10000 ग्रंथ and No. 10546 is another in 14000 ग्रंथ.

ज्ञानमाला by भट्टोत्पल m. in the धर्मप्रदीप of भोज and in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in आचारमयूख.

ज्ञानरत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि, नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार), कुण्डकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

ज्ञानाङ्कुर by चूडामणि, son of राघवेन्द्रभट्ट, in four स्तबकs.

ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी by कृष्णानन्द on संस्कारs.

ज्येष्ठाविधान.

ज्योतिःकालकौस्तुभ m. by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिःसागर m. in कालसार of गदाधर, नि. सि.

ज्योतिःसागरसार by मथुरेश.

ज्योतिःसागरसार by विद्यानिधि; N. (new series) vol. I p. 134, ms. dated śake 1670 (1748 A. D.).

ज्योतिःसार m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति and गोविन्दार्णव.

ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मदनपारिजात.

ज्योतिःसारसंग्रह by हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार.

ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय m. by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिःसारसमुच्चय by नन्द, son of देवशर्मन्.

ज्योतिरर्णव m. in गोविन्दार्णव, सं. कौ.

ज्योतिर्निबन्ध m. in शूद्रकमलाकर and संस्कारमयूख and शुद्धिमयूख.

ज्योतिर्नृसिंह m. in गोविन्दार्णव and चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि.

ज्योतिषरत्न m. in संस्कारभास्कर of सिद्धेश्वर.

ज्योतिषरत्न by केशवतर्कपञ्चानन N. (new series) II. p. 58.

ज्योतिषार्णव m. by दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि, by रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिष्प्रकाश m. by प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव.

ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

टोडरप्रकाश by रघुनन्दनमिश्र, under Raja Ṭoḍaramalla.

टोडरानन्द vide sec. 104.

दुण्ढिप्रताप by विश्वनाथ under the patronage of Mahārāja दुण्ढि. On the rites for every day of the year; ms. written in śake 1589 i. e. 1667-68 A. D. (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 136b.).

दुण्ढुपद्धति m. in the अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, by रघुनन्दन in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I p. 213) and in शूद्रकमलाकर; earlier than 1525 A. D.

तडागप्रतिष्ठा.

तडागादिपद्धति of टोडरमल्ल (part of टोडरानन्द).

तडागादिप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by धर्मकर उपाध्याय.

तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

तडागोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

तत्त्वकौस्तुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकङ्कणाचार्य. It is a com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

तत्त्वकौस्तुभ by भट्टोजिदीक्षित (Baroda O. I. No. 376). Written at the bidding of केलदी वेङ्कटेश. Dilates

on the question as to who should observes तन्त्र rites, discourses on the inadvisability of तप्तमुद्राधारण and लिङ्गधारण.

तत्त्वदीप by त्र्यम्बक.

तत्त्वनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय वटेश्वर. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 155 for contents; ms. copied in śake 1661.

तत्त्वप्रकाश-vide शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

तत्त्वमुक्तावली vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687, probably same as the next.

C. vide BBRAS cat. p. 217 No. 687.

तत्त्वमुक्तावली of नन्दपण्डित vide sec. 105. Gives summary of his स्मृतिसिन्धु.

C. बालभूषा by बालकृष्ण.

C. बालभूषा by वेणीदत्त.

तत्त्वसंग्रह by कोनेरिभट्ट.

तत्त्वसागर m. by हेमाद्रि and रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व and in आचारमयूख.

तत्त्वसार m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

तत्त्वसारसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि.

तत्त्वासूतधर्मशास्त्र- vide स्मृतितत्त्वासूत.

तत्त्वासूतसारोद्धार by वर्धमान. An abridgment of his स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or तत्त्वासूत divided into four कोशs on आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. Composed when king राम of मिथिला was reigning. Latter half of 15th century; mentions his दण्डविवेक in व्यवहारकोश.

तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्दकविकङ्कणाचार्य, a com. on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि (pr. by Jivananda).

तत्त्वार्थदीप.

तन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in आह्निकतत्त्व.

तन्त्रसारपञ्चरत्न.

C. तन्त्रसारप्रकाशिका

तप्तमुद्राखण्डन by अप्पय्यदीक्षित (against the practice of branding the body with marks, as वैष्णवs do).

तप्तमुद्राधारण or चक्रमीमांसा from स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

तप्तमुद्राविद्रावण by भास्करदीक्षित.

तप्तमुद्राविवेक by हरिरायगोस्वामिन् (Baroda O. I. 11575).

तर्पणचन्द्रिका by रामचरण.

तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था by अद्वैतानन्दतीर्थ.

तिथिकल्पद्रुम by कल्याण.

तिथिकौस्तुभ or तिथिदीधितिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव.

तिथिचक्र by विश्वनाथ ; Baroda O. I, 8336).

तिथिचन्द्रिका by पक्षधरमिश्र; (B. O. mss. cat. vol.I No. 145; ms. copied in ल. सं. 345 i. e. 1464 A. D.

तिथिचन्द्रिका by हरिदत्तमिश्र.

तिथिचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

तिथितत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

C. by काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार. N. (new series) I. p. 155

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति. N. (new series) II p. 71.

C. by रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति ; N. (new series) II. p. 72.

तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि by महेशठक्कुर (pr. at Benares in 1887 A. D.).

तिथितत्त्वसार by आपदेव.

तिथिदर्पण.

तिथिदीधिति (part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

तिथिदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट (Baroda O.I. No. 10724).

तिथिद्वैतनिर्णय (or तिथिविवेक) by शूलपाणि. Same as above.

तिथिद्वैधप्रकरण alias तिथिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Names संवत्सरप्रदीप, स्मृतिसमुच्चय.

C. by श्रीनाथशर्मन्, son of श्रीकर.

तिथिनिर्णय from the कालमाधव.

तिथिनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10611 is dated संवत् 1583 i. e. 1526-27 A. D.).

तिथिनिर्णय by कमलाकर.

तिथिनिर्णय by गङ्गाधर..

तिथिनिर्णय by गोपाल.

तिथिनिर्णय by गोविन्दभट्टबुद्धिल (Ulwar cat. No. 1326). Peterson is wrong in saying that he praises one कालरघूत्तम. रघूत्तम is here राम the incarnation of विष्णु, identified with काल(Time) and ब्रह्म.

तिथिनिर्णय by दयाशङ्कर.

तिथिनिर्णय by देवदासमिश्र.

तिथिनिर्णय by नागदेव, son of शिव; based upon निर्णयसिन्धु.

तिथिनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णय by नारायणभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णय by पक्षधरमिश्र.

तिथिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज. Relies on हेमाद्रि.

तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (pr. at Benares and Bombay).

तिथिनिर्णय by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

तिथिनिर्णय by महादेव.

तिथिनिर्णय by माधव (part of कालनिर्णय).

तिथिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ (probably same as राघवभट्ट). W. and K. cat. II p. 282 notes that रघुनाथ is written on title page of राघव's तिथिनिर्णय.

तिथिनिर्णय by रमापति सिद्धान्त; N. (new series) I. p. 156; composed in śake 1633.

तिथिनिर्णय by राघवभट्ट; names निर्णयसिन्धु and नीलकण्ठ. So later than 1640 A. D.; ms. copied in śake 1681 (1766 A. D.); pr. at Bombay in 1864.

तिथिनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र, pupil of गोपाल, Baroda O. I. No. 1524. About 1400 A. D.

C by नृसिंह, son of the author. Ms. dated संवत् 1638 (1582 A.D.).

तिथिनिर्णय by रामप्रसाद.

तिथिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति.

तिथिनिर्णय by विश्वेश; names हेमाद्रि, माधव, चमत्कारचिन्तामणि, पुराणसमुच्चय.

तिथिनिर्णय by वैद्यनाथ (from चमत्कार-चिन्तामणि).

तिथिनिर्णय by शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामी (Ulwar cat. No. 1329).

तिथिनिर्णय by शुभङ्कर.

तिथिनिर्णय by सिद्धलक्ष्मण.

तिथिनिर्णय by सुदर्शन.

तिथिनिर्णय from the लघुमाधवीय of माधवाचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णय from the स्मृत्यर्थसार.

तिथिनिर्णयकारिका by श्रीनिवासार्य, son of गोविन्दार्य of the कौशिकगोत्र.

तिथिनिर्णयचक्र by विश्वनाथ (Baroda O. I. No. 8336).

तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व by शिवनन्दननाग.

तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका by रामदेव, son of शम्भु.

तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड by कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप or तिथिनिर्णय by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर.

तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह by रामचन्द्र. A summary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट.

C. by नृसिंह (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1524 is dated संवत् 1683). Later than 1400 A. D.

तिथिनिर्णयसर्वसङ्ग्रह.

तिथिनिर्णयसार by मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93.

तिथिनिर्णयेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट.

तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय or -निर्णयोद्धार by राघवभट्ट. Vide तिथिनिर्णय above. Also called तिथिसारसंग्रह.

तिथिप्रकाश by गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन्.

तिथिप्रकाशप्रकाशिका

तिथिप्रदीपक by भट्टोजि.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by नृसिंह. Refers to विद्यारण्य.

तिथिप्रदीपिका by रामसेवक.

तिथिमञ्जरी of गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट.

तिथिरत्न by महादेव.

तिथिरत्नमाला by नीलकण्ठ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि.

तिथिवाक्यनिर्णय--Vide तिथिनिर्णय of नारायणभट्ट.

तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि m. in रघुनन्दन's तिथितत्त्व.

C. तात्पर्यदीपिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर ; about 1475-1525 A.D. N. (new series) vol. II. pp. 73-74 ms. copied in 1512-13 A. D.

तिथिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

तिथिसंग्रह or तिथिनिर्णय by राघव. Vide above (pr. in Bombay 1864).

तिथिसंग्रह ano. N. (new series) II. p. 75.

तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथिस्वरूप by सुरेश्वर.

तिथीन्दुशेखर by नागेशभट्ट.

तिथ्यर्क by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण of भारद्वाजगोत्र ; author of आचारार्क (both being parts of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि). About 1683 A. D.

अनुक्रमणिका by his son वैद्यनाथ.

तिथ्यर्कपर्वनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. No. 5947). The author says that नारायणभट्ट author of प्रयोगरत्न was

the great-grand-father (प्रपितामह) of his mother. So author flourished about 1650 A. D.

तिथ्यर्कप्रकाश by दिवाकर (same as तिथ्यर्क above ?).

तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 5772 is dated 1605 संवत् i. e. 1548-9 A. D.). Mentions दीपिका, कालादर्श, माधव and निर्णयामृत. So later than 1400 A. D.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय by गोपीनाथ.

तिथ्यादिनिर्णय of पद्मनाभ (part of योगीश्वरसंग्रह; ms. copied in 1707 A. D.).

तिथ्यादिविधिसंग्रह by रघूत्तम तर्कशिरोमणि. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 75.

तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली by हरिलालमिश्र.

तीर्थकमलाकर alias सर्वतीर्थविधि of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Vide sec. 106.

तीर्थकल्पलता by गोकुलदेव, son of अनन्तदेव.

तीर्थकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Sec. 105.

तीर्थकल्पलता by वाचस्पति.

तीर्थकाशिका m. by गङ्गाधर.

तीर्थकौमुदी of शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल; mentions तीर्थचिन्तामणि. Same as तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी.

तीर्थकौमुदी of सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

तीर्थचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, in five प्रकाशs (pr. in B. I. series); m. in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and in नि. सि. Vide sec. 98.

तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व of रघु०. This is over and above his स्मृतितत्त्व in 28 तत्त्वs.

तीर्थदर्पण (vide under ऋजुप्रयोग) of भट्टराम, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed होसिङ्ग.

तीर्थनिर्णय or कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय of रामचन्द्र.

तीर्थपरिभाषा by व्यास.

तीर्थमञ्जरी by मुकुन्दलाल.

तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Same as तीर्थतत्त्व; sec. 102.

तीर्थयात्रानिर्णय.

तीर्थरत्नाकर by अनन्तभट्ट, son of यदुभट्ट, at the request of अनूपसिंह.

तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद of रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, of पराशरगोत्र; ms. dated संवत् 1690 (1634-5 A. D.). He composed the युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी, com. on शास्त्रदीपिका, at Benares in संवत् 1600. He is author of प्रतापमार्तण्ड; flourished between 1500-1545 A. D.

तीर्थसंग्रह m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर.

तीर्थसंग्रह by साहेबराम.

तीर्थसार (part of वृसिंहप्रसाद).

तीर्थसेतु by वृन्दावन शुक्ल.

तीर्थसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

तीर्थेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि. Vide under व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी. About 1753 A. D.

तुलसीकाष्ठमालाधारणनिषेध by नरसिंह (Baroda O. I. No. 3894).

तुलसीचन्द्रिका by राजनारायण मुखोपाध्याय.

तुलसीविवाह (taken from प्रतापमार्तण्ड) Ulwar cat. No. 1334 and extract 313.

तुलादान.

तुलादानपद्धति.

तुलादानपुरुषप्रयोग.

तुलादानप्रकरण by सिद्धनाथ.

तुलादानप्रयोग (माध्यन्दिनीय).

तुलादानप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

तुलादानविधि.

तुलापद्धति by कमलाकर.

तुलापुरुषदानपद्धति.

तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग by विट्ठल.

तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति by गोपीनाथ.

तुलापुरुषमहादानप्रयोग or तुलादानविधि by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर ; sec. 103.

त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी by वोपदेव. Is it the same as the next ?

त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी or सूतककारिका (pr. at Benares in 1876 with com.) in 30 स्रग्धरा verses on आशौच. Ulwar cat. No. 1339 ascribes it to वोपदेव. Vide BBRAS cat. vol. II pp. 209-210 where it is ascribed to हेमाद्रि.

C. विवरण by रघुनाथभट्ट, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर ; flourished 1560-1625 A. D.

CC. विवरणसारोद्धार by शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन, son of बालकृष्ण. Names नि. सि., मयूख, भट्टोजिदीक्षित. Between 1660-1710 A. D. He says he follows com. of रघुनाथ on the त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

C. आशौचसंग्रह.

C. ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर (wrongly). Vide under दशश्लोकी.

C. by अनन्तभट्ट (Ulwar cat. No. 1340).

C. by भट्टाचार्य (Ulwar cat. No. 1341) ; ms. in Baroda O.I. 3883 is dated संवत् 1579 (1522-23 A. D).

C. सुबोधिनी by अनन्त, son of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1610-1660 A. D.

C. by कृष्णमित्र.

C. by राघव.

C. by रामभट्ट.

C. by विश्वनाथ.

C. (vide I. O. cat. III p. 566, No. 1750-51).

C. by रामेश्वरभारती.

C. by author

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन alias आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका by भास्करमिश्रसोमयाजिन्, son of कुमारस्वामिन् (pr. in B. I. series). Printed text and mss. differ. Divided into four sections in 575 verses on अधिकारिनिरूपण, प्रतिनिधि, पुनराधेय, निमित्त and प्रकीर्णक. He names कपिदेव, कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोदर, नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र, भवनाग, भरद्वाजसूत्रभाष्यकार, लौगाक्षिकारिका, भर्तृयज्ञ, शालीकिनाथ (on पूर्वमीमांसा), यज्ञपार्श्व, कर्मदीप, विधिरत्न ; many

of his कारिकाs, though primarily concerned with śrauta rites, are quoted largely in धर्मशास्त्र works. He incidentally deals with many topics of धर्म, such as proper actions in मलमास (I. 165-177), what is गौणकाल for an act etc. He is named by हेमाद्रि and the मदनपारिजात. So he flourished after 1000 and before 1200 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 30-31 for date.

C. विवरण.

C. पदभ्रकाशिका

त्रिकालसन्ध्या.

त्रिपिण्डीश्राद्धप्रयोग (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 591).

त्रिपुष्करशान्तितत्त्व of रघु°; vide p. 417 above.

त्रिविक्रमपद्धति m. in नि. सि.

त्रिविक्रमी (rules for the consecration of images when transferred from one place to anothor through fear of mlecchas or otherwise). N. vol. IX p. 295.

त्रिवेणीपद्धति by दिवाकरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5840).

त्रिस्थलीविधि by हेमाद्रि.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of काशीनाथभट्ट, son of जयरामभट्ट.

त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट (pr. at Ānandāśrama Poona). The first part deals with rites common to all sacred places and then the special features of the pilgrimage to प्रयाग, काशी and गया. Composed about 1550-60 A. D.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुप्रघट्टक by नागेश.

त्रिस्थलीसेतुसार or -सारसंग्रह or तीर्थयात्राविधि by भट्टोजि.

त्रैलोक्यसागर m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र in his द्वैतनिर्णय. So earlier than 1400A.D.

त्रैलोक्यसार m. by हेमाद्रि, रघुनन्दन, and in दानमयूख.

त्रैवार्णिकसंन्यास by कैलासयति.

त्रैविक्रमी- vide त्रिविक्रमपद्धति.

दक्षस्मृति see sec. 43; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II, pp. 383-402, Ānan. sm. pp. 72-84.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by तकनलाल.

दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय by नारायण (Baroda O. I. 9175).

दण्डकशान्ति.

दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (extracted from the नीतिमञ्जरी of शम्भुराज).

दण्डविवेक of वर्धमान of बिल्वपग्रग्राम, son of भवेश and younger brother of गण्डकमिश्र; in seven परिच्छेदs; latter half of 15th century; on penal offences, the propriety of inflicting punishments and the different forms of punishments to be inflicted. N. vol. V p. 225 No. 1910; composed for the king of मिथिला; mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हलायुध, धर्मकोश, स्मृतिसार, कृत्यसागर, रत्नाकर, पारिजात, व्यवहारतिलक, प्रदीपिका and प्रदीप as among his authorities. It is a part of his स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक.

दत्तककुठार.

दत्तककौमुदी by रामजय तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1827 in Bengali characters). Summarised in दत्तक-शिरोमणि pr. under the patronage of P. C. Tagore.

दत्तककौस्तुभ by केदारनाथदत्त (pr. at Calcutta).

दत्तकचन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित (pr. Calcutta 1857, text with Marathi translation pr. at Baroda, 1899). The last verse is interpreted as giving रघुमणि as the name of the author. Said to be fabricated by a pandit of Colebrooke's. The author says he wrote a स्मृति-चन्द्रिका.

C. by रामेश्वरशुक्ल.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by कोलप्पाचार्य.

दत्तकचन्द्रिका by तोळप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6572 B.)

दत्तकचन्द्रिकाटीका by तकनलाल.

दत्तकतत्त्वविनिर्णय or-निर्णय by हरिनाथमिश्र. N. vol. XI. Intro. p. 5.

दत्तकतिलक of भवदेव (a part of his व्यवहारतिलक). Summarised in the दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकदर्पण by द्वैपायन (N. X. p. 71).

दत्तकदीधिति by महामहोपाध्याय अनन्तभट्ट (pr. at Calcutta and also at Bhavnagar). Summarised in दत्तकशिरोमणि.

दत्तकनिर्णय by तात्याशास्त्रिन्.

दत्तकनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय.

दत्तकनिर्णय by शूलपाणि (part of his digest called स्मृतिविवेक). Nearly the whole is pr. in Bharatachandra Siromani's दत्तकशिरोमणि. Also styled दत्तकविवेक.

दत्तकनिर्णय by श्रीनाथभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by अनन्तदेव (probably same as दत्तकदीधिति above).

दत्तकपुत्रविधान by नृसिंहभट्ट.

दत्तकपुत्रविधि by शूलपाणि; same as दत्तकनिर्णय above.

दत्तकमीमांसा or दत्तपुत्रनिर्णयमीमांसा of नन्दपण्डित alias विनायकपण्डित (pr. by भरतचन्द्र शिरोमणि at Calcutta). Vide sec. 105.

C. by वृन्दावनशुक्ल.

दत्तकमीमांसा by माधवाचार्य.

दत्तकविधि (an extract from the व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ).

दत्तकविधि by वाचस्पति ; vide N. (New Series) vol. III. preface pp. VII-VIII.

दत्तकविवेक by शूलपाणि (vide दत्तकनिर्णय above).

दत्तकसपिण्डनिर्णय.

दत्तकोज्ज्वल by वर्धमान, who performs an obeisance to काली. N. (new series) vol. I p. 166.

दत्तचिन्तामणि by वज्रेश्वर, son of नरसिंह.

दत्तदायप्रकाश by व्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न (pr. at Calcutta 1875).

दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक by वासुदेवभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 307).

दत्तपुत्रविचार by गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 10701 b).

दत्तपुत्रविधि.

दत्तमञ्जरी.

दत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

दत्तरत्नाकर by धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र ; names विज्ञानेश्वर, कालामृत, वरदराजीय, दत्तसंग्रह, कालनिर्णय, दत्तमीमांसा; later than 1650 A. D.

दत्तरत्नार्पण by सीतारामशास्त्रिन् (Baroda O. I. No. 7204).

दत्तविधि by वैद्यनाथ.

दत्तसंग्रह by भीमसेनकवि.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by बालकृष्ण, son of देवभद्रदीक्षित of the Phalnitkar family. His guru was अद्वैतानन्द.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी by भट्टभास्करपण्डित.

दत्तसिद्धान्तमन्दारमञ्जरी.

दत्तस्तुतिसार.

दत्तहोमानुक्रमणिका.

दत्तादर्श by माधवपण्डित.

दत्तार्क by दादा करञ्गि, son of माधव, son of नृसिंह. He was pupil of कृष्णाचार्य at Nasik on the Godāvarī and composed the work in śake 1691 (1769 A. D.). Names निर्णयसिन्धुकार and मयूखकार.

दत्तार्चनकौमुदी or दत्तात्रेयपद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका by रामानन्दयति.

दत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद by रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर; flourished towards end of 18th century.

दन्तधावनविधि.

दर्शनिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ, called वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ. On such topics as जयन्तीनिर्णय, एकादशीनिर्णय, &c. Probably a part of his स्मृतिरत्नाकर (N. vol. VIII p. 14).

Mentions स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णय, अखण्डादर्श.

दर्शश्राद्ध by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ होसिङ्ग.

दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ. Based on हेमाद्रि's work.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by भट्टगोविन्द (Baroda O. I. ms. 1677 dated śake 1680).

दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग by शिवराम.

दर्शसञ्चिका.

दशकमदापिका or-पद्धति of पशुपति for Yajurvedins (Kāṇva). He was elder brother of हलायुध and Pandit of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal and so flourished about 1168-1200 A. D.

दशकर्मपद्धति by महामहोपाध्याय कालेसि for Ṛgvedins (about गर्भाधान etc.). N. vol. II. p. 61.

दशकर्मपद्धति by गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

दशकर्मपद्धति by पृथ्वीधर.

दशकर्मपद्धति by भवदेवभट्ट ; (the work is also called दशकर्मदीपिका or कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति). According to छन्दोग school. Vide sec. 73.

दशकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्तमैथिल for Vājasaneyins; same as गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशकर्मव्याख्या of हलायुध (part of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व).

दशकालनिर्णय.

दशधेनुदानपद्धति or-विधि (part of हेमाद्रि's दानखण्ड).

दशनिर्णय by वेङ्कटनाथ वैदिकसार्वभौम, son of रङ्गनाथ.

दशनिर्णय (on fasts and festivals) m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

दशपुत्राह्निक by आनन्द, son of प्रभाकर, of the दशपुत्र family.

दशसुखकोटिहोमप्रयोग by देवभद्रपाठक (Baroda O. I. 10963).

दशविधविप्रपद्धति.

दशश्लोकी (ascribed to विज्ञानेश्वर) on आशौच. Same as आशौचदशक above.

C. by भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर. In Hultzsch's Report III p. 101 we find that भट्टोजि says 'विज्ञानेश्वरमदनपारिजातकारत्रिंशच्छ्लोकीकारप्रभृतयस्तु ब्राह्मणस्य वैश्यानुगमने पक्षिणीत्याहुः,' which shows that he regarded the author of त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी as different from विज्ञानेश्वर.

दशसंस्कारपद्धति. Same as गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति.

दशसंस्कारप्रकरण.

दशादिकालनिर्णय.

दशाहकर्मन्.

दशाहविवाह by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

दानकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट; sec. 106.

दानकल्प quoted in अहल्याकामधेनु.

दानकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर-part of कल्पतरु; sec. 77.

दानकाण्डपर्व by साम्बाजी प्रतापराज (from परशुरामप्रताप.)

दानकाण्डसंक्षेप.

दानकौतुक (extracted from the हरिवंशविलास of चन्द्रपण्डित).

दानकौमुदी by रामजयतर्कालङ्कार.

दानकौमुदी or दानक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (about 1500-1540 A. D.); mentioned in his श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. Vide sec. 107; pr. in B. I. series.

दानकौस्तुभ (from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

दानचन्द्रिका by गौतम.

दानचन्द्रिका by जयराम (abstract of हेमाद्रि).

दानचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव and grandson of रामेश्वर surnamed काल; names दानोद्द्योत, दानरत्न, दानमयूख, and व्रतार्क; also called दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका. Later than 1660 A. D.; pr. at Benares in 1864 and at Bombay in 1880 and 1884.

दानचन्द्रिका by नीलकण्ठ.

दानचन्द्रिका by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. About 1475-1525 A. D.

दानचन्द्रिकावली by श्रीधरपति.

दानतत्त्व.

दानदर्पण m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 250) and तिथितत्त्व by रघुनन्दन.

दानदिनकर by कमलाकर.

दानदिनकर by दिवाकर, son of दिनकर.

दानदीधिति by नीलकण्ठ, son of भास्कर.

दानदीपवाक्यसमुच्चय.

दानधर्मप्रक्रिया by भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवसन्मिश्र मैथिल. Names भूपाल. In four काण्डs ; ms. (Mitra's Notices vol. V p. 144) dated śake 1558, i.e. 1636-7A.D.

दानपद्धी or -पञ्जिका by नवराज, son of देवसिंह of द्रोण family. N. vol. V. p. 150. Peterson (5th Report p. 177) reads नरराज and shows that सूर्यकर compiled it at the bidding of नरराज.

दानपद्धी by रत्नाकर ठक्कुर -summarises दानसागर, as he expressly says.

दानपद्धी by सूर्यकरशर्मन्- vide above under नवराज also.

दानपद्धति-षोडशमहादानपद्धति by रामदत्त minister of कार्णाट king नृसिंह of मिथिला. He was first cousin (paternal) of चण्डेश्वर. First half of 14th century (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 550 No. 1714). The colophon describes it as the work of भवशर्मन्, who is in the 4th introductory verse referred to as born of the खोपालवंश and as an अग्निहोत्रिन् and appointed (to compose the work?).

दानपरिभाषा by नीलकण्ठ.

दानपरीक्षा by श्रीधरमिश्र.

दानपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेश or नागदेव, son of जह्नु of काण्वकुल.

दानपारिजात by क्षेमेन्द्र.

दानप्रकरण.

दानप्रकार.

दानप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय). Vide sec. 108.

दानप्रदीप by दयाराम.

दानप्रदीप by दयाशङ्कर.

दानप्रदीप by महामहोपाध्याय माधव, son of विष्णुशर्मन् from Gurjaradeśa.

दानफलविवेक

दानफलव्रत- description of ceremonies to be performed by wives estranged from husbands or by women afraid of being separated from their sons. (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 577).

दानभागवत by वर्णिकुबेरानन्द ; composed during the reign of संग्रामसिंह. It is a huge work and is very valuable for the history of the text of the Purāṇas and for Purāṇic rites, as it deals principally with topics of धर्म relying upon the पुराणs. Vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 which contains 392 folios. D. C. ms. No. 496 of 1886-92 is a fragment of it, on grammatical points arising out of पुराणs. It gives various derivations of the word नागरी as applied to the alphabet. It mentions वोपदेव and so is later than 1300 A.D.

दानमञ्जरी by व्रजराज.

दानमनोहर by सदाशिव, son of त्रिपाठिपरमानन्द ; composed in संवत् 1735 (1678-79 A. D.) by command of गौडेश महाराज मनोहरदास.

दानमयूख by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. First half of the 17th century (pr. in Kashi S. series and by Mr. Gharpure, Bombay).

दानमहिमन्.

दानकृत्यावली.

दानरत्न m. in दानचन्द्रिका.

दानरत्न part of अनूपविलास.

दानरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

दानरत्नाकर by भट्टराम, son of मुद्गल, of the होसिंग family; compiled under the direction of अनूपसिंह, king of जोधापुर in मरुविषय. Gives genealogy of अनूपसिंह, whose ancestor बीक founded Bikaner. भट्टराम says he composed at the king's bidding five other works अनूपविवेक (on शालग्रामपरीक्षण), सन्तानकल्पलतिका, अनूपकुतुकार्णव, अमृतमञ्जरी (on antidotes against poisons) and चिकित्सामालतीमाला. About 1675 A. D.

दानवाक्य.

दानवाक्यसमुच्चय by योगीश्वर (Baroda O. I. ms. 10513 dated संवत् 1687 i. e. 1630-1 A. D.). D. C. ms. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594.

दानवाक्यसमुच्चय by योगीश्वर, mentioned in भोजदेवसंग्रह, a ms. of which was copied in śake 1297 (1375 A. D.).

दानवाक्यावलि by नरराज.

दानवाक्यावलि by विद्यापति; composed at the direction of महादेवी धीरमति, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण of मिथिला; ms. dated संवत् 1539 (1483 A. D.). First half of 15th century. Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 352 for extract.

दानवाक्यावलि Anonymons (D. C. ms. No. 367 of 1891-95).

दानविजय.

दानविवेक m. by हेमाद्रि, दानचन्द्रिका, दानमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

दानविवेक by भानुदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित. About 1650. A. D.

दानविवेकोद्द्योत or दानोद्द्योत (from मदनरत्न).

दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर son of महादेव. Vide दानचन्द्रिका above.

दानसागर by अनन्तभट्ट.

दानसागर by कामदेवमहाराज, in imitation of बल्लालसेन's work.

दानसागर by बल्लालसेन. Vide sec. 83.

दानसार, portion of नृसिंहप्रसाद. Vide sec. 99.

दानसारसंग्रह (only section on वास्तुपूजा). Ulwar cat. No. 1355 and extract 319.

दानसारावली (vide Bik. cat. p. 375).

दानसौख्य m. in दानचन्द्रिका and दानमयूख (part of टोडरानन्द).

दानहीरावलिप्रकाश by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव. He was daughter's son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट. A versified summary of contents was added to this work by his younger son वैद्यनाथ. He wrote आचारार्क in 1686 A. D. The work is part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. Vide under आचारार्क (I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 547-48).

अनुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथ, son of the author.

दानहेमाद्रि— part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, q. v.

दानार्णव composed by order of queen धीरमति, wife of वीरनारायण नरसिंहदेव (कामेश्वरराजपण्डित) of मिथिला. First half of 15th century.

दानोद्द्योत-same as दानविवेकोद्द्योत (a part of मदनरत्नप्रदीप).

दानोद्द्योत by कृष्णराम.

दामोदरीय m. in निर्णयदीपक and शुद्धिमयूख and समयमयूख; earlier than 1500 A. D.

दायकौमुदी by पीताम्बर सिद्धान्तवागीश. About 1604 A D.; pr. at Calcutta 1904.

दायक्रमसंग्रह of श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta, 1828 and translated by Wynch); mentions आचार्यचूडामणि.

दायतत्त्व or दायभागतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (pr. by Jivananda). Vide sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति.

C. by राधामोहन.

C. by वृन्दावन शुक्ल.

C. Ano. N. (new series) vol. II p. 80.

दायदशश्लोकी in ten शार्दूलविक्रीडित verses on inheritance (pr. by Burnell at Mangalore).

C. by दुर्गाय, son of वासुदेव.

दायदीप, com. on दायभाग. Vide under दायभाग.

दायनिर्णय by गोपालपञ्चानन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's दायतत्त्व.

दायनिर्णय by विद्याधर.

दायनिर्णय by श्रीकरशर्मा; quotes मदनपारिजात, दायभाग and वाचस्पति. Vide I. O. cat. vol. III p. 462 No. 1523; p. 463 No. 1524 shows that there is some confusion between गोपाल and श्रीकरशर्मा.

दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78; (pr. with seven com. by Bharatachandra for Prasanna Kumar Tagore, 1863-66).

C. by दायभागप्रबोधिनी (pr. at Calcutta 1893, 1898).

C. दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुमचन्द्रिका by अच्युत चक्रवर्ती, son of हरिदास तर्काचार्य; criticizes श्रीनाथ's टीका and he is quoted by महेश्वर and श्रीकृष्ण. 1500-1550 A. D.

C. by उमाशङ्कर.

C. by कृष्णकान्तशर्मा.

C. by गङ्गाधर.

C. by गङ्गाराम.

C. दायदीप by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार, whose daughter's son was living in 1790 A. D. (pr. in 1863).

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by मणेश्वर (vide I. L. R. 48 Cal. 702).

C. by महेश्वर; quotes अच्युतचक्रवर्ती (pr. in 1863).

C. by रघुनन्दन (pr. in 1863), son of हरिहर.

C. by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति.

C. विवृति or दीपिका by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्य चूडामणि; quoted in अच्युत's टीका (pr. in 1863).

C. by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य; criticized by अच्युत (pr. in 1863). 1475-1525 A. D.

C. by ।

C. by हरिदीक्षित.

दायभाग—a portion of व्यवहारनिर्णय of वरदराज.

दायभाग—a portion of the विवाद-भङ्गार्णव of जगन्नाथ.

दायभाग by वैद्यनाथ.

दायभागकारिका by मोहनचन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति. N. (new series) I. 172.

दायभागनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय by कामदेव (I. O. cat. p. 463).

दायभागनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (Peterson's 6th Report No. 84).

दायभागनिर्णय by व्यासदेव.

दायभागनिर्णय of श्रीकर-vide दायानिर्णय above.

दायभागविवेक alias दायरहस्य by रामनाथ विद्यावाचस्पति ; a com. on दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन composed in 1657 A.D. Part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि. N. vol. V. p. 154.

दायभागव्यवस्था of सार्वभौम in 8 तरङ्गs. Composed in (शाकेऽग्निमङ्गलहरास्य-कलानिधाने) śake 1583 i. e. 1661-2 A. D. ; composed for राघव.

दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट (part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप).

दायभागसिद्धान्त of बलभद्र तर्कवागीश-भट्टाचार्य (I. O. cat. p. 465).

दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुमचन्द्रिका, com. on दायभाग. Vide above.

दायभागार्थदीपिकापद्यावली by रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि. N. (new series) vol. I p. 174 ; towards end of 18th century.

दायमुक्तावली by टीकाराम.

दायरहस्य-vide दायभागविवेक of रामनाथ.

दायविभाग by कमलाकर.

दायसंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशकव्याख्या by दुर्गय, son of वासुदेव. Vide दायदशश्लोकी.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by श्रीकृष्णतर्कालङ्कार.

दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह by कृष्ण or जयकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार. Ulwar cat. No. 1356. Seems to be same as the preceding.

दायाधिकारिक्रम by लक्ष्मीनारायण.

दाल्भ्यकृतधर्मशास्त्र (on श्राद्ध) D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91 contains prose passages about प्रयोग.

दाल्भ्यपद्धति (Baroda O. I. No. 8156). On rites of death and after death.

दासीदान.

दाहादिकर्मकर्तृनिर्णय by पाशिकदेव सम्राट्स्थपति.

दाहादिकर्मपद्धति.

दिनकरोद्द्योत or शिवरहस्यमणिदीपिका begun by दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and finished by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट; contains sections on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पूर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, शूद्र, श्राद्ध, and संस्कार.

दिनत्रयनिर्णय of विद्याधीशमुनि.

दिनत्रयमीमांसा of नारायण (for माध्व followers).

दिनदीपिका.

दिनभास्कर of शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश. Manual of daily religious duties

of householders. About 1715 A. D.

दिवस्पतिसंग्रह m. by जीमूतवाहन's कालविवेक.

दिवोदासप्रकाश m. by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर.

दिवोदासीय m. by मि. सि., विधानपारिजात, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1500 A. D. Probably the same as दिवोदासप्रकाश.

दिव्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102. C. लघुटीका by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी m. by देवनाथ; mentions only Vaishnavite rites. (Mitra's Notices vol. VI p. 32, ms. copied in 1551 śake i. e. 1629-30 A. D.).

दिव्यदीपिका of दामोदरठक्कुर, compiled under Muhamad Shah (N. vol. V. p. 282).

दिव्यनिर्णय of दामोदरठक्कुर, compiled under संग्रामशाह (N. vol. VI. p. 40). Earlier than 1575 A.D. Vide under विवेकदीपक of दामोदर.

दिव्यसंग्रह by सदानन्द.

दिव्यसिंहकारिका by दिव्यसिंह. An abridgment in verse of his कालदीप and श्राद्धदीप.

दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec.103. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 92.

दीक्षातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide see. 102.

दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका of रामकिशोर (C. P. cat. No. 2202).

दीक्षानिर्णय.

दीपकलिका of शूलपाणि, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Vide sec. 95.

दीपदान.

दीपदानविधि or -कारिका.

दीपमालिका.

दीपश्राद्ध.

दीपावलिप्रयोग.

दीपिका-Occurs in the name of several works such as कालनिर्णयदीपिका, श्राद्धदीपिका &c.

दीपोत्सवनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 10625 dated 1757 संवत्).

दुर्गभञ्जन (alias स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन) by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा, a वारेन्द्रब्राह्मण of नवद्वीप. Four chapters on तिथि, मास, persons qualified to perform religious ceremonies such as दुर्गापूजा, fasts and penances; solves doubts on points of dharma.

दुर्गातत्त्व-Vide दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व.

दुर्गातत्त्व by राघवभट्ट.

दुर्गापुरश्चरणपद्धति.

दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी or दुर्गोत्सवपद्धति ascribed to नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला, composed by विद्यापति. This was his last work. Praises धीरसिंह, son of नरसिंह, and his brother भैरवेन्द्र who is here styled रूपनारायण, though elsewhere he is called हरिनारायण (vide Ind. Ant. vol. 14 p. 193). About 1438 A.D.; pr. in Calcutta, 1909. Mentions रत्नाकर.

दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी of माधव.

दुर्गाभक्तिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन in दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व.

दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी by रघुत्तमतीर्थ.

दुर्गार्चनकल्पतरु.

दुर्गार्चनासूतरहस्य by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

दुर्गार्चाकालनिष्कर्ष by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति. N. (new series), vol. I. p. 81.

दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी by परमानन्दशर्मन्.

दुर्गार्चासुकुर by कालीचरण in two खण्डs, first describing जगद्धात्री-पूजा and the 2nd कालिकापूजा. It speaks of the दुर्गापूजा on कार्तिक-शुक्लनवमी while the well-known दुर्गापूजा is in आश्विन.

दुर्गार्णव m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

दुर्गावतीप्रकाश alias समयालोक by पद्म-नाभ, son of बलभद्र. In seven आलोकs. Composed under pa-tronage of दुर्गावती queen of दल-पति, king on the नर्मदा and father of वीरसाहि ; vide Bik. cat. p. 450 and I. O. cat. p. 536 No. 1680. M. by शङ्करभट्ट in द्वैतनिर्णय and names निर्णयामृत, मदनपारिजात, मदनरत्न. Between 1460-1550 A.D. Deals with निर्णयs on तिथिs, संक्रान्ति, मलमास erc. Is this दलपति the same as the author of नृसिंहप्रसाद ? The seven sections are on समय, व्रत, आचार, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि, ईश्वराराधन (or पूजा ?).

दुर्गोत्सवकृत्यकौमुदी by शम्भुनाथसिद्धान्त-वागीश. Mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप, वर्षकृत्य. He was a pandit at the court of the king of कामरूप. About 1715 A. D.

दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका by भारतीभूषण वर्धमान महापात्र at the instance of prince रामचन्द्रदेव गजपति of Orissa.

दुर्गोत्सवतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय by गोपाल (N. vol. VI p. 210).

दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय by न्यायपञ्चानन (name not given). Mitra appears to regard this as different from above, while Aufrecht holds them identical. N. vol. VII p. 7.

दुर्गोत्सवपद्धति- vide दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी.

दुर्गोत्सवप्रमाण by रघुनन्दन. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol.II pp. 310-311 No. 336.

दुर्गोत्सवविवेक by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

दुर्गोत्सवविवेक by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडा-मणि.

दुष्टरजोदर्शनशान्ति (from प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

दूतयोगलक्षण.

दूतलक्षण.

दूलालीय by दूलाल.

देवजानीय m. in नि. सि., विधानपारि-जात, आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

देवतावारिपूजा.

देवतिलकपद्धति (marriage of an idol of विष्णु with लक्ष्मी). N. (new series) I. p. 179.

देवदासप्रकाश or सद्ग्रन्थचूडामणि by देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son of अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र. Extensive digest of leading rites with particular reference to luna-tions, and on श्राद्ध, आशौच, मल-मास. Based as the author says

on कल्पतरु, कर्क, कृत्यदीप, स्मृतिसार, मिताक्षरा, कृत्यार्णव. Between 1350-1500 A. D. Baroda O. I. No. 5581.

देवदासीय m. by नि. सि., विधानपारिजात, श्राद्धमयूख. (Probably same as above).

देवपद्धति m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव. Probably the महारुद्रपद्धति of अनन्तदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

देवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by श्यामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधरदीक्षित.

देवप्रतिष्ठाविधि (Bik. cat. p. 380).

देवयाज्ञिकपद्धति (यजुर्वेदीय) of देवयाज्ञिक (pr. in Kashi S. series).

देवलस्मृति- vide sec. 23 ; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 85-89.

देवस्थापनकौमुदी by शङ्कर, son of बल्लाल, surnamed घारे (Baroda O. I. 1464).

देवालयप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रमापति.

देवीपरिचर्या m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

देवीपूजनभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश (N. vol. VII p. 154 gives date of completion as खयुगोर्मिशिवे शाके निशाचरतिथौ शुभे).

देवीपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

देशान्तरस्थतक्रियानिरूपण.

देहशुद्धिप्रायश्चित्त (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 673).

दैवज्ञचिन्तामणि m. in टोडरानन्द.

दैवज्ञमनोहर by लक्ष्मीधर- m. by रघुनन्दन in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व and in टोडरानन्द and by नि. सि. ; (probably a purely astrological work). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

दैवज्ञवल्लभ by नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; m. by नि. सि. (probably a purely astrological work).

दोलयात्रा.

दोलयात्रातत्त्व or दोलयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन ; vide sec. 102. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 191.

दोलयात्राविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

दोलायात्रासूत by नारायणतर्काचार्य.

दोलारोहणपद्धति of विद्यानिवास.

द्रव्यशुद्धि by रघुनाथ.

द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर. Author describes himself as श्रीमद्वल्लभाचार्यचरणाब्जदासदास ; quotes नि. सि., शुद्धिमयूख, दिनकरोद्द्योत ; he was born in संवत् 1724 (1668 A. D.) and died about संवत् 1781 ; pr. in 1906.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यपूर्वापरप्रयोग.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र vide खादिरगृह्यसूत्र ; pr. at Ānandāśrama Press, Poona with com.

C. by रुद्रस्कन्द.

C. सुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवास.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्रकारिका by बालाग्निहोत्रिन्.

द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोग by चिन्तानन्दन.

द्रोणचिन्तामणि.

द्वात्रिंशत्कर्मपद्धति.

द्वात्रिंशदपराध (Baroda O. I. No. 12225).

द्वादशमासदेयदानरत्नाकर.

द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व or द्वादशयात्राप्रमाणतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. On the twelve great festivals of Viṣṇu at Jagannāthapurī.

द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग by विद्यानिवास (about जगन्नाथ). N. (new series) I. p. 194.

द्वादशविधपुत्रमीमांसा.

द्वादशाहकर्मविधि.

द्विजकल्पलता by परशुराम in 6 उल्लासs. Hultzsch's Report III p. 60.

द्विजराजोदय.

द्विजाह्निकपद्धति of ईशान, the elder brother of हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.

द्विभार्याग्नि.

द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन by हस्तिकरशुक्ल.

द्विसप्ततिश्राद्ध.

द्वैततत्त्व of सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन.

द्वैतनिर्णय by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण. Calcutta Sanskrit College mss. cat. vol. II. 79.

द्वैतनिर्णय by नरहरि ; quoted by रत्नपाणि in क्षयमासादिविवेक; mentions रत्नाकर.

द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

C. प्रकाश or जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनमिश्र.

C. प्रदीप or काद्म्बरी by गोकुलनाथ (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 488).

द्वैतनिर्णय by शङ्करभट्ट. About 1580-1600; on doubtful points of धर्म. Vide Annals of Bhandarkar Institute vol. III part 2 pp. 67-72.

द्वैतनिर्णय m. in व्रतराज by विश्वनाथ as composed by his grandfather. Latter half of 17th century.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट or द्वैतपरिशिष्ट by केशवमिश्र; m. by रत्नपाणि; in two परिच्छेदs ; dwells at great length on श्राद्धs. Vide Mitra's Notices V. p. 186.

द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट by दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1600-1640 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयफक्किका m. in द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट.

द्वैतनिर्णयसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण.

द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट (whose द्वैतनिर्णय is summarised herein). About 1640-1670 A.D.

द्वैतविषयविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

द्वैतनिर्णयासृत m. in दायभागतत्त्व of रघु०.

द्व्यामुष्यायणनिर्णय or -र्णयेन्दु by विश्वनाथ son of कृष्णगुर्जर of नैध्रुवगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 12708). Mentions दिनकरोद्योत, कौस्तुभ. Later than 1680 A. D.

धनञ्जयसंग्रह m. by रघु० in तिथितत्त्व.

धनभागविवेक- vide भागविवेक.

धनिष्ठापञ्चक.

धनुर्विद्यादीपिका m. by कमलाकर in नि. सि.

धनुर्वेदचिन्तामणि by नरसिंहभट्ट.

धनुर्वेदसंग्रह alias वीरचिन्तामणि by शार्ङ्गधर.

धनुर्वेदसंहिता by वसिष्ठ; pr. at Calcutta in महाराजा कुसुदचन्द्र series.

धर्मकारिका (author not known). 508 कारिकs compiled from various authors. Mentions नि. सि., कौस्तुभ, कालतत्त्वविवेचन and मयूख, and so later than 1680 A. D. (vide BBRAS. cat. p. 219, No. 691.

धर्मकोश- by त्रिलोचनमिश्र m. by वर्धमान and in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु. The work deals with व्यवहारपदs, दायभाग, ऋणादान etc.

धर्मचन्द्र by केशवराय son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Based on आश्वलायनगृह्य and its परिशिष्ट. Divided into किरणs on आचार &c. Baroda O. I. No. 5860 is dated संवत् 1810.

धर्मतत्त्वकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Divided into ten परिच्छेदs on व्रत, दान, कर्मविपाक, शान्ति, पूर्त, आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त, शूद्रधर्म, and तीर्थ. Bik. cat. p. 99.

धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि by पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल. His बिरुदs are कालिकालकर्णप्रताप, परमवैष्णव. Divided into ten प्रकाशs, 7th being on आशौच. Baroda O. I. No. 4006.

धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश by शिवचतुर्धर, son of गोविन्ददीक्षित of कूर्परग्राम (Koprgaon on the गोदावरी). Composed in śake 1698 (नागाङ्कनरसचन्द्र) i. e. 1776 A. D. at प्रतिष्ठान on the Ganges (Allahabad). Hultzsch (Report No. III p. V.) wrongly says that he composed it in 1746 A. D., though in his extract at p. 84, he gives नागाङ्कनरसभूशाके as the date).

धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह by महादेव.

धर्मतत्त्वार्थचिन्तामणि.

धर्मतत्त्वावलोक-vide गोविन्दार्णव alias स्मृतिसागर.

धर्मदीप m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर.

धर्मदीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका by चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति. Reconciles discordant opinions on points of धर्म.

धर्मद्वैतानिर्णय-vide द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट.

धर्मनिबन्ध by रामकृष्णपण्डित.

धर्मनिबन्धन.

धर्मनिर्णय by कृष्णताताचार्य.

धर्मपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट.

धर्मपरीक्षा by मञ्चरदास.

धर्मप्रकाश by माधव. D. C. ms. No. 221 of 1886-92 deals with समयालोक i. e. व्रतs in चैत्र and the other months; mentions माधवीय, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, पुराणसमुच्चय. Later than 1500 A. D.

धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट and पार्वती. Latter half 16th century. Says that he follows the works of मेधातिथि, अपरार्क, विज्ञानेश्वर स्मृत्यर्थसार, कालादर्श, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, नृसिंह, त्रिस्थलीसेतु. Refers to his own शास्त्रदीपिकाप्रकाश. For a part of it on संस्कार vide I. O. cat. vol III p. 482 No. 1564.

धर्मप्रदीप or -दीप m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशौचकाण्ड p. 63), प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि, शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, कालादर्श etc.

धर्मप्रदीप by गङ्गाभट्ट.

धर्मप्रदीप by धनञ्जय; N. (new series) II. p. 46 (on गोत्र only).

धर्मप्रदीप by वर्धमान.

धर्मप्रदीप of भोज-vide p. 279 of the text. Composed between 1400 and 1600 A. D.

धर्मप्रदीपिका com. on अभिनवषट्शीति (q. v.) by सुब्रह्मण्य son of वेङ्कटेश.

धर्मप्रवृत्ति by नारायणभट्ट; m. by शङ्कर-भट्ट in द्वैतनिर्णय, by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित and in व्यवहारमयूख. Treats of daily duties (āhnika), śauca, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, गोत्रनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, आशौच, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, तिथिनिर्णय, स्थालीपाक. Mentions माधवीयकालनिर्णय, मदनपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, महार्णव, अनन्ताचार्य, कालादर्श, नारायणवृत्ति on आश्वलायन; m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता. I. O. ms. (vide cat. p. 480 No. 1560) is dated संवत् 1659 (1602-3 A. D.). So between 1400-1600 A. D. Vide p. 420 above.

धर्मप्रश्न (आपस्तम्बीय)- part of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र.

धर्मबिन्दु.

धर्मबोधन.

धर्मभाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

धर्ममार्गनिर्णय (Baroda O. I. 11821).

धर्मरत्न-a digest by जीमूतवाहन of which the कालविवेक and दायभाग are parts.

धर्मरत्न by भैय्याभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट. Divided into दीधितिs on आह्निक and other subjects.

धर्मरत्नाकर by रामेश्वरभट्ट; on धर्मस्वरूप, तिथिमासलक्षण, प्रतिपदादिषु विहितकृत्यविधान, उपवास, युगादिनिरूपण, संक्रान्ति, अद्भुत, आशौच, श्राद्ध, वेदाध्ययन, अनध्याय etc.

धर्मविवृति m. in मद. पा. (p. 772) on the constitution of परिषद्, संस्कारमयूख and प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. मद. पा. 753 quotes a धर्मवृत्ति (on प्रायश्चित्त). It seems probable that both are identical and are the same as धर्मभाष्य above.

धर्मविवेक by चन्द्रशेखर; explains and illustrates मीमांसान्यायs.

धर्मविवेक by विश्वकर्मन्, son of दामोदर and हीरा and grandson of भीम. Deals with fasts and festivals in 8 काण्डs; quotes कालमाधव, मदनरत्न, हेमाद्रिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह. Between 1450-1525 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 320 for detailed contents where the ms. is dated संवत् 1583.

धर्मविवेचन by रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर.

धर्मशास्त्रकारिका.

धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध by फकीरचन्द्र.

धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह-collection of स्मृति texts on श्राद्ध; BBRAS. cat. p. 219 No. 692.

धर्मशास्त्रसग्रह by बालशर्मपायगुण्ड, son of वैद्यनाथ and लक्ष्मी. I. O. cat. p. 458. Vide sec. 111. About 1800 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्व by भट्टोजि. About 1600-1650 A. D.

धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of दिवाकर. Composed in 1686 A. D. Vide आचारार्क above.

धर्मसंहिता or धर्मस्मृति-m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतo.

धर्मसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्.

धर्मसंग्रह by हरिश्चन्द्र.

धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका by आनन्द.

धर्मसार by पुरुषोत्तम (ms. copied in śake 1607, vide Hp. cat. p. XV).

धर्मसार by प्रभाकर-m. in आचारमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

धर्मसारसमुच्चय- same as चतुर्विंशतिस्मृतिधर्मसारसमुच्चय.

धर्मसारसुधानिधि m. in आह्निकचान्द्रिका of दिवाकर काल and in com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by भट्टोजि (vide BBRAS cat. p. 216).

धर्मसिन्धु or धर्मसिन्धुसार by काशीनाथ alias बाबा पाध्ये. Vide sec. 112.

धर्मसिन्धु by मणिराम.

धर्मसुबोधिनी by नारायण. Compiled from विज्ञानेश्वर, माधव and मदनरत्न.

धर्मसेतु by तिर्मल of पराशर gotra on व्यवहार. Refers to विज्ञानेश्वर.

धर्मसेतु by रघुनाथ. A vast work.

धर्मानमानुबन्धिश्लोक by कृष्णपण्डित.

C. by रामपण्डित.

धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी of प्रेमनिधि ठक्कुर, son of इन्द्रपति ठक्कुर. He hailed from माहिष्मती in the territory of निजामसाह but compiled the digest in Mithilā in संवत् 1410 (1353-54A. D.). Contains twelve chapters on आह्निक, पूजा, श्राद्ध, आशौच, शुद्धि, विवाह, religious benefactions, आपद्धर्म, optional feasts, pilgrimages, प्रायश्चित्त, कर्मविपाक and duties common to all classes. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 18-20. M. M. Chakravarti (JASB. for 1915 pp. 392-393) says that संवत् 1410 must be taken to be śake, since विक्रम era was not in use in मिथिला. But this is not very convincing.

धर्माधर्मव्यवस्था.

धर्माध्वबोध by रामचन्द्र.

धर्मामृत m. by वर्धमान in तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार. Probably धर्मामृत may not be a work at all, but may refer in general to works on धर्म.

धर्मामृतमहोदधि by रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव.

धर्माम्भोधि- same as अनूपविलास.

धर्मार्णव of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. Vide Bik. cat. p. 383 (on तिथिनिर्णय), which ms. is dated 1681 A. D.

धवलनिबन्ध m. in अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण, by रघु० and in निर्णयामृत.

धवलसंग्रह m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालसार of गदाधर (धवलनिबन्ध and धवलसंग्रह are probably the same).

धान्याचलादिदानतत्त्व (on gifts of heaps of corn). N. (new series) II. p. 88.

ध्वजोच्छ्राय -from भूतकमलाकर.

नक्तकालानय.

नक्षत्रयागदान.

नक्षत्रविधान.

नक्षत्रशान्ति by बौधायन (D. C. No. 97 of A 1882-83).

नयमणिमालिका.

नवकण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र or श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र- 6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन. Vide under श्राद्धकल्प.

C. by कर्क.

C. श्राद्धकाशिका by कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र; composed in 1448-9 A. D.

C. श्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

नवग्रहदान.

नवग्रहमख- attributed to वसिष्ठ.

नवग्रहयज्ञ (Baroda O. I. 2279).

नवग्रहयज्ञासूत (Baroda O. I. 6887).

नवग्रहयागविधि.

नवग्रहशान्ति- vide under वासिष्ठी.

नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम for सामवेद followers. I. O. ms. (cat. p. 570) copied in संवत् 1805 (1749 A. D.).

नवग्रहस्थापना BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 243.

नवग्रहहोम.

नवनीतनिबन्ध by रामजी. Is it same as निबन्धनवनीत ?

नवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

नवरत्नदान.

नवरत्नमाला by प्रह्लादभट्ट.

नवरात्रकृत्य.

नवरात्रनिर्णय by गोपालव्यास.

नवरात्रप्रदीप by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series No. 23).

नवविवेकदीपिका by वरदराज.

नवाह्निकभाष्यनिर्णय by गौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् (Baroda O. I. 10219).

नवाह्निविधि.

नव्यधर्मप्रदीप by कृपाराम, pupil of जयराम and patronised by त्रिलोकचन्द्र and कृष्णचन्द्र, Zamindars of Bengal in the 2nd half of 18th century. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 92.

नागदेवाह्निक m. in शूद्रकमलाकर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

नागदेवीय-m. in आचारमयूख ; seems to be the same as नागदेवाह्निक.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by बौधायन.

नागप्रतिष्ठा by शौनक.

नागबलि by शौनक.

नागबलिसंस्कार.

नागार्जुनीयधर्मशास्त्र on आचार, especially स्त्रीधर्म.

नानाशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. About 1500 A. D.

नान्दीमुखनिरूपण by हृदयनाथ.

नान्दीमुखश्राद्धप्रयोग.

नान्दीश्राद्धपद्धति by रामदत्त मिश्रिन्, son of गणेश्वर. First half of 14th century.

नारदस्मृति (ed. by Dr. Jolly).

C. by असहाय, as amended by कल्याणभट्ट.

C. by रमानाथ.

नारदीय- m. in the समयमयूख and other मयूखs. Probably the नारद-पुराण.

नारायणधर्मसारसंग्रह.

नारायणपद्धति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

नारायणप्रबोधात्सव.

नारायणबलिपद्धति by दाल्भ्य (Baroda O. I. 11497).

नारायणबलिप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण.

नारायणभट्टी. The same as प्रयोगरत्न and अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

नारायणमिश्रीय.

नारायणवृत्ति-m. in आचारमयूख. Probably the com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य by नारायण.

नारायणस्मृति m. by अपरार्क.

नित्यकर्मपद्धति (Baroda O. I. ms. No. 603 dated संवत् 1547 i. e. 1490-1 A. D.).

नित्यकर्मपद्धति by श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनायक for माध्यन्दिनशाखा, based on कात्यायन. Also called श्रीधर-पद्धति. D. C. ms. No. 228 of 1886-92. D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-85 is dated संवत् 1434 i. e. 1377-8 A. D.

नित्यकर्मप्रकाशिका by कुलनिधि.

नित्यकर्मलता of धीरेन्द्रपञ्चीभूषण, son of धर्मेश्वर.

नित्यदानादिपद्धति by शामजित् त्रिपाठिन्. Quotes महार्णव.

नित्यस्नानपद्धति by कान्हदेव (Baroda O. I. 4011).

नित्याचारपद्धति by गोपालानन्द.

नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर वाजपेयिन्, son of शम्भुकर (pr. in B. I. series). For वाजसनेयशाखा. Between 1350-1500 A. D.

नित्याचारप्रदीप by नरसिंह वाजपेयिन् of कौत्सवंश, son of मुरारि and grandson of धराधर and pupil of विघ्नेश्वर ; migrated to काशी. Family came from उत्कल ; quotes कल्पतरु, प्रपञ्चसार, माधवीय. A very large work. Later than 1400 A. D. (pr. in B. I. series, 2 parts pp. 1-725). Ulwar cat. extract 322.

नित्यादर्श m. by कालादर्श of आदित्यभट्ट.

नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति by बलभद्र.

निबन्धचूडामणि by यशोधर (Bik. cat. p. 322). Contained at least 62 प्रकाशs and dealt with शान्तिs.

निबन्धन m. by सरस्वतीविलास.

निबन्धनवनीत by रामजित्. Divided into four आस्वादs on सामान्यतिथिनिर्णय, व्रतविशेषनिर्णय, उपाकर्मकाल and श्राद्धकाल. Mentions अनन्तभट्ट, हेमाद्रि, माधव and निर्णयामृत as his authorities. D. C. Ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 was copied in संवत् 1673. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

निबन्धराज Vide under समयप्रकाश.

निबन्धशिरोमणि by नृसिंह (Baroda O. I. 4012 and 9212). A huge work on संस्कारs, astrological

information about **वार**, **नक्षत्र** etc., **अनुपनीतधर्म**, **कर्मविपाक**.

निबन्धसर्वस्व by **महादेव**, son of **श्रीपति**. Vide under **प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय**. A **निबन्धसर्वस्व** is m. in **नृसिंहप्रसाद**.

निबन्धसार by **वच्चिय**, son of **श्रीनाथ**. A huge work in three **अध्याय**s on **आचार**, **व्यवहार** and **प्रायश्चित्त**. D.C. Ms. 123 of 1884-86 is dated **संवत्** 1632 ; m. in **धर्मप्रवृत्ति**.

निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध by **गङ्गाराम**.

निर्णयकौस्तुभ by **विश्वेश्वर** m. by **रघुनन्दन** and **शङ्कर** in **संस्कारभास्कर**.

निर्णयचन्द्रिका by **शङ्करभट्ट**, son of **नारायणभट्ट**.

निर्णयचिन्तामणि by **विष्णुशर्मन्** **महायाज्ञिक** at the instance of **श्रीराजजालमदास**, son of **विदुर**, a **वैश्य** of the **गोभिलगोत्र** (Stein's cat. p. 308 contains the portion on **मलमास**).

निर्णयतत्त्व by **नागदैवज्ञ**, son of **शिव** (C. P. cat. No. 2598) ; he is author of **आचारप्रदीप**, which is quoted in **आचारमयूख**. Earlier than 1450 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1256).

निर्णयतरणि.

निर्णयदर्पण by **गणेशाचार्य** (C. P. cat. No. 2599).

निर्णयदर्पण by **शिवानन्द**, son of **तारापति ठक्कुर**. On **श्राद्ध** and other rites.

निर्णयदीप m. in **नि. सि.**, **आचाररत्न** of **लक्ष्मण**.

निर्णयदीपक by **अचल द्विवेद**, one of the three sons of **वत्सराज** and pupil of **भट्टविनायक**. He was from **वृद्धपुर** and of **मडोड** subsection of **नागरब्राह्मण**s and was also styled **भागवतेय**. He wrote also **ऋग्वेदोक्तमहारुद्रविधान** before this work. The work deals with **श्राद्ध**, **आशौच**, eclipses, **तिथिनिर्णय**, **उपनयन**, **विवाह**, **प्रतिष्ठा** The work was finished in **संवत** 1575 **ज्येष्ठकृष्णद्वादशी** (i. e. in 1518 A. D.) ; quotes **विश्वरूपनिबन्ध**, **दीपिकाविवरण**, **निर्णयामृत**, **कालादर्श**, **पुराणसमुच्चय**, **आचारतिलक**. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 323. He has the verse **ये नाम केचिदिह** (**मालतीमाधव** I) in his introductoty verses ; pr. at Nadiad, 1897.

C. **देवजानीय** m. in **निर्णयसिन्धु**, **विधानपारिजात**. Between 1520-1600 A. D.

निर्णयदीपिका by **वत्सराज** m. in **नि. सि** and **श्राद्धमयूख**. Probably same as **निर्णयदीपक** by **अचल**.

निर्णयपीयूष m. in **स्मृतिसारोद्धार** of **विश्वम्भर**.

निर्णयप्रकाश.

निर्णयप्रदीपिका m. in **श्राद्धकल्पलता** of **नन्दपण्डित**.

निर्णयबिन्दु by **अनन्तदेव** son of **महादेव**, on **तिथि**s.

निर्णयबिन्दु by **बुक्कण**.

निर्णयभास्कर by **नीलकण्ठ** (C. P. cat. No. 2600).

निर्णयभास्कर ms. dated **संवत्** 1725 **माघ** (1669 A. D.) in Peterson's 6th Report p. 10.

निर्णयमञ्जरी by गङ्गाधर.

निर्णयरत्नाकर by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

निर्णयशिरोमणि m. by निर्णयदीपक and by अनन्त in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

निर्णयशौली m. by नि. सि.

निर्णयसंग्रह by प्रतापरुद्र.

निर्णयसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.

निर्णयसमुदाय.

निर्णयसार by क्षेमंकर.

निर्णयसार by गोस्वामी (C. P. cat. No. 2602).

निर्णयसार by नन्दराममिश्र son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र. In 6 परिच्छेदs on तिथि, श्राद्ध etc. Composed in विक्रम 1836 (1780 A. D.).

निर्णयसार by भट्टराघव (Baroda O. I. 8670). Later than 1612 A. D. and earlier than 1700 A. D.

निर्णयसार by रामभट्टाचार्य.

निर्णयसार by लालमणि.

निर्णयसारसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. 4015).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by महादेव (probably the same as author of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिद्धान्त by रघुराम (This work is probably the same as कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट, composed in संवत् 1668 (1612 A. D.). Vide sec. 106; pr. in Ch. S. series and at Nir. P.

C. रत्नमाला or दीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट आर्हे.

निर्णयानन्द m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयामृत by अल्लाड (or -ट) नाथसूरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण, at the direction of prince सूर्यसेन who ruled एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna. Gives a genealogy of the बाहुवाण (चाहुवाण ?) kings of एकचक्रपुर. The introductory verses (which vary to some extent in different mss.) enumerate authorities on which he relies viz. मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क, अर्णव, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, धवल, पुराणसमुच्चय, अनन्तभट्टीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, रामकौतुक, संवत्सरप्रदीप, देवदासीय, रूपनारायणीय, विद्याभट्टपद्धति, विश्वरूपनिबन्ध. One verse occurring in some mss. mentions हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श, चिन्तामणि. But हेमाद्रि's कालनिर्णय p. 34 mentions a निर्णयामृत. The work is mentioned in निर्णयदीपक, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी. So the work is earlier than 1500 A. D. and certainly later than 1250. There are four sections on व्रततिथिनिर्णय, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि and आशौच (pr. by Ven. P.).

निर्णयामृत of गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण, under सूर्यसेन (Calcutta Sanskrit Col. mss. vol. II. p. 78). Seems to be the same as निर्णयामृत of अल्लाड, though गोपीनारायण causes some misgiving. The Bik. cat. p. 426 also refers to गोपीनारायण and सूर्यसेन.

निर्णयामृत by रामचन्द्र. N. vol XI preface p. 4.

निर्णयामृत (पाश्चात्य) m. in the शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

निर्णयार्णव by बालकृष्णदीक्षित.

निर्णयार्थप्रदीप m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

निर्णयोद्धार (also styled तिथिनिर्णयो०) by राघवभट्ट. Mentions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिदर्पण. So later than 1650 A. D. (Ulwar cat. extract 326). Vide तिथिनिर्णय of राघवभट्ट.

निर्णयोद्धारखण्डनमण्डन by यज्ञेश (Baroda O. I. 5247). Dilates upon certain doubts raised about the निर्णयोद्धार of राघवभट्ट.

नीतिकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

नीतिकल्पतरु by क्षेमेन्द्र.

नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र by लक्ष्मीपति.

नीतिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र.

नीतिदीपिका.

नीतिप्रकाश by कुलमुनि.

नीतिप्रकाश by वैशम्पायन (ed. at Madras by Dr. Oppert, 1882). Also called नीतिप्रकाशिका. जनमेजय was instructed by वैशम्पायन at तक्षशिला in eight chapters on राजधर्मोपदेश, धनुर्वेदविवेक, खड्गोत्पत्ति, मुक्तायुधनिरूपण, सेनानयन, सैन्ययोग and राजव्यापार. Enumerates the founders of राजशास्त्र.

C. तत्त्वविवृति by सीताराम, son of नञ्जुण्ड of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र.

नीतिप्रदीप ascribed to वेतालभट्ट.

नीतिभाजनभाजन-dedicated to भोजराज (Mitra's Notices vol. II. p. 33).

नीतिमञ्जरी by याज्ञिकवेदिन्, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अत्रि, son of मुकुन्द द्विवेदिन् of आनन्दपुर. In अष्टक (chapters) corresponding to the eight aṣṭakas of the Ṛgveda) and 200 verses, illustrating moral maxims by Vedic examples. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 116. Composed in संवत् 1550 (1494 A. D.). He was a young man when he composed the work and could repeat the Veda in eleven ways.

C. युक्तदीपिका by author.

C. वेदार्थप्रकाश by author.

C. by देवराज.

नीतिमञ्जरी by शम्भुराज. A fragment called दण्डनीतिप्रकरण (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

नीतिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ (pr. at Benares and by J. R. Gharpure and by Gujarati P. Bombay).

नीतिमाला by नारायण.

नीतिरत्न attributed to वररुचि.

नीतिरत्नाकर of कृष्णबृहत्पण्डितमहापात्र, grandfather of गदाधर, author of कालसार. About 1450 A. D.

नीतिरत्नाकर or राजनीतिरत्नाकर of Vide sec. 90; pr. by Mr. K. P. Jayasval.

नीतिलता by क्षेमेन्द्र m. in औचित्यविचारचर्चा of the author. 2nd and 3rd quarters of 11th century.

नीतिवाक्यामृत of सोमदेवसूरि, pupil of नेमिदेव and younger brother of महेन्द्रदेव. Printed with com. in Bombay in the Maneckchand Digambar Jaina granthamālā. In 32 sections on धर्म, अर्थ, काम, अरिषड्वर्ग, विद्यावृद्ध, आन्वीक्षिकी,

त्रयी, वार्ता, दण्डनीति, मन्त्रिन्, पुरोहित, सेनापति, दूत, चार, विचार, व्यसन, सप्ताङ्गराज्य (स्वामि &c.), राजरक्षा, दिवसानुष्ठान, सदाचार, व्यवहार, विवाद, षाड्गुण्य, युद्ध, विवाह, प्रकीर्ण. Aufrecht notes that he is quoted by मल्लिनाथ on किरातार्जुनीय.

C. (anonymous). Very valuable as regards quotations from numerous स्मृतिs and works on politics.

नीतिविलास by व्रजराजशुक्ल.

नीतिविवेक by करुणाशङ्कर.

नीतिशास्त्रसमुच्चय.

नीतिसमुच्चय.

नीतिसार attributed to घटकर्पर.

नीतिसार attributed to शुक्राचार्य (pr. by Jivananda).

नीतिसारसंग्रह by मधुसूदन.

नीतिसुधा[illegible]लि dy अप्पा वाजपेयिन्.

नीराजनप्रकाश by जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चानन.

नीलवृषोत्सर्ग by अनन्तभट्ट.

नीलोत्सर्गपद्धति.

नीलोद्वाहपद्धति on the ceremony of वृषोत्सर्ग in श्राद्ध. I. O. ms. (cat. p. 578) is dated संवत् 1648 (1591-92 A. D.).

नूतनप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

नूतनमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा by नारायणभट्ट (based on आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट). Baroda O. I. 8876 A.

नृसिंहजयन्तीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.

नृसिंहपरिचर्या m. in नि. सि. and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्त.

नृसिंहपरिचर्या by कृष्णदेव son of गमाचार्य. Stein's cat. p. 222.

नृसिंहपूजापद्धति by वृन्दावन.

नृसिंहप्रसाद of दलपतिराज son of वल्लभ. Vide sec. 99.

नृसिंहाब्धिमहोदधि m. in आचाररत्न.

नृसिंहार्चनपद्धति by ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ.

नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर by प्रेमनिधि.

नौकादान.

न्यायदीपिका of अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य.

न्यायरत्नमालिका-or न्यायमातृका. Vide व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

न्यासपद्धति by त्रिविक्रम.

पञ्चकविधान.

पञ्चकाविधि (rites performed for persons who died when the moon was in any नक्षत्र from धनिष्ठा to रेवती).

पञ्चकशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदनगोस्वामी.

पञ्चकालक्रियादीप on वैष्णव daily duties.

पञ्चकोशसंन्यासाचार.

पञ्चक्रोशयात्रा by शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ.

पञ्चगव्यमेलनप्रकार

पञ्चगौडब्राह्मणजाति.

पञ्चत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी (श्राद्धपद्धति).

पञ्चदशकर्मन् (according to शौनककारिका) on fifteen of the principal संस्कारs.

पञ्चद्राविडजाति.

पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रयोग.

पञ्चमीव्रतोद्यापन.

पञ्चलक्षणविधि.

पञ्चविधान (i. e. संस्कार, अधिवास, उद्वासन, पञ्चाग्निसाधन, जलवासविधि).

पञ्चसंस्कार in 8 अध्यायs. (Baroda O. I. 12355).

पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका by विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र ; a manual of वैष्णव rites in accordance with the doctrines of मध्वाचार्य (तापः पुण्ड्रं तथा नाम मन्त्रो यागश्च पञ्चमः । अमी हि पञ्च संस्काराः परमैकान्त्यहेतवः ॥).

पञ्चसंस्कारविधि for all श्रीवैष्णवs.

पञ्चसूत्रीविधान from जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

पञ्चाग्निकारिका m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

पञ्चायतनपद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव (on पञ्चायतन of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु); vide सूर्यादि-पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

पञ्चायतनपूजा.

पञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of महादेव. Probably same as पञ्चायतनपद्धति.

पञ्चायतनसार m. in पूर्णदिनकरोद्द्योत.

पण्डितपरितोष m. by हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ग-चिन्तामणि as refuting गोविन्दराज (III. 2. 481). Vide p. 314 above.

पण्डितसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in ब्राह्मण-सर्वस्व and in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jivananda, vol. I. p. 531).

पतितत्यागविधि by दिवाकर.

पतितसंसर्गप्रायश्चित्त by an assembly of pandits under king Sarfoji of Tanjore (Hultzsch's Report III. pp. XII and 120).

पतिसंहगमननिषेधनिरासप्रकाश.

पदचन्द्रिका by दयाराम.

पदार्थादर्श of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि. and शूद्रकमलाकर.

पद्धतिरत्न by रूपनारायण (Baroda O. I. 2393).

पद्मनाभनिबन्ध.

पदव्यास m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत°.

परभूजातिनिर्णय.

परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि.

परभूप्रकरण by बाबदेव आटले.

परभूप्रकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's Notices X p. 296). About 1740-49 A. D. during reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji; when Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेखक and a favourite of Shahu; refers to बाबदेव आटले as a hypocrite and a Karhāḍa Brāhmaṇa.

परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वर-सरस्वती-same as यतिधर्मसंग्रह (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम Press).

परमहंसन्यासपद्धति.

परमहंससंन्यासविधान by शङ्कराचार्य ; BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

परमहंससंन्यासविधि.

परमेश्वरीदानाब्धि or स्मृतिसंग्रह by होरिलमिश्र (Bik. cat. p. 431).

परशुरामकारिका m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम of अनन्तदेव.

परशुरामप्रकाश or-निबन्ध by खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित, who was धर्माधिकारी at वाराणसी. This is a digest in two उल्लासs on आचार and श्राद्ध compiled at यमुनापुरी on the गोमती by order of परशुरामभिभ्र (प्रभु), son of होरिलमिश्र (or होलिलमिश्र), who is styled शाकद्वीपीयकुलावतंस. The work is mentioned in आचारार्क and स्मृत्यर्थसागर, and mention माधवीय and मदनपाल. Between 1400-1600 A. D.

परशुरामप्रताप by साबाजी or साम्बाजी प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र and pupil of भट्ट कूर्म and a protegee of निजामसाह. Seems to have contained at least आह्निक, जातिविवेक, दान, प्रायश्चित्त, संस्कार, राजनीति and श्राद्ध. Vide Viśrāmbāg collection (in Deccan College) II. No. 243-246 and Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 131 a. A huge work. Baroda O. I. 5887 is राजवल्लभकाण्ड which is like मानसोल्लास in subject matter.

C. श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपकलिका of बोपदेवपण्डित. Quotes हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श.

पराशरपद्धति by भार्गवराम (vide वर्णजातिसङ्करमाला).

पराशरस्मृति-Vide sec. 35 (printed several times; B. S. series ed. the best; pr. also in Jivananda. Sm. part II pp. 1-52).

C. by माधवाचार्य vide. sec. 92 (pr. B. S. series).

C. by गोविन्दभट्ट, m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु० (p. 787 of Jivananda). Earlier than 1500 A. D.

C. विद्वन्मनोहरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105. (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 377 No. 1301 gives a summary); pr. in Benares in 'The Pandit', New series, vol. 29-32.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वेणी and pupil of नागोजि.

C. हितधर्म by कामेश्वरयज्वन् ; mentions माधवीय ; Palmleaf ms. No. 6956 in Baroda O. I.

परिभाषाविवेक by वर्धमान, son of भवेश. of जिल्वपश्चक family. About 1460-1500 A. D. On नित्य, नैमित्तिक. and काम्य कर्म, कर्माधिकारी, प्रवृत्त and निवृत्त कर्म, आचमन, स्नान, पूजा, श्राद्ध, मधुपर्क, दान, युग, &c.

परिशिष्टदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. This is probably a commentary on a गृह्यपरिशिष्ट (such as छन्दोग०).

परिशिष्टप्रकाश m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Probably the same as छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश q. v.

C. by हरिराम.

परिशिष्टसंग्रह.

परिशेषखण्ड-part of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

परीक्षातत्त्व-same as विव्यतत्त्व of रघु०.

परीक्षापद्धति by वासुदेव. On ordeals. Names विश्वरूप, यज्ञपार्श्व, मिताक्षरा शूलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

पर्णपुरुष or पर्णपुरुषविधि (cremation of effigies of persons who died abroad).

पर्यङ्काशौचविधि (about resorting to the order of संन्यास).

पर्वकालनिर्णय.

पर्वतदानपद्धति.

पर्वनिर्णय by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्कर and grandson of रामदास, who was औदीच्य गुर्जर and honoured by गौडाधीश मनोहर. Discourses on the proper time for new and full moon sacrifices and corresponding obsequial offerings. Names कालविवेचन, निर्णयसिन्धु, निर्णयभास्कर, मदन ; composed in संवत् 1742 (नेत्राम्भोधिधराधरक्षितिमिते श्रीविक्रमार्के शके) i. e. 1685-86 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय by मुरारि.

पर्वनिर्णय by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन्, son of माधव. Between 1550-1625 A. D.

पर्वनिर्णय a portion of धर्मसिन्धु.

पर्वसंग्रह.

पलपीयूषलता by मदनमनोहर, son of मधुसूदन ; in 7 chapters on the canonical use of various kinds of flesh.

पल्लव--a work on politics m. in the राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

पल्लीपतन prognostications derived from the falling of a house lizard.

पल्लीपतनफल.

पल्लीपतनविचार.

पल्लीपतनशान्ति.

पल्लीशरटकाकभासादिशकुन.

पल्लीशरटयोः फलाफलविचार.

पल्लीशरटयोः शान्ति.

पल्लीशरटविधान.

पवित्ररोगपरिहारप्रयोग.

पवित्रारोपणविधान- rite in श्रावण of casting new threads around an image and hence taking them to wear.

पशुपतिदीपिका m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (pp. 206, 210). Probably same as पशुपति's दशकर्मदीपिका.

पशुपतिनिबन्ध m. in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 503). Probably the same as the श्राद्धपद्धति of पशुपति, brother of हलायुध. About 1170-1200 A. D.

पाकयज्ञनिर्णय or -पद्धति by चन्द्रशेखर alias चन्द्रचूड, son of उमापति alias उमाशङ्कर or उमणभट्ट, son of धर्मेश्वर alias धर्माभट्ट. Between 1575-1650 A. D.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by अनन्तामिश्र.

पाकयज्ञपद्धति by पशुपति.

पाकयज्ञप्रयोग by शम्भुभट्ट, son of बालकृष्ण. Follows आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र. I. O. cat. pp. 99-100 (ms. dated संवत् 1749 i. e. 1692-93 A. D.). Flourished between 1660-1710 A. D.

पाञ्चालजातिविवेक.

पाणिग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक by मथुरानाथतर्कवागीश. (N. vol. IX. p. 244 says that author is रघुनाथ while the

colophon extracted has मथुरानाथ).

पारस्करगृह्यकारिका alias कातीयगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोगविवृति by रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशसूरि and grandson of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र. Composed in śake 1188 i. e. 1266 A. D. (I. O. cat. vol. I p. 67).

पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्टपद्धति by कामदेवदीक्षित on वाप्यादिप्रतिष्ठा (pr. in Gujarati P.).

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र (also called कातीयगृह्यसूत्र) in 3 काण्डs (pr. by Stenzler in 1876 at Leipzig and in Kashi S. series with several commentaries and by the Gujarati Press, Bombay, with several commentaries and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. अमृतव्याख्या m. by नन्दपण्डित in his शुद्धिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. अर्थभास्कर by भास्कर, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य.

C. प्रकाश by वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूप दीक्षित; used by his son मुरारिमिश्र.

C. संस्कारगणपति by रामकृष्ण, son of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट (4 खण्डs pr. in Ch. S. series). He was of भारद्वाजगोत्र and was patronised by विजयसिंह; he compiled it in विश्रामण्डलपत्तन on the वशिष्ठा river; mentions कर्क, हरिहर, गदाधर, हलायुध, काशिका and दीपिका. He wrote आह्निकगणपति also. Vide I. O. cat. p. 562 for his आह्निकसंग्रह. About 1750 A. D.

C. सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम, son of बलभद्र of भारद्वाजगोत्र, residing in Mewad. Names उवट, कर्क, and स्मृत्यर्थसार and is m. by गदाधर. Ulwar cat. extract 39 gives संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.) as the date (probably of copying). Between 1200-1400 A. D.; pr. at Gujarati Press and in Kashi S. series.

C. (भाष्य) by कर्क. m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, हेमाद्रि and हरिहर. Earlier than 1100 A. D. (pr. in Gujarati P. ed.).

C. (भाष्य) by कामदेव (on परिशिष्टकण्डिका). Pr. at Gujarati P.

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन. Names कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, भर्तृयज्ञ, मदनपारिजात, हरिहर. About 1500 A. D.; pr. in Kashi S. series and in Gujarati P. edtiion.

C. by भर्तृयज्ञ m. by जयराम in his भाष्य.

C. (on पारस्करगृह्यमन्त्रs) by मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदमिश्र ; ms. (in Stein's cat. p. 252) dated संवत् 1430 (1373 A. D.).

C. by वागीश्वरीदत्त.

C. by वासुदेवदीक्षित ; m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन in यजुर्वेदिभाह्नतत्त्व. Contains पद्धति of all rites. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of नृसिंह, a नागरब्राह्मण of the काश्यपगोत्र; compiled at Benares by लक्ष्मीधर, great-grandson of अनन्त, who was uncle of विश्वनाथ, in संवत् 1692 माघ (i. e. 1635 A. D.).

Names कर्क, हरिहर, कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Therefore विश्वनाथ flourished about 1550 A. D. Vide Ulwar cat. extract 42 (pr. in Gujarati P. ed.).

C. by हरिशर्मन् m. in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I. p. 531.)

C. (भाष्य and पद्धति) by हरिहर (pr. in Gujarati P. and Kashi S. series). Names कर्क, कल्पतरुकार, रेणु, वासुदेव, विज्ञानेश्वर and is m. in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (p. 418). Between 1275–1400 A. D. Vide sec. 84. रघुनन्दन in his यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II. p. 488) mentions both हरिशर्मन् and हरिहर in the same sentence as explaining a passage of कात्यायनगृह्य.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by कामदेव.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by भास्कर. Vide above.

पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति by वासुदेव. Vide above.

पारस्करमन्त्रभाष्य by मुरारि. Vide above under पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

पारस्करश्राद्धसूत्रवृत्त्यर्थसंग्रह by उदयंकर (Stein's cat. p. 17).

पारिजात-numerous works on dharma have this ending, e. g. मदनपारिजात, प्रयोगपारिजात, विधानपारिजात.

पारिजात-vide sec. 75.

पारिजात of भानुदत्त. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 257 and JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII.

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजा- founded on बौधायनसूत्र, बृहद्वासिष्ठ, लिङ्गपुराण. (I. O. cat. p. 585).

पार्थिवलिङ्गपूजाविधि (two different works in Stein's cat. p. 95).

पार्वणचटश्राद्धप्रयोग by देवभद्र.

पार्वणचन्द्रिका by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गंगोली सत्रीवेश्वरशर्मा. On various kinds of श्राद्ध and particularly पार्वणश्राद्ध, according to the छन्दोग school.

पार्वणत्रयश्राद्धविधि (Stein's cat. p.95).

पार्वणप्रयोग- part of श्राद्धसिंह.

पार्वणश्राद्ध (आश्वलायनीय).

C. प्रदीपभाष्य by नारायण.

पार्वणश्राद्धपद्धति.

पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for छन्दोगs.

पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग for वाजसनेयिन्s by देवभद्र.

पार्वणस्थालीपाकप्रयोग (part of प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट).

पार्वणादिश्राद्धतत्त्व-vide of रघु०.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमापति.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट ; vide Bik. cat. 136.

पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of हरिहर.

पितामहस्मृति vide sec. 44.

पितृदयिता of अनिरुद्ध. Vide sec. 82 (pr. in संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषद् series, Calcutta).

पितृपद्धति of गोपालाचार्य. Mentions शूलपाणि. Later than 1450 A. D.

पितृभक्ति by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89, p. 364; for students of यजुर्वेद.

C. by मुरारि. About end of 15th century.

पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी alias श्राद्धकल्प by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98 p. 399.

पितृमेधप्रयोग--by a follower of कपर्दिकारिका (N. vol. X. p. 271).

पितृमेधभाष्य (आपस्तम्बीय) by गार्ग्यगोपाल.

पितृमेधविवरण by रङ्गनाथ.

पितृमेधसार by गोपालयज्वन्.

पितृमेधसार by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of रङ्गनाथ.

पितृमेधसारसुधीविलोचन (a com.) by a वैदिकसार्वभौम. Probably the same as वेङ्कटनाथ above.

पितृमेधसूत्र.

by गौतम.

C. by अनन्तयज्वन्, son of कृष्ण.

by भरद्वाज.

by हिरण्यकेशिन्.

आपस्तम्बीय (प्रश्नs 31-32 of कल्प).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन् (pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1905).

पितृसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धप्रयोग.

पितृहितकरणी m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त. About 1300 A. D.

पिष्टपशुखण्डन by टीकाकारशर्मन् N. (new series) vol. III. p. 116.

पिष्टपशुखण्डनमीमांसा or पिष्टपशुमीमांसा by नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ and pupil of नीलकण्ठ. N.vol.X.p. 312. Recommends पिष्टपशु in sacrifices instead of a goat; ms. dated संवत् 1785 i. e. 1728 A. D.

पिष्टपशुमण्डन by टीकाकारशर्मन् of गार्ग्यगोत्र (Baroda O. I. No. 2436). This is probably the same as पिष्टपशुखण्डन above.

C (contained in Baroda Ms.).

पिष्टपशुमण्डनव्याख्यार्थदीपिका by रक्षपाल.

पिष्टपशुमीमांसाकारिका by नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ.

पुंसवनादिकालनिर्णय.

पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग by पुरुषोत्तम.

पुत्रक्रमदीपिका by रामभद्र on the rights of partition and inheritance of the twelve kinds of sons.

पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग-ascribed to शौनक (Peterson's 6th Report No. 122).

पुत्रपरिग्रहसंशयोच्छेदपरिच्छेद (Stein's cat. p. 95).

पुत्रस्वीकारनिरूपण.

पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय of रामपण्डित, son of विश्वेश्वर, of the वत्सगोत्र. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, कालादर्श, वरदराज. Later than 1400 A. D.

पुत्रीकरणमीमांसा of नन्दपण्डित. Same as दत्तकमीमांसा above. Vide sec. 105.

पुत्रोत्पत्तिपद्धति.

पुनःसन्धान (on rekindling of the householder's fire).

पुनरुपनयन Second initiation of a brāhmaṇa, when first vitiated by partaking of forbidden food.

पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग by दिवाकर, son of महादेव.

पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा by बालकृष्ण (Baroda O. I. No. 9026).

पुनर्विवाहविधि.

पुरश्चरणकौमुदी by मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य वज्र.

पुरश्चरणकौस्तुभ of अहोबल, disciple of ईशानेन्द्र and नृसिंहेन्द्र. Composed in Benares.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका m. in वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द and by रघु० in तिथितत्त्व and आह्निकतत्त्व.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by परमहंस देवेन्द्राश्रम, disciple of विबुधेन्द्राश्रम. (N. vol. VII p. 163). D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by माधव पाठक.

पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका by विबुधेन्द्राश्रम.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by काशीनाथ, son of जयरामभट्ट.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by चन्द्रशेखर.

पुरश्चरणदीपिका by रामचन्द्र.

पुरस्क्रियाचर्या m. in तिथितत्त्व by रघु०.

पुराणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि, निर्णयामृत, नि. सि., द्वैतनिर्णय. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

पुराणसर्वस्व by गोवर्धनपाठक, compiled under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य in śake 1396 (1474-5 A. D.).

पुराणसर्वस्व by पुरुषोत्तम. (Mitra's Notices vol. I. p. 188).

पुराणसर्वस्व by हलायुध, son of पुरुषोत्तम. On 730 interesting points; composed in 1474 A. D. (Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. pp. 84-87).

पुराणसार m. in पराशरमाधवीय, नृसिंहप्रसाद, आह्निकतत्त्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

पुराणसार by prince रुद्रशर्मन्, son of राघवराय, of नवद्वीप. N. vol. X. pp. 62-65.

पुराणसारसंग्रह

पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि of विष्णुभट्ट आठवले, son of रामकृष्ण. A very large work on काल, संस्कार etc. Relies upon हेमाद्रि and माधव principally; pr. by Nir. P. and by Ānan. P.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1666) dated śake 1706 (1784-5 A. D.).

पुरुषार्थप्रबोध by ब्रह्मानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती. Very large work in three parts, each having 4, 5 and 6 chapters respectively on religious efficacy of भस्म, रुद्राक्ष devotion to रुद्र &c.; composed in 1476 (probably śake) at Malavli village on the river Asanasi. Names विद्यारण्य and is m. in रुद्रकमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. pp. 220-222 No. 699. Pr. at Chidambaram, 1907.

पुरुषार्थप्रबोधिनी.

पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर by रङ्गनाथसूरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती; in 15 तरङ्गs on पुराणप्रामाण्यविवेक, त्रिवर्गतत्त्वविवेक, मोक्षतत्त्वविवेक, वर्णादिधर्मविवेक, नामकीर्तनादि, प्रायश्चित्त, अधिकारि, तत्त्वंपदार्थविवेक, मुक्तगतविवेक.

पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि by सायणाचार्य (according to some mss. such as Baroda O. I. No. 7101 and by विद्यारण्य according to others). On धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष.

पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रव्रतत्त्व of रघु०. On the famous shrine of जगन्नाथ in Orissa. Vide sec. 102.

पुरुषोत्तमप्रतिष्ठाप्रकार Vide Peterson's 6th Report, No. 95.

पुलस्त्यस्मृति Vide sec. 45 p. 228.

पुलहस्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and माधवाचार्य.

पुष्टिमार्गीयाह्निक by व्रजराज (for वल्लभाचार्य sect).

पुष्पचिन्तामणि.

पुष्पमाला by रुद्रधर. On the flowers and leaves appropriate to the worship of deities.

पुष्पसारसुधानिधि m. in the अहल्याकामधेनु.

पूजनमालिका by भवानीप्रसाद.

पूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दन.

पूजापद्धति or पद्यमाला by जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8685).

पूजापद्धति by रामचन्द्रभट्ट, son of विष्णुभट्ट छजवलकर; Baroda O. I. No. 10471 copied in śake 1735 i. e. 1813-4 A. D.

पूजापाल m. in आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

पूजाप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) Vide sec. 108.

पूजाप्रदीप by गोविन्द m. in दीक्षातत्त्व by रघु०.

पूजारत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

पूर्णचन्द्र by रिपुञ्जय. On प्रायश्चित्त.

पूर्तकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

पूर्तप्रकाश-a section of the प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव.

पूर्तमाला by रघुनाथ.

पूर्तोद्द्योत by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट- part of दिनकरोद्द्योत q. v.

पूर्वाह्णलीला-(daily duties from स्नान to पूजा) for वैष्णवs.

पृथगुद्वाह.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र-probably same as पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय; m. in विधानपारिजात.

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय m. by हेमाद्रि (चतुर्वर्ग० III. 1. 182), द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट, विधानपारिजात, नि. सि. Earlier than 1250 A. D.

पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय by प्रेमनिधिशर्मन्, son of उमापति of भारद्वाजगोत्र and surnamed पन्त. D. C. Ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 was composed in नन्दपञ्चनृपसंमितशाके (1659 i. e. 1737-38). It deals with श्रवणाकर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c.

पृथ्वीरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

पैङ्गयस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 18).

पैठीनसिस्मृति-vide sec. 24.

पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय by चक्रधर.

पैतृमेधिक by यल्लाजि, son of यल्लभट्ट of the भरद्वाजगोत्र. According to भारद्वाजीयसूत्र and कपर्दिन्. Hultzsch R. I. No. 58.

पैतृमेधिकसूत्र by भारद्वाज in two प्रश्नs (each in 12 कण्डिकाs).

प्रकाश-several works end in प्रकाश e. g. सर्वधर्मप्रकाश of शङ्करभट्ट, परशुरामप्रकाश, परिशिष्टप्रकाश.

प्रकाश-vide sec. 74.

प्रक्रियाजनटीका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रचेतःस्मृति- vide sec. 46.

प्रजापतिस्मृति-vide sec. 47; pr. Anan. Sm. pp. 90-98.

प्रजापद्धति on राजनीति.

प्रजापालन.

प्रणवकल्प ascribed to शौनक. On the nature and mystic import of ओङ्कार.

C. by हेमाद्रि.

प्रणवकल्प by आनन्दतीर्थ.

प्रणवकल्प (from स्कन्दपुराण).

C. प्रकाश by गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसरस्वती.

प्रणवदर्पण by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

प्रणवदर्पण by श्रीनिवासाचार्य.

प्रणवपरिशिष्ट m. by रघु० in आह्निकतत्त्व.

प्रणवार्चनचन्द्रिका by शुकुन्दलाल.

प्रणवोपासनविधि by गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक and grandson of काशीपाठक.

प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव, son of तोरो नारायण, of भारद्वाज गोत्र; composed at प्रतिष्ठान (modern Paithan on the Godāvarī) in śake 1632 i. e. 1710-11 A. D. An extensive digest divided into प्रकाशs on संस्कार, पूर्त, अन्त्येष्टि, संन्यास, यति, वास्तुशान्ति, पाकयज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त, कुण्ड, उत्सर्ग, जातिविवेक. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 222 Nos. 700-703.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड attributed to प्रतापरुद्र गजपति, king of उत्कल, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of कपिलेश्वर of the solar race. In 5 प्रकाशs. Vide sec. 100 and N. vol. X. pp. 222-225; m. in समयमयूख and श्राद्धमयूख.

प्रतापमार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव; composed at the bidding of king प्रतापरुद्रगजपति (Stein's cat. p. 96). Probably the same as above.

प्रतापरुद्रनिबन्ध m. in द्वैतनिर्णय by शङ्करभट्ट (probably the same as प्रतापमार्तण्ड).

प्रतापार्क by विश्वेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र and surnamed महाशब्द, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, son of रत्नाकर; based on his ancestor's जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम and composed by order of king प्रताप, grandson of जयसिंह (Ulwar cat. extract 328).

प्रतिग्रहप्रायश्चित्तप्रकार.

प्रतिमादान.

प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिमासंग्रह m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता by वृन्दावन शुक्ल.

प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी by शङ्कर.

प्रतिष्ठाकौस्तुभ.

प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि by गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व or देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघुनन्दन; vide sec. 102.

प्रतिष्ठादर्पण by पद्मनाभ, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated śake 1706 i. e. 1784-5 A. D.).

प्रतिष्ठादीधिति from the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय of गङ्गाधर.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by अनन्तभट्ट alias बापुभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by त्रिविक्रमभट्ट, son of रघुसूरि ; N. vol. V. p. 157, ms. copied in संवत् 1785).

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by नीलकण्ठ.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by महेश्वरभट्ट हर्ष.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by राधाकृष्ण.

प्रतिष्ठापद्धति by शङ्करभट्ट.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश by हरिप्रसादशर्मन्.

प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग of कमलाकर.

प्रतिष्ठामयूख by नीलकण्ठ ; vide sec. 107 ; (pr. by J. R. Gharpure). Styled प्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग also (vide Ulwar cat. extract 330).

प्रतिष्ठारत्न.

प्रतिष्ठार्कपद्धति by दिवाकर.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of उमापति.

प्रतिष्ठाविवेक of शूलपाणि (sec. 95).

प्रतिष्ठासंग्रह.

प्रतिष्ठासमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

प्रतिष्ठासागर of बल्लालसेन m. in his दानसागर. Vide sec. 83.

प्रतिष्ठासार by रामचन्द्र m. in शान्तिमयूख.

प्रतिष्ठासारदीपिका by पाण्डुरङ्ग टकले, son of चिन्तामणि, in पञ्चवटी ; composed in śake 1702 (1780-81 A. D.); Baroda O. I. No. 333.

प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 134), कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि and दानमयूख.

प्रतिष्ठेन्दु by त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण माटे. (Baroda O. I. 11089 b).

प्रतिष्ठोद्द्योत-(part of दिनकरोद्द्योत) by दिनकर and his son, विश्वेश्वर alias भागाभट्ट.

प्रतिसरबन्धप्रयोग (rules for tying of a string as a charm on the wrist at weddings and other festive occasions).

प्रतीताक्षरा com. of नन्दपण्डित on the मिताक्षरा ; sec. 105.

प्रत्यवरोहणप्रयोग, part of प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट.

प्रथिततिथिनिर्णय by नागदैवज्ञ.

प्रदीप occurs as the last part of the names of several works such as आचारप्रदीप, कृत्यप्रदीप, समयप्रदीप, संवत्सरप्रदीप.

प्रदीप vide sec. 80.

प्रदीपदानपद्धति vide महाप्रदीप०.

प्रदीपिका m. in गणेश's दण्डविवेक and in सरस्वतीविलास. Earlier than 1450 A. D.

प्रदोषनिर्णय by विष्णुभट्ट (from पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि).

प्रदोषपूजापद्धति by वल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of वासुदेवेन्द्र.

प्रपञ्चसार m. by वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, आह्निकतत्त्व of रघु०. Seems to be a work of the तन्त्र class, earlier than 1450 A. D.

C. व्याख्यान, quoted by देवनाथ in तन्त्रकौमुदी. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र.

C. by ज्ञानस्वरूप.

प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक by गङ्गाधर महाडकर, son of सदाशिव. In 8 उल्लासs; ms. dated संवत् 1840 (1783-4 A. D.) ; vide N. vol. X. 162. On आह्निक, भगवत्पूजा, भागवतधर्म, moral maxims.

प्रपञ्चामृतसार by एकराज (or Ekoji) of Tanjore, who reigned from 1676 to 1684 A. D. Some fragments on नीति and पूजा are recovered (Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 141 b).

प्रपञ्चगतिदीपिका by तातादास; mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, चन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधव, सार्वभौम, वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रपन्नादिनचर्या (acccording to रामानुज school).

प्रपन्नलक्षण.

प्रपन्नौर्ध्वदेहिकविधि.

प्रभाकराह्निक by प्रभाकरभट्ट.

प्रमाणदर्पण.

प्रमाणपल्लव of नृसिंह or नरसिंह ठक्कुर, divided into परिच्छेदs on आचार &c.

प्रमाणसंग्रह.

प्रमाणसारप्रकाशिका.

प्रमेयमाला.

प्रयागकृत्य (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागप्रकरण or प्रयागप्रघट्टक (from त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयागसेतु m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (same as part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

प्रयोगकौस्तुभ by गणेशपाठक.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम.

प्रयोगचन्द्रिका in 18 खण्डs. From पुंसवन to श्राद्ध ; follows आपस्तम्बगृह्य, mentions कण्ठभूषण, पञ्चाग्निकारिका, जयन्तकारिका, कपर्दिकारिका, दशनिर्णय, वामनकारिका, सुधीविलोचन, स्मृतिरत्नाकर. (Madras Govt. Sanskrit mss. cat. vol. VII. p. 2798 No. 3713).

प्रयोगचिन्तामणि (part of रामकल्पद्रुम) by अनन्तभट्ट.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection) on स्वस्तिक, पुण्याहवाचन, ग्रहयज्ञ, स्थालीपाक, दुष्टरजोदर्शनशान्ति, गर्भाधान, सीमन्तोन्नयन, षष्ठीपूजा, नामकरण, चौल and other संस्कारs, उपनयन, विवाह.

प्रयोगचूडामणि (Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. p. 22).

प्रयोगचूडामणि m. by रघुनन्दन.

प्रयोगतत्त्व of रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, composed at Benares in 25 तत्त्वs on ordinary religious rites (संस्कारs), परिभाषा, स्वस्तिवाचन, ग्रहमख &c.; composed in śake 1577 (1656 A. D.).

प्रयोगतिलक by वीरराघव (Baroda O. I. 9806).

प्रयोगदर्पण by नारायण, son of चायम्भट्ट. Deals with domestic rites according to Ṛgveda ritual. Names उज्ज्वला of हरदत्त, हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, श्रीधर, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. Later than 1400 A. D.

प्रयोगदर्पण by पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण ; deals with देवप्रतिष्ठा, मण्डपपूजा, तोरणपूजा &c.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रघुनाथसूरि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति on daily religious duties of householders ; quotes हेमाद्रि.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगदर्पण by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

प्रयोगदर्पण Ano. N. (new series) vol. II p. 190. On the last rites of a man, his cremation and श्राद्ध. Mentions श्रीधर (author of स्मृत्यर्थसार) as much removed from him.

प्रयोगदीप (to शाङ्खायनगृह्य) by दयाशङ्कर.

प्रयोगदीपिका by मञ्चनाचार्य.

प्रयोगदीपिका by रामकृष्णभट्ट.

प्रयोगदीपिकावृत्ति.

प्रयोगपञ्चरत्न m. in चातुर्मास्यप्रयोग.

प्रयोगपद्धति

of गङ्गाधर (बौधायनीय).

of ङ्गिगय्यकोविद, son of वेङ्कल मञ्चनाचार्य (for आपस्तम्बीयs). This is called शिङ्गभट्टीय.

of दामोदरगार्ग्य ; based on कर्कोपाध्याय, गङ्गाधर, हरिहर and follows पारस्करगृह्य. Also styled संस्कारपद्धति.

of रघुनाथ , son of रुद्रभट्ट अयाचित (आश्वलायनीय).

of हरिहर (in 2 काण्डs on domestic religious rites); attached to com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

प्रयोगपद्धति to कात्यायनश्राद्धसूत्र.

प्रयोगपद्धतिसुबोधिनी by शिवराम.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नरसिंह (vide I. O. cat. p. 415 No. 1396). Mentions हेमाद्रि, विद्यारण्य, प्रसाद (which the editor of I. O. cat. takes to be नृसिंहप्रसाद). This is most probably the same as the next below and प्रसाद means probably no more than the commentary प्रसाद of विट्ठल on the प्रक्रियाकौमुदी of रामचन्द्र. Vide I. O. cat. p. 166 for प्रसाद com. and Bhandarkar Report 1883-84 p. 59 for pedigree.

प्रयोगपारिजात by नृसिंह a native of कर्णाटक, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र. Has five काण्डs on संस्कार, पाकयज्ञ, आधान, आह्निक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय. Portion on संस्कार printed at Nir. Press (1916). Speaks of 25 संस्कारs ; mentions कालदीप and कालप्रदीप (on same page), कालदीपभाष्य, क्रियासार, फलप्रदीप, विश्वादर्श, विधिरत्न, श्रीधरीय, स्मृतिभास्कर ; criticizes हेमाद्रि and माधव ; composed between 1360 and 1435 A. D. It is this work probably that is mentioned in नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार), धर्मप्रवृत्ति (संस्कार portion) and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट ms. (Bik. cat. p. 439) is dated संवत् 1495 (1438-39 A. D.).

प्रयोगपारिजात by पुरुषोत्तमभट्ट son of देवराजार्य.

प्रयोगपारिजात by रघुनाथ वाजपेयिन्.

प्रयोगपारिजातसारावलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगप्रदीप by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता by श्रीकण्ठ (Baroda O. I. No. 12959).

प्रयोगमणि by केशवभट्ट, son of अभयंकर नारायण.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by मिभिस्रि (?) तिर्पिलि ; D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1871-72. Quotes विज्ञानेश्वर, प्रयोगपारिजात, नृसिंह, आचारमयूख. Later than 1650 A. D.

प्रयोगमुक्तावलि by वीरराघव.

प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति by अनन्त, son of विश्वनाथ ; deals with 25 संस्कारs according to आश्वलायन, and स्वस्तिवाचन, पुण्याहवाचन, स्थालीपाक, परिभाषा, प्रायश्चित्त. (I.O. cat. vol. III. p. 515).

प्रयोगरत्न (हिरण्यकेशीय) by अनन्तदेव, son of विश्वनाथ ; vide Peterson's 5th Report No. 126. Probably same as above.

प्रयोगरत्न by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव.

प्रयोगरत्न by केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव.

प्रयोगरत्न by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट (pr. by Nir. P.) for आश्वलायनीयs. Vide sec. 103.

प्रयोगरत्न by प्रेमनिधि.

प्रयोगरत्न by नृसिंहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट, according to आश्वलायन and शौनक ; quoted in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान of भट्टोजि ; between 1500-1600 A. D.

प्रयोगरत्न by भट्टोजि (C. P. cat. No. 3131).

प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न of महेश, son of महादेव वैशम्पायन ; composed at Kāśī on संस्कार, शान्ति and श्राद्ध ; pr. in śake 1798 ; eulogises मातृदत्त; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1626) dated 1844 संवत् i. e. 1787-8 A. D.

प्रयोगरत्न by महादेव (हिरण्यकेशीय).

प्रयोगरत्न by वासुदेवदीक्षित, son of आपदेव.

प्रयोगरत्न by हरिहर.

प्रयोगरत्नभूषा by रघुनाथ नवहस्त (BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 185).

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by चौण्डप्पाचार्य.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by वासुदेव, son of आपदेवभट्ट, a चित्तपावन ब्राह्मण ; on विष्ण्वादिसर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठा, mentions निर्णयसिन्धु. Between 1620 and 1760 A. D. Also called वासुदेवी and प्रतिष्ठारत्नमाला.

प्रयोगरत्नमाला by पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश.

प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार by प्रेमनिधि.

प्रयोगरत्नसंग्रह m. by संस्कारमयूख.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर -vide प्रयोगदीप of दयाशङ्कर above.

प्रयोगरत्नाकर by यशवन्तभट्ट (for मैत्रायणीयs). Baroda O. I. 8365.

प्रयोगरत्नावली by परमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती (probably on śrauta rites only).

प्रयोगलाघव by विट्ठल, son of महादेव.

प्रयोगसंग्रह by रामनाथ.

प्रयोगसागर by नारायण आरड. Later than 1650 A.D.; called also गुह्याग्निसागर.

प्रयोगसार (W. and K. cat. II p. 97) in 8 काण्डs.

प्रयोगसार by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश, son of नारायण. This is also called कृत्यतत्त्व or संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.

प्रयोगसार by केशवस्वामिन् (बौधायनीय). On Vaidic sacrifices. Names नारायण and भवस्वामी and is m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डन. About 1100 A. D.

प्रयोगसार by गङ्गभट्ट (आपस्तम्बीय).

प्रयोगसार by देवभद्र पाठक, son of बलभद्र (कात्यायनीय). Refers to गङ्ग-

धरपाठक, भर्तृयज्ञ, वासुदेव, रेणु, कर्क, हरिस्वामी, माधव, पद्मनाभ, गदाधर, हरिहर, रामपद्धति of अनन्त. Deals with श्रौत matters.

प्रयोगसार by नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Same as गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसागर.

प्रयोगसार by निजानन्द.

प्रयोगसार by बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य, residing in गोकुलग्राम.

प्रयोगसार by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर. On पुण्याहवाचन, गणपतिपूजन &c.

प्रयोगसार by शिवप्रसाद.

प्रयोगसारावलि m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

प्रयोगसारपीयूष of कुमारस्वामि विष्णु; on परिभाषा, संस्कार, आह्निक, प्रायश्चित्त.

प्रयागसारसमुच्चय.

प्रयोगादर्श by कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ, of मौद्गलगोत्र. It is a com. on his own कारिकामञ्जरी.

प्रवरकाण्ड (आश्वलायनीय) pr. by P. Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक (Mysore, 1900).

C. by नारायण (pr. in the above).

प्रवरखण्ड (आपस्तम्बीय).

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन् (pr. by Chentsalrao in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक, Mysore, 1900, pr. at Kumbhakonam, 1914).

प्रवरखण्ड (वैखानस in one प्रश्न).

प्रवरगण- a work on प्रवरs in शार्दूलविक्रीडित verses. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 225 No. 707; breaks off in verse 25).

प्रवरदर्पण by कमलाकर; also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (pr. in गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धकदम्बक edited by P. Chentsalrao, Mysore 1900).

प्रवरदीप or प्रवरप्रदीप m. in प्रवरदीपिका

प्रवरदीपिका by कृष्णशैव; mentions प्रवरमञ्जरी, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

प्रवरनिर्णय- from the विश्वादर्श.

प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करत्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Calcutta S. College mss. cat. vol. II p. 69 No. 65.

C. रामनन्दिन्.

प्रवरनिर्णय by भट्टोजि. Also called गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

प्रवरनिर्णयवाक्सुधार्णव of विश्वनाथदेव.

प्रवरमञ्जरी- vide गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी; m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

प्रवरविवरण m. in the प्रवरदीपिका.

प्रवराध्याय (there is a section on प्रवर in most of the श्रौतसूत्रs).

प्रवराध्याय of the मानवश्रौत BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 177.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to अगस्त्य. On गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

प्रवराध्याय by पशुपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन; about 1170-1200 A.D.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to भृगुदेव.

प्रवराध्याय ascribed to लौगाक्षि, the eleventh परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन.

प्रवराध्याय by विश्वनाथकवि.

प्रवराध्याय from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर.

प्रवराध्याय from स्मृतिदर्पण.

प्रवासकृत्य by गङ्गाधर son of रामचन्द्र; composed at स्तम्भतीर्थ (modern Khambayat or Cambay) in संवत्

1663(1606-7 A.D.). Deals with duties of साग्निक ब्राह्मणs driven to foreign lands for livelihood.

प्रस्तावपारिजात.

प्रस्तावरत्नाकर of हरिदास son of पुरुषोत्तम, under वीरसिंह, in गदापत्तन in संवत् 1614 (1557-8 A. D.). A work in verse on various subjects including नीति, ज्योतिःशास्त्र.

प्रह्लादसंहिता m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (follows वल्लभमत).

प्राचीनषडशीति (as opposed to अभिनवषडशीति) vide under षडशीति.

प्रातःकृत्य.

प्रातःपूजाविधि by नरोत्तमदास (for the followers of चैतन्य).

प्रायश्चित्तकदम्ब or -निर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन. Points out differences between रघुनाथ, नारायण, जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चानन. N. vol. X, p. 119.

प्रायश्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह by काशीनाथतर्कालङ्कार. Mentions views of शूलपाणि, मदनपारिजात, नव्यद्वैतनिर्णयकृच्चन्द्रशेखर. N. (new series) I. pp. 233-35.

प्रायश्चित्तकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तकल्पतरु- portion of कल्पतरु.

प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड- 2nd part of वैद्यनाथ's स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

प्रायश्चित्तकारिका by गोपाल ; based on the बौधायनसूत्र ; flourished before सायण.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by कृष्णराम.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by मुकुन्दलाल.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव. Stein's cat. p. 96, Hultzsch's Report III p. 56. On both श्रौत and स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्त. About 1660-1700.

प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल by रामचन्द्र ; modelled on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि. N. X. p, 197.

प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश.

प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी alias प्रायश्चित्तविवेकटिप्पनी of रामकृष्ण.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर surnamed काल.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by रमापति of the भैयाल race.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by राधाकान्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका by विश्वनाथभट्ट ; m. by दिवाकर in his प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका and in स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार.

प्रायश्चित्तचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102 ; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार (pr. at Calcutta in 1900).

C. by राधामोहनगोस्वामी (pr. at Calcutta 1885 in Bengali characters). He was a friend of Colebrooke and a descendant of अद्वैत, an associate of चैतन्य.

C. आदर्श by विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश.

प्रायश्चित्तदीप m. in प्रतापनारसिंह of रुद्रदेव. Earlier than 1700 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by राम.

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by लोकनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ (from his सकलागमसंग्रह).

प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73. Also called-प्रकरण.

प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण by रिपुञ्जय (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta 1883).

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन. Summary of रघुनन्दन's work.

प्रायश्चित्तपटल.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by कामदेव. Ms. copied in 1669 A. D. (Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 293 a).

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by जम्बूनाथसभार्धाश, son of हेमाद्रि; in four पटलs.

प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by गणेशमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय.

प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात by रत्नपाणि. Mentions कामधेनु. (N. vol. VI. p. 300).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण (Stein's cat. pp. 96, 310).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by भवदेव बालवलभीभुजङ्ग. Sec. 73.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण by रामकृष्ण.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश of प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप m. by स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (on तिथि).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by केशवभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by गोपालसूरि. (Bik. cat. p. 137 says so, but it appears that गोपालसूरि is a भाष्यकार on बौधायनश्रौत, whom the author follows on श्रौतप्रायश्चित्त.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by प्रेमनिधि of पन्थवंश, composed in śake 1675 (Baroda O. I. 1490).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by राजचूडामणि, son of रत्नखेट श्रीनिवासदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by रामशर्मन्.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वरदाधीशयज्वन्, pupil of वेङ्कटाधीश.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by वाहिनीपति.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was गुरु of वर्धमान, flourished in 2nd and 3rd quarters of 15th century).

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका by भास्कर (Same as प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी) on प्रायश्चित्तs in श्रौत rites.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by त्र्यम्बक (N. vol. X. 164), based on आश्वलायन.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by दिवाकर. Vide under स्मार्त प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्री कागलकर.

प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगरत्नमाला-mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार, त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, प्रदीप, केशवीकार.

प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी of बापुभट्ट, son of महादेव केळकर. Stein's cat. p. 96, gives विरचनकाल as śake 1736.

प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर of मुरारिमिश्र, son of कृष्णमिश्र, and pupil of रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ ; vide sec. 107. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड of मार्तण्डमिश्र (Mitra's Notices vol. VII, p. 7, No. 2252 dated śake 1544 i. e. 1622-23 A. D.).

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by दिवाकर, son of महादेव (part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

अनुक्रमणी to above by वैद्यनाथ, son of author.

प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्न by कमलाकरभट्ट m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला by रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य by दिनकर m. in स्मृतिरत्नावली.

प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि by भवानन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि by मायूर अप्पयदीक्षित ; mentions हेमाद्रि and माधव.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि from वसिष्ठस्मृति.

प्रायश्चित्तविधि attributed to शौनक.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by अनन्तदेव.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by यशोधरभट्ट.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 (Baroda O. I. 10849 dated संवत् 1501 i. e. 1444-45 A. D.); pr. by Jivananda.

C. तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 (pr. by Jivananda).

C. कौमुदी or टिप्पनी by रामकृष्ण.

C. निगूढार्थप्रकाशिका. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 114.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of श्रीनाथ. About 1475-1525 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोद्द्योत- (part of मदनरत्न). Sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य (N. vol. IV No. 1580). He wrote also व्यवस्थासंक्षेपs on तिथि, उद्वाह, श्राद्ध, दाय, शुद्धि. Ms. dated śake 1611.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंग्रह by मोहनचन्द्र.

प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार by अमृतनाथ.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी by भास्कर in 4 प्रकरणs m. in नि. सि., प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल of रघुनाथ, भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. by वेङ्कटेश वाजपेययाजी ; ms. dated संवत् 1641 (1584-5 A. D.) in Stein's cat. p. 311.

प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका by गोपालस्वामिन् (बौधायनीय).

प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति by गोविन्द.

प्रायश्चित्तसंक्षेप by चिन्तामणिन्यायालङ्कार. Probably the same as प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंक्षेप above.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश N. (new series) I p. 239.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by देवराज (This is in Hindi, prepared for महाराज चेतसिंग of Benares). 1770-1781 A.D.

प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह by नारायणभट्ट; mentions शूलपाणि, रघुनन्दन, स्मृतिसागरसार. So later than 1600 A. D. Defines प्रायश्चित्त as 'पापक्षयमात्रकामनाजन्यकृतिविषयः पापक्षयसाधनं कर्म प्रायश्चित्तम्'.

प्रायश्चित्तसदोदय of सदाराम, son of देवेश्वर.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by त्रिलोचनशिव.

प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय by भास्कर.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by त्र्यम्बकभट्ट मोल्ह.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by दलपति (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद). Vide sec. 99.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by (भट्टोजि ?)दीक्षित m. in जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार by श्रीमदाउचाशुक्लदीक्षित m. in प्रतापनारसिंह (vide BBRAS. cat. p.224).

प्रायश्चित्तसार by हरिराम.

प्रायश्चित्तसार from स्मृतिसार of यादवेन्द्रविद्याभूषण. N. (new series) I. p. 240. Ms. dated 1613 (1691 A.D.).

प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी of वनमालिन् (N. vol. IX p. 58).

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by आनन्दचन्द्र N. (new series) vol. III. p. 126.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by नागोजिभट्ट. Vide sec. 110.

प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह by रत्नाकरमिश्र.

प्रायश्चित्तसारावलि (portion of बृहन्नारदीयपुराण).

प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण, son of मायण and brother of माधवाचार्य. Vide sec. 92.

प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी by श्रीनिवासमखिन् (आपस्तम्बीय).

प्रायश्चित्तसेतु by सदाशङ्कर.

प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय 3rd chap. of निबन्धसर्वस्व of महादेव, son of महाजसहल्लमल्लश्रीपति. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555.).

प्रायश्चित्तानुक्रमणिका by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by काशीनाथ, son of अनन्त, (also called प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोगसारसंग्रह) composed for बालकृष्ण; pr. in Bombay in 1863 and 1882. Vide sec. 112.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. Vide sec. 110; ms. (N. vol. V p. 23) is dated संवत् 1848 i. e. 1781-82 A. D.

प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखरसारसंग्रह by नागोजि, son of शिवभट्ट and सती. (I. O. cat. vol. III p. 555).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्द्योत by दिनकर (part of दिनकरोद्द्योत).

प्रायश्चित्तोद्द्योत by मदनसिंहदेव (part of मदनरत्न). Vide sec. 94.

प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, surnamed काल. Also called स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त and स्मार्तनिष्कृतिपद्धति (vide Baroda O. I. 1334, 1543, 1663).

प्रायश्चित्तौघसार by आनन्दचन्द्र. Offences classified under 4 heads, heinous, gross, venial and slight, and their expiation.

प्रासाददीपिका m. by जटमल्लविलास. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by हरि, surnamed पण्डरपुर. Based on the प्रतिष्ठामयूख and मत्स्यपुराण; ms. in Bhadkamkar collection copied in śake 1714 (1792-3 A. D.); names नि. सि., रामवाजपेय.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा by भागुणिमिश्र.

प्रासादप्रतिष्ठादीधिति (part of राजधर्मकौस्तुभ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

प्रासादशिवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कमलाकर. Sec. 106.

प्रेतकृत्यनिर्णय.

प्रेतकृत्यादिनिर्णय Ano.

प्रेतदीपिका by गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिन्.

प्रेतप्रदीप by कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

प्रेतमञ्जरी- vide Hp. cat. XVII (ms. dated 1707 A. D.).

प्रेतमञ्जरी or प्रेतपद्धति by धातुमिश्र. Ulwar cat. No. 1403.

प्रेतमुक्तिदा by क्षेमराम.

प्रेतश्राद्धव्यवस्थाकारिका by स्मार्तवागीश.

प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड or कालनिर्णयसंग्रह by प्रतापरुद्रदेव. Vide प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

फलप्रदीप m. in प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह. (probably a purely astrological work).

फलाभिषेक.

बभ्रुस्मृति m. in परा. मा.

बलदेवाह्निक compiled from the महाभारत.

बहिर्न्याससूत्र.

बहिर्मातृका.

बहिर्यागपूजा.

बह्वृचकारिका m. in नि. सि.

बह्वृचकर्मप्रयोग (according to शाकल) N. vol. X. p. 5.

बह्वृचगृह्यकारिका by शाकलाचार्य. Vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 14 b. This is the same as the above; m. in समयमयूख.

बह्वृचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. in हेमाद्रि, रघु०, नि. सि.

बह्वृचश्राद्धप्रयोग

बह्वृचषोडशकर्ममन्त्रविवरण.

बह्वृचसन्ध्यापद्धतिभाष्य.

बह्वृचाह्निक by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Refers to his प्रायश्चित्तरत्न.

बादरायणस्मृति m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख and in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

बार्हस्पत्यमुहूर्तविधान.

बार्हस्पत्यस्मृति m. by हेमाद्रि.

बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता on मुहूर्तs for गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, उपनयन and other संस्कारs and on portentous phenomena. The वीरमित्रोदय (लक्षणप्रकाश p. 356) quotes बार्हस्पत्यसंहिता on elephants in prose and verse.

बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab S. series). Also called नीतिसर्वस्व.

बालबोधक of आनन्दचन्द्र. In 46 श्लोकs on प्रायश्चित्त.

बालमरणविधिकर्तव्यता.

बालम्भट्टी by लक्ष्मीदेवी; pr. (आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त) by J. R. Gharpure and vyavahāra portion is

translated by him. Vide sec. III.

बालार्कोदय m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद (दानसार).

बालावबोधपद्धति on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

बाष्कलस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 58.).

बुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघुनन्दन.

बुधभूषण by शम्भुराज (son of the great Shivaji). 1680-1689 A. D. On politics &c, pr. in Govt. Oriental series, Poona, 1926.

बुधस्मृति a small treatise of about one page in print in prose. D. C. mss. No. 207 of A 1881-82 and 145 of 1895-1902. Defines धर्म as श्रेयोभ्युदयसाधन ; and summarises rules on उपनयन, विवाह, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, पञ्चमहायज्ञ, पाकयज्ञ, हविर्यज्ञ, सोमयाग, rules common to all, duties of the four वर्णs, वानप्रस्थ and यति, राजधर्म. हेमाद्रि in चतुर्वर्ग० (III. 2. 746) quotes some sūtras on उपनयन and it is m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख. I. O. cat. vol. III p. 386 (No. 1323) sets out the whole स्मृति. Vide sec. 25.

C. by हरिराम.

बुधाष्टमी.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

बुधाष्टमीव्रतोद्यापन Stein's cat. p. 96.

बृहज्जातिविवेक by गोपीनाथकवि (Baroda O. I. 9705).

बृहत्पाराशरस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 53-309).

बृहत्संहिता by व्यास.

बृहद्यम pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 99-107.

बृहद्रत्नाकर of वामनभट्ट.

बृहद्राजमार्तण्ड m. by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व.

बृहद्वसिष्ठस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, हलायुध, मद. पा.

बृहद्विष्णुस्मृति.

बृहद्व्यास m. by मिता०.

बृहस्पतिशान्ति (from संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव).

बृहस्पतिस्मृति-vide sec. 37; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 644-651 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 108-111.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि (परिशेषखण्ड, काल० p. 309).

बैजवाप (or-पि) गृह्य m. by कुमारिलभट्ट in तन्त्रवार्तिक on मीमांसासूत्र (I.3.11) in the words 'आश्वलायनकं सूत्रं बैजवापिकृतं तथा '.

बैजवापस्मृति m. by अपरार्क (in verse about शुभमृत्तिका and सपिण्डन).

बैजवापायन m. by हेमाद्रि.

बोपणभट्टीय.

C. by माधवमुनि

बौधायनगृह्य Pr. in Mysore G. O. L. series, ed. by Dr. Shamaśāstri; divided into 4 प्रश्नs of गृह्य, two प्रश्नs of गृह्यसूत्रपरिभाषा, 5 प्रश्नs of गृह्यशेष, 3 of पितृमेधसूत्र and one of पितृमेधशेषसूत्र. It is the बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र (II. 6) that contains a passage about पुत्रप्रतिग्रह (adoption) that resembles closely a passage of वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र.

C. पूरणव्याख्या by अष्टावक्र.

C. भाष्य (called शिष्टिभाष्य). Hultzsch II No. 668.

बौधायनगृह्यकारिका by कनकसभापति.

बौधायनगृह्यपद्धति by केशवस्वामिन्.

बौधायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (ed. by Harting).

बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला by राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड. Ulwar cat. extract 21; refers to प्रयोगसार.

बौधायनगृह्यप्रायश्चित्तसूत्र.

बौधायनतति on śrauta ritual.

बौधायनधर्मसूत्र-vide sec. 6 (pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 425-484 and Mysore G. O. L. series

C. by गोविन्दस्वामिन् (Mysore G. O. L. series).

C. अमल by परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक.

बौधायनसंग्रह.

बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग by कनकसभापति. Hultzsch R. II. No. 672.

बौधायनस्मृति.

बौधायनाह्निक by विद्यापतिभट्ट.

बौधायनीयपरिशिष्ट m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु०.

ब्रह्मगर्भस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 268), अपरार्क, स्मृतिच० .

ब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 246.

ब्रह्मदत्तभाष्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व by रघु० as quoted by कल्पतरु. So earlier than 1100 A. D. It appears to be a com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.

ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (com. on सन्ध्यामन्त्र) of वनमालिमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र.

ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न by नरसिंह

ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायणभट्टकर. Refers to मुरारिभाष्य, उवटभाष्य, पारस्करगृह्यभाष्य. N. (new series) p. 250.

ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त by श्रीनिवासदीक्षित (Baroda O. I. 6789 d).

ब्राह्मणपद्धति.

ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व by हलायुध; (sec. 72). pr. at Calcutta in 1893 and at Benares.

ब्राह्मवधस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (या. III. 257).

भक्तिजयार्णव by रघुनन्दन. Probably different from the famous रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) I. p. 253.

भक्तिप्रकाश by वैद्यरघुनन्दन in 8 उद्योतs.

भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा by विट्ठलेश्वर.

भक्तिमार्गसंग्रह (for वल्लभs).

भक्तिरत्नाकर by a son of शिवदास.

भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु by सनातन; composed in śake 1463 (1541-42 A.D.); m. in भक्तिजयार्णव.

C. दुर्गसङ्गमनी by जीव.

भक्तिरसार्णव by कृष्णदास.

भक्तिरहस्य by सोमनाथ.

भक्तिवर्धिनी by वल्लभाचार्य.

भक्तिविवेक by श्रीनिवास (for रामानुजs).

भक्तिहंस by विट्ठलेश.

भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय by विट्ठलेश.

C. by रघुनाथ.

भगवत्स्मृति m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and आचारमयूख.

भगवदर्चनविधि by रघुनाथ.

भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or भगवद्भक्तिविवेक by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109.

भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली by विष्णुपुरी composed at Benares. The author was a मैथिल.

C. कान्तिमाला by author. Composed in śake 1555 Phālguna (1634) A.D. Bhandarkar's Report for 1887-91 p. LXXX.

भगवद्भक्तिरसायन by मधुसूदनसरस्वती.

भगवद्भक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधानन्द, in 20 विलासs on religious ceremonies of वैष्णवs ; m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

C. (with text pr. at Calcutta in 1845).

भगवन्तभास्कर or स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ, divided into twelve मयूखs. Vide sec. 107 (the whole published at Benares in 1879-80).

भट्टकारिका m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

भरद्वाजस्मृति-Vide sec. 27.

C. by बालम्भट्ट.

भर्तृसहगमनविधि.

भल्लाटसंग्रह m. in नि. सि. (on जन्मनक्षत्रफल). Probably a purely astrological work.

भवदेवनिबन्ध m. in शुद्धितत्त्वमयूख. Probably the प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण of भवदेवभट्ट. Vide p. 303 above.

भस्मकरोगप्रकाश.

भस्मवादावली.

भागविवेक or धनभागविवेक by भट्टरामजित्, son of श्रीनाथ.

C. मितवादिनी by author. Relies on मिताक्षरा.

भारद्वाजगार्ग्यपरिणयप्रतिषेधवादार्थ on the prohibition of intermarriage between persons of the भारद्वाज and गार्ग्य gotras.

भारद्वाजगृह्य ed. by Dr. J. W. Salomons at Leyden.

C. by कपर्दिस्वामिन्.

C. गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति by भट्टरङ्ग.

भारद्वाजभाष्यकाण्डव्याख्या.

भारद्वाजसंहिता vide भारद्वाजस्मृति.

भारद्वाजस्मृति.

C. by वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड, son of महादेव and वेणी and pupil of नागोजि. Vide sec. 111.

भारद्वाजीयभाष्य m. by भास्कर in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (it is probably कपर्दिभाष्य on भारद्वाजगृह्य) and by हरिहर in पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य.

भार्गवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. by भट्टोजि in तिथिनिर्णय.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका m. in नि. सि. and रामकल्पद्रुम.

भार्गवार्चनदीपिका by सावाजी (or-म्बा) alias प्रतापराज. Ulwar cat. extract 648.

भाविप्रायश्चित्त or भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण. Ano.; mentions माधवाचार्य. BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 197.

भाष्यसंग्रह m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भाष्यार्थसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1360, where a verse in उपजाति metre is quoted in which कपर्दिन् is named), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच), कालनिर्णय of माधव. Between 1000-1200 A. D.

भास्कराह्निक.

भिक्षुतत्त्व by श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ, pupil of महादेवतीर्थ, on the duties of ascetics, and on those entitled to take to संन्यास. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 260.

भीमपराक्रम m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, in श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द), in तिथितत्त्व (seems to be an astrological work).

भुक्तिदीपिका (on the question, when food may be taken before an eclipse).

भुक्तिप्रकरण by कमलाकर.

भुजबलभीम of भोजराज. Vide pp. 278-279 above ; m. in श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि, टोडरानन्द. An astrological work.

भूतशुद्धि Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 538.

भूतशुद्ध्यादिप्राणप्रतिष्ठा Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. 537.

भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 499) of चण्डेश्वर. Probably a work of भोज धारेश्वर.

भूपालपद्धति m. in कुण्डाकृति.

भूपालवल्लभ by परशुराम. An encyclopædia of Dharma, astrology, poetics &c. m. in नि. सि. ; निर्णयदीपक, कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्तव्याख्या.

भूप्रतिमादान.

भृगुस्मृति m. by विश्वरूप, कालविवेक of जीमूत°, मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.

भैरवार्चापारिजात by जैत्रसिंह.

भैरवार्चापारिजात by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, pupil of सुन्दरराज, and son of श्रीनिकेतन.

भ्रष्टवैष्णवखण्डन by श्रीधर.

मकरन्दप्रकाश by हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त. On आह्निक, संस्कार ; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 416) is dated संवत् 1725 (1668-9 A. D.).

मङ्गलनिर्णय by गणेश, son of केशव दैवज्ञ. On the rites to be performed at उपनयन, विवाह &c.

मञ्जरी- Occurs as the last component of many works, e. g. गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी, स्मृतिमञ्जरी (of गोविन्दराज).

मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

मठाम्नायादिविचार (on religious practices in the seven principal mathas of the शंकराचार्य school). N. vol. X. 256 and Stein's cat. p. 312.

मठोत्सर्ग of कमलाकर (C. P. cat. Nos. 3771-72).

मठोत्सर्ग of माग्निदेव (C. P. cat. No. 3770).

मणिमञ्जरीच्छेदिनी.

मण्डपकर्तव्यतापूजापद्धति by शिवरामशुक्ल.

मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन of नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि. C. प्रकाशिका (by author).

मण्डपकुण्डसिद्धि by विट्ठल दीक्षित, son of वरशर्मा ; composed at काशी in śake 1541 (1619-20 A. D.).

C. विवृति by author ; mentions कुण्डकौमुदी, कुण्डरत्नाकर, प्रतिष्ठासार-संग्रह, प्रयोगसार, रामवाजपेयी.

मण्डपनिर्णय m. in उत्सर्गमयूख.

मण्डपप्रकरण.

मण्डपोल्लासनप्रयोग by a son of धरणीधर.

मण्डलकारिका (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 647).

मण्डलदेवतास्थापन (Aufrecht's Leipzig cat. No. 648).

मतपरीक्षा.

मतोद्धार by शङ्करपण्डित.

मथुरासेतु by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव ; m. in स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Sec. 109.

मदनपारिजात attributed to मदनपाल (composed by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट). Vide sec. 93.

मदनमहार्णव Vide महार्णव.

मदनरत्न or मदनरत्नप्रदीप attributed to मदनसिंहदेव. Vide sec. 94. Ulwar cat. extract 336 for समयोद्योत; Baroda O. I. No. 4035 on शुद्धि is dated संवत् 1551 (1494-5 A.D.). This last refers to भट्टविश्वनाथ श्रीमालिगूर्जर as the author.

मधुपकानणय.

मधुपर्कपद्धति.

मध्यमाङ्गिरसस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (या. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मध्याह्निक.

मनुस्मृति or मानवधर्मशास्त्र. Vide sec. 31 (vide p. 157 for editions of commentaries).

C. मन्वर्थमुक्तावली by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88. He was a native of वारेन्द्री i. e. Rājśāhī in Bengal.

C. मन्वाशयानुसारिणी by गोविन्दराज (pr. by V. N. Mandlik). Vide sec. 76.

C. नन्दिनी by नन्दनाचार्य. A late writer. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्थविवृति by नारायणसर्वज्ञ. Between 1100-1300 A. D. (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका by राघवानन्द-सरस्वती. Later than 1400 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. सुखबोधिनी by मणिरामदीक्षित son of गङ्गाराम (vide Stein's cat. p. 98).

C. by असहाय. Vide sec. 58.

C. by उदयकर m. in वि. र. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

C. by उपाध्याय, m. in मेधातिथि भाष्य.

C. by कुल्ल m. in मेधातिथिभाष्य.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by धरणीधर m. by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Between 950-1200 A. D.

C. by भागुरि m. by वि. र. ; vide p. 157.

C. (भाष्य) by मेधातिथि; vide sec. 63 (pr. by V. N. Mandlik and by J. R. Gharpure).

C. by यज्वन्, m. by मेधातिथि.

C. by रामचन्द्र (pr. by V. N. Mandlik).

C. by रुचिदत्त.

C. anonymous (Kashmirian); portions pr. by Dr. Jolly.

मन्त्रकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

मन्त्रकोश m. in आचारमयूख.

मन्त्रकोश by आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन् in 20 परिच्छेदs. Ulwar cat. extract 651.

मन्त्रकौमुदी by अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय, said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. In four काण्डs explains मन्त्रs of सामवेदगृह्यसूत्र; ms. (N. vol. X. p. 122) dated śake 1717 i. e. 1795 A. D.

मन्त्रतन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रकाश m. by रघु० in दीक्षातत्त्व.

मन्त्रप्रश्नभाष्य by हरदत्त. Vide under एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्रव्याख्या.

मन्त्रमुक्तावली m. in शुद्धितत्त्व and मलमासतत्त्व by रघु०.

मन्त्ररत्नदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

मन्त्रसारसंग्रह of शिवराम.

मयूरचित्रक or मेघमाला or रत्नमाला attributed to नारद. Deals with indications of prospective rain, famine etc. from the appearance of the atmosphere &c.; m. in अद्भुतसागर of बल्लालसेन.

मयूरचित्रक by भट्टगुरु in 7 kāṇḍas. (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 4404).

मरणकर्मपद्धति (ascribed to the यजुर्वेदगृह्यसूत्र).

मरणसामयिकनिर्णय on rites and expiations to be performed at time of death (Bik. cat. p. 420).

मरीचिस्मृति- vide sec. 48.

मर्यादासिन्धु m. in व्रतार्थशुद्धिदीपिका of पुरुषोत्तम.

मलमासकार्याकार्यनिर्णय.

मलमासतत्त्व or मलिम्लुचतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ and grandson of रामकृष्ण.

C. by मथुरानाथ.

C. टिप्पनी by राधामोहन.

C. by वृन्दावन.

C. by हरिराम.

मलमासनिरूपण.

मलमासनिर्णय by दशपुत्र.

मलमासनिर्णय by बृहस्पति, son of भवदेव (Baroda O. I. No. 12851).

मलमासनिर्णय by वज्रेश्वर, son of नरसिंह.

मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार by वासुदेव.

मलमासरहस्य by बृहस्पति, son of भवदेव, composed in śake 1603 (1681-2 A. D.).

मलमासविचार Ano.; composed in 1579 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 417). The date seems to be rather 1679 (1600 शके).

मलमासाघमर्षणी Ano.

मलमासार्थसंग्रह by गुरुप्रसादशर्मन्; N. (new series) vol. I. p. 279.

महागणपतिपूजापद्धति.

महादाननिर्णय by king भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला, with the help of वाचस्पतिमिश्र; ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XII, 36 and 122) dated ल. सं 392 (i. e. 1511 A. D.). The pedigree is given as भवेश, his son हरसिंहदेव, his son भैरवेन्द्र,

styled रूपनारायण here, though हरिनारायण elsewhere ; vide also Ulwar cat. No. 1413 where this work appears to be styled महादानप्रयोगपद्धति.

महादानपद्धति by रूपनारायण (I. O. cat. p. 550. No. 1715 must be taken as dated in śake 1452, i. e. 1530 A. D., as the cyclic year विकृति agrees). Also called महादानप्रयोगपद्धति; m. by वाचस्पति in द्वैतनिर्णय, by कमलाकर, in दानमयूख.

महादानपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर.

महादानवाक्यावली of रत्नपाणिमिश्र, son of गंगोलीसज्जीवेश्वरमिश्र ; mentions a work called इतिहाससमुच्चय.

महादानानुक्रमणिका.

महादीपदानविधि.

महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग (बौधायनीय) by सुरेश्वरस्वामिन्, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ. N. vol. X. p. 239.

महादेवीय m. by निर्णयामृत.

महाप्रदीपरत्नपद्धति N. (new series) I. p. 280.

महाप्रयोगसार m. by रघु० in आह्निकतत्त्व.

महाप्रवरनिर्णय.

महाप्रवरभाष्य by पुरुषोत्तम m. in his गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी.

महारुद्रकर्मकलापपद्धति.

महारुद्रजपहोमपूजापद्धति.

महारुद्रन्यासपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति- see रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अचलदेव द्विवेदिन्, son of वत्सराज (acc. to शांखायन). About 1518 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत ; quotes प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. So later than 1575 A. D. (also called महारुद्रप्रयोगपद्धति).

महारुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित m. in रुद्रकल्पद्रुम.

महारुद्रपद्धति by नारायण (acc. to आश्वलायन).

महारुद्रपद्धति by परशुराम, son of कर्ण (acc. to सामवेद); m. by क्षुद्रकमलाकर. Composed in 1459 A. D.

महारुद्रपद्धति by बलभद्र.

महारुद्रपद्धति by मालजित् (or मालजी) son of तिगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट ; of श्रीस्थल, in गुर्जरदेश. The work is also called रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी and the author was also called वेदाङ्गराय. About 1627-1655 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1415).

महारुद्रपद्धति by रामचन्द्राचार्य (for गोभिलीयs). Baroda O. I. 1250.

महारुद्रपद्धति by विष्णुशर्मन्.

महारुद्रपद्धति by वेदाङ्गराय, son of तिगलाभट्ट. Same as the work of मालजी.

महारुद्रयज्ञपद्धति.

महार्णव or महार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि (vol. III. part 1, pp. 183, 1440) and by श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि. This is also called स्मृतिमहार्णव or -प्रकाश. Vide p. 308 above.

महार्णव (कर्मविपाक) attributed to मान्धातृ, a son of मदनपाल. Vide sec. 93, pp. 382-83.

महार्णव by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of पोद्दभट्ट (? पेदिभट्ट). Vide sec. 93. (N. vol. VII p. 121). Same as महार्णव attributed to मान्धातृ.

महार्णवव्रतार्क.

महालयप्रयोग.

महालयश्राद्धपद्धति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by अखण्डानन्द, disciple of अखण्डानुभूति.

महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति by चैतन्यगिरि.

महाशान्ति in two अध्यायs (of 18 and 25 sections) on expiatory and propitiatory rites.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय by कृष्णराम of काश्मीर.

महाष्टमीनिर्णय.

महिषीदान.

महिषीदानमन्त्र.

महेश्वरधर्माधर्म.

मांसनिर्णय by दुण्ढि.

मांसपीयूषलता by रामभद्रशिष्य (C. P. cat. No. 4143).

मांसभक्षणदीपिका by वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन्.

मांसमीमांसा by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट m. in नि. सि.

मांसविवेक by भट्टदामोदर. Tries to prove that the directions about offering of flesh do not apply to the present age.

मांसविवेक or मांसतत्त्वविवेक by विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चानन. Composed about 1634 A. D.; pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series. Styled also मांसतत्त्वविचार.

माघोपवास.

माण्डव्यस्मृति m. in कालविवेक o जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि, दानमयूख.

मातुलसुतापरिणय.

मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by नारायण.

मातृगोत्रनिर्णय by लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of मुद्गल, son of रुद्रकवीन्द्र. (Baroda O. I. No. 1463). On the question of मातृगोत्र being prohibited in marriage to माध्यन्दिनीय ब्राह्मणs.

मातृदत्तीय com. on हिरण्यकेशिसूत्र m. in नि. सि.

मातृसांवत्सरिकश्राद्धप्रयोग.

मातृस्थापनाप्रयोग.

मात्रादिश्राद्धनिर्णय by कोकिल.

माधवप्रकाश or सदाचारचन्द्रोदय. Vide आचारचन्द्रोदय above.

माधवीयकालनिर्णय. Vide कालनिर्णय of माधव above.

माधवीसारोद्धार by रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण. An abstract of पराशरमाधवीय for महाराजाधिराज लक्ष्मणचन्द्र. Vide Stein's cat. p. 309 for extract. About 1575-1600 A. D.

माधवोल्लास m. by रघु० in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (p. 509).

माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रहदीपिका by पद्मनाभ.

मानवगृह्यसूत्र (ed. by Knauer and and in the G. O. series with com.) in two parts called पुरुषs.

C. (भाष्य) by अष्टावक्र : mentions याज्ञवल्क्य, गौतम, पराशर, वैजवाप,

शबरस्वामी, भट्टकुमार, and भट्टअष्टावक्र himself. In the Intro. to 2nd पुरुष he says he composed when 100 years (of what era?) were completed.

मानवगृह्यपरिशिष्ट (BBRAS cat. p.206 No. 657).

मानवधर्मशास्त्र- vide under मनुस्मृति.

मानवश्राद्धकल्प m. by हेमाद्रि.

मानसागरीपद्धति of मानसिंह (C. P. cat. No. 4116).

मानसोल्लास of सोमेश्वर. Vide अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि above.

मार्कण्डेयस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on या. III. 19) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

मार्तण्डदीपिका m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

मार्तण्डाञ्चनचान्द्रिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

मालवदर्शन m. in दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर. It is probably only a reference to some view of भोज and not to a work of that name.

मासकृत्य.

मासतत्त्वविवेचन Ano. On the months and appropriate feasts, fasts and religious rites in each. (Bik. cat. p. 421).

मासदर्पण.

मासनिर्णय by भट्टोजि.

मासमीमांसा by गोकुलनाथ महामहोपाध्याय. On 4 kinds of months, चान्द्र, सौर, सावन and नाक्षत्र, and on the various religious rites and festivals of each of the twelve months of the year.

मासादिनिर्णय by हुण्डि.

मासिकश्राद्धनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण father of कमलाकर; m. in नि. सि.

मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

मासिकश्राद्धप्रयोग (आपस्तम्बीय) by रघुनाथभट्टसम्राट्स्थपति.

मासिकश्राद्धमानापन्यास by मौनि मल्लारिदीक्षित.

मिताक्षरा com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र by हरदत्त. Vide sec. 86.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by मथुरानाथ.

मिताक्षरा com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by विज्ञानेश्वर; also called ऋजुमिताक्षरा. Vide sec. 70.

C. प्रमिताक्षरा or प्रतीताक्षरा by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

C. बालम्भट्टी alias लक्ष्मीव्याख्यान by लक्ष्मीदेवी. Vide sec. 111; pr. in Ch. S. series (व्यवहार) and by J. R. Gharpure (आचार, प्रायश्चित्त and व्यवहार).

C. सुबोधिनी by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93 p. 285. (व्यवहार text pr. by Mr. Gharpure and tr. by him).

C. मिताक्षरासार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

C. by मुकुन्दलाल.

C. by रघुनाथ वाजपेयी (vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 11).

C. सिद्धान्तसंग्रह by राधामोहन शर्मा.

C. by हलायुधभट्ट.

C. व्याख्यानदीपिका by निर्भूरिवसवोपाध्याय, son of देवराजभट्ट, on व्यवहार.

मिताक्षरासार (summary of विज्ञानेश्वर's work) by **मयाराम**.

मिथिलेशाह्निक by **रत्नपाणिशर्मा**, son of **गंगोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा**; composed under prince **छत्रसिंह** of **मिथिला**. Speaks of the daily religious duties according to **सामवेद** such as **शौचविधि, दन्तधावन, स्नान, सन्ध्याविधि, तर्पण, जपयज्ञ, देवपूजा, भोजन, मांसभक्षण, द्रव्यशुद्धि, गार्हस्थ्यधर्म**. N. vol. VI. pp. 30-32. He wrote also **मिथिलेशचरित** describing **महेशठक्कुर** and his nine descendants, **महेश** having got **गज्य** from Delhi king. N. vol. VI. p. 48.

मीमांसापल्वल by **इन्द्रपति**, son of **रुचिपति** and **रुक्मिणी**; applies rules of **मीमांसा** to **धर्मशास्त्र** matters such as **एकादशीव्रत, श्राद्ध, उत्सर्ग**. N. vol. V. p. 281-82. His teacher was **गोपालभट्ट**.

मुक्तिक्षेत्रप्रकाश by **भास्कर** son of **आपाजिभट्ट**; divided into **प्रकाश**s on seven holy places **अयोध्या, मथुरा, माया** &c. (Baroda O. I. 12386). He quotes vedic passages like **सितासिते सरिते** (for **प्रयाग**), **अष्टचक्रा नवद्वारा देवानां पूरयोध्या** (**तैत्तिरीयारण्यक**), **वागक्षरं प्रथमजा** (**तै. ब्रा.**) for **अवन्तिका** and **गोपालतापिनी, नृसिंहपूर्वतापनीय** and **रामतापनीय** for **मथुरा, माया** and **काशी** respectively.

मुक्तिचिन्तामणि by **गजपति पुरुषोत्तमदेव**. On religious duties on a pilgrimage to **जगन्नाथपुरी**. About 1500 A. D.

मुद्गलस्मृति (Palm-leaf Ms. No. 11950 Baroda O. I.) on **मौनादिविधि, दाय, अशौच, प्रायश्चित्त**.

मुद्राविवरण.

मुनिमतमणिमाला by **वामदेव**.

मुमूर्षुमृतकृत्यादिपद्धति by **शङ्करशर्मन्**. Quotes **शुद्धितत्त्व**. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 152.

मुहूर्तकण्ठाभरण.

मुहूर्तकलानिधि by **शीतलदीक्षित**.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम m. by **महादेव** in **मुहूर्तदीपक** (Earlier than 1650 A. D.).

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by **केशव**.

मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम by **विट्ठलदीक्षित**, son of **बूबशर्मन्**, of **कृष्णात्रिगोत्र**; composed in 1628 A. D.

C. **मञ्जरी** by author.

मुहूर्तकल्पाकर by **दुःखभञ्जन**.

मुहूर्तगणपति by **गणपतिरावल**, son of **हरिशङ्कर**, composed in 1685 A. D.

C. by **परमसुख**, son of **सीताराम**.

C. by **परशुराममिश्र**.

मुहूर्तचक्रावलि.

मुहूर्तचन्द्रकला by **हरजीभट्ट**. About 1610 A. D.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि by **रामदैवज्ञ**, son of **अनन्त** and younger brother of **नीलकण्ठ**, composed at Benares in 1600-01 A.D.; m. in **संस्कारमयूख** of **सिद्धेश्वर**; pr. at Bombay in 1902; (vide Ulwar cat. extract 543 which shows that **नीलकण्ठ** was a Pandit in Akbar's court). His ancestors came from **विदर्भ**.

C. प्रमिताक्षरा by author ; pr. at Benares 1848.

C. कामधेनु.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. पीयूषकर्णिका.

C. पीयूषधारा by गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ, composed in 1603 A.D. Pr. at Bombay in 1873. गोविन्द was nephew of author.

CC. by रघुदैवज्ञ.

C. षट्साहस्री.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि by वेङ्कटेशभट्ट.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणिसार.

मुहूर्तचिन्तामणिसारिणी.

मुहूर्तचूडामणि by शिवदैवज्ञ, son of श्रीकृष्णदैवज्ञ of भारद्वाजगोत्र.

मुहूर्ततत्त्व by केशव दैवज्ञ, son of कमलाकर ; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

C. by author.

C. by कृपाराम.

C. by गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशवदैवज्ञ ; composed about 1540 A.D.

C. by महादेव m. in मुहूर्तदीपक.

मुहूर्तदर्पण m. in मार्तण्डवल्लभा.

C. दीपिका (Madras Govt. mss. cat. No. 1870, 1874).

मुहूर्तदर्पण by लालमणि, son of जगद्राम, son of गङ्गाराम of अलर्कपुर to the south of प्रयाग. Ulwar cat. extract 544.

मुहूर्तदर्पण by विद्यामाधव.

C. by माधवभट्ट.

मुहूर्तदीप by जयानन्द.

मुहूर्तदीप by a son of शिवदैवज्ञ.

मुहूर्तदीपक by नागदेव.

मुहूर्तदीपक by महादेव, son of काहुजि (कान्हजित् ?). Vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 336a.

C. by author composed in śake 1583 (1661 A. D.). Mentions टोडरानन्द.

मुहूर्तदीपक by रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त.

मुहूर्तदीपिका m. in कालविधान acc. to नि. सि.

मुहूर्तदीपिका attributed to बादरायण.

मुहूर्तनिर्णय.

मुहूर्तपदवी.

मुहूर्तपरीक्षा by देवराज.

मुहूर्तभूषण or मञ्जीर by रामसेवक त्रिवेदिन् (N. vol. XI preface p. 4).

मुहूर्तभूषणटीका by रामदत्त.

मुहूर्तभैरव by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरवदैवज्ञ.

मुहूर्तभैरव by दीनदयालु पाठक.

मुहूर्तमञ्जरी by यदुनन्दनपण्डित in 4 गुच्छs and 101 verses. Vide Ulwar cat. extract No.545; composed in संवत् 1726 (1670 A.D.).

मुहूर्तमञ्जरी by हरिनारायण.

मुहूर्तमञ्जषा.

मुहूर्तमणि by विश्वनाथ.

मुहूर्तमाधवीय ascribed to सायण or माधवाचार्य.

मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड by केशव.

मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड by नारायणभट्ट, son of अनन्त. Composed in śake 1493 Phalguna (i.e. about March 1572 A. D.) near Devagiri in 160 verses.

C. मार्तण्डवल्लभा by author ; pr. (with text) in Bombay, 1861.

मुहूर्तमाला by रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र and चित्तपावन subcaste ; pr. at Ratnagiri in 1878.

मुहूर्तमुक्तामणि.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by काशीनाथ.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by देवराम.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by भास्कर.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by योगीन्द्र (vide Ulwar cat. extract 546).

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; composed in 1618 A. D.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by श्रीकण्ठ.

मुहूर्तमुक्तावली by हरिभट्ट.

मुहूर्तरचना by दुर्गासहाय.

मुहूर्तरत्न by ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय (also called मुहूर्तरत्नाकर).

मुहूर्तरत्न by गोविन्द.

मुहूर्तरत्न by रघुनाथ.

मुहूर्तरत्न by शिरोमणिभट्ट.

मुहूर्तरत्नमाला by श्रीपति ; m. by रघु०.
C. by author.

मुहूर्तरत्नाकर by हरिनन्दन.
C. by author.

मुहूर्तराज by विश्वदास.

मुहूर्तराजीय.

मुहूर्तलक्षणपटल.

मुहूर्तविधानसार m. in कालमाधव.

मुहूर्तविवरण.

मुहूर्तवृत्तशत.

मुहूर्तशिरोमणि by धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र.

मुहूर्तसंग्रह m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर and सं.कौ. Earlier than 1650 A. D.
C. by लक्ष्मीपति.

मुहूर्तसंचय by क्षेमराम.

मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुनाथाचार्य (?). Is it not the same as the next ?

मुहूर्तसर्वस्व by रघुवीर, son of विट्ठल दीक्षित, son of कूब, at Benares ; composed in śake 1557 i. e. 1635-36 (vide N. vol. I. p. 109).

मुहूर्तसार (vide Burnell's Tanjore cat. p. 79 a).

मुहूर्तसार by भानुदत्त.

मुहूर्तसारिणी.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि by नागदेव.

मुहूर्तसिद्धि by महादेव.

मुहूर्तसिन्धु by मधुसूदनमिश्र pr. at Lahore.

मुहूर्तस्कन्ध by बृहस्पति.

मुहूर्तामृत m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

मुहूर्तार्क by मृत्युञ्जय कोकिल.
C. प्रभा by author.

मुहूर्तालङ्कार by गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव. Composed in śake 1554 माघ 15 (1633 A. D.). Vide Stein's cat. p. 343 for extract.

मुहूर्तालङ्कार by जयराम.

मुहूर्तावलि.

मूर्खहा- a treatise on सङ्कल्पवाक्यs, नान्दीश्राद्ध, तिथिव्यवस्था, एकोद्दिष्टकालव्यवस्था, श्राद्धव्यवस्था, गोवधादिप्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहारदायादिव्यवस्था, विवाह-

नक्षत्रादि. Vide N. vol. II p. 49 and N. (new series) vol. II pp. 146-7.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा- N. (new series) I. p. 293.

मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन.

मूलनक्षत्रशान्ति (rites for averting the evil effects of birth on a day when the moon is in the Mūla constellation).

मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग attributed to शौनक.

मूलभट्टप्रयोग by मूलभट्ट.

मूलशान्ति attributed to शौनक.

मूलशान्तिनिर्णय Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

मूलशान्तिविधान.

मूलशान्तिविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

मूलादिशान्ति.

मूल्यनिरूपण of गोपाल (C. P. cat. No. 4321).

मूल्यसंग्रह or मूल्याध्याय by बापुभट्ट; contains summary of fines ordained in lieu of various gifts at various ceremonial rites, when one is unable to give the gifts. Names गोपालभाष्य. Ms. dated śake 1756 (N. vol. X. p. 238).

मूल्याध्याय (in 5 1/2 verses) attributed to कात्यायन. Deals with substitution of money for gifts of cows and other property. Vide BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 171 for text.

C. by कामदेवदीक्षित. N. (new series) vol. III preface p. IV.

C. by गोपालजी.

C. by विट्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वैष्णव and resident of श्री पुर. Mentions नीलकण्ठ and his son. Later than 1670 A. D.

मृत्तिकास्नान.

मृत्युञ्जयस्मृति m. in हेमाद्रि दानखण्ड pp. 764-65, 784 and in दानमयूख.

मृत्युमहिषीदानविधि (gift of a she-buffalo at the time of death of a person).

मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपदार्थानुक्रम.

मैत्रायणगृह्यपद्धति (on 16 संस्कारs according to मैत्रायण school). The chap. called प्रथमपुरुष.

मैत्रायणीयगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by हलायुध, हेमाद्रि, म. पा.

मैत्रायणीयौर्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति- Vide क्रियापद्धति.

मोक्षकल्पतरु (a part of कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु) by लक्ष्मीधर. Sec. 77.

मोक्षेश्वरनिबन्ध m. by गदाधर in com. on पारस्करगृह्यपरिशिष्ट. This is probably the same as the प्रश्नज्ञानदोषपृच्छाप्रकरण of ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर (Bik. cat. pp. 325-326).

मोहचूडोत्तर or मोहचुल्लोत्तर; m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 883 as मोहचौरोत्तर), नि. सि.

यजुर्वल्लभा or कर्मसरणि by विट्ठलदीक्षित or विट्ठलेश, son of वल्लभाचार्य and younger brother of गोपीनाथ, in 3 काण्डs on आह्निक, संस्कार, आवसथ्याधान (consecration of गृह्य fire) according to यजुर्वेद. Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1280.

यजुर्विवाहपद्धति.

यजुर्वेदविहितोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

यजुर्वेदीयश्राद्धविधि of ढोण्डू. Vide under श्राद्धविधि.

यजुःशाखाभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय by पाण्डुरङ्ग दकल (Baroda O. I. 374). His सिद्धान्त is that wherever the word यजुर्वेद occurs by itself तैत्तिरीयशाखा is to be understood and not शुक्लयजु०.

यज्ञपार्श्वसंग्रहकारिका m. in गदाधरभाष्य on पारस्कर.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह by रामसेवक.

यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by रामप्रसाद.

यज्ञोपवीतनिर्णय.

यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति by रामदत्त, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयिशाखा).

यतिक्षौरविधि by मधुसूदनानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5015).

यतिखननादिप्रयोग by श्रीशैलवेदकोटीरलक्ष्मण ; mentions यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यतिधर्म by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिधर्म Ano.

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by वासुदेवाश्रम (Baroda O. I. 12289).

यतिधर्मप्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर. Same as °संग्रह below.

यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी by नीलकण्ठयतीन्द्र

यतिधर्मसंग्रह Ano (N. vol. IX. p. 278). First speaks of आचार्यपरम्परा from शङ्कराचार्य, of मठाम्नाय and then of यतिधर्म.

यतिधर्मसंग्रह by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश (pr. by आनन्दाश्रम, Poona).

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by यादवप्रकाश in 11 *parvans* for वैष्णवs.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य.

यतिधर्मसमुच्चय by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञ विश्वेश ; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 293) dated संवत् 1668 (1611-12 A. D.). Also called यतिधर्मसंग्रह (same as above).

यतिनित्यपद्धति by आनन्दानन्द (Baroda O. I. 5017).

यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण by पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of पूर्णानन्द.

यतिमरणोपयुक्तांशसंग्रह.

यतिलिङ्गसमर्थन in 3 स्कन्धs.

यतिवन्दननिषेध.

यतिवन्दनशतदूषणी.

यतिवन्दनसमर्थन.

यतिवल्लभा or संन्यासपद्धति of विश्वकर्मन्. On संन्यास, the four kinds of यतिs, viz. कुटीचक, बहूदक, हंस, परमहंस and their duties. N. vol. X. 175. Mentions विधानमाला.

यतिसंस्कार (a part of प्रतापनारसिंह).

यतिसंस्कार (on the funeral rites and श्राद्धs for यति performed by his son). N. vol. X. p. 10.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by रायम्भट्ट.

यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वर. N. vol. I p. 173.

यतिसंस्कारविधि (two different works) Vide Stein's cat. p. 99.

यतिसंस्कारविधिनिर्णय (I. O. cat. p. 523 No. 1647).

यतिसंस्कारोपयोगिनिर्णय.

यतिसन्ध्यावार्तिक by सुरेश्वर, pupil of शङ्कर. N. vol. X. p. 9.

यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय by सच्चिदानन्द-सरस्वती.

यत्यनुष्ठान.

यत्यनुष्ठानपद्धति by शङ्करानन्द.

यत्यन्तकर्मपद्धति by रघुनाथ.

यत्याचारसंग्रहीययतिसंस्कारप्रयोग by विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती (N. vol. I p. 174).

यत्याचारसप्तर्षिपूजा.

यत्याराधनप्रयाग.

यत्याह्निक (Baroda O. I. 8563).

यमस्मृति. Vide sec. 49; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 560-567 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 112-116.

यल्लाजीय by यल्लाजि son of यल्लुभट्ट. On funeral rites, सपिण्डीकरण etc. Relies on आश्वलायनसूत्र, भारद्वाजसूत्र, भाष्यs thereon and on शौनक.

यशवन्तभास्कर by भास्कर or हरिभास्कर, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; patronised by यशवन्तदेव, son of इन्द्रमणि, king of Bundelkhand, Bik. cat. p. 508 contains संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश out of this work. N. vol. IV p. 269 has same. हरिभट्ट hailed from त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी and was of काश्यपगोत्र and आपाजिभट्ट dwelt in काशी. About 1676.

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति- vide sec. 34.

C. by अपरार्क ; vide sec. 79.

C. by कुलमणि शुक्ल.

C. by देवबोध m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

C. by धर्मेश्वर m. in शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 529).

C. बालक्रीडा by विश्वरूप. Vide sec. 60.

CC. विभावना.

CC. अमृतस्यन्दिनी of सोमयाजिन्.

CC. वचनमाला by pupil's pupil of सोमयाजिन्.

CC. ano.

C. मिताक्षरा by मथुरानाथ.

C. मिताक्षरा by विज्ञानेश्वर. Vide sec. 70. For com. on मिताक्षरा, vide under मिताक्षरा above.

C. by रघुनाथभट्ट.

C. दीपकलिका of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

C. वीरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र. Sec. 108 (portion printed in Ch. S. series).

याज्ञिककमलाकरी (C. P. cat. No. 4414).

यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व by हरिशङ्कर.

यात्राविवाहाद्युपाय (auspicious times for marriage, journey &c.) N. (new series) vol. II p. 149.

युक्तिकल्पतरु of भोजदेव. Deals with state administration and topics of राजनीति, such as द्यूत, कोष, कृषिकर्म, बल, यात्रा, सन्धि, विग्रह, नगरनिर्माण, वास्तुप्रवेश, छत्र, ध्वज, पद्मरागादिपरीक्षा, अश्व, शस्त्रपरीक्षा, नौका-

लक्षण &c. Names भोज himself as authority and उशनस्, गर्ग, बृहस्पति, पराशर, वात्स्य, लोहप्रदीप, शार्ङ्गधर and several पुराणs. (pr. in Cal. O. series No. 1).

युगार्णव (C. P. cat. No. 4418).

युद्धकुतूहल.

युद्धकौशल by रुद्र.

युद्धचिन्तामणि by रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन्.

युद्धजयप्रकाश by दुःखभञ्जन.

युद्धजयार्णव m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

युद्धजयार्णव (from अग्निपुराण chap. 123-125).

युद्धजयोत्सव.

C. ano.

C. by मथुरानाथ शुक्ल.

C. by रामदत्त.

युद्धजयोत्सव by गङ्गाराम in five प्रकाशs. Ulwar cat. extract 551.

युद्धयात्रा m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

युद्धरत्नावला.

रङ्गनाथदेशिकाह्निक by रङ्गनाथदेशिक.

रजतदानप्रयोग by कमलाकर.

रत्नकरण्डिका by द्रोण. (Hp. cat. pp. X-XI ms. copied in संवत् 1189 i. e. 1132-33 A. D.); treats of rites for Vājasaneyins. D. C. Ms. No. 273 of 1886-92 is incomplete and contains the following topics, viz. प्रायश्चित्त, स्पृष्टास्पृष्टप्रकरण, शावाशौच, श्राद्ध, गृहस्थाश्रमधर्म, दाय, ऋण, व्यवहार, दिव्य, कृच्छ्र &c.

रत्नकोश m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 750), in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०, दोडरानन्द.

रत्नदीपविश्वप्रकाश.

रत्नमाला by शतानन्द ; m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (vol. I. p. 596).

रत्नमाला m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, गोविन्दार्णव, निर्णयदीपक ; probably श्रीपति's work or शतानन्द's work.

रत्नसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

रत्नसागर m. in नि. सि.

रत्नाकर- vide under चण्डेश्वर sec. 90.

रत्नाकर by गोपाल.

रत्नाकर by रामप्रसाद. Stein's cat. p. 100 has the portion on प्रायश्चित्त.

रत्नार्णव m. by रघु०.

रत्नावलि m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 857), by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व.

रथसप्तमीकालनिर्णय.

रविसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय by रघुनाथ son of माधव.

रसामृतसिन्धु m. in सदाचारचन्द्रिका (probably on भक्ति).

राघवभट्टीय m. by नि. सि.

राजकौस्तुभ or राजधर्मकौस्तुभ (part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ) by अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

राजधर्मसारसंग्रह attributed to तुलाजिराज of Tanjore (1765-1788).

राजनीति ano.

राजनीति by देवीदास.

राजनीति by भोज.

राजनीति by वररुचि (?). Begins with the well-known verse about nine gems 'धन्वतरिः etc.' (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 141 b).

राजनीति by हरिसेन of Benares.

राजनीतिकामधेनु m. by राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय) pr. in Ch. S. series.

राजनीतिप्रकाश by रामचन्द्र अल्लडीवार.

राजनीतिमयूख— same as नीतिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

राजनीतिशास्त्र by चाणक्य in 8 chapters and about 566 verses. W. and K. cat. II. p. 182.

राजभूषणी or नृपभूषणी (on politics) by रामानन्दतीर्थ. Names कुल्लूक's टीका on मनुस्मृति..

राजमार्तण्ड of भोज. Vide p. 278 above. D. C. Ms. No. 342 of 1879-80 is a work callsd राजमार्तण्ड of भोज on astrology in relation to धर्मशास्त्र and contains such topics as व्रतबन्धकाल, विवाहशुभकाल, विवाहराशियोजनाविधि, संक्रान्तिनिर्णय, दिनक्षय, पुरुषलक्षण, मेषादिलग्नफल. The Ms. is dated संवत् 1655 चैत्र (i. e. about April 1598).
C. by गणपति.

राजलासक m. in सरस्वतीविलास (Mysore ed. p. 21).

राजवल्लभ (by सूत्रधारमण्डन ?) m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव.

राजाभिषेक by अनन्त.

राजाभिषेकप्रयोग (from नीतिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ).

राज्याभिषेक (from टोडरानन्द).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति (part of दिनकरोद्योत).

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by अनन्तदेव.

राज्याभिषेकपद्धति by शिव, son of विश्वकर्मन्.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग by रघुनाथ सन्नाद्रध्यपति, son of माधवभट्ट.

रामकल्पद्रुम by अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. Divided into ten kāṇḍas, which were in order काल, आह्निक, व्रत, संस्कार, प्रायश्चित्त, शान्ति, दान, आचार, राजनीति and (gap, probably उत्सर्ग). Aufrecht says that there were seven काण्डs, but a ms. in Bhadkamkar collection gives ten and names them as above except the last. Flourished about 1640-1670 A. D. (Vide Bik. cat. pp. 445-447 for some of these kāṇḍas).

रामकौतुक m. in निर्णयामृत and नि. सि.

रामतत्त्वप्रकाश attributed to सायण.

रामदेवप्रसाद alias गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय by विश्वनाथ or विश्वेश्वर, son of शम्भुदेव ; composed in śake 1506 (1584 A. D.).

रामनवमीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिकार्य. Quotes नि. सि.

रामनवमीनिर्णय by विठ्ठलदीक्षित.

रामनाथपद्धति by रामनाथ.

रामनित्यार्चनपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

रामनिबन्ध by क्षेमराम, son of श्रीभवनन्द, son of दीक्षितबाबू. Composed in 1720 A. D. (Ulwar cat. No. 1431).

रामपूजापद्धति by क्षेमराज. (Ulwar cat. No. 1432 and extract 341).

रामपूजापद्धति by रामोपाध्याय. Stein's cat. p. 101.

रामप्रकाश.

(1) com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव by रामदेव.

(2) a digest of religious observances compiled in the name of कृपाराम (described as गौड-क्षत्रकुलोद्भव), son of यादवराज and descendant of the royal family of माणिक्यचन्द्र. कृपाराम was himself a feudatory of Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The I. O. cat. (vol. III. p. 502) says that the real author was राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ and father of रामदेव चिरञ्जीव. Relies on हेमाद्रि, माधव, and गौड writers. Latter half of 17th century. Peterson (in Ulwar cat. No. 1433) says that this is a com. on the कालतत्त्वविवेचन. But from the description in the I. O. cat. this does not appear likely.

रामप्रसाद- vide तीर्थरत्नाकर.

रामानुजनित्यकर्मपद्धति Vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 107.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in तिथितत्त्व and शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०, नि. सि.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by अच्युताश्रम.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवनयति, pupil of परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीमन्नृकुन्दवन in 5 पटलs. (D. C. ms. 440 of 1891-95 is dated śake 1607 i. e. 1685 A. D.). Traces गुरु-परम्परा from वसिष्ठ to गौडपाद, गोविन्द, शङ्कराचार्य, विश्वरूप, सुरेश्वर; in four पटलs.

C. लघुदीपिका by गदाधर.

रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by कुलमणिशुक्ल. र्चनदर्पण (Ulwar cat. No. 1435).

रामार्चनदीपिका

रामार्चनपद्धति by रामानन्द.

रामार्चनरत्नाकर by केशवदास m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

रामार्चापद्धति by रामानुज.

रायमुकुटपद्धति m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 213).

रायसिंहप्रकाश of गदाधर.

रासयात्रापद्धति by रघु०. Vide p. 417 above.

रासयात्राविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

रुद्रकलशस्थापनविधि by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायण.

रुद्रकल्प.

रुद्रकल्पतरु.

(1) ano. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 138 a); ms. dated संवत् 1714 (1657-8 A. D.).

(2) by a son of विश्वेश्वर.

रुद्रकल्पद्रुम or महारुद्रपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव द्विवेदी, resident of Benares. Mentions हेमाद्रि, टोडरानन्द, प्रयोगपारिजात रुद्रकारिका of परशुराम, नि. सि. Later than 1640 A. D.

रुद्रचिन्तामणि or रुद्रपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम; for छन्दोग्स (Baroda O. I. 8018).

रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by रामचन्द्रपाठक. A very large work. Baroda O. I. 10946 has 13 प्रकरणs and probably there were more.

रुद्रपद्धति.

(1) by परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण. Describes the rites connected with Śiva worship in the form of महारुद्र. There are in all 1028 verses on रुद्रजपप्रशंसा, कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण, पीठपूजाविधि, न्यासविधि. Composed in संवत् 1515 (1458 A. D.). Also called रुद्रकारिका.

(2) another shorter treatise on same subject; introduction being partly identical. Composed between 1578-1643 A.D. (vide I. O. cat. p. 584).

(3) by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ. Baroda ms. 8030 is dated संवत् 1809 (1752-3 A.D.).

(4) Describes रुद्रप्रयोग following तैत्तिरीयशाखा, though रुद्र is recited in all śākhas; says 'स्मार्तरुद्रप्रयोगस्य बौधायनसूत्रमूलकत्वेन बह्वृचादीनां च तत्र बौधायनं ग्राह्यम्। रुद्रः पञ्चधा रूपं रुद्री लघुरुद्रो महारुद्रोतिरुद्रश्चेति एकादशगुणवृद्ध्या। सर्वश्च त्रेधा जपरुद्रो होमरुद्रोभिषेकरुद्रश्चेति।' I. O. ms. dated संवत् 1587 i. e 1530-31 A. D. (vide cat. p. 580 No. 1783); quotes रूपनाथ often.

रुद्रपद्धति (मैत्रायणीय) Baroda O. I. 2452.

रुद्रपद्धति by आपदेव.

रुद्रपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव. Also called रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति and महारुद्रपद्धति.

रुद्रपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. 'यद्यप्यनेकाश्च शाखाश्च रुद्रः पठ्यते तथापि तैत्तिरीयशाखानुसारेण रुद्रः पठ्यते.'

रुद्रपद्धति by भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण (according to शाङ्खायनगृह्य).

रुद्रपद्धति by रेणुक; ms. (Bik. cat. p. 601) dated śake 1604 (1682 A. D.).

रुद्रपद्धति by विश्वनाथ, son of शम्भुदेव and younger brother of रामदेव (for माध्यन्दिनीयs).

रुद्रपूजापद्धति- Peterson's 6th Report p. 109.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

रुद्रविधानपद्धति by चन्द्रचूड.

रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध by नन्दनमिश्र.

रुद्रस्नानविधि or रुद्रस्नानपद्धति by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर. About 1570-1600.

रुद्रप्रतिष्ठा.

रुद्रलघुन्यास- manual of formula intended for रुद्र worship.

रुद्रसूत्र or -योग by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव, residing at Benares, also called त्रैविद्यमौढ for वाजसनेयशाखा; Peterson's 5th Report p. 175.

रुद्राक्षधारण.

रुद्राक्षपरीक्षा.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर (D. C. No. 283 of 1886-92). Seems to be same as रुद्रपद्धति (4) above.

रुद्रानुष्ठाटपद्धति by मेङ्गनाथ, of the family of सर्वज्ञ. Relies on महार्णव as the principal authority.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि m. in व्रतोद्यापनपद्धति ; q. v. About 1750 A. D.

रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति or -दीपिका. Vide रुद्रपद्धति above.

रुद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग by खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed अयाचित.

रुद्रार्चनचन्द्रिका of शिवराम.

रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी by वेदाङ्गराय ; vide महारुद्रपद्धति.

रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति) by उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह. In the D. C. ms. No. 240 of A 1881-82 (428 folios) a pedigree is given, which starts with भास्करकेसरी, in whose family was born मुग्धसिंह who conquered भोगिराज; his son was मदनसिंह. उदयसिंह was 13th from मदनसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. The work deals with षोडशमहादानs such as तुलापुरुष (upto folio 210), and with कूपवापीतडागादिविधि, नवग्रहहोम, अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, दुर्गोत्सव. Relies upon भोजराज, लक्ष्मीधर (कल्पतरु), हेमाद्रि, चण्डेश्वर, पारिजात, हरिहर, भीमपराक्रम, विद्याधर, चिन्तामणि, वर्षदीप. महादानपद्धति of रूपनारायण ; described above seems to be a part of this; m. in जलाशयारामोत्सर्गपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

रेणुकारिका or रेणुककारिका- vide पारस्करगृह्यकारिका above. In 1266-67 A. D.

लक्षणप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र ; part of वीरमित्रोदय (on politics) ; pr. in Chowkhamba S. series.

लक्षणरत्नमालिका by नारोजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ; in five पद्धतिs on वर्णाश्रमाचार, दैव, राज, उद्योग, शरीर ; seems to be a com. on his लक्षणशतक (in one hundred verses). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 132 b and 164 b.

लक्षणशतक by नारोजिपण्डित.

लक्षणसंग्रह m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 328, कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

लक्षणसमुच्चय by हेमाद्रि. On the indications and predictions from bodily signs and on Prākrits. Vide Bik. cat. p. 411.

लक्षणसमुच्चय m. by हेमाद्रि in दानखण्ड p. 823, by नि. सि.

लक्षणसारसमुच्चय- rules for the construction of शिवलिङ्गs in 32 sections.

लक्षहोमपद्धति.

(1) by काशीदीक्षित, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित.

(2) by गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम.

(3) by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. Sec. 103.

लक्ष्मणसमुच्चय m. in मुहूर्तदीपक o. महादेव.

लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौमुदी by शिवानन्द गोस्वामी in five प्रकाशs.

लक्ष्मीसपर्यासार by श्रीनिवास.

लघुकारिका by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देवदत्त (for माध्यन्दिनशाखा). Baroda O. I. 12072 dated संवत् 1552 and No. 4055 dated 1507 संवत्.

लघुकालनिर्णय by माधवाचार्य. The first verse is व्याख्याय माधवाचार्यो धर्मान्पाराशरानथ and the last verse is व्यतिपाते च वैधृत्यां तत्कालव्यापिनी तिथिः । (vide Bik. cat. pp. 408-409).

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुचिन्तामणि by वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले.

लघुजातिविवेक m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

लघुनारदस्मृति m. by नि. सि., सं. कौ.

लघुनिर्णय by शिवनिधि (Baroda O. I. 12854).

लघुपद्धति or कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका by कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ ; based on कारिका and वृत्ति, वामनभाष्य and जयन्त. Deals with leading topics of आचार, व्यवहार. N. vol. X. p. 248 ; Baroda O. I. No. 1422 is dated संवत् 1592 (1535-6 A. D.). It mentions चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

लघुपाराशरस्मृति.

लघुबृहस्पतिस्मृति.

लघुयमस्मृति m. by अपरार्क (on य. I. 238) and by हलायुध in सर्वस्व.

लघुवसिष्ठस्मृति.

लघुविष्णुस्मृति m. in अपरार्क and ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध ; pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 117-123.

लघुव्यास (pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 310-320) m. in संस्कारमयूख.

लघुशङ्खस्मृति pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 124-127.

लघुशातातपस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 128-135.

लघुशौनकस्मृति in 114 verses (Baroda O. I. 11863).

लघुहारीतस्मृति- m. in अपरार्क (pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 136-141 and Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 177-193).

लघ्वत्रिस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 1-12) vide p. 109 above.

लघ्वाश्वलायनस्मृति pr. Ānan. Sm. (pp. 142-181).

लघ्वाह्निक

ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका by सच्चिदानन्दनाथ, guru of विद्यानन्दनाथ.

ललितार्चनदीपिका.

ललितार्चनपद्धति by चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ. Probably same as ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लवणश्राद्ध (on offerings of salt cakes to the deceased on 4th day after death).

लिखितस्मृति- vide sec. 13, p. 76 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 375-382 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 182-186 D. C. ms. 44 of 1866-68 contains a लिखितस्मृति in 6 अध्यायs where वसिष्ठ and other sages are represented as asking लिखित about चातुर्वर्ण्यधर्म and प्रायश्चित्तs.

लिङ्गतोभद्र.

लिङ्गतोभद्रकारिका.

लिङ्गधारणचन्द्रिका.

लिङ्गधारणदीपिका.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा by अनन्त.

लिङ्गप्रतिष्ठापनविधि by अनन्त (according to बौधायन). I. O. cat. vol. III. pp. 584-585.

लिङ्गादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट.

लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका by सदाशिवदशपुत्र, son of गदाधर, son of विष्णु, composed for pleasing king जयसिंह. He wrote आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका also. First quarter of the 18th century.

लेखपञ्चाशिका on fifty forms of deeds, bonds and letters, composed in 1232 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, No. 410 ; ms. dated संवत् 1536, i. e. 1479-80 A. D.

लेखपद्धति contains forms of mortgage-deeds, sale-deeds, treaties, cited from actual documents in the royal secretariat from 9th to 16th century of Vikrama era, published in G. O. series (1925).

लेखमुक्तामणि by हरिदास, son of वत्सराज in 464 verses and four सर्गs on उद्भव (origin of writing), गणित, लिखन (the art of the scribe) and नृपनीति; ms. copied in 1625 A.D. (Aufrecht's Oxf.cat.).

लोकपालाह्नदान.

लोकप्रकाश by क्षेमेन्द्र. Latter half of 11th century; gives specimens of letters, bonds, deeds &c.

लोकसागर m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

लोहितस्मृति.

लौगाक्षिस्मृति- sec. 50.

वह्निपुरेश्वरकारिका by वह्निपुरेश्वर.

वचनसंग्रह (Baroda O. I. No. 5507).

वचनसमुच्चय (Bik. cat. p. 489).

वचनसारसंग्रह by श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of सुन्दराचार्य; mentions मद. पा.

वटेश्वरसिद्धान्त m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

वत्सस्मृति m. in कालमाधव and by मस्करिन् on गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

वपननिर्णय.

वरदराजीय (Hultzsch R. I. No. 448).

वर्ज्याहारविवेक by वेङ्कटनाथ.

वर्णकाचार.

वर्णशासन.

वर्णसङ्करजातिमाला by भार्गवराम. On mixed castes. N. (new series) I. p. 332.

वर्णसारमणि by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित.

वर्णाश्रमधर्म by वैद्यनाथदीक्षित. Probably the same as above.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or -दीपिका by कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; composed at Benares on संस्कार, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, स्थालीपाक, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, तुलापुरुष' वास्तुविधि, आह्निकविधि, सर्वप्रायश्चित्त' मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा &c.

वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप by king कृष्ण who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the banks

of the गोदावरी (vide Bik. cat. p. 489). This is a large work.

वर्षमानपद्धति m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु० (styled नव्यवर्धमान०).

वर्षकृत्य by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर ; pr. at Benares in 1903 ; m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि.

,, of रावणशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family. Deals with संक्रान्ति and the festivals and व्रतs of the 12 months of the year.

,, by विद्यापति. About first half of 15th century ; m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०.

,, by शङ्कर. It is also styled स्मृतिसुधाकर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध (Bik. cat. p. 468).

,, by हरिनारायण (C P. cat. No. 5017).

वर्षकृत्यतरङ्ग from the कृत्यमहार्णव.

वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमत (माला) by मालेश्वरशर्मन् ; ms. dated 1477 A. D. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 312 and J B O R S. for 1927 parts III-IV p. IV).

वर्षकौमुदी or वर्षकृत्यकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द, son of गणपतिभट्ट (pr. in B. I. series). Vide sec. 101.

वर्षदर्पण m. in कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर, in समयमयूख. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

वर्षदीधिति part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

वर्षदीप m. in रूपनारायणीय.

वर्षदीपिका m. in कृत्यरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर.

वर्षभास्कर by शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश, composed by order of king धर्मदेव.

वसन्तराजीय alias शकुनार्णव by वसन्तराजभट्ट, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज ; composed by order of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला ; m. in अद्भुतसागर by बल्लालसेन and in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक of शूलपाणि. Earlier than 1150 A.D.

C. by भानुचन्द्रगणि in Akbar's reign.

वसिष्ठकल्प.

वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र vide sec. 9 ; pr. in B. S. series, Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 456-496 and Anan. Sm. pp. 187-231.

C. by यज्ञस्वामिन् m. in गोविन्दस्वामिटीका on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

वसिष्ठसंहिता or महासंहिता in 45 अध्यायs on शान्ति, जप, होम, बलिदान, on certain astrological aspects of नक्षत्र, वार etc. (Ulwar cat. extract 582).

वसिष्ठस्मृति in ten अध्यायs and about 1100 verses. On the संस्कारs for वैष्णवब्राह्मणs, स्त्रीधर्म, विष्णुआराधन, श्राद्ध, आशौच, विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठा (I. O. cat. vol. III. p. 392 No. 1339). Baroda O. I. Ms. No. 1885 is dated śake 1564.

वसिष्ठस्मृति or वासिष्ठी.

C. वासिष्ठभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. राम is said to have asked वसिष्ठ why he was exiled. Deals with propitiatory rites for evil aspects of

planets, **लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम**. Says that it was based by **वसिष्ठ** on **माध्यन्दिनी शाखा**. Vide D. C. ms. No. 245 of 1879-80. Baroda O. I. 1412 is dated **संवत्** 1565 (1508-9 A. D.). The com. gives only the **प्रतीक**s of verses. It says that **लक्षहोम** was imparted to **नारद** and others by **वसिष्ठ**.

वसिष्ठहोमपद्धति,

वाक्यतत्त्व of **सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन**. On proper times for religious ceremonies. Part of **द्वैततत्त्व**.

वाक्यमीमांसा m. in **नृसिंहप्रसाद**.

वाक्यरत्नावलि m. in **कालसार** of **गदाधर**.

वाग्भटस्मृतिसंग्रह m. by **अपरार्क**.

वाग्वतीतीर्थयात्राप्रकाश by **गौरीदत्त**, son of **रामभद्र**.

वातव्याधिकर्मप्रकाश.

वादभयङ्कर- a work by a follower of **विज्ञानेश्वर**, according to **वीरमित्रोदय**. Vide pp. 289-90 above; m. by **कल्पतरु**. Between 1080-1125 A. D.

वाधूलवृत्तिरहस्य or **वाधूलगृह्यागमवृत्तिरहस्य** by **सङ्गमग्रामवासिमिश्र**. Deals with **ऋणत्रयापाकरण, ब्रह्मचर्य, संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, स्त्रीधर्म**.

वापीकूपतडागादिपद्धति.

वाप्युत्सर्ग.

वामनकारिका- a large work in verse; follows **खादिरगृह्य** mainly.

वामनपद्धति m. in **श्राद्धमौख्य** (**टोडरानन्द**).

वारव्रतनिर्णय.

वाराणसीदर्पण by **सुन्दर**, son of **राघव**.

वाराहगृह्य- pr. in G. O. series in 21 **खण्ड**s on **संस्कार**s from **जातकर्म, नामकरण** to **पुंसवन** and on **वैश्वदेव** and **पाकयज्ञ**.

वार्तिकसार by **यतीश**, son of **देकचन्द्र**; composed in 1785 A. D.

वार्षिककृत्यनिर्णय.

वासकर्मप्रकाश.

वासन्तीविवेक by **शूलपाणि**. Sec. 95.

वासिष्ठलघुकारिका.

वासिष्ठीशान्ति by **महानन्द**, son of **विश्वनाथ** (he rather revised or restored it). Vide Bik. cat. p. 490 (**खलैर्या दूषिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता**).

वासुदेवी or **प्रयोगरत्नमाला**; pr. in Bombay 1884. Quotes **हेमाद्रि, कृत्यरत्नाकर, त्रिविक्रम, रूपनारायण, नि.सि.** So later than 1620 A. D. Speaks of **मूर्तिनिर्माणप्रकार, मण्डपप्रकार, विष्णुप्रतिष्ठा, जलाधिवास, शान्तिहोमप्रयोग, नूतनपिण्डिकास्थापन, जीर्णपिण्डिकायां देवस्थापनप्रयोग**.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by **करुणाशङ्कर**.

वास्तुचन्द्रिका by **कृपाराम**.

वास्तुतत्त्व by **गणपतिशिष्य**; pr. at Lahore (1853).

वास्तुपद्धति or **वास्तुयापन** (Baroda O. I. No 1672).

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by **परमाचार्य**.

वास्तुपूजनपद्धति by **याज्ञिकदेव**.

वास्तुप्रदीप by **वासुदेव** m. in **नि.सि.**

वास्तुयागतत्त्व by **रघुनन्दन**. Sec. 102.

वास्तुरत्नावलि by जीवनाथदैवज्ञ, pr. at Benares, 1883 and Calcutta, 1885.

वास्तुशान्ति by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. According to आश्वलायनगृह्य; m. in शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकरभट्ट.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- शाकलोक्त.

वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग- extracted from शान्तिसार of दिनकर.

वास्तुशास्त्र by मय; m. in नि. सि.

वास्तुशिरोमणि by शङ्कर at the bidding of श्यामसाह son of माननरेन्द्र. Ulwar cat. extract 576.

वास्तुसर्वस्वसंग्रह pr. at Bangalore, 1884.

विचारनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन-भट्टाचार्य.

विजयदशमीनिर्णय.

विजयदशमीपद्धति (Ulwar cat. No. 1444 and extract 344).

विजयविलास by रामकृष्ण on शौच, स्नान, सन्ध्या, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तिथिनिर्णय. Relies upon भाष्य of कर्क, हरिहर, and गदाधर.

विज्ञानमार्कण्ड m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद.

विज्ञाननलिन m. by हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 109), in दानसार (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

विदुलीय m. in श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण.

विदुरनीति- (from the उद्योगपर्व of महाभारत chapters 33-40 of the Bombay edition); pr. at Gujarati Press, Bombay.

विद्याकरपद्धति m. in नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 566, 571.

विद्याधरीविलास m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व by रघु०.

विद्यारण्यसंग्रह- vide स्मृतिसंग्रह.

विद्याविनोद m. in नि. सि. (may also be the name of an author).

विद्वन्मनोहरा- com. on पराशरस्मृति by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विधवाधर्म.

विधवाविवाहखण्डन.

विधवाविवाहविचार by हरिमिश्र.

विधानखण्ड m. in नि. सि.

विधानगुम्फ m. in विधानपारिजात of अनन्त.

विधानपारिजात of अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेव. Composed at Benares in 1625 A. D. He styles himself काण्वशाखाविदां प्रियः. In five स्तबकs on स्वस्तिवाचन, शान्तिकर्म, आह्निक, संस्कार, तीर्थ, दान, प्रकीर्णविधान and funeral ceremonies, the third dealing with आह्निक, संस्कार and काल, the fifth with श्राद्ध, आशौच. व्यवहार and प्राय०. Mentions देवजानीय, दिवोदासीय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु (pr. B. I. series).

विधानमाला or क्षुद्रार्थविधानमाला by नृसिंहभट्ट of अत्रिगोत्र. Resided on the वसुमती near चन्द्रनगिरि in वैराटदेश; m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ and विधानपारिजात. Earliar than 1550 A. D. There are 240 प्रकरणs in the I. O. ms. (cat. p. 575 No. 1769) which was copied in संवत् 1732; pr. in Anan. P. series, 1920. (1765-6 A. D.). Baroda O. I. No. 10449 copied in संवत् 1622 (1565-6 A.D.),

C. by विश्वनाथ, son of हरि.

विधानमाला by लल्ल.

विधानमाला by विश्वकर्मन्.

विधानरत्न by नारायणभट्ट.

विधानरहस्य m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

विधानसारसंग्रह Ano. Vide Bik. cat. p. 494.

विधिपुष्पमाला (पद्धति) m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

विधिरत्न by गङ्गाधर.

विधिरत्न m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, हेमाद्रि, प्रयोगपारिजात.

विनायकपूजा by रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed शौच (शौचे ?). Composed in 1702 A. D.

विनायकशान्तिपद्धति.

C. by श्रीधराचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 5491 dated संवत् 1607 (1550-1 A. D.).

विबुधकण्ठभूषण- com. on गृह्यरत्न by वेङ्कटनाथ.

विभक्ताविभक्तनिर्णय.

विभागतत्त्व or-तत्त्वविचार by रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Relies on मिताक्षरा. About 1575-1600 A.D. Deals with अप्रतिबन्ध and सप्रतिबन्ध दाय, मुख्यगौणपुत्राः, विभागकाल, अपुत्रदायादक्रम, माता preferred to पिता as heir. The Bhadkamkar collection ms. comes up to only भ्रातरः.

विभागनिर्णय.

विभागसार of विद्यापति ; composed under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह, son of भवेश. On दायलक्षण, विभागस्वरूप, दायानर्ह, अविभाज्य, स्त्रीधन, द्वादशविधपुत्र, अपुत्रधनाधिकार, संसृष्टविभाग. N. vol. VI. p. 67.

विभूतिधारण.

विमलोदयमाला or विमलोदयजयन्तमाला- a com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र.

विरुद्धविधिविध्वंस by लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी and pupil of भगवद्बोधभारती. His gotra was काश्यप and his grandfather was वामन and grand-uncle स्कन्द and great-grand-father was सोढ, who was a minister of सोमेश्वर of शाकम्भरी (Sambhar). स्कन्द was commander-in-chief and वामन was सान्धिविग्रहिक of पृथ्वीराज, who was killed by तुरुष्कs. स्कन्द crowned हरिराज in शाकम्भरी and वामन went to अणहिलपाटक. The family originally came from आनन्दनगर. Work is divided into seven अधिकरणs ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 489 No. 1577) is dated संवत् 1582 चैत्र (1526 A. D.). Deals with disputed points of sacred law, such as the persons entitled to offer श्राद्ध to the deceased, शूद्रप्रायश्चित्त etc.

विलक्षणजन्मप्रकाशिका.

विलाससंग्रहकारिका m. by कालसार of गदाधर.

विवस्वत्स्मृति m. by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.

विवादकल्पतरु (a portion of the कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर) vide sec. 77.

विवादकौमुदी by पीताम्बर सिद्धान्तवागीश composed in śake 1529 (1604

A. D.). He was patronised by the Rājā of Assam.

विवादचन्द्र by मिसरुमिश्र. Vide sec. 97.

विवादचन्द्रिका by अनन्तराम ; quotes शूलपाणि and स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य. Later than 1600 A. D.

विवादचन्द्रिका by रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. In his श्राद्ध-चन्द्रिका quotes वर्धमान. On the 18 titles of law. About 1450 A.D.

विवादचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98 ; pr. at Bombay.

विवादताण्डव by कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

विवादनिर्णय by गोपाल.

विवादनिर्णय by श्रीकर.

विवादभङ्गार्णव by जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113. Colebrooke translated two out of the several principal topics of this work. Vide N. (new series) vol. I. preface pp. XIII-XIV.

विवादरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90.

विवादवारिधि by रमापतिउपाध्याय सन्मिश्र, on the 18 titles of law.

विवादव्यवहार by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

विवादसार of कुल्लूक, m. in his श्राद्ध-सागर. Vide sec. 88.

विवादसारार्णव compiled by सर्वोरु-शर्मा त्रिवेदी at the instance of Sir William Jones in 1789 in nine तरङ्गs. The colophon has the rather picturesque words 'सर्विल्यं मिस्तरश्रीजोन्समहीपाज्ञप्त etc,' (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2407, No. 3203).

विवादसिन्धु.

विवादार्णवभञ्जन or -भङ्ग compiled by गौरीकान्त and several other Pandits. (D. C. ms. No. 364 of 1875-76, N. vol. IX p. 244 No. 3165).

विवादार्णवसेतु compiled in 1773 for Warren Hastings by बाणेश्वर and several other Pandits and translated into English by Halhed (which translation was published in 1774 A. D.). Divided into 21 ऊर्मिs (waves, sections) on ऋणादान and the other titles of law (व्यवहारपदs). Pr. by the Venk. Press, Bombay. This edition shows that the work was composed at the court of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Towards the end the names of the Pandits who compiled it are given. Vide N. vol. X p. 115-116 and N. (new series) I pp. 339-341 where the verses about the names of the collaborating Pandits are given, but the reference to Ranjit Singh does not occur.

विवादार्थसंग्रह.

विवाहकर्म by अग्निहोत्रि विष्णु of मथुरा.

विवाहकर्मपद्धति. Vide विवाहपद्धति.

विवाहकर्ममन्त्रव्याख्या सुबोधिनी (Ulwar cat. No. 1452 and extract). Relies on हरिहर.

विवाहकर्मसमुच्चय- ms. copied in 1113 A. D. (Hp. cat. p. XI).

विवाहकौमुदी (C. P. cat. No. 5140-41).

विवाहचतुर्थीकर्म.

विवाहतत्त्व or उद्वाहतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन Sec. 102.

C. by काशीराम.

विवाहतत्त्वार्णव m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 117) of रघु०.

विवाहद्विरागमनपद्धति.

विवाहनिरूपण by नन्दभट्ट.

विवाहनिरूपण by वैद्यनाथ.

विवाहपटल m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of रघु०. Probably an astrological work of वराहमिहिर or of शार्ङ्गधर.

विवाहपटल by सारङ्गपाणि (शार्ङ्गपाणि ?), son of मुकुन्द.

विवाहपटल by हरिदेवसूरि.

विवाहपटलस्तबक by सोमसुन्दरशिष्य. Baroda O. I. No. 133.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति गोभिलीय.

विवाहपद्धति by गौरीशङ्कर.

विवाहपद्धति by चतुर्भुज.

विवाहपद्धति by जगन्नाथ.

विवाहपद्धति by नरहरि.

विवाहपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

विवाहपद्धति by रामचन्द्र.

विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिकर्मपद्धति by रामदत्त राजपण्डित, son of गणेश्वर, son of देवादित्य. He was paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर and so flourished about 1310-1360 A. D. On आभ्युदयिकश्राद्ध, विवाह, चतुर्थीकर्म, पुंसवन and the other संस्कारs up to समावर्तन. He wrote for वाजसनेय students.

विवाहपद्धति from the अनूपविलास.

विवाहपद्धतिव्याख्या by गूदडमल्ल.

विवाहप्रकरण- from the लघुकारिका of कर्क.

विवाहरत्न by हरिभट्ट. An elaborate treatise on marriage in 122 chapters.

विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप by क्षेमंकर.

विवाहवृन्दावन by केशवाचार्य, son of राणिग or राणग, in 17 chapters on auspicious times for marriage. One ms. is dated śake 1326 i. e. 1398-99 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 109 No. 322); m. in मुहूर्त-दीपक of महादेव, in टोडरानन्द.

C. दीपिका by गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव, in śake 1476 i. e. 1554-5 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. part I p. 110 No. 334). See Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 pp. 372-373, where we read that गणेश first composed ग्रहलाघव, then श्राद्ध-विधि, then a com. on लीलावती, a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व.

C. by कल्याणवर्मन.

विवाहसौख्य by नीलकण्ठ (seems to be a portion of टोडरानन्द).

विवाहाग्निनष्टिप्रायश्चित्त.

विवाहादिकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by भवदेव.

विवाहादिप्रयोगतत्त्व-ascribed to रघुनन्दन (N. vol. XI Preface p. 14).

विवाह्यकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय by अनन्तराम-शास्त्रिन्.

विविधविद्याविचारचतुरा of भोज on propitiation of angry deities and consecration of tanks and wells &c. Ms. (Hp. cat. pp. XIII and 65) dated ल. सं. 372 i. e. 1490-91. This is different from धारेश्वरभोज.

विवेककौमुदी by रामकृष्ण. Discussion about wearing the शिखा and यज्ञोपवीत, विधि, नियम, परिसंख्या, स्नान, तिलकधारण, तर्पण, शिवपूजा, त्रिपुण्ड्र, प्रतिष्ठोत्सर्गभेद. N. vol. X. pp. 105-107.

विवेकदीपक by दामोदर. Treats of महादानs; compiled under auspices of संग्रामसाह ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 551 No. 1716) copied in संवत् 1638 (1582 A. D.).

विवेकमञ्जरी.

विवेकसारवर्णन.

विवेकार्णव by श्रीनाथ m. in his कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव. 1475-1525 A. D.

विशुद्धिदर्पण by रघुनन्दन. On आशौच of two kinds, जननाशौच and शावाशौच.

विश्वदीप m. in आचारार्क.

विश्वदेवदीक्षितीय.

विश्वनाथभट्टी (C. P. cat. No. 5197.

विश्वप्रकाश D. C. ms. No. 144 of 1884-86. For वाजसनेय followers on daily duties like सन्ध्यावन्दन, कृष्णजन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, ग्रहणनिर्णय, and श्राद्ध.

विश्वप्रकाशिकापद्धति of विश्वनाथ of the पराशरगोत्र, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of नारायणाचार्य. On various ceremonies and expiations ; based on आपस्तम्ब. Composed in 1544 A. D. Vide N. vol. X. pp. 233-235.

विश्वम्भरशास्त्र m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

विश्वरूपनिबन्ध m. in कृत्यचिन्तामणि, नि. सि. Vide pp. 263-364 above. Bik. cat. p. 497 No. 1967 is विश्वरूपनिबन्ध which deals with सपिण्ड relationship in marriage, particularly about the girl being beyond the fifth and the seventh from the mother and father respectively.

विश्वरूपसमुच्चय m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व by रघु० (vol. II p. 116).

विश्वादर्श by कविकान्तसरस्वती, son of आचार्यादित्य, who styles himself गीतार्थप्रवीण. Author was devotee of विश्वेश्वर in Benares. Divided into 4 काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त and ज्ञान. 1st काण्ड has 42 स्रग्धरा verses and one अनुष्टुभ् on daily religious duties such as शौच, दन्तधावन, कुशविधि, स्नान, सन्ध्या, होम, देवतार्चन, दान; 2nd काण्ड (on व्यवहार) has 44 verses in various metres (मालिनी, अनुष्टुभ्, मन्दाक्रान्ता, &c.) ; 3rd (प्रायश्चित्त) has 53 verses (all स्रग्धरा except last which is मालिनी); 4th ज्ञानकाण्ड has 53 verses in शार्दूलविक्रीडित, शिखरिणी, अनुष्टुभ्, and other metres on वानप्रस्थ, संन्यास, त्वंपदार्थ, काशीमाहात्म्य. Author's patron seems to have been धन्य or धन्यराज, son of नागार्जुन, at

काशी. Refers to शुक्ल, घारेश्वर, मेधातिथि and विज्ञानेश्वर. M. by हेमाद्रि (III 2. p. 102, which occurs in com. on विश्वादर्श III. 37) and by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आशौच, Mysore ed. p. 164 'पतिव्रता त्वन्यदिनेष्वगच्छेद्या स्त्री पतिं चित्यधिरोहणेन। दशाहतो भर्तुरधस्य शुद्धिः श्राद्धद्वयं स्यात्पृथगेककाले॥). Later than 1100 A. D. and earlier than 1200 A.D. (This information is based on two mss. in the Bhadkamkar collection).

C. by author (Vide BBRAS. cat. part 2 pp. 229-231 for fuller details).

विश्वामित्रकल्प- on the daily ceremonies performed by ब्राह्मण.

विश्वामित्रकल्पतरु.

विश्वामित्रसंहिता by श्रीधर.

विश्वामित्रस्मृति- vide sec. 57 p. 236.

विश्वेश्वरनिबन्ध m. in संस्कारमयूख. Probably the मदनपारिजात or सुबोधिनीटीका of विश्वेश्वर.

विश्वेश्वरपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर on संन्यास m. in संस्कारमयूख.

विश्वेश्वरस्मृति (Hultzsch R. I. No. 69).

विश्वेश्वरस्मृतिभास्कर (Hultzsch R. I. No. 144).

विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति (or यतिधर्मसंग्रह) by अच्युताश्रम, pupil of चिदानन्दाश्रम. Mentions ज्ञानार्णव.

विश्वेश्वरीस्मृति by अच्युताश्रम.

विषघटिकाजननशान्ति or विषनाडीजनन शान्ति (from बृहद्गार्ग्यसंहिता) on rites for averting evil consequences of being born at one of the four periods called विषघटिका.

विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश by वनमालिन्. Digest of स्मार्त rites for माध्व followers.

विष्णुतत्त्वविनिर्णय by आनन्दतीर्थ.

विष्णुतीर्थीयव्याख्यान by सुरोत्तमाचार्य.

विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा by नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट. Ulwar cat. 1457.

विष्णुधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 10. Pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 60-176.

C. वैजयन्ती by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

विष्णुधर्मावृत m. in नटमल्लविलास.

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरावृत m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका by शिवशङ्कर.

C. by सदानन्द.

विष्णुपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुपूजाविधि hy शुकदेव (Baroda O. I. No. 5487. said to be author's copy is dated संवत् 1692 i. e. 1635-6 A. D.).

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण of नरसिंहसोमयाजी, son of माधवाचार्य.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्र m. in निर्णयदीपक.

विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय by नृसिंहारण्य or नृसिंहाचार्य in 19 kalās; m. by पुरुषोत्तम in व्रत्यशुद्धिदीपिका. Deals with principal वैष्णव fasts, festivals, and ceremonies; ms. dated संवत् 1496 (1440 A. D.). Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 76.

विष्णुभक्तिरहस्य m. by रामानन्द.

विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य (part of a larger work called वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति or नृसिंहपरिचर्यापद्धति). Ms. copied in संवत् 1675.

विष्णुयागपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Sec. 109. Deals with rites in honour of Viṣṇu to be performed by one who desires a son. Ulwar cat. No. 1458; Baroda I. O. 2264 dated संवत् 1604 which seems to be śake.

विष्णुरहस्य m. by अपरार्क, दानसागर, कालविवेक of जीमूत°.

विष्णुश्राद्ध (part of नारायणबलि in गोभिलगृह्य).

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति alias वीरपूजापद्धति.

विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति by नारायण son of रामेश्वर (Baroda O. I. 8171).

विष्णुसमुच्चय m. in अपरार्क, मद. पा. (p. 291).

विष्णुस्मृति- vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र, above.

वीरनारसिंहावलोकन- vide वीरसिंहावलोकन.

वीरमित्रोदय, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति by मित्रमिश्र (4 parts on आचार pr. in Chowkhamba S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र. A digest divided into प्रकाशs on व्यवहार (pr. by Jivananda), परिभाषा, आह्निक, तीर्थ, पूजा, राजनीति, लक्षण, शुद्धि, समय (the first six pr. in Ch. S. series). Vide sec. 108.

वीरशैवधर्मनिर्णय.

वीरसिंहमित्रोदय (संस्कारप्रकरण) by रामज्योतिर्विद्.

वीरसिंहावलोकन or -विलोकन by king वीरसिंह, son of देववर्मन, son of कमलसिंह of तोमरवंश. On expiations for lapses committed in this life; composed in संवत् 1439 (1383 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 189. D. C. Ms. No. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572. It says that the work (which is ever 400 folios) is a compendium of आयुर्वेद, ज्योतिःशास्त्र and धर्मशास्त्र. It borrows from गर्ग, गौतम, शालिहोत्र, मनु, व्यास, पुराण. The work is also styled सूर्यारुण.

वृक्षोद्यापन.

वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका by वात्स्यवेदान्तदास on proper time for breaking fast on द्वादशी.

वृत्तशतसंग्रह or वृत्तशतक by महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ and father of भास्कराचार्य; m. in नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव. An astrological work. About 1100-1150 A. D. In 11 प्रकरणs on यात्राविधि, नक्षत्रविधि, संस्कार, विवाह, अग्न्याधान, शूद्राविधि, शूद्राभिषेक, यात्रा, गोचरविधि, संक्रान्ति, देवप्रतिष्ठा. Baroda O. I. No. 8173.

वृद्धगौतमसंहिता pr. in Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 497-638.

वृद्धपाराशरीसंहिता (in 12 chap.). Vide बृहत्पराशरसंहिता pp. 195-96 above.

वृद्धशातातपस्मृति- pr. in Anan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

वृद्धहारीतस्मृति (pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 194-409 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 236-356).

वृद्धात्रिस्मृति pr. in Jivananda Sm. part I. pp. 47-59.

वृद्धिश्राद्ध.

वृद्धिश्राद्धदीपिका by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव.

वृद्धिश्राद्धपद्धति by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धवद्विवेदिन् at Benares.

वृद्धिश्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट (part of प्रयोगरत्न).

वृद्धिश्राद्धविधि by करुणाशङ्कर.

वृद्धिश्राद्धविनिर्णय (माध्यन्दिनीय) by अनन्तदेव, son of उद्धव (Baroda O. I. 10464.).

वृन्दावनपद्धति for followers of the वल्लभाचार्य sect.

वृषभदान.

वृषभोत्सर्ग.

वृषोत्सर्गकौमुदी by रामकृष्ण.

वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. He wrote one for each of ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति ascribed to शौनक with reference to कातीयशाखा.

वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति by नारायण, son of रामेश्वर.

वृषोत्सर्गपरिशिष्ट.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (वाचस्पतिसंमत) for यजुर्वेद students (बौधायनीय).

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग by अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेव. Also called नीलवृ०.

वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग (छन्दोग) attributed to रघु०.

वृषोत्सर्गभाष्य Stein's cat. p. 104.

वृषोत्सर्गविधि by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी.

वृषोत्सर्गादिपद्धति of कात्यायन in 307 verses. Baroda O. I. ms. 9470 is dated संवत् 1592.

वेगराजसंहिता by वेगराज in 1559 संवत् (रन्ध्रेषुबाणशशि) i. e. 1503 A. D.

वेणी Directions for worshipping वरुण before starting on a journey. Bik. cat. p. 492.

वेणुगोपालप्रतिष्ठा.

वेदव्यासस्मृति- pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 357-371.

वेदव्रत.

वेदानध्याय On the holidays as to Vedic studies.

वैखानसधर्मप्रश्न Vide sec. 15. C. by नृसिंहव्राजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य (on 2 out of 3 प्रश्नs only found yet).

वैखानसमन्त्रप्रश्न (containing the मन्त्रs required in the वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र). in 8 प्रश्नs (4 प्रश्नs pr. at Kumbhakonam in 1910).

वैखानससंहिता m. by कालमाधवीय, निसि., समयमयूख.

वैखानससूत्रदर्पण by नृसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य वाजपेययाजिन्. Hand-book of domestic rites according to वैखानमगृह्य; pr. at Ellore 1915.

वैखानससूत्रानुक्रमदीपिका of वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of कोण्डपाचार्य.

वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र in 10 प्रश्नs (7 of गृह्य and 3 of धर्म) pr. at Kumbhakonam 1914 and by Dr. Caland in B. I. series with English translation (1927 text, 1929).

C. by नृसिंह याजपेयी, son of माधवाचार्य.

वैजयन्ती, com. on त्रिष्णुधर्मसूत्र by नन्दपण्डित composed in 1623 A. D. Vide sec. 105.

वैतरणीदान (on gift of a black cow to secure for the soul of a deceased person a safe passage over the Vaitaraṇī river in hell).

वैतरणीदानप्रयोग- Stein's cat. p. 104.

वैदिकप्रक्रिया.

वैदिकविजयध्वज.

वैदिकाचारनिर्णय by सच्चिदानन्द.

वैद्यनाथसंग्रह.

वैद्यनाथीय. Vide स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

वैशम्पायननीतिसंग्रह- vide under नीतिप्रकाश or- प्रकाशिका.

वैशम्पायनस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (या. III. 326), अपरार्क.

वैष्णवचन्द्रिका by रामानन्द न्यायवागीश.

वैष्णवदाक्षापद्धति

वैष्णवधर्मखण्डन (Baroda O. I. 1741) against पुण्ड्रधारण &c.

वैष्णवधर्मपद्धति of कृष्णदेव.

वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा by अनन्तराम.

वैष्णवधर्मशास्त्र in 109 verses divided into five chapters on संस्कार, गृहिधर्म, आश्रमs, पारिव्राज्य, राजधर्म.

वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रुममञ्जरी by सङ्कर्षणशरण, a follower of केशवकाश्मीरी, who was a follower of निम्बार्क.

वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति by कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य.

वैष्णवनिर्णय Ulwar cat. No. 1466.

by वेदचूडालक्ष्मण. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, नि. सि., त्रुटीविलोचन.

वैष्णवलक्षण by कृष्णतातार्य.

वैष्णववर्षकृत्य (Baroda O. I. 8133).

वैष्णवसदाचारनिर्णय.

वैष्णवसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in his ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका by रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of मुरहरि.
C. by विट्ठल, son of नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्र (the author).

वैष्णवाचारसंग्रह.

वैष्णवामृत m. in आह्निकतत्त्व by रघु० and in नि. सि.

वैष्णवामृत by भोलानाथ. N. vol. VI. p. 185-6.

वैष्णवाह्निक (Baroda O. I. 10543).

वैष्णवोपयोगिनिर्णय. D. C. Ms. No. 160 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1732 (1675-6 A. D.). It mentions प्रह्लादसंहिता, रामार्चनचंद्रिका. It supports the marking of the body with चक्र by citing verses from कठशाखा and अथर्ववेद (एभिर्वयमुरुतमस्य चिह्नैरङ्किता लोके सुभगा भवेम ।).

व्यतिपातनिर्णय by रघुनाथभट्ट.

व्यतीपातजननशान्ति by कमलाकरभट्ट.

व्यतीपातप्रकरण.

व्यतीपातव्रतकल्प.

व्यवस्थादर्पण by आनन्दशर्मा, son of रामशर्मा. On points of स्मृति rites and rules, such as तिथिस्वरूप, मलमास, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, श्राद्ध, दायाधिकारि, दायविभाग. N. vol. VIII p. 211.

व्यवस्थादीपिका by राघानाथशर्मा. N. vol. X p. 84 is confined only to आशौच.

व्यवस्थानिर्णय Ano. on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, विवाह, दाय.

व्यवस्थाप्रकाश.

व्यवस्थारत्नमाला by लक्ष्मीनारायणन्यायालङ्कार, son of गदाधर. In ten गुच्छs on दायभाग, स्त्रीधन, दत्तकव्यवस्था; mentions मिताक्षरा and विधानमाला.

व्यवस्थार्णव Ano.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनन्दन (on pre-emption).

व्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथ, at order of king रायराघव.

व्यवस्थार्णव of रामभद्र. Vide under स्मृतितत्त्वविनिर्णय.

व्यवस्थासंक्षेप by गणेशभट्ट.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by गणेशभट्ट. Gives decisions on प्रायश्चित्त, inheritance etc.

व्यवस्थासंग्रह by महेश. On definite conclusions about आशौच, सपिण्डीकरण, संक्रान्तिविधि, दुर्गोत्सव, जन्माष्टमी, आह्निक, देवप्रतिष्ठा, दिव्य, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त. Based on रघु०.

व्यवस्थासार by नारायणशर्मन् (I. O. cat. p. 452) on आह्निक, आशौच, तिथि, दत्तपुत्र, विवाह, श्राद्ध. Different from next.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मन्. On law of inheritance. This is also called व्यवस्थासारसञ्चय. Vide N. vol. III pp. 126-127 and I. O. cat. p. 453 which shows that the work embraced आशौच, दायभाग and श्राद्ध.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by महेश. Probably same as व्यवस्थासंग्रह.

व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह by रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्ती, son of मुकुन्द, on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, अन्त्येष्टि, आशौच etc. Vide N. vol. IV pp. 289-291 ; N. (new series) I. p. 349 describes him as the son of रामगोपाल of चट्टवंश.

व्यवस्थासेतु by ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन्; ms. copied in śake 1741 (1819-20 A. D.).

व्यवहारकमलाकर by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण (7th section of धर्मतत्त्व).

व्यवहारकल्पतरु by लक्ष्मीधर (portion of कल्पतरु). Vide sec. 77.

व्यवहारकोश by वर्धमान. A part of his तत्त्वामृतसारोद्धार on judicial procedure and civil and criminal law composed under राम, king of मिथिला. Latter half of 15th century.

व्यवहारकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. (Baroda O. I. 10105 dated śake 1535).

व्यवहारचण्डेश्वर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

व्यवहारचन्द्रोदय (part of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय, on judicial procedure and the विवादपदs.

व्यवहारचमत्कार by रूपनारायण, son of भवानीदास, son of नाथमल्ल; composed in संवत् 1637 (1580-81) in 13 प्रकरणs (in D. C. ms. No. 199 of A 1883-85 and 14 in Mitra's Notices vol. V. p. 91, which

splits विवाह into two); on astrology in connection with गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन and the other संस्कारs, विवाह, यात्रा, मलमासनिर्णय.

व्यवहारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पति. Vide above p. 400; on भाषा, उत्तर, क्रिया and निर्णय. N. III. p. 34.

व्यवहारतत्त्व by नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107.

व्यवहारतत्त्व by रघुनन्दन. Vide sec.102.

व्यवहारतत्त्वालोक- vide व्यवहारालोक.

व्यवहारतिलक by भवदेवभट्ट. Vide sec. 73 pp. 301-302.

व्यवहारदर्पण by अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. On meaning of व्यवहार, plaint, reply, means of proof, witnesses, documents, possession, judgment.

व्यवहारदर्पण by रामकृष्णभट्ट. On राजधर्म, भाषा, उत्तर, प्रत्यवस्कन्दन, प्राङ्न्याय, साक्षि, लिखित, भुक्ति, जयपत्र.

व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दायदशक by श्रीधर भट्ट.

व्यवहारदीधिति (part of राजधर्मकौस्तुभ).

व्यवहारदीपिका m. by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व on ordeals.

व्यवहारनिर्णय (गौड) m. in शूद्रकमलाकर.

व्यवहारनिर्णय by मयारामभिश्रगौड residing at Benares, by order of जयसिंह. On judicial procedure and the व्यवहारपद्s. D. C. ms. 140 of 1892-95 copied in संवत् 1885 (1798-99 A. D.).

व्यवहारनिर्णय by वरदराज; m. in स. वि., नि. सि.; composed about 1500 (tr. into English by Burnell).

व्यवहारनिर्णय by श्रीपति m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व of रघु०. Probably astrological as bearing on धर्मशास्त्र.

व्यवहारपदन्यास. (Vide Tri. cat. of Madrras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV p. 4836). Breaks off in the midst of 8th topic (भाषानिरूपण), the other seven being व्यवहारावलोकनधर्म, प्राङ्विवाकधर्म, सभालक्षण, सभ्यलक्षण, सभ्योपदेश, व्यवहारस्वरूप, विचारविधि.

व्यवहारपरिभाषा by हरिदत्तमिश्र.

व्यवहारपरिशिष्ट.

व्यवहारप्रकाश by मित्रमिश्र (part of वीरमित्रोदय). Vide sec. 108.

व्यवहारप्रकाश by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.).

व्यवहारप्रकाश by हरिराम.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by कल्याणवर्मा.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by कृष्ण. On astrology applied to धर्मशास्त्र. (Hp. cat. pp. XX and 253) m. in दिव्यतत्त्व by रघु०.

व्यवहारप्रदीप by पद्मनाभमिश्र. On judicial procedure.

व्यवहारप्रदीपिका m. by वर्धमान.

व्यवहारमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 (pr. by the Bhandarkar O. Institute Poona, by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay and by V. N. Mandlik).

व्यवहारमातृका or न्यायमातृका of जीमूतवाहन. Vide sec. 78 p. 321.

व्यवहारमाधव- (the third part of पराशरमाधवीय).

व्यवहारमाला by वरदराज. 18th century. Much used in Malabar.

व्यवहारमालिका (Baroda O. I. 6373).

व्यवहाररत्न by भानुनाथदैवज्ञ, son of चन्द्रानन्द of the भौआलवंश.

व्यवहाररत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Sec. 90 p. 367.

व्यवहाररत्नावली.

व्यवहाररशिरोमणि of नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर; vide pp.292-293. Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. III. part 1 C. p. 3938 No. 2750.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय by हरिगण.

व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु०, and in नि. सि.

व्यवहारसर्वस्व by सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वरदीक्षित, on व्यवहार i. e. judicial procedure etc.

व्यवहारसार by मयारामभिश्र.

व्यवहारसार m. in नि. सि. and निर्णयदीपक.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by नारायणशर्मा.

व्यवहारसारसंग्रह by रामनाथ. N. (new series) vol. III p. 192.

व्यवहारसारोद्धार by मधुसूदन गोस्वामी composed under Ranjit Singh of Lahore (1799 A. D.).

व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीयूष by चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, at the request of Colebrooke, in śake 1725 (1803-4 A. D.).
C. by author.

व्यवहारसौख्य (part of टोडरानन्द).

व्यवहाराङ्गस्मृतिसर्वस्व by गौडमयारामभिश्र of Benares at the order of जयसिंह. Deals with judicial procedure and व्यवहारपद्स (titles of law).

व्यवहारादर्श by चक्रपाणिमिश्र ; D. C. ms. No. 247 of 1887-91 deals with भोजनविधि, अभोज्यान्न (ms. is incomplete).

व्यवहारार्थसार by मधुसूदन. Same as व्यवहारसारोद्धार.

व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by शरभोजी (king of Tanjore 1798-1833 A. D.). Probably same as व्यवहारप्रकाश above.

व्यवहारालोक by गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश.

व्यवहारोच्चय by सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय; m.by टोडरानन्द, नि. सि., गोविन्दार्णव, स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

व्याघ्रस्मृति or व्याघ्रपादस्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on या. 3. 30), अपरार्क, हरदत्त.

व्यासस्मृति Vide sec. 52; pr. in Jivananda Sm. II. pp. 321-342 and Ānan. Sm pp. 357-371 (about 248 verses).
C. by कृष्णनाथ.

व्रजतत्त्व.

व्रजपद्धति.

व्रतकमलाकर by कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106.

व्रतकल्प m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by आदित्यभट्ट.

व्रतकालनिर्णय by भारतीतीर्थ.

व्रतकालनिष्कर्ष by मधुसूदनवाचस्पति.

व्रतकालविवेक of शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

व्रतकौमुदी of रामकृष्णभट्ट.

व्रतकौमुदी of शङ्करभट्ट.

व्रतकौस्तुभ.

व्रतखण्ड (the first part of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि).

व्रतचूडामणि.

व्रततत्त्व of रघु०. Sec. 102.

व्रतनिर्णय by औदुम्बरर्षि.

व्रतपञ्जी by नवराज of द्रोण family ; son of देवसिंह.

व्रतपद्धति of रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय. Vide sec. 96 p. 397. One ms. dated लक्ष्मणसेनसंवत् 344 i. e. 1463 A. D. Hp. cat. XIII and 73).

व्रतप्रकाश (a part of the वीरमित्रोदय).

व्रतप्रकाश- vide व्रतराज.

व्रतप्रकाश by अनन्तदेव.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व by रघु०. Vide व्रततत्त्व.

व्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग or साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

व्रतबन्धपद्धति by रामदत्तमन्त्रिन्, son of गणेश्वर (for वाजसनेयशाखा).

व्रतबोधविवृति or व्रतबोधनीसंग्रह in five परिच्छेदs for वैष्णवs on तिथिनिरूपण, व्रतमहाद्वादशी, रामनवम्यादिव्रत, मासनिरूपण, वैशाखादिचैत्रान्तमासकृत्यनिरूपण. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 182.

व्रतरत्नाकर by रामराज pr. at Sholapur in 1871.

व्रतराज by कोण्डभट्ट.

व्रतराज or व्रतप्रकाश by विश्वनाथ, son of गोपाल. Compiled at Benares in śake 1658 (1736 A. D.); was a Cittapāvana Brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya gotra and came from Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnāgiri District. Pr. several times at Bombay, Ven. Press ed. being the latest.

व्रतवल्ली.

व्रतविवेकभास्कर by कृष्णचन्द्र.

व्रतसंग्रह composed by order of हरिसिंह, king of कर्णाटवंश. First quarter of 14th century.

व्रतसमुच्चय m. by निर्णयदीपक.

व्रतसंपात.

व्रतसागर m. by चण्डेश्वर.

व्रतसार by गदाधर.

व्रतसार by बलपति (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

व्रतसार by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89.

व्रताचार by रत्नपाणिशर्मा, son of गङ्गोलीसञ्जीवेश्वरशर्मा at the order of महेश्वरसिंह, king of मिथिला, son of रुद्रसिंह, son of छत्रसिंह of खण्डबल family; mentions श्रीदत्त as one of his authorities and also ज्योतिर्निबन्ध.

व्रतार्क by गदाधरदीक्षित.

व्रतार्क by शङ्कर, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a huge work ; flourished between 1620-1675; wrote his कृष्णभास्कर in 1671 A. D.; pr. at Lucknow in 1877, 1881.

व्रतोद्द्योत (part of दिनकरोद्द्योत).

व्रतोद्यापन.

व्रतोद्यापनकौस्तुभ by रामकृष्ण based on हेमाद्रि, as he expressly says ; dilates upon those व्रतs that are observed among गौडs.

व्रतोद्यापनकौस्तुभ by शङ्कर, son of बल्लालसूरि, surnamed चारे of the चित्तपावन subcaste. He wrote तीर्थोद्यापनकौस्तुभ and refers to his रुद्रा-

व्रतानकौतुकी. Composed in śake 1625 (शाके शरद्यङ्कचन्द्रे i. e. 1703-4 A. D.) ; pr. in Bombay at ज्ञानदर्पण press (1863 A. D.). Peterson (in Ulwar cat. extract 352) wrongly reads वितथावनसंज्ञिना for चित्तपावन०.

व्रतोपवाससंग्रह by निर्भयरामभट्ट.

व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय (extracted from the प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर of नागोजिभट्ट); decides that modern princes are not entitled to have उपनयन performed (pr. in Ch. S. series, two recensions, बृहत् and लघु).

व्रात्यताशुद्धि Stein's cat. p. 105.

व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह (pr. in Ch. S. series).

व्रात्यस्तोमपद्धति by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 194 (व्रात्य means पतितसावित्रीक).

शकुनार्णव or शकुनशास्त्र or शाकुन by वसन्तराज. Vide under वसन्तराजीय.

C. by भानुचन्द्रगणि.

शङ्करगीता m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1000 A. D.

शङ्कुप्रतिष्ठा (on ceremonies at the time of laying the foundation of a house).

शङ्करभट्टी.

शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर (Baroda O. I. 736).

शङ्खधरसङ्ग्रह m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत०.

शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 12.

C. m. by कल्पतरु and वि. र. B. D. 80.

शङ्खलिखितस्मृति- Vide sec. 12 ; pr. Ānan. Sm. pp. 372-373.

शङ्खस्मृति- Vide sec. 12; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II pp. 343-374 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 374-395.

शतक्रतुस्मृति m. in मद. पा.

शतचण्डीपद्धति by गोविन्द.

शतचण्डीप्रयोग by कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति by जयरामभट्ट.

शतचण्डीविधानपूजापद्धति vide Stein's cat.p. 237.

शतचण्डीसहस्रचण्डीप्रयोग by कमलाकर (from his शान्तिरत्न).

शतद्वयी on प्रायश्चित्त. Vide प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

C. प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.

शतश्लोकी by यल्लभट्ट.

शतश्लोकी by वेङ्कटेश.

शतानन्दसंग्रह m. by कालसार of गदाधर.

शत्रुघ्नी.

शत्रुमित्रोपशान्ति.

शय्यादान.

शरदक्षस्मृति m. in व्रतप्रकाश or व्रतराज.

शाकटायनस्मृति m. in अपरार्क, श्राद्धमयूख.

शाकलस्मृति m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तकमीमांसा.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यकारिका.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यनिर्णय.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. in नि. सि. and संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंस्कारपद्धति of विश्वनाथ.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंग्रह by वासुदेव, son of ईजट (pr. in Ben. S. series);

Stein's cat. p 19 gives संवत् 1428 as the date.

शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र (edited by Oldenberg in Indische Studien, vol. 15 pp. 1-166 and translated in S. B. E. vol. 29).

C. (भाष्य) by ब्रह्मदत्त quoted in कल्पतरु according to शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 312). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

C. (on four अध्यायs only). N. vol. I pp. 2-4.

C. प्रयोगदीप by दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर.

C. अर्थदर्पण by रघुनाथ.

C. गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति or आधानपद्धति by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास, son of शिवदास, son of श्रीधरमालव.

C. गृह्यप्रदीपक by नारायण, son of कृष्णजी द्विवेदी, son of श्रीपति; gives pedigree of family which was नागर from श्रीपाटलापुरी in Gujerat. श्रीपति was 8th from चण्डांशु of that family. Work composed in 1629 (वर्षे नन्दकरर्तुचन्द्रसंमिते माधे &c.) probably of विक्रम era (i. e. in 1573 A. D.); ms. in Bombay University Library. He wrote गृह्यसूत्रपद्धति also. Vide Ulwar cat. for a long extract and D. C. No. 6 of 1879-80.

C. बालावबोधपद्धति.

शाङ्खायनाह्निक or-ह्निकदीपिका by अचल, son of वत्सराज. About 1518 A. D.

शाटायन or-निस्सृति m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत°, अपरार्क.

शाण्डिल्यगृह्य m. by रुद्रदत्त on आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र 9. 11. 21.

शाण्डिल्यधर्मशास्त्र (in verse) on गर्भाधानादिसंस्कार, ब्रह्मचारिधर्म, गृहस्थविहितधर्म, गृहस्थनिषिद्धधर्म, वर्णधर्म, देहशोधन, सावित्रीजपादि, चतुर्वर्णदोष. (Vide Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 vol. IV. p. 5153).

शाण्डिल्यस्मृति m. in मिता° (या. III. 280), स्मृतिच°, मस्करिभाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र; in five अध्यायs on भागवताचार (cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol V. p. 1991; Baroda O. I. No. 7966).

शातातपस्मृति- Vide sec. 28 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 435-455 and Anan. Sm. pp. 396-410.

शातातपस्मृति in mixed prose and verse on expiation and आचार (I. O. cat. p. 398).

शातातपस्मृति in 12 अध्यायs (I. O. cat. p. 399.

शातातपस्मृति in 87 अध्यायs and 2376 verses (N. vol. II p. 4).

शान्तिकमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकरभट्ट on the propitiatory rites in case of portents. Vide sec. 106; pr. at Bombay.

शान्तिकल्पदीपिका on propitiatory rites for several happenings such as the following, viz. of a frog in domestic fire, पल्लीपतन, birth of a child on मूल or आश्लेषा नक्षत्र etc.

शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप or कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका by श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश. On incantations for killing, subjugating or bewitching rivals. N. vol. II. p. 107 and vol. V. p. 275 (ms. dated संवत् 1851).

शान्तिकल्पलता Ano.

शान्तिकल्याणी.

शान्तिकविधि of वसिष्ठ in 213 verses. See वासिष्ठीभाष्य above. वसिष्ठ tells राम why the latter and others like रावण, पाण्डवs, कंस suffered from unfavourable stars and dilates upon अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, नवग्रहहोम. Employs मन्त्रs from माध्यन्दिनीयशाखा (vide D. C. ms. No. 104 of 1871-72).

शान्तिकौमुदी of कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. Probably the same as शान्तिकमलाकर.

शान्तिकौस्तुभ (C. P. cat. No. 5585).

शान्तिगणपति by गणपति रावल. About 1685 A. D.

शान्तिचन्द्रिका by कवीन्द्र; m. in his काव्यचन्द्रिका (vide Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. p. 211 b).

शान्तिचरित्र.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by कुलमुनि m. in his नीतिप्रकाश.

शान्तिचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of विश्राम of मोढ caste.

शा तितत्त्वामृत or शान्तिकतत्त्वामृत by नारायणचक्रवर्ती. Names अद्भुतसागर. Defines शान्ति as 'यथा शस्त्रोपघातानां कवचं विनिवारणम् । तथा दैवोपघातानां शान्तिर्भवति वारणम् ॥ एतेन अदृष्टद्वारा ऐहिकमात्रानिष्टनिवारणं शान्तिः ॥'.

शान्तिदीपिका m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व, संस्कारतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 195).

शान्तिनिर्णय.

शान्तिपद्धति by शिवराम, son of विश्राम. It deals with rites propitiating the nine *grahas* (planets) according to Sāmaveda. The author wrote also छन्दोगानीयाह्निक. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 570 No. 1762) dated संवत् 1806 (1749-50 A. D.).

शान्तिपारिजात by अनन्तभट्ट.

शान्तिपुस्तक.

शान्तिपौष्टिक of वर्धमान.

शान्तिप्रकरण (बौधायनीय).

शान्तिप्रकार by गोभिल (same as the first 7 chapters of the कर्मप्रदीप).

शान्तिप्रकाश (from the वीरमित्रोदय).

शान्तिभाष्य by वेदमिश्र. Same as वासिष्ठीभाष्य.

शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 ; pr. in Bombay by J. R. Gharpure.

शान्तिरत्न or शान्तिरत्नाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट. Sec. 106 (BBRAS cat. p. 234 No. 729). Vide शान्तिकमलाकर above.

शान्तिविवेक by विश्वनाथ on rites for propitiating planets etc. (part of मदनरत्न). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 353 for table of contents.

शान्तिसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि., संस्कार-

शान्तिसार by दलपतिराज (part of नृसिंहप्रसाद).

शान्तिसार by दिनकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण. A very big work on propitiatory rites like अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम, ग्रहशान्ति, वैनायकीशान्ति, विवाहादौ गुरुशान्ति ; pr. in Bombay several times, the most recent edition being that of Venk. Press.

शान्तिहोम by माधव.

शान्त्युद्द्योत part of मदनरत्न. Vide sec. 94.

शापविमोचन.

शाम्बव्यगृह्यसूत्र.

शारदाक्रमर्दीपिका m. in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक and by रघु०.

शारदातिलक by लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण, son of विजयाचार्य of वारेन्द्रकुल. Rather a Tantric work very frequently quoted in धर्मशास्त्र works ; m. by सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह, by रघु० in दिव्यतत्त्व. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

C. m. in कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण by रामवाजपेयी in 1449-50 A. D.

C. गूढार्थदीपिका by त्रिविक्रमज्ञ pupil of श्रीरामभारती.

C. गूढार्थप्रकाशिका by कामरूपपति.

C. गूढार्थसार by विक्रमभट्ट.

C. by काशीनाथ.

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by लक्ष्मणदेशिक (Is there some confusion of the author with the com ?).

C. तन्त्रप्रदीप by गदाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र ; composed when रामभद्र, son of भैरवेन्द्र, ruled over मिथिला. About 1450 A. D. Vide N. vol, VI p. 233.

C. by नारायण.

C. प्रकाश by मथुरानाथशुक्ल.

C. by माधव.

C. पदार्थादर्श by राघवभट्ट, son of पृथ्वीधर, son of रामेश्वर ; m. in व्रतराज. Author's family migrated from जनस्थान (Nasik) on गोदावरी to Benares. Composed in 1550 रौद्रपौषसित 12 (probably of the विक्रम era). Vide Ulwar cat. extract 669.

C. by रामदीक्षित.

C. शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि by प्रेमनिधिपन्थ.

C. हर्षकौमुदी by श्रीहर्षदीक्षित.

शारदार्चाप्रयोग by रामचन्द्र.

शालग्रामदानकल्प.

शालग्रामदानपद्धति by बाबादेव. Vide I. O. cat. p. 593 No. 1805 (ms. dated संवत् 1858 i. e. 1801-2).

शालग्रामनिर्णय.

शालग्रामपरीक्षा by शङ्करदैवज्ञ. (I. O. cat. p. 592).

शालग्रामपरीक्षा (Bik. cat. p. 450). A different work.

शालग्रामलक्षण ano. N. (new series) II. p. 187.

शालग्रामलक्षण by तुङ्गवदनपण्डित.

शालग्रामलक्षण by सदाशिवद्विवेदी.

शालूकपवनस्तुति m. by स्तुतिच्च०, हेमाद्रि, मद. पा., नि. सि.

शालाकमपद्धति (a part of दशकर्मदीपिका of पशुपति).

शास्त्रदीप by अग्निहोत्रि हरि ; ms. (Baroda O. I. 8132) dated संवत् 1664 (1607-8 A. D.) deals with प्रायश्चित्त and refers to portion of the work on व्यवहार.

शास्त्रदीपार्थसार.

शास्त्रसारावलि by हरिभानुशुक्ल.

शास्त्रसारोद्धार by कृष्ण of the होसिङ्ग family by order of यानन्त राव (?) (vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 133a). Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव, मदनरत्न. Later than 1450 A. D.

शास्त्रोपदेशक्रम.

शिङ्गभट्टीय or सिङ्गभट्टीय m. in नि. सि. Vide C. P. cat. 5670-71.

शिबिकादान.

शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका by भोजदेव.

शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर by king बसप्पनायक I of the Keladi dynasty ; contains a chapter on polity. Divided into कल्लोलs, each कल्लोल being divided into तरङ्गs. Published by B. M. Nath and Co. at Madras.

शिवदमनार्चनपद्धति composed for विनयसिंह a former Maharaja of Ulwar. (Ulwar cat. No. 1485).

शिवद्युमणिदीपिका- the same as दिनकरोद्द्योत.

शिवपूजनपद्धति by हरिराय.

शिवपूजा (अघोरपद्धति) Vide Bik. cat. p. 611.

शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी by काशीनाथ, son of जयराम, surnamed जडे.

शिवपूजापद्धति Ano. (N. vol. II p. 225).

शिवपूजापद्धति by राघवानन्दनाथ.

शिवपूजाप्रकार.

शिवपूजासंग्रह by वल्लभेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिवपूजासूत्रव्याख्यान by रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अत्रिगोत्र. Explains बौधायन (गृह्य) सूत्र on शिवपूजा beginning with अथातो महादेवस्याहरहः परिचर्याविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः. N. vol. X p. 347.

शिवप्रतिष्ठा by कमलाकर.

शिवरात्रिकल्प.

शिवरात्रिनिर्णय by शिवोपाध्याय. Vide महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शिवलिङ्गपरीक्षा.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाक्रम.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by अनन्त.

शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि by रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

शिववाक्यावली by चण्डेश्वर, son of वीरेश्वर. Scc. 90.

शिवसर्वस्व m. in नि. सि. and by रघु°.

शिवाराधनदीपिका by हरि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका m. in नि. सि.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by अप्पय्यदीक्षित.

शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका by श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन in 16 प्रकाशs.

शिवार्चनपद्धति by अमरेश्वर.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by नारायणानन्दनाथ.

शिवार्चनशिरोमणि by ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ, pupil of लोकानन्दनाथ, in 20 उल्लासs.

शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा by राधाकृष्ण.

शिवाष्टमूर्तितत्त्वप्रकाश by रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती.

शिष्टिभाष्य- vide बौधायनगृह्यभाष्य.

शुक्रनीतिसार (pr. by Oppert at Madras in 1892 and by Jivananda in 1892 and tr. by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in S. B. H. series) in four chapters in about 2500 verses. Speaks of राजधर्म, missiles, gunpowder &c.

शुद्धदीपिका of दुर्गदत्त (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255). Compiled from प्रयोगसार.

शुद्धसौख्य.

शुद्धिकारिका.

(1) based on रघुनन्दन's शुद्धितत्त्व by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार.

(2) by नारायणबन्द्योपाध्याय. N. (new series) II. p. 196.

शुद्धिकारिकाली by मोहनचन्द्रवाचस्पति. N. (new series) I. pp. 367-369); mentions शुद्धिरत्नाकर.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द; pr. in B. I. series. Vide sec. 101.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by महेश्वर on सहगमन, आशौच, सपिण्डतानिरूपण, गर्भस्रावाशौच, सद्यःशौच, शवानुगमनाशौच, अन्त्येष्टिविधि, मुमूर्षुकृत्य, अस्थिसंचयन, उदकादिदान, पिण्डोदकदान, वृषोत्सर्ग, प्रेतक्रियाधिकारि, द्रव्यशुद्धि.

शुद्धिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 10183).

शुद्धिगुच्छ m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by कालिदास (Hultzsch R. I. No. 93).

शुद्धिचन्द्रिका com. on षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय of कौशिकादित्य by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

शुद्धिचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Vide sec. 98.

शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivananda.

C. by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधावल्लभ, residing at विष्णुपुर in Bankura; pr. at Calcutta 1884, 1907.

C. by गुरुप्रसादन्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 371.

C. by राधामोहनशर्मा, pr. at Calcutta, 1884, 1907.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार. Same as शुद्धिकारिका above.

शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका of हरिनारायण. Based on शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव of श्रीनाथ m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 257) of रघु०. About 1475-1525.

शुद्धिदर्पण of अनन्तदेव याज्ञिक. Defines शुद्धि as विहितकर्मार्हत्वप्रयोजको धर्मविशेषः शुद्धिः. Contains almost same topics as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप or-प्रदीप by केशवभट्ट. Same subjects treated as in शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

शुद्धिदीप m. in नि. सि. and विधानपारिजात and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

शुद्धिदीपिका.

(1) of श्रीनिवास महीन्तापनीय in eight अध्यायs on ज्योतिःशास्त्रप्रशंसा and राशिनिर्णय, ग्रहनिर्णय, ताराशुद्धिनिर्णय, वारादिनिर्णय, वि-

वाहनिर्णय, जातकनिर्णय, नामादिनिर्णय, यात्रानिर्णय. Composed about 1159-60 A. D. (vide Ind. Ant., vol. 51 for 1922 pp. 146-147); m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. Mentions वराहमिहिर by name and quotes largely from his works.

C. प्रभा by कृष्णाचार्य.

C. प्रकाश by राघवाचार्य (pr. at Calcutta in 1901).

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द कविकङ्कणाचार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Vide sec. 101 p. 415 ; pr. at Calcutta in 1901.

by दुर्गदत्त. Based on प्रपञ्चसार. (Hp. cat. pp. XXI and 255).

by नारायणसर्वज्ञ.

by केशवभट्ट. Same as शुद्धिप्रदीप.

शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति by मथुरानाथशर्मन्.

शुद्धिनिबन्ध of मुरारि, son of रुद्रशर्मन्. His grandfather हरिहर was chief judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of भवेश of मिथिला and his great-grand-father जयधर लाढ was chief judge of भवेश. About 1450 A. D.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by उमापति.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by गोपाल.

शुद्धिनिर्णय by वाचस्पति महामहोपाध्याय सन्मिश्र. Vide sec. 98 p. 405.

शुद्धिपञ्जी m. in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु०.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by (हरि) भास्कर of Benares, son of आपाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम who was a resident of त्र्यम्बकेश्वरपुरी. Composed in संवत् 1752 (द्वीषुसप्तेन्दुवत्सरे) i. e. 1695-96 A. D. Vide N. vol. II. p. 126 for the same author's com. (सेतु) on वृत्तरत्नाकर (composed in 1732 संवत्).

शुद्धिप्रकाश m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व.

शुद्धिप्रकाश by कृष्णशर्मन्, son of नरसिंह at the biddingof छोटराय.

शुद्धिप्रदीप of केशवभट्ट. Vide शुद्धिदीप above.

शुद्धिप्रदीपिका by कृष्णदेवस्मार्तवागीश.

शुद्धिप्रभा by वाचस्पति.

शुद्धिबिम्ब m. in शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर. Earlier than 1425 A. D.

शुद्धिमकरन्द by सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति.

शुद्धिमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107 (pr. by J. R. Gharpure in Bombay).

शुद्धिमुक्तावली by महामहोपाध्याय भीम of काञ्जिविल्लीयकुल (in Bengal). On आशौच. N. (new series) II p. 201.

शुद्धिरत्न from the अनूपविलास.

शुद्धिरत्न by दयाशङ्कर.

शुद्धिरत्न by मणिराम, son of गङ्गाराम.

शुद्धिरत्नाकर by चण्डेश्वर. Vide sec. 90 p. 367.

शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर by मथुरानाथचक्रवर्ती.

शुद्धिलोचन.

शुद्धिवचोमुक्तागुच्छक by माणिक्यदेव (styled अग्निचित् and पण्डिताचार्य) on आशौच, आपद्धर्म, प्रायश्चित्त &c. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 5474).

शुद्धिविवेक.

(1) by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर and youngest brother of हलधर. Vide sec. 96 p. 396.

(2) by श्रीनाथ, son of श्रीकराचार्य. Mentions शूलपाणि at end. 1475-1525 A. D.

(3) a portion of the हारलता by अनिरुद्ध.

(4) by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95.

शुद्धिविवेकोद्द्योत- part of मदनरत्न.

शुद्धिव्यवस्थासङ्क्षेप of चिन्तामणिन्यायवागीश, a native of गौड. A part of स्मृतिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप; ms. copied in śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.). Vide N. vol. IV p. 130. He wrote similar works on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, श्राद्ध and दाय.

शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंग्रह.

शुद्धिसार.

(1) by कृष्णदेव स्मार्तवागीश, a वन्द्यघटीयब्राह्मण.

(2) by गदाधर.

(3) by श्रीकण्ठशर्मन्. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 372.

शुद्धिसेतु by उमाशङ्कर.

शुनःपुच्छस्मृति m. in मिता० (या. III. 16), अपरार्क.

शुभकर्मनिर्णय by मुरारिमिश्र. Treats of domestic rites according to गोभिल. Gives pedigree of patron as king लक्ष्मीनारायण of वङ्गदेश- his son रूपनारायण-वीरनारायण-नरनारायण-जगन्नारायण-त्रिविक्रमनारायण, who is said to have written the work with the help of मुरारि, whose *gurus* were रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र. About end of 15th century. (N. vol. VI p. 7).

शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. Vide sec. 106.

शूद्रकर्मवृत्ति m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शूद्रकुलदीपिका by रामानन्दशर्मा. Deals with genealogy and history of the कायस्थs of Bengal (N. vol. II p. 55).

शूद्रकृत्य by लालबहादुर.

शूद्रकृत्यविचारतत्त्व of रघु०. Vide sec. 102.

शूद्रजपविधान.

शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व of कमलाकरभट्ट. The same as शूद्रकमलाकर.

शूद्रधर्मबोधिनी by मदनपाल ; the same as the स्मृतिकौमुदी of मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384.

शूद्रधर्मोद्द्योत- part of दिनकरोद्द्योत, completed by गागाभट्ट.

शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि by कश्यप.

शूद्रपद्धति by अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल. One ms. copied in शके 1442 i. e. 1520 A. D. (N. vol. V. p. 302) in गौडदेश; m. in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी and in श्राद्धतत्त्व. Expressly says that it was based on सोममिश्र's work. The English note in N. is wrong. The verse at the end says distinctly that it was copied in शाके युग्मसरोजसम्भवमुखाम्भोराशिचन्द्रान्विते i. e. śake 1442 (1520 A. D.).

शूद्रपद्धति by गोपाल, son of कृष्ण, son of गोपाल surnamed उदास. A very large work on 10 संस्कारs of शूद्रs viz. गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, अनवलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चूडाकर्म, विवाह and also on पञ्चमहायज्ञs. Refers to मयूख and शुद्धितत्त्व. Later than 1640 A. D. Portion on संस्कार is styled also संस्कारदीपिका.

शूद्रपद्धति published by कृष्णराज as a part of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान. Baroda O. I. No. 8023.

शूद्रविवेक by रामशङ्कर.

शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति by रामदत्तठक्कुर.

शूद्रषट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

शूद्रसंस्कारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 8975).

शूद्रसंकर (Ulwar cat. No. 1492).

शूद्रस्मृति.

शूद्राचार. Appears to contain only extracts from पुराणs.

शूद्राचारचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र, written at the court of हरिनारायण of मिथिला. Vide sec. 98.

शूद्राचारपद्धति of रामदत्तठक्कुर. It is doubtful whether he is the same as रामदत्त, cousin of चण्डेश्वर.

शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति by गोण्डिमिश्र.

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि by कृष्णशेष, son of नृसिंहशेष, who wrote गोविन्दार्णव. Work composed at request of पिलाजीनृप, son of केशवदास, who showed his prowess in the south and is styled परमवैष्णव. D. C. ms. No. 55 of 1872-73 was copied at स्तम्भतीर्थ (modern Cambay) in संवत् 1647 फाल्गुन वदि ४ गुरौ (4th March 1591). Names गोविन्दार्णव, मिताक्षरा, शङ्खधर, शूद्रकर्मवृत्ति, शूद्रोत्पत्ति, स्मृतिकौमुदी and is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (on भूतयज्ञ). Between 1520-1590 A. D. For the शेष family, vide Ind. Ant. vol. 41 p. 245 ff.

शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार by नवरसौन्दर्यभट्ट.

शूद्राह्निकृत्यतत्त्व or-प्रयोग of रघु०. N. (new series) vol. II p. 200.

शूद्राह्निक.

शूद्राह्निकाचार of श्रीगर्भ. Palm-leaf ms. dated śake 1462 i. e. 1540-41 A. D.

शूद्राह्निकाचारसार by यादवेन्द्रशर्मन्, under order of रघुदेव, prince of गौड, son of वासुदेव. N. (new series) I. p. 373.

शूद्रीपद्धति.

शूद्रोत्पत्ति m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण.

शूद्रोद्द्योत- vide शूद्रधर्मोद्द्योत above.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by अप्पय्यदीक्षित.

शैवकल्पद्रुम by लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र.

शैवतत्त्वप्रकाश.

शैवतत्त्वामृत.

शैवतात्पर्यसंग्रह.

शैवधर्मखण्डन.

शैवरत्नाकर by ज्योतिर्नाथ. Hultzsch R. I. No. 76.

शैववैष्णवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

शैववैष्णवमतखण्डन.

शैवसर्वस्व of हलायुध m. in his ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

शैवसर्वस्वसार by विद्यापति, composed at the bidding of queen विश्वासदेवी, wife of पद्मसिंह of मिथिला, son of शिवसिंह, son of देवसिंह, son of भवेश. Between 1400-1450 A. D. (N. vol. VI. pp. 1-5).

शैवसिद्धान्तदीपिका.

शैवसिद्धान्तशेखर or सिद्धान्तशेखर m. in नि. सि.

शैवसिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

शैवसिद्धान्तसार.

शैवसिद्धान्तसारावलि or सिद्धान्तसारावलि.

शैवाह्निक

शौचलक्षण.

शौचसंग्रहविवृति by भट्टाचार्य.

शौचाचमनविधि.

शौचाचारपद्धति m. by हेमाद्रि in व्रतखण्ड I. 59.

शौनककारिका or शौनकोक्तवृद्धकारिका (D. C. ms. 97 of 1869-70). An extensive work in 20 अध्यायs in verse on domestic rites. Mentions आश्वलायनाचार्य, five शाखाs of the ऋग्वेद, सर्वानुक्रमणी; ms. written in संवत् 1653 (1566-67 A. D.). Vide Bik. cat. p. 152 for शौनककारिकाs and Baroda O. I. No. 8637.

शौनककारिकावली (C. P. cat. 5898).

शौनकगृह्य m. by विश्वरूप, अपरार्क, हेमाद्रि.

शौनकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट m. by अपरार्क (two verses) on p. 525.

शौनकपञ्चसूत्र

शौनकस्मृति. Vide BBRAS cat. p. 208 for a large work in verse on पुण्याहवाचन, नान्दीश्राद्ध, स्थालीपाक, ग्रहशान्ति, गर्भाधान and other संस्कारs, उत्सर्जनोपाकर्म, बृहस्पतिशान्ति, मधुपर्क, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, पार्वणश्राद्ध, आग्रयण, प्रायश्चित्त &c. Mentions आचारस्मृति, प्रयोगपारिजात, बृहस्पति, मनु.

शौनकी- on the worship of the 9 ग्रहs.

श्रवणद्वादशीनिर्णय by गोपालदेशिक.

श्राद्धकमल m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धकला the 5th part of the स्मृतिचन्द्र of भवदेवशर्मन्. Mentions कल्पतरु's definition of श्राद्ध 'पितृनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकारपर्यन्तम्'. N. vol. I. p. 299.

श्राद्धकलिका alias श्राद्धपद्धति of रघुनाथ. He bows to भट्टनारायण. Quotes कालादर्श, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, निर्णयामृत, नारायणवृत्तिकृत्, जयन्तस्वामी, हेमाद्रि, हरदत्त, स्मृतिरत्नावलि. (D. C. ms. No. 421 of 1891-95).

श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य m. in वर्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय of शिवभट्ट.

श्राद्धकल्प (मानव) BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 177.

(1) (कात्यायनीय) also called श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र in 9 chapters followed by 9 श्लोकs on श्राद्ध ceremonies ; pr. at Gujarati P. with several com.

C. प्रयोगपद्धति (N. vol. II p.174).

C. (श्राद्धविधिभाष्य) by कर्क (pr. Gujarati P.).

C. श्राद्धकाशिका of कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द ; m. in नि. सि. Refers to कर्क's and हलायुध's com. (pr. by Gujarati P.).

C. by गदाधर, son of वामन (Ulwar cat. 1509 and extract 358); pr. Gujarati P.

C. श्राद्धसूत्रार्थमञ्जरी by गदाधर.

C. by नीलाम्बर, son of सङ्कर्षण (Ulwar cat. extract 44).

C. by समुद्रकर (m. in तिथितत्त्व p. 174).

C. by हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Mentions गोविन्दराज and शङ्करधर and is m.by श्राद्धकाशिका. Vide p. 301 above. It appears from the introductory and final verses that the ms. (BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 170) is the same as the Ulwar ms. and that नीलाम्बर is a wrong reading of the original नीलाम्बर which means हलायुध. यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 496) expressly mentions the भाष्य of नीलाम्बर on कात्यायन.

(2) a परिशिष्ट of the मानवगृह्य.

(3) गोभिलीय.

C. by महायशस् (Baroda O. I. 12895).

(4) मैत्रायणीय.

(5) 44th परिशिष्ट of अथर्ववेद.

(6) वासिष्ठ.

श्राद्धकल्प.

by काशीनाथ.

by भर्तृयज्ञ.

by वाचस्पति. Also styled पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी. Vide sec. 98.

by श्रीदत्त. Also styled छन्दोगश्राद्ध. Vide sec. 89 p. 364. Based on स्मृति, गृह्य, पुराणs and गोपाल and भूप (N. vol. III. p. 34 and II. p. 364).

by हेमाद्रि (Peterson's 6th Report p. 11). Refers to चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि as his work.

श्राद्धकल्पदीप of होरिलत्रिपाठी.

श्राद्धकल्पद्रुम.

श्राद्धकल्पना (vide I. O. cat. p. 558).

श्राद्धकल्पभाष्य- vide under गोभिलीय-श्राद्धकल्प.

श्राद्धकल्पलता of गोविन्दपण्डित ; m. by नन्दपण्डित in his श्राद्धकल्पलता.

श्राद्धकल्पलता by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

श्राद्धकल्पसार by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट.

C. by author. Vide Stein's cat. pp. 105, 316.

श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र- vide श्राद्धकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.

श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकासूत्र 6th परिशिष्ट of कात्यायन; vide नवकण्डिकासूत्र.

श्राद्धकाण्ड from the प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

श्राद्धकाण्ड by भट्टोजि.

श्राद्धकाण्ड by वैद्यनाथ दीक्षित, part of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

श्राद्धकाण्डसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ. Probably same as श्राद्धकाण्ड above.

श्राद्धकारिका Ulwar cat. No. 1496 and extract 354.

श्राद्धकारिका by केशवजीवानन्दशर्मा.

श्राद्धकार्यनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

श्राद्धकालनिरूपण by मधुसूदन वाचस्पति.

श्राद्धकालनिर्णय.

श्राद्धकाशिका by कृष्ण, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द (pr. in Gujarati Press ed. of पारस्करगृह्य). Mentions कर्क, धर्मप्रदीप, हलायुध and is m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता and श्राद्धमयूख. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

श्राद्धकृत्यप्रदीप by होलिल. Ulwar cat. extract 355 gives summary of contents.

श्राद्धकौमुदी or श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द. Vide sec. 101; pr. in B. I. Series.

श्राद्धक्रम by याज्ञिकदेव, son of महादेव.

श्राद्धखण्ड- from प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह.

श्राद्धगणपति or श्राद्धसंग्रह of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 5921). Vide श्राद्धसंग्रह below.

श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

(1) by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाज-गोत्र. Part of his धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि. An अनुक्रमणी to it was prepared by his son वैद्यनाथ. Vide under आचारार्क. About 1680 A. D.

(2) by नन्दन.

(3) by रामचन्द्रभट्ट.

(4) by रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. Quotes वर्धमान's definition of श्राद्ध 'संबन्धपदोपनीतान् पितॄनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागः श्राद्धम्.' N. vol. VIII p. 270.

(5) by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य; m. in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व p. 493 as his teacher's work, which criticizes श्रीदत्त. 1475-1525 A. D.

श्राद्धचन्द्रिकाप्रकाश- same as श्राद्धचन्द्रिका by दिवाकर.

श्राद्धचिन्तामणि by वाचस्पतिमिश्र; pr. at Benares in śake 1814. Vide sec. 98.

C. भावदीपिका by महामहोपाध्याय वामदेव (N. vol. V. 165).

श्राद्धचिन्तामणि by शिवराम, son of श्रीविश्राम शुक्ल. Styled प्रयोगपद्धति or सुबोधिनी; summarises section on श्राद्ध in his कृत्यचिन्तामणि (vide I. O. cat. p. 538).

श्राद्धतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide sec. 102; pr. by Jivaranda.

C. विवृति by काशीराम वाचस्पति, son of राधाबल्लभ (pr. in Bengali characters at Calcutta).

C. भावार्थदीपिका by गङ्गाधरचक्रवर्ती.

C. श्राद्धतत्त्वादर्श by विष्णुरामसिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेवविद्यावागीश. He commented on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व also.

श्राद्धतिलक m. in विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदर्पण of जयकृष्णतर्कवागीश ; criticizes कल्पतरु. Also styled श्राद्धदीप or -प्रदीप.

श्राद्धदर्पण of मधुसूदन.

श्राद्धदीधिति of कृष्णभट्ट.

श्राद्धदीप m. by विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदीप by जयकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (also called ०प्रदीप). N. vol. X 107. Refutes कल्पतरु.

श्राद्धदीप by दिव्यसिंह महापात्र.

श्राद्धदीपकलिका of शूलपाणि ; m. in नि. सि., विधानपारिजात.

श्राद्धदीपिका by काशीदीक्षित याज्ञिक, son of सदाशिवदीक्षित ; based on कात्यायनसूत्र and कर्कभाष्य.

श्राद्धदीपिका of गोविन्दपण्डित ; m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धदीपिका by वेदाङ्गराय, formerly मालजित्, son of तिगुलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. He wrote पारसीप्रकाश in 1643 A. D. for Emperor Shah Jehan.

श्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकराचार्य. For सामवेद followers ; m. by रघु० in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व. 1475-1525 A. D.

श्राद्धदीपिका by श्रीभीम who is described as काश्विविल्लीय (a राढीय ब्राह्मण) for सामवेद followers. N. (new series) vol .I. p. 379.

श्राद्धदीपिकानिर्णय.

श्राद्धदेवतानिर्णय.

श्राद्धद्वासप्ततिकलाः.

श्राद्धनवकण्डिकासूत्र- vide श्राद्धकल्प (कात्यायनीय) above.

श्राद्धनिरूपण (Ulwar cat. 1501).

श्राद्धनिर्णय of उमापति m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of चन्द्रचूड.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of शिवभट्ट.

श्राद्धनिर्णय of सुदर्शन.

श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका by तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र. Mentions कालादर्श.

श्राद्धनृसिंह of नृसिंह (Cal. S. col. Mss. cat. vol. II p. 392).

श्राद्धपद्धि m. by वाचस्पतिमिश्र's द्वैतनिर्णय (Oxf. cat. p. 273 b).

श्राद्धपञ्जी m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर. Earlier than 1400 A. D.

श्राद्धपद्धति आश्वलायनीय.

श्राद्धपद्धति- पञ्चत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

श्राद्धपद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिराम (Ulwar cat. No. 1503).

श्राद्धपद्धति by क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of बाबूलक्ष्मीकान्त of Kanoj ; ms. (I. O. cat. p. 559) copied in संवत् 1805 (1748-9 A. D.).

श्राद्धपद्धति by गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित.

श्राद्धपद्धति by दयाशङ्कर.

श्राद्धपद्धति by दामोदर.

श्राद्धपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट आरडे (Baroda O. I. 338).

श्राद्धपद्धति by नीलकण्ठ mentioned in श्राद्धमयूख.

श्राद्धपद्धति by पशुपति, elder brother of हलायुध, who mentions it in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

C. by हलायुध.

श्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव. Also called दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति. Based on हेमाद्रि's work. He was a nephew of नारायणभट्ट.

श्राद्धपद्धति by विश्वनाथभट्ट.

श्राद्धपद्धति of शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र.

श्राद्धपद्धति by हेमाद्रि. Refers to his चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि. Stein's cat. pp. 316-17.

श्राद्धपल्लव m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर and टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य).

श्राद्धपारिजात m. by केशव in द्वैतपरिशिष्ट (द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट).

श्राद्धप्रकरण by नरोत्तमदेव.

श्राद्धप्रकरण by लोल्लट (ms. in Ānandāśrama collection at Poona). Quotes मेधातिथि. Between 900-1100 A. D. as लोल्लट is mentioned in स्मृत्यर्थसार.

श्राद्धप्रकाश m. in नि. सिं.

श्राद्धप्रकीर्णकारिका.

श्राद्धप्रदीप.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by कृष्णमित्राचार्य.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by धनराम, son of गोवर्धन (Baroda O. I. 9971); not later than 1750 A. D.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by प्रद्युम्नशर्मा, son of श्रीधरशर्मन्; ms. dated शके 1448 (1526 A. D.). The author is described as having jurisdiction over श्रीहट्टदेशीयहाकादिद्दी (probably as धर्माधिकारि). Vide N. (new series) vol. I. pp. 380-81.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by मदनमनोहर महामहोपाध्याय, son of मधुसूदन. For students of यजुर्वेद (N. vol. VI. p. 299).

श्राद्धप्रदीप by रुद्रधर (C. P. cat. 5939). Probably the same as श्राद्धचन्द्रिका or श्राद्धविवेक.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by वर्धमान m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०.

श्राद्धप्रदीप by शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथसन्मिश्र; m. in श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०. (N. vol. VII. p. 191). He was guru of वर्धमान.

श्राद्धप्रभा by रामकृष्ण.

C.

श्राद्धप्रयोग.

,, आपस्तम्बीय.

,, बौधायनीय.

,, भारद्वाजीय.

,, मैत्रायणीय.

,, सत्याषाढ.

,, आश्वलायनीय by कमलाकर.

श्राद्धप्रयोग ,, by रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by गोपालसूरि. Mentions प्रयोगदर्पण, वैद्यनाथीयनिबन्ध, सुधीविलोचन.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by दयाशङ्कर.

श्राद्धप्रयोग by नारायणभट्ट. A part of his प्रयोगरत्न.

श्राद्धप्रयोगचिन्तामणि of अनूपसिंह.

श्राद्धप्रयोगपद्धति (कात्यायनीया) by काशीदीक्षित.

श्राद्धप्रशंसा.

श्राद्धब्राह्मण.

श्राद्धभास्करप्रयोगपद्धति.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी m. in नि. सि. and शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by बापूभट्ट केळकर, residing at फणशी in Rajapur Taluka of Ratnagiri District in śake 1732 (1810 A. D.); pr. in Anan. P.

श्राद्धमञ्जरी by शुकुन्दलाल.

श्राद्धमन्त्रव्याख्या- from the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध. Ulwar cat. extract 356.

श्राद्धमयूख of नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. Pr. by J. R. Gharpure.

श्राद्धमीमांसा by नन्दपण्डित.

श्राद्धरत्न by लक्ष्मीपति, pupil of इन्द्रपति, for followers of सामवेद and शुक्लयजुर्वेद. Relies upon श्रीदत्त.

श्राद्धरत्नमहोदधि by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त. Mentioned in his श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर.

श्राद्धरहस्य m. by रामनाथ in स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

श्राद्धवचनसंग्रह.

श्राद्धवमनप्रायश्चित्त

श्राद्धवर्णन by हरिराम.

श्राद्धवसिष्ठ m. in सं. कौ. Same as वसिष्ठश्राद्धकल्प.

श्राद्धविधि

कोकिलोक्त; vide D.C. ms. No.223 1879--80 ; mentions स्कन्दपुराण, कात्यायन, आपस्तम्ब, सुमन्तु, शातातप, याज्ञवल्क्य ; on वृद्धिश्राद्ध, गणाधिपपूजा, मातृपूजा, other श्राद्धs.

छन्दोग.

(माध्यन्दिनीय) by डोण्डू. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 236 ; refers to कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठउपाध्याय, हलायुधीय, श्राद्धभाष्य. Between 1200--1500 A. D.

श्राद्धविधिसंक्षेप.

श्राद्धविभक्ति- on the point when the genitive, objective, dative and vocative are to be used in श्राद्ध. N. vol. X. p. 347.

श्राद्धविवेक by डोडूमिश्र, son of प्राणकृष्ण. Peterson's 2nd report p. 188.

श्राद्धविवेक by रुद्रधर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide sec 96 ; pr. at Benares.

श्राद्धविवेक by शूलपाणि sec. 95 ; pr. in Calcutta by M. M. Madhusudan Smṛtiratna.

C. टिप्पनी by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन् ; m. in his दायभागटीका.

C. अर्थकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द ; sec. 101.

C. भावार्थदीप by जगदीश.

C. by श्रीकृष्ण ; pr. at Calcutta in Bengali characters, 1880 A. D.

C. by नीलकण्ठ.

C. by श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर. N. (New series) vol. I pp. 381-382 ; shows that श्रीनाथ

only elaborated what his father said.

C श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी by महामहोपाध्याय रामकृष्णन्यायालङ्कार N. vol. X. p. 119.

श्राद्धविवेकसंग्रह.

श्राद्धवृत्तिप्रकरण.

श्राद्धव्यवस्था.

श्राद्धव्यवस्थासंक्षेप of चिन्तामणि. Vide शुद्धिव्यवस्थासंक्षेप.

श्राद्धषोडशविधि - Ulwar cat. No. 1508 and extract 357.

श्राद्धसकलन.

श्राद्धसंकल्प- from प्रयोगपारिजात of रघुनाथ.

श्राद्धसंकल्पविधि.

श्राद्धसंग्रह.

(1) m. in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Earlier than 1200 A. D.

(2) of रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट, son of प्रयागभट्ट. Based upon कात्यायन's श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र. He wrote संस्कारगणपति on कातीयगृह्यसूत्र. Composed at Benares in śake 1673 (त्रिनगभूपाख्ये) i. e. 1751 A. D. Vide I. O. cat. pp. 560-61, No. 1738. I. O. cat. p. 562 gives the date as शके गगनाङ्क(ङ्क ?)क्ष्मभूमिते (1670-1690) and 1826 of विक्रम (i. e. 1770 A. D.) which is probably the date of copying. Mentions कर्क, हलायुध, गदाधर's भाष्य on कातीयगृह्यसूत्र, काशिका and दीपिका.

श्राद्धसङ्ग्रह.

श्राद्धसागर.

(1) by कुम्भकभट्ट (?). Is it a misreading for कुल्लुक or कुल्लूकभट्ट ?

(2) by कुल्लूकभट्ट. Vide sec. 88 pp. 361-62.

(3) नारायण आरड m. in his गृह्याग्निसागर q.v. Later than 1650 A. D.

श्राद्धसार.

(1) part of नृसिंहप्रसाद ; m. in विधानपारिजात.

(2) by कमलाकर.

श्राद्धसौख्य- part of टोडरानन्द. Vide sec. 104.

श्राद्धहेमाद्रि- the श्राद्ध section of the चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

श्राद्धाङ्गतर्पणनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (Baroda O. I. 303).

श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर by विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त, who became a संन्यासिन् and was styled अनुभूतिस्वरूप ; based on कर्क ; for माध्यन्दिनशाखा (Ulwar cat. extract 359).

श्राद्धादर्श by महेश्वरमिश्र.

श्राद्धादिविधि.

श्राद्धादिविवेककौमुदी by रामकृष्ण.

श्राद्धाधिकार by विष्णुदत्त.

श्राद्धाधिकारिनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन (N. vol. III p. 60).

श्राद्धानुक्रमणिका.

श्राद्धापरार्क.

श्राद्धालोक m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1600 A. D.

श्राद्धाशौचीयदर्पण by देवराज.

श्राद्धेन्दु. Ano. (N. vol. V. p. 96.)

श्राद्धेन्दुशेखर by नागोजिभट्ट surnamed Kāla. Sec. 110.

श्राद्धोद्द्योत m. in वर्धमान's गङ्गाकृत्य-विवेक. It is probably a portion of मदनरत्न.

श्राद्धोपयोगिवचन by अनन्तभट्ट.

श्रावणकर्मसर्पबलिप्रयोग- a गृह्य rite.

श्रावणद्वादशी.

श्रावणी (आश्वलायनीय).

,, (काण्वशाखीय).

श्रावणीकर्म (वाजसनेय).

,, (हिरण्यकेशि) by गोपीनाथ दीक्षित.

श्रावणीप्रयोग by कमलाकर.

श्रावणीहोमपद्धति (आश्वलायनीय).

श्रावणोत्सर्गकर्म.

श्रीआह्निक.

श्रीकरनिबन्ध m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

श्रीधरसमुच्चय m. in मलमासतत्त्व by रघु०.

श्रीधरीय m. in नि. सि., प्रयोगपारिजात. Vide sec. 81 p. 337.

श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय by श्रीनिवास, son of गोविन्दार्य of कौशिकगोत्र. On वैखानससूत्र (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5179).

श्रीपतिरत्नमाला m. in समयमयूख.

श्रीपतिव्यवहारनिर्णय m. in निथितत्त्व of रघु० (Jivananda vol. I. p. 21).

श्रीपतिव्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in संस्कार-तत्त्व of रघु०. Probably the same as above.

श्रीपतिसमुच्चय m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व of रघु० (vol. I. p. 582).

श्रीस्थलप्रकाश by तिगलाभट्ट. Peterson's 5th Report No. 154.

श्रुतिचन्द्रिका.

श्रुतिमीमांसा by नृसिंहवाजपेयी.

श्रुतिमुक्ताफल.

श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग by नृसिंह.

श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियापद्धति.

श्रौतस्मार्तविधि by बालकृष्ण.

श्लोककात्यायन m. in अपरार्क.

श्लोककालनिर्णय.

श्लोकगौतम m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत०, अपरार्क, कालमाधव.

श्लोकचतुर्दशी (धर्मानुबन्धि) by कृष्ण-शेष.

C. by रामपण्डित शेष; pr. in सरस्वती-भवन series (No. 22).

श्लोकतर्पण by लौगाक्षि.

श्लोकसंग्रह- on 96 श्राद्धs.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.

श्वश्रूस्तुषाधनसंवाद (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 143a) decides that if a man dies childless, leaving a widow and mother, each takes half of his estate.

श्वासकर्मप्रकाश.

श्वेताश्वदानविधि by कमलाकर.

षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका by चरुकरितिम्मयज्वन्, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट. He was called रामचन्द्राश्रम on becoming a संन्यासिन्.

षट्कर्मचान्द्रिका m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of कृष्णपण्डित.

षट्कर्मदीपिका Ano. Collection of rituals for the worship of त्र्यम्बक, पार्थिवशिवलिङ्ग, and connected matters (N. vol. IX p. 273).

षट्कर्मदीपिका by मुकुन्दलाल.

षट्कर्मविचार (part of स्मृतिरत्न-महोदधि).

षट्कर्मविवेक by हरिराम.

षट्कर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि by नित्यानन्द. Discourse on the sentences used at wedding and five othsr sacraments, for students of यजुर्वेद. Based upon गुणविष्णु. N. vol. III. p. 27.

षट्त्रिंशन्मत. Vide sec. 53.

षट्पदी of विट्ठलदीक्षित (C. P. cat. No. 6029).

षट्पारायणविधि.

षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय by कौशिकादित्य (i. e. आदित्य of the कौशिकगोत्र). The first verse is 'अथानेकर्षिवाक्यानि संगत्यादाय केवलम् । संग्रथ्य कौशिकादित्यो लिखत्याशौचनिर्णयम् ॥.' It is in 86 verses on impurities on birth and death and in five प्रकरणs on सूतक, सगोत्राशौच, असगोत्राशौच, संस्काराशौच and आशौचापवाद. Aufrecht (II. p. 82) is wrong in identifying it with अभिनवषडशीति.

C. अघशोधिनी by लक्ष्मीनृसिंह.

C. शुद्धिचन्द्रिका by नन्दपण्डित (pr. in Ch. S. series with text).

षडशीति by यज्ञभट्ट.

षट्त्रिंशन्मत m. by स्मृतिच० and परा. मा.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धनिर्णय by शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दसूरि. The 96 श्राद्धs are briefly set out in one verse 'अमायुगमनुक्रान्तिधृतिपातमहालयाः । आन्वष्टक्यं च पूर्वेद्युः षण्णवत्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥'. Mentions कमलाकरभट्ट, नीलकण्ठभट्ट, दीपिकाविवरण, प्रयोगरत्न, श्राद्धकलिका, कलिकाविवरण of विश्वरूपाचार्य ; (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection). Later than 1650 A. D.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धपद्धति by रघुनाथ, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वर. Refers to नारायणभट्ट as his uncle. About 1550-1625 A. D.

षण्णवतिश्राद्धप्रयोग.

षष्टिपूर्तिशान्ति (ceremonies on attaining 60 years). Vide Burnell's Tanj. cat. pp. 138b, 151b.

षोडशकर्मकलापनिर्णय.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by ऋषिभट्ट.

षोडशकर्मपद्धति by गङ्गाधर.

षोडशकर्मप्रयोग on the sixteen संस्कारs, स्थालीपाक, पुंसवन, अनवलोभन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, जातकर्म, षष्ठीपूजा, पञ्चगव्य, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, कर्णवेध, अन्नप्राशन, चौलकर्म, उपनयन, गोदान, समावर्तन, विवाह. Mentions प्रयोगसार, प्रयोगपारिजात, दीपिका ; ms' (in Bhadkamkar collection) dated śake 1695. After 1500A.D.

षोडशपिण्डदानप्रयोग Ano. ; mentions संवत्सरप्रदीप. (N. vol. II. pp. 310-311).

षोडशमहादानपद्धति or दानपद्धति by रामदत्त of the लौपालवंश minister of king नृसिंह of मिथिला, of the

कार्णाटवंश, with the help of भवशर्मन्, his family priest. He was a paternal first cousin of चण्डेश्वर and so flourished in first half of 14th century.

षोडशमहादानविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Sec. 106.

षोडशयात्रा.

षोडशसंस्काराः (according to आश्वलायनगृह्य).

षोडशसंस्काराः by कमलाकर.

षोडशसंस्काराः by चन्द्रचूड. An abridgment of his संस्कारनिर्णय.

षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारपद्धति (Bik. cat. p. 463) by आनन्दरामदीक्षित.

षोडशसंस्कारप्रयोग.

षोडशसंस्कारसेतु by रामेश्वर.

षोडशोपचारपूजापद्धति (for worship of विष्णु).

संवत्सरकल्पलता of व्रजराज, a devotee of विट्ठलेश, son of वल्लभाचार्य ; in 12 दलs in verse. Begins with कृष्णजन्माष्टमी festival in भाद्रपद and then describes festivals in other months. D. C. ms. No. 201 of A 1882-83.

संवत्सरकृत्य or संवत्सरकौस्तुभ or संवत्सरदीधिति-part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109.

संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश-a part of the यशवन्तभास्कर by भास्करशर्मा.

संवत्सरकौमुदी by गोविन्दानन्द. Sec. 101.

संवत्सरदीधिति-part of the स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

संवत्सरनिर्णयप्रतान by पुरुषोत्तम.

संवत्सरप्रकाश.

संवत्सरप्रदीप m. by शूलपाणि in दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, निर्णयामृत and in एकादशीतत्त्व (II. p 51) and शुद्धितत्त्व (II. 327) as हलायुध's. Aufrecht (cat. I. p. 681) wrongly ascribes it to शूलपाणि. Vide p. 394 above. Vide N. (new series (I. p. 390 for a संवत्सरप्रदीप.

संवत्सरप्रयोगसार of श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायण of the वन्द्यघटीय clan.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय by निर्भयराम.

संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय of पुरुषोत्तम on the same subject as preceding. Expressly says that it was composed to clear up the पद्धति of व्रजराज. In prose. D. C. Ms. No. 177 of 1884-86. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

संवर्तस्मृति Vide sec. 55 ; pr. Jivananda Sm. part I pp. 584-603 and Ānan. Sm. pp. 411-424.

संस्कर्तृक्रम by वैद्यनाथ. Probably a portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

संस्कारकमलाकर or संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide sec. 106 (vide BBRAS cat. p. 236 and I. O. cat. p. 514).

संस्कारकल्पद्रुम by जगन्नाथयाज्ञिक, son of सुखशङ्करशुक्ल. In three काण्डs on गणेशपूजन, संस्कार and स्मार्ताधान ; names वासुदेव's भाष्य on (पारस्कर) गृह्य. Speaks of 25 संस्कारs. Ulwar cat. extract 364.

संस्कारकौमुदी by गिरिभट्ट, son of यज्ञम्भट्ट.

संस्कारकौस्तुभ or संस्कारदीधिति- part of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Vide sec. 109 (pr. by Nir. P. and at Baroda with Marathi translation).

संस्कारगङ्गाधर or- धरी by गङ्गाधरदीक्षित. On संस्कारs of गर्भाधान, चौल, व्रतबन्ध, वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, केशान्त, व्रताविसर्ग, विवाह. (D. C. ms. No. 610 of 1882-83).

संस्कारगणपति- com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र by रामकृष्ण. Vide under पारस्करगृह्य above.

संस्कारचन्द्रचूडी of चन्द्रचूड. Vide संस्कारनिर्णय below.

संस्कारचिन्तामणि by रामकृष्ण of Benares (C. P. cat. No. 6073). Probably the same as संस्कारगणपति.

संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide sec. 102.

C. by कृष्णनाथ.

संस्कारदीधिति- vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

संस्कारदीधिति (pr. at Benares).

संस्कारनिर्णय.

(1) by चन्द्रचूडभट्ट, son of उमण्णभट्ट, son of धर्मभट्ट. Based on आपस्तम्बगृह्य. Treats of संस्कारs from गर्भाधान. Names ज्योतिर्निबन्ध, माधवीय, हरदत्त and सुदर्शन on आपस्तम्ब, प्रयोगरत्न. One ms. (I. O. cat. p. 98 No. 467) is dated śake 1607 (1685). Between 1575-1650 A. D.

(2) by तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, surnamed गह्वर; for आश्वलायनs. In 1776 A. D. he composed his संग्रहदीपिका on आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र.

(3) by नन्दपण्डित- a part of स्मृतिसिन्धु. Vide sec. 105.

संस्कारनृसिंह by नरहरि (C. P. cat. No 6076). Pr. at Benares in 1894.

संस्कारपद्धति by अमृतपाठक, son of सखाराम (for माध्यन्दिनीयs). Mentions हेमाद्रि, धर्माब्धिसार, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगरत्न, कौस्तुभ, कृष्णभट्टी, गदाधर.

संस्कारपद्धति by आनन्दराम याज्ञिक.

संस्कारपद्धति by कमलाकर. Vide संस्कारकमलाकर above.

संस्कारपद्धति by गङ्गाधरभट्ट, son of राम. Vide संस्कारगङ्गाधरी.

संस्कारपद्धति by नारायणभट्ट.

संस्कारपद्धति by भवदेव. The same as छन्दोगकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति. Vide sec. 73.

C. रहस्य by रामनाथ. Composed in śake 1544 (1622-23 A. D.). N. VI. pp. 237-238.

संस्कारपद्धति by शिङ्गय.

संस्कारप्रकाश.

(1) a part of प्रतापनारसिंह.

(2) a part of वीरमित्रोदय by मित्रमिश्र.

संस्कारप्रदीप.

संस्कारप्रदीपिका by विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित.

संस्कारप्रयोग.

संस्कारभास्कर.

(1) by खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर अयाचित. Based on कर्क and

गङ्गाधर. Divides संस्कारs into ब्राह्म (गर्भाधान and others) and दैव (पाकयज्ञ and others). D.C. No. 611 of 1882-83.

(2) by ऋषिबुध or- भट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed शौच (शौचे). Pr. by Venk. P.; follows कर्क, वासुदेव and हरिहर on पारस्करगृह्य and mentions प्रयोगदर्पण. Vide BBRAS cat. vol. II p. 236 No. 739.

संस्कारमञ्जरी by नारायण. Same as ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी.

संस्कारमयूख.

(1) by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 107. In many mss. ascribed to his son शङ्कर. Pr. at Gujrati P. and by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

(2) ,, or संस्कारभास्कर by सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्कर. He was a nephew of नीलकण्ठ. Flourished between 1630-1670 A. D. Treats of 25 संस्कारs and gives at the end of the work a complete list of गोत्रs and प्रवरs.

संस्कारमार्तण्ड by मार्तण्डसोमयाजी; contains two chapters on स्थालीपाक and नवग्रह. Pr. at Madras.

संस्कारमुक्तावली of तानपाठक.

संस्काररत्न by खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण; m. in his कृत्यरत्न. Later than 1400 A. D. His family was patronised by विदर्भ king.

संस्काररत्न from the अनूपविलास or धर्माम्बोधि of मणिराम.

संस्काररत्नमाला.

(1) by गोपीनाथभट्ट (pr. at Anan. P. and in Ch. S. series).

(2) by नागेशभट्ट.

संस्काररत्नाकर (पारस्करीय).

संस्काररत्नावलि of नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट, of कण्वशाखा and resident of प्रतिष्ठान.

संस्कारवादार्थ (deals with the proper times for such संस्कारs as जातकर्म &c.). N. vol. I. p. 150

संस्कारविधि or गृह्यकारिका by रेणुक.

संस्कारवीचि- a portion of the गोविन्दार्णव compiled by शेषनृसिंह.

संस्कारसागर by नारायणभट्ट (on स्थालीपाक).

संस्कारसार- part of the नृसिंहप्रसाद. Vide sec. 99.

संस्कारसौख्य.

संस्कारामृत of सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर; vide संस्कारमयूख above. Refers to द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट of hi- father.

संस्कारोद्द्योत- a portion of the दिनकरोद्द्योत.

संस्थापद्धति or संस्थावैद्यनाथ by वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव; in 4 मानs. Ulwar cat. extract 63. On the rites performed in आवसथ्य fire according to कात्यायनगृह्य.

संहितादीप m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

संहिताप्रदीप m. in नि. सि. An astrological work.

संहितासारावलि m. in संस्कारमयूख.

संहिताहोमपद्धति by भैरवभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 335).

सकलकर्मचिन्तामणि.

सकलदानफलाधिकार.

सकलदेवताप्रतिष्ठा.

सकलपुराणसमुच्चय m. by अखाडनाथ.

सकलप्रमाणसंग्रह

सकलशा[illegible]त्तसंग्रह.

सङ्कररसृततिथिनिर्णय.

संकल्पकौमुदी of रामकृष्ण (N. IV. p. 222-23).

संकल्पचन्द्रिका by रघुनन्दन (N. I. p. 166).

संकल्पश्राद्धप्रयोग.

संकल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन by चन्द्रशेखरशर्मा of नवद्वीप (about the सङ्कल्पs to be made in the beginning of all काम्य rites). Divided into four parts on तिथि, मास, काम्यकर्मणिसङ्कल्प, व्रत. N. vol. II. pp. 329-330.

संकष्टहरचतुर्थीव्रतकालनिर्णय.

संकेतकौमुदी (probably a purely astrological work) by शम्भुनाथाचार्य.

संकेतकौमुदी by शिव.

संकेतकौमुदी by हरिनाथाचार्य m. by रघु० in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व.

सक्रान्तिकौमुदी by सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 198) dated śake 1540 (1618 A. D.).

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by गोपालशर्मन्यायपञ्चानन in 3 parts.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय by बालकृष्ण.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय- a portion of the स्मृतिमुक्ताफल.

संक्रान्तिनिर्णय Ano. ; mentions भीमपराक्रम, दीपिका, कृत्यचिन्तामणि.

संक्रान्तिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Vide sec. 95 at p. 394. N. VI. p. 205.

संक्रान्तिव्यवस्थानिर्णय. Ano. (N. II. p. 313).

संक्रान्तिशान्ति.

सक्रान्त्युद्यापन.

संक्षिप्तनिर्णयसिन्धु. Briefly describes religious rites from चैत्र to फाल्गुन. Expressly says that it is based on निर्णयसिन्धु ; ms in Bik. cat. p. 454 is dated śake 1514 (1592 A. D.), which is a misreading, if निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकर is meant.

संक्षिप्तशास्त्रार्थपद्धति.

संक्षिप्तसार- m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु०

संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार by रामभट्ट.

संक्षिप्ताह्निकपद्धति by चण्डीदास, son of दुर्गादत्त, written at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर.

संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार by गोकुलजित्, son of हरिजित् in 1633 A. D.

संक्षेपपूजापद्धति (Ulwar cat. 2412) by रघुनन्दनठक्कुर.

संक्षेपरुद्रपद्धति (Ulwar cat. 1513).

संक्षेपसिद्धिव्यवस्था.

संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका by दिवाकरभट्ट, Same as आह्निकचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर above.

संख्यापरिमाणसंग्रह of केशवकवीन्द्र, who wrote in Benares and was the principal Pandit in the parisad of the king of तीरभुक्ति (modern Tirhut). Dilates upon the weights, numbers and measures required in स्मृति rules (such as size of tooth brush, number of sacred threads for ब्राह्मण's यज्ञोपवीत). N. vol. V pp. 161-162.

संग्रह or स्मृतिसंग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

संग्रहचिन्तामणि (C. P. cat. No. 6153).

संग्रहवैद्यनाथीय by वैद्यनाथ.

संग्रामसाहीय- vide विवेकदीपक above.

सच्चरितपरित्राण by वीरराघव of वाधूलगोत्र on the duties of वैष्णवs. Mentions स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

सच्चरितरक्षा by वेङ्कटनाथ on शङ्खचक्रधारण, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रधारण and भगवन्निवेदितोपयोग (3 प्रकरणs).

सच्चरितरक्षा by रामानुजाचार्य.

C. सच्चरित्रसारदीपिका by himself.

सच्चरितसुधानिधि by वीरराघव (वैधुव), who bows to several teachers of the विशिष्टाद्वैत system, viz. नाथ, राममिश्र, यामुनमुनि, रामानुज, रङ्गराज, वेदान्तदेशिक, पराङ्कुश, श्रीनिवास &c.

सच्छूद्राह्निक.

सज्जनवल्लभा by जयराम- a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र; m. in मुहूर्तदीपक of महादेव.

सत्कर्मकल्पद्रुम.

सत्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

सत्कर्मचिन्तामणि

सत्कर्मदर्पण.

सत्क्रियाकल्पमञ्जरी (Madras Govt.mss. cat. vol. V p. 2212, vol. VI. p. 2308).

सत्क्रियासारदीपिका by गोपालभट्ट for वैष्णवs. He wrote हरिभक्तिविलास also. Flourished about 1500-1565 A. D. Names भवदेव, अनिरुद्ध, भीम, गोविन्दानन्द and नारायण.

सत्यव्रतस्मृति m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत०, अपरार्क, स्मृतिच०, आह्निकतत्त्व.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका or संप्रदायप्रदीप- an account of the principal वैष्णव teachers.

सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका by गदाधर.

सत्स्मृतिसार by जानकीराम सार्वभौम on तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 210.

सदाचार.

सदाचारक्रम by रामपति.

सदाचारक्रम attributed to वसिष्ठ.

सदाचारचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 108 of 1869-70 copied in संवत् 1787 माघ i. e. February 1731 A. D.). Inculcates कृष्णभक्ति. Mentions रूपगोस्वामी, सनातनगोस्वामी, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, हरिभक्तिविलासटीका, हरिभक्तिसुधोदय and its टीका.

सदाचारचन्द्रोदय- vide आचारचन्द्रोदय alias माधवप्रकाश.

सदाचारनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट.

सदाचारप्रकरण by शङ्कराचार्य (for योगिन्).

सदाचाररहस्य by अनन्तभट्ट, son of दाईभट्ट, composed at Benares at the desire of संग्रामसिंह, son of अमरेश, son of जयसिंह. About 1715 A. D. (vide Stein's cat. p. 317-318).

सदाचारविवरण by शङ्कर.

सदाचारसंग्रह by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन.

सदाचारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटनाथ. Vide under स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

सदाचारसंग्रह by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट (I. O cat. p. 590 No. 1800). Probably a spurious work. In N. vol. I p. 103 author's name is wanting, though the first verse is same as in I. O. cat. p. 590.

सदाचारसंग्रह by श्रीनिवासपण्डित in three काण्डs on आचार, व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त.

सदाचारसमृद्धि.

सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ. In 40 verses.

C. by हरि, pupil of मध्व. Baroda O. I. No. 1884.

C. by रामाचार्य. Baroda O. I. No. 2619.

सदाचारस्मृति by नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ. In Bik. cat. p. 449 the work is styled °स्मृतिटीका. So also in Stein's cat. p. 107.

सदाचारस्मृति by राघवेन्द्रयति on आह्निक (C. P. cat. 6193).

सदाचारस्मृति by श्रीनिवास (C. P. cat. 6192).

सदाचारस्मृतिव्याख्या क्षीरसिन्धु (Baroda Oriental Institute No. 1880). Mentions प्रयोगपारिजात.

सद्धर्मचन्द्रोदय m. in अहल्याकामधेनु.

सद्धर्मचिन्तामणि m. in आचारमयूख.

सद्धर्मतत्त्वाख्याह्निक by हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश of मथुरा. In 62 verses. He wrote आचारतत्त्व also.

सद्वृत्तरत्नमाला.

सनत्कुमारसंहिता m. in त्रिस्थलीसेतु and नि. सि.

संतानदीपिका- gives astrological reasons for a man's being issueless.

संतानदीपिका by केशव.

संतानदीपिका by महादेव.

संतानदीपिका by हरिनाथाचार्य.

संदर्भसूतिका com. on हारलता q. v.

संध्याकारिका by सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर.

संध्यात्रयभाष्य by परशुराम (Baroda O. I. 6463). Also called द्विजकल्पलता.

संध्याविब्रह्मकर्मन्.

संध्यानिर्णय.

संध्यानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित and लक्ष्मी in four गुच्छs. Hultzsch R. I. No. 442 extract p. 80.

संध्यापद्धति m. in आह्निकतत्त्व of रघु°.

संध्याप्रयोग N. vol. X. p. 343.

संध्यारत्नप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट in 3 किरणs. Baroda O. I. No. 29.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य or संध्याभाष्य by आनन्दतीर्थ.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ, in four chapters (BBRAS. cat. p. 237).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभट्ट and लक्ष्मी, and pupil of शुकुन्दाश्रम and कृष्ण. Hultzsch's R. I p. 58. This is also called संध्यावन्दनपद्धति. Pr. in Ānan. P.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by चौण्डपार्य, son of चिक्कपार्य and कामाम्बा (for आश्वलायनीय s); composed at request of चाहुण्डि, son of भानु.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by तिर्मलयज्वन् or तिरुमल°.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by नारायणपण्डित, who composed 60 works.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by रामाश्रमयति, pupil of महादेव; composed at Benares in शके 1574 (1652-53 A. D.).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by विद्यारण्य (on ऋग्वेदिसन्ध्या and तैत्तिरीयसंध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by वेङ्कटाचार्य (on कृष्णसंध्या).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह. Stein's cat. p. 256.

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शङ्कराचार्य ?

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by शत्रुघ्न (Ulwar cat. No. 1514).

संध्यावन्दनभाष्य by श्रीनिवासतीर्थ.

संध्यावन्दनमन्त्र- there are several works with this title for the followers of the different Vedas.

संध्यामन्त्रव्याख्या ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका by वनमालिमिश्र, pupil of भट्टोजि. Stein's cat. p. 256. About 1650 A. D.

संध्यारत्नप्रदीप by आशाधरभट्ट (Baroda O. I. No. 29).

संध्यावन्दनविवरण- from the द्विजकल्पलता.

संध्याविधिमन्त्रसमूहटीका by रामानन्दतीर्थ.

संध्यासूत्रप्रवचन by हलायुध.

संन्यासकर्मकारिका.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, son of जनार्दनभट्ट.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति by शङ्कराचार्य.

संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति attributed to शौनक.

संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला by भीमाशङ्करशर्मन् (Baroda O. I. 12305).

संन्यासग्राह्यपद्धति alias संन्यासप्रयोग alias सप्तसूत्री ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (on rites when a person enters order of संन्यास).

संन्यासदीपिका by अग्निहोत्रिगोपीनाथ (Baroda O. I. 10057).

संन्यासदीपिका by सच्चिदानन्दाश्रम pupil of नृसिंहाश्रम (Ulwar cat. extract 363.

संन्यासधर्मसंग्रह by अच्युताश्रम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by पुरुषोत्तम.

संन्यासनिर्णय by वल्लभाचार्य in verse.

C. by same.

C. विवरण by पुरुषोत्तम, son of पीताम्बर. D. C. ms. No. 175 of 1884-86.

C. by रघुनाथ, pupil of विट्ठलदीक्षित. BBRAS. cat. vol. II p. 327.

C. by विट्ठलेश.

संन्यासपद्धति by वरदराजभट्ट.

संन्यासपद्धति m. in नि. सि., श्राद्ध-मयूख.

संन्यासपद्धति by अच्युताश्रम.

संन्यासपद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the माध्वमत (1119-1199 A. D.). Stein's cat. p. 318 for extract.

संन्यासपद्धति by निम्बार्कशिष्य.

संन्यासपद्धति by ब्रह्मानन्दिन्. Baroda O. I. No. 1676 is a संन्यासपद्धति following ब्रह्मानन्दीयपद्धति.

संन्यासपद्धति by रुद्रदेव (extracted from प्रतापनारसिंह).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शङ्कराचार्य (I. O. cat. p. 521 No. 1642).

संन्यासपद्धति ascribed to शौनक (N. vol. II. p. 101).

संन्यासभेदनिर्णय.

संन्यासरत्नावलि by पद्मनाभभट्टारक (according to माध्व tenets).

संन्यासरीति.

संन्यासवरण by वल्लभाचार्य. N. vol. X. p. 178.

संन्यासविधि by विष्णुतीर्थ (Baroda O. I. 8512).

संन्यासाह्निक.

संन्यासिपद्धति (for वैष्णवs) I. O. cat. p. 523.

संन्यासिमरणोत्तरविधि Stein's cat. p. 107.

संन्यासिसन्ध्या.

सन्यासिसमाराधन.

संन्यासिसापिण्ड्यविधि by वेदान्तरामानुज तातदास, on the ascetic's son performing सपिण्डीकरण for his father.

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार by कृष्णतात (on the necessity of सपिण्डीकरण for प्रपन्न).

सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धारखण्डन (Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. VI p. 2314 No. 3093).

सपिण्डनिर्णय.

सपिण्डीकरण.

सपिण्डीकरणखण्डन.

सपिण्डीकरणविधि.

सपिण्डीकरणश्राद्ध.

सपिण्डीकरणान्तकर्म.

सपिण्डीकरणान्वष्टका.

सपिण्डीश्राद्ध by रघुवर (C. P. cat. No. 6221).

सप्तपाकयज्ञभाष्य.

सप्तपाकयज्ञशेष. Divided into four प्रश्नs, each प्रश्न being divided into अध्यायs. N. vol. II. pp. 122-125.

सप्तपाकसंस्थाविधि by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, on श्रवणाकर्म, सर्पबलि, आश्वयुजी, आग्रयण, अष्टका and पार्वणश्राद्ध. Names हेमाद्रि and कौस्तुभ.

सप्तमठाम्नायिक- vide मठाम्नायादिविचार.

सप्तर्षिमत or- स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति in 36 verses (I. O. cat. p. 402). The seven sages are नारद, वसिष्ठ, कौशिक, पैङ्गल, गर्ग, कश्यप, कण्व.

सप्तर्षिस्मृतिसंग्रह.

सप्तव्यसनकथासमुच्चय by सोमकीर्ति आचार्य (N. VIII. p. 144).

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग by बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the राजधर्मकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग from the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट.

सप्तसूत्रसंन्यासपद्धति. Rules for ordination of saṁnyāsins and for the ten orders (तीर्थ, आश्रम, अरण्य, गिरि, पर्वत, सागर, सरस्वती, भारती and पुरी) and account of the ten great teachers from ब्रह्मा to शंकराचार्य and the latter's disciples. N. vol. VI. p. 295.

समापतिलक्षण.

समयकमलाकर by कमलाकर.

समयकल्पतरु by पन्तोनीभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट. Vide Bik. cat. p. 451 (which gives only एकादशीनिर्णय out of it).

समयनय by विश्वेश्वर, son of दिनकर, for शम्भुराज (the Maratha king Sambhaji) in 1681.

समयनिर्णय by अनन्तभट्ट on times proper for religious rites; ms. (N. vol. VIII. p. 205) dated śake 1602 (1680-81 A. D.).

समयनिर्णय- the 5th part of the प्रतापमार्तण्ड by रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र. Composed at the order of king प्रताप(रुद्रदेव). About 1500-1525 A. D.

समयप्रकाश by शुकुन्दलाल.

समयप्रकाश by रामचन्द्रयज्वन्. Vide N. vol. VIII. p. 213.

समयप्रकाश by विष्णुशर्मा described as स्वराट्सम्राडग्निचित्स्थपतिमहायाज्ञिक. It is a part of a digest called कीर्तिप्रकाश; composed by order of कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह, born in गौर family. His विरुद्s are 'कोदण्डपरशुराममानोल्लत' which are the same as those of मदनसिंहदेव under whom मदनरत्न was compiled. It is probably this work that is mentioned by श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु० as समयप्रकाश.

समयप्रदीप by विट्ठलदीक्षित (C. P. cat. 6284).

समयप्रदीप by श्रीदत्त. Vide sec. 89. C. जीर्णोद्धार by मधुसूदनठक्कुर.

समयप्रदीप by हरिहरभट्टाचार्य, composed in śake 1481 (शाके महीमङ्गलवेदचन्द्रसंख्यागते) i. e. 1559-60 A.D. Doubtful whether he was father of रघु०. N. vol.III. pp. 55-56 and Baroda O. I. No. 10120. It deals with astrological मुहूर्तs for religious rites.

समयमनोरमा (C. P. cat. 6286).

समयमयूख or कालमयूख by नीलकण्ठ. Vide sec. 106. Pr. by Mr. Gharpure.

समयमयूख by कृष्णभट्ट.

समयरत्न by मणिराम.

समयालोक by पद्मनाभभट्ट. Vide दुर्गावतीप्रकाश.

समयोद्द्योत- part of मदनरत्न.

समरसार by रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास. Deals with astrological calculations from names of belligerents &c.

C. by भरत younger brother of author. Stein's cat. p. 174.

C. by शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास and विशालाक्षा. He calls the author his गुरु. N. II. pp. 204-206.

समस्तकालनिर्णयाधिकार.

समानप्रवरग्रन्थ- Stein's cat. p. 107.

समावर्तनकालप्रायश्चित्त.

समावर्तनप्रयोग by श्यामसुन्दर.

सम्प्रदायप्रकरण by जगन्नाथसूरि.

सम्प्रकरभाष्य on श्राद्धसूत्र m. in आह्निकतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०.

सम्प्रयानमीमांसा.

संप्रदायप्रदीप by गदद्विवेदिन्; composed at वृन्दावन in संवत् 1610 (1553-4 A. D.); in five प्रकरणs; gives परम्परा of विष्णुभक्तिमार्ग from पुरुषोत्तम, ब्रह्मा, नारद, कृष्णद्वैपायन, शुक; speaks of the तिरोधान of the path and then of वल्लभ, his son विट्ठल, his sons गिरिधर and others who were living when work was composed; mentions the five things (वस्तुपञ्चक) on which वल्लभ dwelt (viz. गुरुसेवा, भागवतार्थ, भगवत्स्वरूपनिर्णय, भगवत्सेवा, नैरपेक्ष्य); narrates stories of कुमारपाल and हेमचन्द्र, शङ्कराचार्य and सुरेश्वर, मध्वाचार्य, रामानुज and निम्बादित्य and of birth of वल्लभ while his parents were running away from Kāśī. D. C. ms. No. 176 of 1884-86.

संबन्धगणपति by गणपति रावल, son of हरिशङ्करसूरि, on auspicious times for marriage, forms of marriage etc. About 1685 A. D.

संबन्धचूडामणि Ano.; on prohibited degrees of relationship in marriage

संबन्धतत्त्व m. in नि. सि.

संबन्धनिर्णय by गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन-भट्टाचार्य on relationship that allowed or disallowed marriage between the parties (such as सपिण्ड, समानोदक, सगोत्र, समानप्रवर, बान्धव).

संबन्धप्रदीपिका by विद्यानिधि (Baroda O. I. 10106).

संबन्धरहस्य m. in स्मृतिरत्नावली.

संबन्धविवेक by भवदेवभट्ट m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 73.

संबन्धविवेक by शूलपाणि; m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व, who mentions a परिशिष्ट thereto in संस्कारतत्त्व. Vide sec. 95 and N. (new series) vol. I preface p. X.

संबन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट of धनञ्जय m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व and संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 891 of रघु०). This is probably a परिशिष्ट to भवदेव's work.

संबन्धव्यवस्थाविकाश or उद्वाहव्यवस्था (N. II. p. 334, different from उद्वाहव्यवस्था above).

सरटपतनशान्ति.

सरला (seems to be a भाष्य on गोभिलगृह्य) m. by रघु० in उद्वाहतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व and छन्दोगदृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व.

सरस्वतीदशश्लोकी.

सरस्वतीविलास by प्रतापरुद्रदेव of the गजपति dynasty of Orissa. Vide sec. 100.

सरोजकलिका by भास्वत्कविरत्न. Contains dissertations on topics of धर्म such as श्राद्ध, आशौच, शुद्धि, गोत्र for purposes of marriage. Mitra regards it as ancient, as it names no work (N. vol. VI. p. 39).

सरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार by कृष्णभट्ट. Ulwar cat. extract No. 370. Peterson seems to be wrong in saying that सरोजसुन्दर is the author (Ulwar cat. No. 1537).

सर्पबलि.

सर्वतीर्थयात्राविधि by कमलाकर.

सर्वदेवताप्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाकर्म.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग by माधवाचार्य. N. (new series) vol. III p. 219.

सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाविधि by a son of रामचन्द्रदीक्षित.

सर्वदेवमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाश by शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Vide धर्मप्रकाश.

सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका of वल्लभ in 426 verses on राममक्ति in various months and तिथिs and connected festivals and rites such as मदनोत्सव on चैत्रद्वादशी, क्षीराब्धिशयनोत्सव on आषाढशुक्लद्वादशी, छत्राधारणविधि, चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधि (D. C. ms. 331 of 1887-91).

सर्वपुराणसार by शङ्करानन्द.

सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह by वेङ्कटराय.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग by बालशास्त्रिन् or बालसूरि, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट कागलकर. Wrote under Tanjore king, Śarabha, son of Tulaja.

सर्वप्रायश्चित्तलक्षण.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापन by अनन्तदेव.

सर्वव्रतोद्यापनप्रयोग

सर्वशान्ति.

सर्वशान्तिप्रयोग- quotes हेमाद्रि (Bik. cat. p. 459).

सर्वशास्त्रार्थनिर्णय by कमलाकर. Vide BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 744 (ms. dated śake 1637) and Bik. cat. p. 459.

सर्वसंस्कारसंग्रह m. in नि. सि.

सर्वसारसंग्रह by भट्टोजि. Between 1600-1650.

सर्वस्मृतिसंग्रह by सर्वक्रतुवाजपेययाजिन्.

सर्वाग्रयणकालनिर्णय.

सर्वाद्भुतशान्ति.

सर्वारिष्टशान्ति.

सर्वोपयुक्कारिका- Ano. ; in 14 verses on श्राद्ध,

C. Ano. (by one familiar with Marathi as he translates कोद्रव as पाकड, यावनाल as जोधळा, राजमाष as अलसंदा). Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection. The colophon at end says that कारिकाs follow भट्टोजि's work. The first verse on तिलतर्पणनिषिद्धदिन is भौमेर्के 'भृगुजे मघायुहनिशासप्तम्यनङ्गाह्वया नन्दाजन्मदिनेषु संधियुगेल नो तर्पणं स्यात्तिलैः। नोद्वाहव्रतचौलवृद्धिषु समार्धार्धैकमासे क्रमान्नो दुष्येत् सुतौ मदालयगयाऽब्ध्यादितीर्थादिषु ॥ '.

सहगमनविधि or सतीविधान ascribed to गोविन्दराज (I. O. cat. p. 578 No. 774). In 66 verses.

सहगमनश्राद्ध.

सहचारविधि on ceremonies performed when a wife burnt herself on her husband's pyre.

सहचारविधि or सहगमनविधि- D. C. Ms. No. 183 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1686.

सहस्रचण्डीविधान by कमलाकर.

सहस्रचण्डीविधि (Ulwar cat. 1528, extract 365).

सहस्रचण्डीशतचण्डीविधान.

सहस्रचण्ड्यादिविधि by कमलाकर, son of रामकृष्ण. Refers to निर्णयसिन्धु as his own work (N. IX. pp. 203-204). About 1612 A. D.

सहस्रभोजनविधि. Stein's cat. p. 107.

सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या by भास्करराय, son of गम्भीररायदीक्षित (Ulwar cat. extract 28). The original sūtras are बौधायन's.

सहानुमरणविवेक by अनन्तराम विद्यावागीश, son of रामचरण न्यायालङ्कार. Mentions शुद्धितत्त्व, विवादभङ्गार्णव. About 1800 A. D. (N. vol. VII. p. 223).

सहोदय by हरि on आचार. N. vol. VII. p. 281.

सांवत्सरिकश्राद्ध.

सांवत्सरिकैकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धप्रयोग according to यजुर्वेद. N. II. p. 66.

सागर- several works are so called viz. अद्भुतसागर, दानसागर, स्मृतिसागर.

सागरधर्मामृत.

सागरसंहिता m. by हेमाद्रि II. p. 852.

साग्निकविधि rules for funeral ceremonies of agnihotrins.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसूत्र- vide शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र.

सांख्यायनगृह्यसंग्रह by वासुदेव. Vide शाङ्खायन°; (pr. in Ben. S.series).

साधनचन्द्रिका by केशवेन्द्रस्वामी on observances of वैष्णवs.

साधनीद्वादशी (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 110 b).

साधारणप्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

साधारणव्रतप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग- according to यजुर्वेद (N. II. p. 632).

सापिण्डीमञ्जरी by नागेश.

सापिण्ड्यकल्पलता or- लतिका by सदाशिवदेव alias आपदेव, son of श्रीपति, son of नीलकण्ठ, in 24 verses (or 25 in some mss.), on सापिण्ड्य for marriage. He was a resident of देवालयपुर (D. C. ms. 613 of 1882-83 copied in śake 1760). The author was pupil of विट्ठल. The work takes सपिण्ड to mean connected by particles of the same body. Vide N. (new series) vol. III preface pp. VIII-IX and p. 222 where the verses are said to be 36.

C. by नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव (pr. in सरस्वतीभवन series, 1927, with text). He was the author's grandson and pupil of नागेश. Mentions नरहरिसप्तर्षि, वीरमित्रोदय, सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of his teacher नागेश, द्वैतनिर्णय.

सापिण्ड्यतत्त्वप्रकाश of धरणीधर, son of देवाधर (Baroda O. I. 12783).

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका by नागेश. Same as सापिण्ड्यमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

सापिण्ड्यदीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट (Bhadkamkar collection). Mentions प्रवरनिर्णय. Probably it is this that is mentioned in नि. सि. He was the grand-uncle of कमलाकर and so flourished about 1520–1580 A. D. D. C. ms. 208 of A 1882-83 is called अनुकल्प सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय and discusses certain views of श्रीधर about तृतीय कन्यापरिणयन. D. C. Ms. 129 of 1895-98 is dated संवत् 1647 (1590 A. D.).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by नागोजिभट्ट. Names नन्दपण्डित, अनन्तदेव, गोविन्दार्णव, वासुदेवभट्ट (ms. in Bhadkamkar collection dated śake 1725).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय of भट्टोजि. D. C. Ms. No. 622 of 1883-84 begins 'अथ सप्तमीपञ्चमीनिर्णयः'.

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामकृष्ण (C. P. cat. No. 6378-80).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by रामभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 5032).

सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय by श्रीधरभट्ट ; m. by व्य.म. The same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका (D. C. ms. 128 of 1895-98).

सापिण्ड्यप्रदीप of नागेश ; m. in com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका. Pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सापिण्ड्यमीमांसा m. in नि. सि. Probably the same as सापिण्ड्यदीपिका of श्रीधर.

सापिण्ड्यविचार by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 1947).

सापिण्ड्यविषय by गोपीनाथभट्ट.

सापिण्ड्यसार by धरणीधर, son of देवाधर (Baroda O. I. 12784).

सापिण्ड्यश्राद्धविधि.

सामगव्रतप्रतिष्ठा by रघुनन्दन.

सामगवृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व by रघु०. Vide वृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व above.

सामगाह्निक- vide छन्दोगाह्निक.

सामगृह्यपरिशिष्ट- vide गोभिलगृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

सामगृह्यवृत्ति by रुद्रस्कन्द.

सामवेदीयदशकर्म of भवदेव- vide कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति of भवदेव. Sec. 73.

सामवेदीयसंस्कारपद्धति by वीरेश्वर, son of देवादित्य. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 221). About 1300 A. D.

सामान्यक्रमवृत्ति.

सामान्यप्रघट्टक (part of त्रिस्थलीसेतु).

सामान्यहोमपद्धति.

सायणीय- m. in नि. सि. This is probably the प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि of सायण.

सायप्रातरुपासन.

सारग्राहकर्मविपाक. Composed by the eldest son of काह्नडदेव, son of पद्मनाभ, a नागरब्राह्मण and compiled in संवत् 1440 (1384 A. D.) at नन्दपद्रनगर under the patronage of कर्णसिंह, minister of king दुर्जनसिंह, son of मङ्गलचूपाल. Author says he bases his work on कर्मवि-

पार्क of मौलगिरेय or मौलिगि०, from which he borrowed matter of the extent of 1200 श्लोकs, while his own work extends to 4900 श्लोक units, the author borrowed 276 श्लोक units from विज्ञानेश and 500 from बौधायन. There are 55 प्रकरणs and 45 अधिकारs. Vide I.O.cat. p. 573 No. 1767, Baroda O. I. No. 9459 and 9082 and Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83 p. 63. There are quotations from दानखण्ड and आचारदीपक. The Baroda Ms. 9082 was copied in संवत् 1496 (1439 A.D.)

सारमञ्जरी- com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश by श्रीनाथ.

सारसंग्रह- vide under चाणक्यनीति.

सारसंग्रह m. in मद. पा., तिथितत्त्व, दीक्षातत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०, सं. कौ.

सारसंग्रह. Ano. on auspicious and inauspicious days for religious rites in 881 verses. Ms. (I. O. cat. p. 535 No. 1679) dated संवत् 1774 (1717-18 A. D.).

सारसंग्रह by मुरारिभट्ट.

सारसंग्रह by राघवभट्ट m. in मलमास-तत्त्व of रघु०.

सारसंग्रहदीपिका by रामप्रसाददेवशर्मन्.

सारसंग्रह by शम्भुदास.

सारसमुच्चय m. in हेमाद्रिदानखण्ड and शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक.

सारसागर.

सारार्थचतुष्टय by वरदाचार्य.

सारावलि m. by अपरार्क p. 872 (on त्रिदण्डिसंन्यास). Probably an astrological work, such as that of कल्याणवर्मन्, which is mentioned even by Alberuni and so was earlier than 1000 A. D.

सारावलि- vide स्मृतिसारावलि.

सारासारविवेक.

सारोद्धार (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीविवरण) by शम्भुभट्ट.

सिंहस्थपद्धति- (on merit by bathing in गोदावरी when Jupiter is in Leo). N. vol. X. p. 348. Based on हेमाद्रि.

सिद्धान्तचिन्तामणि m. by रघु० in मलमासतत्त्व.

सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना by धनिराम (C. P. cat. 6521).

सिद्धान्ततत्त्वविवेक by कमलाकर. Vide तत्त्वविवेक.

सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय by शिवनन्दन (C. P. cat. 6522).

सिद्धान्तनिर्णय by रघुराम.

सिद्धान्तपीयूष by चित्रपति written for Colebrooke.

सिद्धान्तबिन्दु on आह्निक (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 143 b).

सिद्धान्तमञ्जरी- vide वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि by मोहनमिश्र.

सिद्धान्तशेखर m. in the प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट and मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघु०. Probably a तान्त्रिक work. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

सिद्धान्तशेखर by विश्वनाथ, son of भास्कर.

सिद्धान्तसन्दर्भ m. by रघुनन्दन in मल-

सिद्धान्तसुधोद्धार m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

सीमन्तकर्मपद्धति.

सीमन्तनिर्णय.

सुकृत्यप्रकाश by ज्वालानाथमिश्र on आचार, आशौच, श्राद्ध and अस-त्परिग्रह (acceptance of gifts from improper persons). N. vol. II. p. 136 ..

सुगतिसोपान by गणेश्वरमन्त्रिन्, son of देवादित्य. He was uncle of चण्डेश्वर. Vide pp. 370-371 above. Author styles himself महाराजाधिराज and says he was assisted by देवादित्यसांधिविग्रहिक (his father) ; m. by रघु० in शुद्धितत्त्व and by रुद्रधर. About 1st half of 14th century.

सुज्ञानदुर्गोदय by विश्वेश्वर alias गागा-भट्ट, son of दिनकरभट्ट, on 16 संस्कारs. Composed about 1675 A. D. (Bik. cat. p. 475).

सुदर्शनकालप्रभा by रामेश्वरशास्त्री.

सुदर्शनभाष्य- com. of सुदर्शनाचार्य on आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र ; m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान, नि. सि.. Earlier than 1550 A. D.

C. अण्डविला by ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ ; m. in नि सि.

सुदर्शनमीमांसाविवेक (Baroda O. I. 4085). Justifies तप्तचक्रादिपञ्चा-युधधारण by वैष्णवs ; ms. copied in संवत् 1834.

सुधीचन्द्रिका.

सुधीमयूख.

सुधीविलोचन m. in श्राद्धप्रयोग of गो-पालसूरि and in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, in वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

सुधीविलोचनं by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

सुधीविलोचनसार.

सुन्दरराजीय m. in प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

सुप्रभा- com. by अनन्त, son of सिद्धे-श्वर, on the कृष्णमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द; composed in 1692 A. D.

सुबोधिनी प्रयोगपद्धति- pr. in Kāśī S. series (कृष्णयजुर्वेदीया and साम-वेदीया).

सुबोधिनी (होमपद्धति) by अनन्तभट्ट on the pacification of the नवग्रहs.

सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी) by अनन्त, son of कमलाकर. 1610-1660 A. D.

सुबोधिनी by महादेव.

सुबोधिनी by रत्नपाणिशर्मन्, son of सञ्जीवेश्वर. Compiled under orders of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला. A स्मृति digest on ten संस्कारs, श्राद्ध, daily religious duties. (N. VI. p. 47).

सुबोधिनी com. on the मिताक्षरा by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट. Vide sec. 93. Text on व्यवहार and translation pr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure.

सुबोधिनी (प्रयोगपद्धति) by शिवराम, son of विश्राम, for students of सामवेद. Mentions his own कृत्य-चिन्तामणि. About 1640 A. D.

सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र- Vide sec. 29 and Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for

1919-22 pp. 5160-62 for a prose सुमन्तुधर्मसूत्र.

सुमन्तुस्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क.

सूतकदीपिका- vide under त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

सूतकनिर्णय (also called अष्टकाशौचभाष्य on the margin). The first verse is नाम्नःप्राग्दन्तजातेरुपनयनविधेराप्लवोहस्त्रिरात्रं &c.'; ms. in Stein's cat. (p. 319) is dated संवत् 1466 (1409-19 A. D.).

सूतकनिर्णय of भट्टोजि, son of लक्ष्मीधर (in Bhadkamkar collection) Mentions माधव, हरदत्त, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

सूतकसार.

सूतकसिद्धान्त by देवयाज्ञिक.

सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका by जयनारायणतर्कपञ्चानन.

सूरिसंतोष m. by रघु० in एकादशीतत्त्व and तिथितत्त्व.

सूर्यनमस्कारविधि.

सूर्यप्रकाश by हरिसामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण. A comprehensive digest on धर्मशास्त्र. Bik. cat. p. 475 contains only व्रतखण्ड.

सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति by दिवाकर, son of भारद्वाज महादेव, on the installation of सूर्य, शिव, गणेश, दुर्गा and विष्णु in a temple.

सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by महादेवभट्ट.

सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति by माधव, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1580.

सूर्यार्णवकर्मविपाक (Ulwar cat. extract No. 293) pr. in Bombay.

सूर्योदयनिबन्ध m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति of नारायण.

सेतुयात्राविधि.

सोदकुम्भश्राद्ध.

सोमनाथीय by सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सूरभट्ट and younger brother of वेङ्कटाद्रियज्वन्, of the नित्तल family.

सोमवारव्रतोद्यापन.

सोमवारामावास्यव्रतकालनिर्णय.

सोमशेखर (निबन्ध) m. in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु०. सरस्वतीविलास p. 422 (Mysore ed.) quotes सोमशेखर on दायभाग.

सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम by अच्युत (Baroda O. I. 1903.).

स्त्रीधननिर्णय.

स्त्रीधनप्रकरण.

स्त्रीधर्मकमलाकर of कमलाकरभट्ट, m. in विवादताण्डव.

स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति by त्र्यम्बक.

स्त्रीपुनरुद्वाहखण्डनमालिका by राघवेन्द्र.

स्त्रीशूद्रदिनचर्या.

स्थालीपाक (आपस्तम्बीय).

,, (आश्वलायनीय).

स्थालीपाकनिर्णय.

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग (आश्वलायनीय).

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by कमलाकर. N. (new series) vol. III. p. 236.

स्थालीपाकप्रयोग by नारायण.

स्थावरप्राणप्रतिष्ठा.

स्थिरलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठा.

स्नानविधिसूत्रपरिशिष्ट or स्नानसूत्र or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र by कात्यायन.

C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by कर्क.

C. स्नानसूत्रदीपिका by गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव.

CC. by कृष्णनाथ.

C. by छाग याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि.

C. by त्रिमल्लतनय (केशव ?).

C. by महादेवद्विवेदिन् (N. vol. VII. p. 304).

C. स्नानपद्धति or स्नानविधिपद्धति by याज्ञिकदेव.

C. स्नानसूत्रपद्धति by हरिजीवनमिश्र. Says that he follows in this work his भाष्य.

C. स्नानव्याख्या and पद्धति by अग्निहोत्रिहरिहर.

स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानक्रमविवरण by चण्डूक. (Baroda O. I. 296 dated संवत् 1593).

स्मार्तकुतूहल.

स्मार्तगङ्गाधरी by गङ्गाधर (C. P. cat. No. 6710).

स्मार्तदिनमणि (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).

स्मार्तदीपिका Ano.; follows आश्वलायन. Burnell's Tanj. cat. 139a.

स्मार्तपदार्थसंग्रह from प्रयोगपद्धति of गङ्गाधर.

स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका by द्वैपायनाचार्य (Baroda O. I. 6986).

स्मार्तपरिभाषा m. in सन्ध्याभाष्य of कृष्णपण्डित.

स्मार्तप्रदीपिका (Mysore Govt. mss. cat. p. 75).

स्मार्तप्रयोग by गोपण्णभट्ट.

,, (हिरण्यकेशीय).

C. वैजयन्ती.

स्मार्तप्रयोगकारिका.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त by तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालम्भट्ट, surnamed गङ्गर.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार by दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्ण, father of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1660-1680 A. D. (BBRAS. cat. p. 238 No. 745).

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय by वेङ्कटाचार्य.

स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार- same as स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग and प्रायश्चित्तोद्धार of दिवाकर.

स्मार्तमार्तण्डप्रयोग by मार्तण्डसोमयाजिन्.

स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव of रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मथुरेश, composed at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराय, in śake 1583 (i. e. 1661-62 A. D.). Divided into sections on तिथि, संक्रान्ति, आशौच, द्रव्यशुद्धि, अधिकारि, प्रायश्चित्त, उद्वाह, दाय. (D. C. ms. No. 305 of 1886-92 on तिथि, N. II. p. 76 on उद्वाह, N. I. p. 284 on दाय).

स्मार्तसङ्ग्रह of नन्दपण्डित, son of देवशर्मन्. Vide sec. 105 p. 431. Refers to दत्तकमीमांसा as his.

स्मार्तस्फुटपद्धति of नारायणदीक्षित. (C. P. cat. No. 6717).

मार्तण्डविलास.

स्मार्ताधानपद्धति by गोविन्द.

स्मार्ताधानप्रयोग of पीताम्बर, son of काश्यपाचार्य. (BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 747). Mentions मदनरत्न. Vide under धर्मार्णव. Between 1500 and 1675 A. D.

स्मार्तानुष्ठानपद्धति of अनन्तभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ. Also styled अनन्तभट्टी. A manual of initiatory rites with the prayers required therein. Vide under प्रयोगरत्न. According to आश्वलायन. (I. O. cat. p. 515).

स्मार्तोपासनपद्धति from the प्रयोगरत्न.

स्मार्तोल्लास by शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of मुष्करपुर (Baroda O. I. 11958). Ms. dated शके 1610. Mentions मदनरत्न, टोडरानन्द. Between 1580-1680 A. D. On आधानकाल, मुहूर्तविचार, duties of अग्निहोत्रि, on difficult points about रजस्वला &c.

स्मृतिकदम्ब by कश्यं येलुभट्ट. Hultzsch R. I. No. 657.

स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम by शुक्ल ईश्वरनाथ. C. by author. Stein's cat p. 108.

स्मृतिकोशदीपिका by तिम्मणभट्ट (Baroda O. I. 2008 on आह्निक only).

स्मृतिकौस्तुदी by देवनाथठक्कुर. A digest on चातुर्वर्ण्य, आचार, आह्निक, संस्कार, श्राद्ध, आशौच, दायभाग, व्रत, दान, उत्सर्ग. (N. vol. V. p. 237).

स्मृतिकौस्तुदी by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 pp. 383-384. Also styled शूद्रधर्मोत्पलद्योतिनी.

स्मृतिकौस्तुदी by रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य (N. VI. p. 140).

स्मृतिकौस्तुदीटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव. Sec. 109. Divided into 12 दीधितिs.

स्मृतिकौस्तुभ by वेङ्कटाद्रि. Vide आशौचनिर्णय.

स्मृतिग्रन्थराज by सार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्र m. in संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

स्मृतिचन्द्र by भवदेवन्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर, composed in 1720-22 A. D. and divided into 16 कलाs on तिथि, व्रत, संस्कार, आह्निक, श्राद्ध, आचार, प्रतिष्ठा, वृषोत्सर्ग, परीक्षा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, गृहयज्ञ, वेश्मधू, मलिम्लुच, दान, शुद्धि. Mentions श्रीदत्त and संवत्सरप्रदीप. Imitates रघु०.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by आपदेवमीमांसक. On काल, मलमास, व्रत, आह्निक, विवाह and other संस्कारs, स्त्रीधर्म, आश्रमधर्म, अन्त्येष्टि, आशौच, श्राद्ध. (N. VI. 301).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by कुबेर (m. in दत्तकचन्द्रिका).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by केशवादित्यभट्ट (Bik. cat. 465). This entry is wrong, as the introductory verses and the verses at the end show that this is the same as देवण्णभट्ट's work.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by देवण्णभट्ट, son of केशवादित्यभट्ट. Sec. 85 (pr. by Mr. Gharpure and in Mysore G. O. L. series).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वामदेवभट्टाचार्य (N. IX. p. 137).

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by वैदिकसार्वभौम.

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका by शुकदेवमिश्र, son of विट्ठलमिश्र. On तिथिनिर्णय, शुद्धि, आशौच, व्यवहार. (I. O. cat. p. 471).

,, Ano. (N. vol. VIII. p. 153).

स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय by गणेशभट्ट (C. P. cat. No. 6723-24).

स्मृतिचरण by भवानीशङ्कर.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणि by गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र. Mentions कल्पतरु, कामधेनु, हेमाद्रि, मदनरत्न, and is mentioned in नृसिंहप्रसाद (I. O. cat. p. 444 on व्यवहार, which is 2nd परिच्छेद). About 1450-1500.

स्मृतिचिन्तामणिसंग्रह (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4978 on आह्निक).

स्मृतिचूडामणि or- मणिसंग्रह of वरदाचार्य, of the वात्स्यगोत्र.

स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. It is the name of his digest containing 28 तत्त्वs. Sec. 102.

स्मृतितत्त्वप्रकाश by श्रीदेव.

स्मृतितत्त्वविनिर्णय or व्यवस्थार्णव by रामभद्र, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. Mentions शूलपाणि. 1500-1550 A. D. N. (new series) I. p. 413.

स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश and गौरी and judge at the court of भैरवेन्द्र of मिथिला. About 1450-1500 A. D. On आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. N. vol. V. p. 184.,

स्मृतितत्त्वसार (B. O. cat. vol. I No. 440).

स्मृतितत्त्वसूत of वर्धमान, son of भवेश and गौरी. N. vol. VI. p. 12 contains शान्तिकपौष्टिकाञ्जलि. Dealing with rites for propitiating adverse deities and portents and for consecrating works of public utility. N. VI. p. 57 is styled तत्त्वासूतसारोद्धार (व्यवहाराञ्जलि) and in the concluding verses वर्धमान says that he composed four कुसुमs on आचार, श्राद्ध, शुद्धि and व्यवहार. So स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक and °तत्त्वासू° are the same. It was completed under राम, son of भैरवेन्द्र.

स्मृतिदर्पण m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता, नृसिंहप्रसाद, शूद्रकमलाकर, विधानपारिजात. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिदर्पण (Baroda O. I. No. 10916 is an incomplete ms. in 598 verses). Names 36 स्मृतिकारs, कलिवर्ज्य (such as पुनर्विवाह).

स्मृतिदीपिका m. in सं. कौ., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर. Earlier than 1650 A. D.

स्मृतिदीपिका of वामदेव उपाध्याय on times for श्राद्ध and other rites (N. vol. V. p. 157 and VII. 125).

स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन by चन्द्रशेखर- vide दुर्गभञ्जन.

स्मृतिनवनीत of वृषभाद्रिनाथ, son of नारसिंह, pupil of रामचन्द्र and श्रीनिवास.

स्मृतिनिबन्ध by नृसिंहभट्ट. An extensive digest on धर्मलक्षण, वर्णाश्रमधर्म, विवाहादिसंस्कार, सापिण्ड्य, आह्निक, आशौच, श्राद्ध, दायभाग, प्रायश्चित्त (N. VIII p. 174).

स्मृतिपरिभाषा by वर्धमानमहामहोपाध्याय; contains general rules regarding ceremonial observances and proper seasons for them and on स्नान, ग्रहण, तिथिद्वैध, दान &c. Names स्मृतिमहार्णव, हरिहरमिश्र ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघु०. About 1450-1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रकाश by भास्करभट्ट or हरिभास्करभट्ट, son of आयाजिभट्ट (or आपाजि-), son of हरिभट्ट (Bik. cat. p. 467 deals with portion on श्राद्ध).

स्मृतिप्रकाश by वासुदेव रथ (one facsicule pr. in B. I. series) on कालनिरूपण, संवत्सर, संक्रान्ति. Mentions माधवाचार्य and विद्याकरवाजपेयी. Later than 1500 A. D.

स्मृतिप्रदीप m. by हेमाद्रि (काल० p.355).

स्मृतिप्रदीप by चन्द्रशेखरमहोमहापाध्याय on तिथि, आशौच, श्राद्ध.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका- vide धर्मदीपिका of चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिप्रदीपिका m. by भट्टोजि in his com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिप्रामाण्यवाद.

स्मृतिभास्कर m. by स्मृतिच०, प्रयोगपारिजात of नृसिंह, धर्मप्रवृत्ति, नृसिंहप्रसाद. Madras Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2043 Nos. 2786-87 contains portions on यतिधर्म and शूद्रधर्म from a स्मृतिभास्कर.

स्मृतिभास्कर by नीलकण्ठ (N. vol. V. p. 108). From the introductory verses it appears to be the शान्तिमयूख of नीलकण्ठ.

स्मृतिभूषण by कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव. A digest of rituals for माध्व followers.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by गोविन्दराज. Sec. 76 pp. 311-313.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी by रत्नधरमिश्र.

स्मृतिमञ्जरी Ano. (D. C. ms. No. 184 of 1884-86 on श्राद्ध).

स्मृतिमञ्जूषा m. in कालादर्श, स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, छन्दोगाह्निक of श्रीदत्त. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिमहाराज by कृष्णराज (Baroda O. I. No. 8023). It mentions मदनरत्न. Begins with गोदान and ends with मूर्तिप्रतिष्ठापन. It is styled शूद्रपद्धति also.

स्मृतिमहार्णव or स्मृतिमहार्णवप्रकाश m. by हेमाद्रि. Vide महार्णव and p. 308 above.

स्मृतिमहोदधि by परमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती.

स्मृतिमीमांसा by जैमिनि, m. by अपरार्क p. 206. A स्मृतिमीमांसा is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, in the स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेदाचार्य, by हेमाद्रि in व्रतखण्ड and परिशेषखण्ड and by नृसिंहप्रसाद.

स्मृतिमुक्ताफल of वेंकटनाथदीक्षित. A very popular स्मृति digest in southern India. Printed several times in Southern India at Chidamba-

ram, 1908, Kumbhakonam &c. On वर्णाश्रमधर्म, आह्निक, आशौच, श्राद्ध, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, काल. About 1600 A. D.

स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह by चिदम्बरेश्वर.

स्मृतिमुक्तावली of कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारसूसिंहभट्ट, son of विजयीन्द्रभट्ट; in 10 प्रकरणs.

स्मृतिरत्न m. by कालादर्श, सं.कौ., संस्कारमयूख of सिद्धेश्वर.

स्मृतिरत्न of रघुनाथभट्ट. Ms. (N. VII. p. 253) is dated शके 1699.

स्मृतिरत्नकोश.

स्मृतिरत्नमहोदधि by श्रीपरमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्रसरस्वती. Contains षट्कर्मविचार, आचार, आशौच &c. Quotes माधवीय. (Vide Madras Govt. mss. cat. pp. 2055-57 Nos. 2802-4).

स्मृतिरत्नविवेक m. by चण्डेश्वर and by रुद्रधर in his श्राद्धविवेक. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by तातयार्य (Baroda O. I. 9919).

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by ताम्रपर्णाचार्य.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by भट्टोजि (on प्रायश्चित्त and आशौच). Vide Mad. Govt. mss. cat. vol. V. p. 2059 No. 2806.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विठ्ठल, son of केशव, a resident of विदुरपुर. Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a. From the place of residence and contents, it appears that this is the same as the preceding.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशव, residing at विदुरपुर; on आह्निक, 16 संस्कारs, संक्रान्ति, ग्रहण, दान, तिथिनिर्णय, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, नित्यनैमित्तिक (vide D. C. ms. No. 52 of 1866-68). Bik. cat. p. 467 gives शिवभट्ट as father's name.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेङ्कटनाथ, son of श्रीरङ्गनाथाचार्य, son of सरस्वतीवल्लभ, surnamed वैदिकसार्वभौम. portion pr. Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press at Kalyan. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, स्मृतिच०, अखण्डादर्श, माधवीय, स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय and इतिहाससमुच्चय. Also called सदाचारसंग्रह.

स्मृतिरत्नाकर by वेदाचार्य in 15 chapters on नित्यनैमित्तिकाचार, मर्माधानादिसंस्कार, तिथिनिरूपण, श्राद्ध, शान्ति, तीर्थयात्रा, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य, व्रत, प्रायश्चित्त, आशौच, अन्त्येष्टिकर्म; written under patronage of कामरूप king. Quotes भवदेव (on प्रायश्चित्त), जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिमीमांसा, स्मृतिसमुच्चय, आचारसागर, दानसागर, महार्णव. It is this that is probably m. in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०. Between 1250-1500 A. D. I. O. cat. pp. 473-474, N. VII. 45 (the colophon says that the प्रायश्चित्त section is the 18th परिच्छेद).

स्मृतिरत्नावलि m. in नृसिंहप्रसाद, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट, नि. सि., शुद्धिचन्द्रिका of नन्दपण्डित.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by मधुसूदनदीक्षित, son of महेश्वर. (Bik. cat. p. 467 contains श्राद्ध portion only).

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति. Composed in 1657 A. D.; vide under दायभागविवेक. Stein's cat. p. 109.

स्मृतिरत्नावलि by वेङ्कुराम. N. VII. p. 228.

स्मृतिरहस्य.

स्मृतिविवरण by आनन्दतीर्थ. Same as सदाचारस्मृति.

स्मृतिविवेक by मेधातिथि. Sec. 63 pp. 274-275.

स्मृतिविवेक by शूलपाणि. Sec. 95.

स्मृतिव्यवस्था by चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य of गौडदेश; ms. of शुद्ध्यादिव्यवस्था (N. IV. 130) dated śake 1610 (1688-89 A. D.).

स्मृतिव्यवस्थार्णव (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 433).

स्मृतिशेखर or कस्तूरिस्मृति by कस्तूरि, son of नागय, on आचार. (Burnell's Tanj. cat. 136a).

स्मृतिसंस्कारकास्तुभ. Probably the same as संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव.

स्मृतिसंक्षेप by नरोत्तम on आशौच, सहमरण, षोडशदान. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 225 and vol. I. p. 414.

स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार by रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्, son of मधुसूदनतर्कवागीश. On उद्वाह, उद्वाहकाल, गोत्र, प्रवर, सपिण्ड, समानोदक &c. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 225.

स्मृतिसंग्रह or संग्रह. Vide sec. 54.

स्मृतिसंग्रह.

(1) by छलारि नारायण, m. by his son in स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

(2) by दयाराम.

(3) by नीलकण्ठ (D. C. ms. No. 373 of 1875-76).

(4) by रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य of नवद्वीप on अनध्याय, तिथि, प्रायश्चित्त, शुद्धि, उद्वाह, सापिण्ड्य. Also called व्यवस्थाविवेचन or व्यवस्थासक्षप.

(5) attributed to सायण and माधव.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसंग्रह by विद्यारण्य (Hultzsch R. I. No. 591.).

स्मृतिसंग्रह alias विद्यारण्यसंग्रह (in margin)- a large work in 7000 ग्रन्थ (Baroda O. I. 11248).

स्मृतिसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश. Is it same as स्मृतिरत्नाकर of वेङ्कटनाथ ?

स्मृतिसंग्रह by हरदत्त.

स्मृतिसंग्रह- same as परमेश्वरीदासाधि.

स्मृतिसंग्रह on व्यवहार (Cal. S. College ms. cat. vol. II. p. 137 No. 141).

स्मृतिसंग्रहरत्नव्याख्यान- a com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत by रामचन्द्र, son of नारायणभट्ट (I. O. cat. p. 475). Seems to be the same as भट्टोजि's com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत.

स्मृतिसंग्रहसार of महेशपञ्चानन, founded on रघुनन्दन's स्मृतितत्त्व. N. VI. p. 235.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (ms. in Bombay University Library) in about 500

verses on आह्निक, शौच, स्नान, एकादशी &c. Quotes गरुडपुराण.

स्मृतिसमुच्चय (from आचारतिलक or लघ्वाचारतिलक) in 321 verses on दन्तधावन, स्नान, संध्या, daily duties, श्राद्ध, एकादशी &c. (Baroda O. I. No. 7331).

स्मृतिसमुच्चय of विश्वेश्वर. It is said in JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. VII. that it is this work that is m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत°, हेमाद्रि (कालनिर्णय) III. 2. 686, दिव्यतत्त्व of रघु°, तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि.

स्मृतिसरोजकलिका by विष्णुशर्मन् in 8 sections (खण्डs) on स्नान, पूजा, तिथि, श्राद्ध, सूतक, दान, यज्ञ, प्रायश्चित्त. Enumerates 28 स्मृतिकारs by name (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4360 No. 2997).

स्मृतिसरोजसुन्दर or स्मृतिसार. Vide सरोजसुन्दर.

स्मृतिसर्वस्व by नारायण of कृष्णनगर in the Hughli District. (I. O. cat. p. 448). Earlier than 1675 A. D. He speaks of a क्षयमास as yet to occur in śake 1603 (1681 A. D.).

स्मृतिसागर by कुल्लूकभट्ट; vide गोविन्दार्णव; m. in शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु°.

स्मृतिसागरसार m. in प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह of नारायणभट्ट and in मलमासतत्त्व of रघु°.

स्मृतिसार by केशवशर्मन् in 1359 verses on rites to be performed on several तिथिs.

स्मृतिसार by नारायण.

स्मृतिसार by महेश. On impurity due to birth and death. N. vol. III. p. 48.

स्मृतिसार by मुकुन्दलाल.

स्मृतिसार by याज्ञिकदेव in 311 verses culled from स्मृतिs on दायभाग, श्राद्ध, यज्ञोपवीत, मलमास, आचार, स्नान, शुद्धि, सापिण्ड्य, आशौच. D. C. ms. No. 181 of 1895-1902 is dated संवत् 1652 (1595-96 A. D.).

स्मृतिसार by यादवेन्द्रभट्ट on the performance of festivals and rites on certain तिथिs such as कृष्णजन्माष्टमी, रामनवमी, and on दुर्गोत्सव, श्राद्ध, आशौच, प्रायश्चित्त; m. in धर्मप्रवृत्ति. I. O. cat. p. 477; N. vol. IV. p. 213 (ms. dated śake 1619).

स्मृतिसार by श्रीकृष्ण.

स्मृतिसार by हरिनाथ. Sec. 91. The work is also called स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय.

स्मृतिसार or आशौचनिर्णय- a com. on a work by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारटीका by कृष्णनाथ.

स्मृतिसारप्रदीप m. by रघुनन्दन.

स्मृतिसारव्यवस्था by विद्यारत्नस्मार्तभट्टाचार्य.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by कृष्णभट्ट.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by चन्द्रशेखरवाचस्पति.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by पुरुषोत्तमानन्द, pupil of परमहंसपूर्णानन्द, on आह्निक,

शौच, स्नान, त्रिपुण्ड्र, क्रमसंन्यास, श्राद्ध, विरजाहोम, श्रीसंन्यासविधि, क्षौरपर्वनिर्णय, यतिपार्वणश्राद्ध.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by महेश. Vide व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by याज्ञिकदेव. Seems to be same as स्मृतिसार with additions. Here the verses are 459. Vide D. C. ms. No. 344 of 1886-92.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वाचस्पति; mentions रघु० (I. O. cat. p. 450).

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विद्यानन्दनाथ.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by विश्वनाथ. Mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, कल्पतरु, विद्याकरपद्धति. (Tri. cat. of Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4264 No. 2944).

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारसंग्रह by वैद्यनाथ.

स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय on domestic observances; gives extracts from 28 sages on शौच, ब्रह्मचारि, आचार, दान, द्रव्यशुद्धि, प्रायश्चित्त. Vide I. O. cat. p. 477 No. 1556 and Ulwar cat. extract 372, where it is said to have been compiled by धर्मशास्त्रकवि (a lover of धर्मशास्त्र).

स्मृतिसारसमुच्चय by हरिनाथ. Same as स्मृतिसार above.

स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व by वेङ्कटेश. Same as आशौचनिर्णय by वेङ्कटेश.

स्मृतिसारसागर m in तिथितत्त्व of रघु०.

स्मृतिसारावलि m. in नि. सि.

स्मृतिसारोद्धार vide चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध. Pr. at Benares.

स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह by इन्द्रदत्त उपाध्याय.

स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा by रामचन्द्रबुध, a com. on अघपञ्चपटि.

स्मृतिसिन्धु by नन्दपण्डित. Vide sec. 105.

स्मृतिसिन्धु by श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण (Burnell's Tanj. cat. p. 135a) for वैष्णवs.

स्मृतिसुधाकर or वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध by ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुधाकर. N. vol. IV p. 271.

स्मृतिसुधाकर of शङ्करमिश्र. About 1600 A. D. (JBORS. for 1927 parts III-IV p. X).

स्मृत्यधिकरण.

स्मृत्यर्थनिर्णय (on व्यवहार).

स्मृत्यर्थरत्नाकर alias स्मृत्यर्थसार.

स्मृत्यर्थसागर by छलारि नृसिंहाचार्य, son of नारायण. Based on मध्वाचार्य's सदाचारस्मृति; divided into four तरङ्गs on आह्निक, काल, आशौच and शुद्धि (Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 52 and BBRAS. cat. p. 239 No. 748 and Aufrecht's Oxf. cat. 285b). He says मध्वाचार्य was born in śake 1120. Mentions कमलाकर and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ. Later than 1675 A. D.

स्मृत्यर्थसार by नीलकण्ठाचार्य (C. P. cat. No. 673).

स्मृत्यर्थसार by शुकुन्दलाल.

स्मृत्यर्थसार by श्रीधर. Sec. 81.

स्मृत्यर्थसारसमुच्चय (Baroda O. I. 4088) summaries of the views

of 28 sages are given on शौच, आचमन, दन्तधावन, &c.; ms. dated संवत् 1743. The 28 sages are मनु, याज्ञवल्क्य, विश्वामित्र, अत्रि, कात्यायन, वसिष्ठ, व्यास, उशनस्, बौधायन, दक्ष, शङ्ख, लिखित, आपस्तम्ब, अगस्त्य, हारीत, विष्णु, गोभिल, सुमन्तु, मनुस्वायंभुव, गुरु, नारद, पराशर. गर्ग, गौतम, यम, शातातप, अङ्गिरस्, संवर्त.

स्वत्यालोक (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 449).

स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार by अनन्तराम. On ownership of property.

स्वत्ववाद (Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4782).

स्वत्वविचार N. (new series) vol. II. p. 226.

स्वत्वव्यवस्थार्णवसेतुबन्ध by रघुनाथसार्वभौम, in 6 परिच्छेदs on विभागनिरूपण, स्त्रीधन, स्त्रीधनाधिकारि, अपुत्रधनाधिकार.

स्वर्गवाद on स्वर्गवाद, प्रतिष्ठावाद, सपिण्डीकरणवाद. N. (new series) vol. II. p. 229.

स्वर्गसाधन by रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य. Appears to be different from the great रघुनन्दन. On श्राद्धाधिकारि, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, आशौचनिर्णय, वृषोत्सर्ग, षोडशश्राद्ध, पार्वणश्राद्ध &c. N. (new series) vol. I. p. 417.

स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति by जीवराम.

हनुमत्प्रतिष्ठा.

हयशीर्षपञ्चरात्र a वैष्णव work concerned with the consecration of images of gods and building temples; m. by रघु०, नि. सि. and हलायुध in पुराणसर्वस्व.

हरितालिकाव्रतनिर्णय.

हरितोषण by वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य.

हरिदिनतिलक (on एकादशी fast) by चण्डमारुतस्वामिन्.

हरिदिनतिलक by वेदान्तदेशिक. C. (vide cat. of Madras Govt. mss. vol. VI. p. 2368 No. 3153). According to it the author वेदान्तदेशिक flourished after स्मृतिच०, हेमाद्रि, कालादर्श and कालनिर्णय and held that the views of all these were अशास्त्र and आसुर.

हरिपूजापद्धति by आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव. Stein's cat. p. 109.

हरिभक्ति m. by रघु० in आह्निकतत्त्व and एकादशीतत्त्व.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलता by विष्णुपुरी m. in कृष्णभक्तिकल्पवल्ली.

हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका by कृष्णसरस्वती divided into 14 स्तबकs.

हरिभक्तिदीपिका by गणेश. N. vol. V. pp. 189-190.

हरिभक्तिभास्कर (सद्वैष्णवसारसर्वस्व) by भुवनेश्वर, son of भीमानन्द, in 12 प्रकाशs; composed in संवत् 1884.

हरिभक्तिरसायन.

हरिभक्तिरसायनसिन्धु.

हरिभक्तिरहस्य.

हरिभक्तिलता.

हरिभक्तिविलास by गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द. He was ordered to write this work by चैतन्य; vide under भगवद्भक्तिविलास. Composed about 1562 A. D.; m. by रघुनन्दन.

हरिभक्तिविलास (लघु) by रूपगोस्वामिन्. C. by सनातनगोस्वामिन्, m. in

वैष्णवतोषिणी. Vide N. vol. VI. pp. 190-93 for an account of his family.

हरिभक्तिसार.

हरिभक्तिसुधोदय.

C. m. by सदाचारचन्द्रिका.

हरिवंशविलास by नन्दपण्डित, divided into कौतुकs on आह्निक, कालनिर्णय, दान, संस्कार. Vide sec. 105.

हरिवासरनिर्णय by व्यङ्कटेश (Baroda O. I. 8793).

हरिहरदीक्षितीय.

हरिहरपद्धति by हरिहर. The same as is appended to his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र ; m. by हेमाद्रि, श्राद्धसौख्य of टोडरानन्द, उद्धाहतत्त्व and other तत्त्वs of रघु०. Vide sec. 84.

हरिहरभाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य by हरिहर.

हलायुधनिबन्ध m. in आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त.

हलायुधीय m. in आचारमयूख. Probably the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध.

हारलता by अनिरुद्ध. Sec. 82.

C. सन्ध्यासूत्रिका by अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन्, son of हरिदासतर्काचार्य.

C. विवरण m. by नन्दपण्डित in श्राद्धकल्पलता.

हारीतस्मृति. Vide sec. 11 and 56.

C. m. by हेमाद्रि ; vide p. 71 above.

C. by तकनलाल.

हारीतस्मृति (Baroda O. I. 8185) in four अध्यायs on नित्य and नैमित्तिक rites of वर्णs and आश्रमs, eight नारीधर्मs, नृपधर्म, जीवपरमेश्वरस्वरूप, मोक्षसाधन, ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्र. There is व्यवहाराध्याय also.

हिरण्यकामधेनुदान.

हिरण्यकेशाह्निक.

हिरण्यकेशि (सत्याषाढ) गृह्यसूत्र in two प्रश्नs, each divided into पटलs (ed. by Dr. Kirste at Vienna, 1889 and tr. in SBE. vol. 30).

C. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती by महादेव.

C. by मातृदत्त (extracts in Kirste's edition).

हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide sec. 8 p. 46 above.

C. उज्ज्वला by महादेव (p. 49 above).

हिरण्यश्राद्ध.

हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप or- संग्रह by भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Vide Baroda O. I. No. 5480.

हेमाद्रिनिबन्ध- the same as चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

हेमाद्रिप्रयोग by विद्याधर.

हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप by भट्टीभट्ट (Stein's cat. p. 110).

हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रायश्चित्त by बालश्री.

होमकालातिक्रमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमनिर्णय by भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्कर. About 1620-1680 A. D.

होमपद्धति by माधव (part of his) मखतिलक). Mentions रूपनारायण ; Ulwar cat. extract 375.

होमपद्धति by लम्बोदर.

होमप्रायश्चित्त.

होमलोपप्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

होमविधान by बालकृष्ण (ऋग्वेदीय). Baroda O. I. 8354.

होमसिद्धान्त ano..

होरिलस्मृति m. in स्मृतिसारोद्धार of विश्वम्भर.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF AUTHORS ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

While preparing this list, great difficulties were experienced in stating all the works composed by an author. In the case of such names as Ananta, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṅgādhara, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Śaṅkara, which are extremely common, the only method that could be followed, in the absence of materials to identify the authors bearing these names, was to place the same name several times in the list against the work composed by that author. Since the authors themselves very often convey no more information than their own names and since some of the reports on the search for mss. do not give even what little information about the author can be gathered from the ms. of his work, Aufrecht also was compelled to follow this method. In order to avoid repetition and save space, I have not repeated in this list the information that was given under the works contained in the list A. Dates are given principally under the names of authors and sometimes under works also. For further information readers will have in many cases to refer to the works put down as composed by an author. In the case of authors who have written on several śāstras, their works on dharmaśāstra alone have been mentioned. Wherever possible parentage has been noted and dates assigned. In a few cases information which became available after list A was prepared has been incorporated here.

अखण्ड a. of अखण्डादर्श.

अखण्डानन्दमुनि, disciple of अखण्डानुभूति ; a. of महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति.

अगस्त्य a. of अगस्त्यसंहिता.

अघोरशिवाचार्य a. of आशौचदीपिका.

आङ्गिरस a. of a स्मृति. Sec. 39. Vide also मध्यमाङ्गिरस and बृहदङ्गिरस.

अचल, son of वत्सराज, son of गोविन्द, resident of आनन्दपुर; a. of आह्निकदीपक and निर्णयदीपक (composed in संवत् 1575 i. e. 1518-19 A. D.), महारुद्रपद्धति, शाङ्खायनाह्निक or -दीपिका.

अच्युत a. of सौभाग्यकल्पद्रुम.

अच्युतचक्रवर्तिन्, son of हरिदासतर्काचार्य ; a. of दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुदचन्द्रिका (com. on दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन), सन्दर्भस्मृतिका (com. on हारलता of अनिरुद्ध), श्राद्धविवेकटिप्पनी (m. in his com. on दायभाग). About 1500-1550 A. D.; ms. of दायभागसिद्धान्तकुसुदचन्द्रिका in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 205 p. 120 is dated शके 1581 (1669 A. D.).

अच्युतानन्द, pupil of आनन्दगिरि, a. of एकादशीनिर्णयव्याख्या.

अच्युताश्रम, disciple of परमानन्दाश्रम or चिदानन्दाश्रम ; a. of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति (or यतिधर्मसंग्रह), सँन्यासधर्मसंग्रह, संन्यासपद्धति. In विश्वेश्वरीयपद्धति, the ज्ञानार्णव is mentioned and the ms. No. 12548 Baroda O. I. was copied in संवत् 1887 (1830-31 A. D.).

अजयपाल m. in क्षुद्रकमलाकर.

अण्णादीक्षित a. of अण्णादीक्षितीय.

अत्रि. Vide sec. 16.

अनन्त a. of शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

अनन्तदीक्षित, son of विश्वनाथ, surnamed यज्ञोपवीत. Later than 1575 A. D. and earlier than 1750 ; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्ताह्निकानुष्ठानपद्धति (for आश्वलायनीयs), महारुद्रपद्धति, सप्तसंस्थाप्रयोग.

अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. Vide sec. 109 ; a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (divided into 12 parts on तिथि, संस्कार &c.), भगवद्भक्तिनिर्णय or -विवेक, मथुरासेतु, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका, अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, ऋत्विग्वरणनिर्णय, दत्तकपुत्रविधान.

अनन्तदेव a. of चलार्चापद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of राज्याभिषेकपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of व्रतप्रकाश.

अनन्तदेव, son of उच्चवह्निवेदिन्. Later than 1640 A. D. ; a. of गयाश्राद्धपद्धति, वृद्धिश्राद्धदीपिका (वृद्धिश्राद्धपद्धति), यज्ञःसंध्या, रुद्रकल्पद्रुम, सर्वव्रतोद्यापन, वृद्धिश्राद्धविनिर्णय.

अनन्तदेव a. of श्राद्धकल्पसूत्रपद्धति, a com. on the श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन.

अनन्तदेव a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि, उत्सर्गपद्धति.

अनन्तदेव a. of कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन.

अनन्तदैवज्ञ, son of केशवदैवज्ञ, resident of नन्दिग्राम; a. of कालनिर्णयावबोध. Bik. cat. p. 399 gives śake 1488 (1566-7 A. D.) as date but it is not clear whether it is of composition or copying.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of कमलाकरभट्ट. About 1640-1670; a. of रामकल्पद्रुम, सुबोधिनी (com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी).

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागदेवभट्ट; a. of ग्रहयज्ञविधान, वृषोत्सर्गप्रयोग.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of दाईभट्ट ; a. of सदाचाररहस्य (composed at the desire of संग्रामसिंह). About 1715 A. D.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट or नागदेवभट्ट, son of जह्लु, of काण्वकुल; a. of आह्निकपारिजात, दानपारिजात, विधानपारिजात (composed in 1625 A. D.) and other works ending in पारिजात (शान्तिपारिजात), ग्रहयज्ञविधान.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of नागेशभट्ट, son of यज्ञभट्ट ; a. of आह्निकसंग्रह. Probably the same as the preceding.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of बापुभट्ट, a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

अनन्तभट्ट, son of महादेव ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय or निर्णयबिन्दु (ms. dated 1526-7 A. D. in Baroda O. I. No. 10611). It is this author that is probably mentioned as अनन्तभट्ट in नि. सि. and नृसिंहप्रसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of समयनिर्णय.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of सदाचारनिर्णय.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of गुह्यपरिशिष्ट ; m. by रघुनन्दन in तिथितत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I p. 54) and

अनन्तभट्ट, son of यदुभट्ट. About 2nd quarter of 17th century ; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर (at the request of अनूपसिंह).

अनन्तभट्ट, son of सिद्धेश्वर ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान, of com. प्रभा or सुप्रभा on कुण्डमार्तण्ड of गोविन्द (com. composed in 1692-93 A. D. at पल्लीपत्तन, probably modern Pāli in the Bhor State).

अनन्तभट्ट a. of दानसागर.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of श्राद्धोपयोगिवचन.

अनन्तभट्ट a. of सुबोधिनी होमपद्धति (for nine planets).

अनन्तभट्टमहामहोपाध्याय a. of दत्तकदीधिति (probably the same as दत्तकपुत्रविधान of अनन्तदेव).

अनन्तमिश्र a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति.

अनन्तयज्वन्, son of कृष्ण ; a. of com. on पितृमेधसूत्र of गौतम.

अनन्तयाज्ञिक a. of व्यवहारदर्पण, शुद्धिदर्पण.

अनन्तराम a. of विवादचन्द्रिका, स्वत्वरहस्य or स्वत्वविचार. Later than 1600 A. D.

अनन्तराम, a. of वैष्णवधर्ममीमांसा.

अनन्तराम, son of रामचरणन्यायालङ्कार. About 1810 A. D. ; a. of सहाग्निमरणविवेक.

अनन्तरामशास्त्रिन् a. of विवाहकन्यास्वरूपनिर्णय.

अनन्ताल्वार a. of जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद.

अनिरुद्धभट्ट Vide sec. 82; 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 12th century A.D.; a. of पितृदयिता or कर्मोपदेशिनीपद्धति and हारलता.

अनिरुद्धभट्ट महामहोपाध्याय a. of मन्त्रकौमुदी. Said to be a दाक्षिणात्य. Earlier than 1795 A. D.

अनूपसिंहदेव, son of कर्णसिंह, a Rathor prince. About 1673 A.D.; (reputed) a. of अनूपविवेक, श्राद्धप्रयोगचिन्तामणि.

अन्धुकभट्ट. About 1030-1050 A. D.; m. in the कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

अपरार्क or अपरादित्य Sec. 79; a. of com. called याज्ञवल्कीयधर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध. Between 1115-1130 A.D.

अपिपाल, son of देहणपाल, son of त्रिविक्रम, son of मकरन्दपाल; a. of अपिपालकारिका and अपिपालपद्धति (क्षुद्रपद्धति). M. by गोविन्दानन्द and रघुनन्दन. One ms. (N. vol. V. p. 302) was copied in शके 1442 (1521 A. D.). So earlier than 1500 A. D. In the colophon the work is described as कारित by अपिपाल.

अप्पय्यदीक्षित a. of तप्तमुद्राखण्डन; about 1520-1592 A. D.

अप्पयदीक्षित (माथुर) a. of प्रायश्चित्तविधि. Probably the same as अप्पादीक्षित native of गौरीमाथुर.

अप्पयदीक्षित a. of शिवार्चनचंद्रिका, शैवकल्पद्रुम. He is probably the the same as the a. of तप्तमुद्राखण्डन.

अप्पादीक्षित a native of गौरीमाथुर; a. of आचारनवनीत (composed about 1700 A. D.) under Tanjore king Shahaji.

अप्पाबाजपेयिन् a. of नीतिसुमावलि.

अभिनवधर्मभूषणाचार्य a. of न्यायदीपिका.

अमरेश्वर a. of शिवार्चनपद्धति.

अमृतनाथमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय, son of श्रीमानिकशर्मन्; a. of कृतिसारसमुच्चय or कृत्यसार०, प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासार, वादसारसमुच्चय (on 18 व्यवहारपदs); vide B.O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 77 p. 74 for कृत्यसारसमुच्चय, which appears to be only a part dealing with व्रत and प्रायश्चित्त from the larger work called सारसमुच्चयार्णव and No. 319 p. 358 for वादसारसमुच्चय.

अमृतपाठक, son of सखाराम; a. of संस्कारपद्धति. Later than 1680 A. D.

अमृतानन्दतीर्थ a. of तारकोपदेशव्यवस्था.

अल्पयम m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार.

अल्लाडनाथसूरि, son of सिद्धलक्ष्मण. Between 1250-1500 A. D.; a. of निर्णयामृत (composed at the desire of prince सूर्यसेन, ruler of एकचक्रपुर on the Jumna). Vide under निर्णयामृत.

अष्टावक्र com. of मानवगृह्यसूत्र and of बौधायनगृह्य.

असहाय Vide sec. 58. About 700-750 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on नारदस्मृति, of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र and probably of com. on मनुस्मृति.

अहोबल a. of असगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा and असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहविधि, पुत्रभरणकौस्तुभ (Bik. cat. p. 600).

आउच्चाशुक्लदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तसार.

आङ्गिरस a. of आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

आत्माराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीय नीतिसार.

आत्रेय a. of स्मृति ; m. by विश्वरूप.

आदित्यदर्शन a. of com. on काठक-गृह्यसूत्र.

आदित्यभट्ट कविवल्लभ, pupil of विश्वेश्वराचार्य. Between 1200-1325 A. D.; a. of कालनिर्णय or कालादर्श.

आदित्यभट्ट a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

आदित्याचार्य or कौशिकादित्य. About 1400–1500 A. D. ; a. of षडशीति or आशौचनिर्णय.

आनन्द son of प्रभाकर of the दशपुत्र family ; a. of आह्निक.

आनन्द a. of धर्मसंप्रदायदीपिका.

आनन्दचन्द्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, बालबोधक (on प्रायश्चित्त), प्रायश्चित्तौघसार (probably same as the preceding).

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of विष्णुतत्त्वनिर्णय.

आनन्दतीर्थ son of जनार्दनभट्ट ; a. of संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति, अनुयागपद्धति, पूजापद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ भार्गव a. of हरिपूजापद्धति.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of प्रणवकल्प.

आनन्दतीर्थ a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

आनन्दतीर्थ, the founder of the माध्व sect. Said to have flourished between 1118-1198 A.D. But there are varying views. One of his pupils अक्षोभ्यतीर्थ is said to have defeated विद्यारण्य in polemical discussions. If this be correct, then आनन्दतीर्थ must have flourished about 1250-1300. Dr. Bhandarkar (in Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism p. 59) accepts 1198 and 1276 A. D. as the years of his birth and death ; a. of कर्मनिर्णय, कृष्णामृतमहार्णव, जयन्तीनिर्णय, संन्यासपद्धति, सदाचार-स्मृति or स्मृतिविवरण. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 207 for 37 works attributed to him and E. I. vol. VI pp. 261-263 for the age of आनन्दतीर्थ and his pupils. आनन्दतीर्थ is said to have been the son of मध्यगेह.

आनन्दरामयाज्ञिक a. of संस्कारपद्धति or षोडशसंस्कारपद्धति.

आनन्दराय वाजपेययज्वन्, minister of Tanjore king Shahaji and Sarfoji (first quarter of 18th century), a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र-विवृति.

आनन्दवन, pupil of मुकुन्दवन. Earlier than 1650 A. D. ; a. of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका. If it is this work that is quoted in the तिथितत्त्व, then the author is earlier than 1550 A. D.

आनन्दशर्मन्, son of रामशर्मन् ; a. of व्यवस्थादर्पण, कृत्यदर्पण.

आनन्दानन्द, a. of यतिनित्यपद्धति.

आन्ध्रयति (probably सरस्वतीतीर्थ or नरहरि) a. of स्मृतिदर्पण.

आपदेव, alias सदाशिवदेव, son of श्रीपति ; a. of सापिण्ड्यकल्पलता or -लतिका. About 1700 A. D. His grandson was a pupil of नागोजिभट्ट.

आपदेव a. of खेटपीठमाला, तिथितत्त्वसार.

आपदेव, son of अनन्तदेव, son of आपदेव. He was father of अनन्तदेव a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ and so flourished about 1600-1650 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, रुद्रपद्धति.

आपदेव a. of आह्निक.

आपदेव a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (ms. No. 1870 of Baroda O. I. dated शके 1673).

आपस्तम्ब Vide sec. 7 ; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मसूत्र and पितृमेधसूत्र.

आर्याश्वरीन्द्र a. of com. on अनुयागपद्धति.

आर्ष्टिषेण a. of a स्मृति m. in नि. सि.

आशादित्य or आशार्क or आशाधर, son of चक्रधर; a. of com. on कर्मप्रदीप and of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट; m. in आचारसार of लक्ष्मण. So earlier than 1600 A.D.

आशादित्यत्रिपाठिन्, a. of मन्त्रकोश.

आशाधरभट्ट a. of सन्ध्यारत्नप्रदीप.

आश्वलायन. *Vide also* लघ्वाश्वलायन and बृहदाश्व° ; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति (m. in मिताक्षरा and हेमाद्रि).

इन्द्रगण्टि सूर्यनारायण- see under सूर्यनारायण.

इन्द्रदत्त उपाध्याय, a. of स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसंग्रह.

इन्द्रपति, son of रुक्मिपति and रुक्मिणी and pupil of गोपालभट्ट ; a. of मीमांसापल्लव.

ईशान, elder brother of हलायुध. Latter half of 12th century; a. of द्विजाह्निकपद्धति (according to ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व) m. in आह्निकतत्त्व. An ईशानन्यायाचार्य is m. in उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 135).

ईशाननाथ a. of नयज्ञान (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 240 p. 262).

ईश्वरचन्द्रशर्मन् a. of व्यवस्थासेतु.

ईश्वरदास, son of ज्योतिषराय ; a. of मुहूर्तरत्न (also called मुहूर्तरत्नाकर).

ईश्वरनाथ or मुक्तेश्वरनाथ a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम.

उतथ्य a. of स्मृति ; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

उत्तरंगार्य m. in नि. सि.

उत्पल a. of ज्ञानमाला.

उदयकर, com. of मनुस्मृति ; m. in विवादरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (pp. 455, 583, 590).

उदयंकर a. of पारस्करआश्वलायनसूत्रार्थसंग्रह.

उदयसिंह रूपनारायण, son of शक्तिसिंह and king of उत्तरकोसल. Flourished between 1450-1525 A. D. ; (reputed) a. of रूपनारायणीय (पद्धति).

उद्ग्राहभट्ट m. in the दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन.

उपकात्यायन m. by हेमाद्रि III. 2. 657.

उपमन्यु a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 260), by हरदत्त (on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 11).

उपाध्याय- a com. of मनुस्मृति m. by मेधातिथि (on मनु II. 109, IV. 162, V. 43, IX. 141 and 147).

उमानाथ a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

उमापति Earlier than 1575 A. D.; a. of प्रतिष्ठाविवेक, शुद्धिनिर्णय, श्राद्धनिर्णय.

उमापति a. of स्मृतिदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 516, no. 441).

उमाशङ्कर a. of com. on दायभाग and of शुद्धिसेतु.

उशनस् Vide sec. 17; a. of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a धर्मसूत्र.

ऋजु a. of a com. on मनुस्मृति, m. by मेधातिथि (on मनु VIII. 152).

ऋषिपुत्रक- quoted as a writer on अर्थशास्त्र in the com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

ऋषिबुध or ऋषिभट्ट, son of गङ्गाधर, surnamed शौच; a. of संस्कारभास्कर.

ऋषिभट्ट a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.

ऋष्यशृङ्ग a. of a स्मृति; sec. 40.

एक an author m. in आप. ध. सू. I.6. 19. 7.

एकराज (prince Ekoji of Tanjore who ruled from 1676 A. D. to 1684 A. D.) a. of प्रपञ्चामृतसार or प्रपञ्चसारामृत or राजरत्नपुराण.

ओझाशङ्कर- vide under शङ्कर.

औदुम्बरर्षि a. of व्रतनिर्णय.

औपकायन a. of स्मृति, m. by अपरार्क (p. 1195), हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड).

औपजङ्घनि, an author m. in बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 33.

कण्व m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 1 and I. 6. 19. 3. Vide sec. 18.

कण्व a. of स्मृति m. in हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 3 and 11.

कनकसभापति a. of गृह्यकारिका (बौधायनीय), बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग.

कनकसभापति, son of वैद्यनाथ of मौद्गलगोत्र; a. of कारिकामञ्जरी and com. प्रयोगादर्श. This seems to be the same as the preceding, since in the बौधायनस्मार्तप्रयोग the author refers to कारिकामञ्जरी as his own work. Vide Hultzsch's R. II. no. 972.

कपर्दिन् a. of भाष्य on भारद्वाजगृह्य, of कारिकास on आपस्तम्बगृह्य, of com. on आपस्तम्बपितृमेधसूत्र and of com. on प्रवरखण्ड and on (आपस्तम्बीय) अपरसूत्र.

कपिपुत्र m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

कपिल a. of स्मृति in 10 अध्यायs.

कमण्डलुभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in श्राद्धसागर.

कमलाकर a. of आचारदीपिका. Probably same as above.

कमलाकर, a. of प्रवरदर्पण.

कमलाकर a. of मन्त्रकमलाकर.

कमलाकर a. of शुद्धिप्रकरण.

कमलाकरभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Sec. 106. First half of 17th century; a. of कर्मविपाकरत्न, कलिधर्मनिर्णय, कार्तवीर्यपद्धति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or- दर्पण, दानकमलाकर, तीर्थकमलाकर or सर्वतीर्थविधि, निर्णयसिन्धु, नीतिकमलाकर, पूर्तकमलाकर, प्रायश्चित्तरत्न, बहूचाह्निक, भक्तिरत्न, रुद्रपद्धति, विवादताण्डव, व्रतकमलाकर, शान्ति-

कमलाकर or शान्तिरत्न, शूद्रकमलाकर or शूद्रधर्मतत्त्व, संस्कारपद्धति or संस्कारप्रयोगकमलाकर, शास्त्रतत्त्वकौतूहल or तत्त्वकमलाकर. Parts of his works (such as parts of the निर्णयसिन्धु and दानकमलाकर) are very frequently entered in the catalogues as separate works.

कमलाकरभट्ट, a resident of कूर्परग्राम (Kopargaon) on the Godāvarī; a. of आचारदीप or -प्रदीप and आह्निकप्रयोग.

कमलाकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in श्राद्धसागर as भाष्यकार.

कम्मालूरनृसिंह a. of आशौचदीपिका. Later than 1400 A. D.

कर्वीटभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

करुणाशङ्कर (probably same as दयाशङ्कर) a. of वास्तुचन्द्रिका, वृद्धिश्राद्धविधि.

करुणाशङ्कर a. of नीतिविवेक.

कर्क m. by त्रिकाण्डमण्डनभास्कर, हेमाद्रि. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of com. on आप. गृ. सू. and on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, on स्नानसूत्र of कात्यायन and on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन.

कलायखञ्ज a. of कर्मप्रकाश.

कल्याण a. of तिथिकल्पद्रुम.

कल्याणभट्ट revised असहाय's भाष्य on नारदस्मृति.

कल्याणवर्मन्, a prince; a. of com. on विवाहवृन्दावन of केशवार्य and a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

कल्याणशर्मन् a. of शिवप्रतिष्ठापद्धति (at the bidding of king राघवसिंह).

कवच a. of a स्मृति, m. in भास्करि's भाष्य on गौ. ध. सू. and in पराशरमाधवीय.

कविकान्तसरस्वती a. of विश्वादर्श q. v.; flourished between 1100–1200 A. D.

कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 419 p. 495). Earlier than 1600 A. D.

कविराजगिरि a. of कविराजकौतुक.

कवीन्द्र a. of शान्तिचन्द्रिका.

कश्यप a. of a धर्मसूत्र and a स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

कश्यप a. of शूद्रपञ्चसंस्कारविधि.

कस्तूरि, son of नागय; a. of कस्तूरिस्मृति or स्मृतिशेखर.

काण्व a. of a धर्मसूत्र and of a स्मृति. Sec. 18; m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

काप्य, an author, m. in बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 45.

कात्यायन a. of वृषोत्सर्गादिपद्धति (ms. No. 9470 Baroda O. I.).

कात्यायन a. of आतुरसंन्यासविधि.

कात्यायन a. of a स्मृति in verse. Sec. 38; a. of a गृह्यसूत्र, श्राद्धसूत्र, of मूल्याध्याय, स्नानसूत्र or स्नानविधिसूत्र or त्रिकाण्डिकासूत्र.

कात्यायन a. of कर्मप्रदीप.

कान्हदेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति.

कामदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णय.

कामदेवदीक्षित. Later than 1500 and earlier than 1660 A. D.; a. of **प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति**, **पारस्करगृह्य-परिशिष्टपद्धति** and of **कर्मप्रदीपिका** (a **पद्धति** to **पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र**), of a com. on **मूल्याध्याय**.

कामदेवमहाराज a. of **दानसागर**. Later than 1200 A. D.

कामन्दक or **-कि**, a. of **कामन्दकीय-नीतिसार**. Referred to by **भवभूति** (in the character **कामन्दकी** in **मालतीमाधव**) and by **वामन** in his **काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति** and in the **महाभारत**. Earlier than 650 A. D. and probably flourished in 3rd or 4th century A. D.

कामरूपपति a. of **गूढार्थप्रकाशिका** com. on **शारदातिलक**.

कामेश्वरयज्वन् a. of com. called **हित-धर्म** on **पराशरस्मृति**. Mentions **माधवाचार्य**. So later than 1400 A. D.

कार्ष्णाजिनि a. of a **स्मृति** quoted in **कालविवेक** of **जीमूतवाहन**, **मिताक्षरा** (on **याज्ञ**. III. 265).

कालिदास a. of **उत्तरकालामृत**.

कालिदास a. of **शुद्धिचन्द्रिका**.

कालिदास, son of **बलभद्र**; a. of **कुण्ड-प्रबन्ध** (D. C. ms. No. 42 of A 1882-83). The work was composed in **शके** 1554 i. e. 1632 A. D. (**शाकेऽब्देऽब्धिमितेथ धृततिथयो मासे मधुसंज्ञके**).

कालिदासचयनिन्, m. in the plural in **कालसार** of **गदाधर**.

कालीचरण a. of **दुर्गार्चनशुक्ल**.

कालीचरणन्यायालङ्कार a. of **स्मृतिमञ्जरी** (composed in 1834 A. D.).

कालेसि महामहोपाध्याय, a. of **दशकर्म-पद्धति**.

काशीदीक्षित, son of **सदाशिवदीक्षित** a. of **प्रयोगरत्न**, **रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति** (or **महारुद्रपद्धति** or **रुद्रपद्धति**), **सप्तविधान-पद्धति** and **श्राद्धप्रयोगपद्धति** or **श्राद्ध-दीपिका**, **आह्निकप्रयोग**, **प्रयोगरत्न**.

काशीनाथ तर्कालङ्कार a. of com. on **तिथितत्त्व** and **प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व** of **रघु-नन्दन** (N. I. p. 105) and **प्राय-श्चित्तकदम्बसारसंग्रह**.

काशीनाथ भट्ट a. of **आपस्तम्बाह्निक** and **ऋग्वेदाह्निकचन्द्रिका**.

काशीनाथ a. of **मुहूर्तमुक्तावली**.

,, a. of com. on **शारदातिलक**.

,, a. of **श्राद्धकल्प**.

काशीनाथ उपाध्याय (or **पाध्ये**), son of **अनन्त**, son of **काश्युपाध्याय**. Sec. 112.; a. of **धर्मसिन्धु** (or **-सार** composed in 1791 A. D.), **प्राय-श्चित्तेन्दुशेखर**, **विट्ठलऋङ्मन्त्रसारभाष्य**, **कुण्डदिक्पाल** with com.

काशीनाथ, son of **जयराम** (surnamed **जडे**) ; a. of **शिवपूजातरङ्गिणी**.

काशीनाथभट्ट (also called **शिवानन्द-नाथ**); son of **जयरामभट्ट**, son of **शिवरामभट्ट**; a. of **कालनिर्णयदीपिका**, **तिथिदीपिका**, **पुरश्चरणदीपिका**, **गायत्री-पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका**, **चण्डिकार्चनदीपिका**, **त्रिस्थलीसेतु**.

काशीराम वाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्य, son of **राधावल्लभ**, son of **रामकृष्ण**; a. of commentaries on the various

parts of the स्मृतितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (such as उद्वाहतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व, तिथितत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्त०, मलमास०, शुद्धितत्त्व, छन्दोगश्राद्धतत्त्व). He is different from काशीनाथतर्कालङ्कार, who also commented on तिथितत्त्व (compare N. I. p. 150 with N. II. p. 84).

काश्यप a. of स्मृति. Vide sec. 19.

काह्नदेव a. of नित्यस्नानपद्धति (B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 244 p. 267).

कुणिक m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुत्स m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7.

कुथुमि a. of स्मृति m. by अपरार्क (p. 548), कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, हेमाद्रि. Also कौथुमि.

कुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत (vide D. C. ms. No. 265 of 1887-91 and 496 of 1886-92), a huge work composed under संग्रामसिंह.

कुबेरोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. I. p. 298) of रघुनन्दन.

कुबेरोपाध्याय (reputed) a. of दत्तकचन्द्रिका. Said to have been composed by a pandit of Colebrooke, about 1800.

कुमार a. of स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 253), अपरार्क (p. 1070), स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ, शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (p. 550).

कुमारस्वामिन् a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका. Later than 1000 A. D.

कुमारस्वामिविष्णु a. of प्रयोगसारपीयूष.

कुलनिधि a. of नित्यधर्मप्रकाशिका.

कुलमणिशुक्ल a. of com. on अत्रिःस्मृति, com. on गौतमधर्मसूत्र, com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, and of आह्निकचन्द्रिका, of रामार्चनचन्द्रिका.

कुलमुनि a. of नीतिप्रकाश and of शान्तिचिन्तामणि.

कुलार्क m. by the सरस्वतीविलास (p. 281) in the same breath with विज्ञानेश्वर and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. Before 1500 A. D.

कुलूकभट्ट, son of भट्टदिवाकर. Sec. 88. About 1250 A. D.; a. of मन्वर्थमुक्तावली; com. on मनुस्मृति and of श्राद्धसागर, आचारसागर and विवादसागर.

कृपाराम pupil of जयराम; 2nd half of 18th century; a. of नव्यधर्मप्रदीप.

कृपाराम a. of com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and of वास्तुचन्द्रिका.

कृपाराम (a Gauḍa prince), son of यादवराज. *First half of 17th century*; (reputed) a. of रामप्रकाश.

कृष्ण, son of गोविन्द, son of राघव of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप or- दीपिका.

कृष्ण, author of लघुपद्धति. Between 1350 and 1500 A. D.; ms. (Baroda O. I. No. 1422) dated संवत् 1592 and the author names चन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसार and स्मृत्यर्थसार; flourished between 1350 and 1500 A. D.

कृष्ण of शेष family, son of सुसिंह or नरसिंह; about 1500 A. D.; a. of

शूद्राचारशिरोमणि (where he claims गोविन्दार्णव as his own work), श्लोकचतुर्दशी.

कृष्ण of the होसिंग family; a. of शास्त्रसारोद्धार. Later than 1450 A. D.

कृष्ण आचार्य, a. of कृष्णार्क.

कृष्ण आचार्य, son of कुमारसुसिंहभट्ट; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्ण आचार्य a. of प्रभा, a com. on शुद्धिदीपिका.

कृष्णकान्तशर्मन् a. of com. on दायभाग.

कृष्णगोविन्दपण्डित a. of जातिविवेक (part of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीपिका).

कृष्णचन्द्र a. of व्रतविवेकभास्कर.

कृष्णतर्कालङ्कार- vide under श्रीकृष्णतर्का°.

कृष्णतात, a. of सन्मार्गकण्टकोद्धार.

कृष्णताताचार्य, a. of धर्मनिर्णय, वैष्णवलक्षण.

कृष्णदत्त, son of आवसथिक ब्रह्मदत्त; a. of कर्मकौमुदी.

कृष्णदत्तमिश्र alias वनमालिमिश्र, son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि; a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप. About 1650 A. D.

कृष्णदास a. of भक्तिरसार्णव.

कृष्णदीक्षित, son of यज्ञेश्वर; a. of और्ध्वदेहिकप्रयोग.

कृष्णदेव, son of रामाचार्य; a. of वैष्णवधर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति, नृसिंहपरिचर्या and विष्णुमूर्तिप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

कृष्णदेवस्मार्तवागीश, son of नारायण; a. of कृत्यतत्त्व *alias* प्रयोगसार, प्रायश्चित्तकौमुदी or -विवेक, शुद्धिप्रदीपिका and प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

कृष्णद्वैपायन, a. of स्मृति, m. in मिताक्षरा.

कृष्णनाथ a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of com. on दक्षस्मृति, of com. on मनुस्मृति and व्यासस्मृति, of com. on संस्कारतत्त्व of रघु°, of com. on स्नानसूत्रदीपिका of गोपीनाथ, of स्मृतिकौमुदीटीका, स्मृतिसारटीका.

कृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मागमानुबन्धिश्लोक.

कृष्णपण्डित, son of राघवदैवज्ञ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य,

कृष्णपण्डित, son of रामभद्र and लक्ष्मी; a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य and सन्ध्यानिर्णयकल्पवल्ली.

कृष्णपण्डित महापात्र, grandson of गदाधर, author of कालसार; a. of नीतिरत्नाकर. About 1450 A. D.

कृष्णभट्ट, son of पुरुषोत्तम, son of रघुनाथ; a. of कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका alias लघुपद्धति, कालनिर्णयदीपिका. Between 1300-1500 A. D.

कृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायण; a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग (composed in 1759 A. D.).

कृष्णभट्ट a. of श्राद्धदीधिति.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of कविरहस्य.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यसंचय.

कृष्णभट्ट a. of समयमयूख.

कृष्णभट्ट आर्डे (or आरड), son of रघुनाथ of Benares; a. of रत्नमाला alias दीपिका on निर्णयसिन्धु of कमलाकरभट्ट.

कृष्णभट्ट मौनिन्, son of रघुनाथभट्ट, son of गोवर्धन ; a. of कालचन्द्रिका, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका and सरोजसुन्दर (vide N. I. p. 14 for शुद्धिचन्द्रिका).

कृष्णमिश्र, son of विष्णुमिश्र, son of अतिसुख, son of नित्यानन्द ; a. of श्राद्धकाशिका, a com. on श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन. Composed in संवत् 1505 (1448-9 A. D.).

कृष्णमिश्राचार्य, son of रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of कालमार्तण्ड, तिथिनिर्णयमार्तण्ड and कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रेतप्रदीप, श्राद्धप्रदीप and of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

कृष्णमिश्र, of the कौत्सगोत्र, a. of कालसर्वस्व.

कृष्णराज, a king who ruled over महाराष्ट्र on the गोदावरी ; a. of वर्णाश्रमधर्मदीप, a large work.

कृष्णराज a. of स्मृतिमहाराज. Mentions मदनरत्न.

कृष्णराम a. of कर्मकालप्रकाशिका or-प्रकाश, उत्सर्गनिर्णय, दानोद्द्योत, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल.

कृष्णराम (of काश्मीर), a. of महाशिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

कृष्णविप्र a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

कृष्णशर्मन्, son of नरसिंह ; a. of शुद्धिप्रकाश (composed at the bidding of छोटराय).

कृष्णशैव a. of प्रवरदीपिका. Later than 1250 A. D.

कृष्णसरस्वती a. of हरिभक्तिकल्पलतिका.

कृष्णाचार्य a. of com. प्रभा on शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

कृष्णाचार्य, son of कुमारवृत्तसिंहभट्ट ; a. of स्मृतिमुक्तावली.

कृष्णानन्द a. of ज्ञानानन्दतरङ्गिणी.

कृष्णानन्द वागीश्वरभट्टाचार्य a. of षट्कर्मदीपिका.

कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती a. of अनुयागपद्धति.

केदार, m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार. Earlier than 1150 A. D.

केदारनाथदत्त a. of दत्तककौस्तुभ.

केशव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

केशव a. of केशवार्णव.

केशव, son of सोमेश्वर ; a. of कौशिकगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति.

केशवकवीन्द्र a. of संख्यापरिणामसंग्रह. He was the chief pandit of the परिषत् of a king of Tirhut.

केशवजीवानन्दशर्मन्, a. of श्राद्धकारिका.

केशवतर्कपञ्चानन a. of ज्योतिषरत्न.

केशवदास, son of जीवनराम. About 1770-1790 A. D. ; a. of अहल्याकामधेनु and रामार्चनरत्नाकर.

केशवदीक्षित, son of सदाशिव ; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

केशवदैवज्ञ of नान्दिग्राम. About 1500 A. D. ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय or -मञ्जरी.

केशवदैवज्ञ, son of कमलाकर of नान्दिग्राम ; a of मुहूर्ततत्त्व and कायस्थादिधर्मपद्धति. About 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the preceding.

केशवभट्ट a. of अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग हिरण्यकेशीय (from his प्रयोगमणि), प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्ट son of अनन्त, of पुण्यस्तम्भ (Puṇtambe) on the गोदावरी; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

केशवभट्ट a. of आचारप्रदीप (probably same as that m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०), कृत्यप्रदीप, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप and शुद्धिप्रदीप.

केशवभट्ट a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

केशवभट्ट son of गोपालदीक्षित; a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

केशवभट्ट, son of नारायण अभयंकर; a. of प्रयोगमणि.

केशवभट्टगोस्वामी a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

केशवमिश्र a. of छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट.

केशवमिश्र a. of द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट. वाचस्पतिमिश्र was his परमगुरु. So about 1540 A. D.

केशवराय, son of गोविन्दराय, son of रामराय of भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of धर्मचन्द्र. Mentions स्मृत्यर्थसार and पारिजात. Ms. dated संवत् 1810 (Baroda O. I. no. 5860).

केशवशर्मन् a. of स्मृतिसार.

केशवस्वामिन् a. of बौधायनगृह्यपद्धति; m. in त्रिकाण्डमण्डन. Before 1100 A. D.

केशवाचार्य or केशवभट्ट काश्मीरिक a. of क्रमदीपिका, (pr. Ch. S. series). About 1500 A. D.

C. विवरण by गोविन्दभट्ट (pr. Ch. S. series).

केशवादित्यभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

केशवार्य, son of राणिग; a. of विवाहवृन्दावन. (Ms. dated 1398-99 **H. D. 87.**

A. D.). The com. is by गणेश, son of केशवदैवज्ञ.

केशवीकार m. in निर्णयसिन्धु and भाविप्रकाशितप्रायश्चित्त (probably केशव, the author of the जातकपद्धति or केशवी).

केशवेन्द्रस्वामिन् a. of साधनचन्द्रिका.

कैलासयति a. of त्रैवर्णिकसंन्यास.

कोकिल a. of मात्रादिश्राद्धनिर्णय (No. 641 of Viśrāmbāg collection I and D. C. No. 104 of 1895-1902). He mentions कर्कोपाध्याय, चिन्तामणि, कामधेनु, स्मृतिप्रदीप, मञ्जरी, चान्द्रिकादिनिबन्ध, विज्ञानेश्वर. Later than 1400 A. D.

कोण्डभट्ट a. of व्रतराज.

कोनेरिभट्ट a. of तत्त्वसंग्रह.

कोनेरिभट्ट, son of केशव; a. of स्मृतिभूषण.

कोलाप्याचार्य a. of वृत्तकचान्द्रिका.

कोशीधर a. of शुद्धिप्रदीपिका (*B. O.* Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 380 p. 435).

कोकिल (reputed) a. of a स्मृति (D. C. No. 223 of 1879-80 is a different work on श्राद्ध from above).

कौण्डिन्य m. in व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन (prose passage on limitation for recovering a debt) and in श्राद्धमयूख.

कौत्स m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 4 and 7 and I. 10. 28. 1 and in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 304).

कौथुमि m. in हेमाद्रि, कालमाधव (p. 76).

कौशिक a. of स्मृति ; m: in स्मृति-चान्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि.

कौशिक आदित्य Vide under आदित्याचार्य.

क्रतु a. of स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 28), अपरार्क (pp. 487, 1086, 1187), स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

क्षेमङ्कर a. of विवाहरत्नसंक्षेप.

क्षेमङ्कर a. of निर्णयसार.

क्षेमराज a. of रामपूजापद्धति.

क्षेमराम, son of श्रीभवनन्द, son of बाबू called द्विपञ्चाशद्ग्रन्थिन् ; a. of प्रेतमुक्तिदा, रामनिबन्ध (composed in 1720 A. D.). Vide Ulwar cat. No. 1431.

क्षेमराम, son of कुलमणि, son of लोकमणि, son of दीक्षित बाबू लक्ष्मीकान्त (who is styled पञ्चाशद्ग्रन्थिसोमयाजि) of Kanoj ; colophon of श्राद्धपद्धति gives this pedigree, but the verse before it says that the parents of क्षेमराम were श्रीभवमण्डन and पद्मिनी. So this man may be the same as above.

क्षेमराम a. of आह्निकपद्धति for Sāmavedins (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 33 p. 32).

क्षेमराम a. of मुहूर्तसंचय.

क्षेमवर्मन् a. of क्षेमप्रकाश composed in 1512 A. D. when he was a a governor of वीरसिंहपुर. Aufrecht (II. pp. 26-27) is wrong in saying that he composed the work in 1612 .

क्षेमेन्द्र 2nd and 3rd quarter of 11th century ; a. of नीतिकल्पतरु and नीतिलता, चारुचर्या, लोकप्रकाश.

क्षेमेन्द्र a. of दानपारिजात.

खण्डभट्ट, son of मयूरेश्वर, surnamed अयाचित ; a. of संस्कारभास्कर, रुद्रानुष्ठानप्रयोग.

खण्डेराय, son of नारायणपण्डित. Between 1400-1600 A. D. ; a. of परशुरामप्रकाश, first part of which is आचारोल्लास.

खण्डेराय, son of हरिभट्ट, son of नारायण, who belonged to महोपाध्यायवंश honoured by the king of विदर्भ ; a. of कृत्यरत्न or कृत्यरत्नाकर. Mentions हेमाद्रि, माधव, रत्नाकर. So later than 1400 A. D. Also wrote संस्काररत्न.

खादिर a. of ग्राह्यायणगृह्य.

गङ्गादत्त a. of चातुर्वर्ण्यविचार.

गङ्गादास द्विवेदिन् a. of तिथिप्रकाश.

गङ्गादित्य or गङ्गाधर, son of गोपीनाथमिश्र ; a. of स्मृतिचिन्तामणि. About 1450-1500 A. D.

गङ्गाधर a. of आचारतिलक or आह्निक. (The D. C. ms. No. 135 of 1886-92 though described as आचारतिलक appears to be a different work. It quotes आचारतिलक (folio 6a) and explains sacrificial terms like प्रणीता, प्रोक्षणी and sacrificial materials like कुश.

गङ्गाधर a. of पाकयज्ञपद्धति, प्रयोगपद्धति (बौधायनीय).

गङ्गाधर a. of आह्निक, काठकाह्निक.

गङ्गाधर a. of कायस्थोत्पत्ति, चातुर्वर्ण्य-विवरण.

गङ्गाधर a. of आशौचगङ्गाधरी, संस्कार-गङ्गाधरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of तिथिनिर्णय, दायभागटीका.

गङ्गाधर a. of निर्णयमञ्जरी.

गङ्गाधर a. of उत्सवनिर्णयमञ्जरी (composed in 1632 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर a. of प्रतिष्ठाचिन्तामणि and प्रतिष्ठानिर्णय.

गङ्गाधर a. of विधिरत्न.

गङ्गाधर a. of षोडशकर्मपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर a. of तीर्थकाशिका.

गङ्गाधर, son of नारायण. About 1600 A. D.; a. of मनोरमा, a com. on कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण of his father.

गङ्गाधर, son of भैरव दैवज्ञ; a. of मुहूर्त-भैरव, मुहूर्तालङ्कार (composed in 1633. A. D.).

गङ्गाधर, son of अग्निहोत्रिराम; a. of संस्कारपद्धति.

गङ्गाधर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of प्रवास-कृत्य (composed at Khambayat or Cambay in 1606-7 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर son of सदाशिव महाडकर; a. of प्रपञ्चसारविवेक or भवसारविवेक (ms. dated 1784 A. D.).

गङ्गाधर चक्रवर्तिन् a. of com. भावार्थ-दीपिका on श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

गङ्गाधर दीक्षित a. of संस्कारगङ्गाधरी; probably same as preceding.

गङ्गाधरसरस्वती, pupil of रामचन्द्रसर-स्वती; a. of प्रकाश com. on प्रणव-कल्प.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of धर्मप्रदीप.

गङ्गाभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगसार.

गङ्गाराम, son of सदाशिव महाडकर; probably the same as गङ्गाधर महाडकर above; a. of आरामादि-प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

गङ्गाराम a. of com. on दायभाग.

गङ्गाराम a. of निबन्धसिद्धान्तबोध.

गङ्गाराम a. of युद्धजयोत्सव.

गङ्गाविष्णु, patronised by त्रिविक्रम; a. of आचारदीपक. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

गङ्गेश्वर m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

गजानन a. of चाणक्यनीतिदर्पण.

गणपति, son of धीरेश्वर (धीरेश्वर?); a. of गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी; says his grand-father was patronised by king नान्य of मिथिला. If नान्य is identical with the कार्णाट king of मिथिला of that name, then गणपति flourished about 1350 A. D. Vide B. O. mss cat. No. 86 p. 88.

गणपति, son of हरिशङ्कर रावल; a. of पर्वनिर्णय (composed in 1685-86 A.D.), मुहूर्तगणपति, शान्तिगणपति and संबन्धगणपति, ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति, दशकर्मपद्धति.

गणपति a. of com. on राजमार्तण्ड of भोज.

गणेश m. in. नृसिंहप्रसाद. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गणेश, son of ज्ञानेश्वर, son of महादेव, son of लालभट्ट; a. of तिथिमञ्जरी.

गणेश a. of हरिभक्तिदीपिका.

गणेशदत्त a. of ऐन्द्रवमासनिर्णय, क्षयाधिकमासविवृति.

गणेशदैवज्ञ, son of केशव, of नन्द्रिग्राम; about 1520 (in which year he composed his ग्रहलाघव); a. of मङ्गलनिर्णय, of a com. on मुहूर्ततत्त्व and on विवाहवृन्दावन.

गणेश पाठक a. of प्रयोगकौस्तुभ.

गणेशभट्ट a. of उद्वाहविवेक.

गणेशभट्ट a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रोदय.

गणेशभट्ट a. of दायभागव्यवस्थासंक्षेप (part of व्यवस्थासंक्षेप) or दायसंक्षेप.

गणेशमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय a. of प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात (N. vol. V. p. 222).

गणेशाचार्य a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

गणेश्वर मन्त्रिन्, son of देवादित्य (who was father of वीरेश्वर) and uncle of चण्डेश्वर; m. in हरिनाथ's स्मृतिसार, श्रीदत्त's आचारादर्श; about 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of सुगतिसोपान and गङ्गपत्तलक (B. O. mss. cat. No. 84 p. 85).

गणेश्वर (महामहोपाध्याय महत्तक) a. of आह्निकोद्धार for वाजसनेयशाखा. B. O. mss. cat. vol I No. 38, p. 36. Probably same as the preceding.

गद, surnamed द्विवेदिन्; a. of संप्रदायप्रदीप composed in संवत् 1610 (1553-54 A. D.) in वृन्दावन, while गिरिधर and other grandsons of वल्लभाचार्य were living.

गदाधर a. of रायसिंहप्रकाश.

गदाधर a. of सत्संप्रदायप्रदीपिका.

गदाधर a. of कृत्यकल्पद्रुम; m. by वाचस्पति. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गदाधर, son of वामन; later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकाण्डिकाश्राद्धसूत्र, of com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र; mentions कर्क, जयरामभाष्य, मदनपारिजात, रामवाजपेयिन्, हरिहर.

गदाधर, son of राघवेन्द्र; a. of तन्त्रप्रदीप a com. on शारदातिलक; about 1450. A. D.

गदाधर, son of नीलाम्बर. About 1450-1500 A. D.; a. of कालसार (pr. in. B. I. series), आचारसार, व्रतसार, शुद्धिसार.

गदाधर a. of ग्रहयागपद्धति (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 113).

गदाधर a. of वासिष्ठीशान्ति.

गदाधर a. of com. लघुदीपिका on रामार्चनचन्द्रिका by आनन्दवन.

गदाधर दीक्षित a. of व्रतार्क.

गयदेवल, m. in. प्रायश्चितमयूख.

गयविष्णु, m. in. नि. सि.

गयव्यास, m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

गर्गास्ति a. of a स्मृति; m. by अपरार्क (p. 549), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 50).

गर्ग a. on politics; m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

गर्ग a. of a स्मृति; m. in अपरार्क (pp. 124, 196, 368), in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

गर्ग a. of. गर्गपद्धति on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

गर्ग, a. of एकनक्षत्रजननशान्ति.

गागाभट्ट— Vide under विश्वेश्वरभट्ट.

गार्ग्य a. of a स्मृति ; sec. 20.

गालव a. of a स्मृति ; m. by हेमाद्रि.

गिरिभट्ट, son of यज्ञंभट्ट ; a. of संस्कार-कौस्तुभ.

गीर्वाणयोगीन्द्र a. of com. on प्रपञ्च-सार.

गीर्वाणेन्द्र सरस्वती, pupil of विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती ; a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणविधि.

गुणविष्णु, son of दामुक; a. of छान्दोग्य-मन्त्रभाष्य ; m. by रघुनन्दन in उद्वाहतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, मठप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व.

गुरुनाथ vide पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ.

गुरुप्रसादशर्मन् a. of मलमासार्थसंग्रह.

गुरुप्रसाद न्यायभूषणभट्टाचार्य a. of com. on शुद्धितत्त्व.

गूदडमल्ल a. of विवाहपद्धति.

गोकुलचन्द्रवर्मन्, a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

गोकुलजित्, son of हरिजित्; a. of संक्षेपतिथिनिर्णयसार (composed in 1632-33 A. D.).

गोकुलदेव, son of अनन्तदेव; a. of तीर्थ-कल्पलता, गयाश्राद्धविधि.

गोकुलनाथ महामहोपाध्याय, son of विद्यानिधि ; a. of कुण्डकादम्बरी and कुण्डकादम्बरीसारोद्धार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 65-66 pp. 59-60), of प्रदीप or कादम्बरी a com. on द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पति and of मासमीमांसा (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No 54 p. 50 gives कादम्बरीप्रदीप as the name of the com.).

गोण्डभिश्र, son of हरपति under king वासुदेव son of रविकर (of मिथिला); a. of शूद्राचारविवेकपद्धति; ms. copied in ल. सं. 592 (1611 A. D.),

गोपाल a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिकावली.

गोपाल a. of कामधेनु. Vide pp. 294-296 above.

गोपाल, m. in श्राद्धकल्पतरु of श्रीदत्त ; probably the same as the author of the कामधेनु.

गोपाल a. of गोपालपद्धति.

गोपाल a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका ; between 1500-1565 A. D.

गोपाल, a. of कुण्डसूदन.

गोपाल a. of मूल्यनिरूपण, a. of com. on मूल्याध्याय of कात्यायन.

गोपाल a. of आचारनिर्णय, आशौचनिर्णय (composed in 1613 A. D.), तिथि-निर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय.

गोपाल a. of आचारकौस्तुभ.

गोपाल a. of चातुर्मास्यकारिका.

गोपाल, son of हरिवंशभट्ट, a द्राविड; a. of कालकौस्तुभ.

गोपाल a. of प्रायश्चित्तकारिका or प्राय-श्चित्तशतद्वयीकारिका.

गोपाल a. of रत्नाकर.

गोपालजित् a. of com. on मूल्याध्याय of कात्यायन.

गोपालदेशिकाचार्य, son of आत्रेय कृष्णार्य. Later than 1620 A. D. ; a. of आह्निक and जयन्तीनिर्णय, नृसिंह-जयन्तीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, श्रवण-द्वादशीनिर्णय.

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन a. of सदाचारसंग्रह (according to रामानुज).

गोपालन्यायपञ्चानन About 1570-1620; composed com. on the तत्त्वs of

रघुनन्दन called निर्णय viz. आचार-निर्णय, उद्वाहनिर्णय, कालनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णय, दायनि०, दुर्गोत्सवनि०, प्रायश्चित्तनि०, विचारनिर्णय, विवादनि०, शुद्धिनि०, श्राद्धनि०, संक्रान्तिनि०, संवत्सरनि०, and प्रायश्चित्तकर्मनि०.

गोपालपण्डित a. of गृह्यभाष्य.

गोपालभट्ट, son of कृष्णभट्ट, surnamed उदास; a. of शूद्रपद्धति (Vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 8975). He quotes शुद्धितत्त्व and मयूख. Later than 1650 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट, pupil of प्रबोधनानन्द; a. of हरिभक्तिविलास (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 454 p. 534) and a. of भगवद्भक्तिविलास. About 1560 A. D.

गोपालभट्ट a. of सत्क्रियासारदीपिका.

गोपालयज्वन् (गार्ग्य) a. of पितृमेधसार, पितृमेधव्याख्या or- भाष्य.

गोपालव्यास a. of नवरात्रनिर्णय.

गोपालसिद्धान्त m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण. Earlier than 1640 A. D.; a. of आशौचमाला.

गोपालसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of व्यवहारालोक, विवादव्यवहार.

गोपालाचार्य a. of पितृपद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

गोपालानन्द a. of नित्याचारपद्धति.

गोपीनाथ a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of महादेव; a. of दीपिका com. on स्नानसूत्र of कात्यायन.

गोपीनाथ a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ a. of उद्वाहादिकालनिर्णय.

गोपीनाथ, son of शार्ङ्गधर, son of विश्वनाथव्यास of वासिष्ठगोत्र who was one of the four sons of सामराज and resident of प्रत्यण्डपुर; a. of जातिविवेक. Earlier than 1600 A. D. Ulwar cat. No. 1323 and I. O. cat. p. 518 cause confusion and make it appear that there were two writers of जातिविवेक of the same name.

गोपीनाथ अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of संन्यासदीपिका.

गोपीनाथदीक्षित a. of श्रावणीकर्म (हिरण्यकेशीय).

गोपीनाथपाठक, son of अग्निहोत्रिपाठक, son of काशीपाठक; a. of प्रणवोपासनविधि.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of निर्णयरत्नाकर.

गोपीनाथभट्ट a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका, तुलापुरुषमहादानपद्धति, प्रेतदीपिका, मासिकश्राद्धपद्धति, संस्काररत्नमाला.

गोपीनाथमिश्र a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

गोपीनारायण, son of लक्ष्मण; a. of निर्णयामृत (written at the bidding of prince सूर्यसेन). Probably there is some confusion. The author of निर्णयामृत was अनन्ताडनाथसूरि who wrote under सूर्यसेन.

गोभिल a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति (also called कर्मप्रदीप of कात्यायन). Vide pp. 218-220 above).

गोभिल (reputed) a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

गोभिलपुत्र a. of गृह्यासंग्रह.

गोवर्धन उपाध्याय a. of उद्वाहचन्द्रिका.

गोवर्धन कविमण्डन a. of आपस्तम्बाह्निक.

गोवर्धनदीक्षित, son of वेणीदास ; a. of छन्दोगाह्निक.

गोवर्धन पाठक a. of पुराणसर्वस्व (compiled in शके 1396 under Bengal Zamindar श्रीसत्य).

गोविन्द, son of हृदयाचार्य, son of वासुदेव; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

गोविन्द, son of सदाशिवमिश्र ; a. of संग्रहरत्नाकर.

गोविन्द a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in दीक्षातत्त्व. Probably the same as the next.

गोविन्द a. of प्रायश्चित्तश्लोकपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of केशव. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of पूजाप्रदीप m. in the दीक्षातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. He wrote पूजाप्रदीप at the bidding of भवानन्दराय (B. O. mss. cat. No. 264 p. 287 dated ल. सं. 432 i. e. 1551 A. D.).

गोविन्द a. of स्मार्ताधानपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of लक्षहोमपद्धति.

गोविन्द, son of नीलकण्ठ ; a. of पीयूषधारा com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि of राम who was his uncle ; com. composed in शके 1550.

गोविन्द उपाध्याय m. by हेमाद्रि.

गोविन्ददत्त, son of गणेश्वरमान्त्रिन्, who was younger brother of वीरेश्वर and son of देवादित्य who was minister of king हरसिंह ; a. of मानसोल्लास (?). A work called गोविन्दमानसोल्लास is mentioned in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 822) and एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 12) of रघुनन्दन. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. pp. 107-109). About 1300-1370 A. D.

गोविन्द दैवज्ञ, son of गदाधर of the माध्यन्दिनशाखा and गौतमगोत्र ; a. of छन्दमार्तण्ड (composed at Junnar in 1691-92 A. D.).

गोविन्दपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित; a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

गोविन्दपण्डित a. of श्राद्धदीपिका. Earlier than 1560 A. D.; m. in श्राद्धकल्पलता of नन्दपण्डित.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of com. on क्रमदीपिका.

गोविन्दभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट (on श्राद्ध). Earlier than 1250.

गोविन्दभट्ट m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p.787) by रघुनन्दन as भाष्यकार of पराशर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

गोविन्दभट्ट a. of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग.

गोविन्दभट्ट बुद्धिल a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

गोविन्दराज, son of माधव; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिमञ्जरी. Sec. 76. सहगमनविधि is ascribed to him.

गोविन्दराय a. of परशूप्रकरण (composed between 1740-49 A. D.).

गोविन्द वासुदेवभट्ट a. of दत्तपुत्रविचार.

गोविन्दस्वामिन् a. of com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

गोविन्दानन्द कविकङ्कणाचार्य, son of गणपतिभट्ट. Sec. 101. Flourished between 1500-1540 A. D. ; a. of दानकौस्तुभ, वर्षक्रियाकौस्तुभ, शुद्धिकौस्तुभ, श्राद्धकौस्तुभ and of अर्थ-

कौमुदी com. on क्षुद्रदीपिका of श्रीनिवास and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी (com. on शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक).

गोविन्दोपाध्याय a. of मलमासे निषेधविचार (B. O. mss. cat. No. 292 p. 332).

गोस्वामिन् a. of निर्णयसार.

गौतम a. of धर्मसूत्र (sec. 5) and quoted as a writer on politics in the com. to नीतिवाक्यामृत.

गौतम a. of आह्निकसूत्र, पितृमेधसूत्र.

गौतम a. of दानचान्द्रिका.

गौरीकान्त (and others) a. of विवादार्णवभञ्जन.

गौरीदत्त son of रामभद्र ; a. of वाग्वतीतीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.

गौरीनाथचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कालमाध्यनिर्णय, नवाह्नभाष्यनिर्णय.

गौरीपति son of दामोदर ; a. of com. on आचारदर्श of श्रीदत्त. Composed at Benares in 1640 A. D.

गौरीशभट्ट son of दामोदर, son of नायकपण्डित. दामोदर was born in महाराष्ट्र on the banks of a holy river in Yajñabhūmi, but studied at Benares and was honoured at the court of Akbar. गौरीशभट्ट wrote अनुमरणप्रदीप. He composed it after 67 years of Akbar's era (अकब्बरमहीन्द्रस्य गतैर्ह्युन्यर्तुवत्सरैः । पूरितः कार्तिकेष्टम्यां काश्यां गौरीशशर्मणा), i. e. 1609 A. D. He mentions बालोक (बालक ?), जिकन, शूलपाणि, मदनपारिजात, अनुमरणविवेक and several other works. He mentions also विद्वलविलास of his father. Vide D. C. Ms. 76 of 1892-95.

गौरीशङ्कर a. of विवाहपद्धति.

ग्रहेश्वरामिश्र m. as a jurist in विवादरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (pp. 46, 483) and in वर्धमान's दण्डविवेक where his work seems to be called व्यवहारतरङ्ग. Earlier than 1300 A. D.

घटकर्पर (reputed) a. of नीतिसार.

चक्रधर a. of पैतृकतिथिनिर्णय.

चक्रपाणिपाठक a. of com. on तिथिप्रकाश of गङ्गादास. Ms. (in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 163 p. 178) is dated शके 1700.

चक्रपाणिमिश्र a. of व्यवहारादर्श.

चण्डमारुतस्वामिन् a. of हरिदिनतिलक.

चण्डीदास son of दुर्गादत्त ; a. of संक्षिप्ताह्निकपद्धति (composed at the desire of रणवीरसिंह of काश्मीर).

चण्डुक a. of स्मार्तकर्मानुष्ठानविवरण or चण्डूनिबन्ध (vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 296 dated संवत् 1593, ज्येष्ठ शु. 93 शुक्रे). He is styled महामात्य and सम्राट्.

चण्डेश्वर ठक्कुर son of वीरेश्वर. Sec. 90; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर (divided into seven parts on कृत्य, गृहस्थ, दान, पूजा, विवाद, व्यवहार and शुद्धि) and of कृत्यचिन्तामणि, राजनीतिरत्नाकर, दानवाक्यावलि and शिववाक्यावलि, शैवमानसोल्लास.

चतुर्भुज a. of रामनित्यार्चनपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज a. of विवाहपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज a. of अद्भुतसागरसार and of अष्टादशसंस्काराः.

चतुर्भुज a. of कृष्णपद्धति.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 243) by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुज भट्टाचार्य a. of आशौचप्रकाश and आशौचसंग्रह (both works are probably identical). He is probably the same as the चतुर्भुज m. by रघुनन्दन.

चतुर्भुजाचार्य a. of गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी.

चन्द्र a. of स्मृति, m. in निर्णयदीपक.

चन्द्रचूडभट्ट or चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन्, son of उमापति (alias उमणभट्ट), son of धर्मेश्वर or धर्मभट्ट पौराणिक. Between 1575–1650 A. D.; a. of कालविवाकर, कालसिद्धान्तनिर्णय, गृहवास्तुनिर्णय, पाकयज्ञनिर्णय पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग, श्राद्धनिर्णय, संस्कारनिर्णय alias चन्द्रचूडीय.

चन्द्रमौलि a. of आचारसार or आचाररत्न.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of धर्मविवेक.

चन्द्रशेखर a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.

चन्द्रशेखर महामहोपाध्याय a. of स्मृतिप्रदीप.

चन्द्रशेखर वाचस्पति, son of विद्याभूषण; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or -निर्णयसंग्रह, धर्मदीपिका or स्मृतिप्रदीपिका, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

चन्द्रशेखरशर्मन् a. of दुर्गभञ्जन or स्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन or सङ्कल्पस्मृतिदुर्गभञ्जन.

चरुकरितिम्मयज्वन्, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट; a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

चाक्षुष m. as a writer on राजनीति by माहिमाथ on रघु० V. 50.

चाणक्य a. of राजनीतिशास्त्र in verse (varion recensions) pr. in Dr. N. Law's Calcutta Oriental Series; and of the कौटिलीय. Hultzsch's R. II. No. 993 (and p. 85 extract) is a चाणक्यसप्तति the last verse of which is 'श्लोकानामिति सप्तत्या नीतिसारसमुच्चयम् । चन्द्रगुप्ताय चाणक्यः संक्षेपेणोपादिष्टवान्'. Vide under चाणक्यनीति and similar works.

चारायण m. in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत.

चारायण a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

चित्रपति, son of नन्दीपति, son of मधुसूदन; a Pandit of Colebrooke; a. of व्यवहारसिद्धान्तपीयूष (composed in 1803 A. D.; vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 356).

चिदम्बरेश्वर a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफलसंग्रह.

चिदानन्दनाथ, pupil of स्वयंप्रकाशानन्दनाथ; a. of ललितार्चनपद्धति.

चिद्घनानन्दनाथ a. of कर्मपद्धति.

चिन्तामणि न्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य, a गौड; a. of स्मृतिव्यवस्था (divided into parts on उद्वाह, तिथि, दाय, प्रायश्चित्त, शुद्धि and श्राद्ध). Earlier than 1680 A. D.

चूडामणि, son of राघवेन्द्रभट्ट; a. of ज्ञानाङ्कुर.

चूहडमल्ल (sometimes said to be) a. of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय composed by दामोदरपण्डित in the 2nd half of 16th century in Akbars's reign.

चैतन्यगिरि a. of महाविष्णुपूजापद्धति and दत्तात्रेयपद्धति; देवीपूजनपद्धति.

चौण्डपार्थ, son of चित्रभार्य and कामाम्बा and pupil of भारतीतीर्थ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य (आश्वलायन), composed at request of चाम्पुण्डि, son of भानु. Bows to भारतीतीर्थ and विद्यातीर्थ as भाष्यकारs and describes them as त्रयीमयमहार्णवौ. Probably flourished about 1350-1375 A. D. Vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. for 1919-22 p. 4214.

च्यवन Sec. 21; a. of a धर्मसूत्र.

छलारिनारायण a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

छलारि or छलारि नृसिंह (or नरसिंह) son of नारायण; a. of स्मृत्यर्थसागर (of which कालतरङ्ग is first part) and आह्निक for माध्वs. Later than 1675 A. D.

छाग याज्ञिकचक्रचूडाचिन्तामणि a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र.

छागल or छागलेय a. of स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290, 326), कल्पतरु, स्मृतिच०, अपरार्क pp. 442, 533, 932.

जगदानन्द a. of कृत्यकौमुदी.

जगदीश a. of भावार्थदीप com. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक.

जगन्नाथ a. of अनुभोगकल्पतरु.

जगन्नाथ a. of विवाहपद्धति.

जगन्नाथ तर्कपञ्चानन. Sec. 113; a. of विवादभङ्गार्णव.

जगन्नाथ याज्ञिक, son of शङ्करशुक्ल; a. of संस्कारकल्पद्रुम.

जगन्नाथसूरि a. of समुदायप्रकरण.

जनमेजय (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका (which is said to have been imparted to him by वैशम्पायन).

जमदग्नि a. of a स्मृति m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 256 in prose), by हरदत्त, कल्पतरु, अपरार्क (pp. 267, 468, 501, 880, 1064) and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

जम्बूनाथ सभापीश, son of हेमाद्रि; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति.

जयकृष्ण a. of गङ्गास्नानसङ्कल्पवाक्यदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. No. 90 p. 91).

जयकृष्ण or श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दीप com. on दायभाग and of दायाधिकारक्रमसंग्रह.

जयकृष्ण तर्कवागीश a. of श्राद्धदर्पण alias श्राद्धदीप.

जयतीर्थ pupil of आनन्दतीर्थ; a. of com. on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ, of पूजापद्धति. For latter vide ms. No. 8685 of Baroda O. I.

जयतुङ्ग (Is he an author?) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

जयनारायण तर्कपञ्चानन a. of नीराजनप्रकाश (composed for शिवनारायण घोष), सूरसंक्रान्तिदीपिका.

जयन्त or जयन्तस्वामिन्, son of कान्त, son of कल्याणस्वामिन्. He was father of अभिनन्द. End of eighth century; a. of आश्वलायनीय गुह्यकारिका and विमलोदयमाला com. on आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र. हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1339) says that हरिहर refuted the view of जयन्तस्वामिन् on the verse अन्यभावे तु विप्रस्य. He is m. by गदाधर in his भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्य, in श्राद्धकाण्डिका

of रघुनाथ and प्रयोगरत्न of नारायणभट्ट. For विमलोदय (com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य vide D. C. ms. No. 45 of 1899-1915).

जयराम a. of शतचण्डीविधानपद्धति.

जयराम a. of com. on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

जयराम a. of दानचन्द्रिका (abstract of हेमाद्रि's work).

जयराम a. of मुहूर्तालङ्कार.

जयराम, son of बलभद्र, son of दामोदर of भारद्वाजगोत्र. Between 1200-1400 A. D. ; a. of सज्जनवल्लभा (a com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र). In Ulwar cat. extract No. 39 the date (of composition probably ?) is संवत् 1611 (1554-5 A. D.).

जयशर्मन् m. in तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.

जयसिंहदेव, king of गोरक्षपुर. Earlier than 1750 A. D. ; (reputed) a. of जयमाधवमानसोल्लास.

जयस्वामिन् m. in मलमासतत्त्व (p. 782) of रघुनन्दन,

जयानन्द a. of मुहूर्तदीप.

जातूकर्ण्य- vide sec. 22.

जानकीरामसार्वभौम a. of तत्स्मृतिसार.

जाबाल or -लि a. of a स्मृति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 24, 260, 263-64, 315, 322, 326), अपरार्क p. 736.

जिकन Earlier than 1250 A. D. ; m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट, in शूलपाणि's दुर्गोत्सवविवेक and प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 237 vol. II. refers to his अन्त्येष्टिविधि and अशुमरजविवेक) and in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 774).

जितामित्र Earlier than 1250 A. D. ; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 46) of रघुनन्दन as referred to by श्रीदत्त.

जितेन्द्रिय Sec. 66 ; flourished about 1000-1050 A. D.

जीमूतवाहन Sec. 78 ; a. of कालविवेक, व्यवहारमातृका, दायभाग.

जीव a. of दुर्गसङ्गमनी a com. of भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु.

जीवदेव, son of आपदेव and younger brother of अनन्तदेव ; latter half of 17th century ; he names निर्णयसिन्धु and मयूख ; a. of आशौचनिर्णय and गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय (extracted in संस्कारकौस्तुभ).

जीवनाथ दैवज्ञ a. of वास्तुरत्नावली.

जीवराम a. of स्वस्तिवाचनपद्धति.

जैत्रसिंह a. of भैरवार्चापारिजात.

जैमिनि a. of स्मृति m. in मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 20), कालमाधव (p. 259), एकादशीतत्त्व, नि. सि.

जैमिनि a. of स्मृतिमीमांसा (m. by अपरार्क).

जैमिनि a. of गृह्यसूत्र (pr. in Punjab Oriental series).

जोरेश्वर महामहोपाध्याय a. of हेतुनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol I. No. 225 p. 237.)

जोग्लोक- vide योग्लोक.

ज्ञानभास्कर a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप and आह्निक.

ज्ञानस्वरूप a. of com. on प्रपञ्चसार.

ज्योतिर्गर्ग m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

ज्योतिर्गार्ग्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

ज्योतिर्नारद m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

ज्योतिर्नाथ a. of शैवरत्नाकर.

ज्योतिर्वृसिंह m. by भट्टोजि in चतुर्विंशतिमतव्याख्यान.

ज्योतिर्वृहस्पति m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 472), in निर्णयदीपक.

ज्योतिर्वसिष्ठ m. in संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

ज्योतिष्पराशर m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, कालमाधव (p. 91), in एकादशीतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

ज्योतिष्पितामह m. in कालमाधव (p. 91).

ज्वालानाथमिश्र a. of सुकृत्यप्रकाश and उदक्याशुद्धिप्रकाश.

शिङ्गय्य कोविद (or शिङ्गय्य), son of पेञ्जलु मञ्चनाचार्य ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति (for आपस्तम्बीयs, also called शिङ्गभट्टीय).

टीकाराम a. of दायसुक्तावली.

टीकाकारशर्मन् a. of पिष्टपशुखण्डन (ms. No. 2436 of Baroda O. I.). He was of गार्ग्यगोत्र and followed पारानन्दसूतवदान्त.

टोडरमल्ल Sec. 104 ; (reputed) a. of टोडरानन्द (several parts of which are separately noted, as कालनिर्णयसौख्य &c.).

ढाण्डू (or भिन्नभ्रीढोढू) ; a. of श्राद्धविधि for माध्यन्दिनीयs. Mentions कर्क, कल्पतरु, श्रीकण्ठ, हलायुध (BBRAS. cat. p. 236 No. 736).

ढुण्ढि a. of मांसानिर्णय and मासादिनिर्णय.

ढुण्ढिराज son of पुरुषोत्तम and pupil of रामपण्डित father of नन्दपण्डित. About 1600 A. D; a. of कृष्णकल्पलता.

ढुण्ढु (or ढुण्ढु). Earlier than 1555 A. D. ; a. of पद्धति m. in अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट and in श्राद्धतत्त्व.

ढोण्ढू a. of श्राद्धविधि (माध्यन्दिनीय) Same as ढाण्ढू above. Between 1200-1500 A. D.

ढोढ्रामिश्र son of प्राणकृष्ण ; a. of श्राद्धविवेक.

तकनलाल Later than 1686 A. D ; a. of com. on आत्रेयस्मृति, of com. on आचारार्क, of com. on दक्षस्मृति, com. on दत्तकचान्द्रिका, com. on हारीतस्मृति.

तर्कतिलक vide under मोहनमिश्र.

तातयार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तातादास a. of प्रपञ्चगतिदीपिका.

तात्याशास्त्रिन् a. of दत्तकनिर्णय.

तानपाठक a. of संस्कारसुक्तावली.

ताम्रपर्णाचार्य a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

तालवृन्तनिवासिन् a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्रप्रयोगवृत्ति ; follows देवस्वामिन्, कपर्दिन्, कुमारसिद्धान्तिन्.

तिगलाभट्ट a. of श्रीस्थलप्रकाश.

तिप्पाभट्ट, son of रामभट्ट, son of बालम्भट्ट surnamed गह्वर; a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्त, संस्कारनिर्णय ; wrote संग्रहदीपिका in 1776 A. D.

तिम्मणभट्ट a. of स्मृतिकोशदीपिका.

तिम्मयज्वन् चक्कूरि a. of षट्कर्मचन्द्रिका.

तिरुमलकवि of पराशरगोत्र a. of श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका.

तिरुमलयज्वन् a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

तिरुमलसोमयाजिन्, son of तिरुमलयज्वन्; a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगदीपिका.

तिर्पिलिसूरि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावली.

तिर्मल of पराशरगोत्र a. of धर्मसेतु.

तुरगवदनपण्डित a. of शालग्रामलक्षण.

तुलजाराम a. of उत्सवनिर्णय.

तुलाजिराज Tanjore king (1765-1788 A. D.); (reputed) a. of आदिधर्मसारसंग्रह, राजधर्मसारसंग्रह. He is said to have composed सङ्गीतसारामृत also.

तोटकाचार्य a. of कालनिर्णय.

तोळप्पर, son of श्रीनिवासाचार्य; a. of वृत्तकचन्द्रिका.

त्रिकाण्डमण्डन (भास्कर). Between 1100 and 1250 A.D.; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनिताथकारिका (pr. in B. I. series) m. by हेमाद्रि, मदनपारिजात and he wrote प्रवरनिर्णय. Mentions कर्क, केशवसिद्धान्त, दामोदर, भवभाष्य, रुद्रदत्त, वामन.

त्रिलोचनमिश्र earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of धर्मकोश.

त्रिलोचनशिव a. of प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

त्रिविक्रम. Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of त्रिविक्रमपद्धति or त्रैविक्रमी or प्रतिष्ठापद्धति (on the consecration of idols &c.) m. in टोडरानन्द and निर्णयसिन्धु.

त्रिविक्रम a. of न्यासपद्धति.

त्रिविक्रमज्ञ, pupil of श्रीरामभारती; a. of गूढार्थदीपिका (or सु°) com. on शारदातिलक.

त्रिविक्रमसूरि, son of रघुसूरि; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका; m. in टोडरानन्द. Probably the same as above.

त्रैविद्यवृद्ध a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोग.

त्र्यम्बक, pupil of यज्ञेश; a. of गार्हस्थ्यदीपिका.

त्र्यम्बक a. of तत्त्वदीप.

त्र्यम्बक a. of स्त्रीधर्मपद्धति.

त्र्यम्बक, son of नारायण, surnamed माटे; a. of आचारेन्दु. (composed in 1838 A. D.), प्रतिष्ठेन्दु.

त्र्यम्बक, son of राम, surnamed ओक; a. of आचारभूषण (composed in 1819 A. D.).

त्र्यम्बक पण्डित, son of नारायण of the आङ्गिरससमुद्गलगोत्र; about 1760 A.D.; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

त्र्यम्बकभट्ट मोल्ह, son of कृष्णभट्ट; a. of जातिविवेक, प्रायश्चित्तसार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग.

दक्ष sec. 43; a. of स्मृति.

दत्त vide गौरीदत्त.

दत्तपण्डित a. of चूडाकर्म.

दत्तात्रेय m. in. स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, अपरार्क (p. 971), मदनपारिजात, निर्णयसिन्धु.

दयाराम a. of दानप्रदीप, पदचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिसंग्रह

दयाशङ्कर, son of धरणीधर; a. of उपाकर्मविधि, और्ध्वदेहिकपद्धति, तिथिनिर्णय, दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग, दानप्रदीप, नीतिविवेक, प्रयोगदीप (or -रत्नाकर), शाङ्खायनगृह्य, शुद्धिरत्न, श्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धप्रयोग.

दलपतिराज, son of वल्लभ; sec. 99; a. of नृसिंहप्रसाद (several parts of which are separately noted in

the catalogues, such as आह्निकसार, कालनिर्णयसार).

दशपुत्र (probably this is only the surname) a. of मलमासनिर्णय.

दादा, son of माधव son of नृसिंह, surnamed Karajgi. He was a माध्व and of वसिष्ठगोत्र and resided at Nasik; mentions मयूख and कौस्तुभ; a. of दत्तार्क (composed in शके 1691 शशिग्रहरसयुक्शाकेब्दे). Aufrecht is wrong in giving the date as 1661.

दामोदर a. of इष्टिकाल.

दामोदर a. of लघुकालनिर्णय.

दामोदर a. of जातकर्मपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

दामोदर a. of मांसविवेक.

दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट and eldest brother of नीलकण्ठ. About 1610 A.D.; a. of कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णयपरिशिष्ट.

दामोदर गार्ग्य a. of प्रयोगपद्धति (alias संस्कारपद्धति) following पारस्करगृह्य. Names कर्क, गङ्गाधर and हरिहर.

दामोदर ठक्कुर Earlier than 1575 A.D.; a. of दिव्यनिर्णय (compiled under संग्रामसिंह) and विवेकदीपक; N. vol. V. p. 282 speaks of दिव्यदीपिका (compiled under श्रीमन्महीपाल), while N. vol. VI p. 40 says that दिव्यनिर्णय was compiled under संग्रामसाह; but the works appear to be the same.

दामोदरठक्कुर a. of प्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I No. 276 p. 313[1]).

दामोदरपण्डित. Latter half of 16th century; a. of कीर्तिचन्द्रोदय (under the patronge of चूडहड-मल्ल).

दामोदरीय m. in शुद्धिमयूख and निर्णयदीपक.

दारिल a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र.

दाल्भ्य a. of धर्मशास्त्र (D. C. ms. No. 267 of 1887-91) in verse (with a few prose passages about प्रयोग) on प्रेतक्रिया, एकादशाहश्राद्ध, नवकश्राद्ध, सपिण्डीकरण, वृषोत्सर्ग (मैत्रेय asks दाल्भ्य) and of a पद्धति.

दाल्भ्य a. of नारायणबलिपद्धति.

दिनकर son of नृसिंह from the दशार्ण country. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of गोपालपद्धति.

दिनकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तरहस्य.

दिनकर alias दिवाकर, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट; a. of कर्मविपाकसार, प्रायश्चित्तसार, शान्तिसार, दिनकरोद्द्योत (completed by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट). Between 1575–1640 A. D.

दिवाकर son of महादेव, son of बालकृष्ण, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र. His maternal grand-father was नीलकण्ठ author of the twelve मयूखs; a. of धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि of which अन्त्येष्टिप्रकाश, आचारार्क (composed in 1686 A. D.), दानहीरावलिप्रकाश, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका, तिथ्यर्क, प्रायश्चित्तसङ्कावली, सूर्यादिपञ्चायतनप्रतिष्ठापद्धति and others were parts. Aufrecht (part I. p. 253) confounded

this with the next, but corrected himself (part II. p. 54).

दिवाकर, son of महादेव, son of रामेश्वर, surnamed काल (काळे in Marathi). He was daughter's son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, father of कमलाकर. About 1620-1670 A.D.; a. of दानचन्द्रिका (or दानसंक्षेपचन्द्रिका), आह्निकचन्द्रिका or संक्षेपाह्निकचन्द्रिका, कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका, स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तोद्धार, पतितत्यागविधि, पुनरुपनयनप्रयोग

दिवाकर, son of दिनकर ; a. of दानदिनकर.

दिवाकरभट्ट a. of त्रिवेणीपद्धति.

दिवोदास Earlier than 1550 A. D.; a. of दिवोदासप्रकाश; m.by कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका of दिवाकर and seems to be the same as दिवोदासीय m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, विधानपारिजात, मयूख.

दिव्यसिंह महापात्र a. of कालदीप (or-प्रदीप), श्राद्धदीप and of दिव्यसिंहकारिका (which summarises the two preceding).

दीक्षित About 1050-1100 A. D.; m. by दायभाग (on daughter's succession) and कालविवेक (pp. 92, 102, 237, 264, 541). Earlier than 1100 A. D.

दीनदयालु पाठक a. of मुहूर्तभैरव.

दीर्घतमस् m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 260) and by मस्करिन् (on गौतमधर्मसूत्र).

दुःखभञ्जन a. of मुहूर्तकल्पाकर, युद्धजयप्रकाश.

दुर्गदत्त a. of मुग्धबोधिका.

दुर्गय, son of वासुदेव ; a. of com. on दायदशश्लोकी or दायसंग्रहश्लोकदशक.

दुर्गासहाय a. of मुहूर्तरचना.

दूलाल a. of दूलालीय.

देवकीनन्दन a. of एकादशीव्रतनिर्णय.

देवजानि (?) a. of देवजानीयभाष्य on निर्णयदीपक.

देवण्णभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट. Sec. 85; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

देवदासमिश्र, son of नामदेव, son o अर्जुन of the गौतमगोत्र and honoured by मालव king; between 1250-1500 A.D.; mentions कल्पतरु, कर्क, अर्णव (महार्णव), मिताक्षरा, स्मृतिसार, विश्वादर्श ; a. of देवदासप्रकाश or सद्ग्रन्थचूडामणि, तिथिनिर्णय. निर्णयामृत and विधानपारिजात mention a देवदासीय which is probably the देवदासप्रकाश.

देवनाथ ठक्कुर. Earlier than 1620 A. D. ; a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, दिव्यतन्त्र or तन्त्रकौमुदी. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 60 p. 54 is a कालकौमुदी of देवनाथ, which is probably a part of the स्मृतिकौमुदी.

देवपाल, son of हरिपाल ; a. of भाष्य on काठकगृह्यसूत्र.

देवबोध a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 236).

देवभद्र a. of पार्वणश्राद्धप्रयोग (for वाजसनेयs).

देवभद्र पाठक a. of दशमुखकोटिहोमप्रयोग.

देवभद्र पाठक, son of बलभद्र ; a. of प्रयोगसार (कात्यायनीय).

देवयाज्ञिक vide याज्ञिकदेव.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of सूतकसिद्धान्त.

देवयाज्ञिक a. of a पद्धति (यजुर्वेदीय); pr. in Kashi S. series.

देवराज a. of com. on नीतिमञ्जरी of द्याद्विवेदिन्.

देवराज a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह (com piled under orders of prince चेतसिंह of Benares, 1770-1781 A. D.).

देवराज a. of मुहूर्तपरीक्षा.

देवराज a. of श्राद्धाशौचीयदर्पण.

देवरात a.of a work on धर्मशास्त्र (probably a निबन्ध) m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका fcr the view that दुहितर: in याज्ञवल्क्य's verses on inheritance means पुत्रिका. The सरस्वतीविलास (p. 414, Mysore ed.) attributes the same view to him along with धारेश्वर, देवस्वामिन् and श्रीकर.

देवराम a. of आह्निकचन्द्रिका.

देवराम a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

देवल vide sec. 23.

देवस्वामिन्. Vide sec. 65. About 1000-1050 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on आश्वलायनगृह्य and of a निबन्ध on धर्मशास्त्र.

देवीदास a. of राजनीति.

देवीदासपण्डित a. of कर्मविपाकचिकित्सासूतसागर.

देवेन्द्राश्रम, pupil of विबुधेन्द्राश्रम. Earlier than 1696 A. D.; a. of पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका (D. C. ms. No. 33 of 1898-99 is dated संवत् 1753).

द्यादुमिश्र a. of प्रेतमञ्जरी.

द्याद्विवेदिन्, son of लक्ष्मीधर, son of अत्रि, son of शुकुन्द of आनन्दपुर ; a. of नीतिमञ्जरी and com. thereon (composed in 1494 A. D.). Aufrecht (I. p. 263) said that द्याद्विवेदिन् composed in 1054 but corrected himself later (II. p. 56).

द्रविड m. as an author in the स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर.

द्राह्यायण a. of द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र (attributed to खादिर).

द्रोण Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of रत्नकरण्डिका.

द्वारकानाथयज्वन्, son of टीकाभट्ट; a. of उपाकर्मप्रयोग.

द्वैपायन (reputed) a. of दत्तकदर्पण.

द्वैपायनाचार्य a. of स्मार्तपदार्थानुक्रमणिका.

धनञ्जय Earlier than 1500 A.D.; a. of धर्मप्रदीप and सम्बन्धविवेकपरिशिष्ट; m. in संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I p.891) of रघुनन्दन). In उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 145) we have only सम्बन्धविवेक of धनञ्जय.

धनपति, son of रुचिपति, son of विश्वनाथ, son of रतिधर of खोजालवंश ; a. of श्राद्धदर्पण. The author resided at वेजोलि and is later than 1500 A. D.

धनराम son of गोवर्धन ; a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप. Earlier than 1750 A. D.

धनिराम a. of सिद्धान्तज्योत्स्ना.

धरणीधर Earlier than 1250 A. D; a. of com. on मनुस्मृति m. by कुल्लूक.

धरणीधर son of रेवाधर; a. of सापिण्ड्य-तत्त्वप्रकाश (probably same as next).

धरणीधर, son of मुरारि; a. of एकादशी-निर्णयसार composed in शके 1408 (1492 A. D.); ms. No. 12052 (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत् 1620 मार्गशीर्ष (Dec. 1553 A. D.). It recites that the work was composed during the reign of king वीसलदेव and mentions विज्ञानेश्वर, अनन्तभट्ट, विश्वरूप and बोपदेवपण्डित.

धरणीधर पन्थ a. of com. on काल-निर्णय (of माधव), of चातुर्वर्ण्यविवेचन, of चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था.

धर्म a. of भाष्य m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 747).

धर्मकरोपाध्याय a. of तडागादिप्रतिष्ठा-पद्धति, पुष्करिणीपत्तलक (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 263 p. 286). Both works are probably the same.

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्र, son of माधवाध्वरीन्द्र; a. of वृत्तरत्नाकर. Later than 1650 A. D.

धर्मेश्वर, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of मुहूर्तशिरोमणि.

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति; m. in शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक. (p. 529).

धर्मेश्वर a. of com. on चमत्कारचिन्ता-मणि of नारायणभट्ट.

धवल Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 134, 264, 543).

धवल a. of a निबन्ध; धवलनिबन्ध is m. in the अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारा-यणभट्ट, in निर्णयामृत. Probably the same as the preceding.

धारेश्वर. Vide sec. 64.

धीरमति (queen of नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला) reputed author of दानवाक्यावली (real author being विद्यापति) and दानार्णव. About first half of 15th century.

धीरेन्द्रपञ्चीभूषण, son of धर्मेश्वर; a. of नित्यकर्मलता.

धौम्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290).

नन्द्, son of देवशर्मन्; a. of ज्योतिः-सारसमुच्चय, स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दन a. of श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

नन्दन, younger brother of लक्ष्मण; a. of नन्दिनी, com. on the मानवधर्मशास्त्र.

नन्दनमिश्र a. of रुद्रविलासनिबन्ध.

नन्दपण्डित *alias* विनायकपण्डित, son of रामपण्डित धर्माधिकारिन्. Sec. 105; a. of काशीप्रकाश, तत्त्व-मुक्तावली, तीर्थकल्पलता, दत्तकमीमांसा, नवरात्रप्रदीप, प्रमिताक्षरा (com. on मिताक्षरा), विद्वन्मनोहरा (com. on पराशरस्मृति), वैजयन्ती alias केशव-वैजयन्ती (com. on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र), शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (com. on षडशीति of कौशिकादित्य), श्राद्धकल्पलता, स्मृति-सिन्धु (of which संस्कारनिर्णय is a part), हरिवंशविलास (of which

कालनिर्णयकौतुक is a part). He probably composed ज्योतिःसार-समुच्चय and स्मार्तसमुच्चय.

नन्दभट्ट a. of विवाहनिरूपण.

नन्दराममिश्र, son of दीपचन्द्रमिश्र; a. of निर्णयसार (composed in 1780 A. D.).

नरराज vide under नवराज.

नरसिंह a. of ब्रह्मयज्ञशिरोरत्न.

नरसिंह a. of आपस्तम्बयज्ञसूत्रकारिका-वृत्ति; composed in 1614 A. D.

नरसिंह vide छलारि वृसिंह.

नरसिंह a. of तुलसीकाष्ठमालाधारणनिषेध.

नरसिंह or वृसिंह ठक्कुर About 1300-1325 A. D.; a. of प्रमाणपल्लव (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 270 p. 209).

नरसिंहदेव (reputed) a. of दुर्गाभक्ति-तरङ्गिणी or दुर्गापद्धति. About 1425-50 A. D.

नरसिंहभट्ट a. of धनुर्वेदचिन्तामणि.

नरसिंह वाजपेयिन्, son of मुरारि of कौत्सवंश. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of नित्याचारप्रदीप. Pr. in B. I. series.

नरसिंह सोमयाजिन्, son of माधवाचार्य; a. of विष्णुप्रतिष्ठाविधिदर्पण.

नरहरि a. of विवाहपद्धति.

नरहरि a. of संस्कारवृसिंह.

नरहरि उपाध्याय a. of द्वैतनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 223 p. 236).

नरहरिभट्ट सप्तर्षि a. of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका thereon and of a work on सापिण्ड्य; m in com. on सा पिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका.

नरोत्तम a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेप.

नरोत्तमदास a. of प्रातःपूजाविधि (for followers of चैतन्य).

नरोत्तमदेव a. of श्राद्धप्रकरण.

नवरसौन्दर्यभट्ट a. of शूद्राचारसंग्रह or सच्छूद्राचार.

नवराज, son of देवसिंह of the द्रोण family; a. of दानपद्धति and व्रत-पद्धति and दानवाक्यावलि. The real author was सूर्यकर. Often read as नरराज in the catalogues; vide Peterson's 5th Report p. 177 extract and B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 195 p. 210 where we have both नरराज and सूर्यकर.

नागदेव flourished before 1435 A.D.; a. of आचारदीप or-प्रदीप (ms. No. 3858 Baroda O. I. copied in 1491 शके माघे) and निर्णय-m. in आचारमयूख and शूद्रकमलाकर.

नागदेव a. of मुहूर्तसिद्धि and मुहूर्तदीपक.

नागदेव, son of शिव. Later than 1612 A. D.; a. of तीर्थनिर्णय based on निर्णयसिन्धु.

नागदैवज्ञ, son of शिव; a. of निर्णय-तत्त्व (which is an abstract of निर्णयसिन्धु), आचारप्रदीप, ग्रथित-तिथिनिर्णय. Most probably the same as the preceding.

नागेश, son of वेङ्कटेश of Haldipur in North Canara; about 1741-1782 A. D.; a. of आगमग्रन्थ, तान्त्रिकमुक्तावलि, स्मृत्यर्थमुक्तावलि.

नागेशभट्ट or नागोजिभट्ट, son of शिव-भट्ट and सती. Sec. 110; a. आचा-

रेन्दुशेखर, आशौचनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दुशेखर, कुण्डपद्धति, तिथीन्दुशेखर, तिथिनिर्णय, त्रिस्थलीसेतु or- सारसंग्रह, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, चण्डीप्रयोग, तीर्थेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्तेन्दुशेखर, प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, श्राद्धेन्दुशेखर, संस्काररत्नमाला, सापिण्डीमञ्जरी or सापिण्ड्यदीपिका, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय (probably same as preceding).

नाडीजङ्घ m. as a स्मृतिकार in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).

नारद Sec. 36.

नारद (reputed) a. of मयूरचित्रक or मेघमाला.

नारायण a. of a. स्मृति m. in अपरार्क pp. 135, 146, 500, 508. In the Mad. Govt. Oriental Library there is a नारायणस्मृति in 9 chapters, where नारायण asks दुर्वासस् about sins.

नारायण m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट.

नारायण, son of अनन्त, son of हरि ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपदर्पण (composed in 1578 A. D.) and of मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड and its com. मार्तण्डवल्लभा (composed in 1572 A. D.).

नारायण a. of a पद्धति ; m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (p. 616) and मलमासतत्त्व (p. 746) of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of कृष्णजीह्विवेदिन्, son of श्रीपति. Probably earlier than 1570 A. D. He was from श्रीपाटलपुरी in गुर्जरदेश ; a. of com. गृह्यप्रदीपक on शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्र and of a गृह्यपद्धति also.

नारायण a. of प्रदीपभाष्य on पार्वणश्राद्ध.

नारायण Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.

नारायण Earlier than 1450 A. D. ; a. of com. अपेक्षितार्थयोतिनी ; m. in मदनरत्नप्रदीप (शान्ति portion).

नारायण, son of महाबल. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of भाष्य on गोभिलगृह्य ; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व and छन्दोगपरिशिष्टोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

नारायण, son of लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट, surnamed आरड ; a. of गृह्याग्निसागर or प्रयोगसार and श्राद्धसागर, श्राद्धपद्धति. Later than 1650 A. D.

नारायण, son of दिवाकर of the मैत्रेयगोत्र ; a. of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य. It is probably this नारायण that is m. in पराशरमाधवीय.

नारायण a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रपद्धति.

नारायण a. of चलार्चापद्धति. Later than 1450 A. D.

नारायण a. of दिनत्रयमीमांसा (for माध्व followers).

नारायण a. of सुबोधिनी.

नारायण a. of स्मृतिसर्वस्व. Before 1675 A. D.

नारायण a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

नारायण a. of दक्षिणद्वारनिर्णय.

a. of com. on शारदातिलक

नारायण, pupil of विज्ञानेश्वर ; a. of व्यवहारशिरोमणि. About 1100 A.D.

नारायण a. of नीतिमाला.

नारायण (छलारि) a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

नारायण उपाध्याय; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 30), ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (p. 708 where his explanation of the last सूत्र of आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र is given), in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक, in श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द.

नारायण उपाध्याय son of गोण; a. of परिशिष्टप्रकाश com. on कर्मप्रदीप.

नारायणचक्रवर्तिन् a. of शान्तिकतत्त्वसूत.

नारायणठक्कुर a. of ब्रह्मसंस्कारमञ्जरी or संस्कारमञ्जरी.

नारायणतर्काचार्य a. of दोलायात्रासूत.

नारायणदीक्षित, son of चायम्भट्ट. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

नारायणदीक्षित a. of स्मार्तस्फुटपद्धति.

नारायणदेव, son of रामकृष्ण, son of सदाशिवदेव. He was pupil of नागेश. About 1750-80 A. D.; a. of com. on सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका of his grandfather.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथपण्डित, pupil of भट्टनीलकण्ठ. Earlier than 1720 A. D.; a. of पिष्टपशुखण्डनमीमांसा (ms. No. 8831 of Baroda O. I. is पिष्टपशुमीमांसा of नारायण, son of विश्वनाथ), पिष्टपशुमीमांसाकारिका.

नारायणपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथसूरि (acc. to Stein's cat p. 107) and son of हितार्थसूरि (acc. to Bik. cat. p. 449); a. of सदाचारस्मृतिटीका.

नारायणपण्डित a. of संध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

नारायणभट्ट, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Sec. 103; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति, अयननिर्णय, आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति, आतुरसंन्यासविधि, जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, प्रयोगरत्न, आहिताग्निमरणदाहादिपद्धति, महारुद्रपद्धति or रुद्रपद्धति, काशीमरणमुक्तिविवेक, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, तिथिनिर्णय, तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग, दिव्यानुष्ठानपद्धति, मांसमीमांसा, कालनिर्णयकारिकाव्याख्या, वृषोत्सर्गपद्धति, लक्षहोमपद्धति, विष्णुश्राद्धपद्धति. Portions of his प्रयोरत्न and other works are separately entered in the catalogues as distinct works.

नारायणभट्ट a. of दशकर्मपद्धति.

नारायणभट्ट between 1400-1600 A.D.; a. of धर्मप्रवृत्ति.

नारायणभट्ट a. of जातिविवेक (ms. No. 11147 of Baroda O. I.).

नारायणभट्ट a. of प्रायश्चित्तसंग्रह.

नारायणभट्ट a. of विधानरत्न.

नारायणभट्ट, son of राम, son of नारायण; a. of काशीरहस्यप्रकाश (composed by order of कामदेव).

नारायणयज्वन् a. of आपस्तम्बप्रयोगरत्न.

नारायणवन्द्योपाध्याय a. of शुद्धिकारिका.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of धर्मसंग्रह.

नारायणशर्मन् a. of व्यवस्थासार (a different work from व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह).

नारायणशर्मसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह.

नारायणसर्वज्ञ a. of मन्वर्थविवृति com. on मनुस्मृति, of कामधेनुदीपिका, of शुद्धिदीपिका. As रायमुकुट (1431 A. D.) mentions him, he is earlier than 1400 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84 p. 62.

नारायणानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनशिरोमणि.

नारायणार्य a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of अभिनवमाधवाचार्य.

नारोजिपण्डित, son of विश्वनाथ ; a. of लक्षणशतक and com. लक्षणरत्नमालिका thereon.

निजानन्द a. of प्रयोगसार.

नित्यानन्द a. of क्रमदीपिका.

नित्यानन्द a. of षट्कर्मव्याख्यानचिन्तामणि.

निधिराम a. of आचारमाला.

निबन्धनकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास (pp. 51, 349).

निम्बार्कशिष्य a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

निरवद्यविद्योद्द्योत m. in the दायभाग of जीमूतवाहन.

निर्दूरिबसवोपाध्याय a. of व्याख्यानदीपिका com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

निर्भयरामभट्ट a. of व्रतोपवाससंग्रह and संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ or श्रीपति ; a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or विधान.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपनिर्णय.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on दायभाग.

नीलकण्ठ a. of प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

नीलकण्ठ a. of निर्णयभास्कर.

नीलकण्ठ son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि. About 1600 A. D. ; a. of तिथिरत्नमाला and com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि.

नीलकण्ठ, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Sec. 107 ; a. of भगवन्तभास्कर (divided into 12 मयूखs), व्यवहारतत्त्व, कुण्डोद्द्योत.

नीलकण्ठ son of भास्कर ; a. of दानदीधिति.

नीलकण्ठ a. of आशौचशतक.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानचन्द्रिका.

नीलकण्ठ a. of दानपरिभाषा.

नीलकण्ठ a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधान and कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि.

नीलकण्ठदीक्षित son of अप्पयदीक्षित अद्वैताचार्य, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of अघविवेक.

नीलकण्ठ यतीन्द्र a. of यतिधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

नीलकण्ठसूरि a. of परशूपकरण.

नीलकण्ठाचार्य a. of स्मृत्यर्थसार.

नीलकमल (लाहाडी) a. of काल्यर्चनचन्द्रिका.

नीलाम्बरभट्ट son of गदाधर (author of कालसार). Before 1500 A. D.; a. of कालकौमुदी ; m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (p. 275) of गोविन्दानन्द. He is probably the same as नीलाम्बर m. as भाष्यकार of कात्यायन in the यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (vol. II. p. 496).

नीलासुर (?), son of सङ्कर्षण ; a. of com. on श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र or नवकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन. It is probable that नीलासुर is a misreading of नीलाम्बर meaning हलायुध.

नृसिंह (कम्भालूर). Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of आशौचदीपिका and तिथिप्रदीपिका.

नृसिंह a. of निबन्धशिरोमणि.

नृसिंह, of the कौण्डिन्यगोत्र, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य. Between 1360-1435 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगपारिजात.

नृसिंह of अत्रिगोत्र, resided on the वसुमती near चन्दनगिरि in वैराटदेश. Earlier than 1565 A. D. and later than 1300 A. D.; a. of विधानमाला. He mentions चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि.

नृसिंह a. of श्रौतस्मार्तकर्मप्रयोग.

नृसिंह, son of माधवाचार्य वाजपेयवाजिन्; a. of com. on वैखानसधर्मप्रश्न and वैखानससूत्रदर्पण.

नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्राचार्य surnamed शेष. 1400-1450 A. D.; a. कालनिर्णयदीपिकाविवरण, and of com. on तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (of रामचन्द्र), तिथिप्रदीपिका, गोविन्दार्णव or धर्मतत्त्वावलोक; ms. 10410 (Baroda O. I.) gives date of composition (?) as शशाङ्ककालानलविम्बसंमिते विरोधिवर्षे (i. e. 1330 शके).

नृसिंहठक्कुर a. of प्रमाणपल्लव.

नृसिंहपण्डित a. of गोत्रामृत.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सिद्धभट्ट of कण्वशाखा; a. of संस्काररत्नावलि.

नृसिंहभट्ट a. of दत्तकपुत्रविधान.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of सोमभट्ट; a. of विष्णुधर्ममीमांसा.

नृसिंहभट्ट (मीमांसक) a. of स्मृतिनिबन्ध.

नृसिंहभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1500-1600 A. D.; a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

नृसिंहवाजपेयिन् a. of श्रुतिमीमांसा

नृसिंहारण्य or नृसिंहाचार्य. Earlier than 1440 A. D. Vide Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84 p. 76; a. of विष्णुभक्तिचन्द्रोदय.

नृहरि a. of शास्त्रप्रदीप alias निबन्धसार. Before 1607 A. D.

नृहरि, surnamed पण्डरपुर; a. of प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

नृहरि, pupil of मध्व; a. of सदाचारस्मृतिटीका.

नृहरि अग्निहोत्रिन् a. of शास्त्रदीप.

न्यायपञ्चानन (probably गोपाल) a. of दुर्गोत्सवनिर्णय.

पक्षधरमिश्र, son of महामहोपाध्याय वटेश्वर. Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of तत्त्वनिर्णय (N. vol. V. p. 155).

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Probably he is identical with the preceding.

पक्षधरमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका; ms. of विष्णुपुराण was copied in 1464 A. D. by him.; probably the same as above (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 145 p. 146).

पञ्चाक्षर गुरुनाथ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका.

पञ्चानन m. in कालसार of गदाधर.

पञ्चाननसिंह m. in जटमल्लविलास.

पण्डिकाकारमिश्र m. in कालविवेक (p. 63) of जीमूतवाहन.

पण्डितपरितोषकार m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 481) as refuting गोविन्दराज's view. Between 1075-1225 A. D.

पद्मनाभ a. of माध्यन्दिनीयाचारसंग्रहदीपिका.

पद्मनाभ, son of बलभद्र. Between 1460–1550 A. D. ; a. of दुर्गावती-प्रकाश or समयालोक (under दुर्गावती, queen of दलपति, king on the नर्मदा).

a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

Earlier than 1700 A. D. ; a. of तिथ्यादिनिर्णय.

पद्मनाभ a. of संन्यासरत्नावली (according to मध्वमत).

पद्मनाभदत्त, son of दामोदरदत्त, son of श्रीदत्त. Between 1340–1400 A.D., as he composed his सुपद्मव्याकरण in 1367 A. D. ; a. of आचार-चन्द्रिका.

पद्मनाभदीक्षित, son of गोपाल, son of नारायण, residing on the banks of the प्रवरा at निवासपुर ; a. of प्रतिष्ठादर्पण and प्रयोगदर्पण. (Vide Bhandarkar's Report 1883-84 p. 355 for both).

पद्मनाभमिश्र a. of व्यवहारप्रदीप.

पन्तोनीभट्ट, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट ; a. of समयकल्पतरु.

परमसुख, son of सीताराम. Later than 1685 A. D. ; a. of com. on मुहूर्त-गणपति.

परमाचार्य a. of वास्तुपूजनपद्धति.

परमानन्दशर्मन् a. of दुर्गार्चाकौमुदी.

परमानन्द a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (on मत्स्यादिभक्षणाभक्षण).

परमानन्दघन, pupil of चिदानन्दब्रह्मेन्द्र-सरस्वती ; a. of स्मृतिमहोदधि and प्रयोगरत्नावली.

परमेश्वरपरिव्राजक a. of अमल a com. on बौधायनधर्मसूत्र.

परशुराम a. of द्विजकल्पलता or संध्या-त्रयभाष्य.

परशुराम a. of भूपालवल्लभ.

परशुराम, son of कर्ण, an उदीच्यब्राह्मण; a. of महारुद्रपद्धति composed in 1458 A. D.

परशुराममिश्र. Later than 1685 A. D.; a. of com. on मुहूर्तगणपति.

पराशर. Sec. 35 ; a. of स्मृति.

पराशर a. of जातिविवेक.

पराशर or पाराशर m. as an author on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पशुपति, minister of लक्ष्मणसेन and son of धनञ्जय. About 1160–1200 A. D. ; a. of प्रवराध्याय, दशकर्मदीपिका or दशकर्मपद्धति, श्राद्ध-पद्धति and पाकयज्ञपद्धति.

पाण्डुरङ्ग, son of चिन्तामणि, surnamed टकले ; a. of प्रतिष्ठासार-दीपिका (composed in 1780 A. D.) at पञ्चवटी near Nasik and यजुः-शाखाभेदतत्त्वनिर्णय.

पाण्डुरङ्ग मोरेश्वर भट्ट a. of कालचन्द्रिका

पारस्कर a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

पाराशर्य m. in the प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

पालकि m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

पितामह. Sec. 44 ; a. of a स्मृति.

पीताम्बर son of काश्यपाचार्य. Between 1500–1675 A. D. ; a. of धर्मार्णव and स्मार्ताधानप्रयोग.

पीताम्बर a. of दानवाक्यावली (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 193 p. 208).

पीताम्बरसिद्धान्तवागीश a. of दायकौमुदी and विवादकौमुदी. About 1604 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुण्याहवाचनप्रयोग.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of पुराणसर्वस्व.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of उत्सवप्रताप, संवत्सरानिर्णयप्रताप.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकालनिर्णय (D. C. mss. No. 177 of 1884-86 is dated संवत् 1816 i.e. 1759 A. D.). It deals with उत्सवs from भाद्रपद to श्रावण for the followers of वल्लभाचार्य. Based upon व्रजराज's work.

पुरुषोत्तम son of पीताम्बर. Born संवत् 1724 (1668 A.D.) and died संवत् 1781 (1725 A. D.); a. of शङ्खचक्रधारणवाद, द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका, संन्यासनिर्णयविवरण. He was 7th from the great Vallabhācārya.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of संन्यासनिर्णय.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of कर्मसिद्धान्त or कर्मसिद्धिसिद्धान्त (ms. No. 8361 Baroda O. I.).

पुरुषोत्तम son of देवराजार्य; a. of प्रयोगपारिजात.

पुरुषोत्तम a. of धर्मसार. Earlier than 1675 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तम prince of गजपति dynasty; (reputed) a. of मुक्तिचिन्तामणि. About 1500 A. D.

पुरुषोत्तमपण्डित Earlier than 1450 A. D.; a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी or प्रवरमञ्जरी and महाप्रवर भाष्य.

पुरुषोत्तम विद्यावागीश a. of प्रयोगरत्नमाला.

पुरुषोत्तमानन्दसरस्वती pupil of पूर्णानन्द; a. of यतिधर्म, यतिपत्नीधर्मनिरूपण, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

पुलस्त्य Sec. 45; a. of a स्मृति.

पुलह a. of स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

पुष्कर m. in संस्कारमयूख.

पुष्करसादि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 7. and I. 10. 28. 1.

पृथिवीधरमिश्राचार्य m. in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 314) by रघुनन्दन.

पृथ्वीचन्द्र, son of नागमल्ल; a. of आशौचप्रकाश (part of धर्मतत्त्वकलानिधि).

पृथ्वीधर a. of दशकर्मपद्धति.

पृथ्वीमल्लराज a. of महार्णव. Probably the same as the महार्णव attributed to मान्धातृ who was a brother of पृथ्वीमल्ल and son of मदनपाल.

पैङ्गिय a. of स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 18, a prose passage), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच, Mysore ed. p. 14).

पैठीनसि Sec. 24.

प्रचेतस् Sec. 46.

प्रजापति Sec. 47.

प्रतापरुद्रदेव Sec. 100; (reputed) a. of प्रतापमार्तण्ड or प्रौढप्रतापमार्तण्ड, सरस्वतीविलास and निर्णयसंग्रह. His कौतुकचिन्तामणि (vide

D. C. ms. No. 981 of 1887-91) is not a work on धर्मशास्त्र, but on erotics and poetic fantasies like चित्रबन्ध, प्रहेलिका and magician's tricks &c.

प्रतिहस्त a. of a पद्धति; m. in कृत्यनिर्णय of वर्धमान.

प्रदीपकार m. in सरस्वतीविलास p. 361. Vide sec. 80.

प्रद्युम्नशर्मन्, son of श्रीधरशर्मन्; a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप. Earlier than 1525 A.D.

प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य, son of बलभद्र. Latter half of 16th century. He wrote शारदागम or चन्द्रालोकप्रकाश by order of वीरभद्रदेव, a Bundella chief; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश.

प्रभाकर a. of काशीतत्त्वदीपिका and काशीखण्डकथाकेलि and गयापद्धतिदीपिका.

प्रभाकर दैवज्ञ a. of वाक्पुष्पमाला a com. on the गोत्रनिर्णय of केशवदैवज्ञ.

प्रभाकर Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of धर्मसार.

प्रभाकरभट्ट a. of प्रभाकराह्निक.

प्रह्लादभट्ट a. of नवरत्नमाला.

प्रेमनिधि a. of नैमित्तिकप्रयोगरत्नाकर.

प्रेमनिधि ठक्कुर, son of इन्द्रपति, son of रुचिपति. A रुचिपति lived under भैरव's reign in मिथिला; a. of धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी (completed in 1410, of what era is rather doubtful; probably संवत्). Vide under धर्माधर्मप्रबोधिनी.

प्रेमनिधि पन्थ (or पन्त), son of उमापति, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of घृतदानपद्धति, घृतप्रदानरत्न, प्रयोगरत्न, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप (composed in शके 1675), शब्दार्थचिन्तामणि com. on शारदातिलक, पृथ्वीप्रेमोदय (D. C. ms. No. 126 of 1884-86 says it was composed in शके 1659).

प्रेमनिधि a. of प्रयोगरत्नसंस्कार.

फकीरचन्द्र a. of धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्ध.

बछिय vide under वच्चिय or वछिय.

बभ्रु a. of स्मृति.

बलदेव a. of बलदेवाह्निक.

बलभद्र a. of नित्यानुष्ठानपद्धति.

बलभद्र m. in शुद्धिकौमुदी (p. 33) of गोविन्दानन्द and in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व pp. 690 and 686 (where we have कृत्याचिन्तामणौ बलभद्रः). Earlier than 1500 A. D. He is probably the same as the author of आशौचसार.

बलभद्र a. of आशौचसार.

बलभद्र a. of आह्निक.

बलभद्र a. of महारुद्रपद्धति, महारुद्रन्यासपद्धति.

बलभद्रतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of दायभागसिद्धान्त.

बलभद्रशुक्ल, son of स्थावर of the वत्सगोत्र. He came from स्तम्भतीर्थ (modern Cambay); a. of कृष्णतत्त्वप्रदीप (composed in 1623 A. D.) and com. composed in विक्रम 1699 i. e. 1643 A. D. (vide D. C. mss. No. 204 of 1884-87) and of चातुर्मास्यकौमुदी.

बलभद्रसूरि a. of कृष्णार्कमणिदीपिका.

बल्लालसेन Sec. 83 ; a. of अद्भुतसागर, आचारसागर, दानसागर and प्रतिष्ठा-सागर.

बसप्पनायक a. of शिवतत्त्वरत्नाकर.

बसवोपाध्याय vide under निर्दूरि.

बाणेश्वर (and others) ; a. of विवादार्णवसेतु (compiled in 1773 A. D.).

बादरायण a. of स्मृति (m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख) and as a writer on politics in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत.

बादरायण a. of मुहूर्तदीपिका.

बापुभट्ट a. of मूल्याध्याय or मूल्यसंग्रह (N. vol. X. p. 238). Mentions गोपालभाष्य.

बापूभट्ट alias अनन्तभट्ट ; a. of प्रतिष्ठा-पद्धति.

बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर (modern Kelakara) ; a. उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, प्रायश्चित्तमञ्जरी (composed in 1814 A. D.) and श्राद्धमञ्जरी (composed in 1810 A. D.). Vide N. vol. IX p. 302 for the first.

बापूभट्ट, son of महादेव, surnamed केलकर of the चित्तपावन caste ; a. of कृत्यमञ्जरी (composed in खवेदरसभूशाके i. e. śake 1640) at सप्तर्षितीर्थ on southern bank of the river कृष्णा. Vide N. vol X. pp. 217-219. Therefore either this date is wrong or there were two बापूभट्ट केलकर, whose father's name also was the same. कृत्यमञ्जरी further says that बापूभट्ट was originally an inhabitant of फणशीग्राम (in the Ratnagiri District). Baroda O. I. No. 8442 gives the date as खवेदस्वरभूशाके (i. e. 1740) and seems to be the correct date. This would show that he is the same as the above. In the कृत्यमञ्जरी he refers to श्राद्धमञ्जरी as his work.

बाप्पणभट्ट or बोप्पणभट्ट a.of स्मार्तप्रयोग and of बोपण्णभट्टीय, जातकर्म (आपस्तम्बीय).

बाबदेवभट्ट, surnamed आठले (modern Āṭhlye). About 1740 A. D. ; a. of परभूप्रकरण.

बाबा alias काशीनाथ पाध्ये. Sec. 112. Vide under काशीनाथ पाध्ये above.

बाबूदीक्षित, surnamed जडे ; a. of कृष्णमण्डपविधि or- सिद्धि.

बाबादेव a. of शालग्रामदानपद्धति.

बालक. Sec. 67.

बालकृष्ण a. of होमविधान.

बालकृष्ण, a दाक्षिणात्य residing in गोकुलग्राम ; a. of प्रयोगसार.

बालकृष्ण a. of पुनर्विवाहमीमांसा.

बालकृष्ण a. of बालबोधा com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावलि of नव्यपण्डित.

बालकृष्ण, son of देवभट्ट, surnamed फळनिटकर ; a. of वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

बालकृष्ण a. of श्रौतस्मार्तविधि.

बालकृष्ण, son of महादेव ; a. of सप्त-संस्थाप्रयोग.

बालकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्, son of काशीराम, of the महारट्ट family ; a. of गुरु-मञ्जरी (on प्रायश्चित्त).

बालकृष्णदीक्षित a. of निर्णयार्णव.

बालकृष्णभट्ट, son of रङ्गोजिभट्ट ; a. of जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय. Earlier than 1725 A. D.

बालकृष्ण भारद्वाज a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

बालदीक्षित a. of उपाकर्मप्रमाण.

बालम्भट्ट a. of गोत्रनिर्णय.

बालम्भट्ट, son of विश्वनाथभट्ट, surnamed दातार ; a. of आह्निकसारमञ्जरी.

बालम्भट्ट or बालकृष्ण, son of वैद्यनाथ, surnamed पायगुण्ड. Sec. 111 ; a. उपाकृतितत्त्व, बालम्भट्टी (com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर), धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह, जीवत्पितृककर्तव्यनिर्णय.

बालरूप. Sec. 68.

बालशास्त्रिन् कागलकर, son of शेषभट्ट, son of नारायण ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रयोग or सर्वप्राय०.

बालस्मृति, son of शेषभट्ट ; a. of कुण्डरचनारीति.

बालस्मृति a. of हेमाद्रिसर्वप्रायश्चित्त.

बालाग्निहोत्रिन् a. of ब्राह्मायणगृह्यसूत्रकारिका.

बाष्कल m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 58) and in धर्मप्रदीप of भोज.

बुद्धण a. of निर्णयबिन्दु.

बुद्धिकरशुक्ल a. of द्विविधजलाशयोत्सर्गप्रमाणदर्शन (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 222 p. 235).

बुध. Sec. 25 ; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहच्छङ्ख.

बृहच्छातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290).

बृहच्छौनक.

बृहत्कात्यायन m. by व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहत्कौण्डिन्य.

बृहत्पराशर. Vide sec. 35, pp. 195-196 above.

बृहत्प्रचेतस् m. in मिताक्षरा, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 22. 18, अपरार्क (pp. 910, 1125, 1171), श्राद्धमयूख.

बृहत्संवर्त m. in मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 256, 265) and in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

बृहदाङ्गिरस् m. in the मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 277).

बृहदाश्वलायन.

बृहद्गर्ग m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

बृहद्गार्ग्य.

बृहद्यम m. in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध, by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 12, अपरार्क p. 1074, मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 255).

बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), कालमाधव (p. 140).

बृहद्योगलोक m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

बृहद्हारीत m. in मिता. (on याज्ञ. III. 254, 261).

बृहन्नारद m. by रघुनन्दन, in निर्णयसिन्धु.

बृहन्मनु m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III 20), कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, संस्कारमयूख, शान्तिमयूख.

बृहद्गालिब m. in मिताक्षरा, कालविवेक (p. 386) of जीमूतवाहन, आचारमयूख, कालमाधव (p. 114).

बृहद्विष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II 135 and III. 20), सरस्वतीविलास, प्रायश्चित्तमयूख, अपरार्क pp. 909, 1070, 1243.

बृहद्व्यास m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 290), प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

बृहस्पति a. of ग्रहपूजापद्धति composed at the bidding of king हरिसिंह. (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I, p. 111).

बृहस्पति a. of मुहूर्तस्कन्ध.

बृहस्पति Sec. 26, 37.

बृहस्पति son of भवदेव; a. of मलमासरहस्य composed in 1681 A. D. and मलमासनिर्णय (probably the same as the preceding).

बैजवाप a. of a गृह्यसूत्र; m. in the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिलभट्ट.

बैजवाप m. in अपरार्क pp. 27, 51, 229, 533, हारलता, स्मृतिचान्द्रिका.

बोपदेव- vide under वोपदेव; a. of आचारदर्पण; m. in पूर्तकमलाकर.

बोपदेवपण्डित a. of श्राद्धकाण्डदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपकलिका (com. on परशुरामप्रताप), of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय com. on तत्त्वकौस्तुभ, चतुर्विंशतिमत, चतुर्दशश्लोकी.

बौधायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a धर्मसूत्र; sec. 6; a. of a स्मृति; a. of नागप्रतिष्ठा; a. of नक्षत्रशान्ति.

ब्रह्मगर्भ a. of स्मृति; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 262, 268), अपरार्क (pp. 447, 536, 880), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

ब्रह्मदत्त. Earlier than 1100 A. D.; a. of भाष्य on शाङ्खायनगृह्य; m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 312) as referred to by कल्पतरु.

ब्रह्मविद्यातीर्थ a. of गृह्यप्रयोग.

ब्रह्माण्डानन्दनाथ a. of नृसिंहार्चनपद्धति.

ब्रह्मानन्दनाथ a. of शिवार्चनशिरोमणि.

ब्रह्मानन्दभारती, pupil of रामराजसरस्वती; between 1420–1554 A. D.; a. of पुरुषार्थप्रबोध.

ब्रह्मानन्दिन् a. of संन्यासपद्धति.

ब्रह्मार्क, son of मोक्षेश्वर; a. of प्रश्नज्ञानदीपपृच्छाप्रकरण.

ब्राह्मणबल, son of माधवाध्वर्यु; a. of com. on काठकगृह्यसूत्र.

ब्राह्मवध m. in मिता° (on याज्ञ. III. 257).

भजीभट्ट a. of हेमाद्रिसंक्षेप (कालनिर्णय, Stein's cat. p. 110).

भट्टगुरु a. of मयूरचित्रक.

भट्टस्वामिन् a. of com. प्रतिपदपञ्चिका on कौटिलीय.

भट्टाचार्य. Earlier than 1520 A. D.; ms. No. 3883 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1579 (1522 A. D.); a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी and com. on आशौचसंग्रह or शौचसंग्रहविवृति (same as the preceding work).

भट्टारिभट्ट a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र.

भट्टोजिदीक्षित, son of लक्ष्मीधर and brother of रङ्गोजिदीक्षित. About 1575-1650 A.D.; a. of आचारप्रदीप, of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी, आशौचनिर्णय, आह्निक, कालनिर्णय (संक्षिप्त),

तिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णयसंक्षेप, तिथिप्रदीपक, त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसंग्रह, of com. on दशश्लोकी, of धर्मशास्त्रसर्वस्व, प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय, मासनिर्णय, सर्वसारसंग्रह, प्रयोगरत्न, सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय, सूतकनिर्णय, हेमाद्रिकालनिर्णयसंक्षेप.

भरत, son of सूर्यदास and brother of रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on समरसार by his brother रामचन्द्र.

भरत (reputed) a. of कर्मविपाक.

भरद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a work on politics.

भरद्वाज a. of पितृमेधसूत्र.

भर्तृयज्ञ. Sec. 59; a. of श्राद्धकल्प and of com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भल्ल m. in निर्णयदीपक.

भवदेव styled बालवलभीभुजङ्ग, which may (apart from what is said on p. 305 above) also mean a young gallant of बालवलभी (possibly the village where भवदेव lived). Sec. 73; a. of कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति or दशकर्मपद्धति, दत्तकतिलक (part of व्यवहारतिलक), प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण, व्यवहारतिलक, सम्बन्धविवेक.

भवदेवभट्ट, son of कृष्णदेवसन्मिश्र मैथिल. Earlier than 1635 A. D.; a. of दानधर्मप्रक्रिया or दानप्रक्रिया (composed at bidding of रुद्रदाससेष्ठिन्, son of दामोदर). B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 189 p. 203.

भवदेवशर्मन् न्यायालङ्कार, son of हरिहर; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्र (composed in 1720-22 A. D.), its parts being called कला such as श्राद्धकला.

भवनाथ a. of com. on आशौचत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 175 p. 186). This is probably a misreading for भट्टाचार्य. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 765 by भट्टाचार्य has the same opening verses and opening words.

भवशर्मन् of the खोपालवंश. First half of 14th century; a. of षोडशमहादानपद्धति (written at the bidding of रामदत्त, minister of king हरिसिंह of मिथिला of the कार्णाटवंश). I. O. cat. p. 549. It is probably he who is referred to in the सुगतिसोपान as गणेश्वर's contemporary.

भवानन्दशर्मन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तवारिधि.

भवानीप्रसाद a. of पूजनमालिका.

भवानीशङ्कर a. of स्मृतिचरण.

भागुणिमिश्र a. of जलाशयप्रतिष्ठा and प्रासादप्रतिष्ठा.

भागुरि m. in कालविवेक (p. 14) of जीमूतवाहन and वि. र. (p. 104), where he appears to be regarded as earlier than कल्पतरु and even मेधातिथि.

भानुचन्द्रगणि a. of com. on वसन्तराजीय or शकुनार्णव. Between 1550-1600 A. D.

भानुजिदीक्षित, son of भट्टोजिदीक्षित. About 1650 A. D.; a. of दानविवेक.

भानुदत्त a. of मुहूर्तसार.

भानुदत्त a. of पारिजात (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I, No. 257 p. 278).

भानुनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of चन्दनानन्द, of the भौआलवंश. He was a मैथिल a. of व्यवहाररत्न (astrology in relation to religious rites, foundation of houses &c.). N. vol. V. p. 191.

भानुभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. 1620-1680 A. D.; a. of एकवस्त्रस्नानविधि, द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह and होमनिर्णय.

भारतीतीर्थ a. of व्रतकालनिर्णय.

भारद्वाज. Sec. 27; a. of गृह्यसूत्र, of a work on अर्थशास्त्र and of a स्मृति (in verse on व्यवहार). Possibly these are the compositions of three different authors.

भारुचि. Sec. 61.

भार्गव m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and श्राद्धमयूख and in the com. of नीतिवाक्यामृत. In some cases भार्गव probably stands for शुक्र's work on politics.

भार्गवराम a. of वर्णसङ्करजातिमाला or पराशरपद्धति.

भालुक (?) भट्ट m. in शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (p. 31) of नन्दपण्डित.

भावधन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन.

भास्कर a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवर.

भास्कर of the लौगाक्षिगोत्र; a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1680 A. D.

भास्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तविधि, प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी or-प्रदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तसमुच्चय.

भास्कर a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

भास्कर, son of आपाजि or आयाजिभट्ट, son of हरिभट्ट of काश्यपगोत्र; a. of आचारप्रकाश, मुक्तिक्षेत्रप्रकाश, शुद्धिप्रकाश (composed in 1695-96 A. D.), यशवन्तभास्कर (under the patronage of यशवन्तदेव, king of Bundelkhand), स्मृतिप्रकाश, संवत्सरकृत्यप्रकाश (part of यशवन्तभास्कर).

भास्करदीक्षित a. of तन्त्रमुद्राविवरण.

भास्करदीक्षित, pupil of राघवेन्द्रारण्य; a. of पारस्करगृह्यपद्धति and com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

भास्करदीक्षित, son of रामकृष्ण; a. of रुद्रपद्धति (शाङ्खायनीय).

भास्करभट्ट पण्डित a. of दत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी.

भास्करमिश्र त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, son of कुमारस्वामिन्. Between 1000-1200 A.D.; a. of आपस्तम्बसूत्रध्वनितार्थकारिका and प्रवरनिर्णय.

भास्करराम son of गम्भीररामदीक्षित; a. of सहस्रभोजनसूत्रव्याख्या.

भास्वत्कविरत्न a. of सरोजकलिका.

भीमनाथ m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व.

भीममहामहोपाध्याय of काञ्जिविल्लीयकुल (in राढा); a. of शुद्धिमुक्तावली, श्राद्धदीपिका.

भीमसेनकवि a. of दत्तसंग्रह.

भीमाशङ्करशर्मन् a. of संन्यासग्रहणरत्नमाला.

भुजबलभीम said to be a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

भूपतिमिश्र a. of तिथिनिर्णय. Mentions हेमाद्रि and भोज. (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No 157 p. 171).

भूपाल or राजा refers to भोजदेव. Vide under भोज ; m. in समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त, दानरत्नाकर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (as a. of कृत्यसमुच्चय).

भुवनेश्वर son of भीमानन्द ; a. of हरिभक्तिभास्कर. About 1827 A. D.

भूवाक son of विशाखभट्ट ; a. of गृह्यकारिका (सामवेदीय).

भूषण m. in आह्निकतत्त्व (p. 417).

भूषणभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपद्धति,

भृगु sometimes treated as the promulgator of मनुस्मृति. In many works verses are quoted as भृगु's which are not found in the मनुस्मृति ; (reputed) a. of कर्मविपाक.

भृगुदेव a. of प्रवराध्याय.

भैयाभट्ट, son of भट्टारकभट्ट ; a.of धर्मरत्न ; ms. No. 12524 (Baroda O. I.) is आह्निकदीधिति from it.

भैरवभट्ट a. of संहिताहोमपद्धति.

भैरवेन्द्र (reputed) a. of महादाननिर्णय or महादानप्रयोगपद्धति (the real author being वाचस्पतिमिश्र) and of विष्णुपूजाकल्पलता (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 340 p. 383). About 1440-1460 A. D.

भोज a. of विविधविद्याविचारचतुरा (ms. dated 1490 A. D.)

भोजदेव Sec. 64 ; a. of भूपालपद्धति, भूपालसमुच्चय or भूपालकृत्यसमुच्चय, भुजबलभीम, चारुचर्या, युक्तिकल्पतरु, राजनीति, राजमार्तण्ड, शिवतत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

भोजदेव son of भारमल्ल, king of कच्छ. Between 1400-1600 A. D. ; a. of धर्मप्रदीप. Vide p. 279 above.

भोलानाथ a. of वैष्णवाह्निक.

मञ्जनाचार्य a. of आश्वलायनसूत्रप्रयोगदीपिका.

मञ्जरदास a. of धर्मपरीक्षा.

मणिराम a.of अन्त्यक्रियाविधि. Probably the same as the author of अनूपविलास.

मणिराम a. of धर्मसिन्धु or- सिन्धुसार. Probably same as author of धर्माम्भोधि above.

मणिराम दीक्षित, son of गङ्गाराम, son of शिवदत्त. About 1630-1660 A.D.; a. of अनूपविलास or धर्माम्भोधि, आचाररत्न (a part of अनूपविलास), शुद्धिरत्न, and समयरत्न, सुखबोधिनी com. on मानवधर्मशास्त्र (Stein's cat. pp. 98, 313).

मणिराम दीक्षित a. of कृतिवत्सर.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोकदीपिका. Later than 1640 A. D.

मणिरामदीक्षित a. of गयायात्राप्रयोग.

मणेश्वर a. of com. on दायभाग.

मथुरानाथ चक्रवर्तिन् a. of शुद्धिरत्नाङ्कुर.

मथुरानाथतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of पाणिग्रहणादिकृत्यविवेक.

मथुरानाथशुक्ल a. of अघपञ्चविवेचन, अघपञ्चषष्टि, आचारमञ्जरी, आचारार्क, आचारोल्लास, आशौचनिर्णयदीका, कालमाधवचन्द्रिका (com. on कालमाधव), कृत्यसार, क्रियाकौमुदी, तिथि-

निर्णय, दिव्यतत्त्वलघुटीका, दुर्गार्चनाद्भुतरहस्य, मलमासतत्त्वटीका, मिताक्षरा (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति), युद्धजयोत्सवटिप्पनी, शारदातिलकप्रकाश (com. on शारदातिलक).

मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिदीपिकावृत्ति.

मधुरानाथशर्मन् a. of छन्दोगाह्निक written to please prince माधवसिंह (B. O. mss. cat. vol. p. 126).

मधुरेश a. of ज्योतिःसागरसार.

मदनपाल Sec. 93 ; (reputed) a. of मदनपारिजात, स्मृतिकौमुदी (or क्षुद्रधर्मबोधिनी), महार्णवकर्मविपाक तिथिनिर्णयसार.

मदनमनोहर or मदनमोहन, son of मधुसूदन पण्डितराज, son of रामभद्र. Both names occur in mss. (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 252 p. 274 and No. 253 p. 275); a. of पलपीयूषलता and श्राद्धप्रदीप. One ms. of पलपीयूषलता is dated शके 1694 (B. O. mss. cat. No. 253 A p. 275).

मदनसिंह, son of शक्तिसिंह. Sec. 94 ; (reputed) a. of मदनरत्न alias मदनरत्नप्रदीप, the several parts of which such as आचारविवेक are separately entered in the catalogues.

मधुपतिठक्कुर a. of श्राद्धविधि (composed at the bidding of his mother's sister's son हृदयनाथ and based on श्राद्धरत्न and पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी). Later than 1600 A. D.

मधुमिश्र or मधुशर्ममिश्र m. in चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (III. 1. 1134 and 1343).

मधुसूदन a. of नीतिसारसंग्रह.

मधुसूदन a. of श्राद्धदर्पण.

मधुसूदनगोस्वामी, son of व्रजराज ; a. of गोदानविधिसंग्रह, जीवत्पितृकविभागव्यवस्था and व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह and तडागादिप्रतिष्ठाविधि, निर्णयसंग्रह, मिताक्षरासार (com. on मिताक्षरा), व्यवहारसारोद्धार or व्यवहारार्थसार. Ulwar cat. extract No. 306 gives for जीवत्पितृकसंग्रह the date संवत् 1812.

मधुसूदन गोस्वामी a. of न्यासपद्धति.

मधुसूदनगोस्वामी a. of पञ्चकशान्तिविधि, मूलशान्तिविधि.

मधुसूदन दीक्षित, son of महेश्वर ; a. of स्मृतिरत्नावली.

मधुसूदनमिश्र a. of मुहूर्तसिन्धु.

मधुसूदनमिश्र ठक्कुर. Later than 1500 A. D. and earlier than 1624 A.D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णयप्रकाश or द्वैतनिर्णयजीर्णोद्धार and जीर्णोद्धार com. on समयप्रदीप of श्रीदत्त.

मधुसूदनवाचस्पति भट्टाचार्य a. of अशौचसंग्रह.

मधुसूदन वाचस्पति of the चटु family ; a. of आशौचसंक्षेप.

मधुसूदन वाचस्पति a. of दुर्गार्चाकालनिष्कर्ष, श्राद्धकालनिरूपण, व्रतकालनिष्कर्ष.

मधुसूदनसरस्वती a. of भगवद्भक्तिरसायन.

मधुसूदनानन्द a. of यतिक्षौरविधि.

मध्यमाद्रिरत् m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 243, 247, 257, 260).

मञ्च vide under आनन्दतीर्थ.

मठ Vide sec. 31.

मनोहरभट्ट son of महादेव; a. of आह्निक-प्रयोग (हिरण्यकेशीय).

मय a. of वास्तुशास्त्र.

मयारामामिश्र गौड. First half of 18th century; a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (under orders of जयसिंह), व्यवहारसार, मिताक्षरासार, व्यवहाराङ्ग-स्मृतिसर्वस्व.

मरीचि Sec. 48.

मल्लारिदीक्षित मौनिन् a. of मासिकश्राद्ध-मानोपन्यास.

मस्करिन् a. of भाष्य on गौतमधर्मसूत्र.

महादेव a. of सन्तानदीपिका.

महादेव, son of मतिनाथ and nephew and pupil of गोविन्द; a. of पितृ-भक्तिचर्या com. on पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

महादेव a. of तिथिरत्न.

महादेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of निबन्ध-सर्वस्व (3rd chap. of which is on प्रायश्चित्त).

महादेव, son of विश्वनाथ, of the अगस्त्यगोत्र; a. of आशौचतत्त्व.

महादेव a. of सुबोधिनी.

महादेव a. of धर्मतत्त्वसंग्रह.

महादेव दैवज्ञ a. of गोत्रनिर्णय and तिथि-निर्णय.

महादेव द्विवेदिन् a. of com. on स्नानसूत्र or त्रिकण्डिकासूत्र of कात्यायन.

महादेवभट्ट a. of सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

महादेव राजगुरु, son of काह्नजिद्दाडव, who was the guru of हैबतराज (Haibatrao, some Maratha chief); a. of कुण्डप्रदीप and com. thereon, मुहूर्तदीपक (composed in 1661 A. D.) and com. thereon, and of मुहूर्तसिद्धि.

महादेवधित, son of कालाजित् (which is probably a misreading for काह्न-जित्); a. of कालानिर्णयसिद्धान्त (composed in 1652-53 A. D.) and com. thereon. He was honoured by the chief of Girnar and composed the com. at भुज-पुर. From these details it appears that he is the same as the next.

महादेव सोमयाजिन् Earlier than 1650 A. D.; a. of com. प्रयोगवैजयन्ती on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य and of a com. on हिरण्यकेशिधर्मसूत्र. Vide pp. 49-50 above and BBRAS. cat. vol. II. p. 189.

महानन्द, son of विश्वनाथ; a. of वासिष्ठीशान्ति. Bik. cat. p. 490 shows that he only 'revised' or 'restored' the वासिष्ठीशान्ति (स्खलैर्या दूषिता शान्तिर्वासिष्ठी सा प्रशोधिता).

महायशस् a. of भाष्य on गोभिलीय-श्राद्धकल्प; m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 213) by रघुनन्दन.

महार्णवप्रकाशकार m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट and in हेमाद्रि (III. 1. 1440).

महार्णवोपाध्याय m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूकभट्ट. Probably same as the preceding.

महाशर्मन् a. of अध्वारपश्चाशिका.

महीधर a. of अद्भुतविवेक.

महेश a. of अतीचारनिर्णय.

महेश, son of सारस्वत दुर्ग; a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय or माधवप्रकाश.

महेश a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह or व्यवस्थासंग्रह and स्मृतिसार.

महेश, son of महादेव, surnamed वैशम्पायन; a. of प्रयोगरत्न or स्मार्तप्रयोगरत्न.

महेशठक्कुर a. of तिथितत्त्वचिन्तामणि (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 149 p. 153).

महेशठक्कुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of दायसार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 206 p. 221) and शुद्धितत्त्व (ibid. No. 372 p. 423). Later than 1500 A. D.

महेशठक्कुर महामहोपाध्याय a. of हरिभक्तिदीपिका (ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 532 No. 451 is dated ल. सं. 546 i. e. 1665-1666 A.D.). Probably the same as above.

महेशपञ्चानन a. of स्मृतिसंग्रहसार.

महेशभट्ट, surnamed हर्षे; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

महेश्वर, son of मनोरथ; a. of वृत्तशतक. About 1100-1150 A. D.

महेश्वर Later than 1550 A. D.; a. of com. on दायभाग.

महेश्वर a. of com. on चतुर्दशश्लोकी (of भट्टोजि ?). Baroda O. I. ms. No. 1488 He mentions आचाररत्न. So later than 1650 A. D. महेश्वर simply says that some noble soul composed these 14 verses.

महेश्वर a. of शुद्धिकौमुदी.

महेश्वरमिश्र a. of आद्यादर्श.

माग्निदेव a. of मठोत्सर्ग.

माणिक्यदेव a. of शुद्धिवत्रोमुक्तागुच्छक.

माण्डव्य m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन. Probably an astronomer.

माण्डव्य a. of work in 12 अध्यायs on the Ganges (vide Tri. cat. Madras Govt. mss. 1919-22 p. 5161).

मातृदत्त a. of com. on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र.

माधव, son of खातर and pupil of गोपाल; a. of दिव्यदीपिका (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I p. 225 No. 208 and No. 209 p. 226, which is dated लक्ष्मणसंवत् 508). Mentions मिताक्षरा and रत्नाकर. Between 1350-1600 A. D.

माधव a. of दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी.

माधव. Later than 1500 A. D.; a. of धर्मप्रकाश.

माधव a. of होमपद्धति. Later than 1500 A. D.

माधव, son of कृष्णाचार्य of भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of ग्रहमखतिलक of which होमपद्धति is a part.

माधव a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

माधव a. of माधवीशान्ति.

माधवपण्डित a. of वृत्तादर्श.

माधवपाठक a. of पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका.

माधवभट्ट, son of रामेश्वर. About 1520-1570 A. D.; a. of आशौचनिर्णय, सूर्यार्घ्यदानपद्धति.

माधवभट्ट a. of com. on मुहूर्तदर्पण.

माधव महामहोपाध्याय, son of विष्णुशर्मन् ; a. of दानप्रदीप.

माधवमुनि a. of com. बोपण्णभट्टीय.

माधवयज्वन् a. of com. नयचन्द्रिका on अर्थशास्त्र.

माधवशर्मन्, son of रघुनाथ, of the बुधवाण family ; a. of अद्भुतदर्पण. Later than 1200 A. D.

माधवशुक्ल, son of कृष्ण, son of व्यासनारायण, an औदीच्य ब्राह्मण of काश्यपगोत्र ; a. of कुण्डकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1656 A. D.) and com. thereon.

माधवस्वामिन् m. in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर as explaining a सूत्र of शङ्खलिखित.

माधवाचार्य a. of कुरुक्षेत्रप्रदीप or -माहात्म्य.

माधवाचार्य, son of मायण and सुकीर्ति. Sec. 92; several works are attributed to him, but their authenticity is doubtful ; a. of पराशरमाधवीय and कालनिर्णय, वृत्तकर्मीमांसा, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, मुहूर्तमाधवीय, स्मृतिसंग्रह, व्रात्यस्तोमपद्धति.

माधवाचार्य (अभिनव) ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, अभिनवमाधवीय.

माधवाचार्य a. of सर्वदेवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग.

माधवाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.

मानसिंह a. of आचारविवेक and मानसागरीपद्धति.

मानेश्वरशर्मन् a. of वर्षकृत्यप्रयोगमतमाला or प्रयोगमाला ; ms. dated 1477 A. D. (ल. सं. 358).

मान्धातृ, son of मदनपाल ;(reputed in some mss. as) a. of महार्णवकर्मविपाक.

मार्कण्डेय m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 19).

मार्तण्डमिश्र a. of प्रायश्चित्तमार्तण्ड. Earlier than 1620 A. D.

मार्तण्डसोमयाजिन् a. of संस्कारमार्तण्ड.

मालजी alias वेदाङ्गराय ; a. of महारुद्रपद्धति. About 1627-1655 A. D.

मित्रमिश्र, son of परशुरामभिश्र, son of हंसपण्डित. Sec. 108 ; a. of वीरमित्रोदय (com. on याज्ञवल्क्य) and वीरमित्रोदय (a digest).

मिभिसूरि ?) तिर्पे लि a. of प्रयोगमुक्तावलि. Later than 1650 A. D.

मिसरुमिश्र a. of विवादचन्द्र (composed by order of लक्ष्मिादेवी, wife of prince चन्द्रसिंह of मिथिला). Sec. 97.

मुकुन्द, son of माधवाचार्य वज्र ; a. of पुरश्चरणकौमुदी.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of तीर्थमञ्जरी, प्रणवार्चनचन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल, प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका, मार्तण्डार्चनचन्द्रिका, of com. on मिताक्षरा, समयप्रकाश, श्राद्धमञ्जरी, स्मृतिसार, स्मृत्यर्थसार.

मुकुन्दलाल a. of षट्कर्मदीपिका.

मुदाकरसूरि a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर. Earlier than 1700 A. D.; as it is mentioned in रामनिबन्ध of क्षेमराम.

मुद्गल, son of विश्वामित्र ; a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह. Baroda O. I. ms. No. 11950 (in Telugu characters).

मुरारि a. of पर्वनिर्णय.

मुरारि, son of रुद्रशर्मन्, son of हरिहर who was chief judge of देवसिंह, eldest son of भवेश. So about 1425-1450 A. D. ; a. of शुद्धिनिर्णय.

मुरारिमिश्र, son of वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित ; a. of भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यमन्त्र. Earlier than 1370 A. D.

मुरारिमिश्र, son of कृष्णमिश्र and pupil of रामभद्र and केशवमिश्र. About end of 15th century; a. of प्रायश्चित्तमनोहर, शुभकर्मनिर्णय, of com. on पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त (vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 262 pp. 285-286).

मूलभट्ट a. of मूलभट्टप्रयोग.

मृत्युञ्जय कोकिल a. of मुहूर्तार्क and com. प्रभा thereon.

मेघनाथ, of the family of सर्वज्ञ ; a. of रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति.

मेधातिथि, son of वीरस्वामिन्. Sec. 63; a. of भाष्य on मनुस्मृति and of स्मृतिविवेक.

मैत्रेय a. of a सूत्र ; m. by निर्णयसिन्धु.

मौलगि or मौलुगि, king. Earlier than 1380 A. D. ; a. of कर्मविपाक; m. in वृसिंहप्रसाद and in सारग्राहकर्मविपाक by the son of काह्नडदेव.

मोहनचन्द्रविद्यावाचस्पति a. of कारिका, प्रायश्चित्तव्यवस्थासंग्रह, शुद्धिकारिकाली.

मोहनमिश्र a. of सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

मोहनमिश्र तर्कतिलक, son of द्वारकादास ; a. of com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव (composed in 1614 A.D.).

मौद्गल्य m. in बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 67.

यज्ञपति m. in सरस्वतीविलास (p. 362).

यज्ञपार्श्व a. of संग्रहकारिका ; m. in गदाधर's भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र, in मदनपारिजात (pp. 543, 576).

यज्ञसूरि, son of विश्वनाथ ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपचन्द्रिका.

यज्ञस्वामिन् a. of com. on वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र (according to गोविन्दस्वामिन् on बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 51).

यज्ञेश a. of निर्णयोद्धारखण्डन (ms. No. 5247 Baroda O. I.). Later than 1550 A. D.

यतीश a. of कामधेनु and वार्तिकसार (composed in विधुयुगवसुक्ष्माब्दमिलिते i. e. 1840 संवत् i. e. 1784 A. D.). He was son of टेकचन्द्र and belonged to लवपुर and was of कल्हणकुल (Stein's cat. p. 314). Wrote under विजयपाल, son of असुतपाल.

यदुनन्दनपण्डित a. of मुहूर्तमञ्जरी (composed in 1670 A. D.).

यम Sec. 49.

यल्लभट्ट a. of शतश्लोकी, षडशीति.

यल्लाजि, son of यल्लभट्ट ; a. of यल्लाजीय, पैतृमेधिक.

यशवन्तभट्ट a. of प्रयोगरत्नाकर.

यशोधरभट्ट a. of प्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय.

यशोधर a. of निबन्धचूडामणि. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

यशोधर a. of com. on गोभिलगृह्य; m. in दानक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 77) and by रघुनन्दन.

याज्ञवल्क्य Sec. 34; a. of स्मृति. Also reputed author of अघमर्दीपिका.

याज्ञिकदेव or देवयाज्ञिक son of महादेव alias प्रजापति, son of गङ्गाधर. Earlier than 1595 A. D.; a. of स्नानविधिपद्धति, com. on the स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन, of स्मृतिसार, वास्तुपूजनपद्धति, उत्तरक्रियापद्धति, दाहादिकर्तृपद्धति, श्राद्धक्रम, स्मृतिसारसंग्रह (probably same as स्मृतिसार).

यादवप्रकाश said to have been a disciple of रामानुज; a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

यादवेन्द्रशर्मन् a. of सूत्राह्निकाचारसार (under orders of रघुदेव prince of गौड.).

यादवेन्द्रभट्ट or यादवविद्याभूषण Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिसार.

येलुभट्ट (कर्त्रं) a. of स्मृतिकदम्ब.

योगीन्द्र a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

योगीश्वर Earlier than 1537 A. D.; a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. D. C. ms. No. 332 of 1880-81 is dated संवत् 1594 ज्येष्ठ व. 12 Sunday (1537 A. D.).

योगीश्वर (different from याज्ञवल्क्य); m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 237), दानरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर, कृत्यरत्नाकर (pp. 81 and 114 as explaining a passage of the मत्स्यपुराण), मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 820).

योगीश्वर a. of दानवाक्यसमुच्चय. Earlier than 1530 A. D. Probably same as above.

योग्लोक Sec. 69.

योगेराज a. of ग्रहशान्तिपद्धति.

योपनभट्ट (?) a. of आपस्तम्बगृह्यसार.

रक्षपाल a. of पिण्डपशुमण्डनं गाङ्गार्थदीपिका.

रघु दैवज्ञ a. of com. on पीयूषधारा (which is a com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि).

रघुनन्दन a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रघुनन्दन a. of विद्युद्विदर्पण, व्यवस्थार्णव (on pre-emption), सङ्कल्पचन्द्रिका.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य a. of स्वर्गसाधन.

रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य, son of हरिहरभट्टाचार्य and pupil of श्रीनाथआचार्यचूडामणि. Sec. 102; a. of स्मृतितत्त्व (divided into 28 तत्त्वs, for which see. p. 416 *n* above), com. on दायभाग, तीर्थतत्त्व or तीर्थयात्राविधितत्त्व, द्वादशयात्रातत्त्व, त्रिपुष्करशान्तितत्त्व, गयाश्राद्धपद्धति and रासयात्रापद्धति.

रघुनन्दनमिश्र. Latter half of 16th century; a. of टोडरप्रकाश.

रघुनन्दन वैद्य a. of भक्तिप्रकाश.

रघुनाथ a. of जयासिंहेव

रघुनाथ. Later than 1640 A. D.; a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथ a. of com. on अनुष्ठानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ a. of जातिविवेक.

रघुनाथ, surnamed नवहस्त (modern Navāthe) ; a. of प्रयोगरत्नभूषा.

रघुनाथ a. of द्रव्यशुद्धि.

रघुनाथ a. of धर्मसेतु.

रघुनाथ a. of पूर्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, son of गणेशभट्ट and pupil of अनन्तदेव ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तकुतूहल.

रघुनाथ a. of मुहूर्तरत्न.

रघुनाथ, pupil of विठ्ठलेश ; a. of com. on संन्यासनिर्णय of वल्लभाचार्य.

रघुनाथ a. of यत्यन्तकर्मपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of रुद्रभट्ट surnamed अयाचित ; a. of प्रयोगपद्धति, मासिकश्राद्धप्रयोग, राज्याभिषेकप्रयोग.

रघुनाथ a. of गृह्यदर्पण com. on शाङ्खायनगृह्य.

रघुनाथ, son of अनन्तदेव ; a. of धर्मामृतमहोदधि.

रघुनाथ, son of भानुजि, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of प्रयोगतत्त्व (composed at Benares in 1656 A. D.).

रघुनाथ, son of विश्वामित्र ; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति.

रघुनाथ, son of सरस, of the चित्तपावन subcaste and शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of मुहूर्तमाला.

रघुनाथ, pupil of रामदयालु ; a. of काशीतत्त्वकौमुदी (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 63 p. 57).

रघुनाथदास a. of काशीमाहात्म्यकौमुदी.

रघुनाथ दीक्षित a. of आश्वलायनगृह्यकारिका.

रघुनाथभट्ट, styled सम्राट्स्थपति, son of माधव, son of रामेश्वरभट्ट. Flourished between 1545-1625 A. D. ; a. of आह्निकपद्धति, अष्टमहाद्वादशीनिर्णय, आह्निकप्रयोग, कालतत्त्वविवेचन (composed in 1620 A. D.), गयापद्धति, गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकीविवरण or आशौचनिर्णय, दशश्लोकीटीका (composed in 1578 A. D.), षण्णवतिश्राद्धपद्धति, श्राद्धपद्धति or दर्शश्राद्धपद्धति, पर्वनिर्णय, रविसंक्रान्तिनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a of व्यतिपातनिर्णय.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

रघुनाथभट्ट a. of स्मृतिरत्न.

रघुनाथभट्टाचार्य a. of यतिधर्मसमुच्चय.

रघुनाथवाजपेयिन् a. of प्रयोगपारिजात and com. on मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर (vide Peterson's 6th Report p. 10 for व्यवहार portion)

रघुनाथसार्वभौम a. of स्वत्वव्यवस्थार्णवसेतुबन्ध.

रघुनाथसार्वभौम, son of मथुरेश ; a. of स्मार्तव्यवस्थार्णव (composed in 1661-62 A. D. at the order of king रत्नेश्वरराम).

रघुनाथसूरि a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

रघुनाथेन्द्रशिवयोगिन् a.of काशीतत्त्वप्रकाशिका or काशीसारोद्धार.

रघुनाथेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of काशीतत्त्व.

रघुपति a. of तडागविधि.

रघुपति a. of शुद्धिचन्द्रिका (composed at the bidding of king कपर्दिन् of पांगादेश). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 369 p. 419.

रघुमणि, said to be the real name of author of दत्तकचन्द्रिका. About 1800 A. D.

रघुराम a. of सिद्धान्तनिर्णय (probably same as above).

रघुराम, pupil of रघुमणि ; a of दायभागार्थदीपिका.

रघुरामतीर्थ a. of कर्मदीपिका.

रघुरामभट्ट, son of जयराम, son of वैकुण्ठ ; (collected materials of कालनिर्णयसिद्धान्त).

रघुवर a. of सपिण्डीश्राद्ध.

रघुवीरदीक्षित, son of विट्ठल, son of ध्रुव ; a. of मरीचिमाला com. on the कुण्डार्क of शङ्कर and of मुहूर्तसर्वस्व (composed in 1635-36 A. D.).

रघूत्तमतर्कशिरोमणि a. of तिथ्यादिविधिसंग्रह.

रघूत्तमतीर्थ a. of दुर्गाभक्तिलहरी.

रङ्गनाथ a. of पितृमेधविवरण.

रङ्गनाथदेशिक a. of रङ्गनाथदेशिकाह्निक.

रङ्गनाथसूरि, pupil of कृष्णानन्दसरस्वती ; a. of पुरुषार्थरत्नाकर.

रङ्गभट्ट a. of गृह्यप्रयोगवृत्ति on भारद्वाजगृह्यसूत्र.

रजोमिश्र a. of तीर्थसामान्यपद्धति (or rather तीर्थलक्ष्मीवती). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 170 p. 186.

रत्नधरमिश्र a. of स्मृतिमञ्जरी.

रत्ननाथभट्टाचार्य a. of चन्दनधेनूत्सर्गपद्धति.

रत्नपाणि a. of सूतिकाशौचनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 428 p. 505) . He mentions हरीश्वर. He was a मैथिल.

रत्नपाणिशर्मन्, son of गङ्गोली सर्जीवेश्वरशर्मन्, patronised by छत्रसिंह of मिथिला. Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of आचारसंग्रह, एकोद्दिष्टसारिणी, कृष्णार्चनचन्द्रिका, क्षयमासादिविवेक, पार्वणचन्द्रिका, प्रायश्चित्तपारिजात, महादानवाक्यावलि, मिथिलेशाह्निक, रामचन्द्रप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा, लक्ष्मीप्रतिष्ठा, व्रताचार (probably his last work as it was written for महेश्वरसिंह grandson of छत्रसिंह), सुबोधिनी (composed for रुद्रसिंह son of छत्रसिंह). In his रामचन्द्रप्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठा (composed at the bidding of रुद्रसिंह of मिथिला) he says that he follows the प्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. (Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 300 p. 341).

रत्नाकर a. of दानवाक्यावली (based on दानसागर). Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 196 p. 111. Probably same as above.

रत्नाकर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारसंग्रह, प्रायश्चित्तरत्नाकर.

रत्नाकर, son of देवभट्ट ; a. of जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1713 A. D.). The work is also called -द्रुमोद्द्योत.

रत्नाकरठक्कुर a. of दानपञ्जी.

रत्नाकरभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लूक.

रत्नेश्वरमिश्र महामहोपाध्याय. N. vol. VII p. 79 ; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका.

रमाकान्तचक्रवर्तिन्, son of मधुसूदन ; a. of स्मृतिसंक्षेपसार.

रमानाथ a. of com. on नारदस्मृति.

रमानाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of प्रयोगदर्पण.

रमापति of the भैयालवंश ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका.

रमापति a. of देवालयप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रमापति उपाध्यायसन्मिश्र ; a. of आचारचन्द्रिका, आचारवारिधि and विवादवारिधि.

रमापति सिद्धान्त a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

रघिनाथामिश्र a. of आचारतरङ्गिणी.

राघवभट्ट a. of निर्णयसार. Mentions रामकौतुक, माधव, निर्णयसिन्धु and हेमाद्रि. Later than 1612 and earlier than 1700 A. D.

राघवभट्ट, son of पृथ्वीधर. About 1493-4 A. D.; a. of दुर्गातत्त्व and com. पदार्थादर्श on शारदातिलक m.by घुनन्दन (in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 580).

राघवभट्ट. Later than 1640 A. D. ; a. of तिथिनिर्णय and तिथिनिर्णयोद्धार or लघुतिथिनिर्णय, स्मृतिदर्पण.

राघवभट्ट, pupil of मुकुन्द ; a. of com. called दीप on आशौचाग्निशर्माश्लोकी.

राघवाचार्य a. of com. प्रकाश on शुद्धिदीपिका of श्रीनिवास.

राघवानन्दतीर्थिन्. Earlier than 1600 A.D. ; m. in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण.

राघवानन्दनाथ a. of शिवपूजापद्धति.

राघवानन्दसरस्वती, pupil of अद्वयानन्द. Later than 1350 A. D. ; a. of मन्वर्थचन्द्रिका com. on मनुस्मृति.

राघवेन्द्र, son of काशीनाथ ; a. of रामप्रकाश and of a com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका also called रामप्रकाश. Flourished in latter half of 17th century.

राघवेन्द्र a. of com. on जयतीर्थ's com. on कर्मनिर्णय and सदाचारस्मृति of आनन्दतीर्थ.

राघवेन्द्र a. of श्रीपुनरुद्वाहखण्डनकारिका.

राजकृष्णतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of आशौचचन्द्रिका.

राजचूडामणि, son of रत्नखेट श्रीनिवास दीक्षित ; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका.

राजनारायण सुखोपाध्याय a. of तुलसीचन्द्रिका.

राजपुत्र a writer on politics ; m. in अद्भुतसागर and in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

राजर्षिभट्ट. Earlier than 1550 A. D. ; a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि.

राजाराम, son of सोमेश्वर. Earlier than 1725 A. D.; a. of आचारकौमुदी.

राधाकान्तदेव a. of प्रायश्चित्तचन्द्रिका.

राधाकृष्ण a. of प्रतिष्ठापद्धति, शिवालयप्रतिष्ठा.

राधानाथशर्मन् a. of आशौचव्यवस्था (part of व्यवस्थादीपिका).

राधामोहन गोस्वामिभट्टाचार्य. About 1800 A. D. ; a. of commentaries on एकादशीतत्त्व, दायतत्त्व, प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व, मलमासतत्त्व, शुद्धितत्त्व, and of कृत्यराज, of सिद्धान्तसंग्रह a com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

राम a. of अयुतहोमलक्षहोमकोटिहोमाः. About 1660 A. D.

राम a. of com. on कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि of विट्ठल.

राम a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

राम a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or -प्रदीपिका.

राम, son of चौण्ड or चाउण्ड ; a. of बौधायनगृह्यप्रयोगमाला.

राम Later than 1550 A. D. ; a. of com. on गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी of केशव.

राम a. of com. on प्रवरनिर्णय of भास्करमिश्रत्रिकाण्डमण्डन.

रामं आचार्य a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामकिशोर a. of दीक्षातत्त्वप्रकाशिका.

रामकृष्ण a. of कुण्डमण्डपसंग्रह.

रामकृष्ण, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1540-1590 A. D.; a. of अनन्तव्रतोद्यापनप्रयोग, उत्सर्जनोपाकर्मप्रयोग, कोटिहोमप्रयोग, जीवत्पितृककर्मनिर्णय or -कर्तव्यसमुच्चय, विभागतत्त्व or -तत्त्वविचार, मासिकश्राद्धनिर्णय, वास्तुशान्तिप्रयोग, रुद्रस्नानपद्धति, शिवलिङ्गप्रतिष्ठाविधि.

रामकृष्ण a. of आश्वलायनगृह्योक्तवास्तुशान्ति.

रामकृष्ण a. of आह्निकदर्पण.

रामकृष्ण a. of विजयविलास.

रामकृष्ण a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण and श्राद्धप्रभा.

रामकृष्ण a. of श्राद्धाङ्गतर्पणनिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of com. कौमुदी on शूलपाणि's प्रायश्चित्तविवेक.

रामकृष्ण a. of विवेककौमुदी, वृषोत्सर्गकौमुदी, व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी. Relies on हेमाद्रि.

रामकृष्ण a. of सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

रामकृष्ण a. of सङ्कल्पकौमुदी.

रामकृष्ण, son of कोनेर, son of प्रयागभट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र. He was patronised by विजयसिंह. Vide I. O. cat. p. 560 footnote ; a. of com. called संस्कारगणपति on पारस्करगृह्य. About 1750 A. D.

रामकृष्ण, son of कोण्डभट्ट, son of प्रयागभट्ट of the भारद्वाजगोत्र residing in चिञ्चमण्डलपत्तन on the वसिष्ठा river. He was a student of काण्वशाखा ; a. of श्राद्धगणपति or श्राद्धसंग्रह (composed at Benares in 1751 A. D.). Aufrecht treats the two रामकृष्णs as different, but this seems to be incorrect, as the grandfather of both is given as प्रयागभट्ट and कोण्डभट्ट is another form of कोनेर.

रामकृष्ण, son of योगीश्वर, surnamed शौच (modern शौचे) ; a. of विनायकपूजा (composed in 1702 A. D.).

रामकृष्ण, son of माधव, son of नारायण of the पराशरगोत्र. Between 1500-1545 A. D. ; a. of तीर्थरत्नाकर or रामप्रसाद and प्रतापमार्तण्ड.

रामकृष्ण त्रिपाठिन्, son of दामोदर. About 1616 A. D. ; a. of com. on गृह्यासंग्रह, of छन्दोगाह्निकपद्धति.

रामकृष्णदीक्षित, son of नारायण ; a. of माधवीसारोद्धार com. on पराशरस्मृति (composed under लक्ष्मणचन्द्रदेव). About 1575-1600 A. D.

रामकृष्ण न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य ; a. of श्राद्धविवेककौमुदी (com. on श्राद्धविवेक and other works of

I. N. vol. X. pp. 119-

120). Probably same as the preceding.

रामकृष्णपण्डित a. of धर्मनिबन्ध.

रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of प्रयोगदीपिका.

रामकृष्णभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदर्पण.

रामकृष्णभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिकौमुदी, ग्रहयागकौमुदी.

रामकृष्णाचार्य a. of कर्मविपाक.

रामगोविन्दचक्रवर्तिन्, son of रामगोपालचक्रवर्तिन् of the चट्टवंश and resident of बालिचामटग्राम; a. of व्यवस्थासारसंग्रह (N. new series I. No. 345).

रामचन्द्र, son of अनन्त of भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of अघविवेचन.

रामचन्द्र a. of पुरश्चरणदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुण्डोदधि.

रामचन्द्र a. of कुरुक्षेत्रतीर्थनिर्णय or तीर्थनिर्णय.

रामचन्द्र a. of धर्माध्वबोध.

रामचन्द्र Earlier than 1600 A. D.; a. of प्रतिष्ठासार.

रामचन्द्र, son of कृष्ण, son of वृहरि, son of अनन्ताचार्य of the शेष family. About 1400 A. D. Wrote according to his son नृसिंह three works on कालनिर्णय. रामचन्द्र's गुरु was गोपाल परमहंस; a. of कालनिर्णयदीपिका (com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव), तिथिनिर्णयसंग्रह (a summary of the तिथिनिर्णय of अनन्तभट्ट), वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका.

रामचन्द्र a. of कालनिर्णय (vide Baroda O. I. ms. No. 3871).

रामचन्द्र a. of श्राद्धपद्धति. B. O. mss. cat. 399 p. 468.

रामचन्द्र a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रामचन्द्र a. of निर्णयामृत.

रामचन्द्र a. of शारदार्चाप्रयोग.

रामचन्द्र a. of अर्जुनार्चापारिजात, अर्जुनार्चनकल्पलता.

रामचन्द्र, son of सूर्यदास; a. of प्रायश्चित्तपद्धति, समरसार, कुण्डाकृति or कुण्डलक्षण and com.

रामचन्द्र a. of कृत्यपूर्तिमञ्जरी.

रामचन्द्र, son of नारायण; a. of com. on चतुर्विंशतिमतस्मृति.

रामचन्द्र, surnamed जडे; a. of कुण्डरत्नावलि, composed in śake 1790.

रामचन्द्र, son of पाण्डुरङ्ग of the अत्रिगोत्र; a. of com. on शिवपूजासूत्र.

रामचन्द्र, son of विट्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed तत्सत्. He was daughter's son of रघुनाथ, author of कालतत्त्वविवेचन. Between 1610-1690 A. D.; a. of कुण्डश्लोकदीपिका, कालनिर्णयप्रकाश, कृत्यरत्नावली (composed in 1648-49 A. D.), शाङ्खायनगृह्यसूत्रपद्धति or आधानपद्धति. Ms. of कालनिर्णयप्रकाश (Baroda O. I. No. 8455) is dated śake 1603 Māgha (1682 A. D.).

रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णु; a. of कृष्णाविद्युत्प्रबोधिनीपद्धति.

रामचन्द्र, son of विष्णुभट्ट छजघलकर; a. of पूजापद्धति. Earlier than 1810 A. D.

रामचन्द्र a. of विवाहपद्धति.

रामचन्द्र अलुडीवार a. of राजनीतिप्रकाश.

रामचन्द्रचक्रवर्तिन् a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका.

रामचन्द्रदीक्षित a. of प्रायश्चित्तरत्नमाला.

रामचन्द्रदेवगजपति (reputed) a. of दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका (really composed by भारतीभूषण वर्धमानमहापात्र).

रामचन्द्रपाठक a. of रुद्रजपसिद्धान्तशिरोमणि.

रामचन्द्रबुध a. of स्मृतिसिद्धान्तसुधा com. on अघपञ्चषष्टि.

रामचन्द्रभट्ट a. of आचारार्क, प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

रामचन्द्रयज्वन् a. of समयप्रकाश.

रामचन्द्रशेखर, son of वेङ्कटनारायण; a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

रामचरण a. of कुण्डश्लोकप्रकाशिका, तर्पणचन्द्रिका.

रामचरण विद्यावाचस्पति a. of com. on तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

रामजय तर्कालङ्कार a. of दत्तककौमुदी, दानकौमुदी.

रामजित् a. of निबन्धनवनीत or नवनीतनिबन्ध and of भागविवेक and com. मितवादिनी. He was son of श्रीनाथ, son of हरिनाथ, son of वेणु, son of यज्ञेश्वर. Later than 1400 and earlier than 1600 A.D. For निबन्धनवनीत vide D. C. ms. No. 102 of 1882-83 (dated संवत् 1673).

राम ज्योतिर्विद् a. of वीरसिंहभिश्रोदय.

रामदत्त a. of मुहूर्तभूषणटीका, युद्धजयोत्सवटीका.

रामदत्त m. in यजुर्वेदिदृषोत्सर्गतत्त्व (p. 640) of रघुनन्दन.

रामदत्तठक्कुर a. of शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति.

रामदत्तठक्कुर a. of शूद्राचारपद्धति.

रामदत्त मन्त्रिन्, son of गणेश्वरठक्कुर and nephew of वीरेश्वर. First half of 14th century; a. of उपनयनपद्धति or व्रतबन्धपद्धति, दानपद्धति or षोडशमहादानपद्धति, नान्दीश्राद्धपद्धति, विवाहपद्धति or विवाहादिपद्धति, गर्भाधानादिदशसंस्कारपद्धति, यज्ञोपवीतपद्धति, शूद्रश्राद्धपद्धति. He seems to have written a comprehensive पद्धति for Vājasaneyins, parts of which on उपनयन, विवाह and other संस्कारs are separately noticed in the catalogues. Vide B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. Nos. 315A, 316, 317 and pp. 353-355.

रामदीक्षित a. of com. on शारदातिलक.

रामदेव, son of शम्भु; a. of तिथिनिर्णयदीपिका.

रामदेव a. of रामप्रकाश a com. on कालतत्त्वार्णव.

रामदैवज्ञ a. of आशौचादिनिर्णय, आशौचेन्दुशेखर.

राम दैवज्ञ, son of अनन्त, son of चिन्तामणि; a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि (composed at Benares in 1600-1601) with com. प्रमिताक्षरा.

रामनन्दिन् a. of com. on प्रवरानिर्णय of भास्कर.

रामनवरत्न a. of एकादशीहोमनिर्णय.

रामनाथ a. of संस्कारपद्धतिरहस्य (a com. on संस्कारपद्धति or कर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति of भवदेव composed in 1622-23 A. D.) and रामनाथपद्धति.

रामनाथ a. of प्रयोगसंग्रह.

रामनाथ a. of व्यवहारसारसंग्रह.

रामनाथविद्यावाचस्पति a. of दायभागविवेक or दायरहस्य (com. on दायभाग) which is part of स्मृतिरत्नावलि (composed in 1657 A. D.). He quotes अच्युत, चूडामणि, हरिनाथ.

रामपण्डित, son of विश्वेश्वर of the वत्सगोत्र. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. of पुत्रस्वीकारनिर्णय.

रामपाण्डित शेष a. of com. on धर्मागमानुबन्धिश्लोक or श्लोकचतुर्दशी of कृष्णशेष.

रामपति a. of सदाचारक्रम.

रामप्रसाद a. of तिथिनिर्णय, यज्ञसिद्धान्तसंग्रह and रत्नाकर.

रामप्रसाद देवशर्मन् a. of सारसंग्रहदीपिका.

रामभट्ट a. of com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

रामभट्ट a. of संक्षिप्तहोमप्रकार.

रामभट्ट, surnamed सिंह; a. of सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय (called अनुकल्पसा०). Discusses the views of श्रीधर in his सापिण्ड्यदीपिका. (D. C. ms. No. 208 of A 1882-83).

रामभट्ट, son of विश्वनाथ, son of हनूमल, surnamed होसिङ्ग. About 1675 A. D.; a. of अनूपविवेक, दानरत्नाकर, आहिताग्नेर्दाहादिनिर्णय, कल्पप्रयोग following तीर्थदर्पण, दर्शश्राद्ध.

रामभट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

रामभद्र a. of पुत्रक्रमदीपिका.

रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार a. of शुद्धिकारिका or शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका (on रघुनन्दन's शुद्धितत्त्व).

रामभद्रन्यायालङ्कार, son of रघुनाथ; a. of उद्वाहव्यवस्था, स्मृतिसंग्रह (of which the first is a part).

रामभद्र न्यायालङ्कारभट्टाचार्य, son of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. About 1525 A. D.; a. of com. on the दायभाग and of स्मृतितत्त्वनिर्णय or व्यवस्थार्णव.

रामभद्रशिष्य a. of मांसपीयूषलता.

रामवाजपेयिन् नैमिषस्थ, son of सूर्यदास, son of शिवदास, son of श्रीधर मालव, of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of कुण्डमण्डपलक्षण or कुण्डनिर्माणश्लोक with com. (कुण्डाहिति composed in 1449-50 A. D.), of समरसार and of com. on शारदातिलक at the bidding of king रामचन्द्र of रत्नपुर.

रामविद्यावाचस्पति a of com. on तिथितत्त्व.

रामशङ्कर a. of शूद्रविवेक.

रामशर्मन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप.

रामसुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिन्, son of रामशङ्कर; a. of वृत्ताशौचव्यवस्थापनवाद, धर्मविवेचन. About end of 18th century.

रामसेवक a. of यज्ञसिद्धान्तविग्रह.

रामसेवक, son of लोकमणि or लेखराज; a. of तिथिप्रदीपिका or प्रदीप.

रामसेवक, son of देवीदत्त ; a. of मुहूर्तदीपक.

रामसेवक त्रिपाठिन् a.of युद्धचिन्तामणि.

रामसेवक त्रिवेदिन् ; a. of मुहूर्तभूषण or मञ्जीर.

रामाचार्य a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति.

रामाचार्य a. of com. on सदाचार-स्मृति of श्रीमध्वाचार्य.

रामानन्द a. of रामार्चनपद्धति.

रामानन्दतीर्थ or रामानन्दयति; a. of कुण्डतत्त्वप्रकाशिका, राजभूषणी or नृपभूषणी, संध्याविधिमन्त्रसमूहटीका.

रामानन्द न्यायवागीश a. of वैष्णव-चन्द्रिका.

रामानन्दयति a. of दत्तार्चनविधिचन्द्रिका.

रामानन्द वाचस्पति. About 1750 A.D.; a. of आह्निकाचारराज.

रामानन्दशर्मन् a. of शूद्रकुलदीपिका.

रामानुज a. of रामार्चापद्धति.

रामानुजदीक्षित a. of आशौचनिर्णय com. on आशौचशतक of of the हारीतगोत्र.

रामानुजयज्वन् a. of दीपिका on अघ-निर्णय or आशौचशतक of वेङ्कटेश.

रामानुजाचार्य a. of सच्चरितरक्षा and com.

रामाश्रम, pupil of महादेव ; a. of संध्याभाष्य (composed in 1653 A. D.).

रामेश्वर a. of आशौचशतक.

रामेश्वर a. of गृह्यपद्धति and षोडश-संस्कारसंग्रह.

रामेश्वर, pupil of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती ; a. of शिवाष्टमूर्तिप्रकाश.

रामेश्वरभट्ट a. of धर्मरत्नाकर.

रामेश्वरभट्ट. Earlier than 1600 A. D. ; a. of पदार्थादर्श.

रामेश्वर भारती a. of com. on त्रिंश-

रामेश्वरशास्त्रिन् a. of सुदर्शनकालप्रभा.

रामेश्वरशुक्ल a. of com. on दत्तक-चन्द्रिका of कुबेरपण्डित.

रायमुकुट. His com. on the अमरकोश was composed in 1431 A. D.; a. of a पद्धति m. in आद्भतत्त्व (p. 213) and शुद्धितत्त्व (pp. 281, 283) of रघुनन्दन.

रायम्भट्ट a. of यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग.

रायसवेङ्कटाद्रि vide under वेङ्कटाद्रि ; a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

रावणशर्मन् of चम्पहट्टि family ; a. of वर्षकृत्य.

रिपुञ्जय a. of पूर्णचन्द्र (on प्रायश्चित्त), प्रायश्चित्तनिरूपण.

रुचिक m. by सरस्वतीविलास p. 307.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on अघविवेचन.

रुचिदत्त a. of com. on मनुस्मृति.

रुद्र a. of युद्धकौशल.

रुद्रकवीन्द्र a. of मातृगोत्रनिर्णय.

रुद्रदेव a. of कौतुकचिन्तामणि.

रुद्रदेव, son of नारायण, surnamed तोरो, and pupil of अनन्त ; a. of प्रतापनारसिंह (composed in 1710-11 A. D.). Several parts of it such as आपस्तम्बाह्निक, कुण्डप्रकाश, पाकयज्ञप्रकाश, पूर्तप्रकाश, संस्कार-प्रकाश are separately entered in the reports.

रुद्रधर, pupil of चण्डेश्वर. 1360-1400 A. D.; a. of कृत्यचन्द्रिका, विवादचन्द्रिका and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका.

रुद्रधर a. of पुष्पमाला.

रुद्रधर महामहोपाध्याय, son of महामहोपाध्यायलक्ष्मीधर and younger brother of हलधर. Sec. 96; a. of वर्षकृत्य, व्रतपद्धति, शुद्धिविवेक, श्राद्धविवेक.

रुद्रशर्मन्, son of राघवराय; a. of पुराणसार.

रुद्रस्कन्द, son of नारायण, residing at मखवाट; a. of com. on द्राह्यायणगृह्य and खादिरगृह्य (called सामगृह्यवृत्ति).

रूपगोस्वामिन् a. of हरिभक्तिविलास.

रूपनारायण. Between 1420 and 1500 A. D.; a. of महादानपद्धति (ms. copied in 1530 A. D.).

रूपनारायण, son of भवानीदास, son of नाथमल्ल; a. of व्यवहारचमत्कार (composed in 1580 A. D.).

रूपनारायण (उदयसिंह), son of शक्तिसिंह; a. of रूपनारायणीयपद्धति (of which महादानपद्धति seems to be a part); ms. No. 2393 (Baroda O. I.) is रूपनारायणीयपद्धतिरत्न, wherein लक्ष्मीधर, भोजराज, हेमाद्रि, and चण्डेश्वर are relied upon. So it is later than 1350 A. D.

रेणुकाचार्य, son of महेशाग्रि, son of सोमेश्वर of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र; a. of कारिकाs on पारस्करगृह्य (composed in 1266 A. D.).

रैभ्य m. in the com. on the नीतिवाक्यामृत as a writer on politics,

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र a. of कुण्डमण्डपविधि.

लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र, son of श्रीकृष्ण. Probably 12th century A. D.; a. of कार्तवीर्यार्जुनदीपदानपद्धति, शारदातिलक.

लक्ष्मण श्रीशैलवेदकोटीर a. of यतिखननादिप्रयोग.

लक्ष्मणभट्ट, son of रामकृष्णभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट. Between 1585-1630 A. D.; a. of आचाररत्न or आचारसार, गोत्रप्रवररत्न.

लक्ष्मणसेन, son of बल्लालसेन. Sec. 83; (reputed) a. of दानसागर (which was begun by his father).

लक्ष्मणोपाध्याय m. in the प्रकाश of हलायुध on the श्राद्धकृत्य of कात्यायन.

लक्ष्मीचन्द्रमिश्र a. of शैवकल्पद्रुम.

लक्ष्मीदास, son of गोपाल; a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली (composed in 1618 A. D.).

लक्ष्मीदेवी, wife of वैद्यनाथ पायगुण्ड. Sec. 111; (reputed) a. of बालम्भट्टी (com. on the मिताक्षरा) and of लक्ष्मी com. on कालनिर्णय of माधव.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of भट्टहृदयधर; a. of कल्पतरु. Sec. 77.

लक्ष्मीधर, son of मल्लदेव and श्रीदेवी; a. of विरुद्धविधिविध्वंस. Earlier than 1525 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of देवशमनोहर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.

लक्ष्मीधर a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

लक्ष्मीधरभट्ट a. of कृष्णकारिका.

लक्ष्मीनाथ a. of गोपालार्चनचन्द्रिका.

लक्ष्मीनारायण a. of दायाधिकारिक्रम.

लक्ष्मीनारायण न्यायालङ्कार, son of-गदाधर ; a. of व्यवस्थारत्नमाला.

लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित a. of कायस्थक्षत्रिय-त्वभ्रमदलनकुठार.

लक्ष्मीसुसिंह a. of अघशोधिनी com. on षडशीति.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of com. on मुहूर्तसंग्रह.

लक्ष्मीपति a. of नीतिगर्भितशास्त्र.

लक्ष्मीपति ठक्कुर, pupil of इन्द्रपति or महीन्द्रपति ; a. of श्राद्धरत्न. Relies on श्रीदत्त and वाचस्पति ; ms. No. 401 F (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 472) is dated ल. सं. 525 (1644 A. D.). So he flourished between 1500 and 1640 A.D.

लघुचाणक्य.

लघुनारद m. by निर्णयसिन्धु, संस्कार-कौस्तुभ.

लघुपराशर m. in प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

लघुबृहस्पति.

लघुयम m. by अपरार्क on याज्ञवल्क्य I. 238, by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुविष्णु m. by अपरार्क (pp. 1031, 1080), by हलायुध in ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व.

लघुव्यास (vide Jivananda Sm. part II. pp. 310-320).

लघुशङ्ख.

लघुशातातप (Ānan.Sm. pp. 128-135).

लघुशौनक.

लघुहारीत m. by कालमाधव (p. 88), अपरार्क (pp. 145, 539, 543, 547).

लघ्वङ्गिरस्.

लघ्वत्रि.

लघ्वाश्वलायन.

लम्बोदर a. of होमपद्धति.

ललित m. by नन्दपण्डित in शुद्धि-चन्द्रिका.

लल्ल a. of विधानमाला.

लालबहादुर a. of शूद्रकृत्य.

लालमणि, son of जगद्राम, son of गङ्गाराम of अलर्कपुर ; a. of मुहूर्त-दर्पण.

लालमणि भट्टाचार्य a. of निर्णयसार.

लिखित m. by मिता० (on याज्ञ. III. 290), by अपरार्क pp. 1183, 38, 138.

लोकनाथ a. of कृत्यरत्नाकर.

लोकनाथ, son of वैद्यनाथ ; a. of प्राय-श्चित्तदीपिका (part of सकलागम-संग्रह).

लोल्लट a. of श्राद्धप्रकरण. Between 900-1100 A. D. ; m. in स्मृत्यर्थ-सार, श्राद्धकलिका of नारायण, in षडशीति of नन्दपण्डित, in श्राद्ध-सागर of कुल्लूक.

लोहित a. of स्मृति.

लौगाक्षि Sec. 50 ; a. of काठकगृह्यसूत्र and प्रवराध्याय ; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. II. 119 and III. 1-2, 260, 289), अपरार्क (pp. 28, 30, 33, 259, 269, 418, 460, 542, 870, 942 &c.).

लौगाक्षि a. of उपनयनतन्त्र.

लौगाक्षि a. of श्लोकतर्पण.

लौगाक्षि भास्कर, son of मुद्गल, son of रुद्रकवीन्द्र of लौगाक्षिकुल. Later

than 1400 A. D.; a. of मातृगोत्र-निर्णय, तिथ्यादितत्त्वनिर्णय.

वंशीधर a. of कुशकाण्डिका

वज्रिपुरेश्वर a. of वज्रिपुरेश्वरकारिका.

वत्सिय or वछिय a. of निबन्धसार (D. C. ms. No. 123 of 1884-86 was copied in संवत् 1632 i. e. 1575 A. D.).

वत्सेश्वर, son of नरसिंह; a. of दत्त-चिन्तामणि and मलमासनिर्णय.

वत्स a. of स्मृति, m. in. कालमाधव (p. 134), by मस्करिन्.

वत्सराज (It is his son अचल who composed निर्णयदीपक); a. of निर्णयदीपिका.

वनमालिदास a. of वनमाला.

वनमालिन् a. of विष्णुतत्त्वप्रकाश.

वनमालिन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तसारकौमुदी.

वनमालिमिश्र alias कृष्णदत्तमिश्र son of महेशमिश्र and pupil of भट्टोजि. About 1650 A. D.; a. of कुरु-क्षेत्रप्रदीप, ब्रह्मप्रकाशिका (सन्ध्या-मन्त्रव्याख्या).

वरद, son of श्रीनिवास; a. of आशौच-निर्णय.

वरदराज About 1450-1500 A. D.; a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय (of which a portion is called दायभाग). It is probably this author that is mentioned in सरस्वतीविलास.

वरदराज 18th century; a. of व्यव-हारमाला.

वरदराज a. of नवविवेकदीपिका.

वरदराजभट्ट a. of संन्यासपद्धतिमञ्जरी.

वरदराजभट्टारक a. of com. on कामन्द-कीयनीतिसार.

वरदाचार्य a. of सारार्थचतुष्टय.

वरदाचार्य of वात्स्यगोत्र; a. of स्मृति-चूडामणि or -मणिसंग्रह.

वरदाधीशयज्वन्, pupil of वेङ्कटाधीश; a. of प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपिका or -प्रदीप.

वररुचि a. of आशौचाष्टक, of नीति-रत्न, of राजनीति.

वर्ग m. as a writer on politics in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

वर्णिकुबेरानन्द a. of दानभागवत during the reign of संग्रामसिंह. Later than 1300 A. D.

वर्धमान a. of श्राद्धप्रदीप, धर्मप्रदीप.

वर्धमान a. of दत्तकोज्ज्वल.

वर्धमान a. of कृत्यनिर्णय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 74 p. 66). Mentions लक्ष्मीधर and प्रतिहस्त-पद्धति.

वर्धमान भारतीभूषणमहापात्र a. of दुर्गो-त्सवचन्द्रिका.

वर्धमान महामहोपाध्याय, son of भवेश, of the बिल्वपक्षक family. He was judge under भवेश and his son रामभद्र, king of मिथिला. 1450-1500 A. D. His elder brother was गण्डकमिश्र, and शङ्करमिश्र and वाचस्पति were his *gurus*; a. of गङ्गाकृत्यविवेक, दण्डविवेक, धर्म-प्रदीप, द्वैतविषयविवेक, नानाशास्त्रार्थ-निर्णय, परिभाषाविवेक. श्राद्धप्रदीप, स्मृतितत्त्वविवेक or स्मृतितत्त्वामृत and its सारोद्धार, स्मृतिपरिभाषा. गयापद्धति, गयाविधिविवेक, द्वैतविवेक.

He is m. by वाचस्पति in पितृभक्ति and by रघुनन्दन in his व्यवहारतत्त्व, श्राद्धतत्त्व, एकादशीतत्त्व (generally as नव्यवर्धमान). Parts of स्मृतितत्त्वामृत and °मृतसारोद्धार are separately labelled in the catalogues, such as व्यवहारकोश and शान्तिपौष्टिक.

वल्लभ a. of सर्वधर्मप्रकाशिका.

वल्लभाचार्य, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट of भारद्वाजगोत्र and तैत्तिरीयशाखा. 1478-1530 A. D. His pedigree is यज्ञनारायण-गंगाधर-गणपतिभट्ट-वल्लभभट्ट-लक्ष्मणभट्ट (wife इल्लमा)-वल्लभाचार्य; a. of संन्यासनिर्णय and com. संन्यासविवरण.

वल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र; a. of जगद्वल्लभा.

वल्लभाचार्य a. of भक्तिवर्धिनी.

वल्लभेन्द्र, pupil of वासुदेवेन्द्र; a. of प्रदोषपूजापद्धति, शिवपूजासंग्रह.

वसन्तराज, son of शिवराज and younger brother of विजयराज. Before 1150 A. D.; a. of शकुनार्णव (composed at request of चन्द्रदेव of मिथिला).

वसिष्ठ a. of धनुर्वेदसंहिता.

वसिष्ठ reputed a. of नवग्रहमख.

वसिष्ठ a. of धर्मसूत्र. Sec. 9.

वागीश्वरीदत्त a. of com. on पारस्करगृह्य.

वाचस्पति a. of तीर्थकल्पलता (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 166 p. 181), of कृत्यकल्पलता.

वाचस्पति a. of जन्ममरणविवेक or जननमरणविवेक (vide ms. No. 12774 of Baroda O. I.).

वाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिप्रभा.

वाचस्पति a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वाचस्पति a. of कुण्डमण्डप.

वाचस्पति (गौड) m. in श्राद्धसागर by कुल्लूक.

वाचस्पतिमिश्र. Sec. 98; a. of आचारचिन्तामणि, आह्निकचिन्तामणि, कृत्यचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचि°, द्वैताचि°, नीतिचि°, विवादचि°, व्यवहारचि°, शुद्धिचि°, शूद्राचारचि°, श्राद्धचि°; a. of तिथिनिर्णय, द्वैतनिर्णय, महादाननिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय, शुद्धिनिर्णय; a. of कृत्यमहार्णव गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (extracted from तीर्थचि°), गयाश्राद्धपद्धति, चन्दनधेनुप्रमाण, दत्तकविधि, पितृभक्तितरङ्गिणी; a. of कृत्यप्रदीप (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. p. 67 No. 75).

वाञ्छेश्वर son of नरसिंह, son of माधव; a. of दत्ताचिन्तामणि, मलमासनिर्णय.

वाद(दि)भयङ्कर, a follower of विज्ञानेश्वर; 1080-1130 A. D.; m. in कल्पतरु, वीरमित्रोदय (p. 350).

वाधूल a. of गृह्यसूत्र and of a स्मृति.

वामदेव m. by हेमाद्रि as a निबन्धकार in चतुर्वर्ग° III. I. 159.

वामदेव a. of आह्निकसंक्षेप (composed for लालाठक्कुर).

वामदेव a. of मुनिमतमणिमाला.

वामदेव उपाध्याय a. of गृह्यार्थदीपिका or स्मृतिदीपिका. (B. O. mss. cat. Vol. I. No. 111 p. 104).

वामदेवभट्टाचार्य a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वामदेव महामहोपाध्याय a. of भावदीपिका com. on श्राद्धचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति.

वामन a. of खादिरगृह्यकारिका.

वामन a. of a पद्धति m. in श्राद्धसौख्य (टोडरानन्द).

वामनभट्ट a. of बृहद्रत्नाकर.

वामन, भाष्य of, m. in कर्मतत्त्वप्रदीपिका of कृष्ण.

वार्ष्यायणि m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 10.-28. 2.

वाल्मीकि a writer on politics; m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

वासुदेव a. of मलमासनिर्णयतन्त्रसार.

वासुदेव a. of com. on कौशिकगृह्यसूत्र m. in. टोडरानन्द.

a. of दत्तपुत्रतत्त्वविवेक.

वासुदेव a. of परीक्षापद्धति.

वासुदेव, son of ईजट; a. of शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंग्रह. As ms. is dated संवत् 1428 (1371-2 A. D.), he is probably identical withthe commentator of the पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र.

वासुदेव a. of वास्तुप्रदीप.

वासुदेव, son of शिवसूरि, son of त्र्यम्बक surnamed महाजन; a. of com. on कुण्डचमत्कृति. Between 1680-1760 A. D.

वासुदेव, son of आपदेव, of the चित्तपावन caste; a. of प्रयोगरत्नमाला or वासुदेवी.

वासुदेव, son of श्रीपति; a. of आथर्वणप्रयोगताक्षरा. Vide ms. No. 7603 (Baroda O. I.); mentions हेमाद्रि, वैद्यविक्रमीपद्धति.

वासुदेवदीक्षित Earlier than 1250 A. D.; a. of com. on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र and of a पद्धति thereon. He is m. by हरिहर and रघुनन्दन.

वासुदेवदीक्षित a. of गृह्यपद्धति.

वासुदेवभट्टाचार्य, son of रङ्गनाथ; a. of आह्निकामृत (for वैखानस school of वैष्णवs).

वासुदेव रथ a. of स्मृतिप्रकाश.

वासुदेवाश्रम a. of और्ध्वदेहिकनिर्णय, यतिधर्मप्रकाश.

वासुदेवेन्द्र a. of आचारपद्धति.

वाहिनीपति a. of प्रायश्चित्तदीपिका or-प्रदीपिका.

विक्रमभट्ट a. of गूढार्थसार com. on शारदातिलक.

विखनस् (supposed to be) a. of वैखानसकल्प (including गृह्य and धर्म प्रश्नs).

विजयीन्द्रभिक्षु, pupil of सुरेन्द्र; a. of पञ्चसंस्कारदीपिका.

विज्ञानेश्वर. Sec. 70; a. of मिताक्षरा (com. on याज्ञ०), आशौचदशक or दशश्लोकी.

विट्ठल, son of नृसिंह, son of रामचन्द्र; a. of com. on वैष्णवसिद्धान्तदीपिका of रामचन्द्र.

विट्ठल, son of केशव; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विट्ठल, son of बालकृष्ण, surnamed वैष्णव and resident of श्रीपुर; a. of com. on मूल्याध्याय.

विट्ठल, son of बृहशर्मन्, of the कृष्णात्रिगोत्र; a. of कुण्डमण्डपसिद्धि or कुण्डसिद्धि (composed in 1619-20 A. D.) and com. there-

on and of मुहूर्तकल्पद्रुम (composed in 1628 A. D.) and com. मञ्जरी thereon.

विट्ठल a. of तुलापुरुषदानप्रयोग. Probably the same as above.

विट्ठल, son of महादेव; a. of प्रयोगलाघव.

विट्ठलदीक्षित a. of षट्पदी.

विट्ठलदीक्षित a. of समयप्रदीप.

विट्ठलाचार्य a. of आह्निक.

विट्ठलेश्वर or विट्ठलदीक्षित, son of वल्लभाचार्य; born in 1515 A. D. Said to have been a. of आह्निकपद्धति, आग्रयणपद्धति, जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय, रामनवमीनिर्णय, com. on the संन्यासनिर्णय of वल्लभाचार्य, समयप्रदीप, यजुर्वल्लभा (of which आह्निकपद्धति seems to be a part) or कर्मसरणि, भक्तिमार्गमर्यादा, भक्तिहंस, भक्तिहेतुनिर्णय.

विदुर a. of नीति (which is taken from the उद्योगपर्व of the महाभारत chap. 33–40 of the Bombay edition).

विद्याकर वाजपेयिन्, son of शम्भुकर. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of आचारपद्धति, नित्याचारपद्धति, आह्निककृत्य; m. in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. pp. 68, 75), देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (vol. II. p. 505), आह्निकतत्त्व (vol. I p. 355), मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I p. 744 speaks of विद्याकराह्निकतत्त्व), शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 312).

विद्याधर a. of दायनिर्णय and हेमाद्रिप्रयोग.

विद्याधर m. in. रूपनारायणीयनिबन्ध.

विद्याधीशशुनि a. of दिनत्रयनिर्णय.

विद्याधीशस्वामिन् m. in. स्मृत्यर्थसागर.

विद्यानन्दनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

विद्यानिधि a. of ज्योतिःसमयसार.

विद्यानिधि a. of सम्बन्धदीपिका.

विद्यानिवास a. of दोलारोहणपद्धति, द्वादशयात्राप्रयोग.

विद्यापति, son of गणपति, son of जयदत्त. Between 1375–1450 A. D. A voluminous and versatile writer; wrote in Maithilī also and on moral tales (as in पुरुषपरीक्षा, भूपरिक्रमण); a. of गङ्गावाक्यावली (under the patronge of महादेवी विश्वासदेवी queen of पद्मसिंह, son of शिवसिंह), गयापत्तलक, दानवाक्यावली (under patronage of महादेवी धीरमती, queen of नरसिंहदेव दर्पनारायण), दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (probably his last work), वर्षकृत्य, विभागसार (under orders of दर्पनारायण, son of हरिसिंह son of भवेश), शैवसर्वस्वसार (composed at the bidding of queen विश्वासदेवी). Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XIV p. 182 and vol. XXVIII. p. 57. His वर्षकृत्य is m. in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 823). He is m. in. श्रीनाथ's कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव and by गोविन्दानन्द. His पुरुषपरीक्षा (N. vol. V. 245) distinctly says that पद्मसिंह was the *son* of शिवसिंह (and not brother as some suppose on account of the words in the शैवसर्वस्वसार, N. vol. V. p. I). Vide Journal of

the Department of Letters, Calcutta Universety, for 1927 vol. XVI. where there is an informing paper on **विद्यापति**.

विद्यापतिभट्ट a. of **बौधायनाह्निक**.

विद्यापतिस्वामिन् m. in **स्मृत्यर्थसागर**.

विद्यामाधव a. of **मुहूर्तदर्पण**.

विद्यारत्न स्मार्तभट्टाचार्य a. of **स्मृतिसार-व्यवस्था**.

विद्यार्णव a. of **जातरिष्टयादिनिर्णय** (which seems to be purely astrological); vide N. (new series) vol. II. No. 69.

विनतानन्दन a. of **द्राह्यायणगृह्यसूत्र-प्रयोग**.

विनायकपण्डित vide under **नन्दपण्डित**.

विबुधेन्द्राश्रम a. of **पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका**.

विभाकर a. of **आचारद्वैतनिर्णय** or **-विवेक** composed by order of king **रामभद्रदेव रूपनारायण** son of **भैरव** (vide B. O. ms. cat. vol. I. No. 24, p. 21). About 1500 A. D.

विराज् m. in **अपरार्क** (p. 112).

विर्भिटीक m. as a. writer on politics in com. on **नीतिवाक्यामृत**.

विलम्ब m. in. **हरिनाथ**'s **स्मृतिसार**.

विवस्वत् a. of **स्मृति** ; m. in **स्मृति-चन्द्रिका** and in **आचारमयूख**.

विशारद earlier than 1500 A. D.; m. in **शुद्धिकौमुदी** of **गोविन्दानन्द** and by **रघुनन्दन** in **छन्दोगश्राद्धोत्सर्ग-तत्त्व** (vol. II. p. 275) and **शुद्धितत्त्व**.

विशालाक्ष a writer on politics ; m. in the **कौटिलीय**, **महाभारत**, by **विश्वरूप** on **याज्ञ**. I. p. 190 (Tri. S. series).

विश्वकर्मन्, son of **दामोदर** and **हीरा** and grandson of **भीम** ; a. of **धर्म-विवेक**. Between 1450-1525 A. D.

विश्वकर्मन् a. of **यतिवल्लभा** or **संन्यास-पद्धति**.

विश्वकर्मन् m. in com. on **नीतिवाक्या-मृत** as propounder of **वास्तुशास्त्र** ; m. by **हेमाद्रि** (III. 2. 825).

विश्वकर्मन् a. of **विधानमाला**.

विश्वदास a. of **मुहूर्तराज**.

विश्वनाथ, son of **गोबाल**; a. of **अन्त्येष्टि-पद्धति**, **अन्त्येष्टिप्रयोग**, com. on **त्रिं-शच्छ्लोकी**, **और्ध्वदेहिककल्पवल्ली** and **और्ध्वदेहिकक्रियापद्धति**.

विश्वनाथ a. of **क्रियापद्धति** (probably the same as **विश्वनाथ**, son of **गोबाल**). It deals with the rites from death to **सपिण्डीकरण** in the case of the **माध्यन्दिनशाखा**.

विश्वनाथ earlier than 1660 A. D. ; a. of **दुण्ढिप्रताप**.

विश्वनाथ son of **श्रीपति**, surnamed **द्विवेदिन्**. Between 1450-1615 A. D. ; a. of **कुण्डरत्नाकर**.

विश्वनाथ a. of **अशौचनिर्णय**.

विश्वनाथ, son of **भास्कर** ; a. of **सिद्धा-न्तशेखर**.

विश्वनाथ, son of **शम्भुदेव** ; a. of **रुद्र-पद्धति**; probably the same as **विश्व-नाथ**, son of **शम्भुनाथ** below.

विश्वनाथ, son of **कृष्ण** a Gurjara **ब्राह्मण** of **नैध्रुवगोत्र**; a. of **द्वयामुष्यायणनिर्णय** (ms. No. 12708 of Baroda O. I.); mentions **गागाभट्ट**, **दिनकरोद्योत**, and **कौस्तुभ**, so later than 1680 A. D.

विश्वनाथ, son of **गोपाल**; a. of **व्रतराज** or **व्रतप्रकाश** (compiled at Benares in 1736 A. D.).

विश्वनाथ a. of **शाङ्खायनगृह्यसंस्कारपद्धति**.

विश्वनाथ a. of **स्मृतिसारसंग्रह**.

विश्वनाथ, son of **नृसिंह**, son of **आशाधर**; a. of **गृह्यसूत्रप्रकाशिका** on **पारस्करगृह्य**. About 1550 A. D.

विश्वनाथ, son of **पुरुषोत्तम**, son of **त्रिविक्रम**; a. of **विश्वप्रकाशपद्धति** (**आपस्तम्बीय**) composed in 1544 A. D.

विश्वनाथ a. of **तिथिचक्र** or **तिथिनिर्णयचक्र**.

विश्वनाथ a. of **तिथिनिर्णयसार** (probably the same as **विश्वेश्वर**.)

विश्वनाथ, son of **हरि**; a. of com. on **विधानमाला**.

विश्वनाथ, son of **शम्भुनाथ**, son of **मुकुन्द**, son of **पुरुषोत्तम**. He was the younger brother of **रामदेव**; a. of **कुण्डकौमुदी** or **कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी**, **कुण्डविधान**, **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय** (composed in 1584 A. D.) or **रामदेवप्रसाद**.

विश्वनाथ a. of **गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णयवाक्सुधार्णव** or **-वाक्यसुधार्णव** Same as above; ms. No. 9375 (Baroda O. I.).

विश्वनाथ a. of **जातिविवेकसंग्रह**.

विश्वनाथ आचार्य a. of **काशीमोक्षनिर्णय** or **काशीस्मृतिमोक्ष**.

विश्वनाथ उपाध्याय a. of **दत्तकानिर्णय**.

विश्वनाथकवि a. of **प्रवराध्याय**.

विश्वनाथदीक्षित a. of **उपनयनपद्धति**.

विश्वनाथ दैवज्ञ, son of **दिवाकर**; between 1612-1632 A. D.; a. of

विश्वनाथ न्यायपञ्चानन About 1630 A. D.; a. of **मासतत्त्वविवेक** or **-विचार**.

विश्वनाथभट्ट a. of **श्राद्धपद्धति**.

विश्वपतिभट्ट a. of **आह्निक (बौधायनीय)**.

विश्वम्भरत्रिवेदिन् a. of **चक्रनारायणीयनिबन्ध** or **स्मृतिसारोद्धार**. About 1600-1650 A. D.

विश्वम्भरदीक्षित, son of **मल्लेश्वरभट्ट**, surnamed **थिटे**, a resident of **वैराज** (modern Wai); a. of **आह्निकप्रयोगरत्नमाला**. Mentions **भट्टोजिदीक्षित**. Later than 1650 A. D.

विश्वम्भरशास्त्रिन् m. in **शूद्रकमलाकर**.

विश्वरूप. Sec. 60; a. of **बालक्रीडा** (com. on **याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति**).

विश्वरूप a. of **विश्वरूपनिबन्ध** and **विश्वरूपसमुच्चय**.

विश्वरूपाचार्य a. of **श्राद्धकलिकाविवरण**.

विश्वस्वामिन् m. by **पुरुषोत्तम** in **गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी**.

विश्वामित्र. Sec. 51; a. of **स्मृति**.

विश्वासदेवी (reputed) a. of **गङ्गावाक्यावली** (really composed by **विद्यापति**).

विश्वेश a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

विश्वेश्वर a. of पद्धति on संन्यास (probably the same as the next).

विश्वेश्वर a. of गृहपतिधर्म.

विश्वेश्वर. Earlier than 1500 A. D. ; a. of निर्णयकौस्तुभ.

विश्वेश्वर a. of स्मृतिसमुच्चय (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 445 p. 521).

विश्वेश्वर, son of लक्ष्मीधर. Later than 1650 A. D. ; a. of com. on आशौचीयदशश्लोकी.

विश्वेश्वर, son of रामेश्वर, son of गङ्गाराम, of शाण्डिल्यगोत्र, surnamed महाशब्द ; a. of प्रतापार्क (by order of king प्रताप, grandson of जयसिंह). About 1750.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of अघवाडव or दानसार.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट a. of कुण्डसिद्धि.

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, alias गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर, son of रामकृष्ण. About 1620–1685 A. D. ; a. of आपस्तम्बपद्धति, आशौचदीपिका, कायस्थधर्मदीप or- प्रकाश or कायस्थपद्धति, तुलादानप्रयोग, दिनकरोद्द्योत (on आचार, आशौच, काल, दान, पूर्त, प्रतिष्ठा, प्रायश्चित्त, व्यवहार, वर्षकृत्य, व्रत, शूद्र, श्राद्ध and संस्कार), पिण्डपितृयज्ञप्रयोग, प्रयोगसार, मुज्ञानदुर्गोदय, समयनय, सापिण्ड्यविचार. Besides he composed on पूर्वमीमांसा the मीमांसाकुसुमाञ्जलि, शिवार्कोदय and मातृचिन्तामणि and (on अलङ्कारशास्त्र) राकागम (a com. on the चन्द्रालोक). He officiated at the coronation of the great Shivaji in 1674 A. D. Ms. No. 9670 (Baroda O. I.) shows that the कायस्थधर्मदीप was compiled in शके 1599 (1677 A. D.).

विश्वेश्वरभट्ट, son of वेदिभट्ट, patronised by मदनपाल. Sec. 93 ; a. of सुबोधिनी (com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर), मदनपारिजात, महार्णवकर्मविपाक, स्मृतिकौमुदी, महादानपद्धति and (probably) तिथिनिर्णयसार.

विश्वेश्वर सरस्वती, pupil of सर्वज्ञविश्वेश ; a. of कलियुगधर्मसार or कलिधर्मसारसंग्रह, परमहंसपरिव्राजकधर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मसंग्रह or यतिधर्मप्रकाश or यतिधर्मसमुच्चय, यतिसंस्कारप्रयोग (from यत्याचारसंग्रह) ; earlier than 1600 A. D.

विष्णु a. of आश्वलायनप्रयोगवृत्ति.

विष्णु a. of कुण्डमरीचिमाला.

विष्णु a. of आह्निकपद्धति, composed in 1559 (शके ?) मार्गशीर्षसित ११ गुरौ (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 35 p. 34).

विष्णु (गृह्यस्वामिन्) ; a. of com. on आश्वलायनगृह्य.

विष्णुतीर्थ a. of संन्यासविधि.

विष्णुदत्त a. of श्राद्धाधिकार.

विष्णुदत्त a. of शुद्धिदीपिकाप्रकाश.

विष्णुपण्डित a. of गोत्रप्रवरदीप.

विष्णुपुरी a. of भगवद्भक्तिरत्नावली and com. कान्तिमाला (composed in 1634 A. D.), हरिभक्तिकल्पलता.

विष्णुभट्ट (अग्निहोत्रिन्) ; a. of गोभिलगृह्यपद्धति and विवाहकर्मन्.

विष्णुभट्ट, son of रामकृष्ण, surnamed आठवले. Earlier than 1780 A. D. ; a. of पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि.

विष्णुभट्ट. Same as above ; a. of प्रदोषनिर्णय (from पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि).

विष्णुभट्ट, son of केशवभट्ट, of विदुरनगर ; a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर.

विष्णुराम सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of जयदेव विद्यावागीश ; a. of प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वादर्श (com. on प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु० and श्राद्धतत्त्वादर्श (com. on श्राद्धतत्त्व of रघु०).

विष्णुशर्मदीक्षित a. of संस्कारप्रदीपिका.

विष्णुशर्मन् m. as a writer on politics in the com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

विष्णुशर्मन्, a. of कीर्तिप्रकाश (for king कीर्तिसिंह, son of कनकसिंह) parts of which are सन्नयप्रकाश etc.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of निर्णयचिन्तामणि (composed at the instance of श्रीराजजालभदास, son of विदुर, a वैश्य).

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of यज्ञदत्त ; a. of श्राद्धरत्नमहोदधि, श्राद्धाङ्गभास्कर.

विष्णुशर्मन्, son of देवदत्त ; a. of लघुकारिका (for माध्यन्दिनशाखा). Earlier than 1450 A. D. He was माध्यन्दिनीय and yet dwelt in Gauḍa. He bows to श्रीधराचार्य and वसिष्ठ and relies on पारस्कर and याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. Later than 1200 A. D.

विष्णुशर्मन् a. of स्मृतिसरोजकालिका.

विष्णुशर्ममिश्र a. of कर्मकौमुदी and महारुद्रपद्धति.

वीथि (वि) नाथ of the कौशिकगोत्र ; a. of अघपञ्चषष्टि.

वीरराघव of वसिष्ठगोत्र; a. of अघनिर्णय.

वीरराघव a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका, प्रयोगदर्पण, प्रयोगतिलक, प्रयोगमुक्तावलि.

वीरराघव of नैध्रुवगोत्र ; a. of सच्चरित्रसुधानिधि.

वीरराघव of वाधूलगोत्र ; a. of सच्चरित्रपरित्राण.

वीरसिंह, son of देववर्मन्, son of कमलसिंह of the तोमर race ; (reputed) a. of वीरसिंहावलोक (composed in 1383 A. D.). Aufrecht (I. p. 595) is wrong in ascribing दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी to this वीरसिंह. That वीरसिंह was नरसिंहदेव of मिथिला of the कामेश्वर dynasty. D. C. ms. 85 of 1869-70 is dated संवत् 1572 (1515 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर m. in छन्दोगदृपोत्सर्गतत्त्व (vol. II. p, 542), संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. pp. 867, 900) of रघुनन्दन.

वीरेश्वर, son of देवादित्य ; a. of सामवेदीयदशकर्मपद्धति. About 1300 A. D.

वीरेश्वर, son of हरिपण्डित at पुण्यस्तम्भ (modern Puṇtāmbe) on the गोदावरी; a. of आह्निकमञ्जरीटीका (composed in 1598 A. D.).

वीरेश्वर a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

वीरेश्वरभट्ट गोडबोले; a. of लघुचिन्तामणि.

वृद्धकात्यायन m. in दायभाग, सरस्वतीविलास (p. 320).

वृद्धगर्ग m. in अद्भुतसागर, हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड), श्राद्धमयूख.

वृद्धगर्ग (reputed) a. of उत्पातशान्ति.

वृद्धगार्ग्य m. by विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 195, in अपरार्क, (p. 880), कालमाधव (p. 326), संस्कारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख.

वृद्धगौतम m. by अपरार्क (p. 550) हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड), समयमयूख.

वृद्धचाणक्य.

वृद्धनारदीय m. in प्रतापनारसिंह.

वृद्धपराशर m. by अपरार्क (p. 1235), पराशरमाधवीय (vol. I. part I, pp. 230), आचारमयूख.

वृद्धप्रचेतस् m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 265), अपरार्क (pp. 888, 897, 1090).

वृद्धबृहस्पति m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 261), अपरार्क (pp. 602-603).

वृद्धबौधायन m. in हेमाद्रि (III. 2. 440).

वृद्धमनु m. in मिताक्षरा and विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 60).

वृद्धयम.

वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य m. by विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 4-5), मिताक्षरा, अपरार्क (p. 33).

वृद्धवसिष्ठ m. in विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 19), हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. (23. 20), हेमाद्रि, सरस्वतीविलास p. 467, अपरार्क (pp. 198, 420, 446).

वृद्धविष्णु m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 267).

वृद्धव्यास m. by रघुनन्दन, अपरार्क p. 751.

वृद्धशङ्ख m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि.

वृद्धशातातप m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. I. 221), दायभाग, व्यवहारमातृका of जीमूतवाहन, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड); pr. in Ānan. Sm. pp. 232-235.

वृद्धशानक.

वृद्धहारीत m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 254), अपरार्क (pp. 1072, 1107).

वृद्धाङ्गिरस्.

वृद्धात्रि m. by हरदत्त.

वृद्धापस्तम्ब m. in the ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व of हलायुध.

वृन्दावन a. of वृन्दावनपद्धति.

वृन्दावन a. of नृसिंहपूजापद्धति.

वृन्दावनशुक्ल a. of तीर्थसेतु, of com. on दत्तकमीमांसा, of com. on दायतत्त्व, प्रतिष्ठाकल्पलता, of com. on मलमासतत्त्व.

वेगराज a. of वेगराजसंहिता (composed in 1503 A. D.).

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सच्चरितरक्षा.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of वर्ज्याहारविवेक.

वेङ्कटनाथ a. of सच्चरितरक्षा.

वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटयज्वन् a. of कालासृत and com. उज्ज्वला.

वेङ्कटयोगिन्, son of कोण्डपाचार्य; a. of वैखानससूत्राणुक्रमदीपिका.

वेङ्कटराय a. of सर्वपुराणार्थसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटविजयिन् a. of कर्मप्रायश्चित्त.

वेङ्कटाचार्य, son of शतक्रतुताताचार्य; a. of आचार्यगुणादर्श.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of संध्याभाष्य.

वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ of the हारीतगोत्र. Later than 1200 A. D.; a. of com. on आशौचदशक, of आशौचशतक or अघनिर्णय and com. thereon, of स्मृतिरत्नाकर, दशनिर्णय, दर्शनिर्णय and गूढरत्न and its com. विदुषकण्ठभूषण, of पितृमेधसार and its com.

वेङ्कटाचार्य a. of स्मार्तप्रायश्चित्तविनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटाद्रि a. of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ.

वेङ्कटाद्रि रायस a. of आशौचनिर्णय or स्मृतिकौस्तुभ or स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व.

वेङ्कटेश a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसर्वस्व or आशौचनिर्णय.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

वेङ्कटेश a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह; possibly the same as above.

वेङ्कटेशभट्ट a. of मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि.

वेङ्कटेश वाजपेयिन् of वत्सगोत्र. Earlier than 1580 A. D.; a. of com. on प्रायश्चित्तशतद्वयी.

वेचुराम a. of स्मृतिरत्नावलि.

वेणीदत्त a. of औदीच्यप्रकाश.

वेणीदत्त a. of com. on तत्त्वमुक्तावली of नन्दपण्डित.

वेणीराम शाकद्वीपिन् a. of जातिसाङ्कर्यवाद, मांसभक्षणदीपिका.

वेतालभट्ट (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रदीप.

वेदचूडालक्ष्मण a. of वैष्णवप्रक्रिया.

वेदमिश्र, son of विश्वरूपदीक्षित. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of com. प्रकाश on पारस्करगृह्य and of वासिष्ठी (a. com. on astrological वासिष्ठस्मृति), which is also called शान्तिभाष्य.

वेदाङ्कराय (formerly called मालजित्) son of तिगलाभट्ट or त्यगलाभट्ट, son of रत्नभट्ट of श्रीस्थल in Gujerat. About 1643 A. D.; a. of आशौचचन्द्रिका, महारुद्रपद्धति or रुद्रार्चनमञ्जरी, श्राद्धदीपिका.

वेदाचार्य (between 1250-1500 A. D.); a. of स्मृतिरत्नाकर (written under the patronage of the king of कामरूप).

वेदान्तदास (वात्स्य) a. of वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका.

वेदान्तदेशिक a. of हरिदिनतिलक. Later than 1400 A. D.

वेदान्तरामानुज तातदास a. of संन्यासिसापिण्ड्यविधि and आशौचनिर्णय.

वेदान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य a. of हरितोषण.

वैकुण्ठनाथाचार्य a. of गृह्यपरिशिष्ट.

वैखानस (reputed) a. of गृह्यसूत्र and धर्मप्रश्न.

वैदिकसार्वभौम the same as वेङ्कटाचार्य or वेङ्कटेश, son of रङ्गनाथ.

वैदिकसार्वभौम an epithet applied to several scholars e. g. सुधीविलोलोचन is ascribed to a वैदिकसार्वभौम, so also प्रयोगदर्पण, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथ a. of चमत्कारचिन्तामणि (of which तिथिनिर्णय is a part). D. C. ms. No. 112 of 1895-1902 was copied in संवत् 1719 (1662-63 A. D.).

वैद्यनाथ a. of दत्तविधि.

वैद्यनाथ, son of दिवाकर, son of महादेव. About 1675 A. D.; a. of अनुक्रमणीs to several works of his father, such as आचारार्क, तिथ्यर्क, दानहीरावलि, प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तावली, श्राद्धचन्द्रिका (all parts of दिवाकर's धर्मशास्त्रसुधानिधि).

वैद्यनाथ a. of कालनिरूपण, विवाहनिरूपण.

वैद्यनाथ a. of उपाकर्मपद्धति (कात्यायनीय).

वैद्यनाथ a. of स्मृतिसारसंग्रह.

वैद्यनाथ, son of महादेव पायगुण्ड and वेणी and pupil of नागोजिभट्ट and father of बालम्भट्ट Sec. 111. Aufrect (I. p. 612) is wrong in identifying वैद्यनाथ with बालम्भट्ट (who was really वैद्यनाथ's son); a. of com. on पराशरस्मृति.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रामचन्द्र तत्सत्, son of विट्ठल; a. of अग्निहोत्रमन्त्रार्थचन्द्रिका and of com. on कालमाधवकारिका. He composed his उदाहरणचन्द्रिका in 1683 A. D.

वैद्यनाथ, son of रत्नेश्वर, son of केशव; a. of संस्थापद्धति.

वैद्यनाथ a. of आर्धचन्द्रिका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित About 1600 A. D.; a. of स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (parts of which are आह्निक, दायभाग, संस्कार etc.), दशाहविवाह.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of प्रक्रियाज्ञानटीका.

वैद्यनाथदीक्षित a. of वर्णसारमणि, वर्णाश्रमधर्म (both are probably identical).

वैयाघ्रपाद् or वैयाघ्रपद्य a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 17), अपरार्क p. 41.

वैशम्पायन (reputed) a. of नीतिप्रकाशिका.

वैशम्पायन a. of a स्मृति; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 326).

वोपदेव, son of केशव, and pupil of धनेश and protegee of हेमाद्रि; vide under बोपदेव.

बोपदेव a. of आशौचसंग्रह or त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी.

व्यङ्कटेश a. of हरिवासरनिर्णय.

व्याघ्र see under वैयाघ्रपाद; m. by मिता°, अपरार्क (pp. 132, 133, 145, 521, 524, 1144, 1202), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. (23. 11). D. C. mss. No. 163 of 1884-86 contains a व्याघ्र-

स्मृति in 388 verses on daily duties such as स्नान, तिलक, आचमन, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, तर्पण, अतिथिपूजा, संध्यावन्दन and श्राद्ध &c. A ms. in the Bhadkamkar collection has an incomplete text in 260 verses.

व्याघ्रकण्ठ m. as स्मृतिकार (distinct from व्याघ्रपाद) in नित्याचारप्रदीप (p. 20).

व्याघ्रपाद् or -पाद. Probably same as व्याघ्र ; m. by मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 30), अपरार्क (pp. 112, 467, 892).

व्यास a. of स्मृति Sec. 52.

व्यास a. of बृहत्संहिता.

व्यास a. of तीर्थपरिभाषा.

व्यास, pupil of नृसिंह ; a. of सन्ध्याभाष्य.

व्यासदेव a. of दायभागनिर्णयविवेक or -निर्णय.

व्रजनाथ विद्यारत्न a. of वृत्तदायप्रकाश.

व्रजराज a. of आह्निक (पुष्टिमार्गीय for followers of वल्लभाचार्य).

व्रजराज a. of संवत्सरोत्सवकल्पलता, संवत्सरकल्पलता. He was a devotee of विट्ठलेश son of वल्लभाचार्य ; probably same as the preceding.

व्रजराजशुक्ल a. of दानमञ्जरी, नीतिविलास.

शङ्कर, son of बल्लाळ, surnamed घारे of the चित्तपावन subcaste ; a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरण, तीर्थकौमुदी, तीर्थोद्यापनकौमुदी and व्रतोद्यापनकौमुदी (composed in 1753 A. D.), देवस्थापनकौमुदी, रुद्रानुष्ठानपद्धति (refered to in व्रतो°).

शङ्कर a. of सदाचारविवरण.

शङ्कर a. of वास्तुशिरोमणि (at the bidding of श्यामसाह, son of मानसिंह नरेन्द्र).

शङ्कर a. of कुरुक्षेत्ररत्नाकर.

शङ्कर, son of रत्नाकर, of the शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ; a. of श्राद्धपद्धति.

शङ्कर a. of प्रतिष्ठाकौमुदी and प्रतिष्ठापद्धति.

शङ्कर तान्त्रिक a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरी ; probably same as the preceding. Vide ms. No. 7659 (Baroda O. I.). Mentions ज्योतिर्निबन्ध and प्रवरदीपिका.

शङ्कर दैवज्ञ, son of शिव ; a. of गोत्रप्रवरमञ्जरीसारोद्धार.

शङ्कर दैवज्ञ a. of शालग्रामपरीक्षा.

शङ्करपण्डित a. of मतोद्धार.

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नारायणभट्ट ; flourished between 1540-1600 A. D.; a. of द्वैतनिर्णय or धर्मद्वैतानिर्णय, निर्णयचन्द्रिका, धर्मप्रकाश or सर्वधर्मप्रकाश, श्राद्धकल्पसार and its com. (Stein's cat. p. 316).

शङ्करभट्ट, son of नीलकण्ठभट्ट, son of शङ्करभट्ट. Flourished between 1620-1680 A. D. ; a. of कर्मविपाक, कुण्डार्क, कुण्डभास्कर or कुण्डोद्द्योतदर्शन (composed in 1671 A. D.), व्रतार्क, संस्कारमयूख (of his father was revised by him), सदाचारसंग्रह (of which एकादशीनिर्णय is a part).

शङ्करमिश्र a. of स्मृतिसुधाकर. Vide शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर below.

शङ्करमिश्र, son of भवनाथ. He was probably the शङ्करमिश्र, who was a *guru* of वर्धमान. If so he flourished about 1450-1475 A. D.; a. of छन्दोगाह्निकोद्धार, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीप, श्राद्धप्रदीप. Aufrecht (I. 625) assigns श्राद्धपद्धति to him, but it is a work of दयाशङ्कर.

शङ्करशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिसुधाकरदीपपद्धति.

शङ्करशर्मन् or ओझाशङ्कर, son of सुधाकर, son of शुचिकर; a. of ग्रन्थविधानधर्मकृत्य, स्मृतिसुधाकर, of वर्षकृत्यनिबन्ध (composed in गतकलि 4678).

शङ्कराचार्य a. of संन्यासकर्मन्, संन्यासपद्धति and सप्तमठाम्नायिक, पञ्चमाश्रमविधि, परमहंससन्ध्योपासन, सदाचारप्रकरण.

शङ्करानन्द a. of यत्यनुष्ठानपद्धति.

शङ्करानन्द a. of सर्वपुराणसार.

शङ्करार्य a. of पञ्जिका जयमङ्गला on कामन्दकीयनीतिसार.

शङ्ख Vide sec. 12.

शङ्ख a. of a स्मृति. Vide N. vol. I. p. 34 for a ms. of शङ्खस्मृति (in 6 अध्यायs).

शङ्खधर. Earlier than 1050 A. D.; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (pp. 139, 306), by हारलता (p. 117), by हेमाद्रि (III. 1 p. 412 and III. 2. 479, 594, 610), by श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि, in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व (p. 498).

शङ्खलिखित Vide sec. 12.

शठकोपदास a. of com. on आशौचनिर्णय of वैदिकसार्वभौम.

शतक्रतु a. of स्मृति; m. in मदनपारिजात.

शतानन्द a. of रत्नमाला (m. in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व vol. I. p. 596) and a शतानन्दसंग्रह (m. in the कालसार of गदाधर).

शत्रुघ्न a. of संध्याभाष्य.

शम्बराचार्य m. by निर्णयसिन्धु (on आशौच).

शम्भु Between 900 and 1100 A. D. m. in the स्मृत्यर्थसार, in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका as a स्मृतिसमुच्चयकार along with भीकर and देवस्वामिन् and by हेमाद्रि as refuting मेधातिथि (III. 1. p. 1148). Aufrecht ascribes the कामधेनु to him. But this is wrong. Vide p. 295 above.

शम्भुदास a. of सारसंग्रह.

शम्भुनाथमिश्र a. of कालभास्कर.

शम्भुनाथ सिद्धान्तवागीश pandit at the court of कामरूप prince; a. of अकालभास्कर (composed in 1715 A. D.), दिनभास्कर, दुर्गोत्सवकृत्यकौमुदी, देवीपूजनभास्कर, वर्षभास्कर (composed by order of king धर्मदेव), सङ्केतकौमुदी.

शम्भुनाथाचार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी. Probably the same as the preceding.

शम्भुभट्ट कविमण्डन or सदाशिव, son of बालकृष्ण and pupil of खण्डदेव; (he wrote his com. on भाट्टदीपिका in 1708 A. D.); a. of

कालतत्त्वविवेचनसारसंग्रह, त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी-विवरणसारोद्धार, पाकयज्ञप्रयोग. In his com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी he mentions निर्णयसिन्धु and स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (vide No. 12589 of Baroda O. I.).

शम्भुराज (He was Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, the great Maratha king and ruled from 1680-1689); (reputed) a. of बुधभूषण.

शम्भुराज (a Tanjore prince); a. of नीतिमञ्जरी (of which दण्डनीतिप्रकरण is a part).

शरभोजी (king of Tanjore, 1798-1833 A. D.); a. of व्यवहारप्रकाश, व्यवहारार्थस्मृतिसारसमुच्चय (probably same as preceding).

शाकटायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, निर्णयसिन्धु, श्राद्धमयूख.

शाकल m. in व्यवहारमयूख, दत्तकमीमांसा.

शाकलाचार्य a. of बह्वृचगृह्यकारिका or बह्वृचकर्मप्रयोगकारिका.

शाङ्खायन a. of गृह्यसूत्र.

शाटयायन m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन (p. 303), हेमाद्रि, आचारमयूख.

शाटयायनि (probably same as above) m. in अपरार्क (pp. 423, 424, 462, 540), स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, हेमाद्रि, माधवाचार्य, मदनपारिजात.

शाण्डिल्य a. of गृह्य (m. by रुद्रदत्त on आप. श्रौ. सू. 9. 11. 21) and of स्मृति m. by हरदत्त on गौ. ध. सू. 23. 19, by मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. III. 280, by स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच p. 190).

शातातप Sec. 28

शामजित् त्रिपाठिन् a. of नित्यदानादिपद्धति.

शार्ङ्गधर a. of विवाहपटल m. in निर्णयसिन्धु.

शार्ङ्गधर a. of धनुर्वेदसंग्रह or वीरचिन्तामणि.

शालङ्कायन m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (on आशौच p. 190), m. in श्राद्धमयूख.

शाश्वतेन्द्रसरस्वती a. of परमहंसधर्मनिरूपण.

शिङ्गय, son of मञ्चनाचार्य; a. of संस्कारपद्धति.

शिङ्गभट्ट a. of आपस्तम्बपूर्वप्रयोगपद्धति.

शिरोमणिभट्ट (a दाक्षिणात्य); a. of आह्निकरत्न, ऋग्वेदाह्निक and मुहूर्तरत्न.

शिव, son of विश्वकर्मन्; a. of राज्याभिषेकपद्धति.

शिव, son of गोविन्द, of the चतुर्धर family, originally from कूर्परग्राम (modern Kopargaon) on the Godāvarī; a. of धर्मतत्त्वप्रकाश (composed at Benares in 1776 A. D.).

शिव a. of संस्कृतकौमुदी.

शिवदत्त, son of सूर्यदास; a. of com. on समरसार.

शिवदत्त m. by हेमाद्रि (III. 2. p. 594) and by रघुनन्दन,

शिवदत्त, son of उमादत्त of the खौ-आलवंश ; a. of स्मृतितत्त्वसार.

शिवदत्तशर्मन् a. of गङ्गाभक्तिरसोदय.

शिवदास a. of com. on आशौचतत्त्व of महादेव,

शिवदास, son of सूर्यदास ; a. of com. on समरसार.

शिव दैवज्ञ, son of श्रीकृष्ण दैवज्ञ of the भारद्वाजगोत्र ; a. of मुहूर्तचूडामणि.

शिवनन्दन a. of सिद्धान्ततिथिनिर्णय or तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व.

शिवनन्दननाग a. of तिथिनिर्णयतत्त्व (probably same as the preceding).

शिवनारायणानन्दतीर्थ a. of पञ्चक्रोशयात्रा.

शिवप्रसाद a. of प्रयोगप्रदीप or प्रयोगसार.

शिवप्रसाद, son of श्रीनिवास of पुष्करपुर; a. of स्मार्तोल्लास. Ms. No. 11958 (Baroda O. I.) was copied in 1610 (खगोनृपमिते शाके) and the work mentions मदनरत्न and टोडरानन्द and so was composed between 1585–1685 A. D.

शिवभट्ट a. of श्राद्धनिर्णय.

शिवभट्ट, son of गोविन्दसूरि (possibly same as above). Later than 1650 A. D. ; a. of षण्णवति-श्राद्धनिर्णय.

शिवराम, son of विश्राम of the Modha caste; a. of सुबोधिनीपद्धति and कारिकार्थबोधिनी com. on the गोभिलगृह्यसूत्र, नवग्रहशान्तिपद्धति, of com. on कर्मप्रदीप, छन्दोगानह्निक, शान्तिचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धचिन्तामणि, रुद्रचिन्तामणि, of मण्डपकुण्डमण्डन and com. प्रकाशिका.

शिवराम a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरण.

शिवराम a. of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग.

शिवराम a. of मन्त्रसारसंग्रह.

शिवराम a. of आरामोत्सर्गपद्धति, आह्निकपद्धति and आह्निकसंक्षेप, रुद्रार्चनचन्द्रिका.

शिवरामशुक्ल, son of विश्राम; a. of कृत्यचिन्तामणि composed in 1578 A. D. He is probably the same as above. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 72 pp. 64–65 gives 1562 शके (कक्षर्तुशरचन्द्रैश्च मिते शाके तु वत्सरे सुन्यङ्कसंमिते etc.) as date of copying.

शिवलाल सुकुल (शुक्ल ?) ; a. of जातिसाङ्कर्य.

शिवशङ्कर a. of विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

शिवस्वामिन् Earlier than 1150 A. D.: m. in मद. पा. (p. 619), in कालादर्श, स्मृतिच० (on आशौच p. 175), परा. मा. (I. part 2 p. 448).

शिवसूरि महाजन, son of त्र्यम्बक ; a. of कुण्डमण्डपकौमुदी and com. कुण्डालोक. Later than 1680 A. D.

शिवानन्द a. of उपनयनचिन्तामणि.

शिवानन्द, son of तारापति ठक्कुर ; a. of निर्णयदर्पण.

शिवानन्दगोस्वामिन् a. of लक्ष्मीनारायणार्चाकौमुदी

शिवानन्दभट्टगोस्वामिन् a. of तिथिनिर्णय.

शिवोपाध्याय a. of शिवरात्रिनिर्णय.

शीतलदीक्षित a. of मुहूर्तइलीन्द्र.

a. of विष्णुपूजाविधि. About 1635 A. D.

कदेवमिश्र, son of विट्ठलमिश्र; a. of स्मृतिचन्द्रिका.

शुक्राचार्य a. of नीतिसार.

श्वरनाथ (probably ईश्वरनाथशुक्ल); a. of स्मृतिकल्पद्रुम and com.

शुनःपुच्छ a. of स्मृति ; m. in मिताक्षरा (on याज्ञ. III. 16), अपरार्क pp. 887, 902.

शुनःशेप m. in हेमाद्रि and प्रायश्चित्तमयूख.

शुभङ्कर a of तिथिनिर्णय (one ms. in B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 153D p. 163 is dated शके 1679).

शुभाकर m. in पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त.

शूलपाणि Sec. 95 ; a. of दीपकलिका (com. on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति),of परिशिष्टदीपकलिका, स्मृतिविवेक (a digest of which at least 14 parts are known, vide p. 394). Aufrecht (I. 660) ascribes the समयप्रदीप to him, but this is not correct. Ms. No. 10849 प्रायश्चित्तविवेक (Baroda O. I.) was copied in संवत् 1501 माघ (Feb. 1445 A. D.).

शेषाचार्य a. of अशुद्धलारीय.

शौनक (numerous works are attributed to him ; the same शौनक cannot be the author of all) ; a. of अर्कविवाहपद्धति, अभ्यत्थोपापनपद्धति, अधोगुखजननशान्ति, एकदण्डिसंन्यासविधि, अद्भुतोत्पत्तिशान्ति, अनावृष्टिशान्ति, अपमृत्युजयशान्ति, जीवच्छ्राद्धप्रयोग, कारिकावली, of गृह्य and गृह्यपरिशिष्ट, of a धर्मशास्त्र work (in which प्रयोगपारिजात is mentioned), of बृहत्कारिकाऽ, of a स्मृति, of गर्भाधानादिषोडशकर्मपद्धति, नागबलि, पुत्रप्रतिग्रहप्रयोग, प्रणवकल्प, मूलनक्षत्रशान्तिप्रयोग, संन्यासग्रहणपद्धति.

शौरिदत्त, son of रामभद्र; a. of वाग्वती-तीर्थयात्राप्रकाश.

श्यामसुन्दर, son of गङ्गाधर ; a. of देवप्रतिष्ठाप्रयोग, समावर्तनप्रयोग.

श्यामसुन्दरभट्टाचार्य a.of आशौचदीपिका.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

श्रीकण्ठ Earlier than 1150 A. D. ; m. in स्मृत्यर्थसार of श्रीधर, डोण्डू's श्राद्धविधि and by रघुनन्दन.

श्रीकण्ठ a. of प्रयोगमञ्जरीसंहिता.

श्रीकण्ठतीर्थ, pupil of महादेवतीर्थ ; a. of भिक्षुतत्त्व.

श्रीकण्ठशर्मन् a. of शुद्धिसार.

श्रीकण्ठायन a. of चातुराश्रम्यधर्म.

श्रीकर Sec. 62.

श्रीकराचार्य, father of श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि. About 1475-1500 A.D.; a. of दायनिर्णय, विवादनिर्णय (of which दायनिर्णय seems to be part). Seems to have been connected with श्राद्धविवेकटीका also.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of com. on श्राद्धविवेक of शूलपाणि.

श्रीकृष्ण a. of स्मृतिसार.

श्रीकृष्ण तर्कालङ्कार a. of दायक्रमसंग्रह, and of com. on दायभाग. About the middle of the 18th century.

श्रीकृष्णभट्टाचार्य, son of नारायणबन्धघटीय; a. of संवत्सरप्रयोगसार.

श्रीकृष्णविद्यावागीश a. of शान्तिकल्पप्रदीप or कृत्यापल्लवदीपिका.

श्रीगर्भ a. of शूद्राह्निकाचार. Earlier than 1540 A. D,

श्रीदत्त Sec. 89. Between 1275-1310 A. D.; a. of आचारादर्श, छन्दोगाह्निक, पितृभक्ति (for students of यजुर्वेद), श्राद्धनिर्णय, श्राद्धकल्प (for students of सामवेद), समयप्रदीप, व्रतसार. Vide N. vol. III p. 34 and vol, II p. 363 for श्राद्धकल्प and N. vol. V p. 250 for पितृभक्ति. Aufrecht (I p. 668) is wrong in regarding पितृभक्ति as another name of श्राद्धकल्प; vide Ulwar cat. extract No. 351 for व्रतसार.

श्रीदत्त, son of नागेश्वरमिश्र. Before 1418 A. D.; a. of एकाग्निदानपद्धति, पुरश्चरणपद्धति, (m. in the एकाग्निदानपद्धति), आवसथ्याधानपद्धति (probably of this author and not of the preceding).

श्रीदेव a. of स्मृतितत्त्वप्रकाश.

श्रीधर, son of नागभर्तृ विष्णुभट्ट, of विश्वामित्रगोत्र. Sec. 81. ; a. of स्मृत्यर्थसार and श्रीधरीय.

श्रीधर a. of आशौचदशकटीका.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधान.

श्रीधर a. of कालविधानपद्धति. Probably the same as above.

श्रीधर son of बालचन्द्र, son of डौल who was sole minister of the king of Delhi. About 1500 A. D.; a. of जटमल्लविलास.

श्रीधर, son of प्रभाकरनायक; a. of नित्यकर्मपद्धति.. He was a follower of the माध्यन्दिन recension of शुक्लयजुर्वेद and based his work on कात्यायन; mentions रत्नकरण्डका. Ms. No. 603 (Baroda O. I.) is dated संवत् 1547 भाद्रपद (1490 A. D.). He wrote also भाष्य on विनायकशान्तिपद्धति. Vide Ms. No. 5491 (Baroda O. I.). He mentions विज्ञानेश्वर therein. The ms. was copied in संवत् 1607 माघ शुद्ध १३ (1551 A. D.). D. C. Ms. No. 119 of 1884-86 of the नित्यकर्मपद्धति is dated संवत् 1434 चैत्र वद्य १४ शनिवासर (i. e. 1378 A. D).

श्रीधर a. of विश्वामित्रसंहिता.

श्रीधर a. of भ्रष्टवैष्णवखण्डन.

श्रीधर, son of रामेश्वर and younger brother of नारायणभट्ट. About 1520-1590 A. D.; a. of सापिण्ड्यदीपिका or सापिण्ड्यनिर्णय.

श्रीधर (आग्निहोत्रिन्), son of श्रीसूर्य, son of नागेश; a. of कृष्णार्णव.

श्रीधरपति a. of दानचान्द्रिकावत

श्रीधरभट्ट a. of व्यवहारदशश्लोकी or दायदशक.

श्रीधरमिश्र a. of दानपरीक्षा.

श्रीधरसूरि a. of आचारपद्धति.

श्रीधरस्वामिन् m. by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II p. 25), in मलमासतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 820, as the author of a समुच्चय).

श्रीनाथ आचार्यचूडामणि, son of श्रीकर; a. of कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव or कृत्यकालविनिर्णय, विवेकार्णव and शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव, आचारचन्द्रिका, दानचन्द्रिका, and श्राद्धचन्द्रिका, गूढदीपिका and छन्दोगश्राद्धदीपिका or श्राद्धदीपिका, प्रायश्चित्तविवेक, दुर्गोत्सवविवेक, शुद्धिविवेक and of तात्पर्यदीपिका (com on तिथिविवेक of शूलपाणि), दायभागटिप्पनी (com. on दायभाग), श्राद्धविवेकव्याख्या (com. on शूलपाणि's श्राद्धविवेक), सारमञ्जरी (com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण). Between 1470-1540 A. D. as he quotes कुल्लूक, मदनपारिजात and शुद्धिचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति and as his शुद्धितत्त्वार्णव is quoted in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन and as रघुनन्दन speaks of him as his *guru* and mentions his श्राद्धचन्द्रिका in the यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jivananda vol. II p. 393).

श्रीनाथभट्ट a. of वृत्तकनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवास a. of लक्ष्मीसपर्यासार.

श्रीनिवास a. of सुबोधिनी com. on जैमिनिसूत्र and of सुबोधिनी on ब्राह्मणसूत्र.

श्रीनिवास a. of भक्तिविवेक.

श्रीनिवास a. of शुद्धिदीपिका (composed in 1159-60 A. D.).

श्रीनिवास a. of सदाचारस्मृति. Probly same as above.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of यादवाचार्य; a. of आह्निककौस्तुभ a com. on सदाचारस्मृति by आनन्दतीर्थ.

श्रीनिवास, pupil of कृष्ण; a. of स्मृतिसिन्धु.

श्रीनिवासतर्कवागीश a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

श्रीनिवासतीर्थ a. of सन्ध्यावन्दनभाष्य.

श्रीनिवासदीक्षित a. of ब्रह्मौदनप्रायश्चित्त.

श्रीनिवासपण्डित a. of सदाचारसंग्रह.

श्रीनिवासभट्ट, son of श्रीनिकेतन; a. of शिवार्चनचन्द्रिका and भैरवार्चापारिजात.

श्रीनिवासमखिन् a. of प्रायश्चित्तसुबोधिनी.

श्रीनिवासशिष्य, brother of सीताराम; a. of प्रयोगचन्द्रिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of वृत्तरत्नप्रदीपिका.

श्रीनिवासाचार्य a. of प्रणवदर्पण.

श्रीनिवासार्य, son of गोविन्दार्य of the कौशिकगोत्र; a. of तिथिनिर्णयकारिका and of श्रीनिवासदीक्षितीय (on वैखानससूत्र).

श्रीपति a. of अद्भुतसागरसार.

श्रीपति or नीलकण्ठ a. of दैवज्ञवल्लभ.

श्रीपति a. of मुहूर्तरत्नमाला m. by रघुनन्दन.

श्रीपति a. of व्यवहारनिर्णय m. by रघुनन्दन in एकादशीतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 39) and in मलमासतत्त्व.

श्रीपति a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय m. in संस्कारतत्त्व (vol. I. p. 928)

श्रीमीम vide under श्रीम.

श्रीवल्लभाचार्य of the भारद्वाजगोत्र, same as वल्लभाचार्य; a. of जगद्वल्लभा.

श्रीशैलताताचार्य, son of सुन्दरार्य; a. of वचनसारसंग्रह.

श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी com. on शारदातिलक.

श्लोकात्यायन m. by अपरार्क p. 485.

श्लोकगोभिल m. by हेमाद्रि.

श्लोकगौतम m. by कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन, अपरार्क (p. 483), कालमाधव (p. 153).

श्लोकव्यास m. in मद. पा.

श्लोकापस्तम्ब m. in आचारमयूख.

श्वेतकेतु m. in आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13 19.

संकर्षणशरण a. of वैष्णवधर्मसुरद्रुममञ्जरी.

सचलामिश्र a. of स्मृतिसार (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 447 p. 524).

सच्चिदानन्द a. of वैदिकाचारनिर्णय.

सच्चिदानन्दनाथ a. of ललितार्चनचन्द्रिका.

सच्चिदानन्दसरस्वती a. of यतिसिद्धान्तनिर्णय.

सत्य (probably a purely astronomical writer) m. in कालविवेक (p. 191) of जीमूतवाहन, अपरार्क(p.550). A सत्याचार्य is mentioned by वराहमिहिर (6th century) in his बृहज्जातक.

सत्यतपस् a. of a स्मृति; m. in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, in कालमाधव (p. 88), in नि. सि.

सत्यनाथतीर्थ a. of कर्मप्रकाशिका (com. on जयतीर्थ's टीका on कर्मनिर्णय of आनन्दतीर्थ).

सत्यव्रत a. of स्मृति; m. by कालविवेक of जीमूत० (p. 141), आह्निकसागर of कुल्लूक, स्मृतिच०, अपरार्क (pp. 134, 527, 548).

सत्याधीशशिष्य a. of आशौचसंग्रह.

सदानन्द a. of com. on विष्णुपूजाक्रमदीपिका.

सदानन्द a. of छन्दोगाह्निक

सदानन्द a. of दिव्यसंग्रह.

सदानन्दस्वामिन् a. of शैवसुधाकर (B. O. mss. cat vol. I No. 387 p. 454)

सदाराम son of देवेश्वर; a. of प्रायश्चित्तसदोदय.

सदाराम a. of आचारचन्द्रोदय.

सदाराम a. of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय.

सदाशङ्कर a. of प्रायश्चित्तसेतु.

सदाशिव, son of गदाधर of the दशपुत्र family. First quarter of 18th century A,D.; a. of आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका, आशौचस्मृतिचन्द्रिका (composed for king जयसिंह of जयनगर), लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका.

सदाशिव a. of चतुरशीतिज्ञातिप्रशस्ति.

सदाशिव, son of त्रिपाठि परमानन्द; a. of दानमनोहर (composed in 1678–79 A. D. at the bidding of गौडेश मनोहरदास).

सदाशिव a. of दायभागटीका.

सदाशिव (same as आपदेव q. v.); a. of सापिण्ड्यकल्पलतिका.

सदाशिवदीक्षित a. of ग्रहयज्ञदीपिका.

सदाशिवद्विवेदिन् a. of शालग्रामलक्षण.

सनत्कुमार m. in नि. सि., निर्णयामृत, श्रिस्थलीसेतु.

सनातनगोस्वामिन्, son of कुमार and pupil of चैतन्य and brother of रूप and वल्लभ. About 1500-1550 A. D.; a. of भक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु and हरिभक्तिविलासटीका.

सप्तर्षि- a स्मृति is ascribed to them. Vide under सप्तर्षिसंमतस्मृति.

सप्तप्रकर a. of भाष्य on श्राद्धसूत्र (कात्यायनीय); m. in श्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. I pp. 194, 220), आह्निकतत्त्व (vol. I pp. 336, 388), तिथितत्त्व (vol. I p. 174), शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II p. 311).

संग्रहभट्ट About 1000 A. D.; m. in कालविवेक of जीमूत० (pp. 240, 255).

सरस्वतीतीर्थ or नरहरि a. of स्मृतिदर्पण. About 1300 A. D.

सर्वज्ञनारायण vide under नारायणसर्वज्ञ.

सर्वेश्वर, son of विश्वेश्वर, son of भूतेश्वर; a. of व्यवहारसर्वस्व.

सर्वेश्वर, son of लीलाधर; a. of संध्याकारिका.

सर्वोऽ त्रिवेदिन् a. of विवादसारार्णव (compiled for Sir William Jones in 1789).

सहस्रस्वामिन् m. in com. on आशौचाष्टक of वररुचि.

सांख्यायन vide under शाङ्खायन.

सामराज a. of व्रतरत्नाकर.

साम्बभट्ट a. of गायत्रीपुरश्चरणप्रयोग.

साम्बाजी or साबाजी प्रतापराज, son of पण्डित पद्मनाभ of जामदग्न्यवत्सगोत्र. He was a protegee of निजामसाह; a. of परशुरामप्रताप and भार्गवार्चनदीपिका (vide ms. No. 5887 Baroda O. I. for राजवल्लभकाण्ड of the परशुरामप्रताप and दानकाण्डपर्व is a part of it).

सायण, brother of माधवाचार्य and son of मायण. Vide sec. 92. Several works are attributed to him, but one cannot be certain of their authenticity; a. of गोभिलगृह्यसूत्रभाष्य, जातिविवेकशतप्रश्न, पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि, संध्याभाष्य, प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि, रामतत्त्वप्रकाश, स्मृतिसंग्रह.

सारङ्गपाणि, son of मुकुन्द; a. of विवाहपटल.

सार्वभौम (this is a mere title); a. of स्मृतिग्रन्थराज, दायभागव्यवस्था.

साहेबराम a. of तीर्थसंग्रह.

सिद्धनाथ a. of तुलादानप्रकरण.

सिद्धलक्ष्मण a. of तिथिनिर्णय (composed by order of king प्रतापदेव of Kālpī).

सिद्धान्तपञ्चानन a. of दायतत्त्व (part of द्वैततत्त्व).

सिद्धान्तवागीश, son of श्रीहर्षाचार्य; a. of शुद्धालोक com. on मिताक्षरा (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 383 p. 448).

सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य. Not later than 1610 A. D.; a. of तीर्थकौस्तुभ, कृत्यकौस्तुभ, व्यवहारकौस्तुभ, शुद्धिकौस्तुभ, संक्रान्तिकौस्तुभ.

सिद्धान्तवाचस्पति a. of शुद्धिमकरन्द.

सिद्धेश्वर, son of दामोदर, son of शङ्करभट्ट. About 1630-1670 A.D.; a. of संस्कारभास्कर or संस्कारमयूख, संस्कारामृत.

सीताराम, son of नऊजुण्ड of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र; a. of तत्त्वविवृति com. on नीतिप्रकाश of वैशम्पायन.

सीतारामचन्द्र, son of श्रीधर्माभट्ट and कामक्का and grandson of नृसिंह, of कौण्डिन्यगोत्र; a. of कालनिर्णयचन्द्रिका.

सीतारामशास्त्रिन् a. of दत्तरत्नार्पण.

सुदर्शनाचार्य, son of वाग्विजय. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of तात्पर्यदर्शन com. on आपस्तम्बगृह्य (pr. in Kashi S. series); आह्निकसार, तिथिनिर्णय, श्राद्धनिर्णय; m. in भट्टोजि's com. on चतुर्विंशतिमत and in विधानपारिजात, by नारायणभट्ट in his प्रयोगरत्न, in the द्वैतनिर्णय of शङ्करभट्ट. He mentions कपर्दिभाष्य in the तात्पर्यदर्शन.

सुन्दर, son of राघव; a. of वाराणसीदर्पण.

सुन्दरसेन m. in com. on नीतिवाक्यामृत.

सुब्रह्मण्य, son of वेङ्कटेश. Later than 1400 A. D.; a. अभिनवषडशीति with com. धर्मप्रदीपिका.

सुमन्तु Sec. 29.

सुरेश्वर a. of यतिसंध्यावार्तिक.

सुरेश्वर a. of तिथिस्वरूप or सर्वतिथिस्वरूप.

सुरेश्वर उपाध्याय. Earlier than 1500 A. D.; a. of व्यवहारोच्चय.

सुरेश्वरस्वामि, pupil of रघुरामतीर्थ; a. of उपचारषोडशरत्नमाला and महादेवपरिचर्याप्रयोग.

सुरेश्वराचार्य a. of काशीस्मृतिमोक्षनिर्णय or काशीमोक्षनिर्णय.

सुरोत्तमाचार्य a. of विष्णुतीर्थीयव्याख्यान.

सूरमिश्र a. of जगन्नाथप्रकाश (compiled under orders of जगन्नाथ, king of कान्यकुब्ज).

सूरुभट्टलक्ष्मीनरसिंह a. of कालामृत.

सूर्यपण्डित. Later than 1500 A. D.; a. of com. on कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्राचार्य.

सूर्यकरशर्मन् a. of दानपद्धति (compiled at the bidding of नवराज).

सूर्यनारायण (इन्द्रगण्टि) a. of आह्निकभास्कर.

सूर्यराम a. of कर्मविपाकसार.

सूर्यसेन (reputed) a. of निर्णयामृत.

सोढदेव, son of गौतमदेवनार्थ, son of बुधदेव who was treasurer (कोष्ठाधिकारी) to a गौड prince; a. of शैवामृत (B. O. mss. cat. vol. I No. 389 p. 456).

सोमकीर्ति आचार्य a. of सप्तव्यसनकथासमुच्चय.

सोमदत्त m. in हेमाद्रि (कालखण्ड p. 79).

सोमदेव a. of नीतिवाक्यामृत. He wrote his यशस्तिलक in śake 881 (969-70 A. D.).

सोमनाथ a. of भक्तिरहस्य.

सोमनाथ, son of मुद्गल and झापाम्बिका and surnamed सकलकल and a resident of जलग्राम; a. of जाति माला (D. C. No. 302 of 1884-1886 is a work in about 160 verses in various metres on लक्ष्मीनिन्दा, वैराग्य, पार्वतीस्तुति, but not on धर्मशास्त्र or castes).

सोमनाथभट्ट, son of सूरभट्ट of the नित्तल family; a. of सोमनाथीय.

सोममिश्र m. in अपिपाल's शूद्रपद्धति.

सोमव्यास a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

सोमशम्भु, pupil of सद्भिव, pupil of ईशान; a. of कर्मक्रियाकाण्ड (composed in 1073 A. D.). HP. cat. p. XI.

सोमसुन्दराशिष्य a. of विवाहपटलस्तबक.

सोमेश्वर भूलोकमल्ल Cālukya king, son of विक्रमादित्य. Reigned 1127-1138 A. D.; a. of अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि or मानसोल्लास (composed in śake 1051 i. e. 1129 A. D.).

सौम्य m. in स्मृतिच०.

स्थूलशीर्ष m. in नि. सि.

स्मार्त i. e. रघुनन्दनभट्टाचार्य m. in the व्य. म.

स्वल्पयोग्लोक m. in कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन; vide p. 286 n. 631.

स्वल्पसंवर्त m. in स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हरजीभट्ट About 1610 A. D.; a. of मुहूर्तचन्द्रकला.

हरदत्त Sec. 86; a. of अनाकुला (com. on आप. गृ. सू.), अनाविला (com. on आश्व. गृ. सू.), उज्ज्वला (com. on आप. ध. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्बीय मन्त्रप्रश्न or मन्त्रपाठ (or एकाग्निकाण्डमन्त्र), मिताक्षरा (com. on गौ. ध. सू.), com. on आपस्तम्बपरिभाषासूत्र.

हरदत्त a. of स्मृतिसंग्रह.

हरि a. of आशौचनिर्णय.

हरि a. of सहृदय.

हरि, son of नरसिंह of the अत्रिपुत्र family; a. of एकादशीनिर्णय (composed at विराट्नगर, modern Wai, on the Kṛṣṇā river).

हरि a. of शिवाराधनदीपिका.

हरिकृष्ण सिद्धान्त a. of मकरन्दप्रकाश. (ms. dated 1668 A. D.)

हरिगण a. of व्यवहारसमुच्चय.

हरिगिरि a. of कुरुक्षेत्रानुक्रमणिका.

हरिजीवनमिश्र a. of स्नानसूत्रपद्धति.

हरिदत्त son of सूधर; a. of कर्मदीपिका (ms. No. 6892, Baroda O. I.).

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of तिथिचन्द्रिका.

हरिदत्तमिश्र a. of व्यवहारपरिभाषा.

हरिदास, son of पुरुषोत्तम; a. of प्रस्तावरत्नाकर (composed in संवत् 1614 i. e. 1557-58 A. D.).

हरिदास, son of वत्सराज; a. of लेखमुक्तामणि. Earlier than 1625 A. D.

हरिदासतर्काचार्य m. by रघुनन्दन in शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 243)

हरिदीक्षित a. of com. on दायभाग.

हरिदेवभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुल्लुकभट्ट.

हरिदेवसूरि a. of विवाहपटल.

हरिनन्दन a. of मुहूर्तरत्नाकर.

हरिनन्दन a. of गङ्गाभक्तिप्रकाश (composed in 1795-96 A. D.).

हरिनाथ Sec. 91 ; a. of स्मृतिसार or -सारसमुच्चय.

हरिनाथमिश्र a. of दत्तकतत्त्वनिर्णय or -विनिर्णय.

हरिनाथाचार्य a. of सङ्केतकौमुदी, सन्तानदीपिका.

हरिनारायण a. of मुहूर्तमञ्जरी.

हरिनारायण a. of वर्षकृत्य.

हरिनारायण a. of शुद्धितत्त्वकारिका (based on रघुनन्दन's work).

हरिनारायण (a title of भैरवसिंह king of मिथिला) a. of महार्णव divided into seven तरङ्गs on कृत्य, आचार, विवाद, व्यवहार, दान, शुद्धि and श्राद्ध. B. O. mss. cat. vol. I. No. 76 p. 69 contains the first viz. on कृत्य.

हरिप्रसाद, son of मकरन्द; a. of आचारतत्त्व.

हरिप्रसाद, son of गङ्गेश or गङ्गेश्वर of मथुरा ; a. of सद्धर्मतत्त्वाह्निक in 62 verses.

हरिप्रसादशर्मन् a. of प्रतिष्ठाप्रकाश.

हरिभट्ट a. of मुहूर्तमुक्तावली.

हरिभट्ट a. of विवाहरत्न.

हरिभट्टदीक्षित a. of अन्त्यकर्मदीपिका.

हरिभानु शुक्ल a. of शास्त्रसारावली.

हरिभास्करशर्मन्, son of आपाजिभट्ट or आयाजिभट्ट. Vide under भास्करशर्मन्.

हरिमिश्र a. of विधवाविवाहविचार.

हरिराम Later than 1600 A. D. ; a. of com. on अत्रिस्मृति, of आह्निकसार, of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्टप्रकाश of नारायण, of प्रायश्चित्तसार, of com. on बृहस्पतिस्मृति, of com. on मलमासतत्त्व, of व्यवहारप्रकाश, श्राद्धवर्णन, षट्कर्मविवेक.

हरिराय a. of शिवपूजनपद्धति.

हरिराय गोस्वामिन् a. of तप्तमुद्राविवेक.

हरिलाल a. of दीपिका (com. on आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त).

हरिलालमिश्र a. of तिथ्युक्तिरत्नावली.

हरिवंश m. as a predecessor in कालविवेक of जीमूत० and in शुद्धितत्त्व of रघु० (vol. II. p. 295).

हरिशङ्कर a. of यात्राप्रयोगतत्त्व.

हरिशर्मन् Earlier than 1500 A. D.; m. in प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघु० (vol. I p. 531) as भाष्यकार of पारस्करगृह्य, in शुद्धितत्त्व (vol. II. p. 305), उद्वाहतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 143) etc. ; in यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (vol. II. p. 488) हरिहर and हरिशर्मन् are separately mentioned in the same sentence on a passage of the कातीयगृह्य.

हरिश्चन्द्र a. of धर्मसंग्रह.

हरि सामन्तराज, son of कृष्ण ; a. of सूर्यप्रकाश.

हरिसेन of Benares ; a. of राजनीति.

हरिहर a. of com. on आशौचदशक or दशश्लोकी. Ms. (Baroda O. I.) No. 1526 is dated शके 1448.

हरिहर (probably the same as हरिहर above) a jurist m. in वि. र.

हरिहर a. of com. on छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट-प्रकाश of नारायण.

हरिहर a. of प्रयोगरत्न.

हरिहर, son of भास्कर alias भानुभट्ट ; a. of अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति (following the भारद्वाजसूत्र).

हरिहर आग्निहोत्रिन् Sec. 84. Between 1275-1400 ; a. of भाष्य on पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र and पद्धति thereon and of com. on स्नानविधिसूत्र of कात्यायन.

हरिहरपाण्डित, son of नारायण ; a. of आचारसंग्रह.

हरिहरभट्टाचार्य a. of समयप्रदीप (composed in śake 1481 i. e. 1559-60 A. D.).

हरीश्वर a. of श्राद्धिपरिच्छेद (B. O. Mss. cat. vol. I. No. 379 p. 434). Later than 1450, as he mentions रत्नाकर and श्राद्धविवेक.

हर्ष or श्रीहर्षदीक्षित a. of हर्षकौमुदी (com.) on दायतिलक.

हर्षणभट्ट m. in श्राद्धसागर of

हलधरदीक्षित, son of पद्मनाभ ; a. of स्मृतिदर्पण.

हलायुध 1000-1100 A. D. ; a jurist m. in कल्पतरु, वि. र., स्मृतिसार of हरिनाथ.

हलायुध, son of धनञ्जय of the वत्सगोत्र, brother of ईशान and पशुपति. Sec. 72. ; a. of ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व, पाण्डितसर्वस्व, वैष्णवसर्वस्व, शैवसर्वस्व, कर्मोपदेशिनी.

हलायुध a. of com. on श्राद्धपद्धति of पशुपति.

हलायुध, son of सङ्कर्षण. Between 1200-1400 A. D. ; a. of com. प्रकाश on the श्राद्धकल्पसूत्र of कात्यायन. Vide p. 301 above.

हलायुध, son of पुरुषोत्तम ; a. of पुरुषसर्वस्व (composed in 1474 A.D.).

हलायुध a. of संवत्सरप्रदीप (mentioned in the एकादशीतत्त्व and शुद्धितत्त्व).

हलायुधभट्ट a. of com. on the मिताक्षरा of विज्ञानेश्वर.

हलिरामशर्मन् a. of कामरूपयात्रापद्धति.

हारीत. Sec. 11, 56 ; a. of धर्मसूत्र and (another हारीत) a. of a स्मृति in verse on व्यवहार &c.

हिरण्यकेतु m. in श्राद्धसागर of कुलूक.

हिरण्यकेशिन् a. of धर्मसूत्र, पितृमेधसूत्र, गृह्यसूत्र.

हृदयनाथ a. of नान्दीमुखनिरूपण (B. O. mss. cat. No. 242 p. 264) ; ms. dated शके 1753.

हृदयानन्द विद्यालङ्कार a. of ज्योतिःसार-संग्रह.

हेमकरभट्ट m. by कुल्लूक in श्राद्धसागर.

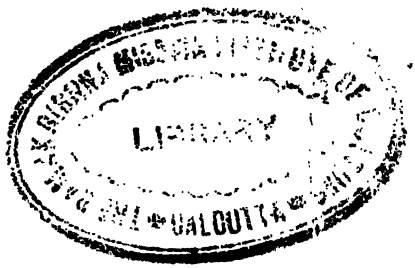
हेमाचार्य a. of अर्हन्नीति. Flourished between 1088-1172 A. D.

हेमाद्रि, son of कामदेव, son of वासुदेव. Sec. 87 ; a. of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, श्राद्धकल्प (according to कात्यायन).

हेमाद्रि a. of तिथ्यलीविधि.

हेमाद्रि a. of लक्षणसमुच्चय.

होरिलमिश्र (or होलिल); a. of परमेश्वरीदासाब्धि or स्मृतिसंग्रह, श्राद्धकृत्यप्रदीप (Ulwar cat. extract No. 355), श्राद्धकल्पदीप.



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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY
PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY; SENIOR ADVOCATE,
FEDERAL COURT OF INDIA; FELLOW AND VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY;
AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS' &c.

VOL. II PART I

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PREFACE

It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmaśāstra was published. In the preface to that volume I expressed the hope that time and health permitting I might issue in a few years the second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. For several years thereafter whatever leisure I could secure from professional work was devoted to the collection and orderly assortment of the vast Literature on Dharmaśāstra. After my return from a few months' visit to Europe in 1937 I commenced the work of writing the second volume. It soon became apparent to me that to compress within the limits of a single volume the development of the thousand and one topics that fall within the purview of Dharmaśāstra would present only a scrappy and faint outline of the whole field. To add to the difficulties of my task my old painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) recurred with far greater virulence than before, so much so that, partly on medical advice and partly out of despair, in October 1938 I gave up the work altogether. When relief did not come even after six months' total abstinence from literary labours I resumed, in spite of my extremely painful complaint, the work of writing, for fear that otherwise the extensive materials that I had been collecting for nearly two decades might be entirely lost to the world of Sanskrit scholars and that my labours might be altogether wasted. Being afraid that my strength and resolution may not last till the completion of the rather ambitious undertaking, I decided upon bringing out in two volumes the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. The present volume contains the treatment of varṇa and āśrama, the saṁskāras, āhnika and ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and other śāstras on Dharmaśāstra, customs and usages modifying Dharmaśāstra, the philosophical background of Dharmaśāstra, and future developments in Dharmaśāstra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

expected to be published. I may state, however, that in view of the fact that at present I am in much better health than I have been for several years I shall try to publish it in three years more.

Excellent works dealing with distinct topics of Dharmaśāstra have been given to the world by eminent scholars. But so far as I know no writer has yet attempted single-handed to survey the whole field of Dharmaśāstra. From that point of view this volume partakes of the nature of a pioneer undertaking. It is therefore to be expected that such an ambitious project will manifest the defects of all pioneer work. The circumstances (adverted to above) in which this work had to be written and the great hurry with which it had to be rushed through are other factors that are responsible for the awkward or obscure expressions and the errors that it may contain. I mention these matters for lessening the surprise that such blemishes might lead my friends to feel and not for blunting the edge of adverse criticism. The critic is certainly entitled to mercilessly criticize the work for its shortcomings and mistakes. Some readers may complain that the present work is prolix, while others may say that the space devoted to several topics is meagre. I have tried to pursue a middle course.

There was great temptation throughout this work to compare ancient and medieval Indian customs, usages and beliefs as disclosed by dharmaśāstra works with those of other peoples and countries. But I have tried to omit, as far as possible, such comparisons. Whenever I indulge in them I do so for several reasons. It is the fashion among many writers, both European and Indian, to hold the caste system and the dharmaśāstra view of life responsible for most of the evils from which India suffers at present. To a very large extent I do not subscribe to that view. I have endeavoured to show that human nature being the same in essentials throughout the world, the same tendencies and evils manifest themselves in all countries, the same abuses prevail and the same perversions of originally beneficent institutions take place everywhere and anywhere, whether particular countries or societies are within the grip of the caste system or any other casteless system. Undoubtedly the caste system has in fact produced certain evils, but it is not singular in this respect. No system is perfect and immune from evil effects. Though I have been brought up in the midst of the Brahmanical system, I hope it will be conceded by scholars

that I have shown both sides of the picture and that I have endeavoured to write with detachment.

A few words must be said about the extensive quotations from Sanskrit works and the references to modern Indian Legislation and case-law. For those who cannot read English (most *pandits* and *śāstris* do not) the quotations will be of great help in understanding at least the trend of the arguments. Besides Indian scholars are as a class poor and cannot afford to purchase numerous books. Nor are there many good libraries in India where all works of reference can be had. For all these reasons thousands of quotations have been cited in the footnotes. The quotations are mostly drawn from published works and references to mss. are few and far between. I hope that the numerous quotations will not intrude themselves on the attention of those who want to read only the English portion of the work. Legislative enactments and case-law have been referred to for showing that many regulations of dharmaśāstra are still very much alive, that they govern the every-day life of Hindus and permeate all classes of Hindu society in spite of the fact that a considerable part of dharmaśāstra has become obsolete. Similar remarks apply to the numerous references to inscriptions on stone and copper. These latter serve to prove that rules laid down in the dharmaśāstra were throughout two thousand years observed by the people and enforced by kings and that such rules were not mere precepts composed by dreamers or scholastic pedants.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that I am under deep obligations to many predecessors and workers in the same and other fields and to many friends. Among the works to which I had to refer constantly and from which I derived the greatest benefit I must specially refer to the following: Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller (vol. II, VII, XII, XIV, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXIIII, XLI, XLIII, XLIV). As I was handicapped by the fact that I know little German and less French, I could not fully utilise all the work done by modern European scholars. I am highly obliged to Paramahaṁsa Kevalānanda Svāmī of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintāmaṇśāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on darśapūrṇamāsa and for carefully going through the other chapters on śrauta; to Mr. Keshav Lakshman Ogale for his work on a

portion of the Index; to Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje for reading through the whole work and suggesting additions and emendations.

Besides, assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for over three years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. Rangaswami Ayyangar Prof. P. P. S. Śāstrī, Dr. Alsdorf, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. G. H. Khare, Mr. N. C. Bapat, Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Mr. L. S. Dravid (a Sāmavedī of Poona), Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, Mr. P. K. Gode. Thanks are due to all these and other friends for their help and interest in this volume. I must state, however, that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this work.

In a work containing thousands of quotations and references it is very likely that many slips have occurred. Besides it is very much to be regretted that several misprints have crept into the footnotes by the loss or displacement of dots and other loose parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing.

15th June 1941 P. V. KANE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. R. = All India Reporter (edited by Mr. V. V. Chitaley of Nagpur).
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.
Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.
Āp. gṛ. = Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha.
Āp. Śr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.
Āśv. gṛ. = Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.
Baud. gṛ. = Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Baud. śr. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.
Bhār. gṛ. = Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I-XII).
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.
Chān. Up. or Ch. Up. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
C. I. I. = (Volumes of) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal.
Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).
Cr. ed. = Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports).
D. C. = Deccan College Collection of Sanskrit Mss.
Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.
Die Frau = Die Frau im Brahmanismus by Dr. M. Winternitz (1920, Leipzig).

E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (edited by James Hastings).
F. n. = Footnote.
Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).
Gaut. = Dharmasūtra of Gautama.
Gṛ. R. = Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara.
G. S. = Gupta *saṁvat*.
H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).
Hir. gṛ. = Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.
J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Jiv. = Pandit Jivānanda's edition.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Kāṭhaka S. = Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.
Kauṭ. = Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (decided by the Privy Council), the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.
Mait. S. = Maitrāyaṇi-saṁhitā.
Mānava gṛ. = Mānava-gṛhyasūtra.
Mārk. or Mārkaṇḍeya = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
n. = footnote.
Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law.
Pār. gṛ. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.

Q. = Quoted.

Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.'

Rg. = Ṛgveda.

Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Saṁskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.

Sam. P. or Pr. = Saṁskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.

Sam. R. M. or S. R. M. = Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopīnātha.

Śāṅ. gṛ. = Śāṅkhyāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.

Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Prof. Max Müller).

Sch. C. O. = Scheduled castes Order of 1936.

Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā.

Sm. M. or Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.

Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadārthanirvacana.

S. V. = Sāmaveda.

Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

Tai. S. or Saṁ. = Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.

Vaik. or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.

V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Yati. Dh. S. or Yati-dh. = Yatidharma-saṁgraha.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft.

आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप. ध. सू. or आप. ध. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. म. पाठ = आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ

आप. श्रौ. सू. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र

आश्व. श्रौ. = 'आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेदसंहिता

ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेयारण्यक

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्

कात्या. = कात्यायन

कात्या. श्रौ. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

कौषीतकि ब्रा.उ.=कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गृ. र. or गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
जै. उ. ब्रा. = जैमिनीयोपनिषद्ब्राह्मण
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उ. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
पा. = पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी
पूर्वमी. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests)
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. or बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
ब्रा. = ब्राह्मण
मनु = मनुस्मृति
मिता. = मिताक्षरा (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका)
मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृतिभाष्यकार)
मै. सं. or मैत्रा. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
मैत्री. उप. = मैत्र्युपनिषद्
यति. ध. सं. = यतिधर्मसंग्रह
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वि. चि = विवादचिन्तामणि
विश्वरूप=याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका of विश्वरूप
वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर
वै. स्मा. or वैखा. स्मा.=वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र
व्य. म. or व्यव. म. = व्यवहारमयूख
शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण
शां. गृ. = शांख्यायनगृह्य
शां. श्रौ. = शांख्यायनश्रौत
शूद्रकम. = शूद्रकमलाकर
सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ
सं. प्र. = संस्कारप्रकाश
सं. र. मा. = संस्काररत्नमाला
स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृ. मु. or स्मृतिमु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and only tentative.

4000 B. C.-1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. It is possible that some hymns may go back to a period even earlier than 4000 B. C. and that some Upaniṣads (even out of those that are regarded as the principal and the earliest ones) are later than 1000 B. C.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta.

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lātyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa, Satyāṣāḍha) and some of the gṛhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—The dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini.

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra.

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

150 B. C. —Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

200 B. C.—200 A. D.—Manusmṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Śabara, com. of Jaimini.

300 A. D.—500 A. D.—Bṛhaspatismṛti (not yet found).

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya.

400 A. D.—600 A. D.—Kātyāyanasmṛti (not yet found).

505 A. D.—587 A. D.—Varāha-mihira, author of Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantravārtika of Kumārila.

788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṁkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.

600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smṛtis and some of the purāṇas.
800 A. D.—850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, com. of Yājñavalkya.
900 A. D. —Medhātithi, com. of Manu
1100 A. D. —Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.
1100 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara.
1100 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana.
1125 A. D. —Aparārka.
1150 A. D.–1200 A. D.—Smṛtyarthasāra.
1200 A. D.–1225 A. D.—Smṛticandrikā.
1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Haradatta.
1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Kullūka.
1260 A. D.–1270 A. D.—Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi.
1310 A. D.–1360 A. D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of the Gṛhastharatnākara and other Ratnākaras.
1300 A. D.–1380 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
1360 A. D.–1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta.
1425 A. D.–1450 A. D.—Madanaratna.
1520 A. D.–1570 A. D.—Raghunandana.
1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirnayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara.
1615 A. D.–1645 A. D.—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other Mayūkhas.
1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Mitra Miśra, author of Vīramitrodaya.
1650 A. D.–1680 A. D.—Anantadeva, author of Saṁskāra-kaustubha.
About 1686 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
1700 A. D.–1750 A. D.—Nāgojībhaṭṭa.
1750 A. D.–1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of Bālambhaṭṭī.
1790 A. D. —Dharmasindhu (of Kāśīnātha).

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of showing honour to guests. Motive of the injunction about guests was universal kindliness. Taking leave of a guest.

CHAP. XXII. 757-806

Bhojana (taking meals). Importance attached to purity of food. Rules about *bhojana* in Vedic Literature. Direction in which to take food. Times of taking food. Vessels to be used in *bhojana*. Preliminaries before bhojana (such as ācamana, prāṇāhutis &c.). Posture at time of eating. How much to eat. How paṅktis (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are *paṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. Etiquette at time of bhojana. Occasions (like eclipses) when abstaining from food was prescribed. What food should or should not be eaten. Various grounds on which food was forbidden. Flesh-eating in Vedic times. Sacredness of cow. *Pañcagavya*. Occasions when cow could be offered in sacrifices. Rules about the flesh of beasts, birds and fishes. Causes of the giving up of flesh-eating. Kṣatriyas have been meat-eaters from ancient times. Rules about taking milk and its products and about certain herbs and vegetables. Exhaustive list of persons whose food may not be taken. Great fluctuations about the rules as to whose food may not be taken by a brāhmaṇa. Laxity about food prepared with ghee, oil or milk. Food from five classes of śūdras could be taken by brāhmaṇas in the times of sūtras, but later on this was forbidden. Rules about persons who could cook and serve food for brāhmaṇas. Drinking liquor in ancient times. All intoxicants forbidden to brāhmaṇas from sūtra times, but some intoxicants allowed to kṣatriyas and others. *Madyas* of various kinds. *Tāmbūla* after bhojana. Acts to be done after bhojana. Rules about sleeping. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Rules about *Rajasvalā* (a woman in her monthly illness). Rules about the distribution of the king's duties—in the several parts of the day and night.

CHAP. XXIII. 807-818

Upākarma (starting of the session of vedic studies) and *utsarjana* (cessation from vedic studies). Divergence about time of upākarma. Explanation of the importance attached to the month of Śrāvaṇa and the Śravaṇa constellation. Procedure of upākarma in ancient times. Analysis of the constituents of upākarma in modern times. Holiday after upākarma. Divergence about times of utsarjana. Description of modern *utsarjana*.

CHAP. XXIV. 819–836

Minor gṛhya and other rites. Pārvaṇa sthālīpāka. *Caitrī*. Sītāyajña. Śrāvaṇī and Sarpabali. Serpent-worship from ancient times. Festival in honour of Indra. *Aśvayujī*. *Agrayaṇa iṣṭi*. Āgrahāyaṇī. Śūlagava or Īśānabali. Vāstupratiṣṭhā, ancient and modern.

CHAP. XXV. 837–888

Dāna (gifts). Dāna is a special feature of householder's stage. Gifts highly extolled in the Ṛgveda. Gift of horses censured in some works. Gifts of land were not favoured in very early times. Difference between dāna, yāga and homa. Meaning of iṣṭāpūrta. All could make gifts (including women and śūdras). Persons fit and unfit to be donees. What things could be donated and what not. Three classes of things that could be given. Dānas of three kinds, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. Making gifts in secret eulogised. Certain gifts should not be spurned. Gifts of certain things forbidden. Proper times for making gifts. Generally gifts not to be made at night. Gifts at times of eclipses, *saṁkrānti* and on *ayana* days specially recommended. Proper places for gifts. Presiding deities of various articles of gift. General procedure of making gifts. Kings were required to make various kinds of gifts to brāhmaṇas. Spending money for marriages of brāhmaṇas and settling them in houses highly eulogised. Gifts of land the most meritorious. Smṛti rules about land-grants followed in epigraphic records. Verses deprecating the resumption of gifts made by earlier kings. Prior gifts to temples and brāhmaṇas excepted in grants of villages. Taxes remitted in royal grants. The eight *bhogas* in relation to land grants. Discussion whether king is owner of all lands in the kingdom. Gifts called mahādānas described in purāṇas. Sixteen mahādānas. Procedure of Tulā-puruṣa and other mahādānas. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called *dhenus* such as of ghee, jaggery &c. Ten kinds of gifts called *parvata* or *meru dānas* viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame &c. Establishing a pavilion for distributing water. Gift of books. Gifts for propitiating planets. Founding of hospitals. Expiations for accepting gifts which should not have been accepted. When gift becomes irrevocable. Kinds of invalid gifts. Gifts to dharma held void by modern courts.

CHAP. XXVI. 889–916

Pratiṣṭhā and *Utsarga* (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and śūdras also could spend on *pūrta-*

dharma, though not on iṣṭa (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purāṇas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient India. Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purāṇa. In later times other details added from Tantra works. Three kinds of Nyāsas viz, mātṛkānyāsa, tattvanyāsa and mantranyāsa. Consecration of the image of Viṣṇu from Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) becomes necessary. *Jīrṇoddhāra* (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of. Founding of maṭhas (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a maṭha. Maṭhas said to have been established by the great teacher Śaṁkarācārya. The origin of maṭhas in general. How property of maṭha devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a maṭha. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and maṭha properties. Modern legislation dealing with religious and charitable endowments. *Yogakṣema* is impartible. Control of founder on work dedicated to the public. Powers of a *shebait* to remove an idol or to establish another.

CHAP. XXVII. 917-929

Vānaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śāstra. Time for becoming a vānaprastha. Principal points connected with being a vānaprastha. If he suffers from an incurable disease, he may start on the great journey till the body falls to rise no more. Intricate classification of vānaprasthas in Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra and others. Members of all varṇas except śūdras could become vānaprasthas. Members of princely houses as vānaprasthas. Ending one's life by starting on the great journey (mahāprasthāna) or by fire or water or falling from a precipice when and why allowed. Historical examples of this practice. This practice prohibited in the Kali age. Most of the duties prescribed for vānaprasthas

are the same as those for saṁnyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nāradīya-purāṇa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII. 930–975

Saṁnyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upanisads. Jābālopaniṣad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of saṁnyāsa gathered from the dharmasūtras and smṛtis. Tridaṇḍi and ekadaṇḍi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, *kutīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa* and their characteristics. Popular notion that the paramahaṁsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-saṁnyāsa and vividiṣā-saṁnyāsa. The *turīyātīta* and *avadhūta* kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether saṁnyāsa was allowed only to brāhmanas or to all three varṇas. According to smṛtis and medieval works a śūdra could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word saṁnyāsa conveys two distinct ideas. Some held that saṁnyāsa was meant only for the blind and the cripple. Ascetics were to give up wife and home and were not to revert to householder's life. Ten orders of *advaita* saṁnyāsins following Śaṁkarācārya's doctrines and their maṭhas. Disputes among the heads of these maṭhas as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the maṭhas are appointed. How and why saṁnyāsins gave up doctrine of *ahiṁsā* in medieval times. A saṁnyāsin is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain saṁnyāsins called Gosāvis were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to the sūtras. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, *sāvitrīpraveśa*, virajāhoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahiṁsā, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of *pañcīkaraṇa* and *mahāvākyas* (like tat tvam-asi), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapaṭṭa (p. 962), paryaṅka-śauca. Saṁnyāsa *in extremis* (āture-saṁnyāsa). Controversies about giving up śikhā and yajñopavīta. Daily duties of an ascetic. No impurity on his death for his relatives and *vice versa*. Ascetic heads of maṭhas claim in modern times jurisdiction in matters of caste, excommunication, expiations for lapses. In ancient times *pariṣads* (assemblies of learned

men) exercised these functions and kings acted on their advice. The number of persons required to constitute a parisad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Śiṣṭas constitute a *pariṣad*. Meaning of śiṣṭa. The council of eight ministers established by Shivaji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao took advice of the pariṣads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

CHAP. XXIX. 976–1008

Śrauta (Vedic) sacrifices. Deep study of vedic sacrifices essential for the proper understanding of Vedic Literature, for appreciating the influence of that Literature on varṇas. Chronology uncertain. Works, ancient and modern, on Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini on interpretation of Vedic texts relating to sacrifices. Cult of yajña existed in Indo-Iranian period. Literary and epigraphic evidence for the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings after the advent of Buddha. Grants made by kings for enabling brāhmaṇas to perform agnihotra &c. The references to sacrificial matters in the Ṛgveda. General rules applicable in all sūtras. Mantras of four kinds, *ṛk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and *nigada*. Different kinds of ladles. Sacrificial utensils. The several fires. The five bhūsaṁskāras. *Agnyādheya*. Choosing the devayajana (place of worship). Procedure of agnyādheya. *Punarādheya*. *Agnihotra* in the morning and evening. Rules about agnihotra when the householder goes away from home either alone or with his wife.

CHAP. XXX. 1009–1090

Darśapūrṇamāsa (New moon and Full moon sacrifices). Time for starting the performance of darśapūrṇamāsa. Anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi, śākhāharaṇa, barhirāharaṇa (bringing bundles of kuśa grass), idhmāharaṇa (bringing fuel-sticks), *Sāyamdoha*. *Upavasatha* day. *Sānnāyya*. *Brahmavaraṇa* (choosing the brahmā priest). *Praṇītā* waters. *Nirvāpa* (taking out sacrificial material). Prokṣaṇa (sprinkling) of sacrificial material, utensils &c. The *Haviṣkṛt* call. Beating the grains of rice. Baking cake (puroḍāśa) on potsherds. Construction of vedi (altar). *Patnīsaṁnahana* (girding up the sacrificer's wife). Barhirāstaraṇa (strewing the vedi with kuśas). Fifteen Sāmidhenī verses. *Pravaramantra* (invocation of fire). The two āghāras

(pouring of ājya in a continuous stream). *Hotṛvaraṇa.* The *Prayājas* (five offerings). Vaṣaṭkāra. *Ājyabhāgas* (two). The principal sacrifice of portions of the cake. Offering to Agni sviṣṭakṛt. Cutting off a portion of the cake called prāśitra (for brahmā). *Iḍā* cut off from puroḍāśa. A thin long slice of puroḍāśa for yajamāna. Invocation of Iḍā by the hotṛ. Brahmā eats prāśitra, hotṛ eats avāntareḍā, all priests together with the yajamāna partake of iḍā. Division of puroḍāśa for Agni into four parts and eating of the portions by the four priests. *Mārjana* thereafter. Cooking a mess of boiled rice (called *anvāhārya*) as fee for the four priests. The three *anuyāja* offerings. Recitation of *sūktavāka.* Throwing of prastara bunch and śākhā into fire. Śaṁyuvāka. Throwing the *paridhis* on fire. *Patnīsaṁyājas. Phalīkaraṇahoma.* Samsthājapa by hotṛ. Samiṣṭayajus offerings. Adhvaryu and brahmā leave the sacrificial hall. Yajamāna takes Viṣṇu strides. Final prayer by yajamāna. *Piṇḍapitṛyajña.*

CHAP. XXXI. 1091-1108

Cāturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Cāturmāsyas each called a *parvan*, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāsīrīya, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon day from Sākamedha or two or three days before it. Observances on all *parvan* days such as shaving head and face, not using a cot, avoiding meat, honey, salt and sexual intercourse. Five offerings common to all Cāturmāsyas. Cāturmāsyas may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaiśvadeva-parva. Nine *prayājas* and nine *anuyājas* in Vaiśvadeva. Varuṇapraghāsa performed in rainy season outside the house. Two vedis prepared, to north and south, respectively in charge of adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ. Procedure is like that of Vaiśvadeva. Four special offerings in this in addition to five common to all. Procedure of Varuṇapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avabhṛtha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three iṣṭis and a *mahāhavis* of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitṛyajña (called mahāpitṛyajña) on a separate vedi. Also Traiyambaka homa offered to Rudra. Śunāsīrīyaparvan has three special offerings to Śunāśirau, Vāyu and Sūrya. Iṣṭi called Āgrayaṇa (offering of first fruits) in Śarad on Full moon day. Other iṣṭis performed for some specific objects e. g. putreṣṭi for son, Kārīrīṣṭi for rain &c.

CHAP. XXXII. 1109–1132

Nirūḍhapaśubandha or Paśubandha (animal sacrifice). A victim is offered in Somayāga also, but as part of it. Nirūḍhapaśu is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an *āhitāgni* every six months or once a year. Six priests required in this sacrifice. Procedure of animal sacrifice. Selecting a tree and making a yūpa (sacrificial post) and a head piece (caṣāla) for the post. Preparing a vedi and a raised platform on it called *uttaravedi* and a square hole thereon called *nābhi.* Animals sacrificed for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Eleven prayāja offerings. Verses from Āprī hymns employed. The eleven prayāja deities. Śāmitra fire for roasting omentum of the victim. Hotṛ's recitation of the Adhrigu formula. Choking to death or strangling of the he-goat. Omentum taken out and offered by the adhvaryu into Āhavanīya fire for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Six priests, sacrificer and his wife perform *Mārjana.* The limbs of the victim that are cut off, and portions of which are offered as paśu-puroḍāśa. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on śāmitra fire and offered as *havis* to Manotā. Priests and sacrificer partake of *iḍā* constituted by remnants of the limbs of the victim. Upayāja offerings of a part of the entrails along with the Anuyāja offerings. The hotṛ repeats the formula called Sūktavāka. Maitrāvaruna throws his staff into fire. Offerings of Patnī-saṁyājas with portions of the tail. *Kāmyāḥ Paśavaḥ* (animal sacrifices from various desires). Ekādaśina, a group sacrifice of eleven victims.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1133–1203

Agniṣṭoma. Sacrifices are divided into *iṣṭi, paśu* and *soma.* Seven forms of soma sacrifices, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya &c. Soma sacrifices divided into ekāha, ahīna and sattra. Jyotiṣṭoma, often identified with Agniṣṭoma, usually lasts for five days. Chief rites performed on those five days. Time for performing Agniṣṭoma. Priests invited and honoured with Madhuparka. Requesting the king for sacrificial ground (*devayajana*). Sacrificer and his wife undergo *apsu-dīkṣā* and subsist on milk or light food. Purification of both with bunches of darbhas. Procedure of dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi after which sacrificer comes to be called dīkṣita. Even a kṣatriya sacrificer was announced as a brāhmaṇa. Observances of the dīkṣita and his wife and people's conduct towards him. Observance of silence by sacrificer twice daily. The *prāyaṇīyā iṣṭi.* Purchase of Soma and the drama of higgling about its price. Cow offered as its price is taken back. Bundle

of Soma stalks placed on antelope skin spread on a cart, that is brought to the east of the prāgvaṁśa. Recital of the Subrahmaṇyā litany by the Subrahmaṇya priest. A goat is presented to king Soma. Oxen are released from the cart, soma bundle taken out of the cart, placed on a couch of udumbara wood and brought to the south of the āhavanīya. Ātithyeṣṭi (iṣṭi for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanūnaptra (a solemn covenant of the sacrificer and priests not to injure each other). Pravargya and Upasad follow. Pravargya was a sublime rite supposed to endow sacrificer with a new body. Not necessary in every Agniṣṭoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahāvīra or Saṁrāṭ. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor śūdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvāsana). *Upasad* is an iṣṭi. Mantras repeated in Upasad refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads *Mahāvedi* is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform (called uttaravedi) is raised and a square hole called nābhi is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the harvidhāna-maṇḍapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called uparavas) below the forepart of the shafts of the southern cart. A mound (*khara*) to east of uparavas for keeping soma vessels on. Erection of sadas to the west of the havirdhāna maṇḍapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhiṣṇyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the āgnīdhrīya shed and the eighth in the mārjālīya shed. On uparavas kuśas are spread, over which two boards of udumbara are placed and a hide thereon. On the hide are stones for crushing soma stalks. Offering of an animal to Agni-Soma. Then follow offerings of ājya called Vaiśarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on āgnīdhra dhiṣṇya. Bringing Vasatīvarī water in a jar and keeping it in āgnīdhra shed. Last day is called 'sutyā'. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaranuvāka by hotṛ long before day-break to Agni, Uṣas and Aśvins. Making ready of five offerings. Filling of *ekadhana* pitchers by adhvaryu and of *pannejana* vessel by the sacrificer's wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upāṁśugraha and offering its contents. Then comes *Mahābhiṣava* (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. *Viprud-ḍhoma.* Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the

Bahiṣpavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgātṛ, prastotṛ and the prati-hartṛ. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahispavamāna stotra set out from the Ṛgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the sāma chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of *sāmans*. Rites of offering the *savanīya* animal. The five savanīya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from *dvidevatya grahas* (cups). *Camasonnayana* (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvaryus. The offering of soma from the cups called *śukra* and *manthin*. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Śaṇḍa and Marka. Acchāvāka priest's request and filling his camasa with soma Offering of *ṛtugrahas*. Ksatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ's call) to which there is *pratigara* (response of adhvaryu), hotṛ offers prayer called tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa, twelve clauses of *nivid*, then hotṛ recites the *ājyaśastra*. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and śastras of Agniṣtoma. Explanation of *stoma*, *stobha* and *stotra*. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmans. Chanting of stotras other than Bahispavamāna near audumbarī post in sadas. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd śastra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmanācchaṁsin and acchāvāka. At the end of morning pressing priests go out of the *sadas*. For the mid-day pressing priests again enter sadas. Procedure of mid-day pressing similar to that of morning pressing. The priest grāvastut wears the cloth, in which soma stalks were tied, as a turban and repeats many verses from the Ṛgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of paśu puroḍāśa and the five savanīya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of dakṣiṇā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmaṇa. The Marutvatīya śastra. Pṛṣṭha-stotra and Niṣkevalya śastra. Three more Pṛṣṭha stotras and three śastras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbhava-pavamāna chanted. Ṛbhus connected with third pressing. *Havis* prepared from savanīya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Pātnīvata cup to Agni Patnīvat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñīya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours *pānnejana* water over her thigh and udgātṛ priest looks at her. Āgnimāruta-śastra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyojana cup offered to

Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with *Mindā* mantras. Avabhṛtha (final bath). All vessels except four sthālīs are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhṛtha sāman chanted. The *nidhana* of the sāman is repeated by all priests, yajamāna and his wife at three places on their way to reservoir of water. Yajamāna and wife enter water, rub each other's back. Handful of kuśa thrown in avabhṛtha iṣṭi. Puroḍāśa offered to Varuṇa and then to Agni and Varuṇa. The unnetṛ brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayanīyā iṣṭi (concluding). Anubandhyā rite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa) or only *payasyā*. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Udavasānīyā iṣṭi like punarādheya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rāṅśera' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204-1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atyagniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vājapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of surā for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya who desired super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell *caru* of wild rice. When race starts brahmā priest repeats Vāji-sāman. An udumbara post as the goal for the chariot race. Chariot of sacrificer is in front and the rest follow at a distance. Chariots go round udumbara post and return to sacrificial ground. The principal wine cup is held by the pratiprasthātṛ and other sixteen are held by those who joined in the race and they are drunk by those latter. Ladder raised against yūpa and the sacrificer climbs up and holds a dialogue with his wife. Animals for Prajāpati are offered at time of mid-day pressing. Adhvaryu declares yajamāna to be *saṁrāṭ* Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 *dāsīs* &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeya. Viśvajit, Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. *Ahīna* sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha. Differences between Dvādaśāha as an ahīna and as a sattra. *Rājasūya*. A

very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate iṣṭis, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by kṣatriyas. Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīkṣā on first day of bright half of Phālguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agniṣṭoma. One year thereafter Abhiṣecanīya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phālguna iṣṭi to Anumati. Cāturmāsyas performed for one year, between the *parvans* of which darśa and pūrṇamāsa rites are celebrated. After Śunāsīrīya several rites. Twelve offerings called 'ratnināṃ havīṁṣi' on twelve days in the houses of the *ratnas* (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhiṣecanīya (consecration) rite on first of Caitra and follows procedure of Ukthya. Eight offerings called Devasūhavīṁṣi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasvatī river and other sources. Pārtha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites *āvid* formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaiśya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Śunaḥśepa recited by hotṛ for sacrificer's benefit. King takes three strides called Viṣṇukramas. Remnants of anointing water handed by king to his son. Symbolic march for plunder of cows. Dice-play which is so arranged that best throw comes to the king. Avabhṛtha follows. For ten days after Abhiṣecanīya offerings called 'Saṁsṛpām havīṁṣi' are made to Savitṛ and other deities. The Daśapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brāhmaṇas (i. e. in all 100). Very large dakṣiṇās prescribed e. g. some say 240000 cows should be presented. After Daśapeya some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the keśavapanīya ceremony took place. Then two rites called Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyuṣṭidvirātra the Kṣatradhṛti rite. One month after that the Sautrāmaṇī iṣṭi.

CHAP. XXXV. 1224–1255

Sautrāmaṇī and other sacrifices. *Sautrāmaṇī* is one of the seven Haviryajñas according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokilī and Caraka-sautrāmaṇī. Procedure of both. Sautrāmaṇī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats

were killed in this and fourth to Bṛhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmaṇī was offered. Avabhṛtha and then āmikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. *Aśvamedha.* Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Ṛgveda. It was a sacrifice for three days, to be performed by a king. Time of commencement. The four queens accompanied by princesses and large retinue come near the king. Rules about colour and qualities of horse. Guards of the horse, when it is let off to roam over the country. During horse's absence for a year three iṣṭis every day to Savitṛ. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the iṣṭis every day and also by a kṣatriya lute-player. Hotṛ recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pāriplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhṛti made in the āhavanīya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dīkṣā. 21 yupas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yūpas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between hotṛ and brahmā. When horse killed, queens go round horse, fan it with their garments, crowned queen lies by the side of the horse and both are covered with mantle. Abusive and obscene dialogues between hotṛ and crowned queen, between brahmā and favourite wife, between four principal priests and chamberlain on one side and the queens and their attendants on the other. Fat and blood of the horse offered. *Brahmodya* (theological dialogue of questions and riddles). *Mahiman* offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhṛtha on third pressing day. Offerings on the head of a bald man who dips into water to 'Jumbaka' (Varuṇa). When sacrificer comes out of water after avabhṛtha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sins. Large fees on first and third pressing days. Aśvamedha rare even in ancient times. Description of Aśvamedha in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to Aśvamedha. *Sattras.* Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. Dvādaśāha is the archetype. Sattras divided into two classes, rātrisattras and sāṁvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavām-ayana. When dīkṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamānas and

also priests in a sattra, one of them is called gṛhapati. Peculiar procedure followed as to dīkṣā. *Brahmodya* on 10th day or abuse of Prajāpati. Rules to be observed while dīkṣā lasts. Most interesting day is Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in sattras. Harp with a hundred strings, brāhmaṇa and śūdra engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in sattra. Fight of ārya and śūdra for a white circular skin; abuse by harlot and brahmacārin of one another. Drums beaten on corners of vedi. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for chanting. Dance round mārjālīya by servants and slave-girls singing popular airs referring to cows. Sattras of a thousand years believed even by ancient writers to be mythical and Jaimini states that in such descriptions saṁvatsara means 'a day'.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire altar). This rite is the most complicated and recondite of all śrauta sacrifices. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar in five layers is an aṅga of Somayāga. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Aṣāḍhā prepared by wife of sacrificer. Ukhā (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Viśvajyotis. Other bricks prepared. Description of the piling of the altar in five layers. Several forms of altar and of bricks. Bricks are of various sizes and have various names. Three bricks called svayamātṛṇṇāḥ. Ground measured and ploughed. Furrows sown with several corns. Several things such as a lotus leaf, golden ornament, golden image of a man are first placed, then a living tortoise is enveloped in moss and made motionless and then altar is constructed on it. Each of five layers contains 200 bricks according to Satyāṣāḍha, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Somayāga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after *cayana*.

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N. B. Works referred to only once or twice and most of those already set out on pp. 19n, 179n, 195n, 321n, 624n, 713n have been omitted.

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HISTORY OF DHARMASASTRA
VOLUME II
CHAPTER I
THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects: the several *varṇas* (classes), *āśramas* (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities; the *saṁskāras* performed on an individual (from *garbhādhāna* to *antyeṣṭi*); the duties of the *brahmacārin* (the first āśrama); *anadhyāyas* (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped); the duties of a *snātaka* (one who has finished the first stage of life); *vivāha* (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the *gṛhastha* (house-holder's stage); *śauca* (daily purification of body); the five daily *yajñas*; *dāna* (gifts); *bhakṣyābhakṣya* (what food should one partake of and what not); *śuddhi* (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death); *antyeṣṭi* (rites on death); *śrāddha* (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); *strīdharma* (special duties of women) and *strīpuṁdharma* (duties of husband and wife); *dharmas* of *kṣatriyas* and of kings; *vyavahāra* (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling &c.); the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; *āpaddharma* (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties); *prāyaścitta* (sins and how to expiate them); *karmavipāka* (results of evil deeds done in past lives); *śānti* (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of *vānaprastha* (forest hermit) and *saṁnyāsin* (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharmasūtra of Gautama, while Vasiṣṭha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Āpastamba deals with those topics after finishing

three-fourths of his work (in II. 6. 14). Further, some works on *dharmaśāstra* give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. Such topics are *vratas* (which may be looked upon as extensions of the subject of gifts), *utsarga* and *pratiṣṭhā* (dedication of works of public utility and of temples and shrines), *tīrtha* (sacred places and pilgrimages to them), *kāla* (auspicious times, festivals &c.).

A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of dharma was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on dharmaśāstra meant by *dharma* not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

From this standpoint various divisions of *dharma* were suggested. Dharma was divided into *śrauta* and *smārta*. The first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and Brāhmaṇas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn *soma* rites &c. The *smārta* comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smṛtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life.[1] The present work will concern itself principally with *smārta dharma* and *śrauta dharma* will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide *dharma* into *śrauta* (Vedic), *smārta* (based upon smṛtis) and *śiṣṭācāra* (the actions of the respected in society)[2]. This classification is based on the three sources of *dharma* viz., *śruti*, *smṛti* and *śiṣṭācāra*, as observed by Baudhāyana.[3] Another and more comprehensive classification says that *dharma* is sixfold, viz. dharma of varṇas (injunctions based on *varṇa* alone such as 'a brāhmaṇa should never drink wine' or 'a brāhmaṇa should not be killed'), *āśramadharma*

1. दाराग्निहोत्रसंबन्धमिज्या श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 144. 30–31; वायुपुराण 59. 31–32 and 39; 'अन्याधानादिपूर्वकोऽधीतप्रत्यक्षवेदमूलो दर्शपूर्णमासादिः श्रौतः । अनुमितपरोक्षशास्त्रामूलः शौचाचमनादिः स्मार्तः ।॥ परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 64.

2. वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोऽपरः । शिष्टाचीर्णः परः प्रोक्तस्त्रयो धर्माः सनातनाः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 65; वनपर्व 207. 83 'वेदोक्तः ..... धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः । शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥'; *vide* शान्ति 354. 6 also.

3. उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् । ... स्मार्तो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः शिष्टागमः । गौ. ध.सू. I. 1. 1–4.

(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmacārī'), *varṇāśrama-dharma* (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as 'a brāhmaṇa *brahmacārī* should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree'), *guṇadharma* (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), *naimittika* dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), *sādhāraṇa dharma* (what is common to all humanity viz., *ahiṁsā* and other virtues).[4] This classification appears to have been an ancient one. Medhātithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting *sādhāraṇa dharma* from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of smṛtis. Hemādri (vrata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma.[5] It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except *sādhāraṇa* or *sāmānya* dharma) have *varṇa* and *āśrama* as the pivots round which the whole of dharmaśāstra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yājñavalkya (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of *varṇas* and *āśramas*.

Before embarking upon any treatment of varṇas it would not be out of place to say a few words about dharmas common to all humanity. Our dharmaśāstra works do not enter into any subtle or detailed examination of the principles of ethics or of the moral standard, nor are the concepts of duty, happiness or perfection subjected to any searching analysis[6]. But

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4. इह पञ्चप्रकारो धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रपञ्चयन्ति। मेधा० on मनु II. 25; अत्र च धर्मशब्दः षड्विधस्मार्तधर्मविषयः। तद्यथा–वर्णधर्म आश्रमधर्मो वर्णाश्रमधर्मो गुणधर्मो निमित्त-धर्मः साधारणधर्मश्चेति। मिताक्षरा on या. 1. 1.

5. Kullūka on Manu II. 25 and the Kṛtyaratnākara pp. 9–10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smṛticandrikā. (I p. 6).

6. Reference may be made to the 'Ethics of India' by Prof. Hopkins (1924) and 'Hindu Ethics' by Dr. John McKenzie in 'Religious quest of India' series. The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author's criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

(*Continued on next page*)

this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmaśāstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Ṛgveda VII. 104. 12 says[7] 'True speech and

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(*Continued from last page*)

this hypothesis in well-known works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie's work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopædia Britannica on Social Service 'The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense'. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Śāstras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable cāṇḍālas and even dogs and crows. Every brāhmaṇa who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. *Maths* were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are *annasatras* even now where hundreds are fed every day. No necessity arose throughout the ages for a Poor Law in India with its attendant evils well portrayed in Dickens' famous master-piece 'Oliver Twist'. The above were some of the different aspects of philanthropy and charity which are now dubbed social service. In the third century B. C. Aśoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yāj. 1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) 'Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?' The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopædia Britannica. 'It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic'. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on 'Evolution of Hindu moral ideals' (1935, Calcutta University).

7. सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते । तयोर्यत्सत्यं यतरदृजीयस्तदित्सोमोऽवति हन्त्यसत् ॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 12.

false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straight-forward and strikes down what is false'. The conception of *ṛta* in the Ṛgveda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth'[8]. In the Taittirīyopaniṣad (I. II. 1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the forefront of his exhortation and dharma next.[9] In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the dakṣiṇā (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dāna (charity), ārjava (straightforwardness), ahiṁsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Bṛ. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms.[10] One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the Bṛ. Up. (I. 3.28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality'. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad says 'only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth'. The Bṛ. Up. inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, viz. self-restraint, *dayā* (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dāna (gifts or charity).[11] The Chān. Up. says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who have lived as chaste students can enter the world of *brahma*. The Chān. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brāhmaṇa, defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Aśvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists[12] upon cessation from evil

8. Compare शतपथब्रा. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अमेध्यो वै पुरुषो यदनृतं वदति' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स वै सत्यमेव वदेत्'.

9. वेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति। सत्यं वद। धर्मं चर। तै. उ. I. 11. 1.

10. तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतदुभयमेवैतदुभयं भवति। बृह. उ. I. 4. 14.; तदेतानि जपेदसतो मा सद्गमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमयेति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 28.

11. तस्मादेतत्त्रयं शिक्षेद् दमं दानं दयामिति। बृह. उ. V. 2. 3.

12. नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात्॥ कठोप. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3.7 and मैत्री उप. III. 5 for a list of qualities of darkness which the student of a high and sublime philosophy has to avoid.

conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The Udyogaparva 43.20ff. speaks of the twelve *vratas* (vows or rules of conduct) for brāhmaṇas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is dānta (self-controlled). Śānti 160 contains an eulogy of *dama* (self-control). Śānti 162.7 describes how *satya* has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good.[13] The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that *dayā* (compassion or love for all beings), *kṣānti* (forebearance), *anasūyā* (freedom from envy), *śauca* (purity of body, speech and thought), *anāyāsa* (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), *maṅgala* (doing what is commended), *akārpaṇya* (not demeaning oneself before others), *aspṛhā* (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others)[14] are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma and reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty *saṁskāras*, while he who has all the forty saṁskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma.[15] Vasiṣṭha (X. 30) says that avoiding back-biting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not

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13. अद्रोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा । अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 162. 21.

14. अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः । दया सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति । गौ. ध. सू. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight similarly but in different words. Aparārka (pp. 164-165), Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Parāśaramādhavīya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Bṛhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri's. Vide Matsya 52.8-10 for these eight qualities and Vāyu 59.40-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 61.66 for saying that dayā (love for beings) is at the top of the eight ātmaguṇas and 28.31-32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (तितिक्षा being substituted for क्षान्ति) and three more namely नाभिमानिता, सत्य, and प्रियवादिता are common to all varṇas. Vide वसिष्ठ VI. 3 आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः.

15. Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Āpastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3–6) calls upon all āśramas to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from *hiṁsā* (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities. But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done. Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (āntara-puruṣa) or conscience. Manu IV. 161 says 'assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the antarātman' (inner self); IV. 239 says 'No parents, nor wife nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness.' 'Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts' Vanaparva 207·54 and Manu VIII. 85, 91–92. Vide also Ādiparva 74. 28–29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73–74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as *dayā, ahiṁsā* is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tvam-asi'. This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics. That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Dakṣa (III. 22) declares [16] 'one who desires happiness should look upon another just as he looks upon himself. Happiness and misery affect one's self and others in the same way'. Devala says that the quintessence of dharma is that one should not do to others what would be disliked by one's self.[17] There-

16. यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद्द्रष्टव्यः सुखमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मनि तथा परे ॥ दक्ष III. 22.

17. श्रूयतां धर्मसर्वस्वं श्रुत्वा चैवावधार्यताम् । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत् ॥ देवल quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 17. Compare आपस्तम्बस्मृति X. 12 'आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥'; अनुशासनपर्व 113. 8–9 न तत्परस्य संदध्यात् प्रतिकूलं यदात्मनः । एष संक्षेपतो धर्मः कामादन्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ प्रत्याख्याने च दाने च सुखदुःखे प्रियाप्रिये । आत्मौपम्येन पुरुषः प्रमाणमधिगच्छति ॥; शान्ति 260. 20 and 25 यदन्यैर्विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पूरुषः । न तत्परेषु कुर्वीत जानन्नप्रियमात्मनः ॥ सर्वं प्रियाभ्युपगतं धर्मं प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।

fore our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz., the revealed truth (śruti) that 'All this is brahma' and the inner light of conscience. Another reason for cultivating high moral qualities is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human existence (*puruṣārtha*). From very ancient times they are said to be four, dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interests), kāma (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life), mokṣa (liberation of the spirit). The last is said to be the supreme end and to be attained only by the few and the vast majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the most distant future. As regards the other three, there is a gradation of values. *Kāma* is the lowest of all and only fools regard it as the only end.[18] The Mahābhārata says: 'A wise man tries to secure all three, but if all three cannot be attained, he secures dharma and artha or only dharma if he has a choice of only one from among the three. A man of middling discipline prefers artha to the other two; dharma is the source of both artha and kāma.' The dharmaśāstra writers did not condemn kāma altogether, they recognise that kāma has a place as a motive urging men to be active but they assigned it a low place. They recognised that a man shares with lower beings the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual ends proper for a developed human personality and therefore insist that it should be subordinated to *artha* and *dharma*. Gautama (IX. 46–47) says 'one should not allow the morning, midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as dharma, artha and kāma are concerned. But among these three one should attach most importance to dharma.' Yāj. I. 115 says practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20. 22–23) declares that 'a man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to

18. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः प्राज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ । धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गासंभवे नराः ॥ पृथक्त्वविनिविष्टानां धर्मे धीरोऽनुरुध्यते । मध्यमोर्थे कलिं बालः काममेवानुरुध्यते ॥...कामार्थी लिप्समानस्तु धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् । नहि धर्मादपैत्यर्थः कामो वापि कदाचन । उपायं धर्ममेवाहुस्त्रिवर्गस्य विशांपते । उद्योगपर्व । 124. 34–38; vide शान्तिपर्व 167.8–9 for the statement that *dharma* is the best, *artha* is middling and *kāma* is the lowest and that a man should so act that dharma would be the principal goal of his life and that he should so deal with others as he would deal with himself 'तस्माद्धर्मप्रधानेन भवितव्यं यतात्मना । तथा च सर्वभूतेषु वर्तितव्यं यथात्मनि ॥.' The महाभारत winds up with the words ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् । धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥ स्वर्गारोह० 5.62; vide also शल्य 60.22, द्रोण 151.37.

dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'.[19] In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with *kāma* that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says[20] 'one may enjoy *kāma* provided there is no conflict with dharma and artha, one should not lead a life of no pleasures' and then true to his role of a writer on arthaśāstra, he proclaims that his own opinion is that *artha* is the principal of the three, as *dharma* and *kāma* both spring from *artha*.' Manu (II. 224)[21] after setting out several views about which of the three is principal states it as his own opinion that one should strive for all the three, but adds that if *artha* or *kāma* is in conflict with *dharma* one should give up artha or kāma as the case may be. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (71. 84) and Bhāgavata I. 2. 9 say the same. The Kāmasūtra[22] of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and kāma each preceding one is superior to each following one and that to the king artha should be the highest goal. This teaching shows that there are proximate ends or motives and ultimate ends or motives, that the ultimate ends are really the most valuable and that the whole teaching of dharmaśāstra points to this that all higher life demands discipline both of body and mind and requires the subjection of lower aims to aims of higher value. Manu II. 4 (like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics) says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. Manu further says (V. 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upaniṣads[23] recognise the

19. भोक्ता च धर्माविरुद्धान् भोगान् । एवमुभौ लोकावभिजयति । आप. ध. II. 8. 20. 22–23.

20. अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 'धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । ..... अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।'

21. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च । अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ मनु II. 224; परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71.84 'धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ (परिहरेत्) ।'; अनुशासन 111.18–19 'धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितयं जीविते फलम् । एतच्चयमवाप्तव्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम् ' ॥ ; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप । धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥

22. अलौकिकत्वादृष्टार्थत्वात् अप्रवृत्तानां यज्ञादीनां शास्त्रात्प्रवर्तनं लौकिकत्वाद् दृष्टार्थत्वाच्च प्रवृत्तेरन्यश्च मांसभक्षणादिर्न्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः । ...विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशुधान्यभाण्डोपस्कर-मित्रादीनामर्जनमर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । ...श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणानामात्मसंयुक्तेन मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यतः प्रवृत्तिः कामः । तेषां समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् । अर्थश्च राज्ञः । कामसूत्र I. 2.7–15.

23. त्वमेव वृणीष्व यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. उ. III. 1.

distinction between what is beneficial (*hita*) and what is most beneficial (*hitatama*). Śāntiparva (288. 20 and 330. 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is ' satya.'

The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 1. remarks that *ahiṁsā* and other qualities are the dharmas common to all including even cāṇḍālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhasmṛti (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all varṇas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger[24] and in another place says that the best *vrata* (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says[25] that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varṇas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that *ahiṁsā*, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all varṇas.[26] Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all to take delight in truth, in dharma, in conduct worthy of an ārya and in purity. In the 3rd century B. C. the remarkable emperor Aśoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion, liberality, truth, purity gentleness, peace, joyousness, saintliness, self-control ; which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in E. I. vol. II p. 249 and p. 272). Yāj. (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing dharma for all (from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla[27]). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

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24. एतद्धि त्रितयं श्रेष्ठं सर्वभूतेषु भारत । निर्वैरता महाराज सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ आश्रमवासिपर्व 28.9 ; त्रीण्येव तु पदान्याहुः पुरुषस्योत्तमं व्रतम् । न द्रुह्येच्चैव दद्याच्च सत्यं चैव परं वदेत् ॥ अनुशासन 120.10.

25. सर्वेषां सत्यमक्रोधो दानमहिंसा प्रजननं च । वसिष्ठ IV. 4 ; vide वसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

26. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ मनु X. 63 ; vide मनु VI. 62 for ten guṇas prescribed for all āśramas.

27. अहिंसा.....न्द्रियसंयमः । दमः क्षमार्जवं दानं सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ या. I. 122 ; vide या. III. 66.

with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone), purity, absence of enmity, straight-forwardness, maintaining persons dependent on one-self—these nine are the duties of all varṇas.[28] The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as *ahiṁsā, satya, asteya, dāna,* forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas.[29] Hemādri (vratakhaṇḍa pp. 7–8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇu-dharmottara for several sādhāraṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varṇas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.[30]

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmaśāstra writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, viz., to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally concerning themselves with varṇāśrama dharma and not with *sādhāraṇa dharma* (i. e. duties common to all alike).

Āryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmaśāstra is about the country or territory which should be called *āryāvarta* or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The Ṛgveda shows that the centre of Āryan culture in the times of the Ṛgveda was the land of the seven

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28. अक्रोधः सत्यवचनं संविभागः क्षमा तथा । प्रजनः स्वेषु दारेषु शौचमद्रोह एव च । आर्जवं भृत्यभरणं नवैते सार्ववर्णिकाः ॥ शान्ति. 60. 7–8.

29. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः । अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनीचर । दशाङ्गो राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोऽसौ सार्ववर्णिकः ॥ वामनपुराण 14. 1–2 ; ब्रह्मपुराण 114. 16–18 prescribes the following as common to all varṇas and āśramas. 'दया समस्तभूतेषु तितिक्षा नाभिमानिता । सत्यं शौचमनायासो मङ्गलं प्रियवादिता । मैत्री चैवास्पृहा तद्वदकार्पण्यं द्विजोत्तमाः । अनसूया च सामान्या वर्णानां कथिता गुणाः ॥ आश्रमाणां च सर्वेषामेते सामान्यलक्षणाः ' ।.

30. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया । आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र II. 16–17 ; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 8. 23.6 for a long list of qualities prescribed for all āśramas and शान्तिपर्व 297. 24–25 for 13 साधारणधर्मs 'आनृशंस्यमहिंसा च प्रमादः (प्रसादः ?) संविभागिता । श्राद्धकर्मातिथेयं च सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ स्वेषु दारेषु संतोषः शौचं नित्यानसूयता । आत्मज्ञानं तितिक्षा च धर्माः साधारणा नृप ॥

rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubhā (the Kabul river, in Ṛg. V. 53. 9 ; x. 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (Ṛg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Ṛg. V. 52. 17, X. 75. 5), the Ganges (Ṛg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in Ṛg. IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Ṛgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned:— Sindhu (Ṛg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Ṛg. V. 53. 9, Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asiknī, in the seas and on mountains), Asiknī (Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Parusnī (Ṛg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipāś and Śutudri (Ṛg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipāś alone in Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Śutudri alone in Ṛg. X. 75. 5, Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (as very holy in Ṛg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvatī alone (Ṛg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains; Ṛg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomatī (Ṛg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Ṛg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Āryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāṭhaka S. X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Pañcālas. In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Āryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks that in the lands of Kurupañcālas speech is at its best.[31] In Śat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Āruṇi is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauṣītaki-br. (VII. 6) remarks[32] that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the Śatapatha we have the story of Videgha Māṭhava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānīrā that came down from the Himālaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (I. 4. 1. 4-17, S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 105-106). Even in the Buddhist

31. तस्मादुत्तराहि वाग्वदति कुरुपञ्चालत्रा । शतपथ ब्रा. III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII *n.* 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

32. तस्माद्धुदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वाग्उद्यत उदञ्च उ एव यस्मि वाचं शिक्षिष्यं यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्ते । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VII. 6.

Jātakas we see that being an 'udicca brāhmaṇo' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work p. 40). The Tai. Br. speaks of the *vedi* of the gods as being in Kuru-kṣetra.[33] Even in the Ṛgveda itself the country through which the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupañcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupañcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Bṛ. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brāhmaṇas of Kurupañcāla flocked there in large numbers. *Vide* also Bṛ. Up. III. 9. 19. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chāndogya V. 3. 1 say that Śvetaketu went to the assembly of the Pañcālas. Kauṣītaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupañcāla and Kāśivideha as centres of intellectual activity and in II. 13 refers to two mountains one in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya). According to the Nirukta (II. 2), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Āryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The Mahābhāṣya lends support to this and adds that Surāṣṭra was not an Ārya country (vol. 1, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasūtras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Āryāvarta. The Vasiṣṭha-dharma[34]-sūtra says; ' Āryāvarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvatī in the desert), to the west of Kālakavana, to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himālaya '. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., ' Āryāvarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna ' and ' where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence '. The Baud. D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Āryāvarta as Vasiṣṭha,

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33. देवा वै सत्रमासत । ..... तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तै. ब्रा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4 ; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place *vide* Śatapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4) ; आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति । तस्माच्छिशिरे कुरुपञ्चालाः प्राज्ञो यन्ति । ..... तस्माज्जघन्ये नैदाघे प्रत्यञ्चः कुरुपञ्चाला यन्ति । तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 5.

34. आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात्प्रत्यक् कालकवनादुदक्पारियात्रादक्षिणेन हिमवतः । उत्तरेण च विन्ध्यस्य । ... गङ्गायमुनयोरन्तरेप्येके । यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तावदार्यब्रह्मवर्चसमित्यन्ये । वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 8-9 and 12-13.

substituting the word 'vinaśana' for 'ādarśa'.[35] Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vasiṣṭha does.[36] The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita gives somewhat similar limits by remarking 'spotless spiritual pre-eminence is to be found (in the country) to the east of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra, to the west of the city of Kāmpilī, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra '.[37] The extant Manusmṛti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminos with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saying that the territory between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and extending up to the eastern and western oceans is known by the wise as Āryāvarta. The second view (viz. Āryāvarta is the region between the Ganges and the Jumna) occurs in Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.28). In the Tai. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The third view (viz. *Āryāvarta* is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smṛtis. Both Vasiṣṭha (I. 14–15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 29-30) quote an ancient *gāthā* from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins[38] to the effect that wherever the black antelope roams about in the country lying between the Sindhu in the west and the rising mountain in the east, there is spiritual pre-eminence. So this view is a very ancient one and probably

35. प्राग्विनशनात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक्पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तं तस्मिन्य आचारः स प्रमाणम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 1.27. Even so early as the ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण we have the words सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvatī had disappeared by the time of the ताण्ड्य. According to the Vanaparva 82. 111 Vinaśana is the tīrtha where the Sarasvatī disappeared and Vanaparva (130. 3-5) says that the Sarasvatī disappeared at the entrance of Niṣādarāṣṭra through fear of pollution from Niṣādas and Śalyaparva (37. 1-2) tells us that Vinaśana is the sacred place where the Sarasvatī disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras.

36. कः पुनरार्यावर्तः । प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम् । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on Pāṇ. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on Pāṇ. VI. 3.109)

37. प्राक्सिन्धुसौवीरात् दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्रादनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । quoted in परिभाषाप्रकाश (वीरमित्रोदय p. 57).

38. अथापि भाल्लविनो निदाने गाथामुदाहरन्ति । पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः । यावत्कृष्णोभिधावति तावद्ध ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । इति । वसिष्ठ I. 14–15. Viśvarūpa reads 'विहरणी' and explains it as 'where the sun sets', while विधारणी may mean 'dividing line, boundary'. परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 57 reads वितरणी and explains वितरणी जनकपर्वतसमीपे मालवदेशे परशुरामेण धनुष्कोट्या कुण्डं भित्त्वा निर्मितेति जनप्रसिद्धा ।

arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I.2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāśvataras 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; *dharma* followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Āryāvarta is maintained by Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2), Viṣṇudharma-sūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmṛti (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī,[39] says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called *sadācāra*, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are styled Brahmarṣideśa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinaśana and to the west of Prayāga, that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that that territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the countries beyond constitute *mlecchadeśa*, that men of the three higher varṇas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarsideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (84. 4) says that the country where the system of the four varṇas is not established is to be known as Mleccha country and Āryāvarta is beyond that. This is explained by Aparārka (p. 5) as follows: one who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries viz. Brahmāvarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four varṇas and the black antelope roams about naturally; if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (*cāturvarṇya* and black antelope) is found. The above discussion shows that in very ancient times the country south of the Vindhya was looked upon as beyond the pale of Aryan culture. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 31) says that the countries of Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu

39. *Vide* Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13-14 for Dṛṣadvatī falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcāla, Vaśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India.

and Sauvīra are of mixed origin (i. e. not of pure Āryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Āraṭṭaka, Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prāṇūna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvapṛṣṭha and that for going to Kaliṅga the prāyaścitta is an offering to Vaiśvānara Agni. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, the border lands (or Mlecca countries), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana saṁskāra over again.[40] The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Āryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Āryan had to be given up. Medhātithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Āryāvarta is so called 'because Āryas again and again spring up there and because the Mlecchas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long' and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23) 'if a kṣatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlecchas, establish the system of four varṇas (in the Mlecca country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of cāṇḍālas in Āryāvarta, even that (Mlecca) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things).'[41] As a result of the spread of Āryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Āryan tribes on the north-west, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Āryas to live in. Karṇaparva 43. 5–8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and *dharmabāhya.*[42]

40. सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रांस्तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः । अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति ।. This is Devala v. 16 with slight variations in the 3rd *pāda*. It is ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 9.

41. आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 22; यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान्पराजयेत चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् , म्लेच्छांश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोपि स्याद्यज्ञियः, यतो भूमिर्न स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दुष्यति । मेधा. on मनु II. 23.

42. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 43. 7 ; कर्ण० 44. 31–34 calls these countries Araṭṭas and 'naṣṭadharma'. Vide पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् । आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्वयहं वसेत् ॥ कारस्करान्माहिषकान् कालिङ्गान्केरलांस्तथा । कर्कोटकान्वीरकांश्च दुर्धर्मांश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 44. 40 and 43.

Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Purāṇas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) as Bharadhavasa.[43] The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarṣa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himālaya on the north.[44] The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114·10) and Vāyu define Bharatavarṣa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges.[45] Śabara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhāṣya on Jaimini (X. 1·35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[46] Paiṭhīnasi as quoted in the Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[47] According to Mārkaṇḍeya (53·41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33·52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, son of Ṛṣabha, descendant of Svāyambhuva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37·130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarṣa and this land is called *Karmabhūmi* (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation.[48] The Vāyupurāṇa says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarṣa is *karma* prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

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43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.

44. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः । हिमवाद्दक्षिणेनास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्ष । मार्कण्डेय 57.59.

45. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संततिः ॥ विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् । वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा । ; मत्स्य 114. 10 आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गङ्गायाः प्रवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः ?); compare with the last वायुपुराण vol. 1, 45. 81 'आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्यादागङ्गाप्रभवाच्च वै ।'.

46. 'प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां चरुशब्द आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1. 35 and 'ओदने हि चरुशब्दः प्रसिद्ध आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1.42.

47. पैठीनासिः । आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वैतरणी नदी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः यावद्वा कृष्णसुगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवतीति । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 58.

48. कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् । विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 2; vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 105-106 ; ततः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यश्चान्तश्च गम्यते । न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्म विधीयते ॥ वायु 45. 77 ; विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 5.

many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā) to be countries unfit for habitation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and prāyaścittas.[49] The Ādipurāṇa (Ādityapurāṇa?) as quoted in the Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 59) says 'no one, whether a dvija or not, born in Āryāvarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmadā (i. e. Karmanāśā) or Karatoyā except on a pilgrimage' and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of cāndrāyaṇa.

All smṛti writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of varṇas and āśramas as practised in Āryāvarta or Bharatavarsa, though in very rare cases (as in Yāj. II. 192) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

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49. काञ्चीकाञ्चपसौराष्ट्रदेवराष्ट्रान्ध्रमत्स्यजाः। कावेरी कोङ्कणा हूणास्ते देशा निन्दिता भृशम् ॥ पञ्चनद्यो...वसेत् ॥ (same verse as in n. 42)...सौराष्ट्रसिन्धुसौवीरमाधवन्त्यं दक्षिणापथम्। गत्वैतान् कामतो देशान् कलिङ्गांश्च पतेद्द्विजः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 9 quoting आदित्यपुराण; आदिपुराणे-आर्यावर्तसमुत्पन्नो द्विजो वा यदि वाऽद्विजः। कर्मदां सिन्धुपारं च करतोयां न लङ्घयेत्। आर्यावर्तमतिक्रम्य विना तीर्थक्रियां द्विजः। आज्ञां चैव तथा पित्रोरैन्द्रवेन विशुध्यति ॥ परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 59.

CHAPTER II

VARṆA

The number of works dealing with the origin and characteristics of the caste system in India is legion. Most of them, however, concern themselves with the detailed description of the bewildering variety of castes and subdivisions of castes in modern times and their present religious and social customs and usages. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and several schools of thought have arisen. Generally individual authors lay undue emphasis on one element or attach far too much importance to one point in tracing the origin of the caste system and its ramifications, such as race (Risley), tribe (Ibbetson), occupation (Nesfield). The study of the origin and development of caste in India is one of deep and absorbing interest to all students of sociology. A complete and critical examination of the several theories of caste advanced by distinguished authors and a detailed description of the hundreds of castes and subcastes now found in India is far beyond the scope of the present work. For those who want to make a thorough study of the most important works on caste a modest list is given in the footnote below.[50]

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50. J. N. Bhattacharya's 'Hindu castes and sects' (1896); E. A. H. Blunt's 'Caste system of Northern India' (1931); W. Crooke's 'Tribes and castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh' 4 Vol. (1896); N. K. Dutt's 'Origin and growth of caste in India' (1931) and 'Aryanization of India' (1925); R. E. Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' 3 Vol. (1920); R. Fick's 'Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time,' translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra 1920 (deals only with the Buddhist Jātaka materials); Dr. Ghurye's 'Caste and race in India' (1932); Ibbetson's 'Punjab castes' (1881, reprint in 1916); S. V. Ketkar's 'History of caste in India' 2 Vol. (1909 and 1911); Kitt's 'Compendium of castes found in India' (1885); Nesfield's 'A brief review of the caste system of the North-west Provinces and Oudh' (1885); O'Malley's 'Indian caste customs' (1932) and 'India's social heritage' (1934); Hayavadan Rao's 'Indian Caste system' (1934); Risley's 'Tribes and castes of Bengal' 1891 (mostly anthropometric data) and 'People of India' 2nd ed. 1915; R. V. Russell's 'Tribes and castes of Central

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The caste system has been highly eulogised and also most severely condemned by Western writers. Sidney Low in his 'Vision of India' (pp. 262–263, 2nd ed. of 1907) speaks of the beneficent aspect of the caste system in the following eloquent passage 'There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him at the outset a member of a corporate body, it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India and none are as yet needed.' Abbe Dubois, who wrote about 130 years ago after being in close touch with Hindus of all castes for 15 years as a missionary, remarks (in his work on the character, manners and customs of the people of India, translated into English and published in London in 1817) 'I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their legislation; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept up her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for that high celebrity' (p. 14) and he devotes several pages to the justification of this remark. Maine in his 'Ancient

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Provinces' 4 volumes (1916); Emile Senart's 'Les caste dans l'Inde' (1896) translated by Sir E. Ross (1936); M. A. Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' 3 volumes (1872–1881); G. Slater's 'Dravidian element in Hindu culture' (1914); Steele's 'Law and customs of Hindu castes' (1868); Thurston and Rangachari's 'Caste and Tribes of South India' 7 volumes (1909); John Wilson's 'Indian castes' 2 vol. (1877); 'Mysore Tribes and castes' by S. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, vol. I–IV with several hundred illustrations. Besides these there are numerous papers published in Journals such as Weber's in 'Indische Studien' vol. X pp. 1–160 (very exhaustive as to Vedic material); Dr. Ghurye's on 'Ethnic theory of caste' in 'Man in India' vol. IV (1924) pp. 209–271.

Law ' (new edition of 1930 p. 17) characterises it as ' the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions.' Sherring in ' Hindu tribes and castes ' vol. III p. 293 says ' it is the most baneful, hard-hearted and cruel social system that could possibly be invented for damning the human race '. On the other hand Meredith Townsend in ' Europe and Asia ' (edition of 1901 p. 72) wrote ' I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages protected Hindu Society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life — it is an automatic poor law to begin with and the strongest form known of Trades Union '. There are others,[51] though their number is small, that believe

51. E. g. Sherring in his ' Hindu Tribes and castes ' vol. III p. 274 says ' It has been said with some truth that caste promotes cleanliness and order and is in a certain sense a bond of union among all classes of the Hindu community. Yet surely these ends might have been attained in a simpler manner and by a less antagonistic process. *The invention of a project* so wonderfully elaborate and intricate — a project of bringing into absolute subjection two hundred millions of the human species by robbing them of their independence, ... the invention of a project like this, so prodigious and far-reaching was not needed to accomplish such useful and beneficent ends. That another and very different object was in view from the very first is abundantly manifest. This object was neither more nor less than to exalt the Brahman, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will.' Equally sweeping condemnation can be and has been indulged in as regards feudalism and modern capitalism. Fick (p. 331) entirely scouts the idea that the theory of castes was invented by the priests. There are several fallacies lurking in the above quoted passage of Sherring. In the first place, there is nothing to show that the caste system was invented by any body of persons who could impose their will on a continent. The system simply grew up in the lapse of ages. The population of Hindus when Sherring wrote may have been near two hundred millions, but it could not have been more than a small fraction of that colossal number during the thousands of years that the system has flourished. Besides writers like Sherring pass over the great achievements of Indians under the caste system in Literature, religion and philosophy, in handicrafts and in the fine arts and unduly exaggerate the defects of the system that have become glaring only in the machine-made civilization of the 19th and 20th centuries. These critics ignore the great adaptability of the system, whereby it preserved Indian society from social anarchy during ages of foreign invasions and internecine wars. While severely condemning the brāhmaṇas the critics altogether forget that the vast and varied Sanskrit Literature owes its production and preservation mostly to the sacrifice of the brāhmaṇas for ages. Under the caste

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that the caste system was an invention, an artificial product, due to the machinations of crafty brāhmaṇas. Every great institution has its extremes of good or evil. This work will endeavour to steer clear of downright and hypercritical condemnation of the caste system due to relying on modern standpoints and conditions of society and unthinking adulation thereof. It will try to present and balance facts and though it cannot help passing judgments it will leave the reader free to judge for himself as far as possible. In the present work the discussion will be mostly confined to the evidence of Sanskrit literary monuments, ancient and medieval. An attempt will be made to trace the origin of caste from Vedic times, to exhibit theories of the Dharmasūtrakāras, other smṛtikāras and commentators on the subject and to describe the peculiar ceremonies, privileges, duties and responsibilities of Hindu castes as gathered from these works in Sanskrit. To discuss the feasibility or desirability of totally destroying the caste system or the ways and means of attaining that end is deemed to be outside the legitimate limits of this volume. It may, however, be expressly stated as the author's opinion, in order to avoid misunderstandings or fruitless speculations about his personal views, that he does not think that the caste system was an artificial product due to the intrigues, greed and cunning of brāhmaṇas, nor does he hold that it is feasible to destroy the whole edifice of the caste system in the near future. In the cities we may find some people taking their food together but the real India is in the villages, where in spite of the loud denunciations of reformers for a hundred years, the restrictions on taking food and inter-caste marriages are almost as rigid as they once were. Our efforts must be directed to wide and rapid spread of literacy among the village people, the diffusion of the idea of one people and one nationality and gradual fusion of small subcastes into larger similar units. We in India have no doubt reached a critical stage in our history when old ideals, institutions and

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system, no man was allowed to be useless to the commonwealth and his conduct was a question of honour with his group. When all work was turned out with the hands, the caste system tended to preserve and augment the skill of artisans. Moreover what social organization is to be substituted and how is not made clear by these critics. Most of these critics have the western social system based on wealth and the industrial revolution in view; but that system also is as evil as or perhaps worse than the modern caste system.

habits are being shattered by the impact of new ideas and by the onrush of world forces. We have to decide whether we shall make or be able to make a clean sweep of all old ideals and institutions as so much debris and rubbish or whether while keeping the old ideals and some of the old institutions as foundations we shall build up a new social order and create and foster new habits of thought and action. It is beyond the scope of the present work to write more on this point.

A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did prevail in many countries in ancient times as in Persia, Rome and Japan. But in all these countries it hardly ever made any near approach in rigour and complexity to the caste system that we have in India and instead of ramifying into divisions and subdivisions, it dwindled and disappeared in the course of time. No unanimity seems possible as to the several causes and circumstances which led in India alone to the evolution of the stupendous structure of caste. Not only is it impossible to hold that the origin of the modern complexity of the caste system is to be traced back to one single cause, but it is difficult to accept that even all the origins that have been postulated by the several authors can adequately and satisfactorily explain the modern caste system.

In most of the works on the castes in India a few features are pointed out as the characteristics of the caste system and as common to all castes and sub-castes. They are: (1) heredity i. e. in theory a man is assigned to a particular caste by birth in that caste; (2) endogamy and exogamy i. e. restriction as to marrying in the same caste and not marrying certain relatives or other persons, though of the same caste; (3) restrictions as to food (i. e. what food and water may be taken or not taken and from whom); (4) occupation (i. e. members of most castes follow certain occupations and no others); (5) gradation of castes, some being at the top in the social scale and others being deemed to be so low that they are untouchable. Some authors[52] like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

52. Vide Senart's 'caste in India' tr. by Ross pp. 66–73 (1930). Fick pp. 36–37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs

that is not found among most of the brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharmaśāstra works. Endogamy is now the most prominent characteristic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth. The other three are more or less fluctuating from province to province and age to age. In this work the first five characteristics of the caste system set out above will be subjected to a close critical examination on the basis of the Vedic and dharmaśāstra material. We must also remember that the attributes of caste have not been the same throughout the ages. There is great difference between the popular conceptions of modern caste and the conceptions about it embodied in the ancient and medieval dharmaśāstra works. In the twentieth century caste in India is a matter of marriage and to a much lesser extent of food and drink. As to avocations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste excepting a few believed to be very impure and very degrading ones (like those of sweepers, butchers, tanners &c.). It is also not possible even now for any one to be generally accepted as a priest, unless he is or claims to be a brāhmaṇa. The old barriers that separated one caste or subcaste from another have been greatly shaken by the influx of modern ideas and the exigencies of the times and one may hope that in a few decades more caste will remain as a purely social institution regulating marriages and to a lesser extent commensality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of their most commendable patience and industry, often present, through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example, Sherring (vol. II. Introduction pp. XXII-XLVI) gives an alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII) 'Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be-as much as brāhmaṇas are from the lowest outcastes-neither eating nor drinking together nor intermarrying'. The list he gives is most misleading. To take only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyankara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat, Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes; but it is well-known to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not subcastes) of the Koṅkaṇastha or Citpāvana brāhmaṇas, who not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,

provided there is no bar on the ground of sameness of *gotra* and *pravara*.

The word *varṇa* means 'colour' or 'light' in most passages of the Ṛgveda (e. g. I. 73.7, II. 3.5, IX. 97.15, IX. 104.4, IX. 105.4, X. 124.7). But in some verses of the Ṛgveda[53] the word *varṇa* is associated with groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. For example, we read in Ṛg. II. 12.4 '(Indra) who placed low the *dāsa* colour in a cave (or darkness)'; in Ṛg. I. 179.6 'the fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both varṇas'; in Ṛg. IX. 71.2 'like one (a fighter) who strikes the people he (Soma) who is powerful goes giving out frequent roars; he exposes the Asura colour'; in Ṛg. I. 130.8 'Indra helped in battles the Ārya sacrificer..... Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dāsas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin'; 'Indra having killed the dasyus protected the ārya varṇa' (Ṛg. III. 34.9); 'You (Indra) subdued for Ṛjiśvan, the son of Vidathin, Kipru and powerful Mṛgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks' Ṛg. IV. 16.13; 'Somas, which strike away the dark skin' Ṛg. IX. 41.1. In Ṛg. I. 158.5 a certain dāsa is called Traitana which name has a Persian ring about it; In Ṛg. I. 104.2 varṇa seems to be placed in opposition to dāsa. These passages make it clear that the Āryas and dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated 'varṇas' on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 6 (with reference to the Mahāvrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra) says 'that the brāhmaṇa is the divine varṇa, and śūdra is the *asurya varṇa*'.[54] If we can interpret the Ṛgveda verse by the help of the Tai. Br. then in Ṛg. IX. 71.2, the words 'asuryam varṇam' mean 'śūdra tribe'. There is no doubt that the word *asura* when applied to gods like Varuṇa has another meaning also in the Ṛg. In numerous places in the Ṛgveda the antagonism

53. यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहा कः। ऋ. II.12.4; उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुपोष। ऋ. 1.179.6. Here Sāyaṇa interprets 'varṇau' as 'kāma' and 'tapas,' but this is far-fetched and it appears better to take the passage as meaning that Agastya supported both Āryas and dāsas. The words cannot reasonably be taken to refer to Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya since there was no difference of colour between the two and since varṇas have been four and not two.

54. ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकर्ते व्यायच्छेते। देव्यो वर्णो ब्राह्मणः असुर्यः शूद्रः। तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 6.

between the *āryas* and *dāsas* or *dasyus* is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dāsa in favour of the Ārya. Rg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; I. 117.21; II. 11.2, 4, 18, 19; III. 29.9; V. 70.3; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4; VI. 18.3; VI. 25.2. In Rg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are āryas and who are dasyus. This does not mean that there was difference between the two in bodily appearance only; on the contrary the antithesis between the ārya who is referred to as 'barhiṣmat' and the dasyu who is styled 'avrata' clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That *dasyu* and *dāsa* are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyu and dāsa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy.[55] In Rg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dāsa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Rg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dāsa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as '*avrata*' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Rg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,[56] 'mṛdhravācaḥ' (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, 'anāsaḥ' (snub-nosed or dumb) in Rg. V. 29.10. It appears that dāsa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. For example, Sambara is called dasyu and dāsa in Ṛgveda VI. 31.4 and dāsa in Rg. VI. 26.5 and is also associated with asuras like Pipru in VI. 18.8; Pipru is spoken of as a dāsa in Rg. VIII. 32.2 and as an asura in X. 138.3. Varcin is styled dāsa in Rg. IV. 30.15 and VI. 47.21 and asura in VII. 99.5. In Tai. S.[57] (IV. 3.11.3) also it seems that they are held to be identical. The enmity between dāsa and ārya is breathed in such verses as the following: Rg. II. 11.4 'vanquish the tribe of dāsas by the sun (i. e. by the help of a brilliant weapon); Rg. I. 174·7 'You made the earth a pillow for the dāsa (i. e. you laid him low on the ground); Rg. III. 12·6 'Oh! Indra and Agni, by one effort together you shook ninety

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55. अकर्मा दस्युरभि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुषः । त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय ॥ ऋ. X. 22.8.

56. म्यक्रतून् ग्रधिनो मृधवाचः पणीरश्रद्धाँ अवृधाँ अयज्ञान् । प्रप्र तान्दस्यूँरग्निर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारापराँ अयज्यून् ॥ ऋ. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyus. They are called paṇis (greedy traders), अश्रद्ध (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yāska paraphrases मृधवाचः as मृदुवाचः. In Rg. V. 34. 6–7 the dāsa is called paṇi.

57. तेन दस्यून् व्यसहन्त देवा हन्तासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः । तै. सं. IV. 3.11.3.

cities that had dāsas as overlords'. It is not possible to say that dāsas or dasyus were some Aryan tribes that had fallen from the worship or culture of the Aryan singers of Vedic hymns. In many places the sage refers to the conquest for him by Indra and other gods of dāsas as well as Aryan foes. For example, 'Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Aryan foes and dāsa foes' Rg. VI. 60·6; 'Oh Indra and Varuṇa! you killed dāsa foes and also Ārya foes and helped Sudās with your protection' Rg. VII. 83.1. Vide also Rg. VI. 22·10, X. 69·6, X. 83·1, X. 102·3. This shows that though the āryans had become divided and fought among themselves, they kept āryas and dāsas quite distinct. The foregoing shows that in the times of the Ṛgveda there were two antagonistic camps, of the āryas and dāsas or dasyus, they differred in the colour of their skins and also in worship, speech and bodily appearance. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word varṇa associated only with dāsa and with ārya. Though the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya occur frequently in the Ṛgveda, the word varṇa is not used in connection with them. Even in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra occur the word varṇa is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only water-tight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Ṛgveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. (It is often argued that as the word brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature, in the Ṛgveda also it must be presumed to have the same meaning. But this begs the whole question. No one denies that brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature.) But whether it has the same sense in the Ṛgveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Ṛgveda itself. Some rely on the word 'brahmaputra' in Rg. II. 43. 2 as showing that a brāhmaṇa became so only by birth in the Ṛgveda. But the verse begins by saying that 'you sing a Sāma like the Udgātṛ priest' and so 'brahmaputra' must mean a ṛtvij whose duty it was to recite *śastras* (the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin as Sāyaṇa explains). It is generally conceded that the Puruṣasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. (In the whole of the Ṛgveda the words vaiśya and śūdra do not occur except in the Puruṣasūkta, though both of them occur in the Atharvaveda (V. 17·9 for vaiśya and IV. 20. 4 and 8 for śūdra and ārya) and very frequently in the Tai. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Ṛgveda must be held to have been separated from the composition of the individual hymns by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it be conceded

that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed, the four varṇas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns. The word brāhmaṇa occurs several times in the Ṛgveda:[58] 'Oh brāhmaṇas, Oh pitṛs fond of soma! May the sinless Dyāvāpṛthivī (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brāhmaṇas in the Atirātra where soma is to be drunk, utterring (words) round a lake full of water you have, Oh frogs, gathered together on that day of the year on which the rains begin' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 7);[59] 'The brāhmaṇas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 8). In this verse brāhmaṇas are expressly said to be getting 'brahma' ready. 'May Agni who devours everything make that (dead body) free from disease and (may) soma also (do the same) who entered into the brāhmaṇas' (Ṛg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmaṇas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Ṛg. X. 71. 8). In Ṛg. VI. 75. 10 brāhmaṇas are invoked for welfare along with pitṛs. This shows that the brāhmaṇas were highly venerated. The other verses establish that they were the reciters of hymns (brahma) and drank soma. In Ṛg. VIII. 35. 16–18 we read 'You (Aśvins) urge on (or inspire) brahma, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge kṣatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Viś (the rest is same as 16).' Here it seems that the groups of people (viz. those who think and make songs, those who show valour and lead men, and those common people who tend cattle) are clearly meant. These verses may be conceded as pointing to the existence of three groups (brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and viśaḥ) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Ṛg. VII. 33. 11 Vasiṣṭha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brāhmaṇa (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvaśī from Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly, in

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58. ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवे नो द्यावापृथिवी अनेहसा । ऋ. VI. 75.10.

59. ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णमभितो वदन्तः । संवत्सरस्य तदहः परि ष्ठ यन्मण्डूकाः प्रावृषीणं बभूव ॥ ऋ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणासः सोमिनो वाचमक्रत ब्रह्म कृण्वन्तः परिवत्सरीणम् । ऋ 7. 103. 8 : अग्नेष्टद्विश्वादृवं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश । ऋ. 10 16. 5; हृदा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु यद्ब्राह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः । ऋ. X. 71. 8; चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥ ऋ. I. 164. 45.

Ṛg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā [60] does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprāṇām' mean 'brāhmaṇas by birth'. In that verse one who is super-eminent among a group is specified, just as the buffalo among animals, the hawk among carnivorous birds &c. In Ṛg. VIII. 33. 19 'look down and not up; bring your feet close together; may thy kaśaplakas (legs?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman,' it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brāhmaṇa woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brāhmaṇa woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Ṛg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāsi gṛhapatiś-ca no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Ṛg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Bṛhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa [61] 35. 2-4 it is said that soma is the food of brāhmaṇas and that a kṣatriya was to press the tendrils of the Nyagrodha tree and the fruits of Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa and drink the juice so pressed instead of soma. It appears, therefore, that the brāhmaṇas were a distinct group even in the earliest period of the Ṛgveda. Whether they were hereditary is certainly not clear; nor is there anything to show that there were restrictions as regards partaking of food from persons other than brāhmaṇas or as to marriage. That brāhmaṇas in the Ṛgveda were a class by themselves may be conceded, but whether they had become a caste by birth is a matter of opinion dependent on the connotation given to the word caste. Dr. Ghurye ('Caste and race in India' p. 42) thinks, probably following the Vedic Index (vol. I on Kṣatriya), that the reference in Ṛg. X. 71. 9 to a false claim for being regarded as a brāhmaṇa points to the conclusion that brāhmaṇas had become a caste. The verse literally translated means 'these (persons) who do not move below nor beyond, who are neither brāhmaṇas, nor engaged in pressing soma — they

60. ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् । श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् । ऋ. IX. 96.6; अधः पश्यस्व मोपरि संतरां पादकौ हर । मा ते कशप्लकौ दृशन् स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविथ ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 19.

61. व्यृद्धमेवाद्यापि क्षत्रं सोमपीथेन । ...स यादृ सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः । अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाश्च फलानि चौदुम्बराणि चाश्वत्थानि प्लाक्षाण्यभिषुण्युयात् तानि भक्षयेत्सोऽस्य स्वो भक्षः । ऐ. ब्रा. 35. 2-4 ; vide पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon for this subject.

being ignorant and having resorted to speech in sinful (or coarse) language take to ploughshares and engage in (agricultural) operations'. It is difficult to see how there is here any false claim to be regarded as a brāhmaṇa. This verse means apparently that those who are not composers of prayers or drinkers of soma (because they are ignorant) are men of low speech and have to turn to agriculture. Even in the days of the dharma-sūtras restrictions as to food and marriage for brāhmaṇas were not at all as rigid as they became in medieval and modern times ; but even when these restrictions were not rigid it was clearly laid down that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone. The word 'brahma' generally means in the Ṛgveda 'prayer' or 'hymn'. Vide[62] Ṛg IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 ('Oh Agni, make our prayer and sacrifice prosper by your flames'). Ṛg. III. 53.12 is 'this brahma (prayer or spiritual power) of Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people'. In the Atharvaveda II. 15.4 (as brahma and kṣatra entertain no fear, nor are they harmed) brahma seems to mean 'the class of brāhmaṇas'. The transition of meaning from 'brahma' (prayer) to 'brahma' meaning the class of those who composed or recited prayers is natural and easy. In the Ṛgveda I. 157.2 both brahma and kṣatra occur[63] in the same verse where they probably mean 'prayer' and 'valour' respectively. In the Atharvaveda III. 19.1 both words occur and probably mean the same thing as in Ṛg. I. 157.2. In some Vedic works *brahma* and *kṣatra* stand collectively for brāhmaṇas[64] and kṣatriyas (e. g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Br. Up. I. 4.11, Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 24). The word kṣatriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e. g. Ṛg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII. 25. 8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), Ṛg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Ādityas), Ṛg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses kṣatriya means 'a king or a nobleman'; e. g. Ṛg. IV. 42.1 'the kingdom on both sides (heaven and earth) belongs to me, who am a kṣatriya and who holds sway over all living persons, so that all the immortals (gods) are ours (on my side)';[65] Ṛg. X. 109.3

62. त्वं नो अग्ने अग्निभिर्ब्रह्म यज्ञं च वर्धय । ऋ. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम् । ऋ. III. 53. 12.

63. यद्युआधे वृषणमश्विना रथं घृतेन नो मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम् । अस्माकं ब्रह्म पृतनासु जिन्वतं वयं धना शूरसाता भजेमहि ॥ ऋ. I. 157.2.

64. ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

65. मम द्वितां राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः । ऋ. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramaṇī this is a hymn of king Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa.

(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the kṣatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies)'. The word 'rājanya occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta. It occurs in the sense of kṣatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word kṣatriya as to brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say whether kṣatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Ṛg. or were only a class more or less fluid. We find that the Ṛg. speaks of Devāpi as the *purohita* of Śantanu who became a king. The story[66] is that both were sons of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa and that Śantanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Śantanu's transgression and so Devāpi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. This shows that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purohita. So kings and purohitas did not depend on birth. In Ṛg. IX. 112. 3 a poet exclaims 'I am a reciter of hymns my father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions.'[67] In Ṛg. III. 44.5 the poet wistfully asks Indra 'O, Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth?' This shows that the same man could be a ṛṣi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the kṣatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Ṛg. VII. 104. 13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the kṣatriya who bears false. He strikes the rakṣas, and strikes him who speaks falsely; both lie in the bonds of Indra'. The words 'kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam' are explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Kṣatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vṛjina' corresponds to 'rakṣas' and 'asad vadantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyā dhārayantam'. They may mean this that one who is a kṣatriya, but has no strength as a kṣatriya should have, is at

66. Vide Nirukta II. 10 for the story of Devāpi and Śantanu who were Kauravya brothers according to it.

67. कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना। नानाधियो वसूयवो अनु गा इव तस्थिम। ऋ. IX. 112.3. Kāru means here 'composer of hymns'; Viśvāmitra is addressed as kāru by the rivers in Ṛg. III. 33. 10 'आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि'. Vide निरुक्त VI. 6 for कारुरहं.

the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of kṣatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the kṣatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Ṛgveda any where except in the Puruṣasūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while kṣatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaiśya.

Though the word vaiśya occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta, the word 'viś' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of people'. In a large number of cases we have the words *mānuṣīr-viśaḥ* or mānuṣīṣu *vikṣu* or mānuṣīnām viśām, e. g. Ṛg. III. 5. 3, III. 6. 3, III. 11. 5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1. 9, V. 8. 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47. 16 (viśo mānuṣyāḥ), X. I. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāsīr viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e. g. IV. 28·4, VI. 25·2. In[68] Ṛg. III. 34·2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have daivīnām viśām). Ṛg.[69] VIII. 63·7 (when loud invocations were sent towards Indra by the people consisting of five groups) shows that 'viś' means all the Aryan people. In Ṛg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāñcajanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāñcajanyaḥ purohitaḥ' (the *purohita* of the five peoples). Sometimes *jana* and *viś* seem to be contradistinguished as in Ṛg. II. 26. 3 (sa ij-janena sa viśā sa janmanā sa putrair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ). But the very fact that *viś* is qualified also as pāñcajanya shows that

68. इन्द्र क्षितीनामसि मानुषीणां विशां दैवीनामुत पूर्वयावा । ऋ. III. 34.2.

69. यत्पाञ्चजन्यया विशेन्द्र घोषा अनुक्षत । ऋ. VIII. 63.7. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4. 12 says that the word pañcajana in Ṛg. VIII. 63 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some 'pañca janāḥ' are devas, pitṛs, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣases ; while according to others they are the four varṇas and niṣādas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pañca janāḥ similar to the first 'पाञ्चजन्यं वा एतदुक्थं यद्वैश्वदेवं सर्वेषां वा एतत्पञ्चजनानामुक्थं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पाणां च पितॄणां च'. The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks about pañca janāḥ. 'गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके । चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः ।'

there was hardly any distinction between jana and viś. In the Ṛgveda frequent reference is made to five people (pañca janāḥ); vide Ṛg. III. 37. 9, III. 59. 7, VI. 11. 4, VIII. 32. 22, X. 65. 23, X. 45. 6. In the same way the words kṛṣṭi (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), kṣiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carṣaṇi (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with *pañca*. We have also 'pāñcajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu' in Ṛg. III. 53·16. So it is clear that *viś* cannot in almost all hymns of the Ṛg. mean 'vaiśya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsīḥ' or 'daivīḥ' is prefixed.[70] The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viśaḥ' means 'rāṣṭrāṇi' (countries) when explaining Ṛg. IV. 50·8 (tasmai viśaḥ svayam-evānamante).

The word 'dāsa' in later literature means 'a serf or a slave.' It follows that the dāsa tribes that we see opposed to the Āryas in the Ṛgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Āryas. In the Manusmṛti (VIII. 413) the śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (*dāsya*) of the brāhmaṇa.[71] We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śūdra occupies the same position that he does in the smṛtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* conquered by the Āryas were gradually transformed into the śūdras. From being enemies they were brought into friendly relations and given a very subordinate position. Traces are visible even in the Ṛgveda that friendly relations had begun to be established between certain dāsas and the priests. For example in Ṛg. VIII. 46. 32 we read 'the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dāsa Balbūtha and from Taruksa.' In the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme Puruṣa. In the very next verse the sun and the moon are said to have been born from the eye and mind of the Puruṣa. This shows that the composer of the hymn regarded the division of society into four classes to be very ancient and to be as natural and God-ordained as the sun and the moon.

We shall now see what position was assigned to the śūdra in the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In the Ṛgveda the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men 'of dark skin.' In the dharmasūtras we find the śūdras spoken of as 'dark varṇa.'

70. Vide Ṛg. I. 25.1, I. 114 3, VI. 15·1, X. 173·4 for 'viś' by itself.

71. शूद्रं तु कारयेद् दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा। दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयंभुवा॥ मनु VIII. 413

Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 59.[72] 'The śūdra among men and the horse among beasts. Therefore those two, the horse and the śūdra, are the conveyances of beings; therefore the śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 1. 6).[73] This shows that the śūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices and that he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise. In Tai. S. V. 7. 6. 3-4 we have 'put light (glory) in our brāhmaṇas, put it in our chiefs (or kings), (put) light in vaiśyas and śūdras, put light in me by your light.'[74] This is a sure indication that the śūdra who took the place of the dāsa is here placed on the same level with the other three classes in the matter of the receipt of light from God and that far from being looked upon as an enemy, he had come to be looked upon as a member of the society (though the lowest in the scale). 'The śūdra is a moving burial ground; therefore one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a śūdra.'[75] 'He created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the rājanya with Triṣṭubh and the vaiśya with Jagatī; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre.'[76] The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa says[77] 'Therefore a śūdra, though he may have many beasts, is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of the other varṇas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varṇas), since he was created from the feet' (this last being an allusion to the Puruṣasūkta X. 90. 12 *padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata*). This shows that the śūdra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of *dvijas*. The

72. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्ण ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः। चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वेस्तदपहन्ति पापम्॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11=बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 59=शान्तिपर्व 165. 29.

73. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामश्वः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ भूतसंक्रामिणावश्वश्च शूद्रश्च तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1.6.

74. रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु रुचं राजसु नस्कृधि। रुचं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु मयि धेहि रुचा रुचम्॥ तै. सं. V. 7. 6. 3-4.

75. पशु वा एतच्छूद्रस्य यच्छूद्रः। तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येयम्। This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a śruti. वसिष्ठ ध. सू. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'एके वा एतच्छूद्रस्य ये शूद्राः। तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्।' पशु...च्छूद्रः is cited as Śatapatha Śruti by the Śūdrakamalākara (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'गायत्रो वै ब्राह्मणः ..... त्रैष्टुभो वै राजन्यः ..... जागतो वै वैश्यः'.

77. तस्माच्छूद्र उत बहुपशुरयज्ञियो विदेवो नहि तं काचन देवताभ्यसूज्यत तस्मात्पादावनेज्यं नातिवर्धते पत्तो हि सृष्टः। ताण्ड्य VI. 1. 11.

Śatapatha Br. says that 'the śūdra is untruth' (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446), that 'the śūdra is toil' (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 410), and that a dīksita (one who was initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) was not to speak with a śūdra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmana remarks that 'the śūdra[78] is at the beck and call of others (the three varnas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.' When the father of Śunahśepa[79] (who had sold Śunahśepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a paśu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuna and Viśvāmitra, he contemptuously discards his father's proposal with the words 'one who commits an evil deed once may commit another sinful deed thereafter; you did not leave aside the śūdra's line of conduct; you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.' These passages show that the śūdra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the ārya and had been allowed to be within the pale of society, was looked down upon, was assigned a very low position, had to perform work of toil as a menial and was not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. A clear line of demarcation was kept between the Ārya and the Śūdra in the times of the Brāhmana works and even in the dharmasūtras. The Tāndya Brāhmana[80] speaks of a mock fight 'the śūdra and ārya fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the ārya colour becomes the victor'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40–41 says[81] that a brāhmacārin, if he cannot himself eat all the food he has brought by begging, may keep it near an ārya (for his use) or he may give it to a śūdra who is a dāsa (of his teacher)'. The same Dharmasūtra[82] (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;.....or śūdras supervised by āryas should prepare it'. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word 'anārya for śūdra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a

78. (शूद्रः) अन्यस्य प्रेष्यः कामोत्थाप्यो यथाकामवध्यः। ऐ. ब्रा. 35.3

79 यः सकृत्पापकं कुर्यात्कुर्यादेनस्ततोऽपरम्। नापागाः शौद्रान्न्यायादसन्धेयं त्वया कृतम्॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 5. The legend of Śunahśepa is referred to even in Rg. I. 24.12-13 and V. 2.7 (where it is expressly said that Śunahśepa was released by Varuna from the sacrificial post to which he had been tied).

80. शूद्रार्यौ चर्मणि व्यायच्छेते तयोरार्यवर्णमुज्जापयन्ति। ताण्ड्य V. 5. 14.

81. आर्याय वा पर्यवदध्यात्। अन्तर्धिने वा शूद्राय। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 40-41

82. आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः। आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 1 and 4.

śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra (VI. 1.25–38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for the performance of Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to find that at least one ācārya, Bādari, espoused the cause of the śūdra and propounded the view that all (including śūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. 1.27). In the Vedānta-sūtras also (I. 3.34–38) it is established that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some śūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of *brahma* owing to saṁskāras of former births. In the smṛti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of āryas with śūdra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a śūdra woman and a man of higher varṇa are alluded to even in the Saṁhitās e. g. Tai. S.[83] VII. 4.19.3 ' when a śūdra woman has an *ārya* as her paramour she does not seek wealth for the prosperity (of her relations) '. In Ait. Br. (8. 1) there is the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who was driven out from the sacrifice on the Sarasvatī with the words ' Oh, son of a female slave, you are a rogue and not a brāhmaṇa ; how did you take the dīkṣā (initiation) as one of us ' and they carried him off to a sandy desert with the idea that he might die of thirst there. He when tormented by thirst ' saw ' the hymn Ṛg. X. 30 and Sarasvatī came rushing to him.[84] Further discussion about the śūdra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varṇas *inter se* (called collectively ārya) now requires consideration. It is clear that the Saṁhitās other than the Ṛgveda and Brāhmaṇa works show that the three classes of brāhmanas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

83. शूद्रा यदर्यजारं न पोषाय धनायति। तै. सं. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vājasaneya Saṁhitā 23. 30. 'Arya' may mean an Ārya, or simply 'master' or 'vaiśya' (as in later literature). The words न...यति may mean ' He (the father of the śūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity ' (as he is pained by the event).

84. A similar story is told in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words ' dāsyāḥ putraḥ ' may be only terms of abuse or they may mean that, though he posed to be a brāhmaṇa, he was the son of a brāhmaṇa from a dāsī.

In Rg. IV. 50.8 we read 'that king alone who places brahmā first (i. e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people (or kingdoms) bow down of their own accord'. 'Brāhmaṇas[85] are gods that are directly seen' (Tai. S. I. 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods ; for indeed the gods are gods and the brāhmaṇas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods' Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). In the Atharvaveda V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brāhmaṇas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa is the foremost' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth' (Tāṇḍya Br. XI. 1. 2).[86] In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuṇa, when he was told that a brāhmaṇa boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariścandra, is made to say 'a brāhmaṇa is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya'. The mere fact of birth as brāhmaṇa's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Śat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) 'a brāhmaṇa[87] is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom'. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vīṇā (in the Aśvamedha) is to be done by a brāhmaṇa and a rājanya (and not by two brāhmaṇas), since wealth does not find delight in the brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[88] (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brāhmaṇas viz. brāhmaṇya (purity of parentage as a brāhmaṇa), pratirūpacaryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yaśas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). 'When the people are being perfected or taught by him, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcā (honour), dāna (gifts), ajyeyatā (freedom

85. एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः । तै. सं. I. 7. 3. 1; यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाश्लीलं कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति । तै. आ. II. 15 and 'ब्राह्मणो वा आर्षेयः सर्वा देवताः ।' शतपथ XII. 4. 4. 6 ; तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो सुखेन वीर्यं करोति सुखतो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 6. The same idea is expressed in the उत्तररामचरित V. 'वाचि वीर्यं द्विजानाम्.'

86. ब्रह्म हि पूर्वं क्षत्रात् । ताण्ड्यमहा ब्रा. XI. 1. 2 ; भूयान्वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियादिति वरुण उवाच । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 4.

87. 'न वै ब्राह्मणो राज्यायालम्' शतपथ V. 1. 1.12 ; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4. न वै ब्राह्मणे श्री रमते इति ब्राह्मणेभ्यो गायेद्राजन्येभ्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

88. प्रज्ञा वर्धमाना चतुरो धर्मान् ब्राह्मणमभिनिष्पादयति ब्राह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्या यशो लोकपक्तिं लोकः पच्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैः ब्राह्मणं भुनक्त्यर्चया च दानेन चाज्येयतया चावध्यतया च । शतपथ XI. 5. 7. 1.

from being harassed) and avadhyatā (freedom from being beaten). The Śatapatha (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra are the four varṇas. Teaching had become so much associated with the brāhmanas that when the brāhmaṇa Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of *brahma*, the latter replied "this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a ksatriya with the idea ' he (ksatriya) will propound to me brahma '." In a separate section below all the privileges enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas will be set out at one place.[89]

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89. स होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वक्ष्यतीति । बृह. उ. II. 1.15; तं होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमरूपमेव स्याद्यत्क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत । कौषीतकिब्रा. उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यद् ब्राह्मणश्चाब्राह्मणश्च प्रश्नमेयातां ब्राह्मणायाधिब्रूयाद्यद् ब्राह्मणायाध्याहात्मनेध्याह यद् ब्राह्मणं पराहात्मानं पराह तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो न परोक्ष्यः । This literally means 'if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come (to a man) asking him a question, then he should speak to the brāhmana first; that he speaks to the brāhmaṇa first is really tantamount to speaking first to one-self; when he speaks away from the brāhmaṇa (i. e. he speaks to the non-brāhmaṇa first and then to the brāhmaṇa) that is really speaking away to oneself; therefore a brāhmaṇa should not be spoken away (i. e postponed to non-brāhmanas).' Manu VIII. 24 says that a king should take up the causes of litigants in the order of the varṇas (i. e. if there are two plaintiffs coming with complaints at the same time the brāhmaṇa's complaint should be first attended to). Brhaspati says the same thing. Therefore the Tai. S. should be interpreted in the same way. Another meaning is possible viz. if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come to a person and ask him who is superior, the person should declare that the brāhmaṇa is the superior of the two (on account of his birth as brāhmaṇa probably or of his being a learned man). This sense of 'adhi' as meaning 'superior' is found in Manu I. 99 'since brāhmaṇa when born becomes (or is born) superior (to all) on this wide earth.' Prof. Keith in his translation of Tai. S. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 18 p. 203) says in a footnote "it is not absolutely certain that *adhibrū* means 'decide in favour of' rather than 'speak in favour of." Vide also Vedic Index (II. p. 83). Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 43) says 'in a legal dispute between a brāhmaṇa or non-brāhmaṇa an arbitrator or witness must speak in favour of the former.' It appears that Dr. Ghurye simply follows the rather guardedly expressed view of the famous Professor, but makes the sense more emphatic than Prof. Keith puts it and does not think for himself whether any other meaning is possible or more appropriate. Any stick is good for beating the brāhmaṇa with. The brāhmaṇas were never ashamed in the smṛti texts of declaring the privileges they

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The position of kṣatriyas and their relation to the brāhmaṇas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases 'rājan' means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Ṛg. X. 42. 10, X. 97. 6. In many passages 'rājan' means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Ṛg. I. 108. 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Ṛg. VII. 18. 6 for Bhṛgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Tṛtsus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yādvas). Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds.[90] When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a kṣatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'[91] The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106).[92] That the co-operation between brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. 'therefore a brāhmaṇa must certainly be approached by a kṣatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a kṣatriya which is sped on by brāhmaṇa succeeds' (Śatapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270–271)[93]. The *purohita* of a

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claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. Ghurye takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in smṛti works and would have quoted the Tai. S. in support. Hence the meaning is different. There is no question here of an arbitration or judicial decision. In Ṛg. I. 100. 19 there is a similar expression 'May Indra speak in our favour on all days' (विश्वाहेन्द्रो अधिवक्ता नो अस्तु). Vide Ṛg. X. 63. 11 and Vāj. S. 16. 5 for the verb 'vac' with 'adhi' in the sense of 'speak in favour of' or 'bless.'

90. तस्माद्राज्ञा मनुष्या विधृताः। तै. सं. II. 6. 2.2.

91. क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य भूतस्याधिपतिरजनि विशामत्ताजनि ... ब्रह्मणो गोप्ताजनि। धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनि। ऐ. ब्रा. 38 and 39. 3.

92. Varuṇa is frequently called धृतव्रत (e. g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāna is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6); the शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति। धृतव्रतो वै राजा ... ... एष च श्रोत्रियश्च तौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ।'. In गौतम VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakīrṇaka 42) express the same idea.

93 तस्माद्धु क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव ब्राह्मणः। स हैवास्मै तद् ब्रह्मप्रसूतं कर्मभ्यर्यते। शतपथ ब्रा. IV. 1. 4. 6; the words ब्रह्म ... भ्यर्यते occur in गौतम XI. 14.

kṣatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purohita and cautions a brāhmaṇa against being the purohita of any king he meets with and adds that a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmaṇa. Even the gods required a purohita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Viśvarūpa son of Tvaṣṭṛ was the purohita of gods.'[94] Śaṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāṭhaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called *purohita* (Ṛg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purohitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare)' says the Tai. S. (I. 7. 10. 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34. 8) says[95] 'the purohita is half the soul of the kṣatriya' and contains an eulogy of purohita in the following words (40. 1) "for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purohita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brāhmaṇa as his purohita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3)[96] 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya who has a brāhmaṇa (to help him) is superior to another rājanya'. The Śatapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brāhmaṇas (i. e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas) becomes more powerful than his foes.'[97] It is not to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brāhmaṇas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes kṣatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmaṇas. In the Śatapatha we read 'whence the brāhmaṇa is an object of respect after the king' (S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96); 'hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the kṣatriya seated above them' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the kṣatra;

94. विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् स्वस्रीयोऽसुराणाम्। तै. सं. II. 5.1.1.

95. अर्धात्मो ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः। ऐ. ब्रा. 34. 8; न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अन्नमदन्ति तस्माद्राजा यक्ष्यमाणो ब्राह्मणं पुरोदधीत देवा मेऽन्नमदाजीति। ऐ. ब्रा. 40. 1.

96. तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं ब्राह्मणं तस्माद्राजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राजन्यम्। तै. सं. V. 1. 10. 3.

97. यो वै राजा ब्राह्मणादबलीयानमित्रेभ्यो वै स बलीयान् भवति। शतपथ V. 4.4. 15.

therefore the brāhmaṇa sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājasūya' (Śatapatha 14. 4. 1. 23 = Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. 'He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Taimāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitṛs' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). 'Those who spat on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where' they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom[98] (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. 'The chamberlain (kṣatṛ) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck'[99] (Atharva V. 17. 14). The somewhat mystical hymn (Rg. X. 109) where 'brahmajāyā' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmaṇas).

The Tai. S. says that 'the vaiśya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaiśyas or 'viś of *asuras*';[100] 'the vaiśya among men, cows among beasts, therefore they are to be enjoyed (to be eaten, to be subsisted upon) by others; they were produced from the receptacle of food; therefore they exceed others in numbers'.[101] The Tai. Br. says 'the vaiśya class is

98. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्ठीवन् ये वास्मिञ् शुक्लमीषिरे। अस्रस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते॥ तद्वै राष्ट्रमास्रवति नावं भिन्नमिवोदकम्। ब्राह्मणं यत्र हिंसन्ति तद्राष्ट्रं हन्ति दुच्छुना॥ अथर्व V. 19. 3 and 8.

99. नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कग्रीवः सूनानामेत्यग्रतः। यस्मिन् राष्ट्रे निरुध्यते ब्रह्मजायाऽचित्या॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 14.

100. पशुकामः खलु वैश्यो यजते। तै सं. II. 5. 10.2: ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असुराणां वैश्यमुपायन्। तै. सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

101. वैश्यो मनुष्याणां गावः पशूनां तस्मात्त आद्या अन्नधानादध्यसृज्यन्त तस्माद्भूयांसोऽन्येभ्यः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1, 5

said to have been born from ṛk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the kṣatriya, the Sāmaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas '.[102] The same Brāhmaṇa further says 'the viś go away from (reside separately from) the brāhmaṇas and ksatriyas'. The Tāṇḍya Br. says[103] 'Hence the vaiśya, though being eaten (i. e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the *prajanana* (from the sexual parts of Prajāpati); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagatī metre, his season is the rains, therefore he is to be eaten by the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya, since he was created as lower (than those two classes)'. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 335) says 'He thus assigns to the Maruts a share therein after Indra, whereby he makes the people (viś) subservient and obedient to the nobility '.[104] According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vaiśya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vaiśyas were entitled to sacrifice, reared cattle, were far more numerous than the other two classes, they had to bear the brunt of taxation, they lived apart from brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varṇas had taken such deep roots in the period when the Brāhmaṇa works were composed, that we often meet with Vedic passages saying that it extended even to the gods, Agni and Bṛhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama being the kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the viś, and Pūṣan being the śūdra.[105] Similarly it is said 'the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the kṣatriya summer, and the viś are the rainy season.'

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102. ऋग्भ्यो जातं वैश्यं वर्णमाहुः । यजुर्वेदं क्षत्रियस्याहुर्योनिम् । सामवेदो ब्राह्मणानां प्रसूतिः । तै. ब्रा. III. 12. 9; तस्माद् ब्रह्मणश्च क्षत्राच्च विशोऽन्यतोऽपक्रमिणीः । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

103. तस्माद्वैश्योऽद्यमानो न क्षीयते प्रजननाद्धि सृष्टस्तस्माद् बहुपशुर्वैश्वदेवो हि जागतो वर्षा ह्यस्यर्तुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणस्य च राजन्यस्य चाद्योऽधरो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 10.

104. अथैतद्विन्द्रमेवानु मरुत आभजन्ति । तत्क्षत्रायैवैतद्विशं कृताङ्करामनुवर्त्मानं करोति । शतपथ IV. 3. 3. 10.

105. Vide Maitrāyaṇī Saṁh. I. 10. 13, Śatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23–25 which is the same as Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11–13, Kauṣītaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare शान्तिपर्व 208. 23–25 for Ādityas being kṣatriyas, Maruts as vaiśyas, Aśvins as śūdras.

That there were other professions and crafts with specific names (which in later times at least became castes) even in the times of the Saṁhitās is quite clear. The Ṛg. speaks of vaptā (barber) in X. 142.4, taṣṭā (a carpenter or maker of chariots) in Ṛg. I. 61.4, VII. 32.20, IX. 112.1, X. 119.5; tvaṣṭā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhiṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmāra or kārmāra (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamna (tanner) in Ṛg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)[106] mention is made of kṣatṛ (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahītṛ (treasurer), takṣan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, puñjiṣṭa (fowler), niśāda, iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā 16. 26–28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30.5–13 and in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 17.13. In the Tai. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvākas that deal with Purusamedha) we have āyogū, māgadha (bard), sūta, śailūṣa (actor), rebha, bhīmala, rathakāra, taksan, kaulāla, karmāra, maṇikāra, vapa (sower or barber), iṣukāra, dhanvakāra, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjusarga, mṛgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kaṇṭakakāra. The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai. Br. III. 8.5. mentions also rājaputra ugra. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 44 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āvikṣita as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmasūtras (vide below). Whether in the Śatapatha that word has the same sense is doubtful. The Tai. S. I. 8.9.1–2 mentions among the ' ratnas ' (the jewels), the sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ, saṁgrahītṛ, bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4) it is said that ' eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king's brother, the king's son, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ '. Therefore it looks likely that kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ were high officers of state and not castes. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

106. नमः क्षत्तृभ्यः संग्रहीतृभ्यश्च वो नमो नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेभ्यः कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः पुञ्जिष्टेभ्यो निषादेभ्यश्च वो नमो नम इषुकृद्भ्यो धन्वकृद्भ्यश्च वो नमो नमो मृगयुभ्यः श्वनिभ्यश्च वो नमः । तै. सं. IV. 5. 4. 2.

guards of the horse let loose in the Aśvamedha there were 'a hundred sons of kṣātra-saṁgrahītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'kṣātra' is prefixed to 'saṁgrahītṛ' it follows that 'saṁgrahītṛs' were officers who may have belonged to any varṇa. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of *sūtagrāmaṇīs*. In another passage of the same brāhmaṇa (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the sūtas and grāmaṇīs are said to be no kings and yet are rājakṛt (i. e. king-makers).[107] This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15–19 arranges brāhmaṇa, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāmaṇī, sajāta in a descending scale of powerfulness. So the sūta appears to have been originally an important officer. It is hardly possible to say with assurance that all these had become petrified into castes in the modern sense, particularly when several persons associated with these in the Vāj. S. and elsewhere were not castes such as the thief (taskara), the impotent (klība), humpbacked (kubja), dwarf (vāmana); but most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and subcastes for hundreds of years. It is therefore possible to say that in the times of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas these were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in process of developing into castes. The Tāṇḍya Br. speaks of Kirātas (who were and are non-Āryan and were aboriginal tribes).[108] The Vāj. S. (30. 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bībhatsā (nauseating filth) and of cāṇḍāla (in 30.21) in connection with vāyu (wind). The paulkasa and cāṇḍāla occur in Tai. Br. (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17 (respectively). In the Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.7)[109] the cāṇḍāla is ranked with the dog and the boar. 'Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a cāṇḍāla that would in his case be an offering made into the

107. यथा वै राज्ञोऽराजानो राजकृतः सूतग्रामण्यः । शतपथ XIII. 2. 2. 18.

108. Vide ताण्डच ब्रा. 13. 12. 5, वाज. सं. 30. 16, अथर्ववेद X. 4. 14, तै. ब्रा. III. 4. 12 for किरात.

109. अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डाल-योनिं वा । छा. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's ucchiṣṭa to another. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 31. 25–26) did not allow a brāhmaṇa to give his ucchiṣṭa to one not a brāhmaṇa, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. Manu IV. 80 forbids the giving of ucchiṣṭa to a śūdra (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a śūdra who is a dependant.

Self as Fire'—Chāndogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāṇḍāla was the lowest in the social scale. 'Just as a pāśya or vaideha, or the son of an ugra, after having made his bow strung &c.'—Bṛ. Up. III. 8.2. In the Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.22 mention is made of both cāṇḍāla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said[110] that 'just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sūtas and headmen of the village make arrangements for him with food and drink and with pavilions.' Here ugras seem to be a group of nobles subordinate to the king. In later literature ugra is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a śūdra woman (Yāj. I. 91). In the Ṛg. X. 97. 12 the word ugra occurs 'You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).' What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a 'formidable chief or king.'

The rathakāra and niṣāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brāhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the kṣatriya in summer, the vaiśya in autumn, ordains that the rathakāra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakāra is a member of the three higher castes who has taken in economic distress to the profession of making chariots or is a person belonging to a caste other than the three higher varṇas. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra (VI. 1. 44–50) discusses this question and establishes[111] that the rathakāra is a member of a caste other than the three higher varṇas, that he has on account of the express words in the *śruti* the privilege to consecrate sacred fires with vedic mantras, that the *mantra* for the consecration of rathakāras is 'ṛbhūṇām tvā' (Tai. Br. 1. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varṇas. Viśvarūpa[112] (on

110. Pāṇini VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word प्रत्येनस् when compounded with राजन्. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra wife.

111. वचनाद्रथकारस्याधानेऽस्य सर्वशेषत्वात् । ..... सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्रवर्णात्प्रतीयेरन् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

112. यत्तु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तदाधानाधिकृतत्वाद् भ्रान्तेरित्यवसेयम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 10. The कौ. सू. II. 5. 6. has वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति । . Vide भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 1 for the same rule. क्षत्रियवैश्याद्यलोमानन्तरजोत्पन्नो रथकारस्तस्य चेज्यादानोपनयनसंस्कारक्रिया अश्वमतिष्ठा रथसूत्रवास्तुविद्याध्ययनवर्तिता च । शङ्ख quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 399 which says that this रथकार is different.

Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some smṛti the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the smṛti is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna [113] (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an iṣṭi offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a *niṣādasthapati* perform this iṣṭi.' The Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra [114] (VI. 1. 51–52) discusses the question whether this authorises a niṣāda who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher varṇas) of niṣādas. The established conclusion is that the iṣṭi is to be performed by a niṣāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varṇas, as the Karmadhāraya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpurusa. The Ait. Br. (37. 7) says [115] 'just as the niṣādas, or selagas (thieves) or evil-doers seize a wealthy man in a forest and throwing him in a well run away with his wealth.' The Śāṅkhāyana Br. (25. 15) allows one who had performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything is given away) to stay in a settlement of nisādas whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra (I. 1. 12–14) says [116] that 'the chieftain who is a niṣāda can offer a *caru* of Gavedhukā corn to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i. e. the permission to offer Raudra iṣṭi does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāṣāḍha [117]-kalpa III. 1 both the niṣāda and the rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsa.

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113. वसन्तो ब्राह्मणस्य ग्रीष्मो राजन्यस्य हेमन्तो वा शरद् वैश्यस्य वर्षा रथकारस्य । आप. श्रौ. सू. V. 3. 18; vide कात्यायनश्रौत I. 1. 9–10 also.

114. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 51.

115. यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषं गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 7. The com. on Āśv. Śr. (Uttaraṣaṭka IV. 7. 6 explains सेलगाः as सर्पेणोन्मत्ताः (?).

116. निषादः स्थपतिर्गवेधुकेधिकृतः । वावकीर्णिनो गर्दभेज्या । लौकिके । कात्या० श्रौ. I. 1. 12–14.

117. निषादरथकारयोराधानाग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते । सत्याषाढकल्प III. 1.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[118] narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Śunaḥśepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of *dasyus*. It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmṛti[119] (X. 43–45) is prepared to regard the Pauṇḍrakas, the Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śūdras by the non-performance of Vedic saṁskāras (like upanayana) and by the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Manu further adds that the various castes that are outside the (influence of the) four varṇas are all known as *dasyus* whether they speak the language of Mlecchas or of Āryas.

One very important question is whether the theory of the four varṇas with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the dharmasūtras and other smṛtis was merely a theory even in the most ancient times. When the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda speaks of Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra or when the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly says that they are four varṇas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smṛti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varṇas because the four varṇas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, which according to the authors of the smṛtis were śruti, eternal and infallible. They tried to approximate the state of society existing in their times to the varṇas which they held were of hoary antiquity. But there is nothing to show that the same difficulties were felt by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. The manner in which they refer to the privileges and disabilities of the several varṇas have such a deep ring of actuality that one must concede that the varṇas spoken of in them represented the

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118. तानसुंव्याजहारान्तान्वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति । त एतेन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः । ऐ. ब्रा. 33.6.

119. शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षात्रयजातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदा पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराताः दरदाः खशाः ॥ मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो बहिः । म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 43–45.

real divisions of society at least to a very great extent, if not cent percent.

The preceding discussion renders the following propositions most probable;

(1) that in the earliest times about which we have literary records there were only two varṇas, the āryas and their opponents the *dasyus* or *dāsas*; that the difference between the two was based on difference of colour and culture and was thus more or less racial and cultural;

(2) that centuries before the saṁhitā period closed the dasyus had been conquered and were given a position subservient to the āryas;

(3) that the śūdras were the dasyus so subjugated and made subservient;

(4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superiority existing among the āryas with reference to dasyus soon extended to groups among the āryas themselves;

(5) that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa Literature, brāhmaṇas (men supposed to be devoted to learning and priesthood), kṣatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and vaiśyas (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the brāhmaṇa [120] had come to be regarded as superior to the kṣatriya by the fact of birth;

(6) that even such low castes as cāṇḍālas and paulkasas had been evolved long before the end of the Vedic period;

(7) that owing to cultural advance, division of labour arose and numerous arts and crafts had been developed and they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon occupations;

(8) that besides the four varṇas intermediate castes like the rathakāra had been evolved;

(9) that there were certain non-Āryan tribes which were supposed to have been originally kṣatriyas but fallen later on.

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120. That this theory of four varṇas was well-known to Buddhist literary works is shown by Fick chap. II. p. 17 (the only difference being that in the Buddhist works the kṣatriya is put first and the brāhmaṇa after him).

The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B. C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāṭhaka Sam. (17. 13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇḍya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chāndogya and the Bṛ. Up. The meaning of some of the words is not quite clear and it is possible that some in the list were not at all castes or professions. They are arranged in the alphabetical order of Sanskrit (though transliterated). The meanings of most of them have been given above. Where the meaning is doubtful a question mark has been made.

Ajāpāla (goatherd)
Andhra
Ayastāpa
Ayogū or Āyogū
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)
Ānda (?)
Iṣukāra
Ugra
Kaṇṭakakāra or Kaṇṭakikārī (in Vāj. S.)
Karmāra
Kāri (dancer?)
Kitava
Kirāta
Kīnāśa (cultivator?)
Kulāla or Kaulāla
Kevarta
Kośakārī (blower of bellows)
Kṣatṛ
Gopāla
Carmamna
Cāṇḍāla
Jambhaka (?)
Jyākāra
Takṣan
Dāśa
Dhanuṣkāra
or
Dhanvakāra
or
Dhanvakṛt
Dhaivara
Niṣāda
or
Naiṣāda
Puṁścalu
Puñjiṣṭa
or
Pauñjiṣṭha
Puṇḍra
Pulinda
Paulkasa
Baiṇda (catching fish in nets)
Bhiṣak
Bhīmala (timid?)
Maṇikāra
Māgadha
Mārgāra
Mūtiba
Mṛgayu

Mainâla (catcher of fish ?)	Vidalakārī or Bidala-
Rajayitrī (dyer)	Vrātya
Rajjusarga or-sarja	Śabara
Rathakāra	Śābalya (?)
Rājaputra	Śailūsa
Rebha (?)	Śvanin (or Śvanita)
Vaṁśanartin	Saṁgrahītṛ
Vapa (barber)	Surākāra
Vāṇija	Sūta
Vāsaḥ-palpūlī (a washer-woman)	Selaga
	Hiraṇyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasūtras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly deducible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) neatherds and shepherds, (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, 2-3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to *adhyakṣas* and amātyas (as in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra) and are not really castes but occupations. He probably regards them as castes because the offices of the *adhyakṣas* and *amātyas* were generally hereditary or at least he gathered that they were so. Megasthenes' further statement (pp. 43-44) that 'no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exercise any calling or art except his own' shows that the prevailing tendency was that caste had become exclusive and mostly occupational in his day, though there must have been exceptions of which he was not informed.

The ancient writers on dharmaśāstra strive very hard to account for the bewildering ramifications of the caste system from the four varṇas that were spoken of in the *śruti* (revelation). There is unanimity on the theory that the numerous castes actually found in the country arose from the unions of males of different varṇas with women belonging to *varṇas* differing from their own. The divergences (and they are

many) among the several smṛtikāras relate only to details. The smṛti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varṇas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smṛti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (*saṁkara*) of the four varṇas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smṛtis were composed in different parts of India at different times and they were meant to supply a popular want, to guide the people and to reflect the prevailing state of society and popular feeling. Therefore, it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smṛtis did exist at the time of the smṛtis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the peculiar avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to two particular varnas or castes.[121] This description of the origin of the several castes was only indicative of the author's view or of the accepted view about the social status of those castes in particular localities. There is here, as a matter of fact, great divergence of views among the several authors.

In the first place all writers on dharmaśāstra start with the propositions viz. (1) that the four *varṇas*, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, but the union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of varṇa lower than her own is reprehensible and not permitted. There is a third proposition advanced by many writers that a man belongs to a particular *varṇa* or *jāti* by birth only i. e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varṇa

121. Śāntiparva (297. 7–9) says 'चतुर्णामेव वर्णानामागमः पुरुषर्षभ । अतोऽन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये ते वै संकरजाः स्मृताः ॥ क्षत्रियातिरथाम्बष्ठा उग्रा वैदेहकास्तथा । श्वपाकाः पुल्कसास्तेना निषादाः सूतमागधाः । अयोगाः करणा व्रात्याश्चाण्डालाश्च नराधिप । एते चतुर्भ्यो वर्णेभ्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परात् ॥'

or jāti.[122] This is the view held by all medieval writers and digests and it is expressly said that a man belongs to a caste by birth and no actions of his can alter that fact, that several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul (vide Sūtasaṁhitā). When a male of a higher varṇa marries a woman of a lower varṇa, the marriage is said to be *anuloma* (lit. with the hair, in the natural order) and the offspring is said to be anuloma; when there is a union of a woman of a higher *varṇa* with a male of a lower varṇa, it is said to be *pratiloma* (against the hair, i. e. against the natural or proper order) and the children of the union are said to be *pratiloma*. These two words *anuloma* and *pratiloma* (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the vedic literature. In the Bṛ. Up. (II. 1. 15) and Kausītaki Bṛ. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word 'pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a brāhmaṇa of going to a ksatriya for knowledge about *brahman*. From this it may possibly be inferred that pratiloma and anuloma might have been employed with reference to marriages also (in the days of the Upaniṣad). Pāṇini (IV. 4. 28) teaches the formation of words from anuloma and pratiloma. They occur in Gautama (IV. 14–15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 8. 8), Vasiṣṭha (18. 7), Manu (X. 13), Yāj. (I. 95) and other smṛti works.

One important question is whether the theory of anuloma or pratiloma castes presupposes a marriage or only a union (outside marriage) of a man and a woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1, 3–4) lays down[123] that a man must marry a virgin of his own varṇa with the rites prescribed by the *śāstras* and only the son born of such a marriage is entitled to the privileges and occupation of his father, that sexual intercourse with a woman who has been married by another or on whom the proper ceremonies of marriage are not performed or who

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122. मनु. X. 5, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 1; या. I. 90. The mīmāṁsaka position is stated by the तन्त्रवार्तिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न त्वाचारनिमित्तवर्णविभागे प्रमाणं किंचित्। ..... न तपआदीनां समुदायो ब्राह्मण्यं न तज्जनितः संस्कारः न तदभिव्यंग्या जातिः, किं तर्हि मातापितृजातिज्ञानाभिव्यंग्या प्रत्यक्षसमधिगम्या।'; the सूतसंहिता (शिवमाहात्म्यखण्ड 12. 51–52) says सर्वेषां जन्मना जातिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः पश्वादीनां यथा जातिर्जन्मनैव न चान्यथा। सापि स्थूलस्य देहस्य भौतिकस्य न चात्मनः॥ जन्मनैव महाभागो ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते। शाततप quoted in आह्निकप्र. p. 452.

123. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः। पूर्ववत्यामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः। तत्रापि दोषवान् पुत्र एव। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 1, 3 and 4.

belongs to another caste is condemned and that the son (and not the daughter) born of such an union is condemned (through the sin of the parents). So Āpastamba looked with disfavour even on marriages called *anuloma*. He is entirely silent about anuloma and pratiloma castes. It is no doubt true that most ancient writers like Gautama (IV. 1), Vasiṣṭha (I. 24), Manu (III. 12-13), Yāj. (I. 55 and 57) prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own varṇa but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varṇa lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six *anuloma* castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambaṣṭha, niṣāda, māhiṣya, ugra, and karaṇa are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher varṇas. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (saṁskāras like upanayana) performed for *dvijas*, but that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras (i. e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya or vaiśya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of *dvijas* performed for them, though both parents are *dvijas*). Kauṭilya[124] (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except cāṇḍālas are like śūdras; Viṣṇu says that they are condemned by all Āryas. Devala[125] (quoted by Parāśara-mādhavīya I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of varṇas and are *patita*. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other anuloma castes are *dvijātis* and are entitled to saṁskāras as *dvijātis*. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varṇa and a male of a lower varṇa, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are *dharmahīna*, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar saṁskāras of *dvijas* performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and *prāyaścittas*. Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether, when they speak of *pratilomas*, they contemplate offspring of legal

124. शूद्रसधर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । कौटिल्य III. 7; प्रतिलोमास्त्वार्य-विगर्हिताः । विष्णु 16. 3.

125. तेषां सवर्णजाः श्रेष्ठास्तेभ्योऽम्बष्ठोलोमजाः । अन्तराला बहिर्वर्णाः पतिताः प्रतिलोमजाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 122; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्या द्व्युद्विजातयः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्ताद्विजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Uśanas and Vaikhānasa almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varṇas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Uśanas says[126] that when there is a marriage between a ksatriya male and a brāhmaṇa female, the offspring is called sūta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa woman and a ksatriya male was called rathakāra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varṇa married a male of a lower varṇa.[127] There were several other works like the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa chap. 12. 12–48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kuṇḍa and golaka (Manu III. 174), kānīna, sahoḍhaja (who are all not due to intercourse in wedlock) are different from savarṇa, anuloma and pratiloma and are to be treated as śūdras and that the *kṣetraja* son is to be treated as in a different category (since *niyoga* is allowed by the smṛtis and by the usage of śiṣṭas) and belongs to the caste of his mother. Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kānīna and sahoḍha may be held to be brāhmaṇas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmaṇa); while Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 133 says that kānīna and gūḍhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother's caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahoḍhaja (II. 135) is also to be so treated. These several kinds of secondary sons will be treated under inheritance.

A few words must be said about the word *jāti*. The idea of varṇa was as we have seen based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural. The ideal of varṇa even in the smṛtis lays far more emphasis on duties, on a high standard of effort for the community or society rather than on the rights and privileges of birth. The system of jātis (castes) lays all emphasis on

126. नृपाद् ब्राह्मणकन्यायां विवाहेषु समन्वयात् । जातः सूतोऽत्र निर्दिष्टः प्रतिलोमविधिद्विजः ॥ ..... ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियाच्चौर्याद्रथकारः प्रकीर्तितः । उशनस् vv. 2–5.

127. Vide Yāj. I. 95 which says that *pratilomajas* are *asat* (condemned) and *anulomajas* are *sat* (good) i. e. entitled to the saṁskāras.

birth and heredity and tends to create the mentality of clinging to privileges without trying to fulfil the obligations corresponding to such privileges. The word '*jāti*' in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the vedic literature. In the Nirukta[128] (XII. 13) it is said 'after *agnicayana* (the building of the fire altar), a man should not approach a *rāmā* (for sexual intercourse); *rāmā* is so called because she is approached only for pleasure and not for (accumulation of) merit; she is of a dark caste'. Here the word kṛṣṇajātīyā occurs with reference to a woman of the śūdra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vasiṣṭha (18. 17-18)[129] where for kṛṣṇajātīyā the word kṛṣṇavarṇā is substituted. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 56 (yad-ucyate etc.)[130] quotes these words as a brāhmaṇa text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarṇīyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nirukta. Pāṇini (V. 4. 9)[131] teaches the formation of words like 'brāhmaṇajātīya' derived from words ending in 'jāti' (in the sense of caste). The expression 'jātidharma' (rules of castes) occurs in Gautama XI. 20, Vasiṣṭha I. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jāti (caste) occurs also in Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 1, II. 1. 2. 3, Manu (IV. 141, X. 11, 18, 40, 97), Yāj. (I. 95, 361, II. 69, 206, III. 213), Nārada (ṛṇādāna 288) and in the vārtika on Pāṇini IV. 1. 137. Varṇa and jāti are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yāj II. 69 and 206. But very often they are confounded. In Manu X. 27, 31 the word varṇa is used in the sense of mixed castes (*jātis*). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate 'varṇa'. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yāj. I. 89 (in which latter sajāti appears to mean 'savarṇa').

Even when *anuloma* marriages were allowed there is no unanimity among the sages and the smṛtis as to the status of the progeny of such unions. Three different views are found. The first view is that if a male of one varṇa married a female of the varṇa immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the varṇa

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128. अग्निं चित्वा न रामासुपेयात्। रामा रमणायोपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया। निरुक्त XII. 13; the words 'अग्निं चित्वा ... पेयात्' occur in काठकसंहिता 21. 7.

129. नाग्निं चित्वा रामासुपेयात्। कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय। वसिष्ठ 18. 17-18.

130. कृष्णवर्णीया रामा रमणायैवोपेयत इति ब्राह्मणवादः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 56.

131. जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि। पाणिनि V. 4. 9.

of the father; e. g. Baud. Dh. S.[132] (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarṇa wife or a wife of the varṇa next to his own are savarṇa i. e. the son of a brāhmaṇa from a wife of the kṣatriya varṇa is a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsana-parva 48. 4, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 106) and Kauṭilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brāhmaṇa from a kṣatriya wife is called savarṇa, but not the offspring of a kṣatriya male from a vaiśya wife or of a vaiśya male from a śūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54–57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter; the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of *anuloma* unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother; e. g. Manu X. 6 'sages declare the sons begotten by *dvijas* on wives of varṇas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varṇa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varṇa as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e. g. vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 2[133] and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa[134] where king Duṣyanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not savarṇa'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetraja sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śaṅkha by saying that the offspring of *anuloma* marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same *saṁskāras* but they do not become kṣatriyas etc. and are dubbed by these names to indicate their mixed origin and come to form separate sub-castes. The *pratilomas*, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

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132. तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरासु सवर्णाः । ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणः..... बौ. ध. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भार्याश्चतस्रो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते । अनुशासन 48. 4; सवर्णा ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः क्षत्रियायामनन्तरः । नारद् (स्त्रीपुंस 106); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययोरनन्तरापुत्राः सवर्णा एकान्तरा असवर्णाः । कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णाः । विष्णु 16. 2; 'ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पादितः क्षत्रिय एव भवति । क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायामुत्पादितो वैश्य एव भवति । वैश्येन शूद्रायामुत्पादितः शूद्र एव भवति' शङ्ख in मिता. on या. I. 91.

134. अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात् । शाकुन्तल I.

The ancient dharmasūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Āp. Dh. S. mentions only cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaiṇa. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vaiṇa and kukkuṭa. Vasiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is Manu (X) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (XVI) that for the first time dilate upon the avocations of the mixed castes. Manu refers to 6 anuloma, 6 pratiloma and 20 doubly mixed castes and states the avocations of about 23; Yāj. names only 13 castes (other than the four varṇas). Uśanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary *anulomas* is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj I. 91–92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambaṣṭha, niṣāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11–12 and 16–17 and Yāj. I. 93–94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāṇḍāla, māgadha, kṣatṛ, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varṇas and of the male of one anuloma and the female of another, from the union of pratilomas among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an *anuloma* caste and the female or male of a *pratiloma* caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a māhiṣya male and a karaṇa female, i. e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other *saṁskāras* are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) says the same[135]. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that āvṛta and ābhīra spring from the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ugra girl and an ambaṣṭha girl respectively (i. e. from the union of a brāhmaṇa with *anuloma* caste girls). Manu X. 19 says that śvapāka is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male (a pratiloma) with an ugra female (an anuloma). Manu X. 33 defines maitreyaka as the offspring of a vaidehaka male and an āyogava female (i.e. from parents who are both pratiloma). A

135. एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्न-मूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादनुलोमसङ्करे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनाद्विप्राप्तिश्च वेदितव्या तयोर्द्विजातित्वात् । मिता. on या. I. 95 ; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्याः स्युर्द्विजातिजाः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

smṛti verse quoted[136] by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varṇas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varṇas) i. e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 7 [137] says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (i. e. at least about 2000 years ago) numberless castes and sub-castes had been formed and the writers on dharmaśāstra practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary varṇas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the *nibandhakāras*. Medhātithi on Manu X. 31 speaks of 60 mixed castes along with the four varṇas and adds that by the intermingling of these endless sub castes are formed. The Mitākṣarā[138] on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varṇas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Kṛtyakalpataru in its *prakīrṇaka* topic of *vyavahāra* section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smṛtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes, their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 94[139] expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāj. is silent) should be understood from the smṛtis of Uśanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmaśāstra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varṇas.

There was great diversity of opinion among the smṛtikāras about the derivation and status of the several sub-castes. We find that the same sub-caste is known under five or six different names even so early as the present Manusmṛti.

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136. प्रातिलोम्यानुलोम्येन वर्णैस्तज्जैश्च वर्णतः । षष्ट्येवान्ये प्रजायन्ते तत्प्रसूतेस्त्वनन्तता ॥ quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 95. It is quoted also by परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 125 and both say that these are वर्णाभासs ; the परा. मा. says that further *saṁkaras* are जात्याभासs.

137. संकरसंकराश्चासंख्येयाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 7.

138. संकीर्णसंकरजातानामानन्त्यादुद्देशक्रमशक्यत्वात् । मिता० on या. I. 95

139. एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च ब्रह्मण्याः । मिता० on या. I. 94.

Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality.[140] There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niṣāda and pāraśava below). For the same sub-caste different names are given in different smṛtis (vide under kṛta and rāmaka). It became difficult to assign any peculiar derivation for groups of people and so Manu (X. 40), Vasiṣṭha[141] (18.7) and Anuśāsana-parva 148. 29 laid down that men's sub-caste was to be known from their actions and occupations. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smṛtis were predominantly occupational.

One word that frequently occurs in connection with castes and sub-castes is *varṇasaṁkara* (or only *saṁkara*). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varṇasaṁkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word *saṁkara* seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word *saṁkara* and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varṇas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma).[142] Nārada (strīpuṁsa 102)[143] says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to *varṇasaṁkara*;' while Bṛhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma castes. Baud.[144] Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

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140. अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वेकस्यैवार्थस्यानेकसंज्ञादर्शनेपि देशभेदेन तथाविधप्रयोग-सत्तानुमानम्। न पुनः पारिभाषिकत्वकल्पना वेदेष्वप्यनेकविधसंज्ञोपलब्धेः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 92-93 ; vide also पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 120 'एकस्यामेव जातौ मूर्धावसिक्त-सवर्णसंज्ञयोर्विकल्पेन प्रवृत्तत्वात् । न चैकत्र संज्ञाविकल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः । एकत्र निषाद-पारशवविकल्पस्य मनुदेवलयाज्ञवल्क्यैरुदाहृतत्वात् ।'

141. छन्नोत्पन्नाश्च ये केचित्प्रातिलोम्यगुणाश्रिताः । गुणाचारपरिभ्रंशात्कर्मभिस्तान् विजानीयुरिति । वसिष्ठ 18.7.

142. प्रसूतिरक्षणमसंकरो धर्मः । गौ. VIII. 3.

143. प्रातिलोम्येन यज्जन्म स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः । नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 102); ब्राह्मणक्षत्र-विट्शूद्रा वर्णाश्चान्त्याश्रयो द्विजाः । प्रतिलोमानुलोमाश्च ते ज्ञात्वा (ज्ञेया ?) वर्णसंकराः ॥ बृहस्पति in कृत्यकल्पतरु (mṣ).

144. वर्णसंकरादुत्पन्नान्व्रात्यानाहुर्मीमांसिणः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 16.

varṇasaṁkara are called *vrātyas*. The Mit. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi[145] on Manu V. 88 says that the word 'saṁkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like āyogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varṇas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word *saṁkīrṇayoni* to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama[146] quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru says 'Varṇasaṁkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varṇas (i. e. male of higher varṇa marrying a woman of a lower varṇa) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varṇas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varṇa having sexual intercourse with women of another varṇa, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sagotra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varṇa'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 1[147] remarks that 'varṇasaṁkara arises from wealth, greed, desires, uncertainty about the varṇa (of a person) or ignorance about varṇa'. Even in such a philosophical treatise as the Bhagavad-gītā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; *saṁkara* necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of families which bring about *varṇasaṁkara*, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of *varṇasaṁkara* the smṛtis ordain that it is one of the principal duties of the king to punish people if they transgress the rules prescribed for varṇas and to punish men and women if guilty of *varṇasaṁkara*. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varṇas and āśramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

145. सकरजाता इतरेतरजातिव्यतिकरेण प्रतिलोमा आयोगवाद्यः । अनुलोमास्तु सत्यपि संकीर्णयोनित्वे मातृजातीयत्वाद्धिकारित्वाच्च नेह गृह्यन्ते । न चानुलोमेषु संकीर्णयोनिव्यवहारः संकीर्णयोनयस्त्वेताः प्रतिलोमानुलोमजा इति । मेधा० on मनु. V. 88.

146. मर्यादाया विलोपेन जायते वर्णसंकरः। आनुलोम्येन वर्णत्वं प्रतिलोम्येन पातकम् ॥ यम quoted in MS. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्यवहार, प्रकीर्णक).

147. अर्थाल्लोभात्कामाद्वा वर्णानां चाप्यनिश्चयात्। अज्ञानाद्वापि वर्णानां जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥ अनुशासन 48. 1.

from them;' Vasiṣṭha (19. 7-8) 'the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varṇas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray'; Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkaṇḍeyapuārṇa 27, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (strīpuṁsa 113)[148] says 'when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a cāṇḍāla is born from a śūdra male (and the brāhmaṇa woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from saṁkara'. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varṇas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, 'vinivatitacātuvaṇa-sakarasa).' That varṇasaṁkara had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 180. 31-33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira[149] "It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varṇas; all sorts of men are always begetting offspring from all sorts of women; speech, sexual intercourse, being born and death-these are common to all human beings; and there is scriptural authority (for this view) in the words 'We, whoever we are, offer the sacrifice'. Hence those who have seen the truth regard character as the principal thing desired." Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varṇas and āśramas had become disorganised and unstable as to their dharmas, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the śāstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile.[150]

Gautama (IV. 18-19), Manu (X. 64-65) and Yāj. (I. 96) speak of a peculiar doctrine called *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa*. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

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148. चाण्डालो जायते शूद्राद् ब्राह्मणी यत्र सुह्यति । तस्माद्राज्ञा विशेषेण स्त्रियो रक्ष्यास्तु संकरात् ॥ नारद स्त्रीपुंस 113; vide also नारद (प्रकीर्णक 2-6).

149. जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संकरात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥ सर्व सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाङ्मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणं च समं नृणाम् ॥ इदमार्ष प्रमाणं च य यजामह इत्यपि । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ वनपर्व 180. 31-33.

150. इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेपि अव्यवस्थितप्रायान्वर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत । ततश्च व्यवस्थाविधायि शास्त्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 33.

tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)[151] says that according to the ācāryas the *anulomas* when they marry in such a way that the bridegroom in each stage is higher or lower than the bride they rise to a higher or go down to a lower varṇa in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows : When a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman the daughter born of this marriage is called *savarṇā*; if this latter is married to a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brāhmaṇa and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brāhmaṇa, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brāhmaṇa *varṇa* (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brāhmaṇas and the mothers were all not strictly brāhmaṇas, but only *savarṇās* if at all). This is called *jātyutkarṣa* (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya girl and a son is born who is called *savarṇa*, then that son marries a kṣatriya girl and has a son and this is continued for *five generations*, then when the fifth son (in descent) marries a kṣatriya girl, the child born belongs to the kṣatriya varṇa (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than kṣatriya and the mother only was a kṣatriya). This is *jātyapakarṣa* (fall in status as a caste). The same rule holds good as regards a kṣatriya marrying a vaiśya female and a vaiśya marrying a śūdra female. The same rule applies among anulomas also e. g. if a *savarṇa* (as defined by Gautama) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a daughter is born who again marries a *savarṇa* and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a *savarṇa* male becomes a *savarṇa* (rises in status); on the other hand if a savarṇa (offspring of brāhmaṇa male and kṣatriya female) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a son is born and that son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and their son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and this goes on for seven generations, then the child of

151. वर्णान्तरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः । सुश्रुतन्तरजातानां च । गौतम IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 196-197 the sūtras are arranged differently i. e. the first ends at 'saptame' and pañcame...ryāḥ is another sūtra. Though this method makes a good sense it is opposed to the explanation of Haradatta, who explains that the option allowed by the use of 'vā' in the sūtra applies only where there is pre-eminence of character and learning (i. e. in such a case rise is possible even in the 5th generation).

the 7th mal ənt) born of an ambaṣṭha wife becomes an ambaṣṭha (i. e. there is jātyapakarṣa as to anulomas).

According to Manu[152] X. 64 when a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman, the daughter born is pāraśava, and if this pāraśava daughter marries a brāhmaṇa and the daughter of this latter union marries a brāhmaṇa and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a brāhmaṇa (i. e. there will be jātyutkarsa). Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śūdra woman and their son again marries a śūdra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śūdra (there is jātyapakarṣa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jātyutkarṣa and jātyapakarṣa seven generations are prescribed, while in Gautama they are 7 and 5 respectively (according to Haradatta). In the second place according to Gautama the 8th in descent from the first anuloma marriage secures jātyutkarṣa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarṣa when the original parents are anulomas. Besides, the commentators of Manu shorten the period for rise or fall in *jāti* as stated below. Manu X. 65 extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman and of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmaṇa then in the fifth generation there will be jātyutkarṣa ; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya wife, and he marries

152. The word 'yuga' is understood by Medhātithi (on Manu X. 64) and Kullūka to mean 'janma'; Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa understands it to mean 'yugma' (pair of spouses). The meaning (yugma) is attached to 'yuga' by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Bühler compares Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.10. 10–11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Āp. does not speak of progeny of mixed marriages rising to higher status or being degraded to lower status after several generations ; he rather speaks of a śūdra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 27. 5-6, 28. 6–13) it is said that after numberless births śūdras and others become vaiśyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11–12) gives expression to the same idea शूद्रयोनौ हि जातस्य सद्गुणानुपतिष्ठतः । वैश्यत्वं लभते ब्रह्मन् क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥ आर्जवे वर्तमानस्य ब्राह्मण्यमभिजायते । वनपर्व 212. 11–12.

a vaiśya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation the son will be a vaiśya (i. e. there will be jātyapakarṣa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there is jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96)[153] speaks of two kinds of *jātyutkarṣa* or *jātyapakarṣa* viz. one due to marriage (as in Manu and Gautama) and another due to the avocation followed. 'It should be understood that there is rise in caste in the 7th or even in the 5th generation; if there is inversion as to the avocations, then there is corresponding similarity (of varṇa in the 7th or even 5th generation).' This is elaborated by the Mitākṣarā as follows:— If a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she is a niṣādī; if this latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and she in turn marries a brāhmaṇa and this goes on for six generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes a brāhmaṇa (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambaṣṭha; if the latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this goes on in the same way, then the fifth girl in descent has a child (from a brāhmaṇa husband) which is the 6th in descent from the original anuloma marriage and which then becomes a brāhmaṇa. If a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman and a daughter is born who is called mūrdhāvasiktā (Yāj. I. 91) and she marries a brāhmaṇa, then the fourth in descent marrying a brāhmaṇa has a child (5th in descent), then that child becomes a brāhmaṇa. Similarly, if a kṣatriya married a śūdra female and a daughter was born, she was called ugra, then jātyutkarṣa by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation. If a kṣatriya married a vaiśya woman, the daughter born was a māhiṣyā and jātyutkarṣa took place in the 5th generation. If a vaiśya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage is a karaṇī and if she marries a vaiśya, then in the fifth generation there would be jātyutkarṣa. Certain peculiar avocations and activities are prescribed for the four varṇas. Each varṇa may in times of difficulty follow the occupation peculiar to the caste immediately below it, but should not follow the avocations peculiar to the higher varṇas;[154] he must however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

153. जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेपि वा । व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरम् ॥ या. I. 96.

154. अजीवन्तः स्वधर्मेणानन्तरां यवीयसीं वृत्तिमातिष्ठेरन् । न तु कदाचिज्ज्यायसीम् । वसिष्ठ II. 22-23.

over (vide Vasiṣṭha II. 13–23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 15, Yāj. I. 118–120, Gautama X. 1–7 &c.). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a śūdra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a śūdra (by caste). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaiśya or a kṣatriya then in the 5th or 6th generation respectively there is fall in caste (i. e. the 5th or 6th becomes respectively a vaiśya or ksatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaiśya or śūdra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a śūdra or vaiśya. Similarly if a vaiśya takes to the work peculiar to śūdras, then the fifth generation becomes śūdra.

Baud.[155] Dh. S. (I. 8. 13–14) gives another illustration of jātyutkarṣa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niṣādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a śūdra status, he can have upanayana performed for him and his son (6th from the original nisāda pair) can have a vedic sacrifice performed for him.'

These provisions would considerably lessen the rigour of the caste system based purely on birth. But one feels grave doubts whether such a method of jātyutkarsa or jātyapakarsa (particularly the one based on occupation) was or could be ever enforced in actual life. It would have been impossible to remember descent in a particular way for five or seven generations. The want of unanimity among the original smṛtikāras and the commentators also points in the direction that the method advocated, though it might have originally some slight basis in fact, was only a hypothesis and an ideal. Hardly any examples of jātyutkarṣa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-śāstra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of intercaste marriages only, but hardly anything further[156]. From the Talguṇḍa pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brāhmaṇa lineage, that the founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa

155. निषादेन निषाद्यामापन्नमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति शूद्रताम् । तमुपनयेत्स्वं याजयेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 13–14.

156. Vide my paper published in the Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter on 'Inter-caste marriages in modern India, in the smṛtis and epigraphic records,' where several instances of inter-caste marriages are cited.

Mayūraśarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcīpura and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix 'varman' to their names (as if they were kṣatriyas, according to Manu II. 32) and Kākusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings[157]. This shows that an originally brāhmaṇa family came to look upon itself as kṣatriya by virtue of pursuing the profession of arms and governing the people. In the Mahābhārata we meet with stories of kings who became brāhmaṇas. For example, Anuśāsana 30 speaks of Vītahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaṇa; similarly Śalya (39. 36–37) speaks of Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories[158] of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Saṁkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ajamīḍha and others as having risen to the status of brāhmaṇas. These are mythical sages and their rise is not stated to have been due to the principle of jātyutkarṣa[159]. Ibbetson (Report on the census of the Punjab 1881, pp. 174-176) notes that brāhmaṇas following certain professions became degraded and that the caste was changed.

That the professional castes were wealthy and well organized follows from the dharmaśāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words śreṇi, pūga, gaṇa, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called *samūha* (group) or *varga* according to Kātyāyana.[160] These

157. E. I. vol. 8 p. 24.

158. Vide Vāyupurāṇa (B. I. Ed.) vol. II chap. 29. 111–114.

159. Compare the following lucid note of the पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 122 कूटस्थश्रीपुंसयुगमारभ्य परिगणनायां पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वानुलोम्येन युग्मे जातिरुत्कृष्यते। पुमान् विप्रः वधूः शूद्रा तयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थम्। तस्मादुत्पन्ना निषादी सापि विप्रेणोढा तयोर्युग्मं द्वितीयम्। एवं तदुत्पन्नायां वध्वां विप्रेणोढायां तृतीयादियुग्मपरंपरा भवति। तत्र सप्तमे युगे जातमपत्यं ब्राह्मण्योपेतं भवति। एवं वैश्याविप्रयुगलं कूटस्थम्। तस्मादुत्पन्ना अम्बष्ठा तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम्। एवं.....षष्ठं यद्युग्मं तस्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। तथा क्षत्रियाविप्रयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थं तदुत्पन्ना मूर्धावसिक्ता तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम्। तत्परंपरायां पञ्चमाद्युग्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। एतदुक्तं भवति पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वेति व्यवस्थितविकल्पाः कूटस्थदम्पत्योः समनन्तरैकान्तरद्व्यन्तरजातियोगे पञ्चमाद्ययोऽवगन्तव्या इति। तथा च सति शूद्रावैश्ययोः वैश्याक्षत्रिययोश्च समनन्तरत्वात्पञ्चमे, शूद्राक्षत्रिययोस्तु षष्ठे जातिरुत्कृष्यते। ..... यथा वर्णसांकर्ये प्रातिलोम्यमधममानुलोम्यमुत्तमं तथा वृत्तिसांकर्येपि। तथा क्षत्रियस्यापद्यपि याजनादिब्राह्मणवृत्त्युपजीवनमधमम्।

160. गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च व्राताश्च श्रेणयस्तथा। समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्तेषां बृहस्पतिः। कात्या० quoted in स्मृतिच. (on व्यव. p. 18), वि. र. p. 669.

words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group' and there is no special meaning attached. 'Śreṇi' occurs in the Ṛg. I. 163. 10[161] (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both *vrāta* and *gaṇa* occur in Ṛg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kauṣītaki Br. 16. 7[162] speaks of Rudra as pūga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26[163] quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (saṅgha) of brahmacārins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches[164] the formation of derivatives from pūga, gaṇa, saṅgha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāṣya explains (on Pāṇini V. 2. 21) that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might (or strength) of their bodies (by bodily labour of various kinds). The Kāśika[165] explains pūgas as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kauṭilya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and śreṇis (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of kṣatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra subsist by the profession of arms and vārtā (agriculture).[166] Vas. Dh. S. XVI. 15 says that boundary disputes are to be settled by the evidence of the old men in the village or town or of guilds (śreṇi) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gaṇa) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (saṅgha). The above words are variously explained by the several commen-

161. हंसा इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यद्दाक्षिषुर्दिव्यमज्ममश्वाः। ऋ. I. 163. 10.

162. पूगो वै रुद्रः। तदेनं स्वेन पूगेन समर्धयति। कौषी० ब्रा. 16. 7.

163. तस्माद्धु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसङ्घं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैतेष्वेवंविध एवंव्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 26.

164. व्रातेन जीवति। पा. V. 2. 21 (व्रातीन); बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक्। पा. V. 2. 52.

165. नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः सङ्घा व्राताः तेषां कर्म व्रातं तेन व्रातकर्मणा जीवतीति व्रातीनः। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21); नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगाः। काशिका on पा. V. 2. 21.

166. आयुधीयप्रायः श्रेणीप्रायो वा मे जनपदः। अर्थशास्त्र VII. 1. p. 265; काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः। अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1. p. 378; प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्ययः। वसिष्ठ 16. 15.

tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses[167] 678–682 of that reconstructed smṛti). Kātyāyana says '*Naigama* is an association of citizens of the same city, vrāta is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, pūga is an association of traders and the like, gaṇa is a group of brāhmaṇas, saṅgha is a body of Bauddhas or Jainas; and bands of cāṇḍālas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulas, castes, śreṇis, gaṇas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreṇi as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gaṇa as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada[168] (samayasyānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreṇi, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gaṇa and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śreṇis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreṇi. The Mit. on this explains that pūga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreṇi is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'heḍābukas' 'tāmbūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śreṇis. In the Harṣa stone of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one *dramma* for each horse given to 'heḍāvikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena 1000 kārṣāpaṇas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (*udaka-yantra-śreṇi*) for medicines to be given to sick bhikṣus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of Huviṣka's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samitakara, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (śreṇi) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāsakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta saṁvat 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

167. These verses are quoted in the विवादरत्नाकर pp. 618–669, स्मृतिच०, वीरमित्रोदय p. 426., परा. मा. (on व्यव.) p. 352 &c.

168. पाषण्डनैगमश्रेणीपूगव्रातगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 2).

oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two *palas* of oil (C. I. I. vol. III p. 70). Similarly it is said that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa (southern Gujerat) came to Daśapura (Dasor in Malwa) and built a temple of the sun in the Mālava year 494 i. e. 437-38 A. D. (C. I. I. vol. III p. 81= I. A. vol. 15 p. 194). These examples show that about the first centuries of the Christian era such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of castes had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organization, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands for permanent services to objects of charity.[169]

We shall now append a list of several castes enumerated or mentioned in smṛti and other dharmaśāstra works from about 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. in alphabetical (Sanskrit) order. They are not given in a tabular form owing to numerous contradictory statements in the smṛtis themselves. References are given only to a few smṛtis, the principal ones drawn upon being the Dharmasūtras, Manu, Yāj., Vaik. smārta-sūtra X. 11-15, Uśanas, the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa chap. 12). It is hoped that the list is fairly exhaustive for the smṛti period. It will be noticed that many of the caste names collected here still occur under the same forms or under slightly modified forms of the names.

Andhra. Vide above note 118 quoting the Ait. Br. Manu X. 36 says it was a low subcaste sprung from Vaidehaka father and Kārāvara mother and that Andhras were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andhras are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyogaparva (160. 103) mentions Andhras (probably as people of Andhradeśa) along with Draviḍas and Kāñcyas. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and cāṇḍāla are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Antya. According to Vas. Dh. S. 16.30, Manu IV. 79, VIII. 68, Yāj. I. 148, 197, Atri 251, Likhita 92, verse Āpastamba (III. 1) this word is a generic appellation for all lowest castes

169 Vide 'Local Government in Ancient India' by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji pp. 29-34, 44 for pūga, śreṇi, gaṇa and saṅgha. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point

like the cāṇḍāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which *bāhya* senter a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādāna 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāṇḍāla in Manu IV. 61, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36.7, Yāj. I. 273, Bṛhadyama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'śūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antyajas are found in the smṛtis. Atri 199 enumerates[170] seven *antyajas* viz. rajaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by *Kolhāṭis*), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Āpastamba's by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265, while Aparārka p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antyajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called *antyāvasāyins*,[171] viz. cāṇḍāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to *antyaja* soldiers and Nīlakaṇṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 74) Pitāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as *prakṛtis*.[172] Is it possible that the Prākṛta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakṛtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated *śake* 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 220) a village is granted with eighteen *prakṛtis* (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Vīramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śreṇis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

170. रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand. ed.). Some mss. read म्लेच्छ for मेद; vide note 202 below.

171. चाण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहिकस्तथा। मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेऽन्त्यावसायिनः॥ मध्यमाङ्गिरस् acc. to मिता० on या. III. 265; quoted by हरदत्त on गौ. 20. 1 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 116.

172. शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः। व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा कार्यं समाचरेत्॥ प्रकृतयस्तु पितामहेन दर्शिता रजक-चर्मकार-नट बुरुड-कैवर्तक-म्लेच्छभिल्लादयः। सरस्वतीविलास p. 74.

wealth. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 12-13) enumerates twelve castes by name as *antyajas* and adds that all those who eat cow's flesh are also *antyajas.*[173]

Antāvasāyin or *Antyāvasāyin.* Manu IV. 79 separately mentions 'antyas' and 'antyāvasāyins' and Manu X. 39 says that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a niṣāda female, that he is condemned even by all 'bāhyas' (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions 'antyāvasāyin (and -yinī). Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a śūdra from a vaiśya woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI. 22. 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyāvasāyin. The Anuśāsana-parva (22. 22) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antāvasāyins (the printed text is corrrupt). Śānti (141. 29-32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of cāṇḍālas and calls them 'antyāvasāya' (in verse 41). Nārada (ṛṇādāna 182) says that an antyāvasāyin is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jātiviveka (D. C. Ms. No. 347 of 1887-91) say that Dom in modern times is the antyāvasāyin of the smṛtis.

Abhiṣikta — See under Mūrdhāvasikta.

Ambaṣṭha — (same as Bhṛjjakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmbaṣṭhya is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 Āmbaṣṭhya (king ?) is cited by Pat. as an example derived from Ambaṣṭha (a country). It is a question whether the caste of Ambaṣṭhas derived its name from a country. Karṇaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaṣṭha. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an *anuloma* sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaiśya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas[174] (31-32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

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173. चर्मकारो भटो भिल्लो रजकः पुक्करो नटः । बिराढो मेदचाण्डालौ दासाः श्वपचकोलिकाः ॥ एतेऽन्त्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः । एषां संभाषणात्स्नानं दर्शनादर्कवीक्षणम् ॥ वेदव्यास I. 12-13. 'श्रेण्यो रजकाद्यष्टादशहीनजातयः' वीरमित्रोदय (व्यवहार p. 12).

174. कुव्याजीवो भवेत्तस्य तथैवाग्नेयनर्तकः । ध्वजविभ्रावका वापि अम्बष्ठाः शस्त्रजीविनः (शस्त्रयजीविनः ?) । उशनस् 31-32.

and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words; the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 40–41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that ambaṣṭha and śalyakṛnta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the ambaṣṭhas of Manu (vide Risley's 'People of India' p. 114).

Ayaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have ayastāpa (heater of ayas, probably any metal). Vide under karmakāra and karmāra. Patañjali on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with takṣan (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

Avarīta. Devala quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yāj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śūdra-kamalākara [175] (p. 247) cites from the Smṛti-kaumudī a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

Avira. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female.

Āpīta. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of brāhmaṇa from a Dauṣyantī.

Ābhīra. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ambaṣṭha girl. The Mahābhārata (Mausalaparva 7. 46–63 and 8. 16–17) states that the ābhīras were *dasyus* and *mlecchas* who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhīras with Pāradas and the Āśvamedhika (29. 15–16) says (just as Manu X. 43–44 do) that the Ābhīras, the Draviḍas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhīras are not a subcaste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras. [176] The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhīra king Koṭṭarāja. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa (I. 36) says that Apabhraṁśa is the appellation of the speech of ābhīras and the like

175. द्वितीयेन तु यः पित्रा सवर्णायां प्रजायते । अवरीट इति ख्यातः शूद्रधर्मा स जातितः । देवल in अपरार्क p. 118 and in कुल्लूक on मनु X. 5 (अवाट इति). सवर्णासु सवर्णैस्तु ये जायन्ते परैरपि । अवराटकसंज्ञास्ते व्रतसंस्कारवर्जिताः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर p. 247.

176. यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरं गोबलीवर्दं तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावच्छूद्राभीरमिति । आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 251 (on पा. I. 2. 72.).

in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīrī. The Ābhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra *senāpati* Rudrabhūti in the year 103 (181-82 A. D.) under king Rudrasiṁha, son of Rudradāman, built a well (E. I. vol. 16 p. 235) and in the Nasik cave No. 15 there is an inscription of king Īśvarasena, a son of Ābhīra Śivadatta and Māḍharī (i. e. the mother was of the Māṭhara gotra). Vide E. I. vol. 8. p. 88. Ābhīras are called *ahirs* in modern times. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 21 pp. 430-433, Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' vol. I. p. 17 ff.

Āyogava. Vide *Āyogū* above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kauṭ. III. 7, Anuśāsana 48. 13, Yāj. I. 94 this is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female; while Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7), Uśanas 12, Vaik. X. 14 say that it springs from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. Vas. Dh. S. (18. 3) gives antyāvasāyin as the name of the caste sprung from a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and pulkasa as the name of one sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood, while Uśanas (verse 13) says he is a weaver or subsists by making vessels of bronze or by cultivating paddy or by dealing in cloth. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurāna (151. 15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i. e. he is the modern Pātharvaṭa (in the Deccan).

Āvantya. Same as Bhūrjakaṇṭha (Manu X. 21).

Āśvika. According to Vaik. X. 12 he is the child of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and deals in horses.

Āhiṇḍika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehī female i. e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka says that his avocation according to Uśanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvara when it follows the craft of a carmakāra.

Ugra. For Vedic reference see above (p. 45). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 5), Manu X. 9, Kauṭ. III. 7, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 48, 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a kṣatriya male from a śūdra

woman, while according to Uśanas (verse 41) he is the offspring of the union of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 20) allows a pupil to bring wealth from a śūdra or an ugra when the teacher is in distress or difficulties. Gaut. 4. 14 (as explained by Haradatta) says that ugra is the offspring of a vaiśya from a śūdra female. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 18. 1) says that a brāhmaṇa may accept the gift of money, corn like paddy, flesh of deer, house, field, hay for oxen from an ugra. Manu X. 49 says that the ugra should subsist by catching and killing animals that hide in holes, while Uśanas (verse 41) states that he is to be the staff-bearer of the king and to carry out the punishments inflicted on offenders. Vide Vaik. 10. 13. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called ' Rajpūta '. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887–1891 No. 347) he is called *Rāvut.*

Udbandhaka. According to Uśanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a kṣatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a kṣatriya woman.

Upakruṣṭa. According to Āśv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorised to perform the vedic rite of *agnyādheya* and the commentary explains that he is a vaiśya following the profession of a carpenter.

Oḍra. Vide Manu X. 43–44. Oḍra is a country corresponding more or less to modern Orissa. Most of the names of people mentioned in Manu X. 44 are derived from countries. Vide note on Khaśa (p. 79) and see Sabhāparva 51. 23.

Kaṭakāra. According to Uśanas (45) and Vaik. 10. 13 he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a vaiśya and a śūdra female.

Karaṇa. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaiśya and a śūdra woman (i. e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a kṣatriya who is a vrātya (i. e. for whom no *upanayana* has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Malla, Niccivi (Licchivi ?), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khaśa, Draviḍa. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karaṇa son named Yuyutsu. Kṣīrasvāmi on Amara says that karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 49–51) says he is the same as

cāraṇa or vaitālika and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotics.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as karmāra. But Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 115 separately mentions in the same passage karmakāra and karmāra.

Karmāra. For vedic references vide (p. 43) above. This caste appears in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Kāṁsyakāra. (modern kāṁsāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

Kākavaca. Mentioned in Uśanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

Kāmboja. Vide Manu X. 43–44. The country of Kamboja was known to Yāska (Nirukta II. 2) and Pāṇini (IV. 1. 175). Udyogaparva 160. 103, Droṇa 121. 13 mention Kambojas with Śakas. Vide under Yavana.

Kāyastha.[177] Heated controversies have raged in medieval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In *Bholanath v. Emperor*[178] the Calcutta High Court held that the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras and went so far as to hold that a kāyastha could marry a Dom female. But in *Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan*[179] the Privy Council left open the question whether the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras. On the other hand in *Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal*[180] and in *Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad*[181] the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the kāyasthas were dvijas and not śūdras. In *Subrao v. Radha* 52 Bom. 497 at p. 504–506 this conflict of decisions is referred to.

The word kāyastha does not occur in the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, or Vasiṣṭha nor

177 Vide for further details my paper on 'the Kāyasthas' in the New Indian Antiquary for 1939 vol. I. pp. 739-743.

178 I. L. R. 51 Cal. 488.

179 L. R. 47 I. A. 140,145.

180 12 All. 328.

181 6 Patna 506.

in the Manusmṛti. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public document (rājasākṣika) as one written in the royal court or office by a kāyastha appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of the office.[182] These words suggest that the kāyastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste here. Yāj. I. 322 calls upon the king to protect the subjects from the harassment of cāṭas (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of kāyasthas. The Mit. explains that *kāyasthas* are accountants and scribes, are favourites of the king and very cunning. Uśanas[183] (35) holds the kāyasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it is compounded of the first letters of *kāka* (crow), Yama and *sthapati* to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring), characteristic of the three. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti[184] (I. 10-11) includes the kāyastha among śūdras along with barbers, potters and others. Sumantu quoted in the Par. M. II part I p. 383 makes the food of a lekhaka along with that of oilmen and others unfit for a brāhmaṇa[185]. Lekhaka is obviously a caste here, but whether it is the kāyastha caste is doubtful. Bṛhaspati as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (vyavahāra) speaks of the gaṇaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a judge in a court of justice and says they were to be *dvijas*. Vide also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛcchakaṭika (Act IX) a śreṣṭhin and kāyastha are associated with the judge. So the kāyastha seems to be the same as the lekhaka of Bṛhaspati and as a mere official. In the first centuries of the Christian era the kāyastha was merely an officer and the word was possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for an officer, though in some parts of the country (as shown by Uśanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form a caste in medieval times.

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182. राजाधिकरणे तस्मियुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदध्यक्षकरचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

183. काकाल्लौल्यं यमात् क्रौर्यं स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संयुक्ता कायस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ उशनस् ॥ 35.

184. वर्धकी नापितो गोप आशापः कुम्भकारकः । वणिक्-किरात-कायस्थमालाकार-कुटुम्बिनः ॥ एते चान्ये च बहवः शूद्रा भिन्ना स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति I. 10-11

185. अभिशस्तपतितपौनर्भवपुंश्चल्यङ्गविशस्त्रकारतैलिकचाक्रिकक्षत्रि सुवर्णकारलेखक-लैङ्गिकषण्ढकबन्धकगणकगणिकान्नानि चाभोज्यानि । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the kāyastha hardly ever figures among them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word *kāyastha* occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagaṇa dated in the Mālava era 795 (i. e. 738–39 A. D.). Vide I. A. vol. 19 pp. 56 and 59. See also E. I. vol. X. p. 79 for Kāyastha Kāñcana in Balera plates in 994–95 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 149 for Śāsanika kāyastha in Naraspatam plates of 1045–46 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 20, 25 for kāyastha Surāditya who was 'Sarvaśāstravit' in Govindacandra's plate dated 1129–30 A. D., E. I. 19 pp. 209, 213 Amodā plate dated 1161 A. D. (for Vāstavya kāyastha), E. I. vol. 19 p. 45 Inscription of Hammīra (dated 1288–89 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 46 (dated 1328–29 A. D. for Māthura kāyastha), E. I. 20 Appendix No. 442 p. 64 (for Gauḍa kāyastha). In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and diviras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasiṁha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 180–184 for a bitter diatribe against kāyasthas.

The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 279–280) speaks of three subcastes of kāyasthas.

Kārāvara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a niṣāda with a vaidehī and his craft is that of a carmakāra. According to later digests like the Śūdrakamalākara he is called 'kahāra' or 'bhoi' and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Kāruṣa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaiśya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācārya, Vijanman, Maitra and Sātvata (according to Manu).

Kirāta. Vide above (p. 44) for vedic references. Veda-Vyāsa speaks of him as a subdivision of śūdra (note 184). According to Manu (X. 43–44) he is a kṣatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśāsana (35.17–18) says the same about Mekalas, Draviḍas, Lāṭas, Pauṇḍras, Yavanas and others. Karṇaparva 73. 20 speaks of kirātas as men of fiery valour. Āśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kirātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Aśvamedha horse. The Amarakośa says that kirāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes.

Kukkuṭa. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a śūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a niṣāda woman.[186] Manu X. 18 agrees with Baud. Dh. I. 9. 15. According to Kauṭ. III. 7 he is the offspring of an ugra male from a niṣāda female. According to Ādityapurāṇa quoted in the Śūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kuṇḍa. According to Manu III. 174 he is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a brāhmaṇa male.

Kukunda. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a śūdra female.

Kumbhakāra. This word occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Uśanas (32–33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Uśanas and adds that the offspring becomes either a kumbhakāra or a barber who shaves parts of the body above the navel. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10–11) and Devala (quoted in Par. M. II. 1. p. 431 and Gṛ. R. p. 337) include the potter among śūdras.[187] In the Central Provinces the Kumbhāra is a scheduled caste.

Kulāla. For Vedic references see above (p.43). Pāṇ IV. 3. 118 explains the formation of kaulālakam (made by a potter). The Āśv. Gṛ. IV. 3. 18 says that all earthen vessels (kaulālam) of a deceased agnihotrin should be kept by his son. Why two names arose for the caste of potters it is difficult to explain.

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175 (where Aparārka explains it as devalaka).

Kuśīlava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambaṣṭha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cārana (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana's view) and he gives the name vaiṇa to the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female.

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186. प्रतिलोमास्त्वायोगवमागधवैणक्षत्रपुल्कसकुक्कुटवैदेहकचण्डालाः । निषादात्तु तृतीयायां पुल्कसः । विपर्यये कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 8, 11–12 ; शूद्रान्निषाद्यां कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 15.

187. स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कृषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोक्तव्याः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः । देवल in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 431.

Kṛta. According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a brāhmaṇa woman. Yāj. I. 93 and others call this caste vaidehaka.

Kaivarta. In the Assam valley kaibartta is a scheduled caste. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X. 34 tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name kaivarta to denote the offspring of a niṣāda from an āyogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāśa?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śaṁkara on Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 43 says that dāśa and kaivarta are the same. Fick p. 302 notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were called in the Jātakas *kevatta.*

Kolika. Mentioned as one of the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

Kṣatṛ. For vedic references see above. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 12, 13 and 16, Yāj. I. 94, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra father and kṣatriya mother. Manu (X. 49–50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vaiṇa. In the Amarakośa kṣatṛ is given three meanings, a charioteer, doorkeeper and the caste described above. In Chāndogya Up. IV. 1. 5, 7, 8 the word seems to mean only door-keeper. Pāṇ. notices the word (VI. 4. 11). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 63–66) says that kṣatṛ is also called niṣāda and that he is an expert in catching deer by means of nets, is a forester and kills wild animals, also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

Khanaka. According to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of an āyogava male and kṣatriya female and lives by digging.

Khaśa or khasa. According to Manu X. 22 this is another name for karaṇa; while in X. 43–44 he makes the khaśas a kṣatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śūdras by the absence of saṁskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

Guhaka. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śvapaca from a brāhmaṇa female.

Goja (or *Goda*). According to Uśanas (28–29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and female.

Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gavḷi and a śūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopa wives must be paid by their husbands as the latter's profession and earnings depend upon them. The Kāmasūtra (I. 5. 37) mentions a caste called Gopālaka.

Golaka. He is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a brāhmaṇa widow and a brāhmaṇa male. Vide Manu III. 174, Laghu-Śātātapa 105, Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva. 12. 12).

Cakrī. According to Uśanas (22-23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) mentions him. According to Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 he is one who presses sesame. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a secret love affair between a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female and engages in the sale of salt and oil.

Carmakāra. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. He is mentioned in many smṛtis like Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51.8), Āpastamba (in verse 9. 32), Parāśara (VI. 44). According to Uśanas (4), he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya girl, while verse 21 says that those sprung from a vaidehaka and a brāhmaṇa girl subsist by working on hides. Vaik. (X. 15) agrees with this latter. Manu IV. 218 speaks of him as carmāvakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāmbhār (in Western India) or cāmār in all other Indian provinces. This caste is often spoken of as Mochi (shoe-maker). Often the mochis are Moslems. This is an untouchable caste and the population of carmakāras in India is very large. In the Bombay Presidency alone they are about two hundred and ninety thousand (in 1931).

Cākrika. According to Amara he is a person who rings a bell. Kṣīrasvāmī says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālika. According to Śaṅkha (prose) and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175-76) cākrika and tailika are separate subcastes. According to Vaik. (X. 14) he is the offspring of a love affair between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.

Cāṇḍāla (or *cāṇḍāla*). For Vedic references see above pp. 44-45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15-16, Vas. Dh. S. 18. 1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Manu X. 12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varṇas (sarvadharma-bahiṣkṛta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Gaut. 15. 25, Yāj. I. 103).[188] The word occurs in the kulālādi gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 9-10) says that there are three kinds of cāṇḍālas, viz. the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder's life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman are all cāṇḍālas. Laghu-Śātātapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51-56) says that cāṇḍālas and śvapacas should have their houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged. Uśanas (9-10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather thong round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits, they should remove the dirt of the village in the first part of the day. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and cāṇḍālas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Śānti 141. 29-32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a cāṇḍāla hamlet is in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa. In Anuśāsana (29.17) Mataṅga is called a cāṇḍāla because he was born of a brāhmaṇa woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405-411 A. D.) describes how cāṇḍālas had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a

188. श्वभिः पतितचण्डालग्राम्यसूकरकुक्कुटैः । श्वा च नित्यं विवर्ज्याः स्युः षडेते धर्मतः समाः ॥ वेखल quoted in परा. मा. vol. II. part 1. p. 366.

town or market place by striking a piece of wood to make themselves known so that a man may avoid them and not come in contact with them (vide 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' tr. by Legge, p. 43). In modern times cāṇḍālas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

Cīna. According to Manu X. 43–44 the Cīnas were a ksatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdras. They are frequently named in the Mahābhārata e. g. Sabhā 51. 23, Vanaparva 177. 12, Udyoga 19. 15.

Cuñcu. According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kullūka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaidehaka woman.

Cūculka. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman and his avocation is the sale and purchase of betelnut, betelnut leaves and sugar.

Cailanirṇejaka (or only nirṇejaka)-washerman. This occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15 and Manu IV. 216. It appears that Viṣṇu who separately mentions 'rajaka' (in 51. 13) distinguishes between the two. Hārīta (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirṇejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

Jālopajīvin—(subsisting by catching animals in a net) probably the same as a kaivarta. He is mentioned in Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279.

Jhalla. Manu X. 22 says that it is another name for Karaṇa and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

Ḍomba (or Doma) is the same as *śvapaca* according to Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara. Parāśara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvapāka, ḍomba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) *ḍombas* are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 389–394 ḍombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Ḍombo, as Ḍom in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

Takṣan or *Takṣaka* (carpenter). For vedic references see above (p. 43). He is the same as vardhaki quoted above, under kāyastha. He is mentioned by Manu IV. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 8. According to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10

the taksan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayaskāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even so early as the Śat. Br. the takṣan was an unholy person (amedhya) and his touch made *yajñapātras* impure (I. 1. 3. 12). Uśanas 43 says that takṣaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa female from a sūcaka (i. e. he is a pratiloma). He must be supposed to be originally different from the rathakāra (vide Tai. S. quoted above p. 43) who was allowed the vedic rite of *ādhāna* or probably in the time of the smṛtis the carpenter lost his former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14)[189] the offspring of a brāhmaṇa girl from a cūcuka (sūcaka ?) is a taksaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the takṣaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tantuvāya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāsya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Tāmbūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37. Bāṇa refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Tāmropajīvin (coppersmith). According to Uśanas (14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa woman. Vaik. (X. 15) says the same and calls him tāmra. The Jātiviveka (D. C. No. 347 of 1887–91) gives the name as tāmra-kuṭṭaka.

Tunnavāya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214. According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he is the same as sūci (or saucika).

Tailika (oilman)-occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 15), Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175 and 1176).

Darada. Manu X. 44 names him. Vide note on khasa above p. 79. Vide Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva 4. 15.

Dāśa (a fisherman). This occurs in an Upaniṣad passage according to Vedānta sūtra II. 3. 43. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12–13) includes him among antyajas (vide footnote 173). Manu X. 34 says that mārgava, dāsa (dāśa ?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats. Pāṇ. (III. 4. 73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

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189. चूचुकाद्विप्रायां तक्षकोऽस्पृश्यो झल्लरीहस्तो दारुकारः सुवर्णकारोऽयस्कारः कांस्यकारी वा । वैखा. X. 14 ; नटनर्तकतक्षाणश्चर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत् । स्थाणुपाषण्डगणिका अभोज्यान्नाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ बृहस्पति in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 380.

Divākīrtya—occurs in Mānavagṛhya II. 14. 11. According to Amara both cāṇḍāla and nāpita are called divākīrti.

Dauṣmanta. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a ksatriya male and a śūdra female. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā the name is Dauṣyanta.

Draviḍa. The same as karaṇa, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43–44, this is a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of a śūdra. Vide under khaśa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160. 103, Droṇa 93. 43.

Dhigvaṇa. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogava female and according to Manu X. 49 he subsists by working on (and sale of) hides. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 quotes a text of Uśanas that Dhigvaṇas subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārāvaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Uśanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled *Mocīkāra.*

Dhīvara. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female (according to the view of some teachers). In the Tai. Br. III. 4. 12 Dhaivara, Dāśa and Kaivarta are separately mentioned, but how they were distinguished it is difficult to say. All caught fish in different ways. Dhimar is a scheduled caste in the Bhandara District of C. P.

Dhvajī (seller of wines)—mentioned by Sumantu and Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1177) says he is the same as śauṇḍika.

Naṭa. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). Naṭa is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) distinguishes between naṭa and śailūṣa and Aparārka remarks that naṭa is a specific caste, while śailūṣa is one who though not a naṭa by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as karaṇa, khasa (vide note on khasa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Naṭasūtra composed by Śilālin and another by Kṛśāśva (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the naṭas he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under raṅgāvatārin for a quotation from Maitrī Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahurūpīs of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks

of naṭakakulas mentioned in Buddhist *Jātakas* and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the naṭa is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nartaka. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a rañjaka from a vaiśya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Bṛhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse naṭa and nartaka (both being abhojyānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya I. 25 refers to him (in cūḍākarma). Uśanas (32–34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female and Uśanas derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person.[190] Vaik. (X. 15) says that the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a ksatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Parāśara (XI. 21)[191] says that the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if saṁskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a nāpita. Pān. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (*śilpin*, like nāpita or kulāla) when compounded with the word *grāma.* The Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva—chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female is called kumbhakāra or ūrdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a kṣatriya female from a niṣāda is called ' adho-nāpita '.

Nicchivi. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karaṇa or khaśa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchivi. Kauṭ. (Arthaśāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka[192] etc. Vaiśāli was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B. C. (Rapson's ' Ancient India ' p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and ' Indian Historical

190. नाभेरूर्ध्वं तु वपनं तस्मान्नापित उच्यते । उशनस् 34.

191. शूद्रकन्यासमुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः । संस्कृतस्तु भवेद्दासो ह्यसंस्कारैस्तु नापितः ॥ पराशर XI. 21.

192. लिच्छिविक-वृजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकुर-कुरुपञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.

Quarterly,' 1933, vol. 18 p. 439 ff. Fa Hien (in 'Records of Buddhist Kingdoms' translated by Legge, 1886, p. 71) says that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ānanda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Niāṣda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta[193] III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam' in Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varnas with niṣāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varṇas (including the śūdras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the niṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the niṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern *Bhils.* According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Manu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Niṣāda is an anuloma caste, offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pāraśava is another name for niṣāda. Manu (IX. 178) derives pāraśava from the root *pāray* (to go across) and the word śava (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead'. In a corrupt passage of Vas. Dh. S.[194] (18. 9-10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between niṣāda and pāraśava, the former (acc. to the com. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaiśya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. According to Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, niṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (strīpuṁsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. Uśanas (36-38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman is called pāraśava and gains his livelihood as the worshipper of the goddess Bhadrakālī or by learning Śaiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while niṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

193. निषादः कस्मान्निषदनो भवति निषण्णमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः । निरुक्त III. 8.

194. शूद्राणां (शूद्रायां ?) पारशवः । पारशवो नेव (पारयञ्चेव ?) जीवञ्चेव शवो भवतीत्याहुः । वसिष्ठ 18. 9-10, where जीवञ्चेव is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारयञ्चेव in Manu IX. 178.

selling flesh. The Vaik.[195] (X. 13) has practically the same remarks to make about pāraśava and niṣāda. Śāntiparva (59. 96-97) speaks of nisādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāyaṇa Guha, the king of niṣādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhyā 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of nisādas (niśādajātyaḥ). We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the Harsacarita (I, towards end), where Bāṇa[196] tells us that he had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa in his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called Lokanātha (about 650 A. D.) we are told that the king's maternal grandfather Keśava was a pāraśava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 91 cautions that this nisāda (the anuloma offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman) is different from another caste called nisāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Nisāda occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The Vāyupurāna (vol. II. chap. 1. 120-121) narrates that the nisādas, dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa we have the same story[197] (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that nisādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, with red eyes and hair and that they dwelt in mountains and forests.

Pahlava.—occurs in Manu (X. 43-44) as a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdra. Vide note on khaśa. The Mahābhārata several times mentions the Pahlavas, Pāradas and other non-Aryan people (vide Sabhā 32. 16-17, Udyoga 4. 15, Bhīṣma 20. 13).

Pāṇḍusopāka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a cāṇḍala male from a vaidehaka woman, who maintains himself by dealing in bamboos. He is the same as buruḍa.

Pārada. Vide Manu X. 43-44 and note on khaśa above. Pāradas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, generally

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195. विप्राच्छूद्रायां पारशवो भद्रकालीपूजन-चित्रकर्माङ्गविद्या (०र्मागमविद्या ?) तूर्यघोषणमर्दन (मर्दल ?) वृत्तिर्जारोत्पन्नो निषादो व्याडादिमृगहिंसाकारी । वैखा०

196. अभर्त्रश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च । तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशवौ, चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ । हर्षचरित, उच्छ्वास I (at end).

197. काककृष्णोऽतिह्रस्वाङ्गो ह्रस्वबाहुर्महाहनुः । ह्रस्वपाल्पिन्नासाग्रो रक्ताक्षस्ताम्रमूर्धजः । निषीदेत्यब्रुवंस्तात स निषादस्ततोऽभवत् । तस्य वंशास्तु नैषादा गिरिकानन-गोचराः ॥ भागवत IV. 14. 44-46.

as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabhā 32, 16, 51. 12, 52. 3 ; Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13). Vide under Yavana.

Pārāśava. Vide niṣāda above. In the Ādiparva 109. 25 Vidura is called pārāśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114.12) to have married the pārāśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 43) says that he is called śūdra and is superior to a śūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for śūdras.

Piṅgala. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from an āyogava female.

Puṇḍra or *Pauṇḍraka.* Frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata among non-Aryan tribes e. g. Droṇa 93. 44, Āśvamedhika 29. 15–16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Pauṇḍrakas are spoken of as ksatriyas in the Mahābhārata, so a man may be misled into thinking that even in the days of Medhātithi they were still ksatriyas (but they were not so).

Pulinda. For vedic references see above (p. 47). They were a wild mountain tribe like the Kirātas or Śabaras. In the Vanaparva 140. 25 Pulindas, Kirātas and Taṅgaṇas are spoken of as dwelling on the Himālaya. Udyoga 160. 103, Karna 73. 19–20, Anuśāsana 33. 21–22 mention pulindas. Uśanas (16) says that he is the illegitimate offspring of a vaiśya male from a kṣatriya female and he lives by rearing cattle and by killing wild beasts. Vaik. (X. 14) says the same and adds that he subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. The Sūtasaṁhitā is of the same opinion as Vaik.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śaṁkarācārya on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV. 3. 22 says that pulkasa and paulkasa are the same. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 14) and Manu X. 18 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from an ugra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uśanas (17) and the Sūtasaṁhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a kṣatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling[198] liquors or natural intoxicating sap. The same is the view of some teachers according to Gautama IV. 17. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 5) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 5) he is the offspring of a vaiśya

198. शूद्रात्क्षत्रियायां पुल्कसः कृतकां चार्क्षीं वा सुरां हृत्वा पाचको विक्रीणीते । वैखानस X. 14.

male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkasas are hunters. Yama[199] and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtya-kalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatṛ, ugra and pukkasa. Kṣīrasvāmī (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the same as mṛtapa (which see below). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) says that when a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is guilty of the theft of gold, of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, they undergo for some time in hell torments and then are respectively born as Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa or Vaiṇa.

Puṣkara. Mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 12) as one of the antyajas. Vide note 173 above.

Puṣpadha. Manu (X. 21) says that this is another name of āvantya (p. 73.)

Pauṇḍraka (or Pauṇḍra). Vide Puṇḍra above. Anuśāsana 35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13-14 have the form pauṇḍra. Vide Manu X. 44 for pauṇḍraka and note on khaśa.

Paulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

Barbara. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that the barbaras are saṁkīrṇayonis. In the Mahābhārata they are frequently mentioned among non-Aryan tribes along with Śaka, Śabara, Yavana, Pahlava etc. Vide Sabhā, 32. 16-17, 51. 23; Vana 254, 18 (as staying in the west); Droṇa 121. 13; Anuśāsana 35. 17; Śānti 65. 13.

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Buruḍa (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as varuḍa (vide below). Varuḍa occurs in the Kulālādigaṇa (Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruḍa is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhaṭa. He is one of the antyajas according to Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on raṅgāvatārin below.

Bhilla. He is one of the antyajas according to Aṅgiras, Atri 199, Yama 33. Vide note 170 above.

Bhiṣak. According to Uśanas (26) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya girl

199. वैश्यायामेव शूद्रेण पुक्कसो नाम जायते । यम in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms).

and he maintains himself by studying the Āyurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1171) he lives by surgery and by attending upon patients.

Bhūpa. According to Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a kṣatriya female.

Bhūrjakaṇṭaka. According to Manu X. 21 he is the offspring of a vrātya brāhmaṇa from a similar woman. In several countries he is called āvantya or vāṭadhāna, puṣpadha or śaikha.

Bhṛjjakaṇṭha (same as ambaṣṭha). According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17, he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from a vaiśya female.

Bhoja. According to the Sūta-saṁhitā he is the offspring of a ksatriya woman and a vaiśya male.

Madgu. Mentioned in Manu X. 48 as subsisting by killing wild beasts. Kullūka on that verse explains that according to Baudhāyana he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a bandin female. Vaik. X. 12 says that he is the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya male with a vaiśya female and subsists as a merchant (śreṣṭhin) and does not take to the profession of a warrior.

Maṇikāra. According to Uśanas (39–40) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a ksatriya male and a vaiśya female and he gains his livelihood by working on beads, by perforating pearls and dealing in coral and conches. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the clandestine offspring of a vaiśya male from a vaiśya female.

Matsyabandhaka (a fisherman). According to Uśanas (44) he is the offspring of a takṣaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

Malla. Vide Manu (X. 22) who says that it is another name of Jhalla etc.

Māgadha. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Anuśāsana 48. 12, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 17 and Yāj. I. 93 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female; while according to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 16, Uśanas (7) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; but Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7 says he is the offspring of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for

Māgadhas; Anuśāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i. e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 60-62) also calls him *bandin* and says he is slightly superior to śūdra and that he is clever in ornate prose, in six languages, in kalās and he is a devotee of Kālikā. Vaik. (X. 13) states that even śūdras cannot take food cooked by him, that he is an untouchable and maintains himself by praise, by singing or by being a messenger. Uśanas (7-8) says that he becomes the bandin of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vaiśya. Pāṇini IV. 1. 70 derives the word Māgadha from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste.

Māṇavika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Mataṅga. The same as cāṇḍāla. The Kādambarī of Bāna (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātaṅga where we ordinarily find cāṇḍāla in other smṛtis. In the Bombay Presidency there is an untouchable caste called *Māṅg* which numbers about three hundred thousand. There are Mangs as a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Mārgava. Same as kaivarta (fisherman). Vide Manu X. 34.

Mālākāra or *Mālika. Vide* Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) quoted above in note 184.

Māhiṣya. According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 92 he is an anuloma caste sprung from the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to *svara.* According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as ambaṣṭha.

Mūrdhāvasikta. This is an anuloma caste according to the view of some teachers in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 91 sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X. 12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhiṣikta. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Āyurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (chap. 26. 36-39) more details are added.

Mṛtapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhāṣya[200] on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from caṇḍāla, but both are included by the Mahābhāṣya under śūdras that are *niravasita* (i. e. those who are so low in the caste system that if a vessel is used by them for eating their food from it cannot be used by any one of the other castes even after the vessel is purified by fire &c.).

Meda. He is one of the seven *antyajas* (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākpāruṣya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nīlakaṇṭha[201] explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niṣāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāṇḍāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in saṁvat 1236. According to Śūdrakamalākara, andhras and medas have to sweep dirty places, doorsteps and privies.

Maitra. Manu X. 23 says he is the same as Kārusa.

Maitreyaka. According to Manu X. 23 he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and āyogava female and his means of livelihood are belauding kings and nobles continually and ringing a bell in the early morning. The Jātiviveka says that he is called Ḍhokanakāra.

Mleccha. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa woman and a vaiśya male.

Yavana. According to the view of some mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra male and a kṣatriya woman. According to Manu X. 43–44 Yavanas were originally kṣatriyas reduced to the status of śūdras (vide under khasa above p. 79). In the Mahābhārata Yavanas are almost

200. अनिरवसितानामित्युच्यते कुतोऽनिरवसितानाम्। आर्यावर्तादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। ..... यद्येवं किष्किन्धगन्धिकं शकयवनं शौर्यकौङ्कमिति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि आर्यनिवासादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यनिवासः। ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति।..... तत्र चण्डालमृतपा इति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि पात्रादनिरवसितानाम्। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेण शुध्यति तेऽनिरवसिताः। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेणापि न शुध्यति ते निरवसिताः। महाभाष्य on पा. II. 4. 10 (vol. I. p. 475).

201. मेदानां पुल्कसानां च तथैवान्तेवसायिनम् (० वान्तावसायिनाम् ?) । अनुशासन 22. 22 ; सूतानां गोमहिष्यादीनां मांसमदनन्तः मेदाः। नीलकण्ठ.

always associated with Śakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā. 32. 16-17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhīṣma 20. 13, Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karṇa 73. 19, Śānti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra) had Kāmboja and Yavana women in his harem. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 59) derives the word Yavanānī from Yavana and a vārtika on that sūtra adds that Yavanānī means the *lipi* (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pān. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Śakas as śūdras but as outside Āryāvarta. Aśoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kambojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Śakas tonsured their heads only, the Pāradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mlecchas because they gave up their original dharmas and because brāhmaṇas also left them.

Raṅgāvatārin (or-*tāraka*). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from śailūsa and gāyana. Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śaṅkha (17. 36) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a naṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Raṅgāvatārin is mentioned in the Maitrī Up. along with naṭa and bhaṭa.[202]

Rajaka (washerman). Dhobī is a scheduled caste in U. P., Bihar and C. P. and in Bengal (called Dhoba). He is one of the *antyajas* according to several writers (vide note 170 above). According to Vaikh. (X. 15) and the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a pulkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Uśanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulkasa male from a vaiśya girl. The Mahābhāsya on Pān. (II. 4. 10) includes him under śūdra. Yāj. II. 48 mentions him as liable to pay his wife's debts, because his livelihood depends on her. The Śūdrakamalākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

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202. ये चान्ये ह चाण्डजटनटभटप्रव्रजितरङ्गावतारिणो राजकर्मणि पतितादयः ..... तैः सह न संवसेत्। मैत्री उप. VII. 8.

Rañjaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female.

Rathakāra. Vide above pp. 43, 45 for Vedic references. According to Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 6 and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I) his *upanayana* was to be performed in the rainy season. It appears he lost his status gradually. In the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 6) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya male with a śūdra female. According to Yāj. I. 95 he is an anuloma doubly mixed as he is the offspring of a māhiṣya male from a karaṇa female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have *upanavana* performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Uśanas (5-6) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman and he is to behave like a śūdra, he is not a twice-born (dvija) and cannot repeat Vedic mantras and makes his living by tending and driving horses and carts.

Rāmaka. According to Vas. Dh. S. 18. 4 he is a *pratiloma* sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female. This would be kṛta, according to Gaut. (IV. 15), vaidehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubdhaka (hunter of deer)—same as vyādha.

Lekhaka. Mentioned by Sumantu quoted in Par. M. II. part 1 p. 383. He is probably the same as kāyastha, if a caste is meant; vide under kāyastha pp. 75-76.

Lohakāra (ironsmith). Vide p. 75 under karmāra. Nārada[203] (ṛṇādāna 288) recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith who is so by caste in the fire ordeal. He is mentioned by Hārīta (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Kamauli plate of Jayacandradeva Gāhaḍavāla was engraved by ' Lohāra Someka ' in saṁvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as *bandin* also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and kṣatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.

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203. जात्यैव लोहकारो यः कुशलश्चाग्निकर्मणि । नारद (ऋणादान 288).

Varāṭa. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12-13).

Varuḍa (worker in bamboo)—also written as buruḍa (vide above p. 89). The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. IV. 1. 97 (vol. II p. 253) gives the instance *vāruḍaki* (from varuḍa). Bidalakāra (splitter of bamboo) occurs in Tai. S. III. 4. 5. 1. and bidalakārī in Vāj. S. 30. 8.

Vāṭadhāna. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Vijanman. According to Manu X.23 he is the same as kāruṣa.

Veṇa (or *Vaiṇa*). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the vaiṇa the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female; and according to Manu X. 49 he makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments. Kullūka on Manu IV. 215 says that Veṇa is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruḍa according to Viśvarūpa. For Vaiṇa see Āp. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a vainya follows the same profession as a rathakāra. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the veṇa alongside of carmakāra, niṣāda and pulkasa. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form vaina which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Ādipurāṇa veṇa is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Veṇuka. According to Uśanas (4) he is a pratiloma, the offspring of a sūta from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of a madgu from a brāhmaṇa woman and his avocation is to play on a vīṇā and on flutes. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmaṇa woman.

Velava. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 111), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some ācāryas

in Gaut. IV. 17 and Uśanas (20) he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. According to Manu X. 47 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 14) his peculiar work is to attend on and guard women (in harems etc), while according to Uśanas (20-21) and Vaik. (X. 14) he is to tend goats, cows and buffaloes and to sell milk, curds, butter-milk and ghee. The Sūta-saṁhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vyādha (huntsman)-mentioned by Sumantu in Aparārka p. 1176 and Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279), Āpastamba (verse) 9. 32, Yāj. II. 48.

Vrātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22-I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gṛ. II. 5 and other sūtra works a *vrātya* is one on whom and on whose ancestors the saṁskāra of upanayana has not been performed. But in other works like Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 15), the word vrātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varṇas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43-44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanas and others as originally ksatriyas reduced to the state of śūdras. Vide note on Yavana (p. 92) above. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with Yavana and other non-Aryan tribes. Vide Sabhā 32. 16-17, 51. 23, Udyoga (4. 15; 19. 21; 160. 103), Bhīṣma (20. 13), Droṇa (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). *Vide* note 200.

Śabara. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the śabaras are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anuśāsana 35. 17, Śānti 65. 13).

Śālika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as Māgadha.

Śūlika. According to Uśanas (42) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra female and his avocation is to impale those offenders who are sentenced to be impaled. According to Vaik. (X. 13) and Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

Śaikha. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as *āvantya.*

Śailūṣa. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from raṅgāvatārī and the Brahmapurāna (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for naṭas[204]. Āpastamba 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

204. वृत्यन्वेषी नटानां तु स तु शैलूषकः स्मृतः । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1178.

vyādha. Yāj. II. 48 does the same and the Mit. thereon paraphrases the word by naṭa.

Śauṇḍika (wine-seller). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15, Manu IV. 216, Yāj. II. 48, Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175) and Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) mention him.

Śvapaca or *Śvapāka.* He is one of the *antyajas* enumerated by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12–13). Vide note 173 above. He occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 12), Kauṭ. (III. 7), he is the offspring of an ugra male from a female of the kṣatṛ sub-caste, while according to Manu X. 19 he is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male from an ugra female. Vaik. (X. 15) and Sūtasaṁhitā say that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male and a brāhmaṇa female, while Uśanas (11) holds that he is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a vaiśya woman. According to Manu X. 51–56 cāṇḍālas and śvapacas follow the same avocation and are governed by the same rules (vide p. 81 under cāṇḍāla). Uśanas (12) says that they eat the flesh of dogs and that dogs are their wealth, while Vaik. says that they wear the same marks that cāṇḍālas have to wear (under the king's order, as Manu says in X. 55), that they remove the filth of towns etc., stay near cemeteries, have to dispose of corpses of men that leave no relatives, have to act as hangmen for offenders sentenced to death and to take their clothes etc., have to take food in broken pots and to eat dogs' flesh and to deal in hides and armour (or in armour made of hides). The Bhagavadgītā (5. 18) puts him on the same level with dogs. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (8. 81–83, 86, 96) a caṇḍāla is called śvapāka (i. e. no distinction is made between the two). In the Jātiviveka he is identified with the *Mahar* and with the *Mang* of the Deccan.

Sātvata. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Sudhanvācārya. According to Manu X. 23 he is the same as kāruṣa above.

Suvarṇa. According to Uśanas (vv. 24–25) he is the offspring of the legal union with Vedic mantras of a brāhmaṇa male and a kṣatriya female. It appears likely that the text is corrupt and we should read savarṇa for suvarṇa. He should perform rites prescribed by the Atharvaveda, he should by the king's order ride a horse, elephant or chariot, may act as the commander of an army or may practise as a physician.

Suvarṇakāra or Sauvarṇika or Hemakāra (goldsmith). A hiraṇyakāra is mentioned in the Vāj. S. XXX. 17 and in Tai. Br. III. 4. 14. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) a goldsmith or a dealer in bronze or a bania was to examine the balance in the balance ordeal. Manu IV. 215, Yāj. I. 163, Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175, 1176) treat him on a level with karmakāra (blacksmith) and niṣāda. Manu IX. 292 condemns him as the worst of all rogues (sarvakaṇṭakapāpiṣṭha). For the view of Vaik. and Bṛhaspati vide under takṣan above (note 189). In the Mahābhārata it is said that after Paraśurāma's alleged extermination of the kṣatriyas, some of them that escaped resorted to the castes of ironsmiths and goldsmiths.[205]

Sūcaka. According to Uśanas (v. 43) he is an anuloma born of the marriage of a vaiśya male from a śūdra female.

Sūcika or saucika or sūcī—one who works with a needle, a tailor. According to Vaik. (X. 15) and Uśanas (v. 22) he is a pratiloma, offspring of a vaidehaka from a kṣatriya woman and engages in the work of sewing with a needle. Saucika, according to the lexicon of Amara, is the same as tunnavāya (for which see above p. 83) and the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1178) also equates *sūcī* with tunnavāya.

Sūta. For vedic references see above p. 43. According to Gaut. (IV. 15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 9), Vas. (18. 6), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 11), Nārada (strīpuṁsa 110), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 6), Yāj. (I. 93) and Sūtasaṁhitā, he is a pratiloma sprung from a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman. Kauṭ. is careful to add that the sūta who figures in the purāṇas as the reciter is quite different from this. A vārtika on Pāṇ. (VI. 3. 70) teaches the formation of words like sūtaputrī.[206] According to Manu (X.47) and Viṣṇu the avocation of sūtas is driving a chariot (i. e. breaking and yoking horses). According to Vaik. (X. 13) he makes his livelihood by reminding the king of his duties and by cooking food for him. Uśanas (v. 3) also says that his business is to remind (a king) of his duties. According to the Karṇaparva (32. 48) sūtas

205. द्योकारहेमकारावृजातिं नित्यं समाश्रिताः। शान्तिपर्व 49. 84. द्योकार is probably for ज्याकार (an iron-smith), while another reading is ज्याकार (maker of bowstrings) also.

206. The 9th vārtika on Pāṇ. VI. 3. 70 is सूतोग्रराजभोजकुलमेरुभ्यो दुहितुः पुत्रङ्वा। The examples given by the महाभाष्य are सूतपुत्री, सूतदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री, उग्रदुहिता.

are the attendants of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and the latter need not carry out what the sūta says. According to the Vāyupurāna (vol. I. 1. 33-38 and vol. II. 1. 139) the sūta was to preserve the pedigrees of kings and great men and traditions about learning or books, he is not authorised to study the Veda, the middling way of maintenance for him is to depend upon kings and to look after chariots, elephants and horses; an inferior way of maintenance is the practice of medicine. The Vaik. (X. 13) and the Sūta-saṁhitā expressly say that the difference between the sūta and the rathakāra consists in this that the former is the offspring of a marriage, while the latter is the offspring of a clandestine union of a kṣatriya male with a brāhmaṇa woman. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 53-54) says that he is inferior to ksatriyas, but is entitled to do all the work of a ksatriya and that he also performs the work of a charioteer, of taming elephants and riding horses.

Sūnika or *Saunika* (a butcher). According to Uśanas (v. 14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a kṣatriya woman. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) speaks of him in the same breath with *rajaka* and carmakāra. The Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1177) says that he is 'paśumāraka'. Sumantu[207] quoted by Par. M. makes his food unfit for brāhmaṇas. He is the same as 'khāṭika' according to the Jātiviveka.

Sairindhra. According to Manu X. 32 he is the offspring of a *dasyu* (as defined in Manu X. 45) from an āyogava woman and he makes his living by combing the hair (of men and women), he is not to be treated as a dāsa (i. e. he has not to eat ucchiṣṭa food), but is to perform menial work (such as shampooing the body) or is to subsist by catching deer etc. The word is included in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). From the Mahābhārata we see what duties Draupadī disguised as sairandhrī had to do for the queen of Virāṭa (Virāṭa-parva 9. 18-19), viz. combing and arranging the hair, pounding unguents, making garlands. Similarly Damayantī became a *sairandhrī* to the mother of the Cedi king (Vanaparva 65. 68-70), but she refused to eat ucchiṣṭa food, would not wash the feet of anybody and would not allow any man to approach her. According to Ādipurāṇa quoted in Śūdrakamalākara he lives by hunting deer and guarding royal harems and women after delivery.

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207. सौनिकक्रूर्याद्मिषाद्वृक्षदचर्मकारा अभोज्यान्ना अप्रतिग्राह्याश्च । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

Sopāka. According to Manu (X. 38) he is the offspring of a caṇḍāla male and a pukkasa female, subsists by the profession of being hangman to those whom the king condemns to death.

Sadūhanvana. Vide note on 'rathakāra' above (p. 45). Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37.

It will have been noticed that some of the castes mentioned in the smṛtis such as ambaṣṭha, māgadha, malla and vaidehaka are connected with countries (Amba, Magadha, Videha etc.), that some others are based upon race such as Ābhīra, Kirāta and Śaka. Manu (X. 43-45) and the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-parva 33. 21-23 and 35. 17-18) were prepared to admit that several foreign races like the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Draviḍas, Daradas, Śabaras, Kirātas etc. were originally kṣatriyas, but had been reduced to the status of śūdras by losing contact with brāhmanas or by not liking the idea of being subject to the brahmanical system. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 4. 47-48) says the same. Numerous names of castes arise from the professions they follow, e. g. ayaskāra, kumbhakāra, carmakāra, taksan, tailika, naṭa, rathakāra, veṇa etc. Even in ancient times brāhmaṇas followed so many different occupations almost as in modern times that the list of brāhmaṇas who cannot be invited at śrāddhas because they follow occupations other than those prescribed for them is rather very formidable (vide Manu III. 151 ff. and the remarks on *paṅktipāvana* later on).

It appears that comparatively very early many among the brāhmaṇas had given up the occupations peculiar to them and were entitled to be called brāhmaṇas simply because of their birth. The Mahābhāṣya[208] of Patañjali quotes a verse '*tapas*, vedic study, and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents)—these are the causes why a person is called a brāhmaṇa; he who is devoid of tapas and vedic study is a brāhmana only by birth (and not a real brāhmaṇa)'. Similarly in another place Patañjali quotes a verse 'know this to be the auspicious sign of the best of brāhmaṇas, viz. whose lore, actions and birth are all three holy' (vol. II. p. 220 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 44). Though in the Mahābhārata

208. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जाति-ब्राह्मण एव सः ॥ महाभाष्य on पा. II. 2. 6 (vol. I. p. 411 and II. p. 363). In the अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 we have a similar verse तपः ..... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ।. The महाभाष्य has another verse (vol. II. p. 220) त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणा-न्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥

it is often said that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone and that he deserves respect from all, still we meet several times with passages[209] wherein there is a revolt against the caste system dependent on birth alone and where it is severely condemned and great emphasis is laid on the moral worth of a man. In the Vanaparva (181. 42–43) we are told[210] 'Truthfulness, restraint, *tapas*, generosity, non-injury to sentient beings, constant adherence to *dharma*–these always lead men to the fruition (of their goal) and not caste nor family'. Udyogaparva (43. 20 ff.) explains at great length what is meant by self-restraint. In the Śāntiparva[211] (189. 4 and 8) 'Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and tapas—he is known as a brāhmaṇa where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a śūdra and they do not exist in a brāhmaṇa, then the śūdra would not be a śūdra and the brāhmaṇa would not be a brāhmaṇa'. In another place we are told[212] 'there is no difference between the varṇas; the whole world is brāhma (the creation of Brahmā), since it was created by Brahmā in former ages and was evolved into varṇas by actions (or occupations).' Udyogaparva[213] (43. 49) remarks 'Do not regard a person as brāhmaṇa by his talk; he who does not depart from truth is a brāhmaṇa'; Vanaparva (216. 14–15) 'that śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and dharma is a brāhmaṇa in my opinion, for a brāhmaṇa is so by his character.' Vide Vanaparva (313. 108–111) and Yāj. I. 200 and Vṛddha Gautama p. 632. It has been seen above (p. 6) that Gautama laid the greatest emphasis on the eight qualities of the soul. But

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209. जन्मनैव महाभागे ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते। नमस्यः सर्वभूतानामतिथिः प्रसृताग्रभुक्॥ अनुशासनपर्व 35. 1; vide also 143. 6.

210. सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता। साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न कुलं नृप॥ वनपर्व 181. 42–43.

211. सत्यं दानमथाद्रोह आनृशंस्यं व्रपा घृणा। तपश्च दृश्यते यत्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः॥ शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्म द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते। न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः॥ शान्ति० 189. 4 and 8; vide also वनपर्व 180. 21.

212. न विशेषोस्ति वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत्। ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम्॥ शान्ति० 188. 10.

213. तस्मात्क्षत्रिय मा संस्था जल्पितेनैव वै द्विजम्। य एव सत्यात्सापेति स ज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणस्त्वया॥ उद्योगपर्व 43. 49; यस्तु शूद्रो दमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततोत्थितः। तं ब्राह्मणमहं मन्ये वृत्तेन हि भवेद् द्विजः॥ वनपर्व 216. 14–15; न जातिः पूज्यते राजन्गुणाः कल्याणकारकाः। चण्डालमपि वृत्तस्थं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः॥ वृद्धगौतम p. 632; but the परा. मा. II part 1 p. 228 says 'जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः। शीलं तु यथासंभवम्।'.

in spite of those sentiments the caste system dependent on birth has continued in all its strength and rigour for ages and writers like the Par. M. II. 1, p. 228 are emphatic in saying that between jāti and character one must look principally to the eminence of the caste.

In certain medieval works called Jātiviveka and in other works like the Śūdra-kamalākara (first half of 17th century A. D.) several more castes are mentioned, some of which are set out below.

Āghāsika or *Āndhasika*—from a vaidehika male and a śūdra female; sells cooked food; also called *Rāndhavaṇu.*

Āvartaka—from a bhrjjakaṇṭha and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Āhituṇḍika—from a niṣāda and a vaideha female; called Gāruḍī in Marathi.

Aurabhra—called Dhangar in Marathi (tends rams and ewes for their wool).

Kaṭadhānaka—from āvartaka and a brāhmaṇa woman.

Kuntalaka—the same as nāpita.

Kuruvinda—from a kumbhakāra and a kukkuṭa female. Same as modern Sāḷī, according to Śūdrakamalākara.

Gholika from a Vyādha male and gārudī female. He is called Undiramāru (rat-killer) in the vernacular.

Durbhara—from an āyogava and a dhigvaṇa woman; called Ḍohor (or Ḍhor) in modern times.

Pauṣṭika—from a brāhmaṇa and a niṣāda female; called in modern times Kahāra or Bhoī (palanquin-bearer).

Plava—from a cāṇḍāla and an andhra woman; called 'hāḍī' in modern times.

Bandhula—from maitreya and jāṅghika female; called Jhārekarī now (who takes out gold particles from the dust at the doors of goldsmiths).

Bhasmāṅkura—from a Śaiva fallen ascetic and a śūdra prostitute; called Gurava by the Jātiviveka.

Manyu—from a vaiśya and a kṣatriya female; called *Tāvaḍia* (thief catcher).

Romika—from malla and an āvartaka woman; called Loṇār in modern times (manufacturer of salt).

Śālākya or Śākalya from a mālākāra and kāyastha woman; called *Maniar.*

Śuddha-Mārjaka—called Māndali (who gains livelihood by singing and playing on musical instruments).

Sindolaka or *spandālika*, from a śūdra male and a māgadha female; called Raṅgārī (dyer).

In modern times each of the principal varṇas has numerous sub-castes, based upon difference of country, occupation, sect and other causes. For example, brāhmaṇas are first divided into ten classes, five of them being Gauḍas[214] and five Drāviḍas. Among the Drāviḍa brāhmaṇas, the Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇas are again subdivided into numerous sub-castes such as the Citpāvana (or Koṅkaṇastha), Karhāḍe, Deśastha, Devarukhe etc. It is said that in Gujerat there are 84 subcastes of brāhmaṇas,[215] most of which do not interdine nor intermarry. There is often a further distinction among the members of the same subcaste, viz. those who follow the priestly occupation and those who do not. The spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of superiority that arose in vedic times gradually led on to further and further divisons and subdivisions of people owing to geographical situation and other[216] causes. It appears that probably even in ancient times the brāhmaṇas of the north looked down upon the brāhmaṇas in eastern countries like Magadha. Vide notes 31–32 above and Fick (pp. 213–214). The Matsyapurāṇa (16. 16) says that brāhmaṇas who dwell in Mleccha countries, in Triśaṅku, Barbara, Oḍra (Orissa), Andhra (Teliṅgaṇa), Ṭakka, Draviḍa and Koṅkaṇa are not to be invited at śrāddhas.[217]

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214. द्राविडाश्चैव तैलङ्गाः कर्नाटा मध्यदेशगाः । गुर्जराश्चैव पञ्चैते द्राविडाः पञ्च कथ्यते ॥ सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा उत्कला मैथिलाश्च ये । गौडाश्च पञ्चधा चैव दश विप्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सह्याद्रिखण्ड । (section of the स्कन्दपुराण) उत्तरार्ध X. 2–3 (ed. by Dr. Da Cunha); vide Wilson's 'Indian castes' vol. II. p. 17 where the names slightly differ.

215. Sherring, vol. I. p. 99. gives the names of these 84 subcastes and Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. II. pp. 92 ff. adds more bringing the total to 160.

216. Vide Bombay Presidency Gazetteer, vol. 9 p. 18 (for Sārasvatas of Panjab having 470 subdivisions). Wilson ('Indian castes' vol. II. p. 126) was informed that there were 469 subcastes of Sārasvata brāhmaṇas and he enumerates these at pp. 127–133.

217. कृतघ्नान्नास्तिकांस्तद्वन्म्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुचर्वरोद्वान्ध्रान् टक्कद्रविडकोङ्कणान् ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 16. 16.

Among kṣatriyas there are several subdivisions, such as those claiming descent from the Sun or the Moon and those that call themselves to be Agnikulas (vide Sherring, vol. I. p. 120 ff. and Tod's Rajasthan vol. I chapter VII for lists of royal tribes). The Paramāras have 35 branches, Guhilots 24 branches. Chahmanas 26 branches, Solankis 16 branches and so on.

Even among comparatively late works the total number of subcastes enumerated does not go beyond even two hundred. For example, Wilson in 'Indian castes' vol. I pp. 65–70 mentions only 134 castes with their Sanskrit and modern Marathi names as gathered from the Jātiviveka, Mādhava-kalpalatā, Paraśu-rāma-pratāpa and other works. It is only in the census reports prepared at great expense by the British Government after elaborate efforts and organization that the great complexity of the caste system in modern India is laid bare to the eye. But this work cannot, by reason of its limited scope, go into these varied and complex details of the hundreds of castes that exist in the several provinces of India.

CHAPTER III

THE DUTIES, DISABILITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE VARṆAS

The duties and privileges of *varṇas* occupy a very prominent place in all works on Dharmaśāstra. The study (of the Vedas), offering sacrifices and giving gifts are said to be the duties absolutely enjoined on the brāhmaṇa, ksatriya and vaiśya,[218] while each of these three varṇas has certain peculiar privileges, which are its principal means of livelihood. Teaching Vedas, officiating at sacrifices and receiving gifts—these are the privileges of brāhmaṇas; the profession of arms and protection of the people are the peculiar privileges of kṣatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle, trade and money-lending are the peculiar privileges of vaiśyas. The first three viz. study, sacrifices and liberality are said to be the dharmas of all *dvijas* and the other actions such as teaching the Veda are said to be the *vṛtti* or *jīvikā* (means of livelihood) of the *dvijas*. The consequence of this bifurcation is that if the first three are not performed or are neglected, the person concerned was deemed to incur sin, while a brāhmaṇa is not bound necessarily to earn his livelihood by all or any one of the three viz. teaching, officiating at a sacrifice or receiving gifts.[219] A few words on each of these duties and privileges must be said at this stage.

Study (of Vedas). It has been already stated (p. 38) that brāhmaṇa and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic periods. We see in the Satapatha Br. and in the Upaniṣads that certain kings had attained eminence as philosophers or students of *brahma-vidyā* and then even learned brāhmaṇas came to them as pupils. For example, Yājñavalkya learnt from Janaka (Śat. Br. XI. 6. 21. 5), Bālāki Gārgya from

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218. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम्। ब्राह्मणस्याधिकाः प्रवचनयाजनप्रतिग्रहाः। पूर्वेषु नियमस्तु। राज्ञोधिकं रक्षणं सर्वभूतानाम्। वैश्यस्याधिकं कृषिवणिक्पाशुपाल्यकुसीदम्। गौतम X. 1-3, 7, 50; vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5-8, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 2-5, Vas. II. 13-19, Manu I. 88-90, X. 75-79, Yāj. I. 118-119, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 10-15, Atri 13-15. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 28. 3-8.

219. पूर्वाण्यध्ययनादीनि अवश्यकर्तव्यानि। अकुर्वन्प्रत्यवैति कुर्वंश्चाभ्युदेति। प्रवचनादीनि तु वृत्त्यर्थानि। अतोऽकरणे न प्रत्यवायः। करणे नाभ्युदयः। हरदत्त on गौ. X. 3; अत इज्यादीन्यवश्यं कर्तव्यानि न प्रतिग्रहादीनि। मिता० on या. I. 118.

Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī (Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV), Śvetaketu Āruṇeya from Pravāhaṇa[220] Jaivali (Chān. Up. V. 3), five brāhmaṇas from Aśvapati, king of Kekaya (Chān. V. 11). In Bṛ. Up. (IV. 2. 1) Janaka is described by Yājñavalkya as one who had studied the Vedas and Upaniṣads.[221] From this it may be inferred that some kṣatriyas at least spent a good deal of time in the study of religious and philosophical doctrines. The conclusion[222] that is sometimes

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220. प्रवाहण जैवलि says in छान्दोग्य V. 3. 7 that पञ्चाग्निविद्या was not known to ब्राह्मणs till he imparted it to गौतम ' यथा मा त्वं गौतमावदो यथेयं न प्राक् त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान्गच्छति तस्मात् सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमभूदिति ' ।; vide बृह. उप. VI. 2. 8. where similar words occur about the same विद्या.

221. एवं वृन्दारक आढ्यः सन्नधीतवेद उक्तोपनिषत्क इतो विमुच्यमानः क्व गमिष्यसीति नाहं तद्भगवन्वेद यत्र गमिष्यामीति । बृह. उ. IV. 2. 1.

222. Vide Deussen's ' Das System des Vedānta ', 1883, (pp. 18–19) ' the real cherisher of those thoughts was originally the caste of the kṣatriyas, rather than the caste of the priests. Over and over again we come across the situation that the brāhmaṇa asks the kṣatriya for information ' and Deussen refers only to six passages (Bṛ. Up. II. 1, VI. 2, Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11 and Kauṣītaki Up. I. 1 and IV. 1). Vide also 'Philosophy of the Upanishads ' (translated by Geden, 1905, pp. 17–19). In the first place these are too few passages out of the vast Upaniṣad literature to found the sweeping generalisation in which the German *savant* indulges. In the second place in Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV. there is no statement that brahmavidyā was known only to kṣatriyas; on the contrary Ajātaśatru expresses surprise that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya for the expounding of brahmavidyā and says that this is opposed to the natural (or usual) order of affairs. This shows that Ajātaśatru was an exception and that brāhmaṇas usually taught brahmavidyā. In Kauṣītaki I. 1. and Ch. Up. V. 11 all that is narrated is that Gautama Śvetaketu learnt from Citra Gārgyāyaṇi and certain śrotriyas like Aupamanyava learnt Vaiśvānaravidyā from Aśvapati Kaikeya. But nothing is said here about brahmavidyā being first known to kṣatriyas only. In Bṛ. Up. VI. 2 and Ch. Up. V. 11 it is no doubt stated that '*this Vidyā* ' was not known to any brāhmaṇa till then ; but 'this vidyā' does not mean the whole of the philosophy of brahma, but only that particular doctrine which bears the name of pañcāgnividyā. This vidyā no doubt propounds the doctrine of transmigration in a figurative and somewhat picturesque way. But that doctrine is elsewhere elaborated by brāhmaṇas like Yājñavalkya to the brāhmaṇas in king Janaka's court and to Janaka himself (vide Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13 and IV. 4. 3–4). Nor can it be said that the doctrine of transmigration was not at all known before the Upaniṣads. The same views are echoed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in ' Verhand-lungen des VII

(*Continued on next page*)

drawn by certain writers that kṣatriyas or kings were the pioneers in brahmavidyā cannot be accepted as correct. The germs of the philosophy of the Upanisads are seen in the later hymns of the Ṛgveda, in the Atharvaveda and in some of the Brāhmaṇa treatises. The Upaniṣads are full of brāhmaṇas who independently propounded various aspects of *brahma-vidyā* and there is no reason to suppose that the few ksatriyas referred to as masters of the vidyā were the only persons who first attained to that position. There are hardly any ancient passages to show that vaiśyas devoted any portion of their time to veda study. The Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā[223] (IX. 16) indicates that all varṇas studied the Veda since it speaks of a person not a brāhmaṇa, having studied (Vedic) lores and yet not shining (by his learning).

As to brāhmaṇas the matter stands thus. The Nirukta (II. 4) contains four[224] verses (which are called Vidyāsūkta), the first of which says that *vidyā* came to the brāhmaṇa and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāṣya[225] of Patañjali quotes as an *āgama* (Vedic passage) the words 'a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any motive (of profit) dharma, the Veda with its six subsidiary lores (viz. phonetics etc.)'. Manu IV. 147 says 'a brāhmaṇa should always and assiduously study the Veda alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma; everything else is inferior *dharma*'. Yāj. (I. 198) observes 'the Creator created brāhmaṇas for the preservation of the vedas, for the satisfaction of the

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Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses zu Wien (Arische Sec. pp. 108-109) and in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 9 'Kṣatriyas engaged themselves in active speculation on religious matters about the time of the Upaniṣads and are mentioned as the original possessors of the new knowledge,' and the learned Doctor refers only to Ch. Up. V. 3 and V. 11. It may be stated that Hopkins (in 'Ethics of India' 1924 p. 63), Barth (Religions of India p. 65) and Vedic Index (vol. II p. 206) do not subscribe to these views of Deussen and Bhandarkar.

223. योऽब्राह्मणो विद्यामनूच्य नेव रोचेत स एतांश्चतुर्होतॄनरण्यं परेत्य दर्भस्तम्बमुद्गमस्य ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणतो निधाय व्याचक्षीत। काठकसं. IX. 16.

224. The same four verses occur in Vas. Dh.S.II. 8–11, three of them except 'adhyāpitā ye' in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 9–10 and 30. 47; Manu II. 114–115 expresses the ideas of two out of them, but in different words.

225. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति। महाभाष्य (vol. I. p. 15).

gods and pitṛs, for the safeguarding of dharma.' Atri (25) contains the same idea. Other[226] sages say that he in whose family Veda (Vedic study) and vedi (consecration of fires for śrauta rites) are given up for three generations becomes a durbrāhmaṇa (an unworthy or bad brāhmaṇa). The Tai. S. (II. 1. 10. 1) prescribes a rite for a durbrāhmaṇa in whose family cessation of drinking soma occurred for generations and who himself desired to drink soma.

Teaching the Veda—It is probable that in very remote times the son was taught the Veda by his father. The story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (Chāndogya V. 3. 1. and VI. 1. 1–2 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1) shows that he learnt all the Vedas from his father and the legend in the Bṛ. Up. (V. 2. 1) that the gods, men and *asuras* learnt from their father Prajāpati points in the same direction.[227] Ṛg. VII. 103. 5 shows that instruction was oral and consisted in the pupil repeating the words uttered by the teacher.[228] Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the dharmaśāstras teaching Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of brāhmaṇas. Some kṣatriya teachers or philosophers are referred to in the Śatapatha (VIII. 1. 4. 10 and XI. 6. 2) and elsewhere, but they are generally held in low esteem. The Āp. Dh. S.[229] (II. 2. 4. 25–28) lays down that the brāhmaṇa alone can be the teacher (of a brāhmaṇa), but in distress (i. e. in the absence of a brāhmaṇa teacher), a brāhmaṇa may learn from a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but the only service (which as a pupil) he should render to a ksatriya or vaiśya teacher is to go after him (and not shampooing his feet etc.) and after the brāhmaṇa finishes his study, the brāhmaṇa may go in front

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226. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति-यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिपूरुषम् । स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः । बौधायनगृह्यपरिभाषा I. 10. 5–6. This is quoted as Yama's by Aparārka pp. 286, 449. Aṅśanasa (chap. IV p. 524, Jiv.) has the verse, but the last pāda is श्राद्धादौ न कदाचन. Vide for दुर्ब्राह्मण the following आश्विनं धूम्रललाममालभेत यो दुर्ब्राह्मणः सोमं पिपासेत् । अश्विनौ वै देवानामसोमपावास्तां तौ पश्चात्सोमपीथं प्राप्नुताम् । तै. सं. II. 1. 10. 1; vide also तै. सं. II. 1. 5. 5 ऐन्द्राग्नं पुनरुत्सृष्टमालभेत य आ तृतीयात्पुरुषात् सोमं न पिबेत् ।

227. त्रयः प्राजापत्याः प्रजापतौ पितरि ब्रह्मचर्यमूषुर्देवा मनुष्या असुरा उषित्वा ब्रह्मचर्यं देवा ऊचुः । बृ. उ. V. 2. 1.

228. यदेषामन्यो अन्यस्य वाचं शाक्तस्येव वदति शिक्षमाणः । ऋ. VII. 103. 5.

229. ब्राह्मण आचार्यः स्मर्यते तु । आपदि ब्राह्मणेन राजन्ये वैश्ये वाध्ययनम् । अनुगमनं च पश्चात् । तत ऊर्ध्वं ब्राह्मण एवाग्रे गतौ स्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 25–28.

(of his kṣatriya teacher). Gaut. (VII. 1-3) and Manu (X. 1, II. 241) lay down the same rules. Manu (II. 242) adds that a perpetual student (naiṣṭhika brahmacārī) should not stay as a pupil with a teacher who is not a brāhmaṇa and that a brāhmaṇa may learn even from a śūdra a useful or efficacious craft (II. 238). The profession of teaching the Veda could not have brought much money or wealth to brāhmaṇas, since very great emphasis was laid, as we shall see later, on teaching without any prior agreement about payment. It was the privilege of a brāhmaṇa alone to officiate as a priest. Jaimini[230] says that, as the kṣatriya and vaiśya cannot be priests (ṛtviks), the sattra (a sacrifice extending over many days or years) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. The Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra uses a similar argument. When Viśvāmitra agreed to perform a sacrifice for Triśaṅku who had been cursed to be a cāṇḍāla, the Rāmāyaṇa[231] says that the gods and sages would not accept the oblations. It is doubtful whether the same rigid rule prevailed in ancient Vedic days. In Ṛg. X. 98. 7 it is said that Devāpi was the purohita of Śantanu and the Nirukta (II. 10) adds that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So, according to the Nirukta at least, a kṣatriya could be a purohita in Vedic times. It may be admitted that the Ṛg. itself does not expressly say that they were brothers. In modern times many writers often speak of brāhmaṇas as the priestly caste or as priests. But this is not a very accurate statement. All brāhmaṇas never were nor are priests; besides even in modern times when caste is so rigid all priests in all temples and shrines are not brāhmaṇas. Some brāhmaṇas became the family priests (purohitas) of kings, many engaged as *ṛtviks* at solemn śrauta sacrifices or at domestic rites and ceremonies. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and they were generally looked down upon in olden times and are regarded as inferior even in modern times.[232] Manu (III. 152) says that a devalaka i. e. a brāhmaṇa who took

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230. ब्राह्मणानां चेतरयोरार्त्विज्याभावात् । जैमिनि VI. 6. 18 ; ब्राह्मणा ऋत्विजो भक्षप्रतिषेधादितरयोः । कात्या. श्रौ I. 2. 28.

231. क्षत्रियो याजको यस्य चण्डालस्य विशेषतः । कथं सदसि भोक्तारो हविस्तस्य सुरर्षयः ॥ बालकाण्ड 59. 13-14.

232. देवार्चनपरो विप्रो वित्तार्थी वत्सरत्रयम् । असौ देवलको नाम हव्यकव्येषु गर्हितः ॥ देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत् । अपांक्तेयः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु सर्वदा ॥ देवल quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका II p. 396, the first verse being quoted by अपरार्क also pp. 450, 923.

remuneration to perform service before the image in a temple for three years continuously was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice for gods.

The third means of livelihood permitted to brāhmaṇas was receiving gifts from a worthy or unblemished person. According to Yama[233] quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 179) *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) from a worthy person of the three higher varṇas is superior to the acquisition of wealth by officiating as a priest or by teaching. But Manu (X. 109-11) says that *pratigraha* from an unworthy person (or a śūdra) is worse than the act of teaching him or officiating as a priest for him. Very elaborate rules were laid down about gifts i. e. who should receive gifts, from whom gifts may be received and on what occasions and what things were proper subjects of gift. The latter two matters will be discussed in detail later on. Here the rules about the persons to whom gifts should be made and from whom they were to be accepted will be set out. It appears from the Bṛ. Up. (IV. 1.3) that even in those ancient times there were prohibitions against receiving gifts from unworthy persons and officiating as priests for the unworthy. And the Bṛ. Up. (V. 14. 5-6) suggests that it is only the learned who could properly accept large gifts.

In the first place, the ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking the active pursuit of riches and cherishing cultural preservation and advancement. Manu lays down the general rule that when not in distress a brāhmaṇa should acquire wealth only just sufficient to maintain himself and his family, and to enable him to perform his religious duties without causing any harm to others or by as little harm to others as possible and without unduly worrying his own body (IV. 2-3) and then Manu (IV. 7-8) says[234] that a brāhmaṇa householder may

233. प्रतिग्रहाध्यापनयाजनानां प्रतिग्रहं श्रेष्ठतमं वदन्ति । प्रतिग्रहाच्छुध्यति जप्यहोमैर्याज्यं तु पापैर्न पुनन्ति वेदाः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 179.

234. The words 'kusūla and 'kumbhī' have been variously explained by the commentators ; vide Kullūka on Manu IV. 7. According to Kullūka one who has corn sufficient for three years is called 'kusūladhānya' as suggested by Manu X. 7; while 'kumbhīdhānya' is one who has a store of corn for one year. Medhātithi says that there is no restriction to corn only ; one who has wealth either in corn or money to satisfy his needs for three years is 'kusūladhānya'; according to Govindarāja, 'kusūladhānya' and 'kumbhīdhānya' are respectively those who have corn for 12 and 6 days. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 accepts Govindarāja's explanation.

either accumulate so much grain (but not more) as would fill a kusūla (a granary), or a *kumbhī*[235] or he may have as much corn as would satisfy all his needs for three days or as much as will suffice for the day that is on and that out of these four each succeeding one was superior to each preceding one i. e. one who had no more accumulation of material goods than for the day itself (and who did not care for the morrow) was the best brāhmaṇa. Yāj. I. 128 speaks of a fifth grade viz. a brāhmaṇa should subsist by collecting the ears of corn that are left in the field after the crops are gathered or the single grains of corn so left and Manu (X. 112) says that if a brāhmaṇa cannot maintain himself he may prefer to live on the collection of fallen ears of corn or grains rather than receive gifts. This last mode is designated ṛta by Manu (IV. 5). Manu (IV. 12, 15, 17) lays down that a brāhmaṇa should cultivate supreme contentment and though desirous of happiness should restrain himself (in the pursuit of wealth), he should not, even when in distress, hanker after the acquisition of wealth by excessive attachment or by doing what is forbidden or by accepting gifts from any person whatever (of blemished character etc.) and he should give up pursuits that are opposed to (cause obstacles in) his devotion to Vedic study. Yāj. (I. 129) says the same thing in more concise language. Vyāsa prescribes that a brāhmaṇa should seek to narrow down his means of livelihood and should not hanker after excess of wealth; if he sets about accumulation of wealth he loses the (glorious) status of brāhmaṇya.[236] The Mahābhārata says that when a brāhmaṇa has more corn than he would require to satisfy his needs for three years, then he should offer a sacrifice with that wealth and he should not go on accumulating wealth in vain and that accumulation of vast wealth is a calamity for a brāhmaṇa.[237]

Gautama (IX. 63), Yāj. (I. 100), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (63. 1), and Laghu-Vyāsa (II. 8) say that a brāhmaṇa should approach a

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235. That this ideal of 'kumbhīdhānya' is very ancient is shown by the use of the word kumbhīdhānya in the Mahābhāṣya where it is explained as follows (on Pāṇ. I. 3. 7, vol. I. p. 264) 'कुम्भीधान्यः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते । यस्य कुम्भ्यामेव धान्यं स कुम्भीधान्यः । यस्य पुनः कुम्भ्यां चान्यत्र च नासौ कुम्भीधान्यः . '

236. वृत्तिसङ्कोचमन्विच्छेन्नेहेत धनविस्तरम् । धनलाभे प्रवृत्तस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते॥ व्यास quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 199 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 173.

237. त्रैवार्षिकाद्यदा भक्तादधिकं स्याद्द्विजस्य तु । यजेत तेन द्रव्येण न वृथा साधयेद् धनम् ॥ अनुशासन 47. 22 ; अनर्थो ब्राह्मणस्यैष यद् वित्तनिचयो महान् । अनुशासन 61. 19.

king (or a rich man) for his *yogakṣema* (i. e. for his livelihood and support). Manu (IV. 33), Yāj. (I. 130), and Vas. Dh. S. (XII. 2) declare that a brāhmaṇa when oppressed by hunger should seek for help (or money) from a king, from his pupil or from one who is able and willing to offer a sacrifice. But a brāhmaṇa should not receive a gift from an irreligious king or other irreligious donor. This implies that if the brāhmaṇa is not hungry and has sufficient wealth either obtained by inheritance or partition or in any other way he should not go about seeking for wealth and should not receive gifts (Manu IV. 34). If a brāhmaṇa cannot secure gifts from the above three, then he may do so from any other worthy *dvijāti*.[238] When even that is not possible and the brāhmaṇa is in difficulties he was allowed to take a gift from anybody including a śūdra (Manu X. 102-103, Yāj. III. 41); but a brāhmaṇa should not seek gifts from a śūdra for the performance of a sacrifice or for *agnihotra*, as thereby he becomes a cāṇḍāla in another birth (Manu XI. 24 and 42, Yāj. 1. 127). A brāhmaṇa trying to support his hungry elders (parents etc.), his dependants (wife, servants etc.), and about to worship gods and honour guests may accept a gift from anybody (except a *patita*), but should not satisfy his own hunger with that wealth (Manu IV. 251, Vas. 14. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 13, Yāj. I. 216). Yāj., however, allowed this even for one's own livelihood. Gaut.[239] (18. 24-25) allows a brāhmaṇa to receive even from a śūdra as much as would enable him to finish marriage ceremonies on which he has embarked or to get materials for a sacrifice when he has begun it. One may take gifts from a śūdra or ugra for paying a fee to one's *guru* at the end of the period of brahmacarya (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 20-21). A brāhmaṇa was not to seek gifts from a king who was not of kṣatriya lineage nor from butchers, oilmen, keepers of liquor-shops and of brothels nor from courtesans (Manu IV. 84), nor from a king who is avaricious and transgresses the rules of the *śāstras*[240] (Yāj. I. 140, Manu IV. 87). The Smṛtis lay down

238. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत। प्रतिगृह्णीयाच्च। गौतम 17.1-2.

239. द्रव्यादानं विवाहसिद्ध्यर्थं धर्मतन्त्रसंयोगे च शूद्रात्। गौतम 18. 24.

240. Vide Par. M. I. 1. p. 199 for quotations from Saṁvarta, the Skandapurāṇa, the Viṣṇu-dharmottara condemning the receipt of gifts from irreligious kings. In Anuśāsana 93. 94 the sages say to king Vṛṣadarbhi ' राजन् प्रतिग्रहो राज्ञां मधवास्वादुरो विषोपमः। तज्जानमानः कस्मात्त्वं कुरुषे नः प्रलोभनम् ॥'. यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये श्रोत्रियः सीदति क्षुधा। तस्यापि तत्क्षुधा राष्ट्रमचिरेणैव सीदति ॥ मनु VII. 134.

that it is the duty of the king to support śrotriyas (brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda) and brāhmaṇas who are incapable of struggling for their maintenance (Gaut. X. 9–10, Yāj. III. 44, Atri 24) and that if a śrotriya perishes through hunger in the domains of a king, that country would suffer from famine and disease (Manu VII. 134). Yāj. III. 44 lays down that it is the duty of a king to assign a proper means of livelihood to a brāhmaṇa in distress, having regard to the brāhmaṇa's conduct, descent, learning, Vedic study, *tapas*, the members in his family.[241] The ideal set before brāhmaṇas in the matter of *pratigraha* (receiving gifts) was that he, who though entitled to accept a gift (on account of his Vedic learning and *tapas*) does not take it, attains to the highest worlds (Yāj. I. 213); and Manu (IV. 186) says that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmaṇa should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power (due to Vedic study) that he acquires is lost by accepting gifts. Another rule about gifts is laid down in many works as follows. When a donor himself goes to the place of a worthy donee and makes a gift that is the best gift, when a donor calls a donee to his place and makes a gift it is middling and when a donor gives if begged by a donee it is inferior.[242] Manu (IV. 188–191) prescribes that a man, who is not learned, is reduced to ashes like fuel if he accepts a gift of gold, land, horses, cows, food, clothes, sesame and ghee, that a brāhmaṇa who, being devoid of learning and *tapas* (regulated life), desires to accept gifts sinks (into Hell) as one who sits in a stone boat sinks in water; and that therefore a brāhmaṇa who is not learned should be afraid of receiving gifts.

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241. We find that kings followed these directions from very ancient times. In Karle Inscription No. 13 (E. I. vol. VII. p. 57) and Nasik cave Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78) king Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) proclaims that he gave one lakh of cows and 16 villages to brāhmaṇas at Prabhāsa and got some of them married at his expense and that he also fed every year a lakh of brāhmaṇas. In numerous grants of lands and villages the purpose of the grants is said to be to enable the donees to perform the five *Mahāyajñas*, Agnihotra, Vaiśvadeva, the offering of *bali* and *caru* (vide Sarsavni plate of Buddharāja in E. I. vol. 6 p. 298 dated in Kaṭacchuri Saṁvat 361 i. e. 609–10 A. D., Damodarpur plates in E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 dated 443–44 A. D.).

242. अभिगम्योत्तमं दानमाहूयैव तु मध्यमम् । अधर्मं याचमानाय सेवादानं तु निष्फलम् ॥ पराशर I. 29 ; गत्वा यद्दीयते दानं तदनन्तफलं स्मृतम् । सहस्रगुणमाहूते याचिते तु तदर्धकम् ॥ quoted by the Mit. and Aparārka (p. 291) on Yāj. I. 203. Vide लघुशातातप quoted by Aparārka p. 291 and Śāntiparva 294. 18–19.

To the same effect are Yāj. (I. 200–202), Vas. Dh. S. (VI. 32), Auśanasa (Jiv. I. p. 521 which is almost the same as Manu IV. 188). Just as a brāhmaṇa who was not learned was enjoined not to accept a gift, so conversely people were asked to make gifts only to learned and worthy men. Even so early as the Śat. Br. this is emphasized as in IV. 3. 4. 15 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 344) "thus those cows of his are given to him who is fit to receive a dakṣiṇā and not to him who is unfit'. Vide III. 5. 1. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 114) also. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 9–10) prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmaṇas who are pure and who have studied the Veda and one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place and on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy acceptor.'[243] To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III, 8 and VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132 and IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Dakṣa III. 26 and 31.[244] The smṛtis say that gifts given to a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious and deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (Manu IV. 192–194, Atri 152, Dakṣa III. 29). Manu (XI. 1–3) says that nine kinds of *snātaka* brāhmaṇas who are poor are the primary objects of the gift of food and fees inside the sacrificial altar; while to others food and wealth may be given outside the altar (bahirvedi).

An exception was made in the case of gifts made without request from the donee. What has been offered unasked may be accepted even from one who is guilty of bad actions, except from unchaste women, impotent persons and *patita* (outcastes or persons guilty of mahāpātakas)—Yāj. I. 215, Manu IV. 248–49, Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 11–14 (where two verses are quoted from a Purāṇa which are almost the same as Manu IV. 248–249), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 11. Many persons are mentioned in the smṛtis from whom gifts (particularly of food) were not to be accepted (vide Manu IV. 205–224, Vas. Dh. S. XIV. 2–11).

Another rule about gifts was that a person should prefer a learned brāhmaṇa who is his neighbour for making a gift to one who is not near; if he did not do so, he incurred sin; but there was no blame in passing over an ignorant or foolish

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243. ह्युचीन्मन्त्रकृतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । देशतः कालतः शौचतः सम्यक्प्रतिगृहीतृत इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9-10.

244. यद्यदिष्टतमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं भवेत् । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ दक्ष III. 31. This is also सौपर्ण 44–45, अनुशासनपर्व 59. 7, मार्कण्डेय 35. 52–53, मत्स्यपुराण 72. 39.

brāhmaṇa who stays near in favour of a worthy but distant brāhmaṇa.[245] Vide Vas. Dh. S. III. 9-10, Manu VIII. 392 (which prescribes a fine of one *māṣa* for this), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti IV. 35-38, Bṛhaspati-smṛti 60 and Laghu-Śātātapa 76-79, Gobhila-smṛti II. 66-69. Devala quoted by Aparārka p. 288 and Par. M. I. part 1 p. 181 say that that brāhmaṇa is a pātra (worthy to receive a gift) who is pure in three respects (viz. as to his parents and his guru), whose means of livelihood are slender, who is tender-hearted and of restrained senses. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 26 and Yāj. I. 200 also define pātra similarly.

It is not to be supposed that the ideal of poverty and non-acceptance of gifts except under compelling circumstances was only an ideal hardly ever acted upon at any time or in any part of the country. Even in the 20th century rural India has villages with a considerable population of brāhmaṇas where many śrotriyas (learned in the Veda) and *pandits* (those who study śāstras like grammar, logic, mīmāṅsā) are still found who are content with what little patrimony they have got, who engage in the profession of teaching the Veda and śāstras in accordance with ancient rules and who do not go about seeking gifts nor accept invitations for dinner at śrāddhas. In the Śāntiparva 199 brāhmaṇas are divided into two sorts, viz. those who are pravṛtta (i. e. engage in all sorts of activities for acquiring wealth) and those who are nivṛtta and verse 40 defines these latter as those who do not resort to *pratigraha* (acceptance of gifts).

Though *pratigraha* was a special privilege of brāhmaṇas, gifts could be made by anybody to anybody. Yāj. I. 6 says that giving to a worthy person at a proper time is the complete definition of dharma and Viśvarūpa adds that gifts could be made by anybody; but the merit secured by making a gift depended upon the worth and caste of the donee. Gaut. (V. 18),[246] Manu VII. 85, Veda-Vyāsa IV. 42, Dakṣa III.

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245. ब्राह्मणातिक्रमो नास्ति मूर्खे मन्त्रविवर्जिते। ज्वलन्तमाग्निमुत्सृज्य नहि भस्मनि हूयते॥ बो. ध. सू. I. 5. 98, वेदव्यास IV. 37 (reads विप्रे वेदविवर्जिते), वसिष्ठ III. 10, गोभिलस्मृति II. 68-69. The मत्स्यपुराण 227. 7 also prescribes a fine for ब्राह्मणातिक्रम 'द्विजभोज्ये तु संप्राप्ते प्रतिवेश्ममभोजयन्। हिरण्यमाषकं दण्ड्यः पापे नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः॥.'

246. समद्विगुणसाहस्रानन्त्यानि फलान्यब्राह्मणब्राह्मणश्रोत्रियवेदपारगेभ्यः। गौ. V. 18; सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणव्रुवे। प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे॥ मनु VII. 85; वेदव्यास IV. 42 and Dakṣa read सहस्रगुणमाचार्ये which reading is noted by Kullūka also and Vedavyāsa (IV. 43-47) explains the words ब्राह्मणव्रुव, आचार्य and वेदपारग.

28 say that a gift given to a brāhmaṇa (who is only so by caste, but is not learned), to a śrotriya (or ācārya) and to one who has completely mastered all the Vedas (with their subsidiary lores) respectively confers merit which is twice, a hundred thousand times or an infinite number of times more than the merit conferred by a gift to a non-brāhmaṇa. Gautama[247] (V. 19–20) and Baudhāyana II. 3. 24 further make it obligatory to give outside the sacrificial altar according to one's ability a portion of one's wealth to a brāhmaṇa, *śrotriya* and *veda-pāraga* when they seek help for giving a dakṣiṇā to their teacher (at the end of the period of studenthood), for their own marriage, for medicine, for their own maintenance (that day), for a sacrifice, for their own study or journey, and when everything has been given in a Viśvajit sacrifice and that one must give cooked food to all others who beg for it (except brāhmaṇa, śrotriya and vedapāraga). Manu (XI. 1–3) gives practically the same rule. In the Vaiśvadeva the householder was enjoined to give food to every one including even dogs and cāṇḍālas, as we shall see later on (under[248] Vaiśvadeva). Medhātithi on Manu IV. 5 says that when a person makes a gift through compassion it is not the *dāna* and *pratigraha* spoken of by the śāstra; just as when a man gives instruction as to what is beneficial he does not care to see what the caste of the person to be benefitted by the advice is, so a gift made through compassion is made irrespective of caste; and that when non-brāhmaṇas reduced to a helpless condition take what is given by others, it cannot be said that they are assuming to themselves the livelihood by *pratigraha* which is a peculiar means of livelihood for brāhmaṇas.[249]

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247. गुर्वर्थनिवेशौषधार्थ-वृत्तिक्षीण-यक्ष्यमाणाध्ययनाध्वसंयोगवैश्वजितेषु द्रव्यसंविभागो बहिर्वेदि। भिक्षमाणेषु कृताकृतमितरेषु॥ गौतम V. 19. 20; बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 24 reads सुब्राह्मणश्रोत्रियवेदपारगेभ्यः before गुर्वर्थ० and यथाशक्ति कार्यः before बहिर्वेदि. Vide रघुवंश V. 24 'गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोः सकाशादनवाप्य कामम्।'.

248. सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 5.

249. ननु च करुणया दानमदृष्टायैव। नेति ब्रूमः। न तत्र दानधर्मः। किं तर्हि करुणाम्यासात्परोपकाराद्वा। तत्र यथा। हितोपदेशादावनुग्राह्यस्य विधिर्जात्यादि नापेक्षते तद्वत्करुणया दाने। तथा च शिष्टा नैवंविधे दाने वेदतत्त्वार्थविदुषे ब्राह्मणायेत्येतदनुरुध्यन्ते। अत एषां ब्राह्मणा अपि दैन्यमापन्नाः परेण दत्तं गृह्णाना न ब्राह्मणवृत्तिं प्रतिग्रहमाश्रिता भवन्ति। मेधातिथि on मनु IV. 5. The words वेदतत्त्वार्थ० quoted here are from मनु III. 96. The Par. M. (I part 1 p. 189) quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata, पङ्गवन्धबधिरा मूका व्याधितोपहताश्च ये। भर्तव्यास्ते महाराज न तु देयः प्रतिग्रहः॥. The idea is that प्रतिग्रह is a privilege, while charity to the poor and the diseased is due to *dayā* (compassion).

In spite of the noble ideal set before brāhmaṇas it appears that, owing to the growth of the Brāhmaṇa population and the paucity of gifts and invitations to officiate as priests, the strict rules about *dāna* and *pratigraha* had to be relaxed and in course of time it came to be said that a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or ignorant, was to be a donee and may accept gifts without any scruples. The first inroad[250] was made by the rule that in rites meant for gods the character and learning of brāhmaṇas need not be deeply inquired into, but that such enquiry was proper only when they were to be invited for śrāddha and other rites for the dead, the only exceptions being that a brāhmaṇa, who is a thief or is guilty of a *mahāpātaka*, or is impotent or an atheist was not to be invited even in rites for the gods (vide Manu III. 149–150). Gradually such views as the following came to be recommended. The Skandapurāṇa[251] as quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) makes Śiva say to Pārvatī 'the Vedic revelation is that śrāddha (food) should be given (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without scrutiny, his pitṛs are satisfied and also gods.' The Vṛddha-Gautama smṛti (chap. III pp. 512–513 and 518, Jiv.) says 'Brāhmaṇas, whether well conducted or of bad conduct, whether vulgar or of polished intellect, should not be disrespected like fires covered with ashes. Just as fire in whatever condition it may be, is a great deity, so a brāhmaṇa is a great deity in whatever condition he may be.'[252] 'The wise should not despise brāhmaṇas, whether they be squint-eyed, humpbacked, dwarfs, indigent or diseased, since they are

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250. ब्राह्मणाञ्च परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अनुशासन 90. 2. An instructive parallel may be found in Article XXVI of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, whereby sacraments administered by a priest who is sinful do not suffer in efficacy.

251. श्राद्धं परीक्ष्य दातव्यमित्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः । परीक्षणाच्च रम्भोरु आर्जवं गुणवत्तरम् । अपरीक्ष्य तु यो दद्याच्छ्राद्धमार्जवमास्थितः । तस्य तुष्यन्ति पितरो देवताश्च न संशयः quoted by अपरार्क p. 455.

252. दुर्वृत्ता वा सुवृत्ता वा प्राकृता वा सुसंस्कृताः । ब्राह्मणा नावमन्तव्या भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः ॥ ..... काणाः कुब्जा वामनाश्च दरिद्रा व्याधितास्तथा । नावमान्या द्विजाः प्राज्ञैर्मम रूपा हि ते द्विजाः ॥ वृद्धगौतम (chap. III. pp. 512, 513); vide वनपर्व 200. 88–89 दुर्वृत्ता वा सुवृत्ता वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा । ..... अग्यः ॥ यथा श्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दुष्यति । एवं विद्वानविद्वान्वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥

my forms (i. e. of Kṛṣṇa)'. The Anuśāsanaparva (152. 19)[253] says 'a brāhmaṇa who is not learned is a god and he is a worthy object for gifts and is a great purifier; a learned brāhmaṇa is a greater god (than an unlearned one).'

As already said above teaching could have brought very little wealth. There was no state educational system as in modern times with stability of tenure and graded rates of salary. Nor was there any Copyright Act under which a learned man could make money by writing books for students and the general public. The brāhmaṇas had no organised corporate body like the Anglican Church with its hierarchy of Archbishops, Bishops and other divines, nor was there in ancient India any practice of making wills whereby large estates came to the Church as in England (where statutes of Mortmain had to be passed to prevent enormous estates from going to the Church).[254] The emoluments of officiating priests and gifts given by charitably disposed persons must have been fitful and offered only a precarious means of livelihood, as they depended upon the volition of others and as the smṛtis recommended that even in śrāddha too many brāhmaṇas should not be invited.[255] Besides all brāhmaṇas could not have possessed the memory, intelligence and patience required to master the Vedic Literature after intensive study for decades of years. Therefore, there is no wonder that many brāhmaṇas were compelled by the force of circumstances to pursue for their livelihood avocations other than the three prescribed ones. From ancient times this was recognised by the dharmaśāstra works. Gaut. (VII. 6 and 7) says that if a brāhmaṇa cannot maintain himself by means of the three peculiar modes of livelihood viz. teaching or officiating as a priest for even an unworthy person or by receiving gifts, then he should maintain himself by doing the work peculiar to a kṣatriya (i. e. by fighting and protecting people) and if even that is not possible then by following the avocations of a vaiśya and Gaut. VII. 26 ordains that a kṣatriya may resort to the profession of the vaiśya in similar circumstances. Baudhāyana

253. अविद्वान् ब्राह्मणो देवः पात्रं वै पावनं महत्। विद्वान् भूयस्तरो देवः पूर्णसागरसंनिभः। एवं यद्यप्यनिष्टेषु वर्तते सर्वकर्मसु। सर्वथा ब्राह्मणो मान्यो देवतं विद्धि तत्परम्॥ अनुशासन 152. 19 and 23.

254. Vide Holdsworth's History of English Law (4th ed.) vol. III p. 87 for the origin of statutes of Mortmain from 1279 A. D. to 51 and 52 Vic. chap. 42.

255. Vide Manu III. 125-126, Gaut. 15. 7-8, Yāj. I. 228.

Dh. S. (II. 2. 77) says the same and then it adds (II. 2. 78 and 80) that Gautama says that it should not be so as the duties of a kṣatriya would be too terrific for a brāhmaṇa and that he should pursue the avocation of a vaiśya. Baudhāyana (I. 1. 20) notes that the profession of arms was practised by the brāhmaṇas of the north. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 22) lays down that persons (of the three higher varṇas) should, if they cannot maintain themselves by the peculiar avocations of their varṇa, resort to the means of livelihood prescribed for the varṇa which is immediately below their own. Manu X. 81–82, Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛnādāna 56), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 28, Śaṅkha-Likhita say the same[256] thing. It is further laid down by the same works that a person belonging to a lower varṇa should not resort to the modes of livelihood peculiar to a higher varṇa (*vide* Vas. Dh. S. II. 23, Manu X. 95). The smṛtis further ordain that when the calamity or distress ceases, the person who has taken to the avocations of another varṇa should perform prāyaścitta, should resume his proper avocations and abandon the wealth acquired by him by resorting to improper avocations; vide Manu XI. 192–193; Viṣṇu Dh. S. (54. 27–28), Yāj. III. 35, Nārada (ṛnādāna 59–60). Manu (X. 96) prescribes that, if a person of a lower varṇa maintains himself through greed by the avocation[257] peculiar to a higher varṇa, the king should confiscate the wealth and should at once banish him from the country. A classical example of the keenness with which good kings were expected to prevent persons of lower varṇas doing the actions allowed only to higher varṇas is furnished by the story of Śambūka narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa (VII. 73–76.) The Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti echoes the same sentiments. A śūdra[258] who engaged in *japa*, *homa*, *tapas* or became an ascetic or repeated (Vedic) *mantras* was to be punished (or killed) by the king and was also guilty of mortal sin. Manu (X. 98) allows a vaiśya, if unable to maintain himself by the pursuits peculiar to his varṇa, to live by means of the

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256. आपत्काले मातापितृमतो बहुभृत्यस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिरिति कल्पः । तस्यानन्तरका वृत्तिः क्षात्रोऽभिनिवेशः । एवमप्यजिवन्वैश्यमुपजीवेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 930.

257. न कथंचन कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणः कर्म वार्षलम् । वृषलः कर्म वा ब्राह्मं पतनीये हि ते तयोः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 57)

258. वध्यो राज्ञा स वै शूद्रो जपहोमपरश्च यः । ततो राज्ञस्य हन्तासौ यथा वह्नेश्च वै जलम् ॥ जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चैव स्त्रीशूद्रपतनानि षट् ॥ अत्रि 19. 136–137 (Ānan. ed.); vide वनपर्व 150. 36

actions proper for a śūdra viz. serving members of the twice-born classes. It is also said by Gaut. (VII. 22-24) that a brāhmaṇa may maintain himself in any way if unable to maintain himself (by the three means specially prescribed for him), but he should not resort to the actions peculiar to a śūdra, that according to some ācāryas he may do even those actions when life itself is in danger, but that when he stoops to the actions peculiar to śūdras for maintenance he should not mix himself up with members of that varṇa (by sitting on the same seat with them etc.) or eat articles forbidden to brāhmaṇas (such as leek and garlic) and should not be a mere menial servant. Vide Manu (IV. 4 and 6) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 57).

According[259] to all ancient authorities the special duty of the śūdra was to render service to the twice-born classes, to obtain his livelihood from them and serving a brāhmaṇa conferred greater happiness or benefit on the śūdra than serving a kṣatriya and serving a kṣatriya conferred greater good than serving a vaiśya. According to Gaut. (X. 60-61), Manu (X. 124-125) and others, the śūdra was to wear the old or cast-off clothes, umbrellas, sandals, mattress etc. of his patron and the leavings of food (ucchiṣṭa) were to be given to him. If he became old and unable to do work while serving anyone of the higher varṇas he was to be fed by him whom he had formerly served (Gaut. X. 63). In course of time the position of the śūdra improved. If a śūdra[260] was unable to maintain himself and his family by serving *dvijas*, he was allowed to maintain himself by having recourse to crafts like carpentry or drawing or painting pictures etc. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 58) allowed him to perform the work of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in times of distress. Yāj. (I. 120) also says that, if unable to maintain himself by the service of *dvijas*, the śūdra may carry on the profession of a vaiśya or may take to the various crafts. The Mahābhārata allowed a śūdra[261] who could not maintain

259. शुश्रूषा शूद्रस्येतरेषां वर्णानाम् । पूर्वस्मिन् पूर्वस्मिन्वर्णे निश्रेयसं भूयः । आप. ध. I. 1. 1. 7-8 ; परिचर्या चोत्तरेषाम् । तेभ्यो वृत्तिं लिप्सेत । तत्र पूर्वं परिचरेत् । गौतम X. 57-59 ; प्रजापतिर्हि वर्णानां दासं शूद्रमकल्पयत् । शान्तिपर्व 60. 28 ; vide also Vas. Dh. S. II. 20, Manu X. 121-123, Yāj. I. 120, बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 5, वनपर्व 150. 36.

260. शिल्पाजीवं भृतिं चैव शूद्राणां व्यदधात्प्रभुः । वायुपुराण 8. 171 ; शूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ । शङ्खस्मृति I. 5 ; मनु X. 99-100.

261. वाणिज्यं पाशुपाल्यं च तथा शिल्पोपजीवनम् । शूद्रस्यापि विधीयन्ते यदा वृत्तिर्न जायते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 295. 4 ; शूद्रस्य द्विजशुश्रूषा सर्वशिल्पानि चाप्यथ । विक्रयः सर्वपण्यानां शूद्रकर्म उदाहृतम् ॥ उशनस् quoted in the स्मृतिच. I. p. 171 ; vide लक्वाश्वलायन 22. 5.

himself by the service of higher varṇas to resort to the avocations of a vaiśya, to rearing cattle and to crafts. Others like Laghu-Āśvalāyana (22. 5), Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII. 189, 192) allowed agriculture to the śūdra. The Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in the Gṛ. R. (p. 479) allowed the śūdra to sell all commodities except honey, skins, lākṣā (lac), wines and flesh, while Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 101) prohibited the śūdra from selling wine and flesh. Devala quoted in the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 120) prescribes that the śūdra should serve the twice-born and may engage in agriculture, rearing cattle, carrying loads, sale of commodities, drawing and painting, dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments like the flute, lute, drums and tabors.[262] The foregoing will show that the śūdra gradually rose in social status so far as occupation was concerned and could follow all occupations except those specially reserved for the brāhmaṇa, so much so that śūdras became even kings and Manu (IV. 61) had expressly to enjoin upon brāhmaṇas not to dwell in the kingdom of a śūdra.[263] The smṛtis however did not like that wealth should be accumulated in the hands of the śūdra (though they were quite willing that ksatriyas and vaiśyas should command all wealth). Gaut. (X. 64–65) says that the śūdra's accumulation of wealth should be for the support and benefit of the other varṇas. Manu (X.129) says that a śūdra, even though able to accumulate wealth, should not do so, as (on account of his pride of wealth and his ignorance) he may cause obstructions and trouble to brāhmaṇas. Śūdras were divided into numerous subcastes. But there were two main divisions. One was *aniravasita śūdras* (such as carpenters and blacksmiths) and the other *niravasita śūdras* (like cāṇḍālas); vide note 200 above. Another division of śūdras was into those who were bhojyānna (i. e. food prepared by whom could be partaken by brāhmaṇas) and *abhojyānna*. In the first were included one's

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262. शूद्रधर्मो द्विजातिशुश्रूषा पापवर्जनं कलत्रादिपोषणं कर्षणपशुपालनभारोद्वहन-पण्यव्यवहार-चित्रकर्म-नृत्य-गीत-वेणु-वीणामुरजमृदङ्गवादनादीनि । देवल in मिता० on या. I. 120.

263. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 18 (क्षुद्रान् क्षुद्राचरितांश्च देशान्न सेवेत) with मनु IV. 61. This dictum of Manu must have been pronounced at a time when śūdra kings were rare; otherwise it would have no meaning and brāhmaṇas would have been compelled to leave India. So it follows that Manu did not hold the view propounded in certain Purāṇas that after the Nandas there would be no kṣatriya kings and only śūdras will be kings.

slave, one's cowherd, barber, family friend and one who shared with one the crop reared on one's land (vide Yāj. I. 166). It is worthy of note that even the Mit. adds the potter to the above list. All the other śūdras were such that a brāhmaṇa could not take his food. A third and well-known division was into *sacchūdra* (well-conducted) and *asac-chūdra.* The former class included those śūdras who followed good occupations or trade, served *dvijas* and had given up meat and drinking or selling liquor.[264] The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 60) says that asat-śūdras do not incur sin even if they partake of meat and liquor, provided they do not eat forbidden meat and that there is no lapse if one comes in contact with a śūdra that drinks liquor.

A few words may now be said about brāhmaṇas being allowed to follow the occupations of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. From very ancient times brāhmaṇas appear to have followed the profession of arms. Pāṇ. (V. 2. 71) teaches[265] the formation of the word 'brāhmaṇaka' as applied to a country, which means 'in which Brāhmaṇas follow the profession of arms.' Kauṭ.[266] (IX. 2) quotes the view of the ācāryas that when there are armies composed of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras each preceding one is better for enlistment than each subsequent, but Kauṭ. himself is against this and adds that the enemy may win over the army of brāhmaṇas by prostration before them. Āpastamba was against the idea of brāhmaṇas following the profession of arms. He says (I. 10. 29. 7)[267] 'a brāhmaṇa should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it (much

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264. न सुरां सन्धयेद्यस्तु आपणेषु गृहेषु च। न विक्रीणाति च तथा सच्छूद्रो हि स उच्यते। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्म section) chap. 44. 32.

265. Pāṇ. V. 2. 71 is not commented on by Patañjali and the Kāśikā explains the sūtra as above. But it is clear that Patañjali knew a country called Brāhmaṇaka as elsewhere he says (vol. II. p. 298 on Pāṇ. IV 2. 104, Vārtika 30, 'ब्राह्मणको नाम जनपदस्तस्मादुभयं प्राप्नोति। ब्राह्मणकीयः।').

266. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः संनाहयितुमित्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मबलं परोऽभिहारयेत्। कौटिल्य IX. 2.

267. परीक्षार्थोपि ब्राह्मण आयुधं नादद्दीत। आप. ध. I. 10. 29. 7; प्राणसंशये ब्राह्मणोपि शस्त्रमाददीत। गौ. VII. 25; अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां वापि संकरे। गृह्णीयातां विप्रविशौ शस्त्रं धर्मव्यपेक्षया॥ बौ. ध. II. 2. 80; आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंकरे ब्राह्मणवैश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम्। वसिष्ठ III. 24.

less for attacking others with it)'. Gaut. (VII. 6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to follow kṣatriya's profession in case of distress (āpad) and adds (in VII. 25) that even a brāhmaṇa while still following the peculiar avocation of a brāhmaṇa may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 80) quotes a verse 'for saving cows and brāhmaṇas, for preventing the mixture of varṇas, the brāhmaṇa and vaiśya may take to arms from their concern for dharma.' The Vas. Dh. S. (III. 24) allows a brāhmaṇa to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varṇas. Manu (VIII. 348–349) allows all *dvijātis* to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varṇas and āśramas) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one's self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and in order to protect women and brāhmaṇas and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). Among the heroes of the Mahābhārata there are great warriors and commanders like Droṇa, his son Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa (the maternal uncle of Aśvatthāman) who were brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa should fight at the order of the king.[268] The Śāntiparva (78. 18) calls upon persons of all varṇas to wield arms when the rules for holding society together are broken and when dasyus (robbers or low persons) cause confusion. From ancient times we find brāhmaṇas as commanders and founders of royal dynasties. The famous *Senāpati* Pusyamitra belonged to the Śuṅga gotra and wrested an empire from the last of the Mauryas about 184 B. C. His line was followed by the Kāṇvāyanas, the founder being minister Vāsudeva, a brāhmaṇa, who killed the last Śuṅga about 72 B. C. We learn from the Talaguṇḍa pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 24) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūraśarman, was a brāhmaṇa. In Maratha history there were the Peshwas and other brāhmaṇa warriors and commanders.

Though it is said that a brāhmaṇa in distress may follow the occupation of a vaiśya, there were several restrictions imposed upon brāhmaṇas following the occupations of money-lending, agriculture, trade, and the rearing of cattle, which were prescribed as the privileged occupations of vaiśyas.

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268. राज्ञो नियोगाद् योद्धव्यं ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः। वर्तता क्षत्रधर्मेण ह्येवं धर्मविदो विदुः। शल्यपर्व 65. 42.

As to money-lending, Gaut.[269] (X. 5-6) allowed a brāhmaṇa to maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he did not engage in these personally, but through the agency of others. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 40) enjoins upon brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas not to lend money like usurers and quotes two verses which define usury and say that a userer is a greater sinner than even one who is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu (X. 117) also forbids usury to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, but allows them to charge a low rate of interest to persons engaged in low actions. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 111) forbids usury to brāhmaṇas even in the direst calamities. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 27. 10) prescribes a prāyaścitta [270] for a brāhmaṇa lending money at usurious rates. Bṛhaspati as quoted[271] in the Gṛ. R. has a rather amusing verse 'sages have enumerated numerous means of livelihood, but out of all of them money-lending is pre-eminent. There is loss in agriculture due to draught, to the fear of the exactions of the king and the ravages of rats and others, but there is no such loss in money-lending.' It appears that this is only a general or satirical statement and does not recommend money-lending to brāhmaṇas.

The obvious reasons and motives underlying these restrictions on brāhmaṇas were to make them live simple lives, to insist on the necessity and high value to themselves and to society of studying, preserving and augmenting the ancient literature and culture, to emphasize the fact that a highly spiritual life should not be given up for a mere secular life, to prevent the coarsening and hardening of the heart and emotions in a relentless and continuous pursuit of wealth or martial glory.

Agriculture—In the dharmaśāstra works there is a great conflict of views about agriculture as an occupation for

269. कृषिवाणिज्ये वाऽस्वयंकृते । कुसीदं च । गौ. X. 5-6 ; ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वार्धुषी न दद्याताम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । समर्धं धान्यमुद्धृत्य महार्घं यः प्रयच्छति । स वै वार्धुषिको नाम ब्रह्मवादिषु गर्हितः । ब्रह्महत्यां च वृद्धिं च तुलया समतोलयत् । अतिष्ठद् भ्रूणहा कोट्यां वार्धुषिः समकम्पत । वसिष्ठ II. 40. Vide बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 93-94 for these two verses ; आपत्स्वपि हि कष्टासु ब्राह्मणस्य न वार्धुषम् । नारद (ऋणादान v. 111)

270. अनार्यां शयने बिभ्रद् ददद्वृद्धिं कषायपः । अब्राह्मण इव चन्दित्वा तृणेष्वासीत पृष्ठतपूः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 10.

271. बहवो वर्तनोपाया ऋषिभिः परिकीर्तिताः । सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां कुसीदमधिकं विदुः । अनावृष्ट्या राजभयाद् मूषिकाद्यैरुपद्रवैः । कृष्यादिके भवेद्धानिः कुसीदे सा न विद्यते ॥ बृहस्पति in गृह. र. p. 488

brāhmaṇas. The Vedic Literature does not condemn agriculture in the case of brāhmaṇas. The gambler's song[272] (Rg. X. 34) winds up with the exhortation 'do not play with dice, do engage in agriculture, thinking highly of my words (or of wealth), do find joy in wealth, in that (in agriculture) there are cows, there is your wife &c.' There are frequent references in Vedic Literature to fields, ploughshares and tilling the soil (vide Rg. X. 101. 3 =Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 5, Vāj. S. XII. 67, Rg. I. 110. 5, I. 176. 2, X. 117. 7). Baudhāyana[273] says (1. 5. 101) 'The study of the Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and (devotion to) agriculture tends to the loss (of the study) of the Veda. One who has the capacity (to look after both) may resort to both, but he who is unable (to look after both) should give up agriculture'. Baudhāyana further says (II. 2. 82-83) 'a brāhmaṇa should engage in agriculture before his morning meal and he should only coax again and again his oxen whose noses have not been pierced and whose testicles are not removed and without prodding them with a pointed awl'. The Vas. Dh. S. (II. 32-34) has a similar sūtra, adds that in summer he shall water his beasts (in the morning) and quotes Vāj. S. XII. 71. Manu (X. 83-84) says 'a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaiśya (owing to difficulty of maintenance otherwise) should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others (labourers, oxen &c.). Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, (as) wood having an iron tip (i. e. the plough) strikes the earth and (the insects and germs) imbedded in the earth.' Manu IV. 5 designated agriculture by the word 'pramṛta' (pre-eminent in loss of life). Hārīta quoted[274] in Gṛ. R. p. 429 declares 'the ploughshare (i. e. agriculture) carries with it destruction of life, therefore it is not for brāhmaṇas; but if he were to follow it (agriculture) in distress he should pursue it only till his object (of tiding over

272. अक्षैर्मा दीव्यः कृषिमित्कृषस्व वित्ते रमस्व बहु मन्यमानः । तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया तन्मे विचष्टे सवितायमर्यः ॥ ऋ. X. 34. 13.

273. वेदः कृषिविनाशाय कृषिर्वेदविनाशिनी । शक्तिमानुभयं कुर्यादशक्तस्तु कृषिं त्यजेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 101; प्राक् प्रातराशात्कर्षी स्यात् । अस्यूतनासिकाभ्यां समुक्काभ्यामतुदन्तारया मुहुर्मुहुरभ्युच्छन्वृषन् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 82-83.

274. सहसूनं लाङ्गलं तद्ब्राह्मणे न विद्यते । आपद्याचरित्वाद्यदि कुर्याद्यथार्थम् । हारीत in मुह. र. p. 429.

distress) is accomplished'. Parāśara[275] (II. 2–4, 7, 14) allows a brāhmaṇa to engage in agriculture, but lays down certain restrictions. 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahāyajñas and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped ploughshare is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give $\frac{1}{6}$ of the corn to the king, offer $\frac{1}{27}$ to gods and $\frac{1}{30}$ to brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin'. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 937) has a long prose passage on the treatment to be given to oxen by brāhmaṇas and also Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv. part 2 p. 571). Vṛddha-Hārīta[276] (VII. 179 and 182) says that agriculture is common to all varṇas and agriculture, rearing cattle and service are not forbidden to any. The above discussion shows how agriculture was viewed at different times and by different writers from different points of view.

Sale and barter—We have seen above that a brāhmaṇa is allowed to maintain himself by trade in distress or difficulties (*āpad*). But there were very great restrictions as to what things could be sold by a brāhmaṇa. According to Gaut. (VII. 8–14) a brāhmaṇa should not engage in the sale of fragrant things (like sandal-wood), fluids (like oils, ghee &c.), cooked food, sesame, hemp (and hempen articles like bags), kṣauma (linen), deer-skin, dyed and cleanly washed clothes, milk and its products (like curds &c.), roots, flowers, fruits, herbs (used as drugs), honey, meat, grass, water, deleterious drugs (like opium, poison), animals (for being killed), men (as slaves), barren cows, heifers and cows liable to abortion. He adds (Gautama VII. 15) that according to some a brāhmaṇa could not sell land, rice, *yava*, goats and sheep, horses, bulls, freshly delivered cows and

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275. षट्कर्मनिरतो विप्रः कृषिकर्माणि कारयेत्। हलमष्टगवं धर्म्यं षड्गवं मध्यमं स्मृतम्। चतुर्गवं तृशंसानां द्विगवं वृषघातिनाम्॥ पराशर II. 2; ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कृत्वा महादोषमवाप्नुयात्। राज्ञे दत्त्वा तु षड्भागं देवानां चैकविंशकम्। विप्राणां त्रिंशकं भागं कृषिकर्ता न लिप्यते॥ पराशर II. 12–13. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by अपरार्क p. 936, गृह. र. p. 431. The verse अष्टागवं धर्म्यहलं occurs in Atri 222-223, Āpastamba (in verse) I. 22–23, Hārīta in Gṛ. R. p. 431.

276. कृषिस्तु सर्ववर्णानां सामान्यो धर्म उच्यते। ..... कृषिर्भृतिः पाशुपाल्यं सर्वेषां निषिध्यते। बृद्धहारीत VII. 179, 182.

oxen that are yoked to carts. These restrictions did not apply to a kṣatriya engaging in trade. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 20. 12–13[277] has a similar list but adds among forbidden articles of sale 'weapons, sticky things (śleṣma, like lac), young stalks (tokma), fermented liquids (kiṇva), the expectation of merit (sukṛtāśā) and says that among corns sesame and rice are on no account to be sold. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 77–78 condemns the sale of sesame and rice by saying that he who sells them sells respectively his *pitṛs* (dead ancestors) and his prāṇas. This arose probably from the close connection of sesame with *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa*. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 24–29) gives a similar list and adds a prohibition against the sale of stones, salt, silk, iron, tin, lead, all wild animals, all tame animals with uncloven hoofs and those that have a mane, birds and animals having fangs. It quotes a verse at II. 27 (which is the same as Manu X. 92) 'a brāhmaṇa immediately becomes a sinner by the sale of meat, lac and salt and he becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days'. About sesame, Baud. Dh. S.[278] (II. 1. 76), Manu (X. 91) and Vas. Dh. S. (II. 30) present the same verse 'If a man deals with sesame in any way other than eating them or using them for bathing (i. e. applying sesamum oil to the body before a bath) and making a gift of them, becomes a worm and sinks together with his pitṛs in the ordure of a dog'. But it appears that Vasiṣṭha[279] (II. 31), Manu (X. 90) allow the sale of sesame if a man engages in agriculture and himself produces them (but sale must be only for purposes of religious duties, according to Manu). Yāj. (III. 39) and Nārada (ṛṇādāna 66) say that sesame may be bartered for an equal measure of other corn to raise means for religious purposes (and for medicine also according to Nārada). Manu (X. 86–89), Yāj. (III. 36–38), Nārada (ṛṇādāna 61–63) give long lists of articles that Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to sell and that include a few more than those specified above. For example, Manu forbids the sale of bee's wax, kuśa, indigo, while Yāj. adds soma, mud, blankets made of goat wool, hair (of *camarī* deer) and oilcakes (piṇyāka) to things forbidden to

277. आपदि व्यवहरेत पण्यानामपण्यानि व्युदस्यन्। मनुष्यान् रसान्रागान् गन्धानस्थं चर्म गवां वशां श्लेष्मोदके तोक्मकिण्वे पिण्पलीमरीचे धान्यं मांसमायुधं सुकृताशां च। तिलतण्डुलांस्त्वेव धान्यस्य विशेषेण न विक्रीणीयात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 11–13.

278. भोजनाभ्यञ्जनाद्दानाद् यदन्यत्कुरुते तिलैः। कृमिभूतः श्वविष्ठायां पितृभिः सह मज्जति॥ मनु X. 91; यम quoted in स्मृतिच. I. 180 has a similar verse.

279. कामं वा स्वयं कृष्योत्पाद्य तिलान् विक्रीणीरन्। वसिष्ठ II. 31.

be sold. Śaṅkha-Likhita,[280] Udyoga-parva 38. 5, Śāntiparva 78. 4–6, Hārīta (as quoted by Aparārka p. 1113) contain long lists of things the sale of which was forbidden to brāhmaṇas. Apart from these negative rules, there are some that are positive and prescribe what may be sold. For example, the Baud. Dh. S.[281] prescribes the sale of grass and wood in their natural state and quotes a verse 'Oh! Brāhmaṇa, these are the articles you may sell, viz., domestic animals that have only one row of teeth, minerals except salt and threads (i. e. cloth) that are not coloured with some dye.' Nārada[282] (ṛṇādāna 64–65) states 'a brāhmaṇa may sell dried wood and grass, except fragrant articles, *erakā* (a kind of grass), rattan, cotton, roots, kuśa grass; cereals that get split up of their own accord, *badara* and *iṅguda* among fruits, cords and threads of cotton provided they are not coloured'. Śaṅkha-Likhita also (as quoted by Aparārka p. 933) have the same rules as Nārada and further enjoin upon the brāhmaṇa not to higgle for the price but to have a fixed price.

Yāj. (III. 40) says that the sale of lac, salt and meat lead to a brāhmaṇa's fall (i. e. he loses the right to perform the duties of dvijātis) and the sale of milk, curds and liquor reduces him to the status of a low class (i. e. of a śūdra). Manu (XI. 62), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 14) and Yāj. (III. 234) include the sale of forbidden articles among upapātakas and Yāj. (III. 265) prescribes cāndrāyaṇa and other prāyaścittas for it. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 1113 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 265) prescribes various prāyaścittas for the sale of various forbidden articles. Laghu-Śātātapa prescribes (v. 87) cāndrāyaṇa for the sale of honey, meat, wine, soma, lac, salt.[283] Nārada (ṛṇādāna 67) calls upon

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280. न विक्रीणीयादविक्रेयाणि । तिलतैलदधिक्षौद्रलवणलाक्षामद्यमांसकृतान्नस्त्री-पुरुषहस्त्यश्ववृषभगन्धरसकृष्णाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात्सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणः ॥ शङ्ख-लिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 1113 and स्मृतिच. I. 180; अविक्रेयं लवणं पक्वमन्नं दधिक्षीरं मधु तैलं घृतं च। तिला मांसफलमूलानि शाकं रक्तं वासः सर्वगन्धा गुडाश्च ॥ उद्योगपर्व 38. 5.

281. तृणकाष्ठमविकृतं विक्रेयम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । पशवश्चैकतोदन्ता अश्मा च लवणोद्धृतः । एतद् ब्राह्मण ते पण्यं तन्तुश्चारजनीकृतः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 81–82; sale of minerals would be opposed to Vasiṣṭha II. 24.

282. ब्राह्मणस्य तु विक्रेयं शुष्कं दारु तृणानि च । गन्धद्रव्यैरकावेत्रं तूलस्तूली-कृताहते (?) । स्वयं शीर्णं च विदलं फलानां बदरेङ्गुदे । रज्जुः कार्पासिकं सूत्रं तच्चेदविकृतं भवेत् । नारद (ऋणादान 64–65); शुष्ककाष्ठबदरेङ्गुदबिल्वरज्जुकार्पासिकसूत्रैरविकृतैर्द्रव्यमा-हरेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted by अपरार्क p. 934; सकृदेवोक्तं मूल्यमिच्छेत् । शङ्खलिखित quoted in अपरार्क p. 934.

283. मधुमांससुरासोमं लाक्षां लवणमेव च । एतेषां विक्रयेणैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ लघुशातातप 87.

the king to inflict a heavy fine upon a brāhmaṇa who engages in the sale of articles forbidden to be sold and strays from the path (proper for brāhmaṇas) in the absence of distress.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 20. 14–15)[284] states the general rule that exchange or barter also of those articles that are forbidden to be sold cannot be resorted to, but adds that barter is allowed of foods with foods, of slaves with slaves, of fragrant things with other fragrant things, of one kind of learning with another. Gaut.[285] (VII. 16–21) allows the exchange of *rasas* with *rasas*, of domestic animals with other domestic animals, of cooked food with an equal measure of uncooked food for immediate use, but forbids the barter of salt, cooked food and sesame with other articles. Manu (X. 94) allows the exchange of one rasa (liquid like molasses) with another (like ghee), of cooked food with uncooked food, of sesame with an equal quantity of other corn, but does not allow the barter of salt for any *rasa*. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 37–39) has rules similar to Manu and Āp.[286]

Manu (X. 116)[287] enumerates ten means of maintaining oneself in *āpad* (distress) viz. learning, arts and crafts, work for wages, service (i. e. carrying out another's orders), rearing cattle, sale of commodities, agriculture, contentment, alms, money-lending. Out of these some cannot be followed by a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya when there is no distress (e. g. a brāhmaṇa cannot engage in service). Yāj. III. 42 enumerates seven of these and adds 'cart' (i. e. driving carts for hire), mountain (subsisting on the price of grass and fuel taken from hills), a country full of water, trees and shrubs, king (i. e. resorting to or begging from a king). Chāgaleya quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 449[288]

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284. अविहितश्चैतेषां मिथो विनिमयः । अन्नेन चान्नस्य मनुष्याणां च मनुष्ये रसानां च रसैर्गन्धानां च गन्धैर्विद्यया च विद्यानाम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 20. 14–15.

285. नियमस्तु । रसानां रसैः । पशूनां च । न लवणकृतान्नयोः । तिलानां च । समेनामेन तु पक्वस्य संप्रत्यर्थे । गौतम VII. 16–21.

286. रसा रसैर्महतो हीनतो वा विमातव्याः । न त्वेव लवणं रसैः । तिलतण्डुलपक्वान्नं विद्या मानुष्याश्च विहिताः परिवर्तकेन । वसिष्ठ II. 37–39.

287. विद्या शिल्पं भृतिः सेवा गोरक्ष्यं विपणिः कृषिः । धृतिर्भैक्ष्यं कुसीदं च दश जीवनहेतवः ॥ मनु X. 116 ; कृषिः शिल्पं भृतिर्विद्या कुसीदं शकटं गिरिः । सेवानूपं नृपो भैक्षमापत्तौ जीवनानि तु ॥ या. III. 42.

288. शकटं शाकिनी गावो जालमस्यन्दनं वनम् । अनूपं पर्वतो राजा दुर्भिक्षे नव वृत्तयः । छागेलय in गृह. र. p. 449. The बृहद्देवता VI. 138 has the first half and reads the 2nd half as समुद्रः पर्वतो राजा एवं जीवामहे वयम्. In some Mss. of the निरुक्त this verse occurs in VI. 5 where the readings are °आस्यन्दनं वनम् उदधिः पर्वतो राजा दुर्भिक्षे नव वृत्तयः ॥. आस्यन्दन may be the same as स्यन्दन (रथ)

speaks of nine means of livelihood in a season of drought, viz. cart, plot of vegetables, cows, fishing, asyandana (maintaining oneself by the slightest effort possible?), forest, a country full of water, trees and shrubs, a mountain, king. Nārada (ṛṇādāna 50–55) says that three modes of acquiring wealth are common to all, viz. inheritance, a gift of friendliness or affection and what comes to a man with a wife (at the time of marriage); that each of the three varṇas has three special modes of acquiring wealth, viz., receiving gifts, fees as priest and fees for teaching in the case of brāhmaṇas; booty in war, taxes and fines in judicial trials in the case of kṣatriyas; agriculture, rearing cattle and sale of commodities in the case of vaiśyas. Nārada (ṛṇādāna verses 44–47) divides wealth into śukla (white, pure), śabala (dark-white, mixed) and kṛṣṇa (dark) and each of these into seven varieties. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 58 also divides the wealth of householders into these three varieties and says that what is earned by the special modes prescribed for each varṇa, inherited wealth, gifts of affection and what comes with the wife-these are śukla (pure); what is obtained by following the special avocation of the varṇa immediately lower than one's own varṇa and what is acquired by giving bribes or by sale of forbidden articles or from one who is under one's obligations is śabala; what is obtained by following the avocations of a varṇa other than the immediately lower one and what is acquired by gambling, theft, violence or fraud is called kṛṣṇa. Baud. Dh. S. (III. 1. 5–6) speaks of ten kinds of vṛttis (means of livelihood) and III. 2 explains them at length. Manu (IV. 4–6) speaks of five ways of livelihood viz. ṛta (i. e. subsisting on grains left in the fields), amṛta (what comes without begging), mṛta (alms obtained by begging), pramṛta (agriculture), satyānṛta (sale of commodities) and forbids śvavṛtti (service, lit. living like a dog). Manu (IV. 9) further says that some brāhmaṇas live by six means (i. e. adhyāpana, yājana, pratigraha, agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), some by three (viz. the first three), some by two (yājana and adhyāpana) and others again only by one (adhyāpana).

The avocations practised by brāhmaṇas in the pursuit of wealth were many and varied, so much so that from very ancient times the lists of brāhmaṇas not eligible for invitation at śrāddhas because they followed unworthy callings were very formidable. Atri (Ānan. ed.) verses 373–383 names ten kinds of brāhmaṇas and briefly defines them, viz. deva-brāhmaṇa (who

daily performs bath, saṁdhyā, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests and vaiśvadeva), muni-br. (who is given up to staying in a forest, subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables and performs daily śrāddhas), dvija-br. (who studies the Vedānta, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over Sāṁkhya and Yoga), kṣatra-br. (who fights), vaiśya-br. (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade), śūdra-br. (who sells lac, salt, dyes like kusumbha, milk, ghee, honey, meat), niṣāda-br. (who is a thief and robber, a backbiter and always fond of fish and meat), paśu-br. (who knows nothing about *brahma* and is only proud of his wearing the sacred thread), mlecchа-br. (who obstructs or destroys wells, tanks, gardens, without any qualm)and caṇḍālā-br. (who is a fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all dharma and cruel). Atri (384) rather[289] humorously adds 'those who are devoid of Vedic lore, study the śāstras (like grammar, logic &c.), those devoid of śāstric lore study purāṇas (and earn money by reciting them), those who are devoid even of purāṇa reading become agriculturists, those who are devoid even of that become *bhāgavatas* (pose as great devotees of Śiva or Viṣṇu i. e. become what is called in modern Marathi 'buvā').' Devala quoted[290] by Aparārka (pp. 284–285) speaks of eight kinds of brāhmaṇas (of whom each succeeding one is superior to each preceding one) viz. mātra (one who is only born in a brāhmaṇa family but has not studied any part of the Veda nor performs the actions appropriate to brāhmaṇas), brāhmaṇa (who has studied a portion of the Veda), śrotriya (who has studied one vedic śākhā with the six aṅgas and performs the six duties of brāhmaṇas), anūcāna (who knows the meaning of the Veda and the vedāṅgas, is of pure heart and has kindled the sacred fires), bhrūṇa (who besides being anūcāna always performs yajñas and eats what is left after performing yajñas), ṛṣikalpa (who has gained all worldly and Vedic knowledge, and has his mind

289. वेदैर्विहीनाश्च पठन्ति शास्त्रं शास्त्रेण हीनाश्च पुराणपाठाः । पुराणहीनाः कृषिणो भवन्ति भ्रष्टास्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रि 384.

290. These verses about the eight kinds of ब्राह्मण are quoted in the दानरत्नाकर also (MS.). The वैखानसगृह्य I. 1 also gives brief definitions of these eight kinds of ब्राह्मण 'संस्कृतायां ब्राह्मण्यां ब्राह्मणाज्जातमात्रः पुत्रमात्रः (पुत्रः मात्रः ?) । उपनीतः सावित्र्यध्ययनाद् ब्राह्मणः । वेदमधीत्य शारीरेरा पाणिग्रहणात्संस्कृतः पाकयज्ञैरपि यजन् श्रोत्रियः । स्वाध्यायपर आहिताग्निर्हविर्यज्ञैरप्यनूचानः । सोमयज्ञैरपि भ्रूणः । संस्कारैरेतैरुपेतो नियमयमाभ्यामृषिकल्पः । साङ्गश्चतुर्वेदपोयोगाद्ऋषिः । नारायणपरायणो निर्द्वन्द्वो मुनिरिति । संस्कारविशेषात्पूर्वात्पूर्वात्परो वरीयानिति विज्ञायते ।'

under control), ṛṣi (one who is celibate, of austere life, of truthful speech and able to curse or favour), muni (to whom a clod of earth and gold are the same, who has ceased from all activity, is devoid of desires and anger &c.). Śātātapa[291] quoted by Aparārka (pp. 286–287) speaks of six classes of persons who, though born brāhmaṇas, are really not brāhmaṇas viz. one who has taken service with a king, one who engages in sale and purchase (of commodities), one who officiates for many yajamānas, one who is the officiating priest for the whole village, one who is in the service of a village or town, one who does not perform saṁdhyā adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The Anuśāsanaparva (33. 11 ff) shows that some brāhmaṇas were great rogues, others engaged in austerities, some resorted to agriculture and rearing cattle, others subsisted by begging, some were thieves and others were false, some were acrobats and dancers (but it yet recommends that brāhmaṇas must be honoured).

The smṛtis teach that brāhmaṇas doing certain things are to be treated as śūdras. For example, Baud.[292] Dh. S. (II. 4. 20) requires a religious king to employ brāhmaṇas who do not perform the morning and evening adoration (*saṁdhyā*) in doing work appropriate to śūdras. Vas.[293] Dh. S. (III. 1–2) says that brāhmaṇas who are not śrotriyas (learned in the Veda), who do not teach the veda or who do not kindle the sacred fires become reduced to the status of śūdras and quotes a Mānava śloka (Manu II. 168) 'that a brāhmaṇa who without studying the Veda works hard to master something else is quickly reduced while still living to the status of a śūdra together with his family.' Manu (VIII. 102 = Baud. Dh. S. I.

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291. अब्राह्मणाश्च षड् प्रोक्ता ऋषिः शातातपोऽब्रवीत् । आद्यो राजाश्रयस्तेषां द्वितीयः क्रयविक्रयी । तृतीयो बहुयाज्यः स्यात् चतुर्थो ग्रामयाजकः । पञ्चमस्तु भृतस्तेषां ग्रामस्य नगरस्य च । अनागतां तु यः पूर्वां सादित्यां चैव पश्चिमाम् । नोपासीत द्विजः संध्यां स षष्ठोऽब्राह्मणः स्मृतः ॥ अपरार्क pp. 286–287 ; सायण in his भाष्य on ऐ. ब्रा. chap. III. khaṇḍa 5 quotes with variations these very verses (viz. चतुर्थोऽश्रोतयाजकः । पञ्चमो ग्रामयाजी च षष्ठो ब्रह्मबन्धुः स्मृतः ॥).

292. सायं प्रातः सदा संध्यां ये विप्रा नो उपासते । कामं तान् धार्मिको राजा शूद्रकर्मसु योजयेत् ॥ बो. ध. सू. II. 4. 20 (this and the preceding verse are cited as प्रजापति's by some writers.)

293. अश्रोत्रिया अननुवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसधर्माणो भवन्ति । मानवं चात्र श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति । योनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम् । स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥ वसिष्ठ III. 1–2 ; this verse is also लाट्यायन 22. 23 ; vide also वसिष्ठ V. 10 and लाट्यायन 22. 21–22 ; गायत्रीरहितो विप्रः शूद्रादप्यशुचिर्भवेत् । पराशर VIII. 24; but the very next verse is दुःशीलोपि द्विजः पूज्यो न शूद्रो विजितेन्द्रियः ॥

5. 95) asks the king to treat as śūdras brāhmaṇas who engage in rearing cattle, in the sale of commodities, who are artisans and actors, who are mere servants and money-lenders. Vide Manu X. 92 quoted above (p. 127). Parāśara (VIII. 24) says [294] that a brāhmaṇa who does not repeat the Gāyatrī *mantra* is more impure than even a śūdra and that brāhmaṇas who do not offer oblations to sacred fires, who are bereft of saṁdhyā adoration and who do not study the veda are all śūdras and that therefore one should study at least a portion of the veda if he cannot study the whole. Manu (V. 4) [295] sums up in one place the reasons why brāhmaṇas are seized by Death before the allotted span of human life 'on account of not studying the Vedas, on account of giving up the rules of conduct prescribed for them, through idleness and through the faults arising from (partaking forbidden) food, Death desires to kill brāhmaṇas.'

A few words must be said about begging. The smṛtis prescribe begging as specially appropriate to brahmacārins (vedic students) and ascetics (yatis), which will be dealt with at length later on. Begging was not allowed to others except under considerable restrictions. The king of Kekaya [296] is made to boast in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 77. 22) that no one who is not a brahmacārin begs in his kingdom. Gifts of food were to be made daily while performing the five mahāyajñas (this will be treated under vaiśvadeva). Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 1–4 recognizes that begging can properly be resorted to for the following reasons, viz. for the teacher, for (one's first) marriage, for a sacrifice, in anxiety to support one's parents, for warding off the non-observance of the duties of a worthy person; he enjoins that on these occasions there is a duty to give according to one's ability and according to the worth of the person begging and that if a man begs only for the gratification of his senses (and not for pressing wants) one should pay no heed to such [297]

294. अग्निकार्यात्परिभ्रष्टाः संध्योपासनवर्जिताः । वेदं चैवानधीयानाः सर्वे ते वृषलाः स्मृताः ॥ अध्येतव्योऽप्येकदेशो यदि सर्वं न शक्यते । पराशर XII. 32–33.

295. अनभ्यासाच्च वेदानामाचारस्य च वर्जनात् । आलस्यादन्नदोषाच्च मृत्युर्विप्राञ्जिघांसति ॥ मनु V. 4

296. नाब्रह्मचारी भिक्षावान् भिक्षुर्वाऽब्रह्मचर्यवान् । शान्तिपर्व 77. 22.

297. भिक्षणे निमित्तमाचार्यो विवाहो यज्ञो मातापित्रोर्बुभूर्षाऽर्हतश्च नियमविलोपः तत्र द्रुणान् समीक्ष्य यथाशक्ति देयम् । इन्द्रियप्रीत्यर्थस्य तु भिक्षणमनिमित्तम् । तस्माच्च तदाद्रियेत । आप. ध. II. 5. 10. 1–4; compare Manu IV. 251, XI. 1–2, Yāj. I. 216, Gaut. V. 19–20. शान्तिपर्व 165. 1–2 are 'हुताग्नयो यज्ञयमाणश्च सर्ववेदान्तगश्च यः । आचार्यपितृकार्यार्थं स्वाध्यायार्थमथापि च । एते वै साधवो हृष्टा ब्राह्मणा धर्मभिक्षवः ॥.'

begging. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 2-3 says that 'a man oppressed by hunger may beg for a little viz. a cultivated or uncultivated plot, a cow, a sheep or ewe, and at last gold, corn or cooked food; but a *snātaka* should not faint through hunger; this is the instruction'. Vide Manu X. 114 for practically the same words and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 3. 79-80. Baud Dh. S. II. 1. 64 includes begging by one who has finished his course of studenthood among actions that make a man impure (*aśucikara*). Manu XI. 16-17 says that when a person has had no food for three days he may take away (by theft even) from one who is lower than himself in class as much corn as will be enough for one day, either from the threshing floor or from the field or from his house or from whatever place he can get it, but he should announce his action when the owner asks. Gaut. (18. 28-30) and Yāj. III. 43 are to the same effect. Aṅgiras[298] quoted in Gṛ. R. (p. 450) allows begging to the diseased, the indigent, to one who is torn away from his family and who is on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita[299] as quoted in Gṛ.R. (p. 457) say 'when a man begs he should state the purpose (such as marriage, completion of sacrifice) of his begging; he should not beg of a woman or of those who are minors or unable to conduct their affairs, nor when the donor is not in a proper place or at a proper time. He should apply the alms to the purpose for which he begged. He should give that portion of the alms which remains unused to priests or any other excellent person'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 4) and Parāśara[300] (I. 60) call upon the king to fine that village where persons of the higher classes wander about begging though they are not observers of vows (like brahmacārins) and are not studying the Veda. The foregoing will show that indiscriminate begging was never allowed or encouraged by the smṛtis even for brāhmaṇas, much less for others.

It has been seen above how even during the Vedic period brāhmaṇas had come to be highly eulogised as if they were gods and held superior merely on account of birth. The

298. व्याधितस्य दरिद्रस्य कुटुम्बात्प्रच्युतस्य च। अध्वानं प्रतिपन्नस्य भिक्षाचर्या विधीयते। अङ्गिरस् in गृह र. p. 450.

299. भिक्षमाणो वा निमित्तान्तरं ब्रूयात्। ..... न स्त्रीं नाप्रासस्यवहारान्। अपर्याप्तसंनिधानान्। अनुद्दिश्याग्नं भिक्षेत। यदर्थं भिक्षेत तमेवार्थं कुर्यात्। शेषमृत्विग्भ्यो निवेदयेत्। यो वान्यः साधुतमस्तस्मै दद्यात्। शङ्खलिखित in गृह. र. p. 457.

300. अव्रता ह्यनधीयाना यत्र भैक्षचरा द्विजाः। तं ग्रामं दण्डयेद्राजा चोरभक्तप्रदो हि सः॥ वसिष्ठ III. 4 and पराशर I. 60.

Tai. Br. III. 7. 3 says 'One should sacrifice in the right hand of a brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa indeed is Agni-vaiśvānara'. Vide Śāntiparva 343. 13–14, Manu IV. 117, Likhita 31, Vas. Dh. S. 30. 2–5. The same ideas of the sacredness and the superiority of brāhmaṇas were carried forward and further emphasized by the dharma-śāstra works. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of brāhmaṇas are sown broadcast over all the smṛtis and the purāṇas. It is not possible to set out even a small fraction of them. But a few passages may usefully be cited here by way of samples. The Viṣṇu Dh. S.[301] (19. 20–22) says 'the gods are invisible deities, but brāhmaṇas are visible deities; the worlds are supported by brāhmaṇas; the gods stay in heaven by the favour of brāhmaṇas; words spoken by brāhmaṇas never come to be untrue'. Manu (I. 100) declares 'whatever[302] wealth exists on this earth—all that belongs to the brāhmaṇa; the brāhmaṇa deserves everything on account of his superiority due to his descent (from the mouth of the Creator).' Manu IX. 313–321 contain a hyperbolical eulogy of the power of brāhmaṇas, two of which may be set out 'who would prosper if he oppresses brāhmaṇas that, when angered, might create other worlds and other guardians of the worlds and that might deprive the deities of their position as deities' (315); 'a brāhmaṇa, whether learned or not, is a great deity' (verse 317). Manu XI. 84 is 'a brāhmaṇa by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour even to the deities.' Parāśara (VI. 52–53) holds 'whatever defects there may be in *vratas*, in austerities, or in sacrificial rites, they all vanish when brāhmaṇas support them. Whatever words are spoken by brāhmaṇas are spoken by the gods; brāhmaṇas have all the gods in them and therefore their words do not fail.'[303] The Mahābhārata indulges in very

301. देवाः परोक्षदेवाः प्रत्यक्षदेवा ब्राह्मणाः। ब्राह्मणैर्लोका धार्यन्ते। ब्राह्मणानां प्रसादेन दिवि तिष्ठन्ति देवताः। ब्राह्मणाभिहितं वाक्यं न मिथ्या जायते क्वचित् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19. 20–22. With the first sūtra note 85 above may be compared.

302. This is a mere *arthavāda*. It means 'it is as if his', for Manu himself (in VIII. 338) prescribes for brāhmaṇas who knowing everything are guilty of theft 64 or 100 or 128 times as much fine, as a śūdra guilty of the same theft has to pay if he unknowingly commits it, while the latter pays eight times as much if he knowingly commits it.

303. व्रतच्छिद्रं तपश्छिद्रं यच्छिद्रं यज्ञकर्मणि। सर्वं भवति निश्छिद्रं ब्राह्मणैरुपपादितम् ॥ ब्राह्मणा यानि भाषन्ते भाषन्ते तानि देवताः। सर्वदेवमया विप्रा न तद्वचनमन्यथा। पराशर VI. 52–53. शातातप (I. 30–31) has the same two verses with slight variations.

frequent eulogies of brāhmaṇas. Ādiparva (28. 3-4) says[304] 'a brāhmaṇa, when provoked, becomes fire, the sun, poison, and weapon; a brāhmaṇa is declared to be the *guru* of all beings.' Vanaparva[305] (303. 16) says 'a brāhmaṇa is the highest light, he is the highest *tapas*; the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brāhmaṇas'. This and similar dicta closely follow what was expressed in the Vedic period long before e. g. 'the sun would not rise if the brāhmaṇa did not make sacrifice' (Śatapatha II. 3. 1. 5); the refrain of Ṛg. II. 15. 2-9 is that Indra performed his great and heroic works under the intoxication of the soma (offered by the priests in sacrifices). Ṛg. IV. 50. 7-9 say that a king and others for whom the purohita offers prayers win battles, secure booty and help from gods. Anuśāsana-parva[306] (33. 17) says 'they may make a non-deity into a deity and a deity into a non-deity; that man may become a king whom they desire to be so, and he who is not desired by them may be defeated.' Śānti (56. 22) declares 'In this world brāhmaṇa is the highest being'.

It should not be supposed that the brāhmaṇas inserted these eulogies solely for the purpose of increasing their importance and tightening their hold on the other classes. If the other classes had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of brāhmaṇas would have given them the influence which they as a matter of fact wielded. Their influence was a growth of centuries and they themselves were as much parts of the huge edifice of the caste system as the other varṇas. Besides the brāhmaṇas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varṇas by persuasion and their own worth. The brāhmaṇas were the creators and custodians of the vast literature that had grown up, they were the guardians of the culture of ages, they were expected to shoulder the burdens of teaching and preserving the vast literature on such gifts as were voluntarily made. Though many among them did not

304. अग्निरर्को विषं शस्त्रं विप्रो भवति कोपितः। शुरुर्हि सर्वभूतानां ब्राह्मणः परिकीर्तितः॥ आदिपर्व 28. 3-4; vide आदि० 81. 23 and 25 and मत्स्यपुराण 30. 23 and 25 for a similar idea.

305. ब्राह्मणो हि परं तेजो ब्राह्मणो हि परं तपः। ब्राह्मणानां नमस्कारैः सूर्यो दिवि विराजते॥ वनपर्व 303. 16.

306. अदैवं दैवतं कुर्युर्दैवतं चाप्यदैवतम्। यमिच्छेयुः स राजा स्याद्यो नेष्टः स पराभवेत्॥ अनुशासनपर्व 33. 17 and 152. 16.

live up to the high ideals set up for their order, there must have been not a few who made as near an approach to the fulfilment of the ideal as possible. It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole order to which they belonged. Learning and *tapas* are more or less elusive and impalpable, while birth from brāhmaṇa parents was quite an apparent and palpable thing. Therefore that was seized upon by some writers as the principal reason for the respect to be given to brāhmaṇas. For centuries human societies have everywhere acquiesced in the government and control exercised by small coteries of the elite, generally the elite of birth, who have guided the destinies of their societies on traditional lines of religious and social order. It must be remembered that the smṛti works also extol the office of the king (which was generally hereditary and is so even now) to the skies. Manu (VII. 4-11) propounds[307] the theory that the king has in him the parts of such gods as Indra and that a king is a great deity in human form. The theory of varṇas as conceived by Manu and other smṛtikāras was based upon the idea of the division of labour, on the idea of balancing the rival claims of various sections of the community ; it laid greatest emphasis upon the duties of the varṇas rather than upon their rights and privileges. It raised the brāhmaṇa to the highest pinnacle of reverence, but at the same time it placed before him the ideal of not hankering after temporal power, of leading a life of comparative poverty and of making his knowledge available to the other classes for a scanty and precarious return. It made the military caste feel that they were not all-in-all, but had to look up to some other class as superior to themselves. European writers severely condemn brāhmaṇas for their greed, selfishness and constant praises of gifts to themselves. But they forget to take account of the circumstances under which the brāhmaṇas were forced to sing the praises of gifts to them. The ideal before brāhmaṇas was to lead a life of comparative poverty ; they were forbidden to follow many worldly pursuits and depended on the generosity of their patrons. They did not live in monasteries as Buddhist and Christian monks did nor were they entitled to fixed and fat salaries like the bishops in some Christian countries. They had further to bring up their own families and pupils and had themselves also to make gifts to others. In modern capitalist societies those who have brains

307. महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥ मनु VII. 8.

and knowledge tend to become financiers and capitalists, all wealth is centred in their hands, they reduce most other men to mere wage-earners who are often hardly better than helots. While finding fault with the brāhmaṇa writers of over two thousand years ago for the eulogies they bestowed upon themselves, one should not forget that even in the 20th century when the pursuit of scientific studies is professed to have reached its zenith, we hear ecstatic and arrogant eulogies of the white man's burden, of the great and glorious achievements of the Nordic race and the greater and more glorious future it is destined to attain (vide the very first sentence in Spengler's 'The Decline of the West', English translation by C. F. Atkinson). The brāhmaṇas never arrogated to themselves the authority to depose kings and to hand over vast territories for ever to whomsoever they liked, as Pope Alexander VI by his Bull of 1493 made over the New World to Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon (vide Dean Inge's 'Christian Ethics' 1930 p. 160 where this astounding Bull is set out).

It has been seen already that brāhmaṇas had the special privileges of teaching, officiating as priests and accepting gifts made as a religious duty. It is desirable that a comprehensive list of all the privileges claimed by brāhmaṇas (though not always conceded as the sequel will show) should be set out once for all.

(1) The brāhmaṇa was to be *guru* (object of reverence)[388] to all varṇas by the mere fact of birth. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 5) says so. Vas. Dh. S. (IV. 1) says 'the system of four varṇas is distinguished by its origin and by the special features of the sacraments (each of them undergoes)' and quotes Ṛg. X. 90. 12 in support. Manu (I. 31 and 94) says that the Creator produced the four varṇas respectively from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, that (I. 93) the brāhmaṇa is by right the master of this whole world on account of his birth from the best limb (i. e. the mouth) of the Creator, on account of his priority (in birth to the ksatriya and others) and on account of possessing Vedic lore. Manu (X.3) uses almost the same words as Vasiṣṭha 'the brāhmaṇa is the master of the varṇas on account of the peculiar excellence

308. चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः । तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वो जन्मतः श्रेयान् । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 5; प्रकृतिविशिष्टं चातुर्वर्ण्यं संस्कारविशेषाच्च । ब्राह्मणोस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः इत्यपि निगमो भवति । वसिष्ठ IV. 1–2; जातीनां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । भीष्म 121. 35.

(of his caste), on account of his superiority of origin (from the mouth of the Creator), on account of his submitting himself to discipline (or holding up Vedic lore) and on account of the eminence of the sacraments (saṁskāras) in his case'. Bhīṣma-parva (121. 35) says that the brāhmana is superior among all castes. This sense of superiority was carried so far that Āpastamba[309] (I. 4. 14. 23), Manu (II. 135) and Viṣnu Dh. S. (32. 17) say that a brāhmaṇa only ten years old was to be honoured as a father by a ksatriya 100 years old.

(2) The brāhmaṇa was to expound the duties of all other classes, to indicate to them proper conduct and their means of livelihood and they were to abide by his directions and the king was to rule in accordance with such directions (Vas. Dh. S. I. 39-41, Manu VII. 37, X. 2). This is supported by the words of the Kāṭhakasaṁhitā[310] (IX. 16) and the Tai. Br. that the brāhmaṇa is indeed the supervisor over the people. The Ait. Br. (37. 5) declares that where the might of ksatriyas is under the control (or direction) of brāhmaṇas that kingdom becomes prosperous, that kingdom is full of heroes[311] &c. This idea is somewhat similar to the teaching of Plato who held that philosophers that had undergone a special training were to rule and were to be politicians, that the government of the best (aristocracy) was the ideal system. The problem is how to find out the best. Ancient India solved it by leaving the decision of knotty points to the learned brāhmaṇas and the execution of the decisions arrived at by them to the king and the kṣatriyas.

(3) 'The king was the ruler of all, except brāhmaṇas'– Gautama[312] XI. 1. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words were only laudatory of the greatness of brāhmaṇas and were not to be taken literally and that the king could punish brāhmaṇas in appropriate cases. These words of Gautama are a mere echo of certain passages like those in the Vāj. S. (IX. 40) and the Śat.[313] Br. (V. 4. 2. 3 and IX. 4. 3. 16), where it is said

309. दशवर्षश्च ब्राह्मणः शतवर्षश्च क्षत्रियः । पितापुत्रौ स्म तौ विद्धि तयोस्तु ब्राह्मणः पिता । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 23.

310. ब्राह्मणो वै प्रजानामुपद्रष्टा ॥ तै. ब्रा. II. 2. 1 and काठकसंहिता IX. 16.

311. तद्यत्र वै ब्रह्मणः क्षत्रं वशमेति तद्राष्ट्रं समृद्धं तद्वीरवद्दाहास्मिन्वीरो जायते । ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 5.

312. राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् । गौ. XI. 1; न च राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति गौतमवचनाच्च ब्राह्मणो दण्ड्य इति मन्तव्यम् । तस्य प्रशंसार्थत्वात् । मिता० on या. II. 4.

313. सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा । शतपथ V. 4. 2. 3; तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनाद्यः सोमराजा हि भवति । शतपथ IX. 4. 3. 16.

'Soma is the king of us brāhmaṇas'. The idea was that brāhmaṇas had to prepare soma and offer it in sacrifices to the gods i.e. they held all wealth for Soma and owed all allegiance to Soma, while other people owed allegiance only to the king. The brāhmaṇas alone were to eat the sacrificial food and drink Soma (and kṣatriyas were to drink only a substitute for Soma). Vide Ait. Br. (chap. 35 khaṇḍa 4). In the Mahābhārata, however, many kings are described as *Somapas*. So the practice of not allowing the kṣatriyas to drink *soma* was not universally accepted. Further it was probably not a privilege at all, but only indicates that Soma sacrifices had been mostly neglected by all except brāhmaṇas.

(4) 'The king should exonerate (the brāhmaṇa) in the six matters, viz. (a brāhmaṇa) should not be beaten (whipped), he should not have fetters put on him, he should not be mulcted in fines of money, he should not be driven out (of the village or country), he should not be censured, he should not be abandoned'– Gaut. VIII.[314] 12–13. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 explains that these words are not applicable to every brāhmaṇa, but only to deeply learned brāhmaṇas described in the preceding sūtras (Gaut. VIII. 4–11). Haradatta adds that even a learned brāhmaṇa is treated in this way only if he commits an offence without pre-meditation but only through ignorance or oversight. As to corporal punishment for brāhmaṇa offenders, the matter stands thus. Gaut XII. 43 says that there is no corporal punishment for a brāhmaṇa (even when he being a thief comes to the king confessing his guilt and asking the king to beat him with a heavy club on the head). Vide Manu XI. 99–100 also. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 18–19) first lays down that a brāhmaṇa is to undergo no beating for any offence but allows for a brāhmaṇa guilty of the mortal sins (of brāhmaṇa-murder, incest, drinking liquor, theft of gold) the punishment of branding on the forehead with red-hot iron and banishment from the country. Manu IX. 237 (= Matsyapurāṇa 227. 163–164), Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 4–7 prescribe the

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314. यत्तु बहुभिः परिहार्यो राज्ञाऽवध्यश्चाबन्ध्यश्चादण्ड्यश्चाबहिष्कार्यश्चापरिवाद्यश्चापरिहार्यश्चेति (गौ. 8. 12–13) तदपि स एष बहुश्रुतो भवति...विनीत इति (गौतम 8. 4–11) प्रतिपादितबहुश्रुतविषयं न ब्राह्मणमात्रविषयम् ॥ मिता० on या. II. 4; न शारीरो ब्राह्मणदण्डः । गौतम 12. 43; अवध्यो वै ब्राह्मणः सर्वापराधेषु । ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्महत्या-गुरुतल्पगमनसुवर्णस्तेयसुरापानेषु कुसिन्ध-भगसुगालसुराध्वजास्तप्तेनायसा ललाटेऽङ्कयित्वा विषयान्निर्धमनम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 18-19; the verse in the सृच्छकटिक (IX) 'अयं हि पातकी विप्रो न वध्यो मनुरब्रवीत् । राष्ट्रादस्मात्तु निर्वास्यो विभवैरक्षतैः सह ॥' pointedly refers to मनु VIII. 280.

various figures that were to be branded on the forehead of a brāhmaṇa in the case of various offences. Manu (VIII. 379-380) prescribes shaving of the head for brāhmaṇa offenders where others would have had to suffer the extreme penalty of death and adds that a brāhmaṇa was not to be sentenced to death whatever offence he might have committed and that he is to be banished from the country taking with him all his possessions. Even on this the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 81) observes that it applies only when it is the brāhmaṇa's first offence (i. e. he may be fined for repeating an offence). Yāj. (II. 270), Nārada (sāhasa, verse 10) and Śaṅkha[315] prescribe branding and banishment as punishment for brāhmaṇas (particularly in the case of theft). The brāhmaṇa was never above being fined. Manu (VIII. 123) prescribes fine and banishment for a perjured brāhmaṇa witness, while Manu VIII. 378 prescribes heavy fines for a brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. The Mit. on[316] Yāj. II. 302 quotes a verse of Manu (not found in the extant Manusmṛti) that in the case of the brāhmaṇa corporal punishment takes the form of complete shaving of the head, he is liable to banishment from the town, he may be branded on the forehead and he may be made to ride through the town on the back of an ass (looked upon at all times as the highest form of indignity). Kauṭ. also[317] (IV. 8) forbids corporal punishment for brāhmaṇas in all offences but prescribes branding on the forehead in the same way as Manu (IX. 237) and also banishment and labour on mines. But Kauṭ. makes an exception, viz. he allows a brāhmaṇa to be drowned in water if he is guilty of high treason, or of forcible entry in the king's harem or of inciting the enemies of the king &c. Kātyāyana[318] (quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 281) prescribes death sentence even for a brāhmaṇa when the latter is guilty of the destruction of a foetus, of theft, of

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315. त्रयाणां वर्णानां धनापहारवधबन्धक्रिया विवासनाङ्ककरणं ब्राह्मणस्य । शङ्ख quoted by the मिता. on या. II. 270.

316. ब्राह्मणस्य पुनः 'न शारीरो ब्राह्मणे दण्डः' इति निषेधाद्वधस्थाने शिरोमुण्डनादिकं कर्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य वधो मौण्ड्यं पुरान्निर्वासनाङ्कने । ललाटे चाभिशस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेन तु ॥' इति मनुस्मरणात् । मिता० on या II. 302; the latter half is नारद (साहस 10), the first half being शिरसो मुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं पुरात् ।

317. सर्वापराधेष्वपोह्यनीयो ब्राह्मणः । तस्याभिशस्ताङ्को ललाटे स्याद्व्यवहारपतनाय । स्तेये श्वा ..... सुरापाने मद्यध्वजः । ब्राह्मणं पापकर्माणमुद्धुर्याङ्कुतव्रणम् । कुर्यान्निर्विषयं राजा वासयेदाकरेषु वा ॥ कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र IV. 8

318. तथा च कात्यायनः । गर्भस्य पातने स्तेनो ब्राह्मण्यां शस्त्रपातने । अवुधां योषितं हत्वा हन्तव्यो ब्राह्मणोपि हि ॥ कात्या. quoted by विश्वरूप on या. II. 281.

striking a brāhmaṇa woman with a weapon and of killing an innocent woman. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 thinks it possible that kings sentenced brāhmaṇas to death in spite of the prohibition of corporal punishment and we have a classical illustration in the death sentence passed on the brāhmaṇa Cārudatta by king Pālaka in the Mṛcchakaṭika (IX). The foregoing discussion shows that the only special privilege claimed for the brāhmaṇa in the law courts of the land was freedom from death sentence or other corporal punishment like whipping, though rarely he was liable to be sentenced to death also. He was subject to the indignities of branding and being paraded on the back of an ass, to fines and banishment. These claims were very moderate as compared with the absurd lengths to which the doctrine of 'benefit of clergy' was carried in England and other western countries.[319] The clergyman in England was not by birth, he had to be ordained. Yet clergymen claimed that an ordained clerk, a monk or nun charged with serious offences called felonies could be tried only by an ecclesiastical court and this was conceded by the ordinary courts; this privilege was gradually extended to persons not ordained viz. to doorkeepers, readers, exorcists (all of whom merely assisted the clergy) and finally to all who could read or pretended to read a few words from the Bible. Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland admit that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was little better than a farce (P and M vol. I. p. 426, Holdsworth vol. III p. 296). The ecclesiastic courts never pronounced a judgment of blood, the bishop only deprived the offending clerk of orders, and relegated him to a monastery, or kept him in prison for life or a shorter period and very rarely whipping and branding were ordered. Even in the first quarter of the 20th century, European British subjects and Europeans and Americans in general could claim in British India some startling privileges when charged with criminal offences which even the brāhmaṇas of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923) they could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and that in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself an European British

319. Vide Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law' (1895) vol. I. pp. 424-440 and Holdsworth's History of English Law 4th Ed.) vol. I. pp. 615-616, vol. III. pp. 294-302 for the history of the doctrine.

subject could not sentence an European British subject to more than one year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians. In England even now a peer indicted for treason or felony must be tried by his peers and not by the tribunals that try ordinary men (vide Halsbury's Laws of England, 2nd Ed. vol. 25 p. 46). The brāhmaṇas had to submit to trial in the ordinary courts and the smṛtis do not generally provide for trial of brāhmaṇas in special ecclesiastical courts of their own class. The only approach to this western doctrine of benefit of clergy is to be found in the Āp. Dh. S.,[320] where it is said that the teacher and others who have authority over a brāhmaṇa guilty of transgressions should prescribe prāyaścittas for him : if he does not abide by their orders, he should be taken to the king who should hand him over to his own *purohita*; the latter was to prescribe prāyaścittas (penances for atonement) for brāhmaṇa offenders. If the latter did not carry out the penances then he was to break them by disciplines according to their ability except that he (the purohita) was not to prescribe corporal punishment and slavery for brāhmaṇa offenders.

(5) Most smṛtis lay down that a śrotriya (a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda) was to be free from taxes. Certain passages of the Śat. Br. suggest that even in those times brāhmaṇas were not taxed.[321] Āp. Dh. S.[322] II. 10. 26. 10, Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23, Manu VII. 133 say this. Some claimed this exemption for all brāhmaṇas e. g. Vas. Dh. S. (I. 42–43) says "a king ruling over his subjects according to the rules of the śāstra should take the sixth part of all wealth except from brāhmaṇas"; the Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 26 says 'a king should

320. तस्य चेच्छास्त्रमतिप्रवर्तेरन् । राजानं गमयेत् । राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम् । स ब्राह्मणान्नियुञ्ज्यात् । बलविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्जं नियमैरुपशोषयेत् ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 10 14–18.

321. अथातो दक्षिणानाम् । मध्यं प्रति राष्ट्रस्य यदन्यत्क्षत्रमेभ्यश्च ब्राह्मणस्य च वित्तात् । शतपथ XIII. 6. 2. 18.

322. अकरः श्रोत्रियः । आप. ध. सू. II. 10 26. 10. ; राजा तु धर्मेणानुशासत् षष्ठं धनस्य हरेत् । अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् । वसिष्ठ I. 42–43 ; ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । ते हि राज्ञो धर्मकरदाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 26–27.

not recover taxes from brāhmaṇas'. Kauṭ.[323] (II. 1) requires the king to make gifts of *brahmadeya* lands to *ṛtviks* (who officiate at solemn sacrifices), teachers, purohitas, śrotriyas, that will yield substantial produce and on which no fines and taxes will be levied. The reason assigned was the belief that the king shared in the religious merit accumulated by the brāhmaṇas. Vas.[324] (I. 44-46) explains '(freedom from taxation is there) because he (the king) secures the sixth part of the iṣṭāpūrta (the merit due to sacrifices and performing charitable works of public utility) and it is declared (in a Brāhmaṇa text) that the brāhmaṇa enriches the Veda, he relieves (others) from calamities and therefore the brāhmaṇa is not a source of subsistence (i. e. should not be taxed by the king) since Soma is his king; and it is further declared that bliss awaits after death (the king who does not tax brāhmaṇas).' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 27 says 'they render unto him the tax of religious merit'. Manu VII. 136 says 'by the religious merit which the śrotriya accumulates every day when protected by the king, the king's life, wealth and kingdom increase.' Vide Manu 8. 305. This sentiment is expressed even by a great poet like Kālidāsa[325] 'forest-dwellers give a sixth part of their *tapas* (merit due to austerities) to the king and that is an inexhaustible treasure'. It is further to be noted that not only śrotriyas, but also many other persons were free from taxation. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 26. 11-17) exempts from taxation all women of the four varṇas, all boys before they show signs of manhood (i. e. before they attain majority), those who stay with their teachers for learning (even though they may be grown up), those engaged in austerities and devoted to right practices, a śūdra who washes the feet (of men of the three higher classes), the blind, the dumb and the diseased, those who are forbidden to possess wealth (i. e. ascetics etc.). The Vas. Dh. S. (19. 23.)[326] exempts from taxation the king's servants, helpless

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323. ऋत्विगाचार्य-पुरोहित-श्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्यदण्डकराण्याभिरूपदायकानि प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य II. 1.

324. इष्टापूर्तस्य तु षष्ठमंशं भजतीति ह। ब्राह्मणो वेदमाढ्यं करोति ब्राह्मण आपद उद्धरति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोनाढ्यः। सोमोस्य राजा भवतीति ह। प्रेत्य चाभ्युदयिकमिति ह विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ I. 44-46; compare the passage from the Śatapatha quoted above in note 313.

325. यद्वृत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम्। तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः॥ शाकुन्तल II. 13

326. अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः। वसिष्ठ 19. 23.

persons, ascetics, minors, senile men (above 70), young men, and women who are recently delivered. Manu VIII. 394 contains a similar provision. Bṛhat-Parāśara[327] (chap. III, Jiv. part II p. 113) says 'a brāhmaṇa engaged in agriculture had to pay nothing to anybody'. It is extremely doubtful whether in actual practice kings respected all these rules. Note 275 shows that a brāhmaṇa engaging in agriculture had to pay $\frac{1}{8}$th of the produce just as others did. An inscription of Vikramāditya V. found near Gadag dated śake 934 (1012 A. D.) refers to taxes levied even on upanayana, marriages and vedic sacrifices (E. I. vol. XX. pp. 64 and 70). The Śāntiparva (76. 2–10) contains an interesting disquisition on the taxation of brāhmaṇas. Those brāhmaṇas who have mastered all the lores and who treat all equally well are called brahmasama. Those brāhmaṇas who have studied the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda and who stick to the peculiar duties of their class are styled devasama (verses 2 and 3). A religious king should make those who are not śrotriyas and who do not kindle the sacred fires render taxes and forced labour (verse 5). Then certain brāhmaṇas are described as kṣatrasama and vaiśyasama. A king whose treasury is empty should levy taxes from all brāhmaṇas except those that are described as brahmasama and devasama.[328] Even if these rules were honoured, the claim was not very excessive. The brāhmaṇas who ministered to the religious wants of the people and who were to conserve the religious literature and spiritual inheritance of the country and to teach without the liberty to make a contract for fees were never entitled to raise taxes from the people for their benefit. According to the practice of the Roman Catholic Church 'the clergy owed no allegiance to the secular power; they were not under the laws of the land, they paid no taxes to the State. All benefices were put under the Holy See and the Roman chancery compiled a tariff of prices for which each might be bought'. It would take too long to

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327. ब्राह्मणस्तु कृषिं कुर्वन्वाहयेदिच्छया धराम्। न किंचित्कस्य चिद्दद्यात्स सर्वस्य प्रभुर्यतः॥ बृहत्पराशर III.

328. विद्यालक्षणसंपन्नाः सर्वत्र समदर्शिनः। एते ब्रह्मसमा राजन् ब्राह्मणाः परिकीर्तिताः॥ ऋग्यजुःसामसंपन्नाः स्वेषु कर्मस्ववस्थिताः। एते देवसमा ..... अश्रोत्रियाः सर्व एव सर्वे चानाहिताग्नयः। तान् सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं विष्टिं च कारयेत्॥ ..... एतेभ्यो बलिमादद्याद्धीनकोशो महीपतिः। ऋते ब्रह्मसमेभ्यश्च देवकल्पेभ्य एव च॥ शान्तिपर्व 76. 2–3, 5, 9.

enumerate the other exactions of the same kind—the Tithes, Annates, Procurations, Subsidies and Dispensations.[329]

(6) In the matter of treasure trove the brāhmaṇa was more favourably treated than members of other classes. If a treasure was found by a learned brāhmaṇa he was entitled to keep the whole of it; in other cases the treasure belonged to the king, except a sixth part which was given to the finder if he honestly informed the king about the finding of the treasure. If a king himself found buried treasure, he was to distribute half of it among brāhmaṇas and was to keep for himself the other half. Vide Gautama (X. 43-45), Vas Dh. S. (III. 13-14), Manu (VIII. 37-38), Yāj. II. 34-35, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (III. 56-64), Nārada (asvāmivikraya verses 7-8).

(7) The general rule about the property of one dying heirless is that it escheats to the king, but there was an exception in the case of an heirless brāhmaṇa. Such property was to be distributed among śrotriyas or brāhmaṇas. Vide Gautama[330] 28. 39-40, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 84-87, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 118-122, Manu IX. 188-189, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 17. 13-14, Śaṅkha.[331]

(8) The rule of the road was in favour of brāhmaṇas even as against the king. If on a road there was a crowd or obstruction, precedence was to be given to the cartman, to a very old man, to one suffering from a disease, to a woman, to a snātaka, to the king; but a king was to give precedence to a śrotriya-Gaut. VI. 21-22. Āp. adds that one carrying[332] a burden should be given precedence and all who desire their own welfare should

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329. Vide Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' chap. IV pp. 160-161 for the enormous greed of the Romish Church.

330. श्रोत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य रिक्थं भजेरन्। राजेतरेषाम्। गौतम 28. 39-40; न तु ब्राह्मणस्य राजा हरेत्। ब्रह्मस्वं तु विषं घोरम्। न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते। विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकमिति। त्रैविद्यसाधुभ्यः संप्रयच्छेत्। वसिष्ठ 17. 84-87.

331. परिषद्गामि वा श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न राजगामि। शङ्ख quoted in वि. र. p. 598.

332. चक्रिदशमीस्थान्वुग्राह्यवधूस्नातकराजभ्यः पथो दानम्। राज्ञा तु श्रोत्रियाय। गौतम VI.21-22; राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य। समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः। यानस्य भाराभिनिहितस्यातुरस्य स्त्रिया इति सर्वेदातव्यः। वर्णज्यायसां चेतरेषां। अशिष्टपतितमत्तोन्मत्तानामात्मस्वस्त्ययनार्थेन सर्वैरेव दातव्यः। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 5-9; अन्धस्य पन्था बधिरस्य पन्थाः स्त्रियः पन्था भारवाहस्य पन्थाः। राज्ञः पन्था ब्राह्मणेनासमेत्य समेत्य तु ब्राह्मणस्यैव पन्थाः॥ वनपर्व 133. 1; पन्था देयो ब्राह्मणाय गोभ्यो राजभ्य एव च। वृद्धाय भारतप्ताय गर्भिण्यै दुर्बलस्य च। अनुशासन 104. 25-26. This is almost the same as वौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 57 (which reads गवे राज्ञे च्यक्षुषे); the latter half of Vana-parva 133. 1 is the same as Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 5. 5-6. Vide शङ्ख 'अथ ब्राह्मणायाग्रे पन्था देयो राज्ञ इत्येके। तच्चानिष्टं गुरुज्यैष्ठ्यश्च ब्राह्मणो राजानमतिशेते तस्मै पन्थाः।' quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 117.

give precedence to fools, *patita*, the intoxicated and lunatics and a person of a lower varṇa should give precedence to one of a higher varṇa. The Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 133. 1) adds the blind and the deaf, (Anuśāsana 104. 25-26) cows, a pregnant woman and a weak man. Vas. Dh. S. (13. 58-60) enumerates the same persons, but says that the snātaka (one who has just returned from his stay with his *guru*) has precedence over the king and that the bride has precedence over all when being taken in a procession (to the house of the bridegroom). Manu II. 138-139 has the same list and prefers the snātaka to the king ; Yāj. I. 117 has the same rules. Śaṅkha (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj I. 117) mentions the view of some that the king has precedence over the brāhmaṇa, but disapproves of it. Vide Brahmapurāṇa 113. 39 for a list. The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (34. 39-41) has a long list which includes a prostitute and one who is an enemy. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 91) prescibes a fine of 25 kārṣāpaṇas for him who does not give precedence on the road to one who deserves it. It will be conceded by every one that the above rules (except the one about the precedence of brāhmaṇas over even the king) are quite reasonable and are informed by a spirit of humanity and chivalry. The rule about learned brāhmaṇas probably owes its origin to the emphasis laid on the importance of the diffusion of learning (which was not the direct concern of the state in those days, but of the brāhmaṇas) and the superiority of knowledge over mere brute force or military achievements.

(9) The person of the brāhmaṇa was regarded as very sacred from ancient times and so *brahmahatyā* (killing a brāhmaṇa) was looked upon as the greatest sin. The Tai. S.[333] (V. 3. 12. 1-2) says that he who performs the horse-sacrifice goes beyond (i. e. gets rid of) all sins, even the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. The Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1 narrates how Indra incurred the sin of *brahmahatyā* by killing Viśvarūpa and how all beings ran him down as 'brahmahan'. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 we read (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) 'thereby the gods redeem all sin, yea, even the slaying of a brāhmaṇa they thereby redeem' and 'whosoever kills a human brāhmaṇa here he forsooth is deemed guilty, how much more so who strikes him (Soma), for Soma is god' (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 243). The Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 9 quotes

333. अपि वैतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन् सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते ॥ तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 1-2. The words सर्वं ..... यजते are quoted by Gaut. 19. 9. and Vas. 22. 6.

a verse declaring brāhmaṇa murder as one of the five mortal sins (*mahāpātakas*). Gaut. (21. 1) places the murderer of a brāhmaṇa at the head of his list of *patitas* (persons guilty of mortal sins). Vas. Dh. S. (I. 20) uses the word *bhrūṇahatyā*.[334] Manu XI. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 1, Yāj. III. 227 enumerate five mahāpātakas of which brāhmaṇa-murder is one. Manu VIII. 381 declares that there is no worse sin in the world than brāhmaṇa-murder.

A question that very much exercised the minds of all smṛtikāras and writers of digests[335] was whether a brāhmaṇa who was himself guilty of violence or serious offences could be killed in self-defence by one attacked. The dicta of the smṛtis are somewhat conflicting. Manu IV. 162 lays down a general rule prohibiting *hiṁsā* (death or injury) of one's teacher (of Veda), expounder (of the meaning of the Veda), one's parents, one's other teachers (or elders), brāhmaṇas, cows and all persons engaged in austerities. Manu XI. 89 lays down that there is no expiation (prāyaścitta) that will wipe off the sin of intentionally killing a brāhmaṇa. But Manu himself (VIII. 350-351 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 189-190 = Matsyapurāṇa 227. 115-117 = Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 349-350) says 'one may surely kill without hesitation a man who comes down upon one as an ātatāyin[336] (a desperate character or violent man), whether he be a teacher, a child or an old man or a learned brāhmaṇa. In killing an ātatāyin, the killer incurs no sin (or fault), whether he kills him in the presence of people or alone ; (in such a case) wrath meets wrath'. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 15-18) expressly says 'by killing an ātatāyin they say the killer incurs no sin whatever' and quotes three verses 'an incendiary, a poisoner, one armed with a weapon, a robber, one who wrests a field or carries away one's wife—these six are called ātatāyin. When

334. The word 'bhrūṇa' has several meanings. Baud. Gṛ. (I. 4. 8) says that bhrūṇa is one who knows the whole Vedic lore of his śākhā up to sūtra and *pravacana* (bhāṣya ?) ; Vaik. (I. 1) says that bhrūṇa is a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda who has performed soma sacrifices. Vide note 290 above. Gaut. 21. 9 uses the word in the sense of 'garbha (foetus),' while in Gaut. 17. 9 'bhrūṇahā' is equal to 'brahmahā'. Both Baud Dh. S. I. 5. 94 and Vas. Dh. S. II. 42 quote a verse where bhrūṇahā means brahmahā, while Vas. Dh. S. 20. 23 gives two meanings to it.

335. Vide Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222 and the Mit. on Yāj II. 21, Aparārka pp. 1042-44, Sm. C. (Vyavahāra pp. 313-15.).

336. 'Ātatāyin' literally means 'one who goes with his bow strung (i. e. ready to kill or fight). Śiva is called ātatāyin in Vāj. S. 16. 18 and Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā 17. 12.

an ātatāyin comes (to attack) with the desire to kill (or harm), one may kill him even though he be a complete master of Vedānta; by so doing one does not become a brāhmaṇa-murderer. If a person kills one who has studied the Veda and who is born of a good family, because the latter is an ātatāyin, he does not thereby become a brāhmaṇa-murderer as in that case fury meets fury.'[337] In the Śāntiparva (34. 17 and 19)[338] we have similar verses 'If a brāhmaṇa approaches wielding a weapon in a battle and desirous of killing a person, the latter may kill him even if the former be a complete master of the Veda. If a person kills a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin who has swerved from right conduct, he does not thereby.....fury'. Udyoga-parva (178. 51–52) says that, if a man kills in a battle a brāhmaṇa who fights like a kṣatriya, it is a settled rule that he does not incur the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder. Śānti (22. 5–6) is to the same effect. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 191–192) speaks of seven persons as ātatāyin viz. 'one who has a weapon ready to strike, one who is about to set fire or administer poison, one who has raised his hand to give a curse, who sets about to kill by the magic rites mentioned in the Atharvaveda (e. g. such sūktas as I. 19, II. 19, III. 1–2, VII. 108), one who is a back-biter and informs the king, one who violates or assaults another's wife.' The Matsyapurāṇa (227. 117–119) is practically to the same effect. Sumantu as quoted by the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 21) and by Aparārka (p. 1043) says 'there is no sin in killing an ātatāyin except a cow or a brāhmaṇa'.[339] This implies that a brāhmaṇa even if an ātatāyin should not be killed, but if he be killed sin is incurred. Kātyāyana[340] (quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests) declares that one should not kill a brāhmaṇa who is eminent by reason of his *tapas*, Vedic study and birth, even though he be an ātatāyin; Bhṛgu allows killing when the offender is of a lower caste than that of brāhmaṇa'. Bṛhaspati[341] also says that he who would not kill a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin

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337. This last verse is also quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 14 and the latter half of it is the same as Śāntiparva 15. 55.

338. प्रगृह्य शस्त्रमायान्तमपि वेदान्तगं रणे । जिघांसन्तं जिघांसीयान्न तेन ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 34. 17.

339. नाततायिवधे दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात् । सुमन्तु in मिता. on या. II. 21.

340. आततायिनि चोत्कृष्टे तपःस्वाध्यायजन्मतः । वधस्तत्र तु नैव स्यात्पापे हीने वधो भृगुः ॥ कात्यायन in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार p. 315)

341. आततायिनमुत्कृष्टं वृत्तस्वाध्यायसंयुतम् । यो न हन्याद्वधप्राप्तं सोऽश्वमेधफलं लभेत् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्य. p. 315)

deserving to be killed for his violence would obtain the merit of an Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Commentators and writers of digests differ in their interpretations. Viśvarūpa[342] (on Yāj. III. 222) remarks that he is guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder who kills a brāhmaṇa except in battle or except when the latter is an ātatāyin, or who kills a brāhmaṇa (not an ātatāyin nor fighting) on his own account without being employed by another or who brings about the death of such a brāhmaṇa by hiring another to perpetrate the murder for money. He further adds that the man who kills a brāhmaṇa at the instigation of another for money is not guilty of the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder, but it is the instigator who is so guilty on the analogy of the rule that the merit or fruit of a sacrifice belongs to him on whose behalf the ṛtviks perform it. The Mit.[343] on Yāj. (II. 21) says that the real purport of Manu VIII. 350-351 is not to ordain that a brāhmaṇa must be killed if he is an ātatāyin, but those two verses are only an *arthavāda* (laudatory or recommendatory dicta), the real meaning being that even a *guru* and a brāhmana who are most highly honoured and who are not fit to be killed at all, may have to be killed if ātatāyins (then what of others?). The final conclusion of the Mit. is that if a brāhmaṇa who is an ātatāyin is being opposed in self-defence without any desire to kill him and if he dies through mistake or inattention, then the killer incurs no punishment at the hand of the king and has to undergo a slight prāyaścitta i. e. there is really a prohibition to kill an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa and verses like Manu VIII. 351 refer to an ātatāyin who is not a brāhmaṇa. Medhātithi appears to have held the same view (on Manu VIII. 350-351). Kullūka explains Manu VIII. 350 as meaning that 'a *guru* or a brāhmaṇa or others coming as ātatāyins may be killed when it is impossible to save oneself even by fleeing from them'. Aparārka is of opinion[344]

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342. आततायिसंग्रामव्यतिरेकेण यो ब्राह्मणमन्येनाप्रयुक्तः स्वातन्त्र्येण हन्याद्, अन्यं वा द्रव्यदानादिना वशीकृत्य घातयति स प्रत्येतव्यः। ..... यस्तु धनक्रीतः परप्रयुक्तो हन्यात् तस्य स्वामिगामित्वात्क्रियाफलानामृत्विजामिव ब्रह्महत्याजन्यफलसंबन्धो नास्त्येव। विश्वरूप on या. III. 222.

343. नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चनेत्येतदपि ब्राह्मणादिव्यतिरिक्तविषयमेव। अतश्च ब्राह्मणादन्य आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसंधिना निवार्यमाणाः प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येरंस्तत्र लघु प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चयः। मिता० on या. II. 21.

344. तदृव्यापारनिवारणं च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न संभवति तत्रैव तद्वधानुज्ञा। यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेणैव शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव। अपरार्क on या. III. 227 p. 1043.

that where an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa cannot be prevented from his wicked intent except by killing him, there only the śāstras allow the killing of a brāhmaṇa but where it is possible to ward him off by a mere blow (i. e. without actually killing him) there would be the sin of brāhmaṇa-murder if he were actually killed. The Sm. C. in a long note appears to hold that an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa rushing upon a man to kill him may be killed by the person attacked (there is no sin and no punishment nor penance for it), that a brāhmaṇa ātatāyin (who does not come to kill but) who only siezes one's fields or wife should not be killed (but lesser harm may be done to him with impunity) and that kṣatriyas and others if ātatāyin may be killed outright. The Vyavahāra-Mayūkha[345] adds a rider that, on account of the prescription contained in the section on kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the Kali age) viz. 'the killing in a properly conducted fight of brāhmaṇas that are ātatāyin' (is forbidden in Kali), an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa even when about to kill a person should not be killed by that person in the Kali age, that such a brāhmaṇa was allowed to be killed in former ages, that an ātatāyin brāhmaṇa other than one bent upon killing another was not be killed in all ages. The Vīramitrodaya (pp. 19–27) has a long disquisition on this subject but space forbids us from giving even a brief summary of it. It will have been noticed how the sacredness of the brāhmaṇa's person went on increasing in later ages.

(10) Even threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault, or striking him or drawing blood from his body drew the severest condemnation from very ancient times. The Tai.[346] S. (II. 6. 10. 1–2) contains these words 'He who threatens a brāhmaṇa should be fined a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmaṇa should be fined a thousand, he who draws blood would not reach (or find) the abode of pitṛs for as many years as the dust particles that may be made into a paste by the quantity of blood drawn. Therefore one should not threaten a brāhmaṇa with assault, nor strike him nor draw his blood'. Gaut. (22. 20–22) has a

345. किं च 'आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम्' इति कलौ वधोद्यतस्यातताियनो विप्रस्य हननं निषिद्धम्। व्यवहारमयूख p. 242; for कलिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix.

346. योऽपशुरातै शतेन यातयाद्यो निहनत् सहस्रेण यातयाद्यो लोहितं करवद्यावतः प्रस्कद्य पांसून् संगृह्णीयात् तावतः संवत्सरान् पितृलोकं न प्रजानादिति। तस्मात् ब्राह्मणाय नापशुरेत न निहन्याच्च लोहितं कुर्यात्। ते. सं. II. 6. 10. 1–2.

similar[347] dictum, viz. that threatening a brāhmaṇa with assault in wrath prevents entry into heaven for a hundred years (or leads to hell for a hundred years) &c. Jaimini III. 4. 17 considers the question whether the passage in the Tai. S. is kvatvartha or puruṣārtha.

(11) For certain offences a brāhmaṇa received lesser punishment than members of other classes. For example, Gaut. says[348] ' if a kṣatriya reviled a brāhmaṇa the fine was one hundred (kārsāpaṇas), if a vaiśya did so it was 150 ; but if a brāhmaṇa reviled a kṣatriya the fine was 50; if he reviled a vaiśya it was only 25, and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra he was not to be fined.' Vide Manu VIII. 267-268 (but Manu prescribes a fine of twelve for a brāhmaṇa reviling a śūdra) which are the same as Nārada (vākpāruṣya verses 15-16), Yāj. II. 206-207. But in the case of certain crimes the brāhmaṇa was to receive heavier punishment. For example, in the case of theft, if a śūdra thief was fined[349] eight, a vaiśya 16 and a kṣatriya 32, a brāhmaṇa was fined 64, 100 or 128. Vide Gaut. 21. 12-14 and Manu VIII. 337-338.

(12) According to Gaut.[350] (XIII. 4) a brāhmaṇa could not be cited as a witness by a litigant who was not a brāhmaṇa and the king would not summon him, provided he (the brāhmaṇa) was not an attesting witness on a document. Nārada (ṛṇādāna verse 158) lays down that[351] ' śrotriyas, those engaged in austerities, old men, those who have become ascetics, are not to be witnesses because the authoritative texts so prescribe but there is no cause assigned for this rule.' So Nārada's view was that a śrotriya could never be cited as a witness by any litigant (even by a brāhmaṇa litigant). Gaut. impliedly shows that even a śrotriya could be cited as a witness by a brāhmaṇa. Manu VIII. 65, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VIII. 2 also forbid citing a śrotriya as a witness.

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347. अभिक्रुद्धावगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्वर्ग्यम् । निघाते सहस्रम् । लोहितदर्शने यावतस्तत्प्रस्कन्द्य पांसून् संगृह्णीयात् । गौतम 22. 20-22.

348. शतं क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणाकोशे । अर्धर्धं वैश्यः । ब्राह्मणस्तु क्षत्रिये पञ्चाशत् । तदर्धं वैश्ये । न शूद्रे किंचित् । गौतम 21. 6-10.

349. अष्टापाद्यं स्तेयकिल्बिषं शूद्रस्य । द्विगुणोत्तराणीतरेषां प्रतिवर्णम् । विद्युषोऽतिक्रमे दण्डभूयस्त्वम् । गौतम 21. 12-14

350. ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनादनवरोध्योऽनिबद्धश्चेत् । गौ. XIII. 4.

351. श्रोत्रियास्तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रव्रजिता नराः । असाक्षिणस्ते वचनात्र हेतुरुदाहृतः ॥ नारद (ऋणादान 158).

(13) Only certain brāhmaṇas were to be invited for dinner in śrāddhas and in rites for gods. Vide Gaut. 15. 5 and 9, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Manu III. 124 and 128, Yāj. I. 217, 219, 221.

(14) Certain sacrifices could be performed only by brāhmaṇas. For example, the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and the sacrifices called sattras could be performed only by brāhmaṇas.[352] But it has to be noted that the Rājasūya sacrifice could performed only by kṣatriyas and that according to Jaimini VI. 6. 24-26 even brāhmaṇas of Bhṛgu, Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras could not perform a sattra.

(15) The periods of mourning were less in the case of brāhmaṇas. Gaut. 14. 1-4 prescribes ten days of mourning for brāhmaṇas, eleven for kṣatriyas, twelve for vaiśyas and a month for śūdras. Vas. Dh. S. IV. 27-30, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 1-4, Manu V. 83, Yāj. III. 22 contain similar provisions. Later on ten days' mourning came to be prescribed for all castes.[353]

Several other lesser privileges are enumerated by Nārada (prakīrṇaka, verses 35-39) 'The king shall show his face in the morning before brāhmaṇas first of all and shall salute them all. When nine or seven persons (of different rank) meet, they shall first make room for the brāhmaṇa to pass[354] by. Further privileges assigned to brāhmaṇas are: free access to the houses of other people for the purpose of begging alms; the right to collect fuel, flowers, water and the like without its being regarded as a theft[355] and to converse with other men's wives without being restrained (in such conversation) by others; and the right to cross rivers without paying any fare for the ferry-boat and to be conveyed (to the other bank) before other people. When engaged in trading and using a ferry boat, they shall have to pay no toll. A brāhmaṇa who is engaged in travelling, who is tired and has

352. सत्राणि ब्राह्मणानामृत्विक्श्रुतेः। कात्या. श्रौ. I. 6. 13; so also Jaimini VI. 6. 16-23 for सत्र and VI. 6. 24-26 for the proposition that ब्राह्मण of भृगु, शुनक and वसिष्ठ gotras were not entitled to perform सत्र.

353. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके सूतके तथा। दशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत्॥ अङ्गिरस् in मिता॰ on या. III. 22.

354. Vide privilege No. 8 (rule about making way) above. Gautama (VI. 21-22 quoted above p. 146) names seven persons, while Vasiṣṭha (13. 58-60) mentions nine persons about this rule. Nārada has probably these two sūtra works in view here.

355. Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 3, मनु VIII. 339, या. II. 166.

nothing to eat, commits no wrong by taking two canes of sugar or two esculent roots.

There were some disabilities also in the case of brāhmaṇas which have been indicated in the above discussion (viz. as to avocations, selling articles &c.).

It may be convenient to bring together the disabilities of the śūdra :

(1) He was not allowed to study the Veda. Many of the smṛtikāras and writers of digests[356] quote several Vedic passages on this point. A śruti text reads '(The Creator) created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī (metre), the rājanya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī, but he did not create the śūdra with any metre; therefore the śūdra is known to be unfit for the saṁskāra (of upanayana)'. The study of the Veda follows after Upanayana and the Veda speaks of the Upanayana of only three classes[357] 'one should perform upanayana for a brāhmaṇa in spring, for a rājanya in summer and in śarad (autumn) for a vaiśya.' Not only was the śūdra not to study the Veda, but Veda study was not to be carried on in his presence (vide note 75 above).[358] This attitude need not cause wonder. The sacred Vedic literature was largely created and preserved entirely by the brāhmaṇas (the kṣatriyas contributing if at all a very small share in that task). If the brāhmaṇas desired to keep their sacred treasure for the twice-born classes in these circumstances, it is understandable and for those ages even excusable. In the 20th century there are vast majorities who are not allowed by small minorities of imperialistic and capitalistic tendencies to control the just and equitable distribution of the material goods produced mostly by the labour and co-operation of those majorities and doctrines are being openly professed that certain races alone should be imparted higher and scientific knowledge while other so-called inferior races should be only hewers of wood and drawers of water.

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356. गायत्र्या ब्राह्मणमसृजत त्रिष्टुभा राजन्यं जगत्या वैश्यं न केनचिच्छन्दसा शूद्रमित्यसंस्कार्यो विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ IV. 3, quoted by अपरार्क p. 23 who quotes यम 'न केनचित्समसृजच्छन्दसा तं प्रजापतिः ।'

357. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यमिति । This is the basis of Jaimini VI. 1. 33 and is relied on by Śabara. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1.1.6.

358. अथापि यमगीताभ्यश्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । इमशानमेतत्प्रत्यक्षं ये शूद्राः पादचारिणः । तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे तु नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन ॥ वसिष्ठ 18. 13. Vide गौ. 16. 18-19, आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 9. 9 (इमशानवच्छूद्रपतितौ), या. I. 148, आदिपर्व 64. 20.

There are however faint traces that in ancient times this prohibition of Veda study was not so absolute and universal as the smṛtis make it. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad IV. 1-2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa and Raikva where the latter addresses Jānaśruti as śūdra and imparts to him the Saṁvarga (absorption) *vidyā*.[359] It appears that Jānaśruti was a śūdra to whom the vidyā embodied in the Chāndogya (which is also Veda) was imparted. It is no doubt true that in the Vedāntasūtra[360] (I. 3. 34) the word śūdra is explained not as referring to the class, but as meaning that sorrow (*śuc*) arose in Jānaśruti on hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself and he was overcome (from *dru*) by that (i. e. śūdra is derived from *śuc* and *dru*). But this far-fetched explanation had to be given because of the practice current in the times of the Vedāntasūtras that the śūdra is not entitled to study the Veda. Gaut. XII. 4 went so far as to prescribe ' if the śūdra intentionally listens for committing to memory the Veda, then his ears should be filled with (molten) lead and lac ; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off ; if he has mastered the Veda his body should be hacked '[361].

Though the śūdra could not study the Veda, he was not debarred from hearing the itihāsas (like the Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas. The[362] Mahābhārata (Śānti 328. 49) expressly says that the four varṇas should hear the Mahābhārata through a brāhmaṇa as reader. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[363] says that as the three Vedas cannot be learnt by women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas (who are so only by birth), the sage (Vyāsa) composed the story of the Bhārata out of compassion for them. The Śūdrakamalākara[364] (pp. 13-14) cites several passages from the purāṇas

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359. तमु ह परः प्रत्युवाचाह हारेत्वा शूद्र तवैव सह गोभिरस्त्विति। छान्दोग्य IV.2.3.

360. शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात्तदाद्रवणात्सूच्यते हि। वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 34; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 8. 158 where this derivation is followed.

361. अथ हास्य वेदमुपशृण्वतस्त्रपुजतुभ्यां श्रोत्रपूरणमुदाहरणे जिह्वाच्छेदो धारणे शरीरभेदः। गौतम 12. 4 ; vide सूच्छकटिक IX. 21 'वेदार्थान् प्राकृतस्त्वं वदसि न च ते जिह्वा निपतिता'

362. श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्कृत्वा ब्राह्मणमग्रतः। शान्तिपर्व 328. 49 ; vide also आदिपर्व 62. 22, and 95. 87.

363. स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा। इति भारतमाख्यानं मुनिना कृपया कृतम्॥ भागवत 1. 4. 25 ; vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन IV. 28 ब्रह्मव्याकरणं कृत्वा हुत्वा वै पावके हविः। शालग्रामशिलां स्पृष्ट्वा शूद्रो गच्छत्यधोगतिम्॥

364. तस्मिन्द्वं शूद्रस्य विप्रद्वारा पुराणश्रवणेन ज्ञानमिति। शूद्रकम. p. 17 ; पुराणश्रवणं विप्राक्षरसिंहस्य पूजनम्। नृसिंहपुराण। 58. 13.

to the effect that the śūdra could not study the smṛtis and purāṇas by himself. Even Manu II. 16 seems to suggest that only the dvijātis had the privilege to listen to the Manusmṛti (and not śūdras). The only privilege conceded by the Śūdrakamalākara to the śūdra is that he can acquire knowledge by listening to the purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa (p. 17) ; the Kalpataru and other works allowed the śūdra to read and repeat Purāṇa mantras. Śaṁkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 38) quotes Śānti 328. 49 and says that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* (eligibility) for brāhmavidyā based upon a study of the Veda, but that a śūdra can attain spiritual development (just as Vidura and Dharmavyādha mentioned in the Mahābhārata did) and that he may attain to *mokṣa*, the fruit of correct knowledge. In certain digests we find a smṛti quotation to the effect that śūdras are Vājasaneyins. This is[365] explained as meaning that the śūdra should follow the procedure prescribed in the gṛhyasūtra of the Vājasaneya Śākhā and a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. This is probably based on the Harivaṁśa (Bhavisyat-parva, chap. III. 13) "all will expound brahma ; all will be Vājasaneyins ; when the *yuga* comes to a close śūdras will make use of the word 'bhoḥ' in address" (sarve brahma vadiṣyanti sarve Vājasaneyinaḥ).

(2) The śūdras were not to consecrate sacred fires and to perform the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Vide note 73 above. Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) elaborately discusses this question and arrives at the conclusion that the śūdra cannot consecrate the three sacred fires and so cannot perform Vedic rites. Among the reasons given are that in several Vedic passages only the three higher classes are referred to in the case of the consecration of fires, about the *sāmans* to be sung, about the food to be taken when observing vrata.[366] It is however interesting to note that at least one ancient teacher (Bādari)[367] was found who advocated that

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365. तेन ब्राह्मणेन तत्र मन्त्रः पठनीय इति तात्पर्यम् । तत्र यजुर्वेदिको मन्त्रः । तथा स्मृतिः । आर्षक्रमेण सर्वत्र शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः । अस्माच्छूद्रः स्वयं कर्म यजुर्वेदीव कारयेत् ॥ आर्षक्रमेण सुन्युक्तक्रमेण यजुर्वेदिसंबन्धिगृह्यादिना । शूद्रकृत्यतत्त्व (p. 634). The वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी (p. 575) quotes the words शूद्रा वाजसनेयिनः as from कूर्मपुराण; while शूद्रकम. p. 51 says शूद्रा वाजसनेयिन इति गौडनिबन्धे दक्षोक्तेः ।

366. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यः शरदि वैश्यः । ..... पयो व्रतं ब्राह्मणस्य यवागू राजन्यस्य आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य । These are the vedic texts relied upon by Jaimini (I. 3. 25–38) and Śabara.

367. निमित्तार्थेन बादरिस्तस्मात्सर्वाधिकारं स्यात् । जै I. 3. 27.

even śūdras could perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bhāradvāja Śrauta sūtra[368] (V. 2. 8) states the opinion of some that the śūdra can consecrate the three sacred Vedic fires. The Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra (I. 4. 5) prescribes that all can perform Vedic rites except those who are deficient in a limb, who are not learned in the[369] Veda, who are impotent and śūdras; but the commentary thereon states by way of pūrvapaksa that there are certain Vedic texts which lead to the inference that the Sūdra had the adhikāra for Vedic rites e. g. in Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 12 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 28) it is said with reference to the Haviṣkṛt call "Now there are four different forms of this call, viz. 'Come hither' (ehi) in the case of a brāhmaṇa; 'approach' (āgahi) and 'hasten hither' (ādrava) in the case of a vaiśya and a member of the military caste and 'run hither' (ādhāva) in that of a śūdra." Similarly in the Somayāga in place of the payovrata (vow to drink milk only) *mastu* (whey) is prescribed for śūdra (indicating thereby that the śūdra could perform Somayāga) and in Śat. Br. (XIII 8. 3. 11, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 435) with reference to sepulchral mounds it is said 'for the kṣatriya he may make as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee'. The commentary on the Kātyāyana Śrauta I. 1. 6 says that the word śūdra here stands for rathakāra because (acc. to Yāj, I. 91) his mother's mother is a śūdra woman.

Though the śūdra was not authorized to perform Vedic rites, he was entitled to perform what is called *pūrta-dharma*[370] i. e. the building of wells, tanks, temples, parks and distribution of food as works of charity and gifts on such occasions as eclipses and the Sun's passage from one zodiacal sign into another and on the 12th and other *tithis*. He was allowed to perform the five daily sacrifices called Mahāyajñas

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368. विद्यते चतुर्थस्य वर्णस्याग्न्याधेयमित्येके न विद्यत इत्यपरम् । भारद्वाजश्रौतसूत्र V. 2. 8. (Journal of Vedic studies, Lahore, vol I for Sep. 1934).

369. अङ्गहीनाश्रोत्रियषण्ढशूद्रवर्जम् । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. I. 4. 5; com. आधावेति शूद्रस्य मन्तु शूद्रस्येति सोमे पयोव्रतस्थाने । अष्ठीवद्वृद्नं शूद्रस्येति पितृमेधे । . The first is शतपथ I. 1. 4. 12 and the last is शतपथ XIII. 8. 3. 11.

370. इष्टापूर्तौ द्विजातीनां सामान्यौ धर्मसाधनौ । अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्तधर्मे न वैदिके ॥ अत्रि verse 46; लघुशङ्ख verse 6; अपरार्क p. 24 'वापीकूपतडागादि देवसायतनानि च । अन्नप्रदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥ ग्रहोपरागे यद्दानं सूर्यसंक्रमणेषु च । द्वादश्यादौ च यद्दानं पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥. The first verse is quoted from the महाभारत and the second from जातूकर्ण्य.

in the ordinary fire, he could perform śrāddha, he was to think of the devatās and utter loudly the word 'namaḥ' which was to be the only *mantra* in his case (i. e. he was not to say 'Agnaye svāhā' but to think of Agni and say[371] 'namaḥ'). Manu X. 127 prescribes that all religious rites for the śūdra are without (Vedic) *mantras*. According to some the śūdra could also have what is called Vaivāhika fire (i. e. fire kindled at the time of marriage) in Manu III 67 and Yāj. I. 97, but Medhātithi (on the same verse), the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 121), the Madanapārijāta (p. 231) and other works say that he should offer oblations in the ordinary fire and that there is no Vaivāhika fire for the śūdra. All persons including the śūdras and even cāṇḍālas were authorized to repeat the Rāmamantra of 13 letters (Śrī Rāma jaya Rāma jaya jaya Rāma) and the Śiva mantra of five letters (namaḥ Śivāya), while dvijātis could repeat the Śiva mantra of six letters (Om namaḥ Śivāya). Vide Śūdra-kamalākara pp. 30–31, where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Viṣṇu from the Pāñcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Vināyaka. The Varāhapurāṇa (128. 22–31) describes the initiation (dīkṣā) of a śūdra as a devotee of Viṣṇu (as a bhāgavata).

(3) As to Saṁskāras, there is some apparent conflict among the authorities. Manu X. 126 says 'The śūdra incurs no sin (by eating forbidden articles like onions and garlic), he is not fit for saṁskāras, he has no *adhikāra* for (authority to perform) *dharma* nor is he forbidden from performing dharma' and in IV. 80 (which is the same as Vas. Dh. S. 18. 14 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 48–52) we see 'one should not give advice to a śūdra, nor give him leavings of food nor of sacrificial oblations, one

371. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः। पाकयज्ञैः स्वयं यजेतेत्येके । गौ. 10. 66–67; पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु शूद्रस्यापि विधीयते। तस्य प्रोक्तो नमस्कारः कुर्वन्नित्यं न हीयते ॥ लघुविष्णु V. 9; दानं च दद्याच्छूद्रोपि पाकयज्ञैर्यजेत च। पित्र्यादिकं च वै सर्वं शूद्रः कुर्वीत तेन वै ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 8. 33.; स्वाहाकारवषट्कारौ मन्त्रः शूद्रे न विद्यते । तस्माच्छूद्रः पाकयज्ञैर्यजेताव्रतवान् स्वयम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 60. 37–38; या. I. 121 'भार्यारतिः शुचिर्भृत्यभर्ता श्राद्धक्रियारतः। नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्च यज्ञान् न हापयेत्' ॥' on which the मिता० gives the view of some that the namaskāra mantra is 'देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च। नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव नमो नमः ॥.' मेधा. (on मनु III. 121 सायं त्वञ्जस्य सिद्धस्य पत्न्यमन्त्रं बलिं हरेत्।) remarks यथा शूद्रो नमस्कारमुच्चारयति अनुज्ञातो ..... मन्त्र इति (गौ. X. 66) इति नमस्कारेण प्रत्याम्नातः शूद्रस्य मन्त्र इति नमस्कारोऽनुज्ञातोस्य न देवतापदम्।'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21. 20 says about sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddha that it may be performed for śūdras on the 12th day (from death) without mantras 'मन्त्रवर्जं हि शूद्राणां द्वादशेऽह्नि'।

should not impart religious instruction to him nor ask him to perform vratas'. Laghuviṣṇu[372] (I. 15) contains the dictum that the śūdra is devoid of any saṁskāra. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 explains the words of Manu IV. 80 about vratas in the case of śūdras as applicable only to those śūdras who are not in attendance upon members of the three higher castes and establishes that śūdras can perform vratas (but without homa and muttering of *mantras*). Aparārka on the same verse (Manu IV. 80) explains that the śūdra cannot perform vratas in person, but only through the medium of a brāhmaṇa. The Śūdrakamalākara (p. 38) holds that śūdras are entitled to perform vratas, fasts, mahādānas and prāyaścittas, but without *homa* and *japa*. Manu X. 127 allows religious śūdras to perform all religious acts which dvijātis perform, provided they do not use Vedic mantras. On the other hand Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 13) opines that saṁskāras may be performed for śūdras but without Vedic mantras. Yama quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 14) says the same. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 17) prescribes that ten saṁskāras (viz. garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, caula, karṇavedha and vivāha) can be performed in the case of śūdras, but without Vedic mantras. Haradatta (on Gautama X. 51) quotes a gṛhyakāra to the effect that even in the case of the śūdra the rites of niṣeka, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana and caula are allowed but without Vedic mantras. When Manu prescribes (II. 32) that the śūdra should be given a name connected with service, he indicates that the śūdra could perform the ceremony of nāmakaraṇa. So when Manu (IV. 80) states that he deserves no-saṁskāra, what he means is that no saṁskāra with Vedic mantras was to be performed in his case. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 80 says that the prohibition to give advice and impart instruction in dharma applies only when these are done for making one's livelihood, but if a śūdra is a friend of the family of a brāhmaṇa friendly advice or instruction can be given. Vide Śūdrakamalākara p. 47 for several views about the saṁskāras allowed to śūdras.

(4) **Liability to higher punishment for certain offences.** If a śūdra committed adultery with a woman of the three

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372. शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्णस्तु सर्वसंस्कारवर्जितः । उक्तस्तस्य तु संस्कारो द्विजेष्वात्मनिवेदनम् ॥ लघुविष्णु I. 15.

higher castes, Gaut.[373] (XII. 1-2) prescribed the cutting off of his penis and forefeiture of all his property and if he was guilty of this offence when entrusted with the duty of protecting her, he was to suffer death in addition. Vas. Dh. S. 21. 1, Manu VIII. 366 prescribe death in the case of a śūdra having intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman whether she was willing or unwilling. On the other hand, if a brāhmaṇa committed rape on a brāhmaṇa woman he was fined a thousand and five hundred if he was guilty of adultery with her (Manu VIII. 378) and if a brāhmaṇa had intercourse with a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra woman, who was not guarded, he was fined five hundred (Manu VIII. 385). Similarly in the case of *Vākpāruṣya* (slander and libel) if a śūdra reviled a brāhmaṇa he received corporal punishment or his tongue was cut off (Manu VIII. 270), but if a kṣatriya or vaiśya did so they were respectively fined 100 or 150 (Manu VIII. 267) and if a brāhmaṇa reviled a śūdra, the brāhmaṇa was fined only 12 (Manu VIII. 268) or nothing (acc. to Gaut. XII. 10). In the case of theft, however, the śūdra was fined much less. Vide above p. 152 (No. 11 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(5) In the matter of the period for impurity on death or birth the śūdra was held to be impure for a month, while a brāhmaṇa had to observe ten days' period only. Vide above p. 153 (No. 15 among the privileges of brāhmaṇas).

(6) A śūdra could not be a judge or propound what dharma was. Manu (VIII. 9) and Yāj. I. 3 lay down that when the king does not himself look into the litigation of people owing to pressure of other business, he should appoint a learned brāhmaṇa as a judge. Manu (VIII. 20) further says that a king may appoint as his judge even a brāhmaṇa who is so by birth only (i. e. who does not perform the peculiar duties of brāhmaṇas), but never a śūdra. Kātyāyana (as quoted

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373. आर्यस्त्र्यभिगमने लिङ्गोद्धारः स्वहरणं च । गोप्ता चेद्वधोधिकः । गौतम 12. 1-2. In parts of America the penalty for an attempt to commit a rape on a white woman is burning alive, but only if the offender has a black skin. As to Rome vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of moral Ideas' (1912) vol. I. p. 433 "from the beginning of Empire the citizens were divided into privileged classes and commonalty-*uterque ordo* and *plebs*—and whilst a commoner who was guilty of murder was punished with death, a murderer belonging to the privileged classes was generally punished with deportation only."

in[374] the Mit. on Yāj. I. 3) says that when a brāhmaṇa is not available (as a judge) the king may appoint as judge a kṣatriya or a vaiśya who is proficient in dharmaśāstra, but he should carefully avoid appointing a śūdra as judge.

(7) A brāhmaṇa was not allowed to receive gifts from a śūdra except under great restrictions. Vide above note 239.

(8) A brāhmaṇa could take[375] food at the houses of members of the three classes who performed the duties prescribed for them by the śāstras (according to Gaut.), but he could not take food from a śūdra except when the śūdra was his own cowherd, or tilled his field or was a hereditary friend of the family, or his own barber or his dāsa. Vide Gaut. XVII. 6 and Manu IV. 253 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 16), Yāj. I. 166, Parāśara IX. 19. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 22 says[376] 'that food which is brought by an impure śūdra should not be eaten by a brāhmaṇa;' but Āpastamba allows śūdras to be cooks in brāhmaṇa households provided they were supervised by a member of the three higher classes and observed certain hygienic rules about paring nails, the cutting of hair. Manu IV. 211 forbade in general the food of a śūdra to a brāhmaṇa and by IV. 223 he laid down that a learned brāhmaṇa should not take cooked food from a śūdra who did not perform śrāddha and other daily rites (mahāyajñas) but that he may take from such a śūdra uncooked grain for one night, if he cannot get food from anywhere else. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) requires a brāhmaṇa to avoid the food of vṛṣalas (śūdras). Gradually rules about taking food from śūdras became stricter. The Śaṅkhasmṛti (13. 4) remarks that brāhmaṇas fattened on the food given by śūdras are *Paṅktidūṣaka*. Parāśara[377] XI. 13 ordains that a brāhmaṇa may take from a śūdra ghee, oil, milk, molasses and food fried in oil or ghee, but should eat it on a river bank and not in the śūdra's house and the Par. M. adds

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374. ब्राह्मणो यत्र न स्यात्तु क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥ कात्यायन (quoted by मिता० on या. I. 3)

375. प्रशस्तानां स्वकर्मसु द्विजातीनां ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत । ...पशुपालक्षेत्रकर्षककुलसंगतकारयितृपरिचारका भोज्यान्नाः । गौतम 17. 1 and 6.

376. अप्रयतेन तु शूद्रेणोपहृतमभोज्यम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 16. 23; आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः । आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 4.

377. घृतं तैलं तथा क्षीरं गुडं तैलेन पाचितम् । गत्वा नदीं तटे विप्रो भुञ्जीयाच्छूद्रभोजनम् ॥ पराशर XI. 13 and 'एतच्च क्षत्रियादिवर्णत्रयभोजनस्याग्यज्ञज्ञानं मार्गआस्यादौ पूर्ववर्णासंभवे वेदितव्यम् । आपदि यावता विना प्राणरक्षणं न भवति तावदन्नमग्यज्ञज्ञायते न तु ततोऽधिकम् ।' परा. मा. II. part 1 pp. 411–12.

(II. 1. pp. 411–12) that this permission is meant to apply only when the brāhmaṇa is tired by travelling and no food from a member of another class is available. Haradatta on Gaut. XVII. 6 remarks that a brāhmaṇa could take food from a śūdra who was a cowherd &c. only in the case of very extreme calamities. Aparārka also (p. 244 on Yāj. I. 168) says the same. In the kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the kali age) the old practice of eating the food of cowherds, barber &c. was forbidden.[378]

(9) The śūdra gradually came to be so much looked down upon that he could not touch a brāhmaṇa, though at one time he could be a cook in a brāhmaṇa household and a brāhmaṇa could eat food from his house. In the Anuśāsanaparva (59.33) it is said[379] 'a brāhmaṇa should be served by a śūdra from a distance like blazing fire; while he may be waited upon by a kṣatriya or vaiśya after touching him.' Aparārka (p. 1196) quotes two smṛti texts 'a brāhmaṇa on touching a śūdra or niṣāda becomes pure by ācamana (ceremonial sipping of water); on touching persons lower than these, he becomes pure by bathing, prāṇāyāma and the strength of *tapas*; on seeing a ram, a cock, a crow, a dog, a śūdra and an antyāvasāyin (an antyaja), one should stop the rite that is being performed and on touching them one should take a bath'. On this Aparārka explains that if a man who touched a śūdra cannot bathe then he may resort to sipping water, but if able he must take a bath or that on touching a sat-śūdra one may have recourse to ācamana and on touching an asat-śūdra one must take a bath. We find from the Gṛhyasūtras[380] that in Madhuparka offered to a snātaka the feet of the guest (even if he was a brāhmaṇa) were washed by a śūdra male or female. So there could have been no ban against a śūdra touching a brāhmaṇa then. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 3. 6. 9–10) says that two śūdras should wash the feet of a guest, according to some teachers (in the case of a householder who has several dāsas), while Āpastamba

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378. 'शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसीरिणाम्। भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य' quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 12), परा. मा. I. part 1 pp. 134–137 and the उद्वाहतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन.

379. दूराच्छूद्रेणोपचर्यो ब्राह्मणोऽग्निरिव ज्वलन्। संस्पृश्य परिचर्यस्तु वैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च॥ अनुशासन 59. 33.

380. e. g. हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 12. 18–20 'अथास्मै पाद्यमिति प्राह। तेनास्य शूद्रः शूद्रा वा पादौ प्रक्षालयति सव्यमग्रे ब्राह्मणस्य दक्षिणमितरयोः'.

himself says that one śūdra should wash the guest's feet and another should sprinkle him with water.[381]

(10) As the śūdra could not be initiated into Vedic study, the only āśrama out of the four that he was entitled to was that of the householder. In the Anuśāsanaparva (165. 10) we read[382] 'I am a śūdra and so I have no right to resort to the four āśramas'. In the Śāntiparva[383] (63. 12–14) it is said, 'in the case of a śūdra who performs service (of the higher classes), who has done his duty, who has raised offspring, who has only a short span of life left or is reduced to the 10th stage (i. e. is above 90 years of age), the fruits of all āśramas are laid down (as obtained by him) except of the fourth.' Medhātithi on Manu VI. 97 explains these words as meaning that the śūdra by serving brāhmaṇas and procreating offspring as a house-holder acquires the merit of all āśramas except *mokṣa* which is the reward of the proper observance of the duties of the fourth āśrama.

(11) The life of a śūdra was esteemed rather low. Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66 include the killing of a woman, a śūdra, a vaiśya and a kṣatriya among upapātakas; but the prāyaścittas and gifts prescribed for killing these show that the life of the śūdra was not worth much. On killing a kṣatriya, the prāyaścitta prescribed was brahmacarya for six years, gift of 1000 cows and a bull; for killing a vaiśya, brahmacarya for three years and gift of 100 cows and a bull; for killing a śūdra brahmacarya for one year, gift of 10 cows and a bull. Gaut. XXII. 14–16, Manu XI, 126–130, Yāj III. 266–267 say practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 25. 14–I. 9. 26. 1) says that on killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a cakravāka, flamingo, bhāsa, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog, a cow and draught ox the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra. Manu (XI. 131) says 'on killing a cat, an ichneumon,

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381. तस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयेच्छूद्रमिथुनावित्येके। अन्यतरोऽभिषेचने स्यात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 9–10.

382. शूद्रोहं नाधिकारो मे चातुराश्रम्यसेवने। अनुशासनपर्व 165. 10.

383. शुश्रूषोः कृतकार्यस्य कृतसंतानकर्मणः। अभ्यनुज्ञातराजस्य शूद्रस्य जगतीपते। अल्पान्तरगतस्यापि दृशधर्मगतस्य वा। आश्रमा विहिताः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा निरामिषम्। शान्ति० 63. 12–14; सर्वे आश्रमास्तु न कर्तव्याः किं तर्हि शुश्रूषयापत्योत्पादनेन च सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते द्विजातीन् शुश्रूषमाणो गार्हस्थ्येन सर्वाश्रमफलं लभते परिव्राजकफलं मोक्षं वर्जयित्वा। मेधातिथि on मनु. VI. 97.

cāṣa, a frog, a dog, iguana, owl and crow, the prāyaścitta is the same as that for killing a śūdra.[384]

If the śūdra laboured under certain grave disabilities, he had certain compensating advantages. He could follow almost any profession except the few specially reserved for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas. Even as to the latter many śūdras became kings and Kauṭ. in his Arthaśāstra (IX. 2) speaks of armies of śūdras (vide note 266 above). The śūdra was free from the round of countless daily rites. He was compelled to undergo no *saṁskāra* (except marriage), he could indulge in any kind of food and drink wine, he had to undergo no penances for lapses from the rules of the śāstras, he had to observe no restrictions of gotra and pravara in marriage. Those western writers who turn up their nose at the position of the śūdras in ancient and medieval India conveniently forget what atrocious crimes were perpetrated by their people in the institution of slavery and in their dealings with the Red Indians and other backward coloured races; how nations of Europe out of false pride of race have passed in the 20th century laws prohibiting marriages between the so-called Aryans and non-Aryans and preventing the latter from holding state offices and carrying on several occupations and how discrimination is made against coloured men on railways, in hotels and other places of public resort and how even in India separate third class compartments were reserved on railways for Europeans, for entering which Indians were prosecuted and sentenced in their own country. Vide *Emperor* vs *Narayan* 25 Bom. L. R. 26 for such a case.

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384. Those who are familiar with the cases decided in India in which Indian servants or coolies were kicked by European employers and died as a result and in which the offenders were either acquitted or let off on a small fine (on the ground that the deceased had an enlarged spleen) need not feel surprised at the above statement of affairs in India over two thousand years ago.

CHAPTER IV

UNTOUCHABILITY

Those who have written on the Indian caste system have always been struck by the fact of the existence of certain castes that are treated as untouchables. But it should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. Even nations that have no caste system at all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst, which in essentials is the same as the system of untouchability in India. The Encyclopaedia of social sciences vol. XI. p. 339 says that in the southern States of U. S. A. discrimination against Negroes took the form of 'residential segregation, separation of the races in public conveyances and places of amusement, exclusion of Negroes from public institutions and educational discrimination. Disenfranchisement and social discrimination had their economic counterpart in all branches of industry except agriculture and domestic and personal service,[385] occupations to which Negroes had been habituated under the slave regime.' It is also within living memory that Mahatma Gandhi had to lead a movement of *satyāgraha* in South Africa against the discriminating treatment of Indians and even now in Natal and other parts of British Africa there is legislation restricting Indians in the matter of residence and purchases of land.

In the early Vedic literature several of the names of castes that are spoken of in the smṛtis as antyajas occur. We have carmamna (a tanner of hides?) in the Ṛgveda (VIII. 5. 38), the Cāṇḍāla and Paulkasa occur in the Vāj. S., the Vapa or Vaptā (barber) even in the Ṛg., the Vidalakāra or Bidalakāra (corresponding to the buruḍa of the smṛtis) occurs in the Vāj. S. and the Tai. Br., Vāsaḥpalpūlī (washerwoman) corresponding to the Rajaka of the smṛtis in the Vāj. S. But there is nc

385. Vide Westermarck's 'The Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I. pp. 370-371 for the treatment of Bushmen in Africa and Australia and of Negroes in America. Vide 'Satyagraha in South Africa' by Mahatma Gandhi translated by Mr. Valji Govindji Desai (published by S. Ganesan, 1928).

indication in these passages whether these, even if they formed castes, were at all untouchables. The utmost that can be said is that as the Paulkasa is assigned to *bībhatsā* (in Vaj. S. 30. 17) and Cāṇḍāla to Vāyu (in the Puruṣamedha), the Paulkasa lived in such a way as to cause disgust and the Cāṇḍāla lived in the wind (i. e. probably in the open or in a cemetery). The only passage of Vedic literature on which reliance can be placed for some definite statement about cāṇḍālas is in the Chāndogya Up.[386] V. 10. 7. where while describing the fate of those souls that went to the world of the moon for enjoying the rewards of some of their actions it is stated ' those who did praiseworthy actions here, quickly acquire birth in a good condition, viz. in the condition of a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya or vaiśya, while those whose actions were low (reprehensible) quickly acquire birth in a low condition i. e. as a dog, or a boar or a caṇḍāla. ' This occurs in Pañcāgnividyā, the purpose of which is to teach *vairāgya* and disgust with the transmigratory world. This passage does not enjoin anything, it is a bare statement by way of explanation or elucidation. All that can be legitimately inferred from this is that the first three varṇas were commended and that caṇḍālas were looked upon as the lowest in the social scale. It is to be noticed that the śūdra varṇa does not occur in this passage at all. So probably even in the times of the Chāndogya the caṇḍāla was looked upon as a śūdra, though lowest among the several śūdra subcastes. The caṇḍāla is equated with the dog and the boar in this passage, but this leads hardly anywhere. It is no doubt stated in the Śat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 4[387] that ' three beasts are unclean in relation to a sacrifice viz. the vicious (filthy) boar, the ram and the dog. ' Here it is clear that every boar is not unclean, but probably only that variety that subsists on the village offal. On the other hand the flesh of boars was said to cause great delight to the Pitṛs when offered in śrāddha (vide Manu III. 270 and Yāj. I. 259). Therefore this Upaniṣad passage does not say anything on the point whether the Caṇḍāla was in its day untouchable. This passage may be compared with another in which the śūdra is said to be a walking

386. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रिययोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा । छान्दोग्य V. 10. 7. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1. 8–11 deals with this passage.

387. त्रयो ह त्वाव पशवोऽमेध्याः । दुर्वराह एडकः श्वा । तेषां यद्यधिश्रितेऽग्निहोत्रेऽन्तरेण काश्चित्सञ्जरेत्किं तत्र कर्म का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 4.

cemetery. If the śūdra was not untouchable in the Vedic literature, and if he was allowed to be a cook for brāhmaṇas and to wash the feet of brāhmaṇa guests in spite of that passage (as stated in the Dharmasūtras quoted above pp. 161–162), there is no reason to suppose that the Chāndogya passage indicates that the caṇḍāla was untouchable in the remote ages. Another passage is relied upon by orthodox writers to support the theory that untouchability of caṇḍālas is declared in Vedic writings. In the Bṛ. Up. I. 3 the story is narrated that gods and *asuras* had a strife and the gods thought that they might rise superior to the asuras by the Udgītha. In this vidyā occurs the passage[388] 'this devatā (Prāṇa) throwing aside the sin that was death to these devatās (vāk etc.) sent it to the ends of these quarters and he put down the sin of these devatās there; therefore one should not go to people (outside the Āryan pale) nor to the ends (of the quarters) thinking 'otherwise I may fall in with *pāpman* i. e. death'. In the first place there are no peoples expressly named here. Śaṁkara explains that by 'end of the quarters' are meant regions where people opposed to Vedic culture dwell. This description can only apply to people like the mlecchas and not to cāṇḍālas who are not opposed to Vedic knowledge (but who have no adhikāra to learn it). Besides cāṇḍālas might stay outside the village, but they do not stay at the end of the quarters[389] (or at the end of the ārya territory). Hence this passage does not help in establishing the theory of untouchability for Vedic times.

Next comes the consideration of the evidence derived from the sūtras and smṛtis. But certain preliminary observations must be made to clarify the position. The theory of the early smṛtis was that there were only four varṇas and there was no fifth varṇa. Vide Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva 47.18.[390] When in modern times the so-called untouchables are referred

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388. सा वा एषा देवतैतासां देवतानां पाप्मानं मृत्युमपहत्य यत्रासां दिशामन्तस्तद्गमयांचकार। तदासां पाप्मनो विन्यदधात्तस्माद्न जनमियाद्नान्तमियाद्येत् पाप्मानं मृत्युमन्ववायानीति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 10.

389. The Mlecchas were known to the Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 24 'tasmān na brāhmaṇo mlecchet). Vide Ait. Br. 33. 6 '*antān* vaḥ. prajābhakṣīṣṭa' quoted above in note 118 for the meaning of 'diśām antaḥ'.

390. चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः। मनु 10. 4; स्मृताश्च वर्णाश्चत्वारः पञ्चमो नाधिगम्यते। अनुशासन 47. 18.

to as the *pañcamas*,[391] that is something against the smṛti tradition. Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and Patañjali[392] say that a Samāhāradvandva compound can be formed from several subdivisions of śūdras that are not *niravasita* e. g. we can have the compound 'takṣāyaskāram' meaning carpenters and blacksmiths, but not '*caṇḍāla-mṛtapam*', because caṇḍālas and mṛtapas are niravasita śūdras (and so the compound will be 'caṇḍālamṛtapāḥ). Therefore it follows that Pāṇ. and Patañjali included caṇḍālas and mṛtapas among śūdras. When Aṅgiras (note 171 above) includes kṣatṛ, sūta, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava (that are pratiloma castes) among antyāvasāyins along with cāṇḍāla and śvapaca, he makes it clear that he regarded cāṇḍālas as included among śūdras, for Manu X. 41 declares that all pratiloma castes are similar to śūdras in their dharma and because the Śāntiparva 297.28[393] expressly says that the vaidehika is called śūdra by learned *dvijas*. Gradually however, a distinction was made between śūdras and castes like cāṇḍālas. Fresh castes were then added to the list of untouchables by custom and usage and the spirit of exclusiveness, though there is no warrant of the śāstras for such a procedure.

Untouchability did not and does not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. In the first place, persons become outcasted and untouchable by being guilty of certain acts that amount to grave sins. For example, Manu IX. 235–239 prescribes that those who are guilty of brāhmaṇa-murder, theft of brāhmaṇa's gold or drinkers of spirituous liquors should be excommunicated, no one should dine with them or teach them, or officiate as priests for them, nor should marriage relationship be entered into with them and they should wander over the world excluded from all Vedic dharmas. But if they perform the proper prāyaścitta they are restored to caste and become touchable. Secondly, persons were treated as untouchables simply through religious hatred and abhorrence because they belonged to a different sect or religion. For example, Aparārka

391. N. P. Dutt in 'Origin and growth of caste in India' vol. I. p. 105, (1931) speaks of 'Nishadas, chandalas and paulkasas as the fifth varṇa'.

392. Vide note 200 above for the quotation from the Mahābhāṣya.

393 शूद्राणां तु सधर्माणः सर्वेऽपध्वंसजाः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 41; वैदेहिकं शूद्रसुवाहरन्ति द्विजा महाराज श्रुतोपपन्नाः । शान्तिपर्व 297. 28.

(p. 923) and Sm. C.[394] (I. p. 118) quote verses from the Saṭtrimśan-mata and Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa that 'on touching Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, Kāpilas (Sāṁkhyas) and brāhmaṇas guilty of doing actions inconsistent with their caste one should enter water with the clothes on and also on touching Śaivas and atheists'. It is worthy of note that Aparārka[395] p. 923 quotes a verse of Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya that on touching cāṇḍālas, pukkasas, mlecchas, Bhillas and Pārasīkas and persons guilty of mahāpātakas one should bathe with the clothes on. Thirdly, certain persons, though not untouchable ordinarily, became so, if they followed certain occupations, e. g. if a person touches a brāhmaṇa who is *devalaka* (i. e. has been doing worship to an image for money for three years) or who is a priest for the whole village, or a person who sells a soma plant, then he has to bathe with his clothes on.[396] Fourthly, persons become untouchable when in certain conditions e. g. a person if he touches even his wife in her monthly period or during the first ten days after delivery or if he touches a person during the period of mourning on the death of some relative or a person who has carried a corpse to the cemetery and has not yet bathed, he then has to take a bath with his clothes on (vide Manu V. 85). Fifthly, certain races such as mlecchas and persons from certain countries and the countries themselves were regarded as impure (vide notes 40, 42, 49). Further the smṛtis say that persons following certain filthy, low and disapproved avocations were untouchable e. g. Saṁvarta[397] quoted

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394. षट्त्रिंशन्मतात्। बौद्धान् पाशुपतांश्चैव लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्। विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 923, स्मृतिच. I. p. 118; मिता० on या. III. 30 quotes it as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (reading शैवान् for बौद्धान् and शूद्रान् for स्पृष्ट्वा); vide वृद्धहारीत IX. 359, 363, 364 for bath on touching शैवs and entering Bauddha or Śaiva temples; स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत्। quoted by मिता० on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 923; शान्तिपर्व 76. 6 has 'आह्वायका देवलका नाक्षत्रा ग्रामयाजकाः। एते ब्राह्मणचाण्डाला महापथिकपञ्चमाः।'

395. चण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारसिकादिकम्। महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचैलकम्॥ वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 923.

396. च्यवनः। श्वानं श्वपाकं प्रेतधूमं देवद्रव्योपजीविनं ग्रामयाजकं सोमविक्रयिणं यूपं चितिं चितिकाष्ठं ..... शवस्पृशं रजस्वलां महापातकिनं शवं स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलमभोवगाह्योत्तीर्याग्निमुपस्पृश्य गायत्र्यष्टशतं जपेद् घृतं प्राश्य पुनः स्नात्वा त्रिराचमेत्। मिता० on या. III. 30 and अपरार्क p. 922.

397. कैवर्त-मृगयु-व्याध-सौनिशाकुनिकानपि। रजकं च तथा स्पृष्ट्वा स्नात्वैवाशनमाचरेत्॥ संवर्त quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

by Aparārka p. 1196 says 'on touching a fisherman, a deer-hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird-catcher, and a washerman one must first bathe and then take one's meal'. It is to be remarked that such texts do not expressly make a man of those castes untouchable even if he does not pursue the occupation stated, but they have rather the occupation in view. Such occupations were thought impure, as it was believed that if one was to secure the final goal of liberation, one must cultivate purity of mind as well as body, and as great importance came to be attached to cleanliness and the ceremonial purity of the body for spiritual purposes; and emphasis was laid upon not coming in contact with persons carrying on filthy or impure pursuits, but also with animals and even inanimate objects. These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 says 'a person touched by a dog should take a bath with his clothes on'. Vide also Vas. Dh. S. 23. 33, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 69. Vṛddha-Hārīta (chap. 11. 99–102) enumerates certain vegetables and herbs (such as leek) and other articles on touching which one was to bathe. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5) requires every house-holder to give food after Vaiśvadeva to all including cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows. And this practice is followed even now by those who perform Vaiśvadeva. The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanliness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemeteries &c. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable. Besides those who are not familiar with ancient or even modern Hindu notions must be warned against being carried away by the horror naturally felt at first sight when certain classes are treated as untouchable. The underlying notions of untouchability are religious and ceremonial purity and impurity. A man's nearest and dearest women relatives such as his own mother and wife or daughter are untouchable to him during their monthly periods. To him the most affectionate friend is untouchable for several days when the latter is in mourning due to death in the latter's family. A person cannot touch his own son (whose thread ceremony has been performed) at the time of taking meals. In this latter case there is no idea of impurity and in most of these cases there is no idea of superiority or inferiority. As many professions and crafts were in ancient times hereditary, gradually the idea arose

that a man who belonged to a caste pursuing certain filthy or abhorred avocations or crafts was by birth untouchable. Medieval and modern usage had no doubt reached the stage that if a man belonged by birth to a caste deemed by custom to be untouchable he remained an untouchable whatever profession or craft he may pursue or even if he pursued no profession. But ancient and medieval writers thought otherwise and there was also great divergence of view as to who were untouchables and to what extent. The only caste that is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of cāṇḍālas and the word cāṇḍāla has a technical meaning in these works as stated above (p. 81) under cāṇḍāla. Gaut. (IV. 15 and 23) says that the cāṇḍāla is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman and that he is the most reprehensible among the pratilomas. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 8–9[398] states that on touching a cāṇḍāla one should plunge into water, on talking to him one should converse with a brāhmaṇa (for purification), on seeing him one should look at the luminaries (either the Sun or moon or stars). We have seen above that there were three kinds of cāṇḍālas and they were all so by virtue of the circumstances of their birth. Manu (X. 36, 51) makes only the andhra, meda, cāṇḍāla and śvapaca stay outside the village and makes the antyāvasāyin (X. 39) stay in a cemetery. That leads to the inference that other men even of the lowest castes could stay in the village itself. Hārīta[399] quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) states 'if a dvijāti's limb other than the head is touched by a dyer, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a dancer (naṭa), a man of actor caste, oilman, vintner, hangman, village cock or dog, he becomes pure by washing that particular limb and by sipping water (i. e. he need not bathe)'. Here most of the seven antyajas are included and it is expressly said that their touch is not so impure as to require a bath. Aṅgiras (verse 17) states that a *dvija* when he comes in contact with a washerman, a shoemaker, a dancer (naṭa), a fisherman or a worker in bamboo becomes pure by merely *ācamana* (by

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398. यथा चाण्डालोपस्पर्शने संभाषायां दर्शने च दोषस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तम्। अवगाहनमप्सुपस्पर्शने संभाषायां ब्राह्मणसंभाषणं दर्शने ज्योतिषां दर्शनम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 2. 8–9.

399. हारीतः। ..... रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ। निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च नटः शैलूषकस्तथा॥ चक्री ध्वजी वध्यघाती ग्राम्यकुक्कुटसूकरौ। एभिर्यदङ्गं स्पृष्टं स्याच्छिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु। तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्ताः प्रयता मताः। अपरार्क p. 279; the same verses are quoted as ज्ञातातप's by स्मृतिच० I p. 119.

sipping water). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 130) quotes a verse[400] to the effect that even on coming in contact with cāṇḍālas and pukkasas one need not bathe, if the latter stand near a temple of Viṣṇu and have come for the worship of Viṣṇu. Alberuni in his work on India (tr. by Sachau vol. I. chap. IX) refers to two classes of *antyajas*, the first of which had eight guilds (seven of which were practically the same as the seven in note 170 above, the eighth being the weaver) and a second group of four viz. Hadi, Doma, Chandala and Bhadatau. As to the first group he says that they intermarried except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver. Alberuni seems to have been misinformed as to this and what caste he means by Bhadatau is not clear. Medhātithi[401] in his commentary on Manu X. 13 is positive that the only pratiloma who is untouchable is the cāṇḍāla and no bath is necessary on coming in contact with the other pratilomas (viz. sūta, māgadha, āyogava, vaidehika and kṣatṛ). Kullūka also says the same. Therefore it follows that in spite of the smṛti texts (notes 170, 171, 173) including the pratilomas among antyajas along with the cāṇḍālas, such authoritative and comparatively early commentators as Medhātithi (about 900 A. D.) were firmly of opinion that they were not untouchable. Manu[402] V. 85 and Aṅgiras 152 prescribe a bath for coming in bodily contact with a *divākīrti* (a cāṇḍāla), udakyā (a woman in her monthly period), patita (one outcasted for sin &c.), sūtikā (a woman after delivery), a corpse, one who has touched a corpse. It follows therefore that the only antyaja who was *aspṛśya* according to Manu was the cāṇḍāla. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and ideas of ritual purity were carried to extremes and more and more castes became untouchable. Some very orthodox writers of smṛtis went so far as to hold that on touching even a śūdra a *dvijāti* had to bathe.[403] Among the

400. विष्ण्वालयसमापस्थान् विष्णुसेवार्थमागतान्। चाण्डालपुक्कसान्वापि स्पृष्ट्वा न स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ quoted by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 130.

401. चण्डाल एकः प्रतिलोमोऽस्पृश्यः। मेधा० on मनु X. 13.; अतश्चाण्डाल एवैकः प्रतिलोमतः स्पर्शादौ निरस्यते। कुल्लूक.

402. दिवाकीर्तिमुदक्यां च पतितं सूतिकां तथा। शवतत्स्पृष्टिनं चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ मनु V. 85 on which मेधा० says दिवाकीर्तिश्चाण्डालः ..... न नापितस्तस्य स्पृश्यत्वाद्धोज्यान्नत्वाच्च।'

403. एडकं कुक्कुटं काकं श्वशूद्रान्त्यावसायिनः। दृष्ट्वैतान् नाचरेत्कर्म स्पृष्ट्वैतान्स्नानमाचरेत् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 1196.

earliest occurrences of the word *aspṛśya* (as meaning untouchables in general) is that in Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 104; Kātyāyana also uses the word in that sense[404]. It will have been seen from the quotations above that cāṇḍālas, mlecchas and Pārasīkas are placed on the same level as regards being aspṛśya. Atri[405] (267–269) says ' if a dvija comes in contact with a cāṇḍāla, patita, mleccha, a vessel containing intoxicating drink, a woman in her monthly course, he should not take his meals (without first bathing) and if he comes in contact with these while taking his meal, he should stop, throw away the food and bathe '. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 76 about talking with mlecchas and cāṇḍālas. But so far as mlecchas are concerned these restrictions of untouchability have been given up long ago at least in public. Similarly the washerman, the worker in bamboo, the fisherman, the naṭa, among the seven well-known *antyajas*, are no longer untouchable in several provinces (though not in all) and were not so even in the times of Medhātithi and Kullūka.

Once the spirit of exclusiveness and exaggerated notions of ceremonial purity got the upper hand they were carried to extremes. It does not appear from the ancient smṛtis that the shadow of even the cāṇḍāla was deemed to be polluting. Manu V. 133 (which is nearly the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 52) declares ' flies, spray from a reservoir, the shadow (of a man), the cow, the horse, the sun's rays, dust, the earth, the wind and fire should be regarded as pure. ' Yāj. I. 193 is a similar verse (Mārk. Purāṇa 35. 21 is almost the same). Manu IV. 130 prescribes that one should not knowingly cross the shadow of the image of a deity, of one's *guru*, of the king, of a snātaka, of one's teacher, of a brown cow or of a man who has been initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Here no reference is made to the shadow of a cāṇḍāla. Medhātithi on Manu V. 133 expressly says that ' shadow ' means ' shadow of a cāṇḍāla and the like '. Kullūka, however, adds on Manu IV. 130 that on account of the word ' ca ' in that verse the shadow of cāṇḍālas was included in the injunction of that verse. Therefore it is legitimate to infer that Manu and Yāj. did not prescribe that even the shadow of

404. Vide कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार (ed. by me) verses 433, 783 that are quoted by the मिता. on या. II. 99 and by अपरार्क p. 813.

405. चाण्डालं पतितं म्लेच्छं मद्यभाण्डं रजस्वलाम् । द्विजः स्पृष्ट्वा न भुञ्जीत भुञ्जानो यदि संस्पृशेत् । अतः परं न भुञ्जीत त्यक्त्वान्नं स्नानमाचरेत् । अत्रि (आनन्दाश्रम ed.) verses 267–269.

a cāṇḍāla was impure and caused pollution. Not only so, Aparārka[406] quotes a verse 'the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita, if it falls on a man, is not impure'. But Aparārka himself[407] adds on this verse the comment that this favourable rule about the shadow of a cāṇḍāla or patita is applicable only if he is at a greater distance from a man than the length of a cow's tail. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (para 8) describes how the cāṇḍāla girl entered the royal assembly-hall though she was untouchable and stood at some distance from the king. It appears that there was no difficulty about her entering the hall of audience or polluting the assembly by her shadow. Gradually some smṛtis prescribed a bath for a brāhmaṇa coming under the shadow of a cāṇḍāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30 quotes a verse of Vyāghrapāda that if a cāṇḍāla or patita comes nearer to a person than the length of a cow's tail, then the latter must take a bath and another verse of Bṛhaspati to the effect 'a patita, a woman in her monthly period, a woman freshly delivered and a cāṇḍāla should be kept respectively at a distance of one yuga, two, three and four'. As yuga is four cubits, this means that a cāṇḍāla cannot approach within 16 cubits of a caste Hindu.[408]

As regards public roads Yāj. I. 194 says that they become pure by the rays of the sun and the moon and by the wind even when they are trodden by cāṇḍālas. In Yāj. I. 197 it is stated that the mud and water on public roads and on houses built of baked bricks, though touched by cāṇḍālas, dogs and crows, are rendered pure by the mere blowing of the wind over them.[409]

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406. चण्डालपतितच्छाया स्पर्शे दुष्टा तु नो भवेत् । भस्म क्षौद्रं सुवर्णं च सदर्भाः कुतपास्तिलाः ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 275.

407. पतितचाण्डालयोर्गोपुच्छपरिमितदेशाद्विप्रकृष्टदेशस्थयोश्छायानुग्रहोऽयम् । अपरार्क p. 275.

408. यस्तु छायां श्वपाकस्य ब्राह्मणो ह्यधिरोहति । तत्र स्नानं प्रकुर्वीत घृतं प्राश्य विशुध्यति ॥ अत्रि 288–289, अङ्गिरस् quoted by the मिता॰ on या III. 30, अपरार्क p. 923; अपरार्क p. 1195 ascribes a similar verse to Śātātapa. औशनसस्मृति (ed. Jiv. chap. IX part 1 p. 552) also says the same. युगं च द्वियुगं चैव त्रियुगं च चतुर्युगम् । चण्डालसूतिकोदक्यापतितानामधः क्रमात् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by मिता॰ on या. III. 30; सूतिकापतितोदक्याश्चण्डालश्च चतुर्थकः । यथाक्रमं परिहरेदेकद्वित्रिचतुर्थकम् ॥ व्यास quoted by स्मृतिच. part I. p. 17. क्षीरस्वामी on 'युगं युग्मं कृताद्विषु' in the अमरकोश remarks 'हस्तचतुष्कं च यथा विचरेच्छुनमात्रदृक्'.

409. रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि सूष्टाव्यस्यश्ववायसैः । मारुतेनैव शुष्यन्ति पक्वेष्टिकचितानि च ॥ या I. 197; अङ्गिरस् (verse 144) is almost the same.

These rules show that the smṛtis followed a reasonable rule about the public roads and do not countenance the restrictions maintained in some parts of South India, particularly in Malabar, about the use of public roads by the untouchables viz. that an untouchable must not approach within a certain distance of a high caste Hindu, must leave the road to allow him passage or must shout to give warning of his presence in order to avoid pollution to the caste Hindu. Vide Wilson's 'Indian Castes' vol. II p. 74 (footnote) for details of the distance. In South India also there are various grades of distances within which members of the several lowest castes cannot approach high caste Hindus.

Certain provisions were made in the smṛtis by way of exceptions to the general rules about the untouchability of certain castes. Atri[410] (verse 249) says 'there is no taint of untouchability when a person is touched by an untouchable in a temple, religious processions and marriages, in sacrifices, and in all festivals'. Śātātapa quoted in the Sm. C. declares that there is no doṣa (lapse) in touching (untouchables) in a village (i. e. on the public road), or in a religious procession or in an affray and the like, and also when the whole village is involved in a calamity.[411] Bṛhaspati also remarks that there is no fault (and so no prāyaścitta) if one comes in contact (with untouchables) at a sacred place, in marriage processions and religious processions, in battle, when the country is invaded, or when the town or village is on fire. The Sm. C. adds that these verses were variously interpreted; some saying that they apply only where one does not know that the man who has touched him is an untouchable, while others hold that they apply to the touch of impure persons who are not uchiṣṭa (i. e. risen from meals without washing their hands &c). The Smṛtyarthasāra[412]

410. देवयात्राविवाहेषु यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥ अत्रि 249. In the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 121–122 this is quoted as from षट्त्रिंशन्मत (v. l. यज्ञेषु प्रकृतेषु च and स्पृष्टा स्पृष्टिर्न). The first word must be taken to be formed of three separate members as the quotation from the Smṛtyartha-sāra will show.

411. ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु। ग्रामसन्दूषणे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते। शातातप quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 119.

412. संग्रामे हट्टमार्गे च यात्रादेवगृहेषु च। उत्सवक्रतुतीर्थेषु विप्लवे ग्रामदेशयोः। महाजलसमीपेषु महाजनवरेषु च। अग्न्युत्पाते महापत्सु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति ॥ प्राप्य कारीन्द्रियं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टि स्वितरेन्द्रियम्। तयोश्च विषयं प्राहुः स्पृष्टास्पृष्टव्यभिधानतः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 79.

(p. 79) summarises the places where no blame in incurred on the ground of mixing with untouchables viz. in battle, on public roads leading to a market, in religious processions, in temples, in festivals, in sacrifices, at sacred places, in calamities or invasions of the country or village, on the banks of large sheets of water, in the presence of great persons, when there is a sudden fire or other great calamity. It is somewhat remarkable that the Smṛtyarthasāra speaks of untouchables entering temples. The Par. M. (vol. II part I p. 115) says that there is no *doṣa* when cāṇḍālas take water from a large tank (used by higher castes), but as regards small reservoirs the same rules apply to them that apply to the purification of wells touched by untouchables.[413] Vide Vṛddha-Hārita IX. 405-406 for the purification of a well.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (V. 104)[414] prescribed that if an untouchable deliberately touched a man of the three higher castes he should be punished with beating, while Yāj. II. 234 prescribes that if a cāṇḍāla (deliberately) touches any one of the higher castes the cāṇḍāla should be fined one hundred paṇas.

Elaborate rules are laid down about the penance for drinking from the wells or vessels of untouchables, for partaking of their food (either cooked or uncooked), for staying with them and for having sexual intercourse with untouchable women. These matters will be briefly dealt with under prāyaścitta.

The so-called untouchables were not entirely excluded from worship. When it is said (as in Yāj. I. 93 or Gaut. IV. 20)[415] that the cāṇḍāla is outside all dharma, the meaning is that he is outside such Vedic rites as upanayana, not that he cannot worship the Hindu deities nor that he is not bound by the moral code. He could worship images of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (vide note 364 above). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage of the Devīpurāṇa that expressly authorizes *antyajas* to establish a temple of Bhairava. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[416] X. 70. 43 says that 'even the

413. महत्सु तु तटाकादिषु चाण्डालादिसंबन्धेपि नास्ति कश्चिद्दोषः । अल्पेषु तु कूपन्यायः । तदाह विष्णुः । जलाशयेष्वथाल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले । कूपवत्कथिता शुद्धिर्महत्सु तु न दूषणम् ॥ परा. मा. vol. II. part 1 p. 115.

414. कामकारेणास्पृश्यस्त्रैवर्णिकं स्पृशन् वध्यः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 104.

415. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । गौतम IV. 20.

416. श्रवणात्कीर्तनाद् ध्यानात्पूयन्तेन्तेवसायिनः । तव ब्रह्ममयस्येश किमुतेक्षाभिमार्जिनः ॥ भागवत X. 70. 43; अत्राधिकारिण उक्ताः कृत्यकल्पतरौ देवीपुराणे । ..... चतुर्वर्णेस्तथा विष्णुः प्रतिष्ठाप्यः सुखार्थिभिः । भैरवोपि चतुर्वर्णैरन्त्यजानां तथा मतः ।..... निर्णयसिन्धु III (under नेवप्रतिष्ठा)

antyāvasāyins are purified by listening to the praises or names of Hari, by repeating the names of Hari and by contemplation on Him, much more therefore will those (be purified) who can see or touch your images'. This however shows that to the author of the Bhāgavata it never occurred that an untouchable could see or touch the image of Viṣṇu enshrined in a temple of caste Hindus. In south India among the famous Vaiṣṇava saints called Āḻvārs, Tiruppāṇa Āḻvār was a member of the depressed classes and Nammāḻvār was a Veḷḷāla. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 remarks that the pratiloma castes (which include cāṇḍāla) have the right to perform vratas.[417]

In modern times the eradication of the system of untouchability is engaging the minds of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi whose fast for 21 days for effecting a change of heart among caste Hindus is famous throughout the world. The principal matters of concern to the so-called untouchables or depressed classes are facility for education in schools, removal of restrictions about places of public resort such as public wells, roads, restaurants and eating houses and entry in public temples. A good deal has been done by a few zealous workers from among the higher castes in these respects. The Christian missionaries have been doing good work among the untouchables, but their efforts are mainly devoted to direct or indirect proselytization. The conscience of the educated among the higher castes has been roused. But the total removal of untouchability is yet a matter of the distant future. The greatest draw-back is illiteracy among the masses of India. Hardly twelve per cent of the population are literate. The diffusion of literacy and the spread of the idea of the equality of all men before the law and in public are the only sure solvents of the evils associated with untouchability which have existed for ages. Popular Governments in the provinces are doing what they with their limited resources can do to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. The Government of India Act (of 1935) has given special representation to the Scheduled Castes (the name given to the depressed classes or untouchables) in the Provincial and Federal Legislatures of India. The Government of India Scheduled Castes Order of 1936

417. अतः स्त्रीशूद्रयोः प्रतिलोमजानां च "त्रैवर्णिकवद् व्रताधिकार इति सिद्धम् । यत्तु गौतमवचनं प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना इति तदुपनयनादिविशिष्टधर्माभिप्रायम् । मिता० on या. III. 262.

sets out the names of the numerous scheduled castes in the several provinces of British India. The Provincial Governments have issued circulars to enforce the rule that no discrimination be made against the scheduled castes in places of public resort and have tackled to some extent the question of the entry of untouchables in temples by passing such acts as the Bombay Act XI of 1938 viz. Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of disabilities Act) and the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Indemnity Act of 1939. Much will depend upon the untouchables themselves. As among the caste Hindus, the untouchables also have *inter se* numerous divisions and subdivisions each of which regards itself as superior to several others of them and will not condescend to mix with them in the public or dine with them. They must also throw up from among themselves selfless and capable leaders. This is a vast problem and the appalling evils which have been growing for ages cannot be wholly removed in a day. The leaders of the so-called untouchables also should not make exaggerated claims. For the present they should rest content with equality in public places, public services and before the law and at the most entry into public temples. But if they indulge in the tall talk of destroying the caste system at one stroke and requiring that all caste Hindus should dine with them and inter-marry with them, they may find that at least two hundred millions of caste Hindus will be dead opposed to them, and the cause of the removal of the evils of untouchability is bound to suffer a set-back. Besides it should not be forgotten that the amelioration of the condition of untouchables is bound up with the problem of the poverty of the entire rural population of India. It should not be supposed that all the untouchables are the poorest of the poor. I know from personal knowledge that many among certain classes of untouchables like the Mahars and Chambhars of the Deccan are economically better off than the ordinary cultivators in many villages. The *mahars* are hereditary village servants in the Deccan and they recover from every householder bread every day as part of their remuneration or a certain measure of corn from the threshing floor. Vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marathas' (ed. of 1863 vol. I p. 23) for the *balutedars* (village servants) among whom the *mahar* occupies an important place and Hereditary Offices Act (Bombay Act III of 1874, section 18) for Legislative recognition of their ancient rights. The population of untouchables in India has been estimated at various figures from three

crores to six crores. The Simon Commission Report (1930) vol. I. p. 40 estimated that there were about 43 millions of untouchables in the whole of India, the criterion adopted being whether pollution by touch or approach within a certain distance is caused. The ratio of untouchables to the total population of India or to the Hindu population varies greatly in different parts of India. The total Harijan (the name given to untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi) population is 14 per cent of the whole population of India. In the Bombay Presidency the ratio of Harijans to Hindus is only about eleven per cent being the lowest of all provinces and States in India, while in Bengal the ratio is about 32 per cent which is the highest in India except in Assam.[418] The High Courts in India have held that the untouchables are included among śūdras for purposes of marriage. Vide *Sohan Singh* vs. *Kabla Singh* 10 Lahore 372, *Muthusami* vs. *Masilamani* 33 Mad. 342.[419]

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418. Vide Census of India (1931), vol. I part 1, p. 494.

419. Several books and papers have been recently published on the question of untouchables in India. Vide "The Psychology of a suppressed people" (1937) by Rev. J. C. Heinrich; 'Untouchable Classes of Mahārāshtra' by M. G. Bhagat.

CHAPTER V

SLAVERY

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also of many nations of Europe.[420] It was however left to such Christian nations of the West as England and the United States of America to carry on the institution of slavery in the most horrible manner possible never dreamt of by any nation of antiquity, viz. by sending out kidnapping expeditions to Africa to collect slaves, to huddle them in ships in such unspeakably filthy conditions that half of them died on the voyage, to sell them to plantation owners and others like chattel. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of the moral ideas' vol. I (1912) p. 711 was constrained to observe 'This system of slavery, which at least in the British colonies and slave states surpassed in cruelty the slavery of any pagan country ancient and modern, was not only recognised by Christian Governments but was supported by the large bulk of the clergy, Catholic and Protestant alike.' Slavery was abolished in the British Dominions only in 1833 and in British India by Act V of 1843.

It has been seen above (pp. 26–27) that the word 'dāsa' in the Rg. generally stands for the opponents of the āryas. It is possible that when the dāsas were vanquished in battle and taken prisoners they were treated as slaves. In the Rgveda, however, there are not many passages where the word 'dāsa' can be said to have been used in the sense of slave. In Rg VIII. 56. 3[421] we

420. Vide Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, vol. XIV, p. 74 'To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. That slavery already was established as a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian area in the 4th millenium B. C. may be confidently assumed from the fragments of Sumerian legislation upon slaves which date from the first half of the 3rd millenium'.

421. शतं मे गर्दभानां शतमूर्णावतीनाम्। शतं दासाँ अति स्रजः॥ ऋ. VIII. 56. 3; यो मे हिरण्यसन्दृशो दश राज्ञो अमंहत। अधस्पदा इच्चैद्यस्य कृष्टयश्चर्मम्ना अभितो जनाः॥ ऋ. VIII. 5.38; अदान्मे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम्। ऋ. VIII. 19. 36.

read 'thou madest a gift to me of one hundred donkeys, of one hundred fleece-bearing ewes and one hundred dāsas'. It appears that here dāsa means slaves or serfs. In Ṛg VIII. 5.38 the sage praises his patron Caidya Kaśu 'the common people sit down at the feet of Caidya Kaśu like men crowding round tanners of hides, (Caidya) who honoured me by giving me ten noblemen that were like gold in appearance'. Here probably there is an allusion to the gift of ten captured nobles made to the sage by Caidya Kaśu, the victor. A sage declares in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 36 'Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, gave me fifty young women'. This probably refers to the gift of female slaves (dāsīs). The Tai. S. VII. 5. 10. 1 says 'dāsīs (girl slaves) place on their heads jars full of water and singing this *madhu* and beating their feet against the ground dance round the *mārjālīya*' &c.[422] The Tai. S. II. 2. 6. 3. refers to the gift of a horse or a male (slave). 'He obtains a portion of himself who accepts (in gift) a being with two rows of teeth, (such as) a horse or a human male; on accepting an animal with two rows of teeth one should offer to Vaiśvānara a mess cooked on twelve potsherds'[423]. The Ait. Br. 39.8 mentions large gifts such as 10,000 girls (dāsī) and 10,000 elephants made by a king to his *purohita* performing coronation. When the angel of Death tries to dissuade Naciketas from his curiosity to know the destiny of a person after death, he tempts the inquirer (Kaṭha Up. I. 1. 25) 'Here are such handsome women with chariots and musical instruments as cannot be secured (ordinarily) by men; make them, when gifted by me, serve you; do not ask me what happens after death'. The women referred to were probably meant to be serving (or slave) girls who attended on a man as maids and who could dance and sing. In the Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23 Janaka after receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā from Yājñavalkya exclaims 'I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave'. We read in the Chān. Up. 'In this world they speak of cows and horses, elephants and gold, wives and slaves, fields and houses as *mahimā* (greatness).'

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422. उदकुम्भानधिनिधाय दास्यो मार्जालीयं परिनृत्यन्ति पदो निघ्नतीरिदं मधु गायन्त्यो मधु वै देवानां परममन्नाद्यम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 10. 1.

423. आत्मनो वा एष मात्रामाप्नोति यो उभयादत्प्रतिगृह्णात्यश्वं वा पुरुषं वा वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेदुभयादत्प्रतिगृह्य। तै. सं. II. 2. 6. 3; सोहं भगवते विदेहान् ददामि मां चापि सह दास्याय। बृह. उ. IV. 4. 23; गो अश्वमिह महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्यं क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति। छा. उ. VII. 24. 2.

Vide also Chān. Up. V. 13. 2 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 7 for references to dāsīs. These passages show that in the Vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves.

Though Manu ordained (I. 91, VIII. 413, 414) that the principal duty of the śūdra was to wait upon the three higher castes or that the śūdra was created by the Creator for the service of brāhmaṇas, the śūdra who thus served a *dvijāti* as a duty was not his slave. Jaimini (VI. 7. 6)[424] makes this perfectly clear by saying that when a man makes a gift in the Viśvajit sacrifice of everything belonging to himself he cannot make a gift of the śūdra who waits upon him as his duty. Śabara in his bhāṣya adds 'the śūdra may not desire to serve the man to whom the sacrificer gives his all and the latter has no power over him if he is unwilling.'

We have seen how the Gṛhya Sūtras speak of *dāsas* being employed to wash the feet of honoured guests. It appears that the ideal placed before the masters was to treat the slave humanely. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 11[425] says that one may indeed stint oneself, one's wife or son (as to food) if guests come, but never a dāsa who does one's menial work (or a dāsa and hired servants). In the Anuśāsana-parva[426] it is stated 'one should not sell a human being who is a stranger; how much more one's own children'. In the Mahābhārata gifts of dāsas and dāsīs are very frequently mentioned. In Sabhāparva 52. 45, Vanaparva 233. 43 and Virāṭa 18. 21 gifts of 30 dāsīs to each of 88000 *snātaka* brāhmaṇas are spoken of. In Vanaparva 185. 34 Vaiṇya is said to have given a thousand handsome dāsīs with ornaments on to Atri. Vide Droṇaparva 57. 5–9. Manu (VIII. 299–300) places a slave on the same level as one's son in the matter of corporal punishment 'the wife, the son, the slave, a menial servant, one's full brother—these when guilty of wrong may be beaten with a rope

424. शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 6; 'शूद्रश्च न देय इत्यान्वादेशः । कुतः । धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् । धर्मशासनोपनतत्वात्तस्य । एवमसौ तस्मै त्रैवर्णिकायोपनत इमं शुश्रूषमाणो धर्मेण संभन्त्स्य इति । सोन्यस्मै दीयमानो नेच्छेदपि । न चानिच्छतस्तस्य स प्रभवति ।' शबर.

245. काममात्मानं भार्यां पुत्रं वोपरुन्ध्यात्न त्वेव दासिकर्मकरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 11.

426. अन्योप्यथ न विक्रेयो मनुष्यः किं पुनः प्रजाः । अधर्ममूलैर्हि धनैस्तेन धर्मोथ कश्चन ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 45. 23.

or a thin piece of split bamboo, but only on the back and never on the head and if a person beat them otherwise he would be punished as a thief.'

Slavery was probably not much[427] in evidence in India in the 4th century B. C. or the treatment of slaves in India was so good that a foreign observer like Megasthenes accustomed to the treatment of slaves in Greece thought that there was no slavery. Megasthenes (MacCrindle, p. 71) states that none of the Indians employs slaves (vide Strabo XV. 1. 54). That slavery existed then admits of no doubt. The Emperor Aśoka when proclaiming his Law of Piety enjoins in his 9th Rock Edict that the Law of Piety consists (among other things) in the kind (or proper) treatment of slaves (dāsas) and hired servants. In the Arthaśāstra (III. 13) Kauṭilya[428] gives very important provisions about slaves. He says that the mlecchas are not punishable if they sell or pledge their children, but an ārya cannot be reduced to slavery. He then prescribes that if a relative sells or pledges a śūdra (who is not born as a slave) or a vaiśya or kṣatriya or a brāhmaṇa (all being minors), he should be respectively fined 12, 24, 36 and 48 paṇas and that if a stranger sells or pledges the above then the vendor, the vendee and the abettors will be liable to the first, middle and highest ammercements and whipping respectively (i. e. first ammercement for sale of a śūdra by a stranger and whipping for the sale of a brāhmaṇa). But he allows the pledge of even an ārya in family distress. He refers to several kinds of slaves viz. *dhvajāhṛta* (captured in battle), *ātmavikrayin* (who sells himself), *udaradāsa* (or *garbhadāsa*, one who is born to a dāsī from a slave) or those so made for a debt (āhitika), or for a fine or court's decree (daṇḍapraṇīta). He then prescribes how they are set free from slavery. One who sells himself or is pledged or is born a slave becomes a free man by paying off respectively the amount for which he was purchased or pledged or what would be a proper price. One who is made a slave for a fine may pay off the fine by doing work. One captured in war may become free by paying according to the time he has been in bondage and the work he did or by paying half of it. The child of one who sells himself

427. Vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (1903) p. 263.

428. म्लेच्छानामदोषः प्रजां विक्रेतुमाधातुं वा। न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभावः। कौटिल्य III. 13.

remains an ārya (free man). He prescribes that if a master makes a pledged slave carry a corpse or sweep ordure, urine or leavings of food, or keeps him naked, beats him or abuses him or violates the chastity of a female slave, he forfeits the price paid by him. He prescribes the first ammercement for a master having intercourse with a pledged slave girl against her will and middle ammercement for a stranger doing so.

Manu (VIII. 415) speaks of seven kinds of dāsas, viz. one captured in battle, one who becomes so for food (i. e. in scarcity or in a famine), one born in the house (i. e. of a female slave), one bought, one given (by his parents or relatives), one inherited (as part of the patrimony), one who becomes so for paying off a fine or judicial decree. He states the general rule[429] that the wife, the son and the slave have no wealth and whatever they earn belongs to him whose wife, son or slave they are. Manu prescribes a fine of 600 paṇas for a brāhmaṇa making a member of the *dvijāti* castes after his upanayana a slave against his will.

Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā) and Kātyāyana among the smṛtikāras contain the most elaborate treatment on slavery. Nārada first says that a śuśrūṣaka (one who serves another) is of five kinds viz. a Vedic student, an antevāsin (an apprentice who is learning a craft), adhikarmakṛt (a supervisor over workmen), bhṛtaka (hired servant) and dāsa. The first four are called *karmakara*. They can be called upon to do only work that is pure, while a dāsa may have to do impure work[430] such as cleaning the entrances to the house, filthy pits (for leavings of food), the road, dunghill heaps, touching (or scratching) private parts, taking up and throwing away ordure and urine (verses 6–7), doing bodily service to the master if he so desires. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves viz. one born in the house, one bought, one acquired (by gift or other means),

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429. भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः। यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥ मनु VIII. 416. This is the same as उद्योगपर्व 33. 64 where the first half is त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः; compare नारद (अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा) verse 41.

430. गृहद्वाराशुचिस्थानरथावस्करशोधनम् । शुद्धाङ्गस्पर्शनोच्छिष्टविण्मूत्रग्रहणोज्झनम् ॥ इच्छतः स्वामिनश्चाङ्गैरुपस्थानमथान्ततः। अशुभं कर्म विज्ञेयं शुभमन्यदुत परम् ॥ नारद (अभ्यु. 6–7).

one inherited, one saved in a time of famine, one pledged by the master, one discharged from a large debt, one captured in a battle, one vanquished in a bet, one who accepts slavery by saying 'I am yours', an apostate from the order of asceticism, one who stipulates to be a slave (for a certain time), one who is a slave for food (as long as food is given to him), one who is tempted to become a slave out of love for a female slave, and one who sells himself. Nārada says that the first four of these are not freed from slavery except by the favour of the master (v. 29), while one who sells himself is the worst kind of slave and he also does not become free from slavery (v. 37). Nārada (v. 30) and Yāj. (II. 182) state a rule applicable to all slaves, viz. that when a slave saves a master from imminent danger to the latter's life the slave becomes a free man and (Nārada adds) that he gets a share in the inheritance as a son. One who is an apostate from the order of ascetics is a slave of the king till the former's death (Yāj. II. 183). One saved in a famine becomes free by giving a pair of cows, one pledged[431] if the master who pledged him repays the debt, the slave in lieu of discharge of debt by paying off the debt with interest, one who accepted slavery or who was captured in battle or became so under a bet is freed by giving a substitute who is equal to him in work, one for a stipulated period by the lapse of the period, one who is a *bhakta-dāsa* becomes free by the master ceasing to give food, one who is 'vaḍavāhṛta' (tempted by a female slave) by abandoning his intercourse with her (Nārada vv. 31-34, 36). Yāj. (II. 182) and Nārada (v. 38) say that one who was made a slave by force or was carried away by raiders and sold should be set free by the king. Yāj. (II. 183) and Nārada (v. 39) prescribe that a man can be a slave to a master only in the proper order of varṇas[432] i. e. the three varṇas next to a brāhmaṇa may be slaves to a brāhmaṇa, a vaiśya or a śūdra may be a slave to a kṣatriya but a kṣatriya cannot be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra, nor a vaiśya of a śūdra. There is one exception viz. an apostate from asceticism may be the slave of a vaiśya or a śūdra

431. A slave who is pledged becomes the slave of two till the pledge is redeemed.

432. स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद् दासत्वं दासवद्गुणः। त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रस्य न क्वचित्॥ वर्णानामानुलोम्येन दास्यं न प्रतिलोमतः। कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 788; compare नारद (अभ्यु. 39).

king. Kātyāyana emphasizes that a brāhmaṇa[433] cannot be made a slave even to a brāhmaṇa, but if he himself chooses, he may do pure work for a brāhmaṇa endowed with character and Vedic learning, but no impure work. Kātyāyana (v. 721) says that when a brāhmaṇa becomes an apostate from the order of asceticism he should be banished from the kingdom and the kṣatriya or vaiśya apostate may become a slave to the king. Dakṣa (VII. 33) quoted by Aparārka (p. 787) adds that the apostate's head should be branded with the mark of dog's foot.

Kauṭilya[434] and Kātyāyana (v. 723) both declare that if a master has sexual intercourse with a female slave and she is delivered of a child, both the slave and the child should be given freedom by the master.

Kauṭilya declared that the heirs to the wealth of a slave are his relatives and if none of them exist then the master, while Kātyāyana[435] says that the only wealth that the slave can call his own is the price he received for selling himself or what the master gave as a gift through favour.

Nārada (vv. 42-43) describes the ceremony of the manumission of a slave "when a master being pleased with a slave desires to make him a free man, he should take, from the slave's shoulder, a jar full of water and break it, he should sprinkle water mixed with whole grains of rice and flowers on the slave's head and thrice uttering the words 'you are no longer a slave' he should dismiss him with the (slave's) face to the east."

The Vyavahāramayūkha[436] quotes a verse from the Kālikāpurāṇa about an adopted son, which is very interesting 'persons adopted and the like on whom the saṁskāras of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and Upanayana are performed by the *gotra* of the adopter, become sons of (the adopter), otherwise the person (on whom such ceremonies are not performed) is held to be a slave

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433. समवर्णोपि विप्रं तु दासत्वं नैव कारयेत् । ब्राह्मणस्य हि दासत्वान्नृपतेजो विहन्यते ॥ शीलाध्ययनसंपन्ने तवूनं कर्म कामतः । तत्रापि नाशुभं किंचित्प्रकुर्वीत द्विजोत्तमः ॥ कात्यायन (vv. 717 and 719) quoted by अपरार्क p. 789 and स्मृतिच०.

434. स्वामिनस्तस्यां दास्यां जातं समातृकमदासं विद्यात् । कौटिल्य III. 13.

435. दासस्य तु धनं यत्स्वामी तस्य प्रभुः स्मृतः । प्रसादविक्रयाद्यत्तु न स्वामी धनमर्हति ॥ कात्यायन 724 (quoted by वि. र. p. 150 and वि. चि. p. 46).

436. यत्तु कालिकापुराणे चूडोपनयनसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृताः । दत्ताद्यास्तनया ते स्युरन्यथा दास उच्यते ॥ व्यवहारमयूख p. 114 (of my edition). This verse occurs in the वृत्तकमीमांसा also where the reading is चूडाद्या यदि संस्कारा.

(of the adopter).' The Vyavahāramayūkha remarks that this passage is not reliable as it is not found in several mss. of the Kālikāpurāṇa. Nārada mentions 15 kinds of slaves, but this is not one of them. All that the Kālikāpurāṇa probably means is that when a boy is adopted into another family after his cūḍā and upanayana are performed in the family of birth, he is not fully affiliated in the family of adoption, he does not become a son and so does not take the inheritance but is only entitled to maintenance in the family of adoption, just as a slave is to be fed. No digests have recognised such a person as a slave proper.

Nārada[437] (ṛṇādāna 12) and Kātyāyana declare that a debt contracted by a Vedic pupil, an apprentice, a slave, the wife, a menial servant and a workman for the benefit of the family even though it was incurred in his absence, was binding on the owner of the house. Ordinarily a slave was not a competent witness, but Manu VIII. 70 and Uśanas (quoted in Vyavahāramayūkha p. 37) say that when no other witness is available, a minor, an old man, a woman, a pupil, a relative, a slave or a hired servant may be a witness.

There are numerous works dealing with slavery in its various aspects. The latest book on the subject is 'Slavery through the ages' by Sir George Mac Munn (1938). Mr. D. R. Banaji has published a very painstaking and interesting study on 'Slavery in British India' from 1772 to 1843 (2nd ed. 1937) The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published studies on several aspects such as 'Judicial Cases' (by Mrs. Catterall in 1926) and 'Documents of the history of the Slave Trade to America, 1930' by Prof. Elizabeth Donnan. Dr. H. J. Nieboer's 'Slavery as an Industrial System' (1910) is a well-documented study of slavery in various countries and at various times.

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437. शिष्यान्तेवासिदासस्त्रीप्रेष्यकृत्यकरैश्च यत् । कुटुम्बहेतोरुत्क्षिप्तं दातव्यं तत्कुटुम्बिना ॥ नारद (ऋणादान v. 12); प्रोषितस्यामतेनापि कुटुम्बार्थमृणं कृतम् । दासस्त्री-मातृशिष्यैर्वा दद्यात् पुत्रेण वा भृगुः ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 648, वि. र. p.56.

CHAPTER VI

SAṀSKĀRAS

Gautama (II. 1) says that before upanayana, a boy may act, speak and eat as and what he likes (i. e. may follow his inclinations). Haradatta explains that this does not mean that he can kill a brāhmaṇa or drink liquor, but that there is no restriction, although he be a brāhmaṇa's son, to his selling what is forbidden to a brāhmaṇa to sell, or he may eat onions and garlic or stale food or may eat four or five times a day. Āp. Dh. S.[438] (II. 1. 6. 15. 17-20) states several views on this point. 'Up to the time when they begin to take cooked food infants do not become impure (by the touch of a *rajasvalā* &c.); according to some (teachers) up till they are one year old ; or till they are not able to distinguish the cardinal points; another view is that till upanayana (they do not become impure)'. Aparārka (p. 28) also explains that a boy may (before upanayana) eat the leavings of the food of his parents, but he cannot eat or drink what would cause loss of caste as in that case he may become unfit to have the saṁskāra of upanayana performed on him. The Smṛtyarthasāra gives the view of some that in case an infant touches a cāṇḍāla before it reaches the age of taking cooked food, only water need be sprinkled on it, before caula ācamana need be done by it and after caula (and before upanayana) a bath would be necessary. Vas. Dh. S. (II. 6) quotes a verse of Hārīta to the effect 'up till investiture with the girdle of muñja grass (i. e. till upanayana) there is no action that is obligatory on him, as long as he is not born again for Vedic study he may be in his conduct like a śūdra'[439]. This verse occurs also in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 6 and Manu II. 171 and 172. Dakṣa I. 3-4 says 'Till a boy is eight years old he is like one newly born and only indicates the caste in which he is born. As long as his upanayana is not performed the

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438. आत्मप्राशनाद्भर्मा नाप्रयता भवन्ति । आ परिसंवत्सरादित्येके । यावता वा न दिशः प्रजानीयुः । औपनयनादित्यपरम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 17-20.

439. हारीतोप्युदाहरति । न ह्यस्मिन् विद्यते कर्म किंचिदामौञ्जिबन्धनात् । वृत्त्या शूद्रसमो ह्येष यावद्वेदे न जायते । इति । वसिष्ठ II. 6; बौध. ध. सू. reads नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 40 प्राङ्मौञ्जीबन्धनाद् द्विजः शूद्रसमो भवति ।

boy incurs no blame as to what is allowed or forbidden to be eaten, as to what should (or should not) be drunk, as to what he should or should not speak, as to telling a falsehood'.[440] But this does not hold good as to *mahāpātakas*. As to prāyaścitta when a child is guilty of the commission of a mahāpātaka, see under *prāyaścitta* later on and the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253. The smṛtis look upon upanayana as the second birth of a boy (the first being his physical birth)[441]. Gaut. (X. 1 and 51) says that the three higher classes are called *dvijātis* (having two births), while the śūdra is only *ekajāti*.[442] Āp. Dh. S. says (I. 1. 1. 16-18), 'the teacher causes him (the boy who is initiated into Vedic study) to be born from vidyā (i.e. by imparting Vedic knowledge), that birth is superior, the parents produce only the body'[443]. Upanayana is like Baptism and St. John (3. 3) also says 'except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' Manu II. 147-148 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 45-46) convey the same idea. Manu (II. 169) speaks of three births in the case of a man, first birth from his mother, the second when the girdle is tied (i. e. on upanayana) and the third when he is initiated for a Vedic sacrifice. Upanayana is the foremost of the saṁskāras. Atri (141-142) says 'a person is known as a brāhmaṇa by birth, he is said to be a dvija (twice-born) on account of saṁskāras, he reaches the position of a *vipra* by learning (study of the Veda); he is called śrotriya on account of all these three'.[444] Parāśara (VIII. 19) contains a fine image to illustrate this 'just as a work of painting gradually unfolds itself on account of the several colours (with which it is drawn), so *brāhmaṇya* (the status of a brāhmaṇa) is similarly

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440. जातमात्रः शिशुस्तावद्यावद्दन्तौ समा वयः। स हि गर्भसमो ज्ञेयो जातिमात्रप्रदर्शकः॥ भक्ष्याभक्ष्ये तथापेये वाच्यावाच्ये तथानृते। अस्मिन्बाले न दोषः स्यात्स यावन्नोपनीयते॥ दक्ष I. 3-4, quoted in अपरार्क (p. 28) and the second cited as from विष्णुपुराण in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 29.

441. तत्र द्वितीयं जन्म। तद्यस्मात्स आचार्यः। वेदानुवचनाच्च। गौ. I. 9-11.

442. द्विजातीनामध्ययनमिज्या दानम्। शूद्रश्चतुर्थो वर्ण एकजातिः। गौ. x. 1 and 51. Vide आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

443. स हि विद्यातस्तं जनयति। तच्छ्रेष्ठं जन्म। शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 16-18.

444. जन्मना ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः संस्कारैर्द्विज उच्यते। विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं श्रोत्रियस्त्रिभिरेव च॥ अत्रि 141-142; ब्रह्मपुराण reads जन्मना...। विद्यया वापि विप्रत्वं त्रिभिः श्रोत्रिय उच्यते॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 404. चित्रकर्म यथानेकै रङ्गैरुन्मील्यते शनैः। ब्राह्मण्यमपि तद्वत्स्यात्संस्कारैर्विधिपूर्वकैः। पराशर VIII. 19; quoted as Devala's by Aparārka (p. 25) and as of Aṅgiras in Par. M. II. part I. p. 22, संस्काररत्न p. 857 and सं. प्र. p. 136.

brought out by saṁskāras performed according to prescribed rites.'

Therefore it is now time to speak of saṁskāras.

The word saṁskāra hardly ever occurs in the ancient Vedic literature, but the root 'kṛ' with 'sam' and the past passive participle 'saṁskṛta' occur often enough. In Ṛg. V. 76. 2 the word saṁskṛta is applied to 'gharma' (vessel) 'the two Aśvins do not harm the gharma that has been purified.' In Ṛg. VI. 28. 4 we have the word saṁskṛtatra' and Ṛg. VIII. 33. 9 has 'raṇāya saṁskṛtaḥ'. Śat.[445] Br. I. 1. 4. 10 speaks of preparing (or purifying) offering (*havis*) for the gods. So in Śat. Br. III. 2. 1. 22 'therefore a woman approaches a man who stands in a well-trimmed (saṁskṛta) house.' Vide Vāj. S. IV. 34 for a similar use of saṁskṛta. In Chān. Up. IV. 16. 2, we[446] read "of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind, by speech; the Brahmā (priest) prepares (or polishes) one of them by his mind." The word saṁskāra is used several times in the sūtras of Jaimini (as in III. 1. 3, III. 2. 15 and 17, III. 8. 3, IX. 2. 9, 42, 44, IX. 3. 25, IX. 4. 33, IX. 4. 50 and 54, X. 1. 2 and 11 &c.). It generally means some purificatory act in a sacrifice e. g. in Jaimini III. 8. 3 the word is applied to the actions of shaving the head, washing the teeth and paring the nails on the part of the sacrificer in Jyotiṣṭoma; in IX. 3. 25 the word saṁskāra is applied to prokṣaṇa (sprinkling with water), in X. 2. 49 it is applied to the shaving of the head and face. In Jaimini[447] VI. 1. 35 the word saṁskāra stands for upanayana. Śabara explains[448] saṁskāra as that which being effected makes a certain thing or person fit for a certain purpose and the Tantravārtika says that saṁskāras are those actions and rites that

445. स इदं देवेभ्यो हविः संस्कुरु साधु संस्कृतं संस्कुर्वित्येवैतदाह। शतपथ I. 1. 4. 10; तस्माद्धु स्त्री पुमांसं संस्कृते तिष्ठन्तमभ्येति। शतपथ III, 2. 1. 22.

446. तस्मादेष एव यज्ञस्तस्य मनश्च वाक् च वर्तनी। तयोरन्यतरां मनसा संस्करोति ब्रह्मा वाचा होता। छान्दोग्य IV. 16. 1–2. The Brahmā priest remains silent and watches the whole sacrifice to see if there be any mistake, which he corrects by prāyaścitta.

447. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वाद्विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः। जै. VI. 1. 35.

448. संस्कारो नाम स भवति यस्मिञ्जाते पदार्थो भवति योग्यः कस्यचिदर्थस्य। शबर on जै. III. 1. 3 (p. 660); योग्यतां चादधानाः क्रियाः संस्कारा इत्युच्यन्ते। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 1078; संस्कारो हि नाम गुणाधानेन वा स्याद् दोषापनयनेन वा। शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 1. 4.

impart fitness and it further says[449] 'fitness is of two kinds; it arises by the removal of taints (sins) or by the generation of fresh qualities. Saṁskāras generate fresh qualities, while *tapas* brings about the removal of taints. He who performs such sacrifices as Jyotiṣṭoma and others has certain blemishes in him due to not doing in this life or a previous life duties laid down for him or doing what is forbidden. If they (blemishes) are not removed they obstruct the (acquisition of the) reward of the sacrifice even if it be entirely free from any defects whatever, as they (blemishes) produce (for the sacrificer) the experience of their own fruits that are opposed to the (fruit of the) sacrifice.' The Vīramitrodaya[450] (on saṁskāra) defines 'saṁskāra' as 'a peculiar excellence due to the performance of rites ordained (by the śāstra) which resides either in the soul or the body' and says that it is of two kinds, one kind making a person eligible for performing other actions (e. g. upanayana renders a person eligible for Vedic study), while another kind removes the evil taint that may have been generated (e. g. Jātakarma removes the taint due to seed and uterus). The word *saṁskāra* does not occur in most of the gṛhyasūtras (it occurs in Vaik.), but it occurs in the Dharmasūtras (vide Gaut. VIII. 8, Āp. Dh. I. 1. 1. 9, Vas. IV. 1).

The principal matters that fall to be discussed under saṁskāras are: the purpose of saṁskāras, the classification of saṁskāras, the number of saṁskāras, the procedure of each of the saṁskāras and the persons authorized to perform them and the persons for whom they are to be performed.

First as to the purpose of saṁskāras. Manu (II. 27-28) says 'In the case of dvijātis, the taints (or sins) due to seed and the uterus (i. e. derived from parents) are wiped off by the *homas* (burnt oblations) performed during pregnancy and by jātakarma (ceremonies on birth), caula (tonsure) and the tying of the girdle of muñja grass. This (human) body is rendered fit for the attainment of *brahma* by the study of the Veda, by (observance of) vratas, homas (oblations in fire), by the vrata called traividya, by worship (of gods, sages and manes), by generation of sons, by the performance of the five daily

449. योग्यता च सर्वत्र द्विप्रकारा दोषापनयनेन गुणान्तरोपजननेन च भवति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 1115 on जै. III. 8. 9.

450. रुद्रस्कन्द् on खादिरगृह्य II. 3. 33 'एते गर्भाधानादयः संस्काराः शरीरं संस्कुर्वन्तः सर्वेषु अदृष्टार्थेषु कर्मसु योग्यतातिशयं कुर्वन्ति। फलातिशयो योग्यतातिशये च।'.

sacrifices and by (solemn Vedic) sacrifices.' The view of Yāj. (I. 13) is that 'thus (i. e. by the performance of saṁskāras) the taint arising from the seed and uterus (i. e. from the physical defects of parents) is removed.' These words of Manu and Yāj. are variously interpreted by the commentators. Medhātithi says 'seed and uterus are not the causes of sin and therefore all that is meant by *enas* (in Manu II. 27) is impurity.' Kullūka explains that blemishes of seed are those arising from intercourse in a prohibited manner and the 'gārbhika' blemish is what arises from having to stay in the womb of an impure mother. The Mit.[451] on Yāj. I. 13 makes it clear that saṁskāras are deemed to remove bodily defects transmitted from parents (such as defective limbs, diseases &c.) and are not intended to remove the taint of being born of sinful parents. Manu II. 66 also states that all the saṁskāras are performed on a woman also for the purification of the body. Hārīta[452] as quoted in the Saṁskāratattva says 'when a person has intercourse according to the procedure of *garbhādhāna* he establishes in the wife a foetus that becomes fit for the reception of the Veda, by the rite of *puṁsavana* he makes the garbha become a male, by the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana he removes from the foetus the taint derived from the parents and the accumulated taints (which are five) due to seed, blood and womb are removed by jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaraṇa and samāvartana. By these eight saṁskāras (from garbhādhāna) purity arises.' The exact significance of saṁskāras in the development of higher human personality was left rather vague in our authorities and their treatment of the purpose of saṁskāras is not very elaborate or exhaustive. The saṁskāras had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them. If we look at the list of saṁskāras we shall find that the purposes

451. बीजगर्भसमुद्भवं शुक्रशोणितसंबद्धं गात्रव्याधिसंक्रान्तिनिमित्तं वा न तु पतितोत्पन्नत्वादि। मिता. on या. I. 13; एनोऽत्राप्रायत्यं मातुः पीताशनादेरुत्पन्नमित्यर्थः। अपरार्क.

452. तत्र हारीतः। गर्भाधानवदुपेतो ब्रह्मगर्भं संदधाति। पुंसवनात्पुंसीकरोति फलस्थापनान्मातापितृजं पाप्मानमपोहति रेतोरक्तगर्भोपघातः पञ्चगुणो जातकर्मणा प्रथममपोहति नामकरणेन द्वितीयं प्राशनेन तृतीयं चूडाकरणेन चतुर्थं स्नापनेन पञ्चममेतैरष्टाभिः संस्कारैर्गर्भोपघातात् पूतो भवतीति। संस्कारतत्त्व (p. 857).

of saṁskāras were manifold. Some like Upanayana served spiritual and cultural purposes, they brought the unredeemed person into the company of the elect, they opened the door to Vedic study and thus conferred special privileges and exacted duties. They have also psychological values impressing on the mind of the person that he has assumed a new role and must strive to observe its rules. Other saṁskāras like nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, and niṣkramaṇa were more or less of a popular nature. They afforded opportunities for the expression of love and affection and for festivities. Other saṁskāras like garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana had also mystical and symbolical elements. Vivāha (marriage) was a sacrament which brought about a union of two personalities into one for the purpose of the continuance of society and for the uplift of the two by self-restraint, by self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation.

The saṁskāras were divided by Hārīta into two kinds, brāhma and daiva.[453] The saṁskāras of garbhādhāna and others which are described only in the smṛtis are called brāhma and the man who is purified by performing them attains equality with sages, stays in the same world with them and is joined with them; pākayajñas (offerings of cooked food), yajñas with burnt offerings and sacrifices in which *soma* is offered are called *daiva* (saṁskāras). The last two varieties, viz. those in which there is burnt offering and those in which soma is offered, are dealt with in the śrauta sūtras, which have been left outside the purview of this work (except in the note at the end of this volume).

There is a great divergence of views among the writers on smṛtis as to the number of saṁskāras. Gaut. (VIII. 14-24) speaks of forty saṁskāras and eight virtues of the soul. The forty saṁskāras are: garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana, caula, upanayana (8 in all), the four vratas of the Veda, snāna (or samāvartana), vivāha, five daily mahāyajñas (for deva, pitṛ, manuṣya,

453. तथा च हारीतः। द्विविधः संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो दैवश्च। गर्भाधानादिस्मार्तो ब्राह्मः। पाकयज्ञहविर्यज्ञसौम्याश्चेति दैवः। ब्रह्मसंस्कारसंस्कृत ऋषीणां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति। दैवेनोत्तरेण संस्कृतो देवानां समानतां सलोकतां सायुज्यं गच्छति। इति। स्मृतिच. I. p. 13, परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 18, संस्कारप्रकाश p. 135. The editor of the परा. मा. says it is हारीतधर्मसूत्र XI. 1-5 (from the MS he had discovered).

bhūta and brahma); seven pākayajñas[454] (viz. aṣṭakā, pārvaṇasthālīpāka, śrāddha, śrāvaṇī, āgrahāyaṇī, caitrī, āśvayujī); seven haviryajñas (in which there is burnt offering but no soma) viz. Agnyādheya, Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Āgrayaṇa, Cāturmāsyas, Nirūḍhapaśubandha and Sautrāmaṇī); seven soma sacrifices (Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra, Āptoryāma). Gautama uses the word saṁskāra in the most extended sense. Śaṅkha as quoted by the Sm. C. (I. p. 13) and the Subodhinī on Mit. II. 4 follow Gautama. Vaik. speaks of eighteen śārīra saṁskāras (in which he includes utthāna, pravāsāgamana, piṇḍavardhana, which are seen nowhere else as saṁskāras) and twenty-two yajñas (i. e. five daily yajñas as one and seven pākayajñas, seven havir-yajñas, and seven soma yajñas). Most gṛhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis do not enumerate so many. Aṅgiras (quoted in the Saṁskāra-mayūkha, Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 135 and other digests) mentions twenty-five saṁskāras. They include all saṁskāras of Gautama from garbhādhāna to the five daily yajñas (which latter are reckoned as one saṁskāra by Aṅgiras) and after nāmakaraṇa niṣkramaṇa is added. Besides, Viṣṇubali, Āgrayaṇa, Aṣṭakā, Śrāvaṇī, Āśvayujī, Mārgaśīrṣī (same as Āgrahāyaṇī), Pārvaṇa, Utsarga and Upākarma are enumerated as the remaining saṁskāras by Aṅgiras. Veda-Vyāsa I. 14-15 enumerates sixteen saṁskāras. Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. do not give the number of saṁskāras but simply say that they are those from niṣeka (garbhādhāna) to smaśāna (i. e. antyeṣṭi). This last one is not treated of in Gautama and several gṛhyasūtras. In most of the digests the principal saṁskāras are said to be sixteen; but there is some difference of opinion even as to these sixteen.[455] For example, Jātūkarṇya as quoted in Saṁ. Pr. (p. 135) enumerates the 16 as garbhādhāna, puṁsavana, sīmanta, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, annasrāśana, caula, mauñjī

454. According to some the seven pākayajñas are: aupāsanahoma, vaiśvadeva, pārvaṇa (sthālīpāka), aṣṭa[illegible]hotriṇy), sarpabali and īśānabali. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 13. The Baud. gr. I. 1. gives the seven pākayajñas as huta, prahuta, ahuta, śūlagava, baliharaṇa, pratyavarohaṇa and aṣṭakā homa. Vide S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 358 for several differing enumerations of pākayajñas.

455. तत्र संस्काराः। गर्भाधान...विवाहाग्नेत्यावश्यकाः षोडश प्रधानाः संस्काराः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3. The 16 usually enumerated in the digests are गर्भाधान, पुंसवन, सीमन्तोन्नयन, विष्णुबलि, जातकर्म, नामकरण, निष्क्रमण, अन्नप्राशन, चौल, उपनयन, वेदव्रतचतुष्टय, समावर्तन, विवाह.

(upanayana), vratas (four), godāna, samāvartana, vivāha and antyeṣṭi. These slightly differ from the sixteen of Veda-Vyāsa.

The gṛhyasūtras deal with saṁskāras in two different sequences. Many of them begin with vivāha (marriage) and then proceed up to samāvartana. Some like the Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya, Bhāradvājagṛhya and Mānavagṛhya begin with upanayana.[456] Some saṁskāras like Karṇavedha and Vidyārambha are conspicuous by their absence in the gṛhyasūtras, but are added by later smṛtis and purāṇas. The following is the list of all the saṁskāras usually so called in most of the smṛti works together with a few remarks against each as to the work or works in which each is mentioned or described. The saṁskāras are arranged in the sequence of the times at which in a man's life they are performed beginning from garbhādhāna:

Ṛtu-saṁgamana—mentioned in Vaik.[457] I. 1 as distinct from garbhādhāna; it calls it niṣeka also (VI. 2) and describes it in III. 9 and garbhādhāna in III. 10. The Vaik. commences the saṁskāras with niṣeka.

Garbhādhāna: *Niṣeka*: *Caturthīkarma or-homa*:—Manu (II. 16 and 26), Yāj. I. 10–11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. (2. 3 and 27. 1) employ the word niṣeka as equivalent to garbhādhāna. In the Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya (I. 18–19), Pār. gṛ. I. 11, and Āp. gṛ. (8. 10–11) the rite called caturthīkarma or caturthīhoma takes the place of the rite called garbhādhāna elsewhere and there is no separate description of garbhādhāna in these and some similar

456. For detailed treatment of some of the saṁskāras, vide Dr. (Mrs.) Kamalabai Deshpande's work 'the Child in ancient India' (with copious references to the gṛhya sūtras); Mrs. Stevenson's 'the Rites of the twice-born' (1920), which exhaustively reviews in the minutest details the rites of brāhmaṇas (particularly in Kathiawar and Gujarat) as observed at present. This work however gives hardly any references to original Sanskrit authorities, is permeated by the spirit of a Christian missionary and commits the mistake, usual with most Western writers, of comparing hoary Indian customs, usages and the position of women with those of the West only in the latter half of the 19th century, altogether ignoring what existed in Europe over a few hundred years ago, though it is generally written with sympathy and understanding. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 123–226 (London, 1837), Monier Williams' 'Religious thought and life in India' part I (1883), Vidyārṇava's 'on daily practices' in the 20th volume of 'the Sacred Books of the Hindus' may also be consulted.

457. ऋतौ संगमनं निषेकमित्याहुः। वैखानस VI. 2; अथ निषेकादिसंस्काराणां व्याख्यास्यामः। वैखानस I. 1.

gṛhyasūtras. The Baud. gṛ. (IV. 6. 1), the Kāṭhakagṛhya (30. 8), Gaut. (VIII. 14), Yāj. I. 11 employ the word garbhādhāna. According to Vaik. (III. 10) the garbhādhāna rite follows niṣeka or ṛtu-saṁgamana (union of married pair after menstruation) and consists in ensuring conception.

Puṁsavana :—occurs in almost all the gṛhyasūtras, in Gaut., in Yāj. (I. 11).

Garbharakṣaṇa :—mentioned in the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. (I. 21). It seems to be the same as the Anavalobhana which according to the Āśvalāyana gṛ. (I. 13. 1) occurs in the Upaniṣad and which is described in Āśv. gṛ. (I. 13. 5–7).

Sīmantonnayana :—This occurs almost everywhere. Yāj. I. 11 uses the word sīmanta.

Viṣṇubali :—mentioned in Baud. gṛ. (I. 10. 13–17 and I. 11. 2), Vaik. (III. 13), Aṅgiras. It is not mentioned by Gautama and several other ancient sūtrakāras.

Soṣyantī-karma or-*homa* :—described in Khādira and Gobhila. It is called Soṣyantī-savana in Kāṭhaka-gṛhya and Kṣiprasuvana in Āp. gṛ., Bhāradvāja gṛ. and Kṣipraprasavana in Hir. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 210). It occurs in Budhasmṛti (as quoted in Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 139).

Jātakarma :—This is described in all sūtras and smṛtis.

Utthāna :—mentioned only in the Vaik. (III. 18) and in Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 25 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 51–52).

Nāmakaraṇa :—mentioned in all smṛtis.

Niṣkramaṇa or *Upaniṣkramaṇa* or *Ādityadarśana* or *Nirṇayana* :—Yāj. I. 11 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa, Pār. gṛ. (I. 17) as Niṣkramaṇikā, Manu II. 34 speaks of it as Niṣkramaṇa. The Kauśikasūtra 58. 18 calls it Nirṇayana; while Baud. gṛ. (II. 2) employs the word upaniṣkramaṇa; Mānava gṛ. (I. 19. 1), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 10), Śaṅkha (in verse, II. 5) employ appropriately the name Ādityadarśana. Gaut., Āp. gṛ. and several other sūtras omit it.

Karṇavedha :—omitted in almost all ancient smṛtis; mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 19), Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12. 1), Kātyāyana-sūtra (a supplement to Pār. gṛ.)

Annaprāśana :—mentioned by almost every smṛti.

Varṣavardhana or *Abdapūrti* :—mentioned in Gobhila, Śāṅ. Pār., Baud.

Caula or *Cūḍākarma* or *Cūḍākaraṇa* :—mentioned by all smṛtis.

Vidyārambha :—not mentioned in any smṛti but only in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 30) and Sm. C. (I. p. 26).

Upanayana :—mentioned by all. It is called vratādeśa in Veda-Vyāsa I. 14.

Vratas (four) :—mentioned by most of the gṛhyasūtras.

Keśānta or *Godāna* :—Mentioned by almost all.

Samāvartana or *Snāna* :—there is great divergence about these two. Manu (III. 4) seems to keep snāna (ceremonial bath after the period of studentship is over) as distinct from samāvartana. Gaut., Āp. gṛ. V. 12-13, Hir. gṛ. I. 9. 1, Yāj. I. 51, Pār. gṛ. (II. 6-7) employ the word snāna for both the ceremonial bath and the rites of return from the teacher's house on finishing one's studies, while Āśv. gṛ. (III. 8. 1), Baud. gṛ. (II. 6. 1), Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 1, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 15 and 31) employ the word Samāvartana.

Vivāha :—Mentioned by all as a saṁskāra.

Mahāyajñas :—five daily yajñas ; mentioned by Gaut., Aṅgiras and others.

Utsarga :—(seasonal giving up of Veda studies) is mentioned as a saṁskāra in Vaik (I. 1) and by Aṅgiras.

Upākarma :—(yearly commencement of Veda study) mentioned as a saṁskāra by Vaik. (I. 1) and by Aṅgiras.

Antyeṣṭi :—mentioned by Manu II. 16 and Yāj I. 10.

It is laid down that the saṁskāras from jātakarma to cūḍākarma were to be performed in the case of the twice-born classes with Vedic mantras when the child was a male and that in the case of girls the ceremonies were to be performed but without Vedic mantras ; vide Āśv. gṛ. (I. 15. 12, I. 16. 6, I. 17. 18), Manu II. 66, Yāj I. 13. But marriage in the case of the girls of the three higher classes was to be performed with Vedic mantras (Manu II, 67. Yāj. I. 13).

The saṁskāras[458] from garbhādhāna to upanayana alone were absolutely necessary in the case of all twice-born persons ;

458. अत्र गर्भाधानाद्युपनयनपर्यन्ता एव संस्काराः सर्वेषां नियताः न पुनः स्नानादयः। तथात्वे यमिच्छेत्कर्तुं तमावसेद्यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रव्रजेदिति विरोधः स्यात्। स्मृतिच० I. pp. 13-14; स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 73). The words ' यदि वेतरथा ..... व्रजेत् ' are जाबालोपनिषद् 4.

the saṁskāras of snāna and vivāha were not obligatory, as a man was allowed to become a saṁnyāsin (ascetic) immediately after finishing the period of studenthood (according to the Jābālopaniṣad). The Saṁskāraprakāśa enters upon an elaborate discussion as to whether jātakarma could be performed for a child that is neither a male nor a female (pp. 195–197) and arrives at the conclusion that jātakarma and other saṁskāras cannot be performed for a *klība* (impotent) child.

Another question was as to what saṁskāras could be performed for the śūdra. The view of Vedavyāsa that he could have ten saṁskāras performed (but without Vedic mantras) has been stated above (p. 159). The Baijavāpa[459] gṛhya says that seven saṁskāras are allowed to the śūdra viz. from *garbhādhāna* (or *niṣeka*) to *caula*. The view of Aparārka[460] appears to be that the eight saṁskāras from garbhādhāna to caula (in Yāj. I.11–12) were meant for all varṇas (including the śūdra). According to the Madanaratna, Rūpanārāyaṇa and the bhāṣya of Harihara as quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu, the śūdras were entitled to perform six saṁskāras viz. jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍā and vivāha and the five daily mahāyajñas. The Śūdrakṛtya-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 634) quotes a verse from the Varāhapurāṇa[461] 'this very procedure (about śrāddha) has been declared in the case of śūdras but without mantras; for the śūdra who is not entitled to repeat a mantra, a brāhmaṇa repeats the mantra' and then remarks that for a śūdra a mantra from the purāṇas is to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest employed, that the śūdra is not to repeat even the purāṇa mantras but has only to say 'namaḥ'. The Nirṇayasindhu[462] mentions with approval the same view of Śūlapāṇi that in all religious ceremonies for śūdras the mantras are to be taken from the purāṇas and that they are to be repeated by the brāhmaṇa priest. The Brahmapurāṇa[463] quoted

459. बैजवापगृह्येपि । शूद्रस्यापि निषेक-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोन्नयनजातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचौलान्यमन्त्रकाणि यथाकालमुपदिष्टानीति। वीरमित्रोदय (सं. प्र.) p. 133.

460. एतच्च चातुर्वर्ण्याभिप्रायं न द्विजातिमात्राविषयम् । तथा सत्युपनयनं विधाय वाच्यं स्यात् । अपरार्क p. 25.

461. तत्र द्रव्यदेवताप्रकाशार्थं ब्राह्मणेन मन्त्राः पाठ्याः । 'अयमेव विधिः प्रोक्तः शूद्राणां मन्त्रवर्जितः । अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विप्रेण गृह्यते' इति वराहपुराणात् । शूद्रकृत्यतत्त्व p. 634.

462. अमन्त्रस्य तु शूद्रस्य मन्त्रो विप्रेण गृह्यते इति मरीच्युक्तेश्च । इयं परिभाषा सर्वार्था तेन शूद्रधर्मेषु सर्वत्र विप्रेण मन्त्रः पठनीयः सोपि पौराण एवेति शूलपाणिः । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध

463. ब्राह्मो तु 'विवाहमात्रसंस्कारं शूद्रोपि लभतां सदा' इत्युक्तम् । अत्र सदसच्छूद्रगोचरत्वेन देशभेदाद्व्यवस्था । निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध.

in the Sm. C. (I. p. 24) and other digests states that no other saṁskāra than vivāha is allowed to the śūdra. On this the Nirṇayasindhu remarks that these conflicting views are to be reconciled by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (sat) śūdras and the stricter ones to low (asat) śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.

It is to be noted that in modern times most of the saṁskāras (except garbhādhāna, upanayana and vivāha) have fallen into oblivion and are hardly ever performed even by brāhmaṇas in the manner and at the times prescribed by the smṛtis. Owing to the rapid rise in the marriageable age of brāhmaṇa girls, even the saṁskāra of garbhādhāna is falling into abeyance. Nāmakaraṇa, annaprāśana are performed in a popular way but without Vedic mantras or without calling a priest to officiate. In most cases caula is performed on the day of the upanayana and samāvartana is also performed a few days after upanayana. Jātakarma and annaprāśana are performed on the same day in some parts (e. g. in Bengal). It appears that this state of things has continued for centuries. The Smṛtyarthasāra[464] (p. 3) says 'if the saṁskāras (except upanayana) are not performed at the prescribed times, the Vyāhṛtihoma should be offered and then the saṁskāras should be performed (though late). For each saṁskāra that is not performed the penance called pādakṛcchra should be performed (if the non-performance is due to some difficulty or distress), and for non-performance of caula the penance is ardha-kṛcchra. If the saṁskāras were knowingly omitted or if there was no distress then the penance is double[465] of this.' The Nirṇayasindhu quotes verses of Śaunaka[466] to this effect and then remarks that there was a conflict of views, some holding that after the penance the saṁskāras passed over should be performed all at one time,

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464. The Vyāhṛtihoma consists in offering clarified butter with the mystic syllables, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ (or suvaḥ) uttered separately and then together. Vide Hir. gṛ. I. 3. 4 (S. B. E. Vol. 30 p. 144).

465. एते कालातिक्रमे व्याहृतिहोमं कृत्वा कार्याः । एतेष्वेकैकलोपे पादकृच्छ्रः कार्यः । चौले त्वर्धकृच्छ्रः । मत्या लोपेऽनापदि च द्विगुणः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 3; for पादकृच्छ्र vide Yāj. III. 318 and मिता० thereon where अर्धकृच्छ्र also is explained.

466. अथ संस्कारलोपे शौनकः । आरम्याधानमाचौलात्कालेतीते तु कर्मणाम् । व्याहृत्याग्निं तु संस्कृत्य हुत्वा कर्म यथाक्रमम् ॥ एतेष्वेकैकलोपे तु पादकृच्छ्रं समाचरेत् । चूडाया-मर्धकृच्छ्रं स्यादापदि त्वेवमीरितम् । अनापदि तु सर्वत्र द्विगुणं द्विगुणं चरेत् । इति । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध; स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 99) quotes a similar verse from कात्यायन ' गर्भाधानादिचौलान्ते स्वकाले विधिनाऽकृते । प्रत्येकं पादकृच्छ्रं स्याद्द्विगुणं स्यादनापदि ॥ '

while others held that they should not be performed at all after undergoing penance and a third view was that if caula was left unperformed it may be performed on the same day as upanayana. The Dharmasindhu (3rd pariccheda, purvārdha) states various substitutes (which are comparatively easy) for these penances. For example, one prājāpatya penance is equal to three Pādakṛcchras. In place of prājāpatya the person guilty of the lapse may make the gift of a cow or (in the absence of a cow) may give one niṣka (320 guñjās) of gold or one half or one-fourth of it; one who is very poor may give one-eighth of a silver niṣka or corn of that value. There being these easy substitutes (*pratyāmnāya* as they were called) people gradually left off performing the several saṁskāras and concentrated themselves only on *upanayana* and *vivāha*. The whole life of a person was so very minutely worked out and overlaid with so much ritual in the gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis that the tendency to neglect and change became insistent and inevitable. This tendency was helped by the accommodating spirit of the brāhmaṇa authors of later smṛtis and digests that were ready to prescribe easier and easier substitutes for non-observance of the elaborate sacraments, pre-natal and post-natal. Haradatta in commenting on Gaut. I. 6 (upanayanam brāhmaṇasya aṣṭame) remarks 'the teacher (Gautama) expounding upanayana first and passing over the saṁskāras like garbhādhāna that precede upanayana in time conveys that upanayana is the principal saṁskāra. Therefore even if the saṁskāras like garbhādhāna did not take place owing to adverseness of fate, upanayana can be performed, but it follows that if upanayana be not performed there is no *adhikāra* (eligibility) for marriage which follows only after upanayana.'[467] In modern times in undergoing prāyaścitta for non-performance of the saṁskāras up to caula rupees two have to be paid to the priest (annas four for each of the saṁskāras not performed up to caula and annas eight for caula).[468]

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467. प्रथमभाविनो गर्भाधानादीन्संस्कारानुल्लङ्घ्योपनयनं व्याचक्षाणस्तस्य प्राधान्यं दर्शयति । तेन दैवानुपपत्त्या गर्भाधानादेरकरणेपि उपनयनं भवति । तस्याकरणे तु विवाहादिष्वनधिकार इति सिद्धम् । हरदत्त on गौ. I. 6.

468. Vide मदनपारिजात p. 752 for कृच्छ्रप्रत्याम्नाय and संस्कारकौस्तुभ pp. 141-142 for various प्रत्याम्नायs. The modern saṁkalpa at the time of upanayana for late performance or non-performance of saṁskāras is: अमुकशर्मणः मम पुत्रस्य गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयन-जातकर्मनामकरणान्नप्राशनचौलान्तानां संस्काराणां कालातिपत्तिजनित-(or लोपजनित)प्रत्यवायपरिहारार्थं प्रतिसंस्कारं पादकृच्छ्रात्मकप्रायश्चित्तं चूडाया अर्धकृच्छ्रात्मकं प्रतिकृच्छ्रं गोमूल्यरजतनिष्कपादपादप्रत्याम्नायद्वारा अहमाचरिष्ये ।

The saṁskāras will now be described in detail. The material contained in the sūtras, smṛtis and nibandhas is so vast that only very concise statements can be made here. The method followed will be as follows. Each saṁskāra will be described from a few representative gṛhya and dharma sūtras such as the Āśv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and references will be given to other important works. Only important parts of procedure can be noted, minute divergences among the several works being passed over. Greater details will be given in the case of the two chief saṁskāras viz. upanayana and marriage which are in vogue even now.[469]

Garbhādhāna:—The beginnings of this ceremony are found very early. Atharvaveda V. 25 appears to be a hymn intended for the garbhādhāna rite. Atharva V. 25. 3 and 5 are verses which occur in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 21; the passage of the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 13, 19-22 may be rendered thus: 'At the end of three days (after menstruation first appears) when she (wife) has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice (which is then boiled and eaten with various other things according as he desires a fair, brown or dark son or a learned son or a learned daughter)... and then towards morning, after having according to the rule of the Sthālīpāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālīpāka little by little,

469. Besides the gṛhya sūtras, the dharmasūtras, Manu, Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis, the principal digests on saṁskāra relied upon here are the Saṁskāratattva of Raghunandana, the Saṁskāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Saṁskāra-prakāśa of Mitramiśra, the Saṁskārakaustubha of Anantadeva and the Saṁskāraratnamālā of Gopīnātha. Further, one should never lose sight of the fact that in a vast continent like India the various items in daily rites and ceremonies have always varied from age to age, from province to province and from caste to caste. Innumerable modifications were introduced and usages cropped up among the people, particularly owing to the influence of women, of which smṛtis and digests take no notice. This was the state of things even several centuries before Christ. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 29. 15) closes with the aphorism 'some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not described here) may be understood from (the usages of) women and of all varṇas'. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 1) states 'various indeed are the usages of the different countries and of the different villages; one should observe them in marriage ceremonies.' This work does not profess to give the bewildering differences of the several śākhās and the several provinces of Modern India, but will restrict itself principally to Western India and the Āśv. sūtra, though important variations have been pointed out in many places.

saying 'This is for Agni, svāhā ; this is for Anumati, svāhā ; this is for divine Savitṛ the true creator, svāhā ! Having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the sice, eats it and after having eaten he gives some of it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water jar and sprinkles her thrice with water saying 'Rise, oh Viśvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband.' Then he embraces her and says 'I am Ama, thou art Sā. Thou art Sā, I am Ama. I am the Sāman, thou art the Ṛk. I am the sky, thou art the earth. Come, let us strive together that a male child may be begotten' (VI. 4. 21–22 cannot be literally translated for reasons of decency). Briefly the husband has intercourse with her and repeats certain mantras 'may Viṣṇu make ready your private parts, may Tvaṣṭā frame your beauty, may Prājāpati sprinkle and may Dhātā implant an embryo into you; Oh Sinīvālī ! Oh Pṛthuṣṭukā ! implant embryo (in her), may the two Aśvins who wear a garland of lotuses plant in thee an embryo..... As the earth has fire inside it, as heaven has Indra inside it, as the wind is inside (as the embryo of) the quarters, so I plant a *garbha* in thee, oh, so and so (the name of the woman being taken)'.[470] In the Āśv. gr. (I. 13. 1) it is expressly stated that in the Upaniṣad the ceremonies of Garbhalambhana (conceiving a child), Puṁsavana (securing a male child) and Anavalobhana (guarding against dangers to the embryo) are mentioned. Evidently this is a reference to the Bṛ. Up. quoted above (where four mantras used in the garbhādhāna saṁskāra by Hir. and other gṛhya sūtras occur).

The rite called *caturthīkarma* is described in the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. (I. 18–19, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 44–46) as follows "Three

470. Vide Appendix for text and S. B. E. vol 15, pp. 220–221 for the translation of the passage. Max Muller notes that the passage 'amohasmi' occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 71, that a similar passage (where instead of 'sā tvam' there is 'sa tvam') occurs in Ait. Br. VIII. 27 and that in the Chāndogya Up. I. 6. 1 sā is explained as earth and 'ama' as fire. The mantra 'may Viṣṇu...embryo into you' is Ṛg. X. 184. 1= Atharvaveda V. 25. 5, and the mantra 'oh Sinīvālī...an embryo,' is Ṛg. X. 184. 2= Atharva V. 25. 3 (where 'Sarasvati' is read for 'pṛthuṣṭuke'. The Nirukta (XI. 32. on Ṛg. II. 32. 6 where we have an invocation to Sinīvālī in the words 'give us progeny', प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि नः) explains 'pṛthuṣṭuke' as 'prthujaghane' (having large buttocks or large mass of hair). The words 'garbham dadhātu' probably suggested the name 'garbhādhāna given to this rite. The Hir. gṛ. I. 7. 25. 1. has the above two mantras and also the mantra 'as the earth &c' (and another mantra also) which four occur in Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 21–22 ; vide S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199.

nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya (the mantra being the same for all three except the name of the deity), Aryaman, Varuṇa, Pūṣan (mantras being the same for these three), Prājāpati (the mantra is Ṛg. X. 121. 10), to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Then he pounds the root of Adhyaṇḍā plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Ṛg. X. 85. 21-22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words 'the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou'. Then he should murmur 'into the breath I put the sperm, Oh! so and so (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse 'as the earth has fire inside &c. (quoted above from Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 22) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as an arrow into the quiver; may a man be born here, a son, after ten months".[471] The Pār. gṛ. (I. 11, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 288-290) also has a similar procedure. Āp. gṛ. (8. 10-11, S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 267-268), Gobhila II. 5 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 51-52) give briefly a similar procedure, but refer to mantras given in the Mantrapāṭha (e. g. Āp. M. P. I. 10. 1. to I. 11. 11). To modern minds it appears strange that intercourse should have been surrounded by so much of mysticism and religion in the ancient sūtras. But in ancient times every act was sought to be invested with a religious halo; so much so that according to Hir. gṛ. I. 7. 25.3. (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 200) Ātreya held that mantras were to be repeated at each cohabitation throughout life, while Bādarāyaṇa prescribed that this was necessary only at the first cohabitation and after each monthly course.[472] The Hir. gṛ. (I. 7, 23. 11 to 7, 25, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 197-200) gives a very elaborate rite, but on the same lines as the above gṛhyasūtras. One of the mantras is interesting on account of its reference to the cakravāka birds (I. 7. 24. 6), 'The concord that belongs to the cakravāka birds, that is brought out of the rivers of which the divine Gandharva is possessed, thereby we are concordant' (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 198). The Vaik. (III. 9) calls this ceremony ṛtusaṁgamana and is similar to Āp. gṛ. and Hir. gṛ. It will be seen that the

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471. The mantra 'आ ते योनिं गर्भ एतु पुमान् बाण इवेषुधिम्। आ वीरोऽत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः॥' is अथर्ववेद III. 23. 2. This occurs also in हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 7. 25. 1.

472. भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 20 ascribes these views respectively to Āśmarathya and Ālekhana 'सर्वाण्युपायनानि मन्त्रवन्ति भवन्तीत्याश्मरथ्यो यज्ञादौ यज्ञर्तावित्यालेखनः'॥

caturthīkarma is treated by the gṛhya writers as part of the marriage rites and the rite was performed irrespective of the question whether it was the first appearance of menses or whether the wife had just before the marriage come out of her monthly illness. This indicates that it was taken for granted that the wife had generally attained the age of puberty at the time of marriage. As the marriageable age of girls came down it appears that the rite of caturthīkarma was discontinued and the rite was performed long after the ritual of marriage and appropriately named *garbhādhāna.*

The smṛtis and nibandhas add many details some of which will have to be noticed. Manu (III. 46) and Yāj. I. 79 say that the natural period (for conception) is sixteen nights from the appearance of menses. Āp. gṛ. 9. 1 says[473] that each of the even nights from the 4th to 16th (after the beginning of the monthly illness) are more and more suited for excellence of (male) offspring. Hārīta also says the same. These two appear to allow garbhādhāna on the fourth night, but Manu (III. 47), Yāj. (I. 79) lay down that the first four nights must be omitted. Kātyāyana, Parāśara (VII. 17) and others say that a woman in her menses is purified by bathing on the 4th day. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (III. 1) says that the garbhādhāna ceremony should be performed on the first appearance of menses after the 4th day has elapsed. The Sm. C. suggests that the 4th may be allowed if there is entire cessation of the flow.[474] Manu (IV. 128) and Yāj. I. 79 added further restrictions viz. that new moon and full moon days and the 8th and 14th tithis of the month were also to be omitted. Astrological details were added by Yāj. I. 80 (that the Mūla and Maghā constellations must be avoided and the moon must be auspiciously placed) and other later smṛtis, which it is unnecessary to dwell upon. In the later smṛtis like Laghu-Āśvalāyana III. 14-19 and in *nibandhas* like the Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu elaborate discussions are held about the months, tithis, week-

473. चतुर्थिप्रभृत्याषोडशीस्तत्तरासुत्तरा युग्मां प्रजानिश्रेयससमृतुगमन इत्युपदिशन्ति। आप. गृ. सू. 9. 1, S. B. E. vol 30 p. 268.

474. यत्तु गर्भाधानमधिकृत्य हारीतेनोक्तं चतुर्थेह्नि स्नातायां युग्मासु चेति तच्चतुर्थेह्नि रजोनिवृत्तौ द्रष्टव्यम्। स्मृतिच० I. p. 15; एतदेवाभिप्रेत्य कात्यायनः। रजस्वला चतुर्थेह्नि स्नानाच्छुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्। इति, quoted in स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 15; स्नाता रजस्वला या तु चतुर्थेहनि शुध्यति। कुर्याद्रजोनिवृत्तौ तु दैवपित्र्यादिकर्म च ॥ पराशर VII. 17; गर्भाधानं द्विजः कुर्याद्ऋतौ प्रथम एव हि। चतुर्थे दिवसादूर्ध्वं पुत्रार्थी दिवसे समे ॥ लघ्वाश्व. III. 1.

days, nakṣatras, colour of clothes, that were deemed to be inauspicious for the first appearance of menses and about the *śāntis* (propitiatory rites) for averting their evil effects. Āp. gṛ., Manu (III. 48), Yāj. (I. 79), Vaik. III. 9 hold that a man desirous of male issue should cohabit on the even days from the 4th day after the appearance of menses and if he cohabits on uneven days a female child is born. Hir. gṛ.[475] I. 7. 24. 8 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 199) and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 20) prescribe that a woman in her menses who takes a bath on the 4th day should attire herself in white (or pure) clothes, should ornament herself and talk with (worthy) brāhmaṇas (only). The Vaik. (III. 9) further adds that she should anoint herself with unguents, should not converse with a woman, or a śūdra, should see no one else except her husband, since the child born becomes like the male whom a woman taking a bath after the period looks at. Śaṅkha-Likhita convey a similar eugenic suggestion,[476] viz. 'Women give birth to a child similar in qualities to him on whomsoever their heart is set in their periods.'

A debatable question is whether garbhādhāna is a saṁskāra of the garbha (the child in the womb) or of the woman. Gaut. VIII. 24, Manu. I. 16, and Yāj. I. 10 indicate that it is a saṁskāra of the *garbha* and not of the woman. Viśvarūpa[477] on Yāj. I. 11 expressly asserts that all saṁskāras except *Sīmantonnayana* have to be performed again and again (as they are the saṁskāras of the garbha), while Sīmantonnayana being a saṁskāra of the woman has to be performed only once and this opinion was in consonance with the usage in his days. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. 17) also holds the same view. Medhātithi[478] on Manu II. 16 says that the garbhādhāna rite with mantras was performed after marriage only once at the time of the first cohabitation according to some, while according to

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475. चतुर्थ्यां स्नाता प्रयतवस्त्रा ब्राह्मणसंभाषां ..... भारद्वाजगृह्य I 20; स्नात्वा श्वेतवस्त्रानुलेपना स्त्रीशूद्राभ्यामनाभिभाष्यापरमदृष्ट्वा भर्तारं पश्येद्यस्माद्तुस्नाता यादृशं पुरुष पश्येत्तादृशी प्रजा भवति। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 9.

476. यस्मिन् भावेऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामार्तवे तच्छीलं जनयन्ति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृषवत्सप्रभवः श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते। शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (श्राद्ध. p. 241) and वि. र. p. 441.

477. प्रतिगर्भं चापसीमन्तोन्नयनाः प्रवर्तन्ते। तस्य स्त्रीसंस्कारत्वात्। ...गर्भाधानं स्वर्थादेवावर्तते। लिङ्गाच्च पुंसवनम्। ...एवं च समाचारानुग्रहः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 11.

478. गर्भाधानं च विवाहादनन्तरं प्रथमोपगमे विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयत्विति मन्त्रवत्कोचांचिद्विहितम्। परेषामागर्भग्रहणात्प्रवृत्त। मेधा. on मनु II. 16.

others it was to be performed after every menstruation till conception. Later works like the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 11), the Sm. C., the Saṁskāratattva (p. 909) hold that garbhādhāna, puṁsavana [479] and sīmantonnayana are saṁskāras of the woman and are to be performed only once and quote Hārīta in support. Aparārka holds that sīmantonnayana is performed only once at the first conception, while puṁsavana is repeated at each conception. He relies on Pār. gṛ. I. 15; and the Saṁskāra-mayūkha and the Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 170-171) hold the same opinion. Sm. C. (I. p. 17) quotes a verse of Viṣṇu that according to some even sīmantonnayana is repeated at each conception. About the rules for women who are *rajasvalā* (in their monthly course) vide later on.

According to Kullūka (on Manu II. 27), the Sm. C. (I. p. 14) and other works garbhādhāna is not of the nature of *homa*. The Dharmasindhu says that when garbhādhāna takes place on the first appearance of menses, homa for garbhādhāna is to be performed in the gṛhya fire, but there is no homa when the cohabitation takes place on the second or later appearance of menses; that those in whose sūtra no homa is prescribed should perform the garbhādhāna rite on the proper day after the first appearance of menses by reciting the mantras but without homa. The Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 59) relying on Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa prescribes homa in which cooked food is to be offered to Prajāpati and seven offerings of ājya are to be offered in fire, three with the verses 'Viṣṇur-yonim' (Ṛg. X. 184. 1-3), three with 'nejameṣa' (Āp. [illegible]. I. 12. 7-9) and one with Ṛg. X. 121. 10 (prajāpate na).

All saṁskāras other than garbhādhāna can be performed by any agnate in the absence of the husband (vide Saṁskāra-prakāśa [480] p. 165).

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479. देवलः। सकृच्च संस्कृता नारी सर्वगर्भेषु संस्कृता। तेन गर्भाधानपुंसवनसीमन्तोन्नयनानि सकृदेव कर्तव्यानि। संस्कारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 909); हारीतः। सकृत्संस्कृतसंस्काराः सीमन्तेन द्विजस्त्रियः। यं यं गर्भं प्रसूयन्ते स सर्वः संस्कृतो भवेत्॥ अपरार्क p. 25 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 17; vide मिता. on या. I. 11 where a full verse of देवल is quoted, which combines the latter half of हारीत with the half verse of देवल quoted above.

480. 'ब्रह्मपुराणम्। गर्भाधानादिसंस्कर्ता पिता श्रेष्ठतमः स्मृतः। अभावे स्वकुलीनः स्याद् बान्धवो वान्यगोत्रजः॥ ... ... आर्यावर्तसमुद्भूतः स्वशाखी (स्वशाखी?) श्रेष्ठ उच्यते।' संस्कारप्रकाश p. 165; तत्र वृद्धगर्गः। पिता पितामहो भ्राता ज्ञातयो गोत्रजाग्रजाः। उपायनेऽधिकारी स्यात्पूर्वाभावे परः परः॥ पितैवोपनयेत्पुत्रं तदभावे पितुः पिता। तदभावे पितुर्भ्राता तदभावे तु सोदरः। इति पितामहस्मरणात्। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 407. In the निर्णयसिन्धु (III पूर्वार्ध) the verse पिता पितामहो is ascribed to वृद्धमनु.

As homa is necessary in numerous ceremonies and rites, the gṛhyasūtras give a description of a model homa. Therefore here also it would be well to set out the description from the Āśvalāyana[481] Gṛhyasūtra (I. 3, S. B. E. vol 29 pp. 162–163), a few important points of difference being added from other gṛhyasūtras and other works.

" Now wherever (a person) intends[482] to offer a sacrifice he should besmear (with cowdung) a *sthaṇḍila* (a slightly raised square surface of sand or loose earth) of the dimension at least of an arrow on all (four) sides; let him then draw six lines (in all) on it, one to the west (of that part of the sthaṇḍila on which the fire is to be placed) but turned northwards, two lines turned towards the east but separately at the two ends (of the line first drawn); (then he should draw) three lines in the middle (of the two); let him then sprinkle (the sacred sthaṇḍila) with water, establish the (sacred) fire (on the sthaṇḍila), put (two or three samidhs) on the fire; then he should perform *parisamūhana* (i. e. wiping or sweeping the ground round the fire), then paristaraṇa (i. e. strewing darbha grass round) to the east, to the south, to the west, to the north (in order); in this way (all acts like parisamūhana, paristaraṇa &c.) should end in the north. Then silently he should sprinkle (water) round (the fire). (2) With two (kuśa blades used as) strainers (pavitra) the purifying of the ājya is done. (3) Having[483] taken two kuśa blades with unbroken ends, which do not bear a young shoot in them, of the measure of a span, at their ends with his thumb and fourth finger, with hands turned the inside being upwards, he purifies the ājya (from the west) towards the east with (the words) ' by the urging of Savitṛ I purify thee with this uninjured *pavitra*, with the rays of the Vasu (i. e. rich or good) sun ', once with this *mantra*, twice silently. (4) The strewing of kuśa grass (paristaraṇa) round the fire may or may not be done in the ājya homas (i. e. sacrifices in which clarified butter alone is to be offered into the fire). (5) So also the two ājya portions (may optionally be offered) in the Pākayajñas. (6) And (the

481. Vide Appendix for the text of आश्व. गृ. I. 3.

482. यत्र क्वचनाग्निमुपसमाधास्यन् स्यात् तत्र प्राचीरुदीचीश्च तिस्रस्तिस्रो रेखा लिखित्वाद्भिरवोक्ष्याग्निमुपसमिन्ध्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 13.

483. तूष्णीमाधारावाघार्याज्यभागौ जुहुयादग्नये स्वाहा सोमाय स्वाहेति । उत्तरमाग्नेयं दक्षिणं सौम्यम् । विज्ञायते चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ । आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 13–15. The ājya to Agni is offered to the north of the fire and that to Soma to the south of it.

employment in all Pākayajñas) of the brahmā priest is optional except in the Dhanvantari sacrifice and Śūlagava sacrifice. (7) He should offer the sacrifice with the words 'to such and such a deity, svāhā'. (8) If there is no specific direction (as to the deities to whom the offerings are to be made), the deities are Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viśve Devas (all gods), Brahmā.[484] At the end there is an offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (vide Appendix under note 481 for the mantra).

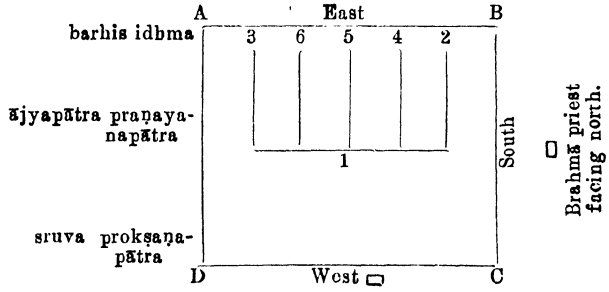
In the Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. I. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 22-31) the procedure described is more elaborate and contains some important differences. The performer (I. 7. 6-7) draws one line in the middle of the sacrificial surface from south to north and from this line only three lines are drawn upwards, one to the south of it, one in the middle, and one to the north (i. e. there are only four lines and not six as in Āśvalāyana). Further it (I. 8. 6-7) says that the seat of the brahmā priest is to the south of the sthaṇḍila and he is honoured with flowers. Śāṅkhāyana adds (I. 8. 8.) the detail that the praṇītā waters are carried forward on the north side and (I. 8. 9-11) that paristaraṇa follows after the carrying forward of the praṇītā waters. It also adds (I. 8. 24-25) that waters in the sruva spoon are purified just as ājya is purified and then a portion of the water in the sruva is poured on to the praṇītā water and the rest of the water in the sruva is called the prokṣaṇī water with which the *havis*, the idhma (fuel) and *barhis* (kuśas) are sprinkled. Śāṅkhāyana I. 9. 1 lays down that sruva spoon is the vessel in all gṛhya rites (and not juhū as in śrauta rites) except where a special rule to the contrary is stated. The Pār. gṛ. I. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 269-270) and the Khādira gṛ. I. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 376-378) describe the model homa in a very concise manner. The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 1. 9-11, and I. 5. 13-20, I. 7. 9, I. 8. 21), Hir. gṛ. (1. 1. 9-I. 3. 7 S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 138-145) describe it at great length. The sthaṇḍila should be prepared on a level spot or on a spot that slopes towards the east or north or north-east (vide Hir. gṛ. I. 1. 9, S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 138). The sthaṇḍila should be raised to the height

484. In the gṛhya rites ordinarily no brahmā priest is present, but he is represented by a bundle of kuśa grass (50 blades). For धन्वन्तरि-यज्ञ and शूलगव *vide* respectively आश्व. गृ. I. 12. 7 and IV. 9. The deities when none are specified or indicated are different according to other sūtras e. g. भरद्वाजगृह्य states them to be अग्नि, सोम, प्रजापति, विश्वे देवाः and अग्नि स्विष्टकृत् (I. 4.)

of two or four finger breadths or as much as the sand or loose earth that one has brought will allow; and the sthaṇḍila is to be a square, each side of which is given variously as being an arrow (18 aṅgulas) in length, or 32 finger breadths (according to Vaik.), or one *aratni* (=21 aṅgulas according to Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā I. 5. 3).[485]

The Āp. gṛ. describes at length the procedure common to all homas.

The following figures would illustrate the position of the sthaṇḍila, the lines drawn thereon, the position of the sacrificer and of the various articles required at the time of homa &c.

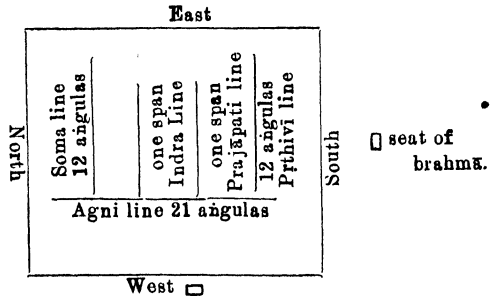


Sacrificer facing the east.

ABCD is the sthaṇḍila of sand or loose earth; 1–6 are the lines drawn with a samidh on which the fire is to be placed. The above figure represents the position of all materials in an ājya homa (i. e. offering of clarified butter) only; but when there is *darvihoma* (offering of boiled food in a darvi or ladle) the materials on the north side are *carusthālī* and prokṣaṇapātra, darvi and sruva, camasa and ājyapātra, idhma and barhis

485. प्राचीनप्रवणे उदीचीनप्रवणे प्राग्दक्प्रवणे समे वा देशे उद्धृत्यावोक्ष्य ...। हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 9. अपरार्क quotes (p. 905) a smṛti that a *vitasti* is equal to 12 aṅgulas and aratni is equal to two vitastis, while हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 51) quotes from the Ādityapurāṇa a passage where an aratni is said to be equal to 21 aṅgulas. In कात्यायनश्रौत 16. 8. 21 the height of a man is given as five aratnis.

(according to Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa 14) and Kumārila-kārikā I. 2. 20.)



Sacrificer facing the east.

The above is the figure of the sthaṇḍila and the lines thereon in all gṛhya rites according to Baudhāyana-gṛhya-saṁgraha-pariśiṣṭa (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 540) I. 52–58. The distance between the lines running towards the east is six aṅgulas and it will be noted that all the lines are only five (and not six). 9–11) th

The brahmā is the only priest (out of the four the praṇ ṛtviks) in sacrifices that are offered in one fire (n the sru gṛhya fire) and are called *pākayajñas* and the por (sacrificer) is himself the hotṛ priest.[486] The order of the several parts in the homa is as follows:[487] upalepana (smearing with cowdung), arranging of sthaṇḍila with sand or earth; drawing lines on the sthaṇḍila with a *samidh* (fuel stick), keeping the *samidh* on the lines with its end towards the east, sprinkling sthaṇḍila with water on its north or east, keeping the samidh (with which lines were drawn) outside the sthaṇḍila towards the north-east, then ācamana (by the sacrificer), then placing fire (either produced by attrition or brought from the house of a śrotriya or the ordinary one) on the sthaṇḍila facing the performer, placing two or three samidhs on the fire, keeping ready of idhma (15 samidhs) and a bunch of darbha grass. Then parisamūhana (wiping the ground round the fire from north-east with the hand that has water in it), then paristaraṇa (strewing darbha grass round the altar first to the east, then to the south, then to the west and lastly to the north), then silent paryukṣaṇa (sprinkling of water thrice round the fire, each

486. ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक्। पाकयज्ञेषु स्वयं होता भवति। गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 8–9 पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या यः कश्चैकाग्नौ। खादिरगृह्य I. 1. 20.

487. This is based on Nārāyaṇa's com. on Āśv. gṛ. I. 3. 1–3.

time taking water in the hand separately), then apaḥ-praṇayana (carrying forward the water to the north of the fire) in a vessel of bell-metal or earthenware, then ājyotpavana (purification of the clarified butter with two kuśa blades as strainers[488] thrice, once with mantra and twice silently), the two āghāras and the two oblations of ājya. Then the principal oblations as directed in the various sūtras, then finally an oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The method of offering an oblation is to repeat the mantra preceded by om and to add svāhā at the end, to put the āhuti (oblation) on fire and to say 'this is for such and such a god and not mine'.[489]

The Āśv. gṛhya-sūtra (I. 4) further adds that in caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage there are (as part of these ceremonies) first four oblations of clarified butter to be made with the three mantras (Ṛg. IX. 66. 10-12) 'Oh Angi, thou purifiest life &c' and with the one verse 'Prajāpati ! no other than thou &c' (Ṛg. X. 121. 10) or with the vyāhṛtis,[489] or

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488. In some works pātrāsādana is taught after paristaraṇa and paryukṣaṇa (vide Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 3. 3.). It consists in placing the several vessels to the north of the fire on darbha grass in pairs with both hands, the faces of the vessels being turned down. Then he takes two blades (as described in Āśv. gr. I. 3. 4) as *pavitras* and places them in the prokṣaṇapātra the face of which is turned up and pours water in the prokṣaṇapātra and thrice purifies the water with them, then the other vessels are turned upwards, the bundle of idhma is loosened and all vessels are sprinkled with water, then the praṇītāpātra is placed to the west of the fire, the two pavitras (kuśa blades used as strainers are placed inside it and water is poured into the praṇītāpātra and sandalwood paste is mixed with it, the vessel is raised level with one's nose and placed to the north of the fire on darbhas, and covered with darbhas. This is pātrāsādana. Nārāyaṇa mentions also other acts not specified by Āśvalāyana which may be done even by a person following that sūtra viz. carrying a firebrand (burning blade of darbha) round the clarified butter and cleansing of *sruc* and *sruva*, and throwing of the rope that tied together idhma into the fire at the end of the oblation to Sviṣṭakṛt.

489. In offering an oblation to Dhātṛ one would say 'ओं धाता ददातु नो रयिमीशानो जगतस्पतिः । स नः पूर्वेण पावनत् । स्वाहा । धात्र इदं न मम'. The four oblations with the vyāhṛtis would be भूः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भूर्भुवः स्वः स्वाहा. Āghāra consists in pouring in a continuous stream clarified butter for Prajāpati on the fire from the north-west to the south-east once and then from the south-west to the north-east for Indra. Vide Āp. śr. sūtra II. 12. 7 and II. 14. 1 and Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 13. For ājyabhāga see note 483.

according to some teachers with a combination (of the ṛk verses and vyāhṛtis),[490] while according to others there are no such special oblations.[491]

In modern times, after the sthaṇḍila is sprinkled with water, fire is established on it under various names depending on the rite to be performed e. g. in upanayana and marriage respectively the fire is called[492] 'Samudbhava' and 'Yojaka'. Then fuel sticks already sprinkled with holy water are placed on the fire and it is fanned into a flame and prayer is offered to it in the words 'agne Vaiśvānara Śāṇḍilya meṣadhvaja mama sammukho varado bhava'. Then follow parisamūhana and other acts stated above.

Just as homa is required in most gṛhya rites there are certain matters common to almost all rites. One is that in all saṁskāras one has to feed brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas.[493] All rites begin with *ācamana* by the performer, prāṇāyāma by him, reference to the deśa (place) and kāla (time) and a *saṁkalpa* (a declaration of what rite he is performing and for what purpose). After these, according to medieval works, follow in all auspicious rites the worship of Gaṇapati, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs (mother goddessess) and Nāndīśrāddha. According to some there is only one saṁkalpa for all these ; according to others there is a separate saṁkalpa for each of puṇyāhavācana, mātṛkāpūjana and Nāndīśrāddha. In all auspicious rites the performer takes a bath first, ties his topknot, has a piece of ground cowdunged and lines with coloured materials are drawn on a portion of the ground, two auspicious *kalaśas* (jars) filled with water are placed on such ornamented ground with their mouths covered with a pot, all articles necessary for worship are placed to the north of the spot, two

490. i. e. there will be eight oblations (4 with ṛks and 4 with vyāhṛtis).

491. i. e. there are no oblations with the 4 verses nor with the four vyāhṛtis, but oblations will have to be offered to those deities that are prescribed as the deities where no special rule exists (vide Āśv. gṛ. 1. 3. 8 set out above at p. 208).

492. Vide सं. र. मा. pp. 58–59 where these names of the fires in the several saṁskāras and rites are set out. The Dānakriyākaumudī (pp. 205–206) quotes from Kapila Pañcarātra over 30 names of the fires kindled in the several rites and ceremonies.

493. छन्दीन्मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 9 ; यदाह कात्यायनः । गर्भाधानादिसर्वेषु ब्राह्मणान् भोजयेद्बहून् । अपरार्क p. 32.

wooden low stools or planks are arranged to the west of the spot so decorated, the performer sits on one plank facing the east, his wife sits to his right and if the ceremony is meant for his son, the latter sits to the right of the wife; the brāhmaṇas are seated a little away to the right of the wife, facing the north and the performer sips water (takes ācamana). Except[494] where a religious rite is to be performed on a fixed day (e. g. anniversary śrāddha &c.) all saṁskāras and other auspicious rites are to be performed at certain auspicious times only.

Gaṇapatipūjana :—This consists in inviting the presence of the elephant-faced god Gaṇeśa on a betelnut placed in a handful of husked rice. The word Gaṇapati is used in the Ṛgveda as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati (the lord of prayer or holy lore). The well-known mantra ('gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe' Ṛg. II. 23. 1) which is used to invoke Gaṇeśa is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. Indra is addressed as Gaṇapati in Ṛg. X. 112. 9. In the Tai. S. IV. 1. 2. 2 and Vāj. S. paśus (and the horse specially) are said to be the Gāṇapatya of Rudra. The Ait. Br. IV. 4[495] expressly says that the mantra 'gaṇānām tvā' is addressed to Brahmaṇaspati. In the Vāj. S. 16. 25 we have the plural (Gaṇapatibhyaśca vo namo') and in 22. 30 we have the singular 'Gaṇapataye svāhā'. The peculiar features of Gaṇeśa as described in the medieval works, viz. the head of an elephant, pot belly, mouse as vāhana (conveyance) are entirely wanting in the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. III. 57 the mouse[496] is said to be the paśu (animal to be offered to) of Rudra. In the Tai. Ār. (X. 15) there is a verse[497] 'We contemplate Vakratuṇḍa, therefore may the tusked (god) impel us'. In the Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras there is no reference to the worship of Gaṇeśa at the beginning of all auspicious rites. That is comparatively a later cult. In the Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 83-90, S. B. E. vol. 14. p. 254) the Devatarpaṇa includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha,

494. उद्गयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 4. 1; भारद्वाज I. 1. 'आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये'

495. गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे इति ब्राह्मणस्पत्यं ब्रह्म वै बृहस्पतिर्ब्रह्मणैवैनं तद् भिषज्यति। ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 4.

496. एष ते रुद्र भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया तं जुषस्व स्वाहैष ते रुद्र भाग आखुस्ते पशुः। वाज. सं. III. 57; vide also तै. सं. I. 8. 6. 1.

497. तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे वक्रतुण्डाय धीमहि। तन्नो दन्तिः (दन्ती?) प्रचोदयात्॥ तै. आ. X. 1.

Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta and Lambodara. But this part of the Baud. Dh. S. is of doubtful authenticity. All the above are the appellations of Vināyaka (vide Baud. gṛhya-śeṣasūtra III. 10. 6). In the Mānava gṛhya II. 14 it is said that the Vināyakas are four viz. Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana. They are evil spirits and people when seized by them have bad dreams and see in them inauspicious sights such as shaved persons, persons with matted hair or wearing yellowish garments, camels, hogs, asses, cāṇḍālas. When seized by them, princes, though capable, do not get their kingdoms; maidens, though endowed with all accomplishments, cannot secure husbands; married women have no children or even virtuous wives lose their children in infancy; husbandmen lose their crops &c. The Mānavagṛhya then prescribes propitiatory rites to remove the effects of Vināyaka seizure. The Baijavāpagṛhya (quoted by Aparārka p. 563 on Yāj. I. 275) says[498] that there are four Vināyakas, Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra and describes seizure by them and its effects in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. These two show the first stage in the development of the cult of Vināyaka. Vināyakas are at this stage malevolent spirits who cause dangers and obstacles of various kinds. In this cult various elements from the terrific aspects of Rudra were probably first drawn upon and amalgamated with other elements drawn from aboriginal cults. The next stage is indicated by the Yāj. smṛti (I. 271–294). Here Vināyaka (I. 271) is said to be one appointed by Brahmā and Rudra to the over-lordship of the Gaṇas, he is represented not only as causing obstacles, but also as bringing success in the actions and rites undertaken by men. Yāj, enumerates the results of the seizure by Vināyaka in the same way as the Mānavagṛhya. Yāj. I. 285 says that Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra are the four names[499] of the one Vināyaka and that Ambikā is the mother of Vināyaka. It is noteworthy that Yāj. does not

498. चत्वारः खलु विनायका भवन्ति। मितश्च संमितश्च शालकङ्कटश्च कूष्माण्डराजपुत्रश्चेति। बैजवापगृह्य q. in अपरार्क p. 563.

499. Though Viśvarūpa and Aparārka take these to be four, it is curious that the Mit. makes them to be six (viz. Śāla and Kaṭaṅkaṭa as distinct and so also Kūṣmāṇḍa and Rājaputra). It is remarkable that Kṣīra on Amarakośa expressly says that Heramba is a Deśya word. This adds some weight to the theory that Gaṇeśa was taken over into the Vedic pantheon from some exotic tribe and affiliated to Rudra (Śiva).

employ any one of the well-known epithets of Vināyaka, viz. Ekadanta, Heramba, Gajānana, Lambodara &c. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra III. 10 prescribes a somewhat different procedure for propitiating Vināyaka and styles him 'the lord of bhūtas', and also 'hastimukha' and 'vighneśvara' and prescribes the offerings of *apūpa* and *modaka* to him. Thus Baudhāyana is nearer to the medieval conception of Gaṇeśa than even Yājñavalkya. The Ādiparva makes Gaṇeśa write the Mahābhārata to the dictation of Vyāsa; but this part is apocryphal as many mss. altogether omit this episode (*vide* J. R. A. S. for 1898 pp. 380-384, Winternitz). The other references in Vanaparva 65. 23 and Anuśāsana 150. 25 bear affinity to the description of Vināyaka in the Mānavagṛhya.[500]

The Gobhilasmṛti (in verse) I. 13 prescribes that at the beginning of all rites, the Mātṛs together with Gaṇādhipa (the lord of Gaṇas) should be worshipped. The well-known characteristics of Gaṇeśa and his worship had become fixed before the 5th or 6th century of the Christian era. Kālidāsa does not refer to Gaṇeśa. The Gāthāsaptaśatī has references to Gaṇeśa. In that work (IV. 72) an image of Gaṇeśa is referred to as made use of as a pillow and the tip of his trunk is mentioned in V. 3. In Codrington's 'Ancient India' plate XXXIX there is an image of Gaṇeśa referable to about 500 A. D. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 147. Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (IV Ucchvāsa verse 2) speaks of the large tusk of Gaṇādhipa and in describing Bhairavācārya (Harṣacarita III) associates Vināyaka with obstacles and learning and also indicates that he had the head of an elephant. In the Vāmanapurāṇa (chap. 54) there is a fantastic legend about the birth of Vināyaka.

The Mahāvīracarita (II. 38) speaks of the tusk of Heramba The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 260. 52-55) describes how the images of Vināyaka are to be made. Aparārka (p. 343) quotes a passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (289.7) on the mahādāna called Mahābhūtaghaṭa, in which it is said that Vināyaka should be shown as riding a mouse. The Kṛtyaratnākara p. 271 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa for the worship of Gaṇeśa on the 4th day of Bhādrapada. Vide Agnipurāṇa chap. 71 and 313

500. न पूजा विघ्नकर्तॄणामथवा प्रथमं कृता । वनपर्व 65. 23; ईश्वराः सर्वलोकान गणेश्वरविनायकाः । अनुशासन 150. 25.

In modern times a verse[501] is repeated in which the shrines of the eight Vināyakas in the Deccan are enumerated.

Among the earliest epigraphic references to Gaṇapati is the one in the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskarvarman (middle of 7th century). Vide E. I. Vol. XII. p. 73.[502]

The Gaṇapatipūjāna consists in the performer repeating the mantra Ṛg. II. 23. 1 ('gaṇānām tvā Gaṇapatim') as a prayer and then bowing to Gaṇeśa with the words 'Om Mahāgaṇapataye namo namaḥ nirvighnam kuru' (salutations to the great Gaṇapati, make (this rite) free from obstacles'.

Puṇyāhavācana :—Although many elaborate descriptions of this are given in later digests like the Saṁskāraratnamālā, this was originally in ancient times a very simple and brief rite. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 13. 8) says that in ordinary life in all auspicious rites (such as marriage) all sentences begin with 'Om' as in saying 'puṇyāham', 'svasti', and 'ṛddhim'. The performer of a religious rite honours the assembled brāhmaṇas with *gandha* (sandalwood paste), flowers and *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and requests with folded hands 'may you declare the day to be auspicious for such and such a ceremony which I, by name so and so, am[503] about to perform' and then the brāhmaṇas

501. स्वस्ति श्रीगणनायको गजमुखो मोरेश्वरे सिद्धिदे बल्लाळो मुरुडे विनायक इति ख्यातो महे ओझरे। विघ्नेशः खलु रांजणे गणपतिश्चिन्तामणिस्थेउरे लेण्याद्रौ गिरिजात्मजः क्षुभविघ्ने कुर्यात्सदा मङ्गलम् ॥. The eight places are indicated by thick type. मोरेश्वर is मोरगांव near Jejuri, सिद्धिदे refers to सिद्धटेक (about 30 miles from Dhond), महे refers to महेड्गाम (about 4 miles from Khopoli). मुरुड is the capital of the Siddis on the west coast south of Bombay. थेऊर is 12 miles from Poona and Leṇyādri is three miles from Junnar. Rāñjaṇagaon is 30 miles from Poona. Besides these there are famous Gaṇapati shrines at Chinchwad and at Puḷeṁ near Ratnagiri on the sea coast. Ojhar (where there is the shrine of Vighneśvara) is 28 miles from Poona and 8 miles from Junnar. In 15 Bom. 612 a scheme was framed by the Bombay High Court for the famous shrine of Maṅgalamūrti at Chinchwad near Poona which has under its jurisdiction the shrines at Morgaon, Theur and Siddhaṭeka (p. 619).

502. गन्धर्वपती तस्मादूणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्रम् । गणपतिमगणितगुणगणमसूत कलिहानये तनयम् ॥ E. I. XII. p. 73. दान means gift as well ichor.

503. In स्वस्तिवाचन the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः मम करिष्यमाणविवाहाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' and the brāhmaṇas reply 'ओं स्वस्ति'; the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः मम करिष्यमाणविवाहाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याहं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु'; the ब्राह्मणs reply 'ओं पुण्याहम्'; the performer says 'अमुकनाम्नः ... कर्मणः ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' and the brāhmaṇas respond ओं ऋध्यताम् or 'ओं कर्म ऋध्यताम् (or ऋध्यतात्)'. पुण्याहवाचनं सर्वं ब्राह्मणस्य विधीयते । तदेव च निरोङ्कारं कुर्यात्क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः ॥ यम quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 29.

respond by saying 'Om, may it be auspicious'. Each of these three sentences (with svasti, puṇyāham and ṛddhim) is to be repeated thrice according to Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra I. 10. A verse of Yama says that the brāhmaṇas should respond without the syllable 'om' when the performer of the rite is a kṣatriya or a vaiśya.

Mātṛkāpūjana :—The Mātṛs (the Mother Goddesses) do not figure in the sūtras. But that their worship was prevalent certainly in the first centuries of the Christian era throughout India can be proved from several sources. In the drama Mṛcchakaṭika (I) Cārudatta asks his friend Maitreya to offer *bali* to the Mātṛs. The Gobhila-smṛti[504] (in verse I. 11-12) names 14 mātṛs viz. Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī, Medhā, Sāvitrī, Vijayā, Jayā, Devasenā, Svadhā, Svāhā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi and one's own deity (abhīṣṭa-devatā). In the Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 88. 11-20 and 38) seven mātṛs have been named as Mātṛgaṇa. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 179. 9-32) names over a hundred mother goddesses (like Māheśvarī, Brāhmī, Kaumārī, Cāmuṇḍā), while in chap. 261 (24-36), there is a description of the images of some of the mātṛs like Brahmāṇī &c. The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58. 56) refers to the images of the mother goddesses. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī frequently refers to the mātṛs, to their worship and to dilapidated temples of these goddesses.[505] The Kṛtyaratnākara quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa at p. 261 about the images of the seven mātṛs and pp. 305 and 307 quote the Devīpurāṇa about the worship of mātṛs and the flowers dear to them. The worship of mātṛs is mentioned in the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 47, 49). The Cālukyas are often described as 'cherished by the seven mātṛs' (I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 in 535 *śake* and E. I. vol. IX. p. 100 in 660 A. D.). The Kadambas are described as meditating on Kārtikeya-śvāmī and on the group of mātṛs (I. A. vol. VI. p. 25)[506]. Similarly a

504. These verses are quoted in the स्मृतिच० (श्राद्ध p. 503) and अपरार्क p. 517. The seven in the मार्कण्डेय are ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वाराही, नारसिंही, वैष्णवी, ऐन्द्री.

505. 'अभिनवलिखितमातृपटपूजाव्यग्रधात्रीजनं' (सूतिकागृहं) in para 64, पूर्वभाग of कादम्बरी; 'अभ्यर्णतया च कैलासस्य स्नानागतमातृमण्डलपदपङ्क्तिसुद्राङ्कितम्' para 130 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग); 'असकृदुत्सञ्जदेवमातृगृहवास्तूक्षनखजर्जरितकपोलेन (जरदूद्रविडधार्मिकेण) para 216 कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग).

506. 'स्वामिमहासेनमातृगणानुध्यातानां ..... कदम्बानाम्' I. A. vol. VI. p. 25. Fleet's translation 'who meditate on the assemblage of the mothers of Svāmī Kārtikeya' is not accurate.

temple to the Mātṛs is said to have been erected by Mayūrākṣa, the minister of Viśvavarman in 480 of the Mālava Era i. e. 423-24 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions p. 74).

Whence the cult of mātṛs, which was not described in the Gṛhyasūtras, was derived it is difficult to say. Sir John Marshall in his famous work on Mohenjo-Daro (vol. I. p. VII and pp. 49-52 and plates XII, XCIV and XCV) shows how figurines of mother goddesses are common at Mohenjo-Daro. That shows that the cult prevailed in the remotest antiquity and was probably taken up by the followers of the Vedic religion and affiliated to the worship of Durgā, the spouse of Śiva. In Ṛg. IX. 102. 4 [507] the seven mothers are said to regulate soma when it is being prepared (the seven mothers are probably the seven metres or the seven rivers).

Nāndīśrāddha:—This will be dealt with under śrāddhas later on.

Puṁsavana:—This rite is so called because in virtue of it a male is born.[508] The word '*puṁsuvana*' occurs in the Atharvaveda VI. 11. 1 where [509] it appears to be used literally (in the sense of 'giving birth to a male child') 'The Aśvattha tree is on top of the Śamī tree, there the birth of a male has been effected'. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 13. 2-7 describes the rite as follows: 'he should in the third month of pregnancy, under the constellation Tiṣya (i. e. Puṣya) give (thrice) to eat to the wife, after she has fasted, (on the preceding Punarvasu constellation) in the curds of a cow which has a calf of the same colour (with the cow) two beans and one grain of barley for each handful of curds. On his asking (the woman) 'what dost thou drink? what dost thou drink?', she should thrice reply 'puṁsavana', (generation of a male), 'puṁsavana'. In this way (he) should make her take three handfuls (of curds with two beans and barley).' [510]

There is some difference of view as to details. The Āp. gṛ., Hir. gṛ. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. place puṁsavana after sīmanton-

507. जज्ञानं सप्त मातरो वेधामशासत श्रिये । ऋ. IX. 102. 4.

508. पुंसवनमिति कर्मनामधेयं येन कर्मणा निमित्तेन गर्भिणी पुमांसमेव सूते तत्पुंसवनम् । सुदर्शन on आप. गृ. 14. 9; तच्च पुमान् सूयतेनेन कर्मणेति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भस्य पुंरूपतापादकः कर्मविशेषः । ..... शौनकोपि । पुमान् प्रसूयते येन तत्पुंसवनमीरितम् ॥ इति । संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 166-167.

509. शमीमश्वत्थ आरूढस्तत्र पुंसुवनं कृतम् । अथर्व VI, 11. 1.

510. Vide Appendix for text.

nayana and Āp. says it may be performed when pregnancy becomes apparent. Instead of two beans and a barley[511] grain in curds, he requires the bringing of a shoot of the branch of a *nyagrodha* tree which (tree) points eastward or northward and which has two (fruits that look like) testicles and the pounding of the shoot and fruits by a girl who has not attained puberty between two upper stones of (two mills) with water. He then prescribes that the wife should lie down on her back to the west of the fire herself facing the east and that the husband should insert in her right nostril the pounded substance with his thumb with the formula (puṁsavanam-asi) found in Āp. M. P. (II. 11. 14). Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 46) says that the rite may be performed on Tisya or Śrāvaṇa, while the Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 22) says that it may be performed on Tiṣya or Hasta or Anurādhā or Uttarā or Proṣṭhapadā ; Pāraskara and Baijavāpa say it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with a male naksatra.[512] Pār. gṛ. I. 14 and Jātūkarṇya (Saṁ. Pr. p. 167) and Baijavāpa (*ibid.*) say that the rite should be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month of pregnancy, Āśv., Hir., Śāṅ., Gobhila, Khādira prescribe the third month. Yāj. I. 11, Pār. gṛ. (I. 14), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 2 and Bṛhaspati (quoted in the Sm. C.) say that puṁsavana should be performed before the foetus begins to move or throb in the womb. In the Kāṭhaka gṛ. 32. 2 the proper time is said to be when the greater number of months of pregnancy are past (i. e. after the 5th) and the Mānava gṛ. says that it should be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy. Devapāla (com. of Kāṭhaka gṛ.) says the usage

511. Nārāyaṇa says that in this rite one has to perform at first the sthālīpāka intended for Prajāpati up to the offering of the two ājya-bhāgas and then one should perform what is specially prescribed here. He further notes that the curds may be of a cow the calf of which is of a different colour, if one of the same colour could not be had. The curds are to be poured from the vessel of curds on to the woman's hand thrice, she is to lick the curds every time with two beans and a grain of barley ; the beans and barley grain are suggestive. This is made clear by Āp. gṛ. 14. 10 न्यग्रोधस्य या प्राच्युदीची वा शाखा ततः सवृषणां शुङ्गामाहृत्य, वैखानस III. 11 also has 'अग्नेरपरस्यामासीनाया वृषोसीति सर्षपमिश्रितान्यवानाण्डौ स्थ इति वृद्यादलाभे माषधान्यौ प्रतिनिधी स्याताम्.'

512. According to a verse quoted in Sm. C. the male nakṣatras are Hasta, Mūla, Śravaṇa, Punarvasu, Mṛgaśiras and Puṣya ; the Saṁskāra-mayūkha adds that the Nāradīya mentions Rohiṇī, Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarā-bhādrapadā also as male nakṣatras and that Vasiṣṭha regards Svāti, Anurādhā and Aśvinī also as male nakṣatras. मातृदत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. I. 1. 5 says ' अश्वयुक् पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः शतभिषक् प्रोष्ठपदा इति पुंनामधेयानि नक्षत्राणि.'

of śiṣṭas is to perform it in the 8th month and Brahmabala (another com.) says that the usage is to perform it in the 7th or 8th month of pregnancy. Most of the gṛhyasūtras refer to the pounding of the shoot[513] of the Nyagrodha tree (or some other plant) and inserting the pounded substance in the wife's right nostril. The mantras repeated when inserting the substance in her nostril are different according to most sūtras. Śāṅkhāyana (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 46) prescribes the four verses Ṛg. I. 1. 3, III. 4. 9., V. 37. 2 and IX 3. 9. with svāhā at the end of each verse. Pāraskara (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 292) prescribes Vāj. S. XIII. 4 (Ṛg. X. 121. 1) and XXXI. 17; Khādira gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 394) mentions Mantra-Brāhmaṇa I. 4. 8, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. quotes Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. The several sūtras of the Black Yajurveda show the greatest divergence among themselves.

It would be clear that the puṁsavana rite has several elements, religious (homa and son's importance from ancient times), symbolical or suggestive (the drinking of curds with beans and grain of barley) and medical (inserting some substance in the woman's nostrils). For what purpose the placing of the bile of a tortoise on the woman's lap was prescribed by Pāraskara alone (I. 14) it is difficult to say.

Later works like the Saṁskāraratnamālā prescribe a homa for puṁsavana also and remark that when in the absence of the husband, the husband's brother or other relative performs the rite, it should be performed in ordinary kitchen fire (p. 815). This latter rule applies to Sīmantonnayana also.

Anavalobhana or *Garbharakṣaṇa*:—This rite was apparently part of Puṁsavana. Āśv. gṛ., as already said, separately mentions puṁsavana and anavalobhana as referred to in the Upaniṣad. The Baijavāpa gṛ. (quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa p.171) says 'He performs the puṁsavana and anavalobhana in the fortnight of the waxing moon on an auspicious day when the moon is in conjunction with a nakṣatra (deemed to be) a male'. This shows that both were performed on the same day. Another sūtra of Baijavāpa quoted in the Saṁskāramayūkha[514] says that the two are to be performed in the 2nd or 3rd month

513. According to the Kāṭhaka gṛ. the pounding is to be done by a virgin or a brahmacārin or by a chaste brāhmaṇa woman.

514. बैजवापगृह्ये । अथ पुंसवनानवलोभने करोति मासि द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा । इदं च पुंसवनविन एव तदुत्तरं कार्यम् । ... ... इदमपि न अवलुप्यते गर्भोनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भाविनाशफलकं यद् नस्यरूपं कर्म तस्य नामधेयम् । भकारश्छान्दसः । संस्कारमयूख

of pregnancy. This rite is so called because by virtue of its performance the foetus does not fall out or is not destroyed (i. e. it is really *anavalopana* from the root *lup* with *ava*). Āśv. gṛ. (I. 13. 5–7) describes it as follows: He then inserts in her right nostril in the shade of a round apartment the (sap) of an herb which is not faded;[515] according to some (teachers), with the Prajāvat and Jīvaputra mantras. Having offered a sacrifice of cooked food to Prajāpati he should touch the region of her heart with the verse 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, what is hidden in thy heart, in Prajāpati, that I understand, (mayst thou understand) me who know that; may not injury to the son be my lot'.

It will be seen that the inserting of *dūrvārasa* in the woman's nostril, touching her heart and prayers to the gods for the safety of the foetus are the principal features of this rite in Āśv.

According to Śaunaka-kārikā (Ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 13a) that rite is called anavalobhana whereby the foetus remains undisturbed or does not fall out.[516] According to the Smṛtyarthasāra it is to be performed in the fourth month. According to Laghu-Āśvalāyana IV. 1–2 anavalobhana and simantonnayana were to be performed in the 4th, 6th or 8th month of pregnancy and verses 6–7 give the same details as in Āśv. gṛ.

The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 21. 1–3, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 47) speaks of a ceremony called Garbharakṣaṇa (protection of the foetus): "In the fourth month the garbharakṣaṇa; offering six oblations into fire from a mess of cooked food with the six verses of the hymn 'brahmaṇāgniḥ'[517] (Ṛg. X. 162) with svāhā uttered at the end of each verse, with the verses 'from thy eyes, thy nose' (Ṛg. X. 163. 1–6), besmearing her limbs with clarified butter at each verse."

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515. Nārāyaṇa explains that the herb is dūrvā according to usage. The sap is put in the nostril silently or to the accompaniment of two mantras, which are respectively of the sage Prajāvat and Jīvaputra. They are: आ ते गर्भो योनिमेतु पुमान् बाण इवेषुधिम्। आ वीरो जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः॥ अग्निरैतु प्रथमो देवतानां सोऽस्यै प्रजां मुञ्चतु मृत्युपाशात्। तदयं राजा वरुणोऽनुमन्यतां यथेयं स्त्री पौत्रमघं न रोदात्॥ इति. The first is practically the same as अथर्ववेद III. 23. 2; the 2nd is आप. म. पा. I. 4. 7.

516. न क्षुभ्येत्स्रवेद्येन तत्कर्मानवलोभनम्। शौनककारिका.

517. The Anukramaṇī says that the hymn Ṛg. X. 162 is to be repeated when there is abortion and on X. 163 that it is meant for removal of disease (यक्ष्मनाशन).

This seems to be another version of anavalobhana.

According to Āśv. gṛ. kārikās of Kumārila (I. 6. 5) this rite is to be repeated on every conception. Most other writers would hold that like puṁsavana it is to be performed only once.

Sīmantonnayana:—This is treated in the following gṛ. sūtras: Āśv. I. 14. 1-9; Śāṅ. I. 22, Āp. 14. 1-8, Hir. II. 1, Baud. I. 10, Bhāradvāja I. 21, Gobhila II. 7. 1-12, Khādira II. 2. 24-28, Pār. I. 15, Kāṭhaka 31. 1-5, Vaikhānasa III. 12.

This word literally means 'parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards.' Yāj. (1. 11), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18) call this saṁskāra simply 'sīmanta', while Gobhila (II. 7. 1), Mānava gṛ. (I. 12. 2), Kāṭhaka gṛ (31. 1) call it sīmantakaraṇa. Āp. gṛ. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 21) describe it before puṁsavana. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 14. 1-9) describes it as follows: "In the fourth month of pregnancy the Sīmantonnayana (should be performed). In the fortnight of the waxing moon, when the moon may be in conjunction with a nakṣatra that is (regarded as) male (or the name of which is of the masculine gender, according to Nārāyaṇa); then he establishes fire (i. e. performs the details of homa up to offering of *ājyabhāgas*) and having spread to the west of the fire a bull's hide with its neck to the east and the hair outside, he makes eight oblations (of ājya, clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold (of his hand), with the two (verses) 'may Dhātṛ give to his worshipper' (Atharvaveda VII. 17. 2-3), with the two verses, 'I invoke Rākā' (Ṛg. II. 32. 4-5), with the three (verses) called 'nejamesa' (a khilasūkta after Ṛg. X. 184 and Āp. M. P. I. 12. 7-9) and with the verse 'Oh Prajāpati, no one other than you' (Ṛg. X. 121. 10). He then three times parts her hair upwards (beginning from the front and proceeding backwards) with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots [518] (or rings) and with three bunches of kuśa grass, with the words 'bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svar, om' or he does so four times. He gives orders to two lute players 'sing (praise of) king soma.' (They sing this gāthā) 'may soma, our king, bless the human race.

518. The porcupine quill with three white spots is mentioned even in the Tai. Br. as an auspicious thing. 'He should shave his head with a porcupine quill with three white spots since in the case of the gods three are auspicious things, viz. the three metres, the three savanas, these three worlds (I. 5. 6.) 'त्रेण्या शलल्या निवर्तयेत। त्रीणि वै देवानामुद्धानि त्रीणि छन्दांसि त्रीणि सवनानि त्रय इमे लोकाः'. Vide Appendix for the text of Āśv. gṛ. I. 14. 1-9.

Fixed is the wheel (dominion) of this (river); (here they take the name in the vocative) of the river near which they dwell. And let them do whatever aged brāhmaṇa women whose husbands and children are alive direct. A bull is the fee (for the sacrifice)". In the Āp. mantrapāṭha thirteen verses are devoted to this saṁskāra in all, some of which occur in the Ṛg., the Atharvaveda and Tai. S.

We have here first the religious part of homa and oblations with mantras. But this rite is mainly of a social and festival nature intended to keep the pregnant woman in good cheer. The Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 172–173) quotes some verses from an Āśvalāyana stating that this rite serves the purpose of driving certain female goblins that thirst for the destruction of the foetus; the parting of the hair by the husband with the quill, bunch of unripe fruits and *darbhas* and tying a garland round her neck, giving her boiled rice mixed with mudga and ghee and asking lute players to sing indicate its festive character. There is a great divergence among the gṛhya sūtras about the several details of this saṁskāra and the order in which they take place. The Sm. C. after pointing out a few divergences remarks that one should follow the rules of one's own gṛhya sūtra. A few important divergences are pointed out below. This saṁskāra was to be performed in the 3rd month according to Kāṭhaka gṛ., in 3rd, 6th or 8th according to the Mānava; in the 4th month according to Āśv., Āp., Hir. (II. 1), in 4th or 6th according to Gobhila (II. 7. 2) and in the 4th, 6th or 8th according to Khādira, in 6th or 8th according to Pāraskara, Yāj. (I. 11), Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 3), Śaṅkha; in the 7th according to Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 22. 1), in the 8th according to Vaik. and Veda-Vyāsa (I. 18). Śaṅkha as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 17) says that it should be performed on the foetus beginning to move and up to the time of delivery. Āśv., Śāṅ. and Hir. require that the moon must be in conjunction with a male nakṣatra. Hir. gṛ. alone prescribes that the saṁskāra should take place in a round apartment. It is remarkable that Āśv. alone requires that the woman should be seated on a bull's hide, which shows that till his day such a hide was not treated (as is done in modern times) as a very unholy thing. Pāraskara makes her sit on a soft chair or seat, while Gobhila prescribes a seat of northward pointed *darbhas*. There is great divergence as to the number of oblations and the verses to be repeated even in sūtras of the same Veda, e. g. Āśvalāyana prescribes eight oblations and eight mantras, but

Śaṅkhāyana prescribes only six (by omitting the verses Ṛg. II. 32. 4–5). Gobhila, Khādira, Bhāradvāja, Pāraskara and Śaṅkhāyana prescribe the preparation of boiled rice with ghee thereon or sesame and the first three of these say that the woman should be asked to look at the ghee on the mass of rice and be questioned 'what do you see' and she should be made to reply 'I see progeny' (Bhāradvāja has the reply 'sons and cattle'). Almost all gṛhya sūtras agree that in parting the hair the husband is to use a bunch of unripe fruit (Gobhila, Pār. and Śāṅ. specifying that it was to be Udumbara fruit), a porcupine quill with three white spots and three bunches of kuśa grass. Pāraskara and Gobhila add the use of a Vīratara stick and a full spindle. Some like Āśv. prescribe that the parting must be done thrice, Gobhila seems to prescribe it six times, while Khādira (II. 2. 25) expressly says that it is to be done only once. Śāṅ. says that the unripe fruits are to be tied to a string of three twisted threads and the string is to be suspended from her neck as a garland. Par. also seems to suggest the same. Āp. also says that the husband should (by way of ornament) tie a string of barley grains with young shoots on the woman's head (14. 7) and Vaikhānasa says that the woman is to wear a garland and have fragrant unguents applied to her body. Many of the gṛhya sūtras direct that lute players should sing a verse or verses. Gobhila, Khādira, Vaik. are silent on this point, but Gobhila prescribes that brāhmaṇa women should address auspicious words to her 'Be you the mother of a valiant son.' There is divergence as to whose praise is to be sung. Śāṅ and Pār. say that the ballad sung must be in praise of the (ruling) king or any one else who is very valiant. Āśv., Hir., Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. prescribe a gāthā in honour of king Soma (the plant). Āpastamba refers to two verses, one of which praises king Yaugandhari and the other king Soma and prescribes that the first is to be sung for all varṇas residing in the Sālva countries, while the second is to be recited by brāhmaṇas. Some of the sūtras like Āśv., Pār., Bhāradvāja allow that in the ballad to be sung by the lute players the river on which the woman and her husband dwell is to be invoked.[519]

519. गायतमिति वीणागाथिनौ संशास्ति । उत्तरयोः पूर्वा साल्वानां ब्राह्मणानामितरा । आप. गृ. सू. 14. 4–5; the verses from the मन्त्रपाठ (II. 11. 12–13) are यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥ सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः । विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव ॥. भारद्वाजगृह्य (I. 2) has

(*Continued on next page*)

Āśv. and Śān. expressly state that a bull is the fee in this saṁskāra for the officiating priest. Āp., Pār. and Bhāradvāja say that brāhmaṇas are to be fed in this rite. Śāṅ. says that the woman is to sing merrily and wear gold ornaments if she likes. The Āp. and Bhāradvāja gṛ. say that the husband is to observe silence that day till the stars begin to appear and then after going out of the house from the east or north, he should first touch a calf and then mutter the vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) and give up his silence.[520]

The Mānavagṛhya (I. 12. 2) speaks of parting of hair in the marriage rite also. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (IV. verses 8–16) gives a faithful summary of the Āśv. gṛ.

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only the 2nd verse but reads the last pāda as स्तीरेण यमुने तव; while Hir. reads गङ्गे for यमुने in the verse as read by Bhārdvāja. Pār. reads 'सोम एव नो राजेमा मानुषीः प्रजाः । अविमुक्तचक्र आसीरंस्तीरे तुभ्यमसाविति'. Here अविमुक्तचक्रे qualifies तीरे (loc.) or it may be the vocative addressed to the river whose name is taken. It may be inferred with some force that Āp. mantrapāṭha and Hir. gṛ were composed in the Sālva country on the banks of the Jumna and the Bhāradvāja gṛ on the Ganges. Haradatta explaining Āp gṛ. says that the country of Sālva is on the Jumna and that Vaiśyas are in abundance there. The country of Sālva was included in the Kacchādigaṇa (Pāṇini V. 2. 133, and Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 300). Pāṇini mentions Sālva in IV. 1. 173, IV. 2. 135 and teaches the formation of Yaugandhara in IV. 2. 130 and of Yaugandhari in IV. 1. 173. In the Vanaparva 14. 1–5 it is said that the king of Sālva whose capital was at Saubha attacked Dvārakā. Śalyaparva (20. 1) calls the Sālva king lord of mleccha tribes and speaks of him as fighting for Duryodhana and as killed by Sātyaki. A Kārikā quoted by the Kāśikā makes Yaugandhara a division of Sālva 'उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः । मुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च सालवावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥'.

520. The words of the आप. गृ. 14. 7–8 are यवान् विरूढानाबध्य वाचं यच्छत्यानक्षत्रेभ्यः । उदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु प्राचीमुदीचीं वा दिशमुपनिष्क्रम्य वत्समन्वारभ्य व्याहृतीश्च जपित्वा वाचं विसृजेत् । The S. B. E. vol. XXX p. 280 translates 'he ties barley grains with young shoots to the head of the wife; then she keeps silence until the stars appear'. But this is wrong. Throughout this section the performer (kartā) is the husband; even in the 7th sūtra grammar requires that if the kartā of tying the garland ('ābadhya') is the husband then the kartā of 'visṛjet' also must be the husband. Sudarśana notes (in his com.) that some read the sūtras as 'वाचं यच्छत आ नक्षत्रेभ्यः... विसृजतः' (in the dual); then both husband and wife have to observe silence. He also notes that according to some the actions from tying the yava onwards spoken of by Āp. are done by the wife herself and not by the husband.

Āpastamba, Baud., Bhāradvāja and Pār. expressly say that this saṁskāra is to be performed only once at the first conception. For the difference of view among nibandhakāras vide above (pp. 205-206) on garbhādhāna.

Viṣṇu was of opinion that sīmantonnayana is a saṁskāra of the woman, but that according to some it is a saṁskāra of the foetus and so was to be repeated at each conception.[521] On account of the great divergence of details one may conjecture that this saṁskāra was not very ancient in the times of the Gṛhyasūtras.

It appears however that gradually this picturesque rite receded in the back ground, so much so that Manu does not even mention it by name, though Yāj. names it. In modern times in Western India some people perform a rite in the 8th month of pregnancy (called in Marathi *Āṭhaṅgulem*) which retains some vestiges of the ancient rite (such as the garland of udumbara fruit).

Viṣṇubali :—According to Vasiṣṭha quoted in the Saṁskāra-prakāśa (p. 178) this ceremony was to be performed in the 8th month of pregnancy, on the 2nd, 7th or 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight and when the moon was in the Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī or Puṣya constellation. The same work quotes verses of Āśvalāyana describing the ceremony and stating its purpose viz. to remove harm to the foetus and for easy delivery of the woman and that it was to be performed during every conception. On the preceding day Nāndīśrāddha was to be performed and then homa to fire was to be performed up to the offering of ājyabhāgas. To the south of the fire another sthaṇḍila of the shape of a lotus or svastika was to be drawn on which 64 oblations of boiled rice with ghee thereon were to be offered to Viṣṇu (some offer them on the fire itself) with the verses of Ṛg. I. 22. 16-21, Ṛg. I. 154. 1-6, Ṛg. VI. 69. 1-8, Ṛg. VII. 104. 11, Ṛg. X. 90. 1-16, Ṛg. X. 184. 1-3. Then to the north-east of the fire, a square plot should be smeared with cowdung and be divided into 64 squares with white dust and 64 offerings of boiled rice should be offered with the same mantras and in their midst one ball of rice should be offered to Viṣṇu with the mantra loudly uttered ' namo

521. तथा च विष्णुः । सीमन्तोन्नयनं कर्म तत् स्त्रीसंस्कार इष्यते । कोचिद्गर्भस्य संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयुज्यते । स्मृतिच० (I. p. 17). This verse is read by लघुविष्णु (Anan. ed. I. 10) as सीम ..... कर्म न स्त्री ..... इष्यते । गर्भस्यैव तु संस्कारो गर्भे गर्भे प्रयोजयेत्.

Nārāyaṇāya ' and the husband and wife should partake separately of two balls of the same rice. Then the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt should be made, dakṣiṇā should be distributed and brāhmaṇas should be fed. The Vaik. (III. 13) describes Viṣṇubali differently. The gods with Agni as the first are invoked unto the northern praṇidhi vessel and then at the end Puruṣa is invoked four times with ' om bhūḥ ', ' om bhuvaḥ,' ' om suvaḥ,' ' om bhūr-bhuvaḥ-suvaḥ ', then to the east of the fire he invokes Viṣṇu on seats of darbha grass with the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara ; then he bathes Viṣṇu, with mantras 'Āpaḥ' (Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 11 = Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3), 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1) and the chapter beginning ' pavamānaḥ ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8); he does worship (with sandal paste, flowers &c.) by each of Viṣṇu's twelve names, then he offers 12 oblations of clarified butter with the mantras ' ato devā ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21), ' Viṣṇor-nu kam ' (Ṛg. I 154. 1–7 = Tai. S. I. 2. 13), ' tad-asya priyam ' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 6 = Ṛg. I 154. 5), ' pra tadviṣṇuḥ ' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 3 = Ṛg. I. 154. 2), ' paro mātrayā ' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3), ' vicakrame trir-devaḥ ' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 3). Then he announces as offering a mess of rice cooked in milk on which ājya has been poured to the god and sacrifices it to him with the twelve names repeating the twelve mantras (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21, and Ṛg. I. 154. 1–6). Having praised the god with mantras from the four vedas he should prostrate himself before the god after taking twelve names with the word ' namaḥ ' at the end of each (i. e. by saying ' Keśavāya namaḥ ' &c.). What remains of the rice cooked in milk is eaten by the wife.

Soṣyantikarma :—Vide Āp. gṛ. 14. 13–15 ; Hir. gṛ. II. 2. 8–II. 3. 1, Bhāradvāja gṛ. I. 22, Gobhila gṛ. II. 7. 13–14, Khādira gṛ. II 2. 29–30, Pār. gṛ. I. 16, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 33. 1–3. This seems to be a very ancient rite. It means ' a rite for a woman who is about to be delivered of a child '. Ṛg. V. 78. 7–9 give the earliest indications of this rite. ' Just as the wind moves a lake on all sides, so may the foetus move and come out, being (now) in the tenth month. Just as the wind, the forest and the sea are in movement, so mayst thou (foetus) that art (now) in the tenth month, come out together with the after-birth, may the male child having been sleeping ten months inside his mother, come out a living being, unharmed, from his mother, herself being alive.' Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 23 also refers to this rite " He sprinkles with water the woman who is about to be delivered (with the mantras) ' just as the wind ... ... may it come out with the

after-birth' (same as Ṛg. V. 78. 7 except the last pāda). This is a pen[522] of Indra with a bolt and with a chamber for rest : oh Indra, leave it and come out with the foetus and after-birth." Āp. gṛ. describes the ceremony as follows : 'Now is described the rite to secure a rapid delivery. With a cup that has not been dipped in water before he draws water in the direction of the current (of a river or spring); he places Tūryantī plant at his wife's feet; he should then touch on the head (with both hands) the woman who is in child-birth with the verse (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 15),[523] should sprinkle her with the waters (brought as above) with the next three verses (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11. 16–18). If the after-birth does not come out, he should sprinkle her with the water (brought) as directed above with t[illegible] Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 11 19–20).[524] Hir. [illegible] to Āp., but omits all verses except one [illegible] P. II. 11. 16). Bhāradvāja is similar to Āp., but gives [illegible] that are slightly different from those of the Āp. M. P. Gobhila and Khādira are very brief and say that a homa with two oblations of clarified butter is to be performed with the verses of the Mantra-brāhmaṇa I 5. 6–7. Pāraskara also speaks of the sprinkling of the woman with two verses of Vāj S. VIII. 28–29 (the first being almost like Ṛg. V. 78. 7) and prescribes the recital of Atharvaveda I. 11. 4 for the falling of the after-birth. Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. (33. 1) remarks that this rite is not really a saṁskāra and Devapāla says that this is a rite which has a seen result (while saṁskāras are deemed to have an unseen result).

Jātakarma :—This appears to have been a rite of hoary antiquity. In the Tai. S.[525] II. 2. 5. 3-4 we read 'one should offer a cake cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara, when a

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522. This refers to the womb of the woman.

523. This is आभिष्टुा दशभिरभिमृशामि दशमास्याय सूतवे । आप. म. पा. II. 11. 15.

524. Āp. M. P. II. 11. 20 is the same as Atharva. I. 11. 4.

525. वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत्पुत्रे जाते । ..... यस्मिञ्जात एतामिष्टिं निर्वपति पूत एव तेजस्व्यजाद् इन्द्रियावी पशुमान् भवति । तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 3–4. जातकर्म is treated of in the following : आप. गृ. 15 1. 7 (S. B. E 30 pp. 281–82), आश्व. गृ. (I. 15. 1–4, S. B. E. 29 p. 182), काठकगृह्य 34–35, खादिर II. 2. 32–34 (S. B. E 29 p. 395), गोभिल II. 7. 17–23 (S. B. E vol. 30 pp 55–56), पारस्कर I. 16 (S. B. E. 29 pp 293–297), भारद्वाज I. 23–26, वैखानस III. 14–15, शांखायन I. 24. 1–5 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp 49–50), हिरण्यकेशि (II. 3. 2–II. 4–5, S. B. E vol. 30 pp 210–214.)

son is born (to a man) ..... That son, for whom when born they perform this ' iṣṭi ', does become pure, glorious, substantial in (abundant) food, full of vigour and possessed of cattle '. This shows that Vaiśvānareṣṭi was performed on the birth of a son. Jaimini (IV. 3. 38) holds a discussion on this passage and establishes the conclusion that this iṣṭi is for the benefit of the son and not of the father and the bhāṣya of Śabara gives the further propositions that this iṣṭi is to be performed after the *jātakarma* rites are finished (and not immediately at birth) and that it is to be performed on a full moon day or a new moon day following ten days after birth. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 129) prescribes a certain rite before the navel string is cut " regarding a new born son let him say to five brāhmaṇas before the navel string has been cut ' breathe over him in this way.' But if he should be unable to obtain them, he may even himself breathe over him while walking round him ". The Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 2 contains the following interesting passage[526] " when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter, and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that." At the end of the Bṛ. Up. (VI. 4. 24-28) there is an elaborate description of the jātakarma. " When (a son) is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras ' may I maintain a thousand, prospering in my house ; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle ; svāhā ! I offer to these in my mind my prāṇas, svāhā ! Whatever I have done in excess in my work or whatever I may have left deficient in this (rite), may the wise (Agni) (called) Sviṣṭakṛt make that well sacrificed and well offered for us, svāhā ! '. Then after bringing down his mouth up to the right ear of the son he should recite thrice the word ' speech '[527], then having poured together curds, honey and clarified butter, he makes the (son) eat it by means of (a spoon of) gold not covered with anything else with the *mantras* ' I place in thee bhūḥ, I place in thee bhuvaḥ, I place in thee svaḥ, I place in

526. तस्मात्कुमारं जातं घृतं वै वाग्रे प्रतिलेहयन्ति स्तनं वा अनुधापयन्ति । बृह. उ. प. I. 5. 2.

527. The idea of muttering ' vāk ' thrice is that the father wishes that speech as manifested in the three Vedas may come to the boy in due course. Bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ and svaḥ represent the three Vedas or earth, air and heaven.

thee bhūr-bhuvaḥ svaḥ, I place in thee all'. Then he gives him (the boy that is born) a name with the words 'thou art the Veda'. That becomes his secret name. Then he hands the boy over to his mother and gives him the breast of the mother with the mantra (Ṛg. I. 164. 49) 'Oh, Sarasvatī! make that breast ready for being sucked, which lies on thy body, which engenders happiness, by which thou nourishest all blessings, which bestows gems, that wins wealth and is a generous donor'. Then he solemnly addresses the mother of the child with the following *mantras* 'Oh maitrāvaruṇī[528]! Oh strong one! thou art Iḷā, she (the mother) has given birth to a valiant (boy); mayst thou be endowed with valiant sons, since thou hast made us possessed of a valiant son. They say to him (the newly born son)' thou indeed excellest thy father, excellest thy grandfather; he may attain the highest station by his prosperity, glory and spiritual eminence, who is born as a son of such a brāhmaṇa that knows this".

It will be clear from the above passages of the Bṛ. Up. that the jātakarma rite contained the following parts: (1) homa of curds with ghṛta to the accompaniment of *mantras*; (2) repeating in the child's right ear the word 'speech' thrice; (3) making the child lick curds, honey and ghṛta by means of a golden ladle (or ring); (4) addressing the child with a name which was to be his secret name (nāmakaraṇa); (5) putting the child to the breast; (6) addressing the mother with *mantras*. The Śatapatha adds another detail viz. asking five brāhmaṇas if available to breathe on the child (from four quarters, east, south, west, north and one immediately above him) or the father himself may do so.

There is great divergence in the gṛhyasūtras on the different details that go to make up the jātakarma. Some give almost all the above seven details, while others omit some of them. The order of these components differs in the gṛhyasūtras and according to the Veda to which each sūtra is attached the mantras differ. It would be impossible to give in a brief compass the details from all gṛhyasūtras. Some description, however, of the details from important gṛhyasūtras is given below:

528. Maitrāvaruṇa is Vasiṣṭha and so Maitrāvaruṇī may be Arundhatī. इळा means 'earth' or 'food'. One rather expects अजीजनः for अजीजनत्.

The ceremony has to be performed by the very necessities of the case immediately after birth. But different sūtras express it in different ways, e. g. Āśv. I. 15. 2 says the rite should be done before any other person (than the mother and nurse) touches the child. Pār. gṛ. (I. 16) says it is performed before the navel string is cut off. Gobhila (II. 7. 17) and Khādira II. 2. 32 say that it is to be performed before the navel string is cut off and the breast is given to the child.

In the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 15. 1–4) the ceremony is described as follows: "When a son has been born, he (the father) should before other persons touch him, give to the child to eat honey and clarified butter in which gold has been rubbed by means of a golden (spoon) with the verse 'I give unto thee the Veda (wisdom or knowledge) of honey and ghṛta, (Veda) which is produced by the god Savitṛ (who urges on) the bountiful; may you have long life and may you live in this world for a hundred autumns being protected by the gods'. Bringing near the child's two ears (his mouth) the father mutters *medhājanana*[529] 'may god Savitṛ bestow on thee intelligence; may the goddess Sarasvatī bestow on thee intelligence and may the two gods Aśvins wearing wreaths of lotus give to thee intelligence'.[530] He touches the (son's) two shoulders (with the mantra) 'be a stone, be an axe, be indestructible gold; thou art indeed Veda, called son; so live a hundred autumns' and (with the mantra) 'Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth' (Ṛg. II. 21. 6) and 'Oh Maghavan (bountiful Indra)![531] Oh (Indra) partaker of ṛjīṣa! bestow on us' (Ṛg. III. 36. 10). And let them give him a name". The following sūtras (I. 15. 5–10) lay down rules about the name, which will be considered under Nāmakaraṇa.

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529. The verse is so called because it was deemed to produce intelligence.

530. Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gṛ. I. 15. 2) notes that some say that the mantra is muttered only once, when the mouth is brought near each ear one after another, others say that the mantra is recited twice.

531. ऋजीष is Soma from which the essence is taken away (i. e. dregs of Soma). The com. Nārāyaṇa says that as to these mantras (1) some hold that the three mantras should be repeated continuously, while the shoulders are touched one after the other; (2) others hold that the mantra अहमा भव should be uttered when touching the right shoulder, while the two 'इन्द्र श्रेष्ठानि' and 'अस्मे प्रयन्धि' should be uttered while touching the left; (3) the three mantras should be repeated together and the shoulders touched simultaneously. Nārāyaṇa prefers this last because the bhāṣyakāra who went before did so.

It will be noticed that out of the several components of the rite described in the Bṛ. Up. and the Śat. Br., Āśv. omits express mention of homa, of putting the child to the breast (stanadāna), the address to the mother (mātrabhimantraṇa), and the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 24. 1–12) also omits homa, the *stanadāna* and *mātrabhimantraṇa*, but refers to the father breathing over the new born child thrice. Instead of ghṛta and honey served with a golden spoon, Śāṅ. prescribes mixing of curds, honey, ghṛta and water or grinding together of rice and barley. It adds the tying of gold to a hempen string and fixing it on the right hand of the child till the mother gets up from child-bed.

It will have been noticed that Āśv. and Śāṅ. both prescribe giving a secret name to the child on the day of birth and do not prescribe a separate Nāmakaraṇa ceremony. Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 24. 6) adds that a vyāvahārika name may be given on the 10th day from birth. The Gobhila gṛ. (II. 7. 13–15) and Khādira gṛ. II. 2. 28–31 say that a secret name for the child that is to be born is to be uttered in the Soṣyantī-karma. So Āśv. probably carries on that tradition.

We shall now take the several components of the rite and show how they are dealt with by the several gṛhyasūtras.

Homa:—This is prescribed by the Bṛ. Up., the Mānava, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. at the time of birth. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa (I. 26) says that homa should be performed to Agni and other gods as stated above; then the child should be made to eat honey and ghṛta and then the offering be made to Agni. It is prescribed before birth (in the Soṣyantīkarma) by Gobhila and Khādira. It is prescribed after the whole rite by Baud. gṛ. II. 1. 13. It is omitted by Āśv. and Śāṅ. The Pār. gṛ. (I. 16), Hir. gṛ., Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I. 26) say that the Aupāsana (i. e. gṛhya) fire is taken away and a sūtikāgni set up (which is also called Uttapanīya)[532] near the door of the lying-in chamber. The Vaik. (III. 15) calls it jātakāgni (and also Uttapanīya). These say that in this fire white mustard seed with small grains of rice are offered at the time of birth and at the morning and evening twilights for ten days after birth with certain mantras. Āp. prescribes that

532. The Sūtikāgni is prepared by placing the broken piece of a jar on the kitchen fireplace and heating it with the dried dung of a bull. 'चुल्ल्यां कपालमारोप्य वृषभशकृत्पिण्डैर्जातकाग्निं साधयेत्तमेनमुत्तपनीयमित्युदाहरन्ति' वैखानस III. 15.

mustard seeds and rice chaff are to be offered in the fire whenever any body enters the lying-in chamber for ten days.

(2) *Medhājanana*:—Two meanings are given to this. This word does not occur in the Bṛ. Up. But it speaks of muttering in the right ear of the boy the word 'vāk' thrice and making the boy lick from a golden spoon or ring curds, honey and ghṛta. The first of these viz. muttering in the right ear of the boy some words or a mantra is called medhājanana in Āśv. and Śāṅ. (I. 24. 9 which prescribes 'vāk'); while most of the other sūtras viz. Vaik., Hir., Gobhila say that medhājanana is the action of making the child eat honey, ghee, curds or pounded barley and rice, to the accompaniment of mantras (like 'bhūstvayi dadhāmi' in Pār. or 'Bhūr ṛcaḥ' as in Vaikhānasa, or 'medhām te devaḥ' as in Āp.). The Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 7) prescribes the giving of curds, honey and ghṛta ten times with each of the ten mantras (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1) of the anuvāka beginning with 'prāṇo rakṣati viśvam-ejat.' The Vaik. expressly says that the Vacā[533] plant, Pathyā plant, gold, honey and clarified butter become medhājanana. Manu II. 29 seizes upon the making the child eat gold (dust), honey and clarified butter to the accompaniment of mantras as the central part of the rite. Later works like the Saṁskāramayūkha regard this eating of honey and ghṛta as the principal part of jātakarma.[534]

(3) *Āyuṣya*:—Some of the sūtras speak of a rite called āyuṣya in the jātakarma. This consists in muttering over the navel (as in Pār.) or in the right ear of the boy some *mantra* or mantras invoking the bestowal of long life on the boy. Āśv. (vide p. 231) has such an invocation in conjunction with the eating of honey and ghṛta. Bhāradvāja also does the same. Mānava gṛ. prescribes the anuvāka 'Agne āyur-asi' (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XI. 7) for 21 oblations (this anuvāka is full of the word 'āyuṣmat').

(4) *Aṁsābhimarśana* (touching the child on the shoulder or shoulders). Vide Āśv. above. Āp. begins his treatment with the direction that the father touches the boy with the Vātsapra anuvāka. Pār., Bhāradvāja speak of touching the boy twice, once with Vātsapra anuvāka (Vāj. S. XII. 18-29 or Tai. S. IV.

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533. वचा पथ्या हिरण्यं मधु सर्पिरिति मेधाजननानि भवन्ति। वैखानसस्मार्त III. 15. Amara gives उग्रगन्धा and हरीतकी as synonyms of वचा and पथ्या respectively.

534. जातकर्मणि प्रधानमाहाश्वलायनः। कुमारं जातं पुराण्यैरालम्भात्सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राशयेत्। संस्कारमयूख

2. 2), and again with ' be a stone, be an axe ' (in Pār. and with the mantra ' may he grow ' in Bhār.). Some sūtras like Śāṅ. omit this.

(5) *Mātrabhimantraṇa* :—(addressing the mother). The mother is addressed by the father with the verse ' Thou art Iḷā &c ' (vide Bṛ. Up. above), which occurs in Pār. Many sūtras omit this. Hir. has a different verse.

(6) *Pañca-brāhmaṇasthāpana* :—We saw above that the Śatapatha prescribes the breathing over the child by five brāhmaṇas or the father himself. Pār. prescribes the same and gives an option (the five brāhmaṇas are to repeat in order from the east prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, udāna and samāna). Śāṅ. asks the father himself to breathe thrice over the boy with a verse referring to the three Vedas. Several sūtras omit this.

(7) *Stana-pratidhāna* or *stanapradāna* :—making the child take the breast. The Bṛ. Up. and many of the sūtras prescribe this, together with the recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras* e. g. Pār. prescribes Vāj. S. 17. 87 and 38. 5 for the two breasts, Āp. and Bhār. prescribe Āp. mantrapāṭha II. 13. 2 only for the right breast ; Hir. and Vaik. prescribe the same verse for both.

(8) *Deśābhimantraṇa*[535] (or-marśana):—touching the ground where the son is born and addressing the earth (with one or two mantras). Pār., Bhār., Āp., Hir. do this.

(9) *Nāmakaraṇa* :—(giving a name to the child). The Bṛ Up., Āśv., Śāṅ., Gobhila, Khādira and several others speak of giving a name to the boy on the day of birth. Āśv. (I. 15. 4 and 10) prescribes the giving of two names on that date, one for common use (for which he gives elaborate rules) and the other a secret one which his parents only know till the boy's upanayana. Śāṅ. reverses this and says the name for which similar elaborate rules are laid down by him is the secret name and a name for common use is to be given on the 10th day Āp. gṛ. (15. 2–3 and 8) says on the day of birth a name derived from the nakṣatra (lunar mansion) on which the boy is born is given, which is the secret name and then on the 10th another name is to be given. According to Gobhila and Khādira a name is to be given in the Soṣyantī-karma which is to be kept secret.

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535. भारद्वाज (I. 25) has यत्र शेते तदभिमृशति । वेद् ते भूमि हृदयं दिवि चन्द्रमसि श्रितम् । वेदामृतस्य गोप्तारं माहं पौत्रमघं रुदम् ॥ इति । पारस्कर reads स यस्मिन्देशे जात भवति तमभिमन्त्रयते । वेद्.....श्रितम् । वेदाहं तन्मां तद्विद्यात्पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरद शतं शृणुयाम शरदः शतमिति ।

(10) *Keeping off evil spirits*:—Though Āśv. and Śāṅ. are entirely silent on this point several sūtras devote large space to this topic and are full of *mantras* which are more are less magic. Āp. prescribes the offering of mustard seed and rice chaff in fire three times with each of eight mantras (Āp. mantra-pāṭha II. 13. 7–14). Bhār. gṛ. (I. 23) also prescribes similar offerings with several verses. Hir. gṛ. requires the throwing of mustard seeds eleven times in the *sūtikāgni* with eleven mantras some of which are almost the same as in Bhāradvāja. Pār. gṛ. recites two of such mantras.[536]

It would not be out of place to mention a few other subsidiary matters. Baud., Āp., Hir. and Vaik. expressly say that the boy is to have a bath. The Hir. and Vaik.[537] say that the axe is to be placed on a stone and gold is to be placed on the axe, then these are to be turned upside down (so that gold lies at the bottom and the stone is on top) and then the boy is to be held head eastwards above the stone by a female in her two hands, while the father repeats the two *mantras* 'be a stone &c.' and the mantra 'thou art produced from (my) limb by limb &c.' This shows how what was once only symbolical (viz. uttering the mantras 'be a stone' &c. indicating the desire that the boy should be strong, sharp and worthy like a stone, axe and gold) became transformed into a rite requiring physical presence of these things. Pār.. Āp., Hir., Bhār. and Vaik. prescribe that a pot full of water should be placed towards the head (of the woman and her child) with a mantra 'Oh waters!

536. द्वारदेशे सूतिकाग्निमुपसमाधायोत्थानात्संधिवेलयोः फलीकरणमिश्रान् सर्षपानग्नावावपति । शण्डामर्कौ उपवीरः शौण्डिकेय उलूखलः । मलिम्लुचो द्रोणासश्चवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहा ॥ आलिखन्निमिषः किंवदन्त उपश्रुतिर्हर्यक्षः कुम्भीशत्रुः पात्रपाणिर्नृमणिर्हन्त्रीमुखः सर्षपारुणाश्च्यवनो नश्यतादितः स्वाहेति । पारस्कर I. 16. These two occur in Hir. and the first in भारद्वाज also.

537. कुमारे जाते द्वारभागेऽश्मानं परशुं तस्मिन्हिरण्यं स्थापयित्वा 'अश्मा भव' इत्यधरमुत्तरं करोति तस्योपरि 'अङ्गादङ्गात्' इति कुमारमेकया स्त्रिया धारयेत् । वैखानस III. 14. The verse is अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ Āp. M. P. II. 11. 33. Āp. gṛ. (15. 12) prescribes that when a father returns from a journey he should take in his hands his son's head, should smell (or kiss) the top of it thrice and then mutter this verse. Nir. III. 4. quotes this verse as a ṛk in support of the view that sons and daughters equally partake of the inheritance. The formula अश्मा भव occurs in Āśv. gṛ. and in others also. Vaik. says that the jar is to be to the south of the woman's head; Āp. employs the word 'śirastaḥ' which Sudarśana explains as 'near the head of the child'. The मन्त्र in पारस्कर is 'आपः सुतेषु जाग्रथ यथा देवेषु जाग्रथ । एवमस्यां सूतिकायां सपुत्रिकायां जाग्रथ ॥.' आप. म. पा. II. 13. 6 and हिरण्य. गृ. have a similar verse.

watch while (people are asleep).' None of the sūtras (except Vaikhānasa) refers to any astrological details. Vaik. (III. 14) says that when the child's nose appears, the position of the planets should be observed and his future welfare or otherwise should be examined, since the boy is to be so brought up as to enhance his good qualities. Both Āp. and Baud. say that the remnants of honey, curds and ghṛta should be mixed with water and poured out in a cowstable (and not thrown about in an impure place). This ceremony is comparatively brief in Āp., Śāṅ. and a few others, but in Hir., Pār. and Bhāradvāja it is most elaborate and would require an unduly long time considering the state of the newly born child and the woman in child-bed. There is no wonder, therefore, that this ceremony gradually went out of vogue.. In modern times a few well-to-do families in Western India sometimes perform what is called 'putrāvaṇa' (in Marathi) and make the boy lick honey and ghṛta by means of a golden piece or ring. The dangers to the child of an elaborate ritual must have been apparent to all people even in ancient times.[538]

The Sm. C. (I. p. 19)[539] cites Hārīta, Śaṅkha, Jaimini to the effect that till the navel cord is cut there is no impurity, that the saṁskāra may be performed till then and that gifts of jaggery, sesame, gold, clothes, cows and corn may be made and accepted. The same work quotes Saṁvarta and other smṛtis to the effect that the father must bathe before he can perform the jātakarma rite. This would involve some further loss of time and it is remarkable that the gṛhya sūtras observe silence about this, though Manu V. 77 prescribes a bath on hearing of the birth of a son. The Sm. C. quotes Pracetas, Vyāsa and others to the effect that a nāndīśrāddha (which will be explained under śrāddha) should be performed in jātakarma (brāhmaṇas are not to eat cooked food in this śrāddha, but to receive corn or only money payment). Later works like the Dharmasindhu say that in jātakarma as in other rights, svastivācana, puṇyāhavācana and mātṛkāpūjana are necessary.

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538. The author knows of an instance where an old man jubilant over the birth of a son from his third wife entered upon the performance of the jātakarma according to his gṛhyasūtra and by the time the ceremony was over, the helpless child that had already little vitality was dead owing to exposure and cold.

539. हारीतोपि। 'नाङ्नाभिच्छेदात् संस्कारं पुण्यार्थान्कुर्वन्ति छिन्नायामाशौचम्।' ..... शङ्खः 'कुमारप्रसवे नाभ्यामच्छिन्नायां शुद्धतिलहिरण्यघृतगोधान्यप्रतिग्रहेष्वपि न दोषस्तद्वदित्येके गुर्वर्थं क्रियते।' स्मृतिच० I. pp. 19 and 20.

Medieval writers of digests give extensive descriptions of *śānti* rites[540] performed to counteract the inauspicious effects of birth on the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of a month or on the amāvāsya or on Mūla, Āśleṣā and Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras and certain astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti, Saṁkrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac into another). These matters are passed over here for want of space, as of little importance in modern times and as new departures introduced in the ancient sūtra rites by later works. A few general remarks will be made on these matters in the section on *Śānti* and *Muhūrta*.

In modern times on the 5th and 6th days after birth certain ceremonies are performed for which there is no warrant in the sūtras. These probably arose in the times of the Purāṇas, since the only verses quoted on this point in the Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāramayūkha and other works are the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Vyāsa and Nārada. On these days the father or other male relative bathes in the first part of the night, then invokes Gaṇeśa, and certain minor deities called Janmadā on handfuls of rice and also Ṣaṣṭhīdevī and Bhagavatī (i. e. Durgā) and worships them with sixteen upacāras. Then *tāmbūla* and *dakṣiṇā* are offered to one or more brāhmaṇas and the members of the family keep awake that night with songs (in order to ward off evil spirits). One text from the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says 'men fully armed should keep watch the whole night'. It must be noted here that fear springing from astrological considerations got better of even natural love and affection to such an extent that some writers advised that the child when born on certain inauspicious conjunctions should be abandoned and its face should not be seen till at least its eighth year. Vide Nityācārapaddhati pp. 244–255.

Utthāna:—(getting up from child-bed). According to Vaik. III. 18 on the 10th or 12th day after birth, the father shaves, bathes, purifies the house, performs in the jātakāgni (or in the ordinary fire, according to some) a sacrifice to the earth through some person belonging to another *gotra*. Then he brings back the aupāsana (gṛhya fire), offers oblations to Dhātṛ and others (as in I. 16), five oblations to Varuṇa (I. 17), the mūlahoma (I. 18) and feeds the brāhmaṇas. Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 25) is more elaborate. It prescribes that a mess of cooked food is prepared in the sūtikāgni

540 Vide संस्काररत्नमाला pp 846–47, संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 201–203. 'सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते। जातस्यादर्शनं तावद्यावत्पूर्णं समाष्टकम्॥ इति। अन्ये तु होमपूर्वकदानेन तद्दर्शनं शुभमित्याहुः।' नित्याचारपद्धति.

and oblations are made to the *tithi* of the child's birth, and to three nakṣatras and to their presiding deities, two to Agni and then one (i. e. 10th) to Soma with Ṛg. I. 91. 7. Hir. gṛ. II. 4. 6-9 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 214) and Bhāradvāja (I. 26) also refer to *utthāna*. Both say that the sūtikāgni is taken away and the Aupāsana fire is brought in and oblations of ghṛta (12 or 8) are offered in that fire with the *mantras* beginning with ' dhātā dadātu no rayim '.

Nāmakaraṇa[541]:—The ceremony of naming a child. Vide Āp. gṛ. 15. 8-11 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 282-283), Āśv. gṛ. I. 15. 4-10), S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 183), Baud. gṛ. II. 1. 23-31, Bhār. gṛ. I. 26, Gobhila gṛ. II. 8. 8-18 (S.B.E. vol. 30 pp. 57-58), Hir. gṛ. II. 4. 6-15 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 214-215), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 34. 1-2 and 36. 3-4, Kauśika sūtra 58. 13-17, Mānava gṛ. I. 18, 1, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 24. 4-6 (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 50), Vaik. III. 19, Vārāha gṛ. 2.

There is great divergence of view as to the time when the child was named. Several times are suggested in the ancient literature and in the sūtras and smṛtis.

(*a*) We have already seen (p. 232) that a child was addressed by a name, according to Gobhila and Khādira, even in the Soṣyantīkarma.

(*b*) According to the Bṛ. Up., Āśv. and Śāṅ., Kāṭhaka gṛ. (34.1) a name was given to the child on the day of birth. This practice is supported by a passage of the Śat. Br.[541a] ' therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name; thereby he drives away the evil that might attach to the boy; (the father gives him) even a second, even a third (name)'. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali appears to refer to this view. " In the world the parents give a name to the son when born in a closed space (or room) such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta; from their employment (of that name for the boy) others also come to know ' this is his appellation ' ".[542]

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541. For a comprehensive treatment of the way in which names were given from Vedic times onwards, my paper ' Naming a child or a person ' in the ' Indian Historical Quarterly ' for 1938, vol. 14, pp. 24-44 may be consulted. A summary of the points made in that paper is given below together with some fresh matter.

541a. तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम् । शतपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

542. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संजातेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38.

(*c*) Āp., Baud., Bhār., and Pār. prescribe the 10th day after birth for nāmakaraṇa. The Mahābhāṣya quotes a passage[543] from the Yājñikas that a name was given on a day after the tenth from birth.

(*d*) Yāj. I. 12 prescribes it on the 11th day after birth.

(*e*) Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 23) says that Nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th or 12th, while Hir. gṛ. says that it should be on the 12th. As Vaik. prescribes that the mother should get up from child-bed on the 10th or 12th and then speaks of nāmakaraṇa, it follows that the ceremony was performed according to it on the 10th or 12th. Manu II. 30 says it may be performed on the 10th or 12th day after birth or on an auspicious *tithi*, muhūrta and nakṣatra thereafter.

(*f*) Gobhila (II. 8. 8, S. B. E. vol. 30. p. 57) and Khādira[544] say that it should be on any day after ten nights, one hundred nights or a year from birth. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (VI. 1) allows it on 11th, 12th or 16th day. Aparārka (p. 26) quotes gṛhyapariśiṣṭa to the effect that it may be performed after the 10th night is passed or after 100 nights or a year and the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa to the effect that it may be performed after 10 or 12 nights or on the 18th day or after a month. It is worthy of note that Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (pūrvabhāga para 68) says that Tārāpīḍa named his son Candrāpīḍa when the tenth day after birth fell on an auspicious muhūrta and that the minister Śukanāsa named his son Vaiśampāyana next day.[545]

The commentators were bewildered by these differences. Viśvarūpa explains Manu II. 30 as 'when the 10th night is past' and Kullūka does the same (i. e. according to him it is performed on the eleventh day). Medhātithi does not[546] like the addition of 'past' (atītāyām) after 'daśamyām' in Manu II. 30 and says just as jātakarma can be performed even when there is impurity due to birth, so nāmakaraṇa may be performed on the 10th and that the only essential thing is that it is not to

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543. महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4.

544. जननादूर्ध्वं दशरात्राच्छतरात्रात्संवत्सराद्वा नाम कुर्यात् । खादिर II. 3. 6 ; गृह्यपरिशिष्टम् । जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । अपरार्क p. 26.

545. प्राप्ते दशमेऽहनि पुण्ये मुहूर्ते ..... चन्द्रापीड इति नाम चकार । अपरेद्युः शुकनासोऽपि ... ... वैशम्पायन इति नाम चकार । कादम्बरी para. 68 ; 'अवाप्ते च दशमेऽहनि ... ... महाश्वेतेति यथार्थमेव नाम कृतवान् । ' कादम्बरी para 140.

546. जातकर्मवदाशौचेपि करिष्यते । ... ... यदि दृशमीद्वादश्यौ वक्ष्यमाणगुणयुक्ते भवतः तदा तयोः कर्तव्यम् । यदा न तदाभ्यस्मिन्नप्यहनि कर्तव्यम् । ... ... अयं च परमार्थः । दृशमीद्वादशीभ्यामर्वाङ् न कर्तव्यम् । उत्तरकालं च यद्दर्शनक्षत्रं लग्नं परिशुद्धं तद्दहरेव कर्तव्यम् । मेधातिथि on मनु II. 30.

be performed before the 10th or 12th. Aparārka says that there is an option and one may follow one's own gṛhyasūtra. It appears that the nāmakaraṇa [547] of Hariścandra, son of Jayatcandra, king of Kanoj, took place three weeks after jātakarma (on 31. 8. 1175 A. D.). In modern times nāmakaraṇa generally takes place on the 12th day after birth and no Vedic ceremony as prescribed in the sūtras is gone through, but women assemble and after consulting the male members of the family beforehand announce the name and place the child in the cradle.

In Ṛg. VIII. 80. 9 we read 'when you give us a fourth name connected with (the performance of) a sacrifice, we long for it; immediately afterwards, you, our master, take us' (forward to glory) [548]. This shows that a man could have a fourth name even in the times of Ṛg. and the fourth was a name due to the performance of a yajña. Sāyaṇa explains that the four names are: nakṣatranāma (derived from the nakṣatra on which a person was born), a secret name, a publicly known name and a fourth name like Somayājī (due to having performed a *Somayāga*). In Ṛg. X. 54. 4 there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyaṇa takes *nāma* here to mean the body or deed). In Ṛg. IX. 75. 2 there is reference to a third name 'the son has a third name unknown to the parents and which is in the bright part of heaven'. The two names are the nakṣatra name and the ordinary name, while the third would be the name due to the performance of a sacrifice (which the parents could not foresee at his birth). In the Ṛg. frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. Vide Ṛg. IX 87. 3, X. 55. 1-2. We saw above (note 541a) that the Śat. Br. speaks of a second or even a third name for a person given to him by his parents. The same Brāhmaṇa [549] recommends 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa

547. Vide I. A vol. 18 p. 129, read with E. I. vol. IV. p. 120 and E. I. vol. X. p. 95.

548. तुरीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदा करस्तदुश्मसि। आदित्यतिर्न ओहसे। ऋ. VIII. 80.9; चत्वारि ते असुर्याणि नामादाभ्यानि महिषस्य सन्ति। ऋ. X. 54.4; वृधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीच्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः। ऋ. IX. 75. 2. The हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य speaks of three names नक्षत्रनाम, व्यावहारिकनाम and a third one like सोमयाजी. The महाभाष्य also says that a man bears the name आग्निष्टोमयाजी when he performs अग्निष्टोम 'अग्निष्टोमयाजीत्येतत्तस्मिन् भवितः। कस्मिन् योऽस्य पुत्रो जनितः। तदा यदाग्निष्टोमेनेष्टं भवति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 168 on पा. III. 4. 1.

549. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनध्यमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत राध्नोति हैव य एवं विद्वान् द्वितीयं नाम कुरुते। शतपथ III. 6. 2. 24. Vide आश्वलायनश्रौत I. 3. 9 for the recital of the three names of a sacrificer (धान्विभाष्य says they were अभिवादनीय, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम).

when he does not prosper should give himself a second name'. But how these names were formed is not stated anywhere in the Vedic literature. In the Tai. S. VI. 3. 1. 3 it is said 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers'.[550] The Śat. Br. (II. 1. 2. 11) says 'Arjuna is the secret name of Indra and the constellation of Phālgūnīs being presided over by Indra they are really Arjunyaḥ, but are called Phālgunyaḥ in an indirect way'.[551] We saw above (p. 230) that the Br. Up. speaks of a secret name given by the father on the day of birth. Hardly any secret names are expressly mentioned in the Vedic literature except the name of Arjuna given to Indra (and being secret they cannot be expected to be mentioned). How the secret name was given is not clear from the Vedic literature. In Vāj. S. 17. 89 there is a reference to the secret name of ghṛta[552]. The Tai. S. gives expression to the request that the (āhavanīya) fire should bear the name of one who keeps sacred fires, while the person praying was away on a journey[553].

A few examples of the three names of a person from the Vedic literature may be given here. These are generally the ordinary name, a name derived from his father and a third from his gotra (or from the name of some remote ancestor). In Ṛg. V. 33. 8 we find Trasadasyu (his own name), Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa), Gairikṣita (descendant of Girikṣita). In the Ait. Br. (33. 5) Śunaḥśepa is spoken of as Ājīgarti (son of Ajīgarta) and also as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name), while king Hariścandra is mentioned (Ait. Br. 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 5. 4. 1) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka (a gotra name) is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya. In the Chān. Up. (V. 3. 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi) is styled Gautama (a gotra name). In the Kaṭhopaniṣad

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550. तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकः। तै. सं. VI. 3. 1. 3. This is quoted in Hir. gṛ., Bhār. gṛ. I. 26 and other gṛhya sūtras.

551. अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य गुह्यं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फाल्गुन्य इति। शतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

552. घृतस्य नाम गुह्यं यदस्ति जिह्वा देवानाममृतस्य नाभिः। वाज. सं. 17. 89.

553. मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्यदग्ने। तत्त्वं बिभृहि पुनरा मदेतो स्तवाहं नाम बिभराण्यग्ने॥ तै. सं. I. 5. 10. 1. This is differently read in other संहिताs e. g. काठक VII. 3 reads 'दधतुर्न्वग्ने। तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्दवे ते वयं बिभराम तव नाम. This verse is quoted in nāmakaraṇa by several sūtras, e. g. Bhār. I. 26.

(I. 1. 1 and 11) Naciketas is the son of Vājaśravasa and is addressed as Gautama (a gotra name).

Usually however a person is referred to in the Vedic literature by two names. In some cases it is his own name and a gotra name e. g. Medhyātithi Kāṇva (Ṛg. VIII. 2. 40), Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa (Ṛg. X. 149. 5), Vatsaprī Bhālandana (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 1), Cyavana Bhārgava (Ait. Br. 39. 7). In other cases a man is referred to by his own name and another name derived from a country or locality e. g. Kaśu Caidya (Ṛg. VIII. 5. 37), Bhīma Vaidarbha (Ait. Br. 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (Ait. Br. 39. 23), Janaka Vaideha (Bṛ. Up. III. 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e. g. Dīrghatamā Māmateya (Ṛg. I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjunī, Ṛg. IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakṣīvat Auśija (son of a woman called Uśik, Ṛg. I. 18. 1, Vāj. S. III. 28),[554] Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, Tai. Br. I. 5. 10), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, Chān. Up. III. 16.7). In the vaṁśa added at the end of the Bṛ. Up. there are about forty sages with matronymic names. The practice of mentioning a man by reference to his mother's name or to his mother's father's gotra was continued till later times, as will be shown later on. The most usual method, however, of referring to a person in the Ṛg. and also in other Vedic works was to state his name along with another derived from his father's name. For example, Ambarīṣa, Ṛjrāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārṣāgira (son of Vṛṣāgir, Rg. I. 100. 17); king Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pijavana, Ṛg. VII. 18. 22), Devāpi is Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Ṛg. X. 98. 5-6), Śaṁyu Bārhaspatya (Tai. S. II. 6. 10), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi (Ait. Bṛ. 13. 10 and Tai. Up. III. 1), Bharata Dauṣṣanti (Śatapatha XIII. 5. 4. 11, Ait. Bṛ. 39. 9), Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (Ait. Br. 22. 9).

The principal rules about names may now be set out from the gṛhyasūtras. Āsv. (I. 15. 4-10, S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 182-183) says 'Let (them) give the boy a name beginning with a sonant, having a semivowel in it, with a *visarga* at the end, consisting of two syllables or of four syllables, of two syllables if (the father) is desirous of firm (worldly) position (for his son), of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual eminence (for his son);

554. वार्तिक 7 on पाणिनि VI. 1.37 explains the words कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः (ऋ. I. 18. 1). Vide महाभाष्य vol III. p. 33.

but (in all cases) with an even number of syllables in the case of males and with an uneven number of syllables in the case of women. And let him find out (for the boy) a name to be employed at respectful salutations (at Upanayana &c.); that name (the boy's) mother and father alone should know till his upanayana'[555]. The Śāṅ. gr. (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 50) omits the rule about the name ending in a *visarga* and allows an option of six syllables and adds that the name should be formed by a kṛt affix (from a root) and not by a *taddhita*; that this name should be known only to his parents and that on the tenth day after birth the father should give the child a name for ordinary use which should be pleasing to brāhmaṇas. It should be noticed that Āśv. and Śāṅ. differ on one very important point. According to Āśv. the name for which elaborate rules are laid down is to be the ordinary name and he lays down no rule about the formation of the secret name; while Sāṅ. lays down for the secret name the same rules as Āśv. does for the public one and Śāṅ. says about the public name that it should be pleasing.

Instead of quoting gṛhya sūtras at length the principal rules about names deducible from them may be stated in the form of propositions with a few illustrations for each.

(1) The first rule in almost all sūtras is that the name for males should contain two or four syllables or an even number. This rule is deduced from Vedic literature where most of the names contain either two syllables (e. g. Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four syllables (Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Medhyātithi, Brahmadatta &c.), though names of three syllables (like Kavasa, Cyavana, Bharata) and of five syllables

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555. नाम चास्मै दद्युः घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्व्यक्षरम्। चतुरक्षरं वा। द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः। युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम्। अयुजानि स्त्रीणाम्। अभिवादनीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यातामोपनयनात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 15. 4–10. The घोष are the last three letters of the five वर्ग (कवर्गादि), य् र् ल् व् and ह्. Separate the 5th sūtra as घोषवदादि अन्तरन्तस्थं (अन्तः मध्ये अन्तस्थाः यरलवाः यस्य); अभिनिष्ठानान्त means अभिनिष्ठानः अन्ते यस्य, अभिनिष्ठान means विसर्ग. पाणिनि VIII. 3. 86 derives that word. That such rules are very ancient follows from a quotation in the महाभाष्य 'याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति। दशस्वुत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्याद् घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थमबृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्याच्च तद्धितमिति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 4. त्रिपुरुषानूकम् that would follow the name of (one of) the three ancestors of the boy's father. अनूक means 'descent or family.' अबृद्धं means that the first syllable is not आ, ऐ or औ (vide पाणिनि I. 1. 73) and अनरिप्रतिष्ठित means 'not borne by his foe.'

(like Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiraṇyastūpa) are not wanting. Baijavāpa[556] gṛhya allowed the name to be of one, two, three, four or any number of syllables. Śāṅ. allowed a name even of six syllables and Baud. gṛ. (II. 1. 25) of six or even eight. Examples of names with two syllables and four syllables are given below.

(2) Almost all gṛhya sūtras contain the rule that the name should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semivowel. This is stated also in the ancient quotation from Yājñikas in the Mahābhāṣya.

(3) Some sūtras prescribe that the name should end in a *visarga* preceded [557] by a long vowel (e. g. Āp., Bhār., Hir., Pār.). Āśv. only mentions that it should end in a visarga, while Vaik. and Gobhila say that it may end in a long vowel or in a *visarga*. These rules were probably based on such Vedic names as Sudās, Dīrghatamas, Pṛthuśravas (that occur in the Ṛgveda) and such names as Vatsaprī (Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 6).

(4) Āp. prescribes that the name should have two parts, the first being a noun and the second a verbal formation (generally a past passive participle). This rule is probably based on such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in Bṛ. Up. I. 3. 24 and figures very much in Pali works), Devadatta, Yajñadatta &c.

(5) Many gṛhya sūtras (like Pār., Gobhila, Śāṅ., Baijavāpa, Vārāha) say that the name should be formed from a root by a kṛt affix and should not be a taddhita (i. e. formed from a noun by an affix).

(6) Āp. and Hir. say that the name should have the *upasarga* ' su ' in it as a Brāhmaṇa passage says that such a name has stability in it. Examples are Sujāta, Sudarśana, Sukeśas (Praśna Up. I. 1).

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556. वैजवापः । पिता नाम करोति एकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्याच्च तद्धितम् । अपरार्क p. 27. भवः, भद्रः, देवः, वादाः (वारि ददाति इति), गीर्दाः (गिरं ददाति) are examples of names of two syllables and देवदत्तः, विष्णुमित्रः, रुद्रदत्तः, भवनाथः, नागदेवः, सुदर्शनः, द्रविणोदाः of those of four syllables. In the Mahābhāṣya देवदत्त and यज्ञदत्त are the most frequent stock names whenever it predicates something about a person in general and it also says that such names are shortened as e. g. ' देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामेति ' महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 111 on पाणिनि I. 1. 45.

557. पुत्रस्य नाम वृधाति पिता मातेति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामधूर्षमाकृयातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तस्थम् । आप. गृ. 15. 8-9.

(7) Baud. gṛ. prescribes that the name may be derived from a sage or a deity or an ancestor.[558] The Mānava gṛhya, however, forbids the giving of a name of a deity itself, but allows the giving of a name derived from the name of a deity or a nakṣatra. Examples of names derived from sages would be Vāsiṣṭha, Nārada &c. and of names taken from deities would be Viṣṇu, Śiva &c. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 12 quotes a passage of Śaṅkha that the name should be connected with one's family deity. It should be noticed that in modern times most names in many parts of India are the names of deities or of heroes supposed to be *avatāras* of deities. In Vedic literature hardly any human being bears the name of any of the Vedic gods (Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan &c). There are only a few exceptions such as that of Bhṛgu (in Tai. Up. III. 1) who is said to have learnt from his father called Varuṇa and in the Praśna Up. (I. 1) there is Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya whose name is derived from Sūrya. But in the Vedic Literature persons have names derived from the names of gods, such as Indrota (Indra + ūta, protected), Indradyumna. The names that occur in the Mahābhāṣya such as Devadatta, Yajñadatta, Vāyudatta (vol. II. p. 296), Viṣṇumitra (vol. I. pp. 41 and 359), Bṛhaspatidattaka (or Bṛhaspatika), Prajāpatidattaka (or-patika), Bhānudattaka (or Bhānuka) and others set out in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 425) exemplify the rule of the Mānavagṛhya. It is difficult to say when the very names of deities began generally to be borne by human beings. Probably the practice began in the first centuries of the Christian era. From the fifth century onwards we have historic examples of such names, e. g. in the Eran stone inscriptions of Budhagupta dated in the Gupta saṁvat 165 i. e. 484-5 A. D. (Gupta Inscriptions No. 19) there is a brāhmaṇa Indra-Viṣṇu, son of Varuṇa-Viṣṇu, son of Hari-Viṣṇu.

(8) Baud., Pār., Gobhila (and the Yājñikas quoted by the Mahābhāṣya) prescribe that the name of the boy may be the same as that of any of the ancestors of the father. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 18) expressly says that the father's own name should not be given. This practice was observed in ancient times and continues even today, when the child is often given his grandfather's name.[559] Vide I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 where we see that Pulakeśi II was grandson of Pulakeśi I.

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558. ऋष्यनूकं देवतानूकं वा। यथैवेषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। बौ.गृ.सू. II.1.28-29; यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् । मानवगृह्य I. 18.

559. In the E. I. vol. 14 p. 342 (of śake 1470) strangely enough the engraver's name is the same as his father's.

(9) The gṛhyasūtras (except Pār. and Mānava) are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents, in the Sosyantīkarma according to Gobhila and Khādira, at birth according to some (like Āśv. and Kāṭhaka) and according to others (like Āp., Baud., Bhār.) at the time of Nāmakaraṇa on 10th or 12th day. We saw above that Śāṅ. and Kāṭhaka give elaborate rules about the secret name, which rules are those of the Vyāvahārika[560] name according to Āśv. and many other sūtrakāras. Gobhila and Khādira give no rules about the secret name. Āp., Hir. and Vaik. only say that the secret name should be derived from the nakṣatra of birth, but give no further rules. Bhāradvāja[561] speaks of the giving of two names in Nāmakaraṇa, one being derived by applying the intricate rules described above and the other being a nakṣatra name; but it is not quite clear which was to be the secret name; it is probable, however, that the naksatra name was to be the secret one. According to Āśvalāyana the secret name was called Abhivādanīya (which was to be known to the parents only till the boy's upanayana and which was to be used by the boy for announcing himself in respectful salutations); but he does not say how it was to be derived. Gobhila, Khādira, Vārāha (5) and Mānava speak of an abhivādanīya name. Gobhila prescribes that this name was to be given to the boy at the time of upanayana by the ācārya and was to be derived from the naksatra of birth or from the presiding deity of that nakṣatra. Gobhila[562] further adds that according to some teachers the abhivādanīya name was derived from

560. According to the Kāṭhaka gṛhya (34. 1–3 and 36) only one is given (on the day of birth) and the same is used in Nāmakaraṇa (36. 3), but it mentions that it was the view of some that another name was to be given in Nāmakaraṇa.

561. नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद्वृद्धं स्यादन्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयेरन्। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 26.

562. गोभिल and खादिर appear to suggest three names, one that was secret given in सोष्यन्तीकर्म (गोभिल II. 7. 15–16), the 2nd in nāmakaraṇa (गोभिल II. 8. 8 and 14–16 derived by means of the intricate rules specified above) and a third in Upanayana called अभिवादनीय (गोभिल II. 10. 21–25). According to them a name like सोमयाजी would be the fourth name. In वैखानस I. 7 it is said that in the पुण्याहवाचन the following names of the यजमान should be taken one after another viz. नक्षत्रनाम, गोत्रनाम, पितृनाम, मातृगोत्रनाम and स्वनाम (ending in शर्मन् if he is a ब्राह्मण). को नामासीति नामधेयं पृच्छति तस्याचार्यः। अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वा। गोत्राश्रयमप्येके। गोभिलीयगृह्य II. 10. 22–25; को नामासीत्युक्तो देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वाभिवादनीयं नाम भूयाद्भवावस्मीति। खादिर II. 4. 12.

the gotra of the boy (as e. g. Gārgya, Śāṇḍilya, Gautama &c.). This practice is based on the usage we find in the Upaniṣads, where Satyakāma when about to go to a teacher for Vedic study asks his mother what his gotra was (Chān. Up. IV. 4. 1) and where the teacher also asks him what his gotra was. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad Naciketas is styled Gautama and in Chān. V. 3. 7 Śvetaketu is addressed as Gautama by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali when the latter expounded Saṁvarga-vidyā to the former. But if the abhivādanīya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy. From Gobhila it appears that the ācārya told the boy his abhivādanīya name, but the Khādira suggests that the boy already knew it (from his father or mother) and informed the teacher. The nakṣatranāma was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices. The Vedāṅgajyotiṣa [563] (of the Ṛg) in verses 25–28 enumerates 28 nakṣatras (adding Abhijit after Uttarāṣāḍhā and before Śravaṇa) and their presiding deities and adds that in sacrifices the sacrificer is to bear a name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra. The object of keeping the nakṣatra name secret seems to have been to prevent rites of *abhicāra* (magical practices) against a

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563. नक्षत्रदेवता ह्येता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्माणि यजमानस्य शास्त्रज्ञैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋ.) verse 28. In the Vedic Literature and in the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa the nakṣatras are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Apabharaṇī and not from Aśvinī to Revatī as in medieval and modern times. For the position of Abhijit, vide Tai. Br. I. 5. 2. The nakṣatras and their presiding deities may profitably be specified here. Some of the names differ from the modern ones. The oldest lists are in the Atharvaveda (19. 7. 2–5) and Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1–3, Tai. Br. I. 5. 1 and III. 1. 1. कृत्तिका-अग्नि, रोहिणी—प्रजापति, मृगशीर्ष or मृगशिरः (इन्वका in तै. सं.)—सोम, आर्द्रा (बाहू in तै. सं)—रुद्र, पुनर्वसू—अदिति, तिष्य (पुष्य in अथर्व०)—बृहस्पति, आश्रेषा (आश्लेषा in अथर्व०)—सर्पाः, मघा–पितरः, फल्गुनी (पूर्वा)—अर्यमा, फल्गुनी (उत्तरा)—भग, हस्त-सवितृ, चित्रा (त्वष्टृ), निष्ट्या (स्वाति in अथर्व०)—वायु, विशाखे-इन्द्राग्नी, अनूराधा (or अनुराधा)—मित्र, ज्येष्ठा (रोहिणी in तै. सं.)—इन्द्र, मूल (विचृतौ in तै. सं.)—पितरः (निर्ऋति in ब्राह्मण and शाङ्खायनगृह्य and प्रजापति acc. to others), अषाढा (पूर्वा)—आपः, अषाढा (उत्तरा)—विश्वेदेवाः, श्रोणा (श्रवण in अथर्व०)—विष्णु, श्राविष्ठा (or धनिष्ठा)–वसवः, शतभिषक्—वरुण (called इन्द्र in तै. सं.), प्रोष्ठपदा (पूर्वाभाद्रपदा)—अजएकपात्, प्रोष्ठपदा (उत्तरा भाद्रपदा)—अहिर्बुध्न्य, रेवती—पूषन्, अश्वयुक् (अश्विनी)—अश्विनौ, अपभरणी (भरणी in अथर्व०)—यम. The deity of अभिजित् is ब्रह्मा. These are given also in शाङ्खायनगृह्य I. 20, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 78. 16–17, वैखानसस्मार्त (III. 20). Some give इन्द्र as the deity of चित्रा. In the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (ऋग्वेदीय), विष्णु ध. सू., शाङ्खा. गृ., भग and अर्यमा are the presiding deities of पूर्वा फल्गुनी and उत्तरा फल्गुनी respectively.

person, for the effective employment of which it was necessary to know a person's name.[564]

Hundreds of names occur in the Vedic Literature, but there are hardly any names directly derived from a nakṣatra. In the Śatapatha (VI. 2. 1. 37) there is an Aṣāḍhī Sauśromateya (son of Aṣāḍha and Suśromatā). Here Aṣāḍha is probably connected with the nakṣatra Aṣāḍhā. It appears therefore that in the times of the brāhmaṇas nakṣatra names were secret and so are not met with. Gradually however naksatra names ceased to be secret and became common. For several centuries before the Christian era nakṣatra names were very common. Pāṇini (who cannot be placed later than 300 B. C. and may have flourished some centuries earlier still) gives several rules (IV. 3. 34–37 and VII. 3. 18) for deriving names of males and females from nakṣatras. In IV. 3. 34 he says that names are derived from Śraviṣṭhā, Phālgunī, Anurādhā, Śvāti, Tisya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Aṣāḍhā and Bahulā (Kṛttikā) without adding any termination signifying 'born on' (e. g. we have the names Śraviṣṭhaḥ, Phālgunaḥ &c.). In VII. 3. 18 he derives the name Prosṭhapadaḥ from Prosṭhapadā. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) the brother-in-law of Candragupta Maurya is said to have been a vaiśya named Pusyagupta (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 43). This shows that in the 4th century B. C. a name was derived from the naksatra Puṣya (so the name was naksatrāśraya). The Mahābhāsya (vol. I. p. 231) speaks of boys named Tiṣya and Punarvasu and cites Citrā, Revatī, Rohiṇī as names of women born on these naksatras (vol. II. p. 307) and of Caitra as a male (vol. II. p. 128). The Mahābhāṣya speaks of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty (vol. I. p. 177, vol. II. pp. 34 and 123). Buddhists also had nakṣatra names e. g. Moggaliputta Tissa (where a gotra name and a nakṣatra name from Tisya are combined), a parivrājaka Poṭṭhapāda in Dīgha I. p. 187 and III. p. 1 (from the nakṣatra Prosṭhapadā), Asāḍa, Phaguna, Svātiguta, Pusarakhita and in the Sāñcī inscriptions of 3rd century B. C. (E. I. (vol. II. p. 95). The giving of naksatra names continued for centuries after the Christian era. For example, in the Palitana plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi saṁvat 210 (about 529 A. D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. We have

564. The com. of खादिरगृह्य says (II. 2. 32) 'वैदिककर्मार्थमेतत्। नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम्' and देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 36. 4 says 'प्रयोजनं परैरभिचारे क्रियमाणेऽनुच्चारादप्रकटम्'.

names like Puṣyasvāmī, Rohiṇīsvāmī (in the plates of Śivarāja dated 602–3 A. D., in E. I. vol. IX. p. 288). Another way of deriving names from nakṣatras was to form them from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a person was born. A man was called Āgneya, if he was born on Kṛttikā (Agni being its devatā), Maitra (from being born on Anurādhā). In modern times this round-about way is given up and persons are named directly from the names of gods and avatāras (like Rāma).

There is another way of deriving names from nakṣatras set forth in medieval works on Dharmaśāstra and Jyotiṣa. Each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into four *pādas* and to each pāda a specific letter is assigned (e. g., cū, ce, co and lā for the pādas of Aśvinī) from which names are derived for persons born in those pādas (e. g. Cūḍāmaṇi, Cedīśa, Coleśa and Lakṣmaṇa for the four pādas of Aśvinī).[565] These names are secret and are even now muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī in Upanayana and are known as the name in the daily saṁdhyā prayer.

Modern works like the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 237) say that four kinds of names may be given viz. devatānāma, māsanāma, nakṣatranāma and vyāvahārikanāma. The first shows that the bearer is the devotee of that devatā. The Nirṇayasindhu[566] quotes a verse about twelve names derived from the month in which a man was born and adds that the Madanaratna laid down that the names specified in the verse were to be given to the months from Mārgaśīrṣa or Caitra. Such names (of Viṣṇu) are being given now, particularly in Western India, but without regard to the month of birth. So early as in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of

565. Vide संस्काररत्नमाला p. 859 and संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 239–240 where all the letters for the 27 नक्षत्र are set out from a work called ज्योतिषार्क and on pp. 860–861 of the former the 112 names (for the 4 पाद of 28 नक्षत्र) are exemplified. Even so late a work as the धर्मसिन्धु (composed in 1790 A. d.) disapproves of these names as not based on any Vedic authorities 'केचित्तु चूचेचोलाश्विनीमोक्तेत्यादिज्योतिर्ग्रन्थोक्तावकहडाचक्रानुसारेणाश्विन्यादेश्चतुर्षु चरणेषु चूडामणिश्चोदीशश्चोलेशो लक्ष्मण इत्यादिकानि नाक्षत्रनामानि कुर्वन्ति तन्न श्रौतग्रन्थादिबहुसंमतम्।' धर्मसिन्धु III परिच्छेद, पूर्वार्ध.

566. स्मृतिसंग्रहे। कृष्णोनन्तोऽच्युतश्चक्री वैकुण्ठोथ जनार्दनः। उपेन्द्रो यज्ञपुरुषो वासुदेवस्तथा हरिः। योगीशः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मासनामान्यनुक्रमात्॥ अत्र मार्गशीर्षादिश्चैत्रादिर्वा क्रम इति मदनरत्ने। निर्णयसिन्धु परिच्छेद III पूर्वार्ध. The verse quoted occurs in the Śaunaka Kārikās (Ms. in Bombay University Library) as one of Garga. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (Anand.ed.) VI. 2 speaks of मासनामs beginning from मार्गशीर्ष.

Varāhamihira the twelve names of Viṣṇu are associated with the twelve months.[567]

As to the names of girls, some special rules were laid down. Many gṛhyasūtras say that the names of girls should contain an uneven number of syllables and the Mānava gṛ. (I. 18) expressly says that the names of girls should be of three syllables. Pār. and Vārāhagṛhya further say that the names of girls should end in 'ā', Gobhila and Mānava say they should end in 'dā' (as in Satyadā, Vasudā, Yaśodā, Narmadā), Śaṅkha-likhita dharmasūtra and Baijavāpa require that it should end in 'ī', while the Baud.[568] gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra says that it should end in a long vowel. The Vārāhagṛhya adds an intricate rule that the name of a girl should have an 'ā' vowel in it and should not be after a river, a nakṣatra or should not be the name of the sun or moon or Pūṣan and should not be one having the idea of 'given by god' as in Devadattā or having the word 'rakṣitā (as in Buddharakṣitā).[569] Manu II. 33 prescribes that the names of women should end in a long vowel, should be easy to pronounce, should not suggest any harsh acts, should be perspicuous, should be pleasing to the ear, auspicious and should convey some blessing and in III. 9 Manu and Āp. gṛ. III. 13 say that one should not marry a girl named after nakṣatras, trees, rivers. In modern times girls frequently bear the names of the great rivers of India (Sindhu, Jāhnavī, Yamunā, Tāpī, Narmadā, Godā, Kṛṣṇā, Kāverī &c.).

It is remarkable that Manu altogether omits the involved rules given by the gṛhya sūtras about naming a boy and prescribes (II. 31–32) two simple rules viz. that the names of all the members of the four varṇas should suggest respectively auspiciousness, vigour, wealth and lowness (or contempt) and that the names of brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas should have an addition (upapada) suggestive of śarman (happiness), rakṣā

567. The 12 names are केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन, श्रीधर, हृषीकेश, पद्मनाभ, दामोदर.

568. Vide अपरार्क p. 27 for quotations from शङ्खलिखित and बैजवाप. नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदूतरक्षितावर्जम् । वाराहगृह्य 2.

569. These directions of the Vārāha gṛ. were not observed in ancient times. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 307) mentions women named Citrā, Revatī, Aśvinī, also a woman named Devadattā (vol. I. p. 184) and यज्ञदत्ता (vol. III. p. 156) and also देवदत्तिका (or देवका), यज्ञदत्तिका (or यज्ञका) in vol. III. p. 325.

(protection), puṣṭi (prosperity) and preṣya (service or dependence on others). It is significant that none of the gṛhya-sūtras except Pāraskara[570] makes any reference to these additions (śarman and the like) to the names of brāhmaṇas and others. Therefore this was comparatively a later development, though such additions must have been in vogue at least two centuries before the Christian era. The Mahābhāṣya[571] (vol. III. p. 416) cites Indravarman and Indrapālita as the names of a rājanya and a vaiśya. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 27) says[572] that the names of brāhmaṇas should have the addition of *śarma* or *deva*, of kṣatriyas *varma* or *trāta*, of vaiśyas *bhūti* or *datta*, and of śūdras *dāsa*. Similar rules are given in the Purāṇas[573]. These rules were sometime observed, but were often broken from very ancient times as inscriptions show. A striking example of the observance of these rules is contained in the Talguṇḍa Inscription of Kakutsthavarman of the Kadamba family (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) where the founder who was a brāhmaṇa is styled Mayūraśarman, but his descendants who were kings had names ending in varman (which was appropriate to kṣatriyas). On the other hand we have frequent breaches of these rules. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 35 (C. I. I. vol. III, p. 150, at p. 156 the Mandasor Ins. of Yaśodharman of Mālava year 589, 645-46 A. D.) the genealogy of the brāhmaṇa ministers is Ṣaṣṭhidatta, his son Varāhadāsa, his son Ravikīrti (so the upapadas ' datta ' and ' dāsa ' appropriate to vaiśyas and śūdras respectively were added to brāhmaṇa names). In the Neulpur plate of Śubhakara of Orissa (8th century A. D., E. I. vol. XV. p. 4) we have several bhaṭṭas whose names end in *vardhana*, *datta* and *svāmin*. In the Nidhanpura plate of Bhāskaravarman (E. I. vol. XIX p. 115) among the numerous donees (who must have been all brāhmaṇas) there are some who are named Śrāddhadāsa, Karkadatta and Merudatta. In the Inscriptions of the Śaka king Dāmijaḍa

570. नक्षत्रनामा नदीनामा वृक्षनामाश्च गर्हिताः । आप. गृ. III. 13; शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य । पारस्कर I. 17. The बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र I. 11. 10 says 'अथाप्युदाहरन्ति-शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य, वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य, गुप्तान्तं वैश्यस्य, भूत्यदासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा । '.

571. This is on वार्तिक 2 ' भोराजन्यविशां वेति वाच्यम् ' on पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83.

572. यमः । शर्मा देवश्च विप्रस्य वर्मा त्राता च भूभुजः । भूतिर्दत्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥ अपरार्क p. 27.

573. e. g. विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 9 शर्मेति ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं वर्मेति क्षत्रसंश्रयम् । गुप्तदासात्मकं नाम प्रशस्तं वैश्यशूद्रयोः ॥; the संस्कारतत्त्व p. 919 quotes another verse of विष्णुपुराण 'ततश्च नाम कुर्वीत पितैव दशमेऽहनि । देवपूर्वं नराख्यं हि शर्मवर्मादिसंयुतम् ॥.' This is विष्णुपुराण III. 10. 8.

of the year 60 (C. I. I. vol. II. p. 16) his father is called *Valavaḍha* (Balavardhana) and his son Mitravaḍhana (Mitravardhana).

A few words may be said about matronymics. A few examples of such names have been given above from Vedic Literature. Āśv. gṛ.[574] (I. 5. 1.) says that in selecting a bride-groom or bride "one should first examine the family, as has been already said 'those who on the mother's and father's side' ". This refers to the Āśv. Śrauta sūtra where it is required that both parents of the brāhmaṇa at the time of camasabhakṣaṇa in Daśapeya should be for ten generations perfect in their learning, austerities, and meritorious works and who can be traced to have throughout been of the brāhmaṇa class on both sides &c. Yāj. I. 54 enjoins that one should choose a girl from a great family of śrotriyas, which has been famous for ten generations (for learning and character). Therefore when in certain cases a person is named after his mother or after the gotra of his mother's father, all that is intended to be conveyed is that he is descended from worthy male and female ancestors. There is no question in such cases of matriarchy. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60) siri Puḷumāyi is described as Vāsiṭhīputa and in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 88 the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena is described as Māḍharīputra.[575] In a Scythian Inscription (E. I. vol. X at page 108) we have mention of 'the son of Bhārgavī'. In all these cases the mother's gotra name is specially emphasized probably to convey that the mothers were of the bluest blood. Comparatively late writers mention the gotra in which their mother was born (e. g. Bhavabhūti who flourished about 700–750 A. D. says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarṇī). From a Kārikā in the Mahābhāṣya we learn that the great grammarian Pāṇini was the son of a Dākṣī. Pāṇini himself[576] (IV. 1. 147) delivers a

574. कुलमग्रे परीक्षेत ये मातृतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू. IX. 3. 20 has 'ये मातृतः पितृतश्च वृशपूरुषं समनुष्टिता विद्यातपोभ्यां पुण्यैश्च कर्मभिर्येषामुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितृतश्चैके'. The printed text reads °नाब्राह्मण्यं which practically conveys the same sense.

575. Vide E. I. vol. XX. p. 6. for other examples of Māḍharīputa and Vāsiṭhīputa.

576. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 75 on पाणिनि (I. 1. 20). पाणिनि was also called शालातुरीय (from his place शलातुर). Vide भामह's काव्यालंकार VI. 62 and Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (E. I. vol. VIII at p. 192, dated Gupta era 320 i. e. 649–50 Ad). Pāṇini (IV. 3. 94) derives the word शालातुरीय.

special rule about the formation of a name for a man from the gotra name of his mother to convey contempt (e. g. Gārgaḥ or Gārgikaḥ, a rogue, from his mother's name Gārgī).[577] Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya (I. 25. 2-9, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) prescribes that the father and mother (having bathed themselves and the child) should put on new clothes, that the father should cook a mess of food in the sūtikāgni, that he is to offer oblations to the *tithi* of the boy's birth and to three constellations with their presiding deities, that he is to place in the middle the oblation to the nakṣatra of birth and he should make two other oblations to fire with two mantras and then the 10th oblation is made to Soma with Ṛg. I. 91. 7. The father pronounces aloud the child's name and causes the brāhmaṇas to say auspicious words.

The Āśv. gr. does not describe Nāmakaraṇa. Many of the other gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the sūtikāgni is to be removed and the homa for nāmakaraṇa is to be performed in the Aupāsana (gṛhya) fire. The Bhāradvāja gr.[578] prescribes the repetition of the Jayā, Abhyātāna and Rāṣṭrabhṛt mantras and the offering of eight oblations of ghṛta with the eight mantras 'may Dhātṛ bestow on us wealth' (Āp. M. P. II. 11. 1ff). The Hir. gr. (II. 4. 6-14, S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 214-215) contains similar rules. It prescribes twelve oblations with the mantras 'may Dhātṛ bestow on us wealth' and gives two names (a secret naskatra name and an ordinary name) to the boy. The twelve oblations are as follows: four to Dhātṛ, four to Anumati, two to Rākā, two to Sinīvālī. According to some a thirteenth oblation to Kuhū was to be offered.

The later works state many details which it is unnecessary to set out. The mother with her child on her lap sits to the right of the father. Some late writers prescribe that the father is to give a secret name to the boy and should spread husked

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577. The महाभाष्य gives several Vārtikas on Pāṇini IV. 1. 147 and the Kāśikā remarks 'पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोऽपत्यस्य कुत्सा' and गार्गः would mean गार्ग्याः पुत्रः (whose father was unknown).

578. e. g. भारद्वाज gr. I. 26 'दक्षाय्यां स्नातौ मातापुत्रौ हुत्व्यगारं कुर्वन्त्युपनिर्हरन्त्यौपासनं सूतिकाग्निमतिहरन्ति । अन्तरागारेऽग्निमुपसमाधाय जयाभ्यातानान् राष्ट्रभृत इति हुत्वैता आहुतीर्जुहोति धाता ददातु नो रयिमित्यष्टौ ।. The Jayas are certain mantras (13 in all) which are Tai. S. III. 4. 4. 1 (vide आप. म. पाठ I. 10. 9 'चित्तं च चित्तिश्च ... स्वाहा'), अभ्यातानs are 18 viz. 'अग्निर्भूतानामधिपतिः स मावत्वस्मिन्' in तै. सं. III. 4. 5. 1; the Rāṣṭrabhṛts are 22 (ऋताषाड्ऋतधामा) in तै. सं III. 4. 7. 1. Other sūtras specify other mantras from their respective śākhās.

grains of rice in a vessel of bronze, write thereon with a golden pen the words 'salutations to Śrī Gaṇapati' and then write four names of the boy, viz. kuladevatā nāma (such as Yogeśvarī-bhakta), then māsanāma (vide note 566 above), a vyāvahārika-nāma, a nakṣatranāma. [579]

Some sūtra works add a detail immediately after Nāma-karaṇa. For example, Āśv. gṛ. (I. 15. 11) says 'when a father returns from a journey he holds in his hands his son's head, mutters the verse 'aṅgād aṅgād &c.' and thrice smells (kisses) his son on the head. Āp. gṛ. 15. 12 [580] prescribes that on returning from a journey the father should address his son (abhimantraṇa) with the verse 'aṅgād,' should smell the child on the head with the verse 'be thou an axe' and should mutter in his right ear five mantras. These rules have a very ancient origin. The Kauṣītaki Bṛ. Up. II. 11 says that on returning from a journey the father touches the head of a son with the verse 'aṅgād-aṅgād &c.' and takes the name of the boy and also repeats the verse 'aśmā bhava' &c. In the case of the girl there is no smelling of the head nor muttering in the ear, but only address (with a prose formula). This no doubt indicates that greater value was attached to a son than to a daughter, but it also shows that the daughter was not altogether neglected.

Karṇavedha :—(piercing the lobes of the ears of the child). In modern times this is generally done on the 12th day after birth. In the Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra (I. 12) karṇavedha is prescribed in the 7th or 8th month, while Bṛhaspati quoted in Saṃskāraprakāśa (p. 258) says that it may be performed on the 10th, 12th or 16th [581] day from birth or in the 7th or 10th month from birth. The Sm. C. has a brief note on karṇavedha. The gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa says that the father sits facing the east in the first half of the day and first addresses the right ear of the boy with the mantra 'Oh gods, may we hear bliss with our ears' (Ṛg. I. 89. 8) and then also the left ear. If the boy cries honey is to be

579. The संकल्प in नामकरण is 'ममास्य कुमारस्य बीजगर्भसमुद्भवैनोनिबर्हणा-र्थवर्चोभिवृद्ध्यर्थवहारसिद्ध्यर्थं श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं नामकरणाख्यं कर्म करिष्ये' संस्कार-रत्नमाला p. 861.

580. For अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि and for अश्मा भव vide note 537 above. In आप. म. पा. (II. 14. 3) the reading is वेद्वो वै पुत्रनामासि. The formula for a daughter is सर्वस्मादात्मनः संभूतासि सा जीव शरदः शतम् (आप. म. पा. II. 14. 10).

581. The संस्काररत्नमाला (p. 873) quotes from मदनरत्न the verse 'प्रथमे सप्तमे वापि अष्टमे दशमेथ वा । द्वादशे वा प्रकुर्वीत कर्णवेधं शुभावहम् ॥.' Vide संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 379 for कर्णवेध.

given to him ; after the rite brāhmaṇas are to be fed. In modern times, generally a goldsmith is called who pierces the lower lobes of the ears with a pointed golden wire and turns it into a ring round the lobes. In the case of girls the left ear is pierced first. That ears of boys were pierced even in ancient times is suggested by a mantra quoted in the Nirukta.[582] 'He (the teacher) who pierces the ear with truth, without causing pain and yet bestowing ambrosia, should be regarded as one's father and mother'.

Niṣkramaṇa:—(Taking the child out of the house in the open). This is a minor rite. Pār. gr. I. 17 gives the briefest description. Vide also Gobhila II. 8. 1–7 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 56–57), Khādira II. 3. 1–5 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 396), Baud. gr. II. 2, Mānava gr. I. 19. 1–6, Kāṭhaka gr. 37–38.[583] This was done according to most authorities in the 4th month after birth. Aparārka (p. 28) quotes a purāṇa that the going out of the house may be done on the 12th day or in the 4th month. According to Pār. gr. the father makes the child [584] look at the sun pronouncing the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Māṇavagṛhya prescribes that the father cooks a mess of food in milk and offers oblations thereof to the sun with the verses 'the brilliant sun has risen in the east' (Mait. S. 4. 14. 4), 'he is the *haṁsa* sitting in pure worlds' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5 = Mait. S. II. 6. 12 = Tai. S. I. 8. 15. 2), 'whenever him' (Ṛg. X. 88. 11) and then he worships the sun with the verse 'that Jātavedas' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1, it occurs in all Saṁhitās) and then he should present the child turning its face towards the sun with the verse 'salutation to thee, Oh divine (sun) who hast hundreds of rays and who dispellest darkness, remove the misfortune of my lot and endow me with blessings'; then brāhmaṇas are to be fed and the fee is to be a bull. Baud.

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582. निरुक्त II. 4 य आतृणत्त्यवितथेन कर्णावदुःखं कृण्वन्नमृतं संप्रयच्छन् । तं मन्येत पितरं मातरं च तस्मै न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह ॥. This verse also occurs in Vas. II. 10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 47; vide शान्तिपर्व 108. 22–23 where there is a very similar verse (यश्चाकृणोत्यवितथेन) and मनु II. 144.

583. These two chapters of the काठकगृह्य seem to be later additions. The com. ब्राह्मणबल remarks 'निष्क्रमणान्नप्राशनविधिमाचार्यो नाह । श्रोत्रियास्तु पारंपर्येण पठन्ति । तृतीये मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोः सूर्यस्य दर्शनं । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं तथा चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ।'.

584. चतुर्थे मासि निष्क्रमणिका सूर्यमुदीक्षयति तच्चक्षुरिति । पारस्कर I. 17. The verse is तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं पुरस्ताच्छुक्रमुच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं शृणुयाम शरदः शतं प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतमदीनाः स्याम शरदः शतं भूयश्च शरदः शतात् ।. Vide Tai. Ār. 4. 42 for this benediction.

gṛ. (II. 2) prescribes a homa with eight oblations. Gobhila speaks of candradarśana. It says that on the 3rd *tithi* of the third bright fortnight after birth, the father bathes the child in the morning, worships in the evening the moon with folded hands, then the mother, having dressed the child, hands it with its face to the north from the south to north to the father and herself passes behind the back of the father and stands to the north of him, who worships with the three verses [585] 'Oh thou whose hair is well parted, thy heart' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 10–12), then the father hands back the son to the mother with the words 'that this son may not come to harm and be torn from his mother'. Then in the following bright fortnights, the father filling his joined hands with water and turning his face towards the moon, lets the water flow out of his joined hands once with the Yajus 'what is the moon' (Mantrabrāhmaṇa I. 5. 13) and twice silently. The Khādiragṛhya has practically the same rules, except that it does not speak of two times. It will be noted that both omit the sight of the sun, but only mention the seeing of the moon. Laghu-Āśvalāyana VII. 1-3 speaks of the performance of ābhyudayika śrāddha, then reciting the sūkta from 'svasti no mimītam' (Ṛg. V. 51. 11) and 'āśu śiśānaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 103. 1), showing the boy to the sun in the courtyard of one's father-in-law or in that of another and then repeating the verse 'that eye' (Vāj. S. 36. 24). The Sm. C. remarks that those in whose śākhā this rite is not mentioned need not perform it. The Saṁskāraprakāśa pp. 250–256 and Saṁskāraratnamālā pp. 886–888 give an extensive description and make of this saṁskāra a matter of great pomp, festivity and rejoicing. Yama [586] quoted in Saṁ. Pr. says that seeing the sun and seeing the moon should be done respectively in the 3rd and 4th months from birth.

Annaprāśana :—(making the child eat cooked food for the first time). Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 16. 1–6 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 183), Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 27 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 54), Āp. gṛ. 16. 1–2 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 283), Pār. gṛ. I. 19 (S. B. E. vol. 29, pp. 299–300), Hir. gṛ. II. 5. 1–3 (S. B. E. vol. 30, p. 216), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 39. 1–2, Bhār. gṛ. I. 27, Mānava gṛ. I. 20. 1–6, Vaik. III. 22. The Gobhila and Khādira gṛ. omit this saṁskāra. Most smṛtis prescribe the 6th

585. The verse यत्ते सुसीमे हृदयं occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 13. 4.

586. यमः । ततस्तृतीये कर्तव्यं मासि सूर्यस्य दर्शनम् । चतुर्थे मासि कर्तव्यं शिशोश्चन्द्रस्य दर्शनम् ॥ संस्कारप्रकाश p. 250.

month from birth as the time for this saṁskāra; but Mānava gṛ. says it may be the 5th or 6th; while Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka says it should be performed at the end of a year or at the end of six months, according to some[587]. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. enjoins the sixth month from birth or the time when the child first strikes teeth. The procedure is very brief in all except Śāṅ. and Pār. Śāṅ. says that the father should prepare food of goat's flesh, or flesh of partridge, or of fish or boiled rice, if he is desirous of nourishment, holy lustre, swiftness or splendour respectively and mix one of them with curds, honey and ghee and should give it to the child to eat with the reciting of the Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ). Then the father is to offer oblations to fire with four verses 'Annapate',[588] Ṛg. IV. 12. 4–5 and 'him, Oh Agni, lead to long life and splendour &c'. The father recites over the child the verse Ṛg. IX. 66. 19 and then sets down the child on northward pointed kuśa grass with Ṛg. I. 22. 15. The mother is to eat the remnant of the food thus prepared. Āśv. has almost the same rules as to food (omitting fish) but prescribes only one verse 'Annapate'. Āp. gṛ.[589] prescribes feeding of brāhmaṇas, making them give benedictions to the child and then making the child eat only once amess of curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice mixed together, with the recitation of a mantra joined to the three vyāhṛtis singly and collectively and says that according to some the flesh of partridge may also be added. Bhār. says that the method of making a child eat is the same as in Medhājanana and is silent about the food. Pār. gṛ. (I. 19) prescribes the cooking of sthālīpāka and offering the two ājyabhāgas and then two offerings of ghee with the mantras 'the gods generated[590] the goddess of speech &c' (Ṛg. VIII. 100. 11) and the verse 'may vigour to-day produce for us gifts &c' (Vāj. S. 18. 33). Mānava, Kāṭhaka and Vaik. are entirely silent about flesh. Kāṭhaka

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587. संवत्सरेऽन्नप्राशनमर्धसंवत्सर इत्येके। शङ्ख. q. by अपरार्क p. 28.

588. अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य नो देह्यनमीवस्य शुष्मिणः। प्र प्रदातारं तारिष ऊर्जं नो धेहि द्विपदे चतुष्पदे॥ तै. सं. IV. 2. 3. 1.

589. भूरसां त्वौषधीनां रसं प्राशयामि। शिवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वनमीवास्त आप ओषधयः सन्त्वसौ॥ भुवोऽसां त्वौ०। सुवरसां त्वौ०। भूर्भुवः सुवरसां०। आप. म. पा. II. 14. 11–14. After असौ the child's name in the vocative is to be uttered.

590. देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति। सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वागस्मानुपसुष्टुतैतु॥ ऋ. VIII. 100. 11.

prescribes the cooking of all haviṣya food[591] and the other two works prescribe food cooked in milk.

It will be seen from the above that the principal part of the saṁskāra is making the child taste food. Some writers add homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, and benedictions. The Saṁskāra-prakāśa (pp. 267-279) and Saṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 891-895) have very detailed notes on this saṁskāra. One interesting matter quoted by Aparārka (p. 28) from Mārkaṇḍeya is that on the day of this ceremony, in front of the gods worshipped in the house, tools and utensils required in various arts and crafts, weapons and śāstras should be spread about and the child should be allowed to crawl among them and what the child seizes at first should be noted and it should be deemed that he is destined to follow that profession for his livelihood which is represented by the thing first touched by him.

Varṣavardhana or abdapūrti:—In some of the sūtras provision is made for some ceremonies every month on the day of the birth of the child for one year and on every anniversary of the day of birth throughout life. For example, Gobhila gṛ. (II. 8. 19-20) says ' every month of the boy's birth for one year or on the parva days of the year he should sacrifice to Agni and Indra, to Heaven and Earth and to the Viśve devas. Having sacrificed to these deities he should sacrifice to the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* '.[592] The Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 25. 10-11 S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 52) similarly says ' having sacrificed in the same way every month on the tithi of the child's birth, he sacrifices when one year has expired in the (ordinary) domestic fire '. Baud. gṛ. III. 7[593] prescribes an offering of cooked rice for life (āyuṣyacaru) ' every year, every six months, every four months, every season or every month on the nakṣatra of birth '. Kāṭhaka gṛ. (36. 12 and 14) prescribes a homa every month after nāmakaraṇa for a year in the same way as in nāmakaraṇa or jātakarma and at the end of the year an offering of the

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591. कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 400 quotes a verse ' हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदन्नु व्रीहयो मताः । माषकोद्रवगौरादीन् सर्वाभावे विवर्जयेत् ॥ ' and quotes समयप्रदीप ' प्रथमं यवास्तदलाभे व्रीहयस्तदलाभे माषकोद्रवचणकसर्षपमसूरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यदपि अन्नम् '.

592. कुमारस्य मासि मासि संवत्सरे सांवत्सरिकेषु वा पर्वसु अग्नीन्द्रौ द्यावापृथिव्यौ विश्वान्देवांश्च यजेत । वैश्वतमिष्ट्वा तिथिं नक्षत्रं च यजेत । गोभिलगृह्य II. 8. 19-20. The सांवत्सरिकपर्वs are the amāvāsyās of आषाढ, कार्तिक and फाल्गुन.

593. आहुताशुक्रातिरायुष्यचरुः । संवत्सरे षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु चतुर्षु चतुर्षु ऋतावृतौ मासि मासि वा कुमारस्य जन्मनक्षत्रे क्रियेत । बौ. गृ. III. 7. 1-2.

flesh of a goat and sheep to Agni and Dhanvantari and feeding the brāhmaṇas with food mixed with plenty of ghee. Vaik. III. 20–21 speaks at great length of the ceremony called 'Varsavardhana' (increase of the years of a person) to be performed on the anniversary of the birth-day every year and lays down that in this rite the deity of the naksatra on which a child is born is the principal one, that oblations of ghee are to be offered to that deity and naksatra and then to the other presiding deities of the naksatras and to the nakṣatras themselves, then an oblation with the vyāhṛti (bhūḥ svāhā), then offerings to Dhātā. It describes in detail how different ceremonies are to be performed up to Upanayana, then up to finishing of Veda study, how ceremonies are to be performed on the anniversary day of one's marriage, on the naksatra on which a person performed solemn sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma and that if he thus lives till 80 years and 8 months he becomes one who has seen a thousand (full) moons and is called 'brahmaśarīra', in celebration of which several ceremonies are prescribed (which for want of space are not set out here). In connection with the anniversary of the marriage day,[594] Vaik. specially prescribes that whatever ceremonies women direct as done traditionally should be performed. Aparārka (p. 29) quotes verses of Mārkaṇḍeya to the effect that all should every year on the day of birth celebrate a festival (mahotsava) in which one should honour and worship one's elders, Agni, gods, Prajāpati, the *pitṛs*, one's nakṣatra of birth and brāhmaṇas. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540), the Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 621–624) quote the same verses (as Aparārka does) and add that on that day one should worship Mārkaṇḍeya (who is believed to be immortal) and the seven other *cirajīvins*.[595] The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 621) quotes a verse that in the case of kings the anniversary of the day on which they were crowned should be celebrated. The Nirṇayasindhu, the Saṁskāraprakāśa (which in pp. 281–294 gives the most elaborate treatment) call

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594. यद्वह्नि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यत्प्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तत्करोति। वैखानस III. 21. आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 7 also speaks of the anniversary of the day of marriage 'यच्चैनयोः प्रियं स्यात्तदेतस्मिन्नहनि भुञ्जीयाताम्'.

595. The नित्याचारपद्धति has these verses 'अश्वत्थामा बलिर्व्यासो हनूमांश्च विभीषणः। कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः। सप्तैतान्यः स्मरेन्नित्यं मार्कण्डेयमथाष्टमम्। जीवेद्वर्षशतं साग्रं सर्वव्याधिविवर्जितः॥'. The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes some verses from the कृत्यचिन्तामणि about मार्कण्डेय.

this festival ' abdapūrti '. The Saṁskāraratanamālā contains a very extensive discourse on this rite (pp. 877–886) and calls this festival ' āyurvardhāpana '. The Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāraratnamālā set out the verses that are addressed to Mārkaṇḍeya and others. In modern times women do celebrate every month the birthday of a child and the first anniversary of birth. They make the child cling to the principal house-post or to the post used for churning out butter from the pail of curds and water.

Caula or *Cūḍākarma* or *Cūḍākaraṇa* :—(the first cutting of the hair on the child'd head). This saṁskāra is mentioned by every writer. ' Cūḍā ' means the ' lock or tuft of hair ' kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved (i. e. the śikhā); so cūḍākarma or cūḍākaraṇa means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept (for the first time after birth). We get ' cauḍa ' from ' cūḍā ' [596] meaning ' a rite the purpose of which is keeping a lock of hair ' and ' ḍa ' and ' la ' often interchange places. So we get ' cauḍa ' or ' caula ' also as the name of the ceremony.

According to many [597] writers caula was performed in the third year from birth. Baud. gṛ. (II. 4), Pār. gṛ. (II. 1), Manu II. 35, Vaik. III. 23 say that it may be performed in the 1st or 3rd year; Āśv. gṛ. and Vārāha gṛ. say it may be performed in the 3rd year or in the year in which it is the custom of the family to perform it. Pār. also refers to family usage. Yāj. specifies no year, but mentions only family usage. Yama quoted by Aparārka (p. 29) allowed it in the first, 2nd or 3rd year, while Śaṅkha-Likhita allowed it in the 3rd or 5th (Aparārka p. 29), Ṣaḍ-guru-śisya quoted in the Saṁskāraprakāśa (p. 296) and Nārāyaṇa (on Āśv. gṛ. I. 17. 1) say that some performed it at the time of upanayana.

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596. स च चूडाकरणशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम् । यौगिकन्यायेनोद्भिदादिशब्दवत् । योगश्च, चूडायाः करणं चूडार्थं करणं चूडा क्रियते यस्मिन्कर्मणीति वा त्रिधैव संभवति । संस्कारप्रकाश p. 295. The महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 362 on पा. V. 1. 97) explains it as ' चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य चौडम् ' and we know from works on poetics that ' यमकश्लेषचित्रेषु ववयोर्डलयोर्न भित् (there is no distinction between ' ba ' and ' va ' or ḍa and la in Yamaka, paronomasia and citrakāvya).

597. Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 17. 1–18 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 184–186), Āp. gṛ. 16. 3–11 (S. B. E. vol. 30 pp. 283–84), Gobhila II. 9. 1–29 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 60–63), Hir. gṛ. II. 6. 1–15 (S. B. E. 30 pp. 216–218), Kāṭhaka gṛ. 40, Khādira II. 3.16–33 (S. B. E. 29 pp. 597–599), Pār. I II. (S. B. E. 29 pp. 301–303), Śān. (I. 28. S. B. E. 29. pp. 55–57), Baud. gṛ. II. 4, Mānava gṛ. I. 21. 1–12, Vaik. III. 23 for a treatment of this topic.

Whether such a ceremony was performed in the Vedic ages cannot be ascertained with certainty. Bhār. gr. I. 28 expressly[598] refers to the Vedic verse (Ṛg IV. 75. 17 or Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 5) as indicative of the practice of Caula in Vedic times ' where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair '. Manu II. 35 also has in view this Vedic verse.

The principal act in this ceremony is the cutting of the hair of the child. The other subsidiary matters are the performance of homa, feeding of brāhmaṇas, receiving of their benedictions and giving of dakṣiṇā, the disposal of cut hair in such a way that no one can find them.

The ceremony is to be performed on an auspicious day as set out in note 494 above. Āp. gr. 16. 3 says it should be performed when the moon is in conjunction with Punarvasu naksatra, while Mānava gr. says that it should not be done on the 9th *tithi* of a month. Later works like the Saṁskāraprakāśa (pp. 299-315) give very intricate rules about the auspicious times, which rules are passed over here. The most exhaustive treatment of this ceremony in the sūtra works is to be found in Āśv., Gobhila, Vārāha 4 and Pār. II. 1.

The materials required in this ceremony are stated as follows :—(1) To the north of the fire are placed four vessels each of which is separately filled with rice, barley, māsa beans and sesame respectively (Āśv. gr. I. 17. 2), but Gobhila (II. 9. 6-7) says that they are to be placed to the east and Gobhila and Śāṅ. say that these are to be given to the barber at the end of the rite ; (2) to the west of the fire the mother with the boy on her lap is to be seated and two vessels one filled with the dung of a bull and the other with *śamī* leaves are to be also placed to the west (Gobhila II. 9. 5 and Khādira II. 3. 18 place the dung to the north of the fire and Khādira says that she sits to the north) ; (3) to the right of the mother the father sits holding 21 bunches[599] of kuśa grass or the brahmā priest (if there be any) may hold them ; (4) warm and cold water or only warm water ; (5) an ordinary razor or one made of Udumbara wood (according to Khādira II. 3. 17 and Gobhila II. 9. 4) ; (6) a

598. अथास्यं सांवत्सरिकस्य चौडं कुर्वन्ति यथर्षि यथोपज्ञं वा । विज्ञायते च । यत्र बाणाः संपतन्ति कुमारा विशिखा इव । इति बहुशिखा इवेति । भारद्वाज गृ. I. 28.

599. 21 bunches are required because he cuts off the hair four times on the right side and three times on the left side and each time three kuśa bunches are required.

mirror (Gobhila and Khādira). According to Gobhila and Khādira the barber, hot water, mirror, razor and bunches of kuśa grass are to the south of the fire and bull's dung and a mess of rice mixed with sesame are to the north of the fire. Āśv., Pār., Kāṭhaka and Mānava say that the razor is to be of *loha* (which the commentator Nārāyaṇa explains as copper).

After homa is performed, the principal matter (of cutting the hair) is to be begun. According to Gobhila and Khādira the father, having contemplated upon Savitṛ, looks at the barber with the mantra 'here comes Savitṛ' (Mantra-br. I. 6. 1) and contemplating on Vāyu looks at the warm water with the mantra 'with warm water, Oh Vāyu, come hither' (Mantra-Br. I. 6. 2). The father then mixes the hot and cold water and may put, in a part of the water, butter or drops of curds and apply the water to moisten three times the boy's head with the *mantra* 'may Aditi cut thy hair; may the waters moisten (thy hair) for vigour'. Then[600] on the right portion of the boy's hair the father puts three kuśa bunches with the points towards the boy with the formula 'herb, protect him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1). With the words 'Axe, do not harm him' (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1) he presses a copper razor (on the kuśa blades). The hair is cut with the *mantra* 'with that razor with which Savitṛ, the wise, cut (the hair) of king Soma and of Varuṇa, cut now his (the boy's hair), Oh brāhmaṇas, so that he may be endowed with long life and (reach) old age'. Each time the hair is cut, he gives[601] the cut hair with their ends turned towards the east together with śamī leaves to the mother, who puts them down on the bull dung. Cutting is done a second time with the mantra 'with what Dhātā shaved (the head) of Bṛhaspati, Agni and Indra for the

600. The several sūtras generally cite different mantras at the time of the performance of the several acts. It is not possible for want of space to set out all these different verses. Only the mantras used in the Āśv. gṛ. are cited in order to convey some idea of the rite as it was practised in ancient times.

601. It appears that originally the father himself performed the cutting of the hair. Some of the grhya sūtras like those of Baud. and Śāṅ. nowhere mention the barber in this ceremony. Hence it appears that later on the father performed only the homa and repeated the mantras, while a barber was employed to shave the boy's head. 'तेन यश्चूडानां कारयिता पित्रादिः स एव वपनकर्तेति सिद्धं भवति । इदानीं तु तादृशशिक्षाया अभावाल्लोकविद्विष्टत्वाच्च समन्त्रकं चेष्टामात्रं कृत्वा नापितेनैव वपनं कारयन्ति शिष्टाः ॥' संस्काररत्नमाला p. 901.

sake of their long life, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness '. The cutting is done a third time with the mantra ' with what he may after night (is past) see the sun again and again, with that I shave thy (head) for the sake of long life, fame and happiness '. The cutting is done for the fourth time with all the three mantras together. Then the hair is cut three times on the left side similarly. The edge of the razor is then wiped off with the mantra ' when thou shavest as a shaver the hair (of the boy) with the razor that wounds and is well-shaped purify his head, but do not deprive him of life '. Then he gives orders to the barber ' doing with lukewarm water what has to be done with water, arrange his hair (well) without causing him (the boy) any wound '. Let him have the hair of the boy arranged according to the custom of the family. The rite only (without the mantras) is performed for a girl.[602]

According to several sūtras, the cut hair placed in the dung of a bull is buried in a cow stable[603] or is thrown in a pond or in the vicinity of water (Pār., Bhār.) or is buried at the root of the Udumbara tree (Bhār.) or in a bunch of darbha grass (Baud., Bhār., Gobhila) or in the forest (Gobhila). The Mānava gṛ. prescribes that as the hair fall down when cut they are gathered by some friendly person. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. and Mānava gṛ. say that the barber gets a sesame cake and a fine piece of cloth, while Vaik. says food is given to him. A bath for the boy is expressly prescribed by Baud. and some others.

There is a great divergence of views about the number of locks of hair to be left on the head and the portion of the head where they are to be left. Baud. gṛ. says that one or three or five locks[604] may be left on the head or according to family usage and he further says that some sages say that the locks should

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602. All the mantras in Āśv. gṛ. occur also in Mānava gṛ., some occur in Baud., Bhār., Pār., and others. The mantras in Āśv. viz उष्णेन वाय, येनावपत्, येन धाता, येन भूयश्च, यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता are आप. म. पा. II. 1. 1, 3-5 and 7 with slight variations. The verse यत्क्षुरेण मर्चयता is almost the same as अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 17. and Āśv. appears to have adapted it purposely to make it suit the caula.

603. अथैनं गोमयपिण्ड गोष्ठ उदकान्त उदुम्बरमूले दर्भस्तम्बे वा निदधाति । भारद्वाज गृ. I. 28; अनुगुप्तमेतं सकेशं गोमयपिण्डं निधाय गोष्ठे पल्वले उदकान्ते वा ॥ पार. गृ. II. 1.

604. अथैनमेकशिखञ्चिशिखः पञ्चशिखो वा यथैवैषां कुलधर्मः स्यात् । यथार्षं शिखां निदधातीत्येके । बौ. गृ. II. 4.

be as many as the pravaras invoked by the father.[605] Āśv. gṛ., and Pār. gṛ. say that locks may be kept according to family usage. Āp. gṛ, says that the locks may in number follow the pravara or they may be kept according to family usage. Gobhila and Khādira say that the locks should be arranged according to gotra and family usage. Whether they mean by 'gotra' the number of pravaras of the gotra or some rule such as the Kāṭhaka gives is not clear. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. says that the Vāsiṣṭhas keep a lock on the right, that persons of Atri and Kāśyapa gotra (or pravara) keep locks both on the right and the left, that the Bhrgus shaves the entire head, that the Aṅgiras gotra keeps five locks or only a line of hair, while persons of other gotras (like Agastya, Viśvāmitra &c.) keep a śikhā (without any particular number of locks) simply because it is an auspicious sign or one may follow the usage of one's[606] family. Vaik.[607] says that the locks may be one, two, three, five or seven according to the pravaras. Ṛgveda[608] VII. 33. 1 refers to the fact that Vasiṣṭhas had a lock of hair on the right side of the head and so the rule of the Kāṭhaka has a very hoary antiquity behind it. Up to modern times one of the characteristic outward signs of all Hindus was the śikhā (the top-knot). A verse of Devala says that whatever religious act a man does without the *yajñopavīta* or without śikhā is as good as undone and Hārīta rules that a person who cuts off his śikhā through hate or ignorance or foolishness becomes pure only after

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605. The pravaras or ṛṣis of the several gotras are generally three but some gotras have one, two or five *pravaras*, but never four. Vide below under marriage for pravara.

606. दक्षिणतः कपुजा वसिष्ठानाम् । उभयतोऽत्रिकाश्यपानाम् । मुण्डा भृगवः । पञ्चचूडा अङ्गिरसः । वाजि (राजि ?) मेके । मङ्गलार्थं शिखिनोऽन्ये । यथाकुलधर्मं वा । काठक गृह्य 40. 2-8. These sūtras are quoted by अपरार्क p. 29 and by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 23. The स्मृतिच० in explaining the words मङ्गलार्थं says that some keep a śikhā of the form and size of the leaf of the Vaṭa tree. The सं. प्र. p. 316 arranges the sūtras differently and remarks मङ्गलार्थं वाजिं केशपङ्क्तिं कुर्वन्ति । सा च समन्तात् ललाटकर्णमूलस्पर्शिनी मालेव भवति । ..... द्रविडेषु केचन पञ्चचूडाः केचन पुरश्चूडाः ।

607. ऋषिक्रमेण । स्वस्यैकार्ष-द्व्यार्षत्र्यार्षपञ्चार्षसप्तार्षाच्चूडा विभजेत् । वैखानस III. 23.

608. श्वित्यञ्चो मा दक्षिणतस्कपर्दा धियंजिन्वासो अभि हि प्र मन्दुः । उत्तिष्ठन् वोचे परि बर्हिषो नॄन्न मे दूरादवितवे वसिष्ठाः ॥ ऋ. VII. 33. 1.

performing the *taptakṛcchra* penance.[609] In the Mudrārākṣasa (I.8) there is a reference to the śikhā of Cāṇakya having been kept untied when he was angered by the Nandas. Śabara (on Jaimini I. 3. 2) remarks that the śikhā (its position and locks) is a sign to indicate the gotra and quotes Ṛg. VI. 75. 17 (yatra bāṇāḥ &c. cited above in note 598). Vasiṣṭha (II. 21) prescribes that members of all varṇas (including the śūdra) should arrange their hair according to the fixed usage (of their family) or should shave the whole head except the śikhā. A Vedic passage[610] is 'the head that has no śikhā on it is unholy'. For rules about the śikhā of students vide later on under upanayana. During recent times men, particularly those receiving English education in towns and cities, are forsaking the ancient practice of keeping a śikhā and follow the western method of allowing the hair to grow on the whole head.

In modern times the rite of cūḍākaraṇa generally takes place if at all on the day of Upanayana.

Āśv. gṛ. (I. 17. 18) expressly says that the ceremony of cūḍākaraṇa was to be performed for girls also, but no Vedic mantras were to be repeated. Manu (II. 66) says that all the ceremonies from jātakarma to caula must be performed at the proper times for girls also in order to purify their bodies but without mantras and Yāj. (I. 13) is to the same effect. Even such late writers as Mitramiśra say that the caula of girls may be performed according to the usage of the family and that their hair may be entirely shaved or a śikhā may be kept or there should be no shaving at all.[611]

In some castes even in modern times girls when mere children are shaved once, it being supposed that the first hair are impure.

Vidyārambha:—The gṛhya sūtras and dharmasūtras are entirely silent as to what was done for the child's education

609. सदोपवीतिना भाव्यं सदा बद्धशिखेन च। विशिखो व्युपवीतश्च यत्करोति न तत्कृतम्॥ देवल; 'शिखां छिन्दन्ति ये मोहाद् द्वेषादज्ञानतोपि वा। तप्तकृच्छ्रेण शुध्यन्ति त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः॥ हारीत, both quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 316. लघुहारीत verses 18–19 (Ānand. Ed.) are very similar to the 2nd verse. The first is गोभिलस्मृति I. 4 and is quoted as भृगु's in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32.

610. अमेध्यं वा एतच्छिरो यदशिखम्। quoted by the commentators on काठकगृह्य 40. 7.

611. कुमारीचौलेऽपि यथाकुलधर्ममित्यनुवर्तते। ततश्च सर्वमुण्डनं शिखाधारणं अमुण्डनमेव वेति सिध्यति। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 317; एतच्च स्त्रीणामपि। 'स्त्रीशूद्रौ तु शिखां छित्त्वा क्रोधाद् वैराग्यतोऽपि वा। प्राजापत्यं प्रकुर्वीताम्' इति प्रायश्चित्तविधिबलात्। एतत्परिग्रहपक्षे। अत्र देशभेदाद् व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या। स्त्रीणां केशधारणमेव शिखाधारणम्। एतच्चामन्त्रकमेव स्त्रीणां कार्यम्। ...होमोपि न। संस्काररत्नमाला p. 904.

between the third year when usually caula was performed and the 8th year (from conception) when the upanayana usually took place (in the case of brāhmaṇas). They state that rarely upanayana was performed even in the 5th year (as will be shown hereafter). Some faint light is thrown on this matter by the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya,[612] which says that the prince after the performance of caula is to engage in the study of the alphabet and of arithmetic, and after his upanayana he is to study the Vedas, *ānvīkṣikī* (metaphysics), *vārtā* (agriculture and the science of wealth) and *daṇḍanīti* (the art of government) up till the 16th year when the godāna ceremony is to be performed and after which year he may marry. Kālidāsa also (in Raghuvaṁśa III. 28) says that prince Aja first mastered the alphabet and then entered into the ocean of (Sanskrit) literature. Bāṇa has[613] probably the Arthaśāstra in view when he makes prince Candrāpīḍa enter the temple of learning (vidyā-mandira) at 6 and remain there till he became sixteen and he (like Milton in his letter to Hartlile) tells us how extensive the ideal curriculum of studies in arts and sciences for the prince was thought to be. In the Uttararāmacarita (Act II) it is said that Kuśa and Lava were taught vidyās other than the Veda after their *caula* and before *upanayana*.

It appears that at least from the early centuries of the Christian era, a ceremony called Vidyārambha (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated. Aparārka (pp. 30–31) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 26) cite verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa[614]

612. वृत्तचौलकर्मा लिपिं संख्यानं चोपयुञ्जीत। वृत्तोपनयनस्त्रयीमान्वीक्षिकीं च शिष्टेभ्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्तृप्रवक्तृभ्यः। ब्रह्मचर्यं चाषोडशाद्वर्षात्। अतो गोदानं दारकर्म च। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5.

613. Vide कादम्बरी para 69 for विद्यामन्दिर and para 71 for the various arts and sciences 'पदे वाक्ये प्रमाणे धर्मशास्त्रे राजनीतिषु व्यायामविद्यासु ..... सर्वेष्वायुधविशेषेषु रथचर्यासु गजपृष्ठेषु तुरंगमेषु ..... वाद्येषु भरतादिप्रणीतेषु नृत्यशास्त्रेषु नारदीयप्रभृतिषु गान्धर्ववेदविशेषेषु ..... ग्रहगणिते ..... वास्तुविद्यास्वायुर्वेदे यन्त्रप्रयोगे ... कथासु नाटकेषु आख्यायिकासु काव्येषु महाभारतपुराणेतिहासरामायणेषु सर्वलिपिषु सर्वदेशभाषासु सर्वशिल्पेषु छन्दःसु अन्येष्वपि कलाविशेषेषु परं कौशलमवाप।; vide para 74 about 6 and 16 years.

614. प्राप्तेष पञ्चमे वर्षे अप्रसुते जनार्दने। षष्ठीं प्रतिपदं चैव वर्जयित्वा तथाष्टमीम्॥ रिक्तां पञ्चदशीं चैव सौरभौमदिनं तथा। एवं सुनिश्चिते काले विद्यारम्भं तु कारयेत्॥ पूजयित्वा हरिं लक्ष्मीं देवीं चैव सरस्वतीम्। स्वविद्यासूत्रकारांश्च स्वां विद्यां च विशेषतः॥ एतेषामेव देवानां नाम्ना तु जुहुयाद्घृतम्। दक्षिणाभिर्द्विजेन्द्राणां कर्तव्यं चात्र पूजनम्॥ प्राङ्मुखो गुरुरासीनो वारुणाशासुखं शिशुम्। अध्यापयेत प्रथमं द्विजाग्रीभिः सुपूजितम्॥ ततः प्रभृत्यनध्यायान्वर्जनीयान् विवर्जयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 30, 31. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (quoted in सं. प्र. p. 321) says 'आषाढशुक्लद्वादश्यां शयनं कुरुते हरिः। निद्रां त्यजति कार्तिक्यां तयोः संपूज्यते हरिः॥'.

about vidyārambha as follows: in the fifth year of the child on some day from the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika to the 11th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, but excluding the 1st, 6th, 8th, 15th tithi or *riktā* tithis (i. e. 4th, 9th and 14th) and Saturday and Tuesday, the ceremony of beginning to learn should be performed. Having worshipped Hari (Viṣṇu), Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, the sūtra writers of one's *śākhā* and the lore peculiar to one's family, one should offer in the fire oblations of clarified butter to the above mentioned deities and should honour brāhmaṇas by the payment of dakṣiṇā. The teacher should sit facing the east and the boy should face the west and the teacher should begin to teach the first lesson to the boy who should receive the benedictions of brāhmaṇas. Thereafter teaching should be stopped on the days of *anadhyāya* (which will be specified later on).

The Saṁskāra-prakāśa (pp. 321–325) and Saṁskāraratnamālā (pp. 904–907) have an extensive note, a considerable part of which is devoted to astrological matters. The Saṁskāraprakāśa quotes passages from Viśvāmitra, Devala and other sages and works that vidyārambha is performed in the 5th year or in any case before upanayana. It also quotes a verse from Nṛsiṁha that Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati should be worshipped and then the teacher should be honoured. The modern practice is to begin learning the alphabet on an auspicious day, generally the 10th of the bright half of Āśvina, Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati are worshipped, the teacher is honoured and the boy is asked to repeat the words 'om namaḥ siddham' and to write them on a slate and then he is taught the letters (' a ', ' ā ' &c.) of the alphabet. The Saṁskāraratnamālā[615] calls this ceremony Akṣarasvīkāra (appropriately enough) and among other texts cites a long prose passage from Garga quoted in the Pārijāta and prescribes a homa also with ājyāhutis to Sarasvatī, Hari, Lakṣmī, Vighneśa (Gaṇapati), sūtrakāras and one's vidyā.

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615. सरस्वतीपूजनादिप्रकारमाह पारिजाते गर्गः । स्नात्वा शुचौ समे देशे गोचर्ममात्रमुपलिप्य सैकतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा पलाशशाखया मृदं खनित्वा तत्र सरस्वतीमावाहयेत् । भुवनमातः सर्ववाङ्मयरूपे आगच्छागच्छेति । ततः प्रणवेनासनाद्यर्घ्यपाद्याचमनीयस्नानवस्त्रगन्धपुष्पाक्षतधूपदीपपायसगुडौदनवेद्यसमर्पणनमस्कारान्कृत्वा विघ्नेशं संपूज्याचार्यं शक्तितो वस्त्रालंकारादिभिः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीविघ्नेशाचार्यांस्त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्रणवपूर्वकमक्षरमारभेत । तत आचार्यादिवन्दनं कृत्वा सरस्वत्यादीनावाहनक्रमेणोद्वासयेद्विद्यावृद्धिर्भवति । संस्काररत्नमाला p. 906.

CHAPTER VII

UPANAYANA

This word literally means 'leading or taking near'. But the important question is 'near what'? It appears that it originally meant 'taking near the ācārya' (for instruction); it may have also meant 'introducing the novice to the stage of student-hood'. Some of the gṛhyasūtras bring out this sense clearly e. g. the Hir. gṛ. I. 5. 2[616] says "The teacher then makes the boy utter 'I have come unto brahmacarya. Lead me near (initiate me into it). Let me be a student, impelled by the god Savitṛ'". The Mānava and Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1) also use the word upāyana for upanayana and Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1) says that upānaya, upanayana, mauñjībandhana, baṭukaraṇa, vratabandha are synonyms.

A few words about the origin and development of this most important saṁskāra would not be out of place here. Comparison with the ancient Zoroastrian scriptures (vide S. B. E. vol. V. pp. 285–290 about the sacred girdle and shirt) and the modern practices among the Parsis of India tend to show that Upanayana goes back to an Indo-Iranian origin. But that subject is outside the scope of this work. Confining ourselves to Indian Literature, we find that already in the Ṛg. X. 109. 5 the word 'brahmacārī' occurs 'oh gods! he (Bṛhaspati), all pervading one, moves as a brahmacārī pervading all (sacrifices); he is only one part of the gods (i. e. of sacrifices); Bṛhaspati secured by that (i. e. by his service to the gods) a wife (me who am named) Juhū, who was (formerly) taken by Soma'.[617] The

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616. अथैनमभिव्याहारयति। ब्रह्मचर्यमागामुप मा नयस्व ब्रह्मचारी भवानि देवेन सवित्रा प्रसूतः। हिरण्य. गृ. I. 5. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 150); ब्रह्मचर्यमागामिति वाचयति ब्रह्मचार्यसानीति च। पार. गृ II 2; vide गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 21 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 65). The phrases ब्रह्मचर्यमागाम् and ब्रह्मचार्यसानि occur in the शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1; vide आप. म. पा. II. 3. 26 for ब्रह्मचर्य...प्रसूतः. विश्वरूप on या. I. 14 remarks 'वेदाध्ययनायाचार्यसमीपनयनमुपनयनं तदेवोपनायनमित्युक्तं छन्दोद्गरोधात्। तदर्थं वा कर्म।'. Vide मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 1. 1.

617. ब्रह्मचारी चरति वेविषद् विषः स देवानां भवत्येकमङ्गम्। तेन जायामन्वविन्दद् बृहस्पतिः सोमेन नीतां जुह्वं न देवाः॥ ऋ. X. 109. 5 = अथर्व V. 17. 5. The reference to Soma recalls Ṛg X. 85. 45 'सोमो ददद्गन्धर्वाय.' Every girl was supposed to have been under the protection of Soma, Gandharva and Agni before her marriage with a human bridegroom.

word 'upanayana'[618] can be derived and explained in two ways: (1) taking (the boy) near the ācārya, (2) that rite by which the boy is taken to the ācārya. The first sense appears to have been the original one and when an extensive ritual came to be associated with upanayana the second came to be the sense of the word. Such an ancient work as the Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19 says that *upanayana* is a saṁskāra (purificatory rite) laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning (i. e. it accepts the second explanation) or this sūtra may mean 'it is a saṁskāra brought about by imparting the śruti (viz. Gāyatrī mantra) to him who seeks learning'. This would mean that upanayana principally is gāyatryupadeśa (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatrī mantra). This appears to be suggested by the Vedic passage quoted above (p. 154 *f. n.* 356) 'he created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the kṣatriya with Triṣṭubh, the vaiśya with Jagatī', and by Kātyāyana Śrauta 'one should initiate the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī'. Jaimini[619] also (in VI. 1. 35) propounds the view that upanayana is a saṁskāra and has a seen result viz. thereby the boy is brought near the teacher for learning Veda.

Rg. III. 8. 4[620] is a verse that clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of upanayana described in the gṛhya sūtras were well known even then. There the sacrificial post (yūpa) is praised as a young person (i. e. in the language of the later classical rhetoricians there is the first kind of the figure Atiśayokti) 'here comes the youth, well dressed and encircled (the boy by his mekhalā and the post by its raśanā); he, when born, attains eminence; wise sages, full of devotion to the gods in their hearts and entertaining happy thoughts, raise him up'. Here in 'un-nayanti' we have the same root that we have in upanayana. This mantra is employed in the upanayana by several gṛhya sūtras e. g. Āśv. I. 20. 8 (who employs it for

618. तत्रोपनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम्। ..... तच्च यौगिकमुद्भिदून्यायात्। योगश्च भावव्युत्पत्त्या करणव्युत्पत्त्या वेत्याह भारुचिः। स यथा। उप समीपे आचार्यादीनां बटोर्नयनं प्रापणमुपनयनम्। समीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते बटुर्येन तदुपनयनमिति वा। ..... तत्र च भावव्युत्पत्तिरेव साधीयसीति गम्यते। श्रौतार्थविधिसंभवात्। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 334.

619. संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात् विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः। जैमिनि VI. 1. 35; 'विद्यायामेवैषा श्रुतिः (वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत)। उपनयनस्य संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात्। विद्यार्थमुपाध्यायस्य समीपमानीयते नाबुद्दार्थं नापि कटं कुड्यं वा कर्तुम्। दृष्टार्थमेव सैषा विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः। कथमवगम्यते। आचार्यकरणमेतदवगम्यते। कुतः। आत्मनेपददर्शनात्।' शबर.

620. युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगात्स उ श्रेयान्भवति जायमानः। तं धीरासः कवय उन्नयन्ति स्वाध्यो मनसा देवयन्तः॥ ऋ. III. 8. 4. आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 8 prescribes that the boy is to be adorned and is to wear new clothes 'अलंकृतं कुमारं...अहतेन वाससा संवीतं' &c. and I. 20. 8 is युवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगादित्यर्धर्चेनैनं प्रदक्षिणमावर्तयेत्'

making the boy circumambulate) and Pār. II. 2. (prescribe that the mantra is to be recited when tying the girdle round th boy's waist). In the Tai. S. VI.[621] 3. 10. 5 we have the famou passage referring to the three debts where the words 'brahmacārī and 'brahmacarya' occur. 'Every brāhmaṇa when born i indebted in three debts viz. in brahmacarya to the sages, i sacrifice to the gods and in offspring to the manes; he indee becomes free from debts who has a son, who sacrifices and wh dwells (with the teacher) as a brahmacārī.'

In the other Vedas and in the Brāhmaṇa literature there i ample material to show what the characteristic features o *upanayana* and brahmacarya were. The whole of Atharvaved XI. 7 (26 verses) is a hymn containing hyperbolical laudatio of the brahmacārī (Vedic student) and brahmacarya. Th very first verse[622] may be cited as a sample 'The brahmacār incessantly covering (the world by his glory) roams in the tw worlds; the gods have the same thoughts (of grace and favour about him; he fills his teacher by his austerities '. Verse 3 say 'the teacher leading (the boy) near him makes the brahmacār like unto a foetus' (here the word 'upanayamānaḥ' occurs) Verse 4 states that the heaven and the earth are the 'samidh (the fuel stick) of the brahmacārī and that the brahmacārī by hi *mekhalā* (girdle), by his samidh and by his life of hard work fill the world with austerities. Verse 6 tells us that the brahmacār wears the skin of a black antelope and has a long beard; verse 1 says that the brahmacārī offers samidh into fire (or if fire is no available) to the sun, to the moon, to the wind or into waters. Thi hymn thus brings out most of the characteristic features of th brahmacārī and of upanayana (viz. deerskin, mekhalā, offerin of samidh, begging and a life of hard work and restraint). Fron the reference to the beard and from the words 'this man (ayan puruṣaḥ)' occurring in the Atharvaveda VIII. 1. 1 and elsewher it appears probable that upanayana was performed rather late in those ancient days than in the days of the sūtras.

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621. जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्य प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । तै. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5.

622. ब्रह्मचारीष्णंश्चरति रोदसी उभे तस्मिन्देवाः संमनसो भवन्ति । स दाधार पृथिवं द्यिं च स आचार्य तपसा पिपर्ति ॥ अथर्ववेद XI. 7. 1. This verse is explained i गोपथब्राह्मण II. 1. आचार्य उपनयमानो ब्रह्मचारिणं कृणुते गर्भमन्तः । अथर्व XI. 7. 3 the idea is found in Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 16-18 (quoted above p. 18 *f. n.* 443) and compare शतपथब्रा. XI. 5. 4. 12 'आचार्यो गर्भीभवति हस्तमाधा दक्षिणम् । तृतीयस्यां स जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥'. ब्रह्मचार्येति समिधा समिद्ध कार्ष्णं वसानो दीक्षितो दीर्घश्मश्रुः । अथर्व XI. 7. 6.

In the Tai. Br. III.[623] 10. 11 there is the story of Bharadvāja who remained a brahmacārī for three parts of his life (i. e. till 75) and to whom Indra said that in all that long period of brahmacarya he had mastered only an insignificant portion (three handfuls out of three mountains) of the Vedas, which were endless in extent. The story of Nābhānedisṭha, son of Manu, who was excluded from ancestral property at a partition made by his brothers, narrated in the Ait. Br. shows[624] that he was a brahmacārī staying with a teacher away from his father's place. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 4. contains many and almost complete details about the life of *brahmacārins* which bear a very close similarity to those taught in the gṛhya sūtras. A brief summary is set out below. The boy says 'I have come unto brahmacarya' and 'let me be a brahmacārī'. Then the teacher asks him 'what is your name'; then the teacher takes him near (upanayati); the teacher takes hold of the boy's hand with the words 'you are the brahmacārī of Indra; Agni is your teacher, I am your teacher, N. N. (addressing the boy by his name)'. Then he consigns the boy to (the care of) the elements. The teacher instructs him 'drink water, do work (in the teacher's house), put a fuel stick (on the fire), do not sleep (by day).' He repeats the Sāvitrī (mantra sacred to Savitṛ). Formerly it was repeated a year (after the boy came as a brahmacārī), then at the end of six months, 24 days, 12 days, 3 days; but one should repeat to the brāhmaṇa boy the verse at once (on the very day of upanayana); the teacher repeats it to him first each *pāda* separately, then the half and then the whole. Being a brahmacārī one should not eat honey.[625]

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623. भरद्वाजो ह वै त्रिभिरायुर्भिर्ब्रह्मचर्यमुवास तं ह...इन्द्र उपव्रज्योवाच। यत्ते चतुर्थमायुर्वृद्ध्या किमेतेन कुर्या इति। ब्रह्मचर्यमेवैतेन चरेयमिति होवाच। तं हि त्रीन् गिरिरूपानविज्ञातानिव दर्शयांचकार। तेषां हैकैकास्मिन्मुष्टिनाददे स होवाच भरद्वाजेत्यामन्त्र्य वेदा इमे। अनन्ता वै वेदाः। एतद्वा एतैस्त्रिभिरायुर्भिरन्वबोचथाः। अथ त इतरदनूक्तमेव। तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 11.

624. नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन्। सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्षीति। ऐ. ब्रा. 22. 9. This story occurs also in Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 5.

625. ब्रह्मचर्यमागामित्याह।... ब्रह्मचार्यसानीत्याह.... । अथैनमाह को नामासीति। अथास्य हस्तं गृह्णाति। इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि अग्निराचार्यस्तवाहमाचार्यस्तवासाविति।..... अथैनं भूतेभ्यः परिददाति।..... अद्भ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यः परिददामीत्याह।..... अपोऽशान... कर्म कुरु ..... समिधमाधेहीति ..... मा सुषुप्था इति। अथास्मै सावित्रीमन्वाह। तां ह स्मैतां पुरा संवत्सरेऽन्वहुः ... ... । अथ षट्सु मासेषु ... ... । अथ चतुर्विंशत्यहे अथ द्वादशाहे ... ... । अथ त्र्यहे। तदपि श्लोको भवति। आचार्यो गर्भो ..... ब्राह्मण इति। सद्यो ह वा एवाव ब्राह्मणायानुब्रूयादाग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणः। ..... तं वै पच्छोऽन्वाह ..... अथार्धर्चशोऽन्वाह ..... अथ कृत्स्नाम्। तदाहुः। न ब्रह्मचारी सन् मधवनीयात्।..... । शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1–17.

The word 'antevāsī' (lit. one who dwells near a teacher) occurs in the Śaṭ. Br. V. 1. 5. 17 and in the Tai. Up. I. 11. The Śaṭ. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 2) says[626] 'he who takes to *brahmacarya* indeed takes upon himself a sacrificial session of long duration.' It further says (XI. 3. 3. 3-6) that the boy when entering upon studenthood approaches giving a fourth part of himself to Agni, Death, the teacher and himself and that by the offering of samidh (to fire), by begging and by doing work in the teacher's house respectively he secures freedom from the action of the first three. It also says that after one finishes studenthood and takes the ceremonial bath one should not beg. Vide Gopatha Br. (ed. by Gastra) 2. 3 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 53. The Śat. Br. (III. 6. 2. 15) further says 'therefore brahmacārins protect the teacher, his house and his cattle, with the idea that otherwise he might be taken away from them'.[627]

Janamejaya Pārikṣita asks the haṁsas (who were the Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇā fires) 'what is holy' and the latter reply 'It is brahmacarya' (vide Gopatha Br. 2. 5). Gopatha (2. 5) further says 'the period of studenthood for the mastery of all Vedas is 48 years, which, being distributed among the Vedas in four parts, makes brahmacarya last for 12 years, which is the lowest limit; one should practise brahmacarya according to one's ability before taking the ceremonial[628] bath.' The same work says that the brahmacārī should fetch *samidhs* every day for worshipping fire and beg and that if he does not do so continuously for seven days he has to undergo upanayana again (2. 6) and that the lady of the house should daily give alms to a brahmacārin with the idea that he may not deprive her of her wealth, of merit due to *iṣṭāpūrta*. It also says that a brahmacārī should not sleep on a cot, should not engage in singing and dancing, should not roam about, should not spit about nor go to a cemetery.[629]

626. दीर्घसत्रं वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति । शतपथ XI. 3. 3. 2. This is quoted in Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 52. The words 'अपोऽशान' refer to sipping water before and after bhojana respectively with the words 'amṛtopastaraṇamasi svāhā' and 'amṛtāpidhānam-asi svāhā.' Vide संस्कारतत्त्व p. 893. These two मन्त्रs occur in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 3-4.

627. तस्माद् ब्रह्मचारिण आचार्यं गोपायन्ति गृहान्पशूंस्तेऽस्मोऽपहरानीति । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 15.

628. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं सर्ववेदब्रह्मचर्यं तच्चतुर्धा वेदेषु व्युह्य द्वादशवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवरार्धमपि स्नास्यंश्चरेद्यथाशक्ति। गोपथ 2. 5.

629. तस्माद्ब्रह्मचारिणे अहरहर्भिक्षां दद्याद्गृहिणी मा मायमिष्टापूर्तमुकृतमवृणक्त्यादिति । नोपरिशायी स्याद्न गायनो न नर्तनो न सरणो न निष्ठीवेद्...न श्मशानमातिष्ठेत् । गोपथ 2. 5-7.

It appears from the above and from the Upaniṣad passages set out immediately below that originally Upanayana was a very simple matter. The would-be student came to the teacher with a *samidh* in his hand and told the teacher that he desired to enter the stage of studenthood and begged to be allowed to be a brahmacārī living with the teacher. There were no elaborate ceremonies like those described in the gṛhya sūtras. The word brahmacarya occurs in the Kaṭha. Up. I. 1. 15, Muṇḍaka II. 1. 7, Chāndogya VI. 1. 1 and other Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya and the Bṛ. Up., probably the oldest among the Upaniṣads, furnish very valuable information. That some ceremonies were required before a young boy was admitted as a student even in Upaniṣadic times is clear from the statement in the Chāndogya V. 11. 7[630] that when Aśvapati Kekaya was approached by Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and four others who carried fuel in their hands (like young students) and who were grown-up householders and theologians, 'he (Aśvapati) without submitting them to the rites of Upanayana began the discourse'. When Satyakāma[631] Jābāla tells the truth about his gotra to Gautama Hāridrumata, the latter says 'fetch, dear boy, fuel, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth' (Chāndogya IV. 4. 5). Similarly in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 7. it is said that former students (i. e. students in former ages) approached (the teacher for brahmacarya) only in words (i. e. without any further solemn rite or ceremony).[632] In the most ancient times it is probable that the father himself always taught his son.[633] But it appears that from the times of the Tai. S. and the Brāhmaṇas the student generally went to a guru and stayed in his house (vide note 624 about Nābhānediṣṭha). Uddālaka Āruṇi who was himself a profound philosopher of *brahma* asks his son Śvetaketu to enter upon brahmacarya and sends him to a teacher to learn the Vedas.[634] The same Upaniṣad describes the

630. ते ह समित्पाणयः पूर्वाह्णे प्रतिचक्रमिरे तान्हानुपनीयैवैतदुवाच । छान्दोग्य V. 11. 7.

631. समिधं सोम्याहरोप त्वा नेष्ये न सत्यादगा इति । छान्दोग्य IV. 4. 5.

632. उपैम्यहं भवन्तमिति वाचा ह स्मैव पूर्व उपयन्ति स होपायनकीर्त्योवास । बृह. उ. VI. 2. 7.

633. Vide बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1 'अनुशिष्टोन्वसि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच.' विश्वरूप on या. I. 15 remarks गुरुग्रहणं तु मुख्यं पितुरुपनेतृत्वमिति । तथा च श्रुतिः । तस्मात्पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्यमाहुरिति । आचार्योपनयनं तु ब्राह्मणस्यानुकल्पः ।

634. श्वेतुकेतुर्हारुणेय आस तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो वस ब्रह्मचर्यं ... ... स ह द्वादश वर्ष उपेत्य चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः सर्वान्वेदानधीत्य महामना अनूचानमानी स्तब्ध एयाय तं ह पितोवाच श्वेतकेतो ... उत तमादेशमप्राक्ष्यः येनाश्रुतं श्रुतं भवति । छान्दोग्य VI. 1, 1-2.

āśrama of *brahmacarya* 'dwelling as a brahmacārī in the house of a teacher, mortifying his body in the house of his teacher till his[635] end'. Chāndogya IV. 4. 4. shows that the teacher asked the pupil his gotra (in order that he may address him by that name). The same Upaniṣad shows that the brahmacārī had to beg for food (IV. 3. 5), that he had to look after the fire of his teacher (IV. 10. 1-2) and that he had to tend his cattle (IV. 4. 5). The age when upanayana was performed is not expressly stated in the Upaniṣads except in the case of Śvetaketu who was 12 (vide note 634 above). The period of student-hood was usually twelve (Chāndogya II. 23.1, IV. 10.1, VI.1.2), though the Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) speaks of Indra's brahmacarya for 101 years and Chāndogya II. 23. 1. speaks of brahmacarya for life.

We shall now turn to upanayana as described in the sūtras and smṛtis. The following matters fall to be treated under Upanayana: The proper age for upanayana, the auspicious seasons for it; the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff for the brahmacārins of different varṇas; the yajñopavīta; the preliminaries of upanayana, such as homa, taking of curds by the boy, añjalipūraṇa, aśmārohaṇa; the principal rites of upanayana viz. taking of the student's hand by the teacher, touching the chest of the student expressive of acceptance as pupil, handing the boy to Savitṛ and other gods (paridāna), instruction in the duties of the student (such as putting fuel on fire, begging &c.), instruction in the famous Sāvitrī mantra; *medhājanana*; study of the Vedas and daily recitation of Vedic texts; special *vratas* of the brahmacārī; *Patitasāvitrīka* (those whose upanayana has not been performed at all) and rules about them. These matters will now be dealt with in order. It should be remembered that all these matters are not dwelt upon by all the smṛtis nor are they treated of in the same order. Further the Vedic mantras often differ in the different sūtras.

The proper age for Upanayana

The Āśv. gṛ.[636] (I. 19. 1-6) says that a brāhmaṇa boy should undergo upanayana in the eighth year from birth or from conception, a kṣatriya in the 11th year, a vaiśya in the

635. छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. This refers to the नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिन्.

636. अष्टमे वर्षे ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत् । गर्भाष्टमे वा । एकादशे क्षत्रियम् । द्वादशे वैश्यम् । आ षोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः । आ द्वाविंशात्क्षत्रियस्य । आ चतुर्विंशाद्वैश्यस्य । आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 1-6.

12th and that to the 16th, 22nd and 24th years respectively for the three varṇas it cannot be said that the time for upanayana has passed. Āp.[637] (10. 2), Śāṅ. (II. 1), Baud. (II. 5. 2) and Bhār. (1. 1), Gobhila (II. 10. 1) gṛhya sūtras, Yāj. I. 14, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19 expressly say that the respective years are calculated from conception. The Mahābhāṣya[638] also refers to the rule that a brāhmaṇa's upanayana is to be performed in the 8th year from conception. Pār.[639] gṛ. (II. 2) allows upanayana in the 8th year from birth or conception and adds that in the case of all varṇas family usage may be followed. Yāj. I. 14 also refers to family usage. Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 1. 1) allows upanayana in the 8th or 10th year from conception, the Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 1) allows it in the 7th or 9th year, the Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 1-3) prescribes 7th, 9th and 11th years for the upanayana of the three varṇas respectively. In some smṛtis upanayana is allowed to be performed even earlier or at different ages, e. g. Gautama (I. 6-8) prescribes that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa is in the 8th year from conception but it may be in the 5th or 9th according to the result desired; and Manu. II. 37 says that if spiritual eminence (for the boy) is desired (by his father) then upanayana may be performed in the 5th year for a brāhmaṇa, in the 6th year for a kṣatriya if there is a desire for military power, in the 8th for a vaiśya if there is desire for endeavour to accumulate wealth. Vaik. (II. 3) also prescribes the 5th, 8th, 9th years from conception for a brāhmaṇa if there is a desire respectively for

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637. गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत गर्भैकादशेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम् । आप. गृ. 10. 2-3. Vide सं. प्र. pp 340-341 for discussion whether there is option of counting the years from conception or birth in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Āp. and several others employ the Ātmanepada 'उपनयीत' while Āśv., Khādira (II. 2. 1) and Pār. employ the Parasmaipada उपनयेत्. It should be noticed that in the Atharvaveda XI. 7. 3., शतपथ XI. 5. 4. 1, छा. उ. IV. 4. 5 and elsewhere in the Vedic texts it is the Ātmanepada that is found. Pāṇini (I. 3. 36) lays down that the root 'nī' takes the Ātmanepada alone in the case of several senses one of which is आचार्यकरण (and so we should have उपनयेत only). हरदत्त quotes a कारिका that the परस्मैपद is a mistake 'परस्मैपदपाठोऽयमध्येतॄणां प्रमादतः । आचार्यकरणे यस्मात्तामोत्यत्रात्मनेपदम् ॥. Vide संस्कारप्रकाश p. 339 for criticism of हरदत्त's view. Vide शबर quoted above (p. 269 *f. n.* 619).

638. गर्भाष्टमे ब्राह्मण उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थः । महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 57.

639. अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयेद्गर्भाष्टमे वैकादशवर्षं राजन्यं द्वादशवर्षं वैश्यं यथामङ्गलं वा सर्वेषाम् । पारस्करगृ. II. 2. कौ. गृ. adds त्रयोदशे मेधाकामं चतुर्दशे द्युतिकामं पञ्चदशे भ्रातृव्यवन्तं षोडशे सर्वकाममिति ।

spiritual eminence, long life and wealth. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 21 and Baud. gṛ. (II. 5) prescribe 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th years respectively for one desiring spiritual eminence, long life, brilliance, abundant food, physical vigour and cattle.

Therefore, the 8th, 11th and 12th years from birth for the three varṇas are the principal time for upanayana; while the years from 5th onwards up to 11th are the secondary time (gauṇa) for a brāhmaṇa, 9th to 16th are secondary for kṣatriya and so on. From 12th to 16 is *gauṇatara* for brāhmaṇas and after 16 gauṇatama for them. Vide Saṁskāra-prakāśa p. 342.

The auspicious times according to the Āp. gṛ. and Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 19, Hir. gṛ. (I. 1) and Vaik. are vasanta (spring), grīṣma (summer), and śarad (autumn) for the three varṇas. The Bhār. gṛ. (I. 1) says that upanayana for a brāhmaṇa should be performed in vasanta, for a ksatriya in summer or hemanta, for a vaiśya in śarad, in the rains for a carpenter (rathakāra) or in śiśira for all. Śabara in his bhāṣya on Jaimini VI. 1. 33 where upanayana is denied to śūdras quotes 'vasante brāhmaṇam upanayIta' as a Vedic text. Āśv. gṛ. I. 4. 1 (quoted above in *f. n.* 494), Hir. gṛ. (I. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 30 p.1 37) and Bhār. gṛ. (1. 1) say that upanayana should be performed in the bright half of a month, on an auspicious nakṣatra, particularly under a nakṣatra the name of which is masculine.[640]

Later works introduced very intricate rules about the proper months, *tithis*, days and times for upanayana. It is neither possible nor very necessary to go into these astrological details. But a few words must be said as in modern times upanayana is performed only in accordance with these rules. Vṛddhagārgya[641] laid down that six months from Māgha were the proper months for upanayana, while others say that five months from Māgha are the proper ones. Then 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th i. e. (full moon and new moon) tithis are generally avoided (though there are some counter exceptions which are not set out here). It is stated that upanayana should not be performed when Venus is so near the sun that it cannot be seen, when the sun is in the first degree of any zodiacal sign, on anadhyāya

640. आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे विशेषेण पुंनामधेये। भारद्वाज I. 1. For पुंनामधेयनक्षत्र see note 512.

641. मासानाह वृद्धगार्ग्यः। माघादिमासषट्के तु मेखलाबन्धनं मतम्। quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 355; तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम्। माघादिषु च मासेषु मौञ्जी पञ्चसु शस्यते। एतच्च वर्णत्रयसाधारणम्। स्मृतिच्च० I. p. 27.

days and on galagraha[642] (the tithis specified above). Jupiter, Venus, Mars[643] and Mercury are respectively the presiding deities of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas. Therefore the upanayana of those who have to study these Vedas should be performed on the week days presided over by these planets. Among week days Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday is middling, Monday is the least suitable, but Tuesday and Saturday are prohibited (except that for students of the Sāmaveda and kṣatriyas Tuesday is allowed). Among the nakṣatras[644] the proper ones are Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Puṣya, Dhaniṣṭhā, Aśvinī, Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu, Śravaṇa and Revatī. There are other rules about nakṣatras with respect to those who follow a particular Veda (which are passed over). One rule is that all nakṣatras except Bharaṇī, Kṛttikā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śatatārakā are good for all. The Moon and Jupiter must be astrologically strong with reference to the boy's horoscope. The rule about Jupiter probably arose from the fact that Jupiter was supposed to rule over knowledge and happiness and as upanayana was meant to be the entrance for Veda-study, Jupiter's benevolent aspect was thought to be necessary. If Jupiter and Venus are not to be seen owing to nearness to the sun, upanayana cannot be performed. Jupiter when in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th zodiacal sign from the sign of birth (calculation to be made inclusive of the sign of birth) is auspicious, when in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 10th place from the sign of birth it is auspicious after the performance of a propitiatory homa and when it is in the 4th, 8th, 12th place from birth, it is inauspicious. The moon is supposed to be malefic when she is in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th or 12th place from the sign of birth. Four hours from sunrise is the best for upanayana, from that time to noon is middling and afternoon is prohibited. Some said that a person's upanayana should not be performed in the month in which he was born, others restricted the prohibition to the pakṣa (the half) of the month in which he was born. There are other rules about the Lagna (the rising

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642. नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे शुक्रे ज्ञरंशे चैव भास्करे। कर्तव्यमौपनयनं नान्यथाये गलग्रहे॥ ..... त्रयोदशीचतुर्थ्कं तु सप्तम्यादित्रयं तथा। चतुर्थ्येकादशी प्रोक्ता अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 27; अपरार्क p. 32 cites the first as from पुराण.

643. The निर्णयसिन्धु quotes नारद as to गलग्रह differently 'कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्थी च सप्तम्यादिदिनत्रयम्। त्रयोदशीचतुर्थ्कं च अष्टावेते गलग्रहाः॥', गुरुर्भृगुसुतो धात्रीपुत्रः शशधरात्मजः। स्युरेते ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वणामधिपाः क्रमात्॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 27.

644. हस्ताश्वये पुष्यधनिष्ठयोश्च पौष्णाश्विसौम्यादितिविष्णुभेषु। शस्ते तिथौ चन्द्रबलोपयुक्तो कार्यो द्विजानामुपनायनो विधिः॥ अपरार्क p. 32, स्मृतिच० I. p. 27.

zodiacal sign at the time of upanayana) which are not set out here. There are other prohibited astrological conjunctions like Vyatīpāta, Vaidhṛti &c. For detailed rules on these, works like the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 355–385), Nirṇayasindhu and Dharmasindhu may be consulted.

For persons who are entitled to perform the upanayana of a boy, vide note 480.

A brahmacārī had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (vāsas), another for covering the upper part of the body (uttarīya). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 39–I. 1. 3. 1–2) says that 'the garment[645] (vāsas) for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacārī is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, ajina (deerskin), some teachers prescribe that the lower garment should be of cotton but coloured reddish-yellow for brāhmaṇas; dyed with madder for kṣatriyas, dyed with turmeric for vaiśyas.' Pār. gṛ. (II. 5), Manu (II. 41) speak of 'āvika' (made of wool) for vaiśya instead of 'ajina'. Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 64-67) says that a brāhmaṇa (brahmacārī) should wear a (lower) garment which is white and unblemished (or new) and for a kṣatriya or vaiśya it should be the same as in Āp. Dh., but for vaiśya Vas. prescribes also one made of kuśa grass or he says that all should wear cotton cloth that is undyed.' Gaut. (I. 17–20) on the other hand says 'for all the lower garment may be made of hemp, flax or kuśa grass (*cīra*) or of the hair of the mountainous goat (kutapa); other teachers prescribe coloured garments, one coloured with the juice of trees for brāhmaṇas and madder-red and yellow for kṣatriya and vaiśya. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 8), Pār. gṛ. (II. 5), Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 61–63), Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 16) say that the upper garment for a brāhmaṇa should be the skin of a black deer, for kṣatriya the skin of *ruru* deer and for a vaiśya of cow-skin or of goat skin. Baud. and Āśv. prescribe only goat skin. Pār. gṛ. adds that if any one cannot secure a skin suited to one's varṇa, he may wear an upper garment of cow-hide as the cow is the chief among animals.[646] Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 16 prescribes the skin of black deer for all in the same

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645. वासः । शाणीक्षौमाजिनानि । काषायं चैके वस्त्रमुपदिशन्ति । माजिष्ठं राजन्यस्य । हारिद्रं वैश्यस्य । आप. ध. 1. 1. 2. 39–41–I. 1. 3. 1–2; क्षुद्रमहतं वासो ब्राह्मणस्य । माजिष्ठं क्षत्रियस्य । हारिद्रं कौशेयं वा वैश्यस्य । सर्वेषां वा तान्तवमरक्तम् । वसिष्ठ XI. 64–67; what is अहत is defined by प्रचेतस् 'ईषद्धौतं नवं श्वेतं सदृशं यच्च धारितम् । अहतं तद् विजानीयात्सर्वकर्मसु पावनम् ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 29.

646. ऐणेयमजिनमुत्तरीयं ब्राह्मणस्य रौरवं राजन्यस्याजं गव्यं वा वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गव्यमसति प्रधानत्वात् । पारस्कर II. 5.

circumstances. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 7-8) gives the option to all varṇas to use a sheep skin (as upper garment) or a woollen plaid (*kambala*). Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 8-9) appears to suggest that the lower and upper garments may be of the same skin or that the lower garment may be white or coloured (as stated above by Āp. Dh. S.). The Kāṭhaka gṛ.[647] (41. 13) says that the upper garment for the three varṇas should be respectively of the skins of black deer, tiger and *ruru* deer. A vestige of these rules survives in the modern practice of tying a small piece of deer skin to the yajñopavīta of the boy when his upanayana is performed.

That the rules about the lower and upper garments go back to great antiquity is shown by a reference to a Brāhmaṇa passage in the Āp. Dh. S.[648] I. 1. 3. 9 'one should wear only deer-skin (as lower and upper garments) if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only (cotton) garments if one desires the increase of martial valour and both if one desires both'.

Daṇḍa (staff):—There is some divergence of view about the trees of which the staff was to be made. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 13 and I. 20. 1) says 'a staff of the palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of udumbara for a kṣatriya and of bilva for a vaiśya or all the varṇas may employ a staff of any of these trees.' The Āp. gṛ. 11. 15-16 (this is the same as Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 38) says that the staff should be of palāśa wood for a brāhmaṇa, of the branch of the nyagrodha tree (so that the downward end of the branch forms the tip of the staff) for a kṣatriya, of *badara* or *udumbara* wood for a vaiśya; while some teachers say that the staff should be made of a tree (which is used in sacrifices) without reference to any varṇa. Gaut. (I. 21) and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 5. 17) say that the staff of palāśa or bilva should be used for brāhmaṇa and Gaut. (I. 22-23) says that aśvattha and pīlu wood staff should be used respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya or of any sacrificial tree for all varṇas. Baud. gṛ. prescribes nyagrodha or rauhitaka for kṣatriya, and badara or udumbara for vaiśya. Pār. gṛ.

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647. ऐणेयं चर्म ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति वैयाघ्रं राजन्याय रौरवं वैश्याय। काठकगृह्य 41. 13.

648. ब्रह्मवृद्धिमिच्छन्नजिनान्येव वसीत क्षत्रवृद्धिमिच्छन्वस्त्राण्येवोभयवृद्धिमिच्छन्नुभयमिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। अजिनं त्वेवोत्तरं धारयेत्। आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 9-10; compare भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 1 यदजिनं धारयेद्ब्रह्मवर्चसवद्वासो धारयेत्क्षत्रं वर्धयेदुभयं धार्यमुभयोर्वृद्ध्या इति विज्ञायते।; compare the गोपथब्रा. 2. 4 न तान्तवं वसीत यस्तान्तवं वस्ते क्षत्रं वर्धते न ब्रह्म तस्मात्तान्तवं न वसीत ब्रह्म वर्धतां मा क्षत्रमिति।

(II. 5) recommends a staff of palāśa, bilva and udumbara respectively for the three varṇas (or any of these for all). Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 22) recommends palāśa, aśvattha and nyagrodha respectively for the three. Manu (II. 45) prescribes bilva and palāśa for brāhmaṇa, vaṭa and khadira for kṣatriya, pīlu and udumbara for vaiśya, and Kulluka adds that two staffs should be used by the boy, as two are recommended in a compound.

The staff was required for support, for controlling the cattle of the teacher (which the student was to tend), for protection when going out at night and for guidance when entering a river or the like.[649]

The length of the staff varied according to the varṇa of the boy. Āśv. gṛ. I. 19. 13, Gaut. I. 25, Vas. Dh. S. (XI. 55–57), Pār. gṛ. (II. 5), Manu (II. 46) prescribe that in the case of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya boy respectively the staff should be as high as his head, forehead or the tip of the nose. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 1. 21–23, S. B. E. vol. 29. p. 260) on the other hand reverses this (the brāhmaṇa having the shortest staff and the vaiśya the longest). Gaut. I. 26 says that the staff should be one not eaten by worms, should have the bark attached to it, and should have a curved tip, while Manu II. 47 adds that the staff should be straight, pleasing to look at and should not have come into contact with fire. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 13. 2–3) prescribes that the brahmacārī should not allow any one to pass between himself and his staff and that if the staff, girdle or the yajñopavīta break or rend, he has to undergo a penance (same as the one for the breaking of a chariot at a wedding procession) and that at the end of the period of brahmacarya, he should sacrifice in water the yajñopavīta, staff, the girdle and the skin [650] with a mantra to Varuṇa (Ṛg. I. 24. 6) or with the sacred syllable 'om'. Manu II. 64 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (27. 29) say the same thing.

Mekhalā (*girdle*):—Gaut. (I. 15), Āśv. gṛ. (I. 19. 11), Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 13), Manu II. 42, Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 12), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 2) and others prescribe that a girdle made of muñja grass should be

649. दण्डाजिनोपवीतानि मेखलां चैव धारयेत् । या. I. 29; 'तत्र दण्डस्य कार्यमवलम्बनं गवादिनिवारणं तमोवगाहनमप्सु प्रवेशनमित्यादि' अपरार्क. As the carrying of a staff has a seen result, it need not be carried at all times, according to Aparārka (p. 57), but the others having unseen results must be worn always.

650. उपवीतं च दण्डे बध्नाति । तदप्येतत् । यज्ञोपवीतदण्डं च मेखलामजिनं तथा। जुहुयादप्सु व्रते पूर्णे वारुण्यर्चा रसेन । शा. गृ. II. 30. 31. रस means 'ओम'.

tied round a brāhmaṇa boy's waist, one made of mūrvā grass (which is used for making a bowstring) for a kṣatriya and one of hemp cords for a vaiśya. Pāraskara says that the string of a bow should be used for a kṣatriya and of mūrvā grass for a vaiśya and adds that in the absence of these the girdle should respectively be made of kuśa, aśmantaka and balvaja grass (for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya). Manu (II. 42-43) gives the same rules as Pār. gṛ. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.2. 35-37)[651] optionally allows a girdle of muñja grass with an iron piece intertwined in it for kṣatriyas and woollen string or the yoke-string or a string of tāmala bark for vaiśyas (according to some). Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 13) allows mauñjī girdle also to all. Some of the sūtras (e. g. Baud. gṛ., Āp. Dh. S.) further prescribe that the girdle of muñja grass should have three strings to it and the grass should have its ends turned to the right and the knot of the girdle should be brought near the navel. Manu (II. 43) says that there may be one knot or three or five (according to family usage, says Kullūka).[652]

In order to convey an idea of the rites of upanayana in the days of the gṛhya sūtras the ceremony as contained in the Āśv. gṛ. sūtra (which is among the shortest) is set out in full.[653] 'Let him initiate the boy who is decked, whose hair (on the head) is shaved (and arranged), who wears a new garment or an antelope skin if a brāhmaṇa, ruru skin if a kṣatriya, goat's skin if a vaiśya; if they put on garments they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow, red and yellow (for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya respectively), they should have girdles and staffs (as described above). While the boy takes hold of (the hand of) his teacher, the latter offers (a homa of clarified butter oblations) in the fire (as described above) and seats himself to the north of the fire with his face turned to the east, while the other one (the boy) stations himself in front (of the teacher) with his face turned to the west. The teacher then fills the folded hands of both himself and of the boy with water and with the verse 'we choose that of Savitṛ' (Ṛg. V. 82. 1) the teacher drops down the water in his own folded hands on to the water in the folded

651. ज्या राजन्यस्य मौर्वी वायोमिश्रा। आवीसूत्रं वैश्यस्य। सैरी तामली वेरयेके। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 34-37. तामल is explained as शण (hemp) in the com. on गोभिल II. 10. 10 and by हरदत्त as 'तामलो मूलोदकसंज्ञो वृक्षः। तस्य त्वचा ग्रथिता तामली'.

652. The number of knots was probably regulated by the number of the pravara sages invoked by a person.

653. Vide Appendix for the text of Āśv. gṛ. and for a very concise form prepared recently.

hands of the boy; having thus poured the water, he should seize with his own hand the boy's hand together with the thumb (of the boy) with the formula 'by the urge (or order) of the god Savitṛ, with the arms of the two Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan, I seize thy hand, oh! so and so';[653a] with the words 'Savitṛ has seized thy hand, oh so and so' a second time (the teacher seizes the boy's hand); with the words 'Agni is thy teacher, oh so and so' a third time. The teacher should cause (the boy) to look at the sun, while the teacher repeats 'God Savitṛ! this is thy brahmacārī, protect him, may he not die'[654] and (the teacher should further) say 'Whose brahmacārī art thou? thou art the brahmacārī of Prāṇa. Who does initiate thee and whom (does he initiate)? I give[655] thee to Ka (to Prajāpati)'. With the half verse (Ṛg. III 8. 4.) 'the young man, well attired and dressed, came[656] hither' he (the teacher) should cause him to turn round to the right and with his two hands placed over (the boy's) shoulders he should touch the place of the boy's heart repeating the latter half (of Ṛg. III. 8. 4). Having wiped the ground round the fire the brahmacārī should put (on the fire) a fuel stick silently, since it is known (from śruti) 'what belongs to Prajāpati is silently (done)', and the brahmacārī belongs to Prajāpati. Some do this (offering of a fuel stick) with a mantra 'to Agni I have brought a fuel stick, to the great Jātavedas; by the fuel stick mayst thou increase, Oh Agni and may we (increase) through *brahman* (prayer or spiritual lore), svāhā'.[657] Having put the fuel stick (on the fire) and having touched the fire, he (the student) thrice wipes off his face with the words 'I

653a. Here the boy should be addressed by his name. The formula 'devasya tvā' occurs in several connections (e. g. in adoption etc.) in several saṃhitās. Vide for this वाज. सं. II. 11, तै. सं. II 6. 8. 6. A similar formula occurs in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 24 and II. 9. 5, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 11. 17, मानवगृ. I. 22. 5, बौ. गृ. II. 5. 28 (देवस्य.....हस्ताभ्यामुपनयेऽसौ), काठकगृ. 41. 16 (reads as in बौ. गृ.)

654. देव ..... मा मृत. This मन्त्र occurs also in the आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 3. 31 (असावेष ते देव सूर्य ..... मृत) and in मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, शां. गृ. II. 18. 4 and others.

655. The words कस्य ..... परिददामि occur in आप. म. पा. II. 3. 29, मानवगृह्य I. 22. 5, पारस्कर II. 2 (with variations in all)

656. For the whole verse युवा सुवासाः vide note 620 above.

657. अग्नये समिधमाहार्षं &c—The first half occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 2, पारस्कर II. 4, हिरण्य. गृ. I. 7. 2, गोभिलगृह्य II. 10. 46, भारद्वाजगृ. I. 8, all of which have a long latter half like यथा त्वमग्ने समिधा समिध्यसे एवं मामायुषा ...

anoint myself with lustre'; it is known (from śruti) 'for he does anoint himself with lustre'. 'May Agni bestow on me, insight, offspring and lustre; on me may Indra bestow insight, offspring and vigour (indriya); on me may the sun bestow insight, offspring and radiance; what thy lustre is, Oh Agni, may I thereby become lustrous; what thy strength is, Agni, may I thereby become strong; what thy consuming power is Agni, may I thereby acquire consuming power'.[658] Having waited upon (worshipped) Agni with these formulas, (the student) should bend his knees, embrace (the teacher's feet) and say to him 'recite, Sir, recite, Sir, the Sāvitrī'. Seizing the student's hands with the upper garment (of the student) and his own hands the teacher recites the Sāvitrī, first pāda by pāda, then hemistich by hemistich (and lastly) the whole verse. He (the teacher) should make him (the student) recite (the Sāvitrī) as much as he is able. On the place of the student's heart the teacher lays his hand with the fingers upturned with the formula 'I place thy heart[659] unto duty to me; may thy mind follow my mind; may you attend on my words single-minded; may Bṛhaspati appoint thee unto me'. Having tied the girdle round him (the boy) and having given him the staff, the teacher should instruct him in the observances of a brahmacārī with the words 'a brahmacārī[660] art thou, sip water, do service, do not sleep by day, depending (completely) on the teacher learn the Veda'. He (the student) should beg (food) in the evening and the morning; he should put a fuel stick (on fire) in the evening and the morning. That (which he has received by begging) he should announce to the teacher; he should not sit down (but should be standing) the rest of the day."[661]

The whole procedure of upanayana is more elaborately described in the Āp. gṛ., in Hir. gṛ. and Gobhila. A few points

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658. मयि मेधां &c. These mantras occur in तै. सं. III. 3. 1. 2 and III. 5. 3. 2; also in हिरण्य. गृ., कौ. गृ. II. 5. 62 &c.

659. मम व्रते &c. These words also occur in पारस्करगृ. II. 2., मानवगृ. I. 22. 10, हिरण्यगृ. (where we have मम हृदये). These words also occur in the marriage ceremony (as addressed by the husband); vide पारस्करगृ. I. 8.

660. ब्रह्मचार्यसि &c. These words (with some additions and omissions) occur in आप. म. पा. II. 6. 14, पारस्करगृ. II. 3, काठकगृ 41. 17 and several others. These are based on the शतपथ passage quoted in note 625 above. In some it is said simply 'do not sleep' and this is explained in आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 28. as 'अथ यः पूर्वोत्थायी जघन्यसंवेशी तमाहुर्न स्वपितीति'.

661. अनुप्रवचनीय sacrifice is to be performed after a part of the Veda has been learnt., vide आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 10-16, गोभिलगृह्य III. 2. 46-47.

of interest and divergence may be noted here briefly. It is remarkable that Āśv., Āp. and several other sūtrakāras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few like Hir. gṛ. (I. 2. 6), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 3) and Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 2) say that the boy already wears the yajñopavīta before the homa begins; while Baud. gṛ.[662] (II. 5. 7) says that the boy is given the yajñopavīta and then made to recite the well-known mantra 'the Yajñopavīta is extremely sacred' and the Vaik. smārta (II. 5) says that the teacher gives the upper garment to the boy with[663] the verse 'parīdaṁ vāsaḥ', the sacred thread with the mantra 'Yajñopavītam' and the black antelope skin with the mantra 'the eye of Mitra'. Sudarśana on Āp. gṛ. 10. 5 says that the boy puts on the yajñopavīta with the mantra before he takes his meal (according to some) or (according to others) before[664] he puts the fuel stick on the fire and relies on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 for support. According to Karka and Harihara (on Pāraskara) the yajñopavīta was given to the student by the teacher after the tying of the girdle. The Saṁskāratattva p. 934 says the same. Late works like the Saṁskāraratnamālā (p. 202) prescribe the wearing of the sacred thread before the homa. The origin and development of the ideas about yajñopavīta will be dealt with separately later on. Āp. gṛ. (X. 5), Baud gṛ. (II. 5. 7) and Pār. gṛ. (II. 2) prescribe a dinner to brāhmaṇas before the ceremonies begin and receiving their benedictions. Āp. gṛ. (X. 5), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 1), Baud gṛ. [665] (II. 5. 7) say that the boy also is made to take food; according to later works (e. g. Saṁskāraratnamālā) the boy takes his meal in the same dish with his mother (for the last time) and other brahmacārins (eight in number) are also invited at the same time for meals in the

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662. स्नात शुचिवाससं बद्धशिखं यज्ञोपवीतं प्रतिमुञ्चन् वाचयति 'यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात् । आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः ॥' इति । यज्ञोपवीतिनमप आचमय्याथ देवयजनमुदानयति । बौ. गृ. II. 5. 7–8 ; the verse यज्ञोपवीतं is quoted as from गृह्यपरिशिष्ट in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 31) and is repeated even in the island of Bali by the *pedandas*. In some mss. of Pār. gṛ. this mantra occurs, but it is an interpolation, as Karka, Jayarāma and Harihara say 'यद्यप सूत्रकारेण यज्ञोपवीतधारणं न सूत्रितम्' (हरिहर).

663. परीदं वासः — this is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 8 ; मित्रस्य चक्षुः is आप. म. पा. II. 2. 11.

664. Acc. to शाङ्खायनगृह्य II. 2. 3 the आचार्य says 'यज्ञोपवीतमसि यज्ञस्य त्वा यज्ञोपवीतेनोपनह्यामि.'

665. बौ. गृ. सू. 'कुमारं भोजयित्वा तस्य चालैवसूर्ण्यां केशानोप्य स्नातं शुचिवाससं बद्धशिखम्' &c. (II. 5. 7).

company of the boy. This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day (as in caula); this also is done in modern times. But in ancient[666] times the shaving was done by the ācārya himself as stated by Sudarśana on Āp. gṛ. 10. 6-8. There are several other matters detailed in Āp. and others, on which Āśv. and some others are silent. The important ones are mentioned below.

(*a*) Āp. gṛ. (10. 9), Mānava gṛ. (I. 23. 12), Baud. gṛ. (II. 5. 10), Khādira gṛ. (II. 4) and Bhār. gṛ. (I. 8) make the boy tread on a stone to the north of the fire with his right foot after homa. The mantras repeated in the several sūtras are significant asking the boy to be firm like a stone.[667]

(*b*) Mānava gṛ. (I.22.3) and Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 10) prescribe after homa the tasting of curds thrice after repeating the verse 'Dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6 = Tai. S. I. 5. 4. 11).

(*c*) Pār. gṛ. (II. 2), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 7), Āp. gṛ. (11. 1-4), Āp. Mantrapāṭha (II. 3. 27-30), Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 25 (quoting Śāṭyāyanaka), Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 4-5, and Khādira gṛ. II. 4. 12 refer to the fact that the teacher asks the boy his name and the latter pronounces his name. The teacher also asks whose brahmacārī the boy is.

A person was given (as shown above at pp. 246-247) an abhivādanīya name either derived from the nakṣatra of birth or from a deity name or the gotra name. This was necessary for several purposes. The teacher had to know that the boy came from a good family, he had also to address him by name (as there might be several pupils). It is wrong to suppose[668] from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla (where the

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666. त्रींस्त्रीन् दर्भानन्तर्धायोत्तराभिश्चतसृभिः चतसृभिः प्रतिमन्त्रं प्रतिविशं प्रवपति। वपन्तमुत्तरयानुमन्त्रयते दक्षिणतो माता ब्रह्मचारी वा। आनड्वहे शकृत्पिण्डे यवाक्षिधाय तस्मिन्केशानुपयम्योत्तरयोर्दुग्धरमूले दर्भस्तम्बे वा निदधाति। आप. गृ. X.6-8. सुदर्शन on sūtra says 'प्रशब्दकरणात्कुशलीकरणमप्याचार्यस्यैव' and on sūtra 8 'केचित्—आचार्यः पूर्वं वपनमारभते ततो नापितः संसृष्टाभिरेवाद्भिरवर्धं कुर्वन् केशान् प्रवपति। तं च वपन्तमुत्तरया आचार्योनुमन्त्रयते। दक्षिणतो मातेत्युक्तार्थमेव। तच्च। एतद्वपनं नापितः समापयतीत्यत्र वचनाभावात् तत्कल्पनायां चानुपपत्त्यभावात्।' हरदत्त on आप. गृ. X. 6 says 'पूर्वं मन्त्रवद्वपनं करोत्याचार्यः पश्चात् नापित इत्युक्तं भवति,' which is combated by सुदर्शन.

667. आतिष्ठेममश्मानमश्मेव त्वं स्थिरो भव। अभि तिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः। आप. म. पा. II. 2. 2, which is the मन्त्र in आप. गृ., भार० गृ., बौ. गृ.

668. Vide Keay in 'Ancient Indian Education' p. 23 where he says 'it was still the rule for brāhmaṇas to be received as students.' Dr. Ghurye in 'Caste and race in India' p. 43 merely repeats this dictum.

teacher asked him his gotra) that only brāhmaṇas were admitted to brahmacarya. All smṛtis, even the latest, contemplated that the three castes had the right to learn the Veda. It is one thing to have a right and another to exercise it. Probably very few ksatriyas cared to submit their sons to the rigorous discipline of brahmacarya as laid down in the smṛtis and cared much less for Veda studies. In the Mahābhārata and in the Kādambarī it is said that the princes were taught in a special house constructed for the purpose and teachers were paid handsomely and brought there to teach instead of the princes going to the teachers.

It is not possible for want of space to show how the greatest possible confusion prevails as to the order of the various components of the ceremony of upanayana. But a few striking examples may be given. Āśvalāyana gṛ. treats of the tying of the girdle and the giving of the staff almost at the end of the ceremony, while Āp. gṛ. puts this after homa and immediately before añjalipūraṇa (filling the folded hands of both with water); Āśvalāyana puts ādityadarśana after the boy's hand is held by the teacher and before paridāna (handing the boy over to the deities), but Bhār. (I. 9) puts it after the instruction in the observances of brahmacarya. The Bhār. gṛ. (I. 9) treats of ādityadarśana almost at the end of the rites, while Āśv. places it among the earlier ones after homa. Besides the same mantras are employed by different sūtras for different purposes; for example, the mantra 'suśravaḥ &c.' is employed by Āp. at the time of taking the staff by the boy (XI. 14 and Mantrapāṭha II. 5. 1), while Āśv. gṛ. (I. 22. 19), Bhār. gṛ. (I. 10), Mānava gṛ. (I. 23. 17) employ it in 'medhājanana' (on the 4th day after upanayana) and Pār. gṛ. (II. 4) employs it at the time of putting a fuel stick on fire. Āśv. employs the verse 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Ṛg. III. 8. 4) for making the boy turn round (first half) and for touching the region of the boy's heart (latter half), while the same verse is employed at the time of tying the girdle round the boy's waist by the Mānava gṛ. (I. 22. 8) and Pār. gṛ.(II. 2).

Later writers went on adding mantras and details. On the day prior to upanayana the Nāndīśrāddha was performed as said by Haradatta on Āp. gṛ. 10. 5. *Grahamakha* (a sacrifice to the planets) also may be performed the previous day or on any day within 7 or 10 days of the upanayana. Then before the actual upanayana, there is the worship of Gaṇapati and of

Kuladevatās, puṇyāhavācana, the worship of Mātṛs and the consecration of the maṇḍapa-devatās. For the detailed modern procedure (prayoga) of upanayana, the S. R. M. (pp. 197–210), which in the main follows the briefer procedure in the gṛhya sūtras, may be consulted. Up to the act of making the boy dine with his mother it is the father who does everything ; thereafter it is the ācārya who does the rest. The saṁkalpa of upanayana is given below [669].

Yajñopavīta[670] :—A few words must be said on the history of *yajñopavīta* from ancient times. Among the earliest references is one from the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 ' the nivīta[671] is (used in actions) for men, the prācīnāvīta (is used in rites) for pitṛs, the upavīta (in rites) for gods ; he wears it in the upavīta mode (i. e. slung from the left shoulder), thereby he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods'. In the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 8.) we read 'wearing in the prācīnāvīta form he offers towards the south ; for in the case of pitṛs, acts are performed towards the south. Disregarding that one should wear in the upavīta form and offer in the north only, since both gods and pitṛs are worshipped (in this rite) '.[672] The three words nivīta, prācīnāvīta and upavīta are explained in the Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 2–4) which says ' raising his right arm, putting the head into (the upavīta) he suspends (the cord) over his left shoulder in such a way that it hangs down on his right side ; thus he becomes yajñopavītin. Passing his left arm, putting the head (into the upavīta) he suspends it over his right shoulder, so that it hangs down along his left side ; in this way he becomes prācīnāvītin ; a person becomes prācīnāvītin only in the sacrifice offered to the Manes' [673]. To the same effect is

669. आचम्य प्राणानायम्य देशकालौ संकीर्त्यास्य कुमारस्य द्विजत्वसिद्धिपूर्वकवेदाध्ययनाधिकारसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमाचार्यत्वेतृकसावित्रीमातृकमुपनयनाख्यं संस्कारं करिष्य इति सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात् ।

670. Vide ' Orion ' by the late Mr. Tilak pp. 145–148 for discussion on this.

671. निवीतं मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितॄणामुपवीतं देवानाम् । उपव्ययते देवलक्ष्ममेव तत्कुरुते । तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 1.

672. दक्षिणतः प्राचीनावीती निर्वपति । दक्षिणावृद्धि पितॄणाम् । अनादृत्य तत् । उत्तरत एवोपवीय निर्वपेत् । उभये हि देवाश्च पितरश्चेज्यन्ते । अथो यदेव दक्षिणार्धेधिश्रयति तेन दक्षिणावृत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 8.

673. दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय सव्येंसे प्रतिष्ठापयति दक्षिणं कक्षमन्वबलम्भं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति । सव्यं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोऽवधाय दक्षिणेंसे प्रतिष्ठापयति सव्यं कक्षमन्वबलम्भं भवत्येवं प्राचीनावीती भवति । पितृयज्ञे त्वेव प्राचीनावीती भवति । गोभिल गृह्य I. 2. 2–4.

Khādira gṛ. I. 1. 8–9, Manu II. 63, Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 7 and 10, Vaik. I. 5. The Baud.[674] gṛ. paribhāṣā-sūtra II. 2. 3 says ' when it is carried over the neck, both shoulders and the chest and is held with both the thumbs (of the two hands) lower than the region of the heart and above the navel, that is *nivīta* ; (when the śruti says it is) for men, what it means is that it is for sages. The occasions when nivīta mode is used are: ṛṣi-tarpaṇa, sexual intercourse, saṁskāras of one's children except when homa is to be performed, answering the calls of nature, carrying a corpse and whatever other actions are meant only for men; nivīta is what hangs from the neck '.

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2. 1, S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 361) says " the gods being yajñopavītins approached near, bending their right knee; he (Prajāpati) said to them ' the sacrifice is your food, immortality is your strength, the sun is your light ' ; then the pitṛs approached him, being prācīnāvītins and bending their left knee and then men approached him covered with a garment and bending their bodies " etc.[675] It is important to note here that men are said to have been covered only with a garment and there is no reference in their case to any mode of wearing either as yajñopavīta or nivīta or prācīnāvīta. This rather suggests that men wore only garments when approaching gods and not necessarily a cord of threads. In the Tai.[676] Br. III. 10. 9. it is said that when *vāk* (speech) appeared to Devabhāga Gautama he put on the yajñopavīta and fell down with the words ' namo namaḥ '.

It seems to follow from a passage in the Tai. Ā. (II. 1) that a strip of black antelope skin or of cloth was used in ancient times as upavīta[677] ' the sacrifice of him who wears the

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674. उपरिष्टाद्‌साभ्यां ग्रीवां हृदयं च संपरिगृह्य हृदयस्याधस्तादूर्ध्वं नाभेरङ्कुशाभ्यां परिगृह्णाति तन्निवीतं मनुष्याणामिति ऋषीणामित्येवेदमुक्तं भवति । अथ निवीतकार्याणि ऋषीणां तर्पणं व्यवायः प्रजासंस्कारोऽन्यत्र होमात्, मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गः प्रेतोद्वहनं यानि चान्यानि मनुष्यकार्याणि कण्ठेऽवसक्तं निवीतमिति । बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र II. 2. 3 and 6.

675. ततो देवा यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा दक्षिणं जान्वाच्योपासीदंस्तानब्रवीद्यज्ञो वोऽन्नममृतत्वं च ऊर्ध्वः सूर्यो वो ज्योतिरिति । अथैनं पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्य ..... अथैनं मनुष्याः प्रावृता उपस्थं कृत्वोपासीदन् ' शतपथ II. 4. 2. 1.

676. एतावति ह गौतमः यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा अधो निपपात नमो नम इति । तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 9. सायण remarks ' स्वकीयेन वस्त्रेण यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा. '.

677. प्रसूतो हैं वै यज्ञोपवीतिनो यज्ञोऽप्रसूतोऽनुपवीतिनो यत्किं च ब्राह्मणो यज्ञोपवीत्यधीते यजत एव तत् । तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवाधीयीत याजयेद्यजेत वा यज्ञस्य प्रसृत्यै । आजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरतेऽवधत्ते सव्यमिति यज्ञोपवीतमेतद्वेव विपरीतं प्राचीमावीतं संवीतं मानुषम् । तै. आ. II. 1. This passage is quoted as from the Kāṭhaka in the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि I. 3. 7 (p. 201).

yajñopavīta becomes spread out (prosperous, famous), while the sacrifice of him who does not wear it does not spread ; whatever a brāhmaṇa studies, wearing a yajñopavīta, he really (therein) performs a sacrifice. Therefore one should study, sacrifice or officiate at a sacrifice with the yajñopavīta on for securing the spreading of sacrifice ; having worn an antelope skin or a garment on the right side, he raises the right hand and keeps the left down ; this is yajñopavīta; when this position is reversed it is prācīnāvīta ; the position called saṁvīta is for men.' It is remarkable that here at any rate no cord of threads is meant by upavīta, but only a piece of skin or cloth. The Par. M. (I. part 1 p. 173) quotes[678] a portion of the above passage and remarks that the Tai. Ār. lays down that a man becomes an upavītin by wearing one of the two, viz. antelope skin and (cotton) garment.

In the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra (III. 1. 21) it is established (with reference to the words) in the Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 (upavyayate etc. quoted in *f. n.* 671) that one has to be an upavītin throughout all the actions, prescribed in the sections on the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice and not only when the Sāmidhenī verses are recited. The first part of the same passage is discussed by Jaimini (III. 4. 1-9) and it is established that the passage enjoins the wearing of upavīta in Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa which is devakarma and that the reference to prācīnāvīta and nivīta is only an *anuvāda* intended to emphasize the desirability of the wearing of upavīta in sacrifices to gods. The Tantravārtika [679] explains that *nivīta* is tying the upavīta round the throat like a braid of hair (according to some), while according to others it is tying it round the waist as if for girding up the loins and that the first is not done except in battle, while the latter has to be resorted to in all acts in order to devote sole attention to them. So according to the Tantravārtika, the Tai. S. is not referring (in II. 5. 11. 1) to a cord of threads but to a piece of cloth. Some of the sūtrakāras and commentators drop hints that garments were used or could be used as upavīta. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22-23) says that a householder should always wear an upper garment and then adds ' or the sacred thread may serve the purpose of an upper garment.' This shows that originally

678. तत्रेतिकर्तव्यतारूपेण कृष्णाजिनवाससोरन्यतरेणोपवीतित्वं तैत्तिरीयके विधीयते । परा. मा. I. 1. p. 173.

679. निवीतं केचिद्गलवेणिकाबन्धं स्मरन्ति । केचित्पुनः परिकरबन्धम् । तत्र गलवेणिकाबन्धो युद्धादन्यत्र न प्रामोति । परिकरबन्धस्तु सर्वकर्मस्वव्यग्रताकरत्वात्प्राप्तः । तन्त्रवार्तिक on जैमिनि III. 4. 2 (p. 891).

upavīta meant an upper garment and not merely a cord of threads. In another place the same sūtra says (II. 8. 19. 12) 'one (who partakes of śrāddha dinner) should eat covered with an upper garment slung over the left shoulder and passing under the right arm'. Haradatta gives two explanations of this, viz. that one should wear an upper garment (while dining at a śrāddha) like a yajñopavīta i. e. under the right arm and over the left shoulder, that is, a brāhmaṇa cannot rely on Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and wear at śrāddha repast only the sacred thread (but he must wear the garment in that fashion) and give up the sacred thread for the time.[680] While another view is that he must wear the sacred thread and the upper garment both in the fashion of upavīta. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 6. 18–19) prescribes that when a student wears two garments he should wear one of them (i. e. the upper one) in the yajñopavīta mode, but when he wears only one garment then he should wear it round the lower part of the body (and should not cover the upper body with a portion of the garment though it may be long enough for that). Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 prescribes that a man must be yajñopavītin at the time of waiting upon teachers, elders, guests, at the time of homa, in *japa* (murmuring prayer), at meals and in taking ācamana and at the time of daily vedic study. On this Haradatta says 'yajñopavīta means a particular mode of wearing the (upper) garment; if one has no upper garment, then there is another (but inferior) mode stated in Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 23 and that at other times it is not necessary to have the yajñopavīta'.

The Gobhila gr. (I. 2. 1) in treating of upanayana[681] says 'the student takes as yajñopavīta a cord of threads, a garment

680. नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम्। अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 22-23; सोत्तराच्छादनश्चैव यज्ञोपवीती भुञ्जीत। आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 12; हरदत्त explains "उत्तराच्छादनमुपरिवासः। तेन यज्ञोपवीतेन यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा भुञ्जीत। नास्य भोजने 'अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थे' इत्ययं कल्पो भवतीत्येके। समुच्चय इत्यन्ये।"; यज्ञोपवीती द्विवस्त्रः। अधोनिवीतस्त्वेकवस्त्रः। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 18–19; उपासने गुरूणां वृद्धानामतिथीनां होमे जप्यकर्मणि भोजन आचमने स्वाध्याये च यज्ञोपवीती स्यात्। आप. ध. सू. I 5. 15. 1, where हरदत्त says 'वासोविन्यासविशेषो यज्ञोपवीतम्। दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरत इति ब्राह्मणविहितम्। वाससोऽसंभवेऽजकल्पं वक्ष्यति अपि वा सूत्रमेवोपवीतार्थ इति। एषु विधानात् कालान्तरे नावश्यंभावः।'; vide औशनसस्मृति (Jīvānanda, part I. p. 502) 'अग्न्यगारे गवां गोष्ठे होमे जप्ये तथैव च। स्वाध्याये भोजने नित्यं ब्राह्मणानां च संनिधौ। उपासने गुरूणां च संध्ययोरुभयोरपि। उपवीती भवेन्नित्यं विधिरेष सनातनः॥'

681. यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते वस्त्रं वापि वा कुशरज्जुमेव। गोभिलगृह्य I. 2. 1; सूत्रमपि वस्त्राभावाद्वेदितव्यमिति। अपि वाससा यज्ञोपवीतार्थान् कुर्यात्तदभावे त्रिवृता सूत्रेणेति ऋष्यशृङ्गस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच० I. p. 32.

or a rope of kuśa grass '. This indicates that though a cord of threads was considered in Gobhila's days as the appropriate yajñopavīta, that was not an invariable rule in his day and that a garment could be employed instead. The commentator being brought up in the latter day tradition explains by saying that if the sūtra was lost in a forest then a garment may be worn like the sacred thread and if even that was lost a rope of kuśa. But this appears to be rather far-fetched as an explanation of Gobhila's unqualified words. Manu (II. 44) says that ' the upavīta of a brāhmaṇa should be made of cotton, its strands should be twined with the right hand moved over them (or the twist of the strands must be upwards) and it should have three threads '. Medhātithi comments on this that ' upavīta ' means a particular mode of wearing a garment or a particular position of it and therefore here by upavīta is meant that which can be worn in that mode. The Sm. C. quotes a prose passage from Ṛṣyaśṛṅga ' or one may carry out all the purposes for which yajñopavīta is required by means of a garment and in its absence by a string of three threads '. From the above passages, from the fact that many of the gṛhyasūtras are entirely silent about the giving or wearing of the sacred thread in upanayana and from the fact that no mantra[682] is cited from the Vedic Literature for the act of giving the yajñopavīta (which is now the centre of the upanayana rites), while scores of vedic mantras are cited for the several component parts of the ceremony of upanayana, it is most probable, if not certain, that the sacred thread was not invariably used in the older times as in the times of the later smṛtis and in modern times, that originally the upper garment was used in various positions for certain acts, that it could be laid aside altogether in the most ancient times and that the cord of threads came to be used first as an option and later on exclusively for the upper garment.

A few rules about yajñopavīta may now be stated here.[683] The yajñopavīta is to have three threads of nine strands well

682. The mantra ' यज्ञोपवीतं परमं &c. is cited only in Baud. gr. (note 662 above) and in Vaik. (II. 5), has certainly a comparatively modern ring about it and is not cited in any well-known ancient work.

683. Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 4 and सं. प्र. pp. 416–418 as to how the upavīta is to be manufactured and who is to manufacture it, one interesting fact being that an upavīta prepared by a maiden was to be preferred to one prepared by a widow. मदनरत्न quoted in the आचाररत्न defines ऊर्ध्व-वृत in Manu II. 44 as 'करेण दक्षिणेनोर्ध्वगतेन त्रिगुणीकृतम्। वलितं मानवे शास्त्रे सूत्रमूर्ध्व-वृतं स्मृतम् ॥ ' (p. 2).

twisted (for each thread). Vide Baud. Dh.S.I. 5.5., Devala quoted in the Sm. C.[684]. The nine devatās of the nine *tantus* (strands) are given by Devala viz. Oṁkāra, Agni, Nāga, Soma, Pitṛs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya,[685] all gods. Medhātithi on Manu II.44 says that in iṣṭis, animal sacrifices and soma sacrifices, the yajñopavīta was to have only one thread of three *tantus*, but it was three-fold in three classes of *ahīna*, *ekāha*, and *sattra* sacrifices as they required three fires and in the seven *somasaṁsthās* seven-fold and five-fold when viewed with reference to the three savanas and two saṁdhyās. The yajñopavīta should reach as far as the navel, should not reach beyond the navel, nor should it be above the chest.[686] Manu II. 44 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 27. 19 prescribe that the yajñopavīta for brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya should respectively be of cotton, hemp and sheep wool. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 5), Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 1) say that it may be of cotton thread or of kuśa grass and Devala as quoted in Sm. C. says that all twice-born persons should make their yajñopavīta of cotton, of kṣumā, hair of cow's tail, hemp, tree bark or kuśa according to the availability of the material.[687] The remarks of the Saṁskāramayūkha after quoting Manu II. 44 are interesting ' we do not know the origin of (or authority for) the practice of present-day kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, viz. of wearing cotton yajñopavīta '. This shows that in the 17th century A. D. many kṣatriyas and vaiśyas put on yajñopavīta.[688] Kumārila also says that wearing yajñopavīta and studying Vedas is common to all the three varṇas.

The number of yajñopavītas to be worn differed according to circumstances. A brahmacārī was to wear only one yajñopavīta and saṁnyāsins, when they kept yajñopavīta at all, also wore

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684. कौशं सूत्रं वा त्रिस्त्रिवृद्यज्ञोपवीतम् । आ नाभेः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 5-6; उक्तं देवलेन यज्ञोपवीतं कुर्वीत सूत्रेण नवतन्तुकम् । इति । स्मृतिच. I. p. 31.

685. अत्र प्रतितन्तु देवताभेदमाह देवलः । ओंकारः प्रथमस्तन्तुर्द्वितीयोऽग्निस्तथैव च । तृतीयो नागदैवत्यश्चतुर्थो सोमदैवतः । पञ्चमः पितृदैवत्यः षष्ठश्चैव प्रजापतिः । सप्तमो वायुदैवत्यः सूर्यश्चाष्टम एव च ॥ नवमः सर्वदैवत्य इत्येते नव तन्तवः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

686. कात्यायनस्तु परिमाणान्तरमाह । पृष्ठवंशे च नाभ्यां च धृतं यद्विन्दते कटिम् । तद्वार्यमुपवीतं स्याच्छातिलम्बं न चोच्छ्रितम् । ..... देवलः । स्तनादूर्ध्वमधो नाभेर्न कर्तव्यं कथंचन । स्मृतिच० I. p. 31

687. कार्पासक्षौमगोवालशणवल्कतृणोद्भवम् । सदा संभवतः कार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 32 ; परा. मा. I. 2. p. 36 ; वृद्धहारीत (VIII. 47-48) has a similar verse.

688. एवं च यदिदानींतनानां क्षत्रियवैश्यानां कार्पासोपवीतधारणं तत्र मूलं न विद्मः । संस्कारमयूख.

only one. A snātaka[689] (i. e. one who has returned from the teacher's house after brahmacarya) and a house-holder were to wear two while one who desired long life may wear more than two. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says 'snātakas should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavītas, should have a stick and a pot filled with water'. Kaśyapa allowed a householder to wear any number up to ten. Whether yajñopavīta as worn in modern times was worn from the most ancient times or not, it is certain that long before the Christian era it had come to be so worn and it had become an inflexible rule that a brāhmaṇa must always wear a yajñopavīta and have his top-knot (of hair) always tied up; if he did any act without observing this rule, it was inefficacious.[690] Vas.[691] and Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 1) both say that a man must always wear yajñopavīta. If a brāhmaṇa took his meals without wearing yajñopavīta, he had to undergo prāyaścitta viz. to bathe, to mutter prayers and fast; vide Laghu-Hārīta verse 23 quoted by Aparārka pp. 1171, 1173. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 prescribes prāyaścitta for answering calls of nature without having the yajñopavīta placed on the right ear (as Yāj. I. 16 prescribes). Manu IV. 66 forbids the wearing of another's yajñopavīta along with several other things (such as shoes, ornament, garland and kamaṇḍalu). In Yāj. (I. 16 and 133) and other smṛtis the yajñopavīta is called brahmasūtra.

An interesting question is whether women ever had upanayana performed or whether they had to wear the yajñopavīta. Several smṛtis contain instructive dicta on this point.[692] The

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689. स्नातकानां तु नित्यं स्यादन्तर्वाससस्थोत्तरम् । यज्ञोपवीते द्वे यष्टिः सोदकश्च कमण्डलुः ॥ वसिष्ठ XII. 14; विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 13–15 has similar rules; the verse of Vasiṣṭha is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 133; compare मनु. IV. 36; एकैकमुपवीतं तु यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । गृहिणां च वनस्थानामुपवीतद्वयं स्मृतम् । सोत्तरीयं त्रयं वापि बिभृयाच्छ्रुभ्रतन्तु वा । वृद्धहारीत VIII. 44–45. Vide देवल quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 32 and त्रीणि चत्वारि पञ्चाष्ट गृहिणः स्युर्दशापि वा । सर्वैर्वा शुचिभिर्धार्यमुपवीतं द्विजातिभिः ॥ कश्यप quoted in the संस्कारमयूख.

690. Vide note 609 above.

691. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितान्नवर्जी । ऋतौ च गच्छन् विधिवच्च जुह्वन् ब्राह्मणश्चयवते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ 8. 9, बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 1, उद्योगपर्व 40. 25; the first pāda is quoted in the तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 896.

692. 'यत्तु हारीतेनोक्तं द्विविधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च । तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भिक्षाचर्येति । सद्योवधूनां तु उपस्थिते विवाहे कथंचिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्यः ॥' quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 24; संस्कारप्रकाश p. 402.

Hārītadharmasūtra as quoted in the Sm. C. and other digests says 'there are two sorts of women, those that are brahmavādinīs (i. e. students of sacred lore) and those that are sadyovadhūs (i. e. who straightway marry). Out of these brahmavādinīs have to go through upanayana, keeping fire, vedic study and begging in one's house (i. e. under the parental roof); but in the case of sadyovadhūs when their marriage is drawing near, the mere ceremony of upanayana should somehow be performed and then their marriage should be celebrated.' In the Gobhila gṛ.[693] II. 1. 19 it is said "leading forward towards the sacred fire (from the house) the bride who is wrapped in a robe and wears the sacred thread (slung from her left shoulder, in the yajñopavīta mode) he (the husband) should murmur the verse 'Soma gave her to Gandharva' (Ṛg. X. 85. 41)". It is clear that the girl, according to Gobhila, wore the yajñopavīta as a symbol of the rite of upanayana. The commentator to whom this procedure naturally seemed strange explains 'yajñopavītinīm' as meaning 'whose upper garment is worn in the fashion of the sacred thread'. In the Saṁskāratattva of Raghunandana it is stated that Hariśarmā held that according to Gobhila the bride was to wear a yajñopavīta, though Raghunandana himself does not approve of this explanation. In the ceremony of Samāvartana, Āśv. gṛ. III. 8,[694] on the subject of applying ointment says 'after having smeared the two hands with ointment a brāhmaṇa should salve his face first, a kṣatriya his two arms, a vaiśya his belly, a woman her private parts and persons who gain their livelihood by running, their thighs'. It is improper to say, as some do, that as to women this is a general rule interpolated in the treatment of samāvartana and has nothing to do with the latter. We should rather hold that Āśv. knew of women undertaking Vedic study and so prescribed what they should do in their samāvartana. In the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 305. 20)[695] a brāhmaṇa is said to have taught to the

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693. प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत् सोमो ददद्गन्धर्वायेति ।' गोभिलगृह्य II. 1. 19 ; the com. says 'यज्ञोपवीतवत्कृतोत्तरीयाम्' ; 'न तु यज्ञोपवीतिनीमित्यनेन स्त्रीणामपि कर्माङ्गत्वेन यज्ञोपवीतधारणमिति हरिशर्मोक्तं युक्तं स्त्रीणां यज्ञोपवीतधारणानुपपत्तेः ।' संस्कारतत्त्व p. 896.

694. अनुलेपनेन पाणी प्रलिप्य मुखमग्रे ब्राह्मणोऽनुलिम्पेत् । बाहू राजन्यः । उदरं वैश्यः । उपस्थं स्त्री । ऊरू सरणजीविनः । आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 11.

695. ततस्तामनवद्याङ्गीं ग्राहयामास स द्विजः । मन्त्रग्रामं तदा राजन्नथर्वाशिरसि श्रुतम् ॥ वनपर्व 305. 20.

mother of the Pāṇḍava heroes a number of mantras from the Atharvaśiras. Hārīta[696] prescribes that in the case of women samāvartana took place before the appearance of menses. Therefore brahmavādinī women had upanayana performed in the 8th year from conception, then they studied Vedic lore and finished student-hood at the age of puberty. Yama[697] says 'in former ages, tying of the girdle of muñja (i. e. upanayana) was desired in the case of maidens, they were taught the vedas and made to recite the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse); either their father, uncle or brother taught them and not a stranger and begging was prescribed for a maiden in the house itself and she was not to wear deer-skin or bark garment and was not to have matted hair'. Manu seems to have been aware of this usage as prevalent in ancient times, if not his own. Having spoken of the saṁskāras from jātakarma to upanayana, Manu winds up (II. 66) 'these ceremonies were to be performed in their entirety for women also, but without mantras' and adds (II. 67) 'the ceremony of marriage is the only saṁskāra performed with Vedic mantras in the case of women; (in their case) attendance on the husband amounts to serving a guru (which a student had to do) and performance of domestic duties to worship of fire' (which the student had to perform by offering a fuel-stick in the evening every day). This shows that in the day of the Manusmṛti, upanayana for women had gone out of practice, though there were faint glimmerings of its performance for women in former days. Relying on the words 'in former ages' occurring in the verses of Yama quoted above medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Nirṇayasindhu and others say that this practice belonged to another yuga. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī,[698] Mahāśvetā (who was practising *tapas*) is described as 'one whose body was rendered pure by (wearing) a brahmasūtra (i. e. yajñopavīta)'. The yajñopavīta came to have superhuman virtues attributed to it and so probably even women who were practising austerities wore it. The Saṁ. Pr.

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696. प्राग्व्रजसः समावर्तनम्। इति हारीतोक्त्या-संस्कारप्रकाश p 404.

697. यमोपि। पुराकल्पे कुमारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते। अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवाचनं तथा॥ पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः। स्वगृहे चैव कन्याया भैक्षचर्या विधीयते॥ वर्जयेदजिनं चीरं जटाधारणमेव च॥ संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 402-403; these verses are ascribed to Manu in the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (I. p. 24) edited by Mr. Gharpure, but this seems to be a misreading for यम (which is the reading of the Mysore ed.)

698. ब्रह्मसूत्रेण पवित्रीकृतकायाम् in para 133 of कादम्बरी (पूर्वार्ध)

(p. 419) quotes a verse saying that the Supreme Being is called yajña and yajñopavīta is so called because it belongs to the Supreme Being (or is used in sacrifices for Him).[699]

Though kṣatriyas and vaiśyas also were entitled to have the upanayana performed, it appears that they often neglected it or at least neglected the constant wearing of yajñopavīta, so much so that from comparatively early times the yajñopavīta came to be regarded as the peculiar indicator of the wearer's being of the brāhmaṇa caste. For example, Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa (XI. 64)[700] while describing the irate brāhmaṇa hero Paraśurāma says 'wearing the upavīta, which was the heritage that came to him from his father, and holding a formidable bow that came to him from the side of his mother (who was a kṣatriya princess)'. If the upavīta had been as constantly worn by the kṣatriyas as by brāhmaṇas in Kālidāsa's day he would not have spoken of it as the peculiar sign of a brāhmaṇa. In the drama Veṇīsaṁhāra (Act III) when Karṇa resented the attitude of Aśvatthāman, who raised his left foot for kicking Karṇa, and said that he could not cut off his leg as by virtue of his caste (as brāhmaṇa) he could not be punished in that way, Aśvatthāman replied by throwing away his sacred thread with the words 'here do I give up my caste'.[701] That shows that in the days of the Veṇīsaṁhāra (not later than about 600 A. D.) the yajñopavīta had become the peculiar indicator of the caste of brāhmaṇas only.

The Baudhāyana-sūtra quoted in the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (p. 188) says that yarn spun by a brāhmaṇa or his maiden daughter is to be brought, then one is to measure first 96 aṅgulas of it with the syllable bhūḥ, then another 96 with bhuvaḥ and a third 96 with svaḥ, then the yarn so measured is to be kept on a leaf of palāśa and is to be sprinkled with water to the accompaniment of the three mantras 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1 and Atharva I. 33. 1-4) and with the *anuvāka* beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8) and with the Gāyatrī, then the yarn is to be taken in the left hand and there is to be a clapping of the two hands thrice, the yarn is to be twisted

699. यज्ञार्थः परमात्मा य उच्यते चैव होतृभिः । उपवीतं ततोऽस्येदं तत्स्याद्यज्ञोपवीतकम् ॥ सं. प्र. p. 419.

700. पित्र्यमंशमुपवीतलक्षणं मातृकं च धनुरूर्जितं दधत् । रघुवंश XI. 64.

701. जात्या चेदृवध्योऽहमियं सा जातिः परित्यक्ता । वेणीसंहार III.

with the three verses 'bhūragnim ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and then the knot is to be tied with the formula 'Bhūrbhuvaḥ svaś-candramasaṁ ca' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 2) and the nine deities 'oṁkāra, Agni (quoted above in note 685)' have to be invoked on the nine strands, then the upavīta is to be taken with the mantra 'devasya tvā' and then it is to be shown to the sun with the verse 'ud vayam tamasaspari' (Ṛg. I. 50. 10) and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the verse 'yajñopavītam &c.' Then there is to be a *japa* of the *gāyatrī* verse and then ācamana. For a brief statement of the mode of putting on a fresh sacred thread vide note below.[702]

The Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra (II. 8. 1-12) gives a few insignificant points of difference as to the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, ambaṣṭha and karaṇa (son of a vaiśya from a śūdra female). It is not necessary to go into these details.

The next important question is as to whether upanayana was performed in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiotic &c. Jaimini has established that those who are devoid of a limb[703] are not eligible for agnihotra, but this inability arises only when the defect is incurable. Similarly the Āp. Dh.S. II. 6. 14. 1, Gaut. 28. 41-42, Vas. 17. 52-54, Manu 9. 201, Yāj. II. 140-141, Viṣṇu. Dh. S. 15. 32 ff. lay down that persons who are impotent, *patita*, congenitally blind or deaf, cripple and those who suffer from incurable diseases are not entitled to share property on a partition, but are only entitled to be maintained. But they all allow even these to marry. As marriage is not possible for dvijātis unless upanayana precedes it, it appears that the ceremony of upanayana was gone through as far as it could be carried out in the case of the blind, the deaf and dumb &c. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra (II. 9) prescribes a special procedure for the upanayana of the deaf and dumb and idiots. The principal

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702. In modern times whenever a new yajñopavīta has to be worn (because the one worn is lost or cut &c.) the ceremony briefly consists in repeating the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3) over water with which the yajñopavīta is to be sprinkled; then there is the repetition of the Gāyatrī ten times (each time preceded by the vyāhṛtis, as 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ') and then the yajñopavīta is to be put on with the mantra 'yajñopavītam paramaṁ' (cited above in note 662).

703. अङ्गहीनश्च तद्धर्मा । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. VI. 1. 41-42. The exclusion of these from inheritance will be dealt with later.

points in which their upanayana differs from that of others are that the offering of samidh, treading on a stone, putting on a garment, the tying of mekhalā, the giving of deer skin and staff are done silently, that the boy does not mention his name, it is the ācārya himself who makes offerings of cooked food or of clarified butter, all the mantras are muttered softly by the ācārya himself. The sūtra [704] says that according to some the same procedure is followed as to other persons who are impotent, blind, lunatics, or suffering from such diseases as epilepsy, white leprosy or black leprosy &c. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa cited in the Prayogapārijāta about the upanayana of the impotent, the deaf and others which contains rules similar to Baudhāyana's. The Sam. Pr. (pp. 399-401) and S. R. M. (pp. 273-274) also quote the passage and explain it. The purāṇa [705] says that those who cannot repeat the Gāyatrī (such as the deaf and dumb) should be brought near the teacher or fire and that the teacher should then touch them and then mutter the Gāyatrī himself, but that in other cases such as lunatics, they should be made to repeat the Gāyatrī at least if possible and if that too is not possible, then on touching them the ācārya should repeat it. The same purāṇa prescribes that kuṇḍa and golaka (the first being the offspring of an adulterous intercourse when the husband of the woman is living and the second when the husband is dead) should have upanayana performed in the same way as for the deaf and dumb, if it is known that the adulterer and the woman were both of the brāhmaṇa caste. There is some difference of opinion as to *kuṇḍa* and *golaka*. Manu (II. 174) defined them as above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 1, Manu (10. 5) and Yāj. (I. 90, 92) [706] expressly say that a person born of a brāhmaṇa from a brāhmaṇa woman belongs to the same caste only if he is born in lawful wedlock and that even the anuloma sons must be born in wedlock. The *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* being the offspring of adultery

704. षण्ढजडक्लीबान्धव्यसनिव्याधितोन्मत्तहीनाङ्गाधिराधिकाङ्गामयावि-अपस्मारि-श्वित्रि-कुष्ठि-दीर्घरोगिणश्चैतेन व्याख्याता इत्येके । बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र II. 9. 14.

705. ध्वस्तपुंस्त्वेषु चैतेषु संस्काराः स्युर्यथोचितम् । मत्तोन्मत्तौ न संस्कार्याविति केचित्प्रचक्षते । कर्मस्वनधिकाराच्च पातित्यं नास्ति चैतयोः । तदपत्यं च संस्कार्यमपरे त्वाहुरन्यथा । संस्कारमन्त्रहोमादीन् करोत्याचार्य एव तु । उपनेयांश्च विधिवदाचार्यः स्वसमीपतः । आनीयाग्निसमीपं वा सावित्रीं स्पृश्य वा जपेत् । कन्यास्वीकरणादन्यत्सर्वं विप्रेण कारयेत् । एवमेव द्विजैर्जातौ संस्कार्यौ कुण्डगोलकौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in निर्णयसिन्धु and संस्कारप्रकाश; the स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 4) quotes some of these verses.

706. विकारस्वेष विधिः स्मृतः ॥ या. I. 92.

would not really be brāhmaṇas even though both parents were brāhmaṇas. Thus, though these two are not strictly brāhmaṇas, upanayana of a secondary kind is allowed to them. Manu (III. 156) included the *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* among brāhmaṇas not to be invited at śrāddha. Elaborate discussions have been held why they were so specially mentioned, when they were not on Manu's own dictum brāhmaṇas. Some like the author of the Saṁgraha held that the *kuṇḍa* and *golaka* forbidden by Manu in śrāddha were those born under the ancient practice of niyoga; while others repudiated the idea that those born under the practice of niyoga had any taint attaching to them.[707]

It is not necessary to go into the question of the upanayana of mixed castes. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anulomas are eligible for the rites of *dvijas* (and so for upanayana) and the Mit.[708] on Yāj. I. 92 and 95 says that the anulomas have upanayana performed according to the rules of the caste of the mother and further mixed castes arising from the six anuloma castes in the anuloma order are also eligible for upanayana. The Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra II. 8 gives rules for the upanayana of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and of mixed castes like rathakāra, ambaṣṭha &c. Gaut.[709] IV. 21 made an exception in the case of the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman. All *pratilomas* were like śūdra according to Manu (IV. 41) and the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman, though anuloma, was like *pratilomas*. A śūdra is only *ekajāti* and not *dvijāti* (Gaut. X. 51) and for the pratilomas (as well as for the śūdra) there was no upanayana.

Upanayana was so highly thought of that some of the ancient texts prescribe a method of upanayana for the Aśvattha tree. Vide Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra II. 10. In modern times also rarely this upanayana is performed. To the west of the Aśvattha tree homa is performed, the saṁskāras from puṁsavana are imitated but with the vyāhṛtis only, the tree being touched with Ṛg. III.

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707. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका on श्राद्ध (II. pp. 399–400, Gharpure's ed.) for this elaborate discussion; vide also संस्कारप्रकाश pp. 397–398.

708. अतश्च मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां क्षत्रियादेरुक्तैरेव दण्डाजिनोपवीतादिभिरुपनयनादिकं कार्यम् । मिता० on या. I. 92 and 'एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्नमूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादनुलोमसंकरे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिप्राप्तिश्च वेदितव्या तयोर्द्विजातित्वात् ।' मिता० on या. I. 95.

709. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः । शूद्रायां च । गौतम IV. 20–21; अशूद्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायनं वेदाध्ययनमग्न्याधेयं फलवन्ति च कर्माणि । आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 6.

8. 11 'vanaspate'. A piece of cloth is held between the tree and the performer, then eight auspicious verses are repeated (maṅgalāṣṭaka), the cloth is removed and then the hymn called Dhruvasūkta (Ṛg. X. 72. 1-9) is repeated. Other mantras (like Ṛg. X. 62-63) are also recited. Then a piece of cloth, yajñopavīta, girdle, staff and deer-skin are given with appropriate mantras and lastly after touching the tree, the Gāyatrī is repeated. In E. C. vol. III. Malavalli No. 22 there is a reference to the upanayana of Aśvattha trees performed by one Bāchappa in 1358 A. D.

Sāvitryupadeśa :—It will be seen from the passage of the Śat. Br. quoted above (in note 625) that the sacred Gāyatrī verse was imparted in very ancient times to the student by the teacher a year, or six months, 24, 12 or 3 days after upanayana and that the Śat. Br. prescribes that in the case of brāhmaṇa students this must be done immediately. This ancient rule was probably due to the fact that students in those far-off times when they came to the teacher at the age of seven or eight had hardly any previous instruction and so must have found it difficult to pronounce properly and correctly the sacred verse immediately on initiation. It is for this reason that so modern a work as the S. R. M. (p. 194) says that such mantras as 'Śan-no devīrabhiṣṭaye' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) which have to be repeated by the brahmacārī in the rites of upanayana should be taught to him even before upanayana, just as the wife (who being a woman had no upanayana performed) was taught the Vedic mantras accompanying such acts as that of examining ājya in sacrifices.[710] The same rule[711] of postponing the instruction in Gāyatrī is stated in Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 15, Bhār. gṛ. I. 9, Pār. gṛ. II. 3. The general practice however seems to have been to impart the Gāyatrī that very day. According to most of the sūtras the teacher sits to the north of the fire facing the east and in front of him the student sits facing the west and then the student requests the teacher to recite to him the verse sacred to Savitṛ and the teacher imparts to him first one pāda at a time, then two pādas and then the whole. According

710. ब्रह्मचारिकर्तृकक्रियाकरणीभूतमन्त्राणां शं नो देवीरित्येवमादीनामुपनयनात्प्रागेव शिक्षणं कर्तव्यं सूत्रवृत्तिकृद्भ्यस्तज्ज्ञातत्वात्। पत्न्या यथाऽवेक्षणादिमन्त्राणाम्। सं. रत्नमाला p. 194.

711. संवत्सरे सावित्रीमन्वाह त्रिरात्रमन्वक्षं वा। शां. गृ. II. 5; तां खलितमां सावित्रीं संवत्सरादेक आहुर्द्वादशरात्रादेके त्रिरात्रादेके सद्य एके। भारद्वाज गृ. I. 9.

to Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 34-37 the student places on the fire four fuel sticks of the palāśa or other sacrificial tree anointed with clarified butter and repeats mantras to Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and the lord of *vratas* with 'svāhā' when offering[712] them. Various intricate modes occur in the sūtras and the commentaries thereon about how this first instruction in Gāyatrī is to be carried out. The differences are due to the place assigned to the vyāhṛtis[713] (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ). Two illustrations are set out below from Sudarśana[714] on Āp. gṛ. II. 11. The syllable 'om' has been looked upon as very sacred from ancient times and is a symbol of the Supreme Being. The Tai. Br. II. 11 contains a eulogy of 'oṁkāra' and quotes Ṛg. I. 164. 39 in support 'ṛco akṣare parame &c.' taking the word 'akṣara' to mean the 'oṁkāra'. The Tai. Up. I. 8. says '(syllable) om is Brahma; om is all this (universe)'. A brāhmaṇa about to begin the teaching (of the Veda) says 'om' with the idea that he may reach near *brahma*. 'Om' is called *praṇava*. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 6 says 'oṁkāra is the door to

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712. अग्ने व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। वायो व्रतपते आदित्य व्रतपते व्रतानां व्रतपते सावित्रं व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां स्वाहा। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 36-37.

713. The mystic words भूः, भुवः, स्वः are sometimes called महाव्याहृतिs (vide Gobhila gr. II. 10. 40, Manu II. 81). They are also called simply व्याहृतिs; vide तै. उप. I. 5. 1, where महः is said to be the 4th. The number of vyāhṛtis is usually seven, भूः, भुवः, स्वः, महः, जनः, तपः, सत्यं (Vasiṣṭha 25. 9, Vaik. VII. 9). Gautama (1. 52. and 25. 8) speaks of only five, viz भूः, भुवः, स्वः, पुरुषः, सत्यं, while the व्याहृतिसाम has the same five, but पुरुष is last.

714. व्याहृतीर्विहृताः पादादिष्वन्तेषु वा तथर्चर्चयेऽरुत्तमां कृत्स्नायाम्। आप. गृ. 11. 11 ; on which सुदर्शन says 'ओं भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम्। ओं भुवः भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। ओंः सुवः धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं भूस्तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। ओं भुवः धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं सुवः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्।; this is one method; another is to put the vyāhṛtis at the end e. g. ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भूः। ओं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि भुवः। ओं धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् सुवः। ओं तत्सवितुर्व... ... धीमहि भूः। ओं धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् भुवः। ओं तत्सवितु ... यात् सुवः॥ ; compare Bhār. gṛ. I. 9. बौ. गृ. II. 5. 40 is the same as आप. गृ. 11. 11. स्वः is often pronounced as सुवः. ओमिति ब्रह्म। ओमितीदं सर्वम्। ... ओमिति ब्राह्मणः प्रवक्ष्याम्राह ब्रह्मोपाप्नवानीति। ब्रह्मैवाप्नोति। तै. उ. I. 8; योगसूत्र I. 27 declares 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः'. ओंकारः स्वर्गद्वारं तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्येष्यमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्येत। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 6. मेधा० on मनु II. 74 'सर्वदाग्रहण-मध्ययनविधिमात्रधर्मो यथा स्यात्। ... अतो होममन्त्रजपशास्त्रानुवचनयाज्यादीनामारम्भे नास्ति प्रणवोऽन्यत्रापि उदाहरणार्थं वैदिकवाक्यव्याहारे.' In the माण्डूक्योपनिषद् (12) and in गौडपाद's कारिकाs (I. 24-29) ओंकार is identified with the supreme Brahma.

heaven; therefore one who is about to study the Veda, should start his study by first repeating *om*.' Manu (II. 74) prescribes the repetition of praṇava at the beginning and at the end of daily Vedic study and further on (II. 76) says that the three letters 'a', 'u', 'm' (in om) and the three vyāhṛtis were distilled from the three vedas by Prajāpati as the essence. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 74) says that 'om must be uttered at the beginning of the daily Vedic study by the student or by the householder (when performing brahmayajña), but it is not necessary in japa' &c. In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa chap. 42, Vāyu chap. 20, Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti VI. 59–62 and in numerous other places there are hyperbolical or esoteric identifications of the three letters of *om* with Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī and the jīva, with the three Vedas, with the three worlds, with three fires &c. In the Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 15–17 om is said to be the end of all Vedas, the source of the knowledge of *brahma* and also its symbol.

The sacred Gāyatrī verse is Ṛg. III. 62. 10 and occurs in the other Vedas also. It is addressed to Savitṛ (the sun) and may also be interpreted as a prayer to the Source and Inspirer of everything. It literally means 'we contemplate that esteemed (longed for) refulgence (glory) of the divine Savitṛ who may inspire our intellects (or actions)'. Some gṛhya sūtras prescribe the same verse for all students, whether brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas or vaiśyas. But others say that for brāhmaṇa the Sāvitrī verse is the Gāyatrī, but for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, a sāvitrī (verse addressed to Savitṛ) in the *Triṣṭubh* (having 11 syllables in each quarter) or *Jagatī* (12 syllables in each quarter) should be the proper one. Here again there is difference. According to the commentators on the Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 20), the verse 'adabdhebhiḥ savitā' (Kāṭhakam IV. 10) and the verse 'Viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8) are cited as the Sāvitrī for a kṣatriya and a vaiśya respectively; while the commentator on Śāṇ. gṛ. (II. 5. 4–6) says that the Triṣṭubh which is to be taught as the Sāvitrī to the kṣatriya students is 'ā kṛṣṇena rajasā' Ṛg. I. 35. 2) and the Jagatī Sāvitrī for the vaiśya is 'Hiraṇyapāṇiḥ savitā' (Ṛg. I. 35. 9) or 'haṁsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5). According to the Vārāhagṛhya (5) 'devo yāti savitā' and 'yuñjate manaḥ' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1) are the Triṣṭubh and Jagatī meant as Sāvitrī for the kṣatriya and vaiśya respectively. According to Śātātapa quoted in the Madanapārijāta (p. 23) the verse 'Deva savitaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 7. 7. 1, Kāṭhakam XIII. 14) is the sāvitrī for the kṣatriya. According to Medhātithi on Manu II. 38 'ā kṛṣṇena (Ṛg. I. 35. 2) and 'viśvā rūpāṇi' (Kāṭhakam XVI. 8)

are the two Sāvitrīs respectively for kṣatriya and vaiśya. That all these rules about the Sāvitrī being in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī metres for the three varṇas respectively are probably very ancient follows from the text 'gāyatryā brāhmaṇamasṛajata triṣṭubhā rājanyam &c.' (quoted in note 356 above). The Āsv. gṛ., Āp. gṛ., and some other sūtras are entirely silent on the point, while Pār. gṛ. II. 3 allows an option viz. all varṇas may learn the Gāyatrī or the Sāvitrī verses in the Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī respectively.[715] Why the Gāyatrī verse (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) came to be famous it is difficult to say. Its fame was probably due to its grand simplicity and to its adaptability to an idealistic conception of the world as emanating from an all-pervading Intelligence. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 32–33) explains the Gāyatrī in various ways. In the Tai. Ār. (II. 11) it is stated that the mystic words 'bhūḥ. bhuvaḥ, svaḥ' are the truth (essence) of speech and that Savitā in the Gāyatrī means 'one who engenders glory'.[716] Atharvaveda 19. 71. 1 calls it 'vedamātā' and prays that it may confer long life, glory, children, cattle &c. on the singer.[717] The Bṛ. Up. V. 14. 1–6[718] contains a sublime eulogy of Gāyatrī which word is there derived from 'gaya' meaning 'prāṇa', and the root 'trai' (to save) and it is said that when the teacher repeats the Gāyatrī for the benefit of the young student he thereby saves the boy's life (from ignorance and the effects of sin). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 mentions a brāhmaṇa text to the effect that the Sāvitrī is recited for all the Vedas (i. e. by its recital all Vedas become recited as it is their essence). Manu II. 77 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 14) says that each pāda of the Sāvitrī was as if extracted from each of the three Vedas and that (II. 81=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 15) the Sāvitrī together with om and the three mystic syllables (bhūḥ &c.) is the mouth of Vedic lore (since Vedic study starts with it, or 'brahma' may mean 'the Supreme Being'). Manu II. 77–83, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 11–17, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII, Saṁvarta (verses 216–223),

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715. गायत्रीं ब्राह्मणायानुब्रूयाद्राज्ञेयो वै ब्राह्मण इति श्रुतेस्त्रिष्टुभं राजन्यस्य जगतीं वैश्यस्य सर्वेषां वा गायत्रीम्। पार. गृ. II. 3.

716. त्रीनेव प्रायुङ्क्त भूर्भुवः सुवरित्याहैतद्वै वाचः सत्यं यदेव वाचः सत्यं तत्प्रायुङ्क्त। अथ सावित्रीं गायत्रीं त्रिरन्वाह पच्छोऽर्धर्चशोऽनवानं सविता श्रियः प्रसविता। तै. आ. II. 11 (अनवानं means 'without stopping or break').

717. स्तुता मया वरदा वेदमाता प्रचोदयन्तां पावमानी द्विजानाम्। आयुः प्राणं प्रजां पशुं कीर्तिं द्रविणं ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। मह्यं दत्त्वा व्रजत ब्रह्मलोकम्॥ अथर्ववेद 19. 71. 1.

718. सा हैषा गयांस्तत्रे प्राणा वै गयास्तत्प्राणांस्तत्रे तद्यद्गयांस्तत्रे तस्माद्गायत्री नाम स यामेवामूं सावित्रीमन्वाहैषैव सा स यस्मा अन्वाह तस्य प्राणांस्त्रायते। बृ. उ. V. 14. 4.

Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. V (where the mystical significance of each of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī is explained) and numerous[719] other works contain hyperbolical eulogies of Gāyatrī. Parāśara V. 1 calls it 'Vedamātā'. The words 'Āpo jyotī rasomṛtam brahma bhūr-bhuvaḥ svarom' are said to be the *śiras* (head) of the Gāyatrī (vide Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 12). Manu (II. 104) and others prescribe that every day a brahmacārī (as well as others) must perform japa of Gāyatrī. Baud. Dh. S. II 4. 7–9 prescribes that in the evening Saṃdhyā adoration one should murmur the Gāyatrī a thousand times, or a hundred times with prāṇāyāma each time or ten times with 'om' and the seven vyāhṛtis.[720] Vas. Dh. S. 26. 15 prescribes that a man desirous of purifying himself from sin should repeat the divine Gāyatrī 1000 times (daily) as the maximum or 100 times (as the middle way) or at least ten times. There are mantras for invoking the Gāyatrī and for taking leave of it.[721]

Brahmacāri-dharmāḥ:—Certain rules and observances are prescribed for all brahmacārins[722]. They are of two kinds, some are prescribed for a very short time and some have to be observed for all the years of studenthood. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 17[723] says "for three nights, or twelve nights or a year after upanayana

719. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 143–152 for lengthy remarks on several matters connected with the Gāyatrī; on p. 145 there is a *dhyāna* of the 24 letters of the sacred verse. याज्ञ. I. 23 refers to the śiras of Gāyatrī.

720. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 quotes a verse of हारीत 'देवी सहस्रशीर्षा तु शतमध्या दशावरा। जपेदतः सहस्रान्तां शतमध्यां दशावराम्।' and adds तत्तु कार्यापरोधादग्निहोत्रविषयं द्रष्टव्यम्। प्राक् सूर्योदयादुपस्थानाद्युपपत्तेरुत्कर्ष इति कोचित्। न त्वेवं समाचारः।

721. The आवाहनमन्त्र acc. to गोभिल is 'आयाहि वरदे देवि अक्षरे ब्रह्मवादिनि। गायत्रीं छन्दसां मातर्ब्रह्मयोने नमोऽस्तु ते॥' quoted in स्मृतिच० (I. p. 143) and the विसर्जनमन्त्र is 'उत्तरे शिखरे जाता भूम्यां पर्वतवासिनि। ब्रह्मणा समनुज्ञाते गच्छ देवि यथासुखम्' quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 241. The स्मृतिच० (I. p. 151) quotes from गोभिल 'महेश्वरमुखोत्पन्ना विष्णोर्हृदयसंभवा। ब्रह्मणा ... यथेच्छया' and also 'उत्तमे शिखरे जाते &c.' These are recited in the modern *Saṃdhyā* also.

722. अध एवासीताधः शयीताधस्तिष्ठेदधो व्रजेत्। गोपथ 2. 4.

723. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाशी ब्रह्मचार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17; त्र्यहमेतमाग्निं धारयन्ति क्षारलवणवर्जमधःशय्या च। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 55; त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणदुग्धमिति वर्जयेत्। खादिर गृ. II. 4. 33. There is great divergence of views on the meaning of क्षारलवण. According to Nārāyaṇa on आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 10 क्षार means certain cereals 'हैडिम्बका राजमाषा माषा मुद्गा मसूरिकाः। लङ्क्याढक्याश्च निष्पावास्तिलाश्चाः क्षारसंज्ञिताः।'; मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 8. 1 explains 'गुडादिरिक्षुविकारः क्षारः'; मेधा० on मनु V. 72 explains that क्षार means such salts as यवक्षार and लवण means सैन्धव. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 12 explains 'यद् भक्ष्यमाणं पश्यतो लालोत्पद्यते तत् क्षारं गुडलिकुचादि.' कुल्लूक on मनु V. 72 explains क्षारलवण as 'manufactured salt'.

the brahmacārī should not eat 'kṣāra' and 'lavaṇa' and should sleep on the ground". The same rule is stated by Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 55 (adding the maintenance of the fire kindled at the upanayana for three days), Bhār. gṛ. I. 10, Pār. gṛ. II. 5, Khādira gṛ. II. 4. 33 (adding avoidance of milk also for three days). Hir. gṛ. (I. 8. 2) specially prescribes for the first three days the avoidance of kṣāra, of lavaṇa and vegetables, and the duty of sleeping on the ground, of not drinking out of an earthen vessel, of not giving the remnants of his food to śūdras and several other observances which he has to continue throughout the period of student-hood. These latter are briefly indicated in Manu II. 108 and 176 viz. offering *samidhs* into fire, begging for food, not using a cot, working for the teacher, daily bath, *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and pitṛs &c.

The observances that last throughout the period of student-hood are first seen in the passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above in note 625). The same are laid down in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 2 (quoted on p. 283 above), Pār. gṛ. II. 3, Āp. Mantrapāṭha (II. 6. 14), Kāṭhaka gṛ. (41. 17) and other texts. These are principally ācamana, guruśuśrūṣā, vāksaṃyama (silence), samidādhāna. When the teacher says in the upanayana 'drink water, do work &c', the student is to reply with the word 'yes' ('bāḍham' or om). But the sūtras and smṛtis lay down many rules about these and other observances; vide Gaut. II. 10–40, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 6. 8, Gobhila gṛ. III. 1.27, Khādira gṛ. II. 5. 10–16, Hir. gṛ. 8.1–7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 11–I. 2. 7. 30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2, Manu II. 49–249, Yāj. I. 16–32 &c. The rules centre principally round agnipāricaryā (worshipping fire), bhikṣā (begging for food), saṃdhyopāsana, study of Veda and its methods and duration, avoidance of certain foods and drinks and other matters like singing &c., guruśuśrūṣā (including honouring him and his family and other elders), and the special *vratas* of the brahmacārī. These principal topics will be dealt with in some detail now. Before doing so some other matters will have to be briefly disposed off.

On the 4th day after upanayana a rite was performed called Medhājanana[724] (generation of intelligence) by virtue of which

724. Compare मेधाजनन in जातकर्म above (on p. 233). 'वेदग्रहणसामर्थ्ययुक्ता मेधानुजायते। येन तन्मेधाजननकर्मोपदिशति स्वयम्॥' संग्रह quoted in सं. प्र. p. 446. Three directions viz. south, south-east and south-west are objectionable (निन्दित); the rest are unobjectionable. शौनक (quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 445) 'स्वबासापेक्षयाग्नेयीं दिशं याम्यां च नैर्ऋतीम्। वर्जयित्वा दिशोऽतिन्द्यास्तिस्रोऽन्यस्यां दिशि स्थितम्॥

it was supposed that the student's intellect was made capable of mastering Vedic lore. Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 18–19 deals with this. The teacher makes the student sprinkle water in an unobjectionable direction thrice from the left to the right with a pot of water round about a palāśa tree that has one root, or round a bunch of kuśa grass if there is no palāśa, and makes him repeat the mantra 'Oh glorious one, thou art glorious. As thou, glorious one, are glorious, thus, glorious one, make me full of glory. As thou art the preserver of the treasure of sacrifice for the gods, thus may I become the preserver of the treasure of Veda among men'[725]. The Bhār. gṛ. (I. 10) also prescribes this rite on the fourth day after upanayana and says that a palāśa tree with one root is to be anointed with *ājya* and the mantra 'suśravaḥ' (the same as in Āśv.) is to be muttered. Kāṭhaka gṛ. 41. 18, Mānava gṛ. I. 22. 17 also refer to this. The Śaṁ. Pr. (pp. 444–446) gives a more elaborate description. In addition to what is stated in Āśv. gṛ. it quotes from Śaunaka and adds a few more details, viz. the student deposits at the root of the palāśa his garments already worn, the staff and the girdle and then wears new ones and then when the boy returns to the house, a stream of water is poured before him. The teacher takes the garments &c. left by the boy. The Āp. gṛ. 11. 24 says that on the fourth day the teacher takes the garments worn on the day of upanayana by the student and the boy wears new ones. Sudarśana on Āp. 11. 24 speaks of palāśa-karma on the fourth day. The boy goes out with his ācārya to the east or north and three sthaṇḍilas are prepared to the north or east of a palāśa tree and on these three praṇava (om), śraddhā and medhā are invoked, are worshipped with unguents, flowers, lamp &c. (as in the regular worship of an image), then the praṇava is worshipped with the formula 'yaś-chandasām' to 'śrutam me gopāya' (Tai. Up. I. 4. 1), śraddhā with the hymn 'śraddhayāgniḥ' Ṛg. X. 151 and Medhā with the anuvāka 'Medhā devī' (Tai. Ār. X. 39). Then the staff is deposited at the foot of the palāśa, another staff is taken and the student returns to the house with the ācārya. In modern times in the Deccan a similar ceremony is gone through under the (Marāṭhi) name 'Paḷasulā'.

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725. सुश्रवाः has two meanings (1) 'glorious,' (2) 'who hears well' (i. e. who learns the Veda well by hearing it from the teacher). This occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 5. 1 also (but in आप. गृ. XI. 14 it is the मन्त्र for taking the staff).

We have seen above that the student has to offer *samidh* (fuel stick) into the fire on the day of upanayana. The fire kindled at the time of upanayana was to be kept up for three days and the fuel-sticks were offered in that fire during those days. Afterwards *samidh* was to be offered in the ordinary fire (vide Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 55–57, Āp. gṛ. 11. 22). The student is required to offer every day after upanayana a samidh into fire in the evening and in the morning. Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 6 prescribes this and the commentator Nārāyaṇa adds that in so doing he has to observe the procedure prescribed in Āśv. gṛ. I. 20. 10–I. 21. 4 for the putting on of samidh on the first day. Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 10, Manu II. 186, Yāj. I. 25 and almost all others prescribe the offering of samidh into fire in the evening as well as in the morning; but Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 17 notes that according to some 'agnipūjā' was to be performed in the evening only. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 1. 4. 14–20) lays down the following rules: 'the student[726] should always bring fuel from the forest and heap it on a low place (otherwise if placed high it may fall on anybody's head), one should not go out after sunset for bringing fuel-sticks. Having kindled fire, having swept round it he should offer fuel-sticks in the evening and the morning as already directed (in the gṛhyasūtra). One should sweep round the fire that is burning red-hot with the hand and not with a broom (of kuśa grass).' The Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 12 further prescribes that no fuel is to be placed on fire (in śrauta and smārta rites) unless water has been sprinkled over it. The student had not only to offer samidhs on his own account into the fire, but he had to help his ācārya in the latter's worship of fire by bringing fuel and by offering oblations for his ācārya when the latter was away on a journey or was ill. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 1 says[727] 'beginning from marriage a householder should worship gṛhya fire himself or his wife or son or maiden daughter or pupil may do so.' The Chāndogya Up. IV. 10 contains the story of Upakosala Kāmalāyana who was a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and looked after his teacher's fires for twelve years and whom Satyakāma did not teach anything, though the wife of Satyakāma interceded on behalf of the dejected pupil.

726. सदारण्यादेधानाहृत्याधो निदध्यात्। नास्तमिते समिद्धारो गच्छेत्। अग्निमिद्ध्वा परिसमूह्य समिध आदध्यात्सायं प्रातर्यथोपदेशम्। सायमेवाग्निपूजेत्येके। समिद्धमग्निं पाणिना परिसमूहेच्च समूहन्या। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 14–18; नाप्रेक्षितमिन्धनमग्नावादध्यात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 12.

727. पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1.; vide also शां. गृ. II. 17. 3 to the same effect. The various kinds of fires will be discussed later on under 'marriage.'

A few words about samidhs may be said here. The samidh[728] must be of palāśa or some other yajñiya tree (used in sacrifices). Such trees are palāśa, aśvattha, nyagrodha, plakṣa, vaikaṅkata, udumbara, bilva, candana, sarala, śāla, devadāru and khadira. The Vāyupurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 51) says that palāśa samidhs should be preferred, in their absence samidhs of khadira, in the absence of the first two, of śamī, rohitaka and aśvattha and in the absence of all these of arka and vetasa. The Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana (II. 82-84) has several rules on this point. The principal trees for fuelsticks (samidh) are palāśa and khadira, but samidhs of kovidāra, bibhītaka, kapittha, karabha, rājavṛkṣa, śakadruma, nīpa, nimba, karañja, tilaka, śleṣmātaka or śālmali are not to be employed. The samidh was not to be thicker than the thumb, was to have its bark on it, was not to be worm-eaten nor divided, nor longer nor shorter than the span (prādeśa) nor having two branches, it was to be without leaves and was to be strong.[729] According to Hārīta 'when death wanted to seize the brahmacārī formerly, Agni saved him from death and so a brahmacārī should serve fire'.[730]

The number of samidhs varied as shown above and not only in the worship of Agni by the brahmacārī, but also elsewhere.

Bhikṣā:—The Āśv. gṛ. after prescribing begging for food states (I. 22. 7-8) that the student should first beg of a man who would not refuse or of a woman who would not refuse and that in begging he should say 'sir, give food'. More detailed rules are laid down by others.

The Hir. gṛ. (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 157) says "after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (for collecting

728. पलाशाश्वत्थन्यग्रोधप्लक्षवैकङ्कतोद्भवाः । अश्वत्थोदुम्बरौ बिल्वश्चन्दनः सरलस्तथा । शालश्च देवदारुश्च खादिरश्चेति यज्ञियाः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 61, where अश्वत्थन्यग्रोध is said to mean अश्वत्थसंपृक्तो वटः; the same verses are quoted in हेमाद्रि, व्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 76 as शमीपलाशन्यग्रोध०; compare या. I. 302 for the nine समिध्s for the nine grahas. याज्ञ. I. 302 is the same as मत्स्यपुराण 93. 27. Vide वायुपुराण vol. II 13. 70-72 for similar verses.

729. नाङ्गुष्ठादधिका कार्या समिरस्थूलतया क्वचित् । न विपुक्ता त्वचा चैव न सकीटा न पाटिता । प्रादेशान्नाधिका नोना तथा न स्याद्विशाखिका । न सपर्णा न निर्वार्या होमेषु च विजानता ॥' quoted by अपरार्क p. 51 and स्मृतिच० (I. p. 33) as कात्यायन's (= गोभिलस्मृति I. 114-115).

730. पुरा जग्राह वै मृत्युर्हिंसयन् ब्रह्मचारिणम् । अग्निस्तं मोक्षयामास तस्मात्परिचरेद्धि तम् ॥ ब्रह्मचारी यदा त्वग्रादादध्यात्समिधो नहि । गृह्णीयात्तं तदा मृत्युरादध्यात् समिधस्ततः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 33.

alms) and says to him 'go out for alms'. Let him beg of his mother first, then in other families which are generously disposed; he brings the food to his *guru* and announces it to him with the words '(these are) the alms' and then the teacher accepts with the words 'these are good alms'." The Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 47–53 gives the same rules and adds[731] that a brāhmaṇa student should beg with the words 'bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi' (lady, give me food), a kṣatriya with the words 'bhikṣām bhavati dehi' and a vaiśya with the words 'dehi bhikṣām bhavati.' Pār. gṛ. II. 5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 28–30, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 17, Manu II. 49, Yāj. I. 30 and others contain the same rules about addressing the ladies for alms.[732] Pār. gṛ. II. 5 says that the student should first beg of three women who would not refuse or of six, of twelve or of an unlimited number and that according to some he should first beg of his mother. Manu II. 50 says that he should first beg of his mother, sister or mother's sister. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26 says that if women refuse to give alms to a devout brahmacārī he snatches away or destroys their merit arising from sacrifices, gifts and burnt offerings, progeny, cattle, spiritual glory (of their families) and food and quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage 'therefore indeed one should not refuse to give food to a crowd of students moving about (for alms) for fear that among them there may be some one who is like this (a devout student), and who has carried out all the observances for students.' If a brahmacārī cannot get food elsewhere he may beg from his own family, from his elders (like maternal uncles), his relatives and lastly from his ācārya himself. As to the persons[733] from whom to beg for food, one sees how the growing strictness of caste rules about food during the lapse of centuries affected the brahmacārī. Āp. Dh. S.[734] I. 1. 3. 25 prescribes that

731. अथास्मै अरिक्तं पात्रं प्रयच्छन्नाह। मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षस्वेति। स मातरमेवाग्रे भिक्षेत। भवति भिक्षां देहीति ब्राह्मणो भिक्षेत। भिक्षां भवति देहीति राजन्यः। देहि भिक्षां भवतीति वैश्यः। तत्समाहृत्याचार्याय प्राह भैक्षमिदमिति। तत्सु भैक्षमितीतरः प्रतिगृह्णाति। बौ. गृ. II. 5. 47–53.

732. Vide ज्ञा. गृ. II. 6. 5–8, गोभिलगृ. II. 10. 42–44, खादिरगृ. II. 4. 28–31 for similar rules.

733. गौतम II. 43–44 'आचार्यज्ञातिगुरुस्वेष्वलाभेऽन्यत्र। तेषां पूर्वे पूर्वे परिहरेत्।'; मनु II. 184 has the same rule.

734. सर्वे लाभमाहरन्गुरवे सायंप्रातरमत्रेण भिक्षाचर्यं चरेद्भिक्षमाणोऽन्यत्रापपात्रेभ्योऽभिशस्ताच्च। आप. ध. I. 1. 3. 25; सार्ववर्णिकमैक्षचरणमभिशस्तपतितवर्जम्। गौ. II. 41. अपपात्र is variously explained; on आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 6 'न पतितैः संव्यवहारो विद्यते तथापपात्रैः' हरदत्त explains as चाण्डालादयः (with whom no social inter-

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he could beg food from anybody except *apapātras* (persons like cāṇḍālas) and abhiśastas (i. e. those who are guilty of or suspected of grave sins). Gaut. II. 41 expressly says that a brahmacārī may beg food from all the varṇas except from those who are *abhiśasta* and *patita*. Manu (II. 183 and 185) says a brahmacārī should beg for food at the houses of those who study the Veda and perform sacrifices, who are devoted to their duties and are virtuous in their conduct; if from such persons food cannot be had he may go about the whole village, but should avoid those who are *abhiśasta*. Yāj. I. 29 says 'for his own maintenance a brahmacārī should beg food from brāhmaṇas who are blameless' and the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa says that the best way is to beg at brāhmaṇa houses, the next best is to beg of kṣatriya and vaiśya houses and to beg of śūdras is allowed only in *āpad* (time of distress or difficulty). Auśanasa (Jiv. ed I. p. 505) says that a brahmacārī should beg only from houses of his own caste (as the best way probably) or he may beg at the houses of all varṇas, while Aṅgiras quoted in the Par. M. (I. 2, p. 41) says that even in a season of distress a brahmacārī should not beg for cooked food from śūdras. The Madanapārijāta p. 33 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that a brahmacārī may beg food from anybody except a śūdra.

Food obtained by begging was supposed to be pure as said by Manu II. 189, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 56 and Yāj. I. 187. It was further said that a brahmacārī who subsists on food obtained by begging is like one observing a fast (Manu II. 183 and Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 130). The brahmacārī was to eat food collected from several houses and was not to take food at a single person's house, except that when he was requested to dinner in honour of gods or the Manes he might do so by partak-

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course was possible), while on आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 25 he explains अपपात्र as प्रतिलोमाः रजकादयः'. The word literally means those who cannot be allowed to use the vessels out of which members of other castes are to take food (i. e. those vessels when used by them have to be broken or thrown away). अपरार्क p. 720 explains अपपात्र as पतितत्वात् ज्ञातिभिर्बहिष्कृतः (i. e. one who has lost caste through the commission of some mortal sin). According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 7-9 an abhiśasta is one that kills any brāhmaṇa or kills a brāhmaṇa woman who is Ātreyī. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 'ābhiśastya' is one of the grave sins and is explained by हरदत्त as ब्रह्महत्या, but हरदत्त explains अभिशस्ताः as उपपातकिनः on गौ. II. 41.

ing of such food at such dinners as would not violate his vows. Vide Manu II. 188–189 and Yāj. I. 32.

Corresponding to the duty of the student to beg was the obligation cast on householders to serve food according to their ability to *brahmacārins* and *yatis* (ascetics). Gautama V. 16 prescribes that after performing the daily yajñas to gods (vaiśvadeva) and offering *bali* to bhūtas, the householder should offer alms (of food) preceded by the word 'svasti' and by water. Manu III. 94, Yāj. I. 108 and others say that alms should be given to ascetics and brahmacārins with honour and welcome. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 108 says that alms should be ordinarily one morsel of food as large as the egg of a pea-hen and quotes a verse of Śātātapa[735] saying that 'bhikṣā is as much as one morsel, that *puṣkala* is equal to four morsels, hanta is equal to four puṣkalas and agra is equal to three *hantas*.'

The idea that a brahmacārī must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained in ancient times that the Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 54 and Manu II. 187 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribe that if for seven days continuously a brahmacārī who was not ill failed to offer fuel-sticks and to beg for food he violated his vow and had to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a brahmacārī having sexual intercourse.[736] Even in modern times many brāhmaṇa students (not only those who study the Veda from orthodox teachers but even those learning English) begged for their daily food and by dint of hard discipline, patient industry and integrity rose to high positions in public life. However the practice of poor begging students attending English schools in this way is dying out, since English education does not now ensure for the poor brāhmaṇa students even a bare maintenance.

Other important rules about the begging of food are that the student should not beg for his sake alone, should announce

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735. भिक्षा च ग्रासंमिता। ग्रासश्च मयूराण्डपरिमाणः। ग्रासमात्रा भवेद्भिक्षा पुष्कलं तच्चतुर्गुणम्। हन्तस्तु तैश्चतुर्भिः स्यादग्रं तत् त्रिगुणं भवेत्॥ इति शातातपस्मरणात्। मिता० on याज्ञ I. 108. अपरार्क p. 153 quotes a verse from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण where अग्र and हन्त are defined differently 'ग्रासप्रमाणा भिक्षा स्यादग्रं ग्रासचतुष्टयम्। अग्रं चतुर्गुणं तत्तु हन्तकारं विदुर्बुधाः। भोजनं हन्तकारं वा अग्रं भिक्षामथापि वा। अदत्त्वा तु न भोक्तव्यं यथाविभवमात्मनः॥'. लघुशातातप 57 is very similar to the verse quoted by the मिता०

736. भैक्षस्याचरणे दोषः पावकस्यासमिन्धने। सप्तरात्रमकृत्वैतदृक्कीर्णिव्रतं चरेत्॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 54. Manu (XI. 118–123) explains who is avakīrṇin and states the penance for him.

to the teacher all that he has brought and eat only that which the teacher directs him to take; if the teacher is gone on a journey then he should announce it to the teacher's family (wife, son); if even these are absent, then to other learned brāhmaṇas and eat with their permission. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 31–35, Manu II. 51. He should leave no residue in his dish and wash it after taking his meal therein. If he is not able to eat the whole that he has brought he should bury it underground or consign it to water or place that which is more than he can eat near an *ārya* or give it to a śūdra who works for his teacher (Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 37–41). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 3. 43–44) says that alms are held to be equal to sacrificial food, the teacher holds the place of the deity and of the āhavanīya fire.[737]

Other miscellaneous acts that the students had to do were bringing[738] water for the ācārya in pots, collecting flowers, cowdung, earth, kuśa grass &c. (vide Manu II. 182).

Saṁdhyā :—On the day of upanayana there is no morning *saṁdhyā*. Jaimini[739] says 'as long as there is no imparting of the Gāyatrī there is no saṁdhyā.' So the student begins his saṁdhyā in the noon of the day of upanayana. As however on that day he knows no Vedic text except the Gāyatrī, his whole saṁdhyā worship consists of the Gāyatrī.

The word 'saṁdhyā' literally means 'twilight', but also indicates the action of prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight. This act is generally styled 'saṁdhyopāsana' or 'saṁdhyāvandana' or simply 'saṁdhyā.'[740] This act of adoration is sometimes prescribed as necessary thrice a day viz. at day-break, in the noon and at sun-set e.g. Atri[741] says 'a twice-born person possessed of the knowledge of the Self should perform three saṁdhyā adorations.' These are respectively named Gāyatrī (morning one), Sāvitrī (noon) and Sarasvatī

737. मनु II. 231 also calls the guru āhavanīya fire.

738. आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 4. 13 सायं प्रातरुदकुम्भमाहरेत्।

739. यावद् ब्रह्मोपदेशो न तावत्संध्यादिकं न च । ततो मध्याह्नसंध्यादि सर्वं कर्म समाचरेत् ॥ जैमिनि quoted by सं. प्र. p. 439.

740. विश्वरूप on या. I. 25 says 'संध्येति चोपस्थानकर्मणो नामधेयं कालस्य चाभ्यतः प्राप्तत्वात्' and the मिता. (on the same verse) says 'अहोरात्रयोः संधौ या क्रिया विधीयते सा संध्या'. मेधा. on मनु II. 101 says 'न सर्वं तमः क्षीणं नापि परिपूर्णः प्रकाश एषा संध्या।' and on IV.94 'सहचरिते जपादिविधौ संध्याशब्दो वर्तते।'.

741. संध्यात्रयं तु कर्तव्यं द्विजेनात्मविदा सदा । उभे संध्ये च कर्तव्ये ब्राह्मणैश्च गृहेष्वपि ॥ अत्रि quoted by अपरार्क p.49; पूर्वा संध्या तु गायत्री सावित्री मध्यमा स्मृता । या भवेत्पश्चिमा संध्या सा विज्ञेया सरस्वती ॥ योगया. (in अपरार्क p.49). Aparārka says that मध्याह्नसंध्या should not be performed in the house.

(evening one) by Yoga-yājñavalkya. Generally however the saṁdhyā prayer is prescribed twice (Āśv. gṛ. III. 7, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 17, Manu II. 101, Yāj. I. 24–25 &c).

All prescribe that the morning[742] prayer is to be begun before sunrise and should be carried on till the disc of the sun is seen on the horizon and the evening prayer begins when the disc of the sun is about to set and goes on up to the appearance of stars. This is the most proper time; but a secondary time was allowed up to three *ghaṭikās* after sunrise and sun-set. The duration of the prayer each time was to be one muhūrta (i. e. two ghaṭikās, according to Yoga-yājñavalkya) whatever the length of the day may be.[743] Manu (IV. 93–94) however recommends the prayer to extend as long as one could afford, since the ancient sages secured long life, intelligence, glory, fame and spiritual eminence by long saṁdhyā prayers.[744]

According to most writers *japa* of Gāyatrī and other sacred mantras is the principal thing in saṁdhyā and other things such as mārjana are merely subsidiary, but Medhātithi on Manu II. 101 (where the words are 'japan̄stiṣṭhet' and not 'tiṣṭhan japet') says that japa is subsidiary or secondary and the place of the prayer and the posture of the praying person are the principal items. When it is said 'one should perform the saṁdhyā' what is meant is that one should contemplate the deity called Āditya represented by the orb of the sun and should also contemplate on the fact that the same Intelligence dwells in his heart. The proper place for saṁdhyā prayer is outside the village (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8, Gaut. II. 16, Mānava gṛ. I. 2. 2), in a lonely place (Śāṅ. gṛ. II 9. 1 'araṇye') or on a river or other sacred spot (Baud. gṛ. II. 4. 1). But this does not apply to the agnihotrin,[745] who has to perform vedic rites and repeat homa

742. सिष्टेःपूर्वामासीतोत्तरां सज्योतिष्या ज्योतिषो दर्शनाद्वाग्यतः। गौ. II. 17; सायमुत्तरापराभिमुखोऽन्वष्टमदेशं सावित्रीं जपेदर्धास्तमिते मण्डल आ नक्षत्रदर्शनात्। एवं प्रातः। प्राङ्मुखस्तिष्ठन्ना मण्डलदर्शनात्। आश्व. गृ. III. 7. 4–6; vide also मनु II. 101.

743. ह्रासवृद्धी तु सततं दिवसानां यथाक्रमम्। संध्या मुहूर्तमात्रं तु ह्रासे वृद्धौ तु सा स्मृता॥ योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 49 (on या. I. 25) and by कुल्लूक on मनु II. 101.

744. ऋषयो दीर्घसंध्यत्वाद्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयुः। प्रज्ञां यशश्च कीर्तिं च ब्रह्मवर्चसमेव च॥ मनु IV. 94. This is the same as अनुशासनपर्व 104. 18 (नित्यसंध्य० for दीर्घसंध्य०) and शङ्खस्मृति X. 20.

745. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 101 and हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 8 about अग्निहोत्रिन्. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 136 quotes Vyāsa 'ते तथैव महाराज दंशिता रणमूर्धनि। संध्यागतं सहस्रांशुमादित्यमुपतस्थिरे' to show that warriors, when engaged in battle, performed only the *upasthāna* and omitted all else.

mantras at sun-rise and who therefore may perform saṁdhyā adoration in his house. Vasiṣṭha quoted by Aparārka says that saṁdhyā performed in a cowpen or on a river or near the shrine of Viṣṇu (or other deity) respectively is ten times, 100000 of times or numberless times better than saṁdhyāvandana in the house.[746] All prescribe that the morning saṁdhyā is to be performed standing and the evening one in a sitting posture (Āśv. gṛ. III. 7. 6, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 9. 1 and 3, Manu II. 102) and the morning saṁdhyā is to be performed facing the east and the evening one facing the northwest (Āśv. gṛ. III. 7. 4, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 9. 1). He is to bathe, to sit in a pure spot on a seat of kuśa grass, should have the sacred cord in the usual position and restrain his speech (i. e. should be silent and not talk in the midst of saṁdhyā).

The principal constituents of saṁdhyopāsana are these: ācamanas (sipping of water), prāṇāyāma, mārjana thrice (sprinkling himself with water to the accompaniment of several mantras), aghamarṣaṇa, offering of water to the sun (arghya), japa of Gāyatrī, and upasthāna (reciting mantras by way of worship of the sun in the morning and generally of Varuṇa in the evening). Among the earliest references to Saṁdhyopāsana is the one in the Tai. Ār. II. 2,[747] where it is said that when brahmavādins facing the east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī, the evil spirits that fight with the sun are sent tumbling into the country (called) Mandeha Aruṇa (of the evil spirits). This shows that in ancient times saṁdhyā consisted principally of offering water (arghya) to the sun in worship and *japa* of Gāyatrī. Āśv. gṛ. III. 7. 3-6, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 9. 1–3 and others refer only to the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra in

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746. गृहे त्वेकगुणा संध्या गोष्ठे दशगुणा स्मृता। शतसाहस्रिका नद्यामनन्ता विष्णुसंनिधौ ॥ वसिष्ठ quoted in अपरार्क p. 50, while गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 224 quotes शातातप 'गृहेषु प्राकृती संध्या गोष्ठे शतगुणा भवेत्। नदीषु शतसाहस्री अनन्ता शिवसंनिधौ ॥' (प्राकृती एकगुणफलका).

747. तानि ह वा एतानि रक्षांसि गायत्रियाभिमन्त्रितेनाम्भसा शाम्यन्ति तद्ध ह वा एते ब्रह्मवादिनः पूर्वाभिमुखाः संध्यायां गायत्रियाभिमन्त्रिता अप ऊर्ध्वं विक्षिपन्ति ता एता आपो वज्रीभूत्वा तानि रक्षांसि मन्देहारुणे द्वीपे प्रक्षिपन्ति। तै. आ. II. 2 . The स्मृतिच० I. p. 134 quotes some verses from योगयाज्ञवल्क्य (which are almost the same as वायुपुराण vol. I. 50. 163-65) 'त्रिंशत्कोट्यस्तु विख्याता मन्देहा नाम राक्षसाः। प्राद्रवन्ति सहस्रांशुमुदयन्तं दिने दिने ॥ अहन्यहनि ते सर्वे सूर्यमिच्छन्ति खादितुम्। अतः सूर्यस्य तेषां तु युद्धमासीत्सुदारुणम् ॥ ततो देवगणाः सर्वे ऋषयश्च तपोधनाः। संध्यां तु समुपासीना यक्षिपन्ति महज्जलम्। ब्रह्मण्याहुतिसंयुक्तं गायत्र्या चाभिमन्त्रितम्। तेन वध्नन्ति ते दैत्या वज्रभूतेन वारिणा ॥'. Similar verses occur in लघुहारीत IV (Jiv. part I. p. 183), बृहत्पराशर p. 64, वृद्धगौतम p. 560.

Saṁdhyopāsana. Mānava gṛ. (I. 2. 1-5) refers only to the *arghya* offering to the sun and *japa* of Gāyatrī. It is in the Baud. Dh. S. II. 4 that we find an elaboration of saṁdhyopāsana into various components such as ācamana, mārjana, japa of Gāyatrī and upasthāna (worship) of Mitra and Varuṇa (respectively in the morning and evening with only two verses in each case).[748] Modern writers went on adding details e. g. it is now the practice in the Deccan to repeat the 24 names of Viṣṇu at the very beginning of the saṁdhyopāsana, but this is hardly anywhere prescribed by any smṛti or early commentator. Similarly elaborate rules are laid down about mystic *nyāsas* with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (vide Aparārka p. 140), of the nyāsa of the Nārāyaṇamantra of 25 letters on 25 parts of the body (Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16-19) and of the letters of the Gāyatrī Bṛhatparāśara chap. V. p. 83). In modern times ācamana is performed with the three names of Viṣṇu, viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa and Mādhava in the form 'om Keśavāya namaḥ.' The 24 names are given below.[748a]

A few words on each of the principal components of *saṁdhyā* may be said here. Elaborate rules about ācamana are laid down in several smṛtis; vide Gaut. I. 35-40, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2-11 and 16. 1-16, Manu II. 58-62, Yāj. I. 18-21. Such rules must have been elaborated from very ancient times. The Tai. Br. (I. 5. 10) prescribes that one should not perform ācamana with water that is in a cleft of the earth. Āp. Dh. S. (1. 5. 15. 5) says the same thing.[749] One should perform

748. वारुणीभ्यां रात्रिसुपतिष्ठते। इमं मे वरुण तत्त्वायामीति द्वाभ्याम्। एवमेव प्रातः प्राङ्मुखस्तिष्ठन्॥ मैत्रीभ्यामहरुपतिष्ठते मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो मित्रो जनान्यातयतीति द्वाभ्याम्। बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 11-14. The verses इमं मे वरुण and तत्त्वा यामि are respectively Ṛg. I. 25. 19 and I. 24. 11; and मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो and मित्रो जनान् are respectively Ṛg. III. 59. 6 and 1. Gobhila-smṛti II. 11-12 prescribes the two verses 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1 and in other Vedas also) and 'citram devānām' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1 and in other Vedas also) as the upasthāna in both saṁdhyās. In modern times the usages vary, many recite the whole of Ṛg. III. 59 in the morning adoration and Ṛg. I. 25. 1-10 (addressed to Varuṇa) in the evening. The Sm. C. (I. p. 139) says that the worship of the Sun should be done by the mantras from that śākhā of the Veda to which one belongs.

748a. केशव, नारायण, माधव, गोविन्द, विष्णु, मधुसूदन, त्रिविक्रम, वामन, श्रीधर, हृषीकेश, पद्मनाभ, दामोदर, संकर्षण, वासुदेव, प्रद्युम्न, अनिरुद्ध, पुरुषोत्तम, अधोक्षज, नारसिंह, अच्युत, जनार्दन, उपेन्द्र, हरि, श्रीकृष्ण. They are enumerated in the अग्निपुराण chap. 48. Vide note 567 for the first twelve names.

749. तस्मात्प्रवृराद्रुदकं नाचामेत्। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 10; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 4-5. न वर्षधारास्वाचामेत्। न प्रवृरोदके।

ācamana in a sitting posture (and not standing nor bent) in a pure spot, facing the north or east, one should sip water thrice with water that is not hot and that is free from foam or bubbles, one should after sipping water wipe the lips twice (thrice according to Āp.) and should touch with the wet right hand one's eyes, ears, nose, heart and head. The water for ācamana should be as much as would penetrate (or reach) to the heart in the case of brāhmaṇas, to the throat in the case of kṣatriyas, to the palate in the case of vaiśyas; women and śūdras should sip on occasions of ācamana only once as much water as would reach the palate. Manu (II. 18) and Yāj. (I. 18) say that water should be sipped by the brāhmatīrtha (i. e. from the root of the thumb).[750] The further elaborate rules laid down in such smṛtis as Gobhila gṛ. (I. 2. 5–6), Śaṅkhasmṛti 10 are not set out here. The occasions for ācamana are many. According to Gobhila[751] gṛ. I. 1. 2 one must do every gṛhya rite with yajñopavīta worn in the usual way and after ācamana. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1 says that ācamana is a subsidiary matter in all religious acts. There are several occasions when the sipping of water twice is necessary, the principal being before and after *bhojana* (meals); vide Gautama I. 40, Vas. 3. 38, Yāj. I. 196, Sm. C. I. p. 100, Madanapārijāta p. 57, Par. M. I. part 1. pp. 241–243. Both the Bṛ. Up. (VI. 1. 14) and Chān. Up. V. 2. 2 refer to the practice of sipping water before and after bhojana and the Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 18 is based on these upaniṣad passages and says that water is looked upon as the garment of prāṇa.[752] Numerous occasions when ācamana is necessary are stated in Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 15–16, Manu V. 138 and 145, Yāj. I. 196, Kūrmapurāṇa I. 2. 13. 1–8 &c.

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750. The roots of the smallest finger, the index finger and of the thumb and the tips of the fingers of the hand are respectively called the प्राजापत्य (or काय), पित्र्य, ब्राह्म and दैव तीर्थs. Vide Yāj. 1. 19. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1–4, Vas. Dh. S. III. 64–68, Baud. Dh. I. 5. 14–18. As everywhere, there are differences here also. Vas. holds that pitrya is between the forefinger and the thumb, and that mānuṣa tīrtha is at the tips of the fingers. Others say that the roots of the four fingers constitute ārṣa tīrtha (Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 18).—Vaik I. 5. and Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa mention five *tīrthas* (the 5th being in the palm is called āgneya). Āgneya is also styled Saumya by others.

751. यज्ञोपवीतिना आचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम् । गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 2.

752. तद्विदांसः श्रोत्रिया अशिष्यन्त आचामन्त्यशित्वा चाचामन्ति एतमेव तदन्नमनन्नं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते । बृह. उप. VI. 1. 14; तस्माद्वा एतदृशिष्यन्तः पुरस्ताच्चोपरिष्टाच्चाग्निः परिधत्ते लग्नुको ह वासो भवत्यनग्नो ह भवति । छान्दोग्य V. 2. 2.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath) is defined by the Yoga-sūtra[753] (II. 49) as the regulation of inhalation and exhalation of air. Gaut. I. 50 prescribes three prāṇāyāmas, each of which lasts for 15 mātrās (moras). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 30 (= Vas. Dh. S. 25. 13 = Śaṅkhasmṛti VII. 14) and Yāj. I. 23 say that the *śiras* of Gāyatrī, the three vyāhṛtis each preceded by 'om' and the Gāyatrī verse are to be rehearsed mentally during the time of prāṇāyāma. According to Yoga-yājñavalkya, one should first revolve in the mind the seven vyāhṛtis, each preceded by 'om,' then the Gāyatrī and then the śiras of Gāyatrī.[754] Prāṇāyāma has three components, pūraka (inhaling the outside air), kumbhaka (keeping in the inhaled air i. e. neither taking in air nor giving it out) and recaka (exhaling air from the lungs). Manu VI. 70-71 highly praises the utility of prāṇāyāma in purifying the mind of sin.

Mārjana is performed by means of kuśa grass dipped in water kept in a vessel of copper or udumbara wood or earthenware and while doing so one is to repeat 'om,' the vyāhṛtis, Gāyatrī and the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3). Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 2 adds more Vedic mantras for mārjana.[755] Mānava gṛ. I. 1. 24, Yāj. I. 22 and others prescribe mārjana only with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3).

Aghamarṣaṇa (driving out sin) consists in taking water in the right hand formed in the shape of a cow's ear, holding it near one's nose, breathing out from the nose on the water (with the idea of driving away sin from oneself) to the accompaniment of the three verses 'ṛtam ca' (Ṛg. X. 190. 1-3) and then casting the water away to one's left on the ground.

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753. तस्मिन्सति (आसनजये सति) श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः। योगसूत्र II. 49.

754. भूर्भुवःस्वर्महर्जनस्तपः सत्यं तथैव च। प्रत्येंकारसमायुक्तस्तथा तत्सवितुर्वरम्। ओमापोज्योतिरित्येव शिरः पश्चात्प्रयोजयेत्। त्रिरावर्तनयोगात्तु प्राणायामस्तु शब्दितः। योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 141.

755. सुरभिमत्या अब्लिङ्गाभिर्वारुणीभिर्हिरण्यवर्णाभिः पावमानीभिर्याहितिभिरन्यैश्च पवित्रैरात्मानं प्रोक्ष्य प्रयतो भवति। बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 2. सुरभिमती is the verse दधिक्राव्णो &c. (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), अब्लिङ्ग verses are Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3, वारुणी verses are इमं मे वरुण (Ṛg. I. 25. 19), तत्त्वा यामि (Ṛg. I. 24. 11), अव ते हेळो (Ṛg. I. 24. 14) and यत्किंचेदं (Ṛg. VII. 89. 5). पावमान्यः are all verses like स्वादिष्टया मदिष्टया (Ṛg. IX. 1. 1) of the IX maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda or according to some Ṛg. IX. 67. 21-27. शिरसो मार्जनं कुर्यात्कुशैः सोदकबिन्दुभिः। प्रणवो भूर्भुवः स्वश्च सावित्री च तृतीयका। अब्दैवतस्तृचश्चैव चतुर्थ इति मार्जनम्। गोभिलस्मृति. II. 4-5; अब्दैवततृच is ऋग्वेद X. 9. 1-3. The तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 7 has आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव इत्यद्भिर्मार्जयन्ते। आपो वै सर्वा देवताः।

Arghya[756] (offering water out of respect to the sun) consists in taking water in one's joined hands, repeating the Gāyatrī verse over it and standing facing the sun and casting it up thrice. If a man cannot have water (being at the time of Saṁdhyā on a road or in jail &c.) he could use dust for water. The Tai. Ār. II. 2 says that a brāhmaṇa contemplating the rising and setting sun and doing obeisance to it by going from left to right attains all bliss, since this Āditya is *Brahma*.

As to *japa* of Gāyatrī, vide above under Sāvitryupadeśa (p. 304). There is an extensive literature about the greatness of the japa of Gāyatrī and of other holy vedic mantras which are passed over here and for which reference may be made to Aparārka pp. 46–48, Sm. C. I. pp. 143–152, Gṛ. R. pp. 241–250, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 311–316. A few details will be given under āhnika.

As to *upasthāna* vide above (p. 315, note 748). According to Baud. the worship[757] of the sun is done with the verses 'udvayam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 10), 'Udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1), 'citram' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1), 'tac-cakṣur' (Ṛg. VII. 66. 16), 'ya udagāt' (Tai. Ār. IV. 42. 5). Manu II. 103 prescribes that he who does not perform the Saṁdhyopāsana in the morning and evening should be excluded from all actions meant for the benefit or honour of dvijas. Gobhila[758] smṛti II. 1 says the same and adds that *brāhmaṇya* resides in the three saṁdhyās and that he who has no concern for saṁdhyopāsana is not a brāhmaṇa. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 20 calls upon the religious king to make brāhmaṇas, who do not engage in saṁdhyopāsana thrice a day, perform the work peculiar to śūdras. The Kūrma-purāṇa[759] goes so far as to say that even if a person engages in other actions which are religious but gives up the performance of saṁdhyopāsana, in so doing he falls into numerous hells. Manu declares (II. 102) that sins committed at night through ignorance (or oversight) are removed by the performance of

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756. उद्यन्तमस्तं यन्तमादित्यमभिध्यायन् कुर्वन् ब्राह्मणो विद्वान् सकलं भद्रमश्नुतेऽसावादित्यो ब्रह्मेति । तै. आ. II. 2.

757. अथादित्यमुपतिष्ठेतोद्वयं तमसस्परि उदुत्यं चित्रं तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं य उदगादिति । बौ. quoted in संस्काररत्नमाला p. 237 which adds एतदेव तैत्तिरीयैः स्वीकार्यम् । इतरशाखापेक्षया बौधायनोक्तस्याभ्यहितत्वात् ।

758. अनर्हः कर्मणां विप्रः संध्याहीनो यतः स्मृतः । गोभिलस्मृति II.1.; एतत्संध्यात्रयं प्रोक्तं ब्राह्मण्यं यत्र तिष्ठति । यस्य नास्त्यादरस्तत्र न स ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 15–16 ; बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 19 is similar 'संध्यां नोपासते विप्राः कथं ते ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः'. Vide note 741 above.

759. योऽन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नं धर्मकार्ये द्विजोत्तमः । विहाय संध्याप्रणतिं स याति नरकायुतम् ॥ कूर्मपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 139.

morning saṁdhyā and the sins committed in the day are removed by the evening saṁdhyā. Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 25–28, Yāj. III. 307 are to the same effect. When a person is impure owing to mourning or birth in the family, he is to perform saṁdhyā only up to arghya to the sun but not *japa* nor *upasthāna*.

In modern times the saṁdhyopāsana has become a lengthy business by the addition of materials from purāṇas and the *tantras*. But as observed by the Saṁskāraratnamālā rituals like nyāsa are non-Vedic[760] and many do not perform them. For various *nyāsas* and *mudrās* (postures of the fingers, hands etc.) one may consult the Smṛti-muktāphala (āhnika pp. 328–333), Sm. C. I. pp. 146–148.[761]

Nyāsa means 'mentally invoking god and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body to render it a pure and fit receptacle for worship and contemplation.' The sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) are respectively invoked to reside in the left and right hands, the left foot, the right foot, the left and right knees, the left and right sides, the navel, the heart, the throat, the left and right arms, the mouth, the eyes and the head (vide Aparārka p. 140). The Bhāgavata (VI. 8. 4–5) recommends that one should perform *nyāsa* on the hands and limbs of one's own body with the two mantras of Nārāyaṇa and thus make Nārāyaṇa one's armour when some danger arises and that one should perform nyāsa with 'om' and other syllables on one's feet, knees, thighs, belly, heart, chest, mouth and head.[762] The Sm. C. I. p. 144 quotes verses from Vyāsa and Brahmā as to the nyāsa of the letters of the Gāyatrī with 'om' and 'namaḥ' on the several parts of the

760. एषोऽङ्गन्यासः । एतमेके नेच्छन्ति । स ह विधिरवैदिक इति । संस्काररत्नमाला p 229.

761. For the influence of tantra rites on the smṛtis and Indian practice, the following may be consulted : The Introduction to Sādhanamālā, vol. 2 (Gaikwad's Oriental Series), Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 6. p. 114, vol. 9. p. 678, vol. 10 pp. 486–492, Sylvain Levi's Introduction to 'Sanskrit texts from Bali', Modern Review for August 1934 pp. 150–156.

762. कृतस्वाङ्गकरन्यासो मन्त्राभ्यां वाग्यतः शुचिः । नारायणमयं वर्म संनह्येद्भद्रय आगते ॥ पादयोर्जानुनोरूर्वोरुदरे हृद्यथोरसि । मुखे शिरस्यानुपूर्व्या ओंकारादीनि विन्यसेत् ॥ भागवत VI. 8. 4–5. अङ्गुष्ठाग्रे तु गोविन्दं तर्जन्यां तु महीधरम् । मध्यमायां हृषीकेशमनामिकयां त्रिविक्रमम् ॥ कनिष्ठिकयां न्यसेद्विष्णुं करमध्ये तु माधवम् । एवं च करविन्यासं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥. Vide स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 331) for these latter verses.

body. Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 16–19 speaks of the nyāsa of the twenty-five letters of the mantra about Nārāyaṇa on the twenty-five parts of the body. The Nityācārapaddhati (pp. 578–579) describes the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet (51 in all) from ' Om Keśavāya namaḥ ' to ' kṣam Nṛsiṁhāya namaḥ.' One well-known mode is to assign Govinda, Mahīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava respectively on the tips of the thumb, the index finger, the middle finger, the ring-finger, the small finger and the middle of the palm. Manu II. 60 enjoining the touching of the limbs and head with water appears to contain the germ of this practice of nyāsa.

The Sm. C. I. (pp. 146–148) quotes long passages about the *mudrās* (hand poses) to be made in the saṁdhyā adoration. The Saṁgraha[763] quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa (p. 123) states that the *mudrās* are to be made in worship, at the time of japa, dhyāna (contemplation) and when starting on kāmya rites (performed for securing some desired object) and that they tend to bring the deity worshipped near to the worshipper. The names and number of mudrās differ considerably. For example, the Sm. C. and Smṛ. Mu. (āhnika pp. 331–332) quote passages defining the following mudrās viz. sammukha, saṁputa, vitata, vistīrṇa, dvimukha, trimukha, adhomukha, vyāpakāñjalika, yamapāśa, grathita, sammukhonmukha, vilamba, muṣṭika, mīna, kūrma, varāha, siṁhākrānta, mahākrānta, mudgara and pallava. The Nityācārapaddhati p. 533 derives the word *mudrā* from 'mud' (joy) and the root 'rā' (to give) or 'drāvay' (causal of dru, to put to flight) and says that "mudrā" is so called because it gives delight to the gods and also puts to flight asuras (evil beings). That work and the Pūjā-prakāśa (pp. 123–126) give the names of mudrās. They are āvāhanī, sthāpinī, saṁnidhāpanī, saṁrodhinī, prasādamudrā, avaguṇṭhana-mudrā, sammukha, prārthana, śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, abja, (or padma), musala, khaḍga, dhanus, bāṇa, nārāca, kumbha, vighna (for Vighneśvara), saura, pustaka, lakṣmī, saptajihva (for Agni Vaiśvānara), durgā, namaskāra (bringing together both hands from the wrist to the tips of the fingers), añjali, saṁhāra (in all 32). The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 536) says that śaṅkha, cakra, gadā, padma, musala, khaḍga, śrīvatsa and kaustubha are the eight mudrās of Viṣṇu. The Sm. C. quotes a

763. संग्रहे । अर्चने जपकाले तु ध्याने काम्ये च कर्मणि । तत्तन्मुद्राः प्रयोक्तव्या देवतासंनिधापकाः ॥ पूजाप्रकाश p. 123.

work called[764] Mahāsaṁhitā that the mudrās are not to be performed in the presence of a crowd and if so performed the deities become angry and the mudrās become fruitless. The Śāradātilaka (23. 106) states that all deities are gladdened by the mudrās and in verses 107–114 describes the following mudrās, viz. āvāhanī, sthāpanī, saṁnidhāpanī, saṁrodhinī, sammukha, sakala, avaguṇṭhana, dhenu, mahāmudrā. The Ācāra-dinakara of Vardhamāna-sūri composed in *saṁvat* 1468 (1411–12 A. D.) for Jainas enumerates 42 mudrās and defines them (1923, part II. pp. 385–386).

The influence of these mudrās spread outside India and they are still practised in the island of Bali. Miss Tyra de Kleen has brought out a very interesting book on the 'mudrās (the hand poses) practised by Buddhist and Śaiva priests' (called *pedandas*) in Bali, with 60 full page drawings (1924, New York).

Study af the Veda:—A detailed examination of the educational system from ancient times onwards, together with its methods, courses of study and kindred topics will require a volume by itself. The works[765] mentioned in the note below may be read for that purpose. Here a few salient features alone can be set out.

The pivot of the whole educational system of ancient India was the teacher (variously called ācārya, guru, upādhyāya). The instruction was oral. Ṛg. VII. 103. 5 (speaking of frogs) says 'when one of these frogs follows another in making noise just as a learner repeats the words of the teacher'. Vide the quotations from the Atharvaveda and the Śat. Br. cited above (*f. n.* 622 and 625). In the beginning the father alone may have taught his son. The story narrated in the Bṛ. Up. V. 2. 1 and the story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya who was taught by his father everything he knew (Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 and 4) illustrate this (vide *f. n.* 633). But even from very ancient times the practice

764. अत्र महासंहितोक्तो विशेषः। न जातु दर्शयेन्मुद्रा महाजनसमागते। क्षुभ्यन्ति देवतास्तस्य विफलं च कृतं भवेत्॥ स्मृतिच॰ I. p. 148.

765. Vide Rev. F. E. Keay's 'Ancient Indian Education' (1918), Dr. A. S. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India' (1934), S. K. Das on 'Educational system of the ancient Hindus' (1930) and Dr. S. C. Sarkar's 'Educational ideas and institutions in ancient India' (1928). The last work is based entirely on the Atharvaveda and the Rāmāyaṇa.

of sending[766] boys to learn from an ācārya had become usual. The Chān. Up. itself says in one passage (VI. 1) that Śvetaketus Āruṇeya was placed by his father for twelve years as a student with a teacher. The same upaniṣad (III. 11. 5) says that the father should impart the 'madhuvidyā' to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil only. As the boy stayed with the teacher in the latter's house and all instruction was oral, the teacher's position assumed the greatest importance. Satyakāma Jābāla[767] says to his teacher (in Chān. IV. 9. 3) 'I have heard from persons like your revered self that knowledge when learnt from an ācārya reaches the highest excellence'. The Śvetāśvataropaniṣad[768] (VI. 23) places the guru almost on a level with God and inculcates the highest devotion to him. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 13 says 'the pupil should wait upon the ācārya as if he were[769] God.' The story of Ekalavya, whom Droṇa refused to take as a pupil because he was a niṣāda and who by worshipping the image of Droṇa is alleged to have become an adept in archery, illustrates two points viz. the prevailing notion of the greatness of a guru and the necessity of single-minded devotion to him for attaining proficiency (vide Ādiparva 132 for the story and also Droṇaparva 181. 17). The Mahābhārata condemns him who learns the Vedas at home and says that Raibhya became superior to Yavakrīta[770] because the former learnt from a *guru*, while the other did not do so. In Manu and other smṛtis there is some divergence about the

766. अनुशिष्टो न्वसि पित्रेत्योमिति होवाच। बृह. उ. VI. 2. 1; यद्वहं किंच वेद सर्वमहं तत्तुभ्यमवोचम्। बृह. उ. VI. 2. 4; कुमारानु त्वाशिषत्पितेति। छान्दोग्य V. 3. 1. मेधा० on मनु III. 3. says 'यस्य पिता विद्यते स एवतस्याचार्यः। अभावे पितुरशक्तौ वान्यस्याधिकारः। आचार्यान्तरोपादानेन पितुरधिकारो निवर्तत एव।'. मनु II. 142 and याज्ञ I. 34 show that guru primarily means the father; but मनु II. 69 and 149 show that the word guru was also applied to the ācārya and upādhyāya. Vide मिता. on या. III. 259.

767. श्रुतं ह्येव मे भगवद्दृशेभ्य आचार्येभ्यो विद्या विदिता साधिष्ठं प्रापयतीति छान्दोग्य IV. 9. 3; आचार्यवान्पुरुषो वेद। छान्दोग्य VI. 14. 2; vide कठोप. II. 9, मुण्डकोप० I. 2. 3 for the importance of guru in brahmavidyā. Also छान्दोग्य III. 11. 5 'इदं वा तज्ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्प्रणाय्याय वान्तेवासिने।'.

768. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ। तस्यैते कथिताः ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 23.

769. देवमिवाचार्यमुपासीत। आप ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 13.

770. Vide अनुशासनपर्व 36. 15 'अपि च ज्ञानसंपन्नः सर्वान् वेदान् पितुर्गृहे। श्रद्दधान इवाधीयाद् ग्राम्य इत्येव तं विदुः॥'; वनपर्व 138. 25-26 'ऋते गुरुमधीता हि सुखं वेदास्त्वया पुरा। अनेन तु गुरून् दुःखात् तोषयित्वात्मकर्मणा। कालेन महता क्लेशाद् ब्रह्माधिगतमुत्तमम्॥

greatness of the ācārya. Manu II. 146 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 44) says that both the father (*janaka*) and the teacher are called father (*pitā*) but the father (i. e. ācārya) who imparts the sacred Veda is superior to the father that gives (physical) birth, since the birth in spiritual learning is for a brāhmaṇa of eternal benefit here and hereafter. But in II. 145 Manu[771] says that an ācārya is ten times superior to an upādhyāya, the father is superior to a hundred ācāryas, while the mother is thousand-fold superior to the father. Gaut. II. 56 declares that the ācārya is the highest among all *gurus* while according to some the mother is the highest. Yāj. I. 35 also places the mother higher than the ācārya. Gaut. I. 10–11, Vas. Dh. S. III. 21, Manu II. 140, Yāj. I. 34 define[772] the ācārya as one who performs the upanayana of the student and imparts the whole Veda to him. The Nirukta[773] (I. 4) derives ācārya as follows: 'he makes the student understand the proper course of conduct, or he collects wealth (i. e. fee) from the student (or gathers together the meanings of words), or he increases the intelligence (of the student)'. Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 14 says 'The ācārya is so called since the student gathers his duties from him.' Manu II. 69 says that the teacher, after performing upanayana, teaches his pupil the rules about śauca (bodily purity), ācāra (rules of conduct in every day life), the offering (of fuel-stick) in fire and saṁdhyā adoration. Yāj. I. 15 is to the same effect. Though the words *ācārya, guru*[774] and *upādhyāya* are very often used as synonyms, ancient writers made a distinction between them. According to Manu II. 141 and 142, an upādhyāya is one who teaches to a student a portion of the Veda or the Vedāṅgas[775] (subsidiary lores of the

771. वसिष्ठ 13. 48 quotes मनु II. 145 (but the 3rd पाद् in वसिष्ट is पितुर्वशशतं माता); शान्तिपर्व (108. 18–19) says 'गुरुर्गरीयान् पितृतो मातृतश्चेति मे मतिः। उभौ हि मातापितरौ जन्मन्येवोपयुज्यतः। आचार्यशिष्टा या जातिः सा दिव्या साजरामरा॥'; तथस्मात्स आचार्यः। वेदानुवचनाच्च। गौ. I. 10–11.

772. स गुरुर्यः क्रियाः कृत्वा वेदमस्मै प्रयच्छति। उपनीय ददद्वेदमाचार्यः स उदाहृतः॥ या. I. 34.

773. आचार्यः कस्मादाचारं ग्राहयत्याचिनोत्यर्थानाचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा। निरुक्त I. 4; यस्माद्धर्मानाचिनोति स आचार्यः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 14; vide वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 30.

774. Vide मिता० on या III. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of the word *guru*.

775. The वेदाङ्गs have been six from very ancient times, viz. शिक्षा (phonetics), कल्प (ritual of solemn Vedic and domestic sacrifices), व्याकरण (grammar), निरुक्त (etymology), छन्दः or छन्दोविचिति (metrics), ज्योतिष (astronomy). The मुण्डकोपनिषद् I. 1. 5 names these six; आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 8. 10–11 षडङ्गो वेदः। छन्दः कल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति।

Veda) as a means of his own livelihood and a *guru* is one who performs the saṁskāras and who maintains the child. This latter definition shows that *guru* means the father here. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 22–23), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 2, and Yāj. I. 35 define upādhyāya in the same way as Manu. According to Yāj. I. 34 the guru is one who performs the saṁskāras and imparts the Veda. This corroborates the statement made above that originally the father himself taught the Veda to his son. The word guru is often used in the sense of any elderly person, male or female, who is entitled to respect. Viṣṇu Dh.[776] S. (32. 1–2) says that the father, the mother and the ācārya are the three highest gurus of a person and Manu II. 227–237 contain the most sublime glorification of these three. Devala[777] says that 'among gurus five deserve special honour, viz. father, mother, ācārya, eldest brother and husband (in the case of women)'. Manu (II. 149) says that whoever confers on another the benefit of knowledge, whether great or small, is the latter's *guru*.

A great deal is said about the qualifications of the ācārya who is to perform the upanayana of a person and to teach him the Veda. Āp. Dh. S.[778] I. 1. 1. 11 refers to a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect 'he whom a teacher devoid of learning initiates enters from darkness into darkness and he also (i. e. an ācārya) who is himself unlearned (enters into darkness).' Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 12–13) further provides that one should desire a performer of one's upanayana who is endowed with learning and whose family is hereditarily learned and who is serene in mind and that one should study Vedic lore under him up to the end (of brahmacarya) as long as the teacher does not fall off from the path of dharma. Vyāsa (quoted in Saṁ. P. p. 408) says[779] that the ācārya should be a brāhmaṇa who is solely

776. त्रयः पुरुषस्यातिगुरवो भवन्ति। पिता माताचार्यश्च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 32. 1–2; मनु II. 225–232 are the same as मत्स्यपुराण 211. 20–27; मनु 230, 231, 234 are the same as शान्तिपर्व 108. 6, 7, 12; मनु 11. 230, 233, 234 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 31. 7, 9, 10.

777. गुरूणामपि सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च विशेषतः। यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्योपदिश्यते॥ ज्येष्ठो भ्राता च भर्ता च पञ्चैते गुरवः स्मृताः। तेषामाद्यास्त्रयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता॥ देवल in स्मृतिच० I. p. 35; वनपर्व (214. 28-29) speaks of five gurus, but they are पिता, माता, अग्नि, आत्मा and गुरु. Vide अपरार्क pp. 398–401 for a long quotation from नन्दिपुराण on the greatness of *guru*.

778. तमसो वा एष तमः प्रविशति यमविद्वान्नुपनयते यश्चाविद्वानिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। तस्मिन्नभिजनविद्यासमुदेतं समाहितं संस्कर्तारमीप्सेत्। तस्मिंश्चैव विद्याकर्मान्तमधिप्रतिपद्येत धर्मेभ्यः। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 11–13.

779. वेदैकनिष्ठं धर्मज्ञं कुलीनं श्रोत्रियं शुचिम्। स्वशाखाज्ञमनालस्यं विप्रं कर्तारमीप्सितम्॥ व्यास in सं. प्र. p. 408.

devoted to the Veda, who knows dharma, is born of a good family, who is pure, is a *śrotriya* that has studied his Vedic śākhā and who is not lazy. Śrotriya has been defined above (*f. n.* 290). Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 4 and Baud. gṛ. I. 7. 3 define a śrotriya as one who has studied one *śākhā* of a Veda. Vide Vāyūpurāṇa vol. I. 59. 29 also.[780] The ācārya in upanayana must be a brāhmaṇa; as to the study of veda one should ordinarily learn the Veda from a brāhmaṇa teacher; in times of difficulty (i. e. when a brāhmaṇa is not available) one may learn the Veda from a kṣatriya or vaiśya teacher; but in such circumstances the only service that a brāhmaṇa student rendered to the *guru* would be following after the non-brāhmaṇa teacher; he had not to render bodily service (such as shampooing or washing the feet &c.). Vide Āp. Dh.S.II. 2. 4. 25–28 (quoted above in note 229), Gaut. 7. 1–3, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 40–42, Manu II. 241. Manu II. 238 allows even a brāhmaṇa to learn śubhā vidyā (visibly beneficial knowledge) even from a śūdra. Śāntiparva 165. 31 does the same.[781] The Mit. on Yāj. I. 118 remarks that a kṣatriya or vaiśya should teach a brāhmaṇa only when urged by him and not at his sweet will. Aparārka (p. 160) says that Manu II. 241 allows only teaching to a kṣatriya, but does not allow him to make it a means of his livelihood.[782]

We saw above (p. 321) that the instruction was entirely oral. The first thing that was taught to the boy was the praṇava and the vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatrī. Then the boy was to be taught other parts of the Veda. It is desirable to set out briefly the method of teaching the Veda followed in ancient times. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (IV. 8) describes the method as follows: the teacher sits facing the east or north, while the other (i. e. the student) sits to his right facing the north or two students may sit in that way; but if there are more than two they should sit as the available space will allow.[783] The student should not sit on a high seat

780. धर्मेण वेदानामेकैकं शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियो भवति। आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 4 एकां शाखामधीत्य श्रोत्रियः। बौ. गृ. I. 7. 3; वृद्धा ह्यलोलुपाश्चैव आत्मवन्तो ह्यदम्भकाः सम्यग्विनीता ऋजवस्तानाचार्यान् प्रचक्षते॥ वायुपुराण vol. I. 59. 29.

781. श्रद्दधानः शुभां विद्यां हीनादपि समाप्नुयात्। सुवर्णमपि चामेध्यादाददीता विचारयन्॥ शान्तिपर्व 165. 31.

782. अध्यापनं तु क्षत्रियवैश्ययोर्ब्राह्मणप्रेरितयोर्भवति न स्वेच्छया। मिता० on या. I 118; तदध्यापनमात्रकर्तृत्वमब्राह्मणस्याभ्यनुजानाति न तु वृत्तित्वमपि। अपरार्क p. 160.

783. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 6. 24–25 एकाध्यायी दक्षिणं बाहुं प्रत्युपसीदेत् यथावकाशं प्रदद्यः। Vide also मनु II. 193.

before the teacher nor on the same seat with him; he should not stretch out his feet, nor should he sit seizing his knees with his arm, nor should he lean against a support, nor should he place his feet on his lap nor should he hold his feet like an axe. After the student utters 'Recite, Sir,'[784] the teacher should urge him to pronounce 'om'; the other (i. e. the student) should reply 'om'. Thereafter he (the student) should recite continuously. After reciting he should clasp the teacher's feet and say 'we have finished, Sir' and go away to his business. Some teachers say that the teacher should say 'Leave, let us stop'. In the Ṛk Prātiśākhya,[785] 15th paṭala, there is a description of the method of teaching the Veda, which closely agrees with the above quotation from the Śāṅ. gṛ. It adds that the teacher may also sit facing the north-east. When the teacher recites two words or more, the first pupil (to the right of the teacher) repeats the first of the two or more words and the other pupils repeat the rest afterwards. The teacher recites one word if it is a compound, two words if they are un-compounded; the teacher also clearly explains how to recite the words if there is any difficulty; in this way the whole *praśna* is finished and all the pupils repeat again the whole of it. A praśna generally has three mantras and each adhyāya has about sixty praśnas. Manu (II. 70–74) also prescribes certain rules: the student should sip water (ācamana) when about to begin Vedic study, should face the north, should fold both hands[786] together (and place them on his knee), should wear light (pure) clothes, should at the beginning and end of Vedic study clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands

784. According to the com. नारायण on Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 5. 10–11 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 67 *f. n.*) the words 'अधीहि भोः' are uttered by the teacher. But this does not seem to be correct. In तै. उ. III. 1 we read 'भृगुर्वै वारुणिः। वरुणं पितरमुपससार। अधीहि भगवो ब्रह्मेति।' and in छान्दोग्य VII. 1. 1 we have 'अधीहि भगव इति होपससाद सनत्कुमारं नारदः'. The ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य supports the above translation.

785. अभिक्रान्ते द्वैपदे वाधिके वा पूर्वं पदं प्रथमः प्राह शिष्यः। ...गुरुः शिष्यस्य पदमाह मुखयं समासश्चेद्समासो यदि द्वे। एतेन कल्पेन समाप्य प्रश्नं प्रत्याम्नायुस्ततपुनरेव सर्वे॥. ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य, 15th पटल. Vide Max Muller's History of A. S. L. p. 503 ff. for further details.

786. ब्रह्माञ्जलि is explained differently from Manu by आपस्तम्बस्मृति (in verse) quoted in सं. प्र. p. 524 viz. the left hand should be turned upwards, the right hand should be placed on it with the palm turned downwards, and the fingers of the two hands should firmly hold the backs of the hands. संवर्त quoted in स्मृतिच. (I. p. 51) reads 'हस्तौ तु संहतौ कार्यौ जानुन्याधुपरि स्थितौ॥'

and should touch the right foot of the teacher with his own right hand and left foot with the left hand, should repeat 'om' at the beginning and at the end of Vedic study. The teacher should say to the pupil 'repeat' and should stop from teaching with the words 'let there be a pause'. Gaut. (I. 49–58) gives similar rules. The Gopatha Br. I. 31 uses the expression 'sarve vedā mukhato gṛhītāḥ', which is current even in modern times (it means all Vedas were committed to memory by word of mouth).

The study of the Veda was the first duty of every twice-born person (dvijāti). Vedic Literature had grown to vast proportions even in the times of the Tai. Br. (III. 10. 11), as the story of Indra and Bharadvāja cited above (p. 271) shows. The ideal was set up by Manu II. 165, viz. that the whole Veda together with secret doctrines (Upaniṣads) was to be learnt by every dvijāti. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of Veda study (svādhyāya) and the injunction 'svādhyāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ (one must study the Veda) occurs there very frequently. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 1 and 3) quotes[787] the Tai. Ā. II. 14. 3 that the study of the Veda (svādhyāya) is austerities and also the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8. The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 1) quotes a Vedic text 'a brāhmaṇa should study and understand without any purpose (or desire of reward) dharma and the Veda with its six aṅgas.'[788] The Mahābhārata says that a brāhmaṇa may be deemed to have completely accomplished his duty by the study of the Veda.[789] Yāj. I. 40 says that it is Veda alone that confers the highest bliss upon dvijātis by enabling them to understand and perform sacrifices, austerities and auspicious acts (like saṁskāras). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 9) contains the traditional extent of the four Vedas, viz. that there were 101 śākhās of the Yajurveda, 1000 of the Sāmaveda, 21 of the Ṛgveda and nine of the Atharvaveda.[790] Concessions had to be

787. तपः स्वाध्याय इति ब्राह्मणम्। ... अथापि वाजसनेयिब्राह्मणम्। ब्रह्मयज्ञो ह वा एष यत्स्वाध्यायः। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 1 and 3; compare मनु II. 166 वेदाभ्यासो हि विप्रस्य तपः परमिहोच्यते॥; दक्ष II. 33 is to the same effect; अधीयत इत्यध्यायः वेदः। स्वस्याध्यायः स्वाध्यायः स्वपरंपरागता शाखेत्यर्थः। सं. प्र. p. 504.

788. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेय इति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 1. मेधा० on मनु III. 1 explains निष्कारण as कारणं प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य नित्यकर्मवत् कर्तव्यम्।'

789. परिनिष्ठितकार्यो हि स्वाध्यायेन द्विजो भवेत्। कुर्यादन्यन्न वा कुर्यान्मैत्रो ब्राह्मण उच्यते॥ शान्तिपर्व 239. 13; the latter half is मनु II. 87.

790. एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाह्वृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदः। महाभाष्य I. p. 9.

made to the shortness of human life and the weakness of the human mind. Therefore Gaut. II. 51, Vas. Dh. S. VII. 3, Manu III. 2, Yāj. I. 52 and others allowed a person to study only one Veda. After a man studied his own Veda, he could if so minded study another śākhā of another Veda or other Vedas. The rule laid down by many smṛtis is that one should study the śākhā of the Veda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that śākhā. Vide Medhātithi on Manu III. 2 and Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 51.[791] That person who does not study a Vedic Śākhā studied by his ancestors and studies another śākhā altogether was called 'śākhāraṇḍa'. Whatever religious rites a man did with the procedure and mantras of another śākhā giving up his own śākhā becomes fruitless. But an exception was made to the effect that if some[792] religious rite was omitted in one's śākhā, but was dealt with in another śākhā and was not opposed to the teaching of one's śākhā, it may be performed as in the case of Agnihotra (which is not dealt with in all śākhās, but is to be performed by all).

Teachers mostly confined themselves to one place. But we find that even in ancient times there were teachers who wandered from one country to another. In the Kaus. Br. Up. IV. 1 we find that the famous Bālāki Gārgya moved about in the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kuru-Pañcāla and Kāśi-videha. In the Br. Up. III. 3. 1 Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tells Yājñavalkya that he and others wandered about in the country of Madra for study. Students generally stuck to one teacher; but it appears that they sometimes flocked to renowned teachers as waters flow down a slope[793] (Tai. Up. I. 4. 3). There were also students who wandered from teacher to teacher and were

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791. पित्राद्यन्वयः पूर्वं संस्कृताः शाखया यया । सा स्वशाखेति विज्ञेया तया कर्माणि कारयेत् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 49. या एव पित्राद्यभिः शाखा अधीता सा न त्याज्येति । मेधा० on मनु III. 2; वेदमिति चैकवचनं शाखान्तराध्ययनव्यावृत्त्यर्थम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 57. हित्वा स्वस्य द्विजो वेदं यस्त्वधीते परस्य तु । शाखारण्डः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मबहिष्कृतः ॥ लट्यायलायन 24. 19; हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 53 quotes a verse which extends the rule to giving up one's सूत्र.

792. Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 34-35 quoted by Aparārka p. 8 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 50 and गृह्यसंग्रह (B. I. ed) II. 91 and 93 आत्मतन्त्रेषु यन्नोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । विशेषाः खलु सामान्या ये चोक्ता वेदवादिभिः ॥ यः स्वशाखोक्तमुत्सृज्य परशाखोक्तमाचरेत् । अप्रमाणमृषिं कृत्वा सोऽन्धे तमसि मज्जति ॥.

793. यथापः प्रवता यन्ति यथा मासा अहर्जरम् । एवं मां ब्रह्मचारिणो धातरायन्तु सर्वतः ॥ तै. उ. I. 4. 3. अहर्जर means संवत्सर.

therefore derisively called 'tīrthakāka (crows at a sacred place),' as the Mahābhāṣya states.[794]

As the study of the Veda was a duty enjoined upon a brāhmaṇa, so teaching Veda to another was a duty. Medhātithi on Manu (II. 113) quotes a Vedic text[795] 'He who having studied the Veda would not teach one who requests him to do so would be one who destroys his own good acts (i.e. would lose the benefit thereof), would shut the door leading to happiness; therefore he should teach; it leads to great glory'. When Satyakāma Jābāla did not teach his pupil Upakosala anything for twelve years, though the latter served assiduously by attending to the sacred fires of the teacher, the teacher's wife remonstrated with the husband by saying 'this student has worked hard and attended the fires, may the fires not censure you and order you to teach him the vidyā he desires' (Chān. Up. IV. 10. 1-2). The Praśna Up.[796] VI. 1 gives expression to the view that if a teacher keeps back anything he knows he dries up entirely. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 2-3 expressly prescribes 'the teacher whom a student asks for instruction should not refuse him, if he finds no defect in the student.'[797] Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 8. 25-28) lays down certain excellent rules for the teacher 'the teacher, anxious for the welfare of the student as if he were his son, should attentively impart learning to the student without hiding anything from him in all matters of duty; nor should the teacher restrain the student for his own work in such a way as to cause obstacles in his study except in seasons of distress. A teacher becomes no teacher if he avoids giving instruction' (i.e. he may be abandoned). The Droṇaparva (50. 21) says that a pupil comes only after the son according to the idea of those

794. यथा तीर्थे काका न चिरं स्थातारो भवन्ति एवं यो गुरुकुलानि गत्वा न चिरं तिष्ठति स उच्यते तीर्थकाक इति। महाभाष्य I. p. 391 (on पा. II. 1. 41).

795. अध्यापनमप्यधीतवेदेनावश्यं कर्तव्यं न केवलं ध्रुवयर्थम्। ..... तथा च श्रुतिः। यो हि विद्यामधीत्याधिने न ब्रूयात्स कार्यहा (कर्महा?) स्यात् श्रेयसो द्वारमपावृणुयात्। अध्यापेक्ष्यन्नहदेतद्यशस्यम्। मेधा० on मनु II. 113. The portion 'यो हि...कर्महा स्यात्' is quoted as from वसिष्ठ by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 53.

796. 'तस्मै कुमारसत्तमं नाहमिमं वेद यदहमिममवेदिषं कथं ते नावक्ष्यमिति समूलो वा एष परिशुष्यति योऽनृतमभिवदति तस्मान्नार्हाम्यनृतं वक्तुम्। प्रश्नोप. VI. 1.

797. अध्ययनार्थेन यं चोदयेच्च चैनं प्रत्याचक्षीत। न चास्मिन् दोषं पश्येत्। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 2-3; संवत्सरोषिते शिष्ये गुरुर्ज्ञानमनिर्दिशन्। हरते दुष्कृतं तस्य शिष्यस्य वसतो गुरोः॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 39) quoted in परा. मा. I, part 1. p. 146 and as यम's in स्मृतिच० I. p. 53.

who know dharma. If a teacher does not teach a pupil anything even after his pupil has stayed with him for a year, the former receives all the sins of the pupil. A teacher[798] who did not teach or was sinful was to be abandoned. Similarly a teacher, who became puffed up, did not care for what should or should not be done and took to a sinful path was to be abandoned.[799] Āp. I. 1. 1. 13 lays down that a student must stay with his teacher who performs his upanayana till he completes his study, unless the teacher himself swerved from the path of dharma and became a sinner and (I. 2. 7. 26) that if the teacher cannot teach the subject, the pupil may resort to another teacher.

The smṛtis lay down rules about the qualifications of a student who deserves to be taught. In the Vidyāsūkta quoted in the Nirukta[800] (II. 4) we see that the teacher was not to impart vidyā (knowledge) to one who was jealous (or who treated vidyā with contempt), was crooked and was not self-restrained and that learning was to be imparted to one who was pure, attentive, intelligent and endowed with brahmacarya (celibacy), who would never prove false (to his teacher) and who would guard what he learnt as a treasure. Manu (II. 109 and 112 also) says that ten persons deserve to be taught viz. the son of the teacher, a student who serves his guru, one who gives some knowledge in exchange, one who knows dharma or who is pure (in body and mind), who is truthful, who is able to study and retain it, who gives money (for teaching), who is well-disposed and who is one's near relative (agnate). Yāj. I. 28 mentions all these and adds that the student must be grateful, not inclined to hate or prove false to the teacher, healthy and not disposed to find fault. The student should always be dependent

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798. षडिमान् पुरुषो जह्याद्भिन्नां नावमिवाम्भसि । अप्रवक्तारमाचार्यमनधीयानमृत्विजम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 33. 79; अज्ञानादनध्यापनादुत्त्वेगाच्चार्यो पतनीयसेवायां च हेयौ ॥ गौतम 21. 12; vide also वसिष्ठ 13. 50.

799. गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ उद्योगपर्व 178. 48; शा.न्तिपर्व 57. 7; 140. 48 &c. In some places the last pāda is read as कार्ये भवति शासनम्. अपरार्क p. 67 quotes it as यम's. Vide कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 25) for the same.

800. असूयकायानृजवेऽयताय न मा ब्रूया वीर्यवती तथा स्याम् ॥ यमेव विद्याः श्रुचिमप्रमत्तं मेधाविनं ब्रह्मचर्योपपन्नम् । यस्ते न द्रुह्येत्कतमच्चनाह तस्मै मा ब्रूया निधिपाय ब्रह्मन् ॥ निरुक्त II. 4 (= वसिष्ठ II. 8-9 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 29. 9-10). मनु (II. 114-115) is very similar.

on and under the control of the teacher (as Āp. Dh. S.[801] I. 1. 2. 19 and Nārada say) and should stay with no one but the teacher. We saw above (p. 274) that from ancient times the student had to serve the teacher by tending his cattle (Chāndogya IV. 4. 5), had to beg for food and announce it to the teacher (ibid. IV. 3. 5) and to look after his sacred fires and to learn the Veda only in the time that would be left after doing work for the *guru*[802]. Besides these, the rules concerning his conduct towards the teacher, the teacher's wife and son, concerning the method of salutation and showing respect, the food, drinks, and actions allowed or prohibited to students are too numerous to be set out in detail. A few important ones from Gautama, Āp. Dh. S., Manu II and Yāj I. 33 are stated below. Gaut. (II. 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25) says that the student should speak the truth, bathe everyday, should not look at the sun; should avoid honey, flesh, perfumes, the wearing of flowers, sleeping by day, rubbing oil on the body, putting collyrium in the eyes, going in a cart,[803] wearing shoes and holding an umbrella, love affairs, anger, covetousness, infatuation, vain discussions, playing on musical instruments, luxurious baths with hot water, meticulous cleansing of the teeth, ecstatic states of mind, dancing, singing, calumny of others, dangerous places, gazing at women or touching young women, gambling, serving a low person (or doing very low work), injury to animals, obscene or harsh talk, wine. Manu (II. 198 and 180–181) prescribes that he should not sleep on a cot and should observe complete celibacy, but if he suffers from night emissions he should bathe, worship the sun and repeat thrice the mantra ' punar mām ' (Tai. Ār. I. 30). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 2. 21–30, I. 1. 3. 11–24) contains similar rules of conduct. Āp. says (I. 1. 2. 28–30) that the student should not wash his limbs with hot water (generally), but he may do so if they are smeared with dirty and impure matter provided he does it out of the sight of the teacher and that he should not bathe in water in a sportive manner, but

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801. न ब्रह्मचारिणो विद्यार्थस्य परोपवासोऽस्ति । आचार्याधीनः स्याद्वन्यत्र पतनीशेभ्यः । हितकारी गुरोरप्रतिलोमयन्वाचा । आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 17, 19–20 ; ' अस्वतन्त्रः स्मृतः शिष्य आचार्ये तु स्वतन्त्रता । ' नारद (ऋणादान verse 33).

802. छा. उप. VIII. 15. 1 'आचार्यकुलाद्वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमावृत्य. '

803. उपानहौ छत्रं यानमिति वर्जयेत् । आप. I. 2. 7. 5, but when on a journey the student may sit in a cart, if ordered by the teacher ' यानमुक्तोऽध्वन्यन्वारोहेत् ' आप. ध. I. 2, 8. 12.

should bathe in it motionless like a stick. Āp. not only prohibits for him sexual intercourse (I. 1. 2. 26) but ordains that he should speak with women only as much as is absolutely necessary. The student was not to[804] laugh, but if he could not help laughing he should do so covering his face with his hands (says Āp.).

Gautama and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 34 and 37) say that the student is to serve his teacher by following after him when he goes anywhere, he should help the teacher in his toilet and bath and should shampoo his body and take food left by him (ucchiṣṭa);[805] he should be diligent in doing work that would be pleasing and beneficial to the teacher; he was to study when the teacher called him, he was not to cover his throat with a piece of cloth, or was not to sit in the presence of his teacher with his feet on his lap, was not to stretch his feet, he was not to clear loudly his throat, nor to laugh, yawn or crack the knuckles; he was when called by the teacher to reply at once leaving his seat or bed and was to approach the teacher even when he called from a distance; he should always occupy a seat lower than that of his teacher and should go to sleep after his teacher and rise before him (Gautama II. 20–21, 30–32). Manu II. 194–198 and Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 26 and I. 2. 6. 1–12 contain similar rules. Manu (II. 199) says that a pupil should

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804. Vide Yāj. I. 33 which contains many of the above. Yāj. forbids the eating of ucchiṣṭa (leavings of food) of anybody (except the teacher). Manu (II. 177–179) practically contains the same rules as those of Gautama set out above. Aušanasa-smṛti III. (ed. by Jiv. pp. 512–513) contains a long list of what the student should eschew. न स्मयेत । यदि स्मयेतापिगृह्य स्मयेतेति ब्राह्मणम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 7–8.

805. The word 'ucchiṣṭa' is used, as exhaustively pointed out by Medhātithi on Manu VI. 80, in several senses. It literally means 'what is left out.' The most usual senses are three, viz. (1) food left in the plate from which one has eaten, (2) food taken out in a vessel for serving to a person but not exhausted by being served in his plate, and (as applied to a person), (3) one who has not washed his hands and mouth after eating food (or as applied to a plate) the plate (not yet cleaned) from which one has taken his meal. Vide मनु IV. 211 for the 2nd meaning. Another meaning is: (4) one who has answered a call of nature and not yet performed the purificatory acts like ācamana is said to be ucchiṣṭa. Vide Manu IV. 142 (for this and the 3rd meaning) and V. 143 (for 3). Sometimes the word is used in its literal sense (vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 2). Vide Manu V. 141 for another application of the word.

not mimic the gait, the manner of speech and the actions of the teacher. Manu (II. 200–201) calls upon the pupil to close his ears (with his hands or fingers) or to leave the place where somebody indulges in calumnies about the teacher or points out the faults in him, and states that if the pupil himself finds fault with his teacher or calumniates him, the pupil (in the next life) is born as an ass or a dog. Viṣṇu Dh. S.[806] 28. 26 says the same.

Some rules are laid down as to how the brahmacārin is to deal with the hair on his head. Even the Ṛg. speaks of boys with several śikhās (topknot). Vide note 598 above. Gaut. I. 26 and Manu II. 219 say that a brahmacārin may either shave his entire head, or may allow all the hair to grow as matted or should keep only a tuft of hair on the head (and shave the rest).[807] Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 31–32, Vas. VII. 11 allow only two alternatives viz. growing all the hair or keeping a tuft of hair, while Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 41 says that a student may either shave the entire head or grow matted hair. One was not to untie one's śikhā, while on the public road.[808]

One of the rules for the student was that he was not to pronounce the name of his teacher even when the teacher was not present without prefixing or affixing an honorific addition (such as śrī, bhaṭṭa, ācārya). Gaut. ordains that the student should not speak of his teacher, the teacher's son or wife or of a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice by their bare names[809] and then says that when it is absolutely necessary

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806. यत्रास्य निन्द्यापरीवादौ स्यातां न तत्र तिष्ठेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 26. निन्द्या is declaring faults that really do not exist and परीवाद् is pointing out faults that do exist.

807. मुण्डजटिलशिखाजटाश्च। गौतम I. 26; जटिलः शिखाजटो वा वापयेदितरान् आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 31–32.

808. न पथि शिखा विसृजेत्। हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 225.

809. आचार्यतत्पुत्रस्त्रीदीक्षितनामानि।..... नामगोत्रे गुरोः समानतो निर्दिशेत्। गौतम II. 24 and 28. If the dīkṣita is present he may be addressed as 'भो दीक्षित (or भो यजमान) एवं कुरु' and when absent as 'तत्रभवता दीक्षितेनैवं कृतम्' &c. Of Gaut. II. 28 Haradatta gives two explanations (समानतः either means मानेन सह or सम्यग् आनतः) and he takes 28 to refer to the pupil's name. Vide मेधा. on मनु. II. 128 for explanations. सं. म. p. 492 explain समानतान्नः पुरुषान्तराद्वा. Vide मनु II. 199 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 28. 24.

to refer to these by name the student should not pronounce the name and gotra of his teacher as they are, but by means of a synonym (e. g. if the teacher's name is Haradatta or Deveśvara the pupil should respectively say Devarāta or Sureśvara). Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 15 says that even after returning home a snātaka should avoid touching his former teacher with his fingers (to call his attention), frequent muttering of something in his ears, laughing into his face, calling him out loudly, taking his name, ordering him about. Manu II. 128 and Gaut. VI. 19 say that a man who has been initiated for a śrauta sacrifice should not be addressed by his name, even though he be younger than the person addressing, but that one should use the words 'bhoḥ' and 'bhavat' when addressing him or speaking about him and may refer to him by words like dīkṣita &c. There are other rules about addressing or referring by name which may be set out here for the sake of completeness. The Sm. C. (I. p. 45) and Haradatta on Gaut. II. 29 quote a smṛti[810] that one should not mention by name only one's teacher, teacher's son and wife, a dīkṣita, any other guru, father, mother, paternal and maternal uncles, one's benefactor, a learned man, one's father-in-law, one's husband, one's mother's sister. The Mahābhārata says that one should not mention by name or address as 'tvam' (thou) one's elders, but one may speak of one's contemporaries or those who are younger by their names.[811] Another verse says that one should not mention one's own name, the name of one's guru, the name of a mean person, of one's wife and one's eldest child.

Upasaṃgrahaṇa consists in repeating one's gotra and name, saying 'I salute', touching one's ears, clasping the feet (as stated above) and bending one's head while so doing. In *abhivādana* there is no clasping of the feet with the hands; one

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810. आचार्यं चैव तत्पुत्रं तद्भार्यां दीक्षितं गुरुम्। पितरं वा पितृव्यं च मातुलं मातरं तथा॥ हितैषिणं च विद्वांसं श्वशुरं पतिमेव च। न ब्रूयान्नामतो विद्वान्मातृश्च भगिनीं तथा॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 45 and हरदत्त on गौ. II. 29.

811. त्वंकारं नामधेयं च ज्येष्ठानां परिवर्जयेत्। अवराणां समानानामुभयेषां न दुष्यति॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 25; vide also Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. ७; आत्मनाम गुरोर्नाम यस्नाम कृपणस्य च। श्रेयस्कामो न गृह्णीयाज्ज्येष्ठापत्यकलत्रयोः॥ quoted by the मदनपारिजात p. 27 (but in अभिवादन one has to take one's name) and on p. 119 (1st स्तबक) it quotes from नारद 'गुरोर्ज्येष्ठकलत्रस्य भ्रातुर्ज्येष्ठस्य चात्मनः। आयुष्कामो न गृह्णीयान्नामातिकृपणस्य च।'

may or may not touch the feet of the person to be honoured. *Abhivādana* must always be preceded by pratyutthāna.[812]

Very detailed rules were laid down about *pratyutthāna* (rising from one's seat to receive a person), abhivādana (saluting a man), upasaṁgrahaṇa (saluting by clasping the feet of the teacher or another with one's hands), pratyabhivāda (returning a salutation), and namaskāra (bowing with the word ' namaḥ '). According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 19 and I. 3. 10. 17 the student must, when he meets his teacher after sunrise, clasp his teacher's feet and also before beginning the day's lesson of Vedic study and also after finishing it. Manu II. 71 says the same. Gaut. (I. 52–54) prescribes the clasping of the feet every day in the morning and at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the Veda. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 20 on other occasions whenever the student meets the teacher only *abhivādana* is sufficient, though according to some teachers (Āp. I. 2. 5. 21) clasping the teacher's feet is necessary on each occasion. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 22 states that in upasaṁgrahaṇa the teacher's right foot is to be stroked below and above with the student's right hand and the foot and ankle are both to be taken hold of, while according to some teachers, the student must press each foot of the teacher with both hands and clasp them. Manu II. 72, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 15, and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 24 say that the student is to clasp the feet of the teacher with crossed hands, touching the right foot with the right hand and the left foot with the left hand. Kullūka on Manu II. 72 quotes Paiṭhīnasi that the student should clasp the teacher's feet with his hands turned upwards. Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 28 adds that clasping should not be done when either the teacher or the pupil is seated, or is lying down or impure. According to Gaut. VI. 1–3 one must clasp every day on the first meeting and particularly on his or their return from a journey, the feet of one's parents, of the blood relations of parents (e. g. paternal and maternal uncles), of the elder brother, of the guru (i. e. ācārya, upādhyāya) and of persons venerated by one's gurus. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 7–9) says that even after finishing

812. उपसंग्रहणं नाम अमुकगोत्रो देवदत्तशर्माहं भो अभिवादये इत्युक्त्वा कर्णौ स्पृत्वा दक्षिणोत्तरपाणिभ्यां दक्षिणेन पाणिना गुरोर्दक्षिणं पादं सव्येन सव्यं गृहीत्वा शिरोवचनमनम्। अभिवादने पादसंग्रहणं नास्ति। पादस्पर्शनं कार्यं न वा। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7; बौ. ध. सू. (I. 2. 26 असावहं भो इति श्रोत्रे संस्पृश्य मनःसमाधानार्थम्) says that the ears are touched for concentrating one's mind; विश्वरूप on या. I. 26 says that touching the ear is the usage in some countries only. सर्वत्र तु प्रत्युत्था याभिवादनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 16.

one's studies and returning home a man must every day clasp the feet of gurus (father, mother, teacher and other venerable persons) and of elder brothers and sisters according to their seniority.

Abhivādana is of three kinds, viz. nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be done only on certain occasions) and kāmya (to be done only if a person has certain rewards in view). As examples of nitya abhivādana one may instance the rules of Āp. Dh. S.[813] (I. 2. 5. 12–13) " every day a student should get up from bed in the last watch of the night and standing near his teacher salute him with the words ' I so and so, ho ' (salute thee); and the student should also salute other very aged (and learned brāhmaṇas) who may reside in the same village before his morning meal." Yāj. I. 26 also speaks of the latter. The occasional abhivādana is done on certain occasions such as return from a journey (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 14). A person may salute elderly persons whenever he chooses, if he is desirous of long life or (bliss in) heaven (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 15 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 26). Manu[814] (II. 120 and 121) says ' the prāṇas (vital breaths) of a young man mount upwards when an old man approaches; but by rising to meet him and salutation (to him), he (the young man) recovers them. He who habitually salutes and constantly pays reverence to the aged obtains an increase of four things viz. length of life, knowledge, fame and strength.' Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 11,[815] Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 44, Manu II. 130 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 41 prescribe that a person must honour by rising and mentioning one's name an officiating priest, one's father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles, even though these may be younger than oneself in

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813. सदा महान्तमपररात्रमुत्थाय गुरोरितिष्ठन्प्रातरभिवादमभिवादयीतासावहं भो इति । समानग्रामे च वसतामन्येषामपि वृद्धतराणां प्राक्प्रातराशात् । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 12–13 ; compare मनु II. 122, 124.

814. ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति । प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते ॥ मनु II. 120. This verse occurs in उद्योगपर्व 38. 1 and अनुशासनपर्व 104. 64–65 and also in the महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 58, where we have तथापूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेय इति पूर्ववयसोऽप्रत्युत्थाने दोष उक्तः प्रत्युत्थाने च गुणः । कथम् । ऊर्ध्वं ... पद्यते इति । Vide धर्मपद् 109 (ed. by Fausböll, 1900) for a verse closely parallel to Manu II. 121.

815. ऋत्विक्श्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानवरवयसः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवदेत् । तूष्णीं वोपसंगृह्णीयात् । आप ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 10–11; वौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 44 ऋत्विक्...मातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थायाभिभाषणम् । (but some mss. read °भिवादनम्); मनु II. 130 says 'असावहमिति ब्रूयात्, while गौतम VI. 9 is ऋत्विक्श्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानां तु यवीयसां प्रत्युत्थानमनभिवाद्याः ।

years. Gaut. (VI. 9) however says that in the case of these one need only rise from his seat to receive them ; but it is not necessary to salute them (abhivādana is not necessary). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 4 expressly says that in the case of officiating priests and others specified by Āp. and Gaut. and who are younger, rising from one's seat is tantamount to abhivādana. Manu II. 117 says that one must perform abhivādana to a person from whom one learns secular, Vedic or spiritual knowledge of any kind. There is some difference in the words used at the time of abhivādana. Usually the words are ' abhivādaye devadatta-śarmā-ham[816] bhoḥ ' (vide Āp. I. 2. 5. 12, Gaut. VI. 5, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 27, Vas. XIII. 44, Manu II. 122 and 124). But this mode is appropriate only if the person addressed knows how to return the salutation. Manu II. 123 and 126 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 45 declare that in the case of those who do not know how to return a salutation (pratyabhivādana, and according to Manu in the case of women also) one should omit the word ' bhoḥ ' and simply say ' abhivādaye aham ' (omitting one's name). Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 20 similarly says that in saluting women, a kṣatriya or a vaiśya one should use a pronoun and omit one's name.[817]

The manner of abhivādana was as follows :[818] 'A brāhmaṇa shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a kṣatriya holding it on a level with the chest, a vaiśya holding it on a level with the waist and a śūdra holding it low (up to his feet) and that the salutation shall be by joining one's hands ' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 16–17). The Madanapārijāta adds that abhivādana is with both hands when the person to be saluted is learned, but with one hand only if he is not learned (p. 27) and the Sm. C. (I. p. 36) quotes Viṣṇu and Atri to the

816. That is one has to take one's name in abhivādana; but one does not take the name of the person who is saluted (Gautama VI. 12). The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 7 says that in उपसंग्रहण (and in अभिवादन also) the person saluting says अमुकगोत्रो देवदत्तशर्माहं भो अभिवादये; मेधा. on मनु II.122 says the words are अभिवादये देवदत्तनामाहं भोः; हरदत्त on गौ. VI. 5 states that अभिवादन should be ' अभिवादये हरदत्तशर्मा नामाहमस्मि भोः '; while कुल्लूक on मनु II. 124 says it should be अभिवादये शुभशर्माहमस्मि भोः (i. e. he omits the word नाम, which मनु II. 122 appears to require and which गौ. VI. 5 does not require)

817. सर्वनाम्ना स्त्रियो राजन्यवैश्यौ च । न नाम्ना । मातरमाचार्यदारं चैके । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 20–22.

818. दक्षिणं बाहुं श्रोत्रसमं प्रसार्य ब्राह्मणोऽभिवादयीतोरःसमं राजन्यो मध्यसमं वैश्यो नीचैः शूद्रः । प्राञ्जलि । आप. ध. I. 2. 5. 16–17 ; vide सं. प्र. p. 454.

same effect. The stretching of the hands up to the ear &c. indicates how far the head is to be bent in each case.

There were also other rules about honouring one's elders in the presence of one's teacher or honouring the teacher's teacher or about one's behaviour when a gentleman comes to see one's ācārya and leaves him, which are here passed over for want of space. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 6. 29–32, Manu II. 205.

A brāhmaṇa who does not know the form of returning a salutation must not be saluted by a learned man; he is like a śūdra (Manu II. 126). Similarly a brāhmaṇa was not to perform abhivādana to a kṣatriya or a vaiśya however learned the latter may be, but one should simply say 'svasti'; those who are of the same caste should do abhivādana.[819] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 and Aparārka p. 1188 quote sūtras of Hārīta prescribing as prāyaścitta a fast of one, two or three days respectively for a brāhmaṇa saluting a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra and also for saluting when the persons saluted or the man saluting are in such a condition as to make them unfit for abhivādana. One should not salute with the shoes on or when one's head is wrapped up or one's hands are full (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 19); or if one carries a load of fuel-sticks or holds a pot of flowers or food in one's hands one shall not salute, nor shall one salute on occasions similar to the preceding (such as one being engaged in worship of manes, of fire or other gods or when one's teacher is so engaged), nor should one salute a teacher standing very close to him (Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 31–32). When one is impure or the person he meets is impure (owing to āśauca or other causes) no salutation is to be made or returned (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 17). Gaut. IX. 45 says that one should not occupy a seat or perform abhivādana and namaskāra with shoes on. One need not salute a person who is not a guru or who stands in a lower or higher place than oneself (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 14). Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 23, Manu II. 135 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 17 say that a brāhmaṇa ten years old is like a father to a kṣatriya even 100 years old and so deserves salutation from the kṣatriya.

819. नाभिवाद्यास्तु विप्रेण क्षत्रियाद्याः कथंचन। ज्ञानकर्मगुणोपेता यद्यप्येते बहुश्रुताः॥ ब्राह्मणः सर्ववर्णानां स्वस्ति कुर्यादिति श्रुतिः। सवर्णेस्तु सवर्णानां कार्यमेवाभिवादनम्॥ शातातप quoted by अपरार्क p. 52; vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 quoting भविष्यपुराण and यम for the meaning of स्वस्ति; समित्पुष्पकुशाज्यान्नमृदक्षाक्षतपाणिकम्। जपं होमं च कुर्वाणं नाभिवादेत वै द्विजम्॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292; नोद्वहन्भहस्तोभिवादयेच्च भैक्षं चरंश्च पुष्पाज्यादिहस्तो नाघ्नुचिर्न जपंश्च देवपितृकार्यं कुर्वंश्च यानः। शङ्ख quoted by मिता. on या. III. 292.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 14. 12) gives a special rule that a friendship kept for ten years as fellow citizens, a friendship contracted at school for five years, the fact of a śrotriya being three years older entitles the friend or śrotriya to a salutation. But Gaut. (VI. 14-17) and Manu II. 134 give somewhat different rules viz. contemporaries who are born in the same year are to be addressed with the word 'bhoḥ' or 'bhavat' and a fellow citizen who is ten years older than oneself and an artist who is five years older than oneself and a śrotriya studying the same Vedic school as oneself who is three years older are to be addressed similarly. Manu adds blood relations to the list when the difference in age is very small. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 7 gives a long list of persons whom one should never salute viz. an heretic, a person guilty of grave sins, an atheist, gamblers, thieves, ungrateful persons, drunkards. Vide also Manu IV. 30 and Yāj. I. 130 (as to showing no respect even by words to heretics &c).

In the case of certain persons one was to show honour only by rising from his seat and not by abhivādana. Gaut. (VI. 9) mentions some such persons who are already referred to in note 815. He adds that (VI. 10-11) even a śūdra of eighty years or more must be honoured by rising by one (even though the latter be of a higher varṇa) young enough to be his son (but there will be no abhivādana) and that an ārya (i. e. one belonging to the three higher castes) must be honoured by rising by a śūdra even if the latter be older (and so a vaiśya must honour a kṣatriya though the latter be younger). Haradatta explains that the word śūdra in Gaut. VI. 10 is only illustrative and that an old vaiśya must be honoured by a young kṣatriya or brāhmaṇa by simply rising from his seat and an old kṣatriya by a young brāhmaṇa in the same way. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 16-18) lays down that if a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda comes as a guest one may give him a seat, water and food but one should not rise to receive him, but should rise to receive him if he is entitled to abhivādana on account of age (as stated in Āp. I. 4. 14. 12, and Manu II. 134); similarly a brāhmaṇa need not rise to receive a kṣatriya or vaiśya (except on the same ground of age).

The rules about returning a salutation (about *pratyabhivāda*) are made somewhat intricate and obscure by the varying interpretations of commentators. Pratyabhivāda consists in pronouncing a benediction in the proper form given by a guru

or other person who has been saluted. Among the oldest[820] is the rule in Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 18 'when returning the salute of one belonging to the first three castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person whose salutation is to be returned) shall be lengthened to three moras'. Vasiṣṭha's rule (XIII. 46) is 'when the salute is returned, the last vowel (of the noun standing) in the vocative is protracted to the length of three moras and if it is a diphthong (i. e. e or o but not of the dual number) it becomes 'āy' or 'āv' e. g. 'bho becomes bhāv'. Manu II. 125 prescribes "a brāhmaṇa should be thus saluted in return, 'mayst thou be long-lived, O gentle one!' and the vowel 'a' or any other vowel at the end of the name (of the person addressed) should be made *pluta* (i.e. lengthened to three moras) and if the name ends in a consonant, the preceding vowel is made *pluta*."

That these rules are very ancient follows from Pāṇini's sūtra (VIII. 2. 83) 'when the salutation of a person who is not a śūdra is returned by the person saluted, the final vowel in the name (that occurs at the end of the sentence of pratyabhivāda) becomes *pluta*.' The Mahābhāṣya comments on this and two vārtikas thereon say that this rule does not apply when it is a woman to whom the salutation is returned and it applies optionally when the person whose salutation is returned is a kṣatriya or vaiśya. All these rules are exemplified in the foot-note below.[821] Āp. Dh. S. agrees with this rule of the ancient grammarians. The verse of Manu (II. 125) also really means the same thing; but there the word '*akāra*' is only

820. प्रत्यभिवादनं चाभिवादितेन गुर्वादिना विहितशब्देनाशीर्वचनम्। सं. प्र. p. 453; प्लावनं च नाम्नोऽभिवादनप्रत्यभिवादने च पूर्वेषां वर्णानाम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5. 18; प्रत्यभिवादमामन्त्रिते स्वरेऽन्त्यः प्लुवते संध्यक्षरमप्रगृह्यमायावभावं चापद्यते यथा भो भावितिं। वसिष्ठ XIII. 46; आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति वाच्यो विप्रोऽभिवादने। अकारश्चास्य नाम्नोऽन्ते वाच्यः पूर्वाक्षरः प्लुतः॥ मनु II. 125. Some MSS. read पूर्वाक्षरप्लुतः as one word.

821. प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे। पाणिनि VIII. 2. 83; if it is a ब्राह्मण who performs अभिवादन (as in अभिवादये देवदत्तोहं भोः) pratyabhivāda is आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्ता ३ (3 indicates that the vowel preceding it is pluta i. e. drawn out to the length of three moras). If the name ends in a consonant the प्रत्यभिवाद will be आयुष्मान्भव सोमशर्मा३न्. If a woman salutes (as in अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं भोः) the return is आयुष्मती भव गार्गि (i. e. there is no प्लुत). If a kṣatriya इन्द्रवर्मन् salutes the return is either आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मा ३ न् or आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्मन्. If a वैश्य इन्द्रपालित salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालिता ३ or-धीन्द्रपालित. If it is a शूद्र तुषजक who salutes, the प्रत्यभिवाद is आयुष्मानेधि तुषजक (i. e. there is no pluta).

illustrative[822] and stands for all vowels. The ancient commentator Medhātithi interprets Manu so as to agree with Pāṇini and says 'in the realm of the use of words and their senses Pāṇini has higher authority than Manu, that the pratyabhivāda words containing the benediction about long life are not stereotyped, that when a kṣatriya returns the salutation of a kṣatriya or a vaiśya of a vaisya, the same rules hold good'. As a person of a higher varṇa was not to do abhivādana to one of lower varṇa (vide note 819 above) there would be no occasion for pratyabhivāda from the side of the latter. The verse of Manu is interpreted by Haradatta and a few others in a different manner. According to them the last vowel in the name of the person whose salutation is to be returned is pluta and then 'a' is added to it, and that if the vocative ends in e or o, it becomes āya or āva (with 'a' added).[823] This view is opposed to Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, the Kāśikā, Āpastamba and several writers of digests. Aparārka and the Sm. C. condemn the interpretation put upon Manu's verse by commentators like Haradatta.[824]

What great importance was attached to the correct utterance of the return salutation can be seen from the fact that one of the miscellaneous reasons assigned for the necessity of grammatical studies in the Mahābhāṣya is that (as stated in a verse) a person who returns from a journey will perform salutation to ignorant persons (who do not know how to utter pratyabhivāda) as if to women with the words 'abhivādaye

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822. अभिवादयिता एवं वाच्य आयुष्मान्भव सौम्येति । इतिशब्दः प्रकारे । आयुष्मानेधि दीर्घायुर्भूयाश्चिरं जीवेत्येवमादिशब्दपरिग्रहः शिष्टाचारप्रसिद्धो भवति । ..... शब्दार्थप्रयोगे च मन्वादिभ्योऽधिकतरः प्रामाण्ये भगवान्पाणिनिः । विप्रग्रहणमविवक्षितम् । क्षत्रियादीनामप्येष एव विधिः स्मृत्यन्तरसमाचारो ह्येवमेव स्थितो न चैवां विध्यन्तरमस्ति। मेधा० on मनु II. 125.

823. The प्रत्यभिवाद् according to हरदत्त will be 'आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य देवदत्ता 3 अ'. If the name is चक्रपाणि or विष्णु it will be आयुष्मान् भव सौम्य चक्रपाणा 3 य or विष्णा 3 व. If the name ends in a consonant, the प्रत्यभिवाद् will be like आयुष्मान्भव सौम्य अग्निची 3 द् (the name is अग्निचित् and so चि is made प्लुत and अ is added to the consonant त्). Vide संस्कारप्र. pp. 451–454.

824. अतश्च पूर्वाक्षर इति विशेषणोपादानाद् व्यञ्जनसहित एव स्वरः ह्रावनीयः । न पुनरपूर्वोऽकारो नामान्ते विधीयत इति निश्चीयते । अपरार्क p. 53; स्मृतिच० I. p. 37 repeats the words न पुनर ..... धीयते. अपरार्क reads वसिष्ठ's सूत्र as 'आमन्त्रिते स्वरो ..... प्रगृह्यमायाउभावं च' and gives as examples (आयुष्मान्भव) यज्ञभूता3इ (यज्ञभूते is vocative) or चित्रगा3उ (चित्रगो is vocative).

ayamaham '[825] (*i. e.* grammar is to be learnt by men for fear that they may be treated as women when a person salutes them).

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 27) prescribes that the student shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not clasp her feet or eat the residue of her food.[826] Gaut. (II. 31–32) also says the same thing and adds that the student shall not assist the wives of the teacher at their toilet or bath nor wash their feet nor shampoo them. Manu II. 211, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 37, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 6 have the same rule. But Gaut. II. 33 states an exception that on return from a journey the student shall clasp the feet of the wives of his teacher (also Manu II. 217 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 15). Manu (II. 210) gives special directions 'the wives of the teacher who belong to the same caste must be treated as respectfully as the teacher but in the case of those who belong to a different caste he need only rise from his seat and salute' (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 5 also is similar), and 'a student who is full twenty years old shall not honour the young wife of a teacher by clasping her feet (Manu II. 212 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 13); but even a young student may prostrate himself on the ground for honouring the young wife of his teacher without clasping her feet (with the words 'abhivādaye amukaśarmā-ham bhoḥ').

As regards women who are not wives of the teacher, the following rules deserve attention. The first rule is that married women, whatever their age may be, deserve honour (and so he must salute &c.) according to the ages of their husbands[827] (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18 and Vas. Dh. S. 13. 42). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 2 gives the same rule, but restricts it to wives of the same caste. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 6 prescribes that the same honour must be shown to the mother and father as to a teacher i. e. their feet must be clapsed on those occasions on which a teacher's feet are to be clasped and Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 9 extends the rule to elder sisters. Gaut. (VI. 7–8) states that the feet of the wives of (elder) brothers or of one's mother-in-law

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825. अविद्वांसः । अविद्वांसः प्रत्यभिवादे नाम्नो ये न प्लुतिं विदुः । कामं सेयु हु विप्रोक्ष्य स्त्रीप्रियायमहं वदेत् ॥ महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 3. This passage is quoted by मेधा० on मनु II. 123.

826. अन्यत्रोपसंग्रहणादुच्छिष्टाशनाच्चाचार्यवदाचार्यदारे वृत्तिः । आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 27.

827. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः । आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18; ये चैव पादग्राह्यास्तेषां भार्या स्वसारश्च । मातापितरौ च । वसिष्ठ 13. 42–43.

need not be clasped on any occasion; and the feet of a paternal uncle's wife or of elder sisters need not be clasped except when one returns from a journey. But Manu (II. 131–132) gives different rules. A maternal or poternal aunt, a maternal uncle's wife, a mother-in-law are equal to one's teacher's wife and must be honoured like her; one's elder brother's wife's feet must be clasped every day if she is of the same caste, but the feet of the wives of one's other paternal and maternal relatives need only be clasped on one's return from a journey. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 3 places a maternal or paternal aunt and the eldest sister on an equality with the teacher's wife. As already stated above in the case of all women the salutation is simply 'I salute' (abhivādaye aham)' without mentioning one's name. Devala says 'the mother, mother's mother, teacher's wife and the full brothers and sisters of one's parents, paternal grand-mother, mother-in-law, elder sister and the foster mother are women who are (to be honoured like) *gurus*'.[828]

Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30, Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 54, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 31, Manu II. 207 require that the student will behave towards the teacher's son as towards his teacher. That this rule is very ancient follows from a passage[829] in the Mahābhāṣya; where it is stated and a proviso is added that the student will not however clasp the son's feet nor eat the leavings of his food. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 30 only mentions as prohibited the eating of the leavings of food, but Viṣṇu Dh. S. (28. 32–33) prohibits also the washing of the son's feet. Manu (II. 208) gives a restrictive rule that the son of the teacher deserves the same honour as a teacher, if he imparts instruction in place of the teacher (because the latter is otherwise engaged), whether the son be younger or of the same age as the student, but that the student in any case must not shampoo the limbs of the son nor assist him in his bath nor wash his feet nor eat the leavings of his food.

From Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 28 and I. 4. 13. 12[830] it appears that the system of pupil teachers (who were called 'samādiṣṭa')

828. माता मातामही गुर्वी पितुर्मातुश्च सोदराः। श्वश्रूः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धात्री च गुरवः स्त्रियः॥ देवल in सं प्र. p. 471; almost the same verse occurs in औशनस (Jiv. ed.) I. p. 503.

829. गुरुवदस्मिन्गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यमन्यत्रोच्छिष्टभोजनात्पादोपसंग्रहणाच्चेति। यदि च गुरुपुत्रोपि गुरुर्भवति तदपि कर्तव्यं भवति। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 135 (on पाणिनि I. 1. 56, वार्तिक 8)

830. तथा समादिष्टे अध्यापयति। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 7. 28; समादिष्टमध्यापयन्तं यावदध्ययनमुपसंगृह्णीयात्। नित्यमर्हन्तमित्येके। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 12–13.

obtained in ancient times and Āp. prescribes that the student shall behave towards a pupil teacher who teaches him at the teacher's command as towards the teacher and shall honour him also by clasping his feet, as long as he is giving instruction.

Further rules are laid down about showing courtesy to a person who is not a relative or who is not a teacher &c. Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 26–29 and Manu II. 127 lay down that one should, on meeting a brāhmaṇa, ask after his health with the word 'kuśala,' a kṣatriya about his health using the word 'anāmaya', a vaiśya by using the word kṣema (or anaṣṭa according to Āp.) and a śūdra by employing the word ārogya. Thus one who is older (according to the rule in Manu II. 134 cited above on p. 339) should be saluted, while one who is of the same age or younger should simply be asked 'kuśala' &c. Gaut. V. 37–38 gives similar directions.[831] Manu (II. 129) enjoins that one should address a woman who is the wife of another man and who is not a blood relation as 'lady' (bhavatī) or 'beloved sister' and (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 30) that one should not pass a learned brāhmaṇa without addressing him nor a woman whom he meets in a forest or other lonely place and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 32. 7 says that in such circumstances he must address her (in order to assure her) as 'sister' (if she is of the same age as himself) or 'daughter' (if she is younger) and 'mother' (if she is older than himself).

It is stated in the Udvāhatattva[832] (p. 141) that the word 'śrī' is to be prefixed when referring by name to a deity or a teacher, to the place of one's teacher, to a holy place or to the presiding deity of a holy place, to one who has secured Yogic *siddhis* or to those who have secured by sacrifices the worlds of bliss; and Raghunandana adds that according to the usage of respectable people 'śrī' is prefixed to names of such persons while they are alive. The same work also tells us that women of the dvijātis were to have the honorific suffix 'devī' added to

831. According to हरदत्त the questions would be in the case of members of the four varṇas respectively, अपि कुशलं भवतः, अव्यनामयं भवतः, अव्यनष्टपशुधनोसि, अव्यरोगो भवान्. 'कुशलानामयारोग्याणामनुप्रश्नः। अन्त्यं शूद्रस्य'। गा. V. 37–38; हरदत्त on these says 'अपि कुशलमायुष्मन्निति ब्राह्मणः प्रष्टव्यः, अव्यनामयं अत्रभवत इति क्षत्रियः, अव्यरोगो भवानिति वैश्यः; अव्यरोगोसीति शूद्रः'.

832. देवं गुरुं गुरुस्थानं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्राधिदेवताः। सिद्धं सिद्धाधिकारांश्च श्रीपूर्वं समुदीरयेत्॥ इति राघवभट्टधृतप्रयोगसारदर्शनेन स्वर्गकाम्यत्वादिना सिद्धोधिकारो येषां तानित्यनेन जीवतां श्रीशब्दादित्वं नान्येषां मृतानां तु न तथेति शिष्टाः। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 144.

their names and of the śūdra caste the word 'dāsī'. This is still the practice particularly in Bengal and Northern India.

The works on Dharmaśāstra give very interesting rules about the grounds on which respect was to be shown to a person. Honour [833] consists in saluting a person, or rising to meet him or allowing him to walk in front of one or giving him a garland, sandal-wood paste on festive occasions and the like. Manu (II. 136) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (32. 16) say that wealth kindred, age, (performance of) religious rites and sacred knowledge confer title to respect, but each succeeding one out of these five is superior to each preceding one. Gaut. (VI. 18–20) is slightly different; he says 'wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning and age must be honoured; each later named is more important than each preceding one; but Vedic learning is more important than all (the rest)'. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 56-57 also says that learning, wealth, age, relationship and religious actions are titles to respect, but each preceding one is more important than each succeeding one. Yāj. I. 116 puts the order as vidyā, karma, age, relationship and wealth (i. e. wealth is the least ground for giving honour). Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 35 says that if respect is not paid to *guru* (parents), ācārya, upādhyāya and ṛtvik (they are arranged in descending order) one incurs sin, but if honour is not shown on the ground of learning, wealth &c. there is no sin but one loses happiness and success. Manu II. 137 says that a śūdra who is beyond 90 years is still a child to a learned brāhmaṇa. In order to show that Vedic learning is superior to seniority of age Manu (II. 151–153) narrates the story of a young scion of the Aṅgiras gotra who taught his pitṛs and addressed them as 'little sons' and whose action was supported by the gods with the remark that a man destitute of knowledge was a child and he who taught him the Veda was his father. This story is referred to expressly by Baud. Dh. S. I. 4. 47 and tacitly by Gaut. VI. 20. It is borrowed from the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa [834]

833. पूजा वर्णज्यायसां कार्या। वृद्धतराणां च। आप. ध. I. 4. 13. 2–3; हरदत्त says 'अभ्यन्युद्गमनादिका उत्सवादिषु च गन्धलेपादिका।; वित्तबन्धुकर्मजातिविद्यावयांसि मान्यानि परषलीयांसि। श्रुतं तु सर्वेभ्यो गरीयः। तन्मूलत्वाद्धर्मस्य श्रुतेश्च। गौ. VI. 18–20.

834. शिशुर्वा आङ्गिरसो मन्त्रकृतां मन्त्रकृदासीत्स पितॄन् पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयत। ते पितरोऽब्रुवन्नधर्मं करोषि यो नः पितॄन्सतः पुत्रका इत्यामन्त्रयस इति सोऽब्रवीद्हं वाव पितास्मि यो मन्त्रकृदस्मीति। ते देवेष्वपृच्छन्त ते देवा अब्रुवन्नेष वाव पिता यो मन्त्रकृदिति। तद्वै स उदजयद्बुज्जयति शैशवेन तुष्टुवानः। ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 13. 3. 24. शिशु was the name of the sage.

(13. 3. 24). Manu II. 155 clinches the argument by saying 'the seniority of brāhmaṇas springs from (sacred) knowledge, of kṣatriyas from valour, of vaiśyas from (the possession) of corn and other wealth and only among śūdras is age a ground of seniority '.

Kauṭ. says that men deserve honour according to their learning, intelligence, valour, high birth and eminent deeds.[835]

One has to distinguish between abhivādana and namaskāra. In the former one not only bows but utters words like 'abhivādaye &c.', while in the latter one only bows and folds one's hands. The latter is done only to images of gods, brāhmaṇas, saṁnyāsins and the like. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 8 prescribes a fast for one day as a penance for not bowing to images of gods, saṁnyāsins &c. Viṣṇu[836] (quoted in the Sm. C.) says that one should not salute (abhivādana) a brāhmaṇa, but should only perform namaskāra in all public assemblies, in sacrifices or in palaces or royal courts. The posture of the hands in namaskāra is stated as follows : 'One should join the hands in the shape of a shegoat's ear in namaskāra to a learned man, one should fold the hands together in bowing to an ascetic, one should salute an ignorant man with one hand and should not perform abhivādana to one who is younger.[837]

One had to show respect by circumambulating[838] from left to right temples or images of gods, bulls, cowpens, cows, ghee, honey, sacred trees that had brick or stone platforms built round them (like aśvattha) and squares (where four roads meet), a teacher who is very learned, a learned and religious brāhmaṇa, clay from sacred places.

One was not to approach empty-handed one's parents, ācārya, sacred fires, houses and the king, if the latter has not heard of him before.[839]

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835. पूज्या विद्याबुद्धिपौरुषाभिजन-कर्मातिशयतश्च पुरुषाः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

836. विष्णुः । सभासु चैव सर्वासु यज्ञे राजगृहेषु च । नमस्कारं प्रकुर्वीत ब्राह्मणं नाभिवादयेत् । स्मृतिच० I. p. 38.

837. विद्याकरवाजपेधिधृतं वचनम् । अजाकर्णेन विद्वांसं यतिं संपुटपाणिना । मूर्खं चैवैकहस्तेन कनिष्ठं नाभिवादयेत् । सं. प्र. p. 468.

838. देवालयं चैत्यतरुं तथैव च चतुष्पथम् । विप्राधिकं गुरुं देवं बुधः कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 41–42 ; क्षुत्रिं देशमनड्वाहं देवं गोष्ठं चतुष्पथम् । ब्राह्मणं धार्मिकं चैत्यं नित्यं कुर्यात्प्रदक्षिणम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 193. 8 ; vide also 163. 37 for a similar verse and ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 40, वामनपुराण 14. 52, गौतम IX. 66, मनु IV. 39, या. I. 133.

839. मातरं पितरमाचार्यमग्नींश्च गृहाणि च रिक्तपाणिर्नोपगच्छेद्राजानं चेन्न श्रुतमिति। आप. ध. I. 2. 8. 23.

A matter closely connected with the showing of respect is that of the rules about the preference to be given on the road. This has already been dealt with in speaking of the privileges of brāhmaṇas above pp. 146–147.

One striking point about the imparting of knowledge (particularly Vedic) in the ancient educational system of India was the great prejudice against learning from books. The greatest importance was attached to handing down the Veda intact and various devices were discovered and employed for securing this end, such as the various modes of repeating the Veda only in padas, in the krama, jaṭā and other formations. Great care was taken to preserve the proper accentuation of the Vedic texts. There is a well known story how Tvaṣṭṛ repeating the words ' Indraśatrur-vardhasva '[840] in wrong accents caused the fire to be extinguished instead of inflaming it against Indra as he intended. This story is alluded to in the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā. The same work (in verse 33) condemns one who learns from a manuscript as among the worst of learners. The Veda was to be recited not only with proper modulation of the voice to convey the accents, but the accents were indicated also by the movements of the fingers (vide verses 43–45 of the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā). All these intricate matters could be learnt only by oral instruction.

Great controversies have raged round the question whether the art of writing was known in India in very ancient times, whether it was used for literary purposes in the times of Pāṇini and whether the Brāhmī alphabet was an indigenous product or whether it was imported into India from some foreign land. Max Muller in his ' History of ancient Sanskrit Literature ' started the astounding and absurd theory that writing for literary purposes was unknown to Pāṇini (p. 507). Later on that position

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840. मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोपराधात् ॥ verse 52 of the पाणिनीयशिक्षा; गीती शीघ्री शिरः कम्पी तथा लिखितपाठकः । अनर्थज्ञोऽल्पकण्ठश्च षडेते पाठकाधमाः । पाणिनीयशिक्षा verse 32. The legend is narrated in the तै. सं. II. 4. 12. 1 and the शतपथ I. 6. 3. 8. त्वष्टृ wanted to pronounce the word इन्द्रशत्रुः (meaning 'destroyer of Indra') as a Tatpuruṣa compound (in which the last syllable of the compound has the udātta accent), while he actually pronounced the word as a Bahuvrīhi (meaning ' whose killer would be Indra'), in which case the first word of the compound has the udātta accent (as in इन्द्रशत्रुः). Vide पाणिनि VI. 1. 223 and VI. 2. 1.

was given up. Then Bühler wrote his famous work 'on the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet' mainly relying on the resemblances of a few letters of the Aśokan script with an ancient Semitic alphabet and came to the conclusion that the Brāhmī alphabet was derived from a Semitic script sometimes about 800 B. C. It never occurred to that learned scholar to advance and carefully examine the other possible hypotheses which any unbiassed and cautious scholar should have ordinarily advanced viz. that the Semitic script might have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabet and was later on developed or both might have been derived from some unknown ancient script. All these theories are now in the melting pot on account of the seals bearing writing in some undeciphered script found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, some of which are at least 5000 years old. So if the Brāhmī alphabet was at all borrowed, it is clear now that it was not necessary for Indians to travel so far as Westernmost Asia for that purpose.

Oral instruction was the cheapest and most accurate method of imparting learning. In ancient times writing materials were not easily available and written texts could not be handled easily and would have been extremely costly. Therefore the method of oral instruction was resorted to and having been hallowed by the lapse of thousands of years it has been persisted in to the present day. Even in the 20th century after writing has been known for not less than 3000 years according to scholars like Bühler there are hundreds of brāhmaṇas who learn not only the whole of the Ṛgveda (about 10580 verses) by heart, but also commit to memory the pada[841] text of the Ṛgveda, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka and the six Vedāṅgas (which include the 4000 aphorisms of Pāṇini and the extensive Nirukta of Yāska) without caring to understand a word of this enormous material.

Par. M. (I. 1. p. 154) quotes a verse of Nārada to the effect[842] 'what is learnt from reliance on books and is not learnt from

841. The *pada* text of the Ṛgveda is the work of Śākalya and the padapāṭha is supposed to be pauruṣeya (composed by a human author). The Nirukta (VI. 28) criticizes Śākalya's division of the *pada* text. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 says that *pada* and *krama* are of human authorship.

842. पुस्तकप्रत्ययाधीतं नाधीतं गुरुसंनिधौ । भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव स्त्रियाः ॥ नारद् in परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 154; स्मृतिच० I. p. 51 also quotes this verse.

a teacher does not shine in an assembly'. Vṛddha-Gautama[843] condemns to hell those who sell the Veda, who condemn the Veda and those who write it down. Aparārka (p. 1114 on Yāj. III. 267-268) quotes verses from the Caturviṁśatimata which prescribe various prāyaścittas for selling the Vedas, the aṅgas (of the Veda), the smṛtis, itihāsa and purāṇa, the secret pañcarātra (system), gāthās, nītiśāstras &c. The prejudice against using books for learning was carried so far that among the six obstacles in the path of the acquirer of knowledge, reliance on books is mentioned as one.[844] Aparārka (p. 390) quotes a long passage from the Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa about the rewards of gifts of books of the epics and purāṇas to a brāhmaṇa or to a maṭha for the use of the public. A grant of the Valabhi king Guhasena I dated 559 A. D. refers to a collection of books on the true dharma.[845] In the Kādambarī (para 88) the queen Vilāsavatī is described as surrounded by ascetic women who held books in their hands and read itihāsa.[846] Vide under dāna and maṭha-pratiṣṭhā.

The teacher was expected to make the student understand by explanations in Sanskrit or in the prākrits or even by employing the current languages of the various countries.[847]

The Duration of studenthood (brahmacarya):—It appears from certain passages of the Upaniṣads that the usual duration of brahmacarya was 12 years[848]. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is said to have become a brahmacārī when he was twelve and to have mastered all the Vedas at the age of 24 (vide Chān. Up. VI, 1. 2

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843. वेदविक्रयिणश्चैव वेदानां चैव दूषकाः। वेदानां लेखिनश्चैव ते वै निरयगामिनः॥ वृद्धगौतम p. 582; the same verse occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 23. 72 (वेदानां लेखकाश्चैव).

844. द्यूतं पुस्तकशुश्रूषा नाटकासक्तिरेव च। स्त्रियस्तन्द्री च निद्रा च विद्याविघ्नकराणि षट्। नारद quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. p. 52.

845. I. A. vol. VII. p. 67.

846. 'इतिहासान्वाचयन्तीभिः पुस्तकानि दधतीभिः...जरत्प्रव्रजिताभिर्विनोद्यमान ...मातरं ननाम। कादम्बरी para 88.

847. संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैर्यैः शिष्यमनुरूपतः। देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरुः स्मृतः॥ quoted from the विष्णुधर्म by वीरमित्रोदय (व्यवहार, ed. by Jivananda, p 72).

848. उपकोसलो ह वै कामलायनो सत्यकामे जाबाले ब्रह्मचर्यमुवास तस्य ह द्वादश वर्षाण्यग्नीन् परिचचार स ह समान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति। छा. उप. IV. 10. 1.

quoted in *f. n.* 634). Similarly Chān. IV. 10.1 appears to suggest that students left their teacher after twelve years of study. But a long period of brahmacarya was not unknown to the sages of the Upaniṣads. Chāndogya (VIII. 11. 3) declares that Indra remained as a student with Prajāpati for 101 years (three periods of 32 years plus five). The story of Bharadvāja narrated in the Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) states that Bharadvāja studied the Vedas three parts of his life (at least till 75 years). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[849] (II. 5) states that the period of studenthood for learning all the Vedas is 48 years; that distributing that period in four portions among the vedas student-hood is for 12 years (for mastering one Veda), that period (12 years) is the shortest (for brahmacarya) and that one should learn of the Veda as much as one can before he is about to return from his teacher.

Some of the gṛhya and dharma sūtras contain these very words of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa e. g. Pār. gṛ. II. 5 says 'one should observe brahmacarya forty-eight years for the (four) Vedas, or twelve years for each Veda or until one has learnt one or more Veda'. The Baud. gṛ. (I. 2. 1-5) has a very suggestive passage "the ancient period of studenthood was forty-eight years for (the four Vedas) or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each kāṇḍa (section of the Vedic saṁhitās like the Tai. S.) or until the student learnt (one Veda), as life is fleeting and as there is a Vedic text 'one should consecrate (the three) sacred fires, while his hair is still dark". On Jaimini I. 3. 3 Śabara states the objection (among other similar matters) that the smṛtis speaking of brahmacarya for fortyeight years are opposed to the Vedic injunction that 'a man who has a son and whose hair is still dark should consecrate the (three śrauta) fires' (i. e. he must do so in middle life, not when his hair is turning grey). Śabara gives his opinion that such smṛtis being opposed to *śruti* are to

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849. तस्मा एवत्प्रोवाचाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदब्रह्मचर्यं तच्चतुर्धा वेदेषु व्युह्य द्वादशवर्षं ब्रह्मचर्यं द्वादशवर्षाण्यवराण्यर्धमपि स्यात्स्यश्चरेद्यथाशक्तयेवम् । गोपथब्रा. II. 5 quoted in *f. n.* 628 above; आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 16 has the सूत्र 'द्वादशावरार्धम्'.

850. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरेद् द्वादश द्वादश वा प्रतिवेदं यावद्ग्रहणं वा। पारस्कर II. 5; अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पुराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यं संप्रदिशन्त्या वेदाध्ययनादित्येक आहुरा गोदानकर्मण इत्येके। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 9; vide also हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 8. 14; गौतम II. 51-53; शाङ्खायनगृह्य II. 10; मानवगृह्य I. 2. 6, आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 12-15 अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि। पादूनम्। अर्धेन। त्रिभिर्वा।

be disregarded [851] and makes fun of them by saying that some persons desirous of concealing their lack of manhood observed brahmacarya for forty-eight years and the prescriptions in these smṛtis to that effect are due to this fact.[852] The very orthodox Kumārilabhaṭṭa could not tolerate this light-hearted statement of Śabara and rebukes the latter by saying that there is really no contradiction between the *śruti* text and the smṛti passage, since the smṛtis themselves prescribe other lesser and alternative periods, since it is possible to hold that smṛtis speak of brahmacarya for 48 years only with reference to him who wants to become a saṁnyāsin immediately after brahmacarya or who desires to become a perpetual student.[852a]

As the Vedic literature had grown to vast proportions and as it was thought necessary to preserve this ancient heritage, the ancient sages hit upon the plan of enlisting the whole population of the three varṇas in the task of preservation by making it as their duty to devote as much time as they could to the study and conservation of the Vedic literature. Therefore various alternatives were proposed viz. studying all the four Vedas for 48 years, three of them for 36 or if a man was very clever he may finish the study of three Vedas in 18 years or in 9 years or he should devote as much time as he would require for learning one Veda or more. Vide Manu III. 1-2 and Yāj. I. 36 and 52 for the various alternatives. Spending 12 years for Vedic

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851. As upanayana was usually performed in the 8th year from conception or birth, the period of studenthood (if it was to be 48 years) would not end till a man became 56. Only a householder could consecrate the śrauta fires. So if the man was to marry after fifty-six his hair would be turning grey and by following the smṛti rule he would run counter to the Vedic injunction. Thus smṛtis would be opposed to śruti and Jaimini's conclusion in I. 3. 3 is that when that is the case smṛti is to be disregarded.

852. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम् । शबर on जै. I. 3. 3. p 169; अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः । तत एषा स्मृतिरित्यवगम्यते । शबर on जै. I. 3. 4. p. 186.

852a. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षं वेदब्रह्मचर्याचरणस्यापि स्मृतावेव पक्षान्तरविकल्पोपनिबन्धनादाश्रमान्तरविषयत्वसंभवाद्वा विरोधाभावः । तथाहि—वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् (मनु 3. 2)। सामर्थ्यादाश्रमयोग्यत्वमङ्गीकृत्यैतदुच्यते । ...तत्रैवं शक्यते वक्तुं येऽन्धपङ्ग्वादयो नराः । गृहस्थत्वं न शक्ष्यन्ति कर्तुं तेषामयं विधिः ॥ नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यं वा परिव्राजकतापि वा । तैरवश्यं ग्रहीतव्या तेनादावेतदुच्यते ॥ ...यो वा कश्चिन्मेधावितया क्षीघ्रमेव वेदचतुष्टयमप्यधीत्य यथोपपत्तिकालं तदर्थज्ञानाभियोगमपरित्यजन् ग्रहणान्तं वेत्येतत्पक्षाश्रयेण गृहस्थो भवेत्तं प्रति द्वादशाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षपक्षावनेनैव स्मरणेन पूर्वपक्षीकृताविति नातीव श्रुतिविरुद्धत्वेनोद्वाहर्तव्यौ । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 192–193.

study must have been found even in ancient times impossible for many among the brāhmaṇas and therefore the Bhāradvāja gṛhya (quoted above in note 850) allowed the alternative that one should study the Veda till the Godāna ceremony (which as we shall see later on) took place in the 16th year. Āśv. gṛ. sūtra I. 22. 3–4 also prescribes only two alternatives for brahmacarya viz. for 12 years or as long as one could learn the Veda (so Āśv. contemplated brahmacarya for less than 12 years). Haradatta remarks on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 16[853] that reading Āp. I. 1. 2. 12–16, I. 11. 3. 1 and Manu III. 1 together it follows that every one must observe brahmacarya for three years at least for each Veda and when it is said that one may observe brahmacarya till one learns the Veda, that means beyond three years for each Veda. This appears somewhat opposed to the words of Āśv. and Bhāradvāja.

Not only was the study of the Veda made an absolute duty for all persons belonging to the three higher varṇas, but the study of Veda was essential for the performance of the solemn Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini[854] lays down that it is only he who knows the Vedic portion necessary for a Vedic sacrifice, that is entitled to perform that sacrifice.

Subjects of Study:—The study of the Veda means the study of the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa portion of the particular śākhā or śākhās.[855] The Veda was deemed to be eternal and not composed by any human author (i. e. it is apauruṣeya). Jaimini in I. 1. 6–23 establishes that the relation of word and sense is eternal and that (in I. 1. 27–32) the Vedas are apauruṣeya. This is not the place to set out or examine the arguments. All dharmaśāstra writers proceed on this axiom of the eternity of the Veda. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 28–29) says that the Vedas are eternal and the whole universe (including the gods) emanates from the Veda

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853. विद्यया स्नातीत्येतस्मिन् पक्षे नातित्वरितेन स्नातव्यमित्येवमर्थमिदमारभ्यते । एतेन एकस्य वेदस्य त्रीणि वर्षाणि ब्रह्मचर्यमवश्यं भावीत्यर्थात् सिद्धम् । ..... ग्रहणान्तिकमेव वा (मनु 3. 1) इति एकैकस्य त्रिभ्य ऊर्ध्वमनियमो न प्रागित्यर्थो द्रष्टव्यः । हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 2. 16.

854. ज्ञाते च वाचनं न ह्यविद्वान् विहितोऽस्ति । जै. III. 8. 18 on which शबर says 'अनारभ्य कर्माणि वेदाध्ययनं श्रूयते तस्मात् स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्य इति । ..... कियता पुनर्विदितेन विद्वानधिक्रियते । यावता विदितेन शक्तो भवति यथोक्तं क्रतुमभिनिर्वर्तयितुं तावद्यो वेद स तेन क्रतुनाधिक्रियते ।'.

855. Vide आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 1. 31 and बो. गृ. सू. II. 6. 3 'मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्' ।; शबर on जै. II. 1. 33 'मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः'.

and reliance is placed on certain Upaniṣad passages and on Manu I. 21, Śānti-parva 233. 24 and other smṛtis. The Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 11 says that the Vedas are the breath of the great Being (i. e. the Supreme Spirit, God); in Bṛ. Up. I. 2. 5 the Creator (Prajāpati) is said to have evolved all this viz. Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, yajñas and so forth. The Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 18 says that the Supreme Being evolved Brahmā and imparted the Vedas to him.[856] The Śāntiparva[857] says that speech in the form of Veda is without beginning and without end, from which all activities and creation proceed, and that the Vedas become latent at the periodical dissolution of the world and become manifest to the great sages again when the world is recreated. But the eternity of the Veda and apauruṣeyatva of the Veda were interpreted in various ways e. g. the Mahābhāṣya says that, though the purport of the Veda is eternal, yet the arrangement of words is non-eternal and therefore there are various śākhās (branches or recensions) of the Veda, named Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka &c.[858]

From very ancient times the literature to be studied appears to have been vast. Vide Tai. Br. quoted above (at p. 271) where the Vedas have been declared to be endless. In the Ṛgveda itself (X. 71. 11) reference is made to the verses learnt by the four principal priests (hotā, adhvaryu, udgātā and brahmā), it is also said that persons who studied together showed great disparity in their mental advancement (Ṛg. X. 71. 7) and that co-students feel elation when their friend wins in a debate in an assembly. The Śat. Br. (XI. 5. 7. 4-8, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 97-98) enumerates under 'svādhyāya' ṛks, yajus formulae, sāmans, Atharvāṅgirasaḥ (Atharvaveda), itihāsa-purāṇa, gāthās in praise of heroes (called Nārāśaṁsīs)'. The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa II. 10 also says 'in this way all these Vedas were created together with kalpa, rahasya (secret doctrines),

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856. यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै । तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धिप्रकाशं मुमुक्षुर्वै शरणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्व. उप. VI. 18 quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

857. अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयंभुवा । आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः॥ शान्तिपर्व 233. 24; युगान्तेन्तर्हितान् वेदान्सेतिहासान् महर्षयः । लेभिरे तपसा पूर्वं मनुज्ञाताः स्वयंभुवा ॥ शान्तिपर्व 210. 19. Both these verses are quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 28 and 29 respectively.

858. ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसीति । यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यो या त्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वी साऽनित्या । तद्भेदाच्चैतद्भवति काठकं कालापकं मौदकं पैप्पलादकमिति। महाभाष्य on पाणिनि IV. 3. 101, vol. II, p. 315.

Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, itihāsa, anvākhyāna, purāṇa, anuśāsanas, vākovākya &c'. In the Upaniṣads frequent mention is made of the literature studied by persons before they became seekers for the knowledge of *brahma*. For example, in Chān. Up. VII. 1. 2 Nārada tells Sanatkumāra that he had studied the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa as the fifth Veda, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), pitrya (treatise on śrāddhas), rāśi (arithmetic), daiva (portents), nidhi (finding out hidden treasures), vākovākya (dialogue or dialectic), ekāyana (politics), devavidyā (Nirukta), brahmavidyā (metres and phonetics), bhūtavidyā (exorcising ghosts), kṣatravidyā (dhanurveda), nakṣatravidyā (astronomy), sarpavidyā (snake charms), devajanavidyā (arts like dancing, singing, preparing unguents &c.). The same list is repeated in Chān. Up. VII. 1. 4 and VII. 7. 1. In the Bṛ. Up.[859] II. 4. 10 and IV. 5. 11 there is a similar smaller list. In the Muṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5 it is said that the ācārya Aṅgiras told Śaunaka who was a great householder that the four Vedas and the six aṅgas (mentioned in note 775 above) are inferior knowledge and that the highest knowledge is that by which the Imperishable One is apprehended. Gaut. XI. 19 exhorts the king to rely upon the Veda, dharmaśāstras, the aṅgas, Upavedas and Purāṇa for regulating the conduct of his subjects. Āp. Dh. S. (quoted above in note 775), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 34–38, Vas. III. 19 and 23, VI. 3–4 mention the aṅgas of Veda. Pāṇini shows acquaintance not only with the Veda and Brāhmaṇas but he knew ancient Kalpasūtras, Bhikṣusūtras and Naṭasūtras, secular works on various subjects (IV. 3. 87–88, 105, 110, 111, 116). Patañjali[860] (2nd century B. C.) mentions how vast the field of Sanskrit literature had become. Yāj. I. 44–45 calls upon the student to study every day according to his ability also Vākovākya, Purāṇa, Nārāśaṁsī,[861] gāthās, itihāsa, vidyās if he desired to

859. एवं वा अरेऽस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानान्यस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। बृह. उ. II. 4. 10. This is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र I. 1. 3 (शास्त्रयोनित्वात्). Śaṅkara explains these in such a way as to show that they are parts of मन्त्र and ब्राह्मण. बृह. उप. IV. 1. 2 also contains a similar enumeration of literary works.

860. चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः..... अथर्वणो वेदो वाकोवाक्यमितिहासः पुराणं वैद्यकमित्येतावाञ् शब्दस्य प्रयोगविषयः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 9. सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेदः means 'Sāmaveda that is sung in a thousand (numerous) ways and modifications'.

861. Mit. on Yāj. I. 45 takes गाथिकाः as distinct from नाराशंसीः 'नाराशंसीश्च रुद्रदैवत्यान्मन्त्रान् गाथा यज्ञगाथेन्द्रगाथाद्याः'.

please the gods and manes. Fourteen vidyās are generally enumerated as in Yāj. I. 3 (= Matsya 53. 5-6), Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 61. 78, Vṛddha-Gautama (p. 632) and other works, viz. four vedas, 6 aṅgas, purāṇas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṁsā and dharmaśāstra. Some added four more to these, viz. the Upavedas of Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra (which were affiliated respectively to the four Vedas) and thus the *vidyās* are also spoken of as 18.[862] Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 21) expressly says that Varatantu taught his pupil 14 vidyās. In E.I. vol. VIII. p. 287 (in an inscription of 199 Guptasaṁvat i. e. 517-18 A. D.) it is said about Suśarman, an ancestor of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha, that 'he knew the highest truth because of his proficiency in the 14 vidyā-sthānas'. Kumārila[863] in his Tantravārtika (p. 201) says that vidyā-sthānas that are looked upon as authoritative in knowing dharma are 14 or 18. The Vārāhagṛhya (6) refers to different preparations for different people, viz. a yājñika had to study mantra and Brāhmaṇa, kalpa (vedic ritual) and mīmāṁsā and one could study at his option grammar, the smṛtis and vaktra (?) and the śrotriya only committed to memory the Veda ; the first two were called snātakas. Numerous grants and inscriptions testify to the provision made by kings and well-to-do donors for all branches of study. In E. C. vol. III. T N. 27 there is a grant made by the minister Perumal under the Hoysala king Vīranarasiṁhadeva in 1290 A. D. which provided that each teacher of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas was to receive a salary of six gadyāṇakas of gold a year and the teacher who taught the boys to read Nāgara, Kannaḍa, Tigulа (Tamil) and Ārya (Marathi) was to receive the same salary. The Gadag inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI. (1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākara's system of Mīmāṁsā at Lakkigundi (E. I. vol. 15 p. 348). Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 338 (for endowment for teaching an astronomical work of Bhāskara).

Even in early times a very extensive literature on Dharma-śāstra had come into existence. The literature of the epics, of kāvyas, drama, fables and romances, astrology, medicine and several branches of speculation had grown to an

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862. वायुपुराण vol. I. 61. 79, गरुडपुराण 223. 21, विष्णुपुराण (quoted by अपरार्क p. 6) name the 18 विद्याः.

863. परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाणत्वेन शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहितापुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादण्डनीतिसंज्ञकानि । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 201 on जै. I. 3. 6 ; vide also p. 195.

enormous extent. On account of this vast literature many portions of which appealed more to the emotions and intellect than the Vedas could, the study of the Veda receded in the background and the study of subsidiary works became more popular. Therefore the smṛtis again and again raise their voice and try to impress it upon all that the first duty of a *dvijāti* is to study the Veda. The Maitrī Up. VII. 10, though comparatively a late work, inveighs against brāhmaṇas studying non-vedic texts.[864] Manu (II. 168) says that the *dvija* who, without studying the Veda, bestows labour upon another lore, is quickly reduced to the status of a śūdra in this very life together with his descendants. Kullūka on this verse cites the aphorism of Śaṅkha-Likhita[865] 'one should not, without studying the Veda first, study another lore, except the Vedāṅgas and smṛtis'. Vas. Dh.S. III. 2 expressly quotes the verse of Manu II. 168 as Mānava śloka. The Tai. Up. I. 9 speaks of svādhyāya (study of the Veda) and pravacana (teaching it or daily repeating it) as *tapas* and joins these two with ṛta, satya, tapas,[866] dama, śama, fires, agnihotra and progeny in order to emphasize that these two are the most important and it also exhorts the student on the eve of his return home not to neglect his study of the Veda.

The study of the Veda did not merely consist in learning the mantras by heart. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 30 quotes a Brāhmaṇa text to the effect that he who teaches a mantra or officiates at a sacrifice with mantras of which he does not know the seer, the deity or the Brāhmaṇa (i. e. *viniyoga*, employment or use) falls on a stump or in a pit.[867] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 quotes a verse of Vyāsa to the same effect. Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory (i. e. not only was there to be pāṭha) but one had also to understand

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864. यदेष्वभिहितं तत्सत्यं यद्वेदेषूक्तं तद्विद्वांस उपजीवन्ति। तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो नावैदिकमधीयीतायमर्थः स्यादिति। मैत्री उप. VII. 10.

865. अत एव शङ्खलिखितौ न वेदमनधीत्यान्यां विद्यामधीयीतान्यत्र वेदाङ्गस्मृतिभ्यः। quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु II. 168; योन्यत्र कुरुते यत्नमनधीत्य श्रुतिं द्विजः। स वै मूढो न संभाष्यो वेदबाह्यो द्विजातिभिः॥ औशनस (Jiv. ed. part 1 p. 517).

866. ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च। ..... स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको मौद्गल्यः। तद्धि तपः। तै. उप. I. 9.

867. श्रुतिरपि ऋषिज्ञानपूर्वकमेव मन्त्रेणानुष्ठानं दर्शयति। यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयं-च्छन्दोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति वाध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्च्छति गर्तं वा प्रतिपद्यते इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात्' इति। शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 30.

the meaning. The Nirukta (I. 18) quotes two verses[868] which condemn in very strong language one who only commits to memory the Veda and does not know the meaning 'that man, who having studied the Veda, does not know its meaning, is indeed a tree, a stump, a mere carrier of a load; he alone who knows the meaning secures all happiness; his sins being shaken off by knowledge, he reaches heaven'. Dakṣa[869] II. 34 says that the study of Veda involves five things viz. first committing to memory the Veda, then reflection over its meaning, keeping it fresh by repeating it again and again, japa (inaudibly muttering by way of prayer) and imparting it to pupils. Manu XII. 103 says 'those who have committed to memory the Veda are superior to those who are ignorant of it, those who retain their Veda (i. e. who do not allow it to be forgotten) are superior to those who only studied it (and then forgot it), those who know its meaning are superior to those who simply retain it in memory, those who perform what the meaning of the Veda dictates are superior to those who know its meaning'. Śabara[870] says that the real purpose of the study of the Veda is the knowledge about religious actions that it conveys and that from the mere memorizing of the Veda, no rewards are promised by those who know the lore of the sacrifices. Viśvarūpa[871] on Yāj. I. 51 says that he alone is really vedapāraga who has made the Veda his own as to the spirit (the meaning). Aparārka (p. 74) quotes a long passage from Vyāsa condemning the mere memorizing of the Veda.[872] Vide also Medhātithi on Manu III. 19.

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868. स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योर्थम्। योऽर्थज्ञ इत् सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा॥ यद्गृहीतमविज्ञातं निगदेनैव शब्द्यते। अनग्नाविव शुष्कैधो न तज्ज्वलति कर्हिचित्॥ निरुक्त I. 18.

869. वेदस्वीकरणं पूर्वं विचारोऽस्यसनं जपः। तदानं चैव शिष्येभ्यो वेदाभ्यासो हि पञ्चधा॥ दक्ष II. 34 quoted by the मिता० on या III. 310 and अपरार्क p. 126.

870 दृष्टो हि तस्यार्थः कर्मावबोधनम्। न च तस्याध्ययनमात्रात्तत्रभवन्तो याज्ञिकाः फलं समामनन्ति। शबर p. 6. This passage is quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 1.

871. वेदस्य पारनयनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकरणं न ग्रन्थत एव। तथा च वक्तारो भवन्ति वेदाध्याय्यं न वेदपारग इति। विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

872. Two or three verses may be quoted: न वेदपाठमात्रेण संतोषं कारयेद् द्विजः। पाठमात्रावसानो हि पङ्के गौरिव सीदति॥ ...योधीत्य विधिवद्वेदं वेदार्थं न विचारयेत्। स सान्वयः शूद्रसमः पात्रतां न प्रपद्यते॥ पाठमात्रात्तिलात्यं द्विजातींश्चार्थवर्जितान्। पशूनिव च ताम्राक्षो बाह्यात्रेणापि नार्चयेत्। अपरार्क pp. 74-75 quoting व्यास; printed कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 14. 86-87) has the पाद 'यो...चारयेत्'. औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p 517) has the first two verses quoted here.

In spite of these excellent precepts it appears that from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning. The Mahābhārata[873] speaks disparagingly of the śrotriya as having an intellect dulled by the constant repetition of the anuvākas of the Veda. Further there was always an undercurrent of the belief that the mere memorizing of the Vedic texts conferred great sanctity on the memorizer and removed all sins. As time went on these ideas became supreme and the neglect of the meaning of the Veda has gone so far that among many modern orthodox brāhmaṇas there is a belief that the meaning of the Veda cannot be known and it is futile to try to find its meaning. The Tai. Br. says that a man's sins are destroyed by the Veda and by svādhyāya. In Vas. Dh. S. 27. 1, Manu XI. 245, Yāj. III. 310 and in numerous other places it is said that sins do not affect a man who studies the Veda and that the study of Veda destroys sin. Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10–15 speaks of about 35 groups of Vedic hymns (like the Aghamarṣaṇa, Ṛg. X. 190) by silently muttering which a man is purified of his sins; but Vas. Dh. S. 27. 4 is careful to add that Veda study only removes such sins as are committed through ignorance or carelessness.[874] Similar provision for removal of sins by the muttering of the Vedic mantras is made in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56. 1–27, Yāj. III. 307–309, Manu XI. 248–260 &c.

Not only was the Veda to be committed to memory, but when learnt it was not allowed to slip from one's mind. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 makes '*brahmojjha*' (i. e. abandoning what is learnt) a grave sin along with drinking wine and others. Similarly Manu XI. 56 and Yāj. III. 228 also treat it as equal to drinking wine or the murder of a brāhmaṇa.

Similarly Manu IV. 163 forbids nāstikya[875] (holding that there is no soul or no Hereafter) and the reviling of the Veda and in

873. श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्दकस्याविपश्चितः। अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्धर्ममेवैकमीक्षते। उद्योगपर्व 132. 6 and शान्तिपर्व 10. 1.

874. न वेदबलमाश्रित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत्। अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दृश्यते कर्म नेतरत्॥ वसिष्ठ 27. 4; this verse is also अङ्गिरस् (Anan. ed) v. 102.

875. Even in the Ṛgveda reference is made to people who did not look upon Indra as a god 'नेन्द्रं देवममंसत' ऋ. X. 86. 1. We saw above (p. 26) that the dasyus are often spoken of as 'avrata, ayajña and aśraddha' (vide Ṛg. I. 51. 8, I. 75. 3, VII. 6. 3). In the Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 20 Naciketas says that people existed who thought that there was no

(*Continued on next page*)

XI. 56 regards the latter as a grave sin equal to drinking wine, while Yāj. III. 288 treats it as grave as brahmahatyā. Gaut. 21. 1 mentions the nāstika among *patitas* along with brāhmaṇa murderer and drinker of wine. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 4 includes the reviling of Veda among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu II. 11 says that he who disrespects veda and smṛti by relying on syllogistic reasoning is a reviler of Veda and a nāstika (atheist) and should be excluded from social intercourse by good men. Vas. Dh. S. XII. 41 says 'to hold the vedas as unauthoritative, to carp at the words of the sages, and to be wavering on all points lead to one's destruction'. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 83 and Anuśāsanaparva 37. 11 for the same (in the latter the 2nd pāda is śāstrāṇām cābhilaṅghanam).

Another striking feature of the ancient educational system was the total absence of any prior agreement about fees for teaching students. So early as Bṛ. Up. IV. 1. 2 we find Yājñavalkya

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(*Continued from last page*)

survival of the soul after death and Yama declares that he who does not believe in the world hereafter again and again comes within his grasp (2.6). The word नास्तिक is derived by पाणिनि in 'अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः' IV.4. 60 (the meaning being नास्ति परलोक इति मतिर्यस्य). The बृहती (of प्रभाकर) on the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र p. 284 (Madras ed.) regards बृहस्पति as the founder of materialism and the com. ऋजुविमला on the same quotes a verse (p. 285) 'अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदास्त्रिदण्डं भस्मगुण्ठनम् । बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः॥.' This verse is quoted in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (चार्वाकदर्शन) also. मेधा० on मनु IV. 163 says 'वेदप्रमाणकानामर्थानां मिथ्यात्वाध्यवसायो नास्तिक्यम्। शब्देन प्रतिपादनं निन्दा पुनरुक्तो वेदोन्योन्यव्याहतो नात्र सत्यमस्तीति'; while स्मृतिच० (II. p. 395) explaining Manu III. 150 says 'नास्ति कालान्तरे फलदं कर्म नास्ति देवतेत्यादिमन्तो नास्तिकाः'. Manu IX. 225 prescribes banishment from the capital for heretics (pāṣaṇḍastha). विष्णुपुराण III. 18. 27-28 speaks of the teaching of मायामोह as यज्ञैरनेकैर्देवत्वमवाप्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते । शम्यादि यदि चेत्काष्ठं तद्वरं पत्रभुक्पशुः॥ निहतस्य पशोर्यज्ञे स्वर्गप्राप्तिर्यदीष्यते । स्वपिता यजमानेन किं नु तस्मान्न हन्यते'. नारद (ऋणादान verse 180) regards a नास्तिक as an unfit witness in general. The Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha gives a synopsis of the views of Cārvāka and the षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय of हरिभद्र composed about 528 (A. D.) also summarises the views of लोकायत (ed. in B. I. series by L. Suali). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. III. pp. 325-326) refers to Lokāyata. The well-known verse 'यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेदृणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् । भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः॥' occurs in the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह in its summary at the end of the section on चार्वाकदर्शन. The षड्दर्शनसमुच्चय verse 80 succintly expresses the लोकायत view 'लोकायता वदन्त्येवं नास्ति जीवो न निर्वृतिः । धर्माधर्मौ न विद्येते न फलं पुण्यपापयोः॥'. निर्वृतिः means मोक्ष. A comprehensive history of Indian Materialism would be a very interesting work but it has yet to be written.

saying to king Janaka who offered to give him a thousand cows, an elephant and a bull (or as Śaṁkara explains an elephant-like bull), 'my father was of opinion that without fully teaching a pupil one should not receive any reward from him'.[876] Gaut.[877] (II. 54-55) says that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what the teacher wants or if the teacher allowed him to go without demanding anything, the student should take the ceremonial bath (i. e. return home). The Āśv. gṛ. (III. 9. 4) has almost the same words. The Āp. Dh. S.[878] (1. 2. 7. 19-23) requires the student to offer at the end of his studies, whatever their extent may be, a dakṣiṇā obtained from proper sources to his teacher according to his abilities and that if the teacher is in straightened circumstances, to offer him a fee even by begging from a person who is of the *ugra* caste or from a śūdra and that after offering a fee or doing even a very strikingly good turn to his teacher he should not boast of it to others nor should he ever dwell in his mind over it. The ideal was that the dakṣiṇā (fee) offered to the teacher at the end of study was simply for pleasing or propitiating the teacher and was not a complete equivalent of or compensation for the knowledge imparted. Manu (II. 245-246) says that the student need not give anything to the teacher till his snāna; when he is about to return home, he may offer to his guru some wealth; that the gift of a field, gold, a cow, or a horse, of even shoes or an umbrella, of a seat, corn, vegetables and clothes (either singly or together) may engender pleasure in the teacher. The Chān. Up.[879] III. 11. 6 eulogises brahmavidyā by declaring it to be more valuable than the gift of the whole earth together with all its wealth. The smṛtis[880] declare that even if the guru teaches a single

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876. सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः पिता मेऽमन्यत नानद्यशिष्य हरेतेति । बृह. उप. IV.1.2.

877. विद्यान्ते गुरवर्थेन निमन्त्र्यः । कृत्वानुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । गौ. II.54-55; विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्रं कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.

878. कृत्वा विद्यां यावतीं वेददक्षिणामाहरेद्धर्मतो यथाशक्ति । विषमगते त्वाचार्य उग्रतः शूद्रतो वा हरेत् । सर्वदा शूद्रत उग्रतो वाचार्यार्थस्याहरणं धर्म्यमित्येके । दत्त्वा च नानुकथयेत् । कृत्वा च नानुस्मरेत् । आप. ध. I. 2. 7. 19-23.

879. यद्यप्यस्मा इमामद्भिः परिगृहीतां धनस्य पूर्णां दद्यादेतदेव ततो भूयः । छान्दोग्य III. 11. 6.

880. एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्ये निवेदयेत् । पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद् द्रव्यं यद्दत्त्वा ह्यनृणीभवेत् ॥ लघुहारीत according to स्मृतिच० I. p. 66 and हारीत according to परा. मा. I. 2. p. 53.

letter to the pupil, there is nothing in this world by giving which the pupil can get rid of the debt he owes. The Mahābhārata says (Āśvamedhika 56. 21) that the teacher's satisfaction with the student's work and conduct is indeed the proper dakṣiṇā.[881] Yāj. I. 51 says that one should give to his teacher what he chooses to ask as dakṣiṇā and Kātyāyana[882] quoted by Aparārka (p. 76) prescribes that a brāhmaṇa pupil may give a cow, a princely one a village, a vaiśya a horse (if able to do so). It has been shown above (p. 355) how kings and others made gifts of lands or provided for salaries to teachers. One of the earliest record about university scholarships is contained in the Bahur (near Pondichery) plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman in which we find a grant to a Vidyāsthāna (a seat of learning) for promotion of learning (E. I. vol. 18 p. 5). In E. I. vol. 15 p. 83 there is provision of 30 *mattars* of land for professors lecturing to ascetics and of eight *mattars* to teachers giving lessons to the youths in a monastery (in the times of Cālukya Someśvara I at Sūdi in Dharwar District in *śake* 981). The Peshwa distributed to learned brāhmaṇas every year dakṣiṇā which rose to 4 lakhs of rupees a short time before 1818 A. D. It may be stated that even in the 20th century there are numerous brāhmaṇa teachers of the veda and the śāstras who teach pupils for years without stipulating for any fee or even receiving anything from them.

According to Manu II. 141, Śaṅkhasmṛti III. 2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 29. 2 a teacher who teaches the Veda or the Vedāṅgas for money or for his livelihood is called an Upādhyāya. Yāj. III. 235 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 20 and others include teaching for money (and also learning from a paid teacher) among upapātakas (lesser sins). Manu III. 156, Anuśāsana 23. 17 and Yāj. I. 223 say that he who is a hired teacher (bhṛtakādhyāpaka) and he who learns from such a teacher are not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. But Medhātithi (on Manu II. 112 and III. 146), the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 235), the Sm. C. and others say that a person does not become a hired teacher by accepting something from a pupil, but that what is condemned is making a *stipulation* beforehand that one would teach only if a certain sum or if so much

881. दक्षिणा परितोषो वै गुरूणां सद्भिरुच्यते । आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 21.

882. गौर्ब्राह्मणस्य वरो ग्रामो राजन्यस्याश्वो वैश्यस्य । कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 76. The same is quoted as पारस्कर's by विश्वरूप on या. I. 51.

were paid or delivered.[883] In distress, Manu X. 116 and Yāj. III. 42 allow even such stipulations for the purpose of securing one's livelihood.

The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 133. 2-3) shows that when Bhīṣma appointed Droṇa as the teacher of the Pāṇḍava and Kaurava princes he bestowed on him wealth and a well-furnished house full of corn; but there was no stipulation.

It has been shown above (p. 113) that it was the king's duty to support learned men and students and to see that no brāhmaṇa died of hunger in his kingdom (vide Gaut. X. 9-12, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 79-80, Manu VII. 82-85, Yāj. I. 315, 333). So a student, when the teacher demanded a heavy fee at the end of studies, could theoretically at least approach a king for the fee. Kālidāsa draws in Raghuvaṁśa V a graphic picture how Varatantu demanded a dakṣiṇā of 14 crores from his pupil Kautsa who approached Raghu for the same and would not take more than his requirements. Sometimes the teacher or his wife, according to legends, demanded fanciful dakṣiṇās. For example, Uttaṅka was asked by his teacher's wife, when he urged her to take something, to bring the ear-rings of the queen of the reigning king (vide Ādiparva chap. 3 and Āśvamedhika-parve 56).

It would be interesting to see how far corporal punishment of pupils was allowed in ancient India. Gaut.[884] (II. 48-50) lays down that pupils are to be regulated (ordinarily) without beating; but if it is not possible to control the pupil (by words &c.) then he may be struck with a slender rope or with a split bamboo; that if the teacher struck (the pupil) in any other way (e. g. with the hand &c.) the teacher should be punished by the king. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 29-30 calls upon the teacher to censure (by words) a pupil when he commits a fault and to employ according to the gravity of the offence any one or more of the following punishments till the pupil desists, viz. threatening (the pupil), refusing to give him food, drenching him in cold water and not allowing him to come in his presence.[885] The

883. न चैतन्मन्तव्यम्। अर्थमादाय यद्दध्यापनं सा भृतिः। न हि पणपरिमाणसंभावणपूर्विका तत्र प्रवृत्तिर्यदेयद्दद्यासि तदेतदध्यापयामीति। एतद् भृते रूपं न पुनरर्थोपकारगन्धमात्रेण। मेधा० मनु II. 112.

884. शिष्यशिक्षिरवधेन। अशक्तौ रज्जुवेणुविदलाभ्यां तद्वन्याम्। अन्येन घ्नन् राज्ञा शास्यः। गौतम II. 48-50.

885. अपराधेषु चैनं सततमुपालभेत। अभिक्रास उपवास उदकोपस्पर्शनमदर्शनमिति दण्डा यथामात्रमा निवृत्तेः। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 8. 29-30.

Mahābhāṣya[886] (vol. I. p. 41) refers to the fact that when a pupil pronounced a wrong accent (e. g. anudātta in place of udātta) the upādhyāya slapped him (on the back probably). Manu VIII. 299–300, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 81–82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā, verses 13–14) follow Gautama as to corporal punishment, but add that beating should be on the back only and never on the head nor on the chest, while Nārada further rules that the beating should not be excessive. Manu (VIII. 300) says that the punishment in case of violation of these rules by the teacher is that for a thief and (VIII. 299) extends the same rules to the son and the wife. Manu II. 159 recommends that in imparting instruction about the right path of conduct, one should use sweet persuasive (not high-toned) words.

A few words must now be said about the education of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras. According to Gaut. XI. 3 a king should be well-grounded in the three Vedas and in Ānvīkṣikī (i. e. metaphysics) and in XI. 19 Gaut. says that the king has to rely for carrying out his duties on the veda, the dharmaśāstras, the subsidiary lores of the veda, the upavedas and purāṇas. Manu VII. 43 and Yāj. I. 311 say that a king should be proficient in the three Vedas, in metaphysics, in daṇḍanīti (the art of government and statecraft) and in *vārtā* (economic life and production of wealth). These directions were probably meant to be an ideal and very few kings ever went through all this. If any conclusions are to be drawn from the stories in the Mahābhārata, we may say that princes at least hardly ever went to a guru's home, but teachers were engaged to teach them (as Droṇa was engaged by Bhīṣma) and they became proficient in military skill. Alberuni (tr. by Sachau 1888, vol. I p. 125) says that brāhmaṇas taught the veda to kṣatriyas, but he is probably drawing only on the rules given in the smṛtis. Kings left ecclesiastical matters to their *purohita* and were always to rely on him for advice. Gaut.[887] XI. 12–13 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 16 require that the purohita was to be a learned man of good birth, endowed with polished speech, a fine form, middle age and high character and that he was to be well-versed in dharma and artha. Āśv. gṛ. III. 12 describes how the purohita is to prepare the king for battle. Kauṭ. in his Arthaśāstra after

886. य उदात्ते कर्तव्येऽनुदात्तं करोति खण्डिकोपाध्यायस्तस्मै चपेटां ददात्यन्यत्र करोषीति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 41.

887. ब्राह्मणं च पुरोदधीत विद्याभिजनवाङ्रूपवयःशीलसंपन्नं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम्। तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत । गौ. XI. 12–13.

stating several views gives his own opinion that the vidyās for a prince are four (the same as those of Manu and Yāj. above), that after the *caula* is performed the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic and when upanayana is performed he should learn the four vidyās till he is 16 years old and may then marry (I. 5), that in the first part of the day he should have instruction in elephant riding and horse riding, riding in chariots and in arms and the latter part of the day he should devote to hearing purāṇas, stories, dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra (politics). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (2nd century B. C.) there is a reference to *rūpa* (currency), *gaṇanā* (finance and treasury accounts), *lekha* (official correspondence) and *vyavahāra* (law and judicial administration) as the subjects which Khāravela mastered as heir-apparent from his 15th year to his 24th (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 71 at p. 81, J. R. A. S. 1918 p. 545, I. H. Q. vol. 14 for 1938 p. 459 ff.). In the Kādambarī also Bāṇa shows that prince Candrāpīḍa did not go to a teacher's house but that a school was built for him outside the capital where he learnt from his 7th to the 16th year.

As to the education of kṣatriyas in general we have hardly any directions in the dharmaśāstra works. But that there were several learned kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who sometimes became teachers cannot be denied. Kumārilabhaṭṭa says (on Jaimini I. 2. 2) that adhyāpana[888] is not a special characteristic for recognising that a man is a brāhmaṇa, since certain kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who have given up the observation of the caste rules also do so.

About the education of vaiśyas there is still less material. Manu X. 1 lays down generally that the three varṇas (including vaiśyas) are to learn the Veda, (X. 79) that trade, cattle-rearing and agriculture are the means of the vaiśya's livelihood and that (IX. 328-332) the vaiśya should never think of giving up cattle rearing, that he should know the prices of jewels, coral and pearls, of metals and clothes, of perfumes and salt, the sowing of seed, the qualities and defects of soils, measures and weights, the different grades of qualities of goods, the profit and loss in trade, the rates of pay for servants, various alphabets and the places where saleable articles are produced or manufactured.

888. अध्यापनाद्यपि भिक्षाचारक्षत्रियवैश्यप्रतियोगित्वात्संदिग्धम् । सर्वं च वृत्त-शूद्रेषु संभाव्यमानत्वादनिश्चितम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 108.

Yāj. II. 184, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 16-20) indicate that boys were apprenticed with master artisans to learn several *śilpas* (crafts) like preparing ornaments[889] of gold or for learning dancing, singing &c. An apprentice was to stipulate how long he would stay with the master craftsman, that even if he learnt the craft earlier than the stipulated time he was still to stay with the teacher and work for him till the period was over, that the teacher was to give food and lodging to the apprentice and to appropriate the proceeds from his work, that if the apprentice left the teacher before the time fixed even though the teacher was ready to teach him, he was to be compelled to stay with the teacher and to be imprisoned or sentenced to whipping by the king if he would not stay.

As for the education of the śūdra, there are hardly any rules in the dharmaśāstras. He gradually, as stated above (at pp. 120-121), rose in status and was allowed to engage in crafts and agriculture and so the same rules might have been applied to him as to vaiśya apprentices. The śūdra could listen to the recitation of the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas as shown above (at pp. 155-156).

It appears that in very ancient times the status of Indian women as to education was much higher than in medieval and modern times in India. Several women are stated to have been the composers of Vedic hymns; e. g. Ṛg. V. 28 is ascribed to Viśvavārā of the Atri family; Ṛg. VIII. 91 to Apālā of the same family and Ṛg. X. 39 to Ghoṣā Kākṣīvatī. The Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 1. shows that Maitreyī, one of the two wives of Yājñavalkya, the great philosopher of ancient India, was herself a very earnest seeker after true knowledge and she prayed to Yājñavalkya that he should impart to her such knowledge as would make her immortal.[890] In the same Upaniṣad (III. 6 and 8) we find that among the several interlocutors in the court of Janaka, king of Videha, who propounded several questions for solution before Yājñavalkya, Gārgī Vācaknavī occupies a very prominent position. She pursued Yājñavalkya with subtle and searching questions till ultimately he was forced to warn her

889. विज्ञानमुच्यते शिल्पं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्कृतिः। चित्तादिकं च यत्प्राप्तुं कर्म कुर्यादुरोर्ग्रहे ॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 195. It is interesting that the मिता॰ on या. II.184 regards आयुर्वेद as a शिल्प to be learnt under the apprentice system.

890. सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे ब्रूहीति। बृह. उप. II. 4. 3 and IV. 5. 4.

not to probe too much into the nature of the First Principle which was beyond mere human reason and logical questioning or otherwise she might die by the fall of her head. Then she desisted, but her unquenchable thirst for philosophical knowledge again swelled up and she put two questions to Yājñavalkya hoping to confound him. In the same Up. (Br. Up. VI. 4. 17) there is a rite prescribed[891] for one who desires to have a learned daughter. As in the very preceding sentence a prescription is given for one desirous of having a son who would master the three Vedas, it naturally follows that the learning of the daughter must refer to the same topic. But Śaṁkara, in whose day women were debarred from learning the Vedas, could not but explain the word 'paṇḍitā' as referring to proficiency in domestic work. It has been shown above (p. 294) that upanayana and veda study were allowed to women by Hārīta. In the daily ṛṣitarpaṇa (Āśv. gṛ. III. 4) among a host of sages water is offered to three women as teachers viz. Gārgī Vācaknavī, Vaḍavā Prātitheyī and Sulabhā Maitreyī. The very fact that the Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 1. 59 and III. 3. 21 teaches the formation of ācāryā and upādhyāyā as meaning a woman who is herself a teacher (and not merely the wife of a teacher) establishes that the ancient grammarians were familiar with women teachers. Patañjali teaches[892] how and why a brāhmaṇa woman is called Āpiśalā (one who studies the grammar of Āpiśali) and Kāśakṛtsnā (one who studies the mīmāṁsā work of Kāśakṛtsna). He also states the formation of the appellation 'Audameghāḥ' (meaning the pupils of a woman teacher called Audameghyā). Gobhila[893] gṛ. II. 1. 19–20 prescribes that when the bride pushes forward with her foot a mat the bridegroom should make her repeat the mantra 'may the way which my husband goes by be also assigned to me' and that if she does not repeat this mantra (through bashfulness &c.) he

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891. अथ य इच्छेद्दुहिता मे पण्डिता जायेत &c. । बृह. उ. VI. 4. 17; दुहितुः पाण्डित्यं गृहतन्त्रविषयमेव वेदेऽनधिकारात् । शांकरभाष्य.

892. आपिशलमधीते ब्राह्मणी आपिशला ब्राह्मणी । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 205 (on वार्तिक 3 on पाणिनि IV. 1. 14); काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी । अत्र प्रामोति । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 206 on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 14; vide also महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 249; औदमेध्याया श्छात्रा औदमेघाः । vol. II. p. 229 (on पा. IV. 1.78).

893. पश्चादग्नेः संवेष्टितं कटमेवंजातीयं वान्यत्पदा प्रवर्तयन्तीं वाचयेत् प्र मे पतियानः पन्थाः कल्पतामिति । स्वयं जपेद्वजपन्त्यां प्रत्या इति । गोभिलगृह्य II. 1. 19–20. The मन्त्र (मन्त्रब्राह्मण I. 1. 8) is 'प्र मे पतियानः पन्थाः कल्पताम् । शिवा अरिष्टा पतिलोकं गमेयम् ।'.

should repeat it substituting the words 'to her' for 'to me'. In the Kāṭhaka[894] gṛ. 25. 23 it is said that the Anuvāka beginning with 'sarasvati predam-ava' (of 21 verses) was to be recited both by the bride and the bridegroom according to some teachers. All this shows that women could recite Vedic mantras in the sūtra period. The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana,[895] a remarkable though in some places a filthy work, prescribes that women should study the Kāmasūtra and its subsidiary aṅgas (viz. the 64 kalās such as singing, dancing, painting &c.) before they attain youth (i. e. in their father's house) and after marriage with the husband's consent. In the 64 kalās enumerated in that work (I. 3. 16) are included prahelikās (riddles of words), pustakavācana (chanting from books), kāvyasamasyā-pūraṇa (composing a suitable portion of a verse to fit in with a portion given), knowledge of lexicons and metres &c. We read in the epics and the dramas like the Śākuntala of women writing messages to their lovers. In the Mālatīmādhava Bhavabhūti tells his readers that the fathers of the hero and the heroine studied in their youth together with Kāmandakī at the feet of the same master. From anthologies like Rājaśekhara's Sūktimuktāvali we learn that there were poetesses like Vijjā, Sītā &c. All these facts tend to indicate that literary attainments among women were not totally unheard of in ancient India.

But gradually the position of women became worse and worse. In the Dharmasūtras and Manu woman is assigned a position of dependence and even women of higher classes came to be looked upon as equal to śūdras so far as Vedic study and several other matters were concerned. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 45 and Manu IX. 3 say that women have no independence and in all stages depend upon men. We have seen (at p. 265) also that all the saṁskāras (except marriage) were performed in the case of girls without Vedic mantras. Though according to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā the husband and wife were to perform Vedic sacrifices together (Jaimini VI. 1. 17-21) still women[896] were only associated with their husbands and all the

894. 'ततो गाथा वाच्यति सरस्वति प्रेदमवेत्यनुवाकम्'। उभावित्येके। काठकगृह्य 25.23.

895. धर्मार्थाङ्गविद्याकालाननुपरोधयन् कामसूत्रं तदङ्गविद्याश्च पुरुषोधीयीत। प्राग्यौवनात्स्त्री। प्रत्ता च पत्युरभिप्रायात्। कामसूत्र I. 2. 1-3.

896. तस्या यावदुक्तमाशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यमतुल्यत्वात्। जै. VI. 1. 24; अतुल्या हि स्त्री पुंसा। यजमानः पुमान् विद्वांश्च पत्नी स्त्री चाविद्या च। ...यास्त्वाशिषो यच्च ब्रह्मचर्यं तत्पुरुषं प्रति गुणभूतम्...अत आशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यं चोभयोरपि स्यात्। यच्चाहत्योच्यते यथा पत्न्याज्यमवेक्षते इति। शाबर.

actions to be done by the sacrificer (yajamāna) were to be done only by the husband except where the texts expressly requested the wife to do certain things such as examining the ājya or repeating certain mantras (VI. 1. 24). Jaimini says that the husband and wife were not equal and Śabara explains that the yajamāna is a male and is learned, while the patnī is a woman and has no vidyā. Medhātithi[897] on Manu II. 49 raises the interesting question why brahmacārins when begging for alms used a Sanskrit formula (bhavati bhikṣām dehi) which language ladies do not know. He replies that women can understand that vernacular words which they use being similar to Sanskrit words must be derived from them and that these few well-known Sanskrit words they can easily grasp. Besides even in Vedic times there was a tendency as in many other countries to make sarcastic references to women. The Ṛgveda[898] VIII. 33. 17 says " Even Indra said ' the mind of woman cannot be controlled; and also her intellect (or power) is slight ' "; in Ṛg. X. 95. 15 [899] ' there is no truth in the friendship of women ; they have the hearts of hyaenas '. The Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 3 exhorts a person studying the Madhu-vidyā not to look at ' woman, śūdra, the dog and the black bird that are all untruth '. In Manu II. 213–214, Anuśāsanaparva chap. 19. 91–94, chap. 38 and 39 there is severe condemnation of woman. Such ideas, and ideas about pollution and the early marriage of girls are probably responsible for the great lack of literacy among women in medieval and modern times.

As literary education among women was in a languishing state or almost nil, the question of co-education hardly arises. There are no doubt faint indications that when women could at all devote themselves to learning, they must have been taught with male pupils. Poets like Bhavabhūti (in the Mālatī-mādhava) envisage a state of society in which a woman (like Kāmandakī) learnt at the feet of the same master along with male students (like Bhūrivasu and Devarāta, who later on became ministers of states).

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897. कुतः पुनः संस्कृतशब्दार्थलाभो यावता स्त्रियः संबोध्यन्ते ताश्च संस्कृतं नावबुध्यन्ते । ...एवं स्त्रियः साधुश्यात्साधूपोऽसाधूपुत्पन्नसंबन्धान् स्मृत्वा तेभ्योऽर्थं प्रत्येष्यन्ति स्वल्पाक्षरं चैतत्पदत्रयं सर्वप्रसिद्धं स्त्रीभिरपि तज्ज्ञानम् । मेधा० on मनु. II. 49.

898. इन्द्रश्चिद्धा तदब्रवीत् स्त्रिया अशास्यं मनः । उतो अह क्रतुं रघुम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 17.

899. न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति सालावृकाणां हृदयान्येता । ऋ. X. 95. 15.

The house of the ācārya where the student learnt was called ācāryakula (vide Chān. Up. II. 23. 2, IV. 5. 1., IV. 9. 1, VIII. 15. 1). The teacher who presided over a large establishment of pupils was called kulapati (e. g. Kaṇva is so referred to in the Śākuntala, vide note 134 above).

It is outside the scope of this work to show from the numerous inscriptions and copper-plate grants that have been published so far, how ancient kings and rich private persons made substantial grants to famous schools, colleges and universities. There were famous universities at Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), Valabhi, Benares, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā &c. For an account of the university of Nālandā in the 7th century reference may be made to the accounts given by the two Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang (vide Watters vol. II. pp. 109, 246) and Itsing ('Records of the Buddhist Religion' by Dr. Takakusu pp. 154, 177 &c.). Most of those seats of learning were endowed. One of the earliest of such grants is that of the Pallava Nṛpatuṅga-varman (Bahur Plates, E. I. 18 p. 5) whereby three villages were bestowed as a source of revenue (vidyābhoga) for the promotion of learning to the residents of a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna, a college) at Vāgūr. The Kāvya-mīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (in chap. 10) calls upon the king to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to arrange for their examination and to distribute rewards to them in the manner of such ancient kings as Vāsudeva, Sātavāhana, Śūdraka, Sāhasāṅka. It also says that in Ujjayinī such poets as Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Bhāravi, Haricandra were examined and in Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) such famous śāstrakāras as Pāṇini, Vyāḍi, Vararuci, Patañjali, Varṣa, Upavarṣa, and Piṅgala were examined.

The salient features of the educational system outlined in the Dharmaśāstra works are the high and honourable position assigned to the teacher, the close personal contact of the pupil with the teacher and individual attention, the pupil's stay with the teacher as a member of his family, oral instruction and the absence of books, stern discipline and control of emotions and the will, cheapness (as no fees were stipulated for). The Indian system compares most favourably with any system of education of the West, whether in Greece or Rome or any other country. It gave to the students a more or less literary education, particularly of the Vedic literature and of philosophy, grammar and other subjects ancillary thereto. The principal

effort was directed towards the conservation of the ancient literature rather than to the creation of fresh literature. In these respects it was similar to the Grammar Schools of England and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as they were till about the middle of the 19th century. The defects of the Indian system were that it was too literary, there was too much memorizing, boys under it had hardly any instruction in useful manual arts and crafts, the studies were not brought in contact with practical life. The discipline was rigorous and joyless. Many of these defects were due to the exigencies of the caste system which assigned particular avocations to particular castes. We cannot and should not compare the system with the systems of education prevalent in the 20th century, when several subjects such as literature, music and the fine arts, handicrafts, mathematics, science, history and geography are taught in the schools to all boys and when it has been recognised that education is a prime concern of the State.

The four Veda-vratas:—Among the saṁskāras enumerated by Gautama there are four Veda-vratas (Gaut. VIII. 15). These four are also included in the 16 saṁskāras by several smṛtis. Their names and procedure differ considerably in the several gṛhyasūtras. Some gṛhyasūtras like Pār. do not describe them. A brief reference will be made to them here. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 20 [900] says in general words that in the vratas all the ceremonies beginning from shaving the head up to paridāna (i. e. Āśv. gṛ. I. 19. 8 to I. 20. 7) that are performed at the upanayana are repeated each time with each vrata. And the four vratas according to the Āśvalāyana smṛti (in verse) were Mahānāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata (Ait. Ār. I. and V), Upaniṣad vrata and Godāna. Each vrata is to be performed for a year. Vide Laghu Āśvalāyana 11th section (Ānan. Ed). The Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 11–12) describes, after the student is instructed in the sacred Gāyatrī, four vratas (observances) called Śukriya (which precedes the study of the main part of the Ṛgveda), the Śākvara, Vrātika and Aupaniṣada vratas (which three precede the study of the different sections of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka). The observance of the first of these (viz. Śukriya) lasted for three days or twelve days or one year or as long as the teacher liked and the observances of the other three were to be kept for one year each (Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 11. 10–12, S. B. E. vol. 29

900. एतेन चापनादि परिदानान्तं व्रतादेशनं व्याख्यातम्। आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 20.

p. 77). At the beginning of each of these three vratas there is a separate upanayana, followed by a ceremony called Uddīkṣaṇikā (giving up the preparatory observances) and then the vrata is to be performed for one year. The Āraṇyaka is to be studied in the forest out of the village. Manu II. 174 prescribes that at the time of the beginning of each of these vratas the student had to put on a new deer skin, a new yajñopavīta and a new girdle. The Gobhila gṛhya III. 1. 26-31 (which is connected with the Sāmaveda) mentions the vratas as Godānika, Vrātika, Āditya, Aupaniṣada, Jyeṣṭha-sāmika, each lasting for one year. It adds that some do not observe the Āditya-vrata. The godāna vrata is connected by the Gobhilīya with the saṁskāra of godāna (to be described below) and it prescribes certain observances for it such as removing all hair on the head, chin and lips; avoiding false-hood, anger, sexual intercourse, perfumes, dancing and singing, collyrium, honey and meat; not wearing shoes in the village. It also prescribes that wearing the girdle, begging for food, carrying a staff, daily bath, offering a fuel-stick, and clasping the teacher's feet in the morning are common to all vratas. The Godānika enabled the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda (i. e. the collection of verses sacred to Agni, Indra and Soma Pavamāna). The Vrātika was introductory to the study of the Āraṇyaka (excluding Śukriya sections); the Āditya vrata to the study of the Śukriya sections; the Aupaniṣada-vrata to the study of the Upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa; the Jyeṣṭha-sāmika to the study of the Ājya-dohas. The Kh. gṛ. II. 5. 17 ff. speaks of the same vratas as Gobhila. Those who observe the Ādityavrata wore one garment, did not allow anything to come between them and the sun (except trees and the roofs of houses) and did not descend into water more than knee-deep. The Śākvara vrata was kept for one year, or for three or six or nine. Those who observe this vrata study the Śakvarī or Mahānāmnī verses. Vārtika[901] on Pāṇini V. 1. 94. (tadasya brahmacaryam) mentions the Mahānāmnīs and teaches the derivation of Mahānāmnikam (as the period of brahmacarya devoted to the vrata of the Mahānāmnīs). There were certain peculiar observances for

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901. The वार्तिक 1 and 2 on पा. V. 1. 94 are तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यमिति महानाम्न्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् । तच्चरतीति च ।; पतञ्जलि explains महानाम्नीनां ब्रह्मचर्यं महानाम्निकम् । आदित्यव्रतिकम् । ..... महानाम्नीश्चरति माहानाम्निकः । आदित्यव्रतिकः । ..... महानाम्न्यो नामचों न च ताश्चर्यन्ते व्रतं तासां चर्यते तत्साहचर्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति । महानाम्नीसहचरितं व्रतं महानाम्न्यो व्रतमिति । महाभाष्य II. p. 360.

this such as bathing thrice a day (Gobhila III. 2. 7–46, Kh. gṛ. II. 5. 23 ff.), wearing dark clothes, partaking of dark food, standing by day, sitting by night, not seeking shelter when it is raining, not crossing a river without bathing in it (the virtue of the Mahānāmnīs is centred in water). After the student has kept his vow for one-third of the time prescribed, the teacher is to sing to the student the first *stotriya* of the Mahānāmnīs[902] (viz. the three mantras, vidā maghavan, ābhiṣṭvam, evāhi śakro) and in the same way the two other stotriyas (each consisting of three mantras). They are to be sung to the student who has fasted, has closed his eyes, has dipped his hand in a brass vessel full of water in which all sorts of herbs are thrown and whose eyes are veiled with a new piece of cloth, the student is to keep silent and abstain from food for one day and night (or three), to stand in the forest till sunset (and return to the village in the night), should sacrifice with *mahāvyāhṛtis*; look at fire, clarified butter, the sun, a brāhmaṇa, a bull, food, water and curds; then salute the teacher, break his silence and give a fee to the teacher and offer a mess of cooked food to Indra and give a dinner to the teacher and all co-students. The same rules apply to the Jyeṣṭhasāmika vrata (introductory to the study of the three Ājyadohas[903] viz. 'mūrdhānam divaḥ, tvām viśve, nābhim yajñānām). The student who undergoes this has to observe certain rules throughout his life viz. he cannot marry or have sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman, cannot eat bird's flesh, he should not restrict himself to one kind of corn or one country and should always wear two garments, should bathe in water drawn with a vessel and should not eat in an earthen pot or drink water from it.

The Baud. gṛ. III. 2. 4 ff says that there are vratas of one year each which precede the study of certain brāhmaṇa texts (of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda); they are hotāraḥ[904], śukriyas, upaniṣadaḥ,

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902. महानाम्नीs are verses beginning with विदा मघवन् विदा which occur in ऐतरेय आरण्यक IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद at II. 7 (ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira) and also in several other संहिताs.

903. The mantra मूर्धानं दिवः is at सामवेद I. 67 (and Ṛg. VI. 7. 1), त्वां विश्वे is at सामवेद II. 491 (and Ṛg. VI. 7. 4), नाभिं यज्ञानाम् is सामवेद 2. 492 (Ṛg. VI. 7. 2).

904. The होतारः or चतुर्होतारः are the mantras in Tai. Ār. III. 1–5 beginning with चित्तिः स्रुक् चित्तमाज्यम्.

godānam and sammitam and it describes them in detail. For want of space all these are passed over. The Saṁskāra-kaustubha (pp. 571–580) gives in some detail the procedure of the Mahānāmnī vrata, Mahāvrata, Upaniṣadvrata and Godānavrata. It states that the Mahānāmnīvrata is performed in the 13th year from birth and Godānavrata in the 16th. It appears, however, that these vratas gradually fell into desuetude and medieval writers often pass them over altogether or barely mention them and emphasize only the general observances of brahmacārins viz. celibacy, begging for food, avoiding honey, wine and singing &c. For example, the Smṛtyarthasāra [905] (p. 6) refers to Sāvitrīvrata, then the vrata for Vedic study and then the Āraṇyaka vratas. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 (vedam vratāni vā pāram nītvā) explains 'vratam' as simply the duties of the student already enumerated by Yāj. (among which the specific vratas of Mahānāmnī &c. do not figure).

If the student failed in observing the specific vratas, he had to perform prāyaścitta by undergoing the prājāpatya penance thrice or six times or twelve times. If the brahmacārī is guilty of failing in his daily duties of observing śauca and ācamana, of the performance of saṁdhyā prayer, of using darbha, of begging for food, of offering fuel stick to fire, of avoiding the touch of śūdras and the like, of wearing the cloth (for covering his private parts), the loin thread, the yajñopavīta, the girdle and the staff and deerskin, of not sleeping by day, of not holding an umbrella over his head or of not wearing shoes, or not putting on garlands, of avoiding luxurious bath, sandal paste, collyrium, of not sporting in water, of avoiding gambling, and addiction to dancing, singing and music, of not engaging in conversation with heretics, he had to undergo the penance of three kṛcchras (according to Baudhāyana) and to perform a *homa* with the vyāhṛtis separately and together (i. e. four oblations of clarified butter were to be offered).[906] If he was guilty of other more serious lapses he

905. उपनयनाद्युपाकर्मान्तं सावित्रीव्रतं तत्संपूर्त्यर्थं विप्रसंबन्धिबान्धवभोजनं शक्त्या कार्यम् । ततो वेदाब्दव्रतं ततश्चारण्यकव्रतानि प्रतिव्रतं वपनं च । व्रतान्ते भोजने भैक्ष्यमाहार्यम् । एतेषु व्रतेषु लोपे तारतम्येन त्रीन् षड् वा द्वादश वा प्राजापत्यांश्चरित्वा पुनश्च व्रतं प्रारभेत । ततोनन्तरं वोदगयने वा शुक्लपक्षे शुभेऽहनि स्वाध्यायं प्रारभेत । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 6.

906. बौधायनः । अत्र शौचाचमन-संध्यावन्दन-दर्भभिक्षाग्निकार्यराहित्य-शुद्राद्यस्पर्शनकौपीनकटिसूत्र-यज्ञोपवीतमेखलादण्डाजिनादित्याग-दिवास्वापच्छत्रधारण-पादुकाध्यारोहणवनमालाधारणोद्वर्तनाद्यलेपनाञ्जन-जलक्रीडाद्यूतनृत्त-गीतवाद्याद्यभिरतिपाषण्डादिसंभाषणब्रह्मचारिव्रतलोपादिसकलदोषपरिहारार्थं ब्रह्मचारी कृच्छ्रत्रयं चरेत् । महाव्याहृतिहोमं च कुर्यात् । सं. प्र. p. 563.

had to undergo heavier penance. The most reprehensible act in a brahmacārin was to have sexual intercourse with a woman. The Tai. Ār. II. 18 speaks of the prāyaścitta for such a brahmacārin who is called *avakīrṇin*. Gaut. 25. 1-2 quotes the Tai. Ār. "they (the sages)[907] say 'in how many (deities) the avakīrṇin enters; (the answer is) he enters the Maruts with his breath, Indra with his strength, Bṛhaspati with his spiritual eminence and fire with the rest (of his senses)'" and Gautama further provides that he should kindle fire at midnight on a new moon day and then offer two ājya oblations by way of penance with the two mantras 'kāmāva-' and 'Kāmāvadrugdhosmi' &c., place a fuel stick on fire, sprinkle water round the fire, offer the yajñavāstu oblation (for which see Gobhila gṛ. I. 8. 26-29) and standing near the fire should worship fire thrice with the verse 'sam mā siñcantu'. Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 2. 10-13) contains the same rules. Jaimini[908] (VI. 8. 22) prescribes that ordinary (laukika) fire is to be used for the *paśu* to be sacrificed (viz. ass to Nirṛti, which is symbolic of the stupid lapse the student is guilty of) and Śabara quotes a Vedic passage that 'a brahmacārin who has become *avakīrṇin* should sacrifice an ass to Nirṛti'. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 8, Vas. 23. 1-3, Manu XI. 118-121, Yāj. III. 280 contain similar provisions (Vasiṣṭha allowing in the absence of an ass oblations of boiled rice with the mantras mentioned by Gautama). Manu XI. 122-123 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 49-50 prescribe that the brahmacārī so guilty should for one year wear the skin of the ass, should beg for food at seven houses announcing to them his lapse, should take food only once, should bathe thrice and then only he becomes pure. Manu II. 187 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 52) prescribes similar penance for a brahmacārī who without being ill gives up begging for food and offering fuel to fire continuously for seven days. Prāyaścitta is prescribed for loss of yajñopavīta or its being torn, or its being polluted by impure things

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907. तै. आ. II. 18 is 'कतिधावकीर्णी प्रविशति चतुर्धेत्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनो मरुतः प्राणैरिन्द्रं बलेन बृहस्पतिं ब्रह्मवर्चसेनाग्निमेवेतरेण सर्वेण ..... यो ब्रह्मचार्यवकीरेदमावास्यायां रात्र्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपघातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोस्म्यवकीर्णोस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहा। कामाभिदुग्धोस्म्यवदुग्धोस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहेति। ..... हुत्वा प्रयताञ्जलिः कवातिर्यङ्मुखमग्निमभिमन्त्रयते सं मा सिञ्चन्तु मरुतः समिन्द्रः सं बृहस्पतिः। सं मायमग्निः सिञ्चतु प्रजया च धनेन चेति। त्रिरभिमन्त्रयेत। वरो दक्षिणा ..... ।

908. अवकीर्णिपशुश्च तद्वदाधानस्यामासकालत्वात्। जै. VI. 8. 22; अस्त्यवकीर्णिपशुः। ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्ऋतं गर्दभमालभेतेति। तत्र संदेहः। किं तदर्थमाधानं कर्तव्यमुत लौकिकेष्वग्निषु तद्वर्तेतेति। ...तस्माद्विद्वमपि कर्म लौकिकेष्विति। शबर.

like blood &c. It consists in offering homa and wearing a new one. Vide Saṁskāra-ratnamālā pp. 365–367 for details.

Naiṣṭhika brahmacārin (perpetual student).—

Brahmacārins were of two kinds, upakurvāṇa (the student who offered some return to the teacher, vide Manu II. 245, for the word upakurvīta) and the *naiṣṭhika*[909] (the student who remains so till his death). These two names occur in Hārīta Dh. S., Dakṣa I. 7 and in several smṛtis. The word 'naiṣṭhika' occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 28. 46, Yāj. I. 49, Veda-Vyāsa I. 41. The idea of perpetual studenthood is very ancient. In the Chāndogya[910] Up. II. 23. 1 we read that the third branch of dharma is the (status of a) student who stays with his teacher's family and who wears out his body to the end in the family of the teacher. Gaut. III. 4-8, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29, Hārīta Dh.[911] S., Vas. VII. 4–6, Manu II. 243, 244, 247–249, and Yāj. I. 49–50 say that if the student likes he may stay with his teacher till life lasts and should serve his *guru* and in the rest of the time repeat the Veda; that if the teacher be dead he may stay with and serve the teacher's son if he is worthy or the teacher's wife or he may worship the fire kindled by his deceased guru; he should thus wear out his body; he obtains the highest worlds of bliss and is not born again. He has to perform throughout his life the duties of offering fuel sticks, Veda study, begging for food, sleeping on the ground (not on a cot), and of self-restraint (Bṛhaspati quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 62).

According to Viṣṇu quoted in Aparārka (p. 72) and the Sm. C.[912] (I. p. 63) quoting the Saṁgraha persons who are

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909. निष्ठा means 'end or death' and नैष्ठिक is derived by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 49 as 'आत्मानं निष्ठां उत्क्रान्तिकालं नयतीति नैष्ठिकः'.

910. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन् सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति । छान्दोग्य उप. II. 23. 1. This is quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 49–50. This Up. passage is the basis of Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 18–20; vide also *ibid* III. 4. 49.

911. द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नैष्ठिकश्च । तयोरुपकुर्वाणको व्याख्यातः । निष्ठां चेद्गच्छेदाशरीरनिपाताद्वसेत् । हारीत quoted by अपरार्क p. 71. ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यं परिचरेदाशरीरविमोक्षणात् । आचार्ये च प्रेते अग्निं परिचरेत् । विज्ञायते ह्यग्निराचार्यस्तवेति । वसिष्ठ VII. 4–6. The words 'अग्निराचार्यस्तव' occur in the उपनयन ritual; vide पारस्कर II. 2.

912. कुब्जवामनजात्यन्धक्लीबपङ्ग्वातरोगिणाम् । व्रतचर्या भवेत्तेषां यावज्जीवमनंशतः ॥ विष्णु quoted in अपरार्क p. 72 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 63; पङ्ग्वादीनामनंशत्वाद्सामर्थ्याच्च शास्त्रतः । नियतं नैष्ठिकत्वं स्यात्कर्मस्वनधिकारतः ॥ संग्रह quoted by स्मृतिच. I. p. 63.

dwarfs, ill-formed, congenitally blind, impotent, cripples and those suffering from incurable diseases should become perpetual students, as they are not entitled to perform the Vedic rites and are not entitled to inherit. We saw above that Kumārilabhaṭṭa accepted this view (vide note 852a). But this does not mean that the blind and other partially defective people could not marry at all. They could marry if they had sufficient wealth. For example, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, married and had sons. Aparārka (p. 72), the Sm. C., the Madanapārijāta (p. 111), the Par. M. (I. 2. p. 51 ff) and others say that perpetual student-hood is not restricted only to the blind and the cripple, but it may be resorted to by even able-bodied men at their choice (vide Manu II. 243-44).

Atri (VIII. 16) says [913] that if a person undertakes to be a perpetual student, but falls from that ideal, there is no prāyaścitta for that lapse. Some interpret this as applying to one who becomes a saṁnyāsin and then gives up that mode of life ; while others like the Saṁskāra-prakāśa (p. 564) interpret it as meaning that the prāyaścitta is double of what the upakurvāṇa would have to undergo.

Patitasāvitrika (those for whom there has been no upanayana and therefore no instruction in Gāyatrī and who are therefore sinful and outside the pale of Aryan society). The gṛhya and dharma sūtras are agreed that the time for upanayana has not passed till the 16th, 22nd and the 24th year in the case of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas respectively, but that after these years are past without upanayana taking place they become incompetent thereafter for learning the Sāvitrī (the sacred Gāyatrī verse). Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 19, 5-7, Baud. gṛ. III. 13. 5-6, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 22, Vas. XI. 71-75, Manu II. 38-39, Yāj. I. 37-38. Such persons are then called patitasāvitrika or sāvitrīpatita and also vrātya (Manu II. 39 and Yāj. I. 38 call them so). These works [914] also declare that the consequences of this are that no upanayana is to be thereafter performed for them, they are not to be taught the Veda, nor is any one to officiate at

913. आरूढो नैष्ठिकं धर्मं यस्तु प्रच्यवते द्विजः। प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्यति कर्मणा ॥ अत्रि VIII. 16 ; the संस्कारप्रकाश p. 564 ascribes a very similar verse to शातातप.

914. आ षोडशाद् ब्राह्मणस्यानतीतः कालः। आ द्वाविंशात्क्षत्रियस्य आ चतुर्विंशाद्वैश्यस्य। अत ऊर्ध्वं पतितसावित्रिका भवन्ति। नैनानुपनयेन्नाध्यापयेन्न याजयेन्नैभिर्व्यवहरेयुः। आश्व. गृ. I. 19. 5-7 ; गौ. गृ. (reads विवहेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः), वसिष्ठ reads विवाहयेयुः for व्यवहरेयुः ; पार. गृ. II. 5 has almost the same words.

their sacrifices and there is to be no social intercourse with them (i. e. no marriage takes place with them). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 24–27) prescribes that after the 16th or 24th year, the person should undergo the rules of student-hood two months just as those who meant to study the three Vedas and whose upanayana has been performed observe (viz. begging for food &c.), then his upanayana should be performed, then for one year he should bathe (thrice if possible) every day and then he should be taught the Veda. This is a somewhat easy penance. But others prescribe heavier penalties. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 76–79 and the Vaik. smārta II. 3 prescribe that one who is *patitasāvitrīka* should either perform the Uddālaka vrata or should take a bath along with the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice or should perform the Vrātyastoma sacrifice. Both Vasiṣṭha[915] and the Vaik. smārta explain that the Uddālaka vrata consists in subsisting on barley gruel for two months, for one month on milk, for half a month on āmikṣā (the whey that arises by pouring curds in hot milk), for eight days on ghee, for six days on alms obtained without begging, for three days on water and in observing a total fast for one whole day. The Sm. C. (I. p. 28) says that this vrata is so called because it was promulgated by Uddālaka. Manu XI. 191 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 26 prescribe a mild prāyaścitta for *patitasāvitrīkas*, viz. three prājāpatya[916] penances; while Yāj. I. 38, Baud. gṛ. III. 13. 7, Veda-Vyāsa I. 21 and several others prescribe only the Vrātyastoma for those who are *patitasāvitrīkas*. Viśvarūpa[917] (on Yāj. III. 262) tries to reconcile these contradictions by saying that the easy penance prescribed by Manu applies to a brāhmaṇa whose upanayana is not performed before the 16th year, but whose upanayana is sought to be performed before the 22nd year, while the Vrātyastoma is to be performed for him whose upanayana is not

915. पतितसावित्रीक उद्दालकव्रतं चरेत्। द्वौ मासौ यावकेन वर्तयेन्मासं पयसार्धमासमामिक्षयाष्टरात्रं घृतेन षड्रात्रमयाचितेन त्रिरात्रमब्भक्षोहोरात्रमुपवसेत्। अश्वमेधावभृथं गच्छेत्। व्रात्यस्तोमेन वा यजेत्। वसिष्ठ XI. 76–79.

916. For the प्राजापत्य vide मनु XI. 211 and या. III. 320. It lasts for 12 days and consists in taking only one morning meal for 3 days, only one meal in the evening for three days, subsisting on alms obtained without begging for three days and total fast for three days.

917. परतस्तु षोडशाद्वर्षान्मानव येषां द्विजानां ..... येदिति। एतदा द्वाविंशतेर्वर्षाद्वृद्धनीतस्य ब्राह्मणस्य ..... यदि स्वाद्याद्युपनयनकालादारभ्याष्टाचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि नोपनीतस्ततोयं व्रात्यस्तोमः। विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.

performed for forty-eight years from the first prescribed period (viz. 8th year, 11th year or 12th). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 also tries to introduce vyavasthā (order) in the contradictory dicta of the smṛtis. According to Gaut. 21. 11, Yāj. III. 234 and others *vrātyatā* (being *patitasāvitrīka*) is only an *upapātaka* and Manu XI. 117 prescribes an easy penance for all *upapātakas*.

Āp. Dh. S.[918] says 'if a person's father and grandfather also had not the upanayana performed for them, then they (i.e. the three generations) are called slayers of *brahma* (holy prayers or lore); people should have no intercourse with them, should not take their food nor should enter into marriage alliances with them; but if they desire then penance should be administered to them'. It then prescribes that they have to perform the penance (observing rules of student-hood) one year for each generation (that had not the upanayana performed), then there is upanayana and then they have to bathe (thrice or once) every day for a year with certain mantras viz. the seven Pāvamānī verses beginning with 'yad anti yacca dūrake' (Ṛg. IX. 67. 21-27), with the Yajuṣ pavitra (Tai. S. I. 2. 1. 1=Ṛg. X. 17. 10), with the *sāmapavitra* and with the *mantra* called Āṅgirasa (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5) or one may pour water only with the vyāhṛtis[919]. After all this is done, one may be taught the Veda. Āp. Dh. S. goes further (I. 1. 2. 5-10) and says 'if the generations[920] beginning with the great-grandfather had not the upanayana performed on them, they are called the cemetery and that if there is desire they may observe the rules of student-hood for twelve years, then

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918. अथ यस्य पिता पितामह इत्यनुपेतौ स्यातां ते ब्रह्महसंस्तुताः। तेषामभ्यागमनं भोजनं विवाहमिति वर्जयेत्। तेषामिच्छतां प्रायश्चित्तम्। यथा प्रथमेऽतिक्रमे ऋतुरेवं संवत्सरः। अथोपनयनम्। तत उदकोपस्पर्शनम्। प्रतिपूरुषं संख्याय संवत्सरान्यावन्तोऽनुपेताः स्युः। सप्ताभिः पावमानीभिर्यदन्ति यच्च दूरक इत्येताभिर्यजुष्पवित्रेण सामपवित्रेणाङ्गिरसेनेति। अपि वा व्याहृतिभिरेव। अथाध्याप्यः। Āp. dh. I. 1. 1. 28-I. 1. 2. 1-4. पावमानी verses are those that are addressed to Soma and according to some they are all the verses of the 9th maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda beginning with 'svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā' (vide Haradatta on Gaut. 19. 12 and Medhātithi on Manu V. 85). The यजुष्पवित्र is the मन्त्र 'आपोऽस्मान्मातरः शुन्धन्तु'; सामपवित्र is the Sāman beginning with 'kayā naścitra ābhuvat' which is Ṛg. IV. 31. 1 and occurs in all other Saṁhitās and the Āṅgirasa mantra is 'Haṁsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5).

919. Haradatta explains that one is to pour water over one's head with the folded hands after repeating these mantras.

920. The generations will be four प्रपितामह, पितामह, पिता and the man himself.

upanayana may be performed and then the person so desirous of upanayana will have to bathe with the Pāvamānī and other verses (as stated above), then instruction in the duties of the householder may be imparted to him (i. e. to the 4th); he cannot, however, be taught the Veda; but his son may have the saṁskāra performed as in the case of one who is himself *patitasāvitrīka* and then his son will be one like other āryas'. Haradatta[921] remarks that Āp. does not declare the prāyaścitta for him whose great-grandfather's father also was without upanayana, but that those who know the dharmaśāstra should find out a proper prāyaścitta even in such cases. It is clear that Āp. contemplates cases where for three generations there had been no upanayana and the fourth generation also had not the upanayana performed at the right time and desired to have it performed for him. Pār. gives a brief rule 'when three generations are *patitasāvitrīka*, their offspring (i. e. the fourth generation) is excluded from the sacrament of upanayana and he cannot be taught the Veda.'[922] So Pār. is more restrictive than Āpastamba.

There is a famous historical example of the application of these rules. Gāgābhaṭṭa, a profound scholar of Benares, officiated at the coronation of Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, in 1674 and performed the upanayana of Shivaji before the coronation, when Shivaji was about 45 years old and had even two sons. Some eminent scholars like the late Mr. Justice Telang[923] have found fault with Gāgābhaṭṭa

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921. यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरारभ्य नानुस्मर्यत उपनयनं तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तम्। धर्मज्ञैरूहितव्यम्। एवं ततः पूर्वेष्वपि। हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 1. 2. 10.

922. त्रिपुरुषं पतितसावित्रीकाणामपत्येऽसंस्कारो नाध्यापनं च। पार. गृ. II. 5.

923. In 'Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles' appended to the late Mr. Justice Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power', Mr. Justice Telang observes (p. 286) 'they had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a kṣatriya was performed on Shivaji at a time when he was forty-six or fifty years old and had already had two sons, an irregularity which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the brāhmaṇas and pandits. How the brāhmaṇas and pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities state'; and further on (p. 288) he casts undeserved aspersions 'taking the whole evidence together it looks like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rites in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose'. Mr. Justice Telang writes rather like a judge than like a scholar or a

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and the other brāhmaṇas of that time; but these scholars are wrong and Gāgābhaṭṭa had behind him weighty and ancient authorities like Āp., Pāraskara, Viśvarūpa and Haradatta as shown above.

The Vaik. sūtra (II. 37) adds that in the case of the man who is himself *patitasāvitrīka* the saṁskāras (from Garbhādhāna) have to be again performed (with Vedic mantras) and then the upanayana is performed.

One very important question that exercised the minds of some writers in medieval times was whether kṣatriyas and vaiśyas existed in the kali age. In some of the purāṇas it is said in a prophetic vein that Mahāpadma Nanda will destroy the kṣatriyas and thereafter rulers will be of the śūdra caste. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4–5 says 'Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of Mahānandi, born of a śūdra woman would be extremely greedy (of power) and will destroy the whole kṣatriya race as if he were another Paraśurāma; thereafter śūdras will be kings'. The Matsya 272. 18–19 and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 1. 6–9 declare the same prophecies. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 44 remarks that Devāpi, descendant of Pūru, and Manu, descendant of Ikṣvāku, stay in

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historian. The judge has to give a decision on the evidence adduced by the parties before him; it is no part of his business to collect evidence for himself. But the role of a historian is entirely different. He must not only try to read all evidence available till the time he writes but he must himself ferret out all possible evidence and make searches in places where evidence is likely to be found. Above all he must be cautious in his condemnations of persons long dead on the strength of the meagre evidence read by him. Mr. Telang wrote the paper above referred to in 1892, but long before that Pāraskara (in 1886) and Āpastamba (in 1885) had been translated and published in 'the Sacred Books of the East series.' But he, though a great judge and also a great Sanskrit scholar, nowhere shows that he cared to see whether *śāstric* rules allowed the upanayana of a man himself at any age whatever (after some penance). If he had seen those rules he would not have unjustly taken to task pandits that flourished two hundred years before him and attributed irregular motives to them. It does not appear that he made any search in the archives of the Udaipur Durbar to see how Shivaji traced his descent from the Sisodia clan, nor does it appear that he even went to Mudhol and other places in Mahārāṣṭra where ancient Maratha families have been holding sway for centuries. The papers recently published from the records of the Mudhol State amply establish Shivaji's claim to a Rajput lineage.

Kalāpagrāma, are endowed with great yogic powers, will revive the kṣatriya race when the kṛta age will start again after the present kali age comes to an end and that some kṣatriyas exist on the earth like seed even in the kali age. Vāyu (vol. I. 32. 39–40), Matsya (273. 56–58) have similar verses. Relying on such passages some medieval writers stated that there were no kṣatriyas in their times. The Śuddhitattva[923a] of Raghunandana (p. 268) after quoting the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 23. 4 and Manu X. 43 declares that kṣatriyas existed till Mahānandi, that the so-called kṣatriyas of his day were śūdras and that similarly there were no vaiśyas also. In the Śūdra-Kamalākara occurs this verse 'The varṇas are brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, the first three being twice-born; all these exist in the several yugas; but in the kali age only the first and the last remain'. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (first half of 18th century[923b]) in his Vrātyatāprāyaścittanirṇaya (Chaukhamba Series) examines all the relevant Purāṇa passages and states as his conclusion that real kṣatriyas do not exist and so those, in whose families no upanayana had been performed for ten or twenty generations, are not kṣatriyas even though they rule over kingdoms and no upanayana can be performed for such kings. It must be stated that such views, though held by some rigidly orthodox writers of extreme views, were not shared by most writers. All the smṛtis speak of the duties of the four varṇas even in the kali age. Parāśara-smṛti which is said to be the smṛti *par excellence* for the kali age (as stated in I. 24) does so. Almost all nibandha-kāras (authors of digests and commentaries) discuss the privileges and duties of all varṇas. The author of the Mitākṣarā, who is rightly described as the best of all nibandha-kāras, nowhere says that kṣatriyas do not exist in the kali age. Numerous kings claimed to be descended from the Sun and the Moon. Hemādri in his Caturvargacintāmaṇi states that his patron was a scion of Somavaṁśa (vide H. Dh. vol. I p. 356 for quotations). The princes of Rajputana and Central India claimed to have sprung from the Agnikuṇḍa on Mount Abu, viz. of the

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923 a. इदानीम्तनक्षत्रियाणामपि शूद्रत्वमाह मनुः। शनकैस्तु ... ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च। अत एव विष्णुपुराणम्। महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मो नन्दः परशुराम इवापरोखिलक्षत्रियान्तकारी भविता ततः प्रभृति शूद्रा भूपाला भविष्यन्ति। इति। तेन महानन्दिपर्यन्तं क्षत्रिय आसीत्। एवं च क्रियालोपाद्वैश्यानामपि तथा। शुद्धितत्त्व p. 268.

923 b. अथ कलावब्राह्मणत्वे सति शस्त्रग्रहणप्रजापालनमात्रेण क्षत्रियसाहश्येन क्षत्रियपदव्यवहार्याणां दशाविंशतिपुरुषपर्यन्तमस्मर्यमाणोपनयनानां तदग्रेपि तादृशानामुपनयनसंस्कारो भवति न वेति संदेहे निर्णयः क्रियते। तत्र नैव भवतीति निर्णयः। क्षत्रियसाहश्येन तथा व्यवहारेपि मुख्यक्षत्रियत्वाभावात्। व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय p. 1.

four clans of Chohan, Parmar (or Paramāra), Solanki (or Cālukya), Paḍihar (or Pratīhāra). Vide Tod's Rajasthan (Madras ed. of 1873) vol. I chap. VII pp. 82 ff.. This theory of the Agnikulas is at least as old as 1000 A. D., since it is referred to in several inscriptions of the 11th century A. D. Vide the Vasantagadh Inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla dated *saṁ.* 1099 (1042-43 A. D.) in E. I. vol. IX p. 10 and the inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja dated *saṁ.* 1136 (1079-1080 A. D.) in E. I. vol. XIV. p. 295.

This question is now largely of academic interest. Whether a person is a śūdra or a member of the regenerate classes assumes great importance in adoption, inheritance and succession. Therefore the question, whether kṣatriyas exist in modern times, came before the British Indian courts over a hundred years ago. In *Chouturya Run Murdun Syn* v. *Sahub Purhulad Syn* 7 Moore's Indian Appeals 18 this question was argued and the Privy Council citing the authorities on both sides set the question at rest by remarking (p. 46) 'Their Lordships have nevertheless no doubt that the existence of the Khatri caste as one of the regenerate tribes is fully recognised throughout India and also that Rajputs in central India.....are considered to be of that class..... The courts in all cases assume that the four great classes remain'. The only question that is now permissible is whether a particular caste belongs to the regenerate classes or to the śūdra class. On this the courts often differ. Vide p. 75 under *Kāyastha.* In *Maharaja of Kolhapur* v. *Sundaram Ayyar* 48 Mad. 1 it was held (in an exhaustive judgment extending over 229 pages) that the Tanjore Maratha princes descended from Venkaji, the step-brother of the founder of the Maratha Empire, were śūdras and not kṣatriyas. The learned judges (at p. 51) quote Telang's *dictum* criticized by me above (note 923), but refrain from expressing any decided opinion about the claim of Shivaji to be of kṣatriya descent. In *Subrao* v *Radha* 52 Bom. 497 it was held after a careful examination of authorities that the Marathas of Mahārāṣṭra are sub-divided into three groups, viz. (1) the five families, (2) the ninety-six families and (3) the rest and that the first two groups are kṣatriyas. It was further held that the tests to be applied in determining the class (varṇa) of a particular caste are three viz. the consciousness of the caste itself, the acceptance of that consciousness by other castes, and lastly its customs and usages.

We have already seen (in note 118) how even in the Vedic age there were non-Aryan tribes like the Kirātas, Andhras, Pulin-

das, Mūtibas, that were described as *dasyus* by the Ait. Br.. One word that is of striking importance is mleccha. The Śat. Br. (III. 2. 1. 23-24, S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 32) states that the asuras were defeated because they spoke an incorrect and corrupt dialect and that a brāhmaṇa should not, therefore, utter such a corrupt[923c] speech and so should not become a mleccha and an asura. Gaut. IX. 17 enjoins that one should not speak with mlecchas, impure or irreligious persons and Haradatta explains that mlecchas are the inhabitants of Ceylon and similar countries where there is no system of varṇas and āśramas. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 15 is to the same effect. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 84. 1-2 and Śaṅkha 14. 30 prescribe that one should not perform śrāddha in a mleccha country nor should one visit such a country (except on a pilgrimage). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 84. 4 states that that country where the system of the four varṇas is not in vogue is mleccha territory and Āryāvarta is beyond it, while Manu II. 23 states that the mleccha country is beyond Āryāvarta which land is fit for sacrifices and in which the black deer wanders naturally. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 15 quotes Bharadvāja to the effect ' one should not study the language of the mlecchas, for it is declared (in the Brāhmaṇas) that a corrupt word is indeed mleccha'. Vas. Dh. S. VI. 41 also enjoins that one should not learn the mleccha dialect. Manu X. 43-44 knew that many of the tribes called Puṇḍrakas, Yavanas, Śakas spoke mleccha languages and also the language of the Āryas (mlecchavācaś-cāryavācaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ). In Parāśara IX. 36 mlecchas are referred to as eaters of cow's flesh. That the mlecchas had affected the Sanskrit language by lending to it certain words follows from the discussion in Jaimini I. 3. 10 whether words like pika (a cuckoo), nema (half), sata (a wooden vessel), tāmarasa (a red lotus) are to be understood in the sense in which mlecchas use them or certain meanings are to be assigned to them by deriving them from some root according to the rules of grammar, Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu and Jaimini's conclusion is that they are to be understood in the same sense in which mlecchas employ them[923d]. Pāṇini derives the word yavanāni

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923 c. तेऽसुरा आत्तवचसो हेऽलवो हेऽलव इति वदन्तः पराबभूवुः । तस्मैतामपि वाचमूदुः । उपजिज्ञास्यां स म्लेच्छस्तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेदसुर्या हैषा वाक्‌ । शतपथ III. 2. 1. 23-24.

923 d. अथ याच्छब्दानार्या न कस्मिंश्चिदर्थे आचरन्ति म्लेच्छास्तु कस्मिंश्चित्प्रयुञ्जत यथा पिकनेमसततामरसादिशब्दास्तेषु संदेहः । किं निगमनिरुक्तव्याकरणवशेन धातुतोर्थः कल्पयितव्य उत यत्र म्लेच्छा आचरन्ति स शब्दार्थ इति । शबर on जै. I. 3. 10.

and Patañjali speaks of the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana by whom scholars generally understand Menander. Aśoka in his Rock Edict No. 13 refers to Yona kings and it appears from his reference that brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas were not found in the Yona country. A Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha is mentioned as the governor of Kathiawar under Aśoka in the inscription of Rudradāman at Junagadh (E. I. vol. VIII. at p. 43). In the Prakrit Inscriptions the Yavanas are referred to as Yavana (vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 53-55 at Karle No. 7 and 10) or Yona or Yoṇaka (E. I. VIII. 90 Nasik cave No. 18). In Kharavela's inscription also the form is Yavana (E. I. 20 p. 79). In the Mahābhārata the words Yavana and Śaka occur very frequently. Vide notes above on these words. In the Droṇaparva 119. 45-46 Yavana, Kamboja, Śaka, Śabara, Kirāta and Barbara are mentioned as one group fighting against Sātyaki. In Droṇa 119. 47-48 they are referred to as dasyus and as having long and flowing beards. In the Strīparva 22. 11 Jayadratha is said to have had Kamboja and Yavana women in his harem. The word Yavana is generally taken as referring to the Greeks. But there are dissenting voices also. Dr. Otto Stein in 'Indian Culture' denies that the word ever means Greeks and Dr. Tarn in his recent work on 'Greeks in Bactria and India' p. 254 argues that the Yavanas in the Nasik inscriptions were not Greeks but only Indian citizens of a Greek *polis*. The Śāntiparva 65. 17-22 prescribes for Yavanas, Śakas and similar tribes only the duties of obedience to parents and attendance on teachers and tending cattle and looking after agriculture, dedication of wells and making gifts to dvijas, *ahiṁsā, satya*, absence of fury, *śauca*, *adroha*, maintenance of wife and child. Atri VII. 2 puts the receiving of gifts from or eating the food of or having sexual intercourse with the women of Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Bāhlīkas, Khaśas, Draviḍas on the same level with doing the same things with reference to naṭa, nartaka, śvapāka &c. Aparārka p. 923 quotes Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya to the effect that the touch of Mlecchas is on the same level with that of cāṇḍāla, Bhilla and Pārasīka.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in a very learned and scholarly paper in Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 7-37 endeavours to establish that many non-Aryan persons belonging to tribes like the Yavanas, the Śakas became absorbed in the general mass of Hindu society, that even several of the princely families such as those of the Guhilots were not of pure Aryan descent and that the pride of

the purity of caste shown by many castes is not justified by history. He, therefore, appeals to modern Indians to forget all caste-exclusiveness and pride. But this appeal will be in vain. Merely showing that non-Aryan elements were absorbed in the body of the Aryan community several thousands or hundreds of years ago will not probably lessen that pride. Such people may retort that, whatever may have happened centuries ago, for about a thousand years there has been no such fusion. Therefore the appeal should rather be based on the futility of caste exclusiveness in the 20th century when owing to the exigencies of the times any one can pursue any occupation, when a sense of one nation and one people is absolutely necessary for securing to Indians their proper place in the society of nations.

The question of the re-conversion or re-entry of people converted to other faiths willingly or against their wishes will be briefly dealt with immediately below.

A few words may first be said about the Vrātyastoma. The Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa (or the Pañca-viṁśa, as it is called from the number of Adhyāyas) describes four vrātyastomas in chap. 17. 1–4 (khaṇḍas). The meaning of many words and passages in that chapter of the brāhmaṇa is uncertain and somewhat cryptic. The four vrātyastomas were *ekāhas* (*i. e.* sacrifices taking one day only). Tāṇḍya 17. 1. 1 begins with the story that when the gods went to the heavenly world some dependents of theirs who lived the *vrātya* life were left behind on the earth. Then through the favour of the gods the dependents got at the hands of Maruts the Ṣoḍaśastoma (containing 16 stotras) and the metre (viz. anuṣṭubh) and then the dependents secured heaven. The Ṣoḍaśastoma is employed in each of the four vrātyastomas, the first of which (17. 1) is meant for all vrātyas, the 2nd is meant for those who are *abhiśasta* (who are wicked or guilty of heavy sins and so censured) and lead a vrātya life, the third for those who are youngest and lead a vrātya life, and the fourth who are very old and yet lead a vrātya life. Some of the passages convey a tolerably clear idea of what the vrātyas were like. Those who[924] lead the vrātya life are base and are reduced to a baser state, since they do not observe student-hood (brahmacarya) nor do they till the soil nor engage in trade. It is by the Ṣoḍaśastoma that they

924. हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्यां षोडशो वा एतत्स्तोमः समाप्तुमर्हति ॥ ताण्ड्य 17. 1. 2.

can attain this (superior status). This shows that the vrātyas did not perform upanayana and did not study the Veda, nor did they do even what vaiśyas do. Another passage says ' those swallow poison who eat food of the common people as food fit for brāhmaṇas, who call good words bad, who strike with a stick him who does not deserve to be beaten (or punished), who, though not initiated, speak the speech of the initiated. The Ṣoḍaśastoma has the power to remove the guilt of these. That (in this rite) there are four Ṣoḍaśastomas, thereby they are freed from guilt.'[925] This passage indicates that the vrātyas spoke the same language as the orthodox people, but were rough in their ways and lax as regards the food they partook of. They were thus outside the pale of orthodox Aryan society and they were brought within it by the Vrātyastoma described in the Tāṇḍya. The origin of the word vrātya is lost in the mists of antiquity. The 15th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda glorifies the vrātya and identifies him with the Creator and Supreme Being. The word is probably derived from *vrāta* (group) and means 'he who belongs to or moves in a group.' It is possible to derive the word from *vrata*. Originally vrātyas appear to have been groups of people who spoke the same language as orthodox āryas, but did not follow their discipline and habits. The word *vrāta* occurs in Ṛg. I. 163. 8, III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11. Sāyaṇa also perceived the difficulty raised by the glorification of the vrātya in the Atharvaveda 15. 1. 1 and his note is interesting, since he says that the description does not apply to all vrātyas, but only to some very powerful, universally respected and holy vrātya who was, however, not in the good books of the brāhmaṇas that were solely devoted to their own rites and sacrifices. Kātyāyanaśrauta XXII. 4. 1-28 and Āp. Śrauta XXII. 5. 4-14 also deal with Vrātyastoma. Kātyāyana describes the four vrātyastomas and adds[926] ' by performing the vrātyastoma sacrifice, they should cease to be vrātyas and become eligible for social intercourse with the orthodox āryas.' The Pār. gṛ. II. 5 quotes the last sūtra of Kātyāyana with the

925. गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्त्यदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्त्यदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति षोडशो वा एतेषां स्तोमः पाप्मानं निर्हन्तुमर्हति यदेते चत्वारः षोडशा भवन्ति तेन पाप्मनोऽधिनिर्मुच्यन्ते । ताण्ड्य० 17. 1. 9. सायण explains ब्राह्मणैर्भोज्यं जन्यं जनपदसंबन्धि अन्नमदन्ति ब्राह्मणार्थपरिकल्पितमन्नं बलात्कारेण भुञ्जत इत्यर्थः ॥.

926. व्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा व्रात्यभावाद्विरमेयुः । व्यवहार्या भवन्ति । कात्या० श्रौतसूत्र XXII. 4. 27-28.

remark " for such persons he who desires to have the sacrament (saṁskāra of upanayana) performed on them should perform the sacrifice of vrātyastoma and then may indeed study the Veda for a text says 'they become eligible for (social) intercourse'." [927]

In the Vrātyatā-śuddhisaṁgraha provision is made [928] for the purification of vrātyas even after twelve generations (vide pp. 7 and 22–24) and that work adds (p. 42) that the Vrātyastoma like the penance for an avakīrṇin is to be performed in the ordinary fire (laukika agni). It also suggests easy substitutes for the lengthy and trying penance of twelve years prescribed by Āp.

Hinduism has not been an avowedly proselytizing religion. In theory it could not be so. For about two thousand years the caste system has reigned supreme and no one can in theory be admitted to the Hindu fold who is not born in it. A Hindu may lose caste, be excommunicated and driven out of the fold of Hinduism, if he be guilty of very serious lapses and refuses to undergo the prāyaścittas prescribed by the smṛtis. Gaut. 20. 15 states that he who was guilty of a misdeed for which death was prescribed as a penance became purified only by dying. But Gaut. himself prescribed death (21. 7) as penance only for the sins of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking spirituous liquor and incest. Even as regards these three, lesser penances were prescribed by some smṛtis as alternatives (e. g. vide Manu XI. 72, 74–8, 92, 108). When the sinner performed the prāyaścitta prescribed by the śāstras, he was to be welcomed by his relatives, who took a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and threw therein an unused jar filled with water; they were not to find fault with him and were to completely associate with him in all ways (Manu XI. 186–187, Yāj. III. 295, Vas. 15, 20, Gaut. 20. 10–14). Vas. 15. 17 says that those who were *patita* were to be re-admitted to all social

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927. तेषां संस्कारेष्वुव्रात्यस्तोमेनेष्ट्वा काममधीयीरन् व्यवहार्या भवन्तीति वचनात्। पारस्कर गृ. II. 5.

928. एवं लौकिकाग्निष्वेवावकीर्णिनिषादस्थपतिवद् व्रात्यस्तोमस्य स्मार्तस्य सावित्रीपतने प्रवर्तनमुचितम्। व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 42 (Chaukhamba series); द्वादशवर्षब्रह्मचर्यव्रतादिनातिक्लेशादालस्यादिना वा सकृदेवैकस्मिन्दिने पावमान्यादिभिः स्नानं करोति चेत्तर्हि तद्दिनमारभ्यैव स्मार्तधर्मपरिग्रहाधिकारः। ...कालातिक्रमे बहुकालरूपे यावकप्रत्याम्नायचतुर्दशप्राजापत्यानि ग्राह्याणि। पितृपितामहव्रात्यतायां चतुर्दश प्राजापत्याग्येव भवेयुः कालदैर्घ्यनैयत्यादित्यनुसंधेयम्। व्रात्यताशुद्धिसंग्रह p. 23.

intercourse when they performed the prescribed penances (patitānām tu caritavratānām pratyuddhāraḥ). But if the sinner refused to undergo the prescribed prāyaścitta, then a peculiar procedure called ghaṭasphoṭa (breaking a jar) was prescribed. In such a case the sinner's relatives (sapiṇḍas) made a slave girl whose face was turned to the south thrust aside with her foot an earthen jar full of water so that all water flowed out of it, then the relatives were to observe mourning for one day and night (as he was deemed to be dead to them) and from that day they were to stop speaking or sitting with him, and all other social intercourse and he was to be given no inheritance (vide Manu XI. 183-185, Yāj. III. 294, Gaut. 20. 2-7). In this way the obstinate sinner went out of the Hindu fold. The ancient smṛtis do not expressly prescribe any rites for bringing into the brahmanic or Hindu fold a person who or whose ancestors did not belong to it. But as Hinduism has been extremely tolerant[928a] (barring a few exceptional instances) it had a wonderful power of quiet and unobtrusive absorption. If a person, though of foreign ancestry, conformed to Hindu social usages in outward behaviour, in course of time his descendants became absorbed into the vast Hindu community.

928 a. A few striking instances of religious tolerance among kings and common people may be cited with advantage. The Pāla king Mahīpāla I granted a village to a brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyaśākhā in honour of Lord Buddha (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324). Similarly the king Subhakaradeva who was a great devotee of Buddha (paramasaugata) granted two villages to 200 brāhmaṇas (Neulpur grant in E. I. vol. 15 p. 1); vide also E. I. vol. 15 p. 293. The famous Emperor Harṣa, whose father was a great devotee of the Sun, and who was himself a great devotee of Śiva, pays the highest honour to his elder brother Rājyavardhana who was a very devout Buddhist (paramasaugata). Vide the Madhuban copperplate Inscription in E. I. vol. I. p. 67 and E. I. vol. VII. p. 155. Uṣavadāta makes large gifts to brāhmaṇas as well as to communities of Buddhist monks (vide Nasik Inscriptions No. 10 and No. 12 in E.I. vol. VIII p. 78 and p. 82). The Valabhi king Guhasena who was himself a Māheśvara (a Śaiva) made a grant of four villages to a bhikṣu-saṅgha. From the Paharpur plate of the Gupta year 159 (478-79 A. D.) it appears that a brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited three dīnāras with a city council for the maintenance of the worship of *arhats* at a vihāra (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 59). The Mulgund inscription of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. (of 902-3 A. D.) shows that to a temple of Jina at Mulgund a field was given by a brāhmaṇa of the Bellāḷa family (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 190). Vide Rice's 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' pp. 113 and 207 for an account how a Vijayanagar king settled the dispute between Jainas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas in 1368 A. D.

This process has gone on for at least two thousand years. The beginnings of it are found in the Śāntiparva chap. 65 where Indra tells the Emperor Māndhātṛ to bring all foreign people like the Yavanas under brahmanical influence. The Besnagar column inscription shows that the Yona (yavana) Heliodora (Heliodorus) son of Diya (Dion) was a bhāgavata (devotee of Vāsudeva). Vide J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053 and 1087 and J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 23 p. 104. In the caves at Nasik, Karle and other places many of the donors are said to have been yavanas (vide E. I. vol. VII, pp. 53-54, 55, E. I. vol. VIII, p. 90, E. I. vol. XVIII, p. 325). Several inscriptions state that Indian kings married Hūṇa princesses, e. g. Allaṭa of the Guhila dynasty married a Hūṇa princess named Hariyadevi (I. A. vol. 39 p. 191), king Yaśaḥkarṇadeva of the Kalacuri dynasty is said to have been the son of Karṇadeva and Āvalladevī, a Hūṇa princess. These and similar examples show that persons of foreign descent and their children were absorbed into the Hindu community from time to time. This absorption is illustrated in modern times by the case of *Fanindra Deb* v. *Rajeshwar* (L. R. 12 I. A. 72) in which it was found that a family in Kooch Behar not originally Hindu had adopted certain Hindu usages and it was held that it had not taken over the practice of adoption. How Hindu customs and incidents persist even after conversion to Islam is strikingly shown by the Khojas and Kutchi Memons of the Bombay Presidency, who though made converts to Islam several centuries ago, were held by the courts in India to have retained the ancient Hindu Law of succession and inheritance.[928b]

The problem of taking back into the Hindu fold persons who were forcibly converted to other faiths has engaged the attention of smṛtis. Moslems first attacked India in the 8th century from the direction of the province of Sindh. This invasion led to the enslavement and forcible conversion of many people. It appears that Devala and other smṛtikāras tackled with the problem of taking back such people. The Devala smṛti opens with a question by the sages put to Devala who was sitting on the banks of the Sindhu at ease as to how

928 b. The Cutchi Memons Act (XLVI of 1920) as amended by Act XXIV of 1923 now enables Cutchi Memons by observing certain formalities prescribed by the Act to become free from the application of Hindu Law. By Act XXVI of 1937 it is declared that the personal law will apply to all Muslims instead of customary law on going through certain procedure prescribed by the Act.

brāhmaṇas and members of the other varṇas when carried off by Mlecchas were to be purified and restored to caste. The following verses of the Devala-smṛti are very instructive on this point. Verses 7–10 declare that when a brāhmaṇa is carried off by Mlecchas and he eats or drinks forbidden food or drink or has sexual intercourse with women he should not have approached, he becomes purified by doing the penance of *cāndrāyaṇa* and *parāka*, that a kṣatriya becomes pure by undergoing *parāka* and *pādakṛcchra*, a vaiśya by half of *parāka* and a śūdra by the penance of *parāka* for five days. Then verses 17–22 are most important [928c]. 'When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāṇḍālas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or having intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijāti that has stayed for a month in this way is prājāpatya, for one who had consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cāndrāyaṇa or parāka; for one who stays a year (with Mlecchas in this condition of things) it is both cāndrāyaṇa and parāka; a śūdra who stays (in this condition) for a month becomes pure by kṛcchrapāda; a śūdra who stays a year should drink yāvaka for half a month. The appropriate prāyaścitta should be determined by learned brāhmaṇas when a person has stayed (in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) for over a year; in four years the person (who stays in the above circumstances among Mlecchas) is reduced to their condition (i. e. becomes a mleccha and there

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928 c. बलाद्दासीकृता ये च म्लेच्छचाण्डालदस्युभिः। अशुभं कारिताः कर्म गवादिप्राणिहिंसनम्। उच्छिष्टमार्जनं चैव तथा तस्यैव भोजनम्। खरोष्ट्रविड्वराहाणामामिषस्य च भक्षणम्। तत्स्त्रीणां च तथा सङ्गं ताभिश्च सह भोजनम्। मासोषिते द्विजातौ तु प्राजापत्यं विशोधनम्। चान्द्रायणं त्वाहिताग्नेः पराकस्त्वथवा भवेत्। चान्द्रायणं पराकं च चरेत्संवत्सरोषितः। संवत्सरोषितः शूद्रो मासार्धं यावकं पिबेत्। मासमात्रोषितः शूद्रः कृच्छ्रपादेन शुध्यति। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कल्प्यं प्रायश्चित्तं द्विजोत्तमैः। संवत्सरैश्चतुर्भिश्च तद्भावमधिगच्छति॥ देवल 17–22. These six verses are quoted as आपस्तम्ब's by the मिता० on या. III.290 and by अपरार्क p. 1200 (who reads त्रिभिः संवत्सरैश्चापि in v. 22). These six verses are quoted as देवल's in the प्रायश्चित्तविवेक of शूलपाणि (Jiv. ed.) p. 455. सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु. II. 180 appears to regard them as Devala's as he says चतुर्वत्सरनियमश्च बलाद् गृहीतो म्लेच्छाद्यैरित्यादिदेवलस्मृतिदर्शनाद्बुध्येयः। The first verse occurs in बृहद्यम V. 5 (Anan. ed.) after which we read प्रायश्चित्तं च दातव्यं तारतम्येन वा द्विजैः॥ So these verses are certainly older than 1000 A. D.

is no prāyaścitta for him).' The Prāyaścittaviveka states that after four years death is the only purifier for him.[928d] Three more verses of Devala (53-55) also deserve consideration 'One who was forcibly seized by Mlecchas for five, six or seven years or from ten to twenty years, is purified by undergoing two Prājāpatyas. Beyond this there is no purification; these penances are meant only for him who has simply stayed among Mlecchas. He who had stayed with Mlecchas from five to twenty years is purified by undergoing two Cāndrāyaṇas'. These verses are apparently inconsistent with the verses cited above (17-22), but they most probably mean this that if a man only stayed among Mlecchas for 5 to 20 years, but has not done any of the forbidden things such as eating ucchiṣṭa or the flesh of asses &c., then he can be taken back even after so many years. This would be an exception to the rule contained in verse 22. There is no reason why the reasoning of Devala should not be extended to persons who have been in the condition stated in verses 17-22 for over four years. In the Pañcadaśī (Tṛptidīpa v. 239) we have the following very significant passage[928e] 'just as a brāhmaṇa seized by Mlecchas and afterwards undergoing the appropriate prāyaścitta does not become confounded with Mlecchas (but returns to his original status of being a brāhmaṇa) so the Intelligent Soul is not really to be confounded with the body and other material adjuncts.' This establishes that the great Vidyāraṇya, who after Śaṁkarācārya, is the greatest figure among ācāryas, approved of the view that a brāhmaṇa even though enslaved by Mlecchas could be restored to his original status.

Under Shivaji and the Peshwas it appears that several persons that had been forcibly made Moslems were restored to caste after under-going prāyaścitta (*vide* notes 2321-2 below for examples). But this was done in only a few instances.

In modern times there is a movement among Hindus called *śuddhi* or *patitaparāvartana* (purification or bringing back into the Hindu fold those who had fallen away from it). In a very few cases persons born in western countries have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of vrātyastoma

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928 d. वत्सरादूर्ध्वं वत्सरचतुष्टयं यावत्तावद्भागहारेण प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम्। तदूर्ध्वं तत्समत्वेन पतितत्वात् प्रायश्चित्ताभावाद् मरणम्। प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 456.

928 e. गृहीतो ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छैः प्रायश्चित्तं चरन्पुनः। म्लेच्छैः संकीर्यते नैव तथाभासः शरीरकैः॥ पञ्चदशी (तृप्तिदीप v. 239).

and other rites. But such instances are very rare and are not yet supported by the vast majority of Hindus. It has been shown above that for taking back a man who was once a Hindu but had left Hinduism, there is smṛti authority in Devala and others and the authority of the Nibandhakāras.

Punarupanayana (performing upanayana again).

In certain cases an upanayana has to be performed again. The Āśv.[929] gṛ. (I. 22. 22–26) prescribes that in punarupanayana the cutting of the hair and production of intelligence (medhājanana) are optional, there are no rules about paridāna (giving in charge of deities) and about the time (i.e. it may be performed at any time and no paridāna is necessary) and instead of the usual Gāyatrī, he should recite 'tat savitur vṛṇīmahe' (Ṛg. V. 82. 1.). When a person in whose family one Veda is studied (e. g. the Ṛgveda) wants to study another Veda (e. g. Yajurveda), he had to undergo a fresh upanayana. The Āśv. gṛ. sūtra is interpreted in this way by some. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 10 says that as the Sāvitrī (i. e. Gāyatrī, Ṛg. III. 62. 10) is recited for all Vedas according to the Brāhmaṇa passage quoted by Āp. one upanayana is sufficient for the study of the three Vedas in succession, but if a person wants to study the Atharvaveda after studying another Veda, then a fresh upanayana is necessary. This is one kind of punarupanayana. Another kind of punarupanayana takes place when in the first upanayana the principal rite viz. placing his hands on the boy's shoulders and bringing the student near the teacher is left off through oversight or the first upanayana takes place in a season other than vasanta (spring) or in the dark half of a month or on a day which was *anadhyāya*[930] (unfit for Vedic study) or on a galagraha (vide note 642 above) or in the latter part of the day. A third kind of punarupanayana is one which is by way of prāyaścitta for certain sins or lapses from good conduct.[931] Gaut. 23. 2–5

929. अथोपेतपूर्वस्य । कृताकृते केशवपने मेधाजननं च । अनिरुक्ते परिदानम् । कालश्च । तत्सवितुर्वृणीमह इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 22. 22–26.

930. विनर्तुना वसन्तेन कृष्णपक्षे गलग्रहे । उपनीतस्त्वनध्याये पुनःसंस्कारमर्हति । अपराह्णे चोपनीतः पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । भरद्वाज quoted in the संस्कारमयूख, संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 541 and संस्काररत्नमाला p. 282 ; सं. प्र. p. 547 quotes a similar verse from देवज्ञवल्लभ.

931. The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (p. 536 with Marathi tr.) पुनःसंस्कारः पुनरुपनयनम् । तच्च त्रिविधम् । प्रत्यवायनिमित्ते प्रायश्चित्तत्वेन विहितम् । निमित्तविशेषेण कृतोपनयनस्य वृथाचेष्टात्वापत्तौ तत्फलार्थत्वेन विहितम् । वेदान्तराध्ययनाधिकारार्थायां तदङ्गत्वेन विहितमिति । The संस्कारकौस्तुभ (pp. 536–558) contains the most elaborate treatment of पुनरुपनयन.

prescribes the penance called Taptakṛcchra and punarupanayana for one guilty of drinking wine (surā) in ignorance or partaking of human urine, fæces and semen and the flesh of wild beasts, camels, asses, village cocks, and village hogs. Vas. (23. 30) also has a similar sūtra. Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 25 quotes a verse ' if a person belonging to the three varṇas unknowingly drinks surā (wine) or fæces, he has to undergo punarupanayana ' and says (II. 1. 29) that if a brahmacārī carries a corpse (other than that of his parents or teacher) he has to undergo punarupanayana. Manu V. 91 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 86 prescribe the same. In the Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣāsūtra (I. 12. 4–6) it is said that on partaking of honey, or flesh, śrāddha food or food from those in impurity on birth, or the milk of a cow before the lapse of ten days or the milk of a sandhinī cow, mushrooms or the resin exuded from trees, *vilayana* (a product of milk?), the food prepared for a number of people in common or the food of prostitutes, a man has to undergo punarupanayana and, according to some, also if he goes to a forbidden country,[932] viz. Saurāṣṭra (Kathiawar), Sindhu, and Sauvīra (Sind and the territory to its south and east), Avantī (Ujjain), Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan), a brāhmaṇa has to undergo punarupanayana (except when he goes on a pilgrimage). It then sets out the procedure (such as a homa, putting a fuel stick of palāśa on the fire and oblations of cooked food and ājya) and adds that in punarupanayana shaving, dakṣiṇā, girdle, staff, deer-skin, begging for food and vratas do not take place.

The Vaik. smārta (VI. 9–10) contains similar rules for punarupanayana.[933] Aparārka (p. 1160) quotes Paiṭhīnasi to the effect that if a grown-up person drinks the milk of sheep or of a she-ass, she-camel or of a woman, he has to undergo punarupanayana and also the penance called prājāpatya.

Anadhyāya :—(cessation from Vedic study ; holiday).

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932. प्रतिषिद्धदेशगमनमित्येकेषाम् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । सौराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसौवीरमवन्तीं दक्षिणापथम् । एतानि ब्राह्मणो गत्वा पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ बौ. गृ. परिभाषासूत्र I. 12. 5-6.

933. पितृज्येष्ठयोरन्येषामुच्छिष्टभोजने मधुमत्स्यमांससूतकप्रेतकाद्याद्यभोज्यभोजने च पुनरुपनयनं करोति । वै. स्मा. VI. 9.

It appears that from very early times Vedic studies were stopped on various grounds. The Tai. Ār.[934] II. 15 has a very important statement on this subject. 'Indeed as to this yajña (brahmayajña) there are two cases in which the study of the Veda ceases, namely, when the man himself is impure or when the place is impure'. The Śat. Br.[935] has a passage in which several occasions when Vedic study was ordinarily stopped are mentioned and it is added that those occasions do not prevent the repetition of Vedic texts as Brahmayajña. 'Therefore one knowing this should certainly repeat the Veda as Brahmayajña, when the wind blows, when lightning flashes, when it thunders or when there is a fall of thunderbolt, in order that *vaṣaṭkāras* may not be fruitless'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 3.) quotes the Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa (the Śatapatha) to the effect that "Vedic study is Brahmayajña; when it thunders, when lightning flashes, when there is a fall of the thunderbolt, when the wind blows, these are its vasaṭkāras;[936] therefore when.....fruitless". The Ait. Ār. (V. 3. 3) notes that if there be rain when it is not the season of rainfall, he should make a break by observing cessation of Vedic study for three nights.[937]

The subject of anadhyāya is discussed in the gṛhya and dharmasūtras and in almost all smṛtis. It is not possible to give for want of space the differences between the several works. Among sūtras and smṛtis the most exhaustive and lengthy treatment is found in Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 9. 4. to I. 3.11), Gaut. 16. 5-49, Śāṅkhāyana gṛ. IV. 7 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp. 115-118), Manu IV. 102-128, Yāj. I. 144-151. The subject is also treated

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934. तस्य वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य द्वावनध्यायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यदेशः। तै. आ. II. 15. This is quoted by आश्व. गृ. III. 4. 7 'विज्ञायते तस्य द्वावनध्यायौ यदात्माशुचिर्यदेशः'. Manu IV. 127 conveys the same sense in almost the same words. A man may be impure on account of births or deaths in his family or on account of *mala* (dirt on his body) and a place may be so because it is in contact with some impure thing (such as उच्छिष्ट).

935. तस्य वा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य चत्वारो वषट्कारा यद्वातो वाति विद्योतते स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जति। तस्मादेवंविद्वाते वाति विद्योतमाने स्तनयति अवस्फूर्जत्यधीयीतैव वषट्काराणामच्छंवट्काराय। शतपथब्राह्मण XI. 5. 6. 9. The words तस्मादेवं &c. are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 145.

936. The word 'vaṣaṭ' or svāhā is uttered when making an offering to a deity. Thunder and lightning are said to be the vaṣaṭkāras of brahmayajña. Just as when the word vaṣaṭ is uttered some offering follows, so, when it thunders some Vedic text by way of brahmayajña should be repeated.

937. अपर्तौ वर्षे त्रिरात्रं वैदिकेनाध्यायेनान्तरियात्। ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3.

at length in the Sm. C., Smṛtyarthasāra, the Saṁskāra kaustubha (pp. 564-570), the Saṁskāra-ratnamālā (pp. 327-339) and other Nibandha works. In the following an attempt is made to present a tolerably exhaustive list of anadhyāyas together with a few references to the original sources.

Among *tithis* the following are anadhyāyas. On the first, the 8th, the 14th, 15th tithis (Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā) there was to be cessation of Vedic Study for the whole day; vide Manu IV. 113-114, Yāj I. 146 (in both *pratipad* is not expressly mentioned) and Hārīta. Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 386) refers to anadhyāya on amāvāsyā and 14th tithi. There is a famous verse of the Rāmāyaṇa [938] which shows that *pratipad* also was a holiday. Gaut. says that there was no holiday on the full moon days of the twelve months, but only on the full moon days of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Phālguna. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 42-43 quotes a verse [939] '(Vedic study on) the eighth tithi kills the teacher, 14th kills the pupil, 15th kills learning '. Manu (IV. 114) has a similar verse. Aparārka [940] (p. 189) quotes from the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa verses to the effect that there is to be no teaching (of the Veda) on Mahānavamī (9th of Āśvina, bright half), on Bharaṇī (i. e. the tithi when the moon is in Bharaṇī naksatra after Bhādrapada full moon), Akṣatatṛtīyā (3rd of Vaiśākha, bright half) and Rathasaptamī (7th of Māgha, bright half). Similarly there is to be anadhyāya on what are called *Yugādi* and *Manvantarādi tithis.* Yugādi tithis according to Viṣṇupurāṇa [941] and Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 425) are Vaiśākhaśukla tṛtīyā, Kārtika śukla navamī, Bhādrapada kṛsṇa trayodaśī and Māgha Pūrṇimā (they are respectively the beginnings of the four yugas, kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali). The Sm. C. (I. p. 58) quotes the Nāradīyapurāṇa 'on the day when uttarāyaṇa and daksiṇāyana first take place, on Visuva (the two

938. सा प्रकृत्यैव तन्वङ्गी तद्वियोगाच्च कर्शिता । प्रतिपत्पाठशीलस्य विद्येव तनुतां गता ॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 32. प्रतिपत्सु चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां पर्वणोर्द्वयोः । श्रोत्रध्यायेऽथ शर्वर्यां नाधीयीत कदाचन ॥ हारीत in स्मृतिच० I. p. 57.

939. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । हन्त्यष्टमी ह्युपाध्यायं हन्ति शिष्यं चतुर्दशी । हन्ति पञ्चदशी विद्यां तस्मात्पर्वणि वर्जयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 42-43.

940. नृसिंहपुराणात् । महानवम्यां द्वादश्यां भरण्यामपि चैव हि । तथाश्ततृतीयायां शिष्यान्नाध्यापयेद् द्विजः ॥ माघमासे तु सप्तम्यां रथाख्यायां तु वर्जयेत् । अपरार्क p. 189 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 58. These occur in नृसिंहपुराण 58. 109-110.

941. The verses on युगादितिथिs are विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 13. ff. The मत्स्यपुराण (17. 4-5) gives similar verses. Vide स्मृतिच० I. p 59 for these verses. According to some Māgha Amāvāsyā is कलियुगादितिथि.

days in the year when the day and night are equal), on the tithis when Viṣṇu sleeps and awakes from sleep (i. e. Āṣāḍha-śukla-ekādaśī and Kārtika-śukla-ekādaśī), on Yugādi and Manvādi tithis there is *anadhyāya*. The tithis on which the fourteen manvantaras are supposed to begin are quoted below.[942] According to a purāṇa passage quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 58) there is anadhyāya on *Sopapadā* tithis[943] (viz. Jyeṣṭha śukla 2, Āśvina śukla 10, and Māgha śukla 4 and 12). Sometimes on the same day there are two tithis; hence the rule laid down is that if on any day a particular tithi (which is declared to be anadhyāya) is shown in the calendar as extending for three muhūrtas at sunrise or at sunset, then the whole of that day is anadhyāya.[944]

Yāj. (I. 148-151) speaks of 37 *tātkālika anadhyāyas* (i. e. where Veda study is suspended only as long as the occasion or disturbance stated lasts). They are: when there is noise created by a dog, jackal, ass, owl, singing of *sāman*, playing on a flute and the cries of the distressed (these are 7); in the vicinity or presence of impure things, of a corpse, or a śūdra or antya (i. e. one of the untouchables), cemetery, a patita (one guilty of mahāpātaka); when the place (of study) has become impure or when the man himself is impure; when there is continuous flashing of lightning or continuous peals of thunder; while one's hands are wet after taking one's meals; in the midst of water; at midnight; when a violent wind is blowing; when there is a rainfall of dust, when the quarters are lit up by sudden (and strange) lights; at the two twilights; when there is fog; when there is a fright (caused by robbers &c.); when one is running; when the smell of something rotten or impure spreads; when a distinguished visitor comes to the house; when one rides an ass, a camel, a conveyance (like a chariot), an elephant, a horse, a boat, or climbs a tree or is in a desert (or barren) place. A few explanatory words may

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942. आश्वयुक्शुक्लनवमी कार्तिक्या द्वादशी सिता। तृतीया चैत्रमासस्य तथा भाद्रपदस्य च॥ फाल्गुनस्य त्वमावास्या पुष्यस्यैकादशी सिता। आषाढस्यापि दशमी माघमासस्य सप्तमी॥ श्रावणस्याष्टमी कृष्णा आषाढस्यापि पौर्णिमा। कार्तिकी फाल्गुनी चैत्री ज्येष्ठी पञ्चदशी सिता॥ मन्वन्तरादयश्चैते दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः॥ मत्स्यपुराण 17. 6-8 quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. p. 58; vide also स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 9.

943. ज्येष्ठे शुक्लद्वितीया तु आश्विने दशमी सिता। चतुर्थी द्वादशी माघे एताः सोपपदाः स्मृताः॥ quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8; संस्कारमयूख quotes it as from कालादर्श.

944. उदयास्तमये वापि मुहूर्तत्रयगामि यत्। तद्दिनं तदहोरात्रमनध्यायविदो विदुः। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

be added. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 19 when wolves howl, or when there is the sound of any musical instrument, or of weeping, singing or of the recitation of a Sāman there is anadhyāya. Gaut. 16. 7 mentions the sound of bāṇa (a kind of vīṇā), bherī (a drum), mṛdaṅga, *garta* (a chariot) and the distressed. Manu (IV. 123-124) explains that when a sāman is heard, one should not study any portion of the Ṛgveda or Yajurveda, because the gods are the devatās of Ṛgveda, the Yajurveda deals with men (it enjoins actions to be done by men), Sāmaveda has the pitṛs as its deities ; hence its sound has something of the impure or uncanny about it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 27 prescribes[945] that there should be no Vedic study as long as there are clouds when it is not the season for clouds, when there is a halo round the sun or moon, when there is a rainbow, or when there is parhelion or a star with a tail (like a fish). Gaut. 16. 19, Āp. Dh. I. 3. 9. 14-15, Vas. 13. 11 say that there is anadhyāya as long as a corpse or a cāṇḍāla is in the village or town. Gaut. 16. 45 states the view of some that the Veda can never be studied in a city ; there is no Veda study as long as there is an assembly of people (Manu IV. 108) or while the student is lying down or has stretched his feet or placed them on a cot or stool, or while he sits on his haunches winding round his knees and hips a piece of cloth (Manu IV. 112., Vas. Dh. S. 13. 23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 30. 17). There is to be anadhyāya when one is answering the calls of nature (Manu IV. 109), or when one has not yet sipped water (ācamana) after taking food, or after partaking of meat (Manu IV. 112), when there is wordy argument or there is an affray or a fight or when one is wounded or when blood flows from the body (Manu IV. 122) or when one suffers from indigestion or vomits or has sour eructations (Manu IV. 121).

In certain cases anadhyāya lasts only for a portion of the day. When the wind blows by day strong enough to carry off clouds of dust (Gaut. 16. 5) there is anadhyāya during the day (but not at night even if the wind is still strong) or when on a festive occasion like upanayana there is anadhyāya after dinner that day (Gaut. 16. 43); when in the morning twilight fire has been kindled for homa and there are

945. अभ्रं चापर्तौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः परिवेष इन्द्रधनुः प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च वाते पूतिगन्धे नीहारे च सर्वेष्वेतेषु तावत्कालम् । आप. ध. सू. 1. 3. 11. 27; रोहितेन्द्रधनुर्नीहारेषु । अभ्रदर्शने चापर्तौ । गौ. 16. 9-10 ; 'प्रतिसूर्यमत्स्यश्च' is explained by हरदत्त as सूर्यसमीपे तदाकृतिः प्रतिसूर्यः मत्स्यः पुच्छाग्रनक्षत्रम् । समाहारद्वन्द्वे छान्दसो लिङ्गव्यत्ययः ।

flashes of lightning and thunder (not accompanied by rain) there is anadhyāya till the sun sets. Gaut. (16. 3ɜ) prescribes anadhyāya for the rest of the day when the king in whose country a man dwells dies ; when a strong wind that was blowing stops, there is anadhyāya for a muhūrta i. e. two ghaṭikās (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 28) or when there is the howling of sālāvṛka (hyaena ?) or a jackal moving about alone there is anadhyāya till one gets up from sleep (ibid I. 3. 11. 29).

In some cases there is anadhyāya for the whole day and night. According to Yāj. I. 145-147 there is such an anadhyāya when there is thunder at the twilight time, there is a fall of the thunderbolt or earth-quake or the fall of a meteor, when one finishes Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa (of the śākhā one is studying) or when one finishes the study of the Āraṇyaka portion of one's Veda; when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, or when it is the first day after the season changes or when a person partakes of śrāddha food or accepts a gift on śrāddha (except in Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha); when a beast, frog, mongoose, dog, snake, cat or mouse passes between the teacher and pupil (Manu IV. 126 also) or when the banner of Indra is raised or taken down. Manu IV. 110 lays down anadhyāya for three days when one accepts invitation for an Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha or when the king dies or when there is an eclipse. This last refers to an eclipse where the sun or the moon sets while still eclipsed. Gaut. I. 60 prescribes cessation for three days when dogs and others come between. This is explained as referring to the first lesson in Veda, while the words of Manu and Yāj. are held to refer to repetition. Raising the banner in honour of Indra was a festival prescribed for kings in the Kauśika sūtra 140 and other works. The banner was raised usually in Bhādrapada (or sometimes in Āśvina) on the 12th of the bright half when the moon was in conjunction with uttarāṣāḍhā, śravaṇa or dhaniṣṭhā constellation and it was taken down in the same month on the bharaṇī constellation (vide Sm. C. I. p. 59). According to the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā (chap. 43) of Varāha this festival lasted from the 8th to the 12th day of Bhādrapada śukla. Manu (IV. 119) prescribes anadhyāya for a day and night on the Aṣṭakā days[946] and on the last day of each of the six ṛtus (seasons).

946. The aṣṭakā homa was performed on the 8th of the dark half of the four months from Mārgaśīrṣa (according to Āśv. gṛ. II. 4. 1) or (according to others) of three months of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Gaut. 16. 38-39 prescribed three days' anadhyāya on each of the three Aṣṭakās or according to some only on the last Aṣṭakā.

In a few cases the anadhyāya was ākālika[947] i. e. lasted for one day (60 ghaṭikās) from the time when the cause began to operate up to the same hour next day. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 11. 25-26) lays down this kind of anadhyāya if out of three viz. flashing of lightning, thunder and rain, one or two occur at a time when it is no season for rain ; there is this anadhyāya for all vidyās at all times, when there is an eclipse of the sun or the moon or there is an earthquake or a whirlwind or fall of meteors. Manu IV. 103-105 and Gautama 16. 22-23 are similar to Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 25-26 and Manu IV. 118 prescribes ākālika anadhyāya when a village is thrown into confusion by thieves or there is a commotion due to a conflagration and in the case of all portentous phenomena (such as rain of blood or stones; vide Vas. 13. 35). Gaut. (16. 47-48) adds that the performer of a śrāddha (whether he actually serves cooked food to brāhmaṇas or only makes gifts of money and corn &c.) has to observe this anadhyāya (vide Manu IV. 117 also).

Anadhyāya for three days was prescribed in a few cases. If lightning, thunder and rain all appear together when it is not the proper season for them, there is anadhyāya for three days (Āp. Dh. I. 3. 11. 23). Vide note 937 above. In the utsarga and upākaraṇa of the Vedas, on the death of gurus (persons worthy of respect like the father-in-law), on the Aṣṭakās and on the death of near agnates (like brother, nephew &c.) there is anadhyāya for three days[948] (Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 2-3). Gaut. (6. 38-41) is similar to Āp. The Hārīta dharmasūtra[949] prescribes anadhyāya for three days on the death of one's upādhyāya, or of the king or of a śrotriya or fellow pupil, on eclipses of the sun and the moon, on the taking down of the banner of Indra and on the death of one's ācārya.

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947. The मिता० on या. I. 147 derives the word as follows 'निमित्तकालादारभ्यापरेद्युर्यावत्स एव कालस्तावत्कालः आकालः तत्र भव आकालिकोऽनध्यायः'.

948. वैरमणे गुरुष्वष्टाक्य औपाकरण इति त्र्यहाः । तथा संबन्धेषु ज्ञातिषु । आप. ध. I. 3. 10. 2-3. उपाकरण (उपाकर्म) and उत्सर्ग (वैरमण) will be explained later. The sūtra तथा.....ज्ञातिषु applies to a ब्रह्मचारी since others have to observe अनध्याय on the death of agnates till दशाहं lasts. In this last case अनध्याय begins on the day of death. In उपाकरण or उत्सर्ग the three days are the day previous to them, the day following them and the one on which that rite is performed.

949. अत एव हारीतः । उपाध्याये राजनि च मृते श्रोत्रिये सब्रह्मचारिणि च चन्द्रार्कयो राहुदर्शने शक्रध्वजपतन आचार्ये च मृते त्रिरात्रम् । इति । अपरार्क p. 190. The श्रोत्रिय, as या. I. 144 says, must be one who has studied the same śākhā.

Manu (IV. 110 and 119) prescribes anadhyāya for three days on accepting invitation for *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*, on the death of the king, on eclipses and on upākarma or utsarga. Yaj. I. 144 contains similar rules.

Āp. Dh. S. (I. 3. 10. 4) prescribes 12 days' anadhyāya on the death of one's parents and ācārya. Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 32 prescribes[950] three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's father. This rule must be taken as referring only to a brahmacārī. Vas. (13. 39–40) prescribes three days' anadhyāya on the death of one's ācārya and one day's on the death of the son or wife of the ācārya.

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 10) mentions some occasions when anadhyāya may extend to a month, to six months, or a year. Āp. D. S. I. 3. 9. 1. prescribes that, when upākarma is performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa, for a month thereafter one should not study Veda in the first part of the night (he may do so after that at night or in the day).

Aparārka (p. 192) quotes a verse from Yama[951] that there can be no Vedic study under the shade of certain trees like Śleṣmātaka, Śālmali (silk-cotton), Madhuka, Kovidāra and Kapitthaka.

Both Gaut. (16. 49) and Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 34 state that besides the anadhyāyas expressly mentioned by them there are others which may be learnt from the several smṛtis and from the assemblies of learned men.[952]

It would be noticed how the number of anadhyāyas is rather too numerous for rapid and effective study. Therefore certain rules are laid down to explain what is that is forbidden on those days.

In the first place anadhyāya may be vācika (concerned with the loud utterance of Vedic words), mānasa (revolving

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950. पितर्युपरते त्रिरात्रम् । गौ. ध. I. 11. 3–2 ; आचार्ये प्रेते त्रिरात्रम् । आचार्यपुत्र-शिष्यभार्यास्वहोरात्रम् । वसिष्ठ 13. 39–40.

951. श्लेष्मातकस्य छायायां शाल्मलेर्मधुकस्य च । कदाचिदपि नाध्येयं कोविदार-कपित्थयोः ॥ यम quoted by अपरार्क p. 192. In the परा. मा. I. 1. p. 158 this is quoted as from the कूर्मपुराण.

952. प्रतिविधं च यान्स्मरन्ति । गौ. 16. 49 ; यथोक्तमन्यदृतः परिषत्सु । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 34.

the Veda in the mind). Baud. Dh. S. I.[953] 11. 40–41 says that the rule about anadhyāya on portentous happenings for a day and night does not apply to mānasa study; but even mānasa study is forbidden when there is impurity due to birth or death. Gaut. 16. 46 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 20 allows (in general) mental study (not vocal) on anadhyāya days. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 12–13.

The Āp. Śrautasūtra[954] (24. 1. 37) says that the rules about anadhyāya apply only to the learning of Vedic mantras, but have no application to their employment in various rites. Jaimini[955] (XII. 3. 18–19) establishes the proposition that the rules about anadhyāya being prescribed for acquisition of the Vedic mantras have no application to their employment in sacrifices. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12. 9 has a sūtra which shows remarkable agreement with the words of Jaimini.

We saw above that according to the Tai. Ār. the rules of anadhyāya do not apply to the daily performance of Brahmayajña (i. e. to the repetition of the Vedic texts already learnt). Manu II. 105 says that there is no concern about anadhyāya as to the lores (the aṅgas like grammar, Nirukta &c.) helpful to (understanding of) the Veda, the obligatory svādhyāya (i. e. brahmayajña) and the mantras to be used in homa. Śaunaka[956] quoted in the Sm. C. says there is no anadhyāya as to repeating the Vedic texts in the obligatory rites and in japa nor in kāmya rites, in sacrifices or in the pārāyaṇa (repeating the Veda already learnt); the anadhyāya rules apply only to the first learning of Vedic mantras and to their teaching. The Smṛtyarthasāra[957] (p. 10) says that those who have a slippery memory or those who have to commit to memory extensive Vedic texts

953. अन्येषु चाद्भुतोत्पातेषु अहोरात्रमनध्यायोऽन्यत्र मानसात् । मानसेपि जननमरणयोरनध्यायः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 40–41; मानसमप्यशुचिः । गौ. 16. 46; मनसा चानध्याये । आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 20.

954. स्वाध्यायेऽनध्यायो मन्त्राणां न कर्मण्यर्थान्तरत्वात् । आप. श्रौ. 24. 1. 37.

955. मन्त्राणां कर्मसंयोगात्स्वधर्मेण प्रयोगः स्याद्धर्मस्य तन्निमित्तत्वात् । विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात्प्रयोगस्य । जै. XII. 3. 18–19. The first sūtra contains the पूर्वपक्ष view; compare विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम् । आप. ध. I. 4. 12. 9.

956. नित्ये जपे च काम्ये च क्रतौ पारायणेपि च । नानध्यायोस्ति वेदानां ग्रहणे ग्राहणे स्मृतः । शौनक in स्मृतिच० I. p. 61; vide similar verses in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 11.

957. तथा विस्मृतिशीलानां बहुवेदप्रपाठिनाम् । चतुर्दश्यष्टमी-पर्वप्रतिपद्वर्जितेषु तु । वेदाङ्गन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राणि चाभ्यसेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 10

should study the Vedāṅgas, nyāya (logic), mīmāṁsā and dharmaśāstras on all anadhyāyas except on 1st, 8th, 14th and full moon and new moon days. Some digests quote a verse from the Kūrmapurāṇa[958] that there is no anadhyāya for the study of Vedāṅgas, of itihāsa, purāṇas, dharmaśāstras and other śāstras ; but on *parva* days the study of even these should be dropped. This shows that these *tithis* were the only close holidays on which there was complete cessation of all study, whether Vedic or non-Vedic. That is, these were what are called *nitya* holidays while the rest are naimittika anadhyāyas. Even now these nitya anadhyāyas are observed by vaidikas and by Pandits in their Sanskrit schools (particularly amāvāsyā).

It will be seen that though some of the occasions for anadhyāya are somewhat strange and bizarre, underlying most of them there are reasonable and understandable principles. Vedic study depended in the first place on memorizing. Committing sacred texts to memory (without in most cases understanding their meaning) required close attention and concentration. Therefore, all occasions which caused disturbance or distraction of mind were held to be anadhyāyas. But the same concentration was not necessary for reciting in sacrifices or japa or brahma-yajña what had already been committed to memory. Hence such occasions were not anadhyāyas for those purposes.

It was believed that[959] if a person taught the Vedic lore or studied it on anadhyāya days, he incurred loss as to (long) life, offspring, cattle, intelligence and the merit accumulated by him.

Keśānta or *godāna*:—This saṁskāra consists in shaving the head and also the hair on the other parts of the body (such as arm-pits, chin). Pār. gṛ., Yāj. (I. 36) and Manu (II. 65) employ the word keśānta, while Āśv. gṛ., Śāṅ. gṛ., Gobhila and other gṛhyasūtras employ the word godāna. In the Śat.[960] Br. while speaking of the dikṣā (consecration of the performer

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958. अनध्यायस्तु नाङ्गेषु नेतिहासपुराणयोः । न धर्मशास्त्रेष्वन्येषु पर्वण्येतानि वर्जयेत् ॥ quoted from कूर्मपुराण by निर्णयसिन्धु. This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 14. 82–83 and औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. ed. I. p. 517)

959. यमोपि । आयुः प्रजां पशून् मेधां कृतं हि सुकृतं च यत् । अनध्यायेष्वभ्यसतो ब्रह्म व्याहरतस्तथा ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 61. Vide two similar verses quoted in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 8.

960. स दक्षिणमेवाग्रे गोदानमभ्युनत्ति । शतपथ III. 1. 2. 4.

of a sacrifice) the word godāna is used in the sense of a portion of the hair (on the head) near the top of the ear. Most smṛtikāras say that this saṁskāra was performed in the 16th year. According to Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 28. 20, S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 57) it may be performed in the 16th or 18th year. According to Manu II. 65 keśānta is performed in the 16th, 22nd or 24th year respectively for a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti XIV. 1 says that Godāna may be performed in the 16th year or at the time of marriage. This last view seems to have been known to Bhavabhūti who in his Uttararāmacarita [961] (Act. I) makes the heroine Sītā say that Rāma and his three brothers had the godāna ceremony performed immediately before their marriage. It is somewhat strange that according to the Kauśika sūtra [962] (54. 15) godāna precedes cūḍākarma and the commentator Keśava remarks that godāna takes place at the end of the first or 2nd year (from birth).

There is great divergence of views about the starting point from which 16 years are to be calculated. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7) has stated the rule in general terms that the number of years is to be calculated from the time of conception. [963] Following this rule the Mit. on Yāj. I. 36 and Kullūka on Man II. 65 say that godāna should be performed in the 16th year from conception in the case of brāhmaṇas, [964] while Aparārka says that it is to be performed in the 16th year from birth. Viśvarūpa [965] on Yāj. I. 36 says that whatever the period of brahmacarya that a student was going to observe (whether 12, 24, 36, 48 &c.) keśānta must be performed in the 16th year and if any one had his upanayana performed later than the 16th year, then keśānta will not take place at all. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 3 notes that according to some godāna takes

961. एते खलु तत्कालकृतगोदानमङ्गलाश्चत्वारो भ्रातरो विवाहदीक्षिता यूयम् । उत्तररामचरित I.

962. चूडाकरणं च गोदानेन व्याख्यातम् । कौशिकसूत्र 54. 15.

963. गर्भादिसंख्या वर्षाणां तदृष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत । बौ. ध. सू I. 2.7.

964. केशान्तः पुनर्गोदानाख्यं कर्म गर्भादारभ्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम् । एतच्च द्वादशवार्षिके वतव्रते बोद्धव्यम् । इतरस्मिन्पक्षे यथासंभवं द्रष्टव्यम् । राज्यन्यवैश्ययोस्तूपनयनकालवद् द्वाविंशे चतुर्विंशे वा द्रष्टव्यम् । मिता० on या. I. 36.

965. On केशान्तश्चैव षोडशे 'केशान्तस्तु सर्वपक्षेषु षोडश एवाब्दे कर्तव्यः । चशब्दस्तुशब्दस्यार्थे । एवकारस्योत्कर्षः ।'..... यदा पुनः प्राक् षोडशाब्दात्कथंचिन्नोपनीतस्तदा कालप्राप्तावनुपनीतस्य तद्भावः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 36.

place in the 16th year from upanayana, while others celebrate it in the 16th year from birth.

All sūtrakāras are agreed that godāna or keśānta follows the procedure of cūḍākaraṇa with a few differences. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 18. 1–9) points these out. Caula is performed in the 3rd year, while godāna is performed in the 16th. Āśv. gṛ. further says " wherever the word keśa occurs (in the mantras or procedure of caula) he should employ the word śmaśru (beard). He moistens the beard here. (The mantra is) 'purify his head and face, but do not deprive him of life '. He gives orders (to the barber) 'arrange his beard, the hair of his body and his nails, ending in the north '. Having bathed and stood up silently during the rest of the day, he should break his silence in the presence of his teacher (saying to the teacher) 'I give a gift'. The fee is a pair of cows. Let the teacher instruct him to keep the observances for a year " [966]. Nārāyaṇa notes that being grown up he should not sit on his mother's lap as in caula (but sit to her right) and that the instruction is to be on the next day. Nārāyaṇa says that the instruction referred to is the one mentioned in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 20 from ' cutting the hair ' to ' giving in charge ' i. e. from Āśv. gṛ. I. 19. 8. to I. 20. 7. It is better to hold as Pār. and Bhār. gṛ. ordain that the instruction is as to brahmacaryavrata (mentioned [967] in Āśv. gṛ. I. 22. 17) or that he is not to shave himself for a year, 12 days, 6 days or at least 3 days. Pār. gṛ., Śāṅkhāyana and several others allowed the fee of only one cow [968]. Gobhila (III. 1. 5) and Khādira (II. 5. 3) allowed optionally the gift of a pair of horses or a pair of sheep for ksatriyas or vaiśyas respectively. According to

966. In आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 7 the mantra in चौल is अदितिः केशान् वपतु; instead of it the mantra in godāna is 'अदितिः श्मश्रूणि वपतु'. In चौल आश्व. (I. 17. 8) prescribes the laying of kuśa bunches on to the right side of the hair ; in गोदान the kuśa is laid on the beard (before it is cut). In चौल the edge of the razor is wiped with the mantra 'यक्षुरेण मर्चयता सुपेशसा वसा वपसि केशान्। क्षुन्धि शिरो मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 15); instead in गोदान, the mantra is यत्...वपसि श्मश्रूणि ॥ क्षुन्धि शिरो मुखं मास्या &c. In this way ऊह (necessary changes in the words) is to be made. In चौल in आश्व. I. 17. 16 the direction to the barber is 'शीतोष्णाभिरद्भिरवर्धं कुर्वाणोऽक्षुण्वन्कुशलीकुरु'; in गोदान it is 'शीतो... क्षुण्वन् कुशली केशश्मश्रुलोमनखान्युद्वसंस्थानि कुरु'.

967. अत ऊर्ध्वमक्षारलवणाशी ब्रह्मचार्यधःशायी त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रं संवत्सरं वा। आश्व. गृ. I. 22. 17.

968. गां केशान्ते संवत्सरं ब्रह्मचर्यमवपनं च केशान्ते द्वादशरात्रं षड्रात्रं त्रिरात्रमन्ततः। पारस्कर गृ. II. 1; संवत्सरं कृतगोदानो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरति। भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 10.

Gobhila and Khādira shaving the beard precedes a vrata called godānika for one year and both state at length the observances of that vrata (Gobhila III. 1. 11-29, Khādira II. 5. 7-16).

Śāṅ. gṛ. (I. 28. 22) expressly says that the keśānta ceremony is performed for girls but silently. Āp. gṛ. 16. 15, Hir. gṛ. 6. 16, Bhāradvāja gṛ. I. 10, Baud. gṛ. III. 2. 55 prescribe in godāna the removal of all the hair on the head (including the śikhā top-knot), while in caula it is not so.

This saṁskāra gradually went out of vogue, so much so that most of the medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Saṁskāraprakāśa, and the Nirṇayasindhu contain hardly anything about it.

Snāna or *Samāvartana*:—(Taking the ceremonial bath after finishing Vedic study and returning from the teacher's house). Some sūtrakāras such as Gaut. (VIII. 16), Āp. gṛ. XII. 1, Hir. gṛ. 9. 1 and Yāj. I. 51 employ the word 'snāna' for this saṁskāra, while Āśv. gṛ. III. 8. 1, Baud. gṛ. (II. 6. 1), Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 7. 15 and 31, Bhār. gṛ. II. 18 employ the word samāvartana. The Khādira gṛ. (I. 3. 2-3, III. 1. 1) and Gobhila III. 4. 7 use the word 'āplavana' (which means snāna). Manu (III. 4) uses both 'snāna' and 'samāvartana' in "a *dvija* being permitted by his teacher, may take the ceremonial bath and return from his teacher according to the rules laid down (in his own gṛhyasūtra) and then marry a a girl &c". Aparārka (p. 76) explains this verse by saying that it makes a distinction between snāna and samāvartana. The distinction consists in this: snāna or ceremonial bath indicates the completion of the period of student-hood. A man who wants to remain a brahmacārin all his life need not undergo this saṁskāra. Samāvartana literally means 'return from the teacher's house to one's home'. If a boy learns under his own father, then literally speaking there will be no return in his case from a teacher's house. Medhātithi[969] (on Manu III. 4) puts this position forcibly. Samāvartana is not a necessary *aṅga* (adjunct) of marriage and therefore he who learnt the Veda in his father's house may, though there is no return (to the father's house from the teacher's house), enter on matrimony. Some hold that Samāvartana is an *aṅga* of marriage and consists

969. न तु समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गम्। तेन यः पितृगृह एवाधीतवेदस्तस्यासमावृत्तस्य संभवत्येव विवाहः। केचित्समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानं मन्यन्ते। कस्त्वाश्रुत्या भेदप्रतिपत्तिरिति चेद्देवं तर्हि समावर्तनं विवाहाङ्गं स्नानसंस्कारं वक्ष्यति। ..... अथवा यमनियमत्यागाभिप्रायं समावृत्तिवचनम्। मेधा. on मनु III. 4.

in the ceremonial bath. If it be said that the gerundial termination (tvā in snātvā in Manu III. 4) conveys distinction between snāna and samāvartana, the reply is that Manu will later on speak of samāvartana as the saṁskāra of snāna.

Āp. gṛ. 12. 1 begins its treatment with the words 'vedam adhītya snāsyan' (after learning the Veda and when about to undergo the ceremonial bath).' Having these words in mind Baud. gṛ.[970] (II 6. 1) remarks that in the words 'vedam adhītya snāsyan' it is samāvartana that has been described. Hence the essence of samāvartana is the ceremonial bath and return to the parental home is a subsidiary matter (which may or may not occur in the case of a student). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 384) says that a person after he has studied the Veda and taken the ceremonial bath with the permission of the teacher should begin to use a cot (for sleeping on).

In the Vedic Literature both words are used. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[971] IV. 10. 1 we read that Upakosala Kāmalāyana became a student of Satyakāma Jābāla and tended his teacher's fires for twelve years; the teacher while making his other pupils return (to their parental home) did not make Upakosala return. Here it is clear that the Upanisad knew the term 'samāvartana'. Similarly in Chāndogya VIII. 15 it is stated that 'having studied the Veda according to the rules in the time that was left after doing work for the teacher and having returned from the teacher's house to his own family'. On the other hand the Śat. Br. (XI. 3. 3. 7) says 'that one[972] should not beg after taking the ceremonial bath'. The Śat. Br. (XII. 1. 1. 10) distinguishes[973] a snātaka from a brahmacārin (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 137). Similarly the Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 13 quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage 'therefore the face of the snātaka is as if resplendent with fire'. The Ait. Ār. V.[974] 3. 3. remarks that 'one who

970. वेदमधीत्य स्नास्यन्नित्युक्तं समावर्तनम् । गौ. गृ. II. 6. 1. अधीत्य स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातेन खट्टारोढव्या । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 384.

971. स ह स्मान्यानन्तेवासिनः समावर्तयंस्तं ह स्मैव न समावर्तयति । छान्दोग्य IV. 10. 1; आचार्यकुलाद्वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमावृत्य कुटुम्बे । छान्दोग्य VIII. 15. 1.

972. न ह वै स्नात्वा भिक्षेत। शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 3. 3. 7. This is quoted by the गौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 53 (along with other passages of the same ब्राह्मण)

973. The गोपथब्रा. (पूर्वार्ध IV. 6) also distinguishes between स्नातक and ब्रह्मचारी 'अथ तमन्यस्नातको वा ब्रह्मचारी वा दीक्षयति न पूतः पावयेदित्याहुः'.

974. नेदमनधीयन् स्नातको भवति यद्यन्यदूर्ध्वमधीयात् । ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3; महद्वै भूतं स्नातको भवतीति विज्ञायते । आश्व. गृ III. 9. 8.

has not studied this (mahāvrata) does not become a (true) snātaka, even though he may have learnt a good deal else.' The Āśv. gṛ. III. 9. 8 summarises a Brāhmaṇa passage to the effect that a snātaka is indeed a great being.

Snāna (the ceremonial bath) was ordained by the sūtrakāras after a student finishesd his Vedic study. The Āśv. gṛ. (III. 9. 4) remarks 'after having finished (the task of learning) *vidyā*, they should invite his teacher to name the gift (of wealth or otherwise) he desired or when the pupil has been permitted by the teacher, the pupil may take a ceremonial bath.'[975] This shows that one may perform *snāna* either when he had finished his Vedic and other studies or he may do so even without finishing his intended studies, if the teacher permitted him to do so. The Pār. gṛ. II. 6 is more explicit 'The student should take the ceremonial bath after finishing (the study of) the Veda or when he has gone through the period of student-hood for 48 years, or for 12 years according to some (teachers); (he should) take the bath when permitted by the teacher.' A person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a *snātaka*. A snātaka is said by the Pār. gṛ. (II. 5),[976] Gobhila (III. 5. 21–22), Baud. gṛ paribhāṣā sūtra I. 15, Hārīta and others to be of three kinds, viz vidyāsnātaka (or Veda-snātaka as Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā has it), vratasnātaka and vidyā-vratasnātaka (or veda-vrata-snātaka as in Baud). One who has finished Veda study, but has not gone through the vratas (described above) is called *vidyā-snātaka*; one who has finished the vratas, but has not finished his Veda study is styled *vrata-snātaka*; while one who has finished both is named *vidyā-vrata-snātaka*. Yāj. I. 51 in saying that a student 'after finishing Veda (study) or the vratas (observances of brahmacarya) or both, and after giving to the teacher what the latter chooses to ask should take the ceremonial bath with the teacher's permission' impliedly refers to the three-fold division of snātakas. These three alternatives are due to the fact that a student may not have the ability or the time to go through the full Vedic curriculum and the

975. विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्र्यं कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम्। आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 4.; वेदं समाप्य स्नायाद् ब्रह्मचर्यं वाष्टाचत्वारिंशकं द्वादशकैप्यंके गुरुणानुज्ञातः। पारस्करगृह्य II. 6.

976. त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति। समाप्य वेदमसमाप्य व्रतं यः समावर्तते स विद्यास्नातकः समाप्य व्रतमसमाप्य वेदं यः समावर्तते स व्रतस्नातक उभयं समाप्य यः समावर्तते स विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति। पारस्करगृह्य II. 5; हारीत as quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 66 is the same.

vratas. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 31 notices that according to some vrata-snātakas are those who without finishing Veda study take the ceremonial bath three years after upanayana. Gobhila (III. 5. 23) says that of these, vidyā-vrata-snātaka is the best, the other two being equal to each other. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 1–5) refers to this three-fold division and adds that all three are to be honoured as snātakas, but that great reward follows by honouring vidyā-vrata-snātakas.

A good deal of time may conceivably elapse between a man's taking the ceremonial bath and actually marrying a woman. During that period he is called a snātaka; while after marriage he comes to be called a gṛhastha [977]. As long as a person is not married after he takes the bath, he has to follow the observances prescribed for snātakas and gṛhasthas so far as applicable to his position but not those of a student. Gaut. [978] (IX. 1–2) makes the position quite clear by prescribing the same rules of conduct for gṛhasthas and for snātakas. He also states (in III. 9) that whatever rules laid down for brahmacārins are not opposed to the special rules for other āśramas are to be observed by all. The latter means that the special observances of a brahmacārī are not applicable to him (such as avoiding honey and flesh, living on alms, offering fuel-sticks to fire).

The most elaborate procedure of samāvartana is found in Hir. gṛ. I. 9–13, Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā I. 14, Pār. gṛ. II. 6 and Gobhila gṛ. III. 4–5. A concise statement is given below from Āśv. gṛ. (III. 8 and 9). The student who is about to return home from his teacher should get ready (eleven) things, viz. a jewel (to be suspended round his neck), two ear-rings, a pair of garments, an umbrella, a pair of shoes, a staff, a wreath, (powder) for rubbing his body with, ointment, eye-salve, a turban, (all these) being meant for the teacher and for himself. If he cannot afford to have these materials for both of them, then he

977. आ जायासङ्गमात्स्नातका भवन्त्यत ऊर्ध्वं गृहस्थाः । बौ. गृ. परिभाषा I. 15. 10.

978. Vide हरदत्त on गौतम IX. 2 (स्नातकश्च) 'ब्रह्मचर्याज्निवृत्तत्वाद्गार्हस्थ्यव्यतिरिक्ताश्रमान्तराभावाच्च भार्याधिगमादूर्ध्वमिति पूर्वसूत्रमारब्धम् । स्नातकस्य तु भार्याधिगमासंभवे यावज्जीवं गृहस्थधर्मा एवानुष्ठेया इति सूत्रमारब्धम् । हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 6 (अथ स्नातकः) says that some of the स्नातकव्रतs are common to गृहस्थs. According to हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 11. 30. 3 व्रतानि in व्रतस्नातक does not stand for the special व्रतs like महानाम्नी, but for the general observances such अग्नीन्धन, भैक्षचर्या.

should prepare them only for the teacher. He should procure a fuel-stick from the north-east side of a sacrificial tree (like palāśa); the fuel-stick may be undried if he wishes for the enjoyment of food or for prosperity or for splendour; it may be dry if he wishes for spiritual lustre; or both dry (in part) and undried in the remaining part if he desires both. Having placed the fuel-stick on high (not on the ground) and having made gifts of food and of a cow to brāhmaṇas, he should perform the actions prescribed in godāna ceremony (and not the observances like remaining silent). He should [979] alter the mantras (of godāna) so that they refer to himself. (He should rub himself) with the powder of Ekaklītaka. [980] Having bathed himself in lukewarm water and having put on two garments which have not yet been washed (or used) with the mantra 'You two (Mitra and Varuṇa) put on garments [981] with fat splendour' (Rg. I. 152. 1); he should apply eye-salve to his eyes with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone, protect my eye.' He should fasten the two ear-rings with the words 'thou art the lustre of stone; protect my ear.' After having smeared his two hands with ointment (saffron paste &c.) a brāhmaṇa should first anoint his face with it (and then the limbs), a Rājanya his two arms first, a vaiśya his belly first, a woman her private parts, persons, who maintain themselves by running, their thighs. With the words 'free from distress art thou, may I become free from distress' he should put on the wreath, but not such a wreath as would be called a mālā (garland). If some call it *mālā* (through ignorance of what to say) he should cause them to speak of it as *sraj* (wreath). He steps into the shoes with the words 'you two are the supports of the gods, protect me from all sides' and with the

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979. This means:—instead of 'ओषधे त्रायस्वैनं स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीः' (आश्व. गृ. I. 17. 8–9) repeated in चौल and गोदान (by the आचार्य) the student should himself repeat the mantra as 'ओषधे त्रायस्व मां स्वधिते मा मा हिंसीः'. Instead of the mantra 'छुन्धि शिरो मुखं मास्यायुः प्रमोषीः' repeated by the आचार्य in गोदान, the student should himself say 'छुन्धि शिरो मुखं मा मे आयुः प्रमोषीः'.

980. 'करञ्जबीजस्य यत्रैकं बीजं तदेकक्लीतम्। तत्पेषयित्वा तेनोन्मर्दनं कारयेत्॥' नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 8. It is the seed of the करञ्ज tree which contains only one grain that is to be powdered.

981. The mantra युवं वस्त्राणि is to be repeated with each garment. The eye-salve is to be applied to the left eye first and then to the right, says Nārāyaṇa quoting a smṛti. The ear-ring is first to be fastened on the right ear and then on the left.

words 'heaven's covering art thou' he takes the umbrella. He takes the bamboo staff with the words 'bamboo art thou, thou art the child of a tree, protect me from all sides.' Having tied round his neck the jewel[982] with the hymn beginning with 'āyuṣyam',[983] and having arranged the turban (on his head) he should in a standing posture put a fuel-stick (on the fire), and should say at that time 'memory and reproach, knowledge, faith, wisdom as the fifth, what is sacrificed, what is given (as gift), what is studied and what is done, truth, learning, observances. O Agni, the vow (of thee) together with Indra, with Prajāpati, with the sages, with the sages that are kṣatriyas, with the Fathers, with the kings among Fathers, with men and with the kings among men, with the glow, with the super-glow, with the after-glow, with the counter-glow, with gods and men, with Gandharvas and Apsarases, with wild and domestic animals, the vow belonging to my own self, dwelling in my own self, that is my entire vow. O Agni! I shall on all sides become this vow, svāhā'. With the hymn 'mine, O Agni, be the glory' (Ṛg. X. 128. 1) he should put fuel-sticks on fire one for each verse.[984] He should stay for the night at a place where the people will do honour to him (by offering Madhuparka)'. Madhuparka will be dealt with under marriage.

The Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā says (I. 14. 1) that the samāvartana rite for him who is only a vratasnātaka (and has not studied the Veda) is performed silently (i. e. without the mantras prescribed). The other gṛhya sūtras have a similar procedure in samāvartana, only the mantras sometimes differ and a few details are added.

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982. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 16 says that the 'maṇi' is 'suvarṇamaya (made of gold). Āp. gṛ. 12. 8 speaks of 'maṇiṁ sauvarṇam sopadhānam' (a golden bead with two precious stones on two sides).

983. This sūkta is a khila sūkta in the Ṛgveda. It occurs in the आप. म. प्र. II. 8. It is in praise of gold.

984. Nārāyaṇa adds on Āśv. gṛ. III. 8. 16 that he should keep aside his shoes and then offer the fuel-stick. Stenzler conjectures अग्नेः for अग्ने in आश्व. गृ. III. 9. 1, which is unwarranted and unnecessary. The sūkta Ṛg. X. 128 has nine verses. Nārāyaṇa says that there is to be homa with ten samidhs; the tenth verse, therefore, is the verse 'āyuṣyam' which is the first verse of the Khilasūkta after Ṛg. X. 128. The erstwhile student is to offer *samidhs* sitting and not standing and end the rite with the offering to Viṣṭakṛt Agni.

For example, Śāṅ. gṛ. (III. 1. 2) makes the student sit on bull's hide. Pār. gṛ. (II. 6) prescribes that eight jars full of water are to be placed on kuśa grass and water therefrom is to be poured over the head and the body of the student with certain mantras, that he is to worship the rising sun, to partake of curds or sesame seeds, to cleanse his teeth with an udumbara twig, he sees himself in a mirror (after adorning himself). Both Pār. and Gobhila (III. 4. 23) say that in this rite the girdle is taken off. Gobhila (III. 4. 31–34) says that at the end of the rite the student should mount a chariot drawn by oxen, drive some distance in an eastern or northern direction, should then come back to the teacher who honours him with madhuparka. Hir. gṛ. (I. 9. 10) says that the girdle, the staff and the black antelope skin that he wore as brahmacārin are to be thrown into water. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (14th section) appears to suggest that godāna and samāvartana take place on the same day and that at the end of the homa in samāvartana a student of the Ṛgveda should unloosen the girdle of muñja grass with the mantra 'ud uttamam mumugdhi' (Ṛg. I. 25. 21). It is for this reason that in the Maratha country samāvartana is called 'sodmuñja' (rite in which the muñja girdle is taken away).

The sūtras more or less prescribe expressly or impliedly the same materials that are required by Āśvalāyana. Vide Bhār. gṛ. II. 18 (which enumerates them in one place), Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā sūtra I. 13. 1.

Some of the sūtras specify the auspicious times when this rite is to be performed. Hir. gṛ. I. 9. 3 lays down that the proper time for snāna is during the northern course of the sun, in the bright half of a month when the moon is in conjunction with Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Tiṣya (Puṣya), Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā, or Viśākhā. The Baud. gṛ. paribhāṣā (I. 13. 3–9) omits Mṛgaśiras out of these, while Bhār. gṛ. (II. 18) omits Rohiṇī and Mṛgaśiras and adds Svāti. Medieval and modern digests add elaborate rules about the astrological details for the proper day of samāvartana, which are passed over here. Vide Saṁskāraprakāśa pp. 576–578 for some of these details.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smṛtis and digests about snātakas (snātakadharmāḥ). Many of these rules are applicable to gṛhasthas also (i. e. snātakas who have married). Those rules are too numerous to enumerate. But some idea may be conveyed by quoting in full the rules in Āśv. gṛ.

(III. 9. 6-7) which has the shortest treatment and adding a few interesting items from other works. Āśv. gr. (III. 9. 6-7) says 'He (the snātaka) should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor lie down naked, he should not look at a naked woman except during intercourse, he shall not run when it rains, he should not climb up a tree, nor descend into a well, should not cross a river (by swimming) with his arms, he should not expose himself to a danger. A great being indeed is a snātaka—so it is known (from the śruti)'. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 6-I. 11. 32. 29), Vas. XII. 1-47, Gaut. IX, Yāj. I. 129-166, Manu IV. 13ff, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71, Pār. gṛ. II. 1 contain an exhaustive treatment of snātaka vratas. Some of these are concerned with the rules about anadhyāyas, about answering calls of nature, about persons whose food should not be taken, about sexual intercourse, about ācamana, about daily observances like the five mahāyajñas, about upākarma and utsarjana. These have been or will be dealt with in the appropriate places. A few of the other important rules of conduct are: a snātaka should always be pure (in body), should daily bathe and should apply fragrant unguents (like sandal-wood paste) to his body, should be always patient, persistent in his undertakings, self-restrained, generous and not disposed to cause injury to others (Gaut. 9. 7 and 73); he should speak the truth and also speak what is agreeable, but should not tell disagreeable truths, nor should he tell agreeable lies (Manu IV. 138 and Gaut. IX. 68); he should according to his ability try to make his day fruitful as regards the performance of meritorious acts, satisfaction of (legitimate) desires and acquisition of wealth, but he should look upon dharma as the principal of the three *puruṣārthas* (Gaut. IX. 46-47, Manu IV. 176, Yāj. I. 156), though he should avoid even what is allowed by the śāstras if it is hateful to the people; he should not beg (for his livelihood) of anybody except the king or his pupils, but when oppressed by hunger he may beg a little such as a cultivated or uncultivated field, a cow, goats and sheep, or gold, corn, food (Vas. XII. 2-3, Gaut. IX. 63-64, Manu IV. 33-34, Yāj. I. 130); but he should not beg of a king who is not of kṣatriya descent or who sets at naught the dictates of the śāstras (Manu IV. 84, 87) nor should he stay in the kingdom of a śūdra king (Manu IV. 61); he should not talk with the mlecchas, impure persons and irreligious persons (Gaut. IX. 17); he should not dwell in contact with sinners, cāṇḍālas and other untouchables, with fools or persons puffed up with the pride of wealth &c. (Manu IV. 79); he should

not be restless in his sexual desires or with his hands and feet, speech and eyes (Gaut. IX. 50, Manu IV. 177, Vas. VI. 42); he should go round (perform pradakṣiṇā), when he meets on his way a cow, images of gods, a brāhmaṇa, ghee, honey, a square, well-known trees (Manu IV. 39, Gaut. IX. 66); he should not engage in wordy quarrels with his parents, guests, brothers, sisters, persons connected by marriage, maternal uncles, dependents, relations, sacrificial and family priests, children, wife, slaves (Manu IV. 179-180 = Śāntiparva 244, 14-16, Yāj. I. 157-158); he should carry a bamboo stick, a water jar, kuśa grass, wear two yajñopavītas, two garments (upper and lower) and two golden ear-rings (Manu IV. 36, Yāj. I. 133, Vas. XII. 14, 37-38); if he has money enough he should not wear old and dirty clothes, his garments should be white, he should not wear garments that are dyed and black cloth even when that is its natural colour (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30, 10-13, Manu IV. 34-35, Yāj. I. 131, Gaut. IX. 4-5) nor should he wear the clothes, shoes, and garland of another and if he wears these of another owing to poverty, he should thoroughly clean them (Gaut. IX. 6-7, Manu IV. 66); he should not allow his beard to grow unless there is some good ground to do so and should pare his nails (Gaut. IX. 8, Manu V. 35, Yāj. I. 131); while his shoes are in his hand he should not sit on a seat nor should he salute a person or bow to a deity (Gaut. IX. 45); he should not blow with his mouth to kindle fire (Manu IV. 53, Vas. XII. 27, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not hold simultaneously in his hands fire and water nor should he come between the fire and a brāhmaṇa nor between two brāhmaṇas without their permission (Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 6-8, Vas. XII. 28-30); he should not eat food in the same plate with his wife, nor should he see his wife while she is eating or applying eye-salve or when she is yawning or sneezing (Manu IV. 43-44, Vas. XII. 31, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not use a seat or pādukās or tooth-brush made of palāśa (Vas. XII. 34, Gaut. IX. 44, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 9); he should wear a wreath (of flowers) and ointment so as not to be easily noticed (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 5, Manu IV. 72, Vas. 12. 39, Gaut. IX. 32); he should not see the sun rising or setting (Vas. 12. 10, Manu IV. 39, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 20); he should not be *kulaṁkula*[985] and should not

985. कुलंकुल is variously explained. हरदत्त on गौ. explains it as 'stay at home' and gives another's explanation as 'one' who leaves his family and goes to another i. e. studies another's sūtra' &c.

go over a rope by which a calf is tied (Vas. XII. 8-9, Gaut. IX. 52-53, Manu IV. 38); he is not to point out the rainbow to another when he sees it in the sky (Manu IV. 59) nor is he to employ the word 'Indradhanuḥ' for it, but the word 'maṇidhanuḥ' (Vas. XII. 32-33. Gaut. IX. 23, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 18); he is to employ certain euphemisms e. g. he should not speak of a cow that yields no milk as 'adhenu' but as 'dhenu-bhavyā' (who would become dhenu later on), he is not to employ the word 'bhadra' for a thing that is auspicious, but he should employ the words 'puṇya or praśasta'; what is not 'bhadra' he should speak of as 'bhadra' and should not use the word 'kapāla', but the word 'bhagāla' for it (Gaut. IX. 20-22, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 11-14); he should not inform a person when a cow does some damage or allows her calf to have milk without the owner knowing it (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 9-10, Gaut. IX. 24-25); he should enter or leave his village from the east or north (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 7) and should not enter a village or a guarded house by a by-path (Manu IV. 73, Yāj. I. 140, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 23); at the two twilights he should be seated outside the village and should be silent (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 8); he should not wander about by day with the head covered, but he may do so at night or when answering calls of nature (Gaut. IX. 35-37 ; Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 14); he should avoid finding fault with a cow, a fee given or a maiden (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 8); he should not resort[986] to inferior men or to countries in which such persons abound nor should he frequent gambling houses or meetings of clubs (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 18-20, Vas. XII. 40); he should try to dwell in a place that abounds in fuel, water and grass, kuśas, flowers, that has a court-yard, and is mostly peopled by Āryas, that has industrious and religious people (Gaut. IX. 65); he should take his food, answer calls of nature,

986. क्षुद्रान् क्षुद्राचरितांश्च देशान् न सेवेत । सभाः समाजांश्च । आप. ध I. 11. 32. 18-19. Compare आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 12 सभाः समाजांश्चागन्ता (ब्रह्मचारी). समाज is defined in the कामसूत्र I. 4. 27 as 'पक्षस्य मासस्य वा प्रज्ञातेहनि सरस्वत्या भवने नियुक्तानां नित्यं समाजः । कुशीलवाश्चागन्तवः प्रेक्षणकमेषां दद्युः । ' In the Rock Edict No. 1 at Girnar (C. I. I. vol.1) Devānām Priya orders that no samāja be held as he saw grave faults in it 'न च समाजो कर्तव्यो बहुकं हि दोसं समाजम्हि पसति देवानां प्रियो &c.' In the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 Gotamīputa is described as समाजकारक (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 60). समाज may mean 'festival'. Vide Yāj. I. 84.

engage in dalliance with his wife, engage[987] in *yoga* practices in a place screened from public view and he should guard his speech, intellect and strength and should keep his wealth and age very secret; but he should make public the repayment of a debt, a gift, mortgage or sale, the gift of his daughter in marriage, the letting loose of a bull (in śrāddha) and a sin done in secret.

Manu (XI. 203) says that the prāyaścitta for not observing the rules of conduct laid down for snātakas is fasting for a day. Haradatta on Gautama IX. 2 says that the rules for snātakas are meant for brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya snātakas only, that the prāyaścitta for non-observance is also to be undergone by them and that the vaiśya snātakas are not obliged to observe these rules.

In modern times samāvartana often takes place a short time after upanayana and sometimes on the 4th day thereafter or even the next day. As many brāhmaṇas do not learn any part of the Veda, samāvartana has become a mere matter of form in their case. Even the Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 607) prescribes a very brief procedure for samāvartana when the brahmacārī is ill. It consists in the brahmacārī giving up his girdle &c., in shaving the boy silently, in silently bathing at a holy place, putting on another garment, then sipping water twice, bringing fire from the house of a śrotriya and placing it on some place according to the rules, then contemplating on Prajāpati and putting the samidh (fuel-stick) on fire.

As a brahmacārī is not affected by the mourning due to the death of relatives (except his parents), on samāvartana he has to observe impurity for three days (if there have been deaths of relatives in the interval, but not for births). (Vide Manu V. 88 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 87).

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987. आहारनिहारविहारयोगाः सुसंवृता धर्मविदा तु कार्याः। वाग्बुद्धिवीर्याणि तपस्तथैव धनायुषी गुप्ततमे तु कार्ये॥ वसिष्ठ VI. 9; आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मन्त्रो मैथुनमौषधम्। पापकर्मापमानश्च धर्मो गोप्यानि यत्नतः॥ अगोप्यमृणशुद्धिश्च दानाधमनविक्रयाः। कन्यादान वृषोत्सर्गो रहः पापं जुगुप्सितम्॥ दक्ष III. 15–16. All are quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर pp. 484–85.

CHAPTER VIII

ĀŚRAMAS

In the preceding pages several questions connected with *brahmacarya* have been dealt with. *Brahmacarya* is, according to the theory of the dharmasūtras and smṛtis, the first of the four āśramas. Therefore, before proceeding to the next saṁskāra, viz. vivāha (marriage) which is the starting point of the second āśrama, it is necessary to discuss the origin and development of the idea of āśramas.

From the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras the number of āśramas has been four, though there are slight differences in the nomenclature and in their sequence.[988] Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 1 says 'there are four āśramas, viz. the stage of householder, (staying in) the teacher's house, stage of being a *muni*, the stage of being a forest dweller.' That here *mauna* stands for the āśrama of *saṁnyāsa* is clear from Āpastamba's own words in II. 9. 21. 7 (atha parivrājaḥ) where he employs the word 'parivrāj' to indicate 'mauna.' Āp. places the householder first among the āśramas, probably on account of the importance of that stage to all other āśramas. Why he should mention the stage of forest hermit last is not clear. Gaut. also (III. 2) enumerates the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gṛhastha, bhikṣu and vaikhānasa. Here also Gaut. speaks of bhikṣu before vaikhānasa and Haradatta[989] explains this departure from the usual sequence of āśramas as due to the words in Gaut. 28. 47 where we read 'prāg-uttamād traya āśramiṇaḥ' (persons belonging to the three āśramas except the last may constitute a *pariṣad*), i. e. to exclude vaikhānasa from the *pariṣad* he is mentioned last. Why the vānaprastha is called vaikhānasa will be discussed later on under the former word. Vas. Dh. S. (VII. 1–2) names the four āśramas as brahmacārī, gṛhastha, vānaprastha and parivrājaka.

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988. Vide above p. 3 where āśramadharma is said to be one of the six-fold divisions of dharma. चत्वार आश्रमा गार्हस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानप्रस्थ्यमिति। आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 1. This is quoted by शंकर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 47.

989. शास्त्रान्तरेषु वैखानसस्तृतीयो भिक्षुश्चतुर्थ आश्रमः। इह तु क्रमभेदः प्राधुक्याय आश्रमिण इत्यत्र वैखानसवर्जनार्थः। हरदत्त on गौतम III. 2.

Vas. Dh. S. (in XI. 34) employs the word *yati* to denote a person in the fourth āśrama. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 17) names the four āśramas in the same way as Vasiṣṭha and vouchsafes the interesting information that it was the *asura* Kapila, son of Prahlāda, who in his rivalry with the gods, made these distinctions to which a wise man should pay no heed. What Baud.[990] means appears to be that there is really one *āśrama* viz. that of the householder, that Kapila devised the scheme of four āśramas, so that those who became vānaprasthas and parivrājakas would perform no yajñas and thereby the gods would lose the offerings they received from men and become less powerful. Manu VI. 87 speaks of the four āśramas, the last being called *yati* by him and also 'saṁnyāsa' (in VI. 96). It would thus be seen that a person who belongs to the last āśrama is variously called parivrāṭ or parivrājaka (one who does not stay in one place but wanders from place to place), bhikṣu (one who begs for his livelihood), *muni* (one who ponders over the mysteries of life and death), *yati* (one who controls his senses) These words suggest the various characteristics of the man who undertakes the fourth āśrama.

The theory of Manu about these āśramas is as follows. The span of human life is one hundred years (śatāyur vai puruṣaḥ). All do not live to that age, but that is the maximum age one can expect to reach. This should be divided into four parts. As one cannot know beforehand what age one is going to reach, it is not to be supposed that these four parts are each of 25 years. They may be more or less. As stated in Manu IV. 1 the first part of man's life is brahmacarya in which he learns at his teacher's house and after he has finished his study, in the second part of his life he marries and becomes an householder, discharges his debts to his ancestors by begetting sons and to the gods by performing yajñas (Manu V. 169). When he sees that his head has grey hair and that there are wrinkles on his body he resorts to the forest i. e. becomes a vānaprastha (Manu VI. 1–2). After spending the third part of his life in the forest for some time he spends the rest of his life as a saṁnyāsin[991] (Manu VI. 33). Similar rules are found

990. ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वावितरेषाम्। तत्रोदाहरन्ति। प्राह्लादिर्वै कपिलो नामासुर आस स एतान्भेदांश्चकार देवैः स्पर्धमानस्तान्मनीषी नाद्रियेत। बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 29–31.

991. शङ्खलिखित as quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु VI. 33 say 'वनवासादूर्ध्वं शान्तस्य परिगतवयसः पारिव्राज्यम्'. अपरार्क p. 947. reads 'परिणतवयसः कामतः प्रव्रज्या'.

in many other smṛtis.[992] Baud. (Dh. S. II. 10. 5)[993] states as his own opinion that the sages prescribe saṁnyāsa after the 70th year.

The word āśrama does not occur in the Saṁhitās or Brāhmaṇas. But this cannot be stretched to mean that the stages of life denoted by this word in the sūtras were unknown throughout the Vedic period. It has been shown above (p. 268) that the word brahmacārī occurs in the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda and that brahmacarya is mentioned in the Tai. S., the Śat. Br. and other ancient Vedic works. So the stage of brahmacarya was well-known in the remotest past. The fact that Agni is said to be 'the gṛhapati in our house' (Ṛg. II. 1. 2)[994] and the fact that in the famous verse (Ṛg. X. 85. 36) which is employed even to-day in the marriage ceremony the husband says to the bride when taking hold of her hand that the gods gave her to him for gārhapatya (for attaining the position of a house-owner or householder) establish that the second stage of the householder was well-known to the Ṛgveda. There is nothing in the Vedic Literature expressly corresponding to the vānaprastha. It may however be stated that the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa 14. 4. 7 says that vaikhānasa sages were the favourites of Indra and that one Rahasya Devamalimluc killed them in a place called Munimaraṇa. Vaikhānasa means 'vānaprastha' in the sūtras and it is possible that this is the germ of the idea of vānaprastha. 'Yati' used in the sūtras and smṛtis to indicate the fourth āśrama of saṁnyāsa does occur in the oldest Vedic texts. But there the meaning appears to be different. In the Ṛg. the word 'yati' occurs several times. But the sense is doubtful. Ṛg. VIII. 3. 9 runs 'whereby[995] when wealth was bestowed on Bhṛgu and on yatis (or 'on Bhṛgu from yatis') you protected Praskaṇva'. Ṛg. VIII. 6. 18 reads 'O Indra, the yatis and those who were Bhṛgus praised thee'; Ṛg. X. 72. 7 says 'O gods,

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992. E. g. vide अपरार्क p. 940 quoting two verses of Yama that are very similar to Manu V. 169 and VI. 2.

993. सप्तत्या ऊर्ध्वं संन्यासमुपदिशन्ति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 5.

994. तवाग्ने होत्रं ..... ब्रह्मा चासि गृहपतिश्च नो दमे ॥ ऋ. II. 1. 2.

995. येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वमाविथ । ऋ. VIII. 3. 9. I Keith takes यतिs as connected with the Bhṛgus. It would be better to take यतिभ्यः as in the ablative. य इन्द्र यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुवुः । ऋ. VIII. 6. 18; सायण explains यतयः as नियताः अङ्गिरसः ; यद्देवा यतयो यथा भुवनान्यपिन्वत । अध्वा समुद् आ गूहसूमा सूर्यमजभर्तन ॥ ऋ. X. 72. 7 ; here सायण renders यतयः as मेधाः.

when you filled the worlds as the yatis (did) you brought the sun hidden in the sea'. In the Tai.[996] S. VI. 2. 7. 5 we read 'Indra threw yatis to the sālāvṛkas (hyaenas or wolves), they devoured them to the south of the Uttaravedi.' The same words and story occur in the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā VIII. 5, the Ait. Br. 35. 2 (prādāt) and the Kauṣītaki Up. III. 1; in the last Indra said to Pratardana 'do know me only; I regard this as the most beneficial thing to man that he should know me. I killed the three-headed Tvāṣṭra, I gave to the sālāvṛkas the Arunmukha yatis.' In the Kāṭhaka saṁhitā (IV. 10) and the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2 it is stated that the heads of the *yatis* when they were being devoured fell aside and they (the heads) became the kharjūras (date palms). Atharvaveda II. 5. 3. says 'Indra, who is quick in his attack, who is Mitra and who killed Vṛtra as he did the yatis.' In the Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa VIII. 1. 4 Bṛhadgiri is said to be one of the three yatis who escaped from slaughter and who were then taken under his protection by Indra. All these passages taken together suggest that the yatis were people who had incurred the hostility of Indra, the patron of the Āryas, that they were slaughtered by the Āryas with the help of Indra and their bodies were thrown to the wolves and that they seem to have something to do with a country where the date-palm grew and that a few of them who escaped slaughter subsequently were won over and became the worshippers of Indra (and therefore in Ṛg. VIII. 6. 18 they are described as praising Indra). So originally they were probably beyond the pale of the Vedic Aryans. If there is any connection between yati and yātu (sorcery) which seems possible, the yatis were probably non-vedic sorcerers.

In the Ṛg. X. 136. 2, there is a reference[997] to munis, who are wind-girt and who put on brownish dirt (dirty garments). In Ṛg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be the friend of *munis* (Indro munīnāṁ sakhā) and in Ṛg. X. 136. 4 muni is said to be the friend of all gods. So it appears that even in the times of the Ṛgveda persons

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996. इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत्। तै. सं. VI. 2. 7. 5. सहोवाच मामेव विजानीह्येतदेवाहं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्ये यन्मां विजानीयात् त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहमहनमरुन्मुखान्यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्। कौषी. ब्रा. उप. III. 1. अरुन्मुखान् is explained by शंकरानन्द as रुच्छब्दः वेदाध्ययनं तेन उपनिषदर्थविचारः ... स येषां मुखे नास्ति ते प्रयत्नवन्तश्चतुर्थाश्रमिणः. The words इन्द्रो यतीन् ... प्रायच्छत् are quoted by मेधातिथि on मनु XII. 48 and he gives the gloss of some as 'मेरुनिवासिनः केचिज्जनपदा यतयो नाम'. यतीनामद्यमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतन्। ते खर्जूरा अभवन्। तै. सं. II. 4. 9. 2.

997. मुनयो वातरशनाः पिशङ्गा वसते मला। ऋ. X. 136. 2.

who led a life of poverty, contemplation and mortification were known, and were honoured and called munis, while persons corresponding to them among non-vedic people were probably called yatis. But in both these words there is no idea of a certain stage in a well-knit scheme of life. Perhaps the earliest reference to the four āśramas, though somewhat obscure, occurs in the Ait. Br. 33. 11 'what (use is there) of dirt, what use of antelope skin, what use of (growing) the beard, what is the use of *tapas*? O! brāhmaṇas! desire a son, he is a world that is to be highly praised.'[998] Here it is clear that *ajina* refers to brahmacarya, śmaśrūṇi to vānaprasthas (since according to Manu VI. 6 and Gaut. III. 33 the vānaprastha had to grow his hair, beard and nails). Therefore 'malam' and 'tapas' must be taken respectively as indicating the householder and the saṃnyāsin. A much clearer reference to three āśramas occurs in the Chāndogya[999] Up. II. 23. 1 'there are three branches of dharma, the first (is constituted by) sacrifice, study and charity (i. e. by the stage of householder), the second is (constituted by the performance of) *tapas* (i. e. the vānaprastha), the third is the brahmacārī staying in the house of his teacher and wearing himself out till death in the teacher's house; all these attain to the worlds of the meritorious; but one who (has correctly understood *brahma*) and abides in it attains immortality'. Tapas is a characteristic of both vānaprastha and parivrājaka. Therefore in this passage it is possible to hold that the three āśramas (of student, householder and vānaprastha) are mentioned. The last clause about 'brahmasaṃstha' differentiates the three āśramas from him who has knowledge

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998. किं नु मलं किमजिनं किमु श्मश्रूणि किं तपः। पुत्रं ब्रह्माण इच्छध्वं स वै लोको वदावदः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 11. मलं probably refers to sexual intercourse. तपः may indicate the वानप्रस्थ (गौतम III. 25 वैखानसो वने मूलफलाशी तपःशीलः) or संन्यासिन् (Manu VI. 75 requires a संन्यासिन् to undergo severe tapas).

999. त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमस्तप एव द्वितीयो ब्रह्मचार्याचार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यन्तमात्मानमाचार्यकुलेऽवसादयन्सर्व एते पुण्यलोका भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति। छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1. It is worthy of note that शंकर explains तपः as 'तप इति कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादि तद्वांस्तापसः परिव्राड् वा न ब्रह्मसंस्थः आश्रमधर्ममात्रसंस्थो ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य त्वमृतत्वश्रवणात्'; while on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 he disapproves of the view that by the word 'tapas' the parivrājaka also is meant. This passage of the Chān. Up. is the basis of Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18-20. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 55 quotes this passage of the Chāndogya and remarks that it is the parivrājaka who is brahmasaṃstha that is referred to in the last part of the passage 'पारिप्लवात्परिव्राजकस्यैव ब्रह्मसंस्थस्य मुक्तिलक्षणामृतत्वप्राप्तिरभिहिता'।

of brahma and holds fast by it. That portion says that the consequence of the knowledge of brahma is immortality; but it does not say expressly or impliedly that the stage of parivrājaka is a means of attaining the knowledge of brahma. So one may doubt whether saṁnyāsa as an āśrama is spoken of here, but there can be no doubt that the other three are clearly indicated here. Probably in the time of the Chāndogya there was no clear line of demarcation between the āśramas of *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsa* and they rather coalesced into each other. Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Br. Up. VI. 2. 15 support this conclusion[1000]. In the Br. Up. III. 5. 1 there is a reference to brāhmaṇas who on apprehending correctly the Supreme Spirit turn away from the desires of progeny, wealth and of securing holy worlds and practise begging. Begging is a characteristic of saṁnyāsa in the sūtras. Yājñavalkya in the Br. Up. IV. 5. 2. tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going into a life of *pravrajyā* from being a householder. Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 11 refers to begging for him who has knowledge of brahma and Muṇḍaka III. 2. 6 mentions 'saṁnyāsa'. In the Jābālopaniṣad[1001] (4) it is said that Janaka asked Yājñavalkya to expound *saṁnyāsa* and then the four āśramas are distinctly set out 'after finishing the stage of student-hood, one should become a householder; after becoming a householder one should become a forest-dweller, after being a forest-dweller, one should renounce the world; or he may do otherwise viz. he may renounce the world after the stage of student-hood itself or after being an householder or from the forest. The very day on which he becomes desireless, he should renounce the world (become a saṁnyāsin)'. Probably this passage[1002] was not

1000. तद्य इत्थं विदुर्ये चेमेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते तेऽर्चिषमभिसंभवन्ति... स एनान् ब्रह्म गमयत्येष देवयानः पन्थाः। छा. उप. V. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'ये चेमे... पासते' as 'ये चारण्योपलक्षिता वैखानसाः परिव्राजकाश्च;' एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति। बृह. उप. III. 5. 1.

1001. ब्रह्मचर्यं परिसमाप्य गृही भवेद् गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेद्वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत्। यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रव्रजेद्गृहाद्वा वनाद्वा। यदहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रव्रजेत्। जाबालोप. 4. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 2 and 18 सोऽत एव ब्रह्मचर्यवान्प्रव्रजतीत्येकेषाम्। आश्रमादाश्रमसुपनीय ब्रह्मपूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते। These sūtras probably have in view the जाबालोप. 4 or some other similar Upaniṣad passage.

1002. शंकर remarks on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20 'अनपेक्ष्यैव जाबालश्रुतिमाश्रमान्तरविधायिनीमयमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः।'. तपःप्रभावाद् देवप्रसादाच्च ब्रह्म ह श्वेताश्वतरोथ विद्वान्। अत्याश्रमिभ्यः परमं पवित्रं प्रोवाच सम्यगृषिसङ्घजुष्टम्। श्वेता. उप. VI. 21. The meaning of अत्याश्रमिभ्यः is doubtful. शंकराचार्य explains आश्रमं पूज्यतमाश्रमिभ्यः. नारायण in the दीपिका reads अन्त्याश्रमिभ्यः.

before the author of the Vedāntasūtra or he did not regard the Jābālopaniṣad as very authoritative; otherwise there would hardly have been any need for the Vedāntasūtrakāra (in the Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 18–20) to hold a discussion on Chāndogya II. 23. 1.

It is clear that in the times of the earliest Upaniṣads at least three (if not four) āśramas were known and that all four were known by their specific names to the Jābālopaniṣad. In the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (VI. 21) we have the word 'atyāśramibhyaḥ'. It is said there that the sage Śvetāśvatara, who acquired knowledge of Brahma, proclaimed the knowledge to those who had risen above the mere observances of āśramas.

No scholar Eastern or Western places Pāṇini later than 300 B. C. He knew Bhikṣu-sūtras composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda[1003] and he tells us that the word 'maskarin'[1004] means parivrājaka. As sūtra works about 'bhikṣus' were composed before Pāṇini, this āśrama of bhikṣus must have been an established institution centuries before Pāṇini. Buddhism took over this mode of life (*pabbajjā* as the Pāli works say) from the brahmanical system.

It has been already stated at p. 8 that the goals of existence were deemed to be four, viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. The highest goal was *mokṣa*. All ancient Indian philosophy (whether Vedānta, Sāṁkhya or Nyāya) held that liberation from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths, and escape from the three kinds of *duḥkha* were the highest good. The *summum bonum* consisted in non-return (anāvṛttiḥ) to the world of pleasures and sorrows. The Chān. Up.[1005] VIII. 15. 1 winds up with the words 'and he does not return'. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15, Praśna Up. I. 10 and others say the same. This supreme goal had fascinated all noble minds in whatever sphere of life they might have been working. The greatest poet and dramatist of classical Sanskrit ends his most famous drama (the Śākuntala) with the prayer 'may self-existent God Śiva destroy for me rebirth'.[1006] This state of liberation or release is variously called mokṣa or mukti, amṛtatva, niḥśreyasa,

1003. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः। कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः। पाणिनि IV. 3. 110–111.

1004. मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः। पाणिनि VI. 1. 154.

1005. न च पुनरावर्तते। छा. उ. VIII. 15. 1.

1006. ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः॥ शाकुन्तल VII.

kaivalya (by the Sāṁkhyas) or apavarga (Nyāyasūtra I. 1. 2). For attaining this state man must know and realize that there is only one Reality underlying all existence (and no plurality) and become disgusted with the passions and temptations of the world i. e. he must have *nirveda* and *vairāgya* (as stated in the Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 or Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12). Merely reading from the books that desirelessness is necessary for release and immediately giving up the world would not serve the purpose. The man would be hankering, as the Bhagavadgītā says, after pleasures he has renounced. Therefore the ancient Indian writers devised according to their lights a scheme which is embodied in the theory and practice of the āśramas. In brahmacarya the individual goes through the discipline of the will and the emotions, makes himself acquainted with the literary treasures of the past and learns obedience, respect, plain living and high thinking. Then he marries, becomes a householder, tastes the pleasures of the world, enjoys life, has sons, discharges his duties to his children, to his friends, relatives and neighbours and becomes a useful, industrious and worthy citizen, the founder of a family. It is supposed that by the time he is fifty years or so he has become convinced of the futility of human appetites and the pleasures of the world and is, therefore, called upon to resort to a forest life for pondering over the great problem of the life hereafter and to accustom himself to self-abnegation, austerities and a harmless life. This would lead on to the last stage, viz. saṁnyāsa. He may succeed in this very life in realizing the supreme goal of mokṣa or he may have to continue to rise in spiritual height until after several births and deaths the goal is in view. The theory of varṇa dealt with man as a member of the Aryan society and laid down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities and duties were as a member of that society. It was addressed to man in the mass. The theory of āśramas addressed itself to the individual. It tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and what preparations are required to attain that goal. The theory of āśramas was truly a sublime conception and if owing to the exigencies of the times, the conflicts of interests and distractions of life, the scheme could not even in ancient times be carried out fully by every individual and seems to have failed in modern times, the fault does not lie with the originators of this conception. Deussen was constrained to say (in E. R. E. under āśrama) 'how far the practice corresponded to this theory given in

Manu and other law books, we do not know; but we are free to confess that in our opinion the whole history of mankind has not much that equals the grandeur of this thought' and again in 'The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' (tr. by Geden, 1906) p. 367 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought'.

The three āśramas of householder, forest hermit and saṁnyāsa will be dealt with in detail hereafter. Only one question about āśramas in general remains to be discussed. With reference to the four āśramas, there are three different points of view (pakṣas) viz. *samuccaya* (orderly co-ordination), *vikalpa* (option) and *bādha* (annulment or contradiction). Those who hold the first view (samuccaya) say that a person can resort to the four āśramas one after another in order and that he cannot drop any one or more and pass on to the next nor can he resort to the householder's life after becoming a saṁnyāsin (vide Dakṣa I. 8-9, Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 40) e. g. a man cannot take saṁnyāsa immediately after brahmacarya. Manu (IV. 1, VI. 1. 33-37, 87-88) is the prime supporter of this view. The first part of the Jābālopaniṣad quoted above refers to this view. This view does not regard marriage and sexual life as impure or inferior to asceticism and on the contrary places it on a higher plane than asceticism. On the whole the tendency of most of the dharmaśāstra works is to glorify the status of an house-holder and push into the background the two āśramas of vānaprastha and saṁnyāsa, so much so that certain works say that these are forbidden in the Kali age. The second view is that there is an option after brahmacarya i. e. a man may become a *parivrājaka* immediately after he finishes his study or immediately after the householder's way of life. This view is put forward by the Jābālopaniṣad as an alternative to the first view of *samuccaya*. This is the view also of Vasiṣṭha VII. 3, Laghu Viṣṇu III. 1, and Yāj. III. 56. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 7-8 and II. 9. 22. 7-8) seems to favour this view. The third view of bādha is held by the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama[1007] and Baudhāyana. They hold that there is really one āśrama viz. that of the householder (brahmacarya being only preparatory to it) and that the other āśramas are inferior to that of the householder. Vide Gautama (III. 1 and 35) where he first

1007. तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते । ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या प्रत्यक्षविधानात्प्राहुर्हस्थस्य । गौ. III. 1 and 35.

refers to the view about vikalpa (option) and emphatically says that there is only one āśrama. Manu VI. 89-90, III. 77-80, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 14-17, Daksa II. 57-60, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 29 and many others praise the āśrama of householder as the highest. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 6. 29 ff) says the same as Gautama and it relies [1008] upon the fact that the āśramas other than that of householder do not beget offspring and quotes Vedic passages viz. 'may we, O Agni, attain immortality through progeny' (Ṛg. V. 4. 10=Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) and 'a brāhmaṇa when born is born involved in three debts, viz. he owes brahmacarya to the sages, sacrifice to the gods, and progeny to pitṛs' (Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5). According to Brahmasūtra III. 4. 18 Jaimini held this view, while Bādarāyaṇa seems to have been of the opinion that all āśramas are enjoined (ibid. III. 4. 19-20). Those who hold this view (bādha) rely on such Vedic passages [1009] as 'one should offer agnihotra as long as life lasts' or 'indeed Agnihotra is a satra (sacrificial session) that lasts till one dies by old age' (Śat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 1), 'one should desire to live a hundred years performing religious acts' (Vāj. S. 40. 2), 'after bringing to the teacher wealth desired by him, do not cut off the thread of progeny' (Tai. Up. I. 11. 1). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 sets out these three views and says that each is supported by Vedic texts and one may follow any one of the three. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 2) held the view that whatever āśrama out of the four one followed, one attained happiness if one performed its duties according to the śāstra and after a lengthy discussion Āp. arrives at the conclusion that there is no distinction due to superiority among the four āśramas [1010]. There were some who thought that the householder's life was the rule and the other āśramas were for the blind and other incapable persons. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 refutes this view.

The word āśrama is derived [1011] from 'śram' to exert, to labour and etymologically means 'a stage in which one exerts oneself'.

1008. एकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्या अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् । ...प्रजाभिरग्ने अमृतत्वमश्याम् जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येणर्षिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य इति । बौ. ध. II. 6. 29, 42-43.

1009. एतद्वै जरामर्यं सत्रं यदग्निहोत्रम् । शतपथ XII. 4. 1. 1; कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः । ईशावास्योप० 2.

1010. तेषु सर्वेषु यथोपदेशमभ्यग्रो वर्तमानः क्षेमं गच्छति । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 2 and '..... न तु तज्ज्यैष्ठ्यमाश्रमाणाम् ।' आप. ध. II. 9. 24. 14.

1011. आश्राम्यन्ति अस्मिन् इति आश्रमः । From this sense arose the meaning of 'hermitage'.

Commentators like Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa on Manu VI. 35 endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the three views set out above as follows: the view that a man may pass on to *saṁnyāsa* immediately after the period of student-hood (without being a householder) applies only to those men who are, owing to the impressions and effects of restrained conduct in past lives, entirely free from desires and whose tongue, sexual appetites, belly and words are thoroughly under control; the prescriptions of Manu enjoining on men not to resort to saṁnyāsa without paying off the three debts are concerned with men whose appetites have not yet thoroughly been brought under control and the words of Gautama that there is only one *āśrama* (that of the house-holder) relate only to those whose appetites for worldly pleasures and pursuits are quite keen.

CHAPTER IX

MARRIAGE

This is the most important of all saṁskāras. Throughout the ages for which literary tradition is available in India marriage has been highly thought of. The several words that are employed to denote the idea of marriage indicate one or more of the elements of the saṁskāra of marriage. Such words are *udvāha* (taking the girl out of her parental home), vivāha (taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose i. e. for making her one's wife), parinaya or pariṇayana (going round i. e. making a pradakṣiṇā to fire), upayama (to bring near and make one's own), and pāṇigrahaṇa (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the śāstras [1012] to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The word 'vivāha' occurs in the Tai. S. VII. 2. 87 and Ait. Br. (27. 5). In the Tāṇḍya [1013] Mahābrāhmaṇa VII. 10. 1 it is said that "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate'; then they said 'let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us'."

Before dwelling upon the various aspects of marriage, the question, whether our authorities point to a state of society when there was no institution of marriage, but there was only promiscuity, requires to be considered. The Vedic works contain no indications about a society in which the relations of the sexes were promiscuous and unregulated. In the Mahābhārata, [1014] however, Pāṇḍu is made to state to his queen Kuntī that women in former ages were under no control, indulged themselves as they liked and that they left off one man and

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1012. एवमुपयमनपाणिग्रहणशब्दवत्परिणयनशब्दोऽपि दृष्टिन्यायेनैव कर्मसमुदाये शास्त्रेषु प्रयुज्यते । अपरार्क p. 91.

1013. इमौ वै लोकौ सहास्तां तौ वियन्तावभूतां विवाहं विवहावहै सह नावस्त्विति । ताण्ड्य. VII, 10. 1.

1014. Vide आदिपर्व chap. 122 (chap. 113 of cr. ed. Poona). Some of the verses may be quoted 'अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने । कामचार-विहारिण्यः स्वतन्त्राश्चारुहासिनि ॥ 4 ...उत्तरेषु च रम्भोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि वर्तते । 7; सभापर्व 31. 37-38 'बभूवुरनतिग्राह्या योषितश्छन्दतः किल । एवमग्निर्वरं प्रादात् स्त्रीणामप्रतिवारणे ॥.'

went after another, that this state of things continued to his (Pāṇḍu's) day in the country of Uttara Kuru, that it was Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, who for the first time stopped all this license and laid down the rule that if a woman proved false to her husband or if a husband was false to a chaste wife, very grave sin would be incurred. In the Sabhāparva (31. 37–38) it is said that through the favour of Agni women in Māhiṣmatī did what they liked and could not be restrained. These passages cannot be relied upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse. In the first place, the country of Uttara Kuru is more or less mythical. This passage rather gives expression to what the poet imagined about remotest ages and not what he knew was the real state of society thousands of years before him. The theory of an original state of promiscuity once advanced by several sociologists has now ceased to be respectable (vide Mrs. M. Cole in 'Marriage, past and present' p. 10.

The purpose of marriage, even according to the Ṛgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. The verse in Ṛg. X. 85. 36 shows that the husband took a woman as a wife for 'gārhapatya'. Ṛg. V. 3. 2., V. 28. 3 speak of the co-operation of husband and wife in the worship of gods. Ṛg. III. 53. 4 contains the emphatic assertion 'the wife herself is the home' (jāyed-astam). In later literature also the same statement occurs. A wife was called 'jāyā', because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait. Br. 33. 1). The Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 10 says 'the wife[1015] is indeed half of one's self; therefore as long as a man does not secure a wife so long he does not beget a son and so he is till then not complete (or whole); but when he secures a wife he gets progeny and then he becomes complete'. The Ait. Ār. (I. 2. 4) says 'therefore a man, after securing a wife, regards himself as more complete'. When Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 12 forbids taking a second wife if the first is endowed with progeny and the performance of religious rites, it indicates

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1015. अर्धो ह वा एष आत्मनो यज्जाया तस्माद्यावज्जायां न विन्दते नैव तावत्प्रजायते असर्वो हि तावद्भवति। अथ यदैव जायां विन्दतेऽथ प्रजायते तार्हि हि सर्वो भवति। शतपथ ब्रा. V. 2. 1. 10. Vide शतपथ VIII. 7. 2. 3. also. The words अर्धो वा एष आत्मनो यत्पत्नी occur in तै. सं. VI. 1. 8. 5. तस्मात् पुरुषो जायां विन्दा कृत्स्नतरमिवात्मानं मन्यते। ऐ. आ. I. 2. 5. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते। शान्तिपर्व 144. 66; अर्धं भार्या मनुष्यस्य भार्या श्रेष्ठतमः सखा। भार्या मूलं त्रिवर्गस्य भार्या मूलं तरिष्यतः॥ आदिपर्व 74. 40; आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः। शरीरार्धं स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले समा॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 740.

that the main purposes of marriage are two,[1016] viz. the wife enables a man to perform religious rites and is the mother of a son or sons who were supposed to save a man from hell. Manu (IX. 28) states that on the wife depend the procreation of sons, the performance of religious rites, service, highest pleasure, heaven for oneself and for one's ancestors. So these three viz. *dharmasampatti*, *prajā* (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and *rati* (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage according to the smṛtis and nibandhas. Yāj. I. 78 is to the same effect. Jaimini (VI. 1. 17 ff) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Āp. Dh. S.[1017] II. 6. 13. 16–17 emphatically says that there can be no separation between husband and wife, for since marriage they have to perform religious acts jointly.

Marriage is a composite rite comprising several subordinate elements which have to be done in a certain order and the last of which is seeing the constellation of the seven sages ; it (rite) brings about the status of a woman as a person's wife.[1018]

The first consideration is : how to choose a bridegroom and what qualifications make a person a very desirable bridegroom. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 2) says 'one should give a maiden[1019] (in marriage) to a man endowed with intelligence'. The Āp. gṛ. (3. 20) remarks "the accomplishments of a bridegroom are that he must be endowed with good family, a good character, auspicious characteristics, learning and good health". Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 states 'a maiden should be given in marriage to one who is endowed with good qualities and who is a celibate (till then)'. Even the Śākuntala (IV) echoes the words of

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1016. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । आप. ध. II. 5. 11. 12 ; the मिता० on या. I. 78 quotes this and remarks 'तथा चापस्तम्बेन धर्मप्रजासंपत्तिः प्रयोजनं दारसंग्रहस्योक्तं धर्म...कुर्वीतेति वदता । रतिफलं तु लौकिकमेव'।.

1017. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 16–17.

1018. कः पुनरयं विवाहो नाम । उपायतः प्राप्तायाः कन्याया दारकरणार्थः संस्कारः सेतिकर्तव्याङ्गः सप्तर्षिदर्शनपर्यन्तः पाणिग्रहणलक्षणः । मेधा० on मनु III. 20 ; तेन भार्यात्वसंपादकं ग्रहणं विवाहः । रघुनन्दन in उद्वाहतत्त्व.

1019. बुद्धिमते कन्यां प्रयच्छेत् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 2 ; दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणे । बौ. ध. IV. 1. 20 ; चन्द्रशीलकुलक्षणसंपन्नः श्रुतवानरोग इति वरसंपत् । आप. गृ. I. 3. 20 ; गुणवते कन्यका प्रतिपादनीयेत्ययं तावत्प्रथमः संकल्पः । शाकुन्तल IV (said by अनसूया) ; कुलं च शीलं च वपुर्वयश्च विद्यां च वित्तं च सनाथतां च । एतान्गुणान्सप्त परीक्ष्य देया कन्या बुधैः शेषमचिन्तनीयम् ॥ यम in स्मृतिच. I. p. 78.

Baudhāyana 'the best idea is to give one's daughter to a man endowed with good qualities'. Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 78) says 'one should seek for seven qualities in a bridegroom viz. good family, good character, bodily appearance, fame, learning, wealth and support (of relatives and friends); the other matters need not be considered'. Bṛhat-parāśara (p. 118 Jiv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many (friends &c.), ambitions (arthitva), and possession of wealth. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 1) and others place kula (a good family) in the forefront in the case of both the bride and the bridegroom.[1020] 'One should first examine the family (of the intended bride or bridegroom) as it has been said above (in the Āśv. Śrauta sūtra IX. 3).' The Āśv. Śrauta reads 'those who on their mother's as well as their father's side through ten generations are endowed with learning, austerity and meritorious works or whose pure brāhmaṇa lineage can be traced on both sides (for ten generations) or according to some on the father's side.' Manu regarded a good family as the most important from the eugenic point of view. In IV. 244 he says 'one who desires to raise his family to excellence and eminence should always enter into marriage alliances with the best and avoid alliance with the low'; and adds (III. 6–7) that ten kinds of families even though richly endowed with cattle, wealth &c. should be avoided in marriage viz. in which the saṁskāras are not performed, in which there is no male progeny, which are devoid of Veda (study), which have hairy members, that suffer from piles or consumption or indigestion or epilepsy, white or black leprosy. Manu (III. 63–65) explains under what circumstances good families are reduced to a bad state. Hārīta states that the offspring is in accordance with the (qualities of the) family of the parents. The Harṣacarita (IV) gives expression to the view that generally the wise look to good family first even though there may be other qualities in the bridegroom. Manu II. 238, however, allows a man to marry a girl even from an inferior or bad family provided she is a jewel among women.

1020. कुलमग्रे परीक्षेत ये मातृतः पितृतश्चेति यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 1; आश्व. श्रौ. सू. IX. 3. is 'ये मातृतः पितृतश्च वृशपूरुषं समनुष्टिता विज्ञातपोभ्यां पुण्यैश्च कर्मभिर्येषामुभयतो वा ब्राह्मण्यं निनयेयुः पितृतश्चैके ।'. These qualifications were laid down for those who were to partake of the camasa offering in Rājasūya. कुलानुरूपाः प्रजाः संभवन्ति । हारीत quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 589; प्रायेण च सत्स्वपत्येषु वरगुणेष्वभिजनमेवानुरुध्यन्ते धीमन्तः । हर्षच. IV.

Yāj. (I. 54-55) emphasizes the importance of a good family famed for ten generations and freedom from diseases that are hereditarily transmitted and adds that the bridegroom must be young, intelligent, a favourite among the people and his virility must be carefully tested. The Mit. on Yāj. 1. 55 quotes Nārada (strīpuṃsa) who mentions some characteristics of the virile man and enumerates fourteen varieties of impotent persons (verses 11-13). Kātyāyana[1021] mentions what defective bridegrooms are to be avoided viz. the lunatic, one guilty of grave sins, leprous, impotent, one of the same *gotra*, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic and adds that these defects are to be avoided even among brides. The Mahābhārata observes 'friendship and marriage should take place between those alone whose wealth is similar and whose learning (i. e. the learning in whose families) is of equal status, not between opulent (well-off) and the poverty-stricken'.[1022]

Though Manu and Yāj. indicate that impotent persons are not eligible for marriage, yet such persons rarely married. Their marriages were held valid by Manu, Yāj. and others and their sons (by niyoga) took property as if they were *aurasa* sons. Vide Manu IX. 203 and Yāj. II. 141-142.

The Saṃskāraprakāśa (pp. 752-754) contains a long discussion on the question how from bodily characteristics one can find whether a man will live long or what his prospects would be. These are passed over for want of space.

Rules for the selection of the bride are far more elaborate than those for selecting a bridegroom, though in some respects they are the same (such as about the necessity of good family, about the absence of diseases &c.). Vide Vas I. 38, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 11, Kāmasūtra III. 1. 2.[1023] Even the Śat. Br. (I. 2. 5. 16)

1021. उन्मत्तः पतितः कुष्ठी तथा षण्ढः स्वगोत्रजः। चक्षुःश्रोत्रविहीनश्च तथापस्मारदूषितः। वरदोषाः स्मृता ह्येते कन्यादोषाश्च कीर्तिताः। स्मृतिच्च० I. p. 59; the text of नारद (ed. by Jolly, स्त्रीपुंसयोग v. 37) is उन्मत्तः पतितः क्लीबो दुर्भगस्त्यक्तबान्धवः॥ कन्यादोषौ च यौ पूर्वावेष दोषगणो वरे॥

1022. ययोरेव समं वित्तं ययोरेव समं श्रुतम्। तयोर्मैत्री विवाहश्च न तु पुष्टविपुष्टयोः॥ आदिपर्व 131. 10; compare उद्योगपर्व 33. 117 समैर्विवाहं कुरुते न हीनैः समैः सख्यं व्यवहारं कथां च।

1023. तस्मात्कन्यामभिजनोपेतां मातापितृमतीं त्रिवर्षात्प्रभृतिन्यूनवयसं श्लाघ्याचारे धनवति पक्षवति कुले संबन्धिभिराकुले प्रसूतां प्रभूतमातापितृपक्षां रूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नामन्यूनाधिकाविनष्टदन्तनखकर्णकेशाक्षिस्तनीमरोगिप्रकृतिशरीरां तथाविध एव श्रुतवाञ् शीलयेत्। कामसूत्र III. 1. 2.

gives expression to the then view that broad hips and slender waists make women attractive. Āśv. gṛ. I. 5. 3 says [1024] 'one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, a good character and auspicious characteristics and who is healthy'. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 5. 6 and Manu III. 4 and Yāj. I. 52 also require that the girl should be possessed of auspicious characteristics (or indications). These (lakṣaṇas) are of two kinds, bāhya (visible or bodily characteristics) and ābhyantara (invisible). Āp. gṛ. [1025] (III. 21) states a commonsense rule: 'a girl on whom his mind and eyes are riveted will bring him happiness (or prosperity), he should pay no heed to other things; this is the view of some'. The Kāmasūtra quotes the view of Ghoṭakamukha 'he should proceed to marry a girl on taking whom as his wife he would regard himself as blessed and would not be blamed by his friends (or persons in a similar station in life)' [1026]. Manu III. 8 and 10, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 12-16 say that one should not marry a girl having tawny hair or having an excessive limb (such as a sixth finger) or a deficient limb, who is hairless or very hairy, who is talkative and has yellowish eyes; but should marry a girl who has limbs void of any defect, whose gait is like that of a swan or an elephant, the hair on whose head or body is of slight growth and whose teeth are small, whose body is delicate. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa (III. 10. 18-22) adds that the girl must not have a marked growth of hair on her chin or lip, her voice must not be hoarse or like that of a crow; her legs and ankles must not be very hairy, there should be no dimples on her cheeks when she laughs, she should not be very dwarfish or very tall &c. Manu III. 9 and Āp. gṛ. (III. 13) say that the girl to be married must not bear names of the lunar mansions (such as Revatī, Ārdrā &c.), trees or rivers, she must not bear a mleccha name or that

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1024. बुद्धिरूपशीललक्षणसंपन्नामरोगामुपयच्छेत । आश्व. गृ. I. 5. 3; बन्धुशील ... . मुंपयच्छेत । आप. गृ. III. 20.

1025. यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामुद्धिर्नेतरवादिर्येतेरयेके । आप. ध. III. 21. This is quoted by the मिता० on याज्ञ. I. 52. The Kāmasūtra III. 1 .14 has the same rule in the same words. The भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 11 quotes a verse to the same effect श्लोकं तु लाक्षणा उदाहरन्ति । यस्यां मनोऽनुरमते चक्षुश्च प्रतिपद्यते । तां विद्यात्पुण्यलक्षणां किं ज्ञानेन करिष्यति॥ This makes attractiveness more important in a woman even than knowledge. In the Mālatīmādhava (Act. II) Kāmandakī ascribes the words यस्यां मनश्च० to Aṅgiras 'इतरेतरानुरागो हि दारकर्मणि पराद्यं मङ्गलं गीतश्चायमर्थोऽङ्गिरसा यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोरनुबन्धस्तस्यामुद्धिरिति'.

1026. यां गृहीत्वा कृतिनमात्मानं मन्येत न च समानैर्निन्द्येत तस्यां प्रवृत्तिरिति घोटकमुखः । कामसूत्र III. 1. 3.

of a mountain, of a bird, of a snake or of a slave or a name that is terrific. Āp. gṛ. (III. 14) and Kāmasūtra III. 1. 13 mention that a girl should not be chosen, the penultimate letter of whose name is r or l (such as Gaurī, Śālī, Kamalū). Nārada [1027] (strī-puṁsayoga 36) says that defects of girls are as follows :—when they suffer from long-standing or disgusting diseases, when they are devoid of a limb or have already had connection with another man, when they are wicked or have their minds fixed on another ; and Āp. gṛ. (III. 11-12) states other defects of girls viz. one should not choose a girl who is asleep or weeps or has left the house when persons come to see whether she can be chosen. Vide Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 76-77 for guṇas and defects of girls as ' brides '.

Bhār. gṛ. I. 11 says that there are four inducing reasons [1028] for marrying a particular girl viz. wealth, beauty, intelligence and family. If all four cannot be secured, wealth may be neglected (as the least important of all) ; then beauty may be neglected if there is intelligence and good family, but there is a difference of view as to the latter two, some preferring intelligence to family and others family to intelligence. Mānava gṛ. (I. 7. 6-7) adds a fifth inducement for marriage, viz. vidyā (learning) after beauty and before prajñā. Vide also Vārāha gṛ. 10.

Some of the gṛhyasūtras propose a peculiar mystical method of selecting a bride. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 5. 3) after stating that one should select a girl endowed with good characteristics (lakṣaṇas) proceeds ' lakṣaṇas are very difficult to discern ' and therefore prescribes (I. 5. 5-6) that eight lumps of different kinds of earth should be taken respectively from a field that yields two crops a year, from a cow-stable, from a vedī (sacrificial altar, after sacrifice is performed), from a pool of water that does not dry up, from a gambling place, from a place where four roads meet, from a barren spot, and from a burial ground ; then he should recite over the lumps the formula ' *ṛta* (right) has been born first in the beginning ; truth is founded (or fixed) in ṛta ; may this girl attain here that for which she is born ; may what is true be visible ; ' then he says to the girl

1027. दीर्घकुत्सितरोगार्ता व्यङ्गा संसृष्टमैथुना । दुष्टान्यगतभावा च कन्यादोषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 36).

1028. चत्वारि विवाहकारणानि वित्तं रूपं प्रज्ञा बान्धवमिति। तानि चेत्सर्वाणि न शक्नुयाद्वित्तमुदरस्थेत्तो रूपं प्रज्ञायां च तु बान्धवे च विवन्दते । बान्धवमुदरस्थेदित्येक आहुरप्रज्ञेन हि कः संवासः । भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 11.

'take one of these'. According as she chooses the lump, it may respectively be deemed that she will have offspring rich in food (if she chooses the lump of the earth taken from the field of two crops a year &c.), or rich in cattle, or rich in spiritual lustre or rich in everything, or addicted to gambling, or wandering in different directions or poor, or that she will bring death to her husband (if she takes the lump of the earth from the burial ground). The Gobhila gr. II. 1. 4-9 speaks of these lumps and adds that a ninth lump may be formed by mixing up the earths of all eight varieties and that if she takes up any one of the four lumps of earth from an altar, furrow, a pool or a cow-stable or (according to some) the ninth lump, she may be selected. The Laugākṣi gr. 14. 4-7 contains the same rules as in Gobhila. Āp. gr.[1029] (III. 15-18) prescribes a somewhat different method. If both sides agree, the bridegroom (or his friends) should place in one lump of earth several kinds of seeds (such as rice, barley &c.); he should take (a lump having in it) the dust from an altar, a third having a clod from a ploughed field, a lump having cowdung inside and (a fifth having) a clod of earth from a cemetery and keeping them before the girl ask her to touch one of them (the five). If she touches any one of the first four, that is an indication of future prosperity (of the nature of the object touched), but the last (viz. clod of earth from cemetery) is objectionable. The Vārāha gr. 10 and Bhār. gr. I. 11 speak of only four lumps of earth viz. from a field, from an altar, from a cow-stable, and from a cemetery and say that one should not marry a girl who takes up the lump of cemetery earth. Mānava gr. (I. 7. 9-10) speaks of eight lumps but substitutes a lump of earth where dūrvā grows and a lump from under a tree filled with fruit for earth from a pool of water and one from a gambling place and adds that the eight lumps should be placed in a temple and if the girl takes up the lump from a cemetery or from a barren spot or from where four roads meet she should not be married. Many digests like the Gr. R. (pp. 13-22) contain long quotations which dilate upon the indications about the auspiciousness or otherwise of girls from their several physical features.

Gaut. IV. 1, Vas. 8. 1, Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Yāj. I. 52 and several others say that the girl must be younger (yavīyasī)

1029. शक्तिविषये द्रव्याणि प्रतिच्छन्नान्युपनिधाय ब्रूयादुपस्पृशेति। नानाबीजानि संसृष्टानि वेद्याः पांसून् क्षेत्रात्खोष्टं शकृच्छ्मशानलोष्टामिति। पूर्वेषामुपस्पर्शने यथालिङ्गसृद्धिः। उत्तमं परिचक्षते। आप. गृ. 3. 15-18.

than the bridegroom and the Kāmasūtra (III. 1. 2) recommends that she must be younger than the bridegroom by at least three years. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 52 explains 'yavīyasī' as meaning 'younger in age and smaller in stature' (than the bridegroom). What the age of marriage was will be discussed a little below.

Gaut. IV. 1,[1030] Vas. 8. 1, Yāj. I. 52, Manu (III. 4 and 12) and others say that one should marry only a girl who is a virgin and of the same caste. How far widow-marriages and intercaste marriages were allowed would be discussed later on.

The Mānava gr. I. 7. 8, Manu III. 11 and Yāj. I. 53 require that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless. This requirement which has been not in force for centuries has a long history behind it. In Rg. I. 124. 7 it is said[1031] 'as a brotherless maiden comes back towards her male relations (her father's family)...so the dawn reveals objects (or her beauty).' In the Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 we read 'like brotherless women let them sit still with their splendour gone'. Both these passages are quoted and explained in the Nirukta III. 4-5. In ancient times when a man had no son, he could make his daughter do for a son (i. e. she herself became putrikā) and stipulate with the person marrying her that the son born of her would be his (i. e. the girl's father's) son and would offer pinḍas as a son to his maternal grandfather. The result would be that the son of such a girl would not offer pinḍas to his father and would not continue the line of his father. Rg. III. 31. 1 (a very obscure and difficult verse) has been explained by the Nirukta (III. 4) as referring to the practice of declaring a daughter to be one's son[1032]. Therefore, brotherless maidens were not chosen as brides and the Rg. speaks of spinsters growing old in their parental home (Rg. II. 17. 7). Vas. Dh. S. 17. 16 refers[1033] to

1030. गृहस्थः सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देतानन्यपूर्वां यवीयसीम्। गौ. IV. 1; गृहस्थो विनीतक्रोधहर्षो ..... असृष्टमैथुनामवरवयसीं सदृशीं भार्यां विन्देत। वसिष्ठ VIII. 1.

1031. अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम्। जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्सः। ऋ. I. 124. 7. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 747 quotes this Vedic verse, Yāska's Nirukta thereon and Vas. also. अभ्रातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्तु हतवर्चसः। अथर्व I. 17. 1. The निरुक्त (III. 4) reads अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति हतवर्मनः and explains अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति संतानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय हतवर्त्मानः.

1032. प्रशास्ति वोढा संतानकर्मणे दुहितुः पुत्रभावम्। निरुक्त III. 4.

1033. तृतीयः पुत्रिका। विज्ञायते अभ्रातृका पुंसः पितृनभ्येति प्रतीचीनं गच्छति पुत्रत्वम्। तत्र श्लोकः। अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलंकृताम्। अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भवेदिति। वसिष्ठ 17. 15-17. The sūtra विज्ञायते is an echo of the explanation of the Nirukta III. 5 and the verse quoted also occurs in the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 5.

Rg. I. 124. 7 and quotes a verse about a brotherless girl. Such a daughter at whose marriage the father made the stipulation stated above was called putrikā and according to Gaut. 28. 17 some [1034] teachers went so far as to say that a daughter became a putrikā by the mental resolve of the father alone (without there being an express agreement with the bridegroom). It is therefore that Manu (3. 11) ordains that one should not marry a girl that has no brother, as there is the danger of her being a putrikā. The Nirukta (III. 5) quotes another [1035] Vedic passage 'one should not marry a brotherless woman, for she becomes the son of him (her father)' and remarks that in this passage there is a direct prohibition against marrying a brotherless maiden (while in the passage of the Atharvaveda it is indirect, being involved in a simile) and it is also expressly said that she becomes the son of her father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl gradually was ignored and in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father be rich. In course of time popular feeling changed and no girl could remain unmarried if she wanted heavenly worlds. There is an interesting story in the Śalyaparva chap. 52 of the daughter of Kuṇigarga who, when told by Nārada that an unmarried woman could not secure heaven, married for one day Śṛṅgavat and then went to heaven.

There are further restrictions about choosing a girl for marriage. The rule was that a man should marry a girl of the same caste. So far there is what is called endogamy (i. e. rule requiring marriage within a certain large community). But within this large community there were certain groups which were prohibited for marriage to a person belonging to another group of the same caste or community (i. e. the principle of exogamy operated within the large community itself). The Hir. gṛ. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 4, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 15 require that the bride to be chosen must not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom. They are all silent about the sameness of pravara. Gaut. IV. 2., Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1, Mānava

1034. अभिसंधिमात्रात्पुत्रिकेत्येकेषाम्। गौ. 28. 17.

1035. नाभ्रातरीमुपयच्छेत तोकं ह्यस्य तद्भवति इति अभ्रातृकाया उपयमनप्रतिषेधः प्रत्यक्षः पितुश्च पुत्रभावः। निरुक्त III. 5. Prof. Rajvade in his translation of the Nirukta in Marathi regards this passage (Nir. III. 5) as interpolated, but his reasons are quite unconvincing. विश्वरूप on या. I. 53 quotes नाभ्रा... भवति as a text of the Bhāllavins.

gṛ. I. 7. 8, Vārāha gṛ. 9, Śaṅkha[1036] Dh. S. forbid marriage with a girl whose *pravara* (or ārṣeya) is the same as that of the bridegroom ; but they say nothing about the prohibition against the sameness of gotra. It is somewhat remarkable that some of the gṛhyasūtras like Āśv. and Pār. say not a word about sameness of *gotra* and *pravara*. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Vaik. III. 2, Yāj. I. 53, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 7), Vedavyāsa II. 2 and many others prohibit sameness of gotra as well as of pravara. Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 5, Manu III. 5, Vaik. III. 2 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 require that the bride must not be a *sapiṇḍa* or blood relation of the mother of the bridegroom ; while Gaut. IV. 2, Vas. VIII. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 10, Vārāha gṛ. 9, Śaṅkha Dh. (quoted above), Yāj. I. 53 and others restrict the prohibition against marrying a sapiṇḍa girl to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the mother's side. There were others like the Vedavyāsa-smṛti which not only prohibited marriage with a girl who had the same gotra as the bridegroom's, but prohibited marriage with a girl whose mother's gotra was the same as the bridegroom's.

All these prohibitions against marrying a *sagotra*, *sapravara* or *sapiṇḍa* girl are extremely important, as the following considerations will show. It is a canon of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā that if there is a seen (dṛṣṭa) or easily perceptible reason for a rule stated in the sacred texts, it is only recommendatory and a breach of such a rule does not nullify the principal act. But if there is an unseen (adṛṣṭa) reason for a rule and there is a breach of such rule, the principal act itself is rendered invalid and nugatory thereby. The rule about not marrying a woman who is diseased or who has superfluous or deficient limbs has a seen reason viz. marriage with such a girl causes unhappiness (if she is diseased) or comment (if she has deficient limbs). Therefore, if a person marries such a girl the marriage is perfectly valid. But there is no seen or easily perceptible reason for the prohibition against marrying a *sagotra* or *sapravara* girl. Therefore, such rules go to the root of the matter and are obligatory and, if there is a breach of them, the marriage is no marriage, it is null and void. So even if a person goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who

1036. हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11-16 quotes शङ्ख 'दानाहरेत्सदृशानसमानार्षेयानसंबन्धानासप्तमपञ्चमात्पितृमातृबन्धुभ्यः' ।. The words ārṣeya, ārṣa and pravara mean the same thing. Manu is silent about the prohibition against marrying a sapravara girl.

is a sagotra or sapravara or sapiṇḍa (within prohibited degrees) she does not in law become his wife at all. These principles are very lucidly set [1037] forth by Medhātithi on Manu III. 11, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 53, the Madanapārijāta and other works. Therefore, these questions of sagotra, sapravara and sapiṇḍa will be dealt with at some length later on.

The question of the age of marriage for men and women will now be considered. This is a very interesting and instructive study. The age of marriage for both sexes has varied considerably from age to age, from province to province and also from caste to caste even at the same time.[1038] As regards men there is no special rule as to the age before which a man was obliged to marry. A man could remain celibate all his life, while at least in medieval and modern times marriage has been absolutely necessary for every girl. A man was to marry after he had finished his Vedic studies; but the period of Vedic study was fluctuating (i. e. it could be 12, 24, 36, 48 years or as much time as was necessary to master one Veda or a portion of it). Usually twelve years were devoted to brahmacarya in ancient times and as upanayana ordinarily took place in the 8th year (for brāhmaṇas) a man would ordinarily be 20 years old or more at the time of marriage. It is therefore that Manu (IX. 94) remarks that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve years or a man of 24 who is in a hurry to become a householder may marry a girl of eight. Basing on this the Viṣṇupurāṇa [1039] (III. 10. 16) says that the ages of the bride and bridegroom should be in the ratio of 1 to 3. Aṅgiras says that the bride should be two, three, five or more years younger. In

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1037. अस्मिन् प्रकरणे यत्र नास्ति दृष्टगतः प्रतिषेधः, यथा 'असपिण्डा च' इत्यत्र श्लोके, तदतिक्रमे विवाहस्वरूपानिर्वृत्तिरेव । अतः सगोत्रादिविवाहः कृतोऽप्यकृत एव । ..... एवं सगोत्राया न भार्यात्वम् । यस्तु हीनक्रियादिप्रतिषेधः (मनु ३-७), तस्य दृष्टदर्शनमूलत्वान्निवर्तते विवाहः, भवत्यसौ भार्या । मेधा० on मनु III. 11; सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रासप्रवरासु भार्यात्वमेव नोत्पद्यते । रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्व उत्पन्नेऽपि दृष्टविरोध एव । मिता० on या. I. 53; vide also मदनपारिजात pp. 140–141, गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 28. Compare what St. Paul says 'the things that are seen are temporary, but the things that are not seen are eternal' 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians chap. IV. 18.

1038. In Z. D. M. G. vol. 46 pp. 413–426 (Dr. Jolly) and vol. 47 pp. 143–154 (Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's reply) there is an interesting discussion about the marriageable age of girls in ancient India.

1039. वर्षैरेकगुणां भार्यामुद्वहेत् त्रिगुणः स्वयम् । विष्णुपुराण III. 10.16; वयोधिकां नोपयच्छेद् दीर्घां कन्यां स्वदेहतः । स्ववर्षाद् द्वित्रिपञ्चादिन्यूनां कन्यां समुद्वहेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 125).

the Mahābhārata [1040] Gautama is prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Uttaṅka if he could be a youth of 16 years. In another place the Mahābhārata (Sabhā 64. 14 and Vanaparva 5. 15) uses the simile of a maiden not liking a husband of 60 years. That shows that girls were sometimes married to even old men of 60 in those days as rarely in modern times also. In the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 14) the respective ages of the bridegroom and bride are recommended as 30 and 10 or 21 and 7; while the Udvāhatattva (p. 123) and S. Pr. p. 766 quote a verse from the Mahābhārata that a man of 30 should marry a girl of 16 (but from the metre and context it appears that 'śoḍaṣa-varṣām' as printed should be 'daśa-varṣām)'.

In the Ṛgveda there are no clear statements about the exact age when girls were married. But there are indications that many girls were married at a sufficiently mature age (at least they were not married at the tender age of eight). We have already seen (p. 435) that brotherless girls often remained unmarried till old age. One of the benevolent deeds[1041] of the Āśvins is that they bestowed a husband on Ghoṣā who was growing old in her father's house. Vide also Ṛg. I. 124. 7, II. 17. 7, and Atharvaveda I. 17. 1. In Ṛg. X. 27. 12 it is said 'when a bride is fine looking and well adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men'. That shows that girls were grown-up enough to select their husbands. Some of the verses in the marriage hymn (such as Ṛg. X. 85. 26–27, 46) indicate [1042] that married girls could not have been child-wives, but must have been grown-up. On the other hand in Ṛg. I. 116. 1 it is said that the Nāsatyas (Āśvins) bestowed a wife on Vimada who was an *arbhaga* (of tender age).[1043] But all that is meant seems to be that Vimada was a mere boy as compared with his rival kings who had come as suitors. The two verses Ṛg. I. 126. 6–7 (which are rather too naive) indicate that girls were married before they had attained puberty. In Ṛg. I. 51. 13 Indra is said to have given to old Kakṣīvat a wife named Vṛcayā who is styled '*arbhā*' (young). But that word is only used in contradistinction to the word 'mahate' (grown old) applied to Kakṣīvat

1040. युवा षोडशवर्षो हि यद्यद्य भविता भवान् । दद्यानि पत्नीं कन्यां च स्वां ते दुहितरं द्विज ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 56. 22–23.

1041. घोषायै चित्पितृषदे दुरोणे पतिं जूर्यन्त्या अश्विनावदत्तम् ॥ ऋ. I. 117. 7.

1042. सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्वां भव । ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 46.

1043. यावभंगाय विमदाय जायां सेनाजुवा न्यूहतू रथेन ॥ ऋ. I. 116. 1.

and conveys no idea of her exact age.[1044] On the whole one may conclude that in the period of the Ṛgveda girls were probably married at any age (either before puberty or after puberty) and sometimes remained spinsters all their life. The other Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas do not shed much light on the question of the age of marriage for girls. In the Chān. Up. Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa is described as dwelling in the Kuru country with his wife, who is said to have been 'āṭikī' which Śaṁkara explains as 'a mere undeveloped girl'.[1045]

Coming to the ancient gṛhya and dharma sūtras, it will be seen from several considerations that girls were married just before the time of puberty or immediately after it. Among the several requirements of the bride to be chosen several gṛhya sūtras lay down that she must be a '*nagnikā*'. Vide Hir. gṛ. I. 19. 2, Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 6, Mānava gṛ. I. 7. 8, Vaik. VI. 12.[1046] The word *nagnikā* is variously explained by the commentators. Mātṛdatta on Hir. gṛ. explains that nagnikā means 'one whose menstrual period is near' i. e. one who is fit for intercourse. Aṣṭāvakra, the commentator of the Mānava gṛ., explains nagnikā as 'one who has not yet experienced the impulses and emotions of youth' or 'one who looks pretty even without clothes' (taking the word along with 'śreṣṭhām' that follows). The Gṛhyāsaṁgraha[1047] (which is much later than the Gobhila gṛ.) explains 'nagnikā' as one who has not yet reached puberty. These varying explanations of the word 'nagnikā' are due to the fact that when some smṛtis and commentators wrote child marriages were not in vogue, while they were in vogue when and where others flourished. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 70 says 'the father

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1044. अदद्रा अभी महते वचस्यवे कक्षीवते वृचयामिन्द्र सुन्वते । ऋ. I. 51. 13.

1045. मद्रचीहतेषु कुरुषुष्वाटिक्या सह जायायोषस्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे प्रद्राणक उवास । छान्दोग्य I. 10. 1. शंकर explains 'आटिक्या अनुपजातपयोधरादिस्त्री-व्यञ्जनया'.

1046. तामनुज्ञातो भार्यामुपयच्छेत् सजातां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीमसगोत्राम् । हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 2; 'नग्निकामासन्नार्तवाम् । ...तस्माद्वस्त्रविक्षेपणार्हा नग्निका मैथुनार्हेत्यर्थः' मातृदत्त; 'बन्धुमतीं कन्यामस्पृष्टमैथुनामुपयच्छेत ... यवीयसीं नग्निकां श्रेष्ठाम् ।' मानवगृह्य I. 7. 8. Dr. Bhandarkar shows that in many Mss. of the Hir. gṛ. and as handed down by oral tradition among the *vaidikas* of the Hir. śākhā the reading is सजातानग्निकां (i. e. the girl should be of the same caste and not a nagnikā). Vide ZDMG vol. 47. pp. 143-46.

1047. नग्निकां तु वदेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् । ऋतुमती त्वनग्निका तां प्रयच्छेत्तु नग्निकाम् ॥ अप्राप्ता रजसो गौरी प्राप्ते रजसि रोहिणी । अव्यक्तिता भवेत्कन्या कुचहीना च नग्निका । गृह्यासंग्रह quoted by com. on गोभिलगृह्य III. 4. 6.

should give away his daughter while she is still nagnikā through fear of her attaining puberty (while unmarried).' This shows that according to Vas. nagnikā must have been a girl of tender years or one that had not attained puberty.

There is another very important indication. Most of the gṛhyasūtras prescribe that the married couple should be celibate for at least three nights after marriage (if not for a longer period). For example, the Pār. gṛ. (I. 8) says[1048] ' the married pair should (after marriage) not partake of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* for three nights, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot, for the same period) and should not have intercourse for a year, twelve nights, six nights, three nights in the last resort '. Vide for a similar rule Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 10, Āp. gṛ. 8. 8–9, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 17. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 14. 14, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 30. 1, Khādira gṛ. I. 4. 9 and others. Such an injunction against intercourse for three nights after marriage would have been uncalled for and extremely inappropriate if girls had been usually married when they were only eight to ten years old. Such injunctions by so many authors presuppose that girls must have generally been very near puberty or past puberty at the time of marriage. Haradatta who belongs to about the 12th century A. D. expressly says[1049] that (in his days) in certain countries intercourse was commenced immediately after marriage and that such a usage being opposed to Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 10 should not be followed (but continence should be observed at least for three days after marriage). This shows that so late as 1200 A. D. in several countries the marriageable age of girls must have been at least about 14.

In most of the gṛhyasūtras there is a rite called ' caturthī-karma ' (rite on 4th day after marriage). Vide Gobhila II. 5, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 18–19, Khādira gṛ. I. 4. 12–16, Pār. gṛ. I. 11, Āp. gṛ. 8. 10–11, Hir. gṛ. I. 23–24 &c. This rite has been described above (pp. 203–204) and corresponds to the garbhādhāna of later writers (e. g. Yāj. I. 11). As cohabitation is expressly mentioned in connection with this rite performed on the fourth day after

1048. त्रिरात्रमक्षारालवणाशिनौ स्यातामधः शयीयातां संवत्सरं न मिथुनमुपेयातां द्वादशरात्रं...त्रिरात्रमन्ततः । पारस्करगृह्य I. 8.

1049. केषुचिद्देशेषु सद्यः समावेशनं दृष्टं वक्ष्यमाणेन त्रिरात्रं द्वादशरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्येण बाध्यते । हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. I. 7. 2, on which नारायण also says ' वैदेहेषु सद्य एव व्यवायो दृष्टः । गृह्ये तु ब्रह्मचारिणौ त्रिरात्रमिति ब्रह्मचर्यं विहितं तत्र गृह्योक्तमेव कुर्याच्च देशधर्ममिति सिद्धम् ।'.

marriage it follows that girls must have generally been quite grown-up at the time of marriage.

In some of the gṛhyasūtras and smṛtis a slight prāyaścitta (purificatory ceremony) is prescribed if the bride has menstruation during the progress of the marriage ceremonies. Vide Baud. gṛ. IV. 1. 10, Kauśika sūtra 79. 16, Vaik. VI. 13, Atri (ed. by Jiv. part I. p. 11).

Gaut.[1050] (18. 20-23) says 'a girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He who neglects it commits sin. Some declare that she should be given in marriage before she begins to wear clothes. A marriageable girl (who is not given in marriage by her father &c.) should allow three monthly periods to pass and afterwards unite herself to a blameless man of her own will and give up the ornaments received from her father (or her family)'. This passage establishes that even before Gautama (i. e. 500 or 600 B. C.) there were people who advocated marriages of infant girls that did not care to put on clothes (i. e. who had no sense of shame if they went about without clothes), that Gautama disapproved of this view, that he only prescribed that the marriage of girls should take place before puberty and he was not horrified if girls got themselves married sometime after puberty. But it is clear that no blame attached to the girl married after puberty or to the husband; the idea, however, had arisen even then that the father or guardian incurred blame or sin by not getting a girl married before puberty. Manu (IX. 89-90) goes so far as to say 'A maiden may rather stay in her father's house even till her death, though she may have attained puberty; but the father should never give her to one who is devoid of good qualities. A maiden after attaining puberty may wait for three years (to see if she is given away by her father or brother &c.) but after this period she should seek a husband who is similar to her.' Anuśāsanaparva 44. 16 is to the same effect. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 14 and Vas. V. Dh. S. 17. 67-68 give the same rule as in Manu IX. 90. But both add (Vas. 17. 70-71 and Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12) that the father or guardian incurs the sin of destroying an embryo at each appearance of menses as long as the girl is

1050. त्रीन्वत्सरतीत्य स्वयं युञ्जेतानिन्दितेनोत्सृज्य पित्र्यानलंकारान्। प्रदानं प्राग्गतोः। अप्रयच्छन् दोषी। प्राग्वाससः प्रतिपत्तेरित्येके। गौ. 18. 20-23.

unmarried. Yāj. I. 64 and Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 25–27) state the same rule.

On account of this change in popular beliefs and sentiments it came to be recommended that a girl must be married early and may be given even to one [1051] who is devoid of qualities (in spite of Manu IX 89). Vide Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

So we see that from about 600 B. C. to about the beginning of the Christian Era it did not matter at all if a girl was married a few months or few years after puberty. But by about 200 A. D. (when the Yāj. smṛti was composed) popular feeling had become insistent on pre-puberty marriages. The reasons for this change are not quite clear. But it is possible to hold that it was due to the following circumstances. Buddhism had spread far and wide during these centuries with its encouragement of the institution of monks and nuns. There was laxity of morals among nuns. A further reason may be adduced viz. that girls had generally ceased to study anything, though some of them certainly did study in the times of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and so society did not like girls to remain doing nothing. From the times of the Ṛgveda (X. 85. 40–41) there was a mystical belief that Soma, Gandharva and Agni were the divine guardians of a girl and the Gṛhyāsaṁgraha (quoted in the com. on Gobhila gṛ. III. 4. 6) says that Soma enjoys a girl first, then Gandharva enjoys her when her breasts develop and fire when she menstruates. Therefore, a feeling arose that a girl must be married even before she develops any distinct signs of femininity. Saṁvarta [1052] (verses 64 and 67) gives expression to this idea. Further, since marriage came to be looked upon as the upanayana in the case of women, naturally the age for upanayana (8th year) came to be looked upon as the proper age for marriage. Vide Saṁskārakaustubha quoted below. It came to be believed that there was no hope of heaven for a woman who died unmarried.

1051. दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीम् । अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपरुन्ध्याद्रजस्वलाम् ॥ अविद्यमाने सदृशे गुणहीनमपि श्रयेत् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 12 and 15.

1052. रोमकाले तु संप्राप्ते सोमो भुङ्क्तेथ कन्यकाम् । रजो दृष्ट्वा तु गन्धर्वः कुचौ दृष्ट्वा तु पावकः । ...तस्माद् विवाहयेत्कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत् । विवाहो ह्यष्टवर्षायाः कन्यायास्तु प्रशस्यते ॥ संवर्त verses 64 and 67, quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 79 and Gr. R. p. 46. स्त्रीणामुपनयनस्थानापन्नो विवाह इति तदुचितावस्थायां विवाहस्योचितत्वात् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 699; विवाहं चोपनयनं स्त्रीणामाह पितामहः । तस्माद्गर्भाष्टमः श्रेष्ठो जन्मतो वाष्टवत्सरः ॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म) p. 136.

In the Śalyaparva[1053] chap. 52 we have the story of a girl, daughter of Kuṇi Garga, who practised severe penance till she reached old age and yet was told by Nārada that if she died unmarried she would not go to heaven. The woman induced Śṛṅgavat of the Gālava family for a day previous to her death to marry her by the promise of giving him half of her merit (puṇya). The Vaik.[1054] (V. 9), while describing the ceremony of funeral rites in cases of distress, mentions the curious practice of finding out a male of the same caste for a girl, who dies unmarried though of the age of puberty, with whom a sort of marriage is gone through and the girl is then cremated. Whatever the reasons may be, this tendency to bring down the age of marriage for girls was accentuated in the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. The Laugākṣi[1055] gr. (19. 2) says 'brahmacarya for girls lasts till the 10th or 12th year'. The Vaik. (VI. 12) says that a brāhmaṇa should marry a brāhmaṇa girl who is a *nagnikā* or *gaurī* and defines nagnikā as a girl over eight years but less than ten and gaurī as one who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation. Aparārka (p. 85) quotes the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa to the effect that nagnikā is one who is ten years old. Vide Sm. C. quoting Saṁgraha. Parāśara, Yāj. and Saṁvarta go even beyond this. Parāśara[1056] (VII. 6-9) says 'a girl of eight is called gaurī, but one who is nine years old is a rohiṇī; one who is ten years old is a kanyā; beyond this (i. e. after 10 years) she is a *rajasvalā*. If a person does not give away a maiden when she has reached her 12th year, his pitṛs have to drink every month her menstrual discharge. The parents and also the eldest brother go to hell on seeing (an unmarried) girl reaching the state of a rajasvalā'. Parāśara adds that the brāhmaṇa who marries such a girl should not be spoken to or admitted to dinner in the same row (as other

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1053. असंस्कृतायाः कन्यायाः कुतो लोकास्तवानघे। शल्यपर्व 52. 12.

1054. तथैव कन्यां च सुतां प्राप्तयौवनां तुल्येन पुंसा प्राप्तगृहवत्तां दहेत्। वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र V. 9.

1055. दशवार्षिकं ब्रह्मचर्यं कुमारीणां द्वादशवार्षिकं वा। लौगाक्षिगृह्य 19. 2. ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणीं नग्निकां गौरीं वा कन्यां ..... वरयेत्। अष्टवर्षादा दशमाद्भग्निका। रजस्य-प्राप्ते दशवर्षादा द्वादशाद् गौरीत्यामनन्ति। वैखानस VI. 12; संग्रहकारोपि। यावच्चैलं न गृह्णाति यावत्क्रीडति पांसुभिः। यावद् दोषं न जानाति तावद् भवति नग्निका॥ स्मृतिच्च I.p.80.

1056. माता चैव पिता चैव ज्येष्ठो भ्राता तथैव च। त्रयस्ते नरकं यान्ति दृष्ट्वा कन्यां रजस्वलाम्॥ यस्तां समुद्वहेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणोऽज्ञानमोहितः। असंभाष्यो ह्यपाङ्क्तेयः स विप्रो वृषलीपतिः॥ पराशर VII. 8-9. The स्मृतिच्च. (I. pp. 73 and 81) quotes पराशर VII. 6-9 as from यम.

brāhmaṇas) and that he becomes the husband of a vṛṣalī. On the other hand the Vāyupurāṇa (83. 44) extols the marriage of a gaurī by remarking that her son purifies 21 ancestors on his father's side and 6 male ancestors on his mother's side. Saṁvarta (verse 65–66) has the same two verses as Parāśara (VII. 6 and 8) and winds up (verse 67) by saying that the marriage of a girl of eight is highly commended. The same four verses (Parāśara VII. 6–9) occur in Bṛhad-Yama (Ānan. ed.) chap. 3. 19–22, but the order is different. Aṅgiras (vv. 126–128, Ānan. ed.) has the same verses. Kaśyapa as quoted in the Gṛ. R. (p. 46) says that a girl is called gaurī when she is seven, a kanyakā when she is ten and kumārī when she is twelve. It will be noticed that the smṛtis of Vaikhānasa and Kaśyapa differed from Parāśara as to the definition of gaurī. Further the three smṛtis make marriage of a girl after puberty an extremely sinful act and condemn not only the parents but also the husband, while Baud. prescribed only a slight prāyaścitta for the father alone even if there was menstruation during the marriage rites. Marīci[1057] (quoted in Par. M. I. 2. p. 177) said that choosing a bride who was five years old was best. Even Manu (9. 88) recommended an early marriage if a very desirable bridegroom was available. Rāma and Sītā are said to have been respectively 13 and 6 at the time of marriage (Araṇyakāṇḍa 47. 10–11). But this passage appears to be an interpolation. In the Bālakāṇḍa[1058] it is expressly stated that Sītā and her sisters enjoyed in private dalliance with their respective husbands immediately after marriage. If this is true then Sītā could not have been only 6 at the time of marriage.

The rule that brāhmaṇa girls were to be married between 8 to 10 years became general from about the 6th or 7th century and continued down to modern times. During the last two or three decades the marriageable age of girls owing to several causes, particularly the ravages of plague and the economic condition of the middle classes, has risen very high and marriages of girls even of poor brāhmaṇas hardly ever take place before 16 and have to be postponed to the age of 20 and beyond. Besides the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929, as amended

1057. जन्मतो गर्भाधानाद्वा पञ्चमाब्दात्परं शुभम् । कुमारीवरणं दानं मेखलाबन्धनं तथा ॥ मरीचि quoted in परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 177.; सप्तवर्षा भवेद्गौरी दशवर्षा तु नग्निका । भविष्यपुराण quoted by सं. प्र. p. 768.

1058. अभिवाद्याभिवाद्याश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा । रेमिरे मुदिताः सर्वा भर्तृभिः सहिता रहः ॥ बालकाण्ड 77. 16–17 (in 3 vol. with गोविन्दराज's com.).

by Act 19 of 1938) has fixed the minimum age limit for girls at 14 and persons getting their daughters married before the completion of 14 years are liable to be punished in a criminal court under the Act. There is no reason to laugh at ancient Indian writers for the low age of marriage they advocated. Child marriages were common in all countries of Europe. Even in England the age limits for boys and girls were recognised by the law only at 14 and 12 respectively until 1929, when the lowest marriageable age for both was fixed at 16 (19 and 20 Geo. V. Chap. 36). Besides it must be remembered that when marriages of girls of tender years took place they were purely a sacrament. There was no question of consummation which took place only after puberty. Sages condemned intercourse even with one's wife before she attained puberty.[1059] Winternitz in 'Die Frau.' p. 135 refers to a work of F. J. Furnivall on 'Child Marriages, Divorces &c' between 1560-66 A. D. in England from which it is clear that marriages of children of 9 or 10 (and rarely of even 2 or 3 years) took place in England only about 300 years ago.

These rules about the proper age for the marriage of girls affected only brāhmaṇas. Sanskrit poets and dramatists always depict that the heroines in their works are grown-up at the time of marriage and even Bhavabhūti imagines that Mālatī, the heroine of his romantic drama of Mālatīmādhava, was so grown-up that it was practically a case of love at first sight. Vaik. (VI. 12) requires a brāhmaṇa bride to be a *nagnikā* or *gaurī*, but does not prescribe the same qualification for a kṣatriya or vaiśya bride. In the Harṣacarita princess Rājyaśrī is described as quite grown-up at the time of her marriage which was consummated on the very day of marriage (vide the last para. of the 4th Ucchvāsa). The Saṁskāra-prakāśa[1060] expressly says that there is no prohibition against marrying a girl who has passed the age of puberty for kṣatriyas and others. Even in Pauranic times grown-up unmarried girls must not have been unheard of. The Gṛ. R. p. 83 quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa where the injunction to observe complete celi-

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1059. प्राग्रजोदर्शनात्पत्नीं नेयाद्गत्वा पतत्यधः। व्यर्थीकारेण शुक्रस्य ब्रह्महत्यामवाप्नुयादिति तत्रैवाश्वलायनोक्तेः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 234.

1060. अत्रिकश्यपौ। यस्तु तां वरयेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः। अश्राद्धेयमपाङ्क्तेयं तं विद्याद्वृषलीपतिम् ॥ इति। अत्र ब्राह्मणपदोपादानाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैवायं रजस्वलापरिणयननिषेधो न क्षत्रियादीनाम्। कुन्त्यादिषु तथा दर्शनात्। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 771.

bacy for one year, 12 days, 6 days or 3 days is construed as respectively referring to girls whose ages were 8, 12, 16 or 20 at the time of marriage.[1061]

Another important question is inter-caste marriages. It has already been shown (pp. 50–58) how anuloma marriages were allowed, while pratiloma unions were condemned and how it was supposed that numerous sub-castes arose from such mixed marriages.

It is the contention of several eminent scholars (e. g. Senart in his ' Caste in India ' translated by Ross p. 124) that caste as implied in modern usage and in its strict sense did not exist in the times of the Ṛgveda and the other Vedic Saṁhitās. We have seen, however, that the four varṇas had been recognised in the times of the Saṁhitās and that ideas of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular varṇa had become quite prevalent. But the practices as to marrying outside one's varṇa and taking food had not become as rigid and cast-iron as they became in medieval times. A few clear examples of inter-caste marriages may be cited from the Vedic Literature. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 26, pp. 272–275) narrates the story of the old and decrepit sage Cyavana who was a Bhārgava (descendant of Bhṛgu) or Āṅgirasa to Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāta, a descendant of Manu. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 2. 9. 8, [1062] S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 326) quotes a half verse from the Vāj. S. (26. 30) and then remarks ' therefore he does not anoint (as king) the son of the vaiśya woman.' This suggests that a king might marry a vaiśya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Verses 17–19 of the Ṛgveda V. 61 are interpreted by the Bṛhad-devatā (V. 50) as referring to the marriage of the brāhmaṇa sage Śyāvāśva to the daughter of king Rathavīti Dārbhya. The story of Kavaṣa Ailūsa who was styled ' dāsyāḥ putra ' (either meaning ' the son of a dāsī or used as a term of abuse) by the sages has been mentioned above (at p. 36).

1061. कृते विवाहे वर्षं तु वस्तव्यं ब्रह्मचारिणा । यद्यष्टवर्षा कन्या स्यात् तथा तत्त्रिगुणः पुमान् ॥ अथवा द्वादशाहानि त्रिंशद्वर्षेण सर्वदा । यदि द्वादशवर्षा स्यात्कन्या रूपगुणान्विता । द्वात्रिंशद्वर्षपूर्णे तु यदि षोडशवार्षिकी । लब्धा तदा च षड्रात्रं वस्तव्यं संयतेन तु ॥ विंशत्यब्दा यदा कन्या वस्तव्यं तत्र वै त्र्यहम् । अत ऊर्ध्वमहोरात्रं वस्तव्यमिति संमतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह्य. र. p. 83.

1062. शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायतीति तस्माद्वैश्यीपुत्रं नाभिषिञ्चति । शतपथ XIII. 2. 9. 8. This verse has been quoted above in note 83.

Turning to the dharma and gṛhya sūtras, the matter stands thus. Some of the gṛhya sūtras (like Āśv., Āp.) do not expressly say anything about the varṇa of the bride. The Āp. Dh. S.[1063] (II. 6. 13. 1 and 3) requires that one should marry a girl of the same varṇa, who was not given before to another and marriage with whom is in accordance with śāstra and says that by contravening these rules sin is incurred. So he condemns mixed marriages. The Mānava gṛ. I. 7. 8 and Gaut. IV. 1 require that one should marry a girl of the same varṇa and are silent about marriages with a bride of another varṇa. But Gautama knew of such marriages and enumerates the names of several sub-castes due to mixed marriages (IV. 14-17) and he includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha dinner a brāhmaṇa who is the husband of a woman of the śūdra caste (15. 18). Manu (III. 12), Śaṅkha and Nārada[1064] (strīpuṃsa, v. 4) say that the best course is to marry a girl of one's own caste. This is said to be *pūrva kalpa* (the foremost or the best procedure). Many also speak of a less advisable course (*anukalpa*, as it is called) viz. that a brāhmaṇa may take as wife a woman of any caste, a kṣatriya may marry a woman of his own caste or a vaiśya or a śūdra woman, a vaiśya may marry a vaiśya or śūdra woman and a śūdra only a śūdra woman. This is stated by Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Śaṅkha, Manu III. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1-4, Pār. gṛ. I. 4 and Vas. Dh. S.[1065] I. 25 inform us that some teachers allowed a dvija to marry a śūdra woman but without Vedic mantras. But Vasiṣṭha himself condemns it severely by saying 'one should not do so (i. e. marry a śūdra girl), for by doing so the degradation of the family is certain and loss of heaven after death'. Though the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and Manusmṛti state that a dvijāti may marry a śūdra girl, that is not their own view, but they simply voice practices and sentiments prevalent in their time, since both denounce the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra girl in the most un-measured terms. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5-6 (S. B. E. vol. 7 p. 112) says that the union of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman can never produce religious

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1063. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः संबन्धः। पूर्ववरयाम-संस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः। आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 1 and 3.

1064. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परिग्रहे। सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः स्त्रियाः॥ ब्राह्मणस्यानुलोम्येन स्त्रियोऽन्यास्तिस्र एव तु। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस verses 4-5).

1065. तिस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य भार्या वर्णानुपूर्व्येण द्वे राजन्यस्य एकैका वैश्यशूद्रयोः। शूद्रा-मप्येके मन्त्रवर्जं तद्वत्। तथा न कुर्यात्। अतो हि ध्रुवः कुलापकर्षः प्रेत्य चास्वर्गः। वसिष्ठ I. 24-27.

merit; it is from carnal desire alone that he marries her being blinded by lust; and that dvijāti men who thus marry śūdra women quickly degrade their families and progeny to the status of śūdras'. The ancient editor of the Manusmṛti did not tolerate such marriages (though he gave expression to the common trend of view in III. 12-13) and condemns a dvijāti's marriage with a śūdra woman in the strongest language (III. 15-19, Manu III. 15 being the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 26. 5) 'a brāhmaṇa by having intercourse with a śūdra woman goes to hell and by procreating a son on her he loses his status as a brāhmaṇa'. Yāj. I. 57 allowed a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya to marry a girl of his own varṇa or of the varṇas next in order, but laid it down as his emphatic opinion that 'a dvijāti should not marry a śūdra girl'. It appears however that prevailing public opinion and practice was too much for both Manu and Yāj.; for, both declare (Yāj. II. 125 and Manu IX. 152-153) that when a brāhmaṇa has sons from wives of the four varṇas, the son of a brāhmaṇa wife takes four shares (out of 10 in which his wealth is to be divided), the son of a kṣatriya wife takes three, of a vaiśya wife two and of a śūdra wife one. Yāj. (I. 91-92) recognises the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra and says that the son of such a union is a pāraśava'. Manu III. 44 also recognises the marriage of a śūdra girl with one of a higher class by saying that she holds the hem of the garment of a bridegroom of a higher class.

This shows that the ancient smṛtis ungrudgingly recognised marriages between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya or a vaiśya girl. But opinion was not unanimous about the marriage of a dvijāti with a śūdra woman. Such marriages took place, but were looked upon with disfavour and often condemned with severity. *Anuloma* marriages were frequent enough till the 9th or 10th century A. D., but became rare later and for the last several hundred years they hardly ever took place or they were not at all recognized as valid by the communities concerned. The epigraphic records furnish well authenticated instances of inter-caste marriages. The Vākāṭakas were brāhmaṇas (their gotra being Viṣṇuvṛddha). The Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (E. I. vol. 15 p. 39) establish that she was a daughter of Candragupta II. (first quarter of 5th century A. D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and became the chief queen of the king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka line. The Taḷagunda pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (E. I. vol. 8 p. 24) recites that

the founder of the Kadamba family was Mayūraśarman, a brāhmaṇa, who being exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcī took up the sword. His descendants have names ending in varman (as kṣatriyas should have, according to Manu II. 32). The inscription mentions that Kakusthavarman (who was 4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings. In the Ghaṭotkaca Inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana (A. S. W. I. vol. 4, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a brāhmaṇa and ancestor of Hastibhoja, minister of the Vākāṭaka king Devasena, gave his heart to wives born in brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya families. The Tipperah copper-plate grant of a chieftain called Lokanātha (E. I. vol. 15, p. 301 ff) dated in the 44th year (probably of the Harṣa era i. e. about 650 A. D.) says that Lokanātha's ancestors belonged to the Bharadvāja gotra (p. 306) and that the maternal grand-father of Lokanātha was Keśava who is said to have been a pāraśava (p. 307), while Keśava's father Vīra was a brāhmaṇa (dvijasattama). Virūpādevī, a daughter of the famous Vijayanagara king Bukka I (1268–1298 A. D.), was married to a brāhmaṇa named Brahma or Bomaṇṇa Woḍeya, who was the Governor of the Āraga province (E. I. vol. 15, p. 12). Vide also E. I. vol. 18, p. 87 (dated 894 of the Vikrama era) for Pratīhāra kings being descended from a brāhmaṇa Haricandra and the latter's kṣatriya wife; the Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra dated in saṁvat 1034 (977 A. D.) which states that the founder of the Guhila dynasty was a brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, whose descendant Bhartṛpaṭṭa married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.

Classical Sanskrit Literature also yields certain well-known instances of inter-caste marriages. The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa shows that Agnimitra, a son of Senāpati Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty and a brāhmaṇa, married Mālavikā who was a kṣatriya princess. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (Ucchvāsa I towards end) we are told by Bāṇa himself that among the friends and companions of his wanderings there were his two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa (i.e. step-brothers from a śūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj, says in his Karpūramañjarī (I. 11) that his accomplished wife Avantisundarī was descended from the Cāhuāṇa (modern Chavan) family (i. e. from a kṣatriya family).

It is extremely difficult to say when exactly inter-caste marriages even between dvijātis came to be prohibited by the

smṛtis and writers of digests. Viśvarūpa[1066] on Yāj. III. 283 (not later than first half of 9th century) clearly suggests that in his day a brāhmaṇa could marry a kṣatriya girl. Medhātithi on Manu III. 14 suggests that about 900 A. D. at the latest marriages of brāhmaṇas with kṣatriya and vaiśya girls took place rarely in his day, but not with śūdra women; and the Mit. on Yāj. does not at all say that though marriages among dvijātis (anuloma ones) were allowed by Manu and Yāj. they had entirely ceased to be regarded as valid by its time. Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Sm. C. and Hemādri quote verses stated to be from the Āditya-purāṇa or Brahma-purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age (and so called Kalivarjya) among which inter-caste marriages are included.

The Āpastamba[1067] smṛti (in verse ed. by Jivānanda I, p. 549, chap. IX) says that by marrying a girl of another caste a man incurred the sin of mahāpātaka and had to undergo the penance of 24 kṛcchras. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (113. 34–36) narrates the story of king Nābhāga who married a vaiśya girl by the rākṣasa form of marriage and who consequently incurred sin.

The state of the law as to inter-caste marriages in British Indian courts may be briefly indicated here. By the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) both anuloma and pratiloma marriages are validated if they are registered and solemnized according to the procedure prescribed by the Act. But if a marriage is not so solemnized under that Act, but under the general rules of Hindu Law, then all pratiloma marriages are invalid throughout British India.

1066. भ्रातृजाया च ब्राह्मणस्यापि क्षत्रिया भवत्येव। विश्वरूप on या. III. 283; 'ननु च द्विजातीनां शूद्रापुत्रो नास्त्येव तद्विवाहप्रतिषेधात्। सत्यम्। स्मृत्यर्थभ्रान्त्या तु प्रवृत्तावयं विभागधर्म इत्यभिप्रायः।' विश्वरूप on या. II. 129; सवर्णानियमेनासवर्णानिवृत्तेरर्थतः कृतायाः पुनः शूद्रानिवृत्तिरसवर्णानिवृत्तेरनित्यत्वं ज्ञापयति। अनित्यत्वे चापदि सवर्णायां अलाभे भवति चायमवगमः शूद्रा न वोढव्या इतरे तु वोढव्ये। मेधातिथि on मनु III. 14.

1067. The उद्वाहतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (ed. by Jivānanda vol. II, p. 112) quotes the verse द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा from the बृहन्नारदीय and कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः from the आदित्यपुराण. The latter is quoted in the परा. मा. (vol. 1. part 1 p. 134) and in the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (vol. III. part 2 p. 667). The first quotation (द्विजाना &c) occurs in the नारदीयमहापुराण, पूर्वभाग, chap. 24. 13.

But *anuloma* [1068] marriages have been recognised as valid by some High Courts in India; the Allahabad High Court, however, regards all *anuloma* marriages even as invalid.

The next restriction that the girl to be married must not be a sapiṇḍa of the bride-groom has now to be considered. Sapiṇḍa relationship is of special importance in three matters, viz. marriage, inheritance and āśauca [1069] (impurity on birth and death). The prohibition against marriage with a sapiṇḍa girl applies to all varṇas including the śūdra [1070]. There are two schools about the meaning of sapiṇḍa, one represented by the Mitākṣarā and the other by Jīmūtavāhana (author of the Dāyabhāga). Both are agreed that a sapiṇḍa girl cannot be married, but they differ as to the meaning of the word. We shall first understand one interpretation of sapiṇḍa. The *locus classicus* is the commentary of Vijñāneśvara on Yāj. I. 52-53 a substantial portion of which is translated here: "'asapiṇḍām' (in Yāj. I. 52) means a woman who is not a sapiṇḍa and sapiṇḍa means one who has the same piṇḍa i. e. body (or particles of the body). Sapiṇḍa relationship (between two persons) arises from (their) being connected by having particles of the same body. Thus, the son has sapiṇḍa relationship with his father by reason of the (fact that) particles of the father's body continue in him (the son). Similarly (there is sapiṇḍa relationship) with the paternal grandfather and the like (of the

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1068. Vide Bai Laksmi v. Kaliansing 2 Bom. L. R. 128 (marriage between Rajput male and a brāhmaṇa woman held to be invalid); Bai Kashi v. Jamnadas 14 Bom. L. R. 547 (marriage between a brāhmaṇa woman and śūdra male was held to be void); Munnilal v. Shiama I. L.R. 48. All. 670 (marriage between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female held to be invalid). Vide Bai Gulab v. Jivanlal I. L. R. 46 Bom. 871, Natha v. Mehta Chotalal I. L. R. 55 Bom. 1 (marriage of a brāhmaṇa male with a śūdra female was held valid); Nalinaksha v. Rajanikanto 35 C. W. N. 726. Vide Padma Kumari v. Suraj Kumari I. L. R. 28 All. 458.

1069. तेन विवाहे आशौचे धनग्रहणे च त्रिधा सापिण्ड्यं सिद्धम्। निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 284.

1070. पञ्चमात्सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतः क्रमात्। सपिण्डता निवर्तेत सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः॥ नारद quoted in उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 108. The printed नारद (स्त्रीपुंस section 7 p. 108) reads आ सप्तमात्पञ्चमाद्वा पन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः। अविवाह्याः सगोत्राः स्युः समानप्रवरास्तथा॥. 'तथा असपिण्डाम्' इत्येतत्सार्ववर्णिकम्। सर्वत्र सापिण्ड्यसद्भावात्। 'असमानार्षगोत्रजाम्' इत्येतद्वैवर्णिकविषयम्। मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53; क्षुद्रविधेके क्षुद्रिचिन्तामणौ च ब्राह्मे 'सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां विज्ञेया सप्तपौरुषी। सपिण्डता ततः पश्चात्समानोदकधर्मता॥' निर्णयसिन्धु, III पूर्वार्ध p. 284. The word अन्वय in the Mit. means 'connection or continuity.'

grandson and the like) because through his (the grandson's) father particles of the body of the grandfather continue in (or are connected with) him (the grandson). Similarly (the son has sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother because particles of the mother's body continue in him. Thus (a person has sapiṇḍa relationship) with his mother's father through his mother; so (one has sapiṇḍatā) with one's mother's sister or mother's brother also by reason of the connection with (or continuity of) particles of the same body (viz. the body of the maternal grandfather). So also (a person has sapiṇḍatā) with the paternal uncle, the paternal aunt and the like. Similarly the wife has sapiṇḍa relationship with the husband because she produces (with the husband) one body (viz. their son).[1071] In the same way brother's wives (are sapiṇḍas) of each other, because they produce one body (viz. their respective sons) with their respective husbands who are produced from one body (viz. their husbands' father). In this manner wherever the word sapiṇḍa occurs, there one has to understand connection with (or continuity of)

1071. The words 'तथा पत्या सह पत्न्या एकशरीरारम्भकतया' are translated differently by Golap Chandra Sarkar in his 'Hindu Law' (7th ed. of 1936) pp. 81–82 as 'similarly arises the sapiṇḍa relationship of the husband with the lawfully wedded wife by reason of (their together) forming one body' (i. e. one person, hence the wife is called half the body of the husband). The learned author thinks that his translation is the correct one and others went wrong in translating as in the passage above. His translation cannot be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, it is opposed to the explanation of the Bālambhaṭṭī आरम्भकतयेति उभयारब्धे एकशरीरे स्वावयवान्वयादित्यर्थः (i. e. particles of the bodies of the husband and wife continue in or are concerned with one body, the son, that is produced by them both). That husband and wife are one is a pleasant fiction but here Vijñāneśvara is stressing the physical continuity of particles. The husband and wife though said to be one are still two bodies. No one says that their bodies become physically one. Besides the objection that if they do not begot a son, the husband and wife will not be sapiṇḍas is not sound. Rules and principles are laid down for generality of cases and regard is to be had to their capacity to produce a son. The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध p. 280) shows that G. C. Sarkar is wrong 'एकस्य हि पितुर्मातुर्वा शरीरस्यावयवाः पुत्रपौत्रादिषु साक्षात् परंपरया वा शुक्रशोणितादिरूपेणानुस्यूताः। यद्यपि पत्न्याः पत्या सह भ्रातृपत्नीनां च परस्परं नैतत्संभवति तथापि आधारत्वेनैकशरीरावयवान्वयोऽस्त्येव।' A woman's husband's brother's wife is the receptacle (ādhāra) for a son who is procreated by the husband's brother and his wife, the former of whom has particles of his father whose particles continue in the husband of the woman.

particles of the same body either directly or mediately.[1072] On the word 'asapiṇḍām' it was explained that sapiṇḍa relationship arises immediately or mediately by reason of the connection with particles of the same body; this may prove to be too wide a statement, since in this beginningless *saṁsāra*, such a relationship might exist in some way or other between all men;[1073] therefore (the sage Yājñavalkya) states 'after the fifth on the mother's side and after the 7th on the father's side'. After the fifth on the mother's side i. e. in the mother's line and after the 7th on the father's side i. e. in the father's line sapiṇḍa relationship ceases. These words (viz. sapiṇḍa.....ceases) are to be taken as understood (in the text of Yāj.). Therefore the word 'sapiṇḍa' though it applies everywhere (i. e. to a very wide circle of persons) by the expressive (i. e. literal) power of its component parts, is restricted to a certain definite sphere, like the words 'nirmanthya'[1074] and 'paṅkaja'. And so the six (ascendants) beginning with the father and the six descendants beginning with the son and the man himself as the seventh (in each case) are sapiṇḍas; wherever there is a divergence of the line, the counting shall be made until the seventh in descent is reached including him (i. e. the ancestor) from whom the line diverges; in this way the computation is to be made everywhere. And so the fifth (if a girl), who stands in the fifth generation when a computation is made beginning with the mother and going up to her (mother's) father, mother's paternal grandfather &c., is styled in an indirect way 'fifth

1072. There is direct continuity of particles of the bodies of the parents in the son and there is mediate connection of particles between grandparents and grandchildren and so on.

1073. As the world proceeded from the Creator every one has in his body parts of the Creator. In the Tai. Up. II. 6 we have 'सोऽकामयत बहु स्यां प्रजायेय...इदं सर्वमसृजत' and also in छान्दोग्य VI. 2. 3. This is relied upon for limiting sāpiṇḍya in Par. M. I. 2. p. 59. The words मातृतः and पितृतः of Yāj. are repeated in the Mit. and explained as मातुः संताने and पितुः संताने respectively and the Mit. adds that in Yāj. I. 53 (latter half) we have to understand the words सापिण्ड्यं निवर्तते (sapiṇḍa relationship ceases).

1074. The word 'paṅkaja' literally means 'springing from mud' and may apply to every water plant, but it is restricted by usage (rūḍhi) to a lotus plant i. e. the wide literal or etymological (yaugika) meaning of the two parts 'paṅka (mud) and 'ja' (springing from) is restricted by popular usage to a single plant springing from mud. 'Nirmanthya' is the word used for producing fire by friction. Literally the word means 'what is to be churned'.

from the mother's side ' (by Yāj.). In the same way ' the seventh from the father's side' (in Yāj.) is she who is the seventh in degree (from an ancestor) when computation is made beginning from the father and proceeding up to the father's father and so on ".

According to this explanation of the Mitākṣarā[1075] the following rules about prohibition based on sāpiṇḍya follow: (1) In computing degrees the common ancestor is to be included; (2) regard is to be had to the father and mother of the bride and bridegroom both; (3) if computation is made from the mother's side of either the proposed bride or bridegroom, they must be beyond the fifth degree (i. e. they must be 6th or further on) from the common ancestor and if it is made through the father of either, they must be beyond the seventh from the common ancestor (i. e. they must be eighth &c.). This last postulates four different classes of cases, viz. descent from a common ancestor may be traced through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom or through the mother of both, or through the mother of the bridegroom and the father of the bride or through the father of the bridegroom and the mother of the bride. The method of computing degrees is entirely different from the English method as is made clear by the remarks of the Mit. translated above. The rules require that both must be beyond sapiṇḍa relationship as defined and limited above. For example, tracing descent through the fathers of both bride and bridegroom, if the bride is 8th from the common ancestor (called *kūṭastha* in dharmaśāstra works) and the bridegroom is 6th, there can be no marriage, as though the bride is beyond the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship to the common ancestor, the bridegroom being 6th from the kūṭastha has sapiṇḍa relationship with the kūṭastha. These rules apply according to the Mit. only where the ancestors married women of their own varṇa. But if an ancestor married a brāhmaṇa girl and also a kṣatriya girl and a question arose about the eligibility of marriage among descendants of these two wives, then prohibition based on sapiṇḍa relationship extends up to only three degrees (and not seven or five).[1075a]

1075. Vide extract (text) from the मिताक्षरा in appendix.

1075a. एतच्च समानजातीये द्रष्टव्यम्। विजातीये तु विशेषः। ...त्रिपुरुषमेव सापिण्ड्यमिति। मिता० on या. I. 53; the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 109 explains differently the statement of Paiṭhīnasi. तस्मान्मदनपारिजाताद्युक्तदिशा वृत्तकसापत्नसंबन्धाद्यनुप्रवेशे ब्राह्मणादीनां क्षत्रियादिसपिण्डविषये वा पूर्वोक्तानि नेयानि न त्वनुकल्प इति भ्रमितव्यम् निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285; the मदनपारिजात pp. 138–140 gives these explanations.

It should not be supposed that these rules of the Mit. are universally observed. The texts themselves are in conflict. Further, the customs and usages as to prohibited degrees for marriage are so divergent in the various parts of India and among the hundreds of castes and sub-castes that it is impossible to state any rule as universally or even generally applicable. A few examples of conflict among the smṛtis are cited by the Mit. itself. Vas. Dh. S. (8. 2) says '(he may marry) the fifth on the mother's side and 7th on the father's side', while Yāj. as interpreted by the Mit. makes it necessary that the girl to be eligible must be 6th from the common ancestor traced through the mother and 8th when traced through the father. Paiṭhīnasi says 'the girl must be beyond three degrees on the mother's[1076] side and five degrees on the father's side'. These two are explained away by the Mit. by saying that these texts do not authorise a marriage with a girl who is distant from the common ancestor by a lesser number of degrees than those propounded by Yāj. but they only prohibit marriage with girls who are nearer in degrees than those stated in those texts. But this reconciliation of the conflict among the smṛtis is not at all satisfactory.

The following diagrams illustrate the application of the rules of sapiṇḍa relationship according to the Mitākṣarā. In all of them A represents the common ancestor and the letters S and D represent respectively sons and daughters. According to the Mit. computation has to be made from (and inclusive of) the common ancestor in all cases and both the bride and bridegroom have to be beyond the prohibited degrees.[1077]

1076. यद्यपि वसिष्ठेनोक्तं पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथेति, त्रीनतीत्य मातृतः पञ्चातीत्य च पितृत इति च पैठीनसिना तदप्यर्वाङ्निषेधार्थं न पुनस्तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमिति सर्वस्मृतीनामविरोधः। मिता on या. I. 53; the words पञ्चमीं मातृबन्धुभ्यः सप्तमीं पितृबन्धुभ्यः are वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 8. 2 (the preceding सूत्र being गृहस्थो ..... भार्यां विन्देत). The निर्णयसिन्धु (III. पूर्वार्ध pp. 284–285) collects together more such passages, holds that they are not to be construed as allowing an option, but as referring to descendants one of whose ancestors had been adopted or where the descendants of one ancestor trace descent through a brāhmaṇa wife and a kṣatriya wife. सं. कौ. (pp. 612–613) also quotes passages similar to those in the निर्णयसिन्धु, but seems to hold that there is an option due to family or local usages. Vide सं. प्र. pp. 707–718.

1077. The विश्वरूपसमुच्चय quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व (p. 116) is quite explicit 'संतानो भिद्यते यस्मात्पूर्वजावुभयत्र च। तमादाय गणेद्धीमान्वरं यावच्च कन्यकाम्॥'

No. 1

A

D (2)	D (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
S (5)	D (5)
S (6)	S (6)
S (7)	S (7)
D (8)	S (8)

Here a valid marriage might take place between S(8) and D(8) because sapiṇḍa relationship for both is traced through their fathers and both are removed from the common ancestor A by more than seven degrees or generations.

No. 2

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	D (6)

Here a valid marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because sapiṇḍa relationship of both is in this case traced through their mothers and they are both removed from the common ancestor by more than five degrees.

No. 3

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	D (5)
S (6)	D (6)
D (7)	S (7)

Here a marriage may take place between S (6) and D (6) because their sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through their mothers and both are removed from the common ancestors by more than five degrees. But a marriage cannot take place between S (7) and D (7) as the sapiṇḍa relationship of D (7) is to be traced through her father and she is not more than 7 degrees from the common ancestor.

No. 4

A

S (2)	S (2)
S (3)	S (3)
S (4)	S (4)
D (5)	S (5)
D (6)	S (6)

Here a marriage cannot take place between D (6) and S (6) as the sapiṇḍa relationship in the latter's case is to be traced through his father and he is not more than seven degrees removed from the common ancestor, though D (6) whose sapiṇḍa relationship is to be traced through her mother is more than five degrees from the common ancestor. According to Bāḷaṁbhaṭṭa and some others marriage will take place as D(6) is beyond five degrees (tracing through her mother), though S(6) is within 7 degrees (tracing descent through his father) and so is not outside sapiṇḍa limits.

All these four examples are taken from the Dharmasindhu (III Pūrvārdha p. 226-227). No. 3 illustrates what is called

sapiṇḍa relationship by 'frog's leap'.[1078] Just as a frog leaps from one spot to another leaving intervening objects untouched, so in this example No. 3, there is sāpiṇḍya between D(5) and D(5), but S(6) and D(6) are left unaffected by sāpiṇḍya (as relationship is traced through the mothers of both), while sāpiṇḍya reverts to affect D(7) and S(7). The maxim of 'frog's leap' is a very ancient one, being exemplified by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.[1079]

The rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship, particularly where cognates (persons connected through females) were concerned, have not been observed in numerous instances over wide areas from very ancient times. One striking illustration is the question whether a man can marry his maternal uncle's or his paternal aunt's daughter, particularly the former. On this point opinion has been sharply divided from ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8 includes among *patanīya* actions (mortal sins) sexual intercourse with the uterine relations (mothers and sisters) of one's parents and their children. This would prohibit marriage with one's maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Baud. Dh. S. I.[1080] 1. 19-26 notes that there were five practices peculiar to the south viz. eating in the company of one whose upanayana has not been performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt and there were five practices peculiar to the north. Then he proceeds to state the argument that those who follow the practices mentioned by him in countries other than those where they prevail incur sin, that Gautama (XI. 20) holds this last argument to be wrong and then Baud. states his own

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1078. कूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः संततौ मातृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तिः, पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोर्यौ पुत्रौ तयोः संततौ पितृद्वारकत्वात्सापिण्ड्यमनुवर्तत इतीदं मण्डूकप्लुतिसापिण्ड्यम्। धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 227; यत्र तु मध्ये विच्छिन्नमपि सापिण्ड्यं मण्डूकप्लुतिवत्पुनरनुवर्तते यथा कूटस्थात्पञ्चम्योः कन्ययोः पुत्रौ तत्र निवृत्तिः तद्दुहित्रयोस्त्वनुवृत्तिस्तत्रापि न सापिण्ड्यासापिण्ड्ययोर्दोषः संबन्धिभेदात्। तेन तत्र न विवाहः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 283. The सं. कौ. p. 612 refers to this.

1079. मण्डूकगतयोऽधिकाराः। यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 44 and vol. III. p. 25.

1080. पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः। यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः। यथैतद्नुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलपितृष्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति। ..... इतरद्वितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्दुष्यतीतरद्वितरस्मिन्। ..... मिश्रयैतद्विति गौतमः। उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 19-26.

view that one should pay no heed to either set of practices, as both are opposed to smṛtis and the views of śiṣṭas. From this it is clear that a marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter was in vogue in the south (below the Narmadā probably) long before the Baud. Dh. S. (i. e. several centuries before the Christian era) and that North India did not go in for such marriages and that orthodox sūtra writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reprobated such practices. Manu (XI. 172-173) forbids such marriages "on approaching (for carnal intercourse) the daughter of one's father's sister or of one's mother's sister or of mother's full brother, a man must undergo the penance called 'cāndrāyaṇa'. A wise man should not take as his wife (any one of) these; they are not fit to be wedded because they are (sapiṇḍa) relatives, for by wedding them one sinks low (i. e. falls into hell or loses caste)". Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a verse from Śātātapa [1081] prescribing the penance of *cāndrāyaṇa* for marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter or a girl having the same gotra as one's mother's gotra (i. e. maternal grandfather's gotra) or a sapravara girl and a text of Sumantu forbidding marriage with the daughter of the brother of one's mother or step-mother. It would be seen that all these relatives are third from the common ancestor and so are very much within the prohibition against marrying a sapiṇḍa, whatever be the number of prohibited degrees for marriage that are accepted. Kumārila in his Tantravārtika while discussing the scope and validity of *sadācāra* (on Jaimini I. 3. 7) enumerates many lapses from good conduct attributed to great men and heroes of the past and tries to explain away those violations of good conduct. The charge brought against Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and Arjuna, the central heroes of the Mahābhārata, is that they respectively married Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā who were their maternal uncle's daughters (this being forbidden). Kumārila makes very scathing remarks against this practice [1082] prevalent among southerners and then refutes this charge by saying that although in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 219. 17-18) Subhadrā is described as the daughter of

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1081. शातातपः। मातुलस्य सुतामूढ्वा मातृगोत्रां तथैव च। समानप्रवरां चैव द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ सुमन्तुः ... पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तत्सुता मातुलसुतास्तस्मात्ता नोपयन्तव्या इति। हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 16.

1082. स्वमातुलसुतां प्राप्य दाक्षिण्यात्स्यस्तु तुष्यति। अन्ये तु सत्पलीकेन मनसा तत्र कुर्वते॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 204.

Vasudeva and sister[1083] of Kṛṣṇa, she was really not so, but that she was Vāsudeva's mother's sister's daughter or was the daughter's daughter of the sister of the father of Vāsudeva's mother (or step-mother Rohiṇī).[1084] Kumārila argues that such female cousins one degree or several degrees removed are often spoken of as sisters. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāramayūkha pp. 200-202 where this matter is fully explained. This reply of Kumārila well illustrates the method of dealing with inconvenient texts adopted by mīmāṁsakas like Kumārila when the texts run counter to their cherished views. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 254 quotes Manu XI. 172 and verses of Saṁvarta prescribing the penance of *Parāka* for carnal intercourse with one's maternal uncle's daughter.[1085] Medhātithi on Manu II. 18 refers to this practice as prevalent in some countries, and says it is opposed to the rule of Gautama (IV. 3) about prohibition on the ground of sāpiṇḍya and explains how such practices might have arisen. Persons making love to the handsome daughters of their maternal uncles married them for fear that they might otherwise be punished by the king; it may be that others literally following the words of Manu IV. 178 held by the practice which their forefathers resorted to for fear of punishment.[1086] Among medieval writers, some condemn this practice, others justify it. Aparārka (pp. 82-84) after a lengthy discussion condemns marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The Nirṇayasindhu also does the same (p. 286).

Among those who support marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter the most prominent are the Sm. C. (I. pp. 70-74) and the Par. M. (I. 2. pp. 63-68). They both admit that there are

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1083. शूर had a son वसुदेव and a daughter पृथा (who being given in adoption to कुन्तिभोज was called कुन्ती). Vide आदिपर्व 111. 1-3. The son of पृथा (कुन्ती) was अर्जुन. सुभद्रा is described in the आदिपर्व as the daughter of वसुदेव and sister of वासुदेव (कृष्ण). If these words are literally understood सुभद्रा would be Arjuna's maternal uncle's daughter.

1084. यद्यपि वासुदेवस्वसेति सुभद्राख्याता तथाप्युत्पत्तौ बलदेववासुदेवयोरेकानंशायाश्च निजत्वान्वाख्यान्मातृष्वस्रीया सुभद्रा तस्य मातृपितृस्वस्रीयादुहिता वेति परिणयाभ्युज्ञानाद् विज्ञायते। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 210.

1085. मातुलानीं तथा श्वश्रूं सुतां वै मातुलस्य च। एता गत्वा स्त्रियो मोहात्पराकेण विशुध्यति॥ संवर्त quoted by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254.

1086. किं च कारणग्रहाच्चैवमादेराचारस्य। रूपवतीं मातुलकन्यां कामयमाना राजभयादूढवन्तः कन्यागमनदण्डो माभूदिति। अन्ये त्वविद्वांसो 'येनास्य पितरो याताः' इत्यस्य यथाश्रुतमर्थं गृहीत्वा धर्मोयमिति प्रतिपन्नाः। मेधा० on मनु II. 18.

passages of Manu, Śātātapa, Sumantu (all quoted above) and others condemning marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, yet they say that there are passages of the Veda and some smṛtis in support of it and śiṣṭas (learned and respectable persons) observe this practice and so such marriages are *sadācāra* and not forbidden. They rely upon two Vedic passages; one is from the Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 6 (S. B. E. vol. XII. p. 238) "thus the separation (of the eater and the eaten) is effected in one and the same act; hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the enjoyed (the wife); for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together saying 'in the fourth or third man (generation) we shall unite'. And this is so in accordance with that (separation of the spoons)."[1087] The mention of the union in the third generation is understood by the Sm. C. as referring to the marriage of a person with his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. Viśvarūpa also refers to this passage (on Yāj. I. 53), but he does not draw the inference that such marriages are authorized by the Veda. Another Vedic verse is relied upon by the Sm. C. and Par. M and other works. It is a verse from a Khila sūkta 'Come, O Indra, by commended paths to this our sacrifice and partake of your portion. They (the priests) have offered the fat seasoned with ghee that is thy portion, as the maternal uncle's daughter or the paternal aunt's daughter (is one's lot in marriage)'.[1088] This verse is referred to by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 53) but his explanation of it is different viz. that it really indicates one out of four different alternatives

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1087. समान एव कर्मन् व्याक्रियते तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चाद्यश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति वि देवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसते। एतस्माद्ध तत्। शतपथ I. 8. 3. 6; उत हि तृतीये पुरुषे इत्याह। अनेन दौहित्रपौत्रयोर्मातुलदुहितृपैतृष्वसेयीपरिणयनमुक्तं भवति। तयोः कूटस्थमारभ्य तृतीयत्वात्। संगच्छामहे विवहामहे इत्यर्थः। स्मृतिच० I. p. 72.

1088. Vide Aufrecht's Ṛgveda vol. II. p. 672. The verse is आयाहीन्द्र पथिभिरीळितेभिर्यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व। तृप्तां जहुर्मातुलस्येव योषा भागस्ते पैतृष्वसेयी वपामिव॥. Aufrecht reads तृप्ता जुहुः for तृप्तां जहुः. This occurs also in the निरुक्तपरिशिष्ट (XIV. 31 ed. by Roth, though some Mss omit it), where the reading is जुहुः for जहुः अपरार्क reads 'तृप्तां जहुर्मातुलस्येव ते तव भागः पैतृष्वसेयीमपामिवौषः।'. The text as printed in अपरार्क seems to be corrupt. अपरार्क takes जहुः as meaning त्यक्तवन्तः and adds यथा पैतृष्वसेयीं भगिनीं भार्यास्वेनात्यन्तानभिलषणीयां त्यजन्ति &c. (p. 83).

as regards prohibited degrees for marriage.[1089] Aparārka (p. 83) on Yāj. I. 53 reads the latter half somewhat differently and so interprets it as to spell out of it a prohibition against marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. This text is quoted in I. L. R. 7 Mad. 548 at p. 550. The Smṛticandrikā relies upon a passage of the Caturviṁśatimata that allows a marriage of persons who are third or fourth in descent from a common ancestor on both sides (on the mother's or father's side). There is also a text of Bṛhaspati which prescribes that the practices of the countries, castes and families should be guarded (or enforced) by the king as they have been in vogue from past times, otherwise the subjects become inflamed and among such practices he instances 'Brāhmaṇas in the south marry the maternal uncle's daughter'.[1090] So there is smṛti authority for such marriages. Besides southern śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas and acting according to the meaning of the Veda practise marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. Here both Sm. C. and Par. M. are on very firm ground. The Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha says 'among the Andhras śiṣṭas deeply read in the Vedas follow the practice of *mātulasutā-pariṇayana* and among the Draviḍas respectable people allow marriage of a person with a girl who is fourth in descent from the common ancestor'.[1091] Among several castes in the Deccan and the Madras Presidency, not only is marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter allowed, but it is highly commended. Even certain brāhmaṇa castes like the Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Karṇāṭaka and Karhāḍā brāhmaṇas observe this practice in modern times. The Saṁskārakaustubha (pp. 616–620) and the Dharmasindhu support mātulasutā-pariṇayana.

Both the Sm. C. and Par. M. say that though the Vedic passage from the Śatapatha is a mere arthavāda (a laudatory statement) in praise of a Vedic act, yet on the analogy of the words 'he holds (the samidh) above (the sruc) for gods', which

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1089. ते चामी श्रुतिस्मृत्यनुसाराच्चत्वारः कल्पाः । ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पञ्चमाद्वेत्येकः । पञ्चमे मातृतः सप्तमे पितृत इति द्वितीयः । उभयतः पञ्चम इति तृतीयः । चतुर्थेपीति चतुर्थः । पूर्वः पूर्वः श्रेयान् । स्त्रीविषयश्चान्त्यः कल्पः ..... एवं च वरचतुर्थे न विवाहः । मन्त्रवर्णोप्येवमेव व्याख्येयः । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. I. 53.

1090. देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक्प्रवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजाः प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ ... उद्वह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 10, व्यवहारमयूख p. 7.

1091. दाक्षिणात्यानां मध्ये आन्ध्रेषु त्रैविद्यवृद्धा वेदार्थानुष्ठातारः शिष्टा अपि मातुलादिदुहितृपरिणयनमाचरन्ति । द्रविडेषु तथाविधाः शिष्टाः चतुर्थ्यादिविवाहमाचरन्ति । स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131).

are construed by Jaimini (III. 4. 15) as a vidhi (as a positive rule) on account of their *apūrvatva* (not being known from any other source), these words of the Śatapatha are also to be construed as a *vidhi* (of the marriage with maternal uncles daughter).[1092] The Sm. C. also presses into service the Vedic verse (Rg. X. 16. 5) addressed by Yamī to Yama. But that mantra does not clearly refer to cross-cousin marriages.

The smṛti passages that condemn cross-cousin marriages are explained in a peculiar manner by the Sm. C. and the Par. M. When a woman is married in one of the four forms, brāhma &c., she passes into the gotra of her husband, becomes a sapiṇḍa in the husband's family and so she is severed from her father's family (as to gotra and sapiṇḍa relationship); but when a woman is married in the āsura, gāndharva and other forms, she does not pass over into the *gotra* of her husband, but remains in the *gotra* of the father and her sapiṇḍa relationship with her father and brother continues. Therefore the son of such a woman, if he marries the daughter of his mother's brother, would be marrying a girl who is a sagotra and sapiṇḍa of his mother. The Sm. C. and the Par. M. and other works say that the smṛti texts forbidding marriage with maternal uncle's daughter refer to a person whose mother was married in the gāndharva, āsura and the other two forms, but not to a person whose mother was married in the brāhma and the three other approved forms. This is the reasoning of the Sm. C. and the Par. M.[1093]

1092. Jaimini's sūtra is विधिर्वा धारणेऽपूर्वत्वात् III.4.15. This is not commented upon by Śabara ; but the Tantravārtika, which notices this fact, assigns several reasons for this omission and explains it as follows: in the महापितृयज्ञ there is a passage अधस्तात्समिधं धारयन्नुपवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयति. In the *homa* for *pitṛs* the *samidh* is held below the *sruc* in which the *havis* has been placed ; in this passage it is said that when the oblation is to be offered to the gods the samidh is to be held over the sruc (in which the oblation is placed before being thrown into the fire). Here though the particle 'hi' (showing reason) is employed and though the present 'dhārayati' is used (and not the potential as is usual in *vidhis*), it is not a mere *arthavāda* but a *vidhi*. So also in the Śat. Br. there is a *vidhi* about 'mātula-sutāparinayana.' तेनोपरिधारणमप्राप्तम् । न चाप्राप्तं हेतुवचनिगदेन वर्तमानापदेशेन वानुवदितुं शक्यम् । पित्र्ये होमे अधस्तात् स्रुग्वृण्डस्य समिद्धारयितव्या देवे च पुनरुपरिष्टादिति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 899.

1093. गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु कन्याप्रदाभावेन पितृगोत्रसापिण्ड्ययोरनिवृत्तेः । तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणम्। ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु या तूढा कन्यका भवेत्। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिण्डोदकक्रिया ॥ गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पितृगोत्रेण धर्मवित् । ..... एतेन मातुलसुताविवाहविषयेपि विवादः परास्तः । तथाहि तन्निषेधवचनानि गान्धर्वादिविवाहोढजविषयाणि तत्र सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्तेरभावात् तदनुग्राहकश्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचारात् । न ब्राह्मादिविवाहोढजविषयाणि । परा. मा. I. 2. p. 63-64.

These rules about prohibition on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship cause great difficulties in modern times, when owing to the rapid spread of co-education and the rise in the marriageable age of girls, love marriages have become somewhat frequent. Lovers do not stop to consider such (to them) trivial matters as sapiṇḍa relationship, but the law is often inexorable. The narrowing of the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship is permitted by the authors of commentaries and digests only on the ground of immemorial family, caste or local usage. For example, the same authors, who hold that marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is sanctioned by Vedic texts and custom, condemn and forbid marriage with one's paternal aunt's daughter or with one's maternal aunt's daughter (vide below). There are a few verses cited from the smṛtis which favour the narrowing down of sapiṇḍa relationship. For example, the Caturviṁśatimata[1093a] states 'According to Śākaṭāyana there is no blame in marrying a girl who is 7th or 6th or 5th (from the common ancestor); similarly Manu, Pārāśarya, Yama and Aṅgiras say that one may marry a girl who is third or fourth (from the common ancestor) on both sides (i. e. from her father's side or mother's side). Whoever enters into such marriage alliances by relying on the usage of his country or of his family is always entitled to associate with people and this is seen from the Veda'. Parāśara (as quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu and other works) says 'a man who is himself fourth or fifth (from the common ancestor) may according to Parāśara's view marry a girl who is 4th or 6th (from the common ancestor), but one who is himself fifth cannot marry a girl who is also fifth (from the common ancestor).' The Saṁskārakaustubha, the Sāpiṇḍyadīpikā and a few digests hold these verses authoritative and allow such marriages provided they are in accordance with local or family usage. As against this the following facts have to be remembered. One of the maxims of interpretation is that where there is conflict between smṛti texts, the preferable rule is to follow the opinion of the majority.[1093b] Gaut., Manu,

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1093 a. सप्तमीं च तथा षष्ठीं पञ्चमीं च तथैव च। एवमुद्वाहयेत्कन्यां न दोषः शाकटायनः। तृतीयां वा चतुर्थीं वा पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। विवाहयेन्मनुः प्राह पाराशर्यांङ्गिरा यमः। यस्तु देशानुरूपेण कुलमार्गेण चोद्वहेत्। नित्यं स व्यवहार्यः स्याद्वेदाद्वैतत्प्रदृश्यते। इति चतुर्विंशतिमतात्। चतुर्थीमुद्वहेत्कन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमोपि वा। पराशरमते षष्ठीं पञ्चमो न तु पञ्चमीम्। इति पराशरोक्तेश्च। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

1093 b. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं तत्र भूयसाम्। तुल्यप्रमाणसत्त्वे तु न्याय एव प्रवर्तते॥ quoted in मलमासतत्त्व p. 767.

Yāj., Marīci and numerous other smṛtikāras are opposed to these dicta. The second rule is that Manu has the highest authority among smṛtis and that smṛti which is opposed to the dicta of Manu is not commended.[1093c] The above passages are opposed to the words of Manu on sapiṇḍa relationship and about marrying a maternal uncle's daughter (Manu V. 60, III. 5, XI. 171-172). A third point about the above texts is that several eminent works like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu[1093d] hold that some of these verses are baseless and not genuine and that they really refer to persons adopted or persons descended from wives of different castes of the same common ancestor; and lastly even those works that support such narrowing of sapiṇḍa relationship for marriage do not advocate it for all and sundry, but only where there is a local or family usage to that effect. Therefore, marriages among persons who are 3rd or 4th or 5th from the common ancestor cannot be regarded as valid in general, but only on the ground of usage. The following diagram will furnish some examples of the narrowing down of sapiṇḍa relationship.

Here ordinarily there can be no valid marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5) because they are both not beyond even the fifth degree from the common ancestor; but if the verses of the Caturvimśatimata and Parāśara be followed the marriages are valid. It should be noted that even under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872) marriage between D (4) and S (4) or S (5)

1093 c. वेदार्थोपनिबन्द्रुत्वात्प्राधान्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ । मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क on या. II. 21 and कुल्लूक on मनु I. 1.

1093 d. यानि तु चतुर्थीसुद्वहेत्कन्यां चतुर्थः पञ्चमो वरः । ..... इत्यादिवचनानि तेषु कानिचिन्निर्मूलानि कानिचिद्दत्तकसापत्न्यादिसंबन्धविषयतया विप्राणां क्षत्रियादिषु सापिण्ड्यविषयतया वा नेयानि-इति निर्णयसिन्धुमतम् । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 228. येषां कुले देशे चानुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचः परंपरया समागतस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहो न दोषाय स्वकुलदेशविरुद्धेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहे दोषो भवत्येव । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 228 summarizing the view of the संस्कारकौस्तुभ.

will not be valid according to the 2nd proviso to sec. 2. The Nirṇayasindhu [1093e] was not prepared to concede that such marriages, though not the best, were at least allowable as inferior (*anukalpa*). The Dharmasindhu [1093f] stated that only in calamities when one is unable to secure a girl one may enter into a marriage where sapiṇḍa relationship is narrowed down, but that those who can secure another girl should not go in for it, as the sin of incest would be incurred. Such marriages did not take place except during the last few years and so the courts have not yet pronounced on their validity. The preceding remarks are made by way of caution only and it is quite possible that courts may find out some way to uphold the marriages when they come before them many years after their celebration. But it is well to remember that the validity of such marriages in castes that have no usage to that effect is, to say the least, doubtful.

There is a great [1094] deal of discussion in the smṛtis and *nibandhas* on the gotra of a woman. Āśv. gṛ. S. I. 8. 12 is interpreted by some as laying down that husband and wife become of one gotra one year after marriage. Laghu Hārīta appears to refer to this and also proposes an option that she takes up the husband's gotra immediately after marriage. Yama 86 and Likhita 25 say that after marriage on the 4th night a bride becomes one with her husband as to gotra, piṇḍa and āśauca; while Yama 78 and Likhita 26 state that she loses her father's gotra on taking the seventh step. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 has a long note on this subject, states that there are two views and finally reaches the conclusion that a woman retains her father's gotra even after marriage for *piṇḍadāna*, if she was a putrikā or was married in the āsura and the following forms; but if she was married in the brāhma and other approved

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1093 e. न त्वनुकल्प इति भ्रमितव्यम्। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 285.

1093 f. अयं सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचेन विवाहः सङ्कटेष्वशक्तेन कार्यः कन्यान्तरलाभे शक्तेन कार्यो गुरुतल्पादिदोषस्मृतेः। सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचवाक्यानामशक्तविषयत्वस्य स्पष्टत्वात्। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 229.

1094. संवत्सरं चैक ऋषिर्जायते। आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 12; नारायण notes अन्ये त्वाहुः व्रतान्ते एक ऋषिः संपद्यते। पितृगोत्रं विहाय पतिगोत्रं भजत इत्यर्थः।; संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु तद्गोत्रं नीयते पुनः। स्त्रिः परिग्रहणादग्नेर्हृदयालम्भनात्तथा। स्वामिगोत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकक्रिया॥ लघुहारीत v. 62-63; विवाहे चैव निर्वृत्ते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु। एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिण्डे गोत्रे च सूतके॥ स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे। भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या दानपिण्डोदकक्रियाः। लिखित 25-26 and यम 86, 78. The words एकत्वं...सूतके are quoted by विश्वरूप on या I. 254 and the verse स्वगोत्राद् is quoted by the मिता. on या. I. 254.

forms, there was an option viz. pinḍa may be offered to one's mother by one's father's gotra or by her father's gotra according to family usage. Vide also Aparārka pp. 432, 542, Sm. C. I. p. 69.

Both of them allow a person's marriage with his paternal aunt's daughter. Certain inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (of about the 3rd century A. D.) establish that the king Siri Virapurisadata, son of Siri Chāntamūla who had performed the Vājapeya, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices, married a daughter of his paternal aunt (E. I. vol. 20 at p. 4). There are other authors, however, who, while allowing marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter, disallow it with a paternal aunt's daughter. For example, the Nirṇayasindhu says that, though it follows from the same Vedic passages that one's paternal aunt's daughter may be married, yet such a marriage should not be contracted as it is hateful to the people, as there are no other passages laying down the advisability of such marriages.[1095] Similarly the Sm. C. (I. p. 71) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) say that though marriage with one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter also should be allowed on the same grounds as those urged in favour of the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter, yet it is forbidden since it is condemned by śiṣṭas and is hateful to the people and both again rely on Yāj. I. 156.[1096]

Another and a very striking instance of the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship not being observed is the practice among certain sections of even brāhmaṇas (such as some Deśasthas in Karnāṭaka and Mysore) marrying their own sister's daughter (i. e. their own niece). Vide Mandlik's Hindu Law p. 425. In *Ramangavda v. Shivaji*, the Bombay High Court held that marriage with one's sister's daughter was invalid among brāhmaṇas; but in that case no custom as to the validity of

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1095. यद्यपि पितृष्वसृकन्योद्वाहोपि प्राप्तस्तथाप्यस्वर्म्य लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेत्तु इति निषेधाद्वचनान्तरेण तदुद्वाहस्याविधानाच्च न कार्यः। निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 286. The half verse अस्वर्म्य ..... चरेत्तु is या. I. 156.

1096. ननु च यदि मातुरसपिण्डतया मातुलसुता परिणेया तथाविधा मातृष्वसा तद्धिता च किमिति न परिणेया। उच्यते। सत्यम्। न ब्रूमः शास्त्रतो न परिणेयेति किं तु लोकविरुद्धत्वात्। यच्च धर्म्यमपि लोकविरुद्धं तन्नानुष्ठेयम्। यदुक्तं मनुना। अस्वर्म्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेत्तु ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 71, vide स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 131) for almost the same words.

such marriages was alleged[1097]. In *Vellanki Ramakrishna v. Kotagiri Subbamma* 43 Mad. 830 at p. 834 it is stated that in the Velama caste a man may marry his sister's daughter.

On account of these divergences about the limits of prohibited degrees for marriage it appears that the remarks of the Saṁskārakaustubha (p. 620) and of the Dharmasindhu (p. 228) are most sensible and practical. They say that even in the Kali age[1098] those, in whose families or countries the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship are narrowed down and marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter has been in vogue for ages, may do so, that they incur no blame by such marriages, that others (among whom there is no such custom) may without blame invite such persons for śrāddhas and may take girls from their families in marriage and that the passages quoted by Hemādri forbidding their being invited at śrāddhas only apply to those who marry a maternal uncle's daughter even though they have no such family or local usage.[1099]

Another question is how far sapiṇḍa relationship holds good in the case of girls belonging to the family from which one's step-mother comes. The Udvāhatattva (p. 118), the Nirṇayasindhu (p. 289), the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 695-699), Saṁskāra-Kaustubha (pp. 621-630) and the Dharmasindhu (p. 230) deal with this matter. They all rely on a text of Sumantu[1100] 'all the wives of one's father are mothers, the brothers of these are one's maternal uncles, their sisters are one's mother's sisters, the daughters of these are one's sisters and the children of these

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1097. Vide Printed Judgments (of the Bombay High Court) for 1876 p. 73.

1098. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 12 and the निर्णयसिन्धु (p. 367) include मातृसपिण्डाविवाह among कलिवर्ज्य.

1099. अतः सिद्धमेतत् । कलावपि येषां कुले देशेऽनुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसंकोचः परंपरया समागतः तेषां तादृशसंकोचेन विवाहे न दोषः । अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । अन्येषां तैः सह व्यवहारे नैव दोषः । स्वयं तु कुलदेशविरुद्धसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः । न च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः । दृश्यन्ते हि स्वयं सापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहमकुर्वन्तोऽपि तादृशसंकोचेनासकृज्जातविवाहेभ्यः कुलेभ्यः कन्याः स्वीकुर्वन्तस्तत्कुलीनान् श्राद्धादौ भोजयन्तश्च बहवः शिष्टाः । अत एव मातुलकन्योद्वाहिनां हेमाद्र्यादौ श्राद्धनिषेधोऽपि स्वकुलदेशपरंपरयानागतसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन कृतविवाहविषय एवेति बोध्यम् । संस्कारकौस्तुभ p. 620.

1100. पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तद्भगिन्यो मातृस्वसारस्तद्दुहितरश्च भगिन्यस्तदपत्यानि भागिनेयानि । अन्यथा संकरकारिणः स्युः । सुमन्तु. There are various readings in this passage in all works. स्मृतिच० I. p. 70 and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 64 also quote it. Vide note 1091 where सुमन्तु is somewhat differently quoted by हरदत्त.

latter are one's sister's children; otherwise there would be *saṁkara* (confusion)'. Two interpretations are placed on this, one view (and that is held by most) is that this lays down sāpiṇḍya only with the persons specifically mentioned,[1101] while another view (this is held by the Sam. Pr.) is that there is sāpiṇḍya for four generations from the father of one's step-mother. According to the first view a man cannot marry the daughter or grand-daughter of his step-mother's brother or sister, but his own daughter can marry the son of his step-mother's brother; while according to the second view the latter marriage also would contravene the rule about this extension (*atideśa*) of sāpiṇḍya.

Marriages with certain girls were forbidden by certain writers on the ground of what is called 'viruddhasambandha', although there is no question of sapiṇḍa relationship in such cases. The Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa[1102] (quoted in the Nirṇayasindhu p. 289) prescribes 'one should marry a girl with whom there is no *viruddhasambandha*, e. g. the daughter of one's wife's sister or the sister of one's paternal uncle's wife (these should not be married). *Viruddhasambandha* (incompatible relation) occurs where the standing of the proposed bridegroom and the bride would resemble that of father or mother to the other (or of brother and sister). In modern times such marriages take place as a matter of course and no court would declare them to be invalid. Vide I. L. R. 20 Mad. 283 and I. L. R. 43 Mad. 830 where marriage with one's wife's sister's daughter was held to be valid, among brāhmaṇas as well as śūdras in the Telugu and Tamil districts, relying on Mandlik's Hindu Law pp. 484-485 and other authorities. In *Ramchandra v. Gopal* 32 Bom. 619 at pp. 630-631 the court approves of the decision in 20 Mad. 283 and holds that the dicta as to viruddha-sambandha are only recommendatory.

1101. अत्र यावद्वचनं वाचनिकमिति न्यायेन परिगणितेष्वेव सापिण्ड्यं न तु सप्तमादिपर्यन्तमिति भट्टचरणप्रभृतयो बहवः। सं. कौ. p. 621. For the maxim यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं vide Śabara's भाष्य p. 1324 (on जै. V. 3. 12) 'यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं न सदृशमुपसंक्रामति' and p. 1339 (on जै. V. 4. 11) 'याव ..... निकं तत्र न न्यायः क्रमते'.

1102. वरो ..... अविरुद्धसंबन्धासुपयच्छेत्। ..... वृम्पत्योर्मिथः पितृमातृसाम्ये विरुद्धः संबन्धः। यथा भार्यास्वसुर्दुहिता पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसा चेति परिशिष्टोक्तेः (आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट 22)। निर्णयसिन्धु;। बौधायनः। मातुः सपत्न्या भगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत्। पितृव्यपत्नीभगिनीं तत्सुतां च विवर्जयेत्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 231; 'पितृमातृसाम्ये इत्युपलक्षणम्। तेन भ्रातृभगिनीसाम्ये स्नुषाश्वशुरादिसाम्येपि नोद्वाहः। ..... तथथा पितृव्यपत्नीस्वसुः सुता भगिनीसमा भवति। सं. प्र. p. 725.

About the sapiṇḍa relationship of the adopted son as regards marriage, āśauca and śrāddha a good deal is said in many works such as Saṁ. K. (pp. 182–186), Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 290–291), the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Saṁ. Pr. (pp. 688–694), Saṁ. R. M. (pp. 453–456). Sāpiṇḍya for āśauca and śrāddha will be dealt with later on. As to sāpiṇḍya for marriage in the case of adoption there is great divergence of views. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 690) says that the son given in adoption has sāpiṇḍya for seven generations with his genitive father and for three generations with the adoptive father (pp. 693–694).[1103] The Saṁ. K. appears to hold, after quoting several views, that if the upanayana of the adopted boy was performed in the family of birth, then he has sāpiṇḍya with the genitive family for seven generations. But if the ceremonies from jātakarma to upanayana are performed in the adoptive family then he has sāpiṇḍya in the adoptive family for seven generations, but only for five generations if only upanayana is performed in the family of adoption. The Nirṇayasindhu gives its own view that there is sāpiṇḍya in both families for seven generations. The Vyavahāramayūkha holds (following Gautama IV. 3) that in the case of *kevala dattaka* (the ordinary adopted son) sapiṇḍa relationship extends to seven degrees in the adoptive father's family and five degrees in the adoptive mother's family.[1104] The Dharmasindhu follows the Saṁ. K. generally but it makes one significant remark. It says that several writers hold that in the case of dattaka, sāpiṇḍya is to be observed for a lesser number of degrees (than seven or five) in both families.[1105] The Saṁ. R. M. (p. 454) says that the limits of sāpiṇḍya spoken of as applying to an adopted person extend to his children also.[1106] As the limits of sāpiṇḍya for marriage are very much narrowed down when marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's niece is allowed, on the other hand certain communities extend such limits too much. The Deśastha brāhmaṇas of the Mādhyandina śākhā in the Deccan do not

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1103. तस्मादेषा दत्तकसपिण्डता त्रिपौरुषीति सिद्धम्। ..... यद्यपि निर्वाप्यपिण्डान्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं प्राङ्निरस्तं तथाप्यगत्या दत्तकस्य प्रतिग्रहीत्रा सह तदेवाश्रयणीयम्। अविच्छिन्नशिष्टाचारानुरोधात्। सं. प्र. pp. 693–694.

1104. अत्र च केवलदत्तकस्य पालकपितृकुले सासपौरुषं मातृकुले च पाञ्चपौरुषं सापिण्ड्यम्। व्यवहारमयूख (p. 119, my edition).

1105. केचित्तु दत्तकप्रवेशे कुलद्वयेपि सर्वथा न्यूनमेव सापिण्ड्यमित्याहुः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 161.

1106. यादृशस्य दत्तकस्य यथा सापिण्ड्यमुक्तं तत्संततेरपि तथैव तदू ह्योह्यम्। संस्काररत्नमाला p. 454.

marry a girl whose father's gotra is the same as the gotra of the bridegroom's maternal grandfather. Manu III. 5 lays down 'that girl who is not a sapiṇḍa of the mother (of the bridegroom) and who is not a sagotra of the father (of the bridegroom) is commended in the case of twice-born classes'. Many commentators and digests like Kullūka, the Madana-pārijāta (p. 132), the Dīpakalikā, the Udvāhatattva (p. 107) understand the word asagotra (in Manu III. 5) after 'mātuḥ' also, and thus forbid marriage with a girl whose gotra is the same as that of one's mother (i. e. of one's maternal grandfather). Medhātithi[1107] on Manu III. 5 quotes a text of Vasiṣṭha which prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa for marrying a girl who has the same gotra as the bridegroom's mother (i. e. his mother's father) and abandonment of her. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16 quotes a similar verse from Śātātapa. Kullūka, the Sm. C. (I. p. 69), Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 16, the Gṛ. R. (p. 10), Udvāhatattva p. 107 and other digests quote a verse of Vyāsa 'some do not desire for marriage a girl who has the same gotra as one's mother; but one may marry without question (or fear) a girl when her birth and name (as connected with one's mother's original gotra) are unknown'. A woman on marriage loses her original gotra and passes over into the gotra of her husband; so the words 'sagotra' of the mother simply mean 'having the same gotra as one's mother once had in her maiden state'. The Sm. C. (I. p. 69) takes this verse to refer only to a woman who was made an appointed daughter (putrikā) by her father. Halāyudha also held the same view. But other writers do not approve of this (vide the Gṛ. R., p. 10). The Nirṇayasindhu[1108] (III. pūrvārdha p. 302) forbids marriage with a girl who is sagotra of one's mother, but the Saṁ. K. (p. 693) and the Dharmasindhu both say, after quoting a text of Satyāṣāḍha, that this restriction applies only to those who study the Mādhyandina śākhā.

1107. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा। कृत्वा तस्याः ससुत्सर्गं द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ मातुलस्य सुतां चैव मातृगोत्रां तथैव च। वसिष्ठ quoted in मेधा०. Manu III. 5 presents various readings, viz. 'दारकर्मणि मैथुने', 'दारकर्मणि मैथुनी', 'दारकर्मण्यमैथुने'. Vide मेधा० thereon.

1108. ब्राह्मादिविवाहोढासुतानां सर्वेषां मातृगोत्रत्वं न वर्ज्यम्, किं तु माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव। मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामिति सत्याषाढोक्तेः। सं. कौ. p. 693; 'इदं मातृगोत्रवर्जनं माध्यन्दिनीयानामेव मातृगोत्रं माध्यन्दिनीयानामपुत्रायाश्चेति सत्याषाढोक्तिरिति कश्चित्तन्निर्मूलम्।' निर्णयसिन्धु III, पूर्वार्ध p. 302.

The Bengal school represented by the Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana differ from the Mitākṣarā in the interpretation of the word 'sapiṇḍa'. In this system the word 'piṇḍa' is taken to mean 'the ball of rice' that is offered in śrāddhas to deceased ancestors &c. (while under the Mit. interpretation 'piṇḍa' means body or particles of body). Sapiṇḍa means 'one who is connected with another through oblations of food'. The author of the Dāyabhāga propounds his theory with reference to inheritance and he himself says that with reference to āśauca [1109] sapiṇḍa relationship is to be differently understood. Further Jīmūtavāhana does not set forth his theory of sapiṇḍa relationship with reference to marriage. His theory is that in matters of inheritance the guiding principle is the spiritual benefit (*upakārakatva*) conferred on the deceased through oblations of food, and he relies on Manu (IX. 106) for this proposition. For his sapiṇḍa theory he principally relies on two passages, Baud. [1110] Dh. S. I. 5. 113–115 and Manu IX. 186–187. Baudhāyana's words are 'the paternal great-grand-father, the paternal grandfather, the father, the man himself, his full brothers, his son, grandson and son's son from a woman of the same varṇa: all these participating in undivided *dāya* (heritage) are called sapiṇḍas. Those who participate in divided *dāya* are called *sakulyas*. Thus issue of the body existing, wealth goes to them; on failure of sapiṇḍas, the sakulyas'. The text of Manu (IX. 186–187) is 'To three, libations of water must be given; towards three piṇḍa proceeds; the fourth is the giver of these (of water and piṇḍas), there is no fifth properly (concerned in this). Whoever is the nearest among sapiṇḍas, his becomes the wealth of him (who dies). After him the sakulya becomes (the heir) &c'. Jīmūtavāhana's explanation of this text is as follows: 'A man when living offers piṇḍas to his three male ancestors; but when he himself dies, his son performs

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1109. तथोपकारकत्वेनैव धनसंबन्धं मन्वादयाह । दायभाग chap. 11. sec. 32; इदं च सपिण्डत्वं सकुल्यत्वं च दायग्रहणार्थमुक्तम् । ..... अशौचाद्यर्थं तु पिण्डलेपभुजामपि तद्दत्तपिण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सपिण्डत्वं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा-पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात् । प्रभृत्युक्ताश्चयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः । इत्येवं मुनिभिः प्रोक्तः संबन्धः सप्तपौरुष इति । अशौचकर इत्यर्थः । दायभाग chap. 11 sections 39–41 (Jīvānanda's ed.). The passage occurs in मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 3–4 and also in ब्रह्मपुराण 112. 17–18.

1110. प्रपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रः । एतानविभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते । विभक्तदायादान्सकुल्यानाचक्षते । सत्स्वङ्गेषु तदाप्तौ ह्यर्थो भवति । सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यः । बौ. ध. सू I. 5. 113–115 quoted in दायभाग XI. 37. The text printed in the Ānan. ed. is slightly different.

the *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*[1111] śrāddha for him, he is made one with the pitṛs and he then begins to participate along with his father and grandfather in the three piṇḍas offered by his son to the latter's three ancestors. Thus those to whom he offers piṇḍas and those who offer piṇḍas to him are called, since they share in undivided oblations, *avibhaktadāyāda* sapiṇḍas.' Several objections can be raised against the theory of Jīmūtavāhana. In the first place he assigns the meaning of piṇḍa to the word dāya in Baudhāyana's passage for which there is no warrant. Baudhāyana really means that those enumerated by him are called sapiṇḍas who take undivided wealth i. e. who constitute an undivided family. In the next place on his interpretation the word sapiṇḍa has to be interpreted in entirely different ways for āśauca and marriage. Besides he himself is not sure of his ground, since he says that although learned men may not approve of his theory that spiritual benefit is the guiding principle in taking property by inheritance they must admit that the order of heirs as stated by him relying on Manu IX. 186-187 is the proper one.[1112]

The following table illustrates the sapiṇḍas expressly so stated by the Dāyabhāga where P stands for the *propositus*, S for *son* and F for *father*:

GGF12 — S13 — S14 — S15
|
GF8 — S9 — S10 — S11
|
F — S5 — S6 — S7
(4)
|
P — S1 — S2 — S3

1111. In the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa rite four piṇḍas are made, one for the deceased person whose sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is to be effected and three for that person's three paternal ancestors and the piṇḍas are mixed up, thereby indicating that from being a mere preta (one belonging to the region of the unredeemed dead) he becomes one of the pitṛs and dwells in pitṛloka. अस्यार्थः। पित्रादिपिण्डत्रये सपिण्डनेन भोक्तृत्वात् पुत्रादिभिश्च त्रिभिः तत्पिण्ड स्यैव दानात् यश्च जीवन् यत्पिण्डदाता स मृतः सन् सपिण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता एवं च सति मध्यस्थितः पुरुषः पूर्वेषां जीवन् पिण्डदाता स मृतः तत्पिण्डभोक्ता च परेषां जीवतां पिण्डसं प्रदानभूत आसीत् मृतैश्च तैः सह दौहित्रादिदेयापिण्डभोक्ता अतो येषामयं पिण्डदाता ये चास्य पिण्डदातारः ते अविभक्तपिण्डरूपं दायमदन्तीत्यविभक्तदायादाः सपिण्डाः। दायभाग chap. XI. 1. para 38.

1112. अत्रापरितोषो विदुषां वाचनिक एवायमर्थः, तथापि यथोक्त एव वचनयोरर्थः ग्राह्य इत्यस्तु किं विस्तरेण। दायभाग XI. 6. para 38.

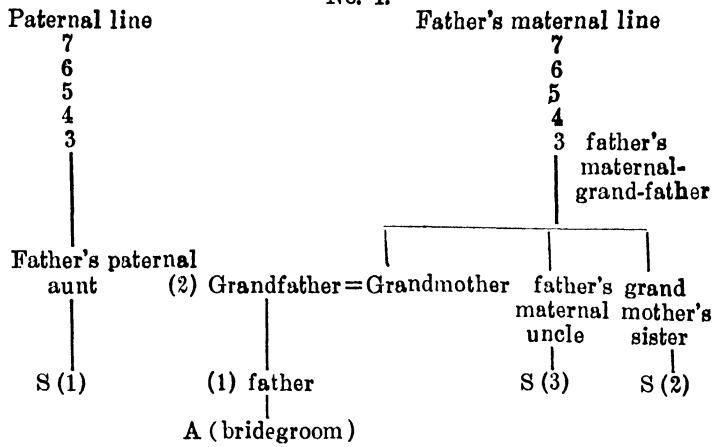
Śrīkṛṣṇa, a commentator of the Dāyabhāga and author of Dāyakramasaṁgraha, and Raghunandana, author of Smṛtitattva, and others elaborate these rules. The Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in *Guru Govind Shaha Mandal* [1113] v. *Anand Lal Ghose Mazumdar* gives an elaborate statement of the several sapiṇḍas. But as those rules have reference only to succession, they are passed over here. Raghunandana in his work on marriage called Udvāhatattva [1114] quotes the famous verse of the Matsyapurāna, 'the fourth and (two beyond him) among ascendants are partakers of *lepa* (the leavings of the boiled rice that become attached to the hand of him who offers piṇḍas), the father and the rest (i. e. two more beyond him) are partakers of the piṇḍa; he who offers the piṇḍa to them is the seventh; sāpiṇḍya extends to seven generations' and refers the readers to his Śuddhitattva for elucidation. Raghunandana does not give any definition of sapiṇḍas for marriage, but discusses the conflict about the several texts such as '7th on the father's side and 5th on the mother's side'. He expressly says (p. 110 of Udvāhatattva) that the words 'who is not a sapiṇḍa of one's mother' are still applicable even if several females intervene between the common ancestor and the girl proposed to be married. He then adds a special rule that descendants of what are called pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus also are forbidden if they are within 7 degrees and 5 degrees respectively from these bandhus. The pitṛbandhus [1115] of a person are his paternal grand-father's sister's sons, his paternal grandmother's sister's sons and his father's maternal uncle's sons; while mātṛbandhus are a person's mother's father's sister's sons, mother's mother's sister's sons, mother's maternal uncle's sons. These two latter may be illustrated by two diagrams.

1113. 5 Bengal Law Reports p. 15.

1114. Vide pp. 117-118 of the उद्वाहतत्त्व for a summary of the rules about सापिण्ड्यनिवृत्ति; about पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु he says 'एवं पितृबन्धुप्रभृतिसंबन्धघटकानां सप्तानां संततिः सप्तमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। ..... एवं मातृबन्धुप्रभृतिसंबन्धघटकानां पञ्चानां संततिः पञ्चमीपर्यन्ता नोद्वाह्या। एवं च मनुवचने ..... यदसपिण्डेति पृथगुक्तं तत्सपिण्डकन्यापरंपराजाताया अपि पञ्चमीसप्तमीपर्यन्ताया निषेधार्थम्। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 110.

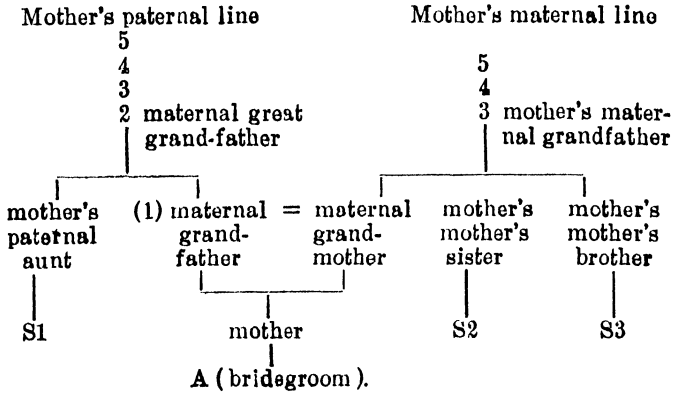
1115. पितुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातृःष्वसुः सुताः। पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः॥ मातुः पितृष्वसुः पुत्रा मातुर्मातृष्वसुः सुताः। मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः॥ बृद्धशातातप according to मदनपारिजात p. 674 and बौधायन according to परा. मा.

No. I.



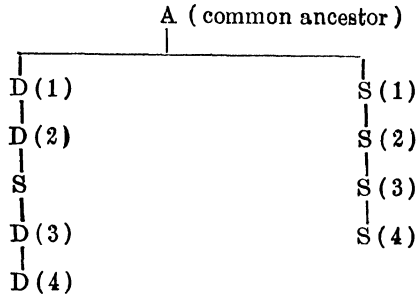
N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are the three pitṛbandhus of A, the bridegroom, and they are the starting points for calculating prohibited degrees among paternal cognates. In the ascending line only the descendants of the common ancestors are excluded. For example, S1 is a pitṛbandhu and his descendants up to 7 degrees are excluded; but S1's father is not a bandhu of the bridegroom; therefore S1's father's sister may be married by the bridegroom. Under this rule the 6th descendant (a girl) of S1 will be ineligible for marriage with A: but she will be 9th from A's grandfather's father who is the common ancestor. So it will be seen that this goes far beyond the limits of sāpiṇḍya generally prescribed and there is no valid reason assigned for this.

No. II.



N. B.—Here S1, S2 and S3 are mātṛbandhus of the bridegroom. The maternal great-grandfather is the starting point in calculating prohibited degrees in the mother's paternal line. In the mother's maternal line the starting points are S2 and S3. In the ascending lines of the mātṛbandhus the descendants of only the common ancestor are excluded. For example, the girl descended from S3's maternal ancestors may be married by the bridegroom and so also a girl descended from the paternal ancestor of S2 or S1.

Another rule propounded by Raghunandana is that even within prohibited degrees a valid marriage may be contracted if three gotras intervene. In the case of girls descended from pitṛbandhus and mātṛbandhus the computation of gotra must be made from them. For want of space it is not thought advisable to illustrate this by citing several examples. But one example is given to illustrate this rule.



Here according to the Bengal school S (4) can marry D (4) because three gotras intervene between her and the common ancestor, although S4 is only 5th in descent from the common ancestor; for according to the Bengal school it is not necessary that both the bridegroom and the bride be beyond the limits of sapiṇḍaship, but only the bride need be so; while according to many writers of the Mitākṣarā school both must be beyond the limits of sapiṇḍaship from the common ancestor.[1116]

1116. The निर्णयसिन्धु summarizes the views of Gauḍa writers: अत्र बन्धुभ्य इति पञ्चमीनिर्देशात् पितुःपितृष्वसृपुत्रात्सप्तमीं मातुःपितृष्वसृपुत्राच्च पञ्चमीमपि त्यजेत्। एवमन्यबन्धुषु ज्ञेयम्। तत्रापि त्रिगोत्रात्यये ऽर्वागपि विवाहं कुर्यात् वक्ष्यमाणवच्चनात्। त्रिगोत्रगणना च मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया न तु स्वापेक्षया अन्यथा पितुः पितामहदुहितुर्दौहित्रीपुत्री परिणेया स्यात्। यथा मातामहगोत्रापेक्षया तु त्रिगोत्रान्तर्गतेन विवाहप्रसङ्ग इति संबन्धतत्त्वादयो गौडग्रन्थाः। pp. 283–284, where a passage of बृहन्मनु is quoted

(*Continued on next page*)

The Dāyabhāga does not rely upon any Vedic passages for its theory of sapiṇḍa relationship. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 52) relies upon three Vedic passages only in propounding the theory of sapiṇḍa relationship viz. 'indeed the man himself is born from himself (as son, Ait. Br. 33. 1)'; 'thou art born again (or reproduced) in the offspring' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 5) and 'this body is made of six kośas (sheaths); three are derived from the father, three from the mother; bones, muscles and marrow from the mother' (Garbhopanisad). These passages at the most say that particles of the bodies of the parents continue in their offspring; but they do not say anything about the meaning of sapiṇḍa or the limits of the sapiṇḍa relationship for marriage or inheritance. Even in the Ṛg. the words jñāti and bandhu which occur in the dharmasūtras (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 3, I. 5. 11 17. and Gaut. II. 44, IV. 3 and 5, VI. 3) frequently occur (vide Ṛg. VII. 55. 5 and X. 85. 28 for jñāti and Ṛg. I. 113. 2, V. 73. 4, VII. 72. 2, VII. 67. 9 for bandhu). All that we can say is that both meanings of sapiṇḍa were implicit in the word piṇḍa from the earliest times and that the sūtra writers were conscious of both meanings.

As to the grounds on which marriages between near sapiṇḍas were prohibited various theories have been advanced by anthropologists. Vide Westermarck in his 'History of Human marriage' (ed. of 1921, vol. II. pp. 71–81) and Rivers on 'Marriage of cousins in India' in J. R. A. S. for 1907 pp. 611–640. Some think that the prohibition was due to the abhorrence which men in the primitive times felt for incest. To me it appears more probable that in India at least the prohibition was due to two causes; firstly, the observed fact that, if near relatives marry, their defects are transmitted with aggravation to their offspring and secondly the fear that, if marriages between near relatives by blood were allowed, there may be clandestine love affairs and consequent loss of morals and it would be difficult to secure husbands for girls who would

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from शूलपाणि's संबन्धविवेक 'शूलपाणिरप्याह। पञ्चमात्सप्तमाच्चावांगपि त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता विवाह्या। असंबद्धा भवेन्माता पिण्डेनैवोदकेन वा। सा विवाह्या द्विजातीनां त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता च येति बृहन्मनूक्तेः।' The निर्णयसिन्धु notes that southern writers (dākṣiṇātya) do not subscribe to this view about three gotras intervening being an exception to sāpiṇḍya in marriage. The संस्कारप्रकाश p. 710 also notes the view of Śūlapāṇi about त्रिगोत्रान्तरिता which means 'मूलपुरुषगोत्राच्चतुर्थगोत्रोत्पन्नेति'.

be living under the same roof with several near or distant cousins.

The Par. M. I. part 2, p. 59 expressly says that only such a girl who is not a sapiṇḍa of the bridegroom within the prohibited degrees on any of the two theories of sāpiṇḍya (viz. by connection with particles of the body or with the balls of rice) is eligible for marriage.

The question what support Vedic Literature lends to the two interpretations of the word sapiṇḍa may now be briefly discussed here.

The word piṇḍa occurs [1117] in the Ṛgveda (I. 162. 19) and the Tai. S. IV. 6. 9. 3 where it seems to mean 'a part of the body of the sacrificial animal thrown into fire as an offering'. Here it is clear that the word piṇḍa is not used in the sense of 'ball of rice'. But in the Tai. S. II. 3. 8. 2 and in the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 24 the word piṇḍa means 'ball of rice' offered to the Manes. The Nirukta III. 4 and 5 twice employs the words 'piṇḍadānāya' (for offering balls of rice). But the word sapiṇḍa hardly ever occurs in the Vedic literature and we have no means of judging in what sense it was used in the Vedic literature. In the dharmasūtras the word *sapiṇḍa* occurs frequently and the dharmasūtras show a close connection between offering piṇḍa and the taking of inheritance (vide Gaut. 14. 13, 28. 21, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2, Vasiṣṭha IV. 16–18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 40).

It was shown above (pp. 436–37) that some sages prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl while others prohibit it with a sapravara girl. A number of sages and works like Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 9, Yāj. I. 53, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 7) require that the girl to be married must not be a sagotra nor a sapravara. Therefore it is necessary to understand the meaning of gotra and pravara. A detailed treatment of the topics of gotra and pravara would extend to a large treatise. Only a few salient points can be gone into here. The subject of gotra and pravara in the Vedic Literature has been treated at length by me in the J. B. B. R. A. S. (New series vol. II. for 1935). Only the conclusions there drawn will be set out here.

1117. एकस्त्वष्टुरश्वस्या विशस्ता द्वा यन्तारा भवतस्तथ ऋतुः । या ते गात्राणामृतुथा कृणोमि ताता पिण्डानां प्र जुहोम्यग्नौ ॥ ऋ. I. 162. 19 = तै. सं. IV. 6. 9. 3. The word sagotra is equal to samāna-gotra as stated by Pāṇini VI. 3.85 and sapiṇḍa and sapravara are similarly formed.

The word gotra in the Ṛg. means 'cow-stable' or 'herd of cows' in a few passages (I. 51. 3, II. 17. 1, III. 39. 4, III. 43. 7, IX. 86. 23, X. 48. 2, X. 120. 8). By a natural metaphor 'gotra' was applied to a cloud (in which waters are pent up as cows in a cow-stable) or to a cloud demon and also to a mountain range or peak which conceals water-yielding clouds. Vide Ṛg. II. 23. 3 (where Bṛhaspati's car is styled 'gotrabhid'), Ṛg. X. 103. 7 (=Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 2, Atharva-veda V. 2. 8. and Vāj. S. 17. 39), Ṛg. VI. 17. 2, X. 103. 6. In some of these verses it is possible to take 'gotra' in the sense of 'fort'. In some cases 'gotra' probably means only "assemblage' (samūha) e. g. Ṛg. II. 23. 18, VI. 65. 5. From this last sense of 'assemblage' the transition to the meaning of 'a group of persons' is both easy and quick. There is no positive instance of the word 'gotra' being unchallengeably used in the sense 'descendants of a common patriarchal ancestor' in the Ṛgveda; but the conception underlying the idea of gotra was, it is plain, quite familiar even in the age of the Ṛgveda. In the Atharvaveda V. 21. 3[1118] the word 'viśvagotryaḥ' (belonging to all families) occurs. Here the word 'gotra' clearly means 'a group of men connected together' (by blood). The Kauśika sūtra IV. 2 quotes a mantra in which gotra undoubtedly means 'a group of persons'.

Several passages of the Tai. S. show that descendants of great sages were called after those sages. In Tai. S. I. 8. 18. 1 it is said 'the Hotṛ is a Bhārgava' (descendant of Bhṛgu). The commentator explains that this is so only in the Rājasūya. It is quite possible that in those days descent was traced through teacher and pupil as well as through father and son. But there being a very few occupations only it is most probable that the son generally learnt from his father the lore of the latter. In Tai. S. VII. 1. 9. 1 we read 'therefore one does not find (or know) two Jāmadagniyas (in succession) who are poor (or grey-haired)'. From this it is clear that in the times of the Tai. S. Jamadagni was regarded as a very ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jāmadagnyas (or-gniyas) and that no two descendants were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

1118. वानस्पत्यः संभृत उस्रियाभिर्विश्वगोड्यः । मित्रासमसित्रेभ्यो बद्वाज्येनाभिघारितः ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 21. 3.

In numerous mantras of the Ṛgveda the descendants of well-known sages are denoted by the plural form of the names of those sages. In Ṛg. X. 66. 14 we read 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father'. In Ṛg. VI. 35. 5 the Bharadvājas are referred to as Āṅgirases. According to Āśv. Śrauta-sūtra Bharadvāja is a gotra falling under the Aṅgirogaṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature there are ample indications that priestly families had come to be formed into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that such families differed in details of worship according to the group they belonged to. The Tai. Br. (I. 1. 4) prescribes that the consecration (*ādhāna*) of the sacred Vedic fires is to be performed for Bhṛgus or Aṅgirases with the mantra 'bhṛgūṇām (or aṅgirasām) tvādevānām vratapate vratenā-dadhāmi,' that for other brāhmaṇas with the words 'ādityānām tvā devānām vratapate' &c. The Tai. Br. II. 2. 3 speaks of the 'Āṅgirasī prajā' (people of the Aṅgiras group). The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa [1119] prescribes that the *camasa* (cup) made of udumbara was to be given as *dakṣiṇā* to a sagotra brāhmaṇa.' The Kauṣītaki Br. [1120] (25. 15) says that one who has performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything that the sacrificer owned was gifted away) should stay for a year with a brāhmaṇa of the same gotra. The Ait. Br. (30. 7) contains the story of Aitaśa and his son Abhyagni and it is stated that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas. In the Kauṣītaki Br. where the same story occurs it is said that the Aitaśāyanas became lowest among Bhṛgus, as they were cursed by their father. According to Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra the Aitaśāyanas are a sub-section of Bhṛgugaṇa. Śunaḥśepa, when he was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra, came to be called Devarāta and the Ait. Br. (33. 5) says that the Kāpileyas and Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta. According to Baud. śrauta-sūtra Devarāta and Babhru are sub-sections of Viśvāmitra gotra. Śunaḥśepa is said to have been an Āṅgirasa by birth (Ait. Br. 33. 5). [1121] So this makes it clear that gotra relationship was by birth in the times of the Ait. Br. (and not from teacher to pupil). In the Upaniṣads the sages when expounding the knowledge of *brahma*

1119. सगोत्राय ब्रह्मणे देयः सोमपीथस्यावेदोहाय। ताण्ड्य. 18. 2. 12.

1120. ब्राह्मणे समानगोत्रे वसेद्यत्समाने गोत्रेऽस्याद्यं तस्योपाख्यै संवत्सरं चरेदृधः संवेश्य। कौषीतकि ब्रा. 25. 15.

1121. आङ्गिरसो जन्मनास्याजीगर्तिः श्रुतः कविः। ऋषे पैतामहात्तन्तोर्मापगाः पुनरेहि माम्॥ ऐ. ब्रा.

addressed their pupils by the gotra names e. g. by the Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana gotras in Praśna I. 1, Vaiyāghrapadya and Gautama in Chāndogya V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1; Gautama and Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa in Bṛ. Up. II. 2. 4. All this shows that the system of gotras with several sub-sections was well established in the times of the Brāhmaṇas and the ancient Upaniṣads. But the gotras are in these works referred to in connection with sacrifices or education. There is hardly any distinct reference in these to gotra or sagotra in relation to marriage. In the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra [1122] VIII. 2. 8 and 10 it is prescribed that one who has given away everything in the Viśvajit sacrifice should stay three nights with niṣādas and may partake of their jungle diet and then again three nights with '*jana*' and then the sūtra gives several views about the meaning of 'jana' one of which, that of Dhānañjapya, is that '*jana*' means a person with whom (i. e. with whose daughter) marriage is possible while one who is sagotra is called '*samāna-jana*'. This clearly proves that long before the Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra marriage with a sagotra had been forbidden. Besides several of the gṛhya and dharma sūtras prohibit marriage with a sagotra girl. It is impossible to hold that this was a new conception that arose only about the time of these sūtras. Therefore, it must be supposed that prohibition as to sameness of gotra in marriage had its origin long before the period of the sūtras in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works (if not earlier).

Gotra was of supreme importance in several fundamental matters and it largely entered into several practices of the ancient Aryans. A few examples may be given here. (1) In marriage sagotra girls were forbidden, vide above pp. 436-37. In the Lājāhoma at marriage two offerings were to be made by all except Jāmadagnyas, who had to make three (Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 8-9).

(2) In matters of inheritance the wealth of one dying without issue went to his near sagotras (Gaut. 28. 19).

(3) In śrāddha the brāhmaṇas to be invited should not belong as far as possible to the same gotra as the person inviting (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 4, Gaut. 15. 20).

1122. विवाह्यो जनः सगोत्रः समानजन इति धानंजप्यः । लाट्यायनश्रौत VIII. 2. 11.

(4) In *pārvaṇa sthālīpāka* and other *pākayajñas*, all were to cut off oblations from the middle and fore-half of the *havis*, but for Jāmadagnyas (who are *pañcāvattins*) they were to be cut off from the middle, the fore-part and the hind part (*vide* Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 18-19).[1123]

(5) In offering water to a *preta* (a person recently dead) his gotra and name were to be repeated (Āśv. gṛ. IV. 4. 10).

(6) In the *caula* ceremony tufts of hair were to be left in accordance with the gotra and practice of the family (Khādira gṛ. II. 3. 30).

(7) At the time of performing one's daily saṁdhyā prayer, one has to repeat even in modern times one's gotra and pravara, the Vedaśākhā and sūtra which one studies.

As regards śrauta sacrifices a few interesting examples may be given. Jaimini establishes that *sattras* (sacrificial sessions extending over 12 days and more) could be performed only by brāhmaṇas and that among brāhmaṇas the Bhṛgus, Śunakas and Vasiṣṭhas are not entitled to perform them (VI. 6. 24-26). Those of the Atri, Vadhryaśva, Vasiṣṭha, Vaiśya (Vainya ?), Śaunaka, Kaṇva, Kaśyapa and Saṁkṛti gotras took Nārāśaṁsa as the second *prayāja*, while others took Tanūnapāt as the second (vide Śabara on Jaimini VI. 6. 1).

The conception of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of gotra from very ancient times. The two have to be studied together. 'Pravara' literally means 'choosing' or 'invoking' (*prārthanā*).[1124] As Agni was invoked to carry the offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of the illustrious *ṛṣis* (his remote ancestors) who in former times had invoked Agni, the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious *ṛṣis*, ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of pravara is *ārṣeya* or *ārṣa* (as in Yāj. I. 52). Pravara entered into several domestic ceremonies and practices according to the gṛhya and dharma sūtras. For example:

(1) a bride was to be chosen whose father's pravara was not the same as that of the bridegroom's father. Vide above p. 437.

1123. मध्यात्पूर्वार्धाच्च हविषोऽवद्यति। मध्यात्पूर्वार्धात्पश्चार्धादिति पञ्चावत्तिनाम्। आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 18-19.

1124. समानप्रवराः ज्यार्षेयः प्रवरः ..... इत्यादिषु प्रवरशब्दः प्रक्रियते इति कर्मव्युत्पन्न इति प्रवरमञ्जरीकारः। सं. प्र. p. 598.

(2) In upanayana the girdle (*mekhalā*) was to have one, three or five knots according to the number of ṛṣis constituting the boy's pravara (*vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 2).

(3) In *Caula* the tufts of hair to be left on the head depended on the number of sages constituting the pravara of the boy's family (Āp. gṛ. 16. 6).

The mass of material on gotra and pravara in the sūtras, the purāṇas and digests is so vast and so full of contradictions that it is almost an impossible task to reduce it to order and coherence. The learned author of the Pravara-mañjarī (which is the leading work on the subject) wrote in despair 'Here, in the parts of sūtras that have been quoted there is a great divergence in the order (of the names of pravaras) of the texts of the several sūtrakāras, this being specially so in the text of Āśvalāyana (śrauta)-sūtra. Thus, though divergence is clearly established, yet following the order of the texts of the majority of writers such as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana we shall declare (the rules) about marriage or no marriage'.[1125]

We have first to understand what gotra in the sūtras and digests means and how it is inter-related to pravara. Among the sūtras that treat of gotra and pravara the śrauta sūtras of Āśvalāyana (Uttaraṣaṭka VI, khaṇḍas 10–15), Āpastamba (24th praśna) and Baudhāyana (B. I. ed. vol. III pravarādhyāya at end) are the most important. The Pravaramañjarī (p. 5) has a verse to the effect that Baudhāyana's pravarādhyāya is the best on the subject.

The Śrautasūtra of Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśi (21st praśna) has a section on this subject, which is the same as Āpastambaśrauta with a few omissions and variations. The Baudhāyanaśrauta-sūtra says[1126] 'Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa are the seven sages and Agastya is the eighth; the progeny of these eight sages is declared to be gotra'. These seven sages are probably derived from what is stated in the Bṛ. Up. II. 2. 3–4 (=Śat. Br.

1125. अत्रोदाहृतेषु सूत्रकाण्डेषु सूत्रकाराणां पाठक्रमस्यत्यासो महानस्ति विशेषतश्चाश्वलायनसूत्रपाठे। ..... एवं भेदे सिद्धे सत्यपि बौधायनापस्तम्बकात्यायनादीनां बहूनां पाठक्रमानुसारेण विवाहाविवाहौ वक्ष्यामः। प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 72 (ed. by Chensalrao).

1126. विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निर्भरद्वाजोऽथ गौतमः। अत्रिर्वसिष्ठः कश्यप इत्येते सप्त ऋषयः। तेषां सप्तर्षीणामगस्त्याष्टमानां यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रमुच्यते। बौ. श्रौ. प्रवराध्याय 54; and गोत्राणां तु सहस्राणि प्रयुतान्यर्बुदानि च। ऊनपञ्चाशदेवैषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात्॥

XIV. 5. 2. 6) where these very seven sages are enumerated as those intended in the śloka ' arvāg-bilaścamasa[1127] &c. ' quoted there. The same work (Baud. śrauta) states that there are thousands, tens of thousands and *arbudas* (millions of millions) of gotras, but the pravaras are only 49. Besides the sūtra works, some purāṇas like the Matsya (chap. 195–202), the Vāyu (chap. 88 and 99, Ānan. ed.), Skanda III. 2 (Dharmāraṇya kāṇḍa) contain elaborate enumerations of gotras and pravaras. The Mahābhārata sets out at length the subdivisions (such as Madhuchandas, Devarāta) of Viśvāmitragotra in Anuśāsanaparva 4. 49–59. Digests like the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 14–17), the Sam. Pr. (pp. 591–680), the Sam. K. (pp. 637–692), the Nirṇayasindhu, the Dharmasindhu, the Bālambhaṭṭī contain a vast material on this topic. There are also special works like the Pravaramañjarī on this topic. The general conception about gotra is that it denotes all persons who trace descent in an unbroken male line from a common male ancestor. When a person says ' I am Jamadagni-gotra ' he means that he traces his descent from the ancient sage Jamadagni by unbroken male descent. As stated by Baud. cited above, from very ancient times these male founders were supposed to be eight. This enumeration of eight primary gotras seems to have been known to Pāṇini. Patañjali says ' there were eighty thousand sages who observed celibacy. The accepted opinion is that the spread of progeny was due to eight sages including Agastya. The offspring (apatya) of these eight are gotras and others than these are called *gotrāvayava*'.[1128] Pāṇini

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1127. Vide Nirukta XII. 38 for another interpretation of the verse अर्वाग्बिलश्चमस &c. In the Nirukta ' the seven sages ' are explained either as ' seven rays of the Sun ' or as ' the seven indriyas '. The Bṛ. Up. explains the ' seven sages ' as the prāṇas (the two ears, eyes, the two holes of the nose and the tongue) and identifies them with the seven sages, Viśvāmitra and others. The Atharva-veda X. 8. 9 reads the verse as ' तिर्यग्बिलश्चमस &c.'.

1128. अष्टाशीतिः सहस्राणि ऊर्ध्वरेतसामृषीणां बभूवुस्तत्रागस्त्याष्टमैर्ऋषिभिः प्रजनोऽभ्युपगतः । तत्रभवतां यदपत्यं तानि गोत्राणि अतोऽन्ये गोत्रावयवाः । महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 233 on the sūtra गोत्रावयवात् (पा. IV. 1. 78). The आप. ध. सू. (II. 9. 23. 3–5) quotes passages from a purāṇa about two sorts of 80000 sages (one group desiring offspring and the other not so desiring). याज्ञ. III. 186–187, सभापर्व 11. 54 contain somewhat similar verses. सभापर्व 11. 54 is ' अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ऋषीणामूर्ध्वरेतसाम् । प्रजावतां च पञ्चाशदृषीणामपि पार्थिव ॥ '. The reference to fifty sages having progeny is probably to the pravara sages, just as Baud. speaks of 49 pravara groups.

defines gotra for grammatical purposes as 'apatyam pautra-prabhṛti gotram' (IV. 1. 162), which means 'the word *gotra* denotes (in my work on grammar) the progeny (of a sage) beginning with the son's son'. For example, the son of Garga would be called Gārgi, but the grandson would be called Gārgyaḥ and the plural Gargāḥ would denote all descendants of Garga (downwards from Garga's grand-son). But this definition is a technical one in grammar and is meant to indicate how derived (*taddhita*) words are to be formed by means of terminations. Even Pāṇini makes use of this technical sense only in the *apatyādhikāra*, but elsewhere in his work he uses the word gotra in the popular sense as comprehending all descendants of a common male ancestor. Vide the Kāśikā on Pāṇini II. 4. 63, IV. 2. 39 and IV. 3. 80. The Sam Pr. (pp. 591-592) lucidly explains [1129] this. That a man belongs to a particular gotra is known by him only from tradition, from his father and other elders or from people about him, just as he knows that he is a brāhmaṇa from the same source [1130]. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5. 194 has a very lucid and interesting discussion on this topic. His argument is: just as, though all persons are men, some are called brāhmaṇas, so among brāhmaṇas certain persons are known by immemorial usage (or convention) as belonging to certain gotras like Vasiṣṭha and the sūtra-kāras lay down that a certain gotra has certain pravaras; so the word gotra is applied to Vasiṣṭha and other sages by *rūḍhi* (by convention or long-standing usage). It cannot be supposed that a person called Parāśara was born at a certain time and then his descendants came to be called Parāśaras. In that case the Veda would not be *anādi* (beginningless), as it is supposed to be, since it mentions Parāśara, Vasiṣṭha &c. So gotra is *anādi* like the brāhmaṇa caste and the Veda. The word is also secondarily used to denote a person, who is very illustrious on account of his learning, wealth, valour or generosity,

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1129. अत्र गोत्रभूतमपत्यमनन्तरमपि न तु पाणिनेरिव पारिभाषिकं पौत्रप्रभृत्येव। तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। ..... अपत्याधिकारादन्यत्र लौकिकस्यैव गोत्रस्य ग्रहणमिति भाष्य-कैयटपदमञ्जर्यादिषु स्थितम्। सं. प्र. pp. 591-92.

1130. यथैव समाने पुरुषत्वे ब्राह्मणत्वादिविशेषः, एवं समाने ब्राह्मणत्वे वसिष्ठादि-गोत्रभेदः प्रतिगोत्रं च समानार्षेयाणि। ..... स्मरन्ति च सूत्रकारा गोत्रभेदसंबन्धेन प्रवरान् यस्यैतद्गोत्रं तस्येमे प्रवरा इति। गोत्रभेदस्तु तद्गोत्रजैरेव स्मर्यते वयं पराशरा वयमुपमन्यव इति। यद्यपि गोत्रवत्प्रवरानपि स्मरन्ति तथापि बहुत्वात्कदाचिद्विस्मरेयुरिति गोत्रमुपलक्षणीकृत्य प्रवरस्मृतिरुपनिबद्धा। गोत्रं तु स्मरन्ति। न च तस्य किंचिदुपलक्षणमस्ति य एवंरूपस्तस्येदं गोत्रमिति। मेधा० on मनु III. 5.

who thereby gives a name to his descendants and then becomes the founder of the family. This is *laukika* gotra. But this is not the meaning of gotras which brāhmaṇas have. The secondary meaning may apply to the word gotra when used in the case of kṣatriyas'.[1131] The Mit. on Yāj. I. 53 says 'gotra is that which is known from tradition handed down in the family.'[1132] Each gotra is associated with one, two, three or five sages (but never four or more than five) that constitute the pravara of that gotra.[1133] The gotras are arranged in groups, e. g. there are according to the Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra four subdivisions of the Vasiṣṭha gaṇa, viz. Upamanyu, Parāśara, Kuṇḍina and Vasiṣṭha (other than the first three). Each of these four again has numerous sub-sections, each being called gotra. So the arrangement is first into gaṇas, then into pakṣas, then into individual gotras. The first has survived in the Bhṛgu and Āṅgirasa gaṇa. According to Baud. the principal eight gotras were divided into pakṣas. The pravara of Upamanyu is Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvasu, Indrapramada; the pravara of the Parāśara gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya; the pravara of the Kuṇḍina gotra is Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kauṇḍinya and the pravara of Vasiṣṭhas other than these three is simply Vasiṣṭha. It is therefore that some define pravara as 'the group of sages that distinguishes the founder (lit. the starter) of one gotra from another'.[1134]

Though the word pravara does not occur in the Ṛgveda, the word 'ārṣeya' occurs therein and the system of pravara goes back almost to the Ṛgveda. Ṛg. IX. 97. 51 has 'thereby may we acquire wealth and ārṣeya resembling Jamadagni's.' Sometimes the idea of invoking Agni is conveyed without using

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1131. किमेतद्गोत्रं नाम । आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी विद्यावित्तशौर्यादार्याद्विगुणयोगेन ख्याततमो येन कुलं व्यपदिश्यते । ..... ब्राह्मणानां च तैरेव (भृगुगर्गगालवाद्यैभिः) गोत्रव्यपदेशो युक्तः । तानि हि मुख्यानि गोत्राणि रूढिरूपेण तत्र गोत्रशब्दः प्रवर्तते । न हि तेषां गोत्रत्वे एतल्लक्षणमस्ति आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी गोत्रमिति । अनादित्वादेतद्गोत्राणां ब्राह्मणाद्विजातिवत् । न हि पराशरजन्मत ऊर्ध्वं पाराशरव्यपदेशः केषांचिद्ब्राह्मणानाम् । एवं सति आदिमत्ता वेदस्य प्रसज्यते । ..... नहि यथा ब्राह्मणो नित्यं गोत्रं स्मरति एवं क्षत्रियादयः । तस्मात्तेषां लौकिकमेव गोत्रं, आदिपुरुषः संज्ञाकारी ख्याततम इति । मेधा० on मनु. III. 194.

1132. गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धम् । मिताक्षरा on या. I. 53 ; गोत्रं वंशपरंपराप्रसिद्धमेव यच्च सूत्रादिषु गोत्रपरिगणनं तदपि प्रसिद्धिमूलकमेव । सं. प्र. p. 592.

1133. एकं वृणीते द्वौ वृणीते त्रीन् वृणीते न चतुरो वृणीते न पञ्चाति वृणीत इति विज्ञायते । आप. श्रौ. सू. 24. 6. 7.

1134. प्रवरः गोत्रप्रवर्तकस्य मुनेर्ग्यावर्तको मुनिगण इत्यर्थः । परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 70. This is quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

the word pravara or ārṣeya. In Ṛg. VIII. 102. 4[1135] it is said 'I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did.' It is remarkable that these are three of the five pravara sages of the Vatsa–Bhṛgus according to Baud. (3). Ṛg. I. 45. 3 has 'O Jātavedas (Agni), give heed to the summons of Praskaṇva, as in the case of Priyamedha, Atri, Virūpa and Aṅgiras.'[1136] In Ṛg. VII. 18. 21 it is said 'they who from house to house gladdened thee, being desirous of thee, viz. Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha, will not forget the friendship of a liberal patron (like thee)'.[1137] It deserves to be noted that this mantra mentions Parāśara (who in later mythology is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha and son of Śakti), Śatayātu (who is Śakti according to Sāyaṇa), and Vasiṣṭha. Parāśara, Śakti and Vasiṣṭha constitute the pravara of Parāśara gotra (according to Āśv. and Baud). In the Atharvaveda (XI. 1. 16, XI. 1. 25, 26, 32, 33, 35, XII. 4. 2 and 12, XVI. 8.12–13) ārṣeya means 'descendants of sages or those who are related to sages'. In the Tai. S. both ārṣeya and pravara occur in the sense of the sūtras. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 8. 7 (which refers to the recitation of the Sāmidhenī verses) we read "he says 'choose (or invoke) ye the fire called *havyavāhana*'; he chooses him (the fire) of the gods; he chooses the ārseya; in so doing he does not depart from the relationship (by blood) and doing so serves for continuity. He chooses the later ones beginning from the remoter ones". In this passage 'ārṣeyam' appears to be used in the sense of 'one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer' and reference is made to one of the two modes of mentioning the sages constituting the pravara. 'Ārṣeya' may also be taken here as an adjective (qualifying Agni), the meaning being 'he invokes Agni by the names of the illustrious ancestor sages of the yajamāna'. In one mode the remotest ancestor is named first in a taddhita (derivative) formation, then his descendant and so on, the sage nearest the sacrificer being mentioned last. For example, the pravara of Bhṛgu Vatsa is 'Bhārgava-cyavana-apnavānaurva-jāmadagnyeti'. This method is employed by the Hotṛ priest when he invokes fire as the divine Hotṛ with the pravara-mantra 'Agne mahān-asi brāhmaṇa bhārata deveddha

1135. आर्वभृगुवच्छुचिमप्नवानवदा हुवे। अग्निं सप्तद्रवाससम् ॥ ऋ. VIII. 102. 4. According to the अनुक्रमणी this is a sūkta of a भार्गव named प्रयोग.

1136. प्रियमेधवदत्रिवज्जातवेदो विरूपवत् । अङ्गिरस्वन्महिव्रत प्रस्कण्वस्य श्रुधी हवम् ॥ ऋ. I. 45. 3.

1137. य ये गृहादममदुस्त्वाया पराशरः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः । ऋ. VII. 18. 21. शतयातु may literally mean 'one who is master of a hundred magic tricks,' or 'on whom a hundred magic tricks were practised'.

manviddha ṛṣistuta &c.' (vide Tai. S. II. 5. 9. and Śat, Br. I. 4. 2, Aśv. Śr. I. 2. 27–I. 3. 6). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after the name of each pravara sage and the remotest one is mentioned last (e. g. Jamadagnivat, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Cyavanavat, Bhṛguvat). This mode is employed by the *adhvaryu* when he chooses the Hotṛ priest.[1138] The Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 9 appears to refer to one (i. e. 2nd) mode. The Kauṣītaki brāhmaṇa explains the purpose of taking the names of ancestors 'as the gods do not partake of the offering of him who has no list of (illustrious) ancestors, therefore he pronounces the ārṣeya of the sacrificer.' The Ait. Br. (34. 7) has an interesting passage on pravara. When a brāhmaṇa is initiated for a sacrifice, that fact is announced in these words 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated for a sacrifice.' How is the initiation of the kṣatriya to be announced? The reply of the Ait. Br. is 'even in the case of the kṣatriya the announcement is to be in the same form (viz. a brāhmaṇa has been initiated); but with the pravara of the family priest. Therefore they should proclaim the ksatriya's initiation as a sacrificer with the ārṣeya of his family priest and should invoke Agni with the pravara of his family priest.'[1139] The Aśv. Śr. (Uttara ṣaṭka VI. 15. 4–5) and Baud. Śr. (pravaraprasna 54) say that in the case of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the pravara of their purohita was to be employed or the pravara 'Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa' or simply 'Manuvat.' The origin of that rule is to be found in the above passage of the Ait. Br. There is another similar passage in the Ait. Br. (35. 5). The Śat. Br.

1138. This rule is stated in Āp. Śrauta (24. 5. 8) and Baud. Śrauta (pravaradhyāya 2.) 'अत ऊर्ध्वानध्वर्युर्वृणीतेऽमुतोर्वाच्यो होतेत्येष एवोभयोः सर्वत्रोद्देशः'.

1139. अथ यद्यजमानस्यार्षेयमाह न ह वा अनार्षेयस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादृस्यार्षेयमाह । कौषीतकि ब्रा. III. 2. After the words अग्ने महाँ असि ब्राह्मण भारत are recited, the invoking of the ārṣeya of the sacrificer by the Hotṛ priest takes place and then the remaining words of the formula देवेद्ध मन्विद्ध ऋषिस्तुत &c. are uttered. This is shown by the Tai. S. itself (II. 5. 7. 8) and by the Śat. Br. I. 4. 2,. 2–5. Agni is styled by *ṛṣi* names such as Bhārgava, Cyavana &c. because fire was kindled by these ancient sages and oblations were thrown into it by them. The Adhvaryu recites the mantra अग्निर्वेधो होता देवान् यक्षद्विद्वाँश्चिकित्वान्मनुष्वद्भरतवत् and then recites the pravara of the *yajamāna* with '*vat*' added to each name and then proceeds ब्रह्मण्वद्वा च वक्षद् ब्राह्मणा अस्य यज्ञस्य प्राविताः (*vide* Śat. Br. I. 5, 1. 5–13, Āp. Śr. II. 16. 5–11). It is on account of this that the Saṃskāraratnamālā (p. 416) explains *pravara* as प्रव्रियन्ते अग्नेर्विशेषणत्वेनोत्कीर्त्यन्ते इति प्रवराः. The names of the ancient illustrious sages become the attributes of Fire that is invoked by the hotṛ.

I. 4. 2. 3–4 [1140] shows that the illustrious ancestors to be invoked were supposed to be related as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The Mahābhārata says that the original gotras were only four viz. Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu. [1141] The verses are rather abruptly introduced in the epic and there is nothing to show on what this statement was based and it appears that it is due to the imagination of the writer. Baud. as shown above states that the original gotras are eight. But it is remarkable that Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras (whose divisions and sub-divisions are many) are not included by him in these eight. Therefore, it appears that even Baudhāyana is not correctly stating the number of original gotras. Gautama and Bharadvāja are stated to be two out of the original eight, but both of them instead of being separately dealt with are grouped under the comprehensive Āṅgirasagaṇa. So even Baud. is not to be implicitly followed. The Bāḷambhaṭṭī mentions eighteen principal gotras (eight as in Baud. plus ten more some of which are names of mythical kings [1142]). Baud. himself says that there are millions of gotras and in the Baud. Pravarādhyāya there are over 500 names of gotra and pravara sages; while the Pravaramañjarī quotes a verse that 'there are three crores of them [1143] and so the gotra system is difficult to comprehend', and it mentions about 5000 gotras. Therefore, as the Smṛtyarthasāra says the nibandhas endeavour to place the innumerable gotras under groups and distribute them among 49 pravaras (mentioned by Baud.) [1144]. Some idea of these

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1140. अर्षार्षेयं प्रवृणीते। ..... परस्तादृर्वाक् प्रवृणीते परस्ताद्ध्यर्वाच्यः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते। ज्यायसस्पतय उ चैवैतं निह्नुते। इदं हि पितैवाग्रेऽथ पुत्रोथ पौत्रस्तस्मात्परस्तादृर्वाक् प्रवृणीते। शतपथ I. 4. 2. 3–4; compare कात्यायनश्रौत III. 2. 7–11 अथ प्रवृणीतेऽग्निर्देवो दैव्यो होता देवान्यक्षद्विद्वांश्चिकित्वान्मनुष्वद्भरतवदृसुवदृसुवादिति यजमानार्षेयाण्याह परस्तादृर्वाञ्चि त्रीणि। यावन्तो वा मन्त्रकृतः। पुरोहितार्षेयेण वा। क्षत्रियवैश्ययोश्च नित्यम्। मनुवदिति वा सर्वेषाम्।

1141. मूलगोत्राणि चत्वारि सप्तोत्पन्नानि पार्थिव। अङ्गिराः कश्यपश्चैव वसिष्ठो भृगुरेव च॥ कर्मतोन्यानि गोत्राणि सप्तोत्पन्नानि पार्थिव। नामधेयानि तपसा तानि च ग्रहणं सताम्॥ शान्तिपर्व 297. 17–18.

1142. अथ संग्रहव्युक्तसंग्रह उच्यते। जामदग्न्यो वीतहव्यो वैन्यो गृत्समदाह्वयः वाध्र्यश्वो गौतमाख्यश्च भरद्वाजाह्वयः कपिः॥ हारीतो मौद्गल्यकण्वौ विरूपो विष्णुवृद्धकः। अत्रिविश्वामित्रकौ च वसिष्ठः कश्यपाह्वयः॥ अगस्त्यश्चेति मुनयो ह्यष्टादशगणाः स्मृताः बालम्भट्टी on मिता० on या. I. 53 (p. 176, ed. by Gharpure).

1143. 'गोत्राणां कोटिसंख्यात्रितयमितमितां दुर्ग्रहत्वाच्च तस्मात्। प्रवरमञ्जरी p. 2.

1144. मुनिप्रणीतप्रवरैरूनपञ्चाशता वयम्। अनन्तान्यपि गोत्राणि वर्गीकृत्याभिदध्महे॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15.

gotras and their distribution among the pravaras is given below. The appendix under note No. 1144 collects together the 49 pravara groups.

The Bhṛgugaṇa and the Aṅgirogaṇa are very extensive. The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again towfold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas); the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are fivefold viz. Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrayus, Vainyas and Śunakas (these latter five are called *kevala Bhrgus*). Under each of these sub-divisions there are many gotras, on the names and number of which the sūtrakāras are not agreed. The pravara of Jāmadagnya Vatsas is constituted by five sages according to Baud. and by three according to Kātyāyana. The pravara of the Bidas and the Ārṣṭiṣeṇas also has five sages.[1145] These three (viz. Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas) are styled *pañcāvattin* (Baud. 5) and they cannot inter-marry (the reason will be explained below). The five non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus have each of them numerous sub-divisions. These divisions of Bhṛgus are given here according to Baud. Āp. has only six of them (and not seven as he excludes Bidas from this group). According to Kātyāyana, Bhṛgus have twelve sub-divisions (vide Sam. Pr. p. 625).

The Aṅgirogaṇa has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and kevalāṅgirases; out of whom Gautamas have seven sub-divisions, Bharadvājas have four (Raukṣāyaṇas, Gargas, Kapis and Kevala-Bharadvājas), and Kevala-Āṅgirases have six sub-divisions and each of these again is sub-divided into numerous gotras. This is according to Baud. Other sūtrakāras differ as to the subdivisions. Atri (one of the eight primary gotras) is subdivided into four (Atris proper, Vādbhūtakas, Gaviṣṭhiras, Mudgalas). Viśvāmitra is sub-divided into ten, which are further sub-divided into 72 gotras. Kaśyapas are subdivided into Kaśyapas, Nidhruvas, Rebhas, and Śaṇḍilas. Vasiṣṭha has four sub-divisions (Vasiṣṭhas with one pravara only, Kuṇḍinas, Upamanyus and Parāśaras) which are further subdivided into 105 gotras. Agastya has three sub-divisions (Agastyas, Somavāhas and Yajñavāhas), the first of which is further sub-divided into twenty gotras.

1145. इत्येते वत्साः। तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वजामदग्न्येति होता जमदग्निर्ववूर्ववदृमवानवच्च्यवनवद्भृगुवदित्यध्वर्युः। बौ. (3); इत्येते विदास्तेषां पञ्चार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानौर्वभैदेति होता विदृववूर्ववदृमवानवच्च्यवनवद्भृगुवदित्यध्वर्युः। बौ. (4); आर्ष्टिषेणानां भार्गवच्यावनाप्नवानार्ष्टिषेणानूपेति। आश्व० (also बौ. 5.)

When it is said that marriage with a sagotra or a sapravara girl is forbidden, each of these is separately an obstacle to marriage. Therefore, a girl, though not sapravara, may be yet sagotra and so ineligible for marriage or though not sagotra may yet be sapravara and not eligible. For example, the gotras of Yaska, Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka are different, yet a marriage between persons belonging to these gotras is not possible, because the pravara of all these is the same, viz. 'Bhārgava-Vaitahavya-Sāvetasa-iti'.[1146] So also though the gotras Saṁkṛti, Pūtimāṣa, Taṇḍi, Śambu and Śaṁgava are different, there can be no marriage between them as the pravara is the same, viz. 'Āṅgirasa, Gaurivīta, Sāṁkṛtya' (acc. to Āśv. Śrauta). When it is said that samānapravaras cannot marry, sameness may be due to only one sage being the same in the pravaras of two gotras or there may be two or three or more sages that are common. The general rule is that if even one sage is the same[1147] in the pravaras of two different gotras, then they are sapravara, except in the case of the Bhṛgu group and the group of Aṅgirases. In these two latter unless there are at least three sages common (when the pravara is constituted by five sages) or at least two sages are common (when pravara consists of only three sages), there is no sapravaratva and no bar to marriage. It will be noticed that among the five pravara sages of the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas quoted above there are three sages that are common and so they cannot inter-marry.

Though the vast majority of gotras have three pravara sages, a few have only one pravara sage or two sages or five. Those who have only one sage are Mitrayus (pravara Vādhryaśva according to Āśv.), the Vasiṣṭhas (other than Kuṇḍina, Parāśara and Upamanyu) have only one pravara Vāsiṣṭha, the Śunakas have one pravara Gṛtsamada (according to Āśv.) or Śaunaka or Gārtsamada (according to Baud. 9); the Agastis have one pravara Āgastya (according to Āp. Sr. 24. 10. 9); Āśv. optionally allows three pravaras to Mitrayus (Bhārgava-Daivodāsa-Vādhryaśva) and to Śunakas (viz. Bhārgava-

1146. आश्वलायनश्रौत says 'यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकशार्करक्षिसार्ष्टिसावर्णिशालंकायन-जैमिनि-दैवन्त्यायनानां भार्गवैतहव्यसावेतसेति।; vide also स्मृतिच० I. p. 68, मदनपारिजात p. 138.

1147. द्व्यार्षेयसंनिपातेऽविवाहद्व्यार्षेयाणां त्र्यार्षेयसंनिपातेऽविवाहः पञ्चार्षेयाणाम्। असमानप्रवरैर्विवाहः। एक एव ऋषिर्यावत्प्रवरेष्वनुवर्तते। तावत्समानगोत्रत्वमन्यत्र भृग्वङ्गिरसां गणात्। इति। पञ्चानां त्रिषु सामान्यादविवाहस्त्रिषु द्वयोः। भृग्वाङ्गिरोगणेष्वेव शेषेष्वेकापि वारयेत्। चौ. (प्रवराध्याय 2).

Śaunahotra-Gārtsamada) and Āp. also allows to Agastis three pravaras (Viz. Āgastya-Dārdhacyuta-Aidmavāha-iti). According to Āp. and the purāṇas, Dhāpayantas have two pravaras (Vaiśvāmitra-Pauraṇa-iti), Aṣṭakas Lohitas have two (Vaiśvāmitra-Āṣṭaka iti), and Śaṇḍilas also have two (Daivala-Asita iti). But he says that according to some the latter have three pravaras also (Kāśypa-Daivala-Asita-iti), while Baudhāyana gives four optional groups of three sages each for Śāṇḍilas (Baud. 43). For Vāri-Dhāpayantas Āśv. prescribes three only (Vaiśvāmitra-Devarāta-Pauraṇa) and also for the Aṣṭakas. According to Baud. the Vatsas, Bidas and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas (among the Bhṛgus) have five pravara sages; so also among Aṅgirases, the Kaumaṇḍas, Dīrghatamasas, Raukṣāyaṇas and Gargas have five pravara sages, though the last have optionally three also.

The Āp. śr.[1148] (24. 5 6) says 'the sages to be invoked were to be three and they were to be seers of mantras'. It is therefore that the number of pravara sages is limited; there was no such requirement for a gotra and so gotras multiplied to an unlimited extent.

There are certain families that are dvigotras (i. e. have two gotras). Āśv. uses the word 'dvipravācanāḥ' for them[1149]. They are principally three viz. Śauṅga-śaiśiris, Saṁkṛtis and Laugāksis. From a Śuṅga, a sub-division of Bharadvāja gotra, was born a son to the wife of a Śaiśiri, a sub-division of Viśvāmitra (by *niyoga*); the son, therefore, came to be called Śauṅga-Śaiśiri. Therefore Śauṅga-Śaiśiris cannot marry in both Bharadvāja and Viśvāmitra gotras. Their pravaras are given below[1150]. They have to select one pravara sage from one gotra and two from the other gotra or two from the first and three from the other. A pravara of four sages is not allowed nor of one beyond five. For the other dvigotras, the Saṁ. K. (pp. 682-686), Nirṇayasindhu p. 300 ff. may be consulted. In the case of the adopted son also, on the analogy of the Śauṅga-śaiśiris,

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1148. त्रिन्वृणीते मन्त्रकृतो वृणीते यथर्षि मन्त्रकृतो वृणीत इति विज्ञायते । आप. श्रौ. 24. 5-6.

1149. अथ य एते द्विप्रवाचनाः यथैतच्छौङ्गशैशिरयः । भरद्वाजा ह शुङ्गाः कताः शैशिरयः । आश्व. श्रौ. (Uttaraṣaṭka VI).

1150. According to आश्व. the प्रवर of शौङ्गशैशिरि is आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाजकात्यात्कीलेति । According to others it is आङ्गिरसबार्हस्पत्य-भारद्वाज-शौङ्गशैशिरेति or they are only त्रिप्रवर, आङ्गिरसकात्यात्कीलेति । vide सं. प्र. p. 642 and सं. कौ. p. 682.

both gotras and the pravaras of both gotras have to be considered and the dictum of Manu (IX. 142) that 'the son given does not share the gotra and inheritance of the genitive father and the *svadhā* (śrāddhas etc.) of the giver ceases', is restricted only to matters of inheritance, śrāddha and the like and does not apply to marriage.[1151]

A few words must be said about the gotra and pravara of kings and other kṣatriyas. It appears from the Ait.Br. quoted above (p. 488) that in the case of kṣatriyas the pravara of their *purohita* was employed in religious acts where pravara had to be recited. This leads to the inference that most kṣatriyas had forgotten their gotras and pravaras by that time. The Śrauta sūtras allow[1152] an option to ksatriyas (to kings according to Āśv.). 'They may employ the pravara of their purohitas or all kṣatriyas may employ the same pravara viz. Mānava-Aila-Paurūravasa-iti'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 5 states that the distinctions of gotras and pravaras concern primarily brāhmaṇas alone and not kṣatriyas and vaiśyas and quotes Āśv. Śr. (I. 3) in support. The Mit. and other nibandhakāras rely on the first alternative mentioned in the sūtras and say that in marriages of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas should be considered, as they have no specific gotras of their own[1153]. This is carrying the doctrine of *atideśa* (extension) too far or with a vengeance. The Sam. K. (pp. 689–690) assigns reasons for this attitude of the Mit. but they are not satisfactory. Ancient literature and epigraphic records show that kings had gotras of their own. In the Mahābhārata it is said that when Yudhiṣṭhira

1151. उक्तं च पारिजाते संग्रहे-द्वयामुष्यायणका ये च दत्तकक्रीतकादयः। गोत्रद्वये-प्यनुद्वाह्याः शौङ्गशैशिरयो तथा॥ तथा नारायणवृत्तौ। दत्तक्रीतादीनां जनकपालकयोर्गोत्र-निषेधः शौङ्गशैशिरस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वादिति। सं. कौ. p. 688; विवाहे तु दत्तकमात्रेण बीजि-प्रतिग्रहीत्रोः पित्रोर्गोत्रप्रवरवर्जनं कार्यम्। प्रवरमञ्जर्यादिनिबन्धेषु तन्निषेधोक्तेः। सं. कौ. p. 182; compare सं. प्र. pp. 656–657, संस्काररत्नमाला pp. 451–456 (where the rules about marriage, āśauca and offering of piṇḍa as to adopted sons are considered).

1152. पुरोहितप्रवरो राज्ञाम्। अथ यदि सार्षं प्रवृणीरन् मानवैलपौरूरवसेति। आश्व. श्रौ.; अथ क्षत्रियाणाम्। यद्यह सार्षं प्रवृणीरन्नेक एवैषां प्रवरः मानवैडपौरूरवसेति। पुरूरवो-वदिडावन्मनुवदिति। आप. श्रौ. 24. 10. 11–12; क्षत्रियाणां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति मानवैडपौरूरवसेति होता पुरू ... ... मनुवदित्यध्वर्युः। ..... क्षत्रियवैश्यानां पुरोहितप्रवरो भवतीति विज्ञायते। वौ. (प्रवराध्याय 52–54).

1153. यद्यपि राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात्प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ। तथा च 'यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीते' इत्युक्त्वा 'पौरोहित्यान्राजन्यविशां प्रवृणीते' इत्याहाश्वलायनः। मिता० on या. I. 52. The quotation is from आश्व. श्रौ. I. 3. The मिता० passage is quoted in the उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

went to the court of Virāṭa in the guise of a brāhmaṇa and was asked by the king to state his gotra he said that he was of the Vaiyāghrapadya gotra (Virāṭa-parva 7. 8–12). That this was the gotra of the Pāṇḍavas also follows from the fact that in the Bhīṣmatarpaṇa[1154] that is performed on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha, Bhīṣma's gotra is given as Vaiyāghrapāda or-padya and pravara as Sāṁkṛti. Jaimini (VI. 6. 12-15) establishes that the Kulāyayajña was to be performed jointly by a king and his purohita (and so they could use different pravaras it appears). The Pallavas of Kāñcī had Bhāradvāja as their gotra (vide E. I. vol. I p. 5). The Cālukyas are often described as 'mānavya-gotra' (vide E. I. vol. VI. p. 337). In a copper-plate grant of Jayacandradeva (dated saṁvat 1233 i. e. 1176 A. D.) the donee was a kṣatriya described as Rāuta-śrī-Rājyadharavarman of the Vatsa gotra and of five pravaras viz. Bhārgava-Cyavana-Apnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya.[1155] In the Garra (Bundelkhand) plate of the Candella king Trailokyavarma of Kālañjara a village is granted to Rāuta Sāmanta of the Bhāradvāja gotra in recognition of his father's death in battle with the Turuṣkas (E. I. vol. 16, p. 274).

In many inscriptions and copper-plate grants hundreds of donees with their gotras and pravaras occur and it would be an interesting study to compare the latter with the material derived from the sūtras and nibandhas. For example, vide E. I. vol. 19, pp. 115–117 and 248–250 for about 205 donees and their gotras in the plates of Bhāskaravarman, E. I. vol. 14, p. 202ff (500 donees with gotras in the time of Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla, *saṁvat* 1150), E. I. vol. 13 p. 237, E. I. vol. 8 pp. 316–317 (*śake* 1346), E. I. vol. 9 p. 103 (32 donees with gotras, pravaras, śākhās &c.), E. I. vol 12 pp. 163–167 (120 donees with gotras, *śake* 1508), Gupta Ins. No. 55 Chammak plate of Pravarasena &c. Even the Buddhists kept the system of gotras (vide E. I. vol. 10, Lüder's list, No. 158).

According to Āp. Śr. the vaiśyas had[1156] a single pravara 'Vātsapra', while according to Baud. they had three, *viz.*

1154. The मन्त्र in the भीष्मतर्पण is वैयाघ्रपादगोत्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय च। गङ्गापुत्राय भीष्माय प्रदास्येहं तिलोदकम्। अपुत्राय ददाम्येतत्सलिलं भीष्मवर्मणे । स्मृतिच० I. p. 198 ; vide also कृत्यरत्नाकर pp. 509–10.

1155. *Vide* I. A. vol 18 pp. 136–138.

1156. एकार्षेया विशः। वात्सप्रेति होता। वत्सप्रवद्वित्यध्वर्युः। आप. 24. 10. 16; वैश्यानां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भालन्दनवात्सप्रमाङ्क्तिलेति होता। माङ्क्तिलवद्वत्सप्रवद्भालन्दनवदित्यध्वर्युः। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 53).

Bhālandana-Vātsapra-Māṅktila'. They could also employ the pravara of their purohitas. The Saṁ. Pr. (p. 659) says that Bhālandana is the gotra of vaiśyas.

If a person does not know his own gotra and pravara he should take those of his ācārya (teacher of Veda), according to Āp.[1157] Though he takes his teacher's gotra, it is only the teacher's daughter that is forbidden to him in marriage and not other girls of the same gotra as the ācārya's. Both Saṁ. K. and Saṁ. Pr. (p. 650) quote a verse that when one does not know one's gotra one should call oneself of Kāśyapa gotra. This is so when he does not know even his teacher's gotra. The Sm. C. (śrāddha section p. 481) says that this is so even when one does not know the gotra of one's maternal grand-father (i.e. he should offer piṇḍa with Kāśyapa gotra to his maternal grand-father).

The word gotra also came to mean any family name (surname). In the inscriptions we find this usage very often. For example, in the Bannahaḷḷi plate of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarma II (E. I. vol. VI, p. 18) a śreṣṭhin (a merchant) is said to have been of the Tuṭhiyalla gotra and pravara. The Reḍḍi king (a śūdra) Allaya Vema of Rajahmundry was said to have been of the Polvola gotra (E. I. vol, XIII. p. 237, of *śake* 1356).

A few interesting matters about pravaras are noted below. It is noteworthy that even as to the same gotra, there is great divergence among the sūtrakāras about the sages constituting the pravara e. g. as to Śāṇḍilyagotra. Āśv. gives two groups of the sages 'Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti' or 'Kāśyapa-Asita-Daivala-iti', but Āp. states his own view that there are only two sages in the pravara viz. 'Daivala-Asita iti' and that some say they are three, Kāśyapa-Daivala-Asita-iti; while Baud. states four groups, 'Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Daivala-iti, Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Asita-iti; Śāṇḍila-Asita-Daivala-iti; Kāśyapa-Avatsāra-Śāṇḍila-iti.' No adequate reasons can be given why even at so early an age as the sūtras, not only the order of the names in the pravara, but the very names in the pravara and their number should have varied so much. Baud.[1158] (pravarādhyāya sec. 44) notes that

1157. अथासंप्रज्ञातबन्धुराचार्यासुष्यायणमनुप्रवर्तिताचार्यप्रवरं प्रवृणीत । आप. श्रौ. 24. 10. 17.

1158. इत्येते लोकाक्षयोऽहर्वसिष्ठा नक्तं काश्यपास्तेषां ज्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति काश्यपावत्सारवासिष्ठेति होता काश्यपावत्सारासितेति वा । बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 44). वसिष्ठैः काश्यपैर्नित्यं लौगाक्षीणामनन्वयः । अहर्वसिष्ठोक्तिस्तु प्रयाजाद्यादिगोचरा ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 15, अथ वीतहव्या यास्कवाधूलमौनमौकाः । तेषां ज्यार्षेयः । भार्गव-वैतहव्य-सावेदसेति ।... अथ वैन्याः पार्थाः तेषां ज्यार्षेयः । भार्गववैन्यपार्थेति । आप. श्रौ. 24. 6. 1-2 and 7-8.

the Laugākṣis (or Laukākṣis) are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night and their pravaras also show this double relationship. The Smṛtyarthasāra says that this picturesque description of them has reference to the *prayājas* and the like i. e. by day they follow the procedure of prayājas peculiar to Vasiṣṭhas and by night that peculiar to the Kaśyapas.

Among the gotras there are names of mythical kṣatriyas and kings like Vītahavya and Vainya and among the names of pravara sages many legendary kings like Māndhātṛ, Ambarīṣa, Yuvanāśva, Divodāsa appear. Vītahavya figures even in the Ṛgveda as closely connected with the Bhṛgus (Ṛg. VI. 15. 2-3). In the Mahābhārata it is narrated that Vītahavya, being a king, attacked Divodāsa, whose son Pratardana pursued Vītahavya, whereupon Vītahavya took shelter with Bhṛgu and that when Pratardana asked Bhṛgu whether there was any kṣatriya in the hermitage, Bhṛgu replied that there were all brāhmaṇas and that by this Vītahavya became a brāhmaṇa (Anuśāsana chap. 30).

Similarly the pravara of the Hārītas is either Āṅgirasa-Ambarīṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti or Māndhātṛ-Ambarīṣa-Yauvanāśva-iti. These are mythical royal sages. Among[1159] the Bhṛgus is a sub-division called Vainya which is further subdivided into Pārthas and Bāskalas. The story of Pṛthu who milked the earth is well-known (Droṇa-parva 69); he is called 'ādirāja' in Anuśāsana 166. 55. The Vāyupurāṇa in several places narrates that some kṣatriyas became the pravaras of brāhmaṇas. Vide chap. 88. 72-79, (about Viṣṇuvṛddha,[1160] who was descended from Purukutsa, whose son was Trasadasyu), chap. 88. 6-7, 92. 6, 99. 158-161, 99. 169-170 (Ānan. ed.) for other examples[1161]. How and why kṣatriya names were adopted as brahmanical pravaras is obscure and difficult to understand. If one may hazard a guess, it is probably due to the fact that the purāṇas retain very ancient traditions of times when there were no water-tight varṇas and that ancient kings were learned in the

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1159. वैन्याः पार्था बाष्कलास्तेषां त्र्यार्षेयः प्रवरो भवति भार्गववैन्यपार्थेति होता। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 8).

1160. The प्रवर of विष्णुवृद्धगोत्र is आङ्गिरसपौरुकुत्सत्रासदस्यवेति (vide Baud. sec. 20).

1161. अम्बरीषस्तु नाभागिर्विरूपस्तस्य चात्मजः। पृषदश्वो विरूपस्य तस्य पुत्रो रथीतरः। एते क्षत्रप्रसूता वै पुनश्चाङ्गिरसः स्मृताः। रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः॥ वायु 88. 6-7.

Vedic lore and maintained śrauta fires also, became famous as sages in whose name fire was to be invoked to carry offerings to Gods even by brāhmaṇas who came ages after them.

The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus: Gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while pravara is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the gotra sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone.

It has been seen (pp.437–38) that marriage between parties that are sagotra or sapravara is no marriage and the woman does not become the man's wife. What were the consequences of such a void union? Baud.[1162] (pravarādhyāya 54) says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl he should undergo the penance of cāndrāyaṇa, after that he should not abandon the woman, but should only maintain her as if she were a mother or a sister; if a child is born it does not incur sin and it should take the gotra of Kaśyapa. Aparārka quotes (p. 80) Sumantu and another smṛti to the effect that if a person inadvertently marries a sagotra or samāna-pravara woman he should give up intercourse with her, should maintain her and undergo cāndrāyaṇa.[1163] But if he knowingly marries a sagotra or sapravara girl the penance was heavier (viz. that for incest) and if he has intercourse with her or begets a child from her he loses his caste and the child will be a cāṇḍāla[1164]. The rule of Baud. that there would be no blemish and the child will be of Kaśyapa gotra is restricted to inadvertently marrying such a girl.[1165] The Sam. Pr. quotes a verse of Kātyāyana to the effect that if a marriage is gone

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1162. सगोत्रां गत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेद् व्रते परिनिष्ठिते ब्राह्मणीं न त्यजेन्मातृवद्भगिनीवद् गर्भो न दुष्यति कश्यप इति विज्ञायते। बौ. (प्रवराध्याय 54).

1163. परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा। त्यागं कृत्वा द्विजस्तस्यास्ततश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ ..... त्यागश्चोपभोगस्य न तु तस्याः। यथाह सुमन्तुः। मातुलसुतां पैतृष्वसेयीं समानार्षगोत्रां च परिणीय चान्द्रायणं चरेत्। परित्यज्यैनां बिभृयादिति। एतच्चामतिपूर्वे वेदितव्यम्। अपरार्क p. 80. The verse परिणीय is ascribed to ज्ञातातप by सं. प्र. p. 680 and other writers; सुमन्तु is quoted in उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 111.

1164. समानगोत्रप्रवरां कन्यामुद्वोपगम्य च। तस्यामुत्पाद्य चण्डालं ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted in सं. प्र. p. 680 and उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 112.

1165. यदि काश्चिज्ज्ञानतस्तां कन्यामुद्वापि गच्छति। गुरुतल्पव्रताच्छुध्येद्गर्भस्तज्जोम्स्यत व्रजेत्॥ भोगतस्तां परित्यज्य पालयेज्जननीमिव। अज्ञानादैन्द्वैः शुध्येच्चिभिर्गर्भस्तु कश्यपः स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 16.

through with a sagotra, the girl may be again given in marriage to another. But the Sam. Pr. gets rid of that inconvenient text by saying that it does not apply to the present age. So the poor girl for no fault of hers had to pass her whole life in enforced celibacy, being neither an unmarried woman nor a widow.[1166]

Questions about the validity of sagotra or sapravara marriages have not yet come before the courts; but it is likely that in the near future courts will have to deal with such cases. If a marriage takes place under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 (as amended in 1923) no difficulty will arise; but recently several marriages have been celebrated under the old *Śāstric* procedure between persons who are sagotra or sapravara. Upon the strict letter of the dharmaśāstra texts such marriages are absolutely void. But it seems that the legislature should intervene and declare sagotra and sapravara marriages valid. Whatever may have been the case thousands of years ago when there were no means of communication and when there were small communities, the prohibition of sagotra relationship had some plausibility and real feeling of close kinship about it; but now the prohibition has become meaningless. A man from Kashmir may marry a girl from Madras and the parents of both may have the same gotra. Granting for argument that the gotra sage was a common ancestor, one does not know how many generations have intervened between that remote ancestor and the intending spouses and particles of the ancestor's body, if they have survived at all in the intending spouses of the same gotra, must be in the present generation in the most attenuated state. The prohibitions based upon gotra and pravara are said by orthodox people to be prescribed upon unseen (adṛṣṭa) grounds and so they argue that they must be held to be absolute and not admitting of any evasion by any one calling himself a Vedic Hindu. One may be permitted to reply to these people that when almost every-body has given up the ancient cult of the śrauta and gṛhya fires and when hundreds of other innovations in ancient practices have been accepted without demur, there is hardly any justification for sticking to this one remnant of ancient practices. As a matter of fact many brāhmaṇas now do not remember their pravara themselves but have to be told by the priests what their pravara is. Certain prohibitions against

1166. विकर्मस्थः सगोत्रो वा दासो दीर्घामयोऽपि वा। ऊढापि देया सान्यस्मै समाचरणभूषणा। इति कात्यायनीयं सगोत्रोढायाः पुनर्विवाहस्मरणं तद्युगान्तरविषयम्। सं. प्र. p. 681.

marriage between near sapiṇḍa relations may be respected on account of their universal acceptance. Even the Special Marriage Act of 1872 prescribes that there can be no marriage between parties when they trace descent to a common ancestor who is the great-grandfather or great-grandmother (or who is nearer even than these) of any one of them.

Sagotra relationship is in one direction wider than sapiṇḍa relationship and narrower than it in another so far as marriage is concerned. A man cannot marry the daughter of any sagotra, however distant the sagotra may be. Similarly even an adopted man cannot marry the daughter of a sagotra of his genitive father for two reasons, firstly because, though on adoption he becomes severed from his natural family for inheritance and offering of piṇḍa (vide Manu IX. 142), his other relationships with the natural family remain intact; and secondly because Manu (III. 5) says that the girl must not be a sagotra of the bridegroom's father (and so even if by adoption a man goes into another gotra, it is the father's gotra that is to be considered). Sapiṇḍa relationship prohibiting marriage extends only to seven or five generations, but prohibitions on the ground of sagotra relationship extend to any number of generations. On the other hand sapiṇḍas may be either of the same gotra(i. e. sagotra) or of a different gotra (i.e. bhinnagotra). Thus up to a certain limit sapiṇḍas include both *sagotras* and *bhinnagotras*. The latter are called bandhus by the Mit.; they are all cognate relations and have an important place in inheritance. We have seen (p. 436–37) that sagotra marriages were totally forbidden in the sūtras (in the śrauta sūtras like Lāṭyāyana śrauta and in gṛhya and dharma sūtras). A passage of the Śat. Br. (quoted above at p. 461) is relied upon by Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index vol. I. p. 236) for holding that marriages within the third and fourth degrees on both maternal and paternal sides were allowed in the days of the Śatapatha and that therefore a man could marry in those days his paternal uncle's daughter. This latter is a startling proposition. The passage in the Śat. Br. is no doubt expressed in general words ('one may be united in the third or fourth generation'). But that passage is generally applicable even if only a marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter is meant. The passage does not expressly allow paternal cousins' marriages. The dharma-sūtras prohibit sagotra marriages. Both the learned Professors, as most western scholars do, probably hold that

the Śatapatha is not separated from the sūtras by more than a few centuries. If a paternal uncle's daughter had been eligible for marriage in the times of the Śatapatha, but became forbidden in the times of the sūtras we shall have to suppose that an usage died out from one end of the country to another and an opposite usage became prevalent throughout within a few centuries. The smṛtis are not afraid of stating ancient practices which they themselves do not accept (i. e. *niyoga*). The smṛtis do not say that marriages with paternal uncle's daughters were ever allowed anywhere. So it appears that the Śatapatha is not referring to marriage with paternal uncle's daughter, but to marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. It must however be pointed out that Aparārka (pp. 15. 63), the Sm. C. (I. p. 12), Par. M. I. part 1 p. 133 and other digests quote a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa [1167] that sagotra and sapiṇḍa marriages are forbidden in the Kali age. It may be argued with some force that this implies that sagotra marriages once took place. But there are various ways of explaining this. It is possible that in the purāna the word gotra is not used in the technical sense, but only in the sense of family or surname. Among śūdras there is no gotra in the strict sense, but they also do not marry a girl who is believed to be of the same family, though the exact relationships or generations are not known. Besides it has been shown above that if a woman was a putrikā or married in the Gāndharva or Āsura form she retained the gotra of her father and the son of the putrikā would have the gotra of his maternal grand-father and yet being of a different family his marriage with the daugther of a sagotra of the maternal grand-father might have taken place in ancient times and was forbidden in the Kali age by the purāṇa. Similarly the implied reference to marriages of sapiṇḍas as taking place in former ages has probably marriage with maternal uncle's daughter in view. When in the kalivarjya texts it is said 'these dharmas are declared to be prohibited by the sages in the Kali age' (vide Vyavahāra-mayūkha p. 242), it is not proper to argue that everyone of the practices forbidden in the kali age was valid in former ages. All that is meant seems to be that most of them were allowed in former ages and these along with others enumerated are not to be practised in the Kali age, just

1167. सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा। नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in अपरार्क pp. 15 and 63 &c.

as when in a crowd many have umbrellas and a few have not, a speaker still says with reference to the whole crowd 'chatriṇo gacchanti' (here go persons with umbrellas).

There are certain other prohibitions about marriage. The Smṛtimuktāphala [1168] quotes a verse of Hārīta that one should not give one's daughter in exchange to another's son and receive that other's daughter in marriage for one's son, one should not give two daughters to the same man (at the same time), nor should one give one's two daughters to two persons who are brothers. But these dicta will now certainly be held as merely recommendatory. Besides there is no objection in India in modern times to marrying the deceased wife's sister, though even in England the deceased wife's sister could not be married until 1907 (when the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act, 1907, Edw. 7 chap. 47 legalised such marriages).

The next question is as to who have power to arrange for the marriage of a girl and to give her away. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (24. 38–39) specifies the order of persons who are entitled to exercise this right of guardianship in marriage 'the father, the paternal grand-father, a brother, a kinsman, a maternal grand-father and the mother are the persons, by whom the girl may be given away in marriage. In the absence of the preceding one (the right) devolves upon the next in order, in case he is able'. Yāj. (I. 63–64) gives a slightly different order viz. he omits the maternal grand-father and adds that the right can be exercised only when the guardian is not affected by lunacy and similar defects and that in the absence of these the girl should perform svayaṁvara (i. e. choose a husband herself). Nārada [1169]

1168. मत्युद्वाहो नैव कार्यो नैकस्मै दुहितृद्वयम् । न चैकजातयोः पुंसोः प्रयच्छेदुहितृद्वयम् ॥ स्मृतिषु. (वर्णाश्रमधर्म p. 148); vide also सं. प्र. 725–26 quoting प्रयोगपारिजात for similar verses; सं. कौ. p. 694 quotes almost the same verse as नारद's. We know from the Māhābhārata Ādiparva that Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī for his *protégé* Vicitravīrya and got two of them married to him. Similarly the Sinda chief Cāvuṇḍa appears to have married Lakṣmādevī and Siriyādevī, the two daughters of Kalacurya Bijjala, at the same time (E. I. vol. 20 pp. 109, 111, dated śake 1109).

1169. पिता दद्यात्स्वयं कन्यां भ्राता वाज्ञमते पितुः । पितामहो मातुलश्च सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा ॥ माता स्वभावे सर्वेषां प्रकृतौ यदि वर्तते । तस्यामप्रकृतिस्थायां दद्युः कन्यां समाभयः । यदि तु नैव कश्चित्स्याात्कन्या राजानमाश्रयेत् । अज्ञया तस्य वरं प्रतीत्य वरयेत्स्वयम् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 20–22).

(strīpuṁsa verses 20–22) gives the order as father, brother (with father's consent), paternal grand-father, maternal uncle, agnates, cognates, mother (if sound in mind and body), then distant relations, then the maiden may perform svayaṁvara with the king's permission. To give away a girl in marriage was not only a right but was rather a heavy responsibility, as (Yāj. I. 64) and others declare that if a girl is not got married by the guardian at the proper time the latter incurs the sin of the murder of an embryo. The practice of svayaṁvara is well known from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, but it was confined mostly to the princely families. Manu (IX. 90–91) required a girl to wait for three years after she became marriageable before she could choose her husband herself. But Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 40 says that a girl should wait only for three monthly periods after she attains puberty and that after that period she has full power to dispose of herself in marriage as she thinks best.

There are no rules in the smṛtis as to who is to arrange the marriage of a male, since in ancient times they did not contemplate the marriages of minor males.

The mother has been put low in the order of guardians probably because of the dependent status assigned to women and because of the fact that in the ceremony of *kanyādāna* she cannot personally engage but has to get it done through some male relative. The courts in modern India, however, have held that the mother is entitled to select a husband for her daughter even when the girl's paternal grand-father is living, though the actual gift may be made by a male. Vide *Bai Ramkore v. Jamnadas*, I. L. R. 37 Bom. 18, where Yāj. I. 63 is interpreted as only laying down who are to make a gift of the girl and as not intended to take away altogether the mother's right of selecting a bridegroom in favour of even distant relations. Vide also *Indi v. Ghania* (I. L. R. 1 Lahore 146), *Jawani v. Mula Ram* (I. L. R. 3 Lahore 29, where it was held that, after the father, the mother of a girl has the preferential right to select a bridegroom for her and that she is under no obligation to consult the girl's paternal kindred such as a paternal uncle), *Ranganaiki v. Ramanuja* I. L. R. 35 Mad. 728, (where all the authorities are examined). The Dharmasindhu states the important proposition that when the girl performs svayaṁvara or when the mother is to give away the girl in marriage, the girl or mother should perform the Nāndīśrāddha and the principal saṁkalpa is to be pronounced by her and the rest of the

rite is to be performed through a brāhmaṇa.[1170] Nārada states the general rule that if anything is done by one who is afflicted with lunacy or similar defects, what he does is as if not done. So a marriage settled even by the father if he is a lunatic need not be performed.[1171] If an unauthorized person (like a maternal uncle) were to give away a girl in marriage though her father is alive and fit, what is the result? The digests state[1171a] that if the marriage has been completed by the performance of *saptapadī*, it cannot be set aside merely on the ground of the want of authority in the giver, since marriage rites are the principal matter and the authority to give is a very subsidiary matter, the absence of which cannot affect the principal matter. But before the marriage takes place a person who wants to give away a girl, though persons better qualified exist, can be prevented from doing so. Courts in modern India have followed these rules, relying on the doctrine of '*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*' (what ought not to be done when done is valid) and holding that when once a marriage is duly solemnized and is otherwise valid, it is not rendered invalid because it was brought about without the consent of the proper guardian for marriage or in contravention of an express order of the court. Vide *Khushalchand v. Bai Mani* (I. L. R. 11 Bombay 247) and *Bai Diwali v. Moti* (I. L. R. 22 Bom. 509).

A few words must be said about the sale of girls in marriage. We read in the Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 10. 11 'she indeed commits falsehood (or sin) who being purchased by her husband roams about with other males.'[1172] There is another passage of the Veda relied upon along with the above by the *pūrvapakṣa* (the plausible view-point) in Jaimini (VI. 1. 10-11) which denies that women have a right to

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1170. कन्यास्वयंवरे मातुर्दातृत्वे च ताभ्यामेव नान्दीश्राद्धं कार्यं तत्र माता कन्या वा स्वयं प्रधानसङ्कल्पमात्रं कृत्वा अन्यद् ब्राह्मणद्वारा कारयेत्। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 251. These words are taken from the प्रयोगपारिजात; vide निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 306.

1171. यदाह नारदः। स्वतन्त्रोपि हि यत्कार्यं कुर्यादप्रकृतिं गतः। तदप्यकृतमेव स्याद्-स्वातन्त्र्यस्य हेतुतः॥ अपरार्क p. 92 on या. I. 63.

1171 a. यदि तु विवाहो निवृत्तस्तदा प्रधानस्य निष्पन्नत्वेनाधिकारवैकल्याच्च तस्य पुनरावृत्तिरिति। उद्धाहतत्त्व p. 127; यदि तु सप्तपदीविवाहहोमादि प्रधानं जातं तदङ्ग-वैकल्येनापि नावृत्तिर्विवाहस्य। गौडा अप्येवमाहुः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 307; vide also सं. र. मा. p. 497 to the same effect.

1172. ऋतं वै सत्यं यज्ञोऽवृतं स्त्री अवृतं वा एषा करोति या पत्युः क्रीता सत्यथा-न्यैश्चरति। मैत्रा. सं. I. 10. 11.

take part in Vedic sacrifices, viz. 'one should give to the daughter's father a hundred (cows) plus a chariot.' Jaimini replies (VI. 1. 15) that the giving of a hundred with a chariot is not for purchasing a bride, but it is only a duty and a hundred must be offered as a present (whether the girl is beautiful or not).[1173] This shows that, even if some girls were purchased for marriage in the times of the Maitrāyaṇīya S., there was a popular revulsion of sentiment about this practice and the sale of girls was severely condemned by the time of the sūtrakāras. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10–11) also makes interesting remarks on this point[1174] "there is no gift and the incidents of purchase about one's children; in marriage the gift ordained by Veda to be made to the daughter's father in the words 'therefore one should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot to the girl's father and that (gift) should be made to belong to the (married) couple' is due to the desire (of the father to give a status to the daughter and her sons) and is meant as a fulfilment of duty (and not as a sale transaction). The word 'purchase' applied to such a transaction is merely figurative, since the relationship (as husband and wife) arises (not from the so called purchase but) from *dharma*." Vas. Dh. S. (I. 36–37) quotes the two passages of the Veda (from Mait. S. and the other about the gift of one hundred cows) in support of the Mānuṣa (i. e. Āsura) form of marriage. The Nirukta VI. 9[1175] while explaining Ṛg. I. 109. 2 ('O Indra and Agni, I have heard you to be greater donors than a partially fit son-in-law or a brother-in-law') remarks that "the word 'vijāmātā' means among the southerners the husband of a woman who is purchased; what is meant is that he is a

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1173. शबर on जै. VI. 1. 10 puts the पूर्वपक्ष view as 'क्रयविक्रयसंयुक्ता हि स्त्रियः। पित्रा विक्रीयन्ते भर्त्रा क्रीयन्ते: ..... विक्रयो हि श्रूयते 'शतमतिरथं दुहितृमते दद्यात्।' &c. and on जै. VI. 1. 11 he says 'या पत्या क्रीता सत्यधान्यैश्चरतीति क्रीततां दर्शयति'. क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्। जै. VI. 1. 15; शबर 'यत्तु क्रयः श्रूयते धर्ममात्रं तु तत्। नासौ क्रय इति। ..... नियतं त्विदं दानम्। शतमतिरथं शोभनामशोभनां च कन्यां प्रति।'.

1174. दानं क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते। विवाहे दुहितृमते दानं कार्य्यं धर्मार्थं श्रूयते तस्माद् दुहितृमतेऽतिरथं शतं देयं तन्मिथुया कुर्यादिति तस्यां क्रयशब्दः संस्तुतिमात्रं धर्माद्धि संबन्धः। आप. ध. सूत्र. II. 6. 13. 10–11. The words तन्मिथुया कुर्यात् are translated in S.B.E. II. p. 132 as 'that gift he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver)'.

1175. अश्रवं हि भूरिदावत्तरा वां विजामातुरुत वा स्यालात्। (ऋ. I. 109. 2)... अश्रौषं हि बहुदातृतरौ वां विजामातुः असुसमासाज्जामातुः। विजामाता इति शश्वद् दाक्षिणाजाः क्रीतापतिमाचक्षते। असुसमास इव वरोऽभिप्रेतः। निरुक्त VI. 9.

bridegroom who is deficient and not endowed with all good qualities." So Yāska implies that in the south girls were sold for substantial sums of money to persons who (either because they were old or wanting in some qualities desirable in a good bridegroom) were therefore really deficient as bridegrooms. In the Nirukta (III. 4) while discussing the several views about the obscure verse of the Ṛgveda III. 31. 1 (śāsad-vahnir &c.) one of the reasons assigned for the view that women do not inherit is that gift, sale and abandonment in the case of women exist, but not in the case of men, to which some reply that these (gift, sale &c.) can be made of males also as is seen in the story of Śunaḥśepa (in the Ait. Br. 33, Tai S. V. 2. 1. 3, Tai. Br. I. 7. 10.).

These passages lead to the inference that in ancient times girls were sometimes purchased for marriage, as was the case in many other countries. But gradually public feeling entirely changed and not only was the sale of daughters by the father or brother severely condemned, but even taking of presents by them was looked down upon. Āp. Dh. S. has already been quoted above (note 1174). The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 11. 20-21)[1176] quotes two verses 'that woman who is purchased with wealth is not declared to be a legally wedded wife (a *patnī*); she is not (to be associated with the husband) in rites for the gods or manes and Kaśyapa declares that she is a *dāsī* (slave girl). Those, who, blinded by greed, give their daughters in marriage for a fee (*śulka*), are sinners, sellers of their own selves and perpetrators of great sin and they fall into hell &c.' In another place Baud. says 'he who gives his daughter (in marriage) by sale (as a chattel) sells his merit (*punya*)'. Manu (III. 51, 54-55) strikes[1177] a tender note about daughters when he says 'a father should not take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; if he takes a gratuity through greed he becomes the seller of his child; when relations do not take for themselves wealth given by the bridegroom as gratuity (but hand it over to the girl) there is no sale (of the girl); the wealth so taken is for

1176. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते । सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां कश्यपोब्रवीत् ॥ शुल्केन ये प्रयच्छन्ति स्वसुतां लोभमोहिताः । आत्मविक्रयिणो पापा महाकिल्बिषकारकाः ॥ पतन्ति नरके घोरे घ्नन्ति चासप्तमं कुलम् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 20-22; सुकृतांशान्वा एष विक्रीणीते यः पणमानोः दुहितरं ददाति । बो. ध. सू. II. 1. 79.

1177. अनुशासन 46. 2-3 are the same as मनु III. 54-55.

honouring the maidens and is only taken from the bridegroom out of loving concern for them. Fathers, brothers, husbands and brothers-in-law desiring their own welfare should honour women and should give them ornaments'. Manu (IX. 98) further recommends that 'even a śūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter (in marriage), since in taking a gratuity he clandestinely sells his daughter'. Yāj. III. 236, Manu XI. 61 include the sale of children among upapātakas. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 93. 133 and 94. 3) condemns the taking of a gratuity for giving a girl and Anuśāsana (45. 18-19) speaks of *gāthās* of Yama contained in dharma-śāstras 'whoever sells his son for a price, or gives a daughter for the sake of his own liveli-hood in return for a gratuity, would fall into a most horrible hell called Kālasūtra'. Verse 23 of the same chapter says 'even a stranger cannot be sold, what of one's own children'. Verse 20 (= Manu III. 53) condemns even the ārṣa form of marriage as a sale because a pair of cattle is therein taken by the girl's father. In Kerala or Malabar it is believed that the great teacher Śaṁkara laid down 64 *ācāras*, among which are prohibition of the sale of girls, prohibition of *satī* &c. *Vide* I. A. vol. IV, pp. 255-256 and also Atri v. 389 and Āp. (in verse) IX. 25 (ed. by Jivānanda). This practice, however, persisted till modern times. For example, in an inscription dated about 1425 [1178] A. D. from Paḍaivīḍu (North Arcot District) we find an agreement signed by the representatives of Karṇāṭa, Tamil, Telugu and Lāṭa (South Gujarat) brāhmaṇas that they would give up taking gold for their daughters and get them married by the simple *kanyādāna* (the Brāhma form) and that the father who accepted gold and the bridegroom who paid gold were to be punished by the king and were to be excommunicated from the brāhmaṇa caste. The Peshwa[1179] issued orders (about 1800 A. D.) addressed to the brāhmaṇas of Wai (in the Satara District) forbidding them to take money for giving their daughters in marriage and prescribing fines for the father

1178. *Vide* South Indian Inscriptions (ed. by Hultzsch, 1890) No. 56.

1179. Vide काव्येतिहाससंग्रह, पत्रें यादी No. 145, pp. 121-122 (of first edition) and No. 470 p 425 (of the 2nd edition of 1930). The most important portion is set out here 'प्रान्त वाई येथें ब्राह्मण ज्ञातींत कोणी कन्येचे रुपये घेऊन विवाह करूं नये, जो कन्येचा ऐवज घेईल त्याजपासून दुप्पट व जो देईल त्यानें कन्येचे बापास रुपये दिले असतील तितके व मध्यस्ती करून पैका घेईल तो ऐवज त्याजपासून सरकारांत घेतला जाईल. यामध्यें ज्ञातीस व जमीदार व धर्माधिकारी व उपाध्ये जोशी व पाटील कुलकर्णी यांस लिहून ताकीद करावी'.

who took money, for the giver and the intermediary who brought about the marriage. Among certain castes and among the śūdras even now money or money's worth is often taken when a daughter is married, but generally the money is meant as a provision for the girl and for defraying the expenses of the girl's father.

The question of the sale of girls in marriage has been from the remotest ages bound up with the question of the father's power over his children Rg. I. 116. 16[1180] and I. 117. 17 refer to the story of Ṛjrāśva who was deprived of his eye-sight by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. The verses refer to some natural phenomena under a metaphorical garb and cannot be used for drawing the inference that a father could in law deprive his son of eye-sight at his will. The story of Śunaḥśepa (Ait. Br. 33) shows that in rare cases the father did sell his son. The passage of the Nirukta about the power to sell, to gift away or to abandon daughters has been already cited (p. 505). The Vas. Dh. S.[1181] (XVII. 30-31) says 'Śunaḥśepa is an example of the son bought' (one of the twelve kinds of sons). The same sūtra (XVII. 36-37) defines the *apaviddha* kind of son as one, who being cast off by his parents, is accepted (as a son) by another. Manu IX. 171 also defines the 'apaviddha' in the same way. Vas. Dh. S. (XV. 1-3) propounds the absolute power of the parents over their children in the words 'man produced from seed and uterine blood springs from the father and the mother; (therefore) the parents have power to give, to sell or to abandon him; but one should not give nor accept an only son'. Here Vas. states the right of *patria potestas* several centuries before Justinian, who makes the vain boast (Institutes, Lib. I. Tit. IX. 2) that 'no other people have a power over their children such as we have over ours'. Manu (VIII. 416) and the Mahābhārata[1182] (Udyoga 33. 64) both state that the wife, the son and the slave are without wealth and that whatever they acquire belongs to him whose they are. Manu (in V. 152) says that 'gift (by the father of the bride) is the source of (the husband's) ownership (over her)'. But gradually the

1180. शतं मेषान्वृक्ये चक्षदानमृज्राश्वं तं पितान्धं चकार। ऋ. I. 116. 16.

1181. क्रीतस्तृतीयः। तच्छुनःशेपेन व्याख्यातम्। ..... अपविद्धः पञ्चमः। यं माता पितृभ्यामपास्तं गृह्णीयात्। वसिष्ठ XVII. 30-31 and 36-37.

1182. Śabara on जै.. VI. 1. 12 quotes the verse भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416. Compare Nārada VIII. 41.

rigour of the father's power was lessened by other competing considerations such as the ideas that the son was the father himself born again, and that the son conferred great spiritual benefit on the souls of the father and his ancestors by the balls of rice offered in *śrāddha*. So gradually the father's power over the son became restricted. Kauṭilya (III. 13) gives the interesting information that *mlecchas* incur no blame by selling or pledging their children, but an *ārya* cannot be reduced to the state of slavery. Yāj. II. 175 and Nārada (dattāpradānika 4) both forbid the gift of one's son or wife. Kātyāyana [1183] says that though the father has powers of control over the wife and the son, he has not the power to sell or make a gift of his son. Yāj. (II. 118–119) modified the rule about the son's acquisitions also. Manu VIII. 389 prescribes a fine of 600 *paṇas* for abandoning one's mother, father, wife or son when they are not sinners. Vide Yāj. II. 237, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 113–114, Kauṭilya III. 20 (p. 199) for a similar provision. Manu (VIII. 299–300) restricted a man's power to award corporal punishment for misconduct to his wife, son or slave to striking with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo.

One question discussed by dharmasūtra writers is whether one has ownership over one's wife and children. In Jaimini [1184] (VI. 7. 1–2) it is decided that in the Viśvajit sacrifice where one is to give away all that one has, one cannot give away one's parents and other relatives as one can make a gift only of what one is master of. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 175 says 'though one cannot make a gift of one's wife or child to another, one is still owner of them.' The Vīramitrodaya [1185] (*vyavahāra* p. 567) is of the same opinion. On the other hand the Tantraratna (of Pārthasārathimiśra) says that the word gift with reference to the son and the like is used only in a secondary sense viz. that of passing to another the power of control over the son

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1183. सुतस्य सुतदाराणां वशित्वं स्वनुशासने। विक्रये चैव दाने च वशित्वं न सुते पितुः। कात्यायन quoted in स्मृतिच० (श्र्य. p. 132) and परा. मा. III. p. 219.

1184. स्वदाने सर्वमविशेषात्। यस्य वा प्रभुः स्यादितरस्याशक्यत्वात्। जै. VI. 7. 1–2. शबर says तस्माच्च पित्रादयो देयाः। तस्माद्यत्रैव प्रभुत्वयोगेन स्वत्वं तत्रैव देयमिति।

1185. एतद्देयत्वमात्राभिप्रायेण न पुनः स्वत्वाभावाभिप्रायेण। पुत्रादारसर्वस्वप्रतिश्रुतेषु स्वत्वस्य सद्भावात्। मिता० on या. II. 175; अत एव पुत्रकन्यादानादिविधयो मुख्यार्था एव न पुत्रादिपरतन्त्रीकरणरूपगौणदानाद्यर्थाः। वीरमित्रोदय p. 567 (Jiv. व्यवहार); गवादाविव भार्यायां स्वत्वाभावेन तस्यामुत्पन्नेऽपत्ये तदभावात्। श्र्य. म. p. 92 (my edition).

or the daughter. The Vyavahāramayūkha is also of the same opinion.

Afew words may be said about infanticide. Westermarck in his 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas' vol. I. (1906) pp. 393–413 furnishes an exhaustive account of this practice in ancient and modern times among barbarous and civilised communities from various countries, e. g. in Sparta (for the purpose of securing strong and healthy fighters), among the Rajputs (from family pride and fear of the crushing burden of expenses at marriage).[1186] He is wrong in saying that in the Vedic times infanticide or exposure of children was practised. Rg. II. 29. 1 [1187] is of no use on this point; it says 'cast off from me sin as a woman who secretly gives birth to a child (casts it off).' This is not a reference to infanticide of children born in wedlock, but refers to the exposure of a child by an unmarried woman which is clandestinely practised everywhere and as regards which even in England a very lenient attitude is shown as manifested by the passing of the Infanticide Act (12 and 13 Geo. V. Chap. 18). The most important passage on which some European scholars like Zimmer and Delbrück rely upon for this proposition is Tai. S. VI. 5. 10. 3 'They go to the *avabhṛtha*[1188] (the final sacrificial bath); they keep aside the *sthālīs* (pots) and take up the vessels for vāyu: therefore they (the people) keep aside the girl when she is born and lift up (i. e. greet with pride and joy) the son'. This simply refers to the fact that a daughter was not greeted as much as the son. It has nothing to do with exposure or infanticide. That passage only expresses the sentiment contained in the Ait. Br.[1189] (33. 1)

1186. Vide Tod's 'Annals and antiquities of Rājasthān' (Calcutta edition) vol. I. pp. 659–665 (for infanticide among Rajputs), 'Indian Infanticide' by J. C. Browne (1857), Dr. John Wilson's 'History of the suppression of infanticide in Western India' (1855) in which he refers at length to a prize-essay of Dr. Bhau Daji, written in 1844. Winternitz 'Die Frau' pp. 24-25. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act VIII. of 1873 (in India)

1187. आरे मत्कर्त रहसूरिवागः। ऋ. II. 29. 1.

1188. अवभृथमवयन्ति परा स्थालीरस्यन्ति उद्वायव्यानि हरन्ति तस्मात् स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्ति उत्पुमांसं हरन्ति। तै. सं VI. 5. 10. 3. The निरुक्त III. 4 quotes this last sentence. Vide Vedic Index, vol. I. p. 487 for references to the views of Zimmer and others.

1189. सखा ह जाया कृपणं हि दुहिता ज्योतिर्ह पुत्रः परमे व्योमन्। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. आत्मा पुत्रः सखा भार्या कृच्छ्रं तु दुहिता किल। आदिपर्व 159. 11. Compare मनु IV. 184–185 'भार्या पुत्रः स्वका तनुः॥ छाया स्वो दासवर्गश्च दुहिता कृपणं परम्।

'the wife is indeed a friend, the daughter is distress (or humiliation), the son is light in the highest heaven'. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 159. 11) in a similar vein says 'the son is one's self, the wife is one's friend, but the daughter is indeed a difficulty'. But all the same the Gṛhyasūtras like Āp. (15. 13) call upon the father to greet his daughter also with a mantra when he returned from a journey, the difference being that in the case of the son there is kissing of the son's head and muttering of certain mantras in his right ear. Manu (IX. 232) advises the king to award death sentence to him who kills a woman, a child or a brāhmaṇa. Manu IX. 130 (=Anuśāsana 45. 11) expressly says that 'just as the son is one's own self, so is the daughter like the son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when his daughter who is his own self is there to take it'? Nārada[1190] (dāyabhāga v. 50) reasons that both the son and the daughter continue the line of the father and therefore in the absence of the son the daughter succeeds as heir. Bṛhaspati exclaims 'the daughter is born from the limbs of the parents as much as the son; when she is alive how can another take her father's estate'? Bāṇa, who as a great poet had unparalleled sympathy with the emotions and feelings of the average man, makes even the king Prabhākaravardhana say about his daughter what every Indian father has felt for thousands of years 'this rule of law laid down by some one viz. that one's own children (daughters) sprung from one's body, fondled on one's knees and whom one would never forsake, are taken away all of a sudden by persons (husbands) who till then were quite unfamiliar. It is on account of this sorrow that although both (son and daughter) are one's own children the good feel sorrow when a daughter is born and who offer water in the form of tears to their daughters at the very time of their birth'. A daughter was not greeted at birth, not because the father had no love for her, but because

1190. पुत्राभावे तु दुहिता तुल्यसंतानदर्शनात्। पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौ पितुः संतानकारकौ॥ नारद (दायभाग 50); अङ्गादङ्गात् संभवति पुत्रवद्दुहिता नृणाम्। तस्यां पितृधनं त्वन्यः कथं गृह्णीत मानवः॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 743; केनापि कृता धर्म्या नाभिमता मे स्थितिरियं यदङ्गसंभूतान्यङ्गलालितान्यपरित्याज्यान्यपत्यकान्यकाण्ड एवागत्यासंस्तुतैर्नीयन्ते।..... यदपत्यत्वे समानेऽपि दूयन्ते सन्तः। एतदर्थं जन्मकाल एव कन्यकाम्यः प्रयच्छन्ति सलिलमश्रुभिः साधवः। हर्षचरित 4th Ucchvāsa. कन्यापितृत्वं दुःखं हि सर्वेषां मानकाङ्क्षिणाम्। न ज्ञायते च कः कन्यां वरयेदिति कन्यके॥ मातुः कुलं पितृकुलं यत्र चैव च दीयते। कुलत्रयं सदा कन्या संशये स्थाप्य तिष्ठति॥ रामायण (उत्तरकाण्ड 9. 10–11.). उद्योगपर्व 97. 16 has मातृकुलं ..... कुलत्रयं संशयितं कुरुते कन्यका सताम्।

he felt that a daughter meant a source of anxiety all her life to him. It was the great concern felt for a daughter's well-being in life and her character that made the parents anxious that no daughter be born to them. Society expected a very high moral rectitude from women and treated lapses of men with leniency. This is finely expressed in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa 9. 10–11). Ancient literature did not everywhere treat women with scorn and contempt. It has already been shown how highly the wife was regarded even in the most ancient days as a man's half. Ṛg. III. 53. 4 speaks of the wife as a haven of rest (jāyed-astam). The Chān. Up.[1191] looks upon the sight of a woman in a dream as very auspicious and as prognosticating success in religious rites already undertaken. Manu (III. 56 = Anuśāsana 46. 5), though he has said, as will be shown later on, some very hard things about women, was not unmindful of the honour due to them and says in a chivalrous spirit 'where women are honoured there the gods love to reside; where they are not honoured, there all religious acts come to nought.' Maidens were regarded as pure (vide p. 296 above) and auspicious. When the king passed through his capital it was customary to greet him with fried grain showered by maidens (Raghuvaṁśa II. 10). The Śaunaka-kārikā[1192] (ms. in Bombay University Library folio 22 b) includes a maiden among the eight objects which were auspicious. The Droṇaparva (82. 20–22) mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, among which well-decked maidens are mentioned. Gobhila-smṛti II. 163 says that one that sees on rising from bed in the morning among others a woman whose husband is living is free from all difficulties. The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35–36) mentions several objects which are auspicious when one is about to leave home, among which figure brāhmaṇa maidens. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 168.

Some remarks must be made about the times auspicious for marriage. In the marriage hymn (Ṛgveda[1193] X. 85. 13) the

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1191. स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेष श्लोकः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति । समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन् स्वप्ननिदर्शने ॥ छान्दोग्य V. 2. 7–8. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4.

1192. दर्पणः पूर्णकलशः कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः । दीपमाला ध्वजा लाजाः संपोक्ते चाष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ शौनककारिका.

1193. अघास हन्यन्ते गावो फल्गुन्योः पर्युह्यते । ऋ. X. 85. 13 and अथर्व XIV. 1. 13. कौशिकसूत्र 75. 5 quotes these words. मघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते । फल्गुनीभ्यां व्यूह्यते । आप. गृ. 3. 1–2.

words occur 'the cows are killed on the Aghās and (the bride) is carried away (from her father's house) on the Phalgunīs'. The cow was killed in Madhuparka which was offered to the bridegroom on the day of marriage. Or this may be a reference to the giving of cows by the bridegroom to the bride's father (as in the form later called ārṣa). So it appears probable that this is a reference to marriage being performed on the day when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Aghās (i. e. Maghā). The two Phalgunīs follow immediately after the Maghā nakṣatra. There is an echo of this in the Āp. gṛ. III. 1–2 which says 'cows are accepted on the Maghās and (the bride) is carried (to the bridegroom's house) on the Phalgunīs'. This means that the marriage (probably in the ārṣa form) is celebrated on the Maghās and the bride goes from her father's house on the next day after marriage or after one day more. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 4. 1) says [1194] that 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious lunar mansion, caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed and that according to some teachers marriage may be celebrated at all times' (not necessarily in northward passage &c). The Āp. gṛ. (2. 12–13) prescribes that all seasons except the two months of Śiśira (i. e. Māgha and Phālguna) and the last of the two months of summer (viz. Āṣāḍha) are fit for marriage and all nakṣatras which are declared to be auspicious (or holy). Āp. gṛ. further [1195] adds (3. 3) 'a father who desires that his daughter should be dear (to her husband) should give her in marriage on the Niṣṭyā (i. e. Svāti constellation); thus she becomes dear (to her husband), she does not return (to her parent's house); this is a procedure based upon the Brāhmaṇa passage.' The Brāhmaṇa passage is Tai. Br. I. 5, 2. The Baud. gṛ. (I. 1. 18–19) is the same [1196] as Āp. gṛ. about months and adds that the nakṣatras for marriage are Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrsa, Uttarā Phalgunī, Svāti; while Punarvasu,

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1194. उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आश्व. गृ. I. 4. 1–2; शाङ्खायनगृह्य I. 5. 5 is to the same effect.

1195. यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति तां निष्ट्यायां दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव तु पुनरागच्छति इति ब्राह्मणावेक्षो विधिः। आप. गृ 3. 3. The words यां...गच्छति occur in तै. ब्र. I. 5. 2. भरद्वाजगृ. I. 12. quotes the ब्राह्मणवाक्य.

1196. सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य। क्षुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके। रोहिणी मृगशीर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि। पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः श्रोणा रेवतीत्यन्येषां भूतिकर्मणाम्। बौ. गृ. I. 1. 18–21.

Tiśya (Puṣya), Hasta, Śravaṇa and Revatī are suitable for other ceremonies of an auspicious character. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 7. 5) says that the naksatras Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Śravaṇa, Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā) and the Uttarās (i. e. Uttarāṣāḍhā, Uttarā Phalgunī and Uttarā Bhādrapadā) are fit for marriage and for taking the bride from her parent's house and whatever other (naksatra) is declared to be auspicious. Kāṭhaka gṛ. 14. 9-10 and Vārāha gṛ. 10 are similar. The Rāmāyaṇa [1197] (Bālakāṇḍa 72. 13 and 71. 24) speaks of marriage being performed on Uttarā Phalgunī, of which Bhaga is the deity. The Mahābhārata also speaks of marriage on a nakṣatra presided over by Bhaga (Ādiparva 8. 16). The Kauśika sūtra (75. 2-4) makes an approach to modern practice when it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the full moon of Kārtika and up to the full moon of Vaiśākha or one may do as one likes but should avoid the month or half month of *Caitra*. [1198]

Medieval digests introduce many detailed rules derived from astrology which it is not possible to set out here. A few only will be indicated. The Udvāhatattva (p. 124) quotes Rājamārtaṇḍa [1199] and Bhuja-balabhīma to the effect that all months are auspicious for marriage except Caitra and Pauṣa and that when a girl is very much grown-up one should not wait for auspicious seasons, but she should be given away on any day when the moon and the zodiacal sign rising at the moment of marriage are favourable, and that one should go into questions of auspicious *ayana*, month, day &c. up to only the tenth year of girls. The Saṃskāraratnamālā (p. 460) says that as there is conflict among the dicta of sūtra and smṛti

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1197. मघा ह्यद्य महाबाहो तृतीये दिवसे प्रभो। फल्गुन्यामुत्तरे राजंस्तस्मिन्वैवाहिकं कुरु॥ उत्तरे दिवसे ब्रह्मन् फल्गुनीभ्यां मनीषिणः। वैवाहिकं प्रशंसन्ति भगो यत्र प्रजापतिः॥ बालकाण्ड 71. 24 and 72. 13. According to the तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 2. भग is the देवता of उत्तराफल्गुनी.

1198. ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्याः। याथाकामी वा। चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत्। कौशिकसूत्र 75. 2-4.

1199. राजमार्तण्डीये। राजग्रस्ते तथा युद्धे पितॄणां प्राणसंशये। अतिमौढा च या कन्या नानुकूल्यं प्रतीक्षते। अतिवृद्धा च या कन्या कुलधर्मविरोधिनी। अविशुद्धापि सा देया चन्द्रलग्नबलेन तु। भुजबलभीमे। ग्रहशुद्धिमवेक्ष्यैव शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम्। अर्वाक्-दशवर्षेभ्यो मुनयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम्। दशवर्षाभ्यन्तरे शुद्धौ ग्रहाब्दादीनां विशेषोपादानात् तदूर्ध्वं तावन्मात्रानियमः। अत्रैव विषये 'मङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यासंवरणेषु च। दशमासाः प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिताः' इति राजमार्तण्डोक्तम्। उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 124.

writers about months one should follow the usage of one's country. One should not celebrate the marriage of the eldest son with the eldest daugter of a man in the month of Jyeṣṭha (or on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra) nor should one celebrate a marriage in the month of birth or on the day of birth or nakṣatra of birth (of the eldest son or daughter). Wednesday, Monday, Friday and Thursday are the best days of the week, but the Madanapārijāta says that any day is good if the marriage is celebrated at night.[1200] In marriage the moon must be in a strong position for girls. One should avoid Jupiter being the 4th, 8th or 12th from one's rāśi (zodiacal sign in which the moon was at the time of birth). The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a verse that when the girl has reached puberty, then one should not wait till Jupiter is favourable, but marriage should be performed even when Jupiter is 8th from the zodiacal sign of birth, propitiatory rites however being performed for Jupiter.[1201] Upanayana and marriage cannot be performed when Jupiter is in the zodiacal sign called Leo (Siṁha), but this applies only to the tract between the river Godāvarī and the Ganges.[1202] From the nakṣatra and zodiacal sign at the time of birth (in the case of both the girl and the bridegroom) certain astrological calculations were made in eight ways[1203] called kūṭas. They were Varṇa, Vaśya, Nakṣatra, Yoni, Graha (planets governing the twelve rāśis), Gaṇa, Rāśi, and Nāḍī, each later one of which was more powerful than each preceding one and marks (guṇa) from 1 to 8 were respectively assigned to each of these if the conditions laid down were satisfied. Two of these viz. gaṇa and nāḍī are attached great importance even now among brāhmaṇas and other classes also and so they may be illustrated here, though very briefly. The 27 nakṣatras are arranged in three groups of nine each, each group being assigned to Devagaṇa, Manuṣyagaṇa and Rākṣasagaṇa as follows:

1200. सं. र. मा. p. 464 न वारदोषाः प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ इति मदनपारिजाते.

1201. रजस्वलायाः कन्यायाः गुरुशुद्धिं न चिन्तयेत्। अष्टमेऽपि प्रकर्तव्यो विवाहस्त्रिगुणार्चनात्॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III Pūrvārdha p. 304.

1202. लल्लः। गोदावर्युत्तरतो यावद्भागीरथीतटं याम्यम्। तत्र विवाहो नेष्टः सिंहस्थे देवपतिपूज्ये॥ ..... भागीरथ्युत्तरे कूले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा। विवाहो व्रतबन्धो वा सिंहस्थेज्ये न दुष्यति। इति वसिष्ठेन गङ्गागोदान्तरालातिरिक्तदेशे विवाहव्रतबन्धयोरभ्यनुज्ञानात्। सं. प्र. p. 806.

1203. See सं. प्र. p. 773 ff. and सं. र. मा. 519 ff. for कूटs.

Devagaṇa	Manuṣyagaṇa	Rākṣasagaṇa
Aśvinī	Bharaṇī	Kṛttikā
Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇī	Āślesā
Punarvasu	Ārdrā	Maghā
Puṣya	Pūrvā	Citrā
Hasta	Uttarā	Viśākhā
Svāti	Pūrvāsāḍhā	Jyesthā
Anurādhā	Uttarāsāḍhā	Mūla
Śravaṇa	Pūrvābhādrapadā	Dhaniṣṭhā
Revatī	Uttarābhādrapadā	Śatatārakā

If the bride and bridegroom are born on nakṣatras that belong to the same class out of these three groups it is the best thing but if their naksatras of birth belong to different groups, then the rules are: it is middling if their naksatras belong to the deva group or the human group respectively, or if the bridegroom's nakṣatra being of the devagaṇa or rākṣasagaṇa, the bride's is of the manuṣyagaṇa, while if the nakṣatra of the bride is of the rākṣasa group and the bridegroom's of the manuṣya type, then death would result. Similarly if the nakṣatras of the pair respectively belong to the deva and rākṣasa groups, there would be quarrels and enmity between the two.

For the purpose of nāḍī the naksatras are divided into three groups of nine each, ādyanāḍī, madhyanāḍī and antyanāḍī, as follows:

Ādyanāḍī	Madhyanāḍī	Antyanāḍī
Aśvinī	Bharaṇī	Kṛttikā
Ārdrā	Mṛgaśiras	Rohiṇī
Punarvasu	Puṣya	Āśleṣā
Uttarā	Pūrvā	Maghā
Hasta	Citrā	Svāti
Jyeṣṭhā	Anurādhā	Viśākhā
Mūla	Pūrvāṣāḍhā	Uttarāṣāḍhā
Śatatārakā	Dhaniṣṭhā	Śravaṇa
Pūrvābhādrapadā	Uttarābhādrapadā	Revatī

If the nakṣatras of the intended pair belong to the same nāḍī, then that portends death and so there is to be no marriage in such a case. The respective nakṣatras of birth in the case of the two should belong to different nāḍīs.

The anxieties of the girls' father did not end here. If afte the marriage was settled but before it actually took place an relative in any of the two families died, then the marriage agreement was to be broken off according to some writers, bu Śaunaka [1204] mercifully states a more sensible and reasonabl rule viz. if the father or mother or paternal grand-father o paternal grand-mother or paternal uncle, brother or unmarrie sister of the intended bride or bridegroom dies, or the bride groom's first wife or his son from another wife dies, then only it is *pratikūla* and the marriage should not be performed but the death of any one else presents no obstacle.

If before the rites of marriage begin (i. e. before the per formance of nāndīśrāddha), the mother of the bride or of th bride-groom has her monthly illness then the marriage ha to be postponed till she becomes pure (till the fifth day afte the illness).

Forms of marriage: From the times of the gṛhya sūtras dharmasūtras and smṛtis the forms of marriage are said to b eight, viz. Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārsa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Āsura Rākṣasa and Paiśāca (vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 6, Gaut. IV. 6-13, Baud Dh. S. I. 11, Manu III. 21 = Ādi-parva 73. 8-9), Visnu Dh. S 24.18-19, Yāj. I. 58, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 38-39), Kauṭilya III. 1, 59th prakaraṇa, Ādi-parva 102. 12-15 (they are describe but not named); some of these arrange the first four differently e. g. Āśv. gṛ. arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya an Ārṣa, while Viṣṇu arranges them as Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa an Prājāpatya; Āśv. gṛ. I. 6 places Paiśāca before Rākṣasa. Th Mānava gr. speaks of only two Brāhma and Śaulka (i. e. Āsura) probably because these two were the forms most current. Āp Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 17-20—II. 5. 12. 1-2) speaks of only six omitting Prājāpatya and Paiśāca ; while Vas. Dh. S. I. 28-2 expressly says that there are only six forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Gāndharva, Kṣātra and Mānuṣa (th last two being the same as Rākṣasa and Āsura). It i impossible for want of space to set out the various definition of the several forms given by the several authors. There i general agreement on the special characteristics of each and i is sufficient to point out these as given in Manu III. 27-34.

1204. शौनकः । पिता पितामहश्चैव माता चैव पितामही । पितृष्वसा स्नुषा भ्रात भगिनी चाविवाहिता । एभिरत्र विपन्नैश्च प्रतिकूलं बुधैः स्मृतम् । अन्यैरपि विपन्नैस्तु कॉचिद्दूषणं तन्नवेत् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 311.

The gift of a daughter, after decking her (with valuable garments) and honouring her (with jewels &c.), to a man learned in the Vedas and of good conduct, whom the father of the girl himself invites, is called Brāhma. When the father gives away his daughter after decking her (with ornaments &c.) to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance, it is the Daiva form.[1205] When there is a gift of one's daughter, after taking one pair of cattle (a cow and a bull) or two pairs only as a matter of fulfilling the law (and not as a sale of the girl), that is named the ārṣa form. The gift of a daughter, after the father has addressed (the couple with the words 'may both of you perform your religious duties together') and after he has honoured the bride-groom (with Madhuparka &c.), is declared to constitute the Prājāpatya form. Yāj. I. 60 calls this 'kāya', because in the Brāhmaṇa works 'ka' means 'Prajāpati'. When the girl is given away at the father's will after the bride-groom gives as much wealth as he can afford to pay to the relatives of the girl and to the girl herself, that is called the Āsura form. The union of a girl and the bride-groom by their mutual consent is known as Gāndharva, which springs from the passion of love and has intercourse as its purpose. The forcible abduction of a maiden from her house, while she weeps and cries aloud, after her kinsmen have been slain (or beaten), wounded and (their houses or fortresses) are broken open, is called the Rākṣasa form. When a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily while she is asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind (or unconscious), that is the Paiśāca form, which is the basest and the most sinful of all forms.

In the first four forms there is the gift of the girl (*kanyādāna*) by the father or other guardian to the bride-groom. The word 'dāna' here is used in a secondary sense (as stated above on p. 504) viz. in the sense of transfer of the father's right of guardianship and control of the maiden to the husband. All gifts are to be made with water in the case of brāhmaṇas as stated by Manu

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1205. Baud. Dh. I. 11. 5 दक्षिणासु नीयमानास्वन्तर्वेदि ऋत्विजे स देयः। According to him the girl becomes part of the *dakṣiṇā* (fee) for officiating. But in the Vedas and Srauta sūtras a bride is nowhere spoken of as dakṣiṇā. Medhātithi on Manu III. 28 is against the idea of the bride being part of the sacrificial fee. Viśvarūpa also says so; but Aparārka p. 89 holds that the girl is given as fee.

(III. 35) and Gaut. V. 16-17.[1206] Similarly in all the four forms where there is *kanyādāna* the girl is to be well dressed and decked with ornaments. The essence of the brāhma form is that the girl is given without receiving anything from the bride-groom, who is invited and honoured by the girl's father. It is called brāhma either because brahma means the holy Veda and this mode being sanctioned by the most ancient texts it is the holiest and best form, or *brahma* means *dharma* and being the best of all forms it is called brāhma (vide Smṛtimuktāphala part I. p. 140). In the ārṣa form a pair of cattle is received from the bride-groom and it is somewhat inferior to the brāhma form. But the pair is given not as a price (i. e. there is no purchase), but because that is one way of effecting a marriage laid down by the śāstras (*vide* the passage quoted above at p. 504 ' therefore one should give a hundred cows &c ' and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11, which is opposed to Vas. Dh. S. I. 36) and the gift is made to show one's regard for the girl (vide Manu III. 53-54). The daiva form is only appropriate to brāhmaṇas as only[1207] a brāhmaṇa could officiate at a sacrifice. It is so called because the bridegroom is engaged at the time in rites for the gods and it is inferior to the brāhma inasmuch as in it there is some trace of benefit to the father (that the priest may do his best in the rite for the gods). Govindasvāmin on Baud. Dh. S. says ' the bride is in this form part of the sacrificial fee '. In all forms of marriage the husband and wife have to perform all religious acts together, as forcibly put by Āp. Dh. S.[1208] (there is no separation between husband and wife, since from the time of taking the hand of the wife there is joint performance of all religious actions). But in the Prājāpatya the words used indicate according to the commentators (vide Sam.

1206. स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमप्पूर्वम् । ददातिषु चैवं धर्म्येषु । गौतम V. 16-17. Strabo (XV. 1. 54) refers to purchase of a wife in exchange for two oxen.

1207. देवा ऋत्विजस्ते एनमर्हन्तीति दैवः । ..... दक्षिणातिरिक्तं चैतद् दानं फलश्रवणात् । ..... मन्त्रद्रष्टारो ब्राह्मणा ऋषयः । ते एनमर्हन्तीत्यार्षः । प्रजोत्पादनेच्छासामान्यात्प्रजापतिः स्नातकः स एनमर्हतीति प्राजापत्यः । विश्वरूप on या I. 59-60.

1208. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च । आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 16-18. About प्राजापत्य the सं. कौ. (p. 732) quotes the पारिजात " अत्र विशेषं पारिजाते भगवान् ॥ अन्येष्वपि विवाहेषु धर्मस्याचरणं सह । यद्यप्युक्तं तथाप्यत्र विशेषोक्तिर्गृहाश्रमात् । आश्रमान्तरसंप्राप्तेर्निषेधार्थेति गम्यते । न चात्र तस्यां जीवन्त्यां विवाहस्य परिग्रहः । आश्रमान्तरयोगो वा मृतायां भवतस्तौ ॥ इति । अन्ये तु पूर्वोद्वाहनाग्निसाध्येषु साहित्यनियमार्था सेति ।; the सं. प्र. p. 852 quotes the first two views as those of देवस्वामिन्.

Pr. p. 852 and Haradatta on Gaut. IV. 5) one or more of several things, viz. that the husband will remain a house-holder all his life and will not become a recluse while the wife is living or that he will not marry another wife i. e. it will be a strictly monogamous marriage which is defined in *Hyde v. Hyde* (1866), P. and M. p. 130 as 'the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others' (p. 133), or that he will associate the wife with himself not only in sacrifices but also in works of charity (like building tanks, wells &c.). This form is inferior to brāhma in that the father, as it were, makes a special stipulation with the bride-groom, while in the brāhma there is no such special stipulation, but the bride-groom promises that he will not break faith with his wife in the matter of the three puruṣārthas, dharma, artha, kāma.[1209]

In the āsura form there is practically a sale of the girl for money or money's worth and so it is not approved. The ārṣa is distinguished from āsura in this that in the latter there is no limit to what is taken from the bride-groom, while in the former a pair of cattle is offered as a matter of form. In the gāndharva there is no gift by the father; on the contrary the father's authority is set at naught by the girl for the time being. Marriage was a sacrament according to ancient sages, and its principal purposes as stated above (pp. 428–29) were the acquisition of merit by the performance of religious duty and of progeny. In the gāndharva form the principal object was gratification of carnal desires and so it is held inferior to the first four forms and is disapproved. This kind of marriage is so called because it is prompted by mutual love and the Gandharvas were known to be libidinous, as the Tai. S. VI. 1. 6. 5 (strīkāmā vai Gandharvāḥ) and Ait. Br. V. 1 state. In this form at least the girl's feelings are consulted. In the rākṣasa and the paiśāca, there is no gift by the father and both are or may be against the wish of the girl. The forcible carrying of the girl is the essence of the rākṣasa (even if there is no fight because the girl's father takes no retaliatory steps in fear of the abductor's strength). It is called rākṣasa because rākṣasas (demons) are known from legends to have been addicted to cruel and forceful methods. The paiśāca is so called because in it there is action like that of *piśācas* (goblins) that are supposed to act stealthily by night.

1209. 'एवं हि स्मरन्ति । धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्येति ।' शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 17. The सं. म. (pp. 848 and 852) says that these words occur in the काठकगृह्यपरिशिष्ट on ब्राह्मविधि.

It is not to be supposed that when ancient sages held that rākṣasa and paiśāca were forms of marriage, they legalized marriage by capture or stealth. What they meant was that these were the means of securing [1210] wives and that there are not really eight kinds of *vivāhas*, but rather there are eight ways in which wives may be secured. It is for this reason that Vatsa says that if a fine girl cannot be secured by any means she may be approached even in private by stealth and married. The sages condemned in no measured terms the paiśāca. From the fact that Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha both ignore the Paiśāca and Prājāpatya it may be inferred that these two had ceased to be recognised by their time and that the other sages enumerated them only because they appeared in ancient works and for the sake of completeness of treatment. Vasiṣṭha (17. 73) expressly repudiates the idea that legal wifehood can arise by forcible seizure of a girl 'if a damsel [1211] has been abducted by force and not wedded with sacred texts she may lawfully be given to another man (in marriage); she is just as good as a maiden'. The smṛtis out of regard for the future welfare of the girl preferred to blink at the wrong done, but insisted upon the abductor or stealthy seducer performing the rites of *homa* and *saptapadī* in order to confer on the girl wronged the status of a legally married wife. But if the wrong-doer was unwilling to do this they recommended that the girl may be given to another in marriage and pronounced very heavy punishments for the abductor or seducer of a girl (*vide* Manu VIII. 366 and Yāj. II. 287–288). Sir Gooroodas Banerjee [1212] rightly expresses surprise at Macnaughten's saying that fraud was legalised by the Hindu Law in the case of the paiśāca form. Manu VIII. 366 says that if a man has intercourse with a girl of his own caste with her consent, he will have to give a fee to the father if the latter so desires and

1210. न चेच्छासंयोगमात्रं विवाहः स्वीकरणोपायभेदादष्टौ विवाहा न पुनर्विवाहभेदात्। मेधा० on मनु VIII. 366; सर्वोपायैरसाध्या स्यात्सुकन्या पुरुषस्य वा। चौर्येणापि विवाहेन सा विवाह्या रहः स्थिता॥ वत्स quoted in स्मृतिमु० (वर्णा०) p. 142; सं. प्र. p. 861; सं. कौ. p. 735; माधव allows the गान्धर्व only to kṣatriyas and others (not to ब्राह्मणs).

1211. बलाच्चेत्प्रहृता कन्या मन्त्रैर्यदि न संस्कृता। अन्यस्मै विधिवद्देया यथा कन्या तथैव सा॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 73. This is also कौ. ध. IV. 1. 17 and it is quoted and explained by विश्वरूप on या. I. 69.

1212. Vide 'Marriage and strīdhana' (5th ed. of 1923 p. 94). Macnaughten in his 'Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law' p. 60 said so in a note.

Medhātithi [1213] adds that if the father does not desire money the lover will have to pay a fine to the king, that the girl may be given to him or if she has lost her love for him, she may be given to another and if the lover himself wants to discard her he should be forced to accept her (as a wife). Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 72) similarly says that if a man has sexual intercourse with a maiden who is a consenting party, then there is no offence, but he must marry her after decking her (with ornaments) and treating her with honour.

The Sm. C. and other digests state that in the gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa and paiśāca homa and *saptapadī* are necessary and they quote Devala and the Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa in support. The Mahābhārata (Ādi. 195. 7) [1214] expressly says that even after svayaṁvara religious rites had to be performed. Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII describes how after the svayaṁvara of Indumatī the principal religious rites of madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa took place. Since Āśvalāyana first speaks of eight forms and then prescribes the performance of homa and saptapadī, he implies that these are necessary in all forms.

The smṛtis contain several views about the suitability of these eight to various varṇas. All are agreed that the first four, brāhma, daiva, ārṣa and prājāpatya, are the approved forms (praśasta or dharmya). Vide Gaut. IV. 12, Āp. Dh. S II. 5. 12. 3, Manu III. 24, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 44) &c. Most say that each preceding one out of the first four is superior to each succeeding one and that thus brāhma is the best (*vide* Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4, Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 11). Almost all are agreed that paiśāca is the worst. Manu III. 23–26 refers to several views. One view is that the first four (brāhma &c.) are the proper forms for brāhmaṇas (Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 10, Manu III. 24). Another view was that the first six (out of the eight i. e. all except rākṣasa and paiśāca) are allowed to brāhmanas and the last four to ksatriyas, and the gāndharva, āsura and paiśāca to vaiśyas and śūdras (Manu III. 23). A third view was that prājāpatya, gāndharva and āsura may be resorted to

1213. अथवा ऋतुदर्शनकालोत्तरं गान्धर्वः। प्रागृतोः शुल्को दण्डो वा। अथ कन्यायाः का प्रतिपत्तिः। तस्मा एव देया। निवृत्ताभिलाषा चेत्काममन्यत्र प्रतिपाद्या। ...वरश्चेन्निवृत्ताभिलाषो हठाद् ग्राहयितव्यः। मेधा° on मनु VIII. 367; सकामायां तु कन्यायां संगमे नास्त्यतिक्रमः। किंत्वलंकृत्य सत्कृत्य स एवैनां समुद्वहेत्॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस° verse 72).

1214. ध्रुवं विवाहकरणमास्थास्यामि विधानतः। आदिपर्व 195. 7.

by all varṇas and paiśāca and āsura should not be resorted to by any one of any varṇa (Manu III. 25 = Anuśāsana 44. 9-10), but in another verse (III. 24) Manu allows āsura to vaiśyas and śūdras[1214a]. Manu mentions the view that the gāndharva and rākṣasa are proper (dharmya) for a kṣatriya or a mixture of these two viz. where the girl loves the bride-groom, but her parents or guardians disapprove or cause obstacles and the lover takes away the girl after a fight with her relations (Manu III. 26 and Baud. Dh. S. I. 11. 13). Baud. Dh.S. [1215] (I. 11. 14-16) recommends āsura and paiśāca to vaiśyas and śūdras and assigns the interesting reason ' for the vaiśyas and śūdras do not keep their wives under restraints, they having to do the work of ploughing and waiting upon (the other varṇas) '. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verse 40) says that gāndharva is common to all varṇas. The Kāmasūtra (III. 5. 28) first speaks of the brāhma as the best (following the view of the dharmaśāstra writers) and then, true to its own particular subject, gives its own opinion that gāndharva is the best (Kāmasūtra III. 5. 29-30).

The gāndharva form was very much in vogue among royal families. In the Śākuntala, [1216] Kālidāsa gives expression to this practice. In the Mahābhārata [1217] Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna who was in love with Subhadrā that carrying away by force one's lady-love is commended in the case of valiant kṣatriyas. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated *śake* 793) it is stated that Indrarāja married the daughter of the Cālukya king at Kaira by the rākṣasa form of marriage (E. I. vol. 18, p. 235 at p. 243). Another and a very famous historic example of the rākṣasa form is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvīrāja Cohan of the daughter of

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1214 a. न चासुरादिविवाहेषु सप्तपदादिक्रमणाद्यभावेन पतित्वभार्यात्वयोरनुपपत्तिरिति शङ्कनीयम् । तत्रापि स्वीकारानन्तरमेव संस्कारविधानात् । तथा च देवलः । गान्धर्वादिविवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिको विधिः । कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्षैः समयेनाग्निसाक्षिकः ॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्टेपि गान्धर्वासुरपैशाचविवाहा राक्षसश्च यः । पूर्वं परिणयस्तेषां पश्चाद्धोमो विधीयते । परिणयः स्वीकारः । स्मृतिच० I. p. 87; the same words occur in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल p. 145; vide उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 129 also.

1215. पञ्चमाष्टमौ वैश्यशूद्राणाम् । अयन्त्रितकलत्रा हि वैश्यशूद्रा भवन्ति । कर्षणशुश्रूषाधिकृतत्वात् । बौ. गृ. I. 11. 14-16.

1216. गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः । श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभिनन्दिताः ॥ शाकुन्तल III.

1217. प्रसह्य हरणं चापि क्षत्रियाणां प्रशस्यते । विवाहहेतुः शूराणामिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ आदिपर्व 219. 22.

Jayacandra, the king of Kanoj.[1218] It is said that the daughter of Jayacandra was a consenting party; in that case this would be a mixture of the two forms of gāndharva and rākṣasa (compare Manu III. 26).

The *svayaṁvara* very often spoken of in the dharmaśāstras was practically the gāndharva as stated by the commentary Vīramitrodaya.[1219] It had several varieties. The simplest form of svayaṁvara occurs when, as described by Vas. Dh. S. 17. 67-68, Manu IX. 90, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 13, a girl, who attains puberty and whose father does not find a proper husband for three years, herself seeks her husband (or after three months from puberty according to Gaut. 18. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 40-41). Yāj. I. 64 also recommends svayaṁvara to every girl when there is no parent or other guardian who can find out a worthy husband for her. When a girl chose her own husband as above she had to return all ornaments given to her by her parents or brother and the husband who married her had to pay no *śulka* (dowry) to the father as the latter lost his power over her by not giving her away in time (vide Gaut. 18. 20 and Manu IX. 92). This simple svayaṁvara was applicable to girls of all castes. Sāvitrī indulged in this kind of svayaṁvara, when she went about in a chariot to find out a suitable husband for herself. But the svayaṁvaras described in the two great epics are often most elaborate and spectacular affairs and were confined to royal families. The Ādiparva says that kṣatriyas commend svayaṁvara and resort to it, but they prefer a girl who is carried off after subduing her relatives. Bhīṣma carried off the three daughters of the king of Kāśī and got two of them (Ambikā and Ambālikā) married to his ward Vicitravīrya.[1220] The svayaṁvara of Sītā or Draupadī did not depend upon the will of the bride, but the bride was to be given in marriage to whomsoever showed a certain skill as a warrior. In the case of Damayantī it was a real choice of her husband by her (Vanaparva 54 ff.) though she chose Nala in a vast and splendid assembly of royal suitors. Kālidāsa also

1218. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. II. pp. 314-315 (in 1908); Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan Vol. II. p. 834.

1219. त्वं मे पतिस्त्वं मे भार्येत्येवं कन्यावरयोः परस्परं नियमबन्धात् पित्रादिकर्तृकदाननिरपेक्षाद्यो विवाहः स गान्धर्व इत्यर्थः। ...एवं च स्वयंवरोपि गान्धर्वविवाह एव। वीरमित्रोदय on या. I. 61.

1220. स्वयंवरं तु राजन्याः प्रशंसन्त्युपयान्ति च। प्रमथ्य तु हृतामाहुर्ज्यायसीं धर्मवादिनः॥ आदिपर्व 102. 16.

gives us a fine description of the svayaṁvara of Indumatī in the Raghuvaṁśa. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅka-devacarita (canto IX) gives a description of the historic svayaṁvara of Candralekhā (or Candaladevī) daughter of the Śilāhāra prince of Karahāṭa (modern Karad), when she chose Āhavamalla or Vikramāṅka, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa (latter half of 11th century). Such a svayaṁvara, it appears, was thought to be unsuitable to brāhmaṇas according to the Ādiparva.[1221] In the Kādambarī (Pūrvabhāga, penultimate para) Pattralekhā says that svayaṁvara is ordained in the Dharmaśāstras.[1222]

The Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 4 makes a general statement that the progeny of a couple partakes of the character of the form in which they were married[1223] (i. e. if the marriage is in the best or in an approved form the son is good; if the marriage is in a condemned form, the son bears a low character). Manu (III. 39–42) expands the same idea by stating that sons born of marriages in the brāhma and other three forms are full of spiritual eminence and are endowed with beauty, virtues, wealth, fame and very long life, while sons of marriages of the other four forms are cruel, are liars, haters of the Veda and of dharma. Some sūtras and smṛtis state how many generations are rendered holy by a son born in one of the first four forms. For example, Āśv. gr. (I. 6) says that a son born of parents married in the brāhma, daiva, prājāpatya or ārṣa forms respectively brings purification to twelve descendants and twelve ancestors on both sides (i. e. his father's and mother's), to ten descendants and ten ancestors on both sides, to eight descendants and ascendants on both sides and to seven descendants and ascendants. Manu (III. 37–38) and Yāj. (I. 58–60) put the matter somewhat differently. According to them the son of a brāhma marriage brings purification to ten paternal ancestors, to ten male descendants and to himself (in all 21), of the daiva marriage to seven paternal ancestors and seven male descendants, of the prājāpatya marriage to six male ancestors, to six male descendants and to himself (in all 13), of the ārsa marriage to three male ancestors and three male descendants. Gaut.

1221. न च विप्रेष्वधीकारो विद्यते वरणं प्रति। स्वयंवरः क्षत्रियाणामितीयं प्रथिता श्रुतिः। आदिपर्व 189. 7.

1222. किमिव कथयामि ते याः स्वयं वृतवत्यः पतीन्। यदि चैवमनर्थक एव तर्हि धर्मशास्त्रोपदिष्टः स्वयंवरविधिः। कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग, para 225 (of my edition).

1223. यथायुक्तो विवाहस्तथायुक्ता प्रजा भवति। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 12. 4.

(IV. 24-27) has similar provisions. Commentators like Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi explain that these verses are not to be taken literally. They merely praise the extreme desirability of the brāhma form. Viśvarūpa, however, alternatively proposes that one may accept the texts of the holy sages as literally true, following the *dictum* of Śabara that there is nothing too heavy (or impossible) for a holy text.[1224] One may laugh at these texts about the virtues of the several forms of marriage, but they are really intended to emphasize the high importance to the future of the race and to society of noble ideals of marriage, of morals and of a decent and peaceful mode of life.

The forms of marriage have their roots deep down in the Vedic Literature. Ṛg. X. 85 gives expression to a marriage in the brāhma form (there is *kanyādāna* and so forth). The āsura form (by payment of money) is referred to in Ṛg. I. 109. 2 and Nirukta VI. 9 (quoted above in note 1175). The gāndharva form or svayaṁvara is indicated by Ṛg. X. 27. 12 (quoted above p.439) and Ṛg. I. 119. 5. The story of Śyāvāśva narrated in the Bṛhad-devatā (V. 50) in connection with Ṛg. V. 61 makes an approach to the daiva form. It is related in the Bṛhad-devatā that Ātreya Arcanānas who officiated as a priest at a sacrifice for king Rathavīti asked for his son Śyāvāśva the hand of the king's daughter.

In modern times two forms are in vogue, the brāhma and āsura. In the brāhma form it is a gift of the girl pure and simple; in the āsura form it is like the sale of the bride for pecuniary consideration paid to the father or other guardian for his benefit. If this element of pecuniary consideration paid to the guardian exists, its effects cannot be undone by the form of a gift being gone through.[1225] The gāndharva form is said to be obsolete now, yet in some cases before the courts it has been held that it is still in vogue.[1226] There can be no gāndharva if the girl is a minor. Further if a widow remarries, that marriage

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1224. स्तुतिमात्रमेतत् । भूतानां भाविनां पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशाकृताभ्यागमप्रसङ्गात् । यद्वास्तु फलविधिः । विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात् । न चागमानुसारिण्यर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । तथा च नैयायिकाः । न हि वचनस्यातिभारोस्तीत्याहुः । विश्वरूप on या. I. 58. The words नहि...भारोस्ति are from शबर's भाष्य on जै. III. 2. 3.

1225. Vide *Chunilal v. Surajram* 33 Bom. 433 at p. 438; *Hira v. Hansji Pema* 37 Bom. 295 at p. 299; *Kailasanatha v. Parasakthi* 58 Mad. 488, 491.

1226. *Vide* 12 Mad. 72; 17 Patna 134, 141; but in A.I. R. 1930 Oudh p. 426 it is held that the gāndharva form is obsolete.

will be ordinarily regarded as gāndharva, because there will be no gift of a *kanyā* (as she is a widow) and because she herself will generally arrange such a marriage.

Before proceeding to set out in detail the ceremonies of marriage, it would be best to analyse the contents of Ṛgveda X. 85, which is a marriage hymn redolent of the highest ideal of marriage and conjugal felicity and several verses of which are recited even now in the marriage rites. The hymn refers to a mythical marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitṛ, with Soma and the important features of the marriage, though not arranged in a regular sequence in the hymn, are : the two Āśvins went to ask for Sūryā as a bride for Soma[1227] (verses 8-9); Savitṛ agreed to give her (v. 9), the bride-groom was treated with honour, presents were made to him and cows were killed for (or presented to) him; Soma took hold of her hand with the verse (36) 'I[1228] take thy hand for prosperity (or love) so that you may grow to old age with me thy husband; the gods, Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛ, the wise Pūṣan have given thee to me for performing the duties of a house-holder'; the bride is a gift by her father in the presence of gods and the fire (v. 40-41); the girl passes from the dominion and control of her father and becomes united with her husband (v. 24); the bride is blest as follows: 'may you stay here together, may you not be separated, may you compass all life (long life), happy in your own house and playing with your sons and grandsons; O Indra ! make her endowed with worthy sons and prosperity; bestow on her ten sons and make her husband the eleventh (male); may you be queen over your father-in-law, mother-in-law, over the husband's brother and sister (vv. 42, 45-46)'.[1229] Among subordinate items it is noteworthy that Raibhyā was sent along with Sūryā as her friend (*anudeyī*) to make her time not hang heavy on her hands

1227. सोमो वधूयुरभवदश्विनास्तामुभा वरा । सूर्यां यत्पत्ये शंसन्तीं मनसा सविता-ददात् ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 9. The word वर here and in some of the gṛhyasūtras also (e. g. Āp. gr. II. 16) means those who ask for the girl on behalf of the bride-groom.

1228. गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः । भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरन्धिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 36. In the आप. म. पाठ. I. 3. 3 the reading is सुप्रजास्त्वाय (for worthy progeny) instead of सौभगत्वाय.

1229. इहैव स्तं मा वि यौष्टं विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नुतम् । क्रीळन्तौ पुत्रैर्नप्तृभिर्मोदमानौ स्वे गृहे ॥ इमां त्वमिन्द्र मीढ्वः सुपुत्रां सुभगां कृणु । दशास्यां पुत्रानाधेहि पतिमेकादशं कृधि ॥ सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव । ननान्दरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥ ऋ. X. 85. 42, 45-46.

(v. 6) when she first went to her husband's family (just as in modern times in Western India some woman accompanies the bride for a few days as *pāṭharākhiṇ* 'one who guards'), that even a female servant accompanied Sūryā. [1230]

In connection with the rites of marriage it is necessary to observe that the greatest divergence prevailed from very ancient times. Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 1–2) says ' various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) that we shall declare'. Similarly Āp. gṛ. (2. 15) declares ' people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be observed according to custom)' and the commentator Sudarśanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, aṅkurāropaṇa and the tying of pratisara (the marriage string or ribbon round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic mantras, while others like Nāgabali, Yakṣabali and the worship of Indrāṇī are performed without Vedic mantras. The Kāṭhakagṛhya 25. 7 allows usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the commentators mention several such usages. As the gṛhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana contains perhaps the shortest account of marriage rites and as that sūtra is probably the most ancient among the gṛhya sūtras I shall set out below the entire ceremony of marriage from that sūtra Then a few important details from other gṛhya sūtras will be added and it will be pointed out how in modern times a marriage is celebrated, particularly among higher classes. It must be remembered that there is not only great divergence as to the number of separate ceremonies that constitute the saṁskāra of marriage, but the sequence of even the most important ceremonies is different in the several sūtras and the mantras also are different (though some like Ṛg. X. 185. 36 are common to all). It is remarkable that out of the 47 verses of Ṛg. X. 85, the Āp. Mantrapāṭha employs as many as 29 (most of which are quoted in connection with marriage). The main outlines of the marriage saṁskāra show a remarkable continuity for several thousand years from the times of the Ṛgveda down to modern times.

The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 3–I. 8.) deals with all the marriage rites as follows †: Having placed to the west of the fire (that is

1230. रैभ्यासीदनुदेयी नाराशंसी न्योचनी । ऋ. X. 185. 6. अनुदेयी means वयस्या and न्योचनी means दासी.

† *Vide* Appendix for text under note 1230.

kindled on the altar as described already) a mill-stone and to the north-east (of the fire) a water jar, he should offer sacrifice (with the *sruva*), while the bride takes hold of him (touches his right hand). Standing with his face turned to the west, while the bride is sitting and has her face turned to the east, he should seize only her thumb with the mantra 'I take hold of thy hand for happiness' (Rg. X. 85. 36 quoted in note 1228), if he desires that only male children be born to him ; he may seize her other fingers if he is desirous of female children ; he may seize her hand on the hair side together with the thumb if he be desirous of both (male and female children). Leading her thrice round the fire and the water jar so that their right sides are turned towards (the fire &c.) he murmurs[1231] 'I am *ama* (this), thou art *sā* (she), thou art *sā*, I am *ama* ; I am heaven, thou art the earth ; I am the *sāman*, thou art the *ṛk*. Let us both marry here. Let us beget offspring. Dear to each other, bright, having well disposed minds, may we live for a hundred years!' Each time he leads her round (the fire) he makes her tread on the stone with (the words) ' tread on this stone ; be firm like a stone ; overcome the enemies ; trample down the foes '.[1232] Having first poured clarified butter over her joined hands, the bride's brother or some one who is in the place of brother pours fried grain twice over the bride's joined hands, three times in the case of those whose gotra is Jamadagni (i. e. if the bridegroom is of that gotra). Then he pours clarified butter over what has been left of the *havis* (sacrificial material or offering) and over what has been cut off (separated from the aggregate). This is the rule about the portions to be cut off (in every case where there is *avadāna*).[1233] With the following verses (recited by the bride-groom)

1231. *Vide* the same passage with slight differences quoted on p. 202 in the Garbhādhāna ceremony from the Br. Up. VI. 4. 20; the Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 has the words 'अमूहमस्मि सा त्वम्। द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वम्। सामाहमृक्त्वम्। तावेहि संभवाव। सह रेतो दधावहै पुंसे पुत्राय वेत्तवे। रायस्पोषाय सुप्रजास्त्वाय सुवीर्यायेति।'

1232. In the आप. म. पाठ I. 5. 1. this mantra is आतिष्ठेममश्मानमश्मेव .....भव। अभितिष्ठ पृतन्यतः सहस्व पृतनायतः॥'.

1233. The two portions of *lāja* (fried grain) poured into the bride's hands together with the first pouring of ājya (called उपस्तरण) and the subsequent pouring of ājya (called प्रत्यभिघारण) constitute the four *avattas* or portions cut off from the material for *havis*. The descendants of Jamadagni are पञ्चावत्तिनः (*vide* above p. 490) ; therefore three portions of *lāja* are to be poured out (in order to make with उपस्तरण and प्रत्यभिघारण, five *avattas*). For these terms (चतुरवत्त and पञ्चावत्त) *vide* ज्ञातपथ I. 7. 2. 7-8.

viz. 'to god Aryaman the girls offered sacrifice; may he the god Aryaman loosen her from this (i. e. her father's) and not from that place (the bride-groom's), *svāhā*! to god Varuṇa the girls have offered sacrifice; may he, god Varuṇa &c. To god Pūṣan the girls have offered sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Pūṣan &c.; with these (the bride) should sacrifice (the fried grain) without opening her joined hands, as if they were the spoon called *sruc*. Without going round the fire the bride sacrifices fried grain a fourth time silently with the neb of the *śūrpa* (winnowing basket) towards herself. Some[1234] lead the bride round each time after fried grain has been poured out, so that the two last oblations do not follow immediately after each other. Then he loosens her two locks of hair if they are made up (that is if her hair has been bound round on two sides with two tufts of wool), (the right one) with the mantra 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuṇa' (Rg. X. 85. 24) and the left one with the following mantra (Rg. X. 85. 25). Then he causes her to step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with the words 'may you take one step for sap, second step for juice (or vigour), third step for the thriving of wealth, fourth step for comfort, fifth step for offspring, sixth step for seasons, may you be my friend with your seventh step! May you be devoted to me; let us have many sons, may they reach old age'.[1235] Bringing the heads of the two (bride and bride-groom) together, he (the ācārya) sprinkles

1234. The first view requires that leading the bride round the fire, making her tread on the stone and the offering of fried grain are each repeated thrice; so that when the offering prescribed here for the 4th time is made, it follows immediately on the third offering of *lājas*. Other teachers made the bride first offer *lājas*, then she was led round the fire. When this was done the 4th oblation of *lājas* would not come immediately after the third oblation of *lājas*, but after she went round the fire the third time. The Gobhila gr. II. 1. 14 prescribes that the fried grain to be offered into fire is mixed with tendrils of the śamī plant and Kālidāsa (in Raghuvaṁśa VII. 25–26) refers to śamī and *lājas*.

1235. This (the सप्तपदी-taking seven steps together) is the most important rite in the marriage saṁskāra. We have to understand 'भव' after each sentence' इष एकपदी भव ऊर्जे द्विपदी भव.' These words occur in all gṛhyasūtras, e. g. *vide* Āp. M. P. I. 3. 7–14 and Āp. gṛ. 4. 15–16, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 14. 6, Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 11, Hir. gṛ. I. 21. 1 &c. But there are slight variations as well. For example, पारस्कर, भरद्वाज, हिरण्य० and शाङ्खायन substitute पशुभ्यः for प्रजाभ्यः, while the first three of these and मानव and बौधायनगृह्य add विष्णुस्त्वा नयतु (or विष्णुस्त्वान्वेतु in भरद्वाज) after each of the seven clauses. पारस्कर reads सखे सप्तपदा for सखा सप्तपदी.

their heads with water from the water jar. And the bride should dwell that night in the house of an old brāhmaṇa woman whose husband and children are alive.[1236] When she (the bride) has seen the Pole star, the star Arundhatī and the seven sages (the constellation of Ursa Major), let her break her silence and say 'may my husband live and may I secure offspring'.[1237] If (the newly married couple) have to make a journey (to their home in another village), let him cause the bride to mount a chariot with the verse 'may Pūṣan lead thee from here holding thy hand' (Ṛg. X. 85. 26); he should make her ascend into a boat with the hemistitch 'carrying stones (or the river called Aśmanvatī) flows; get ready' (Ṛg. X. 53. 8) and let him make her descend from the boat with the following hemistitch; if she weeps let him pronounce the verse 'they weep for the living' (Ṛg. X. 40. 10). They constantly carry the nuptial fire in front. At pleasing places, trees and cross roads, let him mutter 'may no way-layers meet us' (Ṛg. X. 85. 32). At every dwelling place (on the way) let him look at the onlookers with the mantra 'this newly married bride brings good luck' (Ṛg. X. 85. 33). He should make her enter his house with the verse 'here may happiness increase unto you through offspring' (Ṛg. X. 85. 27). Having kindled with fuel sticks the nuptial fire and having spread to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck turned towards the east and the hair outside he makes oblations, while she (the bride) is sitting (on that hide) and takes hold of him, with the four verses (one oblation with each verse) 'may Prajāpati create offspring to us' (Ṛg. X. 85. 43-46); and then he partakes of curds with the verse 'may all the gods unite our hearts' (Ṛg. X. 85. 47) and gives (the remaining curds) to her or he besmears the heart (of both) with the rest of the *ājya* (with part of which he had already sacrificed). From that time they should not eat *kṣāra*[1238] and *lavaṇa*, should observe celibacy, wear ornaments and sleep on the ground (not on cots) for three nights or twelve nights or for a year according to some (teachers); thus (those

1236. This rule has no application if the bride and the bride-groom belong to the same village. But if they belong to different villages and the newly married couple have to stay somewhere for the night on their journey then this rule applies.

1237. This indicates that after the *homa* is finished, the bride is to observe silence till she sees the Pole star.

1238. For the meaning of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* see note 723 above.

teachers say) a *ṛṣi* will be born as a son (to them). When he has fulfilled these observances he should give the bride's shift to a brāhmaṇa who knows the Sūryā hymn (Ṛg. X. 85) and food to brāhmaṇas. Then he should cause the brāhmaṇas to pronounce auspicious words.

In this description of the saṁskāra of marriage there are three parts. There are certain rites that are preliminary, there are then a few rites that are of the essence of the saṁskāra viz. pāṇigrahaṇa, homa, going round the fire and the saptapadī, and there are certain rites like the seeing of the Pole star &c. that are subsequent to the central rites. The essential rites are mentioned by all sūtrakāras, but as to the preceding and subsequent rites there is a great divergence in the details. Even as regards the essential rites the sequence in which they take place differs. For example, the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 7. 7) describes going round the fire before saptapadī, while the Āp. gṛ. describes saptapadī (IV. 16) before the act of going round the fire (V. 1). The Gobhila gṛhya (II. 2. 16), the Khādira gṛ. (I. 3. 31), and Baud. gṛ. (I. 4. 10) describe pāṇigrahaṇa after *saptapadī* while many other sūtrakāras describe it before saptapadī. Then again there are many acts reference to which is altogether omitted in the Āśv. gṛ., e. g. there is no reference to madhuparka (which is mentioned in Āp. gṛ. III. 8, Baud. gṛ. I. 2. 1, Mānava gṛ. I. 9) nor to *kanyādāna* (which is referred to in Pār. gṛ. I. 4 and described in detail in Mānava gṛ. I. 8. 6-9). Āśv. probably omitted express mention of kanyādāna, because in defining the first four forms he uses the word 'dadyāt' while in the last four there is no *kanyādāna* and Āśv. wanted to describe ceremonies that were common to all forms.

Taking as many gṛhya sūtras as I could read, the following is a fairly exhaustive list of the different matters described in the saṁskāra of marriage. A few notes are added against those that are deemed important.[1239]

Vadhūvara-guṇaparīkṣā: (examining the suitability of a girl or a bride-groom). This has been dealt with already (vide pp. 429-436 above).

Varapreṣaṇa: (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl). The ancient custom seems to have been to send

1239. Among the principal ceremonies in marriage described by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pāṇigrahaṇa, lāja-homa and ārdrākṣatā-ropaṇa.

some person or persons (Rg. X. 85. 8-9) to the father of the girl for asking her in marriage. The same was the practice in the sūtras. *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 6. 1-4 (where Rg. X. 85. 23 is the mantra recited when sending them), Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 14-15, Āp gṛ. II. 16 and IV. 1-2 and 7. Even in medieval times, particularly among kṣatriyas, the bride-groom was the first to seek for the hand of a girl. In the Harṣacarita, prince Grahavarmā of the Maukhari race sent messengers for the hand of princess Rājyaśrī, sister of Harsa[1240]. In modern times among the brāhmaṇas and many other castes, the girl's father has to seek a bride-groom, though among the śūdras and several other castes the old practice is retained.

Vāgdāna or *Vāṅ-niścaya*: (settling the marriage). This is described by Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 6. 5-6. Medieval works like the S. R. M. pp. 529-533 describe this ceremony at great length.

Maṇḍapa-karaṇa: Erecting a *pandal* where the ceremonies are to be performed. Pār. gṛ. I. 4 says that marriage, caula upanayana, keśānta and sīmanta are to be performed outside the house in a *pandal*. Vide Sam Pr. pp. 817-818.

Nāndī-śrāddha and Puṇyāhavācana: These are referred to by Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 24; most of the gṛhyasūtras are silent about these. *Vide* for these pp. 216, 218 above.

Vadhūgṛhāgamana: (bride-groom's going to the bride's house). *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 1.

Madhuparka: (reception of the bride-groom at the bride's house). Āp. gṛ. III. 8, Baud. gṛ. I. 2. 1, Mānava gṛ. I. 9 and Kāṭhaka gṛ. 24. 1-3 prescribe this. *Vide* below chap. X for madhuparka. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 10 appears to refer to two madhuparkas, one before marriage and one after marriage (when the bride-groom returned to his own house). The commentator Ādityadarśana on Kāṭhaka gṛ. 24. 1 refers to the opinion of some that madhuparka should be offered at the close of the marriage, but states his own view that in all countries it is offered before marriage.

Snāpana, Paridhāpana and Saṁnahana: (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girding her with a string or rope of darbha.) *Vide* Āp. gṛ. IV. 8 and Kāṭhaka gṛ. 25. 4. Pār. gṛ

1240. शोभने च दिवसे ग्रहवर्मणा कन्यां प्रार्थयितुं प्रेषितस्य पूर्वागतस्यैव प्रधानदूतपुरुषस्य करे सर्वराजकुलसमक्षं दुहितृदानजलमपातयत्। हर्षचरित 4th उच्छ्वास.

I. 4 refers only to the putting on of two garments, Gobhila gṛ. (II. 1. 17–18) refers to bathing and putting on a garment, Mānava gṛ. (I. 11. 4–6) refers to paridhāpana and saṁnahana. Strangely enough Gobhila gṛ. II. 1. 10 speaks of the sprinkling of the girl's head with the best of *surā* (wine), which the commentator explains as water.

Samañjana: (anointing the bride and bride-groom). *Vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12. 5, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 15, Pār. gṛ. I. 4, in all of which Ṛg. X. 85. 47 is cited as the mantra with which anointing or sprinkling is done.

Pratisarabandha: (tying an amulet string on the bride's hand). Vide Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 12, 6–8; Kauśika sūtra 76. 8.

Vadhūvara-niṣkramaṇa: (the coming out into the *pandal* of the bride and bride-groom from the inner part of the house). Pār. gṛ. I. 4.

Parasparasamīkṣaṇa: (looking at each other). *Vide* Pār. gṛ. I. 4, Āp. gṛ. IV. 4, Baud. gṛ. I. 1. 24–25. Pār. gṛ. I. 4 says that the bride-groom recites Ṛg. X. 85. 44, 40, 41 and 37 at this time. Āp. gṛ. IV. 4 and Baud. gṛ. say he recites Ṛg. X. 85. 44. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa I. 23 says that first of all a piece of cloth is held between the bride-groom and bride and that at the proper astrological moment it is removed and then the two see each other. Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti (15. 20) also says the same. This practice is observed even now. When the interposed cloth is held between the bride and bride-groom verses called maṅgalāṣṭakas are repeated by brāhmaṇas, the last of which verses is 'tad-eva lagnaṁ sudinam tad-eva' &c.

Kanyādāna: (the gift of the bride). Vide Pār. gṛ. I. 4, Mānava gṛ. I. 8. 6–9, Vārāha gṛ. 13. The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa sets out the procedure about the *kanyādāna* which is the same even now. The Saṁ. K. p. 779 notes about half a dozen different methods of uttering the formula in *kanyādāna*. It is in this rite that the father of the girl says that the bride-groom should not prove false to the bride in dharma, artha and kāma and he responds with the words 'I shall not do so' (nāticarāmi).[1241] This is done even now.

1241. शबर on जैमिनि VI. 1. 14 says 'एवं दानकाले संवादः क्रियते-धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्येति'. *Vide* also note 1209 above. लघ्वाश्व० 15. 27 has 'एषा धर्मार्थकामेषु न त्याज्या स्वीकृता ह्यतः।'. According to मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 101 the words धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या' occur in आपस्तम्ब.

Agnisthāpana and homa: (establishing the fire and offering of *ājya* oblations into fire). Here there is great divergence about the number of āhutis and the mantras to be recited. *Vide* Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 3 and I. 4. 3–7, Āp. gṛ. V. 1 (16 āhutis with 16 mantras), Gobhila gṛ. II. 1. 24–26, Mānava gṛ. I. 8, Bhāradvāja I. 13 &c.

Pāṇigrahaṇa: (Taking hold of the bride's hand).

Lājahoma: (Offering of fried grain into fire by the bride). Vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 7–13, Pār. gṛ. I. 6, Āp. gṛ. V. 3–5, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 13. 15–17, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 11. 11, Baud. gṛ. I. 4. 25. &c. Āśv. gṛ. says that the bride makes three offerings of fried grain when mantras are repeated by the bridegroom and a fourth is made of the remaining lājas by the bride silently. Some others speak of only three offerings by the bride.

Agniparinayana: (the bride-groom going in front takes the bride round the fire and water jar). It is while doing this that he utters the words ' amohasmi ' &c. (*vide* Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 13. 4, Hir. gṛ. I. 20. 2 &c).

Aśmārohaṇa: (making the bride tread on a mill-stone). These three are done thrice viz. lājahoma, then agniparinayana and aśmārohaṇa, one after another.

Saptapadī: (taking seven steps together). This is done to the north of the fire; there are seven small heaps of rice and the bride-groom makes the bride step on each of these seven with her right foot beginning from the west.

Mūrdhābhiṣeka: (sprinkling holy water on the head of the bride and of the bride-groom according to some and on the head of the bride only according to others). Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 20, Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Gobhila gṛ. II. 2. 15–16 &c.

Sūryodīkṣaṇa: (making the bride look towards the sun). Pār. gṛ. I. 8 speaks of this and employs the mantra 'tac-cakṣur' (Ṛg. VII. 66. 16 = Vāj. S. 36. 24).

Hṛdayasparśa: (touching the bride' heart with a mantra). Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Bhār. gṛ. I. 17, Baud. gṛ. I. 4. 1.

Prekṣakānumantraṇa: (addressing the spectators with reference to the newly married bride). Mānava gṛ. I. 12. 1 (which employs Ṛg. X. 85. 33). Pār. I. 8 employs that verse for reciting over the bride.

Dakṣiṇādāna: (gifts to the ācārya). Pār. gṛ. I. 8, Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 14. 13–17 (both prescribe a cow as the fee in the case of

brāhmaṇas, a village in marriages of kings and nobles, a horse in marriages of vaiśyas &c.). Gobhila gṛ. II. 3. 23, Baud. gṛ. I. 4. 38 speak of only a cow.

Gṛhapraveśa: (entering the bride-groom's house).

Gṛhapraveśanīya homa: (sacrifice on entering the bride-groom's house). Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 16. 1-12, Gobhila gṛ. II. 3. 8-12, Āp. gṛ. VI. 6-10.

Dhruvārundhatī-darśana: (pointing out the Pole star and Arundhatī to the bride at night on the day of marriage). Āśv. gṛ. I. 7. 22 speaks of the seven sages in addition, Mānava gṛ. I. 14. 9 speaks of the same three and adds Jīvantī, Bhār. gṛ. I. 19 speaks of Dhruva, Arundhatī and other nakṣatras, Āp. gṛ. VI. 12 (only Dhruva and Arundhatī), Pār. I. 8 (only Dhruva). According to Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 17. 2, Hir. gṛ. I. 22. 10 both the bride and the bride-groom remain silent till night. According to Āśv. gṛ. only the bride does so. Gobhila gṛ. II. 3. 8-12 describes Dhruvārundhatī-darśana before *gṛhapraveśa*.

Āgneya Sthālīpāka: (mess of cooked food offered to Agni). Vide Āp. gṛ. VII. 1-5, Gobhila II. 3. 19-21, Bhār. gṛ. I. 18, Hir. gṛ. I. 23. 1-6.

Trirātravrata: (keeping for three nights after marriage certain observances). Vide Āśv. above p. 530 for the observances which are enumerated by almost all sūtrakāras. Āp. gṛ. VIII. 8-10, Baud. gṛ. I. 5. 16-17 contain the interesting injunction that the newly married pair should sleep on the ground on the same bed for three nights, but should interpose between them a staff of *udumbara* wood anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread and that on the fourth night it should be removed with the verses Ṛg. X. 85. 21-22 and thrown into water.

Caturthīkarma: (rite on the fourth night after marriage). This has been described above (pp. 202-204).

In the medieval digests certain other ceremonies are mentioned and they are observed in modern times also. A few of them will be noted below. Here again the order is not the same in all works. The Dharmasindhu p. 265 refers to this divergence.

Sīmāntapūjana: (honouring the bride-groom and his party on their arrival at the bride's village). This is done before vāgniścaya in modern times. Vide Saṁ. K. p. 768; Dharmasindhu III. p. 261.

Gaurī-Hara-pūjā: (worship of Śiva and his consort Gaurī). Saṁ. K. p. 766, S. R. M. p. 534 and 544, Dharmasindhu p. 261 (notes that there are several views as to when kanyādāna takes place) describe this. Images of Gaurī and Hara are to be made of gold or silver or pictures of them on a wall &c. or on a piece of cloth or stone are to be drawn and worshipped by the intending bride after puṇyāhavācana and before kanyādāna. Vide Laghu-Āśvalāyana 15. 35.

Indrāṇī-pūjā: (worship of Indrāṇī, the consort of god Indra). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 756, S. R. M. p. 545. This seems to have been comparatively an ancient practice as Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII. 3 seems to refer to it ('there was absence of disturbers of svayaṁvara on account of the presence of Śacī'). Probably Śacī was worshipped before the *svayaṁvara* began.

Taila-haridrāropaṇa: (Applying turmeric powder to the bride-groom's body from what is left after the bride's body has been so treated). Vide Saṁ. K. p. 757, Dharmasindhu III. p. 257.

Ārdrākṣatāropaṇa: (mutual showering of wet unbroken rice grains by the bride and bride-groom). In a vessel of some metal like silver a little milk is poured and clarified butter is sprinkled over it and unbroken wet rice grains are poured therein. The bridegroom applies milk and ghee to the joined hands of the bride twice and thrice places rice grains in the joined hands of the bride so that her *añjali* becomes filled up and twice sprinkles ghee over her joined hands. Some other person does the same to the joined hands of the bride-groom and the bride's father places a golden piece on the joined hands of both. Then the bride-groom places his joined hands on those of the bride whose father then repeats a mantra and raises her up; she then pours the rice over the head of the bridegroom who follows her in the same way. This is done thrice by each and then lastly by the bride (i. e. seven times in all). Then the priest sprinkles on their heads water with an udumbara twig together with *dūrvā* grass after reciting verses 'Āpo hi ṣṭhā &c. (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3)'. Then the couple make a *tilaka* mark on each other's forehead, garland each other and tie a thread with a turmeric piece on each other's hand (which is variously called 'kaṅkaṇa-bandhana' or 'kautuka-bandhana'). Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 828-829, S. R. M. p. 556. Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VII describes ārdrākṣatā-ropaṇa as the last of the rites of marriage and in VIII. 1 speaks of the kautuka.

Maṅgalasūtra-bandhana: (tying a string having golden and other beads on it round the neck of the bride). This is now regarded as the most important ornament which no woman will part with as long as her husband is alive. But the sūtras are entirely silent about it. Among the earliest references is one from Śaunaka smṛti[1242] (ms. in Bombay University Library, folio 39 b). The Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti 15. 33 also prescribes it and the mantra to be employed when doing so. Gadādhara on Pār. gṛ. I. 8 says that maṅgala-sūtra should be worn and garlands be placed round their necks by the bride and bride-groom, though the sūtra of Pāraskara is silent on the point. The Baud. gṛ. śesa sūtra V. 5 in describing 'arkavivāha' speaks of māṅgalya sūtra to be tied to the plant. It is not clear whether it means the same as the maṅgalasūtra now tied by married women round their necks. About the nose-ring or nose ornament to which all women whose husbands are living attach the greatest importance in modern times, the sūtras, smṛtis and even the early digests are entirely silent. Dr. Altekar in his recent work 'Position of Hindu women in Hindu Civilization' pp. 362–64 holds from the evidence of the sculptures throughout India-that the 'nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu period' (i. e. till about 1000 A. D.). Mr. P. K. Gode in Annals of B. O. R. I. vol. XIX (for 1939) pp. 313–34 adduces evidence to show that a nose-ornament was known to literary works from at least about 1000 A. D.

Uttariyaprānta-bandhana: (Tying turmeric pieces and betelnut on to the end of the upper garments of both and making a knot of their two garments together). Vide Sam. K. p. 799, S. Pr. p. 829.

Airiṇidāna[1243]: (Presenting the mother of the bride-groom with several gifts in a large wicker-work basket with lamps

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1242. ततो मङ्गलसूत्रं च ध्यात्वाभीष्टां च देवताम् । बद्ध्वा कण्ठप्रदेशे स्याद्भूषणानि च शक्तितः ॥ शौनक; बध्नीयात्कन्यकाकण्ठे सूत्रं मणिसमन्वितम् । माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन मन्त्रेण स्यात् सदा सती ॥ लघ्वाश्व 15. 33. The मन्त्र is माङ्गल्यतन्तुनानेन भर्तृजीवनहेतुना । कण्ठे बध्नामि सुभगे सा जीव शरदः शतम् ॥. 'सूत्रेऽनुपलब्धमपि वधूवरयोर्मङ्गलसूत्रं गले मालाधारणं' etc. गदाधर on पारस्कर I. 1.

1243. सवस्त्रफलताम्बूलं दम्पत्योर्वंशवर्धनम् । ऐरिण्याख्यं वंशपात्रं पक्वान्नैः परिपूरितम् ॥ करकै रुद्रसंख्यैस्तु सुवर्णेन समन्वितैः । एतावदैरिणीरूपं कर्तव्यं किल सूरिभिः ॥ quoted in सं. र. मा. p. 580. The request to show affection is made as follows 'अष्टवर्षा त्वियं कन्या पुत्रवत्पालिता मया । इदानीं तव पुत्राय दत्ता स्नेहेन पाल्यताम् ॥'. Appropriate changes are to be made, according to the age of the bride and the relationship of the bridegroom to the principal lady.

lighted and requesting her and the relatives of the bride-groom to treat the bride affectionately). Vide Sam. K. p. 811, Dharmasindhu p. 267. A basket of bamboo (*vaṁśa*) is used probably to symbolize the continuity of the family (vaṁśa) of the bride-groom. This is done when the bride is about to leave the father's place to go to the bride-groom's place after marriage.

Devakotthāpana and *Maṇḍapodvāsana*: (taking leave of the deities that had been invoked before the ceremonies began and taking down the *pandal*). Sam. K. pp. 532-533, S. R. M. pp. 555-556.

Two interesting questions arise viz. when can a marriage be said to be final and irrevocable and what would happen if a marriage is brought about by force or fraud.

Manu says (VIII. 168) 'what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force, also what has been caused to be written by force and all other transactions done by force, Manu has declared void;' and in VIII. 165 he places fraudulent transactions on the same footing as those brought about by force. There is great difficulty in applying these dicta to marriages. We saw above that Vas. Dh. S. (17. 73) and Baud. Dh. S. declare that if a girl has been carried off by force and has not been wedded with the repetition of sacred texts she may be given to another man in marriage. Viśvarūpa (p. 74) and Aparārka (p. 79) add a gloss that this can be done only after she has undergone a prāyaścitta. From this it appears that if the marriage rites (like saptapadī) have been performed, the ancient law-givers would not have declared the marriage null and void even if the girl had been carried away by force or married by fraud. In modern works on Hindu Law the proposition is stated[1244] that 'a marriage, though performed with the necessary ceremonies, may be set aside by the court, if it was brought about by force or fraud.' This opinion is based on what was said in some decided cases e. g. *Aunjona Dasi v. Prahlada Chandra* (6 Bengal L. R. 243 at p. 254), *Venkatachargulu v. Rangacharyulu* I. L. R. 14 Mad. 316 at p. 320, *Mulchand v. Bhudhia* I. L. R. 22 Bom. 812. But in none of these cases was a marriage duly solemnized by the performance of the rites of pāṇigrahaṇa, going round the fire and saptapadī, set aside. There are mere

1244. Vide Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940) p. 504.

obiter dicta in these cases to the effect that a marriage may be set aside by the court for force or fraud.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 72) goes so far as to observe 'when a girl has been promised in marriage (and the promise has been confirmed) with water, if the intended bride-groom dies, but the Vedic mantras have not been recited, that girl still belongs to her father (and may be given to another)'. Kātyāyana [1245] has a similar verse 'if after choosing a girl as his bride, a man dies (or is unheard of) the girl after the lapse of three monthly periods may marry another'. And another verse of the same author says that if a person after giving a gratuity for a girl and *strīdhana* to her goes abroad, the girl may be kept unmarried for a year and then may be given to another. Manu (VIII. 227) says 'the Vedic mantras recited in the marriage rite are a sure indication of wife-hood; but their completion should be understood by the wise as occurring on taking the seventh step'. Aparārka p. 94 (on Yāj. I. 65) quotes a similar verse from Nārada (strīpumsa v. 3). The Udvāhatattva p. 129 quotes Yama to the same effect. So it follows that the marriage becomes complete and irrevocable the moment the saptapadī rite is performed, but before that rite is gone through there is a *locus pœnitentiœ* or a power to resile from what has been undertaken. Before the saptapadī is performed, if the bride-groom dies, the bride is still a maiden and not a widow and can be married again[1246]. The most essential ceremonies of marriage are the homa and saptapadī. The Droṇaparva[1247] says that promise of a daughter and giving a daughter with water are not certain means of knowing wife-hood but saptapadī is known to be the completion of marriage. If any of the other ceremonies are wanting that would not vitiate the marriage. In I. L. R. 12 Cal. 140, it has been held that the vṛddhi-śrāddha is not an essential ceremony and its absence would not vitiate marriage.

1245. वरयित्वा तु यः कश्चित्प्रणश्येत्पुरुषो यदा । रक्तागमांस्त्रीनतीत्य कन्यान्यं वरयेद्वरम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 94; प्रदाय शुल्कं गच्छेद्यः कन्यायाः स्त्रीधनं तथा । धार्या सा वर्षमेकं तु देयान्यस्मै विधानतः ॥ कात्यायन quoted in सं. कौ. p. 737.

1246. नोदकेन न वाचा वा कन्यायाः पतिरिष्यते । पाणिग्रहणसंस्कारात् पतित्वं सप्तमे पदे ॥ यम quoted in गृ. र. p. 55, उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 129 and in स्मृ. मु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 138, which latter adds 'एवं च सप्तमपदादूर्वाक् परिणेतुर्मरणेपि न विधवात्वमित्युक्तं भवति ।. This last remark is made by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 82 also.

1247. मनोवाग्बुद्धिसंभाषा दत्ता चोदकपूर्वकम् ॥ पाणिग्रहणमन्त्राश्च प्रथितं वरलक्षणम् ॥ न त्वेषा निश्चिता निष्ठा निष्ठा सप्तपदी स्मृता ॥ द्रोणपर्व 55. 15–16.

Even the Kāmaśūtra [1248] quotes the unanimous opinion of the ācāryas that marriages celebrated before fire as a witness cannot be revoked. In the case of śūdras there are no Vedic mantras and so in their case the completion of marriage will be determined according to custom. The digests like Gṛ. R. say (p. 57) that in the case of śūdras the marriage will be complete when the śūdra girl holds the fringe of the garment of the bride-groom.

Manu (IX. 47) declares 'once is the partition of inheritance made, once is a maiden given in marriage'. This rule really means that once the ceremony of marriage is completed by saptapadī, the marriage is irrevocable and the girl cannot thereafter be given to any one else. But if a girl is only promised in marriage and if a more worthy suitor subsequently presents himself, then the father may commit breach of promise and give her in marriage to another. Vide also Manu (IX. 71 and VIII. 98). Yāj. I. 65 states the rule and the exception 'A girl is given only once; a person who after having promised to give, deprives that man of her, is liable to the punishment of a thief; but if a more worthy suitor approaches, the father may deprive the former (suitor) of her (hand) though promised'. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 44. 35) says that up to pāṇigrahaṇa any one may ask for the hand of a maiden (even though promised before to another). Nārada (strīpuṃsa vv. 30 and 32) contains similar provisions. [1249] Conversely, if a man agrees to marry a girl and subsequently discovers defects in her or if she is diseased or already deflowered or given by practising fraud he may refuse to marry her. Vide Manu IX. 72. If a guardian gives away a girl without declaring the defects of a girl (and they are subsequently discovered) the guardian should be fined in the highest ammercement (according to Yāj. I. 66 and the lowest, according to Nārada, strīpuṃsa v. 33). Aparārka [1250] (p. 95) and others add that the defects referred to must be latent and not apparent or patent to view. If a suitor repudiates a girl who is free from defects he should be fined in the highest ammercement and if he falsely accuses her of defects he should be fined one hundred paṇas (Yāj I. 66

1248. अग्निसाक्षिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन्त इत्याचार्यसमयः। कामसूत्र III. 5. 13.

1249. कन्यायां दत्तशुल्कायां ज्यायांश्चेद्वर आव्रजेत्। धर्मार्थकामसंयुक्तो वाक्यं तत्राहृतं भवेत्॥ दत्त्वा न्यायेन यः कन्यां वराय न ददाति ताम्। अदुष्टश्चेद्वरो राज्ञा स दण्ड्यस्तत्र चौरवत्॥ नारद, स्त्रीपुंस 30 and 32.

1250. कन्याप्रदः कन्यादोषं स्वयं जानन्वरेणाविदितं तस्य च प्रत्यक्षायोग्यमकथयित्वा यदि प्रयच्छति &c.। अपरार्क p. 95.

and Nārada, strīpuṁsa v. 34). Nārada adds that he who abandons a faultless girl should be punished and should be made to marry the same girl.[1251]

Some of the smṛtis and digests are very much exercised over the question of the bride having menstruation while the marriage ceremonies are in progress and *homa* is about to be performed. Atri[1252] (Jīvānanda part 1, p. 11, chap. V) prescribes that having made the girl bathe with the Havismatī (with a verse in which the word havis occurs, probably Ṛg. X. 88. 1 or VIII. 72. 1) and to put on other garments and having offered an *āhuti* of clarified butter with the verse 'Yuñjate manaḥ' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1) the ceremonies should be proceeded with. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 17) first quotes two verses (the same as Atri's) and proposes an alternative method viz. that the bride and the bride-groom should stay separate from each other for three days and on the fourth day after ceremonially bathing themselves should perform the homa in the same fire.

1251. प्रतिगृह्य तु यः कन्यामदुष्टामुत्सृजेन्नरः। स विनेयस्त्वकामोऽपि कन्यां तामेव चोद्वहेत्॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 35).

1252. विवाहे वितते तन्त्रे होमकाल उपस्थिते। कन्यामृतुमतीं दृष्ट्वा कथं कुर्वन्ति याज्ञिकाः॥ हविष्मत्या स्नापयित्वा अन्यवस्त्रमलंकृता। युक्तानामाहुतिं कृत्वा ततः कर्म प्रवर्तते॥ अत्रि V. This is quoted as यज्ञपार्श्व in सं. र. मा. p. 500 and सं. कौ. p. 714, while the उद्वाहतत्त्व quotes (pp. 146-147) two verses (one of which is the same as विवाहे and the other very similar) from वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य as quoted in the गृहस्थरत्नाकर.

CHAPTER X

MADHUPARKA AND OTHER USAGES

Madhuparka: (offering of honey by way of honour to a distinguished guest). The word literally means 'a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured' (on the hand of a person). The word occurs in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa [1253] 18. 4. The Nirukta (I. 16) also refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice. It appears that the Ait. Br. III. 4 when it says that 'if the ruler of men comes as a guest or any one else deserving of honour comes, people kill a bull or a cow (that has contracted a habit of abortion)' refers to Madhuparka, [1254] though that word is not actually used. In all gṛhya sūtras it is described at length. Most of the details are the same, the principal difference being that often different mantras are prescribed, though some (like the verse 'mātā rudrāṇām') are the same. The madhuparka [1255] is offered to *ṛtviks* (priests officiating at sacrifices) when they are chosen for a sacrifice, to a snātaka who has come to one's house, to the king (who rules one's country, when he comes to one's house), to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles. The Mānava gṛ. (I. 9. 1), Khādira gṛ. IV. 4. 21, Yāj. I. 110 say that six persons deserve *arghya* (madhuparka) viz. ṛtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the snātaka and a person who is dear to one. Some like Baud. [1256] gṛ. I. 2. 65 add 'atithi' (guest). *Vide* Gaut. V. 25, Āp. gṛ. 13. 19-20, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 5-6, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 63-64,

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1253. तं होवाच किं विद्वान्नो दारुण्यानामन्त्र्य मधुपर्कं पिप्रक्षीति। जै. उ. ब्रा. 18. 4; जानते मधुपर्कं प्राह। निरुक्त I 16.

1254. तथ्यधैवादो मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वार्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्ते। ऐ. ब्रा. III. 4. This is quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 119 and by हरदत्त on गौतम 17. 30.

1255. ऋत्विजो वृत्वा मधुपर्कमाहरेत्। स्नातकायोपस्थिताय। राज्ञे च। आचार्य-श्वशुरपितृव्यमातुलानां च। आश्व. गृ. I.24. 1-4. The bride-groom, when he comes to the bride's house, is to be honoured with मधुपर्क because he also is generally a स्नातक. The आचार्य is one who performs one's उपनयन and teaches the Veda.

1256. तथैते अर्घ्या ऋत्विक् श्वशुरः पितृव्यो मातुल आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरोऽतिथिरिति। बौ. गृ. I. 2. 65.

Manu III. 119, Śabhāparva 36. 23–24, Gobhila gṛ. IV. 10. 23–24. It is laid down that if the persons enumerated come to one's house within a year after madhuparka has been once offered, then it need not be offered again (in the same year), but when a marriage is being celebrated in one's house or a *yajña* is being performed, then madhuparka must be offered to those persons (even if one year has not elapsed since the madhuparka was previously offered). Vide Gaut. V. 26–27, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 8. 6, Yāj. I. 110, Khādira gṛ. IV. 4. 26, Gobhila gṛ. IV. 10. 26. *Ṛtviks* are to be honoured in each yājña, even though several yajñas are performed in the same year (Yāj. I. 110). Manu (III. 120) says that a king and a snātaka are to be honoured with madhuparka only when they visit one's house in a yajña. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 109) says that madhuparka is to be offered to the king only and not to any kṣatriya. Medhātithi on Manu III. 119 says that when a king, whether a kṣatriya or not, comes to one's place madhuparka was to be offered, but not to a śūdra king. According to gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa the madhuparka is to be performed according to the rites prescribed in the śākhā of the receiver and not of the giver.[1257]

The procedure of madhuparka is set out from the Āśv. gṛ.[1258] (I. 24. 5–26) " He pours honey into curds or clarified butter if no honey can be had. A seat,[1259] water for washing the feet, *arghya* water (i. e. water perfumed with flowers &c.), water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow; every one of these they announce three times (to the person who has arrived). The person (to be honoured) should sit down on the seat made of northward pointed darbha grass with the verse[1260] 'I am the highest one among my kindred, as the sun among lights ' (lightnings). Here I tread on whomsoever bears enmity to me.' Or he should repeat this verse after he has trodden on it. He should make (the host) wash his feet; the right foot he should

1257. वरस्य या भवेच्छाखा तच्छाखागृह्यचोदितः । मधुपर्कः प्रदातव्योऽन्यशाखेषि दातरि ॥ quoted in सं. प्र. p. 823.

1258. Vide Appendix for text

1259. A विष्टर is a seat with 25 दर्भs. 'पञ्चाशता भवेद्ब्रह्मा तदर्धेन तु विष्टरः' परिशिष्ट quoted by सं. प्र. p. 821. अर्घ्य is water for washing the hands, in which flowers and perfume (like sandal-wood paste) have been mixed up. गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तमुदकमर्घ्यमित्युच्यते । नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 24 11.

1260. अहं वर्ष्म &c.—This occurs in पारस्कर I. 3 and मानवगृह्य I. 9. 8 with slight variations.

hold out first to a brāhmaṇa (for washing) and the left to a śūdra. When his feet have been washed, he receives the arghya water in his joined hands and then he performs ācamana with the water for sipping with the formula 'thou art the seat (or first layer) of ambrosia'.[1261] He should look at the madhuparka, when it is being brought to him, with the mantra 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra'. He accepts it (the madhuparka) in the joined hands with the formula 'by the command (urging) of god Savitṛ, by the arms of Aśvins and the hands of Pūṣan, I accept thee' (Vāj S. I. 24). He looks at it with the three ṛk verses[1262] 'the winds blow honey to the righteous man' (Ṛg. I. 90. 6-8). He (takes it into his left hand), stirs it about thrice from left to right with the thumb and the finger next to the smallest and wipes (his fingers) towards the east with the formula 'may the Vasus eat thee with the Gāyatrī metre'; with the formula 'may the Rudras eat thee with the Triṣṭubh metre' (he wipes fingers) towards the south ; with the formula 'may the Ādityas eat thee with the Jagatī metre' towards the west; with the formula 'may Viśve Devas eat thee with the Anuṣṭubh metre' towards the north; with the formula 'to the bhūtas (beings) thee' he three times takes (some of the madhuparka materials) from out of the middle of it (and throws it up). He should partake of it for the first time with the formula[1263] 'the milk of Virāj art thou', for the second time with 'may I obtain the milk of Virāj', the third time with 'in me may the milk of Padyā Virāj dwell'. He should not eat the whole madhuparka and should not eat to satiety. He should give the remainder (out of the madhuparka materials) to a brāhmaṇa towards the north ; but if no brāhmaṇa is available he should throw it into water ; or he may eat the whole. He then takes ācamana with the water intended for it with the

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1261. The words अमृतोपस्तरणमसि occur in the description of मधुपर्क in आप. मन्त्रपाठ II. 10. 3 and आप. गृ. 13. 13., मानवगृह्य. I. 9. 15.

1262. The three verses Ṛg. I. 90. 6-8 all begin with the word मधु 'मधु वाता ऋतायते मधु क्षरन्ति सिन्धवः' (6), 'मधु नक्तमुतोषसो' (7),'मधुमान्नो वनस्पतिः' (8) and so are very appropriate to मधुपर्क. They occur in वाज. सं. 13. 27-29, are called मधुमती verses and employed in पार. गृ. I. 3, also in मानवगृह्य I. 9. 14.

1263. The three मन्त्रs 'विराजो दोहोसीति &c.' occur in Pār. gṛ. I. 3 (but at the time of receiving the *arghya* water), Sāṅ. gṛ. III. 7. 5, Mānava gṛ. I. 9. 7 &c. Some held that he should partake of the madhuparka at one time after repeating the three mantras at once.

formula 'thou art the cover of ambrosia.'[1264] He sips water a second time with the formula 'truth! fame! fortune! may Fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water, they announce to him the cow. Having muttered the words 'destroyed is my sin, my sin is destroyed', he says 'om, do it' if he desires to have the cow killed; if he is desirous of letting her go, he mutters the verse 'the mother of Rudras and daughter of Vasus'[1264a] (Rg. VIII. 101. 15) and says 'let her go'. Let the madhuparka not be without flesh."

A few small matters may be noted. Several gṛhya-sūtras (such as the Mānava) describe madhuparka as a part of the marriage rite, while others like Āśv. describe it independently. Others like Hir. gṛ. (I. 12-13) describe it as part of Samāvartana There is divergence about the substances mixed in offering madhuparka. Āśv. gṛ. and Āp. gṛ. (13. 10) prescribe a mixture of honey and curds or clarified butter and curds. Others like Pār. gṛ. I. 3 prescribe a mixture of three (curds, honey and butter). Āp. gṛ. (13. 11-12) states the view of some that those three may be mixed or five (those three with fried yava grain and barley). Hir. gṛ. I. 12. 10-12 gives the option of mixing three or five (curds, honey, ghee, water and ground grain). The Kauśika sūtra (92) speaks of nine kinds of mixtures viz. Brāhma (honey and curds), Aindra (of pāyasa), Saumya (curds and ghee), Pauṣṇa (ghee and mantha), Sārasvata (milk and ghee), Mausala (wine and ghee, this being used only in Sautrāmaṇī and Rājasūya sacrifices), Vāruṇa (water and ghee), Śrāvaṇa (sesame oil and ghee), Pārivrājaka (sesame oil and oil cake). The Mānava gṛ. I. 9. 22 says that the Veda declares that the madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends that if the cow is let loose, goat's meat or pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) may be offered; the Hir. gṛ. I. 13. 14 says that other meat should be offered; Baud. gṛ. says (I. 2. 51-54) that when the cow is let off, the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered or some forest flesh (of a deer &c.) may be offered, as there can be no madhuparka without flesh or if one is unable to offer flesh one may cook ground grains. As the cow became sacred, it became unthinkable to kill her and so other flesh was

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1264. अमृतापिधानमसि-this मन्त्र occurs also in आप. म. पा. II. 10. 4 and आप. गृ. 13. 13.

1264a. The verse माता रुद्राणां (referring to the cow) is mentioned in several गृह्यसूत्रs such as the मानव (I. 9. 23), Pār. (I. 3), बौ. गृ. I. 2. 50.

offered. When even flesh-eating came to be abhorred, then only pāyasa and such other things were recommended. The Ādiparva (60. 13-14) refers to Janamejaya's reception of Vyāsa with madhuparka and Vyāsa's letting the cow loose. This abhorrence of flesh-eating will be dealt with later on. In modern times there is generally no madhuparka except in marriage and then too it is a simple matter and the elaborate procedure prescribed in some of the gṛhya sūtras is hardly ever followed.

Certain peculiar ceremonies relating to marriage may now be described very briefly. In order to avert early widowhood (which was judged from her horoscope) for the girl to be married, a ceremony called *kumbha-vivāha* was performed. It is described in Saṁ. Pr. (p. 868), Nirṇayasindhu p. 310, Saṁ. K. (p. 746), S. R. M. (p. 528) and other works. On the day previous to the marriage a jar of water in which a golden image of Viṣṇu is dipped is decked with flowers &c. and the girl is surrounded in a network of threads, Varuna and Viṣṇu are worshipped and prayed to give long life to the intended bride-groom. Then the jar is taken out and broken in a pool of water and then water is sprinkled over the girl with five twigs and to the accompaniment of Ṛg. VII. 49 and then brāhmaṇas are fed.

The Sam. Pr. (pp. 868-869) speaks of Aśvattha-vivāha which is like kumbha-vivāha and performed for good luck to the bride and averting widowhood. Here the Aśvattha tree is substituted for the jar and a golden image of Viṣṇu is worshipped. The image is then given to a brāhmaṇa.

Arkavivāha: When a man has the misfortune to lose by death two wives one after another, before marrying a third wife he goes through a ceremony of marriage with the *arka* plant. This is described in Saṁ. Pr. pp. 876-889, Saṁ. K. p. 819, Nirṇayasindhu, p. 328. It is described in Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra V. 5 also.

Another question which takes up much space in ancient works but which is now of hardly any importance is *parivedana*. When a male got married before his elder brother or where a person married a younger girl before her elder sister was married, this act was called *parivedana* and was severely condemned as a serious encroachment on the rights of seniority and as a sin. Gaut. 15. 18 and Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 12. 22) declare that a younger brother married before an elder brother, and an elder

brother married after a younger brother are sinners, and should not be invited at a śrāddha. Āp. adds that one who marries a younger sister before her elder sister is married, one who marries an elder sister after the younger sister has been married, one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fires or offered a soma sacrifice before him (and a younger brother who kindles the sacred fires or offers soma sacrifice before his elder brother) are also equally sinful. Vas. Dh. S. I. 18, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 15–17 also have similar provisions and Vas. Dh. S. (20. 7–10) prescribes *kṛcchra* penance of twenty days for the husband of the younger sister married before her elder sister and for the husband of the elder sister married after the younger one, requires each of them to offer his wife to the other for the sake of form (to remove the slur) and then to wed her again with his assent.[1265] Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 40 also. The younger brother who marries before the elder brother is called *parivettā* or *parivividāna* (Manu III. 171, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22) or *parivindaka* (Yāj. I. 223), the elder brother before whom the younger brother marries is called *parivitta* or *parivinna* or *parivitti* (Manu III. 171), the younger sister who marries before the elder sister is called *agredidhiṣū* (Gaut. 15. 15, Vas. I. 18) or *parivedinī*, the elder sister before whom her younger sister marries is called *didhiṣū*. The husbands of these two last respectively bear the appellations agre-didhiṣūpati and didhiṣūpati. The father or other guardian who gives away the girl in any of these cases of parivedana is called paridāyī or paridātā. The younger brother who kindles the sacred fire before the elder is styled '*paryādhātṛ*' and the elder brother who is so treated is called '*paryāhita*' (Gaut. 15. 18). Manu III. 172 (which is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 30 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 16) says that the parivettā, the parivitta, the girl whom the younger brother marries before the elder, the man who gives away the girl in marriage and the officiating priest—these five all fall into hell[1266] (and must perform the penance of Cāndrāyaṇa according to Viṣṇu). The Mit. on

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1265. *Vide* Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 explaining Vas. Dh. S. '(परिवेत्ता) कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रौ चरित्वा तस्मै ज्येष्ठाय तां स्वोढां दत्त्वा ब्रह्मचर्याहूतं भैक्षवद् गुरुपरिभवपरिहारार्थं निवेद्य पुनरुद्वहेत् । तामेव ...स्वोढां ज्येष्ठाय निवेदितां तेन चानुज्ञातामुद्वहेत् ।. '

1266. The story of Jacob and the two sisters Leah (elder) and Rachel (younger) in Genesis XXIX shows that among the ancient Jews also there was a custom prohibiting the marriage of a younger sister before the elder sister.

Yāj. III. 265 quotes Hārīta-dharmasūtra on this topic to the same effect. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 refers to the view of some that if a son kindles the sacred fire before his father, the same rule applies as between brothers and then refutes that view. Aparārka p. 446 quotes Uśanas that a person may kindle sacred fires even before his father or grandfather with the latter's consent. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana (I. 76–77) says that there is no sin in taking agnihotra and performing a sacrifice before an elder brother and the incurring of sin is only restricted to marriage, while the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) holds the opposite view that one should not kindle the Vedic fires before one's father even with the latter's consent. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (37. 15–17) enumerates parivedana among upapātakas. Gaut. (18. 18–19) prescribes that if an elder brother has gone to a foreign country his younger brother must wait twelve years before he takes a wife or kindles sacred fires or six years according to some.[1267] There is a similar text of Vas. quoted by Aparārka p. 445.

In certain cases marrying or kindling sacred fires before an elder brother is not condemned. Medhātithi on Manu III. 171 quotes a verse 'One need not wait where the elder brother is a lunatic, or is a sinner, or leprous, impotent, or suffering from tuberculosis' and remarks that this is only illustrative (i. e. one need not wait where the elder brother has no adhikāra for marriage or for kindling fires)[1268]. Vide Atri v. 105 (Anan. ed.) for a similar verse. Another verse of Atri (v. 106) says that there is no blemish in marrying before the elder brother, if the latter is impotent or gone abroad, or *patita* or has become a recluse or is devoted to Yogaśāstra[1269]. *Vide* Gobhila smṛti (I. 72-74) for similar verses (which are quoted by the Gṛ. R. p. 90), Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 68–74, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 and Sam. Pr. pp. 760–766.

The ideas about the wrong committed by a younger brother or sister marrying before an elder one reach far back into Vedic antiquity. In the Tai. Br. (III. 2. 9) there is a story that the gods transferred (rubbed off) their sin to the Āpyas and then

1267. भ्रातरि चैवं ज्यायसि कनीयान्कन्याग्न्युपयमेषु । पठित्येके । गौतम 18. 18–19.

1268. उन्मत्तः किल्बिषी कुष्ठी पतितः क्लीब एव च । राजयक्ष्मामयावी च न योग्यः स्यात् प्रतीक्षितुम् ॥ quoted by मेधा० on मनु III. 171 and अपरार्क p. 445.

1269. क्लीब देशान्तरस्थे च पतिते व्रजितेपि वा । योगशास्त्राभियुक्ते च न दोषः परिवेदने ॥ अत्रि 106. This is quoted as शातातप's by अपरार्क p. 445.

there is a succession of persons who are all guilty of blame or sin and each preceding one among whom is said to have passed it on to each succeeding one viz. sūryābhyudita, sūryābhinimrukta, kunakhin, śyāvadat, agredidhiṣū, parivitta, vīrahan, brahmahan. The Vas. Dh.[1270] S. I. 18 arranges persons called sinners (*enasvin*) almost in the same order as in the Tai. Br. Here (in Tai. Br.) we have parivitta and agredidhiṣu. In another passage of the Tai. Br. (III. 4. 4) while speaking of Puruṣamedha, it is said that the parivitta is consigned as a victim to ill-luck (*nir-ṛti*), the parivividāna to distress (ārti) and the didhiṣūpati to non-success (*arāddhi*).

1270. सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिम्रुक्तः कुनखी श्यावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेत्तामेदिधिषूपतिर्वीरहा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्विनः । वसिष्ठ I. 18.

CHAPTER XI

POLYGAMY, POLYANDRY AND RIGHTS AND DUTIES ON MARRIAGE

Polygamy: Though monogamy [1271] seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the Vedic literature is full of references to polygamy. Rg. X. 145 (same as Atharvaveda III. 18) is a hymn meant as a charm for weaning the husband's affections from a co-wife. It occurs in the Āp. M. P. (I. 15) and Āp. gṛ. IX. 6–8 prescribes it for winning over the husband to oneself and for causing estrangement between him and one's co-wife. Rg. X. [1272] 159 is a hymn attributed to Śacī, wife of Indra, who claims to have vanquished and killed her co-wives and to rule supreme over Indra and all men. This hymn also occurs in Āp. M. P. (I. 16) and is prescribed by the Āp. gṛ. (IX. 9) as a charm always to be repeated by a wife for suppressing her co-wives. In a verse (Rg. I. 105. 8) Trita who had fallen into a well declares 'the rib-like sides (of the well) cause me pain all round as co-wives make it too hot (for the husband or for themselves)' [1273]. The Tai. S. (VI. 6. 4. 3) gives a dogmatic and somewhat picturesque explanation of polygamy that 'on one sacrificial post he passes round two girdles, so one man secures two wives; that he does not pass one girdle round two posts, so one wife does not obtain two husbands'. The Ait. Br. (12. 11) similarly declares 'therefore one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the

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1271. Vide Rg. X. 85. 26 and 46. These are पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्याश्विना त्वा प्रवहता रथेन। गृहान्गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि॥...सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु॥ (last quoted above in n. 1229). The word *dampatī* (which occurs very frequently in the Rg.) conveys in several places the idea of a monogamous marriage. Vide Rg. V. 3. 2, VIII. 31. 5, X. 68. 2.

1272. Vide असपत्ना सपत्नघ्नी जयन्त्यभिभूवरी। आवृक्षमन्यासां वर्चो राधो अस्थेयसामिव॥ समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरीः। यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च॥ ऋ. X. 159. 5–6. आप. म. पा. reads differently.

1273. सं मा तपन्त्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः। ऋ. I. 105. 8; vide Rg. X. 116. 10 (आदित्पतिमकृणुतं कनीनाम्) where the Aśvins are said to have made च्यवन the husband of maidens.

same[1274] time'. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 4.) when speaking of the Aśvamedha says 'the wives anoint (the horse); wives are indeed a form of prosperity'[1275]. In the Śat. Br. (XIII. 4. 1. 9., S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 349) it is said, 'four[1276] wives are in attendance viz. the consecrated queen (*mahiṣī*), the favourite wife (vāvātā), the discarded wife (parivṛktā or parivṛkti) and the pālāgalī (who is low-born)'. The Tai. S. I. 8. 9 refers to the mahiṣī and parivṛkti. In the Vāj. S. (23. 24, 26, 28) there are verses which are addressed to the mahiṣī, vāvātā and parivṛkti by the brahmā, udgātā and hotā priests respectively. Hariścandra is said to have had a hundred wives (Ait. Br. 33. 1). It is not to be supposed that polygamy was confined only to kings and nobles. The great philosopher Yājñavalkya had two wives, Kātyāyanī who was worldly-minded and Maitreyī who thirsted for the knowledge of brahma and immortality (Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 1-2 and II. 4. 1).

In the times of the sūtras, some sages wanted to hold up a high ideal. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 5. 11. 12-13) declares that when a man has a wife who is endowed with dharma and progeny, he shall not marry another wife; but if any one of the two (dharma and progeny) is wanting (in the case of the wife), he may marry another before he has consecrated the sacred śrauta fires. In another place Āp. (I. 10. 28. 19) prescribes that one who abandons his (faultless) wife should put on the skin of an ass with the hair outside and should beg for alms at seven houses for six months.[1277] Nārada (strīpumsa v. 95)

1274. यदेकस्मिन्यूपे द्वे रशने परिव्ययति तस्मादेको द्वे जाये विन्दते यन्नैकां रशनां द्वयोर्यूपयोः परिव्ययति तस्मान्नैका द्वौ पती विन्दते । तै. सं. VI. 6. 4. 3; vide also तै. सं. VI. 5. 1. 4 'तस्मादेको बह्वीर्जाया विन्दते;' तस्मादेकस्य बह्व्यो जाया भवन्ति नैकस्यै बहवः सहपतयः । ऐ. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1275. पत्नयोऽभ्यञ्जन्ति । श्रिया वा एतद्रूपं यत्पत्नयः । श्रियमेवास्मिंस्तद्दधति । तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 4; vide शतपथब्रा. XIII. 2. 6. 7 for the same words.

1276. चतस्रो जाया उपकूसा भवन्ति महिषी वावाता परिवृक्ता पालागली । शतपथ XIII. 4. 1. 9. In रामायण बालकाण्ड 14. 35 the first three out of these four are mentioned in connection with अश्वमेध 'होताध्वर्युस्तथोद्गाता हयेन समयोजयन् । महिष्या परिवृक्त्या च वावातामपरां तथा ॥ . In Ṛg. X. 102. 11 the word परिवृक्ता occurs which probably means the discarded wife.

1277. धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत । अन्यतराभावे कार्या प्रागन्याधेयात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 11. 12-13; खराजिनं बर्हिर्लोम परिधाय दारव्यतिक्रमिणे भिक्षामिति सप्तागाराणि चरेत् । सा वृत्तिः षण्मासान् । आप. ध सू. I. 10. 28. 19; vide बृहत्संहिता chap 74. 13 where this प्रायश्चित्त for the husband is mentioned and it is said that it is never observed by men. अनुकूलामवाग्दुष्टां दक्षां साध्वीं प्रजावतीम् । त्यजन् भार्यामवस्थाप्यो राज्ञा दण्डेन भूयसा ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 95).

recommends that the king should bring round to the proper path by inflicting heavy fines a husband who abandons a wife that is obedient, not harsh of tongue, vigilant (in household work), chaste and endowed with sons. Even Kauṭ. (III. 2) prescribes that a husband should wait for eight years (before marrying another) if his wife gives birth to no child after one delivery or is sonless or is barren; he should wait for ten if she bears only still-born children, twelve years if she gives birth to daughters only. Then if he is anxious for a son he may marry another. If he violates these rules he must pay her gratuity, some wealth as stridhana and money (prescribed to be given) on supersession and besides a fine (to the king) of 24 paṇas'.[1278] So far Kauṭilya appears to have only stated the ideal, because he follows up this remark by another statement which probably represented the commonly held popular view 'a man may marry several wives after giving *śulka* and stridhana to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession (ādhivedanika) and suitable provision for livelihood; for women are (married) for procreating sons.' Though Āp. and others held up the ideal of monogamy and Nārada and others prescribed a fine for marrying a second wife without sufficient cause, it is extremely doubtful whether a man was ever punished by the king for so doing. Manu V. 80 and Yāj. I. 80 both say that a husband may supersede a wife (and marry another) if she drinks wine, suffers from a disease (of long standing), is deceitful, is extravagant in expenditure, speaks harsh words, and gives birth to female children only. Manu V. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 allow a husband to marry another woman at once if the first is harsh of tongue. Devala [1279] quoted in the Gṛ. R. says that the śūdra may have only one wife, a vaiśya two, a kṣatriya three and a brāhmaṇa four, but a king may have as many as he desires. This only reflected the prevailing practice of kings. The Ādiparva [1280] gravely remarks 'to have many wives is no *adharma* on the part of men, but to violate

1278. Vide Manu IX. 81 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 65 for similar periods of waiting. Vide Yāj. II. 148 for the amount of ādhivedanika to be given by the husband.

1279. एका शूद्रस्य वैश्यस्य द्वे तिस्रः क्षत्रियस्य च । चतस्रो ब्राह्मणस्य स्युर्भार्या राज्ञो यथेच्छतः ॥ देवल quoted in गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 85.

1280. न चाप्यधर्मः कल्याण बहुपत्नीकता नृणाम् । स्त्रीणामधर्मः सुमहान्भर्तुः पूर्वस्य लङ्घने ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 36.

the duty owed to the first husband would be a great *adharma* in the case of women.' The Mahābhārata (Mausala-parva V. 6) tells us that Vāsudeva [1281] (Kṛṣṇa) had sixteen thousand wives. Several kings had in historic times as many as a hundred wives. For example, the Cedi king Gāṅgeyadeva alias Vikramāditya is said to have obtained *mukti* (salvation) at Prayāga with his hundred wives [1282] (vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva dated 1122 A. D. in E. I. vol. II. p. 4 and the Khaira plates of the same king in E. I. vol. XII. p. 205). In Bengal the evils of Kulinism are well known. The reasons for this treatment of women were many, such as the great spiritual importance of sons, early marriages and consequent illiteracy of women, the spread of the idea of the ceremonial impurity of women and their being equated with śūdras and lastly the idea of the complete dependence of women on men. One must not be carried away, however, by the notion that marrying many wives was either very common or was not looked down upon. Steele (in 'Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes,' first published in 1826) who had the most unique opportunities for observing the practices of numerous castes in the Dekhan in the first decades of the 19th century writes (p. 168, ed. of 1868) 'a man may marry as many wives as his inclination or circumstances allow. Marriages in succession, in consequence of the death of a former wife, are very common; but polygamy is not usual except on account of the barrenness of the first wife. It is practised in the Koonbee castes'. Vide also Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I (ed. of 1907) p. 482 'Although in theory polygamy is allowed, in practice a second wife is rarely taken while the first is alive and in India as a whole there are only 1011 wives to every 1000 husbands so that even if no husbands have more than two wives all but 11 per thousand must be monogamous'. The state of the modern case law is unsatisfactory. The Bombay High Court has held that the mere fact that the husband has married a second wife would not entitle the first wife to refuse to stay with the husband. Vide *Motilal* v. *Chanchal*, 4 Bom. L. R. 107. In *Virasami* v. *Appasami*, 1 Madras High Court Reports, p. 375, the court held that a Hindu may marry any number of wives, although he may have a wife or wives living. It is submitted with great respect that that is

1281. षोडश स्त्रीसहस्राणि वासुदेवपरिग्रहः। तासामासीन्महानादो दृष्ट्वार्जुनमागतम् ॥ मौसलपर्व V. 6.

1282. प्रासे प्रयागवटमूलनिवेशबन्धौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिम्। E. I. vol. II. p. 4.

not the ideal or the view of the best writers, nor is such a view held by the majority of Indian jurists of ancient and medieval times. Modern opinion of educated people is most favourable to making marriages monogamous and efforts are being made to secure absolute monogamy by legislative action. For example, the Madras Nambudri Act (Madras Act XXI of 1933) forbids a Nambudri brāhmaṇa from marrying a second wife when the first is living except in three cases viz. (1) when the first wife is afflicted with an incurable disease for over five years, (2) when she has not borne a child within ten years of marriage, and (3) when she becomes an outcast.

Polyandry

The passages cited above (note 1274) from the Ait. Br. and the Tai. S. that a woman cannot have several husbands at the same time make it clear that in those ancient times polyandry was unheard[1283] of. Not a single Vedic passage can be cited which clearly refers to the practice of polyandry. The most glaring example of polyandry in Sanskrit literature is that of Draupadī as the wife of the five Pāṇḍavas. Probably the tradition was too firmly rooted to allow the author to ignore it. The Mahābhārata shows that all were shocked by the resolve of Yudhiṣṭhira to make Draupadī the wife of the five brothers. Dhṛṣṭadyumna (Ādiparva[1284] 195. 27–29) tries vehemently to dissuade Yudhiṣṭhira, who tries to justify his action on the ground of ancient practice and the agreement of the brothers to share everything that any one of them may secure. But Yudhiṣṭhira could[1285] ferret out (Ādi. chap. 196) only two instances (rather mythical) in support of the practice viz. of Jaṭilā Gautamī (who had seven sages as husbands) and of Vārkṣī who had ten Prācetasa brothers as husbands. It is this fact that has led many scholars to regard the Pāṇḍus as a non-Aryan tribe somehow grafted on the Aryan stock and represented as relatives of the Kauravas by the editor of the

1283. Vide Cambridge History of India, vol I. p. 88, Vedic Index I. p. 479.

1284. एकस्य बह्व्यो विहिता महिष्यः कुरुनन्दन। नैकस्या बहवः पुंसः श्रूयन्ते पतयः क्वचित्। लोकवेदविरुद्धं त्वं नाधर्मं धर्मविच्छुचिः। कर्तुमर्हसि कौन्तेय कस्मात्ते बुद्धिरीदृशी। आदि. 195. 27–29; vide सभापर्व 68. 35 where Karṇa speaks of Draupadī as ' bandhakī ' (a harlot), because she had many men as her husbands.

1285. युधिष्ठिर replies ' सूक्ष्मो धर्मो महाराज नास्य विद्मो वयं गतिम्। पूर्वेषामानुपूर्व्येण यातं वर्त्मानुयामहे ॥ '

Mahābhāratā. This too also sounds somewhat far-fetched. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika cuts this Gordian knot by putting forward three explanations, one of which boldly asserts that there were many Draupadīs very similar to each other and so the epic figuratively speaks of one Draupadī only.[1286] There were really five Draupadīs (and not one) married separately to the five Pāṇḍavas. In the Dharmaśāstra works there are traces of the knowledge of the practice of polyandry. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 2-4) refers to it 'One shall not make over (his wife) to strangers (for a son by *niyoga*), but only to one who is a sagotra; for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of brothers and not to one brother alone); that (*niyoga*) is forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.' Similarly Bṛhaspati, while illustrating the proposition that the king should not disturb popular usages even though they may be improper, cites several such practices among which he mentions 'In some other countries there is the most reprehensible practice of a brother taking (as wife) the widow of his deceased brother, and the practice of delivering a maiden to a family; similarly among the Pārasīkas (Persians) matches with a mother are seen'.[1287] Dr. Jolly is wrong in thinking that Bṛhaspati refers to polyandry as practised in the south. Bṛhaspati first referred to the practice of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter as prevalent amongst the southerners (dākṣinātyas) in his day and then adds that a practice of giving a girl to the family is in vogue in other countries. So he clearly means countries other than those of the dākṣiṇātyas. Prof. Keith appears to follow Dr. Jolly without any independent examination of the original passage (in E. R. E. vol. 8 on marriage, p. 453). Just as Bṛhaspati refers to the Pārasīkas, he speaks of polyandry as current among other countries (but not Aryan India). There are two types of polyandry,[1288] one matriarchal (where a woman forms simultaneous alliances with two or more men who are not necessarily relations of each other and therefore succession is

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1286. अथवा बहव्य एव ताः सदृशरूपा द्रौपद्य एकत्वेनोपचरिता इति व्यवहारार्थापत्त्या गम्यते ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 209

1287. विरुद्धाः प्रतिहृश्यन्ते दाक्षिणात्येषु संप्रति । स्वमातुलसुतोद्वाहो मातृबन्धुत्वदूषितः ॥ अभर्तृकभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिदूषितम् । कुले कन्याप्रदानं च देशेष्वन्येषु दृश्यते । तथा मातृविवाहोपि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते । बृहस्पति quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. 10, स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p. 130). Vide Jolly's Recht und Sitte, English translation, p. 102.

1288. Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. I. p. 483 (1907).

traced through the female) and the other fraternal, where a woman becomes the wife of several brothers. The former practice once prevailed among the Nairs on the Malabar coast, but it has now died out. The latter form of polyandry is still to some extent found in Kumaon, Garhwal and among peoples in the Himalayan area up to Assam.[1289] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (I. A. vol. 8, p. 88) says that in Kumaun between the Tons and Jumna river about Kalsi, Rajputs, brāhmaṇas and śūdras all practise polyandry and the children are attributed to the eldest brother who is alive. Nīlakaṇṭha,[1290] the commentator of the Mahābhārata, raises (on Ādiparva 104. 35) the question about Draupadī's marrying five husbands and refers to the practice among very low castes in his day of one woman having two or three husbands.

Mutual rights and duties of husband and wife

Manu (IX. 101–102) lays down in a concise form the obligations of husband and wife viz. 'they should not prove false to each other till death (as regards dharma, artha and kāma) and that their constant endeavour should be not to be separate from each other and not to break faith with each other (as to those three goals of human life)'. The detailed rights and duties of the husband and wife will be unfolded as we proceed.

The first duty of the husband and the privilege of the wife was to require and to give respectively her co-operation in all religious acts. This has been so from the most ancient times. In Rg. I. 72. 5 it is said[1291] that 'they, accompanied by their wives, worshipped the fire who is worthy of worship'. In another place it is said 'when you make the husband and wife of one mind, they anoint thee with ghee like a well-placed friend'. In the Tai. Br. III. 7. 5 occurs a passage 'may the wife unite with her husband by means of the good deeds (done by

1289. Vide the authorities quoted in Jolly's Recht und Sitte (Eng. tr. p. 103 foot-notes).

1290. कथं तर्हि द्रौपद्याः पञ्च पाण्डवा मारिषायाश्च दश प्राचेतसा इदानींतनानां नीचानां च द्वित्रादयः पतयो दृश्यन्ते इति चेन्न देवचरितं चरेदिति न्यायेन देवताकल्पेषु पर्यनुयोगायोगात् नीचानां पशुप्रायाणां चाचारस्यामाण्याच्च अधिकारिविषयत्वाच्च नियोगस्य। नीलकण्ठ on आदिपर्व 104. 35.

1291. संजानाना उपसीदन्नभिज्ञु पत्नीवन्तो नमस्यं नमस्यन्। ऋ. I. 72. 5; अञ्जन्ति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिर्यद्दम्पती समनसा कृणोषि। ऋ. V. 3. 2; स पत्नी पत्या सुकृतेन गच्छताम्। यज्ञस्य युक्तौ धुर्यावधूताम्। संजानाना विजहतामरातीः। दिवि ज्योतिरजरमारभेताम्। तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 5.

both), they two became yoked like oxen to the sacrifice; may the two be of one mind and destroy their foes; may they attain non-aging light in heaven'. The same verse with slight variations occurs in the Kāṭhaka Saṁh. V. 4 and is relied upon by Śabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 21. This indicates that they were supposed to enjoy the fruits of their actions together. We saw above (p. 551) how in the Aśvamedha the wife anoints the horse, how in marriage the bride offers handfuls of fried grain into fire. It has already been seen (note 1208) that the Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 17–19) requires that from the time of marriage the husband and wife work together in religious acts, that they share the reward of such acts together and that they both have dominion over the wealth of the family and that the wife can make gifts in the absence of the husband if occasion necessitates. The Āśv. gṛ. (I. 8. 5) prescribes [1292] that the fire kindled at marriage is carried by the married pair to their home (in a vessel) and that (I. 9. 1–8) since the day of marriage, the husband should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife or his son or his daughter or pupil (may offer worship in his absence), that if fire goes out, some teachers say that the wife should observe a fast, the domestic fire should be worshipped in the evening with an *āhuti* and the formula 'agnaye svāhā' and in the morning with an *āhuti* and the formula 'sūryāya svāhā' and there is to be a second oblation each time silently (to Prajāpati). According to the commentator some said that the wife and daughter could not perform the homa as they had no privilege to learn mantras, that they could only kindle the fire, while others said they could do so. In the gṛhya fire kindled at marriage one was to offer the daily mahāyajñas (Gaut. 5. 6–8) and as regards baliharaṇa, Gobhila gṛ. (I. 4. 16–19) says that both husband and wife should offer *balis*, or a brāhmaṇa may offer for them, or the wife may offer in the evening and the husband in the morning [1293]. Manu (III. 121) says that from food cooked in the evening the wife should

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1292. विवाहाग्निमग्रतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति । आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 5. पाणिग्रहणादि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा । ..... यदि तूपशाम्येत्पत्न्युपवसेदित्येके । ..... अग्नये स्वाहेति सायं जुहुयात्सूर्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तूष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1, 3, 8.

1293. आप. गृ. was against allowing women to perform homa even in gṛhya fire except in the case of *kāmya* rites and *bali*. स्त्रियानुपेतेन क्षारलवणावरान्नसंसृष्टस्य च होमं परिचक्षते । यथोपदेशं काम्यानि बलयश्च । आप. गृ. 8. 3–4.

offer balis, but without mantras. This shows that though gradually women began to lose the right to repeat Vedic mantras (as shown by Manu), still she had a hand in the religious rites. She had to perform many acts in sacrifices, such as unhusking grain in sthālīpāka (*vide* Hir. gṛ. I. 23. 3), washing the slaughtered animal (compare Śat. Br. III. 8. 2 and Gobhila gṛ III. 10. 29), looking at the *ājya* in śrauta sacrifices. The Pūrvamīmāṁsā[1294] (VI. 1. 17–21) establishes that both husband and wife own property and should join together in performing sacrifices, but that the male sacrificer alone is ordinarily to do every act in all religious ceremonies except such matters as are expressly declared to be performed by the wife also or alone (as e. g. observing celibacy, uttering benediction &c.). It is on account of the necessity of associating the wife in all religious acts that the hero Rāma was compelled to celebrate sacrifices with a golden image of Sītā by his side.[1295] Pāṇini (IV. 1. 33) derives the word *patnī* and says that it can be only applied to a wife who shares in the sacrifice (and its reward). It follows that wives who are not or cannot join with their husbands in yajñas are only *jāyās* or *bhāryās* (but not *patnīs*). The Mahābhāṣya says[1296] that the wife of a śūdra is called *patnī* only by analogy (as a śūdra himself has no adhikāra for yajña, his wife can much less have it). It is on account of this close association of the wife in all sacrifices (either śrauta or smārta) that the wife if she dies before her husband is burnt with the sacred fire or fires and with the sacrificial vessels and implements (Manu V. 167–168, Yāj. I. 89). The Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 says 'half of the sacrifice is destroyed in the case of that sacrificer whose wife is (in her monthly course and therefore) unavailable on the sacrificial day.'[1297]

But the wife is not authorized to do religious acts independently of her husband or without his consent. Manu (V. 155 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 15) ordains 'there is no separate yajña for

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1294. तस्या यावदुक्तमाशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यमतुल्यत्वात्। जै. VI. 1. 24.

1295. रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम्। ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरर्चितैः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 10; 'काञ्चनीं मम पत्नीं च' in रामायण VII. 91. 25.

1296. पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे। पा. IV. 1. 33; 'एवमपि तुषजकस्य पत्नीति न सिध्यति। उपमानात्सिद्धम्। पत्नीवत्पत्नीति।' महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 33. (vol. II. p. 214).

1297. अर्धो वा एतद्यज्ञस्य मीयते यस्य व्रत्येऽहन् पत्न्यनालम्भुका भवति। तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 1.

women (independently of the husband) nor vrata (vows) nor fasts (without his consent).' Similarly Kātyāyana propounds[1298] a sweeping rule 'whatever a woman does to secure spiritual benefit after death without the consent of her father (when she is unmarried), or her husband or her son, becomes fruitless for the purpose intended.' *Vide* also Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 19. The Nityācārapaddhati (p. 329) quotes Manu V. 155 and remarks that Manu's words are not to be taken literally but are only meant to extol the eminence of the husband.

Very detailed rules were laid down as to precedence among wives, if a man married several women. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (26. 1-4) concisely gives all the rules.[1299] If all the wives are of the same caste, then the wife whose marriage took place first was to be associated with the husband in all religious acts; if a man had wives of different varṇas (when inter-caste marriages were allowed) the wife of the same varṇa with the husband had precedence, though her marriage might have been later in date. If there is no wife of the same varṇa as himself, the husband may associate with himself in religious rites even a wife of the varṇa immediately next to his own; but a *dvijāti* should never associate a śūdra wife with himself in religious ceremonies. Vide Madanapārijāta p. 134 for similar rules. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 18 expressly says 'a woman belonging to the dark varṇa (i. e. śūdra) is meant only for pleasure and not for performance of religious rites'.[1300] Gobhila smṛti (I. 103-104) contains rules similar to those in Viṣṇu Dh. S., Yāj. I. 88 and Veda-Vyāsa II. 12 are to the same effect. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. remarks that though the eldest wife alone is entitled to take part in religious rites, all wives (except a śūdra wife) may be cremated with the śrauta fire. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 165. In the Pūrvamīmāṁsā (IX. 3. 20-21) Jaimini discusses the question whether the direction in the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa 'patnīm saṁnahya' (having girt up the wife) which employs the singular number

1298. नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the व्यवहारमयूख p. 113. This is ascribed to मार्कण्डेय by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 37. and by हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड part 1. p. 362) to आदिपुराण.

1299. सुवर्णासु बहुभार्यासु विद्यमानासु ज्येष्ठया सह धर्मकार्यं कुर्यात् । मिश्रासु च कनिष्ठयापि समानवर्णया । समानवर्णाया अभावे स्वनन्तरयैवापदि च । न त्वेव द्विजः शूद्रया ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 26. 1-4.

1300. कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय । वसिष्ठ 18. 18.

should be modified into the dual or plural when the sacrificer (in a model sacrifice or its modifications) has two or more wives and establishes that no change is required. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[1301] (I. 43–44) says that there were three views when a man had several wives viz. some said that all should be associated with him in religious rites, others held that only the eldest wife of the same varṇa should be associated and the third view was that the husband should never associate with himself a wife whom he married for pleasure after he kindled the sacred fires. Manu (IX. 86–87) lays down that the wife of the same caste with the husband should always have precedence not only in the obligatory religious rites, but also in ministering to the physical comfort of the husband and if a brāhmaṇa husband gets these done by a wife of another caste when the wife of the same caste is near, he becomes like a cāṇḍāla.

From very ancient times one of the articles of faith was that a man was born with debts, that he owed three debts to sages, gods and pitṛs and that by brahmacarya (student-hood), by performing yajñas and by procreating sons he freed himself from those three debts respectively. Vide[1302] Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5, Śat. Br. I. 7.2.11, Ait. Br. 33.1. The last very succinctly states the purposes served by a son viz. payment of the debt to ancestors, the securing of immortality and heaven. Rg, V. 4. 10 (prajābhir-agne amṛtatvam-aśyām) prays 'may I obtain immortality through progeny.' Vas. Dh. S. 17. 1–4 quotes these passages of the Tai. S., Ait. Br. and Rg. The Rg. X. 85. 45 invokes the blessing of ten sons on the newly married bride and the Rg. is full of the yearning for a son at every step. Vide Rg. I. 91. 20, I. 92. 13, III. 1. 23 &c. Jaimini (VI. 2. 31)[1303] discusses the passage of the Tai S. and arrives at the conclusion that the duties laid down in it are obligatory and not left to choice and Śabara adds another explanation that these duties are obligatory on all dvijātis and the word 'brāhmaṇa' is used in the

1301. भार्याः सन्तीह यावत्यस्ताभिः सर्वाभिरन्वितः। यद्वा सवर्णया ज्येष्ठभार्ययैव समन्वितः॥ यद्वाधानादुपर्यूढकामपत्नीविवर्जितः। त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 43–44.

1302. जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी। तै. सं. VI. 3. 10. 5; ऋणं ह वै जायते योऽस्ति। स जायमान एव देवेभ्य ऋषिभ्यः पितृभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः। शतपथ I. 7. 2. 11; ऋणमस्मिन्संनयत्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति। पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम्। ..... नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदुः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1. वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 47 quotes the first passage.

1303. ब्राह्मणस्य तु सोमविद्याप्रजासृणवाक्येन संयोगात्। जैमिनि VI. 2. 31.

Tai. S. as illustrative only. Manu (VI. 35) enjoins upon a man that he should not think of *mokṣa* (release from saṁsāra) before he has paid off the three debts and (IX. 106) further says that by the very birth of the eldest son a man becomes free from the debt owed to ancestors. Manu (IX. 137), Vas. 17. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 46 contain the same verse proclaiming that a man attains all (heavenly) worlds by means of a son and Manu IX. 138, Ādi. 129. 14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 15. 44 declare that a putra is so called because he saves his father from the hell called *put*. The Nirukta II. 11 [1304] also derives the word *putra* similarly. Further the water and piṇḍas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the souls of the departed. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 85. 70,[1305] Vanaparva 84. 97, Matsyapurāṇa 207. 39 contain a verse ' one should desire to have many sons in the hope that one of them may repair to Gayā.' On account of these several benefits conferred by a son, the highest importance was attached to the birth of a son. The wife helped a man to discharge two of his debts, to the gods by associating with him in sacrifices and to the pitṛs by procreating a son or sons. Therefore the goal of the life of women was declared to be to get married and procreate sons. This was so much the case from very ancient times that even the Śat. Br. (V. 3. 2. 2, S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 65) says that the sonless wife is possessed with *Nir-ṛti* (ill luck or Destruction). Manu (IX. 96) says ' women are created for procreation and men have to propagate (the race): therefore in the Veda it is declared that the wife shares in common (with the husband) the performance of religious duties '. Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 19) also declares that women are created for (procreating) children. It was on account of these ideas about the goal of woman's life and the supreme importance of a son that the smṛtis and dharma-sūtra works recommended or allowed the husband to marry a second time even when the first wife was living.

All the smṛtis, purāṇas and the digests devote a great deal of space to the duties of a wife. It would be impossible to set them out in detail. A few striking passages alone will be cited. All are agreed that the foremost duty of a wife is to obey her

1304. पुत्रः पुरु त्रायते निपरणाद्वा पुन्नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा । निरुक्त II. 11.

1305. एतस्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां व्रजेत् । यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 70. The मत्स्यपुराण 207. 39 reads गौरीं चाप्युद्वहेत्कन्यां for यजे ..... मेधेन.

husband and to honour him as her god. In the Śat. Br.[1306] princess Sukanyā when married to the old and decrepit sage Cyavana to mollify the sage who had been wronged by her brothers says ' I shall not forsake my husband, while he is alive, to whom my father gave me' (IV. 1. 5. 9). Śaṅkha-Likhita [1307] say ' a wife should not hate her husband even if he be impotent (or have swollen testicles), *patita* (guilty of mahāpātaka and so an outcast), devoid of a limb or diseased, since the husband is the god of women.' Manu declares (V. 154) ' a virtuous wife should serve her husband as if he were a god, whether he be of evil character, or lustful (loving another woman) or devoid of good qualities ' Yāj. I. 77 enjoins upon women ' this is the highest duty (dharma) of women that they should obey their husband's words ; if he is guilty of some mortal sin, they should wait till he is purified (and thereafter be dependent on his words)'. The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa 24. 26–27) remarks ' the husband is the god and the master of the wife, while she is alive and she obtains the highest heaven by serving her husband.' The Mahābhārata very frequently harps upon the duties of wives.[1308] The Anuśāsana parva 146. 55 says ' the husband is the god of a woman, her (sole) relative, her goal '; the Āśvamedhika-parva 90. 51 declares ' the husband is the highest deity.' ' The father gives only what is limited, the brother and the son do the same; what woman would not worship the husband who gives what is unlimited or immeasurable ! ' (Śāntiparva 148. 6–7). The Matsyapurāṇa 210. 18 contains this last verse and adds ' the husband is the god for women and is their highest goal.' This idea of the wife's entire submission to the

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1306. यस्मै मां पितादाज्ञैषार्हं तं जीवन्तं हास्यामि । शतपथ IV. 1. 5. 9. Vide Manu V. 151 for a paraphrase of this passage. विश्वरूप on या I. 69 makes an objector rely on this Śatapatha passage to show that it allows niyoga after the husband's death.

1307. न भर्तारं हिंस्यादाधत्यप्यष्टीवलः स्यात्पतितोऽक्लीबो व्याधितो वा पतिर्हि देवता स्त्रीणाम् । शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 251), परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 38.

1308. पतिर्हि देवो नारीणां पतिर्बन्धुः पतिर्गतिः । अनुशासन 146. 55; मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः । अमितस्य हि दातारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 148. 6; पतिर्हि दैवतं स्त्रीणां पतिरेव परायणम् । ..... मितं ददाति ..... पूजयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 210. 17–18. भार्यैकचारिणी गूढविश्रम्भा देववत्पतिमाद्यकुल्येन वर्तेत । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 1. Compare St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians V. 22–24 'wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord...Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.'

husband is voiced even by poets like Kālidāsa,[1309] who makes one of the pupils of Kaṇva say about Śakuntalā 'this is your wife, abandon her or accept her, since all-round domination of the husband over the wife is proper.' Manu V. 150–156, Yāj. I. 83–87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 2 ff, Vanaparva 233. 19–58 (Draupadī as the speaker), Anuśāsana 123 (Śāṇḍilī declares the conduct of virtuous wives), Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti II. 20–32 (wife's duties from morning till night), Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 84 ff (wife's duties from morning), Sm. C. (vyavahāra section) p. 249 ff, Madanapārijāta pp. 192–195 and other *nibandhas* dwell at length upon the duties of the wife. A few of such duties may be indicated here.

According to Manu V. 150 'a wife should always present a smiling face, should be alert and clever in her domestic duties, should keep domestic vessels well burnished and clean and should not be extravagant in spending.' Manu IX. 11 asks the husband to set to his wife the task of conserving the wealth acquired and looking to its expenditure, of keeping things clean, of the performance of religious acts, of cooking food and of taking care of household paraphernalia. Manu (IX. 13) adds that drinking wine, company of bad people, staying away from the husband, wandering about (to *tīrthas* or elsewhere), sleep (by day), staying in the house of strangers—these six spoil married women. Ādiparva 74. 12 gives[1310] expression to the popular notion that people do not like married women staying with their paternal relatives for a long time away from their husbands, since such a stay leads to loss of good name and character. The same sentiment is echoed by Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala (V. 17). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 77. 19 is to the same effect. Yāj. (I. 83 and 87) requires the wife to keep household utensils and furniture in their proper places, to be clever, to have a smiling face, to be unextravagant, to be devoted to doing what is agreeable and beneficial to the husband, to show respect to her father-in-law and mother-in-law by clasping their feet; to

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1309. तदेषा भवतः कान्ता त्यज वैनां ग्रहाण वा। उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी॥ शाकुन्तल V.

1310. नारीणां चिरवासो हि बान्धवेषु न रोचते। कीर्तिचारित्रधर्मघ्नस्तस्मात्क्षिप्रं मनो चिरम्॥ आदिपर्व 74. 12; compare 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते। शाकुन्तल V. 17

conduct herself decently, to restrain her senses.' Śaṅkha [1311] lays down what is decent conduct for a wife 'she should not go out of the house unless she is asked (by her husband or elders) nor without putting on an upper garment; she should not walk fast; she should not speak with a male who is unrelated to her, except a trader, a saṁnyāsin, an old man or a physician; she should not allow her navel to be seen; she should wear her garment (or *sari*) in such a way that it may reach down to her ankles; she should not expose her breasts, she should not laugh loudly without covering her mouth (with her hand or her garment); she should not hate her husband or his relatives; she should not be in the company of dancing girls, gambling women, women who make assignments to meet lovers, female ascetics, female fortune-tellers, women who live by tricks, magical and secret rites and who are of bad character; since (the wise declare that) the character of women of good family is spoilt by the company (they keep).' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 25. 1–6 ordains 'now then the duties of wives (are declared); they should perform the same *vratas* (observances and vows) which the husband undertakes; they should honour the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, other elders, gods, guests and keep the household utensils well arranged; they should not be extravagant in giving to others; should keep the goods well guarded; they should have no liking for magical practices (to win love) and should be devoted to auspicious conduct.' *Vide* also Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 99 last two verses (quoted by Aparārka p. 107). Draupadī (Vanaparva chap. 233) states 'whatever my husband does not eat, drink or partake of, I avoid. I know the total wealth, the income and expenditure of the Pāṇḍavas'. The Kāmasūtra directs the wife to make expenditure that will be commensurate with the yearly income of the

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1311. नानुक्ता गृहान्निर्गच्छेत् । नानुत्तरीया । न त्वरितं व्रजेत् । न परपुरुषमभिभाषेतान्यत्र वणिक्प्रव्रजितवृद्धवैद्येभ्यः । न नाभिं दर्शयेत् । आ गुल्फाद्वासः परिदध्यात् । न स्तनौ विवृतौ कुर्यात् । न हसेदनपावृता । भर्तारं तद्बन्धून्वा न द्विष्यात् । न गणिका-धूर्ताभिसारिणी-प्रव्रजिता-प्रेक्षणिकामायामूलकुहककारिकादुःशीलादिभिः सहैकत्र तिष्ठेत् । संसर्गेण हि कुलस्त्रीणां चारित्र्यं दुष्यति । शङ्ख quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 87, by अपरार्क p. 107 (on या. I. 83), मदनपारिजात p. 195; vide also स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार) pp. 249–250 and वि. र. p. 430. As to speaking with परपुरुष, vide वनपर्व 266. 3 एका ह्यहं संप्रति ते न वाचं ददानि वै भद्र निबोध चेदम् । अहं त्वरण्ये कथमेकमेका त्वामालपेयं निरता स्वधर्मे ॥. Vide also अनुशासन 146. 43. 'मूलकारिका' in the passage of शङ्ख means one who employs herbs &c. for वशीकरण. Vide वनपर्व 233. 7–14 (the last verse is मूलप्रचारैर्हि विषं प्रयच्छन्ति जिघांसवः).

husband.[1312] Manu (VIII. 361) prescribes the fine of a *suvarṇa* for a man speaking with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak and Yāj. II. 285 prescribes a fine of one hundred *paṇas* in the case of a woman who is forbidden to speak with a man (by her husband or father &c.) and a fine of two hundred *paṇas* in the case of the man who speaks with a woman with whom he is forbidden to speak. Bṛhaspati[1313] says that a wife should get up from bed before her husband and elders, should partake of food and condiments after they have eaten, should occupy a seat lower than that of the husband or elders. 'A wife can engage in vratas, fasts, observances and worship (of god &c.) with the permission of her husband' say Śaṅkha-Likhita.[1314] The Purāṇas frequently descant on *strīdharma*. A few specimens may be noted here. The Bhāgavata VII. 11. 29 says that the wife who looks upon her husband as the god Hari dwells in the world of Hari and revels with her husband. The Skanda Purāṇa (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Dharmāraṇya section, chap. 7) has a long description of a *pativratā* 'she should not repeat the name of her husband, as such conduct leads to the increase of the husband's life and should never take the name of another male (v. 18), even when she is loudly blamed (by the husband) she does not cry loudly, even when beaten she is smiling (v. 19). A pativratā should always use turmeric, *kuṅkuma*, sindūra, lamp black (for the eye), a bodice, tāmbūla, auspicious ornaments, and should braid her hair' (vv. 28-29). The Padma-purāṇa (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chap. 47, v. 55) says that that wife is pativratā who in doing work is like a slave, like a *hetaira* in affording sexual pleasure, like a mother in offering food and like a counsellor in adversity.

Special rules of conduct were laid down for a wife whose husband was away from home on a journey. Śaṅkha-Likhita (quoted by Aparārka p. 108, Sm. C., vyavahāra p. 253) contain a long statement about what such a wife should not do 'women whose husbands are away from home should avoid amusements of swing and dance, seeing pictures, applying unguents to the body, walking in parks, sleeping in open places (or uncovered).

1312. सांवत्सरिकमार्यं संरूयाय तदनुरूपं व्ययं कुर्यात् । कामसूत्र IV. 1. 32.

1313. पूर्वोत्थानं गुरुश्वश्वाः भोजनव्यञ्जनक्रिया । जघन्यासनशायित्वं कर्म स्त्रीणामुदाहृतम् । बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच०, व्यव. p. 257.

1314. भर्तुरनुज्ञया व्रतोपवासनियमेज्यादीनामारम्भः स्त्रीधर्मः । शङ्खलिखित quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यवहार) p. 252.

partaking of sumptuous food and drink, playing with a ball, fragrant resins and perfumes, flowers, ornaments, ceremonial brushing of the teeth, collyrium (in the eyes).' Yāj. (I. 84) puts these briefly 'a woman whose husband is gone to another country should give up play, the adornment of the body, visiting samājas (note 986 above) and festivals, laughing, going to the house of a stranger.' The Anuśāsana-parva[1315] (123. 17) indicates that a wife whose husband is gone abroad does not apply eyesalve or *rocanā* (yellow pigment) to her body, does not take a ceremonial bath and does not use flowers, unguents or ornaments. Manu (IX. 74–75) requires the husband when going abroad to make provision for the wife's maintenance, since a woman without some means of livelihood, though originally virtuous, may go astray and adds 'when the husband goes abroad after providing for maintenance, the wife should live thereby and abide by the restrictions (laid down for such wives); if he goes away without making provision for her maintenance she should maintain herself by crafts (such as spinning) which are unblamable.' The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 9–10) contains similar rules. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 52) enjoins upon a wife whose husband is gone abroad 'her[1316] face should look pale and distressed, she should not embellish her body, she should be devoted to her husband, should be without (full) meal, and should emaciate her body.' The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[1317] (I. 80–81 and 85) says that when the husband is gone abroad the wife may with the help of a priest perform the daily duties of *agnihotra*, the obligatory iṣṭis and pitṛyajña, but should not perform soma sacrifices.

The rewards of the wife's single-minded devotion to her husband and her rigid observance of the rules of conduct prescribed for her are stated at great length in smṛti works. Manu (IX. 29–30 = Manu V. 165 and 164) says 'that woman who does not prove faithless to her husband in thought, word and deed (lit. body) secures the (heavenly) worlds together with her husband and is spoken of as a *sādhvī*' (a virtuous woman, a *pativratā*); but by proving faithless to her husband a

1315. अस्नानं रोचनां चैव स्नानं माल्यानुलेपनम्। प्रसाधनं च निष्क्रान्ते नाभिनन्दामि भर्तरि॥ अनुशासन 123. 17.

1316. विवर्णदीनवदना देहसंस्कारवर्जिता। पतिव्रता निराहारा शोष्यते प्रोषिते पतौ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति II. 52.

1317. अतोऽग्निहोत्रं नित्येष्टिः पितृयज्ञ इति त्रयम्। कर्तव्यं प्रोषिते पत्यौ नान्यत्स्वामिक्रियान्वितम्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 83.

woman incurs censure in this world, is born as a female jackal (in the next life) and is afflicted with very bad diseases.' Yāj. (I. 75 and 87) declares that the woman, who does not approach another while the husband is living or after his death and who is intent on doing what is agreeable and beneficial to her husband, who is of good conduct and has restrained her senses, attains glory in this world and plays with Umā (the wife of Śiva) in heaven. Bṛhaspati[1318] defines a *pativratā* as one who is distressed when her husband is distressed, who is delighted when her husband is in delight, who is emaciated and wears dirty clothes when her husband has gone on a journey and who dies on the death of her husband.

In the Mahābhārata and the purāṇas hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the *pativratā* occur at every step. *Vide* Vana-parva 63 where we are told (vv. 38–39) that when Damayantī cursed by her faithfulness to her husband the young hunter who had evil designs on her, he fell down a dead man. In the Anuśāsanaparva 123 Śāṇḍilī who[1319] had attained heavenly worlds tells Sumanā Kaikeyī how she reached that state without wearing kāṣāyas (dyed garments worn by saṁnyāsins) or bark garments and without having matted hair or without tonsuring her head (as ascetics do), but by strictly following the rules laid down for virtuous wives, such as not addressing harsh words to their husband, abandoning all food that the husband did not like. Anuśāsana (146. 4–6) names several *pativratās* of ancient times and the following verses dilate upon the rules of conduct for virtuous wives. The story of Sāvitrī in the Vanaparva (293–299) illustrates the power of a pativratā, who wrung back even from Yama, the dread god of Death, the life of her husband.[1320] Sāvitrī and Sītā have been held by the women of India for thousands of years as the

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1318. आर्तार्ते मुदिते हृष्टा प्रोषिते मलिना कृशा ॥ मृते म्रियेत या पत्यौ सा स्त्री ज्ञेया पतिव्रता ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, by the मिता. on या. I. 86 (as हारीत's). It is वृद्धहारीत XI. 199.

1319. नाहं काषायवसना नापि वल्कलधारिणी। न च मुण्डा च जटिला भूत्वा देवत्वमागता ॥ अहितानि च वाक्यानि सर्वाणि परुषाणि च। अप्रमत्ता च भर्तारं कदाचिन्नाहमब्रवम् ॥ अनुशासन 123. 8–9, 14 &c.

1320. Vide also मत्स्यपुराण 208–214 for the tale of सावित्री. सावित्री says in वनपर्व 297. 53 'न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता सुखं न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता दिवम्। न कामये भर्तृविनाकृता श्रियं न भर्तृहीना व्यवसामि जीवितुम् ॥'

highest ideals of womanly virtue, to which they have always endeavoured to approach and one may say that Indian women generally have most successfully lived up to that high and ennobling ideal that was set before them. Vanaparva (205–206) tells the story of a learned brāhmaṇa, who by his mere angry look made a female crane die when the latter voided its faeces on to the head of the brāhmaṇa and who was rebuked by a pativratā that the latter was not a crane, when the brāhmaṇa tried to frighten the virtuous woman for her tardiness in welcoming him as a guest and for looking only after her husband. The Śalyaparva (63) narrates how awful the power of a pativratā like Gāndhārī is in that she can, if she choose, burn the world, she can stop even the motions of the sun and[1321] the moon. The Skanda-purāṇa III (Brahma-khaṇḍa, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7) first names (verses 14–15) several pativratās like Arundhatī, Anasūyā, Sāvitrī, Śāṇḍilyā, Satyā, Menā and then waxes eloquent over the tremendous spiritual power of a pativratā 'just as a snake-charmer[1322] forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a pativratā snatches away her husband's life from the messengers of Death and reaches heaven with her husband and the messengers of Death, on seeing the pativratā, beat a hasty retreat.'

As the foremost duty of the wife was to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was further entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A verse quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 62 and IV. 251 and by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and which occurs in some Mss. as a spurious verse after Manu XI. 10 says 'Manu declares that one must maintain one's aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts'.[1323] Dakṣa

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1321. कृष्ण says to गान्धारी 'शक्ता चासि महाभागे पृथिवीं सचराचराम्। चक्षुषा क्रोधदीप्तेन प्रदग्धुं तपसो बलात्॥' शल्यपर्व 63. 21.

1322. व्यालग्राही यथा व्यालं बलादुद्धरते बिलात्। एवमुत्क्रम्य दूतेभ्यः पतिं स्वर्गं व्रजेत्सती॥ यमदूताः पलायन्ते तामालोक्य पतिव्रताम्। स्कन्दपुराण (ब्रह्मखण्ड), धर्मारण्य chap. 7. 54–55. It will be noticed later on that the half verse व्यालग्राही occurs in numerous works.

1323. वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या शिशुः सुतः। अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत्॥

II. 36 (= Laghu-Āśvalāyana [1324] I. 74) defines *poṣyavarga* (persons whom every one, however poor, is bound to maintain) as follows: 'the parents, the *guru*, the wife, children and a helpless man who has taken shelter with one, a guest and fire constitute poṣyavarga.' Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife, and son, when they are not outcasted, should be fined 600 paṇas by the king. Yāj. I. 74 requires the husband to maintain a wife whom he has superseded in the same way as before, otherwise he would be guilty of great sin. Yāj. I. 76 says that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son, and agreeable in speech, he was to be made to give one-third of his property to the wife, but if he had no property he had to maintain her. Nārada (strīpuṁsa 95) has a similar provision. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief, if he abandoned his wife. The husband was required by Yāj. I. 81 to be devoted to his wife, since women are to be guarded (against falling into error). Vide Yāj. I. 78 also. Manu IV. 133 forbids adultery with another's wife and Manu IV. 134 (= Anuśāsana 104. 21 and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 62–63) observes that there is nothing that harms one's life as much as adultery. Viśvarūpa [1325] on Yāj. I. 80 points out that the guarding of a wife from evil can be secured only by being devoted to her and not by beating her, as, if the husband were to beat her, it might endanger her life. Manu (IX. 5–9) also calls upon men to guard women, and (in IX. 10–12) says that they cannot be guarded by imprisonment or force, but by engaging them in looking to the income and expenditure, the furniture, beauty and purity of the house and the cooking and by inculcating on them the value of a virtuous life. In spite of this the husband possessed certain powers of physical correction over the wife which were the same as those possessed by a teacher over a pupil or a father over a son, viz. he could administer beating with a rope or a thin piece of bamboo on the back but never on the head. Vide Manu VIII. 299–300 (cited above on p. 363) which are the same as Matsyapurāṇa 227. 152–154. It will be seen that about two thousand years ago Manu did not confer

1324. माता पिता गुरुर्भार्या प्रजा दीनः समाश्रितः । अभ्यागतोऽतिथिश्चाग्निः पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36. Verse 37 includes other persons among poṣyavarga in the case of the well-to-do. Aparārka p. 939 quotes Dakṣa II. 36–37.

1325. रक्षा च स्त्रीणां स्वदारानिरतत्वमेव न तु ताडनादिका । तया तासामनर्थोपि संभाव्येत । तथा च लौकिकाः पाञ्चालस्त्रीषु मार्दवमिति पठन्ति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 80.

greater powers of correction and restraint of the wife on the husband than the Common Law of England allowed to husbands even in the 18th century.[1326]

As it was the husband's duty to provide residence and maintenance for the wife and as the wife was bound to stay with the husband, it follows that either party could after marriage enforce his or her rights in a court of law if the other party refused to perform her or his duties. In modern times a suit for restitution of conjugal rights can be brought and the decree can be executed against the wife by the attachment and sale of her property (if she has any), but not by detention in civil jail and against the husband by the court ordering the husband to make periodical payments of money for the maintenance of the wife and securing such payments by creating a charge on his property (vide Civil Procedure Code of 1908 Order 21 rules 32 and 33). To such a suit by the husband Indian Courts have recognised certain valid defences, such as desertion, cruelty or such conduct as endangers the health of the wife, change of religion, or keeping a concubine in the house or the husband's being afflicted with a loathsome disease (like leprosy). Vide *Bai Premkunvar* v. *Bhika* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 209 (leprosy), *Yamunabai* v. *Narayan* 1 Bom. 164 (cruelty), *Paigi* v. *Sheo Narain* 8 All. 78, *Dular Koer* v. *Dwarkanath* 34 Cal. 971, *Bai Jivi* v. *Narsingh* 51 Bom. 329. Where the courts make the husband pay maintenance, they are in principle following Yāj. I. 76 and Nārada (p. 569). Vide *Binda* v. *Kaunsilia* 13 All. 126 where many original Sanskrit texts are cited.

Not only was the husband bound to maintain the wife, but he was called upon to cohabit with the wife and was supposed to incur the sin of embryo-murder if he refused without good cause to do so. On the other hand the husband had a right of

1326. Vide Blackstone's commentaries on the laws of England (ed. of 1765, Oxford) Book I. chap. 15 pp. 432-433 'The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife moderate correction.....the law thought it reasonable to entrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man is allowed to correct his servants or children.....Yet the lower rank of people still claim and exert their ancient privilege ; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty in case of any gross behaviour'. Vide also Lush on the law of 'Husband and Wife' (4th ed. 1933) pp. 24-29 about the husband's power to beat his wife and restrain her in the past and now.

consortium i. e. the wife was not to refuse herself to the husband and if she did so her delinquency was to be proclaimed in the village and she was to be driven from the house [1327].

The humane character of the legislation of the Indian sages is seen by the fact that even for adultery they do not allow the husband to drive the wife out of the house and to abandon her. Gaut. 22. 35 prescribes that a wife who violates her duty of chastity must undergo a penance, but she should be kept under guard and be given food. Yāj. (I. 70, 72) declares 'an adulterous woman should be deprived of her authority (over servants &c.), should be made to wear dirty clothes, should be given food just sufficient to enable her to live, should be treated with scorn and made to lie on the ground (not on a cot); a woman becomes pure from adultery when she has her monthly period after that, but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned and also when she is guilty of the murder of her foetus or of her husband or of some sin that makes her an outcast'. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 draws attention to the text of Vasiṣṭha XXI. 12 'the wives of brāhmaṇas,[1328] kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who commit adultery with a śūdra may be purified by a penance in case no child is born (of the intercourse), but not otherwise' and remarks that the words of Yājñavalkya are to be understood in the same sense i. e. a wife is to be abandoned only if she be in adultery with a śūdra; and further that the abandonment consists in not allowing her to participate in religious rites and conjugal matters, but she is not to be cast on the streets; she is to be kept apart guarded in a room and to be given food and raiment (as stated in Yāj. III. 297). Vasiṣṭha XXI. 10 says that only four (types of) wives are to be abandoned viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil and with the husband's *guru*, and especially one who attempts to kill her husband and who commits

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1327. त्रीणि वर्षाण्यृतुमतीं यो भार्यां नाधिगच्छति । स तुल्यं भ्रूणहत्याया दोषमृच्छत्यसंशयम् ॥ ऋतुस्नातां तु यो भार्यां संनिधौ नोपगच्छति । पितरस्तस्य तन्मासं तस्मिन्रजसि शेरते ॥ भर्तुः प्रतिनिवेशेन या भार्या स्कन्दयेद्रेतुम् । तां राजमध्ये विख्याप्य भ्रूणघ्नीं निर्धमेद्गृहात् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 19-20, 22. विश्वरूप on या. I. 79 quotes as Baudhāyana's verses 20 and 22. संवर्त 98 is the same as बौ. ध. सू. IV. 1. 20. पराशर (4. 14-15) is similar to Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 20 and 22.

1328. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां भार्याः शूद्रेण संगताः । अप्रजाता विशुध्यन्ति प्रायश्चित्तेन नेतराः ॥ चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्यगा गुरुगा च या । पतिघ्नी च विशेषेण जुङ्गितोपगता च या ॥ वसिष्ठ 21. 12 and 10. The मिता० ascribes the second verse to व्यास on Yāj. I. 72 and to वसिष्ठ on या. III. 298.

adultery with a man of degraded caste (like a leather-worker). Nārada[1329] (strīpuṁsa v. 91) says 'when a woman commits adultery her hair shall be shaven, she shall have to lie on a low bed, shall receive bad food and clothing and her occupation will be the removal of sweepings of the husband's house'. Gaut. 23. 14, Śānti-parva 165. 64 and Manu VIII. 371 are more harsh on a woman who has intercourse with a low-caste man, i. e. she is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. Veda-Vyāsa (II. 49–50) says that 'a wife[1330] who is guilty of adultery should be kept in the house but void of her rights of associating in religious and conjugal matters and of her rights over property, and should be treated with scorn; but when she has had monthly course after the act of adultery (and does not repeat it), the husband should allow her the usual rights of a wife as before.' Manu XI. 177 asks the husband to confine an exceedingly corrupt wife to one room and compel her to perform the penance[1331] prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Vide Atri V. 1–5, Parāśara IV. 20 and XI. 87 and Bṛhad-Yama IV. 36.

Under the English law, if the wife commits adultery the husband's obligation to maintain her ceases altogether unless he had connived at it or condoned it.[1332]

The following propositions can be deduced from the texts cited above. (1) There is no absolute right of abandonment of wife in the husband on the ground of adultery; (2) Adultery is ordinarily an upapātaka (a minor sin) and can be atoned for by appropriate penance undergone by the wife; (3) the wife who has committed adultery but has undergone penance is to be restored to all the ordinary rights of wives (*vide* Vas. XXI. 12, Yāj. I. 72, Mit. thereon and Aparārka p. 98); (4) as long as the adulteress has not undergone penance, she is to be given in the house itself starving maintenance and to be deprived of all her rights as wife (Yāj. I. 70, Śāntiparva 165. 63);

1329. व्यभिचारे स्त्रिया मौण्ड्यमधः शयनमेव च। कदन्नं वा कुवासश्च कर्म चावस्करोज्झनम् ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस v. 91).

1330. व्यभिचारेण दुष्टां तां पत्नीमा दर्शनाद्धृतोः। हृतत्रिवर्गकरणां धिक्कृतां च वसेत्पतिः॥ पुनस्तामार्तवस्नातां पूर्ववद् व्यवहारयेत् ॥ वेदव्यास II. 49–50.

1331. Penance will be lighter or heavier according to the caste of the adulterer. According to मनु XI. 60 adultery is an उपपातक and the ordinary penance for it is गोव्रत or चान्द्रायण (मनु XI. 118).

1332. *Vide* Halsbury's Laws of England vol. 16 (Hailsham ed.) pp. 609–610.

(5) a wife, who commits adultery with a śūdra or has had a child thereby, who is guilty of killing her foetus or of attempt to kill the husband or guilty of one of the deadly sins (mahāpātakas), is to be deprived of her right to participation in religious rites or conjugal matters and is to be kept confined in a room or in a hut near the house and to be given starving maintenance and poor apparel, even after she undergoes penance (Vas. XXI. 10, Manu XI. 177, Yāj. III. 297-98 and Mit. thereon); (6) that wives who are not guilty of acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297-298, Vas. 21. 10 or 28. 7 are to be given starving maintenance and residence near the house even if they do not perform penance (*vide* Mit. on Yāj. III. 298); (7) wives who are guilty of the acts mentioned in Yāj. I. 72, III. 297-298, if they refuse to perform penance, are to be refused even starving maintenance and residence near the husband's house (Mit. on Yāj. III. 298). The propositions about maintenance set out here are accepted as the modern Hindu Law by the courts in India.[1333]

It has been shown above (p. 518) that Āp. postulated the identity of husband and wife in religious matters and Manu IX. 45 declares that the husband is one with his wife. But this identity of husband and wife was not accepted by the ancient sages for secular or legal purposes. The rights of husband and wife as to each other's property and the liability of each for the debts of the other will be dealt with later on in detail. It may suffice here to point out that the wife was not ordinarily liable for the debts contracted by the husband nor was the husband liable for the debts contracted by the wife alone, unless the debt was for family purposes (Yāj. II. 46). Similarly the husband could exercise no dominion over the wife's own property (her *strīdhana* or *peculium*) except in a famine or for a necessary religious purpose, or in disease or when he was imprisoned (Yāj. II. 147). These rules prescribed centuries ago compare in their fairness or reasonableness most favourably with the rules of the English law[1334] (as they prevailed before the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, 45 and 46 Vict. chap. 75), whereby the husband by the mere fact of marriage acquired free-hold interest, during the joint lives of himself and

1333. *Vide Parami v. Mahadevi* I. L. R. 34. Bom. 278 at p. 283 (*per* Chandavarkar J.).

1334. *Vide* Halsbury's Laws of England (Hailsham ed.) vol. 16 pp. 613-614.

his wife, in all estates of inheritance and life estates of which she was seised at the marriage or became seised during coverture, and an absolute interest in all the wife's personal chattels.

Nārada [1335] (strīpuṁsa, v. 89) does not allow the husband or wife to lodge a complaint against one another with their relations or with the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 294 remarks 'though a judicial proceeding between husband and wife as plaintiff and defendant before the king is forbidden, still, if the king comes to know personally or indirectly of wrong done by the one to the other, the king must bring round the husband or the wife to the path of duty by appropriate punishment, otherwise [1336] the king incurs sin'. There were certain matters of which the king could take cognisance without the complaint of anybody : they were called *aparādhas* (they are ten) among which were included the murder of a woman, varṇasaṁkara, adultery, pregnancy of a widow from some person other than the husband, abortion [1337] &c. We have seen (p. 569) that Yāj. I. 76, Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 95) make the husband liable to pay one-third of his estate or a fine for deserting a virtuous wife and there are many such provisions about the matters affecting the husband and wife in which the king interfered. In England [1338] at Common Law a wife could not sue her husband in tort (till the Married Women's Property Act) nor could a husband sue the wife in tort.

We must now turn to the position of women in general and wives in particular and the estimate of their character and worth made by ancient India. It has already been seen (p. 428) how the wife was looked upon as half of the husband, how in Vedic times women composed hymns and learnt the Vedas and how they co-operated with their husbands in all religious acts. On the whole their social position was much better (except as to rights of property) than what it became in later times. But

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1335. ईर्ष्यासूयासमुत्थे तु संबन्धे रागहेतुके । दम्पती विवदेयातां न ज्ञातिषु न राजनि ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस v. 89).

1336. यद्यपि स्त्रीपुंसयोः परस्परमर्थिप्रत्यर्थितया नृपसमक्षं व्यवहारो निषिद्धस्तथापि प्रत्यक्षेण परंपरया वा विदिते तयोः परस्परातिचारे दण्डादिना दम्पती निजधर्ममार्गे राज्ञा स्थापनीयौ, इतरथा दोषभाग्भवति । मिताक्षरा.

1337. Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, व्यव० p. 28 quoting नारद, संवर्त and पितामह for ten अपराधs, 22 पदs, &c.

1338. Vide Salmond's Law of Torts, 9th ed. pp. 71-72.

even in the Vedic times there was an under-current of opinion which was hostile to women, sneered at them and treated them with scorn. Some of the passages from Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature eulogising women and the wife have been set out above (pp. 428ff). The passages noted below may be read in this connection.[1339] Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 63–64, Manu III. 55–62, Yāj. I. 71, 74, 78, 82, Vas. Dh. S. 28. 1–9, Atri vv. 140–141 and 193–198, Ādiparva 74. 140–152, Śāntiparva 144. 6 and 12–17, Anuśāsana 46, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 21. 69–76. The Kāmasūtra III. 2 says that women are like flowers (kusumasadharmāṇo hi yoṣitaḥ). It has been seen (pp. 146–147) how way was to be made by all for the bride and the pregnant woman and it will be shown that the general opinion was that no woman was to be killed on any account (with one or two exceptions[1340] in ancient writers). Some of the smṛtikāras like Atri and Devala were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste or who had conceived by such intercourse did not become outcasts, but only impure till delivery or next period when they became pure again and could be associated with, the child born of the adulterous connection being handed over to some one else for being brought up.[1341] If a woman was raped she was not to be abandoned, but she became impure only till her next period (Atri 197–198) and Devala (48–49) prescribes purifications for a woman raped by *mlecchas* and conceiving thereby. In the Śāntiparva 267. 38 it is said that it is not the woman who is at fault, but it is the man who is at fault (when the woman goes astray). In the Varuṇapraghāsa[1342]

1339. न गृहं गृहमित्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्यते । गृहं तु गृहिणीहीनमरण्यसदृशं मतम् ॥ शान्ति 144. 6; नास्ति भार्यासमो बन्धुः नास्ति भार्यासमा गतिः । नास्ति भार्यासमो लोके सहायो धर्मसंग्रहे । शान्ति 144. 16; यदा भार्या च भर्ता च परस्परवशानुगौ । तदा धर्मार्थकामानां त्रयाणामपि संगतम् ॥ कथं भार्यामृते धर्ममर्थं वा पुरुषः प्रभो । प्राप्नोति काममथवा तस्यां त्रितयमाहितम् ॥ तथैव भर्तारमृते भार्या धर्मादिसाधने । न समर्था त्रिवर्गोयं दाम्पत्यं समुदाश्रितः ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 21. 69–71.

1340. Vide Gaut. 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 (both prescribe that a woman should be devoured by dogs if she had intercourse with a male of a lower varṇa), Vas. Dh. S. 21. 1–5. Even this was modified later and only परित्याग was allowed; vide Vas. 21. 10, Yāj. I. 72.

1341. असवर्णेस्तु यो गर्भः स्त्रीणां योनौ निषिच्यते । अशुद्धा सा भवेन्नारी यावद्गर्भं न मुञ्चति ॥ विमुक्ते तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि प्रदृश्यते । तदा सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा ॥ अत्रि verses 195–196, which are almost the same as देवल 50–51. अत्रि adds बलात्कारी प्रभुक्ता वा चौरभुक्ता तथापि वा । न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते । ऋतुकाल उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति ॥ vv. 197–198.

1342. यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रूयात्प्रियं ज्ञातिं रुन्ध्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

(one of the cāturmāsyas) the sacrificer's wife had to confess if she had a lover and even when she confessed she was allowed to co-operate with her husband in the sacrifice. Vide Tai. Br. I. 6. 5, Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20, Kātyāyana Śr. V. 5. 6-10.

As against the high eulogy and considerate treatment of women a few passages unfavourable to women may be cited. We have already seen (p. 503) how woman was said to be 'falsehood' incarnate (Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 10. 11). Rg. VIII. 33. 17 says 'the mind of woman is uncontrollable'; Rg. X. 95. 15 and Śatapatha XI. 5. 1. 9 declare 'there is no friendship with women and they have the hearts of hyænas' (addressed to Purūravas about Urvaśī); Rg. V. 30. 9 'women are the weapons and army of the dāsa'. The Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2[1343] says 'therefore women are without strength, take no dāya (portion) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man'. This passage (which really refers to women not being entitled to a portion of Soma drink) is relied upon by Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 53) and [1344] by Manu IX. 18 for prescribing the entire dependence of women on men, for depriving them of a share on partition or inheritance and of the privilege of Vedic mantras. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446) says that woman, śūdra, a dog and a crow embody untruth, sin and darkness (XIV. 1. 1. 31). The same Brāhmaṇa (IV. 4. 2. 13, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 366) remarks 'the wives being smitten (with ghee-the thunderbolt) and unmanned neither rule over themselves nor over dāya (share of property)'[1345]. Another passage of the Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 300) says 'He thereby makes women to be dependent, whence women are sure to be attendant upon man' (XIII. 2. 2. 4). These passages establish that even in Vedic times women were often looked down upon, had no share in property and were dependent. The passages about the character of women contain no more than what male cynics and critics of all times and in all countries have attributed to women such as 'frailty, thy name is woman!'. In the Dharmaśāstra Literature the position of women became

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1343. स्त्रियो हि दास आयुधानि चक्रे किं मा करन्नबला अस्य सेनाः। ऋ. V. 39. 9; तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरापि पापात्पुंस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति। तै. सं. VI. 5. 8. 2.

1344. निरिन्द्रिया अदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्रुतिः। बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 53; नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थितिः। निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽनृतमिति स्थितिः॥ मनु IX. 18.

1345. वज्रो वा आज्यमेतेन वै देवा वज्रेणाज्येनाघ्नन्नेव पत्नीर्निराक्षणुवंस्ता हता निरष्टा नात्मनश्च नैशत न दायस्य च नैशत। शतपथ IV. 4. 2. 13.

worse and worse as time went on, except as to rights of property. Gaut. 18. 1, Vas. Dh. S. V. 1 and 3, Manu V. 146–148 and IX. 2–3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 50–52, Nārada (dāyabhāga 31)– all declare [1346] that women are not independent, but dependent in all matters on men and that in childhood, after marriage and in old age they are to be guarded by the father, the husband and the son respectively. Manu (IX. 2–3) refers to *rakṣā* (i. e. protection against harm or calamity), while Manu V. 146–148 declare a woman's dependence even in all domestic matters at all stages of her life on some male. Nārada (dāyabhāga vv. 28–30) adds [1347] 'when a widow is sonless, her husband's relatives are the controlling authority as regards her maintenance, the application (of the husband's property) and guarding her against harm; if there be no relative or *sapiṇḍas* of the husband, then a woman's father's family has control of her; the creator assigned dependence to women as women even of good family fall into ruin by independence'. It has been seen above (pp. 561–562) that a woman's only concern was to serve her husband, and that she could perform other observances or undertake fasts and pilgrimages only with her husband's permission. Vide Hemādri (Vrata-khaṇḍa, part i. p. 362 where several texts are quoted including Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 16. 61). [1348]

In the Mahābhārata, in the Manu-smṛti, in other smṛtis and the purāṇas women are charged with serious moral lapses. A few typical and striking passages from the great epic are

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1346. अस्वतन्त्रा धर्मे स्त्री। गौतम 18. 1; अस्वतन्त्रा स्त्री पुरुषप्रधाना। वसिष्ठ V. 1; अस्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वैर्दिवानिशम्। विषयेषु च सज्जन्त्यः संस्थाप्या आत्मनो वशे॥ पिता रक्षति कौमारे भर्ता रक्षति यौवने। रक्षन्ति स्थविरे पुत्रा न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति॥ मनु IX. 2–3. The latter is the same as वसिष्ठ V. 3, Baud. Dh. II. 2. 52, Nārada, dāyabhāga v. 31, अनुशासनपर्व 20. 21.

1347. मृते भर्तर्यपुत्रायाः प्रतिपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः। विनियोगात्मरक्षासु भरणे स च ईश्वरः॥ परिक्षीणे पतिकुले निर्मनुष्ये निराश्रये। तत्सपिण्डेषु वासत्सु पितृपक्षः प्रभुः स्त्रियाः। स्वातन्त्र्याद्विप्रणश्यन्ति कुले जाता अपि स्त्रियः। अस्वातन्त्र्यमतस्तासां प्रजापतिरकल्पयत्॥ नारद (दायभागप्रकरण) vv. 28–30. मेधातिथि and कुल्लूक on मनु V. 147 quote the half verse तत्सपिण्डेषु ..... स्त्रियाः and add another half verse 'पक्षद्वयावसाने तु राजा भर्ता स्त्रिया मतः', which makes the king the ultimate protector of all women who have no male guardians in the husband's or father's family.

1348. नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न श्राद्धं नाप्युपोषितम्। भर्तृशुश्रूषयैवैता लोकानिष्टान् व्रजन्ति हि॥ मार्कण्डेय 16. 61.

cited below.[1349] 'The Sūtrakāra concludes that women are untruth' (Anuśāsana 19. 6); 'there is nothing more wicked than women, who are the edge of a razor, poison, snake and fire in one' (Anuśāsana 38. 12 and 29); there may be at most one pativratā in hundreds of thousands of women (Anuśāsana 19. 93); 'women are really uncontrollable but remain within bounds as regards their husbands simply because other men do not woo them and because they are afraid of servants' (Anuśāsana 38. 16); *vide* also Anuśāsana chap. 38. 24-25, chap. 39. 6-7 (women have the tricks of the demons Śambara, Namuci and others). The Rāmāyaṇa is not behind the Great Epic in condemning women 'This is the character of women seen in the three worlds viz. they are renegades from Dharma, fickle, cruel and create estrangement' (Araṇya-kāṇḍa[1350] 45. 29-30). In an uncharitable mood Manu (IX. 14-15) gives to women the following character 'they are lascivious, fickle-minded, devoid of love and come to dislike their husbands and resort to another man, whether handsome or ugly, simply because he is a man.' 'It is the nature of women to tempt men; therefore the wise do not act heedlessly with young women, who are able to lead a man astray whether he be learned or not' (Manu II. 213-214 = Anuśāsana 48. 37-38). Bṛhat-Parāśara[1351] (Jivānanda's Collection, part 2, p. 121) says that the passion of women is eightfold of that of men. In modern times old men, though they might not know much of the śāstras, are often in the habit of repeating a verse which contains a list of the faults of women 'falsehood, thoughtless action, trickery, folly, great greed, impurity, cruelty—these are the natural faults of women.'[1352]

There are some writers who even in ancient times could not bear the undeserved censure of women and most vigorously

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1349. अनुशासन 20. 14 is प्रजापतिमतं ह्येतत्स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति। ; अनृताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं सूत्रकारो व्यवस्यति। अनृताः स्त्रिय इत्येवं वेदेष्वपि हि पठ्यते (अनुशा. 19. 6-7 (the first half probably refers to Manu IX. 18 or Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 52-53) न स्त्रीभ्यः किंचिदन्यद्वै पापीयस्तरमस्ति वै। ..... क्षुरधारा विषं सर्पो वह्निरित्येकतः स्त्रियः। अनुशा. 38. 12 and 29.

1350. अनुशासन 38. 5-6 is almost the same as मनु IX. 14. स्वभावस्त्वेष नारीणां त्रिषु लोकेषु दृश्यते। विमुक्तधर्माश्चपलास्तीक्ष्णा भेदकराः स्त्रियः॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 45. 29-30.

1351. स्त्रीणामष्टगुणः कामो व्यवसायश्च षड्गुणः। लज्जा चतुर्गुणा तासामाहारश्च तदर्धकः॥ बृहत्पराशर p. 121.

1352. अनृतं साहसं माया मूर्खत्वमतिलोभिता। अशौचत्वं निर्दयत्वं स्त्रीणां दोषाः स्वभावजाः॥

protested against the injustice of these accusations. Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) in his Bṛhat-Saṁhitā chap. 74 (ed. by Kern) makes a spirited defence of women and eulogises them highly. He first says that on women depend *dharma* and *artha* and from them man derives the pleasures of sense and the blessing of sons, that they are the Lakṣmī (goddess of Prosperity) of the house and should be always given honour and wealth. He then condemns those who following the path of asceticism and other-worldliness proclaim the demerits of women and are silent about their virtues and pertinently asks[1353] 'tell me truly, what faults attributed to women have not been also practised by men? Men in their audacity treat women with contempt, but they really possess more virtues (than men).' He then cites the dicta of Manu in support (verses 7–10). "One's mother or one's wife is a woman; men owe their birth to women; O ungrateful wretches, how can happiness be your lot when you condemn them? The śāstras declare that both husband and wife are equally sinful if they prove faithless to the marriage vow; men care very little for that śāstra (while women do care); therefore women are superior to men. Oh! how great is the audacity of wicked men who heap abuse on women that are pure and blameless, like robbers who while themselves stealing raise a hue and cry 'stop, O thief!.' Man in privacy utters words of cajolry to woman, but there are no such words after the woman dies; while women, in gratitude, clasp the corpses of their husbands and enter the fire." It may be said that, barring great poets like Kālidāsa,[1354] Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, in the classical period

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1353. येऽप्यङ्गनानां प्रवदन्ति दोषान्वैराग्यमार्गेण गुणान् विहाय । ते दुर्जना मे मनसो वितर्कः सद्भाववाक्यानि न तानि तेषाम् ॥ ब्रूत सत्यं कतरोऽङ्गनानां दोषस्तु यो नाचरितो मनुष्यैः । धार्ष्ट्येन पुंभिः प्रमदा निरस्ता गुणाधिकास्ता मनुनात्र चोक्तम् ॥ जाया वा स्याज्जनित्री वा स्यात्संभवः स्त्रीकृतो नृणाम् । हे कृतघ्नास्तयोर्निन्दां कुर्वतां वः कुतः सुखम् ॥ अहो धार्ष्ट्यमसाधूनां निन्द्तामनघाः स्त्रियः । मुण्णतामिव चौराणां तिष्ठ चौरेति जल्पताम् ॥ पुरुषश्चदुलानि कामिनीनां कुरुते यानि रहो न तानि पश्चात् । सुकृतज्ञतयाङ्गना गतासूनवशुद्ध प्रविशन्ति सतजिह्वम् ॥ बृहत्संहिता 74. 5, 6, 11, 15, 16. Verses 7 and 9 are the same as Baud. gṛ. II. 2. 63–64 and verse 10 is Manu III. 58; verses 7–8 are almost the same as वसिष्ठ. 28. 4 and 9.

1354. कालिदास and भवभूति both depict in very delicate and romantic terms the relation between a loving husband and wife 'गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ । करुणाविमुखेन मृत्युना हरता त्वां वद किं न मे हृतम् ॥' रघुवंश VIII. 66; 'प्रेयो मित्रं बन्धुता वा समग्रा सर्वे कामाः शेवधिर्जीवितं वा । स्त्रीणां भर्ता धर्मदाराश्च पुंसामित्यन्योन्यं वत्सयोज्ञातमस्तु ॥' मालतीमाधव VI. Vide also the well-known verse अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगुणं &c. in the उत्तररामचरित I.

Varāhamihira's was rather a solitary voice raised in defence of women and in the appreciation of their worth.

In the midst of this dark picture and undeserved condemnation of woman there is one very bright spot, viz. the high eulogy of and the reverence for the mother in all smṛti works. Gaut. (II. 56) first says that the ācārya (one's teacher of the Veda) is the highest among *gurus*, while some teachers hold that the mother is the highest. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 prescribes that a son must always serve his mother even if she has been an outcast (for some great sin), since the mother undertakes for her son numerous (troublesome) actions. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 48) requires the son to maintain his mother, even though an outcast, without speaking to her. Vas. Dh. S. 13. 47 says 'a father who is an outcast may be abandoned, but a mother (though *patita*) is never an outcast to the son.'[1355] 'The ācārya exceeds by his greatness ten upādhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred ācāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers' says Manu II. 145 (= Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). Śaṅkha-Likhita[1356] give a very salutary piece of advice 'the son should not take sides (in a quarrel) between his father and mother : indeed he may (if he chooses) speak on the side of the mother alone, since the mother bore him (in her womb) and nourished him ; the son, while living, would never be free from the debt he owes to his mother except by the performance of the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice.' Yāj. I. 35 holds that the mother is superior to the guru, ācārya and upādhyāya. The Anuśāsana parva[1357] (105. 14–16) says that 'the mother excels in her greatness ten fathers or even the whole earth ; there is no *guru* like the mother.' Śāntiparva chap. 267 contains a very high eulogy of the mother. Atri 151 says that there is no *guru* higher than the mother. The great

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1355. आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरूणां मातेत्येके । गौ. II. 56 ; माता पुत्रत्वस्य भूयांसि कर्माण्यारभते तस्यां शुश्रूषा नित्या पतितायामपि । आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 9; पतितामपि तु मातरं बिभृयादनभिभाषणमाणः । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 48 ; पतितः पिता परित्याज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पतति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47.

1356. न मातापित्रोरन्तरं गच्छेत्पुत्रः । कामं मातुरेवानुब्रूयात्सा हि धारिणी पोषणी च । न पुत्रः प्रतिमुच्येतान्यत्र सौत्रामणियागाज्जीवन्मातृणान्मातुः । शङ्खलिखित quoted in सं. प्र. p. 479 ; vide also वि. र. p. 357, स्मृतिच० (I. p. 35).

1357. Vide Śāntiparva 108. 16–18 for verses very like अनुशासन 105. 14–16 ; नास्ति मातृसमा छाया नास्ति मातृसमा गतिः । नास्ति मातृसमं त्राणं नास्ति मातृसमा प्रिया ॥ शान्ति 267. 31 ; 'माता गुरुतरा भूमेः । वनपर्व 313. 60; नास्ति वेदात्परं शास्त्रं नास्ति मातुः परो गुरुः । नास्ति दानात्परं मित्रमिह लोके परत्र च । अत्रि 151; नास्ति सत्यात्परो धर्मो नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः । शान्ति 343. 18.

Pāṇḍava heroes pay the highest honour to their mother Kuntī. The Ādiparva chap. 37 says that one may avert the consequences of all curses, but a mother's curse can never be averted[1358].

Reading all that has been said in favour of and against women in ancient Sanskrit Literature it may be said that the higher minds of Hindu Society were quite aware of the worth of women, that they insisted on chastity as the highest virtue for them, that there was no doubt an undercurrent among common people of poor opinion about women, that those who valued an ascetic life and wanted to wean people away from worldly ties and attachments looked down upon women ('vairāgyamārgeṇa' as Varāhamihira happily puts it) and exaggerated their faults. It has to be borne in mind that many of the passages condemning women are put in the mouth of persons who were for some reason or other angry with women or wronged by them or dissatisfied with their conduct. Further in assessing passages disparaging the character of women one maxim of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system must not be lost sight of. The maxim is stated by Śabara (on Jaimini II. 4. 21) as follows:[1359] 'the purpose of a text censuring anything is not censure pure and simple, but the purpose is to enjoin the performance of the opposite of what is censured and to praise such performance'. The object therefore of the authors that censured women was to inculcate the great value of chastity and obedience for women and not merely to paint a dark picture of them.

The rights of woman as regards partition and inheritance will be discussed in detail later on. But a brief statement about them may be made here. Āp., Manu, and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gaut. 28. 19 appears to contemplate that she is an heir along with *sapiṇḍas* or *sagotras*. That the widow's right to succeed as heir to her deceased husband was not recognised in ancient

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1358. सर्वेषामेव शापानां प्रतिघातो हि विद्यते। न तु मात्राभिशप्तानां मोक्षः क्वचन विद्यते॥ आदिपर्व 37. 4.

1359. एकत्वेऽपि पराणि निन्दाशक्तिसमाप्तिवचनानि। जै. II. 4. 21; 'न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते॥ किं तर्हि। निन्दितादितरत्प्रशंसितुम्। तत्र न निन्दितस्य प्रतिषेधो गम्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधिः॥' शबर (p. 640); the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 115) has 'यथा वक्ष्यति न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रवर्तते अपि तु विधेयं स्तोतुमिति.' Vide आनन्दगिरि on बृहदारण्यकभाष्यवार्तिक p. 808 for the same maxim.

times is clear from the Śākuntala (Act VI) where the minister writes to the king that the estate of a merchant dying at sea will escheat to the crown and will not go to his widow. Yāj. II. 135. mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man dying separate; Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. So in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognized than in the times of the early sūtra writers. In this respect the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with śūdras. Yāska while explaining Ṛg. I. 124. 7 states that in the southern countries the widow of a sonless man goes to an assembly hall, stands upon a stool and when the members strike her with dice she gets the property of her deceased[1360] husband. This implies that in Nothern India widows did not succeed to their husband's property in Yāska's time.

1360. अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् । ऋ. I. 124. 7; गर्तारोहिणीव धनलाभाय दाक्षिणात्यजी । गर्तः सभास्थाणुः । गृणातेः । सत्यसंगरो भवति । तं तत्र या अपुत्रा या अपतिका सा आरोहति तां तत्र अक्षेण आघ्नन्ति सा रिक्थं लभते । निरुक्त III. 5.

CHAPTER XII

THE DUTIES OF A WIDOW, SOME PRIVILEGES OF WOMEN AND THE *PURDA* SYSTEM

Vidhavādharmāḥ

So far the social position and the duties and rights of a wife during her husband's life-time have been considered. We shall now consider the rules laid down for a wife if she has the heavy misfortune to become a widow.[1361]

The word vidhavā occurs several times in the Ṛgveda (e. g. IV. 18. 12, X. 18. 7, X. 40. 2 and 8); but these passages contain very little that is indicative of their condition in society except Ṛg. X. 40. 2 (vide under *niyoga*). Ṛg. I. 87. 3[1362] says 'in the rapid movements of the Maruts the earth trembles like a woman deprived of her husband.' That shows that widows trembled either from sorrow or from fear of molestation and ill-treatment.

The Baud. Dh. S.[1363] II. 2. 66–68 prescribes that the widow of the departed should give up for one year honey, meat, wine and salt and should sleep on the ground; according to Maudgalya (she should so act) for six months; after that period, if she is sonless, she may procreate a son from her brother-in-law if the elders consent.' Vas. Dh. S. (17. 55–56) contains similar provisions. Manu (V. 157–160) contains rules that have been repeated in almost all smṛtis 'a woman when her husband is dead, may, if she chooses, emaciate her body by subsisting on flowers, roots and fruits, but she should not even take the name of a stranger male. Till her death she should be forbearing, observe vows, should be celibate and should hanker after that super-eminent code of conduct that is prescribed for women devoted to their husbands. On her husband's death, if a virtuous woman abides by the rule of celibacy, she goes to heaven though she be sonless, as the ancient perpetual

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1361. Vide Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, vol. II. chap. III pp. 158–161 for duties of widows who choose to survive their husbands; vide 'Die Frau' pp. 86–88 where Winternitz draws a dismal and somewhat exaggerated picture of the condition of the Hindu widow.

1362. प्रैषामज्मेषु विथुरेव रेजते भूमिर्यामेषु यद्ध युञ्जते शुभे। ऋ. I. 87. 3.

1363. संवत्सरं प्रेतपत्नी मधुमांसमद्यलवणानि वर्जयेदधः शयीत। षण्मासानिति मौद्गल्यः। अत ऊर्ध्वं गुरुभिरनुमता देवराज्जनयेत्पुत्रमपुत्रा॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 66–68.

students (like Sanaka) did '. Kātyāyana [1364] similarly provides 'a sonless widow preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied) and residing with her elders and being self-controlled (or forbearing) should enjoy her husband's property till her death ; after her the heirs of her husband would get it. A widow engrossed in religious observances and fasts, abiding by the vow of celibacy, always bent on restraining her senses and making gifts would go to heaven even though sonless.' Parāśara IV. 31 is almost the same as Manu V. 160. Bṛhaspati [1365] says 'the wife is declared to be half of a man's body, she participates equally in the husband's merit and sin ; a virtuous wife, whether she burns herself on her husband's funeral fire or lives after him, tends to the (spiritual) benefit of her husband'. Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 205-210) prescribes what a widow should do all her life. 'She should give up adorning her hair, chewing betel-nut, wearing perfumes, flowers, ornaments and dyed clothes, taking food from a vessel of bronze, taking two meals a day, applying collyrium to her eyes ; she should wear a white garment, should curb her senses and anger, she should not resort to deceits and tricks, should be free from laziness and sleep, should be pure and of good conduct, should always worship Hari, should sleep on the ground at night on a mat of kuśa grass, she should be intent on concentration of mind and on the company of the good.' Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita (VI, last para) indicates that widows did not apply eye-salve to their eyes nor *rocanā* (yellow pigment) to their face and simply tied their hair.[1366] Pracetas [1367] forbids to an ascetic and a widow the chewing of betel leaves, ceremonial bath (with oil &c.) and taking meal in a vessel of bell-metal. The Ādiparva (160. 12) says 'just as birds flock to a piece of flesh left on the ground, so all men woo (or try to seduce) a woman whose

1364. अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती गुरौ स्थिता। मुञ्जीतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः ॥ व्रतोपवासनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता । दमदानरता नित्यमपुत्रापि दिवं व्रजेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in वीर० pp. 626-627 ; the first verse is also quoted in दायभाग, स्मृतिच० and other works.

1365. शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा। अन्वारूढा जीवती च साध्वी भर्तुर्हिताय सा ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 111.

1366. जनितवेणीबन्धानि निरञ्जनरोचनारोचींषि चषकमधूनि मुखकमलप्रतिबिम्बान्यदृश्यन्त भटीनाम् । हर्षचरित VI, last para.

1367. ताम्बूलाभ्यञ्जनं चैव कांस्यपात्रे च भोजनम् । यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च विधवा च विवर्जयेत् ॥ प्रचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 222 and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 235 ; compare ताम्बूलोऽभर्तृकस्त्रीणां यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । एकैकं मांसतुल्यं स्यान्मिलितं तु सुरासमम् ॥ quoted in स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम०) p. 161.

husband is dead'; while the Śāntiparva (148. 2) remarks 'all widows are in sorrow even if they have many sons.'[136] The Skandapurāṇa (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 4, vv. 71-106 and III Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7, vv. 67-81) has long passages on the duties of widows, many verses from which are quoted in the Madanapārijāta (pp. 202-203), the Nirṇayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other nibandhas. A few striking verses may be translated here. The Skandapurāṇa (III, Brahmāraṇya section chap. 7, verses 50-51) says 'The widow is more inauspicious than all other inauspicious things; at the sight of a widow no success can be had in any undertaking; excepting one's (widowed) mother all widows are void of auspicicusness; a wise man should avoid even their blessings like the poison of a snake'[1369]. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa of the same purāṇa, chap. 4, delivers itself thus 'the tying up into a braid of the hair by the widow leads to the bondage of the husband; therefore a widow should always shave her head. She should always take one meal a day and never a second; or she may perform the observance of fast for a month or undergo the penance of cāndrāyaṇa. A widow who sleeps on a cot would make her husband fall (in hell). A widow should never wash her body with fragrant unguents nor should enjoy the fragrance of sweet smelling things; she should everyday perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame, water and kuśa grass for her husband, his father and grandfather after repeating their names and gotra; she should not sit in a bullock cart even when about to die, she should not put on a bodice, should not wear dyed garments and should observe special vows in Vaiśākha, Kārtika[1370] and Māgha.' The verse 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c' (Skanda,

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1368. उत्सृष्टमामिषं भूमौ प्रार्थयन्ति यथा खगाः। प्रार्थयन्ति जनाः सर्वे पतिहीनां तथा स्त्रियम् ॥ आदिपर्व 160. 12; सर्वापि विधवा नारी बहुपुत्रापि शोचते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 148. 2.

1369. अमङ्गलेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यो विधवा स्यादमङ्गला। विधवादर्शनात् सिद्धिः क्वापि जातु न जायते ॥ विहाय मातरं चैकां सर्वा मङ्गलवर्जिताः। तदाशिषमपि प्राज्ञस्त्यजेदाशीविषोपमाम् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण III, ब्रह्मारण्य 7. 50-51.

1370. विधवाकबरीबन्धो भर्तृबन्धाय जायते। शिरसो वपनं तस्मात् कार्यं विधवया सदा ॥ एकाहारः सदा कार्यो न द्वितीयः कदाचन। मासोपवासं वा कुर्याच्चान्द्रायणमथापि वा ॥ पर्यङ्कशायिनी नारी विधवा पातयेत्पतिम्। नैवाङ्गोद्वर्तनं कार्यं स्त्रिया विधवया क्वचित्। गन्धद्रव्यस्य संभोगो नैव कार्यस्तया पुनः। तर्पणं प्रत्यहं कार्यं भर्तुस्तिलकुशोदकैः। तत्पितुस्तत्पितुश्चापि नामगोत्राविपूर्वकम्। नाधिरोहेद्वनड्वाहं प्राणैः कण्ठगतैरपि। कञ्चुकं न परीदध्याद्वासो न विकृतं वसेत्। वैशाखे कार्तिके माघे विशेषनियमं चरेत् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण, काशीखण्ड 4. vv. 75. ff.; all these are quoted by the निर्णयसिन्धु p. 626, मदनपारिजात (pp. 202-203), स्मृतिमुक्ताफल p. 160.

Kāśīkhaṇḍa 4. 74) is the only verse on which the medieval writers rely for prescribing continual tonsure of widows. That chapter begins by extolling the pativratā (Bṛhaspati does it with regard to Lopāmudrā, the wife of Agastya). It passes one's understanding why when a pativratā whose husband is living is before Bṛhaspati he should wax eloquent over the duties of widows (verses 71–106). Therefore this portion appears to be an interpolation in the Skandapurāṇa itself. In *Lakshmibai v. Ramchandra* I. L. R. 22 Bom. 590, it was held that the text 'vidhavā-kabarī-bandho' is of doubtful validity (p. 594). Besides 69 verses of this chapter 4 are common to chap. 7 of the Dharmāraṇya section of the Skandapurāṇa (III) which precedes it. There is no reason why they should have been repeated. The Nirṇayasindhu quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa as cited in the Pṛthvīcandrodaya to the effect that śrāddha food should not be got prepared by a widow belonging to another gotra.[1371]

The position of the Hindu widow was miserable and her lot was most unenviable. She was looked upon as inauspicious and so could take part in no festivities, such as those on marriage. She had not only to lead a life of perfect celibacy, even if she was a child widow, but she had to act like an ascetic, being poorly fed (only once a day) and poorly clad. Her rights to property were negligible. Even if the husband died sonless she did not originally succeed as shown above (p. 582). Later on her position as an heir was improved; but even then she could ordinarily enjoy only the income of the property and could transfer it only for the legal necessities of the family (including herself) or for the spiritual benefit of her husband. In a joint Hindu family a widow had only the right of maintenance (except in Bengal where she had more rights), which would be forfeited if she became unchaste and persisted in that course.[1372] If she returned to a moral life then she may be entitled to bare starving maintenance (vide above p. 573). If her husband had separate property and left a son or sons, the widow was only entitled to maintenance. This was the law in British India till very recently. Recently the position of the

1371. पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदये ब्राह्मे । रजस्वलां च पाखण्डां पुंश्चलीं पतितां तथा । त्यजेच्छ्राद्धां तथा वन्ध्यां विधवां चान्यगोत्रजाम् । ..... वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धपाकार्थममातृपितृवंशजाम् ॥ निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 417.

1372. *Vide Honama* v. *Timannabhat* I. L. R.1 Bom. 559; *Bhikubai* v. *Hariba* I. L. R. 49 Bom. 459.

widow of a member in a joint Hindu family and of the widow of a person who leaves separate property has been improved by Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938.

One subject that arouses bitter controversies is the practice of tonsuring widows among brāhmaṇas and certain other castes. A few words must be said on this. It is clear from the verse (vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c.) of the Skandapurāṇa quoted in the Madanapārijāta and other nibandhas that for some time at least before the 14th century A. D. (when the Madanapārijāta was composed) tonsure of widows was in vogue. How and exactly when this practice arose cannot be established with certainty. That it is comparatively a later innovation can, however, be demonstrated. Two distinct propositions have to be made out, first, that widows were tonsured on the death of their husbands, just as sons were tonsured and secondly, that widows were required by the texts to tonsure themselves continually from time to time till their death, though sons who had to tonsure themselves on their father's death are not required to do so afterwards. The advocates of this practice rely upon three Vedic passages, viz. Ṛg. X. 40. 2, Āp. M. Pāṭha I. 4. 9, and Atharvaveda 14.2. 60, Ṛg X. 40. 2 (cited below p. 606) refers to vidhavā only and probably to niyoga, but there is nothing about tonsure in that verse. Some modern orthodox Pandits ingeniously argue from the explanation of the word 'vidhavā' in the Nirukta (III. 15 vidhāvanād-vā iti Carmaśirāḥ). Carmaśiras is the name of a former teacher according to all commentators of the Nirukta, but these pandits interpret it by a *tour de force* as a synonym of vidhavā ('having only the bare skin on her head'). About this interpretation the less said the better. Āp. M. P. I. 5. 9 contains the word 'vikeśī' which is translated as the appellation of a female goblin in S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 187 'mayst thou not be beaten at thy breast by she goblin, the rough haired[1373] one'. Even taking 'vikeśī' as referring to the maiden who is being married the meaning is 'mayst thou, with dishevelled hair, not beat thy breast (through grief)'. The word 'vikeśī' does not mean 'a widow whose hair is tonsured'; it ordinarily means 'a woman

1373. मा ते गृहे निशि घोष उत्थादन्यत्र त्वद्रुदत्यः संविशन्तु। मा त्वं विकेश्युर आधविष्टा जीवपत्नी पतिलोके विराज पश्यन्ती प्रजां सुमनस्यमानाम्॥ आप. म. पा. I. 5. 9. Vide आप. गृ. V. 1 where this मन्त्र along with others is prescribed for offering āhutis in the marriage rite. It is also employed for the same purpose in हिरण्य. गृ. I. 19. 7, भारद्वाज गृ. I. 14.

with dishevelled hair'. The third passage is Atharvaveda[1374] 14. 2. 60, that is a verse in a marriage hymn which means 'if this daughter of thine has bewailed with loosened hair in thy house, doing evil by her wailing, from that sin let Agni and Savitṛ release thee'. Here it is impossible to hold that 'vikeśī' means tonsured, as this mantra is part of the marriage hymn and Agni is asked to remove the blemish due to the girl's weeping at the approaching prospect of separation from her parents. There is no comment of Sāyaṇa on this passage but elsewhere in the Atharvaveda when that word occurs as in Atharva XI. 9. 14 he paraphrases it by 'vikīrṇakeśī' which does not mean 'with tonsured hair' but only 'having dishevelled hair'. Therefore there is no reference whatever to the tonsure of widows in the Veda, much less an injunction as to it. In the Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra,[1375] elaborate rules are laid down about the cremation of one who had kindled the sacred Vedic fires. In I. 4. 3 it is said 'his wives led by the youngest should follow the *cortege* with dishevelled hair and throwing dust on their shoulders' and this they have to repeat several times (vide I. 4. 12–13, I. 5. 5–7, I. 5. 12–14) on the way to the cemetery. It is also said that they go round (the corpse) thrice with their hair gathered together (I. 4. 13). Then in I. 12. 7 shaving of the hair and moustache is prescribed for the close relatives of the deceased (amātyas) who are present, his wives are not mentioned in this connection and II. 3. 17 expressly forbids tonsure of wives.

Manu and Yāj. dilate on the duties of widows, but they are entirely silent about tonsure. Nor does any other ancient smṛti refer to it. On the contrary Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 206 quoted above p. 584) asks the widow not to deck her hair, among other things which she is not to do. This makes it clear that the widows kept their hair. The word 'keśarañjanam' is to be dissolved as 'keśānāṁ rañjanam' and not as 'keśāśca rañjanam ca' (as Vṛddha-Hārīta XI. 103 makes it clear by employing 'keśānāṁ rañjanārthaṁ vā). It can be shown that

1374. यदीयं दुहिता तव विकेश्यरुदद्गृहे रोदेन कृण्वत्यघम्। अग्निष्टा तस्मादेनसः सविता च प्रमुञ्चताम् ॥ अथर्व 14. 2. 60.

1375. अस्य भार्याः कनिष्ठप्रथमाः प्रकीर्णकेश्यो व्रजेयुः पांसूनंसेष्वावपमानाः 'खल्वयं न्वा स्यादृषे नो एवाघम्' इति। बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 4. 3; एवममात्या एवं स्त्रियः संयम्य केशान् यथेतं स्त्रिः पुनः प्रति परियन्ति। I. 4. 13; एतस्मिन्कालेऽस्यामात्या केशश्मश्रूणि वापयन्ते ये संनिधाने भवन्ति। I. 12. 7; न स्त्रीणां केशवपनं विद्यते न चितिर्नेष्टका न पुनर्दोहो दारुवत्स्त्रीणां पात्राणि भवन्तीति विज्ञायते। II. 3. 17.

at least kṣatriya widows never tonsured their head. In the Mahābhārata whenever the widows of the fallen warriors are described they are always referred to as 'having dishevelled hair' and there is not a single reference to tonsure[1376] of widows. In the Harsacarita, Harṣa[1377] in his soliloquy on the death of his father Prabhākaravardhana says 'may the Glory of super-eminent man-hood tie up her hair in the way in which widows tie up their hair'. In the Pehoa *praśasti* of king Mahendrapāla of Kanoj (E. I. vol. 1. p. 246 verse 16) the widows of his enemies are spoken of as shedding tears on their cheeks and having long (not braided) and profuse[1378] tresses.

The orthodox pandits rely on a verse in Vedavyāsa-smṛti[1379] II. 53 'a brāhmaṇa woman should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (does not become *satī*) she being *tyaktakeśā* should emaciate her body by *tapas*'. The reading 'brāhmaṇī' for 'jīvantī' is not good, as the word 'brāhmaṇī' is redundant having occurred in the first half and as the second half refers to the fact of her surviving after her husband. In this verse the injunction relates only to the emaciation of the body (*śoṣayet*), the word 'tyaktakeśā' being only an attribute of the subject is no part of the predicate, which alone is enjoined. The general rule laid down by the Mīmāṁsā is (III. 1. 13–15, the grahaikatvanyāya)[1380] that the attributes of a subject are no part

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1376. e. g. 'प्रकीर्णकेशाः क्रोशन्तीः कुररीरिव माधव। स्त्रीपर्व 16. 18 (गान्धारी describes her daughters-in-law); 'प्रकीर्णकेशां सुश्रोणीं दुर्योधनशुभाङ्गनाम्। रुक्मवेदीनिभां पश्य कृष्ण लक्ष्मणमातरम्॥ स्त्रीपर्व 17. 25; vide स्त्रीपर्व 21. 6, 24. 7, आश्रमवासिपर्व 25. 16; 'प्रकीर्णमूर्धजाः सर्वा विमुक्ताभरणस्रजः। उरांसि पाणिभिर्घ्नन्त्यो व्यलपन् करुणं स्त्रियः॥' मौसलपर्व 7. 17. (on the death of Vasudeva).

1377. बध्नातु वैधव्यवेणीं वरमनुष्यता। हर्षचरित V. (5th para from end); vide हर्षचरित VI. last para quoted above in note 1366.

1378. करतलस्थगितोधरपल्लवाः प्रतनुकान्तिकपोलतलोदरम्। सिसिचुरश्रुजलैर्वरिस्त्रियः सरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः॥ (E. I. vol. 1 p. 246 verse 16).

1379. मृतं भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमाविशेत्। जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेत् त्यक्तकेशा तपसा शोषयेद् वपुः॥ वेदव्यास II. 53.

1380. The grahaikatvanyāya is as follows: The text ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि does not mean that a single sacrificial vessel is to be cleansed, but rather that all are to be cleansed. The singular number (in *graham*) is an attribute of the subject about which cleansing is predicated and so it is no part of the injunction. Vide my notes to the Vyavahāra-mayūkha pp. 83–84,121–122, where examples of the application of this maxim are given. The Pandits try to apply the rules in Jaimini III. 3. 34–46, but those rules are inapplicable, since in the passage of Veda-Vyāsa there is a verb in the potential mood, while in the vedic sentence interpreted in Jaimini III. 3. 34–46 there is no verb in the potential mood.

of the injunction. There is no injunction about *keśa* (hair) in the Vedavyāsa passage. Besides the word tyaktakeśā (who has given up hair) may possibly be made to yield three meanings, viz. (1) one who has given up or is unmindful of dressing or decking her hair, (2) one whose hair is given up in accordance with the prescription of some smṛtis that only two finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut off when doing penance for govadha &c. in the case of women (*vide* Parāśara IX. 54-55, Aṅgiras 163, Yama 54); (3) one whose head is tonsured. For the first meaning vide Raghuvaṁśa IX. 14 (where 'analakām' is explained by Mallinātha as 'who have given up ornamenting the hair'). For this meaning of 'tyakta' vide Bhagavadgītā I. 33 'tyaktajīvitāḥ'. 'Tyakta' by itself never means tonsured. The third meaning will be only implied if at all, while the first two are the usual meanings. Further, the interpretation of the Veda-Vyāsa smṛti II. 53 given by the pandits is liable to the fault called vākyabheda (i. e. it lays down two injunctions in one and the same sentence), as they say that Veda-Vyāsa calls upon widows to tonsure themselves and to emaciate their body. Besides, if Veda-Vyāsa really meant to enjoin tonsure, the verse could easily have been made to read 'jīvantī ced vapet keśān tapasā &c.' Lastly assuming that Veda-Vyāsa refers to tonsure, there is conflict among smṛtis, since Vṛddha-Hārīta (quoted above) allows her to keep her hair, and since an option results when two texts of equal authority conflict (Gaut. I. 5).[1381]

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a text of Manu (not found in the printed Manu) 'shaving of the hair is not desired in the case of learned men, the king and women, except in the case of one guilty of mahāpātaka or the killer of a cow and a brahmacārī guilty of sexual intercourse.'[1382] The Mit. nowhere refers to tonsure as one of the obligatory matters for widows.

The orthodox pandits further rely upon Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6, its explanation in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 and the explanation of the Mit. in the commentary, Bālambhaṭṭī. Āpastamba's sūtra is delivered when the context is about cessation of Veda study (anadhyāya). Āp. says '(the student) shall cease studying Veda for 12 days if his mother, father or teacher dies. In the

1381. तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः । गौतम I. 5.

1382. त्रिह्विह्मिमद्यपस्त्रीणां नेष्यते केशवापनम् । ऋते महापातकिनो गोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णिनः ॥ इति मनुस्मरणात् । मिता० on या. III. 325.

case of the death of these he must also bathe for the same number of days. Persons who are younger than (the relation deceased) must shave their hair.[1383] Some declare that students who have returned home on completion of brahmacarya shall never shave except when engaged in a śrauta sacrifice. In sattras even the top-lock must be shaved'. In this there is no reference to women, much less to widows and lesser still to the tonsure of widows. The reference to śrauta sacrifices, sattra, and śikhā indicates that only males are in view. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 explains at length Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6. It gives two senses of 'anubhāvin' viz. those who experience sorrow on the death of a person i. e. his sapiṇḍas (from the root 'bhū' with 'anu,' to experience) and those who are born after the deceased i. e. who are younger than the deceased (from 'bhū' with 'anu' to be born after). The Mit. then combines[1384] these and remarks 'those sapiṇḍas of the deceased who are younger than the latter have to shave themselves on the death of a relative'. This is its own view. It then refers to the view of some that 'anubhāvin' in Āp. means 'son' and those latter rely on a restrictive text 'shaving is declared on seven occasions only, viz. on the Ganges, in the Bhāskara-kṣetra, on the death of one's parents or teacher, at the time of consecrating śrauta fires, and at the time of a soma sacrifice'. It is clear that the Mit. does not expressly mention the wife or widow here. Supposing that she is impliedly referred to as a sapiṇḍa and as younger than her husband, this will at the most come to the requirement that on the death of the husband the wife had to undergo shaving, just as her son would have to do. But this passage cannot be used to support continual shaving of widows throughout life. Really 'anubhāvinām' in Āp. cannot include the wife; since if women were to be included by the rule of *ekaśeṣa* (vide Pāṇini I. 2. 67) the absurd conclusion would follow that the daughters of the deceased and his younger brother's wives (who are all sapiṇḍas and younger) would have

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1383. अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 10. 6.

1384. वपनं च केषामित्याकाङ्क्षायामापस्तम्बेनोक्तम्-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनम्-इति। अयमर्थः। ज्ञातं दुःखमनुभवन्तीत्यनुभाविनः सपिण्डास्तेषां चाविशेषेण वपनमुताल्पवयसमित्यपेक्षायामिदमेवोपतिष्ठते-अनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति। अनु पश्चाद्भवन्तीत्यनुभाविनोऽल्पवयसस्तेषां वपनमिति। अनुभाविनः पुत्रा इति केचिन्मन्यन्ते। गङ्गायां भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ। आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम्॥ इति नियमदर्शनात्। मिता. on या. III. 17.

to be shaved. The Nirṇayasindhu [1385] (composed in 1612 A. D.) and the Bālambhaṭṭī (composed towards the end of the 18th century) were both familiar with the tonsure of widows and so they interpret Āp. and the Mit. as requiring shaving for the wife on the 10th day after the death of the husband and rely on a text of Vyāsa quoted in Aparārka. The Bālambhaṭṭī says "the words 'on the death of the mother and father' are only illustrative and so the same rule applies to the husband's death." Even conceding all this far-fetched interpretation, there is no authority for the continual tonsure of widows throughout their lives in these passages. It may be noted that the Madanapārijāta [1386] which contains the verse (vidhavā-kabarī-bandho &c. quoted above) does not include the widow among 'anubhāvinām', but only male sapiṇḍas and sons.

The foregoing discussion leads to the following conclusions. There is no express Vedic authority for the tonsure of widows. The gṛhya or dharma sūtras do not refer to it; nor do important smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. If one or two smṛti verses of doubtful import seem to refer to it, other smṛtis like Vṛddha-Hārīta are to an opposite effect. Some of the smṛti texts only refer, if at all, to one shaving on the husband's death, but there is no smṛti passage prescribing continual shaving for widows. There is only the Skandapurāṇa passage expressly requiring tonsure of widows. The Mit. and Aparārka are silent about it. It appears that the practice was gradually evolved after the 10th or 11th century. As widows were equated with *yatis* for several injunctions (vide note 1367 above) and as the latter shaved themselves, widows were gradually required to do so. By rendering them ugly it might have been intended to keep them chaste. Probably the example of Buddhist and Jaina nuns may have also suggested the cruel practice. We find from the Cullavagga [1387] that Buddhist nuns

1385. अनुभाविनः पुत्रादय इत्येके । पुत्रः पत्नी च वपनं कुर्यादन्ते यथाविधि । पिण्डदानोचितोन्योपि कुर्यादित्थं समाहितः । इत्यपरार्के व्यासोक्तेः । निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 591; vide बालम्भट्टी on प्रायश्चित्त (pp. 49–51 of Gharpure's ed.) 'अत्र पित्रादिग्रहणं भर्तुरप्युपलक्षणम् । पुत्रः पत्नी ..... समाहितः । इति व्यासेन पत्न्या अपि वपनविधानात् ।' pp. 50–51.

1386. तथा वपनं दुःखानुभाविभिः सर्वैः सपिण्डैः पुत्रैरेव स्वस्वदेशाचारानुसारेण प्रथमदिनप्रभृति विषमदिनेष्वपि श्राद्धादिप्रदानात्पूर्वं कर्तव्यम् । यदाह आपस्तम्बः । अनुभाविनां च परिवापनमिति । मदनपारिजात p. 415.

1387. Vide S. B. E. vol. 20 (Vinaya texts) p. 321. For Jaina nuns cutting off their tresses or plucking their hair, *vide* Uttarādhyayana XXII. 30. (S. B. E. vol. 45, p. 116).

cut off their hair and put on orange-coloured robes. In Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa widows a few years ago wore a garment that was reddish (and even now a few old widows do wear it). At all events the practice is not very old and hardly any digest before the Madanapārijāta (14th century) quotes the Skandapurāṇa text. The practice is dying out and deserves to be suppressed at once, though strange insistence on it sometimes obtains public notoriety. Recently the worshippers in the famous shrine of Viṭhobā at Pandharpur in Mahārāṣṭra prevented an untonsured brāhmaṇa widow from having *darśana* of the idol in the customary way i. e. by placing the head on the feet of the idol, while they were prepared to allow untonsured widows of all castes (except the so called untouchables), and even Hindu prostitutes in the keeping of Christians or Mahomedans to have *darśana* in that way. The matter came before a civil court, where it was decided in favour of the widow that no such discrimination could be allowed to prevail, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances the case did not come before the Bombay High Court.

It would be of interest to many to learn that among one sect (the Tengalai) of the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas (followers of Rāmānuja) tonsure of widows has been forbidden for centuries, though that sect is most orthodox in other matters.[1388] The Śūdrakamalākara remarks that widows in Gauḍa keep their hair.[1389]

From very ancient times, it appears the idea was that women should not be killed on any account. The Śat. Br. (XI. 4. 3. 2, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 62) says[1390] ' people do not kill a woman, but rather take (anything) from her (leaving her) alive '. It was only the king who was authorised, according to Viśvarūpa, to punish a woman to death for adultery with a man of a very low caste (vide Gaut. and Manu VIII. 371 quoted above on p. 572), but the king had to undergo a slight penance for doing this (vide Yāj. III. 268). Manu XI. 190 ordains that one who killed a woman was not to be associated with, even after he performed the requisite penance. Manu IX. 232 calls

1388. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. III pp. 136-137 for passages quoted from many works forbidding the tonsure of widows.

1389. अत एव गौडस्त्रीणां विधवानां शिखा दृश्यते । शूद्रकमलाकर p. 50.

1390. स्त्री वैषा यच्छ्वीर्न वै स्त्रियं घ्नन्त्युत त्वस्या जीवन्त्या एवाद्दत इति । शतपथ XI. 4. 3. 2.

upon the king to punish with death those who murder women, children and brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhārata frequently refers to this chivalrous rule. Ādiparva [1391] 158. 31 says 'those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed'. The Sabhāparva 41. 13 prescribes 'one's weapons should not be directed against women, cows, brāhmaṇas, against one who gave livelihood or shelter'. In the Śāntiparva (135. 14) even thieves are instructed not to kill women. Vide also Ādi. 155. 2, 217. 4, Vanaparva 206. 46. The Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa) also breathes this sentiment, when Rāma was called upon to kill the ogress Tāṭakā.

Even for the most serious offence of adultery with a man of a low caste Yāj. II. 286 prescribes for the woman the punishment of cutting the ear &c. Similarly Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 192 prescribes the cutting of the nose, ear and lip for attempt to murder the husband or her foetus. Vide Yāj. II. 278-279 for the sentence of death in the case of women for certain offences.

It has been seen how women gradually lost the privilege of upanayana, of studying the Veda, of having all the saṁskāras performed with Vedic mantras and how they came to be regarded as entirely dependent on men. Their position became assimilated to that of the śūdras [1392] in many matters. A few examples will be cited here. All *dvijātis* were to sip water thrice (*ācamana*) for purifying their body, but women and śūdras were to sip water only once for that purpose (Manu V. 139, Yāj. I. 21). The dvijātis were [1393] to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and śūdras were to bathe silently. Śūdras and women were to perform what is called āmaśrāddha (i. e. śrāddha without cooked food).[1394] The same penance was prescribed for killing a śūdra or a woman (Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 11-12, Parāśara VI. 16). Ordinarily women, children and very old men could not be witnesses (Yāj.

1391. अवध्या स्त्रिय इत्याहुर्धर्मज्ञा धर्मनिश्चये। आदिपर्व 158. 31; स्त्रीषु गोषु न शस्त्राणि पातयेद् ब्राह्मणेषु च। यस्य चास्त्राणि मुञ्चीत यत्र च स्यात्प्रतिश्रयः॥ सभापर्व 41. 13.

1392. 'स्त्रीशूद्राश्च सधर्माणः' इति वाक्यात्' व्यव. म. p. 112; द्विजस्त्रीणामपि श्रौतज्ञानाभ्यासेऽधिकारिता। वदन्ति केचिद्विद्वांसः स्त्रीणां शूद्रसमानताम्। सूतसंहिता quoted in शूद्रकमलाकर p. 231.

1393. ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशां चैव मन्त्रवत्स्नानमिष्यते। तूष्णीमेव हि शूद्रस्य स्त्रीणां च कुरुनन्दन॥ विष्णु quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 181.

1394. स्त्रीशूद्रः श्वपचश्चैव जातकर्मणि चाप्यथ। आमश्राद्धं तथा कुर्याद्विधिना पार्वणेन तु॥ प्रचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच० (श्राद्ध०) pp. 491-92.

II. 70, Nārada, ṛṇādāna, vv. 178, 190, 191), but Manu VIII. 68, 70, Yāj. II. 72, and Nārada, ṛṇādāna 155 allowed women to be witnesses in disputes between women or when no other witness could be had or in the cases of theft, adultery and other offences in which force was an element. Documents taken from or transactions (particularly gift, sale and mortgage of lands or houses) made with women were ordinarily to be treated as voidable like those brought about by force or fraud (vide Nārada, ṛṇādāna 26, 137, Yāj. II. 31). But this instead of being regarded as a disability was rather a boon owing to the general illiteracy of women. The Tristhalisetu (of Nārāyaṇa) quotes a passage of the Bṛhan-Nāradīya purāṇa to the effect that women, those whose upanayana has not been performed and śūdras have no right to establish the images of Viṣṇu or Śiva.[1395]

If there were many and heavy disabilities on women in certain matters, they enjoyed in certain directions more privileges than men. It has been already seen that women were not to be killed nor were they to be abandoned even when guilty of adultery. They also enjoyed the right of precedence on the road (vide p. 146 above). The daughter[1396] of a *patita* was not regarded as *patita*, though the son of a *patita* was regarded as *patita* (vide Vas. 13. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 4, Yāj. III. 261). Women[1397] had to undergo only half of the prāyaścitta that men had to undergo for the same lapse (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 33, Devala 30, &c). Women received[1398] honour according to the ages of their husbands, whatever their own ages may be (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 18). Just as brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas were to be free from taxes, the women of all varṇas (except those of *pratiloma* castes) had to pay no taxes,[1399] according to Āp. Dh.

1395. स्त्रीणामनुपनीतानां शूद्राणां च नरेश्वर। स्थापने नाधिकारोऽस्ति विष्णोर्वा शंकरस्य च। इति बृहन्नारदीये (quoted in शूद्रकमलाकर p. 32).

1396. पतितेनोत्पन्नः पतितो भवतीत्याहुरन्यत्र स्त्रियाः। सा हि परगामिनी। तामरिक्थामनुपेयात्। वसिष्ठ 13. 51-53; कन्यां समुद्वहेद्वेषां सोपवासामकिंचनाम्। या. III. 261. The मिता० on या. III. 261 quotes Vas. and a passage from हारीतधर्मसूत्र to the same effect.

1397. प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च। विष्णु 54. 33, देवल 30, quoted in मिता० on या. III. 293, बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्धप्रायश्चित्तम्। च्यवन quoted by अपरार्क p. 1199.

1398. पतिवयसः स्त्रियः। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 14. 18.

1399. अकरः श्रोत्रियः। सर्ववर्णानां च स्त्रियः। आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 26. 10-11; अकरः श्रोत्रियो राजपुमाननाथप्रव्रजितबालवृद्धतरुणप्रजाताः। वसिष्ठ 19. 23.

S. II. 10. 26. 10–11). Vas. Dh. S. 19. 23 limits this exemption to women who are young or just delivered of a child. Pregnant women from the third month of pregnancy, forest hermits, saṁnyāsins and brāhmaṇas and brahmacārins had to pay no tax at a ferry (Manu VIII. 407 and Viṣṇu V. 132). According to Gaut. V. 23 and Yāj. I. 105 children, the daughters and sisters who are married and yet stay with their parents or brothers, pregnant women, unmarried daughters, guests and servants are to be fed before the master and mistress of the house; while Manu III. 114 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 39 go a step further and say that freshly married girls of the family, unmarried girls, pregnant women are to be fed even before guests. A judicial proceeding in which a woman was a party, or which was heard at night or outside the village or inside a house (i. e. not in public) or before enemies was liable to be reviewed (Nārada [1400] I. 43). Ordinarily trial by ordeal did not apply to a woman, whether she was plaintiff or defendant, but if at all a woman had to prove her case by ordeal, only the ordeal of *tulā* (balance) was prescribed for her (Yāj. II. 98 and Mit. thereon). In succession to *strīdhana* property, daughters were preferred to sons. Women did not lose their strīdhana by adverse possession (Yāj. II. 25, Nārada, ṛṇādāna 82–83). Women were always to be consulted about ācāra. Āp. Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 15 cites the view that rules not stated in the sūtra are, according to some teachers, to be understood from women and from men of all castes. Āp. gṛ. II. 15 prescribes that in marriage the usages to be followed are to be learnt from women. Vide also Āśv. gṛ. I. 14. 8, Manu II. 223, Vaik. III. 21. [1401]

One interesting question is whether the practice of *purda* now in vogue among Moslems and also among Hindus in certain provinces of India prevailed in ancient times. Ṛg. X. 85. 33 (used in the marriage rite) expressly calls upon people to look at the bride. 'This bride is endowed with great auspiciousness; assemble together and see her; having given her blessings of good luck you may go to your house'. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 8. 7 prescribes that at each halting place when the bride-groom is returning to his village with his bride he should

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1400. स्त्रीषु रात्रौ बहिर्ग्रामादन्तर्वेश्मन्यरातिषु । व्यवहारः कृतोप्येष पुनः कर्तव्यतामियात् ॥ नारद I. 43.

1401. वेदस्नातकस्य यदह्नि विवाहो भवति मासिके वार्षिके चाह्नि तस्मिन् यत् स्त्रिय आहुः पारंपर्यागतं शिष्टाचारं तत्तत्करोति । वैखानसस्मार्त III. 21.

look at the spectators with the verse Ṛg. X. 85. 33.[1402] This shows that no veil was worn by the bride and she appeared in public without one. Though in the marriage hymn there is a blessing (Ṛg. X. 85. 46) that the bride was to dominate over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law, it appears that that was only a blessing and the heart's wish, but the reality was somewhat different. The Ait. Br.[1403] (12. 11) says that the daughter-in-law is abashed in the presence of the father-in-law and goes away concealing herself from him. This indicates that there was some restraint for younger women when they were in the presence of elders. But in the gṛhya and dharma sūtras there is no reference to any veil for women when moving in public. Pāṇini III. 2. 36 teaches the formation of 'asūryampaśyā' (who do not see the sun) applied to queens. That only shows that royal ladies did not leave the precincts of the palace and come under public gaze. In the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa[1404] (33. 8) it is said 'people walking on the public road see to-day Sītā who could not formerly be seen even by aerial beings'. Similarly it is stated in the same kāṇḍa (116. 28) 'the appearance of a woman in public is not blamable in misfortunes, difficulties, in wars, in svayaṁvara, in a sacrifice, and in a marriage'. In the Sabhāparva[1405] 69. 9 Draupadī exclaims 'we have heard that ancient people did not take married women to the public assembly-hall; that ancient and long-standing practice has been contravened by the Kauravas'. She says this after referring to the fact that, since she was seen at her svayaṁvara by the kings, she was never seen again by them till the day she

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1402. सुमङ्गलीरियं वधूरिमां समेत पश्यत। सौभाग्यमस्यै दत्त्वायाथास्तं विपरेतन॥ ऋ. X. 85. 33. This occurs in आप. म. पा. I. 9. 5. and is prescribed in आप. गृ. 6. 11 for japa after a boy is seated on the bride's lap. In Kāṭhaka gr. 25. 46 the verse 'sumaṅgalīr-iyaṁ' is to be repeated when the bride sees the polestar and Arundhatī and is addressed to these latter. In Hir. Gṛ. I. 19. 4 this verse is repeated by the bridegroom when the bride is brought to him before the fire, which is about to be kindled.

1403. तद्यथैवादः स्नुषा श्वशुरात्लज्जमाना तिलीयमानैत्येवमेव सा सेना भज्यमाना तिलीयमानैति। ऐ. ब्रा. 12. 11.

1404. या न शक्या पुरा द्रष्टुं भूतैराकाशगैरपि। तामद्य सीतां पश्यन्ति राजमार्गगता जनाः॥ युद्धकाण्ड 33. 8; व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे। न क्रतौ नो विवाहे वा दर्शनं दूष्यते स्त्रियः॥ युद्धकाण्ड 116. 28.

1405. धर्म्यां स्त्रियं सभां पूर्वे न नयन्तीति नः श्रुतम्। स नष्टः कौरवेयेषु पूर्वो धर्मः सनातनः॥ सभापर्व 69. 9.

was brought to the assembly-hall when Yudhiṣṭhira gambled and lost everything. This shows that women, particularly high-born ladies, did not appear in public except on certain occasions, but it does not follow that they always wore the veil. When the Kauravas were routed the Śalyaparva (29. 74) laments that their ladies whom even the sun did not see in their palaces were seen by the common people who had come to the capital. *Vide* also Sabhāparva 97. 4–7, Śalyaparva 19. 63, Strīparva 9. 9–10, Āśrama-vāsi-parva 15. 13. In the Harṣacarita (IV) princess Rājyaśrī, whom the intended bride-groom Grahavarmā came to see just before marriage, is described as having her face covered with a veil of fine red cloth. In another place, while describing the country of Sthāṇvīśvara (modern Thanesar) Bāṇa says ' where bees drawn by the fragrance of the breaths of the ladies (and hovering round their faces) served as a charming veil for their faces and the veil actually worn by them became a mere redundancy worn because it was the practice of high-born ladies to wear one '. In the Kādambarī also (para 99) Bāṇa describes Patralekhā as covering her face with a veil of red cloth. In the Śākuntala [1406] when Śakuntalā is taken to the court of Dusyanta she is described as wearing a veil. So it must be conceded that ladies of high rank did not appear in public without a veil, but ordinarily women did not wear any veil. It is probably after the advent of the Moslems that the wearing of a veil, which was not quite unknown, became general among Hindu women in Northern and Eastern India. Vide Indian Antiquary for 1933 p. 15, where a passage is quoted from the Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudī of Vācaspati (9th century A. D.) referring to ladies of good family not appearing in public without a veil and Pathak Commemoration vol. p. 72 for references from Buddhist works about the practice of *purda*.

1406. तत्र...अरुणांशुकावगुण्ठितमुखीं...वधूमपश्यत्। हर्षचरित IV, 4th para from end; 'यत्र च...निःश्वासाकृष्टमधुकरकुलान्येव रमणीयं मुखावरणं कुलस्त्रजिनाचारो जालिका। हर्षचरित III p. 44 of my edition; vide a similar conceit in 'विकचनयनकुवलयकुतूहलालीनयालिकुलसंहत्या नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निरुद्धार्धवदना। हर्षचरित I. p. 15 of my edition; 'शक्रगोपकालोहितरागेणांशुकेन रचितावगुण्ठनया... कन्यकया &c.' कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग para 99; कास्विदवगुण्ठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या। शाकुन्तल V. 13.

CHAPTER XIII

NIYOGA

Niyoga—(appointment of a wife or widow to procreate a son from intercourse with an appointed male).

Great divergence of views prevails about the origin and purpose of this practice. It will be best first to begin by examining the most ancient smṛtis that permitted this practice. Gaut.[1407] 18. 4–14 have great bearing on this point. Gaut. 18. 4–8 are : ' a woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring may secure a son from her brother-in-law. She should obtain the permission of the elders [1408] and have intercourse only during the menstrual period (excluding the first four days). She may obtain a son from a sapiṇḍa, a sagotra, a sapravara or one who belongs to the same caste (when there is no brother-in-law). Some (hold that this practice is allowed) with nobody except a brother-in-law. She shall not bear more than two sons (by this practice)'. Gaut. 18. 11 says that a child begotten at the request of a living husband on his wife belongs to the husband. Gaut. (28. 32) says that such a son is called *kṣetraja.* The wife is called kṣetra [1409] (field), the husband of the wife or widow is called *kṣetrin* or kṣetrika (to whom the wife or widow belongs) and the person appointed to produce offspring is called *bījin* (one who sows the seed) or *niyogin* (Vas. 17. 64, one who is appointed).

1407. अपतिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवरात् । गुरुप्रसूता नर्तुमतीयात् । पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसंबन्धेभ्यो योनिमात्राद्धि । नादेवरादित्येके । नातिद्वितीयम् । गौतम 18. 4–8. हरदत्त explains नातिद्वितीयम् differently ' प्रथममपत्यमतीत्य द्वितीयं न जनयेदिति ' (i. e. not more than one son is to be so procreated).

1408. The word गुरु means only the relatives of the husband and not the father of the widow 'गुरवश्च श्वश्रूश्वशुरदेवरादयो भर्तृसगोत्रा द्रष्टव्या न पित्रादयः ' मेधा० on मनु IX. 59. हरदत्त differs and explains गौतम 18. 5 as ' गुरुभिः पतिपक्षैः पितृपक्षैर्वा नियुक्ता सती संयुज्येत '. Manu (IX. 60–61) shows that some said that only one son could be had by नियोग, while others held that two could be had.

1409. Vide मनु IX. 32, 33 and 53 for the words क्षेत्र, क्षेत्रिक, बीजिन्; गौतम 18. 11 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 6 employ the word क्षेत्र for wife and Gaut. IV. 3 has the word ' bījin '.

The Vas. Dh. S. (17. 56-65) similarly prescribes [1410] 'the father or brother of the widow (or widow's husband) shall assemble the *gurus* who taught or sacrificed for the deceased husband and his relatives and shall appoint her (to raise issue for the deceased husband). Let him not appoint a widow who is mad, not master of herself (through grief &c.) or is diseased or is very old. (Up to) sixteen years (after puberty is the period for appointing a widow) nor shall an appointment be made if the person who is to approach her is sickly. Let him approach the widow in the *muhūrta* sacred [1411] to Prajāpati like a husband, without dallying with her and without abusing or ill-treating her. No appointment shall be made through a desire to obtain [1412] the estate.' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 14, p. 226) defines a *kṣetraja* son as one who is begotten by another man after permission on the wife of a deceased person or of a eunuch or of one who is suffering from (an incurable disease). Manu (IX. 59-61) says that a widow who is properly appointed may obtain offspring, in case there is total failure of issue, from her brother-in-law or a sapiṇḍa of her husband, that the person appointed should approach her in the dark and should be anointed with ghee and should procreate only one son and never two, while some say that he may procreate two. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 68-70, Yāj. I. 68-69 and Nārada (strīpuṁsa, 80-83) lay down similar rules. Kauṭilya (I. 17, p. 35) says that a king who is old or suffering from (incurable) disease should procreate a son on his queen through a mātṛbandhu or a feudatory chief endowed with qualities similar to his. In another place he says that if a brāhmaṇa dies without leaving a near heir, then a *sagotra* or *mātṛbandhu*

1410. ऊर्ध्वं ..... विद्याकर्मगुरुयोनिसंबन्धान्संनिपात्य पिता भ्राता वा नियोगं कारयेत्। न सोन्मादामवशां व्याधितां वा नियुञ्ज्यात्। ज्यायसीमपि। षोडश वर्षाणि। न चेदामयावी स्यात्। प्राजापत्ये मुहूर्ते पाणिग्राहवदुपचरेदन्यत्र संप्रहास्य वाक्पारुष्यदण्डपारुष्याच्च ..... रिक्थलोभान्नास्ति नियोगः। वसिष्ठ 17. 56-61, 65.

1411. प्राजापत्य मुहूर्त is the same as ब्राह्म मुहूर्त viz. the last watch of the night (i. e. $\frac{2}{15}$ ths of an hour before sunrise). Vide वसिष्ठ 12. 47, मनु 4. 92.

1412. The idea is that the widow must not be moved to the act by a mercenary motive. According to धारेश्वर whose views are cited in the वीरमित्रोदय of मित्रमिश्र (p. 633) the widow of a separated sonless man could get the property of her husband only if she submitted to *niyoga*, otherwise she was to get only maintenance. Dhāreśvara apparently based his view on some ancient texts. Vas. in the last sentence negatives such a

may be appointed to procreate a *kṣetraja* son, who should get the inheritance.[1413] The conditions necessary to allow *niyoga* were: (1) the husband, whether living or dead, must have no son; (2) the *gurus* in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for the husband; (3) the person appointed must be either the husband's brother, or a sapiṇḍa or sagotra of the husband or (according to Gautama, a sapravara or a person of the same caste); (4) the person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust but only by a sense of duty; (5) the person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil (Nārada,[1414] strīpuṁsa, 82), must not speak with or kiss her or engage in sportive dalliance with the woman; (6) this relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) the widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile or past child-bearing or sickly or unwilling or pregnant (Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 70, Nārada, strīpuṁsa 83–84); (8) after the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law (Manu IX. 62). It is further made clear by the texts that if a brother-in-law has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders or if he does so even when appointed by elders but the other circumstances do not exist (e. g. if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest (vide Manu IX. 58, 63, 143, 144 and Nārada, strīpuṁsa 85–86) and a son, born of such intercourse, would be a bastard and not entitled to any wealth (Nārada, strīpuṁsa 84–85) and that he would[1415] belong to the begetter (Vas. Dh. S. 17. 63). Nārada says that if a widow or a male acts contrary to the stringent provisions about *niyoga*, he or she should be severely punished by the king or ortherwise there would be confusion. Yāj. II. 234 makes such a person liable to be sentenced to a fine of one hundred *paṇas*. It will be seen from the above that even in the times of the Dharmasūtras, the practice of niyoga was hedged round with so many restric-

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1413. वृद्धस्तु व्याधितो वा राजा मातृबन्धुतुल्यगुणवत्तामन्तानामन्यतमेन क्षेत्रे बीजमुत्पादयेत्। कौटिल्य (I. 17. p. 35); क्षेत्रे वा जनयेदस्य नियुक्तः क्षेत्रजं सुतम्। मातृबन्धुः सगोत्रो वा तस्मै तत्प्रदिशेद्धनम्॥ कौटिल्य III. 6 (p. 163).

1414. घृतेनाभ्यज्य गात्राणि तैलेनाविकृतेन वा। मुखान्मुखं परिहरन् गात्रैर्गात्राण्यसंस्पृशन्॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंस) verse 82. विश्वरूप on या. I. 68 says घृताभ्यञ्जनवचनं कामप्रवृत्तिनिरोधार्थम्। ततश्चालिङ्गनादि वैकारिकत्वाद् दूरापेतम्।

1415. अनियुक्ता तु या नारी देवराज्जनयेत्सुतम्॥ जारजातमरिक्थीयं तमाहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस) 84–85.

tions that it must not have been very much prevalent and instances must have been rather rare.

While ancient Dharmasūtras like Gautama allowed niyoga, there were other dharmasūtras and writers almost as old as Gautama that condemned the practice and forbade it. Āp. Dh. S.[1416] II. 10. 27. 5-7 after referring to the view of some that a girl is given to a family in marriage and declaring that that practice (of polyandry) is forbidden adds a condemnation of niyoga 'the hand (of a sagotra is considered to be) that of a stranger; that if (the marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell and that the reward obtained from observing the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by niyoga).' Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 38 refers[1417] to the view of Aupajaṅghani that it is only the *aurasa* son that is to be recognized as a son and then quotes three verses (probably of the same ancient sage), which are also cited as quotations by Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 6) and which call upon husbands to guard their wives and not allow others to procreate sons on the latter, as the sons so procreated will benefit only the begetter. Manu, though at first he describes *niyoga*, ultimately condemns it in the strongest terms possible (IX. 64-68). He says that among dvijātis a widow should never be appointed to raise issue from another, for by doing so ancient dharma would be violated, that in the mantras relating to marriage there is no reference to niyoga nor is the remarriage of a widow spoken of in the procedure about marriage, that niyoga is a beastly way and was first brought into vogue by king Vena who thereby caused *varṇa-saṅkara*, and that since that time good men condemn him who through ignorance appoints a widow to produce offspring. Manu (IX. 69-70) explains the meaning of niyoga by saying that the rules and the ancient texts about niyoga apply or refer to that case only where, after a girl is promised as a bride, the intended bridegroom dies, the

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1416. अविशिष्टं हि परस्मै पाणेः । तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरकः । नियमारम्भणो हि वर्षीयानभ्युदय एवमारम्भणादपत्यात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 5-7.

1417. An औपजन्धनि or-ङ्घनि is a teacher mentioned in the वंश at the end of Br. Up. II. 6 and IV. 6. इदानीमहमीदृशीमि स्त्रीणां जनक नो पुरा । यतो यमस्य सादने जनयितुः पुत्रमब्रुवन् ॥ रेतोधाः पुत्रं नयति परेत्य यमसादने । तस्माद्भार्यां रक्षन्ति विभ्यतः परेतसः ॥ अप्रमत्ता रक्षथ तन्तुमेतं मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजानि वाप्सुः । जनयितुः पुत्रो भवति सांपराये मोघं वेत्ता कुरुते तन्तुमेतम् ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 39-41=आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 6 (with slight variations). मत्स्यपुराण 49. 13 has the half verse रेतोधा नयते पुत्रः परेतं यमसादनात् । . The last verse occurs in Vas. 17. 9 also.

brother of the latter is called upon to marry the girl and to have intercourse with her only once during each period till she gives birth to a son who would be the son of the deceased. Though Manu condemned the ancient practice of niyoga, he had to make provision for the *kṣetraja* son as regards partition (IX. 120-121, 145). It should be noticed that if the interpretation of Manu IX. 69-70 be accepted, the word 'vidhavā' would have to be taken in two different senses in Manu and other texts e. g. in IX. 60 where Manu speaks of niyoga, the word means a girl promised to a bridegroom who died before the marriage ceremony was gone through, while in Manu IX. 64 'vidhavā' means 'a widow whose husband died after marriage was completed.' To say the least, this contravenes the canon of Mīmāṁsā interpretation that the same word in the same passage or context should have only one meaning. Bṛhaspati[1418] refers to the fact that the Manusmṛti first described the ancient *niyoga* and then forbade it and adds that in former ages men possessed *tapas* and knowledge and could strictly carry out the rules while in dvāpara and kali ages there is great deterioration of power and so men of these times cannot now practise niyoga. The several kinds of sons will be dealt with under *vyavahāra*.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (15. 3) contains an innovation which is not found in the sūtras of Gautama and Vasiṣṭha viz. the '*kṣetraja* is one[1419] who is procreated on an appointed wife or widow by a sapiṇḍa of the husband or by a brāhmaṇa.' The Mahābhārata is replete with cases of niyoga. Ādiparva (95 and 103) narrates how Satyavatī pressed Bhīṣma to procreate sons for his younger brother Vicitravīrya (who was dead) from his queens and how (Ādi. 105) when Bhīṣma refused Vyāsa ultimately was appointed by Vyāsa's mother Satyavatī and procreated Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. Kumārilabhaṭṭa[1420] replies to

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1418. उक्तो नियोगो मुनिना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगक्रमादशक्योयं कर्तुमन्यैर्विधानतः ॥ तपोज्ञानसमायुक्ताः कृतत्रेतायुगे नराः । द्वापरे च कलौ नृणां शक्तिहानिर्विनिर्मिता ॥ अनेकधाः कृताः पुत्रा ऋषिभिश्च पुरातनैः । न शक्यन्तेऽधुना कर्तुं शक्तिहीनैरिदन्तनैः ॥ बृह० quoted by अपरार्क p. 97 (on Yāj. I. 68-69) and by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 68.

1419. नियुक्तायां सपिण्डेनोत्तमवर्णेन वोत्पादितः क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 3.

1420. The objector says 'कृष्णद्वैपायनस्य गृहीतनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचर्यस्य विचित्रवीर्यदारेष्वपत्योत्पादनप्रसङ्गः' (तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 203 on जै. I. 3. 7) and the reply is 'द्वैपायनस्यापि गुरुनियोगादपतिरपत्यलिप्सुर्देवरादुरुप्रेरितादृतुमतीयात् इत्येवमागमान्मातुसंबन्धभ्रातृजायापुत्रजननं प्राक्कृतपश्चात्करिष्यमाणतपोबलेन नातिदुष्करम् । अन्योपि यस्तादृक्तपोबलो निर्वहेत्स कुर्यादेव । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 208 (on the same sūtra).

the objector finding fault with Vyāsa by saying that Vyāsa followed Gaut. (18. 4–5) and the urgent request of his mother and besides his *tapas* saved him from the effects of violation of dharma. Pāṇḍu himself is said to have asked Kuntī to procreate sons for him by niyoga from a brāhmaṇa endowed with great tapas (Ādi. 120) and tells her certain stories of *niyoga* (Ādi. 120–123) and winds up by saying that three sons is [1421] the limit and that if a fourth or a fifth were procreated the woman would be *svairiṇī* (a wanton woman) and bandhakī (harlot). Ādiparva (chap. 64 and 104) states that when Paraśurāma tried to exterminate the kṣatriyas thousands of kṣatriya widows approached brāhmaṇas for the procreation of sons. [1422] Vide Ādiparva, chap. 104 and 177, Anuśāsana, chap. 44. 52–53, Śānti 72. 12 for other references and examples of niyoga. [1423]

Owing to the bewildering and often conflicting rules about niyoga in the smṛtis, commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, who wrote at a time when niyoga was almost unheard of, made heroic though unsatisfactory efforts to bring order out of chaos. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 states several views on the point. The first is that niyoga is bad in the present age as opposed to smṛti texts (like Manu IX. 64 and 68) and to the usage of the śiṣṭas (respectable people). The second view was the same as Manu IX. 69 set out above. A third view was that there was an option (as niyoga was both forbidden and allowed). A fourth view (which seems to be the view of Viśvarūpa himself) was that the smṛti texts about niyoga refer to śūdras [1424] (Manu IX. 64 uses the word 'dvijāti') and it was also allowed to royal families, when there was no male to succeed (and only a brāhmaṇa was to be appointed) and Viśvarūpa relies upon two

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1421. नातश्चतुर्थं प्रसवमापत्स्वपि वदन्त्युत। अतः परं स्वैरिणी स्याद्बन्धकी पञ्चमे भवेत्॥ आदिपर्व 123. 77.

1422. ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रिया राजन् सुतार्थिन्योऽभिचक्रमुः। ऋतावृतौ नरश्रेष्ठ न कामात्ताः वृतौ तथा॥ तेभ्यश्च लेभिरे गर्भं क्षत्रियास्ताः सहस्रशः। आदिपर्व 64. 5–7; एवमन्ये महेष्वासा ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रिया भुवि। जाताः परमधर्मज्ञा वीर्यवन्तो महाबलाः॥ आदिपर्व 104. 56; ब्राह्मणो गुणवान्कश्चिद्धनेनोपनिमन्त्र्यताम्। विचित्रवीर्यक्षेत्रेषु यः समुत्पादयेत्प्रजाः॥ आदि. 105. 2; पत्यभावे यथैव स्त्री देवरं कुरुते पतिम्। शान्ति 72. 12.

1423. Vide Dr. Winternitz's paper (Notes on Mahābhārata) in J. R. A. S. 1897 pp. 716–732 'for Niyoga in the great epic'.

1424. एवं तावच्छूद्राणां नियोगाधिकार उक्तः। विश्वरूप at the end of his com. on I. 69. A little above विश्वरूप remarks that there is a usage of नियोग among śūdras.

verses of Vṛddhamanu [1425] and a gāthā of Vāyu. Viśvarūpa further says that the procreation of sons by Vyāsa from the queens of Vicitravīrya should be paid no heed (i. e. is not to be relied on) like the marriage of Draupadī (to the five Pāṇḍavas). The Mahābhārata probably reflects what happened owing to the incessant internecine wars among the princes of India. Whole princely houses must have been slaughtered. If niyoga was prevalent among them, the males appointed, when they had to be of the same caste, would have been ordinary soldiers (kṣatriyas). The proud princely families very likely thought it below their dignity to associate widowed queens with ordinary kṣatriyas. It is possible to hold that they chose brāhmaṇas for appointment, as the latter were deemed to be higher than even kings in the spiritual domain. It is impossible to believe that brāhmaṇas, who had no temporal power, could coerce the proud and warlike caste into choosing brāhmaṇas for niyoga, unless the teaching of the smṛtis fell in with the notions of the ruling houses themselves to some extent at least.

There was difference of opinion as to whom the child of niyoga belonged. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 6 expressly refers to this divergence. The first view was that the child belonged to the begetter; this view would cut at the very root of the purpose for which niyoga was recommended. Nirukta [1426] III. 1-3 supports this view and relies on Ṛg. VII. 4. 7-8. Gaut. 18. 9 and Manu IX. 181 state the same rule. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 5 says that according to a Brāhmaṇa text the son belongs to the begetter. The second view was that if there was an agreement between the elders of a widow and the person appointed or between the husband himself and the begetter that the child should belong to the husband, then the son belonged to the latter. Vide Gaut. 18. 10-11, Vas. 17. 8, Ādiparva 104. 6. [1427] A third view was that the son belonged to both the begetter and the owner of the wife. This is the view of Nārada (strīpuṃsa 58), Yāj. II. 127, Manu IX. 53, Gaut. 18. 13.

1425. तथा च वृद्धमनुः । शूद्राणामेव धर्मोयं पत्यौ प्रेतेऽन्यसंश्रयः । लोभान्मूढैरविद्वद्भिः क्षत्रियैरपि चर्यते ॥ वायुप्रोक्तां तथा गाथां पठन्त्यत्र मनीषिणः । विप्राणां न नियोगोस्ति प्रेते पत्यौ न वेदनम् ॥ and the gāthā is अकार्यमेतद्विप्राणां विधवा यन्नियुज्यते । उह्यते वा सुते पत्यौ देवरेण विशेषतः ॥ विश्वरूप.

1426. तद्यथा जनयितुः प्रजा एवमर्थीये ऋचावुदाहरिष्यामः । निरुक्त III. 1.

1427. उत्पादयितुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 5; पाणिग्राहस्य तनय इति वेदेषु निश्चितम् । आदिपर्व 104. 6.

As shown above (in note 1418) niyoga was forbidden in the Kali age by Bṛhaspati and it was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age by several works. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117 and Aparārka p. 97 quoting Brahmapurāṇa.[1427a]

The practice of raising issue from the widow of one's brother or marrying her was a widespread one. Vide Westermarck's 'History of Human Marriage' (1921) vol. III. pp. 207–220. In the Ṛgveda [1428] X. 40. 2 we read 'what sacrificer invites you (Aśvins) in his house as a widow invites a brother-in-law to her bed or as a young damsel her lover'. But it is not clear whether this refers to marrying the widow of a deceased brother or to the practice of niyoga. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 69) thinks that this refers to niyoga. The Nirukta (III. 15) explains Ṛg. X. 40. 2, where in some mss. the word 'devara' is explained as 'a second husband' (dvitīyo varaḥ). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 66 explains Ṛg. X. 40. 2 as applying to niyoga. According to the sūtras and smṛtis niyoga was entirely different from marriage. In many ancient societies, women were inherited like property. On the death of the eldest brother, his younger brother took the family property as well as his widow. But the Ṛgveda had reached a stage much beyond that. Mac-Lennan thought that the practice of niyoga was due to polyandry. Westermarck combats this view and rightlyso. When niyoga was allowed in the sūtras, polyandry had been either unheard of or forbidden. Jolly in Recht und Sitte (English translation, pp. 156–157) thinks that apart from the religious importance of a son economic motives were at the bottom of the long list of secondary sons, including the *kṣetraja*. This appears to be quite wrong. The practice of niyoga was a relic from the past and probably owed its origin to several causes, which are now obscure, but one of which was the great hankering for a son evinced by all in Vedic times. Vas. Dh. S. (17. 1–6) lends support to this view, since after quoting Vedic passages about the importance of a son for paying off the debt to ancestors and for securing heavenly worlds, he at once proceeds to the description of the *kṣetraja*. But the economic motive was never put forward by any of the sages, nor could it possibly have been the reason

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1427 a. उक्तं च । यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्वारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ इति । मिता० on याज्ञ. II. 117 ; क्षीणां पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रसंततिः । स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलियुगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन ॥ ' ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

1428. को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ. ॥ ऋ. X. 40. 2.

and main-spring of the practice. If many secondary sons were desired for economic reasons, then the same man could have had any number of secondary sons. But the dharmaśāstra texts do not allow this. A man who has an *aurasa* son can have no kṣetraja or adopted son. If one kind of son was adopted, then another kind of son could not be adopted. So economic motives did not at all form the origin of this practice. Winternitz in J. R. A. S. for 1897 at p. 758 puts forward poverty, paucity of women and the joint family system as the causes of niyoga. There are no data to prove that there was paucity of women in India during historic times. There might have been a paucity of men owing to wars. Nor do the other two reasons bear close examination. It is better to say that niyoga was a survival from the remote past, that gradually it became rarer and rarer till in the first centuries of the Christian era it came to be totally prohibited.

CHAPTER XIV

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Remarriage of widows.—The word *punarbhū* is generally applied to a widow that has remarried. Before going into the detailed history of the remarriage of widows it is desirable to probe into the meaning of the word 'punarbhū'.[1429] Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 45) says that there are seven sorts of wives (mentioned in order) who have been previously married to another man (parapūrvā); among them, the punarbhū is of three kinds[1430] and the svairiṇī (wanton woman) is of four kinds. The three punarbhūs are: (1) a maiden whose hand was taken in marriage but whose marriage was not consummated; in her case the marriage ceremony has to be performed once more; (2) a woman who first deserts the husband of her youth, betakes herself to another man and then returns to the house of her husband; (3) a woman who is given by the husband's relatives (when the husband dies) to a sapiṇḍa of the deceased husband or a person of the same caste, on failure of brothers-in-law (this is nigoya and no ceremony is to be performed). The four svairiṇīs are: (1) a woman, whether childless or not, who goes to live with another man through love while the husband is alive; (2) a woman who rejects after her husband's death his brothers and the like and unites herself with another through passion for him; (3) a woman, coming from a foreign country or purchased with money or oppressed by hunger or thirst, gives herself to a man saying 'I am yours'; (4) a woman who is given to a stranger by the elders relying on the usages of the

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1429. Vide Vedic Index vol. I. pp. 476–478, 'Die Witve in Veda' (the widow in the Veda), a paper by Dr. Winternitz in the Vienna Oriental Journal (1915) vol. 29, pp. 172–203 for discussion of some Vedic passages bearing on the question.

1430. Compare Manu IX. 176 and Viṣṇu 15. 8 for the first punarbhū, Manu IX. 176, Vas. Dh. S. 17.19 and Viṣṇu 15. 9 for the second punarbhū.

country, but who incurs the blame of wantonness[1431] (as the smṛti rules about niyoga are not observed by them or her). Nārada says that each preceding one of the punarbhūs and svairiṇīs enumerated is inferior to the next in order. Yāj. (I. 67) does not give this elaborate classification; all he says is that a punarbhū is of two kinds, one whose marriage had not been consummated and another who has had sexual intercourse and that both have the marriage ceremony performed again (i. e. punarbhū is one who is 'punaḥ saṁskṛtā'); a svairiṇī is one who forsakes the husband whom she married when a maiden and lives with another man of the same caste through love for the latter. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 67 remarks that the elaborate classification of Nārada and Śaṅkha (3 punarbhūs and 4 svairiṇīs) is not of much use, that it only indicates the various degrees of blame (or sin) attaching to them and is also meant to discriminate among prāyaścittas to be performed by those women. It is the second husband and the son of the second marriage that bear the appellation 'punarbhava' (pati or putra respectively) and not the first husband. Vide Saṁ. Pr. pp. 740–741. The Sm. C. (I. p. 75) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana and certain verses of Kaśyapa. According to Kaśyapa[1432] the seven kinds of punarbhū are: (1) the girl who had been promised in marriage, (2) one who was intended to be given; (3) one on whose wrist the auspicious band was tied by the bride-groom, (4) whose gift had been made with water (by the father), (5) whose hand was held by the bridegroom, (6) who went round the fire, (7) who had given birth to a child after marriage. In the first five cases it is to be supposed that the bride-groom either immediately died or left the further prosecution of the marriage rites. Even such girls would be styled punarbhūs, when they married another person later on, though

1431. Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 175–176) renders this verse of Nārada differently; but his rendering appears to me to be incorrect. The 3rd kind of punarbhū refers to the practice of niyoga; the 4th kind of svairiṇī is one who is allowed to have intercourse by her elders for procreating a son for her deceased husband but without observing the strict rules of niyoga laid down in the smṛtis. That is the difference between the two. The action of the स्वैरिणी is described as साहस, as it is no more than *vyabhicāra*, though with the elder's permission.

1432. वाचा दत्ता मनोदत्ता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला। उदकस्पर्शिता या च या च पाणिगृहीतिका॥ अग्निं परिगता या च पुनर्भूः प्रसवा च या। इत्येताः कश्यपेनोक्ता दहन्ति कुलमग्निवत्॥ कश्यप quoted by स्मृतिच. I. 75.

the first marriage was not complete because the saptapadī had not been performed. The sixth case is one of completed marriage (though it refers to only going round fire). Baudhāyana's seven varieties are slightly different, the first two being the same as Kaśyapa's: the others are (3) one who went round the fire (with the bridegroom); (4) one who took the seventh step; (5) one who has had sexual intercourse (either after marriage or even without it); (6) one who has conceived; (7) one who has borne[1433] a child. These meanings of the word punarbhū must be borne in mind when one meets with the word punarbhū in Vedic texts. That even the promise to give in marriage without the performance of any ceremonies was looked upon as tantamount in its consequences to marriage follows from the words of Sukanyā quoted above (in note 1306) from the Śat. Br., where she had been only offered to the sage Cyavana by her father, but where no ceremonies had been performed as none are described or referred to therein. Manu (IX. 69–70) confines the rules of niyoga to a girl who was only promised (vāgdattā); while Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 72 speaks of the vāgdattā and one given with water as still a maiden, if no Vedic mantras have been repeated.[1434] Vas. Dh. S. XVII. 74 refers to the 4th variety of Baudhāyana. Yāj. I. 67 when he speaks of *akṣatā* refers to all the six varieties of Kaśyapa or the first four varieties of Baudhāyana and when he speaks of 'kṣatā' he refers to the seventh variety of Kaśyapa and the last three of Baudhāyana. Vas. Dh. S.[1435] 17 19–20 describes *paunarbhava* as the son of a woman, who leaves the husband of her youth and after having lived with another person, re-enters the house of the husband or as the son of a woman who takes another husband after leaving an impotent, outcast or lunatic husband or after the death of the first husband. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 31 describes paunarbhava as the son of a woman who after abandoning an impotent or outcast husband goes to another husband. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, v. 97), Parāśara IV. 30 and Agnipurāṇa 154. 5–6 have the same verse 'another husband

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1433. वाग्दत्ता मनोदत्ता अग्निं परिगता सप्तमं पदं नीता भुक्ता गृहीतगर्भा प्रसूता चेति सप्तविधा पुनर्भूर्भवति। अतस्तां गृहीत्वा न प्रजां धर्मं च विन्देत। बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 75, सं. प्र. p. 735.

1434. अग्निर्वाचा च दत्तायां म्रियेतादौ वरो यदि। न च मन्त्रोपनीता स्यात्कुमारी पितुरेव सा॥ पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता। सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 72 and 74.

1435. पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थः। या कौमारं भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यैः सह चरित्वा तस्यैव कुटुम्बमाश्रयति सा पुनर्भूर्भवति। या च क्लीबं पतितमुन्मत्तं वा भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यं पतिं विन्दते मृते वा सा पुनर्भूर्भवति। वसिष्ठ 17. 18–20.

is ordained for women in five calamities viz. when the husband is lost (unheard of), is dead, has become a saṁnyāsin, is impotent or is *patita*.'[1436] Great controversies have raged round this verse. Some like the Par. M. (II. part I. p. 53) give the easy explanation (always given about inconvenient texts) that this verse refers to the state of society in another *yuga* (age) and has no application to the Kali age. Others like Medhātithi (on Manu V. 157) explain that the word pati means only 'pālaka' (guardian). Medhātithi[1437] (on Manu III. 10 and V. 163) is not dead against niyoga, but he is opposed to the remarriage of widows. Even the Smṛtyarthasāra (which belongs to about 1150 to 1200 A. D.) mentions several views viz. some hold that a girl may be married to another if the bride-groom dies before saptapadī, others hold that she may be remarried if the first husband dies before consummating the marriage, while still others are of opinion that if after marriage the husband dies before she begins to menstruate she may be remarried and some hold that remarriage is allowed before conception.[1438]

Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 3–4 condemns remarriage 'if one has intercourse with a woman who had already another husband, or with a woman on whom no marriage saṁskāra has taken place or who is of a different varṇa, then sin is incurred; in that case the son also is sinful'. Haradatta quotes Manu III. 174 and says that the son procreated on another's wife is called *kuṇḍa* if the husband is living, and *golaka* if the husband is dead. Manu V. 162 is opposed to the remarriage of widows 'nowhere is a second husband declared for virtuous women'; so also Manu IX.[1439] 65

1436. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ। पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसप्रकरण 97).

1437. यत्तु नष्टे ..... विधीयते इति तत्र पालनात्पतिमन्यमाश्रयेत सैरन्ध्रकर्मादिनात्मवृत्त्यर्थम्। मेधातिथि on मनु V. 157; तथा स्वर्गं गच्छत्यपुत्रापत्यनेनापत्यजननमापदि प्रतिषिध्यते नियोगस्मृत्या तु तत्पुनरभ्यनुज्ञास्यते। तदेतदपत्योत्पादनमुक्तप्रतिषिद्धत्वाद्विकल्पते। मेधा. on मनु V. 163.

1438. मृतेऽन्यस्मै तथा देया वरे सप्तपदात्पुरा। पुरा पुरुषसंयोगान्मृते देयेति केचन ॥ ऋतावदृष्टे कन्यैव पुनर्देयेति केचन। आगर्भधारणात्कन्या पुनर्देयेति चापरे। देशकालादिमा धर्मा अनुछेया विजानता ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 12.

1439. न द्वितीयश्च साध्वीनां क्वचिद्भर्तोपदिश्यते। मनु V. 162; न विवाहविधावुक्तं विधवावेदनं पुनः ॥ मनु IX. 65; सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते। मनु IX. 47; पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिताः। मनु VIII. 226. Vide आश्व. गृ I. 7. 13, आप. म. पा. I. 5. 7 &c for the मन्त्रs 'अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत &c.', where the word कन्या (a maiden) alone is used.

('in the procedure of marriage there is no declaration about the remarriage of widows), Manu IX. 47 'a maiden can be given only once' and Manu VIII. 226 (the Vedic mantras used in pāṇigrahaṇa are applicable to maidens only) are opposed to the remarriage of widows. The Brahmapurāṇa and other purāṇas forbid remarriage of widows in the Kali age (vide note 1427a above). The Sam. Pr. quotes a text of Kātyāyana to the effect that a girl, who has gone through the ceremony of marriage with a sagotra, may be married again and remarks that the text refers to the state of society in another *yuga*. This is the view of all the commentators and *nibandha* writers. Manu himself (in IX. 176) expressly allows the saṁskāra of remarriage in the case of a girl, whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. In this the author of the Manusmṛti probably only reiterates popular usage which was too much for him in spite of his own view (in V. 162) denouncing remarriages. So it may be taken that Manu does not forbid the use of mantras in remarriage, but holds that even after the mantras are recited the remarriage of a widow is not *dharmya* (approved). It is said in the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 104. 34–37) that Dīrghatamas forbade remarriage and also *niyoga*.[1440] Manu himself speaks of the saṁskāra of a pregnant girl (IX. 172–173). Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 18, Vas. Dh. S. 17. 74, Yāj. I. 167 speak of the saṁskāra of remarriage (paunarbhava saṁskāra). Manu III. 155 and Yāj. I. 222 include the paunarbhava (the son of a punarbhū) among brāhmaṇas that are not to be invited at a śrāddha. Aparārka (p. 97) quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa itself which speaks of a fresh saṁskāra of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody.[1441]

Several smṛtis contain certain rules about what the wife was to do when the husband had gone abroad for many years after marriage. Nārada (strīpuṁsa, verses 98–101) gives the

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1440. एक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीवं परायणम्। मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन्नापरं प्राप्नुयात्पतिम्॥ अभिगम्य परं नारी पतिष्यति न संशयः। अपतीनां तु नारीणामद्यप्रभृति पातकम्॥ आदि 104. 35–36.

1441. यदि सा बालविधवा बलात्यक्ताथवा क्वचित्। तदा भूयस्तु संस्कार्या गृहीता येन केनचित्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 97.

following directions.[1442] 'If the husband has gone to a foreign country a brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period (of 8 or 4 years) she may resort to another man (then Nārada lays down lesser number of years for kṣatriya and vaiśya wives). If the husband is known to be living then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man (in such cases).' Manu (IX. 76) says 'If a man has gone to a foreign land for doing some religious duty the wife should wait for him for eight years, six years if he has gone for acquiring knowledge or fame, or three years if he has gone on a love affair (or for another wife).' Manu does not state what the wife is to do after these years of waiting. Vas. (17. 75–76) requires that 'the wife of one who has gone to a foreign land should wait for five years and after five years she should go near her husband.' This may be all right as far as it will go. But if the husband is unheard of, how is she to reach him? Vasiṣṭha says nothing on that point. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 69 says that the periods of waiting prescribed for the wife of an emigrant are meant not for permitting niyoga thereafter, but for calling upon her to repair to her husband. Kauṭilya (III. 4) prescribes some interesting rules: 'the wife of one, who has long gone abroad, or who has become a recluse or who is dead, should wait for seven menstrual periods and for a year if she has a child already. Thereafter she may marry the full brother of her husband. If there be many brothers she should marry one who is near in age (to the first husband), who is virtuous, capable of maintaining her or who is the youngest or unmarried. If no such brother exists she may marry a sapiṇḍa of the husband or one of the same caste.' The story of Damayantī suggests that when the husband was not heard of for many years, a wife could marry again. Damayantī is said to have sent a message to Ṛtuparṇa that, as Nala was not heard of for many years, Damayantī was going to celebrate a svayaṃvara and Ṛtuparṇa hurries for it and does not think it a strange thing (Vanaparva 70. 24).

1442. अष्टौ वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत ब्राह्मणी प्रोषितं पतिम्। अप्रसूता तु चत्वारि परतोऽन्यं समाश्रयेत्॥ ...जीवति श्रूयमाणे तु स्यादेष द्विगुणोऽवधिः॥ अप्रवृत्तौ तु भूतानां सृष्टिरेष प्रजापतेः। अतोन्यगमने स्त्रीणामेष दोषो न विद्यते। नारद् (स्त्रीपुंस vv. 98–101.).

One question[1443] raised by Dr. Banerjee is: what is to be regarded as the *gotra* of a widow when she is to be remarried (is it to be her father's *gotra* or of the first husband's ?). There are hardly any indications in the ancient smṛtis or commentaries on this point. Viśvarūpa[1444] commenting on Yāj. I. 63 (on the word 'kanyāprada') observes that according to some the father gives away the bride even if she is not a virgin. So it appears that the father's *gotra* should be looked to in the remarriage of a widow. Vidyasagar, whom Dr. Banerjee follows, held the same opinion.

Certain passages of the Atharvaveda may be considered in connection with the question of the remarriage of widows. Atharva-Veda V. 17. 8–9 are[1445] 'when a woman has at first even ten husbands, who are not brāhmaṇas, if a brāhmaṇa takes hold of her hand (i. e. marries her), he alone is her (real) husband. A brāhmaṇa alone is (a real) husband, not a kṣatriya or a vaiśya—the sun goes proclaiming this to the five (tribes of) men'. The first verse is not to be taken literally in the sense that a woman married ten persons in succession and that the 11th was a brāhmaṇa; the first verse contains rather what is called 'praudhivāda' (pompous assertion or boast) and this is indicated by the word 'uta'. The verse may at the most mean that if a woman has first a kṣatriya or vaiśya as husband, and she marries on his death a brāhmaṇa, then the brāhmaṇa is the real husband. The word 'pati' may also have been used loosely and all that is meant may be that if a girl is promised to ten persons one after another and then lastly to a brāhmaṇa, the latter is to be accepted as the best. Another passage[1446] of the

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1443. Vide 'Marriage and Strīdhana' (5th ed.) p. 309 'one of these rules of selection requires that the parties to marriage should be of different *gotras*; but what is to be regarded as the *gotra* of a widow—the *gotra* of her father in which she was born or that of her deceased husband to which she has been transferred by marriage ?'.

1444. कन्याप्रद इति वचनादक्षतायां एव नैयमिकं दानम् । पिता त्वकन्यामपि दद्यादिति केचित् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 63.

1445. उत यत्पतयो दश स्त्रियाः पूर्वे अब्राह्मणाः । ब्रह्मा चेद्धस्तमग्रहीत्स एव पतिरेकधा ॥ ब्राह्मण एव पतिर्न राजन्यो न वैश्यः । तत्सूर्यः प्रब्रुवन्नेति पञ्चभ्यो मानवेभ्यः ॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 8–9. उत is explained by the निरुक्त (e. g. I. 19) generally as अपि, whenever it is at the beginning of a verse or pāda.

1446. या पूर्वं पतिं विश्वाऽथान्यं विन्दतेऽपरम् । पञ्चौदनं च तावजं ददातो न वि योषतः ॥ समानलोको भवति पुनर्भुवापरः पतिः । योऽजं पञ्चौदनं दक्षिणाज्योतिषं ददाति ॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 5. 27–28.

Atharvaveda (IX. 5. 27-28) is ' whatever woman, having first married one husband, marries another, if they (two) offer a goat with five rice dishes they would not be separated (from each other). The second husband secures the same world with his remarried wife, when he offers a goat accompanied with five rice dishes and with the light of fees'. Here the word *punarbhū* occurs. It is possible to hold that this may refer to the promise of a girl in marriage, subsequent death of the intended bridegroom before the marriage ceremonies take place and then the bestowal of her on another. Whatever the meaning of *punarbhū* here may be, it is clear that some sort of sin or inferiority attached to her and that such sin or opprobrium had to be removed by sacrifices. Other passages are discussed later on. But it must be admitted that remarriage of women was not prohibited in the times of the Atharvaveda. In the Tai. S. III. 2. 4. 4 ' daidhiṣavya ' (widow's son) occurs. The gṛhyasūtras are silent about remarriage; so probably by that time it had come to be prohibited generally, though sporadic instances might have occurred. Among the brāhmaṇas and castes similar to them and holding or endeavouring to hold a high place in the hierarchy of castes widow remarriage has been forbidden for centuries. One of the earliest historical instances is the remarriage of Dhruvadevī, queen of Rāmagupta, who was after Rāmagupta's death, married by her brother-in-law Candragupta (*vide* Journal Asiatique for 1923, pp. 201-208, Sanjan Plates in E. I. vol. 18, p. 255, ' Indian Culture ' vol. 4, p. 216, Harṣacarita VI, penultimate para). Among śūdras and other lower castes widow remarriage has been allowed by custom, though it is held to be somewhat inferior to the marriage of a maiden.[1447] Among these castes remarriage is allowed after the death of the husband or during his life-time with the consent of the husband who gives a writing called *farkhat* or *sod-chutti* (a deed of release). Such marriages are called *pat* in Mahārāṣṭra, *natra* in Gujarat, *udki* in the Canarese districts. In some cases the caste in a meeting assembled takes upon itself to bring to an end a marriage and allows the wife to re-marry. But the Bombay High Court does not recognize the authority of a caste to declare a marriage void or to permit a woman to remarry another person without the consent of the husband and have convicted of bigamy women re-marrying without the

1447. Vide Steele's 'Law and Custom of Hindu Castes' pp. 26, 168-169.

consent of the first husband but with the permission of the caste.[1448] In modern times, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) has been passed mainly through the efforts of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. That Act legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate. Owing to the sentiment of centuries widow remarriage is still looked down upon and during more than eighty years since the Act was passed not many widows have taken advantage of it. The Census[1449] of India for 1931 discloses certain appalling figures. Among infants of less than one year old there were in the whole of India as many as 796 males who were widowers and 1515 females who were widows, among children up to 5 years there were 12799 widowers and 30880 widows (out of these last the Hindus contributed 10266 as widowers and 23667 as widows). It is true that amongst the castes to which most of these must have belonged widow remarriage is allowed by custom, but there must be a certain number of females who are widows before five, who cannot remarry by the custom of the caste and who would not dare to take advantage of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act. Between the ages of 5–10, 11–15, 16–20 the numbers of Hindu widows for the whole of India are respectively 83920, 145449, 404167. The age of marriage for girls is rapidly rising owing to economic causes, the spread of literacy among the masses, and the operation of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) and it may be hoped that these high figures of child widows will be substantially reduced in the near future. Persons finding fault with Hindu society for large numbers of child widows should not forget one thing. According to Hindu notions every girl must be married at any cost. Hence people rush into child marriages. But there has been no problem of old spinsters in Hindu society, as there is in Western countries, though it appears that in the near future that problem will arise even in India. Apart from the considerations as to religious texts prohibiting widow remarriage and the great concern among women for preserving a high ideal of chastity and single-minded devotion to the husband, many Hindus feel that, each girl

1448. Vide *Reg.* v. *Karsan Goja*, 2 Bombay High Court Reports 117; *Reg.* v. *Sambhu*, 1 Bom. 347, *Keshav* v. *Bai Gandhi*, 39 Bom. 538.

1449. Vide Census of India 1931 vol. I. part 2, Imperial Tables, pp. 120–122.

having been given one chance of marriage, if she becomes a widow, that is her ill-luck, but she should not be allowed to compete with unmarried girls in the marriage market, which is already overcrowded with girls waiting to be married.

Certain verses of the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda have given rise to various explanations and opinion is divided as to whether they refer to niyoga, to the remarriage of widows or to the practice of the immolation of widows. First the two verses Ṛg. X. 18. 7–8 [1450] which are part of a funeral hymn will be set out: 'Let these women, who are not widows and who have good husbands, sit down with clarified butter used as collyrium; may the wives who are tearless, free from disease and wearing fine jewels (or clothes) occupy the seat in front (first). O woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come, this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled'. It is somewhat strange that Sāyaṇa understands the latter half as an invitation by the husband's brother to the wife of the departed to remarry him. But that meaning is far-fetched and does not bring out the proper force of 'hastagrābhasya', 'patyuḥ' and 'babhūtha'. The Āśv. gṛ. [1451] (IV. 6. 11–12) prescribes that (in the expiatory rite performed on the death of an elder) the young women relatives should salve their eyes with butter with their thumb and fourth finger and with tender darbha blades and then throw the blades away, when the performer of the rite should look at them while they are salving their eyes with the verse 'imā nārīr &c.'. The same sūtra (IV. 2. 16–18) says that "(when a dead body is to

1450. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा सं विशन्तु । अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुप शेष एहि । हस्तग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभि सं बभूथ ॥ ऋ. X. 18. 7–8. अथर्ववेद (XII. 2. 31 and XVIII. 3 57) has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्पृशन्ताम् for संविशन्तु. तै. आ. VI. 10 has the verse इमा नारीः, but reads संस्पृशन्ताम् and सुशेवाः for संविशन्तु and सुरत्नाः; तै. आ. VI. 1 and अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 2. have उदीर्ष्व etc. but तै. आ. reads इतासुं for गतासुं, त्वमेतत् for तवेदं and बभूव for बभूथ. The most difficult words are the last quarter of Ṛg X. 18. 8. बभूथ requires a subject in the 2nd person which does not occur in the latter half of the verse.

1451. इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरित्यञ्जाना ईक्षेत । आश्व. गृ. IV. 6. 12; उत्तरत पत्नीम् । धनुश्च क्षत्रियाय । तासुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरद्वासो बोदीर्ष्व नार्यभि जीवलोकमिति । आश्व. गृ. IV. 2. 16.–18 These sūtras are referred to by अपरार्क p. 112. The com. on Tai. Ār. holds that the latter half calls upon the wife of the deceased to remarry.

be cremated) they should place the wife to the north of the body and a bow for a kṣatriya (if he be the dead person) and then her brother-in-law or some one else who can be the representative of her husband or a pupil or an old servant should make her rise up with the mantra 'udīrṣva' ". The Śāṅ. Śr. S. IV. 16. 16 also directs that the verse Rg. X. 18. 7 is repeated when the eyes of women are touched with blades of kuśa grass and XVI 13. 13 says that Rg. X. 18. 8 and Rg. X. 85. 21–22 are called 'utthāpinyaḥ' (verses addressed for making one rise). There is another mantra in the Atharvaveda (18. 3. 1) and Tai. Ār. VI. 1 [1452] 'Oh (dead) man! this woman choosing the world of the husband lies down by thee, the deceased, observing the old universal custom; bestow on her in this world offspring and wealth'. The first verse (i. e. Rg. X. 18. 7) contains nothing about niyoga or remarriage. It has been made use of for giving Vedic authority to the practice of *satī* (which will be dealt with later on). That verse refers to the practice that young women of the household of the departed used to go to the cemetery and applied clarified butter to their eyes (by way of purification and *śānti*); this practice continued to the days of the Āśv. gṛ , the Bṛhad-devatā (VII. 12) and the Baud. pitṛmedhasūtra (I.21.11). The two verses 'iyam nārī' and Rg. X. 18. 8 are employed by the Baudhāyana-Pitṛmedhasūtra [1453] in the funeral rites, the first to be repeated when the wife is made to sit near the corpse and the next for making her rise. It is to be noted that Baud. directs that the corpse is placed on the funeral pile after the wife is made to rise from the vicinity of the corpse; while the Bṛhad-devatā appears to suggest that the wife ascends the funeral pile after the corpse is placed thereon and then the younger brother forbids her with the verse 'udīrṣva &c.'. But the Bṛhad-devatā [1454] does not mean that the wife burns herself on the funeral pyre and the brother-in-law contents himself with only repeating a verse to dissuade her. The Ṛgvidhāna [1455] (III. 8. 4) says that the brother-in-law should call back the wife

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1452. इयं नारी पतिलोकं वृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम् । विश्वं पुराणमनु पालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजां द्रविणं चेह धेहि ॥ तै. आ. VI. 1; अथास्य भार्यामुपसंवेशयति। इयं नारी .....धेहि इति । तां प्रति हितः सव्ये पाणावभिपाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बभूव इति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 1–2.

1453. अथैनमेतयासन्ध्या सह चितायामाद्धाति । बौ. पितृमेधसूत्र I. 8. 7.

1454. उदीर्ष्व नारीत्यनया मृतं पत्यमुरोहति । भ्राता कनीयान् प्रेतस्य निगृह्य प्रतिषेधति ॥ बृहद्देवता VII. 13.

1455. भ्रातुर्भार्यामपुत्रस्य संतानार्थं मृते पतौ । देवरोऽन्वारुरुक्षन्तीमुदीर्ष्वेति निवर्तयेत् ॥ ऋग्विधान III. 8. 4 (ed. by Meyer).

of his sonless brother when she is about to ascend the funeral pyre for procreating a son on her with Rg. X. 18. 8. It appears that the verse Rg X. 18. 8 symbolically describes what even in the days of the Rgveda was probably only a tradition viz. that in hoary antiquity a wife burnt herself with her husband. In the times of the Rgveda this practice had altogether ceased, but a symbolical imitation of it had come into vogue, viz. that the wife lay near the corpse in the cemetery and then she was asked to get up and was told that by following her husband to the very doors of death she had fulfilled all that was expected of her and that she should return. The same idea is referred to by the verse 'iyam nārī', but the latter half appears to refer to the practice of niyoga when it calls upon the departed to bestow on the wife offspring and wealth. It is possible to argue that Rg. X. 18. 8 also impliedly has niyoga in view. But both these verses do not expressly refer to the parctice of *satī* at all. They at the most might lead to the inference that the woman had either to marry the deceased husband's brother or go in for niyoga because the husband died sonless. The latter appears to me to be the more probable of the two hypotheses, if those are the only explanations. The symbolic use made in the gṛhyasūtras and in the Bṛhad-devatā of Rg. X. 18. 8 shows that they practically are against the burning of widows. It is probable that these authors knew of the custom of niyoga, that it was not then much approved of and so they are silent about it, while the Rgvidhāna which appears to be comparatively a late work takes the verse 'udīrṣva' as referring to niyoga (which is most probably referred to in Rg. X. 40. 2 ko vām śayutrā vidhaveva devaram). The consideration of the practice of widow burning naturally arises here from the above discussion and will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

Divorce

In the Vedic literature there are at least some texts capable of being interpreted as relating to the remarriage of widows and we have the word 'punarbhū'. But as regards divorce there is absolutely nothing in the Vedic texts nor is there much in post-vedic literature. The theory of dharma-śāstra writers is that marriage when completed by homa and saptapadī is indissoluble. Manu IX. 101 says 'Let mutual fidelity (between husband and wife) continue till death; this in brief may be understood to be the highest *dharma* of man and wife.' In another place Manu (IX. 46) declares 'neither by sale nor by

desertion is the wife released from the husband; we understand that this is the law ordained by the Creator in former times.' The position of the writers on dharmaśāstra is that marriage is a saṁskāra, that the status of wife-hood arises from that saṁskāra, that even if the husband or wife became *patita*, the saṁskāra already performed is not annulled by that fact, that even if a wife committed adultery she still remains a wife and that when she performs a penance for her lapse, it is not necessary to have a fresh saṁskāra of marriage performed on her.[1456] We have seen (pp. 552–553) that a man was allowed to supersede a wife and marry another or others or to abandon his wife altogether in certain circumstances. But that does not amount to divorce (i. e. dissolution of the marriage tie); the marriage is still there intact. It was also shown (at pp. 610–611) that according to Nārada, Parāśara and a few others a woman was allowed to remarry in case the husband died, or was unheard of &c.; but according to the digests and commentaries these rules apply to a former *yuga* (age). Therefore divorce in the ordinary sense of the word (i. e. divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*) has been unknown to the dharmaśāstras and to Hindu society for about two thousand years (except on the ground of custom among the lower castes). Even when the husband was allowed to abandon the wife for her lapse, still she was in most cases entitled to at least starving maintenance. Therefore *tyāga* (abandonment) was not only no divorce *a vinculo* at all but was not even a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (divorce from board and bed). Later smṛtis and medieval digests could hardly conceive of any ground for which the wife could desert her husband altogether, though Nārada and a few others allowed her to desert one husband and marry another if he was impotent, or became a saṁnyāsin or an outcast. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 77 says that a wife is not under the control of her husband as long as he remains *patita* (outcast or excommunicated) and that she should wait till he is purified by penance and restored to caste and that thereafter she again becomes dependent on him. The gravest sins can be expiated by penance (vide Manu XI. 89,

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1456. Vide विश्वरूप on या. III. 253–254 केचित्तु परित्यक्तासु पारदार्यप्रायश्चित्तं नेच्छन्ति संबन्धिनिमित्तत्वाद्दारशब्दस्य । ..... तथा च सति विधवास्वपि पारदार्यं न स्यात् । न च व्यभिचारादिभिस्तस्यापगमो युक्तः संस्कारनिमित्तत्वाद् दारशब्दस्य । तस्य च पतनेऽप्यनपगमात् । अत एव पतिता योषितः कृतप्रायश्चित्ताः पुनर्न संस्क्रियन्ते । अन्यथा तु पतनेन संस्कारस्यापगमात् कृतप्रायश्चित्ता अप्यदाराः स्युः । अतो व्यभिचारिणीष्वप्यस्त्येव पारदार्यम् ।

92, 101, 105–106); therefore it follows that a wife could not for ever desert even a *patita* husband. In modern times the Indian courts[1457] have held that mere change of faith or apostasy by a Hindu wife or husband does not *ipso facto* dissolve the marriage and that if the wife changes her religion and then marries another while the first husband is still living, she would be guilty of bigamy. Mere desertion or separation for many years or even adultery does not dissolve a Hindu marriage (vide 42 Madras Law Journal 276). Only in cases where the husband or wife becomes a convert to Christianity, a special procedure is prescribed for the dissolution of the original Hindu marriage by the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act (XXI of 1866), which is not set out here as it is beyond the scope of this work to do so. Further, those Hindus who marry under the Special Marriage Act (III of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923) can secure divorce under the Indian Divorce Act (IV of 1869). The Malabar Marriage Act (Madras Act IV of 1896) forbids polygamy if the first marriage is registered and allows divorce (sec. 19) among those who are governed by the Marumakkatayam or Aliyasantana Law prevalent in Malabar.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya contains some interesting observations bearing on divorce.[1458] 'A wife hating her husband cannot be released from the husband if he is unwilling (to let her go), nor can the husband release himself from the wife (if she is unwilling); but if there is mutual hatred then release is possible. If a man fearing danger (or injury) from his wife desires release from her, he shall return to her whatever was given to her (at the time of marriage). If a woman out of fear of danger (or injury) from the husband desires release, the latter need not return to her what was given to her (at the time of marriage); marriages in the approved form cannot be dissolved.' Kauṭilya himself says (in III. 2) that the first four forms viz. brāhma, prājāpatya, ārṣa and daiva are dharmya (approved), since they are brought about under the authority of the father.[1459] Therefore according to Kauṭilya there can

1457. Vide *The Government of Bombay* v. *Ganga* I. L. R. 4. Bom. 330; *in the matter of Ram Kumari* I. L. R. 18 Cal. 264; *Budansa* v. *Fatma Bi* 26 Madras Law Journal p. 260.

1458. अमोक्ष्या भर्तुरकामस्य द्विषती भार्या । भार्यायाश्च भर्ता । परस्परं द्वेषान्मोक्षः । स्त्रीविप्रकाराद्वा पुरुषश्चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेद्यथागृहीतमस्यै दद्यात् । पुरुषविप्रकाराद्वा स्त्री चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेत्तस्यै यथागृहीतं दद्यात् । अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति । अर्थशास्त्र III. 3.

1459. पितृप्रमाणाश्चत्वारः पूर्वे धर्म्याः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 2.

be no dissolution of the marriage tie if the marriage was celebrated in one of the first four forms. But if the marriage was in the gāndharva, āsura or rākṣasa form, then the tie may be dissolved by mutual consent, if both have come to hate each other. But he seems to hold that there can be no release at the instance of only one party to the marriage who has begun to feel aversion to the other party in whatever form the marriage may have been performed. Even in this latter case he apparently makes an exception, where physical danger is apprehended by one party from the other.

It is beyond the scope of this work to compare the law of divorce in other countries or under other religious systems. It may be stated, however, that according to the strict theory of the Roman Catholic Church the marriage tie is indissoluble,[1460] though decrees of nullity of marriage were sometimes granted by that Church to those who could pay for them. In England after the Restoration divorce could be secured through the Parliament by a private Bill where a divorce a *vinculo matrimonii* was desired. But this method could be resorted to only by the rich, as the passage of a private Bill for divorce cost at least 500 £. The Ecclesiastical courts in England granted divorces *a mensa et thoro* on the ground of adultery, cruelty or unnatural offences, though such a divorce did not dissolve the marriage. But this procedure also was costly, as even an undefended suit for divorce *a mensa et thoro* would ordinarily cost from 300 to 500 £. Then came the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 (20 and 21 Vic. chap. 85) by sec. 27 of which a wife could petition for divorce only if she proved that since the celebration of marriage the husband was guilty of incestuous adultery, or of bigamy with adultery, or of adultery coupled with such cruelty as, without adultery, would have entitled her to a divorce *a mensa et thoro* or of adultery coupled with desertion. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923 (13 and 14 Geo. 5 chap. 19) placed women on an equality with men by allowing them to apply for divorce merely on the ground of adultery by the husband without having to prove anything more. Then the Act of 1937 known as A. P. Herbert's Act (1Edw. 8 and 1 Geo. 6 chap. 57) allows the husband or wife to petition for divorce on four grounds. It will be noticed

1460. Vide the Gospels of Mark X. 2-12 and of Luke XVI. 18, which altogether forbid divorce.

from this that the absence of divorce and rigorous restrictions thereon are not a peculiarity of the Brahmanical religion or of the caste system, but existed even in so-called progressive, casteless and Christian countries up to very recent times. In modern times even in Roman Catholic countries divorce is allowed on various grounds; and in India too efforts are being made to enact legislation permitting divorce among Hindus for various reasons. And it may be admitted that some legal provision is necessary for securing divorce in hard cases even as to marriages celebrated under the ancient śāstric system on grounds similar to those in the English Act of 1937.

CHAPTER XV

SATĪ (Self-immolation of widows)

The word is often written as 'suttee' in English works and papers. This subject is now of academic interest in India, since for over a hundred years (i. e. from 1829) self-immolation of widows has been prohibited by law in British India and has been declared to be a crime. A portion of sec. 1 of the Regulation XVII of 1829 passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck is set out below. We are now in a position to take a dispassionate view of the practice, to trace its origin and follow its working down to the date of its being declared illegal. It is not possible in the space available here to go into all details. Those interested may read the latest book on the subject by Mr. Edward Thomson.[1461] The burning

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1461. 'Suttee' (1928), which gives an account of it from the most ancient times, of the efforts made to suppress it by Raja Rama Mohan Roy and the British Government. In an appendix the author gives extracts from the accounts reported by those who witnessed widow burning from 317 B C. to 1845 A. D. *Vide* also Max Muller's H. A. S. L. p. 48 for references to the custom of widow-burning among Greeks and Scythians; 'Die Frau' pp. 74–79 for accounts of travellers and eye witnesses; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays vol. I (ed. of 1837) pp. 114–116 (for description of the rite), vol. II. chap. III. pp. 153–158; Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute vol. 14. p. 219. In the 'Travels of Peter Mundy' (1608–1669) published by the Hakluyt Society in 1914 vol. II. pp. 34–36, the author gives an account of the burning of a widow at Surat in 1630 with a sketch showing the widow having on her lap the head of her deceased husband. That writer also notes that the practice had in his time become rare, as under the Mogul rulers a special license from the Ruler or Governor was required. Similarly Barbosa (a Portuguese) describes the burning of a *satī* in the Vijayanagar kingdom (*vide* translation by M. L. Dames, vol. I. pp. 213–216).

Section 1 of Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of *satī* illegal and a crime punishable in the courts (and passed by the Governor-General in Council on 4th December 1829) is: The practice of Suttee or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary a life of

(*Continued on next page*)

of widows was not peculiar to Brahmanism, as many are prone to believe, but the custom owes its origin to the oldest religious views and superstitious practices of mankind in general. The practice of widow burning obtained among ancient Greeks, Germans, Slavs and other races (*vide* 'Die Frau' pp. 56, 82-83 and Schrader's 'Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan People,' English Translation of 1890, p. 391 and Westermarck's 'Origin and Development of Moral Ideas', 1906, vol. I, pp. 472–476), but was generally confined to the great ones, the princes and nobles.

There is no Vedic passage which can be cited as incontrovertibly referring to widow-burning as then current, nor is there any mantra which could be said to have been repeated in very ancient times[1462] at such burning nor do the ancient gṛhya-sūtras contain any direction prescribing the procedure of widow burning. It therefore appears probable that the practice arose in Brahmanical India a few centuries before Christ. Whether it was indigenous or was copied from some non-Aryan or non-Indian tribes cannot be demonstrated. None of the dharmasūtras

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(*Continued from last page*)

purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up or observed; in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent, it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and in their eyes unlawful and wicked.....Actuated by these considerations the Governor-General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India that all classes of the people be secure in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules &c.

1462. Raja Radhakant Deva relied upon two verses which he found in the Aukhya śākhā of the Tai. S. quoted in the 84th Anuvāka of the Nārāyaṇīya Upaniṣad as the most explicit authority for widow burning; *vide* Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works vol. II. pp. 293-305. The two so-called Vedic texts are: अग्ने व्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि पत्न्यानुगमव्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम्। इह त्वा अग्ने नमसा विधेम सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेत्यै। जुषाणो अद्य हविषा जातवेदो विशानि त्वा सप्ततो नय मा पत्युरग्रे (pp. 295–296). These, to say the least, are of doubtful authenticity.

except Viṣṇu contains any reference to *satī*. The Manusmṛti is entirely silent about it. It is stated in Strabo (XV. 1. 30 and 62) that the Greeks under Alexander found *satī* practised among the Cathaei in the Punjab and that that practice arose from the apprehension that wives would desert or poison their husbands (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation vol. III). The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra[1463] says 'On her husband's death the widow should observe celibacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him.' The Mahābhārata, though it is profuse in the descriptions of sanguinary fights, is very sparing in its references to widow burning. Mādrī, the favourite wife of Pāṇḍu, burnt herself with her husband's body.[1464] In the Virāṭa-parva Sairandhrī is ordered to be burnt with Kīcaka,[1465] just as in ancient times it is said there was a custom to bury a slave or slaves along with the deceased ruler. The Mausala parva (7. 18) says that four wives of Vasudeva, viz. Devakī, Bhadrā, Rohiṇī and Madirā burnt themselves with him and (chap. 7. 73–74) that Rukmiṇī, Gāndhārī, Śaibyā, Haimavatī, Jāmbavatī among the consorts of Kṛṣṇa burnt themselves along with his body and other queens like Satyabhāmā went to a forest for *tapas*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa also says that eight queens of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī and others, entered fire on the death of Kṛṣṇa.[1466] The Śāntiparva (chap. 148) describes how a kapotī (female pigeon) entered fire on the death of her husband the bird.[1467] In the Strīparva (chap. 26) the Great Epic describes the death ceremonies performed for the fallen Kauravas, but no mention is made of any widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre though the chariots, clothes and weapons of the warriors are said to have been consigned to fire. From the above it appears

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1463. सृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25. 14 quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86.

1464. आदिपर्व 95. 65 'तत्रैनं चिताग्निस्थं माद्री समन्वारुरोह।; आदि 125. 29 'राज्ञः शरीरेण सह ममापीदं कलेवरम्। दग्धव्यं सुप्रतिच्छन्नमेतदार्ये प्रियं कुरु॥.'

1465. सैरन्ध्रचाः सूतपुत्रेण सह दाहं विशां पतिः। विराटपर्व 23. 8.

1466. अष्टौ महिष्यः कथिता रुक्मिणीप्रमुखास्तु याः। उपगुह्य हरेर्देहं विविशुस्ता हुताशनम्॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 38. 2.

1467. पतिव्रता संप्रदीप्तं प्रविवेश हुताशनम्॥ ततश्चित्राङ्गदधरं भर्तारं सान्वपश्यत। ..... ततः स्वर्गं गतः पक्षी भार्यया सह संगतः। शान्ति 148. 10–12. This passage is quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 in support of the plea that *satī* is enjoined and leads to great bliss in the other world.

that the practice was originally confined to royal families and great warriors even in India and that cases of widow burning were rare. Several texts are cited by Aparārka from Paiṭhīnasi, Aṅgiras, Vyāghrapād which apparently forbid self-immolation to brāhmaṇa widows.[1468] The authors of digests explain away these passages by saying that they only prohibit self-immolation by a brāhmaṇa widow on a funeral pyre different from that of the husband i. e. a brāhmaṇa widow can burn herself only on the funeral pyre of her husband and if his body is cremated elsewhere in a foreign land, his widow cannot, on hearing of his death, burn herself later. They rely on the text of Uśanas that a brāhmaṇa widow should not follow her husband on a separate funeral pyre. The Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (II. 53) says that a brāhmaṇa wife should enter fire, clasping the dead body of her husband; if she lives (after her husband) she should give up adorning her hair and emaciate her body by austerities.[1469] In the Rāmāyaṇa,[1470] (Uttarakāṇḍa 17. 15) there is a reference to the self-immolation of a brāhmaṇa woman (the wife of a *brahmarṣi* and mother of Vedavatī, who when molested by Rāvaṇa burnt herself in fire). The Mahābhārata (Strī-parva 23. 34 ff.) on the other hand describes how Kṛpī, the wife of Droṇa, the brāhmaṇa commander-in-chief of the Kauravas, appeared with dishevelled hair on the battle-field on the death of her husband, but does not say that she burnt herself.[1471] It appears therefore that the burning of brāhmaṇa widows began much later than that of kṣatriya widows.

The burning of a widow on the death of her husband is called *sahamaraṇa* or *sahagamana* or *anvārohaṇa* (when she

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1468. पैठीनसिः । मृतानुगमनं नास्ति ब्राह्मण्या ब्रह्मशासनात् । इतरेषां तु वर्णानां स्त्रीधर्मोयं परः स्मृतः ॥ अङ्गिराः । या स्त्री ब्राह्मणजातीया मृतं पतिमनुव्रजेत् । सा स्वर्गमात्मघातेन नात्मानं न पतिं नयेत् ॥ व्याघ्रपात् । न म्रियेत समं भर्त्रा ब्राह्मणी शोकमोहिता । प्रव्रज्यागतिमाप्नोति मरणादात्मघातिनी ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 112. These are quoted by the मिता० on या. I.86 but without name. पृथक्चितिं समारुह्य न विप्रा गन्तुमर्हति । अन्यासां चैव नारीणां स्त्रीधर्मोयं परः स्मृतः ॥ उशनस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 112 and by मिता० on या. I. 86.

1469. मृतं भर्तारमादाय ब्राह्मणी वह्निमाविशेत् । जीवन्ती (v. l. ब्राह्मणी) चेत्त्यक्तकेशा तपसा शोषयेद्वपुः ॥ वेदव्यास II. 53 quoted above in note 1379.

1470. अपरार्क p. 112 refers to the रामायण 'अत एव रामायणादौ ब्राह्मण्यादीनां स्वभर्तृशरीरालिङ्गनपूर्वकं स्वशरीरदहनमुपाख्यायते ।'

1471. तां पश्य रुदतीमार्तां मुक्तकेशीमधोमुखीम् । हतं पतिमुपासन्तीं द्रोणं शस्त्रभृतां वरम् ॥ बाणैर्भिन्नतनुत्राणं धृष्टद्युम्नेन केशव । उपास्ते वै मृधे द्रोणं जटिला ब्रह्मचारिणी । स्त्रीपर्व 23.

ascends the funeral pyre of her husband and is burnt along with his corpse), but *anumaraṇa* occurs when, after her husband is cremated elsewhere and she learns of his death, the widow resolves upon death and is burnt with the husband's ashes or his *pādukās* (sandals) or even without any memento of his if none be available [1472] (vide Aparārka p. 111 and Madanapārijāta p. 198). In the Kumārasambhava (IV. 34) of Kālidāsa, Rati, the wife of Kāma who was burnt by Śiva, speaks of throwing herself into fire, but is held back by a heavenly voice. In the Gāthāsaptaśatī (VII. 33) there is a reference to a woman being decked for anumaraṇa (Nirṇ. ed.). The Kāmasūtra VI. 3.53 speaks of anumaraṇa. It has been shown (at p. 579) how Varāhamihira admires women for their courage in being burnt with their husbands. The Harṣacarita (Ucchvāsa 5) describes how Yaśomatī, the chief queen of king Prabhākaravardhana and mother of Harṣa, consigned herself to fire when the king was dying. But this is not a proper case of *satī*, as she burnt herself even before her husband died. In another passage of the Harṣacarita (V, in the description of night) the glory of moon-lotuses is said to be laughing like a woman intent on anumaraṇa, who is decked with ear ornaments and wears garlands on her head.[1473] Bāṇa in his Kādambarī in a most eloquent and well-reasoned passage condemns anumaraṇa.[1474] The Bhāgavatapurāṇa [1475] I. 13. 57 speaks of Gāndhārī's burning herself on the death of her husband, Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The

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1472. देशान्तरमृते तस्मिन्साध्वी तत्पादुकाद्वयम् । निधायोरसि संशुद्धा प्रविशेज्जातवेदसम् ॥ ऋग्वेदवादात्साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मघातिनी । व्यहाच्छौचे तु निर्वृत्ते श्राद्धं प्रामोति शाश्वतम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 111., where अपरार्क tells us that Vedic verses which render self-immolation free from the sin of suicide are verses like 'imā nārīr' (Ṛg. X. 18. 7) quoted in note 1450.

1473. Vide the passage beginning with 'वृन्तामलपत्रप्रसाधितकर्णिकासु केसरमालाकल्पितमुण्डमालिकासु अनुमर्तुमिवोद्यतासु प्रहसितमुखीषु कुमुदलक्ष्मीषु' हर्षचरित V (6th para from the end).

1474. यदेतदनुमरणं नाम तदविचारितरमणीयम् । in paragraph 177 of my edition of the pūrvabhāga, which Candrāpīḍa addresses to Mahāśvetā, where he gives instances of famous women like Rati, Pṛthā, Uttarā, Duḥśalā that did not resort to sahagamana and winds up 'अन्याश्च रक्षःसुरासुरमुनिमनुजसिद्धगन्धर्वकन्यका भर्तृरहिताः श्रूयन्ते सहस्रशो विधृतजीविताः'.

1475. रघुनन्दन in his शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 242) quotes the passage of the भागवतपुराण.

Rājataraṅgiṇī cites in several places (e. g. VI. 107, 195 ; VII. 103, 478) examples of *satī*.

In numerous epigraphic records reference is made to the practice of *satī*. Among the earliest is the one in 191 of the Gupta era (510 A. D.) in the Gupta Inscriptions (ed. by Fleet) p. 91. Vide also the Eran posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Goparāja which says that his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre when he was killed in battle ; I. A. vol. IX. p. 164 (Nepal Inscription of 705 A. D., where Rājyavatī, widow of Dharmadeva, bids her son Mahādeva to take up the reins of government that she may follow her husband); the Belaturu Inscription of śaka 979 of the time of Rājendradeva Cola (E. I. vol. VI, p. 213) where a śūdra woman Dekabbe, on hearing of her husband's death, burnt herself in spite of the strong opposition of her parents who then erected a stone monument to her ; E. I. vol. 14 p. 265, 267 where a grant is made in śaka 1103 to a temple by Sinda Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rācamalla on a request by two *satīs*, widows of his general Becirāja ; E. I. vol. 20, p. 168 (of Cedi *saṁvat* 919) which refers to three queens that became *satīs* ; E. I. vol X, p. 39 where the Temara gate stone inscription of śaka 1246 speaks of Māṇikyadevī as satī on the death of her husband Āmana who was an officer of king Hariścandra ; E. I. vol. 20 p. 58 (Mistra Deoli Inscription in Jodhpur when two queens of a Gohila Rāṇā became satīs) ; E. I. vol. 16, p. 10, *n.* 4 and p. 11, *n.* 2 for satī records of śaka 1365 and 1362. In an article on 'Satī memorial stones' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. 23, p. 435 ff. it is shown how the memorial stones usually bear the figure of the upraised arm and of the sun and the moon on either side and a group of stars. Among the well-known latest historical examples of *satī* is that of Ramābāī, wife of the Peshwa Madhavrao I, in 1772 A. D. The Jauhar practised by the Rajput ladies of Chitor and other places for saving themselves from unspeakable atrocities at the hands of the victorious Moslems are too well-known to need any lengthy notice.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. 35 p. 129 there is a paper on '*Satī* immolation which is not *satī* ', where several examples of men who killed themselves out of devotion to their masters or for other causes are cited and it is pointed out how stone monuments (called *māstikkal* i. e. stone monument for *mahāsatī* a great *satī*, and '*virakkal*' for brave and devoted men) are erected

in memory of *satīs* and men. The Harṣacarita (V. 3rd para from end) describes how many of the king's friends, ministers, servants and favourites killed themselves on the death of Prabhākaravardhana. The Rājataraṅgiṇī VII. 481 narrates how when the queen of king Ananta became a *satī* on her husband's death, her litter-carrier and some other men and three of her *dāsīs* followed her in death. There is the example of a mother burning herself on the funeral pyre of her son (vide Rājataraṅgiṇī VII. 1380). We shall see later on that suicide at holy places like Prayāga was practised for attaining heavenly worlds and bliss. Life seems to have been deemed of small account in those ages and though the death of women or men on the funeral pyre of the husband or for their masters appears to us sophisticated people of modern days as very horrible, it did not so appear to the ancients. *Satī* was not in historic times a practice imposed by priests or men on unwilling women. It somehow grew and it is improper to say that men imposed it on women. It may be that examples of *satī* occurred because of the force of popular sentiment. It was first confined to kings and nobles, because the lot of the wives of conquered kings and warriors was most miserable in all countries as well as in India. Vengeance for the truculence of their husbands was wreaked on the poor wives by carrying them as captives and making them work as slaves. Manu (VII. 96) allows a soldier to retain women (probably ' slaves ') conquered by him along with other booty. When queen Yaśomatī narrates to her son Harṣa the great honour and glory that was hers during the reign of her husband king Prabhākaravardhana, she refers to the fact that the wives of the enemies defeated by her husband waved chowries over her.[1476] From kings the practice spread among brāhmaṇas, though as shown above, several smṛtikāras disapproved of the practice among brāhmaṇa wives. Once it took root learned commentators and digest writers were found to support it with arguments and promises of future rewards. Even in modern times we can secure learned writers to support any pet theory of a coterie or clique. When Manchester and Liverpool were prosperous, English economists preached the doctrine of free trade and *laissez faire* to all nations, but in more difficult times we have now the apotheosis of Empire Preference and discriminating preference for home-made goods. Manu IV. 178 asks people to do whatever their forefathers did.

1476. आपीतौ युष्मद्विधैः पुत्रैरमित्रकलत्रबन्दीवृन्दविधूयमानचामरमरुच्चलचीनांशुकधरौ पयोधरौ। हर्षचरित V.

The rewards promised to a *satī* were as follows: Śaṅkha and Aṅgiras[1477] say 'she who follows her husband in death dwells in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the human body, viz. 3½ crores of years. Just as a snake-catcher draws out a snake from a hole by force, so such a woman draws her husband from (wherever he may be) and enjoys bliss together with him. In heaven she being solely devoted to her husband and praised by bevies of heavenly damsels sports with her husband for as long as fourteen Indras rule. Even if the husband be guilty of the murder of a brāhmaṇa or of a friend or be guilty of ingratitude, the wife who dies (in fire) clasping his body, purifies him (of the sin). That woman, who ascends (the funeral pyre) when the husband dies, is equal to Arundhatī in her character and is praised in heaven. As long as a woman does not burn herself in fire on the death of her husband she is never free from being born as a woman (in successive births)'. Hārīta says 'that woman who follows her husband in death purifies three families, viz. of her mother, of her father and of her husband'. The Mit. after quoting the above passages adds that this duty of anvārohaṇa is common to the women of all castes from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla, provided they are not pregnant or they have no young children (at the husband's death)'.[1478]

There were old commentators who were opposed to the practice of *satī*. Medhātithi on Manu V. 157 (Kāmam tu &c.) compares this practice to *śyenayāga* which a man performed by

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1477. तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च यानि लोमानि मानुषे। तावत्कालं वसेत्स्वर्गे भर्तारं यानुगच्छति॥ व्यालग्राही यथा सर्पं बलादुद्धरते बिलात्। तद्वदुद्धृत्य सा नारी सह तेनैव मोदते॥ तत्र सा भर्तृपरमा स्तूयमानाप्सरोगणैः। क्रीडते पतिना सार्धं यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश॥ ब्रह्मघ्नो वा कृतघ्नो वा मित्रघ्नो वा भवेत्पतिः। पुनात्यविधवा नारी तमादाय मृता तु या॥ मृते भर्तरि या नारी समारोहेद्धुताशनम्। सारुन्धतीसमाचारा स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ यावच्चाग्नौ मृते पत्यौ स्त्री नात्मानं प्रदाहयेत्। तावन्न मुच्यते सा हि स्त्रीशरीरात्कथंचन॥ quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 86, अपरार्क p. 110, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 234. The two verses तिस्रः कोट्यो &c. are also पराशर IV. 32 and 33 and ब्रह्मपुराण, गौतमीमाहात्म्य chap. 10. 76 and 74.

1478. अयं च सर्वासां स्त्रीणामगर्भिणीनामबालापत्यानामाचाण्डालं साधारणो धर्मः। भर्तारं यानुगच्छतीत्यविशेषोपादानात्। मिता० on या. I. 86; vide the same words in मद. पा. p. 196 and स्मृतिमु० (संस्कार p. 162), in which latter they are expressly quoted from विज्ञानेश्वर.

way of black magic to kill his enemy. He says[1479] that though Aṅgiras allowed 'anumaraṇa' it is suicide and is really forbidden to women. Just as the Veda says 'śyenenābhicaran yajet' and yet śyenayāga is not looked upon as dharma, but rather as adharma (vide Śabara on Jaimini I. 1. 2), so, though Aṅgiras speaks of it, it is really *adharma*; and that a woman who is in a hurry and extremely anxious to secure heaven quickly for herself and her husband might act according to Aṅgiras, still her action is *aśāstrīya* (not in accordance with the śāstras); besides anvārohaṇa is opposed to the Vedic text 'one should not leave this world before one has finished one's allotted span of life'." The Mit. on Yāj. I. 86 combats these arguments. It says that śyenayāga is no doubt undesirable and therefore adharma, but that is so because the object of śyenayāga is injury to another. *Anugamana* on the other hand is not so; there the result promised is heaven which is a desirable result and which is enjoined by *śruti* in such sentences as 'one should sacrifice a white goat to Vāyu if one desires prosperity'. Similarly the smṛti about *anugamana* is not opposed to the *śruti* quoted, the meaning of which is different; that śruti means 'one should not waste one's life for securing heavenly bliss which is fleeting and insignificant as compared with the supreme bliss of Brahma knowledge'. As the woman in *anumaraṇa* desires only heaven, she is not doing anything contrary to the śruti texts. This is the reasoning of the Mitākṣarā which looks like special pleading. Aparārka p. 111, the Madanapārijāta p. 199, Par. M. II. part I pp. 55–56 follow the reasoning of the Mit. and add that the Vedic text about the allotted span of life is a general rule, while the smṛti about *anumaraṇa* is a special or exceptional śāstra and so there is no contradiction as the rule applies to all cases outside the excepted one. The Madanapārijāta (p. 200) further explains that the texts about purifying a husband guilty of brāhmaṇa murder are not to be taken literally but only as hyperbolically extolling *anvārohaṇa*.

1479. पुंवत्स्त्रीणामपि प्रतिषिद्ध आत्मत्यागो यद्प्याङ्गिरसे पतिमन्वग्नियेरन्नित्युक्तं तदपि नित्यवदवश्यं कर्तव्यम्। फलस्तुतिस्तत्रास्ति फलकामायाश्चाधिकारे श्येनतुल्यता। तथैव श्येनेन हिंस्याद्भूतानीत्यधिकारस्यातिप्रवृद्धतरद्वेषान्धतया सत्यामपि प्रवृत्तौ न धर्मत्वम्, एवमिहापि अतिप्रवृद्धफलाभिलाषायाः सत्यपि प्रतिषेधे तदतिक्रमेण मरणे प्रवृत्युपपत्तेर्न शास्त्रीयत्वमतोऽस्त्येव पतिमनु मरणेऽपि स्त्रियाः प्रतिषेधः। किं च 'तस्माद्व ह न पुरायुषः प्रेयात्' इति प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविरोधोयम्। मेधा० on मनु V. 156. The words of शबर are 'नैव श्येनादयः कर्तव्या विज्ञायन्ते। यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत्तस्यायमभ्युपाय इति तेषामुपदेशः। श्येनेनाभिचरन्यजेतेति हि समामनन्ति नाभिचरितव्यमिति। on जै. I. 1. 2. p. 19.

The Sm. C. also expressly says that anvārohaṇa,[1480] though recommended by the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (25. 14) and Aṅgiras, is inferior to brahmacarya (leading a celibate life), since the rewards of anvārohaṇa are inferior to those of brahmacarya. As against this may be cited the extreme view of Aṅgiras 'for all women there is no other duty except falling into the funeral pyre, when the husband dies.'[1481] The Śuddhitattva remarks that this extreme or sweeping statement is made by way of belauding *sahamaraṇa*.

We saw above that brāhmaṇa widows were only allowed anvārohaṇa, but not *anumaraṇa*. There were other restrictions enjoined by the smṛtis on all widows 'wives who have a child of tender years, who are pregnant, who have not attained puberty and who are in their monthly course do not mount the funeral pyre of their husbands'[1482]—from the Bṛhan-Nāradīya purāṇa. There is a similar verse of Bṛhaspati. The wife who was in her course was allowed to burn herself after she bathed on the fourth day.

Āpastamba (verse) prescribes the Prājāpatya penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment.[1483] The Rājataraṅgiṇī (VI. 196) refers to a queen who having pretended to have resolved on becoming *satī* ultimately regretted the step and turned back.

The Śuddhitattva sets out the procedure of widow burning.[1484] The widow bathes and puts on two white garments, takes kuśa blades in her hands, faces the east or north, performs ācamana (sipping water); when the brāhmaṇas say 'om, tat sat' she remembers the God Nārāyaṇa and refers to the time (month, fortnight,

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1480. यत्तु विष्णुना धर्मान्तरमुक्तं मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ..... तदेतद्धर्मान्तरमपि ब्रह्मचर्यधर्माज्जघन्यम्। निकृष्टफलत्वात्। स्मृतिच० on श्राद्ध. p. 254.

1481. सर्वासामेव नारीणामग्निप्रपतनाद्दते। नान्यो धर्मो हि विज्ञेयो मृते भर्तरि कर्हिचित्॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 109, परा. मा. II. 1. p. 58, शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 234 reads साध्वीनामेव नारीणां). साध्वीनामिह नारीणां is also बृद्धहारीत XI. 202.

1482. बालापत्याश्च गर्भिण्यो अदृष्टऋतवस्तथा। रजस्वला राजसुते नारोहन्ति चितां शुभे॥ नारदीयपुराण quoted by परा. मा. II. part 1, p. 58, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 236, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल I. p. 162 (ascribes to और्व). 'बालसंवर्धनं त्यक्त्वा बालापत्या न गच्छति। रजस्वला सूतिका च रक्षेद्गर्भं च गर्भिणी॥ बृहस्पति quoted by परा. मा. and शुद्धितत्त्व.

1483. चितिभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहाद्विचलिता ततः। प्राजापत्येन शुध्येत्तु तस्माद्वै पापकर्मणः॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by अपरार्क p. 1193 and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 243.

1484. Vide appendix under 1484.

tithi) and then makes the *saṁkalpa* (declaration of resolve) set out below. She then calls upon the eight *lokapālas* (guardians of the quarters), the sun, the moon, the fire &c. to become witnesses to her act of following her husband on the funeral pyre, she then goes round the fire thrice, then the brāhmaṇa recites the Vedic verse 'imā nārīr &c.' (Ṛg. X. 18. 7) and a Purāṇa verse 'may these very good and holy women who are devoted to their husbands enter fire together with the body of the husband,' the woman utters 'namo namaḥ' and ascends the kindled pyre. The long-winded preamble of the saṁkalpa 'arundhatī...patipūtatvakāmā' is based upon the verses of Aṅgiras quoted above (in *n.* 1477). The Śuddhitattva as printed is corrupt but it appears that it read the last quarter of Ṛg. X. 18. 7 as 'ārohantu jalayonim-agne' (let them ascend the watery seat or origin, O fire!) meaning probably 'may fire be to them as cool as water'. Some writers have charged the brāhmaṇa priest-hood (or Raghunandana) with having purposely changed the reading of the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 7 in order to make it suit the rite of immolating oneself in fire (i. e. 'agne' or 'agneḥ' was substituted for 'agre'). But this charge is not sustainable. That the verse Ṛg. X. 18. 7 as it actually is was held to refer to widow burning centuries before Raghunandana follows from the fact that even the Brahmapurāṇa[1485] and Aparārka (quoted above on p. 628) take it in that sense. It was therefore not necessary to alter the reading. Further even if some priests or Raghunandana had changed it that fact would have been detected in no time, as in those days there were thousands of people who knew every syllable of the Ṛgveda by heart. Therefore it must be admitted that either the MSS. are corrupt or Raghunandana committed an innocent slip. That mantra was not addressed to widows at all, but to ladies of the deceased man's household whose husbands were living and the gṛhyasūtra of Āśv. made use of it with that meaning. Raghunandana, a profound student of dharmaśāstras and smṛtis (and often styled Smārta-bhaṭṭācārya), could not have been ignorant of what Āśv. said. The procedure as prescribed in the Nirṇayasindhu[1486] of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, whose mother became a *satī*

1485. शुद्धितत्त्व (p. 235) itself quotes the ब्रह्मपुराण text 'ऋग्वेदवादात् साध्वी स्त्री'

1486. Vide निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्ध p. 623 and धर्मसिन्धु pp. 483-484. The निर्णयसिन्धु expressly refers to the Gauḍa procedure as different from his "गौडास्तु 'इमा नारीरविधवाः' इति 'ओं इमाः पतिव्रताः ... विभावसुम्' इति च विप्रः पठेदित्याहुः।".

and who pays a very tender and touching reverence to her memory in his works, is somewhat different and it is followed by the Dharmasindhu.

It appears from all accounts of travellers and others that widow-burning prevailed more in Bengal during the centuries immediately preceding its abolition than anywhere else in India.[1487] If that was so, there were certain good reasons for that state of things. In the whole of India, except Bengal, the widows of members in a joint Hindu family are only entitled to maintenance and have no other rights over the property of the family. In Bengal, wherever the Dāyabhāga prevails, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint Hindu family is entitled to practically the same rights over joint family property which her deceased husband would have had. This must have frequently induced the surviving[1488] members to get rid of the widow by appealing at a most distressing hour to her devotion to and love for her husband. This rule of the widow's right was not for the first time propounded by Jīmūtavāhana; he makes it clear that he followed a predecessor called Jitendriya. The figures given above lend support to the view expressed here, since Benares, where the rights of widows were insignificant, was responsible for a small number of *satīs* only. It is impossible, however, to believe that the number of widows in ordinary stations of life burning themselves was very large at any time or that most of the widows that did so were coerced into doing it. There is a good deal of epigraphic and other evidence particularly in other parts of India that relatives tried to dissuade the widow from taking the step. Even in Bengal the number of *satīs* must never have been very

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1487. Thomson in his book on 'Suttee' (pp. 69,72) gives the figures for *satīs* reported from the Bengal Presidency (which then included Bihar and extended up to Benares) during 1815–1828. The lowest figure was 378 in 1815 and the highest 839 in 1818. Out of the total of 2366 cases during the four years 1815–1818, the Calcutta division alone contributed 1485, the Benares division, the seat of orthodoxy, contributed only 343. Vide H. H. Wilson's 'History of India' (ed. of 1858), vol. III (for 1805–1835 A. D.), pp 185–192. At p. 189 a table of the number of *satīs* for 1815–1828 is given, from which it appears that in 1828 there were 463 cases of *satīs* out of whom 420 came from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, out of which 287 were from the Calcutta division alone.

1488. Vide दायभाग (ed. by Jivānanda, 1893) 'अतोऽविशेषेणैव विभक्ताद्यनपेक्षयैव अपुत्रस्य भर्तुः कृत्स्नधने पत्न्यधिकारो जितेन्द्रियोक्त आदरणीयः।' p. 46; 'पत्नी च भर्तुर्धनं भुञ्जीतैव परं न तु तस्य दानाधमनविक्रयाय्कर्तुमर्हति' p. 56.

large. Colebrooke, who had spent the best part of his life in Bengal and who was a profound Sanskrit scholar, observes in a paper written about 1795 A. D. 'Happily the martyrs of this superstition have never been numerous. It is certain that the instances of the widow's sacrifices are now rare'.[1489] The very fact that there was no disturbance of peace or ebullition of popular feeling or even any great verbal protest from the vast Hindu population (except a petition to the Privy Council) against Bentinck's sweeping measure indicates two things, viz. that the burning of widows was a rare occurrence and that people were not very keen on observing the practice nor had they any very deep-seated convictions about its absolute religious necessity.[1490]

Modern India does not justify the practice of *satī*, but it is a warped mentality that rebukes modern Indians for expressing admiration and reverence for the cool and unfaltering courage of Indian women in becoming *satīs* or performing the *jauhar* for cherishing their ideals of womanly conduct. If Englishmen can feel pride in their ancestors who grabbed one fourth of the world's surface or if Frenchmen can feel pride in the deeds of their Emperor Napoleon who tried to enslave the whole of Europe and yet are not held up to ridicule or rebuke, there is no reason why poor Indians cannot express admiration for the sacrifices which their women made in the past, though they may condemn the institution itself which demanded such terrible sacrifice and suffering.

1489. Vide Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (ed. of 1837) vol. I. p. 122.

1490. Vide Fitz-Edward Hall's paper in J. R. A. S. vol. III New Series (1868) pp. 190–191, footnote, where he quotes extracts from the writings of Prof. Wilson, Marshman and others that show how fears of violent resistance to Bentinck's measure were singularly falsified.

CHAPTER XVI

VESYĀ

Veśyā—(Courtezan). This work dealing among other matters with the position of women and marriage in India would be incomplete if nothing were said about prostitutes and concubines. Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries and in the absence of statistics it is difficult to say whether it flourished more in one country than in another or whether it existed to a greater or lesser extent in ancient days as compared with modern times. The article in the Encyclopædia Britannica on prostitution will be an eye-opener to many who will be inclined to turn their nose at Indian conditions.

From the Ṛgveda we find that there were women who were common to several men i. e. who were courtezans or prostitutes. In Ṛg. I. 167. 4 the bright Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young (lightning), just as men become associated with a young courtezan.[1491] It has already been seen how in Ṛg. II. 29. 1 reference is made to a woman who gives birth in secret to a child and leaves it aside. In Ṛg. I. 66. 4, I. 117. 18, I. 134. 3 and other places *jāra* (paramour or secret lover) is spoken of. In Gaut. XXII. 27 it is said that for killing a woman who is a brāhmaṇī by birth only and who subsists by harlotry no prāyaścitta is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted. Manu IV. 209 forbids a brāhmaṇa from taking food offered by harlots (vide also IV. 219); and Manu IX. 259 requires the king to punish clever (or deceitful) harlots. In the Mahābhārata courtezans are an established institution. The Ādiparva (115. 39) narrates how a veśyā waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant.[1492] In the Udyogaparva (30. 38) Yudhiṣṭhira sends greetings to the *veśyās* of the Kauravas. Courtezans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court (Udyoga 86. 15). When the Pāṇḍava armies are described as about to start for battle it

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1491. परा शुभ्रा अयासो यथा साधारण्येव मरुतो मिमिक्षुः । ऋ. I. 167. 4.

1492. गान्धार्यां क्लिश्यमानायामुदरेण विवर्धता । धृतराष्ट्रं महाराजं वेश्या पर्यचरत्किल ॥ आदि 115. 39.

is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them (Udyoga 151. 58). Vide also Vanaparva 239. 37, Karnaparva 94. 26. Yāj.[1493] II. 290 divides concubines into two sorts, *avaruddhā* (one who is kept in the house itself and forbidden to have intercourse with any other male) and *bhujiṣyā* (concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and is in the special keeping of a person) and prescribes a fine of fifty panas against another person having intercourse with them. Nārada[1494] (strīpumsa, 78–79) says ' intercourse is permitted with wanton women (svairiṇī) who are not brāhmaṇa by caste, with a prostitute, a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master, if these belong to a caste lower than oneself; but it is forbidden with women of superior caste. But when these very women are the kept mistresses (of a person) intercourse with them by a stranger is as much a crime as intercourse with another's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them is not forbidden (on the ground of caste &c), since they belong to another.' On Yāj. II. 290 the Mit., after quoting the Skandapurāṇa to the effect that prostitutes constitute a separate caste being sprung from certain *Apsarases* (heavenly nymphs) called *pañcacūḍās*, states that such courtezans as are not kept specially by a person do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or a superior caste, nor do men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not *avaruddhā*. But the men who visit them incur sin (which is an unseen result), since the smṛtis ordain that men should be devoted to their wives (vide Yāj. I. 81) and the prājāpatya penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a *veśyā* (vide Atri v. 271). Nārada[1495] (vetanasyānapākarma 18) lays down that if a public woman after getting her fee refuses to receive the customer, she shall pay twice the amount of the fee and the same fine shall be imposed on a man who does not pay the (stipulated) fee, after having had intercourse with a *veśyā*. Vide Yāj. II. 292 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 144–145 for

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1493. अवरुद्धासु दासीषु भुजिष्यासु तथैव च । गम्यास्वपि पुमान्दाप्यः पञ्चाशत्पणिकं दमम् ॥ याज्ञ. II. 290. The मिता० explains ' ता एव स्वामिना शुश्रूषाहानिरिष्युदासार्थं गृह एव स्थातव्यमित्येवं पुरुषान्तरोपभोगतो निरुद्धा अवरुद्धाः । पुरुषनियतपरिग्रहा भुजिष्याः ।'.

1494. स्वैरिण्यब्राह्मणी वेश्या दासी निष्कासिनी च या । गम्याः स्युरानुलोम्येन स्त्रियो न प्रतिलोमतः ॥ आस्वेव तु भुजिष्यासु दोषः स्यात्परदारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया यत्ताः परपरिग्रहाः ॥ नारद, स्त्रीपुंस 78–79.

1495. शुल्कं गृहीत्वा पण्यस्त्री नेच्छन्ती द्विस्तदाप्नुयात् । अप्रयच्छंस्तदा शुल्कमनुभूय पुमान् स्त्रियम् ॥ नारद (वेतनस्यानपाकर्म 18).

similar provisions. The Matsyapurāṇa chap. 70 dilates upon veśyādharma. The Kāmasūtra I. 3. 20 defines a *gaṇikā* as a *veśyā* who is most accomplished and proficient in the 64 *kalās*. Aparārka (p. 800, on Yāj. II. 198) quotes Nārada (cited above) and several verses of the Matsyapurāṇa about veśyās.

Concubines being recognized by society, the *smṛtis* provided for their maintenance. During the life-time of a person keeping a concubine, the latter has no legal right to proceed against the former. Nārada (dāyabhāga [1496] 52) and Kātyāyana lay down that even when the property of a deceased person escheats to the king for want of heirs (except in the case of the deceased being a brāhmaṇa) the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his śrāddhas. The Mit. says that the concubines here referred to are those called *avaruddhā* (and not bhujiṣyā) and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brāhmaṇa are entitled to maintenance from his property. The Privy Council in *Bai Nagubai* v. *Bai Monghibai* have gone beyond the Mit. and have held that all concubines (whether kept in the house practically as members of the family i. e. avaruddhā or not so kept i. e. bhujiṣyā) within the exclusive keeping of a Hindu till his death are entitled to maintenance from his property after his death, provided they are continuously chaste thereafter. [1497]

The rights of the illegitimate children of concubines to inheritance or maintenance will be dealt with later on under inheritance.

Out of the saṁskāras enumerated above (pp. 195–197), the Mahāyajñas, Utsarjana and Upākarma will be described under the next chapter, viz. *āhnika* and antyeṣṭi under āśauca.

1496. अदायिकं राजगामि योषिद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् । अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं श्रोत्रियेभ्यस्तदर्पयेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted in the मिता० on या. II. 135. मिता० 'तत्क्षीणामशनाच्छादनोपयुक्तं और्ध्वदेहिकं धनिनः श्राद्धाद्युपयुक्तं चापास्य परिहृत्य राजगामि भवतीति संबन्धः । अस्यापवादः । श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं च योषिद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकमपास्य श्रोत्रियायोपपादयेदिति । एतदप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयम् । योषिद्ग्रहणात् । नारदवचनं च अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् ... इत्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयमेव स्त्रीशूद्रग्रहणात् ।'.

1497. L. R. 53. I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604.

CHAPTER XVII

ĀHNIKA AND ĀCĀRA

(Daily and periodical duties and ceremonies)

This forms a very important topic of dharmaśāstra. The daily duties of the *brahmacārin* have been already described above and those of the *vānaprastha* and *yati* will be spoken of later on. Under this section we are concerned principally with the duties of the *snātaka* (the would-be householder) and the *gṛhastha* (the householder).

Before the *āhnika* duties are described a few remarks about the importance of the stage of householder would not be out of place. It has already been shown (pp. 424–425) how one school of dharmaśāstra writers represented by Gautama and Baudhāyana looked upon the stage of householder as the only āśrama. The eulogies of the householder are sung in numerous passages of the Dharmaśāstra works. Gaut.[1498] (III. 3) declares that the householder is the source (support) of all the other āśramas, because the other three do not produce offspring. Manu (III. 77–78) states that as all creatures live by receiving support from the air, so other āśramas subsist by relying for support on the householder and that as men belonging to all the three other orders (āśramas) are supported from day to day by the householder alone with (gifts of) food and sacred knowledge, the householder's is therefore the most excellent āśrama. Manu (VI. 89–90) reiterates the same sentiments under a different figure 'just as all big and small rivers find a resting place in the ocean, so men of all *āśramas* find support in the householder and the householder is declared to be the most excellent of all the āśramas by the precepts of the Veda and smṛtis, since he supports the other three'. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (59. 27–29) contains almost the same remarks as Manu. Vide Vas. VIII. 14–16 (15 being identical with Manu VI. 90). Vas. VII. 17 (and X. 31), Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 1, Udyogaparva 40. 25 say that a householder observing the rules laid down for him does not fall

1498. तेषां गृहस्थो योनिरप्रजनत्वाद्वितरेषाम् । गौ. III. 3.

away from the world of Brahma.[1499] In the Mahābhārata also the eulogy of the order of householder is frequent. Śāntiparva 296. 39 is the same as Manu VI. 90. Śānti 270. 6-7 states 'as all beings live on the support given by their mothers, so other āśramas subsist on the support of the order of householders'.[1500] In the same chapter (verses 10-11) Kapila condemns those who hold that *mokṣa* (final release from *saṁsāra*) is not possible for him who remains a householder. Śānti 12. 12 holds that, if weighed in the balance, the order of householders is equal to all the other three put together. Vide also Śānti 11. 15, 23. 2-5, Vanaparva chap. 2. The Ayodhyākāṇḍa 106. 22 also says that the stage of householder is the most excellent of all āśramas.

The brāhmaṇa householder is again divided into several varieties from different points of view. Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 1, Devala (quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. I. 128) and other works divide a householder into two varieties viz. śālīna and yāyāvara,[1501] the latter being superior to the former.[1502] The śālīna

1499. नित्योदकी नित्ययज्ञोपवीती नित्यस्वाध्यायी पतितान्नवर्जी । ऋतौ च गच्छन्विधिवच्च जुह्वन्न ब्राह्मणश्चयवते ब्रह्मलोकात् ॥ वसिष्ठ VIII. 17 (X. 31 is the same in prose). Vide note 691 above.

1500. यथा मातरमाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जन्तवः । एवं गार्हस्थ्यमाश्रित्य वर्तन्त इतराश्रमाः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 270. 6-7 (= Vas. VIII. 16, where the last pāda is सर्वे जीवन्ति भिक्षुकाः).

1501. अथ शालीन-यायावर-चक्रचरधर्मकाङ्क्षिणां नवभिर्वृत्तिभिर्वर्तमानानाम् । शालाश्रयत्वाच्छालीनत्वम् । वृत्त्या वरया यातीति यायावरत्वम् । अनुक्रमेण चरणाच्चक्रचरत्वम् । बौ. ध. सू. III. 1. 1., 3-5. बौ. derives शालीन from शाला (a house) and यायावर from या (to go) and वर (best). पाणिनि V. 2. 20 (which is explained in the Mahābhāṣya) teaches that शालीन in the sense of bashful (अधृष्ट) is derived from शाला. Probably in Pāṇini's day householders had not come to be divided into शालीन and यायावर. बौ. appears to hold that there is a third variety called चक्रचर, but this does not occur elsewhere.

1502. यथाह देवलः । द्विविधो गृहस्थो यायावरः शालीनश्च । तयोर्यायावरः प्रवरो याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहरिक्थसंचयवर्जनात् । षट्कर्माधिष्ठितः प्रेष्यचतुष्पादगृहग्रामधनधान्ययुक्तो शालीनः । इति । शालीनोपि चतुर्विधः । याजनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहकृषिवाणिज्यपाशुपाल्यैः षड्भिर्जीवत्येकः । याजनादिभिस्त्रिभिरन्यः । याजनाध्यापनाभ्यामपरः । चतुर्थस्त्वध्यापनेनैव । मिता. on या. I. 128. कुसूलधान्यको वा स्यात्कुम्भीधान्यक एव वा । ध्यहैहिको वापि भवेदश्वस्तनिक एव वा ॥ मनु IV. 7. मेधा० explains the kusūla as a granary built with bricks and indicates that he may store in it as much as such a granary will hold ; while *kumbhī* means a receptacle storing as much as will last for six months. हारीत quoted in Gr. R. derives 'सर्वास्ववस्थासु बह्व्योस्य शाला इति शालीनः शालावानिति वा शालीनः शालायामात्मवृत्तिभिर्वा लीनः शालीनः । शालीनादात्मवृत्तियापनाद्वर इति यायावरः । दश दश रात्रीर्वसन्यातीति यायावरः । परास्वदृष्टसु वृत्तिष्वात्मानं यापयतीति यायावरः । ..... अथास्याष्टौ वृत्तयो भवन्ति। उञ्छशिलायाचितोपपन्नसंदर्शनबभुस्कन्धकुड्डालकपोती । (pp. 415 and 419).

is one who dwells in a house, is possessed of servants and cattle, has a fixed place and a fixed village and has grain and wealth and follows the life of worldly people; the yāyāvara is one who subsists by the best of livelihood, viz. picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken to the house or threshing floor by the owner and who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as priest, or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Manu (IV. 7) appears to divide brāhmaṇa householders into four varieties, viz. one who possesses enough to fill a granary or a store filling a corn jar, one who collects as much as will satisfy his needs for three days, or one who makes no provision for the morrow. Vide Śāntiparva 244. 1-4 and Laghu-Viṣṇu II. 17 for similar statements. The Mit on Yāj. I. 128 says that 'śālīna is of four varieties viz. (1) one who maintains himself by officiating as a priest, teaching Veda, accepting gifts, agriculture, trade and breeding cattle, (2) one who subsists by the first three out of the above six, (3) one who subsists by officiating as a priest and by teaching, (4) one who subsists by teaching alone. Manu IV. 9 (as interpreted by the Mit.) refers to these four varieties. The Āp. Śr. (V. 3. 22) distinguishes between śālīna and yāyāvara.[1503] The Baud. gṛ. III. 5. 4 refers to yāyāvara. The word 'yāyāvara' occurs in the Tai. S. V. 2. 1. 7 [1504] 'therefore the active man lords it over one who is easy-going'; but here the word has not probably any technical sense.

In the Vaik. VIII. 5 [1505] (=Vaik. Dh. S. I. 5) householders are divided into four classes. The first class (called vārtāvṛtti)

1503. उदवसाय शालीन आदधीताजुदवसाय यायावरीयः। आप. श्रौ. V. 3. 22. The com. रुद्रदत्त explains यायावर as यात्वा यात्वा यत्र क्वचन वासीति.

1504. तस्माद्यायावरः क्षेम्यस्येशे। तै. सं. V. 2. 1. 7.

1505. गृहस्थाश्चतुर्विधा वार्तावृत्तिः शालीनवृत्तिर्यायावरो घोराचारिकश्चेति। वार्तावृत्तिः कृषिगोरक्ष्यवाणिज्योपजीवी। शालीनवृत्तिर्नियमैर्युतः पाकयज्ञैरिष्ट्वाग्नीनाधाय पक्षे पक्षे दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी चतुर्षु चतुर्षु मासेषु चातुर्मास्ययाजी षट्सु षट्सु मासेषु पशुबन्धयाजी प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमयाजी च। यायावरो हविर्यज्ञैः सोमयज्ञैश्च यजते याजयत्यधीते ऽध्यापयति ददाति प्रतिगृह्णाति षट्कर्मनिरतो नित्यमग्निपरिचरणमतिथिभ्योऽभ्यागतेभ्योऽन्नाद्यं च कुरुते। घोराचारिको नियमैर्युक्तो यजते न याजयत्यधीते नाध्यापयति ददाति न प्रतिगृह्णाति उञ्छवृत्तिमुपजीवति नारायणपरायणः सायंप्रातरग्निहोत्रं हुत्वा मार्गशीर्ष-ज्येष्ठमासयोरसिधाराव्रतं वनौषधिभिरग्निपरिचरणं करोति। वैखानसगृह्य VIII. 5. Vide also IV. 2 for शालीन and यायावर. The असिधाराव्रत according to the com. consists in standing in water for tapas in मार्गशीर्ष and in the midst of five fires in ज्येष्ठ. The असिधाराव्रत is differently defined in other works. Vide नीतिशतक of भर्तृहरि verse 64 (Telang's ed.) 'प्रदानं प्रच्छन्नं...विषममसिधाराव्रतमिदम्.'

maintains itself by agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade; the second (śālīna) observes various *niyamas* (vide Yāj. III. 313), offers pākayajñas (sacrifices of cooked food), kindles the śrauta fires, offers the darśa and pūrṇamāsa sacrifices each half month, offers cāturmāsyas, in each half year offers an animal sacrifice and each year the soma sacrifice; the third (yāyāvara) is engaged in the six actions viz. offering sacrifices of *havis* and *soma*, officiating as priest at such sacrifices, studying the Veda and teaching it, making gifts and receiving them, constantly attends his fires (śrauta and smārta), and gives food to guests that come to him; the fourth (called ghorācārika, one whose rules are awfully difficult to observe) is observant of *niyamas*, offers sacrifices but does not officiate at others' sacrifices, studies the Veda but does not teach it, makes gifts but does not receive them, maintains himself on corn fallen in the fields &c., is absorbed in Nārāyaṇa, performs agnihotra in the morning and evening, in Mārgaśīrsa and Jyeṣṭha performs observances that are like the edge of a sword and attends upon his fires with herbs from a forest. These four names occur also in Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 290 (Jivānanda's ed.).

In numerous smṛtis, purāṇas and digests the duties of householders have been described in detail. For example, *vide* Gaut. V and IX, Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1-II. 4. 9, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 1-17 and XI. 1-48, Manu IV, Yāj. I. 96-127, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60-71, Dakṣa II, Vedavyāsa III, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 29-30 and 34, Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa 58. 45-106, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 15-16), Laghu-Hārīta IV. p. 183 ff (Jivānanda), Droṇaparva 82, Vanaparva 2. 53-63, Āśvamedhika 45. 16-25, Anuśāsana-parva 97. Among the digests may be mentioned the Sm. C. (I. pp. 88-232), the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 18-48), the Madanapārijāta (pp. 204-345), the Gṛhastharatnākara, the Āhnikatattva of Raghunandana, the Vīramitrodaya (Āhnikaprakāśa), the Smṛtimuktāphala (Āhnikakāṇḍa). It would be impossible to present in the space at our disposal all the details of the duties of the householder contained in the vast sources indicated above. Some of the usual, outstanding or important matters alone can be dealt with here. Some of the works contain moral exhortations to the householder. For example, the Anuśāsanaparva[1506] (141. 25-26)

1506. अहिंसा सत्यवचनं सर्वभूतानुकम्पनम्। शमो दानं यथाशक्ति गार्हस्थ्यो धर्म उत्तमः॥ परदारेष्वसंसर्गो न्यासस्त्रीपरिरक्षणम्। अदत्तादानविरमो मधुमांसस्य वर्जनम्। एष पञ्चविधो धर्मो बहुशाखः सुखोदयः॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 25-26.

says 'ahiṁsā, truthfulness, compassion towards all beings, quiescence, charity according to one's ability—this is the best dharma for a gṛhastha (householder). Non-contact with the wives of others, guarding one's wife and deposit (made by another), abstaining from taking what is not given (by the owner), avoiding honey and meat—this five-fold dharma has many branches and gives rise to happiness.' Dakṣa (II. 66-67) also has similar provisions. But such moral exhortations (called sādhāraṇa dharmas) have already been discussed above (pp. 3-11).

From very ancient times there were several ways of dividing the day. Sometimes the word 'ahaḥ' is distinguished from night and sometimes it stands for the period from sunrise to sunrise (and includes day and night). For example, in Ṛg. VI. 9. 1 we have[1507] the dark day (i. e. night) and the bright day (i. e. the period when there is light). This part (viz. the period of sunlight) is divided some times into two parts viz. pūrvāhṇa (period before noon) and aparāhṇa (the time after noon) *Vide* Ṛg. X. 34. 11, Manu III. 278. Day time is also divided into three parts, morning, midday and evening, which correspond to the three libations of Soma juice in prātaḥsavana, mādhyandina-savana and tṛtiya-savana. *Vide* Ṛg. III. 53. 8 where these three parts of the day are mentioned when Indra comes to drink Soma for a *muhūrta* each time and III. 28. 1, 4 and 5 (where all three savanas are named) and III. 32. 1, III. 52. 5-6. The day (of 12 hours) was often divided into five parts,[1508] viz. *prātaḥ* or udaya (sunrise), *saṁgava*, *mādhyandina* or *madhyāhna* (mid-day), *aparāhṇa* (afternoon) and *sāyāhna* or *astagamana* or *sāyam* (evening). Each of these five parts of day time will be equal to three muhūrtas. In some smṛtis and purāṇas these five parts are mentioned and defined ; e. g. in the Prajāpatismṛti,

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1507. अहश्च कृष्णमहरर्जुनं च विवर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभिः। वैश्वानरो जायमानो न राजावातिरज्ज्योतिषाग्निस्तमांसि ॥ ऋ. VI. 9. 1. This verse is explained in the निरुक्त II. 21 ' अहश्च कृष्णं रात्रिः शुक्लं च अहरर्जुनम् । &c. '

1508. उता यातं संगवे प्रातरह्नो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य । ऋ. V. 76. 3. Here प्रातः, संगव and मध्यन्दिन are expressly named. संगव is the time of milking the cows after they return from grazing pastures to which they were taken at dawn. Vide आश्व. औ. III. 12. 1-2 प्रदोषान्तो होमकालः संगवान्तः प्रातः on which the com. says ' यस्मिन्काले गावो वत्सैः सहासते स संगवः कालः तावत्पर्यन्तं प्रातर्होमकालः '. तस्मा उद्यन्त्सूर्यो हिङ्कृणोति संगवः प्रस्तौति । मध्यन्दिन उद्गायत्यपराह्णः प्रतिहरत्यस्तं यन्निधनम् ॥ अथर्ववेद IX. 5. 4-5.

vv. 156-157, Matsyapurāṇa 22. 82-84, 124. 88-90, Vāyu 50. 170-174. *Vide* Aparārka p. 465 (on Yāj. I. 226) where a *śruti* passage and verses from Vyāsa are quoted about these five parts.[1509] The whole day of twenty-four hours was divided into thirty muhūrtas; vide Śat. Br. XII. 3. 2. 5, S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 169 where the year is said to have 10800 muhūrtas (360 x 30). The Tai. Br. III. 10. 1 gives the names of the fifteen muhūrtas of day-time, such as Citra, Ketu &c.

The Madanapārijāta p. 496 quotes Vyāsa for the fifteen parts of the day.

The smṛtis however generally divide day-time into eight parts. Dakṣa II. 4-5 divides the day into eight parts and then treats at length about the duties to be performed during those eight parts. Kātyāyana divides day-time into eight parts and asks the king to assign three parts after the first to the investigation of judicial proceedings.[1510] That this was a very ancient division follows from several considerations. Kauṭilya[1511] divides the day and night each into eight parts and prescribes what the king is to do in the eight parts of the day and also in the eight parts of the night. Vas. XI. 36, Laghu-Hārīta 99, Laghu-Śātātapa v. 108 say 'the sun becomes mild-rayed in the 8th part of the day and that time is called kutapa'.[1512] The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 24) speaks of the light of the sun becoming clear and bright in the first eighth part of the day.[1513] In the Mahābhārata frequent reference is made to the sixth part of the day as a somewhat late hour for taking one's meal (and as making one hungry). Vide Vanaparva 179. 16, 180. 16, 293. 9, Āśvamedhika parva 90. 26-27.[1514]

1509. प्रातःकालो मुहूर्तस्त्रिसंगवस्तावदेव तु। मत्स्य 22. 82; रेखामभृत्यथादित्ये त्रिमुहूर्ते गते रवौ। प्रातस्तनः स्मृतः कालो भागः सोद्धस्तु पञ्चमः॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु 3. 280.

1510. आद्यादष्टोऽष्टभागाद्यदूर्ध्वं भागत्रयं भवेत्। स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 601 (on Yāj. II. 1.)

1511. नाडिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत् छायाप्रमाणेन वा। द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत्। अर्थशास्त्र I. 19. According to the ब्रह्मपुराण, two नाडिकाs are equal to a मुहूर्त 'नाडिकाभ्यामथ द्वाभ्यां मुहूर्तो द्विजसत्तमाः।' The सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 12) has 'नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम्॥'

1512 दिवसस्याष्टमे भागे मन्दीभवति भास्करः। स कालः कुतपो ज्ञेयः पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 36.

1513. न चिरादिव दिवसाष्टमभागभाजि स्पष्टभासि भास्वति भूते। कादम्बरी para 24.

1514. षष्ठे काले मयाहारः प्राप्तोऽयमनुजस्तव। वनपर्व 180. 16; षष्ठे षष्ठे तदा काले बभूव मितभोजनः। वनपर्व 293. 9.

The principal matters to be discussed under *āhnika* are: getting up from bed, śauca (bodily purity), dantadhāvana (brushing the teeth), snāna (bath), *saṁdhyā*, *tarpaṇa*, the five *mahāyajñas* (including brahmayajña and honouring guests), attending on fire, *bhojana* (mid-day meal), obtaining wealth, studying and teaching, evening saṁdhyā, gifts, going to bed, performing sacrifices at certain stated times. The Parāśara smṛti I. 39 summarises the most important daily duties as bathing, performing the saṁdhyā prayers, japa, homa, worship of gods and honouring of guests, and vaiśvadeva are the six (principal) daily actions.[1515] Manu (IV. 152=Anuśāsana parva 104. 23) also enumerates in one place the principal daily actions that must be got through in the morning viz. answering calls of nature, toilet, bathing, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes and worship of the gods[1516].

Although as stated in the Sūryasiddhānta[1517] the day was calculated from sunrise, daytime for practical purposes was extended for a short time before sunrise and after sunrise. According to the Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa the four *nāḍīs* (or *ghaṭikās*) before sunrise and the four nāḍīs after sunset are included in daytime (*dina*) i. e. when a man takes his bath before sunrise on a particular day that bath is one for the day that is to begin after he takes his bath[1518]. Several smṛtis like Manu IV. 92, Yāj. I. 115 enjoin that a man should get up from bed at the brāhma muhūrta,[1519] should reflect over *dharma* and *artha* that he would seek to attain that day and over the bodily efforts that he would have to undergo for securing his object and think out the real meaning of Vedic injunctions. Kullūka and others say that the word *muhūrta* in Manu IV. 92 means

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1515. संध्या स्नानं जपो होमो देवतातिथिपूजनम् । आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च षट् कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥ पराशर I. 39.

1516. मैत्रं प्रसाधनं स्नानं दन्तधावनमञ्जनम् । पूर्वाह्ण एव कुर्वीत देवतानां च पूजनम् ॥ मनु IV. 152. मित्र is the presiding deity over the anus and so *maitra* means mūtrapurīṣotsarga.

1517. उदयादुदयं भानोर्भूमिसावनवासरः । सूर्यसिद्धान्त (मध्यमाधिकार v. 36.)

1518. त्रियामां रजनीं प्राहुस्त्यक्त्वाद्यन्तचतुष्टयम् । नाडीनां तद्वये संध्ये दिवसाद्यन्तसंज्ञिते ॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण quoted in the आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327 and सं. प्र. p. 81.

1519. ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते बुध्येत धर्मार्थौ चानुचिन्तयेत् । कायक्लेशांश्च तन्मूलान्वेदतत्त्वार्थमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 92; ब्राह्मो मुहूर्तो रात्रेः पश्चिमो यामः । ब्राह्मी भारती तत्प्रबोधहेतुत्वात् । मुहूर्तशब्दोऽत्र कालमात्रवचनः । कुल्लूक. The first half also occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 104. 16, ब्रह्मपुराण 113. 17, मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 17. The कूर्मपुराण as quoted in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 220–221 has almost the same verse as मनु. Compare 'गहनमपररात्रप्रासबुद्धिप्रसादाः कवय इव महीपाश्चिन्तन्त्ययर्थजातम् ॥' शिशुपालवध 11. 6.

only time generally and not a period of two ghaṭikās and that it is called brāhma because that is a time when one's intelligence and one's power to compose a literary work are at their best. The Par. M. (I. 1. p. 220) [1520] says that there are two muhūrtas in the half watch before sunrise, the first of the two is called brāhma and the second raudra. Pitāmaha quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 88) says that the last watch of the night is called 'brāhma muhūrta'. From very early times getting up before sunrise was prescribed specially for a student and generally for everyone. Gaut. 23. 21 says that if the sun rose while a brahmacārin was asleep he should stand up the whole day without food and mutter the Gāyatrī throughout the day (as a penance) and if the sun set while he was asleep he should sit up the whole night engaged in muttering the Gāyatrī. Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 13-14 and Manu II. 220-221 contain similar rules and they employ the word 'abhinirmukta [1521] (or abhinimrukta) to denote one who is asleep when the sun sets. The Gobhilasmṛti (in verse) I. 139 says that on getting up one should wash one's eyes. In the Ṛgvidhāna it is ordained that on getting up one should wipe one's eyes with water after reciting Ṛg. X. 73. 11 the latter half of which says 'remove away from us darkness, fulfil our eyes and release us who are as if bound with snares'.

The Sm. C. (I. p. 88) quotes the Kūrmapurāṇa to the effect that on getting up from sleep some time before sunrise one should contemplate on God. The Āhnika-prakāśa (p. 16) quotes five verses from the Vāmanapurāṇa (14. 23-27) which are to be recited on getting up as a morning hymn, one of which is quoted below.[1522] These verses are repeated even now by some

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1520. सूर्योदयात्प्रागर्धप्रहरे द्वौ मुहूर्तौ तत्राद्यो ब्राह्मो द्वितीयो रौद्रः। परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 220. रात्रेश्च पश्चिमे यामे मुहूर्तो यस्तृतीयकः। स ब्राह्म इति विख्यातो विहितः संप्रबोधने॥ सुमन्तु q. in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 326 ; रात्रेस्तु पश्चिमो यामो मुहूर्तो ब्राह्म उच्यते। इति पितामहस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच. I. p. 88.

1521. सूर्याभ्युदितो ब्रह्मचारी तिष्ठेदहरभुञ्जानोऽस्यस्तमितश्च रात्रिं जपन् सावित्रीम्। गौ. 23. 21 ; 'स्वपञ्जभिनिर्मुक्तो नाश्नन् वाग्यतो रात्रिमासीत श्वोभूत उदकमुपस्पृश्य वाचं विसृजेत्। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 12. 13; वयः सुपर्णा इत्येतां जपन्वै चिन्वते श्रियम्। इत्युपक्रम्य अक्षिणी प्रातरुत्थाय निमृजीतैतया सह। चक्षुष्मान्भवति श्रीमाञ्जालक्ष्मीः प्रतिबाधते। इति ऋग्विधाने उक्तम्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 19 ; वयः सुपर्णा is Ṛg. X. 73. 11. This verse is explained in निरुक्त IV. 3.

1522. ब्रह्मा मुरारिस्त्रिपुरान्तकारी भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च। गुरुश्च शुक्रः शनिराहुकेतवः कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम्॥. This is वामनपुराण 14. 23. These five are quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 16, आचारमयूख p. 6, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 210 (where they are ascribed to दक्ष).

old people. Some works say that he who repeats the four verses called Bhāratasāvitrī in the morning obtains the reward of hearing the whole Mahābhārata and attains the highest Brahma.[1523] The Āhnikatattva (p. 327) quotes a verse to be repeated on getting up from bed in which the serpent Karkoṭaka, Damayantī, kings Nala and Ṛtuparṇa are remembered for removing the effects of Kali,[1524] and the Smṛtimuktāphala quotes a verse about Nala, Yudhiṣṭhira, Sītā and Kṛṣṇa as *puṇyaśloka* (singing of whose glory is holy)[1525]. The Ācāraratna (p. 10 a) states that one should repeat the names of certain famous and long-lived (cirajīvins) personages viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmān, Bibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Paraśurāma and Mārkaṇḍeya and also the names of five holy women, Ahalyā, Draupadī, Sītā, Tārā and Mandodarī. Even now old men brought up in the orthodox ways repeat these names on getting up.

In some works it is said that if on getting up a man sees a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda, a lady whose husband is living, a cow, an altar where fire is kindled, he becomes free from adversities and that if a man sees on getting up in the morning a very sinful man, a widow, an untouchable, one naked, one whose nose is cut off, that is an indication of *kali* (misfortune or strife).[1526] Parāśara XII. 47 says that one who has built the fire altar (for Vedic sacrifices), a dark-brown cow, one who is engaged in a *sattra* (or performed it), the king, an ascetic, the ocean—these purify a man the moment they are seen, so one should see them always.

Then the next act is to answer the calls of nature. Very detailed rules are laid down about these even in the most ancient sūtras and smṛtis. Many of the rules are simply hygienic, but as religion, rules of law, of morality, of health and

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1523. Vide नित्याचारपद्धति pp. 15–16, आह्निकप्रकाश. p. 21. These verses viz. महाभारत, स्वर्गारोहणिक पर्व 5. 60–63, are called भारतसावित्री (in verse 64). Their first pādas are मातापितृसहस्राणि, हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि, ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष, न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद्.

1524. कर्कोटकस्य नागस्य दमयन्त्या नलस्य च। ऋतुपर्णस्य राजर्षेः कीर्तनं कलिनाशनम्॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 79. 10, quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327 and स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 211.

1525. पुण्यश्लोको नलो राजा पुण्यश्लोको युधिष्ठिरः। पुण्यश्लोका च वैदेही पुण्यश्लोको जनार्दनः॥ quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 210), आचारमयूख p. 6.

1526. These verses are from गोभिलस्मृति II. 163 and 165 (called कर्मप्रदीप also) quoted in आह्निकतत्त्व p. 327, आह्निकप्र. p. 22, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 211. I read पापिष्ठं दुर्भगामन्त्यं (and not मद्यं or मर्त्यं as these do).

hygiene are mixed up in the ancient works, they are given in works on dharma. Even in the Atharvaveda (XIII. 1. 56) it[1527] is said 'I cut off thy root who kick a cow with the foot or who urinate opposite the sun (facing the sun); thou shall not further cast a shadow.' Urinating while standing seems to have been condemned in the time of the Atharvaveda; *vide* VII. 102 (107). 1 'I shall urinate standing erect; let not the lords harm me.' Gaut. IX. 13, 15, 37-43, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 15-30 and I. 11. 31. 1-3, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 10-19 and XII. 11-13, Manu IV. 45-52, 56, 151, Yāj. I. 16-17, 134, 154, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 1-26, Śaṅkha,[1528] Vāyupurāṇa 78. 59-64 and 79. 25-31, Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 30-32 may be summarised as follows: one should not void urine or ordure on the road, on ashes, on cow-dung, in ploughed or sown fields, under the shade of trees, in rivers or water, on grassy or beautiful spots, on bricks made ready for erecting altars, on mountain-tops, near dilapidated shrines or cowpens, on ant-hills, in cemeteries or in holes, on threshing floors, on sandy shores. Nor should one answer calls of nature looking at or facing fire, the sun, the moon, a brāhmaṇa, water, the image of some god, cow, wind. Nor should one do these acts on the bare ground, but on ground covered with dry twigs or leaves or grass or loose earth. One should cover one's head and should face the north by day or when there is twilight and face the south at night, but when there is a danger one may face any direction. One should not urinate while standing or walking (Manu. IV. 47) nor should one speak while doing so.[1529] One should answer calls of nature away from a human habitation towards the south or south-west. Manu V. 126 and Yāj. I. 17 prescribe that, after answering calls of nature, one should perform cleansing the parts with water held in a pot and lumps of earth to such an extent that no smell or filth will stick. According to Manu V. 136 and 137 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 25-26 one lump of earth is to be applied to the penis, three to the arms, ten to the left hand

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1527. यश्च गां पदा स्फुरति प्रत्यङ्ङ् सूर्यं च मेहति। तस्य वृश्चामि ते मूलं न च्छायां करवोऽपरम्॥ अथर्व XIII. 1. 56; मेक्ष्याम्यूर्ध्वस्तिष्ठन्मा मा हिंसिपुरीश्वराः॥ अथर्व VII. 102 (107). 1.

1528. न गोमयकृष्टेऽशाद्वलचिति-इमशान-वल्मीक-वर्त्मखलगोष्ठबिलपर्वतपुलिनेषु मेहेत भूताधारत्वात्। शङ्ख quoted in मिता० on या. I. 134.

1529. उच्चारे मैथुने चैव प्रस्रावे दन्तधावने। स्नाने भोजनकाले च षट्सु मौनं समाचरेत्॥ हारीत quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 26. This is लघुहारीत verse 40; अत्रि 323 is पुरीषे मैथुने होमे प्रस्रावे दन्तधावने। स्नानभोजनजप्येषु सदा मौनं समाचरेत्॥

and seven to both hands, three to both feet together. This is the extent of *śauca* required for householders, and for brahmacārin, forest hermit and saṁnyāsin, twice, thrice and four times as much is required. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 17 remarks that for all āśramas the cleansing required is only as much as will remove foul smell and filth and the several numbers of lumps of earth prescribed in different smṛtis are only precribed for unseen (or spiritual) results. Gaut. I. 45–46, Vas. III. 48 and Manu V. 134 say that cleansing of the body is to be so effected first with water and then with earth that foul smell and filth will be totally removed. Devala (quoted in the Gṛ. R. p. 147) says that respectable people do not emphasize the number of times mentioned in the smṛtis, but they say that cleansing should be carried on till one feels that it is all right.[1530] The Smṛtyarthasāra[1531] (p. 19) following Dakṣa V. 12 says that at night only half of the *śauca* prescribed for the day is required, only one-fourth of it is prescribed for the ailing and only one-eighth when a man is on a journey and that no special number of lumps of earth are prescribed for women, śūdras, boys whose upanayana has not been performed. In cleansing one is not to employ stones, clods of earth, and green twigs cut off for the purpose from herbs and trees (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 30, Gaut. IX. 15) nor is one to use earth from inside a river or water reservoir or from a temple, from an ant-hill or from the hiding places of rats or from dung-hills or what is left after being used for a prior cleansing (Vas. Dh. S. VI. 17) nor what is taken from a road or cemetery, nor should one use earth that has worms, coals, or bones or gravel in it. Daksa V. 7 prescribes that for the first time as much earth as will fill half of the outstretched hand and for the second time half of that is to be taken and so on.[1532] The lump of earth should not be bigger than a myrobalan fruit (Kūrmapurāṇa in Sm. C. I. p. 182). One is not to answer calls of nature with the shoes on (Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 18) and one's *yajñopavīta* should be suspended from the right ear or he should throw it on his

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1530. यावत्साध्विति मन्येत तावच्छौचं विधीयते । प्रमाणं शौचसंख्यायां न शिष्टैरुपदिश्यते ॥ देवल in गृह. र. p. 147 and स्मृतिच० I. p. 93.

1531. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 17 वल्मीकाखूत्करोत्था वा जलात् पथि कृता च या । कृतशौचावशिष्टा च षड्भिः शौचं न विद्यते ॥ ; also मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 65–66, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 19.

1532. अर्धप्रसृतिमात्रा तु प्रथमा मृत्तिका स्मृता । द्वितीया च तृतीया च तदर्धार्धा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ दक्ष V. 7. The first half is quoted even by विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

back in the *nivīta* form.[1533] According to Yāj. I.16 the *yajñopavīta* should be suspended from the right ear only. Vanaparva 59. 2 describes that *kali* (the principle of evil and strife) entered Nala when the latter did not wash his feet after urinating.

This cleansing of the body in the morning is only a part of general *śauca*. Śauca is according to Gaut. VIII. 24 one of the ātmaguṇas. Even the Ṛg. (in VII. 56. 12 and other verses) appears to emphasize cleanliness (śucitva).[1534] According to Hārīta 'śauca is the first path to *dharma*, it is the resting place of brahma (Veda), the abode of śrī (prosperity), the means of clearing (or soothing) the mind, the favourite of gods, the means of realizing the *Ātman* and the awakener of intelligence.'[1535] According to Baud. Dh. S. III. 1. 26, Hārīta, Dakṣa V. 3 and Vyāghrapāda (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 93) śauca is of two kinds,[1536] *bāhya* (outward) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (inward), the first being effected by water and loose earth and the latter is the purity of one's sentiments. Hārīta divides the first into three, that of kula (being free from impurity due to birth or death in the family), of artha (i. e. of the vessels and things to be used in all matters) and of *śarīra* (of one's body); Hārīta divides ābhyantara into five, mānasa (mental), cākṣuṣa (of the eye i. e. not looking at things that should not be looked at), ghrāṇya (of the nose), vācya (of speech), svādya (of the tongue). According to a verse quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 24 śauca is of four kinds, viz. of dravya (the vessels and things employed by one), of the mind, of speech and of the body. Vṛddha-Gautama (Jivānanda p. 632) speaks of five kinds of śauca viz. of the mind, of actions, of kula (family), of the body and of speech. According to Manu V. 135, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 81, Atri v. 31 and others there are twelve *malas* (filthy exudations or impurities) of the human body, viz. fat, semen, blood, marrow, urine, fæces, mucus of the nose, ear-wax, phlegm, tears,

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1533. अङ्गिरा अपि। कृत्वा यज्ञोपवीतं तु पृष्ठतः कण्ठलम्बितम्। विण्मूत्रं तु गृही कुर्याद् यद्वा कर्णे समाहितः। कर्णे निधानमेकस्य विषयम्। तथा च सांख्यायनगृह्यम्। यस्यैकस्यो यज्ञोपवीतं कर्णे कृत्वा मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गं कुर्यात् इति। स्मृतिच. I. p. 89. Vide शाङ्खायनगृह्य IV. 12. 22 (S. B. E. vol 29 p. 126).

1534. शुची वो हव्या मरुतः शुचीनां शुचिं हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्यः। ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आयञ्छुचिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12.

1535. तत्र हारीतः। शौचं नाम धर्मादिपथो ब्रह्मायतनं श्रियोधिवासो मनसः प्रसादनं देवानां प्रियं शरीरे क्षेत्रदर्शनं बुद्धिप्रबोधनम्। गृह. र. p. 522.

1536. शौचं च द्विविधं प्रोक्तं बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं तथा। मृज्जलाभ्यां स्मृतं बाह्यं भावशुद्धिस्तथान्तरम्॥ दक्ष V. 3 and व्याघ्रपाद.

rheum of eyes, sweat; and the first six of these are removed by water and earth and the latter six by water (Atri v. 32).

After preforming śauca one has to rinse the mouth with twelve mouthfuls (gaṇḍūṣa) of water (vide Smṛtimuktāphala, āhnika p. 220). When one finishes the purification of the body by washing the hands and feet and by rinsing the mouth one has to engage in *ācamana*.[1537] A good deal has been said about ācamana above (pp. 315-316) under upanayana. Ācamana (sipping water) is to be done after tying the top-knot and tucking up the garment from behind; the water is to be poured in the hollowed palm of the hand in such a quantity that a grain of māṣa (bean) will be plunged in it and the three fingers except the thumb and the small one are to be joined together and the water is to be drunk from that part of the hand which is called *brāhma tīrtha* described above (n. 750). The word *tīrtha* means that part of the right hand by which water is taken in or poured in religious rites and the parts are given the names of deities for lauding them, as Viśvarūpa says.[1538] In most smṛtis their number is four, viz. prājāpatya or kāya, pitrya, brāhma, and daiva (for example in Manu II. 59, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 62. 1-4, Yāj. I. 19, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 34. 103-109, Dakṣa II. 18). Some works like the Śāṭyāyanakalpa and Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 19 name five tīrthas viz. daiva (when a brāhmaṇa faces the east, the front part of his hand), pitrya (the right portion of the right hand), brāhma (the portion of the hand opposite the fingers), prājāpatya (the portion of the hand near the small finger) and pārameṣṭhya (the centre of the right palm). The Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa names the above five, except that it substitutes the name āgneya for pārameṣṭhya. The Śaṅkha-smṛti (in verse, X. 1-2) distinguishes kāya and prājāpatya and omits the name of brāhma altogether which is called prājāpatya by it. Vaik. I. 5 has six, the usual four, the fifth being āgneya (centre of the palm) and the sixth being *ārṣa* (the roots and tips of all fingers together). According to some, *daiva tīrtha* means the tips of the fingers and the centre of the palm is either saumya or āgneya. According to Hārīta the

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1537. तत्र हस्तौ पादौ प्रक्षाल्य यज्ञोपवीती शुद्धभूमौ पादौ प्रतिष्ठाप्य बद्धकच्छशिखः पुण्डरीकाक्षमिष्टदेवतां स्मृत्वा प्रकृतिस्थं फेनबुद्बुदरहितं संहताङ्गुलिपाणिनाऽम्बु गृहीत्वाऽङ्गुष्ठकनिष्ठिके मुक्त्वा शेषं वीक्षितं ब्रह्मतीर्थेन त्रिश्चतुर्वारं समाहितः पिबेत्। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 20.

1538. तीर्थमिति च दक्षिणहस्तेऽवतारप्रदेशानामधेयम् । लोकेष्युदकाद्यवतारे तीर्थशब्दः प्रसिद्धः। तानि च विशेषकार्योपयिकत्वात् स्तुत्यर्थं देवताभिराख्यायन्ते । विश्वरूप on या. I. 19.

daiva [1539] tīrtha is to be used in mārjana, worship of gods, offering of *bali* and in *bhojana*; the kāya tīrtha is to be employed in lāja-homa (homa of fried grain) and daily homa, the pitrya in all rites for dead ancestors. Touching the kamaṇḍalu (water jar), eating curds and fresh products of the fields (navānna) are to be done with the saumya tīrtha (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 20). When there is difficulty of getting water and an occasion for purification by ācamana arises, one should touch one's right [1540] ear. Very elaborate rules are laid down in the digests on the subject of ācamana (e. g. Sm. C. I. pp. 95–104), Smṛtimuktāphala, Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 221–240, Āhnika-tattva pp. 333–344. Gṛ. R. pp. 150–172 &c., which have to be all passed over for want of space. One matter to be noticed is that according to the Āpastamba-smṛti (in verse) the procedure of ācamana is of four kinds, viz. paurāṇika (in which each sipping of water is accompanied by the names, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava &c.); smārta (as laid down in the smṛtis like Manu II. 60 ff), āgama (i. e. taught in the sacred books of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians) and śrauta (laid down in the Śrautasūtras for Vedic sacrifices [1541]). The first of these four is the method usually followed now by most brāhmaṇas.

Danta-dhāvana (brushing the teeth).

Danta-dhāvana comes after śauca and ācamana and before snāna (bath). *Vide* Yāj. I. 98 and Dakṣa II. 6. The practice of daily danta-dhāvana has existed in India from the most ancient times. The Tai. S. [1542] (II. 5. 1. 7) when enumerating the actions which a *rajasvalā* (a woman in her monthly period) was to avoid mentions *dantadhāvana* among them and remarks that if she indulges in it during that period, she gives birth to a son whose teeth are naturally black. Dantadhāvana is an independent act by itself performed for rendering the body (here the mouth) clean and it is not an aṅga (a subordinate

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1539. तत्र हारीतः । मार्जनार्चनबलिकर्मभोजनानि दैवेन तीर्थेन कुर्यात् । इति । दैवं तीर्थमङ्गुल्यग्रम् । स्मृतिच. I. p. 226.

1540. आपस्तु नैमित्तिककर्माङ्गाचमनस्थाने श्रवणस्पर्शनं स्यान्मनःशुद्ध्यर्थम् । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 21.

1541. आपस्तम्बस्मृतौ । आद्यौ पौराणिकं प्रोक्तं स्मार्तमागममेव च । श्रौतं चतुर्विधं प्राहुराचामं ब्रह्मवादिनः ॥ अच्युताद्यैः समाचामेत्केशवाद्यैस्तु नामभिः । अङ्गानां स्पर्शने कुर्यादेतत्पौराणिकं मतम् ॥ स्मृतिषु. (आह्निक) p. 221.

1542. या दृतौ धावते तस्यै श्यावदन् । तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 7.

constituent part) of bath or morning prayer.[1543] Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 8. 5 forbids[1544] one who has returned from his teacher's home after finishing his studies to engage in the sight of his teacher in such acts of pleasure as cleansing the teeth, shampooing the body and combing the hair and also forbids the study of the Veda while such actions are going on (*ibid.* I. 3. 11. 10–12).[1545] The brahmacārin was not to engage in the leisurely actions of brushing the teeth (but was to rinse his mouth) according to Gaut. II. 19 and Vas. Dh. S. VII. 15.

In dantadhāvana one has to take the twig (with its bark) of certain trees, crush the end of the twig with his teeth so as to make a brush of it and then to cleanse his teeth with the brush-like end. According to Gobhilasmṛti[1546] (which is also called Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa in some works) if a man only rinses his mouth with river water or at home, he has not to repeat a mantra, but if he uses a twig he has to repeat a mantra 'Oh tree, bestow on me long life, strength, fame, brilliance, offspring, cattle, wealth, brahma (Veda), memory and intelligence.' In the Pār. gṛ. II. 6 and Āp. gṛ. 12. 6 brushing of the teeth with an *udumbara* twig is prescribed in Samāvartana with a mantra 'may you be ready for food; here comes the king Soma; may he clean my mouth with glory and good luck.'[1547] Therefore the same mantra is to be employed every day after samāvartana. In some of the digests (like the Āhnikaprakāśa

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1543. अत्र संध्यायां स्नाने च दन्तधावनस्य नाङ्गत्वम्। मुखे पर्युषिते नित्यं भवत्यप्रयतो नरः। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ इति वृद्धशातातपवचनेन स्वतन्त्रस्यैव शुद्धिहेतुतयाभिधानात्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 121; the verse मुखे पर्युषिते is लघुशातातप 74.

1544. स्वैरिकर्मसु च यथा दन्तप्रक्षालनोत्सादनावलेखनानीति। आप. ध. I. 2. 8. 4–5; vide आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 10–11 for the same words followed by तावन्तं कालं नाधीयीताध्यापयेद्वा.

1545. खट्वाशयनदन्तधावनप्रक्षालनाञ्जनाभ्यञ्जनोपानच्छत्रवर्जी। वसिष्ठ VII. 15.

1546. दन्तान् प्रक्षाल्य नद्यादौ गृहे चेत्तद्मन्त्रवत्। नारद्याद्युक्तवार्क्षं यदृष्टाङ्कुलम पातितम्। सत्वचं दन्तकाष्ठं स्यात्तद्ग्रेण प्रधावयेत् ॥ ..... परिजप्य च मन्त्रेण भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम्॥ आयुर्बलं यशो वर्चः प्रजां पशून् वसूनि च। ब्रह्म प्रज्ञां च मेधां च त्वं नो देहि वनस्पते॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 137–140. This मन्त्र is quoted by the मिता० on याज्ञ. I. 98 and by almost all digests on धर्मशास्त्र.

1547. औदुम्बरेण दन्तान्धावेत। अन्नाद्याय व्यूहध्वं सोमो राजायमागमत्। स मे मुखं प्रमार्क्षयते यशसा च भगेन च। इति। ..... दन्तप्रक्षालनादीनि नित्यम्। पारस्कर II. 6. The मन्त्र 'अन्नाद्याय' occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 19 with variations. सोम is the king of plants and hence the udumbara twig is called 'this king Soma'.

pp. 121–122) it is stated that that mantra may be employed by the students of the Śukla Yajurveda, while those who study the Gobhila gṛhya may use the mantra 'āyurbalam &c'.

Very detailed rules are laid down about the length of the twig, about the trees the twigs of which are allowed or forbidden, about the days or occasions or times on which there is to be no dantadhāvana. A few of these details are given below. Trees having thorns on their trunk or from which a milky fluid oozes out when a twig is broken off are allowed and so are vaṭa, asana, arka, khadira, karañja, badara, sarja, nimba, arimeda, apāmārga, mālatī, kakubha, bilva, āmra (mango), punnāga, śirīṣa and further the twig must be astringent, pungent or bitter in taste and not sweet or sour.[1548] Vide Bṛhat-Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira chap. 85, Laghu-Hārīta (Jīvānanda part I. p. 183), Laghu-Vyāsa I. 17–18, Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 58. 47. Before the advent of the modern dentrifrices people in India followed these directions and even now many even in the cities still follow them and brush their teeth with twigs of various trees. Among the trees which are not to be used for dantadhāvana are palāśa,[1549] śleṣmātaka, ariṣṭa, vibhītaka, dhava, bandhūka, nirguḍī, śigru, tilva, tinduka, inguda, guggulu, śamī, pīlu, pippala, kovidāra &c. (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 1–5). The twig may be undried or dried, but one dried on the tree itself is not to be taken (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 8, Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa 58. 46). One must brush the teeth facing north or east, but not west or south (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 61. 12–13). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (61. 16–17) prescribes that the twig should be as big as the end of one's small finger and twelve *aṅgulas* in length and it should be washed before its use and after using it it should not be cast off in an impure place. There are various opinions about the length of the twig employed. The Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa (58. 49. 50) says that it may be of eight aṅgulas in length or a

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1548. वटासनार्कखदिरकरञ्जबदरसर्जनिम्बारिमेदापामार्गमालतीककुभबिल्वानामन्यतमम् । कषायं तिक्तं कटुकं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 14–15; आम्रपालाशबिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । खादिरस्य करञ्जस्य कदम्बस्य तथैव च ॥ अर्कस्य करवीरस्य कुटजस्य विशेषतः ॥ वाग्यतः प्रातरुत्थाय भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ माण्डूकीशिक्षा of अथर्ववेद (ed. by Bhagavad-datta, Lahore) IV. 1–2; सर्वे कण्टकिनः पुण्याः क्षीरिणश्च यशस्विनः । नारद; आम्रपुन्नाग-बिल्वानामपामार्गशिरीषयोः । भक्षयेत् प्रातरुत्थाय वाग्यतो दन्तधावनम् । अङ्गिरस्. All these are quoted in the स्मृतिच० I. pp. 105–106 and other digests. 'सर्वे कण्टकिनः ..... यशस्विनः' is नृसिंहपुराण 58. 49.

1549. पालाशमासनं पादुके दन्तधावनमिति च वर्जयेत् । गौतम IX. 44, आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 32. 9 (reads दन्तप्रक्षालनं), वसिष्ठ XII. 34., बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 30.

span in length (prādeśa); Garga (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 105) says that the twig should be 10, 9, 8, 7 or 4 aṅgulas in length respectively for the four varṇas and women. One was not to cleanse one's teeth with pieces of brick or with clods of earth or with stones or with the bare fingers (except the thumb and the finger next to the small finger). [1550]

According to Laghu-Hārīta (Jivānanda I. p. 183) and Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 58. 50-52 there is to be no brushing of the teeth with a twig on the 1st *tithi*, the parva tithis (i. e. new moon, full moon, 8th day, 14th day and the day on which the Sun enters a new zodiacal sign, according to Viṣṇu-purāṇa III. 11. 118), on the 6th tithi and 9th tithi and on those days when twigs are not available one may rinse one's mouth with twelve mouthfuls of water [1551]. Paiṭhīnasi (quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 106) says 'one may brush one's teeth with grass, leaves and water and with the fingers except the 4th finger.' One may also cleanse with mouthfuls of water when one has no teeth (Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 127). One may also rub one's tongue with these or with a twig on the days on which it is allowed. There is to be no dantadhāvana on śrāddha day (for the performer), on the day of a sacrifice, when one is observing *niyama*, when the husband has gone to another country, when there is indigestion, on marriage day, on a fast or a vrata (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 25). Viṣṇu [1552] Dh. S. 61. 16 prescribes dantadhāvana not only in the morning but also after taking one's meal. This, as stated by Devala, is intended for removing particles of food sticking to the teeth or the gums.

Snāna.—After dantadhāvana comes snāna. As ācamana, snāna (bath), japa (muttering of holy Vedic texts), homa and

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1550. यदाह वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । इष्टकालोष्टपाषाणैरितराङ्गुलिभिस्तदा । मुक्त्वा चानामिकाङ्गुष्ठौ न कुर्याद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 106 ; vide लघुशातातप v. 73.

1551. प्रतिपत्पर्वषष्ठीषु नवम्यां चैव सप्तमाः । दन्तानां काष्ठसंयोगाद्धत्या सप्तमं कुलम् ॥ अभावे दन्तकाष्ठानां प्रतिषिद्धदिनेषु च । अपां द्वादशगण्डूषैर्मुखशुद्धिं समाचरेत् । लघुहारीत, नृसिंहपुराण 58. 50-52; vide लघ्वाश्वलायन I. 14-15, स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25 ; अनुशासन 127. 4 condemns the use of a twig on the new moon day.

1552. प्रातर्भुक्त्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 61. 16; एतेन प्रातःकाले भोजनोत्तरं दन्तलग्ननिर्हरणार्थं भोजने दन्तलग्नानि निर्हृत्याचमनं चरेदिति देवलस्वरसासिद्धमपि दन्तधावनं कार्यम् । आह्निकप्र. p. 125. The अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह I. 3 also recommends this ' प्रातर्भुक्त्वा च यतवाग्भक्षयेद्दन्तधावनम् ॥. Vide Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 52 (for 1932) p. 163 ff for references to the twigs used for brushing teeth from ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien's 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' (Legge p. 54) for the dantakāṣṭha of Buddha.

other rites are to be performed after holding kuśa grass in the right hand some remarks must be offered on kuśas. The Kūrmapurāṇa says 'whatever action is done without darbha or without yajñopavīta, it becomes useless and brings no reward here or in the next world' (quoted in Kṛtyaratnākara p. 47). Śātātapa[1553] says 'in japa, homa, dāna, svādhyāya (study of the Veda) or in pitṛtarpaṇa one should have in his hand gold, silver and kuśas'. One should have at the time of ācamana &c. a pavitra (a ring-like loop) of *darbhas* in his right hand or in both his hands on the finger next to the small one or have kuśa in his right hand. There were several views about wearing a *pavitra* or darbhas, as stated in note 1553. The darbha grass is to be collected on the *darśa* day (new moon) in the month of Śrāvaṇa and the darbhas so collected are never stale and may be used again and again[1554]. The *pavitra* of the four varṇas should be made with 4 darbhas or with 3, 2, or 1 respectively or it should be made with two darbhas for all (Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 36-37). Those darbha blades from which no further blades shoot forth are called simply darbhas, blades from which fresh ones sprout forth are called kuśas, blades with their roots are called kutapas and those the tips of which are cut off are called *tṛṇa*[1555] (grass). The darbha grass growing in a field of sesame and having seven blades is very auspicious.

The darbhas to be used in yajñas should be green in colour, yellowish for use in *pākayajñas*, they should be with roots when used in rites for the pitṛs and variegated when used in vaiśvadeva. Those darbhas that were held in the hand at the time of offering piṇḍas to the dead or in śrāddhas or in pitṛtarpaṇa or at the time of urination or voiding fæces should be thrown away (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 37). If kuśa grass is not available, then kāśa or dūrvā may be employed instead.

1553. शातातपः । जपे होमे तथा दाने स्वाध्याये पितृतर्पणे । अशून्यं तु करं कुर्यात्सुवर्णरजतैः कुशैः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 108; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार for a similar verse. अत्र चत्वारः पक्षाः । हस्तद्वये दर्भधारणम् । हस्तद्वये पवित्रधारणं दक्षिणे पवित्रं वामे कुशा दक्षिण एवोभयमिति । आचाररत्न p. 24 b. Vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 28 quoted by अपरार्क pp. 43 and 480.

1554. मासे नभस्यमावास्या तस्यां दर्भोच्चयो मतः । अयातयामास्ते दर्भा नियोज्याः स्युः पुनः पुनः ॥ हारीत quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 107. Vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 36, लिखितस्मृति v. 41, मरीचि quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 67.

1555. अग्रसूताः स्मृता दर्भाः प्रसूतास्तु कुशाः स्मृताः । समूलाः कुतपाः प्रोक्ताश्छिन्नाग्रास्तृणसंज्ञिताः ॥ बृद्धहारीत VII. 44; this is quoted as कौशिक's in स्मृतिच० I p. 108.) and as of कात्यायन in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 231.)

The subject of snāna can be treated from various points of view. Snāna [1556] is either *mukhya* (principal) or *gauṇa* (secondary), the first being a bath with water and the second being without water. Each of these is again subdivided into various kinds. According to Dakṣa II. 48 snāna is nitya (obligatory every day), naimittika (to be performed on certain occasions), and kāmya (to be performed only if one desires certain rewards). All the varṇas [1557] have to bathe in or with water every day the whole body together with the head also (Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 4, Manu II. 176 and IV. 82) and *dvijātis* have to do it with Vedic mantras. This is *nitya*. This [1558] is required to be done, because a man who has not bathed is not entitled to perform homa, japa and other rites (Śaṅkha VIII. 2, Dakṣa II. 9). The body is dirty and from it ooze various exudations day and night and a bath in the morning cleanses and purifies the body. In this way snāna has seen and unseen (i. e. spiritual) results [1559].

Some works (Yāj. I. 95, 100, Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 16, 75, Dakṣa II. 9 and 43 &c.), prescribe two baths a day for brāhmaṇa house-holders, one before day-break and another at noon. There is only one bath a day for brahmacārins, two for forest hermits (Manu VI. 6). According to Manu VI. 22 and Yāj. III. 48 the forest hermit has to bathe thrice (in the morning, at noon and in the evening) and a *yati* has also to bathe thrice [1560]. Though even now some orthodox brāhmaṇa householders do perform two baths a day, the usual rule for all Hindus (including even the so-called untouchables) is to bathe once a day, which also has

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1556. स्नानं तु द्विविधं प्रोक्तं गाणमुख्यप्रभेदतः। तयोस्तु वारुणं मुख्यं तत्पुनः षड्विधं भवेत् ॥ नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं क्रियाङ्गं मलकर्षणम्। क्रियास्नानं तथा षष्ठं षोढा स्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 127, मद. पा. 236, स्मृतिच० I. p. 110, गृह. र. pp. 200-201, परा. मा. I. 1. p. 268. The 2nd verse is शङ्खस्मृति VIII. 1.

1557. अपोवगाहनं स्नानं विहितं सार्ववर्णिकम्। मन्त्रवत्प्रोक्षणं चापि द्विजातीनां विशिष्यते ॥ चौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 4; स्नानं च सर्ववर्णानां कार्यं शौचपुरःसरम्। समन्त्रकं द्विजानां स्यात्स्त्रीशूद्राणाममन्त्रकम् ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 26.

1558. अस्नातस्तु पुमान्नार्हो जप्याग्निहवनादिषु। प्रातःस्नानं तदर्थं च नित्यस्नानं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ शङ्ख VIII. 2 quoted in अपरार्क p. 127.

1559. अत्यन्तमलिनः कायो नवच्छिद्रसमन्वितः। स्रवत्येष दिवा रात्रौ प्रातःस्नानं विशोधनम्॥ प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत्। सर्वमर्हति शुद्धात्मा प्रातःस्नायी जपादिकम् ॥ दक्ष II. 7 and 9 quoted in अपरार्क p. 125 and स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1560. प्रातर्मध्याह्नयोः स्नानं वानप्रस्थगृहस्थयोः। यतेस्त्रिषवणं प्रोक्तं सकृत्तु ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ दक्ष quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 181 and स्मृत्यर्थसार. p. 26; उभे संध्ये तु स्नातव्यं ब्राह्मणैस्तु गृहाश्रितैः। तिसृष्वपि च संध्यासु स्नातव्यं च तपस्विभिः ॥ योगियाज्ञवल्क्य quoted in गृह. र. p. 191.

been the general rule for centuries (vide Smṛtyarthasāra p. 26 'sarve vāpi sakṛt kuryur). Snāna is usually done now before noon, that in the early morning being done only by a *yati*, one observing a *vrata*, a brahmacārin, sacrificial priests, students of the Veda and those engaged in austerities (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 27). The morning bath is to be taken immediately after brushing the teeth before day-break when one sees the eastern direction lit up by the morning rays of the rising sun (Viṣṇu [1561] Dh. S. 64. 8). Gobhila-smṛti (II. 24) says that [1562] one should not lengthen out the process of taking the morning bath (by repeating too many mantras) as it would come in the way of performing the morning homa at the proper time, which is between the first appearance of light and the sun's reaching about one cubit above the eastern horizon (Gobhila I. 122-123). *Vide* Manu II. 15 also. The mādhyāhna (midday) bath is to be performed in the fourth part of the day-time divided into eight parts (Dakṣa II. 43, Laghu-Vyāsa II. 9) and one has to bring together loose earth, cow-dung, flowers, whole rice grains, kuśas, sesame and sandalwood paste [1563]. This midday bath is not to be performed by one who is ill. The third bath (in the case of forest hermits and yatis) is to be performed before sunset, but not after sun-set or at night. No bathing is allowed for any one at night except when there is an eclipse or the sun passes into the zodiacal signs of Cancer and Capricorn (at night), a marriage, a birth or death or when a *vrata* is undertaken with some object [1564]. Night means specially the two middle watches (Manu IV. 129, Kullūka thereon and Parāśara XII. 27).

1561. प्रातःस्नाय्यरुणकिरणग्रस्तां प्राचीमवलोक्य स्नायात् । विष्णुध. सू. 64. 8; उषस्युषसि यत्स्नानं संध्यायामुदितेऽपि वा । प्राजापत्येन तत्तुल्यं सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत । ; both quoted by the स्मृतिच० I. p. 111.

1562. अल्पत्वाद्धोमकालस्य बहुत्वात्स्नानकर्मणः । प्रातर्न तनुयात्स्नानं होमलोपो विगर्हितः ॥ गोभिल II. 24, quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 111.

1563. चतुर्थेऽङ्गस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च स्नायाच्चाकृत्रिमे जले ॥ दक्ष II. 43 ; ततो मध्याह्नसमये स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । पुष्पाक्षतान्कुशतिलान् गोमयं गन्धमेव च ॥ लघुव्यास II. 9 (Jivānanda, part 2). The first is quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 181 and by अपरार्क p. 128 and the 2nd in परा. मा. I. 1. p. 269.

1564. अस्तमिते च स्नानम् (वर्जयेत्) ॥ आप. ध. सू. I 11. 32. 8, बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 29 ; राहुदर्शनसंक्रातिविवाहात्ययवृद्धिषु । स्नानदानादिकं कुर्युर्निशि काम्यव्रतेषु च ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क pp. 135, 229, स्मृतिच० I. pp. 120, 229; vide पराशर XII. 26 to the same effect.

The obligatory (*nitya*) bath is to be taken with cold water and ordinarily hot water is not allowed. Śaṅkha (VIII. 9-10) says that if one bathes with heated water or in water belonging to another individual, he may effect the cleansing of the body but he would not secure the unseen spiritual result of a bath. Dakṣa II. 64 is to the same effect[1565]. Naimittika and kāmya baths must be performed with cold water, there is an option only as to *nitya* (daily obligatory) bath (Garga quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 123).

Manu IV. 203, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 1-2 and 15-16, Yāj. I. 159, Dakṣa II. 43, Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti III. 7-8, Śaṅkha VIII. 11 and others say that one must daily bathe in natural water, i. e. in rivers, in tanks connected with temples, in lakes, in deep reservoirs and in mountain springs. One should not bathe in water belonging to an individual (i. e. a well or reservoir dug or dammed by him &c.) but if no water is otherwise available one may bathe with such water after removing three or five lumps of clay (from the bottom of the reservoir[1566]) or three or five jars from the well. The idea is that either the private owner would participate in the merit of the bath (as Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 7 remarks) or that the bather incurs a fourth part of the sin of the owner of the water (Manu IV. 201-202). If no such water is available or one is unable to go to a river &c. for a bath one may bathe in the court-yard of one's house with water drawn in a vessel (from a well &c.) till his clothes are wetted. The words 'nadī' and 'garta' (used in Manu IV. 203) are defined as follows: a nadī (river) is one that has a stream of water at least 8000 bows in length, while all other streams are called garta (a pool). As in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada all rivers are full of mud (*rajasvalā* is used in a double sense) one should not bathe in them in those months, except in rivers that

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1565. स्नानं तु वह्नितप्तेन तथैव परवारिणा ॥ शरीरशुद्धिर्विज्ञेया न तु स्नानफलं लभेत् । शङ्ख VIII. 9-10; वृथा तप्तोदकं स्नानं वृथा जाप्यमवैदिकम् । वृथा रतमपुत्रस्य वृथा भुक्तमसाक्षिकम् ॥ दक्ष IV. 64. The first is quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 128.

1566. निरुद्धासु न कुर्वीरन्नंशभाक्तत्र सेतुकृत् । तस्मात्परकृतान्सेतून् कूपांश्च परिवर्जयेत् ॥ उद्धृत्य वापि त्रीन्पिण्डान्कुर्यादापत्सु नो सदा । निरुद्धासु तु मृत्पिण्डान्कूपान्नीनब्घटांस्तथा ॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 7 and 9. Vide गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 195 for explanation.

directly reach the sea.[1567] But even in these months one may bathe in muddy rivers at the time of upākarma or utsarga, or on the death of a person or on the eclipse of the sun or the moon. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 17 which says that out of water drawn in a pot, water standing in a reservoir, a spring, a river, water in which noble men of the past bathed, Ganges water, each succeeding one is holier than each preceding one for a bath.[1568]

The actual bath is described differently in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests. Gobhila-smṛti (I. 137) says[1569] that the morning bath contains the same procedure as the mid-day bath. The morning bath has to be brief, as already stated, in the case of one who has consecrated the śrauta fires. The procedure of bathing will be indicated by a few brief extracts. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 18-22) says 'having removed[1570] the dirt from his body with water and loose earth, he should plunge in water, he should invoke the water with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3), with the four verses 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-2) and with the verse 'idamāpaḥ pravahata' (Ṛg. I. 23. 22 or X. 9. 8). Then while still plunged in water he should thrice mutter the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190. 1-3, ṛtam ca satyam &c.) or he may mutter 'tad viṣṇoḥ paramam padam' (Ṛg. I. 22. 20) or the Drupadā Sāvitrī verse (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the anuvāka beginning with 'yuñjate mana' (Ṛg. V. 81. 1-5) or the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1-16). 'Having bathed he should, with his garment still wet, perform *tarpaṇa* of gods and Manes while still in the water. But if he has changed his clothes, then he may do it (tarpaṇa) after

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1567. मासद्वयं श्रावणादि सर्वा नद्यो रजस्वलाः । तासु स्नानं न कुर्वीत वर्जयित्वा सरुद्गताः ॥ धनुःसहस्राण्यष्टौ च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते । न ता नदीशब्दवहा गर्तास्ते परिकीर्तिताः ॥ उपाकर्मणि चोत्सर्गे प्रेतस्नाने तथैव च । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव रजोदोषो न विद्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 141-143, quoted by अपरार्क p. 135, स्मृतिच० I. pp. 130-131, गृह. र. 197-198 &c. अपरार्क p. 905 quotes a smṛti that a dhanus is equal to 96 aṅgulas and that 2000 bows are equal to one *krośa*.

1568. उद्धृतान्भूमिष्ठमुदकं पुण्यं स्थावरात्प्रस्रवणं तस्मान्नादेयं तस्मादपि साधुपरिगृहीतं सर्वत एव गाङ्गम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 17.

1569. यथाह्नि तथा प्रातर्नियं स्नायादनातुरः । दन्तान्प्रक्षाल्य नद्यादौ गृहे चेत्तद्वन्मन्त्रवत् ॥ गोभिल 1. 137; vide गृह्य. र. p. 179 for explanation.

1570. सुत्तोयैः कृतमलापकर्षोऽप्सु निमज्यापो हि ष्ठेति तिसृभिर्हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिरिदमापः प्रवहतेति चतुर्थमभिमन्त्रयेत् । ततोऽप्सु निमग्नशिरघमर्षणं जपेत् । तद्विष्णोः परमं पदमिति वा । द्रुपदां सावित्रीं वा । युञ्जते मन इत्यनुवाकं वा । पुरुषसूक्तं वा । स्नातश्चार्द्रवासा देवपितृतर्पणमम्भःस्थ एव कुर्यात् परिवर्तितवासाश्चेत्तीर्थमुत्तीर्य । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 18-24.

coming out of the water'. Even now many brāhmaṇas mutter the Puruṣasūkta while bathing. Śaṅkha-smṛti (IX) has a brief description of snāna which consists in invoking water, then mārjana with the three verses (āpo hi ṣṭhā), then repeating certain Vedic verses like 'hiraṇya-varṇāḥ', 'śan-no devīr', 'śam na āpaḥ' (Atharvaveda I. 6. 1 and 4) and thrice repeating Aghamarṣaṇa. *Vide* Madanapārijāta pp. 270–271, Gṛ. R. pp. 206–208 and Par. M. I. 1. pp. 274–275 where the whole of Śaṅkha (IX) is quoted. The Snānasūtra [1571] of Kātyāyana says "Now then will be treated the daily obligatory bath in a river and the like. Having fetched loose earth, cowdung, sesame, kuśas and flowers, having approached the water side, having placed (the above) materials on a pure spot, having washed one's hands and feet, holding kuśa blades (or pavitra) in his hand, tying up his top knot and wearing the yajñopavīta, he should perform *ācamana* and invoke the water with the verse 'urum hi' (Ṛg. I. 24. 8 = Vāj. S. 8. 23), stir it (with his thumb) with the verses 'ye te śatam' (*vide* Par. gṛ. I. 2). He should fill his joined hands with water with the verse 'sumitriyā naḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) and should cast it on the ground with the verse 'durmitriyā' (Vāj. S. VI. 22) in the direction of his enemy. He should apply loose earth thrice to each of the limbs, viz. the waist, the abdomen, thighs, feet and hands, then perform ācamana, should do obeisance to the water and should smear his body with loose earth. Facing the sun with the verse 'idam viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17 = Vāj. S. 5. 15), he should dive into the water and bathe with the verse 'āpo asmān' (Ṛg. X. 17. 10 = Vāj. S. IV. 2), then raise up his body with the mantra 'ud-id-ābhyaḥ' (Vāj. S. IV. 2), again dip into water and again raise his head out of the water, perform ācamana and smear his body with cowdung with the mantra 'mā nastoke.' (Ṛg. I. 114. 1 = Vāj. S. 16. 16). Then he should bathe with the

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1571. अथातो नित्यस्नानं नद्यादौ। मृद्गोमयकुशतिलसुमनस आहृत्योदकान्तं गत्वा शुचौ देशे स्थाप्य प्रक्षाल्य पाणिपादं कुशोपग्रहं बद्धशिखी यज्ञोपवीत्याचम्योरुं हीति तोयमामन्त्र्यावर्तयेद्यं ते शतमिति। सुमित्रिया न इत्यपोऽञ्जलिनादाय दुर्मित्रिया इति द्वेष्यं प्रति निषिञ्चेत्। कटिं वस्त्यूरुजङ्घे चरणौ करौ मृदा त्रिस्त्रिः प्रक्षाल्याचम्य नमस्योदकमालभेदङ्गानि मृद्देदं विष्णुरिति सूर्याभिमुखो निमज्जेदापो अस्मानिति स्नात्वोदित्याचम्य इत्युन्मज्य निमज्योन्मज्याचम्य गोमयेन विलिम्पेन्मा नस्तोक इति। ततोभिषिञ्चेदिमं मे वरुणेति चतसृभिर्मापउद्वृत्तमं सुअन्त्वबभ्रुथेत्यन्ते चैतन्निमज्योन्मज्याचम्य दर्भैः पावयेदापो हिष्ठेति तिसृभिरिदमापो हविष्मतीर्देवीराप इति द्वाभ्यामपो देवा द्रुपदादिव शन्नो देवीरपां रसमपो देवीः पुनन्तु मेति नवभिश्चित्पतिमेत्योंकारेण व्याहृतिभिर्गायत्र्या चादावन्ते चान्तर्जलेऽघमर्षणं त्रिरावर्तयेद्द्रुपदादिवायं गौरिति वा तृचं प्राणायामं वा सशिरसोमिति वा विष्णोर्वा स्मरणम्॥ कात्यायनीय स्नानसूत्र. गृह. र. (pp. 208–211) quotes this and explains some portion and differs from a Bhāṣya thereon.

four mantras 'imam me Varuṇa' (Vāj. S. 21. 1–4), and with the verses 'mā āpo', 'uduttamam' (Vāj. S. 12. 12), 'muñcantu', (Ṛg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. 12. 90), 'avabhṛtha' (Vāj. S. III. 48). At the end of these mantras he should dive into the water and then rise up out of it, perform ācamana and sprinkle with darbha blades his body with the nine verses, viz. the three beginning with 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3 = Vāj. S. 11. 50–52), 'idam-āpaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 17), with the two verses 'haviṣmatīr' (Vāj. S. VI. 23) and 'devīrāpaḥ' (Vāj. S. I. 12), 'apo devāḥ' (Vāj. S. X. 1), 'drupadād-iva' (Vaj. S. 20. 20), 'śan-no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12), 'apām rasam' (Vāj. S. 9. 3), 'āpo devīḥ', and 'punantu mā'. Then he should repeat thrice, while diving in water, the Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190. 1–3) preceded by the mantra 'cit patir-mā' (Vāj. S. 4. 4), by the syllable om, by the vyāhṛtis, by the Gāyatrī and followed by the same; or he may repeat the verse 'drupadād-iva' (Vāj. S. 20. 20) or the three verses 'āyam gauḥ' (Ṛg. X. 189. 1–3 = Vāj. S. 3. 6) or he should perform prāṇāyāma with the śiras (viz. āpo jyotī raso ऽmṛtam brahma &c. cited above on p. 304 from Tai. Ā. X. 15) or he should repeat simply 'om' thrice or he should only contemplate on Viṣṇu. Having come out of the water, he should put on two washed garments, should wash his hands and thighs with loose earth, should perform ācamana and then prāṇāyāma thrice".[1572]

Yogi-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka and other works says that when a man is unable to perform the elaborate snāna described by himself and others, he should engage only in this; he should invoke the water, then perform ācamana, then mārjana (sprinkling water on body with kuśa blades) and then snāna and muttering of Aghamarṣaṇa (Ṛg. X. 190.1–3)[1573] thrice. The Gṛ. R. (pp. 215–217) quotes the method of snāna according to the Padmapurāṇa and the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa and remarks that the procedure in the Padmapurāṇa may be observed by all varṇas and by men following all the different Vedic schools (except the Vedic mantras in the case of śūdras). The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 28) also gives a brief procedure of *snāna*.

1572. उत्तीर्य धौते वाससी परिधाय मृदोरू करौ प्रक्षाल्याचम्य त्रिरायम्यासून्। कात्यायनीयस्नानसूत्र 2.

1573 योऽसौ विस्तरतः प्रोक्तः स्नानस्य विधिरुत्तमः। असामर्थ्यात्स कुर्याच्चेत्तत्रायं विधिरुच्यते॥ स्नानमन्तर्जले चैव मार्जनाचमने तथा। जलाभिमन्त्रणं चैव तीर्थस्य परिकल्पनम्॥ अघमर्षणसूक्तेन त्रिरावृत्तेन नित्यशः। स्नानाचरणमित्येतत्समुद्दिष्टं महात्मभिः॥ योगियाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क p. 134, गृह. र. p. 212 (where it is explained).

There are certain rules to be observed when bathing. One was not to bathe naked (Gaut. IX. 61 and Manu IV. 45), nor with all clothes on (but only with the lower garment) nor after taking one's meal (Manu 4. 29); one was not to rub the body in water but outside on the bank, one should not strike the water with one's foot or hand or dash a portion of the water against the rest.[1574]

The earth to be employed (like soap) for cleansing the body was to be obtained from a pure place and not from an[1575] ant-hill or from places infested by mice, nor from under water, nor from the public road, nor from the bottom of a tree, nor from near temples, nor out of what was left by some person after using a portion for his own śauca and is to be invoked with two verses 'aśvakrānte[1576] &c.' Laghu-Hārīta (v. 70–71) says 'earth secured after digging eight aṅgulas from the surface should be used, all earth is pure which is taken from a place not frequented by people and that ten kinds of earth should not be used at the time of bathing' (verses 72–73).

The brahmacārin was not to bathe in a leisurely or sporting manner but to dive in water motionless like a stick.

The Mahābhārata, Dakṣa and others say that ten good consequences follow from snāna viz. strength, beauty, clearness of complexion and voice, (pleasant) touch and odour (of the body), purity, prosperity, delicacy and fine women.[1577]

Bathing with water is divided into six varieties by Śaṅkha smṛti (VIII. 1–11), Agnipurāṇa 155. 3–4 and others, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika*, *kāmya*, *kriyāṅga*, *malāpakarṣaṇa* (or *abhyaṅga-snāna*),

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1574. शङ्खलिखितौ । अनश्नन् अनग्नः स्नायाच्चावमेहेत नोद्धर्षणं कुर्यान्न पादेन पाणिना वा जलमतिहन्याद्यस्मादापो वै सर्वा देवताः । गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 191–192; vide वसिष्ठ VI. 36–37 न पादेन पाणिना वा जलमभिहन्यात् । न जलेन जलम् ॥ .

1575. मृत्तिकाः सप्त न ग्राह्या वल्मीकान्मूषकस्थलात् । अन्तर्जलाच्च मार्गाच्च वृक्षमूलात्सुरालयात् ॥ परशौचावशिष्टा च श्रेयस्कामैः सदा बुधैः । शुचिदेशात्तु संग्राह्या मृत्तिका स्नानहेतवे ॥ दक्ष II. 44–45. Vide शातातप quoted by गृह. र. p. 188 and परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 271. Vide अत्रि 321–322 for the seven kinds of earth to be avoided.

1576. The verses अश्वक्रान्ते are दक्ष II. 46–47 and occur in तै. आ. X. 1, the मत्स्यपुराण 102. 10–12. Vide स्मृतिच. I. p. 183.

1577. गुणा दश स्नानशीलं भजन्ते बलं रूपं स्वरवर्णप्रशुद्धिः । स्पर्शश्च गन्धश्च विशुद्धता च श्रीः सौकुमार्यं प्रवराश्च नार्यः ॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 33. दक्ष II. 13 is similar which occurs also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 25.

kriyāsnāna. Nitya snāna (daily bath) has been described above. A few observations are made below on each of the others. On certain occasions or on coming in contact with certain persons or things one has to bathe, although one may have already bathed that day. This is called naimittika (due to some occasion or cause) *snāna.* For example, on the birth of a son, in a sacrifice (at the end), on the passing away of a relative, in eclipses, one has to bathe and even at night [1578] (Parāśara XII. 26 and Devala quoted above). Similarly a man has to bathe with all his clothes on if he touches an outcast (who is guilty of one of the mortal sins), a cāṇḍāla, a woman who has recently delivered, a woman in her monthly course, a corpse, or one who has touched a corpse or one who has touched another that has come in contact with a corpse or when a man follows a corpse [1579] (Gaut. 14. 28–29, Vas. 4. 38, Manu V. 85 and 103, Yāj. III. 30, Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 24). According to Manu V. 144, Śaṅkha-smṛti VIII. 3, Mārk. purāṇa 34. 82–83, Brahmapurāṇa 113. 79, Parāśara XII. 28, if a man vomits or has many purges (ten or more), if he has a shave or has a bad dream, has had sexual intercourse, if he repairs to a cemetery, or is covered with smoke from a funeral pyre or touches a sacrificial post or a human bone, he has to undergo a bath to purify himself [1580]. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 16 prescribes a bath if a man is bitten by a dog and Gaut. 14. 30 prescribes it even for touching it. If a man touches Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Jainas, Lokāyatikas, atheists, dvijātis living by condemned actions and śūdras he should bathe with his clothes [1581] on. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 30, the Sm. C. I. pp. 117–119 and other digests speak of snāna being necessary on coming in contact with

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1578. पुत्रजन्मनि यज्ञे च तथा चात्ययकर्मणि । राहोश्च दर्शने दानं प्रशस्तं नान्यदा निशि ॥ पराशर XII. 26.

1579. पतितचण्डालसूतिकोदक्याशवस्पृष्टित्स्पृष्ट्वुपस्पर्शने सचैलोदकोपस्पर्शना-च्छुध्येत् । शवानुगमने च । गौ. 14. 28–29 ; सपिण्डमरणे चैव पुत्रजन्मनि वै तथा । स्नानं नैमित्तिकं शस्तं प्रवदन्ति महर्षयः ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 20. 24.

1580. दुःस्वप्ने मैथुने वान्ते विरिक्ते क्षुरकर्मणि । चितियूपश्मशानास्थ्नां स्पर्शने स्नान-माचरेत् ॥ पराशर quoted in मिता० on या. III. 30, which is slightly different from the printed पराशर XII. 1. ; क्षुरकर्मणि वान्ते च स्त्रीसंभोगे च पुत्रक । स्नायीत चेलवान्प्राज्ञः कटभूमिमुपेत्य च ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 82–83; vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 52 for a verse similar to पराशर's.

1581. शैवान्पाशुपतान् सृष्ट्वा लोकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् शूद्रान्स-वासा जलमाविशेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in मिता० on या. III. 30. ; स्मृतिच० I. p. 118 quotes बृहन्नैशम्मत reading 'बौद्धान् पाशुपताञ्जैनान् लोकायतिक-कापिलान् । विक ..... स्पृष्ट्वा सवासा जलमाविशेत् '.

several birds (like the crow) and animals (like the cock and village hog), which are passed over for want of space.

Kāmya-snāna[1582] (bath for some desired object) is that which is taken when one goes to a tīrtha (a sacred place) or when there is some astrological conjunction like the moon being in the constellation of *puṣya* (*vide* Śaṅkhasmṛti VIII. 4) or when one bathes in the morning in the two months of Māgha and Phālguna for securing abundant pleasures. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 122–123 for numerous examples.

When a man has to take a bath as a part of the religious rite such as the rite of dedicating a well, a temple, a park to the public, that is called *kriyāṅga-snāna.*[1583]

When a man applies oil to his body, uses myrobalans and engages in a bath solely for cleaning the body (and with no idea of performing an obligatory duty or securing religious merit) that is called *malāpakarṣaka* or *abhyaṅga-snāna.* The Sm. C. I. p. 125, Aparārka pp. 195–196 and other works lay down elaborate rules about this snāna. One rule is that on certain tithis like parva (vide Manu IV 128 and Yāj I. 79 above on p. 204) there is to be no bath with oil &c. It is said that one desiring prosperity should use dried myrobalan (āmalaka) at the time of bath except on the 7th and 9th tithis and on parva days.[1584] *Vide* Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 49 ff. (quoted in Sm. C. I, p. 125) for astrological rules.

When a man regards bathing at a sacred place the reward of his pilgrimage and engages in the procedure prescribed by Śaṅkhasmṛti IX. that is called *kriyā-snāna.*[1585]

A person who is ill may bathe with hot water or he may, if he cannot bear that, only wash his body except the head or his body may be rubbed with a wet piece of cloth. This last method

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1582. पुण्यस्नानादिकं स्नानं दैवज्ञविधिचोदितम्। तद्धि काम्यं समुद्दिष्टं नाकामस्तत्प्रयोजयेत्॥ शङ्ख VIII. 4.

1583. इष्टापूर्तक्रियार्थं यत् क्रियाङ्गं स्नानमुच्यते। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27; मलापकर्षणार्थं तु स्नानमभ्यङ्गपूर्वकम्। मलापकर्षणार्थाय प्रवृत्तिस्तस्य नान्यथा॥ शङ्ख VIII. 6.

1584. श्रीकामस्तु सदा स्नानं कुर्वीतामलकैर्नरः। सप्तमीं नवमीं चैव पर्वकालं च वर्जयेत्॥ मार्कण्डेय quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 123.

1585. स्नानमेव फलं तीर्थे क्रियास्नानं तदुच्यते। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 27. Śaṅkha IX is quoted by Sm. C. I. p.127, Gṛ. R. pp. 206–8, Par. M. I. part 1 p. 274.

is called *kāpila-snāna.*[1586] There is another method where a man is ill and something happens on which it is absolutely necessary for him to bathe; in this case one who is not ill should touch him and then bathe himself and then again touch him and bathe; when this is repeated ten times the person who is ill is deemed to have become pure as if he had bathed.[1587] In the case of a woman in her monthly course, if on the fourth day she has high fever, she is not to be bathed, but another woman is to touch her and bathe with all her clothes on and perform ācamana and touch her and bathe again; this is to be carried out ten or twelve times and in the end the clothes worn by the ailing woman are to be taken off and new ones to be given to her and she becomes clean.[1588]

The bath with water is called Vāruṇa (as Varuṇa is the lord of waters, according to Ṛg. VII. 49. 3 'yāsām rājā Varuṇo' &c.) and Vāruṇa is the principal kind of bath. There are six kinds of *gauṇa snānas* which may be employed when one is either ill and so unable as to undergo a regular bath or when there is no time or room to take a regular bath. These six (with Vāruṇa as the seventh) are enumerated and defined in Yogayājñavalkya and other works and they are: mantrasnāna, bhauma, āgneya, vāyavya, divya, mānasa. Dakṣa II. 15–16 and Parāśara XII. 9–11 mention these except bhauma and mānasa and employ the word brāhma in place of mantrasnāna. The Vaik. gṛ. (I. 2 and 5) employs both words 'mantra' and 'gurvanujñā' as synonymous. Garga and Bṛhaspati omit bhauma and mānasa and speak of *sārasvata-snāna* instead, which consists in the blessing pronounced by a learned man in the case of a dvijāti, or a pupil or his son 'may you have a bath with golden jars of Ganges water and of other sacred waters' (vide Āhnika-prakāśa

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1586. अशिरस्कं भवेत् स्नानं स्नानाशक्तौ तु कर्मिणाम् । आर्द्रेण वाससा वापि मार्जनं देहिकं विदुः ॥ जाबालि quoted by अपरार्क p. 135; 'आर्द्रेण कर्पटेमार्जनशोधनं कापिलं विदुः ।' बृहस्पति; both quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 134, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1587. आतुरस्नान उत्पन्ने दशकृत्वो ह्यनातुरः । स्नात्वा स्नात्वा स्पृशेदेनं ततः शुध्येत्स आतुरः ॥ यम (Jivānanda, part 1 p. 565), बृहत्पराशर chap. VI. p. 208 (Jivānanda, part II); quoted as यम's in स्मृतिच० I. p. 121, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 197.

1588. ज्वराभिभूता या नारी रजसा च परिप्लुता । ... चतुर्थेऽहनि संप्राप्ते स्पृशेदन्या तु तां स्त्रियम् । सा सचैलावगाह्याप: स्नात्वा स्नात्वा पुनः स्पृशेत् ॥ दशाह्वादशकृत्वो वा आचामेच्च पुनः पुनः । अन्ते तु वाससां त्यागस्ततः शुद्धा भवेत्तु सा । उशनस् quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 121.

pp. 196-197). The mantrasnāna[1589] consists in sprinkling water with the verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3), the *bhauma* (or *pārthiva*) in smearing the body with loose earth, *āgneya* in smearing the body with holy ashes, *vāyavya* in taking on the body the dust raised by the hoofs of cows, *divya* in wetting one's body with a shower of rain accompanied with sunshine and *mānasa* in reflecting on God Viṣṇu.

Tarpaṇa (offering water to gods, sages and Manes) is an *aṅga* (a subsidiary constituent part) of snāna, just as it is an aṅga in *brahma-yajña*. When a person plunges his whole body in water including the head, he has to perform *tarpaṇa* while still standing in the water. *Vide* Manu II. 176, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 23-24 (quoted above in *n*.1570), Parāśara XII. 12-13 for this. He joins his two hands together, takes water in the joined hands and casts the water into the stream in which he is standing. If he changes his clothes, then he may perform the tarpaṇa on the bank of the river. There was a difference of opinion about tarpaṇa. Some said[1590] that a man had to perform tarpaṇa as an aṅga of snāna immediately after it and before saṁdhyā prayer and then again the same day as an aṅga of *brahmayajña*; while others held that tarpaṇa was to be performed only once in the day after saṁdhyā prayer. One has to perform tarpaṇa according to the procedure prescribed in one's śākhā (Vedic school) but Śaṅkha prescribes a brief tarpaṇa which consists in the words 'may the universe from Brahmā down to a bunch of grass be satisfied' (or satiated) and offering three *añjalis* (joined hands) of water. When he performs tarpaṇa

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1589. असामर्थ्याच्छरीरस्य कालशक्त्याद्यपेक्षया। मन्त्रस्नानादितः सप्त केचिदिच्छन्ति सूरयः। मान्त्रं भौमं तथाग्नेयं वायव्यं दिव्यमेव च। वारुणं मानसं चैव सप्त स्नानान्यनुक्रमात्॥ आपो हिष्ठादिभिर्मन्त्रं मृदालम्भश्च पार्थिवम्। आग्नेयं भस्मना स्नानं वायव्यं गोरजः स्मृतम्॥ यत्तु सातपवर्षेण तद्दिव्यं स्नानमुच्यते। वारुणं चावगाहस्तु मानसं विष्णुचिन्तनम्। ... ... कालाद्देशादसामर्थ्यात्सर्वं तुल्यफलं स्मृतम्॥ मानसं प्रवरं स्नानं केचिदिच्छन्ति सूरयः। योगयाज्ञवल्क्य quoted by अपरार्क pp. 134-135, स्मृतिच० I. p. 133, गृह. र. p. 203. विश्वरूप on या I. 22 quotes वृक्ष II. 15.

1590. इदं च स्नानाङ्गतर्पणं स्नानाव्यवहितोत्तरमेव कार्यम्। अङ्गानां प्रधानदेशकालान्वयौचित्यात्। यत्तु कात्यायनादिभिः संध्यावन्दनब्रह्मयज्ञाद्युत्तरं तर्पणमभिहितं तत् पञ्चयज्ञान्तर्गतप्रात्यहिकतर्पणाभिप्रायम्। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 191; vide the next page also and p. 144 'स्पष्टमेतत्पाराशरमाधवीये चतुर्विंशतिमते। यथा। स्नानावनन्तरं तावत्तर्पयेत्पितृदेवताः। उत्तीर्य पीडयेद्वस्त्रं संध्याकर्म ततः परम्। इति। एवं च यत् क्वचित्संध्योत्तरतर्पणाभिधानं तदृहःकर्तव्यस्वतन्त्रतर्पणाभिप्रायकम्। ..... मैथिलास्तु यथाह्नि तथा प्रातरिति वचनेन माध्याह्निकक्रमातिदेशात् संध्योत्तरमेव प्रातःस्नानाङ्गतर्पणम्। शिष्टाचारोप्येवमेव।

standing in water, he should not wring the water from the ends of his garment until he has finished it. He should then wring[1591] the ends of his garment and the water so falling down is deemed to be meant for the sonless deceased persons born in the family of the bather and he has to repeat a verse to that effect. Further details of *tarpaṇa* are set out under *brahmayajña* below.

After one takes a bath one was not to shake one's head (for getting rid of the water), nor should one rub off the water on one's body with one's hand or with the garment already worn by one; one has to cover one's head with a turban (to dry the hair) and wear two fresh garments already washed and dried (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 64. 9-13).

What clothes the brahmacārin was to wear has already been stated (pp. 278-279). A few words must be said about the clothes to be worn by a householder.

Weaving and woven cloth are frequently referred to in the Veda, generally in a metaphorical sense or in similes. *Vide* Ṛg. I. 115. 4, II. 3. 6, V. 29. 15, X. 106. 1. In Ṛg. VI. 9. 2-3, both warp (*tantu*) and woof (*otu*) are mentioned. The words used for garment are 'vāsas' or 'vastra'. In the Tai. S. (VI. 1. 1. 3) it is said that *kṣauma* (linen) cloth is worn when a person takes the dīkṣā (initiatory rite) for a Vedic sacrifice. In the Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XV. 1 *kṣauma* cloth is said to be the fee in a certain rite. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 16 we have the two words ' vāsaḥ ' (outer garment) and 'nīvi' (under garment)[1592] used with reference to the same man. In the Ṛg. the word ' adhivāsa ' is also used with reference to a garment which must have been somewhat like a mantle or toga (Ṛg. I. 162. 16). In the Tai. S. II. 4. 9. 2. the skin of the black deer is mentioned. In the Śat. Br. V. 2. 1. 8 it is said that when the Neṣṭṛ[1593] priest is about to lead up the sacrificer's wife he makes her put on a kuśa upper garment (vāsas) or a kuśa skirt next to the cloth that

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1591. शङ्खः । आर्द्रवस्तस्यपर्यन्तं जगृह्यत्यिति ब्रुवन् । जलाञ्जलित्रयं दद्यादेतत्सं-क्षेपतर्पणम् । आह्निकप्रकाश p. 145. चतुः संवेष्टच्च वासोन्तं स्नातो निष्पीडयेत्स्थले । ये के चास्मत्कुले जाता इति मन्त्रेण मानवः । मन्त्रश्च काण्वाजिनिनोक्तः । ये के चास्मत्कुले जाता अपुत्रा गोत्रिणो मृताः । ते गृह्णन्तु मया दत्तं वस्त्रनिष्पीडनोदकम् ॥ स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक) p. 250.

1592. यत्ते वासः परिधानं यां नीविं कृणुषे त्वम् । अथर्ववेद VIII. 2. 16.

1593. तस्मात्नेष्टा पत्नीमुद्वानेष्यन्कौशं वासः परिधापयति कौशं वा चण्डातकमन्तरं दीक्षितवसनात् । शतपथब्रा. V. 2. 1. 8. कौश may mean 'made of silk or made of kuśa grass'.

one who is initiated for the sacrifice wears. In the Bṛ. Up. II. 3. 6. there[1594] is a reference to cloth dyed red with safflower or woollen cloth that is whitish in colour. Ṛg. IV. 22. 2 and Ṛg. V. 52. 9 are interpreted by Western scholars as referring to wool on the Parusṇī river being the best, but the sense is rather obscure. It appears from the above that cloth was either woollen or linen, that silken (or kuśa) cloth was worn on very solemn occasions, that deer-skin was also employed as covering and that cloth was also dyed red. Whether cotton cloth was known in the earliest Vedic period is not certain. It is clear that in the sūtras (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 15 and 63. 24) and in Manu (8. 326 and 12. 64) cotton cloth is known and so its use must have reached several centuries before the times of the sūtras. Arrian (tr. by MacCrindle) says that Indian dress was made of cotton (p. 219).

The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 22–23) requires that a householder should always wear an upper garment (besides the lower one) but allows him to have only the sacred thread instead (if he be poor &c.). Vas. Dh. S. XII. 14 says that *snātakas* (those who have returned from the stage of student-hood) should always wear a lower garment and an upper one, two yajñopavītas &c. The Baud. Dh. S. I. 3. 2. says the same and adds that a snātaka should wear a turban, a deer-skin as upper garment, shoes and have an umbrella. Aparārka (pp 133–134) quotes verses from Vyāghra and Yogayājñavalkya to the same effect, the latter remarking that if one cannot procure a second washed garment one may wear a blanket of wool, or hempen or linen cloth. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 6. 5–6, 10–11) says 'among garments[1595] the one that has not been worn is pure and therefore everything connected with sacrifice and worship should be done with fresh (or unblemished) clothes. The sacrificer, his wife and the priests should wear garments that have been washed, dried in the wind and are not worn out by use ; but in sacrifices performed for *abhicāra* (harm to one's enemies) the priests should wear clothes and turbans dyed red. In consecrating the Vedic fires one should wear clothes made

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1594. तस्य हैतस्य पुरुषस्य रूपं यथा माहारजनं वासो यथा पाण्डाविकं &c. बृह. उप. II. 3. 6.

1595. अथ स्नातकस्य अन्तर्वास उत्तरीयम्। वैणवं दण्डं धारयेत्। सोदकं च कमण्डलुम्। द्वियज्ञोपवीती। उष्णीषमजिनमुत्तरमुपानहौ छत्रमौपासनं दर्शपूर्णमासौ । बौ. ध. सू. I. 3. 1–6. Compare for red clothes and turban in magic rites शबर on जै. III. 8. 12 'इयेने श्रूयते लोहितोष्णीषा लोहितवसना ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्तीति।'

of flax or if they are not available cotton or woollen ones. Śabara on Jaimini X. 4. 13 quotes *śruti* passages to the effect that the sacrificer and his wife wear fresh unused clothes in the model sacrifice and in the Mahāvrata the sacrificer wears in addition a *tārpya* (silk garment) and his wife wears one made of kuśa grass.[1596] Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 66 requires that one must wear an upper garment in five acts viz. study of the Veda, dedication of a well or a tank &c. to the public, making gifts, taking one's meal or ācamana. Similarly the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 12. 20) requires that a man must not, with only one garment on, begin homa, the worship of gods and similar rites, study of the Veda, *ācamana* and *japa*.[1597] Gaut. 9. 4–5, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 30. 10–13, Manu IV. 34–35, Yāj. I. 131 and others enjoin that a *snātaka* and a householder should wear white garments and they must not be worn out or dirty if he has enough (means) and should not wear dyed garments or garments of high price (or gaudy ones) or those worn by another.[1598] Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 24 remarks 'what a man, while wearing reddish garments, does such as japa, homa, receiving gifts, offerings made to gods and Manes, does not reach the gods.[1599] Cloth dyed in indigo is also forbidden and a male has to undergo a fast and take *pañcagavya* for wearing such cloth. The Āpastamba smṛti (in verse) chap. VI has several verses on cloth dyed in indigo. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes verses 1–5 of Āpastamba. *Vide* Aparārka p. 1186 for quotation of the same verses and also of Aṅgiras, verses 32–39 (which are almost the same as Āpastamba's). Gaut. 9. 5-7, Manu IV. 66, Viṣnu Dh. S. 71. 47, Mārk. purāṇa[1600] 34, 42–43 prescribe that one should not wear the shoes, garment

1596. महाव्रते श्रूयते तार्प्यं यजमानः परिधत्ते दर्भमयं पत्नी इति। अस्ति तु प्रकृतौ अहतं वासः परिधत्ते इति। शबर on जै. X, 4. 13. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 13 as to how *tārpya* is to be purified. The word अहत has two meanings; (1) cloth fresh from the loom (to be worn in marriages and similar *maṅgala* ceremonies); (2) garment that is washed, but not used for many days, that is virtually new and has its fringes intact. Vide Sm. C. I. p. 113.

1597. होमदेवार्चनाद्यासु क्रियासु पठने तथा। नैकवस्त्रः प्रवर्तेत द्विजो नाचमने जपे॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 12. 20, quoted by हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड p. 35).

1598. सति विभवे न जीर्णमलवद्वासाः स्यात्। न रक्तसुलक्षणमन्यधृतं वासो बिभृयात्। गौतम 9. 4–5; सर्वाग्रागान्वाससि वर्जयेत्। कृष्णं च स्वाभाविकम्। अनूद्धासि वासो वसीत। अप्रतिकृष्टं च शक्तिविषये। आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 30. 10–13.

1599. काषायवासा यान्कुरुते जपहोमप्रतिग्रहान्। न तद्देवगमं भवति हव्यकव्येषु यद्धविः॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 24, quoted by अपरार्क p. 461.

1600. उपानद्वस्त्रमाल्यादि धृतमन्यैर्न धारयेत्। उपवीतमलंकारं करकं चैव वर्जयेत्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 34. 42–43.

yajñopavīta, ornament, garland, or water-jar used by another but if a man is unable to secure one for himself, he may wear another's garment or shoes or garland after cleansing it. According to Garga quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 113) a brāhmaṇa should wear white garments, a kṣatriya red and brilliant ones, a vaiśya yellow ones, a śūdra should wear a dark one that is dirty. The Mahābhārata says that one has to wear garments at the time of worshipping gods that are different from those that one wears while walking on a road or when one is in bed [1601]. Prajāpati quoted by Par. M. states that in tarpaṇa one should wear silk cloth having a hem or one that is orange-coloured, but never one that is gaudy. Probably it is requirements like these that led to the practice of wearing silken garments at the time of meals and worship, which practice is observed even now in many parts of India. Manu IV. 18 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 5–6 prescribe that one must dress, speak and entertain thoughts that would be in keeping with one's age, occupation, monetary affairs, learning, family and country. The garments to be worn by the vānaprastha and saṁnyāsin will be discussed below. The smṛtis contain rules about tucking up the lower garment. A garment should be tucked in three places i. e. when it is tucked near the navel, on the left side and behind on the back. A brāhmaṇa is said to be a śūdra as long as he has not tucked his garment behind or allows one corner of it to hang down from behind like a tail, or has tucked it in the wrong way or side, or has wound part of it round his waist or has covered the upper part of the body with a portion of the lower garment. Vide Sm. M. (āhnika pp. 351–353) and Sm. C. I. pp. 113–114 for these and other rules about wearing garments.

After one bathes, one has to sip water (Dakṣa II. 20. ff) and make marks on his forehead (variously called *tilaka*, ūrdhvapuṇḍra, tripuṇḍra &c.) according to one's caste or sect. In the Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 248–252), in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 292–310) elaborate rules are laid down on this subject. In the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa[1602] it is stated that for making

1601. अन्यदेव भवेद्वासः शयनीयेष्वदेव तु । अन्यद्रथ्यासु देवानामर्चायामन्यदेव तु । अनुशासन 104. 46, quoted by अपरार्क p. 173 and गृह. र. p. 501. माधवीये प्रजापतिः । क्षौमं वासः प्रशंसन्ति तर्पणे सङ्गवं तथा । काषायं धातुरक्तं वा नोल्बणं तत्तु कर्हिचित् ॥ आचाररत्नं p. 33a.

1602. पर्वताग्रे नदीतीरे मम क्षेत्रे विशेषतः । सिन्धुतीरे च वल्मीके तुलसीमूलमाश्रिते ॥ मृद एतास्तु संग्राह्या वर्जयेदन्यमृत्तिकाः । ब्रह्माण्डपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 115; vide नित्याचारप्रदीप pp. 42–43.

ūrdhvapuṇḍra (vertical mark of a line or lines on the forehead) one may select earth from the top of mountains or from banks of holy rivers like the Indus and the Ganges, from places sacred to Viṣṇu, from ant-hills and from the root of the *tulasī* plant. The thumb, the middle finger and the finger next to the small finger are to be used in making the mark, but the nails should not come in contact with the earth employed. The mark may be of the form of a lamp and its wick, or of the form of bamboo leaves or a lotus bud, or of a fish or tortoise or a conch and the mark may be in length from two to ten fingers. The marks are to be made on the forehead, the chest, the throat and its pit, on the abdomen, the right and left sides, the arms, the ears, the back, the back of the neck, after taking the twelve names of Viṣṇu (viz. Keśava, Nārāyaṇa &c.) for each of the above twelve parts of the body. The *tripuṇḍra* mark (three oblique lines) is to be made with holy ashes (*bhasman*) and the tilaka with sandalwood paste.[1603] According to the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the ūrdhvapuṇḍra is made after a bath with loose earth in such a way that it resembles the outline of the foot (of Hari),[1604] the tripuṇḍra with holy ashes after homa, and the tilaka (a circular mark) with sandalwood paste on worshipping gods (devapūjā). The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 292) quotes Vāsudevopaniṣad for making the ūrdhvapuṇḍra mark on the forehead and other places with Gopīcandana (magnesian or calcareous clay) or in its absence with earth from the roots of the *tulasī* plant. Sacrifice, gifts, japa, homa, study of the Veda, tarpaṇa of the Manes, if done without the ūrdhvapuṇḍra mark, become fruitless (according to Viṣṇu quoted in Sm. M. āhnika p. 292). The Vṛddha-Hārīta smṛti (II. 58–72) has a long note on *ūrdhvapuṇḍra*. The Sm. M. (āhnika p. 296) notes that some texts of the Pāśupata and other Śaiva sectarians run down ūrdhvapuṇḍra and highly extol the tripuṇḍra mark, while Pāñcarātra texts enjoin the marking of the body with śaṅkha, cakra and other weapons of Viṣṇu and condemn tripuṇḍra. Devout worshippers of Viṣṇu who are followers of Madhvācārya brand the weapons of

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1603. ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं मृदा कुर्याद्त्रिपुण्ड्रं भस्मना सदा। तिलकं वै द्विजः कुर्याच्चन्दनेन यदृच्छया ॥ quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 250 and मदनपारिजात p. 279. The त्रिपुण्ड्र is defined as भ्रुवोर्मध्ये समारभ्य यावदन्तो भवेद्भ्रुवोः। मध्यमानामिकाङ्गुल्योर्मध्ये तु प्रतिलोमतः। अङ्गुष्ठेन कृता रेखा त्रिपुण्ड्राख्याभिधीयते ॥ .

1604. द्वारवत्पुण्ड्रवं गोपीचन्दनं वेङ्कटोद्भवम्। सान्तरालं प्रकुर्वीत पुण्ड्रं हरिपदाकृतिम् ॥ श्राद्धकाले विशेषेण कर्ता भोक्ता च धारयेत्। बृद्धहारीत VIII. 67–68.

Viṣṇu such as the conch on their arms and bodies with heated metal pieces, just as early Christians stamped the cross on the forehead with red-hot iron (vide Wilson's 'Religious Sects of the Hindus', vol. I. p. 42). Works like Vṛddha-Hārīta II. 44-45, the Pṛthvīcandrodaya condemn the practice of branding the body with marks of the conch &c. with red-hot iron as fit only for śūdras. The Smṛtyartha-sāgara of Chalāri quotes passages of the Vāyupurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa supporting branding. In the Kālāgnirudropaniṣad the procedure[1605] of the tripuṇḍra mark is laid down. Holy ashes are taken from the sacred fire with the five mantras 'sadyo jātam' (Tai. Ār. 10. 43-47) and they are then invoked with the mantras 'agniriti bhasma'; part of the ashes is then taken in the palm of one's hand with the mantra 'mā nastoke', (Ṛg. I. 114. 8) and mixed with water and therewith lines are made on the head, the forehead up to the (middle of the) eyebrows and eyes, on the chest and shoulders, after repeating 'tryāyuṣam Jamadagner' when applying the ashes to the forehead, 'kaśyapasya tryāyusam' when applying to the navel (or chest) and so on (the head coming last). The Sāṅkhyāyana gṛ. says[1606] "He makes the tripuṇḍra mark with ashes with the five formulas 'tryāyusam' &c. on his forehead, chest, right and left shoulders and then on the back; (by doing this) he studies these Vedas, one, two, three or all." The Smṛtimuktāphala[1607] (āhnika p. 301) quotes a passage from Baudhāyana in which the words of the exhortation to the pupil returning home 'bhūtyai na pramaditavyam' occurring in the Tai. Up. I. 11 are interpreted as referring to the making

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1605. Vide Sm. M. p. 301 for all details. Even now parts of a mantra are used in applying holy ashes to the forehead, to the navel, to the right and left shoulders and the head. The mantra occurs in आप. म. पा. II. 7. 2 'त्र्यायुषं जमदग्नेः कश्यपस्य त्र्यायुषम् । यद्देवानां त्र्यायुषं तन्मे अस्तु त्र्यायुषम्' ॥. वाज. सं. III. 62 has the same mantra with slight variations. About the ashes the following are repeated 'अग्निरिति भस्म वायुरिति भस्म जलमिति भस्म स्थलमिति भस्म व्योमेति भस्म सर्वं वा इदं भस्म,' quoted in नारायण's दीपिका on कालाग्निरुद्र उपनिषद्.

1606. त्र्यायुषमिति पञ्चभिर्मन्त्रैर्ललाटे हृदये च दक्षिणस्कन्धे वामे च ततः पृष्ठे च पञ्चसु भस्मनां त्रिपुण्ड्रं करोति स एषां वेदानामेकं द्वौ त्रीन् सर्वानधीते । सांख्यायनगृह्य quoted in स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 303). Vide S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 76 where this passage is said to be a late addition.

1607. अथातो द्विजातीनां त्रिपुण्ड्रधारणविधिं व्याख्यास्यामो भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यमिति विज्ञायते । बौधायन quoted in स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 301).

of the tripuṇḍra mark with ashes (*bhūti*). This is a fine example of how sectarians twist the words of ancient texts to bolster up their practices and dogmas. In the Kādambarī (para 34) Hārīta is described as ornamented by the tripuṇḍra mark of ashes. The Ācāramayūkha quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa ' of him who does not bear the tripuṇḍra mark, truthfulness, *śauca*, japa, homa, pilgrimage and worship of gods—all this becomes futile ' and a verse from the Smṛtiratnāvali as to the parts of the body that are to be smeared with holy ashes, viz. the forehead, the region of the heart, navel, throat, shoulders, the joints of the arms, the back and the head. The Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika p. 310) gives the following sage advice to the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarian writers that were guilty of running down the practices of each other ' As one God appears in the form of various deities, all should worship their (favourite) god, whether Śiva, Viṣṇu or any other, without indulging in the calumny of other deities and they should wear the puṇḍra mark that is deemed to be pleasing to any deity without calumniating other sect marks '.[1608] The Nirṇayasindhu (II pariccheda) when dealing with the 11th day of Āṣāḍha sets out from the Rāmārcana-candrikā passages about the marking of the body with conch figure by means of heated metal pieces and also quotes the Pṛthvīcandrodaya and other works that condemn such practices and remarks that one may follow the *śiṣṭas*. The ācāraratna (p. 37 a) states that votaries are of several kinds, viz. Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who are purely followers of the Vedic cult, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas who follow both Vaidika and Tāntrika practices and the same two following purely the Tāntric cult.

After bath comes *saṁdhyā* (Yāj. I. 98). This subject has been dealt with above (pp. 312–321) under Upanayana.

After saṁdhyā comes homa (Dakṣa II. 28 and Yāj. I. 98–99). If a brāhmaṇa took a bath in the early morning and engaged in a lengthy saṁdhyā prayer he may not be able to perform homa in the morning at the proper time. Homa was performed in the morning before sunrise according to one view (*anudite juhoti*) and after sunrise, according to another (*udite juhoti*); but even on the latter view, homa must be performed before the

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1608. तस्मादेकस्यैवेश्वरस्य सर्वदेवमयत्वाद्देवतान्तरनिन्दावर्जितैरेवेश्वर आराध्यः शिवो विष्णुरन्यो वा देवः। पुण्ड्रमपि तत्तद्देवतामीतिकरं पुण्ड्रान्तरनिन्दावर्जितैरेव धार्यम्। स्मृतिषु. (आह्निक p. 310).

sun rises one cubit above the horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 123).[1609] The evening homa is to be performed at a time when the stars clearly appear in the sky and the ruddy colour has left the western horizon (Gobhila-smṛti I. 124). Āśv. Śr. II. 2 and Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 5 state the time for morning homa to be up to the end of the period of *saṅgava* (i. e. the second of the five periods of day time). Therefore some said that in order to perform homa in time one may perform the morning *saṁdhyā* prayer even after homa.[1610] It has been shown above (p. 425) that the belief was that a man owed three debts one of which, viz. that to the gods, was discharged by performance of sacrifices and that a man had to perform agnihotra (fire worship) to the end of his life. The fire to be tended was either śrauta or smārta. As to the first there were certain rules. Only a person that had attained a certain age was to kindle the śrauta fires, viz. one who had a son or had reached an age when he could have a son and whose hair was still black (i. e. who had not become middle-aged or old). There were two views on the necessity of kindling the śrauta fires. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 45–48 [1611] says " a brāhmaṇa must necessarily kindle the three śrauta fires and offer (in them) the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa (new moon and full moon sacrifices), the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi, the Cāturmāsyas, the animal and soma sacrifices. For this is enjoined as an observance and has been lauded as a debt. For it is declared (in the Veda) ' a brāhmaṇa is born

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1609. संध्याकर्मावसाने तु स्वयं होमो विधीयते । दक्ष II. 28; प्रादुष्करणमग्नीनां प्रातर्भासां च दर्शनात् । हस्तादूर्ध्वं रविर्यावद्गिरिं हित्वा न गच्छति । तावद्धोमविधिः पुण्यो नान्योऽभ्युदितहोमिनाम् । गोभिलस्मृति I. 122–123. Manu II. 15 refers to the several views about होमकाल. समयाध्युषित in Manu is explained as the time before the sun's disc appears after the stars have become invisible. Vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 161 and बौ. गृ. सं. परिशिष्ट I. 72 for explanation of उदित, समयाध्युषित &c. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 says प्रातर्होमे संगवान्तः कालस्त्वद्युदिते तथा । सायमस्तमिते होमकालस्तु नव नाडिकाः ॥

1610. होमं चैतानिके कृत्वा स्मार्ते कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वात्स्मार्ते केचित्पुरा विदुः ॥ भरद्वाज quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 163; vide नित्याचारपद्धति p. 314 and संस्कारप्रकाश p. 890.

1611. अवश्यं ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनादधीत । दर्शपूर्णमासाग्रयणेष्टिचातुर्मास्यपशुसोमैश्च यजेत । नैयामिकं ह्येतद्ऋणसंस्तुतं च । विज्ञायते हि त्रिभिर्ऋणैर्ऋणवान् ब्राह्मणो जायत इति । यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः ..... इत्येष वाऋणो यज्ञा यः पुत्री ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति । वसिष्ठ XI. 45–48; vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 59. 4–9 for similar provisions. Manu IV. 26 explains that the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi is to be performed with the new grain that is brought in at the end of the rainy season (in śarad) after the old grain is consumed, that an animal sacrifice is to be performed at the eginning of the uttarāyaṇa and of dakṣiṇāyana (i. e. twice a year) and a Soma sacrifice once a year at its beginning. Vide also Yāj. I. 125–126.

indebted in three debts, in sacrifice to the gods &c." Śabara on Jaimini V. 4. 16 expressly says that there is no particular time fixed for kindling the sacred fires and that a person may do so the very day on which the pious desire to do so arises in his mind[1612]. The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana I. 6-7 refers to the two views that *ādhāna* (kindling of śrauta fires) is nitya (obligatory) and the other view (discussed by Baudhāyana) that it is merely *kāmya* (to be performed only if one desires the fulfilment of certain objects). The person who had kindled the sacred fires offered his daily oblations in them. It is clear that even in very ancient times not many kindled the sacred Vedic fires. The Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras often contain rules referring to those who had kindled the sacred fires and to those who had not. For example, the Āśv. gṛ. I. 1. 4 quotes Ṛg. VIII. 19. 5 'the person who lays a fuel stick on fire, or throws an oblation on it or offers it the study of the Veda, or who pays adoration to Agni, (in substance) offers a good sacrifice.' Āśv. gṛ. then quotes a brāhmaṇa passage explaining[1613] Ṛg. VIII. 19. 5 in which reliance is also placed on two more Ṛk verses (viz. Ṛg. VIII. 24. 20 and VI. 16. 47). The purpose of all this is to show that even the study of the Veda, the performing of *namaskāra* and offering of a *samidh* in the fire are equivalent to a real sacrifice. That shows that it was not obligatory on every-body to kindle the three sacred fires. But it must be said that agnihotra was highly thought of in ancient India. Vide Chāndogya Up. V. 24. 5 for a verse extolling it.

The three fires (often called Tretā) are the Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya and Dakṣiṇāgni. The Āhavanīya fire-place is a square, Gārhapatya is round (as the earth is round) and Dakṣiṇāgni is in the form of half the orb of the moon (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 604, Jivānanda). In the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras elaborate discussions are held about the kindling of fires (agnyādhāna), about the several sacrifices and the various details connected therewith. It has been decided, in view of the vastness of the subject of śrauta rites and the academic nature for modern times of the treatment of most of those rites, to pass them over

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1612. नैषाधाने कश्चित्कालनियमोऽस्ति। यदहरेवैनं श्रद्धोपनमेत्तदहरादधीत इति। शबर on अपनयो वाधानस्य सर्वकालत्वात्। जै. V. 4. 16.

1613. यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये। यो नमसा स्वध्वरः॥ तस्येदग्निर्वन्तो रंहयन्त आशवस्तस्य ध्रुम्नितमं यशः। न तमंहो देवकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृत शशत्॥ ऋ. VIII. 19. 5-6.

in this work and to give in a separate chapter at the end of this volume only some information about the śrauta sacrifices. For about two thousand years hardly any animal or soma sacrifices have been performed (except rarely by kings, nobles and rich people). In medieval times there were many brāhmaṇas who performed the New and Full moon sacrifices, the Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi and the Cāturmāsyas. But in modern times even such *agnihotrins* have become very rare and in certain parts of India one can hardly find a single *agnihotrin* keeping śrauta fires even among thousands of brāhmaṇas.

Every one who has kindled [1614] the sacred fires has to offer every morning and evening the Agnihotra (oblations of clarified butter) in the śrauta fires. Not only has one who has consecrated the three sacred fires to offer agnihotra everyday, but also every householder has to do so every day twice, in the morning and in the evening. Vide Manu IV. 25, Yāj. I. 99, Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 22 and I. 4. 14. 1. 'For when a man is married, there are daily observances declared for him such as agnihotra, (honouring) guests and such other proper actions' (Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 14. 1). The rules about the proper time of kindling fire and offering oblations and about the material of the oblations are the same for gṛhya rites as in śrauta agnihotra (Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 4-6). The fire in which these daily offerings are made by one who has not kindled the three śrauta fires is called aupāsana, āvasathya, aupasada, vaivāhika or (-hana), smārta or gṛhya or śālāgni.[1615] There are various views about the time from which this fire is to be maintained. The view of the vast majority of writers is that the gṛhya fire is the nuptial fire which is kindled on the day of marriage by the newly married pair. We saw above (pp. 530, 557) that the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 8. 5) directs that when the bridegroom starts after marriage from the bride's house for his own house (whether in the same village or in

1614. अग्निहोत्रं च जुहुयादाद्यन्ते द्युनिशोः सदा। मनु IV. 25.

1615. यस्मिन्नग्नौ पाणिं गृह्णीयात्स गृह्यः। खादिरगृह्य I. 5 1; vide गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 20-21; पाणिग्रहणादिरग्निस्तमौपासनमित्याचक्षते तस्मिन्गार्ह्याणि कर्माणि। हिरण्यकेशिगृ. I. 26. 1-2; आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले दायाद्यकाल एकेषाम्। पार. गृ. I. 2; उपयमनप्रभृत्यौपासनस्य परिचरणम्। पार. गृ. I. 9; वैवाहिकेऽग्नौ कुर्वीत गृह्यं कर्म यथाविधि। पञ्चयज्ञविधानं च पक्तिं चान्वाहिकीं गृही॥ मनु III. 67; vide या I. 97 for the word विवाहाग्नि; एष औपसदेऽग्निर्वैवाहनो वा। तस्मिन् पाकयज्ञाः। काठकगृह्य 47. 1-2. अपरार्क p. 490 explains औपसद as गृह्याग्नि. Vide आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 16 (for औपासन). अनाहिताग्नेरपि शालाग्नौ। आश्व. गृ. II. 2. 5. हरदत्त on गौ. XI. 17 distinguishes शालाग्नि from औपासन and says it has a wider application.

another village) the nuptial fire is continually carried in a vessel (called *ukhā*) in front till he reaches his house.[1616] Vide also Āp. gṛ. V. 14-15. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 1-3 says 'beginning from the holding of the hand (i. e. marriage) he should worship the domestic fire himself or his wife, also his son or his daughter or pupil.[1617] The worship of fire should be constantly kept up'. A man's nuptial fire may go out and he may not re-instate it through neglect or other cause or his wife may be dead and he may remain a widower. In such cases he has to offer his daily offerings in the ordinary fire on which he cooks his food (*laukika* or *pacana* fire); so that so far five kinds of fires (viz. the three śrauta ones, aupāsana or gṛhya and the *laukika*) are spoken of. There is another fire called 'sabhya' (which is the sixth). According[1618] to Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 the sabhya fire is that which is kept burning in the hall of a rich man for the removal of cold and for the diffusion of warmth. Vide Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 302 *n* 1), where the translator says that the sabhya fire was kept only by kṣatriyas. The Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtra IV. 9. 20 prescribes that the sabhya fire also is generated by friction like the Gārhapatya fire. Āp. Śr. sūtra IV. 4. 7 says that the sabhya fire is to be kindled in the hall (of gambling, according to the com.) to the east of the place of the āhavanīya fire. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 14)[1619] says that a householder should maintain six fires, five, four, three, two or one, but should never remain without fire. When he keeps the *tretā*, *aupāsana*, *sabhya* and ordinary fire he will have **six**; when he maintains the *tretā*, aupāsana and sabhya he is called pañcāgni, who is among the brāhmaṇas that are paṅktipāvanas (i. e. that sanctify the company at dinner). Vide Gaut. 15. 29, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 22, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19, Manu III. 185, Yāj. I. 221. He who maintains tretā and aupāsana will have only four, he who maintains only tretā

1616. विवाहाग्निमग्रतोऽजस्रं नयन्ति। आश्व गृ. I. 8. 5; समोप्यैतमाग्निमनुहरन्ति। नित्यो धार्यः। आप. गृ. V. 14-15.

1617. पाणिग्रहणाद्धि गृह्यं परिचरेत्स्वयं पत्न्यपि वा पुत्रः कुमार्यन्तेवासी वा। नित्यानुगृहीतं स्यात्। आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1-2.

1618. सभ्यो नाम यो महासाधनस्य शीतापनोदार्थमेव बहुषु देशेषु व्यवह्रियते। मेधा० on मनु III. 175; वृद्धगौतम 15th chap. p. 604 (Jivananda part 2) defines as 'आवसथ्यं तु ये चाग्निं पचनाग्निं प्रचक्षते। तेषां सभागतो वह्निः सभ्य इत्यभिधीयते। अग्नेणाहवनीयं सभायां सभ्यः। आप. श्रौ. IV. 4. 7.

1619. गृहस्थस्तु षडग्निः स्यात्पञ्चाग्निश्चतुरग्निकः। स्याद् द्व्यग्निरथैकाग्निर्नाग्निहीन कथंचन॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14.

will have three, he who maintains aupāsana and the ordinary fire will have two and one may only maintain the ordinary fire. The rites prescribed in[1620] the gṛhyasūtra of a person's śākhā were to be performed in the aupāsana; other rites prescribed in the smṛtis were to be performed in the ordinary fire. But if one has no fire other than the ordinary one, every rite has to performed in it. The under-lying idea of this emphasis on the worship of Agni seems to be that the oblations thrown into the fire reach the sun, that sends rain, from which springs corn, that is the sustenance of all beings. *Vide* Manu III. 76 (= Śāntiparva 264. 11) and Sm. C. I. p. 155, Par. M. I, part I, p. 130 for the eulogy of agnihotra.

There were other views about the time from which one was to begin keeping one's gṛhya fire. Gaut. V. 6, Yāj. I. 97, Pār. gṛ. I. 2 and others refer to an optional course viz. setting up the gṛhya fire at the time when one separates from other members of the family. The Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 1. 2-5 refers to four alternatives in all (including the two already referred to); the other two are: When [1621] a pupil is about to return from his teacher's home, he may keep as his gṛhya fire that fire on which he puts the last *samidh*; or a person may, if he is the eldest son, keep the fire of his father on the latter's death or of his eldest brother on the latter's death (if there is no division and the family continues joint). Baud. gṛ. II. 6. 17 says[1622] that the gṛhya fire for a person is one by which his upanayana is performed, that from upanayana to samāvartana the homa is performed only by uttering the vyāhṛtis and with fuel sticks, from samāvartana to marriage with vyāhṛtis and clarified butter, and from marriage onwards with offerings of boiled rice or barley.

1620. गार्ह्यमौपासने कुर्यात्सर्वाधानी तु लौकिके । स्मार्ते च लौकिके कार्यं श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 14; अनाहितावसथ्याग्निरादायाज्यं घृतप्लुतम् । शाकलेन विधानेन जुहुयाल्लौकिकेऽनले ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति III. 31-32

1621. भार्यादिरग्निर्दायादिर्वा । गौ. V. 6. अभिसमावर्त्स्यमानो यत्रान्त्यां समिधमभ्यादध्यात्तमग्निमिन्धीत । वैवाह्यं वा । दायाद्यकाल एके । प्रेते वा गृहपतौ स्वयं ज्यायान् । शां. गृ. I. 1. 2-5; compare गोभिलगृ. I. 1. 12.

1622. यस्मिन्नग्नावुपनयति तस्मिन् ब्रह्मचर्यं तस्मिन्व्रतचर्यं तस्मिन् समावर्तनं तस्मिन् पाणिग्रहणं तस्मिन् गृह्याणि कर्माणि क्रियन्ते । ..... स एष उपनयनप्रभृति व्याहृतीभिः समिद्भिर्हूयत आ समावर्तनात् । समावर्तनप्रभृत्याज्येन व्याहृतिभिर्हूयते आ पाणिग्रहणात् । पाणिग्रहणप्रभृति व्रीहिभिर्वा यवैर्वा हरंस्तेते आहुती जुहोति अग्नये स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहा इति सायम् । सूर्याय स्वाहा प्रजापतये स्वाहेति प्रातरपि । बौ. गृ. II. 6. 17, 19-21; अग्नये स्वाहेति सायं जुहुयात्सूर्याय स्वाहेति प्रातस्तूष्णीं द्वितीये उभयत्र । आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 8.

The deities to whom agnihotra is offered in the morning and evening are Agni and Prajāpati (to the latter inaudibly). According to some in the morning the sun takes the place of Agni (*vide* Baud. gṛ. II. 7. 21 quoted in *n.* 1622 Hir. gṛ. I. 26. 9, Bhār. gṛ. III. 3, Āp. gṛ. VII. 21).

The oblations are to be made in the morning and evening of cooked food, but only such corn as is fit to be offered to fire as *havis* is to be used (Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 1). It is either boiled rice or barley (Āp. gṛ. VII. 19).[1623] Gobhila-smṛti (I. 131 and III. 114) says[1624] that among *haviṣyas* the foremost are yavas (barley), then comes rice, but one should eschew māṣa, kodrava and gaura among corns even if nothing else is available, that if rice and barley are not available one may employ curds or milk or in their absence, *yavāgū* (gruel) or water. According to a verse quoted by Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 6 ten materials can be offered as *havis* into fire viz. milk, curds, *yavāgū*, clarified butter, boiled rice, husked rice, *soma*, flesh, sesame oil and water.[1625] Manu III, 257 specifies some articles as naturally fit for being employed as *havis*. *Vide* also Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 12-14. Though flesh is allowed as offering in some sacrifices it cannot be employed in the morning and evening homa (vide Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 6). The general rule is that when no particular material is specified for homa into fire, clarified butter is to be used as offering, and when no particular deity is mentioned, then the deity is to be Prajāpati [1626]. There is another rule that fluid materials are to be offered into fire with the sruva ladle, while solid *havis* is to be offered with the right hand[1627].

1623. अथ सायं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 2. 1 ; सायं प्रातरत ऊर्ध्वं हस्तैनेते आहुती तण्डुलैर्यवैर्वा जुहुयात् । आप. गृ. VII. 19.

1624. हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदनु व्रीहयः स्मृताः । माषकोद्रवगौरादि सर्वालाभे विवर्जयेत् ॥ अभावे व्रीहियवयोर्दध्ना वा पयसापि वा । तदभावे यवाग्वा वा जुहुयादुदकेन वा ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 and III. 114 ; the first is quoted by अपरार्क p. 142 and the 2nd by स्मृतिच० I. p. 163.

1625. पयो दधि यवागूश्च सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि दशैव तु ॥ quoted by नारायण on आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 6 and by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 320; vide स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35 for a similar verse.

1626. आज्यं हव्यमनादेशे जुहोतिषु विधीयते । तन्त्रश्च (?) देवतायाश्च प्रजापतिरिति स्थितिः ॥ गोभिल I. 113.

1627. द्रव्यं स्रुवेण होतव्यं पाणिना कठिनं हविः । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35. ओषध्यः सक्तवः पुष्पं काष्ठं मूलं फलं तृणम् । एतद्धस्तेन होतव्यं नान्यत्किंचिदचोदनात् । बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र I. 3. 8.

The Gobhila gṛ. (I. 1. 15–19) lays down that 'one is to kindle one's gṛhya fire (originally or if it goes out) by bringing it from the house of a vaiśya or from a frying pan or he may bring it from the house of a person who performs many sacrifices, whether he be a brāhmaṇa or rājanya or vaiśya or one may produce it by attrition; this last is holy, but does not bring prosperity. One may do as one likes[1628]'. There are similar provisions in Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 1. 8, Pār. gṛ. I. 2, Āp. gṛ. V. 16–17. If the gṛhya fire goes out, the husband or the wife has to observe a fast that day as a penance (Āp. gṛ. V. 19).

The fire in which oblations are to be offered must be fed by plenty of dry wood, must be well kindled and smokeless, the cinders must be red-hot and it must be flaming up[1629]. The Chān. Up. V. 24. 1 indicates that oblations were to be offered only on red hot coals. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 2 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 15. 18–21), Manu IV. 53 and others lay down that one should not come very near fire when one is not pure, one should not blow on fire with the mouth (to kindle it), nor should one place it under a cot &c., one should not throw anything impure in fire, nor should one warm one's feet over it, nor should one place it towards one's feet (when one is sleeping). Gobhilasmṛti I. 135–136 says that one should not blow on fire with the hand or a winnowing basket or a *darvī* (ladle), but one may use a fan; some blow on fire with the mouth because fire was produced from the mouth and construe the words (of Manu IV. 53) 'one should not blow on fire with the mouth' as applicable to ordinary fire (i. e. one may blow with the mouth on śrauta fires[1630]).

1628. वैश्यकुलाद्ताम्बरीषाद्वाग्निमाहृत्याभ्यादध्यात्। अपि वा बहुयाजिन एवागाराद् ब्राह्मणस्य वा राजन्यस्य वा वैशस्य वा। अपि वान्यं मथित्वाभ्यादध्यात्। पुण्यस्त्वेवानर्धुको भवतीति। यथा कामयेत तथा कुर्यात्। गोभिलगृह्य I.1.15–19; काठकसंहिता VIII.12 has 'यो ब्राह्मणो वा वैश्यो वा पुष्टोऽसुर इव स्यात्तस्य गृहादाहरेच्चैव सा पुष्टिर्यदग्नं तदवरुन्धे'.

1629. बहुशुष्केन्धने वाग्नौ सुसमिद्धे विधूमके। साङ्गारे लेलिहाने च होतव्यं नान्यथा क्वचित्॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 35; vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 163 for similar quotations from several smṛtis and vide गोभिलस्मृति I. 133–134.

1630. The पुरुषसूक्त (Ṛg. X. 90. 13) says 'मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत'. The गृह्यसंग्रहपरिशिष्ट (Z. D. M. G. vol. 35 p. 541) I. 70 requires that the blowing should be with the mouth 'मुखेनोपधमेदग्निं मुखाद्यज्ञेषोऽध्यजायत' and not with a piece of cloth nor with the hand nor with a winnowing basket. Vide हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 20 for several explanations about blowing with the mouth on fire.

The daily homa must be offered by the man himself and Daksa says that the merit secured by performing homa by oneself cannot be secured by getting it performed through another, but he adds that homa performed on one's behalf by a priest, by one's son, teacher, brother, sister's son, or son-in-law is equivalent to *homa* made by oneself.[1631] We saw above (*n.* 1617) that the Āśv. gṛ. (I. 9. 1) allows the wife, a son, an unmarried daughter or a pupil of the householder to attend to the worship of the householder's gṛhya fire. Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 17. 3 is to the same effect. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 34) adds that the wife and the daughter should perform all the acts in homa except *paryukṣaṇa*. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 15–16[1632] and Manu XI. 36–37 lay down that the wife, an unmarried daughter, a young married daughter, one who has studied little, a stupid person, a diseased person or one whose upanayana has not been performed should not offer agnihotra (on behalf of the householder); if they do so, they and he both fall into hell; therefore the person to offer agnihotra for another should be one proficient in śrauta sacrifices and master of the Vedas. These passages have been explained by the Sm. C. (I. p. 161) and other writers as applicable to the performance of śrauta sacrifices only; while as regards the daily homa in the gṛhya fire the wife and others specified by Āśv. are held to be competent if the sacrificer is ill or has gone abroad. Haradatta (on Āśv. gṛ. I. 9. 1–2) says that either the husband or the wife must always be near the gṛhya fire.[1633] Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 69) says that one who has kindled the gṛhya fire should not leave the boundary of his village without his wife, as the texts lay down that homa is to be performed in the place where the wife stays. A brāhmaṇa[1634] may go abroad on business, leaving his fire in charge of his wife and after appointing a priest; but he should not stay away long without cause. A priest should not offer homa on behalf of a householder, when both the spouses are absent, because such homa by him in the

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1631. स्वयं होमे फलं यत्स्याज्ञ तदन्येन जायते ॥ ऋत्विक् पुत्रो गुरुर्भ्राता भागिनेयोऽथ विद्रुपतिः । एभिरेव हुतं यत्तु तद्धुतं स्वयमेव तु ॥ वृक्ष II. 28–29, quoted by अपरार्क p. 125.

1632. पर्युक्षणवर्जं पत्नी जुहुयात्कुमारी च । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 34. न स्त्री जुहुयात् । नाद्रुपेतः । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 15–16.

1633. अन्यतरोवश्यमग्निसमीपे तिष्ठेत् । नोभौ सह प्रवसेतामित्यर्थः । हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. I. 9. 1–2.

1634. निक्षिप्याग्निं स्वदारेषु परिकल्प्यर्त्विजं तथा । प्रवसेत्कार्यवान् विप्रो वृथैव न चिरं वसेत् ॥ quoted in the स्मृतिच I. p. 161.

absence of both is useless.[1635] If an householder has several wives of the same caste or wives of different castes, the texts lay down who is to be associated with him in religious rites. These rules have already been set out above (pp. 559–60). 'When a householder's wife dies he should not give up his Vedic fires, but that (i. e. the Agnihotra) should be performed till one's life by means of an *upādhi* (i. e. by marrying another savarṇa wife or by associating with himself an asavarṇa wife)' says Gobhila smṛti[1636] III. 9. Gobhila then refers to the story of Rāma, who performed sacrifices with a golden image of his discarded wife Sītā kept by his side. In spite of Gobhila's dictum, allowing a golden image or a kuśa representative of an absent or dead wife, Aparārka condemns the practice as opposed to the rule laid down by Satyāṣāḍha in his śrauta sūtra' 'there[1637] is no *pratinidhi* (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (i. e. yajamāna), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), fire, the deity (to be invoked), of a rite and of a text (directed to be employed in a rite).' His argument is that the wife's co-operation is required in such actions as looking at the clarified butter, in unhusking grains &c. and as an image of kuśa or gold cannot perform these acts, the image cannot be employed in place of the wife. The Sm. C. replies to this argument by saying that the words of Satyāṣāḍha have reference only to a human substitute for a wife and that other smṛtis allow a substitute made of gold or kuśa. For example, Vṛddha-Hārīta[1638] expressly prescribes that a man may perform agnihotra and the offering of the five daily sacrifices throughout his life in the company of his wife's image made of kuśa grass (if the wife be dead &c.). If a person loses his wife or if he goes abroad or

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1635. असमक्षं तु दम्पत्योर्होतव्यं नर्त्विगादिना । द्वयोरप्यसमक्षं तु भवेद्धुतमनर्थकम् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 1, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 161.

1636. मृतायामपि भार्यायां वैवाहिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत् ॥ रामोपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यशस्विनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरर्चितैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 9–10. These are explained at length by अपरार्क pp. 114–15 and the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. p. 167.

1637. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवतायाः कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते । सत्याषाढश्रौत III. 1. ; compare 'स्वामिनोग्नेर्देवतायाः शब्दार्थकर्मणः प्रतिषेधाच्च प्रतिनिधिर्निवृत्तः ' आप. श्रौ. 24. 4. 1 ; जैमिनि VI. 3. 18–21.

1638. कृत्वा कुशमयीं पत्नीं यावज्जीवमतन्द्रितः । जुहुयादग्निहोत्रं तु पञ्चयज्ञादिकं तथा ॥ वृद्धहारीत XI. 214.

becomes *patita* his agnihotra may be continued by his son [1639] (Atri, verse 108). The Ait. Br. (32. 8) also says that even one who has lost his wife (or who has no wife) should perform agnihotra, as the Veda orders a man to offer sacrifice. [1640]

Not kindling Vedic fires when one was competent to do so and giving up śrauta and smārta fires were looked upon as upapātakas by Yāj. III. 234, 239, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 37. 28 and 54. 13. The Vas. Dh. S. III. 1 says [1641] that those who do not study or teach the Veda or who do not maintain the sacred fires become equal to śūdras. Gārgya as quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 156) avers that if a *dvija* remains after marriage without fires even for a moment (when he has the power and authority to maintain them) he becomes a *vrātya* and *patita*. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 3 declares that if a person fails to perform the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices and Vaiśvadeva, his seven holy worlds are destroyed. The Tai. S. I. 5. 2. 1 and the Kāṭhaka S. IX. 2, declare 'He who makes the (sacred) fires go out (be extinguished) is indeed a killer of a hero in the eyes of the gods and brāhmaṇas who are anxiously devoted to ṛta (righteousness or correct order) did not formerly eat food at his house'.

The texts (such as Yāj. I. 99) prescribe *japa* (muttering of Gāyatrī and other holy Vedic mantras) as part of saṁdhyā adoration. This has been already referred to above (p. 313). Yāj. I. 99 speaks of *japa* (of verses addressed to the Sun) after morning homa and then in I. 101 again prescribes *japa* after the midday bath of philosophical texts (like the Upaniṣads, as stated in Gaut. 19. 12 and Vas. Dh. S. 22. 9). Vas. Dh. S. 28. 10-15 are verses which mention several hymns principally of the Ṛgveda, by reciting which (inaudibly) several times a man becomes pure. These verses occur in Śaṅkhasmṛti chap. XI (with some variations) and in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56 (in prose). Some

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1639. भार्यामरणपक्षे वा देशान्तरगतेपि वा । अधिकारी भवेत्पुत्रस्तथा पातकसंयुते ॥ अत्रि 108.

1640. तस्मादपत्नीकोपि अग्निहोत्रमाहरेत् । तदेषाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते । यजेतसौत्रामण्यामपत्नीकोप्यसोमपः । मातापितृभ्यामनृणार्थाद्यजेति वचनाच्छ्रुतिः ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 32. 8.

1641. अश्रोत्रिया अननुवाक्या अनग्नयो वा शूद्रसधर्माणो भवन्ति । वसिष्ठ III. 1; कृतदारो न वै तिष्ठेत्क्षणमप्यग्निना विना । तिष्ठेत चेद् द्विजो ह्यत्यस्तथा च पतितो भवेत् ॥ गार्ग्य quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 156 ; वीरहा वा एष देवानां योग्निमुद्वासयते । न वा एतस्य ब्राह्मणा ऋतायवः पुराऽन्नमक्षन् । तै. सं. I. 5. 2.; काठकसंहिता IX. 2 (reads the words as वीरहा ... ... मुत्सादयते).

of these Vedic texts are well known, such as Aghamarṣaṇa (Ṛg. X. 190. 1-3), Pāvamānī verses (Ṛg. IX), Śatarudriya (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), Triśuparṇa (Tai. Ār. X. 48-50) &c. Manu II. 87, Vas. 26. 11, Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 28, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 21 say that a brāhmaṇa attains the highest perfection by *japa* alone, even if he does not do anything else. Gobhila smṛti II. 17 says that one should inaudibly repeat as much of the Veda from the beginning as one can and that *japa* may be performed before *tarpaṇa* or after the morning homa or at the end of vaiśvadeva and that it constitutes brahmayajña (II. 28-29). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (64. 36-39) avers that *japa* should comprise sacred hymns, particularly the Gāyatrī and Puruṣasūkta, as nothing else is superior to these.[1642] *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṁśu* (inaudibly uttered) and mānasa (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one (Laghu-Hārīta[1643] chap. IV, p. 186, Jivānanda I). *Vide* Manu II. 85 (= Vas. 26. 9, Śaṅkha XII. 29). *Japa* is one of the removers of sin (Gaut. 19. 11). *Japa* is to be performed sitting on a seat of kuśa grass, either in the house, or on a river bank, or in a cowpen, or in a fire room or at tīrthas or before images of gods or before an image of Viṣṇu, each succeeding place being many times superior to each preceding one.[1644] One is not to speak while engaged in japa. A brahmacārī or a householder who has consecrated sacred fires should mutter the Gāyatrī 108 times, while a *vānaprastha* and *yati* should repeat it more than 1000 times. *Vide* Manu II. 101 also about the extent of the time to be devoted to japa. When in the middle ages Vedic learning declined and Purāṇas came to the fore, the writers of the digests stated that one who has studied the whole Veda should repeat daily from the beginning of the Veda as much as he could; if one has studied only a portion of the Veda, then one should recite in his japa the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and similar hymns and a brāhmaṇa who knows only the

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1642. स्नातश्च पवित्राणि यथाशक्ति जपेत्। विशेषतस्तु सावित्रीमवश्यं जपेत्पुरुषसूक्तं च। नैतावन्यामधिकमस्ति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64. 36-39.

1643. The verses of Laghu-Hārita about three kinds of japa are quoted in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 149 from Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa (chap. 58. 78-81).

1644. Vide स्मृतिच० I. p. 150 गृह्य. र. p. 241 quoting the verses गृहे स्वेकगुणं जप्यं &c.

Gāyatrī should repeat the texts of the purāṇas.[1645] Vṛddha-Hārīta (VI. 33, 45, 163, 213) prescribes that the mantra of 6 letters (om namo Viṣṇave), eight letters (om namo Vāsudevāya) or of twelve letters (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) should be repeated 1008 or 108 times. The counting of the mantra as repeated so many times has to be done by means of one's fingers (except the thumb) or by drawing lines (on the ground or walls &c.), or by telling the beads of a rosary, as japa without counting the number is fruitless[1646]. Śaṅkha-smṛti (chap. XII. in prose) lays down that the rosary should have beads of gold or precious stones or pearls or crystal or *rudrākṣa*, padmākṣa (lotus seed) or putrajīvaka or a man may count by knots of kuśa grass or by bending the fingers of the left hand.[1647] Bṛhat-Parāśara V. p. 85 and Laghu-Vyāsa (Jivānanda part II. p. 375) contain similar provisions about akṣamālā and counting of japa. They add 'indrākṣa' to the different kinds of beads. The rosary should have 108 beads (this is the best) or 54 (middling) or 27 (this is the lowest number of beads in a rosary).[1648] Kālidāsa (in his Raghuvaṁśa XI. 66) mentions that the hero Paraśurāma had on his right ear a rosary of akṣa seeds. Bāṇa (Kādambarī para 37) speaks of counting by means of rings of rudrākṣas. Vide Sm. C. I. pp. 152-153, Par. M. I. part I, pp. 308-311, Madanapārijāta p. 80, Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 326-328 for further details about the rosary.

After homa and japa one may spend some time in attending to or looking at auspicious things, such as seeing one's elders, looking at a mirror or in clarified butter, arranging and decorating his hair, applying collyrium to the eye, touching

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1645. अत्र च समस्तवेदाध्ययनवता आदावारभ्य वेदपाठेन स्वाध्यायः करणीयः। एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना पुराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजातः। गृह. र. p. 249.

1646. असंख्यातं तु यज्जप्तं सर्वं तन्निष्फलं भवेत्। अङ्गिरस् quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 64; बृहत्पराशर p. 85 'असंख्यमासुरं यस्मात्तस्मात्तूष्णयेद्धुधम्।

1647. कुशशय्यामासीनः कुशोत्तरीयवान् कुशपवित्रपाणिः प्राङ्मुखः सूर्याभिमुखो वाऽक्षमालामुपादाय देवताध्यायी जपं कुर्यात्। सुवर्णमणिमुक्ता-स्फटिक-पद्माक्ष-रुद्राक्ष-पुत्रजीवकानामन्यतमेनादाय मालां कुर्यात्। कुशग्रन्थिं कृत्वा वामहस्तोपयामैर्वा गणयेत्। शङ्खस्मृति XII. 4-6 quoted by अपरार्क p. 47, स्मृतिच० I. 148, परा. मा. I. part 1, p. 303, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 312.

1648. अष्टोत्तरशतां कुर्याच्चतुःपञ्चाशिकां तथा। सप्तविंशतिका कार्या ततो नैवाधमा हि सा॥ ब्रह्मा quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 153, परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 309 (ascribed to प्रजापति).

dūrvā[1649] &c. *Vide* Manu IV. 152 quoted above (p. 646). What objects a man should see on getting up has already been stated (p. 648). According to Nārada (prakīrṇaka vv. 54-55) there are eight maṅgala objects viz. a brāhmaṇa, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, water and the king and if one sees, bows to or circumambulates these, one's life is lengthened.[1650] The Vāmana-purāṇa (14. 35-37) mentions numerous objects that are auspicious and that one should touch or see before going out.[1651] The Matsyapurāṇa 243 enumerates in 26 verses numerous auspicious and inauspicious objects (these are quoted in Gṛ. R. pp. 553-554). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23. 58 enumerates six objects derived from the cow as auspicious. *Vide* Ādiparva 29. 34, Droṇaparva 127. 14 (for touching eight maṅgalas), Śānti 40. 7, Anuśāsana 126. 18 and 131. 8. According to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 26 one should start on a journey after seeing such objects as fire, a brāhmaṇa, *hetaera*, a jar full of water, a mirror, a banner, a parasol, palaces, fans, chowries &c. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 63. 27-31 states that when, on leaving one's house, one sees certain persons or objects one should return to the house and then restart viz. a drunkard, a lunatic, a cripple, one who has vomited or has undergone a purge, one who is completely shaved, one with dirty clothes, one having matted hair, a dwarf, one wearing orange-coloured clothes, an ascetic &c.

The performance of the duties of śauca, dantadhāvana, snāna, saṁdhyā, homa, japa would occupy the first of the eight parts of the day. In the second[1652] part of the day a brāhmaṇa householder was to go over and to revise his Vedic studies and to collect fuel sticks, flowers, kuśa &c. (Dakṣa II. 33, 35, Yāj. I. 99). This subject of Veda study has already been dealt with above (pp. 351-354). In the third part of the day the

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1649. देवकार्यं ततः कृत्वा गुरुमङ्गलवीक्षणम् । दृक्ष II. 30; आचान्तश्च पुमान्कुर्या-त्ततः केशप्रसाधनम् । आदर्शाञ्जनमङ्गल्यदूर्वाद्यालम्भनानि च ॥ विष्णुपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 183.

1650. लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हुताशनः । हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाष्टमः ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 54) quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 168.

1651. होमं च कृत्वालभनं हुभानां ततो बहिर्निर्गमनं प्रशस्तम् । दूर्वां च सर्पिर्दधि सोदकुम्भं धेनुं सवत्सामृषभं सुवर्णम् । मृद्गोमयं स्वस्तिकमक्षताश्च लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्य-काश्च । श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि तथा शमीं च हुताशनं चन्द्रनमर्कबिम्बम् । अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालभेत ततश्च कुर्याज्जिजजातिधर्मान् । वामनपुराण 14. 35-36 quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 168, गृह. र. p. 187.

1652. द्वितीये च तथा भागे वेदाभ्यासो विधीयते । ... समित्पुष्पकुशादीनां स कालः परिकीर्तितः । दृक्ष II. 33 and 35; वेदार्थानधिगच्छेच्च शास्त्राणि विविधानि च । या. I. 99.

householder was to work and find out the means of maintaining those dependent on him (Dakṣa II. 35). The different ways of maintaining oneself in the case of brāhmaṇas have already been spoken of above (pp. 105–134). Gaut. IX. 63, Yāj. I. 100, Manu IV. 33, Viṣṇu 63. 1 and others say that a brāhmaṇa householder should approach a king or other rich person for the wherewithal to maintain his family. The persons whom every one must maintain have already been pointed out on p. 569 (Dakṣa II. 36)' In the case of the well-to-do, there are other persons who should be maintained viz. agnates and cognates, one who is without means, helpless or has taken shelter [1653]. In this world only that man may be said to live on whom many depend for their livelihood; other men who only fill their own belly are really dead, though living (Dakṣa II. 40).

In the fourth part [1654] of the day (i. e. before noon) one was to have the mid-day bath (with tarpaṇa) and then the mid-day saṁdhyā prayer and devapūjā &c. (Dakṣa II. 43 and Yāj. I. 100). Those who bathe twice (in the morning and at noon) will strictly follow the routine sketched above in Daksa, Yāj. and others. But most of the brāhmaṇas bathe only once either in the morning or before noon. The principal matters to be described in connection with the bath before noon are *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and pitṛs ; devapūjā and the five daily yajñas. These will now be described in detail.

Tarpaṇa—(satiating by offering water). As stated in Manu II. 176, every day one has to perform tarpaṇa of gods, sages and pitṛs. The water to be offered to gods is poured by that part of the right hand which is called *devatīrtha* and that for the pitṛs by the pitṛ-tīrtha. A person was to perform tarpaṇa according to the gṛhyasūtra of the Vedic śākhā which he or his ancestors studied. There is a good deal of divergence among the several gṛhyasūtras. Here the procedure of tarpaṇa prescribed

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1653. ज्ञातिर्बन्धुजनः क्षीणस्तथानाथः समाश्रितः । अन्योपि धनयुक्तस्य पोष्यवर्ग उदाहृतः ॥ दक्ष II. 36–37.

1654. चतुर्थेह्नस्तथा भागे स्नानार्थं मृदमाहरेत् । तिलपुष्पकुशादींश्च स्नायाच्चाकूत्रिमे जले । दक्ष II. 43 (quoted by अपरार्क p. 128); स्नात्वा देवान्पितॄंश्चैव तर्पयेदर्चयेत्तथा ॥ या. I. 100, on which the Mit. remarks ततो मध्याह्ने शास्त्रोक्तविधिना नद्यादिषु स्नात्वा देवान् स्वगृह्योक्तान् पितॄंश्च चकारादृषींश्च देवादितीर्थेन तर्पयेत् । तदनन्तरं गन्धपुष्पाक्षतैर्हरिहरहिरण्यगर्भप्रभृतीनामन्यतमं यथावासनमृग्यजुःसाममन्त्रैस्तत्प्रकाशकैः स्वनामभिर्वा चतुर्थ्यन्तैर्नमस्कारयुक्तैराराधयेद्यथोक्तविधिना.

by the Āśv. gṛ. (III. 4. 1-5) will be first set out. In the Devatātarpaṇa the following deities are enumerated and one has to add the words 'tṛpyatu', 'tṛpyetām', or 'tṛpyantu' with each devatā according as it is one deity, two deities or more and offer water to each (e. g. 'Prajāpatis-tṛpyatu, Brahmā tṛpyatu, ... Dyāvāpṛthivī tṛpyetām' &c.). The deities are 31 viz. Prajāpati, Brahmā, Vedas, devas, ṛsis, all metres, oṁkāra, vaṣaṭkāra, vyāhṛtis, the Gāyatrī, sacrifices (yajñas), heaven and earth, the air (antarikṣa), days and nights, the Sāṅkhyas, siddhas, oceans, the rivers, the mountains, the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases, snakes, birds, cows, sādhyas, vipras, yakṣas, the rakṣases, the bhūtas (beings) that have these (rakṣas) at the end. In modern times the fields, herbs, trees, Gandharvas and Apsarases are put in one compound word and form only one devatā, while after bhūtas there is a separate deity 'evam-antāni tṛpyantu'. Haradatta on Āśv. gṛ. III. 3. 2 refers to the view of some that take 'evam-antāni' as a separate mantra but his opinion was that the phrase 'evam-antāni' only described the preceding devatās and that the devatās stopped at 'rakṣāṁsi'. He further adds that the tarpaṇa to these was done by the prājāpatya tīrtha (of the hand).

The sages to whom water is offered are divided into two groups. The first group contains twelve sages and when offering water to these the sacred thread is worn in the nivīta form. The twelve sages are those of the hundred ṛks, the middle ṛsis (i. e. of maṇḍalas 2 to 9 of the Ṛgveda), Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja, Vasiṣṭha, Pragāthas, the Pāvamānī hymns, sages of the short hymns and those of the long hymns (the tarpaṇa formula will be 'śatarcinas-tṛpyantu, mādhyamās-tṛpyantu, Gṛtsamadas-tṛpyantu &c.). It will be noticed that the sages from Gṛtsamada to Vasiṣṭha are the seers of maṇḍalas 2 to 7 of the Ṛgveda. The Pragāthas stand for the eighth maṇḍala of which the first hymn is ascribed in the Anukramaṇī to Pragātha of the Kaṇva gotra and the rest of the eighth maṇḍala is ascribed to various scions of the Kaṇva gotra. The verses of the ninth maṇḍala are called Pāvamānyaḥ; but as it is a tarpaṇa of sages, we rather expect the form pāvamānāḥ as in the Śāṅkhyāyana gṛhya IV. 10. 'Śatarcinaḥ' refers to the sages of the first maṇḍala, and 'kṣudrasūktāḥ' and 'mahāsūktāḥ' to sages of the tenth maṇḍala. Water is offered to these sages by the *daiva tīrtha*. Then there is a second group of sages to whom water is offered by a person who wears his sacred

thread in the prācīnāvīta form (i. e. it is suspended over the right shoulder and under the left arm). There are two sub-groups here. In the first the verbal forms 'tṛpyantu' or 'tṛpyatu' are used with the nominative of the words for the sage; i. e. 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata-Mahābhārata-Dharmācāryās tṛpyantu';[1655] 'Jānanti-Bāhavi-Gārgya-Gautama-Śākalya-Bābhravya-Māṇḍavya-Māṇḍūkeyās tṛpyantu'; 'Gārgī-Vācaknavī tṛpyatu, Vaḍavā-Prātitheyī tṛpyatu, Sulabhā-Maitreyī tṛpyatu'. These together are five sentences. It is remarkable that in this list three women are mentioned as sages (Gārgī, Vaḍavā and Sulabhā). Among the other sages the first four are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the pupils of Vyāsa who taught them the Vedas (vide Sabhāparva 4. 11 and Śānti 328. 26-27 where all four are named). For chronological purposes it is important to note that the Āśv. gṛ. knew teachers of sūtras, bhāsyas, of the Bhārata and also the Mahābhārata and of Dharma. In the second sub-group there are 17 single sages and the 18th is a miscellaneous offering to all other ācāryas. The names of the 17 sages occur in the accusative and after each the word 'tarpayāmi' is to be uttered (i. e. Kahoḷam tarpayāmi, Kauṣītakam tarpayāmi.....Āśvalāyanam tarpayāmi). These 17 sages are: Kahoḷa, Kauṣītaka, Mahākauṣītaka, Paiṅgya, Mahāpaiṅgya, Suyajña, Sāṅkhyāyana, Aitareya, Mahaitareya, Śākala, Bāṣkala, Sujātavaktra, Audavāhi, Mahaudavāhi, Saujāmi, Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana. The 18th is 'may all the other ācāryas be satiated' (ye cānye ācāryās-te sarve tṛpyantu). All these sages are connected with the Ṛgveda, its Brāhmaṇas, its Āraṇyakas and other related works like the Prātiśākhya sūtra (of which Śaunaka is said to be the author). It is interesting to note that Āśvalāyana himself is named as the last teacher in tarpaṇa. Śaunaka is said to be the teacher of Āśvalāyana.[1656] In modern times in the Deccan water is offered twice to each sage or group of sages.

Āśv. gṛ. III. 4. 5 is very brief as to pitṛtarpaṇa 'after satiating the pitṛs with water, each generation separately, he returns to his house and whatever he gives then becomes the fee' (of the

1655 The Śāntiparva (350. 11-12) shows that Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila were along with Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, the pupils of Vyāsa.

1656. *Vide* Introduction to Āśvalāyana gṛhya in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 153 ff.

Brahmayajña of which tarpaṇa is a constituent part). In modern times the deceased ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered are stated below. Water is offered to each thrice (except to women ancestors other than the mother, grand-mother and the great-grandmother) by the pitṛ-tīrtha and the relationship, the gotra and the name of each are recited when doing so. For example, water is offered to the deceased father in the form, 'I offer svadhā and bow to and satiate my father, so and so by name, whose gotra was so and so and who has attained the form of Vasu' (asmatpitaram amukaśarmāṇam amuka-gotram vasurūpam svadhānamas tarpayāmi). The ancestors and relatives to whom water is offered, if they are dead, are in order :—father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather; mother, paternal grand-mother and great-grandmother; step-mother; maternal grand-father (with maternal grand-mother, sapatnīkam being used with 'mātāmaham'), maternal great-grand-father and maternal great-great-grand-father (with their wives); one's wife; one's son (or sons, if several are dead already and with his wife or their wives that are dead); daughter (with her husband, if both are dead); uncle (with his wife, if dead); maternal uncle (with his wife, if dead); brother (with wife); paternal aunt (with husband); maternal aunt (with husband); sister (with husband); father-in-law (with his wife and son, if they are dead); guru (father as teacher of the Gāyatrī and Veda); pupil. In the case of grand-fathers and grand-mothers they are described as 'rudrarūpa' and the great-grand-fathers and great-grand-mothers as 'ādityarūpa'. The three ancestors of the mother with their wives are respectively vasurūpa, rudrarūpa and ādityarūpa[1657]. The names of women ancestors have the affix 'dā' added and all persons both male and female other than those specified above are described as 'vasurūpa'.

A few points of divergence will be noticed. Haradatta on Āśv. gṛ. III. 3. 6 notes that some do not include the mother and maternal relations in the daily tarpaṇa, and that according to the established practice in his day the tarpaṇa formulæ did not include the names and the gotra of the relatives. Most sūtras

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1657. Vide Manu III. 284 for the terms Vasurūpa, Rudrarūpa and Ādityarūpa. हरदत्त on आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 6 says 'मातृणां मातामहादीनां मातामह्यादीनां च तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः। केचित्पित्रादीनां नाम्ना तर्पणमिच्छन्ति। देवदत्तं यज्ञदत्त विष्णुमित्रमिति। एवं मात्रादीनामपि। प्रसिद्धस्त्वाचारः पितरं तर्पयामीति।'

do not say that the names and gotras of the relatives are to be repeated in daily tarpaṇa. The words 'svadhā namas' do not occur in many sūtras, but some do contain them (e. g. Baud. Dh. S. II. 5. 184 ff., Vaik. I. 4). The devatās of tarpaṇa differ in each sūtra. The Śān. gṛ. (IV. 9) which belongs to the Ṛgveda just as Āśvalāyana's does, enumerates the deities differently in the beginning (it has Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Virūpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa &c.). Its order of sages is somewhat different and it adds some names such as Śākapūṇi, Gautami &c. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 5 contains the most elaborate tarpaṇa of all sūtras. It puts 'om' before each devatā, ṛṣi and pitṛ. It includes not only many more deities than elsewhere, but includes several names of the same deity (e. g. Vināyaka, Vakratuṇḍa, Hastimukha, Ekadanta; Yama, Yamarāja, Dharma, Dharmarāja, Kāla, Nīla, Vaivasvata &c.). Among ṛṣis it includes many sūtrakāras like Kaṇva, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāṣāḍha, and also Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa. The Hir. gṛ. II. 19. 20, Baud. gṛ. III. 9, Bhāradvāja gṛ. III. 9-11 contain long and interesting lists of deities and particularly of sages.

If a man has no time for this lengthy tarpaṇa the Dharmasindhu and other digests prescribe an extremely brief one, viz. he repeats two verses and offers water thrice. The verses are 'may the gods, sages, pitṛs, human beings, from Brahmā up to a blade of grass, be satiated and also all the pitṛs, the mother and the maternal grand-father and the rest, may this water mixed with sesame be for the crores of families of bygone ages residing in the seven dvīpas from the world of Brahmā downwards'.

The Snānasūtra (3rd kaṇḍikā) of Kātyāyana attached to the Pār. gṛ. contains a description of *tarpaṇa*. Like the Baud. Dh. S. it lays down that 'om' is to be uttered before the name of every deity (devatā) and 'tṛpyatām' (or tṛpyantām if the word denoting the deity is in the plural) is the verbal form employed. The deities are only 28 and slightly differ from those of Āśv. The group of sages is made up of only Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍhu, and Pañcaśikha (Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha are according to the Sāṅkhyakārikā the names of the founders of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and stand in the relation of teacher and pupil). Then (after the ṛṣitarpaṇa), the householder is to mix sesame in water and wear the sacred thread under the left arm and suspend it from the right shoulder and offer the water to Kavyavāḍ Anala

(fire), Soma, Yama, Aryaman, Agniṣvāttas, Somapas, Barhiṣads [1658]. Offerings of water mixed with sesame are to be made thrice to each of the above with joined hands (jalāñjali) and this is to be done by all householders even if the father be living. The remaining part of *tarpaṇa* (viz. pitṛtarpaṇa) is to be done only by him whose father is dead. Gobhila-smṛti II. 18–20, Matsyapurāṇa 102. 14–21 are very similar to the Snānasūtra. According to Āśvalāyana and others water is offered with the right hand only while according to Kātyāyana and others water is offered with both hands.[1659] The Sm. C. I. p. 191 says that the householder should follow his gṛhyasūtra and if there is nothing in it on this point there is an option. Kārṣṇājini prescribes that in śrāddha and marriage only the right hand is employed in making an offering or gift, but in *tarpaṇa* both hands (made into an añjali) are employed. One[1660] añjali of water is offered to each of the gods, two to Sanaka and other sages and three to each of the pitṛs. When *tarpaṇa* is performed while the householder is still in the water with his wet clothes on, he offers the water in the stream itself; but when he wears dry clothes and performs tarpaṇa, then he is to let fall the handfuls of water in a pure vessel of gold, silver, copper, bronze, but not in an earthen one; or he may let the water fall on the ground covered with kuśas (Sm. C. I. p. 192). There were several views on this point (*vide* Gṛ. R. pp. 263–264). In modern times daily tarpaṇa has become very rare. Only a few even among the orthodox or priestly brāhmaṇas and among those who have studied the several śāstras (such as grammar

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1658. Yoga-Yājñavalkya quoted by Aparārka pp. 138–139 gives the same names of devatās and of the divine *pitṛs* as the Snānasūtra. Vide Manu III. 195–199 for अग्निष्वात्ताः, सोमपाः and बर्हिषदः that are all pitṛs of various kinds. बृहत्पराशर 3rd chap. p. 74 (Jivānanda, part 2) says that all from Kavyavāḍ Anala to Barhiṣads are divine pitṛs (divyāḥ pitaraḥ). Vide Sabhāparva 11. 45 for seven groups (gaṇas) of pitṛs, four of whom are said to be corporeal and three disembodied. Kārṣṇājini quoted by Aparārka p. 138 says that the seven sages from Sanaka to Pañcaśikha are the sons of Brahmā.

1659. श्राद्धे विवाहकाले तु पाणिनैकेन दीयते। तर्पणे तूभयेनैव विधिरेष पुरातनः॥ काण्र्णाजिनि quoted by अपरार्क p. 132, स्मृतिच० I. p. 191; यम v. 99 is श्राद्धे हवनकाले च दद्यादेकेन पाणिना। उभाभ्यां तर्पणे दद्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः॥; हरदत्त on आश्व गृ. सू. III. 4. 1 says 'देवतास्तर्पयति। तच्चाञ्जलिना कर्तव्यम्। जलाञ्जलिरिति हि तर्पणं प्रसिद्धम्। अन्ये त्वनादेशाद्दक्षिणेन पाणिना कुर्वन्ति। अपरे तु सव्योपगृहीतेन दक्षिणेन॥.'

1660. एकैकं चाथ द्वौ द्वौ वै त्रींस्त्रीनेकैकमञ्जलिम्। अर्हन्त्येते क्रमाच्चैव देवर्षिपितरस्त्रयः॥ लघ्वाश्व. I. 95; vide also व्यास in स्मृतिच० I. p. 191.

&c.) do it daily, but generally most brāhmaṇas perform tarpaṇa as part of brahmayajña on one day in the year in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

A special *tarpaṇa* was offered to Yama on the 14th of the dark half of a month if it was a Tuesday or on the 14th of the dark half. *Vide* Sm. C. I. pp. 197-198, Madanapārijāta p. 296, Par. M. I. part 1, p. 361. Dakṣa (II. 52-55) prescribes that Yama-tarpaṇa is specially performed in the Jumna on the days specified above and gives the several names under which Yama is invoked. *Vide* also Matsyapurāṇa 213. 2-8. The Tai. Ār. VI. 5 speaks of a yajña or *bali* (offering) in honour of Yama every month. There is also tarpaṇa in honour of the great epic hero Bhīṣma offered on the 8th of the bright half of Māgha. *Vide* Sm. C. I. p. 198.

Gobhila-smṛti [1661] (II. 22-23) emphasizes the importance of tarpaṇa by remarking that, as all beings, animate or inanimate, desire water from the brāhmaṇa who brings prosperity to all, tarpaṇa should always be done by him and that if he does not do it he would incur great sin and that if he does it he would support this world. The idea underlying tarpaṇa seems to be indicated even by the Tai. S. V. 4. 4. 1. [1662]

It has already been seen (at pp. 668-669) that tarpaṇa was prescribed as an appendage of the early morning bath and that some required it to be done twice daily while others said that it was to be done only once. As Āśv. gr. places tarpaṇa immediately after svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) it follows that he treated it as a constituent though subordinate part of it. The Gobhilasmṛti (II. 29) says that brahmayajña which consists in inaudibly muttering Vedic texts (japa) should be performed before tarpaṇa or after the morning homa or at the end of Vaiśvadeva and at no other time unless there is some special reason. [1663]

The Āhnikaprakāśa (pp. 336-377) gives summaries of tarpaṇa according to Kātyāyana, Śaṅkha, Baudhāyana, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Yogiyājñavalkya, Āśvalāyana, Gobhilagṛhya.

1661. तथा भूतानि सर्वाणि स्थावराणि चराणि च। विप्रादुदकमिच्छन्ति सर्वाभ्युदयकृद्धि सः॥ तस्मात्सदैतत्कर्तव्यमकुर्वन्महतैनसा। युज्यते ब्राह्मणः कुर्वन्विश्वमेतद्बिभर्ति हि॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 22-23, quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 196.

1662. अश्मन्नूर्जमिति परिषिञ्चति मार्जयत्येवैनमथो तर्पयत्येव स एनं तृप्तोऽक्षुध्यन्नशोचन्नमुष्मिँल्लोक उपतिष्ठते। तै. सं. V. 4. 4. 1.

1663. यश्च श्रुतिजपः प्रोक्तो ब्रह्मयज्ञः स चोच्यते। स चावाक्तर्पणात् कार्यः पश्चाद्वा मातराहुतेः। वैश्वदेवावसाने वा नान्यत्रेति निमित्तकात्॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 28-29, quoted in गृह्य. र. p. 273, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 335.

CHAPTER XVIII

PAÑCA MAHĀYAJÑAS

Pañca Mahāyajñas:—(the five daily great observances or sacrifices).

From early Vedic times five daily observances called *mahāyajñas* were prescribed. The Śat. Br. (XI 5. 6. I.)[1664] says 'there are only five mahāyajñas, they are like great sacrificial sessions, viz. the sacrifice to beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to *brahman* (Veda)'. These are then briefly defined. In the Tai. Ār. II. 10 we read 'these five mahāyajñas indeed are spread out continuously, viz. devayajña, pitṛyajña, bhūtayajña, manuṣyayajña, brahmayajña. That is fulfilled as devayajña when one makes an offering in fire, even if it be a mere fuel-stick; when one offers svadhā (śrāddha repast) to the fathers, even if it be mere water, that becomes pitṛyajña; when a man offers a *bali* (a ball of food) to the beings it becomes bhūtayajña, when he gives food to brāhmaṇas that becomes manusyayajña. When one studies svādhyāya even if it be a single *ṛk* or *yajus* formula or a *sāman*, it becomes brahmayajña'.[1665]

The Āśv. gṛ. (III 1. 1-4) speaks of the five mahāyajñas and defines them in practically the same words as the Tai. Ār. II. 10 and enjoins that those yajñas must be performed everyday. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. III. 1. 2 expressly asserts that the

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1664. पञ्चैव महायज्ञाः। तान्येव महासत्राणि भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञः पितृयज्ञो देवयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति। शतपथ ब्रा. XI. 5. 6. 1. These words are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 101. The शतपथ proceeds to define these 'अहरहर्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरेत्। तथैतं भूतयज्ञं समामोत्यहरहर्दद्याद्दोदपात्रात्तथैतं मनुष्ययज्ञं समामोत्यहरहः स्वधा कुर्यादोदपात्रात्तथैतं पितृयज्ञ समामोत्यहरहः स्वाहाकुर्यादा काष्ठात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समामोति॥ अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः। स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः।'

1665. पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञाः सतति प्रतायन्ते सतति संतिष्ठन्ते देवयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो भूतयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञ इति। यदग्नौ जुहोत्यपि समिधं तद्देवयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यत् पितृभ्यः स्वधा करोत्यप्यपस्तत्पितृयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यद्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरति तद् भूतयज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यद् ब्राह्मणेभ्योन्नं ददाति तन्मनुष्ययज्ञः संतिष्ठते। यत्स्वाध्यायमधीयतैकामप्यृचं यजुः साम वा तद् ब्रह्मयज्ञः संतिष्ठते॥ तै. आ. II 10.

basis of the five yajñas is the Tai. Ār.[1666] The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 13–15 and I 4. 13. 1) names and explains them similarly and states that they are called (in the Tai. Ār. II. 10) 'great yajñas' and 'great sacrificial sessions' by way of laudation. The word 'yajña' applied to these five daily duties is figurative and the adjective 'great' is applied only for belauding[1667] them. Gaut. V. 8 and VIII. 17, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1-8, Gobhilasmṛti II. 26 and numerous smṛti texts speak of the same five yajñas. Gaut. VIII. 17 includes them among *saṁskāras* as stated above (p. 193).

It will be noticed from the description of the five yajñas given below that they are distinguished from the solemn śrauta sacrifices in two respects. In these five the chief agent is the householder himself, he does not need the help and ministration of a professional priest, while in the śrauta sacrifices the priests occupy the most prominent place and the householder is more or less a passive spectator or agent in the hands of the priests who direct everything. In the second place, in the five yajñas the central point is the discharge of duties to the Creator, to the ancient sages, to the Manes, and to the whole universe with myriads of creatures of various grades of intelligence. In the śrauta sacrifices the main-spring of action is the desire to secure Heaven or some object such as prosperity, a son &c. Therefore the institution of the five sacrifices is morally and spiritually more progressive and more ennobling than that of the śrauta sacrifices.

The sentiments that prompted the performance of these five observances appear to have been as follows: Every man could not afford to celebrate the solemn śrauta rites prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta sūtras. But every one could offer a fuel-stick to fire that was deemed to be the mouth of the

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1666. अथातः पञ्च यज्ञाः। देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो ब्रह्मयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति। आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 1-2; पञ्चयज्ञानां हि तैत्तिरीयारण्यकं मूलं पञ्च वा एते महायज्ञा इत्यादि। नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 3. The परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 11 also notes that the five yajñas are prescribed in the Tai. Ār. and draws therefrom the sweeping generalization that all smṛti rules were known to śruti.

1667. अथ ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयः। तेषां महायज्ञा महासत्राणीति च संस्तुतिः। अहरहर्भूतबलिर्मनुष्येभ्यो यथाशक्ति दानम्। देवेभ्यः स्वाहाकार आकाष्ठात्पितृभ्यः स्वधाकार ओदपात्राद्ऋषिभ्यः स्वाध्याय इति। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 13—I. 4. 13. 1. Vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 1–8 for very similar words.

great Gods [1668] of Heaven and thus show his reverence and devotion to them. Similarly everyone could show his reverence for and gratitude to the great sages that had bequeathed a glorious heritage of sacred literature by repeating at least one verse and one could propitiate his deceased ancestors by offering in loving memory and filial devotion a mere handful or vessel-ful of water (which costs nothing). The whole world human and non-human is one creation and there must be a spirit of live and let live or give and take. Therefore one must offer what one can afford to a guest and also have something for all beings (including even such shunned animals as dogs, crows and insects). These feelings of devotion, gratitude, reverence, loving memory, kindliness and tolerance seem to have been the springs that prompted the Aryans of old to emphasize the importance of the five daily yajñas and to have led sūtra writers like Gautama and legislators like Manu (II. 28) to look upon them as saṁskāras, as ennobling the soul by freeing it from mere selfishness and elevating the body to become a fit vehicle for higher things. [1669] Later on it appears that other purposes came to be attributed to the institution of the five daily yajñas. According to Manu III. 68-71, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 19-20, Śaṅkha V. 1-2, Hārīta, Matsyapurāṇa 52. 15-16 and others every householder causes injury or death to sentient beings every day in five places, viz. the hearth, the grinding mill, broomstick, winnowing basket and similar household gear, mortar and pestle, and water-jar. The five daily yajñas were devised by the great sages as atonements for the sins arising from these five sources of injury to life. These five are: brahmayajña which consists in the study and teaching of the Veda, pitṛyajña which consists of *tarpaṇa*, daivayajña which consists in offerings made into fire, bhūtayajña which is offering oblations to beings and manuṣyayajña which consists in honouring guests. He who performs these daily according to his means is never tainted by the sin of the injuries arising from the five places mentioned above. Manu (III. 73-74) further [1670] says that former sages had a different nomenclature for the five

1668. त्वामग्ने आदित्यास आस्यं त्वां जिह्वां ह्वयश्चक्रिरे कवे। ऋ. II. 1. 13; त्वे अग्ने विश्वे अमृतासो अद्रुह आसा देवा हविरदन्त्याहुतम्। ऋ. II. 1. 14.

1669. स्वाध्यायेन व्रतैर्होमैस्त्रैविद्येनेज्यया सुतैः। महायज्ञैश्च यज्ञैश्च ब्राह्मीयं क्रियते तनुः॥ मनु II. 28.

1670. आश्व. गृ. I. 1. 2-3 supports मनु 'त्रयः पाकयज्ञाः। हुता अग्नौ ह्रियमाणा अनग्नौ प्रहुता ब्राह्मणभोजने ब्रह्मणि हुताः।'

yajñas i. e. *ahuta, huta, prahuta, brāhmya-huta* and *prāśita*, which were the same respectively as japa (or brahmayajña), homa (devayajña), bhūtayajña, manuṣyayajña and pitṛtarpaṇa (pitṛyajña). In the Atharvaveda VI. 71. 2 four out of these seem to be alluded to ' what came to me as huta or ahuta or given by pitṛs and assented to by men '.[1671] Huta and prahuta in the sense of *homa* to gods and *bali* to bhūtas occur in Bṛ. Up. I. 5.2. But in some gṛhyasūtras different meanings are attached to these very words e. g. Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 5 and Pār. gṛ. I. 4 say that there are four pākayajñas viz. huta, ahuta, prahuta and prāśita and Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 10. 7 [1672] explains that they are respectively the same as agnihotra (or daivayajña), bali (bhūtayajña), pitṛyajña and brāhmya-huta (or mānuṣyayajña). The Hārītadharma-sūtra has a very interesting passage on this point. ' We shall now explain the *sūnās* (places of injury) which are so called because they kill moving and immovable sentient beings. They are five. The first (sūnā) is caused by actions like sudden entrance in water, plunging into water, whirling water, splashing it in various directions, taking water without straining it through a piece of cloth and driving vehicles; the second by walking about in the dark or away from the beaten path or in quick jerks or by treading upon insects &c.; the third by striking (a tree with an axe &c.), by plucking flowers &c., by tying with a rope &c., by crushing (in a mortar), by splitting (wood &c.); the fourth by cutting crops, by rubbing or grinding; and the fifth by ignition (of fire-wood), heating (of water), by roasting, frying and cooking. These five injuries that lead to Hell are committed every day by people. Brahmacārins get rid of the first three by attending on fire and on their teacher and by the study of the Veda; householders and forest hermits purify themselves from these five by performing the five yajñas; ascetics get rid of the first two injuries by sacred knowledge and contemplation, but the injury caused by crushing ı cooked seeds under the teeth cannot be removed by any of these '.[1673] Although in the Āp. Dh. S. snd others the five yajñas are enumerated in the order of bhūta-yajña, manuṣya-yajña,

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1671. यस्मा हुतमहुतमाजगाम दूत्तं पितृभिरनुमतं मनुष्यैः। यस्मान्मे मन उदिव चारजीत्यग्निष्टद्धोता सुहुतं कृणोतु ॥ अथर्ववेद VI. 71. 2.

1672. हुतोग्निहोत्रहोमेण अहुतो बलिकर्मणा। प्रहुतः पितृकर्मणा प्राशितो ब्राह्मणे हुतः ॥ शां. गृ. I. 10. 7. Vide बौ. गृ. I. 1. 1–11 for a somewhat different terminology.

1673. Vide Appendix under note 1673.

devayajña, pitṛyajña and svādhyāya, still the proper order from the point of view of the times of performance is first brahmayajña (japa &c.), then devayajña, then bhūtayajña, then pitṛyajña, and lastly manuṣyayajña.[1674] Therefore they will be dealt with in the same order here. But some matters have first to be noted. Various views were entertained about the time and nature of brahmayajña[1675] and pitṛyajña. According to Gobhila-smṛti II. 28–29 quoted above (n. 1663), *japa* prescribed in saṁdhyā adoration may be looked upon as brahmayajña, that the latter may be performed before tarpaṇa and after the morning homa or after vaiśvadeva. Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. III. 2. 1 says that brahmayajña may be performed before or after vaiśvadeva. According to the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana, brahmayajña precedes tarpaṇa and Āśv. gṛ. as stated above (p. 695) appears to regard tarpaṇa as part of it. Manu III. 82 (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 23–25) enjoins upon a man the performance of daily śrāddha with food or water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus to propitiate and please the Manes of his deceased ancestors; while Manu (III. 70 and 283) says that tarpaṇa (done after bath) constitutes pitṛyajña. Therefore Gobhila says that śrāddha, tarpaṇa and the *bali* offered to pitṛs constitute pitṛyajña and even when one of them is gone through, the performance of pitṛyajña is effected and it is not necessary to perform all three.[1676] In the bali-haraṇa (described below) the remnants of bali are offered to pitṛs (Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 91).

Brahma-yajña. Probably the earliest description of this is to be found in the Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 3–8. That Brāhmaṇa, after stating that brahmayajña is one's own daily study of the Veda, compares several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of brahmayajña, viz. the juhū spoon, upabhṛt, dhruvā, sruva, avabhṛtha (the solemn bath at the end of a sacrifice) and heaven are said to be represented by the speech, the mind, the eye, mental power, truth and the conclusion (that

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1674. न चायमुपदेशक्रमोऽनुष्ठान उपयुज्यते। अनुष्ठानं तु ब्रह्मयज्ञो देवयज्ञो भूतयज्ञः पितृयज्ञो मनुष्ययज्ञ इति। हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 13. 1.

1675. कालादर्शे। प्रातर्मध्यन्दिनं वापि ब्रह्मयज्ञो विधीयते। प्रातर्यदि तदा प्राहुराहुत्याः परतो भवेत्॥ मध्याह्ने चेत् तर्पणात् प्राग्वैश्वदेवात्परत्र वा। quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 368.

1676. श्राद्धं वा पितृयज्ञः स्यात् पित्रोर्बलिरथापि वा। गोभिलस्मृति II. 28; श्राद्धं नित्यश्राद्धम्। एतेन त्रयाणां पितृयज्ञत्वाद्संभवे एकेनापि कृतेन पितृयज्ञनिष्पत्तेः पितृयज्ञाकरणप्रसक्तः प्रत्यवायः परिहृतो भवति। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 391.

are present in brahmayajña).[1677] Then it says that whoever studies day by day his Vedic lessons gains an imperishable world which is thrice or more of the world that one may secure by making a gift to priests of the whole earth replete with wealth. Then 4-7 compare ṛk, yajus, sāman and Atharvāṅgiras (Atharvaveda) texts respectively to offerings to gods of milk, ghee, soma and fat and it is stated that the gods being delighted and satisfied with these, bestow on the man who performs brahmayajña affluence and security, life-breath, seed, his whole self and all auspicious blessings and streams of ghee and honey flow for his departed pitṛs. The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 6. 8 enumerates other works that may be recited in brahmayajña, the recital of which is like honey offerings to gods who being delighted and gratified bestow on the reciter the boons stated above, the works being Anuśāsanas (Vedāṅgas), vidyās (such as sarpa and devajana vidyā mentioned in Chāndogya VII. 1. 1), vākovākya (theological discourses called brahmodya, as in Vāj. S. 23. 9-12 and 45-62), Itihāsapurāṇa (traditional history and legends), Gāthās, Nārāśaṁsīs (i. e. stanzas in praise of heroes).[1678] The Tai. Ār. (II. 10-13) has a more lengthy passage on brahmayajña; Tai. Ār. II. 10 is almost[1679] the same as Śat. Br. except in two respects, viz. in the Tai. Ār. Atharvāṅgirasaḥ are said to be honey offerings and brāhmaṇa texts, itihāsas, purāṇas, kalpas (works on śrauta ritual) and Gāthā Nārāśaṁsīs are said to be fat offerings and the rewards, bestowed by the gods when delighted by the brahmayajña, are long life, brilliance, lustre, prosperity, glory, spiritual eminence and food. Tai. Ār. II. 11 describes how and where brahmayajña is to be performed 'one who desires to offer brahmayajña should repair to a place so far away to the east, north or north-east of his village that the thatch covering houses is not visible and when the sun rises he should wear his sacred thread (in the upavīta form) under his right arm, should sit down (on a pure spot), should wash both his hands with water, should sip water thrice, should wipe his hand twice with water, should

1677. Juhū, upabhṛt, dhruvā and sruva are sacrificial ladles and will be described later under śrauta sacrifices.

1678. According to the Tai. Br. II. 7. 5 'मनुष्या वै नराशंसः'; vide शांखायनश्रौत 16. 11 where many lists of नाराशंस hymns occur, Ṛg. I. 125 being one hymn of that kind. अथर्व XX. 127. 1 has the word नराशंस and ऋ V. 18. 5. is नाराशंसी.

1679. Vide Appendix under note 1679.

once sprinkle his lips with water, and touch his head, eyes, nostrils, ears and heart; he should spread out a large seat of darbhas, should be seated facing the east with his legs crossed over each other (the left foot being underneath and the right foot on the left thigh) and then should repeat his Veda ; (it is said that) the darbhas are indeed the flavour (or sweetness) of waters and herbs ; he (by sitting on darbhas) makes his Veda full of sweetness. Placing his left hand on the right knee with the palm turned up and covering it with the right hand the palm of which is turned down and placing *pavitras* (blades of darbha) between both hands, he should begin with the syllable 'om' which is a yajus, which is the representative of the three Vedas, which is all speech, and is the highest syllable ; this has been declared by a ṛk (Ṛg. I. 164. 39 is quoted). He recites the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ ; he thereby (by repeating the vyāhṛtis) employs the three Vedas. This is the truth (quintessence) of speech ; he thereby has employed the truth of speech. Then he recites thrice the Gāyatrī verse, which is addressed to Savitṛ, by its feet separately, then by half of it, then the whole verse without stopping. The sun is the creator of glory, he secures glory itself ; then he begins (the next day) the repetition of the Vedic texts from that point which he had noted (the previous day)'.[1680] Tai. Ār. II. 12 states that if a man is unable to go out of the village he may perform brahmyajña by revolving in his mind in the village itself the Veda by day or even by night; or if he cannot seat himself, then he may perform the brahmayajña even standing or lying down, since the principal matter is the recitation of the Veda (time and place being quite subordinate). Tai. Ār. II. 13 says that he should conclude the brahmayajña by repeating thrice the verse 'Adoration to Brahma (Veda or Prajāpati), to Agni, to the Earth, to herbs, to speech, to the Lord of speech (Bṛhaspati), I offer adoration to

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1680. The idea is that one is not to begin to recite Vedic texts at random. When a man has recited a portion of any Veda one day, he should note where he stopped and continue his recitation next day from that point. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 19 also prescribes that one should go every day to the water-side before taking his morning meal and recite in a pure place a portion of the Veda in succession (i. e. one day he should begin where he stopped the previous day and so on). Vide Āśv. gṛ. III. 4. 6 where the Tai. Ār. allowing recitation of the Veda even while standing or lying down is quoted.

the great Viṣṇu'.[1681] Then he should sip water and return home; thereafter whatever he gives becomes the fee of the sacrifice (i. e. of brahmayajña).

The procedure of svādhyāya (or brahmayajña) in Āśv. gṛ. III. 2. 2–III. 3. 4 is practically in the same words as in the Tai. Ār. quoted above. One or two points may be noted. The Āśv. gṛ.[1682] prescribes that one should recite gazing at the horizon or one may close one's eyes or one may look in such a way that one feels that one can concentrate one's mind. According to the Āśv. gṛ. the shortest brahmayajña would be: om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ; the Gāyatrī verse repeated thrice; then at least one *ṛk* verse and then the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' (quoted above) repeated thrice. The Āhnikaprakāśa p. 329 says that one who knows only a portion of the Veda should recite as brahmayajña the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) and other hymns and one who knows only the Gāyatrī should repeat 'om' as brahmayajña every day.[1683] Āśv. gṛ. (III. 3. 1) mentions the following works for *svādhyāya*, Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmeveda, Atharvāṅgirasaḥ, Brāhmaṇas, Kalpas, Gāthās Nārāśaṁsīs, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas. But it adds that one may recite only as much as one feels that one can afford to do with a concentrated mind.

The Śāṅ. gṛ. I. 4 prescribes several hymns and verses of the Ṛgveda for reciting in brahmayajña. Others following different Vedas and Śākhās differ as to the content of the brahmayajña. Vide Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 328–336 for brahmayajña according to Kātyāyana and according to the followers of Sāmaveda. Yāj. I. 101 prescribes that as time and ability allow one may include in brahmayajña the Vedas together with the Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and philosophical texts.

Brahmayajña is very rarely performed every day (except by the most orthodox *vaidikas* and *śāstris*) in modern times and a fixed formula of brahmayajña has been decided upon, which is recited once a year in Śrāvaṇa by most brāhmaṇas in the Deccan. The formula for students of the Ṛgveda is as follows:

1681. नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधीभ्यः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि ॥ तै. आ. II. 13. This occurs in आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 where महते is read for बृहते.

1682. स यावन्मन्येत तावदधीत्येतया परिदधाति। नमो ब्रह्मणे...करोमीति। आश्व. गृ. III. 3. 4 on which Nārāyaṇa observes 'स यावत्कालमेकाग्रमनसा आत्मानं मन्येत तावत्कालमेवाधीयीत न वृशाद्यध्येतव्या इति नियमः। सर्वथा समाहितमनसैवाध्येतव्यं नेयत्तानियम इत्यर्थः।'.

1683. एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना प्रणवपाठेन नित्यं ब्रह्मयज्ञः कर्तव्यः। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 329.

After reciting 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ' and the sacred Gāyatrī, he recites Rg. I. 1. 1–9, then the first sentence of the Ait. Br., the first sentences of the five sections of the Ait. Ār.; the first sentences of the Black and White Yajurveda, of the Sāmaveda, of the Atharvaveda; the first sentences of the Nighaṇṭu and the six Vedāṅgas viz. Āśv. śrauta, Nirukta, Chandas, Nighaṇṭu, Jyotiṣa, Śikṣā, Pāṇini's grammar in order; the first 'pāda' of Yāj. I. 1 and of the Mahābhārata (I.1.1), the first sūtra of the Nyāya, Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmāṁsā; then a benedictory formula ('tacchaṁyor... catuṣpade') and lastly the verse 'namo brahmaṇe' is repeated thrice.[1684] After this brahmayajña, tarpaṇa of devas, sages and pitṛs follows.

The Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 299) says that brahmayajña is to be performed once either after morning homa or after midday saṁdhyā or after Vaiśvadeva, but those who study the Āśvalāyanasūtra should perform it only after midday *saṁdhyā*. After ācamana and prāṇāyāma one should make the saṁkalpa (śrīparameśvaraprītyartham brahmayajñam kariṣye tadaṅgatayā devaṛṣyācārya-tarpaṇam kariṣye) and if one's father is dead one should add in the saṁkalpa (pitṛtarpaṇam ca kariṣye). It then sets out how it is to be performed by various people, such as those who have studied all vedas or one veda or only a portion or when one has no time. It says that the followers of the Taittirīya śākhā repeat the words 'vidyud-asi vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi' at the commencement and the words 'vṛṣṭirasi vṛṣṭa me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upāgām' at the end. If a man is unable to repeat brahmayajña sitting he may do it even when lying down.

The Dharmasindhu notes that according to the followers of the Taittirīya śākhā and of the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā tarpaṇa is not a part of brahmayajña and so tarpaṇa may be performed by them either before brahmayajña or even some time after brahmayajña.

1684. After Rg. I. 1. 1–9 the following are repeated अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः। अथ महाव्रतम्। एष पन्था एतत्कर्म। अथातः संहिताया उपनिषद्। विदा मघवन्विदा। महाव्रतस्य पंचविंशतिं सामिधेन्यः। इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा। अग्न आयाहि वीतये। शं नो देवीरभिष्टये। अथैतस्य समाम्नायस्य। समाम्नायः समाम्नातः। मयरसतजभनलगसंमितम्। गौः गमा। पञ्चसंवत्सरमयम्। अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि। वृद्धिरादैच्। योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यम्। नारायणं नमस्कृत्य। अथातो धर्म व्याख्यास्यामः। अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा। अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा। तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे। गातुं यज्ञाय गातुं यज्ञपतये। दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः। स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः। ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजम्। शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे। नमो ब्रह्मणे० (त्रिः). Vide Appendix under note 1684.

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY
PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.
ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY; SENIOR ADVOCATE,
FEDERAL COURT OF INDIA; FELLOW AND VICE-
PRESIDENT OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY;
AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS' &c.

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CHAPTER XIX

DEVAYAJÑA

Devayajña :—As stated in the Tai. Ār. quoted above (p. 696) the Devayajña was performed by offering fuel sticks into fire. According to the Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 1, Baud.[1685] Dh. S. II. 6. 4 and Gaut. V. 8–9, the Devayajña consisted in offering into fire offerings (of food or at least a fuel stick) with 'svāhā' uttered after the name of the deities in the dative case. Manu also (III. 70) looks upon homa as devayajña. The devatās to whom homa or devayajña was offered are different according to different gṛhya or dharma sūtras. For example, Āśv. gṛ. (I. 2. 2) says that 'they are the deities of the Agnihotra (i. e. Sūrya or Agni, and Prajāpati), Soma Vanaspati, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Heaven and earth, Dhanvantari, Indra, the Viśve Devas, Brahman'. According to Gaut. they are Agni, Dhanvantari, Viśve Devas, Prajāpati, Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. Vide Mānava-gṛhya II. 12. 2 where the deities are different from those in Āśv. gṛ. and Gaut. In later smṛtis a distinction is made between homa (or devayajña) and devapūjā. Yāj. in I. 100 speaks of the worship of gods immediately after tarpaṇa and then in I. 102 includes *homa* among the five yajñas. Manu II. 176 also makes this distinction. Medieval writers came to look upon Vaiśvadeva as the devayajña, while others held that homa to gods was different from Vaiśvadeva. *Vide* Haradatta[1686] on Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 13. 1. According to Marīci and Hārīta quoted in the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika p. 383) *devapūjā* is performed after the morning homa or after brahmayajña and tarpaṇa[1687] in the noon. In medieval and modern times the ancient idea of homa

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1685. अहरहः स्वाहाकुर्यादाकाष्ठात्तथैतं देवयज्ञं समाप्नोति । बौ. ध. सू. II. 6.4; देवपितृमनुष्ययज्ञाः स्वाध्यायश्च बलिकर्म । अग्नावग्निर्धन्वन्तरिर्विश्वे देवाः प्रजापतिः स्विष्टकृदिति होमः । गौ. V. 8–9. The mantras become सोमाय वनस्पतये स्वाहा, अग्नीषोमाभ्यां स्वाहा and so on ; when स्वाहा is said the offering is thrown into the fire.

1686. वैश्वदेवोक्तप्रकारेणैवैष देवयज्ञः केचिद्वैश्वदेवाहुतिभ्यः पृथग्भूतामिमामाहुतिं मन्यन्ते । देवेभ्यः स्वाहेति च मन्त्रमिच्छन्ति । देवयज्ञेन यद्ये इति संकल्पमिच्छन्ति । वयं तु न तथेति गृह्य एवावोचाम । हरदत्त on आप. ध. I. 4. 13. 1.

1687. अथ देवपूजनम् । तच्च प्रातर्होमानन्तरमिति केचित् । विधेया देवतापूजा प्रातर्होमादनन्तरम् । इति मरीचिस्मरणात् । ..... ब्रह्मयज्ञजपतर्पणानन्तरमित्यन्ये । तथा च हारीतः कुर्वीत देवतापूजां जपयज्ञादनन्तरम् । इति । स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (आह्निक p. 383).

receded far into the back-ground and its place was taken by an elaborated procedure of *devapūjā* (worship of images kept in the house). Some space must be devoted to the origin and development of this phase of religious practice.

It is extremely doubtful whether images were generally worshipped in the ancient Vedic times. In the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas, there is worship of Agni, the Sun, Varuṇa and various other deities; but they were worshipped in the abstract, as powers and manifestations of the one Divine Person or as separate deities or functions behind natural phenomena or cosmic processes. There are no doubt passages where the deities of the Ṛgveda are spoken of as possessed of bodily attributes. A few verses may be cited in this connection. Indra is described in Ṛg. VIII. 17. 8 as 'tuvigrīva' (with a powerful or thick neck) and 'vapodara' (having big or capacious belly) and 'subāhu' (having well-shaped arms). Ṛg. VIII. 17. 5 speaks of the limbs and sides of Indra and prays Indra to taste honey with his tongue. In Ṛg. X. 96. 8 Indra is spoken as having dark green (*hari*) hair and beard and in X. 105.7 again it is said that the hair on his chin are dark-green and his chin is never injured (in battle).[1688] In Ṛg. II. 33. 5 Rudra is said to be 'ṛdūdara' (whose abdomen is soft), 'babhru' (of brown colour) and 'suśipra' (with a fine chin or nose). The Vāj. S. 16. 7 speaks of Rudra as having a dark-blue throat and red (complexion) and 16. 51 says he wears a skin (kṛtti). In Ṛg. I. 155. 6 Viṣṇu is said to approach a battle with his huge body and as a youth ('bṛhac-charīra' and 'yuvā'). In Ṛg. III. 53. 6 Indra is asked to go home at once after drinking Somas, as he has a charming wife and delightful house. In Ṛg. X. 26.7 god Pūṣan is said to shake his beard. In Ṛg. IV. 53.2 Savitṛ is said to put on a yellowish *drāpi* (armour) and in Ṛg. I. 25. 13 Varuṇa is said to wear a golden *drāpi*. It is not necessary to multiply examples. It is possible to argue that all these descriptions are poetic and metaphoric. But there are two passages of the Ṛgveda that cause much more difficulty than the above. Ṛg. IV. 24. 10 asks 'who will[1689] purchase this

1688. तुविग्रीवो वपोदरः सुबाहुरन्धसो मदे। इन्द्रो वृत्राणि जिघ्नते ॥ ऋ. VIII 17. 8; हरिश्मश्रुर्हरिकेश आयससुरस्पेये यो हरिषा अवर्धत। ऋ. X. 96. 8; वज्रं यच्छ्मश्रो सहमान ऊर्ध्वये हिरीमशो हिरीमान्। अधतहस्तमुत रजः ॥ ऋ. X. 105. 7.

1689. क इमं दशभिर्ममेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः। यदा वृत्राणि जङ्घनदथैनं मे पुनर्ददत् ॥ ऋ. IV. 24. 10; महे चन त्वामद्रिवः परा शुल्काय देयाम्। न सहस्राय नायुताय वज्रिवो न शताय शतामघ ॥ ऋ. VIII. 1. 5.

my Indra for ten cows and might return it after he (Indra) has killed enemies'? Rg. VIII. 1. 5 says 'O Indra! I shall not give thee for even a great price, not even for a hundred, a thousand or an *ayuta* (ten thousand)'. It may be argued that here there is a reference to an image of Indra. But this is not convincing. It is equally possible to hold that these are hyperbolic or boastful statements of the great devotion of the worshipper to Indra and that there is no reference to an image of Indra. If we look at the Vedic cult described in the Brāhmaṇas where sacrifices of butter, cakes and boiled rice or other grain are offered to several deities in the fire, or animal and soma sacrifices are described at great length, it is clear that the ancient sages hardly ever thought of the worship of idols, but of deities in the abstract to whom they ascribed different functions and poetically represented them as being endowed like human beings with hands and feet and other limbs. It cannot be denied that here and there occur a few passages that suggest images as objects of worship. For example, in the Tai. Br. II. 6. 17 occurs the passage 'may the hotṛ priest worship the three goddesses, that are golden, that are endowed with beauty (or ornaments) that are great ones' &c. It looks as if golden images of the three goddesses are meant.[1690] One can say without much fear of contradiction that the religious practices among the higher strata of the Vedic Aryans did not include the worship of images in the house or in temples. But we have hardly any literary materials for judging what the religious practices of the lower or ignorant masses of Vedic India were. In Rg. VII. 21. 5 Vasiṣṭha prays to Indra 'may the *śiśna-devas* not overwhelm our ṛta' (religious order or practices); similarly in Rg. X. 99. 3 the prayer is 'may he (Indra) striking (or killing) the śiśnadevas overcome them by his form or power'. Scholars are sharply divided in opinion about the meaning of the word[1691] 'śiśnadeva'. Some hold that it denotes people who were worshippers of the phallus (*vide* Vedic Index, vol. II. p. 382). Others hold that the word is used in a secondary or metaphorical sense for those who are immersed in sexual gratification and do not recognize anything else (as worthy of pursuit). Yāska in his Nirukta (IV. 19) quotes

1690. होता यक्षत्पेशस्वतीः । तिस्रो देवीः हिरण्ययीः । भारतीर्बृहतीर्मही: । तै. ब्रा. II. 6. 17. The three devīs are Bhāratī, Iḍā and Sarasvatī.

1691. मा शिश्नदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः ॥ ऋ. VII. 21. 5 ; इन्द्रशिश्नदेवाँ अभि वर्पसा भूत् ॥ ऋ. X. 99. 3 ; 'मा शिश्नदेवाः अब्रह्मचर्याः शिश्नं इनथतेः अपि गुर्ऋतं नः सत्यं वा यज्ञं वा ' निरुक्त IV. 19.

Rg. VII. 21. 5 and explains that the word means 'those who do not observe rules of *brahmacarya* (celibacy)'. The preponderance of authority and evidence is in favour of the second view. In Rg. VII. 104. 14(= Atharva VIII. 4. 14), the poet pleads 'if I be addicted to falsehood, O fire, or if I call upon the gods in vain (then you may injure me), but (not being so) why are you angry with me? May those whose speech is false incur slaughter at your hands'. Here 'anṛta-devāḥ' is practically the same as 'drogha-vācaḥ' in the fourth pāda. In the Tai. Up. I. 11. 2 we have the words 'mātṛdevo bhava, pitṛdevo bhava', where all that is meant is that 'one should be devoted to the parents'. Therefore 'śiśna-deva' could hardly mean 'those who worship phallus as god'. In Rg.[1692] X. 87. 2 Agni is invoked as follows 'with thy tongue reach the *mūradevas*, in thy mouth envelope the eaters of raw flesh after cutting them into bits' and in Rg. VII. 104. 24 Indra is called upon to kill male and female *yātudhānas* (evil spirits or sorcerers) and it is added 'may the mūradevas perish bereft of their necks and may they not see the sun rising up from the horizon'. Yāska in commenting on Rg. X. 4. 4 explains 'mūra' as 'mūḍha' (stupid)[1693]. It is possible to take 'mūra' as meaning 'mortal' or 'perishable' (since the root 'mṛ' assumes the form 'murīya' as in Rg. VII. 104. 15). From the above quotations it is clear that the Ṛgvedic poets knew of low people who practised witchcraft, who were mūradevas (i. e. either worshipped perishable objects or were stupid in their cult) and who were the enemies of the Aryans. There are also clear references to enemies who did not look upon Indra as God (Rg. X. 27. 6, X. 48. 7, X. 86. 1).

Phallic emblems have been found in the ancient ruins at Mohenjo-daro (*vide* Sir John Marshall's work, vol. I. pp. 58–63). Except these finds the earliest known *liṅgas* so far discovered do not go beyond the first century B. C. But centuries before Christ the worship of images had become widespread in India. According to Haradatta on Āp. gṛ. 20. 1–3, where the offerings to

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1692. आ जिह्वया मूरदेवान्रभस्व ऋग्यादो वृक्त्यपि धत्स्वासन् ॥ ऋ. X. 87. 2 and अथर्ववेद VIII. 3. 2 (सायण renders मूरदेवान् राक्षसान्); पराचिषा मूरदेवाञ्छृणीहि पराशृणो अभि शोशुचानः ॥ ऋ. X. 87. 14 (=अथर्ववेद VIII. 3. 13 with slight variation at end); वि ग्रीवासो मूरदेवा अदृन्तु मा ते दृशन्त्सूर्यमुच्चरन्तम् ॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 24 (अथर्ववेद VIII. 4. 24).

1693. मूरा अमूर न वयं चिकित्वो महित्वमग्ने त्वमङ्ग वित्से (ऋ. 10. 4. 4.); मूढाः वयं अमूढः त्वमसि न वयं विद्मः महत्त्वमग्ने त्वं तु वेत्थ । निरुक्त VI. 8.

Īśāna, his consort and his son 'Jayanta' (the conqueror Skanda) are described, images of these three are worshipped. The Mānava-gṛhya[1694] II. 15. 6 prescribes that if an image (of wood, stone or metal) were to be burnt down or to become reduced to powder (of itself) or falls (from its pedestal) or breaks into pieces, or laughs, or moves to another place, the householder (in whose house it had been established) should offer ten oblations into fire with certain Vedic verses. In the Baud. gṛ. II. 2. 13 when describing the ceremony of Upaniṣkramaṇa (taking the infant child out of the house for the first time) it is said that the father after performing homa goes out of the house, worships the images outside (the house), feeds the brāhmaṇas, makes them pronounce benedictions and then brings back to the house the infant.[1695] The Laugākṣi gṛhya (18. 3) speaks of devatāyatana (a temple). Gaut. (IX. 13-14) forbids a man from answering calls of nature in front of images or from stretching one's feet towards them and (IX. 66) requires a man to circumambulate a temple (devatāyatana) that he may meet on his way. The Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 12. 15 does the same and uses the same word (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 125) and in II. 6. 6 mentions a *deva-kula* (god's house). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 30. 28) has a similar rule. Manu (II. 176) directs the brahmacārin to worship images, requires a person to circumambulate images that he may meet with when on a journey (IV. 39), not to cross the shadow of images (IV. 130) and ordains that witnesses be sworn in the presence of the images of gods and brāhmaṇas (VIII. 87). *Vide* also Manu III. 117 and IX. 285. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (23. 34, 63. 27) mentions the images of gods (devatārcā) and speaks of the worship of Bhagavat Vāsudeva as an image. In Vasiṣṭha XI. 31, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 69. 7, 30. 15, 70 13, 91. 10 the word 'devatāyatana' or 'devāyatana' occurs. Unfortunately the dates of all these works are far from being certain. But no scholar will assign the Mānava, Baudhāyana and Śāṅkhyāyana gṛhyasūtras and the dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba to a later date than the 5th or 4th century B. C. Pāṇini, whom no scholar will place later than 300 B. C. (though there are some who

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1694. यद्यर्चा वृक्षेद्वा नश्येद्वा प्रपतेद्वा प्रभज्येद्वा प्रहसेद्वा प्रचलेद्वा...एताभिर्जुहुयात्... इति वृद्धानुशासनम्। मानवगृह्य II. 15. 6.

1695. अथोपनिष्क्रम्य बाह्यानि चित्रियाण्यभ्यर्च्य ..... स्वान् गृहानानयति। बौ. गृ. सू. II. 2. 13. This is quoted in the संस्काररत्नमाला p. 887 where चित्रियाणि is explained as देवताः.

place him several centuries earlier), teaches[1696] that an image by attending on which a person maintains himself and which is not for sale has the same name as the god whose image it is e. g. an image is called Śiva or Skanda when the worshipper makes his livelihood by attending on the image of Śiva or Skanda (and appropriating the offerings placed before the image) which is not for sale. Pāṇini also teaches (IV. 3. 98) that 'Vāsudevaka' is a person who is a votary of Vāsudeva and Patañjali expressly says that Vāsudeva was not a mere kṣatriya, but that the word is the name of God. Patañjali comments on the former sūtra and vouchsafes the very interesting information that the Mauryas who were greedy of gold established or manufactured images, to which this rule would not apply, but it would apply to the images of gods that were in Patañjali's day used for pūjā (worship). According to Patañjali the images manufactured by the Mauryas would be called Śivaka &c. Patañjali, while commenting on Pāṇini IV. 1. 54, gives as examples an image with a long or high nose. The Ādiparva 70. 49, Anuśāsana 10. 20–21, Āśvamedhika 70. 16 speak of devatāyatanas (temples) and Bhīṣma 112. 11 in speaking of terrible portents refers to images in temples trembling and shedding tears. Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga (latter half of 2nd century B. C.) is said to have re-established an image of Jina carried away by Nandarāja and he is described as 'sarvadevāyatana-saṅkhāra-kāraka' (one who looked after the preservation and repair of all temples). In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra II. 4 (variously assigned to different dates from 300 B. C. to 250 A. D.) it is stated that in the centre of the capital shrines of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, Vaijayanta and temples of Śiva, Aśvins, Vaiśravaṇa, Lakṣmī and of Madirā (wine?) should be erected. It follows from the above discussion that long before Pāṇini there had arisen professional men who made their livelihood by attending on images and that temples of deities must have existed even in the 4th or 5th century B. C.

The question whether the worship of images and the erection of temples spontaneously arose among the Vedic Aryans

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1696. जीविकार्थे चापण्ये। पा. V. 3. 99; अपण्य इत्युच्यते। तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति। किं कारणम्। मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः। भवेत्तासु न स्यात्। वास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 429; दीर्घनासिकयर्चा तुङ्गनासिकयर्चा। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 222 (on पा. IV. 1. 54); 'वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्' पा. IV. 3. 98; अथवा नैषा क्षत्रियाख्या। संज्ञैषा तत्रभवतः। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 314; vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 80 and 'Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism' by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (1913) pp. 3–4.

or whether they derived the idea from some other race or sectarians has been very often discussed. There are three principal views, viz. (1) that the worship of images was derived from śūdras and Dravidian tribes and absorbed in the brahmanical cult; (2) that the making of images was copied from the Buddhists; (3) that this practice was a natural and spontaneous growth. The second view is not very plausible. Images of Buddha were not made for a long time after his *nirvāṇa*. He was only represented at first by symbols. If modern chronology about Buddha's ministry is to be followed[1697] (he was born about 563 B. C. and died about 483 B. C.), it is almost impossible to hold that images of gods originally came to be made in imitation of images or statues of Buddha, since, as we saw above, temples and images of gods had already become widespread throughout India in the 4th or 5th century B. C.[1698] The first view is supported with arguments of some weight by Dr. Farquhar in J. R. A. S. for 1928 pp. 15-23. *Vide* also Dr. Charpentier in Indian Antiquary for 1927 pp. 89 ff. and 130 ff. But I do not hold that the reasons for this view are convincing. There is no apparent reason why only about 400 B. C. image worship should have been copied from the śūdras by the brāhmaṇas. The śūdra though given an inferior status had become a part of Indian Society at least a thousand years before 400 B. C., as the Puruṣasūkta shows. He had been serving the brāhmaṇas for centuries before that date and brāhmaṇas could in the times of the sūtras partake of food cooked by him and could take śūdra women in marriage. So, if the worship of images was a practice borrowed from the śūdras, it should have prevailed at least a thousand years before 400 B. C. The fact that the *devalaka* brāhmaṇa (one who maintained himself by attending on images either for a salary or by appropriating what was placed before the image) was not to be invited at a śrāddha and had thus an inferior status (Manu III. 152) is to be explained in a different way. The institution of worshippers of images had not an hoary antiquity behind it in the time of

1697. See 'History of Buddhist thought' by Dr. E. J. Thomas (1933) for these dates.

1698. Vide Mr. O. C. Ganguly's paper 'the antiquity of the Buddha Image' in Ostasiatische Zeitschrift Neue Folge XIV, Heft 2/3, where he adduces very weighty grounds for holding that the beginning of the cult of the worship of the image of Buddha lies somewhere between 150 B. C. to 50 B. C.

Manu, as that of priests officiating at the śrauta or gṛhya sacrifices had in his day; besides such men must have neglected the principal duty of a brāhmaṇa (viz. study of the Veda) and so they were looked down upon. Even in the times of the Brāhmaṇas the simple gṛhya sacrifices were being raised to the level of śrauta rites, which were gradually becoming less and less frequent. The Ait. Br. (11. 8) prescribes that when a man takes up an offering to a deity and is about to say 'vaṣaṭ' he should contemplate upon that deity for whom the offering is meant.[1699] This would naturally lead the worshipper to invest the deity with anthropomorphic attributes. The Nirukta devotes some space (VII. 6–7) to the consideration of the question of the form of the deities referred to in the Vedic *mantras*.[1700] Three views are propounded, viz. (1) they have an anthropomorphic form, (2) they have no anthromorphic form, (3) they may partake of both characters, i. e. the deities though really non-anthropomorphic may assume various forms for carrying out some purpose or activity. This last view contains the doctrine of *avatāras*. When Vedic sacrifices became less and less prevalent owing to various causes (particularly because of the doctrine of ahiṁsā, the various upāsanās and the philosophy of the Absolute set forth in the Upaniṣads), there arose the cult of the worship of images. Originally, it was not so universal or elaborate as it became in medieval and modern times.

The literature on the subject of image-worship is vast. The principal topics are: the substances from which images are made, the principal deities of which images were or are worshipped, the proportions of the various limbs in manufacturing images, the consecration of images and temples, the ritual of image worship. The subject of consecration of images and temples will be dealt with later on under the topic of Pratiṣṭhā.

In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 58, where images of Rāma, of Viṣṇu with eight or four or two arms, of Baladeva, Ekānaṁśā, Śāmba, Brahmā, Skanda, Śiva, Girijā as half of Śiva's body, Buddha, Jina, the Sun, the Mātṛs, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera are described); in the Matsyapurāṇa chap.

1699. यस्यै देवतायै हविर्गृहीतं स्यात्तां ध्यायेद्वषट्करिष्यन् । ऐ. ब्रा. 11.8, quoted by शंकराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 33.

1700. अथाकाराचिन्तनं देवतानाम् । पुरुषविधाः स्युरित्येकम् । ..... अपुरुषविधाः स्युरित्यपरम् । ..... अपि वा उभयविधाः स्युः अपि वा अपुरुषविधानामेव सतामेते कर्मात्मानः स्युः । निरुक्त VII. 6–7.

258–264; in the Agnipurāṇa chap. 44–53, the Viṣṇudharmottara (III. 44 ff.) and other purāṇas, in the Mānasāra, the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (Vratakhaṇḍa vol. II part 1, pp. 76–222), in several *āgama* works, in the Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa of sūtradhāra Maṇḍana of the 15th century (ed. by Upendra Mohan Sāṅkhyatīrtha, Calcutta, 1936) and similar works elaborate rules are given on pratimālakṣaṇa (the characteristics of the images of gods and goddesses). They cannot be dealt with here. In modern times many works and papers, several of them illustrated with plates and photographs, have been published on this subject.[1701]

Medieval digests like the Sm. C., the Smṛtimuktāphala, the Pūjā-prakāśa devote considerable space to the subject of devapūjā (image-worship) in its various aspects, the last work containing 382 pages in print on this subject. A very concise statement of only a few topics is attempted below.

1701. Besides the Annual Reports and Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, the following is a modest list of such works:

Ars Asiatica (in French), some volumes of which such as vol. III (on Śaiva sculpture), vol. X (on Ajanta), vol. XV (about images at Mathurā) are specially useful; Ludwig Bachhofer's 'Early Indian Sculpture' in two volumes (1929, Paris) with 161 plates (from 300 B.C. to 200 A.D.); Brindaban Bhattacharya's 'Indian Images' vol. I (1921, a very useful work containing original Sanskrit texts from the Vedas to the latest works and several illustrations); N. K. Bhattasali's 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum'; Rai Bahadur Chanda's 'Medieval Indian Sculptures in the British Museum' (1936); 'Ancient India' (from the earliest times to the Guptas as to architecture and sculpture) by K. de B. Codrington 1926, with numerous plates; A. K. Coomarswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art'; A. Foucher's 'Beginnings of Buddhist Art' (1917 translated by L. A. Thomas and F. W. Thomas) and 'L' Arte Gréco-Buddhique du Gandhāra' (in two vols. 1905 and 1918); O. C. Gangoly's 'South Indian Bronzes' (1915, with 95 full page illustrations and 45 smaller plates); T. A. Gopinath Rao's 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' (in 4 parts, containing quotations from purāṇas, śilpaśāstras and other works and numerous illustrations); Grünwedel's 'Buddhist Art in India' (English translation by Agnes C. Gibson revised by James Burgess, 1901); E. B. Havell's 'Indian Sculpture and Painting' (London, 1908), 'the Idoals of Indian Art' (London, 1911), 'Hand-book of Indian Art' (London, 1920); H. Krishna Sastry's 'South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses'; Nihar Ranjan Ray's 'Brahmanical Gods of Burma' (1932); V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India' (1911, with hundreds of illustrations); 'Mūrtivijñāna' (in Marathi) by G. H. Khare (1939, Poona).

The word 'devapūjā'[1702] occurs in the Vārtika on Pāṇini I. 3. 25. The digests try to show that, just as *yāga* (sacrifice) consists in giving up materials accompanied by a mantra with reference to a deity that is then principally in view, so *pūjā* also is *yāga*, as therein also there is giving up (or dedication) of materials to a deity.[1703]

The next question is; who are entitled to perform *devapūjā*. Men and women of all varṇas and even the untouchables were to worship Viṣṇu who incarnated himself as man-lion, according to the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa and Vṛddha-Hārīta[1704] (VI. 6 and 256). All the male members of a joint undivided family are to perform separately saṁdhyā, brahmayajña and agnihotra (if they have consecrated the śrauta and gṛhya fires) but devapūjā and vaiśvadeva will be only one for the whole family.[1705] The time for devapūjā is after tarpaṇa at noon and before vaiśvadeva; but some place it after vaiśvadeva. According to Dakṣa II. 30-31 all *devakārya* (duties and ceremonies in honour of gods) must be performed in the first half of the day.

One of the peculiar tenets of Hinduism is *adhikāra-bheda* (difference in rights, duties, ceremonies and worship dependent on difference in intellectual, emotional and spiritual equipment). Not every one was capable of the same discipline and regimen. Image worship was not absolutely necessary for everybody and the ancient writers never thought that when they worshipped an image they were simply paying homage to a material object. They believed that they contemplated the One Supreme Spirit in the form of the image or symbol before them, which helped ordinary people to concentrate their mind on the Godhead to the exclusion of other external and engrossing objects and pursuits.

1702. उपाद्देवपूजासंगतकरणयोः। वार्तिक on पा. I. 3. 25 उपान्मन्त्रकरणे. Vide महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 281 which shows that this वार्तिक was read somewhat differently by others even so early.

1703. यजतिचोदना द्रव्यदेवताक्रियं समुदाये कृतार्थत्वात्। तदुक्ते श्रपणाज्जुहोतिरासेचनाधिकः स्यात्। जै. IV. 2. 27-28, on which शबर distinguishes between याग, होम and दान as follows यजतिर्ददातिर्जुहोतिषु सर्वेषूत्सर्गः समानः। तत्र यजतिर्देवतामुद्दिश्य उत्सर्गमात्रं, जुहोतिरासेचनाधिकः, ददातिरुत्सर्गपूर्वकः परस्वत्वेन संबन्ध इत्येष एषां विशेष इति।; तत्र पूजा नाम देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागात्मकत्वाद्याग एव। पूजाप्रकाश p. 1.

1704. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः स्त्रियः शूद्रास्त्यजातयः। संपूज्य तं सुरश्रेष्ठं भक्त्या सिंहपुरेश्वरम्। मुच्यन्ते चाशुभैर्दुःखैर्जन्मकोटिसमुद्भवैः। नृसिंहपुराण quoted in पूजाप्रकाश p. 1, मूढकमलाकर p. 33.

1705. Vide शाकल quoted in the व्यवहारमयूख p. 133.

Acoording [1706] to Nārada, the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XI. 27. 9 and Vṛddha-Hārīta (VI. 128-129) Hari is to be worshipped in water, in fire, in the heart, in the sun, on the altar, in brāhmaṇas and in images. Śātātapa [1707] says 'the gods of ordinary men are in water, those of the knowing are in heaven, of the ignorant and of those of small intelligence are in wood and clay (i. e. images) and of the *yogin* in his own self (or heart)'. God is worshipped in fire by throwing oblations, in water by throwing flowers, in the heart by contemplation and in the orb of the sun by *japa*.

The materials out of which images are to be made are precious stones, gold, silver, copper, brass, iron, stone, wood or clay. One made of precious stones was the best and the most inferior was that made of clay. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (XI. 27. 12) says that images are eight-fold viz. made of stone, wood, iron, sandal-wood or similar paste, drawn (as a picture), made of sand, of precious stones and lastly mental [1708]. The Matsya-purāṇa (258. 20-21) adds 'lead and bronze' to the above eight of the Skanda. *Vide* also Vṛddha-Hārīta VIII. 120. Among stones the Śālagrāma stone (a black stone containing fossil ammonite found in the Gaṇḍakī river near a village called Śālagrāma) and the stone from Dvārakā marked with a cakra (discus) are highly prized in the worship of Viṣṇu. Vṛddha-Hārīta (VIII. 183-189) highly extols Śālagrāma-pūjā. It is stated by Vṛddha-Hārīta that only *dvijas* can worship Śālagrāma and not śūdras. Aocording to several purāṇa passages quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa (pp. 20-21) even women and śūdras can perform

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1706. साकारा विकृतिर्ज्ञेया तस्य सर्वं जगत्स्मृतम्। पूजाध्यानादिकं कार्यं साकारस्यैव शस्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 46. 3; नारदोपि। अप्स्वग्नौ हृदये सूर्ये स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च। षट्स्थानेषु हरेः सम्यगर्चनं मुनिभिः स्मृतम् ॥ quoted in पूजाप्रकाश p. 10 and स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 384); ऋग्विधान III. 29. 2 has the same words. 'हृदये प्रतिमायां वा जले सवितृमण्डले। वह्नौ च स्थण्डिलेऽग्नौ वा सूर्ये वाप्सु हृदि द्विजे। द्रव्येण भक्तियुक्तोर्चेत् स्वगुरुं माममायया ॥ भागवत XI. 27. 9; vide also वृद्धहारीत VIII. 91-92.

1707. अप्सु देवा मनुष्याणां दिवि देवा मनीषिणाम्। काष्ठलोष्ठेषु मूर्खाणां युक्तस्यात्मनि देवता ॥ शातातप in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 382; अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो हृदि देवो मनीषिणाम्। प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥ quoted in पूजाप्रकाश p. 8 (this is वसिष्ठपुराण 62. 5 and ऋग्विधान III. 29. 3); हविषाग्नौ जले पुष्पैर्ध्यानैर्वा हृदये हरिम्। अर्चन्ति सूरयो नित्यं जपेन रविमण्डले ॥ स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 384).

1708. रत्नजा हेमजा चैव राजती ताम्रजा तथा। रैतिकी वा तथा लौही शैलजा द्रुमजा तथा ॥ अधमाधमा विज्ञेया सृण्मयी प्रतिमा च या। सर्वकामप्रदा चैव रत्नजा चोत्तमोत्तमा ॥ स्कन्दपुराण quoted in पूजाप्रकाश p. 11; शैली दारुमयी लौही लेप्या लेख्या च सैकती। मनोमयी मणिमयी प्रतिमाष्टविधा स्मृता ॥ भागवतपुराण XI. 27. 12, quoted in पूजाप्र. p. 116.

the worship of Śālagrāma[1709], but they should not touch it. Similarly they are not to worship *liṅgas* established in the past by sages &c. This worship of Śālagrāma is comparatively ancient. Śaṁkarācārya in his commentary on the Vedāntasūtra speaks in several places of Śālagrāma[1710] being worshipped as a symbol of Hari. Five kinds of stones were used in worship, viz. Bāṇa-liṅgas from Narmadā in Śiva worship, Śālagrāma in Viṣṇu worship, metallic stone in Durgā worship, crystal for sun-worship and red stone in Gaṇeśa worship. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (II. 131 and VII. 185) refers to the establishment of Bāṇaliṅgas[1711] of Śiva in Kashmir taken from the Narmadā. About the images to be worshipped in the house it is stated in the Matsyapurāṇa (258. 22) that they should be in size as big as a part of the thumb up to 12 aṅgulas and not more; but an image to be established in a temple should be up to sixteen aṅgulas and not more or its proper height should be arrived at as follows: divide the height of the door into eight parts; taking seven parts divide them into one-third and two-thirds; the pedestal of the image should be one-third and the image should be two-thirds of the seven parts (i. e. $\frac{2}{7}$ of seven-eighths of the height of the door). Vide Matsyapurāṇa 258. 23-25.

Among the gods popularly worshipped the principal ones are Viṣṇu under various names and in various *avatāras*, Śiva in his various forms, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and the Sun.[1712] The

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1709. शालग्रामशिला यत्र यत्र द्वारवतीशिला । उभयोः संगमो यत्र तत्र मुक्तिर्न संशयः ॥ नारद quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 384); vide also पूजाप्र. p. 11 and आचाररत्न p. 78a quoting स्कन्दपुराण. द्विजानामेव नान्येषां शालग्रामशिलार्चनम्। वृद्धहारीत VIII. 190.

1710. एवमणीयस्त्वादिगुणगणोपेत ईश्वरस्तत्र हृदयपुण्डरीके निध्याय्यो द्रष्टव्य उपदिश्यते यथा शालग्रामे हरिः । शंकर on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 2. 7; vide also on I. 2. 14 and I. 3. 14. (where he says यथा शालग्रामे विष्णुः संनिहित इति तद्वत्). Vide शूद्रकमलाकर p. 35 'नूतनलिङ्गार्चा शालग्रामादौ तु स्पर्शरहिता पूजा शूद्राद्यैः कार्या' and p. 37 quotes a passage from the भविष्यपुराण which allows even म्लेच्छस to worship Devī and *Liṅgas* made of clay or sand (पार्थिवलिङ्ग).

1711. स्थाने स्थाने जलान्तश्च बहुसंख्यैर्निवेशितैः । अनयत्नर्मदाभङ्गि शिवलिङ्गैस्तरङ्गिणीः ॥ राजतरङ्गिणी II. 131.

1712. आदित्यमग्निकां विष्णुं गणनाथं महेश्वरम् । पञ्चयज्ञपरो नित्यं गृहस्थः पञ्च पूजयेत् ॥ संग्रह quoted in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 384). Vide पूजाप्रकाश p. 239 where a verse is quoted which supports the diagram in the text 'शम्भौ मध्यगते हरीनहरभूदेव्यो हरौ शंकरेभास्येनागसुता रवौ हरगणेशाजाग्निकाः स्थापिताः । देव्यां विष्णुहरैकदन्तरवयो लम्बोदरेऽजेश्वरेनार्याः शंकरभागतोऽतिसुखदा व्यस्तास्तु ते हानिदाः ॥'. This verse is quoted in the आचाररत्न (p. 81a) as from the चमत्कारप्रकाश of बोपदेव.

worship of these deities (called pañcāyatanapūjā) is said to have been popularised by the great Śaṁkarācārya. In modern times these five devatās are still worshipped, but they are differently arranged according as the worshipper places one or other of the five in the centre. The following diagram will show the five positions :

East

	Viṣṇupañcāyatana	Sivapañcāyatana	Sūrya-pañcāyatana	Devī-pañcāyatana	Gaṇeśa-pañcāyatana
North	Śaṁkara 2 Gaṇeśa 3 Viṣṇu 1 Devī 5 Sūrya 4	Viṣṇu 2 Sūrya 3 Śaṁkara 1 Devī 5 Gaṇeśa 4	Śaṁkara 2 Gaṇeśa 3 Sūrya 1 Devī 5 Viṣṇu 4	Viṣṇu 2 Śaṁkara 3 Devī 1 Sūrya 5 Gaṇeśa 4	Viṣṇu 2 Śaṁkara 3 Gaṇeśa 1 Devī 5 Sūrya 4

West

In medieval and modern times Viṣṇu has been deemed to have descended to earth ten times to preserve the world and its culture. A brief account of the development of this theory will not be out of place here. The ten well-known *avatāras* are Matsya (fish), Kūrma (tortoise), Varāha (boar), Narasiṁha (man-lion), Vāmana (dwarf), Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin. There are faint glimmerings of the theory of avatāras and of these forms even in the earliest Vedic Literature. In Ṛg. VIII. 17. 13[1713] it is said that Indra was the grandson of the sage Śṛṅgavṛṣa. This may be interpreted as meaning that Indra was supposed to have descended on the earth in a human form. In Ṛg. IV. 26. 1 the sage Vāmadeva exclaims[1714] 'I was Manu and I was also the Sun'. This is referred to in the Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10 and is often relied upon in support of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. It may be capable of that interpretation, but if that is not accepted it will at least tend to support the proposition that the Vedic sage thought that the

1713. यस्ते शृङ्गवृषो नपात् प्रणपात्कुण्डपाय्यः। न्यस्मिन्दध्र आ मनः॥ ऋ. VIII. 17. 13. निरुक्त VIII. 5 explains 'नपात् इति अनन्तरायाः प्रजायाः नामधेयम्।'. सायण takes नपात् to mean पुत्र here.

1714. अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चाहं कक्षीवाँ ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः। ऋ. IV. 26. 1; ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत्तदात्मानमेवावेत् । अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति । तस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवद्यो यो देवानां प्रत्यबुध्यत स एव तदभवत्तथर्षीणां तथा मनुष्याणां तद्धैतत्पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेति। बृह. उप. I. 4.10; शास्त्रयोनित्वात् तृपदेशो वामदेववत् । वेदान्तसूत्र I. 1.30.

Sun could be born on the earth as a human being (i. e. there was an avatāra of the Sun). There is another sense in which this passage of the Ṛg and that of the Bṛ. Up. are understood in the Vedāntasūtra I. 1. 30 viz. that Vāmadeva had realized that his soul was non-different from the Supreme Soul, Brahma. The elements of the avatāra of Matsya are probably suggested by the story of Manu who was saved from a flood by a great horned fish to whose horn Manu tied the rope of his ship when the flood rose. Vide Śat. Bṛ. I. 8. 1. 1-6 (S. B. E. vol. 12, pp. 216-218).[1715]

The tortoise avatāra was probably suggested by the legend that Prajāpati having assumed the form of a tortoise created living beings and that as the words *kūrma* (tortoise) and *kaśyapa* mean the same object all creatures are said to be descended from (or to belong to) Kaśyapa (Śat. Br. VII. 5. 1. 5, S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 390).[1716] The peculiar exploit of the Boar incarnation, viz. raising up the earth from the bottom of the ocean, is alluded to in the Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 2. 11 (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 451) 'a boar called Emūṣa raised the earth up and he was her lord Prajāpati.'[1717] In the Ṛg. Viṣṇu is said to have pierced Varāha (I. 61. 7) and that he being incited by Indra brings to the worshipper a hundred buffaloes, rice cooked in milk, and the boar (called) Emūṣa (VIII. 77. 10). The Tai. Ār. X. 1 refers to this myth. In the Kāṭhaka S. VIII. 2 Prajāpati is said to have become a boar and plunged in water. Vide also Tai. S. VII. 1. 5. 1 and Tai. Br. I. 1. 3. Some elements of the story of the destruction of Hiraṇyakaśipu by Viṣṇu in the man-lion form are supplied by the story of the slaughter of the demon Namuci by Indra at dawn with the foam of waters, since Indra had agreed with Namuci that 'he would not slay him by day or by night, with the dry or moist

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1715. स औच उत्थिते नावमापेदे तं स मत्स्य उपन्यापुप्लुवे तस्य शृङ्गे नावः पाशं प्रतिमुमोच तेनैतमुत्तरं गिरिमतिदुद्राव । शतपथब्रा. I. 8. 1. 5. Vide an interesting and learned article by Prof. Macdonell in J. R. A. S. 1895 pp. 165–189 on the mythological basis of some of the incarnations.

1716. स यत्कूर्मो नाम । एतद्वै रूपं कृत्वा प्रजापतिः प्रजा असृजत यदसृजताकरोत्त दकरोत्तस्मात्कूर्मः कश्यपो वै कूर्मस्तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति । शतपथब्रा. VII. 5. 1. 5.

1717. इयती ह वा इयमग्रे पृथिव्यास प्रादेशमात्री तामेमूष इति वराह उज्जघान सोऽस्याः पतिः प्रजापतिः । शतपथ XIV. 1. 2. 11; उद्बृहतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना । भूमिर्धेनुर्धरणी लोकधारिणी । तै. आ. X. 1. वराह may in the Ṛg. mean 'a boar-like cloud demon' or 'a boar'. Vide निरुक्त V. 4.

or with the palm or with the fist, or with staff or bow &c.' (Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 1-4, S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 222-223). Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 4 quotes Rg. VIII. 14. 13 which narrates that Indra cut off the head of Namuci with the foam of waters.[1718] In the ancient Tamil work Silappadikāram (translated by Prof. V. R. Diksitar) there is a reference to the Narasiṁha *avatāra*. The special achievement of the dwarf incarnation, viz. the request of the dwarf for as much space as would be covered by his three steps, has its counter-part in the Rgveda, where the principal exploits of Viṣṇu are the taking of three steps and making the earth steady or fast.[1719] Vide Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 1 for the Dwarf incarnation. In the Chāndogya Up. III. 17. 6 it is stated that the sage Ghora Āṅgirasa imparted a certain instruction to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī.[1720] This may have supplied some part of the legends about Kṛṣṇa in the Great Epic and the Purāṇas.

We saw above that according to Patañjali Vāsudeva was not a mere kṣatriya but an incarnation of God. Patañjali quotes a quarter of a verse which speaks of Kaṁsa being killed by Vāsudeva and refers to painted shows wherein the party of Vāsudeva were dressed in black and of Kaṁsa in red (*vide* Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 36 and p. 119). Patañjali also speaks of Ugrasena as a member of the Andhaka clan and Viṣvaksena as a Vṛṣṇi and of Baladeva also (Mahābhāṣya, vol. II. p. 257 on Pāṇini IV. 1. 114) and of Satyabhāmā (vol. I. p. 111) and Akrūra (vol. II. p. 295). So the main story of Kṛṣṇa and persons connected with his ministry on earth as gathered from the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṁśa &c. were known to Patañjali and to some extent also to Pāṇini. The Besnagara Inscription of Heliodorus (E. I. vol. X. Appendix p. 63 No. 669) shows that even Greeks became devotees of Viṣṇu. The Eran Stone

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1718. नमुचेरासुरस्य व्युष्टायां रात्रावनुदित आदित्ये न दिवा न नक्तमिति शिर उदवासयत्। तस्मादेतदृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम्। अपां फेनेन ..... स्रुधः॥ इति। शतपथब्रा. XII. 7. 3. 3-4; ऋ. VIII. 14. 13 is अपां फेनेन नमुचेः शिर इन्द्रोदवर्तयः। विश्वा यदजयः स्पृधः॥.

1719. इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम्। समूढमस्य पांसुरे॥ त्रीणि पदा विचक्रमे विष्णुर्गोपा अदाभ्यः। ऋ. I. 22. 17-18; vide also Rg. I. 154. 1-4, I. 155. 4, VI. 49. 13 &c; न ते विष्णो जायमानो न जातो देव महिम्नः परमन्तमाप। उदस्तभ्ना नाकमृष्वं बृहन्तं दाधर्थ प्राचीं ककुभं पृथिव्याः॥ ..... यस्तभ्ना रोदसी विष्णवेते दाधर्थ पृथिवीमभितो मयूखैः॥ ऋ. VII. 99. 2-3.

1720. तद्धैतद्घोर आङ्गिरसः कृष्णाय देवकीपुत्रायोक्त्वोवाचापिपास एव स बभूव। छान्दोग्य उप. III. 17. 6. Vide 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivisim' by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar p. 11 on Kṛṣṇa.

Inscription (vide Gupta Inscriptions p. 158 No. 36) refers to the Boar Incarnation. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa II. 4. 18 declares that even Kirātas, Hūṇas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Suhmas, Yavanas, Khasas and others and even sinners, when they throw themselves on the mercy of Viṣṇu as devotees, are purified. It may therefore be assumed that the theory of the avatāras of Viṣṇu (whether ten or less or more) had been prevalent some centuries before the Christian era.

In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa it is frequently stated that God comes down to earth often for punishing the wicked, for the protection of the good and the establishment of *dharma*.[1721] In the Śāntiparva (339. 103-104) the *avatāras* are stated to be ten and they are the same as now accepted except that Haṁsa is mentioned instead of Buddha and Kṛṣṇa is called Sātvata. Among the Purāṇas also several do not mention Buddha as an avatāra. The Mārkaṇḍeya (47. 7) speaks of Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha incarnations and in 4. 53-56 begins with Varāha and mentions Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana and Māthura (i. e. Kṛṣṇa). The Matsya (47. 39-45) speaks of 12 avatāras, some of which are different from the usual ones and verse 106 states that Bhṛgu cursed Viṣṇu to be born as a human being seven times, as he killed a woman, viz. his wife. The Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 285. 6-7) mentions the well-known ten avatāras including Buddha and this passage is quoted by Aparārka on p. 338. The Matsya-purāṇa 47. 247 speaks of Buddha as the 9th (avatāra). The Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa chap. 36, the Agni-purāṇa chap. 2 to 16 and the Vārāha-purāṇa 4. 2 enumerate the well-known ten avatāras. The Vṛddha-Hārīta smṛti[1722] (X. 145-146) enumerates ten avatāras, includes Hayagrīva in them (in place of Buddha) and expressly says that Buddha should not be worshipped. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā-

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1721. Vide Hopkins' 'Epic Mythology' 1915, pp. 209-219 and Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XI. p. 121 ff. for detailed information on the avatāras of Viṣṇu; note the following: असतां निग्रहार्थाय धर्मसंरक्षणाय च। अवतीर्णो मनुष्याणामजायत यदुक्षये॥ वनपर्व 272. 71; बह्वीः संसरमाणो वै योनीर्वर्तानि सत्तम। धर्मसंरक्षणार्थाय धर्मसंस्थापनाय च॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 54.13; भगवद्गीता IV. 7-8, वनपर्व 272. 61-70, 276. 8. &c.; अयोध्याकाण्ड I. 7, उत्तरकाण्ड 8. 27; हंसः कूर्मश्च मत्स्यश्च प्रादुर्भावाश्च द्विजोत्तम। वराहो नारसिंहश्च वामनो राम एव च। रामो दाशरथिश्चैव सात्वतः कल्किरेव च। शान्तिपर्व 339. 103-104.

1722. मत्स्यं कूर्मं च वाराहं नारसिंहं च वामनम्। श्रीरामं बलभद्रं च कृष्णं कल्किनमव्ययम्॥ हयग्रीवं जगद्योनिं पूजयेद्वैष्णवोत्तमः। नार्चयेज्जागवं बुद्धं सर्वत्रापि च कर्मसु॥ वृद्धहारीत X. 145-146.

kāṇḍa 109. 34) Buddha is reviled as a thief and an atheist.[1723] This passage may be an interpolation. In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa there are three different lists of avatāras at I. 3 (where 22 avatāras occur in which Buddha, Kalkin, Vyāsa, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are separately enumerated), II. 7 (where besides the well-known avatāras, Kapila, Dattātreya and others are mentioned), and at VI. 8 Buddha and Kalkin are both mentioned in verse 17.[1724] The Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 159–160) quotes a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa about a *vrata* on the 7th of the bright half of Vaiśākha where it is stated that Viṣṇu as Buddha started the Śākyadharma and that on the 7th day of Vaiśākha when the moon is in conjunction with the Puṣya constellation, the image of Buddha should be bathed to the accompaniment of sayings of the Śākya and gifts of garments should be made to Śākya ascetics. The same work (pp. 247–248) quotes a passage of the Varāhapurāṇa on the observances of Buddha-dvādaśī, when a golden image of Buddha was to be worshipped and given to a brāhmaṇa. In memoir No. 26 of the Archæological Survey of India, it is stated (p. 5) that in an inscription from South India of about the 7th century A. D. occurs a verse in a mutilated form in which Buddha is enumerated among the ten avatāras (...narasiṁhotha Vāmanaḥ Rāmo Rāmaśca Kṛṣṇaśca Buddhaḥ Kalkī ca te daśa).[1725] From the above discussion it follows that Buddha became in popular view an avatāra of Viṣṇu for the Hindus from about the 7th century A. D. Even about that time he was not universally so treated and orthodox writers like Kumārila (who flourished somewhere about 650 to 750 A. D.) did not admit that he was an avatāra. In his Tantravārtika (p. 195 on Jaimini I. 3. 4) Kumārilabhaṭṭa says that the Śākya texts were promulgated by Buddha and others that had strayed from the path of the three Vedas and

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1723. यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धस्तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि। अयोध्याकाण्ड 109. 34.

1724. अवतारा ह्यसंख्येया हरेः सत्त्वनिधेर्द्विजाः। भागवत I. 3. 26; अष्टाविंशतिमे प्राप्ते विष्णुः कलियुगे सति। शाक्यान् विनष्टधर्मांश्च बुद्धो भूत्वा प्रवर्तयत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in कृत्यर. p. 159; 'स्थापयेत्तत्र सौवर्णं बुद्धं कृत्वा विचक्षणः। तमप्येवं तु संपूज्य ब्राह्मणाय निवेदयेत्॥ ..... बुद्धोदनस्य बुद्धोभूत् स्वयं पुत्रो जनार्दनः। ... ... सुक्त्वा राज्यश्रियं सोथ गतिं परमकां गतः॥ वराहपुराण quoted in कृत्यर. pp. 247–248.

1725. मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नरसिंहोथ वामनः। रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश॥ वराहपुराण IV. 2; the inscription in the memoir 26 (p. 5) contains the verse in this form. Vide 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' pp. 41–42 for the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

that acted contrary to the Vedas and asks [1726] the question "what assurance is there that one, who, himself being a *kṣatriya*, transgressed the dharma laid down for kṣatriyas and betook himself to the profession of a religious teacher and accepted gifts, would impart instruction in dharma that would not lead to confusion? It has been said 'one should leave at a distance a person who does acts contrary to the other world. How can one who deceives himself confer benefit on another'"? The Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira (60. 19) states the persons who are to hold the office of worshipper in the temples of several deities, viz. the Bhāgavatas for Viṣṇu, the Magas (śākadvīpīya brāhmaṇas) in temples of the sun, *dvijas* smeared with ashes in Śiva temples, those who know the group of mātṛs in the temples of the Mother Goddesses, brāhmaṇas in the temples of Brahmā, Buddhists in the temples of Buddha who was good to all and whose mind was full of peace, naked ascetics in the temples of Jinas; whoever is a devotee of a particular god should worship that god according to the procedure prescribed in his own cult.[1727]

1726. शाक्यादिवचनानि कतिपयबुद्धादानादिवचनवर्जं सर्वाण्येव समस्तचतुर्दशविद्यास्थानविरुद्धानि त्रयीमार्गव्युत्थितविरुद्धाचरणैर्बुद्धादिभिः प्रणीतानि। ... स्वधर्मातिक्रमेण च येन क्षत्रियेण सता प्रवक्तृत्वप्रतिग्रहौ प्रतिपन्नौ स धर्ममविप्लुतमुपदेक्ष्यतीति कः समाश्वासः। उक्तं च। परलोकविरुद्धानि कुर्वाणं दूरतस्त्यजेत्। आत्मानं योतिसंधत्ते सोन्यस्मै स्यात्कथं हितः। इति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 195. The verse परलोक &c. is शान्तिपर्व 143. 13, the first half being somewhat different (though the sense is the same). A ब्राह्मण alone was entitled to accept gifts and propound dharma. Vide Manu X. 1.

1727. विष्णोर्भागवतान्मगांश्च सवितुः शम्भोः सभस्मद्विजान् मातॄणामपि मातृमण्डलविदो विप्रान् विदुर्ब्रह्मणः। शाक्यान्सर्वहितस्य शान्तमनसो नग्नान्विनानां विदुर्ये यं देवमुपाश्रिताः स्वविधिना तैस्तस्य कार्या क्रिया॥ बृहत्संहिता 60.19. Vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. V. p. 382 where an analysis of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (last 12 chapters) is given. Sāmba being cursed built a temple of Siva and brought 18 families of Magas from Sakadvīpa, with whom the Bhojas (a sub-division of Yādavas) entered into matrimonial alliances, whence the Magas came to be called Bhojakas. In the Harṣacarita IV Bāṇa speaks of a Bhojaka astrologer called Tāraka who predicts on Harṣa's birth his greatness and the commentator states that 'Bhojaka' means 'Maga'. Vide Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' vol. I. pp. 102–103 where he describes the Sākadvīpī brāhmaṇas as Māgadha brāhmaṇas and not as Magas. For Sun-worship and the Magas, vide 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' pp. 151–155. *Vide* Weber's essay on the Magavyakti of Kṛṣṇadāsa for the Magabrāhmaṇas and E. I. vol. II. p. 330 ff, the Govindapura stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara, who was a Maga, in śaka 1059 (1137–38 A. D.), where it is said that the Magas were sprung from the

(*Continued on next page*)

Kṣemendra (about 1066 A. D.) in his Daśāvatāra-carita and the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva (about 1180–1200 A. D.) speak of Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Therefore at least before or about the 10th century A. D. Buddha had come to be looked upon as an avatāra of Viṣṇu throughout India.[1728] The total disappearance of Buddhism from India, the land of its birth, is a most striking phenomenon, which as stated by A. Schweitzer in 'Indian thought and its development' (tr. by Mrs. C. E. B. Russell, 1935) p. 137, cannot be satisfactorily explained. Though Buddha did not accept the authority of the Vedas and of brāhmaṇas, nor the existence of an individual soul nor the Supreme Soul, he believed in *karma* and *punarjanma* and in release from *saṁsāra* by renunciation and desirelessness. When his followers deified Buddha, when animal sacrifices had been almost stopped and his insistence on universal charity and kindliness and on self-restraint were universally accepted by the followers of the Vedic religion, Buddha came to be deemed an avatāra of Viṣṇu, as the *raison d'être* for a separate cult ceased and the decadence of morals among monks and nuns hastened the downfall of Buddhism, the finishing touches being added by the Moslem invasions from about 1200 A. D. No one can affirm that persecution had anything to do with the disappearance of Buddhism from India. Though it cannot be said that there was no religious persecution whatever at any time in India, the evidence for persecution is very limited and such persecution if any as may have existed was as nothing compared to the persecution of Christians by other Christians and of Jews in all centuries and particularly in the 20th century by several so-called Christian powers. The few well-authenticated cases of large-scale persecutions are those of Śaśāṅka who persecuted the Buddhists (vide Beal's 'Records of the eastern world,' vol. I p. 212, vol. II. p. 42, 91, 118, 121), of Mihirakula, of a Pāṇḍya king (in the 11th

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sun's own body, were brought from Śakadvīpa by Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, and that the first Maga was a Bhāradvāja. Vide also E. I. vol. IX. p. 279 the Ghaṭiyāla Inscriptions (near Jodhpur) of Pratīhāra Kakkaka written by Mātṛravi, a Maga, in *saṁvat* 918 (861–62 A. D.) and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, chap. 139–40 for further details, such as growing beards, being called Bhojakas &c. Bhīṣmaparva chap. 11 describes Śākadvīpa and verse 36 speaks of the country of Maṅgas (Magas ?).

1728. Vide the first *aṣṭapadī* of the Gītagovinda प्रलयपयोधिजले धृतवानसि वेदम् । ..... निन्दसि यज्ञविधेरहह श्रुतिजातम् । सदयहृदय दर्शितपशुघातम् । केशव धृतबुद्धशरीर जय जगदीश हरे ॥

century) who persecuted the Jainas. From Aśoka downwards, kings and the civil power always extended a generous tolerance to all sects (vide Aśoka's Rock Edict No. 12). The father of the great emperor Harṣa was a worshipper of the Sun, while Harṣa's elder brother Rājyavardhana was a Buddhist and Harṣa, though himself a Śaiva, speaks of his brother with greater reverence than of his own father (vide the Madhuban copperplate inscription in E. I. vol. VII p. 155 and I p. 67). Vide Barth's 'Religions of India' pp. 133–134, Farquhar's 'Outlines of the Religious Literature of India' pp. 169, 175 for general religious tolerance in ancient India.

Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were worshipped as avatāras of Viṣṇu at least several centuries before Christ. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (XI. 22) and the Meghadūta indicates that he regarded Vāmana as an avatāra of Viṣṇu as much as Rāma was. Similarly the Varāha and Narasiṁha avatāras are frequently spoken of in the Kādambarī. The *Trimūrti* i. e. the conception of the triune combination of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva into one Godhead is also an ancient one. The Mahābhārata (Vanaparva) gives expression to the idea that Prajāpati creates the world in the form of Brahmā, sustains it in the form of the great Puruṣa and annihilates it in the form of Rudra. Hopkins in his 'Epic Mythology' p. 231 holds that this is a solitary passage about *Trimūrti* and is a late one and that the Mahābhārata in general has no doctrine of Trimūrti, but rather of the equality of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa (X. 16) and Kumārasambhava (II. 4)[1729] breathes the same belief. The temples of Brahmā are now very few and far between, the most well-known being that at Puṣkara (Ajmer). There is a temple of Brahmā in the Idar State and another at Sādhi in the Padra Taluka of the Baroda State. The Padmapurāṇa (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 17) shows that the worship of Brahmā had declined at that time owing, it is said, to the curse of Sāvitrī.

Śiva worship appears to be the most ancient worship that is still prevalent. Sir John Marshall's work on Mohenjo-daro (vol. I. pp. 52–53 and plate XII No. 17) shows a figure that is most probably of Śiva as a great *yogin* surrounded by the

1729. सृज्यते ब्रह्ममूर्तिस्तु रक्षते पौरुषी तनुः । रौद्रीभावेन शमयेत्तिस्रोऽवस्थाः प्रजापतेः ॥ वनपर्व 272. 48; तमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने । गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥ कुमारसंभव II. 4. It is noteworthy that the three aspects of creation, preservation and destruction are ascribed by Kālidāsa to Brahmā here and not to Viṣṇu.

elephant, the tiger, the rhinoceros and the buffalo (as Śiva is called Paśupati). *Vide* also the Preface to vol. I. p. VII. At Mohenjo-daro the humped and short-horned bull is among the most prominent objects. Śiva as half male and half female was worshipped long before Kālidāsa (*vide* first verse of the Mālavikāgnimitra and Kumārasambhava VII. 28). Śiva is often spoken of as Pañcatuṇḍa (with five faces), the five aspects being respectively called Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna (vide Tai. Ār. X. 43–47, Viṣṇudharmottara III. 48. 1). Though in later times the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu abused each other, the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas exhibit a most tolerant spirit and say there is no difference between the two.[1730] *Vide* Vanaparva 39. 76 and 189. 5–6, Śānti 343. 132, Matsyapurāṇa 52. 23. The 1000 names of Viṣṇu are enumerated in Anuśāsanaparva 149. 14–120 and the 1000 names of Śiva in Anuśāsana 17 and Śānti 285. 74 ff.

About the images of the sun the Matsyapurāṇa (11. 31 and 33) enjoins that in painting pictures of the sun or in temples of the sun the feet of the sun are not to be drawn[1731] or shown.

About Gaṇeśa a few words have already been said (at pp. 213–216). Gaṇeśa came to be worshipped even by the Jainas. Vide Ācāra-dinakara (composed in *saṁvat* 1468) published in the Kharataragaccha-granthamālā (part II, 1923), where on p. 210 there is the procedure of consecrating an image of Gaṇeśa even for Jainas and 'Journal of Indian History', vol. 18 for 1939 p. 158 for different types of Gaṇeśa figures one of which has 18 arms. For a figure of Gaṇeśa with sweetmeats (of about 500 A. D.) vide 'Ancient India' by Codrington (Plate XXXIX). The Ācāradinakara says that images of Gaṇeśa may have two, four, six, nine, 18 or 108 arms. The Agnipurāṇa chap. 71, the Mudgalapurāṇa and Gaṇeśapurāṇa deal with Gaṇeśa worship, but their dates are uncertain. The Vārahapurāṇa chap. 23 narrates a fantastic story of the birth of Gaṇeśa. The Gaṇapatyatharvaśīrṣa (Anan. ed.) identifies Gaṇeśa with supreme Brahma.* The worship of the images of planets is

1730. शिवाय विष्णुरूपाय विष्णवे शिवरूपिणे। वनपर्व 39. 76; यस्त्वां वेत्ति स मां वेत्ति यस्त्वामनु स मामनु। नावयोरन्तरं किंचिन्मा ते भूद्बुद्धिरन्यथा॥ शान्ति. 343. 131; एकं निन्दति यस्तेषां सर्वानेव स निन्दति। एकं प्रशंसमानस्तु सर्वानेव प्रशंसति॥ वायु. 66.114.

1731. तस्माच्च धर्मकामार्थी चित्रेष्वायतनेषु च। न कुर्यात्कारयेत्पापी देवदेवस्य धीमतः॥ मत्स्यपुराण 11. 33; vide अपरार्क p. 570 for a similar rule quoted from the देवीपुराण and पद्मपुराण.

* Vide a learned monograph on Gaṇeśa by Alice Getty with a poetic Introduction by Prof. A. Foucher and many plates (1936, Oxford).

comparatively ancient. Yāj. I. 296-298 prescribes that the images for the worship of the nine *grahas* (planets) viz. the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu (the last two are the nodal points) should be made respectively of copper, crystal, red sandal-wood, gold (for both Mercury and Jupiter), silver, iron, lead and bronze. Yāj. then prescribes the details of the worship of the planets such as the clothes to be gifted, the flowers, incenses, offerings, and the mantras (from the Vāj. S.), the fuel-sticks, the food, and the fee. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 297 quotes nine verses from the Matsyapurāṇa, chap. 94, concerning the details of the images of the nine planets.

About Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, so early a writer as Daṇḍin (not later than 600 A. D.) says that she was 'sarvaśuklā' (all white).

Another deity whose worship is very popular in the Deccan is Dattātreya. His worship cannot have originated later than the first centuries of the Christian era. In the Jābālopaniṣad, he is referred to as a paramahaṁsa and there is an Upaniṣad named after him. Vanaparva 115, Anuśāsana 153, Śānti 49. 36, say that he conferred boons on Kārtavīrya. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (chap. 16-19) gives the story of his birth, calls him a yogin and asserts that he was offered wine and meat by his devotees (19. 10-12). The Bhāgavata IX. 23. 23, Matsya 47. 242-246 and other purāṇas also refer to him. In the Śiśupālavadha of Māgha he is spoken of as an *avatāra*.

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra[1732] chap. 65 contains one of the earliest detailed description of devapūjā (of Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu). "After having well bathed and washed his hands and feet and performed ācamana (sipping of water) he should worship Lord Vāsudeva who is without beginning or end, before an idol or on the sacrificial ground. Having given animated form in his mind to Viṣṇu with the mantra 'may the Aśvins who possess life give thee life' (Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ.

1732. अथातः स्नातः ... मन्यर्चयेत् (quoted above) । अश्विनोः प्राणस्तौ त इति जीवदानं दत्त्वा युञ्जते मन इत्यनुवाकेनावाहनं कृत्वा जानुभ्यां पाणिभ्यां शिरसा च नमस्कारं कुर्यात् । आपो हि ष्ठेति तिसृभिरर्घ्यं निवेदयेत् । हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः पाद्यम् । हं न आपो धन्वन्या इत्याचमनीयम् । इदमापः प्रवहतेति स्नानीयम् । रथेष्वक्षेषु वृषभस्य वाज इत्यनुलेपनालंकारौ । युवा सुवासा इति वासः । पुष्पावतीरिति पुष्पम् । धूरसि धूर्वेति धूपम् । तेजोसि शुक्रमिति दीपम् । दधिक्राण्ण इति मधुपर्कम् । हिरण्यगर्भ इत्यष्टाभिर्नैवेद्यम् । चामरं व्यजनं मात्रां छत्रं यानासने तथा । सावित्रेणैव तत्सर्वं देवाय विनिवेदयेत् ॥ एव मन्यर्च्य च जपेत् सूक्तं वै पौरुषं ततः । तेनैव जुहुयादाज्यं य इच्छेच्छाश्वतं पदम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 65. The text of तै. ब्रा. II. 7. 7 is रथे अक्षेषु वृषभस्य वाजे.

II. 3. 4) and having invited Viṣṇu with the *anuvāka* 'yuñjate manaḥ' (Rg. V. 81), he must worship God with a salutation with his knees, hands and head. With the three mantras 'āpo hi &c.' (Rg. X. 9. 1-3), he must announce the *arghya* (water respectfully offered for washing the hands); with the four mantras 'hiraṇyavarṇāh' (Tai. S. V. 6.1.1-2) the *pādya* (water for washing the feet); with 'may the waters of the plain propitiate us' (Atharva I. 6. 4), the 'ācamanīya' (the water for sipping); with Rg. I. 23. 22 the water meant for the bath (should be offered); with 'in chariots, in axles, in the strength of bulls' (Tai. Br. II. 7. 7) unguents and ornaments; with (Rg. III. 8. 4 'yuvā suvāsāḥ) a garment; with 'endowed with flowers' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 6. 1) a flower; with 'thou art a slayer, slay the enemies' (Vāj. S. I. 8) incense; with 'thou art lustre, thou art bright' (Vāj. S. XXII. 1) a lamp; with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Rg. IV. 39. 6) a *madhuparka* (honey mixture); with the eight mantras 'hiraṇyagarbhaḥ' (Rg. X. 121. 1-8) an offering of eatables; a chowrie, a fan, a looking glass, an umbrella, a vehicle, a seat, all these objects he must announce and place before God (Viṣṇu) muttering the Gāyatrī at the same time. After having thus worshipped Him, he must mutter the Puruṣasūkta. After that he who desires to obtain eternal bliss should make oblations of clarified butter, while reciting the verses of the same hymn (Rg. X. 90)." The Baud. gṛ. pariśeṣasūtra II. 14 describes[1733] the daily worship of Mahāpuruṣa (i. e. Viṣṇu). "A man after bathing should cowdung a pure and even spot and draw the image of Viṣṇu, should offer whole grains of rice and flowers to it in worship and then should invoke Viṣṇu to come by offering water with flowers accompanied by the three vyāhṛtis repeated separately and together: then he should utter the words 'this *kūrca* (bundle) of darbhas is made for the divine lord, its blades are twisted by threes, it is green and gold, accept this'. Then he should cleanse a vessel with water to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī, should pass kuśa grass across

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1733. अथातो महापुरुषस्याहरहः परिचर्याविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। स्नातः शुचिः शुचौ समे देशे गोमयेनोपलिप्य देवस्य प्रतिकृतिं कृत्वाक्षतपुष्पैर्यथालाभमर्चयित्वा सह पुष्पोदकेन महापुरुषमावाहयेत्। ओं भूः पुरुषमावाहयामि ..... ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः पुरुषमावाहयामीत्यावाह्य ..... केशवं तर्पयामीति द्वादशनामधेयैर्व्याहृतिभिः प्रदक्षिणमुदकं परिषिच्य ..... व्याहृतिभिः पुरुषमुद्वासयेत्...ओं भूः पुरुषमुद्वासयामि-इत्यादिभिः 'प्रयातु भगवान् महापुरुषः क्षेमाय विजयाय पुनःसन्दर्शनाय च' इति। प्रतिमास्थानेष्वावाहनोद्वासनवर्जमहरहस्त्वाक्षत इत्याह भगवान् बोधायनः। बौधा. गृह्यशेषसूत्र II. 14. This whole chapter is quoted by the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका I. pp. 199-200, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 386), पूजाप्रकाश pp. 140-142 (in all with variations).

the water poured therein, should then utter the Gāyatrī mantra over it and should then turn it towards the sun with the syllable 'om' till he desires (or till he is tired); from that water he offers water for washing the feet (pādya) with Ṛg. I. 22. 18 (trīṇi padā &c); then after having put aside the stale flowers to the accompaniment of the *vyāhṛtis*, he should offer *arghya* with the verse Ṛg. I. 22. 17 (idaṁ Viṣṇur) and should offer *ācamanīya* with the verse 'divo vā Viṣṇo' (Tai. S. I. 2. 13. 2); then he bathes the deity with the three verses Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3 (āpo hi ṣṭhā &c), with the four verses 'hiraṇya-varṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-2), with the *anuvāka* beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8) and with the mantra 'brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2), with the Vāmadevī ṛk (Ṛg. IV. 26. 1), with the 'yajuḥ-pavitra' (i. e. Tai. S. I. 2. 1 1). Then he satiates (the image of) the deity with water sprinkled round the deity keeping the right hand towards it and taking the twelve names (Keśava and others) with the vyāhṛtis; he offers a garment with the syllable 'om', yajñopavīta with the sacred Gāyatrī, ācamanīya with Ṛg. I. 22. 17, sandalwood paste with the verse 'gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ār. X. 1), whole grains of rice (akṣata) with the verse 'Irāvatī' (Ṛg. VII. 99. 3), flowers with Ṛg. I. 22. 20 (tad Viṣṇoḥ), incense (dhūpa) with the Gāyatrī, a lamp with the mantra 'uddīpyasva' (Tai. Ār. X. 1) and cooked food is offered with the formula 'devasya tvā'; then he should offer flowers to the image repeating the twelve names of Viṣṇu, associating with each name the verses from 'trīṇi padā' to 'sumṛḍīkā bhavantu naḥ' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 6). Then they laud him with verses derived from the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda or Atharvaveda in praise of Viṣṇu; then he should bid good bye to the Puruṣa (i. e. Viṣṇu) by uttering[1734] the three vyāhṛtis (in such formula as 'om bhūḥ puruṣamudvāsayāmi) and adding 'may the Lord, the Great Person, go away for (my) well-being, for conquest and for being seen again.' In case the image is immovably fixed on a pedestal &c. the invocation to come and the bidding of good-bye are omitted. The Baud. gṛhya-śeṣasūtra (II. 17) contains the procedure of the worship of Mahādeva (Śiva). It is almost on the same lines as the worship of Viṣṇu set out above with the difference that the names of Śiva such as Mahādeva, Bhava, Rudra, Tryambaka

1734. Vide above (note 567) for the twelve names of Viṣṇu. The उद्वासन will be in four formulae viz. ओं भूः पुरुषमुद्वासयामि। ओं भुवः पुरु०, ओं स्वः पुरु०, ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः पुरु०.

are substituted and some of the mantras are different. A few differences will be found in the text quoted below. It is stated therein that when the worship is of a *liṅga* immovably fixed then there is no invocation to come and no bidding of good-bye. [1735]

In the Pūjāprakāśa (pp. 97–149) and other digests the methods of *devapūjā* according to Śaunaka, Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa, Ṛgvidhāna, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the Narasiṁhapurāṇa are set out in detail. But for want of space they are all passed over. It will have been noticed from the passages of the Viṣṇu Dh. S. and of Baudhāyana cited above that devapūjā contains certain items and stages in the whole procedure. These are called *upacāras* (ways of service). They are usually stated to be sixteen. They are: āvāhana, āsana, pādya, arghya, ācamanīya, snāna, vastra, yajñopavīta, anulepana or gandha, puṣpa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya (or upahāra), namaskāra, pradakṣiṇā and visarjana or udvāsana. In different works, the items differ. Some add bhūṣaṇa (ornament) after yajñopavīta and tāmbūla (or mukhavāsa) after pradakṣiṇā or naivedya (Vṛddha-Hārīta VI. 31–32 and Pūjāprakāśa, p. 98). Therefore some speak of 18 upacāras. [1736] Some omit āvāhana, add svāgata (welcome) after āsana, madhuparka after ācamanīya, and some have *stotra* (hymn of praise) and praṇāma (bow) as distinct *upacāras*, while others hold that these latter two are one and that pradakṣiṇā is part of visarjana (vide Pūjāprakāśa p. 98). If a person cannot afford to offer vastra (garment) and alaṁkāra (ornament), he could

1735. अथातो महादेवस्यादरहः परिचर्याविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। स्नातः ..... पुण्येोदकेन महादेवमावाहयेत् ..... आयातु भगवान्महादेव इति। यो रुद्रो अग्नौ इति यजुषा पात्रमभिमन्त्र्य ..... अथ ..... मार्जनीयं दत्त्वाभिषिञ्चति–आपो हि ष्ठा ..... ब्रह्मजज्ञानं, कद्रुद्राय, त्वरितरुद्रं, वामदेव्यं, आपो वा इदम्–इति च। ..... अद्भिस्तर्पयति भवं देवं तर्पयामि इत्यष्टाभिः। ओं नमो भगवते रुद्राय त्र्यम्बकाय इति वज्रयज्ञोपवीते दद्यात्। भवाय देवाय नमः–इत्यष्टाभिः पुष्पाणि दद्यात्। त्वरितरुद्रेण गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपं ददाति। ..... 'त्र्यम्बकं' इति परिवेषं दद्यात्। अमृतोपस्तरणमसीति प्रतिपदं कृत्वा हविरविलुप्तं सर्वं स्वादु वस्तु कन्दमूलफलानि दद्यात्। मुहूर्तमनवेक्षमाण आसीनो हविरद्वासयामि इति निवेद्याद्वास्य अमृतापिधानमसीति प्रतिपदं कृत्वा त्र्यम्बकमित्याचमनीयं दद्यात्। ..... लिङ्गस्थानेष्वावाहनोद्वासनवर्जमहरहः स्वस्त्ययनमित्याचक्षत इत्याह भगवान् बोधायनः। बौ. गृह्यशेषसूत्र II. 17. This occurs in स्मृतिच. I. 204–205, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 392), पूजाप्रकाश pp. 194–196 (with variations in all).

1736. Vide नरसिंहपुराण 62.9–13 quoted in अपरार्क pp. 140–141; ऋग्विधान III. 31. 6–10; also स्मृतिच० I. pp. 199, परा. मा. I. 1. p. 367, नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर pp. 536–37, संस्काररत्नमाला p. 27, आचाररत्न p. 71b quoting आचारचिन्तामणि for the 16 उपचारs.

perform only ten out of these 16 upacāras viz. from pādya to naivedya; if he cannot afford to offer even ten he may offer only five (pañcopacāra-pūjā) viz. from gandha to naivedya; if he has nothing he may perform with flowers alone all the 16 upacāras. When the image is immovably fixed on a pedestal there is no āvāhana and visarjana and so the items become 14 or one may offer in their place only a handful of flowers with mantras.[1737] Those who can repeat the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) should repeat one of its verses before offering each of the 16 upacāras (see Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 62. 9-13). Those who cannot repeat that hymn and women and śūdras should simply say 'Śivāya namaḥ' or 'Viṣṇave namaḥ' (adoration to Śiva or Viṣṇu). Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 81) specially recommends the worship of the child Kṛṣṇa to women and of Hari to widows (XI. 208).[1738] After each of snāna, vastra, yajñopavīta and naivedya, ācamana is to be offered as part of that upacāra[1739] (*vide* Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 62. 14). The names of some of these upacāras occur even in the Āśv. gṛ. (IV. 7. 10 and IV. 8. 1) in relation to the brāhmaṇas invited at śrāddha such as āsana, arghya, gandha, mālya (flowers), dhūpa, dīpa and ācchādana (i.e. vastra). Farquhar is not right when he says in his 'Outlines of the Religious literature of India' p. 51 that the sixteen *upacāras* 'are so distinct in character from the sacrificial cult as to betray alien origin.' When image-worship became general items offered to invited brāhmaṇas were also offered to the image of gods. It was a case of extension and not of borrowing from an alien cult.

A few words have to be said in connection with some of the 16 upacāras.

As regards the water to be employed in devapūjā and rites for the Manes, the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (66. 1) prescribes that it should not have been brought the night before (but it must be drawn

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1737. Vide नित्याचारपद्धति p. 549. In the Māndhātā plates of Jayavarman II. dated saṁvat 1317 (1250-51 A. D.) pañcopacārapūjā is mentioned (vide E. I. vol. IX. pp. 117, 119). प्रतिष्ठितप्रतिमायामावाहनविसर्जनयोरभावेन चतुर्दशोपचारैव पूजा। अथवावाहनविसर्जनयोः स्थाने मन्त्रपुष्पाञ्जलिदानम्। चलनप्रतिमायां तु षोडशोपचारैव पूजा। सं. र. मा. p. 27.

1738. नमोन्तेन शिवेनैव स्त्रीणां पूजा विधीयते॥ विरक्तानां च शूद्राणामेवं पूजा प्रकीर्तिता॥ पुराण quoted by शूद्रकमलाकर p. 34.

1739. अत्राचमनं पृथगुपचारो न भवति स्नानवस्त्रोपवीतोपहारोत्तराणामाचमनानां तत्तद्रूपत्वं प्रणाममन्त्रदक्षिणे च स्तोत्रविसर्जनाङ्गेनोपचारान्तर्भूते। अत उपचारेषु न षोडशत्वव्याघातः। पूजाप्रकाश p. 128.

that day). The worshipper should not sit on an āsana made of bamboo or stone, or of unsacrificial wood or on the bare ground, or on a seat made of grass or green leaves, but should sit on a woollen blanket or silken garment or deer-skin (Pūjāprakāśa, p. 95). When offering arghya, in the vessel containing the water to be used for that purpose all or as many as one can afford out of the following eight articles are to be mixed up, viz. curds, whole grains of rice, ends of kuśa grass, milk, dūrvā grass, honey, barley grains and white mustard seeds (Matsya-purāṇa 267. 2 quoted in the Pūjāprakāśa p. 34). It is further said that *arghya* is offered to the image of Viṣṇu by means of a conch in which water is mixed with sandalwood paste, flowers and whole grains of rice. In the water for ācamana are mixed cardamom, cloves, *uśīra* grass and kakkola or as many of them as possible. The snāna (bath) of images is effected with five materials called *pañcāmṛta* (five ambrosial things) viz. milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar.[1740] The image is to be bathed with these five in the order stated, so that sugar coming last removes all effects of oiliness. After these a bath with pure water follows. In the pañcāmṛtasnāna the following Vedic verses are repeated in order; 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 16), 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), 'ghṛtam mimikṣe' (Ṛg. II. 3. 11), 'madhu vātā' (Ṛg. I. 90. 6), 'svāduḥ pavasva' (Ṛg. IX. 85. 6). It will be noticed that each of these mantras is suggestive of the material with regard to which it is uttered. No bath with water or these things is allowed when only a picture or a clay image is to be worshipped. If one cannot afford these, one may bathe the image with water in which the leaves of the basil plant (tulasī) are mixed up, as that plant is deemed to be the favourite of Viṣṇu. The water used in the bath of the image of a God is regarded as very sacred and it is used for ācamana by the worshipper and members of his family and friends and is called *tīrtha* (it is also sprinkled over one's head).[1741] As regards the unguents to be offered (anulepana or gandha) numerous rules are laid down

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1740. क्षीरेण पूर्वं कुर्वीत दध्ना पश्चाद्घृतेन च । मधुना चाथ खण्डेन क्रमो ज्ञेयो विचक्षणैः ॥ नृसिंहपुराण quoted in the पूजाप्रकाश p. 34.

1741. व्यासः । देवदेव जगन्नाथ शङ्खचक्रगदाधर । देहि देव ममाज्ञां भवत्तीर्थनिषेचने ॥ इत्यनुज्ञां ततो लब्ध्वा पिबेत्तीर्थमथापहम् । अकालमृत्युहरणं सर्वव्याधिविनाशनम् । विष्णोः पादोदकं तीर्थं शिरसा धारयाम्यहम् । इति मन्त्रं समुच्चार्य सर्वदुःखापहापहम् । तुलसीमिश्रितं तीर्थं पिबेन्मूर्ध्ना च धारयेत् । quoted in स्मृतिसं. (आह्निक p. 389).

(vide Pūjāprakāśa pp. 39-41). The Viṣṇu[1742] Dh. S. (66. 2) says that unguents should be one or more out of sandalwood, pine tree paste, musk, camphor, saffron, nutmeg. If ornaments are offered, then gold and precious stones should be real and not imitation ones (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 66. 4). Very detailed rules are laid down about flowers. The Pūjāprakāśa (pp. 42-49) waxes eloquent over the merit of offering basil leaves to Viṣṇu and using the same wood in worship generally and also when no flowers are available. The Viṣṇu Dh. S.[1743] (66. 5-9) prescribes that flowers emitting an overpowering smell or having no smell whatever are not to be used, nor flowers of thorny plants unless the flowers are white and sweetly fragrant; that even red flowers such as saffron flowers and those that spring in ponds or lakes may be employed. There are grades in the merit derived from offering certain flowers, e. g. the Sm. C. I, pp. 201-202 and the Pūjāprakāśa p. 51 quote many verses of the Narasiṁhapurāṇa, some of which arrange vanamallikā, campaka, aśoka, vāsantī, mālatī, kunda &c. in an ascending order among flowers and the jātī flower is said to be the best of the flowers in the worship of Viṣṇu. The same work (p. 56) names dūrvā and twentyfive flowers as favourites with Viṣṇu. Vide Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 53-59 for the flowers that may be used in Viṣṇu-pūjā and Vṛddha Gautama p. 563. The flowers offered on a day are removed the next day by the worshipper when he is about to offer worship that day. Such flowers are called 'nirmālya' and great virtue is attached to placing such flowers on one's head by way of homage to the deity worshipped (vide Pūjāprakāśa, pp. 27 and 90). The Sm. C. (I. p. 204) quotes a purāṇa to the effect 'He, whose heart contemplates the form of Viṣṇu, on whose lips there is ever the name of Viṣṇu, who partakes of the *naivedya* offered to Viṣṇu and who places on his head the water in which the feet of an image of Viṣṇu are washed and the *nirmālya* of Viṣṇu, never falls off (from heaven).' The Madanapārijāta (p. 303) quotes passages from the Viṣṇu-dharmottara about the flowers, that are not to be used in worship. In Śiva worship the following flowers and leaves are in an ascending grade of worth; viz. arka flowers, karavīra flowers, bilva leaves, flower of droṇa, leaves of apāmārga, flower of kuśa, śamī leaves,

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1742. चन्दनमृगमदकाश्मीरकर्पूरकुङ्कुमजातीफलवर्जमनुलेपनं न दद्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 66. 2.

1743. नोग्रगन्धि। नागन्धि। न कण्टकिजम्। कण्टकिजमपि क्षुद्रं सुगन्धिकं च दद्यात्। रक्तमपि कुङ्कुमं जलजं च दद्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 66. 5-9.

blue lotus leaves, dhattūra flower, śamī flower, blue lotus, which is the best (vide Pūjāprakāśa, p. 210). The Madanapārijāta, p. 303 quotes from the Devīpurāṇa verses which enumerate the flowers that are to be avoided in Śiva worship. If no flowers are available, then a fruit may be offered or if no fruit is available then only leaves and lastly only white whole grains of rice or even water may be offered.[1744] Lamps are to be fed with ghee or in its absence with sesame oil.[1745] Camphor is to be burnt before the image. There is a ceremony called *ārātrika* (waving lights round the image) performed with several lights or pieces of camphor placed in a broad vessel which is held in both hands and waved round an image and over its head. Vide Pūjāprakāśa, pp. 75 and 87. For *naivedya* no food is to be offered which is declared unfit in the śāstras for eating, nor the milk of a she-goat or she-buffalo though they are allowed for food, nor the meat of the five-nailed animals nor the flesh of the wild boar nor fish. The general rule is stated by the Rāmāyaṇa as ' whatever food a man eats the same is the food to be offered to his deities '.[1746] The Sm. C. (I. p. 203) quotes the Padmapurāṇa to the effect that *naivedya* should be offered in a vessel of gold, silver, bronze, copper or of clay or in palāśa leaves or on lotus leaf. The *naivedya* is offered with the formula set out below.[1747] According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka, pp. 153–154 and Pūjāprakāśa (p. 82) the naivedya offered to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Devī, the Mātṛs, to goblins and evil spirits respectively is to be given to brāhmaṇas, Sātvatas (Bhāgavatas), those whose bodies are smeared with ashes, to Magas, to the Śāktas, to women, to the poor.[1748]

1744. पुष्पाभावे फलं शस्तं फलाभावे तु पल्लवम्। पल्लवस्याप्यभावे तु सलिलं ग्राह्यमिष्यते ॥ पुष्पाद्यसंभवे देवं पूजयेत्सिततण्डुलैः। quoted in the पूजाप्रकाश p. 65.

1745. न घृततैलं विना किंचन दीपार्थे। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 66. 11. नाभक्ष्यं नैवेद्यार्थे। न भक्ष्ये अपि अजामहिषीक्षीरे। पञ्चनखमत्स्यवराहमांसानि च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 66. 12–14.

1746. यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 103. 30 and 104. 15. मेधातिथि on मनु V. 7 quotes this.

1747. ओं प्राणाय स्वाहा। ओं अपानाय स्वाहा। ओं व्यानाय स्वाहा। ओं उदानाय स्वाहा। ओं समानाय स्वाहा। ओं ब्रह्मणे स्वाहा। नैवेद्यमध्ये प्राशनार्थे पानीयं समर्पयामि ओं प्राणाय स्वाहा ..... ब्रह्मणे स्वाहा। उत्तरापोशनं समर्पयामि। हस्तप्रक्षालनं समर्पयामि। मुखप्रक्षालनं समर्पयामि। करोद्वर्तनार्थे चन्दनं समर्पयामि। मुखवासार्थे पूगीफलताम्बूलं समर्पयामि।

1748. विप्रेभ्यश्चाथ तद्देयं ब्राह्मणे यत्निवेदितम्। वैष्णवं सात्वतेभ्यश्च भस्माङ्गेभ्यश्च शाम्भवम् ॥ सौरं मगेभ्यः शाक्तेभ्यो देवीभ्यो यत्निवेदितम्। स्त्रीभ्यश्च देयं मातृभ्यो यच्चात्मनि निवेद्यते ॥ भूतप्रेतपिशाचेभ्यो यत्तद्वह्नौ निक्षिपेत् ॥ अपरार्क pp. 153–154 and पूजाप्रकाश p. 82. अपरार्क reads सौरं गोभ्यश्च and भूमौ निक्षापयेत् while the पूजाप्र० reads शाक्तेभ्यस्तायिने यत्निवेदितम् for शाक्ते०. तायिन् is दुष्ट.

One may also partake of the *naivedya* offered by oneself and the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika, p. 390) quotes Ṛg. I. 154. 5 in support. After naivedya, *tāmbūla* is to be offered to the God worshipped. In the ancient gṛhya and dharma sūtras no mention is made of tāmbūla or mukhavāsa (materials that will render the breath fragrant). Tāmbūla was probably introduced some time before or about the beginning of the Christian era in South India and then spread northwards. Among the smṛtis, Saṁvarta 55 quoted in the Kṛtyaratnākara p. 560, Laghu-Hārīta (Ānand. 39), Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānand.) 1. 160-61 and 23. 105, Auśanasa (Jivānanda, part I. p. 509) refer to the chewing of tāmbūla after dinner. In the Raghuvaṁśa VI. 64 Kālidāsa describes betelnut plants surrounded by betel creepers. The Kāmasūtra I. 4. 16 [1749] states that a person after performing the brushing of the teeth, consulting a looking glass and partaking of tāmbūla for rendering his breath fragrant should set about his daily business. *Vide* also Kāmasūtra III. 4. 40, IV. 1. 36, V. 2. 21 and 24, VI. 1. 29, VI. 2. 8 for other references. In the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira (77. 35-37) the virtues of tāmbūla and its ingredients are described. In the Kādambarī (para 85) the royal palace is compared to the house of a dealer in betel leaves (tāmbūlika) in which lavalī, cloves, cardamom, kaṅkola are stored. The Par. M. I. part 1. p. 434 quotes four verses from Vasiṣṭha (not found in the printed Dharmasūtra) about the cutting off of the two ends of tāmbūla leaves before eating them. In the Vratakhaṇḍa (of Caturvargacintāmaṇi, vol. II. part I, p. 242) Hemādri quotes Ratnakośa to the effect that tāmbūla means betel leaves, betel nut and *chūnam*; while 'mukhavāsa' means these together with cardamom, camphor, kakkola berries, pieces of *copra* and *mātuluṅga*. The Nityācārapaddhati [1750] (p. 549) quotes verses showing that tāmbūla comprised nine ingredients viz. betel nut, betel leaves, *chūnam*, camphor, cardamom, clove, kaṅkola, copra, the mātuluṅga fruit. In modern times pieces of almond, nutmeg fruit and bark thereof, saffron, catechu are taken and mātuluṅga is omitted. Thus the thirteen ingredients of tāmbūla are

1749. स मातरुत्थाय कृतनियतकृत्यो गृहीतदन्तधावनः ...दृष्ट्वादर्शे मुखं गृहीतमुखवाससताम्बूलः कार्याण्यनुतिष्ठेत्। कामसूत्र I. 4. 16.

1750. भूयोप्याचम्य कर्तव्यं ततस्ताम्बूलभक्षणम्। मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29.39, quoted in स्मृतिच. I. p. 225; कक्कोलकविचूर्णं गन्धकर्पूरमेलकं तथा। लवङ्गं चैव कक्कोलं नारिकेलं सुपक्वकम् ॥ मातुलुङ्गं तथा पत्रं ताम्बूलाङ्गान्यमूनि वै ॥ इति नवाङ्गं ताम्बूलं प्रयोजनतया वृथात्। नित्याचारपद्धति p. 549.

made up. The Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha[1751] of Vāgbhaṭa also mentions the several ingredients of tāmbūla including the essence of the bark of the Khadira tree (catechu). In modern times tāmbūla is said to be of 13 *guṇas*, either because it contains thirteen ingredients or because it effects thirteen good results, the last of which are set out in a subhāṣita quoted below.

Pradakṣiṇā (going round the image with the right hand always turned towards the image) and namaskāra constitute only one upacāra (item of worship) according to many. The namaskāra to the image is either *aṣṭāṅga* (with eight limbs) or pañcāṅga (with five limbs.) The first occurs when a person prostrates himself on the ground in front of the image in such a way that the palms of his hands, his feet, his knees, his chest and forehead touch the ground and his mind, speech and eye are fixed on the image and the latter occurs when he prostrates himself with his hands, feet and head.[1752] There are other definitions of the aṣṭāṅga namaskāra. These several parts of the worship of images have been judicially noticed in *Ram brahma Chatterji v. Kedar Nath* 36 Calcutta Law Journal 478 at p. 483 (where the normal type of the continuous worship of an idol is described) and *Pramatha Nath Mullick v. Pradyumna Kumar Mullick* 52 Cal. 809 at p. 815 (P. C.).

In modern times it is the practice to perform in homage to the sun twelve namaskāras or any multiple of twelve and repeat the following twelve names of the sun in the dative preceded by 'om' and followed by 'namaḥ': Mitra, Ravi, Sūrya, Bhānu, Khaga, Pūṣan, Hiraṇyagarbha, Marīci, Āditya, Savitṛ, Arka and Bhāskara. There is another method of these namaskāras called Tṛcākalpanamaskāras in which after 'om' certain mystic syllables and their combinations in twos and

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1751. कचिवैशद्यसौगन्ध्यमिच्छन् वक्त्रेण धारयेत् । जातीलवङ्गकर्पूरकङ्कोलकलुकैः सह ॥ ताम्बूलीनां किसलयं हृद्यं पूगफलान्वितम् । द्विपत्रमेकं पूगं च सचूर्णखदिरं च तत् ॥ अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह I. 3 (दिनचर्याध्याय). 'ताम्बूलं कटुतिक्तमुष्णमधुरं क्षारं कषायान्वितं वातघ्नं कफनाशनं कृमिहरं दुर्गन्धिविध्वंसकम्। वक्त्रस्याभरणं विशुद्धिकरणं कामाग्निसंदीपनं ताम्बूलस्य सखे त्रयोदश गुणाः स्वर्गेऽपि ते दुर्लभाः ॥' सुभाषित.

1752. द्वोर्भ्यां पद्भ्यां च जानुभ्यामुरसा शिरसा तथा। मनसा वचसा दृष्ट्या प्रणामोऽष्टाङ्ग ईरितः ॥ quoted from व्यास in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 389) and पूजाप्र० p. 88; पद्भ्यां कराभ्यां शिरसा पञ्चाङ्गः प्रणतिः स्मृता। पूजाप्र. p. 88; उरसा शिरसा दृष्ट्या मनसा च धियापि च। पद्भ्यां कराभ्यां वाचा च प्रणामोऽष्टाङ्ग उच्यते ॥ पुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 204, which पूजाप्र. p. 88 reads मनसा अङ्घ्र्या तथा.

fours together with certain mantras are repeated with the twelve names (vide foot-note for illustrations).[1753]

The Pūjāprakāśa (pp. 166–188) mentions 32 aparādhas (lapses) which should be avoided while engaged in worship or while one is about to perform Viṣṇupūjā and the atonements for these. These 32 aparādhas (offences) against proper etiquette for worship are referred to in the Varāhapurāṇa (130. 5).

A passage from Baudhāyana about Śiva worship has already been quoted and it has been stated that worship of the phallic emblem of Śiva appears to have been current in the very ancient civilization brought to light by the finds discovered at Mohenjo-daro. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' has shown how Rudra is described as the supreme deity even in the Ṛg., how in the Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11 there are eleven *anuvākas* (called Rudras) which contain a sublime eulogy of Rudra (and also in Vāj. S. 16) and how numerous Śaiva sects and doctrines arose in course of time (p. 119 ff). Pāṇini teaches the formation of Bhavānī, Śarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī and Mṛḍānī from the four names of Śiva (IV. 1. 59). In the sacrifice called Śūlagava in the gṛhya sūtras Rudra is worshipped as the supreme deity. The Āśv. gṛ. IV. 9.17 mentions twelve names of Rudra and adds [1754] (IV. 9.27–29) that all names in the world, all armies, all exalted things belong to him. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. pp.387–388) on Pāṇini V. 2. 76 speaks of a 'Śiva-bhāgavata' (a devotee of Śiva). Vedāntasūtra II. 2. 37 is directed, according to Śaṁkara, to the refutation of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivas. In the Śāntiparva 284. 121–124 the Pāśupatas are said to be opposed to the dharmas of varṇa and āśrama. The Kūrmapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 16) speaks of the

1753. ओं ह्रां उद्यन्नद्य मित्र महः ह्रां ओं मित्राय नमः । ओं ह्रीं आरोहन्नुत्तरां दिवं ह्रीं ओं रवये नमः । ओं ह्रूं हृद्रोगं मम सूर्य ह्रूं सूर्याय नमः । ओं ह्रैं हरिमाणं च नाशय ह्रैं भानवे नमः । ओं ह्रौं ह्रकेतु मे हरिमाणं ह्रौं खगाय नमः । ओं ह्रः रोपणाकासु दध्मसि ह्रः पूष्णे नमः । ओं ह्रां...भास्कराय नमः । ओं ह्रां ह्रीं उद्यन्नद्य मित्रमह आरोहन्नुत्तरां दिवं ह्रां ह्रा ओं मित्ररविभ्यां नमः । ...अर्कभास्कराभ्यां नमः । ओं ह्रां ह्रीं ह्रूं ह्रैं उद्यन्नद्य...दिवम् । हृद्रोगं...नाशय ह्रां ह्रीं ह्रूं ह्रैं ओं मित्ररविसूर्यभानुभ्यो नमः । &c.

1754. सर्वाणि ह वा अस्य नामधेयानि । सर्वाः सेनाः । सर्वाण्युग्रूपणानि । आश्व. गृ. IV. 9. 27–29.

śāstras of the Śaiva sects, of Kāpālas, Nākulas [1755] (Lākulas?), Vāmas, Bhairavas, Pāśupatas as meant for deluding the world. The Varāhapurāṇa (chap.70–71) is also directed against Pāśupatas. The Pāśupata brāhmaṇas are stated in the Kādambarī to have surrounded the minister Śukanāsa (para 90). Śiva was worshipped in the form of the *liṅga* or as an image. It is believed that 14 crores of *liṅgas* were established by Bāṇa, an Asura devotee of Śiva, in various spots and these are called Bāṇa-liṅgas (Nityācārapaddhati, p. 556) and the Bāṇa-liṅgas (white stones) found in the Narmadā, the Ganges and other holy rivers are only like them. In the Kādambarī (para 130) Bāṇa speaks of sand *liṅgas* on the Acchoda lake and in another place of a liṅga made of pure mother-o'pearl. The Kūrmapurāṇa (pūrvārdha chap. 26) describes the origin of Liṅga and its worship and the Vāmanapurāṇa 46 lauds the several holy places where ancient *liṅgas* are established. The famous twelve Jyotir-liṅgas are; Oṁkāra at Māndhātā, Mahākāla at Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain), Tryambaka (near Nasik), Dhṛṣṇeśvara at Elora, Nāganātha (towards the east of Ahmednagar), Bhīmā-Śaṁkara (at the source of the Bhīmā river in the Sahyādri), Kedāra-nātha in Garhwal, Viśveśvara at Benares, Somanātha in Kathiawar, Vaidyanātha new Parali, Mallikārjuna on the Śrīśaila, and Rāmeśvara in South India. Many of these are situated in central and western India near each other.

The Pūjāprakāśa (p. 194) quotes Hārīta prescribing that Maheśvara may be worshipped by means of the mantra of five syllables (namaḥ Śivāya) or by the Rudra[1756] Gāyatrī or by

1755. About Lakulīśa, Pāśupata or Kālamukha, vide 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 119 ff. In the Vāyupurāṇa 23. 221–224 it is said in a prophetic strain that Śiva would assume the form of Nakulī (Lakulī?) and the place where he will appear will be called the holy place of Kāyārohaṇa. *Vide* E. I. vol. II. p. 124, vol. XII. p. 337, vol. XIV p. 265 for the Lākula doctrine, its ācāryas and other information. For the Kāpālikas, vide Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism and Saivism' pp. 117,127. A grant of Nāgavardhana, nephew of Pulakeśi (610–639 A. D.), was made providing for the worship of Kāpāleśvara and the maintenance of Mahāvratins. Yama 29 quoted in Par. M. II. part 1 p. 335 prescribes the penance of Kṛcchra for eating at a Kāpālika's house. The Karpūramañjarī (about 900 A. D.) I. 22–24 contains a caricature of Kaula (i. e. Kāpālika) practices.

1756. रुद्रगायत्री is तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे महादेवाय धीमहि । तन्नो रुद्रः प्रचोदयात् ॥ तै. आ. X. 1 and काठकसंहिता 17. 11. It closely resembles the famous Gāyatrī verse, particularly the words 'dhīmahi' and 'pracodayāt' are the same in both.

'om' or by the mantra 'Iśanaḥ sarva-vidyānām' (Tai. Ār. X. 47), or by the Rudra mantras (viz. Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11) or by the mantra 'tryambakaṁ yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12). For a devotee of Śiva, the wearing of a string of Rudrākṣa berries is necessary either on the hand, the arm, the neck or on the head.[1757] The Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika p. 393) quotes verses from the Smṛtiratna and the Ratnāvali about the merit secured by bathing the *liṅga* with cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, sugarcane juice, *pañcagavya*, water in which camphor and *aguru* are mixed up, and other substances. The 14th day of the dark half of a month has been sacred to Śiva from ancient times. Bāṇa in the Kādambarī (para 54) refers to the fact that queen Vilāsavatī went to worship Mahākāla at Ujjayinī on the 14th.

The worship of Durgā has prevailed from ancient times.[1758] She is worshipped under various names and aspects. In the Tai. Ār. X. 18 Śiva is said to be the husband of Ambikā or Umā. In the Kena Upaniṣad (III. 25) Umā Haimavatī is mentioned as imparting to Indra the knowledge of the Great Being. The various names of Durgā are Umā, Pārvatī, Devī, Ambikā, Gaurī, Caṇḍī or Caṇḍikā, Kālī, Kumārī, Lalitā &c. The Mahābhārata (Virāṭaparva 6 and Bhīṣma 23) contains two hymns addressed to Durgā in which she is stated to be Vindhyavāsinī and fond of blood and wine, and in Vanaparva 39. 4 it is stated that Umā became a kirātī when Śiva became a kirāta to test the prowess of Arjuna. In the Kumārasambhava Kālidāsa speaks of Pārvatī, Umā, Aparṇā and derives the latter two words (I. 26 and V. 28). Yāj. I. 290 speaks of Ambikā as the mother of Vināyaka. The Devī-māhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (chap. 81–93) is the principal sacred text of Durgā worshippers in Northern India. E. I. vol. 9 p. 189 shows that about 625 A. D. Durgā was invoked as a supreme goddess. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī gives a graphic description of the temple of Caṇḍikā and refers to offerings of blood made to her (para 28), to her trident (triśūla) and her slaughter of Mahiṣāsura. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 351) quotes verses from the Devīpurāṇa that the 8th of the bright half of a month is sacred to Devī (and particularly of Āśvina),

1757. हस्ते बाहौ तथा कण्ठे मूर्ध्नि रुद्राक्षधारणात् । अवध्यः सर्वभूतानां रुद्रबाहुरिवेतरः ॥ स्कन्दपुराण quoted in पूजाप्र० p. 194.

1758. Vide B. C. Muzumdar on the worship of Durgā in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp. 355–362.

that a goat or a buffalo may be sacrificed for her.[1759] These bloody rites are still continued in the Kālī temple in Bengal and a few other shrines of Durgā. In Bengal the worship of Durgā in Āśvina has been most popular.[1760] Raghunandana in his Durgārcana-paddhati gives an elaborate description of the worship of Durgā in Āśvina. Durgā is also worshipped as Śakti. The influence of Śākta worship has been great throughout India and will be briefly surveyed later on.

In modern times devapūjā differs considerably from the ritual of the ancient works of Viṣṇu and Baudhāyana; it also differs from province to province and caste to caste. A brief analysis of the devapūjā practised by brāhmaṇas in Western India is given below: Ācamana; prāṇāyāma; adoration to Mahāgaṇapati and certain other deities; twelve names of Gaṇeśa, hymn of praise to Gaṇeśa, Gaurī, Viṣṇu; mention of the place and the time with astronomical details about the day, the nakṣatra &c.; then the saṁkalpa of performing devapūjā with sixteen upacāras; contemplation on Gaṇapati with Ṛg. II. 23. 1 (gaṇānām tvā); āsanavidhi with an invocation to the earth; nyāsa (mystical sanctification of the body) of the sixteen verses of Ṛg. X. 90 on sixteen parts of the body; invocation of the deities and the sacred rivers in the water jar and offering sandalwood paste, flowers and whole grains of rice to the jar; then invocation of the conch and bell in a similar way; sprinkling of oneself and the materials of worship with water accompanied by the mantra ('apavitraḥ pavitro vā &c.'); dhyāna (contemplation) of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, the sun's disc, Durgā holding a bunch of flowers in one's folded hands; then offering the sixteen upacāras enumerated above to the accompaniment of the 16 verses of Ṛg. X. 90 to one's favourite deity; final benediction.[1761] When several deities are worshipped, there are two methods in which the upacāras may be offered. One may offer the upacāras from āvāhana to namaskāra to one deity or the principal deity and then the same upacāras to the other deity or deities one after

1759. स्वमांसरुधिरैर्देवि तुष्यते वै भृशम्। महिषीछागमेषाणां रुधिरेण तथा नृप। एवं नानाम्लेच्छगणैः पूज्यते सर्वदस्युभिः। अङ्गवङ्गकालिङ्गैश्च किंनरैः बर्बरैः शकैः। भविष्यपुराण quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 357.

1760. Vide 'Durgāpūjā' by Pratapchandra Ghosh (1871) for a detailed description of Durgāpūjā in Bengal.

1761. The benediction is अनेन यथाज्ञानेन कृतपूजाराधनेन अमुकदेवता प्रीयतां न मम। तत्सद् ब्रह्मार्पणमस्तु।

another. This method is called *kāṇḍānusamaya*. The other method occurs when āvāhana is done for the several deities in order, then āsana for all, then pādya for all and so on up to namaskāra. This is called *padārthānusamaya*. This method is generally preferred. Vide the com. of Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. gṛ. I. 24. 7, the com. on Kātyāyana-śrauta I. 5. 9–11 for detailed explanations of these.

From the early centuries of the Christian era the works on Tantra exercised a profound influence on the ritual of devapūjā and several mystical postures of the hands and fingers such as the mudrās and the nyāsas began to occupy the minds of the worshippers.[1762] The Bhāgavata-purāṇa XI. 27. 7 says that devapūjā is of three kinds viz. Vaidikī, Tāntrikī and miśrā. The first and the third are for the three varṇas and Tāntrikī for śūdras.

1762. वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्र इति मे त्रिविधो मखः। त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैव विधिना मां समर्चयेत्॥ भागवत XI. 27. 7 quoted in पूजाप्रकाश p. 115. Vide also रुद्रधारीत. VIII. 37 and XI. 77.

CHAPTER XX

VAISVADEVA

Vaiśvadeva.—(offering of cooked food to all Gods).

Dakṣa (II. 56) says that in the 5th part of the day a householder has to allow distribution of food according to his ability to the gods, Manes, men and even insects. Vaiśvadeva is to be offered according to Śātātapa (quoted by Medhātithi on Manu V. 7 and by Aparārka p. 142) in the gṛhya fire if one has preserved it, or in the ordinary fire. If no fire is available one may offer it even in water or on the bare ground. Laghu-Vyāsa II. 52 says the same.

Some medieval works like the Smṛtyarthasāra and the Par. M. (I. part 1, p. 389) state that vaiśvadeva really comprises the three daily sacrifices viz. devayajña, bhūtayajña and pitṛyajña. The rite is so called because in it sacrifice is offered to all the gods or because food is cooked therein for all the gods.[1763] But in the ancient gṛhyasūtras the three yajñas are kept distinct. In the Āśv. gṛ. III. 1 the five daily sacrifices are enumerated, but only one, the brahmayajña, is thereafter described in detail and we have to understand that Vaiśvadeva has already been dealt with under homa in Āśv. gṛ I. 2. 1–2 and that I. 2. 3–10 is concerned with bhūtayajña or baliharaṇa, out of which the 7th sūtra contemplates an offering to Viśve-devas and sūtra 10 an offering of cooked food to pitṛs. The Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 14 speaks of Vaiśvadeva, while Gobhila gṛ. I. 4. 1–15, Khādira gṛ. I. 5. 22–35 speak of baliharaṇa only. Pāṇini VI. 2. 39 teaches the accent of 'kṣullaka-vaiśvadeva' (as a compound). Vaik.[1764] VI. 17 expressly says that devayajña is the homa to the gods offered with cooked food meant for all the gods. According to Gautama (V. 9) the deities of vaiśvadeva are Agni, Dhanvantari, Viśve-devas, Prajāpati and Sviṣṭakṛt (Agni). According[1765] to Manu (III. 84–86) the deities are Agni,

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1763. एते देवयज्ञभूतयज्ञपितृयज्ञा वैश्वदेव उच्यते । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 47; त एते देवयज्ञभूतयज्ञपितृयज्ञाख्ययोपि वैश्वदेवशब्देनोच्यन्ते । यत्र विश्वे देवा इज्यन्ते तद्वैश्वदेविकं कर्म । देवयज्ञे च एतन्नाम मुख्यम् । पितृयज्ञे छत्रिन्यायेन । परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 389.

1764. पक्वेनान्नेन वैश्वदेवेन देवेभ्यो होमो देवयज्ञः । वैखानसस्मार्त VI. 17.

1765. In offering food one will have to say अग्नये स्वाहा, सोमाय स्वाहा, अग्नीषोमाभ्यां स्वाहा,...अग्नये स्विष्टकृते स्वाहा. In modern times the formula is अग्नये स्वाहा अग्नय इदं न मम and so on.

Soma, Agnīṣoma, the Viśve-devas, Dhanvantari, Kuhū, Anumati, Prajāpati, Dyāvāpṛthivī, (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. The Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 14. 4 gives the names of ten deities that are slightly different from the list of Manu. According to Pār. gṛ. II. 9 the deities are Brahmā, Prajāpati, Gṛhyā, Kaśyapa and Anumati; while the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 1-3 (quoted in the Gṛ. R. p. 278) states that Vaiśvadeva is to be offered to Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Agni, Soma, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Indrāgni, Viśve-devas, Prajāpati, Anumati, Dhanvantari, Vāstoṣpati, (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Vide Bhār. gṛ. III. 12, Mānava gṛ. II. 12. 1-2, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 54, Vaik. III. 7 for other lists of deities in Vaiśvadeva. It is on account of this divergence that digests like the Madanapārijāta (p. 317) say that Vaiśvadeva is of two kinds, viz. what is common to all smṛtis like that of Manu and secondly what is stated in one's own gṛhyasūtra. The Sm. C. (I. p. 212)[1766] says the same.

All ancient smṛtis say that Vaiśvadeva is to be performed twice, once in the morning and then in the evening. *Vide* Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 1, Vas. Dh. S. XI. 3, Manu III. 121, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 59. 13, Gobhila II. 34. But in later times it came to be performed only once in the morning and the *saṃkalpa* includes both in one statement.[1767] The verses 'juṣṭo damūnā' (Ṛg. V. 4. 5) and 'ehyagna' (Ṛg. I. 76. 2) are used in invoking Agni, then the verse 'catvāri śṛṅgā' (Ṛg. IV. 58. 3) and several ordinary verses describing the characteristics of Agni are employed for the dhyāna (contemplation) of Agni. From the food cooked for one's meal, a portion is taken out in another vessel, and covered with clarified butter; it is then divided into three parts. Then one places one's left hand on one's heart and with the right hand takes up from one portion of the food morsels equal to a ripe myrobalan fruit, presses it with one's right thumb and offers it with the right hand to Sūrya, Prajāpati, Soma Vanaspati, Agnī-ṣoma, Indrāgni, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Dhanvantari, Indra, Viśve Devas, Brahmā. Then holy ashes are taken from the fire with the mantra 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8) and ashes are applied to the forehead, the throat, the navel, the right and left shoulders and the head with certain mantras and a concluding prayer is

1766. वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत स्वशाखाविहितं यथा। व्यास quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p.212.

1767. The संकल्प in modern times is मनोवाक्कायदुरितक्षयद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वर-प्रीत्यर्थमात्मान्नसंस्कार-पञ्चसूनाजनितदोषपरिहारार्थं प्रातर्वैश्वदेवं सायंवैश्वदेवं च सह मन्त्रेण करिष्ये।

offered to Agni to bestow intelligence, memory, fame &c. as set out below.[1768]

Medieval digests like the Mit. (on Yāj. I. 103) discuss the question whether vaiśvadeva is *puruṣārtha* only (i. e. recommended to men for effecting some beneficent consequence to them) or whether it is puruṣārtha as well as a rite for effecting a saṁskāra (unseen or spiritual result) of the food cooked. In the latter case food will be pradhāna (the principal matter) and vaiśvadeva will be secondary; but in the former case (i. e. if it were only puruṣārtha) food will be secondary and Vaiśvadeva principal. Relying[1769] on Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 1 some say that vaiśvadeva is meant as a saṁskāra of food and relying on Āśv. gṛ. III. 1. 1 and 4 others say that it is puruṣārtha. The Mit. declares that vaiśvadeva is puruṣārtha only, as Manu (II. 28) holds that the human body is rendered fit for spiritual knowledge by the daily yajñas and by other sacrifices and that if vaiśvadeva is not puruṣārtha alone, each time food is cooked in the day (on account of the sudden advent of many guests) vaiśvadeva would have to be performed several times in the day; but Manu III. 108 forbids a fresh vaiśvadeva in such a case. Sm. C. (I. p. 213) and Par. M. (I. 1. p. 390) hold the same view. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 46 and Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 116 hold the view that vaiśvadeva is both for the saṁskāra of the householder and also of the food.[1770]

There was divergence of view on other questions viz. whether vaiśvadeva was to be performed before śrāddha or after it and whether food for vaiśvadeva was to be separately cooked from that meant for śrāddha. Aparārka p. 462 sets out the conflicting views on the first question and says that for vaiśvadeva there are three options, viz. it may be performed immediately after food is ready, or it may be offered after *baliharaṇa* or it may be performed after śrāddha is finished. The Madana-

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1768. त्र्यायुषं जमदग्नेरिति ललाटे । कश्यपस्य त्र्यायुषमिति कण्ठे । अगस्त्यस्य त्र्यायुषमिति नाभौ । यद्देवानां त्र्यायुषमिति दक्षिणस्कन्धे । तन्मे अस्तु त्र्यायुषमिति वामस्कन्धे । सर्वमस्तु शतायुषमिति शिरसि । ओं च मे स्वश्च मे यज्ञेन च ते नमश्च । यत्ते न्यूनं तस्मै त उप यत्तेतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नमः । अग्नये नमः । स्वस्ति । श्रद्धां मेधां यशः प्रज्ञां विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रियं बलम् । आयुष्यं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हव्यवाहन ।. The words ओं च मे ..... तस्मै ते नमः occur in आश्व. श्रौ. सू. I. 11. 15.

1769. अथ सायंप्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात् । आश्व. गृ. I. 2. 1.; अथातः पञ्च यज्ञाः । तानेतानहरहः कुर्वीत । आश्व. गृ. III. 1. 1 and 4.

1770. गृहस्थो वैश्वदेवाख्यं कर्म प्रारभते दिवा । अन्नस्य चात्मनश्चैव संस्कारार्थं निष्यते ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 46; शुद्धयर्थं चात्मनोऽन्नस्य वैश्वदेवं समाचरेत् । लघ्वाश्वलायन I. 116.

pārijāta p. 320 and Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 156 hold that vaiśvadeva must be performed before śrāddha. *Vide* Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 406–407) also; on the other hand Anuśāsana-parva (97. 16–18) directs that on śrāddha day, pitṛ-tarpaṇa comes first, then offering of bali, and then vaiśvadeva. The Madanapārijāta p. 318 says that the food for the vaiśvadeva must be separately cooked from what is meant for śrāddha. In the case of a joint family of father and sons or of several brothers, the father alone performs vaiśvadeva or the eldest brother; but if the father or eldest brother is unable to do it himself, a son or younger brother may offer it at his bidding (Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 117–119).

The food to be offered should be sprinkled over with ghee or with curds or milk but not with oil or salt. Āp. Dh. S.[1771] II. 6. 15. 12–14 prescribes that there is to be no homa of *kṣāra* and *lavaṇa* (vide note 723 above) and also of food that is mixed up with inferior food (like *kulattha* &c.); but if one is compelled to offer inferior food in vaiśvadeva (owing to poverty &c.) he should take some hot ashes from the gṛhya or ordinary fire towards the north of the fire and offer the food in the ashes. The Smṛtyarthasāra[1772] p. 47 states that cereals like gram and māṣa beans are not to be used in vaiśvadeva food. Even when a man was not going to eat on a particular day he had to offer vaiśvadeva (Aparārka p. 145). If he could afford no food, he was to offer fruits, roots or even water.[1773] He who has no gṛhya fire may offer vaiśvadeva food into the ordinary fire with only the vyāhṛtis and the rest may be left for crows.

Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 3. 1 and 4) says that vaiśvadeva food should be cooked by āryas (persons of the twice-born classes) that are purified (by bathing &c.), or śūdras supervised by āryas may cook the food.[1774] Medieval writers remarked, as usual, that the latter rule about śūdras being cooks applied only to another age.[1775] Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 3. 10–11) further says

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1771. न क्षारलवणहोमो विद्यते। तथावराजसंसृष्टस्य। अहविष्यस्य होम उदीचीन-मुष्णं भस्मापोह्य तस्मिञ्जुहुयात्तज्जुतमहुतं चाग्नौ भवति। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 15. 12–14.

1772. कोद्रवं चणकं माषं मसूरं च कुलित्थकम्। क्षारं च लवणं सर्वं वैश्वदेवे विवर्जयेत्। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 47.

1773. अलाभे येन केनापि फलशाकोदकादिभिः। चतुर्विंश[illegible]त quoted by स्मृतिच. I p. 212 and स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 398).

1774. आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः। आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 1 and 4.

1775. यत्तु तेनोक्तं-आर्याधिष्ठिता ... ... संस्कर्तारः स्युः-इति तदनुवान्तरविषयम्। ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पचनादिक्रियापि च इति कलियुगनिषिद्धधर्मेषु मध्ये स्मरणात्। स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक p. 399).

that when the food is ready i.e. cooked, the cook should announce while standing, to the owner of the house 'it is ready' and the owner should reply 'it (food) is auspiciously ready, it is food that gives supremacy; may it not be lost.' If no vaiśvadeva is performed on any day, the householder had to fast the day and night (Gobhila-smṛti III. 120). Dakṣa II. 62 and Yama condemn to hell him who takes his own meal without offering vaiśvadeva, when he is not himself in distress or difficulty.[1776]

It has been stated above (p.158) that the śūdra was to offer all the five yajñas without Vedic or Paurānic mantras, but only with the word 'namaḥ' and he was to use uncooked food for vaiśvadeva. *Vide* Yāj. I. 121 and the Mit. thereon and Āhnikaprakāśa, p. 401.

Baliharaṇa or Bhūtayajña:—Here also there is some divergence between the ancient gṛhya-sūtras and medieval and modern practice. The Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 3–11 deals with this. The deities to whom bali (or part of the food taken out when performing vaiśvadeva) is offered are: to the same deities to whom the devayajña is offered as stated above, to the waters, to herbs and trees, to the house, to the domestic deities, to the deities of the ground (on which the house is built), to Indra and Indra's men, to Yama and Yama's men, to Varuṇa and Varuṇa's men, to Soma and Soma's men (these are offered in the several quarters[1777]), to Brahman and Brahman's men in the middle, to the Viśve-devas, to all day-walking beings, to the Rakṣases–towards the north; *svadhā* to the pitṛs (Manes)–with these words he should pour out the remnant of the food to the south, while wearing the sacred thread suspended over the right shoulder. Āśv. adds that if *baliharaṇa* is performed by night then the words 'to all night-walking beings' are used instead of 'to all day-walking beings'.

Gobhila gṛ. I. 4. 5–15, Pār. gṛ. II. 9 and other gṛhya sūtras, Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 15–II. 2. 4. 9, Gautama V. 10–15, differ considerably from the above in several respects. But for want of space no reference can be made to these differences.

In bhūtayajña, bali is to be[1778] offered not into fire but on the ground, which is to be wiped with the hand and sprinkled

1776. अकृत्वा वैश्वदेवं तु यो भुङ्क्तेऽनापदि द्विजः। स मूढो नरकं याति कालसूत्रमवाक्शिराः॥ यम quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 213.

1777. इन्द्र, यम, वरुण and सोम are the presiding deities of the east, south, west and north respectively.

1778. बलीनां तस्य तस्य देशे संस्कारो हस्तेन परिमृज्यावोक्ष्य स्रुच्य पश्चात्परिषेचनम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 15; देवयज्ञहुतशेषेण शुचिदेशमभ्युक्ष्य तत्र कुर्यात्। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 47.

with water, and then the bali is to be put down and water is poured on it thereafter. *Vide* Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 15. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 5–6) prescribes that one should make all including dogs and cāṇḍālas participators in the food cooked for vaiśvadeva and adds the view of some (which he disapproves) that one should not give food to the undeserving.[1779] Manu III. 87–93 says that after performing vaiśvadeva one should offer balis in all directions to Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Soma and their followers, a bali to Maruts on the door, to waters a bali in water, a bali to the trees in mortar and pestle, a bali to Śrī on the top of the house, to Bhadrakālī at the foot of the house, to Brahmā and Vāstoṣpati in the midst of the house; a bali may be thrown up in the sky to Viśve Devas, to the day-walking beings (when baliharaṇa is done by day) and to night-walking beings (by night); a bali should be offered to the prosperity of all on the first floor[1780] and all the remaining portion of the food for balis should be offered to the manes towards the south; the householder should lightly (so that no dust will get mixed with it) offer on the ground some food to dogs, to outcasts, to cāṇḍālas, to those suffering from loathsome diseases (such as leprosy), to crows and insects. Yāj. I. 103 calls upon the householder to throw food to dogs, cāṇḍālas and crows on the ground.[1781]

These directions to give food even to outcasts, dogs and birds were the outcome of the noble sentiment of universal kindliness and charity, the idea that One Spirit pervades and illumines the meanest of creatures and binds all together. The Śāṅ. gṛ. (II. 14)[1782] winds up its vaiśvadeva section with this fine exhortation "let him throw food to dogs, to śvapacas (eaters

1779. सर्वान्वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीताश्वचण्डालेभ्यः। नानर्हद्भ्यो दद्यादित्येके। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 5–6.

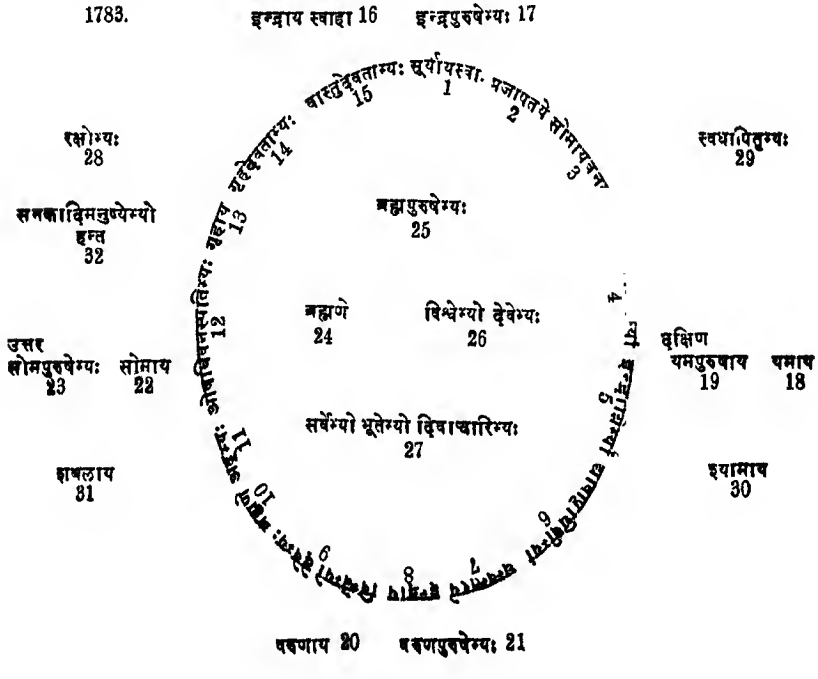
1780. Some hold that bali is to be offered on the ground at the top (where the head lies) of the bed of the house-holder and at the other end of the bed. पृष्ठवास्तु in Manu III. 91 is explained by the गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 279 as the latrine and privy at the back of the house.

1781. देवेभ्यश्च हुतादन्नाच्छेषान्नुतबलिं हरेत्। अन्नं भूमौ श्वचाण्डालपतयेभ्यश्च निक्षिपेत्॥ या. I. 103.

1782. श्वभ्यः श्वपचेभ्यश्च वयोभ्यश्च वपेद् भूमाविति नानवस्तमश्नीयाज्जैको न पूर्वो मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेता इति। शां. गृ. II. 14. 22–26. Rg. X. 117. 6 is मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य। नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी॥. With the last quarter may be compared the भगवद्गीता III. 13 'भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात्।'. Vide also Manu III. 118 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 43 for the same idea.

of dog-flesh), to birds on the ground; let him eat nothing without having cut off a portion (to be offered as a bali); let him not eat alone, nor before others (relatives and guests), since the mantra says 'the fool gets food in vain' (Rg. X. 117. 6).' The Mahābhārata (Vanaparva II. 59) says that offering food to dogs, śvapacas and birds on the ground is known as vaiśvadeva, which is performed in the morning and evening. The same verse occurs at Anuśāsanaparva 97. 22-23. Aparārka p. 145 says that vaiśvadeva comprises all actions from the offering into fire oblations of food up to the throwing of food to dogs and the like in the morning and the evening.

In modern times the way in which balis are offered and their number are set out in the diagram below. The one drawn is for the morning baliharaṇa. For the evening one the only change necessary would be to put 'agnaye svāhā' (No. 1) in place of 'sūryāya svāhā' and 'naktam-cāribhyaḥ' for 'divā-cāribhyaḥ' in No. 27. The word 'svāhā' is not repeated in the diagram after each name[1783] for the sake of space. Manu III. 121 prescribes that bali is offered in the evening by the wife but without mantras (i. e. she is not to repeat the mantras) 'Indrāya svāhā' &c., but only to contemplate on the several deities.



Pitṛyajña:—The word occurs in Ṛg. X. 16. 10, but its exact meaning is not certain. Pitṛyajña may be performed in either of three ways as stated above (on p. 700) viz. by tarpaṇa (Manu III. 70 and 283), or by performing baliharaṇa in which remnants of bali food are to be offered to the pitṛs (Manu III. 91 and Āśv. gṛ. I. 2. 11) or by performing śrāddha daily with food on inviting at least one brāhmaṇa for dinner (Manu III. 82-83). Śrāddhas will be dealt with later and the other two (tarpaṇa and baliharaṇa) have already been dealt with. In this daily śrāddha[1784] there is no offering of piṇḍas (balls of rice) and the several strict rules and procedure of the *pārvaṇa* śrāddha do not apply.

1784. नित्यश्राद्धे तु गन्धाद्यैर्द्विजान्सम्यर्च्य शक्तितः। सर्वान् पितृगणान् सम्यक् सहैवोद्दिश्य भोजयेत्। आवाहनं स्वधाकारं पिण्डाग्नौकरणादिकम्। ब्रह्मचर्यादि नियमो विश्वे देवास्तथैव च। नित्यश्राद्धे त्यजेदेतान्भोज्यमन्नं प्रकल्पयेत्। व्यास in स्मृतिसं. (आह्निक p. 402).

CHAPTER XXI

NṚYAJÑA OR MANUṢYA-YAJÑA.

Nṛyajña or Manuṣya-yajña: (*Honouring guests*).—Manu (III. 70) states that this consists in honouring guests. In the oldest hymns of the Ṛgveda fire is described as a guest in the house of the sacrificer. In Ṛg. I. 73. 1 Agni is described as lying in a pleasant spot and pleased like a guest (syonaśīr-atithir-na prīṇāno). *Vide* Ṛg. V. 1. 8 [1785] and 9, V. 4. 5, VII. 42. 4 for fire being called *atithi*. In Ṛg. IV. 4. 10 it is said of Agni 'you become the protector, the friend, of him who offers you hospitality in the usual (or proper) order.' Vide Ṛg. IV. 33. 7 and Tai. S. I. 2. 10. 1 for the word *ātithya*. Atharvaveda IX. 6 is an eulogy of hospitality in which the various stages in the reception and feeding of a guest are metaphorically represented as the various actions performed in a sacrifice.[1786] The Tai. S. V. 2. 2. 4 refers to the fact that 'when a guest comes, hospitality in which ghee abounds, is offered to him' and it remarks that 'one who comes in a chariot and one who comes in a cart are the two most honoured among guests.[1787]' The Tai. S. (VI. 2. 1. 2) says 'hospitality is offered to all the followers accompanied by whom a king comes'. Vide Ait. Br. II. 9 for almost the same words. The Śāṅ. Br. II. 9 remarks[1788] 'when a man offers oblations at sunrise, he indeed offers hospitality to a great god who has started on a journey.' The Tai. Br. (II. 1. 3) shows that a guest was honoured by having a lit lamp placed before him and then food was served to him.[1789] The Ait. Br. (25. 5) says that a guest

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1785. प्रियो विशामतिथिर्मानुषीणाम् ॥ ऋ. V. 1. 9 'Agni is a guest dear to all human groups.' तस्य त्राता भवसि तस्य सखा यस्त आतिथ्यमानुषग्जुजोषत् ॥ ऋ. IV. 4. 10.

1786. Vide आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 7. 2 and 6–10 for comparison of hospitable acts with the three *savanas* and constituent elements of a sacrifice.

1787. तस्मादुभस्त्री च रथी च अतिथीनामपचितितमौ । ... यथातिथय आगताय सर्पिष्वदातिथ्यं क्रियते तादृगेव तद्यायात्रिया ब्राह्मणस्य । तै. सं. V. 2. 2. 3. and 4. The words तस्मादुभ...तमौ are quoted in कौ. सू. परिभाषासूत्र II. 4. 20.

1788. स य उदिते जुहोति प्रवसत एवैतन्महते देवायातिथ्यं करोति । शां. ब्रा. II. 9.

1789. अथो यथातिथिं ज्योतिष्कृत्वा परिवेवेष्टि । तै. ब्रा. II. 1. 3.

should not be refused in the evening.[1790] The Śat. Br. (II. 1.4. 2. S. B. E. vol. 12, p. 291) remarks that 'it would be unbecoming for a person to take food before men who are staying with him as guests have eaten'. The Śatapatha shows that an ox or a goat was cooked for a guest, either a king or a brāhmaṇa (III. 4. 1. 2). Vide also Ait. Br. 3. 4 for the offering of an ox or barren cow to a king or another deserving person coming as a guest. Yāj. I. 109 also says that a big ox or a goat was to be kept apart for a guest learned in the Veda. But the Mit. and other[1791] medieval writers to whom flesh-eating was an anathema and an unspeakable sin for a brāhmaṇa remark that an ox or a goat was to be understood as set apart for the guest to flatter him (with the words 'this ox is yours') just as one says in humility 'all this house is yours' and that the ox or goat was not meant to be given in gift or to be killed since it would be impossible to find an ox each time a śrotriya guest came. The Ait. Ār. I. 1. 1 remarks 'whoever is good and has attained eminence is a (real) guest, people do not treat with hospitality one who is undeserving.'[1792] In the Tai. Up. (I. 11. 2) one of the exhortations of the teacher to the pupil returning home is 'atithi-devo bhava' (honour guests). The same Upaniṣad says elsewhere (III. 10. 1) "let him never turn away a stranger from his house, that is the rule. Therefore a man should by all means acquire much food, for people say (to the guest) 'there is food ready for him.' If he gives food amply, food is given to him amply". In the Kaṭhopaniṣad[1793] (I. 7-9) it is said 'a brāhmaṇa entering a house as a guest is (like) fire. People offer this (well-known) appeasement to him. Oh, son of Vivasvat, offer him water (to wash his feet). If a brāhmaṇa guest stays in a man's house without food, he cuts off (destroys) the hopes and expectations, (fruits of) the friendship (of the good), the rewards of sacrifices and charitable acts, sons and cattle.' Then Yama offered to bestow three boons on Naciketas as some penance for allowing Naciketas to remain without food

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1790. तस्मादाहुर्न सायमतिथिरपरुध्य इति। ऐ. ब्रा. 25. 5; compare मनु III. 105 अमणोद्योऽतिथिः सायं सूर्योढो गृहमेधिना।.

1791. अत्र यद्यपि गृहागतश्रोत्रियतृप्त्यर्थं गोवधः कर्तव्य इति श्रूयते तथापि कलियुगे नायं धर्मः किं तु युगान्तरे। आह्निकप्रकाश p. 451.

1792. यो वै भवति यः श्रेष्ठतामश्नुते स वा अतिथिर्भवति न वाऽसन्तमातिथ्याया-ह्वियन्ते। ऐ. आ. I. 1. 1.

1793. वैश्वानरः प्रविशत्यतिथिर्ब्राह्मणो गृहान्। तस्यैतां शान्तिं कुर्वन्ति हर वैवस्वतो-दकम्। कठोप. I. 7; आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 3 echoes the first half. वसिष्ठ XI. 13 quotes the first half.

in his house for three days. The Nirukta[1794] IV. 5 in explaining Ṛg. V. 4. 5 (juṣto damūnā atithirduroṇa) derives the word 'atithi' from the root 'at' to go and also from 'tithi' (day) and 'a' meaning 'comes' (from 'i' with 'abhi'). Vide Manu III. 102 for another derivation; also Parāśara I. 42 and Mārk. 29. 2–9. Manu and others say that an *atithi* is so called because he does not stay for a whole *tithi* (i. e. day) and 'an atithi is a brāhmaṇa who stays for one night only as a guest.'

The honouring of guests comes after the offering of bali and Baud. gṛ. II. 9. 1–2, Vas. XI. 6, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 55 ordain that after *baliharaṇa* the householder should wait in front of the yard of his house for as much time as would be required for milking a cow or for a longer time at his desire for receiving guests. Others make it a definite time viz. one-eighth of a *muhūrta* (*vide* Mārk. purāṇa 29. 24–25 quoted in Sm. C. I., p. 217).[1795] The Āp. Dh. S. contains a very elaborate treatment of honouring guests (II. 3. 6. 3 to II. 4. 9. 6). Gaut. V. 36, Manu III. 102–103 and Yāj. I. 107 and 111 state that he is called an atithi who belonging to a different village and intending to stay one night only arrives in the evening, that one who has already been invited for dinner is not an atithi properly so called, that a person who belongs to the same village or who is a friend or fellow-student is not an atithi, that one has to honour guests according to one's ability, that guests are to be preferred according to the order of varṇas and that among the brāhmaṇas, the śrotriya and one who has completely mastered (at least one) recension of the Veda is to be preferred. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 6 says that the worthiest are to be honoured first. Gaut. V. 39–42 and Manu III. 110–112 say that a kṣatriya is not really an atithi to a brāhmaṇa nor are vaiśyas nor śūdras; but they add that,[1796] if a kṣatriya comes to a brāhmaṇa's house as a guest (i. e. as a traveller who has no food with him and about the time of taking food) he should be treated to a meal after brāhmaṇa guests take their food and vaiśya and śūdra guests should be given food

1794. अतिथिः अन्यतिथौ गृहान् भवति। अन्येति तिथिषु परकुलानि इति वा। निरुक्त IV. 5.

1795. अथ वैश्वदेवं हुत्वातिथिमाकांक्षेद्वागोर्दोहकालम्। अन्नं बोद्धृत्य दद्यात्। विज्ञायते पञ्चो वा एष पञ्चमो यदतिथिः। गौ. गृ. II. 9. 1–3 and भरद्वाजगृह्य III. 14; vide मनु III. 94 also. मुहूर्तस्याष्टमं भागमुदीक्ष्यो ह्यतिथिर्भवेत्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 25.

1796. ब्राह्मणस्यानतिथिरब्राह्मणः। ..... भोजनं तु क्षत्रियस्योर्ध्वं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः। अन्यान् भृत्यैः सहाश्नीयात्स्यार्थम्। गौ. V. 39–42.

by a brāhmaṇa householder along with his servants and thereby he should show his kindliness. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5 requires the householder to give food to all who come at the end of the Vaiśvadeva, even including cāṇḍālas, but it mentions the view of some that one need not give food to unworthy persons (vide note 1779 above). Commentators like Haradatta explain that, in the case of worthy guests, if the householder does not give food, though able, he incurs sin; but in the case of unworthy people he incurs no blemish by not giving, but if he gives to them also, he secures merit. Vṛddha-Gautama (pp. 535–536) calls upon a householder to treat even a cāṇḍāla with consideration. Parāśara (I. 40) and Śātātapa went so far[1797] as to say that even if a householder hates a visitor or the latter is a fool, the householder should give him food if he arrives at the time of meals. Śāntiparva 146. 5 says that even an enemy when he comes to one's house as a guest must be hospitably treated, as a tree does not remove its shade from one who approaches it to fell it. But Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 19, Manu IV. 213, Yāj. I. 162 are opposed to this and state that a guest who is at enmity with the host shall not eat his food, nor shall he eat the food of a host who accuses him or suspects him of a crime. Vṛddha-Hārīta (8. 239–240) states the humane rule 'if a traveller is a śūdra or belongs to a pratiloma caste (such as a cāṇḍāla) and comes to one's house tired and hungry, the householder should give him food; but if a heretic or a patita (one outcast for grave sins) comes in that condition, one should not give him cooked food, but only grain. Compare Manu IV. 30. Vṛddha-Gautama (chap. 6, p. 535 and chap. 12, p. 590, Jivānanda part 2) says the same about a cāṇḍāla or śvapāka being given cooked food. Baud. gṛ. II. 9. 21 enjoins welcome to all travellers including cāṇḍālas.

The guest is to be shown honour by going out to meet him, by offering him water to wash his feet, by giving him a seat, by lighting a lamp before him, by giving food and lodging, by personal attendance on him, by offering him a bed and by accompanying him some distance when he departs. Vide Gaut. V. 29–34, 37, Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 7–15, Manu III. 99, 107 and IV. 29, Dakṣa III. 5–8. Vanaparva 200. 22–25 and Anuśāsana 2 highly extol hospitality. Anuśāsana 7. 6 says 'the host

1797. प्रियो वा यदि वा द्वेष्यो मूर्खः पण्डित एव वा। वैश्वदेवे तु संप्राप्तः सोतिथिः स्वर्गसंक्रमः॥ पराशर I. 40, शातातप quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 217 (reads श्रुतो वा पदि वा दुष्टो मूर्खः &c.).

should give his eye, mind and agreeable speech to the guest, he should personally attend on him and should accompany him when he (the guest) departs; this sacrifice demands these five fees'.[1798] Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 4. 16–21) says that if a brāhmaṇa that has not studied the Veda or a kṣatriya or a vaiśya comes as a guest to a brāhmaṇa, the latter should offer him a seat, water and food, but need not rise to receive him, that if a śūdra comes as a guest to a brāhmaṇa, the latter should ask him to do some work, then give him food, but if he has none, he should send his slaves to bring it from the royal palace (or store-house).[1799] Haradatta makes the interesting remark that for honouring śūdra visitors the king should set apart in each village some paddy or other corn. Gaut. V. 33, Manu III. 101 (= Vanaparva II. 54 and Udyoga 36. 34), Ap. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 13–14, Yāj. I. 107, Baud. gr. II. 9. 21–23 say that[1800] if a man has not the means to give food to all visitors he should at least offer them water, room and grass to lie down upon, and agreeable speech. If the householder is absent, his wife is to look after honouring guests. Gaut. (V. 37-38) says that guests of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya castes should be respectively greeted with the words *kuśala*, *anāmaya* and *ārogya* and the śūdra also with *ārogya*. Vide Manu II. 127 also and note 831 above.

The motive of this injunction to honour guests was clear, viz. universal kindliness. Other motives were added by smṛtis in order to emphasize the observance of this duty. The Śāṅ. gr. II. 17. 1 says "Even if a man constantly gathers grass (i. e. maintains himself by collecting the grains that fall in a field when the crop is taken away) and performs agnihotra, a brāhmaṇa guest who stays in his house without receiving the honour (due as a guest) takes away the (merit) of all his good

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1798. चक्षुर्दद्यान्मनो दद्याद् वाचं दद्याच्च सूनृताम्। अनुव्रजेदुपासीत स यज्ञः पञ्चदक्षिणः॥ अनुशासन 7. 6.

1799. ब्राह्मणायानधीयानायासनमुदकमक्षामिति देयं न प्रत्युत्तिष्ठेत्। राजन्यवैश्यौ च। शूद्रमन्यागतं कर्मणि नियुञ्ज्यात्। अथास्मै दद्यात्। दासा वा राजकुलादाहृत्यातिथिवच्छूद्रं पूजयेयुः॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 16–21; अत एव ज्ञायते शूद्राणामतिथीनां पूजार्थं व्रीह्यादिकं राज्ञा ग्रामे ग्रामे स्थापयितव्यमिति। हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 21.

1800. काले स्वामिनावक्षार्थिनं न प्रत्याचक्षीयाताम्। अभावे भूमिरुदकं तृणानि कल्याणी वागित्येतानि वै सतोगारे न क्षीयन्ते कदाचनेति। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 4. 13–14; गौ. गृ. II. 9. 22–23 ओषधिविभागस्तु विभववता कार्योऽभावे भूमि ..... कदाचनेति तानेतान् परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते।

works".[1801] Manu III. 100 says the same. Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 6 says that by honouring guests one secures heaven and freedom from misfortune.[1802] Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 7. 16. One verse quoted in numerous works like the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 33, Śāntiparva 191. 12, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 9. 15, Mārkaṇḍeya 29. 31, Brahmapurāṇa 114. 36 is 'when a guest returns from the house of a person with his hope of getting food shattered, he (the guest) transfers his own sins to the householder and departs taking with him the householder's merit (puṇya)'. The Vāyupurāṇa (71. 74) and Bṛhat-Parāśara (Jīvānanda, part 2, p. 99) say that *yogins* and *siddhas* (those who have attained transcendant powers) wander over this earth in various forms for the benefit of men; therefore one should with folded hands welcome a guest. If one is not able to feed many guests, then Baud. Dh. S. (II. 3. 15–18) declares that one should feed him who is endowed with superior qualities or who is the first to arrive or who is a *śrotriya*.

Parāśara (I. 46–47) says that the brahmacārin and the ascetic are the masters of food (i. e. their claim is the first); if one eats without giving to these one should perform the penance of cāndrāyaṇa. When a *yati* comes as a guest, one should give water in his hand, then food and then again water. The food becomes as big as Meru (mountain) and the water as the sea. Laghu-Viṣṇu (II. 12–14) highly eulogises a *yogin* as a guest and Dakṣa VII. 42–44 and Vṛddha-Hārīta 8. 89 say that if a *yati* stays as a guest in a householder's house for a single night, the latter's accumulated sins are destroyed and when a *yati* takes food at a man's house it is Viṣṇu himself who is fed.[1803]

If after some guests have been fed another guest or a batch of guests arrives, then the householder should have food cooked

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1801. तृणान्यप्युदकुम्भश्च नित्यमग्निहोत्रं च जुह्वतः। सर्वं सुकृतमादत्ते ब्राह्मणोनर्चितो वसन्॥ शां. पु. II. 17. 1.

1802. तस्य पूजायां शान्तिः स्वर्गश्च। आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 6. 6; vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 67. 32 also. अतिथिर्यस्य भग्नाशो गृहात्प्रतिनिवर्तते। स तस्मै दुष्कृतं दत्त्वा पुण्यमादाय गच्छति॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 31. सिद्धा हि विप्ररूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम्। तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत् कृताञ्जलिः॥ वायुपुराण 71. 74; योगिनो विविधैर्वेषैर्भ्रमन्ति धरणीतले। नराणामुपकाराय ते चाज्ञातस्वरूपिणः। तस्मादभ्यर्चयेत्प्राप्तं अभ्रुकालेतिथिं द्विजः॥ बृहत्पराशर p. 99 (Jīvānanda, part 2).

1803. यतिर्यस्य गृहे भुङ्क्ते तस्य भुङ्क्ते हरिः स्वयम्। वृद्धहारीत 8. 89; संचितं पदगृहस्थेन पापमामरणान्तिकम्। निर्दहत्येव तत्सर्वमेकरात्रोषितो यतिः। दक्ष VII. 43.

again, but in such a case no fresh vaiśvadeva and baliharaṇa are necessary. Vide Manu III. 105 and 108. It has been already shown from the Śatapatha that the householder is not to partake of meals before the guests, but rather after the guests. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 7. 3 states[1804] 'he who eats before his guest eats (destroys) food, prosperity, progeny, cattle and merit of his own house'. Manu III. 114 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 39) allows the householder to feed newly married girls (his daughters or sisters), unmarried girls, persons who are ill, and pregnant women even before guests; while Gautama V. 23 says that these should be fed at the same time as the guests. Manu III. 113, 116–118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 38–43, Yāj. I. 105, 108, Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 10,[1805] Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 19 say that one should feed one's friends, relatives and one's servants and then the householder and his wife should dine, that one should not stint one's servants and slaves (who are to be fed daily with food) in order to be able to feed guests, that he who eats before these (guests, relatives, young women of the house, servants) will have his soul harassed by vultures after death, that he who cooks food for himself only swallows merely sin and that when he eats what remains after offering yajña to gods, beings, pitṛs and guests, he really eats. Manu III. 285 (= Vanaparva II. 60) says that '*vighasa* is what is left after brāhmaṇas and guests have partaken and *amṛta* is what is left after being offered in sacrifice and one should always eat these.' Baud. Dh. S. (II. 3. 68 and 21-22) says[1806] "all beings subsist on food, the Veda declares 'food is life'; therefore food should be given, as food is the highest offering. One should not take food without giving it to others" and quotes two verses said to have been sung by food itself. It is on account of these sentiments that are ingrained even to-day in the minds of all Hindus that no Poor Law and no work-houses were required in India. This sentiment undoubtedly leads to abuses, but what system is not

1804. ऊर्जं पुष्टिं प्रजां पशूनिष्टापूर्तमिति गृहाणामश्नाति यः पूर्वोऽतिथेरश्नाति । आप. ध. सू. II. 3. 7. 3.

1805. ये नित्यभाक्तिकास्तेषामनुपरोधेन संविभागो विहितः । आप. ध. II. 4. 9. 10, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 19 (practically the same).

1806. अन्नं श्रितानि भूतानि अन्नं प्राणमिति श्रुतिः । तस्मादन्नं प्रदातव्यमन्नं हि परमं हविः । न त्वेव कदाचिददत्त्वा भुञ्जीत । अथाप्यत्राक्तगीतौ श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति । यो मामदत्त्वा पितृदेवतास्यो भृत्यातिथीनां च सुहृज्जनस्य । संपक्वमश्नन्विषमत्ति मोहात्तमद्य एतं तस्य च मृत्युरस्मि । बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 68, 21–22. 'अन्नं प्राणः' occurs in ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1 and 'अन्नं प्राणमन्नमपानमाहुः' in तै. ब्रा. II. 8. 8.

without abuses? The Poor Law and work-houses have their own abuses and the general tax-payer has probably to pay more for relief to the poor, the destitute and unemployed in England than under the Indian system of feeding the poor voluntarily.

Āp. Dh. S. (II. 4. 9. 2-4) says[1807] that when the guest departs, the host should accompany him to the place where his conveyance is drawn up and if he has no conveyance, then till the guest gives him leave to go or if the guest forgets to give leave, the host should turn back from the boundary. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 15 and Yāj. I. 113 speak also of accompanying the guest till the boundary, and Aparārka explains that the boundary may be that of the host's house site, or of his field or of the village according to the eminence of the guest. Śaṅkha-Likhita[1808] prescribe that the host should accompany the guest till he reaches a public garden or public hall, a *prapā* (place where water is distributed gratis), a tank, a temple, a sacred (or big) tree (like the fig tree) or a river and then should go round the guest and say the words 'farewell till we see each other again.' It is in accordance with this that in the fourth Act of the Śākuntala Kaṇva's pupil reminds his teacher that one should accompany one's dear relative up to some reservoir of water.

1807. यानवन्तमायानात् । यावन्नानुजानीयादितरः । अप्रतीभायां सीम्नो निवर्तेत आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 2-4.

1808. समेत्य न्यायतो निवर्तेत । आरामसभाप्रपातडागदेवगृहमहाद्रुमनदीनामन्यतरस्मिन् प्रदक्षिणं कुर्याद्वाचमुत्सृज्य पुनर्दर्शनायेति । शङ्खलिखित quoted in गृह. र. p. 292.

CHAPTER XXII

BHOJANA

Bhojana (*taking one's meals*) :—Dakṣa (II. 56 and 68) states that in the fifth[1809] part of the day the householder should make according to his capacity the gods, pitṛs, men and even lower animals (lit. insects) participators (in food) and after doing that, he should himself partake of the remainder of the food cooked. Thus he was to take his meals during one hour and a half after noon. Bhojana is one of the most important subjects treated of in Dharmaśāstra works and the greatest importance (next to rules about marriage) attaches to the numerous injunctions and *taboos* about food. The principal subjects to be dealt with under this head are: how many times food was to be taken; the kinds of foods and drinks allowed or forbidden; what causes food defilement; flesh-eating and drinking wine; whose food was to be eaten; etiquette and ceremonies before taking food, at the time of taking it and after taking it.

Great importance was attached to purity of food from very ancient times. In the Chāndogya Up. (VII. 26. 2) occurs this passage 'when there is purity of food, then the mind becomes pure, when the mind is pure then follows firm remembrance (of the real Self), when the last is secured all knots (that bind the soul to the world) are loosened.'[1810]

The several matters about bhojana found in the Vedic literature will be first briefly set out. From Rg. VI. 30. 3 it appears that food was taken, while sitting ('the mountains sank

1809. पञ्चमे च तथा भागे संविभागो यथार्हतः । देवर्षिपितृमनुष्याणां कीटानां चोपदिश्यते ॥ संविभागं ततः कृत्वा गृहस्थः शेषभुग्भवेत् । दक्ष II. 56, 68. The first verse is quoted by अपरार्क p. 143.

1810. आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिः सत्त्वशुद्धा ध्रुवा स्मृतिः स्मृतिलम्भे सर्वग्रन्थीनां विप्रमोक्षः । छान्दोग्य VII.26.2. शंकराचार्य explains आहार in a far-fetched way as आह्रियते इत्याहारः शब्दादिविषयविज्ञानं &c. It is remarkable that on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 29 Śaṁkara connects this clause with allowed and forbidden foods 'एवं च सति-आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्येवमादि-भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविभाग-शास्त्रमबाधितं भवति'. On या. I. 154 (p. 221) अपरार्क quotes a long passage from Hārīta in which we read 'तस्माच्छुचिर्यथार्थपरिमिताहारः स्यात् । आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिरित्याचार्याः । '.

down just as men sit down to take food'). 'A person was to take food[1811] only twice a day' says the Tai. Br. I. 4. 9. and the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 6. There were certain *taboos* about articles of food even in the earliest texts. Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1 states that all red exudations (resins) of trees or the juice that oozes out from trees when they are cut (with an axe &c.) should not be eaten, since that colour is due to the (sharing of) brāhmaṇa-murder. Similarly the milk of the cow was not to be drunk for ten days after delivery (Tai. Br. II. 1. 1, III. 1. 3). The Ait. Br. 6. 9 states that one should not eat the food of a dīkṣita (one initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) till the performance of *vapāhoma* by him. Ṛg. I. 187 (vv. 1–7) is a hymn in praise of food. The story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa in the Chāndogya Up. shows that in a dire calamity when no food can be had, one may eat anything, even the remnants of another's food and the Vedāntasūtra (III. 4. 28–31, sarvānnānumatiś-ca prāṇātyaye tad-darśanāt) is based on this episode in the Chāndogya. In the Ait. Ār. V. 3. 3[1812] it is stated that 'one who knows this (i. e. the Mahāvrata) should not recite these texts before one who knows it not nor dine with him nor should he take delight in his company.' The sages are said in the Kauṣītaki Br. (12. 3) to have told Kavaṣa who sat in their midst that they would not eat with him as he was the son of a *dāsī*. The question about flesh-eating and drinking spirituous liquors will be dealt with in detail later.

Manu V. 4 declared that death overtakes brāhmaṇas on account of four causes, viz. absence of Vedic study, giving up the performance of proper duties and actions, laziness and blemishes attaching to the food taken. The Gṛ. R. p. 347 quotes verses to the effect 'food is the filth of men, everything is centred in food, the evil deeds of men resort to their food. Whoever eats the food of another partakes of that man's sin.' Therefore elaborate regulations are laid down about everything relating to food. Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 1, Vas. Dh. S. XII. 18. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 68. 40, Manu II. 5 say that one should face the east when taking food and the Viṣṇu Dh. S. 68. 41 and Āp. Dh.

1811. तस्माद्व सायंप्रातराश्येव स्यात्। शतपथ II. 2. 2. 6; तस्माद् द्विरह्नो मनुष्येभ्य उपह्रियते। तै. ब्रा. I. 4. 9. The first is quoted by विश्वरूप (on याज्ञ. I. 114); स निर्पासोऽभवत्तस्मात्क्षीर्यासस्य नाश्यं ब्रह्महत्यायै वेष वर्णोऽथ खलु य एव लोहितो यो वा ब्रध्नात्क्षीर्येपति तस्य नाश्यं काममन्यस्य। तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 4; तस्माद्वत्सं जातं दश रात्रीर्न दुहन्ति। तै. ब्रा. II. 1. 1.

1812. नेतं विदनिर्दविदा सहाद्विशेत्र सह भुञ्जीत न सधमादी स्यात्। ऐ. आ. V. 3. 3.

S. II. 8. 19. 1-2 allow a man to face the south, except when the diner's mother is alive. Manu II. 52 (= Anuśāsanaparva 104. 57) states 'one facing the east eats food which tends to long life, one facing the south eats food which leads to fame, one facing the west eats (so as to produce) wealth and one facing north partakes of truth.' This means that one who eats facing any one of these directions secures the benefit specified. The Vāmanapurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 312 disallow the south and west. One must take one's meals in private in a place screened from public view. The Sm. C. quotes[1813] verses of Devala, Uśanas and the Padmapurāṇa to the effect 'one should take food in privacy, for one who does so is endowed with wealth and one who eats his meals in public becomes bereft of wealth; one should not eat in the sight of many (who are themselves not eating) and many men should not eat before a single person who is only looking at them'. One may[1814] eat in the company of one's sons, younger brothers, dependents &c. Some writers went so far as[1815] to recommend that 'one should take one's food alone and not in the company of even one's relatives or other brāhmaṇas, since who can know the secret sins a person in whose company one eats is guilty of'? The conception underlying this uncharitable view was stated by Bṛhaspati to be that 'when several persons sit down to dinner in a continuous row, the sins one of them is guilty of attach to the others in the same row'. Even in modern times many persons in Northern India follow this view and it is a well-known proverb that nine *bhayyas* have ten hearths. The place where one takes one's food should be freshly cowdunged and pure. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 6-8) says that one should not take one's food in a boat nor on a wooden platform, but may do so on a pure floor. One was not to eat while seated on an elephant, or horse or camel

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1813. आहारं तु रहः कुर्याद्नाहारं चैव सर्वदा। गुप्तो हि लक्ष्म्या युक्तः स्यात्प्रकाशे हीयते श्रिया॥ देवल quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 221; मैथुनं सततं गुप्तमाहारं च समाचरेत्। अनुशासन 163. 47; नाश्नीयाद्बहूनां च पश्यताम्। नाश्नीयुर्बहवश्चैव नरा नैकस्य पश्यतः॥ उशनस् in स्मृतिच० I. p. 226; बहूनां प्रेक्षमाणानां नैकस्मिन्भोजनं तथा। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 68.

1814. पात्रेष्वन्नासुरूपेषु पुत्रभृत्याद्युजैः सह। भूम्यां पात्रं प्रतिष्ठाप्य मौनेनान्नं तु भक्षयेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 311.

1815. अप्येकपङ्क्त्यां नाश्नीयाद् ब्राह्मणैः स्वजनैरपि। कोहि जानाति किं कस्य प्रच्छन्नं पातकं भवेत्॥ आदिपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 227 and परा. मा. I. 1. p. 429. एकपङ्क्त्युपविष्टानां दुष्कृतं यद्धुरात्मनाम्। सर्वेषां तत्समं तावद्यावत्पङ्क्तिर्न भिद्यते॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 228.

or in some conveyance, or in a cemetery or in a temple or on a bed or chair; nor should one eat food placed on one's palm (Brahmapurāṇa quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 325). One should wash one's hands and feet before sitting down to take one's meal. Manu IV. 76 says (= Anuśāsana 104. 61-62 and Atri in Jivānanda, part 1, p. 9) that one should begin one's dinner while one's feet are wet, since that leads on to long life. Vyāsa quoted in Sm. C. (I. p. 221) prescribes that one should have five limbs wet at the time of taking food, viz. the hands, the feet and the mouth.[1816] All writers prescribe that one should observe silence or at least restraint of speech at the time of meals (e. g. *vide* Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 2, Laghu-Hārīta 40). Vṛddha-Manu quoted by the Sm. C. I. p. 223[1817] requires complete silence till five morsels are taken and restraint in speech thereafter. Following the Vedic injunctions quoted above, Gaut. IX. 59, Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 36, Manu II. 56, Saṁvarta 12 and others say that a householder should take only two meals every day, should not eat food in the intervening period and that if he acts up to this advice he reaps the merit of a fast. Gobhila-smṛti (II. 33) says the same and adds[1818] that the evening meal may be taken till one *prahara* and a half (i. e. 4½ hours) after nightfall. One was not to eat very early in the morning nor at midnight nor at twilight (Manu IV. 55 and 62 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 68. 48). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 19. 10) allows partaking of roots and fruits between two meals. Below the vessel or plate or leaf from which one eats, one has to draw a figure with water or holy ashes. According to the Brahmapurāṇa (quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 311) the maṇḍalas (figures) for brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras should respectively be in the form of a square, a triangle, a circle and a crescent; while according to Śaṅkha (in Sm. C. I., p. 221), Laghu-Śātātapa 133, Atri (Jivānanda chap. V. 1, p. 7) in the case of the śūdra water is to

1816. पञ्चार्द्रो भोजनं कुर्यात्पादाङ्गुष्ठौ मौनमास्थितः। हस्तौ पादौ तथैवास्यमेषु पञ्चार्द्रता मता॥ व्यास in स्मृतिच० I. p. 221; vide मेधा० on मनु II. 53 quoting व्यास 'पञ्चार्द्रो भुञ्जते नित्यं तेषु वस्त्याम्यहं हरेः।'; vide शान्तिपर्व 193. 6 for पञ्चार्द्रो भोजनं भुञ्ज्यात्.

1817. अनिन्द्यभक्षयेन्नित्यं वाग्यतोऽमकुत्सयन्। पञ्चग्रासं महामौनं प्राणाद्याप्यायनं हि तत्॥ वृद्धमनु in स्मृतिच० I. p. 223.

1818. ऋषिभिर्दर्शनश्रुक्तं विप्राणां मर्त्यवासिनां नित्यम्। अहनि च तथा तमस्विन्याः सार्धप्रहरयामान्तः॥ गोभिल II. 33 quoted in गृह्य. र. p. 313, आह्निकम. p. 462; गौ. ध. सू. II. 7. 36 is 'अन्तरा प्रातराशं च सायमाशं तथैव च। सङ्गोपवासी भवति यो न भुङ्क्ते कदाचन॥' (quoted in गृह्य. र. p. 321); vide अनुशासन 93. 10; शान्ति 193. 10, 221. 10 for similar words.

be sprinkled on the ground below his plate. The reasons for drawing a maṇḍala are stated by these authorities to be that the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Brahmā and other gods partake of only that food which is offered after a maṇḍala is made and that evil spirits and goblins carry away the flavour of the food when no maṇḍala is made. The person taking his food should sit on a low wooden stool having four feet or on a seat made of wool or of the skin of a goat (which latter is said to be the best by Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 19. 1). One should not sit on a seat of cowdung cakes (dried), or of clay, or of the leaves of aśvattha or palāśa or arka plant or a seat made by joining two planks together or on a shattered one or partly burnt one or on one made fast with iron (nails). *Vide* Smṛtyarthasāra p. 69. The vessel or plate from which one is to eat is to be placed on the maṇḍala drawn on the ground. The vessel from which to eat may be of gold, silver, copper, lotus or palāśa leaves (*vide* Veda-Vyāsa III. 67-68, Paiṭhīnasi quoted in Āhnika-prakāśa p. 467). A copper vessel is forbidden to householders who should use bell-metal (*kāṁsya*) vessel. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 19. 3) says that a copper plate with gold in the centre[1819] is recommended. But a bronze plate for eating from, *tāmbūla* and a luxurious bath with oil &c., were not allowed to an ascetic, a brahmacārin and a widow.[1820] Hārīta (quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 222) stated that one was not to eat in an iron or earthern vessel, but Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 9-12)[1821] prescribes that an earthen vessel not used for cooking may be used as a plate for meals, but if it had been used for cooking food, then it may be used as a plate for food after being baked in fire, that an iron plate scoured with ashes is pure and even a wooden plate may be used provided it is thoroughly scraped from inside. Manu IV. 65 states that one should not eat from a broken vessel, but Paiṭhīnasi remarks that there is nothing wrong in eating from a broken plate made of copper, silver, gold, conch-shell, or stone.[1822] Some smṛtis forbade lotus or palāśa leaves, but the

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1819. औदुम्बरश्चमसः सुवर्णनाभः प्रशास्तः। आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 3; हरदत्त explains औदुम्बरः as ताम्रमयः.

1820. ताम्बूलाभ्यञ्जनं चैव कांस्यपात्रे च भोजनम्। यतिश्च ब्रह्मचारी च विधवा च विवर्जयेत्॥ प्रचेतस् quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 222.

1821. अनामीते मृन्मये भोक्तव्यम्। अमीतं चेदभिदग्धे। परिसृष्टं लौहं प्रयतम्। निर्लिखितं दारुमयम्। आप. ध. I. 5. 17. 9-12.

1822. ताम्ररजतसुवर्णशङ्खशुक्त्यश्मघटितानां भिन्नमभिन्नमिति। पैठीनसि quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 222.

Āhnika-prakāśa p. 467 explains that this prohibition holds good only if the lotus plant grows on dry land (and not in a pond or the like) or when the palāśa is a young plant. Paiṭhīnasi (in Sm. C. I. p. 222) prescribes that one who desires wealth should not eat on a plate made of the leaves of the vaṭa, arka, aśvattha, kumbhī, tinduka, kovidāra and karañja trees. Vṛddha-Hārīta 8. 250-256 prescribes that the plate may be of gold, silver or bronze or any leaf allowed by śāstras, that leaves of palāśa and lotus are not to be used by householders but may be used by ascetics, forest hermits and in śrāddhas and sets out leaves forbidden and allowed. Even now in modern times people prefer (particularly in caste dinners and marriages) plantain leaves for dining or silver vessels for honoured guests and brāhmaṇas at śrāddha or use plates prepared from stitched leaves of various trees. Before sitting down to take one's food, one has to perform *ācamana* (twice) outside the place where one is to eat and has to perform ācamana after taking his meals. This practice was most ancient, as it is attested by the Chāndogya Up. V. 2. 2[1823] and the Bṛ. Up. VI. 1. 14. The rule is laid down by Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 9,[1824] Manu II. 53, V. 138 and others also. Vide Devala (quoted in the Smṛtimuktāphala, āhnika, p. 418) for *ācamana* outside the room for meals. When sitting down to eat a person must wear his sacred thread in the upavīta form (Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 1) and must also have an upper garment,[1825] but should not cover his head (Manu IV. 45 III. 238, Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 22-23 and II. 8. 19. 12). A *darvī* (ladle or spoon) is to be employed in serving ghee, oil, cooked food, all condiments, salt (i. e. these should not be served by the bare hand) but not in giving water or uncooked food (*vide* Sm. C. I. p. 223 quoting several smṛtis). The householder may wear in his hand gold or jewel (ring &c.) at the time of meals. Gaut. IX. 59, Vas. Dh. S. III. 69, Manu II. 54-55 say that when food is brought to be served, the person about to eat it should greet it, should pay honour to it, show his delight at it and should not find fault with it. Vas. Dh. S. (III. 69-71)

1823. स होवाच किं मे वासो भविष्यतीत्याप इति होचुस्तस्माद्वा एतदक्षिण्यन्तः पुरस्ताज्जोपरिष्टाद्वासः परिदधति। छान्दोग्य V. 2. 2; vide वेदान्तसूत्र (III. 3. 18) and Saṁkara's bhāṣya for an explanation of the छान्दोग्य and बृहद् passages.

1824. भोक्ष्यमाणस्तु प्रयतोऽपि द्विराचामेद् द्विः परिमृजेत्सकृदुपस्पृशेत्। आप. ध. I. 5. 16. 9.

1825. सोत्तरासङ्गश्चैव यज्ञोपवीती भुञ्जीत। आप. ध. II. 8. 19. 12; vide Haradatta for several views.

says "he should honour food in the morning and evening by saying 'I like it', by saying 'it was good for eating' in the case of food served in śrāddhas and 'it was perfect' as to food offered in ābhyudayika rites[1826] (i. e. in marriage &c.). Kullūka (on Manu II. 54) and the Gṛ. R. (p. 314) quote verses of the Ādipurāṇa (Brahmapurāṇa in Gṛ. R.) to the effect that on seeing food one should fold one's hands and should bow to it saying 'may this always be ours' and that God Viṣṇu himself said that whoever honours food honours him. After the food is served on the plate or dish, the eater should sprinkle water round it and say 'I sprinkle thee that art *satya* (truth) with ṛta (right order)' (in the morning) and 'I sprinkle thee that art ṛta with *satya*' (in the evening).[1827] According to some he then offers to the right of the plate or dish on the ground a little of the food in his plate from the west towards the east to Dharmarāja (i. e. Yama), Citragupta and *pretas* (vide Bhaviṣyapurāṇa quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 224 and Āhnikaprakāśa p. 465).[1828] Others say that these *balis* are offered to *bhūpati*, *bhuvanapati* and *bhūtānām pati*, while in modern times they are offered to Citra, Citragupta, Yama, Yamadūta (and some add a fifth 'sarvebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ svāhā). He should then sip a little water with the words 'thou art the seat of ambrosia (amṛtopastaraṇam-asi) and at the end of the meal the words used are 'thou art the cover of ambrosia' (amṛtāpidhānam-asi). All this has been prescribed from very ancient times and has continued to this day. Yāj. I. 106 calls this sipping of water āpośaṇa (taking in of water) and its purpose is to make food beneficial like amṛta (nectar) and to cover it as if with a garment. He then offers five morsels on which ghee is sprinkled to the five modes

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1826. रोचत इति सायं प्रातरशनान्यभिपूजयेत् । स्वदितमिति पित्र्ये । संपन्नमित्याभ्युदयिकेषु । वसिष्ठ III. 69–71. Compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 68. 42, Manu III. 251 and 254 (for स्वदित and संपन्न) and Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 11.

1827. ऋतं त्वा सत्येन परिषिञ्चामीति सायं परिषिञ्चति । सत्यं त्वर्तेन परिषिञ्चामीति प्रातः । तै. ब्रा. II. 1. 11.

1828. अभ्युक्षणाद्यं नमस्कारैर्युक्तं दद्यात् बलित्रयम् । भूपतये भुवनपतये भूतानां पतये तथा ॥ वेदव्यास III. 69; भोजनार्किंचिदग्रं धर्मराजाय वै बलिम् । दत्त्वाथ चित्रगुप्ताय प्रेतेभ्यश्चैवमुत्सृजेत् ॥ भविष्यत्पुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 224 and आह्निकप्रकाश p. 465. लाट्यायन (I. 155–156) speaks of three balis to यम, चित्र and भूतस. The औशनसस्मृति (Jivānanda, part 1. p. 519) refers to चित्रगुप्तबलि; vide हारीत (in स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, आह्निक p. 421) for बलि for अन्नपति, भुवनपति and भूतानां पति and कात्यायनीयभोजनसूत्र for the three बलिs to भूपति &c. and to चित्र, चित्रगुप्त and सर्वभूत.

of *prāṇa* preceded by the word 'om' and[1829] followed by 'svāhā'. These five *prāṇāhutis* are mentioned in the Chāndogya Up. V. 19–23, where prāṇas are enumerated in the order prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna and udāna. The Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 40–41 explains that the Chāndogya passage applies only when one sits down to dinner and not when one goes without it. Medieval digests quoting Bṛhat-Parāśara added a sixth offering to Brahman after the prāṇāhutis and this is done in modern times. While the āhutis to prāṇa are being offered complete silence (absence of all sound including even '*hum*') is to be observed. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 7. 6) insists on complete silence throughout the meal and if one speaks, one has to mutter the words 'Om bhūr bhuvaḥ svar-om' and then eat further on. Others allow speech after prāṇāhutis for refusing food or condiments or for dharma. *Vide* Sm. M., āhnika p. 423 which quotes Śāṇḍilya that 'silence is not necessary at meals for householders and one should show one's solicitude for those who dine with one by talking to them.' Śaunaka quoted by Sm. C. I., p. 223, Vṛddha-Hārīta 8. 263–265 dilate upon the different fingers of the hand that are to be employed in taking the five āhutis to the life breaths while the Bhojana-sūtra says that according to Baudhāyana all āhutis were to be offered with all the fingers. Hārīta quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 226 states that *mārjana*, offering bali, worship and eating should be done with the tips of fingers. The plate or vessel is to be throughout kept on the ground at a śrāddha dinner and the thumb and the next two fingers of the left hand may be used for holding the plate or plantain leaf in position, but if the house is full of people and it is likely that dust may be raised by their feet or by their clothes, then a person taking his meal may raise up his plate from the ground with his left hand after he has taken five morsels.[1830] The diner is not to allow any sound of eating to escape, he is to put

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1829. The five प्राणाहुतिs in order are ओं प्राणाय स्वाहा, ओं अपानाय स्वाहा, ओं व्यानाय स्वाहा, ओं उदानाय स्वाहा, ओं समानाय स्वाहा. In the विष्णुपुराण the order is प्राणापानसमानोदानव्यानाः (vide आह्निकप्रकाश p. 470). These have been mentioned by Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 3, लाट्यायन I. 157, गोभिल in स्मृतिच. I. p. 223, ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 464. Vide आह्निकप्रकाश p. 469 'षष्ठी आहुतिः ब्रह्मणे स्वाहेति'. Vide Tai. Ār. X. 32–35 for अमृतोपस्तरणमसि, the प्राणाहुतिs and अमृतापिधानमसि.

1830. पञ्चग्रासं च भुक्त्वादौ क्वचिद्देशमनि सङ्कटे। पात्रमुद्धृत्य शेषं तु भक्षयेत्सैकपाणिपात्। विप्रये कर्मणि क्षुद्धानो भूमौ पात्रं न चालयेत्। ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 315, आह्निकप्रकाश p. 463; vide परा. मा I. part 1 p. 417 quoting कूर्मपुराण and व्यास to the same effect.

each morsel in his mouth with all the fingers including the thumb,[1831] he is not to wave his hand. Various rules are laid down in the Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 11. 83-84) and Brahmapurāṇa (quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 224) as to the order in which various articles are to be eaten, viz. first sweet liquid food may be taken, then salted and sour, and then pungent and bitter, the last item should be milk and after that one should not take curds; a householder should always take food mixed with ghee. One is not to cut off portions of food or cakes, roots, bulbs, fruits or flesh with the teeth and then eat them (Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 10). Some smṛtis prescribe that while taking each morsel one should say[1832] 'Govinda'. At the time of eating, several postures are forbidden, viz. one should not stretch one's feet or place them on another seat (a footstool &c.) nor should one have one's haunches and knees tied by a garment (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 68. 40) nor should one place one's hand on one's left foot, nor should one wear one's shoes or wooden sandals, nor should one come in contact with leather (vide Smṛtimuktāphala, āhnika p. 425). Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 21) states that among usages peculiar to the south were those of eating in the company of one whose upanayana had not been performed or of one's wife or taking stale food. But Baud. disapproved of these. Manu IV. 43, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 68. 46 and Vas. Dh. S. XII. 31[1833] say that one should not eat together with one's wife and Vas. Dh. S. adds the reason that by so doing the child born has no strength as stated in the Śat. Br. X. 5. 2. 9. Kullūka and some other commentators on Manu IV. 43 hold that the prohibition relates to eating in the same dish with one's wife, while, as Medhātithi states, others hold that it applies also to eating with one's wife at the same time and place. The Sm. C. (I. p. 227) and other digests quote a smṛti verse which allows a brāhmaṇa to eat in the same dish with his brāhmaṇa wife and explain the verse as applying to a brāhmaṇa who is on a journey. The

1831. तूष्णीं साकृष्टं कृत्स्नग्रासं ग्रसेत। न च शब्दं कुर्यात्। वसिष्ठ XII. 19-20; vide आप. ध. सू. II. 8. 19. 5-6 for almost the same words.

1832. कवले कवले चैव कुर्यादोविन्दकीर्तनम्। व्यास quoted in स्मृतिमु. आह्निक p. 423.

1833. भार्यया सह नाश्नीयाद्यद्यर्थवदपत्यं भवतीति वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ 12. 31; 'नाश्नीयान्नार्यया सार्धं न पुत्रैर्वा कदाचन। वृद्धहारीत 8. 270. ब्राह्मण्या सह योऽश्नीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन। न तत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः॥ आप. 5. 7-8, quoted in the मिता. on या. III. 200, स्मृतिच० I. p. 227; मिता० and गृह. र. p. 330 ascribe it to अङ्गिरस्. The words of the शतपथ are 'तस्माज्जायाया अन्ते नाश्नीयाद्दीर्घवान्ह्यस्माज्जायते' X. 5. 2. 9.

Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 69) says that one can eat in the same dish with one's wife at the time of marriage. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 131 says the same.

Various rules are laid down as to how much one is to eat. Two famous verses quoted by Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 13, Vas. Dh. S. VI. 20–21 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 31–32 are 'an ascetic should eat eight morsels,[1834] a forest hermit 16, a householder 32 and a Vedic student an unlimited number. One who has consecrated the Vedic fires, a draught ox and a brahmacārin are able to perform their work by eating, they cannot perform work when they do not eat'.[1835] Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 12 expressly directs that a householder should not stint himself as to food, so that he may be able to properly perform his work. Haradatta explains that the general rule laid down by Āp. Dh. S. itself (II. 1. 1. 2) that one should take only two meals a day does not apply to one who has consecrated the Vedic fires. Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 33–34 goes further[1836] and says that if a householder (who is *āhitāgni*) and a Vedic student practise austerities by observing a fast they are guilty of sin, because they thereby cause cessation of *agnihotra* to the life-breaths. But there is no sin if a fast is observed by these as a penance for some lapse. Śabara on Jaimini V. 1. 20 (p. 1301) appears to favour the idea that an *āhitāgni* may eat several[1837] times a day.

One was to occupy the first seat in a row at a dinner only if specially requested to do so, but when thus seated on the first seat, one should not begin to eat food before others, but after them (Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 150). While several brāhmaṇas are taking their meal in a continuous row, if one of them takes ācamana[1838] before the others, or gives the

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1834. Vide या. III. 55 for eight morsels for a forest hermit.

1835. The Śāṅ gṛ. II. 16. 5 speaks of the ox, the agnihotriṅ and brahmacārin in the same way.

1836. गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योऽनश्नंस्तु तपश्चरेत्। प्राणाग्निहोत्रलोपेन अवकीर्णी भवेत्तु सः। अन्यत्र प्रायश्चित्तात् प्रायश्चित्ते तदेव विधानम्। बौ. ध. सू. II. 7. 33–34.

1837. यथा देवदत्तः प्रातरपूपं भक्षयति मध्यन्दिने विविधमन्नमश्नाति अपराह्णे मोदकान्भक्षयतीति। एकस्मिन्नहनीति गम्यते। शबर on जै. V. 1. 20.

1838. एकपङ्क्त्युपविष्टान् विप्राणां सह भोजने। यद्येकोपि त्यजेत्पात्रं शेषमन्नं न भोजयेत्॥ पराशर XI. 8, quoted by अपरार्क p. 1169. Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 3; Gautama 17. 19. उदकं च तृणं भस्म द्वारः पन्थास्तथैव च। एभिरन्तरितं कृत्वा पङ्क्तिदोषो न विद्यते॥ लघुहारीत 74; अग्निना भस्मना चैव स्तम्भेन उदकेन च। द्वारेणाप्यथ मार्गेण पङ्क्तिर्भिद्येत षड्विधा॥ अङ्गिरस् 9. 7; एकपङ्क्त्युपविष्टा ये न स्पृशन्ति परस्परम्। भस्मना कृतमर्यादा न तेषां संकरो भवेत्॥ अग्निना भस्मना वापि स्तम्भेनाप्युदकेन वा। द्वारसंक्रमणेनापि पङ्क्तिभेदः प्रकीर्तितः॥ बृह० quoted by अपरार्क p. 476.

remains of his food to the pupil or gets up, the others should leave eating the food in their dishes and also get up and the brāhmaṇa who thus prematurely gets up is called a *brahmahā* (a murderer of a brāhmaṇa or brahmakaṇṭaka). These rules are quoted in the Sm. C. (I. p. 227), Gṛ. R. p. 331, Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika p. 427). In order to avoid this awkward position various devices were employed. A *paṅkti* (row of diners) ceased to be a continuous line if two diners were separated from each other by fire, by ashes, by a pillar, a passage, or a door or by the ground being of a lower level. Aparārka (p. 476) quotes Bṛhaspati that even if persons are seated in one row, but they are separated from each other by (streaks of) ashes and they do not touch each other, then there is no intermingling (i. e. persons of different castes also may sit in a row being separated by a streak of ashes &c.). Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 2 says that one should not sit down to dinner in the same row with undeserving persons (by reason of birth, character or learning).

At p. 100 above it has been stated how brāhmaṇas following several occupations that were deemed low were not invited at śrāddhas. Gaut.[1838a] XV. 28–29, Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 21–22, Vas. Dh. S. III. 19, Viṣṇu 83. 2–21, Manu III. 184–186, Śaṅkha (in verse) 14. 1–8, Anuśāsanaparva 90, 34, the Vāyu (chap. 79 and 83, Ānand. ed.) and several other purāṇas contain long lists of those brāhmaṇas who sanctify the company of diners when they sit down for dinner (they are paṅkti-pāvanas) and of those who defile the company of diners by their presence in the row of diners (they are *paṅkti-*

1838 a. पङ्क्तिपावनः षडङ्गविज्ज्येष्ठसामिकश्चिणाचिकेतस्त्रिमधुस्त्रिसुपर्णः पञ्चाग्निः स्नातको मन्त्रब्राह्मणविद्धर्मज्ञो ब्रह्मवेद्यासुसंतान इति । गौ. XV. 29 ; पङ्क्तिर्येन पाव्यते स पङ्क्तिपावनः । हरदत्त on गौ. XV. 28. Some of the words are differently explained by the commentators. ज्येष्ठसामिक or-सामग is one who chants, according to Haradatta, 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1.) and 'citram' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1), which constitute a sāman of the Talavakāras, while the Chandogas hold it to be a different sāman; Medhātithi on Manu III. 185 says they are the sāmans called Jyeṣṭhadohas. The Nāciketa fire is described in Tai. Br. III. 11. 7 and 8, and Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 1. 17–18. Ṛg. I. 91. 6–8 contain the word 'madhu' at the beginning of each. So one who studies these three madhu verses may be called 'trimadhu'. Or possibly there is a reference to the Madhuvidyā referred to in Śat. Br. IV. 1. 5. 18 and Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 16. According to Haradatta 'Trisuparṇa' are either the three verses Ṛg. X. 114. 4–6 (ekaḥ suparṇaḥ &c.) or the three anuvākas of the Tai. Ār. X. 48–50 (brahmametu mām madhumetu mām).

dūṣakas). A paṅktipāvana is one who knows the six aṅgas of the Veda (vide note 775 above), who has studied the Jyeṣṭhasāman, who has kindled the Nāciketa fire, who knows the three madhu verses, who has studied the texts called Trisuparṇa, who maintains the five fires (vide p. 679 above), who has taken the ceremonial bath after finishing vedic studies, who knows the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇa of his Veda, who has studied dharmaśāstra and who is the son of a woman married in the brāhma form. Āp. Dh. S. adds 'one who has performed the four *medhas*' (Aśvamedha, Sarvamedha, Puruṣamedha and Pitṛmedha, according to Haradatta). Manu says that one who understands the meaning of the Veda, one who expounds the Veda, a brahmacārin, one who is a liberal donor (*lit.* one who gives a thousand cows), one who has reached the age of one hundred are all paṅktipāvanas. Śaṅkha states that one who is devoted to Yoga, one who regards gold and a clod of earth as equal, an ascetic given to contemplation are all paṅktipāvanas. Anuśāsana 90. 34 and Vāyu 83. 52–55 include those who study the bhāṣyas, those who are devoted to grammar, those who study the purāṇas among paṅkti-pāvanas. Among those who defile company are one suffering from leprosy, a bald man, one who is guilty of adultery, who is the son of a brāhmaṇa following the profession of arms (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17. 21); those who engage in acts not fit for brāhmaṇas, those who are cunning, those who have deficient or excessive limbs, those who have abandoned Veda, the sacred fires and their parents or gurus, those who subsist on food given by śūdras (Śaṅkha XIV. 2–4). Vide Aparārka pp. 453–455 for quotations on those who defile company.

When there was a row of diners, all were to be served the same food and no difference was to be made between one man and another and if a difference were made a penance was prescribed as if he had committed brāhmaṇa murder.[1839] If while dining one brāhmaṇa touches another, he should give up eating or after finishing his meal he should mutter the Gāyatrī verse 108 times (as penance). In modern times generally the eyes are touched with water if this happens. If a diner touched a server who had a vessel containing food, the server should place the vessel con-

1839. यस्त्वेकपङ्क्त्यां विषमं ददाति स्नेहाद्भयाद्वा यदि वार्थहेतोः। वेदे च वृद्धसुविभिश्च गीतं तद्ब्रह्महत्यां शुनयो वदन्ति। वेदव्यासस्मृति IV. 63 quoted as यम in स्मृतिसं. (आह्निक p. 427). Vide शङ्खस्मृति 17. 57 for a similar verse.

taining food on the ground, should perform ācamana, the food in the vessel should have water sprinkled over it and then it may be served. One was not to eat or drink with the left hand. One should drink water at the time of meals with a drinking bowl or vessel, one should never drink water with the two hands joined together (Yāj. I. 138), but when not eating food one may drink water with the bare right hand. After finishing one's meal one is to repeat the āpośana 'amṛtāpidhānam-asi' and drink some water, wash one's hands, sip water twice and may lightly brush his teeth for removing particles of food, then sip water again and take tāmbūla.[1840] Āśvalāyana (in verse) recommends 16 mouthfuls of water (gaṇḍūṣa) for cleansing the mouth after dinner (Āhn. Pr. p. 483). An ascetic, a Vedic student and a widow were not to partake of tāmbūla.

A person was not to eat everything in his plate; he should leave some remnant[1841] of food except of curds, honey, ghee, milk and *saktu* (barley or barley flour). What remains was to be given to one's wife, servant or slave (Par. M. I. part 1, p. 422). No one was to give the remnants of one's food to another nor to eat the remnants of another's food, except a child that might eat the remnants of the food of its parents and *guru* (*vide* Smṛtimuktāphala, āhnika p. 431). Remnants of food were not to be given to a śūdra unless he was one's dependent (Manu IV. 80, Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 25–26). Atri (quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 228) says that even on sipping water after dinner one remains impure till one's plate is removed, till the ground where the food was taken is cow-dunged, till after leaving his seat he moves on the ground elsewhere. Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 2 4. 24. The plate of a brāhmaṇa may be removed by a brāhmaṇa (but not by any one else) and the plates of the brāhmaṇas invited at a śrāddha repast were to be removed by the person who performed the śrāddha or by his son or pupil, but not by one whose upanayana is not performed nor by the wife nor by any one else (Laghu-Āśvalāyana I. 165–166).

1840. आचम्य च ततः कार्यं दृन्तकाष्ठस्य भक्षणम् । भोजने दृन्तलग्नांश्च निर्हृत्याचमनं चरेत् । मरीचि quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 225 ; भूयोऽप्याचम्य कर्तव्यं ततस्ताम्बूलभक्षणम् । मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 39 quoted in स्मृतिच० I. p. 225.

1841. भोजनं तु न निःशेषं कुर्यात्प्राज्ञः कथंचन । अन्यत्र दधिसक्त्वाज्यं फलं क्षीरं मधूदकात् ॥ पुलस्त्य; न निःशेषकृतस्यादन्यत्र दधिमधुसर्पिःपयःसक्तुभ्यः । वसिष्ठ; both in स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 431.

Most of the above rules may more or less be exemplified from the descriptions of the procedure of eating set out in Baud. Dh. S. II. 7, from the Bhojanasūtra of Kātyāyana for the followers of the white Yajurveda, from Hārīta quoted in the Gṛ. R. pp. 316-17 among the ancient writers and from the Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 68-69 among the authors of digests. It is impossible to set out any of them here for want of space, but an extract from the last work is given in the Appendix.[1842]

There were certain rules about abstaining from food in the case of eclipses of the sun and the moon. They are set out in the Sm. C. I. pp. 228-229, the Śmṛtyarthasāra (p. 69), Matsyapurāṇa chap. 67, Aparārka pp. 151, 427-430. During the period of eclipse one was not to eat anything. Not only so but for 4 *praharas* (i. e. 12 hours) and 3 *praharas* (i. e. 9 hours) before the actual eclipse of the sun and the moon respectively all are to avoid taking food, except children, very old men and persons who are ill. This rule was observed up till very recent times by most people. When the eclipse begins one was to bathe and give gifts, perform tarpaṇa or śrāddha. Then one was to bathe after [1843] the eclipse was over and take food. If the sun sets while still eclipsed, one should bathe the next day on seeing the sun and then take food. If the moon rose eclipsed, one was not to eat anything during the day next to that on which the moon rises eclipsed. That these rules are ancient follows from the fact that some of them occur even in the Viṣṇu Dh. S. An eclipse of the sun is described even in the Ṛg.V.40.5-9 and it was supposed to be brought about by an *asura*. The Asura Svarbhānu is said to have pierced the sun with darkness in the Kāṭhaka S. XI. 5 and the Tai. S. II. 1. 2. 2; the Śāṅ. Br. 24. 3 and Tāṇḍya Br. (IV. 5. 2, IV. 6. 13) speak of an eclipse. In the Atharvaveda 19. 9. 10 the Sun and Rāhu are brought together. The Chāndogya Up. VIII. 13. 1 states that the knowing self shakes off his body when going to the world of Brahma like a horse shedding his hair or like the moon released from the mouth of Rāhu.

Viṣṇu Dh. S. (68. 4-5) prescribes that a man was not to eat when a cow or a brāhmaṇa met with an accident or when the king was in distress (or dead).

1842. Vide Appendix under No. 1842.

1843. चन्द्रार्कोपरागे नाश्नीयात्। स्नात्वा शुक्लयोरश्नीयात्। अशुक्लयोरस्तंगतयोर्ह्वा स्नात्वा चापरेऽह्नि। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 68. 1-3.

The most elaborate rules are laid down about what food should or should not be eaten and from whom food may or may not be taken. These rules occur in most of the smṛtis. It would be impossible to do justice to all of them. The following smṛtis deal with this matter at length. Gaut. 17, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 17–I. 6. 19; Vas. Dh. S. 14, Manu VI. 207–223, Yāj. I. 167–181. The Śāntiparva chapters 36 and 78, the Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 17), Padma (ādikhaṇḍa chap. 56), and several other purāṇas deal with this topic. Among the digests the Sm. C. II. pp. 418–429, the Gṛ. R. pp. 334–395, the Madanapārijāta pp. 337–343, the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 433–451), the Āhnikaprakāśa pp. 488–550 contain very exhaustive treatment. An attempt will be made to present the rules in an orderly manner.

Aparārka p. 241 quotes a passage from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[1844] which states the various reasons for food being forbidden viz. *jātiduṣṭa* or svabhāvaduṣṭa (i. e. forbidden on account of its very nature) such as garlic, leek, onion &c.; *kriyāduṣṭa* (forbidden on account of certain actions done with reference to it) such as cooked food served with the bare hand or seen by a *patita* (outcast), cāṇḍālas, dogs &c., or because one in a row takes ācamana or rises before others; *kāladuṣṭa* (forbidden because of the time that has elapsed or because of the inappropriateness of the time) such as stale food or food eaten in eclipses or the milk of a cow before ten days have elapsed from delivery; *saṁsargaduṣṭa* (spoilt by foul contact) such as what comes in contact with a dog or wine or garlic, or hair or insects &c.; *sahṛllekha* (what causes disgust to the mind) such as fæces &c. To those may be added *rasaduṣṭa* (what has lost its flavour) such as pāyasa or kṣīra on the same day; *parigrahaduṣṭa* (what is forbidden simply because it belongs to a particular individual such as *patita*). Aparārka (p. 1157) says that condemned food, partaking of which is an *upapātaka* (a minor sin), is of six kinds, viz. due to svabhāva, kāla, samparka (same as saṁsarga), kriyā, bhāva, and parigraha.[1845] An example of bhāvaduṣṭa given by Aparārka is sugarcane

1844. भविष्यपुराणम्। जातिदुष्टं क्रियादुष्टं कालाश्रयविदूषितम्। संसर्गाश्रयदुष्टं च सहस्रेखं स्वभावतः॥ अपरार्क p. 241. Compare बृहद्हारीत XI. 122-123 भावदुष्टं क्रियादुष्टं कालदुष्टं तथैव च। संसर्गदुष्टं च तथा वर्जयेद्यज्ञकर्मणि। . The following verses exemplify these.

1845. अन्नस्य च निन्दितत्वं स्वभावकाल-संपर्क-क्रियाभाव-परिग्रहैः षोढा भवति। अपरार्क p. 1157.

juice which a man may feel to be forbidden to him because he believes it to be wine. According to Gaut. 17. 12 bhāvaduṣṭa means food offered with disrespect or which the eater comes to hate or becomes disgusted with. Haradatta on Gaut. 23. 23 mentions five of these varieties (of Aparārka p. 1157) except bhāvaduṣṭa.[1846]

Before proceeding further some remarks must be made about flesh-eating. In the Rg. frequent reference is made to the cooking of the flesh of the ox for offering to gods (particularly Indra). For example, in Rg. X. 86. 14 Indra is made to say 'They cook for me 15 plus twenty oxen'; *vide* Rg. X. 27. 2. In Rg. X. 91. 14 it is stated that for Agni were sacrificed horses, bulls, oxen, barren cows and rams. In Rg. VIII. 43. 11[1847] Agni is styled 'one whose food is the ox and the barren cow.' In Rg. X. 79. 6 it is suggested that the cow was cut up with a sword or axe. In the Rg. itself the cow is frequently called 'aghnyā' (*vide* Rg. I. 164. 27 and 40, IV. 1. 6, V. 83. 8, VIII. 69. 21, X. 87. 16 &c.). The word 'aghnyā' appears to mean 'one that does not deserve to be killed' and the Nirukta (XI. 43)[1848] explains it in that way. It should be noted that that word occurs sometimes in apposition to 'dhenu' (as in Rg. IV. 1. 6, VIII. 69. 2). So it may be argued that in the times of the Rg. only barren cows if at all were killed for sacrifice or meat and cows yielding milk were held to be not fit for being killed. It is only in this way that one can explain the high praise bestowed on the cow in Rg. VI. 28. 1-8 and in Rg. VIII. 101. 15 and 16 where the cow is described to be 'the mother of Rudras, the daughter of Vasus, the sister of Ādityas and the centre of nectar' and the sage winds up by praying to the knowing man 'do not kill the cow, that is innocent and is Aditi herself.'[1849] In Rg. VIII. 101. 16. the cow is called 'devī'

1846. Some of these words occur in वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 14. 28 'अजं पर्युषितं मांसमुच्छिष्टं सह्लेखं पुनः सिद्धममांसं पक्वं च।'.

1847. यस्मिन्नश्वास ऋषभास उक्षणो वशामेषा अवसृष्टास आहुताः। कीलालपे सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे हृदा मतिं जनये चारुमग्नये॥ ऋ. X. 91. 14; उक्षाणाय वशाणाय सोमपृष्ठाय वेधसे। स्तोमैर्विधेमाग्नये॥ ऋ. VIII 43. 11; वि पर्वशश्चकर्त गामिवासिः॥ ऋ. X. 79. 6.

1848. अघ्न्या अहन्तव्या भवति अघ्नीं इति वा। निरुक्त XI. 43.

1849. माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनामिति जपित्वोच्छ्वसत्युत्प्लवते। आश्व. गृ. I. 24. 25. In आश्व. गृ. II. 10. 7 the view of some is stated that when cows return to the village from the pasture the hymn Rg. VI. 28 should be recited by the owner.

(goddess). It appears that the cow was being raised to the status of divinity and there was a great revulsion of feeling about the cow. The great usefulness of the cow and the ox for agricultural purposes, in the family economy and as means of exchange must have powerfully contributed to making the cow a divinity. In the gṛhya sūtras (like Āśv. I. 24. 25), Ṛg. VIII. 101. 15 is prescribed as the mantra when in the Madhuparka ceremony the cow is let loose by the guest. The Artharvaveda (XII. 4) fully recognises the cult of the holiness of the cow. That the cow continued to be offered in sacrifices follows from several Brāhmaṇa passages e. g. Tai. Br. III. 9. 8. In the Śat. Br. III. 1. 2. 21 it is stated that the great sage Yājñavalkya was wont to eat the meat of cows and oxen provided it was 'aṁsala'[1850] (tender ?). The Ait. Br. (6. 8)[1851] states that the horse, the ox, the goat and ram are sacrificial animals while the kiṁpuruṣa, gauramṛga, gavaya, the camel and śarabha (a mythical animal with eight feet) were not sacrificial and their flesh should not be eaten. The Śat. Br. I. 2. 3. 9 contains a similar prohibition. The Śat. Br. XI. 7. 1. 3 declares that 'meat is the best kind of food.' The work of Mr. L. L. Sundara Ram (Madras, 1927) on 'Cow Protection in India' contains an exhaustive treatment of the subject from Vedic times and cites the attitude of other nations and religions towards cow-killing. The veneration for the cow has been so great that *pañcagavya* prepared from the five substances due to the cow viz. her milk, curds and ghee of her milk, her urine and dung mixed with water in which kuśa blades had been placed was looked upon as[1852] purification for many lapses. Yāj. III. 314 mentions the ingredients of pañcagavya. The Baud. gr. śeṣa-sūtra (II. 20) contains an elaborate note on the preparation of pañcagavya, the quantities of the five ingredients, the Vedic verses to be recited when preparing it. Parāśara XI. 28–34, Devala 62–65, Laghuśātātapa 158–162,

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1850. तस्माद्धेम्वनड्वाहोर्नाश्नीयात्। तदु होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः। अश्नाम्येवाहमंसलं चेन्मधवतीति। शतपथ ब्रा. III. 1. 2. 21.

1851. त एत उत्क्रान्तमेधा अमेध्य पशवस्तस्मादेषां नाश्नीयात्। ऐ. ब्रा. 6. 8.

1852. गोमूत्रं गोमयं क्षीरं दधि सर्पिः कुशोदकम्। निर्दिष्टं पञ्चगव्यं तु पवित्रं पापनाशनम्॥ ..... गायत्र्या गृह्य गोमूत्रं गन्धद्वारेति गोमयम्। आप्यायस्वेति च क्षीरं दधिक्राव्णेति वै दधि। तेजोसि शुक्रमित्याज्यं देवस्य त्वा कुशोदकम्॥ पराशर XI. 28–33. The मत्स्य 267. 5–6 (साविज्या गृह्य &c.) are almost the same as पराशर XI. These and other verses of Parāśara (in all eleven) are quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 314 and by Aparārka p. 1250.

Matsyapurāṇa 267. 5–6 and other works contain similar rules. Parāśara prescribes that the urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee should be of cows the colours of which are respectively dark, white, copper-red, dark-red and brown or that all ingredients may be of a brown (kapilā) cow. There is some difference of view about colours and also about the quantities. According to Parāśara urine, ghee, and water should be one part each, curds three parts, milk seven parts and cowdung as much as the thumb. According to Atri. 299 dung, urine, ghee and milk were to be respectively 1, 2, 4 and 8 parts and curds also 8 parts. When mixing the ingredients, urine is taken with the sacred Gāyatrī, cowdung with 'gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ār. X. 1), milk with 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 16), curds with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with 'tejosi śukram' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' (Ait. Br. 37. 3, Vāj. S. 22. 1). The pañcagavya thus prepared is to be placed near the fire, then it is to be stirred to the accompaniment of 'āpo hi ṣṭhā (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3) and then the mantra 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8) is to be repeated over it, it may be then offered into fire with green darbhas not less than seven to the accompaniment of 'Irāvatī' (Ṛg. VII. 99. 3), 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17), 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. X. 114. 8), and the śaṁvatī verse (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk by one who prepares it with the verse noted below.[1853] The vessel in which the pañcagavya is to be prepared must be of copper or gold or of palāśa or lotus leaves (Par. M. II. 1 p. 434 quoting Prajāpati). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 7 and Atri 300 say that a śūdra drinking pañcagavya and a brāhmaṇa drinking *surā* (liquor distilled from flour) are equally sinful and fall in hell. But Devala 61 and Parāśara XI. 3 and 27 allow śūdras (and women) to take pañcagavya but without Vedic mantras. Therefore the digests like Śūdrakamalākara (p. 42) say that a śūdra can take pañcagavya only as a prāyaś-citta (penance) for a sin and not otherwise. Pañcagavya is also called *brahmakūrca*. Atri 301 declares that the dung of a cow that eats unclean things is not to be employed for purification. A smṛti passage declares that he in whose house there is not even one cow with her calf becomes devoid of all maṅgalas (auspicious things) and darkness does not

1853. पञ्चगव्यस्थितं पापं देहे तिष्ठति देहिनाम्। ब्रह्मकूर्चो दहेत्सर्वं प्रदीप्ताग्निरिवेन्धनम् ॥ पराशर XI. 37. In the उत्सर्जनप्रयोग the verse now repeated at the time of taking pañcagavya is 'पञ्चग...तिष्ठति मामके। प्राशनं पञ्चगव्यस्य दहत्यग्नि...न्धनम् ॥'.

leave him. A cow was said to be holy in all limbs except her mouth (Medhātithi on Manu V. 128 quotes 'gāvo medhyā mukhād-ṛte') and so Manu V. 124 requires food smelt or licked by a cow to be purified. Manu XI. 79 says that if one sacrifices one's life in defence of brāhmaṇas and cows one becomes free from the sin of even brāhmaṇa murder. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 18 declares that even an untouchable (bāhya) went to heaven by giving his life in defence of brāhmaṇas, cows, women and children. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 3. 45 also. In Gaut. IX. 13–14 the cow is referred to as *devatā*. As early as the 2nd century A.D. we have the collocation of the words 'go-brāhmaṇahita' (the welfare of cows and brāhmaṇas) in an inscription of Rudradāman (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 44). Vide Gupta inscriptions p. 89 (for 'go-brāhmaṇa-purogābhyaḥ sarvaprajābhyaḥ). These words also occur frequently in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bālakāṇḍa 26. 5, Araṇya 23. 28) and in the Matsyapurāṇa 104. 16. The Kapilā (brown) cow was said to be the most auspicious and meant for providing milk for agnihotra and brāhmaṇas, and the śūdra who used its milk was deemed to go to hell (vide Vṛddha-Gautama p. 568).

In spite of the prevalence of animal sacrifices, there are already in the times of the Ṛg. traces of the conception that a devout offering of praise or of a fuel-stick or of cooked food was as good as a more solemn sacrifice (Ṛg. VIII. 19. 5, VIII. 24. 20) and that oblations of food made to the accompaniment of heart-felt hymns become like bulls, oxen and cows in sacrifice.[1854] These verses are quoted by the Āśv. gṛ. S. (I. 1. 4) and explained (vide p. 677 above). The Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. 3[1855] adumbrates the later doctrine that the eater of meat is eaten in the next birth by the animal killed. The Chāndogya Up. III. 17 regards that *tapas*, charity, straightforwardness, *ahiṁsā* and speaking the truth are the fee (of the symbolic sacrifice). The same Up. (VIII. 15. 1) emphasizes that the wise man who has attained correct knowledge does not cause any injury to *bhūtas* except in the case of sacred rites and reaches the world of *brahma* and does not return to *saṁsāra*.[1856] It appears that the causes that led on to the giving up of flesh at least by some people were

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1854. आ ते अग्न ऋचा हविर्हृदा तष्टं भरामसि। ते ते भवन्तूक्षण ऋषभासो वशा उत ॥ ऋ. VI. 16. 47.

1855. ते होचुरित्थं वा इमे अस्मानहिंस्मिँल्लोके असचन्त तान्वयमिदमिह प्रतिसचामह इति। शतपथ XI. 6. 1. 3.

1856. अहिंसन्सर्वभूतान्यन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः...न च पुनरावर्तते। छान्दोग्य VIII. 15. 1.

many, the foremost being the metaphysical conception that one Supreme Entity pervades the whole universe, that all life was one, and that even the meanest insect was a manifestation of the divine Essence and that philosophical truths would not dawn upon the man who was not restrained, free from crude appetites and had not universal kindliness and sympathy. Another motive for the insistence on *ahiṁsā* was probably the idea of defilement caused by eating flesh (vide note 1810 above about 'āhāraśuddhi'). Śaṅkha asks people to give up flesh, wine, onions and garlic because the body is built up on the food eaten.[1857] The notion that the eater of flesh would be devoured by the eaten in the next birth had nothing to do with the early stages of the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, though by Manu and others that notion was later on exploited to emphasize its importance. Further as the Aryans spread over middle, east and south India animal food became unnecessary owing to the climate and the abundance of corn and vegetables. Though opinions may differ as to the causes. it cannot be gainsaid that the phenomenon of the voluntary giving up of meat by vast populations in the continent of India, when their ancestors had been meat-eaters for ages, is unique in the history of the whole world.[1858] We shall find that even when the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration were in full swing, the taking of life for food and in sacrifice was allowed by all the ancient dharmasūtras. Even the Vedāntasūtra (III. 1. 25) does not admit that the killing of animals in sacrifice is impure. The Bṛ. Up. which contains a full statement of the doctrine of transmigration (VI. 2) recommends (VI. 4. 18) to the man who desires that a learned son be born to him the cooking of a mess of the flesh of a bull or ox or of other flesh with rice and ghee.[1859] Not only other animals, but even the cow, was on certain occasions killed according to the gṛhya and dharma sūtras on several occasions e. g. (1) in śrāddhas (Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 25), (2) for a distinguished guest in Madhuparka (Āśv. gṛ. I. 24. 22–26, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 8), (3) in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha

1857. सुरालशुनपलाण्डुगृञ्जनमांसादीन्यभक्ष्याणि वर्जयेदाहारमयं शरीरम्। शङ्ख quoted by हरदत्त on गौ. 23. 1.

1858. Vide Hopkins' fine tribute to the doctrine of '*ahiṁsā*' in 'Ethics of India' pp. 227–232. Dr. MacKenzie ('Hindu Ethics' p. 113) thinks, not quite rightly, that the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* was greatly influenced by the ideas of *karma* and transmigration.

1859. अथ य इच्छेत्पुत्रो मे पण्डितो विगीतः ..... जायेत ..... सर्वमायुरियादिति मांसौदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमश्नीयातामीश्वरो जनयितवा औक्षेण वार्षभेण वा। बृह. उ. VI. 4. 18.

(Hir. gṛ. II. 15. 1, Baud. gṛ. II. 11. 51, Vaik. IV. 3), (4) a bull in the Śūlagava sacrifice (Āśv. gṛ. IV. 9. 10).

In the Dharmasūtras numerous rules are given about the flesh of beasts and birds and about fishes. Gaut. 17. 27–31, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 35, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 39–40, Yāj. I. 177, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 6, Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1167), Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhā 17. 39), Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (35. 2–4) prescribe that one should avoid the flesh of all five-nailed animals except [1860] of porcupine, hare, *śvāvidh* (a boar or hedgehog), iguana, rhinoceros and tortoise (some of these works omit the rhinoceros). Gautama adds that one should also avoid the flesh of all animals with two rows of teeth in the two jaws, of hairy animals, of hairless animals (like snakes), of village cocks and hogs and of cows and bulls. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 29–31 first forbids the flesh of animals with one hoof only, of camels, of *gavaya* (Gayal), of the village hog, of the śarabha and of cows, but adds the exception that the flesh of milch cows and of bulls may be eaten as the Vājasaneyaka declares the flesh of these to be pure. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 5. 15) forbids the use of flesh to a teacher of the Veda in the months from *upākarma* to *utsarjana*. This shows that even brāhmaṇas who alone would ordinarily be teachers could take meat in the other months of the year. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 4 declares that a student had not to observe *anadhyāya* if he ate stale food or uncooked flesh. Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 7. 4 says that if flesh was offered to a guest, the merit was equal to the performance of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (vol. III. p. 320) states that the precept 'a village cock or hog is not fit to be eaten leads to the inference that a town hog also is unfit food as meat.' Vas. Dh. S. XI. 34 [1861] goes so far as to say that if an ascetic does not partake of flesh when requested to do so in a śrāddha or in a rite for the gods he falls into hell for numberless years. Gradually, however, a change came over the sentiments of the people. Megasthenes (p. 99) and Strabo (XVI. 1. 59) state that the first caste of philosophers which is divided into two sub-divisions, viz. Brachmanes and Sarmanes (śramaṇas)

1860. पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रेण राघव । शल्यकः श्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पञ्चमः ॥ किष्किन्धाकाण्ड 17. 39. वसिष्ठ 14. 47 notes that there was a difference of opinion about the flesh of the rhinoceros and wild boar 'खड्गे तु विषये वृत्तथाग्न्यशूकरे च '. शान्ति 140. 70 is पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य वै विशः ।

1861. निमुक्तस्तु यतिः श्राद्धे दैवे वा मांसमुत्सृजेत् । यावन्ति पशुरोमाणि तावतारक-वृच्छति ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 34 ; compare मनु. V. 35.

abstained from animal food and sexual intercourse (probably as brahmacārins) and that after living in this manner for 37 years they began to live with less restraint and began to eat the flesh of animals, particularly of those that did not assist man in his labour. The Great Emperor Aśoka declares in his first Rock Edict how originally thousands of animals were killed in the royal kitchens, how he then brought down the number to two peacocks and one deer daily and how he had resolved to discontinue the slaughter of even this limited number thereafter. Vide also the 2nd and 4th Rock Edicts. In the fifth pillar edict (Delhi-Topra) the Emperor Aśoka notes that when he had been twenty-six years on the throne he declared numerous animals (such as parrots, *mainas*, haṁsas, cakravākas, tortoises, porcupines, fishes &c.) to be *avadhya* (not to be killed). The general rule as stated[1862] by Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 3. 12 and the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above on p. 733) was that from that food that was either cooked or got ready for the daily meals of a householder, *homa* and *bali* were to be made. Ancient works spoke of meat offerings to gods and in madhuparka and śrāddha. Therefore some of the smṛtis like those of Manu and Vasiṣṭha are in two minds about the use of flesh. Manu (V. 27-44) at first contains a permission to kill animals only in madhuparka, in sacrifices[1863] and in rites for gods and manes and on no other occasion. Manu (V. 27 and 32) further says that no sin is incurred in flesh-eating when one's life is in danger (owing to famine or disease) and when a person partakes of the remnants of the flesh of an animal purchased by him or reared by him or flesh given by another out of what is prepared for offering to gods and manes. Yāj. I. 179 is to the same effect. Manu further clinches his exhortation not to eat animal food by ordaining that he who kills an animal except for the limited purposes stated above is himself killed for as many births as there are hair on the body of the slaughtered animal (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 60 is also the same). Manu then goes on to declare (V. 40 and 44 = Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 63, 67) that herbs or plants, animals, trees (of which sacrificial posts are made), lower animals, birds, that meet destruction for the sake of performing

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1862. गृहमेधिनो यदशनीयस्य होमा बलयश्च स्वर्गपुष्टिसंयुक्ताः। आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 12.

1863. मधुपर्के च यज्ञे च पितृदैवतकर्मणि। अत्रैव पशवो हिंस्या नान्यत्रेत्यब्रवीन्मनुः॥ मनु V. 41. This is the same as वसिष्ठ IV. 6, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 64, Śāṅ. gṛ. II. 16. 1 (Śāṅ. gṛ. reads सोमे for यज्ञे).

sacrifices are born again in better forms (of existence) and that *hiṁsā* (killing of or injury to sentient beings) done according to the dictates of the Veda should be understood as no *hiṁsā*[1864] since dharma shines forth from Veda alone. Though Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (in 14. 39–40) allows the flesh of five five-nailed animals and of animals with one row of teeth (except camels) and also of certain birds and kinds of fish, yet in VI. 5–6 it takes up the same position as that of Manu viz. that *hiṁsā* was allowed only in sacrifices &c. From V. 46–55 Manu takes up the position of total abstention from killing animals even in sacrifices (they are the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 69–78). In one verse (V. 48 which is the same as Vas. Dh. S. IV. 7) Manu says that no flesh can be had without killing living beings and killing such beings cannot lead to heaven; therefore one should give up flesh. Verses 53 and 56 are very important as they convey that the merit of him who performs a horse-sacrifice every year for a hundred years and of him who does not partake of flesh (throughout life) is equal and that the word *māṁsa* (flesh) is derived by the wise (from 'mām' and 'saḥ') as meaning 'he whose flesh I eat to day will devour me in the next world or birth.' Yāj. I. 181 is just like Manu V. 53. Manu winds up the whole discussion (in V. 56) by stating that natural appetites lead men on to eat flesh or to drink wine or to indulge in sexual gratification and there is no sin in indulging in these when they are allowed by the *śāstra* in the case of certain persons and on certain occasions; but abstention in these matters (even on occasions when they are permitted by the śāstras) leads to great rewards.[1865] From these passages in

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1864. This position that injury done to animals or plants according to Vedic precepts is no *hiṁsā* is an ancient idea. The Mait. S. III. 9. 3 has the words (when a tree is to be cut off for making a sacrificial post the adhvaryu priest places a blade of darbha on the tree at the spot where it is to be cut and then addresses the axe) 'Oh, axe do not injure this tree; the axe is indeed (like) a thunderbolt; he screens the tree from the thunderbolt by placing the darbha in order to effect ahiṁsā' 'स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीरिति वज्रो वै स्वधितिर्वज्रादेवास्मा एतद्दन्तर्दधात्यहिंसायै' मै. सं. III. 9. 3. The Nir. I. 16 states that one must understand that there is no hiṁsā, as the express words of the Veda convey that idea.

1865. न मांसभक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने । प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला ॥ मनु V. 56. This is quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on p. 191. The real meaning of this is brought out by बृहस्पति 'सौत्रामण्यां तथा मद्यं श्रुतौ भक्षमुदाहृतम् । ऋतौ च मैथुनं धर्म्यं पुत्रोत्पत्तिनिमित्ततः ॥ स्वर्गं प्राप्नोति नैवं तु प्रत्यवायेन युज्यते ॥' in सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु V. 50.

Manu, Viṣṇu and Vas. it is clear that when the extant works attributed to these authors were composed, they themselves were staunch upholders of *ahiṁsā*, but that there were two classes of people in their days who were not opposed to flesh-eating, one class holding that killing animals only for purposes for which the Veda expressly sanctioned *hiṁsā* was not improper and another class that indulged in flesh-eating without restrictions. That in spite of the individual predilections of the author of the Manusmṛti, general usage was different even in Manu's day is indicated by the fact that in III. 227 Manu says that in śrāddha the performer should get ready various kinds of food including flesh of tempting varieties. Yāj. I. 258-260 states how flesh of various animals when served in śrāddha to the brāhmaṇas invited tends to cause satisfaction to the Manes for long periods. Bṛhaspati quoted by Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa explained Manu V. 27 as a *parisaṁkhyā* i. e. Manu does not enjoin flesh-eating on the four occasions stated, but only permits it and forbids it on other occasions.[1866] Centuries were required before the views propounded by Manu became predominant. Gradually large sections of the population of India gave up flesh-eating and even those who did not regard it as forbidden to them rarely partook of it or did so in an apologetic way. The spread of Vaiṣṇavism tended to wean people from flesh as required by the Bhāgavata-purāṇa[1867] (VII. 15. 7-8) which is to the Vaiṣṇavas what the Bible is to the Christians. In medieval and modern times all brāhmaṇas avoid flesh (except some brāhmaṇas in northern and eastern India that hold that fish may be eaten); so also do many vaiśyas, particularly those who are Vaiṣṇavas and even among śūdras there are many who do not touch flesh and regard abstention from flesh as meritorious. From ancient times the kṣatriyas have been meat-eaters. The Mahābhārata has in several places to say a great deal on flesh-eating. In the Vanaparva 50. 4 it is stated that the Pāṇḍava heroes killed with unpoisoned arrows deer and first offered venison to brāhmaṇas and partook of it themselves. In Sabhā 4. 1-2 king Yudhiṣṭhira on the opening of Mayasabhā feasted ten thousand brāhmaṇas with various delicacies including the flesh of wild boars and

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1866. 'अत्र च भक्षयेदिति न विधीयते किंतु रागप्राप्तभक्षणमनूद्य परिसंख्यायते। यथा ब्रव्यर्थाद्यवादी बृहस्पतिः—रोगी नियुक्तो विधिना हुतं विप्रवृतस्तथा। मांसमद्याद्यतुर्वेषा परिसंख्या प्रकीर्तिता॥' सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु V. 27 and 56.

1867. न वृथाघातमिच्छन्ति न चाद्याद्धर्मतत्त्ववित्। मुख्यतो स्थापरा प्रीतिस्तथा न पशुहिंसया॥ एतावदः परो धर्मो नृणां सद्धर्ममिच्छताम्। भागवतपुराण VII. 15. 7-8.

deer. Vanaparva 208. 11-12[1868] offers the consoling thought (that is conveyed by the Ṛgveda itself) that animals killed in sacrifices to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras went to heaven and it narrates the story of king Rantideva in whose sacrifices two thousand animals and cows were killed every day. Anuśāsana 116. 8 contains the view that there is nothing so nourishing as meat for those who are wounded or weak or worried or who are given up to too much sexual gratification and those exhausted by long travel. Anuśāsana 116. 16-19 allows flesh of animals killed by hunting to kṣatriyas. There are some passages where the Mahābhārata contains the same sentiments as those of Manu e. g. Anuśāsana 115 highly praises abstention from meat and a few verses of this chapter (e. g. 115. 44-45, 48) are very similar to Manu's (V. 27, 51). Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1167 allows the flesh of buffaloes, goats, rams, *ruru* deer, ordinary deer and spotted deer. Hārīta quoted in the Gṛ. R. p. 375 mentions the flesh of goats, rams, buffaloes, deer of various kinds (*ruru*, pṛṣata, nyaṅku, ṛkṣa), rhinoceros, and large forest boars as permissible, while Devala quoted by the same forbids the flesh of cows, asses, camels, horses, elephants, lions, tigers, bears, *śarabhas*, snakes, boa constrictor, rats and mice, cats, mongoose, village hog, dog, jackal, animals of unknown species, *cheettas*, dark-faced apes, monkeys and human beings. Manu V. 51 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 74) says that he who gives consent to the killing of an animal (for food), who cuts off the limbs, who kills the animal, who sells or purchases meat, who cooks it, who serves meat and the eater of meat—these are all guilty of killing. Yama (quoted in Āhn. Pr. p. 533) says that the eater is the greatest sinner out of these, as, if there were no eaters of meat, no one would kill animals for food.

Gaut. 17. 29 and 34-35, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 32-34, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 48, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 29-31, Manu V. 11-14, Yāj. I. 172-175 contain long lists of birds the flesh of which was forbidden and of those the flesh of which was allowed. A few of these may be noted. All birds that subsist on raw flesh (vultures &c.), the *cātaka*, parrot, *haṁsa*, all birds that dwell in a village (such as pigeons), *baka*, birds that scratch dunghills for food are forbidden; while wild cocks and peacocks were permitted. On Jaimini V. 3. 26-28 Śabara quotes a Vedic text that one who has

1868. यज्ञेषु पशवो ब्रह्मन् वध्यन्ते सततं द्विजैः। संस्कृताः किल मन्त्रैश्च तेऽपि स्वर्गमवाप्नुवन् ॥ वनपर्व 208. 11-12. This idea is as old as Ṛg. I. 162. 21.

constructed the fire altar (*agnicit*) should not eat the flesh of birds till the sacrifice he has embarked on is finished.

About fish there is no unanimity. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 36–37 says 'among fish the *ceṭa* (long-nosed crocodile?) is forbidden, so also are fish with snake-like heads, the makara, fish that subsist on dead flesh, fish that have strange forms (such as those that have heads like men, or that look like elephants).' Manu on the other hand regards fish-eating as the worst form of flesh-eating and forbids all fish (V. 14–15), but then makes an exception (V. 16) in favour of fish called Pāṭhīna and Rohita if used in rites for gods and Manes and fish called *rājīva*, lion-faced fish and fish having scales. *Vide* Vas. Dh. S. 14. 41–42, Gaut. 17. 36, Yāj. I. 177–178 also.

About milk several rules are stated in the smṛtis. Gaut. 17. 22–26, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5, 17. 22–24, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 34–35, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 156–158, Manu V. 8–9, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 38–41, Yāj. I. 170 lay down that the milk of a cow that is *sandhinī*,[1869] the calf of which is dead, that gives birth to twins and that has not passed ten days after delivery, from whose udders milk oozes of itself, is forbidden. The milk of sheep and she-buffaloes also is not to be used until the lapse of ten days after delivery. The milk of ewes, of camels and of all animals with one hoof is altogether forbidden. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 170) notes that even the curds and other products of such milk as is forbidden are also forbidden, but Viśvarūpa thought that only the milk of a cow whose calf is dead, or who is *sandhinī*, or who has not passed ten days after delivery is forbidden and not curds and other products thereof. The milk of even a cow that feeds on impure food should not be used[1870] (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 41 and Atri verse 301). In the Vāyupurāṇa even the milk of she buffaloes is forbidden.[1871] Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 159–160) prescribes the penance called Prājāpatya for drinking forbidden milk of all animals except the cow and a fast for three days for drink-

1869. The word 'sandhinī' is explained in three ways as 'a cow in heat', 'that gives milk once a day', 'a cow that yields milk on account of another calf being brought to it, its own being dead'. Vide Mit. on Yāj. I. 170.

1870. अजा गावो महिष्यश्च अनेक्यं भक्षयन्ति याः। दुग्धं हव्ये च काव्ये च गोमयं न विलेपयेत्। अत्रि verse 301.

1871. आविकं मार्गगौद्रं च सर्वमेकशफं च यत्। माहिषं चामरं चैव पयो वर्ज्यं विजानता॥ वायुपुराण 78. 17.

ing the milk of a cow when forbidden. Āpastamba-smṛti (in verse) forbids the milk of a *kapilā* cow to all except to brāhmaṇas and the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says that even a brāhmaṇa is to use only such portion of the milk of such a cow that remains after employing it in rites for gods.[1872] The Brahmapurāṇa says 'one should not partake of curds at night even if one is starting on a journey, but in madhuparka it may be used at night. Ill-luck dwells in fried grain by day and in curds and barley by night and in Kovidāra and Kapittha (trees or fruits) at all times' (quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 370). Manu IV. 75 forbids the eating after sunset of all food in which sesame are mixed.

Several herbs and vegetables have been forbidden from very ancient times. According to Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 25–27) all herbs from which liquors are distilled, kalañja (red garlic), palāṇḍu (onions), parārika (dark garlic) and whatever similar vegetables are not used by respectable people, should not be eaten; and a brāhmaṇa text prescribes that 'kyāku' (mushrooms) are forbidden. Gaut. 17. 32–33 forbids tender leaves (of trees), *kyāku*, *laśuna* and the resins of trees and the red sap flowing from incisions made in the barks of trees. Vas. Dh. S. 14. 33 forbids the eating of *laśuna*, palāṇḍu, kyāku, gṛñjana (turnip), śleṣmātaka, the resins of trees and red sap (as in Gautama). Manu V. 5–6 forbids laśuna, palāṇḍu, gṛñjana, mushrooms (kavaka) and all herbs that spring from impure soil and manure, red resins and red sap (as in Gautama) and *śelu* (śleṣmātaka) fruit. Yāj. I. 171 and 176 adds *śigru* and prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa for eating forbidden herbs and vegetables. The great difficulty is to find out the modern equivalents of some of the herbs and vegetables. According to a verse quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 356 from the Smṛtimañjarī there are ten varieties of palāṇḍu of which gṛñjana[1873] is one. Aparārka p. 249 quotes passages from the Brahmapurāṇa forbidding various kinds of herbs and vegetables. Vide also Gṛ. R. pp. 354–356 for quotations from Devala and others about herbs and

1872. क्षत्रियश्चैव वृत्तस्थो वैश्यः शूद्रोथ वा पुनः। यः पिबेत्कापिलं क्षीरं न ततोन्यस्वपुण्यकृत्॥ श्लोकापस्तम्ब quoted in स्मृतिच. (आद्ध p. 423) and परा. मा. I. 2. p. 381; कापिलं यः पिबेच्छ्राद्धे नरके स विपच्यते। हुतशेषं पिबेद् विप्रो विप्रः स्याद्वन्यथा पशुः॥ भविष्यपुराण quoted in स्मृतिच० (आद्ध p. 423) and गृह. र. p. 370.

1873. रसोनो वीर्यपत्रश्च पिण्डगन्धो महौषधम्। हिरण्यश्च पलाण्डुश्च नवतल्लाः परारिका। गृञ्जनं यवनेष्टं च पलाण्डोर्दश जातयः॥ इति स्मृतिमञ्जरीकारालिखितवैद्यकश्लोकात्। गृह. र. p. 356 and आह्नि. प्र. p. 514.

vegetables that are forbidden. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 290 quotes a sūtra of Sumantu that laśuna and other vegetables are not forbidden to those who are ill, if they are prescribed by way of medicine.[1874] About asafoetida (*hiṅgu*) Haradatta on Gaut. 17. 32 says 'it is doubtful whether it is a resin or is a sap flowing from incisions, but even respectable people partake of it and that camphor not being red nor a resin nor a sap may be eaten.' The Sm. C. (on śrāddha p. 413) says that some smṛtis forbid the use of *hiṅgu* in śrāddha, while the Ādipurāṇa allows it and therefore there is an option. The Gṛ. R. p. 354 shows that the round *alābu* (gourd) was forbidden. Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 113-119 mentions herbs, vegetables and fruits that are forbidden. *Vide* also the Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 434-435) for quotations as to the names of several roots, fruits and vegetables that were fobidden together with their South Indian names.

Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 18. 2 forbids the use of dark grains (like māṣa beans) in śrāddha. The Mahābhāṣya says 'when it is declared that māṣa beans should not be eaten, they are not to be eaten even when other grains of corn are mixed up with them' (vol. I. p. 127).[1875] The Gṛ. R. p. 359 quotes the Brahmapurāṇa[1876] forbidding the use of certain cereals generally such as rājamāṣa, sthūlamudga (called 'methī' in Marathī), masūra &c. Śaṅkha-Likhita [1877] quoted in Āhn. Pr. p. 394 allows the employment in offering to gods of all cereals, except kodrava, caṇaka (gram), māṣa, masūra, kulattha and uddālaka. Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 110-111 also mentions the corns that are forbidden.

Gaut. 17. 14-16, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 17-19, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 28-29 and 37-38, Manu V. 10, 24-25, Yāj. I. 167 prescribe that cooked food which has become sour by being kept for some time or by being mixed with something else should not be eaten nor should stale (over which the day or night has passed) food be eaten, nor food cooked twice (with interval) except curds and buttermilk and except stale articles like vegetables, cakes, fried grain,

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1874. एतान्येव व्याधितस्य भिषक्क्रियायाममतिविद्धानि भवन्ति । यानि चैवंप्रकाराणि तेष्वपि न दोषः । सुमन्तु in मिता० on या. III. 290.

1875. माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते । महाभाष्य vol. 1 p. 127.

1876. राजमाषाः स्थूलमुद्गास्तथा वृषयवासकौ । मसूरः शतपुष्पाश्च कुसुम्भः श्रीनिकेतनम् । सस्यान्येतान्यभक्ष्याणि न च देयानि कस्यचित् । ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in गृह. र. p. 359, आह्नि. म. p. 516.

1877. आश्रमधर्माविरोधेन प्रतिनियतानामोषधीनां कोद्रवचणकमाषमसूरकुलत्थोद्दालकवर्जं निर्वपणीयम् । शङ्खलिखितौ in आह्नि. म. 394 and 404.

porridge, pulse cakes, those boiled in oil and rice boiled in milk or when mixed with honey; and that even stale food flavoured with ghee or curds or the remnant of food offered to the gods may be eaten. Manu V. 25, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 37-38, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 19 and Yāj. I. 169 say that articles of wheat and *yava* flour and products of milk though stale and unmixed with ghee may be eaten by all dvijātis, provided they have not turned sour.

The above long lists of forbidden vegetables, meat, milk furnish examples of food that is *jātiduṣṭa* or *svabhāvaduṣṭa*. The rules about not eating stale and sour food illustrate food that is *kāladuṣṭa*. Any article of food which is mixed up with forbidden things like palāṇḍu or is in contact with unclean substances or food in which hair or an insect is found or in which excreta or the limb or tail of a mouse is found, food touched by a woman in her monthly course or in which a bird (like the crow) has thrust its beak or food touched by a dog or smelt by a cow or food from a house in mourning or from a family in impurity due to birth should be avoided (*vide* Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 16. 19-20 and 24-29, Manu IV. 207-209, 212, 217, Yāj. I. 167-168). If a dog or an *apapātra* sees food which a man is eating or if a person when engaged in taking his meal sees a cāṇḍāla, a dog, a crow or a cock or a woman in her course, he should leave the food and get up. Manu (III.239-240) says that a cāṇḍāla, a village hog or a village cock or a dog, a menstruating woman and an impotent person should not be allowed to see brāhmaṇas eating, whether in rites for gods or Manes, or at times of gifts. Kātyāyana says that if a brāhmaṇa hears the voice of a cāṇḍāla, a *patita*, or a woman in her course he should at once leave eating and if he eats even one morsel after hearing their voice he has to observe a fast for one day.[1878] The rules about not eating food from a house in mourning illustrate food that is *nimittaduṣṭa* (forbidden by reason of an occasion or chance reason), the other rules about food

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1878. शुना वा अपपात्रेण वा दृष्टम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 16. 31; उदक्यामपि चाण्डालं श्वानं कुक्कुटमेव च। भुञ्जानो यदि पश्येत तदन्नं तु परित्यजेत्॥ व्यास quoted in स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 428), आह्निकम. p. 482; चण्डालपतितोदक्यावाक्यं श्रुत्वा द्विजोत्तमः। भुञ्जीत ग्रासमात्रं चेद्दिनमेकमभोजनम्॥ कात्यायन quoted in आह्निकम. p. 482. हरदत्त explains अपपात्र as 'चाण्डालादयः' on आप. ध. सू. I. 7. 21. 6 and on आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 16. 31 as 'अपगताः पात्रेभ्यः नहि ते पात्रे भोक्तुं लभन्ते'; on आप. I. 1. 3. 25 'अपपात्राः प्रतिलोमाः रजकादयः। अपगतानि हि तेषां पात्राणि पाकाधर्याणि चतुर्भिर्वर्णैः सह'. अपरार्क says (p. 720) 'पतितत्वाज्ज्ञातिभिर्बहिष्कृतोपपात्रितः'.

forbidden because of contact with unclean things or with garlic &c. exemplify *saṁsarga-duṣṭa* (forbidden because of contact) and the rules about avoiding food seen by a dog &c. are examples of *kriyā-duṣṭa* (forbidden on account of certain actions). The smṛti writers were not devoid of practical common sense. Baud. Dh. S. II. 7. 7 says that if in a heap of cooked food, hair, bits of nails or skin or insects or dung of rats is seen, then a lump from that part where these are seen should be taken out and the rest should have water sprinkled over it and holy ashes should be scattered over it and water should be again sprinkled over it and brāhmaṇas should then louldly declare the food to be all right and it may be then used for serving. Vaik.[1879] IX. 15 contains a similar direction. Parāśara VI. 71–74 says that cooked food (rice) amounting in quantity to one *droṇa* or one āḍhaka,[1880] if licked by a dog or by a crow or smelt by a cow or an ass, should not be thrown away, but should be purified and then used, and that the portion spoilt by touch &c. should be taken away from the whole mass, the rest should be sprinkled over with water in which a golden piece has been dipped and fire should be brought in contact with it (by ignited *darbha*) and brāhmaṇas should recite Vedic texts over it and then it may be served. Vas. Dh. S. 14. 23 and 25–26, Yāj. I. 189 and 191 contain similar rules.[1881]

Food cooked only for oneself and not for offering to gods or guests should not be eaten (Gaut. 17. 19, Manu IV. 213). This is called *saṁskāra-duṣṭa* (forbidden on account of the absence of purificatory rites) by the Smṛtyarthasāra p. 68. The largest number of injunctions are concerned with *parigrahaduṣṭa* (food which may be good in itself but is forbidden because of its coming from the hands of or being owned by certain persons). The following is a fairly comprehensive list of such persons compiled from Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 18. 16–33 and I. 6. 19. 1, Gaut. 15. 18 and 17. 17–18, Vas. Dh. S. 14. 2–11, Manu IV. 205–220, Yāj.

1879. श्वकाकाद्युपहते चरुके तस्मिन्पुरुषाशनमात्रं तत्रैवोद्धृत्य व्यपोह्य पचमानः सुवर्जन इति भस्मजलैः प्रोक्ष्य दर्भोल्कया स्पर्शयित्वा गृह्णीयात् । वैखा. स्मार्त IX. 15.

1880. According to पराशर (VI. 70) 2 प्रस्थ are equal to an आढक and 32 प्रस्थ are equal to a द्रोण. Others define differently. According to अपरार्क p. 305 and हेमाद्रिव्रतखण्ड part 1 p. 57, 2 पल=प्रसृत, 2 प्रसृत=कुडव, 4 कुडव=प्रस्थ, 4 प्रस्थ=आढक, 4 आढक=द्रोण, 2 द्रोण=कुम्भ and 8 कुम्भ=खारी. Vide मिता० on या. III. 265 and 274 also.

1881. देवद्रोण्यां विवाहेषु यज्ञेषु मखतेषु च । काकैः श्वभिश्च संस्पृष्टमन्नं तत्र विसर्जयेत् ॥ तस्मादन्नमपोद्धृत्य शेषं संस्कारमर्हति । वसिष्ठ 14. 25–26.

I. 160–165, Veda-Vyāsa III. 50–54, Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka pp. 1177–79 and other works :—one who has not kept the sacred (śrauta and gṛhya) fires, a miser (who stints even his parents, children, wife through greed), one imprisoned (or fettered), a thief, an impotent person, a wrestler (or one who subsists by going on the stage), a vaiṇa i. e. a worker in bamboo (or naṭa according to Viśvarūpa), a singer, an actor, an *abhiśasta* (one charged with having committed a mahāpātaka), a usurer, a courtezan, a *saṅgha* or a *gaṇa* (group or band of roguish brāhmaṇas or others), one who is initiated for a Vedic sacrifice (till he has not bought soma or has not offered an animal to Agni and Soma ; *vide* Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 18. 23–26 which quote the Ait. Br.), a physician (who subsists by the practice of medicine), a surgeon, a fowler, a hunter (for selling flesh), one suffering from an incurable disease, one who is irascible or cruel, an unchaste woman, a *matta* (one intoxicated or puffed up by wealth and learning), an enemy, an ugra (one ferocious in look or words or a man of that caste), *patita* (an outcast), vrātya (vide pp. 376–379 above), a hypocrite (or swindler), one who eats the remnants of others' food (or of a śūdra), a woman whose husband is not living and who has no son, a goldsmith, a henpecked husband, one who serves as a priest to the whole village, a vendor of weapons, a blacksmith, a niṣāda, a tailor, a *śvavṛtti* (one subsisting by keeping dogs, or one who does menial service), a king, [1882] a king's *purohita*, a *rajaka* (a washerman or dyer), an ungrateful person, one who makes his livelihood by killing animals, a distiller or seller of liquors, one who stays in the same house with his wife's paramour, one who sells the *soma* plant, a back-biter, a liar, an oil-presser, a bard, a son-in-law (as long as he has no son or child),[1883] a sonless man (Mit. on Yāj. III. 290 quoting Likhita), one who starts a sacrifice without studying the Veda, a woman sacrificer, a carpenter, one who makes his living by astrology, one whose duty is to ring bells (for reminding the king of the time or awakening him), a grāmakūṭa (a village officer, Aparārka p. 239), a *parivitti*, a *parivividāna*, the husband of a śūdra woman or of a remarried widow, the

1882. मनु IV. 218, अङ्गिरस् 117, अत्रि 304, आप. 9. 28 (in verse) say ' राजानं तेज आदत्ते '.

1883. स्वसुता अप्रजा तावज्जाइनीयात्तद्गृहे पिता । अत्रि 305 ; ' विष्णुं जामातरं मन्येत्तस्य मन्युं न कारयेत् । अप्रजायां तु कन्यायां नाइनीयात्तस्य वै गृहे ॥ आदित्यपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p. 239 ; लघ्वाश्व० I. 175 ' ब्राह्मणो नैव भुञ्जीयाद् दुहित्रन्नं कदाचन ।' (without qualifications) ; vide लघ्वाश्व० 15. 80 also.

son of a *punarbhū*, a worker in hides, a potter, a spy, one who becomes an ascetic without following the rules laid down for that *āśrama*, a lunatic, one who has sat down at his debtor's house in *dharṇa*. Manu IV. 222 prescribes a fast for three days if a brāhmaṇa partakes of the food of these unknowingly, but the *kṛcchra* (Prājāpatya) for knowingly doing so. Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 10 prescribes the *japa* of Ṛg. IX. 58 (tarat sa mandī) for eating the food of one from whom it should not have been taken. Manu XI. 253 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 56. 6 do the same.

The next question is whose food may be taken. Great fluctuations have occurred in the usages during the last two thousand years or more in this matter. Gaut. 17. 1 says 'a brāhmaṇa may eat at the houses of all *dvijātis* (the three higher varṇas) who are well-known to be performing the peculiar duties of their *varṇa* or *āśrama*.' Gaut. 2. 41, Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 18–19, Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 25 allow a brahmacārin to beg for food at the houses of men of all varṇas, except those who are *apapātra* and *abhiśasta* (suspected of mahāpātakas). Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 18. 9 first prescribes for a brāhmaṇa who has returned from his teacher's house that he should not eat in the houses of the kṣatriya and other varṇas (as a general rule), then he gives the opinion of some that he may take food from members of all varṇas except śūdras, provided they abide by the rules for their varṇa. He also notices that even śūdra's food may be eaten if he serves a *dvijāti* in virtue of his duty to do so. Even Veda-Vyāsa III. 56 expressly declares that all *dvijātis* who know each other's families may partake of food at each other's houses.[1884] Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 2–12 raises the question as to whose food may be eaten and names several sages who differed in their views. Kaṇva said that one may eat the food of only him who wishes to give (and so requests), Kautsa thought that one may eat the food of him only who is holy (puṇya); Vārṣyāyaṇi said that one may accept from whoever is liberal enough to give; Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa and Puṣkarasādi held that alms (food) offered by a pure man may be eaten; Vārṣyāyaṇi said what is offered by any body without asking may be accepted; according to Hārīta one should not accept food which is offered after an express previous announcement 'I shall give you such and such a kind of food.' Āpastamba's own view appears to have been (I. 6. 19. 9–11) that one should accept the food of him whose conduct is religious and who

1884. धर्मेणान्योन्यभोज्याश्च द्विजास्तु विदितान्वयाः । वेदव्यास III. 56.

desires to offer food, that one should not accept the food even of a righteous man if he shows even the slightest unwillingness to give and that whatever is offered unasked may be accepted. These directions are rather vague.

In modern times a person is more lax in taking food prepared with oil or ghee or milk. He may take such food from members of certain castes other than his own. But ordinarily he would not take food cooked in water from any person belonging to another caste or even sub-division of the same caste. In towns and cities there is a strong tendency to considerably relax these restrictions. We saw above that in the times of Gautama and Āpastamba and others a brāhmaṇa was allowed to take food prepared in the houses of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and even śūdras. Gradually this latitude came to be restricted and most of the sūtras and early smṛtis restrict the liberty to take food from śūdras by saying that only from the following among śūdras a brāhmaṇa can take cooked food, viz. one who cultivates the brāhmaṇa's field on the system of paying half of the crops to the latter, a family friend, one's cowherd, one's barber, one doing personal service i. e. a *dāsa* (vide Gaut. 17. 6, Manu IV. 253, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 16, Yāj. I. 166, Aṅgiras 120–121, Veda-Vyāsa III. 55 and Parāśara XI. 21). Manu and Yāj. add that any śūdra who declares to a brāhmaṇa that the former is going to be dependent on the latter and who declares what his actions have been and how he will serve the brāhmaṇa is also *bhojyānna* (one whose food may be eaten). The Mit. quotes a sūtra which includes the potter among these (on Yāj. I. 166) and Devala also does so.[1885] It may be stated that Parāśara (XI. 22–24) gives peculiar meanings to the words dāsa, nāpita, gopāla and ārdhika. The general rule forbidding the food of śūdras is stated by Vas. Dh. S. 14. 4, Manu IV. 211 and 223, Yāj. I. 160. Aṅgiras 121 says that he who takes cooked food from śūdras other than the five excepted above has to undergo cāndrāyaṇa penance. Atri (172–173) prescribes the same penance for a dvija eating the food of a washerman, an actor and a worker in bamboos and the penance of *parāka* for taking the food of or residing amongst *antyajas*. Vas. Dh. S.

1885. सुदासो (स्वदासो?) नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कुषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोज्यान्नाः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः ॥ देवल in गृह. र. p. 337; पराशर XI. 22–24 are शूद्रकन्यासमुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः । संस्कारात्तु भवेद्दासः असंस्कारात्तु नापितः ॥ क्षत्रियाच्छूद्रकन्यायां समुत्पन्नस्तु यः सुतः । स गोपाल इति ज्ञेयो भोज्यो विप्रैर्न संशयः ॥ वैश्यकन्यासमुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः । स ह्यार्धिक इति ज्ञेयो भोज्यो विप्रैर्न संशयः ॥

VI. 26-29, Aṅgiras 69-70, Āp. (verse) 8. 9-11 severely condemn a brāhmaṇa partaking of food from śūdras. Aṅgiras 75, Āp. (verse) VIII. 8-9 declare that a brāhmaṇa who is an *agnihotrin* and yet does not desist from śūdra food loses five viz. his self, his vedic lore and his three (sacred fires). Medhātithi on Manu V. 84 expressly states that the barber is touchable and bhojyānna (whose food may be taken). This shows that up to the 9th century A. D. the rules about taking food from even certain śūdras had not become rigid in all provinces of India. Aṅgiras 77-78. Āp. (verse) 8. 11-13 and Yama (quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 334) declare that a brāhmaṇa may eat at a brāhmaṇa's at all times, at a kṣatriya's only on *parvans* (on full moon &c.), at a vaiśya's when the latter is initiated for a sacrifice, at a śūdra's never and the food of the four varṇas is respectively like nectar, milk, food and blood.[1886] According to Manu IV. 223 a brāhmaṇa could take from a śūdra uncooked food for a night, if he had no other means of subsistence. When exactly brāhmaṇas were forbidden to take food from kṣatriyas or vaiśyas it is difficult to say. In the Kalivarjya section all that is forbidden is taking food from the five śūdras enumerated in Manu IV. 253. Gaut. 17. 1 prescribes that fuel, water, fodder, roots, fruits, honey, protection, what is offered unasked, a bed, seat, shelter, conveyance, milk, curds, roasted grain, *śafarī* (small fish), priyaṅgu (millet), a garland, meat of deer, vegetables must not be refused when offered by any one spontaneously. Vas. Dh. S. 14. 12, Manu IV. 50 are to the same effect. Aṅgiras[1887] quoted in Gṛ. R. p. 337 states that cow's milk, barley flour, oil, oil-cakes, cakes (of flour) may be taken from a śūdra and eaten and whatever else is cooked in milk. Bṛhat-Parāśara VI. says 'uncooked meat, ghee, honey and oils extracted from fruits, even if they are kept in a *mleccha's* vessel, become pure the moment they are taken out of such vessel; similarly milk, curds, and ghee contained in vessels of ābhīras are blameless and the vessels are pure as long as these articles are contained in them.[1888] Laghu-Sātātapa 128

1886. ब्राह्मणस्य सदा भुक्तं क्षत्रियस्य तु पर्वणि। वैश्यस्य यज्ञदीक्षायां शूद्रस्य न कदाचन॥ अभुक्तं ब्राह्मणस्यान्नं क्षत्रियस्य पयः स्मृतम्। वैश्यस्याप्ययाचितमन्नं शूद्रस्य रुधिरं स्मृतम्॥ आप. 8. 11-13. =अङ्गिरस् 77-78 (सकृद्वैश्यस्य भुञ्जीत for वैश्य.....दीक्षायां). यम reads प्रकृतेषु च वैश्यस्य and गृह. र. p. 334 explains प्रकृतेषु गोमङ्गलादिषु.

1887. गोरसं चैव सक्तूंश्च तैलं पिण्याकमेव च। अपूपान् भक्षयेच्छूद्रान्नान्यत्पक्वा कृतम्॥ अङ्गिरस् in गृह. र. p. 337.

1888. आममांसं घृतं क्षौद्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवाः। म्लेच्छभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचयः स्मृताः॥ आभीरभाण्डसंस्थानि पयोदधिघृतानि च। बृहत्पराशर VI. (Jīvānanda, part 2 p. 210).

says that corn lying in the field or on the threshing floor, water drawn from wells and milk while still in the cow enclosures may be taken even from one whose food is forbidden. Even such later writers as Haradatta stated that a brāhmaṇa may eat the food of the five śūdras named by Manu IV. 253 in extreme distress only.

Certain articles were not to be eaten at certain stages only. For example, a brahmacārin was not to partake of honey, meat, and kṣāra-lavaṇa (vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 6, Mānava gṛ. I. 1. 12). But in danger of life he could eat even these (vide Medhātithi on Manu V. 27). Similarly a forest hermit and an ascetic were forbidden many things (which will be discussed later on). A 5ṣatriya was not to drink *soma* juice (vide p. 140 above).

There were rules about the persons who might be engaged to cook and serve food. As brāhmaṇas could in very ancient times eat the food of all varṇas including at least some śūdras, no difficulty must have been felt. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 3. 1–6) prescribes that *āryas* (i. e. the three varṇas) purified (by a bath) may prepare the food for vaiśvadeva; they should stop speaking, coughing or spitting with their faces turned towards the food that is being prepared and should touch water on touching their hair, limbs or garment; or śūdras supervised by āryas may be the cooks. Āp. Dh. S. further requires that when śūdras are cooks they should shave their hair and beard and pare their nails every day or on the 8th day or *parva* days and they must always bathe with their clothes on. Laghu-Āśv. I. 176 says that food should be cooked by one's wife, daughter-in-law, son, pupil, elderly relative, or one's ācārya or by oneself. Aparārka (p. 500) quotes a verse of Nārāyaṇa that food must be served to a *dvijāti* by a wife of the same caste (if he has wives of different castes).

Although numerous rules are laid down about the persons at whose house food may or may not be taken, the ideal placed before householders was that they should not as far as possible eat at the houses of others and should only do so if they are invited by a blameless person (vide Gaut. 17. 8, Manu III. 104, Yāj. I. 112). Manu III. 104 holds out the threat that those who constantly seek to subsist on the food given by others become after death the cattle of those who give them food.

It is necessary to say a few words on drinking liquor (*madyapāna*).

In the Ṛgveda a distinction is made between *soma* and *surā* (liquor), the former being an intoxicating drink, but reserved for being offered (as a sacred beverage) to gods and to be drunk by the priests, while the latter seems to have been meant as a beverage for common men and not usually offered to gods. In Ṛg. VII. 86. 6 the sage[1889] Vasiṣṭha implores Varuṇa to recognize that a man does not commit sin by his own urge or power, but that it is due to destiny or *surā*, anger, dice (gambling) or heedlessness. In Ṛg. VIII. 2. 12 the sage exclaims that draughts of soma when quaffed by Indra create in his heart such tumult as those who are heavily intoxicated engage in when *surā* is drunk. Ṛg. I. 116. 7 mentions among the deeds of Aśvins this that they filled a hundred jars of surā from the hoof of their powerful horse which (hoof) was like *kārotara* (a strainer or leather-bag?). Ṛg. I. 191. 10 refers to the leather-bag (of wine) in the house of a vintner. In belauding *bhojas* (liberal men) Ṛg. X. 107. 9 says that they won the inner draught of surā (from their foes). In Ṛg. X. 131.[1890] 4 and 5 the Aśvins are praised for having drunk surāma (surā mixed with soma) and helped Indra in his fight with the Asura Namuci. In the Atharvaveda IV. 34. 6 the reward for the performer of sacrifices is said to be heaven in which there are lakes full of ghee and honey, and wherein liquor flows like water. In Atharvaveda 14. 1. 35–36 and 15. 9. 2–3 surā is referred to. The Vāj. S. 19. 7 distinguished between surā and soma 'thou art the powerful surā and this is soma; don't destroy me when thou enterest thy place'. In the Tai.[1891] S. II. 5. 1 ff, the Śat. Br. I. 6. 3 and V. 5. 4 there is a legend of Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, which narrates how he had three heads, one of which was soma-drinking, one wine-drinking and a third for eating

1889. न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण ध्रुतिः सा सुरा मन्युर्विभीदको अचित्तिः। ऋ. VII. 86. 6; द्रुह्वः पीतासो युध्यन्ते दुर्मदासो न सुरायाम्। ऋ. VIII. 2. 12; कारोतराच्छफादश्वस्य वृष्णः शतं कुम्भानसिञ्चर्त सुरायाः। ऋ. I. 116. 7; धूर्षे विषमा सजामि वृतिं सुराबतो गृहे। ऋ. I. 191. 10; भोजा जिग्युरन्तःपेयं सुराया भोजा जिग्युर्ये अहूताः प्रयन्ति। ऋ. X. 107. 9.

1890. युवं सुराममाश्विना नमुचावासुरे सचा। विपिपाना शुभस्पती इन्द्रं कर्मस्वावतम्॥ ऋ. X. 131. 4 quoted in तै. ब्रा. I. 4. 2; घृतह्रदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना। ..... उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः॥ अथर्व IV. 34. 6. सुरा त्वमसि शुष्मिणी सोम एष मा मा हिंसीः स्वा योनिमाविशन्ती। वाज. सं. 19. 7; also तै. ब्रा. I. 4. 2 and ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 4.

1891. विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत्स्वस्रीयोऽसुराणाम्। तस्य त्रीणि शीर्षाण्यासन् सोमपानं सुरापानमन्नादनम्। तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 1.; vide काठकसंहिता XII. 10 for similar words.

food, how Indra cut off the heads of Viśvarūpa, how Tvaṣṭṛ being furious at the slaughter of his son performed a soma sacrifice from which he excluded Indra, how Indra, though not invited, consumed all the soma that was in the tub, how the drinking of too much soma injured Indra and how the gods healed him by the *iṣṭi* called Sautrāmaṇī (for Sutrāman, 'the good protector', Indra). This Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice was performed for a priest who drank too much soma and therefore either began to vomit or had severe purging. Vide Kātyāyana śr. 19. 1. 4. It was also performed by him who had an enemy (Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 4). In this sacrifice a brāhmaṇa had to be hired for drinking the dregs of surā offered in it and if one was not found willing to do it the dregs were to be poured on an ant-hill.[1892] How surā (liquor) was prepared is described in the Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 5 and in Kātyāyana śr. 19. 1. 20–27 (vide S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 223 *n.* 2 which summarises the com. on Kātyāyana). In Jaimini III. 5. 14–15 there is a discussion about the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and Śabara quotes the passage of the Tai. Br. I. 8. 6 about hiring a brāhmaṇa for drinking the dregs of the *surā* offered in the sacrifice. The Śat. Br. contrasts soma and of surā by saying 'soma is truth, prosperity, light and surā is untruth, misery, darkness' (V. 1. 5. 28). The Śat. Br. V. 5. 4. 21 expresses dread[1893] of mixing up the libations of soma and of surā together. The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā XII. 12 contains the following interesting remark. "Therefore an elderly person or a youngster, the daughter-in-law and father-in-law drink liquor and remain babbling together; foolishness (or thoughtlessness) is indeed sin; therefore a brāhmaṇa does not drink surā with the thought 'otherwise (if I drink it) I may be affected by sin'; therefore this is for kṣatriya; one should say to a brāhmaṇa that surā, if drunk by a kṣatriya, does not harm the latter."[1894] This passage makes it clear that at the time of the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā public opinion had come to this stage that brāhmaṇas had generally given up drinking surā. This passage read with the

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1892. ब्राह्मणं परिक्रीणीयादुच्छेषणस्य पातारम् । ब्राह्मणो ह्याहुत्या उच्छेषणस्य पाता । यदि ब्राह्मणं न विन्देद्वल्मीकवपायामवनयेत् । तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 6. Vide शाङ्खायनश्रौत 15. 15. 1–14 where the last सूत्र is ब्राह्मणं सुरापं परिक्रीणीयादिति भक्ष उपनीयते ।

1893. द्वावग्नी उद्धरन्ति । उत्तरवेदावेवोत्तरमुद्धते दक्षिणं नेत्सोमाहुतीश्च सुराहुतीश्च सह जुहवमिति तस्माद् द्वावग्नी उद्धरन्ति । शतपथब्रा. V. 5. 4. 21.

1894. तस्माज्ज्यायांश्च कनीयांश्च स्नुषा श्वशुरश्च सुरां पीत्वा सह लालपत आसते । पाप्मा वै माल्यं तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संसृज्या इति । तदेतत् क्षत्रियाय ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयाज्जेनं सुरां पीता हिनस्ति । काठकसंहिता XII. 12.

Tai. Br. quoted above establishes that it had become difficult to find a brāhmaṇa willing to drink even the remnants of surā left after being offered in a sacred Vedic rite like the Sautrāmaṇī. The above passage from the Kāṭhaka is quoted by the Tantravārtika on Jaimini I. 3. 7 (p. 210) and explained by it as referring to *sīdhu* (rum) and liquor prepared from honey. Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 31 quotes[1895] this passage expressly from the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. In the Ait. Br. (37. 4) it is stated that when a king has undergone a solemn coronation ceremony the *purohita* places in his hand a vessel of surā. Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, proudly declares in the Chāndogya Up. V. 11. 5 to the learned brāhmaṇas that came to him for the lore about Vaiśvānara 'in my country there is no thief, no miser, no *madyapa* (drinker of intoxicants), none who has not kept the sacred fires, none who is not learned, no man of loose character; whence can there be a woman of loose character in my country?' In Chāndogya V. 10. 9 one who drinks surā is enumerated among the five grave sinners.

It is somewhat strange that in some of the gṛhya sūtras it is stated that in the rites on Anvaṣṭakā day when *piṇḍas* are offered to the male ancestors, piṇḍas are offered to the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother and also liquor is offered. For example, the Āśv. gṛ. II. 5. 5 says that 'to the wives (of the ancestors) are offered surā and the scum of boiled rice in addition' (to the piṇḍas).[1896] The Pār. gṛ. (III. 3) states 'also to the female ancestors he makes piṇḍa offerings and pours for them liquor and water oblations into pits.' The Kāṭhaka gṛ. (65. 7-8) also prescribes that in the Anvaṣṭakā surā was to be sprinkled with a spoon about the piṇḍas for women ancestors and the piṇḍas were to be eaten by servants or by niṣādas or may be thrown in fire or water or brāhmaṇas may eat them. It is difficult to account for this. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is possible that women drank (perhaps secretly) liquor even when their husbands had given up the practice owing to the force of public opinion or that in those days (before the gṛhya sūtras) intercaste marriages being allowed, the women ancestors might have been kṣatriya or

1895. शब्दश्चानञस्य प्रतिषेधकः कामकारनिवृत्तिप्रयोजनः काठकानां संहितायां श्रूयते तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबेत् इति। शांकरभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 4. 31.

1896. पिण्डपितृयज्ञकल्पेन। हुत्वा मधुमन्थवर्जं पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। स्त्रीभ्यश्च सुरां चाचामममधिकम्। आश्व. गृ. II. 5. 3-5; अन्वष्टकासु ..... पिण्डपितृयज्ञवत् स्त्रीभ्यश्चोपसेचनं च कर्तृषु सुरया तर्पणेन चाञ्जनाद्यलेपनं भजश्च।' पार. गृ. III. 3.

vaiśya women and so were not unfamiliar with drinking. Manu XI. 95 forbids drinking to brāhmaṇas and Kullūka notes that there were commentators who held that the prohibition did not apply to brāhmaṇa women. Whatever the reasons for the above directions in the gṛhya sūtras may be, they run counter to the prevailing sentiments, not only of the Kāṭhaka Saṁ. and the Brāhmaṇa texts, but also to the unanimous prescriptions of the dharmasūtras and smṛtis.

Gaut. II. 25,[1897] Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 21, Manu XI. 94 forbid all kinds of intoxicants to brāhmaṇas at all stages of life. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8, Vas. Dh. S. I. 20, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 35. 1., Manu XI. 54, Yāj. III. 227 hold that drinking *surā* or *madya* is one of the grave sins (mahāpātakas). In spite of this, the Baud. Dh. S. I. 2. 4 notes that among the five peculiar practices of the brāhmaṇas in the north was that of drinking rum and it condemns all the five practices. The verses of Manu (XI. 93-94)[1898] are frequently quoted in digests and commentaries 'surā is the filthy refuse of food and sin indeed is called *mala* (filth); therefore, a brāhmaṇa, a rājanya, and a vaiśya should not drink surā, which is of three kinds, viz. prepared from molasses, from flour (or ground grains) and from flowers of the Madhūka tree; brāhmaṇas should not drink any one of these three.' The interpretations put on these verses by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (III. 222), the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253, Aparārka p. 1069 and others establish that the word 'surā' primarily applies to *paiṣṭī* (liquor prepared from flour) as Vedic usage in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice and elsewhere shows, that *paiṣṭī* is forbidden to all brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, that it is the drinking of paiṣṭī alone that constitutes a mahāpātaka, that all intoxicants are forbidden to brāhmaṇas but liquors other than paiṣṭī such as those prepared from molasses or madhūka flowers are not forbidden to kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. In the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparva 59. 5) both Vāsudeva and Arjuna are described as intoxicated by drinking the liquor prepared from honey and

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1897. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः । गौ. II. 25 ; सर्वं मद्यमपेयम् । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 21.

1898. सुरा वै मलमन्नानां पाप्मा च मलमुच्यते । तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ वैश्यश्च न सुरां पिबेत् ॥ गौडी पैष्टी च माध्वी च विज्ञेया त्रिविधा सुरा । यथैवैका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः ॥ मनु XI. 93–94. Both are quoted in तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 209–210 ; मनु XI. 93 is वृद्धहारीत 9. 279 and मनु XI. 94 is the same as विष्णु 22. 82 and संवर्त 117. सर्वज्ञनारायण explains माध्वी in three ways 'माध्वी द्राक्षारसकृतेति केचित् । मधूकपुष्पेण मधुना वा कृता वाच्या'.

the Tantravārtika tries[1899] to establish that there was nothing wrong in this as they were kṣatriyas and as Manu XI. 93-94 and Gaut. II. 25 are to be construed as stated above viz. all intoxicants are forbidden to brāhmaṇas and only paiṣṭī to kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Intoxicants are not forbidden to śūdras, though Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 277–278) declares that some desire that good śūdras should abstain from surā also and that Manu says that even a śūdra becomes *patita* by falsehood, by partaking of meat and intoxicants and by stealing another's wealth or wife. Another rule was that brahmacārins, of whatever varṇa, had to abstain entirely from every kind of intoxicant (Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 2. 23, Manu II. 177, Yāj. I. 33). Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 33 refers to a passage from the Caraka-śākhā which states that when Śvetaketu suffered from a skin disease (kilāsa), the Aśvins told him to take madhu (honey or wine) and meat as medicine, and when he asked how being a brahmacārin he could do so, they replied that a person must first save himself (from disease and death) in all ways[1900] as a man can say 'I shall perform meritorious acts' only if he lives. Aparārka quotes the Brahmapurāṇa and says that in the Kali age human sacrifice, Aśvamedha sacrifice and intoxicating drinks were forbidden to the three varṇas and to brāhmaṇas in all yugas (ages). But this is opposed to history and tradition.[1901] The Mahābhārata narrates (Ādiparva 76–77) the story of Śukra, his daughter Devayānī and pupil Kaca and states that Śukra forbade for the first time brāhmaṇas from drinking intoxicants and declared that, if any brāhmaṇa drank surā thenceforward, he would be guilty of the grave sin of brāhmaṇa-murder.[1902] The

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1899. यत्तु वासुदेवार्जुनयोर्मद्यपानमामतुलदुहितुपरिणयनं स्मृतिविरुद्धमुपन्यस्तं तत्रा-नधिकारसुरामात्रस्य वैवर्णिकानां प्रतिषेधः । सुरा वै...सुरां पिबेत् इति । मधुसीध्वोस्तु क्षत्रिय-वैश्ययोर्नैव प्रतिषेधः केवलब्राह्मणविषयत्वात् । मद्यं ब्राह्मणस्य-इति वचनात् ।...तेनोभौ मद्या-सवक्षीवावित्यविरुद्धम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 209–210. उद्योगपर्व 59. 5 is 'उभौ...क्षीवाद्युभौ चन्दनरूषितौ । स्रग्विणौ वरवस्त्रौ तौ दिव्याभरणभूषितौ ॥'

1900. तथा च चरकाः पठन्ति-श्वेतकेतुं हारुणेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्तं किलासो जग्राह । तमश्विनावूचतुर्मधुमांसौ किल ते भैषज्यमिति । सहोवाच ब्रह्मचर्यमानी कथं मधवनीयामिति । तौ होचतुः । यद्वा चात्मना पुरुषो जीवति अथान्यत्सुकृतं करोमीति, आत्मानं ह्येव सर्वतो गोपायेत् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 33.

1901. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः । नित्यमिति वचनान्मद्यं कृतयुगादावपि ब्राह्मणेन वर्ज्यं क्षत्रियवैश्यानां तु कलावेव । यद् ब्रह्मपुराणम् । ..... नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः । अपरार्क p. 63.

1902. यो ब्राह्मणोऽद्यप्रभृतीह काश्चिन्मोहात्सुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः । अपेतधर्मा ब्रह्महा चैव स स्यादस्मिँल्लोके गर्हितः स्यात्परे च ॥ आदिपर्व 76. 67 = मत्स्यपुराण 25. 62.

Mausalaparva (1. 29-30) states that Balarāma prohibited the drinking of surā from the day the *musala* (iron pestle) for the destruction of the Yādavas was produced and directed that any breach of his order would be punished with impalement. The Śāntiparva (110. 22) declares that those men who always avoid honey and meat and intoxicants from their birth surmount all difficulties. Śāntiparva (34. 20) prescribes that, if a man drank liquor when in danger of life or through ignorance, he was to undergo upanayana again. Acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 22. 83-85[1903] intoxicants (*madya*) forbidden to brāhmaṇas are of ten kinds viz. those prepared from madhūka flowers, from sugarcane juice, from ṭaṅka fruit (i. e. kapittha), from *koli* (i. e. *badara* or jujube fruit), from dates, from jack-fruit, from grape juice, from honey, from *maireya* (extracted from the blossoms of a plant) and from cocoa-nut sap. Viṣṇu adds that these ten kinds are not forbidden to kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Pulastya quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253 and by Aparārka p. 1075 states that *surā* (distilled from rice flour) is different from the eleven kinds of *madyas* that he enumerates (practically the same as in Viṣṇu). It may be stated that this sentiment against drinking is still very strong among brāhmaṇas and drinking is still looked down upon by all castes, though, owing to contact with the West, some people (even including a few brāhmaṇas) have come to regard it as a fashionable indulgence.

Manu IX. 80 and Yāj. I. 73 say that a wife who drinks liquor is to be abandoned (even if she be a śūdra woman married to a brāhmaṇa). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 73 quotes a text (of Parāśara X. 26 and Vas. Dh. S. 21. 15) that half of the body of him whose wife drinks *surā* is guilty of grave sin[1904] (on Yāj. III. 256 it is ascribed to Manu). Vas. Dh. S. (21. 11) says that a brāhmaṇa wife who drinks *surā* is not allowed by the gods to reach the world of her husband (after death) and that she

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1903. माधूकमैक्षवं डाङ्गं कौलं खार्जूरपानसे। मृद्वीकारसमाध्वीके मैरेयं नारिकेलजम्॥ अमेध्यानि दशैतानि मद्यानि ब्राह्मणस्य च। राजन्यश्चैव वैश्यश्च सृष्टैतानि न युध्यति॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 83-84. These are quoted by अपरार्क p. 926, where the reading is माद्वीकं कारमार्दिकम्. अपरार्क p. 1070 quotes these as बृहद्विष्णु (reading मैरं तालं खार्जूर०), पुलस्त्य has two viz. सैर and आरिष्ट (prepared from ariṣṭa, a kind of berry) in place of डाङ्ग.

1904. पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत्। पतितार्धशरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते॥ वासिष्ठ 21. 15 and पराशर X. 26, quoted by विश्वरूप as स्मृत्यन्तर on या. III. 250 (पतितोकं न सा etc.).

wanders in this world as a leech in water or as an oyster.[1905] Yāj. III. 256 says the same and adds that such a wife becomes in her subsequent lives a bitch, a vulture or a pig in this world itself.

Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. I. 140) quotes a text that a vendor of liquors is to have a flagstaff at his shop to indicate that it is a liquor shop, that his shop was to be in the midst of the village and that he was not to sell surā to the *antyajas* except in times of distress (i. e. in diseases &c.).[1906]

Megasthenes (p. 69) and Strabo (XV. 1. 53) note that Indians did not drink wine except at sacrifices (in the 4th century B. C.). Gautama 23. 1, Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253 prescribe that if a person knowingly and frequently drinks surā i. e. paiṣṭī, he can be purified only by death due to the pouring in his mouth of boiling surā or water or ghee or cow's urine or milk. Yāj. III. 254 prescribes another prāyaścitta (expiation) also. Vas. Dh. S. 20. 19, Manu XI. 146 and Yāj. III. 255 prescribe that if any one of the three varṇas drinks surā through ignorance he becomes pure by undergoing the penance of Kṛcchra and by having his upanayana performed again. Aparārka (p. 1070) quotes a smṛti of Kumāra that a child up to five years has to perform no penance for drinking any intoxicant, that after five but before upanayana the child's parents or other relative or friend has to undergo it viz. three kṛcchras.[1907]

Manu (VII. 47–52) enumerates in the case of kings ten vices springing from love of pleasure and eight vices produced by wrath and then states that among vices due to love of pleasure drinking, dice, women and hunting are the worst and that drinking is the most pernicious of all the vices of kings. Kauṭilya VIII. 3 agrees with this. Gaut. XII. 38 and Yāj. II. 47 declare that though sons and grandsons are bound to repay their ancestors' debt as a pious duty, they are not bound to pay

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1905. या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न तां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्तीहैव सा चरति क्षीण-पुण्याल्लु लुभवति शुक्रिका वा। वसिष्ठ 21.11. The words या ब्राह्मणी...नयन्ति occur in the महाभाष्य (vol. II. p. 99 on पा. III. 2. 8).

1906. ध्वजं च कुर्याच्छ्रद्धार्थं समया ग्रामं च संवसेत्। न चैवान्तावसायिभ्यः सुरां दद्यादनापदि॥ quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 140.

1907. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहात्पिबेद्यदि। तस्य कृच्छत्रयं कुर्यान्माता भ्राता तथा पिता॥ जातूकर्ण्य in अपरार्क p. 1069; मद्यमूत्रपुरीषाणां भक्षणे नास्ति कश्चन। द्वौवस्त्वा पञ्चमाद्वर्षादूर्ध्वं पित्रोः सुहृद्गुरोः॥ कुमार quoted by अपरार्क p. 1070.

debts incurred for liquors, gambling &c. Among the articles that a brāhmaṇa is forbidden to sell even when he is forced to take to trade as a means of livelihood is liquor (Manu X. 89 and Yāj. III. 37).

To return to the subject of *bhojana*. After finishing one's midday meal, a person was to chew *tāmbūla or mukhavāsa* (described above p. 734) and it appears that in ancient times persons smoked also certain preparations made with fragrant herbs and medicaments (and not tobacco which was then unknown). For example, Bāṇa describes in the Kādambarī (para 15) that king Śūdraka after his mid-day meal took in the smoke of fragrant drugs and then chewed tāmbūla.[1908] In the Caraka-saṁhitā, sūtra-sthāna chap. 5, there is a description how a reed was to be smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices, how it was to be eight aṅgulas long and as thick as one's thumb, how it was to be dried and the reed removed and then the dried portion was to be smoked. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 40 pp. 37-40 for detailed information.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 94 remarks that after taking the mid-day meal one may do acts that would not cause exertion to the body. Dakṣa (II. 68-69) says that after[1909] taking dinner one should sit at ease and allow the food to be digested and should read and listen to itihāsa and purāṇas in the 6th and 7th parts of the day, and in the 8th part of the day the householder should look into his private worldly affairs and then perform the evening adoration (sandhyā) outside the house. That the higher and middle classes of society attended in the afternoon the recitation of the Mahābhārata (the itihāsa *par excellence*) and the purāṇas in the 7th century follows from Bāṇa's statement in the Kādambarī (para 54) that even queen Vilāsavatī on hearing from the Mahābhārata that the sonless do not reach heaven (which was recited in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī) became[1910] extremely dejected and the fact that Bāṇa

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1908. परिपीतधूपधूमवर्तिरुपरचय्य च गृहीतताम्बूलः &c. । कादम्बरी para 15.

1909. भुक्त्वाथ सुखमास्थाय तदन्नं परिणामयेत् । इतिहासपुराणाद्यैः षष्ठसप्तमकौ नयेत् । अष्टमे लोकयात्रा तु वहिः सन्ध्या ततः पुनः ॥ दक्ष II. 68-69, quoted by अपरार्क p. 157, स्मृतिच. I. p. 225, गृह. र. 386.

1910. अद्य तु चतुर्दशीति भगवन्तं महाकालमर्चितुमितो गतया तत्र महाभारते वाच्य माने श्रुतमपुत्राणां किल न सन्ति लोकाः शुभाः पुत्राम्नो नरकात् त्रायत इति पुत्र इति । कादम्बरी (पूर्वभाग para 54). Vide आदिपर्व 120. 15-18 where 'न तस्य लोकाः सन्तीति' occurs.

is said in the Harṣacarita (III) to have listened after the midday meal to the recitation of the Vāyupurāṇa by the reader Sudṛṣṭi. Yāj. (I. 113-114) directs that the rest of the day (till evening) should be spent in the company of śiṣṭas (learned and respectable people) and of dear relatives and then having performed the evening prayer and offered oblations into the three sacred fires (if he has kept the three Vedic fires) or into gṛhya fire, the householder should feed guests if they come at night, then he should take his evening meal surrounded by (his children) and servants, should not eat too much in the evening and then go to sleep. Dakṣa (II. 70-71) says that after evening he should perform homa, then take his meal, do other household work, then repeat some part of his Veda and sleep for two watches (six hours) and he should devote some time in the first and last watches of the night to reciting the Veda already learnt.

Numerous rules are laid down in the smṛtis and digests about sleeping, viz. as to the position of the head, what kind of bed to use, where to sleep and what texts to recite and so on Vide Gaut. II. 13 and IX. 60, Manu IV. 57, 175-176, Yāj. I. 136, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 107-109 for some of these rules. Among the earliest works to give elaborate rules is the Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 70, which is set out here. 'One should not sleep when one's feet are wet with water, nor should one have his head towards the north and west or lower (than the other parts of the body), nor should one sleep naked nor below a beam along its length nor in an uncovered place nor on a bed-stead of a palāśa tree nor on one made of five kinds[1911] of wood nor on one made of trees split by an elephant nor on one made of wood burnt by lightning, nor on a broken bed-stead nor on one which is scorched, nor on a bed of trees watered with jars, nor in cemeteries nor in an unoccupied house, nor in a temple, nor in the midst of rash (or mischievous) persons, nor in the midst of women, nor above grain, nor in a stable of cows nor on the bed-stead of elderly persons nor over a fire or over an idol, nor before washing his hands or lips after meals, nor should one sleep by day nor in the twilight nor on ashes, nor on an unclean spot, nor on a wet spot nor on the top of a mountain.' Vide

1911. The स्मृतिमु. (आ. p. 457) says 'पञ्च वारूणि उदुम्बरवटाश्वत्थप्लक्षजम्बुद्रुमाः'. The गृह. र. p. 397 remarks तदुक्तं वाराहेण-एकद्रुमेण धन्यं वृक्षद्वयनिर्मितं च धन्यतरं त्रिभिरात्मजवृद्धिकरं चतुर्भिरर्थो यशश्चायुष्यं पञ्चवनस्पतिरचिते पञ्चत्वं याति तत्र यः शेते ।'. These seem to be verses in the Gīti metre.

Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70, Gṛ. R. pp. 397–399, Smṛtimuktāphala (āhnika pp. 456–458), Āhnika-prakāśa pp. 556–558 for further details. Some of them may be noted. One should bow to one's favourite deity and keep a bamboo staff near one's bed—says the Smṛtyarthasāra. The Smṛtiratna says that one should not sleep on the same bed with a person suffering from an eye disease or with one who is an epileptic or with one suffering from fever, leprosy, tuberculosis, asthma and hiccough. The Ratnāvali (quoted in Sm. M. āhnika p. 457) requires that one should place a jar full of water at the head of the bed-stead, recite Vedic mantras for one's protection and mantras against poison and also the hymn to Night (Rg. X. 127), remember the five ancient personages well-known as sound sleepers,[1912] viz. Agasti, Mādhava, Mucakunda, Kapila and Āstīka, salute Viṣṇu and then go to sleep. Hārīta (prose) quoted in Āhnikaprakāśa p. 557 contains similar rules. Vṛddha-Hārīta (VIII. 309–310) says that an ascetic, a brahmacārī, a forest hermit and a widow should not sleep on a cot but on the ground covered over with a deer-skin or a blanket or with kuśas.

In connection with the subject of going to bed at night, a good deal is stated in the smṛtis and digests about sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Some of these rules (viz. about the proper days for intercourse) have already been stated above (pp. 204–205). Gaut. V. 1–2 and IX. 28–29, Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 16–23 lay down that a householder is to approach his wife on the proper days or he may do so at any time except on forbidden days or when the wife desires it; he is not to have intercourse during day-time or when the wife is ill, nor when she is in her courses nor should he embrace her during that period. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 19, Vas.[1913] Dh. S. XII. 24 and Yāj. I. 81 refer to the boon conferred on women by Indra according to a legend narrated in the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. When Indra killed Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he incurred the sin of brāhmaṇa murder; all beings loudly condemned him as 'brahmahan', and he went about the universe in search of sharers in his sin, of which one third was

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1912. रत्नावल्याम्। मंगल्यं पूर्णकुम्भं तु शिरःस्थाने निधाय तु। वैदिकैर्गारुडैर्मन्त्रै रक्षां कृत्वा स्वपेन्निशि॥ रात्रिसूक्तं जपेत्स्मृत्वा सर्वांश्च सुखशायिनः। नमस्कृत्वाव्ययं विष्णुं समाधिस्थः स्वपेन्निशि॥ सुखशायिनोपि गोभिलेन दर्शिताः। अगस्तिर्माधवश्चैव मुचकुन्दो महाबलः। कपिलो मुनिरास्तीकः पञ्चैते सुखशायिनः॥ स्मृतिसु. (आह्निक p. 457).

1913. अपि च काठके विज्ञायते। अपि नः श्वो विजनिष्यमाणाः पतिभिः सह शयीरन्निति स्त्रीणामिन्द्रवृत्तो वर इति। वसिष्ठ XII. 24.

taken by the earth (which secured the boon that when a pit is dug it becomes filled up in a year), one-third by trees (that got the boon that even when pruned they would grow again and the exudation from trees is the part of *brahmahatyā* that comes out of trees and the red resins exuded are therefore not to be eaten) and one third by women, who got the boon that they would conceive only during their period (of sixteen days) after the recurring occurrence of menses and that they might indulge in intercourse till the time of delivery and in the case of whom the murder is manifested every month.[1914] Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 69 puts all rules together, some of which are: A householder must avoid sexual intercourse after having been invited at a śrāddha or having partaken of dinner at it or after having given a a śrāddha dinner or after performing the initiatory ceremony of *soma* sacrifice; he must not have intercourse in a temple, in a cemetery, in an empty house or at the root of a tree, in the day time[1915] or at twilight, or with a woman older than himself or with a pregnant woman or with one who has a limb too much or is deficient in a limb. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 11. 110–123 for similar rules on the same topic. Most of the rules are eugenic or based on hygiene, though a few may be held to be only religious or superstitious. Gaut. IX. 26, Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 21–23 and II. 1. 2. 1, Manu IV. 4 and V. 144 say that after intercourse the husband and wife should take a bath or at least wash, sip water and sprinkle water over the body and should sleep on separate beds. Other writers stated different views.[1916]

Rajasvalā-dharmāḥ.

From the times of the Tai. S. rules have been laid down about the duties of a rajasvalā (a woman in her monthly illness) and about how her husband and other people are to act

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1914. स स्त्रीषंसावसुपासीदत्-अस्यै ब्रह्महत्यायै तृतीयं प्रतिगृह्णीतेति। ता अब्रुवन् वरं वृणामहा अत्वियात्प्रजां विन्दामहै काममा विजनितोः संभवामेति। तस्माद्रुत्वियात् स्त्रियः प्रजां विन्दन्ते। काममा विजनितोः संभवन्ति। ...तृतीयं ब्रह्महत्यायै प्रत्यगृह्णन्। सा मलवद्वासा अभवत् &c. । तै. सं. II. 5. 1. 4–5.

1915. प्राणं वा एते प्रस्कन्दन्ति ये दिवा रत्या संयुज्यन्ते ब्रह्मचर्यमेव तद्यद्रात्रौ रत्या संयुज्यन्ते। प्रश्नोपनिषद् I. 13.

1916. ऋतौ तु गर्भशङ्कायां स्नानं मैथुनिनः स्मृतम्। अक्षतौ तु सदा कुर्याच्छौचं मूत्रपुरीषवत्॥ द्वावेतावशुची स्यातां दम्पती शयनं गतौ। शयनादुत्थिता नारी शुचिः स्याद्वशुचिः पुमान्॥ अङ्गिरस् 52–53 and यम 16–17; ascribed to वृद्धशातातप in अपरार्क p. 105, शुद्ध. र. p. 400 and to शातातप in स्मृतिच I. p. 120.

towards her. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. it is stated[1917] 'One should not address a woman who has unclean clothes (i. e. who is in her course) nor should one sit with her, one should not eat her food for she keeps emitting the colour of brāhmaṇa murder; they say woman's food is unguent, therefore one should not accept unguent from her; but anything else at will may be accepted'. The Tai. Br. III. 7. 1 states 'Indeed half of this sacrifice is destroyed in the case of him whose wife becomes untouchable on the day on which the observances for a sacrifice commence (i. e. on the day previous to the performance); but the sacrificer should segregate her (in a different place or house) and offer the sacrifice; by so doing he worships with a sacrifice that is entire (though the wife is absent).'[1918] The adhikaraṇa in Jaimini (III. 4. 18–19) is based on these texts; Śabara's bhāṣya quotes the passage of the Tai. S. and of the Tai. Br. and the conclusion established is that these rules, though occurring in the context of the new moon and full moon sacrifices, are not restricted to those sacrifices, but are to be observed by persons generally (i. e. they are *puruṣārtha* and not *kratvartha*). The Tai. S. II. 5. 1 contains thirteen directions about a *rajasvalā* and declares what evil results follow from breaches of them. They are: there is to be no intercourse with her, nor in a forest (after she bathes), nor when she is unwilling (after bath), she should not bathe during the three days, should not bathe with oil in those days, should not arrange her hair with a comb, should not apply collyrium to her eyes, should not brush her teeth, should not pare her nails, should not spin yarn, should not make ropes, should not drink water with a vessel made of palāśa leaves or a vessel that is baked in fire (or is broken). The results of the breaches are respectively that the son (born of her) becomes suspected or charged with grave sins, a thief, shy and not bold, destined to die in water, has a skin disease,

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1917. सा मलवद्वासा अभवत्। तस्मान्मलवद्वाससा न संवदेत्। न सहासीत। नास्या अञ्जनमश्नात्। ब्रह्महत्यायै ह्येषा वर्णं प्रतिमुञ्चास्तेऽथो खल्वाहुः। अभ्यञ्जनं वाव स्त्रिया अञ्जम्। अभ्यञ्जनमेव न प्रतिगृह्णीयात्। तै. सं. II.5.1.5–6. Śabara on Jaimini III. 4.19 says that the words नास्या अञ्जनमश्नात् अभ्यञ्जनं वाव स्त्रिया अञ्जं really enjoin the prohibition of approaching her for intercourse and the Tantravārtika (p. 952) offers the interesting information that among the Lāṭas 'abhyañjana' is a synonym for 'sexual intercourse' तथा हि लाटानामभ्यञ्जनपर्यायान्तरवाच्यलक्षणमुपगमनं प्रसिद्धम्.

1918. अर्धो वा एतस्य यज्ञस्य मीयते यस्य ह्रत्येहन् पत्न्यमालम्भुका भवति। तामपहत्य यजेत। सर्वेणैव यज्ञेन यजते। तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 1. The मिता० on या. III. 45 quotes this.

has a bald head and is feeble, is squint-eyed, has dark teeth, has bad nails, is impotent, is unrestrained (or commits suicide by hanging), becomes a lunatic, or a dwarf. The Tai. S. further directs that she should observe these rules for three nights, should drink water with her hands joined together or with a plate that is not baked in fire. The Br. Up. VI. 4. 13 notes that a married woman in her courses should drink water from a vessel of bronze and should not wash her clothes, a śūdra male or female should not touch her; on the lapse of three nights she should bathe and she should be made to unhusk rice. Many of the sūtras refer to the rules contained in the Tai. S. about the *rajasvalā* (vide Āp. gṛ. 8. 12,[1919] Hir. gṛ. I. 24. 7, Bhār. gṛ. I. 20, Baud. gṛ. I. 7. 22–36, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 139). Vas. Dh. S. V. 7–9 contains the story of Indra and the boon given to women and also the rules about rajasvalā (adding that she should sleep on the ground, should not sleep by day, should not eat flesh, should not look at the planets, should not laugh). When Vas. Dh. S. V. 8. and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 16 forbid the eating of the food of a rajasvalā, what is meant is (according to the Gṛ. R. and other digests) that the food cooked for her or owned by her should not be eaten. Laghu-Hārīta 38 prescribes that a rajasvalā may eat food from her own hand used as a plate; Vṛddha-Hārīta (XI. 210–11) says the same and adds that if she be a widow, then she should not take food for three days and that one whose husband is living should have only one meal a day. Rajasvalā women were also not to touch one another. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (22. 73–74) prescribes that if a rajasvalā touches another rajasvalā of lower varṇa she should observe a fast from that time till the fourth day when she takes the purificatory bath; while if she touches another rajasvalā woman of the same varṇa or higher varṇa, she has to bathe and then take her food. More elaborate rules are laid down by Aṅgiras 48 (who prescribes pañcagavya), Atri 279–283, Āp. (verse) VII. 20–22, Bṛhad-Yama III. 64–68, Parāśara VII. 11–15. If a rajasvalā is touched by a cāṇḍāla or by any of the antyajas, or by a dog or crow, she has to be without food till she bathes on the 4th day (Aṅgiras 47, Atri 277–279, Āpastamba VII. 5–8). If a woman is suffering from fever and becomes a rajasvalā she is not to be bathed

1919. यदा मलवद्वासाः स्यात्तयैनां ब्राह्मणमतिविद्धानि कर्माणि संशास्ति यां मलवद्वाससमित्येतानि। आप. गृ. सू. 8. 12. The whole of Vas. Dh. S. V. 7–9 is quoted in गृह्य. र. pp. 406–407 and Vas. Dh. S. V. 7 is quoted by मिता. on या. III 20 and अपरार्क p. 105.

on the 4th day to purify her; her purification is to be effected by another healthy woman, who touches her and then herself bathes with her clothes on and this is done ten or twelve times and each time there is sipping of water; then the woman who is ill has her clothes removed and new ones put on and then gifts are made according to ability and she becomes pure (Uśanas quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 20). Similar verses occur in Aṅgiras 22-23. The same procedure is followed where a male who is ill is touched by a rajasvalā or for some other cause he has to undergo the purification of a bath, viz. a healthy male touches him seven or ten times and bathes after each touch, at the end of which the sickly person is to be declared to be free from the impurity (Aṅgiras 21, Parāśara VII. 19-20 quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 20). If a rajasvalā dies, then the corpse should be bathed with the five products of the cow (pañcagavya), she should be covered with another garment and then should be cremated (a verse quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 20), while Aṅgiras (42) said that the corpse should be bathed after three days and then it should be cremated. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 20 notes that, if a woman who usually has monthly periods, menstruates within seventeen days, then she has no impurity; if on the 18th, she becomes clean in one day, if on the 19th in two days and thereafter in three days. Vide Aṅgiras 43, Āpastamba (verse) VII. 2, Parāśara VII. 16-17.

So far we have described the daily duties of common men, particularly of brāhmaṇas. Manu VII. 145-147, 151-154, 216-226, Yāj. I. 327-333 and Kauṭ. I. 19 dilate upon the daily duties of the king. Kauṭ. divides day and night into eight parts each and states that in the first part of the day the king should take measures for his protection and attend to income and expenditure, in the second he should look into the causes (or disputes) of the people of the cities and villages, in the third he should bathe, study or recite the Veda and take his meals, in the fourth he should receive revenue in gold and appoint (or examine) superintendents; in the fifth he should correspond with the council of ministers, and receive the secret news brought by his spies; in the sixth he may engage in whatever amusements or sports he likes or in deliberation (on state matters); in the seventh he should review elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers; in the eighth he should consider with the help of his commander-in-chief plans of campaigns. When the day ends he should observe the evening prayer; in the first part

of the night he should see secret emissaries, in the second part of the night he may bathe, revise his studies and take supper; in the third he should lie down after the burst of trumpets and sleep in the fourth and fifth; in the 6th he should be awakened by the sound of trumpets, he should bring to his mind the dictates of śāstra and the mode of carrying them out; in the seventh he should deliberate and send out secret emissaries; in the eighth he should receive, being accompanied by his sacrificial priests, ācārya and *purohita*, benedictions and should see his physician, chief cook and astrologer and having circumambulated a cow with her calf and a bull he should go to court. Or the king may divide the parts of day time and night time according to his capacity. Other smṛtikāras differed here and there. Kātyāyana prescribed[1920] that the king should devote the three parts of the day time (divided into eight) after the first part to judicial work and if he cannot personally do it, he should appoint a judge. Yāj. (I. 327–333) mostly follows (though concisely) the routine sketched by Kauṭ. The Manusmṛti also hardly adds anything of importance to what we find in Kauṭ. It is remarkable that in the Daśakumāra-carita (ucchvāsa VIII) the author closely following the words of Kauṭilya as to the engagements of the king during the eight parts of daytime and of night also puts in the mouth of the voluptuous jester Vihārabhadra a parody of Kauṭilya's solemn dicta.[1921]

As to the āhnika of vaiśyas and śūdras no special rules are laid down in the smṛtis. They had to adjust the duties set out for brāhmaṇas to their own case according to their circumstances. A vaiśya belonged to the twice-born classes and he could do if he chose almost every thing that a brāhmaṇa could (except officiating as a priest or teaching as a profession or receiving gifts). Vide pp. 154–164 for the disabilities and the few privileges of the śūdra.

1920. Vide note 1510 above.

1921. e. g. उत्थितेन च राज्ञा क्षालिताक्षालिते मुखे मुहूर्तमर्धमुहूर्तं वाभ्यन्तरीकृत्य मन्त्रः प्रथमेऽह्नि वा भागे श्रोतव्यम्। ..... द्वितीयेऽभ्योन्यविघट्टमानानां जनानामाक्रोशाद् वृद्धमानकर्णः कथं जीवति। ..... तृतीये स्नातुं भोक्तुं च लभते।...चतुर्थे हिरण्यमतिग्रहाय हस्तं प्रसारयञ्जेवोत्तिष्ठति। ..... वृहत्कुमारचरित VIII.

CHAPTER XXIII

UPĀKARMA OR UPĀKARAṆA AND UTSARJANA OR UTSARGA.

Upākarma or *Upākaraṇa* means 'opening, starting or beginning' (upakrama as the Mit. on Yāj. I, 142 says) and Utsarjana or Utsarga (in Āśv. gṛ. III. 5. 13) means 'the cessation of Vedic studies for a certain period in the year.' Āp. gṛ. VIII. 1 and Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 2 employ the word 'samāpana' for utsarjana. In former times these two rites were performed on different dates and in different months, but with the decline of vedic studies in medieval times they came to be performed one after another on the same day. In several sūtras the first of these two is spoken of as adhyāyopākaraṇa (as in Āśv. gṛ. III. 5. 1.) or adhyāyopākarma (in Pār. gṛ. II. 10, Vas. Dh. S. 13. 1). In this case adhyāya means 'study of the Veda' or it may mean Veda itself because it is studied (pre-eminently). Therefore the rite which signalises the opening of the session for Vedic study in the year is itself called upākarma.[1922] In Gaut. 16. 1 the rite of *upākarma* is called *vārṣika* either because it took place in varṣā (the rainy season) or because it took place once a year (from varṣa, a year). The Āśv. gṛ. III. 5. 19 also states that this rite is called vārṣika.

The time for upākarma is variously stated in the sūtras. The Āśv. gṛ. III. 5. 2–3 states 'when the herbs appear, when the moon is in conjunction with the constellation of Śravaṇa, in the month of Śrāvaṇa or on the 5th (tithi) of Śrāvaṇa when the moon is in the Hasta nakṣatra.'[1923] The

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1922. अध्ययनमध्यायस्तस्योपाकरणं प्रारम्भो येन कर्मणा तदध्यायोपाकरणम् नारायण on आश्व. गृ. III. 5. 1; 'अधीयन्ते इत्यध्याया वेदास्तेषामुपाकर्म उपक्रममो षधीनां प्रादुर्भावे' मिता. on या. I. 142.

1923. ओषधीनां प्रादुर्भावे श्रवणेन श्रावण्यः। पञ्चम्यां हस्तेन वा। आश्व. गृ. III. 5. 1–2; ओषधीनां प्रादुर्भावे श्रवणेन श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां श्रावणस्य पञ्चमीं हस्तेन वा। पार. गृ. II. 10; प्रौष्ठपदीं हस्तेनाध्यायानुपाकुर्युः। श्रावणीमित्येके। खादिरगृ. III. 2. 14–15; प्रौष्ठपदीं हस्तेनोपाकरणम्। ...श्रवणामेक उपाकृत्यैतमा सावित्रात्कालं काङ्क्षन्ते। गोभिलगृ. III. 3. 1 and 13; अथातः स्वाध्यायोपाकर्म श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां प्रौष्ठपद्यां वा। वसिष्ठ 13. 1; हुताशकृतिरुपाकर्म। श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां क्रियेतापि वा आषाढ्याम्। बौ. गृ. III. 1. 1–2; श्रावणपक्षे ओषधीषु जातासु हस्तेन पौर्णमास्यां वाध्यायोपाकर्म। हिरण्य. गृ. II. 18. 2.

Pār. gṛ. II. 10 says 'when the herbs appear, when the moon is in conjunction with Śravaṇa on the full moon day in the month of Śrāvaṇa or on the fifth of the month of Śrāvaṇa when the moon is in Hasta.' Gaut. 16. 1 and Vas. Dh. S. 13, 1 require that it should be performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada. The Khādira gṛ. (III. 2. 14-15) and Gobhila III. 3. 1 and 13 ordain that Upākarma should be performed on the full moon day of Bhādrapada or under the constellation of Hasta in that month or according to some on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa. The Baud. gṛ. III. 1. 2 prescribes that Upākarma may be done on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Āṣāḍha. The Hir. gṛ. (II. 18. 2, S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 241) says 'during the fortnight (at the end of which) the full moon of Śrāvaṇa occurs, when the herbs have sprouted forth, the ceremony for the opening of the annual Veda study (should be performed) under the Hasta constellation or on the full moon day'. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 1 speaks only of the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa as the time for the performance of the Upākarma rite. Manu. IV. 95 prescribes the full moon of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada as the time for upākarma. Yāj. I. 142 provides three times viz. on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa or on a day (in Śrāvaṇa) when the moon is in conjunction with the Śravaṇa nakṣatra or on the 5th tithi of Śrāvaṇa if the moon is in conjunction with Hasta. The Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 14. 60-61) holds that Upākarma should be performed on the full moon day of either Śrāvaṇa, Āṣāḍha or Brādrapada. In this rather bewildering variety of opinions commentators like the Mit. prescribed that one should follow one's gṛhyasūtra.[1924] This means (as stated by Medhātithi on Manu IV. 95) that the full moon of Bhādrapada being mentioned by Gobhila gṛ. and Khādira gṛ. *Chandogas* (students of the Sāmaveda) should perform upākarma on that day; but as Āp. Dh. S. speaks only of the full moon of Srāvaṇa, the followers of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda should perform upākarma only that day. When there is no rain and so no herbs appear in Śrāvaṇa or when that day is inauspicious owing to an eclipse or the like, Upākarma may be performed on the full moon day of Bhādrapada by those whose gṛhya sūtra allows

1924. अत्र स्वस्वगृह्यानुसारेण व्यवस्थेति साधारणनिर्णयः। तत्रापि श्रवणशालिनां श्रवणे अपि। पशुःशालिनां पौर्णमास्याम्। तत्रापि तैत्तिरीयाणामौदयिके पर्वणि इतरेषां तु पूर्वचित्ते पर्वणि सामगानां तु हस्ते। अयं च निर्णयः श्रवणादिमाधान्यनिर्देशाद्वगम्यते। असति बहुसंक्राम्यादिरूपप्रतिबन्धे श्रावणे मास्येव। मदनपारिजात p. 85.

the option of two months or on the fifth of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa. But if both days of the full moon in the two months are inauspicious, then Upākarma should be performed on the full moon of Śrāvaṇa. As the Baud. gṛ. refers to the full moon of Āṣāḍha, the followers of the Black Yājurveda may perform upākarma on Āṣāḍha full moon, if the full moon of Śrāvaṇa is not available. But the students of the Ṛgveda cannot do so, since no sūtra of the Ṛgveda speaks of Āṣāḍha as an optional month. Ṛgvedins have to prefer Śravaṇa nakṣatra (so that they may perform upākarma on the 14th or 15th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa); the followers of the Yajurveda (Śukla) must perform it on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa when the moon is in Śravaṇa nakṣatra, but if the moon is not so, then they have to prefer the full moon day. The students of the Taittirīya śākhā also have to follow this last course. The followers of the Sāmaveda should prefer Hasta. Vide Sam. Pr. pp. 497–498, Sm. M. pp. 32–33, Nirṇ. pp. 114–120. Some interpreted Yāj. I. 142 in such a way as to yield four times for upākarma, viz. the full moon of Śrāvaṇa, the day in Śrāvaṇa on which the moon is in conjunction with Śravaṇa nakṣatra (this may sometimes be the 14th tithi of the bright half), or on the 15th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa or on that day in Śrāvaṇa when the moon is in Hasta. Why so much importance was attached to the month of Śrāvaṇa and to the constellation of Śravaṇa as the season for starting Veda study is obscure. It is possible that that month was originally chosen as owing to showers of rain it is pleasantly cool, there is more leisure and staying inside the house in that month for brāhmaṇas than in other months of the year and then Nature is at its best. The month of Śrāvaṇa being fixed upon, the best day therein would be the full moon (Soma in another sense being the king of brāhmaṇas). If any other day in Śrāvaṇa was to be chosen then the day on which the moon was in Hasta would be the best, which would ordinarily be the 5th of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa). As the Paurṇamāsī of that month was called Śrāvaṇī owing to the moon's conjunction with the Śravaṇa naksatra (which conjunction usually takes place on that day) the Śravaṇa nakṣatra came to be associated with the starting of the annual session of Vedic studies. But that the Śravaṇa nakṣatra by itself had no direct connection with upākarma is clear from the fact that several sūtras do not mention it at all. The Gobhila and Khādira gṛ. do not accept the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa (but of Bhādrapada and the Hasta nakṣatra) as the proper time for upākarma.

Oldenberg in his note on Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 5. 2 'when the herbs appear, under the nakṣatra Hasta or Śravaṇa' (S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 112) remarks 'the nakṣatra Śravaṇa is evidently considered as particularly fit for this occasion because of its name containing an allusion to *śruti*'. But this conjecture has no plausibility. Hardly any ancient writer makes the suggestion that Śravaṇa and Śruti are brought together on account of the root 'śru'. The presiding deity of Hasta is Savitṛ. Owing to the supreme importance given to the Gāyatrī verse (of which Savitṛ is the deity) and to the fact that Veda study begins with the recitation of the Gāyatrī, the nakṣatra Hasta would be closely connected with the starting of Veda study. As a matter of fact the Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 5. 2 mentions Hasta first and then Śravaṇa; the Hir. gṛ. does not name the Śravaṇa nakṣatra at all, but names Hasta in this connection; while the Āśv. gṛ., Pār. gṛ. and several others mention both Śravaṇa and Hasta.

Upākarma is to be done in the morning. If for part of the day, the moon is in conjunction with Uttarāṣāḍhā and then with Śravaṇa that day is not to be chosen for upākarma, but the next day is to be chosen on which the moon is in conjunction with Śravaṇa and Dhaniṣṭhā. Later writers introduced further complications about the zodiacal sign (*rāśi*) in which the Sun would be at the time. Garga required that upākarma must be performed during the days when the Sun was in the sign of Leo by the followers of the Sāmaveda and by those who are to the north of the Narmadā river. There is no upākarma in the intercalary month of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada except for the followers of the Sāmaveda who must perform it in the intercalary month. When upākarma is to be done for the first time after a boy's upanayana, the planets Jupiter and Venus must not be in the position of *asta* (i. e. invisibility owing to their being too near the sun).

Upākarma is to be done by brahmacārins, by householders and also by vānaprasthas (forest hermits). The teacher does it in the company of his pupils whether they be brahmacārins or not and performs the homa in his own gṛhya fire, as the Pār. gṛ. II. 10 says. Karka the com. of Pār. gṛ. states that if the ācārya has no pupils then he has no *adhikāra* (right or eligibility) to perform the upākarma in the gṛhya fire, while Harihara says that the practice of performing upākarma in the ordinary

domestic fire in the company of a Veda student is based on no authority, but is a mere usage.[1925]

The procedure of upākarma is set out as follows[1926] in the Āśv. gṛ. (III. 5. 4-12): 'having sacrificed the two *ājyabhāgas*[1927] (portions of clarified butter), he should offer oblations of *ājya* to the following deities, viz. Sāvitrī, Brahmā, Śraddhā, Medhā, Prajñā, Dhāraṇā (memory), Sadasaspati, Anumati, Chandases (metres) and Ṛṣis (sages). Then he sacrifices saktu (barley flour) mixed with curds to the accompaniment of the following mantras; the one verse 'I praise Agni, the purohita' (Ṛg. I. 1. 1),[1928] and 'the Kuśumbhaka has said it' (Ṛg. I. 191. 16), 'O bird, when crying announce welfare to us' (Ṛg. II. 43. 3), 'Sung by Jamadagni' (Ṛg. III. 62. 18), 'In thy abode the whole world rests' (Ṛg. IV. 58. 11), 'you (Maruts) that deserve sacrifice, come to our sacrifice' (Ṛg. V. 87. 9), 'whosoever whether ours or a stranger (Ṛg. VI. 75. 19), 'look towards us, look in various directions' (Ṛg. VII. 104. 25), 'Come here, O Agni, the friend of the Maruts' (Ṛg. VIII. 103. 14), 'O king, the oblation that is cooked for thee' (Ṛg. IX. 114. 4),—each time two verses; the one verse 'one is our intention' (Ṛg. X. 191. 4); the one verse 'we choose that blessing and boon.' When he is about to study the Veda he should, while the pupils (i. e. those who are to be taught the Veda) join him (lit. take hold of him), sacrifice

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1925. सर्वेऽनुपठेयुः। ..... स यावन्तं गणमिच्छेत्तावतस्तिलानाकर्षफलकेन जुहुयात्। पार. गृ. II. 10; श्रवणे स्याद्युपाकर्म हस्ते वा श्रावणस्य तु। नो चेद्भाद्रपदे वापि कुर्याच्छ्रव्यैर्गुरुः सह॥ लघ्वाश्व. 12. 1; इदं च शिष्यानध्यापयत आचार्यस्यैव, अनध्यापयतो नाधिकार इति कर्कः। निर्णय. p. 119; अतो अध्यापयतो निरग्नेः साग्नेरपि अनध्यापयतो नाधिकारः। यत्तु लोके ब्रह्मचारिणं पुरस्कृत्य उपाकर्म प्रवर्तते लौकिकाग्नौ तस्याचारं विहाय न मूलं दृश्यते। हरिहर on पार. गृ. II. 10.

1926. Vide Appendix for the text.

1927. The Ājyabhāgas have been explained at Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 13-15. Vide *f. n.* 483 above.

1928. It will be noticed that the first and the last verses of each of the ten *maṇḍalas* of the Ṛgveda are repeated in making these oblations of barley mixed with curds. The verse 'tacchamyor-āvṛṇīmahe' is the last verse of the Bāṣkala recension of the Ṛgveda. Those who studied the Bāṣkala śākhā were to recite this last verse instead of Ṛg. I. 191. 4. Both Nārāyaṇa and Haradatta point this out and the former remarks 'शाकलसमाम्नायस्य बाष्कलसमाम्नायस्य चेदमेव सूक्तं सूक्तं चेत्यध्येतृप्रसिद्ध्यर्थम्।'. The Bāṣkalaśākhā contained 8 hymns more than the Śākalaśākhā.

to those deities,[1929] then offer an oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt and partake of the barley mixed with curds and then follows cleaning.[1930] Sitting down to the west of the fire on darbha grass, the ends of which are turned towards the east, he should dip darbha blades into a water pot, he (the ācārya) should join his hands in the brahmāñjali[1931] form and then recite (together with his pupils, if any) the following : the three vyāhṛtis preceded by *om*, these and the Sāvitrī verse (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) he should repeat thrice and then the beginning of the Ṛgveda (either one hymn or an anuvāka).

In the other gṛhya sūtras there is a good deal of divergence as to the mantras, the deities and the materials offered as oblations. Pār. gṛ. II. 10 says that the two ājya portions are offered and then oblations of ājya are to be made to the earth and fire if the Ṛgveda is to be studied, to the Airy region and to Vāyu if the Yajurveda, to the Heaven and the Sun if the Sāmaveda, to the quarters and the moon if the Atharvaveda and oblations are also offered to Brahmā, to the Chandases (metres) in all cases, and to Prajāpati, to the gods, to the Ṛṣis, to Śraddhā, to Medhā, to Sadasaspati, to Anumati. Then Pār. gṛ. (II. 10) proceeds "with the verse 'Sadaspatim' (Vāj. S. 32. 13 = Ṛg. I. 18. 6) the teacher three times sacrifices fried grains. All (pupils) should repeat the verse after him. After each oblation they should each time put on the fire three pieces of udumbara wood that are fresh branches with leaves, anointed with ghee, reciting the Sāvitrī. And the pupils should put on samidhs in the manner stated above (Pār. gṛ. II. 4). With the verse 'Śaṁ no bhavantu' (Vāj. S. 9. 16) they should gulp down the fried grains without chewing them under the teeth. With the verse 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Vāj. S. 23. 32) they should eat curds. Whatever number of pupils he wishes to obtain so many sesame

1929. 'Those deities'—Nārāyaṇa explains that these words refer to the deities (Sāvitrī and others) enumerated above and the 20 deities of the 20 verses (at the beginning and end of the ten *maṇḍalas* of the Ṛgveda).

1930. 'Cleaning' (mārjana) is explained in Āśv. Sr. I. 8. 2. नारायण quotes 'परिस्तरणैरञ्जलिमन्तर्धायाप आसेचयते तन्मार्जनम्' (आश्व. श्रौ. I. 8. 2)—when he holds between his joined hands the kuśa grass spread round the fire altar and has water sprinkled over himself, that is mārjana.

1931. 'Brahmāñjali'—is defined by Manu II. 71 as संहत्य हस्तावध्येयं स हि ब्रह्माञ्जलिः स्मृतः—(i. e. joining the hands together, so that they look like a bud.)

grains should the ācārya sacrifice by means of a dice board [1932] with the Sāvitrī or with the *anuvāka* (Vāj. S. 17. 80-86). After they (the pupils) have eaten (the remainder) the teacher should pronounce the word *om* and then repeat the Sāvitrī three times and the beginnings of the adhyāyas to the students who are seated facing the east. All repeat "may it be ours in common; may it bless us in common; may this Brahman be powerful with us together. Indra knows that through which and in which no hatred may spring up among us."

The Āp. gṛ. (VIII. 1-2) is very brief and states that at the opening and concluding rites of Vedic study that Ṛṣi who is indicated as the Ṛṣi of the Kāṇḍa (section of the Tai. S.) to be studied is the deity to whom the rite belongs and in the second place Sadasaspati is the deity. Sudarśanācārya explains [1933] these two sūtras at great length. Briefly what he means is : the commencement (upākarma) of the study of the whole Veda (Black Yajurveda) is to be done on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa, tarpaṇa is to be done for nine Ṛṣis and nine oblations of *ājya* are to be offered to these nine, the ninth being offered with the verse 'sadasaspatim' (Ṛg. I. 18. 6 = Āp. M. P. I. 9. 8). But when a Kāṇḍa is to be begun that is another upākarma and a homa is to be performed in respect of it also.

Gradually many accretions were made to the simple upākarma rite given in the Āśv. gṛ. and other gṛhya sūtras. In modern times upākarma is a most elaborate matter. That of Ṛgvedins may be briefly described here: After ācamana, prāṇāyāma and reference to time and place, a *saṅkalpa* is made

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1932. जयराम and हरिहर explain आकर्षफलकेन as 'औदुम्बरेण बाहुमात्रेण सर्पाकृतिना'.

1933. The तर्पण of nine Ṛṣis according to सुदर्शनाचार्य in the अध्यायोपाकरण would be प्रजापतिं काण्डऋषिं तर्पयामि। सोमं काण्डऋषिं तर्पयामि। अग्निं... तर्पयामि। विश्वान्देवान्काण्डऋषींस्तर्पयामि। सांहितीर्देवता उपनिषदस्तर्पयामि। याज्ञिकीर्देवता उपनिषदस्तर्पयामि। वारुणीर्देवता उपनिषदस्तर्पयामि। ब्रह्माणं स्वयंभुवं तर्पयामि। सदसस्पतिं तर्पयामि। and the nine āhutis will be offered to these as प्रजापतये काण्डऋषये स्वाहा। सोमाय...स्वाहा। अग्नये...स्वाहा। विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः काण्डऋषिभ्यः स्वाहा। सांहितीभ्यो देवताभ्य उपनिषद्भ्यः स्वाहा। याज्ञिकीभ्यो...स्वाहा। वारुणीभ्यो...स्वाहा। ब्रह्मणे स्वयंभुवे स्वाहा। सदसस्पतये स्वाहा। प्रजापति, सोम, अग्नि and विश्वेदेवाः are the principal देवताs and the other four are subordinate; so in काण्डोपाकरण oblations are offered to the first four, then to the devatā of the particular kāṇḍa begun (either सांहिती or याज्ञिकी or वारुणी or ब्रह्म) and lastly to Sadasaspati. In उपाकरण, सदसस्पति takes the place of स्विष्टकृत् according to Sudarśana.

as stated [1934] below, then follow worship of Gaṇapati, the preparation of the altar and fire (as described before for *homa* in general); then nine āhutis of clarified butter are made to the nine deities Sāvitrī (as in Āśv. gṛ. above), then offerings of barley flour mixed with curds are made to twenty deities with the first [1935] and last verses of each of the ten maṇḍalas of the Ṛgveda viz. to Agni, Aptṛṇasūrya (plural), Agni, Śakunta, Agni, Mitrāvaruṇa (dual), Agni, Āpaḥ (waters), Agni, Maruts, Agni, Viśve Devas, Agni, Indrāsoma (dual), Indra, Agnāmarutaḥ, Pavamānasoma, Pavamānasoma, Agni, Saṁjñāna. Then the remains of barley and curds are offered to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. Then the persons engaged in upākarma should partake of the remains of barley mixed with curds after repeating the verse 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6). Then *ācamana* and *mārjana* are performed, then homa of a yajñopavīta in fire, then giving of yajñopavīta and dakṣiṇās to brāhmaṇas and wearing new yajñopavīta oneself (which consists in its abhimantraṇa with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3 and several mantras beginning with 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ', Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1-2 and Tai. Br. I. 4. 8), after symbolical nyāsa (deposit) of oṁkāra, Agni, Nāgas, Soma, Pitṛs, Prajāpati, Vāyu, Sūrya and Viśve Devas on the nine *tantus* (strands) of the yajñopavīta, then *japa* of ten Gāyatrī verses for each of the yajñopavītas intended to be worn, then presenting the yajñopavīta to the Sun with the three verses 'udyan-nadya' (Ṛg. I. 50. 11-13), clapping the hands thrice, then repeating the mantra 'yajñopavītam paramam &c.' (vide *f. n.* 662 above) and then putting on the yajñopavīta, then ācamana, casting away the old yajñopavīta in water, prāṇāyāma, then repeating three verses 'pṛthvī tvayā &c.', then repeating the words 'Vidyudasi vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtātsatyam-upaimi' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 9), then placing one's folded hands with darbha blades between on one's right knee, to repeat

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1934. समाध्याप्यानां चाधीतानामध्येष्यमाणानां च छन्दसां यातयामतानिरासेनाप्यायनद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमेभिर्ब्राह्मणैः सहोपाकर्माख्यं कर्म करिष्ये। In modern उत्सर्जन there is a similar सङ्कल्प (omitting अध्येष्यमाणानां) 'समा ..... तानां छन्दआवृणां ..... ब्राह्मणैः सहान्तरितमुत्सर्जनाख्यं कर्म करिष्ये'.

1935. The method of offering these oblations is first to mention the sage, the deity and metre of the verse and then to state the purpose of its employment in the rite, then to repeat the whole verse preceded by *om* and followed by svāhā and then to put the oblation on to fire, e.g. अग्निमीळे पैश्वामित्रो मधुच्छन्दा अग्निर्गायत्री। उपाकर्मप्रधानदधिसक्तुहोमे विनियोगः। ओं अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम्। होतारं रत्नधातमम्। स्वाहा। अग्नय इदं न मम।

and make others repeat ' om ', vyāhṛtis and Gāyatrī thrice, then brahmayajña and then saying ' upākṛtā vai vedāḥ ' (the study of the Vedas has been begun), then the ācārya finishes the rest of the rite such as prāyaścitta, then all resolve to feed brāhmaṇas and give dakṣiṇā according to ability. The ācārya takes leave of the fire, bows to Viṣṇu and sips water twice.

The gṛhyasūtras prescribe a holiday (anadhyāya) after the performance of upākarma, though the duration varies. Pār. gṛ. II. 10 prescribes that he should not study the Veda for three days and nights and should not clip his nails or shave for that period and points out that some said that he should not clip nails or hair till the date of utsarjana (i. e. for 5 months and a half). Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 5. 17 (=Manu IV. 119) prescribes an *anadhyāya* (holiday) for three nights on upākarma and utsarga. Gobhila gṛ. (III. 3. 9 and 11) says that there is no study on the upākarma day performed on Hasta nakṣatra and that according to some teachers for three days before it and after it. The Bhār. gṛ. III. 8 enjoins that after upākarma there should be a holiday of three days or one day and for one month thereafter one should not study the Veda in the evening (i. e. the first watch after sunset).

Utsarjana:—About the time of *utsarjana* also there was divergence of view. The Baud. gṛ. (I. 5. 163) prescribes that it may be performed on the full moon day of Pauṣa or Māgha. Āśv.gṛ.(III.5.14) requires Veda study after upākarma for six months and so if the upākarma was performed on the new moon of Śrāvaṇa the utsarjana according to it would be on the full moon of Māgha (vide III. 5. 20 also). The Pār. gṛ. II. 11 states that after having studied the Veda for five months and a half or for six months and a half they (teacher and pupils) should perform utsarga (i. e. the rite of closing the course of Vedic study). These periods are only approximate, since Pār. gṛ. II. 12 further on says that utsarjana should be performed in the month of Pauṣa when the moon is in the Rohiṇī nakṣatra (i. e. about the eleventh of the bright half) or in middle Aṣṭakā (i. e. 8th of the dark half of Pauṣa). The Gobhila gṛ. III. 3. 14 says that utsarga is performed on the full moon of Taiṣa (i. e. Pauṣa), while the Khādira gṛ. III. 2. 24 says that having studied the Veda for four months and a half they close the session on the full moon day of Pauṣa. The Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 6. 1 holds that utsarjana should be performed on the first day of the bright half of Māgha; Yāj. I. 143 follows Pār. gṛ. II. 12 by saying that

utsarga takes place in Pauṣa on the Rohiṇī nakṣatra or on the 8th of the dark half, while Manu (IV. 95–96) says that after studying Veda for four months and a half from upākarma, utsarga should take place when the moon is in the Puṣya nakṣatra thereafter or on the first day of the bright half of Māgha. The Mānava gṛ. I. 4. 7 says that Veda study is stopped $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 or $5\frac{1}{2}$ months after upākarma. These several periods ($4\frac{1}{2}$ months, or $5\frac{1}{2}$ months or $6\frac{1}{2}$ months) and the various dates of utsarga in Pauṣa or Māgha were due to the fact that upākarma may take place on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada (or even Āṣāḍha) or on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa or on Hasta in Bhādrapada or Śrāvaṇa.

The Āśv. gṛ. III. 5. 13 extends the procedure of upākarma to utsarga and adds (III. 5. 20–22) that offerings of boiled rice are made to the same deities instead of clarified butter, then they take a bath and perform tarpaṇa of those very deities and of ācāryas, ṛṣis and pitṛs (as in brahmayajña). Nārāyaṇa states that in utsarjana there is no eating (of barley[1936] with curds) as there is in upākarma nor mārjana. Pār. gṛ. II. 12 gives the procedure of utsarjana as follows: "They (teacher and pupils) should go to the brink of water (a river &c.) and offer oblations of water (i. e. tarpaṇa) to the gods, to the metres, to the Vedas, ṛṣis, the ancient teachers, the Gandharvas, the other teachers, the year with its divisions, the Pitṛs, ācāryas, their (deceased) relatives. After having rapidly recited the Sāvitrī four times, they should utter loudly ' we have stopped (Vedic study).' There is anadhyāya in utsarjana for the same period as on upākarma and they should then continue the repetition (of the Veda) as before ". The Gobhila gṛ. III. 3. 15 says about utsarjana ' they go out of the village turning their faces to the east or north, they should approach water that is deeper than their waist, should bathe therein and should offer tarpaṇa to the vedas, ṛṣis and ācāryas.' A holiday was observed on the day of utsarjana for a day and half (pakṣiṇī) or three days after it (Manu IV. 97, Yāj. I. 144).

1936. तथोत्सर्गे। षण्मासानधीयीत। ..... मध्यमाष्टकायामेताभ्यो देवताभ्योऽन्नेन हुत्वाऽपोऽभ्यवयन्ति एता एव देवतास्तर्पयन्ति। आचार्यानृषीन् पितॄंश्च। एतदुत्सर्जनम्। आश्व. गृ. III. 5. 13–14, 20–23 ; पौष्यस्य रोहिण्यां मघयामायां वाऽष्टकायामघयायामुत्सृजेरन्नुदक्तां गत्वाग्निर्देवांश्छन्दांसि वेदानृषीन् पुराणाचार्यान् गन्धर्वानितराचार्यान् संवत्सरं च सावयवं पितॄनाचार्यान् स्वांश्च तर्पयेयुः सावित्रीं चतुरावृत्य विरताः स्म इति प्रब्रूयुः क्षपणं प्रवचनं च पूर्ववत्। पार. गृ. II. 12.

To give up Veda study for several months altogether was probably found undesirable. Therefore Manu IV. 98, Vas. Dh. S, 13. 6–7, Auśanasa (p. 515) and others prescribe that after utsarjana the Vedas should be studied till the next upākarma during the bright fortnights of the remaining months and the Vedāṅgas at one's will or in the dark fortnights. The Gobhila smṛti III. 134 says that after Dakṣiṇāyana (sun's passage in the southern celestial hemisphere) for six months one should not study the Upaniṣads and Rahasya texts. It appears that gradually the rite of utsarga in Pauṣa or Māgha came to be discontinued. Aṣṭāvakra[1937] on Mānavagṛhya I. 5. 1 deplores that in his day hardly any one was found to celebrate utsarga on the day specified by the sūtrakāra, that he was powerless to do anything or to upbraid any one but that he would only describe what the śāstra prescribed. Similarly the Smṛtyarthasāra, after describing the procedure of utsarjana, remarks (p. 11) 'after studying the Veda for a year utsarjana may be performed on the day of upākarma or may not be so performed'. Gobhila-Smṛti (III. 128–129, quoted in Sm. C. I p. 55) says 'when *dvijas* perform every year upākarma together with utsarjana according to the prescribed procedure, that results in the growth of the Vedas (Vedic study). Whatever act is performed even in sport by brāhmaṇas whose vedas have not grown stale, that act becomes successful.' Vide Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 5. 16 to the same effect. It is on account of this idea that in the *saṅkalpa* the expression 'yāta-yāmatānirāsena' (by removing staleness) occurs. In modern times utsarjana is performed on the same day as upākarma, but precedes the latter. These two together being generally performed in Śrāvaṇa either on the full moon or on Śravaṇa nakṣatra or on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa are designated by the word Śrāvaṇī.

The modern utsarjana of Ṛgvedins may be briefly described here: after ācamana, putting on a pavitra (a loop or ring) of darbhas (on the finger called anāmikā), prāṇāyāma, mentioning the time and place, a saṅkalpa (as set out above) is made; then pañcagavya is taken in by all; then the worship of Gaṇapati, then preparation of an altar for utsarjana homa is made, fire is invited with the verses 'juṣṭo damūnā' (Ṛg. V. 4. 5) and 'ehyagna' (Ṛg. I.

1937. यदा तु तस्मिन्काले न केचनोत्सर्गमनुतिष्ठन्तो दृश्यन्ते तदा किं कुर्मः कमुपालभेमहि । शास्त्रार्थस्तावद्यथास्माभिर्वर्णितः । अष्टावक्र on मानवगृह्य I. 5. 1; '...सह शिष्यैर्ग्रामाद्बहिर्जलान्त उत्सर्जनं कार्यं तर्पणं च । वर्षं चाधीत्योपाकर्मदिन उत्सर्जनं कार्यं न वा । तर्पणं कार्यमेव । स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 11.

76. 2), then the fire called *balavardhana* is established on the sthaṇḍila, then contemplation of fire with the verse 'catvāri śṛṅgā' (Ṛg. IV. 58. 3) and several *paurāṇika* verses ; then two samidhs are placed over the fire, then oblations of clarified butter are offered to the deities, Sāvitrī &c. (specified in upākarma above) and of boiled rice to 20 deities, Agni &c. (vide p. 814 above), then the rest is offered to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, then ācamana, prāṇāyāma, then brahmayajña is performed, then he should say 'vṛṣṭir-asi vṛśca me pāpmānam-ṛtāt-satyam-upāgām' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 9); then all should say 'utsṛṣṭā vai vedāḥ' (the study of veda has been stopped); then clarified butter is offered into fire by way of prāyaścitta with the verses 'ayāścāgne' (Ap. M. P. I. 5. 18), 'ato devā' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16), 'idam viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17); then offering to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Prajāpati respectively with the vyāhṛtis separately and together, then offering with the verses 'anājñātam' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 11), 'puruṣa-sammito' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 11), 'yat[1]pākatrā' (Ṛg. X. 2. 5), 'yad vo devā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 11); then follows sarvaprāyaścitta with om and the vyāhṛtis; then mārjana (purification) with the verses 'āpo asmān mātaraḥ' (Ṛg. X. 17. 10), 'idamāpaḥ pravahata' (Ṛg. I. 23. 22), 'sumitrā na āpa' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 2-3); then he should think of the Ganges and other holy rivers; then he should honour Agni with the four verses 'Agne tvam no' (Ṛg. V. 24. 1-4) and offer the *upacāras* of sandal-wood paste, flowers &c.; then he should take holy ashes from the homa fire with the mantra 'mānastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8) and apply the ashes to his forehead, throat, navel, right and left arms and head; then pray Agni to bestow śraddhā (faith), medhā (intelligence) &c. and then wind up the utsarjana with the words quoted below.[1938]

1938. अनेन उत्सर्जनहोमाख्येन कर्मणा भगवान् श्रीपरमेश्वरः प्रीयतां न मम। ओं तत्सद् ब्रह्मार्पणमस्तु।

CHAPTER XXIV

MINOR GṚHYA AND OTHER RITES

The gṛhyasūtras speak of certain other rites performed on certain fixed days in the year. Most of them have ceased to be performed in modern times, though vestiges of some of them appear even now. Gautama (VIII. 19) enumerates the seven pākayajñasaṁsthās among his forty saṁskāras. Out of these seven pākayajñas, aṣṭakā, pārvaṇa and śrāddha will be dealt with under śrāddha later on. The seven haviryajñas and the seven somasaṁsthās will be treated of in the note on Śrauta. A few of the other rites are briefly described below.

Pārvaṇa sthālīpāka:—Among the seven pākayājñasaṁsthās mentioned by Gaut. (VIII. 19) is the pārvaṇa sthālīpāka. When a person is married and returns to his house after marriage he causes the newly married bride to sacrifice a mess of cooked food. The wife husks the rice grains of which that sthālīpāka is prepared. She cooks the mess, sprinkles *ājya* on it, takes it from the fire. Then he sacrifices to the deities of the Vedic Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa and then to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. With the remnants of the cooked food he feeds a learned brāhmaṇa and makes the present of a bull to that brāhmaṇa. From that time the householder constantly sacrifices on the days of the full moon and of the new moon a similar mess of cooked food sacred to Agni. In the case of one who has not kindled the three Vedic fires, the sthālīpāka is meant for Agni (it is Āgneya). In the case of an householder who keeps the three Vedic fires the sthālīpāka at Full moon is Agnīṣomīya and Aindra or Māhendra or Aindrāgna on the New moon day (Khādira gṛ. II. 2. 1-3, Āśv. Śr. I. 3. 8-12). Both the householder and his wife fast on the days of the full and new moon or they eat only once in the morning on those days (Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 1. 4-5, Āśv. gṛ. I. 10. 2). This is briefly the pārvaṇa sthālīpāka. It is begun on the first full moon day after marriage and is continued throughout the lives of the husband and wife. In the sthālīpākas performed throughout life on the full moon and new moon there is no dakṣiṇā (of a bull).[1939] Vide for details

1939. एवमत ऊर्ध्वं दक्षिणावर्जमुपोषिताभ्यां पर्वसु कार्यः। आप. गृ. 7. 17.

Āśv. gṛ. I. 10 and Āp. gṛ. 7. 1–19 (among the sūtras) and Saṁskāra-kaustubha pp. 823 ff and Saṁskāraprakāśa pp. 904–906 among later digests.

Caitrī:—According to Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 19 the caitrī rite is the same as śūlagava, known as Īśānabali to the students of the Āpastamba sūtra (Āp. gṛ. 19, 13 ff.) and this rite called Caitrī was performed on the full moon day of the month of Caitra. In the Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 19 it is said that this rite takes place on the full moon day of Caitra and there is a brief description of it which is rather obscure (vide S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 132). The Vaik. IV. 8 describes it as follows: On the full moon day of Caitra the house is cleaned and decorated; the husband and wife deck themselves in new garments (lower and upper) and with flowers etc.; after two āghāras[1940] are made in fire and rice is cooked in a vessel for the deities, offerings are made of clarified butter, with the mantras 'gṛīṣmo hemanta' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 4) 'ūrṇam me pūryatām,' 'śriye jātaḥ' (Ṛg. IX. 94. 4), 'Vaiṣṇavam' (Tai. S. I. 2, 13. 3) and having offered oblations of boiled rice mixed with ghee to Madhu,[1941] Mādhava, Śukra, Śuci, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Īsa, Ūrja, Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas, Tapasya, to the deities of Ṛtus, to herbs, to the lords of herbs, to Śrī (goddess of wealth), to the lord of Śrī, to Viṣṇu; having worshipped to the west of the fire the goddess Śrī and the god Śrīpati whose face is turned eastwards, he announces the *havis* (sacrificial food) and having served to the recitation of the hymn to *anna* (food) the brāhmaṇas with cooked *caitrya* food he should himself eat in the company of his sapiṇḍas.

Sītāyajña (sacrifice to ploughed land):—In the Gobhila gṛ. IV. 4. 27 there[1942] is a brief description of the sacrifice performed at the time of ploughing by one who kept the smārta or aupāsana fire: 'on an auspicious constellation he should cook a mess of sacrificial food and should offer oblations to the following deities, viz. Indra, Maruts, Parjanya (rains), Aśani (thunderbolt), Bhaga. And he should also offer (clarified butter) to Sītā, Āśā, Araḍā, Anaghā.' In Pār. gṛ. II. 17 this rite is des-

1940. For āghāras see note 489 above.

1941. Madhu to Tapasya are the ancient twelve names of the months of the year mentioned in Tai. S. I. 4. 14. 1, Vāj. S. VII. 30.

1942. अथातो हलाभियोगः। पुण्ये नक्षत्रे स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वैताभ्यो देवताभ्यो जुहुयादिन्द्राय मरुद्भ्यः पर्जन्यायाशन्यै भगाय। सीतामाशामरडामनघां च यजेत। गोभिलगृह्य IV. 4. 27–29.

cribed in greater detail. But for want of space it is not set out here. The Pār. gṛ. in II. 13 speaks of a different rite to be performed at the time of taking out the plough and using it for ploughing.

Śrāvaṇī or Śravaṇākarma and Sarpabali :—Āśv. gṛ. II. 1.1–15, Pār. gṛ. II. 14, Gobhila gṛ. III. 7. 1-23, Śāṅ. gṛ.IV. 15, Bhār. gṛ. II. 1, Āp. gṛ. 18. 5–12 and others describe these two rites which are performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa, whether the moon be in conjunction with the constellation of Śravaṇa or not. Āśv. gṛ. describes it as follows:[1943] "Having filled a new jar with the flour of unbroken grains of barley he places it on a new śikya (an arrangement of strings for holding pots etc.) along with a spoon for making offerings (*bali*). Having got ready fried barley grains he smears[1944] half of them with clarified butter. At sunset he prepares a mess of cooked food and a cake on one potsherd and offers oblations (of cooked food) with the four verses 'O Agni! lead us to wealth by a good path &c.' (Ṛg. I. 189. 1–4) verse by verse and offers with one hand the cake prepared on one potsherd with the mantra 'to the constant one, the Earth demon, svāhā.' The cake should have been completely submerged in clarified butter or its top may be visible; with the verse 'Agni, do not hand us over to evil' (Ṛg.I.189.5) he sacrifices over the entire cake the clarified butter in which the cake had been submerged. Reciting the verse 'may the steeds bring bliss to us in our invocations' (Ṛg. VII. 38. 7) he sacrifices into the fire the fried grains with his joined hands.[1945] He should give the other (not smeared with clarified butter) fried grains to his people (sons &c.). Out of the jar he fills the spoon with barley flour, goes out of the house with his face towards the east, pours down water on a pure spot and offers sacrifice with the mantra 'to the divine[1946] hosts of snakes,

1943. Vide appendix for the text.

1944. 'smears'–Nārāyaṇa explains that this should be done in the day and what follows is to be done after sunset.

1945. 'joined hands'–When the sacrificer joins his hands the applying of butter (upastaraṇa) and the putting of butter over the *havis* are done by another person.

1946. The words सर्पदेवजनेभ्यः स्वाहा may mean 'the serpents and the divine hosts.' In the Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 44, pp. 367–368) 'Sarpavidyā and Devajanavidyā' are separate subjects of study. But as the rite is for propitiating the serpents, it is better to take the words to mean 'serpents that are a divine host.'

svāhā' and makes an obeisance to them with joined hands in the words 'the serpents that are terrestrial,[1947] that are aerial, that are celestial, that dwell in the several directions—to them I have brought this *bali*; to them I make ready this bali. Having gone round the bali with the right hand turned towards it, he sits down to the west of the *bali* (and recites the mantra) 'thou art a serpent; thou art the lord of serpents that creep; by food thou protectest men and by a cake the serpents, by sacrifice the gods, me who am in thee (i. e. who seek thy favour and protection) may not the serpents who also are in thee do any harm; I give over the Dhruvā (spoon) to thee.' Then with the words 'O firm one, I give over this one, this one to thee' he gives his people (son, unmarried daughter, wife) one by one. With the words 'O firm one, I give myself over to thee' he gives himself over at the end. Let no one pass between the sacrificer (and the bali) up till the rite of giving in charge (paridāna).[1948] 'To the divine hosts of serpents svāhā'-with these words let him offer a bali in the evening and in the morning till Pratyavarohaṇa. Some count the days till Pratyavarohaṇa[1949] (from Śrāvaṇa full moon) and offer the same number of balis on that very day (on which the śravaṇā rite takes place)." The Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 15 has a similar ceremony called Śravaṇākarma; however it practically contains nothing beyond rules about the bali to serpents and it is worthy of note that some of the 16 upacāras associated with honouring a guest and with *devapūjā* are employed (in it and in Āp. gṛ. &c.) for honouring the serpents viz. offering a comb, unguents, flowers, thread (vastra), collyrium, mirror. The Pār. gṛ. II. 14 is more elaborate as to *sarpabali* and the deities to whom the oblations of cooked food are offered are 'Viṣṇu, Śravaṇa (nakṣatra), the Full moon day of Śrāvaṇa and the rainy season.' In Pār. gṛ. also, a comb, ointment, collyrium, garlands are offered to the serpents. Āp. gṛ. 18. 5-12, Hir. gṛ. II. 16 (S. B. E. vol. 30, pp. 237-239), Gobhila gṛ. III. 7. 1-23,

1947. 'The serpents that are terrestrial'. Note नमोस्तु सर्पेभ्यो ये केचन पृथिव्यामनु। येऽन्तरिक्षे ये दिवि तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः। ये वामी रोचने दिवो ये सूर्यस्य रश्मिषु। येषामप्सु सदः कृतं तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः। या इषवो यातुधानानां ये वा वनस्पतीरनु। ये वाऽवटेषु शेरते तेभ्यः सर्पेभ्यो नमः॥ तै. सं. IV. 2. 8. 3, काठकसं. 16. 15, वाज. सं. 13. 6-8 (same verses in all in almost the same words).

1948. Each son, daughter and wife are to be separately named and to be given in charge (of the serpent deity)-says Nārāyaṇa. Dhruva is the lord of serpents (Sudarśana).

1949. For Pratyavarohaṇa, vide below.

Bhār. gṛ. II. 1, Baud. gṛ. III. 10, Mānava gṛ. II. 16 and others contain similar elaborate rules about sarpabali, the Hir. gṛ. and Āp. gṛ. requiring that the flowers used should be of the *kiṁśuka* tree. It appears that when the husband was absent the wife was to offer the bali during the four months. The Mānava gṛ. II. 16. 6 adds that even the śūdra wife of a brāhmaṇa should silently offer the bali after washing her hands. Vide Śāṇ. gṛ. IV. 15. 20 also for the wife doing it silently.

Serpent worship arose from the fears entertained about the deadly effects of snake-bites. The serpent cult is very ancient as the quotation from the Tai. S. cited above shows. Vide also Atharvaveda VIII. 7. 23 and XI. 9. 16 and 24. In the Atharvaveda (VIII. 14. 14–16) the well known names of some mythical serpents viz. Takṣaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Airāvata occur. The dangers from snakes must have intensified in the rainy season when serpents sought shelter in human habitations owing to vast areas being flooded and in search of their prey, viz. mice and frogs &c. Therefore the rite of offering a bali to serpents was performed on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa and a bali was offered every day to serpents for four months till the full moon of Mārgaśīrṣa on which day took place the Pratyavarohaṇa (re-descent) i. e. discarding the use of cots for sleeping on and using the ground for that purpose. Fergusson in his famous work 'Tree and Serpent worship' (1868) traces serpent worship in the nations of antiquity, such as in Egypt, Judea, Greece &c. In the Mahābhārata *nāgas* figure very frequently. Vide Ādi. 35 and 123. 71, Udyoga 103, 9-16; Anuśāsana 150. 41 (where the names of seven nāgas that support the earth such as Vāsuki, Ananta &c. are specified). In Anuśāsana 14. 55 Śiva is said to have snakes on his body like *yajñopavīta*. The purāṇas are full of the stories of nāgas. Serpent worship continues to this day particularly in South India, but now serpents are worshipped on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa instead of on the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa as in the times of the sūtras. This day is now called Nāgapañcamī and some account of it will be given later on under *vratas*. India possesses more varieties of serpents than any single country in the world and the toll of life taken by snake bites is very heavy as compared with any other country.

In certain medieval digests like the Saṁskāra-kaustubha (p. 122) a rite called Nāgabali is described. It is performed on Sinīvālī (a day on which the moon is seen, but there is amāvāsyā

thereafter) or full moon day or on the 5th or on the 9th when the moon is in Āśleṣā (of which serpents are the presiding deity). Its object is two-fold viz. to expiate the sin of having killed a snake or snakes and to remove the obstacle to progeny (supposed to arise from the wrath of serpents killed by a person). In this a figure of a serpent is made of the flour of rice or wheat or sesame which is then placed in a śūrpa (winnowing basket), then it is worshipped with the 16 upacāras (described above) and a bali of pāyasa (rice-milk) is offered to it; then after washing the hands and feet and sipping water a homa is performed with ordinary fire (but there is no sviṣṭakṛt offering); an oblation of clarified butter is offered with *om* and all the three vyāhṛtis into the mouth of the serpent figure and the rest of the *ājya* is sprinkled on its body, the serpent is praised with the mantras quoted above from Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3 and certain Purāṇa verses are repeated and the figure is thrown into the fire; then impurity (āsauca) is observed by the sacrificer and his wife for three days or one day; then eight brāhmaṇas are invited, they are supposed to stand in the place of the burnt effigy and upacāras are offered to them, they are fed and gifts are given to them; then a golden image of a serpent is put into the *kalaśa* (water-pot) and prayer is offered to it, and the golden image or its value or a cow is gifted to a brāhmaṇa.

The Pār. gṛ. (II. 15) describes a rite called Indrayajña on the full moon day of Proṣṭhapada (i. e. Bhādrapada). It is briefly as follows: Having cooked pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) for Indra[1950] and cakes and having placed (four) cakes round the fire, and having offered the two ājyabhāgas he offers the milk rice to Indra; he offers the *ājya* oblations to Indra, Indrāṇī (Indra's wife), Aja Ekapād, Ahirbudhnya and to the Proṣṭhapadās; he offers milk-rice to Indra; after he has eaten (a portion of the sacrificial food) he offers a bali to the Maruts; for Śruti says (Śat. Br. IV. 5. 2. 16) 'the maruts are the eaters of ahuta';[1951] the bali (to Maruts) is offered on leaves of the

1950. कर्क says 'ऐन्द्रग्रहणादिन्द्राय स्वाहेति होमो लभ्यते।.' आज्याहुत्यन्ते इन्द्राय स्वाहेति पायसेन होमः। ततः स्विष्टकृदादि'. The स्विष्टकृत् is to be performed with the remains of पायस.

1951. The शाङ्खायनगृह्य I.10 has the verse हुतोग्निहोत्रहोमेनाहुतो बलिकर्मणा। प्रहुतः पितृकर्मणा प्राशितो ब्राह्मणे हुतः॥'; vide Manu III. 74 quoted above. बलि is अहुत and so Maruts are called अहुतादः. The शतपथ passages are 'अहुतादो वै देवानां मरुतः' (IV. 5. 2. 16), 'मरुतो वा इदमश्वत्थेऽपक्रम्य तस्थुः क्षत्रं वा इन्द्रो विशो मरुतः' (IV. 3. 3. 6).

Aśvattha tree, because there is a Vedic passage (Śat. Br. IV. 3. 3. 6) 'the Maruts stayed in the Aśvattha tree.' He offers the bali with the passage 'Śukra-jyotir' (Vāj. S. 17. 80–85) mantra by mantra and with the mantra called *vimukha* which latter is to be revolved in the mind only (and not to be uttered loudly), for the śruti says 'these are their names'[1952] (Śat. Br. IX. 3. 1. 26). He repeats the mantra 'Indram daivīr' (Vāj. S. 17. 86); then follows the feeding of a brāhmaṇa.

The Kauśika sūtra (140) describes the procedure of a festival in honour of Indra for kings. It is begun on the eighth day in the bright half of Bhādrapada or Āśvina in which a banner is raised on Śravaṇa nakṣatra. Yāj. I. 147 declares a holiday for one day on the day on which the banner in honour of Indra is raised and when it is taken down. Aparārka (p. 190) quotes Garga to the effect that the banner is raised by the king on the 12th of the bright half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in conjunction either with Uttarāṣāḍhā, Śravaṇa or Dhaniṣṭhā and adds that it is taken down on the Bharaṇī nakṣatra after the full moon day of Bhādrapada. The Kṛtya-ratnākara (pp. 292–93) adds that during the days of the festival worship is offered to figures of Indra and his wife Śacī and son Jayanta made from pieces of sugarcane stalks and that it is not raised on Saturday or Tuesday or in periods of impurity due to birth or mourning or in portents like an earth-quake. From Ādiparva 63. 1–29 it appears[1953] that the festival (called

1952. In Vāj. S. 17. 80–85 there are names of Maruts. They are said (in 17. 86) to be the divine hosts that follow Indra. The शतपथ (IX· 3. 1. 26) says शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्रज्योतिश्च सत्यज्योतिश्च ज्योतिष्माँश्चेति नामान्येषामेतानि. All the commentators of Pār. gṛ. say that विमुख is the mantra 'उग्रश्च भीमश्च ध्वान्तश्च धुनिश्च सासह्वांश्चाभियुग्वा च विक्षिपः स्वाहा॥' which is Vāj. S. 39. 7. But Oldenberg (in SBE vol. 29. p. 332) says in a note that the first part of Vāj. S. XVII. 86 is called 'Vimukha'.

1953. यष्टिं च वैणवीं तस्मै ददौ वृत्रनिबर्हणः। इष्टप्रदानमुद्दिश्य शिष्टानां प्रतिपालनम्॥ तस्याः शक्रस्य पूजार्थं भूमौ भूमिपतिस्तदा। प्रवेशं कारयामास गते संवत्सरे तदा॥ ततः प्रभृति चाद्यापि यष्टेः क्षितिपसत्तमैः। प्रवेशः क्रियते राजन्यथा तेन प्रवर्तितः॥ ..... भगवान्पूज्यते चात्र हंसरूपेण चेश्वरः॥ स्वयमेव गृहीतेन वसोः प्रीत्या महात्मनः। आदिपर्व 63. 17–19, 21–22. नीलकण्ठ notices in the last verse another reading रूपेण वासवः, while the cr. ed. of the महाभारत prefers हरत्यरूपेण शङ्करः (chap. 57. 21).

Indramaha) was started by Uparicara Vasu. It is stated therein that when that king was prevailed upon by Indra to desist from being a hermit in a forest and to rule over the country called Cedi, Indra gave him a bamboo staff as an affectionate gift and in honour of Indra the king planted it in the earth and since that time when the year ended a bamboo staff was raised by kings (and also other humbler persons) and next day it was decked with baskets full of fragrant substances and ornaments, and garlands were suspended from it. It is possible that the raising of a bamboo staff on the first day of Caitra every year in the Deccan and other places is reminiscent of this ancient festival in honour of Indra. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā (chap. 43) describes the origin of the Indramaha festival and devotes over sixty verses to the elucidation of the method of celebrating it. Viṣṇu gave to Indra a flag-staff to frighten asuras; in verse 8 it refers to Uparicara Vasu as the originator of the Indra festival, states on what auspicious conjunctions a carpenter and an astrologer should go to a forest and gives directions as to the tree to be selected (Arjuna tree being the best); then the tree is to be felled the next day and brought to the capital by the king on the eighth of the bright half of Bhrādrapada with a retinue of citizens, ministers and brāhmaṇas; the city should be decorated with fine *patākas* (flags) and toraṇas (festival arches); on the 11th there was to be a vigil, the trunk of the tree should be pared and chiselled and it should be placed on a *yantra* (a mechanical contrivance to raise it up), homa is to be offered; then it is to be raised up erect on the 12th of the bright half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in Śravaṇa nakṣatra or even without that being so; five or seven wooden figures (called śakrakumārīs) are also to be placed near it (to enhance the charm of the staff) and two smaller staffs (one $\frac{2}{3}$ and the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of the length of the principal staff) are also to be raised called Nanda and Upananda; another staff also is to be raised as Indra's mother; the staff was to be decked with several ornaments, baskets were to be hung round the staff, each one above the other and smaller in size, on the 4th day (from 12th tithi) verses in praise are to be recited and on the 5th day (from the 12th i. e. on 1st of the dark half) the staff is to be bidden farewell to.

Āśvayujī :—Gaut. VIII. 19 mentions Āśvayujī among the seven Pākayajñas as included in his 40 saṁskāras.

The Āśv. gṛ. II. 2. 1-3 describes[1954] the rite as follows : ' on the full moon day of Āśvayuja (i. e. Āśvina) the Āśvayujī rite (is performed). Having adorned the house, having bathed and put on clean (white) garments, they should take out a mess of cooked food for Paśupati and should offer it with the formula ' to Paśupati, to Śiva, to Śaṁkara, to Pṛṣātaka, svāhā.' He should sacrifice with his joined hands a mixture of milk and clarified butter with the formula ' may what is deficient in me be made complete (or full); may what is complete not deteriorate in me. To Pṛṣātaka, svāhā.'

The Śāṅ. gṛ. (IV. 16) requires that in this rite oblations of clarified butter should be offered to Aśvins, to the two stars of Aśvayuj nakṣatra, to the full moon of Āśvina; to Śarad (autumn) and to Paśupati and the mixture of milk and ājya is offered with the hymn Ṛg. VI. 28 (ā gavo agman) and that on that night the calves are allowed to join their mothers. Pār. gṛ. II. 16 calls this rite Pṛṣātakāḥ, but it prescribes the cooking of *pāyasa* (milk-rice) for Indra and offerings of that mixture with curds, honey and ghee are made to Indra, Indrāṇī, the Aśvins, to the full moon of Āśvina and Śarad (autumn). The Gobhila gṛ. III. 8. 1 also calls this rite Pṛṣātaka and it adds the tying to the arms &c. of amulets made of *lac* together with all sorts of herbs for the sake of prosperity. Vide also Khādira gṛ. III. 3. 1-5, Vaik. IV. 9 for this rite.

In most of the gṛhyasūtras another rite called Āgrayaṇa is described immediately after Āśvayujī. Haradatta on Gaut. VIII. 19 explains that in the Āśvayujī rite mentioned by Gaut. both the Āśvayujī described above from Āśv. gṛ. and Āgrayaṇa are included. Āgrayaṇa is also called ' Navayajña ' in Gobhila-smṛti (in verse III. 103) and Navasasyeṣṭi in Manu IV. 27.

1954. आश्वयुज्यामाश्वयुजिकर्म । निवेशनमलंकृत्य स्नाता शुचिवाससः पशुपतये स्थालीपाकं निरूप्य जुहुयुः पशुपतये शिवाय शङ्कराय पृषातकाय स्वाहेति । पृषातकमवशिष्टं जुहुयात्, ऊनं मे पूर्यतां पूर्णं मे मोपसदत् पृषातकाय स्वाहेति । आश्व. गृ. II. 2. 1-3. Nārāyaṇa explains that 'they' mean the sacrificer and his sons and other male descendants (who touch him). The word 'ni-rūpya' means that on the mess of cooked food, the two operations of nirvāpa (taking out a portion from the whole with the mantra पशुपतये त्वा जुष्टं निर्वपामि) and prokṣaṇa are to be performed and that the rest of the mess is to be eaten by the sacrificer and his family. पृषातक means 'milk mixed with clarified butter'. This is taken out with the *sruva* ladle. There is an offering to Sviṣṭakṛt Agni of the mess and of pṛṣātaka. खादिरगृह्य III. 3. 3 says पयस्यपनयेद्घृतं तत्पृषातकम्; vide also गोभिलस्मृति (in verse) III. 106.

Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi is prescribed in the Āśv. śrauta sūtra II. 9 and other śrauta sūtras for those who have consecrated the three vedic fires (i. e. āhitāgnis). According to Nārāyaṇa an āhitāgni is to perform this āgrayaṇa sacrifice of fresh corn according to the śrauta sūtra, but in case of difficulties he may do so in accordance with Āśv. gṛ. II. 2. 4 in the Tretā fires and that one who has not consecrated the three fires may offer the sacrifice in the *śālā* (i. e. aupāsana) fire. This āgrayaṇa rite is required even by the śrauta sūtra as to crops of rice, barley and śyāmāka [1955] only and no one was to make use of fresh corn of these three kinds without offering this sacrifice, but there was no restriction as to the use of other kinds of corn or as to vegetables &c. The word Āgrayaṇa is explained as [1956] 'that rite in which fresh fruits are first offered to gods' or 'that rite in which fresh corn is first offered or eaten'. The deities of the śrauta Āgrayaṇa are three, viz. Indrāgnī (or Agnīndrau), Viśvedevas, Dyāvāpṛthivī (heaven and earth), but in the gṛhya Āgrayaṇa, Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is added as the fourth (Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 8. 1, Āp. gṛ. 19. 7). Āśv. gṛ. (II. 2. 4-5) gives a very brief description 'united [1957] with the seasons, united with the manners, united with Indra and Agni, svāhā; united...with Viśvedevas, svāhā; united...with Heaven and earth, svāhā'- with these formulas a mess of cooked food is offered at the Āgrayaṇa by one who has set up the śrauta fires; also by one who has not set up the śrauta fires, (the same offerings are made) in the domestic (gṛhya) fire. Āp. gṛ. 19. (6-7) also is

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1955. आश्व. श्रौ. II. 9.1 expressly says 'आग्रयणं व्रीहियामाकयवानाम्' and जयराम on पारस्करगृह्य quotes गृह्यसंग्रहकार 'नवयज्ञाधिकारस्थाः श्यामाका व्रीहयो यवाः । नाश्नीयात्तानहुत्वैवमन्येष्वनियमः स्मृतः ॥'. The मानवगृह्य II. 3. 9 has नानिष्ट्वाग्रयणेन नवसस्यस्याश्नीयात् ।.

1956. सुदर्शन on आप. गृ. 19. 6 says 'येन कर्मणा अग्रं नवान्नयं देवान्प्रापयतीति यत्कर्म कृत्वैव वाग्रयणं प्रथमायनं नवान्नप्राशनप्राप्तिर्भवतीति ।'; हरदत्त on the same says एतिरत्र प्राशनार्थः.

1957. सजूर्ऋतुभिः सजूर्विधाभिः सजूरिन्द्राग्निभ्यां स्वाहा । सजूर्ऋतुभिः... सजूर्विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहा । सजू...सजूर्द्यावापृथिवीभ्यां स्वाहेत्याहिताग्नेराग्रयणः स्थालीपाकः । अनाहिताग्नेरपि शालाग्नौ । आश्व. गृ. II. 2. 4-5 ; अनाहिताग्नेराग्रयणम् । नवानां स्थालीपाकं अपचित्वाग्रयणदेवताभ्यः स्विष्टकृच्चतुर्थाभ्यो हुत्वा तण्डुलानां हुस्रं पूरयित्वा गत्वाच्यौदनपिण्डं संवृत्योत्तरेण पशुयागास्तूप उद्धिश्येत् । आप. गृ. 19. 6-7. The मन्त्र is परमेष्ठ्यसि परमां मा श्रियं गमय (आप. म. पा. II. 18. 1). Sudarśana notes that some held that uncooked grains of fresh rice were to be swallowed while others held that one was to partake of a portion of the boiled rice cooked for sacrificing.

concise '(Now follows the description of) Āgrayaṇa for one who has not set up the śrauta fires. Having prepared a mess of cooked food with fresh corn, he offers oblations to the deities of the (Śrauta) Āgrayaṇa with Sviṣṭakṛt (Agni) as the fourth, he fills his mouth with grains of rice, swallows them, takes ācamana and having rolled up a lump of rice (from the mess of cooked rice) he throws it up on to the top of the dwelling with the next *yajus* (Ap. M. P. II. 18. 1).'

This rite is also described in Śāṅ. gṛ. III. 8, Pār. gṛ. III. 1, Gobhila gṛ. III. 8. 9-24, Khādira gṛ. III. 3. 6-15, Vaik. IV. 2, Mānava gṛ. II. 3. 9-14 &c.

There is one peculiarity in Vaik. viz. that it connects the Pitṛs also with this rite. According to Mānava gr. the Āgrayaṇa is performed on a parva day in Vasanta (spring) with fresh barley that is (then) harvested and with rice in śarad (autumn).

Vaik. VI. 19 prescribes the prāyaścitta of pādakṛcchra or a fast for using first fruits without performing Āgrayaṇa rite.

In modern times some vestige of this *Navayajña* (sacrifice of first fruits) still remains. The full moon day of Āśvina is still called in the Deccan 'navyācī paurṇimā' and a few ears of growing crops are picked up, are woven with flowers and tastefully arranged and the whole is suspended from the entrance door or its lintel.

Āgrahāyaṇī:—This is one of the seven pākayajñas mentioned by Gautama (VIII. 19) among his forty saṁskāras.

The full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa is called Āgrahāyaṇī; the rite[1958] performed on that day is also called by the same name on account of association with it. *Pratyavarohaṇa* is a rite performed to signalise the giving up of the use of cots and high couches, recommended from the full moon of Śrāvaṇa for fear of snakes (as in Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 15. 22). Some describe two rites separately, one on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa and another called Pratyavarohaṇa on the first night of Hemanta (vide Āp. gṛ. 19. 3-5 and 8-12). There is some divergence as to the time and the exact procedure of this rite. Some (like Āśv. gṛ. II. 3. 1-2) hold that it may be performed on the 14th day of the bright

1958. आग्रहायणी मार्गशीर्षी पौर्णमासी तस्यां या क्रिया सापि तद्योगादाग्रहायणीत्युच्यते। प्रत्यवरोहणीति वा अस्या नामधेयम्। मातृदत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. II. 17. 1. Vide Tilak's 'Orion' (1893) pp. 73-90 for a learned and penetrating discourse on the word 'Āgrahāyaṇī.

half or the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa. Others restrict it to the full moon day. Very elaborate descriptions are given in Pār. gṛ. III. 2, Gobhila gṛ. III. 9. 1–23. As this rite has entirely gone out of vogue a brief description from the Āśv. gṛ. alone is appended[1959] here. "Having again (after Āśvayujī) renovated the house with plaster (of paint or cow-dung) and by levelling (the floor), they should offer after sunset oblations of pāyasa (milk-rice) with the mantras 'strike aside,[1960] O white one, with thy foot, with the front and back portions of the foot these seven women (daughters) of Varuṇa and all (females) that belong to the tribes of the king (of serpents). Inside the house of the white one the serpent did not kill any thing, adoration to the white one, the son of Vidārva, svāhā.' Here no oblation is offered to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. While gazing fixedly at the fire he repeats in a low voice 'may there be no harm to us from the progeny[1961] of Prajāpati.' He should think in his mind of Hemanta (winter) saying 'be auspicious and well-disposed towards us.' To the west of the fire a well-spread layer of grass should be prepared; he should sit down on it and having recited in a low voice 'Be blissful, O Earth' (Ṛg. I. 22. 15) he should lie down on that layer with his people (sons &c.) with the head towards the east and face turned towards the north. The others may lie down according as space permits or each should lie down one after another, the elder one before the one next to him in years. Those (of the sacrificer's sons &c.) who know the mantras should murmur them (Ṛg. I. 22. 15 and the mantras referred to in sūtra 12 below). Getting up from the layer they should three times recite the mantra 'from that place may the gods protect us' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16); the same verse (they should repeat) a fourth time turning their faces to the south, to the west and the north.[1962] Having gathered together they should

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1959. Vide appendix for text.

1960. The two mantras अप श्वेत पदा जहि and न वै श्वेतस्या० occur in आप. म. पा. II. 17. 26-27, Pār. gṛ. II. 14 (in Śravaṇā-karma), Śāṅ. gṛ. IV. 18. 1, Mānava gṛ. II. 7. 1 (in all with variations).

1961. Serpents are said to be the progeny of Kaśyapa, a Prajāpati; vide सभापर्व 11. 18–19 where Kaśyapa is stated to be one of the Prajāpatis and Ādiparva 16, where it is said that from Kadrū one of the wives of Kaśyapa the snakes were born.

1962. Ṛg. I. 22. 16 is to be repeated thrice while facing the east and then each pāda of that verse is to be repeated while the face is turned to the south, the west and the north (the verse has only three pādas, being in the Gāyatrī metre).

repeat in a low tone the mantras sacred to the sun and the Svastyayana[1963] mantras, cook food and feed the brāhmaṇas and make the latter pronounce auspicious words." In the Pāli work called Aṅguttara-nikāya there is a section called Paccorohanivagga in which the Pratyavarohaṇa observed by brāhmaṇas is described. Vide Aṅguttara vol. V. (ed. by Hardy) p. 233 CXIX. and Z. D. M. G. vol. 52 pp. 149–151.

Āgrahāyaṇī has been described also in Khādira gṛ. III. 3. 1–26, Gobhila gṛ. III. 9, Mānava gṛ. II. 7. 1–5, Bhār. gṛ. II. 2, Āp. gṛ. 19. 3–5, Kāṭhaka gṛ. 60. 1 ff., Kauśika sūtra 24. 24–36 Hir. gṛ. II. 17. 1 (where Mātṛdatta says that Āgrahāyaṇī is also styled Pratyavarohaṇa). Baud. gṛ. II. 10 speaks of a rite called Pratyavarohaṇa to be performed at the beginning of each of the six ṛtus (seasons) and the intercalary month (if any). This is a different rite.

Śūlagava or *Īśānabali*:—This was originally an offering of the flesh of an ox to Śiva. There was some difference of opinion as to the time. Āśv. gṛ. IV. 9. 2 states that it was to be performed in Śarad (autumn) or in Vasanta (spring) under the constellation of Ārdrā. The Baud. gṛ. II. 7. 1–3 says that every year it was to be performed on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa or on the Ārdrā nakṣatra[1964] in that month or whenever cattle suffer from some pest or disease. The Kāṭhaka gṛ. (52. 2–3) declares that the Śūlagava may be performed from various desires in śarad or vasanta and that according to some ācāryas there is no restriction as to season. The Bhār. gṛ. II. 8 and Hir. gṛ. II. 8. 2 say that it may be performed in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious nakṣatra.

Various explanations are given why this rite was called Śūlagava. Nārāyaṇa[1965] says Śūla here means one who has a

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1963. According to Nārāyaṇa Ṛg. X. 158., Ṛg. I. 50. 1–9, I. 115. 1, and X. 37. 1 are called Saurya verses; while स्वस्त्ययनानि are the verses that contain the word *svasti* or a benediction, viz. Ṛg. I. 89. 1, V. 51. 11, X. 63. 1. Nārāyaṇa follows Āśv. Śr. Sūtra VI. 5. 18 as to Saurya hymns; but it is doubtful whether he is right as to the svastyayana verses. According to the Bṛhad-devatā VIII. 77, Ṛg. X. 178 is a svastyayana hymn.

1964. Rudra is the presiding deity of Ārdrā. Vide note 563 above.

1965. शूलोऽस्यास्तीति शूलः अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । शूलिन्यर्थः । शूलिने रुद्राय गोपत्वेन यागः स शूलगवः । नारायण on आश्व. गृ. IV. 9. 1; शूलाङ्कितो गौः शूलगवः तथोपात्कर्मणि वृत्तिः । हरदत्त on same.

spit (or pointed rod) i. e. Śiva who is called Śūlin and that this sacrifice is offered to Rudra Śūlin with the ox as a sacrificial animal. Haradatta explains that here the ox is marked with the rod (of Śiva).

This rite is most elaborately described in Āśv. gṛ. IV. 9, Baud. gṛ. II. 7, Hir. gṛ. II. 8–9, Bhār. gṛ. II. 8–10, Pār. gṛ. III. 8. It appears that even in the times of the gṛhya sūtras there were many who did not like the rite of ox-flesh. The Baud. gṛ. (II. 7. 26–27) says[1966] that if a person cannot secure an ox he may sacrifice with a goat or ram or he may cook a mess of cooked food for Īśāna and with that he does everything that is to be done by means of an ox. The commentator Devapāla on Kāṭhaka[1967] gṛ. 52. 1 says that only a goat is offered and the bull is let off as the people are opposed to the idea of the sacrifice of an ox.

As this rite has totally gone out of practice only a brief description of it from the Mānava gṛhya[1968] (which is the briefest of all on this rite) is given here. 'Śūlagava is to be performed in Śarad for (propitiating) Rudra. In the north-east of the village and not near it (it is to be performed) at night and there is to be a sacrificial post, not chiselled (into an octagonal shape as in other sacrifices), in the midst of oxen. Before the (final offering) to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (i. e. after performing the usual homa with boiled rice up to this point) he should fill eight vessels made of leaves with blood and offer them in the principal quarters and the intermediate quarters with the eight *anuvākas* (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1 ff. and Vāj. S. 16th adhyāya) beginning with 'adoration to thee, O Rudra, who are Manyu (wrath).' He should not bring the uncooked offerings into the village. He should bury into the ground the rest (of the animal offered) and its skin also. Some ācāryas say that in the pākayajñas in which animals are sacrificed there is no sacrificial post.'

1966. अथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमजं वालभते । ईशानाय स्थालीपाकं वा अपयति तस्मादेतत्सर्वं करोति यदुवा कार्यम् । बौ. गृ. II. 7. 26-27.

1967. अवदानहोमान्तत्वं च छागपक्ष एव । गोः पुनरुत्सर्ग एव लोकविरोधात् । देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 52. 1.

1968. रौद्रः शरदि शूलगवः। ग्राम्युदीच्यां दिशि ग्रामस्यासकाशे निशि गवां मध्येऽतद्वो यूपः। प्राक् स्विष्टकृतोऽष्टौ शोणितपूरान् पूरयित्वा नमस्ते अस्तु मन्यव इति प्रभृतिभिरष्टभिरनुवाकैर्दिक्ष्वन्तर्दिक्षु चोपहरेत्। नाश्नीयुः ग्राममाहरेत्। शेषं भूमौ निखनेदपि चर्म। अपूपानेके पाकयज्ञपशूनाहुः॥ मानवगृह्य II. 5. 1–6.

Vāstu-pratiṣṭhā :—(construction and occupation of a new house).

The Āśv. gṛ. II. 7-9, āṅ. gṛ. III. 2-4, Pār. gṛ. III. 4, Āp. gṛ. 17. 1-13, Khādira gṛ. IV. 2. 6-22 and other gṛhya works deal with the matter of building a new house. Āśv. gṛ. (II. 7) says that one who intends to build a house should first examine the ground, which must be non-salinous, which should have herbs and trees, much kuśa and *vīraṇa* grass growing on it; that one should dig out thorny plants and plants having milky juice with their roots and remove them and also certain other plants like apāmārga, tilvaka, etc. He should select a spot where the waters coming together from all sides to the centre of it flow round the resting place having the latter on their right side and then are discharged off to the east without noise. Such a spot possesses all auspicious qualities. He should (Āśv. gṛ. II. 8) also dig a pit knee-deep in the ground to be examined and then fill the pit again with the earth taken out. If the earth taken out fills the entire pit and some earth remains, then the plot is excellent for building a house on; if all the earth dug out just fills the pit, it is of middle quality; if the earth is not enough to fill the pit the plot is to be rejected. Another method is to fill the pit with water and leave it there through the night. If in the morning there is water in the pit the ground is excellent; if it is moist only, the ground is of middle quality; if it is found dry in the morning the plot is to be rejected. The three *dvijātis* should respectively select white, red and yellow ground as a site for their house. The plot should be square or rectangular and the owner should draw a thousand furrows on it. 'With a śamī or udumbara branch he sprinkles the ground with water, going thrice round it with his right hand towards it and recites the Śantātīya hymn.[1969] He does this thrice pouring out water without interruption with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3). Under the divisions of the bamboo which rests on the chief posts he should have the single rooms constructed. Into the pits in which the posts are to stand he should have an *avakā* and the water plant called śīpalā put down. Having put the plant into the pit in which the middle post is to stand he should spread on it east-ward pointed and north-ward pointed kuśa grass and should sprinkle

1969. This is Ṛg. VII. 35. 1-15 in which all verses (except 14 and 15) commence with the word 'śam' and also have the same word several times.

on the kuśas water into which rice and barley have been thrown with the words 'to the steady one, the earth demon, svāhā.' He should when the middle post is being erected repeat over it the two verses 'stand here &c.' and 'to thee the young child may come &c.' Over the bamboo staff when it is placed on the middle post he recites the hemistich 'rightly ascend the post &c.' On four stones on which dūrvā grass has been spread he should establish the water barrel with the words 'arise on the earth' or with the verse 'the arangara sounds &c.' He then should pour water into it with the verse 'hither may king Varuṇa come &c.' He then appeases it as follows: he puts gold into water in which rice and barley have been put and with that water he sprinkles it three times, going round it with his right turned towards it with the Śantātīya hymn. This he does three times pouring water without interruption with the three verses 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3). In the middle of the house he should cook a mess of food, sacrifice from it with the four verses 'Vāstoṣpate prati' (Ṛg. VII. 54. 1-3 and VII. 55. 1) verse by verse,[1970] should cook food which should be given to the brāhmaṇas to eat, whom he should cause to say 'lucky is the ground.'

The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 252-257) deals at length with Vāstuśāstra, the construction of a house of various dimensions, its posts, the timber to be employed, the rites to be performed when laying the foundation and at later stages, the rite for Vāstuśānti (propitiatory rite for averting evil).

The Matsyapurāṇa[1971] (256. 10-11) states that a vāstuyajña has to be performed five times in relation to a house, viz. when laying down the foundation (lit. using the measuring line), when fixing the first post, when raising the first door frame, when entering the house (gṛhapraveśa) and when vāstuśānti is to be performed (for averting evil or on seeing portents). It briefly describes Vāstuyajña as follows (chap. 256. 5-9): On an auspicious day and moment, the stone should be laid over jewels and all seeds; similarly the post is to be worshipped at the hands of four brāhmaṇas; the priest who should wear

1970. The hymn Ṛg. VII. 54 has only three verses but four oblations are directed. Therefore the 4th oblation is to be offered with Ṛg. VII. 55. 1 which also is addressed to Vāstoṣpati.

1971. सूत्रपाते तथा कार्यमेवं स्तम्भोदये पुनः। द्वारवंशोच्छ्रये तद्वत् प्रवेशसमये तथा॥ वास्तूपक्रमणे तद्वद्वास्तुयज्ञस्तु पञ्चधा। ईशाने सूत्रपातः स्याद्वाग्नेये स्तम्भरोपणम्॥ मत्स्यपु. 256. 10-11.

white garments should be master of the Veda and should be accompanied by the artizans, should fix the post that is washed with water mixed with all herbs (or herbs called sarvauṣadhi) and covered with many whole rice and decked with clothes and ornaments to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras and the tunes of auspicious music; he should perform a homa with honey and clarified butter and should repeat the mantra 'vāstoṣpate prati' (Ṛg. VII. 54. 1); then the owner should feed brāhmaṇas with a dish of rice-milk. The Matsyapurāṇa notes that the foundation should be laid in the north-east corner and the first post fixed in the south-east. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 268) decribes the procedure of Vāstuśānti and remarks (verses 33–35) that it should be performed when beginning the construction of a temple or a house or a public park or when entering a town or one's house for the first time for averting all evil and it should also be performed every year in one's house. In that rite he should make the brāhmaṇas repeat the Rākṣoghna hymn and a hymn to Pavamāna Soma (one from Ṛg. IX. or IX. 1).

In modern times the ceremony of entering a newly built house is an important one, is an extensive affair and marked by great *éclat*. A very auspicious day is required for this ceremony and numerous astrological considerations enter into the choosing of a proper day. The ceremony of an entrance is preceded on the same day or on the previous day by a vāstuśānti (propitiatory rite) of which grahamakha (a rite for propitiating the planets) forms a part and the usual rites of worship of Gaṇeśa and the like (mentioned at pp. 213–218) have also to be performed. A few salient features are mentioned here. A maṇḍala is drawn divided into 81 squares, 62 *devatās* are invoked to be present in the maṇḍala, then a homa is offered to the nine planets with 28 oblations of fuel sticks, sesame and ājya to each planet and oblations are offered to other deities, the performer and his wife have holy water sprinkled over their heads from auspicious jars, the house is surrounded thrice with thread beginning from the east to the accompaniment of Rākṣoghna (Ṛg. IV. 4. 1–15 or X. 87. 1–25) and Pavamāna (Ṛg. IX. 1. 1–10) mantras and round the house water is continuously poured in a stream from a jar with the same two hymns. A pit is dug in the south-east corner of the house which is cowdunged, worshipped with flowers and sandalwood paste and a baked brick box containing seven kinds of corn, moss, flowers &c. is lowered into it and the pit is filled up. Then the house is entered to the accompaniment

of music by the owner who is accompanied by his wife, sons and brāhmaṇas and who holds in his folded hands an auspicious jar filled with water and having fresh sprouts, dūrvā grass thereon and marked with sandalwood paste and flowers and covered with cloth. The svasti hymn (vide note 1963 above) and the hymn beginning with 'kranikradat' (Ṛg. II. 42. 1-3) are recited and the auspicious jar is put down on a heap of corn. Then the brāhmaṇas perform puṇyāhavācana (vide note 503 above), they are honoured and utter 'may the house be lucky', dinner is given to the brāhmaṇas who pronounce benedictions, and the owner then takes his meal with his friends. [1972]

1972. The सङ्कल्प is 'अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणो मम सपरिवारस्यास्मिन्वास्तौ चिरकालसुखनिवासपूर्वकनिखिलरोगविघ्नादिशान्तिसम्पदारोग्यपुत्रपौत्रधनधान्यादिसमृद्धिचिरजीवनस्थनिवाससिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमस्य वास्तोः शुभतासिध्यर्थं सग्रहमखां वास्तुशान्तिं करिष्ये'.

CHAPTER XXV

DANA (Gifts)

Manu (I. 86) and others state that in the four *yugas* (ages) viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, the principal aspects of religious life were respectively *tapas*, metaphysical knowledge, sacrifices,[1973] and gifts. Manu (III. 78) eulogises the stage of householder as the most worthy because all men in the other āśramas are cherished and fed with (Vedic) knowledge (as a teacher of Vedic students) and with food by him. Yama specifies the characteristic features of the four āśramas as follows: 'quiescence is the dharma of ascetics, cessation from taking ordinary food that of forest hermits, dāna (making gifts) that of householders and obedience (or service) that of brahmacārins.' Vide Dakṣa 1. 12-13 also for the peouliar outward characteristics of the four āśramas. Therefore the subject of *dāna* (gifts or charity) will now engage our attention.

Gifts of various kinds and donors have been highly eulogised in the Ṛgveda. There are *dānastutis* (eulogies of gifts) in Ṛg. I. 125 (where the gifts made by king Svanaya son of Bhāvayavya to Kakṣīvat are praised and dāna in general is eulogised in verses 5-7), I. 126. 1-5 (where the same praise is continued), V. 61 (where Śyāvāśva praises the donors Taranta, Purumiḷha and Ratha-vīti), VI. 47. 22-25 (praise of the donor Prastoka Sārñjaya), VII. 18. 22-25 (praise of the gifts made by Sudās Paijavana), VIII. 5. 37-39 (praise of Kaśu Caidya), VIII. 6. 46-48 (praise of Tirindira Pāraśavya), VIII. 46. 21-24 (praise of Kānīta), VIII. 68. 14-19, X. 62. 8-11 (praise of Sāvarṇi). Among the objects gifted the most prominent are cows. In Ṛg. I. 126. 3 Kakṣīvat represents[1974] that he received sixty thousand cows

1973. तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते। द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे॥ मनु I. 86 = शान्तिपर्व 232. 28 = पराशर I. 23 = वायुपुराण 8. 65-66. यतीनां तु शमो धर्मस्त्वनाहारो वनौकसाम्। दानमेव गृहस्थानां शुश्रूषा ब्रह्मचारिणाम्॥ यम quoted in हेमाद्रि (दान० p. 6).

1974. उप मा श्यावाः स्वनयेन दत्ता वधूमन्तो दश रथासो अस्थुः। षष्टिः सहस्रमनु गव्यमागात्सनत् कक्षीवाँ अभिपित्वे अह्नाम्॥ ऋ. I. 126. 3. Sāyaṇa explains षष्ट्यधिकसहस्रं गवां समूहोऽनु आगात्.

from Svanaya, along with ten chariots to each of which four bay horses were yoked and in which young girls were seated. In Rg. VIII. 5. 37 reference is made[1975] to the gifts of ten thousand cows and of 100 camels by Kaśu Caidya. In Rg. V. 30. 12 a gift of 4000 cows to Babhru by the men of king Ṛṇañcaya is mentioned. Horses are also often described as objects of gift. e. g. Rg. V. 18. 5 (gift of 50 horses), VII. 16. 10, VIII. 46. 22 (gifts of 60000 horses, 2000 camels, 1000 bay mares and 10000 cows); VIII. 68. 17. For gifts of camels vide Rg. VIII. 5. 37, VIII. 46. 22. For gifts of young damsels vide Rg. I. 126. 3, VI. 27. 8, VII. 18. 22, VIII. 19. 36, VIII. 68. 17. The word 'vadhū' used in all these passages cannot mean that the young girls were meant to be the wives of the donees, since in some of them the 'vadhūs' gifted are as many as 10, 20 or even 50.[1976] So they were maid servants or female slaves. Rg. X. 117 contains an eulogy of the gift of food, the 6th verse of which is the basis of the later teaching of Manu III. 118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 67. 43, Bhagavad-gītā 3. 13 and is as follows: 'the foolish man[1977] (who does not share with others) obtains food to no purpose; I say the truth that it is really his destruction; he does not offer food to Aryaman (i. e. to the gods) nor to his friend (or guest); one who takes food alone (without giving to others) partakes simply of sin.' This injunction was most assiduously followed at all times in India. In the Chān. Up. IV. 1-2 it is stated that Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa, a man of faith and very charitable, had erected everywhere shelters in order to feed at all times all people that came from all quarters. Rg. X. 107 (of 11 verses) is an apotheosis of dakṣiṇā (gift or sacrificial fee which generally consisted of a cow or cows), which word is repeated several times in almost every verse. Verses 2, 7 and 8 are very interesting 'Those who make gifts of dakṣiṇā (cows or fee) stand high in heaven, those who make gifts of horses stand in the world of the Sun, donors of gold secure immortality (become gods), those who give garments increase the duration of their life. Gifts endow (the donor) with horses, cows, the

1975. यथा चिच्चैद्यः कशुः शतमुष्ट्रानां दर्दृत्सहस्रा दश गोनाम्। ऋ. VIII. 5. 37; यदिं सहस्रा मघवन्त्यायुतासनमुष्ट्रानां विंशतिं शता। दश श्यावीनां शता दश हयवर्णीनां दश गवां सहस्रा॥ ऋ. VIII. 46. 22.

1976. अवाम्मे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम्। महिह्नो अर्यः सप्तिः॥ ऋ. VIII. 19. 36.

1977. मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य। नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी॥ ऋ. X. 117. 6. The last quarter is quoted by Kullūka on Manu III. 118. The verse occurs in तै. ब्रा. II. 8. 8.

moon (silver?), gold, food which is the life of us and the knowing (donor) makes gifts of his armour. Donors do not die (they reach immortality in heaven), they do not go down to a low goal, they are not harmed, nor do they suffer pain; dakṣiṇā renders unto these donors this whole world and also heaven'. Rg. VI. 47. 23 mentions that from Divodāsa gifts of ten horses, ten boxes (i. e. chariots or boxes of gold), ten garments, in addition to dinners and ten lumps of gold were received.[1978]

It appears that although in the Rg. gifts of horses are spoken of as next in importance to gifts of cows, popular sentiment changed very early. In the Pauṇḍarīka sacrifice the fee was a thousand horses and in the Jyotiṣṭoma one cow and one horse (Śabara on Jaimini III. 4. 28). The Tai. S. II. 3. 12. 1 says[1979] 'Varuṇa indeed seizes him (i. e. he suffers from dropsy) who accepts the gift of a horse and that one should offer to Varuṇa as many offerings prepared on four potsherds as the horses accepted.' Jaimini (III. 4. 28-31) establishes two propositions in connection with this that the *iṣṭi* to Varuṇa is to be performed when the gift of a horse or horses is accepted in a Vedic sacrifice and that the iṣṭi is to be performed by the donor (and not by the acceptor). The Kāṭhaka Saṁ. XII. 6 also recommends that the horse should not be accepted as a gift, as it has two rows of teeth. In the Tai. Br. II. 2. 5 reference is made to the gift of gold, clothes, a cow, a horse, a human being, a bedstead and several other objects and their presiding deities are said to be Agni, Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Prajāpati &c. The Tai. S. II. 2. 6. 3 says 'he who accepts an animal with two rows of teeth, such as a horse or a human being, (thereby) secures (to himself) a portion of *ātman* (self); he should offer a mess cooked on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara.' Manu X. 89 forbids the sale of the horse and other animals with uncloven hoofs; but the Pehoa inscription from Garibnath temple shows that brāhmaṇas engaged in the sale of horses and that a tax agreed to be levied from vendors and purchasers was made into a permanent fund for temples and priests (vide E. I. vol. I. p. 186). Gaut. 19. 16 mentions the horse among objects that are gifted by way of

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1978. दृशाश्वान्दृश कोशान्दृश वस्त्राधिभोजना। दृशो हिरण्यपिण्डान्दिवोदासादसानिषद् ॥ ऋ. VI. 47. 23.

1979. वरुणो वा एतं गृह्णाति योऽश्वं प्रतिगृह्णाति यावतोऽश्वान् प्रतिगृह्णीयात् तावतो वारुणांश्चतुष्कपालान्निर्वपेत्। तै. सं. II. 3. 12. 1.

penance for sins. The Śāṅ. Br. (25. 14) says [1980] that he who after promising to gift all, does not give all, is reduced to falling into a deep pit or is killed. The Ait. Br. (30. 9) enjoins [1981] that one should not accept a gift rejected by the priests and if one accepts it it should be given over to one's enemy.

The Śat. Br. (II. 2. 10. 6) says 'there are two kinds of devas, the gods (heavenly) and the human gods viz. brāhmaṇas who have studied the Veda and mastered it; sacrifice is divided between these two, i. e. oblations go to the gods and the fee to the learned brāhmaṇas who are the human gods. These two kinds of gods when gratified place him (the sacrificer) in nectar (or in the celestial world).' [1982] The Tai. S. VI. 1. 6. 3 states that 'it is indeed *tapas* when [1983] a man makes a gift of what he owns.' We saw above (note 11) how the Br. Up. V. 2. 3 inculcates the three virtues of self-restraint, charity (*dāna*) and compassion. In the Ait. Br. 39. 6 [1984] it is stated that the king when anointed should make gifts of gold, fields and cattle. But it appears from the story of Viśvakarman Bhauvana narrated in the Ait. Br. (39. 7) and also in the Śat. Br. (XIII. 7. 1. 13–15) that when he desired to make a gift of the earth to his priest Kaśyapa as sacrificial fee the earth appeared and sang a verse 'no mortal must give me away as a gift; O Viśvakarman Bhauvana, you desired to give me away; I shall plunge into the midst of water, so that this your promise to Kaśyapa is fruitless.' It seems however that gifts of villages had come to be made very early. The Chān. Up. IV. 2. 4–5 narrates how Jānaśruti desirous of learning the saṁvarga lore

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1980. यो ह वै न सर्वं ददाति सर्वं ददानीति ब्रुवन् गर्तपत्यमेव तद्धीयते प्र वा मीयत इति ह स्माह सहस्रं वैनमवकन्द इति ह स्माह कौषीतकिः । शां. ब्रा. 25. 14.

1981. तस्माद्बाह्मणं निवृत्तदक्षिणं प्रतिगृह्णीयाज्जेन्मा शुचा विद्धा शुचा विध्यादिति । यदि त्वेनं प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्भ्रियायैनं आतृव्याय दद्यात्परा हैव भवति । ऐ. ब्रा. 30. 9 ; the शतपथ III. 5. 1. 25 also has the words तस्मान्निवृत्त...गृह्णीयात् and it adds सिंही हैनं भूत्वा क्षिणोति.

1982. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12, pp. 309–310 and also vol. 26, p. 341 (where the same passage occurs).

1983. एतत्खलु वाव तप इत्याहुर्यः स्वं ददातीति । तै. सं. VI. 1. 6. 3.

1984. भूमिर्ह जगावित्थुवादरन्ति । न मा मर्त्यः कश्चन दातुमर्हति विश्वकर्मन्भौवन मा दिदासिथ । निमंक्ष्येहं सलिलस्य मध्ये मोघस्त एष कश्यपायास सक्षरः । इति । ऐ. ब्रा. 39. 7 ; in the (शतपथ XIII. 7. 1. 15) the words are तद्यपि भूमिः श्लोकं जगौ । न मा ... ... भौवन मन्द आसिथ । उपमंक्ष्यति त्वा सलिलस्य मध्ये ध्रुवैव ते सक्षरः कश्यपाय । इति ।

from Raikva offered a thousand cows, a golden chain, a chariot to which mules were yoked, his own daughter (as a wife) and certain villages to Raikva, which came to be known as Raikvaparṇa villages in the country of Mahāvṛṣa, where Raikva lived.

The literature on *dāna* is of enormous extent. Apart from casual references in the other *parvans* of the Mahābhārata, the major portion of the Anuśāsana parva is devoted to the various aspects of dāna. The Purāṇas, particularly Agni (chap. 208–215 & 217), Matsya (chap. 82–91 and 274–289) and Varāha (chap. 99–111), contain numerous verses on dāna. There are digests specially devoted to the topic of dāna, the most extensive and important being Hemādri's Dānakhaṇḍa (of the Caturvargacintāmaṇi), Dānakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda, the Dānamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, the Dānavākyāvali of Vidyāpati, the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena and the Dānaprakāśa of Mitramiśra. Only a brief summary of the topics dealt with in all these is attempted below.

What constitutes gift (dāna) according to the śāstra has been discussed from very ancient times. There is a distinction between *yāga*, *homa* and *dāna*. The first is constituted by abandoning something that belongs to one, intending it for a deity and accompanying it with Vedic mantras; homa is throwing into fire something belonging to oneself over which one abandons one's ownership and which (thing) is intended for a deity; dāna consists in the cessation of one's ownership over a thing and creating the ownership of another over that thing and this last occurs when the other accepts the thing, which acceptance may be mental or vocal or physical; vide Śabara on Jaimini IV. 2. 28 (quoted above in note 1703), VII. 1. 5, IX. 4. 32 and the Mit. on Yāj. II. 27.[1985] The Mit. explains that physical acceptance may be effected in various ways such as by actually receiving the thing in one's hand, by simply touching it and quotes a smṛti which illustrates this 'one should give (and the donee may accept) a deer skin (by touching it) on the hairy side, a cow by its tail, an elephant by

1985. एष च यजिः यद् द्रव्यं देवतामुद्दिश्य मन्त्रेण त्यज्यते। शबर on जै. VII. 1. 5; स्वस्वत्वनिवृत्तिः परस्वत्वापादनं च दानम्। परस्वत्वापादनं च परो यदि स्वीकरोति तदा संपद्यते नान्यथा। स्वीकारश्च त्रिविधः। मानसो वाचिकः कायिकश्चेति। ...कायिकः पुनरुपादानाभिमर्शनादिरूपोऽनेकविधः। तत्र च नियमः स्मर्यते। दद्यात्कृष्णाजिनं पृष्ठे गां पुच्छे करिणं करे। केसरेषु तथैवाश्वं दासीं शिरसि दापयेत्। इति...क्षेत्रादौ पुनः फलोपभोगव्यतिरेकेण कायिकस्वीकारासम्भवात् स्वल्पेनाप्युपभोगेन भवितव्यम्। मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 27.

its trunk, a horse by its mane, a female slave by (touching) her head'. The Mit. adds that as it is impossible to accept a field physically (except by enjoying its fruits) its acceptance is effected by some enjoyment, however small, of its produce. The Viṣṇudharmottara quoted in Dānakriyākaumudī p. 7 gives more examples of the method of acceptance. Vide Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. VIII. p. 242) for copious illustrations of the way in which a gift is to be accepted according to the nature of the thing given. The word 'pratigraha' has a technical meaning in Dharmaśāstra. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 5 says [1986] 'merely taking a thing (from another) does not constitute pratigraha (as understood in Dharmaśāstra). The latter word is applicable only to a particular kind of acceptance viz. when a person accepts what is given by the donor with the idea that he (the donor) will derive from that act some unseen spiritual result (adṛṣṭa or puṇya) and when in making the gift a vedic mantra is repeated. When one gives alms, no mantra (such as 'devasya tvā') is repeated and hence that is not the *dāna* spoken of by śāstra, nor does any one apply the word *pratigraha* to the acceptance of an article given through affection to a friend or a servant.' When such a word as vidyādāna (gift of learning to a pupil) is used, the word *dāna* is employed there in a figurative sense only; otherwise the teacher will have to give a dakṣiṇā to the pupil, whereas it is the pupil who may give a dakṣiṇā to the teacher. When some gift is made to an image, the word dāna in that case is also used in a secondary sense, as the image cannot accept the gift. Therefore Devala defines *dāna* (of the *śāstric* kind) [1987] as 'that is described as dāna when wealth is given according to śāstric rites so as to reach a receiver who is a fit recipient as defined in the śāstra. What is given to a worthy person without an eye to any particular object (to be achieved by such gift) but solely with the idea of doing one's duty, that is called dharmadāna'. The Dānamayūkha p. 3 explains that the definition of dāna given by

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1986. नैव ग्रहणमात्रं प्रतिग्रहः। विशिष्ट एव स्वीकारे प्रतिपूर्वो गृह्णातिर्वर्तते। अदृष्टबुद्ध्या दीयमानं मन्त्रपूर्वं गृह्णतः प्रतिग्रहो भवति। न च भैक्षे देवस्य त्वादिमन्त्रोच्चारणमस्ति। न च प्रीत्यादिना दानग्रहणे। न च तत्र प्रतिग्रहव्यवहारः। मेधा० on मनु. IV. 5.

1987. अर्थानामुचिते पात्रे यथावत्प्रतिपादनम्। दानमित्यभिनिर्दिष्टं व्याख्यानं तस्य वक्ष्यते॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 287, दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 2, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 13), दानवाक्यावलि (D. C. Ms. No. 368 of 1891-95) folio 2 b. The last reads श्रद्धया for यथावत्. पात्रेभ्यो दीयते नित्यमनवेक्ष्य प्रयोजनम्। केवलं धर्मबुद्ध्या यद्धर्मदानं तदुच्यते॥ देवल quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान p. 14).

Devala applies to the best kind of dāna (called sāttvika) and not to dāna in general. If a gift is sent to a person, but it is lost while on its way or it is stolen and never reaches the donee, then there is no acceptance and so no complete dāna and the donor cannot reap the reward of dāna in such a case.

There are six aṅgas (constituent elements) of dāna, as stated by Devala,[1988] viz. the donor, the donee, śraddhā (charitable attitude), the subject of gift which must have been acquired by the donor in a proper way, a proper time and a proper place. The first four are clearly indicated in Manu IV. 226-227. These six will have to be dealt with one after another.

One important word that deserves consideration in the subject of dāna is *iṣṭāpūrta*. That word has a high antiquity. It occurs in the Ṛgveda and the sense seems to be 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to a man's performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'. Ṛg. X. 14. 8 is addressed to one recently[1989] dead 'may you join the pitṛs, may you be united with Yama, and with your *iṣṭāpūrta* in the highest heaven'. The word, though employed in the singular (probably as a samāhāra-dvandva compound), consists of two parts, iṣṭa (what is sacrificed) and pūrta (what is filled). In the Atharvaveda also the word occurs 'may the iṣṭāpūrta of our ancestors save us (from our enemy); I seize yonder (man or enemy) with divine wrath' (II. 12. 4). Vide also Atharvaveda III. 29. 1. Sometimes the two components are employed separately or in the dual when compounded. The Tai. S. V. 7. 7. 1-3 has the interesting observation[1990] 'when he comes by the Devayāna paths, then make ye his iṣṭāpūrta manifest to him; whatever sacrifice was offered, whatever was handed over, whatever was given and the dakṣiṇā offered, may Agni present in all actions place all that in heaven among the gods for us.' The Tai. Br. II. 5. 5 says[1991] 'may Iṣṭa and pūrta last for endless

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1988. दाता प्रतिग्रहीता च श्रद्धा देयं च धर्मयुक् । देशकालौ च दानानामङ्गान्येतानि षड् विदुः ॥ देवल in दानवाक्या० folio 3 a, हेमाद्रि (दान p. 14).

1989. सङ्गच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेन इष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन् । ऋ. X. 14. 8; इष्टापूर्तमवतु नः पितृणामसुं वृदे हरसा दैव्येन ॥ अथर्ववेद II. 12. 4.

1990. यदागच्छात्पथिभिर्देवयानैरिष्टापूर्तं कृणुतादाविरस्मै । ... यदिष्टं यत्परादानं यद्दत्तं या च दक्षिणा । तदग्निर्वैश्वकर्मणः सुवर्देवेषु नो दधत् । तै. सं V. 7. 7. 1-3; उद्बुध्यस्वाग्ने प्रतिजागृहि त्वमिष्टापूर्ते संसृजेथामयं च । वाज. सं. XV. 54 and XVIII. 61.

1991. इष्टं पूर्तं शाश्वतीनां समानां शाश्वतेन हविषेष्टानन्तं लोकं परमारुरोह । तै. ब्रा. II.5.5; इत्यवदा इत्ययजथा इत्यपच इति ब्राह्मणो गायेत् । इष्टापूर्तं वै ब्राह्मणस्य । इष्टापूर्तेनैवैनं स समर्धयति । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

years; having sacrificed with an offering that is ever-lasting, a man ascended to the highest and ever-lasting world' and Tai. Br. III. 9. 14 remarks "the brāhmaṇa should sing 'you made gifts, you performed sacrifices, you cooked food (for serving to others).' Indeed iṣṭāpūrta belongs to a brāhmaṇa; he makes him (the king) prosper by iṣṭāpūrta." The Vāj. S. XV. 54 says 'O fire, may you be awake (or kindled), may you be watchful for us; join with iṣṭāpūrta (the sacrificer) and him with his iṣṭāpūrta.' The Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 1. 8 states that when a brāhmaṇa guest is allowed to stay in a house without being served with food he destroys the iṣṭāpūrta, the issue and the cattle of the householder. The Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 10 condemns those who regard iṣṭāpūrta as the highest and do not hold that there is anything higher than that and states that they have to come down to this world or to a lower world again after enjoying the blessings of Heaven.

Aparārka (p. 290) quotes the Mahābhārata for defining iṣṭa and pūrta [1992] 'whatever is offered in the single fire (i. e. gṛhya fire) and what is offered in the three śrauta fires and the gifts made inside the vedi (in śrauta sacrifices) are called *iṣṭa*; while dedication of deep wells, oblong large wells and tanks, temples, distribution of food, and maintaining public gardens—these are called pūrta.' Aparārka quotes Nārada also 'Honouring a guest and performance of vaiśvadeva constitute *iṣṭa* while the dedication of tanks, wells, temples, places for public distribution of food and gardens is called pūrta and also gifts made at the time of eclipses, or on the sun's passage in a zodiacal sign or on the 12th day of a month.' Hemadri (Dāna p. 20) quotes Śaṅkha that nursing of those who are ill constitutes pūrta. Manu (IV. 226–227) ordains 'one should always assiduously perform *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*, which when done with śraddhā and with wealth justly acquired become inexhaustible. One should ever resort to dānadharma (that mode of dharma which consists in gifts) which is either iṣṭa or pūrta, according

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1992. महाभारतम्। एकाग्निकर्म हवनं त्रेतायां यच्च हूयते। अन्तर्वेद्यां च यद्दानमिष्टमित्यभिधीयते॥ वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च। अन्नप्रदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते। अपरार्क p. 290 (vide note 370 for वापी &c.); the 2nd verse is अत्रि 44, while अत्रि 43 defines इष्ट as अग्निहोत्रं तपः सत्यं वेदानां चैव पालनम्। आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवश्च इष्टमित्यभिधीयते॥. लिखित 5 is the same as अत्रि 43. Vide हेमाद्रि (दान p. 20) where एकाग्नि० and अग्निहोत्र० are ascribed to शङ्ख; also यम 68–70 and अग्निपुराण 209. 2–3 which define इष्ट and पूर्त almost in the same words as अत्रि.

to one's means, after meeting a worthy person (as recipient) and with a pleased attitude of mind.'

Any one including women and śūdras could make gifts. So much emphasis was laid on the duty to make gifts that Aparārka quotes a verse[1993] 'two persons should be drowned in water after tying round their neck a large stone, viz. a rich man not making gifts and a poor man who is not a *tapasvin* (who undergoes austerities or who is restrained).' It is stated in Atri 46, Likhita 6 and other smṛtis that[1994] 'Iṣṭa and pūrta are dharma common to all twice-born classes; the śūdra has authority to perform pūrta dharma, but not the Vaidika dharma (sacrifices etc.).' According to Devala the donor should be free from incurable or disgusting diseases, be religious, charitably inclined, free from vices, pure and following a blameless profession for livelihood. Several smṛtis note that it is a rare sight to see a man giving away in charity wealth earned by him. Veda-vyāsa[1995] (IV. 60) says 'amongst a hundred men, one may be found to be brave, among thousands a learned man, among hundreds of thousands an orator, but a donor may or may not be found.'

A good deal has already been said above (pp. 113–114) about the persons fit to be donees (*pātra*) and an unfit one. A few more words may be added here. Dakṣa III. 17–18 states 'a gift made to one's parents, guru, friend, to a well conducted man, to one who has laid the donor under obligation, to the poor, the helpless, those endowed with special excellence, leads to rewards, while gifts made to rogues, to bards, to wrestlers, to those who devote time to bad lores, to gamblers and deceitful persons, to cāṭas, to cāraṇas and thieves brings no

1993. द्वावेवाप्सु प्रवेष्टव्यौ गले बद्ध्वा महाशिलाम् । धनवन्तमदातारं दरिद्रं चातपस्विनम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 199, दानवाक्यावलि folio 2 a. This is उद्योगपर्व 33. 60 (which reads द्वावम्भसि निवेष्टव्यौ).

1994. इष्टापूर्तं द्विजातीनां धर्मः सामान्य इष्यते । अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रो पूर्ते धर्मे न वैदिके ॥ अत्रि 46, लिखित 6 and quoted by Aparārka p. 24 as जातूकर्ण्य's. अपापरोगी धर्मात्मा दिक्सुरव्यसनः शुचिः । अनिन्द्याजीवकर्मा च षड्भिर्दाता प्रशस्यते ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 288, हेमाद्रि (दान p. 14). पापरोगs are said to be eight such as Tuberculosis etc.

1995. शतेषु जायते शूरः सहस्रेषु च पण्डितः । वक्ता शतसहस्रेषु दाता भवति वा न वा ॥ वेदव्यास IV. 60.

fruit (or merit).[1996] Manu 4. 193-200 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 93. 7-13) contains a list of persons to whom gifts should not be made, such as a brāhmaṇa who is like a cat or hypocrite or who does not know the veda. Bṛhad-Yama III. 34-38 enumerates those brāhmaṇas who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to be donees such as lepers, those who suffer from incurable diseases, those who officiate at sacrifices for śūdras, a devalaka and seller of Veda (teaching it with a prior stipulation for money) and in IV. 55-56 says that gifts made to brāhmaṇas that are addicted to bad actions, that are covetous, devoid of Veda study and sandhyā performance, who have swerved from the vows proper (for brāhmaṇas), who are wicked and who are immersed in pleasures of sense become fruitless. Vanaparva (200. 5-9) enumerates 16 futile gifts such as to one who left off the order of *saṁnyāsa* or of wealth acquired by unjust means &c. Almost the same verses occur in Bṛhat-Parāśara (VIII. pp. 241-242), which are quoted in Par. M. I, part 1, p. 188. Vide also Vṛddha-Gautama (III. chap. pp. 508-509) for numerous futile gifts. It is one's duty to give food at the end of Vaiśvadeva to all (vide note 1779 above) and the Viṣṇudharmottara directs that as to gifts of food and clothing the only consideration is whether the donor is hungry or in need of clothes and not caste nor qualities.[1996a] When on seeing a needy person the donor feels pleasure and indicates it by a smiling face, when he shows honour and is free from a feeling of ill-will or irritation (towards the suppliant), that is said to be śraddhā, according to Devala.[1997] Manu IV. 235 says that he who gives a gift with honour and he who accepts it with honour both go to heaven, but if the reverse is the case they go to hell.

Numerous rules are laid down about the things that can be the subject of gifts (i. e. about *deya*). Whatever is in this

1996. मातापित्रोर्गुरौ मित्रे विनीते चोपकारिणि। दीनानाथविशिष्टेषु दत्तं च सफलं भवेत्॥ धूर्ते वन्दिनि मद्ये च कुवैद्ये कितवे शठे। चाटचारणचौरेषु दत्तं भवति निष्फलम्॥ दक्ष III. 17-18, the 2nd verse being quoted by अपरार्क p. 286. About the meaning of cāṭa that occurs in many grants there is no unanimity. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 336 (चाटतस्कर &c.) explains चाटाः प्रतारकाः विश्वास्य ये परधनमपहरन्ति. Vide E. I. vol. IX p. 284 n. 10, p. 294, XI. p. 176, XIV. p. 156 for discussion of the meaning.

1996a. अन्नाच्छादनदानेषु पात्रं नैव विचारयेत्। अन्नस्य क्षुधितं पात्रं विवस्त्रो वस्त्रस्य चेति। विष्णुधर्मोक्तेः। दानमयूख p. 5.

1997. सौहृदयाद्यभिसंप्रीतिरर्थिनां दर्शने सदा। सत्कृतिश्चानसूया च तद्दानं श्रेष्ठमिति कीर्त्यते॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 288.

world a most desirable thing and what one prizes most in one's house may be given to a man endowed with good qualities by a donor who desires inexhaustible (merit) from it—Anuśāsana parva 59. 7.[1998] According to Devala, that is a proper subject for a gift, which has been acquired by the donor himself without causing pain or loss to another or without worry or trouble to himself, whether it be small or valuable (or much).[1999] It is not the extent of the gift that causes greater or lesser merit. Merit (*puṇya*) of gifts depends upon the mental attitude, the capacity of the giver and the way in which the donor acquired his wealth. If a man[2000] were to give even the whole earth acquired by unjust means, or if he makes a gift without śraddhā (as defined) or to an unworthy person he would secure no prosperity (religious merit) thereby. On the other hand by making a gift of even a handful of vegetables with a heart full of śraddhā and to a very worthy person, he may secure all prosperity. If one possessing a thousand makes a gift of 100 or one having ten makes a gift of one and another gives only water according to his ability, they all reap an equal reward.

Among *deya* things, some are the best, some middling, some inferior. Food,[2001] curds, honey, protection, cow, land, gold, horse and elephant—gifts of these nine are said to be the best; learning, house for shelter, domestic paraphernalia (like cots), medicine—these four are said to be middling; shoes, swings, carts, umbrellas, vessels, seats, lamps, wood, fruits and whatever is old and worn out and all other unspecified objects are inferior. Yāj. (I. 210–211) appears to have this difference in view when he says that a man, making a gift of land (capable

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1998. यथाविष्टतमं लोके यच्चापि दयितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 59. 7 = मार्कण्डेय 35. 52–53 = मत्स्य 72. 39. This is विष्णुध. सू. 92. 32.

1999. अपराबाधमक्लेशं स्वयं येनार्जितं धनम् । स्वल्पं वा विपुलं वापि देयमित्यभिधीयते ॥ देवल quoted in अपरार्क p. 288.

2000. अन्यायाधिगतां दत्त्वा सकलां पृथिवीमपि । श्रद्धाविर्जमपात्राय न कांचिद् भूतिमाप्नुयात् ॥ प्रदाय शाकमुष्टिं वा श्रद्धाभक्तिसमुद्यताम् । महते पात्रभूताय सर्वाम्युदयमाप्नुयात् ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 290; सहस्रशक्तिश्च शतं शतशक्तिर्दशापि च । दृष्टादृष्टश्च यः शक्त्या सर्वे तुल्यफलाः स्मृताः ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 90. 96–97; एकां गां दशगुर्दद्याद् दश दद्याच्च गोशतीं । शतं सहस्रगुर्दद्यात्सर्वे तुल्यफला हि ते ॥ अग्निपुराण 211. 1.

2001. अन्नं दधि मधु त्राणं गोभूरुक्माश्वहस्तिनः । दानान्युत्तमदानानि उत्तमद्रव्यदानतः ॥ विद्या चाच्छादनावासपरिभोगौषधानि च । दानानि मध्यमानीति मध्यमद्रव्यदानतः । उपानत्पेडुयानानि छत्रपात्रासनानि च । दीपकाष्ठफलादीनि चरमं बहुवार्षिकम् ॥ बहुत्वादर्घजातानां संख्या शेषेषु नेष्यते । अधमान्यवशिष्टानि सर्वदानान्यतो विदुः ॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क pp. 289–90, हेमाद्रि (दान० pp. 16.)

of yielding a crop or fruits), lamp, wood, garment, water (water-reservoir), sesame, ghee, house for travellers, money for settling a person as a married man (or bringing about his marriage by finding a girl for him), gold, draught ox, is honoured in the heavenly world, while one who makes a gift of a house, corn (of various kinds), protection from danger, shoes, umbrella, flowers, unguents, conveyance (chariot &c.), tree, a desired thing, a cot secures endless happiness. Gifts of three things are said to be superior to the gift of anything else and are styled[2002] *atidāna*, viz. of cows, land and Sarasvatī (vidyā) according to Vas. Dh. S. 29. 19 and Bṛhaspati 18. Vas. Dh. S. 29. 19, Manu 4. 233, Atri, 340, Yāj. I. 212 say that the gift of *vidyā* is the best of all gifts such as those of water, food, cows, land, garments, sesame, gold and clarified butter. On the other hand Anuśāsana-parva (62. 2) and the Viṣṇudharmottara (quoted by Aparārka p. 369) say that the gift of land surpasses all other gifts. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. 92. 1 says that the gift of protection from danger (abhayadāna) is the highest. The gifts of certain objects were called *mahādānas*. These and a few other dānas will be dealt with in some detail later on.

Dānas are divided into *nitya*[2003] (called ājasrika by Devala), *naimittika* and *kāmya*. Whatever is given everyday (such as food after Vaiśvadeva &c.) is nitya, what is given at certain specified times (such as on eclipses) or on account of doing certain acts (such as penance for lapses) is called naimittika; what is given through the desire of securing progeny, victory, prosperity, heaven or a wife is called kāmya (as it springs from a desire). Dedication of a garden or of a well &c. is called dhruvadāna (permanent gift) by Devala; while the Kūrma-purāṇa adds to the well-known three a fourth division called *vimala* (pure) defined by it as 'what is given to those who know brahma for securing the grace of God with a mind full of devotion.' Vas. Dh. S. 29. 1–15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 92 and Manu IV. 229–232 (which are repeated in Vṛddha-Gautama, chap. XI. p. 586) and many of the purāṇas are eloquent over what

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2002. त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती। अतिदानं हि दानानां विद्यादानं ततोधिकम्। वसिष्ठ 29. 19; अति दानानि सर्वाणि पृथिवीदानमुच्यते। अनुशासन 62. 2.

2003. प्रपारामतडागादि सर्वकामफलं ध्रुवम्। तदाजस्रिकमित्याहुर्दीयते यद्दिने दिने॥ अपत्यविजयैश्वर्यस्त्रीबालार्थं यदिष्यत। इच्छासंस्थं तु तद्दानं काम्यमित्यभिधीयते॥ कालापेक्षं क्रियापेक्षमर्थापेक्षमिति स्मृतम्। त्रिधा नैमित्तिकं प्रोक्तं सहोमं होमवर्जितम्॥ देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 289 and हेमाद्रि (दान० p. 16); यद्दीश्वरप्रीणनार्थं ब्रह्मविद्भ्य प्रदीयते। चेतसा भक्तियुक्तेन दानं तद्विमलं शिवम्॥ कूर्मपुराण quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान. p. 17).

rewards a man reaps by making gifts of water, food, sesame &c. The Bhagavad-gītā (17. 20-22) divides dānas into sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa and defines them as follows: When a gift is made because one feels it one's duty to make it and at a proper time and place and to a worthy person who will not return it, it is called sāttvika; when it is made with an expectation of the donee doing a good turn in return or with a view to securing some reward therefrom and is given grudgingly, it is rājasa; when a gift is made at an improper time or place and to an unworthy person and without showing honour to the recipient and with disrespect (or contempt), it is declared to be tāmasa.

Many texts emphasize a rule similar to that in the Bible 'But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret'–Matthew VI. 3-4. Yogi-Yājñavalkya says[2004] that the reward of making gifts secretly, possessing knowledge without being puffed up and engaging in *japa* without others seeing it is infinite. Devala says 'sacrifice, gift and study lose their power and perish by being declared to others, by boasting about them or by repenting of having done them. Therefore one should not without good reason (such as protecting a gift &c.) proclaim one's meritorious act.'

Certain things when offered voluntarily by a person with his own hand must be accepted and not spurned even by one who does not ordinarily accept gifts. Manu IV. 247-250, Yāj. I. 214-215, Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 13-14, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 57. 11 declare that kuśas, vegetables (raw), milk, fish, fragrant substances, flowers, curds, clay, flesh, a bedstead, a seat, fried barley, water, precious stones, fuel-sticks, fruits and roots, honey, food offered without being asked (except of the impotent, of prostitutes and of *patita*) must not be spurned, but must be accepted.

Certain objects could not be donated either because one had no ownership over them or because the sages forbade such gifts. Jaimini (VI. 7. 1-7) establishes several propositions, viz. that one can make a gift only of what one owns, that one cannot make

2004. प्रच्छन्नानि च दानानि ज्ञानं च निरहंकृतम्। जप्यानि च सुगुप्तानि एषां फलमनन्तकम्॥ योगियाज्ञवल्क्य quoted in गृह. र. p. 243; लघुशातातप 149 is प्रत्यक्षानि (?) च दत्तानि ..... तपांसि ..... अनन्तकम्॥; इष्टं दत्तमधीतं वा विनश्यत्यनुकीर्तनात्। श्रद्धाशुद्धशोचनाभ्यां च भग्नतेजो विपद्यते। तस्मादात्मकृतं पुण्यं न वृथा परिकीर्तयेत्। देवल quoted by अपरार्क p. 290, हेमाद्रि (दान. p. 17).

a gift of one's relatives (parents, sons and others) in the Viśvajit, that a sovereign cannot make a gift of the whole of his kingdom, that horses cannot be gifted in that sacrifice as śruti forbids such a gift in that sacrifice, that a śūdra who serves the sacrificer merely as a duty cannot be given away and that whatever is of the full ownership of a person at the time of giving the dakṣiṇā can alone be gifted in the Viśvajit sacrifice. Nārada[2005] (dattāpradānika 4–5) forbids eight kinds of gifts viz. of what is handed over to a creditor by a debtor for delivery to a third person, what is borrowed for use (such as an ornament on a festive occasion), a pledge, property jointly owned with others, a deposit, son and wife, one's entire property when one has children, what has been already promised to another man. Dakṣa III. 19–20 enumerates nine things as not proper subjects of gifts (adding to Nārada's list 'a friend's wealth and gift through fear' and omitting 'what is already promised to another'). Yāj. II. 175 is of similar import. Aparārka p. 779 quotes verses of Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana to the same effect. Vide above (pp. 507–508) as to a man's power over his children.

The texts took care to set limits to a man's generosity. After emphasizing in very eloquent language the obligation to share one's possessions, however meagre, with others, Veda-Vyāsa[2006] (IV. 30–31) inculcates the doctrine that charity begins at home. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 10–12, Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 19 ordain that one should not stint one's dependents (whom one is bound to maintain), one's servants and slaves for distributing food to guests and others. Yāj. II. 175 prescribes that one should make gifts in such a way as not to cause detriment to one's family. Bṛhaspati[2007] explains this by saying that one may give away

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2005. अन्वाहितं याचितकमाधिः साधारणं च यत्। निक्षेपः पुत्रदारांश्च सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति। आपत्स्वपि हि कष्टासु वर्तमानेन देहिना। अदेयान्याहुराचार्या यच्चान्यस्मै प्रतिश्रुतम्॥ नारद (दत्ताप्रदानिक 4–5); सामान्यं याचितं न्यास आधिर्दारा: सुहृद्धनम्। भयार्दितं च निक्षेपः सर्वस्वं चान्वये सति। आपत्स्वपि न देयानि नव वस्तूनि सर्वदा। यो ददाति स मूढात्मा प्रायश्चित्तीयते नरः॥ दक्ष III. 19–20.

2006. यद्ददासि विशिष्टेभ्यो यज्जुहोषि दिने दिने॥ तत्ते वित्तमहं मन्ये शेषं कस्यापि रक्षसि॥ किं धनेन करिष्यन्ति देहिनो गत्वरायुषः। यद्वर्धयितुमिच्छन्ति तच्छरीरमशाश्वतम्॥ ग्रासाद्धर्मपि ग्रासमर्थिभ्यः किं न दीयते। इच्छानुरूपो विभवः कदा कस्य भविष्यति॥ प्राणनाशस्तु कर्तव्यः यः कृतार्थः स नो मृतः। अकृतार्थस्तु यो मुग्धः प्रायः खरसमो हि सः॥ मातापितृषु यद्दत्तं भ्रातृषु श्वशुरेषु च। जायापत्येषु यो दद्यात् सोऽनन्तः स्वर्गसंक्रमः। पितुः शतगुणं दानं सहस्रं मातुरुच्यते। भगिन्यां शतसाहस्रं सोदरे दत्तमक्षयम्॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति IV. 16, 18, 24, 26, 30–31 quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान) p. 33; vide अग्निपुराण 209. 32–33.

2007. कुटुम्बभक्तवसनाद्देयं यदतिरिच्यते। मध्वास्वादो विषं पश्चाद् दातुर्धर्मोऽन्यथा भवेत्॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 780 and हेमाद्रि (दान० p. 44).

wealth that is over and above what is required for maintaining one's family and for clothing and that the charity of one who disregards this rule is something that is sweet like honey at first but like poison in its effect. In this Bṛhaspati only echoes what Manu says (XI. 9-10) 'the charity of him who has wealth enough to make gifts to strangers, when his own people live a life of misery, is only a false imitation of dharma (and not the true dharma), it is at first like honey but will taste like poison (later). Whatever a man does for his welfare in the next world by stinting those whom he is bound to maintain results in unhappiness to him while living and also after death'. The Anuśāsana parva (37. 2-3) declares that if one makes a gift stinting one's servants, he makes himself a sinner, even though one may say that one would give whatever any one begs for (compare Luke VI. 30 'give to every man that asketh of thee'). Hemādri quotes[2008] Śivadharma to the effect that a man should set apart three parts out of five from his acquisitions for himself and his family and two parts for dharma, as life is evanescent.

Certain things were forbidden to be accepted as gifts. The gift of animals with two rows of teeth was forbidden by śruti (vide Śabara on Jaimini VI. 7. 4 quoted above). Vas. Dh. S. 13. 55 declares that a brāhmaṇa should not accept the gift of weapons, poisonous substances and spirituous liquor. Manu IV. 188 states that a brāhmaṇa who is not learned should not accept the gift of gold, land, horses, cow, food, garment, sesame, clarified butter; but if he accepts he is reduced to ashes (i. e. perishes) like wood. Hemādri (Dāna p. 57) quotes the Brahmapurāṇa that a brāhmaṇa should not accept the gifts of ewes, horses, precious stones, an elephant, sesame and iron, and that one who accepts a gift of antelope skin or sesame would not be born again as a male and that if a person accepts the bedstead, ornaments and the clothes of one who is dead he would go to hell.

As to the proper times for gifts, several rules are laid down. Apart from the daily duty to make gifts (Yāj. I. 203) gifts had to be made on special occasions and if so made were more meritorious than the gifts made daily. Laghu-Śātātapa (145-153)

2008. तस्मात् त्रिभागं वित्तस्य जीवनाय प्रकल्पयेत् । भागद्वयं तु धर्मार्थमनित्यं जीवितं यतः ॥ शिवधर्म quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान. p. 44) and दानमयूख p. 5.

says [2009] that a gift must be made on the first day of each *ayana* (the sun's passage to the north or south), at the beginning of Ṣaḍasīti and while an eclipse of the sun or moon is in progress and that the rewards of the gifts made on these occasions are inexhaustible. Vanaparva 200. 125 is to the same effect. A gift made on Amāvāsyā imparts rewards a hundred times (of the reward of making it on any ordinary day), a thousand times when made on the suppression of a tithi, a hundred thousand times when made on the equinoctial day and a gift brings endless rewards when made on Vyatīpāta. Saṁvarta (208–209) says that gifts made on the *ayana* day, equinoctial day, vyatīpāta, the suppression of a tithi and on the eclipses of the sun and moon, on new moon day, 12th day, saṁkrānti (sun's passage into a zodiacal sign) becomes inexhaustible and these tithis are highly commended and so also Sunday for a bath, japa, homa, dinner to brāhmaṇas, fast and gifts.[2010] Śātātapa (146) states that 16 *ghaṭikās* before and also after the moment when the sun enters a new zodiacal sign is the holy time for gifts, while others give 30 ghaṭikās (before and after) for Karkaṭaka (Cancer saṁkrānti), 20 for Makara (Capricorn) and 105 for Tulā (Balance) and Meṣa (Aries). Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 214–217 states that the times specified as the proper occasions for śrāddha are all of them the most appropriate times for making gifts. Vide Prajāpati 25 and 28 and Atri 327 for similar rules. Śaṅkha says that if amāvāsyā falls on Monday, the 7th tithi on Sunday, 4th on Tuesday, 8th on Wednesday—these four are like

2009. अयने विषुवे चैव षडशीतिमुखेषु च । चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे च दत्तमक्षयमुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 200. 125; अयनादौ सदा दद्याद् द्रव्यमिष्टं गृहे वसन् । षडशीतिमुखे चैव विषुवे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः ॥ लघुशातातप 145, quoted as शातातप by अपरार्क p. 291. The sun's entrance into the signs of Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces is called षडशीति; vide बृहत्पराशर p. 245 and अपरार्क p. 292 quoting वसिष्ठ, अग्निपुराण 209. 9–10.

2010. शतभिन्दुक्षये दानं सहस्रं तु दिनक्षये । विषुवे शतसाहस्रं व्यतीपाते त्वनन्तकम् ॥ लघुशातातप 150 quoted as व्यास's by अपरार्क p. 292; विश्वरूप p. 144 also quotes the first पाद. When three *tithis* occur on the same day it is called दिनक्षय as the middle one is suppressed in the calendars (vide अपरार्क p. 292); शतभिन्दु० is quoted as याज्ञ० by हेमाद्रि (दान p. 69). व्यतीपात is one of the 27 योगs beginning with विष्कम्भ and is defined as श्रवणाश्विधनिष्टार्द्रानागवैष्णतमस्तके । यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥ (बृहन्मनु according to अपरार्क p. 426)—when the moon is in the constellations of Śravaṇa, Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā, Āśleṣā (first quarter) and amāvāsyā falls on Sunday it is Vyatīpāta. Even Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita IV states that Harṣa was born on a day that was free from all inauspicious conjunctions such as Vyatīpāta.

eclipses and so gifts made on these days yield infinite rewards (quoted by Hemādri, dānakhaṇḍa p. 66). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. chap. 89 deals with the rewards of the gifts of various articles made on the full moon days of the twelve months of the year. Anuśāsana chap. 64 speaks of dānas on the 27 nakṣatras from kṛttikā.

The general rule was that gifts were not to be made at night. But there are several exceptions. Atri 327 states that a gift even at night is commended on the occasions of eclipses, marriages, saṁkrāntis and the birth of a child. Devala [2011] quoted in Par. M. I. part I, p. 194 has a similar verse and the Par. M. adds that only on the Cancer and Capricorn saṁkrāntis are gifts allowed to be made at night.

The above rules about the special occasions for gifts are amply borne out by epigraphic evidence. A few examples may be cited. A very large number of grants on copper and stone relate to gifts of lands and villages at the time of solar eclipses. For example, vide Tiwarkhed plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nannarāja dated *śake* 553 (653 ?) in E. I. vol. XI. p. 279, I. A. vol. VI, p. 73 (in *śake* 534 i. e. 613 A. D.), the grant of 30 *nivartanas* of land purchased for 30 gadyāṇakas of gold on a total eclipse of the sun in 754 A. D. in the time of Cālukya Kīrtivarman II (E. I. vol. III. p. 6), E. I. vol. III. p. 193 (of *śake* 716), E. I. vol. IX, p. 100 (in 660 A. D.). Grants on the occasion of a lunar eclipse are found in J. B. B. R. A. S. vol, 20, p. 135 (Navsari plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahāsāmanatādhipati Karkarāja issued in *śake* 738, i. e. 817 A. D.), in E. I. vol. I. p. 341 (Patna Inscription of the time of Yādava Siṅghaṇa dated *śake* 1128 i. e. 1207 A.D.), E.I. vol. 19, p. 41, E.I. vol. 20, p. 125 (in *saṁvat* 1108). Grants on *ayana* days may be seen in I. A. vol. 12, p. 193 (Haddāla plates of the Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇī-varāha issued in *śake* 836), the Sañjan grant of Amoghavarṣa dated *śake* 793 (Uttarāyaṇa-Mahāparvaṇi). Grants on Saṁkrāntis are found in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 182 (Dhulia plate of Karkarāja dated *śake* 701), E. I. vol. XII. p. 142 (in 1087 A. D.), E. I. vol. VIII. p. 159 (in *saṁvat* 1207). It may be noted that not only on the sun's passage in a rāśi, but even on Jupiter's passage in a rāśi (Taurus in this case) a grant was made as seen in Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla (E. I. vol. VII, p. 93 in *saṁvat* 1167 i. e. 1111 A. D.). A village was

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2011. राहुदर्शनसंक्रान्तिविवाहात्ययवृद्धिषु । स्नानदानादिकं कुर्युर्निशि काम्यव्रतेषु च ॥ देवल quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान p. 81).

granted on Viṣuvasaṁkrānti to a brāhmaṇa in honour of Buddha by Mahīpāla I, a king of Bengal (vide E. I. vol. XIV, p. 324). For grants on Akṣaya Tṛtīyā (3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha) vide E. I. vol. 14, p. 198 (when 32 villages were granted to 500 brāhmaṇas in saṁvat 1156) and E. I. vol. VII. p. 98 (Lar plates of Govindacandra of Kanoj in *saṁvat* 1202). For a grant made on Mahākārtikī (the full moon day of Kārtika) vide E. I. vol. X, p. 75 (which is a grant to several brāhmaṇas for enabling them to offer *bali*, *caru*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and the five *mahāyajñas*, in Kalacuri *saṁvat* 292 i. e. about 540 A. D.).

The places (*deśa*) where gifts are to be made are also specified in the smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. Gifts[2012] made in the house yield ten times as much merit (as when made elsewhere), a hundred times when made in a cowpen, a thousand times when made in sacred places (*tīrthas*) and an infinite number of times when made near an image (or liṅga) of Śiva. The Skandapurāṇa[2013] quoted by Hemādri (dāna p. 83) states that Benares, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Puṣkara (Ajmer), the banks of the Ganges and of the ocean, Naimiṣa forest, Amara-kaṇṭaka, Śrīparvata, Mahākāla (at Ujjayinī), Gokarṇa, Veda-parvata—these and the like are declared to be holy places resorted to by gods and *siddhas*; all mountains, all rivers and the ocean are holy; the habitations of cows, siddhas and sages are also holy; whatever is donated in these sacred places confers infinite reward.

When making a gift of anything one has to pour water on the hand of the donee. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 9–10[2014] states that all gifts are to be made with water except in the case of vedic sacrifices where they are to be made as directed by the vedic texts. Gautama V. 16 says the same. In the case of all gifts they are to be accompanied by a separate dakṣiṇā. The Agnipurāṇa[2015] 211. 31 makes an exception in the case of gifts of

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2012. गृहे दशगुणं दानं गोष्ठे चैव शताधिकम्। पुण्यतीर्थेषु साहस्रमनन्तं शिवसन्निधौ॥ quoted in दानमयूख p. 8.

2013. वाराणसी कुरुक्षेत्रं प्रयागः पुष्कराणि च। गङ्गासमुद्रतीरं च नैमिषामरकण्टकम्॥ श्रीपर्वतमहाकालं गोकर्णं वेदपर्वतम्। इत्याद्याः कीर्तिता देशाः सुरसिद्धनिषेविताः। सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः पुण्याः सर्वा नद्यः ससागराः। गोसिद्धमुनिवासाश्च देशाः पुण्याः प्रकीर्तिताः। एषु तीर्थेषु यद्दत्तं फलस्यानन्त्यकृच्चवेत्। स्कन्दपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (दान p. 83).

2014. सर्वाण्युदकपूर्वाणि दानानि। यथाश्रुति विहारे। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 9–10; स्वस्तिवाच्य भिक्षादानमप्युदकपूर्वम्। ददातिषु चैवं धर्मेषु। गौ. V. 16–17.

2015. अदत्तदक्षिणं दानं व्रतं चैव सुपोत्तम। विफलं तद्विजानीयाद्भस्मनीव हुतं हविः॥ भविष्यपुराण quoted by हेमाद्रि (दान p. 111); अन्येषां चैव दानानां सुवर्णं दक्षिणं स्मृता। सुवर्णे दीयमाने तु रजतं दक्षिणेष्यते॥ q. in हेमाद्रि (दान p. 112); this is अग्निपुराण (211. 30) and दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 11 quotes it from अग्नि०

gold, silver, copper, husked rice, corn, daily śrāddha and daily devapūjā (which may be without dakṣiṇā). That dakṣiṇā should consist pre-eminently of gold, but if gold itself is the article donated then the dakṣiṇā may be of silver. In the case of very costly gifts like *tulāpuruṣa*, the dakṣiṇā may be one hundred or fifty or 25 or ten *niṣkas* or one-tenth of the price of the thing gifted or according to ability.

Hemādri (Dāna pp. 96–97) and Dānamayūkha (pp. 11–12) quote verses from the Viṣṇudharmottara stating the presiding deities of the several articles that are donated (such as Agni of gold, Prajāpati of dāsas, Rudra of cows &c.) and adds that wherever no presiding deity is specifically named Viṣṇu is the presiding deity. Those very verses are quoted as from the Kapilapañcarātra in the Dānakriyākaumudī (p. 5). The Agnipurāṇa (209. 40–48) has similar verses. This notion is derived from the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras which speak of Rudra as the presiding deity of the gifts of cows, Soma of garments, Prajāpati of human beings and so on (vide Tai. Br. II. 2. 5, Āp. Śr. 14. 11. 3).

The general procedure of making gifts may be stated here once for all. The donor and the donee should have taken their bath and should wear two white garments each, the donor should wear a pavitra, perform ācamana, should face the east, should wear the sacred thread in the upavīta form, be seated on a pure seat (of kuśa &c.) and seat the donee on a seat and make him face the north, then the donor should utter the name of the subject of gift, its presiding deity and the purpose for which he makes the gift, and say 'I make a gift to you of such and such an article,' pour water on the donee's hand, and when the donee says 'give' the donor should sprinkle water on the subject of gift and place it into the hand of the donee, who utters the syllable 'om' and says 'svasti'. Then dakṣiṇā is given to the donee. The detailed formula is set out below.[2016] Necessary changes

2016. The formula may be described as follows: अद्य अमुके मासि अमुके पक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकराशिस्थे भास्करे भारतवर्षाख्यभूप्रदेशे सूर्यग्रहणादौ अमुकगोत्रः अमुकशर्मा अमुककामः अमुकगोत्राय अमुकप्रवराय अमुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय इदममुकद्रव्यं अमुकदैवतं तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे इति द्विजकरमध्ये सकुशं जलं दद्यात्। ग्रहीता करमध्येन गृहीत्वा स्वस्तीति ब्रूयात्। अद्येत्यादि॰ अमुककामनया कृतस्य अमुकदानकर्मणः प्रतिष्ठार्थं दक्षिणां अमुकगोत्राय अमुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे न मम इति दक्षिणां दद्यात्। Vide अग्निपुराण 209, हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड) pp. 506–7 and दानक्रियाकौमुदी pp. 14 ff. for the procedure. The अग्निपुराण 209. 59–61 mentions the following purposes for which gifts are usually made 'पुत्रपौत्रगृहैश्वर्यपत्नीधर्मार्थसद्गुणाः। कीर्तिविद्यामहाकाम-सौभाग्यारोग्यवृद्धये। सर्वपापोपशान्त्यर्थं स्वर्गार्थं भुक्तिमुक्तये। एतत्तुभ्यं संप्रददे प्रीयतां मे हरिः शिवः॥

have to be made as to the statement of the occasion, the receipt of the subject of gift &c. (if it is land or a house, it cannot be received in the hand; the donee simply walks round it or on it or enters it).

Yāj. I. 133 prescribes that the king should daily make gifts to brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda, of milch cows, gold, land, houses and the requisites of marriage (i. e. maidens, expenses of marriage &c.). This was nothing new that was prescribed by Yāj. It has been followed for ages by the kings. The Vanaparva[2017] 186. 15 states that he who makes a gift of a maiden in the brāhma form or of land enjoys bliss in the world of Indra. We find from the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta [2018] (probably in the 1st century A. D.), son-in-law of Nahapāna, at Karle and Nasik that he gave 3 lakhs of cows, 16 villages to gods and brāhmaṇas, fed one lakh of brāhmaṇas every year, got eight brāhmaṇas married at his own expense at Prabhāsa (in Kathiawar), built flights of steps on the river Bārṇāsā, constructed quadrangles, houses and halting places (*pratiśraya*) at Bharukaccha (modern Broach), Daśapura (in Malwa), Govardhana (Nasik) and Śorpāraga (modern Sopara), constructed wells and tanks; kept free ferry boats over the rivers Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇā, Tāpī, Karabeṇā, Dāhanukā (all between Thana and Surat); established meeting halls and shelters for gratuitous distribution of water; conferred 32000 cocoanut trees in Nanangoḷa (modern Nargol) on the assembly of brāhmaṇas of the Caraka Śākhā at Rāmatīrtha in Śorpāraga and three other places. He adds that he purchased from a brāhmaṇa for 4000 kārṣāpaṇas a field that originally belonged to the brāhmaṇa's father and made a grant of it for supplying food to the assembly

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2017. यो ब्राह्मदेयां तु ददाति कन्यां भूमिप्रदानं च करोति विप्रे। ददाति दानं विधिना च यश्च स लोकमामोति पुरन्दरस्य ॥ वनपर्व 186. 15.

2018. Vide E. I. vol. VII. p. 57 for Karle Inscription No. 13 of Uṣavadāta and E. I. vol. VIII p. 78 (for Nasik No. 10) 'नहपानस्य जामात्रा दिनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रिगोशतसहस्रदेन नद्यां बार्णासायां सुवर्णदानतीर्थकरेण देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडशग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीभोजापयित्रा प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्यामदेन भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुशालावसथप्रतिश्रयप्रदेन आरामतडाग-उदपानकरेण इबा-पारादा-दमण-तापी-करबेणा-दाहनुकानादापुण्यतरकरेण एतासां च नदीनां उभयतोतीरं सभाप्रपाकरेण पीण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षदभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वात्रीशतनालिकेरमूलसहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम्।.....वृत चानेन क्षेत्रं ब्राह्मणस वाराहिपुत्रस अग्निभूतिस हये कीणिता मूलेन कहापणसहस्रेहि चतुहि 4000 यसपितुसतक नगरसीमाय उतरापराय दीसाय एतो मम लेणे वसतानं चातुदीसस भिखुसघस सुखाहारो भविसदि। (Nasik No. 10).

of monks coming from all quarters that dwelt in the cave constructed by him. This is certainly a formidable list of benefactions for one ruler.

As to spending money for the marriages of brāhmaṇas and settling them as householders, a few words may be said here. Dakṣa[2019] III. 32-33 says 'The merit of him, that establishes a brāhmaṇa who is without father or mother by performing his saṃskāras and by getting him married, is beyond reckoning' A man does not secure that bliss by observance of agnihotra or the performance of Agniṣṭoma, which he secures by establishing a brāhmaṇa in life'. Aparārka (p. 377) quotes a long passage from the Kālikāpurāṇa about *Naiveśika* dāna. Its purport is briefly as follows: 'The donor should choose eleven brāhmaṇas of śrotriya families (devoted to the study of the Veda) and of good character and conduct, should build eleven houses for them, should get them married at his expense, should furnish the houses with stores of corn, with cattle and maid servants, beds, seats, vessels of clay and copper and other utensils for taking food and with garments; and having thus furnished the houses, should settle the eleven brāhmaṇas in the eleven houses and for their maintenance bestow upon each one hundred *nivartanas* of land or a hamlet, or half a village; he should induce the brāhmaṇas to be agnihotrins. By so doing he secures all the merit that is secured by the performance of sacrifices, vratas, various dānas or pilgrimages to sacred places and enjoys in heaven all pleasures. A man who is unable to do as much as above may settle only one brāhmaṇa according to his means and he secures the same rewards'. In the Epigraphic records there are numerous instances of kings spending for the marriages of brāhmaṇas. For example, the Aphsad Inscription of Ādityasena (vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42, p. 203) speaks of gifts of agrahāras on the marriages of one hundred brāhmaṇa girls to brāhmaṇas. A copper-plate grant of the Śilāhāra prince Gaṇḍarāditya speaks of the king having got 16 brāhmaṇas married at his expense and of having created endowments of three *nivartanas* for each for their maintenance at the time of their marriages (vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 13, p. 1, dated 1032 *śake*). As the brāhmaṇas were supposed to lead a

2019. मातापितृविहीनं तु संस्कारोद्वाहनादिभिः । यः स्थापयति तस्येह पुण्यसंख्या न विद्यते ॥ न तच्छ्रेयोऽग्निहोत्रेण नाग्निष्टोमेन लभ्यते । यच्छ्रेयः प्राप्यते पुंसा विप्रेण स्थापितेन वै ॥ दक्ष III. 32-33. The first is quoted by अपरार्क p. 378.

life of comparative poverty, plain living and high thinking and as they were the inheritors, preservers and transmitters of the sacred literature of the country, as they also engaged in teaching without stipulating for any fee, the State that had in those days no settled educational system as in modern times deemed it its duty to provide the resources which would enable the brāhmaṇas to carry on their self-imposed task. Yāj. II. 185 declares that the king should set apart in his capital a place for the habitation of brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda, should establish them there, should provide means of maintenance for them and then say to them 'follow your duties' (svadharma). Aparārka quotes (p. 792) thereon from Bṛhaspati several verses that add 'the king should bestow on the brāhmaṇas who are learned and kindle the sacred fires (agnihotrins) houses and lands under his own edicts from which no taxes in the present or future would be levied. The brāhmaṇas so settled should perform for the citizens their religious rites whether daily or to be performed on occasions or *kāmya* or for averting evil omens or for the sake of prosperity and should give decisions in the cases of doubts. They should make rules and conventions for the whole village or for corporations and guilds and for religious purposes. Those rules must be observed and when there is trouble caused by rogues and thieves all must join to put it down and that object must not be left to one person.'[2020] These prescriptions indicate what benefit was expected of the marriages and settlement of learned brāhmaṇas. Kauṭ. II. 1 also prescribes that lands free from taxes and fines should be settled upon *purohitas*, śrotriyas &c. There is nothing peculiar to India or to the caste system in this. Among the numerous charitable purposes mentioned in the preamble to the Statute of Elizabeth (43 Eliz. chap. 4) which (preamble) is even now applicable in England 'the marriage of poor maids' is one.

The gift of land has been eulogized as the most meritorious of all gifts from ancient times. Vas. Dh. S. 29.16 quotes a verse which is found also in Bṛhaspati 7, Viṣṇudharmottara and Matsyapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka pp. 369, 370), the

2020. वेदविद्याविदो विप्राञ्श्रोत्रियानग्निहोत्रिणः । आहूय स्थापयेत्तत्र तेषां वृत्तिं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ अनाच्छेद्यकरास्तेषां प्रदद्याद्गृहभूमिकाः । मुक्ताभाव्याश्च नृपतिर्लेखयित्वा स्वशासनैः ॥ नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं तथा ॥ पौराणां कर्म कुर्युस्ते सन्दिग्धे निर्णयं तथा ॥ ग्रामश्रेणिगणार्थं तु संकेतसमयक्रिया । बाधाकाले तु सा कार्या धर्मकार्ये तथैव च ॥ चाटचोरभयं बाधा सर्वसाधारणा स्मृता । तत्रोपशमनं कार्यं सर्वैरेकेन केनचित् ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 792.

Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 62. 19) and which says 'whatever[2021] sin a man may commit when in straitened circumstances, he is purified therefrom by making a gift of only as much land as is equal to *gocarma*'. Aparārka (pp. 368, 370) quotes many verses from the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Ādityapurāṇa, the Matsyapurāṇa on the high rewards reaped by the gift of land. The Vanaparva[2022] (93. 78–79) declares 'whatever sins a king is guilty of in bringing the earth under his control, all those he gets rid of by performing sacrifices with munificent gifts; by bestowing on brāhmaṇas lands and cows in thousands, the king becomes free from all sins as the moon is freed from darkness' (Rāhu). Anuśāsana 59. 5 voices the popular sentiment that 'gifts of gold, cows and land save even the wicked'.

2021. यत्किंचित्कुरुते पापं पुरुषो वृत्तिकर्शितः। अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण भूमिदानेन मुच्यति॥ वसिष्ठ 29. 16, अनुशासन 62. 19, बृह. 7, भविष्यपुराण 4. 164. 18. The मिता. on या. I. 210 quotes it as Manu's and reads the 2nd पाद as 'ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतोऽपि वा'. Bṛhaspati defines gocarma as equal to ten nivartanas and a nivartana is defined by him as land that is 30 rods (square) with a rod of ten cubits. दशहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डैर्निवर्तनम्। दश तान्येव विस्तारो गोचर्मैतन्महाफलम्॥ बृह. 8. The मिताक्षरा on या. I. 210 quotes बृह. as सहस्तेन...दश तान्येव गोचर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते। शातातप I. 17 also reads 'दशहस्तेन &c'. Bṛ. 9 gives another definition of gocarma 'that extent of land which a thousand cows with their calves and a bull occupy without being compelled to stand doing nothing is called gocarma' सवृषं गोसहस्रं तु यत्र तिष्ठत्यतान्त्रितम्। बालवत्सामधृतानां तद्गोचर्म इति स्मृतम्॥. पराशर XII. 49 says that that land which a hundred cows with one bull occupy without being closely packed together is gocarma. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 5. 181 defines gocarma differently as 'that much land of whatever extent the crops raised on which will maintain one man for a year'. Vide Aparārka p. 1225 and Hemādri (Vratakhaṇḍa, part 1 pp. 52–53) for several definitions of gocarma. The word *nivartana* is very ancient. Kauṭ. (II. chap. 20) says that daṇḍa is equal to four *aratnis*, ten daṇḍas are equal to one *rajju* and 3 rajjus are equal to a *nivartana* (so that a nivartana is 30 daṇḍas). The Baud. Dh. S. (III. 2. 2–4) speaks of a brāhmaṇa who maintains himself by cultivating six nivartanas of land. A field of 100 nivartanas is mentioned in Nasik Inscription No 5 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 73). The word nivartana occurs also in a grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 6). Vide E. I. vol. XI p. 280 for a note on *nivartana*.

2022. यद्वेनः कुरुते किंचिद्राजा भूमिमवाप्नुवन्। सर्वं तत्प्रवृते पश्चाद्यज्ञैर्विपुलदक्षिणैः॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददद् ग्रामान्गाश्च राजन् सहस्रशः। मुच्यते सर्व पापेभ्यस्तमोभ्य इव चन्द्रमाः॥ वनपर्व 33. 78–79.

As gifts of land were so highly valued, the smṛtis contain numerous rules about them. Yāj. (I. 318–320)[2023] prescribes the following rules: ' when a king makes a gift of land or bestows a nibandha he should execute a writing (about the gift) for the information of future good kings. He (the king) should issue a permanent edict bearing his signature and the date on a piece of

2023. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत् । आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥ पटे वा ताम्रपट्टे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् । अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंश्यानात्मानं च महीपतिः ॥ प्रतिग्रहपरीमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम् । स्वहस्तकालसंपन्नं शासनं कारयेत्स्थिरम् ॥ या. I. 318–320. विश्वरूप on या. I. 318–320 reads दानाच्छेदोपवर्णनम् and remarks 'एतद् दानफलम्, एतदाच्छेदनफलं षष्टिं वर्ष...नरके वसेत् इत्यादि.' For the verse षष्टिं... वसेत् vide Appendix. Nibandha is a fixed payment to be made every year or month or on certain occasions to a person or temple or the like, as for example of so many betel leaves or betelnuts out of each load of betel leaves or nuts. It is translated rather inaccurately as corrody by Colebrooke and others. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 124 explains it as 'a permanent endowment' (akṣayanidhi); the Mit. explains 'एकस्य भाण्डभरकस्येयन्तो रूपकाः एकस्य पर्णभरकस्येयन्ति पर्णानि'. The Mit. explains 'दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम्' differently as 'दीयते इति दानं क्षेत्रादि तस्य च्छेदः...नद्यावाटौ (—घाटौ ?) निवर्तनं तत्परिमाणं च तस्योपवर्णनम्'; अपरार्क p. 579 'अस्मिन् ग्रामे प्रतिक्षेत्रं क्षेत्रस्वामिनैतद्धनमस्मै प्रत्यब्दं प्रतिमासं वा देयम्'. This passage of Yāj. is cited in *The Collector of Thana* v. *Hari* 6 Bom. 546 (F. B.) at pp. 557–558 and the definition of nibandha from the Vyavahāramayūkha in *Ghelabhai* v. *Hargovan* 36 Bom. 94 at p. 101. One of the verses of बृहस्पति is अनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यं सर्वभाग्यविवर्जितम् । चन्द्रार्कसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयागतम् ॥ (अपरार्क p. 579). For examples of the grants of nibandhas, vide E.I. vol. XIV p. 295 at p. 309 where memerous dues on articles are given to a temple by the Paramāra king Cāmuṇḍarāja (on one bharaka of candied sugar and jaggery one varṇakā and on loads of cotton thread dyed with mañjiṣṭhā one rupee, one cocoanut on a load of cocoanuts, one betel-nut from one thousand nuts, one palikā on each jar of ghee or oil), E. I. vol. XII at p. 331 (Inscription at Yewur dated 1105 A. D. as to a gift of nibandha for the benefit of a temple of Keśava ' on sales of areca nuts an impost of five areca nuts on each gold piece and 25 leaves on each load of betel leaves '), E. I. vol. XI p. 26 at p. 30 the grant of one *hāra* of barley corn for each water wheel for the worship of a Jain saint in saṁvat 1167), E. I. vol. XI. p. 35 (grant in saṁ. 1189 for two *palikās* of oil from each oil-mill payable to the shrine of a Jain saint), E.I. vol. XI. p.37. In the Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of the 28th year of the reign of the Śaka king Devaputra Huviṣka (about the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.) a permanent endowment was called ' akṣayanīvi (E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 60). So also the same word is used in the Nālandā stone Inscription of the time of Yaśovarmadeva with regard to a Buddhist temple (E. I. vol. 20 p. 37 at p. 39). Vide also E. I. vol. 15 p. 15 and E. I. vol. 17 p. 345 at p. 348. The Gupta Inscription No. 62 (p. 261) records the gift of twelve golden *dīnāras* made as an akṣayanīvi (a permanent endowment) from the interest of which one *bhikṣu* was to be fed every day.

cloth or on a copper-plate marked at the top with his seal and write down thereon the names of his ancestors and of himself, the extent (or measurements) of what is gifted and set out the passages (from smṛtis) that condemn the resumption of gifts '. Viśvarūpa the oldest extant commentator of Yāj. states that the edict or order should also bear the names or signatures of the royal officers such as ājñā, dūtaka, the name of the place where the king's army is encamped &c. and that the names of women (such as the queen mother or queen) should be mentioned, and that verses stating the result of resuming gifts made by former kings should find place in the edict. Aparārka (pp. 579-580) quotes long extracts from Bṛhaspati and Vyāsa on the same subject. Bṛhaspati says that a royal edict recording a gift of land should be executed on a piece of cloth or on copper-plate, should state the place (of issue) and (the names of) the king's ancestors, that it should be stated to last till the sun and moon endure, that it was not to be resumed or taken back and was to be free from all future taxes and that it was to go on to the sons and grandsons from generation to generation (of the donee), it should state that heaven would be the reward of the donor and those that continued the gift, that the result of the resumption of the gift would be hell for 60,000 years to the resumer and it should bear the king's seal, the year, the month, the fortnight and day and should bear the signature of the superintendents (royal officers). Vyāsa after stating these requisites adds that the edict should be addressed to brāhmaṇas and other respectable people, to the king's officers, to all householders and to all others including medas and cāṇḍalas, that it should state that the gift is made for securing merit for one's parents and one's self.

The thousands of copper-plate grants and inscriptions on stone published so far show that these directions contained in Yāj., Bṛ. and Vyāsa have been followed to the letter from at least the 5th century onwards. In the earliest inscriptions verses about the merit of gifts and the sin of resumption do not occur. For example, in Gupta Inscription No. 8 (pp. 36 ff) dated 88 of the Gupta Era (i. e. 407-8 A. D.) of Chandragupta II the only words (in prose) are 'whoever would cut off this charitable gift would be guilty of the five great sins'; similarly in the Gupta Inscription No. 5 (p. 32) dated Gupta era 93 the words are 'whoever would destroy this charity now set on foot would be guilty of the murder of brāhmaṇas and cows and of the five

sins that bring immediate punishment'. In the Inscriptions of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman also (E. I. vol. I p. 7) such verses are not found. In the copper-plate grant of Skanda-gupta (dated 146 Gupta year i. e. 465–66 A. D., Gupta Inscriptions[2024] No. 16, p. 68) there is a verse on the point, but it is not one of those that are found in most inscriptions.

In the earliest records verses lauding gifts and deprecating their resumption are few (one or two) but in later records their number increases. For example, in the copperplate of Maitraka Vyāghrasena (E. I. vol. XI, p. 221) there are only two verses and in the plates of Dhruvasena dated Gupta-Valabhi saṁvat 206 and 210 respectively there are only two and three verses (E. I. vol. XI. pp. 107, 111), while there are 16 verses in an inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva dated in Kalacuri *saṁvat* 823 (E. I. vol. XII p. 205) and 15 verses in the copperplate grant of Cāhamāna Ratnapāla dated in Vikrama saṁvat 1176 (E. I. vol. XI, pp. 312–313). In most of the inscriptions containing these laudatory and imprecatory verses, they are cited as from Vyāsa or Manu or from smṛti in general. In the Appendix[2025] a list of about forty such verses is given and in the footnotes it is pointed out wherever possible from what smṛti or other source they are taken and a reference is made to some of the earliest inscriptions and grants where they occur. The references will show that these verses occur in inscriptions from all parts of India. Two of the most usual verses are: 'the earth was donated by many such kings as Sagara and others; whatever king is lord of the earth at any particular time enjoys the reward (merit) of the gift of that land. The donor of land enjoys bliss in heaven for sixty thousand years and he who

2024. यो व्यक्तमेद्दायामिमं निबद्धं गोप्तो गुरुघ्नो द्विजघातकः सः। तैः पातकैः पञ्चभिरन्वितोघर्मश्चेश्वरः सोपपातकैश्च। From Gupta Inscription No. 16 at p. 71. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I (E. I. vol. 18 p. 235 at p. 251) occurs besides 6 verses the following prose passage 'यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिद्याद्याच्छिद्यमानकं चानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति।'. Vide also E. I. XI. (of Valabhi era 206) p. 107 for the same words.

2025. Vide Pargiter's paper in J. R. A. S. for 1912 pp. 248–255 for some verses relating to gifts of lands in land grants. He deals with only seven verses and refers only to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. In my notes (in the appendix) an attempt has been made to trace some of them to the smṛtis. It is quite possible to trace more of these verses in the smṛtis if a more thorough search were made than I could find time to make.

destroys (or resumes) it or who abets the destruction dwells in hell for the same period.' In spite of such imprecations it appears that lands donated by former kings were sometimes confiscated by their successors. For example, in an inscription of Indrarāja III dated *śake* 836 it is stated that the king restored four hundred villages that had been confiscated by former kings (E. I. vol. IX, p. 24 at p. 33 'pūrvapṛthvīpāla-viluptāni); in the Talmanchi plates of Cālukya Vikramāditya I (dated 660 A. D.) there is a recital that 'he re-established the endowments of temples and brāhmaṇas that had been lost in the three kingdoms' (E. I. vol. IX. p. 100). The Rājatarangiṇī (V. 166-170) states that king Śaṁkaravarman (in the first half of the 10th century), the son of Avantivarman, deprived temples of all their properties for replenishing his treasury emptied by his vices.[2026] Parāśara (XII. 51) says that the sin of resuming land already donated cannot be expiated even by performing a hundred Vājapeya sacrifices or by the gift of millions of cows. In the Khoh plates of Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha (Gupta Inscriptions No. 25 p. 115) dated Gupta *saṁvat* 209 (528-529 A. D.) there is a peculiar curse pronounced on him who would interfere with his gift 'him who would interfere with this gift I shall, though functioning in another body (on account of rebirth), consume (burn) with terrible curses (or imprecatory thoughts)'. Vide also Gupta Ins. No. 23 p. 107 of G. S. 191. When a grant of a village or villages was made kings excepted therefrom grants already made in favour of shrines of gods and brāhmaṇas. For example, in the Pikira Grant of Siṁhavarman (E. I. VIII. p. 162) it is stated 'this village is granted by us as a gift to brāhmaṇas excepting the cultivated lands given as endowment to gods' (devabhogahalavarjam). In E. I. vol. X. p. 88 (of 697 *śake*) the grant excludes 'the portion already bestowed on gods and brāhmaṇas' (pūrvapratta-deva-brahma-dāya-rahitaḥ). The grant of the village by the Candella king Paramardideva in saṁ. 1236 expressly excludes five halas (land measure) of land granted to Buddha (i. e. to a temple of Buddha then existing). Vide E. I. XX. at p. 129. This shows that a Hindu king respected an endowment already made to a shrine of Buddha or to a monastery of Buddhists (devaśrī-buddha-satka-pañcahalam

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2026. आरब्धैर्यसनैर्भूम्ना क्षीणकोशः क्षणे क्षणे। देवादीनां स सर्वस्वं जहारायास-युक्तिभिः॥ ... ग्रामान्देवगृहग्रामान्राजा प्रतिकरेण सः। स्वयं स्वीकृत्य चोत्पत्तिं क्षमां कार्यक इव व्यधात्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी V. 166 and 170.

bahiṣkṛtya). Vide also I. H. Q. vol. VIII for 1932 p. 305 (plates of Bhoja dated *saṁ.* 1079 where the expression ' devabrāhmaṇa-bhuktivarjam ' occurs); E. I. vol. II p. 360 (*saṁ.* 1162); E. I. 14, p. 194 (*saṁ.* 1150); E. I. vol. I, p. 85 at p. 88 (G. S. 334). There are many instances where kings making grants of a field say that they purchased it from the owner and then bestowed it. For example, in E. I. vol. 17 p. 345 there is a grant by Kumāragupta (G. S. 193) of this character and see p. 856 above where such a grant is referred to. Even in the most ancient grants what is granted is set out with great particularity. A few examples will show this. In the Nasik Inscription No. 3 of Vāsiṭhīputa[2027] Siri-Puḷumāyi (E. I. vol. 8 p. 65) the grant is in these words ' And to this village of Sāmalipada (Śālmalipadra) we grant the immunity belonging to monk's land, making it not to be entered by royal officers, not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities '. So also the Mayidavolu plates [2028] of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman state (E. I. vol. VI, p. 87) ' to this village of Viripara we grant all the immunities enjoyed by the *brahmadeyas.* Let it be free from digging for salt, free from being interfered with by the district police (or officers), free from supply of bullocks in succession, free from the entrance of soldiers, free from supply of boiled rice, water pots, cots and lodgings, with these and all other immunities prescribed (by rules) regarding all *brahmadeyas*, we have caused it to be exempted '. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 55, p. 235 (the Chammak copperplate of Pravarasena II)[2029] there are numerous words about the various taxes and exactions remitted which it is difficult to understand at this distance of time, but some of

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2027. एतस च गामस सामलिपदस भिखुहलपरिहार वितराम अपालस अनोमस अलोणखादक अरठसविनयिक सवजातपरिहारिक च । E. I. vol. VIII at p. 65.

2028. एतस गामस विरिपरस सवब्रह्मदेय परिहारे वितराम अलोणखादकं अरठसंविनायिकं अपरंपराबलिवर्दं अभडपपेसं अकूरच्चोलकविनासिखडासंवासं एतेहि अनेहि च सवब्रह्मदेयमजादाय सवपरिहारेहि परिहारितो । E. I. vol. VI. at p. 87.

2029. चर्माङ्कनामग्रामः ... अतिसृष्टः । अथास्योचितां पूर्वराजानुमतां चातुर्वेद्यग्राममर्यादां वितरामः । तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटछात्रप्रवेश्यः (अभटचाटप्रवेश्यः?) अपारंपरगोबलिवर्दः अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोहः अचारासनचर्माङ्कारः अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनकः सर्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सक्तृतोपक्तृतः आचन्द्रार्कादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयगमकः भुञ्जतां न केनाचिद् व्याघातः कर्तव्यः । Gupta Ins. p. 238; at p. 136 (G.S. 214) the words are ग्रामौ ... सोद्रङ्गौ सोपरिकरौ अचाटभटप्रवेश्यौ राजाभाव्यसर्वकरप्रत्यायोत्पद्यकोत्पद्यमानकसमेतौ...चोरदण्डवर्जितौ (here only the fines imposed upon thieves were exempted from the gift).

which may be stated 'it was to be free from taxes, not to be entered by the regular soldiers, nor by *cāṭas*, it was to be entirely free from all obligations of forced labour, it was to carry with it hidden treasure and all deposits.'

It is often stated in the grants that lands or villages are granted with the eight *bhogas* (vide E. I. vol. VI. at p. 97, the Gadag Ins. of Hoysala Vīra-Ballāḷa in *śake* 1114). The eight *bhogas* are enumerated in some of the inscriptions themselves. In the Śrīśaila plates of Virūpākṣa (of *śake* 1388) they are stated to be nidhi (treasure trove), nikṣepa (what is deposited on the land), vāri (water), aśman (stones, mines), akṣiṇī (actual privileges), āgāmi (future profits), siddha (what is already brought under cultivation), sādhya (waste land that may in future be turned into cultivable land).[2030] In the times of the Marathas when lands or villages were granted it was usual to put in such words as 'jalataru-tṛṇa-kāṣṭha-pāṣāṇa-nidhi-nikṣepa' (water, trees, grass, wood, stones, treasure-trove and deposits). It has been decided by the modern Indian Courts that these words conferred on the grantee ownership in the soil itself and that in the absence of these words it is possible to hold that the grant was only of the royal share of the revenue and not of the soil itself.[2031]

The question whether the king is the owner of all land in his kingdom has been discussed from very ancient times. Jaimini (VI. 7. 3) states the proposition that in the Viśvajit sacrifice (where the sacrificer has to donate everything that belongs to him) even the emperor cannot make a gift of the whole earth of which he may be the ruler, since the earth is common to all (to the sovereign as well as to those who cultivate

2030. निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यमिति ख्यातमष्टभोगैश्च संयुतम् ॥ E. I. vol. 15 at p. 22; in the Conjeevaram plates of कृष्णदेवराय (śake 1444), the verse runs 'निधिनिक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वितम् । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्यं सदूहम् ॥'. Vide also E. I. vol. I. at p. 400 (śake 1451, in Canarese) 'निधिनिक्षेपजलपाषाणअक्षिणी आगामिसिद्धसाध्यं गळेव अष्टभोगतजःस्वाम्यसर्वोत्पत्तिसकलबलिसहितवागि' E. I. vol. XIII p. 34 n 1 and I. A. vol. 19. p. 244 for the meaning's of these words.

2031. For a grant where these words occur and which was held to be of the soil, vide *Ravji* v *Dadaji* 1 Bom. 523; for a grant which was held to be of the royal share of the revenue only, vide the grant in *Vaman* v the *Collector of Thana* 6 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 191. Vide also *Amrit Vaman* v *Hari* 44 Bom. 237 about the interpretation of the words 'water, grass &c.'.

it and make use of it). Śabara[2032] elaborates this by adding that others have as much right over the earth as the emperor, that the emperor is entitled to a share of crops produced from the earth as his since he protects them; but that all other persons also walk on the earth, produce crops on it, get their sustenance from it and so they also have rights over the earth and therefore there is no difference between the emperor and other persons as to rights over the earth. This view is relied upon by the Vyavahāramayūkha[2033] which says 'therefore it is said in the 6th chapter of Jaimini that the whole earth cannot be given away by the emperor and a province by a feudatory chief. The ownership in the several villages and fields on the entire earth or in a province belongs to the holders of the land alone, while kings are entitled only to collect taxes. Therefore when kings now make what are technically called gifts of fields, no gift of land (soil) is effected thereby, but only provision is made for the maintenance of the donee (from the taxes which are alienated by the king). Where however houses and fields are purchased from the holders thereof (by the king) he has also ownership (over the fields &c.) in those cases and he in such cases secures the full merit of the gift of land (if he makes a gift of such fields)'. These passages embody the important proposition that the state is not the owner of all lands, but is only entitled to levy taxes from the holders of land.

There is another view also according to which the king was the owner of lands and the subjects were only occupants. This latter view, being more convenient and paying, has been adopted in modern times by the British Government in its policy and legislation (e. g. *vide* section 37 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, Bombay Act V. of 1879). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 318 states[2034] that the words of Yāj. imply that the privileges of

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2032. न भूमिः स्यात्सर्वाभ्यत्यधिशिष्टत्वात् । जै. VI. 7. 3; न भूमिर्देयेति । कुतः । क्षेत्राणामीशितारो मनुष्या दृश्यन्ते न कृत्स्नस्य पृथ्वीगोलकस्येति । आह । य इदानीं सार्वभौमः स तर्हि दास्यति । सोऽपि नेति ब्रूमः । कुतः । यावता भूमिभागेन सार्वभौमो भूमेरीष्टे तावतान्योपि । न तत्र कश्चिद्विशेषः । सार्वभौमस्य श्वेतदधिकं यदसौ पृथिव्यां संभूतानां व्रीह्यादीनां रक्षणेन निर्विष्टस्य कस्यचिद्भागस्येष्टे न भूमेः । तस्मिंश्चाश्च ये मनुष्यास्तैरन्यत्सर्वप्राणिनां धारणचंक्रमणादि यद्भूमिकृतं तत्रेशित्वं प्रति न कश्चिद्विशेषः । ' शबर.

2033. Vide for the text my edition of the व्यवहारमयूख p. 91.

2034. अनेन भूपतेरेव भूमिदाने निबन्धदाने वाधिकारो न भोगपतेरिति दर्शितम् । मिता. on या. I. 318. Numerous grants were addressed to rāṣṭrapati, viṣayapati, bhogapati &c. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 24 p. 110, E. I. XI at p. 82 (1076 sam.) and XII at p. 34 for the word 'bhoga' in the sense of a district in a kingdom'. Bhukti also has the same sense.

making a gift of land or of a *nibandha* belonged only to the king and not to the governor of a province or a district under the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 114 quotes a smṛti[2035] 'land passes on the happening of six circumstances viz. with the consent of one's village, of one's agnatic relations, of *sāmantas*, and of one's coparceners and when accompanied with water and (dakṣiṇā of) gold' and remarks that the consent of *sāmantas* (neighbours) is only necessary as a safeguard against disputes about boundaries and that of the villagers is necessary for giving notice of the alienation to all. As the king is not mentioned here, the king's consent does not appear to have been necessary for the gift of land by a private person. But it appears that the king's consent was sometimes sought for gifts by private persons and obtained e. g. in Gupta Ins. No. 31 p. 135 Mahārāja Śarvanātha (G. S. 214) approves of a gift of two villages made to a person and his sons and grandsons in succession for the worship of the goddess Piṣṭapurikādevī by a donee to whom they had been originally granted.

On account of the great value attached to copper-plate grants as documents of title, there were great temptations to forge them. In the Madhuban copper-plate of Harṣa (E. I. vol. VII. p. 155 at p. 158) reference is made to a grant fabricated by a certain brāhmaṇa named Vāmarathya about a village called Somakuṇḍakā. Manu IX. 232 prescribes death as the penalty for fabricators of royal charters. Vide Fleet on 'Spurious Indian Records' in I. A. vol. 30, p. 201.

From Manu and other smṛtikāras it appears that so far as lands already brought under cultivation are concerned they appear to hold that the ownership of the land is in the cultivators and the king is only entitled to levy taxes for the protection he affords. In Manu VII. 130–132 it is stated 'the king should take a fiftieth part of cattle and gold and a sixth, 8th or 12th part of the crops and a sixth part of trees, flesh, honey, ghee, perfumes, herbs, liquids, flowers, roots and fruits &c.' and in X. 118 Manu allows the king to raise his demand in times of emergency to a fourth of the produce of land. Manu IX. 44 states that a field belongs to him who uproots the stems of trees and shrubs from waste or uncultivated land. Manu VIII. 39 provides that in ancient treasure-

2035. स्वग्रामज्ञातिसामन्तदायादाद्यमतेन च । हिरण्योदकदानेन यद्भिर्मच्छति मेदिनी ॥ मिता. on या. II. 114.

trove found underneath the ground and in mines the king is entitled to a share because he affords protection and because he is lord of the earth. This militates against the view that the king is the owner of all lands, since, if that were so, Manu would have declared that the king took all the mines and treasure found in a cultivated field. In VIII. 243 Manu prescribes a fine for a cultivator not cultivating his field at the proper time or allowing the crops to be eaten up. But this would not make the king the owner, since the fine is imposed because the king is deprived of his share of taxes by the action of the cultivator. All these passages show that Manu held that the ownership of arable land was in the cultivator himself and the king was only entitled to demand a certain share of the produce (which is designated *bhāga* or *kara* as in Manu VII. 133). This is further supported by the conduct and practice of powerful but good kings who purchased lands from their holders when they wanted to donate lands already cultivated. It may be conceded that land that was waste or not cultivated by anybody was deemed to belong to the king. Manu (VII. 115–119) enjoins that the king should appoint a headman for a village and officers for ten, 20,100 and a thousand villages, that each of the preceding one was to report to the officer next above him about crimes and other matters, that the headman of a village was to take for his livelihood the perquisites (such as food, fuel &c.) that the king could daily demand from the villagers, and that the other officers were to be remunerated by grants of plots of land (which when first granted must have been uncultivated). Kauṭ. II. 1 states that land prepared for cultivation may be granted to cultivators who will pay a tax for life, that lands may be confiscated from those who do not cultivate them and may be given to others, that lands bestowed upon superintendents, accountants and similar persons as remuneration cannot be sold and mortgaged by them. For want of space this subject cannot be further pursued here. In modern times opinion has been sharply divided on the question whether the revenue from the land is in the nature of rent or is a tax. Baden Powell in 'Land Systems of British India' vol. I, pp. 240, 280 holds that land revenue is not rent but is a tax. In an elaborate judgment delivered by Sir Michael Westropp C. J. after exhaustively reviewing the original sanskrit texts (pp. 30–39) and the works and reports of famous statesmen and writers such as Elphinstone, Munro, Mill and Wilson (pp. 39–53) the conclusion arrived at is stated to be that 'the proprietary

right of the sovereign derives no warrant from the ancient laws or institutions of the Hindus and is not recognized by modern Hindu lawyers as exclusive or incompatible with individual ownership' (p. 53).[2036]

The word *agrahāra* has been applied to the grant of lands or villages to brāhmaṇas from very ancient times. It occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata e. g. Vanaparva 68. 4, Āśramavāsiparva 2. 2, 10. 41, 13. 11, 14. 14, 25. 5. Vide E. I. vol. I, p. 88 (grant of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena III. in G. S. 334 i. e. 653-654 A. D.) and in the Madhuban copper-plate of Harṣa dated in the 25th year of his reign (i. e. 631, A. D., E. I. vol. I, p. 73 and VII at p. 158).

Gifts of certain kinds are called Mahādānas. According to the Agnipurāṇa[2037] (209. 23-24) the Mahādānas were ten, viz. gifts of gold, horses, sesame, elephants, maids, chariots, land, house, a bride, and a dark-brown (*kapilā*) cow. The Mahādānas are, however, usually enumerated as 16 in the purāṇas (vide Matsya, chap. 274-289, Agni. chap. 210, Liṅgapurāṇa II, chap. 28 ff). The sixteen mahādānas are: Tulāpuruṣa (weighing a person against gold or silver which is then distributed among brāhmaṇas), Hiraṇyagarbha, Brahmāṇḍa, Kalpavṛkṣa, Gosahasra, Kāmadhenu (or Hiraṇyakāmadhenu), Hiraṇyāśva, Hiraṇyāśvaratha (or simply Aśvaratha), Hemahastiratha (or simply Hastiratha), Pañcalāṅgala, Dharādāna (or Haimadharādāna), Viśvacakra, Kalpalatā (or Mahākalpa-), Saptasāgara, Ratnadhenu, Mahābhūtaghaṭa. In the Liṅgapurāṇa (Uttarārdha, chap. 28 ff) the names are somewhat different. The names of these Mahādānas (of some at least) go back to centuries preceding the Christian Era. The word 'Mahādānāni' occurs in the Mahābhārata (Āśramavāsi-parva 3. 31, 13. 15). In the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) Kalpavṛkṣa appears to be mentioned (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79). Bāṇa often refers to Mahādānas in general and Gosahasra in particular.[2038] It has already been shown (on

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2036. Vide *Vyakunta Bapuji* v. *Government of Bombay*, 12. Bom. H. C. (Appendix pp. 1-224).

2037. कनकाश्वतिला नागा दासीरथमहीगृहाः । कन्या च कपिला धेनुर्महादानानि वै दश ॥ अग्निपुराण 209. 23-24. This verse with slight variations is quoted by अपरार्क p. 198 (but without the name of the work).

2038. द्विग्गजनिधाविच्छिन्नमहादानसन्तानम् । कादम्बरी para 85 (two meanings of दान); दीयमानानेकगोसहस्रशृङ्खलायमान इवापलायत कलिः ... महादानविधानकलकलाभिद्रुता इव ग्राम्यकुक्कुटपक्षवः । हर्षचरित III, 11th para.

p. 856) how Uṣavadāta made extensive gifts some of which fall under mahādānas. The Tulāpuruṣa is very frequently spoken of in the Epighraphic records. The Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV (dated *śake* 852) state that the king was weighed against gold (E. I. vol. VII. p. 26). Vide also E. I. vol. XI p. 112 (in Dantivarma Ins. of *śake* 675), E. I. vol. IX, p. 24 (Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrarāja III weighed against gold in *śake* 836), E. I. vol. XI, p. 20 at p. 23 (Hematulā of Govindacandra mentioned in *saṁ.* 1186), E. I. vol. XIV, p. 197 (dated *saṁ.* 1156, when 32 villages were given as dakṣiṇā after the two mahādānas of tulāpuruṣa and gosahasra); E. I. vol. VII, p. 17 (refers to tulāpuruṣa of Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara in *śake* 1437). The tulādāna is mentioned in the ancient Tamil work Śilappadikāram (vide p. 311 of Prof. Dikshitar's translation). In E. I. vol. XII, at p. 10 it is stated that king Lakṣamaṇasena of Bengal granted a village as dakṣiṇā when he performed the Mahādāna called Hemāśvaratha. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa (dated *śake* 793) speak of the Hiraṇyagarbha mahādāṇa performed by Danti-durga at Ujjayinī (E. I. vol. XVIII, pp. 235, 238). In the Śrīraṅgam plates of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara dated *śake* 1350 it is stated that the prince gave a dinner to one lakh of brāhmaṇas at the holy place or Prayāga (modern Allahabad) and on a lunar eclipse performed the Pañca-lāṅgala vrata (J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. XIII, p. 1 at p. 3).

Brief notes will now be added for setting out the procedure of the mahādānas. The Matsya-purāṇa (chap. 274–289) devotes about 400 verses to these. Aparārka (pp. 313–344) not only quotes almost all these verses of the Matsya-purāṇa, but also adds further details from the Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa in certain cases. Hemādri (Dānakhaṇḍa pp. 166-345) is far more elaborate and quotes (in addition to the Matsya) long passages from the Liṅga, Garuḍa and other purāṇas and from works on Tantra and the Āgamas. The Dānamayūkha devotes pp. 86–151 to the 16 mahādānas. The Matsyapurāṇa (274. 11–12) states that the mahādānas were performed by such ancient heroes and kings as Vāsudeva, Ambarīṣa, Bhārgava, Kārtavīrya Arjuna, Rāma, Prahlāda, Pṛthu and Bharata. It then gives general directions about the construction of the *pandal* (maṇḍapa) required in making these mahādānas. The maṇḍapa may be of various sizes, 16 aratnis (one *aratni* being equal to 21 aṅgulas of the donor) or 12 or 10 cubits (one cubit being the length of the arm from the tip of the middle finger to the end

of the elbow), should have four doors and a vedi (raised platform) of seven or five cubits prepared with bricks, there was to be an arch on the vedi for holding the balance, it should have nine or five kuṇḍas[2039] (pits in the ground for holding fire) or one kuṇḍa, two auspicious water jars were to be placed at each door of the pandal, the tulā was to have two posts and a cross beam of the same wood (such as aśvattha, bilva, palāśa &c.) and was to be decked with golden ornaments. These details have to be passed over here for want of space. The rest of the procedure about tulāpuruṣa is briefly as follows (Matsya, chap. 274): Priests knowing the four Vedas were to be placed on the four sides respectively (viz. Ṛgvedins to the east, Yajurvedins to the south, Sāmavedins in the west and Ātharvaṇas in the north). Then four homas were to be offered to Gaṇeśa, the planets, the lokapālas, the eight Vasus, the Ādityas, the Maruts, to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the sun and the herbs and Vedic hymns referring to these were to be recited.

At the end of the homa, the guru invokes with flowers and incense the *lokapālas* (lords of the worlds or quarters) with *paurāṇika* mantras, viz. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Soma, Īśāna, Ananta and Brahmā. Then the donor should give golden ornaments, ear ornaments, golden chains, wristlets, rings, clothes to the priests and double (what is given to each *ṛtvik*) to the guru. Brāhmaṇas should then recite the vedic hymn on śānti (propitiatary verses averting evil).[2040] Then the donor again bathes and clad in white garments and wearing garlands of white flowers and having flowers in his folded hands invokes the balance that is supposed to be Govinda (Viṣṇu), and after per-ambulating the balance, he should step

2039. There is a work called Kuṇḍārka by Śaṁkara, son of Nīlakaṇṭha, which in 15 stanzas succinctly gives all information about kuṇḍas. They are of ten kinds, circular, lotus-like, crescent-shaped, yoni, triangular, quadrangular, pentangular to octagonal. The diagonal drawn from north-east to south-west may be one hasta, two hastas, four, 6 or eight according as the oblations to be offered are 1000 or more up to 10,000 or from 10,000 up to a lakh, or from a lakh up to ten lakhs (4 hastas), from ten lakhs up to a crore (six hastas) and any number beyond a crore (8 hastas). This extent is necessary for preventing the oblations from falling outside the kuṇḍa. Kuṇḍas of different forms were employed according to the rites performed. Vide Hemādri (dāna, pp. 125–134) for further details.

2040. The hymn 'śam na indrāgnī' Ṛg. VII 35. 1–15, in the first 13 verses of which the words 'śam naḥ' occur at the commencement.

into one pan and in the other pan brāhmaṇas should place pure gold. Then the earth should be invoked and thereafter the donor should leave the balance and give half of the gold to the guru and the other half to the brāhmaṇas, pouring water on their hands before doing so and he may also make grants of villages to the guru and other priests. Then he should honour brāhmaṇas, other respectable people and the poor and helpless with gifts. One who performs this rite stays for innumerable years in the world of Viṣṇu. The same procedure was applied to weighing a man against silver or camphor (Aparārka p. 320, Hemādri, dānakhaṇḍa p. 214). Apart from kings who got themselves weighed against gold as shown above, lesser persons such as ministers sometimes indulged in this mahādāna, as Caṇḍeśvara, a minister of the Mithilā kings, states with pride in his Vivādaratnākara (vide H. D. vol. I, p. 370).

Hiraṇyagarbha:—(Matsya 275, Liṅgapurāṇa II. 29). The preliminary procedure about the pandal, the time, place, the materials, the puṇyāhavācana, the invocation of the lords of quarters is the same in this and the other mahādānas as in tulāpuruṣa. The donor should then bring forward a golden kuṇḍa (basin or vessel) 72 fingers high and 48 broad and having the shape of a *muraja* (tabor) but looking like the interior surface of a golden lotus (with eight petals). The golden vessel (it is called Hiraṇyagarbha) should be placed on a heap of sesame. Then the golden vessel is to be addressed with *paurāṇika* mantras, identifying it with Hiraṇyagarbha [2041] (the Creator). He should then enter the golden vessel, sit facing the north, hold in his hands golden images of Brahmā and Dharmarāja and hold his head for five breaths between his knees (to simulate the position of the foetus in the mother's womb). The guru then repeats on the golden vessel the mantras of garbhādhāna, puṁsavana and sīmantonnayana (and mentally revolves the other procedure of these); the guru thereafter makes the donor rise out of the golden vessel to the accompaniment of auspicious music. Then the remaining twelve saṁskāras are [2042] performed symbolically on the donor,

2041. Rg. X. 121. 1-10 is a hymn to Hiraṇyagarbha and begins 'Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ patir-eka āsīt'.

2042. Hemādri (dāna, pp. 230–231) quotes verses to the effect that garbhādāna is to be imitated by sprinkling the juice of dūrvā in the right nostril of the donor, sīmantonnayana by the presence of the fruit of udumbara (as in that rite), annaprāśana by feeding brāhmaṇas with pāyasa (rice cooked in milk) and so on.

who repeats the mantra to Hiraṇyagarbha and says 'formerly I was born from my mother but only as a mortal, now being born of you I shall assume a divine body.' Then the donor, seated on a golden seat, is bathed with the mantra 'devasya tvā' (vide above note 653a) and he distributes the golden vessel among the guru and other priests.

Brahmāṇḍa:—(Matsya 276). In this dāna, two vessels (pans) of gold are to be prepared resembling the two halves of a hemisphere (to represent the dome of heaven above and the earth below). The two halves are to be made of gold weighing from 20 *palas* to a thousand according to the donor's ability and their length and breadth should be from 12 to 100 fingers; the pans should have (golden) figures of the eight *diggajas*, the vedas and six aṅgas, of the eight lokapālas and of brahmā in the middle of them, of Śiva, Viṣṇu, the sun on their top, of Umā and Lakṣmī, of Vasus, Ādityas and Maruts inside; the two should be covered with a silk garment and placed on a heap of sesame; eighteen kinds of corn should be arranged round them. Then in the eight quarters from the east golden images of Anantaśayana (Viṣṇu lying on the snake), Pradyumna, Prakṛti, Saṁkarṣaṇa, the four vedas, Aniruddha, Agni, Vāsudeva should be respectively arranged. Ten jars covered with cloth should be placed near; gifts of ten cows with golden-tipped horns, with copper vessels (for milking them) and covered with garments should be made and gifts of sandals, umbrellas, seats, mirrors should be made and the golden pans (called Brahmāṇḍa) should be addressed in *paurāṇika* verses and the gold should be distributed to the guru and priests (2 parts to the guru and one part to each of eight priests).

Kalpapādapa or *Kalpavṛkṣa*:—(Matsya 277, Liṅga II. chap. 33). A golden tree is to be manufactured with several fruits hanging down from it and with many ornaments and clothes. The gold may be from three palas to a thousand according to one's means. From half of the gold the Kalpapādapa is to be prepared and placed on a heap (prastha is a measure of 32 palas) of jaggery, with images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and the sun and five branches and the other four trees, Santāna, Mandāra, Pārijātaka and Haricandana are to be made each from ¼ of the one half of the gold taken and planted respectively in the east, south, west and north. Under the Kalpavṛkṣa, figures (golden) of Kāmadeva (*the god of* love) and his four wives are to be placed. Eight jars filled

with water and covered with silk cloth and surrounded by lamps, chowries, umbrellas are to be arranged and 18 *dhānyas* [2043] also; prayers are to be offered to the Kalpavṛkṣa to ferry the donor over the ocean of *saṁsāra*; then the kalpavṛkṣa is to be donated to the guru and the other four trees [2044] to four priests. Aparārka (p. 326) quotes Bhaviṣyottara to the effect that a sonless man or woman should make this mahādāna.

Gosahasra:—(Matsya 278, Liṅga II. 38). The donor should subsist for three days or one day on milk alone and then the preliminary procedure of invoking lokapālas, puṇyāhavācana, homa etc. should be gone through. Then fragrant substances should be applied to the body of a bull made to stand on the altar and ten cows out of 1000 should be selected. They should be covered with clothes, have their horns gold-tipped and the hoofs tipped with silver and these cows should be brought inside the pandal and honoured. A golden image of Nandikeśvara (Śiva's bull) having golden bells round its neck, covered with silken cloth, scents and flowers, with horns gold-tipped, should be placed in the midst of the ten cows. The donor should bathe in water that is medicated with the herbs called sarvauṣadhi [2045] and with flowers in his folded hands invoke the cows with mantras expressing the greatness of cows and address the image of Nandikeśvara as Dharma and should bestow the golden image of Nandi on the guru with two cows and donate one cow each to eight priests and to other brāhmaṇas five or ten cows each out of the remaining. The owner should then subsist on milk alone for one day and should be continent that day. The donor would dwell in the world of Śiva and would save his pitṛs and maternal grand-father and other maternal ancestors.

Kāmadhenu:—(Matsya 279, Liṅga II. 35). The figures of a cow and a calf should be made from very pure gold, either one thousand or 500 or 250 *palas* in weight and one without

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2043. The following verse enumerates the 18 dhānyas 'श्यामाकधान्ययवसुद्गतिलाणुमाषगोधूमकोद्रवकुलत्थसतीनशिम्बैः । अष्टादशं चणकलायमयोष्टराजमाषप्रियङ्गुसहितं च मसूरमाहुः ॥ (अपरार्क p. 323). मत्स्य 276. 7 speaks of 'eighteen dhānyas'.

2044. The Kalpapādapas (wish-yielding trees) are said to be five 'Mandāra, Pārijātaka, Santāna, Kalpavṛkṣa and Haricandana'. पञ्चैते देवतरवो मन्दारः पारिजातकः । सन्तानः कल्पवृक्षश्च पुंसि वा हरिचन्दनम् ॥.

2045. The सर्वौषधि are ten 'कुष्ठं मांसी हरिद्रे द्वे मुरा शैलेयचन्दनम् । वचाभ्रमकसुस्तं च सर्वौषध्यो दश स्मृताः ॥' छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट quoted by दानमयूख p. 17.

much wealth may make them from even three *palas* of gold. The skin of a black antelope should be spread over the altar, thereon a *prastha* of jaggery should be kept and on it the golden cow should be placed being decked with jewels, surrounded by eight auspicious jars, fruits, eighteen kinds of grains, chowries, copper vessel, lamps, an umbrella, two silken garments, bells, neck ornaments &c. The donor should invoke the cow with *paurāṇika* mantras and then make a gift of the cow and calf to the guru. Hemādri (dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 265–274) quotes passages from the Matsya, Agni, and Liṅga purāṇas and from the Kāmika and other works.

Hiraṇyāśva:—(Matsya 280). On the altar deer skin should be spread and sesame placed and a golden horse is to be made from gold of the same weight as in Kāmadhenu and the donor is to invoke the image of the horse (identified with the supreme God) and the image is to be donated to the guru. Hemādri (dānakhaṇḍa p. 278) adds that the horse figure is to have silver welded on in five places,[2046] viz. the four feet and the mouth.

Hiraṇyāśvaratha:—(Matsya 281). A golden chariot should be made with figures of seven or four horses, four wheels, a golden flagstaff surmounted by a sapphire jar. There are to be four auspicious jars. Then this is donated along with chowries, an umbrella, silken garments and cows according to one's means.

Hemahastiratha:—(Matsya 282). A golden chariot resembling a toy-cart should be made with four wheels, having figures of eight lokapālas, Brahmā, Śiva, the Sun, with Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and Puṣṭi in the middle of it, on the flag-staff there should be an eagle and the figure of Gaṇeśa on the end of the pole, there should be four golden elephants. Then it is to be invoked and donated.

Pañcalāṅgalaka:—(Matsya 283). Five ploughshares should be made of some strong wood (teak, sandal &c.) and five of gold, ten fine oxen should be decked with gold on their horns and with pearls on their tails, silver on their hoofs and a gift of these and of land equal to one kharvaṭa, kheṭa[2047] or village or

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2046. A horse that is white in five parts of the body viz. the four feet and the mouth is deemed as very auspicious and called 'pañcakalyāṇaka'.

2047. हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 288) quotes from the मार्कण्डेयपुराण 'सोत्सेधप्रमाकारं सर्वतः खातकावृतम्। योजनार्धार्धविष्कम्भमष्टभागायतं पुरम्॥ तद्वर्धेन तथा खेटं तत्पादेन च खर्वटम्॥ तथा क्षुद्रजनप्राया सुसमृद्धकृषीवला। क्षेत्रोपभोगभूमध्ये वसति ग्रामसंज्ञिता॥'.

a gift of one hundred or fifty *nivartanas* according to one's means should be made. A brāhmaṇa with his wife is to be honoured with golden chains, rings, silken garments, wristlets.

Dharādāna or *Haimadharādāna* :—(Matsya 284). A golden figure of the earth resembling Jambudvīpa is to be made with mountains on the borders and mount Meru in the middle, showing hundreds of figures and the seven oceans, made out of from five *palas* up to 1000 palas of gold according to one's means. Then it is to be invoked with many verses and half or $\frac{1}{4}$ of it is to be donated to the guru and the rest to the other priests.

Viśvacakra :—(Matsya 285). A wheel with 16 spokes and 8 fellies should be made of gold, which may be in weight from 20 *palas* to a thousand *palas* according to one's means. On the first nave there should be the figure of Viṣṇu in yoga posture, with the conch and cakra near him and the figures of eight goddesses. On the second nave the sages Atri, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Brahmā, Kaśyapa and the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu should be carved, on the third Gaurī and the mother-goddesses, on the 4th the twelve Ādityas and four Vedas, on the fifth the five *bhūtas* (elements, earth &c.) and the eleven Rudras, on the sixth the eight lokapālas and the eight elephants of the quarters, on the seventh eight[2048] missiles and (eight) auspicious things and on the 8th the gods at intervals. Then the donor should invoke this wheel and donate it.

Mahākalpalatā :—(Matsya 286). Ten *kalpalatās* with figures of various flowers and fruits should be made of gold, they should have figures of Vidyādhara couples, of deities resembling lokapālas and the several *śaktis*, viz. Brāhmī, Anantaśakti, Āgneyī, Vāruṇī and others and above all there should be a canopy. Two of the kalpalatās should be placed in the middle of a circle drawn on the altar and the other eight in the eight quarters on the altar. There should be ten cows and jars. Two should be bestowed on the guru and the remaining eight on eight priests.

2048. The eight missiles are 'खड्गशूलगदाशक्तिकुन्ताङ्कुशधनूंषि च। स्वधिति-श्चेति शस्त्राणि तेषु चापं प्रशस्यते ॥ गरुडपुराण quoted in हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 331) and the eight maṅgalya things are 'दक्षिणावर्तशङ्खश्च रोचना चन्दनं तथा। मुक्ताफलं हिरण्यं च छत्रं चामरमेव च ॥ आदर्शश्चेति विज्ञेयं मङ्गल्यं मङ्गलावहम् ॥ पराशर in the same.

Saptasāgaraka :—(Matsya 287). Seven vessels (kuṇḍas) with a diagonal of either 10½ aṅgulas (prādeśa) or 21 aṅgulas should be made from gold weighing from 7 *palas* to a thousand *palas* according to one's means. The seven vessels should be respectively filled with salt, milk, clarified butter, jaggery, curds, sugar, holy water. In the several kuṇḍas golden images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Indra, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī should be dipped and all jewels should be thrown in them and all dhānyas should be arranged round them. A homa to Varuṇa should be performed and then the donor should invoke the seven oceans (symbolized by the seven kuṇḍas) and then they should be donated.

Ratnadhenu :—(Matsya 288). The figure of a cow is to be made of precious stones. 81 *padmarāga* (ruby) stones are to be placed in the mouth of that figure, a hundred *puṣparāga* stones in the tip of her nose, a golden *tilaka* on her forehead, a hundred pearls in the eyes, a hundred pieces of coral on the two eyebrows, two pieces of mother-o'pearl represent the ears, there should be golden horns, and the head should be of one hundred diamond stones, with one hundred on her neck, one hundred sapphires on the back, a hundred lapis lazuli on the sides, crystal on the belly, a hundred saugandhika stones on the waist, hoofs of gold and tail of pearls and other parts of the cow's body are to be represented in a similar manner with various precious stones and the tongue with sugar and dung with jaggery, urine with ghee and a calf is to be made with ¼ of what is required for the cow and then both are donated.

Mahābhūtaghaṭa :—(Matsya 289). A golden jar is to be set with precious stones with a diagonal of from 10½ aṅgulas to 100 aṅgulas. It is to be filled with milk and clarified butter and on it figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are to be drawn as in the case of Kalpavṛkṣa, and the figures of the earth raised by the great boar, of Varuṇa on his conveyance of Makara, of Agni on a ram, of Vāyu (on a deer), of Gaṇeśa on a rat should be kept in the jar together with the figures of Ṛgveda having a rosary, Yajurveda holding a lotus, Sāmaveda holding a lute, Atharvaveda holding *sruc* and *sruva* ladles and Purāṇas (the fifth veda) holding a rosary and water jar. The golden jar then should be donated.

Most of the smṛtis highly extol the gift of a cow or cows. Manu IV. 231 states that the donor of a cow reaches the world

of the Sun. Yāj. (I. 204-205), Agnipurāṇa 210. 30 prescribe that when making a gift of a cow, she should have the horns and hoofs tipped with gold and silver respectively, she should be accompanied with a bell metal vessel (for milking her) and she should be covered with cloth, she should be mild in temper and the gift should be accompanied with a money payment and that whoever makes such a gift stays in heaven for as many years as there are hair on the cow's body. Vide Saṁvarta verses 71, 74-75 also. In the Anuśāsana-parva[2049] (51. 26-34 and chapters 77, 78 and 81) there are frequent eulogies of cows. Anuśāsana 57. 28-29 are just like Yāj. I. 204-205. Anuśāsana (83. 17-18) explains that the cow is a constituent element of sacrifice, that the cow nourishes men (with milk), that their progeny (the oxen) are useful in agriculture and therefore cows deserve the highest praise. Aparārka (p. 295-297) quotes numerous passages from the purāṇas eulogizing cows. Among cows kapilā is the best for gift (Anuśāsana 73. 42 and 77. 8). Anuśāsana (77. 10 ff) explains why the dark-brown cow (kapilā) is the best. Yāj. I. 205 states that if the cow donated is kapilā it saves (from sin) the donor's family up to seven generations (including himself). Aparārka p. 297 quotes Saṁvarta to the effect that the *kapilā* cow is equal to ten ordinary cows. The Varāhapurāṇa chap. 111 deals with the gift of a kapilā cow. The method of giving a cow is briefly as follows[2050] (Hemādri, Dānakhaṇḍa p. 451 ff, Dānamayūkha pp. 185-186): The cow is made to stand facing the east together with her calf and is worshipped by the donor (after having bathed and tied his top-knot) who sits near the tail and the donee sits facing the north. The donor holds in his hand a vessel containing

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2049. गोभिस्तुल्यं न पश्यामि धनं किंचिदिहाच्युत ॥ कीर्तनं श्रवणं दानं दर्शनं चापि पार्थिव । गवां प्रशस्यते वीर सर्वपापहरं शिवम् ॥ ..... स्वाहाकारवषट्कारौ गोषु नित्यं प्रतिष्ठितौ । गावो यज्ञस्य नेत्र्यो वै तथा यज्ञस्य ता मुखम् ॥ ..... गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावः स्वर्गेऽपि पूजिताः ॥ अनुशासन 51. 26 and 33; अनुशासन 71. 33 is दृष्वा धेनुं सुव्रतां कांस्यदोहां कल्याणवत्सामपलायिनीं च । यावन्ति रोमाणि भवन्ति तस्यास्तावद्वर्षाण्यश्नुते स्वर्गलोकम् ॥. This is like या. I. 205.

2050. One of the mantras is 'यज्ञसाधनभूता या विश्वस्याघमणाशिनी । विश्वरूपः परो देवः प्रीयतामनया गवा ॥'. The procedure in the दानमयूख is 'अथेत्यादि ..... गोदानं करिष्य इति सङ्कल्प्य प्राङ्मुखीं सवत्सां गां विप्रं च संपूज्य सप्तधर्णमाज्यपात्र हस्ते गृहीत्वा तत्र पुच्छं घृताक्तं कृत्वा विप्रहस्ते कुशतिलजलाद्याय उक्तफलेऽभिमतफलमुक्त्वा यज्ञसाधन ..... मनया गवेति मन्त्रं ..... पौराणमन्त्रं च पठित्वा जलमुत्सृजेत् । दानप्रतिष्ठार्थं दक्षिणां दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणधेनू अनुव्रज्य गावः सुरभयो नित्यं... इति यमोक्तां गोमतीं विद्यां जपेत् । दानमयूख pp. 185-186. हेमाद्रि and दानमयूख quote *gomati* verses from the महाभारत also viz. अनुशासन 78. 23-25.

clarified butter in which a piece of gold is put. The tail of the cow is dipped into the butter and then taken out and placed into the right hand of the donee with the hair turned towards the east and also water, sesame and kuśa grass are placed in the donee's right hand. The donor holds in his hand a vessel full of water from which he sprinkles water with *paurāṇika* mantras, gives dakṣiṇā and then the cow starts with the donee and the donor follows them a few steps and repeats certain verses eulogizing cows. The Agnipurāṇa (210. 34) specially recommends that one who is at the door of death should make the gift of a cow (particularly a dark one) who would enable him to cross the blazing river in the world of Yama called Vaitaraṇī (and hence the cow is also called Vaitaraṇī).

Yāj. I. 206–207 (206 = Agnipurāṇa 210. 33), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 88. 1–4, Vanaparva 200. 69–71, Atri 333, Varāhapurāṇa 112 [2051] attach special importance to the gift of a cow when she is just on the point of giving birth to a calf (and therefore styled 'ubhayatomukhī) and the donor is said to stay in heaven as many years as the hair on the body of the cow and her calf. Aparārka (pp. 299–301) quotes a long prose extract from Cyavana on the procedure of this gift. When the head of the calf has appeared, the donor should say to the worthy donee 'accept this cow for conferring a favour on me and not because you desire this gift' and repeat Ṛg. IV. 19. 6. Then taking hold of the cow with the formula 'ka idam kasmā adāt' (Atharvaveda III. 29. 7, Āśv. Śr. 5. 13, Āp. Śr. 14. 11. 2), the donor takes down the calf and recites in a loud voice Ṛg. IV. 27. 1 ('garbhe nu'). Then after kindling fire the donor repeats mantras addressed to the gods, pitṛs, rivers, mountains, plants, seas, serpents, herbs respectively viz. Ṛg. I 139. 11, X. 16. 12, X. 75. 5, IX. 75. 4, III. 8. 11, VII. 49. 1, VI. 75. 14, I. 90. 6. Then the donor should propitiate the Earth with mantras (addressed to the Earth) viz. Ṛg. I. 112. 1, I. 22. 13, I. 185. 7, I. 164. 41; the donor should offer 84 oblations of clarified butter, feed brāhmaṇas and receive

2051. यावद्वत्सस्य वै पादौ शिरश्चैव प्रदृश्यते। तस्मिन्काले प्रदातव्या प्रयतेनान्तरात्मना॥ अन्तरिक्षगतो वत्सो यावद्योन्यां प्रदृश्यते। तावद्दौः पृथिवी ज्ञेया यावद्गर्भं न मुञ्चति॥ यावन्ति तस्या रोमाणि वत्सस्य च युधिष्ठिर। तावद्युगसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ वनपर्व 200. 69–71. या. I. 207 and वराहपुराण 112. 28 are almost the same as वनपर्व 200. 70.

their benedictions in the terms of Rg. V. 51. 11 ('svasti no'). The gift of such a cow with the paraphernalia of gold or silver, fields, corn, clothes, salt and the like, sandal-wood, releases a man from the sins of eating or drinking forbidden food, brāhmaṇa murder, incest &c.

In imitation of the gift of the cow gifts of certain articles were made and they are also described as *dhenus*. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 82. 17–22) speaks of ten dhenus viz. of guḍa (jaggery), ghṛta (ghee), tila (sesame), jala (water), kṣīra (milk), madhu (honey), śarkarā (sugar), dadhi (curds), rasa (other liquids) and godhenu (cow itself). It gives (chap. 82) a detailed description of guḍadhenu and adds that the liquid dhenus should be kept in jars and others should be in heaps, that the same procedure applies to all, and that some add suvarṇadhenu, navanīta-dhenu (cow of butter) and ratnadhenu (cow of jewels). The Agnipurāṇa (210. 11–12) enumerates the same ten dhenus. In the Anuśāsana-parva 71. 39–41 the three dhenus of *ghṛta*, *tila* and *jala* are mentioned. The Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 99–110) describes in detail twelve dhenus, viz. all mentioned in the Matsya (except ghṛta and godhenu) and navanīta, lavaṇa (salt), kārpāsa (cotton) and dhānya (corn). The procedure of all is more or less the same. Black antelope skin four cubits in length is to be spread on the ground that has been cowdunged and has darbhas strewn on it with the neck portion to the east (this represents the cow) and a smaller skin is also spread (to represent the calf). If it is guḍa-dhenu it is made of 2 or 4 bhāras [2052] and the calf is made with one fourth of that for the cow. Various articles such as conch shells, sugarcane pieces, pearls, chowries, coral &c. are placed on the skin, to represent the various limbs of the cow, which is worshipped with *dhūpa* (incense) and lamps and invoked with *paurāṇika* mantras. Then the articles are donated to a brāhmaṇa. Hemādri (Dāna, p. 401) notes that according to the Padmapurāṇa a single jar of liquids and one droṇa of solids constitute these dhenus, while

2052. अपरार्क pp. 304–5 quotes मत्स्य 82. 17–22 and the following verses. Vide Aparārka p. 303 and Agnipurāṇa 210. 17–18 from which the following table may be set out : five कृष्णलs=one माष, 16 माषs=one सुवर्ण, 4 सुवर्णs=one पल, 100 पलs=तुला, 20 तुलाs=भार. Vide Manu VIII. 134–135, Yāj. I. 363–364 (which say that four or five suvarṇas are equal to a पल).

the Dānaviveka establishes that *kumbha*[2053] is equal to 1000 palas and others hold that *kumbha* contains 512 palas. These several dhenus may be donated on eclipses, on the full moon days of Kārtika and Māgha, on *Yugādi* days or when the 7th *tithi* of a month falls on a Sunday and that the donor should subsist for three days on the substance to be donated. Aparārka pp. 303–313, Hemādri (Dāna.) pp. 397–466, Dānamayūkha pp. 172–184 dilate upon these dhenus, but all those details are passed over here for want of space.

It appears that on account of the high merit associated with the gift of cows, donors sometimes passed old and weak cows on to donees. The Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 1. 3 appears to contain a condemnation of such practices.[2054] "He who makes gifts of cows that simply drink water and eat grass, but yield no milk and do not possess strength (to conceive and produce calves) reaches those worlds called 'anandāḥ' (without delights)." The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 77. 5–6) echoes the very words of the Kaṭhopaniṣad. In the Anuśāsana-parva 66. 53[2055] it is said that one should not bestow on a brāhmaṇa a cow which is lean or is without her calf, which is barren and diseased, which is wanting in a limb or is exhausted. Hemādri (Dāna, pp. 448–449) quotes this and other passages of similar import that state that

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2053. प्रस्थ, आढक, द्रोण and खारी are ancient measures of corn. Even Pāṇini mentions some of these. Vide Pāṇ. V. 1. 33 and V. 4. 110 (for khārī), V. 1. 53 (for āḍhaka). The Āp. Dh. S. II. 8. 20. 1 mentions droṇa. There was no unanimity as to their exact extent. Aparārka (p. 305), Hemādri (Vratakhaṇḍa) part I (p. 57), Par. M. II. part 1, p. 141 quote verses (the latter two say from Bhaviṣyapurāṇa) which give the following table: 2 पल = प्रसृति, 2 प्रसृति = कुडव, 4 कुडव = प्रस्थ, 4 प्रस्थ = आढक, 4 आढक = द्रोण, 16 द्रोण = खारी. Parāśara VI. 70 says that 2 prasthas are equal to āḍhaka and 32 prasthas are equal to a droṇa and the Par. M. remarks देशभेदेन शास्त्रद्वयस्य व्यवस्थापनीयत्वात्. Vide मिता. on या. III. 265 and 274, लीलावती of भास्कराचार्य (verses 7–8). According to Aparārka (p. 846) a kumbha is equal to 2 droṇas. The Prāyaścitta-tattva (p. 514) quotes the Kalpataru to the effect that 10 droṇas are equal to a khārī and 20 droṇas to a kumbha.

2054. पीतोदका जग्धतृणा दुग्धदोहा निरिन्द्रियाः। अनन्दा नाम ते लोकास्तान्स गच्छति ता ददत् ॥ कठोप० I. 1. 3; पीतोदकां जग्धतृणां नष्टक्षीरां निरिन्द्रियाम्। जरारोगोपसंपन्नां जीर्णां वापीमिवाजलाम्। दत्त्वा तमः प्रविशति द्विजं क्लेशेन योजयेत् ॥ अनुशासन 77. 5–6.

2055 न कृशां नापवत्सां वा वन्ध्यां रोगान्वितां तथा। न व्यङ्गां न परिश्रान्तां वृथावृं ब्राह्मणाय दे ॥ अनुशासन 66. 53.

the man who makes a gift of such a useless cow enters into the darkness of hell.

The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 83. 92) speaks of ten kinds of *dānas* called *parvatadānas* or *merudānas*, viz. of dhānya (corn), lavaṇa (salt), guḍa (jaggery), hema (gold), tila (sesame), kārpāsa (cotton), ghṛta (ghee), ratna (precious stones), rajata (silver), śarkarā (sugar). The Agnipurāṇa (210. 6–10) enumerates these ten. Aparārka (pp. 344–354) quotes all the chapters of the Matsya. Hemādri (Dāna, pp. 346–396) not only dilates upon these ten dānas, but speaks of 12 of such dānas from Śaiva works like the Kālottara. These *dānas* were called *parvata*, *śaila* or *acala* because the substances were heaped up like hills. The procedure in all of them is the same. A square platform inclined towards the north-east or east was to be prepared, smeared with cowdung and strewn with kuśa grass. In the midst of it a heap was to be made to represent a mountain with smaller heaps to represent hills at the foot of the mountain. In the case of the mountain of dhānya, it is to be made with 1000 or 500 or 300 *droṇa* measures of corn. Three trees of gold are to be planted on the middle of it and in the four directions lotus-like plants of pearls, *gomeda* and *puṣparāga*, emeralds and sapphires, lapis lazuli respectively. Many more picturesque features such as gold and silver images of 81 gods are described in the Matsya. A guru and four priests are to be chosen for homa and 13 *āhutis* are to be offered to each of the gods. In the gift of salt, from 1 to 16 droṇas thereof are to be employed, in the gift of jaggery from 3 to 10 bhāras, in that of gold from 1 to 1000 *palas*, in that of sesame from 3 to 10 droṇas, of *kārpāsa* from 5 to 20 bhāras, of ghee from two *kumbhas* to 20, of *ratnas* from 200 pearls to 1000, with attendant hills of precious stones ¼ of the pearls, of cotton from 20 *palas* to 10 thousand, of sugar from half a bhāra to 8 bhāras.

The smṛtis, purāṇas and digests speak of the gifts of many animals such as of elephants, horses, buffaloes, of articles like clothes, deer-skins, umbrellas, shoes, which are all passed over here. But two or three of these many *dānas* deserve notice. Aparārka (pp. 375–376) extracts a long passage from the Bhaviṣyottara about constructing in the month of Caitra a *maṇḍapa* for the distribution of water to travellers in the midst of a city or in a waterless desert or near a temple. A brāhmaṇa was to be engaged for wages to distribute water and this was to be continued for four months or at least three fortnights,

Another important gift is that of manuscripts of the epics, dharmaśāstras and purāṇas. Aparārka (pp. 389–403) and Hemādri (Dāna, pp. 526–540) quote from the Bhaviṣyottara,[2056] Matsya and other purāṇas long extracts about the merit secured by making such gifts, the Matsya in particular also stating the number of verses in each of the 18 purāṇas. The Agnipurāṇa also in speaking of the gifts of MSS. of purāṇas states the number of verses in each (chap. 272). The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa states that books may be placed in a maṭha for the use of all people and that he who arranges for the reading of books in the temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Sun reaps the merit of the gifts of cows, land and gold. E. I. vol. 18 p. 340 records a gift to a temple in which provision is made for the reading of the Mahābhārata from a part of the income (in Kerala in the 11th century A. D.). The Agnipurāṇa 211. 61 eulogises also the gifts of the works called Siddhāntas.

In medieval and modern times gifts were and are made with a view to propitiate the planets. And this sentiment can be traced back to the days of the sūtras. Gaut.[2057] XI. 15 advises the king to perform the rites that experts in astrology and in portentous signs might indicate (as necessary) for averting evil consequences and states (XI. 16) that according to some ācāryas the welfare of the king depends upon the performance of such rites. The Āśv. gṛ. (III. 12. 16) states that the purohita should direct the king to fight from the direction or side on which the sun is or (if fighting at night) from the side on which Venus shines (and not from a side opposite to them). Yāj. (I. 295–308) deals with Grahaśānti (propitiation of planets). He states that he who desires prosperity, or the averting of calamities, or good rains, long life and health and also wants to harm his enemies by magic rites should perform a sacrifice; that the nine planets are the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu; that images

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2056. वस्त्रयुग्मेन संयुक्तं पुस्तकं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ सामान्यं सर्वलोकानां स्थापयेद्यथ वा मठे । ..... शिवालये विष्णुगृहे सूर्यस्य भवने तथा । यः कारयति धर्मात्मा सदा पुस्तकवाचनम् ॥ गोभूहिरण्यवासांसि शयनान्यासनानि च । प्रत्यहं तेन दत्तानि भवन्ति पुरुषर्षभ भविष्योत्तर quoted by अपरार्क pp. 389 and 391.

2057. यानि च दैवोत्पातचिन्तका ब्रूयुस्तान्याद्रियते । तदधीनमाप ह्येके योगक्षेमे प्रतिजानते । गौतम XI. 15–16; आदित्यमौशनसं वावस्थाय प्रयोधयेत् । आश्व. गृ. III. 12. 16. Vide या. I. 295 = मत्स्यपुराण 93. 2 and या. I. 302, 303 = मत्स्य 93. 27–28.

of the planets are to be made respectively of copper, crystal, red sandal-wood, gold (for both Mercury and Jupiter), silver, iron, lead and bell-metal or they may be drawn on a piece of cloth in these colours or may be painted in circles on the ground with colours; that flowers and clothes may be offered to them of the respective colours described above; fragrant substances, incense of *guggulu* should be offered to them and oblations of cooked food may be made to them in fire with the following mantras respectively, viz. Ṛg. I. 35. 2, Vāj. S. 9. 40, Ṛg. VIII. 44. 16, Vāj. S. 15. 54, Ṛg. II. 23. 15, Vāj. S. 19. 75, Ṛg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 13. 20, Ṛg. I. 6. 3. The fuel-sticks to be offered to the nine planets should respectively be of the following trees and plants: of arka plant, palāśa, khadira, apāmārga, pippala, undumbara, śamī, dūrvā and kuśa grass. 108 or 28 *samidhs* of each of these should be thrown into the fire, they being anointed with honey, clarified butter, curds and milk. The foods on which the brāhmaṇas are to be regaled at dinner in the *grahayajña* are respectively rice mixed with jaggery, rice cooked in milk, haviṣya food (i. e. the food on which the ascetics live), corn that ripens in sixty days cooked in milk, curds and rice, rice with clarified butter, rice mixed with crushed sesame, flesh (with rice), rice of various colours. The fee (dakṣiṇā) to be paid should respectively be a milch cow, conch, a draught ox, gold, clothes, horse (white), dark cow, iron weapon, a goat. 'The rise and fall of kings depend upon the (aspects of) planets and the existence and destruction of the world depend upon planets; therefore the planets should be honoured the most'—says Yāj. I. 308.

The Matsya-purāṇa[2058] in chap. 93 contains a detailed procedure of grahaśānti and chapter 94. (1-9) describes how the images of the nine planets are to be represented. Vide Vaik. IV. 13 and also Baud. gṛ. śeṣa-sūtra I. 16 for a similar treatment. In modern times the *dānas* (articles donated) to propitiate the nine planets are those stated in the

2058. The mantras of the nine planets slightly differ in the Matsya-purāṇa (93. 33-37) from those of Yāj. I. 300-301. Matsya 93. 59-63 names the same dakṣiṇās as Yāj. and Aparārka p. 575 quotes those verses. All the nine verses of Matsya 94 are quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 297-98. Yāj. probably meant to rely only on the Vāj. S., but as some of the mantras occur in the Ṛg., references to the latter have been given.

Dharmasindhu [2059] quoted below. The S. R. M. (pp. 123–164) contains a long-drawn procedure of Grahamakha, a rite to propitiate the planets. A Grahamakha is either *nitya* (on Viṣuva day, *ayana* day, birth nakṣatra), *naimittika* (to be performed on such occasions as upanayana) and kāmya (for removal of adversity &c.)

Aparārka (pp. 365–366 on Yāj. I. 209) quotes a long passage from the Nandipurāṇa about the founding of hospitals (ārogya-śālā) where medicines were supplied free to patients. 'Since the four *puruṣārthas* (goals of life) viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, depend upon health, he who provides for securing this may be said to have made gifts of everything.' The passage further states that a competent physician should be appointed. Hemādri (dāna, pp. 893–95) quotes the same passage and another from the Skandapurāṇa to the same effect.

The smṛtis prescribe that when a man accepts as a gift what he should not accept, he incurs sin from which he becomes free by giving up the thing, by reciting certain vedic mantras, (like the Gāyatrī) and by *tapas* (prāyaścitta). Vide Manu XI. 193 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 28). This sin is said to be due to 'asat-pratigraha' which may arise either from the caste or actions of the donor (e. g. the donor may be a cāṇḍāla or *patita*) or from the time or place (e. g. taking a gift in Kurukṣetra or in an eclipse) or from the object given (such as a gift of wine or of an ewe, of the bed-stead of a deceased person or of the cow called 'ubhayatomukhī'). Yāj. III. 289 and Manu XI. 194 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54. 24) prescribe for *asat-pratigraha* the penance of staying in a cow-stable for one month subsisting on milk alone, observing complete celibacy, repeating the Gāyatrī mantra 3000 times every day. The donor, in the above cases, may incur no sin, but the donee does. The Dānakriyākaumudī (pp. 84–85) quotes passages from several purāṇas condemning the acceptance of gifts on the Ganges and other sacred rivers and places, and the gifts of elephants, horses, chariots, the beds

2059. अथ ग्रहप्रीत्यर्थं दानानि । माणिक्यगोधूमधेनुरक्तवस्त्रगुडहेमताम्ररक्तचन्दन-कमलानि रवेः प्रीत्यर्थं दानानि । वंशपात्रस्थतण्डुलकर्पूरमौक्तिकश्वेतवस्त्रघृतपूर्णकुम्भवृषभा-श्वस्य । प्रवालगोधूममसूरिकारक्तवृषगुडसुवर्णरक्तवस्त्रताम्राणि भौमस्य । नीलवस्त्रसुवर्ण-कांस्यमुद्गाश्मन्महासीहास्तिदन्तपुष्पाणि बुधस्य । पुष्परागमणिहरिद्राशर्करा श्वपीतधान्यपीत-वस्त्रलवणहेमवर्णानि गुरवोः । चित्रवस्त्रश्वेताश्वधेनुवज्रमणिसुवर्णरजतगन्धतण्डुलाः शुक्रस्य । इन्द्रनीलमाषतैलतिलकुलित्थमहिषीलोहकृष्णधेनवः शनेः । गोमेदाश्वनीलवस्त्रकम्बलतैलतिल-लोहानि राहोः । वैदूर्यतैलतिलकम्बलकस्तूरीछागवस्त्राणि केतोर्दानानि । शनिपीडापरिहारार्थं शनिवारे तैलाभ्यङ्गस्तैलदानं च । धर्मसिन्धु II. part 2 p. 135.

and seats used by the dead, black deer-skin, the cow called ubhayatomukhī. The Dānacandrikā[2060] quotes the Padmapurāṇa to the effect that a brāhmaṇa who is in great difficulty to maintain himself may accept a gift on the banks of the Ganges and other sacred rivers, but should himself make a gift of the 10th part of it and then he would incur no sin.

We have already seen (pp. 838–39) how even in the Ṛgveda various rewards are promised to those who make gifts of cows, horses, gold or clothes. The Tai. S. I. 8. 4. 1 makes it a matter of give and take between gods and man (dhehi me dadāmi te ni me dehi ni te dadhe). The same sentiments and notions continued down to the latest ages and are re-inforced by further and very detailed promises of rewards for several kinds of gifts. Vas. Dh. S. 29. 2–27, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 91–92, Saṁvarta verses 46–93 may be read in this connection.

A gift once completed by acceptance is irrevocable. Yāj. II. 176 prescribes 'what is promised should be given and what has been donated should not be taken back'. Nārada[2061] (Dattāpradānika, verse 8) declares that the price of goods (delivered), wages, what is paid for pleasure (derived from dancers &c.), a gift made through affection, a gift made through gratitude (for favours received), money paid for a bride (to her kinsmen) and gifts for religious and spiritual purposes—these are given irrevocably. But a gift though promised was not complete and irrevocable in all cases. Gaut. V. 21 declares that a gift, though promised, need not be completed if the donee to whom it is promised is a person guilty of irreligious or improper conduct (such as visiting prostitutes). Manu VIII. 212 is similar in import. Kātyāyana states[2062] that if a man of his own free will promises a gift to a brāhmaṇa, but does not carry out that promise, he becomes a debtor (to that brāhmaṇa) in this world and the next. This means that a gift promised to a brāhmaṇa, though not completed by acceptance and delivery,

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2060. अथ चेत्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद् ब्राह्मणो वृत्तिकर्शितः। वृशांशमर्जितं दद्यादेवं धर्मो न हीयते॥ इति पाद्मात्। दानचन्द्रिका p. 10 (Gaikwad Oriental Series of tr.).

2061. पण्यमूल्यं श्रुतिस्तुष्ट्या स्नेहात्प्रत्युपकारतः। श्रीशुल्काद्युग्रहार्थं च दृत्तं दानविदो विदुः॥ नारद (दत्ताप्रदानिक 8); भृत्या तुष्ट्या पण्यमूल्यं श्रीशुल्कप्रत्युपकारिणे। श्रद्धानुग्रहणं प्रीत्या दृत्तमष्टविधं विदुः॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 193). मातापित्रोर्गुरौ मित्रे विनीते चोपकारिणि। दीनानाथविशिष्टेभ्यो दत्तं तु सफलं भवेत्॥ नारद quoted in स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 193), which explains सफलं फलातिशयोपेतमित्यर्थः।

2062. प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्मसंयुक्ताय न दद्यात्। गौ. V. 21; स्वेच्छया यः प्रतिश्रुत्य ब्राह्मणाय प्रतिग्रहम्। न दद्यादृणवद्दाप्यः प्राप्नुयात्पूर्वसाहसम्॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p. 783 and स्मृतिच० (व्यव. p. 142).

could not be revoked and could be enforced in a court as a debt and the promisor fined for breach.

Gautama states (V. 22) that the promises made by those who were carried away by rage or extreme joy or who were under a sense of dread or were ill or distressed or covetous or made by a minor (under 16) or an extremely old man or by one who is a fool (or under delusion) or was intoxicated or made by a lunatic may be revoked by them and in doing so they incur no sin or blame. Nārada [2063] (Dattāpradānika, verses 9–10) amplifies this by stating 16 kinds of invalid gifts, viz. all those in Gautama (except those due to joy and covetousness) and also what is promised as a bribe, promises in jest, giving to a person mistaking him for another, gift induced by fraud or made by one who is not his own master, gift made to a man with the idea of getting something in return (but who does not do so), gift to a person who is unworthy, though he proclaimed himself to be worthy, and a gift for a purpose which is sinful. Kātyāyana (quoted by Aparārka p. 781) is just like Nārada and adds that if a man is in danger of life and promises the gift of all his wealth to whosoever may save him, he may resile from the promise. Aparārka p. 782 quotes verses from Bṛhaspati similar to Nārada's. Manu VIII. 165 declares that a sale, mortgage or gift brought about by fraud, or every transaction in which a trick is played, may be set aside (by the king). Though a gift made by one who is ill or distressed (ārta) is declared by Gautama to be revocable, Kātyāyana [2064] states an exception viz. that when a man whether in sound health or suffering from a disease declares a gift for religious purposes and dies without completing it, then his son (or other heir) should be made to carry out that gift. This verse contains the germ of the idea of wills, since the mere declaration of the intention of a man to make a gift for religious purposes is here

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2063. क्रुद्धहृष्टभीतार्तलुब्धबालस्थविरमूढमत्तोन्मत्तवाक्यान्यनृतान्यपातकानि । गौ. V. 22. अदत्तं तु भयक्रोधशोकवेगसमन्वितैः । तथोत्कोचपरीहासव्यत्यासच्छलयोगतः बालमूढास्वतन्त्रार्तमत्तोन्मत्तापवर्जितैः । कर्ता ममायं कर्मेति प्रतिलाभेच्छया च यत् । अपात्रे पात्रमित्युक्ते कार्ये वा धर्मसंज्ञिते । यद्दत्तं स्याद्विज्ञानाद्वृत्तमिति तत्स्मृतम् ॥ नारद.

2064. स्वस्थेनार्तेन वा देयं श्राद्धितं धर्मकारणात् । अदत्त्वा तु मृते दाप्यस्तत्सुतो नात्र-संशयः ॥ कात्यायन quoted in अपरार्क p. 782, स्मृतिच्० (व्यव. p. 184). Vide *Bhupati Nath* v. *Ram Lal* 37 Cal. 128 (F. B.) at p. 136 where this passage of Kāt. is quoted along with the Mit. and a passage from the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra.

made enforceable after his death. Aparārka p. 782 conveys that the word 'son' is only illustrative and that every heir taking the estate is liable to make good the promise of the deceased.

In modern times a gift or bequest for *dharma* without any qualifying expression is held to be too vague an indication of the donor's or testator's intention to constitute a valid gift to charity and is declared to be void for uncertainty. Vide 6 Bom. 24, 14 Bom. 482, 17 Bom. 351, 23 Bom. 725, 735 (P. C.). But this is opposed, as pointed out in 30 Mad. 340 at pp. 342–346, to the spirit of the ancient Hindu law. The word 'dharma' when used in relation to gifts had a well-recognized meaning and not a vague uncertain one. It means 'iṣṭa' and 'pūrta' gifts according to Manu IV. 227. It appears that in 23 Bom. 725 their Lordships of the Privy Council rested content with the meaning of the word given in Wilson's Dictionary, did not examine any original Sanskrit texts to find out the meaning of the word dharma used in connection with gifts and applied the principles laid down in such English cases as *Morice* v. *The Bishop of Durham* (9 Ves. 399 and 10 Ves. 522). But there is no reason why the charitable intention being quite clear the court as representing the king should not have by framing a scheme applied the property donated or bequeathed to one charitable purpose out of the several objects specified in the definition of pūrta on principles analogous to the doctrine of *cy-près*.[2065]

2065. Vide Lewin's 'Law of Trusts' (14th ed. of 1939) pp. 472–474 where several cases are cited out of which *In re Pyne* (1903) Ch. 83 would support the argument advanced above.

CHAPTER XXVI

PRATIṢṬHA AND UTSARGA

Pratiṣṭhā and *Utsarga* (foundation of temples and dedication of wells, tanks, parks &c. for the benefit of the public).

The subject of gifts naturally leads on to the topics of *pratiṣṭhā* and *utsarga*. We saw above (p. 157 *f. n.* 370) how the construction of temples, wells and similar religious and charitable foundations and institutions was included under pūrtadharma and how śūdras were entitled to perform such dharma. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 114 points[2066] out that women (and widows) were entitled to spend on *pūrta* objects, though they were not authorized to perform *iṣṭa* dharma (i. e. vedic sacrifices &c.). Modern decisions have gone so far that a Hindu widow whose powers of alienating for secular purposes property inherited from her husband are very limited has been held to possess greater powers of alienation if the alienation be made for the spiritual benefit of her deceased husband and dedications by her of a small fraction of the property for the continuous benefit of the soul of the deceased owner have been upheld.[2067] Such works of public utility have been highly recommended from very ancient times. Śabara[2068] on Jaimini I. 3. 2 refers to the smṛti rules about charitable objects which are based on such *śruti* passages as 'O Agni, who art ancient and a king, thou art to the man who desires to offer a sacrifice like *prapā* (shed where water is distributed to travellers) in a desert'. In

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2066. किं च यज्ञशब्दस्य धर्मोपलक्षणपरत्वे स्त्रीणामपि पूर्तधर्माधिकाराद्ग्रहणं युक्ततरम्। मिता. on या. II. 114.

2067. Vide *Sardar Singh* v. *Kunj Behari* L. R. 49 I. A. 383 p. 391 (a gift made by a widow of a small part of her husband's property to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī for bhoga i. e. food offerings to the deity was upheld); *Thakur Indraj Bux* v. *Thakur Sheo Naresh*, 2 Lucknow 713 (where a temple erected and endowed by a widow for the benefit of her husband's soul as well as of her own by alienating about $\frac{1}{20}$th part of the entire property left by her husband was held to be valid).

2068. प्रपास्तडागानि च परोपकाराय न धर्मायेत्येवावगम्यते। तथा च दर्शनम्। धन्वन्यिव प्रपा असीति॥ तथा स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्तीति च। शबर on जै. I. 3. 2; धन्वन्यिव प्रपा असि त्वमग्न इयक्षवे पूरवे प्रत्न राजन्॥ ऋ. X. 4. 1; भोजस्येदं पुष्करिणीव वेश्म परिष्कृतं देवमानेव चित्रम्। ऋ. X. 107. 10.

Ṛg. X. 107. 10 a puṣkariṇī (a tank) is mentioned. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap. 91. 1–2) states 'one who digs a well (for the public) has (the consequences of) half his sins destroyed when the water has begun to flow forth; one who dedicates a pond is forever happy (free from thirst) and attains the world of Varuṇa.' Bāṇa in his Kādambarī (para 44)[2069] mentions that smṛtis enjoined upon men the foundation (for public use) of halls, shelters, wells, *prapās*, gardens, temples, embankments, water wheels &c. Some sages went so far as to say that the reward of sacrifices is only heaven, but by pūrta (consecration of temples, tanks and gardens) one secures release from *saṁsāra*.[2070] This shows that charitable works for the use of the public or large sections of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices the gifts in which benefited only brāhmaṇas.

From very ancient times the procedure of dedicating a well or tank to the public has been settled. Among the earliest is the one in the Śāṅkhyāyana gṛ. V. 2 (S. B. E. vol. 29 pp.134–135) which is as follows: Now about the censecration of ponds, wells and tanks. In the bright fortnight or on an auspicious *tithi* (day) having cooked a caru (boiled food) of barley in milk he (the donor) should sacrifice with the two verses 'tvam no agne' (Ṛg. IV. 1. 4–5) and with the verses 'ava te heḷa' (Ṛg. I. 24. 14), 'imam me varuṇa' (Ṛg. I. 25. 19), 'uduttamaṁ Varuṇa' (Ṛg. I. 24. 15), 'imām dhiyam' (Ṛg. VIII. 42. 3) and with the words 'the domestic one, he who goes away from the house, the refreshing one, he who goes into the kennel, he who dwells in the kennel, he who comes out of it, the greedy one, the destroyer of enemies' to the different directions beginning with the west (Vāruṇī, one over which Varuṇa presided) from left to right. In the centre he makes oblations with milk with the verses 'viśvatas cakṣuruta' (Ṛg. X. 81. 3), 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17); he plunges into the water with the verse 'yat kim cedam Varuṇa' (Ṛg. VII. 89. 5).[2071] A cow and a pair of

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2069. स्मृतिशास्त्रेणेव सभावसथकूपप्रपारामसुरसदनसेतुयन्त्रप्रवर्तकेन ..... विलासिजनेनाधिष्ठिता (उज्जयिनी)। कादम्बरी para 44.

2070. इष्टापूर्ते स्मृतौ धर्मौ श्रुतौ तौ शिष्टसंमतौ। प्रतिष्ठाद्यं तयोः पूर्तमिष्टं यज्ञादिलक्षणम्॥ मुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं पूर्तमिष्टं भोगार्थसाधनम्। कालिकापुराण quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 10.

2071. Even in the e. g. Ṛg. in VII. 49. 3 (yāsām rājā varuṇo yāti madhye) Varuṇa is the lord of waters and therefore it is appropriate that in dedicating wells and tanks to the public Varuṇa should be invoked in several verses.

clothes are the fee for this sacrifice. Then follows the feeding of brāhmaṇas.

The Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa IV. 9, Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa, Matsyapurāṇa chap. 58, Agnipurāṇa chap. 64 contain a more extensive procedure about the dedication of wells and reservoirs of water. That in the Pār. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa is briefly as[2072] follows: "In the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half, on an auspicious day, tithi, vāra (week day), *nakṣatra* and *karaṇa* the donor should cook *caru* sacred to Varuṇa of barley, offer the two ājyabhāgas and sacrifice in fire ten oblations of clarified butter with the mantras, Ṛg. IV. 1. 4, IV. 1. 5, I. 25. 19, I. 24. 11, Kāt. śr. 25. 1. 11 (ye te śatam Varuṇa), ayāścāgne (Kāt. śr. 25. 1. 11), Ṛg. I. 24. 15, Ṛg. I. 24. 8, Vāj. S. IV. 36, Vāj. S. VIII. 24.[2073] He then sacrifices (ten oblations) of the mess of cooked food to Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Yajña, Ugra, Bhīma, Śatakratu (Indra), Vyuṣṭi (prosperity), Svarga (Heaven) and lastly to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (with svāhā at the end of each as in 'agnaye svāhā'). After partaking of the remains of the cooked food he should introduce aquatic animals (like fishes and tortoises in the pond &c.) and having bathed and decked a cow he should make the cow enter the reservoir, repeat the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16) and donate that cow to the ācārya and should also make presents to him of two ear-rings, clothes and of another cow as fee and give a dinner to brāhmaṇas." Aparārka (p. 413–414), the Nirṇayasindhu and others add from the Bahvṛca gṛ. pariśiṣṭa that when the cow enters the water, he should repeat a mantra 'may you make this water holy: may the water always be pure, holy and ambrosia-like; while saving me (from sin) may you bathe in sacred water; she crosses from region to region and also saves (me and others)'; and that the donor holds the end of the cow's tail, enters the water and brings her out in the north-east corner (of the reservoir). This procedure

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2072. अथातो वापीकूपतडागारामदेवतायतनानां प्रतिष्ठापनं व्याख्यास्यामस्तत्रोदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे तिथिवारनक्षत्रकरणे च गुणान्विते तत्र वारुणं यवमयं चरुं श्रपयित्वाज्यभागाविघ्राज्याहुतीर्जुहोति त्वं नो अग्ने स त्वं नो अग्ने इमं मे वरुण तत्त्वा यामि ये ते शतमयाश्वाग्न उद्भुत्तमसुरं हि राजा वरुणस्योत्तम्भनमग्नेरनीकमिति दृशत्वे हुत्वा स्थालीपाकस्य जुहोत्यग्नये स्वाहा शतक्रतवे स्वाहा व्युष्टये स्वाहा स्वर्गाय स्वाहेति यथोक्तं स्विष्टकृत्प्राशनान्ते जलचराणि क्षिप्त्वालंकृत्य गां तारयित्वा पुरुषसूक्तं जपन्नाचार्याय वरं दत्त्वा कर्णवेष्टकौ वाससि धेनुर्दक्षिणा ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनम्। पार. गृ. परिशिष्ट.

2073. The ten verses are quoted in full in the Dānakriyākaumudī pp. 175–176.

does not apply to the consecration of a well. In that case a cow is only made to go round the well.

Gradually the procedure prescribed in the purāṇas came to have the upper hand so much so that Aparārka (p. 15) says that in pratiṣṭhā the procedure prescribed in the purāṇas has to be followed and no other.[2074]

Aparārka (pp. 409-414), Hemādri (Dāna pp. 997-1029), Dānakriyākaumudī (pp. 160-181), Jalāśayotsarga-tattva of Raghunandana, the Pratiṣṭhāmayūkha and Utsargamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha, Rājadharmakaustubha (pp. 171-223) and several other works give a very comprehensive procedure of the consecration of wells, ponds and tanks, based upon the gṛhya-pariśiṣṭas, the purāṇas such as the Matsya chap. 58, the Tantras, Pāñcarātra and other works. This procedure is passed over here. The idea[2075] was that unless the reservoir was consecrated in the way prescribed its water was not holy and when consecrated it became holy. Pratiṣṭhā generally means dedicating to the public with prescribed[2076] rites. Utsarga means 'divesting oneself of ownership over a thing and dedicating it for the use of all.' There were four principal stages in the procedure of pratiṣṭhā; first the saṅkalpa,[2077] then the homa, then the utsarga (i. e. declaration that the thing has been dedicated) and lastly the dakṣiṇā and feeding of brāhmaṇas. In *Deosaran Bharthi* v. *Deoki Bharthi* 3 Patna 842 it was said (at p. 850) 'the essential ingredient that constitutes a gift whether of movable or of immovable property in the Hindu Law is the *Saṅkalpa* and the *Samarpaṇa* whereby the property is completely given away and the owner completely divests himself of the ownership in the

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2074. एवं प्रतिष्ठायामपि पुराणाद्युक्तैवेतिकर्तव्यता ग्राह्या नान्या। तेषामेव स्मार्तेश्व-धर्ममाणत्वेन भविष्यत्पुराणे परिज्ञातत्वात्। अपरार्क p. 15.

2075. सदा जलं पवित्रं स्याद्रूपवित्रमसंस्कृतम्। कुशाग्रेणापि राजेन्द्र न स्पृष्टव्यमसंस्कृतम्॥ वापीकूपतडागादौ यज्जलं स्यादसंस्कृतम्। अपेयं तद्भवेत्सर्वं पीत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ भविष्यपुराण quoted in निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 334.

2076. प्रतिष्ठापनं सविधिकोत्सर्जनमित्यर्थः। दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 166.

2077. The सङ्कल्प would be in the form अद्येत्यादि अमुकगोत्रोऽमुकशर्माहं चतुर्णवान्तमहीदानफलसमफलविष्णुकामसमन्वितवरुणलोकप्राप्तिकामो वारुणविधिना जलाशयोत्सर्गकर्म करिष्ये। दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 167; the उत्सर्ग is made in some such words as ओं अद्येत्यादि अमुकगोत्रोऽमुकशर्माहं चतुर्णवान्त ..... प्राप्तिकामश्चतुः-सेत्यवच्छिन्नं वरुणादिदैवतमिमं जलाशयमुचितं सर्वभूतेभ्य उत्सृजे। दानक्रिया० p. 179; at the end of the rite the donor recited the verse 'सामान्यं सर्वसत्त्वेभ्यो मया वृत्तमिदं जलम्। धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु साधनं स्याद्वृहन्निशम्॥' quoted in राजधर्मकौस्तुभ pp. 179 and 216.

property'. In the case of temples, the proper word to use is pratiṣṭhā and not utsarga.

There is a difference in the technical meaning of *dāna* and *utsarga*. In the former the donor gives up his ownership over a thing, makes another the owner of it and cannot thereafter use it nor has he any control over it. When a man makes an *utsarga*, he no doubt gives up his ownership, but he gives up the thing for the benefit of all (as in the formula above he uses the word 'sarvabhūtebhyaḥ') and so the opinion of most writers is that he can as a member of the public make use of the thing dedicated by him, though there were a few authors who recommended that he should not do so.[2077a]

Reservoirs of water that are dug out by man are of four kinds, kūpa, vāpī, puṣkariṇī and taḍāga.[2078] Some of the works define kūpa as a well that is from five to fifty cubits in length (if rectangular) or in diameter (if it is circular). It has generally no flight of steps to reach the water. Vāpī is a well with a flight of steps on all sides or on three or two sides or one side only and its mouth may be from 50 to 100 cubits; a puṣkariṇī is from 100 to 200 cubits in length or diameter and a taḍāga (a tank) is from 200 to 800 cubits. The Matsyapurāṇa 154. 512 states that a vāpī is equal to ten kūpas (in merit) and a *hrada* (deep reservoir) is equal to ten vāpīs; a son is equal to ten *hradas* and a tree is equal to ten sons. According to the Vasiṣṭha-saṃhitā quoted by Raghunandana a puṣkariṇī is up to 400 cubits and a taḍāga is five times as much. At certain auspicious times only the consecration of wells and tanks is to take place.[2079]

Trees have been highly prized in India at all times. They were useful in sacrifices for making the yūpa (the post to

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2077a. अत्र केचित्। स्वस्य जलाशयजलोपभोगो विरुद्धः। त्यक्तस्य पुनः स्वीकारानर्हत्वात्। न चैकस्य एकक्रियायां दानकर्तृत्वं संप्रदानत्वं च संभवति। अत एव सत्रयागे यष्टृणामेव स्वेषामृत्विक्त्वेन नास्ति दक्षिणेत्याहुः। तन्न। त्यक्तजलस्यापि नद्यादिजलवदौपाधिकस्वत्वाविरोधात्। भोजयित्वा द्विजान्सम्यक् तोयमुत्सर्जयेत्ततः। सर्वभूतान् समुद्दिश्य इति वार्क्षं समुच्चरेत्॥ इति हयशीर्षे असङ्कुचितसर्वपदबलात् स्वस्यापि त्यागोद्देश्यवर्गान्तर्भावाच्च। दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 126; compare जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व (Jiv. part II. p. 526).

2078. अथ जलाशयाः। ते च खननसाध्याश्चत्वारः कूपवापीपुष्करिणीतडागरूपाः। तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम्। ..... कूपोऽल्पारको गर्तविशेषः चक्रसोपानकोपेतं वापीति द्वैतनिर्णयः। जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन. Vide also दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 126.

2079. Vide दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 132 and हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड p. 1003) quoting विष्णुधर्मोत्तर.

which the sacrificial animal was tied), for idhma (samidhs which were thrown into fire), for the several ladles like sruva, juhū etc. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 3 speaks of seven holy trees. The Tai. S. III. 4. 8. 4 states that idhma (samidhs) should be of the nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha and plakṣa trees, as they are the abodes of Gandharvas and Apsarases.[2080] Besides trees with their verdant foliage looked beautiful and the leaves of some of them (such as the mango tree) are hung up even now in pandals and at entrances of houses as auspicious in marriage and other ceremonies. Hemādri cites a passage from the Brahmapurāṇa that the twigs and leaves of the Aśvattha (the *pipal* tree), udumbara, plakṣa, cūta (mango) and nyagrodha are styled pañcabhaṅga[2081] and are auspicious in all rites. The palāśa tree was held to be so sacred that one was not to make seats, sandals or tooth brush from it or its branches and twigs (Baud. Dh. S. II. 3. 25). Trees gave shelter against heat and also yielded flowers and fruits (for worship of gods and pitṛs). When felled their wood was useful in building houses, for making implements of husbandry and for producing heat and warmth. In his 7th Pillar Edict (of Delhi-Topra) Aśoka mentions the construction of wells at a distance of 8 krośas and the planting of banyan trees and mango groves (C. I. I. vol. I pp. 134–135). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 14) quotes a portion of an ancient verse which conveys that if a person waters and tends mango trees, his pitṛs feel extremely pleased.[2082] Manu IV. 39 and Yāj. I. 133 require the snātaka to circumambulate well-known trees (like aśvattha) if he meets them on the way. The Kādambarī also refers to this practice of worshipping trees, particularly by women desiring to have a son.[2083] The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsanaparva 58. 23–32) highly eulogizes plant life and divides plants into six kinds viz. vṛkṣa (tree), latā (creepers that cling to trees), vallī (creepers that spread on the ground), gulma (bushes), tvaksāra

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2080. नैयग्रोध औदुम्बर आश्वत्थः प्लाक्ष इतीध्मो भवत्येते वै गन्धर्वाप्सरसां गृहाः। तै. सं. III. 4. 8. 4.

2081. अश्वत्थोदुम्बरप्लक्षचूतन्यग्रोधपल्लवाः। पञ्चभङ्गा इति प्रोक्ताः सर्वकर्मसु शोभनाः॥ हेमाद्रिव्रतखण्ड p. 47.

2082. आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः॥ महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 14. The several benefits mentioned above are narrated in Anuśāsana-parva 58. 28–30 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 91. 5–8.

2083. अश्वत्थमभूतीक्षुपपादितपूजान् महावनस्पतीन् कृतप्रदक्षिणा ववन्दे। कादम्बरी para 56.

(trees whose bark is strong, while the inside is hollow, like bamboos) and grass and adds that he who plants trees is saved (in a future existence) by them just as sons do and that they should be tended like sons.[2084] The Viṣṇu Dh.S.91.4 says the same thing. Hemādri (Dāna pp. 1030–31) cites a long passage from the Padmapurāṇa how by planting different trees and plants like aśvattha, aśoka, tamarind, pomegranate and others a man secures such rewards (respectively) as wealth, removal of sorrow, long life, a wife, &c. Vṛddha-Gautama (Jiv., part 2. p. 625) identifies the Aśvattha tree with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Mahābhārata (Śānti 69. 42) forbids even the felling of the leaves of trees like the aśvattha that have a platform [2085] built for them (caitya). Śāntiparva 184. 1–17 graphically describes how trees have life since they feel pain and pleasure and grow though cut. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa quoted in the Utsarga-mayūkha (p. 16) states 'he who plants either one aśvattha or one picumarda or one nyagrodha or ten tamarind trees, or the three trees i. e. kapittha, bilva and āmalaka or plants five mango trees would not see hell (i. e. would not be condemned to hell for his sins).[2086] The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 270. 28–29) requires that to the east of the *maṇḍapa* of a temple fruit-bearing trees should be planted, to the south trees that contain milky sap, to the west a reservoir of water with lotuses therein should be constructed and to the north a flower garden and *sarala* and tāla trees. Vas. Dh. S. 19. 11–12 prescribes that no one should injure (i. e. cut) trees that yield fruits and flowers except only for purposes of cultivating the land [2087] (and for sacrificial purposes, as laid down in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 63). The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 55. 59 prescribes that the king should award the highest fine, the middling fine, or a fine of 100 kārṣāpaṇas or of one kārṣāpaṇa respectively against those who wrongfully cut a tree bearing fruit or a tree that bears flowers, or who cut creepers and shrubs or grass.

Hemādri (Dāna. pp. 1029–1055) deals at length with the planting of trees, the dedication of a garden and the merit

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2084. वृक्षवद् पुत्रवद् वृक्षास्तारयन्ति परत्र च। तस्मात्तडागे सद्वृक्षा रोप्याः श्रेयोर्थिना सदा। पुत्रवत्परिपाल्याश्च पुत्रास्ते धर्मतः स्मृताः॥ अनुशासन 58. 30–31; वृक्षारोपयितुर्वृक्षाः परलोके पुत्रा भवन्ति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 91. 4.

2085. चैत्यानां सर्वथा त्याज्यमपि पत्रस्य पातनम्। शान्ति 69. 42.

2086. अश्वत्थमेकं पिचुमर्दमेकं न्यग्रोधमेकं दश चिंचिणीकम्। कपित्थबिल्वामलकत्रयं च पञ्चाम्रवापी नरकं न पश्येत्॥ भविष्यपुराण in उत्सर्गमयूख p. 16 and in राजधर्मकौस्तुभ p. 183.

2087. पुष्पफलोपगान्पादपान्न हिंस्यात्। कर्षणकारणार्थं चोपहन्यात्। वसिष्ठ 19.11-12

acquired by making gifts of various trees. The procedure of dedicating a garden is prescribed in Śāṅ. gṛ. V. 3, Āśv. gṛ. pariśiṣṭa IV. 10, the Matsyapurāṇa 59, Agnipurāṇa 70 and in many other works. It is modelled on the dedication of wells and tanks. The Matsyapurāṇa expressly states that the procedure of the consecration of a tank is extended to the consecration of everything, such as a *prāsāda* (a large house or hall for public use), a garden &c., the only difference being that the mantras are different.[2088] The procedure in Śāṅ. gṛ.[2089] (V. 3) is: Having established the sacred fire in that garden and having cooked a mess of food, the donor should sacrifice with the words (Viṣṇave svāhā, Indrāgnibhyām svāhā, Viśvakarmaṇe svāhā) and with verses Ṛg. III. 8. 6 ff. (yān vo naro), verse by verse. Then he recites over the garden the verse Ṛg. III. 8. 11 ' vanaspate śatavalśo vi roha.' The fee for the sacrifice is gold.

Devatā-pratiṣṭhā—(Consecration of an image in a temple).

Though the dharmasūtras speak as shown above of images and temples, it strikes one as somewhat strange that none of the principal gṛhya and dharma-sūtras contains any procedure of consecrating an image in a temple, while in the purāṇas and some of the digests much space is devoted to the topic of devatāpratiṣṭhā. The Matsyapurāṇa in chap. 264 and the Agnipurāṇa in chap. 60 and 66 deal with devatāpratiṣṭhā in general. There are special chapters in the purāṇas on the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu or of Śiva or the Liṅga. It would be impossible to deal in any detail with all this matter. The worship of god can be done in two ways, viz. without any outward symbol and with a symbol. The first is achieved by a prayer and offering oblations into fire; the second by means of images. But even image worshippers are quite conscious that god is pure consciousness (*cit*), is one without a second, is without parts and without a physical body, and that the various images

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2088. एवमेव पुराणेषु तडागविधिरुच्यते। कूपवापीषु सर्वासु तथा पुष्करिणीषु च॥ य एष विधिर्दृष्टः प्रतिष्ठासु तथैव च। मन्त्रतस्तु विशेषः स्यात् प्रासादोद्यानभूमिषु॥ मत्स्यपुराण 58. 50–52. पादपानां विधिं वक्ष्ये तथैवोद्यानभूमिषु। तडागविधिवत्सर्वमाचार्य जगतीश्वर। मत्स्य 59. 3.

2089. अथारामेऽग्निमुपसमाधाय स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा विष्णवे स्वाहेन्द्राग्निभ्यां स्वाहा विश्वकर्मणे स्वाहेति पाल्वो नर इति मन्त्रपूर्वं जुहुयाद्वनस्पते शतवल्शा इत्यभिमन्त्र्य हिरण्यं दक्षिणा च। शां. गृ. V. 3.

in which he is thought as in-dwelling are so imagined for the benefit of worshippers.[2090]

The worship of god through the medium of images is again two-fold, viz. done in one's house and in a public temple. The latter is, according to many works, the best and the completest, since it allows of the celebration of festivals and the performance of the varied items or modes of worship (*upacāra*). Private worship of idols in one's house has already been dealt with above (pp. 726–736) under Devapūjā. Now the worship of images in temples remains to be dealt with. The establishment of images in temples is again of two kinds viz. calārcā (where the image can be lifted up, moved to another place) and *sthirārcā* (where the image is fixed on a pedestal or is not meant to be lifted up or moved). The consecration of these two differs in certain details.

Here numerous matters have to be considered. The principal matters to be attended to according to the Matsyapurāṇa (264–66) are : the auspicious time for the consecration of an image, the erection of a maṇḍapa to the east or north of the temple, the erection of a vedi therein, erection of four *toraṇas* (arched gates) for the maṇḍapa, placing two auspicious jars at each of four gates filled with scented water and herbs and covered with mango leaves and white cloth, raising of banners all round the *maṇḍapa*, worship of lokapālas (guardian deities of quarters), erecting another maṇḍapa for bathing the image in, bringing the image and honouring the artizans, drawing lines on the image or liṅga with a golden needle to represent the lustre of eyes, the selection of a qualified sthāpaka or ācārya and of from eight to 32 other priests (called mūrtipa); taking the image or liṅga to the *maṇḍapa* meant for bathing the image, bathing the image to the accompaniment of music with pañcagavya mixture, with mṛttikā (loose earth), with holy ashes and water ; rendering it pure by repeating four mantras (viz. samudrajyeṣṭhāḥ, āpo divyāḥ, yāsām rājā and āpo hi ṣṭhā, which are respectively Ṛg. VII. 49. 1–3 and X. 9. 1); offering worship after the bath to the image with sandalwood paste and covering it with a garment (with the verse ' abhi vastrā ' Ṛg. IX. 97. 50), placing the image in a standing position with the mantra ' uttiṣṭha ' (Ṛg. I. 40. 1) ; placing the image in a chariot with the verses

2090. चिन्मयस्याद्वितीयस्य निष्कलस्याशरीरिणः । उपासकानां कार्यार्थं ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥ quoted in the देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व of रघुनन्दन (p. 50).

'ā mūraja' and 'rathe tiṣṭhan' (Ṛg. VI. 47. 31 and VI. 75. 6) and entering it in the maṇḍapa with the verse 'ā kṛṣṇena' (Ṛg. I. 35. 2); placing the image on a bed on which kuśa grass and flowers are strewn with the face (of the image) towards the east; placing a water jar (called nidrākalaśa) having gold in it and a piece of cloth at the mouth towards the head of the image with the mantras 'āpo devīr' (Tai. S. VII. 3. 13. 1) and 'āpo asmān' (Ṛg. X. 17. 10); placing under the head of the image silken pillows, sprinkling honey and clarified butter, and worshipping with mustard with the verse 'āpyāyasva' (Ṛg. I. 91. 16 or IX. 31. 4) and 'yā te rudra' (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1); offering worship with sandalwood paste and flowers and tying a band (*pratisara*) on the right hand (of the image) with 'bārhaspatya' mantra; placing a parasol, chowrie, mirror, jewels, auspicious herbs, household utensils, fine vessels and seats by the side of the image with the verse 'abhi tvā' (Ṛg. VII. 32. 22); honouring the image with the presentation of various foods and condiments with the verse 'tryambakaṁ yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12); placing four priests and four door-keepers in the four directions viz. a priest knowing Ṛgveda in the east and so on and each of the four priests is to repeat from his own Veda several hymns and verses e. g. the Ṛgvedin priest should recite Śrīsūkta (Ṛg. I. 165), Pavamāna hymn (from Ṛg. IX. 1), Śāntikādhyāya (Ṛg. X. 16), then a hymn to Indra. Then the ācārya is to perform homa towards the head of the image with Śāntika mantras and offer into the fire 1000 *samidhs* (fuel sticks) each of palāśa, udumbara, aśvattha, apāmārga and śamī trees and then touch the feet of the god; preparing nine kuṇḍas each one cubit square and offering into them one thousand *samidhs* each time on touching the navel, the chest and the head of the image; remembering the eight forms (mūrti) of god viz. the earth, fire, the sacrifice, the sun, the water, wind, moon and *ākāśa* and offering homa to these with *vaidika* mantras; placing auspicious jars near each kuṇḍa; bathing the image at every watch and offering incense, food (*naivedya*), sandalwood paste; offering *bali* to all beings, and dinner to brāhmaṇas and persons of other castes at one's desire; celebrating a festival at night with dances, song and music; this may go on from one day to seven days (it is called adhivāsana); then the temple building is to be sprinkled over; finding out a place for the image either to the north or slightly to the north-east in the temple; a stone in the form of a tortoise is to be placed on the temple floor;

preparing a piṇḍikā and bathing it with pañcagavya with mantras; then raising the image with the mantra 'uttiṣṭha' (Ṛg. I. 40. 1), bringing it in the inmost chamber of the temple and placing it on the pīṭha (pedestal), offering it *arghya* water, pādya water, *madhuparka*; then the nyāsa (depositing) of eight kinds of jewels viz. diamond, pearl, lapis luzuli, conch, crystal, puṣparāga, indranīla and nīla in the eight directions from the east, also of eight kinds of grains viz. wheat, barley, sesame, mudga, nivara, śyāmāka, mustard and rice and also eight fragrant things such as white and red sandal-wood, agaru, uśīra &c. Nyāsa of all these is to be made after repeating *om* and the *paurāṇika* mantras (with 'namo namaḥ' at end) of the eight guardians (lokapālas) viz. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Soma, Īśāna and also of Brahmā (9th) and Ananta (10th); raising the image and fixing it in the scooped up portion of the pedestal with the mantra 'dhruvā dyaur' (Ṛg. X. 173. 4); placing one's hand on the head of the image and contemplating on the well-known form of the deity that is established, whether Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, the Sun; repeating appropriate mantras (viz. those of Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, the Sun in the case of the respective gods whose image is established); establishing deities near the principal image of the god's dependants (such as Nandī in the case of Śiva); invocation (āvāhana) of the principal deity with its attendants with *paurāṇika* mantras; bathing the image with curds, milk, clarified butter, honey and sugar and then with water in which flowers and scents are mixed up; repeating the following mantras again and again viz. 'yaj-jāgrato dūram-upaiti' (Vāj. S. 34. 1), 'tato virāḍ-ajāyata' (Vāj. S. 31. 5), 'sahasraśīrṣā' (Ṛg. X. 90. 1), 'yenedam bhūtam' (Vāj. S. 34. 4), 'na tvāvām' (Ṛg. VII. 32. 23); touching four times with water the feet, the waist and head (of the image); giving gifts of clothes, ornaments &c. to the ācārya and to the poor, the blind and the distressed and to others that may be gathered to see; filling with sand any aperture in any direction in which the image appears to be unstable and performing propitiatory rites for the guardian of that quarter and making gifts suitable to each lokapāla; celebrating a festival for three, five or seven days.

The general procedure of consecrating an image has been given above at some length from the Matsyapurāṇa in order to convey some idea how in the first centuries of the Christian era the consecration of images was done. It will be noticed

that mostly vedic mantras were employed though a few *paurāṇika* mantras also occur. In medieval digests like the Devapratiṣṭhātattva other elements were added from Tantra works. Special attention may be drawn to the fact that in the above procedure the word prāṇapratiṣṭhā does not occur in the Matsya. Raghunandana (in Devapratiṣṭhātattva) quotes Devīpurāṇa to the effect that prāṇapratiṣṭhā is done after touching the cheeks of the image with the right hand and that without this vivification a mere image does not attain to the position of a deity worthy of worship. In the Devapratiṣṭhātattva, the Nirṇayasindhu, the Rājadharma-kaustubha and other works the prāṇapratiṣṭhā is based on the 23rd chapter (*paṭala*) of the Śāradātilaka (verses 72–76). The mantra is given below.[2091]

The Devapratiṣṭhātattva (p. 505) quotes the Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra to the effect that generally a brāhmaṇa should officiate at the consecration of an image of Viṣṇu, but a kṣatriya can officiate for a vaiśya or a śūdra yajamāna and a vaiśya may do for a śūdra yajamāna, but a śūdra cannot officiate.

In the Matsyapurāṇa, the Agnipurāṇa, the Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa, the Nirṇayasindhu and many other works there are descriptions of the consecration of the images of Vāsudeva, of a liṅga and other deities, which are all passed over here for want of space. In these works following Tantric practices three kinds of nyāsas viz. Mātṛkānyāsa, Tattvanyāsa and Mantranyāsa are referred to. The Mātṛkānyāsa consists in repeating the letters of the alphabet from a (including 'am' and 'aḥ') to ḷ (in the form of *akārāya*

2091. अस्य प्राणप्रतिष्ठामन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मविष्णुरुद्रा ऋषयः ऋग्यजुःसामानि छन्दांसि क्रियामयवपुः प्राणाख्या देवता । आं बीजं क्रौं शक्तिः प्राणप्रतिष्ठायां विनियोगः । ..... देवं स्पृष्ट्वा जपेत् । ओं आं ह्रीं क्रों अं यं रं लं वं शं षं सं हंसः देवस्य प्राणा इह प्राणाः । ओं आं ह्रीं क्रों ..... हंसः देवस्य जीव इह स्थितः । ओं आं ह्रीं ..... हंसः देवस्य सर्वेन्द्रियाणि । ओं आं ह्रीं ... ... हंसः देवस्य वाङ्मनश्चक्षुःश्रोत्रजिह्वाघ्राणप्राणा इहागत्य स्वस्तये सुखेन सुचिरं तिष्ठन्तु स्वाहेति । ततोऽर्चाहृदयमुद्रां दत्त्वा जपेत् । अस्यै प्राणाः प्रतिष्ठन्तु अस्यै प्राणाः क्षरन्तु च । अस्यै देवत्वमर्चायै मामहेति च कञ्चनेति । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 349. There are slight variations in other works. The verses of the शारदातिलक are पाशाङ्कुशपुटा शक्तिर्वाली बिन्दुविभूषिता । याद्याः सप्त सकारान्ता व्योम सद्येन्दुसंयुतम् ॥ तदन्ते हंसमन्त्रः स्याद्दन्तेऽमुष्यपदं वदेत् । प्राणा इति वदेत्पश्चादिह प्राणास्ततः परम् ॥ अमुष्य जीव इह स्थितस्ततोऽमुष्यपदं वदेत् । सर्वेन्द्रियाण्यमुष्यान्ते वाङ्मनश्चक्षुरन्ततः ॥ श्रोत्रघ्राणपदे प्राणा इहागत्य सुखं चिरम् । तिष्ठन्त्वग्निवधूरन्ते प्राणमन्त्रोयमीरितः ॥ मध्यमुष्यपदं पूर्वं पाशादीनि प्रयोजयेत् । प्रयोगेषु समाख्यातः प्राणमन्त्रो मनीषिभिः ॥ शारदातिलक 23. 72–76. The देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व p. 506 quotes these and the explanations of राघवभट्ट the oom. of the शारदातिलक and reads the मन्त्र as आं ह्रीं क्रों यं रं लं वं शं षं सं हों हंसः अमुष्य &c.

namaḥ svāhā) and offering an oblation in fire. The Tattvanyāsa consists in repeating ' Ātmatattvāya namaḥ, svāhā ' and the same formula as to Ātmattvādhipati, Kriyāśakti, Śivatattva (or Viṣṇutattva), Śivatattvādhipati, Icchāśakti, Vidyātattva, Vidyātattvādhipati, Ādhāraśakti. The Mantranyāsa is as follows : taking a mantra of certain letters for a god (e. g. one of 12 letters as in ' om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya ') one has to repeat each letter in the formula ' om oṁkārāya namaḥ svāhā '.

The Dharmasindhu III (pūrvārdha) sets forth a brief procedure of the consecration of images in which only one priest is required (vide pp. 333–34). In modern times also the procedure of devatāpratiṣṭhā contains numerous elements and is extremely long.

The Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra (IV. 10–11) contains perhaps the earliest extant detailed description of the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu. But it appears to have been mainly concerned with an image installed in private houses or with the worship of an image by one individual. It is briefly as follows:[2092] After the daily homa comes the daily worship of Viṣṇu, which (worship) comprehends in itself the worship of all gods. A brāhmaṇa passage (Ait. Br. I. 1) says ' Agni is indeed the nethermost (or the lowest) among gods and Viṣṇu the highest; between these two stand all the other deities '. Therefore having established in one's house the highest god Viṣṇu the householder worships him at the end of the evening and morning homa. He should make an image of Viṣṇu in length not more than six fingers ; he should perform its consecration in the bright half (of a month) on an auspicious nakṣatra. Three days before he should prepare the space (kuṇḍa) of the gṛhya fire and perform the several rites of prokṣaṇa, drawing lines as described (in Vaik. I. 9). Then he is to perform homa up to āghāras (as described above pp. 210–11). Then he performs the sacrifices to the limbs in the words ' to the teeth, svāhā : to the jaws, svāhā ', and other oblations with the six mantras beginning with ' ato devā ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16–21). Then he performs while repeating audibly the hymn to Puruṣa (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16) the opening of the eyes (of the god Viṣṇu) with a golden needle. Having spread in a river or a pond or in a vessel filled with water cloth and kuśa grass with the mantras beginning ' ye te śatam ' (mentioned in Vaik. III. 17) he lays down (the

2092. Vide Appendix for the text.

image of) the god on these with the head turned to the east and leaves the image there. On the second day after he bathes, he offers at night the āghāra in the usual way; he brings eight jars, fills them successively with pañcagavya, ghee, curds, milk, water mixed with whole rice, water with fruits, water with kuśa grass, water with jewels (pearls &c.); worships the god, bathes the image with the (contents of) the (eight) jars successively with the following mantras: 'vasoḥ pavitram' (Vāj. S. I. 31), 'agna āyāhi', 'iṣe tvōrje tvā,' 'śam no devīr,'[2093] 'catvāri śṛṅgā' (Ṛg. IV. 58. 3), 'somo dhenum' (Ṛg. I. 91. 26), 'catvāri vāk' (Ṛg. I. 164. 45), 'idam viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17); he further bathes the image with perfumed waters to the accompaniment of the mantras 'āpo' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1), 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1) and the pavamāna section. He then makes to the north of the fire a vedi (altar) with rice, places a seat on it, spreads cloth on it, places the god thereon and having decked (the image) with clothes &c. worships the image. He has the benediction pronounced (by the brāhmaṇas), he touches the pratisara (a band or ribbon) with the svasti hymn[2094] and ties it (on the right hand of the image) with the mantra 'svastidā viśaspatir' (Ṛg. X. 152. 2). He then lays the god down as before. After filling with purified clear water a jar that is not dark-coloured, he places it by the (right) side of the image, touches it with the syllable 'om' and throws into it a bunch of kuśa grass, whole rice, a piece of gold and a jewel (pearl). Having meditated on the god who is really without parts as residing in his own heart and also in the clear water, as golden in splendour, as having red face, eyes, hands and feet, as wearing the *śrīvatsa* mark and a yellow garment, as having (in his hands) the conch and the disc, as of benign countenance and as possessed of all parts (i. e. complete) he should bow before him. Having sprinkled water round the fire and having lauded the work of the hotṛ, he invokes the god by name in the southern praṇidhi vessel in the words 'om bhūḥ puruṣam' (āvāhayāmi) and performs invocations in the same way with vyāhṛtis separately and together and of Nārāyaṇa,

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2093. Iṣe tvorje tvā, agna āyāhi, śam no devīr—are the beginnings of the three Vedas, Yajurveda (Śukla and Kṛṣṇa), Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. In the Śaunakīya recension of the Atharvaveda the first verse is 'Ye triṣaptāḥ' and 'śam no devīr' is Atharva I. 6. 1.

2094. The स्वस्तिसूक्त is स्वस्ति नो मिमीताम् &c Ṛg. V. 51. 11-15, in each verse of which the first word is *svasti*.

Viṣṇu, Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, Aniruddha, Śrī, Mahī. Having poured out the rice (for the sacrificial offering) he sacrifices four times with ghee and with a hymn to Viṣṇu, with the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90), with the mantras beginning with 'ato devāḥ ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 16-21) and with the mantra 'medinī devī'; he should then offer the mess of boiled rice sprinkled over with clarified butter after invoking the god's names (Keśava and 11 others mentioned in Vaik. III. 13). On the following morning he bathes, placing the god in the standing position after uttering 'om'; carries the image with the jar while muttering the śākuna hymn (Ṛg. II. 42. 1-3 and II. 43. 1-3) in the north-western direction into his house or in a temple or in the agnihotra-shed; placing down on the pedestal meant for the image jewels and gold he instals the image of Viṣṇu saying ' I install Viṣṇu ' while repeating a hymn to Viṣṇu and the hymn to Puruṣa (Ṛg. X. 90). He makes a *nyāsa* on the head, on the navel, on the feet and the chest of the image of the syllables svaḥ, bhuvaḥ and bhūḥ and om; fixing his mind on the god with the mantra ' idam Viṣṇur ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17) and taking with a bunch of kuśa grass the clear water that has been already poured in the jar and that has already the *śakti* (power personified) in it, he makes (the water) flow on the head of the image and performs the invocation with the words ' I invoke Viṣṇu '. Having propitiated by worship as laid down in the śāstric rules he presents the sacrificial food (to the image).

In Vaik. IV. 12 the daily worship of Viṣṇu is set out.

The practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is of respectable antiquity. The origin of this practice appears to be analogous to the institution of Vestal virgins in Rome. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (IV. 269) speaks of two dancing girls attached to a temple (devagṛhāśrite nartakyau) who danced and sang at a place as it was the custom of their family, though the temple itself was buried underground. In the Vaghli (Khandesh District) stone Inscription dated *śake* 991 (1069-70 A. D.) there is a grant of Govindarāja making provision for dancing and singing by damsels[2095] (vilāsinī). In the Inscription of the Cāhamāna king Jojaladeva dated *saṁvat* 1147 (1090-91 A. D.) the courtezans of all temples are said to have been ordered to come in their best dress and celebrate a festival with music (E. I. vol. XI. 26 and 27) and the king records an imprecation

2095. पादकं गीतनृत्यार्थं विलासिणिसमन्वितम् (E. I. vol. II p. 227).

against all who might stop that practice. The Iṭṭagi (20 miles east of Gadag) inscription dated 1112 A. D. records (E. I. vol. XIII. p. 58) that a brāhmaṇa named Mahādeva donated houses for the retinue of dancing girls and other attendants of the gods at Iṭṭagi. This practice of *devadāsīs* (minor girls dedicated to the service of temples) or *bhāvins* (which term is known in the southern parts of the Ratnagiri district) was held by the modern Indian Courts to be immoral and whoever disposes of any person under the age of 18 years (or obtains possession of any person) with intent that such person shall at any age be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or with knowledge that the person is likely to be employed or used for any such purpose at any age is liable to be prosecuted under Sec. 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code (as amended by Act 18 of 1924).[2096] In Bombay there is the Bombay Devadasis Protection Act (Bombay Act X. of 1934) which declares the performance of ceremonies for dedicating an unmarried woman to an idol or temple illegal and renders the dedicator or abettor thereof liable to punishment (one year's imprisonment or fine or both).

Punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā:—(Re-consecration of images in temples). The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by the Devapratiṣṭhātattva and the Nirṇayasindhu says 'when an image is broken into two or is reduced to particles, is burnt, is removed from its pedestal, is insulted, has ceased to be worshipped, is touched by beasts like donkeys or falls on impure ground or is worshipped with *mantras* of other deities or is rendered impure by the touch of outcasts and the like—in these ten contingencies, god ceases to indwell therein.' When an image is polluted by (contact with) the blood of a brāhmaṇa or by the touch of a corpse or the touch of a *patita* it should be re-consecrated. If an image is broken in parts or reduced to particles it should be removed according to *śāstric* rules and another should be installed in its place. When

2096. Vide *Queen Empress* v *Tippa*, 16 Bom. 737; *Reg.* v. *Jaili Bhavin* 6 Bom. H. C. R. 60 (Crown Cases) for convictions for dedication of minor girls to temple-service and marrying them to an idol; also 1 Mad. 164, 15 Mad. 41 and 75. The Marathi word '*bhāvin*' is derived from bhāvinī (a woman having bhāva) and bhāva in the language of Sanskrit rhetoric means 'love of god' (ratir-devādi-viṣayā ..... bhāva iti proktaḥ 'Kāvyaprakāśa IV. 35). Vide Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' vol. I. pp. 145-147 for information about *Bhāvins*.

an image is broken or stolen a fast should be observed. If images of metal such as of copper are touched by thieves or cāṇḍālas they should be purified in the same way in which polluted vessels of those metals are purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If an image properly consecrated has had no worship performed without pre-meditation (i.e. owing to forgetfulness or neglect) for one night or a month or two months or the image is touched by a śūdra or a woman in her monthly illness, then the image should have water *adhivāsa* (placing in water) performed on it and it should be bathed with water from a jar, then with *pañcagavya*, then it should be bathed with pure water from jars to the accompaniment of the hymn to Puruṣa (Ṛg. X. 90) repeated 8000 times, 800 times or 28 times, worship should be offered with sandal-wood paste and flowers, naivedya (food) of rice cooked with jaggery should be offered. This is the way in which the re-consecration is effected.

Jīrṇoddhāra (rehabilitating old or dilapidated temples &c.). This subject is closely connected with the preceding topic and is dealt with in the Agnipurāṇa, chap. 67 and 103 (about liṅgas); the Nirṇayasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 353), the Dharmasindhu (III. pūrvārdha p. 335) give an extensive procedure following the Agnipurāṇa. This is done when the image in a temple or a liṅga is burnt, or reduced to particles or is removed to another place. The Agnipurāṇa (103. 4) says that if an image or liṅga is carried off by the strong current of a river, it may be re-consecrated elsewhere according to the rites prescribed in the śāstra. According to the Agnipurāṇa [2097] (103. 21) a liṅga that is reputed to have been established by the asuras (like Bāṇāsura) or famous sages or by gods or by those who were expert in Tantra should not be removed to another place, whether it be worn out or broken, even after the performance of prescribed rites. The Agnipurāṇa prescribes (chap. 67. 3-6) that an image of wood when extremely worn out may be burnt, one of stone may be thrown into water, one made of metal or of a jewel (pearl &c.) should be thrown into very deep water or the sea after carrying it covered with cloth in a cart to the accompaniment of music and on the same day another of the same dimensions and substance should be installed after the purification of the image is effected. When the daily worship of an image

2097. नादेयेन प्रवाहेण तद्पाक्रियते यदि । ततोन्यत्रापि संस्थाप्य विधिदृष्टेन कर्मणा ॥ असुरैर्मुनिभिर्वैस्तन्त्रविद्भिः प्रतिष्ठितम् । जीर्णं वाप्यथवा भग्नं विधिनापि न चालयेत् ॥ अग्निपुराण 103. 4 and 21.

had been stopped of set purpose or when it is touched by śūdras and the like, purification can be effected only by re-consecration. Re-consecration can be done even in intercalary months or when Venus is too near the sun to be visible. When a temple or a well or a tank is breached or when a garden embankment or a public hall is injured, one should offer four oblations of clarified butter with the four verses 'idam Viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22.17), 'mā nastoke' (Ṛg. I. 114. 8), 'Viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi' (Ṛg. I. 22. 19), 'pādosya' (Ṛg. X. 90. 3), and then a dinner may be given to brāhmaṇas.

The procedure of *jīrṇoddhāra* is given at length in the Nirṇayasindhu, the Dharmasindhu and other works. Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 409–415 also deals with re-consecration. Śaṅkha-Likhita quoted in the Vivāda-ratnākara and other works say that when an image, a garden, a well, a bridge (over a moat or river), a flagstaff, a dam, a reservoir of water are breached, they should be repaired (or raised), re-consecrated and the person guilty of breach should be fined 800 paṇas.[2098] When worship was stopped, some authors prescribed re-consecration, while others prescribed only prokṣaṇa as laid down in the Devapratiṣṭhā-tattva (p. 512) or Dharmasindhu (III pūrvārdha p. 334).

The Kirāḍu (Jodhpur) Inscription of the time of king Bhīmadeva of Aṇahillapāṭaka records that in place of an image broken by Turuṣkas (Moslems) a new one was installed in *saṁvat* 1235 (1178–79 A. D.) by the wife of Tejaḥpāla, a subordinate officer of the feudatory Cāhamāna Mahārājaputra Madanabrahma (vide E. I. vol. XX, Appendix p. 56 No. 381).

Maṭhapratiṣṭhā:—(the founding of a monastery or a college for teachers and pupils.)

The founding of maṭhas appears to have been not very ancient. The Baud. Dh. S. (III. 1. 16) in speaking of a householder who is an *agnihotrin* remarks 'after departing from his house he (the householder) stops at the extremity of the village, builds there a hut (kuṭī), or a cottage hall (maṭha) and enters it'. Here maṭha does not appear to have any technical sense. In the lexicon of Amara a maṭha is defined as 'a place where pupils (and their teacher) reside'. A temple

2098. प्रतिमारामकूपसंक्रमध्वजसेतुनिपानभङ्गेषु तत्समुत्थापनं प्रतिसंस्कारोऽशतं च। वि. र. p. 364. The निर्णयसिन्धु explains समुत्थानं प्रतिक्रिया प्रतिसंस्कारः पुनः प्रतिष्ठा अशतं पणा दण्डश्चेत्यर्थः। (III, पूर्वार्ध p. 352.)

and a maṭha were both established from the same religious motive or sentiment, but they served different purposes. A temple was built principally for the purpose of prayer and worship. It also often provided for religious instruction, for the recitation of the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the purāṇas, for *kīrtans* to the accompaniment of music. But these latter were only secondary purposes. In the case of the maṭhas they were primarily intended for the instruction of pupils or the laity by some great teacher in the tenets of a sect or in the doctrines of some philosophy or in some branch of learning such as grammar, mīmāṁsā, astronomy and the like. In many cases shrines or temples are associated with or affiliated to the maṭhas, but the worship of a particular deity is not the primary object of maṭhas. Maṭhas among the followers of the Vedic religion probably owed their origin to the example of Buddhist monasteries (vihāras)[2099]. The foundation of maṭhas received a great fillip after the times of the celebrated *Advaita* teacher, the great Śaṅkarācārya, whom tradition credits with having established for the propagation of his system of Vedānta four maṭhas at Śṛṅgerī, Purī (Govardhanamaṭha), Dvārakā (Śāradā-maṭha) and Badarī (Jyotirmaṭha). Vide E. C. vol. VI Sg. No. 11 (an inscription dated 1652 A. D.) where reference is made to a grant in Śṛṅgapura, the dharmapīṭha established by Śaṅkarācārya, to the famous maṭha at Śṛṅgerī for the worship of Mallikārjuna, Vidyā-śaṅkara-svāmī and Śāradāmbā. Other āoāryas like Rāmānuja and Madhva established their own maṭhas and the number of maṭhas is now legion. Originally a maṭha started by a sannyāsin like the great Śaṅkarācārya must have had no property, as ascetios were prohibited by the śāstras from possessing property, except such articles of personal use as clothes, sandals, religious books on paim leaf or paper &c. Besides sannyāsins were required not to stay long in one place. So people built shelters for them, in order to accommodate them when they visited their town or village and these were probably originally called maṭha, which in its narrow sense means a place where an ascetio resides. In its wider sense it means an institution where a teacher presides and instructs several disciples in religious and analogous tenets, practioes and dogmas. But gradually the zeal and devotion of the disciples and followers of the great

2099. Vide Cullavagga VI. 2 and 15 (S. B. E. vol. XX. pp. 160-169 and p. 209) for *vihāras* and their condition.

teachers endowed the maṭhas with considerable moveable and immoveable properties. The origin of maṭhas (spoken of as maṭṭams in South India) has been lucidly set forth as follows in *Sammantha Pandara v. Sellappa Chetti* 2 Mad. 175 at p. 179 'a preceptor of religious doctrine gathers around him a number of disciples whom he initiates into the particular mysteries of the order and instructs in its religious tenets. Such of these disciples as intend to become religious teachers renounce their connection with their family and all claims to the family wealth and as it were affiliate themselves to the spiritual teacher whose school they have entered. Pious persons endow the schools with property which is vested in the preceptor for the time being and a home for the school is created and a maṭṭam constituted. The property of the maṭṭam does not descend to the disciples or elders in common; the preceptor, the head of the institution, selects from among the affiliated disciples him whom he deems the most competent and in his own life-time instals the disciple so settled as his successor, not uncommonly with some ceremonies. After the death of the preceptor the disciple so chosen is installed in the *gaddi* and takes by succession the property which has been held by his predecessor. The property is in fact attached to the office and passes by inheritance to no one who does not fill that office. It is in a certain sense trust property; it is devoted to the maintenance of the establishment, but the superior has a large domain over it, and is not accountable for its management nor for the expenditure of the income, provided he does not apply it to any purpose other than what may fairly be regarded as in furtherance of the object of the institution. Acting for the whole institution he may contract debts for purposes connected with his *maṭṭam* and debts so contracted might be recovered from the maṭṭam property and would devolve as a liability on his successor to the extent of the assets received by him'. Vide also *Giyana Sambandha Pandar Sannadhi v. Kandasami Tambiran* 10 Mad.375, pp.384–389; *Vidyapurna Tirtha Swami v. Vidyanidhi Tirtha Swami* 27 Mad. 435 at pp. 438–439, 451, 453–55, *Kailasam Pillai v. Nataraja*, 33 Mad. 265 (F. B.) at pp. 267, 273–277 for further remarks on the origin, growth and objects of maṭhas.[2100]

2100. Vide Rājataraṅgiṇī VI. 87–88 where the king is said to have donated to the head of a maṭha (maṭhādhipati) where pupils were taught almost all his wealth.

The head of a maṭha is called svāmī, maṭhapati or maṭhādhipati or *mahanta* (usually written as *mohunt* in the Law Reports). The head of the maṭha is usually appointed according to the custom and practice of each maṭha, generally in one of three ways, *viz.* (1) the head for the time selects from among his disciples a fit one to succeed him, (2) the disciples elect one from among themselves to succeed on the demise of the head, (3) the ruling power or the original founder or his heirs appoint the head when there is a vacancy.

That temples and maṭhas have throughout the centuries been supplementary to each other, both ministering to the religious and spiritual wants of the people can be shown by a few examples. It has been seen how Bāṇa (in the seventh century) refers to the recitation of the Mahābhārata in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (V. 29) states how king Avantivarman of Kashmir appointed one Rāmaṭa Upādhyāya to the post of expounder (vyākhyātṛpadaka) of grammar in a temple (about 900 A. D.). The Agnipurāṇa[2101] enjoins that in a temple of Śiva or Viṣṇu or the Sun if any one reads a book he may thereby acquire (the merit of) the imparting of all knowledge. Some maṭhas on the other hand provided for instruction not only in spiritual knowledge but also in secular knowledge. In the Patna Inscription of the time of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, we read that Caṅgadeva, the court astronomer and astrologer, established in *śake* 1128 (1207 A. D.) a maṭha for the study of the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi (an astronomical work) of Bhāskarācārya, the grandfather of Caṅgadeva (E. I. vol. I. p. 338), the maṭha being endowed with lands and other sources of income by two feudatories of Siṅghaṇa. Vide also E. C. vol. VI. Sg. No. 11 referred to above (p. 907) where in endowing the maṭha at Śṛṅgerī provision was made for the worship of Mallikārjuna and Śāradāmbā.

A passage quoted in the Dānacandrikā from the Skandapurāṇa states that a maṭha should be provided with cots and seats, should be thatched with grass and provided with platforms and should be donated to brāhmaṇas or ascetics at some auspicious time; by so doing a man secures all his desires and if he has no worldly desires he secures release (from *saṁsāra*).[2102]

2101. शिवालये विष्णुगृहे सूर्यस्य भवने तथा। सर्वदानप्रदः स स्यात्पुस्तकं वाचयेत्तु यः॥ अग्निपुराण 211. 57.

2102. कृत्वा मठं प्रयत्नेन शयनासनसंयुतम्। तृणैराच्छादितं चैव वेदिकाग्निः सुशोभितम्। पुण्यकाले द्विजेभ्यो वा यतिभ्यो वा निवेदयेत्॥ सर्वान् कामानवाप्नोति निष्कामो मोक्षमाप्नुयात्॥ स्कन्दपुराण quoted in दानचंद्रिका p. 152.

The word maṭha was sometimes used in the sense of a *dharmaśālā*, a place provided for the temporary residence of travellers from distant parts. For example, the Rājataraṅgiṇī VI. 300 states that queen Diddā constructed (about 972 A. D.) a maṭha for the residence of the people from Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Saurāṣṭra.

Throughout India for many centuries there have been well-endowed temples and maṭhas. But how the rulers or the ancient and medieval courts of justice regulated the administration of these institutions or their funds or how they prevented or stopped maladministration or misappropriation is not dealt with exhaustively anywhere.

In *Girijanund Datta Jha v. Sailajanund Datta Jha* 23 Cal. 645 it is observed as follows (at p. 653) ' notwithstanding the existence of numerous richly endowed Hindu shrines all over India from the earliest times, the Hindu Law strictly so called is, as Sir T. Strange complains (see his Hindu Law, Ed. of 1839, vol. 1, p. 32) meagre in its provisions relating to religious endowments, a fact which may perhaps be accounted for on the supposition that the high reputation for piety and purity of character justly enjoyed for the most part by the priestly classes of ancient India who had the management of the shrines was deemed a sufficient safeguard against breach of duty, so as to render detailed rules of law to regulate their conduct unnecessary '. In the following some of the meagre material that can be gathered from Dharmaśāstra works and analogous writings is set out. Manu (XI. 26) first appeals to the religious sentiments of people by declaring that the wicked man who from greed seizes the property of gods or of brāhmaṇas feeds in another world on the leavings of the food of vultures. Śabara remarks (on Jaimini[2103] IX. 1.9) that when it is said that a village or field belongs to a god, that is not a literal expression but used only in a secondary sense. That is said to be owned by a person which one can use as one likes; a field or a village cannot be used by a deity; but the attendants on the god (or temple) are maintained out of what is donated to a temple or god. From this it follows that all those rules that apply to a gift to a human being do not apply to a property dedicated to an

2103. देवग्रामो देवक्षेत्रमिति उपचारमात्रम्। यो यदभिप्रेतं विनियोक्तुमर्हति तत्तस्य स्वम्। न च ग्रामं क्षेत्रं वा यथाभिप्रायं विनियुङ्क्ते देवता। ..... देवपरिचारकाणां तु ततो वृत्तिर्भवति देवताद्वारेण परमुक्तम्। शबर on जै. IX. 1. 9.

idol. Medhātithi[2104] (on Manu XI. 26 and II. 189) points out that images cannot be said to be owners in the literal sense, but only in a secondary or ideal sense, since the idol in a shrine cannot use the property at its will nor can it safeguard it and ownership consists in being able to use the thing owned as one desires and in being able to preserve it. In modern times courts in India have laid down that an idol is a juridical person capable of holding property, though from the vary nature of the case the possession and management of the property rests with a manager or a trustee. A maṭha is in the same position as an idol. The rights of the idol or of the maṭha can be safeguarded and vindicated in a court of law only by the manager or trustee of the temple or by the head (called mohunt) of the maṭha.[2105] Vide *Bhupati Nath v. Ram Lal* 37 Cal. 128 (F. B.) at pp. 145–153 where Mr. Justice Mukerji examines at length passages of Śabara, Medhātithi, the Dāyabhāga and its commentators to explain what is meant by a gift to an idol according to the notions of the Hindu writers. Manu and other smṛtikāras lay down that it is part of the king's duty to prosecute and fine persons interfering with or destroying the property of temples. Yāj. II. 228 prescribes a fine of 40, 80 or 160 *paṇas* respectively for cutting off the twigs, principal branches of trees or the entire trees themselves that grow on built up platforms or in cemeteries or on boundaries or in holy places or near temples. Yāj. (II. 240 and 295) prescribes the highest ammercement for fabricating a false edict or for tampering with royal edicts by inserting more or less than what is intended to be granted by the king. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 186 says that the king should sedulously safeguard all rules made about the pastures for cows (in a village) or about the preservation of tanks and temples. Manu IX. 280 requires the king to pronounce the death sentence on those who break into a royal storehouse or an armoury or a temple and prescribes that the breaker of an image shall repair the whole damage and also pay a fine of five hundred paṇas. Kauṭ. III. 9 prescribes punishment

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2104. नहि देवतानां स्वस्वामिभावोस्ति मुख्यार्थासंभवाद्गौण एवार्थो ग्राह्यः। मेधा. on मनु II. 189; देवानुद्दिश्य यागादिक्रियार्थं यद्धनमुत्सृष्टं तद्देवस्वं मुख्यस्य स्वस्वामिसंबन्धस्य देवानामसम्भवात्। न हि देवता इच्छया धनं नियुङ्क्ते। न च परिपालनव्यापारस्तासां दृश्यते। स्वं च लोके तादृशमुच्यते। मेधा० on मनु XI. 26.

2105. Vide *Prosunno Kumari* v *Golab Chand* L. R. 2. I. A. 145 at p. 152; *Pramatha Nath* v *Pradyumna* L. R. 52 I. A. 245, 251–52.

for encroachment on temples. From the Kauṭilīya[2106] we know that kings appointed an officer called 'devatādhyakṣa' (Superintendent of temples) and that when the king's treasury became empty it was part of the duty of that officer to bring together all the wealth of the temples in the forts and other parts of the country and the king could in an emergency use that wealth (and probably used to return it later when financial stringency ceased). Among matters called prakīrṇaka (miscellaneous) of which the king was to take cognisance *suo motu* without anybody's complaint, Nārada includes (in verse 3) 'abstraction of gifts' and 'gifts of villages and towns to brāhmaṇas' (verse 2). According to the Sm. C. among the topics called *chalas*[2107] were two viz. the destruction of a reservoir of drinking water and of a temple. Kātyāyana states that mere wrongful possession for any length of time of women, of state property and of temple property would not confer ownership on anybody. These texts indicated that the Government of the day protected temple properties, tanks, wells and the like that were dedicated to the public and exercised powers of superintendence and correction in matters affecting them. Yāj. II. 191 says that those who look after the business of guilds etc. in which many are interested should be students of the Veda, men of rectitude and free from greed. They are styled *kāryacintaka* by him. Bṛhaspati[2108] quoted by Aparārka says (p. 796) that these kāryacintakas (committee) should consist of two, three or five persons and that if there be disagreement between the larger bodies and the committee the king should decide that dispute and should bring round to the proper path whoever might be in the wrong. It appears that from very ancient times (3rd or 2nd century B. C.) the committee in charge of religious foundations was called goṣṭhī and the

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2106. मर्यादापहरणे पूर्वः साहसदण्डः । मर्यादाभेदे चतुर्विंशतिपणः । तेन तपोवनविवीतमहापथश्मशानदेवकुलयजन-पुण्यस्थान-विवादा व्याख्याताः । कौटिल्य III. 9; देवताध्यक्षो दुर्गराष्ट्रदेवतानां यथास्वमेकस्थं कोशं कुर्यात् । तथैव चाहरेत् । कौटिल्य V. 2.

2107. छलानि चापराधांश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकौर्विना ॥ पथिभङ्गी कराक्षेपी प्राकारोपरिलङ्घकः । निपानस्य विनाशी च तथा चायतनस्य च ॥ पितामह quoted in the स्मृतिच. (व्यव. p. 27).

2108. द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहहितवादिनः । कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभिः ॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 796; मुख्यैः सह समूहानां विसंवादो भवेद्यदि । तदा विचारयेद्राजा स्वमार्गे स्थापयेच्च तान् ॥ अपरार्क p. 794.

members goṣṭhika[2109]. In some inscriptions the superintendent of a temple is called *sthānapati* (vide Śrīraṅgam plates of Devarāya II dated *śake* 1356 in E. I. vol. 18, p. 138). In the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśivagupta (about 8th or 9th century A. D.) of Mahākosala provision is made for a portion of the property granted being heritable by the sons and grandsons of the donees only if they were worthy, kept up agnihotra, studied the six aṅgas and had clean mouths and did not engage in service and further that if the heir did not possess these qualities or died without leaving a son &c., then another person, a relative with the requisite qualifications, could be made the recipient of that share, and he was to be elderly and learned and was to be chosen by mutual agreement and the king's express order was not to be necessary for his selection.[2110] Paiṭhīnasi quoted by Aparārka p. 746 ordains that the king should not deprive temples and corporations of their properties. A record from Malabar of the 11th century A. D. gives the details of temple administration in Kerala, that was in the hands of Yogam (corporation) wielding independent power (E. I. vol. 18 p. 340). The Peshwa's Government at Poona often interfered when disputes arose about properties dedicated to shrines and tombs of saints between the managers of the temples or among the heirs of the saint to whom lands had been originally donated. For example, the Peshwa made an award in 1744 A. D. about the principal religious and charitable institution in the Deccan, viz. the Chinchvad Samsthan, whereby he set apart one half of all properties bestowed on the shrine at that place for purely religious and charitable purposes and distributed the other half between the manager and his kinsmen who were all descendants of the original founder, Shri Moraya Gosavi (vide *Chintaman v. Dhondo*

2109. Vide E. I. vol. II. p. 87 (votive inscription from Sanchi) at p. 92 where mention is made of Bodha-goṭhī (Bauddha goṣṭhī); E. I. vol. I. p. 184 at p. 188 (for goṣṭhika), E. I. VIII p. 219 (Abu inscription No. 2 dated 1230 A. D.) which gives the names of the committee of management who and whose descendants were to manage the foundation (अत्र च धर्मस्थाने कृतश्रावकगोष्ठिकानां नामानि यथा। ... ... एतदीयसन्तानपरम्परया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकलमपि स्नपनपूजासारादिकं सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च).

2110. Vide भार्य्यं तत्पुत्रपौत्रैश्च साग्निहोत्रैः षडङ्गिभिः। श्रुतवेदयाधनासक्तैरपिद्धाकैरसेवकैः॥ यस्तु नैवंविधो भावी यश्चापुत्रो विपत्स्यते। तयोरंशे प्रवेश्योन्यः पूर्वोक्तगुणवान् द्विजः। स चैषामेव संबन्धी सविद्यत्वे वयोधिकः। एभिरेव च सामत्यात् प्रवेश्यो न नृपाज्ञया॥ E. I. vol. XI. p. 190 verses 30–32.

15 Bom. 612 at p. 615). A similar award was made by the Peshwa in 1777-78 A. D. about the Brahmanal Samsthan in the Satara District (vide *Annaji v. Narayana* 21 Bom. 536). This privilege of ancient rulers to redress grievances and correct abuses in the management of religious and charitable endowments devolved upon the British Government as laid down by the Privy Council in *Rajah Muthu Ramlinga v. Perianayagum Pillai*, L. R 1 I. A. 209 at p. 232 'It is evident...that the British Government, by virtue of its sovereign power, asserted as the former rulers of the country had done, the right to visit endowments of this kind and to prevent and redress abuses in their management'. The Indian Central and Provincial Legislatures have placed on the Statute book many Acts regulating religious and charitable endowments. A list of the most important of these enactments is given below.[2111]

Property dedicated to a god is called 'devottara' (the word being written as *debutter* in the Law Reports, particularly from Bengal). Vide *Sham Charan Nandi v. Abhiram Goswami*, 33 Cal. 511 at p. 523. A good deal of litigation comes up to the courts about the rights and liabilities of the trustees and the *sevakas* (called *Shebait* in Bengal), about their mismanagement of the temple properties and their removal and so forth.

Among impartible things Manu (IX. 219) included *yogakṣema*. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 118-119 shows that several meanings were attached to that expression by various writers, but that relying upon a verse of Laugākṣi it prefers the meaning of iṣṭa and pūrta. Therefore the Mit.[2112] declares that gifts dedicated by a person to the public by expending ancestral wealth such

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2111. The Religious Endowments Act (XX of 1863) as amended by Act XXI of 1925; The Charitable Endowments Act (VI of 1890); Religious Societies Act (I of 1880); Indian Civil Procedure Code, Sections 92-93 (Act V of 1908); Indian Limitation Act, Section 10 (Act IX of 1908); Charitable and Religious Trusts Act (Act XIV of 1920); Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act (Madras Act II of 1927, applying to temples and maths also); Tirupati and Tirumalai Devasthanams Act (Madras Act XIX of 1933); The Bombay Public Trusts Registration Act (Bombay Act XXV of 1935).

2112. योगश्च क्षेमं च योगक्षेमम् । योगशब्देनालब्धलाभकारणं श्रौतस्मार्ताग्नि-साध्यमिष्टं कर्म लक्ष्यते । क्षेमशब्देन लब्धपरिरक्षणहेतुभूतं बहिर्वेदिदानतडागारामनिर्माणादि पूर्तं कर्म लक्ष्यते । तदुभयं पैतृकमपि पितृद्रव्यविरोधाजितमप्यविभाज्यम् । यथाह लौगाक्षिः । क्षेमं पूर्तं योगमिष्टमित्याहुस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः । अविभाज्ये च ते प्रोक्ते शयनासनमेव च ॥ इति । मिता० on या. II. 118-119.

as tanks, gardens, and temples could not be partitioned by the sons and grandsons. In modern times also the same is the rule. Besides properties dedicated to temples and other religious and charitable purposes are generally inalienable, according to legislative enactments and judicial decisions,[2113] except where an alienation is absolutely necessary for the upkeep of the religious worship or for the benefit and preservation of the institution.

A question arises whether, when a work of public utility is dedicated, the founder possesses any control over the thing dedicated and if so to what extent. The Vîramitrodaya (on Vyavahâra[2114]) furnishes an answer to this question. The following is the gist of its argument keeping as close to the original as possible. When a man throws an oblation into fire, his ownership over the oblation comes to an end; but the oblation belongs to nobody. No human being has accepted it. Yet the sacrificer can prevent any one who wants to desecrate the offering by bringing it into contact with something impure from doing so and can see to it that the offering is reduced to ashes in the fire undisturbed. Similarly when a tank or a garden is dedicated to the public, the ownership of the founder in the thing is gone, but there is no other individual owner and no new ownership arises in any single person; yet the founder can prevent a third person making himself owner of the thing dedicated to the public and it cannot be argued that the founder cannot interfere for protecting the thing and that there is no blame if he does not safeguard the assumption of ownership by a third person. The practice of respectable people viz. the exercise of the right of preservation in the case of both (i. e. in the case of what is offered into the fire and what is dedicated to the public) is based on this consideration. The śâstric injunction about *utsarga* does not merely contemplate the divesting

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2113. Vide for example Bombay Act II of 1863 (Summary Settlement Act, sec. 8). Vide *Prosonno Kumari* v. *Golab Chand* L.R. 2 I. A. 245.

2114. किंतु वादुरेव यथेष्टविनियोगार्हस्वत्वापगमेपि परस्वत्वापत्तिफलाभावे दानशब्दार्थानिष्पत्तेर्विधिशिरस्कफलार्थिनः प्रतिपादनावधिपरिपालनीयत्वरूपं स्वत्वमस्त्येव । यथा हुते हविषि भस्मसाद्भावावधि अस्पृश्यस्पर्शादिनिषेधाश्रवणनिमित्तदोषश्रवणान्तरोधेन । तथा चान्यस्वत्वानुत्पत्तावपि न मध्यकस्वपरिग्रहाद्यनिवारणादिदोषः । शिष्टाचारोप्युभयत्र परिपालनरूपस्तन्मूलक एव । न चोत्सर्गमात्रस्य तत्र त्वया विध्यनुपगमात्परस्वत्वापादनादर एव न स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तादृशोत्सर्गस्यैव विधितात्पर्यविषयत्वात् । होमस्थलेप्यन्यथा भस्मसाद्भावानादरापत्तेः । वीरमित्रोदय, व्यवहार (portion on विभाग edited by G. S. Sarkar chap. I sec. 50 and Jiv. ed. p. 544).

of one's ownership and dedication to the public, but also that the thing dedicated be enjoyed by the public without interference or encroachment, just as in homa also one does not merely desire to throw an oblation into fire (and rest content with that) but one desires to see that the oblation is reduced to ashes and is not rendered impure. This shows that the founder of a temple or the builder of a tank or garden would always retain a power to preserve the thing dedicated.

Questions as to whether a new image can be substituted by the trustee or the *shebait* of a temple or whether he can remove the image to another place do come before the courts. Vide *Kali Kanta Chatterji v. Surendra* 41 C. L. J. 128 ; *Pramatha Natha v. Pradyumna Kumar* 30 C. W. N. 25 (P. C.) where the P. C. laid down (p. 33) that family idols are not merely movable chattels and that their destruction, degradation and injury are not within the power of the founder or other custodian for the time being; vide *Hari Raghunath v. Anant Bhikaji* 44 Bom. 466, where it was held that the manager of a public temple has no right to remove the image from the old temple and instal it in another new building, especially when the removal is objected to by a majority of the worshippers.

CHAPTER XXVII

VĀNAPRASTHA (forest hermit)

Vaikhānasa appears to have been the ancient name for Vānaprastha. In the Anukramaṇī one hundred Vaikhānasas are said to have been the seers of Ṛg. IX. 66 and a Vamra Vaikhānasa is the seer of Ṛg. X. 99. The Tai. Ā. I. 23 connects the word Vaikhānasa with the *nakhas* of Prajāpati (ye nakhās te vaikhānasāḥ).[2115] It appears that in ancient times there was some work called Vaikhānasa śāstra which treated of the rules for forest hermits. Gaut. III. 2 uses the word Vaikhānasa for this āśrama. Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 19 defines a vānaprastha[2116] as one who follows the practices laid down in Vaikhānasa-śāstra. Vṛddha-Gautama (chap. VIII, p. 564) appears to suggest that Vaikhānasas and Pāñcarātrikas were two schools of Vaiṣṇavas, the former calling Viṣṇu by the appellations of Puruṣa, Acyuta and Aniruddha, while the Pāñcarātrikas spoke of Viṣṇu as having the four *mūrtis* or *vyūhas* viz. Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.[2117] The Par. M. vol. I, part 2, p. 139 after quoting Vas. Dh. S. 9. 11 (śrāmaṇakenāgnimādhaya) remarks that Śrāmaṇaka is Vaikhānasa-sūtra that propounds the duties of *tapasvins*. Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala speaks of the life led by the charming Śakuntala in Kaṇva's hermitage as *vaikhānasa vrata*[2118] (I. 27). Manu VI. 21 describes the Vānaprastha as abiding by the views (*mata*) of Vaikhānasa and Medhātithi explains that Vaikhānasa is a śāstra in which the duties of the forest hermit are expounded. The Mahā-

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2115. ये नखास्ते वैखानसाः। ये वालास्ते वालखिल्याः। तै. आ. I. 23.

2116. वानप्रस्थो वैखानसशास्त्रसमुदाचारः। बौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 19.

2117. पुरुषं च ततः प्रोक्तमच्युतं च युधिष्ठिर। अनिरुद्धं च मां प्राहुर्वैखानसविदो जनाः॥ अन्ये त्वेवं विजानन्ति मां राजन् पाञ्चरात्रिकाः। वासुदेवं च राजेन्द्र सङ्कर्षणमथापि वा। प्रद्युम्नं चानिरुद्धं च चतुर्मूर्तिं प्रचक्षते॥ वृद्धगौतम VIII. p. 564. These and other verses are quoted as from आश्वमेधिकपर्व by परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 366. अप्पयदीक्षित in his वेदान्तकल्पतरुपरिमल (Vijianagram Series) p. 453 tells us that, according to the वैखानसशास्त्र, the Pāñcarātra school is not Vaidika.

2118. वैखानसं किमनया व्रतमात्मदानाद् व्यापाररोधि मदनस्य निवेदितव्यम्। शाकुन्तल I. 27.

bhārata[2119] (Śānti 20. 6 and 26. 6) states that the view of the Vaikhānasas is that it is better to have no desire for amassing wealth than to hanker after wealth. Śaṅkarācārya on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 20 speaks of the third āśrama as vaikhānasa and as indicated by the word *tapas* used in Chān. Up. II. 23. 1.

The word *vānaprastha* is according to the Mit. the same as vanaprastha, which means 'one who stays in a forest in a pre-eminent way' (by observing a strict code of life). Kṣīra-svāmī derives it differently.[2120]

The time for becoming a forest hermit arises in two ways. According to the Jābālopaniṣad quoted above (p. 421) a man may become a vānaprastha immediately after the period of student-hood or after passing some years as an householder. Manu (VI. 2) indicates the age by saying 'when a householder sees his skin wrinkled and his hair growing white and sees the sons of his sons he may betake himself to the forest'. The commentators were divided in their opinions, some holding that all three conditions (wrinkles, grey hair and seeing son's sons) must be fulfilled before one could become a forest hermit, others held that only one of them need be fulfilled and others again said that these conditions are only indicative of the age viz. that a man must be old or over 50. Kullūka on Manu III. 50 quotes a smṛti 'a man may resort to a forest after 50'.

Gaut. III. 25-34, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 18—II. 9. 23. 2, Baud. Dh. S. III. 3, Vas. Dh. S. IX, Manu VI. 1-32, Yāj. III. 45-55, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 95, Vaik. X. 5, Śaṅkha-smṛti VI. 1-7 (in verse), Śāntiparva 245. 1-14 and Anuśāsana 142, Āśvamedhika-parva 46. 9-16, Laghu-Viṣṇu III, Kūrmapurāṇa (uttarārdha chap. 27) contain numerous rules about forest hermits. The principal points are stated below with a few references:

(1) One may go to a forest with one's wife or one may leave her in charge of one's sons (Manu VI. 3, Yāj. III. 45). The wife may accompany if she desires. Medhātithi notes that some explained that if the wife was young he may place her in charge of the sons and that an old wife may accompany her husband.

2119. वैखानसानां कौन्तेय श्रूयते वचनं यथा । इहेह धनहेतोर्यस्तस्यानीहा गरीयसी ॥ शान्तिपर्व 20. 6-7.

2120. वने प्रकर्षेण नियमेन च तिष्ठति चरतीति वनप्रस्थः वनप्रस्थ एव वानप्रस्थः संज्ञायां वैदर्यम् । मिता० on या. III. 45. क्षीरस्वामी on वानप्रस्थ however says 'प्रतिष्ठन्ते अस्मिन् प्रस्थः वनप्रस्थे भवो वानप्रस्थः वैखानसाख्यः.'

(2) He takes with him to the forest his three Vedic fires and his gṛhya fire[2121] together with such sacrificial utensils as the ladles called *sruc, sruva.* Ordinarily the wife's co-operation is required in offering sacrifices, but when the wife is given in charge of the sons, her co-operation then is supposed to be dispensed with or it may be held that she has consented to all acts by agreeing to stay with the sons. On repairing to the forest he should perform the śrauta sacrifices of new moon and full moon, the *āgrayaṇa iṣṭi*, the *cāturmāsyas, Turāyaṇa and Dākṣāyaṇa* (Manu VI. 4. 9-10, Yāj. III. 45). The sacrificial food was to be prepared from corn like *nīvāra* growing in the forest. It appears that according to some writers the forest hermit was to give up his śrauta and gṛhya fires and kindle a new fire in accordance with rules laid down in the śrāmaṇaka[2122] (i. e. the Vaikhānasa sūtra) and offer sacrifices therein. Vide Gaut. III. 26, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 20 and Vas. Dh. S. IX. 10.[2123]

2121. If he has followed the *ardhādhāna* mode, then he has separate śrauta and gṛhya fires ; but if he has followed the ' sarvādhāna ' mode, then he has only śrauta fires, which alone he takes with him. When a man consecrates the three śrauta fires he may do so with half of his smārta fire and keep the other half of the smārta fire. This is ardhādhāna. If he does not keep the *smārta* fire separate it is sarvādhāna. Vide Āp. Śr. V. 4. 12–16, V. 7. 8 and Nirṇayasindhu (III pūrvārdha, p. 370). If he has no śrauta fires then he takes only the gṛhya fire. One who has no wife living can also become a forest hermit. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 45. Dākṣāyaṇa is a modification of the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice (Āp. Śr. III. 17. 4 and 11, Āśv. Śr. II. 14. 7ff and com. on Kāt. Śr. I. 2. 11) and Turāyaṇa is an iṣṭyayana according to Āśv. Śr. II. 14. 4–6 and a sattra according to Āp. XXIII. 14. 1.

2122. Medhātithi on Manu VI. 9 states that the Śrāmaṇaka fire is to be kindled hy him only whose wife is dead or who becomes a forest hermit immediately after the close of the period of student-hood.

2123. आवणकेनाग्निमाधाय । गौ. III. 26 ; आमणकेनाग्निमाधायाहिताग्निः ... ... स्यात् । वसिष्ठ IX. 10. हरदत्त on गौ. explains ' आवणकं नाम वैखानसं शास्त्रम् '. These words occur also in Baud. Dh. S. II. 6.20. मेधातिथि explains that he is to swallow holy ashes in order to deposit fires in his self, while Nārāyaṇa explains that he is to do so by repeating the *mantra* ' Yā te agne yajñiyā ' (Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 5). The Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 30–31 refers to this ' भवतं नः समनसाविति आत्मन्यग्नीन्समारोपयते । या ते अग्ने यज्ञिया तनूरिति त्रिभिरेकैकं समाजिघ्रति ।'. The Vaik. IX. 1–5 details how a person on entering the order of vaikhānasas is to establish the śrāmaṇaka fire. At first it deals with the establishment of śrāmaṇka fire by one whose wife accompanies him and then hy one whose wife does not accompany him and winds up सम्यस्य भेदः आमणकाग्निरित्याहुः । तस्मादेतद्विधानमेनमग्निं च आमणकमित्याह विखनाः । अपत्नीकश्च भिक्षुवदग्नौ होमं हुत्वा ... ... वने निवसेत् तपसां आमणमेतन्मूलम् ।

Ultimately he is to leave the keeping of fires by depositing the sacred fires in his own self according to the rules prescribed (in Vaikhānasa sūtra). Vide Manu VI. 25, Yāj. III. 45.

(3) He has to give up all food that he used to partake of when he was in his village and also all household paraphernalia (cows, horses, beds &c.) and subsist on flowers, fruits, roots and vegetables growing in the forest on land or in water or on corn fit for sages such as nīvāra and śyāmāka (Manu VI. 5 and 13, Gaut. III. 26 and 28). But he has to avoid partaking of honey, flesh, mushrooms growing on the ground, and the vegetables called Bhūstṛṇa, Śigruka, the Śleṣmātaka fruit, though these are forest produce (Manu VI. 14). Gautama allowed him as a last resort to partake of the flesh of animals killed by carnivorous beasts. Yāj. III. 54–55, Manu VI. 27–28 allow him to beg for alms at the dwellings of other hermits or allow him to go to a village and bring by begging silently eight morsels of food. He can use salt prepared by himself only (Manu VI. 12).

(4) He has to perform the five daily sacrifices to gods, sages, Manes, men (guests) and to bhūtas with food fit for ascetics or with fruits, roots and vegetables and give alms thereout (Manu VI. 5 and 7, Gaut. III. 29–30, Yāj. III. 46).

(5) He has to bathe thrice in the day, in the morning, at noon and in the evening (Manu VI. 22 and 24, Yāj. III. 48, Vas. IX. 9); while Manu VI. 6 appears to prescribe a bath twice a day only in the morning and in the evening. So there was an option.

(6) He was to wear a deer-skin or a tattered garment (i.e. one of bark or kuśa grass or the like) and allow his hair and nails to grow. Vide Manu VI. 6, Gaut. III. 34, Vas. IX. 11.

(7) He should be devoted to the study of the Veda and recite it inaudibly (Āp. Dh. S. II 9. 22. 9, Manu VI. 8, Yāj. III. 48).

(8) He should live a life of complete continence, should be self-restrained, friendly (to all), collected in mind, ever liberal but never a recipient and be compassionate towards all beings (Manu VI. 8, Yāj. III. 45 and 48). In view of Yāj. III. 45, Vas. IX. 5 and Manu VI. 26, Kullūka seems [2124] to be

2124. वानप्रस्थो ब्रह्मचारी साग्निः सोपासनो व्रजेत् । या. III. 45; ऊर्ध्वरेताः । वासिष्ठ IX. 5.

wrong in holding that if a forest hermit takes his wife with him he may cohabit with her at the prescribed times.

(9) He is not to use corn growing on ploughed land in the forest even if the owner neglects to garner it nor is he to eat fruits and roots growing in villages (Manu VI. 16 and Yāj. III. 46).

(10) He may cook wild corn or he may eat only what becomes naturally ripe (like fruits) or he may pound between stones the grain to be used by him, or may employ his teeth only as mortar and he is not to employ ghee in his cooking or religious rites but only the oil of wild fruits (Manu VI. 17 and Yāj. III. 49).

(11) He is to eat only once either in the day in the 4th part (of the day divided into eight) or at night or he may take food every alternate day or once after two or three days (Viṣṇu Dh. S. 95. 5-6, Manu VI. 19). He may also follow the method of the penance of Cāndrāyaṇa (stated in Manu XI. 216) or he may subsist on wild fruits, roots and flowers only (Manu VI. 20-21, Yāj. III. 50) or may eat only once at the end of a fortnight (according to one's ability). He may reduce gradually the quantity of food he takes, ultimately subsisting on water alone or on wind (Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 23. 2, Manu VI. 31). Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 95. 7-12 also.

(12) He may accumulate food materials only for a day or a month or a year (but never for more than a year) and should throw away his stored food material every year in the month of Āśvina (Manu VI. 15, Yāj. III. 47, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 22. 24).[2125]

(13) He should practise severe austerities by standing in the midst of five fires (4 fires in the four directions and the blazing sun overhead), by standing in the open in the rains, by wearing wet garments in winter (Manu VI. 23-34, Yāj. III. 52, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 95. 2-4) and thus habituate his body to privations and mortifications.

(14) He should gradually give up residing in a house, but should stay under a tree and subsist only on fruits and roots[2126] (Manu VI. 25, Vas. IX. 11, Yāj. III. 54, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 20).

2125. नवे सस्ये प्राप्ते पुराणमनुजानीयात् । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 22. 24.

2126. वृक्षमूलनिकेतन ऊर्ध्वं षड्भ्यो मासेभ्योऽनग्निरनिकेतः । वासिष्ठ IX. 11.

(15) At night he should sleep on the bare ground, should pass the day either sitting or moving about or in the practice of Yoga and should make no effort to enjoy the things that give pleasures (Manu VI. 22 and 26, Yāj. III. 51).

(16) He should study the various texts of the Upaniṣads for the purity of his body, for the increase of his knowledge and ultimately for realising *brahma* (Manu VI. 29–30).

(17) If the forest hermit suffers from some incurable disease and cannot properly perform his duties or feels death to be near, he should start on the great journey (Mahāprasthāna) turning his face towards the north-east, subsisting on water and air only, till the body falls to rise no more (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55). The Mit. and Aparārka (p. 945) on Yāj. III. 55 quote a smṛti 'a forest hermit may resort to the distant journey or may enter water or fire or may throw himself from a precipice'.[2127]

The Baud. Dh. S. III. 3 gives an intricate classification of vānaprasthas. They are either *pacamānakas* (who take cooked or ripe food) or *apacamānakas* (who do not cook their food). Each of these two classes is again sub-divided into five. The five *pacamānakas* are sarvāraṇyakas, vaitusikas, those who subsist on fruits, roots and bulbous roots, those who subsist on fruits only, those who subsist on vegetables only. Sarvāraṇyakas are of two kinds, viz. *indrāvasiktas* (who bring creepers, shrubs and cook them, offer agnihotra therewith and offer it to guests and eat the rest) and *reto-vasiktas* (who bring the flesh of animals killed by tigers, wolves or hawks and cook it and offer to Agni &c.). The *apacamānakas* are five viz. unmajjakas (who do not employ implements of iron or stone for holding food), *pravṛttāśinaḥ* (who eat food from their hands, without using any vessel), *mukhenādāyinaḥ* (who eat food with their mouth, without using their hands, as beasts do), *toyāhāras* (who subsist on water only), *vāyubhakṣāḥ* (who observe total fast). These are according to Baud. the ten *dīkṣās* of Vaikhānasas. Manu also (VI. 29) calls the rules to be observed by forest hermits dīkṣās.

Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. XI. p. 290) speaks of four divisions of vānaprasthas viz. Vaikhānasa, Udumbara, Vālakhilya and

2127. वानप्रस्थो दूराध्वानं ज्वलनाम्बुप्रवेशनं भृगुपतन वाह्वतिष्टेत्। इति स्मरणात्। मिता० on या. III. 55 (the printed text of मिता० reads धीराध्वानं while अपरार्क reads दूराध्वानम्).

Vanevāsī; while Vaikh. VIII. 7 says that the vānaprasthas are either *sapatnīka* (who stay with their wife) or *apatnīka* and the first are of four varieties viz. Audumbara, Vairiñca, Vālakhilya and Phenapa. The Rāmāyaṇa (Araṇya, chap. 10. 2–6) speaks of forest hermits under various designations such as the Vālakhilyas, Aśmakuṭṭas &c.

Any person of the three higher varṇas could become a vānaprastha, but a śūdra could not do so. Manu VI. 1 when starting the topic of vānaprasthas employs the word ' dvija '. In the Śāntiparva 21. 15 it is stated that a kṣatriya after transferring the kingdom to his son should subsist in a forest on wild food and follow the śrāvaṇa scriptures.[2128] In the Āśvamedhika-parva 35. 43 it is expressly stated that the order of vānaprasthas is meant for the three *dvijātis*.[2129] The Mahābhārata cites many examples of royal personages becoming vānaprasthas. Yayāti after crowning his youngest and most dutiful son Pūru as a king is said to have become a forest hermit (Ādiparva 86. 1) where he practised various austerities (Ādi. 86. 12–17) and ultimately ended his life by fasting (Ādi. 75. 58). In the Āśramavāsi-parva (chap. 19) the blind king Dhṛtarāṣṭra is said to have become a forest hermit with his wife Gāndhārī who put on bark garments and deer-skin. The Par. M. (I. part 2, p. 139) relying on Manu VI. 2, Yama and other sages states its view that men of the three varṇas could become forest hermits. Women also could repair to the forest. The Mausala parva (7. 74) states that when Kṛṣṇa left the mortal body, Satyabhāmā and other queens of Kṛṣṇa entered the forest having resolved to undergo severe austerities. The Ādiparva (128. 12–13) narrates that, on the death of Pāṇḍu, Satyavatī with her two daughters-in-law repaired to a forest for austerities and died there. Vide also Śānti 147. 10 (for Mahāprasthāna) and Āśramavāsiparva. 37. 27–28. According to Vaik. VIII. 1 and Vāmanapurāṇa 14. 117–118 a brāhmaṇa could pass through all four āśramas, a kṣatriya through three (he could not be a sannyāsin), a vaiśya

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2128. पुत्रसंक्रामितश्रीश्च वने वन्येन वर्तयन् । विधिना श्रावणेनैव कुर्यात्कर्माण्यतन्द्रितः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 21. 15. श्रावण seems to be a variant for श्रामण or श्रामणक. Vide note 2123 above.

2129. वानप्रस्थं द्विजातीनां त्रयाणामुपदिश्यते । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां गार्हस्थ्यं तद्विधीयते ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 35. 43; सत्यभामा तथैवान्या देव्यः कृष्णस्य संमताः । वनं प्रविविशुः राजंस्तापस्ये कृतनिश्चयाः ॥ मौसल 7. 74; जलमग्निस्तथा वायुरथवापि विकर्षणम् । तापसानां प्रशस्यन्ते गच्छ सञ्जय मा चिरम् ॥ आश्रम० 37. 27–28; ब्राह्मणस्याश्रमाश्चत्वारः क्षत्रियस्याद्यास्त्रयो वैश्यस्य द्वावेव । वैखानसस्मार्त VIII. 1.

through two (brahmacarya and gārhasthya) and a śūdra could resort to only one viz. the householder's mode of life. Vide the story of Śambūka referred to above (p. 119).

The question whether ending one's life by starting on the Great Journey or by falling from a precipice is sinful exercised the minds of many writers on dharmaśāstra. The Dharmaśāstra writers generally condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin. Parāśara (IV. 1-2) states that if a man or woman hangs himself or herself through extreme pride or extreme rage or through affliction or fear he or she falls into hell for sixty thousand years.[2130] Manu V. 89 says that no water is to be offered for the benefit of the souls of those who kill themselves. The Ādiparva (179. 20) declares that one who commits suicide does not reach blissful worlds. Vas. Dh. S. (23. 14-16) ordains "whoever kills himself becomes *abhiśasta* (guilty of mortal sin) and his *sapiṇḍas* have to perform no death rites for him ; a man becomes a killer of the self when he destroys himself by wood (i. e. by fire), water, clods and stones (i. e. by striking his head against a stone), weapon, poison, or ropes (i. e. by hanging). They also quote a verse 'that *dvija* who through affection performs the last rites of a man who commits suicide must undergo the penance of Cāndrāyaṇa with Tapta-kṛcchra". Vas. Dh. S. 23. 18 prescribes a prāyaścitta for merely resolving to kill oneself (even when no attempt is made). Yama (20-21) prescribes that when a person tries to do away with himself by such methods as hanging, if he dies, his body should be smeared with impure things and if he lives he should be fined two hundred *paṇas* ; his friends and sons should each be fined one *paṇa* and then they should undergo the penance laid down in the śāstra.[2131]

In spite of this general attitude, exceptions were made in the smṛtis, the epics and purāṇas. When a man was guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, he was allowed to meet death at the hands of archers in a battle who knew that the sinner wanted to be killed in that way as a penance or the sinner may throw himself head

2130. अतिमानादतिक्रोधात्स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा भयात् । उद्बध्नन्पियात्स्त्री पुमान्वा गतिरेषा विधीयते ॥ पूयशोणितसंपूर्णे अन्धे तमसि मज्जति । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि नरकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ पराशर IV. 1-2.

2131. आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु रज्ज्वादिभिरपक्वकैः । मृतोऽमेध्येन लेप्तव्यो जीवतो द्विगुणं दमः ॥ बध्नन्यास्तत्सुताभ्राणि प्रत्येकं पणिकं दमम् । प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्युर्यथाशास्त्रमचोदितम् ॥ यम 20-21.

downwards in fire (Manu XI. 73, Yāj. III. 248). Similarly the drinker of spirituous liquor expiated his sin by taking boiling wine, water, ghee, cow's milk or urine and dying thereby (Manu XI. 90-91, Yāj. III. 253, Gaut. 23. 1, Vas. Dh. S. 20. 22). Vide also Vas. Dh. S. 13. 14, Gaut. 23. 1, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 25. 1-3 and 6 for similar deadly penances for incest and for drinking liquor and for theft. The Āp.Dh.S. (I.10.28. 15-17) quotes Hārīta who condemns such penances involving death.[2132] At extremely holy places like Prayāga, the Sarasvatī and Benares persons were allowed to kill themselves by drowning with the desire of securing release from *saṁsāra*. The Śalyaparva (39. 33-34) states 'whoever abandons his body at Pṛthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī after repeating Vedic prayers would not be troubled by death thereafter'.[2133] The Anuśāsanaparva (25. 62-64) says that if a man knowing the Vedānta and understanding the ephemeral nature of life abandons life in the holy Himālayas by fasting, he would reach the world of *brahma*. Vide also Vanaparva 85. 83 (about suicides at Prayāga). The Matsya-purāṇa (186. 34-35) eulogises the peak of Amarakaṇṭaka by stating 'whoever dies at Amarakaṇṭaka by fire, poison, water or by fasting enjoys the pleasures (described in verses 28-33). He who throws himself down (from the peaks of Amarakaṇṭaka) never returns (to saṁsāra).'[2134]

There are historical examples of this practice supplied by Epigraphy. The Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkarṇadeva (dated Kalacuri *saṁvat* 823 i. e. 1073 A. D.) narrate that king Gāṅgeya obtained release along with his one hundred wives at the famous banyan tree of Prayāga (E. I. vol. XII. p. 205 at p. 211).[2135] King Dhaṅgadeva of the Chandella dynasty is said to have lived for more than 100 years and to have abandoned his body at Prayāga while contemplating on Rudra (E. I. vol. I. p. 140). The Cālukya king Someśvara after performing yoga

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2132. शुश्रुतल्पगामी तु सुचिरं सूर्मिं प्रविश्योभयत आदीप्याभिदहेदात्मानम्। मिथ्यैतदिति हारीतः। यो ह्यात्मानं परं चाभिमन्यतेऽभिशस्त एव स भवति। आप. ध. सू. I. 10. 28. 15-17.

2133. सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम्। पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैनं श्वो मरणं तपेत्॥ शल्यपर्व 39. 33-34

2134. एवं भोगो भवेत्तस्य यो मृतोऽमरकण्टके। अग्नौ विषजले चापि तथा चैव ह्यनाशके॥ अनिवर्तिका गतिस्तस्य पवनस्यान्धरे यथा। पतनं कुरुते यस्तु अमरेशे नराधिप। मत्स्य 186. 34-35.

2135. प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेशबन्धौ सार्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरसुत्र मुक्तिम्। E. I. vol. XII. 205 at p. 211.

rites drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadrā in 1068 A. D. (E. C. vol. II. Sk. 136). The Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 94 poetically describes how Aja in his old age when his health was shattered by disease resorted to fasting and drowned himself at the confluence of the holy rivers, the Ganges and the Śarayū, and immediately attained the position of a denizen of Heaven.

Apart from suicide for purposes of penance or at holy places the smṛtis allowed, as said above, a forest hermit to start on the great journey to meet death and also allowed in certain circumstances death by entering fire, or by drowning or by fasting or by throwing oneself from a precipice even for those who were not hermits. Gautama (14. 11) prescribes that no mourning need be observed for those who wilfully meet death by fasting, or by cutting themselves off with a weapon, or by fire, or poison or water or by hanging or by falling from a precipice. But Atri (218-219) states some exceptions viz. 'if one who is very old (beyond 70), one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification (owing to extreme weakness &c.), one who is so ill that no medical help can be given, kills himself by throwing himself from a precipice or into fire or water or by fasting, mourning should be observed for him for three days and śrāddha may be performed for him.[2136] Aparārka (p. 536) quotes texts of Brahmagarbha, Vivasvat and Gārgya about an householder 'he who suffering from serious illness cannot live, or who is very old, who has no desire left for the pleasures of any of the senses and who has carried out his tasks may bring about his death at his pleasure by resorting to mahāprasthāna, by entering fire or water or by falling from a precipice. By so doing he incurs no sin and his death is far better than *tapas*, and one should not desire to live vainly (without being able to perform the duties laid down by the śāstra).[2137] Aparārka (p. 877) and Par. M. (I. part 2, p. 228) quote several verses from Ādipurāṇa about dying by fasting, by entering fire or deep water or by falling from a precipice, or by going on mahā-

2136. वृद्धः शौचस्मृतेर्लुप्तः प्रत्याख्यातभिषक्क्रियः । आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भृग्वग्न्यम्बुमहाम्बुभिः ॥ तस्य त्रिरात्रमाशौचं द्वितीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम् । तृतीये तूदकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे श्राद्धमाचरेत् ॥ अत्रि 218-219 quoted by मेधातिथि on मनु V. 89, मिता० on या. III. 6, अपरार्क p. 902 (as from Aṅgiras), परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 228 (as from ज्ञाततप).

2137. तथा च ब्रह्मगर्भः । यो जीवितुं न शक्नोति महाव्याध्युपपीडितः । सोग्न्युदकमहायात्रां कुर्वन्नात्र दुष्यति ॥ विवस्वान् । सर्वेन्द्रियविरक्तस्य वृद्धस्य कृतकर्मणः । व्याधितस्येच्छया तीर्थे मरणं तपसोधिकम् ॥ तथा गार्ग्योपि गृहस्थमधिकृत्याह । महाप्रस्थानगमनं ज्वलनाम्बुप्रवेशनम् । भृगुपतनं चैव वृथा नेच्छेत्तु जीवितुम् ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p. 536.

prasthāna in the Himālāyas or by abandoning life from the branch of the vaṭa tree at Prayāga, the verses declaring that not only does such a man not incur sin but he attains the worlds of bliss. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Araṇya, chap. 9) Śarabhaṅga is said to have entered fire. We find that the Mṛcchakaṭika (I. 4) speaks of king Śūdraka as having entered fire. In the Gupta Inscriptions No. 42, the great Emperor Kumāragupta is said to have entered the fire of dried cowdung cakes. The editor remarks that there is necessarily no reference to the fact that the emperor voluntarily embraced death by fire. But it appears that there is no great propriety in the description if all that is meant is that the Emperor's corpse was burnt with 'karīṣa'.

Some put forward a Vedic passage 'one who desires heaven should not (seek to) die before the appointed span of life is at an end (of itself)' as opposed to the permission for suicide given by the smṛtis. Medhātithi on Manu VI. 32 [2138] quotes this Vedic text and explains it away by saying that if *śruti* intended to lay down an absolute prohibition against suicide in every case, it would have simply said 'one who desires heaven should not (seek to) die'. The Vāj. S. (40. 3) contains a verse saying 'whoever destroy their self reach after death *Asura* worlds that are shrouded in blinding darkness', which really refers to persons ignorant of the correct knowledge of the Self. But this has been interpreted by many as referring to those guilty of suicide (ātmahan). Vide Uttararāmacarita IV, after verse 3 [2139] and Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 11 for a verse similar to that in the Vāj. S. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (VI. 1411) refers to officers appointed by the king to superintend *prāyopaveśa* (resolving on death by fasting).

Among Jains a similar rule prevailed. The Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvakācāra (chap. 5) of Samantabhadra (about 2nd century A. D.) dilates on Sallekhanā, which consists in abandoning the body for the accumulation of merit in calamities, famines,

2138. नन्वत्र च तस्माद्ध न पुरायुषः स्वःकामी प्रेयादिति श्रुतिस्तत्र कुतो वानप्रस्थस्य शरीरत्यागः । उच्यते । जरसा विशीर्णस्यानिष्टसम्वर्शनादिना वा विद्विते प्रत्यासन्ने सुस्थौ सुमूर्षतो न श्रुतिविरोधः । एवं हि तत्र श्रूयते न पुरायुष इति । अवस्थाविशेषे ह्यनभिप्रेते मरणे एतावदेवावक्ष्यत् स्वःकामी प्रेयादिति । मेधा. on मनु VI 32. Vide कुल्लूक on मनु VI. 31 for an explanation of the same Vedic quotation.

2139. अन्धतामिस्रा ह्यसूर्या नाम ते लोकास्तेम्यः प्रतिविधीयन्ते ये आत्महातिन इत्येवमुपयो मन्यन्ते । उत्तररामचरित IV after verse 3.

extreme old age and incurable disease.[2140] The Kālandrī (Sirohi State) Inscription records the suicide of a Jain congregation by fasting in *saṁvat* 1389 (E. I. vol. XX., appendix p. 98 No. 691).

From the account of the death of Kalanos the Indian gymnosophist at 73 given by Megasthenes (Mc Crindle p. 106) we can gather that the practice of religious suicide prevailed long before the 4th century B. C. Strabo (XV. 1. 4) states that with the ambassadors that came to Augustus Cæsar from India also arrived an Indian gymnosophist who committed himself to the flames like Kalanos who exhibited the same spectacle before Alexander.

In the times of the purāṇas the method of starting on mahāprasthāna and suicide by entering fire or falling from a precipice came to be forbidden and was included in Kalivarjya.[2141]

It will be noticed that some of the duties and regulations prescribed for vānaprasthas are practically the same as those for sannyāsins. For example, the rules laid down in Manu VI. 25–29 for forest hermits are almost the same as those for *parivrājakas*[2142] (Manu VI. 38, 43, 44). The Āp. Dh. S. employs the same words twice in delineating the characteristics of both (II. 9. 21. 10 and 20). The order of hermits gradually leads on to or rather passes over into that of sannyāsins. Both have to observe celibacy and restraint of senses, both have to regulate the intake and quality of food, both have to contemplate on the passages of the Upaniṣads and strive for the knowledge of *Brahman*. There were no doubt some differences. The vānaprastha could be accompanied by his wife at least in the beginning, a sannyāsin could not be so. A vānaprastha had to keep fires, perform the daily and other yajñas at least in the beginning, the sannyāsin gave up his fires. The vānaprastha had to concentrate upon tapas, upon inuring himself to privations, severe austerities, and self-mortification, while the sannyāsin

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2140. उपसर्गे दुर्भिक्षे जरसि रुजायां च निःप्रतीकारे । धर्माय तनुविमोचनमाहुः सल्लेखनामार्याः ॥ रत्नकरण्डश्रावकाचार chap. 5. I owe this quotation to the kindness of Prof. Upadhye of Kolhapur.

2141. महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः । एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ बृहन्नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध chap. 24. 16 ; vide also स्मृतिच० I. p. 12.

2142. अनग्निरनिकेतः स्यादग्न्यगारार्थमाश्रयी मुनिः स्वाध्याय एवोत्सृजन्नाहारं वाचम्...। आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 10 and again एकाग्निरनिकेतः ..... वाचम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 20 (about वानप्रस्थ).

was concerned principally with *saṁyama* (restraint or quiescence of senses) and contemplation of the highest Reality, as stated by Śaṁkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20.[2143] Owing to the great similarity and virtual fusion of the two āśramas the stage of vānaprastha came to be gradually ignored and people passed from the householder's life directly to the life of sannyāsa. Govindasvāmī on Baud. Dh. S. III. 3. 14–17 remarks that the ācārya (Baudhāyana) should be asked why he describes the two orders of vānaprastha and sannyāsa as distinct.[2144] In course of time no one probably became a vānaprastha and therefore having recourse to the stage of vānaprastha came to be forbidden in the Kali age.[2145]

2143. तपश्चासाधारणधर्मो वानप्रस्थानां कायक्लेशप्रधानत्वात् तपःशब्दस्य तत्र रूढेः भिक्षोस्तु धर्म इन्द्रियसंयमादिलक्षणो नैव तपःशब्देनाभिलप्यते। भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4.20.

2144. वानप्रस्थसंन्यासभेदः किमर्थमाचार्यकृत इत्यसावेव प्रष्टव्यः। गोविन्दस्वामी on बौ. ध. सू. III. 3. 14–17.

2145. मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा। ..... एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः॥ बृहन्नारदीय, पूर्वार्ध 24. 14; 'देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्वानप्रस्थाश्रमग्रहः' स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 2, verse 17.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SANNYĀSA

Sannyāsa.—(the order of ascetics). That the Chān. Up. was well aware of the three āśramas of student-hood, house-holder and forest hermit has been shown above (p. 420). It is somewhat doubtful whether the Chān. Up. regarded sannyāsa as the fourth and the last stage in a man's life when ideally planned. It merely states that 'one that holds fast by the realization of *brahman* attains immortality'. But it appears that a stage of the abandonment of worldly riches, a life of begging and contemplation of the Absolute and its realization had been known to the earliest Upaniṣads like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. Whether it was the fourth stage or whether it could be reached even in the stage of brahmacarya or of a house-holder is left in doubt so far as the older Upaniṣads are concerned. The Jābālopaniṣad (4) has been quoted above (p. 421) to show that it gave an option either to regard sannyāsa as the 4th stage in a man's life or to resort to it immediately after any of the first two *āśramas*.

In the Bṛ. Up. (II. 4. 1) we see that Yājñavalkya [2146] when about to become a *parivrājaka* (a wandering ascetic) tells his wife Maitreyī that he was going to leave home and that he wanted to divide whatever wealth he had between her and her co-wife Kātyāyanī. This shows that a *parivrājaka* had even then to leave home and wife and to give up all belongings. The same Upaniṣad in another place (III. 5. 1) states 'those who realize *Ātman* give up the hankering after progeny, possessions and heavenly worlds and practise the beggar's mode of life; therefore the brāhmaṇa, having completely mastered (and so risen beyond) mere learning, should seek to be like a child (i. e. should not make a parade of his latent capacities or knowledge) and having completed (gone beyond) knowledge and

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2146. मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्य उद्यास्यन्वा अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानादस्मि हन्त तेऽनया कात्यायन्याऽन्तं करवाणीति। बृह. उ. II. 4. 1; एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति। ... ... तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः पाण्डित्यं निर्विद्य बाल्येन तिष्ठासेत्। बाल्यं च पाण्डित्यं च निर्विद्याथ मुनिरमौनं च मौनं च निर्विद्याथ ब्राह्मणः। बृह. उ. III. 5. 1. Vide Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 47–49 and 50 for a discussion of this last passage.

bālya (child-like behaviour) he should attain to the position of a *muni*, and having risen beyond the stage of a *muni* or non-*muni*, should become a real brāhmaṇa (one who has realized *brahman*). Vide also Br. Up. IV. 4. 22 for similar words and sentiments. The Jābālopaniṣad (5)[2147] declares that the ascetic (*parivrāṭ*) wears discoloured (not white) garments, has a tonsured head, has no possessions, is pure, hates (or injures) no one, begs for alms and thereby tends to attain non-difference from *brahman*. In the Paramahaṁsa, the Brahma, the Nārada-parivrājaka, and the Sannyāsa Upaniṣads numerous rules are laid down about sannyāsa. But the antiquity and the authenticity of these Upaniṣads is extremely doubtful and therefore passing them over attention will be confined to the dharmasūtras and other ancient smṛtis.

Gaut. III. 10–24, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 7–20, Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 21–27 and II. 10, Vas. Dh. S. X., Manu VI. 33–86, Yāj. III. 56–66, Vaik. IX. 9, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 96, Śāntiparva chap. 246 and 279, Ādiparva chap. 119. 7–21 and Āśvamedhika 46. 18–46, Śaṅkha-smṛti (VII. in verse), Dakṣa VII. 28–38, Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha, chap. 28), Agnipurāṇa 161 and many other smṛtis and purāṇas dilate upon the characteristics and duties of ascetics (*yatidharma*). Some of the most salient features are set out below with a few references.

(1) In order to qualify himself for sannyāsa, a person had to perform a sacrifice to Prajāpati in which whatever he had he distributed to priests and the poor and the helpless (Manu VI. 38, Yāj. III. 56, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 96. 1, Śaṅkha VII. 1).[2148] The Yatidharmasaṅgraha (p. 13) prescribes that the Prājāpatyeṣṭi should be performed by him who had kept the three vedic fires and the iṣṭi to Agni should be performed by others who kept only the gṛhya fire. The Jābālopaniṣad 4 adds that the sacrifice should be for Agni (and not for Prajāpati as some hold). The

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2147. अथ परिव्राड् विवर्णवासा मुण्डोऽपरिग्रहः शुचिरद्रोही भैक्षणो ब्रह्मभूयाय भवतीति । जाबालोपनिषद् 5, quoted by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on बृह. उ. III. 5. 1 as śruti.

2148. यस्यैतानि सुप्तुद्धानि जिह्वोपस्थोदरं शिरः । संन्यसेदकृतोद्वाहो ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मचर्यवान् ॥ वृसिंहपुराण 58. 36. स्मृतिसु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 173 quotes it as of व्यास and reads सुप्तुसानि, and करः for शिरः. अपरार्क p. 951 quotes this from वृसिंहपुराण but reads सुप्तुसानि and शिरः; बौधायनानुक्तं पुरश्चरणादिकं च कृत्वा तथाधीतवेदो जपपरायणो जातपुत्रो दीनान्धकृपणार्पितार्थो यथाशक्त्यजवृश्च भूत्वा ..... चतुर्थाश्रमं प्रविशेज्जाब्यथा । मिता० on या. III. 56–57.

Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa (60. 2-4) requires that before entering upon this order one should perform eight śrāddhas. The Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 58. 36 allows every one who is a vedic student to become an ascetic if his tongue, his sexual emotions, his appetite for food and his speech are pure (i. e. under strict control). The eight śrāddhas are daiva (to Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas), ārṣa (to the ten sages viz. Marīci and others), divya (to Hiraṇyagarbha and Vairāja), mānuṣya (to Sanaka, Sanandana and five others), bhautika (to five bhūtas, pṛthvī &c.), paitṛka (to Kavyavād fire, Soma, Aryaman, pitṛs called Agniṣvātta &c.), mātṛśrāddha (to ten mātṛs such as Gaurī, Padmā), ātmaśrāddha (to Paramātman). Vide Yati-dh. p. 9 and Sm. M. p. 177. Manu is careful to point out (VI. 35-37) that a man should fix his mind on mokṣa after studying the Veda, procreating sons, performing sacrifices i. e. after discharging his debts to the sages, the pitṛs and gods. Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 3-6 and Vaik. IX. 6 state that an householder who has no children or whose wife is dead or who has established his children in the path of dharma or who is over 70 may become an ascetic. Kauṭilya (II. 1) prescribes that if a person embraces the order of ascetics without making proper provision for his wife and sons he shall be punished with the first ammercement.[2149] He has to deposit his fires in himself and leave home (Manu VI. 38).

(2) After leaving home, wife, children and possessions, he should dwell outside the villages, should be homeless and stay under a tree or in an un-inhabited house wherever he may be when the sun sets and should always wander from place to place; but he may remain in one place only in the rainy season[2150] (Manu VI. 41, 43-44, Vas. Dh. S. X. 12-15, Śaṅkha VII. 6). Śaṅkha (quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 58) allows him to stay in one place only for two months in the rains, while Kaṇva says that he may stay one night in a village and five in a town (except in the rains). When he follows the rule of staying four or two months in one place, he should do so from the full moon of Āṣāḍha or an ascetic may always stay on the banks of the Ganges.

2149. पुत्रदारमतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वः साहसदण्डः स्त्रियं च प्रव्राजयतः। कौटिल्य II. 1.

2150. अनित्यो वसति यतेः। ग्रामान्ते देवगृहे शून्यागारे वा वृक्षमूले वा। अरण्यनित्यः। वसिष्ठ X. 12-13, 15; शून्यागारनिकेतः स्यादग्रसार्थगृहो मुनिः। शङ्ख VII. 6; the words यत्रसार्थगृहो मुनिः occur in वनपर्व 12. 11 also.

(3) He should always wander alone without a companion, as by so doing he will be free from attachments and the pangs of separation. Dakṣa (VII. 34–38) emphasizes this[2151] point very well 'the real ascetic always stays alone; if two stay together, they form a pair; if three stay together they are like a village and if more (than three stay together) then it becomes like a town. An ascetic should not form a pair or a village or a town; by so doing he swerves from his *dharma*, since (if two or more stay together) they begin to exchange news about the ruling prince, about the alms obtained and by close contact sentiments of affection, jealousy or wickedness arise between them. Bad ascetics engage in many activities viz. expounding (texts) for securing money or honour and also gathering pupils round them. There are only four proper actions for an ascetic and no fifth viz. contemplation, purity, begging, always staying alone'. Nārada says 'there are six acts which ascetics must do as if ordered by the king under the threat of a penalty viz. begging, *japa*, contemplation, bath (thrice daily), purity and worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu (quoted in Yati-dh. p. 62 and Sm. M. p. 188).[2151a]

(4) He should be celibate, should always be devoted to contemplation and spiritual knowledge and should be unattached to all objects of sense and pleasure (Manu VI. 41 and 49, Gaut. III. 11).

(5) He should move about avoiding all trouble or injury to creatures, should make all creatures safe with him, should bear with indifference all disrespect, should entertain no anger towards him who is furious with him, should utter benedictions over him also who runs him down, should never utter an untruth (Manu VI. 40, 47–48, Yāj. III. 61, Gaut. III. 23).

(6) He should neither kindle śrauta fires nor gṛhya fire nor even ordinary fire for cooking food and should subsist on

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2151. एको भिक्षुर्यथोक्तस्तु द्वौ भिक्षू मिथुनं स्मृतम्। त्रयो ग्रामः समाख्यात ऊर्ध्वं तु नगरायते॥ नगरं हि न कर्तव्यं ग्रामो वा मिथुनं तथा। एतत्त्रयं प्रकुर्वाणः स्वधर्माच्च्यवते यतिः॥ राजवार्ता ततस्तेषां भिक्षावार्ता परस्परम्। स्नेहपैशुन्यमात्सर्यं संनिकर्षाच्च संशयः॥ लाभपूजानिमित्तं तु व्याख्यानं शिष्यसंग्रहः। एते चान्ये च बहवः प्रपञ्चाः कुतपस्विनाम्॥ ध्यानं शौचं तथा भिक्षा नित्यमेकान्तशीलता। भिक्षोश्चत्वारि कर्माणि पञ्चमं नोपपद्यते॥ दक्ष VII. 34–38 quoted by अपरार्क p. 952 and मिता. on या. III. 58.

2151. a नारदवचनम्। भिक्षाटनं जपो ध्यानं स्नानं शौचं सुरार्चनम्। कर्तव्यानि षडेतानि यतीनां भूपदण्डवत्॥ quoted in यतिधर्मसंग्रह p. 62, as मेधातिथि's in स्मृतिह. p. 188.

food obtained by begging (Manu VI. 38 and 43, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 21. 10, Ādiparva 91. 12).

(7) He may enter a village for begging food only once a day, he should not ordinarily stay in a village at night (except in the rains) but if he stays at all he should do so only for one night (Gaut. III. 13 and 20, Manu VI. 43, 55).

(8) He should beg alms from seven houses without selecting them beforehand (Vas. Dh. S. X. 7, Śaṅkha VII. 3, Ādi. 119. 12 'five or ten houses'). Baud. Dh. S. (II. 10. 57–58) prescribes that he should visit for alms the houses of brāhmaṇa householders of the Śālīna and Yāyāvara types and should only wait for as much time as would be required for milking a cow. Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 69 quotes the view of others that an ascetic may take alms from persons of all varṇas or food from only one among dvijātis; Vas. X. 24 also says that he should beg of brāhmaṇas only. The Vāyupurāṇa I. 18. 17 prescribes that ascetics should not eat food belonging to one man (but should eat food collected from several houses), or flesh or honey should not accept āmaśrāddha (i. e. śrāddha with uncooked food), should not use salt directly or by itself (i. e. they may eat vegetables in cooking which salt has been used). According to Uśanas (quoted in Sm. M. p. 200 and Yati-dh. pp. 74–75) food obtained by begging is of five kinds viz. *mādhukara* (collecting food from any three, five or seven houses at random just as bees collect honey from any flowers), *prākpraṇīta* (when a request is made by devotees to take food at their houses even before the ascetic gets up from his bed), *ayācita* (when invitation to take food at his house is given by a man before the ascetic starts on his begging round), *tātkālika* (the food that is announced by a brāhmaṇa the moment the ascetic approaches), *upapanna* (cooked food brought to the *maṭha* by devoted disciples or other people). Vas. Dh. S. X. 31 says that a brāhmaṇa ascetic should avoid food at śūdra houses and Aparārka p. 963 explains this as implying that in the absence of brāhmaṇa houses an ascetic may beg for food from kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. In later times begging alms from persons of all castes was forbidden, being included among *kalivarjya* actions ('yates tu sarva-varṇeṣu na bhikṣācaraṇam kalau'). Vide Sm. M. p. 201. It was stated by Parāśara and Kratu that no fault attaches to an ascetic if he being very old or very ill took food from a single person on a certain day or for several days or begged for food at the house of his sons,

friends, teacher or brothers or wife (vide Sm. M. p. 201, Yatidh. p. 75). According to Parāśara I. 51 and the Sūtasaṁhitā (Jñāna-yoga-khaṇḍa 4. 15–16) the first claim on the food oooked in the house is that of an ascetic and a brahmacārin and one has to perform the Cāndrāyaṇa penance for taking one's meals without giving alms to them. In giving food to an ascetic first water is poured on his hand, then food is given and then again water is poured on his hand (Parāśara I. 53 quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. V. 16). Vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 2. 4. 10 and Yāj. I. 107.

(9) He should go out for begging when the smoke from kitchens has ceased to rise and when the noise of pestles has died down and the live coals (in the kitchen) have been extinguished and the plates used for the dining (by the householders) have been kept aside i. e. he should beg food in the evening (Manu VI. 56, Yāj. III. 59, Vas. X. 8, Śaṅkha VII. 2). He should not take as alms honey or flesh (Vas. X. 24). He should not endeavour to secure alms by the practice of predicting, interpreting portents and omens or by the practice of describing the consequences indicated by them, nor by astrology nor by expounding the principles of a lore nor by casuistry (or discussion) nor should he approach a house that is already besieged by hermits, brāhmaṇas, birds and dogs, beggars or others (Manu VI. 50–51).

(10) He should not eat food to satiety, but should eat only as much as is necessary to keep body and soul together and should not feel delight when he gets substantial alms nor feel dejected when he gets little or nothing (Manu VI. 57 and 59, Vas. X. 21,22 and 25, Yāj. III. 59). There is a famous verse 'an ascetic should take only eight morsels of food, a forest hermit 16, a householder 32 and a vedic student an unlimited number' (Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 13, Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 68).

(11) He should hoard nothing and he should own or possess nothing except his tattered garments, his water jar, begging bowl (Manu VI. 43–44, Gaut. III. 10, Vas. X. 6). Devala quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 58 declares that the ascetic should possess only a water-jar, a pavitra (oloth for straining water), pādukās, an āsana and a kanthā (wallet for protection from extreme cold). The Mahābhārata states that wearing ochre-coloured garments, shaving the head, and keeping a water jar and three staffs—these are only outward signs meant

to secure food and do not lead to mokṣa[2151b] (dialogue of Janaka and Sulabhā). The Mahābhāṣya (vol. I. p. 365) also declares that a man is known to be a parivrājaka on seeing his three staffs. The Vāyupurāṇa I. 8 (quoted by Aparārka pp. 949–950) lays down what he should possess. He should take a staff of bamboo the outward surface of which is intact, which is not formidable and which has the *parvans* (the parts between the joints) of equal length, which is surrounded by a rope of cow's tail hair four aṅgulas in length and has three knots and which he holds in his right hand; he should have a śikya (loop on which to carry his jar or other things) made of kuśa or cotton or hemp threads or strings and of the form of a lotus and six muṣṭis (fists) in length; he should also have a water jar and a pātra (vessel or bowl for begging); he may have a seat (āsana) of wood square or round in size for sitting on or for washing his feet; he should have a loin-cloth to cover his private parts and a kanthā (patched garment or wallet) for protection against cold and he may have two pādukās (sandals). He should have only these and should not accumulate anything else.

(12) He should wear garments only for covering his private parts and may wear such garments as were worn by others and are used by him after washing (Gaut. III. 17–18), while Ap. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 11–12) states that he should wear clothes thrown away by others and that some say that he may be naked. Vas. (X. 9–11) says that he should cover his body with a piece of cloth (śāṭī) or with deer skin or with grass cut down for cows. Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 24 requires that his garments should be ochre-coloured (quoted by Aparārka p. 962).

(13) The begging bowl and the plate from which the ascetic eats should be made of clay or wood or of a gourd, or of bamboo which should be without holes and he should not use metal vessels; and these vessels are to be cleaned with water and scoured with cow's hair (Manu VI. 53–54, Yāj. III. 60 and Laghu-Viṣṇu IV. 29–30).

(14) He should pare his nails, cut all his hair and beard (Manu VI. 52, Vas. Dh. S. X. 6); but Gaut. III. 21 appears to

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2151 b. काषायधारणं मौण्ड्यं त्रिविष्टब्धं कमण्डलुम् । लिङ्गान्यत्राश्रमेतानि न मोक्षापेति मे मतिः ॥ quoted from the महाभारत in the वेदान्तकल्पतरुपरिमल p. 639 on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 18; त्रिविष्टब्धकं च दृष्ट्वा परिव्राजक इति । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 365 (on पा. II. 1. 1).

allow him an option viz. he may tonsure the whole head or keep only a top-knot.

(15) He should sleep on raised ground (sthaṇḍila), should feel no concern if he suffers from an illness, he should neither welcome death nor should he feel joy for continuing to live, but he should patiently wait till the time of death, as a servant waits till the time he is hired expires (Manu VI. 43 and 46).

(16) He should generally observe silence except when he repeats the Vedic texts learnt by him (Manu VI. 43, Gaut. III. 16, Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 79, Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 10).[2152]

(17) He should be *tridaṇḍī* (carrying three staffs) according to Yāj. III. 58, while Manu VI. 52 simply says he should be *daṇḍī* (i. e. carrying a staff). The word *daṇḍa* is used in two senses, a staff of bamboo or restraint. Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 53 gives an option that he may be *ekadaṇḍī* or a tridaṇḍī and also says that he should not cause harm to creatures by speech, actions and mind (II. 6. 25). Manu XII. 10, which is the same as Dakṣa (VII. 30), declares that that man is called tridaṇḍī who has restraint over his speech, mind and body. Dakṣa makes certain apt remarks 'Even gods who pre-eminently possess the *sattvaguṇa* are carried away by pleasures of sense; what of men? Therefore he who has given up his taste for pleasures should resort to daṇḍa; others cannot do it as they will be carried away by pleasures. An ascetic is not called *tridaṇḍī* by carrying bamboo staffs; he is *tridaṇḍī* who has the spiritual daṇḍa in him. Many people make their livelihood under the guise of (carrying) three daṇḍas' (VII. 27–31, quoted by Aparārka p. 953). Restraint of speech requires that he should observe silence, restraint of action that he should cause injury to no creature and restraint of mind that he should engage in prāṇāyāma and other yogic practices. Dakṣa himself says (I. 12–13) that the three staffs are the special outward sign of a yati as the girdle, deer-skin and staff are the outward signs of the vedic student or long nails and beard are *indicia* of the forest hermit. Laghu-Viṣṇu IV. 12 says he may be *ekadaṇḍī* or *tridaṇḍī*. The Jīvanamuktiviveka (p. 154)

2152. अनग्निरनिकेतः स्यादग्रमाक्षारणो मुनिः । स्वाध्याय एवोत्सृजमानो वाचं ग्रामे प्राणवृत्ति प्रतिलभ्यानिहोऽनमुत्रश्चरेत् । आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 21. 10; the words स्वाध्याय ..... वाचं are quoted by Saṁkara in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1.

quotes verses to the effect 'he who wields the staff of the knowledge of Reality is called ekadaṇḍī, while he who merely holds a stick in his hand without knowledge and eats everything (or has all sorts of desires) reaches terrible hells'.

(18) He should recite the vedic texts referring to yajñas or gods or texts of a metaphysical character found in the Vedānta (such as 'satyam jñānam-anantam brahma' in Tai. Up. 2. 1). Vide Manu VI. 83.

(19) He should walk after ascertaining with his eye that the ground he treads is pure, should drink water after passing it through a piece of cloth (in order to prevent ants &c. being taken in by him), he should utter words purified by truth and should do what his conscience (inner voice) decides to be right or proper (Manu VI. 46, Śaṅkha VII. 7, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 96. 14–17).

(20) In order to generate the feeling of *vairāgya* (desirelessness) and to curb his senses he should make his mind dwell upon the body as liable to disease and old age and as packed full of impurities; and should revolve in his mind the transitory nature of all mundane things, the trouble one has to undergo in body and mind from conception to death, the incessant round of births and deaths (Manu VI. 76–77, Yāj. III. 63–64, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 96. 25–42).

(21) Truthfulness, not depriving another of his possessions or his due, absence of wrath (even against one who harms), humility, purity (of body and food &c.), discrimination, steadiness of mind (in sorrow), quiescence (or restraint) of mind, restraint of senses, knowledge (of the self), these are the dharma of all varṇas (or these constitute the essence of dharma). And these have to be acquired most of all by the ascetic, since the outward signs, viz. the scanty clothing, the water jar &c. are not the real means of discharging the real duties of sannyāsa, as anyone can possess these outward signs. Vide Manu VI. 66, 92–94, Yāj. III. 65–66, Vas. X. 30, Baud. Dh. S. II. 10 55–56, Śānti. 111. 13–14, Vāyupurāṇa vol. I. 8. 176–178 (ten characteristics, five called vratas and five upavratas).

(22) He should endeavour to purify his mind by prāṇāyāma and other practices of yoga and thereby enable himself gradually to realize the Absolute and secure final release (Manu VI. 70–75, 81, Yāj. III. 62, 64).

In many works ascetics are divided into four classes. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 141. 89) says that ascetics are

of four sorts, kuṭīcaka, bahūdaka, haṁsa and paramahaṁsa, each later one being superior to each preceding one.[2152a] Vaik. VIII. 9, Laghu-Viṣṇu IV. 14–23, Sūtasaṁhitā (Mānayoga khaṇḍa chap. 6), Bhikṣukopaniṣad, Prajāpati (quoted by Aparārka p. 952) define these four. They do not all agree. The kuṭīcaka, as the name itself implies, is one who resorts to sannyāsa in his own house or in a hut erected by his sons, begs food of his sons and relatives, wears the top-knot, the sacred thread, has the three staffs, carries a water-jar and stays in the same hut. The description of these four contained in Vaik.,[2153] being probably among the oldest available, is set out here. The kuṭīcakas stay in the hermitages of sages like Gautama, Bharadvāja, Yājñavalkya and Hārīta, take eight morsels of food every day, know the essence of the path of Yoga and hanker only after mokṣa (release). The bahūdakas have three staffs, the water-jar and wear garments dyed with ochre, beg for food at seven houses of sage-like brāhmaṇas or other well-conducted men but avoid taking flesh, salt and stale food. The haṁsas stay not more than one night in a village and not more than five nights in a town for alms or subsist on cow's urine or dung, or fast for a month or always perform the cāndrāyaṇa penance. Pitāmaha quoted in Sm. *M.* (varṇāśrama p. 184) states that the haṁsas carry only one daṇḍa, enter a village only for alms and otherwise stay under a tree or in a cave or on a river bank.

The Paramahaṁsas always stay under a tree or in an uninhabited house or in a burial place and either wear a garment or are naked; they are beyond the pairs of dharma and adharma, truth and falsehood, purity and impurity. They treat all alike, they regard all as the Self, to them a clod of earth or gold is the same and they beg alms from persons of all varṇas. The description in the Bhikṣukopaniṣad is almost in the same words

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2152. a चतुर्विधा भिक्षवस्ते कुटीचकबहूदकौ । हंसः परमहंसश्च यो यः पश्चात्स उत्तमः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 89 quoted by अपरार्क p. 95 and कुल्लूक on मनु VI. 86. अग्निपुराण 161. 18 and Laghu-Viṣṇu 4. 11 are the same.

2153. तत्र कुटीचका गौतमभारद्वाजयाज्ञवल्क्यहारीतप्रभृतीनामाश्रमेष्वष्टौ ग्रासान्भ्यरन्तो योगमार्गतत्पराः मोक्षमेव प्रार्थयन्ते । बहूदकास्त्रिदण्डकमण्डलुकाषायधातुवस्त्रग्रहणवेषधारिणो ब्रह्मविद्गृहेषु चान्येषु साधुवृत्तेषु मांसलवणपर्युषितान्नं वर्जयन्तः सप्तागारेषु भैक्षं कृत्वा मोक्षमेव प्रार्थयन्ते । हंसा नाम ग्रामे चैकरात्रं नगरे पञ्चरात्रं वसन्तस्तदुपरि न वसन्तो गोमूत्रगोमयाहारिणो वा मासोपवासिनो वा नित्यचान्द्रायणव्रतिनो नित्यमुत्थानमेव प्रार्थयन्ते । परमहंसा नाम वृक्षैकमूले शून्यागारे श्मशाने वा वासिनः साम्बरा वा दिगम्बरा वा । न तेषां धर्माधर्मौ सत्यानृते शुद्धाशुद्धादि द्वैतम् । सर्वसमाः सर्वात्मानः समलोष्टकाञ्चनाः सर्ववर्णेषु भैक्षाचरणं कुर्वन्ति । वैखानससूत्र VIII. 9.

and also contains the words of the Jābālopaniṣad as to Paramahaṁsas. It appears that long before the Āp. Dh. S. (II. 9. 21. 13–17) i. e. at least five or six centuries before Christ there were people who thought that an ascetic was beyond all *vidhi* (injunctions to do a thing) and niṣedha (prohibition), that he was above the ordinary rules about truthfulness or falsehood, that he should not care for pleasure or pain or for the study of the Vedas, or for this world or the next, he should simply seek to realize the Self, that when he realizes the Self all his sins, if any, would be liquidated thereby. Āp. combats these ideas by saying that such sentiments were opposed to the śāstras laying down rules about ascetics, that by realizing the Self, he cannot be free from the effects of what he does or the consequences of having a body. The sentiments which Āp. controverts arose from such passages as the one[2154] in the Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23 'This is the eternal greatness of the man who realizes *brahma* that by the actions he does, he does not add to it or detract from it. Therefore one should only know the real nature of that greatness; he on knowing *brahma* is not affected by an evil action.' In the Kauṣītaki Bṛ. Up. III. 1 it is stated[2155] 'whoever realizes One (the Supreme Spirit), his worlds (i. e. his position) are not destroyed by any action of his, not even if he kills his parents, not even by theft nor by the murder of a learned brāhmaṇa.' These words are not to be taken literally, they are merely a boastful utterance (a prauḍhivāda), they are really laudatory statements emphasizing the supreme value of the realization of *brahman*. Similarly the Chān. Up. IV. 14. 3 says 'just as water does not stick to a lotus-leaf, so sinful actions do not cling to him who knows this'. In the same Upaniṣad (V. 2. 1) we read 'to him who knows this, nothing becomes unfit as food.' The Upaniṣads, however, generally lay great stress on moral virtues and emphasize that a high moral life is absolutely necessary for the seeker after spiritual truth. Vide Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23, Chān. Up. III. 14. 1, Kaṭha Up.

2154. एष नित्यो महिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न वर्धते कर्मणा नो कनीयान्। तस्यैव स्यात्पदवित्तं विदित्वा न लिप्यते कर्मणा पापकेन॥ इति। बृह. उ. IV. 4. 23, quoted in गौ. ध. सू. II. 6. 36 and II. 10. 7–9.

2155. स यो मां विजानीयान्नास्य केन च कर्मणा लोको मीयते न मातृवधेन न पितृवधेन न स्तेयेन न भ्रूणहत्यया। कौषी. उप. III.1; यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति। छा. उप. IV. 14. 3; न ह वा एवंविदि किंचनानन्नं भवतीति। छा. उप. V. 2. 1; न च नियोगाभावात्सम्यग्दर्शिनो यथेष्टचेष्टाप्रसङ्गः। सर्वत्राभिमानस्यैव प्रवर्तकत्वादभिमानाभावाच्च सम्यग्दर्शिनः। शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 3. 48.

I. 2. 23, I. 3. 8–9 and 12. The position of the Vedāntasūtra (in III. 4.27-31) is that the seeker after eternal truth must be endowed with restraint of senses and quiescence of mind and he cannot act just as he pleases (ŚabdaścātoSkāmakāre) and spurn all rules of morality. Śaṁkarācārya on Vedānta-sūtra II. 3. 48 and other places makes this position perfectly clear. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 66 states that even ascetics of the paramahaṁsa type are not allowed (by Yāj. and other sages) to behave as they please. The Par. M. (I. part 2, pp. 172–176) says that the paramahaṁsa should have only one daṇḍa and argues that paramahaṁsas are of two kinds viz. *vidvat* (those who have already realized *brahman*) and *vividiṣu* (those who are eager seekers after realization) and relies on Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 for the former and Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 and Jābālopaniṣad for the latter. Yājñavalkya is an example of *vidvat-sannyāsa*, which leads to *jīvanmukti* (i. e. release even when the body still persists), while the latter (vividiṣā-sannyāsa) leads to release after the body is no more (i. e. videha-mukti). Vide Jīvan-muktiviveka p. 4 ff.

The Jābālopaniṣad[2156] (6) describes the state of paramahaṁsas at great length. They are sages like Saṁvartaka, Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Durvāsas, Ṛbhu, Nidāgha, Jaḍabharata, Dattātreya, Raivataka; they do not exhibit any visible signs of their order or any visible rules of conduct; though they are really not mad they behave like one mad; they go out for alms only for keeping body and soul together; they are unaffected by acquisition or absence (of alms), they have no house but wander about and stay in a temple or on a heap of grass, on an ant-hill, or at the foot of a tree or on a river bank or in a cave, they have attachment for nothing, they are centred in contemplation of the One Spirit. According to Sūtasaṁhitā

2156. तत्र परमहंसा नाम संवर्तकारुणिश्वेतकेतुदुर्वास-ऋभुनिदाघजडभरतदत्तात्रेय-रैवतकप्रभृतयोऽव्यक्तलिङ्गा अव्यक्ताचारा अनुन्मत्ता उन्मत्तवदाचरन्तः ... ... प्राणसंधारणार्थं यथोक्तकाले विमुक्तो भैक्षमाचरन् ... ... लाभालाभयोः समो भूत्वा शून्यागारदेवगृहतृणकूटवल्मीकवृक्षमूल ..... स्थण्डिलेषु तेष्वनिकेतवास्यप्रयत्नो निर्ममः शुक्लध्यानपरायणो... अशुभकर्मनिर्मूलनपरः संन्यासेन देहत्यागं करोति स परमहंसो नाम । जाबालोपनिषद् 6. The story of संवर्तक who was a great Yogin and wandered about naked is found in आश्वमेधिकपर्व chap. 6 and Śaṁkara on V. S. III. 4. 37 also refers to that story. The words तत्र परमहंसा नाम ... ... रैवतकप्रभृतयः are quoted by सायण on तै. आ. II. 11 and अव्यक्त ... ... उन्मत्तवदाचरन्तः are almost like वसिष्ठ X. 18-19.

(II. 6. 3–10) it is only haṁsa and paramahaṁsa that give up śikhā and the sacred thread.

The Sannyāsopaniṣad (13) adds two more varieties to the four enumerated above viz. 'turīyātīta' and 'avadhūta' and defines them as follows: 'turīyātīta' (one who is beyond the 4th stage viz. of paramahaṁsa) eats only fruits in the way cows take food (i. e. he does not hold them in his hands), if he takes cooked food then only from three houses, he wears no cloth, his body only continues to live (but he is not conscious of that fact), he deals with his body as if it were dead. The avadhūta is beyond all restrictions, he takes food from all varṇas except those who are charged with mortal sins or are *patita* (outcasts) and eats like an ajagara (a *boa constrictor*) i. e. lying down and opening only his mouth without any effort and is solely absorbed in the contemplation of the real nature of the Spirit. Medhātithi[2157] (on Manu VI. 32) is quite emphatic that sannyāsa does not consist in defying all the rules of śāstra, but in giving up the sentiment of egoism and of possessiveness and that it is not true to say that for the sannyāsin all rules (even of morality) are non-existent.

One important question on which opinion was sharply divided is whether sannyāsa was allowed to all the three varṇas or only to brāhmaṇas. Those who held that it was allowed only to brāhmaṇas argued as follows: In the Bṛ.[2158] Up. IV. 4. 22 we find the words 'this Self brāhmaṇas seek to know by the study of the Veda'; similarly Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 states 'after knowing this Self, brāhmaṇas give up the hankering after progeny, wealth and heavenly worlds and practise begging' and Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12 'closely examining the worlds that are the rewards of actions, a brāhmaṇa should come to be disgusted &c.'. Here, the word 'brāhmaṇa' being used, *śruti* indicates that brāhmaṇas alone can be sannyāsins. Manu (VI. 38)

2157. अथाप्युच्येत कर्मसंन्यासिनो निवृत्तिमार्गावस्थायिनो नैव कोचिच्छास्त्रार्थविधयः सन्तीति । नायं शास्त्रार्थः । अहंकारममकारत्याग एव संन्यासो वक्ष्यते नाशेषशास्त्रार्थत्यागः । मेधा० on मनु VI. 32.

2158. तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22; एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः ..... व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति । बृह. उ. III. 5. 1; परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मचितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन । मुण्डकोप. I. 2. 12. शङ्कर on बृह. उ. III. 5. 1 says 'ब्राह्मणानामेवाधिकारो व्युत्थाने अतो ब्राह्मणग्रहणम्' and on IV. 5. 15 (at end) says 'इतरवर्णापेक्षया वा यावज्जीवश्रुतिः । न हि क्षत्रिय-वैश्ययोः पारिव्राज्यप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति । तथा 'मन्त्रैर्वस्योदितो विधिः' 'ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्याः' इत्येवमादीनां क्षत्रियवैश्यापेक्षत्वम् ।'.

begins his description of the 4th stage with the words 'a brāhmaṇa should leave his house and go into the world as a wanderer' and winds up the chapter (VI. 97) by saying 'I have declared this fourfold procedure in relation to brāhmaṇas'. Laghu-Viṣṇu V. 13 emphatically states that the ascetic order is meant only for brāhmaṇas and the other three āśramas are meant for all dvijas. Those who assert that all the regenerate classes can resort to sannyāsa hold that the word 'brāhmaṇa' in the upaniṣads is used only as illustrative (*upalakṣaṇa*) and not in an exclusive sense and that a Sūtrakāra (Kātyāyana) expressly says [2159] 'the three varṇas after studying the Veda can pass through four āśramas'. The Jābālopaniṣad (4) ordains 'whether a man has fulfilled his *vratas* or not, whether he has performed samāvartana (the ceremonial bath after studying Veda) or not, whether his fires (Vedic) have ceased or not he should resort to the wandering ascetic's life the very day on which he feels disgust with mundane affairs'.[2160] It thus allows even a brahmacārī to become an ascetic; a kṣatriya and vaiśya could be a brahmacārī. Yāj. III. 32 states that sannyāsa is a means of purification (of the mind) in the case of twice-born classes. Besides the only condition precedent mentioned by the Jābālopaniṣad for resorting to pravrajyā (ascetic life) is *vairāgya* and whoever feels the latter is authorized to betake himself to that stage. Yāj. III. 61 while laying down the observances of ascetics employs the word 'dvijaḥ' and not 'brāhmaṇaḥ'. The Kūrma-purāṇa also says (Uttarārdha 28. 2) that a dvija should become an ascetic.

Both these opposing views are supported by the most famous authors. The first view that only brāhmaṇas can be sannyāsins is affirmed by the great Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 and IV. 5. 15, It is most interesting and also very refreshing that Sureśvara [2161] in his Vārtika on Śaṁkara's

2159. त्रयाणां वर्णानां वेदमधीत्य चत्वार आश्रमा इति सूत्रकारवचनाच्च द्विजातिमात्रस्याधिकारमाहुः। मिता. on या. I. 56-57. The स्मृतिच० I. p. 65 states that the सूत्रकार is कात्यायन.

2160. पुनरव्रती वा व्रती वा स्नातको वाऽस्नातको वोत्सन्नाग्निको वा यदहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रव्रजेत्। जाबालोप. 4.

2161. त्रयाणामपि वर्णानां श्रुतौ संन्यासदर्शनात्। ब्राह्मणस्यैव संन्यास इति भाष्यं विरुध्यते॥ बृह. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक p. 758, v. 1651; त्रयाणामविशेषेण संन्यासः श्रूयते श्रुतौ। यद्दोपलक्षणार्थं स्याद् ब्राह्मणग्रहणं तदा॥ कर्माधिकारविच्छेदि ज्ञानं चेदभ्युपेयते। श्रुतोधिकारनियमो व्युत्थाने क्रियते बलात्॥ प्रत्यग्न्याथात्म्यविज्ञानस्वभावश्चेत्समर्थ्यते। व्युत्थानं यस्य यस्य स्यात्स स व्युत्थातुमर्हति। सुरेश्वरवार्तिक on बृह. उ. भाष्य (III. 5. 1); on the verse 'त्रयाणाम्', आनन्दगिरि remarks 'भाष्याभिप्रायमुक्त्वा स्वाभिप्रायेण ब्राह्मणग्रहणस्यार्थमाह.'

bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 first explains the views of his guru, then enters the lists against his great master and combats his views with cogent arguments. Most of the medieval writers and works such as Medhātithi on Manu (VI. 97), the Mit., the Madanapārijāta (pp. 365–373), the Smṛtimuktāphala (Varṇāśrama p. 176) uphold the view that only brāhmaṇas can resort to the 4th āśrama, while a few works like the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 65) support the second view. The position of Viśvarūpa[2162] (on Yāj. III. 61) that only brāhmaṇas can resort to sannyāsa causes great perplexity. Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa are generally regarded as identical (vide H. D. vol. I. pp. 261–263 and Journal of the Andhra Historical Society for 1931, vol. V, p. 187). But Sureśvara holds the view that the word brāhmaṇa in the relevant texts is only illustrative. Therefore it follows that either Sureśvara changes his views or that Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa are not identical. Ānandagiri in his commentary on Sureśvara's Vārtika (p. 759) cites passages from the Mahābhārata (Ādi. 119) to establish that kṣatriyas could resort to sannyāsa.[2163] Śāntiparva (63. 16-21) allows sannyāsa to kings when their life is about to end. But the general words of Śānti 62. 2 appear to be in conflict with this.[2164] Kālidāsa states that Raghu became a *yati* when he grew old, installed his son on the throne and stayed in a cottage outside the capital and draws a very poetic and striking picture of the contrast between the old king turned ascetic and the prince become king (Raghu-vaṁśa VIII. 14 and 16).

So far as the smṛti texts and the medieval works are concerned a śūdra could not become a sannyāsin. The Śāntiparva (63. 11–14) is quite clear that a śūdra cannot be a bhikṣu. It also (18. 32)[2165] informs us that in its day many (probably

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2162. द्विजग्रहणं ब्राह्मणार्थं तेषामेव संन्यासोपदेशात् । विश्वरूप on या. III. 61.

2163. आदिपर्व 119. 6–9, 12, 25 (cr. ed. 110. 6–9 and 12, 24) मोक्षमेव व्यवस्यामि वन्धो हि व्यसनं महत् । ..... तस्मादेकोऽहमेकाकी एकैकस्मिन्वनस्पतौ । चरन्भैक्षं मुनिर्मुण्डश्चरिष्याम्याश्रमानिमान् । पांसुना समवच्छन्नः शून्यागारकृतालयः । वृक्षमूलनिकेतो वा त्यक्तसर्वप्रियाप्रियः ॥ न शोचन्न प्रहृष्यंश्च तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः । निराशीर्निर्नमस्कारो निर्द्वन्द्वो निष्परिग्रहः । ..... एककालं चरन्भैक्षं कुलानि दश पञ्च वा । असम्भवे वा भैक्षस्य चरन्नश्नान्यपि ॥ 12..... पौरवृद्धाश्च ये तत्र निवसन्त्यस्मदाश्रयाः । प्रताप्य सर्वे वक्तव्याः पाण्डुः प्रव्रजितो वनम् ॥ 25. आनन्दगिरि (p. 759) quotes three of these.

2164. ब्राह्मणस्य तु चत्वारस्त्वाश्रमा विहिताः प्रभो । वर्णास्त्रयानुवर्तन्ते त्रयो भारतसत्तम ॥ शान्तिपर्व 62. 2.

2165. परिव्रजन्ति दानार्थं मुण्डाः काषायवाससः । सिता बहुविधैः पाशैरुच्छिन्नन्तो वृथामिषम् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 18. 32.

including śūdras) assumed the outward signs of the 4th āśrama, got their heads tonsured and moved about in ochre-coloured garments (kāṣāya) for securing alms and gifts. But there are clear indications that śūdras did assume even in the times of ancient smṛtis the ascetic's garb and mode of life. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 115 and Yāj. II. 241 (as read by Viśvarūpa) prescribe the fine of one hundred *paṇas* for one who gave a dinner to śūdra ascetics in rites for gods and the manes. When the Āśramavāsika-parva 26. 33 states that Vidura was buried as an ascetic, the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha remarks that this indicates that even śūdras can follow the mode of the ascetic life.[2165a]

It appears that even women could in rare cases adopt the ascetic's life in ancient brāhmaṇic times. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 58 quotes a sūtra of Baud. (strīṇām caike) to the effect that according to some ācāryas even women could adopt the ascetic mode of life. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (vol. II. p. 100) speaks of a woman ascetic (parivrājikā) named Śaṅkarā. Yama quoted in the Sm. C. (on vyavahāra p. 254) declares ' neither in the Vedas nor in the dharmaśāstras is pravrajyā enjoined for women ; (procreation and care of) progeny from a male of the same varṇa as herself is her proper *dharma*, this is the established rule.' [2166] The Sm. C. gives in a far-fetched way absence of sexual intercourse as the meaning of pravrajyā here. Atri (136–137) lays down that six actions by women and śūdras lead to sinfulness viz. japa, tapas (austerities), pravrajyā (ascetic's life), pilgrimages, endeavour to secure miraculous power by repeating spells, sole devotion to the worship of a goddess.[2167] In the drama called Mālavikāgnimitra Kālidāsa describes the Paṇḍitā Kauśikī as wearing the garb of an ascetic (in I. 14). It must be said that the general trend of Hinduism is against women adopting the homeless or ascetic life. The Jātakas (e. g. IV. 392) rarely speak of cāṇḍālas as adopting the homeless condition.

2165. a भो भो राजन्न दृश्यन्यमेतद्बिदुरसंज्ञकम् । कलेवरमिदैवं ते धर्म एष सनातनः॥ लोकाः सान्तानिका नाम भविष्यन्त्यस्य भारत । यतिधर्मसमाप्तोसौ नैष शोच्यः परंतप॥ आश्रमवासिक 26. 32–33; शूद्रयोनौ जातानामपि यतिधर्मोस्तीति दर्शितम् । नीलकण्ठ.

2166. यत्तु यमेनोक्तं स्त्रियाः श्रुतौ वा शास्त्रे वा प्रव्रज्या न विधीयते । प्रजा हि तस्याः स्वो धर्मः सवर्णादिति धारणा॥ ..... प्रव्रज्या ब्रह्मचर्यमित्यर्थः । स्मृतिश्च. (व्यवहार p. 254).

2167. अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि स्त्रीशूद्रपतनानि च । जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चैव स्त्रीशूद्रपतनानि षट् । अत्रि 136–137.

When the question is asked whether śūdras or women could resort to sannyāsa there is likely to be some confusion. The word 'sannyāsa' conveys two ideas: abandonment of all actions (kāmya karma) that spring from the desire to secure some object or other and secondly, following a certain mode of life (āśrama) the outward signs of which are carrying a staff and the like and the entrance into which is preceded by the utterance of the *praiṣa*. The Jīvan-muktiviveka[2168] (p. 3) states that mokṣa (amṛtatva) depends upon *tyāga* (abandonment) as stated in the Kaivalyopaniṣad (2) 'not by actions, nor by progeny nor by wealth, but by *tyāga* some attained *mokṣa*' (release). For such abandonment even women and śūdras are eligible, the best example of a woman giving up everything being that of Maitreyī, the wife of Yājñavalkya, who plainly told the sage (Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 3–4), 'what have I to do with that which will not make me immortal (will not release me from *saṁsāra*)?' The Bhagavad-gītā (18. 2) also declares that sannyāsa means the giving up of actions springing from desires (to secure certain objects). The Jīvan-muktiviveka further states that by resorting to the āśrama of sannyāsa the mother and the wife of a sannyāsin are supposed not to be born again as women (but they may be born as men). So women and śūdras may abandon all actions, though they could not adopt the peculiar ascetic mode of life with its outward symbols. According to Śrīkara's bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 34 the order of sannyāsa, the peculiar rules of which are recommended by Vedic texts, is only for the three varṇas, while mere nyāsa (abandonment of worldly pleasures and desires) can be resorted to by women, śūdras and mixed castes.[2169]

Some espoused the view that *sannyāsa* was meant only for the blind, the cripple and the impotent, that is, for persons who possessed no eligibility (*adhikāra*) for the performance of

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2168. अयं च वेदनेहतुः संन्यासः द्विविधः । जन्मापादककाम्यकर्मादित्यागमात्रकः प्रैवोङ्कारणपूर्वकदण्डधारणाद्याश्रमरूपश्चेति । पुंजन्म लभते माता पत्नी च प्रैवमात्रतः । ब्रह्मनिष्ठः सुशीलश्च ज्ञानी चैतत्प्रभावतः । त्यागश्च तैत्तिरीयादौ श्रूयते न कर्मणा न प्रजया धनेन त्यागेनैके अमृतत्वमानशुः । अस्मिंश्च त्यागे स्त्रियोऽप्यधिक्रियन्ते । जीवन्मुक्तिविवेक (Adyar ed. 1935) p. 3. न कर्मणा ... ... नशुः is कैवल्योपनिषद् 2.

2169. ब्रह्मक्षत्रियवैश्यानां श्रौतसंन्यास इष्यते । शूद्रस्त्रीसङ्कराणां च न्यासमश्रौतसंज्ञिकम् । शिखासूत्रैकसंयुक्तं दण्डकाषायलाञ्छनम् । श्रौतसंन्यास इत्युक्तं न्यासस्य वचनं यथा ॥ श्रौताश्रौतविभेदेन संन्यासं द्विविधं स्मृतम् । कन्थाकाषायदण्डैकशिखासूत्रादिसंयुतम् । श्रौतसंन्यासमित्युक्तं साक्षान्मोक्षैकसाधनम् । quoted by शंकर in भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 22 (भावशब्दाच्च).

Vedic rites. Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on V. S. III. 4. 20 refutes the view that the passage of the Jābālopaniṣad (4) cited above relates to those who are not eligible for performing Vedic rites and establishes that that passage has in view the general prescription that there is a stage of life called pārivrājya (sannyāsa) meant for all that seek release from *saṁsāra*. Sureśvara in his Vārtika on Śaṁkara's Bṛ. Up. bhāṣya (p. 1908 v. 1144) also refutes the view.[2170] Medhātithi on Manu VI. 36 rejects this view (of some) by saying that the blind or cripple cannot follow the rules and practices (such as not staying in one village for more than one night) just as they cannot perform Vedic rites and hence it could not have been intended by the smṛti writers that sannyāsa was only for the blind and the cripple, nor can the impotent take to sannyāsa as no upanayana is performed in their case. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 follows Medhātithi. The Sm. Mu. (p. 173) and Yati-dh. (pp. 5–6) quote verses to the effect that 'the son of an apostate from sannyāsa, one having bad nails or black teeth, one emaciated by phthisis, one devoid of a limb–these do not deserve to resort to sannyāsa. Similarly those who are guilty of mortal sins or are suspected of them or are *vrātyas*, those who have left the path of truth, purity, sacrifices, *vratas*, tapas, charity, study of the Veda and homa should not be allowed to take up the ascetic life'.

One of the principal rules for a *yati* was that he was to leave wife and home and never to think of sexual matters or to revert to the life of a house-holder. Atri[2171] (VIII. 16 and 18) declares 'I see no penance (expiation) for that twice-born man, who, after having resorted to the duties of a celibate (sannyāsin), falls off from that stage; he is neither a dvija nor a śūdra, his children become cāṇḍālas called Vidūra'. Saṁkara on V.S. (III. 4. 42) explains that these words are only intended to emphasize the great effort required to remain celibate as a sannyāsin and that expiations are as a matter of fact prescribed for a *bhikṣu* having sexual intercourse. Dakṣa VII. 33 requires the king to brand on the forehead with the mark of

2170. काणकुण्ठादिविषये यत्तु कैश्चित्प्रकल्प्यते । पारिव्राज्यं न तद्युक्तमनहङ्डेय-कपतः । बृह. उ. भाष्यवार्तिक p. 1908 verse 1144.

2171. आरूढो नैष्ठिकं धर्मं यस्तु प्रच्यवते द्विजः । प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्येत्स आत्महा ॥ ..... ये च प्रव्रजितापत्या या चैषां बीजसन्ततिः । विदूरा नाम चाण्डाला जायन्ते नात्र संशयः ॥ अत्रि VIII. 16 and 18. The first is quoted by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 41.

dog's foot and banish from the kingdom a person who after becoming a sannyāsin does not abide by its rules (of celibacy &c.). It has been seen above that a man who falls away from the order of sannyāsins became a slave of the king for life (p. 185). Atri requires a sannyāsin not to stay even for a day in the place where live his father and mother, brother and sister, wife or son or daughter-in-law, his agnates or cognates or friends, or his daughter or her sons (Sm. Mu. p. 206).

Originally these injunctions about complete restraint and abandonment of sexual life and total lack of property were faithfully followed by ascetics. The great ācārya Śaṁkara was a celibate all his life, but he is said to have established four *maṭhas* as stated above (p. 907) for the propagation of his doctrines and philosophy at Śṛṅgapura (modern Śṛṅgerī) and other places. Pious devotees bestowed considerable donations on these *maṭhas*. In course of time these *maṭhas* went on increasing and huge properties came to be under the control of the pontiffs of these several maṭhas. There arose ten orders of *advaita* sannyāsins alone [2172] viz. tīrtha, āśrama, vana, araṇya, giri, parvata, sāgara, sarasvatī, bhāratī and purī. These ten orders are said to be the pupils in succession of the four disciples of Śaṁkara i. e. the first two of Padmapāda, the next two of Hastāmalaka, the next three of Troṭaka (or Toṭaka) and the last three of Sureśvara. The several maṭhas at Śṛṅgerī, Kāñcī, Kumbhakoṇam, Kuḍalgi, Saṅkeśvara, Śivagaṅgā have been quarrelling among themselves as to their jurisdictions [2173] and their rights to claim monetary payments from the people and to exercise spiritual authority in matters of expiations, excommunication &c. To support the claims of the various *maṭhas* pedigrees of

2172. योगपट्टं च द्रातव्यं वेदान्ताभ्यासतः परम् । ततो नाम प्रकर्तव्यं गुरुणा सर्वसंमतम् ॥ तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यगिरिपर्वतसागराः । सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नाम यतेर्दश । श्रीपाद-संज्ञया वाक्यं (वाक्यं ?) नाम तस्य यथातथम् । अद्यारभ्य त्वया कार्यं दीक्षाद्याख्यादिकं सदा । योगपट्टोपि दातव्यः शिष्ये सम्यक् परीक्षिते । quoted in स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 182 and यतिध. सं. p. 103. Vide Wilson's 'Religious Sects of the Hindus' in Works vol. I. (1861) p. 202, Dr. Farquhar's 'Outlines of the Religious Literature of India' (1920) p. 174 for the *dasnamis* (the ten appellations of advaita orders).

2173. Vide Rajvade, Khaṇḍa 21 (in Marathi) letter No. 190 at p. 240, dated *śake* 1763 where the claim is made by the Karavīra maṭha that its jurisdiction extends from the river Malāpahārī towards the north and that the Śṛṅgerī maṭha has no jurisdiction in that area.

teachers [2174] and pupils appear to have been fabricated, no two of which agree *in toto* and in some of them Sureśvara is said to have lived for 700 or 800 years. The disciples of Rāmānuja and Madhva also have many *maṭhas* of their own. Vallabhācārya (one of the great ācāryas that interpreted the Vedānta-sūtras) and his disciples do not accept the order of sannyāsa. According to them in the Kali age sannyāsa is forbidden for the seeker as it leads on to regret and worry [2174a] (if its rules are to be strictly observed) and that the *parityāga* (abandonment) that is the essence of sannyāsa does not consist in resorting to the 4th āśrama but in behaving in the way in which bhaktas (devotees) like Uddhava acted (vide Bhāgavata III. 4). Most of these maṭhas have large endowments or incomes which are spent in pomp and show (e. g. keeping golden images and paraphernalia). Very few of the heads are really learned even in ancient Sanskrit Literature in all its branches, they are impervious to modern tendencies and requirements, are obscurantists and generally oppose all ideas of reform. Only a very few maṭhas are presided over by persons who have been celibate throughout their lives. Most of them originally were householders and then took to sannyāsa. Besides the succession to the *gādi* is often a hole and corner affair. When the incumbent is about to die the influential and intriguing persons round him catch hold of some aspiring householder, make him a disciple of the dying sannyāsin and afterwards he is installed as the pontiff.

2174. Wilson's 'Religious Sects of the Hindus' vol. 1, p. 201 (for 29 ācāryas of Śṛṅgerī from Govinda, the teacher of Śaṁkara, to the present day; J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. X. pp. 373–74 for 56 occupants of the Śṛṅgeri *gādi* from Śaṁkara; and 'Shankaracharya and his school' (1923) by the late Mr. M. R. Bodas, which last (in Marathi) is a very valuable work, containing lists of pontifical succession of five maṭhas (pp. 91–103) and also the Maṭhāmnyāsetu (in Sanskrit) mentioning the several maṭhas, their traditions, mottoes &c.

2174 a. वल्लभाचार्य in his संन्यासनिर्णय, (published by M. T. Telivala in 1918 with eight commentaries) states 'अतः कलौ स संन्यासः पश्चात्तापाय नान्यथा। पाण्डित्यं भवेज्ञापि तस्माज्ज्ञाने न संन्यसेत् ॥ 16; तस्माद्युक्तप्रकारेण परित्यागो विधीयताम्। अन्यथा भ्रश्यते स्वार्थादिति मे निश्चिता मतिः ॥ 21'. पुरुषोत्तम in his oom. (called विवरण) on verse 16 remarks that *bhaktas* (those who follow the path of *bhakti*, devotion to Kṛṣṇa) should resort to renunciation (*parityāga*) in the way which Lord Kṛṣṇa ordered his great devotee Uddhava to follow (vide Bhāgavata III. 4. 20–21) and not by way of sannyāsa taught by those who follow the path of knowledge 'यस्माद्विधिवासंन्यासस्य कलौ खेदाद्विजनकत्वं विद्वत्संन्यासस्य चासम्भवस्तस्माद् ज्ञानमार्गे वैधं संन्यासं न कुर्यात्।'

He retains his attachment to his former family and uses a good deal of the income for his relatives and friends. Real reform of the *maṭhas* cannot come unless great improvements are made in selecting a successor. There must be several disciples, the selection must not be made on the incumbent's death-bed, representative bodies must have a voice in the selection. The heads of ascetic maṭhas have often come to the courts on questions about dignity, jurisdiction and properties. For example, in 3 Moore's Indian Appeals p. 198 the Śṛṅgerī Pontiff claimed a declaration that he alone was entitled to proceed on the public road in a palanquin crosswise and for an injunction restraining the *Swami* of the Lingayats from doing so; in *Madhusudan Parvat v. Shree Madhav Teertha*, 33 Bom. 278, the Śaṁkarācārya of the Śāradā maṭha at Dwarka sued for a declaration that the defendant was not entitled to the title and dignities of a Śaṁkarācārya and that he was not entitled to call for or receive any offerings from people at Ahmedabad or other places in Gujarat either in his assumed capacity of a Śaṁkarācārya or as a Śaṁkarācārya of the Jyotir-maṭha (this claim was also rejected on the grounds that the suit was not of a civil nature and that the offerings were voluntary).

In *Vidya Shankara v. Vidya Narsimha*, 51 Bom. 442 (P. C.) the Privy Council had to deal with a pretty tangle of claims between four persons, the plaintiff and the defendant each claiming to be the lawful Śaṁkarācārya of Sankeshwar and Karvir maṭha and both having selected a disciple to succeed them. These illustrations indicate how the world-renouncing ideal of conduct set forth by the great Śaṁkarācārya is honoured in modern times by those who swear by his name. They should lay to heart the words of the Jīvanmuktiviveka and the quotation in it from Medhātithi (pp. 158–159) [2175] viz. 'if an ascetic secures a maṭha as a fixed place of residence and thereon a sentiment of ownership arises in him his mind will be disturbed when loss or expansion of the maṭha takes place; therefore an ascetic should not possess a maṭha nor should he have vessels of gold or silver for his use nor should he gather pupils round

2175. यदि नियतवासार्थं कंचिन्मठं संपादयेत्तदानीं तस्मिन्ममत्वे सति तदीपहानिवृद्ध्योश्चित्तं विक्षिप्येत । ... ... यथा मठो न परिग्रहीतव्यस्तथा सौवर्णराजतादीनां भिक्षाचमनाद्यिपात्राणामेकमपि न गृह्णीयात् । ... ... मेधातिथिरपि । आसनं पात्रलोपश्च संयमः शिष्यसंग्रहः । द्विधास्तापो वृथालापो पतेर्बन्धकराणि षट् ॥ ... ... क्षुद्भयालाभपूजार्थं यशोर्थं वा परिग्रहः ॥ शिष्याणां न तु कार्पण्यात्स ज्ञेयः शिष्यसंग्रहः ॥ जीवन्मुक्तिविवेक pp. 158–159.

himself for securing service from them or in order that they may honour him, spread his fame, or bring money to him, but he may gather disciples only for removing their ignorance.'

In J. R. A. S. for 1925 pp. 479-486 Dr. J. N. Farquhar contributes a very learned article on the organization of the sannyāsins of the Vedānta. Therein he shows how Moslem armed *fakirs* molested and even killed Hindu ascetics, how Madhusūdana Sarasvatī approached the Emperor Akbar, how failing to get complete redress he initiated kṣatriyas and vaiśyas into seven out of the ten orders of sannyāsins and armed them, how these sannyāsins fought against the moslem fakirs and also among themselves, how even non-brahmin women are initiated into the *giri* and *purī* orders and how in Northern India the pure monastic orders are those of tīrtha, āśrama and sarasvatī. This innovation later on led to serious consequences. The sannyāsins and fakirs infested the province of Bengal and their incursions and depredations caused great alarm in the first days of the British rule (latter half of the 18th century [2176]). This shows how the rule of *ahiṁsā* enjoined upon ascetics became perverted. Various estimates have been made about the number of persons in India professing to lead the ascetic life. They could easily have been 10 per cent of the population, particularly in Northern India. They generally led very indolent, parasitic and dissolute lives. There are however, reasons to believe that in recent times the number of so-called sannyāsins is being substantially reduced owing to several causes. There have been swarms of monks and nuns in Christian countries also. Before the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII in England about 400 years ago, the number of monks, nuns and persons dependent on them was enormously large. Vide 'English monks' by Geoffrey Baskerville, p. 285, (f. n. 2) where the figures of monks and nuns in England, France and Spain at various periods are given.

According to both ancient and modern Hindu Law, when a man became a sannyāsin, he became cut off from his family and lost all his rights to property, partition and inheritance in that family. Vas. Dh. S. 17. 52 lays down that those who resort to another āśrama (i. e. vānaprastha or sannyāsa) are excluded

2176. Vide 'Sannyasi and Fakir raiders in Bengal' by Rai Saheb Jamini Mohan Ghosh (1930) for a detailed and interesting account.

from their share (in the family property).[2177] This result, however, does not follow by merely wearing the garments of a sannyāsin, but in order that this result may follow a person must have performed the necessary ceremonies for entering the order of sannyāsins. On the other hand whatever belongs to a sannyāsin such as his clothes, his sandals, his books would not devolve on his blood relations as heirs but will go to his spiritual heir (viz. his pupil). Vide Yāj. II. 137 and the Mit. thereon. These rules, however, do not apply to a śūdra turning an ascetic. He does not become severed from his family by entering the order of asceticism, unless a usage to that effect is established. Vide *Somasundaram v. Vaithilinga*, 40 Mad. 846 (at p. 869), *Harishchandra v. Atir Muhmud*, 40 Cal. 545.

The most serious inroad, however, on the ideal of sannyāsa was made when people professing to be ascetics were allowed to have wives or concubines. The Vāyupurāṇa (quoted in the Yati-dharmasaṅgraha p. 108) invokes dire consequences on him who after becoming a sannyāsin has sexual intercourse, viz. he becomes a worm in ordure for 60,000 years, passes through the lives of a rat, a vulture, a dog, a donkey, a pig, a tree without flowers and fruit, a goblin and then he is born as a cāṇḍāla. The Rājataraṅgiṇī (III. 12) records[2178] that when the queen of Meghavāhana built a monastery she established in a portion of it ascetics who followed the rules of conduct laid down for their order and in the other portion ascetics, who were condemnable because of their acting like householders, together with their wives, sons, cattle and wealth. In the Presidency of Bombay several cases have come before the courts about the rights of succession to Gharbhari Gosavis[2179] (i. e. ascetics who have a house and family). Vide *Gosain Rambharti v. Mahant Surajbharti*, 5 Bom. 682 (where it was held that a Gosavi who succeeded as a disciple to a mohunt did not forfeit his rights by subsequent marriage), *Balgir v. Dhondgir*, 5 Bom. L. R. 114, *Gitabai v. Shivbakas*, 5 Bom. L. R. 318, *Hirabharthi v. Bai Javer*, 30 Bom. L. R. 1555.

2177. अनंशास्त्वाश्रमान्तरगताः । वसिष्ठ 17. 52, quoted by the Mit. on या. II. 137; नैव भागं वनस्थानां पतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । पाषण्डपतितानां च न चावैदिककर्मणाम् ॥ वृद्धहारीत VII. 259.

2178. अर्धे यत्क्षिप्तः शिक्षाचारास्तत्रापितास्तया । अर्धे गार्हस्थ्यगर्ह्यांश्च सक्षीपुत्रपशुश्रियः ॥ राजतरङ्गिणी III. 12.

2179. Vide Steele's 'Law and oustoms of Hindu castes,' Appendix B on pp. 444–446 'Gharbaree Gosavies' by Mr. Warden.

In the Gupta Inscriptions we have several records of a line of kings who were the feudatories of the imperial Guptas and who bear the appellation 'nṛpati-parivrājaka' (kingly ascetics). Fleet thinks (p. 95 n. 1) that the word means no more than what is conveyed by such words as 'rājarṣi', but this is unconvincing. Their gotra was Bharadvāja and the founder is said to have been an incarnation of Kapila (p. 115). It is likely that the founder, after being a king, ultimately became a sannyāsin and his descendants (in the fashion poetically described by Kālidāsa) also became ascetics after adorning the throne for some time. Hence they probably came to be called nṛpati-parivrājakas. It is interesting to note that Vyāsa quoted in Sm. M. (p. 176) and Yati-dh. (pp 2-3) forbade sannyāsa in the Kali age, though he made an exception to this extent that as long as the division of society into varṇas existed and as long as the Veda was studied so long sannyāsa could be resorted to in the Kali age.[2180] Nāgeśa in his Vrātyatāprāyaścitta-nirṇaya (p. 46) makes the curious statement that according to the Sannyāsa-paddhati of Vyāsa a wise brāhmaṇa should not resort to sannyāsa when 4400 years of the Kali age will have expired (i. e. after 1299 A. D.).[2181] This dictum was probably due not only to the difficulties of observing to the letter the code of life sketched for sannyāsins, but also to the fact that about 1299, the whole of India was being harassed by Moslem invaders and adventurers who made the helpless sannyāsins the first target for their fanatic zeal and persecution. The Nirṇaya-sindhu (III, pūrvārdha, end) quotes the above verse of Vyāsa and remarks that this prohibition of sannyāsa is meant to apply to sannyāsa with three daṇḍas.

The Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 11-30, the Baud. gṛ. śeṣasūtra IV. 16, the Vaik. IX. 6-8 contain the procedure of becoming a sannyāsin. That of the Baud. Dh. S. being probably the most

2180. व्यासः। अग्न्याधेयं गवालम्भं संन्यासं पलपैतृकम्। देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिं कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत्॥ इति। तस्यापवादमाह स एव। यावद्वर्णविभागोऽस्ति यावद्वेदः प्रवर्तते। तावन्न्यासोऽग्निहोत्रं च कर्तव्यं तु कलौ युगे॥ इति। स्मृतिमु. p. 176 (वर्णाश्रम); यतिधर्मसंग्रह pp. 2-3.

2181. चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणि चत्वार्यब्दशतानि च। कलेर्यदा गमिष्यन्ति तदा त्रेतापरिग्रहः। संन्यासश्च न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेन विजानता। संन्यासपद्धति of व्यास quoted in नागेश's व्रात्यताप्रायश्चित्तनिर्णय p. 46; also in निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध end.

ancient among extant works is briefly set out below:[2182] After having cut the hair on the head, the beard, the hair on the body, the nails, he makes ready three sticks, a loop of strings, (a piece of cloth as) a water strainer, a jar and a bowl. Having taken these he should go to the end of his village, or to the extremity of the boundary of his village, or the fire-hall; he should partake of clarified butter, milk and curds (mixed together) and should fast or drink water. Then he should recite the vyāhṛtis separately preceded by 'om' and followed by the words 'I enter the Sāvitrī' and by one *pāda* of the sacred Gāyatrī and then all together.[2183] Before sunset, he heaps fuel on the gārhapatya fire (if he has maintained Vedic fires), brings the anvāhāryapacana (dakṣiṇāgni) to the spot, takes the flaming āhavanīya fire out of the gārhapatya, melts clarified butter on the gārhapatya, cleanses it (with blades of kuśa), takes four portions of the butter in the spoon called '*sruc*' and offers in the āhavanīya fire on which fuel-sticks have been heaped a full oblation (i. e. whole spoonful) four times saying 'om svāhā'. This is called Brahmānvādhāna (putting fuel-sticks on fire for securing knowledge of *brahman*). Then in the evening after agnihotra has been offered, he strews grass to the north of the gārhapatya fire, places on the grass sacrificial vessels in pairs with the upper parts turned downwards, spreads darbha grass to the south of the āhavanīya fire on the seat meant for the brahmā priest, covers it with black antelope skin and remains awake the whole of that night. Then he rises at the time (muhūrta) sacred to Brahmā and offers agnihotra in the early morning at the proper time. Then after covering the part of the altar called pṛṣṭhyā and bringing water he prepares an offering for Agni Vaiśvānara cooked on twelve pot-sherds. That well-known iṣṭi will be the last he will perform. Afterwards, he throws in the āhavanīya fire those sacrificial vessels which are not made of stone or earth. And throwing the two araṇis (the wooden logs by the friction of which fire was

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2182. The central ideas of the ceremony are the renunciation of all worldly ties, contempt of the world and all earthly riches, a life of ahiṁsā and contemplation on and realization of the Absolute Brahman. The summary is close to the original, only omitting a few quotations, a few repetitions and some matters that have already been dealt with.

2183. He will say 'ओं भूः सावित्रीं प्रविशामि तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यम्, ओं भुवः सावित्रीं प्रविशामि भर्गो ..... महि। ओं स्वः सा ..... शामि धियो ..... यात् and lastly ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः सावित्रीं प्रविशामि तत्स ..... यात्. Vide बौ. ध. सू. II. 10. 14–17. This is called सावित्रीप्रवेश.

produced for vedic rites) into the gārhapatya fire with the words 'may you two be of one mind with us' he (mentally) deposits the three fires in himself. Repeating the mantra 'yā te agne yajñiyā tanūr' (Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 5) he inhales the smell of the smoke of each of the three fires thrice. Then standing within the sacrificial enclosure he says thrice in a low voice and thrice aloud the words 'om bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ svaḥ. I have entered the order of sannyāsa (lit. I have abandoned), I have entered the order of sannyāsa, I have entered the order of sannyāsa'. Lastly he pours out as much water as will fill his joined hands saying 'I promise that no injury will proceed from me to any creature'. He must henceforward restrain his speech. He holds his staff saying 'thou art my friend, protect me'. He takes the *śikya* (loop of strings) with the words 'yadasya pāre rajasaḥ' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 2); he takes the cloth for straining water with the text 'yena devāḥ pavitreṇa' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8 and Nirukta V. 6); he takes the water jar reciting 'yena devā jyotiṣordhvam' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 2); he takes the bowl after reciting the seven vyāhṛtis. Taking with him the staffs, the loop of strings, the cloth as a water strainer, the water-pot and the bowl he goes to a place where water can be had, bathes, sips water and sprinkles himself (performs *mārjana*) with the Surabhimatī[2184] verse (dadhi-krāvṇo, Ṛg. IV. 39. 6), with Abliṅgā verses, Vāruṇī verses, Hiraṇyavarṇā verses (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1 = Atharvaveda I. 33. 1-4) and Pāvamānī verses (Ṛg. IX. 1 &c.). While still in the water he performs sixteen prāṇāyāmas after (mentally going over) the Aghamarṣaṇa verses (Ṛg. X. 190. 1-3), comes out of the water on the bank, wrings his garments, puts on another pure (washed) garment, sips water, takes the cloth for straining water with the words 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ' and performs *tarpaṇa* to the seven[2185] vyāhṛtis. He then fills his joined hands with water and performs *tarpaṇa* to the Manes just in the same way as he did to the gods, then he worships the sun with the two verses 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. 1. 50. 1) and 'citram' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1). He then offers *tarpaṇa* to the Ātman (self) with 'the syllable *om* is *brahma*; this light (the sun) that diffuses warmth is indeed

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2184. Vide note 755 for Surabhimatī, Abliṅgā and Vāruṇī verses. The Tai. Br. III. 9. 7 calls Ṛg. IV. 39. 6 Surabhimatī.

2185. The तर्पण will be in the form ओं भूस्तर्पयामि and so on for भुवः, स्वः, महः, जनः, तपः, सत्यम्. This is देवतर्पण. The पितृतर्पण will be ओं भूः स्वधा, ओं भुवः स्वधा and so on.

brahma; this which gives warmth is indeed the Veda; this indeed that sheds warmth is the (proper) object of knowledge'; then he worships the *Ātman* with the words 'the Self is brahman, it is light'. Let him repeat the Gāyatrī verse one thousand times or an unlimited number of times. Repeating 'om bhūrbhuvaḥ svaḥ' he takes up the water strainer (cloth) and fetches water. Let him not thereafter perform *ācamana* with water that has not been drawn up (from a well), which has not been strained[2186] and which has not been completely cleansed. Let him not wear thereafter whitegarments. He may carry one staff or three. He has to keep the following vows: ahiṁsā (abstaining from injury to any creature), truthfulness, not depriving others of any property of theirs, continence, and liberality. There are five minor vratas (vows) viz. absence of anger, waiting upon the guru, avoidance of carelessness (or rashness), cleanliness, purity in food. Then follow rules as to begging for alms (some of them are at pp. 933-934 above). When he returns from begging, he places the alms in a pure spot, washes his hands and feet and announces (the alms) first to the sun with the verses 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. 1. 50. 1) and 'citram' (Ṛg. I. 115. 1); he also announces the alms to *brahman* with the text 'brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2 = Atharvaveda IV. 1. 1). It is declared (in Vedic texts) that after the *brahmādhāna* the sacred fires are contained in the sacrificer himself; his prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, udāna and samāna represent the five fires gārhapatya, anvāhāryapacana (dakṣiṇāgni), āhavanīya, sabhya and āvasathya. These five fires indeed abide in the *Ātman*; he, therefore, offers (the oblations) in the *Ātman* only. This sacrifice offered in the soul, which is centred in and based on the Ātman, leads the soul to bliss. Giving compassionately portions of the alms to creatures and sprinkling the remainder with water, he should partake of it as if it were some medicine. After he has eaten and taken ācamana he worships the sun with the Jyotiṣmatī[2187] verse viz. 'ud vayam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 10) after inaudibly muttering the

2186. Vide Manu VI. 46 for straining water. 'Liberality'—the ascetic has *ex hypothesi* no property, but his *tyāga* may consist in imparting knowledge and giving his mss. or books to the needy.

2187. Ṛg. I. 50. 10 is उद्वयं तमसस्परि ज्योतिष्पश्यन्त उत्तरम् । It contains the word ज्योतिः and is therefore styled ज्योतिष्मती. Bühler is inaccurate in holding the verse 'udvayam' as different from Jyotiṣmatī (vide S. B. E. vol. 14 p. 281). The words वाजे आसचसोः गाणः are also अथर्ववेद 19. 60. 1.

two texts 'vāṅ me āsan' (Tai. S. V. 5. 9. 2) and 'nasoḥ prāṇaḥ' (Tai. Ār. X. 72). Let him eat food given without asking, regarding which nothing has been settled beforehand and which comes to him by chance and so much only as is necessary to support life.

Now they quote the following rules for the case where the teachers explain the Upaniṣad 'standing (in the day), keeping silence, sitting (at night) in the posture[2187a] of crossed legs, bathing thrice a day, he shall subsist entirely on rice grains, oil-cake, food from barley, sour milk and milk'. It is declared in Vedic texts 'on that occasion he shall keep strict silence and converse as much as is necessary with the teachers deeply versed in the three vedas, with ascetics or other learned persons in the several āśramas, after pressing the teeth together, all the while contemplating on what he hears, but not in such a way as would cause a breach of his vow. He may keep only one of the rules out of the three viz. standing (in the day), rigid silence and sitting with crossed legs (at night) and not all together. Eight things do not cause him who is intent on vows as above to break his own vow viz. water, roots, clarified butter, milk, sacrificial food, the wish of a brāhmaṇa, an order of his guru, and medicine. Let him mutter the mantras in the evening and morning that are repeated in the Agnihotra. He should perform his evening sandhyā adoration with mantras addressed to Varuṇa[2188] and in the morning with those addressed to Mitra (Rg. III. 59). It is declared in the Veda 'limited in number are the *ṛk* verses, the *sāmans* and the *yajus* formulæ, but there is no limit to this that is *brahma*.' In this way (i. e. repeating om) the ascetic may give up the rest of the Veda, but should stand firm by the root of the Veda (viz. om). The Veda is the tree and its root is praṇava (om). He should meditate on 'om'. Prajāpati has declared that praṇava leads on to union with *brahman*. Let him cleanse the vessel of *brahman* with seven vyāhṛtis.[2189]

2187 a. वीरासन is defined as 'एकं पादमथैकस्मिन् विन्यस्योरौ तु संस्थितम्। इतरस्मिंस्तथैवोरुं वीरासनमुदाहृतम्॥' कालिदास in रघुवंश 13. 52 refers to this posture in योग.

2188. The Vāruṇī verses meant here are the three verses यच्चिद्धि occurring in Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 6 and the Maitrī verses are the three verses मित्रस्य चर्षणीधृतो, मित्रो जनान्, प्र स मित्र in Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 5.

2189. ब्रह्मभाजन may mean the bowl for alms or the body of the ascetic. This shows that besides 'om' he should also frequently recite the seven vyāhṛtis.

Among medieval works the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 96-97), the Sm. M. (pp. 177-182), the Yati-dh. (pp. 10-22), the Nirṇaya-sindhu (III. Uttarārdha pp. 628-632), the Dharmasindhu give various detailed procedures. Many of the medieval works and manuals (paddhatis) on sannyāsa frequently refer to a work called Brahmānandī, which I have not been able to secure. The procedure in the Dharmasindhu contains the following elements. Sannyāsa is to be resorted to in the northward passage of the sun and for a man who is about to die even in the southward passage. He should find out a teacher possessed of the virtues of quiescence and note for three months the duties of ascetics in his company, should purify himself with *japa* of the sacred Gāyatrī, Rudra mantras and by Kuṣmāṇḍa homa (for which see Tai. Ār. II. 7). He should then make a saṅkalpa [2190] after reciting the place and time on a *riktā tithi* and should perform the prāyaścitta of *catuḥkṛcchra* by giving a cow or money for each as stated above (pp. 199-200). Then he should begin to perform on the 11th or 12th day 16 śrāddhas of himself and sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. Then he is to perform eight śrāddhas (vide above p. 932) and *tarpaṇa* as a subordinate part (aṅga) of these eight śrāddhas. On the day these eight śrāddhas are performed or on the next day he should shave off the whole head after keeping six hairs out of his top-knot, pare his nails, then take his bath, then he is to donate to brāhmaṇas and his sons all his wealth except his wearing apparel and the materials for *homa*. The garments he is to wear should be dyed with red chalk; he should secure a bamboo staff as high as his head &c. and as thick as his finger and brought by a brāhmaṇa; that staff should be sprinkled over with water from a conch to the accompaniment of 'om', the *puruṣa* hymn (Ṛg. X. 90) and such names (of Viṣṇu) as Keśava. He should also keep ready a water jar, a strip for his loins and a garment to cover his body and a wallet and *pādukās* (sandals). He should declare his resolve (saṅkalpa) to become a paramahaṁsa and perform the worship of Gaṇeśa, puṇyāhavācana, worship of mother goddesses and Nāndī-śrāddha. He should then perform *japa* by saying 'namaḥ' to Brahmā (in the dative), Viṣṇu, Rudra, Sūrya, Soma, Ātman, Antarātman, Paramātman and also repeat the first *pādas* of each of the four

2190. Vide p. 267 above for रिक्तातिथि. The सङ्कल्प will be मम करि संन्यासेधिकारार्थं चतुःकृच्छ्रात्मक प्रायश्चित्तं प्रतिकृच्छ्रं तत्प्रत्याम्नायधेनुनिष्क्रयद्वारा-हमाचरिष्ये कृच्छ्रप्रत्याम्नायधेनुनिष्क्रयं द्रव्यं विप्रेभ्यो दातुमुत्सृजे।

Vedas. He should then eat three handfuls of barley flour with 'om' and touch his navel. He should then sip thrice clarified butter or water mixed with milk and curds repeating the mantras 'trivṛd-asi', 'pravṛd-asi', 'vivṛd-asi' (all three in Vāj. S. 15. 9) and then drink water with the mantra 'may the waters purify' (Tai. Ār. 10. 23), then perform ācamana and declare his resolve to fast. Then comes Sāvitrīpraveśa (as in Baud. above); then he should kindle his gṛhya fire or if he has no gṛhya fire then he should bring domestic fire with the mantra 'pṛṣṭo divi' (Ṛg. VII. 5. 27) and kindle it with the three mantras 'tat savituḥ', 'tām savituḥ' and 'viśvāni deva' (Ṛg. III. 62. 10, Vāj. S. 17. 74, Ṛg. V. 82. 5). Then comes brahmānvādhāna before sunset (see above p. 954). He should thereafter perform evening sandhyā adoration, homa and vaiśvadeva and keep awake the whole night near the fire. Then the next morning after the daily homa and Vaiśvadeva he should offer a mess of cooked food to Agni or Vaiśvānara and perform the homa to prāṇa and others, the puruṣasūkta homa and Virajā homa. The Virajā homa is a lengthy performance and the principal elements in it are: the offering of 40 oblations of each out of the three viz. fuel-sticks, boiled rice and clarified butter after repeating certain formulae such as 'may my five prāṇas be purified, may I be light (illumination) free from *rajas* (the principle of activity or obstruction) and from evil, svāhā; this is for the prāṇa and the rest, it is not mine.' In this way oblations are offered to five senses, the mind, *buddhi*, seed, thought and saṅkalpa, to the constituents of the body, to the several limbs of the body (head, hands and feet &c.), to *puruṣa* and others, to the five elements, to the five guṇas of the elements, to the five kośas (sheaths) and several others. Then an oblation of ājya is made to Prajāpati. Then he should recite the Puruṣa hymn (Ṛg. X. 90) and the first sentences of the four Vedas, offer oblations to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, distribute gifts to students and others, he should burn his wooden utensils in his gṛhya fire if he has kept one and donate the metal vessels to his guru, then he should deposit the fire in himself by reciting 'ayam te yoniḥ' (Ṛg. III. 29. 10) and 'yā te agne yajñiyā' (Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 5) thrice and should face and take in the blaze and warmth of his gṛhya fire, should take a black antelope skin and leave his house. He should give blessings to his sons and other near relatives and bid good-bye to them with the words 'to me belongs no one nor do I belong to any one.' Then he should go to a reservoir of water, take in his folded hands water and offer it

to all gods with the hymn Ṛg. X. 103 (1–13). He should declare a resolve to resort to sannyāsa for the realization of *brahman* and offer three handfuls of water in the reservoir. He should then discharge water into the reservoir from his joined hands saying 'I have given up the hankering for sons, wealth, worlds and for everything, may there be safety to all creatures from me, svāhā.' Then he should again declare that he has abandoned everything, all pleasures, all sentiments of anger &c., all joys of flowers, scents, dancing and music, all duties of varṇa and āśramas &c.; he should also declare 'I shall not cause any injury to any creature in thought, word or by the body; may all creatures have no fear of me.' He should think of the sun and other gods as witnesses to this declaration and standing in navel-deep water should again perform the Sāvitrīpraveśa and offer water in declaring 'I have risen beyond the desire for sons, worlds and wealth and shall practise begging.'

After this comes the utterance of the *praiṣa* (the call or direction). In a low, moderate and loud voice the entrant should declare 'om, bhūḥ I have given up everything, om bhuvaḥ, I have ....., om svaḥ, I have....., om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ, I have given up everything' and should discharge water in the reservoir of water with the words 'may there be no injury to all creatures from me, svāhā.' He should pluck out the top-knot, take out his sacred thread and hold them in his hand and offer them in water with water with the words 'water is indeed all deities, I sacrifice (the top-knot and sacred thread) to all gods, svāhā' and then he should send up a prayer to Vāsudeva. Then he should remove his wearing apparel and walk five steps with his face to the north. Then the ācārya should bow to the entrant and should hand over to the latter a piece of loin cloth and upper garment and a staff. The entrant should wear them and hold the staff with appropriate mantras and also a water jar and an āsana (a seat). He should then hold a fuel-stick in his hand, bow to his guru, sit down in the eagle posture and make a request to the guru in the words 'Oh teacher, who are like the Lord of the Universe to me, save me who am scorched by the fire of saṁsāra and who am bitten by Death; I have thrown myself on your mercy' and also repeat the verse 'yo brahmāṇam' (Śvetāśvatara Up. VI. 18 quoted in note 856 above).[2191] Having

2191. The verse यो ब्रह्माणं...मुमुक्षुर्वै शरणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ (श्वेताश्वतरोप. VI. 18) is very appropriate to the occasion.

waited upon the guru with these words and placing his right knee on the ground, he should clasp the feet of his guru and should say 'teach, Sir, *brahma* to me.' The guru should contemplate on his soul as *brahman*, should recite over a conch full of water the sacred syllable 'om' twelve times, should pour the water from the conch on his disciple, should recite the propitiatory verse 'śam no mitraḥ' (Ṛg. I. 90. 9), then lay his hand on the head of the disciple, should recite the Puruṣa hymn (Ṛg. X. 90), should place his hand on the heart of the disciple and mutter the mantra[2192] 'I place thy heart in disciplined obedience to me,' the guru should then mutter in the right ear of the disciple the syllable 'om' and should enlighten him about the significance of 'om' and of pañcīkaraṇa;[2193] he should then impart to the disciple one of the four great Vedānta sentences (mahāvākya) 'prajñānam brahma' (Ait. Up. III. 3), 'ayam-ātmā brahma' (Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 19), 'tat tvam-asi' (Chān. Up. VI. 8. 7), 'aham brahmāsmi' (Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10) in accordance with the tradition of his school and enlighten him about the meaning thereof. Then he should give to the disciple a name ending in tīrtha, āśrama &c. according to the tradition of his order. Then the guru may bring about what is called paryaṅkaśauca and give to the disciple the *yogapaṭṭa*.

The paryaṅka-śauca (purification by being seated on a stool &c.) may be briefly described. On an auspicious day a householder seats the ascetic in front of him on a wooden stool or seat, places five heaps of earth to his left and also to his right and also pure water on both sides. Then the householder simultaneously washes the two knees of the ascetic with water and earth from the first heap of earth on the left. Then he should wash his own left hand with earth and water taken from the half of the first heap on the right and with the remain-

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2192. मम व्रते हृदयं ते दधामि मम चित्तमनुचित्तं ते अस्तु । मम वाचमेकव्रतो जुषस्व बृहस्पतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यमिति । This occurs in आश्व. गृ. I. 21. 7 and पार. गृ. II. 2 in उपनयन where the teacher addresses the boy in these words. The same words are addressed in the marriage rites by the bridegroom to the bride, as e.g. in Pār. gṛ. I. 8 (where प्रजापति is substituted for बृहस्पति).

2193. पञ्चीकरण is a Vedānta doctrine analogous to त्रिवृत्करण (which occurs in the Chān. Up. VI. 3 and 4 and V. S. III. 4. 20). Vide the वेदान्तसार for it and the work called पञ्चीकरण by Śaṁkarāchārya (in Benares Sanskrit series).

ing half of the first heap on the right he should wash both his hands seven times with the same water. With the second heap on the left he should wash simultaneously the two thighs (jaṅghā) of the ascetic four times and with one half of the second heap on the right he should wash his own left hand seven times and with the other half of the second heap (on the right) he should wash both his hands four times. The ankle, the upper part of the foot and the lower part (sole) of the foot of the ascetic are respectively washed with the third, fourth and fifth heap on the left and his own left hand and both hands are washed a certain varying number of times with 3rd, 4th, 5th heaps on the right.

The yogapaṭṭa (lit. the cloth of *yoga*, union with Spirit) is given in the following way: After the ascetic has undergone paryaṅkaśauca, he should cleanse his waist, wear a string round his waist and his loin cloth and cover his waist with a piece of cloth. He should then sit with his guru's permission on a high seat and should propound some Vedānta topic in the presence of the persons assembled. The ascetic guru should sprinkle on the head of his ascetic disciple water from a conch to the accompaniment of the Puruṣa hymn (Ṛg. X. 90), should honour him by offering clothes, sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya*. He (the guru) should hold a piece of cloth over the head of the disciple, recite along with the other yatis the chapter called Viśvarūpa (11th chapter of the Bhagavadgītā) from the 15th verse to the 33rd verse. He should then give the name already determined upon to the disciple and say to him 'Henceforward you may admit to saṁnyāsa one who is eligible for it, initiate him and give him the yogapaṭṭa.' Then the disciple bows to the *yatis* older than himself. Then the guru gives to the disciple a waist-thread and a staff marked with five *mudrās* and should offer his own salutation to the disciple according to the tradition of his order. Other ascetics and house-holders also should bow to the disciple, who should only repeat the word 'Nārāyaṇa,' should leave the high seat and seat his guru thereon, should bow to the guru according to the rules of the order and to the other ascetics.[2194]

2194. Vide Dharmasindhu III (uttarārdha), Yati-dh. pp. 102–103 for yogapaṭṭa.

The Jābālopaniṣad (5)[2195] allows saṁnyāsa to those even who are suffering from disease and are about to die, all that is required being that they should declare in words and resolve in their mind to enter the order of saṁnyāsa. No extensive ceremonial is required. Aṅgiras and Sumantu quoted in Sm. M. (pp. 174 and 182) state 'when a man is shattered by old age or harassed by his enemies or is suffering from (an incurable) disease he may resort to saṁnyāsa by merely uttering the *praiṣa* (vide above p. 960) and no further rites would be absolutely necessary. He should recite thrice in the morning, at noon and in the evening, 'I have given up everything (or entered upon saṁnyāsa)' and further say 'I forswear whatever action I may have done through ignorance, indolence or carelessness; I shall cause no harm to creatures with my hands or feet, with my speech, body or mind; may all creatures have no fear from me.' The Dharmasindhu (III, uttarārdha) says that in this saṁnyāsa for those at the door of death the absolutely essential elements are the resolve (saṁkalpa), the uttering of the *praiṣa* and the giving of the promise of non-injury and the rest of the rites may or may not be performed according to circumstances. Even now such a saṁnyāsa (called āturasaṁnyāsa) is sometimes resorted to by religious-minded men *in extremis*, the only essentials gone through being *saṁkalpa* (declaration of resolve), *kṣaura* (tonsure of the head), sāvitrīpraveśa (described above at p. 954) and praiṣoccāra (utterance of *praiṣa*).

One question on which controversies have raged from very ancient times is whether an ascetic should give up his top-knot and sacred thread also. The Jābālopaniṣad[2196] (5) states

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2195. यद्यातुरः स्याम्मनसा वाचा संन्यसेत् । जाबालोपनिषद् 5; आतुराणां च संन्यासे न विधिर्नैव च क्रिया। प्रैषमात्रं समुच्चार्य संन्यासं तत्र पूरयेत्॥ संन्यस्तोहमिति ब्रूयात्सवनेषु त्रिषु क्रमात्। त्रीन्वारांस्तु त्रिलोकात्मा शुभाशुभविशुद्धये॥ यत्किंचिदिदन्धर्मं कर्म कृतमज्ञानतो मया। प्रमादालस्यदोषाद्यत्तत्सर्वं संत्यजाम्यहम्॥ एवं संचिन्त्य भूतेभ्यो वृथाबभयदक्षिणाम्। पद्भ्यां कराभ्यां चिरहजाहं (विहरजाहं) वाङ्मायमानसैः। करिष्ये प्राणिनां हिंसां प्राणिनः सन्तु निर्भयाः॥ सुमन्तु quoted in स्मृतिमु. p. 174; vide चतिथ. सं. p. 2 for a similar quotation from Aṅgiras. The परा. मा. I. 2. p. 149 quotes the verse आतुराणां च संन्यासे as from महाभारत.

2196. अथ हैनमत्रिः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यं पृच्छामि त्वा याज्ञवल्क्य अयज्ञोपवीती कथं ब्राह्मण इति। स होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः। इदमेवास्य तद्यज्ञोपवीतं य आत्मा। जाबालोपनिषद् 5; तत्र परमहंसानां ..... त्रिदण्डं कमण्डलुं शिक्यं पात्रं जलपवित्रं शिक्यं यज्ञोपवीतं च इत्येतत्सर्वं भूः स्वाहेत्यप्सु परित्यज्यात्मानमन्विच्छेत्। जाबालोपनि. 6. This is referred to in वेदान्तकल्पतरुपरिमल p. 641.

that Atri asked Yājñavalkya how a man who did not wear a yajñopavīta (when he became an ascetic) could still be a brāhmaṇa and that the great sage replied that in the case of the ascetic the Self was his yajñopavīta and the same Upaniṣad (6) states that the paramahaṁsa is to abandon in water the three daṇḍas, the water-jar, the śikya, the begging bowl, the water-strainer, the topknot and yajñopavīta and should be a seeker after the Self. In the Āruṇika Up. (2) it is said[2197] that he should discharge his yajñopavīta on the earth or in water and that he should give up his śikhā and the sacred thread. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 sets out at some length the arguments and the authorities on both sides and ultimately gives it as his own view that the sacred thread and *śikhā* should be given up by the ascetic. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 66 also discusses this matter and propounds the same view. On the other hand Vṛddha-Hārīta[2198] VIII. 57 declares 'if an ascetic gives up the acts peculiar to brāhmaṇas, viz. keeping a topknot and wearing a sacred thread, he becomes a cāṇḍāla while alive and is born a dog after death.' The Jīvanmukti-viveka (p. 6 ff.) and Par. M. I. part 2, p. 164 ff. discuss this point and arrive at the same conclusion as Śaṁkara. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 58 gives an option. In modern times saṁnyāsins give up these two.

Some special rules are laid down about the *āhnika* (daily rites) of ascetics.[2199] They have to perform śauca, brushing the teeth, bath, just as house-holders have to do. Manu V. 137 (= Vas. Dh. S. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 60. 26, Śaṅkha 16. 23-24) says that forest hermits and ascetics have respectively to perform three and four times as much śauca (bodily purification) as house-holders. As to food, it has already been seen (p. 935) that they are to eat only once and only eight morsels. Ascetics have to worship Puruṣottama (i. e. Vāsudeva with his four forms), Vyāsa (with his four pupils, Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila), the Bhāṣyakāra Śaṁkara (with his four pupils) and so on. Certain rules are laid down for an ascetic as regards

2197. तं होवाच प्रजापतिस्तव पुत्रान्भातॄन्बन्धवादीन्न् शिखां यज्ञोपवीतं यागं स्वाध्यायं ..... ब्रह्माण्डं च विसृजेत् । ..... गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा वानप्रस्थो वा उपवीतं भूमावप्सु वा विसृजेत् । आरुणिकोपनिषत् 1-2.

2198. शिखायज्ञोपवीतादि ब्रह्मकर्म यतिस्त्यजेत् । स जीवन्नेव चण्डालो मृतः श्वानोभिजायते ॥ बृद्धहारीत VIII. 57.

2199. Vide Yati-dh. p. 95 for details of the daily worship by ascetics.

giving and receiving honour or salutation. An ascetic should bow to gods and to older ascetics who act according to the rules of their order, but should not offer *namaskāra* to an house-holder even if the latter be well-conducted. If another person bows to an ascetic, the latter should not pronounce any benediction but should only utter the word[2200] 'Nārāyaṇa.' When an ascetic (even one who has taken saṁnyāsa on his death-bed) dies, he is to be buried and not cremated. No mourning is to be observed for a *yati* when he dies (Atri 97) and no śrāddhas are to be offered on his death except the pārvaṇa on the 11th day after death (vide Aparārka p. 538). If an ascetic hears of the death of his son or any other relative, he does not become impure and has not to bathe but on hearing of his mother's or father's death he has to bathe, though he observes no mourning[2200a]

According to the theory of Dharmaśāstra, the king is not only the head of the civil administration and the fountain of justice, but he is also the final controlling authority in preserving religious and spiritual institutions, he is to see that people follow the dharma, to punish them for breaches of the religious and spiritual codes and to see to the administration to them of appropriate penances. In short, he is also the Defender of the Faith. Vide Gaut. XI. 9-11, Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 2-3, Nārada (prakīrṇaka) verses 5-7, Yāj. I. 337 and 359, Atri 17-20, Manu VII. 13. But he regulated spiritual and religious matters not by his arbitrary authority but on the advice of his *purohita* and ministers and after taking the opinion of the assemblies (*pariṣad*) of learned men. Whenever difficult questions arose about the validity of anything from the religious point of view or about penances for lapses, or about excommunicating or outcasting a man the opinion of the assembly of learned men was sought. Therefore, detailed rules are laid down in the Dharmasūtras and smṛtis about the constitution of *pariṣads*. In modern times, the British Government being neutral in matters religious or ecclesiastical, the ascetic heads of the various maṭhas have been in the habit of assuming to themselves jurisdiction

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2200. स्वधर्मस्थान्यतीन् वृद्धान् देवांश्च प्रणमेद्यतिः। नान्यमाश्रमिणं किंचित् प्रशस्तमपि तं नमेत्। अपि शास्त्रसमायुक्तं सदाचारसमन्वितम्। साधुवृत्तं गृहस्थाद्यं न नमस्येत् कचिद्यतिः॥ हारीत, प्रणतं न यतिर्मूयाद्दाशिषं व्यासशासनात्। नारायणेति च ब्रूयात्प्रणताय विपश्चिते॥ अत्रि, both quoted in स्मृतिच. p. 206.

2200 a. Vide संन्यासपद्धति of तोरो बद्रदेव (extracted from his work called प्रतापनारसिंह, D. C. No. 119 of 1882-83) folio 51 a 'न स्नानमाचरेन्निधनं पुत्रादेर्निधने श्रुते। पितृमातृक्षयं श्रुत्वा स्नानाच्छुध्यति साम्बरम्॥'.

over persons professing to follow their dogmas in ecclesiastical matters such as prescribing penances for lapses, settling disputes between castes, and deciding upon questions of outcasting. A few words must be said about the *pariṣads* and about the claims of the Śaṁkarācāryas (the modern heads of maṭhas) to regulate religious matters affecting their followers.

Among the oldest texts on this point is the one contained in the Tai. Up. I. 11. viz. the exhortation of the teacher on the eve of the student's departure at the close of his studies.[2201] 'If you have hereafter a doubt about any rite or about a course of conduct, you should behave in the way in which the brāhmaṇas of your place, who are thoughtful, intent (upon doing their duties), act spontaneously (without being urged by any one), are not hard-hearted and have an eye only to dharma (and not to *kāma* or *artha*) will behave. The same holds good about your conduct towards persons charged (generally falsely) with sins or lapses'.

The words 'sabhā' (Rg. X. 34. 6) and 'samiti' (Rg. X. 97.6) occur even in the Ṛgveda but their exact significance is doubtful and the former word at least seems to bear the sense of 'gambling hall' in some passages. In the Upaniṣads, however, the words samiti and pariṣad assume a more definite sense, meaning 'an assembly of learned men in a particular locality'. The Chān. Up. V. 3. 1 states that Śvetaketu Āruṇeya [2202] repaired to the assembly (*samiti*) of the Pañcālas (where Pravāhaṇa Jaivali put him five questions of a metaphysical and esoteric nature). The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 when narrating the same episode employs the word 'pariṣad'. These passages establish that in the times of the Upaniṣads there were assemblies of learned men where intricate questions were discussed. Gaut. 28. 46 prescribes just as the Tai. Up. I. 11 does that in matters about which there is no certain rule (or there is doubt) one should do what is commended by respectable persons not less than ten in number, who are clever in discussion and are above covetousness.[2203] The Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 11. 34 declares that holidays other

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2201. अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा स्यात्। ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः। युक्ता आयुक्ताः। अलूक्षा धर्मकामाः स्युः। यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तत्र वर्तेथाः। अभ्याख्यातेषु। ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः ..... तेषु वर्तेथाः। तै. उप. I. 11. अभ्याख्यातेषु may mean 'about those matters on which there are positive Vedic texts'.

2202. श्वेतकेतुर्हारुणेयः पञ्चालानां समितिमेयाय तं ह प्रवाहणो जैवलिरुवाच। छा. उप. V. 3. 1; श्वेतकेतुर्ह आरुणेयः पञ्चालानां परिषदमाजगाम। बृह. उप. VI. 2. 1.

2203. अनाज्ञाते दृष्टापरैः शिष्टैकवाक्यिभिरलुब्धैः प्रशस्तं कार्यम्। गौ. 28. 46; यथोक्तमन्यवृत्तः परिषत्सु। आप. ध. सू. I. 3. 11. 34.

than those stated by him may be observed as settled by *pariṣads*. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 44-45 prescribes "the relatives of a brahmacārī who is guilty of sexual intercourse should empty a water pot in the *pariṣad* and the offender should confess 'I, so and so by name, am guilty of such and such a misdeed' and that after the erring person has performed penance and when he has touched water, milk, ghee, honey and salt, the brāhmaṇas should ask him 'have you performed the penance?' The other shall then reply 'yes'; then they shall admit him who has performed penance to all sacrificial rites making no difference between him and others."[2204] This clearly establishes that at least five centuries before the Christian era it was the privilege of the assembly of the learned brāhmaṇas to administer penance to a sinner and then restore him to all rights of interdining and other social intercourse. Vas. Dh. S. I. 16 declares 'there is no doubt that whatever persons who have studied dharmaśāstra and the three Vedas expound as purifying themselves and others is the proper dharma.' Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 2 declares that the conventions of those that know dharma are the authoritative standard (of conduct for ordinary men). When the smṛtis declare that Veda, smṛti and the usages of śiṣṭas are the three sources of dharma (e.g. Vas. Dh. S. I. 4-5) they convey that śiṣṭas can *and* should determine from time to time what is religious conduct. When Bṛhaspati enjoins that doubts about dharma should not be settled by blindly following the letter of śāstras, but that logic and reasoning should be employed, he strikes the true note of the spirit of the ancient sages.[2204a] Vide also Manu XII. 106 and Gaut. XI. 23-24 for the importance of *tarka* in settling matters of dharma. Manu XII. 108 states 'if one were to ask how one should act in matters of dharma on which no express rule is declared in this work, the reply is that in such cases what is declared to be a proper rule of conduct by respectable (śiṣṭa) brāhmaṇas would undoubtedly be the dharma.' Yāj. III. 300 requires that a person guilty of a sin or lapse should declare it to an assembly of learned brāhmaṇas and undergo such *vrata* (penance and

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2204. अथास्य ज्ञातयः परिषदुदपात्रं निनयेयुरसावहमित्थंभूत इति। चरित्वापः पयो घृतं मधु लवणमित्यारब्धवन्तं ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयुश्चरितं व्रतमेत्योमितीतरः प्रत्याह चरितनिर्वेशं सवनीयं कुर्युः॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 44-45.

2204 a. केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः। युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच. (व्यवहार p. 24.)

observances) as is approved of by the *pariṣad*. Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. IV. 3. 2 makes the very significant [2205] remark "it is therefore that in coming to a decision on a subtle point of dharma, it is desirable to have a pariṣad working and a specially distinguished person is wanted (to give the lead) as stated in the rule 'a *pariṣad* should consist of not less than ten persons or of three or of one (specially distinguished)'." These several authorities establish that for over 1500 years before the great Śaṁkarācārya the *pariṣad* of learned brāhmaṇas was the acknowledged authority for settling doubtful points of dharma and administering penances on lapses from proper conduct, and that Śaṁkarācārya himself acknowledged this privilege of the *pariṣad*.

The next question is: what is the number of persons required to constitute a *pariṣad* for deciding on doubtful points of dharma and what their qualifications should be. According to Gaut. 28. 46–47 a *pariṣad* should consist of at least ten [2206] persons viz. four, each of whom has mastered one Veda, three members who are respectively a (perpetual) student, a house-holder and a saṁnyāsin and three more each of whom has studied distinct dharmaśāstras. Vas. Dh. S. III. 20, Baud. I. 1. 8, Parāśara VIII. 27 and Aṅgiras declare that four persons each of whom has mastered one of the four Vedas, one who knows the Mīmāṁsā, one who has studied the six subsidiary lores of the Veda, one who has studied dharmaśāstra and three persons who are a house-holder, a forest hermit and a saṁnyāsin constitute a pariṣad of ten. Manu XII. 111 defines the ten as consisting of three masters of each of the three Vedas (excluding the Atharvaveda), one who has studied Logic, a student of Mīmāṁsā, a student of Nirukta, a master of dharmaśāstras and three members in each of the first three āśramas. Bṛhaspati [2207] quoted in Par. M. II. 1 p. 218 declares that a pariṣad may be constituted by seven or five persons sitting together who have studied the Vedas, their six subsidiary lores and dharmaśāstra and that such a pariṣad resembles a solemn

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2205. अत एव हि धर्मसूक्ष्मनिर्णये परिषदूव्यापार इष्यते। पुरुषविशेषश्चापेक्ष्यते दृशावरा परिषत् त्रयी वैको वेति। शांकरभाष्य on बृह. उप. IV. 3. 2.

2206. चातुर्विद्यं विकल्पी च अङ्गविद्धर्मपाठकः। आश्रमस्थाश्रयो मुख्याः पर्षदेषा दशावरा॥ वसिष्ठ III. 20=बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 8=पराशर VIII. 27=अङ्गिरस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 22, where he sets out the definitions of these given by Aṅgiras.

2207. लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा। पत्रोपविष्टा विप्राः स्युः सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा॥ बृहस्पति quoted by परा. मा. II. 1. p. 218.

sacrifice. Vide also Aṅgiras quoted by Aparārka p. 23 for seven or five men as constituting a *pariṣad*. Vas. Dh. S. III. 7, Yāj. I. 9, Manu XII. 112, Parāśara VIII. 11 state that at least four or three men should constitute a pariṣad, but they should be students of each of the four Vedas, should be agnihotrins and should have also studied dharmaśāstra. If even three cannot be found then even a single man can declare the dharma in case of doubt (Gaut. 28. 48), but he must possess special qualifications. Gaut. 28. 48, Manu XII. 113 (= Atri 143) require that he must be the best of brāhmaṇas, a śiṣṭa and a deep student of the Veda. Yāj. I. 9, Parāśara VIII. 13, Aṅgiras[2208] say that a single person who is the best among ascetics possessing knowledge of the Self may form a *pariṣad* and declare what the proper rule is on a point of doubt. Though the texts permit in extreme cases a single man to declare dharma in case of doubt they give emphatic warning that this should not be done as far as possible. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 13 observes[2209] 'the way of dharma is very subtle and difficult to follow and it has many entrances (i. e. it appears different in different circumstances); therefore a person though knowing much should not undertake single-handed to propound the proper course of conduct in case of doubt.' The texts also emphasize that doubtful points of dharma are not to be decided by the votes of ignorant people, even if they muster in thousands. Manu XII. 114-115 (=Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 17 and 12=Vas. Dh. S. III. 5-6=Parāśara VIII. 6 and 15) state 'Even if thousands of brāhmaṇas who have observed no *vrata* and who have studied no Vedic mantras and who make their living merely by virtue of their caste come together they do not constitute a *pariṣad*. When such foolish persons deluded by ignorance and ignorant of dharma declare (a penance for a sin) the sin is multiplied a hundred-fold and reaches the propounders.'

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 remarks that the number mentioned as constituting a *pariṣad* is not material, that all that is meant is that for lesser sins a small number of learned men can

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2208. मुनीनामात्मविद्यानां द्विजानां यज्ञयाजिनाम् । वेदव्रतेषु स्नातानामेकोपि परिषद्भवेत् । पराशर VIII. 13; यतीनां सत्यतपसां ज्ञानविज्ञानचेतसाम् । शिरोव्रतेन स्नातानामेकोपि परिषद्भवेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted by अपरार्क p. 23 and परा. मा. II. part I. p. 217. The मुण्डकोपनिषद् III. 2. 10 states that those alone who have performed śirovrata are eligible for being taught brahmavidyā.

2209. बहुद्वारस्य धर्मस्य सूक्ष्मा दुरनुगा गतिः । तस्माद्न वाच्यो ह्येकेन बहुज्ञेनापि संशये ॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 13=मत्स्यपुराण 143. 27 (which transposes the halves) =वायुपुराण 57. 112.

declare the penance, but in the case of serious sins, the number of persons who constitute the parişad should be large. Devala[2210] quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 says that when the sin is not grave, brāhmaṇas may declare the penance without reference to the king (and restore the sinner to his privileges) but when the sin is grave, then the king and brāhmaṇas must carefully examine the matter and then declare the penance. Parāśara (VIII. 28-29) ordains[2211] 'brāhmaṇas should declare penance for sins with the king's consent, that they should not declare the expiation of sins by penance of their own motion and that if the king decides to give prāyaścitta without reference to brāhmaṇas, the sin becomes increased a hundred-fold.' It is the duty of the *parişad* to declare an appropriate penance when a man comes to it, declares his lapse and seeks to be freed from the taint and if the *parişad* knowing what the appropriate penance is refuses to administer it, they incur the same sin as that committed by the man who approaches them.[2212] Parāśara VIII. 2 prescribes that one should on being convinced of his having committed a sin at once repair to the assembly of learned men, should prostrate himself on the ground before them and request them to administer prāyaścitta (expiation). The Mit. on Yāj. III. 300 quotes Parāśara that the sinner should announce his sin after offering the present of a cow or a bull or the like to the *parişad*.

It will be shown immediately below that these rules of the smṛtis were observed to the letter by Hindu kings and learned brāhmaṇas in medieval times. When the successors of Śaṁkarācārya began to interest themselves in the work done by the parişads for centuries before the advent of the first ācārya cannot be ascertained. A large part of Northern India was under Moslem rule for about 500 years from about 1200 A. D. and a portion of the Deccan and a part of South India also were under Moslem rule for about three hundred years. Numerous documents have been published by the late Mr. Vishvanath K. Rajwade (a scholar

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2210. स्वयं तु ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुरल्पदोषेषु निष्कृतिम् । राजा च ब्राह्मणाश्चैव महत्सु च परीक्षितम् ॥ देवल quoted in मिता. on या. III. 300.

2211. राज्ञां चानुमते स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्वा स्वल्पनिष्कृतिः ॥ ब्राह्मणांस्तानतिक्रम्य राजा कर्तुं यदिच्छति । तत्पापं शतधा भूत्वा राजानमनुगच्छति ॥ पराशर VIII. 28-29.

2212. आर्तानां मार्गमाणानां प्रायश्चित्तानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न प्रयच्छन्ति ते यान्ति समतां तु तैः ॥ अङ्गिरस् quoted by the मिता. on या III. 300; यथाह पराशरः । पापं विख्यापयेत्पापी दत्त्वा धेनुं तथा वृषम् । इति । एतच्चोपपातकविषयम् । महापातकादिष्वधिकं कल्प्यम् । मिता. on या. III 300.

who made unique contributions to the elucidation of Maratha History, Marathi Philology and Marathi Literature) and his friends. From these it appears that during the time of the Maratha domination learned brāhmaṇas of holy places like Paithan, Nasik and Karad were consulted in religious matters by the king or his minister, that the holders of the '*gādi*' of Śaṁkarācārya at Saṁkeśvara and Karavīra and other seats were also rarely consulted in these matters and that it is only after the advent of the British rule that[2213] the Śaṁkarācāryas have begun to claim almost exclusive jurisdiction in ecclesiastic matters and in restoring men to their castes or excommunicating them for lapses. It will be seen from passages quoted below that both the learned brāhmaṇas at holy places like Karad and the Śaṁkarācāryas claim the exclusive right in these matters by reason of immemorial usage.

In several works it is said that the *pariṣad* must be constituted by śiṣṭas (vide Gaut. 28. 46). Śiṣṭa is variously defined by some smṛti works. The Baud.[2214] Dh. S. (I. 1. 5–6) says 'Śiṣṭas are those who are free from envy and pride, who keep only as much corn as is measured by kumbhī (vide p. 111 *f. n.* 235), who are free from greed and from hypocrisy, arrogance, covetousness, delusions and anger. Those are śiṣṭas who have studied the Veda according to the prescribed method, together with its appendages (viz. Itihāsa and Purāṇas), who know how to draw inferences from that and who tend to make people realize the teaching of the Veda.' The Mahābhāṣya defines śiṣṭas in almost the same words as Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 5. Vas. Dh. S. 1. 6 defines śiṣṭa as one whose mind is free from desires.

2213. Vide Rajwade's Khanda 21 published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśhodhaka Maṇḍala at Poona, letter No. 205 at pp. 256–58 dated *śake* 1778 (1856 A. D.) for the claim of the Śaṁkarācārya of Karavīra 'मठाधिकारी वगैरे याची वहिवाट पाहून निग्रह ठेवणें अगर शुद्ध करणें हा अधिकार मठकरवीर संस्थानचा आहे. कराडकर यांनीं दूरग्यान धांदल करून पत्र लिहिलें हें बरोबर नाहीं.' On the other hand letter No. 227 in the same volume at p. 276 dated *śake* 1778 addressed to the assembly of brāhmaṇas at Kasegaon by the assembly of Karahāṭa (Karad in Satara District) asserts 'पूर्वीपासून आचार व्यवहारपद्म प्रायश्चित्त करण्याचा अधिकार क्षेत्राचा पूर्वापार असून &c.'

2214. शिष्टाः खलु विगतमत्सरा निरहंकाराः कुम्भीधान्या अलोलुपा दम्भदर्पलोभमोहक्रोधविवर्जिताः । धर्मेणाधिगतो येषां वेदः सपरिबृंहणः । शिष्टास्तद्वदमानज्ञाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः ॥ बौ. ध. सू. I. 1. 5. 6. This last is Manu XII. 109 and Vas. VI. 43 (with slight variations). शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा । वसिष्ठ I. 6. Compare महाभाष्य vol. III. p. 174 'एतस्मिन्नार्यनिवासे ये ब्राह्मणाः कुम्भीधान्याः अलोलुपा अगृह्यमाणकारणाः किंचिदन्तरेण कस्याश्चिद् विद्यायाः पारगास्तत्रभवन्तः शिष्टाः ।'

The Matsyapurāṇa [2215] 145. 34-36 and Vāyu, vol. I. 59. 33-35 derive the word śiṣṭa and restrict it to Manu, the seven sages and other similar great sages, who in each æon (Manvantara or yuga) settle the rules of conduct for succeeding ages.

It is well-known that Shivaji, the great founder of the Maratha Empire, established a council of eight ministers, viz. Mukhya Pradhāna, Amātya, Saciva, Mantrī, Senāpati, Paṇḍitarao, Nyāyādhīśa and Sumanta. 'The jurisdiction of the Paṇḍitarao extended over [2216] all religious matters, he was to examine and decide disputes about dharma and adharma, he was to honour śiṣṭas (respectable people) on behalf of the king, was to make his signature expressing his approval of the writings (decisions) about ācāra, vyavahāra and prāyaścittas (made by learned brāhmaṇas). He was to superintend and carry into immediate execution gifts, propitiatory rites (for the king).' This shows that even in matters of prāyaścitta (penance for lapses and sins) the final control rested with the Paṇḍitarao, who used to send doubtful matters to learned brāhmaṇas at holy places like Wai, Nasik, Karad for their opinions and accept them. There are letters which show that the Paṇḍitarao convened meetings of learned brāhmaṇas and with their approval declared prāyaścitta in the case of a brāhmaṇa who had been forcibly converted by Mahomedans and who was thereafter restored to caste.

That sometimes the Pontiff of the Saṅkeśvara *maṭha* was consulted even in disputes about rights to lands and villages follows from a decision contained in Rao Bahadur Vad's work pp. 203-210 (of 1730 A.D.). Here a dispute arose between Śrīkarācārya (to whom a village had been donated by king Rājārāma) and his agnates, who, taking advantage of the fact that the gift-deed was made in the name of five persons including Śrīkarācārya, put forward their claims to that village. This dispute was referred to the Svāmī of Saṅkeśvara and Karavīra who decided on the authority of Vijñāneśvara, the Vyavahāramayūkha and the Dānakamalākara that though the document was

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2215. शिष्येर्धातोश्च निष्ठान्तात् शिष्टशब्दं प्रचक्षते । मन्वन्तरेषु ये शिष्टा इह तिष्ठन्ति धार्मिकाः । मनुः सप्तर्षयश्चैव लोकसंतानकारिणः । तिष्ठन्तीह च धर्मार्थं तान् शिष्टान् संप्रचक्षते । तैः शिष्टैश्चलितो धर्मः स्थाप्यते वै युगे युगे । मत्स्य 145. 34-36.

2216. Vide 'Sanads and Letters' in Marathi selected by Rao Bahadur Vad (1913) p. 123 'पण्डितराव यांणीं सर्व धर्माधिकार, धर्म अधर्म पाहून विचिक्षा करावी. शिष्टांचे सत्कार करावे. आचार, व्यवहार, प्रायश्चित्त पत्रें होतील त्यांजवर संमत चिह्न करावें. दानप्रसङ्ग, शान्ति, अनुष्ठान तत्काळीं करवावे. '

executed in the name of five persons, the gift of the village with water, kuśa and gold was made to Śrīkarācārya alone and that therefore he alone was the true owner.

There are cases where the head of the Karavīra maṭha issued an order (in śake 1644 i. e. 1722 A. D.) asking people to dine with a brāhmaṇa whose wife had illicit connection with a *gosāvi* and who had performed the necessary prāyaścitta.[2217]

On the other hand in numerous instances the assembly of learned brāhmaṇas was approached either by the Paṇḍitarao or by the interested parties themselves to declare the proper penance and restore the guilty party to his caste.[2218] Numerous documents and letters showing the part played by the family of Gijre at Karad (in the Satara District) in the matter of giving decisions on questions of dharma-śāstra have been published by the late Mr. V. K. Rajvade. One Gangadhara Ranganatha Kulkarni of Harsul[2218a] was forcibly converted by the Moslems; then the Maratha king Sambhaji ordered his minister the Paṇḍitarao to restore him to his caste after giving him appropriate prāyaścitta and the Paṇḍitarao called a meeting of learned brāhmaṇas, looked into works like the Mitākṣarā and with the approval of the brāhmaṇas administered prāyaścitta to him and sent him on a pilgrimage. There is a similar case in which the Paṇḍitarao under orders from the king writes to the

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2217. Vide भारत-इतिहास-संशोधक-मंडळ, द्वितीयसंमेलनवृत्त p. 130 'सदाशिव भट बिन जायभट जोतिषी मौजे कटोली यांची स्त्री माहेरी असतां जटील गोसावी यानें भ्रष्ट केली. ब्रह्मकर्म लौप्य होतें सबब सदाशिवभट मठ करवीर क्षेत्रासी श्रीस्वामीकडे गेले ... ... त्यास तीर्थ प्रसाद देऊन पंक्तिपावन करून शुद्ध करून घेतलें व सदाशिवभट यांचे घरीं अन्नोदक संसर्ग करण्याविषयीं सर्वत्रांस आज्ञा केली.'

2218. Vide मराठ्यांचे इतिहासाचीं साधनें, खण्ड २१ शिवकालीन घराणीं pp. 84–360 (कऱ्हाड-गिजरे घराण्याचे कागद शके १४२९ ते १७२२).

2218 a. Vide भारत-इतिहास-संशोधक-मंडळ द्वितीयसंमेलनवृत्त pp. 130–131 'गंगाधर रंगनाथ कुळकर्णी कसबे हरसूल यांस मोंगलांनीं बलात्कारें बाटविला त्यास पावन करून घेण्याबद्दल छत्रपति कृपाळु होऊन प्रायश्चित्त द्यावयास आज्ञा दिली. या उपरी आम्ही राजश्री छन्दोगमात्य याचे सभेसी समस्त विद्वद्वैदिक ब्राह्मणांचे संमतीनें मिताक्षरादि निबन्ध पाहोन प्रायश्चित्तनिर्वाह करून गंगाधर रंगनाथ यास प्रायश्चित्तसंकल्प सांगोन श्रीयात्रेस पाठविला.' This order was issued by Moreshwar Panditarao in *śake* 1608 (1686 A. D.). Vide for Netaji Palkar's conversion and reconversion शिवकालीन पत्रव्यवहार, खण्ड १५ (published by Satkāryottejaka Sabhā at Dhulia) document No. 282 (at p. 289) dated *śake* 1612 (1690 A. D.) 'अवरंगजेबाने स्वाराज्य लोक आहे ती त्यांस मुसलमान करावे असे केले आहे त्यामसाणें मुसलमान केले मागे नेतोजी राजे व साबाजी घाडगे व जानोजी राजे व कितेक ब्राह्मणही या प्रांतीचे बाटविले' and शिवकालीनपत्रसारसंग्रह, खण्ड १ published in 1930 by the Shivacharitrakāryālaya at Poona, entry No. 1863 of 24th July 1676 A. D.

learned brāhmaṇas of Karad about the prāyaścitta to be administered to one Khandu Jadhav [2219] who had been forcibly made by the Moslems to eat their food and in which he informs the brāhmaṇas that a fee of two rupees should be taken from the man. It may be noted in passing that Raje Netaji Palkar who was one of the great commanders under Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, was made a moslem by the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb and was subsequently taken back into the Hindu fold by Shivaji. In another document [2220] the learned brāhmaṇas of Poona, 46 in number, write to the brāhmaṇas of Karavīra about one Narasiṁha Bhaṭṭa Toro of Paithan who had engaged as a priest in a Vedic sacrifice in which he had offered the effigy of an animal made of flour, who had therefore been made outcast and who was subsequently restored to the caste after undergoing penance.

The above brief account will show that for hundreds of years even before the first Śaṁkarācārya flourished it was the privilege of the assembly of learned brāhmaṇas to decide doubtful points of religious conduct and prescribe penances for lapses, that the same privilege continued undisturbed till the advent of the British rule, that rarely the heads of the maṭhas, by virtue of their eminent position, their supposed detachment from and renunciation of worldy affairs and their reputation as ascetics, were asked to decide (following Yāj. I. 9) doubtful points of religious and theological importance, that it is only during the last few decades that such heads began to claim exclusive jurisdiction in such matters.

It is desirable in the interest of the solidarity of the several Hindu castes and the rapid growth of progressive and advanced views that matters of practices, penances and restoration to caste should be in the hands of the bodies of learned men or the caste itself than in the hands of a single ascetic styling himself Śaṁkarācārya, who often happens to know nothing of dharmaśāstra and only puts his seal of approval on what interested persons that are round him say.

2219. Vide भारत इतिहास-संशोधक-मंडळ, तृतीयसंमेलनवृत्त p. 94 'आज्ञापत्र राजेश्री वेदशास्त्रसंपन्न कऱ्हाडक्षेत्रस्थ समस्तब्रह्मवृन्दयेषु या प्रति रघुनाथभट्ट पैठितरा नमस्कार. श्रीछत्रपतीनीं आज्ञा केली ऐसी जे खण्डु जाधव याजवर्ती यवनानीं जोरावरि करून आपले अन्न खाविले त्यास राजश्री स्वामी छत्रपतीनी क्षेत्रास पाठविणें त्याजवरून खण्डु जाधव पाठविला आहे. यापासून दोन रुपये घेणें यास निबन्ध प्रायश्चित्त देणें. त्यास शुद्धपत्र देऊन हुजुर रवाना करणे. विलंब न लावणें हे नमस्कार. इदं विज्ञप्तिः.'

2220. Vide the Marathi Quarterly journal called 'संशोधक' for Śake 1857 vol. IV (for April 1935).

After this review of the stage of saṁnyāsa we see that asceticism presents several aspects viz. fasting or at least reducing the intake of food, abstention from meat and drink and pleasures of sense, total absence of sexual gratification and suppression of the sexual emotion, vow of silence, sleeping on bare ground, nakedness or making use of minimum clothing, contempt for the world and its riches. The Hindu Scriptures however do not enjoin self-infliction of pain or flagellation that was indulged in by monks in the early centuries of Christianity. Asceticism in the several forms indicated above is a feature common to all religions. It is the fashion to assert that Indians[2221] have the highest regard for asceticism and that the men whose memories they cherish as ideals of human conduct are ascetics. This statement is only partially true. Christ also taught abandonment of worldly ties and the spurning of riches as the best for entering the Kingdom of Heaven (vide Matthew 19. 21, Luke 14. 26 and 33, St. John 2. 15-16). It is only during the last three or four hundred years that Western peoples have given up much of what was thought for centuries to be the main teaching of Christ and regard successful men of action or politicians or men of martial exploits as their ideals and heroes. In India also martial glory has often raised men to the position of heroes or *avatāras*, but only when they delivered their countrymen from the tyranny and persecution of evil men or foreigners. Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are *avatāras* because they fought against tyranny and barbarity and not because they brought as large a slice of the earth under their domination as possible for purposes of exploitation or vainglory. Martial exploits for self-aggrandisement or for domination for domination's sake have never evoked great enthusiasm in India. Shivaji, the great hero of the Marathas, was paid almost divine honours even during his life-time not for his martial exploits, but for his having freed the Marathas and other peoples from Moslem tyranny, persecution, religious intolerance and fanaticism.

2221, Vide ' Mystics, ascetics and saints of India ' (1903) by J. C. Oman p. 271 ' it is the ascetic profession that time out of mind has been a pre-eminent dignity in the eyes of the Indian people. '

CHAPTER XXIX

SRAUTA (VEDIC) SACRIFICES*

Introductory

A deep study of Vedic sacrifices is quite essential for the proper understanding of the Vedic Literature, for arriving at approximately correct statements about the chronology, the development and the stratification of the different portions of that Literature and for the influence that that Literature exerted on the four varṇas and the caste-system, on the splitting up of the brāhmaṇas themselves among several sub-castes[2222] and on the institution of gotras and pravaras. Early European scholars generally paid scant attention to the deep study of the Vedic sacrifices and endeavoured to understand the meaning of the Vedas principally by reference to grammar, comparative philology and the comparison of several passages containing the same word or words. Max Müller put forward a tentative scheme of chronology based mostly on subjective considerations and prompted by the great prejudice felt by European scholars generally against admitting any great antiquity for the Vedas. Therefore the endeavour of most European scholars has been to show that the *mantras* could not have been composed before 1400 B. C. It is beyond the scope of this work to enter into any discussion about the dates of the various sections of the Vedic Literature. It must be here said, however, that I do not subscribe to the view that 1400 B. C. is the uppermost limit of the original composition of the Vedic hymns. The hymns may have been composed for aught we know several thousand years

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* In this chapter a few special abbreviations have been employed as follows: Āp. = Āpastamba-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Garbe), Āśv. = Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra (in the Bibliotheca Indica series), Baud. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland), Jai. = the Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtra of Jaimini with Śabara's bhāṣya (in the Ānandāśrama series), Kāt. = Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Weber), Sat. or Satyāṣāḍha = Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra (in the Ānandāśrama series), Śāṅ = Śāṅkhyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by Hillebrandt in the B. I. series).

2222. Some of the brāhmaṇa sub-castes such as the Kāṇvas, Maitrāyaṇīyas, Carakas and Jūbālas owe their origin to their ancestors having studied particular Vedic Śākhās.

before that date. Most of the Vedic Saṁhitās that we now have are arranged (except the Ṛgveda to some extent) definitely for the various aspects of the cult of the sacrifice and indicate a state of things when different priests were required for the sacrifices, who used *mantras* from the collections they had studied.

For a thorough understanding of Vedic sacrifices, the several Veda Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta sūtras must be carefully studied. Among works in English that are very helpful must be mentioned, Haug's translation (with notes) of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Prof. Eggeling's translation of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa with notes (S. B. E. vol. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV), Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads', translation of the Black Yajurveda (2 vol. in Harvard Oriental Series) and of the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas (one volume in the same series), Kunte's 'Vicissitudes of Aryan civilization in India.' (1880) particularly pp. 167–232. Besides these Weber and Hillebrandt have written in German scholarly works on Vedic sacrifices; Caland and Henry published a very learned, exhaustive and methodical work in French on the Agniṣṭoma (1906). In this connection the late Dr. S. V. Ketkar's labours and researches embodied in his Marathi Encyclopædia (vol. 2 and 5) are worthy of special consideration, since they furnish a much-needed corrective to the somewhat one-sided views of most European scholars that have written on Vedic Literature, though one is bound to differ from him in several matters.[2223] The following pages are based principally on the original texts, though here and there the works of modern scholars have been availed of.

In his Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra, Jaimini submits thousands of texts to the principles of mīmāṁsā elaborated by him and arrives at definite conclusions on matters affecting the details of various sacrifices. An attempt has been made in these chapters on śrauta to include many of his conclusions, a task, which so far as I know, has not been essayed by any modern writer on dharma or śrauta up till now.

2223. Prof. Dumont's 'L'Agnihotra' (1939) came into my hands when these pages were passing through the press. Hillebrandt's 'Das Altindische Neu-und Vollmondsopfer' (Jena, 1879) and 'Ritual-Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber' (1897, in the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Philology and Antiquities) deservedly enjoy a high reputation among works on śrauta sacrifices.

The fundamental conceptions of *Yajña* (sacrifice) go back to Indo-European[2224] antiquities though the traces are rather faint. But it is quite clear that the cult of the sacrifice had been much developed in the Indo-Iranian period. There is a very striking resemblance between the Vedic Agniṣṭoma and the Homa ceremony of the Parsis (vide Haug's Ait. Br. vol. I, Introduction p. 59 ff). There are numerous words indicative of the cult of the sacrifice both in the Vedic language and in the ancient Parsi religious books. For example, words like atharvan, āhuti, uktha, barhis, mantra, yajña, soma, savana, stoma, hotṛ do also occur in the ancient Parsi religious scriptures.[2225] Though Vedic sacrifices are now very rarely performed (except a few simple ones like the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa and the Cāturmāsyas), they were in great vogue several centuries before the Christian era. Centuries after the advent and spread of Buddhism we learn from inscriptions and literary traditions that kings often performed the ancient solemn Vedic sacrifices and gloried in having done so. In the Harivaṁśa (III. 2. 39–40), in the Mālavikāgnimitra (Act V, which speaks of Rājasūya), in the Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhyā (E. I. vol. XX. p. 54) Senāpati Puṣyamitra is said to have performed the Aśvamedha (or Rājasūya). In the Hathigumpha Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) king Khāravela is extolled as having performed the Rājasūya. In the Bilsad stone Inscription of Kumāragupta dated in the Gupta year 96 (i. e. 415–6 A. D.) it is stated that his great ancestor Samudragupta performed the Aśvamedha that had gone out of vogue for a long time (cirotsannāśvamedhāhartuḥ, in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 43). In the Pardi plates (of Cedi *saṁ.* 207 i. e. 456–7 A. D.) the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasena is described as the performer of Aśvamedha (E. I. vol. X. p. 53). The Pīkira grant of Siṁhavarman (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 162) describes the Pallavas as the performers of many Aśvamedhas and another Pallava grant (in E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5) refers to the performance of Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha. The Chammak plate of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II (Gupta Inscriptions No. 55

2224. Vide Prof. A. B. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' (1925), vol. II pp. 625–26 on 'the Indo-European Fire-cult' and pp. 257–312 of vol. I for 'the nature of the Vedic sacrifice'; 'L' Agniṣṭoma' by Caland and Henry, p. 469 ff.

2225. Vide Hillebrandt's 'Ritual-Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber' (1897) p. 11 for a long list of such words.

p. 236) speaks of Pravarasena I as the performer of many Śrauta sacrifices.[2226]

The original worship of fire may have been individualistic as well as communal or tribal. The daily agnihotra was an individual affair ; but as even simple iṣṭis like darśapūrṇamāsa required four priests, and Soma sacrifices required 16 priests and costly preparations, these sacrifices partook more or less of a public or at least congregational character. It appears that as most brāhmaṇas were poor and could not carry on even the daily agnihotra, which pinned them down practically to one place and did not allow them to move out of the village for securing their livelihood, even agnihotra must have been comparatively rare in early times. Such Vedic sentences as ' one who has begot a son or sons and whose hair is still black should consecrate the Vedic fires ' (quoted by Śabara on Jaimini I. 3. 3 and cited on p. 350 above) establish that agnyādhāna was advised for brāhmaṇas when they had reached middle age (and not before). The daily agnihotra required the maintenance of at least two cows, besides thousands of cow-dung cakes and fuel-sticks. For the maintenance of agnihotra and the performance of darśapūrṇamāsa (in which four priests were employed) and the Cāturmāsyas (where five priests were required) the house-holder was required to be well-to-do. And the Soma sacrifices could be performed only by kings, nobles and the rich and by those who could collect large subscriptions. We find that kings while making grants often expressed that the object of the grants was to enable the brāhmaṇa donees to offer *bali*, and *caru* and to perform *agnihotra*. For example, in the Sarsavni plates of Buddharāja dated in Kaṭaccuri *saṁ.* 361 i. e. 609–10 A. D. the grant is made for *bali*, *caru* and *agnihotra* and in the Damodarpur plates (dated 443–44 and 447–48 A.D.) the grants are made for agnihotra and for the performance of the five daily yajñas.[2227] During the centuries of Moslem domination no help from royalty could be expected and so the institution of Vedic sacrifices languished. In the last hundred years or so, solemn

2226. अग्निष्टोमातिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः । . These very words occur in the Dudia plates, E. I. Vol. III. p. 258 at p. 260.

2227. Vide E. I. vol. VI p. 294 at p. 298 ' बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थम् ' (in Sarasvni plates) ; E. I. vol. XV. p. 113 ' अग्निहोत्रोपयोगाय ' (p. 130), ' पञ्चमहायज्ञप्रवर्तनाय ' (p. 133), बलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्तनगन्धधूपपुष्पमापणनधूपदीपाद्युपयोगाय ' (p. 143) of the Damodarpur plates.

Vedic sacrifices have been performed only rarely. But, since many of the gṛhya ceremonies as set forth in the gṛhya sūtras closely imitate the procedure of the Vedic fire cult and Vedic sacrifices formed the first and foremost manifestation of the sentiments of faith and worship in India, a work dealing with Dharmaśāstra cannot be said to have dealt with its subject completely and adequately if the treatment of Vedic sacrifices were left out altogether, the following bare outline is presented here, the more so as sacrifices were the first *dharmas* according to Ṛg. X. 90. 16.

The Śrauta-sūtras contain a very detailed, meticulously accurate and vivid description of the several sacrifices that were performed in ancient times. These works were manuals compiled for the practical purpose of giving directions to those who engaged in such sacrifices. They are based on ancient Brāhmaṇa texts, which they quote at every step, many individual sūtras being couched in the very language of the Brāhmaṇas, and on actual practice and only bring together what was in vogue. The object of the following pages is not to present a thorough and detailed treatment of Vedic sacrifices, but only to indicate what the cult of the Vedic sacrifice was like and to furnish a brief description of some prominent sacrifices. The treatment is mainly based on the Śrautasūtras of Āśv., Āp., Kāt., Baud., Satyāṣāḍha with occasional references to the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. The several divergences among the sūtras, the *paddhatis* and modern practice are not generally dwelt upon for the sake of saving space. One very useful work is a compilation called 'Śrautapadārthanirvacana,' by Nageshwar Shastri published in the Benares Sanskrit series, though one of its drawbacks is that it gives no references to any texts. The Mīmāṁsā-vidyālaya at Poona has prepared sets of all the utensils required in sacrifices and has published an album containing pictures of utensils and maps of various altars required in Vedic sacrifices. The Cāturmāsyas, the Paśubandha, the Jyotiṣṭoma have been described in some detail, the darśapūrṇamāsa has been dealt with *in extenso*, and other sacrifices have been only briefly touched upon in this work.

We find that even in the remotest ages when the hymns of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā were composed and compiled, the main features of the sacrificial system had been evolved. That there were three fires appears clear from Ṛg. II. 36. 4 (where Agni is asked to sit down in three places), I. 15. 4, V. 11. 2 ('men

kindle Agni in three places'). The Gārhapatya fire is expressly named in Ṛg. I. 15. 12. The three *savanas* (i. e. pressings of Soma in the morning, mid-day and evening) are mentioned in Ṛg. III. 28. 1 (prātaḥ-sāva), III. 28. 4 (mādhyandina savana), III. 28. 5 (tṛtīya savana), III. 52. 5–6 and in IV. 12. 1 (where it is said that the sacrifice gives food to Agni three times on all days), IV. 33. 11. It may be affirmed that the sixteen priests[2228] required in Soma sacrifices were probably well-known to the composers of the Ṛgveda hymns; Ṛg. I. 162. 5 mentions hotṛ, adhvaryu, agnimindha (agnit or āgnīdhra), grāvagrābha (grāvastut), śaṁstā (praśāstṛ or maitrāvaruṇa), suvipra (brahmā?); Ṛg. II. 1. 2 refers to hotṛ., potṛ., neṣṭṛ, agnit, praśāstṛ (maitrāvaruṇa), adhvaryu, brahmā; Ṛg. II. 36 speaks of hotṛ, potṛ (v. 2), āgnīdhra (v. 4), brāhmaṇa (brāhmaṇāccha*m*sin) and praśāstṛ (v. 6). In Ṛg. II. 43. 2 we have *udgātā*. In Ṛg. III. 10. 4, IX. 10. 7, X. 35. 10, X. 61. 1 seven hotṛs are referred to and in Ṛg. II. 5. 2 the potṛ priest is spoken of as the 8th. The word 'purohita' occurs very frequently (Ṛg. I. 1. 1, I. 44. 10 and 12, III. 2. 8, IX. 66. 20, X. 98. 7). The Ṛgveda names Atirātra (VII. 103. 7), Trikadruka (II. 22. 1, VIII. 13. 18, VIII. 92. 21, X. 14. 16). The yūpa (the post to which the sacrificial animal was tied) and its top called caṣāla are

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2228. The sixteen priests (ṛtvij) are : होता मैत्रावरुणोऽच्छावाको ग्रावस्तुदध्वर्युः प्रतिप्रस्थाता नेष्टोन्नेता ब्रह्मा ब्राह्मणाच्छंस्याग्नीध्रः पोतोद्गाता प्रस्तोता प्रतिहर्ता सुब्रह्मण्य इति । आश्व. श्रौ. IV. 1. 6, आप. श्रौ. X. 1. 9. Of these hotṛ, adhvaryu, brahmā and udgātṛ are the four principal ones and the three that follow each of them in the above enumeration are their assistants. The functions of the four principal priests are referred to in Ṛg. X. 71. 11. In Ṛg. II. 43. 1 we have the singer of Sāmans. In Agnihotra only adhvaryu is required, in the Agnyādheya, Darśapūrṇamāsa and other iṣṭis four priests are required viz. adhvaryu, āgnīdhra, hotṛ and brahman; in the Cāturmāsyas five are required viz., the four (of darśapūrṇamāsa) and the pratipasthātṛ; in the animal sacrifices a sixth is added viz., the maitrāvaruṇa. In Soma sacrifices all sixteen are required. In the cāturmāsya called sākamedha the āgnīdhra is addressed as *brahmaputra* (vide Āsv. Śr. II. 18. 12) and this may explain Ṛg. II. 43. 2 (cited on p. 27 above) where the word 'brahmaputra' occurs). Vide Tai. Br. II. 3. 6 and Baud. II. 3 for these provisions about the number of priests required. Some added a 17th priest called *sadasya* and Baud. II. 3 gave him three assistants also, though the Śat. Br. X. 4. 2. 19 forbids the employment of a 17th priest. There are other persons required in a sacrifice, such as the Śamitṛ, the aamasādhvaryus, but they are not called *ṛtvij*. Vide Ap. XXII. 1. 3-6 for the Trikadruka called Jyotir, Gauḥ and Āyuḥ.

mentioned in Rg. I. 162. 6. Rg. III. 8 is full of the praise of the yūpa. The person who killed the animal sacrificed (the śamitṛ) is mentioned in Rg. 162. 10 and V. 43. 4. The Gharma (the pot of boiled milk required in the Pravargya rite or perhaps the Dadhigharma in the mādhyandina savana) is mentioned in Rg. III. 53. 14, V. 30. 15, V. 43. 7. It was believed that the animal offered in a sacrifice went to heaven.[2229] Fire for sacrifice was produced by attrition from two *araṇis* (vide Rg. III. 29. 1-3, V. 9. 3, VI. 48. 5). The darvi (Rg. V. 6. 9), sruc (Rg. IV. 12. 1, VI. 11. 5), juhū (Rg. X. 21. 3) are mentioned in the Rg. Numerous verses in praise of gifts occur in the Rg. which have been pointed out above (pp. 837-839). In Rg. III. 53. 3 there is a clear reference to the call or permission sought by the hotṛ (āhāva) and the response of the adhvaryu (*pratigara*).[2230] Rg. X. 114. 5 speaks of the twelve *grahas* (cups) of Soma. In Rg. I. 28. 1-2 reference is made to the broad-bottomed stone (grāvan) used for beating Soma stalks, the mortar in which Soma is pounded and the adhiṣavaṇa (pressing) board. In Rg. I. 20. 6, I. 110. 3, I. 161. 1 and VIII. 82. 7 the wooden vessel called 'camasa' used for drinking Soma is spoken of. The word 'avabhṛtha' (concluding bath in a Soma sacrifice) occurs in Rg. VIII. 93. 23. In Rg. X. 51. 8-9 the words prayāja and anuyāja occur. The ten Āprī hymns of the Rgveda indicate that at the time of their composition the animal sacrifice had already some of the principal features that are seen in the śrauta sūtras.

Some of the general rules applicable in all śrauta rites may be stated once for all. Vide Āśv. śr. I. 1. 8-22. Unless otherwise expressly stated, the sacrificer should always face the north, should sit down cross-legged, and the sacrificial materials (like kuśa grass &c.) should have their ends pointed towards the east. The sacred thread should be worn in all rites in the *upavīta* form, except where the nivīta or prācīnāvīta form is expressly ordained; wherever a limb (aṅga) is mentioned or no particular limb is mentioned, it is the right limb (hand, foot, finger) that is meant; wherever the word 'dadāti' (he

2229. न वा उ एतन्म्रियसे न रिष्यसि देवाँ इदेषि पथिभिः सुगेभिः । हरी ते युञ्जा पृषती अमूतासुपास्थाद्वाजी धुरि रासभस्य ॥ ऋ. I. 162. 21. Vide also Rg. I. 163. 13. The Tai. Br. III. 7. 7 has the first half of Rg. I. 162. 21 and reads the 2nd half as ' यत्र यन्ति सुकृतो नापि दुष्कृतस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता विधातु '

2230. In the morning *savana* the hotṛ seeks permission in the words शोंसावोम् and the adhvaryu responds with 'शंसामो दैवोम्'.

gives) is used the yajamāna (the sacrificer) is the agent of the action. Kāt. śr. I. 10. 12 states that the yajamāna is the actual performer in the case of gifts or repeating texts where the word 'vācayati' occurs in the sūtras or in anvā-rambhaṇa, or in choosing a boon, in the case of observances (such as truthfulness), and in the case of measures (i. e. when it is said that a thing should be of the height of a man, it is the sacrificer's height that is meant). When any rite is prescribed without expressly stating the performer, it is the hotṛ who does it and in the case of *prāyaścittas* wherever the words 'juhoti' and 'japati' occur the brahmā priest is the agent to do those latter acts. When the first *pāda* of a ṛk is mentioned for being employed in any rite the whole verse is intended to be recited; when the first words of a hymn are mentioned for being employed in a rite, but the words quoted in the sūtra do not amount to a *pāda*, the whole hymn is to be repeated in that rite; wherever more than the first pāda of a verse is mentioned, it is intended that three verses are to be recited (that verse and the two following). Japa, āmantraṇa, abhimantraṇa, āpyāyana, upasthāna and mantras that indicate the rite that is being performed are to be recited in a low voice (upāṁśu). A special rule (apavāda or viśeṣavidhi) is stronger than a general rule (prasaṅga).

Other general propositions are: Yāga (sacrifice) is constituted by *dravya* (material), *devatā* (deity) and *tyāga* and yāga means abandonment of *dravya* intending it for a deity; *homa* means the offering of dravya in fire intending it for a deity. Yajatis (sacrificial rites) for which no express reward is declared [2231] by the texts are the aṅga (subordinate part) of the principal yāga. Mantras are of four categories viz. ṛk, yajus, sāman and nigada; [2232] ṛks are metrical; a yajus has no restriction as to metre, but it is a complete sentence (Kāt. śr. I. 3. 2); a sāman is sung; nigadas are *praiṣas* i. e. words addressed to another calling upon the latter to do a certain thing e. g. 'prokṣaṇīr-āsādaya, srucaḥ sammṛḍḍhi' (Kāt. Śr.

2231. यजतयश्चाफलसंयुक्तास्तद्वत्। कात्या. श्रौ. I. 2. 4; vide जैमिनि IV. 4. 34 for a similar rule.

2232. The division into ṛk, yajus, and sāman was made even before the Ṛk-saṁhitā was composed. For ṛk, vide Ṛg. X. 71. 11 and X. 90. 9, for *yajus* Ṛg. V. 62. 5 and X. 90. 9, for sāman Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7 and I. 164. 25 (the two famous chants called Rathantara and Gāyatra are named). The word 'nivid' occurs in Ṛg. I. 96. 2.

II. 6. 34). They are yajus, but they are distinguished from ordinary *yajus* formulæ by the fact that nigadas are uttered loudly, while ordinarily a yajus is recited in a low voice. Jaimini in II. 1. 38–45 brings out this distinction between ordinary *yajus* and nigada. Vide Jaimini II. 1. 35–37 for the definitions of ṛk, sāman and yajus. Verses from the Ṛg. and Sāmaveda are recited loudly, all yajus are muttered in a low voice except āśruta (i. e. passages like 'āśrāvaya'), pratyāśruta (the response 'astu śrauṣat'), pravara-mantra (agnir devo hotā &c., set out in note 1139 above), saṃvāda (requests and permissions as in 'brahman, shall I sprinkle with water' and 'yes, do sprinkle'), sam-praiṣa (summons to do something as 'prokṣaṇīr-āsādaya). Loudness is of three kinds, high-pitched, middle-pitched and low-pitched. The Sāmidhenī verses are to be recited in a middle pitch, all mantras in the rites from anvādhāna upto ājyabhāga in Jyotiṣṭoma and prātaḥ-savana are to be recited in a low pitch, while in all rites in darśapūrṇamāsa the mantras are to be recited in a low pitch from ājyabhāga to sviṣṭakṛt. The rest of the mantras in darśapūrṇamāsa after sviṣṭakṛt and in Tṛtīya Savana are to be recited in high pitch. Mantras that are being recited at the time of doing anything (and produce the idea 'I shall do it') are to be recited first and then the act is to be begun (e. g. cutting is to be done immediately on reciting 'iṣe tvā'). Vide Jaimini XII. 3. 25. An act is to be begun to be performed the moment the reciting of a mantra accompanying it is finished (Kāt. I. 3. 5–7). Utkara is the spot where the dust of the Vedi is swept up and *praṇītā* is water kept in a vessel to the north of the āhavanīya after repeating a mantra over it. The sacrificial ground where the fires are maintained is called vihāra (Śabara on Jaimini XII. 2. 1 says 'vihāra iti gārhapatyādiragnistretocyate viharaṇāt'). The way for going to or coming from the vihāra is between the praṇītā (water) and utkara in the case of iṣṭis (i. e. to the east of utkara and to the west of praṇītā) and between the utkara and the cātvāla pit in other cases (Āp. śr. I. 1. 4–6, Kāt. śr. I. 3. 42–43). This path for going to the vihāra is called tīrtha. The cātvāla is a pit which is required only in soma and animal sacrifices. Many sacrificial utensils are required out of which the sruva (which may be called the dipping spoon) is made of khadira wood and is one aratni in length and has a mouth (or bowl) that is rounded and is as wide as the front joint of the thumb. The *sruc* (offering ladle) is one cubit in length, has a bowl at one end of the shape and

size of the palm, that has a spout resembling a swan's bill in shape. Sruc is of three kinds: juhū (ladle) made of palāśa, upabhṛt of aśvattha and the dhruvā is made of vikaṅkaṭa wood and all other sacrificial utensils are made of vikaṅkaṭa, but those that are not directly connected with homa are made of varaṇa tree; the sword called sphya is made of khadira (Kāt. I. 3. 31–39). The principal *yajñapātras* (or yajñāyudhas as they are often called) are given in the note below.[2233]

All saṁskāras (like adhiśrayaṇa, paryagnikaraṇa, heating a sacrificial utensil) are to be done (except when expressly stated

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2233. The Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2–3 says 'यो वै दश यज्ञायुधानि वेद सुखतोस्य यज्ञः कल्पते स्रुग्श्च कपालानि चाग्निहोत्रहवणी च शूर्प च कृष्णाजिनं च शम्या चोलूखलं च मुसलं च दृषच्चोपला चैतानि वै दशयज्ञायुधानि।'. Vide also Śat. Br. I. 1. 1. 22 for these ten and Kāt. II. 3. 8. Jaimini III. 1. 11 says that the passage about the ten yajñāyudhas is a mere anuvāda and not a vidhi and hence all are not to be employed in all actions, but only where each is suitable or is prescribed by a special text. Vide also Jai. IV. 1. 7–10. The adhvaryu or yajamāna places the *pātras* in twos at a time. The kapālas (potsherds) whatever their number form one pātra; they are pieces broken from a jar. The pairs are: sphya (the wooden sword) and kapāla, then the śūrpa (made of split bamboo or of *naḍa* grass or of reed) and agnihotra-havaṇī and so on. The com. on Kāt. II. 3. 8 says that whatever pātras may be required in the several rites are to be got ready and he enumerates many such pātras. The juhū, upabhṛt and dhruvā symbolically represent respectively the right arm, the left arm and the trunk of yajña. Vide Śat. Br. I. 3. 2. 2. The number of kapālas varies according to the rite that is performed and the sūtra of the performer. Besides the ten principal ones enumerated above there are others that are required viz. जुहू, उपभृत्, ध्रुक्, ध्रुवा, प्राशित्रहरण, इडापात्र, नेक्षण, पिष्टोल्हपनी, प्रणीताप्रणयन, आज्यस्थाली, वेद, दारुपात्री, पोक्त्र, वेदपरिवासन, धृष्टि, इध्मप्रव्रश्चन, अन्वाहार्यस्थाली, नदन्ती, फलीकरणपात्र, अन्तर्धानकट. Vide com. on Kāt. I. 3. 36 for the names and sizes of all these and other utensils and for directions on the materials of which they are to be made. When the person who has maintained the sacred fires dies he is cremated with his Vedic fires and his wooden sacrificial vessels 'आहिताग्निमग्निभिर्दहन्ति यज्ञपात्रैश्च' quoted by Śabara on Jaimini XI. 3. 34. Vide Śat. Br. XII. 3. 5. 2. This is what is called प्रतिपत्तिकर्म of the utensils. This means that the utensils are placed on the several limbs of his corpse (e. g. the juhū in the right hand) and his body and they are burnt together. That is the final disposal of the yajñapātras. Jaimini (XI. 3. 43–44) declares that though the yajñapātras are set out in the 'śruti' texts when speaking about paurṇamāsī iṣṭi, still they are to be made ready at agnyādheya and are to be kept throughout since that date till the sacrificer's death and that their cremation with the sacrificer's body is their final disposal (pratipatti).

to the contrary) by the gārhapatya fire, but the cooking of a *havis* may be done on either gārhapatya or āhavanīya according to one's sūtra. When the material is not specified, *homa* is performed with clarified butter and all homas are done in the āhavanīya when there is no express text and the juhū ladle is to be employed in offering homa (Kāt I. 8. 44–45). Those parts that are to be done with Ṛg. mantras are to be done by the hotṛ priest (unless there be a special direction or reason to the contrary), the adhvaryu does what is to be done with Yajurveda, the udgātṛ with Sāmaveda and the brahmā priests with all the three Vedas [2234] (vide Ait. Br. 25. 8). Brāhmaṇas alone are to be priests (Jai. XII. 4. 42–47). The sacrificer's wife is seated south-west of the gārhapatya fire and her face is turned towards the north-east (Kāt. II. 7. 1). At the beginning of an iṣṭi or other rite five operations (called bhūsaṁskāra) are to be performed on the mound (khara) of the āhavanīya and also on that of the dakṣiṇā fire viz. parisamūhana (sweeping round with wet hand) thrice from the east to the north, smearing thrice with cowdung (gomaya-upalepana), drawing with the wooden sword (sphya) three lines from south to north but towards the east (i. e. the last is to be in the east) or from east to west but towards the north, to remove the dust from those lines with the thumb and the ring finger, and sprinkling thrice with water (abhyukṣaṇa).

Agnyādheya [2235]

Gaut. (VIII. 20–21) enumerates seven *haviryajñas* and seven *somasaṁsthās*. Agnyādheya is the first of the seven *haviryajñas*. Agnyādheya is the same as agnyādhāna. It is an *iṣṭi*, which word means 'a sacrifice performed by a sacrificer and his wife with the help of four priests' (vide above note 2228). The details of a model iṣṭi are given later on under darśapūrṇamāsa. Agnyādheya occupies two days, the first day called *upavasatha* being taken up by preliminary matters and the 2nd with performance of the main rites. There are two times for the performance of agnyādheya. It may be done on one of the seven nakṣatras, viz., Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Pūrvā Phalgunī, Uttarā Phalgunī, Viśākhā, Uttarā Bhādrapadā. Āp. adds other nakṣatras viz. Hasta, Citrā and states the several

2234. तदाहुर्महाधवाः । यद्वैव होत्रं क्रियते यजुषाध्वर्यवं साम्नोद्गीथं ब्रह्मत्वं त्रयी विद्या भवति । अथ केन ब्रह्मत्वं क्रियत इति । ऋच्या विद्ययेति ब्रूयात् । ऐ. ब्रा. 25. 8.

2235. For the treatment of *agnyādheya* vide Tai. Br. I. 1. 2–10, I. 2. 1, Śat. Br. II. 1 and 2; Āśv. II. 1. 9 ff, Āp. V. 1–22, Kāt. IV. 7–10, Baud. II. 6–21.

appropriate nakṣatras when the sacrificer desires certain results (V. 3. 3–14). According to Śat. Br. II. 1. 2. 17 and Āp. V. 3. 13 a kṣatriya should consecrate sacred fires on the Citrā nakṣatra. Or agnyādheya may be done on a parva day in spring by a brāhmaṇa, in summer, in the rainy season and autumn respectively by a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and an upakruṣṭa (for the latter vide p. 74 above). But even when choosing the season, one must have regard to the seven nakṣatras specified above. Āp. states that the setting up of the fires may take place on Full moon or New moon day and that *hemanta* or *śarad* is the proper season for a vaiśya, the rainy season for a rathakāra (carpenter) or all the varṇas may first consecrate the fires in *śiśira* (Āp. V. 3. 17–20). Vide Jai. II. 3–4 about the meaning of the Vedic passage 'a brāhmaṇa should set up fires in spring' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 2). The Śat. Br. (III. 1. 2. 19) appears to condemn the setting up of fires by reliance on nakṣatras and recommends (XI. 1. 1. 7) that agnyādhāna should be performed on the New moon of Vaiśākha on which there is Rohiṇī nakṣatra. In case of difficulty one may perform agnyādheya in any season and if one has resolved upon performing a soma sacrifice one need not stop to consider the season or nakṣatra. The man who wants to perform agnyādheya must not be too young nor too old (vide p. 979 above).

Agnyādheya means the placing of burning coals for the generation of the gārhapatya and other fires at a particular time and place by a particular person to the accompaniment of certain mantras.[2236] Agnyādheya comprehends the several acts from the bringing of the *araṇis* (two wooden logs) to the offering of pūrṇāhuti. When this last takes place the person who engages in the rites attains the position of an āhitāgni (one who has consecrated the sacred Vedic fires). Agnyādhāna is meant for all sacrificial rites and not merely for enabling a man to perform darśapūrṇamāsesṭi (Jai. III. 6. 14–15, XI. 3. 2). The sacrificer should bring home through the adhvaryu priest two araṇis from an aśvattha tree that grows inside a śamī tree with the *mantra* 'yo aśvatthaḥ śamī-garbhaḥ' (Āśv. II. 1. 17). The branch to be cut must be one on the east or north side of the tree and its foliage must be turned towards the east or north. When the branch falls on the ground the portion of it that

2236. नारायण on आश्व. श्रौ. II. 1. 9. explains 'विशिष्टकाले विशिष्टदेशे विशिष्टपुरुषेण विशिष्टैर्मन्त्रैर्गार्हपत्याद्यग्न्युत्पत्त्यर्थं यद्दारूणां निधानं तदग्न्याधेयमुच्यते । अग्नीनामाधेयमग्न्याधेयं तत्कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।'.

touches the ground should be used for making the lower *araṇi*. Two araṇis (logs of the branch) should be cut off, planed and formed into rectangular pieces and they should be allowed to become dry. In the lower araṇi there is a spot called *devayoni* (the place of origin of the god i. e. fire) which is 8 and 12 aṅgulas from the two ends of the lower araṇi (of 24 aṅgulas) where by means of a drill inserted in the upper araṇi fire is produced by attrition. According to Baud. each araṇi is 16 aṅgulas long, twelve in breadth and 4 in height, while according to Kāt. (as quoted in com. on Āp.) it is 24 aṅgulas long. According to Āp. (V. 1. 3) the aśvattha may not be growing inside a śamī tree. The two araṇis are invoked (abhimantraṇa) with the formula 'aśvatthād...dhehi āyur-yajamāne' (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1.) and the adhvaryu brings together on the altar (vedi) seven items that are earthy and seven items that are of wood or five of each or 8 earthy items (if those of wood are seven). The eight earthy items are : sand, saltish earth, the earth from a hole infested by mice, the earth from an ant-hill, the clay (sūda) from the bottom of a reservior of water that never dries up, earth that is struck by wild boars, pebbles, gold (Āp. V. 1. 4 ff.) with mantras appropriate[2237] to each. The seven wooden items are : (parts of) aśvattha, udumbara, parṇa (palāśa), śamī, vikaṅkaṭa, a tree struck by lightning (or by wind or cold) and a lotus-leaf. Baud. II. 12 enumerates these somewhat differently. The sacrificer prepares a raised place for worship (devayajana)[2238]

2237. In Tai. Br. I. 2. 1 occur most of the mantras referred to by Āp. under agnyādheya.

2238. Several rules are laid down about the choosing of the place of worship (devayajana) in Śat. Br. III. 1. 1, Ait. Br. I. 3, Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. I. 1. 14–19 &c. It should be the highest place and in its vicinity there should be no spot which is on a higher level than it, it should be even and firm and incline towards the east or north, being a little higher in the south. It should have many plants growing on it and in front of it there should be water (a well &c.) or a large tree or a public road. The Śat. Br. III. 1. 1. 5 emphasizes that if one secures learned and skilful priests it does not matter what kind of sacrificial ground one selects. The Ait. Br. I. 3 requires that the dīkṣita is to walk about and sit usually in the devayajana, and he must not leave it at all at sunrise, sunset and when priests are engaged in *āśrāvaṇa* (saying 'O śrāvaya'). Vide Sāyaṇa on Tai. S. I. 2. 1 for yajñaśālā and com. on Kāt. VII. 1. 19–24 for the same. The yajñaśālā is called 'dīkṣitavimita' in the Ait. Br. I. 3 and it is the same as prācīnavaṃśa-śālā. Iṣṭis are performed in the prācīnavaṃśa-śālā, but the Uttaravedi required in animal, soma and some other sacrifices is outside it. Further rules are given under Agniṣṭoma.

sloping towards the east with the mantra 'uddhanyamānamasya' (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1), sprinkles it with water to the accompaniment of the mantra 'śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4=Tai. Br. I. 2. 1), and constructs a shed having the end of the principal bamboo or ridge turned northwards or eastwards. Beneath the middle of the ridge of the hut towards one end is the place (*āyatana*) meant for the gārhapatya fire; the place of the āhavanīya fire is to the east of the gārhapatya at a distance of eight prakramas[2239] for a brāhmaṇa, eleven and twelve for a kṣatriya and vaiśya respectively or all may have it 24 steps (pada) or at a distance found by the eye to approximate to the distances stated (without actual measurement). The place for the dakṣiṇāgni is near the gārhapatya to the south-east after a third of the distance between the gārhapatya and āhavanīya. There are to be separate sheds for the āhavanīya fire and the gārhapatya in elaborate sacrifices but for the ordinary sacrifices like darśapūrṇamāsa one shed only is usually constructed which houses all the three fires. It is laid down that only Vedic rites are to be performed with the three fires, and that they were not to be used for ordinary cooking or for secular purposes (vide Jaimini XII. 2. 1–7). The sabhya fire is to be established in front of the āhavanīya in the gambling hall and the āvasathya fire is in a shed (for guests) to the east of the sabhya.[2240]

The sacrificer gets the hair on the head and face shaved, pares his nails and then bathes; the wife also does the same except shaving the hair on the head. The husband and wife are to establish fires after wearing two silken garments each, which are to be given up to the adhvaryu at the time of distributing dakṣiṇā (after the rite of agnyādheya is finished). The sacrificer should perform the *saṁkalpa* (words indicating resolve) of performing agnyādheya and choose his priests (ṛtvig-varaṇa)

2239. According to the com. on Āp. V. 4. 3 a *prakrama* is equal to two or three *padas*, a pada being 15 aṅgulas (Baud.) or 12 aṅgulas (Kāt.). But the com. on Kāt. VIII. 3. 14 says that a pada is equal to two prakramas. The gārhapatya was also called prājahita (vide Jaimini XII. 1. 13) and the Dakṣiṇāgni was called anvāhāryapacana, because on it was cooked the boiled rice with which piṇḍa-pitṛyajña was performed on the new moon. Vide Manu III. 123, Tai. Br. I. 1. 10 and 'दक्षिणाग्नावन्वाहार्यं पचति' quoted by शबर on जै. XII. 2. 3.

2240. The com. on Āp. V. 17. 1 notices divergent views about sabhya and āvasathya fires, some holding that these were not to be established at all, others holding that they are optional, while Āp. makes them obligatory.

by touching their hands with appropriate mantras and offer them madhuparka (vide Āp. X. 1. 13-14 for the mantras 'agnir-me hotā &c.). In the afternoon or when the sun is over the trees the adhvaryu should fetch a portion of fire from the aupāsana (gṛhya fire) and kindle a fire called brāhmaudanika (one prepared for brahmaudana)[2241] to the west of the place for the gārhapatya or he may take up the whole of the *aupāsana* fire (of the yajamāna) or he may generate fire by attrition. He should prepare a sthaṇḍila (an altar of sand &c.) and should draw thereon three lines from west to east and three lines from south to north and should sprinkle water on the sthaṇḍila and then he should bring burning coals from the aupāsana fire and place them on the lines so drawn. If he takes up the whole of the aupāsana fire, then he should take on two leaves of udumbara a cake of barley flour and another of rice and should throw on the place of the brāhmaudanika fire the barley cake to the west and the rice cake to the east and then establish the fire thereon. The adhvaryu puts apart at night to the west of the brāhmaudanika fire on the red hide of a bull having the neck part to the east and the hair outside or on a bamboo utensil four dishfuls of rice[2242] grains after repeating the mantra 'devasya' and with the words 'I set apart what is pleasing to prāṇa that is brahman,' which are repeated four times (with prāṇa, apāna, vyāna and lastly with brahman only) or he may do so silently. He cooks the grains (of rice or barley) in four vessels filled with water, he does not cleanse the rice grains with his hand after pouring them into the water, nor does he drain off the water while cooking; some cook the grains in milk. From the cooked food (the brahmaudana) he takes some in a spoon (darvī) and offers it into (the brahmaudanika) fire with the mantra 'pra vedhase kavaye' (Rg. V. 15. 1 = Tai. Br. I. 2. 1). He should say 'this is for Brahman; not mine.' Having put the cooked food separately into four dishes and pouring plenty of ghee over it, the sacrificer draws the plates over the ground towards the priests without letting them go and brings them near the four priests who are descendants of illustrious sages. The remaining portion of the brahmaudana

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2241. The reason why ब्रह्मौदन is so called is given by Sāyaṇa on Tai. Br. I. 1. 9 'ब्रह्माणं देवमुद्दिश्य होमार्थं ब्राह्मणानामृत्विजां च प्राशनार्थं च पच्यमान ओदनो ब्रह्मौदनः'.

2242. The putting apart of grains from a large receptacle on to a smaller receptacle for use in sacrifice later on is called *nirvāpa*.

is drawn out of the pots, the rest of the clarified butter is poured over it and three *samidhs* of a citriya[2243] aśvattha that are wet (not dry), that are a span in length and have on them their leaves and fruits are dipped therein and turned about therein with a mantra and then they are put on the fire to the accompaniment of three gāyatrīs (addressed to Agni) for brāhmaṇas, three Triṣṭubhs for kṣatriyas and three Jagatīs for vaiśyas (the verses are set out in Āp. V. 6. 3).

When the *samidhs* are offered into fire he (sacrificer) gives three heifers to the adhvaryu and a similar number to each of the brāhmaṇas who eat the brahmaudana. This brahmaudana along with the gifts of heifers and offering of samidhs may be performed daily for one year before the date of agnyādhāna. These samidhs must be offered by everyone intending to set up the three sacred fires 12 days, three days, two days or a day before the day of *agnyādheya*. He (sacrificer) has to keep certain observances viz. he does not partake of flesh, does not cohabit, others do not take away fire from his house; he subsists (for three days) only on milk or on boiled rice, he has to speak the truth and to avoid sleeping on a cot. If for some reason the sacrificer is unable to perform agnyādheya in a year (or 12 days &c.) from the time he offered brahmaudana he should again cook brahmaudana, offer the samidhs and then should perform agnyādhāna when he can do so.[2244] On the night previous to the day of agnyādhāna the adhvaryu (according to Bharadvāja, all the priests) keeps certain observances viz. he does not eat flesh nor does he approach his wife.

On that night a goat having dark spots on its skin is tied towards the north of the place for the gārhapatya fire with a mantra 'prajā' agne &c.'. The yajamāna observes a vow of silence on that night and people keep him awake that night by playing upon a lute and a flute (but there is an option viz. he may not keep awake nor observe silence). The sacrificer remains awake the whole of that night placing pieces of wood on the brāhmaudanika fire with the verse 'śalkair-agnim &c.' (but if he does not keep awake he heaps on the fire logs of wood

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2243. The Tai. Br. (I. 1. 9.) employs the words 'citriyāśvatthasyādadhāti' and Sāyaṇa explains 'अश्वत्थग्रामोऽश्वत्थचित्रक इत्युच्यते । योऽश्वत्थो ग्रामादेश्चिह्नीभूतस्तदीयाः समिध आदध्यात् ।'

2244. The Tai. Br.. I. 1. 9 says 'ब्रह्मौदनं पचति' ... ग्राभ्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनम् । ... पशोर्न संवत्सरे नोपनमेत्तस्मिन् पुनरादध्यात् ।'.

at one time and then goes to sleep).[2245] At day-break the adhvaryu heats the two araṇis against that fire with two verses 'jātavedo bhuvanasya &c.' and 'ayam te yonir-ṛtviyaḥ' (both in Tai. Br. I. 2.1). Then the brāhmaudanika fire is extinguished, the two araṇis are invoked with the verse 'agnī rakṣāṁsi' and the yajamāna keeps waiting for the araṇis that are brought with the verse 'mahī viśpatnī.' The adhvaryu hands over the araṇis to the sacrificer with the verse 'dohyā ca te', who receives them with a verse and immediately invokes them with two verses. Both (adhvaryu and yajamāna) repeat in a low voice the formula 'mayi gṛhṇāmyagre &c.'. The adhvaryu arranges the place for the gārhapatya with the verse 'apeta vīta' and sprinkles it with water with 'śam no devīr.' He does the same for the places (āyatanas) of the dakṣiṇa fire (to the south-east) and of āhavanīya, sabhya and āvasathya fires. Even since ancient times there have been agnihotrins who did not set up the sabhya and āvasathya fires. Half of the sand (that has already been brought among the *sambhāras*) is divided into two parts, one (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole heap) being scattered over the place of the gārhapatya and the other ($\frac{1}{4}$) over the place of the dakṣiṇāgni. The other half of the sand heap is divided into three parts each of which is scattered in the places of the other three, āhavanīya, sabhya and āvasathya (but if no sabhya nor āvasathya is to be kept then the half is entirely scattered over the āhavanīya place). In the same way the other earthy materials are placed over the places of the fires with appropriate mantras. After he places the lime stones or pebbles on the various places he brings to his mind his enemy. Then he spreads the various materials on the fire places and after mixing together the materials of wood to the accompaniment of two mantras he scatters them just as he scattered the sand (after dividing them as stated above). He casts to the north over the materials a piece of gold on the place of the gārhapatya[2246] and invokes it with a mantra and assigns at a distance a piece of silver for his enemy or throws it into water if he has no enemy. The same process (of casting a golden piece) is followed as to the places of the other fires. He removes the ashes of the brāhmaudanika fire (that

2245. Tai. Br. I. 1. 9 has 'शल्कैस्तां रात्रिमग्निमिन्धीत। तस्मिन्नुपपशुपधमरणी निधेत्। Most of the mantras required here occur in Tai. Br. I. 2. 1.

2246. Though gold is among the earthy materials, it was not dealt with while the other earthy things were being divided.

has been extinguished as stated already) and in its place deposits the two araṇis from which he produces fire by drilling. When the first rays of the sun spread in the sky (i. e. before the sun's disc is seen, but the eastern horizon is lit up by rays) he places the upper araṇi on the lower one to the accompaniment of the 'daśa-hotṛ'[2247] formulae. While generation of fire by attrition is proceeding a white or red horse from whose eyes no water drops (i. e. who is not blear-eyed) and whose knee is dark (or any horse with full testicles) is kept present and a *sāman* of Śakti Sāṅkṛti is sung; when smoke rises a *sāman* of Gāthina Kauśika is sung and also the verse 'araṇyor-nihito' (Rg. III. 29. 2).

He (the adhvaryu) invokes the fire with the mantra 'upāvaroha jātavedaḥ' (Tai. Br. II. 5. 8) the moment it is produced. Then the adhvaryu makes the sacrificer recite the *catur-hotṛ* (mantras)[2248] and invokes the fire when kindled with the mantra 'ajannagniḥ'. When the fire is produced the yajamāna bestows on the adhvaryu the most desirable fee (i. e. a cow), which he accepts with a mantra. After the fire is produced, the yajamāna breathes over it with the formula 'prajāpatistvā' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 1). The adhvaryu holds over the fire his folded hands turned downwards with a verse, makes it blaze forth by means of fuel-sticks with the words 'samrāḍasi' (Tai. S. IV. 3. 6. 2), holds it in his folded hands turned upwards, sits down on a seat and while the Rathantara and Yajñāyajñiya sāmans are being chanted, he establishes the gārhapatya fire on the *sambhāras* (the earthy and wooden materials scattered as above) by repeating certain mantras according as the sacrificer

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2247. The daśa hotāraḥ are the ten sentences occurring in Tai. Ā. III. 1. viz. ओं चित्तिः स्रुक्। चित्तमाज्यम्। वाग्वेदिः। आधीतं बर्हिः। केतो अग्निः। विज्ञातमग्निः। वाक्पतिर्होता। मन उपवक्ता। प्राणो हविः। सामाध्वर्युः।. Vide Ait. Br. 24. 6 for the ten in a different order. It should be noted that here ten things connected with the human body are identified with ten things connected with *homa*.

2248. The *catur-hotṛs* are the mantras in Tai. Ā. III. 1–5 commencing with 'cittiḥ sruk'. Vide also Tai. Br. III. 12. 5 and note 904. The Ait. Br. 24. 4 says 'देवानां वा एतद्यज्ञियं मुखं नाम यच्चतुर्होतारः'. The daśahotṛ mantras in the preceding note are only a portion of the catur hotṛ (vide Sāyaṇa on Tai. Br. III. 12. 5). In the Tai. Br. I. 1. 8 it is said एषन्तरमभिगायते गार्हपत्य आधीयमाने। ... ... वामदेव्यमभिगायत उद्यूह्यमाणे। ... ... बृहदभिगायत आहवनीय आधीयमाने।

has a certain gotra[2249] (or pravara) and the first vyāhṛti (i. e. bhūḥ) or the first two vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ), the first two Sarparājñī formulæ and the first of the Gharmaśiras texts. The formula for establishing the gārhapatya according to the gotra is stated in note 2249. When establishing the gārhapatya on the *sambhāras* the adhvaryu further repeats certain mantras (given in Āp. Śr. V. 12. 2) and then the yajamāna invokes the fires with the mantra 'sugārhapatyo' (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1) and the adhvaryu makes the yajamāna repeat the Gharmaśiras formulæ. The adhvaryu strews darbhas round the gā-hapatya (i. e. he does paristaraṇa).

The procedure for establishing the āhavanīya is to be so arranged that the fire is actually established when half of the sun's disc rises above the eastern horizon. The adhvaryu lights fuel-sticks on the gārhapatya for being carried forward and he takes in a vessel the sand on which fire would be supported to the accompaniment of four verses. Then while carrying the fire, he raises a little the kindled bundle of fuel-sticks and holds the fire on the sand. Then the adhvaryu makes the yajamāna repeat in the right ear of the horse the Agnitanū formulæ (set out in Āp. Śr. V. 13. 7), holds the fire for some time and then lays it down in the place for the āhavanīya.

2249. When the sacrificer is a Bhārgava the formula is भृगूणां त्वा देवानां व्रतेनादधामीति भार्गवस्यादध्यात्. If he is an Āṅgirasa or any brāhmaṇa who is not a Bhārgava or Āṅgirasa the formulæ are respectively अङ्गिरसां त्वा &c. and आदित्यानां त्वा. In the case of a king, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a rathakāra sacrificer the formulæ respectively are वरुणस्य त्वा राज्ञो व्रतपते ... दधामि, इन्द्रस्य त्वेन्द्रियेण व्रतपते...दधामि, मनोस्त्वा ग्रामण्यो व्रतपते ... दधामि, ऋभूणां त्वा देवानां &c. Vide तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 4. for the mantras भृगूणां त्वा &c. The सर्पराज्ञी formulæ are भूमिर्भूम्ना द्यौर्वरिणान्तरिक्षं महित्वा उपस्थे ते देव्यदितेऽग्निमन्नाद्यायादधे । &c. in तै. सं. I. 5. 3 and in I. 5. 4 it is stated सर्पा वै जीर्यन्तोऽमन्यन्त स एतं कसर्णीरः काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ... ... सर्पराज्ञियाऋभिर्गार्हपत्यमादधाति &c. सत्याषाढ says (III. 4) 'भूमिर्भूम्नेति चतस्रः सर्पराज्ञियः.' The formulæ called *gharmaśirāṁsi* are set out in Āp. śr. V. 12. 1 and Satyāṣāḍha III. 4. They occur in तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 7 and are : घर्मः शिरस्तदयमग्निः सं प्रियः पशुभिर्भुवत् । छर्दिस्तोकाय तनयाय यच्छ ॥ वातः प्राणस्तदयमग्निः सं प्रियः पशुभिर्भुवत् । त्वचिर्तं तोकाय तनयाय पितुं पच्च ॥ अर्कश्चक्षुस्तदसौ सूर्यस्तदयमग्निः सं प्रियः पशुभिर्भुवत् । यत्ते शुक्रं शुक्रं घर्मः शुक्रा तनूः शुक्रं ज्योतिरजस्रं तेन मे दीदिहि तेन त्वादधेऽग्निनाग्ने ब्रह्मणा ॥. Out of these घर्मः ... ... यच्छ is repeated when establishing गार्हपत्य, वातः प्राण ..... पच्च, when establishing अन्वाहार्यपचन (दक्षिणाग्नि) and अर्कश्चक्षु ..... ब्रह्मणा when establishing आहवनीय. Vide तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 8 for this. The Gārhapatya mound is circular, that of the Āhavanīya is square and that of the Dakṣiṇāgni is semi-circular. All three are about one square *aratni* in area.

The Āgnīdhra priest then brings domestic fire or produces fire by attrition, sits down with his knees raised up, and establishes the dakṣiṇāgni, while the Yajñāyajñīya sāman is being chanted and follows the procedure of repeating formulæ according to the gotra (as above) and repeats the 2nd vyāhṛti (bhuvaḥ), the three Sarparājñī formulæ and the 2nd Gharmaśiras (viz. the verse 'vātaḥ ... ... paca'). After repeating several other formulæ (as in Āp. Śr. V. 13. 8) he sets down dakṣiṇa fire on the *sambhāras*.

The fire brought for establishing[2250] dakṣiṇa fire may be fetched from the house of a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra who is extremely prosperous like an asura (if the sacrificer desires prosperity), but he should thereafter never eat at that man's house; or (according to Baud. Śr. II. 17) it may be brought from the gārhapatya fire or according to Āśv. from the house of a vaiśya or of any rich man or it may be produced by attrition.

When the āhavanīya fire is being taken (in a vessel) from the gārhapatya the Vāmadevya is chanted and they proceed towards the east preceded by the horse,[2251] repeating three mantras. To the south of the *vihāra* the brahmā priest makes a chariot or a chariot wheel move up till three revolutions of the wheel take place (six times for an enemy). A third part of the distance (between the gārhapatya and the place for āhavanīya) the fire is carried at the height of the knee, the 2nd third at the height of the navel, the last third at the height of the mouth. No one is to come between the sun and the fire. He takes the fire with both his hands stretched to the right. In the middle of the distance the yajamāna gives a gift to the priest. In the middle of the distance the adhvaryu puts down a piece of gold and then crosses over it with the mantra 'nākosi.' The adhvaryu makes the horse that faces the east go over the sambhāras to their north with its right hoof placed in such a way that the live coals of the fire when established would fall on the foot-print made by the horse and making the horse turn to its right he again makes the horse go over the sambhāras with a formula 'yadakrandaḥ' (Ṛg. I. 163. 1). The horse is held

2250. अपि वा गार्हपत्यादेवान्वाहार्यपचनमादधाति । बौ. श्रौ. II. 17; उत्सर्गेऽपराह्णे दक्षिणाग्निमानीय विद्रुकुलाद्वित्तवतो वैकयोनेय इत्येके म्रियमाणं वा प्रज्वलयारणिमन्तं वा मथित्वा गार्हपत्यादाहवनीयं ज्वलन्तमुद्धरेत् । आश्व. श्रौ. I. 2. 1.

2251. Vide Tai. Br. I. 1. 7 for the mantra प्राचीमनुप्रदिशं (which is mentioned in Āp. V. 14. 5) and the words प्राञ्चोऽश्वमधना अभिप्रयान्ति.

facing the west to the east of the place for the āhavanīya. The horse must be young and according to Paiṅgyāyani Brāhmaṇa a young bull may do (if a horse is not available). According to the Bahvṛca Brāhmaṇa the (āhavanīya) fire should be established on the footmark of an animal called Kamaṇḍalu or of a goat (according to Vājasaneyaka). Then the sacrificer mutters auspicious formulæ[2252] and sends to his enemy (a curse) with the formula 'go to him, O fire, with thy terrible forms.' Having invoked the fire with the verse 'Yad-idam divaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1) he turning his face to the west and standing to the east establishes the āhavanīya fire. The āhavanīya is laid down upon the sambhāras when the Bṛhat Sāman, the Śyaita, Vāravantīya and Yajñāyajñiya are being chanted, and the procedure of repeating consecrating mantras according to gotra is being followed, when all the vyāhṛtis, all the Sarpa-rājñī mantras, the third Gharmaśiras formula and certain other verses are recited.[2253] The sacrificer invokes the āhavanīya when it is being established with the formula 'ānaśe &c.' (which occurs in Tai. Br. I. 1. 7) and he follows the priest (whether adhvaryu or āgnīdhra) in repeating the various vyāhṛtis, the Sarparājñī verses and the Gharmaśiras formulæ. The fire when established should be propitiated with clarified butter and plants (i. e. fuel-sticks) after repeating certain formulæ (set out in Āp. V. 16. 4). The sāmans are sung by the brahmā priest in Agnyādheya (and there is no udgātṛ priest).[2254]

The *sabhya* and āvasathya fires are established with domestic fire or fire produced by attrition or with fire taken from the

Tai. Br. I. 1. 7 has the words यजमानः शिषा जपति and the verses ये ते &o. (set out in Āp. V. 15. 2).

2253. The verses 'abhi tvā śūra' (Ṛg. VII. 32. 22), 'kayā naścitra' (Ṛg. IV. 31. 1), 'tvām-iddhi havāmahe' (Ṛg. VI. 46. 1), 'aśvam na tvā vāravantam' (Ṛg. I. 27. 1), 'abhi pra vaḥ surādhasam' (Ṛg. VIII. 49. 1), 'yajñāyajñā vo' (Ṛg. VI. 48. 1) are respectively the sāmans called Rathantara, Vāmadevya, Bṛhat, Vāravantīya, Syaita and Yajñāyajñiya. All these verses occur in the Sāmaveda (vide vol. III. p. 83, 87, 330, vol. I. p. 120, 483 and 147 respectively, B. I. series). Vide Tai. S. V. 5. 8. 1-2, Ait. Br. 19. 6 for the names of these and other *sāmans*. Jai. (III. 3. 9) declares that, though sāman verses are as a rule to be chanted loudly, in ādhāna they are to be uttered inaudibly (upāṁśu), since ādhāna is to be done with yajurveda procedure.

2254. Jaimini in Pūrva-mīmāṁsāsūtra (X. 8. 9-11) discusses the question whether the brahmā priest must chant these gānas or whether there is an option. Vide Tai. Br I. 1. 8.

āhavanīya, according to the mode of establishment dependent on the gotra as stated above. He puts on each fire three samidhs of the aśvattha tree with three verses (Ṛg. IX. 66. 19, 21, 20) and three samidhs of śamī smeared with ghee after repeating certain mantras (Ṛg. IV. 58. 1–3). Or these samidhs may be offered in the āhavanīya (if sabhya and āvasathya are not kept up).

Then he offers a pūrṇāhuti,[2255] the sacrificer gives gifts, mutters certain auspicious formulæ, waits in worship upon the five (or three) fires. Then if the yajamāna is a kṣatriya dice play takes place. The gifts given to all the four priests are cloth, a cow and bull, and a new chariot, while a goat, pūrṇapātra and a pillow of several coloured threads are given to the āgnīdhra, a horse to brahmā, a bull to adhvaryu, and a dhenu to the hotṛ. There are larger gifts specified according to the sacrificer's ability.

Kāt. (IV. 10. 16) ordains that after establishing the Vedic fires the yajamāna should observe complete celibacy for 12 nights, 6 nights or at least three nights, should sleep near the fires on the ground (and not on a cot), should offer *homa* of milk to the fires. Baud. II. 20 prescribes further observances for twelve days.

Punarādheya: When within a year after a man sets up the Vedic fires he suffers from severe illness (such as dropsy) or suffers loss of wealth or his son dies or his near relatives are harassed or made captive by his enemies or he becomes cripple in a limb, or if he is desirous of prosperity or fame he again sets up the fires. The procedure is essentially the same as for agnyādheya with a few differences e. g. fires are fed with kuśa

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2255. The com. on Kāt. IV. 10. 5 explains पूर्णया स्रुचा आहुतिः पूर्णाहुतिः. The procedure ordinarily applying to all āhutis of clarified butter is: The adhvaryu puts butter into the butter-pot, which is placed on the gārhapatya fire to melt. Having wiped the sruva (dipping spoon) and juhū (offering spoon) with darbha grass and having taken the butter pot off the fire he dips two darbha blades used as strainers (*pavitra*) into the heated butter and fills the juhū with the sruva. Then he takes a *samidh*, walks over to the north side of the āhavanīya, strews darbha grass round it and puts the samidh on that fire. Then he sits down with bent right knee, pours the butter in the juhū on to the fire with the word svāhā and the sacrificer utters the formula 'agnaya idam na mama'. This holds good in agnyādheya and agnihotra, but in many other rites the principal (pradhāna) offerings are offered while the priest is standing.

grass and not with wood nor with fuel-sticks, the two ājyabhāgas are for agni alone (while in the model sacrifice they are for Agni and Soma), the punarādheya is performed in the rainy season and at mid-day. Other differences and details are passed over.[2256] Jai. (VI. 4. 26–27) states that punarādheya is a prāyaścitta only if both the fires (gārhapatya and āhavanīya) have been extinguished or discontinued and (in X. 3. 30–33) that when punarādheya is resorted to for some desired object, the fees that are prescribed in agnyādhāna are not the fees to be given, but other dakṣiṇā is given.

Agnihotra

According to Gau. VIII. 20 there are seven forms of haviryajñas of which agnihotra is the second. From the evening of the day of *agnyādheya* the house-holder has to perform agnihotra[2257] (burnt offering of cow's milk &c.) twice daily in the evening and morning to the end of his life or till he becomes a saṁnyāsin, or as the Śat. Br. (XII. 4. 1. 1) says 'Those who offer agnihotra indeed enter upon a long sacrificial session; agnihotra indeed is a *sattra* that ends with old age or death, since he becomes free from it only by old age or death.' Satyāṣāḍha prescribes (III. 1) that from the time of setting up the three śrauta fires, agnihotra and darśapūrṇamāsa are obligatory on all members of the twice-born classes and he holds that the niṣāda and rathakāra also are bound to perform them, though other sūtrakāras are opposed to this. Vide pp. 45–47 above. Jai. (VI. 3. 1–7 and 8–10) holds that agnihotra being obligatory, it may be undertaken even by him who is not able to perform every detail of it in its entirety, but that a kāmya rite should be undertaken only by him who is able to carry out every detail. Vide also Jai. II. 4. 1–7 where 'yāvajjīvam-agnihotram juhoti' is explained as laying down a

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2256. Vide Tai. S. I. 5. 1–4, Tai. Br. I. 3. 1, Sat. Br. II. 2. 3, Āśv. II. 8. 4–14, Āp. V. 26–29, Kāt. IV. 11, Baud. III. 1–3 for details.

2257. The word agnihotra is derived in the Tai. Br. II. 1. 2 as the rite in which *homa* is offered to Agni and Sāyaṇa says अग्नये होत्रं होमोऽस्मिन्कर्मणि इति चतुर्थीहिश्चुत्पत्त्याऽग्निहोत्रमिति कर्मनाम । अग्नये होत्रमिति तदुक्तवच्युत्पत्त्या हविर्नाम. Vide Jai. I. 4. 4 (which establishes that in अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति स्वर्गकामः the word 'agnihotra' is the name of a rite). The Sat. Br. XII. 4. 1. 1 says 'दीर्घसत्रं ह वा एत उपयन्ति येऽग्निहोत्रं जुह्वत्येतद्वै जरामर्यं सत्रं यदग्निहोत्रं जरया वाव ह्येवास्मान्मुच्यते मृत्युना वा'. सत्याषाढ (III. 1) says 'आधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियतौ। निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियच्येते।'.

characteristic required of the performer. The several sūtras present differing details and mantras.[2258] According to one view all the three fires are permanently maintained by the house-holder[2259] (Kāt. IV. 13. 5); according to others only the gārhapatya is permanently kept (Āp. VI. 2. 13) and the dakṣiṇāgni is permanently kept only if it was set up by attrition at the time when the house-holder performed agnyādheya. The house-holder calls upon the adhvaryu to bring the āhavanīya from the gārhapatya in the evening and also in the morning; this is so only if the yajamāna engages an adhvaryu in the daily agnihotra, but if the yajamāna does the daily agnihotra himself this call is unnecessary. As to the dakṣiṇāgni in the daily agnihotra, Āśv. (II. 2. 1) mentions several alternatives viz., it may be brought from the house of a vaiśya or from the house of any rich man or it may be produced by attrition or it may be kindled into flames if it is kept permanently. He should take burning coals from the kindled gārhapatya in a vessel and carry them to the place of the āhavanīya with the mantra 'devam tvā devebhyaḥ śriyā uddharāmi' and should repeat when carrying the burning coals towards the east the mantra 'raise me up from sin that I knowingly or unknowingly may have committed; save me from all the sin that I may have committed in the day' (this in the evening agnihotra, in the morning agnihotra it being said 'sin that I committed at night'). Vide Āśv. II. 2. 3 and 6, Āp. VI. 1. 7, Baud. III. 4. He should face the sun and place the burning coals in the āhavanīya mound with the mantra (amṛtāhutim &c., in Āśv. II. 2. 4, Āp. VI. 1. 8, Baud. III. 4). In the morning agnihotra also he should face the sun and do other things stated above. According to Kāt. (IV. 13. 2) the evening agnihotra is to be commenced before the sun sets and the morning one before the sun rises. Āśv. says that the homa is performed

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2258. Vide Śat Br. II. 2. 4 ff, Tai. Br. II. 1. 1–11, Ait. Br. 25. 1–7, Āp. 6, Kāt. 4. 12–15, Āśv. II. 2–5, Baud. III. 4–9, Sat. III. 7.

2259. Those called *gataśrī* perpetually maintain the three fires (Kāt. IV. 13. 5 and Āp. VI. 2. 12). They are a thoroughly learned brāhmaṇa, a victorious kṣatriya king and a vaiśya who is the leading man of his village. 'गतश्रियस्तु सर्वेऽग्नयः सदा धार्यन्ते। त्रयो ह वै गतश्रियः श्रुश्रुवान् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो विजयी राजा वैश्यो ग्रामणीरिति' पद्धति in com. on Kāt. IV. 13. The word 'gataśrī' occurs in Tai. S. II. 5. 4. 4 and Śat. Br. I. 3. 5. 12. 'त्रयो वै गतश्रियः श्रुश्रुवान् ग्रामणी राजन्यस्तेषां महेन्द्रो देवता' तै. सं. II. 5. 4. 4. गतश्री is to be explained as 'गता गता श्रीर्यैनासौ, गता श्रीर्यमिति वा' com. on कात्या. IV. 13. 5.

after the sun sets. There have been two views on this point from very ancient times viz. whether agnihotra is to be performed before sunrise or after sunrise. Vide Ait. Br. 24. 4-6 and Kauṣītaki Br. II. 9. Āp. (VI. 4. 7-9) mentions four views as to both evening or morning time for agnihotra viz. it should be the *saṁdhi* of day and night for both or it may be when the first star is seen or in the first watch of the night or in the 2nd (for evening agnihotra) and at dawn, or when a part of the disc of the sun just appears on the horizon or after the sun comes up. The householder performs agnihotra after finishing his *saṁdhyā* adoration. There is a difference of opinion, some holding that the homa in the gṛhya fire should precede the agnihotra in the Vedic fires, while others hold that it should come after the Vedic agnihotra.[2260] The house-holder after performing saṁdhyā follows either of two modes (Kāt. IV. 13. 12 and IV 15. 2, Āp. VI. 5. 3, according to his śākhā), goes towards the āhavanīya through the space between the places of the gārhapatya and dakṣiṇāgni or by a route to the south of these two fire places and having gone round the āhavanīya sits down to the south in his usual place (or crosses from the western side of the āhavanīya and sits down to its south) and the wife also sits in her place (Kāt. IV. 13. 13, Āp. VI. 5. 1-2). The householder then sips water (performs *ācamana*) with the words ' vidyudasi vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtāt satyam-upaimi mayi śraddhā' (Āp. VI. 5. 3). The wife also sips water.[2261] Then both husband and wife should observe silence till the agnihotra (morning or evening) is gone through. A man who has no wife can perform the daily agnihotra (vide Ait. Br. 32. 8). The adhvaryu performs *parisamūhana* (wiping with the wet hand from the north-east to the north) thrice for the three fires. He strews round the

2260. संध्यावन्दनानन्तरं पूर्वमग्निहोत्रहोमस्ततः स्मार्ताग्नौ । तदुक्तम् । होमं चैतानिके कृत्वा स्मार्तं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वात्स्मार्तं केचित्पुरा विदुः ॥ इति । com. on कात्या. श्रौ. IV. 13. 12 and cited as भरद्वाज's in the चन्द्रोदय quoted in आचाररत्न p. 52.

2261. The paddhati in the com. on Kāt. IV. 13 remarks उपवेशनव्यतिरिक्तं पत्नी किमपि न करोतीति संप्रदायः । तच्च साधुतरम्. This shows how gradually the wife lost all importance in Vedic rites and came to be a mere silent spectator of all the weary details that had to be gone through by the sacrificer and the priest. Jaimini VI. 1. 17-21 stated generally that the husband and wife co-operated in performing yajña, but in VI. 1. 24 he qualifies the general statement by saying that the wife cannot do all the actions which are to be done by the sacrificer, but only those which she is expressly asked to do in the texts.

āhavanīya fire darbha grass (performs paristaraṇa) in such a way that the darbhas to the east and west have their ends turned to the north and of those to the north and south turned to the east and the strewing proceeds from the east, then to the south, then to the west and then to the north. In the same way he strews darbha grass round the gārhapatya and then round the dakṣiṇāgni. Taking water in his right hand, he sprinkles it round the āhavanīya first, beginning from the northeast and ending in the north. Then he walks towards the west pouring a continuous stream of water from the āhavanīya up to the gārhapatya. He then sprinkles (performs *paryukṣaṇa*) the gārhapatya from left to right and then the dakṣiṇāgni. Or one may sprinkle water (and this is the usual order now in the Deccan) round the gārhapatya first and then round dakṣiṇāgni and then pour a stream of water from the gārhapatya to the east up to the āhavanīya (Āśv. II. 2. 14). Āśv. (II. 2. 11–13) says that the mantra in paryukṣaṇa is 'ṛtasatyābhyām tvā paryukṣāmi' and each fire is sprinkled thrice, water being taken freshly at each time and the mantra being repeated each time and that sprinkling may first be done round the dakṣiṇāgni, then round gārhapatya and then āhavanīya. Vide Kāt. IV. 13. 16–18, Āp. VI. 5. 4.

The homa is performed with cow's milk for him who performs agnihotra as a sacred duty and not for any particular reward in view, but one who desires to secure a village or plenty of food, or strength or brilliance may employ respectively yavāgū (gruel), cooked rice, curds or clarified butter (Āśv. II. 3. 1–2). Then an order is issued to the person engaged to milk the agnihotra cow[2262] that stands to the south of the sacrificial ground with her face to the east or north and that has a male calf. At the time of milking the calf is to the south of the cow, and first sucks milk and then the calf is removed and the milking is done. The person to milk the cow should not be a śūdra (Kāt. IV. 14. 1), but Āp. (VI. 3. 11–14) allows even a śūdra to milk the cow, while Baud. (III. 4) says that he must be a brāhmaṇa. Rules are laid down about the udders from which milk is to be drawn and about persons for whom it is to be drawn (Śat. III. 7 based on Tai. Br. II. 1. 8). The milking is not to be begun by pressing the udders, but by making the

2262. Tai. Br. II. 1. 6 identifies the cow with agnihotra and II. 1. 7 states that the cow's milk in its various stages belongs to various deities since the time it is in the udder (when it is Raudra) till after it is offered (when it is dear to Indra).

calf suck them first (na stanān sammṛśati' Āp. VI. 4. 2 based on Tai. Br. II. 1. 8). Milking is to be begun the moment the sun sets (Āp. VI. 4. 5). The vessel in which the milk is to be held is of earthenware manufactured by an ārya (i. e. one who belongs to the three regenerate classes), but without using a wheel and the vessel must have a wide mouth and straight sides and not slanting ones (Kāt. IV. 14. 1, Āp. VI. 3. 7). It is called agnihotrasthālī (Āp. VI. 3. 15). The adhvaryu takes from the gārhapatya fire some burning coals for boiling the milk and keeps them to the north of the gārhapatya in a separate spot. Then he goes near the cow, holds the vessel in which the cow has been milked, brings it towards the east of the āhavanīya, sits to the west of the gārhapatya and heats the vessel on the burning coals mentioned above. He takes a darbha blade (other than one of those that are strewn round the gārhapatya), kindles it and holding it over the milk illuminates the milk with its light. He then takes water in a sruva and sprinkles one drop or some drops into the boiling milk (Āśv. II. 3. 3 and 5). He should then again hold a burning blade (the same blade used before) over the hot milk and light it up. He does this thrice and then casts away the blade to the north.[2263] There was a difference of view whether the milk to be offered should be brought to the boiling point or should only be simply hot (vide Śat. Br. II. 3. 1. 14-16 and com. on Kāt. IV. 14. 5). Then the pot of milk is slowly lifted with three mantras and drawn down to the north from the burning coals (Āśv. II. 3. 8, Tai. Br. II. 1. 3 'vartma karoti'). Then the burning coals on which the milk was boiled or heated are thrown back in the gārhapatya fire. Then a sruva and sruc both made of vikaṅkaṭa wood are cleaned with the hand (to remove dust) and are heated on the gārhapatya (or āhavanīya according to Āp. VI. 7. 1). He then again heats the sruc and sruva on the gārhapatya, asks the yajamāna 'shall I take out milk from the pot[2264] with the sruva)' and the yajamāna

2263. The Tai. Br. II. 1. 3 says उदीचोऽङ्गारान् निरूह्याधिश्रयति। घृतान् करोति। ... अभिघोषयति। ... त्रिः पर्यग्निकरोति। ... उदीचीनमुद्वासयति। . The sprinkling of water from the sruva on the milk is called pratiṣeka (Āp. VI. 6. 3-4). This is referred to in Tai. Br. II. 1. 3. The sruc with which agnihotra is offered is called agnihotra-havaṇī, which is made of vikaṅkaṭa wood, is as long as one's arm or *aratni* (Āp. VI. 3. 6 and com. thereon).

2264. Āp. VI. 7. 1 states that words addressed by the adhvaryu differ according to the time 'हिरण्मयादिरण्मयपलाशा श्रोतो यज्ञानामित्यग्निहोत्रहवणीमभिमन्त्र्योच्छ्रयेष्यानि हव्यं देवेभ्यः पात्मनो यजमानमिति सायमाह। श्रोक्षणयामीति प्रातः।'

replies standing 'Yes, do take out'. Then the adhvaryu holds in his right hand the sruva ladle and in his left hand the agnihotra-havaṇī with its mouth turned upwards, pours out into the agnihotra-havaṇī milk from the milk pot (already heated) with the sruva four times [2265] and keeps the sruva in the milk pot. In Āp. VI. 7. 7-8 and Āśv. II. 3. 13-14 it is said that the adhvaryu knowing the mind of the householder should draw the fullest ladle for the most favourite son of the sacrificer or if the latter desires that the eldest son should be most prosperous and the later ones less and less, then the first ladle is filled to the fullest; on the other hand if he wishes the youngest to be prosperous then the last ladle drawing is the fullest. Then the adhvaryu carrying a *samidh* of palāśa wood a span in length over the rod of the sruc (inserting his finger between the two), holds the two together over the gārhapatya very near its flames, carries the *sruc* towards the āhavanīya holding it as high as his nose; when in the midst of the distance between the gārhapatya and the āhavanīya, he brings the sruc down (to the level of his navel) and then again raising it up as high as his mouth, he reaches the āhavanīya and places the *sruc* and *samidh* on darbha blades (on the *kūrca*, says Baud. III. 5) to the west of the āhavanīya. He himself sits to the northwest of the āhavanīya facing the east, bends his knees, holds the sruc in his left hand and with the right hand offers the *samidh* [2266] in the midst of the āhavanīya fire with the mantra 'rajatām tvāgnijyotiṣam' (according to Āśv. II. 3. 15). Then he sips water with the mantra 'vidyud-asi vidya me pāpmānam-ṛtāt-satyam-upaimi' (Āp. VI. 9. 3, Āśv. II. 7. 16). When the samidh has caught fire and is burning brightly, he offers the first oblation (of milk) on the samidh about two finger-breadths from its root with the mantra 'om bhūr-bhuvaḥ-svarom, agnirjyotir jyotiragniḥ svāhā' (Vāj. S. III. 9). According to Kāt. he may optionally repeat the mantra

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2265. Milk is poured five times for those who are called pañcāvattins such as householders whose gotra is Jamadagni (Āp. VI. 8. 2). According to Baudhāyana (pravarādhyāya 5) Vatsas, Bidas and Āṛṣṭiṣeṇas are pañcāvattins. Āp. sets out the five mantras repeated at each of the five times when *milk is poured with the sruva*.

2266. The mantras differ according to the sūtra. According to Āp. VI. 9. 3 one samidh or two or three may be offered and he prescribes different mantras for the three. The Tai. Br. II. 1. 3 upholds the offering of only one samidh.

'sajūr devena' (Vāj. S. III. 10). According to Āp. (VI. 10. 8)[2267] in the evening agnihotra the mantra is 'agnirjyotir' &c; while in the morning agnihotra it is 'sūryo jyotir-jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāhā' (Vāj. S. III. 9). Then he places the sruc on the kuśa blades and looks at the gārhapatya with the thought 'bestow on me cattle'. Then he again takes up the sruc, makes a second offering (of milk) which is larger in measure than the first one, but this is offered silently, while he contemplates upon Prajāpati in his mind[2268]. This second offering is made to the east or north of the first in such a way that the two will not come in contact. He keeps more milk in the sruc than what is taken up in making the second offering. He then raises the sruc twice (thrice according to Āp. VI. 11. 3) in such a way that the flames of the fire turn north-wards and places the *sruc* on the kūrca. He scours with his hand turned downwards the spout of the ladle and then rubs his hand to which some drops of the milk stick on the north side of the kūrca (the points of the kuśas that are towards the north) with the words 'salutation to the gods' (Kāt. IV. 14. 20) or 'to you for securing cattle'. Āp. (VI. 10. 10) says that he scours in the evening the *sruc* (in order to remove what sticks to it) from the end of the handle down to the bowl with the mantra 'iṣe tvā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1.) and in the morning from the bowl to the end of the ladle with the mantra 'ūrje tvā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1). Then while the palm is turned upwards, and while he wears his sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta mode he places his fingers to the south of the roots of the kuśa blades on the ground silently or with the mantra 'svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ' (Kāt. IV. 14. 21 and Āśv. II. 3. 21) or 'svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ pitṝn jinva (Āp. VI. 11. 4). Then he sips water (but with the sacred thread in the upavīta form) with his face turned to the east. Then he walks to the place of the gārhapatya, takes a fuel-stick (samidh) in his hand while standing. He then sits down to the northwest of the gārhapatya with his face turned towards the

2267. The Tai. Br. II. 1. 2. says तस्माद्‌ग्नये सायं हूयते सूर्याय प्रातः ।. According to the Tai. Br. II. 1. 9 the mantras are 'अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहेति सायं जुहोति ... सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहेति प्रातः ।'. Āp. VI. 10. 8 has the same words. Āp. VI. 10. 9 (alternatively) and Śat. III. 7. prescribe a joint mantra for a joint deity 'अग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः सूर्यः स्वाहेति सायं सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्निः स्वाहेति प्रातः'.

2268. Vide तै. सं. II. 5. 11. 5 'तस्मान्मनसा प्रजापतये जुह्वति', Śat. Br. I. 3. 5. 10, Tai. Br. II. 1. 2. आश्व. II. 3. 19 says प्रजापतिं मनसा ध्यायात् तूष्णीं होमेषु सर्वत्र.

east, bends his knee, offers the *samidh* in the gārhapatya fire, then drawing out in the sruva milk from the pot offers it into the fire with a mantra ('tā asya sūdadohasaḥ' Ṛg. VIII. 69. 3, according to Āśv. II. 3. 26, or 'iha puṣṭim puṣṭipatir.....puṣṭipataye svāhā', according to Kāt. IV. 14. 23). He offers a second oblation of milk by the sruva silently according to Kāt. (IV. 14. 24) or with the words 'bhūrbhuvaḥ svaḥ suprajāḥ prajābhiḥ syām suvīro vīraiḥ suposaḥ poṣaiḥ' and with at least any three verses addressed to Agni and with the verses 'agna āyūṁṣi pavase' Ṛg. IX. 66. 19–21 (according to Āśv. II. 3. 27–29). Then he offers one oblation of milk with the sruva ladle into the dakṣiṇāgni with the words 'annādāyānna-pataye svāhā' and a second one silently. He then touches water, turns northwards and with one of his fingers (with the ring finger 'anāmikā' according to Kāt. IV. 14. 26) he takes out what remains in the sruc and licks it noiselessly without allowing it to come in contact with his teeth. He then sips water and licks it a second time and then sips water. He then takes into another vessel or on his own palm all remnants (of milk &c.) in the sruc and licks the contents of the vessel or his palm once with his tongue. According to Āp. (VI. 11. 5 and VI. 12. 2) and Baud. III. 6 he holds the sruc in such a way that its rod is turned east or north, and licks [2269] the sruc itself twice, fills it with water, pours down to the west the water (from the ladle) with the mantra 'propitiate those who partake of leavings', sips water, and wipes the agnihotrahavaṇī with darbha blades. Then he washes his hand, performs ācamana twice, goes near the āhavanīya, sits down, fills the sruc with water and spills the water from the ladle to the north of the āhavanīya with the words 'devān jinva;' he repeats the same process again and wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta form and turning to the south he pours water to the south of the āhavanīya for the pitṛs with the words 'pitṝn jinva'. He then repeats the same process as for gods and sprinkles water upwards in the north-east a third time with the words 'sapta-ṛṣīn jinva'. He fills the sruc a fourth time, removes the darbhas from the place (kūrca-sthāna) where they were placed to the west of the āhavanīya,

2269. The licking of the agnihotrahavaṇī is one of the actions forbidden in the Kali age 'अग्निहोत्रहवण्याश्च लेहो लीढापरिग्रहः' quoted in Sm. C. I. p. 12;' vide com. on Śat. III. 7 'प्राग्दण्डयोदग्दण्डया वा स्रुचा द्विराचामति द्विश्च निर्लेढि' where it is said 'अत्र स्मृतावग्निहोत्रहवण्याः कालौ लेहनप्रतिषेधात्तस्याचमनमपि प्रतिषिद्धमतो हस्तेनेत्याह भाष्यकृत्।'

pours down water on that place thrice, so as to end the stream in the east or north. He then heats the sruc and sruva on the āhavanīya fire together and keeps them on the antarvedi or hands them over to an attendant. He then offers three samidhs to each of the three fires in the order in which he performed paryukṣaṇa (i. e. in the order āhavanīya, gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, or gārhapatya, dakṣiṇāgni, āhavanīya). After this the house-holder engages in waiting upon agni with *vātsapra* prayers or in a brief worship by repeating only ' bhūrbhuvaḥ svaḥ &c.' (Vāj. III. 37); then he pays silent homage to the āhavanīya and sits near it for a moment; then he sleeps or sits near the gārhapatya; then he performs paryukṣaṇa for all the fires, then the householder breaks silence and performs ācamana and then when he goes out he contemplates in mind the dakṣiṇāgni. The wife also performs ācamana (at the end) silently.

According to Kāt. (IV. 12. 1-2) the upasthāna (worship or homage) of the fires in the evening after oblations are offered in agnihotra with the Vātsapra mantras (Vāj. S. III. 11. 36 and Śat. Br. II. 3. 4. 9-41) is optional and the householder may simply repeat one verse (Vāj. S. III. 37 and Śat. Br. II. 4. 1. 1-2). Āp. (VI. 16. 4 and 6) prescribes as upasthāna the six verses ' upaprayanto ' (Tai. S, I. 5. 5) and several others, which are passed over for want of space. There were several views about upasthāna, some holding that upasthāna was to be performed only in the evening and not in the morning, others holding that it was to be performed at both times but only with the Vātsapra mantras (Ṛg. X. 45) or with the Gosūkta (Ṛg. VI. 28) or Aśvasūkta (Ṛg. I. 163). Vide Āp. VI. 19. 4-9 to VI. 23.

Āp. (VI. 15. 10-13) has certain interesting rules about agnihotra in the case of kṣatriyas. At first he says a kṣatriya should permanently maintain the āhavanīya fire, but he does not perform the daily agnihotra. He should however send food from his house to a brāhmaṇa at the time when the agnihotra homa is ordinarily performed, whereby he secures the performance of agnihotra, but the adhvaryu should make the rājanya recite the mantras of the worship of fire (agnyupasthāna noted above). A rājanya however who has performed somayāga and always speaks the truth may perform agnihotra daily. Āśv. (II. 1. 3-5) says that a kṣatriya (and a vaiśya) may perform agnihotra on the New Moon and Full Moon days, that on other

days he should send cooked food to a brāhmaṇa who is devoted to his duties and that a kṣatriya or vaiśya who always abides by truth (in thought and word) and has offered a soma sacrifice may engage in daily agnihotra. It is probable that these rules were made to allow more time to kṣatriyas and vaiśyas for their chief occupations. According to Āp. VI. 15. 14–16, Āśv. II. 4. 2–4 and others the householder should every day personally perform the agnihotra, but if he cannot do that, he must do it personally at least on *parva* days and on other days a priest, a pupil or a son may perform his agnihotra for him.

The procedure in the morning agnihotra is the same as the evening agnihotra except in a few details e. g. the paryukṣaṇa mantra in the morning is different in Āśv. II. 4. 25 'satyaṛtābhyām tvā paryukṣāmi', while in the evening it is 'ṛtasatyābhyām tvā &c.' (Āśv. II. 2. 11), the samidh is offered into fire in the morning with the mantra 'hariṇīm tvā sūryasjyotiṣam-aharisṭakām-upadadhe svāhā' (while in the evening the mantra is 'rajatām tvāgnijyotiṣam rātrim-iṣṭakām-upadadhe svāhā' Āśv. II. 4. 25 and II. 3. 15); the mantra in offering an oblation of milk in the fire in the morning is 'bhūrbhuvaḥsvarom, sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāhā', while in the evening the word 'agniḥ' is substituted for 'sūryaḥ' (Āśv. II. 4. 25 and II. 3. 16). Vide Kāt. IV. 15 for further details.

The sūtras set out rules about what the householder is to do when he leaves his homa for one night or for a longer period. Vide Śat. Br. II. 4. 1. 3–14, Āśv. II. 5, Āp. VI. 24–27, Kāt. IV. 12. 13–24. According to Āśv. the important rules are: he kindles the fires into flames, sips water (ācamana) and performs the worship of the āhavanīya, gārhapatya and dakṣiṇāgni by going near them and repeating respectively the three mantras 'śaṁsya paśūn me pāhi', 'narya prajām me pāhi' and 'atharva pitum me pāhi' (all three in Vāj. S. III. 37). Then while standing near the dakṣiṇāgni he should look at the other two with the mantra 'imān me mitrāvaruṇāu gṛhān gopāyatam ..... punarāyanāt' (Kāṭhaka S. VII. 3., Mai. S. I. 5. 14, with variations). He then traces the same way back and comes to the āhavanīya and offers worship to it with the mantra 'mama nāma' (Tai. S. I. 5. 10. 1, quoted in note 553 above). He should then start on his journey without looking back at his fires and should mutter the hymn 'mā praṇama.' When he reaches a place from which the roof of his fire-house is not visible he may break silence. On reaching the road leading from his house to

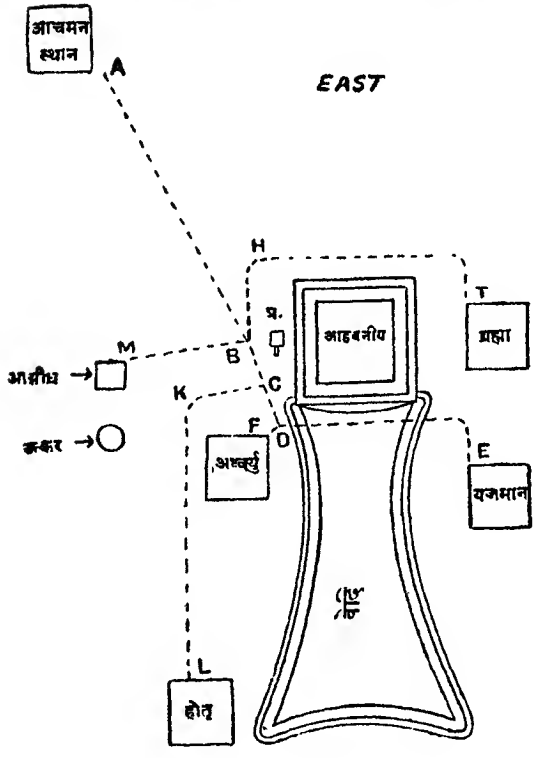
his destination he should recite 'sadā sugaḥ' (Rg. III. 54. 21). When he returns from his journey to his village, he should repeat 'api panthām' (Rg. VI. 51. 16). He should then observe silence, take fuel-sticks in his hand and on learning that his fires have been kindled into flames (by his son or pupil) he should look at the āhavanīya with two verses (set out in Āśv. II. 5. 9). Then placing the samidhs he does homage to the āhavanīya with the verse 'mama nāma tava ca' (Tai. S. I. 5. 10. 1) and then he places samidhs on the āhavanīya, gārhapatya and dakṣiṇāgni with one mantra each (which are Vāj. S. III. 28-30).

These rules apply when the house-holder alone goes on a journey leaving the wife at home. When the house-holder is away alone it is his duty to perform all actions at the time of agnihotra and darśapūrṇamāsa (such as sipping water) which he can perform without his fires and to go mentally [2270] through the whole procedure and to observe all vratas (such as subsisting on roots and fruits when required). Vide Āp. IV. 16. 18, Kāt. IV. 12. 16 and com. thereon. When he goes on a journey alone he should entrust his fires to his wife and should appoint a priest to perform the necessary rites (vide note 1634 above). When the house-holder starts on a journey accompanied by his wife he should take his fires with him. If both husband and wife go on a journey without taking their fires with them, then a priest cannot offer the agnihotra homa in their absence and on return the house-holder has to again set up the fires (has to perform *punarādhāna*).[2271]

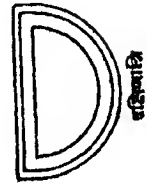
2270. 'मनसा नैत्यकं कर्म प्रवसन्नप्यतन्द्रितः । उपावेक्ष्य शुचिः सर्वं यथाकालमनुव्रजेत् । गोभिलस्मृति II. 157; प्रवसन् विहारमभिमुखो याजमानं जपति । आप. IV. 16. 18.

2271. असमक्षं तु दम्पत्योः ... भवेच्छ्रुतमनर्थकम् ॥ विहायाग्निं सभार्यश्चेत्सीमामुल्लङ्घ्य गच्छति । होमकालात्यये तस्य पुनराधानमिष्यते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 1-2, quoted by गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 101 and रुद्रदत्त on आप. श्रौ. VI. 27. 5. For the first verse, see *n.* 1635 above.

PLAN SHOWING
"DARŚAPŪRṆAMĀSA-VIHĀRA"
(as seen at the Mīmāṁsā Vidyālaya, Poona)



A B C D E indicates यजमान सज्जर
A B C D F ,, अध्वर्यु ,,
A B H T ,, ब्रह्मा ,,
A B C K L ,, होतृ ,,
A B M ,, आग्नीध्र ,,
प्र = प्रणीता



WEST

CHAPTER XXX

DARŚA-PŪRṆAMĀSA [2272]

The Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice is the pattern or archetype (*prakṛti*) of all other iṣṭis (which are called vikṛtis or modifications). The śrauta sūtras therefore describe first the Darśapūrṇamāsa at length, though in the order of time agnyādhāna comes first. Āśv. II. 1. 1 says that all iṣṭis, sacrifices in which an animal is offered and those in which soma is offered are explained by the Paurṇamāsa iṣṭi. According to Āp. III. 14. 11–13 a person, after he sets up the three fires, has to perform the Darśapūrṇamāsa throughout his life (till he becomes a saṁnyāsin) or for thirty years (after which he may stop) or till he becomes very old (and unable to perform the rite).[2273]

The word 'amāvāsyā' literally means 'the day when (the sun and the moon) dwell or are together.' It is that *tithi* (day) on which both the sun and the moon are the nearest to each other, while paurṇamāsī is 'the *tithi* on which the sun and the moon are at the greatest distance from each other.' Pūrṇamāsa means 'that moment when the moon is full.' *Darśa* has the same sense as amāvāsyā. Darśa is taken to mean 'the day on which the moon is seen only by the sun and by no one else.' Darśa (*m*) and pūrṇamāsa (*m*) secondarily mean the rites that are performed on the amāvāsyā and the paurṇamāsī respectively.[2274] An iṣṭi means a sacrifice in which the sacrificer employs four priests.

2272. Vide Tai. S. I. 1. 1–13, I. 6–7, II. 5–6, Śat. Br. I. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 1–273), Āśv. I. 1. 4–I. 13. 10, Āp. I–IV, Kāt. II–IV. 5, Baud. I.

2273. 'यावज्जीवं दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेत' quoted by Śabara on Jai. X. 8. 36. Vide Śat. Br. XI. 1. 2. 13 (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 5) for 30 years. तस्माद् यावज्जीवं यजेत। त्रिंशतं वा वर्षाणि। जीर्णो वा विरमेत्। Āp. III. 14. 11–13.

2274. Vide वैजयन्ती on सत्याषाढ (I. 1. 'संपूर्णे वा') "गोभिलः। यः परमो विप्रकर्षः सूर्याचन्द्रमसोः सा पौर्णमासी यः परमः संनिकर्षः साऽमावास्या। ... तथा पूर्णो मासश्चन्द्रमा यस्मिन्क्षणे स इष्यपि पूर्णमासस्य निर्वचनदर्शनात्। ... यतो न दृश्यते सूर्यसहभावात्ततो 'अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम्' (पाणिनि 3. 1. 122) इति पाणिनिस्मृत्यापि च सह वसतश्चन्द्रार्कावस्मिन्निति स्वमावास्याशब्दस्तथा च सूर्येणैव दृश्यते नान्येनेति दर्शशब्दो व्याख्यातः।".

A sketch of the darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi is given below principally based upon the śrautasūtras of Satyāṣāḍha and Āśvalāyana.

One who has performed agnyādheya should begin the performance of darśapūrṇamāsa on the first Full Moon day after it. The iṣṭi on the Full-moon day may occupy two days, but all the actions to be performed in it can be compressed into one day.[2275] If extended over two days it is performed on the full moon day and the *pratipad* (the first day of the dark half that follows the Full Moon day), the former being called *upavasatha* day[2276] and the latter *yajanīya* day. On the upavasatha day agnyanvādhāna (offering fuel-sticks into fire) and paristaraṇa are performed in the case of the pūrṇamāsa rite and on the yajanīya day the rest is performed. If it is the first pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi or the first darśa iṣṭi, then the sacrificer has to perform the Anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi, which is briefly described in the note below.[2277]

On the morning of the full moon day the sacrificer, after the performance of his daily agnihotra, sitting on a seat of darbhas to the west of the gārhapatya, holding kuśa grass in his hand and performing prāṇāyāma and accompanied by his wife, makes a *saṁkalpa* (resolve) as noted below.[2278] Then he says to the four priests viz., adhvaryu, brahmā, hotṛ and āgnīdhra

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2275. Vide com. on Kāt. II. 1. 16–17 'पौर्णमासे यद् द्वयहकर्तव्यमुक्तं तदेकस्मिन्नेवाहन्यग्न्यन्वाधानादि कर्मापवर्गान्तं भवति। अस्मिन्पक्षे प्रातः प्रतिपद्दिन एव सर्वमग्न्यन्वाधानादि कर्मापवर्गान्तं कर्तव्यम्। न पूर्वेद्युरग्न्यन्वाधानदिने प्रतिपदः प्रधानकालत्वाद्ङ्गानां प्रधानकालस्य न्याय्यत्वात्। तत्र च व्रतोपायनीयाशनाराण्याशनान्यवरारोशयनानि न भवन्ति। उक्तकालाभावात्। ...अन्यद्यूपनादि सर्वं भवत्येव।'

2276. The Śat. Br. I. 1. 7 derives the word by saying that as all the gods betake themselves to the sacrificer's house and abide by him (from 'vas' with 'upa') it is called upavasatha. Com. on Āp. I. 14. 16 says 'श्वो यागार्थं अग्निसमीपे नियमविशिष्टो वास उपवासः'; 'यद्यप्यानां देवतानां योग्निसमीपे वासः स उपवसथस्तत्संबन्ध्यहरौपवसथमन्वाधानदिनमिति यावत्।' com. on सत्याषाढ I. 3. p. 99.

2277. At first two oblations are offered to Sarasvatī with two mantras from Tai. S. III. 5. 1. 1. and the anvārambhaṇīyā follows. In this a cake cooked on eleven potsherds is offered to Agni and Viṣṇu, a *caru* to Sarasvatī, a cake on twelve potsherds to Sarasvat and a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Bhagin. Jaimini (IX. 1. 34–35) establishes that the anvārambhaṇīyā is not repeated every time, but is performed only once. Vide Tai. S. III. 5. 1, Āśv. II. 8, Āp. V. 23. 4–9, Baud. II. 21 for further details.

2278. The संकल्प is श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं पौर्णमासेष्ट्या यक्ष्ये; on amāvāsyā he employs the word दर्शेष्ट्या for पौर्णमासेष्ट्या.

'I choose thee, so and so by name, as my adhvaryu, as my brahmā, as my hotṛ and as my āgnīdhra.' The adhvaryu takes fire from the gārhapatya, carries it to the āhavanīya mound and also to the dakṣiṇāgni mound and places a fuel-stick with its end to the east on the āhavanīya with the verse 'mamāgne varco'[2279] (Ṛg. X. 128. 1, Tai. S. IV. 7. 14. 1). The adhvaryu and sacrificer perform *japa* by muttering three verses[2280] (from Tai. Br. III. 7. 4 set out in Śat. I. 2. p. 71). While he is between the two fires (āhavanīya and gārhapatya) he mutters standing a verse 'antarāgni...manīṣayā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4). Then he offers a *samidh* into the gārhapatya fire with Ṛg. X. 128. 2 (=Tai. S. IV. 7. 14. 1, 'mama devā vihave'). The adhvaryu and sacrificer mutter two verses 'iha prajā &c.' and 'iha paśavo' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4, Śat. I. 2. p. 71). The adhvaryu then places a *samidh* on the dakṣiṇa fire with 'mayi devā' (Ṛg. X. 128. 3, Tai. S. IV. 3. 14. 1). Then the two mutter a verse 'ayam pitṝṇām' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4). Those who maintained sabhya and āvasathya fires offered samidhs to them with mantras[2281] (from Tai. Br. III. 7. 4).

If the sacrificer is one who has already performed a soma sacrifice then he has to go through the ceremony called 'śākhāharaṇa'. Such a sacrificer had to offer *sānnāyya* (which is

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2279. A mantra is ordinarily to be recited after saying 'om'. But this is not the rule in śrauta rites and so this has not been stated in the text everywhere. The fuel-stick may be offered either by the sacrificer or by the adhvaryu (Kāt. II. 1. 2).

2280. The first verse is अग्निं गृह्णामि सुरथं यो मयोभूर्य उद्यन्तमारोहति सूर्यमह्नः। आदित्यं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरुत्तमं श्वो यज्ञाय रमतां देवताभ्यः॥ This is repeated if the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi extends over two days, but if performed in one day he has to say अद्य यज्ञाय for श्वो यज्ञाय. The third verse is इमामूर्जं पञ्चदशीं ये प्रविद्वांस्तान्देवान् परिगृह्णामि पूर्वः। अग्निर्हव्यवाडिह तानावहतु पौर्णमासं हविरिदमेषां मयि स्वाहा॥ On the darśeṣṭi he repeats अमावास्यं हविः for पौर्णमासं हविः in the above.

2281. There is a great divergence of view as to the mantras, the order of the fires and the number of samidhs. Kāt. (II. 1. 3–4) prescribes the offering of two samidhs in each fire (one with a mantra and the other silently). The hymn Ṛg. X. 128 or Tai. S. IV. 3. 14 is called 'Vihavya'. In the Ṛg. it has nine verses, in the Tai. S. it has ten. Some held that three verses of this hymn should be repeated for each fire (Āp. I. 1. 5). The order of fires was, according to some, first gārhapatya, then dakṣiṇāgni, then āhavanīya (Kāt. II. 1. 6). Some said that only the *vyāhṛtis* were to be uttered when offering fuel-sticks (Āp. I. 1. 7, Kāt. II. 1. 6). Another view was that fuel-sticks were to be offered silently.

prepared by adding to fresh heated milk the sour milk or curds of the preceding night's milking).[2282] According to the Tai. S. II. 5. 4. 1 sānnāyya was offered only by a somayājī. Sānnāyya was offered to Indra or Mahendra (Śat. Br. I. 6. 4. 21 and Kāt. IV. 2.1 0). The Tai. S. II. 5. 4. 4 says that only one who is *gataśri* (explained above in note 2259) can offer sānnāyya to Mahendra, while Sat. (I. 4 p. 103) says that for a year or two after somayāga the sānnāyya should be offered to Indra and then to Mahendra. In the full moon iṣṭi the deities to whom puroḍāśa (cake) is offered are Agni and Agnīṣoma and in it ājya is offered to Prajāpati silently between the two puroḍāśas. In the new moon iṣṭi the deities of puroḍāśa are Agni and Indrāgni and sānnāyya is offered by a somayājī to Indra or Mahendra instead of the puroḍāśa to Indrāgni (Āśv. I. 3. 9–12).

Now *Śākhāharaṇa* (which applies only to him who has performed soma-yāga and only in darśeṣṭi) will be described. The adhvaryu fetches a fresh branch of the palāśa or śamī tree, which (branch) is taken from the eastern, northern or north-east side of the tree, which has many leaves and which has not a dried up end. Vide Jai. IV. 2. 7 about the text 'he brings a branch turned to the east' &c. He cuts it off with the words 'iṣe tvā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1), then touches water, makes it straight or wipes it down with 'ūrje tvā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1), brings it towards the sacrificial ground with a verse 'imām prācīm' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4 set out in Āp. I. 2. 1, Sat. I. 2, p. 76). With that branch he drives away (or separates) from their mothers six calves with the mantra 'vāyavas sthopāyavas stha' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1). The adhvaryu makes the cows (of the sacrificer) start for the pasture with the mantra 'devo vaḥ savitā prārpayatu...mā vaḥ stena īśata māgha-śaṁsaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1), invokes them, when they have started, with a mantra 'śuddhā apaḥ suprapāṇe pibantīḥ' (Ṛg. VI. 28. 7, Tai. Br. II. 8. 8 set out in Sat. I. 2. p. 79). Then he returns to the house of the sacrificer with 'dhruvā asmin.....bahvīḥ' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1) and keeps the branch in a well-known place (so that it might not fall or be lost) on the sacred fire ground or on a wooden frame near the fires with 'protect the cattle of the sacrificer' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1). Jai. (III. 6. 28–29) states that śākhāharaṇa is meant for both evening and morning milking.

2282. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 443 for the preparation of sānnāyya.

The sacrificer[2283] crosses by the west of the āhavanīya to its south and performs ācamana (sipping water). Then he contemplates on the sea and pays homage to the deities viz. Agni, Vāyu, Āditya and Vratapati in the manner set out below.[2284]

Barhirāharaṇa (bringing in the bundles of sacred kuśa grass for use). There are various stages in this operation, each stage having its own mantra. The mantras are short prose formulæ which occur in the Tai. S. I. 1. 2. They are not set out in detail here. The various stages are: he (adhvaryu) takes up a sickle or the rib of a horse or ox kept to the north of the gārhapatya with the famous mantra 'devasya tvā savituḥ prasave ..... ādade' (I take thee at the impulse of God savitṛ &c.). He pays homage to the gārhapatya with a mantra. The sickle (but not the rib) is heated on the gārhapatya fire. He then goes to the east or north of the sacrificial ground (vihāra) for some distance, finds out a spot where the desired grass grows, leaves aside one clump of darbhas from those growing there and marks as many clumps of darbha as he feels would be enough for his purpose, leaves one clump or one or two blades with the words, 'I leave you aside as the portion of beasts', touches those darbhas that he intends to cut with 'this is for the gods', holds them by his closed fingers (of the left hand), rubs them upwards with his right hand, brings the sickle in close contact with them, repeats a mantra over the grass and cuts off as much as can be held in his closed fingers the nails of which touch each other. This first handful of blades that are cut is called *prastara*. Then he further cuts an uneven number of handfuls of darbhas (3, 5, 7, 9, 11),[2285] repeating the same processes and mantras for each handful, touches the stumps from which blades are cut off with the mantra 'God Barhis! may you grow into a hundred shoots' and touches the region of his heart with 'may

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2283. In the case of one who has not performed somayāga and who therefore offers no sānnāyya the actions from cutting off a twig to its being laid down are not done, but the first important matter that is begun in his case is fetching *barhis* (kuśa grass). Vide Baud. I. 1 'पशु वै न संनयति बर्हिः प्रतिपदेव'.

2284. अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम् । वायो व्रतपते व्रतं ... राध्यताम् । आदित्य व्रतपते ... राध्यताम् । व्रतानां व्रतपते ... राध्यताम् । . Vide Tai. S. I. 5. 10. 3 for the first and Tai. Br. III. 7. 4 for all.

2285. Āp. I. 4. 3 and Baud. I. 2 speak of an uneven number of *muṣṭis*, while Sat. I. 2, p. 84 says they may be even or uneven in number.

we grow into thousand branches'. He touches water and passes round a handful of darbhas a cord (śulba) from left to right, then puts thereon another handful of darbhas and passes a cord round it. In this way three or five handfuls are surrounded by a cord, which has its end stretched on the ground towards the east or north. Then heaps of blades are added on and over the last heap the *prastara* is placed. The whole is then firmly bound with the cord and a knot is made. He takes hold of the bundle thus tied, raises it up, places it on his head, returns with it by the way he went, keeps it inside the *vedi* on some grass (and not on the bare ground) near the spot where the middle paridhi would be. He pronounces over the barhis thus placed a mantra and keeps the barhis near the gārhapatya on a mat or the like. He also cuts off silently and brings along with *barhis* other darbhas called *paribhojanīya* and dried up kuśa grass also (ulaparāji).[2286]

Idhmāharaṇa (bringing the wood-sticks). Twenty-one wood-sticks of palāśa or khadira are required, out of which 15 are meant for throwing into the fire at the time of repeating the sāmidhenī verses, three are paridhis,[2287] two samidhs are to be used at the two *āghāras* and the 21st is the stick for *anūyājas*. A cord is made of darbhas and spread on the ground with its end to the north, the idhma is heaped on it with a mantra (Āp. I, 6. 1, Sat. I. 2. p. 89). The bundle is tied with the cord and a knot is made and the idhma is laid alongside of the *barhis*. The pieces of wood that are thrown off when cutting the idhma are called *idhmapravraścana*. A bunch of darbhas called *veda* is made of the size of the knee of a calf by doubling and tying the darbhas with a cord and cutting the

2286. The paribhojanīya darbhas are meant for making seats for the priests, the sacrificer and his wife. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 79 for a note on barhis, paribhojanīya and *veda*. Āp. I. 6. 4 states that while making the veda bunch the mantra 'tvayā vediṁ vividuḥ' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4) is recited.

2287. परिधि means an encircling stick of wood 'अग्नेः परितो धीयन्ते तानि दारूणि परिधयः' com. on Sat. I. 2, p. 88. They are of some sacrificial tree such as palāśa, kāśmarya, khadira, udumbara &c. They may be undried or dried but must have the bark on. The middle one is the thickest, that to the south is the longest, that to the north is the thinnest and shortest. Vide Āp. I. 5. 7–10 and Kāt. II. 8. 1 for paridhis. The paridhis are about three spans or one *bāhu* long, while samidhs are two spans (prādeśa, distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away from each other).

darbhas about one span above the tying cord and a mantra is repeated over it ('vedosi' &c. in Sat. I. 2. p. 90). This veda is employed in sweeping the vedi with a mantra. It is given to the wife when she has to repeat a mantra in any action (compare Āśv. I. 11. 1). The out portions of darbhas of which veda is formed are called *veda-parivāsana*. These two, idhma-pravraścana and veda-parivāsana, are placed together. He takes up a branch, outs off its leaves (but not all) inside the vedi, so ohisels one end of it as to make of it a shovel. This is called upaveṣa[2288]. He recites a mantra over it (upaveṣosi... bhavāsi naḥ, Ap. I. 6. 7, Sat. I. 3. p. 91). In the Full moon sacrifice the upaveṣa is made silently. He plaoes on the upaveṣa a triple (made of three darbhas) band of darbhas in such a way that the roots and end portions of both are in contaot but they are not tied together into a knot over it. The saorifioer invokes this triple band called pavitra with a mantra 'trivṛt palāśe &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4, Āp. I. 6. 10, Sat. I. 3. p. 92).

After this in the afternoon the piṇḍa-pitṛyajña is performed in the darśeṣṭi, but not in the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi. Piṇḍa-pitṛyajña is separately desoribed below.

If the sacrificer has celebrated the soma saorifice at some time then he has to perform *sāyam-doha*. When the household has offered the evening agnihotra, he spreads darbhas to the north of the gārhapatya, washes the sānnāyya utensils (that are the same as are required for sāyam-doha) in twos and lays them on the darbhas with their mouths turned downwards. The utensils are stated in the note below.[2289] He then makes

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2288. अङ्गारप्रेषणार्थं काष्ठमुपवेष इति समाख्यायते । com. on Āp. I. 6. 7. It is one span long. Com. on kātyā. II. 4. 26 says 'उपवेषोऽङ्गारापोहनसमर्थं हस्ताकृति काष्ठम्'. It is of palāśa and one end of it is made to resemble a shovel.

2289. अग्निहोत्रहवणीमुखाद्युपवेषं शाखापवित्रमभिधानीं निदाने दोहनमयस्पात्रं दोहपात्रं च पिधानार्थम् । Satyāṣāḍha I. 3. p. 93. These are eight. Vide Āp. I. 11. 5 for these. For agni-hotrahavaṇī and upaveṣa vide notes 2263 and 2288 above. *Ukhā* is the same as the kumbhī of Āp. Ukhā is an earthen vessel or pan. *Abhidhānī* is a rope for tying the oow (or the calf according to com. on Āp.). The two *nidānas* are ropes for tying the hind feet of the oow near her hoofs and knees. *Dohana* is the pot in which the oow is milked. There is a wooden or metal lid to cover the dohana. Śākhāpavitra is made from the branch out of which the upaveṣa was prepared and consists in the top of that branch which is tied round with three darbhas like a braid (according to Śr. P. N.).

two pavitras (strainers, purifiers) of two darbhas that are alike in appearance and colour, a span in length, the tips of which are not cut, but which are cut from their stems with a knife or sickle by having a blade of grass or wood placed over them (but not with the nails) with a mantra 'pavitre stho' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4) and are invoked with a mantra (prāṇāpānau &c.). The adhvaryu wipes them with water upwards (from the bottom) with the mantra 'you two are holy by the mind of Viṣṇu'. Jai. III. 8. 32 (and also Śabara thereon) says that the two pavitras and the vidhṛtis (described later on) are not taken from the cut barhis, but from the kuśa grass called paribhojanīya. The adhvaryu loudly announces 'purify the cow, the ropes and all the utensils'.[2290] The adhvaryu places the two pavitras inside the agnihotra-havaṇī, pours water therein, purifies the water by moving the pavitras eastward and then backwards and raising them up thrice with their tips to the north by repeating the mantra in the gāyatrī metre 'devo vaḥ savitotpunātu' (Tai. S. I. 1. 5. 1) once,[2291] there being a rest at the end of each pāda (and twice silently). He invokes the water with 'āpo devīr-agrepuvā...(Tai. I. 1. 5. 1, Vāj. S. I. 12-13), then turns the mouths of the vessels upwards and sprinkles them thrice with the water (leaving no water in the agnihotrahavaṇī) and with 'may you purify for this divine rite, for the worship of gods' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3. 1). He keeps the two pavitras in a well-known place. He waits for the cows coming from the pasture with a mantra 'etā ācaranti' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4).[2292] The adhvaryu takes the upaveṣa with 'thou art dhṛṣṭi, impart brahma' (Tai. S. I. 1. 7. 1), takes out with the upaveṣa burning coals from the gārhapatya to its north. He places the ukhā on those coals and kindles burning coals round it with 'may you become hot with the *tapas* of Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases' (Tai. S. I. 1. 7. 2). Then he issues a direction to the milker of the cow "announce

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2290. Most of the mantras in the śāyaṁdoha are taken from the Tai. S. I. 1. 3 and 5, 7 and Tai. Br. III. 7. 4 and they are not specified in each case. Some mantras are sautra. Each action is accompanied by a mantra which directly or indirectly refers to it. As the Ait. Br. I. 4 says एतद्वै यज्ञस्य संसृष्टं यद्रूपसंसृष्टं यत् कर्म क्रियमाणमृग्यजुर्भ्यामिवदतीति।

2291. According to Āp. I.11.9 the three *pādas* of the mantra accompany each act of *utpavana*. उत्पवनमुद्वृगग्राभ्यां पवित्राभ्यामूर्ध्वपवनं शोधनमपाम्। पाणिका हस्तद्वयेन पवित्रे गृहीत्वोत्पुनन्ति तन्मूलमन्त्रेष्वृग्यम्। com. on Sat. I. 3. p. 94.

2292. From Āp. I. 11. 10 it appears that the mantra 'etā ācaranti' is recited by the sacrificer.

to me when the calf joins the cow". He places the *śākhāpavitra* with its tip to the east (to the north in the morning milking) in the ukhā with a mantra, touches the ukhā and restrains his speech[2293] holding the *śākhāpavitra*. The person who is to milk the cow takes the abhidhānī (the rope) with 'adityai rāsnāsi' (Tai. S. I. 1. 2. 2) and the two nidāna ropes silently and makes the calf join the cow with 'thou art Pūṣan'. The adhvaryu issues a direction that no one is to pass between the cow that is being sucked by the calf and the sacrificial ground (vihāra) and all obey it. The adhvaryu invokes the cow with a mantra and the milker sits down near the cow to milk her with a mantra.[2294] The householder repeats a mantra when the cow is being milked and another when he hears the sound of the streams of milk falling into the vessel. The milker brings the milk to the adhvaryu, who asks him 'whom did you milk, declare to us, (this is) an offering to Indra, it is vigour'. The milker refers to the cow by her name (such as Gaṅgā) and adds 'in whom milk has been placed for gods and men'. The adhvaryu replies 'she (the cow named) is the life of all'. The adhvaryu places the pavitra in the kumbhī (or ukhā) and pours therein the milk across the pavitra with a mantra. The adhvaryu gets two more cows milked in the same manner (i. e. with the same mantras &c.) except the directions (such as no one should come &c.). The only difference is that the names of the cows will be different (such as Yamunā) and that the 2nd and 3rd cows are referred to by him respectively as 'viśvavyacāḥ' and 'viśvakarmā' instead of 'viśvāyuḥ' (in his prativacana). After three cows are milked he loudly utters thrice 'milk much for Indra, may the offering (havya) increase for the gods, for the calves, for men; be ready for milking again'. If there are more cows (generally six are referred to) they also are got milked with the same mantras as for the first cow or silently and the adhvaryu does not hold his tongue, nor does he

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2293. The com. on Ap. I. 12. 5 explains that 'vāgyamana (holding one's tongue) means 'not uttering any word except a mantra'. 'मन्त्रादन्यस्याव्याहरणं वाग्यमनं यदि प्रमत्तो व्याहरेदिति लिङ्गात्' com.

2294. The cow is to be made to yield milk by the sucking of the calf and not by manipulating the udders with the hand. 'वत्सेन च दोहार्थं प्रसवः साध्यः' com. on Sat. I. 3. p. 96. The तै. ब्रा. II. 1. 8 (न संसृजति) forbids manipulation of the udders with fingers to induce the flow of milk. Ap. I. 12. 15 says that there is an option as to whether a śūdra can be the milker in this sacrifice.

touch the kumbhī while the other cows are being milked. Jai. (XI. 1. 47–53) concludes that the passage of Tai. Br. about milking the other three cows is a mere anuvāda and not a *vidhi* and Śabara quotes passages of the śruti that on that night no agnihotra is offered with milk and the children in the house do not get any milk (as all milk is used up for the sānnāyya). When all are milked, if any drops have fallen about (on the ground &c.) he repeats a mantra (Tai. S. I. 1. 3. 1) and invokes the pot in which sānnāyya is to be prepared with a mantra. He washes the inside of the milking vessel with water and then pours that water into the pot (in which sānnāyya is to be prepared). He heats the milk and pours over it (i. e. does *abhighāraṇa*) clarified butter silently. He draws the heated pot from the burning coals in such a way as to make a line on the ground and places it to the east, north or north-east with a mantra. When the bottom of the heated vessel cools, he adds curds to it in order to coagulate the fresh milk with 'I add soma (i. e. curds) to thee in order to turn thee into curds for Indra' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3).[2295] He adds to the vessel what remains sticking to the pot or sruc after agnihotra was offered with a mantra or silently. He pours water in the vessel that is meant as a lid or cover and places that cover or lid on the pot of heated milk. If the covering be of earthenware he throws thereon grass or a twig. He takes out the śākhāpavitra with a mantra (if a palāśa branch was used) or silently (if one of śamī was used) and keeps it in a secure place. He keeps the sānnāyya in the gārhapatya side of the vihāra on a *śikya* or some such contrivance with 'O Viṣṇu, guard the offering'.

He brings another branch with which or with darbhas he separates the calves for the morning milking (on the principal day). The same procedure as for *sāyaṁdoha* is followed in the

2295. There were several views here about adding curds. One, two or three cows are milked on the day previous to the upavasatha day (i.e. on the 14th) and that milk is used to acidify the fresh heated milk of the evening of the upavasatha day. Another method was to milk the cow or cows on the 12th, then to add the curds of that to the milk of the 13th day and add all the curds of those two days to the milk of the 14th day i. e. milking and adding of curds was to go on continuously from the 12th, 13th and 14th or from 13th or from 14th. Vide Āp. I. 13. 12 and Sat. I. 3, p. 99. If no curds be available he adds either rice or pieces of palāśa bark or wild or village badara fruit or pūtīka plant (the pratinidhi of soma) to the milk to make it sour. Vide Āp. I. 14. 1, Sat. I. 3. p. 100.

morning milking (of the principal day). There are a few differences as to mantras, as to not adding coagulating substance, which are passed over.

After the *sāyaṁdoha* (evening milking) the adhvaryu directs (āgnīdhra or some other priest or himself) 'strew kuśa grass round the fires, first round āhavanīya, then gārhapatya, then dakṣiṇāgni' or the order may be first gārhapatya, then dakṣiṇāgni and lastly āhavanīya. The darbhas strewn on the south and north have tips turned to the east. The sacrificer mutters a mantra when kuśas are being strewn.

Having done so much he observes the amāvāsyā as an *upavasatha*. Thus on the amāvāsyā day he performs agnyanvādhāna (offering fuel-sticks into fires), separating the calves with the branch, sāyamdoha, bringing *barhis* and *idhma*, preparing the veda and vedi and observing some vows. But two of these viz. separating calves from their mothers and sāyaṁdoha are performed only by him who has already performed a soma sacrifice. In the case of the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi if spread over two days, on the Full moon day only agnyanvādhāna and strewing kuśas round the fires are gone through and on the next day are performed the bringing of barhis and idhma and making of *veda* and all the other rites. If the iṣṭi is to be performed in one day only, then kuśa grass is strewn round the fires after the making of the *veda* bunch.

About sānnāyya Sat. states some divergent views. The Kāpeyas held that even one who has not performed soma-yāga may offer sānnāyya and the deity in his case will be Indra and after he offers Soma, the deity for sānnāyya will be Mahendra. According to Śabara on Jai. X. 8. 44 the Gopāyanas held that one who has not performed a soma sacrifice may offer sānnāyya. According to Sat. himself, for a year or two after Somayāga the deity will be Indra and then Mahendra if the sacrificer so desires. Persons of the Aurva and Gautama gotras and those who are *gataśrī* (vide note 2259) may if they like offer sānnāyya to Mahendra even before performing Somayāga. Compare Āp. I. 14. 8-11 and vide Jai. X. 8. 35-46 (about the two puroḍāśas and sānnāyya).

On the principal day (i. e. the first day of the dark half in the case of pūrṇamāsa) the sacrificer offers his daily *agnihotra* before sunrise and begins after sunrise the performance of the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi (and in the case of the darśeṣṭi before sunrise).

He washes his hands with water with the mantra "May I be able to carry out this rite meant for you two and for gods" (Tai. S. I. 1. 4. 1). From the place of the gārhapatya fire to the āhavanīya he spreads a line of dry kuśa grass continuously with their tips to the east (without leaving any space uncovered) with the mantra 'thou art the continuity of the sacrifice, I spread thee for the continuity of sacrifice, thee for the continuity of the sacrifice' (Tai. Br. III. 2.4) and then spreads another line of kuśas to the south and another to the north of this first line silently. To the south of the āhavanīya, seats of kuśa grass are made ready for the brahmā priest and the sacrificer, that of the brahmā being to the east of the seat of the sacrificer and directly to the south of the āhavanīya and of the sacrificer to the south of the south corner of the east side of the vedi. To the north of gārhapatya kuśas are strewn with their tips to the east or north and on them the sacrificial implements (yajñapātras) are placed in twos after being washed with water and with their mouths turned down, viz., the sphya and kapālas &c. (vide above note 2233 for the ten). This is called pātrāsādana (placing the utensils near).[2296]

Then follows *brahmavaraṇa.*

The sacrificer sitting on a seat with his face to the north then chooses his brahmā priest who faces the east near the utkara with the formula[2297] 'O! Lord of the earth! Lord of the worlds! Lord of great being (Heaven?)! I choose thee as brahmā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The brahmā priest when so chosen mutters a long formula (which is given in Āp. III. 18. 4 from the Tai. Br. III. 7. 6 and part of which is translated here) 'I am the Lord of the earth, Lord of the worlds, lord of the great being. Being impelled by god Savitṛ I shall perform the duties of a priest. God Savitṛ! Here they choose thee (who art) Lord of speech, as the divine

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2296. Besides the above the following are also placed:—स्रुचं चोपभृतं च स्रुवं च ध्रुवां च प्राशित्रहरणं चेडापात्रं च मेक्षणं च पिष्टोपधीं च प्रणीताप्रणयनं चाज्यस्थालीं च वेदं च दारुपात्रीं च योक्त्रं च वेदपरिवासनं च धृष्टिं चेध्मप्रव्रश्चनं चान्वाहार्यस्थालीं च मद्वलीं च यानि चान्यानि पात्राणि तान्येवमेव द्वन्द्वं संसाद्य। बौ. I. 4; vide also सत्याषाढ I. 4 which adds कुटच, explained as पाषाणः कुट्टनसाधनम्.

2297. The choosing of brahmā takes place on the north of the vedi near the utkara, and then the brahmā priest comes to the south of the āhavanīya either from the east side or the west side of the āhavanīya according to one's Śākhā; vide (Kāt. II. 1. 21 and com.).

brahmā priest; I proclaim this to mind, mind proclaims to Gāyatri ... the Viśve Devas to Bṛhaspati, Bṛhaspati to Brahmā, Brahmā is bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, suvaḥ. Bṛhaspati is the priest of the Gods, I am the brahmā priest of human beings'. Then he loudly says 'O Bṛhaspati, protect the sacrifice' (*ibid.*) and crossing the altar by the west of the āhavanīya towards the south of the āhavanīya, stands to the south of his seat with his face to the north, takes a kuśa blade from the blades on the seat prepared for him, casts it to the south-west (the direction of Nir-ṛti, ill-luck) with the words 'avaunt,'[2298] Daidhiṣavya (son of a re-married widow?), get up from this place, occupy the seat of another, who is more ignorant than me' (Tai. S. III. 2. 4. 4.), touches water and sits down on his seat with face to the east with a mantra and then faces the āhavanīya with a mantra 'Here do I, impelled by God Savitṛ, sit on the seat of Vasu (or prosperity) lower in level (than the āhavanīya mound), I occupy the seat of Bṛhaspati, this I declare to Agni, to Vāyu, to the Sun, to the Earth' (vide Āp. III.18.4, Kāt. II. 1. 24). The brahmā is required to be the most learned in Vedic lore (brahmiṣṭha, as Āp. III. 18. 1 says) and he is to observe silence while mantras are being repeated and superintends all actions. His permission is asked by the adhvaryu at the time of doing most of the acts, such as leading forward the praṇītā water, sprinkling the bundle of fuel-sticks and kuśa grass. There are four priests in darśapūrṇamāsa (vide note 2228). The sacrificer also crosses by the west side of the āhavanīya to its south, throws away silently a blade of kuśa from his seat and then sits down on the seat prepared for him, with his face to the east. The adhvaryu takes two darbhas of equal thickness, the tops of which are not cut off and makes them a span in length by cutting off their roots (without using his nails).[2299]

The adhvaryu, sitting to the west (or north) of the gārhapatya fire, takes a camasa (a rather flat vessel or pan) in which water is to be carried forward with 'to thee for Dakṣa' (Āp. I. 17. 1) and washes it thrice with water once with mantra and twice silently. The mantra is 'thou art made of plants, may

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2298. अहे वैधिषव्योदतस्तिष्ठाप्यस्य सदने सीद योऽस्मत्पाकतर इति ब्रह्मासदनमीक्षते । ब्रह्मासदनात्तूर्णं निरस्यति निरस्तः पाप्मा सह तेन यं द्विष्म इति । कात्या. II. 1. 22-23.

2299. The two darbha blades are called *pavitra* (neuter noun) and the process described here is called *pavitrakaraṇa* and has been described above.

you be washed for gods, may you shine for the gods, may you be pure for gods' (Āp. I. 16. 3). He keeps the two pavitras in the camasa and pours water in the camasa with 'who takes you, let him take you, for whom shall I take you, I take you for him, you for prosperity' (Āp. I. 16. 3) and at the same time contemplates on the Earth with 'I take you with this' (not uttered). He fills the vessel so as to leave some space at the top and purifies the water by the process called utpavana (described above in note 2291). He then invokes them with 'may the divine waters, that are the first purifiers and the leaders carry this sacrifice to the front, may they place the lord of the sacrifice in front, Indra chose you in his fight with Vṛtra, you chose him in the fight with Vṛtra, you are sprinkled' (Tai. S. I. 1. 5. 1). The adhvaryu then asks the permission of the brahmā priest in the words 'Brahman! shall I carry forward the water' and issues a direction 'sacrificer, observe silence'. The brahmā priest mutters a mantra 'Lead forward the sacrifice, sustain these deities, may the sacrificer be on the back of heaven. Place this sacrifice and the sacrificer in the world where the seven sages and other men of holy deeds dwell' and loudly says 'yes, do carry the water forward'. The adhvaryu then repeats the verse 'who carries you forward? Let him carry you forward. I carry forward the divine waters; may they sit round our sacrifice, conveying to the sacrificer thousandfold prosperity, the waters that delight in drink, having a shining (or oily) appearance'. He holds the water in a vessel which is covered by the sphya that has its tip to the east and that is held level with his nose and carries it forward without allowing even a drop to fall down. When the water is being carried the sacrificer invokes it with a mantra.[2300] The adhvaryu places the water vessel (praṇītāpātra) on darbha grass to the north of the āhavanīya with the mantra 'you are sanctified by brahma (prayers); who employs you? Let him employ for (securing) all desires, for the worship of gods (Āp. IV. 4. 4)' and then covers the vessel with kuśas. All these acts constitute *praṇītāpraṇayana*. While the water is being placed near the āhavanīya the sacrificer invokes it with the immediately preceding mantra and passes his eye over the whole of the sacrificial ground. No one is to pass between the āhavanīya and the praṇītā water (Kāt. II. 3. 4).

2300. The mantra is धूम्र कक्ष वाजु चर्कृ च गोंब्य वह्नु च सं च धूँश्च धूँश्च धूंश्चेकारत्रयः पूर्वसमा विराजो या इदं विश्वं भुवनं व्याबभूवुस्ता नो देवीस्तरसा संविदानाः स्वस्ति पथे नयत प्रजानतीः। It occurs in आप. IV. 4. 4.

The principal purpose of the praṇītā waters is that they are used for making the ground grains into a dough for puroḍāśa and their final disposal is to be poured into the vedi (Jai. IV. 2. 14–15). The adhvaryu comes back by the same way that he went, places down the sphya among the yajñapātras and touches the sacrificial utensils with his hand wearing a pavitra with the mantra 'may the divine groups enter into the sacrificial utensils'.

Then follows *nirvāpa*[2301] (taking out handfuls of grains or a portion of other sacrificial material). The adhvaryu takes in his hand the ladle called agnihotra-havaṇī with 'thou art made of a tree for dakṣa' (strength). Then he holds it in his left hand and takes the winnowing basket (śūrpa) in his right hand with 'to thee for the all-pervading (yajña)'. Then he heats it (ladle) on the gārhapatya fire with 'the *rakṣas* (evil spirit) is burnt, the enemies are burnt'. He then touches water.[2302] The adhvaryu asks the permission of the sacrificer in the words 'sacrificer ! shall I take out sacrificial material' and the sacrificer replies 'yes, do take out'. The adhvaryu then utters the words 'I go towards the wide space' and approaches a cart or wooden frame (śakaṭa) standing to the west of the āhavanīya or gārhapatya containing either rice or barley grains (in the husk), which has the shafts turned to the east or north, which has the yoke joined to it and is covered with mats. While touching the right side of the yoke he mutters 'thou art dhūr (destructive fire), injure the destructive (enemy), destroy him who seeks to destroy us and whom we seek to destroy'. He touches the left shaft and mutters the mantra 'thou art of the gods (i. e. belongest to them), thou art the purest (or the most generous), the fullest, the dearest, the best carrier, the best summoner of the gods'. He places (firmly touches with) his right foot on the left wheel (of the śakaṭa) with 'Viṣṇu traversed thee'. He mounts the cart with his left foot with 'thou art an unbent receptacle of *havis*, mayst thou be strong and not

2301. The mantras required here occur in Tai. S. I. 1. 4 and Vāj. S. I. 7 ff and so are not indicated in each place. 'देवतार्थत्वेन द्रव्यस्करणं निर्वापः' com. on Āp. I. 17. 10.

2302. Whenever any mantra referring to evil spirits and the like is uttered, one has to touch water thereafter before doing anything else. Vide 'रौद्रं राक्षसमासुरमाभिचरणिकं मन्त्रमुक्त्वा पितृमात्मानं चालभ्योपस्पृशेत्' कात्या. I. 10. 14.

break (or bend)'. He makes an opening by removing the mats covering the śakaṭa and looks at the corn to be used for making the puroḍāśa and at the mats while repeating twice the mantra 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra, do not be afraid, do not tremble, I shall not injure thee'. He touches the corn (to be used for puroḍāśa) with 'may you sustain strength', then touches his own heart with 'put milk in me' and touches water. Then he throws aside a blade of grass or clod of earth with 'warded off is the evil spirit', touches water and repeats the Daśahotṛ mantras.[2303] He places the two pavitras in the winnowing basket (silently), takes one handful of the grain (from the cart) with 'may the five fingers give you for protection, and not to the enemy' (Maitrāyaṇīya S. I. 1. 5), puts (empties) the handful in the sruc (agnihotrahavaṇī) and puts in the winnowing basket (on which the two *pavitras* have been kept) four handfuls of grain by means of the agnihotra-havaṇī, three with the mantra (repeated thrice) 'at the command of god Savitṛ, with the arms of Aśvins, with the hand of Pūṣan I take out thee that art dear to Agni'[2304] and the fourth silently. Jai. (IX. 1. 36-37) concludes that this mantra is the same even in all modifications of the darśapūrṇamāsa and Śabara explains 'savituḥ prasave' as meaning 'urged by the yajamāna' (or when the sun rises), 'aśvins' as meaning the sacrificer and his wife (as they make a gift of the horse in agnyādheya) and pūṣan as meaning 'yajamāna' himself (who supports all). In Jai. XI. 4. 44-45 it is stated that the mantra for nirvāpa 'devasya tvā', the mantra for cutting off barhis (barhirdevasadanam dāmi) are to be repeated and not to be uttered only once. In Jai. V. 2. 4-5 it is established that all the saṁskāras are to be performed on all the grains after four handfuls are taken and not on each handful as it is taken out. The sacrificer invokes with a mantra while the adhvaryu is making the *nirvāpa* 'I call here Agni, the hotṛ and the gods that are well disposed to sacrifice; may the gods, pleased in mind, come and may they partake of this my offering.' Having finished the taking out of grains in

2303. The 'daśahotṛ' mantras are 'चित्तिः स्रुक् चित्तमाज्यं' &c. quoted in note 2247 above.

2304. If the puroḍāśa is meant for Agni and Soma (jointly) as in pūrṇamāsa, the words 'agnīṣomābhyām juṣṭam' will be substituted for 'agnaye juṣṭam' and the names of other deities in the cases of other puroḍāśas. Vide Kāt. II. 3. 21, Āp. I. 18. 1, Jaimini IX. 1. 38-39.

four handfuls, (the adhvaryu) throws on them some more grains with his hand. If no cart is available, he keeps an earthen vessel on the sphya placed on the altar with its tip to the north or east and takes out the grains from that vessel (this is the modern practice) and then removes the wooden sword from underneath it. The same procedure is followed in the case of puroḍāśas for other deities. The adhvaryu touches the grains taken out with 'this of the gods' and touches the rest (remaining in the śakaṭa or vessel) with 'this is ours together (with the gods).' He invokes the grains taken out with 'I take (or invoke) thee for increase and not for malevolence.' He moves out of the mats covering the cart (or from near the vessel) taking with him the śūrpa with 'thee I release from the fetters of Varuṇa' (compare Maitrāyaṇī S. I. 1. 5). He looks at the sacrificial ground, the fires, the utensils, the priests with 'may I see heaven' and at the āhavanīya with 'the light of Vaiśvānara (Agni).' He gets down from the cart with 'may the posts (or mansions) of Heaven and Earth, stand firm' (if corn is taken from a vessel he only mutters these words). He invokes the grains that have fallen down (when four handfuls were taken out) with 'to Heaven and Earth, svāhā' and goes near the gārhapatya with 'follow wide space (or sky).' He puts down the śūrpa (containing the corn taken out) near the gārhapatya to its west (or near that fire on which in that particular rite he has to bake the cake) with 'I make you sit on the lap of Aditi'[2305] and consigns it to the protection of that deity (for which the cake is meant) with 'O fire! protect the sacrificial material.'[2306] The adhvaryu pours water in the (agnihotrahavaṇī) ladle to which the awns of the rice or barley grains stick and purifies it thrice with the two pavitras (blades of kuśa) held in the hands and with the mantra 'may god Savitṛ &c.' (vide p. 1024 above) and invokes it with 'may the divine waters' &c. Then the adhvaryu seeks the permission of the brahmā priest with 'Brahman! shall I sprinkle' (with holy water the sacrificial material). The brahmā priest mutters 'sprinkle the sacrifice, sustain these deities &c.' and loudly says 'Yes, do sprinkle.' The adhvaryu then sprinkles water thrice, once with the mantra 'at the command of Savitṛ ..... I sprinkle

2305. Aditi in this passage means the earth, according to the Tai. Br. III. 2. 4.

2306. If the cake is meant for Agni and Soma then the mantra would be अग्नीषोमौ हव्यं रक्षेथाम्.

thee that are dear to Agni' (or Agni and Soma or other deity as the case may be) and twice silently. One should so sprinkle that drops of water may not fall on the fire. He then upturns the sacrificial utensils (i. e. instead of their mouths being down, their mouths are now upturned) and sprinkles them thrice with water with 'may you become pure for divine rite, for worship of gods'.[2307] The rest of the water taken for sprinkling is placed to the east of the gārhapatya (in a sruc). It is stated by Jaimini (IX. 1. 2-3) that the prokṣaṇa of the mortar and pestle or the mill-stones has an unseen spiritual result (apūrva).

The adhvaryu sits to the west of the gārhapatya, takes hold of the black antelope skin lying on the altar with 'thou art the whirl of the wind' and shakes it thrice on the utkara holding it in such a way that the neck portion is up and the hairy portion inside (towards himself) with 'destroyed is the evil spirit, destroyed are the enemies'. To the west of the utkara he spreads the antelope[2308] skin with its neck portion westwards (Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 5) and its hairy portion upwards with "thou art the skin of Aditi'. The portion[2309] of the skin near the anus (of the animal) is twisted below the hairless part and both parts are held together with 'may the earth know thee'. While still touching the skin he places the mortar on it with 'thou art the adhiṣavaṇa (the utensil for pressing or beating the grains) made of a tree, may the skin of Aditi know

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2307. The com. on Kāt. II. 3. 40 याभिरद्भिर्हविषः पात्राणां च प्रोक्षणं कृतं ताः प्रोक्षण्यः अग्निहोत्रहवणीस्थाः।

2308. The black antelope skin has been throughout the ages a symbol of holiness and vedic culture. It is therefore that āryāvarta was defined, as shown above (p. 13), as that territory where the black antelope wanders naturally. Vide Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 1-2, where yajña is said to have escaped from the gods and wandered about as a black antelope and the white, black and yellow hairs of the antelope are said to represent respectively Ṛg, Sāman and Yajus. On account of its holiness, the antelope skin is employed for husking and bruising the grains (from which the cake is to be made).

2309. प्रति त्वा पृथिवी वेत्तिति पुरस्तात्प्रतीचीं भसदमुपसमस्यति। सत्याषाढ I. 5; आप. I. 19. 5 has पुरस्तात् ... स्यति. The com. on both give slightly different interpretations. भसदं कटिप्रदेशं पुरस्ताद्भागेनाधस्तात्प्रतीचीं गमयित्वानन्तरप्रदेशेन सह द्विगुणितां करोतीत्यर्थः। com. on Āp. The tail portion is twisted under the skin so as to make one portion a little higher than the rest and so as to make the mortar or mill-stone placed on the skin to incline in one direction.

thee'. Holding the mortar (ulūkhala) by the left hand he pours into its mouth the sacrificial materials (unhusked grains of rice or barley) thrice with 'thou art the body of Fire,[2310] thou art a prompter of speech, I take thee for the enjoyment of the gods' and a fourth time silently. He takes the pestle with 'thou art a stone (hard like a stone), though produced from a tree; mayst thou so strike this sacrificial material for the gods that it will be enjoyable to them!' and beats the grains in the mortar thrice with 'may I strike the evil spirit, the enemy of heaven, away!' (the mantra is recited only once according to Jai. XI. 4. 42). After striking thrice the adhvaryu utters a summons to haviṣkṛt, with 'come, O Haviṣkṛt' (repeated thrice)[2311]. When the grains begin to be husked the adhvaryu utters a call to Āgnīdhra 'strike loudly'. The āgnīdhra takes *kuṭaru* (aśman, a stone) with 'thou art a stone, thou art one that makest a hymn of praise (or glory)' and he strikes therewith the large mill-stone (dṛṣad) that is placed on the altar (twice, once with mantra and once silently) and the smaller one (upalā) once with 'proclaim food (to the gods), proclaim strength; may you (all sacrificial utensils) proclaim that (the food) is full of excellent flavour; may we conquer the hordes (of enemies) by this noise'. The āgnīdhra may

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2310. As fire blazes forth when oblations are thrown on it, the grains (from which a cake is to be prepared) are said to be the body of fire. One can speak loudly only if one is well-fed and so the grains are said to be prompters of speech.

2311. The praiṣa (summons) is हविष्कृदे3हि हविष्कृदे3हि हविष्कृदे3हि. The figure 3 is used to show that the preceding letter is *pluta* (of three moras). Haviṣkṛt literally means 'one who separates the grains from the husks.' According to Tai. Br. III. 2. 5 the summons is addressed to many divine haviṣkṛts 'हविष्कृदेहीत्याह य एव देवानां हविष्कृतः। तान् ह्वयति त्रिर्ह्वयति त्रिरत्या हि देवाः.' In the case of the brāhmaṇa sacrificer the call for the person who separates is हविष्कृदेहि, for a kṣatriya sacrificer हविष्कृदाग्नहि, for a vaiśya हविष्कृदाद्रव and for the śūdra हविष्कृदाधाव. Or the first call may be employed for all. Vide Satapatha I. 1. 4. 12, Āp. I. 19. 9–10, Sat. I. 5. According to some हविष्कृत् is पर्जन्य. The com. on Āp. explains that 'śūdra' here stands for निषादस्थपति. हविष्कृत् means 'the person who prepares the havis' as also the formula used to call him. On the Vedic text 'हविष्कृदेहीति त्रिरवग्रहाह्वयति' Jaimini concludes that this sentence contains an injunction to summon thrice the wife or other separater of grains (III. 2. 5–9). Jai. (XII. 2. 11) establishes that there is no haviṣkṛt call in savanīya puroḍāśas. According to Śat. Br. I. 1. 4. 13 the wife formerly rose to the haviṣkṛt call but in its time either the wife or the āgnīdhra priest rose.

strike silently with the yoke-pin (śamyā) instead of using a stone (Āp. I. 20. 4). He repeats this thrice (i. e. striking with a stone or yoke-pin is done nine times in all). After this the sacrificer's wife or some one else (such as the āgnīdhra) threshes the grains in the mortar (Kāt. II. 4. 14). Jai. (XI. 1. 27) states that the beating has a seen purpose (viz. removal of husk) and so it is to be continued as long as required for effecting that purpose. Jai. (IV. 2. 26) further lays down that the Vedic sentence ' vrīhīn-avahanti ' is a restrictive injunction (niyamavidhi) in that, when unhusking can be effected either by using the mortar and pestle or by some other method (such by using the nails) it restricts one to the former method. The adhvaryu then holds the winnowing basket near the mouth of the mortar to its east or north with the words ' thou art grown by rain '[2312] (as it is made of bamboo) and touches the beaten grains (to be used for puroḍāśa) with ' you are grown by rain '. He then puts with his hand the beaten grains into the winnowing basket with ' may (the śūrpa) know thee ' (the grains as its own). Holding the śūrpa over the *utkara* he thrice winnows the grains and frees them from the husk (which falls on the *utkara*) with ' thrown away is the evil spirit, thrown away are the enemies ' (i. e. the husks are meant to be the portion of evil spirits). He makes the husks sticking to the śūrpa fall on the utkara with ' blown away are the enemies '. He puts the husks from the place of the utkara over the (middle) potsherd (on which the cake is to be baked) and places them (the husks) underneath the black antelope skin in its north-west corner with ' thou art the portion of evil spirits '. He does not look at these husks. He presses down with his hand the spot where the husks are kept with ' pressed down is the evil spirit '. He touches water, sprinkles the potsherd (on which the husks were) with water and keeps the potsherd in its place. He separates the husked and unhusked grains with ' may the wind separate you.' He then pours out the grains of rice from the śūrpa in the pot with the words ' may the god Savitṛ with his golden hands (rays) accept you '. He then takes them and pours them in the mortar and issues a direction (praiṣa) to the sacrificer's

2312. The word वृद्ध is employed in all these mantras for attaining prosperity. Vide Tai. Br. III. 2. 5 ' वर्षवृद्धा वा ओषधयः । वर्षवृद्धा इषीका. संवृद्ध्यै.' Jaimini IV. 1. 26 has a discussion on the placing of husks or the potsherd on which the puroḍāśa is to be baked.

wife to make the rice free from the thin coating of husk.[2313] The wife or some one else or a *dāsī* (a maid-servant) does the threshing several times, then she hands over the pestle to the āgnīdhra who beats with the pestle the grains and then the wife does the final beating with 'may you become pure for the gods, shine for the gods, purify for the gods'. The adhvaryu puts the kaṇas (little particles of rice grains) separated from the polished grains of rice in a vessel, cleanses the polished grains that are in the śūrpa with water. That portion which remains after the grains are beaten thrice is made to flow towards the utkara with the water (collected in another vessel) that is used in washing the polished grains with 'this is the portion of evil spirits. May the waters carry it forward from this place, svāhā', the water being also poured inside the vedi. Then he repeats the whole procedure about the black antelope skin from its being taken up to its being spread already described. Then the adhvaryu places the yoke-pin (śamyā) with its head (kumba, thick part) to the north on the antelope skin with 'thou art the support of the heavenly world'; he establishes[2314] the larger mill-stone (dṛṣad) with its face to the east on the śamyā in such a way as to cover the śamyā with its western half with 'thou art intelligence (though) made of a stone; may the support of heaven know thee'; then he places the smaller mill-stone on the larger one with 'thou art intelligence (though) a child of the mountain; may the dṛṣad know thee'. The adhvaryu then bends and looks at the polished grains that are in the śūrpa with 'you are honeyed rays'. He spreads the polished grains on the larger mill-stone thrice with 'at the command of god Savitṛ.....hands of Pūṣan' (vide p. 1024 for the omitted words). I spread you, you are corn, satiate the gods' and once silently. He draws the smaller mill-stone over the grains to the east with 'to thee for prāṇa'[2315], to the west with 'to thee for apāna',

2313. The वैघ is 'त्रिष्फलीकर्तवै' (Āp. I. 20. 11 and सत्याषाढ I. 5). फलीकरणं तण्डुलेभ्यः कणानां वियोगकरणम् । com. on सत्याषाढ I. 5. This is to be done thrice, once by the wife, then by the āgnīdhra, and then again by the wife. If the wife is not available, then the third is done by the adhvaryu himself. The mantra is recited only once. Vide 'यो वा कश्चिद्विद्यमानायाम्' आप. I. 20. 13 and com. 'अविद्यमानायामनालम्भुकत्वादिना निमित्तेनासंनिहितायामभावे च तस्या इत्यर्थोऽविशेषात्.'

2314. The skin is the earth. He holds with his left hand the skin, the yoke-pin, the larger mill-stone successively as he proceeds.

2315. उच्छ्वासनिश्वासतत्संबंधिनौ वृत्तयः प्राणापानव्यानाः । सायण on तै. सं. I. 1. 6 'प्राणाय त्वाऽपानाय त्वा व्यानाय त्वा.'

and holds it firmly in the middle of the lower mill-stone with 'to thee for vyāna'. Ultimately he grinds towards the east with 'I hold this (smaller mill-stone) for the life (of the sacrificer) in a long and continuous series[2316] of actions (here grinding)'. Thereafter he continuously grinds the grains at his pleasure. He throws the ground grains from the larger mill-stone with the smaller mill-stone on to the antelope skin with 'May God Savitṛ with his golden hands (rays) accept you' and bends down to look at the ground grains with 'I look at you with an unimpaired eye.' He then issues a direction to the wife 'grind (or pound) without scattering (the grains away from the larger mill-stone or from the antelope skin) and make them into fine flour.' Either the wife grinds or a maid-servant (dāsī) may do so (Āp. I. 21. 8–9); and then keeps aside the well-ground flour in a well-known place. The adhvaryu heats on the gārhapatya water called *madantī*[2317] brought from the praṇītā water. The offerings (of cooked vegetable food) are cooked either on the gārhapatya or on the āhavanīya fire.

The adhvaryu, after sitting to the west of the gārhapatya, takes the upaveṣa with 'thou art dhṛṣṭi (bold one), give brahma (holy food?).' He separates two burning coals from the western portion of the gārhapatya fire with the upaveṣa and keeps them on the eastern side of the gārhapatya mound itself. He casts outside one of the two coals to the north-west of the gārhapatya with 'O Fire! Dash aside the fire that eats (cooks) raw food (not cooked in accordance with śāstra); and forbid that fire that eats flesh (cooks ordinary meat food).' He then touches water, places the remaining coal on that spot on the west (of the gārhapatya mound where he has to place the potsherds) with 'bring that fire that worships the gods.' He then places the middle one[2318] (of the eight potsherds) thereon with 'thou art firm, make the earth firm, strengthen life, progeny and surround the sacrificer with his kinsmen.' He lays a

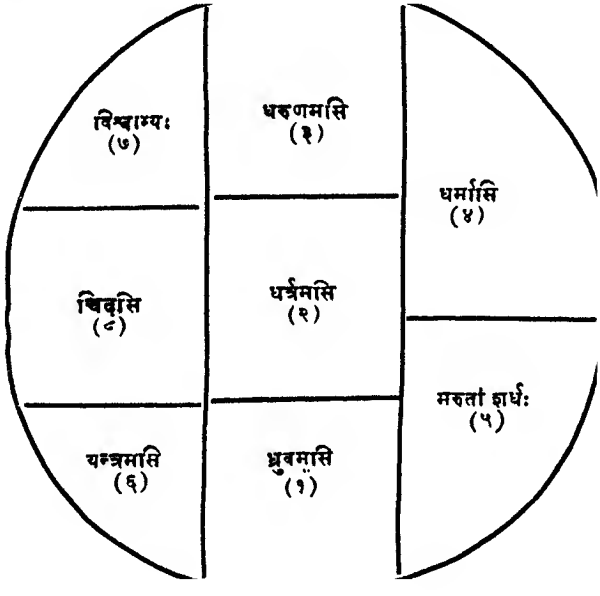
2316. Or मसिति may refer to the skin (vide Uvaṭa on Vāj. S. I. 20 where this mantra occurs).

2317. According to Āp. I. 23. 24 the kapālas are first arranged (kapālopadhāna) and then the madantī water is heated, while Satyāṣāḍha (I. 5–6) reverses these processes.

2318. According to Vaikhānasa the southern of the two burning coals is cast aside. Vide com. on Satyāṣāḍha I. 6. p. 133. According to Āp. I. 22. 2 the coal that is not cast away is placed to the south on the gārhapatya mound and thereon the first potsherd is laid.

burning coal on that potsherd with 'burnt is the evil spirit, burnt are the enemies.' The potsherds, whether eight, eleven or more or less, are arranged on the gārhapatya mound. To the east of the central one he places a kapāla with 'thou art the supporter, make the aerial space firm, strengthen prāṇa and apāna, surround the sacrificer with his kinsmen.' Then a third is placed to the east of the 2nd with 'thou art dharuṇa (supporter), support heaven, the eye, the ear and surround &c.' He places the 4th kapāla to the south-east with 'thou art dharma (supporter), support the directions, the home, progeny, surround &c.'; he places the fifth to the south-west with 'thou art the strength (or host) of maruts'; he places the 6th in the north-west with 'thou art a restrainer, support the directions, wealth, prosperity, surround &c.'; he places the 7th to the north-east with 'I place thee that art uninjured from all the directions for the reconciliation (or love) of all kinsmen'; and lastly the remaining one to the north with 'thou art *cit*[2319] (intelligence).'

2319. The arrangement of eight potsherds according to Sat. I. 6 is shown in the diagram. The arrangement according to Āp. I. 22-23 and Kāt. II. 4. 27-34 somewhat differs. The com. on Kāt. II. 4. 37 explains how eleven potsherds are to be arranged and how less or more are to be arranged. Eggeling summarises the com. in S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 34n. Vide Tai. S. I. 1. 7 for ध्रुवमसि &c.



In modern times many agnihotrins do not generally employ eight or eleven potsherds but employ one earthen brick (that would have the shape of the kapālas when placed together), on which lines are scratched to indicate the number of kapālas. Then taking coals from the gārhapatya he spreads the coals on the potsherds (whether 8, 11 or more or less) with the veda bunch repeating for each potsherd 'may you be heated by the tapas of Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases.'

The adhvaryu heats the pātrī (the puroḍāśa pātrī, according to Kāt. II. 6. 49) that is washed with water on the fire on which the cake is to be baked and when it is heated and slightly cooled he places the pavitras on it and pours on to it across the pavitras the flour (of ground and bruised grains) from the black antelope skin with the *yajus mantra*[2320] 'devasya tvā ... agnaye juṣṭam saṁvapāmi' thrice and once silently. While pouring the ground grains he restrains his speech and gives up the restraint only when he spreads holy ashes over the puroḍāśa (vide below). He purifies the flour by moving forwards and backwards and raising up the two pavitras (darbha blades) the tips of which are turned northwards thrice (i. e. he performs *utpavana*) once with the mantra 'haryos-tvā vārābhyām-ut-punāmi' or with the mantra 'devo vaḥ' (vide note 2291 above). He takes in the sruva ladle water from the praṇītā water, and supporting it on the *veda* bunch pours that water on the flour with a mantra 'waters have joined with waters &c.' (Tai. S. I. 1. 8. 1) and also pours thereon the hot water from the *madantī* vessel with the mantra[2321] 'you are generated from waters' and mixes the flour through and through on all sides with the water from left to right with 'may you be well mixed up with water' (Tai. S. I. 1. 8. 1). He stirs and mixes the flour and water with the *mekṣaṇa*[2322] with 'I mix thee together for generation', and makes a ball (of the flour) with 'thou art the head of the sacrifice'. He then

2320. Appropriate changes will have to be made according to the deity for whom the cake is meant (i. e. either अग्नये or अग्नीषोमाभ्यां &c.). Vide Āp. I. 24. 1 and यथा दैवतमेवैनानि संवपति in Tai. Br. III. 2. 8.

2321. Flour becomes well mixed up when it is wetted with hot water. 'You are &c.'—these words are addressed to the flour. Vide Haug's translation of Ait. Br. p. 3 n. 3 as to how the cake is baked.

2322. The mekṣaṇa is a rod of aśvattha wood one *aratni* long having at one end a square board four aṅgulas in length (to be used like a mixing spoon).

divides the ball into two parts with 'may you (two) become separate according to the respective shares (of the deities)'. He makes two balls of equal size from the dough and touches the two separately with 'this for Agni' and 'this for Agni and Soma.'[2323] From the group of potsherds to the south he removes the burning coals with the *veda* bunch with 'Here do I remove the face from the approaching (or attacking) army' and then removes the coals also from the group of potsherds that are to the north. Taking the ball of flour that is to be placed on the southern potsherds with 'thou art the head of the sacrifice' he bakes the ball with 'thou art heat and bestower of all life' and similarly bakes the other ball on the northern group of potsherds in the same way.[2324] He makes the cake assume the shape of a tortoise, but its back should be neither too high nor too low like an *apūpa* and the cake should be as large as the hoof of a horse.[2325] He spreads the cake so that it covers all the potsherds with 'may thou spread wide' (i. e. have progeny &c.). He puts water in the vessel (with the water from which the flour was mixed up) and sweeps the surface of the cake from left to right with his wet hand in such a way that the cake will have a skin-like continuous surface with 'mayst thou take on a skin'. He passes a burning firebrand thrice round each cake with 'vanished is the evil spirit, vanished are the enemies'. He applies over the cakes the flames of burning darbhas with 'may the god Savitṛ bake thee in the kindled (fire) called nāka'. He applies heat by passing round the cakes burning fire-brands with 'may fire not burn thy body! O Fire, protect the offering'. He spreads over the cake ashes in which there are also burning coals with 'mayst thou be connected with prayer'. The adhvaryu issues a direction (to the āgnīdhra) 'bake the cakes without burning them' and here he gives up the restraint of speech (that was imposed as stated above).

He heats with a burning firebrand the water used for wiping the fingers and for scouring the vessels and draws with the *sphya* to the west of the āhavanīya (or gārhapatya) three lines

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2323. In पूर्णमासेष्टि the two balls are for Agni and Agnī-ṣomau and in darśa for Agni and Indrāgnī.

2324. Āp. (I. 24. 6-7) says that the first ball is baked on all the eight potsherds for Agni and then the other ball is baked.

2325. अतुच्छमनपूपाकृतिमश्वशफमात्रं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृति करोति। आप. I. 25. 4, सत्या. I. 6. p. 141. 'तत्रापि कश्चित्कूर्मस्तुङ्गः कश्चिदपूपाकृतिरपूपवन्निम्नस्तदुभयविलक्षणो नात्युच्चो नातिनीच इत्यर्थः' com. on सत्या.

(on the vedi) running from south to north (or optionally from west to east, according to Āp. I. 25. 14); he pours that water on each of the three lines thrice in such a way that the water let fall on one line does not become mixed with that poured on the next line and that in pouring water he proceeds from east to west with 'to Ekata, svāhā! to Dvita, svāhā! to Trita, svāhā!' (Tai. S. I. 1. 8. 1).[2326]

To the west of the āhavanīya he constructs a vedi, which is in length as much as the height of the sacrificer or which is as long as required for one's purpose and which has curved sides.[2327] The sacrificer repeats a verse 'I make a mansion for him &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6) and touches the spot where the vedi is to be made. The adhvaryu sweeps the spot of the vedi with the veda bunch once with the mantra 'they knew the vedi by means of the veda bunch &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 3. 9) and twice silently before the dust and weeds are removed.[2328] The yajamāna invokes the vedi when it is being swept by repeating certain verses viz. 'you, a young lady, with four tufts of hair &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu takes the sphya

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2326. The story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who are called āpya occurs in Tai. Br. III. 2. 8. In the Ṛg. we frequently come across Trita, a devotee of Indra, who is there sometimes called Āptya. Vide Ṛg. I. 105. 9, VIII. 12. 16, VIII. 47. 13. Trita is said to be the seer of Ṛg. IX. 102 and X. 1-7.

2327. According to the com. on Sat. I. 6, p. 145 the vedi should be 4 aratnis or 96 aṅgulas in length. According to Kāt. II. 6. 2-10 the vedi should be 4 aratnis on the west side and 3 on the east, three finger breadths deep, should slope towards the east or north, should be contracted in the middle, the corners of its eastern side (called *aṁsas*, shoulders) should envelope the āhavanīya mound and all the herbs growing thereon and the roots should be uprooted. The vedi is deemed to have the shape of a young woman with broad hips (the two corners of the west side are called *śroṇi*) and a slender waist and verses are repeated which describe it in terms of a well-decked young lady. 'पुरस्तादंहीयसी पश्चात्प्रथीयसी मध्ये संनततरा भवति' आप. II. 3. 2. In the figure here the vedi is away from the gārhapatya. This is so for those who follow the sūtra of Āpastamba. For those who follow Satyāṣāḍha the vedi begins much nearer to the gārhapatya than is seen in the figure here and the dakṣināgni is also nearer the gārhapatya.

2328. वेदेन बर्हिः..... विश्वव्दानिरिति पुरस्तात्स्तम्बयजुषो वेदेन बर्हिः श्रिः संमार्ष्टि। पूर्वार्धादेवेतृतीयदेशे स्तम्बयजुर्हरति। सत्या. I. 6. pp. 145-146, आप. II. 1. 3-4. The com. on आप. II. 1. 4 says स्तम्बयजुरिति सतृणाः पांसवोऽभिधीयन्ते तद्योगात्कर्म च क्वचित्। It is called स्तम्बयजुः because the stalk of darbha is cut after reciting a yajus formula.

(wooden sword) along with two darbhas with 'I take you at the impulse of Savitṛ ..... with the hands of Pūṣan', invokes it with 'thou art the arm of Indra', cleanses upwards the tip of the sphya with a darbha with 'thou art wind with a thousand tips (or edges) and a hundred sharp brilliances' and places a darbha with its tip to the north or east on the eastern portion of the vedi at a spot which is 32 aṅgulas from the eastern side of the vedi (i. e. $\frac{1}{8}$ of the length of the vedi) with 'thou art armour for the earth.'[2329] He strikes the darbha with the *sphya* saying 'O Earth, meant as the place for worshipping gods, may I not injure the root of thy herb'. He moves aside with the sphya the dust together with the cut blade of darbha with 'struck aside is the demon Araru from the earth'. He removes the dust and the blade with the sphya outside the vedi towards the utkara[2330] with 'go to the cowpen, the place of the cows.' While this is being done the sacrificer recites by way of invocation 'O gods! I cut off with the bolt of Indra the head of him who hates me &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu looks at the vedi with 'may Heaven rain on thee' and at the sacrificer with 'may rain shower on thee'. The āgnīdhra sits down with the palms of his hands turned upwards to the north of the vedi and outside it on a spot at the distance of two *padas* (footsteps) from the north side of the vedi with 'salutation to heaven and to the earth.' The adhvaryu spreads near the āgnīdhra the dust together with the cut blade of grass at the distance of one *prakrama* to the north of the vedi from a spot which is 32 aṅgulas (or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the vedi) from the eastern side of the vedi[2331] with 'O God Savitṛ! bind with a hundred fetters in the most distant region him who hates us and him whom we hate; do not free them from the fetters'. The āgnīdhra covers with both his

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2329. Vide Tai. S. II. 6. 4, Tai. Br. III. 2. 9, Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 7–20 for details about the construction of the vedi. According to Sat. (II. 6, p. 152) following Vedic texts, the vedi is prepared on the Paurṇamāsī day in the Pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi and on the previous day in the darśeṣṭi. Jaimini V. 1. 29 explains the consequences of this on the order in which the various actions are performed.

2330. The उत्कर is called गोस्थान, as गो means speech and as the āgnīdhra sits near the utkara and makes the pratyāśrāvaṇa formula अस्तु श्रौषट् from near it.

2331. This defines the position of the *utkara*. यथान देव सवितरित्यु-चरतः पुरस्ताद्वितुतीयदेश उदग्द्विपदेऽपरिमिते वा वेदेर्निर्वपति स उत्करः । आप. II. 1. 6-7. उत्किरति अस्मिन् सतृणं पांसुमित्युत्करः । com. on Sat. I. 6. p. 148.

hands[2332] joined together the place of the utkara with 'the restless one is held down' and remains so. The adhvaryu strikes the vedi with the sphya a second time and a third time and the same procedure is followed by him and by the āgnīdhra as at the first striking except that one *mantra* is different for each priest at each of the two strikings. The adhvaryu strikes with the sphya a fourth time but silently and all actions of the first striking are repeated but without mantras. The adhvaryu removes all the remnants of the darbhas from the vedi, the yajamāna recites the invocatory verse 'I cut off the head' &c. and the āgnīdhra covers a fourth time with his hands with 'may Araru not spring upwards to thy heaven'. The adhvaryu then draws with the sphya on the vedi a line from the south corner of the west side of the vedi towards the east up to the southern shoulder (on the east side of the vedi) with[2333] 'may the Vasus enfold you with the Gāyatrī metre'. He draws a line on the western side of the vedi towards the north with 'may the Rudras enfold thee with the Triṣṭubh metre' and draws a line from the northern corner of the west side towards the east with 'may the Ādityas enfold thee with the Jagatī metre'. While this is being done the yajamāna mutters a verse 'O Bṛhaspati, envelope the vedi &c.'. He makes the shoulders of the vedi raised up and envelope the āhavanīya mound and the two corners on the western side turned towards the gārhapatya and the vedi is contracted in the middle. The adhvaryu issues a direction[2334] (to himself

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2332. The action of covering with the hands symbolizes the consequence desired viz., that the enemy is confined to the spot to which he is consigned and cannot escape therefrom. Vide Tai. Br. III. 2. 9 for exposition.

2333. परिग्रहण means 'drawing lines with the sphya round the vedi in order to indicate the extent of the vedi.' 'परिगृह्णाति परि समन्तात्स्फ्येन रेखाकरणादिना इयती वेदिरिति ज्ञापनार्थं परिगृह्णाति' com. on Kāt. II. 6. 25. The enveloping with lines may be done up to the middle of the vedi or up to the shoulders (the corners of the east side of the vedi) or up to the āhavanīya mound. पूर्वपरिग्रह (or-परिग्राह) and उत्तरपरिग्रह or-परिग्राह are technical expressions, the first refers to the actions done from enveloping with the mantra to Vasus up to the Āgnīdhra digging the vedi and levelling it. 'पूर्व परिग्रहमित्यस्य कर्मणः संज्ञा संव्यवहारार्था। ..... आगतेनेत्युत्तरतः उत्तरओणेरारभ्य उत्तरपार्श्वे पुरस्ताद्वेदिमध्ये यावत् अंसपर्यन्तमाहवनीयान्तं वा परिग्रहणं कार्यम्।' com. on Kāt. II. 6. 25. पूर्वपरिग्राह is somewhat like the first rough plan and उत्तरपरिग्राह conveys the idea of final completion.

2334. Really this is a mere mantra for *japa*.

or to the āgnīdhra or to the attendants if any) 'O men! make this vedi and make it occupied by the Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas &c.' (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. I. 9). The āgnīdhra digs up with the sphya the upper layer of dust with 'Araru has been struck off from the earth, bring here him who worships the gods' and carries the dust so dug towards the utkara. When this is being done the sacrificer recites two texts. The āgnīdhra digs the ground from west to east for making the vedi with 'at the prompting of God Savitṛ, the worshippers do their work'. Whatever roots remain in the ground he removes with the sphya, and all dust that remains he removes to the utkara. The adhvaryu addresses the brahmā priest 'O brahman! shall I undertake the further enfolding of the vedi'. The brahmā priest mutters a mantra 'O Bṛhaspati, enfold the vedi &c.' and loudly replies, 'Yes (om), do enfold'. He enfolds the vedi from the south, west, and north respectively[2335] with 'thou art ṛta (right), thou art the abode of ṛta, thou art the glory of ṛta'. The yajamāna mutters while this is being done a verse 'O Bṛhaspati! enfold the vedi' (same as the one recited by the brahmā above). The adhvaryu says 'thou art dhā (support of the *havis*), thou art svadhā (the source of piṇḍas offered to Manes), thou art the wide earth, thou art rich' and makes the surface of the vedi level by means of the sphya from east to west. The yajamāna invokes the vedi with a mantra 'Having become the earth, it nourished greatness &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu addresses a mantra[2336] (Tai. S. I. 1. 9) to the vedi 'O virapśin! Before the cruel (Araru) creeps out &c.', holds the sphya in a slanting position in a spot which is beyond $\frac{1}{3}$ of the length of the vedi from its western side and issues a direction[2337] 'obtain or set down the

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2335. The words ऋतमसि, ऋतसदनमसि, ऋतश्रीरसि are addressed to the vedi. They are from Tai. S. I. 1. 9.

2336. According to Sāyaṇa, विरप्शिन् is irregular for विरप्शिनि addressed to the vedi and means 'having priests.'

2337. The मैत्र is मोक्षणीरासादयेध्मावदिरुपसादय ध्रुवं च ध्रुचश्च संसृड्डि पत्नीं संनह्याज्येनोदेहीति ।. Vide Tai. Br. III. 2. 9 and Sat. I. 6. p. 153. According to Sat. this is addressed to himself by the adhvaryu who does all these actions in order. According to Kāt. II. 6. 36–37 the direction is addressed to āgnīdhra and according to the com. on Āp. II, 3. 11 there is an option. Even if the yajamāna has two or more wives the direction is still पत्नीं संनह्य, since the rule is that there is no

(*Continued on next page*)

water for sprinkling, put down the idhma (fuel-sticks) and barhis (kuśa grass), clean the *sruva* and the *sruc* ladles, gird up the wife (of the sacrificer), and come out with clarified butter.' Then the āgnīdhra (or adhvaryu) places two pavitras inside the agnihotrahavaṇī (sruc), pours water into it, draws the sphya in a slanting position (from the spot where it had been held fixed) a short distance to the north thereby causing a furrowed line on the vedi, holds the sphya in the left hand inside the vedi and the agnihotrahavaṇī in the right hand, drops a little water from the agnihotrahavaṇī on to the furrowed line made by the sphya and places the agnihotrahavaṇī (containing the water) on the spot where the sphya had been originally held fixed slantingly with 'O abode of ṛta.' The adhvaryu brings to his mind him whom the yajamāna hates. When the prokṣaṇī waters are being placed the yajamāna mutters a mantra. The adhvaryu throws the sphya in such a way that it falls on the utkara with 'thou art produced from a tree, thou hast a hundred points, thou art the death of the enemy.' Then seizing the sphya with his fist by the bulging part thereof he draws it towards the east from the utkara. He washes his hands on the utkara and also the sphya with water but does not touch with his bare hand the point of the sphya (i. e. he cleans the other parts of the sphya with his hand by pouring the water thereon and cleans the point by only pouring water thereon). To the north of the āhavanīya he places with both hands the *idhma* and *barhis*, the latter to the north of the former. The sphya is placed near the praṇītā waters to their west (Kāt. II. 6. 43).

With the ends of the blades cut off in making the veda bunch he (the āgnīdhra or adhvaryu himself) wipes the sruva and the three ladles viz. juhū, upabhṛt and dhruvā), invokes them with 'you are not sharpened (and yet) you destroy our enemies.' He takes up the sruva and the sruc ladles with 'Agni summons you, who are filled with butter, for the worship

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(*Continued from last page*)

ūha in the model sacrifice. Vide Jaimini IX. 3. 20. The next sūtra extends the same rule to vikṛti sacrifices also. In XII. 1. 29 Jaimini establishes that at the time of dīkṣā in a Soma sacrifice the wife is girt up with the yoktra, a fresh girding up is hence not necessary in the prāyaṇīyā and other iṣṭis that are constituent elements in somayāga. Jaimini I. 4. 11 explains that the word prokṣaṇī is used here in its etymological sense.

of the gods,' heats them on the āhavānīya or gārhapatya with 'burnt is the evil spirit, burnt are the enemies, I heat you with the very dazzling light of Agni.' He cleans the sruva, the bowl by rubbing its inside several times and its outside on all sides once with the tips [2338] (of the vedaparivāsanāni) and its rod with the roots (of the portions of the cut blades) with 'May I not brush the place of cows ! I clean thee that art strong (or possessed of food) and that subduest enemies ' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 1). He cleans the juhū ladle, the bowl by rubbing its inside several times from west to east with the tips (of the cut portions), its outside from east to west with the middle portions and its rod with the roots with ' may I not brush out speech and life-breath, I clean thee &c.' He cleans the upabhṛt, the inside from east to west (as for sruva), the outside from west to east with the middle portions and the rod with the roots with ' may I not rub out the eye and the ear, I clean thee &c.' He cleans the dhruvā ladle as he did the sruva, with the difference that the mantra is ' may I not rub out progeny and home &c.' He does not allow a cleaned vessel to come in contact with one that is not cleaned, but if they are brought in contact he again heats the vessel (already cleaned) and cleans it again. He takes up the vessel called prāśitraharaṇa, [2339] heats it on the fire (but without mantras) and cleans it, the bowl with the tips (of cut blades) on all sides from the outside to the inside and the rod with the roots ' with may I not brush out food, progeny and prosperity, I clean thee that art strong and subduest enemies '. According to Āp. II. 4. 10 and com. on Sat. I. 7 p. 158 the sruc ladles and the prāśitraharaṇa are laid on darbhas in front of the utkara or to its west on the north side of the vedi. He sprinkles with water the cut portions of the veda bunch with

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2338. The portions cut off in making the veda bunch (called vedaparivāsanāni) have three parts, अग्र (tips), मध्य and मूल. The first and last are employed in cleaning the स्रुव. The mantra in Tai. S. I. 1. 10 is गोष्ठं मा निर्मृक्षं वाजिनं त्वा सपत्नसाहं संमार्ज्मि, वाचं प्राणं चक्षुः श्रोत्रं प्रजां योनिं मा निर्मृक्षं वाजिनीं त्वा सपत्नसाहीं संमार्ज्मि. गोष्ठं ..... साहं संमार्ज्मि is uttered when cleaning स्रुव, वाचं प्राणं मा निर्मृक्षं वाजिनीं त्वा सपत्नसाहीं संमार्ज्मि for जुहू, चक्षुः श्रोत्रं मा निर्मृक्षं वाजिनीं त्वा सपत्नसाहीं संमार्ज्मि with उपभृत्, प्रजां योनिं मा निर्मृक्षं वाजिनीं.....संमार्ज्मि with ध्रुवा. 'प्रतीचीमग्रादारभ्य पात्रवृष्णसंधिपर्यन्तं, संधिमारभ्याग्रपर्यन्तं प्राचीम् ' com. on Sat. I. 7 p. 158.

2339. Prāśitra is a portion of the *havis* left over after offering into the fire, that is to be given to the brahmā priest and prāśitraharaṇa is the vessel that holds it and that is made of khadira wood, is shaped like a cow's ear, is one span long and has a rod four angulas in length.

which the vessels were cleaned and offers them into that fire [2340] (gārhapatya or āhavanīya) on which the vessels were heated with 'this artistic thing (the darbha that springs from water) spread down from heaven, it resorts to the spaces of the earth; we destroy our enemy with it that has a thousand shoots, svāhā!' (Tai. Br. III. 3. 2).

Then comes *patnīsaṁnahana* (girding up of the sacrificer's wife).

The āgnīdhra takes up the veda bunch, the *āyasthālī*, [2341] *yoktra*, and the two darbha blades used as *pavitra*. The wife (of the sacrificer), while sitting to the south-west of the gārhapatya with knee raised up or standing is girt up by the āgnīdhra (by the adhvaryu, according to com. on Āp. II. 5. 6) with the yoktra (cord of muñja grass) with the mantra, 'I hoping for a favourably disposed mind, progeny, good luck, beautiful body and observing the vratas of Agni, gird up myself for meritorious actions' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 1). In modern practice the wife girds up her waist with the yoktra herself. He does not gird her up over the garment worn round the waist but inside it (Āp. II. 5. 5 says there is an option). The yoktra has a loop at one end in which the other end is inserted and the cord is passed round the waist of the wife twice, a knot like that of the top-knot (śikhā of a man) is made to the north of the navel with 'may Pūṣan tie a knot for you' and it is drawn to the south of the navel from left to right. She waits upon (does adoration to) the gārhapatya by standing and saying 'O fire, Lord of the house, call me near'. Standing to the west of the gārhapatya she pays

2340. According to Kāt. II. 6. 50 the cut blades used in scouring the vessels are thrown on the utkara. Āp. II. 5. 1 gives an option.

2341. The ājyasthālī is a pot in which clarified butter is taken with a mantra after the pavitra blades are placed therein and from which the sruc ladles are filled. The yoktra is a triple (having three strands) cord of *muñja* grass with which the waist of the sacrificer's wife is girt with a mantra by the āgnīdhra at the direction of the adhvaryu in sacrificial rites. The wife is made fit for participation in the sacrifice by being girt up. Vide Tai. Br. III. 3. 3 'आशासाना सौमनसमित्याह। मेधामेवैना केवलीं कृत्वा आशिषा समर्धयति। अग्नेरव्रता ... कमित्याह। एतद्वै पत्नियै व्रतोपनयनम्। तेनैवैना व्रतमुपनयति।'. According to some (Āp. II. 5. 3) the mantra 'ईक्षेक्षेक्ष' is recited by the wife. The words in Sat. 1. 7 p. 160 are 'उत्तरतो नाभेर्निष्टर्क्यं ग्रन्थिं कृत्वा'. निष्टर्क्यः ग्रन्थिः means शिक्षाकृतिः ग्रन्थिः (com. on Āp. II. 5.6) i.e. a knot that can be unloosened by untwisting. Girding her up represents making her undergo a *vrata* for the sacrifice, as stated by the Tai. Br. quoted above.

adoration to the wives of the gods[2342] with 'May you wives of the gods summon me near you' and she looks at the same spot (west of gārhapatya and not east) with 'O wife, O wife (of the god)! this is thy world, salutation to thee, do not injure me'. She sits facing the north at a place which is south-west of the gārhapatya with 'May I have no widowed state just as Indrāṇī has none.[2343] May I have good sons like Aditi! O gārhapatya endowed with all means, I sit down near thee for good progeny' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). On sitting down she mutters (japati[2344]) 'O fire! we, who have virtuous husbands and who have good progeny, who are not treated with contempt, have sat down near thee, that destroyest enemies and that cannot be destroyed (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 1-2); may my sons be destroyers of enemies and my daughter be ruling (a queen); I also am victorious (over my co-wives) and my glory with my husband is highest (Ṛg. X. 159. 3).' The āgnīdhra opens the mouth of the big jar (covered with a piece of cloth or the like) in which ghee has been stored with 'may Pūṣan open thy mouth' and takes from it into another vessel ghee that should be a little more than what would be required in the rite, heats it on the dakṣiṇa fire with 'Viṣṇu traversed this' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17). He takes up from the spot where all utensils have been placed the ājyasthālī (pot for clarified butter) with 'thou art Aditi, whose pavitra is not cut off' and pours into that pot in which two pavitras are placed plenty of clarified butter[2345] 'thou art the milk of the great ones (the cows), the fluid of herbs, I take out from thee that art inexhaustible a portion for the worship of gods (this is the nirvāpa of clarified butter). He melts the butter in the ājyasthālī on the burning coals of the southern portion of the gārhapatya

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2342. The region of the wives of the gods is to the west of the gārhapatya.

2343. In Ṛg. X. 86. 11 (and Tai. S. I. 7. 13. 1) we read इन्द्राणीमासु नारिषु सुभगामहमश्रवम्। न ह्यस्या अपरं च न जरसा मरते पतिर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः॥

2344. The com. on Sat. I. 7. p. 161 significantly remarks that the mantras to be repeated by the wife should be learnt by her from her father or husband before *agnyādhāna* 'एते मन्त्रा आधानात्पूर्वं पितुः पत्युर्वा सकाशाद्धीत्य प्रयोज्याः'.

2345. The com. on Āp. II. 6. 1 notices that in the absence of ghee made from cow's milk, ghee made from the milk of a she-buffalo or a she-goat may be used as a substitute or even sesame oil. But the mantra is the same (there is no *ūha* of the words referring to cows that occur in the mantra).

fire with 'to thee for sap', takes it down (from the coals) with 'to thee for strength', holds it over the veda bunch and hands both the pot and the veda bunch to the wife. She first closes her eyes and then holding her breath (opens her eyes and) looks down on the clarified butter with 'thou art the milk of cows; the fluid of herbs, I look on thee for securing good progeny with an invincible eye' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3). The āgnīdhra places the ājyasthālī on the northern portion of the gārhapatya fire and melts it with 'thou art light'; he takes it from the fire with 'to thee for light' and carries it to the south of the āhavanīya with 'follow after light'. He melts it on that fire with 'may Agni not remove thy light'. He takes up the pot and returns by the way he went and places it with a mantra 'thou art the tongue of Agni' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3) to the north of the prokṣaṇī waters on the line drawn with the sphya.

The adhvaryu and the yajamāna both close their eyes, holding their breath, (open their eyes and) look down upon the clarified butter with 'thou art ājya, thou art truth ..... may I partake of thee' (a long mantra from Tai. S. I. 6. 1. 1-2). The adhvaryu purifies (performs *utpavana* of) the ājya thrice with two pavitras[2346] the points of which are held towards the north by continuously carrying them backwards and forwards with 'thou art bright, thou art the flame, thou art light' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3). He performs *utpavana* of the prokṣaṇī water with 'devo vaḥ savitotpunātu &c.' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3). The adhvaryu fills with the sruva ladle that has no trace of anything sticking to it and that is held in the right hand clarified butter inside the vedi, while holding the sruc together with the veda bunch in the left hand. The juhū ladle is so held that its bowl is alongside of the hollow of the ājyasthālī, that of the upabhṛt is near the middle of the ājyasthālī and the dhruvā is on the ground. In the juhū and dhruvā four ladlings are made with sruva while in the upabhṛt eight are made[2347], but the upabhṛt contains the smallest portion of ājya, the juhū contains a good deal and the dhruvā contains

2346. The com. on Sat. I. 7. p. 165 explains how this particular utpavana is done 'आज्यस्थाल्यां पवित्रे पश्चाद्भागमारभ्य प्राग्भागं नीत्वा पुनः पश्चाद्भागमानीय ततो मन्त्रेणोत्पुनाति' पुनर्द्विरेवमेव।'. The Ṛgvedins move the pavitras from the west to the east only.

2347. There are various views about the number of times ājya is poured with the *sruva* into the three ladles (sruc). Vide Āp. II. 7. 4-6, Sat. I. 7 pp. 165-167. The general rule is stated above.

the largest quantity. When the juhū is being filled the mantras are four 'śukram tvā...gṛhṇāmi pañcānām tvā...dhartrāya gṛhṇāmi' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3 and I. 6. 1. 2-3); in the case of the upabhṛt the mantras are eight 'pañcānām tvartūnām... suvīryāya tvā...gṛhṇāmi'; in the case of the dhruvā the mantras are 'suprajāstvāya tvā gṛhṇāmi..... devatābhyo gṛhṇāmi' (Tai. S. I. 6. 1. 3). The yajamāna also invokes with the same mantras when the ladling is going on. The adhvaryu removes the ājyasthālī together with the veda and sruva from the vedi, keeps the ājya in some place other than the utkara, invokes the prokṣaṇī waters with 'the divine waters (āpo devīr &c., Tai. S. I. 1. 5. 1) and seeks the permission of the brahmā priest with 'brahman, shall I sprinkle.' When the brahmā says 'yes' he sprinkles thrice the idhma (fire-wood brought, vide p.1014 above), the veda bunch and the vedi, each with a separate mantra (from Tai. S. I. 1. 11. 1). He places the whole bundle of *barhis* with the knot to the east inside the vedi with a (*sautra*) mantra 'we had recourse to barhis &c.' and sprinkles the tips, the middle portions and the roots of the *barhis* respectively with 'to thee for heaven', 'to thee for the aerial region', 'to thee for the earth.' While the sprinkling proceeds the yajamāna repeats a verse 'may the waters and herbs be well disposed to the yajamāna &c.' (Āp. IV. 6. 1). He dips the tips of the barhis in the water contained in the agnihotra-havaṇī and then the roots also. He sprinkles over the knot of the barhis from east to west water from the sruc over which he places his hand (so that water oozes over it from his finger tips) with 'to you for nourishment' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 11). He pours down the remaining prokṣaṇī water from the southern corner (śroṇi) of the west side of the vedi to its north corner with 'svadhā to the pitṛs, mayst thou be strength for the barhiṣad pitṛs, may you (the particles of water) go to the earth with strength' and the yajamāna says 'this is for the Barhiṣad pitṛs.'

Now comes *barhirāstaraṇa* (strewing the vedi with kuśa grass). He loosens the knot of the bundle of *barhis* with 'may Pūṣan loosen thy knot'. He takes in his hand the prastara bunch drawing it towards the east slowly from the bundle of barhis (as if towards the āhavanīya) with 'thou art the crest (stūpa) of viṣṇu i. e. yajña (Tai. S. I. 1. 11). With 'I implant prāṇa and apāna in the yajamāna' he places the two pavitra blades (used in utpavana above) on the prastara, hands it over to the brahmā priest, who passes it on to the

yajamāna who holds it in his hand. He strews darbha[2347a] grass on the vedi and places the cord that tied the barhis thereon with 'God Barhis! I strew thee that art soft like wool, as a good seat for the gods'. The darbhas are spread in three or five series (or divisions) beginning from the west side of the vedi towards the east (or the reverse according to some) in such a way that the tips of one set that is already spread cover the roots of the next and the grass is so thickly strewn that the ground below cannot be easily seen. When the kuśa grass is being strewn the yajamāna recites a mantra 'O barhis, that are soft like wool, being spread ..... place me in heaven &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6), when the vedi is covered with the middle division of the barhis he recites the mantra 'this young lady with four tufts of hair &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6) and when the vedi is completely covered he recites a long passage 'May you be auspicious to me ..... increase food, strength, spiritual lustre, martial brilliance, prosperity, progeny, cattle for me &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6).

He takes out two blades (to be used later) for the anūyājas and keeps them separately to the east, feeds the āhavanīya with fire-wood, takes back the prastara from the hand of the yajamāna, and while holding the prastara himself places the three encircling fuel-sticks (*paridhi*) round the āhavanīya fire. The middle paridhi is placed on darbhas to the west of the āhavanīya with the tip towards the north with[2348] 'thou art gandharva &c.'. While the middle paridhi is being placed the yajamāna recites a mantra (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The other two paridhis are laid to the south and north of the āhavanīya place with their tips to the east, the southern one extending a little beyond the āhavanīya place and touching the middle paridhi and the northern one also touches the middle paridhi. The yajamāna repeats two long passages when the southern and northern paridhis are being laid (portions of which are identical

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2347a. According to the Tai. Br. III. 3. 6 barhis represents human beings and the vedi represents the earth. 'बर्हिः स्तृणाति । प्रजा वै बर्हिः । पृथिवी वेदिः । प्रजा एव पृथिव्यां प्रतिष्ठापयति ।'. In Tai. Br. III. 3. 6 we have यजमानो वै प्रस्तरः which Jai. I. 4. 23 says is a mere arthavāda.

2348. The mantra for the middle paridhi is गन्धर्वोसि विश्वावसुर्विश्व-स्मादीषतो यजमानस्य परिधिरिह ईडितः, that for the southern paridhi is इन्द्रस्य बाहुरसि दक्षिणो यजमानस्य ... ईडितः, that for the northern one is मित्रावरुणौ स्थोत्तरतः परिधत्तां ध्रुवेण धर्मणा ... ईडितः. These occur in Tai. S. I. 1. 11 and Vāj. S. II. 3.

with that repeated by the yajamāna for the middle paridhi). The adhvaryu invokes the āhavanīya 'may the sun guard you against all injuries whatever' (Tai. S. I. 1. 11). He places (in the midst of the āhavanīya fire) two samidhs with their ends turned upwards on which the āghāras (will be offered later on), one to the south with the mantra 'O Fire, the wise one, may we kindle thee &c.' (vītihotram tvā kave &c. Ṛg. V. 26. 3 or Tai. S. I. 1. 11) and the other to the north of it silently. From the midst of the barhis he takes two darbhas of equal length, that have no blade hhooting from inside of them; these are called vidhṛti and are laid down on the barhis strewn on the vedi in the middle portion of the latter with their tips turned northwards with 'you two are the regulators of people'. When the vidhṛtis are being laid down the yajamāna repeats a long passage 'I cut off my enemies with the vidhṛtis.....may you support life, progeny and cattle in me' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu keeps the prastara bunch on these two vidhṛtis with 'sit in this abode of Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas' (Tai. S. I. 1. 11) and the yajamāna repeats a mantra 'this prastara is the support of both Prayājas and Anūyājas &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu places the juhū on the prastara in such a way that its rod will be alongside of the roots of the prastara bunch with a mantra.[2349] The upabhṛt is placed to the north of the juhū in such a way that its root is very much to the west of the root of the juhū and it is underneath the *vidhṛtis*, and the dhruvā is placed to the north of the upabhṛt over the vidhṛtis and its root is very much to the west of that of the upabhṛt. The three should not be so placed as to touch each other. The yajamāna repeats three passages (all from Tai. Br. III 7. 6) addressed to the three ladles when they are being placed. The adhvaryu lays down the sruva to the south of the juhū (or to the north of the dhruvā but a little behind its bowl) with 'thou art a bull possessed of strength, I seat thee in the extent of vaṣaṭkāra'. He places the ājyasthālī also in such a spot as space would permit. The yajamāna repeats a mantra for sruva and another for ājyasthālī (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The adhvaryu invokes the ladles (srucs) with 'these sat in the world of good deeds; O Viṣṇu! protect them, protect the sacrifice

2349. The same mantra is repeated for all three, only the name of the particular sruc being inserted 'जुहूरसि घृताची नाम्ना प्रियेण नाम्ना प्रिये सदसि सीद। उपभृदसि घृताची ... सीद। ध्रुवासि घृताची ... ... सीद। Vide Tai. S. I. 1. 11 and compare Vāj. S. II. 6.

and the lord of sacrifice and me who bring sacrifice' (Tai. S. I. 1. 11, Vāj. S. II. 6). He invokes the clarified butter with 'you are all-pervading, belong to Viṣṇu and are the abodes of Prajāpati'. He takes in his hand the ājyasthālī together with the sruva and the veda bunch, removes with the veda bunch the burning coals from the southern puroḍāśa with 'Here do I remove the mouth from the attacking army' and then removes them also from the northern puroḍāśa. He invokes the puroḍāśa with 'O Sun, O Light, shine forth for great vigour.' He spreads a little clarified butter in the puroḍāśapātrī for each of the two cakes with 'I make a happy seat for you, I arrange for a seat full of pleasure with a stream of butter' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5) and drops clarified butter over (i. e. performs abhighāraṇa) the southern puroḍāśa which is intended for Agni with 'May Agni whose source is ghee increase (or be pleased), may he accept the offerings, anoint the holes, anoint the skin; I sprinkle thee that art good looking, that art dear to Agni and that securest wealth with the lustre of cattle (i. e. ghee) for Agni' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5) and drops butter silently on the northern puroḍāśa. If the second offering be sānnāyya (instead of a puroḍāśa) he drops clarified butter over the boiled milk with a mantra 'May that self of yours that has entered cattle...go to the gods and secure heaven for me who am a sacrificer' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He removes the puroḍāśa into the pātrī (vessel) from the potsherds without allowing it to break up into pieces and without making it roll about with 'this baked (puroḍāśa) that is moist and has broad prominences, that is the protector of the world, that is the generator of thoughts (or prayers) comes out for a bath' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He brushes away the ashes (sticking on the back of the puroḍāśa) with the veda bunch and lays it down in the puroḍāśapātrī on the butter that has already been sprinkled over it with 'Sit on that, be firmly placed in nectar, O offering, that art the essence of rice grains,[2350] with a favourable mind' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He sprinkles clarified butter over it a second time and keeps it aside with 'mayst thou be strong.'

He sprinkles clarified butter over each of the potsherds (on which the puroḍāśa was baked), counts them and keeps them aside with 'may not prosperity in the form of food and the flavour of earth pass away' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He anoints

2350. Āp. II. 11. 2 says that if the puroḍāśa is made of barley flour he does not repeat the mantra as the word 'rice' occurs therein.

both the puroḍāśas with butter with 'may god Savitṛ anoint thee with honey' (the mantra is repeated twice), the upper part being anointed by the sruva ladle with plenty of ghee in such a way that there are no mere drops of ghee on it as there are specks on the back of the tortoise (but the ghee is well spread over the whole surface) and that the lower skin of the puroḍāśa is anointed with ghee by the right hand. He lays down the two puroḍāśas to the west of the *srucs*, that for Agni being to the south and the other being to the north with 'may you occupy this loved seat by your lovable lustre.' If sānnāyya is to be offered, he brings together (makes them touch each other) in the middle of the vedi the two jars of it and then keeps them separate, the one containing the boiled milk on the southern corner of the west side of the vedi and that containing curds on the northern corner thereof. When the sānnāyya is being thus placed the *yajamāna* repeats a verse 'yasta ātmā' &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5) and repeats a mantra (from Tai. Br. III. 7. 6) invoking the puroḍāśa for Agni, that for Agnīṣoma (or Indra and Agni), the hot milk, the curds (the sānnāyya in cases where it is offered).

The adhvaryu lays down the veda bunch in front of the dhruvā ladle with 'this veda sought the earth that was concealed &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6), strews darbhas round the corners of the vedi,[2351] and prepares the seat for the hotṛ which is to the north of the northern 'śroṇi' of the vedi and the darbhas spread on the seat have their points turned eastwards or northwards. The adhvaryu invites the hotṛ in the words 'O Hotṛ! come'. The hotṛ priest sits down to the north-east of the āhavanīya with face to the east, performs *ācamana* with the sacred cord in the upavīta form, enters the sacrificial ground (vihāra) by the way called *tīrtha* (vide p. 984 above). He enters with his right foot first, plants his heel alongside of the northern śroṇi and steps upon the *barhis* (spread on the vedi) with his toes, spreads out the fingers of both hands which he joins together and holds them on a level with his heart, looks straight at the horizon (and neither upwards nor downwards) and stands facing the east. This is always the position of the limbs of the body in the case of the hotṛ unless there be any express direction to the contrary. The adhvaryu takes a *samidh* from the idhma and issues a direction to the hotṛ 'recite

2351. On वेद्यन्ताम्परिस्तीर्य the com. on Āp. II. 11. 10 says 'वेदिं परिस्तीर्येति यावानर्थस्तावानेव वेद्यन्ताम्परिस्तीर्येति'.

for Agni that is being kindled'. The hotṛ recites 'salutation to the expounder, salutation to the supervisor, salutation to him who reports, who will repeat (or respond to) this? He will repeat this. May the six broad (or great) ones, viz. heaven and earth, day and night, waters and plants save me from sin. Speech has stood firm (and so has) yajña. I shall deal with (i. e. recite) the metres well. I resort to myself so and so (here the hotṛ utters his name in the objective case). In the past and in future, as to things born and to be born I have recourse to (Agni) who is apāvya (?). Bring me the non-cessation of speech'. So saying he contracts his fingers towards himself and then extends them as before by saying 'O fire! make the cattle take delight in me'. (Then he should proceed) 'Heaven and earth are my armour. Fire is my armour, the Sun is my armour and may the intermediate quarters be my armour! O gods! I shall to-day reflect over that highest part of speech, whereby we may vanquish the asuras; O five people, who deserve sacrifices and food accept my offering.[2352] Having finished this *japa*, the hotṛ sets about repeating the Sāmidhenī verses.[2353] The yajamāna repeats the *daśa-hotṛ* mantras before the sāmidhenīs (vide note 2247 for daśahotṛs). First he utters the syllable '*him*' thrice (or once) and the mystic words 'bhūr bhuvaḥ svarom' are muttered inaudibly by him.[2354] Then come the sāmidhenī verses. The sāmidhenī verses are (vide Āśv. I. 2. 7) eleven viz. Ṛg. III. 27. 1, VI. 16. 10–12, III. 27. 13–15, I. 12. 1, III. 27. 4, V. 28. 5–6. But fifteen sāmidhenī verses are to be repeated in Darśa-pūrṇamāsa and the number fifteen of the verses is obtained by repeating each of the first (pra vo vājā, Ṛg. III. 27. 1) and the last verse (ā juhota

2352. The passages नमः प्रवक्त्रे नम उपद्रष्ट्रे ..... जुषध्वम् constitute the entire *japa* which the hotṛ mutters, the last clause being Ṛg. X. 53. 4. This last is explained in Nirukta III. 8. The words नमः प्रवक्त्रे &c., are a *sautra* passage (Āśv. I. 2. 1) and have a parallel in Śān. I. 4 'नमोऽस्तु उपद्रष्ट्रे नमो वायव उपश्रोत्रे नम आदित्यायानुख्याते &c.'

2353. The verses are called Sāmidhenī because they are repeated when Agni is being kindled or fed with fuel. अग्नेः समिन्धनार्था ऋचः सामिधेन्यः—com. on Āśv. I. 2. 3. Vide Śat. Br. I. 3. 5. 1 इन्धे ह वा एतद्यज्वर्ङरिध्मेनाग्निं तस्मादिध्मो नाम, समिन्धे सामिधेनीभिर्होता तस्मात्सामिधेन्यो नाम ॥. सामिधेनी means समिधामाधानी and is derived from सम्+इध्.

2354. According to Āśv. I. 2. 3–4 the repetition of '*him*' thrice and of 'bhūrbhuvaḥsvarom' are technically called अभिहिङ्कार. Vide Tai. S. II. 5. 7–8, Tai. Br. III. 5.: 2, Śat. Br. I. 3. 5–I. 4. 1. Śat. Br. I. 4. 1. 3 states that the word '*him*' is uttered inaudibly.

Rg. V. 28. 6) thrice. They are all to be repeated in the same pitch[2355] (not minding udātta, anudātta or svarita accents) i. e. *ekaśruti*. Jaimini IX. 1. 33 states that whatever ṛk is the first or last (whether 'pra vo vājā' &c. or any other) is to be repeated thrice (i. e. repetition three times is an attribute due to the place of a verse and it is not an attribute of any particular verse). The syllable 'om' is to be added at the end of each verse and the adhvaryu sitting down near the āhavanīya throws into the āhavanīya fire a *samidh* the moment 'om' is uttered by the hotṛ at the end of a verse. The sacrificer then utters at each samidh 'agnaya idam na mama'. In this way when eleven samidhs have been offered, all the remaining samidhs (except one kept aside for the *anuyājas*) are offered into the fire the moment the last verse but one (viz. samiddho agna, Rg. V. 28. 5) or the last verse (ā juhotā, Rg. V. 28. 6) is recited. Āśv. (I. 2. 8-22) gives detailed rules about how these sāmidhenī verses are to be recited. The note below would illustrate the method of their recital.[2356] The hotṛ repeats the *nigada* 'O fire, you are great, you are brāhmaṇa (the impulse to prayers), you are Bhārata (the sustainer)' in such a way as to join it with the last 'om' repeated after the last sāmidhenī verse and then makes a stop. Then the

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2355. Āśv. I. 2. 9 defines 'उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानां परः संनिकर्ष ऐकश्रुत्यम्' and the com. explains 'उदात्ता ..... रितानामभिव्यञ्जका ये प्रयत्ना आयामविस्रम्भाक्षेपास्तेषामन्यतमस्यैकस्यैवात्यन्तसंनिकर्षेणासजातीयप्रयत्नाव्यवधानेन यदुच्चारणं तदैकश्रुत्यमित्यर्थः.'

2356. The verses are repeated as follows: म्र वो वाजा ..... गातु सुम्नयो3 म्र वो वाजा ..... सुम्नयो3 म्र वो वाजा ..... सुम्नयो3मग्न आयाहि वीतये ..... सत्सि बर्हिषो3म्तं त्वा ..... यविष्ठो3 स नः ..... सुवीर्यो3मीळेन्यो ..... समग्निरिध्यते वृषो3 वृषोग्निः ..... ईळतो3 वृषणं त्वा ..... बृहो3मग्निं दूतं ..... सुक्रतो3 समिध्यमानो ... ... मीमहो3 समिद्धो ..... बाळसो3मा जुहोता ..... हव्यवाहनो3माजुहोता ..... वाहनो3माजुहोता ..... वाहनो3मग्ने महानसि &c. 'Om' being added at the end of सुम्नयुः it is to be recited as सुम्नयो3म् and then it is to be continuously joined on to the next verse viz. the same verse repeated twice again, the 3rd सुम्नयो3म् being joined to the verse अग्न आयाहि वीतये Rg. VI. 16. 10. As तं त्वा follows बर्हिषो3म् it is to be pronounced like बर्हिषो3न् तं त्वा and वृषो3म् followed by वृषोग्निः makes that म् be pronounced like a nasal ँ. The hotṛ is not to stop (avasāna) or take breath at the end of verses but at the end of the half verses. At the end of the last 'om' of the last verse the nigada अग्ने महाँ असि ब्राह्मण भारत is to be joined on to it and then the hotṛ stops at the word 'Bhārata'. The Tai. Br. III. 5. 3 has अग्ने महाँ असि ब्राह्मण भारत । असौ असौ । देवेद्धो मन्विद्धः &c.

hotṛ invokes the names of the pravara sages[2357] of the sacrificer as many as he may have (1, 2, 3 or 5), the most remote one being first uttered, then the more remote and so on. In the case of a kṣatriya or a vaiśya sacrificer, the invocation is made of the pravara sages of the purohita of the sacrificer or of the names 'Mānava, Aila, Paurūravasa' or of 'Mānava' for all in case of doubt (Āśv. I. 3. 3-5). He then proceeds '(Agni) that was kindled by the Gods and by Manu, that was sung by the sages, whom wise men gladdened, that was praised by the sages, that was aroused by prayers, that is offered ghee, the bringer (or leader) of sacrifices, the charioteer of sacrifices, the unobstructed hotṛ, the swift carrier of offerings'. He takes breath here and proceeds 'thou art the mouth and the vessel of the gods, the juhū of the gods, a *camasa* (cup) with which the gods drink; O fire! as the spokes are centered in the felly, so thou encompassest the gods, bring the gods to this sacrificer'.[2358] Then he calls upon Agni to bring the several deities, viz. Agni, Soma, Agni, Prajāpati, Agni-ṣomau, the ghee-drinking gods and adds 'bring Agni for the *hotra* (the function or office of hotṛ), bring thy own greatness, O Jātavedas (fire), bring and sacrifice with a

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2357. Vide notes 1139-1140 about reciting the names of the pravara sages. For example, if the gotra of the sacrificer is Śāṇḍilya the hotṛ repeats Śāṇḍila, Asita, Devala; if it be Vatsa, he repeats Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya. Agni is here invoked to help the sacrificer as the summoner of the gods on this occasion, as he did help the illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 479-480 (note) and S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 115 (note) for pravara. It should be remembered that this pravara repetition is part of the *nigada*. He takes breath at the end of the pravara words. Then follow the words देवेद्धो ... तूर्णिर्हव्यवाट् (Āśv. I. 3. 6). Here he again takes breath. Then come fourteen words आस्पात्र ... परिभूरसि. Then the words आवह देवान् ... यज form the आवाहनानिगद.

2358. The Āśv. śr. I. 3. 6 contains the whole formula 'देवेद्धो मन्विद्ध ऋषिष्टुतो विप्राद्धमवितः कविशस्तो ब्रह्मसंशितो धृताहवनः प्रणीर्यज्ञानां रथीरध्वराणामसूर्तो होता तूर्णिर्हव्यवाडित्यवसायास्पात्रं जुहूर्देवानां चमसो देवपानोऽसौ स्रुवाग्ने नेमिर्द्यावापृथिवी परिभूरस्यावह देवान् यजमानायेति प्रतिपद्य देवता द्वितीयया विभक्त्यादेशमादेशमावहेत्यावाहयेत्यादि स्रावयन्'. This passage from देवेद्धो to यजमानाय and the one in the next note occur in Śāṅ. I. 4-5. The words आस्पात्र ... ... यजमानाय are called प्रतिपत्ति and constitute the words of a *nivid*. Vide Śat. Br. I. 4. 2. 5-16 for the words देवेद्धो ... ... यजमानाय and their brief explanations.

good offering'. This part of the formula is given below.[2359] These are the deities in this invocation in pūrṇamāsa but in the darśeṣṭi, Indrāgnī are to be substituted in place of Agnīṣoma for him who does not offer sānnāyya and Indra or Mahendra for him who offers sānnāyya and Prajāpati is omitted.

Having thus invoked the deities (i. e. the whole of the invocation up to this is done standing), the hotṛ sits down with knees raised up, removes the kuśa (on the vedi) to its north and measures the space of a span on the vedi with ' Aditi is his mother, do not cut him off from the air,.....with yajña, with vaṣaṭkāra as the thunderbolt I kill him who hates us and whom we hate '(Āśv. I. 3. 22). The yajamāna repeats a verse ' fire in whom offerings have been thrown is kindled &c. ' (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. IV. 14), when the fire flames up with the fuel-sticks that are offered and another mantra 'Gods and pitṛs, whatever I may be I sacrifice &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5) is repeated. He fans after the deities are summoned as above the āhavanīya fire thrice with the veda bunch. He while sitting takes clarified butter from the dhruvā ladle with the sruva, holds it on the veda, passing the sruva over the north-west corner (of the āhavanīya) where the two paridhis meet he pours,[2360] while revolving in his mind the mantra 'to Prajāpati Manu, svāhā', a continuous, long and straight stream

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2359. अग्निमग्न आ३वह सोममा३वह अग्निमा३वह प्रजापतिमा३वह अग्नीषोमावा३वह देवाँ आज्यपाँ आ३वह अग्निं होत्रायावह स्वं महिमानमा३वह आवह जातवेदः सुयजा यज. Vide Āśv. I. 3. 6–14 and 22 (and com. on I. 3. 6) and Śat. Br. I. 4. 2. 16–19. The आ in आवह is to be drawn to three moras (i. e. it is प्लुत) and this is indicated by the figure 3. Vide ' ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रौषड्वौषडावहानामादेः ' पा. VIII. 2. 91. The god Prajāpati is mentioned inaudibly. The Ājyapas are the *devatās* of prayājas and anuyājas. Vide Śat. Br. I. 4. 2. 17. The words अग्निं ..... महिमानावह are for calling Sviṣṭakṛt. In the Tai. S. II. 5. 9. 4. and Tai. Br. III. 5. 3 the last part of the formula is slightly different ' आ चाग्ने देवान्वह सुयजा च यज जातवेदः '

2360. This pouring of Ājya is called *āghāra*. There are two *āghāras*, the one described here being the first. In the first Prajāpati is the devatā, in the 2nd Indra. In the first Ājya is poured from north-west to south-east and in the 2nd from the south-west to north-east. Both are done by the adhvaryu. Jaimini I. 4. 4 establishes that the word ' āghāra ' is the name of a rite (karmanāmadheya) and not a guṇavidhi. Vide also Jaimini II. 2. 13–16 on the passages आघारमाघारयति, सततमाघारयति, ऋजुमाघारयति &c. In XI. 1. 54–67 Jai. establishes after a lengthy discussion that the āghāras are performed only once in the darśapūrṇamāsa and are not repeated at each of the principal offerings.

of clarified butter on the fire bursting into flames in the āhavanīya place towards the south-east and makes all the fuel-sticks (already thrown over the fire) come in contact with (the butter so poured). The yajamāna says 'this is for Prajāpati' and invokes the butter poured as āghāra with 'thou art the mind of Prajāpati, enter into me with mind.' Taking ājya from the ājyasthālī in the sruva he strengthens (or increases or adds to) the dhruvā with 'let the dhruvā be strengthened with ghee &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1). He then issues a direction to the āgnīdhra 'O Āgnīdhra, clean thrice each of the *paridhis* and the fire.' The āgnīdhra holds the tying cords of the idhma on the sphya and silently cleans (or wipes) the paridhis with them in the order in which they were placed (round the fire) from their roots to the tips i. e. he cleans the middle one first, moving with his right towards the paridhi from the north with his face towards the east; then he cleans the southern one by going to the south in front of the āhavanīya; then he cleans the northern paridhi by going from behind (the west of) the āhavanīya towards the north; then he returns by the way he went to his usual place and wipes the fire thrice, once with the mantra, 'O fire, that securest strength (or food)! I wipe thee.....that eatest food for the sake of food' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6) and twice silently. When about to make the āghāra he folds his hands in adoration to the gods with his fingers to the east in front (i. e. to the east of) the juhū and upabhṛt with[2361] O fire! thou art the world, spread in all directions; O sacrificer (Agni), adoration to thee' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12. 1). He folds his hands towards the south in adoration with 'to the pitṛs, svadhā.' He then touches water and takes up the juhū in the right hand with 'O juhū! come, Agni summons thee for the worship of the gods' and takes the upabhṛt in the left hand with 'O upabhṛt! come, god Savitṛ calls thee for the worship of gods' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12. 1). He places the upabhṛt on juhū with 'O well-controlling ones, may you two abound in ghee to-day for me, may you be well covered and well surrounded' (compare Vāj. S. II. 7). He takes the juhū from under the upabhṛt to the east completely and holds it on the upabhṛt in such a way that their bowls are placed on each other and when he is about to throw the ājya into fire he merely holds the upabhṛt in his left and holding the juhū in his right

2361. Though the mantra is addressed to Agni alone, as Agni comprehends in himself all gods, it may be said to be meant for all gods.

makes the offering with it.[2362] He crosses over to the south of the āhavanīya with the right foot but without treading upon the prastara and after repeating the mantra 'O Agni and Viṣṇu! May I not step down on you! May you become apart from me! May you not cause trouble (or heat) to me; may you, who are the makers of worlds, make a place (or world) for me' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12 and Tai. Br. III. 3. 7). He stands to the south of the āhavanīya with 'thou art the seat of Viṣṇu; from here Indra performed his exploits' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12). He places his right foot inside the vedi and makes the toes of the left foot touch the heel of the right. Then inserting the juhū by the point where the southern paridhi joins the middle one (i. e. from the south-west) he, while standing, pours from it towards the north-east (as in the first) a continuous stream of ājya with 'having well begun, the sacrifice of the sacrificer, which is to rise (i. e. to bring prosperity), which is uninjured and which is offered to Indra, touches heaven; svāhā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12) and makes the ghee come in contact with all the fuel-sticks (idhma) thrown into the fire. The yajamāna says 'this is for Indra.' The adhvaryu, after making this offering (the 2nd āghāra), lets out his breath which he had held up at the time of making the offering. After pouring ājya over the fire he raises up the juhū over the āhavanīya with '(fire) is kindled pre-eminently.' He crosses over to the north separating the juhū and upabhṛt with 'save me, O fire, from evil (or sin) and establish me in good deeds' (Tai. S. I. 1. 12). With the ājya in the juhū he smears the dhruvā thrice, once with 'ghee is anointed by fire, sacrificial offering is anointed by sacrificial offering, the aerial regions are anointed by fire-flame' and twice silently. He takes ājya from the dhruvā ladle with the sruva and sprinkles it over[2363] the (ājya in the) juhū with 'suvīrāya svāhā' and sprinkles ājya from the juhū over that in the dhruvā with 'sacrifice is spread continuously by sacrifice'.

2362. Āp. (II. 13. 5-6) and Sat. (II. 1. pp. 181-182) say that this is the mode of holding the two ladles in all āhutis (he also holds the two on a level with his navel).

2363. Anointing (*samañjana*) is done by sprinkling a drop, but pratyabhighāraṇa requires that ājya should be poured in a stream however slight. 'समञ्जनं बिन्दुमात्रप्रक्षेपेण प्रत्यभिघारणं किंचिद्धाराकरणेनेति भेदेनोपादानं धारयोः' com. on Sat. II. 1. p. 185.

After keeping the two ladles (juhū and dhruvā) in their proper places, he (the adhvaryu) sets about choosing (invoking) the *pravara*. The adhvaryu brings in contact with (twines round) the sphya the tying cords of the idhma and one blade from the the kuśas strewn on the vedi and stands to the north of the vedi (or near the utkara) for reciting the pravara mantra. He faces the south (the east according to com. on Kāt. III. 2. 3). The āgnīdhra stands to the west of the adhvaryu facing the south near the utkara. The adhvaryu then inaudibly utters a formula 'who will become the adhvaryu here? He will become the adhvaryu here. Yajña (will be adhvaryu) of yajña, I stand in the abode of Viṣṇu. May speech perform the function of a priest, may mind do so, I resort to speech. Bhūḥ bhuvaḥ suvaḥ!' (Āp. II. 15. 1 and Sat. II. 1. p. 186). The āgnīdhra after touching the binding cords of idhma, the sphya and the kuśa blade also inaudibly repeats a similar mantra 'who will become the āgnīdhra here &c.' (Āp. II. 15. 2). The adhvaryu addresses the brahmā priest 'O brahman! shall I call on (the āgnīdhra) to listen to the pravara?' The brahmā priest first repeats inaudibly 'O lord of speech! make (him) listen to this speech, make the sacrifice be heard among gods, and me among men (Āp. III. 19. 3); sustain these deities in heaven &c.' and then loudly says 'yes, do make him listen (om3āśrā3vaya). The adhvaryu says[2364] 'ā3 śrāvaya' (make to listen) and the āgnīdhra holding the sphya covered with the binding cord responds with 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ' (lit. yes, let him hear). The adhvaryu then utters 'May Agni, the divine hotṛ, the wise one, the discriminating one, sacrifice for the gods, like Manu, like Bharata, like that one, like that one. Let him bring (the gods) to the accompaniment of holy prayer. The brāhmaṇas are the protectors of this sacrifice.

2364. The call of the adhvaryu in the form 'O śrāvaya' (for ā śrāvaya) is technically called 'āśrāvaṇa' or 'āśruta', while the response of the āgnīdhra in the form 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ' is called 'pratyāśrāvaṇa' or 'pratyāśruta'. Vide Śat. Br. I. 5. 2. 6-7 where, to explain these two words, a legend is narrated of the sacrifice fleeing from the gods. The formula uttered by the adhvaryu is either आ3श्रा3वय or ओ3श्रा3वय according to Sat. II. 1. p. 186 and according to Āp. II. 15. 3 it is also simply श्रा3वय or ओ3श्रा3वय. Vide Pāṇ. VIII. 2. 91-92 for the *pluta*. The आग्नीध्र responds with अस्तु श्रौ3षट्.

This (so and so by name) is the human hotṛ'.[2365] While the adhvaryu is engaged in the āśrāvaṇa call the hotṛ should follow him with an invocation 'make the sacrifice heard among gods, and make me heard among men for fame, glory and spiritual eminence' (Āśv. I. 3. 23). When the adhvaryu chooses the hotṛ (in the words 'so and so is the human hotṛ') the hotṛ should repeat 'God Savitṛ! they here choose thee that art fire for the office of hotṛ together with thy father Vaiśvānara. May Heaven and Earth protect me. Agni is the (divine) hotṛ. I am the human hotṛ' (Āśv, I. 3. 23). He gets up with a mantra 'udāyuṣā &c.' (Tai. S. I. 2. 8. 1) and on getting up recites 'O adhvaryu! sixty plus ninety chains are spread near (or inside) Agni, the hotṛ. They bind the ignorant, (but) the wise one goes beyond (overcomes) them' (Āśv. I. 3. 24). Having approached the adhvaryu with 'I, a hotṛ priest, follow the path of ṛta' (Āśv. I. 3. 25) the hotṛ should touch the adhvaryu on the latter's shoulder with his right hand that hangs by his side and the āgnīdhra also with his left with 'we touch Indra as the purohita in this rite of choosing the hotṛ, whereby the gods reached the highest Heaven and the Aṅgirases also did so' (Āśv. I. 3. 27). He should wipe (purify) his face thrice with the blades used in binding the idhma, once with 'thou art a

2365. The adhvaryu mutters the name of the hotṛ but the word 'mānuṣaḥ' is loudly uttered and the first vowel in it is made *pluta*. The Śat. Br. I. 5. 1. 5–13 sets out the pravara-mantra and explains it: अग्निर्देवो दैव्यो होता देवान्यक्षद्विद्वाँश्चिकित्वान्मनुष्वद्भरतवत् । ... ... अथार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । ऋषिभ्यश्चैवैनं तद्देवेभ्यश्च निवेदयत्ययं महावीर्यो यो यज्ञं प्रापदिति । तस्मादार्षेयं प्रवृणीते । परस्तादर्वाक् प्रवृणीते । ..... स आर्षेयमुक्त्वाह । ब्रह्मण्वदा च वक्षद् ब्राह्मणा अस्य यज्ञस्य प्रावितारः । असौ मानुषः । सत्याषाढ (II. 1. p. 187) says 'अग्निर्देवो ... ... भरतवद्-मुवदमुवदिति यजमानस्यार्षेयं सह परेण त्रीनमन्तरान्'. Āp. II. 16. 5 is almost the same. After भरतवत् the names of the pravara sages are taken; for example, if the yajamāna is of Kauśika gotra then he utters कुशिकवत् अघमर्षणवत् विश्वामित्रवत्. Vide notes 1139 and 1140 above for the two modes of taking the pravara names, one with affix वत् (where the first sage mentioned is the most remote, the next comes after him in time) and the other mode by taddhita formation where the latest among the pravara sages is mentioned first as in वैश्वामैत्राघमर्षणकौशिकेति. Jai. (VI. 1. 43) asserts that one who has not three pravara sages is not eligible for performing darśapūrṇamāsa. Āp. II. 16. 12 and XXIV. 10. 18 and Śat. II. 1. p. 188 give rules about the pravara names of royal sacrificers and of those who have two gotras and state that some held that 'Manuvat' is the pravara for all. Vide notes 1152–53. For the प्रवरमन्त्र 'अग्निर्देवो ... ... प्रावितारः' vide Āp. II. 16. 5 and 11, Sat. II. 1. pp. 187–188.

cleaner (or purifier), purify me together with my progeny and cattle,' and twice silently. After touching water he should, standing to the west of the seat and with face to the east, address the seat of hotṛ (Āśv. I. 3. 30) with 'away, O daidhiṣavya &c.' (vide above p. 1021). He should take a blade of kuśa from the hotṛ's seat with the thumb and the finger next to the smallest and cast it away to the south-west with 'the demon that keeps off wealth is cast aside.' With (Āśv. I. 3. 31) 'here do I like a horse sit down in the seat of vasu' (wealth) he should sit down, the right leg being placed on the left one. He sits down with 'God *barhis*, may I sit down on thee that occupiest a good seat' (Āśv. I. 4. 7). With the cap of his knee he touches the barhis (spread on his seat) with 'O Hotṛ! May you pre-eminently occupy the barhis' (Āśv. 1. 4. 8). Then he mutters (performs japa of) certain texts viz: 'bhūpataye namaḥ ..... chandāṁsi prapadye' (Āśv. I. 4. 9), Ṛg. X. 158. 1, I. 27. 13, X. 52. 1, X. 53. 2 and 4. When the *japa* is finished and the fuel-sticks (*idhma*) thrown on to the fire are blazing he should make the adhvaryu hand over to him the two srucs with this prose formula (*nigada*) 'may Agni, the hotṛ, know (undertake) the duty of hotṛ, that gives protection. O sacrificer! The deity is well disposed to you in that you have chosen Agni as the hotṛ'. He should finish the nigada (Āśv. I. 4. 11) 'Hold the adhvaryu's sruc that abounds in ghee, that is devoted to the gods and is possessed of all boons; let us praise the gods that deserve praise, let us bow to them that deserve adoration and offer sacrifice to the gods that deserve it' (Āśv. I. 4. 11).

The adhvaryu, when the hotṛ sits down, throws down on the vedi the blade of grass (that was brought in contact with the sphya).[2366] The yajamāna says 'O gods and piṭṛs, O piṭṛs and gods &c.'. The yajamāna should repeat the Caturhotṛ mantras before the prayājas are offered (vide note 2248).

The adhvaryu takes the juhū and upabhṛt, crosses from behind the paridhis to the south of the vedi with the right foot first and facing the north-east offers the five prayāja oblations of clarified butter beginning to the west of the place where the two streams of the āghāras meet and ending in the east (Āp. II. 17. 1) or he offers the five offerings in the four principal quarters from the east to the north respectively and the last in the middle of the āhavanīya (Sat. II. 2. p. 199). The procedure

2366. Vide Āp. II. 16. 6 and 11, Sat. II. 1. pp. 187-188.

of prayājas is as follows:—[2367] First he says 'ā3śrā3vaya', the āgnīdhra standing near the utkara facing the south and holding the sphya makes the response 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ'. Then the adhvaryu gives a direction to the hotṛ with reference to the first prayāja 'Samidho yaja' (recite the yājyā verse for the deity Samidhaḥ). The hotṛ recites "Whoever we are, we sacrifice to the deity samidhaḥ; may the samidhs, O fire, partake of the ājya. Vau3ṣaṭ". When the sound vaṣaṭ is heard the adhvaryu offers ājya from the juhū towards the eastern and the most blazing part of the āhavanīya fire. He may either occupy the same position or proceed eastwards as he offers each offering. Jai. III. 1. 19–20 deals with this question viz. that he may offer the prayājas[2368] by proceeding eastwards. After each

2367. तै. ब्रा. III. 5. 4 has अग्निर्होता वेरग्निर्होत्रं वेतु प्रावित्रम् । स्मो वयम् । साधु ते यजमान देवता । घृतवतीमध्वर्यो क्रुचमास्यस्व देवायुवं विश्ववाराम् । ईडामहे देवाँ ईडेन्यान् । नमस्याम नमस्यान् । यजाम यज्ञियान् । Vide also Śat. Br. I. 5. 2. 1–3. आश्व. I. 4. 10 has अग्निर्होता वेरग्नेर्होत्रं वेतु प्रावित्रं साधु ते यजमान देवता यो अग्निमित्यवसाय होतारमवृथा इति जपेत्. This mantra is called क्रुगादापन. The hotṛ recites the words अग्निर्होता ..... यो अग्निम् loudly, then stops to take breath and recites inaudibly होतारमवृथाः. From अग्निर्होता to यज्ञियान् is one निगद्. The शतपथ explains 'मनुष्या वै ईडेन्याः पितरो नमस्या देवा यज्ञियाः' I. 5. 2. 3.

2368. The *prayājas* (fore-offerings) are five in Darśapūrṇamāsa and are oblations of ājya introductory to the principal offerings and *anuyājas* (that are only three in Darśapūrṇamāsa) are offered subsequent to the principal offerings. The prayāja offerings are addressed to five viz., समिधः, तनूनपात् (or नराशंस), इडः (or इळः), बर्हिः, स्वाहाकारः (or स्वाहाकृतयः). Jai. (V. 1. 4–7) enjoins that prayājas must be offered in the order of the text viz. first to Samidhaḥ and so on, and II. 2. 2 declares that with each repetition of the word 'yajati (used five times) there is a separate unseen result (adṛṣṭa or apūrva). The three deities of the anuyājas are बर्हिः, नराशंस, अग्नि स्विष्टकृत्. The word is written either as अनुयाज (Ṛg. X. 51. 8–9) or अनूयाज (Āp. II. 9. 8 and elsewhere). According to Ait. Br. 7. 3 स्वाहाकृतयः means विश्वेदेवाः. In the Nirukta VIII. 22 there is a discussion as to the devatās of prayājas and anuyājas and after mentioning several views Yāska states his own opinion that they are 'āgneya' i. e. they are the different forms (*Tanū*) of Agni. Jaimini (IX. 2. 59–60) holds that the words 'Samidhaḥ', 'Tanūnapāt' &c. are really the names of a rite, that they do not convey that Samidhs, Tanūnapāt and others are deities and that the mantras repeated by the hotṛ convey the devatā, which is Agni. The com. on Sat. II. 1. p. 198 has a long note on this and accepts Jaimini's position. In Tai. S. II. 6. 1 five prayājas of darśapūrṇamāsa are mentioned and they are brought in relation to the five seasons. The five constituent formulas connected with each of the five prayājas are well brought out in Tai. S. I. 6. 11 'आज्यावयेति चतुरक्षरमस्तु श्रौषडिति चतुरक्षरं यजेति द्व्यक्षरं ये यजामह इति पञ्चाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरो वषट्कार एव वै सप्तदशः प्रजापतिर्यज्ञमन्वायत्तो य एवं वेद्द प्रति यज्ञेन तिष्ठति न यज्ञाद्भ्रंशते ।'.

vaṣaṭkāra the hotṛ repeats 'speech is energy. He (vaṣaṭkāra) is indeed energy. May prāṇa and apāna be in me' (Āśv. I. 5. 17). The yajamāna says when the first prayāja is offered 'this is for the Samidhs. I gratify Vasanta among the seasons, May he (Vasanta) being gratified gratify me'. The same procedure is followed as to the remaining four prayājas viz. there is first āśrāvaṇa, then pratyāśrāvaṇa by the āgnīdhra, praiṣa to hotṛ, recital of the *yājyā* by the hotṛ with vaṣaṭkāra at end, offering of ājya into fire by the adhvaryu, the tyāga by the yajamāna and connecting the five prayājas with the five *ṛtus* (seasons) in order from *Vasanta* (hemanta and śiśira being taken as one). The second prayāja offering is meant for Tanūnapāt, but those who belong to the Vasiṣṭha, Śunaka, Atri. Vadhryaśva and Rājanya (Viśvāmitra?) gotras substitute Narāśaṃsa for Tanūnapāt (Śāṅ. I. 7. 3 is slightly different). The whole procedure is briefly indicated in Sanskrit in the note below.[2369] The first three prayāja offerings are made with the ājya in the juhū, but as to the 4th (to Barhis) he pours half of the ājya contained in the upabhṛt into the juhū and then makes the offering. Wherever there are more prayājas than 5 (e. g. in Varuṇa-praghāsa there are nine, in Paśubandha ten) the 4th, 7th and 10th are offered in this way (vide Sat. II. 2. p. 199 and Kāt. III. 2. 22–23). Vide Jai. IV. 1. 40 and 41–45. These mantras (in the note) occur in Tai. Br. III. 5. 5 where 'viyantu' is substituted for 'vyantu' (as is usual with the Taittirīyas). The words 'ye3 yajāmahe' used at the beginning of each yājyā are called 'āgūḥ'; but there are no such words in the anuyājas (Āśv. I. 5. 4). Vaṣaṭkāra is uttered at the end of all yājyās and in anuyājas also. The yājyā is pronounced very loudly and with great distinctness as to the 'ye' of 'ye yajāmahe' and the last syllable of the yājyā is made *pluta*. In Āśv. I. 5. 9. 9–14 there are other rules not set out here. The pronouncing of vaṣaṭ was a very solemn and

2369. The hotṛ says 'ये3यजामहे समिधः समिधो अग्न आज्यस्य व्यन्तू3वौ3षट्। (आश्व. श्रौ. 1. 5. 15)। इति प्रथमः। होता। वागोजः सह ओजो मयि प्राणापानौ इति वषट्कारमुक्त्वाद्यमन्त्रयते। यजमानः। समिधूम्य इदं वसन्तमृतूनां प्रीणामि स मा प्रीतः प्रीणातु। होता। ये3यजामहे तनूनपात तनूनपादग्न आज्यस्य वेतू3 वौ3षट्। इति द्वितीयः। अन्यत्र वसिष्ठशुनकात्रिविश्वरराजन्येभ्यः। नराशंसो अग्न आज्यस्य वेत्विति तेषाम् (आश्व. श्रौ. 1. 5. 21–22)। यजमानः। अग्नय इदं ग्रीष्ममृतूनां०। होता। ये3यजामहे इळ इळो अग्न आज्यस्य व्यन्तू3 वौ3षट्। इति तृतीयः। In the case of the 5th prayāja, the hotṛ says 'ये3यजामहे स्वाहाग्निं स्वाहा सोमं स्वाहाग्निं स्वाहा प्रजापतिं स्वाहा अग्नीषोमौ स्वाहा देवा आज्यपा जुषाणा अग्न आज्यस्य व्यन्तू3वौ3षट्' (आश्व. 1. 5. 24); here प्रजापतिं is uttered inaudibly.

mystic matter and even in modern times the word is uttered very loudly and forcibly. The Ait. Br. XI. 6 says that 'the vaṣaṭkāra is a thunderbolt; when a man utters vaṣaṭkāra he should think of his enemy; thereby he plants the thunderbolt on him.' Āśv. I. 5. 18 states that vaṣaṭkāra was to be uttered only by day and not by night. There are three tones (mandra, madhyama and uttama). Up to the prayājas and after śaṁyuvāka the mandra tone is employed. After prayājas up to sviṣṭakṛt the tone is to be *madhyama*. Thereafter up to śaṁyuvāka it is to be high. Vide Āśv. I. 5. 25-28 and Āśv. I. 5. 4-8 for these and several other rules. Āśv. II. 15. 12 states that the āgūḥ (the words ye3 yajāmahe), the om (at the end of an anuvākyā) and the vaṣaṭkāra are pronounced in a high tone everywhere.

The adhvaryu after the five prayāja offerings comes back and pours some ājya[2370] (left in the juhū after the prayāja offerings) over the several offerings (*haviṁṣi*), first over the dhruvā, then over the puroḍāśas, the boiled milk, the curds in the order in which they are sacrificed later on. Lastly he pours a little ājya over the upabhṛt. He lays down the ladles (sruc). He holds them in his hands from the time when he offers the ājyabhāgas up till the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. He puts into the juhū four ladlings of ājya with the sruva with 'may the dhruvā be strengthened with ghee in each sacrifice for those who serve the gods &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1) and anoints the blades of the prastara with a drop of ājya.

Now follow Ājyabhāgas.[2371] The adhvaryu issues a direction to the hotṛ 'recite the anuvākyā (invitatory) verse for Agni.' The hotṛ repeats Ṛg. VI. 16. 34 (Agnir-vṛtrāṇi.....āhutaḥ) with om added at the end. Then there is āśrāvaṇa by adhvaryu and pratyāśrāvaṇa by āgnīdhra, then the praiṣa of adhvaryu to the hotṛ to repeat the yājyā for Agni. The hotṛ repeats the yājyā "may Agni who is favourable (or pleased), partake of the ājya" preceded by 'ye3 yajāmahe' and followed by 'vau3 ṣaṭ.'

2370. The com. on Sat. II. 2. p. 200 says that this action is the प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (in the language of mīmāṁsakas) of the आज्यशेष and is not meant as अभिधारण, but the com. on Kāt. III. 3. 9. says that this is हविःसंस्कार and not प्रतिपत्तिकर्म.

2371. Ājyabhāgas are two and they are the names of two actions (karmanāmadheya). आज्यभागाविति द्वयोः कर्मणोर्नामधेयम्। आज्यं भागो भागधेयं ययोस्तौ। com. on Sat. II. 2. p. 201. Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 1 and Sat. Br. I. 6. 3. 38 say 'चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ'. The praiṣa is अग्नयेऽनु3वि'. Vide note 483 above.

On hearing 'vauṣaṭ' the adhvaryu offers ājya in the northern and most blazing part of the āhavanīya. The yajamāna recites 'Agni has his eye (everywhere). May I become possessed of sight by worship offered to him.' The same procedure is followed as to the second ājyabhāga to Soma which is offered in the southern and most blazing part of the āhavanīya fire. In pūrṇamāsa the two ājyabhāgas are called Vārtraghna and in the darśeṣṭi they are called 'Vṛdhanvantau' (Āśv. I. 5. 32 and 35). Vide Jai. III. 1. 23. The adhvaryu is on the north side of the vedi when he takes up portions of ājya in the juhū and issues the direction to recite the *anuvākyā* from there. Then he crosses to the south of the āhavanīya, performs āśrāvaṇa and issues the praiṣa for the recital of the yājyā after the āgnīdhra responds with 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ.' The whole procedure is briefly set out in the note below.[2372]

Puronuvākyā and Yājyā are required in ājyabhāgas, in āvāpa, in Sviṣṭakṛt and in Patnīsaṁyājas, but in prayājas and anuyājas there are only yājyās (vide Sat. II. 2. p. 189). The puronuvākyā is recited by the priest while sitting, while the yājyā is recited standing and the recitation of these is only a saṁskāra and not a principal act (vide Jai. X. 4. 39–41). Four ladlings with sruva are made in the juhū for all sacrificers in ājyabhāgas and other homas, but in the case of sacrificers whose gotra is Jāmadagnya five (pañcāvatta) ladlings are made in the juhū (Āp. II. 18. 2, Sat. II. 2 pp. 190–191) and one whose gotra is not Jāmadagnya may have five ladlings after taking the permission of a Jāmadagnya. The puronuvākyās for the ājyabhāgas in darśeṣṭi are Ṛg. VIII 44. 12 (for Agni) and Ṛg. I. 91. 11 (for Soma).

2372. होता। अग्निर्मूर्धाणि जङ्घ्नत् ..... आहुतो3म् (इति अग्नेः पुरोनुवाक्या)। अध्वर्युः आभाव्य आग्नीध्रेण प्रत्याभावितेऽग्निं यजेति संप्रेष्यति। होता। ये3यजामहेग्निं जुषाणो अग्निराज्यस्य वेतू3 षौ3षट् (इत्यग्नेर्याज्या)। वषट्कृते ज्योतिष्मति (आहवनीये) उत्तरार्धे अध्वर्युर्जुहोति। होता अनुमन्त्रयते। वागोजः ..... प्राणापानौ। इति (आश्व. श्रौ. 1. 5. 17)। यजमानः अग्निश्चक्षुष्मांस्तस्याहं देवयज्यया चक्षुष्मान् भूयासम्। अध्वर्युः प्रत्याक्रम्य पूर्ववज्जानुदघ्नीं गृहीत्वा सोमायानुब्रू3हि इति संप्रेष्यति। होता। त्वं सोमासि ..... ऋतो3म्। (ऋ. 1. 91. 5, सोमस्य पुरोनुवाक्या)। अध्वर्युः आभाव्य ..... सोमं यजेति संप्रेष्यति। होता। ये3यजामहे सोमं जुषाणः सोम आज्यस्य हविषो वेतू3 षौ3षट्। (सोमस्य याज्या)। वषट्कृते अध्वर्युर्ज्योतिष्मति आहवनीये दक्षिणार्धे जुहोति। &c. Vide Āśv. I. 5. 29 'अग्निर्मूर्धाणि जङ्घ्नदिति पूर्वस्याज्यभागस्यानुवाक्या &c.,' and Tai. Br. III. 5. 6 for these अनुवाक्याs and याज्याs. अनुवाक्या is also called पुरोनुवाक्या 'पुरः पूर्वं यागादेवतामनुकूलयितुं या ऋगुच्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या' औ. प. नि. आप. II. 18. 3 uses the word पुरोनुवाक्या 'अथ यजमुग्मा अनुब्रूहीति पुरोनुवाक्यां संप्रेष्यति'.

The adhvaryu having gone across (towards the puroḍāśas that are made ready) sprinkles clarified butter on the sruc (juhū) with 'āpyāyatām dhruvā &c.' (vide p. 1059 above), touches the several sacrificial offerings with 'do not be afraid, do not tremble, may I not injure thee; may not thy lustre leave thee; carry across this sacrificer who brings offerings, rain on the earth, in order I shall offer the cut portions; I make an adoration to you, do not injure me' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5).[2373] With his thumb and two fingers (viz. the middle and anāmikā, but using only the fleshy parts and not the nails) he cuts off a portion from the middle of the puroḍāśa (cake) meant for Agni and from its front half. Sat. II. 2. p. 191 and Āp. II. 18. 9 say that the avadāna (portion cut or severed) is as much as the front joint of the thumb (as a general rule) but that the sviṣṭakṛt offering is larger than the ordinary offering for other deities[2374] &c. For the Jāmadagnyas a third portion is cut off from the hind part of the puroḍāśa. Portions from ājya and sānnāyya are taken out with the sruva and of cooked food (caru) with the mekṣaṇa. The portion cut from the middle is placed in the eastern part of the bowl of the sruc and the second portion in the western part of the bowl. He sprinkles clarified butter with the sruva (in which ājya is taken from the ājyasthālī) on the cut portions and on the puroḍāśa from which they were cut[2375] with 'when cutting portions from thee I acted against thee, I anoint that again with ājya, may that grow again in thee' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). Everytime he offers a fourfold (*caturavatta*) portion he smears a drop of ājya on the blades of the prastara.

Then follows the principal sacrifice. The adhvaryu issues a direction to the hotṛ 'recite an anuvākyā for Agni'. Hotṛ recites (as anuvākyā) Ṛg. VIII. 44. 16 followed by 'om' (as

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2373. मा मे मां संविक्था ... मा हिंसीः। तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 5, quoted in Āp. II. 18. 9, Sat. II. 2. p. 194 and Baud. I. 16.

2374. अङ्गुष्टपर्वमात्राणि दैवतान्यवदानानि भवन्ति। उत्तराण्युत्तराणि स्थवीयांसि। दैवतेभ्यः सौविष्टकृतानि सौविष्टकृतेभ्यः ऐडानि तथा चातुर्धाकरणिकानि। सत्याषाढ II. 2. p. 191.

2375. The sprinkling of butter on the sruc (upastaraṇa), the placing in the sruc of the two portions cut off from the puroḍāśa and the sprinkling of butter over the cut portions (abhighāraṇa) constitute four items and so are called 'caturavatta.' When three portions are cut off from the puroḍāśa or other offering for Jāmadagnyas then there are (with upastaraṇa and abhighāraṇa) five items (pañcāvatta). Vide Śat. Br. I. 6. 1. 21 for the four with their technical names.

agnirmūrdhā...jinvato3m). Then there is āśrāvaṇa and pratyāśrāvaṇa. Then the adhvaryu issues his direction to the hotṛ to recite the yājyā which is Ṛg. X. 8. 6 (ye3 yajāmahesgnim bhuvo.....havyavāho3m vau3ṣaṭ). Then the adhvaryu throws the oblation (āhuti) of puroḍāśa portions on to the fire. The method of this is[2376] that he drops a part of the ājya from the sruc first (that was sprinkled in it at upastaraṇa and abhighāraṇa), then the two puroḍāśa portions are thrown and lastly he allows the remaining ājya from the bill-like mouth of the sruc to flow over the puroḍāśa offerings as if covering them but without disturbing them. The principal *āhutis* are introduced at the point of the confluence of the two āghāras and each one is offered in the āhavanīya to the east (or north-east) of the preceding one but in contact with the latter. The yajamāna makes the *tyāga* 'this is for Agni' with 'may I have food to eat on account of this worship of Agni.' After this offering of puroḍāśa to Agni, there is an upāṁśuyāja (a silent sacrifice) with clarified butter offered to Prajāpati or to Agnīṣomau or Viṣṇu. When offered to Prajāpati the anuvākyā and yājyā are Ṛg. X. 121. 10 and Tai. Br. II. 8. 1[2377] (taveme lokā &c.) and when offered to Agnīṣomau they are Ṛg. I. 93. 2 and 6. According to Āp. I. 19. 12 and Jai. X. 8. 51–61 it is offered only on Paurṇamāsī. In this, the reference to the deity is always inaudible, but even here the āśruta, the pratyāśruta, and two directions for reciting anuvākyā and yājyā and the vaṣaṭkāra are uttered loudly. The sacrificer says in this upāṁśuyāja 'thou art a destroyer; may I be uninjured and may I subdue evil.' The offering is made of the ājya in the dhruvā (Jai. X. 8. 47–48) and the devatā is either Prajāpati or Agni or Viṣṇu (Jai. X. 8. 49–50) and the offering is caturavatta (Jai. X. 8. 33–34). The second puroḍāśa is offered to Agni and Soma on pūrṇamāsa in the same way, the anuvākyā and yājyā being respectively Ṛg. I. 93. 9 and 5 and to Indrāgnī in darśeṣṭi, the anuvākyā and yājyā being Ṛg. VII. 94. 7 and VII. 93. 4. This is the case when the sacrificer

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2376. अपिदधद्विद्यामक्षण्वन्पुरोडाशाहुतिं जुहोत्याज्यं हुत्वाऽवदानं जुहोत्याज्येनान्तर्तोऽन्वक्षावद्यति । पूर्वी पूर्वी संहितामापद्याहुतिं जुहोति । अक्ष्यभागमधुजुहोति । सत्याषाढ II. 2. p. 195. Vide Āp. II. 19. 7-9.

2377. In प्रजापतयेऽनुब्रूहि, प्रजापते न त्वदे ... एतीणाम् । (अनुवाक्या-मं. X. 12. 1. 10 with ओम् it will be एतीणोऽम्), प्रजापतिं यज, येऽयजामहे प्रजापतिं तवेमे लोका... इव्योऽम् (तै. ब्रा. II. 8. 1) the name Prajāpati is everywhere uttered inaudibly. Vide Sat. II. 2 pp. 202–203.

does not offer sānnāyya to Indra or Mahendra. When the sacrificer offers sānnāyya to Indra the anuvākyā and yājyā are respectively Ṛg. I. 8. 1 and X. 180. 1 and when it is offered to Mahendra they are respectively Ṛg. VIII. 6. 1 and X. 50. 4.[2378] In the case of sānnāyya he takes two portions of the boiled milk and two of curds (or three of curds for pañcāvattins) and there is upastaraṇa in the sruc only once and abhighāraṇa also once.

After the principal offerings comes the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt.[2379] He sprinkles a little ājya in the sruc, cuts off one portion from each of the several remnants of the havis from their northern halves in the order in which the several sacrificial ingredients are offered to the deities (twice in the case of pañcāvāttins), sprinkles over these cut portions clarified butter twice, but does not sprinkle ājya on the remnants of havis and offers them in a spot in the north-east of the fire but not so as to come in contact with the other āhutis already offered (viz. ājyabhāgas and puroḍāśa). In this also there is the direction to repeat anuvākyā, recital of anuvākyā, āśrāvaṇa, pratyāśrāvaṇa, direction for yājyā, the yājyā itself and vaṣaṭkāra. The anuvākyā for Sviṣṭakṛt offering is Ṛg. X. 2. 1 and the yājyā is long and is set out below.[2380] The whole of it is to be recited without taking breath or he may take breath after reciting half of Ṛg, VI. 15. 14. The yajamāna says 'this is for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt and not mine. May I attain to stability and long life by the worship offered to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. May Agni protect

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2378. Vide Āśv. I. 6. 1 for the anuvākyās and yājyās of the principal offerings. Śāṅ. I. 8 states them somewhat differently.

2379. According to Baud. I. 17 he cuts off (for Sviṣṭakṛt) portions as follows: सकृद् दक्षिणस्य पुरोडाशस्योत्तरार्धावद्यति सकृद् ध्रुवाज्यात्सकृदुत्तरस्य पुरोडाशस्य सकृच्छृतस्य सकृदवदानः. Vide Jai. IV. 1. 28–32.

2380. Āśv. (I. 6. 3–5) gives the rules about the yājyā for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (vide also Śāṅ. I. 9.) : येऽ यजामहेऽग्निं स्विष्टकृतमयाडग्निरग्नेः प्रिया धामान्ययाद् सोमस्य प्रिया धामान्ययाडग्नेः प्रिया धामान्ययाद् प्रजापतेः प्रिया धामान्ययाडग्नीषोमयोः प्रिया धामान्ययाद् देवानामाज्यपानां प्रिया धामानि यक्षद्वनेर्होतुः प्रिया धामानि यक्षत्त्वं महिमानमायजता मेज्या इषः कृणोतु सो अध्वरा जातवेदा जुषतां हविरग्ने यद्यध... ते अथाऽ वौऽवट्. Vide तै. ब्रा. III. 5. 7 for this. याज्या. ळ is pronounced for ड in the above. प्रजापतेः is repeated inaudibly. Vide Āśv. I. 3. 13–16. अग्ने यद्यध... अथ is Ṛg. VI. 15. 14. If the उपांशुयाज is offered to Agnīṣomau or Viṣṇu then अग्नीषोमयोः or विष्णोः is uttered in place of प्रजापतेः. When the 2nd puroḍāśa is offered to Indrāgnī on Amāvāsyā then substitute इन्द्राग्न्योः for अग्नीषोमयोः and if sānnāyya is offered then इन्द्रस्य or महेन्द्रस्य.

me from bad sacrifice (or a curse); may Savitṛ save me from him who speaks evil of me. May I vanquish him who, whether far or near, is my enemy!' (Tai. S. 1. 6. 2. 4). Jai. VI. 4. 3 lays down that if after portions are cut for Sviṣṭakṛt as directed they are destroyed accidentally, there is no fresh cutting for Sviṣṭakṛt again.

The adhvaryu comes back to the north of the vedi from the spot where he offered to Sviṣṭakṛt, fills the juhū with water and pours it round the paridhis (or their places) beginning from the middle one and proceeding from left to right with 'I offer this offering into Vaiśvānara, it is a spring with a hundred or a thousand streams. May he support in this that is being filled, my father, grandfather and great-grandfather' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6) and then touches water. The sacrificer makes the tyāga with 'this is for (my) father &c.' and then touches water. The adhvaryu lays down the two srucs in their proper places. Then he tears the surface (or top) of the puroḍāśa meant for Agni from west to east, inserts his thumb and the anāmikā (ring-finger) and takes out from inside the cake a portion which is as much as a barley grain or the pippala[2381] berry with 'let this be cut off, somewhat bigger than a barley grain or than the wound made by an arrow. May we not injure this holy and well-offered *havis* of the sacrifice' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He takes off a portion from the other puroḍāśa also in the same way but without piercing the top. These portions are called prāśitra. The brahmā priest looks at the prāśitra when it is being taken out with 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra' (Āśv. I. 13. 1). The adhvaryu sprinkles clarified butter on the vessel called prāśitraharaṇa (that in which prāśitra is carried), keeps the prāśitra in it and sprinkles ājya over it (does *abhighāraṇa*), takes it to the east of the āhavanīya by the space between the brahmā and yajamāna on one hand and the āhavanīya on the other and then lays it down to the west

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2381. यवमात्रं पिप्पलमात्रं वा प्राशित्रमवद्यति। सत्याषाढ II. 3. p. 205. The com. explains 'pippala' as the berry of aśvattha, while the com. on Āp. III. 1. 2 explains 'पिप्पलमात्रं व्रीहिप्रमाणमित्यर्थः'. According to some a portion is taken only from the Āgneya puroḍāśa (vide Sat. II. 3, p. 206). प्राशित्रः ब्रह्मणः हृदं प्राशित्रं ह्रियतेऽनेनेति हरणं पात्रम्। com. on Sat. II. 3. p. 206. Vide note 2339. Kāt. (I. 3. 40–41) says that it is like a mirror in shape (that is like an elongated circle) or like a *camasa* (i. e. rectangular in shape). In modern times only the rod is very small, otherwise प्राशित्रहरण is just like स्रुच् in shape.

of the āhavanīya (to the west of the praṇītā waters, according to Baud. I. 17). The adhvaryu then sprinkles ājya in the *iḍāpātra*, he cuts off the first portion of iḍā from the southern half of the puroḍāśa meant for Agni with 'from the southern half I cut off (iḍā) seen by Manu, from whose foot ghee oozes, that is moved by Mitra and Varuṇa, that has a face in one direction only (in the south), without mixing it with others'[2382] (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). From the eastern half of the same puroḍāśa he cuts off a thin but long slice which is the portion of the yajamāna (according to Baud. I. 18 it is three or four aṅgulas long) and which is anointed (or smeared) with ājya and placed near the dhruvā (or to the east of the dhruvā) in some vessel on the barhis. Then he cuts off a part from the portion of the cake that is between its southern and eastern parts. In the same way (i. e. repeating the verse 'seen by Manu' &c.) he cuts off a portion as iḍā from the northern puroḍāśa and other things offered (such as the boiled milk and curds). He then sprinkles ājya over the cut portions and removes them towards the east on the vedi. He crosses to the south in front of the hotṛ, sits behind the hotṛ with his face to the east and anoints the front two joints of the fore-finger of the hotṛ with ājya from the sruva, first the front joint and then the one next to it. The hotṛ wipes with the palm of the hand turned towards his chest the uppermost joint of the finger on the upper lip and the next joint on his lower lip with 'I partake of thee that art sacrificed by the lord of speech for food, for prāṇa' and 'I partake of thee that are offered by the lord of the mind for strength, for apāna' respectively (Āśv. I. 7. 1-2; compare Śat. Br. I. 8. 1. 14-15). He touches water. The adhvaryu turns from right to left, comes back to the place whence he went, sits down to the east of the hotṛ with his face

2382. The word 'iḍā' is the appellation of a devatā and secondarily applies to sacrificial materials and also to a rite. 'इडा देवता तदर्थमवदानमपीडा।' com. on Sat. II. 3, p. 207. Āp. III. 1. 1 employs iḍā and prāśitra in the sense of rites. The iḍāpātra is made of aśvattha wood, has a bowl four aṅgulas wide and is as long as the foot of the sacrificer and has a rod four aṅgulas long. According to Āp. III. 1. 7 and Baud. I. 18, the first portion of iḍā is cut off from the puroḍāśa to the south meant for Agni. Āp. III. 1. 6 says 'इडापात्र उपस्तीर्य सर्वेभ्यो हविर्भ्य इडां समवद्यति चतुरवत्तां पञ्चावत्तां वा.' The five avattas are effected by sprinkling ājya twice over the portions cut (vide com. on Āp. III. 2. 1). The story of the deluge, of Manu and of Iḍā as his daughter occurs in Śat. Br. I. 8. 1. In Śat. I. 8. 1. 7 and 8 we read 'तस्यै ह स्म घृतं पदे संतिष्ठते तया निम्नादक्षणो संजग्माते। तां होचतुः कासीति। मनोर्दुहितेति।'

turned westwards, offers the iḍā to the hotṛ and the sacrificer recites a long mantra (Tai. S. I. 6. 3. 1-2, 'Surūpa-varṣa-varṇa ehimān...devān-apyetu ') and looks at the iḍā when it is being taken to the hotṛ. The hotṛ accepts the iḍā (i. e. the vessel of iḍā) in his joined hands, places the iḍā in his left hand, keeps his right hand near the iḍā to its west with the fingers turned northwards and makes the adhvaryu cut off from the iḍā itself a portion called *avāntareḍā* into the right hand in the following manner. The adhvaryu spreads drops of ājya on the right hand of the hotṛ with the sruva in which are poured the remnants of the ājya in the iḍāpātra, then the adhvaryu takes a portion from the iḍāpātra and drops it on to the right hand and the hotṛ himself cuts a second portion from the middle of the iḍā with the space between his thumb and the fore-finger; then the adhvaryu sprinkles over the iḍā in the right hand of the hotṛ ājya as above.[2383] The hotṛ grasps the two portions with the thumb of his right hand, draws in the fingers of the right hand, but (keeping the thumb outside) does not close them into a fist, takes into his right hand the iḍā placed in his left. He (the hotṛ) raises the iḍā on a level with his mouth or nose and invokes it.

The iḍopahvānam or iḷopa—(invocation of the iḍā) is described at length by Āśv. I. 7. 7.[2384] By this invocation it is supposed that the deity Iḍā becomes favourable to the sacrificer. It is a *nigada*, but a large part of it is said inaudibly (up to 'vṛṣṭir hvayatām ') and the rest loudly. The sentences run in pairs e. g. ' Iḍā has been invoked with the Heaven, with the great Āditya; may iḍā together with Heaven and the great Āditya call us near'. In the portion that is loudly uttered, there are three pauses, viz. after 'iḍopahūtā,' after 'manuṣyāḥ' and after ' devī devaputre'. The adhvaryu, the āgnīdhra and the sacrificer touch the iḍāpātra with their hands[2385] and remain so till the

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2383. दक्षिणे होतुः पाणाविडाया अवान्तरेडामवद्यति। लेपादुपस्तृणाति। स्वयं होता मवद्यतो द्विरादत्तेऽध्वर्युर्वाग्यतरत्। लेपेनाभिधारयति। सत्याषाढ II. 3. p. 209; com. ततो होता इडापात्रात्स्वयमेव द्विरादत्तेऽथवा अध्वर्युरेकमवदायापरं होतादत्ते विपरीतं वा। इडापात्रमवद्यात्. Compare Āśv. I. 7. 3-5. Both portions may be cut by the hotṛ or only one. The two portions in the right hand of the hotṛ are called avāntareḍā

2384. Vide Appendix for the text. This invocation differs considerably from the one contained in Sat. Br. I. 8. 1. 19ff, Tai. Br. III. 5. 8.

2385. Aoooording to com. on Sat. II. 3. p. 210 the brahmā priest does not join in touching the iḍāpātra. This is also the practice in modern times of those who follow Sat. Aoooording to Baud. I. 18 and Kāt. III. 4. 12 the brahmā does join.

end of the invocation. When the invocation goes on inaudibly the yajamāna mutters (japati) 'O Iḍā! come ..... (Āp. IV. 10. 4)' and when it is loudly uttered he mutters 'thou art *cit* &c.' (Āp. IV. 10. 4, where they are called Manuṣyagavī mantras) and utters loudly 'May you breathe into all beings, may all beings breathe on account of you &c.' and several other mantras (Āp. IV. 10. 4 and 7). He looks at the hotṛ and thinks of Vāyu in his mind 'O Vāyu! Iḍā is thy mother' (Āp. IV. 10. 5); when the words 'this yajamāna has been called' are uttered, he mutters 'May I, so invited, be endowed with cattle'. When the invocation of iḍā is finished, he repeats 'may Indra put in us vigour &c.'. When the words 'the divine adhvaryus' are uttered, the adhvaryu mutters 'May I be endowed with cattle.'

When the invocation of Iḍā is finished the adhvaryu passes round the āhavanīya towards its east and takes the prāśitra to the brahmā priest and hands it over to him. Āśv. I. 13. 2 describes in detail what thereon the brahmā does. He looks at the prāśitra when it is being brought with 'I look at thee with the eye of Mitra.' He receives the prāśitra in his joined hands with 'I accept thee at the impulse of god Savitṛ.....with the hands of Pūṣan.' He lays down the vessel containing prāśitra to the west of the āhavanīya inside the vedi on kuśa grass, with its rod to the east, 'I place thee in the navel of the earth, in the lap of Aditi.' He takes the prāśitra with the thumb and the ring-finger and eats without masticating it with the teeth with 'I eat thee with the mouth of Agni, with the mouth of Bṛhaspati.' Then he performs *ācamana* and again drinks water with 'I sprinkle truth over thee; may the deities that dwell inside waters avert (the evil in) this. Do not injure my eye, my ear, my life.' He should touch his navel with 'I hold thee in the belly of Indra.' Then he washes the vessel in which prāśitra was contained, fills it with water, pours water thrice from it holding the vessel and the palm of the hand towards one's chest.

The hotṛ eats the avāntareḍā[2386] after the brahmā eats the prāśitra with a mantra 'O Iḍā! favour this our portion &c.' All the four priests together with the sacrificer as the fifth then

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2386. 'उपहूयावान्तरेडां प्राश्नीयादिडे भागं जुषस्व नः पिन्वस्व जिन्वार्वतो राधस्पोषस्येहीडे तस्य नो रास्व तस्य नो दास्तस्यास्ते भागमशीमहि। सर्वात्मानः सर्वतनवः सर्ववीराः सर्वपुरुषाः सर्वपूरुषा इति वा।' आश्व. I. 7. 8; compare Āp. III. 2. 10–11, and Tai. Br. III. 7. 5.

partake of the iḍā with a mantra 'thou art iḍā, thou art agreeable, thou art the bringer of happiness, place us in abundance of wealth and good progeny. I eat thee for the lustre of the face, for the fragrance of the mouth.' After eating iḍā they observe silence till they perform *mārjana*. They perform mārjana[2387] inside the vedi near the *prastara* bunch with 'May mind resort to light. May all gods regale themselves here' (Tai. S. I. 5. 3. 2).

The adhvaryu divides the puroḍāśa baked for Agni into four parts (and no other puroḍāśa nor sānnāyya) by piercing its surface and keeps it on the *barhis* (kuśas strewn on the vedi), the last part being made the biggest of all four. Vide Jai. III.1.26–27. The yajamāna recites a mantra 'bradhna pinvasva &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7.5) and directs the four parts of that puroḍāśa separately as portions of the priests by saying 'this is for brahmā, this for hotṛ, this for adhvaryu, this for āgnīdhra' beginning in order from the south-east. The adhvaryu points out the portion of the yajamāna (vide p. 1065 above). When that is done, the adhvaryu makes the biggest of the four parts which is meant for the āgnīdhra 'ṣaḍavatta' (cut sixfold).[2388] The āgnīdhra eats his portion with 'thou art the portion of heaven, thou art the āgnīdhra of fire, thou art the śāmitra of fire, I eat thee with the mouth of fire, salutation to thee! Do not injure me.' The adhvaryu brings the portions of brahmā and yajamāna where they are sitting in separate vessels with the veda bunch. The portions of the hotṛ and adhvaryu are brought by the adhvaryu in other vessels. The adhvaryu, hotṛ and brahmā eat their portions respectively with 'thou art the portion of the aerial region,' 'thou art.....of the earth,' 'thou.....of heaven.'[2389]

2387. Mārjana means 'sprinkling water on the head after a mantra is recited' (मार्जनं मन्त्रान्ते शिरसि मोक्षणमद्भिः ; com. on Sat II. 3, p. 210). See however note 755 above and Āśv. I. 8. 2.

2388. According to Āp. III. 3.6–7 'ṣaḍavatta' is effected in either of two ways; first upastaraṇa in some vessel (on the hand of the āgnīdhra, according to com.), then placing on it one part out of two in which the largest portion meant for āgnīdhra is cut, then abhighāraṇa, then again upastaraṇa, placing the second part and the abhighāraṇa; or first upastaraṇa twice, then the two parts of the largest portion and then two abhighāraṇas. Sat. II. 3, p. 211 mentions only the first method.

2389. It will have been noticed from the preceding that the four priests have each a share in the cake for Agni and that they also share with the yajamāna the iḍā. The hotṛ has further the avāntaraiḍā and the brahmā partakes of the prāśitra besides.

The conclusion of Jaimini (III. 4. 48–50) is that these portions are not meant as the fee paid to the priests (parikraya), but the four parts are meant to be eaten by them.

Plenty of rice is cooked on the dakṣiṇa fire. This is called *anvāhārya*. The adhvaryu sprinkles ājya over[2390] it (i. e. performs abhighāraṇa) and takes it from the dakṣiṇa fire to the north of it. He issues a direction to the yajamāna 'offer (the boiled rice) to the priests that sit to the south' and when the sacrificer says 'come to the south' the priests do as requested (i. e. come to the south). The yajamāna issues a direction to the four priests 'this boiled rice is yours, take it according to your shares'. The rice is divided into four parts and the priests accept their respective portions with 'I accept thee at the impulse of God Savitṛ ..... with the hands of Pūṣan; may king Varuṇa take you. Who gave to whom? Desire (Kāma) has given to Kāma ..... O Kāma, this is thy fee. May Āṅgirasa with upturned palm accept it' (the whole formula occurs in Āp. XIV. 11. 2).[2391] The priests come back to the north (and then brahmā comes to his usual seat). The adhvaryu keeps aside the remnants of the several offerings (such as the agniṣomīya cake or sānnāyya) and of the boiled rice outside the vedi to its north.

He throws into the āhavanīya the two blades that are now kindled at the fire and had been kept aside (vide p. 1040 above). The adhvaryu says to the brahmā priest 'O brahman! we shall start or commence' (Tai. S. II. 6. 9. 1). The brahmā priest first mutters 'Bṛhaspati is Brahmā, he sat in the seat of Brahmā; O Bṛhaspati! you protected the sacrifice; protect the sacrifice and me' (Āśv. I. 13. 6) and loudly gives permission 'yes, do start' (Om pratiṣṭha). The adhvaryu directs the āgnīdhra 'O agnīt, take the *samidh* (that is left) and wipe the paridhis and fire, each once'. The āgnīdhra takes the samidh and offers it into fire with the mantra 'O fire, this is

2390. महानपरिमितोऽन्वाहार्यो दक्षिणाग्नावोदनः पक्वस्तमभिघार्यानभिघार्य वाऽन्तर्वेद्यासादयति। सत्याषाढ II 3. p. 212. Vide Āp. III. 3. 12–14. The dakṣiṇa fire is called अन्वाहार्यपचन.

2391. क इदं कस्मा अदात् &c. This is called कामस्तुति and occurs in many connections (such as marriage, adoption of a son). Vide Atharvaveda III. 29. 7, Tai. Br. II. 2. 5 (where it is explained), Tai. Ār. III. 10.

thy samidh;[2392] may you increase and be strengthened by it. May the lord of the sacrifice (the yajamāna) increase and be strengthened; svāhā' (Śat. II. 4. p. 212). The yajamāna says as usual 'agnaya idam' and repeats 'O fire, this is thy samidh &c.' (Āp. III. 4. 6) and implores Agni to vanquish and destroy his enemies (the lengthy formula is in Āp. IV. 11. 5). He (the āgnīdhra) without moving about wipes the paridhis as before with the tying cords of idhma (but without holding the sphya), the middle one from south to north and the other two from west to east, and wipes the fire also from west to east with 'O fire, that securest food &c.' (Āp. III. 4. 7 gives the whole). He sprinkles water over the tying cords (with which wiping was done) and throws them into the āhavanīya with 'do not injure our cattle, (you) who are Rudra, the lord of beings &c.' (Sat. II. 3. p. 213). The yajamāna makes the tyāga 'this is for Rudra, the lord of beings, who moves among rows (of Maruts)'.

The yajamāna touches water and mutters a mantra (which is in Āp. IV. 11. 6 'vedirbarhiḥ &c.). The yajamāna also performs japa of the *Saptahotṛ*[2393] formulas before the anuyājas are offered. The adhvaryu takes into the juhū the ājya from the upabhṛt (leaving some in the latter), crosses over to the south with the juhū and sets about offering the three anuyājas. First there is the āśravaṇa (O3śrā3vaya), then pratyāśravaṇa (astu śrau3ṣaṭ) by āgnīdhra who always holds the sphya when saying this. Then the adhvaryu issues a direction to the hotṛ 'recite the yājyā for the devas.' When the hotṛ recites the yājyā and utters vau3ṣaṭ the adhvaryu standing in one place offers the first ājya offering on the samidh (offered for anuyājas as stated on 1069 above) to its east, the 2nd and 3rd to the west on the samidh itself (but all three are offered to

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2392. It is interesting to see that according to Kāt. III. 5. 2–3 the mantra 'this is thy samidh' (Vāj. S. II. 14) is recited by the hotṛ and if he be ignorant then by the yajamāna. This shows that even then priests ignorant of the work expected of them or at least ignorant of the formulas they had to recite for a yajamāna had sometimes to be engaged. The Śat. Br. I. 8. 2. 4 also refers to this स यदि मन्येत न होता वेदेत्यपि स्वयमेव यजमानोऽनुमन्त्रयते.

2393. The saptahotṛ formulas are: महाहविर्होता। सत्यहविरध्वर्युः। अच्युतपाजा अग्नीत्। अच्युतमना उपवक्ता। अनाधृष्यश्चामतिषूदश्च यज्ञस्याभिगरौ। अयास्य उद्गाता। तै. आ. III. 5. The four priests, the āgnīdhra, prastotṛ and pratihartṛ are often called the seven hotṛs.

the east of the meeting point of the two āghāras). The third and last offering of ājya is begun on the west but carried east in a continuous stream so as to become mixed up *with the first two.* In each case the yajamāna repeats the formula of tyāga. The yājyās and tyāga are given below in the note.[2394] The adhvaryu then comes back to the north, lays the two ladles (sruc) in their proper places and he and the yajamāna mutter the two formulas (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 2 called vājavatī). The adhvaryu takes up in his right hand with palm upwards the juhū and prastara (prastara being placed over the palm and juhū over the prastara) with 'vājasya.....grabhīt' (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 2) and holds down (so as to bring it in contact with bārhis) with palm turned downwards in the left hand the upabhṛt ladle (which is under the palm) with 'athāsapatnān.....akaḥ' (*ibid*). He again takes up the juhū with 'udgrābham ca' (*ibid*) and presses down the upabhṛt with 'nigrābham ca.' At this time the juhū held in the right hand is far apart from the upabhṛt held in the left. Then he moves with the right hand having palm turned upward towards the east on the vedi itself the juhū with 'brahma devā avīvṛdhan' (the gods increased holy prayer) and with the left hand having palm downwards he leaves outside the vedi the upabhṛt with 'athāsapatnān...vyasyatām' (*ibid.* 'Indra and Agni hurled away my enemies' &c.). Then he touches water, sprinkles water over the upabhṛt, takes it up and anoints with the butter remaining in the juhū the three paridhis, the middle one with 'to thee for Vasus,' the southern one with 'to thee for Rudras' and the northern one with 'to thee for Ādityas.' The yajamāna recites in each case 'this is for Vasus,' 'this is for Rudras,' 'this is for Ādityas' followed in

2394. There are three anuyājas. The first praiṣa is देवान् यज and the two others are simply यज. The three yājyās are. देवं बर्हिर्वसुवने वसुधेयस्य वेतू3 षौ3षट् । देवो नराशंसो वसुवने वसुधेयस्य वेतू3 षौ3षट् । देवोऽग्निः स्विष्टकृत्सुब्रह्मण्या मन्द्रः कविः सत्यमन्मायजी होता होतृहोतुरायजीयानग्ने यान्देवानयाड्भ्यानपिप्रेयं ते होत्रे अमत्सत तां ससन्तुर्वी होत्रां देवंगमां दिवि देवेषु यज्ञमेरयेमं स्विष्टकृज्जाग्ने होताऽभूर्वसुवने वसुधेयस्य नमोवाके बीहि3 षौ3ष्वट् । आश्व. I. 8. 7. Vide तै. ब्रा. III. 5. 9 for these. The यजमान says 'ओं3 इदं देवाय बर्हिषे, ओं3इदं देवाय नराशंसाय, ओं3 इदं देवाग्नये स्विष्टकृते and adds with each formula of tyāga respectively 'बर्हिषोऽहं देवयज्यया प्रजावान्भूयासम्,' 'नराशंसस्याहं देवयज्यया पशुमान् भूयासम्,' 'स्विष्टकृतोहं देवयज्ययायुष्मान्यज्ञेन प्रतिष्ठां गमेयम्' । तै. सं. I. 6. 4. 1. Vide Āp, IV. 12. 1.

each case with a prayer noted below.[2395] After keeping the juhū in some spot on the vedi other than where the prastara is, the adhvaryu, having mixed the prastara with the two vidhṛtis (vide above p. 1045) with 'may heaven and earth be of the same mind; may Mitra and Varuṇa help you with rain' he leaves the vidhṛtis on the barhis and smears the prastara (with the remnants of ājya) in the three ladles (*sruc*), the points in juhū with 'licking the one that is smeared' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 1), middle portions in upabhṛt with 'viyantu vayaḥ' (*ibid*) and the roots in dhruvā with 'prajām yonim'[2396] (*ibid*). He does the anointing a second time (with the same mantras). He anoints a third time in the reverse order viz. the roots first in dhruvā, the middle portions in upabhṛt and the tops last in juhū (the mantras being the same for each ladle). The yajamāna repeats, while the prastara is being anointed, a mantra 'may kuśa be anointed with ghee' (Āp. IV. 12. 3). Taking out a blade from the prastara so anointed with 'to thee for long life', he places it in a known place (for use later on). When the blade is taken away from the prastara the yajamāna recites a mantra (apipred yajño...yajamānam viśantu).

The adhvaryu takes the prastara (and also the *śākhā* i. e. twig used at the time of milking cows when sānnāyya is to be offered), introduces the prastara (together with the twig) at the corner in the north where the middle and northern paridhis meet and says 'ā3śrāvaya.' When the āgnīdhra responds with 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ,' he issues a direction to the hotṛ 'the divine hotṛs are desired (or requested); you being human and directed to utter the words of success recite hymns for the god called sūktavāka.' The hotṛ begins the recitation of sūktavāka[2397]

2395. यजमानः—बहुस्यामिदं न मम । बहून्देवान् यज्ञेनापिप्रेषम् । ..... तस्मान्देवान्यज्ञेनापिप्रेषम् । ..... आदित्यान्देवान्यज्ञेनापिप्रेषम् । आप. IV. 12. 3.

2396. Ap. III. 6. 1. states the mantras somewhat differently.

2397. The word sūktavāka has two meanings viz. the deity Agni and also the formula repeated by the hotṛ. Vide Āp. III. 6. 5–6 for the two meanings 'सूक्तवाकाय सूक्तां ब्रू3हि' in sūtra 5 and अनूच्यमाने सूक्तवाके in 6. Āśv. I. 9. contains sūktavāka and rules about its recitation. 'सूक्तवाको नामेडदेवताकोर्तनार्थं इदं वाचापृथिवी इत्यनुवाकः' com. on Āp. III. 6. 6. Vide Tai. S. II. 6. 9. 5ff, तै. ब्रा. III. 5. 10 for इदं वाचापृथिवी &c. and Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 1–19 and I. 9. 1. 1–23 for a disquisition on sūktavāka.

which is given below.[2398] The contents of the sūktavāka may be briefly indicated. He begins 'O heaven and earth, this blissful event has taken place; we have so flourished as to pronounce the good words (viz. 'fire has accepted this *havis* &c.') and our adoration (to the gods); O fire, you should declare good words, so that we may feel elevated; thou art the declarer of good words.' Then numerous words follow that state the various attributes of heaven and earth. Then it is declared that Agni and other deities (named) have accepted the offering and made it flourish. Then the sacrificer is named and it is said that he hopes for various blessings such as long life, worthy sons. The whole is concluded with 'we men belong to Agni. May we have (the fruits of) sacrifice and wealth. May both heaven and earth save us from sin (or evil). May the most desirable thing come here. Here is adoration to the gods.' After the sūktavāka the adhvaryu throws upon the āhavanīya the prastara (and the śākhā, in case of sānnāyya) with 'may waters and plants be strengthened; you are the

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2398. इदं द्यावापृथिवी भद्रमभूद्दार्ष्टं सूक्तवाकमुत नमोवाकमुद्यास्म सूक्तोक्त्यमग्ने त्वं सूक्तवागसि । उपश्रुतौ द्विवस्पृथिव्योरोमन्वती तेऽस्मिन्यज्ञे यजमान द्यावापृथिवी स्ताम्। शङ्क्यौ जीरदानू अस्रस्तू अप्रवेदे उरुगव्यूती अभयङ्कृतौ। दृष्टिद्यावा रीत्यापा शंभुवौ मयोभुवा ऊर्जस्वती पयस्वती सुपचरणा च स्वधिचरणा च तयोराविदं । अग्निरिदं हविरजुषतावीवृधत महो ज्यायोऽकृत। सोम इदं हवि ..... कृत । अग्निरिदं हवि ..... कृत । प्रजापतिः इदं हविरजुषतावावृधत महो ज्यायोऽकृत । अग्नीषोमाविदं हविरजुषेतामवीवृधेतां महो ज्यायोऽकृताम् । देवा आज्यपा आज्यमजुषन्तावीवृधन्त महो ज्यायोऽकृत । अग्निर्होत्रेणेदं हविर ..... कृत । अस्यामुधद्धोत्रायां देवङ्गमायामाशास्तेऽयं यजमानोऽसावसौ। आयुराशास्ते सुप्रजास्त्वमाशास्ते रायस्पोषमाशास्ते सजातवन्त्यामा० उत्तरां देवयज्यामा० धूपो हविष्करणमा० दिव्यं धामा० विश्वं प्रियमा० यद्वनेन हविषाशास्ते तदश्यात् तद्धुध्यात् तदस्मै देवा रासन्तां तदग्निर्दैवो देवेभ्यो वनते वयमग्नेर्मानुषाः । इष्टं च वित्तं चोभे च नो द्यावापृथिवी अहसस्यातामेह गतिर्वामस्येदं नमो देवेभ्यः । आश्व. I.9. Compare तै. ब्रा. III. 5.10 and Sān. I. 14 for almost the same words and Tai. S. II. 6 9. 5–7 for explanation. The words underlined are uttered inaudibly; vide Āśv. I.3.14. The deities mentioned in note 2381 may be substituted for Prajāpati; and Indra or Mahendra also may be added (where sānnāyya is offered). When the cake is offered to Indrāgnī, one may add an invocation as to them. Two names (viz. the ordinary name and the secret name derived from the nakṣatra of birth) were to be declared after यजमानः. If the यजमान happened to be the teacher of the hotṛ, the names should be uttered inaudibly. The hotṛ paused and took breath at असि, स्ताम्, अभयङ्कृतौ, विदि, अकृत (wherever it occurs), अकाताम्, अकृत, मानुषाः. Vide Jai. III. 2. 11–15 for the proposition that sūktavāka is really a mantra accompanying the throwing of prastara; and Jai. (III. 2. 16–19) establishes that the sūktavāka on pūrṇamāsa is slightly different from the one on darśa.

drops of Maruts; go to heaven and send thence rain to us' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 1).[2399] Jaimini makes it clear (VI. 4. 43-47) that śākhā is not a subordinate complement of the prastara but the real meaning of the text 'he throws the prastara with the śākhā' is to indicate the time when the śākhā is to be thrown into fire. Jaimini (IV. 2. 10-13) states that the throwing of the śākhā into fire is pratipattikarma (i. e. that is the final disposal of the *śākhā*). When throwing the prastara he does not bend his hand but holds it rather straight and hanging downwards and the tips of the prastara are not put beyond the fire nor are they turned upwards, nor are the tips allowed to be first scorched. He raises it up, brings it slowly down and rolls it on the hearth of the āhavanīya (making the upper portion come down and *vice versa*). The adhvaryu, when the hotṛ says 'this sacrificer seeks (hopes for) blessings' directs the āgnīdhra to consign the prastara to fire. The āgnīdhra thrice raises with his joined hands the prastara into the āhavanīya fire. The sacrificer makes the *tyāga* to the several deities mentioned in the sūktavāka (agnaya idam, somāyedam &c.) and adds (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 1) 'may I win victory following the victory of Agni' (then of Soma and so on for the other deities).[2400] When the hotṛ mentions the name of the sacrificer the latter recites 'these blessings have come here' (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 2 and Āp. IV. 12. 5). The adhvaryu directs the āgnīdhra to throw into fire on the prastara the blade of kuśa taken from the prastara and kept aside (as described above p. 1072) and the āgnīdhra[2401] does so with 'Good speed to the tanūs, svāhā'. The yajamāna mutters 'this for the Tanūs' and proceeds 'This pillar spread down from heaven and was raised over the earth. With it that has a thousand shoots we worry our enemy etc.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6 and Āp. IV. 12. 8). The adhvaryu points out thrice with his forefinger the blade thrown into fire with 'this, this' and touches his nose and eyes with 'Agni! thou art the protector of life, protect my life, thou art the protector of eyes' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 2). Then the adhvaryu touches the earth inside the vedi with 'thou art stable' (*ibid*).

2399. According to Āp. III. 6. 7 when this mantra is repeated there is no svāhā uttered after it. But others differ.

2400. अग्नेरहमुज्झितमनूज्झितमिति यथालिङ्गं सूक्तवाकदेवताः । आप. IV. 12. 4. Vide जै. IX. 1. 4-5.

2401. According to com. on Āp. III. 7. 4-5 it is the adhvaryu who puts into fire the blade of the prastara.

The āgnīdhra then addresses the adhvaryu 'talk with me'. The adhvaryu asks 'has (the prastara) been consigned to flames'? The āgnīdhra replies 'it has gone to the fire'. Then after āśrāvaṇa and pratyāśrāvaṇa the adhvaryu touching the middle enclosing stick (paridhi) issues a direction to the hotṛ 'Good speed to the divine hotṛs (here the paridhis) and bliss to human hotṛs. Recite for *śaṁ-yoḥ*'.[2402] Then the hotṛ recites the verse 'we long for that *śaṁ-yoḥ*, for (the) path to sacrifice and to the lord of sacrifice. May divine bliss be ours! May there be bliss for human beings. May the means (of bliss) ascend upwards! All health to the two-footed and the four-footed that are ours' (i. e. to men and cattle).[2403] When the Śaṁyuvāka is repeated the yajamāna mutters 'may I attain stability by yajña, śaṁyoḥ (health and wealth) by the worship of Viṣṇu' (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 3). The adhvaryu then throws into the fire the middle paridhi with 'O God Agni, that paridhi which you laid down ..... svāhā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 2).

The adhvaryu then pushes on to the burning coals of the āhavanīya the other two paridhis together (the southern and northern ones) with 'the food of sacrifice has come together.' He thrusts the tip of the northern paridhi underneath the middle one in the burning coals and keeps the tip of the southern over the middle one. When the paridhis are being thrown on the fire the yajamāna mutters 'I loosen thy girdle &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 3). After the paridhis are thrown the adhvaryu invokes them 'may you spread (i. e. prolong the life of) the sacrificer'.

The adhvaryu then lays on the bowl of the juhū the upabhṛt and lets flow from the two ladles the remnants of butter into fire with 'O Viśve Devas! You have for your share the remnants (saṁsrāva) of ājya,...svāhā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 2).[2404]

2402. The words are अग3न्नग्नीदित्यध्वर्युराह । अगन्नित्याग्नीध्रः । मध्यमपरिधिमन्वारब्धं स्वगा देव्या होतृभ्यः स्वस्तिमानुषेभ्यः शंयोर्मू3हीति संप्रेष्यति । सत्याषाढ II. 4 p. 218.

2403. For the formula 'तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे' (Tai. S. II. 6. 10. 2) vide note 1684 above. As the most prominent words in it are शंयोः this formula is called शंयुवाक (lit. utterance of śaṁyu). It occurs in Tai. Br. III. 5.11. These words gave rise to the name of a sage शंयु बार्हस्पत्य whose legend is narrated in the Sat. Br. I. 9. 24–25, Tai. S. II 6. 10. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 254 n. 1.

2404. Vide Śat. Br. I. 8. 3. 23–27 for the offering of the remnants of ājya to the Viśve Devas. This homa of remnants is an aṅga of the paridhihoma. Vide com. on Āp. III. 7. 14.

The yajamāna makes the tyāga with 'this is for Vasus, Rudras Ādityas who are sharers in the saṁsrāva (remnants of ājya),' then utters a benedictory formula invoking blessings (vide Āp. IV. 12. 10 and Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 4) and touches the veda bunch lying inside the vedi.

The priests partake of the remnants of ājya and wash the ājya sticking to the ladles.[2405]

The adhvaryu takes up the juhū and upabhṛt, the hotṛ takes the veda bunch and the āgnīdhra takes the pot of ājya (ājyasthālī) together with the sruva. Being about to perform the patnīsaṁyājas[2406] the adhvaryu passes to the south of the gārhapatya fire (from its east side) and the other two priests (hotṛ and āgnīdhra) pass to its north. The adhvaryu places the two ladles on the sphya with 'I place you in the abode of Agni whose house is indestructible; may you who are happy place me in happiness for the sake of happiness; may you who are the foremost (or leaders) protect me when I am in front' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 2-3). They sit to the west of the gārhapatya and set about the offerings of Patnīsaṁyājas with the two ladles in the dhvāna tone. They three sit to the west of the gārhapatya with knees raised up, the adhvaryu being seated to the south, the āgnīdhra to the north and the hotṛ between the two. The hotṛ hands over the veda bunch to the adhvaryu who takes it with 'I have stood up following the immortals with long life &c.' (Tai. S. I. 2. 8. 1), stands up and sits down to the west of the gārhapatya. When the wife (of the sacrificer) holds the veda bunch and touches the adhvaryu with a blade of darbha, the adhvaryu takes into the juhū four ladlings of ājya with sruva (from the pot of ājya). Then the procedure for each of the four offerings resembles the prayāja offerings, viz.

2405. The ladles are the sruva, the juhū and upabhṛt and not the dhruvā (com. on Sat. II. 4. p. 220).

2406. Patnīsaṁyāja literally means offering made to the wives (of the gods) along with (some other deities). 'पत्नीभिः समभिजयन्ते ते पत्नीसंयाजाः' com. on Sat. II. 5 p. 223. These are four offerings of ājya made in succession to Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Devapatnīs (wives of gods) and Agni Gṛhapati. Vide Sat. Br. I. 9. 2 for a treatment of patnīsaṁyājas. Kāt. (III. 1. 2-4) shows that there were several views as to the path by which the adhvaryu went to the south. यथान is explained as अत्र स्वरूपलक्षणयोः पृथगुपलब्धिः स यथानिर्वचनः । मुखप्रयत्नवाचनभिन्नपक्षशब्दप्रयोगः उपांशुः । com. on Āp. III. 8. 8. All formulas must be uttered here in these tones except some words to be specified later on.

the adhvaryu issues a direction to the hotṛ to recite an anuvākyā (invitatory prayer) for Soma (then for Tvaṣṭṛ and so on), then the hotṛ recites the anuvākyā, then there is āśruta and pratyāśruta, followed by adhvaryu directing the hotṛ to recite the yājyā for Soma (or Tvaṣṭṛ or others as the case may be), and when the hotṛ utters 'vai 3ṣaṭ' the adhvaryu pours the ājyā oblation from the juhū into the gārhapatya (in this rite). The offering to Soma is made in the northern part of the gārhapatya, that to Tvaṣṭṛ in the southern part and for the rest between these two. The offering to the wives of the gods may be made in an enclosed space (i. e. by placing a screen to the east of the gārhapatya) so as to shut the gārhapatya from view on the eastern side.[2407] Additional offerings were allowed to be made to Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū by those who desired sons, cattle or prosperity respectively either before or after the offering to the wives of the gods. The procedure is briefly indicated in the note below.[2408]

The yajamāna makes a *tyāga* (of the offering) with 'this for Soma' (or for Tvaṣṭṛ and so on) and adds a separate formula in each case invoking separate blessings of vigour, cattle, progeny and stability (vide Āp. IV. 13. 1 and Tai. S. I. 6. 4. 3-4). The adhvaryu offers in the gārhapatya with the sruva an

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2407. आहवनीयतः परिश्रिते देवपत्नीरपरिश्रिते वा। Āp. III. 9. 3 and the com. says 'यथाहवनीयो न दृश्यते तथा परिश्रिते प्रच्छादिते गार्हपत्य इत्यर्थः.' In modern times a wooden frame is placed to the east of the gārhapatya as a screen. The reason why the gārhapatya is screened from view is stated in the Śat. Br. I. 9. 2. 12 to be "for, up to the time of the Samiṣṭayajus the deities continue waiting, thinking 'this he must offer to us'; he thereby conceals this offering from them; and accordingly Yājñavalkya says 'whenever females (human) eat here they do so apart from men'."

2408. अध्वर्युः सोमायानुब्रूहि इति प्रेष्यति। होता। आप्यायस्व ... सङ्गथो3म्। (इति पुरोऽनुवाक्या, ऋ. I. 91. 16)। आश्राव्य प्रत्याश्राविते अध्वर्युः सोमं यजेति संप्रेष्यति। होता। ये3यजामहे सोमं सं ते पयांसि ...धित्वा3 वौ3षट् (याज्या, ऋ. I. 91. 18)। The अनुवाक्या and याज्या for त्वष्ट are इह त्वष्टारमाग्रियं ... ... केवलः (ऋ. I. 13. 10) and तत्सवितुरिषमह ..... । वकामा (ऋ. III. 4 9), for देवपत्नीः are देवानां पत्नी ... ... शर्म यच्छत and उत ग्नाश्यन्तु देवपत्नी ... ... जनीनाम् (ऋ. V. 46. 7-8), for अग्नि गृहपति are अग्निर्होता गृहपति ... सुताया (ऋ. VI. 15 13) and इध्मवाळग्नि .....अवांसि (ऋ. V. 4. 2). Vide आश्व. I. 10. 5. The पुरोऽनुवाक्या and याज्या in the case of राका, सिनीवाली are respectively ऋ. II. 32. 4-5, II. 32. 6-7 and those for कुहू are stated in आश्व. I. 10 8 (the entire verses are given in this case). They occur in Tai. S. III. 3. 11. 5 and Atharvaveda VII. 47. 1 and 2 (with slight variations).

oblation of ājya with[2409] 'may the wife unite with her husband... svāhā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5 quoted on p. 556 n. 1291). The sacrificer's wife touches the adhvaryu (with a blade of darbha) when he makes the last offering. The yajamāna makes the tyāga 'this is for the undecaying Great Soul, the light in Heaven.'

The adhvaryu then smears the two front joints of the hotṛ's finger as before, first the hind joint and then the front joint. He breathes over it and touches water. The adhvaryu drops into the palm of the right hand of the hotṛ four drops of ājya as iḍā[2410] and six in that of the āgnīdhra. The hotṛ inaudibly invokes both (viz. his own iḍā and āgnīdhra's, the hand of the latter being held underneath the former's) in the same words as before (vide Appendix under note 2384). When the words 'this yajamāna has been summoned' are uttered, the wife mutters 'being summoned may I surpass in the possession[2411] of cattle,' and the adhvaryu also performs japa as above. When the iḍā is being invoked the adhvaryu, the āgnīdhra and the wife (with a darbha blade) touch the hotṛ. The yajamāna invokes ājya iḍā with 'may iḍā cover us with ghṛta &c.' (Āp. IV. 13. 4). At the end of the invocation of iḍā the hotṛ eats the iḍā (drops of ājya) and the āgnīdhra eats his with 'father Heaven has been invoked, may the fire summon me from āgnīdhra for my life, lustre &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). He silently performs mārjana after partaking of iḍā. The patnīsaṁyājas end with the invocation of iḍā or they may be finished after reciting Śaṁyuvāka (Sat. II. 5, p. 225; Āśv. I. 10. 9; Kāt. III. 7. 13).

The adhvaryu sitting to the west of the dakṣiṇa fire places on it the chips cut from the idhma (idhma-pravraścana, vide above p. 1014) and offers two oblations called phalīkaraṇa and piṣṭalepa.[2412] Having thrown into the ājya ladled into

2409. This homa made with a verse beginning with 'sam patnī' is called संपत्नीय in Sat. II. 5. p. 223 and Āp. III. 9. 10.

2410. This is the 2nd iḍā and consists only of ājya.

2411. According to Sat. II. 5. p. 224 in the iḍopahvāna there is a modification viz. उपहूतेयं यजमाना for उपहूतोयं यजमानः and so in the 2nd iḍā the wife performs japa; while (as the com. of Sat. notes) the followers of Ṛg. retained उपहूतोयं यजमानः in the 2nd iḍā also and so the yajamāna engages in the japa.

2412. पिष्टलेपसंज्ञको होमः पिष्टलेपहोमः तथा फलीकरणहोमः । com. on Āp. III. 9. 12.

the juhū four times with the sruva the smallest grains (that were produced when rice grains were husked and pounded for making puroḍāśas), the adhvaryu offers them into the dakṣiṇa fire with 'O fire, that hast unhurt life and not cool body, guard me against the sky (lightning)... make our food free from poison ... svāhā' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 3). When this homa is made the yajamāna rubs (wipes) his mouth with 'svāhā to thee, that art Sarasvatī Yaśobhaginī' (who loves laudation) and makes the tyāga with 'this is for Agni who has long life and not cool body' and wipes his face with 'svāhā to thee, that art Sarasvatī Veśabhaginī' [2413] (who loves residing together, Āp. III. 10. 2). The adhvaryu takes again four ladlings of ājya with the sruva into the juhū and pours therein the remnants of ground grains which still stick to the several utensils and offers them into the dakṣiṇa fire with 'whatever stuck to the mortar, pestle and the winnowing basket...! Svāhā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6 and Āp. III. 10. 1). The yajamāna says 'this is for the All-Gods'.

The hotṛ hands over the veda bunch to the sacrificer's wife and makes her repeat aloud 'thou art veda...may I secure progeny. To thee for Kāma' (Āśv. I. 11. 1) and the sacrificer recites, when the veda bunch is being given to the wife 'thou art Veda ..... may I secure gifts' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 4) and when the veda is placed on her lap by the wife [2414] she repeats 'may *veda* give &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 4). The wife thrusts it with 'drive out the enemy, the hater' (Āp. III. 10. 4). The wife touches her navel with the top of the veda bunch if she desires progeny.

The hotṛ unties the yoktra (the girdle) of the wife with 'I release thee from the fetter of Varuṇa &c.' (Rg. X. 85. 24).[2415] The wife lays aside the yoktra and the adhvaryu makes her recite 'here do I unloosen the fetters of Varuṇa &c.' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 2). The hotṛ winds round the yoktra twofold, places it to the west of the gārhapatya fire with its loop and end to the east, keeps over it the blades of the veda with their points to the north

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2413. The meaning of Yaśobhaginī and Veśabhaginī in Sat. II. 5. p. 230 is obscure. In Vāj. S. II. 20 यशोभगिन्यै is explained by महीधर as जीवतः पुरुषस्य प्रशंसा यशः तस्य यशसो भगिनी यावया. In काठकसं. V. 4 सरस्वती is called वेशभगिनी.

2414. According to Āp. (III. 10. 3-4) the hotṛ throws the veda thrice on the lap of the wife who returns it back three times.

2415. तत् प्रत्यग्गार्हपत्यात् द्विगुणं प्राक्पाशं निधायोपरिष्टादस्योदग्गाणि वेदतृणानि करोति । आश्व. I. 11. 4; the com. says योक्त्रस्य मूलप्रदेशः पाशः । पाशशब्दोत्र मूलाग्रयोः प्रदर्शनार्थः ।

and lays down a pūrṇapātra[2416] (a vessel filled with water) to the east of the blades but touching them. The hotṛ touches that vessel and makes the wife who touches it repeat a mantra 'thou art full &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1). The hotṛ sprinkles water from the pūrṇapātra in all directions and makes the wife, who also sprinkles water from it in all directions, repeat 'Let the gods and the priests purify (or wipe) in the eastern direction &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1-2, quoted in Āśv. I. 11. 7). The hotṛ places into the joined hands of the sacrificer's wife with the palm upwards the yoktra, and places his left hand with palm turned upwards on the wife's folded hands (but in modern practice the hotṛ does not hold his hand over the wife's) and pours down the water from the pūrṇapātra on the hands (his and the wife's) and makes her repeat 'May I not throw away progeny &c.' (Āśv. I. 11. 8). The hotṛ holds by his right hand the tops of the blades of the veda bunch (the binding cord of which has already been unloosened), proceeds from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya, repeats Ṛg. X. 53. 6 (tantum tanvan &c.) and without shaking them, strews continuously some of them from the gārhapatya to the āhavanīya. The rest of the blades the hotṛ lays down and, standing to the north-east of the āhavanīya, takes ājya from the pot of ājya (ājyasthālī) in the sruva and offers with svāhā at the end of the mantras oblations of ājya, which are called 'sarvaprāyaścitta' (expiation for all lapses). The mantras are given below.[2417] Having made the oblations the hotṛ pays homage with the 'saṃsthājapa (lit. the prayer muttered on completion)[2418] and goes out of the sacrificial ground by the way called tīrtha (vide above p. 984).

The adhvaryu pours from a vessel full of water (*pūrṇapātra*) water into the joined hands of the wife in which the yoktra is

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2416. पूर्णपात्र is explained by com. on Sat. II. 5 p. 229 as उदकेन पूर्णं पात्रम्। The mantra is 'पूर्णमसि पूर्णं मे भूयाः सुपूर्णमसि सुपूर्णं मे भूयाः सदासि सन्मे भूयाः सर्वमसि सर्वं मे भूया अक्षितिरसि मा मे क्षेढाः।' तै सं. I. 6. 5. 1. quoted in आश्व. I. 11. 6.

2417. The mantras are 'अयाश्चाग्नेऽस्यनभिशस्तीश्च ..... धेहि भेषजं स्वाहा' (आश्व I. 11. 13 and सत्या. II. 6. p. 232). अतो देवा ..... धामभिः स्वाहा (ऋ. I. 22. 16), इदं विष्णु ..... पांसुरे स्वाहा (ऋ. I. 22. 17), भूः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भूर्भुवः स्वः स्वाहा. The oblations are in all seven. The mantras of सर्वप्रायश्चित्त differ a great deal in the different sūtras. अयाश्चाग्ने ..... भेषजं स्वाहा is काठकसं. V. 4.

2418. ओं च मे स्वश्च मे यज्ञेन च ते नमश्च। यत्ते न्यूनं तस्मै त उप यत्तेऽतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नम इति संस्थाजपः। आश्व. I. 11. 15. This is called संस्थाजप because it is the last of the acts the hotṛ does in this rite.

held. When the wife lets down the water on the ground she mutters 'May I be united with long life, progeny &c.' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 2). After pouring the water she wipes her face with her wet right hand and goes out as she desires.[2419] When the hotṛ strews the blades of the veda, the sacrificer repeats 'through you they knew the vedi &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 4).

The adhvaryu comes back by the way he went, repeats 'may the dhruvā be strengthened &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1) and offers two āhutis of ājya to Sarasvatī with the juhū into the āhavanīya with 'to thee, who are Sarasvatī, called Yaśobhaginā, svāhā' and with 'to thee Sarasvatī called Veśabhaginā, svānā.' The yajamāna makes the *tyāga* in similar words. The adhvaryu again takes ājya in the juhū and offers an āhuti to Indra with 'Indropānasya kehamanaso veśān kuru sumanasaḥ sajātān' (Sat. II. 5. p. 230, Āp. III. 10. 2)[2420] and the yajamāna says 'this is for Indra &c.' The adhvaryu offers an oblation of ājya with sruva on the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi with 'we offer worship to pūrṇamāsa the foremost &c. svāhā' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5 quoted by Sat. II. 5 p. 230) and a similar oblation on darśeṣṭi with 'Amāvāsyā is fortunate and full of happiness &c. svāhā.' The yajamāna makes tyāga. These are called *pārvaṇahoma* and according to some they are optionally performed before the offering to Sviṣṭakṛt. Jaimini (IX. 2. 51–56) establishes that these two homas are not performed in other iṣṭis that are the modifications (vikṛti) of darśapūrṇamāsa and in IX. 2. 57–58 establishes that both are not performed on pūrṇamāseṣṭi and darśeṣṭi, but the first homa (in which there is an oblation to pūrṇamāsa) is alone performed on pūrṇamāseṣṭi and the other on darśeṣṭi. The adhvaryu takes ājya six times with the mantra 'āpyāyatām dhruvā &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1) and offers six homas called Nāriṣṭha homas with six mantras[2421] (with svāhā at the

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2419. Āp. III. 10. 9 says that the wife goes out saying 'May I be endowed with prosperity, cattle, progeny, domestic happiness'. The com. on Sat. II. 5. p. 229 explains the words यथार्थं गच्छति as ब्राह्मणे योर्थो वाक्यस्य उक्तस्तं प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः and quotes Āp. III. 10. 9.

2420. The meaning of the first part of this mantra is obscure and the text appears to be corrupt. It occurs also in Vārāha Śr. I. 3. 7. 13.

2421. The six Nāriṣṭha mantras occur in Sat. II. 5. p. 231, Āp. II. 20. 6 and II. 21. 1. The first four are from Tai. Br. III. 7. 5, the 5th from Tai. Br. III. 7. 11 and the first portion of the 6th from Tai. S. I. 3. 10. 1. According to com. on Āp. II. 21. 1, these homas are offered with the juhū.

end of each) and the yajamāna repeats the tyāga six times 'to Nāriṣṭhas Agni and Vāyu,' 'to Nāriṣṭhas Indra and Vāyu (twice),' 'to Nāriṣṭhas Soma and Maruts,' 'to Nāriṣṭha Brahman,' 'to Nāriṣṭha Paramātman.'

The adhvaryu recites 'apyāyatām dhruvā' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1), takes ājya thirty-eight times and offers with the juhū oblations called sarvaprāyaścittas to thirty-eight deities in the āhavanīya with a mantra for each,[2422] and there is an appropriate *tyāga* in each case.

The adhvaryu repeats the mantra 'āpyāyatām &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1), increases the dhruvā (with ājya), stands erect inside the vedi and offers with the dhruvā three homas called *Samiṣṭayajus*[2423] in the āhavanīya with 'ye path-finding gods ! after finding the path, return by it. O Lord of the mind ! place this our sacrifice among the gods, in speech, in the wind' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 3). When the word svāhā is repeated the second time he throws the barhis into the fire. The yajamāna says 'this is for the path-finding gods, for Yajña—for Paramātman' and utters the invocation 'agne adabdhāyo' (Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 3,) and after the barhis is thrown the verse 'divaḥ khīlo' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6). The yajamāna then eats his own share of the sacrificial food with 'let the lord of sacrifice be united with prayer &c.' (Tai. S. I. 3. 8. 1).

But if it is the sānnāyya, he takes in the boiled milk with 'May this *havis*, a giver of progeny, be for my welfare &c.' (Tai. Br. II. 6. 3) and curds with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6). Āp. IV. 14. 2 notes that a yajamāna who is not a brāhmaṇa should not eat sānnāyya. The adhvaryu strews the vedi with

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2422. These 38 mantras (some of them of single words like iṣṭebhyaḥ svāhā, bhūḥ svāhā) are set out in Sat. II. 6 pp. 232–234. Āp. (III. 11–12) contains most of them, but in a different order.

2423. 'Samiṣṭayajus' would literally mean 'a Yajus formula indicative of the completion of the sacrifice or of sacrificing together for many deities'. It now means 'an oblation'. The mantra is देवा गातुविदो गातुं वित्वा गातुमित मनसस्पत इमं नो देव देवेषु यज्ञꣳ स्वाहा वाचि स्वाहा वाते धाः। Tai. S. I. 1. 13. 3. There is a difference of view about the Samiṣṭayajus. According to Āp. III. 13. 2 (and com.), Baud. I. 21, Kāt. III. 8. 4 the oblation is only one (made at the end of the whole mantra), though the word svāhā occurs thrice (twice in the mantra itself and once repeated at the end of the mantra). According to Sat. II. 6 pp. 234–235 the oblations are three. Vide Vāj. S. II. 21 for the mantra (slightly different) and Śat. Br. I. 9. 2. 26–28 for its explanation.

the darbhas spread on the seat of the hotṛ with 'strew over the vedi &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 5). He carries the praṇītā waters from the eastern side with 'to you for prosperity' and pours them down inside the vedi with 'may he who joined you together separate you'. The adhvaryu pours on those praṇītā waters a continuous stream of water for the yajamāna who holds it in his joined hands and mutters 'thou art true, be true to me ..... do not perish for me' (sadasi ..... kṣeṣṭhāḥ' Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 1), throws up water in different directions with 'may gods and priests cleanse with water in the east &c.' (Āśv. I. 11. 6–7), pours the rest inside the vedi with 'I discharge you to the ocean, that is your origin' (Āp. IV. 14. 4) and wipes his face with his wet right hand with 'O Sarasvatī! that honey which you have in waters &c.' (Tai. Br. II. 5. 8 quoted in Āp. IV. 14. 4).

The adhvaryu then takes up the *upaveṣa* and conceals it inside the dust of the utkara (vide Āp. III. 13. 6) and if it is desired to practise magic against one's enemy, then he throws the upaveṣa on the utkara after taking the enemy's name (Āp. III. 14. 1, Sat. II. 6. p. 237). Vide Tai. Br. III. 3. 11 for the upaveṣa and the mantras. The adhvaryu takes leave of the Yajña with 'Let him who yokes you discharge you' (Tai. S. I. 5. 10. 3 quoted in Sat. II. 6. p. 237) and passes his eye over the whole sacrificial ground.[2424] Then he discharges the kapālas with 'the kapālas that were in the cauldron' (Tai. S. I. 5. 10. 3–4 quoted in Sat. II. 6. p. 237), counts them and keeps them aside. Then the adhvaryu goes out. The brahmā also places a fuel-stick on fire with 'the fire has been worshipped &c.' (Āp. III. 13. 1 and Sat. II. 8. p. 261) and then leaves by the way he came.

The yajamāna gets up from his seat and takes what are called 'the strides of Viṣṇu' (viṣṇukrama).[2425] These are four taken from the south corner (śroṇi) on the south side of the vedi. He starts towards the east putting the right foot always first, never allows the left foot to come in front, does not go beyond the āhavanīya place and each succeeding step covers

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2424. According to com. on Sat. casting the eye over the vihāra constitutes the discharge (*vimoka*) of the yajña.

2425. This act is called Viṣṇu-krama because the four mantras repeated in it all begin with 'viṣṇoḥ kramosi' and because the yajamāna actually takes four steps in it. विष्णुक्रमा नाम सन्निकृष्टमन्त्रविधिष्टाः पदविक्षेपाः तान्दक्षिणे वेदिसीम्नि क्रामति । com on आप. IV. 14. 6.

more ground than each preceding one. He first recites four mantras 'thou art the stride of Viṣṇu &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 5. 2) when taking the strides. Then he mutters a long prayer to the Sun 'O Light of Mitra rising to-day &c.' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 6 and Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 1, quoted in Āp. IV. 15. 1 and I. 16. 1). He contemplates the destruction of his enemy with the words 'Here do I exclude from a share my enemy the evil-doer &c.' He revolves round himself from left to right with 'I turn the turning of Indra' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 2) and goes round the āhavanīya with 'Let me have auspicious riches and may evil riches remain away from me' (Āp. IV. 15. 4). He bends over the āhavanīya with 'thou art light' (Tai. S. I. 1. 10. 3), pays homage to it with 'May I be united with my children and may my children be united with me &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 2, Āp. IV. 15. 4). He puts the fire into flames 'O fire, being kindled, shine for me &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 2, Āp. IV. 16. 5). He prays to the āhavanīya with 'The sacrifice is endowed with riches, may I be endowed with riches &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 2, Āp. IV. 15. 5.). He prays to the dakṣiṇa fire 'O fire, cook food pleasantly eaten for our progeny' (Āp. IV. 16. 5). He prays to the gārhapatya fire with the two verses to Agni Pavamāna (Ṛg. IX. 66. 19–20, Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 2), and with 'O Agni Gṛhapati! I am a good house-holder &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 3). If he has no son he prays[2426] 'I pray for that blessing full of spiritual lustre for my son (to be)' and if he has a son he prays 'I pray for my son so and so that blessing &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 3). He sits between the two fires inside the vedi with 'to thee (unborn or born son as the case may be) who art light &c.' (Āp. IV. 16. 6). He places on his lap the blades of the veda (that had been unloosened) and sitting inside the vedi mutters the Atimokṣa mantras 'May Agni guard me against those gods that strike the sacrifice &c.' (Tai. S. III. 5. 4. 1–2 indicated in Āp. IV. 14. 10).

He then comes to his seat, looks at the whole sacrifice with 'who yokes thee? Let him free thee' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 3). He then discharges himself from vrata with 'O fire, lord of vratas, I observed vrata &c.' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 3, Tai. Ā. IV. 41,

2426. तामाशिषमाशास्ते तत्तवे ज्योतिष्मतीमित्यजातपुत्रः । तामाशिषमाशास्ते देवदत्ताय ज्योतिष्मतीमिति जातपुत्रः । तामाशिषमाशास्ते रुद्राय सूर्याय विष्णवे ज्योतिष्मतीमिति (बहुपुत्रः)। vide com. on Āp. IV. 16. 3. Here रुद्र, सूर्य and विष्णु are the names of the sons. Vide Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 3 'तामाशिषमाशास्ते तत्तवे ज्योतिष्मतीं तामाशिषमाशास्ेऽमुष्मै ज्योतिष्मतीम्.'

Vāj. S. II. 28). He then mutters the mantra which speaks of the re-performance of yajña 'Yajña hath become, it has come into being ..... let him make us overlords, may we be lords of wealth' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 4). He then gets up and mutters a text after going out with his face to the east 'O fire, the sacrifice is endowed with cows ..... May this sacrifice be rich in food in halls' (Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 4) and a further prayer (given in Āp. IV. 16. 15).[2427] Then after saying 'thou art rain ..... a bow to you' he touches water. Then the sacrificer issues a direction 'the brāhmaṇas have to be satiated' (with dinner &c.).

Lastly the yajamāna offers final prayers by repeating Ṛg. I. 189. 1, VII. 4. 1, VII. 10. 3, I. 189. 3, I. 189. 2, III. 6. 1 and winds up with 'salutation to thee once, twice, thrice, four times, five times, ten times, a hundred times. May there be salutation to thee up to a thousand times. Do not injure, may we be free from debts in this world, in the next world, in the third world; may we, free from debts, dwell in all the paths, those that are Devayāna (lead to the gods) and those that lead to the pitṛs.' According to Tai. S. II. 5. 3. 1 and Āp. III. 15. 1–5 there is an additional puroḍāśa offered to Indra Vaimṛdha. Jai. (IV. 3. 32–35) declares that this puroḍāśa is offered only on the Full Moon day sacrifice and not in the New Moon sacrifice. Vide Jai. X. 8. 17–19 for seventeen sāmidhenī verses in the Vaimṛdha iṣṭi.

There are differences in the procedure of darśeṣṭi as compared with that of the pūrṇamāseṣṭi which have been noted in the above at the respective places. There are several modifications of the darśapūrṇamāsa such as the Dākṣāyaṇa yajña, the Vaimṛdha, Sākamprasthīya, which are omitted here for want of space. Jaimini (II. 3. 5–11) establishes that the Dākṣāyaṇa, Sākamprasthīya and Saṁkrama yajñas are modifications of darśapūrṇamāsa.

Piṇḍapitṛyajña

It is so called because balls of rice are offered to the pitṛs[2428] in this rite. According to Jaimini IV. 4. 19–21 Piṇḍapitṛyajña

2427. यज्ञ शं च म उप च म आयुश्च मे बलं च ..... यज्ञारिष्टो मे सन्तिष्ठस्वेति दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां सोमेन पशुना वेष्ट्वा जपति । बृहिरसि बृश्च मे पाप्मानमृतात्सत्यमुपागामित्यद्भिरुप उपस्पृशति । तदिदं सर्वयज्ञेनोपस्पर्शनं भवति । आप. IV. 16. 15–16. Vide तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 9 for बृहिरसि &c.

2428. अमावास्यायां यदहश्चन्द्रमसं न पश्यन्ति तदहः पिण्डपितृयज्ञं कुरुते । आप. I. 7. 1–2. सुदत्त explains 'पिण्डैः पितृणां यज्ञः'; महादेव on सत्याषाढ says 'पिण्डैः पिण्डदानेन सहितः पितृभ्यो देवेभ्यो यज्ञो होमः स पिण्डपितृयज्ञः'—II. 7. p. 245.

is an independent rite and not a mere subordinate part of the darśa sacrifice. On the other hand several writers held that it was a subordinate part (aṅga) of darśa e. g. Kāt. IV. 1. 30 appears to be of that opinion and the paddhati on it notes that all bhāṣyakāras like Karka stick to that opinion.[2429] The piṇḍapitṛyajña is briefly described below. For details, vide Śat. Br. II. 4. 2, Tai. Br. I. 3. 10, II. 6. 16, Āśv. II. 6-7, Āp. I. 7-10, Kāt. IV. 1. 1-30, Sat. II. 7, Baud. III. 10-11. It is performed on amāvāsyā day when the moon cannot be seen and its distance from the sun is the least, in the last third part of the day or when only the rays of the sun are visible on the tops of trees.[2430] The *caru* (boiled rice) is cooked on the dakṣiṇāgni and the oblation is offered in the same. In this and other ways a contrast is brought out between rites for gods and for Manes. He kindles a blade on the dakṣiṇa fire and carries it to the south-east of that fire with the mantra 'ye rūpāṇi &c.' (Vāj. S. II. 30).[2431] All actions are to be done facing the south-east unless otherwise specified. The darbha grass (to be employed in this rite) is severed at one stroke and is brought with or without its roots (Āp. I. 7. 3-4). Strewing round the dakṣiṇāgni darbha grass (*paristaraṇa*) with their ends turned to the south in the case of those that are placed to the north or south he spreads darbhas to the north. He places to the north-east or to the north-west of the dakṣiṇāgni singly the yajñapātras required in this rite on darbha grass viz. carusthālī, śūrpa, sphya, mortar and pestle, sruva, dhruvā, antelope-skin, fuel-sticks cut off at one stroke, mekṣaṇa, kamaṇḍalu, and whatever else may be necessary. The adhvaryu going to the south of the śakaṭa (the wooden frame on which the paddy is stored and which is to the west of the fire) fills the carusthālī (vessel for cooking rice) that is placed on the śūrpa with paddy to the brim and removes the grains (that rise above the brim) on to the śūrpa (which overflowing grains are returned to the śakaṭa). The mortar is then placed on the black antelope-skin and the wife with her face to the south-east beats with the pestle the paddy grains

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2429. पितृयज्ञः स्वकालत्वाद्नङ्गं स्यात्। जै. IV. 4. 19; अङ्गं वा समभिव्याहारात्। कात्या. IV. 1. 30 (पद्धति 'पिण्डपितृयज्ञो दर्शाङ्गमिति कर्कादयः सर्वे भाष्यकाराः, नेति संप्रदायः'). Vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I. 5–6 on the varying views.

2430. पूर्वाह्णो वै देवानां मनुष्यान्प्रति मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणाम्। शतपथ II. 4. 2. 8, अपराह्णे पिण्डपितृयज्ञश्चन्द्रादर्शनेऽमावास्यायाम्। कात्या. IV. 1. 1; अपराह्णेऽधिश्रयणं वा पिण्डपितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति। आप. I. 7. 2, Sat. II. 7. p. 248.

2431. Āśv. II. 6. 3, Āp. I. 8. 7 set out the whole verse ये रूपाणि.

taken out in the carusthālī and removes the husks by means of the winnowing basket. Without trying to separate the husked grains from the unhusked ones the grains are washed once and cooked on the dakṣiṇa fire (in such a way that the grains of rice are not entirely soft). He should draw with the sphya a line between the gārhapatya and dakṣiṇa fires or to the south-east of the latter with the words 'the asuras and evil-spirits that occupy the vedi are scattered away' (Vāj. S. II. 29 quoted in Sat. II. 7. p. 249 and Āp. I. 7. 13). He should then sprinkle that line (as the vedi for this rite) with water, spread round it the darbha grass (cut off with one stroke), take clarified butter in the dhruvā spoon, place it to the south of the dakṣiṇāgni, sprinkle on the mess of cooked rice clarified butter from the dhruvā. He places to the south of the dakṣiṇāgni, collyrium, unguents, a mat and a pillow. Wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta form (according to Āp. I. 8. 3 and Sat. II. 7. p. 248 *the adhvaryu wears* it in the upavīta form) he offers on the fire the idhma (i. e. fifteen fuel-sticks), takes a portion of the boiled rice with the *mekṣaṇa*, pours clarified butter over it, cuts off two portions of the rice on it, again sprinkles clarified butter over[2432] the portions and the rice from which they are taken, offers into the dakṣiṇa fire one *āhuti* (oblation) with the words 'Somāya pitṛmate svadhā namaḥ', then again sprinkles clarified butter on the portion cut off and offers it with the words 'Agnaye kavyavāhanāya svadhā namaḥ'. He[2433] then throws the mekṣaṇa on to the fire. Then on the line made with the sphya he sprinkles water thrice[2434] with the mantras 'Śundhantām pitaraḥ, śundhantām pitāmahāḥ, śundhantām prapitāmahāḥ' (may the fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers wash themselves pure). He offers three balls of rice on that line one after another with the hand turned sideways (i. e. the piṇḍa is let off on the line from the part of the palm between the thumb

2432. In the case of this offering there is उपस्तरण, then द्विरवदान, अभिघारण (and प्रत्यभिघारण) as in the case of oblations to gods.

2433. Āp. I. 8. 3–4 and Sat. II. 7. p. 248 (following Tai. Br. I. 3. 10) speak of three āhutis 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः', 'यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नमः', अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नमः'. Sat. adds स्विष्टकृते after कव्यवाहनाय and states that the third āhuti consists of the boiled grains of rice sticking to the mekṣaṇa. For the first and third vide Vāj. S. II. 29.

2434. Āp I. 8. 9 notes that all actions from this onwards are done by the house-holder himself who wears his sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta form.

and the index finger) with appropriate mantras, the first to the father with the words 'this is for you father,[2435] N. N. and those who come after you', to the grand-father with the words 'this is for you grand-father &c.', to the great-grandfather with similar words. The piṇḍa (ball of rice) for the great-grandfather is the biggest of the three, that for the grand-father being larger than that for the father. There was a difference of view among the teachers as to the procedure when any of the three ancestors was living, Gāṇagāri holding that piṇḍas were offered only to the deceased ancestors and he who was living was only honoured, while Taulvali said that piṇḍas were to be offered to three ancestors whether living or dead and Gautama stating that if any ancestor out of the first three above the sacrificer was alive, three piṇḍas were to be offered and an ancestor beyond the great-grand-father may then be included. Āśv. (II. 6. 20–23) refutes all these views by saying that no piṇḍa can be offered to any ancestor beyond the great-grand-father and none to those who are alive nor to any ancestor between whom and a preceding ancestor a living ancestor intervenes, but that the piṇḍas meant for ancestors that are alive may be thrown into fire (with svāhā at the end and not *svadhā*). According to Āp. I. 9. 8 and Sat. p. 252 if the householder's father be living he should not offer piṇḍas but should stop after he performs the homa. If he has[2436] two fathers or grand-fathers or great-grand-fathers (owing to adoption or *niyoga*) he should take two names with reference to the piṇḍa offered to that ancestor. When the piṇḍas are placed on the line referred to above he invokes the piṇḍas with a formula 'Here you may regale yourselves, O pitṛs and may you partake according to your shares' (Vāj.S.II.31).[2437] Then he turns round and faces the north, sits down holding his breath till he feels exhausted, then again turns round and faces the piṇḍas and utters the invocation

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2435. The words would be एतत्ते तत अमुकशर्मन् ये च त्वामनु एतत्ते पितामह अमुकशर्मन् &c. Some added अमुकसगोत्र after अमुकशर्मन्, but the com. on Sat. II. 7. p. 251 says that it is wrong.

2436. यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन्पिण्डे द्वौ द्वावुपलक्षयेत् । आप. I. 9. 7 and Sat. II. 7. p. 251. Then the formula will be एतद्वां ततो (पितामहौ प्रपितामहौ वा) अमुकनामानौ ये च युवामनु.

2437. In the तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 1–2 the words here and elsewhere are slightly different viz. एतत्ते तत ये च त्वामनु एतत्ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्यत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम् । ..... अक्षन् पितरोऽमीमदन्त पितरोऽतीतृपन्त पितरोऽमीमृजन्त पितरः । The शतपथ II. 4. 2. 20 explains आमदायध्वम् as 'अश्नीत'.

'the pitṛs have regaled themselves and have partaken according to their shares' (Vāj. S. II. 31). He smells the boiled rice. Then he again offers water (*ninayana*) with the words 'Śundhantām &c.', (vide above p. 1087) on the line made with the sphya, he puts on the three piṇḍas one after another the unguents and collyrium respectively with the words 'asau abhyaṅkṣva' (you by name so and so father &c. apply the unguents) and 'asau aṅkṣva' (you so and so father, &c. put the collyrium in the eye). He should then place as garment on each of the piṇḍas the hem of a garment (daśā) or woolen tuft or a hair from his own body (the part above navel) if he is beyond fifty years of age with the words 'O pitṛs, this is the garment for you, may you not come in contact with any other (garment) than this' (Āśv. II. 7. 6). Then he should wait upon the pitṛs with salutation and mutter the mantra 'salutation to you, Pitṛs, for (securing) food, salutation to you, Pitṛs, for strength' &c.[2438] and also the three verses 'manonvāhuvāmahe' (Ṛg. X. 57. 3–5).[2439] He should then make the pitṛs start forward on a stream of water (i. e. by pouring water on the piṇḍas) with the mantra 'O well-disposed pitṛs! May you depart away by the ancient and awe-inspiring paths, after bestowing on us wealth and welfare. May you send down to us prosperity including all manly sons' (vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 2 for first half). He should walk a little towards the dakṣiṇāgni with the verse Ṛg. IV. 10. 1 and then towards the gārhapatya with the mantra 'May the gārhapatya fire deliver me from whatever sin I may have committed against Heaven and Earth, or parents and may the same fire make me sinless' (Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 3). He should take hold of the middle piṇḍa with the words 'O pitṛs! bestow on me a valiant (son)' and should make his wife eat that ball of rice with the mantra[2440]

2438. अथैनान्नुपतिष्ठेत नमो वः पितर इषे नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे नमो वः पितरः शुष्माय नमो वः पितरोऽघोराय नमो वः पितरो जीवाय नमो वः पितरो रसाय। स्वधा वः पितरो नमो वः पितरो मन्यता युष्माकं पितर इमा अस्माकं जीवा यो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम। आश्व. II. 7. 7; compare आप. I. 10. 2 and कात्या. IV. 1. 15 for the same rule. वाज. सं. II. 32 contains the mantra with some variations.

2439. Each of the three verses (Ṛg. X. 57. 3–5) and Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 2–3 contains the word '*manas*' and hence they are called 'manasvatī' verses. Vide Āp. I. 10. 5.

2440. पत्नीं प्राशयेदाधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करस्रजम्। यथायमरपा असत्॥ आश्व. II. 7. 13. The Vāj. S. II. 33 reads यथेह पुरुषो असत् (which is also read by Āp. I. 10. 11). The mantra आधत्त पितरो is recited by the wife, according to Nārāyaṇa on Āśv. II. 7. 13. If there are many wives they may divide the piṇḍa (com. on Kāt. IV. 1. 22).

'O pitṛs! may you deposit an embryo that will be a young boy wearing a lotus wreath, so that he may be unhurt' (compare Vāj. S. II. 33). The other two piṇḍas may be thrown into water or fire or a person who has recently lost all appetite for food may eat the two or one who is harassed by some incurable disease (such as leprosy or tuberculosis) may eat them, the result being that he is either cured or dies. Kāt. IV. 1. 20 adds that the adhvaryu collects the piṇḍas in a pot and the house-holder bends down and takes the smell thereof.[2441] Then the darbha blades taken out with one stroke are thrown into the fire, the utensils are sprinkled with water and then taken up in twos and laid aside.

A householder who had not consecrated the three vedic fires also had to perform the piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña on amāvāsyā, but he offered it in the gṛhya fire. Vide Āśv. Śr. II. 7. 18, Saṁ. K. p. 838 ff, Saṁ. Pr. 908 ff. Gaut. V. 5 prescribes that a householder should at least daily offer water to the pitṛs and do more (i. e. offering food &c.) according to his ability and inclination. Manu II. 176 prescribes daily pitṛ-tarpaṇa (satiating the pitṛs with water), for which see pp. 668–69.

2441. अथाचक्ष्मिति मत्यवधाय पिण्डान्स्स यजमानभागः। शतपथब्रा. II. 4. 2. 24.

CHAPTER XXXI

CĀTURMĀSYAS (seasonal sacrifices) [2442]

According to Āśv. II. 14. 1 the term Iṣṭyayana comprehends the Cāturmāsyas, Turāyaṇa, Dākṣāyaṇa and other iṣṭis. The cāturmāsyas are three (or four according to some), viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha (and Śunāsīrīya). Each of these is called a *parvan* (part or joint) of the cāturmāsyas. They are called cāturmāsyas because each of them takes place after four months. [2443] They are performed respectively on the Full Moon days of Phālguna (or Caitra), of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon from the day on which the Sākamedha is performed (i. e. on Phālgunī) or two or three days before it (com. on Āśv. II. 20. 2). They indicate the advent of three seasons viz. vasanta (spring), varṣā (rains) and hemanta [2444] (autumn). If the Vaiśvadevaparva is performed on Caitra Full Moon, then the Varuṇapraghāsas and Sākamedhas will be performed on Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśīrṣa Full Moon days respectively. The Tai. Br. I. 6. 8 states the reward secured by the performance of the cāturmāsyas. [2445]

According to Āśv. on the day previous to the Full Moon of Phālguna when beginning the cāturmāsyas he performs an iṣṭi for (Agni) Vaiśvānara and Parjanya. According to Kāt. V. 1. 2 there is an option viz. he may perform this iṣṭi or the Anvārambhanīyā iṣṭi. Then on the Full Moon day he performs the Vaiśvadeva iṣṭi in the morning and then performs the

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2442. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 2–7, Tai. Br. I. 4. 9–10 and I. 5. 5–6, Sat. Br. II. 5. 1–3 and XI. 5. 2, Āp. VIII, Kāt. V, Āśv. II. 15–20, Baud. V.

2443. वैश्वदेवहविर्भिर्यक्ष्यमाणो भवति फाल्गुन्यां वा चैत्र्यां वा पौर्णमास्याम्। कौ. V. 1; चातुर्मास्यप्रयोगः फाल्गुन्याम्। कात्या. V. 1. 1; com. 'चतुर्षु चतुर्षु मासेषु भवति इति व्युत्पत्त्या। तत्र भवाधिकारे चतुर्मासाथज्ञे ञ्यो वक्तव्य इति वार्तिकम्'.

2444. वसन्ते वैश्वदेवेन यजेत वर्षासु वरुणप्रघासैर्यजेत हेमन्ते साकमेधैर्यजेत। quoted by Śabara on Jaimini XI. 2. 13; वसन्ते वैश्वदेवेन यजेत प्रावृषि वरुणप्रघासैः शरदि साकमेधैरिति विज्ञायते। आप. VIII. 4. 13. There is no fixed time for Śunāsīrīya. It may be performed at one's will immediately after Sākamedha, or two, three, or four days after it or one month or four months after it. Vide Kāt. V. 11. 1–2 and com. thereon.

2445. यद्वैश्वदेवेन यजते प्रजा एव तद्यजमानः सृजते। ता वरुणप्रघासैर्वरुणपाशान्मुञ्चति। साकमेधैः प्रतिष्ठापयति। ऽयम्बके वृद्धं निरवदयते। पितृयज्ञेन सुवर्गं लोकं गमयति। तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 8.

pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi. According to the com. on Kāt.V.1. the Vaiśvadeva iṣṭi is performed in the morning of the first day after Full Moon and then follows the pūrṇamāsa iṣṭi of Phālguna. The sacrificer has to keep certain observances on all the *parvans* of the cāturmāsyas viz. he has to shave[2446] his head and face, to sleep on the ground (not on a cot), to avoid honey, meat, salt, sexual intercourse and decorations of the body. There is an option as to shaving the moustaches and beard viz. he should shave only on the first and last *parvans* or may do so on all four. There are five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas, viz., a puroḍāśa (cake) on eight potsherds for Agni, boiled rice (caru) for Soma, a puroḍāśa on 12 or 8 potsherds (12 according to Tai. S. I. 8. 2) for Savitṛ (upāṁśu, inaudibly), a *caru* for Sarasvatī, a caru of finely ground rice for Pūṣan. The reward secured by the performance of the cāturmāsyas[2447] is heaven. The cāturmāsyas may be performed throughout life or for one year only.

In the introductory iṣṭi to Vaiśvānara and Parjanya, there is a cake prepared on twelve potsherds for Vaiśvānara and caru for Parjanya. The anuvākyā verses (according to Āśv.) for the two are 'vaiśvānaro ajījanad-agnir &c.' (Āśv. II. 15. 2 sets out the whole) and 'parjanyāya pragāyata' (Ṛg. VII. 102. 1) respectively and the yājyā verses respectively are 'pṛṣṭo divi' (Ṛg. I. 98. 2) and 'pra vātā vānti' (Ṛg. V. 83. 4). In the Vaiśvadeva-parvan itself there are (besides the five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas) three more offerings viz. a cake (puroḍāśa) on seven potsherds for Marut Svatavas (self-strong) or for the Maruts, a payasyā (or āmikṣā, according to Baud. V. I)[2448] to

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2446. पौर्णमासेनेष्ट्वा चातुर्मास्यव्रतान्युपेयात्। केशश्मश्रुणि वापयीत अधः शयीत। मधुमांसलवणस्त्रयवलेखनानि वर्जयेत्। ऋतौ भार्यामुपेयात्। वापनं सर्वेषु पर्वसु। आद्योत्तमयोर्वा। आश्व. II. 16.22-27; केशश्मश्रुसाधनादीनि स्वैरिकर्माणि अवलेखनशब्देनोच्यन्ते। नारायण on आश्व.

2447. चातुर्मास्यैः स्वर्गकामो यजेत। quoted by Śabara on Jai. XI. 2.12.

2448. When milk is drawn in the morning and beated and then the sour milk of the preceding evening is added on to it, the mixture divides itself into two portions, the solid one being called आमिक्षा and the liquid above it is called वाजिन. Note तसे पयसि दृश्यानयति सा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्। quoted by शबर on जै. II. 2. 23 and IV. 1. 22. शबर further remarks 'आमिक्षायां दधिपयसी विद्येते न वाजिने। तत्र हि दधिपयसोः संसृष्टो रस उपलभ्यते। ... ... वाजिने तिक्तकटुको रसः।'. याज्ञिकदेव on कात्या. IV. 3. 10 remarks आमिक्षा पयस्येति चानर्थान्तरम्। The first cāturmāsya is called Vaiśvadeva because the most characteristic offering in it is the āmikṣā to All Gods 'आमिक्षादेवतात्वेन विश्वदेवसंबन्धात् तैरिडत्वेन पुराकल्पश्रवणाच्च प्रथमस्य पर्वणः समाख्या वैश्वदेवमिति। com. on. Āp. VIII. 1. 2.

the All-Gods (Viśve Devāḥ) and a cake on a single potsherd to Dyāvāpṛthivī (Heaven and Earth).

Kāt. (V. 1. 21–24) requires that this Vaiśvadeva-parvan should be performed in a spot which inclines towards the east,[2449] that the sacrificer and his wife each put on two fresh and unworn garments (one lower and the other upper) which they have to wear again at the Varuṇapraghāsaparvan. Kāt. (V. 1. 25–26) following Śat. Br. (II. 5. 1) says that barhis (sacred grass to be strewn on sacrificial ground) is tied up in three bunches separately with a rope of grass and then all three bunches are tied together with a bigger rope and therein (i. e. inside this last rope) is thrust a bunch of flowering kuśa grass, which is to be used as *prastara*. After putting the yajñapātras[2450] on the sacrificial ground, fire is produced by churning from the *araṇis*. Being directed by the adhvaryu the hotṛ priest repeats at the time of churning fire the verses Ṛg. I. 24. 3, I. 22. 13, VI. 16. 13–15 (except the last pāda of VI. 16. 15) and stops till he receives another direction (saṁpraiṣa) from the adhvaryu. If fire is not produced at once the hotṛ should go on repeating the hymn, Ṛg. X. 118, till fire is struck from the *araṇis*.[2451] On hearing from the adhvaryu that fire is produced and that he should repeat a formula for that event, the hotṛ repeats the last pāda of Ṛg. VI. 16. 15 at which he had stopped (after the syllable om added at the end of that verse of Ṛg. X. 118 at which he hears about the production of fire). Then he should repeat Ṛg. I. 74. 3 and stop after repeating half of Ṛg. VI. 16. 40, then recite Ṛg. VI. 16. 41–42, I. 12. 6, VIII. 43. 14, the verse 'tamarjayanta sukratum' and then repeat Ṛg. X. 90. 16 as the paridhānīyā (the finishing verse).[2452] There are nine prayājas and nine anuyājas in the Vaiśvadeva-parvan, while in the Darśapūrṇamāsa there are only

2449. प्राचीनप्रवणे वैश्वदेवेन यजेत । quoted by शबर on जै. I. 3 22 and XI. 2. 1.

2450. The yajñapātras required here are stated at length in the paddhati on Kāt. V. 1.

2451. According to Kāt. V. 2. 1–5 the adhvaryu directs the hotṛ to repeat, while the churning proceeds, the formulæ (Vāj. S. V. 2) गायत्रेण त्वा छन्दसा मथ्नामि त्रैष्टुभेन त्वा ..... मथ्नामि जागतेन ..... मथ्नामि and the adhvaryu churns from left to right thrice for each of the three formulæ, that when fire is produced it is put in the place of the āhavanīya with Vāj. S. V. 3.

2452. सर्वत्रोत्तमां परिधानीयेति विद्यात् । आश्व. II. 16. 8.

five prayājas and three anuyājas. The number nine of the prayājas[2453] is made up by adding before the 5th prayāja of the Darśapūrṇamāsa four as stated in the note below. Rg. V. 82. 7 and VI. 71. 6 are the anuvākyā and yājyā for the offering to Savitṛ, Rg. VI. 54. 9 and VI. 58. 1 for that to Pūṣan and VII. 59. 11 and VI. 66. 9 for that to Maruts.[2454] The nine anuyājas are made up by adding after the first anuyāja of the darśapūrṇamāsa six more. After the anuyājas, or after the sūktavāka or śaṃyuvāka, an offering of vājina is made to the deities called Vājins. The remainder of the vājina is brought in a vessel and is dealt with in the same way as *iḍā* (i. e. it is placed in the folded hands of the hotṛ by the adhvaryu, the hotṛ then holds it in his left hand and then on the right hand some ghee is sprinkled by the adhvaryu and then two portions of the vājina are put thereon and then again some ājya is sprinkled over it), the vessel is then raised as high as the mouth or nose, the hotṛ should request the other priests in order (as done in the note) to repeat an invocation (*upahava*) with a mantra and then the hotṛ, adhvaryu, brahmā and āgnīdhra partake of the vājina by merely smelling[2455] it. The sacrificer partakes of the vājina actually. Kāt. (V. 2. 9 and 12) adds that the adhvaryu offers three offerings called samiṣṭa-yajus respectively to Vāta, Yajña and Yajñapati with three mantras (viz. Vāj. VIII. 21, 22 first half and 22 latter half) or only one samiṣṭa-yajus may be offered (with Vāj. S. VIII. 21) in Vaiśvadeva and Śunāsīrīya parvans. According to the Śat. Br. (II. 5. 1. 21) the dakṣiṇā in this rite is the first born calf of the season. Kāt. (V. 2. 13) further says that the sacrificer may on finishing each of the three cāturmāsyas (except Śunāsīrīya) shave himself.

2453. नव प्रयाजाः प्रागुत्तमाच्चतुर आवपेत दुरो अग्न आज्यस्य व्यन्तु, उषासानक्ताग्न आज्यस्य वीताम्, दैव्या होताराग्न आज्यस्य वीताम्, तिस्रो देवीरग्न आज्यस्य व्यन्त्विति । आश्व. II. 16. 9; vide notes 2368 and 2369 as to the procedure of prayājas; नवानूयाजाः षड्ढ्वं प्रथमादू देवी द्वारो वसुवने वसुधेयस्य व्यन्तु । देवी उषासानक्ता वसु ..... धेयस्य वीताम् । देवी जोष्ट्री वसु ..... वीताम् । देवी ऊर्जाहुती ..... वीताम् । देवा दैव्या होतारा ..... वीताम् । देवीस्तिस्रस्तिस्रो देवीर्व ..... व्यन्त्विति । आश्व. II. 16. 12; vide also com. on Kāt. V. 2. 7.

2454. Tai. S. IV. 1. 11 states in one place the anuvākyas and yājyas for all the oblations made in the Vaiśvadeva rite.

2455. अध्वर्यु उपह्वयस्व ब्रह्माणमुपह्वयस्वाग्नीदुपह्वयस्वेति । यन्मे रेतः प्रसिच्यते यद्वा मे अपिगच्छति यद्वा आपते पुनः । तेन मा शिवमाविश तेन मा वाजिनं कुरु । तस्य ते वाजिनीतस्योपहूतस्योपहूतो भक्षयामीति प्राणमेवैनं भक्षयेत् । आश्व. II. 16. 18–19; vide also Baud. V. 4. for the mantra.

Jai. (IV. 1. 22–24) concludes that āmikṣā is the principal purpose of mixing curds in boiled milk and not *vājina* and in VIII. 2. 1–9 that in offering vājina the procedure of iṣṭi is to be followed and not of Somayāga though *śruti* in one passage states 'somo vai vājinam'. Vide also Jai. II. 2. 23.

Varuṇapraghāsa.[2456]

The word Varuṇapraghāsa is masculine and is always employed in the plural. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 1) gives a fanciful etymology viz. that yavas (barley grains) belong to Varuṇa and as these are eaten (from *ghas* to eat) in this rite it is so called. This rite is performed in the rainy season four months after Vaiśvadeva on the Full Moon day of Āṣāḍha or of Śrāvaṇa. The sacrificer should go out of his house to a spot where plenty of shrubs grow. Two altars (vedi) have to be prepared to the east of the āhavanīya inclined towards the east, one south of the other. The northern vedi is in charge of the adhvaryu and the southern one in charge of his assistant, the pratiprasthātṛ (Āp. VIII. 5. 5.). The latter follows the adhvaryu in doing the same actions on the southern vedi that are done by the adhvaryu on the northern vedi except carrying the water forward, girding the wife, producing fires and a few others specified in Kāt. V. 4. 33; all the orders (saṃpraiṣas, like 'agnaye samidhyamānāya anubrūhi') are to be uttered once and everything that concerns the uttering of words is to be done by the adhvaryu only (Āp. VIII. 5. 17)[2457]. But Jai. XII. 1. 18 says that the mantras for taking ājya, for prokṣaṇa and the like are to be recited by the two separately. The procedure is like that of Vaiśvadevaparvan except where special directions are given. The two vedis are separated from each other by a space (at the corners) two, three or four aṅgulas or a span or even wider (Āp. VIII. 5. 10). There is a single utkara. The pratiprasthātṛ moves between the two vedis. On the previous day he makes ready pots full of *karambha* i. e. husked grains of barley slightly fried on the dakṣiṇa fire, ground and mixed

2456. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 3, Vāj. S. III. 44–47, Tai. Br. I. 6 4, Śat. Br. II. 5. 2, Āśv. II. 17, Baud V. 5–9, Kāt. V. 3–5, Āp. VIII. 5–9.

2457. Jaimini XI. 2. 35–43 deals with the question that pratiprasthātṛ does on the southern vedi whatever adhvaryu does on the nothern. Jai. further (XI. 2. 44–48) states that though there are two vedis and the pratiprasthātṛ follows the adhvaryu in doing all that he does, there is not a double set of priests.

with curds (Kāt. V. 3. 2). According to Āp. (VIII. 6. 3) it is the wife that makes these *karambhapātras*. These pātras exceed by one the number of the children (sons, unmarried daughters, grandsons and unmarried grand-daughters) of the house-holder (Kāt. V. 3. 3–5, Āp. VIII. 5. 41, who includes daughters-in-law) or they are at least three (if the house-holder is childless or has only a son or two). The figures of a ram and ewe are also made of the remaining part of the ground and fried barley used for the *karambhapātras*, the male being made by the adhvaryu and the female by the pratiprasthātṛ and each figure having the characteristic signs of sex. The figures of the ram and ewe are covered by the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ respectively with a bunch of the wool of some animal other than the eḍakā (wild goat) or with the ground tips of kuśa (in the absence of wool). Besides the five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas (these being offered in the Varuṇapraghāsas with all attributes and subsidiaries as in Vaiśvadeva, according to Jai. VII. 1. 17–21), in this rite offerings are made to four more, viz. Indra and Agni, the Maruts, Varuṇa and Ka i. e. Prajāpati (Āśv. II. 17. 14) and the offerings are a cake on twelve potsherds (for Indrāgnī), payasyā or āmikṣā (for Maruts and Varuṇa) and a cake on one potsherd for Ka silently. All offerings are made from *yava* or only the karambhapātras are so made and the figures of the ram and the ewe also are made from *yava* and the rest from rice grains (Āp. VIII. 5. 36–37). The anuvākyā and yājyā verses of each of these four special offerings to Indrāgnī, Maruts, Varuṇa and Ka are respectively[2458] Ṛg. VII. 94. 18, VI. 60. 1; I. 86. 1, V. 58. 5; I. 25. 19, I. 24. 11; IV. 31. 1, X. 121. 1 (Āśv. II. 17. 15). Straight to the east of the āhavanīya about three prakramas from it the northern vedi is prepared and several rules are laid down in Kāt. (V. 3. 13 ff) and its com. about its extent. The northern vedi is six or seven aratnis in length from west to east, its western side is four *aratnis* and its eastern side is three aratnis or the vedi may be even much larger than this. On this vedi a fire-place is constructed with the earth dug up from the sacrificial pit called cātvāla which is measured with a yoke-pin 32 aṅgulas in length and made to the east of the *utkara* and after leaving a space between it and the utkara for

2458. Vide Tai. S. IV. 2. 11 for mostly other anuvākyās and yājyās of the four special offerings and other offerings, though all of them occur in the Ṛgveda.

the priests to move about. The pit is knee-deep, is outside the uttaravedi to its east and is measured from the northern corner of the uttaravedi at a distance equal to the yoke-pin and is square, the east side being 32 aṅgulas in extent or ½ of the vedi or of the extent of a yoke or of ten steps of the yajamāna (on all sides). In the midst of the northern vedi a hole (*nābhi*) is made, a span in length on four sides and having four corners or it may be as large as the hoof of a bull or a horse. On the uttaravedi water is sprinkled with a mantra and gravel is also spread with 'a lioness art thou' (Vāj. S. V. 10). That night the uttaravedi is covered with darbhas. In the morning the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ carry forward fire on to the two *vedis* from the gārhapatya (according to Āp. VIII. 5. 22) or from the āhavanīya (according to Kāt. V. 4. 2–3) by means of kindled fuel-sticks (idhma) held in earthen pots or by dividing the āhavanīya in two parts. Jai. (VII. 3. 23–25) declares that the carrying forward of the fire is done only in the Varuṇapraghāsas and Sākamedhas. The pratiprasthātṛ draws with the sphya a line from the āhavanīya to the northern hind corner of the southern vedi or of the uttaravedi (according to Kāt. V. 4. 9–10) or he connects the two vedis (Āp. VIII. 5. 20) by drawing a line from the north hind corner of the southern vedi to the south front corner of the uttaravedi. He surrounds the hole (nābhi) with three sticks (paridhis), one span long, of devadāru tree on the west, south and north (with Vāj. S. V. 13) and puts down thereon guggulu (bdellium) and perfumed substances and the hair on the head or between the horns of a ram and places the fires on these materials (sambhāras). The pratiprasthātṛ places dakṣiṇa fire on a square mound of one *aratni* in length after drawing lines and sprinkling water. The figure of the ram is put in the payasyā meant for Maruts and that of the ewe in the payasyā meant for Varuṇa. The liquid called *vājina* (of both payasyās) is collected in separate pots and in the payasyā are put the fruit of karīra and leaves of śamī. All the offerings except the payasyā for Maruts and the pots of karambha are placed by the adhvaryu on the *uttaravedi*; while the pratiprasthātṛ places the payasyā for Maruts together with the pot for ājya and also the karambha pot (if the yava grains for them had not been taken out by the adhvaryu) on the southern vedi and the vājina is placed near the utkara by both. When the adhvaryu issues a direction to the āgnīdhra 'please sweep clean the paridhis of the two fires' (the two āhavanīyas on the two vedis) with the ropes binding the idhma, the pratiprasthātṛ goes to the

sacrificer's wife sitting near the gārhapatya and asks her to declare what lover or lovers (jāra)[2459] she has. She either declares the names of her lovers or lifts up (if she feels shame in the declaration) as many blades from the bunch of darbhas lying on the ground as the number of lovers she has had. If she names any, he (the pratiprasthātṛ) declares that Varuṇa will seize him or them. If she conceals the truth, the result would be that her dear relatives would suffer. If she has none she says so. In that case or when she has declared or intimated her lover or lovers, the pratiprasthātṛ makes her repeat the verse 'praghāsino havāmahe' (Vāj. III. 44). The pots are placed in a śūrpa made of iṣīka (reed) in which a little ājya is sprinkled, then there is further sprinkling of ājya thereon twice (abhighāraṇa), the śūrpa is placed on the head of the wife who is led by the pratiprasthātṛ between the fires and the seats of the brahmā priest and the sacrificer to the east of both āhavanīyas and then to the northern vedi; and she standing to the east of the dakṣiṇa fire with her face to the west takes down from her head the śūrpa into her right hand and offers the contents (using the śūrpa[2460] as a juhū ladle) into the dakṣiṇa fire with 'mo ṣu ṇa indrātra' (Ṛg. I. 173. 12, Vāj. S. III. 46 or Tai. S. I. 8. 3. 1) muttered by the sacrificer and with the verse 'yad grāme' (Vāj. S. III. 45, Tai. S. I. 8. 3. 1) uttered by the wife as offering prayer (yājyā). Āp. (VIII. 6. 26) says that the adhvaryu or pratiprasthātṛ may offer the oblation of karambha pots and the sacrificer and his wife may only touch his hand from behind. When the pratiprasthātṛ leads back the wife to her seat near the gārhapatya fire (by the same way that she came) he makes her repeat the verse 'akran karma' (Vāj. S. III. 47, Tai. S. I. 8. 3. 1). Then the adhvaryu offers the five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas (stated above) and the cake to Indra and Agni

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2459. This is based on the Tai. Br. I. 6. 5 'पञ्चारं सप्तं ..... निर्विंशेत् निर्विंशयैवैनं वरुणपाशेन ग्राहयति'. This is quoted by Āp. VIII. 6. 22 and Āp. states (VIII. 6. 19) that she is made to repeat 'praghāsyan havāmahe' Tai. S. I. 8. 3. Vide note 1342 for the first part of the quotation. The Śat. Br. II. 5. 2. 20 has also a similar passage.

2460. Āp. VIII. 6. 23 says that both husband and wife offer the contents of the śūrpa, while Kāt. V. 5. 11 gives an option. Āp. (VIII. 6. 24) says that the verse 'mo ṣu' is repeated by the yajamāna as the invitatory prayer (puronuvākya) and 'yad grāme' (which refers to the commission of sins and the expiation thereof) as the yājyā by both.

on twelve potsherds and then sits silent. Then the pratiprasthātṛ cuts off a portion of the āmikṣā for Maruts together with the whole of the figure of the ewe (this is the first avadāna) and offers it into fire. He mixes the second portion of the payasyā for Maruts with the leaves of śamī and fruits of karīra and offers it. Then the adhvaryu offers two portions from the āmikṣā meant for Varuṇa mixing the figure of the ram in the first or second avadāna for Varuṇa. According to Āp. (VIII. 6. 31) the adhvaryu offers the first portion of the payasyā along with the figure of the ram and the second portion of payasyā having in it the fruit of karīra and the leaves of śamī. Then the adhvaryu offers the cake to Ka silently. Then both adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ make an offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The fee (dakṣiṇā) is either a cow with its calf or a horse or six or twelve bulls.[2461]

The rite is concluded by the priests and the sacrificer and his wife going for a bath (avabhṛtha) in a river[2462] or the like taking with them the remainder of payasyā for Varuṇa and the scrapings from the pan that are treated like the refuse (ṛjīṣa of Soma). The remainder of payasyā serves as *havis* (sacrificial offering) at the avabhṛtha, a portion of which is offered to Varuṇa and the whole of what remains is offered to Agni and Varuṇa instead of to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The sacrificer and his wife silently come to the water, throw into the water the scrapings (niṣkāsa) that are placed in a vessel (sthālī) with a mantra (Vāj. S. III. 48, according to Kāt. V. 5. 30 and 'samudre te' Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 2, according to Āp. VIII. 8. 12). They do not plunge their heads into water but only splash water over their heads and rub each other's backs with water. They then put on new clothes and make a gift of the clothes so far worn (that they had already worn at the Vaiśvadeva-parvan) to one of the (five) priests or to another (worthy) person at their pleasure. After returning to the house the sacrificer puts a fuel-stick on the āhavanīya (with Vāj. S. VIII. 27). Jai. (VII. 3. 12–15) states that this avabhṛtha has the same characteristics as the avabhṛtha in

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2461. According to Āp. (VIII. 7. 5–7) a full grown bull is the fee or the sacrificer may give more at his pleasure and he says that some teachers prescribe a cow as the fee.

2462. According to Āp. VIII. 8. 15 the sacrificer invokes the water with 'devīr-āpaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 3) and repeats 'sumitriyā na āpa' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 2) when going into the water,

Somayāga and that the material offered therein is the scrapings from the pan and not the puroḍāśa (VII. 3. 16).

Sākamedha[2463]

This third parvan of the cāturmāsyas is described at great length in Baud., Āp. and Kāt. Only a few salient features are brought out below. 'Sākamedha' is used in the plural, since there are many rites therein and many and various offerings (com. on Kāt. V. 6. 1). It literally means 'kindling along with or at the same time as' (sākam edha). The name is probably given because the first offering in it is a cake on eight potsherds offered to Agni Anīkavat with the rising sun.[2464] It is performed four months after the Varuṇapraghāsas on the Full Moon day of Kārtika or Mārgaśīrṣa (according as the Vaiśvadeva-parvan was performed on the full moon of Phālguna or Caitra). The whole of this parvan requires two days. On the day previous to the full moon there are three iṣṭis offered at the three savanas (morning, midday and evening) to the three deities respectively, viz. to Agni Anīkavat a cake on eight potsherds in the morning, to Sāntapana Maruts *caru* (oblation of cooked rice) at midday, to Gṛhamedhin Maruts in the evening a *caru* boiled in the milk of all the cows belonging to the sacrificer (Āp. VIII. 9. 8). As regards this last caru it is stated (Āp. VIII. 10. 8 and VIII. 11. 8-10, Kāt. V. 6. 29-30) that if plenty of rice is cooked the priests and the sons and grandsons of the sacrificer (who have had the upanayana performed) eat the food to satiety and go to sleep that night in the same hall without indulging in any talk about poverty or hunger. Jaimini (V. 1. 19-22) refers to the text 'agnaye anīkavate prātar-aṣṭakapālaḥ &c.' and states as the conclusion that all the three rites are performed on one day and no part of the three is to be performed the next day. On that night the milch cows are let loose to mix up among their calves (which can then drink the milk of their mothers without let or hindrance). He, however, binds down that calf which is required for milking the cow that has lost its own calf (and which is to be milked the next morning for the offerings

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2463. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 4-6, Tai. Br. I. 6. 10, Śat. Br. II. 5. 3-II. 6. 1-2, Āśv. II. 18-19, Āp. VIII. 9-19, Kāt. V. 6-10, Baud. V. 10-17.

2464. अथ पौर्णमास्या उपवसथेऽग्नयेऽनीकवते पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति साकं सूर्येणोद्यता । चो. V. 9; Āp. VIII. 9. 2 and तै. सं. I. 8. 4. 6 have the words अग्नये ... ... उद्यता.

to the Manes). That night and in the next morning agnihotra is performed with rice gruel (and not with milk). On the next day (the principal day of Sākamedha) the sacrificer either before or after the daily agnihotra performs a homa with a *darvi* taking a portion of the boiled rice sticking to the bottom of the sthālī (pot) that had been cooked for the offering to Gṛhamedhin Maruts the previous evening. He fills the darvi[2465] (ladle) with a mantra (Vāj. S. III. 49, Tai. S. I. 8. 4. 1). Then the adhvaryu directs the yajamāna to fetch a bull and make it bellow. When the bull bellows, he offers the rice in the darvi into fire with a mantra (Vāj. S. III. 50, Tai. S. I. 8. 4. 1). If the bull does not bellow, then the oblation is offered after the brahmā priest directs 'offer'. Āśv. (II. 18. 11-12) states that the homa may be offered (if the bull does not bellow) at the thunder of a cloud or some make the āgnīdhra roar calling him 'brahmaputra' ('the son of the brahmā priest', whose assistant he is). The bull is given as fee to the adhvaryu. Then an iṣṭi is offered to Kriḍin Maruts with a cake cooked on seven potsherds and a *caru* to Aditi. This is followed by a *mahāhavis* (a great offering), which consists of eight offerings to eight deities. They are five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas, the 6th offering is a cake on twelve potsherds to Indra and Agni, the 7th is *caru* to Mahendra (or according to Āśv. II. 18. 18 to Indra, or Vṛtrahan Indra or Mahendra), the 8th is a cake on one potsherd to Viśvakarman[2466] (inaudibly). According to Āp. he offers the 8th offering of a cake after taking the names of the four months Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas and Tapasya (i. e. Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna). A bull is the fee of this *Mahāhavis* (or a cow according to Āp.).

After the mahāhavis comes the pitṛyajña which is called mahāpitṛyajña. To the south of the dakṣiṇa fire a new vedi having four corners in the four principal directions[2467] is prepared and has the same length and breadth as the height

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2465. According to the com. on Kāt. V. 6. 40 this darvi-homa is offered in the āhavanīya, while according to Āp. VIII. 11. 19 it is offered in Gārhapatya. The oblation is meant for Indra.

2466. According to Āśv. II. 18. 18, Ṛg. IV. 32. 1 and VI. 25. 8 are the anuvākyā and yājyā respectively for Indra or Mahendra and Ṛg. X. 81. 6 and X. 81. 5 respectively for Viśvakarman.

2467. According to Kāt. V. 8. 21 the four corners face the intermediate quarters and he relies on Śat. Br. II. 6. I. 10. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 422 n. 3. for this special vedi.

of the sacrificer (Āp. VIII. 13. 2). He brings fire from the dakṣiṇa fire and lays it on the new vedi in the centre and all offerings that are to be offered in the āhavanīya are offered in this fire. In this mahāpitṛyajña the wife does nothing. In this yajña a cake on six kapālas is offered to Somavat Pitṛs or to Pitṛmat Soma, *dhānās* (fried barley) to Barhiṣad Pitṛs, *mantha*[2468] to Agniṣvātta Pitṛs. Āśv. II. 19. 21 adds another deity viz. Yama and according to some (vide Āp. VIII. 13. 16) the devatās and offerings are ājya to Pitṛmat Soma, a cake on six potsherds to Barhiṣad Pitṛs, fried barley to Agniṣvātta Pitṛs and mantha to Yama or Agni Kavyavāhana or Yama Aṅgirasvat Pitṛmat. The beating of grains (with a pestle) and grinding is done by the adhvaryu or āgnīdhra to the east of the gārhapatya fire with his face to the south. The cake is cooked on burning coals taken with a shovel from the gārhapatya to its south and the *dhānā* is fried on the dakṣiṇāgni. There are only four prayājas (omitting *barhis* out of the five at the darśapūrṇamāsa) and so also anuyājas. Instead of the usual direction (called āśruta) of the adhvaryu to the āgnīdhra 'O śrāvaya', in this rite he utters 'Om svadhā'; similarly the āgnīdhra responds (pratyāśruta) with 'astu svadhā' instead of the usual 'astu srauṣaṭ' and instead of the syllable 'vauṣaṭ' uttered at the end the words 'svadhā namaḥ' are employed. Instead of the concluding offering usually made to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, in this rite it is made to Agni Kavyavāhana. In this rite two anuvākyās and one yājyā are repeated at each offering i. e. Ṛg. X. 15. 1, IX. 96. 11 are the two anuvākyās and Ṛg. X. 15. 5 the yājyā for Somavat Pitṛs, Ṛg. I. 91. 1 and I. 91. 20 are the anuvākyās and VIII. 48. 13 the yājyā for Pitṛmat Soma, Ṛg. X. 15. 4 and X. 15. 3 the anuvākyās and Ṛg. X. 15. 2 the yājyā for Barhiṣad Pitṛs, Ṛg. X. 15. 11 and 13 the anuvākyās and X. 15. 14 the yājyā for Agniṣvātta Pitṛs, Ṛg. X. 14. 4-5 the anuvākyās and X. 14. 1 the yājyā for Yama, Ṛg. X. 15. 9 and IV. 11. 3 the anuvākyās and I. 96. 1 the yājyā for Agni Kavyavāhana (vide Āśv. II. 19. 22, 24). The adhvaryu or sacrificer sprinkles water from a water vessel thrice

2468. The cow that has no calf of its own but yields milk on having the calf of another is called विघायसी. Its milk is put in a vessel in which half ground barley grains are laid and then stirred once or thrice, according to Āp. VIII. 14. 14, with a piece of sugar-cane to which is tied a string. He does not directly touch the piece of sugar-cane when stirring, but stirs it by moving the string and the stirring is done from right to left. This preparation so stirred is called *mantha*.

round the vedi from right to left. He offers water for washing the feet to the three ancestors (of the sacrificer) in the north-west, south-west and south-east corners of the vedi respectively. He mixes portions of the cake, the fried barley and the *mantha* and prepares three balls therefrom and offers them facing the south on the three corners referred to above for the three ancestors with the appropriate mantras (etat te tata[2469] ye ca tvāmanu, etat te pitāmaha &c.). According to Āp. (VIII. 16. 7) he prepares three more piṇḍas for the three ancestors beyond the paternal great-grand-father and invokes them on the piṇḍas in the reverse order i. e. the sixth ancestor on the first (out of these other three piṇḍas), the fifth on the 2nd piṇḍa and the fourth on the 3rd. He then wipes off the remnants of the piṇḍas (piṇḍalepa) sticking to the hand on the north-eastern corner of the vedi with 'atra pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 31 first half). The priests and the sacrificer with faces to the north leave that place, wear the sacred thread in the upavīta form and wait upon the āhavanīya with Vāj. S. III. 51–52 (= Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1–2), and on the gārhapatya with Vāj. S. III. 53–55 (=Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 2–3). Then entering the vedi the sacrificer, wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta form, mutters the mantra 'amīmadanta' (Vāj. S. II. 31 latter half). They sprinkle the vedi from left to right and do all the rest as in piṇḍapitṛyajña. The sacrificer then folds his hands with 'namo vaḥ' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or makes six namaskāras (salutations) and invokes the blessing 'give us house' (Vāj. S. II. 32). This rite ends with Śaṁyu (Āśv. II. 19. 2, Kāt. V. 9, 32) i. e. 'tacchaṁyorā ..... śam catuṣpade' (Tai. Br. III. 5. 11) and there is no patnīsaṁyāja homa in dakṣiṇa fire and so on. The remaining portion of the material for offerings is thrown into the fire or into water or may be eaten by the priests.

The last rite in the Sākamedhas is the Traiyambaka homa. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 6, Śat Br. II. 6. 2. 1–17, Āśv. II. 19. 37–40, Āp. VIII. 17–19, Baud. V. 16–17, Kāt. V. 10. This homa is offered to Rudra. Some of its peculiarities may be noted. In this the adhvaryu takes out material to prepare cakes cooked on one potsherd exceeding by one the children (the sons and grandsons together with their wives and unmarried daughters) of the sacrificer or at least four (if he is childless or has no more than a few children). Every thing is done facing the

2469. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5 for 'etat te &c.'.

north and all places where offerings are to be made must be to the north. He cooks the cakes on the northern side of the gārhapatya and may anoint the cake with clarified butter,[2470] he carries a single smoking firebrand kindled at the dakṣiṇa fire with the mantra 'eka eva rudro' (Tai. S. I. 8. 6). All (priests and relatives) go to a spot near by in the north-east and lay down one cake on earth dug out by rats from a hole with the words 'O Rudra! the rat is thy beast' (Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 1.) or if one has an enemy and one hates him one may think of him and offer that cake with the words 'that is thy beast'. He places the single firebrand in a spot where four roads meet and which has the usual five purifying rites performed on it and offers thereon with the middle leaflet of a palāśa leaf (used as the *juhū* ladle) portions cut off once each from all the cakes prepared for Rudra with the mantra 'O Rudra! this is your portion, may you partake of it together with Ambikā, your sister, svāhā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 6 = Vāj. S. III. 57). The remainder he places on the earth heap dug up by rats and covers it with earth. After coming back from the heap, the sacrificer and the priests mutter a mantra (Vāj. S. III. 58) or only the yajamāna mutters the same mantra (Tai. S. I. 8. 6). The yajamāna, his children and his wife and other ladies go round the fire thrice from right to left (as in pitṛyajña) with the famous mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Tai S. I. 8. 6 and Vāj. S. III. 60) striking their left thigh with their right hand and again thrice striking their right thigh with their right hand. The unmarried daughter of the yajamāna desirous of a husband should go round the fire from right to left and again from left to right (thrice in each mode), with the above mantra altered to suit her case (Vāj. S. III. 60).[2471] The portions of the cakes that remain are thrown up in the air by the yajamāna so high that a cow (or bull) with upturned mouth cannot reach them and he catches them in his hand one after another.[2472] If he

2470. This anointing with ājya is called 'prāṇadāna' (bestowal of life or soul). Kāt. V. 10. 10–13 and Āp. VIII. 17. 9–12 differ in the order of offerings to Rudra and on the rubbish dug out by rats.

2471. Āp. VIII. 18. 2 says (against Kāt. V. 10. 15) that they go round from left to right. Her mantra becomes 'त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे सुगन्धिं पतिवेदनम्। उर्वारुकमिव बन्धनादितो मुक्षीय मामुतः॥ (वाज. सं.) or मुक्षीय मा पतेः (as quoted in आप. VIII. 18. 3.)

2472. According to Āp. VIII. 18. 4 the portions of cakes are thrown up by the several persons and seized by them and then placed in the joined hands of the yajamāna and this is done thrice.

cannot catch them he touches them when they fall on the ground. They are then placed in two woven baskets (half and half), which are then hung from the two ends of a bamboo pole or the beam of a scale or a pole made of a sacrificial tree and he fastens them on two sides on a tree trunk, or a tree or a bamboo or ant-hill, in such a way that a cow or bull cannot reach them, with the mantra (Vāj. S. III. 61 first part, Tai. S. I. 8. 6 'eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ). They mutter the mantra 'avatatadhanvā &c.' (Vāj. S. III. 61 latter half and Tai. S. I. 8. 6) repeatedly without taking breath and do so thrice (according to Āp. VIII. 18. 9). They (priests and yajamāna) return to the place where the other rites were performed and touch water. According to Āp. (VIII. 19. 1–3) a white horse is the dakṣiṇā or a white bull or a bull that has a white spot of hair.

Śunāsīrīya[2473]

Besides the five offerings common to all cāturmāsyas, the special offerings in this iṣṭi are a cake on twelve potsherds to Śunāsīrau (Vāyu and Āditya, according to com. on Kāt. V. 11. 5 and to Indra Śunāsīra, according to Āp. VIII. 20. 5 and com.), an oblation of fresh warm milk (not heated) direct from the cow to Vāyu, a cake on one potsherd to Sūrya. There is no uttaravedi in this rite, and no fire is produced by attrition. There are five prayājas, three anuyājas and one samiṣṭayajus, but according to Āp. VIII. 20. 6 there are nine prayājas and anuyājas. The dakṣiṇā for the rite is a plough with six bulls or two big bulls and for the cake to Sūrya a white horse or a white bull (Kāt. V. 11. 12–14), while according to Tai. S. I. 8. 7 it is a plough to which twelve oxen are yoked and according to Āp. (VIII. 20. 9–10) a plough with twelve or six oxen.

'Śunâsīrau' occurs in the Ṛgveda IV. 57. 5 and 8. In Ṛg. IV. 57. 4 and 8 the word 'śunam' occurs several times. The meaning is doubtful. According to Yāska's Nirukta IX. 40 Śuna and Śīra mean Vāyu and Āditya respectively ; while the Śat. Br. II. 6. 3. 2 appears to hold that *śuna* means prosperity and *śīra* means 'essence or sap' (sāra) and this iṣṭi is so called because the sacrificer thereby secures both prosperity and sap.

2473. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 7, Tai. Br. I. 7. 1, Śat. Br. II. 6. 3, Āśv. II. 20, Āp. VIII. 20, Kāt. V. 11, Baud. V. 18.

European scholars see in this name a reference to the plough and ploughshare.[2474] Vide Vedic Index vol. II. p. 386.

Āgrayaṇa (offering of first fruits)[2475]

This is an iṣṭi, without performing which an *āhitāgni* was not to make use of freshly harvested rice, barley and millet. It was either performed on a New Moon day or Full Moon day, but the procedure was the same as that of the iṣṭi on New Moon. The time of the āgrayaṇa iṣṭi with rice is *śarad* (autumn) when one had ample rains.[2476] As barley crops became ready in vasanta (spring), the āgrayaṇa for yavas was to be performed in spring. Āśv. allowed an option that when the iṣṭi was once performed in the autumn one may not perform it in spring for the barley crop. The iṣṭi for millet crop (śyāmāka) was performed in the rainy season and therein a *caru* was offered to Soma. The iṣṭi was so called because therein the first fruits (agra) were first employed or eaten (ayana).[2477] According to Āp. (VI. 29. 6) there are 17 kindling verses (sāmidhenī), which number is obtained by inserting two additional verses called dhāyyā after the 8th or 9th sāmidhenī of the darśa-pūrṇa-māsa iṣṭi. The deities and offerings are a cake on twelve potsherds for Indra and Agni (or according to Āp. VI. 29. 10 and Āśv. II. 9. 13, it is either Aindrāgna or Āgnendra), a caru cooked in milk or water for All Gods (Viśve Devāḥ) silently, a cake on one potsherd to Heaven and Earth and caru to Soma (if the first fruits are millets). Kāt. IV. 6. 7 allows an option that the *caru* for All Gods may be of old rice. For him who performs only daily agnihotra or who does not

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2474. According to Āśv. II. 20. 3 the devatās of the 6th, 7th, and 8th offerings are Vāyu Niyutvat or Vāyu (simply), Śunāsīrau or Indra Śunāsīra or Indra Śuna and Sūrya. The anuvākyā and Yājyā verses of these are respectively Ṛg. VII. 92. 1 and 3 (Vāyu Niyutvat), VIII. 26. 25 and VII. 90. 2 (for Vāyu simply), IV. 57. 5 and 8 (for Śunāsīrau), Indra vayaṁ Śunāsīram-asmin pakṣe havāmahe sa vājeṣu pra no viśat and X. 160. 5 (for Indra Śunāsīra), III. 30. 22 and X. 160. 5 (for Indra Suna), I. 50. 4 and I. 115. 1 (for Sūrya).

2475. Vide Śat. Br. II. 4. 3, Āp. VI. 29. 2 ff, Āśv. II. 9, Kāt. IV. 6, Baud. III. 12.

2476. यदा वर्षस्य तृप्तः स्यादृषाग्रयणेन यजेत। ..... अपि वा क्रियां यजेत्। आश्व. II. 9. 3 and 5.

2477. अग्रे अयनं भक्षणं येन कर्मणा तदाग्रयणम्। प्रथमद्वितीयपोर्ह्रस्वदीर्घत्वव्यत्ययः। com. on आश्व. II. 9. 1.

perform any iṣṭi except darśapūrṇamāsa Kāt. IV. 6. 11 and Āśv. II. 9. 4 prescribe that he may make his agnihotra cow eat the first fruits, viz., rice or barley bundles or food and with the milk of that cow perform on the āgrayaṇa day the homa. But this alternative was not open to the king who had to perform this iṣṭi (Āśv. II. 9. 6). According to Kāt. (IV. 6. 16–17) the caru of millets for Soma is performed only for the forest-dweller and a caru of bamboo seed is prescribed for Soma in summer. About the dakṣiṇā there are various opinions. According to Kāt. (IV. 6. 18) it is either a repaired waggon or silken cloth, madhuparka (i. e. honey, curds and ghee) or the cloth worn by the sacrificer in the rains. According to Āp. (VI. 30. 7) the first among the calves born before the Full Moon of Māgha is the fee, and cloth for iṣṭi with millets. Jai. has several sūtras about silk cloth and a calf being the dakṣiṇā in this rite and that rice cooked on dakṣiṇa fire is not the fee (vide X. 3. 34–38). Vide also Jai. XII. 2. 34–37 (about the characteristics of the *barhis*).

The āgrayaṇa sacrifice in the gṛhya fire has been already described (pp. 827–829) and it will have been noticed that it was a replica of the śrauta sacrifice meant for those who had consecrated the three Vedic fires.

Kāmyeṣṭi

In the Śrauta sūtras there are rules for the performance of several iṣṭis on the occurrence of certain events or for the purpose of securing some desired object. Āśv. II. 10–14, Āp. XIX. 18–27 and others mention several such iṣṭis, viz., the āyuṣkāmeṣṭi (for one desirous of long life), the svastyayanī (for safe journey), the putrakāmeṣṭi[2478] (for one desirous of a son or one adopting a son, Āśv. II. 10. 8–9), *Lokeṣṭi*, *Mahāvairājī* (Āśv. II. 11. 1–4) or *Mitravindā* (Kāt. V. 12, for one who is desirous of prosperity, territory, friends and long life, addressed to ten deities), *Saṁjñānī* (for the reconciliation of those who have fallen out), *Kārīrīṣṭi*[2479] (for one who desires rain, Āśv. II. 13. 1–13, Āp. XIX. 25. 16 ff), *Turāyaṇa* (Āśv. II. 14. 4–6),

2478. The Kālikāpurāṇa quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 114 text) prescribes that on adopting a son who is about five years old (or more) the adopter should perform the putreṣṭi.

2479. In the Kārīrīṣṭi the sacrificer had to wear a dark garment having dark hem. Tai. S. (II. 4. 7–10) deals with this iṣṭi.

Dākṣāyaṇa[2480] (Āśv. II. 14. 7–10). These and other iṣṭis though very interesting from several points of view have to be passed over for want of space.

2480. For the Mitravindā vide Śat. Br. XI. 4. 3; for the Dākṣāyaṇa vide Śat. Br. II. 4. 4 and Śat. Br. XI. I. 2. 13 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 5), which says that the Dākṣāyaṇa need be performed only for 15 years, since therein two new moon and two full moon offerings are performed every month.

CHAPTER XXXII

PAŚUBANDHA OR NIRŪḌHAPAŚUBANDHA[2481]

(immolation of an animal in sacrifice).

The animal sacrifice is an independent sacrifice and it is also performed in soma sacrifices as a constituent part (*aṅga*). The independent animal sacrifice is called nirūḍhapaśubandha (offering of an eviscerated animal) and the subordinate ones are called saumika (Āśv. III. 8. 3–4). The nirūḍhapaśu is really a modification of an animal sacrifice in somayāga (called agnīṣomīya paśu) as Jai. VIII. 1. 13 declares, but in many sūtras the full procedure of both is set out in the nirūḍhapaśu section (vide Kāt. VI. 10. 32 and com. on Kāt. VI. 1. 31). The nirūḍhapaśubandha itself becomes the prakṛti (archetype or model) of all other animal sacrifices, except savanīya paśu and anūbandhyapaśu. The independent animal sacrifice is to be performed every six months or every year by the *āhitāgni* throughout his life.[2482] If done once a year it was to be performed in the rainy season (i. e. in Śrāvaṇa or Bhādrapada) on New moon or Full moon day or if done six monthly then at the beginning of the southward and northward passages of the Sun (dakṣiṇāyana and uttarāyaṇa). Then it may have to be performed on any day and not necessarily on amāvāsyā or paurṇamāsī. According to Āśv. (III. 1. 2–6) optionally an iṣṭi before and after the independent paśubandha rite may be performed and if performed it is offered either to Agni or to Agni-Viṣṇu or to Agni and Agni-Viṣṇu. In this sacrifice there is a sixth priest called Maitrāvaruṇa (or Praśāstṛ) in addition to the five required in the cāturmāsyas. An udumbara staff is given to the sacrificer when he is initiated for a sacrifice like Agniṣṭoma. In the paśubandha when the Maitrāvaruṇa enters the sacrificial ground after the priests are chosen the adhvaryu

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2481. Vide Śat. Br. III. 6. 4 ff, XI. 7. 1 ff, Tai. S. I. 3. 5–11, VI. 3–4; Kāt. VI, Āp. VII, Āśv. III. 1–8, Baud. IV.

2482. Manu IV. 26 also recommends an animal sacrifice at the beginning of the *ayanas*. Āp. VII. 8. 2–3 and Baud. IV. 1 set out the yajñapātras and other materials required in *paśubandha*.

(or yajamāna in some śākhās)[2483] hands over that staff (which in length would reach the mouth of the sacrificer) to the maitrāvaruṇa with a mantra and the maitrāvaruṇa accepts it with a corresponding mantra. The maitrāvaruṇa stands slightly bent to the south of the seat of the hotṛ resting his staff on the vedi and utters directions to the hotṛ to repeat yājyās. Till he utters the first praiṣa he is not to touch himself or any one else with the staff. The maitrāvaruṇa is to utter in a standing posture while holding the staff the praiṣas and the anuvākyās wherever a praiṣa is employed and do a few other acts standing; but the rest of his duties in soma sacrifices he does sitting. Jaimini (IV. 2. 16–18) has a discussion (arising out of Tai. S. VI. 1. 4. 2 'kṛte some maitrāvaruṇāya daṇḍam prayacchati') on the question whether the handing over of the staff to maitrāvaruṇa is a *pratipattikarma* or an *arthakarma* (the conclusion is that it is the latter). The adhvaryu makes an offering of clarified butter in the āhavanīya, which is called yūpāhuti, with the *sruva* or with a *sruc* in which four ladlings of ājya have been poured, with the mantra 'uru viṣṇo' (Vāj. S. V. 41, Tai. S. I. 3. 4. 1). The adhvaryu, taking the rest of the ājya and the sruva, goes to a place where trees grow, accompanied by a carpenter (takṣan) holding an axe (Āp. VII. 1. 13 and Kāt. VI. 1. 5). The sacrificial post (*yūpa*)[2484] is to be made of the palāśa, khadira, bilva or rauhitaka tree according as one desires various rewards (Āp. VII. 1. 16), but in Soma sacrifices the yūpa must be of khadira, if possible. Jai. (VI. 3. 28–30) states that, if by accident the sacrificial post made of one kind of tree is destroyed during the continuance of the rite, another yūpa of the same tree or of a tree very similar to it is to be substituted. The tree to be cut must be full of leaves, must not have its top dried up, must be straight and growing on a level spot, and its branches must be turned upwards and it should be bent in some direction other than the south. Adhvaryu, brahmā, the sacrificer and carpenter touch the tree after selecting it with the mantra 'atyanyān' (Vāj. S. V. 42, Tai. S. I. 3. 5). The adhvaryu touches the trunk of the tree all round (where it is to be cut) with the sruva anointed with ājya with the mantra

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2483. प्रशास्तारं पौर्णेन प्रयाय दण्डमस्मै प्रयच्छेद् दक्षिणोत्तराग्रां पालिग्रां मित्रावरुणयोरस्या बाहुग्यां प्रशाखोः प्रक्षिपा प्रयच्छामीति। आश्व. III. 1. 16; compare Kāt. VI. 4. 4, Āp. VII. 14. 5.

2484. Vide Sat. Br. III. 6. 4 to III 7. 1 for an extensive treatment of everything regarding the yūpa, and also Ait. Br. 6. 1–3.

'May god Savitṛ anoint thee with *madhu*' (Tai. S. I. 3. 5) or with 'Viṣṇave tvā' (Vāj. S. V. 42). He keeps obliquely a darbha blade on the trunk with the words 'oṣadhe trāyasvainam' (Tai. S. I. 3. 5 or Vāj. S. V. 42) and strikes the tree with the axe with the mantra 'O axe! do not injure it' (svadhite mainaṁ hiṁsīḥ,' Vāj. S. V. 42 and Tai. S. I. 3. 5). The first chip of the tree that is cut off, he keeps in a well-known place and the tree is cut at such a low height from the ground that the stump left in the ground would not strike against the axle of a cart going that way. The tree should be so cut that it should not fall to the south; it should fall to the east or north or north-east (Āp. VII. 2. 7); when it is falling he repeats the mantra 'do not scratch the heaven with your top &c.' (Vāj. S. V. 43 or Tai. S. I. 3. 5). He offers ājya with the juhū on the stump of the tree with the mantra 'O tree, grow again with a hundred shoots' (Vāj. S. V. 43, Tai. S. I. 3. 5) and having touched one's body with 'may we grow into a thousand branches' (*ibid.*) he cuts off from the bottom upwards the twigs and knots of the felled tree. There were several views about the length of the yūpa (Āp. VII. 2. 11–17, Kāt. VI. 1. 24–26). According to some the yūpa may be of any length from one *aratni* to 33 aratnis, but Kāt. gives the usual length at 3 or 4 aratnis and Āp. (VII. 2. 17) also quotes the Śat. Br. (XI. 7. 4. 1) that the yūpa in nirūḍha-paśubandha is three or four aratnis in length, while in Soma sacrifices the other measures may apply. Kāt. (VI. 1. 31) states that in somayāga the yūpa may be from five to fifteen aratnis in length except 7, 10 or 14 aratnis and in the Vājapeya sacrifice the yūpa is 17 aratnis in length and in the Aśvamedha it is 21 aratnis. According to Āp. it must be in length at least as much as the height of the yajamāna or as much as the yajamāna with hands upraised. The girth of the yūpa is not fixed. That part of the yūpa which is to be planted in the pit is called *upara*, which is not to be chiselled and which is about a 5th of the whole log but the rest of it is to be chiselled from the bottom towards the top so as to make the yūpa have eight angles and it should be somewhat tapering towards the top. One corner or angle (out of the eight) should be more prominent than the rest and should face the fire. Out of the top portion of the[2485] tree that remains after making the yūpa the carpenter prepares a wooden head-piece, eight-cornered and of the length of the hand from the wrist to the tips of the fingers and contracted in

2485. अग्राद्यवाले पृथमाश्रमदात्रि मध्यसंगृहीतम्। कात्या. VI. 1. 28.

the middle like a mortar. This piece is called *caṣāla* and is made hollow so as to fit in exactly on to the top of the yūpa like a turban and the peg-like top of the yūpa on which the caṣāla is fixed should protrude two or three *aṅgulas* beyond the *caṣāla* (Kāt. VI. 1. 30).

The nirūḍhapaśubandha occupies two days, though it may be performed in one day. On the first of the two days called upavasatha[2486] preliminary matters such as preparing the vedi, bringing the yūpa are performed.

The vedi (a single one) in the nirūḍhapaśubandha is prepared like the one in Varuṇa-praghāsas to the east of the usual āhavanīya fire-place (and not to the west as in darśa-pūrṇamāsa). The dimensions of the vedi are variously given. According to Āp. VII. 3. 7–9 the vedi is three or four aratnis on its western side, six aratnis in length from west to east and three aratnis on the eastern side and it is less in breadth towards the east or it is as wide as the axle on the west, of the length of the shafts of a cart and to the east as wide as that portion of a yoke which is between the outer holes thereof. On this vedi an uttaravedi (a high altar) is measured with the śamyā[2487] (yoke-pin) on the eastern one-third of the vedi. From the northern corner of the eastern side (the shoulder) of the vedi, a pit called *cātvāla* is measured one śamyā square about one prakrama to its north; it is dug with a spade taken with the mantra ' devasya tvā ..... ādade ' (Vāj. S. VI. 1) and it is silently dug as deep as the knee or three *vitastis* (36 aṅgulas). The Tai. Br. I. 5. 10 gives the latter measure. The cātvāla is in front of the utkara and a passage is left between the utkara and the cātvāla which is contiguous to the north side of the mahāvedi (vide Śat. Br. III. 5. 1. 24–30). The earth dug up is heaped on the uttaravedi thrice[2488] with the mantra

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2486. Vide Āp. VII. 6. 3 and com. इष्वहकालस्यापि विधिरनुमितेः । चौधापनस्याह । इष्टिपशुबन्धाः सोपवसथाः सयोयज्ञा चेति ।

2487. The yoke-pin (śamyā) is of khadira wood and 32 aṅgulas long, having at the end eight knobs each of one aṅgula. Its length is variously given. According to the com. on Āp. I. 15. 13 it is one arm in length or 32 aṅgulas, while com. on Kāt. I. 3. 36 says it is one span in length. Its thicker part is called kumba.

2488. Āp. VII. 4. 5 and VII. 5. 1–2 give the several mantras which accompany the various operations of preparing the uttaravedi and the nābhi.

'a lioness art thou' (Tai. S. I. 2. 12. 2) and a fourth time silently and then is spread over the uttaravedi with 'uru prathasva ..... prathatām' (Tai. S. I. 2. 12. 2); he breaks up the clods with the śamyā, invokes the earth dug up, sprinkles it, spreads gravel on the earth so dug up and spread, pours down the remainder of the water contained in the prokṣaṇī vessel to the north of the uttaravedi by means of a channel made with one stroke of the sphya and cements together the borders of the uttaravedi (with water and earth). On the uttaravedi he makes a square hole (called *uttaranābhi*) a span in measure or measuring as much as a bull's or horse's hoof, invokes it and sprinkles it with water and the rest of the water is drained off to the south (as water was drained off to the north above). Then he covers the uttaravedi with twigs of udumbara or plakṣa tree and waits, if the paśubandha is so performed as to extend over two days. In the morning next day he pours clarified butter in a stream on the uttaravedi from the south-east corner to the north-west corner and from the south-west to the north-east carrying a golden piece in such a way that the butter will fall on the gold. Then he places three (pine) paridhis (enclosing sticks) which are of kāśmarya wood (according to Āp. VII. 7. 7) round the *nābhi* in the west, south and north and puts down on the uttaravedi certain materials viz. bdellium, fragrant and appetising grass, bunch of white wool from between the horns of a ram (*petva*). Having kindled idhma (a bunch of samidhs) at the āhavanīya fire, he carries forward the kindled sticks (in a vessel)[2489] which is supported on a vessel containing gravel (to prevent the scorching of the hands) to the uttaravedi and places them down on the nābhi over the bdellium and other things. This becomes the āhavanīya for all actions in the paśubandha and the original āhavanīya becomes the gārhapatya.[2490]

He takes a spade with a mantra (e. g. Vāj. S. VI. 1), draws to the east of the new āhavanīya an outline of the hole to be dug for inserting the yūpa. He digs a pit so deep that when the yūpa is erected therein its *upara* (the lower unchiselled portion) will not be exposed to view and he throws out to the east of the pit the earth dug out. The pit is so

2489. The baked clay vessel which is held beneath the vessel in which fire is carried is called upayamanī. The vessel in which fire is carried is called अग्न्युद्धरणपात्री.

2490. एष पशुबन्धस्याहवनीयो यतः प्रणयति स गार्हपत्यः। आप. VII. 8. 3.

dug that it is partly within the vedi (prepared for paśubandha) and partly outside[2491] (i. e. it is on the border). The yūpa is laid down in front of the pit, with its top to the east, is washed with water and sprinkled over with water in which barley grains have been mixed, a separate mantra (pṛthivyai tvā &c. as in Vāj. S. V. 26) being recited when sprinkling the bottom, middle and top of the yūpa. He places a handful of kuśas and the first chip (that was cut off with the axe from the tree) on the yūpa which are both subsequently thrown into the hole, the ends of the kuśas being towards the north and east; and then places to the north of the top of the yūpa the caṣāla. The rest of the water taken for sprinkling is poured into the hole for the yūpa with 'Śundhantām lokāḥ pitṛṣadanāḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 1, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) in which there is a reference to the world of the pitṛs. He silently makes an offering of clarified butter in the hole with the sruva ladle. Then the adhvaryu or yajamāna sits to the south of the yūpa and anoints it with ordinary ājya (over which no saṁskāra has been performed) by means of a chip from its top to its bottom including all its angles (but excluding the upara). While the adhvaryu is doing this he issues a direction to the hotṛ priest to repeat a verse for the yūpa that is being anointed[2492] and the hotṛ repeats 'añjanti tvām' (Ṛg. III. 8. 1) and stops when he has repeated half of it (Āśv. III. 1. 8). Then the caṣāla is anointed both inside and outside and placed on top of the yūpa with a mantra (Vāj. S. VI. 2, Tai. S. I. 2. 2. 3). Then that angular part of the yūpa which is to face the fire together with the corresponding part of the upara is anointed in a continuous stream and the adhvaryu touches all round and holds with his hand that part of the yūpa over which a girdle would be placed later on. At the direction of the adhvaryu the hotṛ priest repeats the verses Ṛg. III. 8. 2–3, I. 36. 13–14 and III. 8. 5 (half), while the yūpa is being raised up. It is laid in the hole with a mantra (Vāj. S. VI. 3, Tai. S. I. 3. 6. 1 'yā te dhāmāni) in such a way that its top will slant towards the āhavanīya and its corner (which is more prominent than

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2491. अर्धमन्तर्वेदि निनोत्यर्धं बहिर्वेदि। अनवक्लृप्तो भवति न निर्वृहतीति। . This passage is discussed by Jai. in III. 7. 13–14 and his conclusion is that it indicates only the spot where the yūpa is to be erected. The com. on Kāt. VI. 2. 8 says 'आहवनीयात्पूर्वस्यां दिशि तत्रावटं खनति यत्र खातः सन्नर्धमन्तर्वेदि अर्धं बहिर्वेदि स्यात्।'.

2492. यूपावोच्छ्रीयमाणायाहुम्3हीति संप्रेष्यत्युच्छ्रीयमाणायाहुम्3हीति वा। आप. VII. 10. 6. Āp. prescribes Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 2 'ud-divam' as the verse to be repeated. Kāt. VI. 3. 7. prescribes Vāj. S. VI. 2.

the rest) will face the āhavanīya fire. If there are eleven yūpas in an animal sacrifice, then those prominent corners of all eleven yūpas should face the āhavanīya. He fills from left to right the hole for the yūpa with earth with 'brahmavanim tvā' (Vāj. VI. 3, Tai. S. I. 3. 6. 2). The adhvaryu then strokes the earth thrice with the staff of the maitrāvaruṇa so as to make the ground round about the yūpa level with the rest of the ground with 'brahma dṛṁha kṣatram dṛṁha' (ibid) and sprinkles it with (ordinary) water all round. Two girdles of darbha are prepared one with two strands and two vyāmas[2493] in length (for the victim) and the other with three strands and three vyāmas in length (for the yūpa). The yajamāna touches the yūpa and the adhvaryu makes him recite 'observe the exploits of Viṣṇu' (Ṛg. I. 22. 19, Vāj. S. VI. 4, Tai. S. I. 3. 6. 2) and look at the head-piece with 'that is the highest step of Viṣṇu' (Ṛg. I. 22. 20, Vāj. S. VI. 5). Āp. (VII. 11. 3) says that he takes in his hand the girdle for the yūpa with 'devasya tvā savituḥ' and rubs up the yūpa with the hand having the girdle therein with Ṛg. I. 22. 19. Then he begins to encircle the yūpa with the middle of the girdle at a spot which is of the same height as the navel of the sacrificer or in the middle of the yūpa. He calls upon the hotṛ to repeat Ṛg. III. 8. 4 (yuvā suvāsāḥ) when the yūpa is being encircled with the girdle. The girdle is passed round the yūpa in three coils from left to right. When he has finished doing it he repeats 'parivīr – asi' (Vāj. S. VI. 6, Tai. S. I. 3. 6. 2). The two ends of the girdle are intertwined into one another and he inserts the tip of the girdle inside the loop at the other end. Āp. (VII. 11. 6–10) says that the girdle may be pushed down or higher up from the place indicated above or the ends may be dealt with differently according as the yajamāna desires rain or not or according as female or male progeny is desired for the yajamāna. To the north of the corner of the yūpa facing the āhavanīya he inserts in the middle or last coil of the girdle or in all coils of the girdle the *svaru*.[2494] Jai. (XI. 3. 5–7) concludes that the saṁskāras of prokṣaṇa (sprinkling), anointing (añjana), raising up (ucchrayaṇa)

2493. A vyāma or vyāyāma is equal to four *aratnis*.

2494. The *svaru* is the first piece that is severed when the yūpa was being hewn out of the tree trunk that was felled. Śabara on Jai. XI. 3. 9 remarks यद्यप्येकस्यापि यूपस्य बहवः स्वरवः संभवन्ति ..... यः प्रथमः कालः परापतेत् स्वरुः कार्य इति चोदनात्। Jai. (in XI. 3. 8–12) establishes that the svaru is only one like the yūpa, even if there are many animals to be sacrificed in the same yajña.

and surrounding with a girdle (parivyāṇa or parivyayaṇa) are performed on the yūpa only once and are not repeated at each time an animal is sacrificed. The girdle is an aṅga of the yūpa and not of the paśu, as otherwise as many girdles will be required for the yūpa as the number of victims to be sacrificed in a yāga (vide Jai. IV. 4. 22–24). The svaru is connected as an aṅga with the victim (for anointing the victim with it) and not with the yūpa (Jai. IV. 4. 25–28). Vide Jai. IV. 2. 1–6 also.

The animal to be sacrificed is bathed with scented water, is led between the *cātvāla* and *utkara* and brought in front of the yūpa to the east with the animal's face to the west. The animal is a he-goat (chāga) which must not have a broken horn and must not be devoid of an ear or eye or tooth or tail, must not be lame nor have only seven hoofs (instead of eight, as each of the feet has two hoofs). If the animal is defective in any one of these ways an expiatory offering of ājya has to be made to Viṣṇu or Agni-Viṣṇu or Sarasvatī or Bṛhaspati (Ap. VII. 12. 3). Then follows *Paśūpākaraṇa*[2495] which may be done in two days. He takes a darbha blade other than from those spread on the vedi with ' upāvīr-asi ' (Vāj. S. VI. 7) and touches the animal (that stands facing the west) therewith with the verse 'near the gods' (upa devān, Vāj. S. VI. 7). Another way (according to Āp. VII. 12. 5–8) is: he takes two blades of kuśa reciting ' iṣe tvā ' (Tai. S. I. 1. 1. 1) and takes a branch of plakṣa tree that has many leaves and twigs, that is not dry at the end and is not hollow and touches the victim with the blades and the branch and repeats the two mantras ' upo devān-daivīr-viśaḥ and ' prajāpater-jāyamānā ' (Tai. S. I. 3. 7. 1 and III. 1. 1. 4) and the words 'I assign thee, who are dear to Indra and Agni.'[2496] Then he produces fire by churning from the *araṇis* and offers homa in accordance with the procedure of the Vaiśvadeva-parva (vide above pp. 1093–94). Āp. (VII. 12. 11) says that upākaraṇa may be done after the production of fire. He makes a loop of the

2495. तृणेन पशोरुपस्पर्शनं यत्प्रागुक्तं तदुपाकरणम् । com. on Kāt. VI. 3. 26 ; देवतार्थत्वेन संकल्पनमुपाकरणम् । com. on Āp. VII. 12. 8.

2496. According to Āp. VII. 12. 9 the words ' इन्द्राग्निभ्यां त्वा जुष्टं ' occur in five acts with the appropriate verb viz. उपाकरण, नियोजन (tying to the post), मोक्षण, वपोद्धरण (taking away the omentum) and हृदयाभिघारण (pouring clarified butter over the heart of the animal when about to be thrown as an offering). For example, he would say ' ' इन्द्राग्निभ्यां त्वा जुष्टं नियुनज्मि or इन्द्राग्नि...जुष्टं मोक्षामि '

girdle which has two strands and which is two vyāmas in length; he twines the loop round the right fore-leg of the animal and then fastens tightly the girdle on the right horn with the mantra 'ṛtasya tvā' (Vāj. S. VI. 8, Tai. S. I. 3. 8); and ties the raśanā (girdle) round the yūpa towards its north with 'devasya tvā' (Vāj. S. VI. 9 or Tai. S. I. 3. 8. 1). He sprinkles water over it with 'adbhyas-tvauṣadhībhyo' (Vāj. S. VI. 9). Then he makes the victim drink water (by holding below its mouth the agnihotra-havaṇī filled with water) for the last time with 'apām perurasi' (Vāj S. VI. 10, Tai. S. I. 3. 8. 1). Then he sprinkles water over the upper limbs and lower limbs (such as its heart and belly) and over the whole of its body. Then he performs all the procedure of the darśa-pūrṇamāsa beginning from the direction to the hotṛ to repeat a verse when the fire is being kindled up to the *prayājas* (i. e. the sāmidhenīs, pravara-varaṇa by the hotṛ, devatāhvāna, āghāras and pravaravaraṇa by the adhvaryu).

The paśu is meant either for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati and one has to dedicate the victim throughout one's life in every paśubandha to that deity which one chooses at the first animal sacrifice (Kāt. VI. 3. 29–30). He anoints the victim with ājya from the juhū ladle on its forehead, its shoulders and its hind parts after the last āghāra is offered (as in darśa-pūrṇamāsa) and before dhruvā-samañjana (ladling ājya in the dhruvā ladle with the juhū thrice, once with a mantra and twice silently). While the animal stands[2497] he offers the prayājas, that are eleven in the paśubandha (while in darśapūrṇamāsa they are only five and in cāturmāsyas they are nine). The method of offering these in paśubandha is as follows: the adhvaryu directs the maitrāvaruṇa to request the hotṛ to repeat the yājyā verses from the Āprī hymns of the prayāja offerings in succession. The praiṣas (directions to the hotṛ) that the maitrāvaruṇa utters are rather lengthy and hence the text of only one is given below.[2498] There are ten Āprī hymns in the

2497. If the animal has sat down it is made to stand up.

2498. अध्वर्युणा समिद्भ्यः प्रेष्येति प्रेषितः सम्मैत्रावरुण आह। होता यक्षदग्निं समिधा सुषमिधा समिद्धं नाभा पृथिव्याः सदने वामस्य वर्ष्मन्विष इळस्पदे वेत्वाज्यस्य होतर्यज। This is the praiṣa for *samidhaḥ*. In the other praiṣas the names of deities are also put in the objective case (e. g. होता यक्षत्सुनपातम् or नराशंसम्). Vide Vāj. S. 21. 29–40 for the praiṣas of all the prayāja deities uttered by Maitrāvaruṇa with reference to the Āprīs.

Ṛgveda ascribed to ten different sages. They are: I. 13 (of Medhātithi Kāṇva), I. 142 (of Dīrghatamas Auchathya, an Āṅgirasa), I. 188 (of Agastya), II. 3 (of Gṛtsamada, a Śaunaka), III. 4 (of Viśvāmitra), V. 4 (of Atri), VII. 2 (of Vasiṣṭha), IX. 5 (of Kāśyapa), X. 70 (of Vadhryaśva), X. 110 (of Jamadagni). Out of these in Ṛg. I. 13 and I. 142 there are verses for both Tanūnapāt (2nd prayāja deity) and Narāśaṁsa; while Ṛg. I. 188, III. 4, IX. 5 and X. 110 have only Tanūnapāt (and no Narāśaṁsa) and the rest have only Narāśaṁsa (and no Tanūnapāt). According to Āśv. III. 2. 5–7, persons of Śunaka and Vasiṣṭha gotras should repeat their own Āprī hymn (viz. II. 3 and VII. 2 respectively), persons of gotras other than these two should employ the Āprī hymn beginning with 'Samiddho adya' (according to the com. Ṛg. X. 110 and not I. 188) or persons of any one of the ten gotras may employ an Āprī hymn[2499]

2499. The word 'āprī' appears to be used in two senses. One sense is 'a deity or deities' invoked by the verses of the hymn. Yāska (in the Nirukta VIII. 4–22) holds a lengthy discussion on the Āprīs, where he appears to regard the Āprīs as deities; अथात आप्रियः। आप्रियः कस्मात्। आप्नोतेः प्रीणातेर्वा। आप्रीभिरा प्रीणातीति च ब्राह्मणम्। तासामिध्मः प्रथमागामी भवति। (Nir. VIII. 4). The 2nd meaning of Āprī is 'a verse (yājyā) that gratifies a deity'. In this sense the word is used in the Ait. Br. VI. 4 'आप्रीभिराप्रीणाति। समिधो यजति। ... तनूनपातं यजति। नराशंसं यजति। इळो यजति' बर्हिर्यजति। द्वारो यजति। उषासानक्ता यजति। दैव्या होतारा यजति। तिस्रो देवीर्यजति। त्वष्टारं यजति। वनस्पतिं यजति। स्वाहाकृतीर्यजति। ताभिर्यथऋचि आप्रीणीयाद् यथऋचि आप्रीणाति यजमानमेव तद्बन्धुताया नोत्सृजति।'. In this passage the explanations of समिधो यजति and others have been omitted. The word Āprī is here derived from the root 'prī' to please, while Yāska also suggests an alternative derivation from 'āp' to obtain but cites no Brāhmaṇa text in support of that derivation. The Sat. Br. III. 8. 1. 2 derives 'Āprī' from 'pī' to fill. According to Yāska the first Āprī deity is 'Idhma', while according to the Ait. Br. it is 'Samidhaḥ'. It is to be noted that he explains all the verses of Ṛg. X. 110, as the Āprī hymn but as that hymn does not contain a verse about Narāśaṁsa he quotes one from another Āprī hymn a verse for him viz. Ṛg. VII. 2. 2 (in Nir. VIII. 7). Hence it is probable that he held the view that the Āprī verses for all persons should be taken from Ṛg. X. 110, while the Ait. Br. prefers the view that one should repeat that Āprī hymn that is ascribed to the founder of one's gotra. Yāska (Nir. VIII. 22) divides the Āprī hymns into three classes, those containing verses addressed to both Tanūnapāt and Narāśaṁsa, those addressed to Narāśaṁsa only and

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ascribed to the founder of his gotra if he is from among these ten sages. The words of Āśv. I. 5. 21–22 create some difficulty. Āśv. there prescribes that when uttering the yājyā at the time of offering the 2nd prayāja, the formula should contain an address to Tanūnapāt for all except for persons of Vasiṣṭha, Śunaka, Atri, Vadhryaśva and Rājanya gotras. These latter should utter a formula addressed to Narāśaṁsa. Here if 'rājanya' refers to Viśvāmitra, then the difficulty is that in the Āprī hymn (III. 4) ascribed to him, the 2nd deity is Tanūnapāt and not Narāśaṁsa; but it is possible that the word 'rājanya' stands for a kṣatriya sacrificer in general and does not refer to Viśvāmitra gotra at all. After ten prayājas are offered, the adhvaryu says to the slaughterer of the victim 'bring your two-edged knife.' The adhvaryu takes the *svaru* (chip of wood) and anoints the svaru and one edge of the knife with the clarified butter from the bill-like (or spout-like) part of the *juhū* ladle (according to Āp. VII. 14. 10 the svaru is anointed thrice) and holding the svaru below the knife touches with both the head of the victim (forehead, according to Kāt. VI. 5. 12) with a mantra (Vāj. S. VI. 11, Tai. S. I. 3. 8. 1). After placing back the svaru whence it was taken the adhvaryu gives the knife back to the slaughterer (śamitṛ) with the words 'let this edge be marked by you' (Śat. Br. III. 8. 1. 5). The animal when killed is cut up by the slaughterer with the un-anointed edge and the flesh when roasted is cut up with the edge that is anointed. The adhvaryu directs the maitrāvaruṇa to recite a mantra for indicating that fire (a fire-brand) is being carried round the victim and the maitrāvaruṇa recites 'agnirhotā no' (Ṛg. IV. 15. 1) or the verses Ṛg. IV. 15. 1–3 (according to Āśv. III. 2. 9). To the north of the cātvāla pit, he digs up a spot for establishing the

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those addressed to Tanūnapāt only. He mentions an 11th Āprī hymn occurring in the praiṣa (i. e. probably the praiṣādhyāya Āprī hymn). There are Āprī hymns in the other vedas also. For example, vide Vāj. S. 21. 12–22 (only Tanūnapāt), 29. 25–36 (containing addresses to both Tanūnapāt and Narāśaṁsa and being the same as Ṛg. X. 110 except the verse to Narāśaṁsa which is taken from Ṛg. VII. 3. 2), Atharvaveda V. 12 (same as Ṛg. X. 110), V. 27. The Tai. Br. III. 6. 3 contains all the Āprī verses of Ṛg. X. 110 and the verse Ṛg. VII. 3. 2. There is considerable literature on the Āprīs, both ancient and modern. Vide Tai. S. IV. 1. 8, Tai. Br. II. 6. 12 and 18 and Ait. Br. (Haug's tr. pp. 81–82), Max Muller's H. A. S. L. pp. 463–467.

Śāmitra fire.[2500] The āgnīdhra, lighting a fire-brand at the āhavanīya, carries it thrice round the victim, the yūpa, the āhavanīya fire, the place where the śāmitra fire is to be kindled, the cātvāla pit and the clarified[2501] butter, from left to right with the mantra 'pari vājapatiḥ kaviḥ' (Ṛg. IV. 15. 3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 2. 5). In modern times the priest perambulates all these together and not separately. The āgnīdhra throws the firebrand on to the āhavanīya fire and again goes round the above objects thrice from right to left. According to Āp. VII. 15. 4–6, the adhvaryu makes one, two, three or four offerings of ājya, with mantras called *apāvya*, when fire is carried round the victim, when it is set free from the yūpa and led on (Tai. S. III. 1. 4. 1–2). The āgnīdhra, again taking up the same fire-brand, starts to go with his face to the north and the victim is led after the āgnīdhra by the śamitṛ (who takes away the cord of girdle from the victim's head and ties it round its neck). The pratiprasthātṛ (an assistant of adhvaryu) touches the animal (that is being led northward) from behind with two utensils (spits) made of kāśmarya wood (used for roasting vapā, omentum), the adhvaryu touches the pratiprasthātṛ and the sacrificer touches the adhvaryu.[2502] A pit is got dug (by a servant) for covering in it the undigested food and the fœces of the victim when killed. They (the priests and yajamāna) should not pass beyond the place for the śāmitra fire. The adhvaryu takes two kuśa blades from those with which the vedi is strewn and says to āgnīdhra 'O3śrā3vaya'

2500. The fire on which the flesh of the victim is roasted is called Śāmitra. The burning fire-brand, after it is carried round the victim, is placed by the adhvaryu (who takes it from the āgnīdhra's hand) on a spot to the north of the cātvāla and that becomes the śāmitra fire. अभिपर्यग्निकृते देश उल्मुकं निदधाति । स शामित्रः । आप. VII. 16. 2–3. According to some the śāmitra fire is specially produced by attrition (vide Kāt. VI. 5. 14).

2501. There are several views here. Some hold that the fire-brand is to be carried round the victim alone, others hold that it is to be carried round the first five objects and others add *ājya*; others that the fire-brand is carried round the victim, the place of śāmitra and ājya. Vide Kāt. VI. 5. 2–3, Āp. VII. 15. 2 and com. thereon. This operation of carrying fire round the victim is called paryagnikaraṇa. According to the Tai. Br. III. 8. 17 the mantras 'meṣas-tvā pacatair-avatu' are apāvya and that the Prāṇas are apāvya (the mantras are Tai. S. VII. 4. 12. 1).

2502. The idea of this touching seems to be that some spiritual influence passes from the consecrated victim to the sacrificer.

and the latter replies 'astu śrau3ṣaṭ' and then the adhvaryu issues an upapraiṣa (a supplementary direction) to the maitrāvaruṇa to prompt (the hotṛ) to recite for the offerings to Gods.[2503] The hotṛ then recites the famous (but long) adhrigupraiṣa,[2504] which is an invocation to divine and human slaugh-

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2503. The maitrāvaruṇa is an assistant of the hotṛ and the praiṣa he utters is अजैदग्निरसनद्गजं नि देवो देवेभ्यो हव्यवाड् याळोभिर्हिन्वानो धेनाभिः कल्पमानो यज्ञस्यायुः प्रतिरन्नुपप्रेप्य होतर्हव्या देवेभ्यः ।. Vide आश्व. III. 2. 10, ऐ. ब्रा. VI. 5, तै. ब्रा. III. 6. 5.

2504. The adhrigu-praiṣa is: दैव्याः शमितार आरभध्वमुत मनुष्या उपनयत मेध्या वुर आशासाना मेधपतिभ्यां मेधम् । प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत स्तृणीत बर्हिरनवेनं माता मन्यतामनु पितानु भ्राता सगर्भ्योऽनु सखा सयूथ्यः । उदीचीना अस्य पदो निधत्तात् सूर्ये चक्षुर्गमयताद्वातं प्राणमन्ववसृजतादन्तरिक्षमसुं दिशः श्रोत्रं पृथिवीं शरीरम् । एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छ्यतादुरा नाभ्या अपि शसो वपामुत्खिदतावन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयध्वात् । इयेनमस्य वक्षः कृणुतात् प्रशसा बाहू शला दोषणी कश्यपेवांसावच्छिद्रे श्रोणी कवषोरू अनेकपर्णाष्ठीवन्ता । बभ्रुविंशतिरस्य वङ्क्रयस्ता अनुष्ठ्यो क्यावयतावद्वात्रं गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात् ऊवध्यगोहं पार्श्वे खनतात् । अस्ना रक्षः संसृजतात् । वनिष्ठुमस्य मा राविष्टोरूकं मन्यमाना नेद्वस्तोके तनये रविता रवच्छमितारः । अग्निगो शमीष्वं सुशमि शमीष्वं शमीष्वमग्निगा3उ अपाप । आश्व. III. 3. 1, शां. श्रौ. V. 17. This occurs in Tai. Br. III. 6. 6 and Ait. Br. VI. 6-7, where some expressions are also explained. Āśv. (III. 2. 11–30) explains how changes (ūha) are to be effected in this formula in different rites according to the limbs concerned, the deities and the number of victims. Āśv. (III. 3. 2 and 4) provides that the words शमितारः, अपाप and अस्ना रक्षः संसृजतात् are recited inaudibly and the passage 'अग्निगो ..... अपाप' is repeated thrice. This whole formula is called adhrigu and adhrigu was also supposed to be a deity presiding over the slaughtering of a victim in sacrifice. Vide com. on Āśv. III. 2. 11. There were as remarked by Śāṅ. Sr. nine pauses to take breath at the end of each of the first nine sentences. The Nirukta (V. 11) explains 'adhrigu' as meaning a mantra and also states that the word is applied to Agni in Ṛg. III. 21. 4 and to Indra in Ṛg. I. 61. 1. The Nirukta quotes the words 'अग्निगो शमीष्वं ..... अग्निगो.' Jaimini considers questions arising from some of the words used in this formula; in IX. 3. 27–28 (when there are many victims in a sacrifice, the singular 'oakṣur' is still to be used), IX. 3. 29–31 (the word 'ekadhā' is explained), IX. 3. 32–40 (some śākhās read 'medhapataye' and some 'medhapatibhyām' and the word means 'devatā'), IX. 4. 1–16 (about '26 ribs' when there are two or more victims), IX. 4. 22 ('urūka' means 'vapā'), IX. 4. 23–24 ('praśasā' means 'praśastau'), IX. 4. 25–27 (the words 'śyena, śalā, kaśyapa, kavaṣa and srekaparṇa only mean that the limbs are to be taken out entire and when so taken out they resemble the hawk and other objects mentioned. Jai. (IX. 1. 45–49) says that in the Atirātra sacrifice of the ewe to Sarasvatī the adhrigupraiṣa does not occur. Different views were entertained as to who the śamitṛ was, the usual opinion being that he was a

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terers calling upon them to bring the animal to the holy doors of the sacrificial place, wishing that the parents, relatives and friends of the victim will consent to its death and expressing the hope that its several organs and limbs, such as the eyes and ears, will be merged in divinities like the sun and giving directions as to how its parts are to be cut and disposed of. On reciting this solemn formula the hotṛ, while still occupying his seat, turns to the right (i. e. he comes to face the west) and has the sacrificial place behind his back and the maitrāvaruṇa does the same. The adhvaryu throws one of the two blades taken up by him to the west of the śāmitra fire, the victim is held over that blade with its head to the west (or to the east, according to Kāt. VI. 5. 17) and feet to the north. Then its mouth is firmly held so as to stop its breathing and choke it to death or it is strangled to death without allowing it to give out a cry, by using a halter round its throat. The adhvaryu says 'kill it without[2505] allowing it to utter a cry' and then he along with the pratiprasthātṛ, āgnīdhra and the sacrificer come back to the āhavanīya which they face, turn from left to right and remain with their backs to the animal that is being killed (i. e. they do not see the actual slaying of the animal). According to Āp. VII. 16. 7 the sacrificer repeats at this time several verses such as Tai. S. III. 3. 1. 2, Tai. Br. III. 7. 7, the purport of which is that the victim may go to heaven, the sacrificer himself also may go to heaven after securing welfare in this world. When the śamitṛ declares that the victim is killed the adhvaryu says 'let it lie down for a moment.' If the paśu bleats while being strangled the adhvaryu then offers

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person other than the *ṛtviks* (though a few opined that one of the ṛtviks who choked or strangled the animal was called śamitṛ). Vide Kāt. VI. 7. 1–4 and the com. thereon. According to Jai. III. 7. 28–29, śamitṛ is the adhvaryu himself. Āśv. XII. 9. 12–13 shows that the śamitṛ may be a brāhmaṇa or a non-brāhmaṇa. The Ait. Br. VI. 7 and Āśv. III. 3. 4 state that the hotṛ is to utter inaudibly 'O (divine) slaughterers! whatever merit exists in this make that belong to us, whatever is sinful, make it go elsewhere'. The words शमितारः, अग्निगा3ऊ, अपाप are called अवसानs (stops or pauses). The last is pronounced as अपापा.

2505. According to Kāt. VI. 5. 21 the adhvaryu only says 'kill it (the paśu), it has gone following (the gods)'; संज्ञपयाध्वगमित्येव ब्रूयात्. The com. on Āp. VII. 16. 5. explains 'अक्षतस्य मारणं संज्ञपनम्' (it is killing without wounding or drawing blood). Śat. Br. III. 8. 1. 15 has the words संज्ञपया ..... गच्छति.

ājya in fire (as an expiation). The sacrificer and adhvaryu with vapāśrapaṇis (spits) approach the dead victim with the words 'O slaughterers, may you approach' (Tai. S. III. 1. 4. 3). He then removes the cord (by which the victim was tied) with 'may Aditi remove this cord' (Tai. S. III. 1, 4. 2). He winds round the raśanā (girdle of the victim) into a loop, keeps it on the arteries of the victim leading to the ears, attaches it to a peg and throws it into the cātvāla pit (Āp. VII. 17. 4–6). According to Kāt. VI. 5. 26 he throws the tying cord into the *cātvāla* by means of the two vapāśrapaṇis. Then the adhvaryu directs the pratiprasthātṛ to lead forward the sacrificer's wife from her seat to the vedi. When leading her who has a jar of water in her hands for washing the feet and other limbs of the paśu, the priest[2506] makes her recite a verse in honour of the sun 'namaste ātāna' (Vāj. S. VI. 12, Tai. S. I. 3. 8. 2). Āp. adds that the wife, priests and the sacrificer touch water on the cātvāla pit (VII. 18. 4) with a mantra (Tai. S. I. 3, 8. 2 'āpo devīḥ). The wife sitting down near the dead paśu washes with water the several parts of the victim's body viz. its mouth, nose, eyes, navel, penis, anus, feet (all together) with appropriate formulae in each case (viz. 'vācam te śundhāmi' &c. Vāj. S. VI. 14). With the water remaining in the jar the adhvaryu and sacrificer sprinkle the other parts, such as the head, with Vāj. VI. 15 (Tai. S. I. 3. 9. 1). The adhvaryu turns the animal on its back and places on the victim's body a blade of kuśa with its end to the east about four fingers[2507] below the navel of the animal with 'oṣadhe trāyasva' (Vāj. S. VI. 15), places the marked edge of the knife on that blade, makes a slit on the kuśa blade and the belly obliquely, takes in his left hand the portion of the blade cut off and anoints the ends of the other portion of the blade with blood (that spirts out from the slit) with 'thou art the portion of evil spirits' (Vāj. VI. 16), touches water and throws that blood-stained blade on the utkara.[2508] The

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2506. Kāt. (VI. 5. 28) says that where an animal is sacrificed in a Soma sacrifice (as the agniṣomīya paśu or savanīya paśu in Agniṣṭoma) it is the neṣṭṛ who leads forward the wife. If the sacrificer has several wives they all are led and all repeat the formula (Vāj. VI. 12), but only one carries the water jar.

2507. The vapā (omentum) of the paśu is about four fingers below the navel.

2508. In Kāt. the mantras about paśu-bandha are taken from Vāj. S. VI. 1–22 and they are not mentioned here in many cases.

sacrificer treads[2509] upon the blood-stained blade with the left foot (and then touches water with his hand). The adhvaryu then pulls out from the belly of the victim the omentum, envelopes the two spits[2510] (vapāśrapaṇīs) with it, pierces the thin end of the vapā with one spit, severs it from the belly on all sides and sprinkles it with water holding the spits over the cātvāla pit. Then the pratiprasthātṛ heats the omentum on the śāmitra fire. The adhvaryu, pratiprasthātṛ and āgnīdhra come from the cātvāla to the āhavanīya. The āgnīdhra throws the śāmitra fire (viz. the firebrand and not the fire produced by attrition) into the āhavanīya and the adhvaryu also throws into it the portion of the blade held in his left hand (as stated at p. 1123 above). Āp. (VII. 19. 3) adds that the śamitṛ holds tigbtly by the closed fingers of his hands the two portions of the skin of the victim's belly till the omentum is offered into fire. The pratiprasthātṛ, standing to the north of the āhavanīya fire, heats the omentum on that fire, then carries it by the space between the yūpa and āhavanīya, goes round to the south side, and roasts the omentum on the āhavanīya. The adhvaryu takes clarified butter in the sruva ladle and pours ājya on the omentum that is being held for roasting on the āhavanīya by the pratiprasthātṛ with a mantra. When drops (stokas) of fat begin to drip from the omentum, the adhvaryu directs the maitrāvaruṇa to recite for the drops. The maitrāvaruṇa recites Ṛg. I. 75. 1 and Ṛg. III. 21. 1-5.[2511] When the omentum is well roasted, the pratiprasthātṛ says to the adhvaryu 'it is roasted, proceed.' The omentum is placed on the south corner of the western side (śroṇi) of the vedi on a branch of plakṣa tree stretched on the barhis (kuśa grass on the vedi). Then the hotṛ recites the mantra for srugādāpana (making the adhvaryu take up the juhū and upabhṛt ladles) and the adhvaryu issues a direction[2512] to the maitrāvaruṇa

2509. Āp. VIII. 18. 14 has the characteristic words which the sacrificer utters when treading अधैनत्सव्येन पद्वाभितिष्ठतीदमहं रक्षोवधाय इदमहं रक्षोऽधमं तमो नयामीति । . This formula occurs in Vāj. S. VI. 16.

2510. The vapāśrapaṇīs are made of sticks of kārśmarya wood, one being straight and pointed while the other has two forks at the top.

2511. वपायां अप्यमाणायां तापवशाद्वपाया ये बिन्दवः पतन्ति ते स्तोकाः । com. on Kāt. VI. 6. 18. In each of the five verses of Ṛg. III. 21 the word 'stoka' occurs. Vide Āśv. III. 4. 1 for the verses that are to be repeated.

2512. The adhvaryu directs the maitrāvaruṇa in the words स्वाहाग्नि-भ्यः मेदस्य and the latter says होता यक्षद्वाग्निं स्वाहाज्यस्य स्वाहा मेदसः &c. (Āśv. III. 4. 3) and the hotṛ then repeats the last Āprī verse (whatever hymn is used) as the yājyā for the 11th प्रयाज.

priest to ask the hotṛ to recite the last Āprī verse as the yājyā for the 11th prayāja (which had remained to be recited). Having offered ājya (the 11th prayāja) into fire and having offered the two ājyabhāgas (according to Jai. X. 8. 5 and some others the ājyabhāgas are not offered in independent animal sacrifices nor in the animal sacrifice in soma-yāga, Āp. VII. 20. 8) he puts ājya in the juhū ladle, places a piece of gold thereon, then the whole omentum on that piece (taking it from the spits), places another golden piece on the omentum, on which he pours ājya.[2513] The adhvaryu then offers into the āhavanīya the omentum so treated to Indra and Agni (or Sūrya or Prajāpati as stated above on p. 1117). The anuvākyā and yājyā of the vapā are respectively Ṛg. I. 93. 1 and 5. According to Āśv. III. 4. 4. the *pradānas* (*yāgas*) in all paśu-bandhas are three, viz. vapā, puroḍāśa and havis. After offering vapā, the adhvaryu throws, while standing to the north, into the āhavanīya the vapāśrapaṇī spits, the one with two forks having the forks in the east and the other having its point turned to the west (according to Āp. VII. 21. 3 it is the prati-prasthātṛ who does this). The adhvaryu offers on the spits the *saṁsrāva* (the drippings). Āp. (VII. 21. 5) and some other sūtras prescribe that the fee of one bull and three milch cows or three other cows is given to the priests at this stage. The priests (six), the sacrificer and his wife go out to the cātvāla and there purify themselves by *mārjana* (purifying with drops of water) with 'idamāpaḥ pravahata,'[2514] Vāj. S. VI. 17 and Ṛg. X. 9. 8 (while Āp. VII. 21. 6 prescribes five, viz. the three 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3, 'idamāpaḥ' Ṛg. I. 23. 22, 'nirmā muñcāmi' Ṛg. X. 97. 16 = Vāj. S. XII. 90). When doing this the maitrāvaruṇa lays down his staff (Āśv. III. 5. 1).

Now preparations are to be made for the paśu-puroḍāśa[2515] and the necessary utensils are placed to the east of the āhavanīya (the former āhavanīya i.e. the gārhapatya in this sacrifice) on kuśa grass by the āgnīdhra. The devatā of the puroḍāśa is the same as the devatā of the victim i. e. Indra and Agni (vide

2513. In this way the offering (omentum) becomes fivefold (पञ्चावत्त) and this is done even for those who ordinarily make an offering caturavatta. Vide Āp. VII. 20. 10–11 and Jai. X. 7. 72–73.

2514. The com. on Kāt. VI. 6. 28 expressly states that the wife also repeats the mantra (Vāj. S. VI. 17). Āśv. III. 5. 2 states that mārjana is performed with Ṛg. X. 9. 8 and 'sumitriyā na āpa' Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 2–3.

2515. पञ्चधाः पुरोडाशाः पञ्चदशपुरोडाशाः । com. on Āp. VII. 22. 1.

p. 1117 above). Jai. (XII. 1. 1–6) prescribes that the procedure (viz. prayājas) performed at the time of offering vapā is not to be repeated when the paśupuroḍāśa is offered. The adhvaryu separates the various organs (such as the heart, the tongue) from the corpse without cutting into parts each organ (according to the com. on Āp. VII. 22. 5 and 7 it is the śamitṛ who cuts up the several limbs). There is some divergence as to the limbs of the victim that are cut off and are used as avadānas and since animal sacrifices became rare or were altogether stopped in medieval times, the commentators do not explain all the words used in the ancient texts in the same way (vide Āp. VII. 22. 6, Kāt. VI. 7. 6–12 and Baud. IV. 8). According to Āp. VII. 22. 6,[2516] the limbs cut off are: the heart, the tongue, chest, the liver, the kidneys (vṛkyau, vṛkkau in Kāt.), left forefoot, the two flanks (pārśve), the right haunch, a third part (i. e. the middle one) of the entrails—these are meant for the devatās and are to be offered with the juhū ladle ; the right fore-foot, the left haunch, the thinnest third of the entrails—these are for sviṣṭakṛt ; the kloman (the right lung ?)[2517], plīhan (the spleen), purītat (pericardium ?), adhyūdhnī (a tubular vessel above the udder), vaniṣṭhu (large entrails ?), medas (fat), jāghanī[2518] (the tail). Kāt. VI.

2516. According to Kāt. VI. 7. 6 it is the foremost (or upper) joint (pūrvanaḍaka) of the left forefoot (that is taken) among the first nine. Kāt. VI. 7. 6. describes the first nine as jauhavam (to be offered with the juhū) and the next three as connected with upabhṛt ladle. The three cut into upabhṛt are called *tryaṅga* and are meant for Sviṣṭakṛt. Vide Śat. Br. III. 8. 3. 18 (S. B. E. Vol. 26 p. 205). The whole of the entrails are taken off at once and divided only at the time of cutting and putting into the juhū ladle.

2517. According to com. on Kāt. kloman is गलनाडिका, while com. on Āp. says it is a fleshy gland called 'tilaka' resembling the liver. Purītat is pericardium according to com. on Kāt. and entrails (antra) according to com. on Āp. Medas according to com. on Āp. is the membrane covering the heart and the vṛkya.

2518. Vide Jaimini III. 8. 20–23 about jāghanī and patnīsaṁyāja and com. on Kāt. VI. 7. 10 for the various meanings attributed to jāghanī. Jaimini has several sūtras on paśu. In X. 7. 1–2 he establishes that the whole animal is not one offering, but that its several limbs are separate offerings. In X. 7. 3–9 he establishes that only eleven organs (heart &c.) are fit to be offered, that the shoulders, head, anūka and sakthin are altogether prohibited ; in X. 7. 10–11 he declares that the three aṅgas, viz. the front portion of the forefoot, the middle of the entrails, and the śroṇi are offered to Sviṣṭakṛt ; in X. 7. 12–17 he deals with the adhyūdhnī given to hotṛ and vaniṣṭhu to Āgnīdhra.

7. 11 adds that kloman and the next three may be cut off or not. The medas (fat on the abdomen) is, according to Kāt., thrown on the *guda* (entrails) if the victim be thin. The tail is to be employed as an offering in the Patnīsaṁyāja, according to Kāt. and the largest part of the intestines (3rd of the whole) was to be employed as offering in *upayaj homa*. The undigested grass (inside the belly of the victim) is put in a pit dug up to the west of the śāmitra fire and to the north of the utkara and on it the blood of the victim is poured with the words 'thou art the portion of evil spirits' (Vāj. S. VI. 16). The victim's heart is held pierced on a pike (śūla) made of varaṇa wood one *aratni* long and is roasted on the śāmitra fire and all other parts of the victim except the heart are cooked in an ukhā (pot for boiling or cooking). According to com. on Āp. VII. 22. 9 this cooking is done by the śamitṛ. Jai. XII. 1. 12 prescribes that the cooking is done on the śālāmukhīya fire and not on śāmitra fire. The adhvaryu performs the operation of sprinkling butter on the juhū and upabhṛt, cuts two portions from the middle and front parts of the cooked material into the juhū, pours butter over it and offers it into fire for Indra and Agni, then cuts one portion (for Sviṣṭakṛt) into the upabhṛt, makes two pourings of butter over it and makes an offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt.[2519] Jai. (XII. 1. 10-11) concludes that the offering of the paśupuroḍāśa is made with the ladles used in darśapūrṇamāsa and not with the soma vessels (viz. the cups and camasas). Then a portion is cut off out of the remainder of the material from which puroḍāśa was offered and placed in a vessel called prāśitraharaṇa (which portion of the sacrificial food is eaten by the brahmā priest) and some portion is cut off as the iḍā, which is invoked with mantras and eaten by all the priests. He then thrice asks the śamitṛ whether the *havis* (the heart roasted on a pike) is ready cooked and the latter simply replies 'it is cooked'. Kāt. VI. 8. 1 prescribes that the śamitṛ should in his reply utter only the word 'śṛtam' and should not add any word like 'revered sir' (bhagavaḥ) or '*hi*'. The śamitṛ then

2519. According to Āśv. III. 5. 9 होता यक्षद्वर्हिः पुरोडाशस्य जुषतां हविर्हविरजैः is the direction of the maitrāvaruṇa to the hotṛ and Ṛg. III. 1. 23 and III. 54. 22 are the puronuvākyā and yājyā of the offering of puroḍāśa to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (in all animal sacrifices).

takes off the heart from the pike (śūla) on which it was roasted, and keeps it in a pot (kumbhī) and pours over it pṛṣadājya (clarified butter in which sour milk is mixed) with 'sam te' (Vāj. S. VI. 18, Tai. S. I. 3. 10. 1) and ājya over the other portions of the paśu. The śamitṛ gives the hṛdaya-śūla (the pike on which the heart was roasted) to the adhvaryu who does not keep it on the bare ground nor throw it in water, nor does he touch with it himself or others (but holds it tied by a cord). He takes these (viz. the roasted heart and the cooked organs) between the yūpa and the āhavanīya fire and places them on the southern part of the altar (viz. its southern corner of the western side) over which kuśa grass is already spread. Then ājya is sprinkled over four utensils viz. juhū, upabhṛt, *vasā-homahavaṇī* (a *sruc* ladle with which the offering of *vasā* i. e. of the gravy is to be made) and the vessel in which iḍā is to be cut. Then a golden piece is placed in the juhū and the upabhṛt, which are then kept on twigs of plakṣa tree and then in the juhū and upabhṛt are cut by the pratiprasthātṛ (with the anointed edge of the knife) portions of the heart, then of the tongue and then of the chest (this order is stated in the Tai. S. VI. 3. 10) and then of the other limbs in any order (the whole of the entrails being at this stage cut in three parts). Two portions of the size of the fore-part of the thumb are cut both in the juhū (of the daivata limbs) and upabhṛt (of the limbs meant for Sviṣṭakṛt). While this is being done the adhvaryu directs the maitrāvaruṇa to repeat texts for the *havis* that is to be offered to Manotā and the maitrāvaruṇa repeats the whole hymn Ṛg. VI. 1 (in the first of which only the word Manotā occurs as an epithet of Agni, probably meaning 'thinker'). He takes the gravy in the *vasāhomahavaṇī*[2520] with 'reḍ-asi' (Vāj. S. VI. 18), pours ājya over it twice and mixes the two together with the knife. The rest of the vasā he pours in the iḍāpātra to which are

2520. Vide Sat. Br. III. 8. 3. 14 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 203 where Manotā is of the feminine gender) and Ait. Br. VI. 10; the latter refers to Ṛg. VI. 1. 1–13 and says Vāk, Go and Agni are the three Manotās. The hymn also is called Manotā (vide Āśv. III. 4. 6 and com.). The manotā-mantra is the same, though the animal may be offered in some sacrifices to other deities. Vide Jai. X. 4. 42.

added the chest and other boneless parts.[2521] When the yājyā for Indra-Agni is half repeated, a part of the vasā is offered by the pratiprasthātṛ sitting to the north into fire with 'ghṛtam ghṛtapāvānaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 19, Tai. S. I. 3. 10. 2) and with the remainder of the vasā he makes offerings in each direction with 'diśaḥ pradiśaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 19, Tai. S. I. 3. 10. 2). No vasā is kept for being partaken of by the priests (com. on Kāt. VI. 8. 22). Then the adhvaryu takes in the juhū a part of pṛṣadājya (mottled butter) from the pot of pṛṣadājya and offers to Vanaspati and after taking the contents of the upabhṛt into the *juhū* makes the offering to Sviṣṭakṛt (Āp. VII. 25. 14 and Kāt. VI. 8. 18–22 state that the order of these last offerings may be different). Then he touches the remaining organs and limbs of the paśu and keeps the juhū and upabhṛt in their places. Then the iḍā (to be eaten by the priests) is brought between the yūpa and the āhavanīya fire. After the iḍā is invoked the six priests and the sacrificer partake of it, but there are special portions assigned to each viz. the vaniṣṭhu is given to the āgnīdhra, the adhyūdhnī to the hotṛ and the chest to brahmā. Then they all purify themselves by mārjana. The adhvaryu then directs the āgnīdhra 'bring burning coals for *upayaj* offerings', directs the pratiprasthātṛ (called upayaṣṭṛ[2522] here) to attend to the coals; to the brahmā

2521. The whole animal is the sacrificial material (just as rice-grains are the material from which caru is prepared for offering) and *havis* is constituted by the heart and other organs of the animal. Vide com. on Kāt. VI. 8. 6 and Jai. X. 7. 1–2. The several organs and parts are taken out of the ukhā and spread over a large bamboo vessel (vaṁśa-pātrī), the last part being placed in the north. The adhvaryu performs on each of the eleven limbs (called jauhava) *prāṇadāna* (vivification) while no prāṇadāna is done for the portions to be offered to Sviṣṭakṛt. According to Āp. VII. 24. 5 only one portion is cut from the limbs meant for Sviṣṭakṛt. Several rules are laid down in Āp. VII. 24. 6–12 about the cutting of some parts. Out of the three parts of the entrails, one of medium thickness is cut in two and placed among the daivata portions, the thinnest part being for sviṣṭakṛt; the medas is cut in three parts, two being put in the two sruos and the third in the iḍāpātra. The medas is mixed in the broth of the victim's limbs. The iḍā is made from the first six out of the limbs (heart &c.) and the vaniṣṭhu is the 7th. The iḍā is increased by the addition of the limbs that have no bones viz. kloman, spleen and purītat.

2522. According to com. on Āp. VII. 26. 8 the hotṛ is the upayaṣṭṛ. According to Jai XII. 4. 8 this offering of the entrails is a saṁskāra (pratipattikarma) and when many victims are sacrificed in one rite, the entrails of all animals are offered as upayāja offerings.

priest he says 'shall I start' and also directs the āgnīdhra to place a *samidh* on the fire. The āgnīdhra brings red-hot coals from the śāmitra fire, and puts them down on the northern corner of the west side of the altar after removing the kuśas strewn thereon (in soma the coals may be optionally brought from the āgnīdhrīya fire-place and placed on hotṛ dhiṣṇya). The third and thickest part of the entrails (that has been kept aside) is cut obliquely into eleven parts, which are offered into the red-hot coals placed as above by the pratiprasthātṛ with his right hand, each with a mantra (for eleven mantras vide Vāj. S. VI. 21, Tai. S. I. 3. 11. 1), when the cry vauṣaṭ is uttered for each of the eleven anuyājas[2523] that are offered with pṛṣadājya here (Āp. VII. 26. 12). These eleven offerings of the entrails are called upayājas (additional offerings), vide Jai. XII. 4. 8. At the end of the 11th offering, the pratiprasthātṛ touches his mouth and the portion sticking to his hand is wiped on the *barhis* with the words 'adbhyastvauṣadhībhyaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 3. 11). At the end of the anuyājas, the svaru is placed in the juhū ladle and offered into fire with 'may thy smoke reach the sky, may thy flame reach heaven, fill the earth with thy ashes, svāhā!' (Vāj. S. VI. 21, Āp. VII. 27. 4). Āp. (VII. 27. 6-7) and others say the direction (praiṣa) for repeating the sūktavāka is uttered by the maitrāvaruṇa[2524] (and not by the adhvaryu). The hotṛ repeats it and the maitrāvaruṇa throws his staff into the āhavanīya fire (Āśv. III. 6. 21) and Āp. (VII. 27. 8) says that the three paridhis also are thrown into fire by means of the sruos except the dhruvā. The patnīsaṁyāja is performed with the tail of the animal, which is taken to the south of the sacrificial ground. There was a difference of opinion whether portions of the tail were offered to all the four deities of patnīsaṁyāja[2525] or to some only (vide Kāt. VI. 9. 14-20). According to Āp. (VII. 27. 10) and Kāt. (VI. 9. 15-19) only ājya offerings are made to Soma and Tvaṣṭṛ, the inside part of the tail (on which no hair grow) is cut up for the wives of the gods and the hairy part is cut up for Agni Gṛhapati. Whether

2523. The first मन्त्र is समुद्रं गच्छ स्वाहा, the remaining ten all have the words गच्छ स्वाहा with ten names of deities in the objective case, viz. अन्तरिक्षं, देवं सवितारं, मित्रावरुणौ, अहोरात्रे, छन्दांसि, द्यावापृथिवी, यज्ञं, सोमं, विष्णुं नमः, अग्निं वैश्वानरम्.

2524. The प्रैष of मैत्रावरुण is 'अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः ..... होतरसि भद्रवाच्याय प्रेषितो मानुषः सूक्तवाकाय सूक्तां.शु3हि.'

2525. For the patnīsaṁyājas, vide above p. 1076.

the sacrificer is *caturavattin* or *pañcāvattin*, all four or five portions are cut off from the tail and there is no under layer (upastaraṇa) and upper layer (abhighāraṇa) of ājya in this case. According to Kāt. VI. 9. 20 portions of the tail are offered to all devatās of patnīsaṁyāja. Vide Jai. XII. 4. 10-16 and III. 3. 20-23 on this. Iḍā is cut from the hairless portion of the tail for hotṛ and from the hairy portion for the āgnīdhra and the rest of the tail is handed over to the sacrificer's wife who passes it on to the adhvaryu or some brāhmaṇa. The śamitṛ had so far partaken of nothing, but he is now given the shoulder of the victim, but if he be not a brāhmaṇa he gives it to a brāhmaṇa. They offer three samiṣṭayajus,[2526] throw the barhis into fire, approach a pond (or reservoir of water) taking with them the spit (śūla) on which the heart was roasted. Āp. VII. 27. 15 says that they carry[2527] the śūla in such a way as not to touch it. The adhvaryu enters in the midst of the water and conceals the spit into the bottom underneath with its tip downwards with the mantra 'thou art sorrow; give him sorrow who hateth us and whom we hate' (Tai. S. I. 3. 11. 1-2 and also with Vāj. S. VI. 22 according to Kāt. VI. 10. 3), at the same time thinking of his enemy (without taking his name). If he does not enter water, then he may pour some water to the east of the yūpa and should conceal the spit at the place where the dry space and wet space meet. Āśv. (III. 6. 25-26) prescribes that all the priests, the sacrificer and the wife do not touch the śūla after it is thrust into the earth, do not look at it, and return, each taking one after another three fuel-sticks with a mantra for each and put them on fire with a mantra for each stick one after another, after doing homage to the āhavanīya with Ṛg. I. 23. 23. Then they all perform mārjana near the concealed śūla or the cātvāla with 'sumitriyā na āpa oṣadhayaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 2) or according to Kāt. VI. 10. 5 they touch water with 'dhāmno ..... sumitriyā na āpaḥ' (Vāj. S. VI. 22). Then they pray Varuṇa to free them from sin in the words 'dhāmno dhāmno rājan' (Tai. S. I. 3. 11. 2), and 'ud-uttamam' (Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 3). They lay *samidhs* on the āhavanīya as in Varuṇapraghāsa. The animal sacrifice ends with the saṁsthājapa as in darśapūrṇamāsa.

Kāmyāḥ Paśavaḥ:—Just as several kāmya iṣṭis were prescribed for securing various desired objects so various animal

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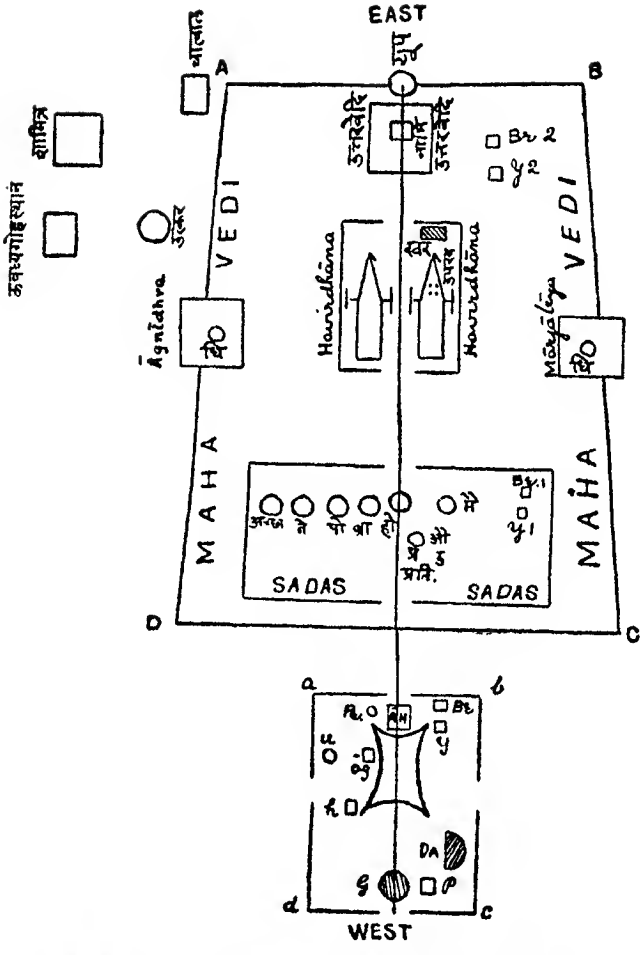
2526. For samiṣṭayajus, vide p. 1082.

2527. The priests, the sacrificer and his wife go to a pond.

sacrifices are found in the texts prescribed for the attainment of such objects as prosperity, villages, eloquence &c. Tai. S. (II. 1. 1-10) refers to several such sacrifices. For example, Tai. S. II. 1. 1. 1 says 'one who is desirous of prosperity should offer a white paśu to Vāyu; one who is desirous of a village should sacrifice an animal to Vāyu Niyutvat; one who having command over speech or words is not able to speak eloquently should offer an ewe to Sarasvatī' (II. 1. 2. 6). The Tai. Br. (II. 8. 1-9) contains the anuvākyās and yājyās of the vapā, puroḍāśa and havis offerings of many animal sacrifices. Āp. (XIX. 16-17) deals with kāmya animal sacrifices. Āśv. III. 7 gives the anuvākyās and yājyās of a group sacrifice (Aikādaśina) of eleven animals[2528] to Agni, Sarasvatī, Soma, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, Viśve Devas, Indra, Maruts, Indra-Agni, Savitṛ, and Varuṇa; while Āśv. III. 8. 1 sets out the anuvākyās and yājyās of eighteen animal sacrifices in addition.

These follow the procedure of the nirūḍhapaśubandha sacrifice and are all passed over here.

2528. The Aikādaśina animal sacrifice is a special form of the animal sacrifice, for which Āp. XIV. 5-7 may be consulted. It follows the procedure of savanīya paśu (Jai. VIII. 1. 14). In this there may be thirteen yūpas for eleven paśus or only one yūpa for all paśus. Eleven yūpas are the ordinary ones, the 12th is called upaśaya, the whole of which is chiselled, but is not implanted in a pit like the others; it lies near the yūpa to the south; the 13th is called pātnīvata and it is not higher than the navel when imbedded in the ground. The yūpas are so arranged as to rise on the south side i. e. the southern-most is the tallest of all. The paśu tied to the pātnīvata is meant for Tvaṣṭṛ, but it is let off and ājya is offered. Jai. (II. 3. 19) concludes that when the Vedic text says 'after carrying fire round the pātnīvata victim, it is let off', only a special matter is laid down concerning the pātnīvata victim. He further says (in IX. 4. 56-60) that the ājya offered is not a substitute for the victim, but is a separate rite in which the deity is the same. Vide Kāt. VIII. 8. 27 ff. If there be more yūpas than one, then the saṁskāras from añjana to parivyāṇa (surrounding with a girdle) are all to be done on one, then on another and so on. Vide Jai. V. 2. 7-9.



A B C D=	Mahāvedi in soma-yāga	Br 2=	Seat of brahmā at time of Paśu offering
a b c d=	Ordinary vihāra	Y 2=	Seat of yajamāna at time of Paśu offering
A H=	Āhavanīya fire	औ=	औदुम्बरी post
D A=	Dakṣināgni	उ=	place of उद्गाता when chanting
G=	Gārhapatya fire	प्र=	place of प्रस्तोता when chanting
Br=	Brahmā priest seat	प्रति=	place of प्रतिहर्ता when chanting
Y=	Seat of sacrificer	मै=	Seat of मैत्रावरुण in सदस्
P=	Wife	धि=	धिष्ण्य
ag=	Āgnīdhra's seat	अच्छा=	अच्छावाकीधिष्ण्य
h=	Seat of hotṛ	हो=	होतृधिष्ण्य
u=	Utkara	::	four उपरव holes
Pr=	Prapīṭh water		
Br 1=	Seat of Brahmā when stotras are chanted in sadas		
Y 1=	Seat of yajamāna when stotras are chanted		

CHAPTER XXXIII

AGNIṢṬOMA[2529]

Sacrifices are often divided for convenience into iṣṭi, paśu and soma. According to Gaut. VIII. 21 and Lāṭ. Śr. V. 4. 24 there are seven forms of soma sacrifices, viz. Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. The Agniṣṭoma is the model (prakṛti) of all soma sacrifices. The Agniṣṭoma is a one day (aikāhika or ekāha) sacrifice and it is an integral part of the Jyotiṣṭoma so much so that the two are often identified. Soma sacrifices are classified into those that are finished in one day (and so called ekāha), those that are celebrated for more than one day up to twelve (and so called ahīna), those that extend over more than twelve days (and are called Sattra). The dvādaśāha is both a sattra and an ahīna.[2530] The Jyotiṣṭoma occupies generally five days and the chief rites performed on these days are: (1) choosing of priests, madhuparka, dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi, consecration of the sacrificer (dīkṣā); (2nd day) Prāyaṇīyā iṣṭi (i. e. opening iṣṭi), purchase of soma, ātitheyeṣṭi (iṣṭi offering hospitality to soma), Pravargya,[2531] Upasad (homage twice a day in the morning and evening); (3rd day) Pravargya and Upasad twice again; (4th day) Pravargya and Upasad, Agniprāṇayana, Agnīṣomapraṇayana, havirdhāna-praṇayana, animal sacrifice; (5th day called *sutya* or *savanīya*) pressing of soma, offering it and drinking it in the morning, mid-day and evening, the udayanīyā (concluding iṣṭi), avabhṛtha (final purificatory bath). In the following pages only a skeleton outline of

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2529. Vide Tai. S. I. 2–4, III. 1–3, VI. 1–6, VII. 1, Tai. Br. I. 1. 1, I. 4. 1, and 5–6, I. 5. 4, II. 2. 8, Śat. Br. III–IV, Ait. Br. 1–15, Āp. X–XIII and XIV. 8–12, Kāt. VII–XI, Baud. VI–X, Āśv. IV–VI, Satyāṣāḍha VII–IX, Lāṭ. I–II.

2530. Vide Jai. X. 6. 60–61 for sattra and ahīna. 'एकेन ब्रह्मा योगादेकाहत्वम् । द्व्यादिभिरहीनत्वं प्राग्द्वादशाहात् । स तु कथमप्युभयात्मा । तद्यथैकस्मिन्नेव त्रिसहस्रसंवत्सरं सततकालयोगनिमित्तं सत्रत्वम् । हविर्विशेषयोगादिष्ट्यादिरिति ।' तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 471 on Jai. II. 2. 2.

2531. एका दीक्षा तिस्र उपसदः पञ्चमी प्रकृतिः । तिस्रो वा दीक्षास्तिस्र उपसदः सप्तमी प्रकृतिः । चतस्रो वा दीक्षास्तिस्र उपसदोऽष्टमी प्रकृतिः । आप. X. 15. 1; also आश्व. IV. 2. 17 एका तिस्रो वा दीक्षास्तिस्र उपसदः सुत्यनहश्चतस्रः । Vide Jai. VI. 5. 28–29 where Śabara and Kumārila seem to disagree.

Agniṣṭoma is presented, derived from the principal Śrauta sūtras. Jai. in VI. 2. 31 declares that the performance of Jyotiṣṭoma is obligatory on all members of the three higher varṇas, just as upanayana is, since the word brāhmaṇa in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 (a brāhmaṇa when born comes charged with three debts) is only illustrative. Agniṣṭoma is so called because in it Agni is praised or because the last chant (*stotra*) is addressed to Agni.[2532] It is to be performed in *vasanta* (spring) every year and on the New Moon or Full Moon day (Āp. X. 2. 2, 5 and 8, Kāt. VII. 1. 4 and Sat. VII. 1 p. 562). The general view expressed in Jai. IV. 3. 37 was that one should perform a soma sacrifice after having performed darśapūrṇamāsa, cāturmāsyas and paśu sacrifice, but some held that it could be performed even before darśa-pūrṇamāsa, but after agnyādhāna (Āśv. IV. 1. 1-2 and Sat. VII. 1. p. 556). Jai. (V. 4. 5-9) also states this as the view of some. Jaimini, however, declares that all modifications of the Agniṣṭoma must be performed after one has begun to perform darśapūrṇamāsa (V. 4. 26). The intending sacrificer sends a person called *somapravāka* (inviter to officiate at a soma sacrifice) to invite brāhmaṇas who are thorough masters of the Veda, neither too young nor too old, with clear and loud voices and not deficient in any limb (Tāṇḍya Br. I. 1. 1, Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. I. 1. 10, Āp. X. 1. 1). He invites the principal four or all the 16 (or 17, including 'sadasya') priests (*ṛtvij*), who make inquiries whether some other person has refused the office and whether the fee will be excellent. Those portions of the choosing mantras are uttered inaudibly wherein the priests are invoked as if they were divinities and the portion *asau mānuṣaḥ* or *tvam mānuṣaḥ* is uttered loudly.[2533] When the priests come *madhuparka* is offered to them. The sacrificer goes to the king (of the country) to ask for a sacrificial ground (*devayajana*), even if he has one already, with the formula 'god Varuṇa, give me devayajana'.[2534] This is a mere

2532. स वा एषोऽग्निष्टोमस्तं यदस्तुवंस्तस्मादग्निस्तोमस्तमग्निस्तोमं सन्तमग्निष्टोम इत्याचक्षते परोक्षमिवा इव हि देवाः। ऐ. ब्रा. 14. 5; अग्निष्टोमः प्रथमयज्ञः। आप. X. 2. 3; यज्ञायज्ञियस्य स्तोत्रे अग्निस्तुत्या यस्य संस्था सोऽग्निष्टोमः प्रथममाहर्तव्यः। com. The Yajñāyajñīya is Ṛg. IV. 48. 1-2 (यज्ञायज्ञा वो अग्नये &c.) = सामवेद (उत्तरार्चिक) I. 6. 1-2.

2533. 'अग्निर्नः होताविदथ्यो मेऽध्वर्युश्चन्द्रमा मे ब्रह्मा पर्जन्यो म उद्गाता... इत्युपांशु देवतादेशनम्। अत्रो माहव इत्युच्चैः। आप. X. 1. 14; 'अग्निर्नः देव्यो होता त्वं माहवः। &c. ज्ञा. श्रौ. V. 1.

2534. देवा इज्यन्तेऽस्मिन्निति देवयजनं सकलमयोगाङ्कूलो भूमिदेशः। com. on कात्या. VII. 1. 10.

form, but even the king has to make a similar request (in his case) to the hotṛ and other priests. The requirements of a proper devayajana have already been given above (p. 988n). In the western portion of the devayajana from which all roots are uprooted, a pavilion[2535] (*vimita*, a four-cornered maṇḍapa) is erected, the central ridge and the covering bamboos of which run from west to east, which has doors (two cubits wide) in all directions and which slightly inclines towards the east, or a rectangular house (śālā) may be built, twenty *aratnis* long and ten aratnis wide (Kāt. VII. 1. 19-25, Āp. X. 5. 1-5, Baud. VI. 1). A shed for cooking the *vrata* food is erected to the south of the pavilion and another to the west for the patnī (wife of the sacrificer). The sacrificer while in his house implants his gārhapatya and āhavanīya fires on the araṇis with a mantra 'ayam te yoniḥ' (Vāj. S. III. 14., Tai. S. I. 5. 2), comes to the devayajana, enters (along with the priests and his wife) the maṇḍapa by the eastern door with the araṇis in his hand, and touches the central post of the pavilion. The things that are required (sambhārāḥ)[2536] are also brought to the pavilion. In the pavilion a vedi is prepared and fires are established after being produced by attrition. Offerings of ājya with the sambhārayajus formulas (Tai. Ā. III. 8), with the *sapta-hotṛ* formulas (Tai. Ā. III. 5) are made and also a yūpāhuti is offered. Outside the pavilion to its north the sacrificer gets the hair on the head, arm-pits and on the face cut by a barber in a tent covered with mats, pares the nails of his hands first (of the right hand first from the small finger) and then of the feet. Jai. (III. 8. 3-11) establishes that it is the sacrificer (and not the adhvaryu) who pares his nails, cuts his hair, brushes his teeth, subsists on milk. Sat. VII. 1. p. 587 states that the nails of the left hand are pared first and then of the right hand. He brushes his teeth with an udumbara twig, then he bathes in a reservoir of water or in a kuṇḍa after putting a golden piece in it with mantras, performs ācamana and drinks water as a consecration.

2535. The pavilion is called prāgvaṁśa or prācīnavaṁśa and according to some it is 16 prakramas long (from west to east) and 12 prakramas wide (from south to north). It may have four or five (one in the north-east) doors and apertures in the four quarters. Vide Āp. X. 5. 5.

2536. Baud. VI. 1 enumerates thirteen requisites (sambhāras) that the yajamāna brings with him and thirteen more which are placed round about the wife.

All these from paring nails (called apsu-dīkṣā)[2537] except the cutting of hair are also undergone by the wife at the instance of the pratiprasthātṛ priest (but without mantras). The adhvaryu hands over a fine silken fresh garment to the sacrificer which the latter wears. In the afternoon in the prāgvaṁśa he partakes of food (rice)[2538] mixed with ghee and sprinkled over with curds and honey or whatever is liked by him. The wife also does the same. He takes up butter (navanīta) with two bunches of darbha grass and smears himself thrice with them beginning from the face. He applies collyrium with a darbha blade twice to the right eye and once to the left or thrice to both. The adhvaryu performs the purification (*pavana*) of the sacrificer outside the prāgvaṁśa to its north by three bunches of seven darbhas each rubbed twice over his body above the navel and once below the navel with mantras and the sacrificer also mutters mantras. The wife also does all this (smearing the body with butter, applying añjana and purification) without mantras at the instance of the pratiprasthātṛ. The sacrificer enters the pavilion by the eastern door and the wife by the western and occupy their respective seats. Then follows dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi[2539] which is so called because it effects a saṁskāra in the man intending to sacrifice and because after it is performed he is entitled to be called 'dīkṣita'. The conclusion in Jai. V. 3. 29-31 is that a man becomes a dīkṣita at the end of the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi and has thenceforward to observe the rules laid down for a dīkṣita and that one does not become a dīkṣita by being given the staff or the girdle &c. At first six āhutis called dīkṣāhutis are offered, four with ājya taken from the dhruvā into the sruva, 5th with the sruc and the sixth is called pūrṇāhuti and is offered with sruc (in which twelve ladlings with sruva have been made). These six āhutis are called 'audgrahaṇa' (Āp. X. 8. 7 and com. on Sat. VII. 1. p. 591) or 'audgrabhaṇa' (Kāt. VII. 3. 16). In the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi a cake

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2537. For the word 'apsudīkṣā', vide Kāt. VII. 2. 7. According to Baud. the hair of the wife also is cut (VI. 3) The com. on Sat. VII. 1. p. 587 makes the interesting remark that according to the sūtrakāra the adhvaryu himself pares the sacrificer's nails, but that as in his time the priests had no instruction in such matters and as people had come to look with disfavour on such a practice, the barber pares the nails.

2538. According to some the meal takes place before the cutting of hair (vide Āp. X. 6. 10).

2539. दीक्षामपोजना इडिर्दीक्षणीया। com. on आश्व. IV. 2. 1; शबर on Jai. V. 3. 31 says 'दीक्षणीयेति वाक्यशेषो समारख्या भवति'.

prepared on eleven potsherds is offered to Agni-Viṣṇu (or boiled rice with clarified butter). Some offered another offering of boiled rice to Aditi. Several matters that occur in the model iṣṭi (such as observing a vrata, the girding up of the wife, cutting off a portion for yajamāna, phalīkaraṇahoma, cooking anvāhārya rice as fee for the priests, samiṣṭayajus) are omitted in this iṣṭi (Baud. VI. 3 mentions ten matters that are omitted, Āp. X. 4. 12, Sat. VII. 1. p. 575). According to Jai. VIII. 1. 3–10 the several actions done in the model iṣṭi are not to be extended to somayāga unless the vedic texts expressly say so, and Jai. X. 1. 4 establishes that there is no ārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi in dīkṣaṇīyā and other iṣṭis of somayāga. The dīkṣaṇīyā ends with the patnīsaṁyājas and the eating of the 2nd iḍā (Sat. VII. 1. p. 578). Certain rules are laid down about the pitch of the voice in the several rites. According to Āp. X. 4. 9 everything is said inaudibly till the agnīṣomīya rite. According to Kāt. (VII. 2. 31–32) the voice reaches the highest pitch in the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi, the mantras in the prāyaṇīyā and ātithyā iṣṭis are in a lower tone than in the dīkṣaṇīyā and the upasad mantras are repeated inaudibly. The dīkṣā (consecration) of the sacrificer and his wife proceeds as follows.[2540] To the south of the āhavanīya two black antelope hides (or one if two are not available) with the neck portion to the east are spread on the altar with the hairy part outside. He (the priest) sits to the west of the antelope skin bending his right knee; the sacrificer touches the white and black spots (or the line that joins them, Kāt. VII. 3. 23), then creeps upon the hide with his right knee bent and sits down on the western side of the hide. The sacrificer ties round his waist above the garment worn by him a girdle of three strands made of hemp and muñja grass, covers his right shoulder with a fresh garment and folds round his head a piece of cloth, he is given the horn of a black antelope about a span in length with three or five folds (from left to right), which he ties to the hem of his garment (or in the corner of his upper garment). He touches his forehead above the right brow with the horn, draws a line with it from west to east outside the vedi, and if he wants at any time to scratch

2540. All these several actions in the dīkṣā are done to the accompaniment of mantras as in Vāj. IV. 9 ff. and Tai. S., but they are not referred to for reasons of space. Elsewhere also mantras have been often omitted.

his body he does so with that horn. Jai. (XI. 4. 48–49) declares that the mantra is to be repeated only once even if the yajamāna feels the desire to scratch several parts of his body at the same time. The adhvaryu gives a staff of udumbara (or of some other sacrificial tree) which is as high as the sacrificer's mouth (or chin), which he raises up and keeps on his right shoulder. While the adhvaryu is doing these things for the yajamāna, the pratiprasthātṛ does the same things for the wife (without mantras) except that she has the yoktra girt round her upper garment, that her head is covered by a jāla (a net or fillet) of wool and she has a piece of some sacrificial tree one span long for scratching her body. The sacrificer and adhvaryu repeat long passages wherein the word dīkṣā occurs frequently (Āp. X. 10. 6 and X. 11. 1), and the adhvaryu makes him repeat the sambhāra-yajus mantras (Tai. Ā. III. 8). The sacrificer then contracts the fingers of both hands one after another with mantras (first the small fingers of both hands, then the ring-fingers of both hands and so on) and ultimately he clinches his fists. He observes silence. Some priest (like the pratiprasthātṛ) other than the adhvaryu inaudibly declares (to the gods) thrice and loudly proclaims to the world thrice 'this brāhmaṇa has undergone the consecration, son of so and so, grandson of so and so, great-grandson of so and so, the son of such and such a woman, grandson of such and such a woman and great-grandson of such and such a woman'. Even when the sacrificer was a kṣatriya or vaiśya, the announcement was still to be 'this brāhmaṇa[2541] &c.,' since after dīkṣā a person was supposed to be reborn and to be a child of holy prayer and to have become pure enough for receiving spiritual influences. The Śat. Br. III. 3. 3. 12 states 'he who is consecrated becomes an embryo'. Dīkṣā takes place in the afternoon (Āp. X. 12. 1) and the sacrificer observes silence till the appearance of stars in the evening. The adhvaryu directs the milking of two cows to supply milk for

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2541. अथैनं त्रिरुपांशावेदयति त्रिरुच्चैरदीक्षिष्टायं ब्राह्मणोऽसावस्य पुत्रोऽमुष्य पौत्रोऽमुष्य नप्तामुष्याः पुत्रोऽमुष्याः पौत्रोऽमुष्या नप्तेति। ब्राह्मणो वा एष जायते यो दीक्षते। तस्माद्राजन्यवैश्यावपि ब्राह्मण इत्यावेदयति। आप. X. 11. 5–6; compare कात्या. VII. 4. 11–12, Baud. VI. 5, Sat. VII. 1. p. 597. The reference by name will be like the following 'अदीक्षिष्टायं ब्राह्मणो गोपीनाथशर्मा वासिष्ठो गणेशशर्मणः पुत्रः केशवशर्मणः पौत्रः कृष्णशर्मणो नप्ता यमुनादायाः पुत्रो लक्ष्मीदायाः पौत्रो रुक्मिणीदाया नप्तेति।' com. on Sat. or one may say 'यमुनादेव्याः पुत्रः' &c.

the sacrificer and his wife who are to subsist on the milk of the two cows during the period of the sacrifice. This vrata (observance) of subsisting on milk is declared by Jai. (IV. 3. 8–9) to be *kratvartha* (an obligatory rule) and not puruṣārtha (recommendatory). Vide also Jai. VI. 8. 28. Some allowed rice or barley to be cooked in that milk. The two cows were milked in two separate vessels, one of which (meant for the sacrificer) was heated on the gārhapatya and the other (for the wife) was heated on the dakṣiṇa fire. A kṣatriya or vaiśya sacrificer could take gruel or āmikṣā respectively or all persons could subsist on milk or on rice cooked in milk or on fruits (if enough milk was not available) or if he had a desire for curds, he could use curds or use fried barley grains or he could take ghee. He was to take his food at midday or midnight long after ordinary men have taken their meals and he took his food from a pot which was not earthenware and the wife from a copper pot. Persons who were not dīkṣitas were not to see him when taking his milk or other vrata diet. The wife was also to take her milk or other diet in her own place. Vide Āp. X. 16 and Kāt. VII. 4. 19–34 for details. The dīkṣita and his wife (to some extent) have to observe certain rules (till the final bath) and people also had to observe some rules with reference to him. He has to keep awake on the night of the dīkṣā (Jai. XII. 1. 17), on the night when soma is purchased and on the night before the pressing day. He is not[2542] to speak with women or śūdras nor should a śūdra follow him. If he is obliged to speak to a śūdra he should do so by employing a messenger belonging to the three higher varṇas. He may speak to or bless another, but he was not to bow to another, even if the latter was his ācārya or father-in-law or a king. No one was to touch him or to address the dīkṣita by his name (but use only such terms of address as 'bhoḥ', 'dīkṣita' &c.). The sacrificer was not to keep aside the antelope horn till the fees were distributed. He could laugh covering his face with his hand and should not show his teeth. He was not ordinarily to answer calls of nature by day, but if he has to do so, he must do so in a shaded spot. He has to observe complete celibacy. While he is consecrated for the sacrifice, he does not go out by the

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2542. Āp. X. 12–15, Baud. VI. 6 give long lists of the observances for a dīkṣita out of which a few are set out above.

western door, nor does he perform the daily agnihotra, nor vaiśvadeva nor offering of bali nor perform the darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi (Jai. XII. 1. 19–23), but he may employ another to do all these. He must speak the truth and address people in a pure and conciliatory style adding the word 'canasita' when addressing a brāhmaṇa and the word 'vicakṣaṇa' when addressing a kṣatriya or vaiśya (vide Ait. Br. I. 6). He must always be in the pavilion at sunrise and sunset; he sleeps on the ground to the south of the āhavanīya with his head to the east and sleeps on his right side and does not turn his back to the fire. He always sits on antelope hide and never leaves it and his staff (except when answering calls of nature). No one is to eat the food given by a dīkṣita till the agniṣomīya victim or its omentum is offered. It is recommended by all the sūtras that dīkṣā (consecration) should not be finished in one day, but it should extend over 12 days or a month or a year or till from being fat he becomes lean (vide Āp. X. 14. 8, X. 15. 4, Āśv. IV. 2. 13–15). Every day (while the dīṣkā lasts) the sacrificer observes silence from the afternoon till the appearance of stars and in the morning from before sunrise till the sun goes up. The dīkṣita is allowed to go himself or to send agents called (saṃhāra) [2543] to collect money and materials necessary for the sacrifice. He has to observe many rules on his journey (vide Āp. X. 19. 6–16).

After the day (or days of dīkṣā), the next day the first rite is the prāyaṇīyā [2544] (opening) iṣṭi. In this iṣṭi *caru* (rice) cooked in milk is offered to Aditi (Jai. IX. 4. 32–40) and four offerings of ājya to four more deities viz. Pathyā Svasti, Agni, Soma and Savitṛ in the four directions (viz. east, south, west and north) respectively. Caru is offered to Aditi in the centre. Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is the sixth deity. According to Āśv. IV. 3. 3 no ājyabhāgas are offered in this iṣṭi, but according to Kāt. VII. 5. 15 they are offered. The priests that officiate in this iṣṭi should as far as possible officiate in the Udayanīyā (concluding) iṣṭi. The rites of this iṣṭi end with the first Saṃyu, [2545] but there is no patnī-saṃyāja and no samiṣṭayajus.

2543. तस्माद्दीक्षितो द्वादशाहं भूतिं वन्वीत। यज्ञमेव तत्संभरतीति विज्ञायते। पूषा सन्येति सनीहारान् संशास्ति। आप. X. 18. 4–5, vide कात्या. VII. 5. 3–4.

2544. प्रतिपद्यन्तेऽनया यज्ञं दीक्षिता इति प्रायणीया। com. on Āp. X. 21. 1.

2545. Vide Jaimini X. 7. 38–42 for the propositions that the prāyaṇīyā ends with the first saṃyu and the ātithyā with the first iḍā.

The puronuvākyā verses in this iṣṭi become the yājyā verses in the udayanīyā iṣṭi and *vice versa* (vide Āśv. IV. 3. 2 for them). He keeps aside in a well-known place in the *prāgvaṁśa* the cooking pot (from which the leavings of rice sticking to the bottom are not removed according to some), the mekṣaṇa and the *barhis* (except the prastara) for use in the udayanīyā. Jai. (XI. 2. 66–68) refers to this use of niṣkāsa in the udayanīyā iṣṭi.

Then comes the purchase of soma (referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras as 'rājan'). Soma is purchased from a brāhmaṇa of the Kutsa gotra or from a śūdra (Āp. X. 20. 12 allows it to be purchased from any brāhmaṇa).[2546] Jai. III. 7. 31 states that the vendor of soma is someone other than the priests. The seller of soma is asked to free it from the weeds that may be mixed up with it; the adhvaryu turns his back towards soma when this (weeding) is being done and neither the adhvaryu nor his assistants nor the sacrificer nor the latter's sons should do the weeding out nor does anyone of these see it being done (Sat. VII. 1, p. 609). The soma plant is placed on the southern part of the red hide of a bull by the pratiprasthātṛ spread on the place where uparavas (four sounding holes) will be made later on and the seller of soma sits on the northern part of the hide. A water jar is placed in front of soma. The doors of the sacrificial hall are shut, the adhvaryu pours into the juhū four times ājya from the dhruvā ladle used in the prāyaṇīyā (or five times for those who are *pañcāvattins*), ties a piece of gold by a blade out of the darbhas spread on the altar, puts down into the juhū the blade with the gold and makes an offering into the āhavanīya of that ājya (this offering is called hiraṇyavatī āhuti); he takes out the piece of gold, casts the blade (with which it was tied) on the vedi and ties the gold piece with a thread. The doors of the hall are opened and the adhvaryu and yajamāna come out. To the south of the eastern door of the sacrificial hall stands a heifer (called *somakrayaṇī*), that is one, two or three

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2546. राजानं क्रीणन्ति। आश्व. IV.4.1; कौत्साद्राजानं क्रीणीयादन्यस्माद्वा ब्राह्मणादित्युक्त्वाह्याप्यब्राह्मणादिति। आप. X. 20. 12; सोमविक्रयिणं प्रपादयति कौत्सं शूद्रं वा। सत्याषाढ VII. 1. p. 606, where the com. remarks 'स च ब्राह्मणः कौत्सः कुत्सगोत्रः कुत्सितकर्मा वा। ... शूद्रः सच्छूद्रो गोपो नापितो वा। ... शाखान्तरे क्षत्रियसोमविक्रयिणौ कुलालावित्याम्नानात्कुलालोपि पक्षे। निषादस्थकारवच्चावर्ध्यमध्ययनमेतेषाम्। अयं च शूद्रो विभाभावे द्रष्टव्यः।'

years[2547] old, is tawny, has yellowish brown eyes or is red (but has no red eyes), has not given birth to a calf, has no deficiency and is not tied (vide Āp. VI. 20. 2-5 and Sat. VII. 2, p. 623 for further details). The cow is not held by her ear or her foot is not tied by a rope (she may be held by the neck, if necessary). She is invoked by the adhvaryu (who is sitting) with a mantra 'cidasi' (Vāj. S. IV. 19, Tai. S. I. 2. 4. 1). The cow is led towards the north, the adhvaryu and yajamāna follow her. After she goes six steps, at her 7th step, the brahmā and yajamāna sit down to the cow's right, behind her sits the adhvaryu and the neṣṭṛ priest to her north. They keep the golden piece on the spot where the 7th step is put by her (which is first covered with his folded hands by the adhvaryu) and make an offering of it to Aditi (adityai idam na mama). Taking the sphya the adhvaryu draws lines round the 7th foot-print (once with a mantra, twice silently) from right to left (Āp. X. 23. 3 adds that lines are drawn also with the antelope horn of the sacrificer); the dust on the lines is gathered with the hand and put into a pot (sthālī) and handed over to the yajamāna who passes it on to his wife who invokes the cow with a mantra. He washes his hand (that has the piece of gold in it) on the 7th foot-print (of the cow), pours some water on the dust collected in a pot, divides the dust into three parts, one of which is placed on the cold ashes of the gārhapatya, the 2nd on the cold ashes of the āhavanīya and the third is given to the wife who places it in the house. The adhvaryu ties the piece of gold to his small finger (on which it must be at the time of āpyāyana and pressing of soma and at the time of taking the aṁśu and adābhya cups). The adhvaryu directs the sacrificer's servant to bring a piece of cloth for tying soma, another for covering it all round and a turban; the first is carried by the adhvaryu or yajamāna and the rest by the pratiprasthātṛ. They go with their faces to the east towards the soma which is in a four-wheeled cart

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2547. अरुणयैकहायन्या पिङ्गाक्ष्या गवा सोमं क्रीणाति। quoted by Śabara on Jaimini III. 1. 12, who engages in a lengthy discussion about the purport of this passage. Vide तै. सं. VI 1. 6. 7 'एकहायन्या क्रीणाति। ... अरुणया पिङ्गाक्ष्या क्रीणात्येतद्वै सोमस्य रूपं स्वयैवैनं देवतया क्रीणाति।' where other requirements are set out. The idea was that the cow (the price of Soma) was to resemble the soma beverage in colour as much as possible. Vide also Jai. IV. 1. 25. The cow was called somakrayaṇī as soma was purchased with it; सोमः क्रीयते यया गवा सा सोमक्रयणी says com. on Sat. VII. 2 p. 623.

covered all round and above with mats &c. Detailed rules follow how soma stalks (*aṁśu*) are selected and taken with the hand, tied in the cloth and covered with the turban (Āp. X. 24. 7–14, Kāt. VII. 7. 12–21). The yajamāna pays homage to soma and waits upon Aditi (Āp. X. 25. 1). The adhvaryu hands over the soma (so tied and turbaned) to the vendor of soma[2548] and there ensues a dialogue (which is a mock drama) between the vendor and the adhvaryu wherein they higgle for the price of the soma (five times, beginning with a kalā or $\frac{1}{16}$th or the thigh of the cow and ending with the whole cow). Gold piece is also offered to the vendor of soma, who says 'soma is sold to you but offer me some other animals' and the adhvaryu replies 'yours are the gold piece, clothes, goats, another cow, a cow and bull and three other cows.' Adhvaryu comes with the soma in his right hand and pushes aside the garment from the sacrificer's right thigh and places the soma tied in a piece of cloth on the thigh of the sacrificer, who mutters the text 'śvāna bhrājāṅghāre[2549] &c.' (Vāj. VI. 27, Tai. S. I. 2. 7. 1). Ultimately the gold piece and somakrayaṇī cow are brought back, another is offered in exchange and the former is sent to the cowpen belonging to the sacrificer. Āp. (X. 27. 8) and Sat. (VII. 2. p. 644) say that according to some the vendor is always struck with sticks and clods of earth (i. e. there is a show of seizing the soma from him and driving him away with sticks, vide Kāt. VII. 8. 27 also). The sacrificer's staff is handed over to the maitrāvaruṇa priest (vide Jai. IV. 2. 16–18) and the sacrificer holds in both his hands the bundle of soma placed on his thigh, gets up, places his hand on his head and thereon the bundle of soma, approaches a cart (śakaṭa) kept to the south (of the place

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2548. The Śat. Br. III. 3. 3 (S. B. E. vol. 26. pp. 69–70) contains the higgling at length. Vide also Āp. X. 25. 1–16, Kāt. VII. 8. 1–21. Sat. (VII. 2. pp. 636–643) sets out what things are offered in exchange of soma and the dialogue between the adhvaryu and the vendor of soma. There were several options as to the things offered in exchange for soma. They were ten viz. seven cows, a gold piece, clothes, a she-goat; some said they were 13 (ten cows plus the other three) or only four (one cow and the other three).

2549. Śvāna, Bhrāja and others are supposed to be Gandharvas, guardians of the cow and other things offered as the price of soma. Vide Śat. Br. III. 3. 3. 11 (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 72). Jaimini (XII. 4. 5–7) states that ten things are offered as the price of soma and that soma is not purchased by offering these separately, but by offering them in one lot (*samuccaya*). Baud. VI. 14 enumerates them in one place.

where soma was bought) that is washed, is covered with a mat or the like and has all its parts complete. The adhvaryu spreads on the box of the cart a black antelope-skin with the neck portion to the east and hairy side upwards, places the soma thereon, covers it with another piece of cloth, ties a skin to a staff as a flag. Two oxen are yoked to the cart, the Subrahmaṇya priest (an assistant to the udgātṛ) standing on the ground between the two shafts of the cart drives the oxen holding two palāśa branches in his hand (as whips). The adhvaryu touches the cart and directs the hotṛ to repeat a verse for soma that is bought (or being taken round) and directs the subrahmaṇya priest to pronounce the Subrahmaṇyā invocation. The hotṛ stands three steps behind the cart between the two wheel-tracks, and while keeping his heels firm and unmoved throws up to the south with a verse (tvam viprah, Āśv. IV. 4. 2) clods (or dust) thrice with the forepart of his foot, then utters standing 'him bhūrbhuvaḥ svarom ' and a verse 'bhadrād abhi śreyaḥ prehi' (Āśv. IV. 4. 2). While following the moving cart between wheel-tracks he recites Ṛg. I. 91. 9–11, X. 71. 10, IV. 53. 7 (half) and stops. When the cart stops the hotṛ approaches the soma from the south side of the cart, and stands facing it. He touches the soma or the cloth covering it with two verses (called paridhānīyā viz. Ṛg. I. 91. 19 and VIII. 42. 3). Then the sacrificer touches the soma and comes to the sacrificial hall (śālā) along with all the priests. The subrahmaṇya priest recites the famous subrahmaṇyā litany[2550] (which is an

2550. The formula is : 'सुब्रह्मण्यो3म्। सुब्रह्मण्यो3म्। सुब्रह्मण्यो3म्। इन्द्रागच्छ हरिव आगच्छ मेधातिथेर्मेष वृषणश्वस्य मेने गौरावस्कन्दिन्नहल्यायै जार कौशिक ब्राह्मण गौतम-ब्रुवाण एतावद्वदे सुत्यां यावद्वदे स्यात् । देवा ब्रह्माण आगच्छतागच्छतागच्छत ।' लाट्यायन I. 3. 1 ff. and द्राह्यायण I. 3. 3–5. Vide Śat. Br. III. 4. 17–20 for the formula and explanation, Ait. Br. 26. 3 (explains why this nigada is called subrahmaṇyā in the feminine gender), Tai. Br. I. 12. 3–4. This litany is required on the 2nd and following days of the Agniṣṭoma and almost on all days of other Soma sacrifices. On the 2nd day, after the word गौतमब्रुवाण, the subrahmaṇya says 'स्यहे सुत्याम्', on the 3rd day ह्यहे सुत्याम्, on the 4th day श्वः सुत्याम् and on the last day (soma-pressing day) अद्य सुत्याम्. Vide Jai. XI. 4. 27–29 about the indication of the day of soma in the Subrahmaṇyā in Dvādaśāha. As to the last sentence 'devā brahmāṇa ' there were divergent views. Some employed only आगच्छ मघवन्, others employed the word 'आगच्छ' before देवा ब्रह्माण. Śabara on Jaimini XI. 4. 27 shows that he accepted 'सुत्यामागच्छ मघवन् ' as the text of the call. Vide Drāhyāyaṇa I. 3. 10–12 for the views. Pāṇini (I. 2. 37–38)

(Continued on next page)

invitation to Indra). According to Lāṭ. I. 3. 1 this litany is recited after the performance of ātithyā iṣṭi, but according to Āp. and Kāt. it is recited before Ātithyā. At the time of each upasad the subrahmaṇyā litany is recited (Sat. VII. 4. p. 676). According to Lāṭ. the subrahmaṇya stands inside the spot where the altar would be prepared and recites the litany and the yajamāna touches him and the wife touches the yajamāna. The formula is 'O Subrahmaṇya (Indra who protects excellent prayers), come, O Indra! O Lord of *hari* (bay) steeds! Ram of Medhātithi! Menā (wife or daughter?) of Vṛṣaṇaśva! Attacking buffalo! Lover of Ahalyā! O Kauśika! O brāhmaṇa! Thou who callest thyself Gautama!'. Then he should state 'in so

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(*Continued from last page*)

gives rules about the accents of the Subrahmaṇyā. According to Lāṭ. and Drāhyāyaṇa I. 3. 17 the subrahmaṇyā litanies after the upasads are finished are recited near the utkara outside the altar. The priest takes breath at each of the first two words (सुब्रह्मण्यो3म्), then again after मेने and after ब्रवाण. This invocation is repeated thrice (Āp. X. 28. 6, Lāṭ. I. 3. 10). On the Agnīṣomīya day (day before pressing) before the reference to sutyā, the words 'asau yajate' (this, so and so, offers sacrifice) occur and the names (nākṣatra, gotra and vyāvahārika names) of the sacrificer are mentioned with the names of his ancestors (son of so and so, grandson of so and so, great-grandson of so and so) and then the names of his living descendants according to seniority by birth, both males and females, in the words 'father of such and such a son &c.'. Manu IX. 126 refers to this last. In Ṛg. I. 51. 1 and I. 52. 1 Indra has the appellation 'meṣa' and there is a legend that Indra became a ram and drank the soma of Medhātithi Kāṇva. In Ṛg. VIII. 2. 40 it is said that Indra in the form of a ram carried off Medhyātithi Kāṇva. In Ṛg. I. 51. 13 Indra is spoken of as born of the Menā of Vṛṣaṇaśva (menābhavo vṛṣaṇaśvasya) and Sāyaṇa quotes the Tāṇḍya that Menā was the daughter of Vṛṣaṇaśva. Indra is addressed as Kauśika in Ṛg. I. 10. 11. The legend of Indra's love for Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, is well-known. Vide Rāmāyaṇa I. 48 and Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 9. 21. Jaimini (in IX. 1. 42–44) states that when the Subrahmaṇyā litany is uttered in Agniṣṭut and other rites and when for Indra the word Agni is substituted, there is no substitution of other adjectives in place of Harivat and others. Śabara, however, notes that yājñikas do substitute other words viz. they says 'अग्न आगच्छ रोहिताश्च बृहद्भानो धूमकेतो जातवेदो विचर्षण इति।'. Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika (p. 208 on Jai. I 3. 7) explains, like a modern comparative mythologist, that Indra in this legend means the Sun and Ahalyā means the night एवं समस्ततेजाः परमैश्वर्यनिमित्तेन्द्रशब्दवाच्यः सवितैवाहनि लीयमानतया रात्रेरहल्याशब्दवाच्यायाः क्षयात्मकजरणहेतुत्वाज्जीर्यत्यस्मादनेनेति व्युत्पत्तेरित्यादित्य एवाहल्याजार उच्यते। Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 383–84, S. B. E. vol. 26, p. 81–82.

many days, to the soma feast.' Then he adds 'Ye Gods and brāhmaṇas! come hither!' While the Subrahmaṇyā is being recited the sacrificer mutters certain prayers (Āp. X. 28. 5). Near the eastern door of the prāgvaṁśa the pratiprasthātṛ stands holding by the ear a goat (as a present to king Soma) that has white and dark spots of hair or red and dark ones, that is hornless, fat and bearded. The cart is stopped to the east of the prāgvaṁśa with its shafts to the east or north, the yoke-pins are taken out, the oxen are released from the yoke (or only one ox, the northern one, is released). While this is being done preparations are made for ātithyeṣṭi to receive hospitably as a guest king Soma. The adhvaryu and three other priests make ready a stool or couch (āsandī) of udumbara wood, having feet as high as the navel, with a board one *aratni* square plaited with cords of muñja grass, on which a black antelope skin is spread. On this the soma is placed after being taken out of the cart. Soma thus seated on the couch is brought inside the śālā by the eastern door, is taken to the west of the āhavanīya and established to the south of the āhavanīya to the east of the seat of the brahmā priest. Then follows the work of ātithyeṣṭi. The wife quickly takes out the materials for a cake on nine potsherds for Viṣṇu (who is the principal deity in this iṣṭi). In all iṣṭis (in Agniṣṭoma) after the dīkṣaṇīyā up to udayanīyā (the concluding iṣṭi) there is no agnyanvādhāna, no taking up of vrata, no subsisting on fast food, no gifts and no choosing of brahmā. There are only five prayāja offerings and no anuyājas.[2551] Fire is produced by attrition, and the iṣṭi comes to an end after the first iḍā. For details see Āp. X. 30 and Kāt. VIII. 1. After the iḍā is eaten there is tānūnaptra, a solemn convenant made by the sacrificer and the priests pledging themselves in the name of Tanūnapāt (the mighty blowing wind, that is the witness of all living beings) not to injure each other. They make this[2552] covenant by touching simultaneously clarified butter taken in a vessel of kāṁsya or in a camasa from the ājya in the dhruvā ladle used in the ātithyā and placed on the southern hip (south corner of west side) of the altar. That clarified butter used for this covenant is shaken by the adhvaryu and is kept by him in a vessel (which is not earthen-ware) in a well-known spot

2551. Vide Jaimini X. 7. 38–39 and 40 for the proposition that there are no anuyāja offerings in ātithyeṣṭi and that it ends with iḍā.

2552. अनाधृष्टमसीति यजमानसदृशा ऋत्विजस्तानूनप्त्रं समवदधति । आप. XI. 1. 2. Vide also Sat. VII. 3. p. 660.

and is given mixed with the fast milk (vrata-dugdha) to the sacrificer in the afternoon (for eating). Then follows the avāntara-dīkṣā (intermediate consecration) of the sacrificer, in which he offers a fuel-stick in the āhavanīya fire (with 'agne vratapās' Vāj. S. V. 6), the wife also silently offers a fuel-stick in gārhapatya; he touches water heated in a vessel called madantī, clenches his fists more closely, tightens his girdle and drinks only hot milk. All priests also touch the madantī water and together with the sacrificer strengthen[2552] the soma stalks with their hands holding golden pieces with the mantra 'aṁśur-aṁśu' (Vāj. S. V. 7, Tai. S. I. 2. 11. 1). Then they place their right hands one after another on the prastara which is on the southern end of the vedi with the palms turned upwards and cover the palms with their left palms turned downwards (this action being called nihnava, according to Āp. XI. 1. 12 and Kāt. VIII. 2. 9). Nihnava[2554] is a kind of salutation to Heaven and Earth.

Then follows Pravargya and after that Upasad or the Upasad may precede Pravargya (Āp. XI. 2. 5, Sat. VII. 4. p. 662). Both are done twice, in the morning and then in the afternoon, for at least three days (2nd, 3rd and 4th) if soma is to be pressed on the 5th, but if soma is to be pressed on the 7th or any later day (from the beginning) then there will be more Pravargyas and Upasads.[2555] The same barhis, prastara and paridhis employed in the ātithyā are used in the upasads and in the rite of Agnīṣomīya paśu.

Pravargya is separately dealt with in most sūtras, as in Āp. XV. 5-12, Kāt. XXVI, Baud. IX. 6 ff. It was supposed to provide the sacrificer with a new celestial body[2556]. It was an

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2553. This is called 'āpyāyana' (strengthening or increasing), which according to com. on Āp. XI. 1. 11 and Sat. VII. 3. 661 means 'touching with a mantra' or according to others 'sprinkling with water'. Vāj. S. V. 7. and Tai. S. I. 2. 11. 1 read अंशुरंशुष्टे देव सोमाप्यायतामिन्द्रायैकधनविदे, in which the word 'āpyāyatām' occurs.

2554. निह्नवो नाम नमस्कारः द्यावापृथिवीभ्यामेव तन्नमस्कुर्यादिति दर्शनात्। तेन पाणिनिधानं नमस्काराञ्जलिरूपेण कर्तव्यम्। com. on आश्व. IV. 5. 7.

2555. एवं सायंप्रातः प्रवर्ग्योपसद्भ्यां प्रचरन्ति। त्र्युपसत्के षड्डत्वः। षडुपसत्के द्वादशकृत्वः। द्वादशोपसत्के चतुर्विंशतिकृत्वः। आप. XV. 12. 5.

2556. सोऽग्नेर्देवयोन्या आहुतिभ्यः संभवति ऋग्भ्यो यजुर्भ्यः साममयो वेदमयो ब्रह्ममयोऽमृतमयः संभूय देवता यज्ञक्रतुना अप्येति..... यश्चैवं विद्वानेतेन यजते। ऐ. ब्रा. IV. 5.

independent rite by itself (apūrva) and was not the modification of any other rite (vide com. on Kāt. XXVI. 2. 5). It appears from Āp. XIII. 4. 3-5 that the Pravargya rite was not necessarily performed in every Agniṣṭoma. The gharma is styled Samrāṭ in Vāj. S. 39. 5, is identified with the sun, is said to be the head of Yajña and the hot milk was divine life and light. Vide Ait. Br. IV. 1, Śat. Br. XIV. 1-4, Tai. Ār. IV. 1-42, V. 1-12; and Haug's translation of Ait. Br. pp. 41-43 (note), S. B. E vol. 44, Intro. XLVI—L. An earthernware vessel, one span in height, is made, the middle of which is contracted (like a mortar), which has a rim or belt (mekhalā) about three fingers lower down from the top which is a large and deep bowl and has at the end a hole or spout for pouring in liquid. This is called mahāvīra and it resembles three pots placed on one another. There are two other earthenware vessels (which are called mahāvīra). There are also two milking bowls (pinvana) and two round plates called rauhiṇa for baking two cakes. All the three are heated with the fire of horse dung kindled at the gārhapatya (or dakṣiṇa according to some) fire, baked in a square pit like ordinary pans and then taken out. The two puroḍāśas baked on the round rauhiṇas are offered into fire in the morning and evening to Day and Night respectively. The vessel called mahāvīra is placed on a raised clay platform and fire is kindled round it, and when it is hot ghee is poured into it. The principal mahāvīra is the first vessel and the other two are not to have the different processes performed on them (they are *apracaraṇīya*, Āp. XV. 6. 11). These other two are kept covered with cloth on the big āsandī to the north of the stool on which soma is placed and to the south of the āhavanīya (Kāt. XXVI. 2. 17). To the boiling ghee in the principal vessel are added the milk of a cow and of a she-goat having a male young one. The hot milk thus mixed and contained in the mahāvīra is called '*gharma*', of which offerings are made to Aśvins, Vāyu, Indra (with Vasus and Rudras and Ādityas), to Savitṛ, Bṛhaspati, Yama. The sacrificer drinks (the priests only smell) the remainder by the upayamanī. The hotṛ repeats several mantras at various stages from the time the mahāvīra is placed on the raised platform up to the time when the hot milk is offered and the priest called prastotṛ chants sāmans. The whole of this ceremony is called Pravargya. A few interesting matters out of the numerous details of this rite are indicated here. All the doors of the sacrificial hall are screened with cloth, the wife's shed also is so screened and she is to sit in her

shed (and not to see the mahāvīra,[2557] but at a later stage she looks at it and repeats a mantra, Kāt. XXVI. 4. 13). Whatever wooden pātras are required in this rite they are[2558] made of udumbara and the cords are made of muñja grass. The paridhis were thirteen and of vikaṅkata and the fuel-sticks for boiling the gharma were to be of the same wood or of khadira, palāśa, udumbara and a few other trees. There were three black antelope skins to be used as fans and two rukmas (plates or bars) of gold and silver, two *vedas* (bunches of kuśa), one of which has its ends cut off. Special rules are laid down about the clay out of which the mahāvīra vessel is to be made (vide Āp. XV. 1. 9 ff.) viz.[2559] it was to be dug from a pit to the east of the āhavanīya fire; with that earth was to be mixed the dust dug by a wild boar and the clay from an ant-hill, pūtīka (a plant), the hair of a goat and of a black antelope skin; on it an ajā (she-goat) was to be milked. The clay so mixed is to be carried only by men of the higher castes and hot water is to be poured on the clay only from madantī vessels[2560] in order to mix the various ingredients. No śūdra nor woman is to look at all this. Two vessels for milking the cow and the she-goat are made of this very clay. The Mahāvīra is to be lifted up only with two wooden pieces like tongs (called pariśāsa or śapha) and never otherwise. The āsandī (stool or chair) on which the mahāvīra is to be placed is bigger than the one for king Soma (thereby bringing out its super-eminence as saṁrāṭ) and it is placed north of the seat for Soma. Two kharas (mounds covered with

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2557. The pravargya was an awful and mystic or recondite affair and so the wife was not to see it. 'उग्रो ह्यय प्रवर्ग्यः' com. on Āp. XV. 5. 4.

2558. For the pātras and things required vide Kāt. XXVI. 1. 2 and 2. 10 and Āp. XV. 5. 7-20. Vide also Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 2 and com. on Kāt. XXVI. 1. 1.

2559. The Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 1. 10-11 explains by a legend the names gharma, pravargya, mahāvīra and saṁrāṭ. तद् (विष्णोः शिरः) घृक्किंति पपात। तत्पतित्वासावादित्योऽभवद्यतेरः प्राङेव प्रावृज्यत तथद् घृक्कित्यपतत्तस्माद्घर्मोऽथ यत्प्रावृज्यत तस्मात्प्रवर्ग्यः। ते देवा अब्रुवन्। महान्वत नो वीरोऽपादीति तस्मान्महावीरस्तस्य यो रसो व्यक्षरत्तं पाणिभिः संमृजुस्तस्मात् सम्राट्। śatapatha XIV. 1. 1. 10-11. The Śat. Br. further on (XIV. 1. 1. 18ff) says that Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa knew the doctrine of Pravargya (called Madhu) and imparted it to Aśvins and refers to Ṛg. I. 116. 12.

2560. In the Pravargya wherever water is to be used it is hot water and taken from the madantī vessel. According to Kāt. VIII. 1. 11 wherever after the avāntaradīkṣā water is required it is to be taken from the madantī (and it is to be hot) till the time when the sacrificer loosens his clenched fists.

sand) are made to the north of the gārhapatya and of the āhavanīya and a third mound (called ucchiṣṭa khara) is made in the north-east of the prāgvaṁśa, having a channel outside (the śālā) for wiping off the leavings. A silver blade or plate of one hundred *raktikās* (berries for weighing) in weight is inserted in the loose sand of the western mound, sheaths of reed grass kindled at the gārhapatya are thrown on the mound and the mahāvīra vessel is placed thereon. Then pieces of vikaṅkata wood (paridhis) are laid round the Mahāvīra by the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ, in all 13, the last being placed by the adhvaryu. Then a gold bar or plate (representing the Sun) is placed on the Mahāvīra pot. The adhvaryu fans the fire thrice by means of the three fans made of black antelope skin from right to left and then thrice from left to right. When a blaze is produced the gold plate is taken away. According to the Ait. Br. IV. 2 and Āśv. IV. 6. 3 the hotṛ recites several verses (21 in number) when the empty Mahāvīra is being heated (they constitute the *pūrva paṭala*) and several operations such as anointing it are being performed. The Ait. Br. IV. 5 further prescribes 21 verses for recitation by the hotṛ when the cow is being milked (they are called *uttara paṭala*). Vide Āśv. IV. 7. 4 also.

According to Śat. Br. XIV. 2. 2. 44-46 and Jai. III. 3. 32-33 the Pravargya was not to be performed at a sacrificer's first soma sacrifice and it was not to be performed for anyone and everyone, but only for him who was well-known or was a complete master of the veda. On the day previous to the soma pressing day, the two performances of pravargya and upasad are combined and gone through in the morning and on that day takes place the 'udvāsana' (setting out or orderly discharge) of the pravargya either by laying out the pravargya apparatus in the form of a human body or by throwing them in the midst of water or in a river island &c. They (the priests and yajamāna) set out as a general rule (Āp. XV. 16. 6) all the implements on the uttaravedi, the principal mahāvīra vessel as the head is placed close to the front side of the navel of the uttaravedi, the two other mahāvīras are placed to its east, the bunch of kuśa grass (called veda) is placed on top of the mahāvīra to represent śikhā (top-knot of hair), the two lifting sticks (śaphas) are placed on two sides as arms and so on. Vide Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 16, Āp. XV. 15, Kāt. 26.7.14 ff. According to Āp. XV. 11. 10-13 the yajamāna and some of the priests viz. hotṛ, adhvaryu, brahmā, pratiprasthātṛ and āgnīdhra drink the remainder of the milk (gharma) from the upayamanī (a large wooden spoon).

When a person performs pravargya he should not for a year partake of meat, should not approach a śūdra woman for sexual intercourse, should not drink water from an earthen pot and should not allow a śūdra to eat the leavings of his food (Āp. XV. 12. 13). According to Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 32 ff the gold plate goes to the brahmā, the gharma to adhvaryu, while according to Āp. XV. 13. 1 the sacrificer gives the gold and silver plates to adhvaryu, the cow to hotṛ, the she-goat to āgnīdhra and a pregnant cow to brahmā.

Upasad[2561] is an iṣṭi. The several processes such as agnyanvādhāna found in the darśa-pūrṇamāsa are not performed in this iṣṭi, but a start is made from the carrying forward of the praṇītā water. Offerings of clarified butter are made in this iṣṭi to Agni and Soma with the juhū ladle and to Viṣṇu with the juhū after pouring therein the ājya taken in the upabhṛt ladle; that is, the principal deities are Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu and that besides the āhutis of ājya to these there are the upasad āhutis with the mantra 'yā te' &c. Vide the com. on Kāt. VIII. 2. 35 for all details. All actions done after the ātithyā iṣṭi such as the strengthening of soma, the ninhava, the recital of the subrahmaṇyā litany take place in each upasad (performed in the morning and afternoon for three or more days). There are no ājyabhāgas, no prayājas nor anuyājas and no offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (Āśv. IV. 8. 8.). The three verses, Ṛg. VII.15.1–3, are repeated thrice each, so as to make nine kindling verses (sāmidhenīs) in the morning and Ṛg. II. 6. 1–3 (repeated thrice) are sāmidhenīs in the evening, Upasad offering is made by the sruva ladle with the mantra 'yā te agne ayaḥśayā tanūr'[2562] (Vāj. S. V. 8) on the first day, on the 2nd day with the same verse but reciting 'rajaḥśayā' for 'ayaḥśayā' and on the 3rd day with 'hariśayā' for 'ayaḥśayā'.

2561. According to the com. on Sat. VII. 4. p. 665 the word is derived from 'sad' (to shatter) with 'upa' and means 'that by which the allied cities became shattered'; 'उप उपगतानि संगतानि एतादृशानि पुराणि विशीर्णानि भवन्ति यया सोपसत्। उप उपगताः स्वेन सह सङ्गता अपि भ्रातृव्या विशीर्णा भवन्ति यजमानस्य यया सा। ..... तेषामसुराणां तिस्रः पुर आसन्नित्यत्रोपसदूविधयिष्याख्यायिका प्रसिद्धा।'. Vide Kauṣ. Br. VIII. 8 for the legend.

2562. या ते अग्ने अयःशया तनूर्वर्षिष्ठा गह्वरेष्ठा। उग्रं वचोऽपावधीस्वेषं वचोऽपावधीत्स्वाहा। वाज. सं. V. 8. The Tai. S. I. 2. 11. 2 reads 'या ते अग्नेऽयाशया रजाशया हराशया. Vide Jai. II. 1. 48 for the proposition that the very words तनूर्वर्षिष्ठा &c. are to be connected with the words रजाशया and हराशया (and no other ordinary words are to be coined for completing the sentence). Vide Jai. V. 3. 3 for another detail.

The upasad mantras show that they have reference to the sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. How these mantras came to be inserted here it is difficult to say. Vide Śat. Br. III. 4. 4. 3-4 (for the cities and their siege). Āp. XI. 4. 8 adds that if a hostile king gives battle or attacks the capital of a kṣatriya performing a soma sacrifice, on the first upasad a piece of iron should be placed in the sruva ladle and offered along with the clarified butter, on the 2nd upasad a piece of silver and on the 3rd a piece of gold should be so placed. The yājyās of the morning upasad become the anuvākyās in the afternoon and *vice versa*. Jaimini (X. 7. 43-46) establishes that Upasads are special iṣṭis (apūrva) and only those parts that are expressly stated in the texts are to be performed in them and not others that occur in the model iṣṭi. The procedure of upasad is like upāṁśuyāja (Śat. VII. 4. p. 666).

On the 2nd day of the upasads after the morning pravargya and upasad rites are performed the great vedi for the soma sacrifice is measured and made (Kāt. VIII. 3. 6, Sat. VII. 4. pp. 679-685 and Āp. XI. 4. 11). In front of the āhavanīya to the east a peg (śaṅku) is driven in the ground at a distance of 6 prakramas (Baud. VI. 22) or according to Kāt. VIII. 3. 7 at the distance of 3 prakramas to the east from the eastern post (i. e. the middle of the door) of the ordinary agni-śālā a peg is driven which is called *antaḥpātya* (intermediate) or *śālāmukhīya* (according to Baud.); 36 prakramas to the east from this peg another peg is driven, which is called *yūpāvaṭīya* (i. e. connected with the hole for yūpa). A cord is stretched between these two pegs and is called pṛṣṭhyā (spine). On both the south and north sides of the first peg (i. e. of antaḥpātya) pegs are driven at the distance of 15 prakramas and on the south and north sides of the 2nd peg two pegs are driven at a distance of 12 prakramas each. In this way the west side called śroṇi (hips) of the mahāvedi is 30 prakramas[2563] and the

2563. For prakrama vide p. 989 n. 2239 above. Instead of prakramas, the measurement may be only with the padas (footsteps of the sacrificer). Vide com. on Āp. XI. 4. 13. According to com. on Kāt. VIII. 3. 14 a pada is equal to two prakramas. Kāt. VIII. 3. 10 optionally allows 16½ prakramas on the north and south of the first peg i. e. the śroṇi (west side of the mahāvedi) will then be 33 prakramas (instead of 30). Even so early as the Tai. S. these measurements of the mahāvedi are given: 'त्रिंशत्पदानि पश्चात्तिरश्ची भवति षट्त्रिंशत्पाची चतुर्विंशतिः पुरस्तात्तिरश्ची' तै. सं. (VI. 2. 4. 5).

east side called *aṁsa* (shoulders) is 24 prakramas and the length of the mahāvedi is 36 prakramas. A rope is passed all round the mahāvedi. Almost all the saṁskāras that are performed for the vedi in darśapūrṇamāsa are performed for the great vedi in somayāga (Sat. VII. 4. p. 685). An uttaravedi (a quadrangular platform raised high) is measured on the mahāvedi in its eastern part. This uttaravedi is on its west side (śroṇi) ten padas (i. e. five on the south and five on the north of the pṛṣṭhyā) and on its east side (aṁsa) eight padas (some hold that the uttaravedi is 10 padas on all sides i. e. a perfect square). The cātvāla pit (i. e. its southern shoulder or the middle point of the southern side) is 1½ padas (or one prakrama, according to Sat. p. 687) to the north from the northern shoulder of the mahāvedi towards the west, while the utkara near which the āgnīdhra sits is 12 prakramas to the west of the cātvāla[2564] (i. e. its western side or its middle) and one prakrama to the north of the line of the vedi. The utkara is about two padas in extent (com. on Sat. VII. 4. p. 687). The way to and from the vedi is between the utkara and the cātvāla pit. The vedi is prepared (i. e. its earth is loosened, clods are broken, roots taken out) with the sphya, a rib (of some holy animal) or an axe. For the nābhi vide at p. 1113 above. That day the vedi remains covered with the branches of udumbara or plakṣa tree.

On the next day both the pravargyas and upasads of the morning and afternoon are gone through in the morning. After the *udvāsana* of the pravargya, the bringing forward of the fire (agnipraṇayana) from the āhavanīya to the uttaravedi takes place. The fire placed on the nābhi becomes the āhavanīya for all actions in the soma sacrifice and the original āhavanīya becomes the gārhapatya (Āp. XI. 5. 9–10). Kuśa grass, the fuel and vedi are thrice sprinkled with water and the vedi is covered with that grass with the points of the blades to the east. Two carts, washed with water, with their yokes tightly bound but with no yoke-pins, are brought round from the agniśālā and placed in the mahāvedi, one about one cubit (aratni) to the south of the pṛṣṭhyā line and the other to the north about one cubit. The cart to the south (called dakṣiṇa-havirdhāna) is larger than the one to the north and the shafts of both are towards the east. These carts are called havirdhāna because

2564. For the cātvāla vide p. 984 above.

the soma plant (which is the *havis* in somayāga) is to be placed thereon.[2565] The south and north carts are respectively in charge of the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ. They are then covered with grass mats or thatch made of split bamboos. A maṇḍapa (called havirdhāna-maṇḍapa) is erected by having six posts in front of the two carts and six behind them and having two bamboos on the posts from south to north. He suspends from the front part of the maṇḍapa a garland-like sheaf of twisted grass (rarāṭī). Various saṁskāras are performed on the axles of the carts by the wife and pratiprasthātṛ respectively. Detailed rules about covering the carts and similar matters are passed over (Āp. XI. 7-8, Kāt. VIII. 4). The havirdhāna maṇḍapa is higher in the east than in the west and has two doors one to the east and the other to the west (Sat. VII. 4. p. 701). No one is to take his meals or even to eat iḍā inside the havirdhāna maṇḍapa. The adhvaryu digs four round holes (in two rows, two in each row) below the fore part of the shafts of the southern cart (but not far from the axle), each hole being about one span in diameter, being at a distance of one span from each and all being connected by cross-way subterranean passages. They are one arm deep. They are dug in such an order that the hole to the north-east is the last (i. e. first south-east one is dug, then north-west one is dug, then south-west and then north-east or first north-west one, then south-east, then south-west and lastly north-east). On these holes are spread kuśa blades over which two wooden boards (adhiṣavaṇa-phalaka) are placed over which is spread the red skin of a bull (adhiṣavaṇa-carma), on which soma juice is extracted by means of four stones. These holes add to the noise of the stones by the sound reverberating through them and they are therefore called *uparava*.[2566] Jai. (XI. 4. 52-53) states that the mantra 'rakṣo-haṇo' is to be repeated at each time when a hole is dug and not only once for all holes. The adhvaryu and the sacrificer

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2565. हविः सोमो धार्यतेऽनयोरिति हविर्धाने अनसी। com. on कात्या. VIII.3.21.

2566. उपरवा नाम कूपकाः। तेषां खोपर्यधिषवणफलके निधीयेते तयोरुपर्यधिषवणचर्म तत्र सोमोभिषूयते। तस्मिन्नाहवनिर्हन्यमाने वादित्रोद्भवस्तुविरास्ते कूपा गम्भीरत्वपरवन्तीति उपरवा इत्यभिधीयन्ते। com. on Kāt. VIII. 4. 28; उप उपरिष्टात् ग्राव्णां एवः शब्दो येषु ते। com. on Sat. VII. 6 p. 703. Vide Kāt. VIII. 4. 28–VIII. 5. 24 and Āp. XI. 11. 1–XI. 12. 6 for detailed rules about the sounding holes (uparavas).

insert their right hands in the holes (the adhvaryu inserting his hand in the south-east hole and the sacrificer in the north-west and then a second time the adhvaryu inserts his hand in the south-west hole and the sacrificer in the north-east) and touch each other's hands and adhvaryu asks 'sacrificer! what is there?;' the sacrificer replies 'welfare (or happiness)' and the adhvaryu in a low voice says 'may that belong to us both.' This is done twice (Kāt. VIII. 5. 14-21). At the second time the yajamāna asks 'adhvaryu! what is there?', the adhvaryu replies 'welfare' and the yajamāna says 'let it be mine.' The uparavas are sprinkled with water beginning from the south-east one and ending with the north-east one with a mantra ('rakṣohaṇo &c.' Vāj. S. V. 25, Tai. S. I. 3. 2). Then the rest of the prokṣaṇī water is poured into them, kuśas are spread over their bottoms as in the hole of the yūpa (described above), a golden piece is placed thereon and offering of ājya is made. To the east of the uparavas or of the adhiṣavaṇa-carma or of the upastambhana[2567] a four-cornered mound (khara) is made for keeping the soma vessels on with the earth (dug up from the uparavas) that is sprinkled with water and mixed with sand. In front of this mound sufficient space is left to move about in the havirdhāna maṇḍapa. To the west of the utkara at a distance of six prakramas (which comes to about the middle of the north side of the great altar) is prepared the shed for āgnīdhra, which is half inside and half outside the great vedi, which has four posts and the beams of which run from west to east, which has a door to the south and is covered on all sides with mats. This shed is so made that its west side would be a continuation of the end of the western side of the havirdhāna maṇḍapa and this shed is a square having sides of five aratnis each (com. on Kāt. VIII. 6. 13). The *sadas* is measured at a distance of three prakramas from the western side of the great vedi to its east and has its length from south to north. The width of the *sadas* is nine aratnis (or half of its length) and its length (from south to north) 27 aratnis or as much as would be necessary for allowing room to all the priests, their dhiṣṇyas (seats) and the prasarpakas (assistants and spectators). In the midst of the sadas a post of udumbara is fixed which is of the height of the sacrificer above its pit and which is placed at a distance of one prakrama to the south of the pṛṣṭhyā. All saṁskāras that

2567. Upastambhana is a prop made of two upright staffs held together by a rope on which the front portion of a cart might rest.

are made on the yūpa and its pit are made in the case of this post except those referring to *śakala* (vide p. 1115 above). The udumbara post has an ear-like protuberance towards the east when it is fixed in the pit. On that protuberance a gold piece is offered with the juhū and ājya is poured on in such a way that some of it will trickle to the ground. This audumbarī is thicker than any post of the sadas. The posts on the borders of the sadas are as high as the navel of the yajamāna towards its sides, but in the middle they are as high as the audumbarī post. On the posts of the sadas beams are placed running from south to north and west to east. The middle of one third of this is covered with three mats that have their ends to the north, and then to the south and north of the middle portion three mats (on each side) are placed in such a way that their ends are turned towards the audumbarī post. The sadas is covered with nine mats in all that are well sewn together. The sadas is surrounded by screens and it has two doors to the east and west (just as the havirdhāna pavilion has). Some prepare the sadas first and then the uparavas or *vice versa* (Āp. XI. 10. 19). The doors of the prāgvaṁśa, the sadas and havirdhāna are so arranged (opposite each other) that a person sitting in one of these can see into all. Then eight dhiṣṇyas (seats) are to be prepared. The first is made in the āgnīdhra shed in its middle in such a manner that between it and the north side of the great vedi some space will be left for moving about. Six more dhiṣṇyas are to be made in the *sadas*. The earth for all these dhiṣṇyas is taken from the cātvāla pit. The six seats are made in the eastern portion of the sadas leaving between them and the eastern side of the sadas sufficient space to move about. The earth is spread on the seats by the adhvaryu who faces the north when preparing all the seats (except two) and who is touched by the sacrificer with the sphya. Over the earth sand or gravel is spread on all the seats. Out of the six seats the adhvaryu facing the west makes the seat for the hotṛ to the north of the pṛṣṭhyā line but touching it about one prakrama from the eastern door of the sadas (or on the pṛṣṭhyā line itself, according to Āp. XI. 14. 4). Then four more seats are made to the north of the seat of the hotṛ in order for brāhmaṇāccha̱ṁsin, potṛ, neṣṭṛ and acchāvāka respectively, each of which is at the same distance from the next and the seat of the acchāvāka is (four aṅgulas) larger than those of the rest. The seats are either square or round (according to Sat VII. 7. p. 723) and of 18 aṅgulas in diameter

or on each side, and at the distance of one cubit or 18 aṅgulas from each other (com. on Kāt. VIII. 6. 22). To the south of the hotṛ's dhiṣṇya, the adhvaryu with his face to the north prepares at a distance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ aratnis from the hotṛ seat the seat for maitrāvaruṇa (or praśāstṛ), which seat is also to the south-east of the audumbarī post. The seat of maitrāvaruṇa is prepared immediately after hotṛ's seat. These seven priests viz. āgnīdhra to maitrāvaruṇa are called the 'seven hotṛs' in soma-yāga according to Tai. Br. II. 3. 6 and Sāyaṇa thereon, but Āśv. I. 2. 26 seems to be opposed to this. Outside the sadas just opposite the āgnīdhra shed to the south is prepared the mārjālīya [2568] shed which is half inside the great vedi and half outside to the south and in the midst there is the mārjālīya seat made by the adhvaryu facing the south. The mārjālīya shed has a door facing the north. When all these several sheds and seats are got ready the adhvaryu and spectators have to enter and leave the great vedi by a route between the cātvāla pit and the utkara or between the cātvāla and the āgnīdhra shed and according to some on the day on which soma is pressed spectators may move about anywhere (Āp. XI. 13. 10-11).

On the uparavas slender kuśas with tips to the east or north are spread and over them are kept two boards (of udumbara or palāśa or kāṛśmarya wood) called adhiṣavaṇa-phalaka [2568a] between which there is a space of two aṅgulas (towards the west) which are one aratni long, are washed with water, their

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2568. The mārjālīya is so called because the sacrificial vessels are cleansed there. मृज्यन्ते शुद्धानि क्रियन्ते पात्राणि यत्र तन्मार्जालीयम्। com. on सत्या. VII. 7. p. 726; शुल्बसूरसीति मार्जालीयं बहिःसदसं दक्षिणार्धे वेदेः सममाग्नीध्रीयेण यथा दक्षिणेनान्तर्वेदि संचरो भवति।

2568a. According to com. on Kāt. VIII. 5. 25 the boards are of Varaṇa wood. They are so called because 'अधि उपरि अभिषूयते सोमो ययोस्ते अधिषवणफलके' com. on Kāt. VIII. 5. 25. The hide according to com. on Kāt. VIII. 5. 26 is of a bull and it relies on Ṛg. X. 94. 9 'अंशुं दुहन्तो अध्यासते गवि' for support. According to Āp. XII. 2. 14 the stones are four, according to Kāt. VIII. 5. 28 they are five. The fifth stone, according to Āp. XII. 2. 15, is called upara, it is very broad and on it soma stalks are to be crushed and round it the four stones (called grāvan) are placed, the grāvans being one span long and big and so tapering as to allow easy beating of soma stalks.

eastern face being curved like the board of a wheel and the western face being straight. In modern practice the boards are not curved on the east, but are straight. The wood is dry and well planed. In sacrifices in which soma is pressed on more days than one the boards are grooved and made to fit in each other and pierced with a nail. The boards are made firm by driving two pegs through them in front, two behind and one each to the north and south (so that they will not recede). Vide Baud. VI. 28. The space of two fingers between the two is filled with the dust dug out from the uparavas. One board is placed on the two southern uparavas and the other on the two northern ones. On the two boards is placed a hide (called adhiṣavaṇa-carma), which is red and cut up all round to fit in with the boards, with the neck portion to the east and the hairy portion up. On the hide are placed four stones (grāvan) for pressing soma juice. The adhvaryu then issues directions to spread barhis over the great vedi (except the uttaravedi, the khara, uparavas and dhiṣṇyas, Sat. VII. 7. p. 727) and for making the sacrificer take only one-fourth of the fast milk on which he is to subsist (according to Kāt. VIII. 6. 30, half of the milk). Then begins the procedure of the sacrifice of an animal to Agni and Soma (jointly). This is on the same lines as the nirūḍha-paśubandha which has already been described. The various actions such as paristaraṇa, placing the sacrificial pātras, prokṣaṇa are gone through. One more ladle called pracaraṇī made of vikaṇṭaka wood and resembling a juhū is used in addition (Āp. XI. 16. 6). The pratiprasthātṛ (or neṣṭṛ according to Sat. VII. 8, p. 736) brings the wife from her usual place (the patnīśālā). The sacrificer's near relatives who always share the same roof are called. The yajamāna touches the adhvaryu, the wife touches the sacrificer, the sons and brothers of the sacrificer touch the wife. They are all covered with a fresh piece of cloth and the adhvaryu offers with the pracaraṇī offerings of ājya called Vaisarjina[2569] to Soma (Kāt. VIII. 7. 1, Āp. XI. 16. 15). Then comes the carrying forward (praṇayana) of Agni and Soma. Fire is kindled on the āhavanīya and is carried to the uttaravedi. Numerous utensils and vessels are taken to the great vedi beyond the sadas for use in the animal sacrifice and in the pressing of soma next

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2569. According to the Sat. Br. III. 6. 3. 2 the Vaisarjina offerings are so called because by them he sets free all (from the root 'sṛj' with 'vi').

day and kept in proper places.[2570] Fire is established in the āgnīdhra dhiṣṇya. The soma stalks are taken to the havirdhāna maṇḍapa and placed in the southern cart (havirdhāna) on a black antelope skin. The sacrificer consigns the soma to the care of gods with a mantra 'God Savitṛ! here is thy soma' (Vāj. S. V. 39, Tai. S. I. 3. 4. 2). Then the yajamāna gives up the intermediate dīkṣā after offering into the āhavanīya a samidh with the mantra 'Agne vratapate' (Tai. S. I. 2. 11. 1, Vāj. S. V. 40) i. e. he loosens his girdle and his fists (that so far had been clenched), gives up the vow of silence (to be observed at both sandhyās) and his fast food and he hands over his staff to maitrāvaruṇa (Āp. XI. 18. 6). He may on the next day (soma pressing day) partake of soma and the leavings of sacrificial food. Hereafter he may be addressed by name and food prepared in his house may be taken by others (Kāt. VIII. 7. 22). Then the sacrifice of the animal to Agni and Soma takes place (of the omentum, the paśupuroḍāśa and havis). Jai. after a lengthy discussion (VI. 8. 30–43) holds that this paśu must be a chāga (a goat). Jai. (VIII. 1. 12) states that the procedure of darśa-pūrṇamāsa is followed in this animal sacrifice and not of soma sacrifice. Vide also Jai. VIII. 2. 10–14. Animal sacrifice has already been described above (pp. 1109–1131); but there are a few points of difference between the nirūḍha-paśubandha and the agnīṣomīya paśu offered the day previous to the soma-pressing day; viz. the svaru is not offered into fire in the latter nor is the heart-spit discharged. According to Jai. III. 7. 43-45 the maitrāvaruṇa is the priest where praiṣa and anuvākyā are to be uttered (ordinarily the praiṣa is given by adhvaryu and the anuvākyā is uttered by hotṛ.). When the omentum is offered a direction is issued to the subrahmaṇya priest to chant the subrahmaṇyā[2571] litany for inviting Indra in which the sacrificer is described as the son, grandson and great-grandson of so and so and as the father and grandfather of so and so

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2570. Vide Kāt. VIII. 7. 5–8 and com. thereon and Āp. XI. 17. 1–5 for the utensils and vessels.

2571. हुतायां वपायां मार्जयित्वा सुब्रह्मण्य पितापुत्रीयां सुब्रह्मण्यामाह्वयेति संप्रेष्यति पितापुत्रीयैषात ऊर्ध्वं सुब्रह्मण्या भवति । आप. XI. 20. 3–4; vide also Kāt. VIII. 9. 12. The com. on Āp. says 'पितरश्च पुत्राश्च यस्यां कीर्त्यन्ते सा पितापुत्रीया.' Lāṭ. I. 3. 18–19 states 'मातरद्वयाकोपक्रमवेलायामसौ यजत इति प्रत्येकं गृह्णीयाद्यजमाननामधेयान्यमुष्य पुत्रः पौत्रो नप्तेति पूर्वेषाम् । अथावरेषां यथाज्येष्ठं क्रीडुंतां ये जीवेदुः ।'

(vide note 2550 above). Hereafter wherever the subrahmaṇyā is to be recited it is in this form. The agniṣomīya rite ends with the Patnīsaṁyāja (Sat. VII. 8. p. 757). When the subrahmaṇyā call has been made, standing with his face to the west he brings in a jar the water from a flowing river that starts from a mountain,[2572] but he should not pass over a river that is near his place, even if it does not start from a mountain. He takes this water before the sun sets and from a spot in the river where the shadow of a cloud and sunshine meet or (if that is not possible) in the shadow of one's own body or of a tree or of the river bank. He should fill the jar with water against the stream with 'haviṣmatīr' (Vāj. S. VI. 23, Tai. S. I. 3. 12. 1). Śat. Br. III. 9. 2. 8–9, Kāt. VIII. 9. 8–10 and Āp. XI. 20. 10–12 suggest other alternative sources for the water. He enters with the jar of vasatīvarī water[2573] by the path between the utkara and cātvāla, takes it by the north of the āgnīdhra shed, enters the śālā by the eastern door and places the jar to the west of the śālāmukhīya[2574] fire. In the second watch of the night the adhvaryu carries the jar of vasatīvarī waters on his shoulder and takes it round the altar and fires in several ways (minutely described in Āp. XI. 21. 3–5, Sat. VII. 8. p. 759 and Kāt. VIII. 9. 18–23). At that time only the sacrificer and his wife are allowed to stay inside and all others have to go out. Ultimately the vasatīvarī jar is placed in the āgnīdhra shed (Āp. XI. 21. 5, Kāt. VIII. 9. 23) and the soma plant also is placed in the same hut but on the āsandī (a large stool or couch). The sacrificer[2574a] keeps awake or is kept awake that night in the āgnīdhra shed or in the havirdhāna shed and guards the soma stalks, while the wife keeps awake in the prāgvaṁśa (the

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2572. There was a difference of opinion as to whether the Vasatīvarī waters were brought before or after the subrahmaṇyā call. Vide com. on Kāt. VIII. 9. 12.

2573. Water which was to be employed next day in extracting soma juice is called वसतीवरी. The word probably means 'desirable for abode or dwellers' (as the Sat. Br. III. 9. 2. 16 seems to suggest). Those waters are carried round for protection and for repelling evil spirits.

2574. The शालामुखीय is the ordinary आहवनीय according to Sat. VII. 8. p. 736.

2574a. आग्नीध्रे हविर्धाने वा यजमानं जागरयन्ति । प्राग्वंशे पत्नीम् । आप. XI. 21. 12.

usual sacrificial hall). All the priests stay that night in the āgnīdhra shed and no one is to stay in the sadas. That night the pratiprasthātṛ draws milk in the evening for the payasyā (āmikṣā) to be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa the next day and the adhvaryu issues orders to milk the cows that yielded the fast milk for the sacrificer and his wife for making respectively from their milk *āśir* (i. e. soma mixed with milk) and for the graha (cup) of curds (dadhi) and to milk the cow that yielded the milk in the pravargya rite for dadhigharma [2575] (a warm beverage made with inspissated milk) and for the milk that will be heated but not mixed with butter milk (to be offered) to Mitra and Varuṇa and boiled milk mixed with butter milk and brought to the state of curds for the Āditya graha (cup). The priests deck themselves with ornaments and fine clothes and stay for the night in the āgnīdhra shed.

The last day (generally the 5th day) is called 'sutyā' (on which soma is pressed). The priests are awakened sometime after midnight long before dawn in order to be able to finish all actions up to *upāṁśu* (i.e. the extracting of Soma with upāṁśu stone before sunrise, com. on Āp. XII. 1. 1). Then the adhvaryu sips water and invokes the āgnīdhra shed, the havirdhāna shed, the sadas shed, the sruc ladles and vessels called vāyavya (that are contracted in the middle like a mortar, are one span in length and have a bowl on the upper part, Āp. XII. 1. 4). The adhvaryu makes 33 offerings of ājya called yajñatanū in the āgnīdhrīya fire with mantras (from Tai. S. IV. 4. 9. 1). The various [2576] pātras are placed on the khara (mound), the upāṁ-

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2575. वृत्रा साध्यो धर्मो धर्मनामकर्मविशेषो वृधिधर्मस्तद्वृधम् । com. on Sat. VII. 8. p. 760.

2576. Among the several pātras the following deserve notice: द्रोणकलश (a vessel like a droṇa or trough in shape) with the दशापवित्र, kept below the southern havirdhāna cart to the west of the axle, the ādhavanīya trough (for cleansing soma) of clay placed on the box of the northern havirdhāna cart, the pūtabhṛt (that has a wide mouth) trough of clay at the mouth of the yoke of the same cart, three (or more) ekadhana jars (that hold water to be poured over soma in extracting the juice). The droṇakalaśa is square or round and the other two are earthen and like kumbhas. The daśapavitra is a strainer made of the wool of a living ram, which wool must be white. It is to be about an aratni in length (vide com. on Kāt. IX. 2. 16). Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. note on pp. 488–490 for the vessels and the method of extracting soma juice.

śupātra on the south corner of the eastern side of the great vedi and the antaryāmapātra on the north corner and between the two the grāvan (stone) called upāṁśusavana (employed in extracting soma). Āp. (XII. 1. 6–XII. 2. 13), Śat. (VIII. 1, pp. 770–777), and Kāt. IX. 2 describe at great length how and where the numerous pātras required on this day are placed. According to Kāt. IX. 2. 1 the unnetṛ priest arranges the pātras. Then preparations are made for the savanīya paśu (the animal to be killed and offered on the day of the pressing of soma) on the lines of the agniṣomīya paśu offered the previous day. Then so early before dawn that birds have not begun to chirp or men to speak the adhvaryu issues directions, to the hotṛ to recite the prātaranuvāka (morning prayer) in honour of the gods that come early in the morning (viz. Agni, Uṣas and the Aśvins), to the brahmā priest to observe silence, to the pratiprasthātṛ to take out the materials (nirvāpa) for the savanīya cake and to the subrahmaṇya to recite the subrahmaṇyā litany (he will use the words 'adya sutyām' in the formula) and promises the hotṛ that he (the adhvaryu) will follow the hotṛ mentally in the latter's recitation. The hotṛ sits down between the yokes of the two havirdhāna carts and recites the prātaranuvāka in three parts (called *kratu*), the first for Agni, the second for Uṣas, and the third for the Aśvins.[2577] In each part he has to repeat at least one hymn in each of the seven metres viz. Gāyatrī, Anuṣṭubh, Triṣṭubh, Bṛhatī, Uṣṇih, Jagatī and Paṅktī. Āśv. (IV. 13. 6—IV. 15. 3) states the hymns to be recited, the minimum being at least one hundred ṛks. If all the hymns and verses specified by Āśv. are recited the total of the Āgneya section will be over 1324 (out of which verses in Gāyatrī are 320, in Triṣṭubh 591 and only one hymn, Ṛg. V. 6 of 10 verses, is in Paṅkti metre).

2577. In Ṛg. V. 77. 1 the Aśvins are called 'prātar-yāvāṇā' (early coming). Vide Ait. Br. VII. 5 'एते वाव देवाः प्रातर्यावाणो यदग्निश्चा अश्विनौ त एते सप्तभिः सप्तभिश्छन्दोभिरागच्छन्ति'. Certain verses are omitted from the hymns because they are addressed to some other deity or because they are in another metre than the one required. For example, in Ṛg. VIII. 11 the last verse is in Triṣṭubh and so it is omitted in the Gāyatrī group; similarly in Ṛg. X. 8 the last three Triṣṭubh verses are omitted as they are addressed to Indra.

About 250 verses[2578] are set out by Āśv. for being recited in the Uṣas kratu and about 407 in the Āśvina kratu of the prātaranuvāka (in all about 2000 verses i. e. nearly one-fifth of the whole of the Ṛgveda). The prātaranuvāka is to be recited in the low or base (mandra) scale (Āśv. IV. 13. 6). Āśv. further directs that even when the minimum of 100 verses or any number short of the one prescribed by him are recited, the order of the hymns set out by him is to be followed and that the three hymns Ṛg. VII. 12 (to Agni in Triṣṭubh), VII. 73 (to Aśvins in Triṣṭubh) and I. 112 (to Aśvins in Jagatī) are called maṅgala (auspicious) and that if the darkness of night is still there when he is about to finish the prātaranuvāka he should go on repeating Ṛg. I. 112 till sunlight appears (Āśv. IV. 15. 7 and 9).

While the Prātaranuvāka is being recited by the hotṛ, the āgnīdhra (according to Kāt. IX. 1. 15, the pratiprasthātṛ according to Āp. XII. 4. 4) priest takes out materials (nirvāpa) for five offerings which are a cake on eleven potsherds for Indra, dhānā (fried barley) for two Haris (bay horses of Indra), Karambha (barley flour with curds) for Pūṣan, curds for Sarasvatī, payasyā for Mitra and Varuṇa. There is an option that all five are meant for Indra, but the last four are in that case to Indra associated with the other deities in order as shown below.[2579] The adhvaryu asks the hotṛ to think of water and issues directions to the attendant of maitrāvaruṇa holding a maitrāvaruṇa camasa (a flat wooden dish or cup with a handle) that he should come with the adhvaryu, to the neṣṭṛ to fetch the wife or wives of the sacrificer, asks the other ṛtviks to hold the ekadhana pitchers and the āgnīdhra to wait near the cātvāla pit with vasatīvarī waters. The adhvaryu goes to a pond or

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2578. Vide Prof. Eggeling's note in S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 230 for the variation in tone when repeating the hymns and detached verses. The word kratu occurs in the Ait. Br. VII. 8 'तद्धार्तुर्यज्ञान् क्रतूनन्वाहाग्नेयमष्टाकपालमैन्द्राग्नमैन्द्राविनम्'.

2579. Payasyā is the same as āmikṣā. Vide com. on Āp. XII. 4. 11 and above n. 2448. इन्द्राय हरिवते धानाः, इन्द्राय पूषण्वते करम्भः, इन्द्राय सरस्वतिवते दधि, इन्द्राय मित्रावरुणवते पयस्या। com. on Kāt. IX. 1. 20. आप. differs in some details. He says that karambha is mantha (parched barley meal) mixed with water or ājya (com. on Āp. XII. 4. 13) and parivāpa (lājas of rice) are offered to Sarasvatī (Āp. XII. 4. 6 and 13). Vide Sat. VIII. 1. p. 783 which is 'इन्द्राय हरिवते ..... करम्भं सरस्वत्यै भारत्यै परिवापलाजानिन्द्राय पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालम्।'

lake, makes offerings of ājya with the camasa of maitrāvaruṇa, fills it with water, the ekadhana pitchers also are filled and the wife fills a vessel called pannejana or pānnejana[2580] (a small vessel with water for washing the feet or thighs). While the ekadhana pitchers are being filled the hotṛ recites Ṛg. X. 30. 1-9 and 11 which are called 'aponaptrīyā verses' as the deity of those verses is 'apāmnapāt' (vide Ait. Br. VIII. 2, Aśv. V. 1. 8 and S. B. E. vol. 26. p. 232 *n.* 2).[2581] Then the water in the maitrāvaruṇa camasa and the vasatīvarī waters are mixed up together. And placing the vasatīvarī water in the hotṛcamasa the adhvaryu hands the camasa to the sacrificer, which water is thence-forward called nigrābhya (Āp. XII. 9. 1). Then the adhvaryu makes an offering of curds from a cup (called dadhigraha, Āp. XII. 7. 5-7). He also takes a few soma stalks from the heap of soma, places them on the *upara* (vide note 2582) and pours some vasatīvarī water over them, beats the stalks with the stone, extracts soma juice, fills a cup with it and offers it (this is called somagraha, Āp. XII. 7. 10-12). Āp. XII. 9 and Kāt. IX. 4 describe how soma is extracted to fill the Upāṁśugraha by using the Nigrābhya water, a portion of it is offered in the southern part of fire (the tyāga is 'idam sūryāya') and a portion is kept in the Āgrayaṇasthālī and a large coil of soma stalks is placed in the Upāṁsūgraha for use in the evening pressing. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 489 and S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 244-245 n. 2 for the method of the pressing of soma for upāṁśu-graha (they slightly differ). Then comes the mahābhiṣava (the great or principal pressing of soma). The adhvaryu goes near the ādhavanīya trough and pours into it all the water that is in the maitrāvaruṇa camasa and a third part of the vasatīvarī water also is poured in that trough and also of the ekadhanā water. The rest of both kinds of waters is kept in the place of the ekadhanā water (viz. to the west of the axle of the northern havirdhāna and below it). The adhvaryu sits to the north of the adhiṣavaṇa-carma towards the east and behind him sits the sacrificer, to the south of the adhiṣavaṇa-carma sits the pratiprasthātṛ, to the west neṣṭṛ and to the north the unnetṛ (Āp. XII. 12. 2

2580. पत्न्या ऊरुप्रक्षालनार्था आपः पाजेजन्यः तासामाहरणार्था स्थाली पाजेजनी पजेजनं च पत्नीसंस्कारः । com. on आप. XII. 5. 3.

2581. There are two kinds of waters used in extracting soma, viz. वसतीवरी that are brought the preceding night and ekadhanā brought that very day (com. on Āśv. V. 1. 9.)

and Sat. VIII. 3. p. 825). A very large portion of the soma stalks is to be taken for the morning pressing and a small one for the midday one (Āp. XII. 9. 7). The adhvaryu takes hold of the stone called *upara*,[2582] places it on the adhiṣavaṇa hide, brings soma stalks thereon, nigrābhya water is poured on them, the stalks are beaten by the priests with the other stones held in their right hands, which have a golden ring or the like. This is called the first turn or round (*paryāga*). Then there is a second turn, when the stalks of soma scattered about in the first beating are collected and are again pounded. Then there is a third turn. The texts even prescribe how many times the stalks are to be beaten in each turn (vide Āp. XII. 10. 4-8, 9 and XII. 12. 8-9). The wet and pounded stalks are collected by the adhvaryu into a vessel called sambharaṇī,[2583] are put in the *ādhavanīya* trough which already contains water, the ādhavanīya contents are thoroughly stirred, the stalks are washed, pressed, then taken out and placed on the adhiṣavaṇa-carma. The four stones are again placed facing the *upara* (the central big stone), the sediment or dregs (ṛjīṣa)[2584] of the soma stalks are put over the face of the stones. The droṇakalaśa (a big trough) is carried from its place and kept over all the stones by the udgātṛ priests, who spread over it a woollen strainer or sieve held on a wooden frame or stool with its hem to the north and its centre (nābhi) made of the bunch of wool that was handed over to the sacrificer when soma was purchased (Āp. X. 26. 11 and XII. 13. 1). The unnetṛ priest takes in a vessel (camasa) the soma liquid from the ādhavanīya trough, pours it into the hotṛcamasa containing nigrābhya water held by the sacrificer, who pours a continuous stream on to the woollen strainer (from the hotṛcamasa). From the stream of soma juice flowing down from the strainer all cups (that are wooden) up to the dhruva cup are filled, the first being the cup called antaryāma. The soma that falls in the droṇakalaśa is called śukra (Kāt. IX. 5. 15). The Upāṁśu cup is offered before sunrise, while the adhvaryu offers the antaryāma cup when the sun rises (Āp. XII. 13. 12). The cups filled

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2582. The stone (upara or adri) is called upāṁśusavana (Kāt. IX. 4. 6). Com. ' उपांशुग्रहार्थं सोमः क्षुयते येन स उपांशुसवन इति यौगिकी संज्ञा '.

2583. संभ्रियतेऽभिद्रुतः सरसः सोमोऽस्यामिति संभरणी वारणं महत्पूर्णपात्रमिति । com. on कात्या. IX. 5. 6.

2584. ऋजीषी सोमः । यत्सोमस्य पूयमानस्यातिरिच्यते तदृजीषम् । अपाजितं भवति । तेन ऋजीषी सोमः । निरुक्त V. 12.

are Aindravāyava, Maitrāvaruṇa, Śukra, Manthin, Āgrayaṇa, Ukthya, Dhruva and they are placed on various spots of the mound (khara) described at p. 1155 above. As the cups are filled from the stream (dhārā) they are called *dhārāgrahas* (com. on Kāt. IX. 6. 26). The cups are wiped with the hems of the strainer or another strainer is employed for the purpose (Āp. XII. 14. 10–11). In the case of the maitrāvaruṇa cup the contents are mixed with boiled but cooled milk, those of the manthin with barley flour. The three grahas viz. Āgrayaṇa, Ukthya and Dhruva are filled to the brim. He then fills three cups called *atigrāhyas* for Agni, Indra and Sūrya (Āp. XII. 15. 9, only in Agniṣṭoma and not in other soma sacrifices). After the cups are filled, the droṇakalaśa trough is half filled with soma juice, then the stream of soma stops (Āp. XII. 16. 9, Kāt. IX. 6. 26), all fluid from the woollen strainer is wrung out into the droṇakalaśa and the strainer is kept aside. Then he pours from the maitrāvaruṇa camasa which is filled with ekadhanā waters into the ādhavanīya trough as much as would be necessary (for filling all soma vessels in the morning pressing); he spreads the strainer with its hem to the north on the mouth of the pūtabhṛt trough, pours thereon a portion of the soma juice that is in the ādhavanīya trough and then touches all the three troughs with distinct mantras (Āp. XII. 16. 11). Then the adhvaryu, prastotṛ, pratihartṛ, udgātṛ, the brahmā (being the last) come out of the havirdhāna shed touching each other with the right hand in the order stated (Tāṇḍya Br. VI. 7. 12, Āp. XII. 17. 1), adhvaryu being the first (some give a slightly different order). They perform (or according to Kāt. the adhvaryu alone performs) what are called 'viprud-dhomas'.[2585] When the soma is being pressed drops of it are scattered about. In order to make these drops go to the gods and also as a sort of expiation this offering of ājya is made to Soma (in all the three savanas). Then the five priests touching each other (adhvaryu being the leader, brahmā being the last and the sacrificer touching him) creep with heads bent in a stealthy manner (like hunters pursuing a deer, according to Āp. XII. 17. 3–4) towards the north for the purpose of the Bahiṣpavamāna

2585. विप्रुष् (f) means 'a drop or spray'. स्कन्नानां विप्रुषां देवत्राकरणार्थो वैप्रुषा नामैते चत्वारो होमाः। com. on Āp. XII. 16. 15; अभिषवकाले ग्रहणकाले च स्कन्नानां सोमबिन्दूनां स्कन्दनप्रत्यवायपरिहारार्थं विप्रुषामर्थं तत्र स्कन्दनमाधिक्यत्वेन होमं कुर्यादित्यर्थ इति माधवाचार्याः। विप्रुहोम इतीयमस्याहुतेः संज्ञा। com. on Kāt IX. 6. 30.

chant that is to be sung.[2586] The adhvaryu takes two blades from the grass strewn on the altar, throws one in the cātvāla pit and the other in front of the udgātṛ priests or gives a handful of kuśa grass to the prastotṛ with 'Vāyu makes the *him* sound' (Tai. S. III. 3. 2. 1). The udgātṛ priests ask the permission of the brahmā priest 'shall we chant' (and also of Maitrāvaruṇa, according to Āśv. V. 2. 11) and he replies 'yes, do chant' (after repeating in the morning pressing 'bhūr-indravantaḥ', but with 'bhuvaḥ' and 'svaḥ' in the other pressings). Vide Āśv. V. 2. 12–13. According to Āp. XIV. 9. 7, X. 10. 1 the brahmā repeats the text 'deva savitar &c.' and then one of the texts called stomabhāgas (in Tāṇḍya I. 9–10), the one employed here being the first viz. 'raśmirasi' (thou art a ray, to thee for residence, give impulse to residence) and then gives permission. All pavamāna chants are introduced in this manner (i. e. by giving a handful of kuśas to the prastotṛ &c.). In the case of stotras other than pavamāna, the adhvaryu makes the chanters start after giving them two kuśa blades with 'asarji ..... upāvartadhvam'. At the time of chanting the bahiṣpavamāna[2587] stotra, the priests and sacrificer sit inside the vedi not far from the cātvāla pit in a certain order and look at the cātvāla or they sit round the northern shoulder of the vedi. The udgātṛ sits facing the north, the prastotṛ sits facing the west and the pratihartṛ faces the south-east; in front of them with faces to the west sit adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ and the sacrificer sits to the south of these.[2587a] They sit placing their right foot on the left thigh, look at the horizon and hold their mouths straight (neither hanging down nor up-lifted). This is the position of the chanters in all stotras (Lāṭ. I. 11. 18–23). Then the prastotṛ, udgātṛ and pratihartṛ chant the bahiṣpavamāna chant. The place where this chant takes place is called 'āstāva' (com. on Āśv. V. 3. 16).

2586. The purpose of this creeping is that the sacrifice is like a deer 'मृग इव हि यज्ञः' Āp. XII. 17. 4. Vide Sat. Br. I. 1. 4. 2 referred to in note 2308 above for the story of yajña having assumed the form of a black antelope.

2587. बहिः स्तूयमानं यत्पवमानं तद् बहिष्पवमानं बहिर्बहिर्भावं गतानपि पुनातीति बहिष्पवमानमिति वा। com. on Sat. VIII. 4. p. 847.

2587a. Vide Baud. VII. 7, com. on Sat. VIII. 4 p. 848, in each of which the order is different. Āśv. V. 2. 4 says that while creeping out for a pavamāna, the maitrāvaruṇa and brahmā are always behind the sāman priests.

The Bahiṣpavamāna of sacrifices lasting for more than one day is chanted in the *sadas* except on the first day (vide Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. IV. 1. 13). The sacrificer and at least four of the other priests (but not adhvaryu) act as choristers (upagātṛ, Āp. XII. 17. 11-12). According to Lāṭ. I. 11. 26 and Drāhyāyaṇa III. 4. 6 the priests sing the chorus 'ho' and the sacrificer says 'om' continuously in the *mandra* (low) tone in the intervals between the prastāva and the other elements of the chant and also during the chanting of these elements except the nidhana, according to com. on Drāhyāyaṇa III. 4. 6 and stop from doing so at the finale (*nidhana*) which is to be sung by the three sāma priests together. Jai. (III. 7. 30) states that the choristers are some of the priests (ṛtviks) themselves (except adhvaryu) and not others. At the time of the first prastāva of the bahiṣpavamāna chant, the [2588] sacrificer mutters the famous prayer (set out on p. 5 above) 'asato mā sad gamaya ..... māmṛtam gamaya' (Br. Up. I. 3. 28 and com. on Kāt. IX. 7. 4), while according to Āp. XII. 17. 14 the sacrificer mutters the daśahotṛ texts (vide p. 993 above for them). The first stotra at each pressing is called Pavamāna (Āp. XII. 17. 8-9), that at the morning savana being called Bahiṣpavamāna, those at the 2nd and 3rd pressings being respectively called Mādhyandina pavamāna and Ārbhava or Tṛtīya Pavamāna. The other stotras are called Dhurya (com. on Kāt. IX. 14. 5).

According to Lāṭ. I. 12. 1 and Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. III. 4. 16-17 the prastotṛ takes the prastara bunch from the adhvaryu, asks the permission of the brahmā and the praśāstṛ and then hands over the prastara to the udgātṛ who touches his thigh with it, and keeps it down with a yajus mantra.

2588. अथातः पवमानानामेवाभ्यारोहः स वै खलु प्रस्तोता साम प्रस्तौति स यत्र प्रस्तुयात्तदेतानि जपेदसतो मा सदमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्मामृतं गमयेति। Br. Up. I. 3. 28. These three Yajus sentences are called abhyāroha and are to be recited only once with the accent that they have in the Śat. Br. According to Āp. XII. 17. 15-16 the sacrificer mutters at the beginning of the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra also 'śyenosi' and at the beginning of the first pavamāna of the other two pressings the following two mantras respectively. The Tai. S. III. 2. 1. 1 has the mantras 'यो वै पवमानानामभ्यारोहमभिवहान् यजतेऽहु पवमानानारोहति न पवमानेभ्योऽवच्छिद्यते इयेनोसि गायत्रच्छन्दा अहु स्वारभे स्वस्ति मा सं पारय, सुपर्णोसि त्रिष्टुप्छन्दा ..... पारय, सचासि जगतीच्छन्दा ..... पारय'. Vide Tāṇḍya Br. I. 3. 8 and Drāhyāyaṇa III. 4. 27 for these mantras.

The three sāman priests then commence the chanting of the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra, while looking at the cātvāla (Tāṇḍya VI. 7. 24). The verses in this stotra are nine, viz. Rg. IX. 11. 1–3, IX. 64. 28–30 and Rg. IX. 66. 10–12; they correspond to Sāmaveda II. 1. 1. 1–3 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 4–5, 7–8, 10–11. According to the com. on Lāṭ. VI. 10. 1 each sāman in a stotra has five parts called prastāva (preceded by 'hum' uttered by the sāman priests together), udgītha, pratihāra, upadrava and nidhana (*finale*), which are respectively chanted by the prastotṛ, udgātṛ, pratihartṛ, udgātṛ, all the three together.[2589] According to Lāṭ. I. 12. 7 the Bahiṣpavamāna is begun to be chanted after once uttering the syllable 'hum', while the udgītha in all cases begins with 'om' (Lāṭ. VI. 10. 13)[2590]. In other stotras the himkāra is made more

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2589. स्तोत्रगतस्य साम्नः प्रस्तावोद्गीथप्रतिहारोपद्रवनिधनानि भक्तयस्तत्पञ्चावित्वय-मित्युक्तं तत्र प्रथमा भक्तिः प्रस्तावः। com. on लाट्यायनश्रौत VI. 10. 1; प्रस्तावोद्गीथ-प्रतिहारोपद्रवनिधनानि भक्तयस्तत्पञ्चावित्वयं स्मृतं व्याख्यास्याम ओंकारहिङ्काराभ्यां साम-विश्यम्। पञ्चविधसूत्र I. 1 (ed. by Dr. Simon). The Tāṇḍya Br. IV. 9. 9 mentions those elements except upadrava and so does Chān. Up. II. 2. 1 where हिङ्कार is said to be one of the five elements of a sāman, while in छान्दोग्य II. 10. 3 उपद्रव also is mentioned.

2590. The first verse of the Bahiṣpavamāna is उपास्मै गायता नरः पवमानायेन्दवे। अभि देवाँ इयक्षते ॥. This will be chanted as follows: हुम्। उपास्मै॑ गायता नरोम्। ॐ पा र वा र मानायेन्दावा र इ। अभि॑ देवा५ इयाँ १ २ १ २। क्षतो। सा॑ ३ ४ ५ त्॥ Here उपास्मै ... नरोम् is the प्रस्ताव, ॐ ... वा र इ is the उद्गीथ and so on. The other verses of the Bahiṣpavamāna are set out below. लाट्यायनश्रौ. (VII. 10. 18–VII. 11. 14) illustrates how this verse is to be chanted. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 120 for a note on this. In many rites the nidhana was not fixed but could be varied according to the desire of the yajamāna. Vide ताण्ड्यब्रा. VII. 1. 11 'इडां पशुकामाय निधनं कुर्यात्स्वः स्वर्गकामाय यशो ब्रह्मवर्चसकामाय आयुरामयाविने हंसीत्य-भिचरते' and लाट्यायन VII. 11. 15, जै. II. 2. 28–29.

अभि॑ ते॑ मधुना॑ पयोम्। ॐ मा॑थर्वणो॑ अशिश्रा दे र युर्वे॑ देवा॑ यदो॑ १ २ १ २। हुं॑ आ र। वा॑यो। सो॑ ३ ४ ५ म्॥

सं॑ नः॑ पवस्व शं॑ गवो॑म्। ॐ शा॑ र जा र ना र यं॑ शमवा॑ तो॑ इ श५ रा॑जा॑ १ नो र षा॑ धा॑ १ २ १ २। हुं॑ आ र। भा॑यो। सु॑वा ३ ४ ५:॥

(द्वितीयस्तृचः) दे॑विधुततिया॑ रुचो॑म्। ॐ पा रि ष्टो॑ भा र ता॑या॑ रुपा र सो॑माः शुक्रा र गा॑वा॑ १ २ १ २। हुं॑ आ र। शा॑इरो। इ॑डा ३ ४ ५॥

हि॑न्वानो॑ हे॑तृभिर्हि॑तो॑म्। ॐमा वा॑जं वा॑ज्यक्रमी॑ १ २ १ २ त् सी॑ दं॑तो वा॑ १ २ १ २ नु॑षा॑ १ २ १ २। हुं॑ आ र। या॑थो। वा॑ ३ ४ ५ क्॥

(*Continued on next page*)

than once (vide com. on Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. III. 4. 22). The Lāṭ. Śr. itself illustrates (in VII. 10. 18-21) how the first verse is chanted. The nidhanas for the nine verses are (Lāṭ. VII. 13. 7) sāt, sām, suvaḥ, idā, vāk, ā (for the last four verses). The note below will, it is hoped, convey some idea (however vague) of the manner in which the sāman verses are manipulated for the purpose of chanting. It is very difficult (nay, almost impossible) to convey in print how the sāmans are sung. The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that the notations adopted in the mss. and the editions are different and hardly any two MSS. agree in all respects. Besides the present writer does not profess to have studied the intricacies of ancient Indian or modern European music and is not in a position to write a dissertation on this topic. He has, however, given below and elsewhere such general and useful hints as could be gathered from Sanskrit works. Those who are desirous of making a

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(*Continued from last page*)

ऋधक् सोम सुवस्तयोम् । ॐसंजोग्मानो दाथिवो कावायि पवस्व संरियो १ २ १ २ | हुं आ ३ | इशो | आ ३ ४ ५ ॥

(तृतीयस्तृचः) पवमानस्य ते कवोम् । ॐ वाजिन्सर्गा असृक्षाता ३ अवन्तो न श्रवो १ २ १ २ | हुं आ ३ | स्यावो । आ ३ ४ ५ ॥

अच्छा कोशं मधुश्चुतोम् । ॐमासृग्रं वारे अव्याया ३ इ अवावशंत धी १ २ १ २ | हुं आ ३ | तीयो । आ ३ ४ ५ ॥

अच्छा समुद्रमिन्दवोम् । ॐमास्तं गावो न धेनावा ३ः अम्मन्नृतस्य यो १ २ १ २ | हुं आ ३ । नोयिमो । आ ३ ४ ५ ॥

This is taken from a Ms. in the possession of Svāmī Kevalānanda of Wai, Dist. Satara. The figures over the letters are shown in red ink in the Ms., the figures that come after the letters in the same line are shown in dark ink. In D.C. Ms. No.334 of 1883-84 which is on Agniṣṭoma audgātra all the nidhanas of the Bahiṣpavamāna have at the end the same figures, viz. $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ and there are in it also a few more variations from the text printed above from the Wai Ms. A third Ms. (copied in 1755 A. D.) in the Bhau Daji collection at the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library has also been very useful in setting out the sāmans. In the Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda (ed. by Burnell) it is stated that the devatās of the sāmans are determined by the nidhana. In all sāmans having a nidhana the deity is Indra except where special rules indicate other deities. 'अग्नी रुद्रः प्रजापतिः सोमो वरुणस्त्वष्टाङ्गिरसः पूषा सरस्वतीन्द्राग्नी । इडानिधनानि पञ्चनिधनानि ईकारनिधनानीत्याग्नेयानि । सर्वाणि निधनवन्त्वैन्द्राण्यन्यान्यादिदेवेभ्यः । सर्वाणि स्वाराणि प्राजापत्यानि यथा वामदेव्यम् ।..... वाङ्निधनानि वावनानि यथा यज्ञायज्ञीयम् । ' देवताध्याय I.

close study of the *sāmans* may read the following: The Pañcavidha-sūtra, edited by Dr. Richard Simon (Breslau, 1913); Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Sāmaveda in vol. I. of the B. I. edition; Nāradīya-śikṣā published in the Benares Sanskrit series; Satyavrata Sāmaśrami's learned notes in his edition of the Sāmaveda in five volumes (in B. I. Series); Burnell's Introduction to Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (1873), Introduction to the Jaiminīya text of the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa (1878, where on p. XV he gives diagrams of the hand and fingers employed in indicating the chanting of the sāmans), Introduction to Ṛktantra-vyākaraṇa, particularly p. XXXVIII (1879); 'the Vedic chant studied in its texual and melodic form' by J. M. Van der Hoogt (Wageningen, Holland, 1929) which presents a special study of *stobhas*; translation (with notes and Introduction) of the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa by Dr. Caland (in the B. I. series, 1931); the Introduction to the recent edition of the Sāmaveda brought out by Pandit Sātavaḷekar at Aundh (1939); 'the Music of Hindostan' by A. H. Fox Strangways (Oxford, 1914), particularly pp. 249–279; a booklet 'the Ancient Mode of singing sāmagāna' by Mr. Lakṣmaṇa Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa Drāviḍa of Poona. It may, however, be stated here that even on reading these books no thorough knowledge of sāmagānas can be acquired. Thorough investigation and research have yet to be made in these gānas and the first endeavour must be to collect gramophone records of the methods of chanting adopted throughout India and then compare them. A generation or two hence, it is feared, hardly any learned sāma singers will be left.

Most of the sāman chants are taken from the Ṛgveda. In reciting a verse from the Ṛgveda attention has to be paid to the accents called udātta, anudātta and svarita. When the same verse is chanted as a sāman, one has to attend besides to the notes of the melody to which the verse is being sung. The way of marking the accents of the Ṛgveda verse is not followed when it is taken in the Sāmaveda. The svarita of the Ṛgveda is represented in the Sāmaveda MSS. in several ways, but generally by the figure 2 written above the letter and anudātta preceding an udātta is represented in the Sāmaveda saṁhitā by the figure 3 and udātta following an anudātta has the figure one placed on the letter. There are further detailed rules about these accents and also other marks which are not set out here. Only one further remark is made. The letter 'ra'

preceded by 2 is placed over a svarita coming after the udātta which follows another udātta. Modern sāma singers have generally no knowledge of these ancient rules and signs but only chant as they learned from their teachers, nor do their chants always agree with the notations in the several MSS. Further there is a certain monotony and sameness in their melodies. If one hears a modern singer sing songs in several *rāgas* like the *Jogī* or *Jhinjoṭī* or *Khamāch* a person totally ignorant of the rāgas can feel, however vaguely, the difference between the two. But this is not so when a Rathantara melody or a Bṛhat melody is sung. According to the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa (I. 1. 8 and 14) these notes (also called *svaras*) are seven, viz. kruṣṭa, prathama (1st), dvitīya (2nd), tṛtīya, caturtha, pañcama (or mandra) and antya (last) or atisvārya.[2591] Sāyaṇa explains that the seven svaras named above are arranged in a descending scale, though from the words first, second and so on one is apt to suppose that they are in an ascending scale. Sāyaṇa further states that these seven svaras are also called yamas.[2592] In the Nāradīya-śikṣā (Benares Sanskrit series) the seven svaras are stated to be prathama, dvitīya, tṛtīya, caturtha, mandra, kruṣṭa and atisvāra (1. 12). The kruṣṭa is the highest note and comes before prathama in many texts. The same work (III. 5) mentions the seven classical notes, ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata and niṣāda (which are indicated in modern India as *sa ri* or *re ga ma pa dha ni*). The Nāradīya-śikṣā then (V. 1–2) tries to establish a correspondence between the seven ancient names of the notes of sāma chanters and the seven notes of classical times by stating that the seven sāman notes mentioned (from prathama onwards) are respectively the same as the notes produced on the Indian *vīṇā* (lute) called madhyama, gāndhāra, ṛṣabha, ṣaḍja, dhaivata, niṣāda and pañcama. Pandit Sātavaḷekar (Introduction to the edition of the Sāmaveda p. 2) holds that the printed Nāradīya-śikṣā has

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2591. तयोऽसौ कृष्टतम इव साम्नः स्वरस्तं देवा उपजीवन्ति योऽवरेषां प्रथमस्तं मनुष्या जीवन्ति यो द्वितीयस्तं गन्धर्वाप्सरसो यस्तृतीयस्तं पशवो यश्चतुर्थस्तं पितरो ये चाण्डेषु शेरते यः पञ्चमस्तमसुररक्षांसि योऽन्त्यस्तमोषधयो वनस्पतयो यञ्जान्यज्जगतस्तमादाहुः सामैवाजमिति साम ह्येवाद्युपजीवनं प्रायच्छत्। सामविधानब्राह्मण I. 1. 8.

2592. त्रीणि मन्द्रं मध्यमद्युत्तमं च स्थानान्याहुः सप्त यमानि वाचः। अनन्तरश्चात्र यमोऽविशेषः सप्त स्वरा ये यमास्ते पृथग्वा॥ ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य XIII. 17 (published by Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta). The com. says ये सप्त स्वराः षड्जऋषभगान्धारादयो गान्धर्ववेदसमाम्नाता ये वा कृष्ट-प्रथम-द्वितीय-तृतीय-चतुर्थ-मन्द्रातिस्वार्चाः सामसु निगदितास्ते यमा वेदितव्याः।

wrongly transposed the places of *niṣāda* and *dhaivata.*[2593] The notations employed in the North Indian and South Indian MSS. of the Sāmaveda vary considerably and the confusion is made worse by the fact that the several śākhās (such as the Kauthumas, the Rāṇāyanīyas and Jaiminīyas) have various readings and varying notations of their own. The Nāradīya-śikṣā further points out (VI. 2-6) that the sāmans can be sung to the notes of the ordinary vīṇā and also to the accompaniment of the movements of the thumb and fingers of the hand (and so it calls the latter gātravīṇā, 'body-lute'). The reciter sitting cross-legged is to place his hands on the two knees, to touch by the tip of the thumb the middle parva (joint) of the fingers for indicating the several notes of the song (and not the root of the fingers) and to hold the hand in front of his nose like a cow's ear. The seven svaras are indicated as follows:[2594] the kruṣṭa is on the head (top) of the thumb, the prathama (i. e. madhyama of classical notes) is on the central part of the thumb; gāndhāra, ṛṣabha, ṣaḍja and dhaivata (i. e. 2nd, 3rd, 4th and mandra) are respectively indicated by (touching with the tip of the thumb the central joints of) the fore-finger, the middle finger, the ring finger and the small finger; and niṣāda is indicated at that part of the palm below the small finger which resembles a channel when the fingers are closed in a fist.

While the Bahiṣpavamāna is being chanted the unnetṛ priest pours the soma juice contained in the ādhavanīya vessel on to the pūtabhṛt trough over which the woollen strainer is stretched with its hem to the north. When the chant is finished the adhvaryu issues directions (praiṣa) to the āgnīdhra priest to kindle fires (on the dhiṣṇyas), to strew kuśa grass (on the vedi) and to deck the puroḍāśas and to the pratiprasthātṛ to come with the *savanīya* (to be sacrificed on the pressing day) paśu (animal). The āgnīdhra brings burning coals from the āgnīdhrīya fire and kindles fires on the dust (or sand) of the several dhiṣṇyas beginning with that of the hotṛ (in the order in which the seats were arranged and with the same mantras). The

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2593. यः सामगानां प्रथमः स वेणोर्मध्यमः स्वरः। यो द्वितीयः स गान्धारस्तृतीयस्त्वृषभः स्मृतः॥ चतुर्थः षड्ज इत्याहुः पञ्चमो धैवतो भवेत्। षष्ठो निषादो विज्ञेयः सप्तमः पञ्चमः स्मृतः॥ नारदीयशिक्षा V. 1-2.

2594. अङ्गुष्ठस्योत्तमे कुष्ठो अङ्गुष्ठे प्रथमः स्वरः। प्रदेशिन्यां तु गान्धार ऋषभस्तदनन्तरम्॥ अनामिकायां षड्जस्तु कनिष्ठायां च धैवतः। तस्याधस्ताच्च योन्यास्तु निषादं तत्र विन्यसेत्॥ नारदीयशिक्षा VII. 3-4.

āgnīdhra spreads kuśas beginning from the gārhapatya up to the āhavanīya, along the pṛṣṭhyā line and decks the puroḍāśas. He offers soma into the āhavanīya, āgnīdhrīya and mārjālīya fires and ājya in others. The adhvaryu, whom the sacrificer touches, fills the Āśvina cup (*graha*) from the droṇakalaśa with the pariplavā (a small spoon resembling a sruc without its rod, Āp. XII. 2. 7) and the other cups that are not dhārāgrahas are also filled in the same way.

Then begin the rites for the offering of the savanīya paśu, commencing from the tying of a triple girdle round the post (yūpa). According to Kāt. IX. 8. 1 the girdle (raśanā) that was used the previous day at the time of sacrificing the Agniṣomīya animal is again used for the savanīya paśu, while according to Āp. XII. 18. 12 a new girdle is used. In the Agniṣṭoma the animal sacrificed on soma-pressing day is a goat for Agni. In the Ukthya sacrifice another goat (in addition) is sacrificed for Indra and Agni, in the Ṣoḍaśin sacrifice a third paśu (a ram according to Kāt. IX. 8. 4, a goat according to Āp. XII. 18. 13) is offered in addition and in the Atirātra a fourth one (a goat) to Sarasvatī in addition. Kāt. (IX. 8. 5–6) allows optionally a ewe. These four animals that are offered are called *stomāyana* (Kāt. IX. 8. 7) and *kratupaśus* (Āśv. V. 3. 4). Then the procedure of Nirūḍhapaśubandha described above is followed up to the offering of the vapā (omentum) and subsequent mārjana (purification with water). Then all the priests and the sacrificer enter the *sadas* and occupy places to the east of the audumbarī post and to the west of their several seats (dhiṣṇyās)[2595] and other places after looking (with mantras for each) at the several cups, the three troughs (ādhavanīya, pūtabhṛt and droṇa-kalaśa), the clarified butter and vessels and the sacrificer pays homage to all these (with mantras set out in Āp. XII. 19. 5 ff).

At this stage the pratiprasthātṛ brings the five savanīya offerings (vide p. 1163 above). The adhvaryu places them on the vedi, cuts off portions of the offerings, arranges them in one large vessel (or the juhū) in such a way that the cake for Indra is placed in the middle, the dhānā is to the east of it, karambha to the south, parivāpa to the west and āmikṣā to the

2595. This coming back to the dhiṣṇyas is called *sarpaṇa*. Vide Kāt. IX. 8. 25. Āśv. V. 3. 24 says 'पूर्वेणोदुम्बरीमपरेण धिष्ण्यान् यथान्तरमनूपविशन्ति'.

north. The portions meant for sviṣṭakṛt are placed in the Upabhṛt. The adhvaryu issues his direction to the maitrāvaruṇa to recite the anuvākyā for the puroḍāśa and other offerings to Indra in the morning pressing and to ask the hotṛ to repeat the yājyā for the same. The anuvākyās for the puroḍāśa and other offerings in the three savanas are respectively Ṛg. III. 52. 1, 5 and 6 and the anuvākyās in the three savanas for the sviṣṭakṛt offering are Ṛg. III. 28. 1. 4 and 5 respectively. The maitrāvaruṇa's praiṣa to the hotṛ and the latter's formula before the offering is made are given in the note below.[2596] The adhvaryu makes the principal offering into fire and then the sviṣṭakṛt. Portions of the remainder are cut off for the Brahmā priest, *iḍā* is cut off and placed on the seat of the hotṛ and the rest is kept securely for the sacrificer.

Then offerings of soma from the cups are made to the joint deities (*dvidevatya grahas*) viz. for Indra and Vāyu, Mitra and Varuṇa, and the two Aśvins. After this comes *camasonnayana.* The unnetṛ fills to the west of the uttaravedi nine *camasas* for the priests called camasādhvaryus, by first pouring in each some soma from the droṇakalaśa (this is upastaraṇa), then soma from the pūtabhṛt trough and then again from the droṇakalaśa (this is abhighāraṇa). The order in which the nine are filled is: first that of hotṛ, then for brahmā, udgātṛ, sacrificer, maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin, potṛ, neṣṭṛ, āgnīdhra (there is none for unnetṛ and acchāvāka here). The maitrāvaruṇa repeats Ṛg. I. 16, VII. 21 and IV. 35 in the three savanas respectively when the camasas are being filled (Āśv. V. 5. 14). Then follows *śukrāmanthi-pracāra.* The adhvaryu takes the soma cup called Śukra, the pratiprasthātṛ the Manthin cup and the camasādhvaryus the camasas that are placed on the uttaravedi. The camasādhvaryus are not ṛtviks chosen by the yajamāna but they are assistants chosen by the priests (the ṛtviks themselves). Vide Jai. III. 7. 27. Jai. (III. 7. 26–27) further says

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2596. 'प्रातः प्रातःसावस्येन्द्राय पुरोडाशानामनुब्रू3हि' is the direction to the मैत्रावरुण in प्रातःसवन, माध्यन्दिनस्य सवनस्येन्द्राय &c. in माध्यन्दिनसवन and तृतीयस्य सवनस्येन्द्राय &c. in तृतीयसवन. Vide आप. XII. 20. 15, Kāt. IX. 9. 6 and 8, Sat. VIII. 6. p. 863. The मैत्र is होता यक्षद्धरिभ्यां इन्द्रो धाना अत्तु पूषण्वान् करम्भं सरस्वतीवान् भारतीवान्ते परिवाप इन्द्रस्यापूपः। मित्रावरुणयोः पयस्या प्रातःसावस्य पुरोडाशानिन्द्रः प्रस्थितान् जुषाणो वेतू3 होतर्यज। Vide आश्व. V. 4. 3. The होतृ says 'ये3यजामहे हरिभ्यां इन्द्रो ... जुषाणो वेतू3षौ3वट्' (the words हरिभ्यां ... वेतू3 are repeated from the above मैत्र of मैत्रावरुण). Vide ऐ. ब्रा. 8. 6 for हरिभ्यां इन्द्रो ... इन्द्रस्यापूपः as the words of the याज्या.

that they are generally ten. They (adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ) cover the cups with two pieces of wood (chiselled off when the yūpa was made) that are sprinkled with holy water, wipe the cups from their mouths downwards with two pieces (of the yūpa, but not sprinkled) saying 'wiped off is Śaṇḍa' (adhvaryu says) and 'wiped off is Marka' (says pratiprasthātṛ). They place the cups on the south and north corners of the western side of the uttaravedi, go to the south and north of the yūpa, throw away the unsprinkled chips (referring to the repulse of Śaṇḍa and Marka)[2597] outside the vedi and the sprinkled ones are placed into the āhavanīya and standing on both sides of the yūpa they two offer the cups with their faces to the west and the camasādhvaryus (who are nine here and ten in other cases, vide com. on Kāt. IX. 11. 2) do the same with faces to the east and silently. All these offerings are made to Indra (com. on Kāt. IX. 11. 2). The pratiprasthātṛ pours what remains in the manthin cup into the śukra cup and the adhvaryu pours the mixture of the soma juice remnants of the two cups into the hotṛ-camasa. The adhvaryu directs attendants to refill the cups of the maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇāc-chaṁsin, potṛ, neṣṭṛ and āgnīdhra with soma from the droṇakalaśa and the contents are offered into fire respectively for Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra, Maruts, Tvaṣṭṛ, Agni. Then the hotṛ, adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ partake of the remnants of the contents of the cups offered to the double deities (Indra and Vāyu, Mitra and Varuṇa, the two Aśvins). Vide Āp. XII. 25. 13. A keen controversy is carried on in the sūtras whether the adhvaryu or hotṛ drinks first. Vide Āp. XII. 24. 6, Kāt. IX. 11. 12–17. The contents of the cup for Indra-vāyu are drunk twice and of the rest once. The mantra in all cases of the drinking of soma by the priests is 'vāgdevī juṣāṇā somasya tṛpyatu saha prāṇena svāhā' (Vāj. S. VIII. 37, Āp. XII. 24. 11. 12, Kāt. IX. 11. 19, Āśv. V. 6. 22). The remnants in the cups are poured into hotṛ-camasa. Then a very small part of the puroḍāśa is thrown

2597. It is rather strange that Prof. A. B. Keith says (in 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda' part 2 p. 329) 'then are filled the goblets of the priests and offerings of the śukra and manthin cups made for the strange figures of Śaṇḍa and Marka'. As shown above the offerings of śukra and manthin were made to Indra. Baud. VII. 14 says यदद्भुते सहोभौ जुहुतः। स प्रथमः संकृतिर्विश्वकर्मा ... तस्मा इन्द्राय सुतमाजुहोमि स्वाहेति। Āp. XII. 23. 8 has the same verse. Śaṇḍa and Marka (or Amarka) are here offered only chips of wood; they are said to have been the purohitas of asuras. Vide Tai. S. VI. 4. 10, Tai. Br. I. 1. 1, Vāj. S. VII. 12–13.

into the aindra-vāyava cup by the adhvaryu, a portion of the payasyā in the maitrāvaruṇa cup and the dhāṇā in the āśvina cup. Vide Jai. III. 8. 33 (where it is said that this effects a saṁskāra of the puroḍāśa &c). The pratiprasthātṛ then keeps these cups on the northern wheel-track of the southern havirdhāna cart. The adhvaryu and other priests make an offering of Vājina (Kāt. IX. 12. 1). The several priests drink soma from their camasas (in a rather complicated manner, for which vide com. on Kāt. IX. 12. 3 and Āp. XII. 25. 16–23). The hotṛ drinks once from all camasas and twice from his own camasa, the maitrāvaruṇa and other priests drink from their own camasas twice (Āp. XII. 25. 19–21).[2598] On drinking soma the priests touch their mouth and heart with Ṛg. VIII. 48. 3–4 'we drank soma and have become immortal &c.' Vide Āśv. V. 8. 26. All the camasas are then strengthened or replenished (āpyāyana) by the priests by repeating two mantras 'āpyāyasva' &c. (Ṛg. I. 91. 16 and 18 = Vāj. S. XII. 112–113, Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 3) and by filling them with soma from the pūtabhṛt trough and then they are placed under the southern havirdhāna cart to the west of the axle and are thence-forward called Nārāśaṁsa till the taking up of the Vaiśvadeva cup (Āp. XII. 25. 24–27, Kāt. IX. 15. 5–8). The adhvaryu takes a small portion of the puroḍāśa and while giving it to the acchāvāka priest who sits outside the sadas in front of the seat (dhiṣṇya) prepared for him says 'O acchāvāka, say whatever you have to say.' The acchāvāka holding the portion on a level with his mouth recites the three verses, Ṛg. V. 25. 1–3 (acchā vo agnimavase &c.). He combines the 'om' uttered at the end of the third verse with a long prose formula[2599] (nigada) which ends with 'O brāhmaṇa! call us who are brāhmaṇas'. The adhvaryu on hearing this requests the hotṛ to summon the acchāvāka (to the soma drink). When the hotṛ calls him, the acchāvāka

2598. The com. on Kāt. IX. 11. 23 states that the contents of the द्विदेवत्यग्रहs are not actually drunk, but only smelt or only brought in contact with the lips. When vessels are filled with the sacred soma no question arises as to ucchiṣṭa 'न सोमेनोच्छिष्टा भवन्तीति स्मरणात्सेनैव चमसेन सर्वेपि भक्षयन्ति' com. on Kāt. IX. 12. 3. Vide आश्व. V. 6. 3 न सोमेनोच्छिष्टा भवन्तीत्युदाहरन्ति.

2599. The nigada is given by Āśv. V. 7. 3 'अग्न्येन प्रणवेनोपसन्तुयाद् यजमान होतरध्वर्यो ..... इन्द्राग्निभ्यां सोमं पोक्षतोपो अस्मान् ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणाहवयतमिति'. The acchāvāka probably came to be so called from the first word 'acchā' of Ṛg. V. 25. 1 which he recites.

recites Ṛg. VI. 42 and a camasa is filled for him first with soma from the droṇakalaśa, then from the pūtabhṛt trough and again from the droṇakalaśa. After the acchāvāka recites Ṛg. VIII. 38.7 (as the yājyā) the adhvaryu makes an offering of soma from his camasa in the āhavanīya, the acchāvāka lays down the piece of puroḍāśa and sitting on his own seat drinks the remainder of soma himself from his camasa and also eats the portion of puroḍāśa given to him (Āśv. V. 7. 7 and 9). His camasa is then placed among the other camasas.

After the acchāvāka sits down, the brahmā, hotṛ, adhvaryu, maitrāvaruṇa and āgnīdhra partake of the iḍā of the *savanīya* cake and the other four offerings in the āgnīdhra shed (Āp. XII. 25. 8–15, Āśv. V. 7. 10, Kāt. IX. 11. 29 and IX. 12. 16). The sacrificer also partakes of it and the wife partakes of light food (rice &c.) in her shed (Kāt. IX. 12. 16–17, com. on Āp. XII. 25. 12). Āp. (XII. 25. 13) states that at this time take place several of the acts that are done in the darśapūrṇamāsa such as throwing the śākhā on fire, the offering of vājina, the two homas of piṣṭalepa and phalīkaraṇa &c.

Then comes the offering of *ṛtugrahas*. These cups are filled from the droṇakalaśa and are offered by the adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ to the twelve months (Madhu, Mādhava, and so on, from Tai. S. I. 4. 14 or Vāj. S. VII. 30) or 13 months (when there is an intercalary month called Saṁsarpa in Tai. S. I. 4. 14. 1 and Aṁhasaspati in Vāj. S. VII. 30) or 14 (vide Āp. XII. 27. 1). There are 6 pairs of months, for the first of which the offering is made by the adhvaryu and for the 2nd by the pratiprasthātṛ with the mantra (Vāj S. VII. 30) 'upayāmagṛhītosi madhave tvā' (and so on). Baud. VII. 16 gives at length all the mantras for the twelve months. The praiṣas are uttered by the maitrāvaruṇa and when the adhvaryu enters the havirdhāna pavilion to make the offering the pratiprasthātṛ leaves it and *vice versa*. The vaṣaṭkāra for the first six is uttered respectively by hotṛ, potṛ, neṣṭṛ, āgnīdhra, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and maitrāvaruṇa and the adhvaryu or pratiprasthātṛ (as the case may be) eats of the remains in the cup with that priest who utters the vaṣaṭkāra. In the next four the vaṣaṭkāra is uttered by hotṛ, potṛ, neṣṭṛ and acchāvāka and for the last two by hotṛ. After this a cup is filled from the droṇakalaśa or pūtabhṛt for Indra and Agni (Āp. XII. 27. 8, Kāt. IX. 13. 20). All the soma pātras from which soma was drunk by the priests are washed on the mārjālīya place (Āp. VII. 27. 10).

It would not be out of place to remark here that according to the Ait. Br. 35. 2-4 (referred to on p. 140 above) a kṣatriya sacrificer was not to drink soma, but if he desired he might drink the liquid obtained by pounding the young sprouts of the banyan tree and the fruits of that tree and of the udumbara and of other holy trees mixing them with curds.[2600] It is however to be noted that in classical Sanskrit literature sometimes kings are described as 'somapāḥ'. The sūtras (e. g. Sat. VIII. 7. p. 882, Āp. XII. 24. 5) say the same. Jai. (III. 5. 47-51) refers to this practice and says that the liquid so prepared and poured into a cup is called *phala-camasa* and is really an offering made on a coal taken from the āhavanīya to its north, and not a mere substitute for some eatable. Vide also Jai. III. 6. 36.

The adhvaryu with the ṛtu cup in his hand sits down near the door of the *sadas* in front of the hotṛ with his face to the east, mutters the words 'Iḍā, the summoner of gods' (Tai. S. III. 3. 2. 1). Then the hotṛ performs japa of a long passage[2601] (found in Āśv. V. 9. 1), he issues without uttering hiṁkāra a call (āhāva) to the adhvaryu loudly viz. 'Śom3sāvo3m' (let us both praise)[2602] and recites inaudibly the prayer called

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2600. स यदि राजन्यं वैश्यं वा याजयेत्स यदि सोमं विभक्षयिषेद् न्यग्रोधस्तिमीराद्धस्य ताः संपिष्य दधन्युन्नुद्य तमस्मै भक्षं प्रयच्छेत्त सोमम्। quoted by Sabara on Jai. III. 5. 47 and III. 6. 36. Vide Ait. Br. 35. 4 for the ingredients 'अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाश्च फलानि चौदुम्बराण्याश्वत्थानि प्लाक्षाण्यभिषुण्यास्तानि भक्षयेत्।'. Vide note 61 above.

2601. सुमत्यद्मन्दे पिता मातरिश्वाच्छिद्रा पदा धादच्छिद्रोक्था कवयः शंसन्। ..... क इदं शंसिष्यति स इदं शंसिष्यति। Āśv. V. 9. 1. This is the *japa*. The Ait. Br. X. 6 has the whole of it except the first five mystic letters, but it appears to explain those five and also the rest of the passage. Vide Haug's note on p. 151 of tr. of Ait. Br. for the whole formula.

2602. This summons is called 'āhāva' (from the root 'hve' to call) and this is the āhāva in all śastras in the morning pressing (Āśv. V. 9. 2). The most common pratigara uttered by the adhvaryu is ओथामो दैव (pronounced as दैवा) while at the first āhāva it is the one given above in the text. Vide Āśv. V. 9. 4-10, Āp. XII. 27. 11-17, Sat. VIII. 8. pp. 896-898 for various modes of the pratigara. The Tai. S. III. 2. 9. 5 puts the pratigara as 'śaṁsāmo daiveti pratyāhvayate'. प्रतिगर is explained as प्रतिगीर्यते प्रत्युच्चार्यत इति (com. on Āśv. V. 9. 4 and Sat. VIII. 8. p. 897). In the mid-day pressing the āhāva is अध्वर्यो शो3सावो3म् (Āśv. V. 14. 3) at the beginning of all śastras and in the evening pressing it is अध्वर्यो शोशो3सावो3म् (Āśv.

(*Continued on next page*)

'tūṣṇīmśaṁsa.' The adhvaryu stands up or bends his body with his face to the west at the door of the sadas and makes the response (*pratigara*) with 'śoṁsāmo daiva' (Āśv. V. 9. 5). There are several āhāvas and several pratigaras in the course of reciting all the texts connected with a śastra. The tūṣṇīmśaṁsa is of three clauses or six clauses (vide below).[2603] Then he loudly repeats twelve clauses called *nivid*, pausing at the end of each clause 'fire kindled by the gods, kindled by Manu..... the hotṛ chosen by the gods.....May the god bring the gods hither, may the god worship the gods, may he, Jātavedas, perform the rites' (Ait. Br. X. 2, Āśv. V. 9. 12).[2604] The Ait. Br. explains these clauses, says that they are to be loudly recited and calls them a *puroruc* for Jātavedas (Ait. Br. X. 7). This *nivid* is not to be combined with the Tūṣṇīmśaṁsa, but the last word of the former is to be combined with the first verse of the ājya śastra, which is the name of the hymn Rg. III. 13 (verses 1–7). The first verse of this hymn is recited

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(*Continued from last page*)

V. 18. 4). The āhāva is required at the beginning of all śastras whether recited by the hotṛ, the maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇāccha-ṁsin or acchāvāka. Vide Āśv. V. 10. 10–12; about the śastras these priests recite and how each of the śastras they recite in the morning and evening pressings contains four āhāvas and how the śastras in the mid-day pressing have five āhāvas. Āśv. (V. 10. 13–17) specifies the places where āhāva is to be uttered. Various explanations are given of the pratigara e.g. Sāyaṇa on Ait. Br. XII. 1 explains 'शोंसामो दैवोम्' as हे होतस्वं शंस तत्र आमोदैव हर्ष एवास्माकमतोऽनुज्ञा दत्ता।'. It appears that the āhāva and pratigara came to have a mystic significance and so several permutations and combinations of them arose. Vide Āp. XIII. 13. 8-10, Sat. IX. 3. p. 925 where three different forms of pratigara in the Vaiśvadeva śastra of the evening pressing are given. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 141–142 n. on आहाव and प्रतिगर.

2603. घृरग्निर्ज्योतिर्ज्योतिरग्नो3म्। इन्द्रो ज्योतिर्बुधो ज्योतिरिन्द्रो3म्। सूर्यो ज्योतिर्ज्योतिः स्वः सूर्यो3मिति त्रिपदस्तूष्णींशंसः। यद्यु वै चतुष्पदः। पूर्वैर्ज्योतिःशब्दैरग्रेऽवस्येत्। Āśv. V. 9. 11. When six clauses are required the three clauses are each divided into two parts, the first ending with the first word 'jyotir' in each clause. The Ait. Br. IX. 7 says that the first clause in the above is the tūṣṇīmśaṁsa in Ājyaśastra and Praugaśastra of the prātaḥsavana, the 2nd of the Niṣkevalya and Marutvatīya śastras of the mid-day pressing and the third of the Vaiśvadeva and Āgnimāruta śastras of the third pressing.

2604. अग्निर्देवेद्धः, अग्निर्मनुष्विद्धः, अग्निः सुधमित्, होता देवव्रतः, होता मनुष्वतः, प्रणीर्यज्ञानाम्, रथीरध्वराणाम्, अतूर्तो होता, तूर्णिर्हव्यवाट्, आ देवो देवान्यक्षत्, यक्षदग्निर्देवो देवान्, सो अध्वरा करति जातवेदाः। ऐ. ब्रा. X. 2.

thrice, each half of that verse being kept separate from the next half (Āśv. V. 9. 15, 20–21) and 'om' being added to the end of the verse. At the end of the sixth verse the hotṛ repeats the āhāva (śo3mśāvo3m) and the adhvaryu responds with the pratigara 'śo3mśāmo daiva.' And then the hotṛ recites the 7th verse of Ṛg. III. 13 (which being the last verse of the śastra is called paridhānīyā, Āśv. V. 9. 23). At the end of the śastra, the adhvaryu responds with the word 'om' (Āśv. V. 9. 10). After the recitation of the śastra the hotṛ mutters 'the recitation is concerned in speech; to thee for glory' (Tai. S. III. 2. 9. 1). The adhvaryu then takes the Aindrāgna cup of Soma and the camasādhvaryus take the camasas and after āśravaṇa and pratyāśruta the adhvaryu issues a direction to hotṛ 'O reciter of an *uktha* (i. e. śastra), repeat a yājyā verse for Soma.' Then the hotṛ recites Ṛg. III. 25. 4 as the yājyā (Āśv. V. 9. 26) and when he utters 'vau3ṣaṭ' the adhvaryu offers the soma from his cup into the āhavanīya fire and after a second vouṣaṭ is uttered (with the words 'somasyāgne vīhi3 vau3ṣaṭ') the camasādhvaryus only shake the Nārāśaṁsa cups. The adhvaryu first partakes of the remnant from the soma cup and then the other priests who have camasas eat the contents of the camasas (Āp. XII. 28. 1–3).

It will have been noticed from the preceding description that there are six or seven elements connected with the recitation of the śastras: (1) the inaudible *japa*, (2) āhāva and pratigara, (3) tūṣṇīṁśaṁsa, (4) the *nivid* or *puroruk*, (5) sūkta, (6) japa of words 'uktham vāci' (Āśv. V. 10. 22–24) with certain words added that differ at different times (this is called ukthavīrya), to which the adhvaryu responds with 'ukthaśāḥ' &c., (7) the yājyā (Āśv. V. 10. 21).[2605] Only the Tūṣṇīṁśaṁsa does not occur in the other śastras.

In the Agniṣṭoma there are twelve *stotras* and twelve *śastras*. The words śastra and stotra in their etymological sense mean 'praise or laud,' but a stotra is a laud that is sung to a melody and a śastra is a laud that is only recited (vide Śabara on Jai. VII. 2. 17). A śastra always belongs to and follows a stotra. In the prātaḥsavana the hotṛ begins his āhāva after the

2605. Vide Haug's note 3 on pp. 177–178 to his tr. of Ait. Br. about the several ways in which the words 'uktham vāci' occur in the several śastras. The Ait. Br. speaks of these elements and in X. 1 expressly says 'ब्रह्म वा आहावः क्षत्रं निविद् विड् सूक्तम्'.

udgātṛ makes *himkāra* in the stotra he chants and in the other two savanas the hotṛ does so after the *pratihāra* element of the stotra (Āśv. V. 10. 1–3) when the prastotṛ draws his attention by uttering the word 'eṣā' (this) at the time of the *prastāva* of the last verse in the stotra.[2606] The ājyaśastra is the first śastra in the Agniṣṭoma and the āgnimāruta is the last. Jai. (II. 1. 13–29) establishes that when the vedic text says 'he recites the prauga śastra' or 'he chants the ājya stotra,' what is meant is not that these stotras and śastras are merely some subordinate matters in connection with the devatā of the rite, but they are really principal matters. In X. 4. 49 Jai. states that in the Agniṣṭut sacrifices there is no *ūha* of the stotras and śastras of the Agniṣṭoma, but they are sung and recited as in Agniṣṭoma. In the morning savana (pressing of soma), five stotras are chanted viz. Bahiṣpavamāna and four Ājyastotras; in the mid-day pressing five more viz. the mādhyandina pavamāna and four Pṛṣṭhastotras (vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 193 n. 29) and in the evening pressing two stotras viz. the Ārbhava pavamāna and the Agniṣṭoma-sāman (viz. yajñā-yajñā vo &c.). The corresponding twelve śastras are: in the morning the Ājyaśastra (by hotṛ), Praugaśastra (by hotṛ) and three ājyaśastras (by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and acchāvāka, these three priests being called hotrakas); in the mid-day pressing the marutvatīya śastra (by hotṛ), niṣkevalya śastra (by hotṛ) and three more by the three assistants of the hotṛ; in the evening pressing the two śastras are vaiśvadevaśastra and āgnimārutaśastra (both by the hotṛ). The Bahiṣpavamāna is chanted in the Trivṛtstoma, the four ājyastotras and the mādhyandinapavamāna in the Pañcadaśastoma, the four Pṛṣṭha-stotras and the Ārbhavapavamāna in the Saptadaśastoma and the yajñāyajñīya in the Ekaviṁśastoma (vide Tāṇḍya Br. XX. 1. 1). *Stoma* means a group of verses and pañcadaśastoma and similar words mean that the verses (usually three) are increased to 15, 17, 21 &c. by repetition in various patterns (which are called *viṣṭuti*). There are three viṣṭutis of the pañcadaśastoma. These patterns differ in the order and number of repetitions. The prastotṛ marks the several turns, the number of verses and the order by means of small sticks a span long (called *kuśas*) cut from the udumbara tree and placed on a piece of cloth spread in the

2606. स्तोत्रमग्रे शस्त्रात्। एषेति प्रोक्त उद्गातर्हिङ्कारे प्रातःसवन आहरीरन्। प्रतिहार उत्तरयोः सवनयोः। आश्व. V. 10. 1–3; उत्तमां प्रस्तुत्यैषेति शंसितारमीक्षेत। लाट्यायन II. 6. 11.

midst of the singers. Vide Lāṭ. II. 6. 1-4. For example, the first ājyastotra (Rg. VI. 16. 10-12 = S. V. II. 1. 1. 4, ed. by Benfey) is raised to fifteen verses in three *paryāyas* (turns) of five verses each. If the three verses are denoted by a, b, c then the 15 verses will be a a a b c (first paryāya), a b b b c (2nd paryāya) and a b c c c (third paryāya). Vide Tāṇḍya Br. II. 4. The 2nd viṣṭuti of the pañcadaśastoma is represented by a a a b c, a b c, a b b b c c c and the third viṣṭuti by a b c, a b b b c and a a a b c c c (vide Tāṇḍya Br. II. 5-6). The word stoma is to be distinguished from *stotra*. The latter is a chant of a certain number of verses set to a certain melody out of those mentioned in the gānas of the Sāmaveda. Stobhas are musical interjections and flourishes introduced in the sāman chants such as 'hāu', 'hāi', 'I', 'ū', 'hum' (vide Chān. Up. I. 13). Hāu and hāi are stobhas employed in the Rathantara and Vāmadevya sāmans respectively. Jai. IX. 2. 39 defines stobha as that which is in addition to the letters of the ṛk (that is being chanted) and has other varṇas than those of the ṛk (adhikam ca vivarṇam ca Jaiminiḥ stobha-śabdatvāt). The word *sāman* means, no doubt, a chant (gīti), but since stobhas are necessary to bring out the melody and help in musical appreciation they are included in the connotation of the word sāman [2607] (Jai. II. 1. 36, IX. 2. 34-38). Śabara states that there are a thousand (numberless) means of adding to the charm of the melody (gīti), which only conveys certain notes produced by internal effort and which is denoted by the word sāman. The chant has a fixed extent and is sung on a ṛk verse. In order to effectuate that chant resort is made to change of letter (as in '*ognāyi*' for 'agna' in 'agna āyāhi vītaye), to *stobha* and the other devices stated below [2608]. Since the ṛk verses are

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2607. शबर on IX. 2. 35 says 'ऋक्-स्तोभस्वर-कालाभ्यासविशिष्टाया गीतेः सामशब्दो वाचकः।'. The दुपटीका demurs to this and remarks 'यद्यपि स्तोभा न सामशब्दवाच्यास्तथाप्यभिदध्यन्ते। कथम्। सामोपकारकसुगक्षराणाम्। तस्योपकुर्वतो हेतुना साहाय्यं कुर्वन्तः स्तोभा उपकुर्वन्ति।'. In another place शबर says 'सस्तोभ-स्वरकालाभ्यासविकारायां हिंकारप्रणवप्रस्तावोद्गीथप्रतिहारोपद्रवनिधनवत्यासूचि सामशब्दोऽभियुक्तैरुपचर्यते।' on जै. VII. 2. 1.

2608. सामवेदे सहस्रं गीत्युपायाः। आह। क इमे गीत्युपाया नाम। उच्यते गीतिर्नाम क्रिया। सा आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्न-जनितस्वरविशेषाणामभिव्यञ्जिका। सा सामशब्दाभिलप्या। सा नियतपरिमाणा ऋचि च गीयते। तत्संपादनार्था अगक्षरविकारो विश्लेषो विकर्षणमभ्यासो विरामः स्तोभ इत्येवमादयः सर्वे समधिगताः समाम्नायन्ते। शबर on जै. IX. 2. 29. Vide footnote of सत्यव्रत on p. 12 of the Introduction to सामवेद vol. I (B. I. series) for explanation of these words.

sung to a certain melody the ṛks are the skeleton, the notes of the melody are the flesh that clothes the bare bones, they are super-imposed over the ṛk, and the stobhas are embellishments or flourishes like the hair on one's body. This very apt and happy figure is employed by the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa to illustrate the relationship of the ṛks, the notes and the stobhas.[2609] Each sāman chant is primarily connected with certain verses, e. g. when we speak of Rathantara without more the verses meant are Ṛg. VII. 32. 22-23 abhi tvā śūra &c.= S. V. II. 1. 1. 11 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 83-84 (B. I. series); and when one refers to the Vāmadevya sāman without further qualification the verses intended are Ṛg. IV. 31. 1-3 (kayā naścitra ābhuvat) = S. V. II. 1. 1. 12 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 87-89 (B. I.). These are called the own (svakīya) verses of the respective sāmans (vide com. on Drāhyāyaṇa II. 1. 1) and that one verse occurring in the pūrvārcika part of the Sāmaveda, which is the first in the sāman as set out in the Uttarārcika portion, is called the *yoni* of the sāman (Jai. VII. 2. 17 and Śabara thereon). But the verses that are the own verses of a sāman can be sung to another melody. Tāṇḍya XV. 10. 1 says 'the kavatī verses' are the verses 'kayā naścitra &c.' which are the svakīya verses of the Vāmadevya. When some texts say 'he chants the Rathantara on the Kavatī verses' what is meant is that, not minding the Vāmadevya melody to which the verses 'kayā naścitra &c.' primarily attach themselves, they are to be sung to the Rathantara melody in that particular rite. So the word sāman as applied to Rathantara, Bṛhat, Raivata and others means simply a melody and not one or more ṛk verses that are sung[2610] (vide Jai. IX. 2. 1-2).

Jaimini deals in about 60 adhikaraṇas with matters arising out of the relation of the Sāmaveda to sacrifices in V. 3, IX. 1, IX. 2, X. 5-6 and elsewhere. Some of the conclusions are very interesting and may be briefly indicated; viz. the ūhagrantha is of human authorship (IX. 2. 1-2), the ṛk is principal and the melody is an attribute of it (IX. 2. 3-13), the whole

2609. तस्य ह वा एतस्य साम्न ऋगेवास्थानि स्वरो मांसानि स्तोभा लोमानि । सामविधानब्राह्मण I. 1. 10. The Calcutta edition of the Sāmaveda (vol. II pp. 519-542) contains a pariśiṣṭa on *stobhas*. Similarly the छान्दोग्य I. 6. 1 says द्वयमेवर्गग्निः साम तद्वेतदेतस्यामृच्यर्चूर्ं साम तस्माद्वच्यर्चूर्ं साम गीयते ॥

2610. स्वरादिविशेषाद्यपूर्वीमात्रस्वरूपमृगक्षरव्यतिरिक्तं यद् गानं तदेव स्वसंज्ञार्थो । सायण's Introduction to सामवेद vol. I. p. 10 (B. I. series).

melody is to be sung on each ṛk of the sāman (IX. 2. 14–20), the verses of a sāman should as far as possible be in the same metre (IX. 2. 21–22), the ṛk verses set out in the Uttarārcika are to be taken for singing the melody on (IX. 2. 23–24), that two verses have to be arranged as three by repetition of the 4th or last pāda in certain melodies (IX. 2. 25–27), that in the Yajñāyajñīya sāman for the words 'girā girā' in the original 'irā irā' has to be substituted in the melody (IX. 1. 50–51).

After the recitation of the śastra and the partaking of remnants of soma the adhvaryu takes the Vaiśvadeva cup, fills it from the droṇakalaśa, touches it with two kuśa blades, hands over the blades to the prastotṛ priest and urges the sāman priests to chant a stotra. This is the mode in all cases of dhurya stotras. Stotras other than the Bahiṣpavamāna are chanted near the Audumbarī post in the *sadas*; the prastotṛ sits facing the west behind the adhvaryu, the udgātṛ sits to his west facing the north, and the pratihartṛ sits facing udgātṛ, but looking towards the south-east (Tāṇḍya VI. 4. 14, Drāhyāyaṇa III. 3. 28). The stotra chanted after the Vaiśvadeva cup is taken and the three following ones are called ājyastotras[2611] (com. on Āp. XII. 28. 6). The 2nd śastra is called *prauga* (Āśv. V. 10. 6) which is recited after the taking up of the Vaiśvadeva cup and is supposed according to the Ait. Br. XI. 2 to confer food. This śastra is made up of Ṛg. I. 2 and 3 (in all 21 verses), which are divided into seven triplets addressed to seven deities in order viz. Vāyu, Indra-vāyu, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aśvins, Indra, Viśve Devas, Sarasvatī. Each of the seven triplets is preceded by a verse called *puroruk*. The first puroruk is preceded by 'hiṁ' and 'bhūr-bhuvaḥ svaro 3m.'[2612] The 2nd verse of Ṛg. I. 2 is repeated thrice (and not the first as is usual, com. on Āśv. V. 10. 6). At the end of the recitation the priest mutters

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2611. The first ājyastotra is Ṛg. VI. 16. 10–12, S. V. II. 1. 1. 4 (Benfey), S. V. vol. III. pp. 14–15; the 2nd is Ṛg. III. 62. 16–18, S. V. II. 1. 1. 5 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 16–17 (B. I. series), the third is Ṛg. VIII. 17. 1–3, S. V. II. 1. 1. 6 (Benfey), S. V. vol. III. pp. 18–19 (B. I. series), and the 4th is Ṛg. III. 12. 1–3, S. V. II. 1. 1. 7 (Benfey), S. V. vol. III. pp. 19–21 (B. I. series).

2612. The first triplet with introductory words and puroruk will be हिं भूर्भुवः स्वरो3म् । शो3सावो3 वायुरग्रेगा यज्ञप्रीः साकं गन्मनसा यज्ञम् । शिवो नियुद्भिः शिवाभो3 वायवाहि &c. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 158–159 for the seven puroruk verses and how they are to be recited. Eight puroruk verses are set out at the end of the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the Ṛgveda in *pothī* form. The puroruk वायुरग्रेगा &c. is in Tai. Br. II. 4. 7 and Vāj. S. 27. 31.

'ukthaṁ vāci ślokāya tvā' (instead of 'ghoṣāya tvā'), and Ṛg. I. 14. 10 is the yājyā of the Prauga-śastra. This cup is offered and the remnants of it and of the camasas are drunk by the priests. Then from the Ukthyasthālī containing soma a third is taken for filling three cups to Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra, and Indra-Agni. Stotras and śastras follow at each of these three cups, the śastras being repeated respectively by the maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇāccha(ṁ)sin and acchāvāka. For want of space all these three śastras cannot be set out at length here. Āśv. V. 10. 26 very succintly incticates them. Each of these śastras has four parts, (1) a triplet called *stotrīya* (because those very verses have been chanted in the corresponding stotra); (2) then another triplet called *anurūpa* which should agree in metre, deity and even the sage (according to some) with the stotrīya triplet (Āśv. V. 10. 26-27); (3) the core or principal part of the śastra, hence called uktha-mukha (vide Śāṅ. VII. 11. 3); (4) a yājyā verse. For example, in the maitrāvaruṇa śastra, Ṛg. III. 62. 16-18 constitute the stotriya triplet (those three verses are chanted as the 2nd ājyastotra), Ṛg. V. 71. 1-3 form the anurūpa triplet, Ṛg. V. 68. 1-5 and Ṛg. VII. 66. 1-9 are the uktha-mukha and Ṛg. VII. 66. 19 is the yājyā of the śastra. This brings the prātaḥsavana to an end, and the adhvaryu makes an offering at the end with the words 'May Agni protect us in the morning savana'. At the bidding of the adhvaryu the maitrāvaruṇa asks all the priests to come out of the sadas and they come out by the way they went in.

Then before the mādhyandina savana begins the priests again enter the sadas, and the yajamāna enters by the eastern door. The procedure of the mid-day pressing is in main outlines the same as that of the morning one (Āp. XIII. 1. 2). There is no hurry in the first two pressings, but the third pressing is got through with speed (Āp. XII. 29. 12). There are a few points of difference. In the mid-day pressing there are no cups for the joint deities (dvidevatya grahas), no cups for the seasons (Āp. XIII. 1. 4). The great pressing is done as in the morning pressing, but in a loud voice (Āp. XIII. 1. 8). In this pressing the vasatīvarī waters are taken in the hotṛcamasa, are handed over to the yajamāna and become the nigrābhyā for pressing soma. The cloth in which soma stalks are tied is loosened and given for wearing as a turban to the priest called grāvastut and it is taken back from him after he recites the praise of the crushing stone (Āp. XIII. 1. 5 and com.). The cups taken are five, viz. śukra and manthin, āgrayaṇa, two marutvatīya and ukthya

(also taken either before both marutvatīya cups or between the two). The grāvastut (praiser of the stones used in crushing soma stalks) enters the havirdhāna pavilion by the eastern door, throws away a blade of kuśa on a spot which is to the north-east of the northern point of the axle of the southern havirdhāna cart and stands opposite the soma stalks with face to the south-east. He takes the cloth in his joined hands, folds it round his head and face from left to right thrice (so as to make it look like a turban). When the stalks of soma are placed for being crushed he should recite certain verses by the middle tone (Āśv. V. 12. 7-8), which is the tone for all vedic texts in the mid-day pressing. The texts repeated by the grāvastut are (Āśv. V. 12. 9-11): Ṛg. I. 24. 3, V. 81. 1, VIII. 81. 1, VIII. 1. 1, X. 94 (this hymn is called Arbuda), Ṛg. X. 76 and 175. Before the last verse of Ṛg. X. 94, the two hymns Ṛg. X. 76 and X. 175 are recited. Either between the latter two hymns or after them or before them he recites as many pavamāna verses as are required up till the taking up of the cups, finishes the last verse of Ṛg. X. 94 and hands back the turban to the sacrificer. Āśv. further directs that from the hymn Ṛg. X. 94 which has 14 verses the 4th is taken out and the last is the paridhānīya (the finishing verse) and the rest (12 verses) are divided into four triplets and each of the triplets is either preceded or followed by a triplet out of the following viz. Ṛg. I. 91, 16-18, IX. 8. 4, IX. 15. 8, IX. 107. 21, VIII. 72. 8, VIII. 72. 16, IX. 17. 4, IX. 67. 14-15 (which together come to twelve verses). The four triplets are respectively recited by the grāvastut at the time of sprinkling water on the soma stalks, pounding with the hands, extracting juice, and collecting the soma juice in the ādhavanīya trough (Āśv. V. 12. 15-19). In the mid-day pressing the place of the Bahiṣpavamāna is taken by the Mādhyandina-pavamāna stotra (Āp. XIII. 3. 7). This stotra consists of Ṛg. IX. 61. 10-12, X. 107. 4-5, X. 87. 1-3, that is Sāmaveda II. 1. 1. 8-10 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 22-23, 41-42, 78-80. The yajamāna mutters several texts before the mādhyandina pavamāna is chanted and during its chanting (Āp. XIII. 3. 1).

After the chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna comes the rite called Dadhigharma, if the sacrificer has performed the Pravargya rite (Āśv. V. 13. 1). The pratiprasthātṛ brings curds in the ladle (sruc) made of udumbara; the curds are heated on the āgnīdhrīya fire. The hotṛ when asked ' is the

havis heated' repeats Ṛg. X. 179. 2 as the anuvākyā and X. 179. 3 is the yājyā and after he says 'vau3ṣaṭ' the curds are offered in the āhavanīya, and when he repeats 'agne vīhi' and also a second vauṣaṭ another offering of the heated curds is made and the remnants of curds are eaten by those who partake of the remnants in the Pravargya rite. Then the paśupuroḍāśa (of the animal killed in the morning) and the other offerings (such as puroḍāśa on eleven potsherds) are made and the remnants eaten. Then ten camasas are filled (including that of acchāvāka). Then offerings of soma from the śukra and manthin cups are made respectively by the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ and the camasādhvaryus offer the soma taken in their camasas and the remnants are partaken by the priests. After this come the offerings of ājya called dakṣiṇāhuti or dākṣiṇa homa (Kāt. X. 1. 4., Śat. IX. 2. p. 910). The procedure here resembles the Vaisarjina homa described above (p. 1158). Gold is tied by the hem of the garment that covers the yajamāna and his family, it is placed in the ājya contained in the juhū, and two āhutis are offered with 'udu tyam' (Ṛg. I. 50. 1) and 'citram (Ṛg. I. 115. 1) in the gārhapatya fire, the piece of gold is taken out and the yajamāna holding that gold piece and ājya in his hand approaches the dakṣiṇās (the various articles that constitute the fee) placed to the south of the mahāvedi. Vide Śat. Br. IV. 3. 4 about dakṣiṇā (derived from 'dakṣay' to invigorate) where it is stated that no priest should officiate at a soma sacrifice for a fee less than one hundred cows. Āp. (XIII. 5. 1—XIII. 7. 15) gives numerous rules about the dakṣiṇā to be distributed among the sixteen priests. The dakṣiṇā may consist of 7, 21, 60, 100, 112, or 1000 cattle or an unlimited number or a man may give all his wealth except the share of the eldest son[2613] and when he gives a thousand cattle or all his wealth he has to give one mule in addition (Āp. XIII. 5. 1-3). He may also give goats, sheep, horses, slaves, an elephant, clothes, chariots, corn of various kinds, asses. A man may give his own daughter in marriage (in the daiva form) as fee (Āśv. V. 13. 7). With regard to the cows meant as fee Āp. states that the yajamāna drives them with the black antelope skin so as to form them into four groups. One group (i. e. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number) is given to the adhvaryu and his assistants

2613. Prof. Keith in 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda' part 2 p. 330 says 'after which the fees should be given consisting of 7, 21.....cattle or all the sacrificer's goods save his eldest son'. He obviously means 'save his eldest son's share'.

in such a way that the pratiprasthātṛ, neṣṭṛ and unnetṛ receive respectively half, one-third and one-fourth of what the adhvaryu gets; that is, as stated by Kāt. X. 2. 25 and the com. on Āp. XIII. 2. 12, twelve cows are given to each of the four principal priests, 6, 4 and 3 respectively to each of their assistants in the order stated above in note 2228 (supposing one hundred cows are to be distributed). Jai. (as indicated below) and Manu VIII. 210 refer to this rule of distribution. The āgnīdhra is the first recipient of gifts, receiving a piece of gold, pūrṇapātra and a pillow woven with threads of all colours. The pratihartṛ is the last recipient (Āp. XIII. 6. 2, Kāt. X. 2. 39). Gifts are made to the priests while they sit inside the *sadas* and to the adhvaryu and his assistants in the havirdhāna pavilion. To a brāhmaṇa of the Atri gotra (who is not a ṛtvik) a gold piece is given before everybody else or after the āgnīdhra (Āp. XIII. 6. 12, Kāt. X. 2. 21). After the āgnīdhra come brahmā, udgātṛ and hotṛ (Kāt. X. 2. 26). Apart from the gifts meant for the ṛtviks something is given according to ability and inclination to the camasādhvaryus, the sadasya and to sight-seers in the sadas (they are called prasarpakas), except to those who belong to the Kaṇva or Kaśyapa gotra or those who ask for a gift (Āp. XIII. 7. 1-5, Kāt. X. 2. 35). Āp. (XIII. 7. 6-7) says that generally no gift is to be given to one who is not a brāhmaṇa, but a gift may be given to a non-brāhmaṇa who knows the Vedic lore, while no gift is to be made to a brāhmaṇa who is not learned. Kāt. X. 2. 38 states that the wife also joins in making gifts. After the anuvākya is repeated by the maitrāvaruṇa for the marutvatīya cup to be described below no gifts are made (Āp. XIII. 7, 14, Kāt. X. 3. 2). On making the gifts the sacrificer does obeisance (namaskāra) to the priests and utters an invocation as to animals donated in the words 'who gave to whom?'[2614] Drāhyāyaṇa (V. 3. 14-19) states that before accepting a gift every priest murmurs the famous mantra 'I take thee at the impulse of god Savitṛ.... &c' (Tāṇḍya I. 8. 1) and after receiving the gift each donee murmurs 'who gave to whom' (Tāṇḍya I. 8. 17). The gifts are taken away by the path between the āgnīdhrīya shed and the sadas and then by the tīrtha (Drāhyāyaṇa V. 3. 13). Jai. (X. 2. 22-28) declares that the making of gifts to the priests is not merely a formal act as part of the sacrificial rites, but is intended to induce the priests to give

2614. क इदं कस्मा... कामेतत्ते। दृष्टिरसि यौस्त्वा ददातु पृथिवी प्रतिगृह्णात्विथत्यतीतारस्वजुमन्त्रयते। Āśv. V. 13. 15. For क इदं &c. vide note 2391.

their services in return for the gifts. In Jai. X. 3. 39–49 it is concluded that in the words 'the dakṣiṇā is 112' the vedic text refers only to cows and not to the various kinds of corns, in X. 3. 50–52 that the division of the gifts is to be made by the sacrificer and not left to be done by the priests and that all the priests do not share equally, but according to the Vedic texts some get half (they are ardhinaḥ), others one-third (they are called tṛtīyinaḥ) and still others one-fourth (X. 3. 53–55). Jai. XII. 1. 32 states that as valuable gifts are given in Somayāga, there is no rice cooked (called anvāhārya) for the priests in the iṣṭis of Somayāga as there is in darśapūrṇamāsa (note 2390).

When the gifts are taken away by the priests the sacrificer casts away the antelope horn in the cātvāla pit with two mantras (Āp. XIII. 7. 16). Jai. (IV. 2. 16–19) says that this casting away is the final disposal of the horn (it is a pratipattikarma) and (in XI. 3. 13–14) that this casting takes place on the last day in sacrifices like the Dvādaśāha. The adhvaryu offers five offerings of ājya called Vaiśvakarmaṇa (i. e. for Viśvakarman) in the āgnīdhra fire with five mantras from Tai. S. III. 2. 8. 1–3 (Āp. XIII. 7. 17 and Sat. IX. 2. p. 911). The adhvaryu and the pratiprasthātṛ take two cups for (Indra) Marutvat and offer them. The remnants of the cup in pratiprasthātṛ's hand are poured in the adhvaryu's cup; from this mixture a portion is poured in the cup of the pratiprasthātṛ. The priests partake of the remnants. Then a third Marutvatīya cup is taken to the accompaniment of the śastra called marutvatīya[2615]

2615. The parts of the मरुत्वतीयशस्त्र may be briefly indicated here from Āśv. V. 14. 3ff. हिं भूर्भुवः स्वरो3म् । अध्वर्यो शों3सावो3म् (आहावः) । शों3सामो वैवो3म् (प्रतिगरः) according to Ait. Br. or शों3सामो वैव according to Tai. S. (vide note 2602 above). Then Ṛg. VIII. 68. 1–3 (triplet called pratipad), Ṛg. VIII. 2. 1–3 (a triplet called anucara), Ṛg. VIII. 53. 5–6 (called Indranihnava pragātha); Ṛg. I. 40. 5–6 (called Brāhmaṇaspatya pragātha); Ṛg. III. 20. 4, I. 91. 2, I. 64. 6 (three verses called Dhāyyā); VIII. 89. 3–4 (Marutvatīya pragātha), Ṛg. X. 73. 1–6 ; a *nivid* 'Indro Marutvān' (Āśv. V. 14. 20, Śāṅ. VIII. 16. 1 gives the whole in 20 short clauses); Ṛg X 73. 7–11 ; japa in the words 'ukthaṁ vacīndrāya śṛṇvate tvā' (Āśv. V. 14. 26); and lastly Ṛg. III. 47. 4 as the yājyā. This śastra follows after and is connected with the Mādhyandina pavamāna stotra (com. on Kāt. X. 3. 7). According to Kāt. X. 3. 8 the pratigara of adhvaryu here is 'modāmo daiva.' According to Āśv. V. 14. 7–8 pratipad and anucara consist of three verses and pragāthas consist of two ṛk verses. A pragātha is called Bārhata when the two verses are in Bṛhatī and Satobṛhatī metres and it is called Kākubha when there is a combination of verses in the Kākubh and Satobṛhatī metres.

recited by the hotṛ (Āp. XIII. 8. 2) and at the end of the recitation of that śastra it is offered. Then a cup for Mahendra is taken. The stotra for Mahendra is called Pṛṣṭha,[2616] and is chanted at this time, being sung in Ratha ntara melody (Lāṭ. II. 9. 7, Āśv. V. 15. 2-3). Then follows the Niṣkevalya śastra by the hotṛ. After the Māhendra cup is offered, the pratiprasthātṛ, neṣṭṛ and unnetṛ take up three grahas (cups) called Atigrāhya respectively for Agni, Indra and Sūrya (Āp. XIII. 8. 7-9). Then three Ukthya cups are offered as in the morning pressing. Then three Pṛṣṭhastotras[2617] are chanted,

2616. The Ṛg. verses of the Rathantara sāman are (VII. 32.22-23); अभि त्वा शूर नोनुमोऽदुग्धा इव धेनवः । ईशानमस्य जगतः स्वर्दृशमीशानमिन्द्र तस्थुषः ॥ न त्वावाँ अन्यो दिव्यो न पार्थिवो न जातो न जनिष्यते । अश्वायन्तो मघवन्निन्द्र वाजिनो गव्यन्तस्त्वा हवामहे ॥. These two are respectively in the Bṛhatī and Paṅktī metres and together constitute a Bārhata Pragātha. Vide Jai. IX. 2. 25-28 and Śabara thereon. In chanting these to the Rathantara melody they are to be made into three, by repeating the 4th pāda of the first with the first half of the 2nd verse and the last of this with the latter half of Ṛg. VII. 32. 23. The Wai Ms. writes it as follows: हुम् । ओंभित्वा शूर नोनुमो वा । ओं मादुग्धो इव धेनव ईशानमन्य जगतः सुवा २ ३ ईशाम् । ओं ईशानमा २ ३ इन्द्रा ३ । सूस्थू २ ३ ४ षा ओवा ६ हाउवा ॥ अंस् ॥ ईशोवा । ओं नामिन्द्रसुस्थुषो न त्वावाँ अन्यो दिवियाः ना पा २ ३ र्थिवाः । ने जातो नो २ ३ जाँ ३ । नो यिष्या २ ३ ४ ताउ वो ६ हाउवा । अंस् ॥ ने जोवो । ओं तो न जनिष्यते अश्वायन्तो मघवन्निन्द्र वा २ ३ जिनाः । गव्यन्तस्त्वा २ ३ हा ३ । वामा २ ३ ४ हो ओ वो ६ हाँ उवा । अंस ॥ The Wai Ms inserts after जगतः, दिवियाः, मघवन् certain स्तोभs in which the letter भ occurs several times e.g. ओं वाग्भाभु भोभि भभें भ भ भी भो भ भ भ भ भ भः । (after जगतः). This is probably in accordance with लाट्यायनश्रौत VII. 11. 6-8. ताण्ड्य. VII. 6. 11 says that अंस् is the निधन of रथन्तर ; vide ताण्ड्य VII. 7. 1 and 3 for प्रस्ताव and प्रतिहार of रथन्तर. The Ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library places the letter 'ra' wherever in the other two there is a vertical stroke and it has no figure over 'him' and 'om.' There are a few other differences also (not noted here). In the B. I. edition (vol. III. p. 85) the scheme is a good deal different as the following (only the first verse is taken) will show: आभित्वा शूर नोनुमाः । अदुग्धा आयि । वो ३ धायिनो ३ वाः ईशानमस्य जगतः सुवर्दृ । शाँ २ ३ ४ मे ही । ईशाना २ ३ ४ मी । द्रंसू ३ ओंउवा २ ३ । एँ ३ । स्थुषँओं ॥

2617. The 2nd पृष्टस्तोत्र is वामदेव्य, Ṛg. IV. 31. 1-3, Sāmaveda II. 1. 1. 12 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 87-89 ; the 3rd is नौधस, Ṛg. VIII. 88. 1-2, Sāmaveda II. 1. 1. 13 and S. V. vol. III. pp. 91-92 ; the 4th is कालेय, Ṛg. VIII. 66. 1-2, Sāmaveda II. 1. 1. 14 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. pp. 101-102.

each followed respectively by the śastras recited by the maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and acchāvāka. This closes the mid-day pressing of soma.

The evening pressing commences with the taking of the Āditya cup (a cup the deity of which is Aditi). In the third pressing the Vedic texts are to be uttered in the highest tone (Āśv. V. 17. 1). The procedure in this pressing resembles that of the mid-day pressing (Sat. V. 3. p. 915). The adhvaryu, the sacrificer, the pratiprasthātṛ, āgnīdhra and unnetṛ enter the havirdhāna shed by the eastern door and the wife enters by the western door (Kāt. X. 3. 2-3). The doors of the havirdhāna shed are shut when there are many persons sitting inside the vedi (Āp. XIII. 9. 2, Sat. IX. 3. p. 915). The adhvaryu takes into the Āditya cup a part of the remnants of the soma from the cups for the joint deities. In the middle or western part of the āditya cup he adds curds and then again takes the whole of the remnants of the soma from the cups for the joint deities (that has been poured in the ādityasthālī). He stirs the contents of the cup with the *upāṁśusavana* stone used in crushing the soma stalks and mixes them well together. He then takes out the stone and places it among the stones used for crushing soma stalks. The āditya cup is not placed down, but is covered with darbhas or with the right hand of the adhvaryu, who comes out after the doors of the havirdhāna are opened, takes it to the uttaravedi, stirs the contents with darbhas in such a way that a few drops fall down out of the cup. After the usual praiṣa and the other procedure the adhvaryu throws the darbhas on the āhavanīya and offers the contents of the āditya cup into fire. At the time of offering the contents and also immediately after doing so he does not look at the offering but looks elsewhere (Āśv. V. 17. 3). He does not partake of the remnants of soma in the āditya cup but keeps it with the remnants of soma therein among the several vessels. He puts on the ṛīṣa (the dregs of soma stalks) that is left after the two pressings the stalks (aṁśu) that are in the adābhya vessel and the upāṁśupātra and silently extracts soma juice therefrom. In the āgnīdhra shed the sacrificer's wife prepares by churning 'āśir' (milk mixed with soma) and enters the havirdhāna shed by the western door. The yajamāna enters by the eastern door, spreads on the mouth of the pūtabhṛt trough the strainer and pours thereon along with his wife the *āśir* with four mantras (Tai. S. III. 2. 8. 4-5). He

fills the āgrayaṇa cup from four streams (the fourth being from the remnants of soma in the ādityapātra), while in the mid-day pressing there are only three streams (Sat. IX. 3. p. 918, Āp. XIII. 10. 11). In this pressing no turban is given to the grāvastut priest. Then the Vipruḍ-ḍhoma is performed. The Ārbhava[2618] pavamāna is then chanted on the lines of the Mādhyandina pavamāna.

The *havis* prepared from the various limbs of the (savanīya) paśu sacrificed in the morning is then offered (Āp. XIII. 11. 3, Āsv. V. 17. 4). After the iḍā is partaken of by the hotṛ, the puroḍāśa (cake baked on 12 potsherds, Sat. IX. 3. p. 920) is offered to Indra and the rest of the procedure up to the laying down of the Nārāśaṁsa cups is followed. Then soma of the third pressing is offered by the adhvaryu from the hotṛcamasa and by the camasādhvaryus from their camasas and as elsewhere the priests and camasādhvaryus partake of the remnants. After the Nārāśaṁsa cups are laid down each of the priests who drink soma from camasas takes from the softest part of the puroḍāśa three small balls (or pills), places them on the ground to the south of his own camasa and they then offer them to their own father, grand-father and great-grand-father with the appropriate mantras[2619] (Āp. XIII. 12. 9, Āśv. V. 17. 5). They mutter the namaskāra mantras (vide note 2438 above) and the sacrificer utters the Ṣaḍ-ḍhotṛ mantras (Āp. XIII. 12.

2618. The third pressing is connected with the Ṛbhus as the praiṣa of the adhvaryu shows: तृतीयस्य सवनस्यर्भुमतो विभुमतः प्रभुमतो वाजवतः सचितुवतो बृहस्पतिवतो विश्वदेव्यावतस्तीर्णां आशीर्वत इन्द्राय सोमान्प्रस्थिताञ्प्रेष्य (Sat. IX. 3. p. 921, Āp. XIII. 12. 2). The Ṛbhus are three viz. Ṛbhu, Vibhvā and Vāja (Ṛg. I. 161. 6 and IV. 33. 3, IV. 34. 1) and their exploits are narrated in Ṛg. 1. 20, I. 110 and 111, I. 161, Ṛg. IV. 33-37 &c. The Ait. Br. (28. 4) narrates the myth that the Ṛbhus were mortals but were made immortal by Prajāpati and were given a share in the third pressing. It is therefore that the first stotra in the third pressing is called Ārbhava-pavamāna. This स्तोत्र is constituted by Ṛg. IX. 1. 1-3, IX. 108. 1-2, IX. 106. 1-3, IX. 101. 1-3, IX. 75. 1-3 = Sāmaveda II. I. 1. 15-19 (Benfey) or S. V. vol. III pp. 105-107, 115-116, 121-123, 131-133, 165-169.

2619. Vide note 2435 for the mantras. Āśv. and Lāṭ. II. 10. 4 say the mantra is 'अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति ।.' Kāt. X. 5. 11 notes that the procedure of Piṇḍapitṛyajña from piṇḍadāna to smelling the piṇḍas is observed but without water and (in X. 5. 12) gives it as his opinion that it is really the yajamāna's ancestors that are offered pieces of the puroḍāśa and not those of the camasādhvaryus.

10-11) which are in Tai. Ār. III. 4. Then the Sāvitra cup is offered (Āp. XIII. 13. 1, Āśv. V. 18. 1). The Vaiśvadeva cup is thereafter filled from the Pūtabhṛt trough, but there is no stotra chanted for this cup; the vaiśvadeva śastra however is recited by the hotṛ (Āśv. V. 18. 5-13). Then rice (caru) is boiled for being offered to god Soma. The adhvaryu wears the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta form, cuts off to the south of the āhavanīya one oblation from the boiled rice with his right hand and another with the mekṣaṇa, crosses to the north of the āhavanīya, and with his face to the south offers in the southern part of the āhavanīya fire the oblations of rice, the yājyā being 'tvaṁ soma pitṛbhiḥ saṁvidānaḥ' (Ṛg. VIII. 48.13). Ājya is poured on the remnants of the *caru* in the pot, the adhvaryu sees his face in the clarified butter (Āśv. V. 19. 4), anoints his eyes with the ājya by means of his thumb and ring-finger and then hands over the pot of rice (with ājya therein) to the three udgātṛ priests, who see their reflections in the ājya and if they cannot see their reflection (which is an evil omen) then more ājya is poured and two mantras are repeated (Āśv. V. 19.5, one being 'bhadram karṇebhiḥ' Ṛg. I. 89. 8) and then again they look for their reflection in the ājya. The āgnīdhra carries lighted roots of darbhas to the several dhiṣṇyas and establishes them thereon as fires and the adhvaryu pours ājya taken afresh in a pot over them while the darbhas are glowing (Āp. XIII. 14. 5-6, Sat. IX. 4 p. 929). He keeps some ājya in the pot, takes the cup called Pātnīvata,[2620] fills it from the soma in the Āgrayaṇasthālī, mixes in it the ājya that remains after pouring over on the dhiṣṇya fire-brands and offers it into the northern part of the fire. Jai. (in III. 2. 33-37) lays down several propositions about this cup viz. that it is offered only to Agni Patnīvat and not also to Indra-Vāyu and other joint deities (though the soma in the āgrayaṇasthālī had in it the remnants of the contents of the grahas for joint deities), that, though the mantra in offering it contains the word Tvaṣṭṛ ('O! Agni Patnīvat! drink soma joined with god Tvaṣṭṛ') that cup of soma is offered only to Agni Patnīvat and not to Tvaṣṭṛ also and

2620. The Pātnīvata cup is offered to Agni Patnīvat. The yājyā verse repeated in a low voice by the āgnīdhra (according to Āśv. V. 19. 7) for it is Ṛg. III. 6. 9 ऐभिरग्ने सरथं याह्यर्वाङ् नानारथं वा विभवो ह्यश्वाः। पत्नीवतस्त्रिंशतं त्रींश्च देवाननुष्वधमा वह मादयस्व ॥). According to Āp. XIII. 14. 8, Sat. IX. 4. p. 930, the text uttered with svāhā is ; 'अग्नाउइ पत्नीवन्त्सजूर्देवेन त्वष्ट्रा सोमं पिब स्वाहा ।' (वाज. सं. VIII. 10, तै. सं. I. 4. 27. 1).

that, though Rg. III. 6. 9 (the yājyā verse) contains a prayer about the thirty-three gods, the Pātnīvata is not to be supposed to be offered to them also. The adhvaryu then issues various directions to the several priests (Āp. XIII. 14. 11, Sat. IX. 4. p. 930). The āgnīdhra sits on the lap[2621] of the neṣṭṛ and partakes of the remnants of the Pātnīvata cup (Āśv. V. 19. 8, Kāt. X. 6. 24), while so sitting. He washes that cup on the mārjālīya and keeps it on the *khara*. The camasas of the hotṛ and others are filled by the unnetṛ in such a way that no soma is left, the two jars of soma are wiped with the *daśās* and they are all kept with mouths turned downwards. The adhvaryu starts the udgātṛ priests on their chant of Yajñāyajñīya stotra (Āp. XIII. 15. 3), which is the principal stotra of the Agniṣṭoma (Sat. IX. 4. p. 931 calls it 'Agniṣṭoma Sāman'). All those priests who are to chant the stotra and the choristers cover their heads together with the ears.[2622] Those who come as sight-seers into the sadas should join in the chant as choristers (Āp. XIII. 15. 6). When the udgātṛ makes the hiṅkāra of the yajñāyajñīya stotra he looks at the sacrificer's wife who is brought by the neṣṭṛ near the udgātṛ. When the nidhana (*ānale*) of the first verse is being sung the wife removes the garment from her right thigh and with her face to the north pours the *pānnejanī* water on her thigh up till the prastāva of the third stotrīya of the first *paryāya*[2623] (so as to leave no water in the jar). The wife retires to her shed when the udgātṛ asks her to go or when he has looked at her thrice and she has poured water thrice (Kāt. X. 7. 5-6). While the chant proceeds the sacrificer repeats the *saptahotṛ* mantras (note 2393 above). The Yajñāyajñīya sāman is Rg. VI. 48. 1-2 = Sāmaveda

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2621. Āp. XIII. 15. 1 and Sat. IX. 4. p. 931 do not apparently like this sitting on the lap of the neṣṭṛ and so give an option 'नोपस्थ आसीत यद्युपस्थ आसीत क्लीबः स्यात्।' सत्याषाढ.

2622. According to Āp. XIII. 15. 5 it is optional to cover the ears. According to Sat. IX. 4. p. 931, all persons whether priests or sightseers that are in the sadas cover their heads and ears and the yajamāna may do so or not.

2623. यज्ञायज्ञीयस्य हिङ्कारं प्रति पत्नीमुद्वातेक्षेत। निधनं प्रति पत्नी दक्षिणमूरुमभिविक्षेत्। तृतीयायां स्तोत्रीयायां प्रस्तुतायां सर्वं तदुदकं निनयेत्। लाट्यायनश्रौत II. 10. 15-17 and द्राह्यायण VI. 2. 15-17; उपरि वूरमुदेवावक्षणानामाविष्कर्तोः। अप्रीतमुखस्या जायत इति विज्ञायते। आप. XIII. 15. 11. Vide also ताण्ड्यब्रा. III. 7. 8-14 for this.

II. 1. 1. 20 (Benfey) and S. V. vol. III. p. 175-177.[2624] After this comes the recitation of the Āgnimāruta śastra (Āśv, V. 20. 6) which is to be done in the druta (quick) mode of recitation.[2625] While the hotṛ recites Rg. X. 9. 1-3 (the hymn beginning with 'āpo hi ṣṭhā'), which is part of this śastra he touches water separately at each verse, the other priests touch him, they all remove the covering from their heads,[2626] the hotṛ utters the āhāva, the adhvaryu utters the pratigara after splashing water. There are āhāvas when the four verses of Rg. VI. 47. 1-4 are being recited in the Āgnimāruta śastra. According to Sat. IX. 4. p. 932 the āhāva at the beginning of the first

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2624. The verses of the Yajñāyajñīya sāman are: यज्ञायज्ञा वो अग्नये गिरागिरा च दक्षसे । प्रप्र वयममृतं जातवेदसं प्रियं मित्रं न शंसिषम् ॥ ऊर्जो नपातं स हिनायमस्मयुर्दाशेम हव्यदातये । भुवद्वाजेष्वविता भुवद्वृध उत त्राता तनूनाम् ॥ (ऋ. VI. 48. 1-2). The first is in the Bṛhatī metre and the 2nd in Satobṛhatī. These two verses are to be turned into three. The sāman is as follows (from Wai Ms). हुम् । यँज्ञा ५ यज्ञा ३ वो ३ मायाइ । ओ माइरा इरा वो ३ दाक्षा ३ साइ । पँप्रीं ३ वयममृतं जाता २ ३ वोहुम्माइ । दो ३ साम् । प्रायं मित्रा ५ सुशा ३ सिषाउ । वो ३ ५ ॥ प्रायाम् । ओ माइत्रा ५ सु ३ शा ५ सी ३ षामूर्जो नपा र त ५ सहिनाया २ ३ मोहुम्माइ । स्मो३यूः । दाशेम हव्यदा र तायाउ । वो ३ ५ ॥ दाशे । ओ माहाव्या ३ दाता ३ याइ । भुवद्वाजे र ष्वविता भू २ ३ वोद्धुम्मायि । वो ३ धाइ उत त्राता तनू र नाउ । वो ३ ५ ॥ The Poona Ms everywhere has वा र ३ ५ and reads मायायि in the first line, दाक्षा ३ साई, मायित्रा, वोद्धुम्माइ, तनू र नाउ. The Bombay A.Society's Ms. reads यि almost in every place where इ occurs in the other Mss. For the change of गिरागिरा च into इरा इरा च vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण VIII. 6. 10. In the B. I. odition the first verse is set down (vol. III. p. 177) as follows: यँज्ञाऽऽय । ज्ञा ३ वो ३ मायाइ । ओइराइरा । चो ३ दाक्षा ३ साइ । पँप्री र वयममृतम् । जाता २ ३ वो । हुम्माइ । दो ३ साम् । प्रायम्मित्र ५ सुशा २ ५ सिषाउ ॥ Rg. VI. 48. 1-2 are a आर्चिक प्रगाथ.

2625. The mode of recitation is of three sorts, viz. विलम्बित, मध्यम and द्रुत (com. on Āśv. V. 20. 2). These are mentioned in ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य XIII. 18 also.

2626. यथादाहुर्शंसन्होतापोहिष्ठीया ब्रूयात्तदैनमन्वालभेरन्पावमान्यः । लाट्यायन II. 10. 20; the com. says that the head was covered for fear of being scorched by fire when the yajñāyajñīya addressed to Agni was being chanted. It is appropriate that when the hymn to waters is reached the covering of the head is removed. Vide Āp. XIII. 15. 18.

verse has a response which is 'madā modaiva modā modaiva (or-daivom).[2627]

When the last verse (paridhānīyā) of the Āgnimāruta śastra is being recited (or at one of several other stages, according to Āp. XIII. 16. 2–5 and Sat. IX. 4. p. 933) the pratiprasthātṛ brings into the hotṛ-camasa the soma contained in the dhruva graha and the adhvaryu offers the soma contained in that camasa and the camasādhvaryus offer the soma in their cups and the priests partake of the remnants. When the upayāja homa with reference to the animal killed in the morning is performed and the paridhis are cast into the fire, he takes the Hāriyojana cup.[2628] The unnetṛ brings into it all the soma contained in the āgrayaṇa-sthālī and mixes therein plenty of fried barley grains, places the cup on his head, comes out of the havirdhāna shed, steps backwards and forwards several times. Then the contents are offered to Indra (the tyāga by the yajamāna is 'idam Indrāya harivate') and the remnants are brought to the sadas for being partaken by the priests and the sacrificer. They distribute the remnants into other vessels, drink the fluid only smacking their lips, press the fried grains between their teeth so as to extract and take in all juice out of them and spit out of the vedi the masticated fried grains and sip water. According to some (Kāt. X. 8. 5) the priests only smell the fried grains. They throw chips of the tree from which the yūpa was made into the āhavanīya each with 'thou art the expiation (means of removal) of the evil caused by gods, men pitṛs &c.' (Vāj. S. VIII. 13., Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 7 quoted in Āp. XIII. 17. 9). They partake of the thick cheese-like layer on curds with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6) in the āgnīdhra shed (Sat. IX. 4. p. 935, Ap. XIII. 18. 1). They cast into the jars containing remnants of Ekadhanā waters green dūrvā

2627. Āśv. V. 20. 6 has स्वादुष्किलायमिति चतस्रो मध्ये चाह्वानं मदामो देव मोदामो देवोमित्यासां प्रतिगरौ'; Āp. XIII. 15. 14 says 'स्वादुष्किलायं मधुमाँ उतायमित्यभिज्ञायोभयतोमोदं प्रतिगृणाति मदामोद इव मोदामोद इवेत्या व्याहारात्।'. This last appears to be corrupt. The footnotes in Baud. VIII. 15 show how uncertain the mss. readings are. Sat. IX. 4. p. 932 explains व्याहार as स्वादुष्किलायान्तिमाहावो व्याहारः

2628. This cup is called Hāriyojana because it suggests the yoking of the horses of Indra for his return after being present at the soma offerings throughout the day. 'हरिरसिमन्युज्यते स्वस्थानं प्रति गमनायेन्द्रस्येति हरियोजन इन्द्रस्तत्संबन्धिग्रहो हारियोजनः' com. on śat. IX. 4. p. 934; 'हरिरसिमन् युज्यते प्रतिगमनायेन्द्रस्येति हारियोजनो ग्रहः।' com on Āp. XIII. 17. 1.

grass, squeeze that grass well, impart to the water a sharp flavour (by the juice of the dūrvā), pour the water into ten camasas. Each priest smells his camasa (and those who have none smell the one nearest to them) to the west of the cātvāla or in the place (called āstāva) where the Bahiṣpavamāna was chanted (Āp. XIII. 17. 9, Kāt. X. 8. 7, Sat. IX. 4. p. 935) and pour the water down into the cātvāla pit (Sat. IX. 4 p. 935, or inside the vedi according to Āp. XIII. 18. 1). All priests wait upon the āhavanīya with the *mindā* mantra 'yanma ātmano mindābhūt' (whatever fault has been mine, Agni has mended it' &c. Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 4). The priests then discharge themselves from the vow made at the Tānūnaptra ceremony. Then the Patnīsaṁyājas are performed as in the animal sacrifice (Āp. XIII. 18. 3). The adhvaryu offers with the juhū nine samiṣṭayajus offerings in a continuous stream, standing inside the vedi. Then he performs the prāyaścittas for actions like spilling soma drops about and offers a savanāhuti (i. e. an ājya offering indicating the completion of the Agniṣṭoma). The adhvaryu issues a direction to the maitrāvaruṇa to urge the priests to come out of the sacrificial shed and the latter do so.

Then follows the Avabhṛtha (the final purificatory bath). The procedure of this is an iṣṭi. Jaimini, however, in X. 7. 47–50 lays down that the avabhṛtha is a special rite and therefore all that takes place in the darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi does not follow as a matter of course. A fuel-stick is laid on fire, a veda bunch is made, kuśa is strewn round the fires (that is paristaraṇa), the necessary yajñapātras are placed with mouths downwards. No *idhma* is brought and some do not even prepare the vedi. Only four ladlings of ājya are taken in all the ladles (sruc). The nirvāpa is only for a cake to Varuṇa on one potsherd (Āp. XIII. 19. 3). There are no praṇītā waters (Sat. IX. 5. p. 938), and no girding up of the wife (vide above p. 1040 for it). The ājya in the ladles and the grains taken out for puroḍāśa are placed on the shoulder (north corner on eastern side) of the uttaravedi. The sacrificer takes out from its pit the post of udumbara (audumbarī in the sadas), places it on the hide and board used in extracting soma juice and all other utensils except the four sthālīs viz. the āgrayaṇa, ukthya, āditya-sthālī and dhruvāsthālī (vide Tai. Br. I. 4. 1 for these four sthālīs of clay) that are smeared with soma in the space between the cātvāla pit and the utkara or on the northern shoulder of the vedi on the large stool (āsandī) used for soma.

The yajamāna casts away the antelope skin in the cātvāla pit (other ways of disposal are also mentioned in Āp. XIII. 19. 8-9). When starting for avabhṛtha he offers clarified butter with 'O! Fire, that givest life &c.' (Tai. S. I. 3. 14. 4), a second oblation with the mantra 'avabhṛtha, nicumpuṇa &c.' (Vāj. S. VIII. 27).[2629]

A third oblation of ājya is made to Rudra (Āp. XIII. 20. 1) with 'namo Rudrāya' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 9). When starting from the vedi or from near the cātvāla with faces to the north they recite Ṛg. I. 24. 8 (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 1). The adhvaryu issues a direction to the prastotṛ to chant a sāman. The sāman chanted is called 'avabhṛthasāman' (Lāt. II. 12. 1). It is 'agniṣṭapati' (vide Śat. Br. IV. 4. 5. 8 and Drāhyāyaṇa śr. VI. 4. 1). When the *nidhana* of the sāman is being sung, all the priests, the yajamāna and his wife thrice repeat that *finale*. They do so a second time when they have traversed half of the distance to the reservoir of water and a third time when they reach the water (Āp. XIII. 20. 4 and Sat. IX. 5. p. 941). The same procedure is followed for the Varuṇa puroḍāśa as in Varuṇapraghāsas for niṣkāsa. The dregs of soma are thrown into water with the branch of the udumbara tree and curds are poured over it. All utensils smeared with soma are thrown into water (Āp. XIII. 21. 12, Kāt. X. 8. 24). Jai. (IV. 2. 19-22) says that this casting into water is merely the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of these utensils and the *śruti* passage 'they approach the water for the final bath with whatever is smeared with soma' does not lay down any subordinate matter about avabhṛtha. The girdle of the yajamāna and the yoktra, the jāla (net on the head of the wife) and the antelope skin of the wife are dipped in water. The yajamāna invokes the water with 'devīrāpaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 3) and enters. The deep silent waters of flowing rivers are to be preferred, but in the absence of such waters any water reservoir will do (Kāt. X. 8. 19). The yajamāna and the wife enter water, splash water on their heads (but do not dip them into water), rub each other's back. A handful of kuśa is thrown into the water and this handful in the water serves as the āhavanīya for all āhutis in avabhṛtha.

2629. The mantra in Vāj. S. is अवभृथ निचुम्पुण निचेरुरसि निचुम्पुणः। अव देवैर्देवकृतमेनोऽयासिषमव मर्त्यैर्मर्त्यकृतं पुरुराव्णो देव रिषस्पाहि। Āp. XIII. 19. 16 following Tai. Br. II. 6. 6 reads निचङ्कुण for निचुम्पुण. Vide Lāṭ. II. 12. 9, where this mantra is used at the time of sprinkling oneself with water after the bath.

The prayājas and anuyājas are offered as in darśapūrṇamāsa (except to God Barhis). Jai. (XI. 2. 30–34) lays down that not only is the principal offering of puroḍāśa offered into water but also all subordinate ones like āghāras. A portion of the puroḍāśa for Varuṇa is offered therein. The rest of the puroḍāśa is offered to Agni and Varuṇa, which becomes the Sviṣṭakṛt offering in this case (Kāt. X. 8. 27, Sat. IX. 5 p. 944). The unnetṛ at the direction of the adhvaryu leads all out of the water (the yajamāna or hotṛ being the first). The yajamāna and his wife put on fresh garments and come out. The cloth with which soma was enveloped is worn as a turban by the yajamāna and that in which soma stalks were tied is worn by the wife and both the pieces of cloth are donated later on in the Udavasānīyā iṣṭi to the adhvaryu (Āp. XIII. 22. 3–4). The priests, the yajamāna and the wife hold each a fuel-stick of udumbara, mutter the Mahīyā ṛk (viz. apāma somam-amṛtā abhūma, Ṛg. VIII. 48. 3), proceed following the unnetṛ towards the sacrificial ground without looking back at the water, perform *mārjana* in front of the cow-stable (of the sacrificer) and place the fuel-stick (carried by each) on the āhavanīya with 'edhosi &c.' (Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 3) and wait upon that fire with 'apo anvacāriṣam' (Āp. XIII. 22. 6 quoting Tai. S. I. 4. 45. 3). Then follows the Udayanīyā (the concluding iṣṭi). It is performed in the prāgvaṁśa (and not on the specially prepared uttaravedi). The procedure is like that for the prāyaṇīyā iṣṭi (already described on p. 1140). In the same sthālī (pot) in which the prāyaṇīyā offering was cooked and to the bottom of which some remnants stick he takes the offering for this iṣṭi. The wife again ties round her waist the yoktra. Prayājas are optional and if not offered no ājya is taken in the juhū. The yājyās and anuvākyās of the prāyaṇīyā become respectively the anuvākyās and yājyās of the Udayanīyā. The order of deities is different, viz. Agni is the first, Pathyā Svasti the last for ājya offerings (Āp. XIII. 23. 4, Sat. IX. 6. p. 950, Aśv. VI. 14. 3). When the Udayanīyā is finished the anubandhyā rite follows[2630] (Āp. XIII. 23. 6, Sat. IX. 6. p. 951). A barren cow is to be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa. The procedure is the same as that of Nirūḍha-paśu-bandha. Some sacrificed three anubandhyā cows viz. to Mitra and Varuṇa, to the Viśve Devas and to Bṛhaspati,

2630. Often the word is written as अनूबन्ध्या 'यज्ञमनुबध्यते इति अनूबन्ध्या' com on Āp. XIII. 23. 1; 'यज्ञमनु यज्ञसमाप्तिमनु बध्यते इति अनूबन्ध्या ह्रीर्घ आर्षः।' com. on Sat. IX. 5. p. 951.

but Āp. (XIII. 23. 6. 10 and 14) restricts them to Vājapeya, Rājasūya and sattras. Kāt. (X. 9. 14-15) says that instead of the cow, a bull may be offered or only *payasyā* may be offered to Mitra and Varuṇa.[2631] Āp. XIII. 24. 10 states that in place of the anubandhyā cow the followers of Ṛgveda offered āmikṣā to Mitra-Varuṇa and the offering was made by the hotṛ in front of the havirdhāna shed and all the ceremonies in the archetype iṣṭi up to Iḍā were performed in that rite. After the anubandhyā (or āmikṣā) was offered came the five offerings called Devikā viz. a cake on twelve potsherds to Dhātṛ and four oblations of rice cooked in milk in the four sthālis mentioned above (in which soma had been placed) to Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū (Aśv. VI. 14. 15, Āp. XIII. 24. 1-3). The yajamāna shaves his hair and moustache near the southern side of the vedi (Āp. XIII. 23. 16). The āhavanīya fire is taken to the north outside the mahāvedi in an earthen-ware vessel and the kuśas strewn on the vedi are burnt thereon and the smoke issuing therefrom is invoked with a mantra (Sat. IX. 6. p. 954), the adhvaryu offers on the fire (of the kuśas) ground barley from his joined hands (Āp. XIII. 24. 16-17). The fires are then deposited in the araṇis by repeating 'ayam te yoniḥ' (Ṛg. III. 29. 10, Tai. S. I. 5. 2, Vāj. S. III. 14) as stated in Āśv. III. 10. 5. Having given up the sacrificial ground he again produces fire by attrition to the north of the sacrificial ground and the udavasānīyā iṣṭi is performed.[2632] In this iṣṭi a cake baked on eight or five potsherds is offered to Agni (Āp. XIII. 25. 5, Sat. IX. 6. p. 956). In this iṣṭi (Āśv. VI. 14. 24) everything is done as in the punarādheya, but the mantras are muttered inaudibly in all cases except the last anuyāja. A bull is the fee or as much gold as will purchase a bull. Instead of this iṣṭi an offering of ājya was made by some (Āp. XIII. 25. 7-8) from the juhū in which twelve ladlings were made with sruva with 'idam viṣṇur' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17).

2631. In modern times no cow is sacrificed, but only āmikṣā is offered instead. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age is the slaughter of anubandhyā. 'यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नाशुवध्यावधोऽपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते ॥ quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117.

2632. 'उदवसायेज्यते इत्युदवसानीया' com. on Āp. XIII. 25. 3; 'उदवसानार्था इष्टिरुदवसानीया' com. on Sat. IX. 6. p. 956. उदवसान is the counter-part of अध्यवसान. When at the beginning the sacrificer enters upon the holy ground sought from the king it is अध्यवसान. Vide 'एतमगन्म देवयजनं पृथिव्या इति देवयजनमध्यवस्यति' Āp. X. 3. 3 (com. अध्यवस्यति सहाग्निभिर्वासार्थमनुप्रयायावस्थेदित्यर्थः).

Ingenious theories have been advanced by European scholars about the origin of the soma sacrifices. Considerations of space forbid the discussion of this topic here. Those who are interested in these speculations may consult Prof. Eggeling's Introduction to S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. XI-XXIII (where several European works are cited and questions about soma are discussed), L' Agniṣṭoma (pp. 481–490), Prof. Keith's 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda &c.' pp. 331–332 and the works cited there. With the greatest respect for all these learned and industrious European *savants* it must be said that none of the theories has any great plausibility or carries conviction. The cult of the soma is at least Indo-Iranian and no sure traces are left in the ancient Indian religious books of the origin of that cult. We have simply the institution of the sacrifice before us and all else is imagination and speculation. One important question is the relation of the plant soma to the moon (also called soma as in Ṛg. X. 85. 1 and 2). The moon is generally called 'mās' or 'candramas' in the Ṛg. (Ṛg. V. 51. 15, X. 85. 19, VIII. 94. 2, X. 12. 7, X. 68. 10). In Ṛg. VIII. 82. 8 occurs the very striking simile[2633] 'Soma that is seen among the (soma) vessels as the moon in waters' and the Atharvaveda (XI. 6. 7) states that the god whom people call Candramas is soma. In several places soma is addressed as *indu* (which certainly means the moon in later literature). Vide Ṛg. IX. 86. 24, 26, 37, VIII. 48. 2, 4, 5, 12, 13. It is said that soma grew on Mūjavat (Ṛg. X. 34. 1) and in the Ārjīkīya country (Ṛg. VIII. 64. 11) on the river Suṣomā. Even in the Ṛgveda soma appears to have become mythical. In Ṛg. IX. 86.24 soma is said to have been brought from heaven by Suparṇa (eagle or bird?) and in I. 93. 6 by a Śyena (hawk). Another matter to be noted is that the soma plant had certainly become rare,[2634] if not unobtainable, in the times of the Brāhmaṇas. The Śat. Br. IV. 5. 10 mentions several substitutes for soma, among which are Phālguna plants having brown flowers,

2633. यो अप्सु चन्द्रमा इव सोमश्चमूषु दृदृशे। ऋ. VIII. 82. 8; सोमो मा देवो मुञ्चतु यमाहुश्चन्द्रमा इति। अथर्ववेद XI. 6. 7. Vide Prof. Keith's remarks on Hillebrandt's views of the identification of the plant with the moon (Intro. to Tai. S. p. CXX).

2634. Vide S.B.E. vol. 26 p. XXIV ff for the identification of Soma with certain plants. Vide S.B.E vol. 26 pp. 421–422 for the several substitutes for Soma mentioned in Sat. Br. Prof. Keith (Intro. to Tai. S. p. CXIX) holds that the question of the identification of the soma plant cannot really be finally determined.

Dūb plant and greenish kuśas. The Tāṇḍya Br. says 'If one does not secure soma, one may extract juice from pūtīkas'.[2635] Jai. (III. 6. 40 and VI. 3. 13–17) states that this passage restricts a sacrificer when no soma is available to pūtīkas and prevents the employment of other substances similar to soma and in VI. 3. 31 he declares that pūtīkas are the proper *pratinidhi* (substitute) for soma and not any other substance even if it may be more similar to soma than pūtīkas, but that if both pūtīka and soma are unavailable then another substance similar to soma may be employed. Āśv. (VI. 8. 5–6) states that if soma stalks be not available then pūtīka stalks and Phālguna plant should be used or other plants mixed with pūtīkas may be employed (and the com. adds that those others are dūrvā, kuśa and the like). In the Deccan the plant that is taken to represent soma when soma sacrifices are rarely performed is called 'rānśera' (in Marathi) which grows in the hills of the Deccan.

2635. यदि सोमं न विन्देयुः पूतीकानभिषुण्युर्यदि न पूतीकानर्जुनानि च। ताण्ड्य IX. 3. 3.

CHAPTER XXXIV

OTHER SOMA SACRIFICES

The sūtras speak of seven forms (saṁsthās) of soma sacrifices. These seven forms are Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Vājapeya, Atirātra and Aptoryāma (according to Kāt. X. 9. 27, Āśv. VI. 11. 1, Lāṭ. V. 4. 24). The first of these has been described in some detail above. Owing to restrictions of space only a few words can be said about the other soma sacrifices. All sūtras do not state the same number of soma sacrifices. Āp. XIV. 1.1 and Sat. IX. 7. p. 958 expressly say that Ukthya, Soḍaśin, Atirātra and Aptoryāma are the modifications of Agniṣṭoma and the commentaries of both point out that there were several views on the number of the modifications of the Agniṣṭoma. In the Brāhmaṇas the Agniṣṭoma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin and Atirātra are generally mentioned as forms of Jyotiṣṭoma (vide Śat. Br. IV. 6. 3. 3, Tai. Br. I. 3. 2 and 4, which last mentions Vājapeya also).

Ukthya or *Uktha.* In this there are three more stotras (called uktha stotras) and śastras (called uktha śastras) to be chanted and recited in the evening pressing, thus bringing the total of stotras and śastras to fifteen (Ait. Br. 14. 3, Āśv. VI. 1. 1-3). Āp. XIV. 1. 2 says that the Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra and Aptoryāma are respectively performed by him who desires cattle, vigour, progeny and cattle, all objects. In the Ukthya an additional victim, a goat (over and above those offered in Agniṣṭoma) is sacrificed for Indra and Agni on the pressing day. Vide Ait. Br. XIV. 3, Āśv. VI. 1. 1-3, Āp. XIV. 1, Sat. IX. 7. pp. 958-959, Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 251 n, S. B. E. vol. 41, pp. XIV-XVI.

Ṣoḍaśin. In this sacrifice in addition to the fifteen stotras and fifteen śastras of the Ukthya there is an additional stotra and a corresponding śastra called Ṣoḍaśin in the *tṛtīya savana* (both the śastra and the sacrifice have the same name, as the com. on Āśv. VI. 2. 1 says). There is an additional cup in the morning or at all pressings according to some (Āp. XIV. 2. 4-5). It is made of khadira wood and is quadrangular in shape (Sat. IX. 7. p. 960). The stotra for the ṣoḍaśin cup is begun to be chanted

about sunset after the adhvaryu hands over a piece of gold to the sāma singer (instead of kuśa grass, Āp. XIV. 3. 1). Soma is purchased for a cow that is of very small stature and has red-coloured ears. In this rite an additional victim viz. a ram is sacrificed for Indra. The fee is a reddish brown horse or a female mule. Vide Ait. Br. 16. 1-4, Āśv. VI. 2-3, Āp. XIV. 2. 3 ff, Sat. IX. 7. pp. 959-962, Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 255-256n, S.B.E. vol. 41 pp. XVI-XVII for further details.

Atyagniṣṭoma. This form is obtained by adding the ṣoḍaśistotra, the ṣoḍaśin cup and an additional victim for Indra to what prevails in the Agniṣṭoma ; vide S. B. E. vol. 41, p. XVII.

Atirātra. This soma sacrifice is referred to even in the Ṛgveda (VII. 103. 7). As this sacrifice is not finished in one day but only after the day and night pass away it is called Atirātra. Āp. X. 2. 4 notes that according to some the Atirātra is performed even before Agniṣṭoma. The Atirātra has 29 stotras and 29 śastras. In this the additional stotras and śastras are repeated at night in four rounds (called paryāyas) of three stotras and śastras. Āśv. VI. 4. 10 points out these 12 śastras. In this sacrifice the śastra called Āśvina is recited, but before it six āhutis are offered at night. The Āśvina-śastra closely follows the procedure of prātaranuvāka, must comprise at least a thousand verses and was to be recited till sunrise (vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 268-269n for description of this śastra). At twilight is chanted a stotra appropriately called Sandhistotra (Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. pp. 266-267n). It is in the Rathantara melody. If the sun did not rise by that time the hotṛ was to continue reciting Ṛg. I. 112 and when the sun rose he was to recite saurya hymns (viz. Ṛg. X. 158, I. 50. 1-9, I. 115, X. 37). A fourth animal viz. an ewe (or ram according to some) is offered to Sarasvatī on the pressing day (Sat. IX. 7. p. 963). The principal camasas in the night are offered to Indra Apiśarvara (Sat. IX. 7. p. 963.). A puroḍāśa on two potsherds is offered by the pratiprasthātṛ to Aśvins (Āśv. VI. 5. 23 and Sat. IX. 7 p. 965) and a soma cup is offered to the Aśvins. Jai. X. 8. 6 notes that as a vedic passage says 'there is no ṣoḍaśin cup in Atirātra' and another says there is, the first is a prohibition and there is an option. For details vide Ait. Br. 14. 3 and 16. 5-7, Āśv. VI. 4-5, Sat. IX. 7 pp. 662-665, Āp. XIV. 3. 8—XIV. 4. 11, S. B. E. vol. 41 pp. XVII-XX.

Aptoryāma—This sacrifice is similar to Atirātra of which it appears to be an amplification. Only there are four additional stotras (i. e. 33 in all) and four additional śastras recited by the hotṛ and his assistants, and there are four camasas in relation to these last respectively for Agni, Indra, Viśve Devas and Viṣṇu (Āp. XIV. 4. 12–16, Sat. IX. 7 pp. 966–967, Śāṅ. XV. 5. 14–18 and Sat. X. 8. p. 1111). According to Āśv. (IX. 11. 1) he whose cattle do not live or who desires to secure cattle of good breed should perform the Aptoryāma. Āśv. (IX. 9. 22–23) says that in this the fee is more than a thousand (cows) up to an unlimited number and the hotṛ gets a special gift of a white chariot (plated with silver) to which female mules are yoked. This sacrifice is generally joined with others. The Tāṇḍya Br. (XX. 3. 4–5) states that the rite is so called because by its performance one secures whatever object one desires (from 'āp' to obtain).

Vājapeya—(lit. food and drink, or drink of strength or of food or of a race).[2636] Though this rite is said to be a form of Jyotiṣṭoma and though it follows the procedure of Ṣoḍaśin (Āp. XVIII. 1. 4) it has so many special features of its own that it may be said to be an independent sacrifice. One characteristic feature is that the number 17 is predominant in this sacrifice (Āp. XVIII. 1. 5, Tāṇḍya XVIII. 7. 5), viz. there are 17 stotras and 17 śastras, the 17th being the Vājapeya stotra and śastra, 17 animals sacrificed for Prajāpati, 17 objects distributed as fee, the yūpa (of bilva or khadira wood) was 17 aratnis in length, at the time of enveloping the yūpa with a girdle in this rite 17 pieces of cloth were employed for the purpose (Āp. XVIII. 1. 12), it lasted for 17 days (for 13 days dīkṣā, 3 upasad days and one pressing day) or there were 17 dīkṣās (and then the rite lasted for 21 days). Vide Āśv. IX. 9. 2–3 and Āp. XVIII. 1. 6–7. Another feature was that there were seventeen cups of surā (wine) for Prajāpati as well as 17 cups of soma. Another peculiarity was that there were seventeen chariots to which horses were yoked and a race was run, when seventeen drums that were arranged on the northern *śroṇi* of the vedi were simultaneously beaten (Āp. XVIII. 4. 4 and 7, Kāt. XIV. 3. 14) to the west of the āgnīdhra shed.

2636. Various meanings are assigned to 'Vājapeya'. The Tai. Br. I. 342 says 'वाजाप्यो वा एषः । वाजं क्षेत्रेण देवा ऐप्सन्। सोमो वै वाजपेयः । ... ... अन्नं वै वाजपेयः ।; शाङ्खायनश्रौत (XV. 1. 4–6) states 'पानं वै पेयाः । अन्नं वाजः । पानं वै पूर्वमधावजम् । तयोरुभयोराप्त्यै ।'.

This complicated rite was undertaken by one who desired overlordship (ādhipatya, as Āśv. IX. 9. 1 says) or prosperity (Āp. XVIII. 1. 1) or svārājya (the position of Indra or uncontrolled dominion). It was performed in the autumn.[2637] Only a brāhmaṇa or a kṣatriya could perform it, but not a vaiśya[2638] (Kāt. XIV. 1. 1 and Āp. XVIII. 1. 1). In the case of a brāhmaṇa the reward aimed at must have been the attainment of the position of a super-eminently learned or prosperous man. All the priests, the sacrificer and his wife wear chains of gold, and Āśv. IX. 9. 5 adds that the chain worn by the hotṛ has a hundred lotus-like pendants studded with precious stones. The golden chain worn by each priest becomes part of his fee. Besides the three viz. for Agni, Indra and Agni and for Indra (a ram), a barren cow for Maruts and ewe for Sarasvatī and 17 hornless, young and virile goats of one colour (or all of dark colour) for Prajāpati are offered in this rite (Āp. XVIII. 2. 12–13, Kāt. XIV. 2. 11–13). For the 17 cups of wine (called parisrut, prepared from several herbs) the pratiprasthātṛ prepares a separate mound (*khara*) to the west of the axle of the southern havirdhāna cart on which the wine cups made of clay are to be kept. The soma cups are to the east of the axle of the cart and wine cups to the west and they are to be kept separate. According to Kāt. (XIV. 1. 17 and 26) it is the neṣṭṛ priest that gets ready the mound and the wine cups. In the midst of the wine cups a golden cup of honey is placed (Tai. Br. I. 3. 3, Kāt. XIV. 2. 9). The wine is purchased ready-made in exchange for lead from a long-haired man at the time when soma stalks are purchased, or the material for making wine is bought, and is entered into the sacrificial enclosure by the southern door and is boiled on the dakṣiṇa fire (Kāt. XIV. 1. 14–17). The yūpa has four angles (and not eight as elsewhere) and has no top protruding beyond the caṣāla, but its top is even and is slightly depressed in the middle. The caṣāla of the yūpa (which is 17 aratnis high) is made of wheat flour (Tai. Br. I. 3. 7, Āp. XVIII. 1. 8, Kāt. XIV. 1. *22*). A race is run in connection with the mid-day pressing in the

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2637. शरदि वाजपेयेन स्वाराज्यकामो यजेत। quoted by शबर on जै. X. 2. 64 and X. 7. 51. The Tai. Br. I. 3. 2 has य एवं विद्वान् वाजपेयेन यजते गच्छति स्वाराज्यम्। अग्रं समानानां पर्येति। तिष्ठन्तेऽस्मै ज्यैष्ठ्याय।; वाजपेययाजी वाव प्रजापतिमामोति। ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 18. 6. 4.

2638. स वा एष ब्राह्मणस्य चैव राजन्यस्य च यज्ञः। तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 2; यं ब्राह्मणा राजानञ्च पुरस्कुर्वीरन् स वाजपेयेन यजेत। लाट्यायन VIII. 11. 1.

following way (Āp. XVIII. 3. 3 and 12–13). The Tai. Br. I. 3. 2 refers to the race won by Bṛhaspati and connects the Vājapeya with that race. Seventeen chariots are got ready to the east of the āhavanīya with their yokes to the north or east. One of them is the sacrificer's chariot to which three horses are yoked with mantras and a fourth runs along the third but is not yoked. These horses are made to smell the *caru* of wild rice (nīvāra) which is meant for Bṛhaspati. To the sixteen other chariots four horses each are yoked outside the vedi but without mantras (com. on Kāt. XIV. 3. 11). A kṣatriya (rājaputra according to Āp.) shoots an arrow from the space between the cātvāla and utkara and notes the spot where it falls, from which he shoots an arrow a second time. This is done seventeen times. On the spot where the arrow falls at the 17th shooting, he plants a post of udumbara wood as the goal for the chariot race (Āp. XVIII. 3. 12 and Kāt. XIV. 3. 1–11 and 16–17). When the race starts, the brahmā priest fixes an udumbara chariot-wheel (having seventeen spokes according to Kāt. V. 12. 11) on an axle (or udumbara post navel-high) implanted on a spot between the cātvāla and the utkara (or near the utkara) and ascends on that wheel with 'at the impulse of God Savitṛ may I win vāja (vigour, food or race) with the help of Bṛhaspati, the winner of vāja' (Āp. XVIII. 4. 8, Kāt. XIV. 3. 12 which mentions Vāj. S. IX. 10). When the wheel is revolved from left to right (it is revolved thrice) the brahmā chants the Vāji-sāman [2639] (Āp. XVIII. 4. 11, Āśv. IX. 9. 8. Lāṭ. V. 12. 14). According to Lāṭ. (V. 12. 13) the brahmā only rests his arms on the wheel. The yajamāna occupies the chariot on which mantras were recited and the adhvaryu (or his pupil) also gets into it to instruct the yajamāna to repeat the Vedic formulae he has to utter. Other persons (called vājasṛt) join in the race and sit in the other sixteen chariots and a kṣatriya or vaiśya sits in one of them and the race starts with speed. All the seventeen drums are beaten on the northern śroṇi of the vedi to urge on the horses. All the horses are made to smell the *caru* of wild rice (nīvāra) cooked in 17 pots for Bṛhaspati. The chariot of the sacrificer is in front and the others follow his, but do not overtake it. The adhvaryu makes the yajamāna

2639. The verse to be chanted by brahmā is आविर्मर्या आ वाजं वाजिनो अग्मन्देवस्य सवितुः सवे । स्वर्गा* अर्वन्तो जयत ॥ This is one of the few verses of the Sāmaveda that are not found in the Ṛgveda. If the brahmā cannot chant it, he is to mutter it thrice (Āśv. IX. 9. 3).

recite the formulae of victory such as ' agnirekākṣareṇa ' (Vāj. S. VIII. 31–34, Tai. S. I. 1. 11). When the chariot reaches the goal, the chariot is taken to its north and then turned round to the south. All the chariots return to the sacrificial ground and the horses are again made to smell the caru of nīvāras and a homa is offered for discharging the drums (dundubhi-vimocanīya-homa). A berry (kṛṣṇala, gold of that weight) is given to each of those that rode the chariots, but that gold is taken back from them and is donated to the brahmā who also receives the golden jar of honey (Kāt. XIV. 4. 17, Āp. XVIII. 5. 5) after it is presented to and taken back from the kṣatriya or vaiśya. The cups of soma are taken up by the priests (the adhvaryu taking the hotṛ-camasa), and the camasādhvaryus take up their cups ; while the pratiprasthātṛ takes up the principal wine cup and the other sixteen are taken up by those who joined in the race. The adhvaryu starts towards the east with the soma cups with ' sam pṛcaḥ ' (Tai. Br. I. 3. 3), the pratiprasthātṛ to the west with the wine cups and stands near the mārjālīya shed. After the adhvaryu offers the soma cups, the wine cups are shaken and given to the sixteen persons who took part in the race and they quaff them on the southern śroṇi of the vedi. According to Kāt. (XIV. 3. 20 and XIV. 4. 16) the kṣatriya or vaiśya who sat in one of the chariots receives all the wine cups. When preparations are made to chant the Mahendra stotra, the neṣṭṛ requests the wife to put on a short undergarment of darbha and the yajamāna wears a silken garment (tārpyam)[2640] inside the garment which he wears as a dīkṣita. A ladder is raised against the yūpa to its north or south (Kāt. XIV. 5. 5) and when the sacrificer climbs to the top of the yūpa a dialogue ensues between the sacrificer and his wife (Kāt. XIV. 5. 6–11, Āp. XVIII. 5. 9–11). The sacrificer addresses ' wife, come, let us ascend to heaven '. The wife responds ' let us ascend '. They engage in this dialogue thrice. According to Kāt. XIV. 5. 8 both husband and wife climb to the top of the yūpa, while according to Āp. (XVIII. 4. 12) only the husband does so who finally says 'out of us both I shall ascend to heaven'. On reaching the top he touches the caṣāla of wheat flour and mutters ' we reached the heaven, the gods ' (Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2, Vāj. S. IX. 21). Thence he looks at his house with ' May I live long with my children '

2640. Vide S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 85 n for various explanations of ' tārpya '.

(Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2) or in the several directions with Vāj. S. IX. 22 (Kāt. XIV. 5. 11). Vaiśyas (explained as his children by the com. on Kāt. XIV. 5. 12) throw up to him 17 bags of salt or saltish earth enveloped in leaves of aśvattha or (according to Āp. XVIII. 5. 16-18) the adhvaryu, brahmā, hotṛ and udgātṛ raise up the bags to his face on long poles respectively from the east, south, west and north with mantras (referring to food, *vāja* and winning of vāja) He receives them and descends. He plants his right foot on a piece of gold placed over a goat-skin spread in front of the yūpa on the ground with its neck to the east and hairy side outside and his left foot on the skin itself and from thence he sits down on a couch placed on the west side of the uttaravedi. The offerings of the omentum and other limbs of the animal for Sarasvatī and of other animals are made, the wild rice caru for Bṛhaspati is offered and the priests partake of the remnants as usual. The animals for Prajāpati are offered at the time of the mid-day pressing. Before the offering to Sviṣṭakṛt of the wild rice caru is made water and milk are poured in a vessel of udumbara and food of seventeen kinds of grains or of as many as the sacrificer remembers except one is also put therein and seven offerings are made of all this with the sruva and the yajamāna is sprinkled with the rest (Kāt. XIV. 5. 20-24). He does not eat throughout his life-time the food of the one kind of grain that was omitted. The adhvaryu declares thrice after taking the name of the sacrificer 'he, so and so, is samrāṭ' (overlord). Ap. XVIII. 7. 18 says that on performing vājapeya a man is entitled to use the white parasol. After the performance of Vājapeya the sacrificer had to observe certain rules of conduct (vide Lāṭ. VIII. 12. 1-4, Āp. XVIII. 7. 16-17). He should act like a kṣatriya (i. e. he may study and make gifts, but should not teach or accept gifts), he should not rise to receive or do abhivādana or carry[2641] errands for or sit on the same couch with a person who had not performed that sacrifice. The adhvaryu receives the horses and the chariot in which the sacrificer sat (Āp. XVIII. 3. 10) and receives also all the 17 clothes with which the yūpa was enveloped. As to other fees there is some divergence among Āp. XVIII. 3. 4-5, Āśv. IX. 9, 14-17, Kāt. XIV. 2. 29-33 and Lāṭ. VIII. 11. 16-22. Āśv. says that 1700 cows, 17 chariots to which horses are yoked, seventeen

2641. तस्माद्वाजपेययाज्यप्रत्यवरोहीति। अस्यां हि सोध्यभिषिच्यते। ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 18. 6. 12-13.

horses, seventeen animals which men ride, seventeen draught oxen, seventeen carts, 17 slave-girls decked with golden *niṣkas* round their necks, 17 elephants with golden girths-these constitute the fee in Vājapeya and Āśv. suggests other alternatives. Āp. XVIII. 3. 4 is almost the same but adds seventeen goats and ewes. Lāṭ (VIII. 11. 16-18) is also practically the same as Āśv. but adds several alternatives about cows. In the Kuruvājapeya (variously explained in the com.) cows donated are only 17, in other Vājapeyas 1700 or 17000 cows may be given. Lāṭ. further says that the gifts may be equally divided among all the priests, that the chariot occupied by the sacrificer over which *yajus* mantras were recited and the couch with its coverlet are given to the udgātṛ, the goat-skin with the golden piece is taken by the hotṛ.

It will have been noticed that this sacrifice has several picturesque elements in it. In the race and the drinking bout of seventeen cups there is a popular element. In the climbing to the top of the yūpa by the sacrificer and in the boiled wild rice for Bṛhaspati there is a symbolism of holiness and eminence.

Āśv. IX. 9. 19 says that after performing Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa should perform Bṛhaspatisava,[2642] while Āp. XVIII. 7. 15 recommends the Sautrāmaṇī after it. Kāt. (XIV. 1. 2-8) states various views.

Jaimini in several *adhikaraṇas* deals with the śruti texts about Vājapeya. They may be briefly indicated here. In I. 4. 6-8 he shows that in the sentence 'one desiring to secure overlordship should sacrifice with Vājapeya' the word Vājapeya is the name of a rite (karmanāmadheya) and that that sentence does not lay down some subordinate matter (such as what material is to be used) in the model sacrifice and that the word vājapeya does not mean gruel or similar substance. In Jai. III. 1. 18 it is said that the text 'of the Vājapeya the yūpa is 17 aratnis'

2642. According to Jai. IV. 3. 29-31 the Bṛhaspatisava is an aṅga of Vājapeya and the sentence वाजपेयेनेष्ट्वा बृहस्पतिसवेन यजेत does not lay down a time for the performance of that rite. Vide Tai. Br. II. 7. 1 and Āp. XXII. 7. 5 ff, Āśv. IX. 5. 3 ff for बृहस्पतिसव which is a kind of Ekāha soma sacrifice and which is to be performed by one who desires overlordship (ādhipatya) or spiritual eminence (brahmavarcasa) according to Āśv. IX. 5. 3 or by one who desires to be the purohita of a king (Tai. Br. II. 7. 1).

means that the yūpa required for the sacrifice of animals in the Vājapeya is to be 17 aratnis high and not that any other thing like the Ṣoḍaśipātra was to be 17 aratnis. When the Tai. Br. (I. 3. 4) says that seventeen animals are to be killed for Prajāpati, they are 17 separate yāgas and not one rite (*karma*). When it is said that caru is prepared in milk in seventeen śarāvas (pots), the method of taking out handfuls of grains (as in darśapūrṇamāsa) is not applicable. Jai. says (in XI. 4. 30) that the vessel (kumbhī), the śūla and the spit for roasting the omentum are the same for all the victims, that the omentum of the victim for Prajāpati is not sprinkled with the ājya remaining after the prayāja offerings are made (IV. 1. 33-39) and that the chariot which was occupied by the sacrificer is to be specially given to adhvaryu and not any one of the seventeen chariots i. e. there is a restrictive rule about the share in chariots for the adhvaryu, while there is none as to the other priests (X. 3. 74-75).[2643]

The Agniṣṭoma and the other forms of soma sacrifices so far described are ekāha (one day) soma sacrifices i. e. in them soma is offered in cups on one day thrice (in the morning, midday and evening). The sūtras (e. g. Aśv. IX. 5-11, Baud. XVIII. 1-10, Kāt. XXII), however, mention and describe several other one day soma sacrifices, such as Bṛhaspatisava, Gosava, Śyena, Udbhid, Viśvajit, Vrātyastoma (already described above on pp. 345-347) which are left out for want of space.[2644]

2643. For details about Vājapeya, vide Tai. S. I. 7. 7-12, Tai. Br. I. 3. 2-9, Tāṇḍya XVIII. 6-7, Sat. Br. V. 1-2, Āśv. IX. 9, Āp. XVIII, Kāt. XIV. 1-5, Lāṭ. V. 12. 8-25, VIII. 11-12, Sat. XIII. 1-2, Vārāha Śr. III. 1 and Hillebrandt's Rit. Lit. pp. 141-143, Prof. Keith's Rel. and Phil. part 2 pp. 339-340, Introduction to Tai. S. tr. pp. CVIII-CXI, Weber's 'Über den Vājapeya' (1892), S.:B. E. vol. XLI pp. XXIII-XXV.

2644. The Viśvajit from among the ekāhas is a very striking sacrifice. In this the sacrificer either gives a thousand cows or all wealth after separating the share of the eldest son (and excepting land and śūdras who serve him as a duty). Jai. sets out several propositions about this sacrifice in IV. 3. 10-16, VI. 7. 1-20, VII. 3. 6-11, X. 6. 13. After this rite, the sacrificer stays three days at the root of an udumbara tree subsisting on fruits and roots, for three days in a settlement of niṣādas (where he may subsist on nīvāras i. e. on rice, śyāmāka and the flesh of deer), for three days among vaiśyas (*jana*, also explained as 'persons of another gotra':) and three days with kṣatriyas (samānajana,

(*Continued on next page*)

The ahīna sacrifices[2645] are those the duration of which is two to twelve days of soma pressing, which always end with an atirātra and which together with the dīkṣā and upasad days should not extend beyond a month. They should be begun on a Full Moon day. Among them there are groups of sacrifices that last for two days, three days (e. g. Gargatrirātra), four days, five days (called pañcarātras of which Pañcaśāradīya is one), ṣaḍahas and so on. Among the numerous rites called ahīnas, the Aśvamedha and Dvādaśāha deserve notice. The Aśvamedha will be described later on. The Dvādaśāha is both an ahīna and a sattra (Āśv. X. 5. 2). There are several varieties of Dvādaśāha, one being called Bharata-dvādaśāha (Āśv. X. 5. 8., Ap. XXI. 14. 5). The twelve days of the Dvādaśāha as a sattra are constituted by the Prāyaṇīya (the commencing rite, an Atirātra), Pṛṣṭhya Ṣaḍaha[2646] (6 days), Chandomas which are Ukthyas (3 days) and a tenth day which is

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(*Continued from last page*)

also expalined as sagotras). For a year he should not refuse what is offered but should not beg. Vide Kāt. XXII. 1. 9-33, Lāt. VIII. 2. 1-13. The Gosava is a very strange rite. Tho Tai. Br. II. 7. 6 briefly describes it. One who desires svārājya may perform it and Āp. (XXII. 12. 12-20 and XXII. 13. 1-3) states that for a year thereafter he should be paśuvrata (act like cattle) i. e. should drink water like them and eat grass (with his teeth) and approach his mother &c. (probably only as a make-believe). तनेष्टा संवत्सरं पशुव्रतो भवति । उपावहार्योदकं पिबेत्तृणानि चाच्छिन्द्यात् । उप मातरमियादुप स्वसारमुप सगोत्राम् । आप. XXII. 13. 1-3. Another very striking okāha sacrifice is the सर्वस्वार. This is performed by ono who desires to die on performing it and to obtain heaven. Whon the Ārbhava pavamāna stotra is bogun to be chanted in the third pressing, the sacrificer directs the priests to finish the sacrifice and enters fire. This sacrifice is called शुनःकर्णाग्निष्टोमः. Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण XVII. 12. 5, Jaimini X. 2. 57-61 where Sabara appears to quoto some vedic texts very similar to Āp. XXII. 7. 21-25 'मरणकामो यजेत यः कामयेतानामयता स्वर्गं लोकमियामिति । ..... आर्भवे स्तुयमाने औदुम्बरीं पत्तोदशेनाहतेन वाससा दक्षिणाशिराः प्रावृतः संविशञ्जाह ब्राह्मणाः समापयत मे यज्ञमिति । तदेव संतिष्ठते ।'

2645. Vide Śat. Br. IV. 5. 4, Āśv. X. 1. 11—X, 5. 13, Āp. XXII. 14ff, Kāt. XXIII, Śāṅ. XVI. 19-30, Lāṭ. IX. 5-12.

2646. According to Kāt. XII. 3. 1 a pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha is so constituted that the first day is an Agniṣṭoma, the fourth is a Ṣoḍaśin and the rest are Ukthyas, while an Abhiplava ṣaḍaha is so constituted that the first and last are Agniṣṭomas and the rest are Ukthyas. There is also a difference between the two as regards the stomas. Vide S.B.E. vol. 26 pp. 402-403 n. 4. For the Chandomas, vide Haug's tr. of. Ait. Br. p. 347 *n.*

an Atyagniṣṭoma (called Avivākya, on which no speaking or dispute about errors is allowed) and the Udayanīya (concluding rite, which again is an Atirātra). The principal differences between the Dvādaśāha as an ahīna and a sattra are: (1) a sattra can be performed only by brāhmaṇas, while a dvādaśāha may be performed by any one of the first three varṇas; (2) the sattra may extend over even long periods (such as a year or more), while a dvādaśāha cannot so extend; (3) in the sattra the distinction of yajamāna and priests does not exist but all are yajamānas and all work as priests, while in dvādaśāha that distinction exists; (4) (as a consequence of the above) in a sattra there are no dakṣiṇās. Kāt. XII. 1. 4 states that wherever in the vedic texts the words 'upayanti' and 'āsate' occur it is a sign of a 'sattra' (and so in that case the rules about sattras will apply) but where the word 'yajate' or 'yājayet' is used it is a sign of an ahīna. In an ahīna only the last day is an Atirātra, but in a sattra both the first and last days are Atirātras (Kāt. XII. 1. 6).

It is now necessary to say something about a few other striking sacrifices.

Rājasūya.—This is strictly not a purely soma sacrifice, but it is a most complex ceremony extending over a very long period (more than two years) and comprising a number of separate iṣṭis (like the one to Anumati), Soma sacrifices (like Pavitra) and animal sacrifices (Kāt. XV. 1. 3). Even the briefest statement of the several rites will occupy many pages. An attempt will be made to indicate only a few salient features.

This ceremony could be performed only [2647] by a kṣatriya. There was a difference of view, some holding that it could be performed only by him who had not celebrated the Vājapeya (Kāt. XV. 1. 2), while others held that it should be celebrated after Vājapeya (Aśv. IX. 9. 19). In the Śat. Br. IX. 3. 4. 8 it is said 'by performing the Rājasūya one becomes a king (*rājan*)

2647. राजा राजसूयेन यजेत । लाट्यायनश्रौत IX. 1. 1, सत्याषाढ (XIII. 3) adds स्वर्गकामो before यजेत. Vide Āp. XVIII. 8. 1, Kāt. XV. 1. 1; राजसूयेन स्वाराज्यकामो यजेत quoted by Śabara on Jai. XI. 2. 12; Sāṅ. XV. 13. 1 after narrating that Varuṇa secured super-eminence, complete dominion and overlordship by performing it states तथो एवैतद्यजमानो यद्राजसूयेन यजते सर्वेषां राज्यानां ऐकध्यं स्वाराज्यमाधिपत्यं पर्येति । The word राजसूय is derived by Śabara as 'राजा तत्र सूयते तस्माद्राजसूयः । राज्ञो वा यज्ञो राजसूयः' (on Jai. IV. 4.1). Soma is called rājan.

and by the Vājapeya an emperor (*samrāṭ*) and the position of the king is (obtained) first and thereafter of emperor.' On the first day of the bright half of Phālguna the sacrificer undergoes dīkṣā for a soma sacrifice called Pavitra, which follows the procedure of Agniṣṭoma (Lāṭ. IX. 1. 2, Aśv. IX. 3. 2, Kāt. XV. 1. 6). There was difference of opinion as to the number of dīkṣā days (Lāṭ. IX. 1. 8, Kāt. XV. 1. 4). The Abhiṣecanīya ceremony which is the principal among the rites of Rājasūya took place exactly a year after the Pavitra sacrifice was commenced (Lāṭ. IX. 1. 4). At the end of the Abhiṣecanīya the sacrificer did not actually enter into water for the final bath (avabhṛtha), but wearing shoes made of boar-skin he repaired from the sacrificial ground (devayajana) to the water, put into the water black antelope horn or the foot portion of a black antelope skin and returned wearing shoes of black antelope skin (Lāṭ. IX. 1. 23–24).

There are five offerings commencing the next day after the Pavitra sacrifice, one each on one day. Then on the Full Moon of Phālguna there is an iṣṭi to Anumati (a puroḍāśa being offered). Vide Kāt. XV. 1. 9 and Āp. XVIII. 8. 10. There is an offering to Nirṛti prepared from the particles of grains that fall to the west of the śamyā from the mill-stone when the grains for the puroḍāśa to Anumati are being ground. The particles are taken in the sruva and a firebrand being lighted from the dakṣiṇa fire, the offering is made to the south of the vihāra on that fire-brand or on some saltish land. On the full moon day of Phālguna are begun the cāturmāsyas (i. e. first the Vaiśvadeva, then after four months Varuṇapraghāsas and so on). This goes on for one year. Between the *parvans* of the cāturmāsyas, the monthly full moon and new moon sacrifices are performed. The cāturmāsyas come to an end with the Śunāsīrīya parva on the first of the bright half of Phālguna. After that several rites follow such as the Pañcavātīya in five fires in the four directions and in the middle (Āp. XVIII. 9. 10–11, Kāt. XV. 1. 20–21), the Apāmārga-homa (Āp. XVIII. 9. 15–20, Kāt. XV. 2. 1 ff.). Then there are twelve offerings called 'ratnināṃ[2648] havīṃṣi' performed on twelve days one

2648. The 'ratnins' are enumerated somewhat differently in different texts, though some are common to all. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 9. 1–2, Tai. Br. I. 7. 3, Sat. Br. V. 3. 1. 'रत्निनामेतानि हवींषि भवन्ति । एते वै राष्ट्रस्य प्रदातारः ।' तै. ब्रा. I. 7. 3.

after another in the houses of the 'ratnas' (jewels) viz. of the sacrificer himself, his queens and state functionaries (Kāt. XV. 3 and Āp. XVIII. 10). The deity to whom an offering is made is appropriate to the person in whose house the offering is made and the offerings and fees also differ. The twelve persons (according to Kāt.) are the sacrificer, the commander of the army, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta (minstrel ?), grāmaṇī (village headman), the kṣattṛ (chamberlain), saṃgrahītṛ (treasurer or charioteer ?), akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling), govikarta (hunter ?), dūta or pālāgala (courier), parivṛkti (the discarded queen) and the deities respectively are Indra, Agni Anīkavat, Bṛhaspati, Aditi, Varuṇa, Maruts, Savitṛ, Aśvins, Rudra (for both akṣāvāpa and govikarta), Agni, Nirṛti (the offering in this case is a caru of black rice husked with the nails). The dakṣiṇās also vary (vide Āp. XVIII. 10. 15–30, Kāt. XV. 3. 16–34). Then follow several offerings. Then comes the Abhiṣecanīya rite which is the central ceremony in Rājasūya and which lasts for five days (one day dīkṣā, three days *upasads* and one sutyā day of soma pressings). The dīkṣā of Abhiṣecanīya (anointing rite) is performed on the first of Caitra. It is performed on the southern part of the sacrificial ground while the Daśapeya is performed on the northern portion. In the Abhiṣecanīya and Daśapeya the hotṛ must be of the Bhṛgugotra (Tāṇḍya Br. XVIII. 9. 2, Kāt. XV. 4. 1, Śāṅ. XV. 13. 2). The Abhiṣecanīya follows the procedure of the Ukthya. Soma is bought for both Abhiṣecanīya and Daśapeya at the same time, but half of it (for Daśapeya) is deposited, after being carried in a cart, in the house of the brahmā priest. Then there are eight offerings of caru called Devasū-havīṃṣi viz. to Savitṛ, Agni Gṛhapati, Soma Vanaspati, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Rudra, Mitra, Varuṇa. According to Āp. XVIII. 12. 7–8 after these eight offerings the brahmā priest announces to the 'ratnins' that the sacrificer is their king and refers to the tribes or people occupying the country.[2649] Vide Kāt. XV. 4. 15–17 also. At the end of *iḍā* in the case of these caru offerings the priest brings waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara wood, viz. of the Sarasvatī river, flowing water of a river, water from ripples produced by the entrance of a man or animal, water

2649. अथैनं रत्निभ्य आवेदयत्येष वो भरता राजेति । एष वः कुरवो राजेति कौरव्यम् । एष वः पञ्चाला राजेति पाञ्चालम् । एष वः कुरुपञ्चाला राजेति वा कुरुपञ्चालान् । एष वो जनता राजेत्यन्यान् राज्ञः । सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजेति ब्रह्मा जपति । आप XVIII. 12. 7–9.

from a river drawn against the current, water of the sea, of ocean waves, of whirl-pools, of deep steady reservoirs always exposed to the sun, rain water in sunshine before it falls on the ground, of a lake, of a well, of frost &c. (Kāt. XV. 4. 21-42, Āp. XVIII 13. 1-18). All the waters are poured into a vat of udumbara which is placed near the seat of Maitrāvaruṇa. After the Marutvatīya cup is offered in the Ukthya rite, he spreads to the east of the vessel of water a tiger skin on the western end of which lead is placed. Six homas called Pārtha[2650] are offered (Āp. XVIII. 15. 8, Kāt. XV. 5. 34) and then with a gold piece tied in two kuśa blades the water in the big vessel is cleansed (that is utpavana is performed) and is distributed in four vessels made of palāśa, udumbara, nyagrodha and aśvattha. The sacrificer wears a silken garment (tārpya, explained by Kāt. XV. 5. 7-11), a white turban (one end of which hangs from the shoulder) and a mantle. The sacrificer recites the Āvid formulae[2651] (Āp. XVIII. 14. 10, Kāt. XV. 5. 21, which refers to Vāj. S. X. 9). The adhvaryu gives a strung bow and three arrows to the sacrificer, who puts a copper piece in the mouth of a long haired man (eunuch) for averting evil (from spirits and snakes?); vide Vāj. S. X. 10. The sacrificer treads upon the piece of lead and brushes it away with his foot and stands on the tiger-skin with a gold piece under his foot and has a fillet of gold on his head. The sacrificer holds up his arms. He strides in the quarters. The sacrificer stands facing the east and the adhvaryu, standing in front of him, first sprinkles him with the holy water contained in the vessel of palāśa, the other priests follow viz. the brahmā sprinkles him from the right with water in udumbara vessel and so on. Besides, the king's brother (Kāt. XV. 5. 30) or another kṣatriya (Āp. XVIII. 16. 3) sprinkles him with water from the udumbara vessel, a friendly kṣatriya from the third vessel and a vaiśya from the fourth (Āp. XVIII. 16. 3-5 says a kṣatriya sprinkles water from udumbara vessel, a vaiśya sprinkles from behind the king with water from aśvattha vessel and a friend from the common people sprinkles from the north side with water in the nyagrodha

2650. The Śat. Br. V. 3. 5. 4. connects these offerings with Pṛthu Vainya (the first consecrated king of men). The mantras are in Vāj. S. X. 5.

2651. In the Tai. S. 1. 8. 12. 2 the *āvid* formulae are interesting and they are: आविजोर्मिर्बृहपतिरोविक्ष इन्द्रो ... आविजे धावापृथिवी धृतव्रते आविजा देव्यदितिर्विश्वरूप्याविजोषमसावादुव्यायणोस्यां विश्यस्मिन्राष्ट्रे महते क्षत्राय महत आधिपत्याय महते जानराज्यायैष वो भरता राजा सोमोस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा।

vessel). These actions are probably symbolic of the consent of all people to the anointing. The sacrificer rubs with the antelope horn over the whole of his body the holy water sprinkled over him (Kāt. XV. 6. 8). According to Kāt. XV. 6. 1-2 at this stage or after the dice play (to be described later) the hotṛ priest sitting on a cushion inlaid with gold recites the story of Śunaḥśepa[2652] for the sacrificer's benefit. Āp. XVIII. 19. 10 places this recital after the dice-play. Āśv. IX. 3. 9 says that the story of Śunaḥśepa is recited to the anointed king after the marutvatiya śastra in the Abhiṣecaniya rite (and before the Niṣkevalya śastra), the king being seated on a golden cushion and surrounded by his son and ministers. The adhvaryu also sits on a cushion inlaid with gold and utters the responses (pratigara) uttering 'om' (as the pratigara) at the end of each ṛk and 'tathā' at the end of each *gāthā*.[2653] At the end of the recitation the sacrificer donates a hundred or a thousand cows to the hotṛ and to the adhvaryu and donates also their respective cushions. The king takes three strides called Viṣṇukrama on the tiger-hide. All the remnants of the anointing waters are poured in the palāśa vessel and are handed over by the anointed king to his son with the words 'May my son continue this my work and this my prowess.' Then two homas are offered (called nāmavyatiṣañjaniya) in which at first the son is declared to be the father of his father and then secondly the relationship is rightly put.[2654] Vide Āp. XVIII. 16. 14-15, Kāt. XV. 6. 11. Then there is a symbolic march for the plunder of cows. As in Vājapeya a chariot is made ready, four horses are yoked to it, the sacrificer ascends it, takes the chariot in the midst of a group of hundred or more cows belonging to his kinsmen collected to the north of the āhavaniya,

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2652. Vide Ait. Br. 33 for the story. Śāṅ. (XV. 17. 27) contains (with a very few additions and slight variations) the whole of the Ait. Br. passage on the story of Sunaḥśepa.

2653. ओमित्यृचः प्रतिगरं एवं तथेति गाथायाः। Āśv. IX. 3. 11, Kāt. XV. 6. 3, Āp. XVIII. 19. 13. For example, he responds with 'tathā' at the end of each of the ten gāthās from यं त्विमं in the Ait. Br. But some of the verses like कस्य नूनं (Ṛg. I. 24. 1 quoted in Ait. Br. 33. 4) are ṛks. There is no pratigara except at the end of ṛk verses and gāthās, when the Sunaḥśepa story is narrated.

2654. As an example may be given this. अयमभिमन्युरर्जुनस्य पितेत्येवं पितृशब्दो पुत्रे कृतो भवति यथायथं पश्चादिति अर्जुनोऽभिमन्योः पितेत्येवम् । com. on Kāt. Vāj. S. X. 20 refers to this प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्यन्यो ... ... तन्नोस्त्वयमस्मच्च पितासावस्य पिता वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणां स्वाहा।

touches one of them with the string of his bow and says 'I seize these.' Then he restores to the owner as many cows as are collected or more and returns to the sacrificial ground and makes four offerings called Rathavimocanīya. Vide Kāt. XV. 6. 13-23. Lāṭ. (IX. 1. 14-22) gives a more graphic account that at the time of giving gifts, the king's kinsmen are collected with their wealth, arrows are discharged at them by the sacrificer, they themselves bring back the arrows and declare 'O king, may you be victorious.' One-third of their wealth is distributed among the priests, one-third is given at the time of the Daśapeya to the worthy brāhmaṇas brought in that rite, one-third is returned to the kinsmen, villages are bestowed on them and they become rājanyas (king's nobles) but not worthy of coronation. Before getting down from the chariot he puts on boar-skin shoes, bows to the earth with 'O mother earth! do not injure me nor may I injure thee' (Vāj. S. X. 23, Tai. S. I. 8. 15. 1). The king then sits on a chair or throne made of khadira that is placed in front of the āgnīdhrīya shed (Āp. XVIII. 18. 5-8, Kāt. XV. 7. 1-4). The priests and the 'ratnins' take seats round him; the brahmā priest (the purohita or adhvaryu according to Kāt. XV. 7. 11) hands over the sphya to the king, from whom it passes on to several persons viz. the king's brother, sūta, sthapati, village headman, kinsman (Āp. XVIII. 18. 14-16). According to Kāt. (XV. 7. 13) the kinsmen and the pratiprasthātṛ mark out a place for dice play with the sphya (according to Āp. XVIII. 18. 16 the superintendent of gambling does so). On the ground so marked a quadrangular hut or shed is erected. Five dice are handed over to the king who is lightly struck by the priests with sticks of sacrificial trees. The king calls as umpires (upadraṣṭṛ) the saṁgrahītṛ, the bhāgadugha (collector of taxes) and the kṣattṛ (Āp. XVIII. 19. 6-8). The play is so arranged that the best throw (of the dice) comes to the king and the worst to his kinsman.[2655] It appears that the dice play required golden pieces also beyond a hundred or a thousand in number (Āp. XVIII. 19. 1). According to Kāt. (XV. 7. 25-26) the king actually undergoes the avabhṛtha bath, while Lāṭyāyana as stated above differs. After the offering of anubandhyā cow and the performance of the udavasānīyā iṣṭi, a cake prepared from a mixture of rice

2655. कृतादि वा निधयाद्राजप्रभृतिभ्यः । सजाताय कलिम् । Kāt. XV. 7. 18-19. कृत and कलि are throws of dice. It is difficult to find out how exactly dice-play took place. Vide Eggeling's note in S.B.E. vol. 41 pp. 106-107.

and barley and baked on twelve potsherds is offered to Indra and Viṣṇu. For ten days after the Abhiṣecanīya he offers successively on each day offerings called 'saṁsṛpām havīṁṣi' respectively to Savitṛ, Sarasvatī, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Varuṇa, Agni, Soma, Viṣṇu (Kāt. XV. 8. 1-4, Āp. XVIII. 20. 7 which says they are ten or seven and they begin with Agni; Āśv. IX. 4. 6 speaks of only seven). Each of these is offered in fire set up in a devayajana to the east of the preceding one and the last of the ten is offered in the shed prepared for the Daśapeya rite (Āp. XVIII. 20. 8-10, Kāt. XV. 8. 2-3). On each of the ten (or seven) iṣṭis (of saṁsṛpām havīṁṣi) he offers to the priests ordinary or golden lotus flowers and on the tenth day he wears a garland made of those flowers. That becomes his consecration (dīkṣā) for the next rite, viz. Daśapeya. Jaimini declares (in XI. 2. 57-62) that though soma is purchased for both Abhiṣecanīya and Daśapeya at the same time (vide p. 1216 above), yet in the two ekāhas the whole procedure of soma sacrifices is repeated. A different proposition is stated in Kāt. XV. 8. 10-13 (except as to dīkṣā and avabhṛtha which are repeated in both rites). On the tenth day after the Abhiṣecanīya is finished the Daśapeya is performed (Lāṭ. IX. 2. 1, Kāt. XV. 8. 14 says on the 7th day i. e. on 7th of the bright half of Caitra). This rite is so called because in it each of the ten camasas (cups) of soma are partaken of by ten brāhmaṇas (Āśv. IX. 3. 18, Āp. XVIII. 21. 3). The brāhmaṇas are the ten ṛtviks who ordinarily partake of the soma in camasas plus 90 more (called *anuprasarpakas*) who possess special qualifications, viz. whose ten ancestors on the father's and mother's sides were masters of Vedic lore, had rigorously performed their duties and were engaged in holy actions and who had no sexual or marital alliances with non-brāhmaṇas[2656] (vide Āśv. IX. 3. 19-21, Śāṅ.

2656. Vide note 574 for the passage of Āśv. According to Āp. XVIII. 21. 3-4 and Kāt. XV. 8. 16 the ten ancestors on the father's side only should have been drinkers of Soma. Vide Lāṭ. IX. 2. 5-7. The पाराहशौत III. 3. 4. 18 says येषां दशसु न मीमांसेरंस्त ऋत्विजो यसर्पिणश्च (प्रसर्पिणश्च?) पिबा (पि .वा?) किं ब्राह्मणस्येत्युक्त्वा प्रसर्पति (प्रसर्पन्ति?). The editor, Dr. Raghu Vira, was puzzled by this sūtra. It means (when corrected as shown) that the priests and others who came to drink soma and could not trace ten generations of soma-drinkers entered after reciting a verse out of the verses that begin with the words 'pibā somam' (like Ṛg. VI. 17. 1 or VII. 22. 1) and the verse 'why do you ask the brāhmaṇa about his father or mother' (Kāṭhaka Saṁ. 30. 1 or Maitrāyaṇī S. IV. 8. 1). The verse is: किं ब्राह्मणस्य पितरं किमु पृच्छसि मातरम् । श्रुतं चेद्ब्राह्मिण्येषं स पिता स पितामहः ॥

XV. 14. 8–11). Kāt. XV. 8. 17 gives an option that one need not investigate whether the ten ancestors of each were soma-drinkers, but the one hundred brāhmaṇas should enter the *sadas* after reciting Vāj. S. X. 30.

Fees are prescribed at many of the constituent rites in Rājasūya, but special fees are mentioned in connection with the Abhiṣecanīya and Daśapeya (Āśv. IX. 4. 2 ff). At the Abhiṣecanīya Āśv. recommends 32000 cows to each of the four principal priests, 16000 to each of the first assistants of the four, 8000 to each of the next four, 4000 to each of the last group of four (Āśv. IX. 4. 3–5). These come to the huge figure of 240000 cows. Vide Śāṅ. XV. 16. 16–19 also for such large figures. At the Daśapeya 1000 cows are the fee and then there are special rewards for the 16 priests (Āśv. IX. 4. 7–20, Āp. XVIII. 21. 6–7, Kāt. XV. 8. 23–27, Lāṭ. IX. 2. 9–15) viz. a golden chain, a horse, a milch cow (with calf), a goat, two golden ear-rings, two silver ear-rings, twelve five year old pregnant cows, a barren cow, a round golden ornament (rukma), a hull, cotton cloth, a thick hempen piece of cloth, a cart full of barley drawn by an ox, an ox, a heifer, a young three year old hull respectively to udgātṛ, his three assistants, adhvaryu, pratiprasthātṛ, brahmā, maitrāvaruṇa, hotṛ, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin, potṛ, neṣṭṛ, acchāvāka, āgnīdhra, unnetṛ and grāvastut.

For one year after the avabhṛtha bath in Daśapeya, the king has to keep certain observances (called devavratas in Lāṭ. IX. 2. 17 ff) viz. he should not plunge in water for daily bath but should only rub his body with water, should always brush his teeth, pare his nails, should not cut his hair (but may shave the mustache or beard), should sleep in the sacrificial fire-shed on a tiger-skin with its hair upwards, should daily offer fuel-sticks ; his subjects (except brāhmaṇas) should not cut their hair for a year, nor should horses' hair be cut for a year. For a year he should never walk on the ground unless he wears shoes (Kāt. XV. 8. 29).

There are several minor offerings, such as those called pañcabila in four quarters and in the midst (Kāt. XV. 9. 1–3), twelve *prayuj* offerings at the interval of a month or on two days (Kāt. XV. 9. 11–14, Āp. XVIII. 22. 5–7).

At the end of a year from the Daśapeya took place the rite called Keśavapanīya[2657] which followed the procedure of the

2657. केशवपनीय इति संज्ञा संवत्सरभृतानां केशानां तस्मिन् वपनं क्रियते । com. on लाट्यायनश्रौत IX. 3. 1.

Atirātra sacrifice (Āśv. IX. 3. 24) and in which hair grown for a year were cut off. About the exact time of the rite there were different views. The com. on Āśv. says it was performed on some day in the bright half of Vaiśākha, while the com. on Kāt. XV. 9. 20 says that the pressing day of Keśavapanīya fell on the Full moon day of Jyeṣṭha. Vide also Lāṭ. IX. 3. 1-3. Then follow two rites called Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra (dvirātra for prosperity), which were respectively (first) an Agniṣṭoma and (the 2nd) an Atirātra performed at the interval of one month (Kāt. XV. 9. 21-23, Āśv. IX. 3. 25-26). There were several views about the time of their performance (Lāṭ. IX. 3. 5-9, Āp. XVIII. 22. 14-16). Then one month after the 2nd Vyuṣṭidvirātra (i. e. on Śrāvaṇa Full Moon day) was performed the rite called Kṣatradhṛti (lit. stability of martial power) which followed the procedure of Agniṣṭoma (Āśv. IX. 3. 27, Lāṭ. IX. 3. 13). Śāṅ. (XV. 16. 10-11) refers to the legend that Kurus lost in each battle because they did not offer the Kṣatra-dhṛti rite.[2658] According to Śat. Br. V. 5. 5. 6-9 in place of the Udavasānīyā there was the Traidhatavī iṣṭi in which a cake prepared of barley and rice mixed together was offered. This finished the Rājasūya, but one month after it in the bright half the Sautrāmaṇī iṣṭi was performed. This last is dealt with separately below.

It will have been seen that this complex rite is full of symbolic elements and also popular elements like dice-play.

In the sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 33-35) there is a description of the Rājasūya performed by Yudhiṣṭhira, but it is of the vaguest sort and does not go into any details. Vide Jai. IV. 4. 1-4 (the dice-play has no independent fruit and that it, though held for the cow referred to in Āp. XVIII. 19. 2, is not an aṅga of the abhiṣecanīya only, but really of the whole Rājasūya), V. 2. 13-15 (in the offerings called Devasūhavirmṣi, which are prepared from several kinds of corn, the mortar is one for pounding all the corns one after another), XI. 4. 1-3, XI. 4. 4-7 (the priests chosen at the beginning should continue to work till the end), XI. 4. 8-10 (about the offerings in the houses of the 'ratnins'), XI. 4. 43 (the mantra

2658. अथैतेन क्षत्रस्य धृतिना यजते । अनुष्टोमेन रथन्तरपृष्ठेनाग्निष्टोमेन । तेनो ह त्रिशोकेन वृद्धद्युम्न अभिमतारिण ईजे । तमु ह ब्राह्मणोऽनुव्याजहार । न क्षत्रस्य धृतिनाप्नुहि इममेव प्रतिसमरं कुरुक्षेत्राण्युज्यन्त इति । तदु किल तथैवास्त यथैवैनं मोवाच । आश्वलायन-श्रौत XV. 16. 8-11.

recited at the time of beating corn in the mortar has to be repeated in the Devasūhavirṃṣi); II. 3. 3 (holds that the iṣṭi in which puroḍāśas are offered to Agni and others and in which the fees are various such as gold and which is called Aveṣṭi is a separate iṣṭi and that though in the Rājasūya it is performed only by a king, it can be performed independently of Rājasūya by a brāhmaṇa in a somewhat different order of offerings).[2659]

2659. For details about Rājasūya, vide Tai. S. I. 8. 1–17, Tai. Br. I. 4. 9-10, Śat. Br. V. 2. 3–5, Ait. Br. VII. 13 and VIII., Tāṇḍya Br. XVIII. 8–11, Āp. XVIII. 8–22, Kāt. XV. 1–9, Āśv. IX. 3–4, Lāṭ. IX. 1–3, Śāṅ. XV. 12 ff, Baud. XII ; S. B. E. vol. 41 pp. XXIV ff, vol. 44 pp. XV ff, Prof. Keith's 'Rel. and Phil. of the Veda' part 2, p. 340, and Intro. to Tai. S. pp. CXI–CXIII, Weber's 'Die Königsweihe den Rājasūya' (Berlin, 1893), which last contains an exhaustive treatment (pp. 1–158) of the Rājasūya.

CHAPTER XXXV

SAUTRĀMAṆĪ[2660] AND OTHER SACRIFICES

This rite is included among the seven forms of haviryajñas (Gaut. VIII. 20, Lāṭ. V. 4. 23). It is not a soma sacrifice but is a combination of an iṣṭi with animal sacrifice (Śat. Br. XII. 7. 2. 10). The chief characteristic of it is the offering of *surā* (wine) in it. In modern times milk is offered in place of surā in the Sautrāmaṇī. According to Lāṭ. V. 4. 20 and Āp. XIX. 5. 1 there are two kinds of this rite, viz. Kaukilī and Caraka-sautrāmaṇī (or the ordinary one). Kaukilī is an independent rite, while the ordinary Sautrāmaṇī is performed at the end of the Rājasūya (one month after it) and also at the end of the piling of the fire-altar (agnicayana). Lāṭ. V. 4. 21 states that there is chanting of *sāmans* only in the Kaukilī and not in the other variety and according to Kāt. XIX. 5. 1 (com.) it is the brahmā that chants the Sāman to Indra in the Bṛhatī tune (viz. Vāj. S. XX. 30) Āp. XIX. 1. 2. states that in the ordinary sautrāmaṇī the procedure is that of the nirūḍhapaśubandha and that (XIX. 5. 2) in Kaukilī also the same procedure applies. There are two fires as in Varuṇapraghāsa, but the southern one is not established on a *vedi* (Kāt. XIX. 2. 1 and V. 4. 12). Some held (as is done by Śat. Br. XII. 7. 3. 7) there were two vedis behind which two mounds were raised, one for cups of milk and the other for cups of surā. The rite takes four days, during the first three out of which wine is prepared from various ingredients, while on the last day three cups of milk and three of surā are offered to Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra and animals are slaughtered for the same three.

In this rite the victims are a reddish-white goat for the Aśvins, an ewe for Sarasvatī, and a bull for Indra Sutrāman (Śāṅ. XV. 15. 1-4, Āśv. III. 9. 2). A brief description of the method in which wine was prepared in the Sautrāmaṇī is given below from the Śat. Br. V. 5. 4, XII. 7. 2, Kāt. XV. 9. 28-30,

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2660. The word Sautrāmaṇī is derived from sutrāman (a good protector), an epithet of Indra (vide Ṛg. X. 131. 6-7). Sat. Br. V. 5. 4. 12 derives it as 'one who was well saved (by the Aśvins)'.

XIX. 1-2 (and com. thereon). Rice-grains[2661] (or malted rice grains and malted barley or śyāmāka) germinated and ungerminated covered in linen cloth are purchased from an eunuch in exchange for lead, wool and fried grain for thread. This purchase takes place on the southern one of the vedis specially prepared for this rite near the peg called antaḥpātya on a hide. The rice grains are cooked in plenty of water and the malted barley grains are powdered and boiled. The water and scum are strained through woollen cloth. The hair of the lion, the wolf and the tiger are thrown into the mixture (this is symbolic of the characteristics of prowess, impetuosity and fury found in those wild beasts). Certain vegetable substances such as myrobalans, ginger, nutmeg (which serve as yeast and are mentioned in the note below), are powdered and boiled in plenty of water. The hot watery scum from the two pots of boiled rice and powdered barley is taken into two vessels and the extract of vegetables is poured in both of them, the mixture being called *māsara*. The boiled rice and barley are also mixed with the extract of powdered vegetables, put in a kumbhī (a big jar) along with contents of the māsara vessels and the jar is placed in a pit dug to the south-west of the sacrificial hall and kept there for three nights. On the first day the milk of one cow meant for Aśvins is poured into the kumbhī placed in the pit and powder of śaṣpa is added. The next day the milk of two cows meant for Sarasvatī is poured into the kumbhī and powder of tokma is added. On the third milk of three cows meant for Indra is added and also the powder of fried rice grains (lāja). To the west of the mound prepared on the southern vedi a pit is dug (outside the vedi according to com. on Kāt. XIX. 2. 7.) on which is spread bull's hide over which a sieve of bamboo is held and the liquid from the large jar is poured over the sieve (called kārotara).[2662] The wine thus purified is collected in a

2661. Kat. (XIX. 1. 18 ff) uses the words शष्प (malted rice or grass), तोक्म (malted barley), नग्नहु (vegetable substances). The com. on Kāt. XIX. 1. 20 quotes verses specifying these latter: संजत्वक् त्रिफला चैव शुण्ठी चैव पुनर्नवा। चतुर्जातकसंयुक्ता पिप्पला गजपिप्पली। वंशोऽवका बृहच्छत्रा चित्रकं चेन्द्रवारुणी। अश्वगन्धां समुत्पाट्य मूलान्येतानि निर्दिशेत्॥ धान्यकं च पचानीं च जीरकं कृष्णजीरकम्। द्वे हरिद्रे पचा चैव विल्वा व्रीहयो पचाः।' Ap. XIX. 5. 4 defines नग्नहु differently.

2662. Ap. XIX.5–6 and Baud. XVII.31–32 state methods of preparing surā which differ in several details, though the principle is the same. It is prepared by fermentation from rice, barley and other corn. So this surā would be 'paiṣṭī' out of the three varieties mentioned in Manu XI. 94.

sata (a vessel of palāśa wood) and it is further purified by means of the hair of the tail of a cow and a horse. Of this purified wine the pratiprasthātṛ fills the cups for being offered to the three deities, viz. the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra. Either one or three cups are filled for each of the three deities (Kāt. XV. 10. 13). This is done after the offering of the omentum and after mārjana. According to Āp. XIX. 2. 9–11 and Kāt. XV. 10. 12 powders of kuvala, karkandhū and badara fruits are added to the wine in the cups and they are offered in the dakṣiṇa fire (Kāt. XV. 10. 17). There was only one puronuvākyā, one praiṣa and one yājyā for all cups.[2663] On the dakṣiṇa fire a vessel having a hundred holes covered with a hair strainer and gold and containing the remnants of the wine cups was hung by means of a *śikya* and the trickling drops of wine were offered to pitṛs called Somavat, Barhiṣad and Agniṣvātta with Vāj. S. XIX. 52–60. It is to be noted that the remnants of the wine were not drunk by the priests, but were either drunk by a brāhmaṇa hired for the purpose (Āp. XIX. 3. 3) or they were poured over an ant-hill. Āśv. (III. 9. 5–6) says that the priests muttered a verse (which is Vāj. S. XIX. 35) and only smelt the remnants of the wine offered (this is called prāṇabhakṣa). Śāṅ. notes that some teachers recited the puronuvākyā, yājyā and praiṣa in an entirely changed form (probably as directly mentioning only surā and not in the phraseology of soma) but it should not be so done, since that is a method fit only for asuras. From this one may plausibly argue that the Sautrāmaṇī was practised among Asuras (non-Aryan people or schismatics) and was adopted by the Vedic Aryans, with appropriate changes. But it is clear that the drinking of surā by priests was condemned even then.[2664] Eggel-

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2663. Vide Āśv. III. 9. 3. The puronuvākyā is Ṛg. X. 131. 4, the yājyā is Ṛg. X. 131. 5 and the praiṣa to the hotṛ to repeat the yājyā is : 'होता यक्षद्बृहिना सरस्वतीमिन्द्रं सुत्रामाणं सोमानां सुराम्णां जुषन्तां व्यन्तु पिबन्तु मदन्तु सोमान् सुराम्णो होतर्यज।' (Āśv. III. 9. 3.). It will be noticed that surā is referred to in terms of soma. Śāṅ. says 'सर्वानेके विकृतानामनन्ति। तद् तथा न कुर्यादासुरं तत्'. According to Śāṅ. the adhvaryu recited Vāj. S. XIX. 34 (= Tai. Br. II. 6. 3) and the pratiprasthātṛ and udgātṛ recite Vāj. S. XIX. 35 as the mantra for smelling surā. Vide Lāṭ. V. 4.15 also for भक्षमन्त्र.

2664. ब्राह्मणं परिक्रीणीयाद्गुच्छेषणस्य पातारम्। आप. XIX.3.3. This is quoted by Sabara on Jai. III 5. 15. सत्या. (XIII. 8. 28–31]) has 'ब्राह्मणं परिक्रीणीते ग्रहोच्छेषणस्य पातारम्। ... वल्मीकवपायामवनयेत्। स्वयं वा पिबेत्। सर्वहुतं वा जुहुयात्।'. Vide note 1892 for a quotation from Tai. Br. to the same effect.

ing (in S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 246 n) does not appear to be right so far at least as the sūtra literature goes when he says that the priests drank the remnants of the wine cups (though the Śat. Br. uses the somewhat doubtful word 'bhakṣayanti' which in the sūtras also means 'smelling').

All three animals in the sautrāmaṇī may be goats. A fourth animal was offered to Bṛhaspati under certain circumstances (Āp. XIX. 2. 1-2). Though the omentum of the victims was offered to Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra, the paśupuroḍāśas were offered to Indra, Savitṛ and Varuṇa (Āśv. III. 9. 2). This rite was performed at the end of Rājasūya or for one who performs *cayana* or for one who suffers from purging due to excessive drinking of soma beverage or who vomits soma or from the openings of whose body (except the mouth) soma flows out. The independent (kaukilī) sautrāmaṇī was performed for a brāhmaṇa who desired prosperity, or for a king who was driven from his kingdom or for one who had no cattle (Kāt. XIX. 1. 2-4). In the beginning and at the end there was a *caru* to Vditi.

The northern vedi is in extent only one-third of the vedi for a soma sacrifice. When the uttaravedi is being prepared the pratiprasthātṛ takes earth from the cātvāla pit, makes a mound to the south of the uttaravedi, a second mound for keeping wine cups in front of the dakṣiṇa fire, brings fire from the dakṣiṇa fire and establishes it on the mound which is to the south of the uttaravedi. According to Kāt. XIX. 2. 11 (which is part of the description of the independent sautrāmaṇī) the adhvaryu purifies on the northern vedi milk contained in a vessel made of reeds (vetasa) and fills cups of milk, the one for Aśvins being made of aśvattha wood, and those for Sarasvatī and Indra being made of udumbara and nyagrodha. The three cups of milk are offered together by the adhvaryu. After the offering to Vanaspati in the animal sacrifice a couch of muñja cords is placed between the two vedis and the sacrificer sits on the couch which is covered with a black antelope skin with a silver piece under his left foot and a golden one under his right foot. The adhvaryu offers thirty-two cups of *vasā* (fat) from vessels made of the hoofs of bulls with Vāj. S. XIX. 80-95. The remnants of fat are contained in a sata (vessel) of reeds. The adhvaryu sprinkles over the yajamāna whose body has been rendered fragrant with unguents the liquid from that vessel till it trickles down up to his mouth. The adhvaryu touches the sacrificer who summons his men

and servants calling them by auspicious names (such as suśloka). The men lift him gradually first up to the knee, then up to the navel &c. The sacrificer alights on a black antelope skin when a 33rd cup of fat is taken, a sāman in the Bṛhat tune for Indra (Vāj S. XX. 30) is chanted by the brahmā priest and the nidhana (finale) of it differs according to the varṇa of the sacrificer[2664a] and is sung in chorus by all and then the 33rd cup is offered. There is the final purificatory bath as in Somayāga. Finally, after the caru to Aditi āmikṣā is offered to Mitra and Varuṇa and then an animal to Indra Vayodhas. Jaimini lays down certain propositions about the Sautrāmaṇī. In III. 5. 14-15 he states that all the contents of the grahas of milk are offered in the fire on the northern vedi and of the wine cups into the southern fire and nothing is left out of them for being offered as Sviṣṭakṛt offering or for the purpose of iḍā. In IV. 3. 29-31 it is established that when the Vedic text says 'after piling the fire altar one should perform Sautrāmaṇī' there is no injunction about the time of performing Sautrāmaṇī but what is declared is that the Sautrāmaṇī is an aṅga (a subordinate constituent) of the principal rite viz. agnicayana and in IX. 3. 40-41 it is stated with reference to the same text that the sautrāmaṇī is not necessarily performed immediately after agnicayana but on the Full Moon day or New Moon day thereafter. In VIII. 2. 1-9 Jaimini declares that though the surā offered in Sautrāmaṇī is spoken of as soma and though several actions such as purchase of surā, tying in cloth are common to surā and soma, the general procedure to be followed in Sautrāmaṇī is that of darśapūrṇamāsa and not of soma sacrifice and that surā is spoken of as soma by way of lauding the offering of wine cups.[2665]

Aśvamedha (Horse-sacrifice).

This is one of the most ancient sacrifices. Ṛg. I. 162 and 163 show that the horse-sacrifice was in vogue long before the composition of those two hymns. It was believed, as said above

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2664 a संश्रवसे विश्रवसे सत्यश्रवसे श्रवस इति सर्वे निधनमुपयन्ति । संजित्यै विजित्यै सत्यजित्यै जित्या इति क्षत्रियस्य । संपुष्टचै विपुष्टचै सत्यपुष्टचै पुष्ट्या इति वैश्यस्य । कात्यायन XIX. 5. 3-5; vide Lāṭ. V. 4. 19 for a similar rule.

2665. Vide for details Tai. S. I. 8. 2, Vāj. S. XIX and XX, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2, I. 8. 5-6, II. 6-7, Śat. Br. V. 5. 4-5, XII. 7-8, Āśv. III. 9, Śāṅ. XV. 15, Lāṭ. V. 4. 11 ff, Kāt. XV. 9-10, XIX, Āp. XIX. 1-10, Prof. Kieth's Intro. to Tai.S.pp.CXXII-CXXIII and 'Religion and Philosophy of Veda', part 2, pp. 352-354.

(on p. 982), by the composer of those hymns that the horse when sacrificed went to heaven. A goat was led in front of the horse (Ṛg. I. 162. 2–3 and I. 163. 12). The horse was decked with ornaments, it was anointed with the svaru (I. 162. 9) and it perambulated fire thrice or fire was carried round it thrice (I. 162. 4); cloth and a piece of gold are provided for the dead body of the horse to lie down upon (I. 162. 16). Horse's flesh was cooked in a pot called ukhā (I. 162. 13) and offered in fire (I. 162. 19); 34 ribs are mentioned in Ṛg. I. 162. 18, while 26 ribs are mentioned in other texts with reference to the goat. It appears that āgūḥ, yājyā and vaṣaṭkāra were uttered in making offerings of the horse's flesh (Ṛg. I. 162. 15). The horse is identified with Āditya, Trita and Yama (Ṛg. I. 163. 3).

This rite is described in the Śat. Br. XIII. 1–5, Tai. Br. III. 8–9, in which several ancient monarchs are enumerated who performed the Aśvamedha. The Tai. Br. III. 8. 9 identifies the Aśvamedha with the kingdom[2666] and states 'he, who being weak, offers an Aśvamedha, is indeed thrown away (lit. spilt away). If the enemies (of the king) were to secure the horse, the sacrifice would be destroyed'. The sūtras closely follow the Brāhmaṇas. The Aśvamedha is deemed in the sūtras to be an *ahīna* of three pressing days (Āśv. X. 8. 1, com. on Kāt. XX. 1. 1., Śāṅ. XVI. 1. 2). A paramount sovereign (sārvabhauma) or a crowned king who is not a sārvabhauma may perform this sacrifice (Āp. XX. 1. 1, Lāṭ. IX. 10. 17). Āśv. X. 6. 1 states (probably following the Ait. Br. about the Mahābhiṣeka in Rājasūya) that one who desires to secure all objects, to win all victories (including one over his own senses) and to attain all prosperity may perform Aśvamedha.[2667] A beginning is made on the 8th or 9th of the bright half of Phālguna or on the same days of Jyeṣṭha or

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2666. राड्र वा अश्वमेधः। ..... परा वा एष सिच्यते योऽबलोऽश्वमेधेन यजते। यद्मित्रा अश्वं विन्देरन् हन्येतास्य यज्ञः। तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 9. The Ait Br. does not describe the Aśvamedha, but the Mahābhiṣeka (called Aindra) of the Rājasūya.

2667. सर्वान् कामानाप्स्यन् सर्वा विजितीर्विजिगीषमाणः सर्वो व्युष्टीर्व्यश्नियश्चाश्वमेधेन यजेत। आश्व. X. 6. 1; स य इच्छेदेवंवित् क्षत्रियमयं सर्वा जितीर्जयेतायं सर्वाँल्लोकान्विन्देतायं सर्वेषां राज्ञां श्रैष्ठ्यमतिष्ठां परमतां गच्छेत साम्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं राज्यं माहाराज्यमाधिपत्यमयं समन्तपर्यायी स्यात्सार्वभौमः सार्वायुष आन्तादा परार्धात् पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यन्तायाः एकराळिति तमेतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण क्षत्रियं शापयित्वाभिषिञ्चेत्। ऐ. ब्रा. 39. 1. The words from साम्राज्यं to एकराळिति are quite familiar to all brāhmaṇas even in modern times.

Aṣāḍha according to some (Kāt. XX. 1. 2-3, Lāṭ. IX. 9. 6-7). Āp. holds that it should be begun on the Full Moon of Caitra (XX. 1. 4). Rice from four vessels, four *añjalis* and four handfuls is cooked (it is called *brahmaudana*); it is smeared with ghee and given to the four principal priests who are also given one thousand cows each and gold weighing one hundred berries (Kāt. XX. 1. 4-6, Lāṭ. IX. 9. 8). Two iṣṭis are performed, the first for Agni Mūrdhanvan and the 2nd for Pūṣan (Āśv. X. 6. 2-5, Kāt. XX. 1. 25). The yajamāna cuts off his hair, pares his nails, brushes the teeth, bathes, puts on new garments, wears a golden ornament (niṣka), observes silence. Vide Tai. Br. III. 8. 1 and Āp. XX. 4. 9-14 for these. His four queens well-decked and wearing niṣkas come near the king, the crowned queen accompanied by princesses, the 2nd queen (vāvāta, the favourite one) accompanied by daughters of kṣatriyas, the third (parivṛkti, the discarded one) accompanied by daughters of sūtas and village headmen and the fourth (pālāgalī, of low origin) accompanied by daughters of kṣattṛs (chamberlains) and saṁgrahītṛs.[2668] The yajamāna enters the fire-hall and sits to the west of the gārhapatya facing the north.

Various rules are stated about the horse's colour and other qualities (Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 2. 4, Kāt. XX. 1. 29-35, Lāṭ. IX. 9. 4). The horse must be all white with dark circular spots and of great speed, or the front part of its body may be dark and the rest of the body white, or it may have a tuft of dark blue hair. The horse is sprinkled with holy water by the four principal priests standing in the four directions (from the east), each surrounded respectively by a hundred princes, a hundred ugras who are not kings, by sūtas and village headmen, and by chamberlains and saṁgrahītṛs (Āp. XX. 4, Sat. XIV. 1. 31). A dog with four eyes (i. e. having two natural eyes and two depressions in the skin above the eyes) is killed by a man of the āyogava caste or by a voluptuary with the pestle of sidhraka wood. The horse is made to enter water and the corpse of the dog is with a loop of reeds made to float under the horse (Āp. XX. 3. 6-13, Kāt. XX. 1. 38 ff., Sat. XIV. 1. 30-34). The horse is brought near the fire and offerings are made in the fire till the water ceases to drip down from the horse's body (Kāt. XX. 2. 3-5). A girdle made of muñja grass or of

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2668. या पत्नीनां प्रियतमा यजमानस्य सा वावाता राजदुही। अनपचिता परिवृक्ती। लाट्यायनश्रौ. IX. 10. 1-2.

darbhas 12 or 13 aratnis long and smeared with the ājya that remains after being poured over the *brahmaudana* is invoked with the mantra 'imām—agṛbhṇan raśanām ṛtasya' (Tai. S. IV. I. 2. 1, Vāj. S. 22. 2) and the horse is bound with it after taking the permission of the brahmā priest. The horse, having water sprinkled over it with mantras and after the sacrificer repeats into its right ear the several appellations for a horse (Āp. XX. 5. 1–9), is let off to roam over the country accompanied by four hundred guards with the mantra 'O gods, the guardians of quarters, protect this horse &c.' (Vāj. S. XXII. 19, Tai. S. VII. 1. 12. 1). The guards include one hundred princes deserving to be seated on couches in the presence of the king, wearing armour and the other guards are armed with swords, arrows and thick clubs according to their rank (Tai. Br. III. 8. 9, Āp. XX. 5. 10–14, Kāt. XX. 2. 11). The horse is allowed to roam for a year where it likes and is not made to turn back, but it is prevented from associating with mares or plunging into water for a bath (Kāt. XX. 2. 12–13). While doing their duty of guarding the horse, the guards are to subsist by demanding food from brāhmaṇas who do not know the procedure of Aśvamedha (or depriving them of it) or on cooked food taken from all brāhmaṇas; they may stay in the houses of chariot-makers (Āp. XX. 5. 15–18, Kāt. XX. 2. 15–16). Every day during the year that the horse is absent, three iṣṭis are offered to Savitṛ in the morning, mid-day and evening, when Savitṛ is respectively addressed as Satyaprasava, Prasavitṛ and Āsavitṛ; (Āśv. X. 6. 8, Lāṭ. IX. 9. 10, Kāt. XX. 2. 6). When the prayāja offerings are made a brāhmaṇa (other than the priests) with a vīṇā chants three laudatory *gāthās* in honour of the king composed by himself stating 'you donated this, you performed such and such a sacrifice, you cooked food for distribution' (Āp. XX. 6. 5, Kāt. XX. 2. 7). This singing took place thrice a day after the iṣṭi to Savitṛ (Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 2. 8–14, Tai. Br. III. 9. 14). A kṣatriya lute player also sang three laudatory songs (Śat. Br. XIII. 1. 5. 6, Āp. XX. 6. 14) referring to the battles fought and victories won by the sacrificer. Every day for a year after the iṣṭi to Savitṛ is finished the hotṛ sitting on a golden cushion to the south of the āhavanīya fire recites to the crowned king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narratives called 'Pāriplava' (revolving or recurring legends). When about to commence the Pāriplava the hotṛ makes the summons 'adhvaryo3' and the adhvaryu seated on a golden seat (with four legs) responds with 'ho

hotar' (Āśv. X. 6. 10–13).[2669] The other priests also sit down on cushions or boards and bands of singers holding lutes sit down to the south and sing of the good deeds of the king along with those of his ancestors (Āp. XX. 6. 13). As the king is thus engaged in sacrifices and in listening to the Pāriplava[2670] and to the songs, Āp. (XX. 3. 1–2) notes that, till the Aśvamedha is performed, the adhvaryu becomes the king, as the sacrificer (the crowned king) declares 'O brāhmaṇas and nobles! this adhvaryu is your king. Whatever honour you (usually pay to me) should be paid to him. May whatever he does be regarded as done by you.' Āśv. (X. 7. 1–10) sets out what the Pāriplava is. Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 3 and Śāṅ. XVI. 2 also deal at length with the Pāriplava and they agree with Aśv. in most places. For ten days one after another different texts are recited and this goes on for a year in narrative cycles of ten days. On the first day the hotṛ says 'Manu was the son of Vivasvat, men are his subjects' and points at the house-holders sitting down in the sacrificial hall with 'they (men as subjects of Manu) are here sitting down' and then recites some one hymn of the Ṛgveda saying 'to-day the Veda is that of ṛks.' On the second day he says 'Yama is the son of Vivasvat, the pitṛs are his subjects' and points to the old men assembled and recites one anuvāka from the Yajurveda. On the 3rd day Varuṇa and the gandharvas (as his subjects identified with fine looking young men) are mentioned and some hymn from the Atharva-veda dealing with diseases and their cure was narrated. On the 4th day the narration relates to Soma, son of Viṣṇu and Apsarases (identified with beautiful young women), and some

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2669. Various methods of response (प्रतिगर) are mentioned by Āp. and others. 'उपविष्टेष्वध्वर्यो3इत्यध्वर्युं होता मन्त्रयते। हो3यि होतरित्यध्वर्युः प्रतिगृणाति। ओं होतरिति वा।' आप. XX. 6. 11–12; 'हवै होतरिति प्रतिगृणाति।' कात्या. XX. 3. 2; होयि होतरिति सर्वत्र प्रतिगृणोति। शाङ्खायन 16. 1. 27. Āp. (XX.6.7) says that Pāriplava and Bhauvanyava are recited every day for a year.

2670. The following quotations will illustrate the Pāriplava recital. प्रथमेऽहनि मनुर्वैवस्वतस्तस्य मनुष्या विशस्त इम आसत इति गृहमेधिन उपसमानीताः स्युस्तानुपदिशत्यृचो वेदः सोऽयमिति सूक्तं निगदेत्। द्वितीयेऽहनि यमो वैवस्वतस्तस्य पितरो विशस्त इम आसत इति स्थविरा उपसमानीताः स्युस्तानुपदिशति यजुर्वेदो वेदः सोयमित्यनुवाकं निगदेत्। आश्व. X. 7. 1–2. In the Vedāntasūtra (III. 4. 23–24) the conclusion is stated that the ākhyānas (such as that of Pratardana and Indra in Kauṣītaki Up. III. 1, of Jānaśruti in Chān. Up. IV. 1. 1 and of Yājñavalkya and his wives in Bṛ. Up. IV 5. 1) in the Upaniṣads are not meant to be recited in the Pāriplava, since only certain legends alone are specified in the texts for that purpose.

hymn containing magic spells from the Āṅgirasa Veda; on the 5th the narration relates to Arbuda Kādraveya and serpents (identified with visitors who know serpent lore and poison lore); on the 6th day to Kubera Vaiśravaṇa, his subjects the Rakṣases (identified with evil doing *selagas* and the lore of Piśāca Veda (?). On the 7th the narration relates to Asita Dhānvana, his subjects the Asuras and usurers and some illusion (a trick) from Asura lore, on the 8th day to Matsya Sāmada, his subjects aquatic animals, Puñjiṣṭhas (fishermen) from Matsya country and some Purāṇa passage from the Purāṇa-veda, on the 9th to Tārkṣya, son of Vipaścit, his subjects the birds and brahmacārins and some narrative (itihāsa) from the itihāsaveda; on the 10th day Dharma Indra, his subjects the gods and the young śrotriyas who accept no gifts, and some sāman from the Sāmaveda. Every day for a year in the evening four oblations called Dhṛti were made in the āhavanīya (Kāt. XX. 3. 4). On the first day 49 homas called Prakramas were made in the dakṣiṇa fire with Vāj. S. XXII. 7–8 (beginning with 'himkārāya svāhā'). Vide Śat. Br. XIII. 1. 3. 5, Tai. S. VII. 1. 19. In this way the Sāvitrī iṣṭis, singing, listening to Pāriplava and Dhṛti offerings went on for a year. For a year the sacrificer kept observances as in the Rājasūya (Lāṭ. IX. 9. 14). Large fees were given to the hotṛ and adhvaryu (Lāṭ. IX. 9. 12–13 and 16) and to the singers (Kāt. XX. 3. 7).

Several expiatory ceremonies are prescribed (Āp. XXII. 7. 9–20, Kāt. XX. 3. 13–21) if the horse died or suffered from disease. If the horse was carried away by an enemy the sacrifice was destroyed. At the end of the year the horse was brought to a stable and the sacrificer underwent dīkṣā (initiation). There were 12 dīkṣās, 12 upasads and three sutyā days (days on which soma was pressed). Vide Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 4. 1, Āśv. X. 8. 1, Lāṭ. IX. 9. 17. After the dīkṣā the sacrificer is sung as on a par with the gods and on the pressing days, at the time of avabhṛtha, the udayanīyā iṣṭi, the anubandhyā and the udavasānīyā he is spoken of as on a par with Prajāpati.[2671] There are 21 yūpas (stakes) all being 21 aratnis high. The central one is of Rājjudāla (śleṣmātaka) tree. On its two sides are two pine yūpas and on both sides thereafter there are three yūpas

2671. विसृष्टवाचि यजमाने संप्रेष्यति वीणागणकिनो दैवैरिमं यजमानं संगायतेति। एवं सद्दौपवसथात्। प्रजापतिना सुत्यास्वभृथोदवसानीयासूक्ष्म्योदवसानीयास्विति। आप. XX. 7. 14–16.

each of bilva, khadira and palāśa (Tai. Br. III. 8. 9, Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 4. 5, Āp. XX. 9. 6–8, Kāt. XX. 4. 16–20). Large numbers of animals are tied at all these stakes and slaughtered. Even wild animals like boars and birds are bound and held between the intervals of the yūpas (Āp. XX, 14. 2 ff.). Vide Vāj. S. XXIV for a list of hundreds of animals out of which those from Kapiñjala onwards (Vāj. S. XXIV. 20 ff.) are let off after fire is carried round them (Kāt. XX. 6. 9, Āp. XX. 17. 5). The 2nd among the three pressing days is the most important and is full of several very striking matters (such as the ribald dialogue, the brahmodya &c.). The horse to be sacrificed is yoked to a chariot along with three horses, the adhvaryu and sacrificer occupy the chariot and take it to a lake or reservoir of water, make the horses enter it (Kāt. XX. 5. 11–14). On the horse's return to the sacrificial ground it is anointed with clarified butter by the crowned queen, the favourite queen and the discarded queen in the front, the middle and hind parts of its body respectively. They also respectively tie 101 golden beads on the head, mane and tail of the horse with bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ and svaḥ. They give the remnants of the previous night's offering to the horse with Vāj. S. XXIII. 8. If it does not eat it the remnants are cast into water. Near the yūpa a dialogue takes place between the hotṛ who asks 'who wanders alone' (Vāj. S. XXIII. 9) and 'who was the first to be thought of' (Vāj. S. XXIII. 11) and the brahmā replies with Vāj. S. XXIII. 10 and 12 respectively. The horse is praised by repeating Ṛg. I. 163 (Āśv. X. 8. 5). A piece of cloth is spread over grass, thereon a mantle is spread and a gold piece is placed thereon and the horse is killed thereon. Before the words 'adhrigo śamidhvam' in the adhrigu praiṣa Ṛg. I. 162 and Ṛg. I. 163. 12–13 are to be recited. When the horse is killed, the wives of the king go round it thrice from left to right with 'gaṇānām tvā', thrice from right to left with 'priyāṇām tvā' and again thrice from left with 'nidhīnām tvā' (all in Vāj. S. XXIII. 19). They fan the dead horse with their garments while braiding their hair on the right side upwards loosening the hair on the left side and strike their left thighs with their right hands (Āp. XXII. 17. 13, Āśv. X. 8. 8). The crowned queen lies down by the side of the dead horse and both are covered by the adhvaryu with the mantle on which the horse lies and she unites with it (Āp. XXII. 18. 3–4, Kāt. XX. 6. 15–16). Then according to Āśv. X. 8. 10–13 outside the vedi the hotṛ abuses the crowned queen in obscene language and

she returns the abuse along with her one hundred attendant princesses and the brahmā priest and the favourite wife enter into a similar obscene abuse. According to Kāt. XX. 6. 18 the four principal priests and the chamberlain enter into an obscene abusive dialogue (given in Vāj. S. XXIII. 22-31) with the queens along with their young female attendants. Vide Śat. Br. XIII. 2. 9 and Lāṭ. IX. 10. 3-6. The attendant princesses raise the crowned queen from near the horse with 'dadhikrāvṇo' (Ṛg. IV. 39. 6 = Vāj. S. XXIII. 32). The horse is cut up with golden, silver and iron (*lauhī* may mean copper) needles by the crowned queen, the favourite queen and the discarded one with Vāj. S. XXIII. 33-38. They take out the fat of the dead horse in place of the omentum taken from the goat in other sacrifices (Āp. XXII. 18. 10-11, Kāt. XX. 7. 7). The blood of the horse is cooked and offered at the end of the other offerings to sviṣṭakṛt (Āp. XXII. 19. 10 and Kāt. XX. 8. 8.). Before the omentum of the animals meant for Prajāpati is offered there is *brahmodya* (a theological dialogue, where questions and riddles are propounded and answers given) between the priests in the *sadas*. According to Āśv. X. 9. 2-3 at first the hotṛ asks the adhvaryu 'who roams alone &c.' (Vāj. S. 23. 45) and the adhvaryu replies 'the sun roams alone &c.' (Vāj. S. 23. 46). Then the hotṛ again asks 'what light is like the sun's &c.' (Vāj. S. 23. 47) and the adhvaryu replies 'truth is light equal to the sun &c.' (Vāj. S. 23. 48, which however reads 'brahma sūryasamam'). Then the brahmā priest asks udgātṛ and he replies (Vāj. S. 23. 49-50), then the udgātṛ asks a question and the brahmā replies (Vāj. S. 23. 51-52). Then the four priests come out and each asks the sacrificer who sits facing the east the question 'I ask you the furthest limit of the earth &c.' (Ṛg. I. 164. 34) and the sacrificer replies 'this vedi is the furthest limit' (Ṛg. I. 164. 35). Vide Lāṭ. IX. 10. 9-14 for almost the same questions and answers.[2672] Kāt. (XX. 7. 10-15) mentions Vāj. S. XXIII. 49-62 as the dialogue that takes place at this stage in the Aśvamedha and states that Ṛg. I. 164. 34 (= Vāj. S, XXIII. 61) is the question propounded by the sacrificer (and not by the priests as Āśv. says). Two grahas called Mahiman are offered, one before the omentum is

2672. In several sacrifices such riddles were mooted; vide Āśv. VIII. 13. 14 for one in Daśarātra which is taken from Ait. Br. 24. 6, and Śat. Br. IV. 6. 9. 20; vide Tai. S. VII. 4. 18, Tai. Br. III. 9. 5 for brahmodya and Ṛg. X. 88. 18 and VIII. 58. 1-2 for questions and answers.

offered and the other after it (Śat. Br. XIII. 5. 2. 23 referring to Vāj. S. XXIII. 2, Āśv. X. 9. 4, Kāt. XX. 7. 16–17 and 27). Offerings of the vapā of all animals are made to the several deities of whom Prajāpati is the last. Then the king sits on a lion's or tiger's skin, a piece of gold is placed on his head with Rg. I. 90. 1, a bull-hide is held over his head, he is sprinkled with the remnants (saṁsrāva) of the offerings called *mahiman* and offerings are made to the twelve months, Madhu, Mādhava &c. and seasons Vasanta &c. After the several offerings, on the third pressing day, the sacrificer performs the final purificatory bath. At the end of the avabhṛtha iṣṭi, on the head of a bald man,[2673] whose eye-balls are yellowish-brown, who has prominent teeth, who is suffering from white leprosy and who dips into water, an offering is made (three according to Āp. XX. 22. 6) with the words 'to Jumbaka, svāhā' (Vāj. S. XXV. 9). Vide Kāt. XX. 8. 16, Śāṅ. XVI. 18. 18 and Sat. XIV. 5. 4. The latter add two important details, viz. that the man should be of the Atri gotra and that he should enter such deep water that it should flood his mouth. The Tai. Br. III. 9. 15 says that the āhuti 'to Jumbaka, svāhā' is the last in Aśvamedha and that Jumbaka means Varuṇa. A hundred cows and a cart to which bulls are yoked are given to him. When the sacrificer comes out of the water after avabhṛtha persons guilty of such grave sins as brāhmaṇa murder plunge into that-water and become purified without having performed the penances prescribed for such sins (Kāt. XX. 8. 17–18).[2674]

Apart from the gifts provided for many of the subordinate rites performed in the Aśvamedha, Lāṭ. (IX. 10. 15—IX. 11. 4) prescribes that on the first and last of the three soma pressing days he should donate a thousand cows and on the second day he should donate all the wealth that belongs to the non-brāhmaṇa residents in one district (janapada) out of his realm,

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2673. खलतेर्विक्लिधस्य शुक्लस्य पिङ्गाक्षस्य मूर्धन्नु जुहोति । एतद्वै वरुणस्य रूपम् । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 15.

2674. Vide note 333 above where Tai. S. (V. 3. 12. 1-2) is cited viz. तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते; Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 has the same words. According to Gaut. 22.9, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 22 and Manu IX. 82–83 if the murderer of a brāhmaṇa, after declaring his crime, bathed in water in which the king took his final avabhṛtha bath, he would be free from that sin. Prof. Eggeling (S.B.E. vol. 44 p. XL. note 1) does not advert to the fact that expiation for brāhmaṇa murder was thus prescribed by the dharmasūtras.

or he should donate to the hotṛ the wealth in the eastern part of the country conquered by him and the wealth in the southern, western and northern parts respectively to the brahmā, adhvaryu and udgātṛ and their assistants or he should at least donate 48,000 cows to each of the four principal priests, 24000, 12000, 6000 to each of the four groups of three assistants of the principal priests in order. Āśv. X. 10. 10 also says that he should donate the wealth of non-brāhmaṇas in the four conquered quarters except land and human beings. Kāt. (XX. 4. 27-28) contains similar rules.

Even in ancient times this sacrifice must have been rare. The Tai. S. V. 4. 12. 3 and Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 3. 6 both state that the Aśvamedha was a sacrifice which was *utsanna* (gone out of vogue). The Atharvaveda (XI. 7. 7-8) also appears to regard the Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, the sattras and several other sacrifices as *utsanna*. The origin of the rite is obscure. In it several popular, religious and symbolical elements are inextricably blended and some rites like the queen lying down near the dead horse must be regarded as unaccountable survivals from the hoary past. Various theories have been advanced to account for the origin, but there is, as is to be expected, no agreement among scholars. Vide S. B. E. vol. 44. pp. XVIII-XXXIII, Prof. Keith's Introduction to Tai. S. pp. CXXXII ff. and 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda' part 2 pp. 345-347 for the several theories of European scholars.

In the Āśvamedhika parva of the Mahābhārata Aśvamedha is described at some length. It is probable that in the epic only the popular elements and a few of the religious rites were emphasized. In chap. 71. 16 Vyāsa tells Yudhiṣṭhira that the Aśvamedha purifies a person of all sins.[2675] The dikṣā took place on the full moon of Caitra (72. 4). The sphya, kūrcas and utensils were made of or inlaid with gold (72. 9-10). The greatest warrior of the day, Arjuna, was appointed to guard the horse during its rambles for a year, and he was asked to avoid battle and carnage as far as possible (72. 23-24). The horse was kṛṣṇasāra (marked with dark spots, 73. 8). Arjuna was accompanied by a pupil of Yājñavalkya and many learned brāhmaṇas (73. 18) for the performance of propitiatory rites (śānti). No indication is given as to the number of soldiers

2675. अश्वमेधो हि राजेन्द्र पावनः सर्वपाप्मनाम्। तेनेड्डा त्वं विपाप्मा वै भविता नात्र संशयः॥ आश्वमेधिक 71. 16.

that accompanied Arjuna. The horse is said to have wandered over the whole of India from east to south, then west to north. After many fights with opponents Arjuna meets death at the hands of his son Babhruvāhana, king of Maṇipura, whom he upbraided for meek submission, but is brought back to life by his wife Ulūpī, the Nāga princess (chap. 80). Arjuna spares the lives of the opponents whom he vanquishes and invites them to the sacrifice. The description of the sacrifice follows the general outline given above. But there is hardly any detailed or graphic description of the special features of Aśvamedha and one rather carries the impression that the author does not depict what he has seen but only what he has heard or read. The pravargya (88. 21) and the pressing of soma are mentioned (88. 22). There were six yūpas of bilva, 6 of khadira, two of devadāru and one of śleṣmātaka (88. 27–28). Bull's heads and aquatic animals were built into the fire altar (88. 34). Draupadī was made to lie by the dead horse (89. 2–3). There are several points of difference. The altar is shaped like a Garuḍa (88. 32), the bricks were of gold, and 300 animals were sacrificed. It is said that the vapā of the horse was offered (89. 3), while Āp. (XX. 18. 11) emphatically states that there is no vapā in the case of the horse. Great emphasis is laid on the huge masses of food distributed to all, on the drinking bouts and singing parties and the feeding of the poor and helpless (88. 23, 89. 39–43). Crores of niṣkas were donated to brāhmaṇas and the whole earth to Vyāsa (89. 8–10) who returned it to Yudhiṣṭhira for gold to be given to him and to brāhmaṇas. The Bālakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa (chap. 13–14) contains a more graphic description of the Aśvamedha performed by Daśaratha for securing sons. It expressly refers to the Kalpasūtra (tryahoऽśvamedhaḥ saṁkhyātaḥ kalpasūtreṇa brāhmaṇaiḥ).

In I. A. vol. VIII. p. 273 (at p. 278) we find that a general, called Udayacandra, of Nandivarma Pallavamalla (about the 9th century A. D.) defeated Pṛthivīvyāghra, king of Niṣadha, who had accompanied the horse in his horse sacrifice. In E. C. vol. X. Kolar No. 63 it is stated in an inscription of 757 A. D. that the Cālukya emperor Pulakeśi was purified by his bath at an Aśvamedha. In the very ancient Nanaghat Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. V. pp. 60–61) an Andhra king[2676] is described as

2676. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa XII. 1. 20 the founder of the Andhras is said to have been a vṛṣala and the Matsya (144. 43) says that śūdra kings will perform Aśvamedha in the Kali age.

having performed the Rājasūya, two Aśvamedhas, Gargatrirātra, Gavāmayana and Aṅgirasām-ayana.[2677] In the first half of the 18th century Savai Jayasing, king of Amber, performed an Aśvamedha (vide Īśvaravilāsakāvya of Kṛṣṇa-kavi, D. C. Ms No. 273 of 1884-86 and 'Poona Orientalist,' vol. II. pp. 166-180).

Sattra

It was shown above (pp. 1213-1214) that the Dvādaśāha sacrifice partook of the characteristics of both ahīna and a sattra and a few points of difference between the two were also set out there. Sattras are sacrificial sessions, the duration of which varies from 12 days to a year or more. Their archetype (prakṛti) is the Dvādaśāha (Āśv. XI. 1. 7). Sattras again may for convenience be divided into those called Rātrisattras and those called Sāṁvatsarika (carried on for a year or more). Āśv. (XI. 1. 8-XI. 6. 16) and Kāt. (XXIV. 1-3) speak of numerous Rātrisattras called Trayodaśarātra and so on up to Śatarātra, state the principles on which these sattras are evolved from the Dvādaśāha, the model, and set out the schemes of all of them. If only one day has to be added then it is the Mahāvrata that is added before the last day called Udayanīya. If two or more days are required to be added then they are added before the Daśarātra (that forms the central part of the Dvādaśāha and comes after the Prāyaṇīya day). In the case of Rātrisattras of many days' duration ṣaḍahas are added (Kāt. XXIV. 1. 5-7, Āśv. XI. 1. 8-14); the Daśarātra is never repeated but is only one in the same sattra (Kāt. XXIV. 3. 34). For want of space all the Rātrisattras will be passed over. The Gavām-ayana[2678] (lit. the course or way of the cows i. e. the sun's rays or days) is the model of all Sāṁvatsarika sattras (Āśv. XI. 7. 1 and com., Jai. VIII, 1. 8, Kāt. XXIV. 4. 2). Several sattras of the duration of one year or more are mentioned in the sūtra texts such as Ādityānām-ayana (Āśv. XII. 1. 1), Aṅgirasām-ayana

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2677. For further information on Aśvamedha vide Tai. S. IV. 6. 6-9, IV. 7. 15, V. 1-6, VII. 1-5; Tai. Br. III. 8-9, Sat. Br. XIII. 1-5, Āp. XX. 1-23, Sat. XIV, Āśv. X. 6-10, Kāt. XX, Lāṭ. IX. 9-11, Baud. XV; S. B. E. vol. 44 Intro. pp. XXIV-XXXIII, Prof. Keith's tr. of Tai. S. CXXXII-CXXXVII.

2678. Vide Tilak's 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' (1903) pp. 200-202 where he quotes a passage from the Ait. Br. (IV. 3) to the effect that "cows' means 'Ādityas' (months, or days and nights). Vide pp. 193-212 for the significance of Gavām-ayana and its purpose.

Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana (Āśv. XII. 4. 1), Sarpāṇām-ayana, Traivārṣika (one for three years), Dvādaśavārṣika, Ṣaṭ-triṁśadvārṣika, Śatasaṁvatsara for sādhyas (Āśv. XII. 5. 18) and Sahasrasaṁvatsara, Sārasvata (performed on the holy Sarasvatī river). A few words will be said only about the Gavām-ayana.

Gavām-ayana which is a Sāṁvatsarika sattra (extending over 12 months of 30 days each) consists of the following parts (Tāṇḍya XXIV. 20. 1, Āśv. XI. 1. 2-6 and 7. 2-12, Sat. XVI. 5. 18-40, Āp. XXI. 15 ff.):

A. Prāyaṇīya Atirātra (opening day)
Caturviṁśa day, an Ukthya
Five months, each consisting of four Abhiplava ṣaḍahas and one Pṛṣṭhya ṣaḍaha (i.e. each month of 30 days).

Three Abhiplavas and one Pṛṣṭhya
Abhijit day (Agniṣṭoma)
Three Svarasāman days. } 28 days.

All these together come to six months of 30 days each.

B. The Viṣuvat[2679] or central day (which is Ekaviṁśastoma) on which an Atigrāhya Soma cup is offered to the sun and also a victim.

C. Three Svarasāman days (on which *sāmans* called Svara are chanted, Tāṇḍya IV. 5)
Viśvajit day (Agniṣṭoma)
One Pṛṣṭhya and three Abhiplava ṣaḍahas } 28 days.

Four months, each consisting of one Pṛṣṭhya in the beginning and four Abhiplava ṣaḍahas

Three Abhiplava ṣaḍahas
One Goṣṭoma (Agniṣṭoma)
One Āyuṣṭoma (Ukthya)
One Daśarātra (ten days) } 30 days.
Mahāvrata day (Agniṣṭoma)
Udayanīya (Atirātra).

All these in C come to six months.

2679. The Viṣuvat day is like the central ridge of a shed from which on two sides two thatches spread slantingly downwards. In order to imitate the Sun's passage to the north and south, the arrangement shown in A is reversed in C. अथ विषुवानेकविंशः । न पूर्वस्य पक्षसो नोत्तरस्य । आप. XI. 7. 7-8. For a description of Chandomas vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 347 n.

The Gavām-ayana was performed for various rewards viz. progeny, prosperity, plenty (or greatness), high position, heaven (Āp. XXI. 15. 1, Sat. XVI. 5. 14). About the day on which dīkṣā (initiation) for it took place there were several views. The Ait. Br. (19. 4) prescribes that it should be done either in Māgha or Phālguna. Some (Sat. XVI. 5. 16–17, Āp. XXI. 15. 5–6) said that dīkṣā took place four days before the Full Moon of Māgha or Caitra. Vide Lāṭ. X. 5. 18–19, Kāt. XIII. 1. 2–10 for the several days. Jai. VI. 5. 30–37 and Kāt. XIII. 1. 8 favour the view that the dīkṣā should be undertaken four days before the Full Moon day of Māgha (i. e. on ekādaśī day) since the Vedic texts prescribe the Ekāṣṭakā day of Māgha (i. e. 8th of dark half) for the purpose of soma (after 12 days of dīkṣā). In the Gavām-ayana the procedure of the Dvādaśāha as a sattra is to be followed (Āp. XXI. 15. 2–3, Jai. VIII. 1. 17), but some held that in Gavām-ayana there were to be 17 dīkṣās (instead of 12). There are certain general rules about sattras which may be stated here. They are to be performed by many as sacrificers and only brāhmaṇas can perform them (Jai. VI. 6. 16–23, Kāt. I. 6. 14). There are no separate priests (ṛtvij), but the yajamānas themselves are the priests (Jai. X. 6. 45–50 and 51–59, Sat. XVI. 1. 21). A text quoted by Śabara on Jai. VI. 2. 1 says that the persons who engage together in a sattra must be at least 17 and not more than 24 and each of the performers secures the same unseen (or spiritual) reward for which the sattra is performed (Jai. VI. 2. 1–2). There is therefore no *varaṇa* (choosing) of priests and there is no question of remunerating them for their services by several gifts as in Jyotiṣṭoma (Jai. X. 2. 34–38). At the time when gifts are made in other rites, in sattras the sacrificers perform the Dākṣiṇa homas and waving their dark antelope skins they go out with their faces turned northwards by the path by which dakṣiṇas are taken away in other rites (Sat. XVI. 2. 19, Kāt. XII. 2. 18). As no dakṣiṇas are to be donated in sattras agents (called saṃhāras) are not to be sent for collecting subscriptions (Sat. XVI. 1. 40). The sacrificial utensils (yajñapātras like juhū) to be used in the sattra are specially got prepared for the common use of all, while each keeps his own utensils separate with which he is cremated if he dies in the midst of the performance (Jai. VI. 6. 33–35). Though the general rule is that there is no *pratinidhi* (substitute) for the performer of rites like agnihotra, the sattra is an exception, since if any one of the many performers dies in the midst of a

sattra another person may be substituted by the others in his place (Jai. VI. 3. 22), but he is only an agent secured by payment and the spiritual unseen reward of the sacrifice goes to the performer that is dead (Jai. VI. 3. 23-25). The Tāṇḍya Br. IX. 8. 1 states that if one of the performers of a sattra dies after dīkṣā, he should be cremated, his bones should be tied in his antelope-skin and placed beyond the mārjālīya shed and his son or other very near relative should be given dīkṣā and be associated in the sattra. Only those who have consecrated the three Vedic fires can engage in sattras except in the Sārasvata sattra (Jai. VI. 6. 27-32). According to Jai. (VI. 6. 1-11) only those who follow the same procedure can join in the sattra, otherwise difficulty is caused in the case of the Prayājas and the Āprī verses. The second prayāja deity in the case of Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas is Narāśaṁsa, while Tanūnapāt is the second prayāja deity in the case of other gotras. After stating the view of Gāṇagāri that only those who have the same gotra can join in a sattra, Āśv. (XII. 10. 2-3) states the view of Śaunaka (and it is his view also) that even persons of different gotras may join in a sattra, that where in a particular matter there is a difference of procedure in accordance with the difference of gotra, the procedure should be regulated by the gotra of one (called gṛhapati) of those who join in the sattra. Jai. (VI.6.24-26) states the somewhat striking rule that even among brāhmaṇas those who belong to the Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha and Śunaka gotras cannot join in a sattra but only those who belong to the Viśvāmitra gotra or who have a similar procedure (about prayājas &c.), since śruti requires that the function of hotṛ in a sattra must be performed by one belonging to Viśvāmitra gotra. If after making a resolve to join in a sattra or if after just beginning a sattra a man gives up the idea, he had to perform by way of penance the Viśvajit rite (Jai. VI. 4. 32 and VI. 5. 25-27).

Though in a sattra all are yajamānas yet one of them becomes the gṛhapati; those actions which only one can perform and which are done in other sacrifices by the yajamāna (except what are saṁskāras like *vapana*) are here done by the gṛhapati alone and others only touch him (e. g. in tying the veda or placing a fuel-stick on fire, Kāt. XII. 1. 9-15). In performing dīkṣā a peculiar procedure is followed (Kāt. XII. 2. 15, Sat. XVI. 1. 36, Āp. XXI. 2. 16-XXI. 3. 1). The adhvaryu first gives dīkṣā to the gṛhapati and to brahmā, hotṛ and udgātṛ; the pratiprasthātṛ gives dīkṣā to adhvaryu, then to maitrāvaruṇa,

brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and prastotṛ; the neṣṭṛ gives dīkṣā to the pratiprasthātṛ and the acchāvāka, āgnīdhra and pratihartṛ; the unnetṛ gives dīkṣā to neṣṭṛ, the grāvastut, and subrahmaṇya and lastly the pratiprasthātṛ or another brāhmaṇa (who is himself a dīkṣita) or a Veda student or snātaka gives dīkṣā to unnetṛ. Each of the wives of all these is given dīkṣā along with her husband (Kāt. XII. 2. 16). Every day one of those who join in a sattra guards soma silently and others are allowed to study their Veda and to fetch fuel-sticks (Śat. Br. IV. 6. 9. 7, Kāt. XII. 4. 1 and 3). On the tenth day there is brahmodya[2680] as in Aśvamedha or they engage in the abuse of Prajāpati for having created such pests as bees and wasps and thieves (Āp. XXI. 12. 1-3, Sat. XVI. 4. 33-35, Kāt. XII. 4. 21-23).

While engaged in the sattra the performers have to observe certain rules (Āśv. XII. 8, Drāhyāyaṇa Śr. VII. 3-9 ff). From the day the dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi is performed in the sattra, the usual duties to pitṛs (such as piṇḍapitṛ-yajña), to gods (such as Agnihotra) are stopped till the end of the sattra. They have to give up sexual intercourse and must not run, they should laugh covering their teeth (so as not to show them), should not jest with women, should not speak to those who are not āryas, should not plunge in deep water, should give up falsehood and anger, should not climb up trees or enter a boat or chariot. Rules are laid down as to whom to bow to. A *sattrin* should eschew singing, dancing and instrumental music. While dīkṣās are going on he should subsist on milk. On pressing days he should partake of the remnants of *havis* only or of fruits and roots and other food fit for *vrata*.

One of the most interesting day is the Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in a sattra. Several strange and bizarre rites are performed on this day. This day is so called because it is specially meant for Prajāpati who is 'mahān' and mahāvrata means 'anna' (Tāṇḍya IV. 10. 2, Śat. Br. IV. 6. 4. 2). In this a mahāvratīya cup of soma is offered in addition to the

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2680. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (IV. 9. 12 and 14) speaks of both brahmodya and the parivadana of Prajāpati 'ब्रह्मोद्यं वदन्ति ब्रह्मवर्चस एव प्रतितिष्ठन्ति। प्रजापतिं परिवदन्त्याप्त्यैवैनं तद् व्याचक्षते वावद्।पामैनमिति।'. The com. gives several explanations of both. ब्राह्यायणश्रौत (IX. 4. 16-18) says 'प्रजापतिं परिवदन्ति। पापैः कर्मभिरित्येके। अपि वाश्वर्युबहुवृचानां किंचित् स्यात्।.'

usual ones and a victim is slaughtered for Prajāpati. In connection with this cup a mahāvrata sāman is chanted followed by the recitation of the Mahad-uktha (great laudation) of the hotṛ. Vide Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 283 n, S. B. E. vol. 43 pp. 282–283 note 5. The chanting of the Pṛṣṭhastotras is started by a brāhmaṇa who plays on a harp (vāṇa) with a hundred strings of muñja grass (Sat. XVI. 7. 7–9, Tāṇḍya V. 6. 12–13). During the chanting the udgātṛ priest sits on a chair of udumbara, the hotṛ on a swing, the adhvaryu on a board and the other priests on seats of grass (Tāṇḍya V. 5. 1–12). A brāhmaṇa in the front part of the sadas and a śūdra at the back alternately belaud and abuse those engaged in the sattra, the former saying they have done well and the latter saying they have not done well (Tāṇḍya V. 5. 13). An ārya and a śūdra engage to the west of the āgnīdhra shed in a contest for a white circular skin that symbolizes the sun (for whom the Gods and Asuras fought laying claim to the Sun as their own), the fight being so arranged that it culminates in favour of the ārya (Tāṇḍya V. 5. 14–17, Sat. XVI. 7. 28–32). A harlot and a brahmacārin abuse each other on the northern hip of the altar.

Sexual intercourse between a man and a woman (that are strangers to the sacrifice) takes place in a screened shed to the south of the mārjālīya shed (according to Kāt. XIII. 3. 9). This probably is a symbol for indicating creation of the world by Prajāpati to whom the mahāvrata specially appertains. A chariot is made ready to the east of the southern corner of the vedi. A noble or a kṣatriya in full armour occupies it, armed with a bow and three arrows. He goes round the vedi thrice and discharges three arrows at a hide but not so as to pierce it through and through (Śāṅ. XVII. 15).

They beat drums placed on all corners of the vedi and strike a bull-hide spread over a hole dug to the west of the āgnīdhrīya shed, half inside the vedi and half outside (this is called 'bhūmi-dundubhi'). When the priests chant, the wives of the performers act as choristers[2681] to the singing priests (Jai. X. 4. 8, Sat. XVI. 6. 21, Āp. XXI. 17. 15–16) and play on several instruments. Eight servants and maids or slaves and

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2681. पत्न्योऽपघाटिलाभिरुपगायन्त्यार्त्विज्यमेव तत्पत्न्यः कुर्वन्ति सह स्वर्गं लोकमयामेति। ताण्ड्य V 6. 8. The com. explains that अपघाटिला is a lute made to yield sound by the breath from one's mouth. 'उपगायन्ति पत्न्योऽपाघाटलिकास्तालुकवीणाः काण्डवीणाः पिच्छोला अलाबुकपिङ्गीर्ण्यः।' सत्याषाढ XVI. 6. 21.

slave girls, placing water jars on their heads dance thrice round the mārjālīya seat, striking the ground with their right feet and singing popular songs (gāthās) in which cows are lauded as mothers of ghee and which contain words like 'this is sweet' (Sat. XVI. 6. 39-41, Āp. XXI. 19. 17-20 and XXI. 20). These features of the mahāvrata show that it was some folk festival in the hoary past and was welded on to the solemn vedic sacrifices as a relaxation after the weary days and months of sacrifices. The Ait. Ār. (I and V) gives an esoteric turn to the mahāvrata. In one place it summarizes all the popular features of the Mahāvrata.[2682]

On the Udayanīya day three anubandhyā cows are offered to Mitrāvaruṇa, the Viśve Devas and Bṛhaspati (Kāt. XIII. 4. 4).

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 41, Dr. Sham Sastry contributed a series of articles on the Vedic calendar in which he adduced weighty arguments for holding that the Gavāmayana was a symbolic representation of the efforts made to square up the Vedic lunar year with the solar year by adding intercalary days. It is somewhat remarkable and also indicative of the bias of most western scholars that while Prof. Keith in his work on the 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda' refers *ad nauseam* to all sorts of lucubrations by European scholars on the origins of the Vedic sacrifices, about rain spells and fertility rites and similar lore he does not condescend to notice the views of Dr. Sham Sastry or Mr. Tilak, which have far more probability than many of the learned hypotheses advanced by European scholars who appear to be obsessed by the notion that Vedic usages must be similar to practices found in the 19th century among the backward races of Africa, America and Oceania.

Though the sūtras speak of sattras for a hundred or a thousand years, there were writers even in ancient India who thought that such sattras did not exist in fact, at least in historical times. Patañjali states in his Mahābhāṣya that the sattras of a hundred or a thousand years were never attempted in times near to his day and that Yājñikas prescribe

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2682. शब्दानशर्यवः कारयन्ति । एतस्मिन्नहनि प्रभूतमन्नं दद्यात् । राजपुत्रेण चर्म व्याधपत्न्याग्नन्ति भूमिदुन्दुभिं पत्न्यश्च काण्डवीणा भूतानां च मैथुनं ब्रह्मचारिपुंश्चल्योः संप्रवादोनेकेन सान्त्वा निष्केवल्याय स्तुवते राजनस्तोत्रियेण प्रतिपद्यते । ऐ. आ. V. 1. 5

rules for them following the tradition of sages.[2683] Jaimini also boldly asserts that when the texts[2684] speak of Viśvasṛjāmayana for a thousand saṁvatsaras the word saṁvatsara means only a day (Jai. VI. 7. 31–40).

Among the other sattras the Sārasvata sattras are most instructive, since in them many places on the most sacred Sarasvatī and other rivers were approached by the sacrificers during the course of the sacrifice.[2685] Vide Āśv. XII. 6., Lāṭ. X. 15 ff, Kāt. XXIV. 6. 14 ff.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire-altar)

The construction of the fire-altar is a special rite and is the most complicated and most recondite of all Śrauta sacrifices. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa devotes five out of its fourteen sections (about one-third of the whole work) to *cayana* and is the leading work on that subject. Prof. Eggeling in his very learned Introduction (pp. XIV ff) to vol. 43 of the S. B. E. deals with the fundamental conceptions underlying this śrauta ritual. According to him *cayana* was originally an independent rite and was later on incorporated in the system of Soma sacrifices. At the bottom of this rite are certain cosmogonic theories. Even in the Ṛgveda we meet with the conceptions that Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati (Ṛg. X. 121) is the creator of the universe, that creation, destruction and re-construction of the universe are eternal, ever-recurring processes going on from all time and will go on for all time (Ṛg. X. 190. 3, ' dhātā yathāpūrvam-akalpayat '), that Puruṣa himself became the sacrificial material (*havis*) and the year and seasons aided in the process of the reconstruction of the sacrificed and dismembered Puruṣa. Man himself who is a child of this process must also do his part in the reconstruction of the world. This he can do best by identifying Fire with Prajāpati (as in Śat. Br. X. 4. 1. 12) and regarding Fire as the Highest Divinity and

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2683. दीर्घसत्राणि वार्षशतिकानि वार्षसहस्रिकाणि च न चाद्यत्वे कश्चिदपि व्यवहरति केवलमृषिसंप्रदायो धर्म इति कृत्वा याज्ञिकाः शास्त्रेणाङ्गविदधते । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 9 on वार्तिक ' अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत् । '

2684. सहस्रसंवत्सरं विश्वसृजाम् । कात्या. XXIV. 5. 24.

2685. For details about sattras, vide Tai. S. III. 3. 6, III. 5. 10, VII. 5. 5–7, Tai. Br. I. 2. 2–5, Sat. Br. IV. 6. 2, Tāṇḍya IV–V, Āit. Br. 17–18, Āp. XXI, Kāt. XIII, Āśv. XI. 7, Sat. XVI, Baud. XVI. 13-23, Śāṇ. XIII. 19 ; and S. B. E. vol. 41 pp. XXI. ff, Haug's tr. of Āit. Br. pp. 279 ff, Prof. Keith's 'Rel. and Phil.' part 2, pp. 350–352.

the source of all life and activity and the periodic performance of sacrifice in fire as his contribution, however small it may be, to the process of re-creation and re-construction. The re-constuction of the world by Prajāpati a man can imitate by himself constructing an elaborate structure with bricks. The Śat. Br. in several places brings out these ideas, though in a somewhat esoteric way[2686] (e. g. VI. 2. 2. 21). The tenth kāṇḍa (section) of the Śat. Br. is the *rahasya* (the esoteric doctrine) of cayana. Most of the acts done in the piling up of the altar are a symbolic representation of the process of re-creation and re-construction as will be seen later on. In the Śat Br. the principal authority on this doctrine of cayana is not Yājñavalkya (who is the dominating figure in the first five sections of that Brāhmaṇa) but Śāṇḍilya who traces that doctrine through a succession of teachers to Tura Kāvaṣeya who received it from Prajāpati himself (Śat. Br. IX. 5. 2. 15-16, X. 4. 1. 11, X. 6. 5. 9 &c.).

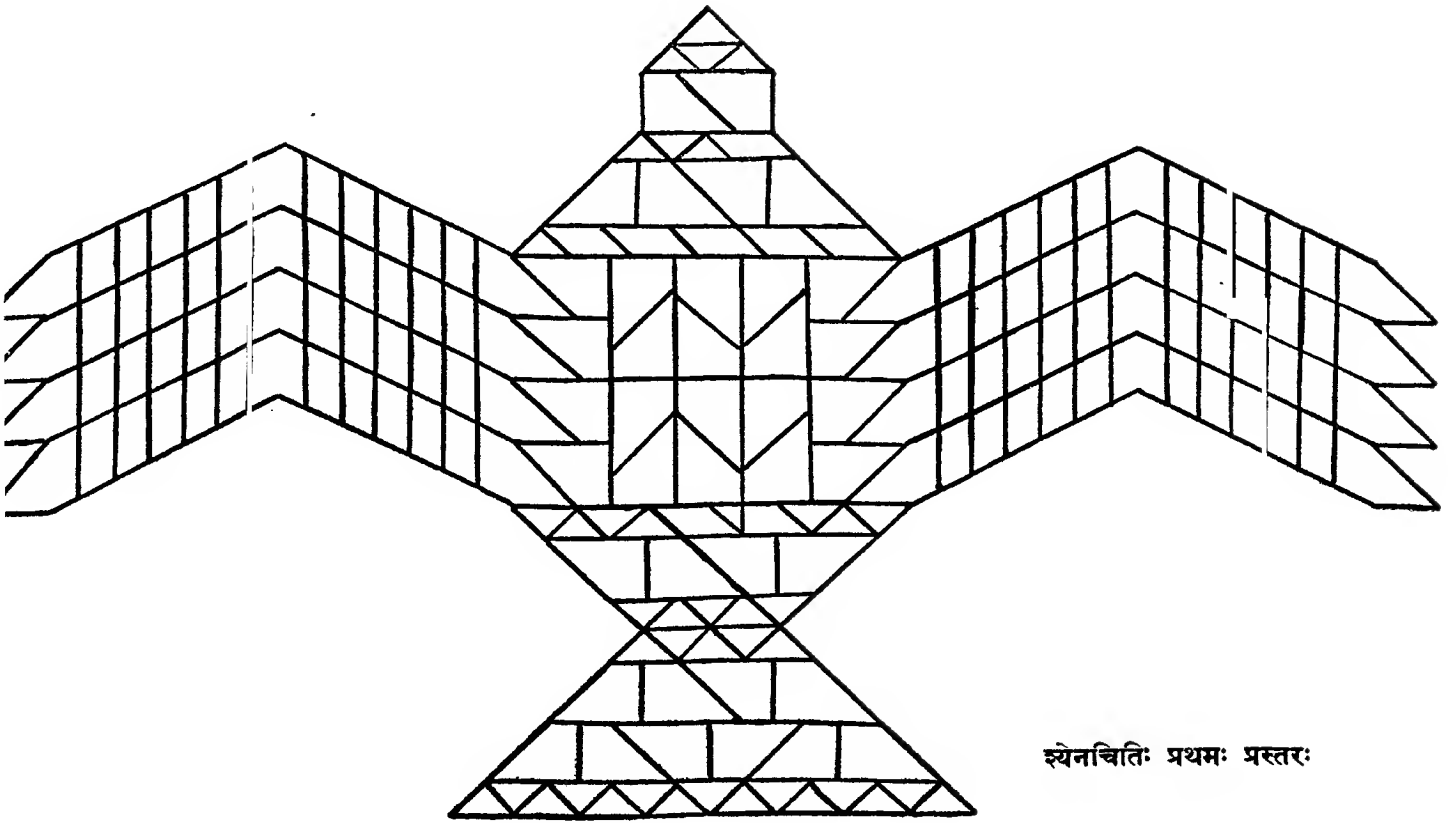
A very brief description of the *cayana* based principally on Kāt., Sat., and Āp. is given below.

The construction of the fire-altar in five layers is an aṅga of Somayāga. But *cayana* is not obligatory in every soma sacrifice. It must however be performed in the Somayāga called Mahāvrata (which as stated above is the last but one day in Gavām-ayana). When a man desires to pile the fire altar, he first offers after the Full Moon iṣṭi of Phālguna (i. e. on the first of the dark half) or on Māgha new moon five animals (viz. a man, a horse, a bull, a ram and a he-goat were offered, the man in a screened place).[2687] The heads of the beasts were built up into the altar and their trunks were thrown in water, which was then used for making bricks from clay. Kāt. (XVI. 1. 32) allows an option that instead of killing animals golden or clay heads of these may be used. In modern times when rarely cayana is performed only golden images of the above five are taken. Then on the 8th of the dark half of Phālguna a horse, an ass and a he-goat are taken in procession

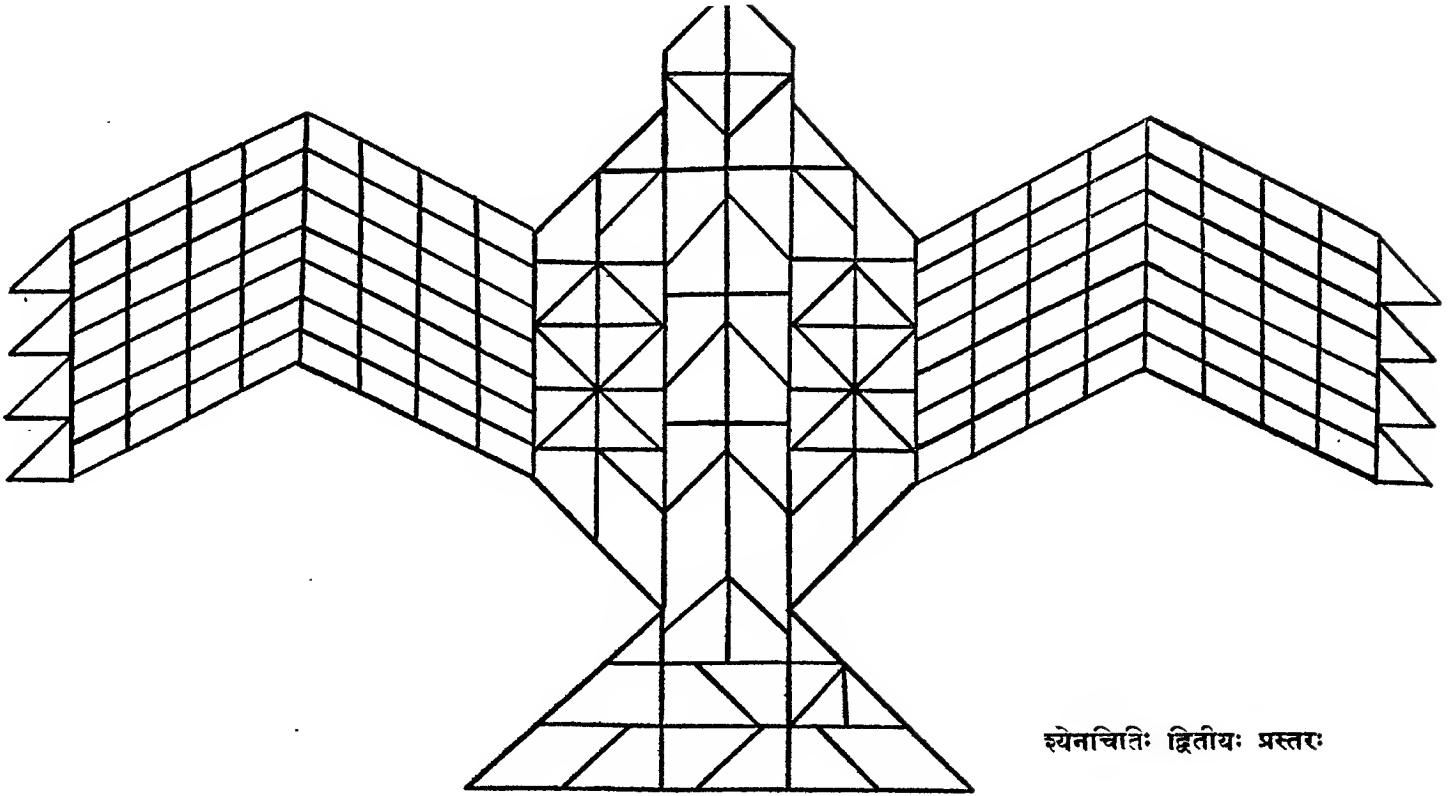
2686. प्राजापत्यं वा एतत्कर्म प्रजापतिं ह्येतेन कर्मणारभतेऽनिरुक्तो वै प्रजापतिः। शतपथ VI. 2. 2. 21.

2687. It appears that the man was not actually killed, but was let off. He was to be a vaiśya or kṣatriya (Kāt. XVI. 1. 17). According to Baud. X. 9 the heads of a vaiśya and of a horse killed in battle are taken 'संग्रामे हतयोरश्वस्य च वैश्यस्य च शिरसी। दीप्यन्त ऋषभं पचन्ते। वृद्धिं च वस्तं चाहरन्ति। एतत्सर्वशिरः।'. Vide Kāt. XVI. 1.32 also.

to the south of the āhavanīya fire (the horse leading) with their mouths to the east and the place from where clay is to be taken is reached by the horse. To the east of the āhavanīya a square pit is dug and a ball of clay is put therein which brings the pit on a level with the surrounding ground. At the middle of the distance between the clay lump and the āhavanīya clay taken from an ant-hill is heaped. A spade one cubit long made of some sacrificial tree is kept to the north of the āhavanīya. The ant-hill clay is placed on the lump of earth in the pit with that spade. The horse is made to plant its foot on the clay in the pit. He (the priest) draws three lines with the spade on that lump of clay, spreads black antelope skin to the north of the lump and thereon keeps a lotus leaf on which the lump of clay from the pit is placed and the corners of the skin are tied with a girdle of muñja. He takes up the hide with the clay therein, raises his arms towards the east, holds the bundle over the animals that come back in the reverse order (the goat leading). According to Āp. XVI. 3. 10 the bundle is placed on the back of the ass and brought near a tent. The lump is placed to the north of the āhavanīya in a tent screened on all sides; then he takes the hair of the he-goat and mixes the hair in that lump of clay with water in which palāśa bark is boiled and mixes therewith gravel, iron rust and small stones. From the clay thus mixed the wife of the sacrificer (or the first wife if there are several) prepares the first brick called Aṣāḍhā, which is in measure as much as the foot of the sacrificer, is rectangular and has three lines scratched on it. The sacrificer prepares an *ukhā* (fire-pan) from the mixture of clay, which is one span in diameter. According to some three pans are made. He also makes three bricks called Viśvajyotis, each having three lines and so marked as to show which is first, second and third. The remaining clay is called upaśaya and is kept aside (as it will be required later). The ukhā is fumigated with the smoke from seven horse-dung cakes kindled on the dakṣiṇa fire. A square hole is dug with the spade referred to above, therein fuel is put and the bricks and the ukhā (with the mouth downwards) are put for being baked and more fuel is added. He removes the coals and ashes and takes out during the day the bricks (four) and the ukhā, on which the milk of a she-goat is sprinkled. Thereafter other bricks are made which have three lines on each, which are generally as long as the sacrificer's foot and are baked till they are red.



श्येनचितिः प्रथमः प्रस्तरः



श्येनचितिः द्वितीयः प्रस्तरः

The dīkṣā (initiation) for the rite takes place on the amāvāsyā of Phālguna. The dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi and other usual rites are performed. Either the yajamāna or the adhvaryu places the ukhā on the āhavanīya and puts thereon 13 samidhs one span in length. The sacrificer wears a golden ornament with 21 pendants reaching up to his navel. The ukhā is taken from the āhavanīya to the east of the āhavanīya and is placed in a śikya and fire is put into it. He carries for a year or a shorter period (12, 6 or 3 days according to Āp. XVI. 9. 1) this fire placed in the ukhā. On alternate days in the year he adores the fire with the Vātsapra mantras (Vāj. S. XII. 18-28 = Ṛg. X. 45. 1-11), takes the Viṣṇu strides (Viṣṇukramas); he also removes the ashes, puts fuel-sticks on the fire in the ukhā.

Then follows the building of the altar. The altar has five layers, the first, third and fifth being arranged in the same pattern and the 2nd and 4th being of a different pattern from the 1st, 3rd and 5th. The altar may have several forms such as that of a droṇa (trough), a chariot-wheel, a śyena (hawk), kaṅka (heron), suparṇa (eagle)[2688] &c. Vide Tai. S. V. 4. 11, Kāt. XVI. 5. 9. The altar requires bricks of several shapes; some are triangular, some are oblong, some are perfectly square, some are oblong plus a triangle (in one). They are not to be placed one over the other as one chooses but are arranged in peculiar ways, some in front, some on the sides and so on. A sound knowledge of geometry and mason craft is required in constructing the altar. Every brick is to be placed after repeating a mantra. The bricks have various names to distinguish them. For example, the bricks called Yajuṣmatī are to be used in building the body (of the birdlike pattern, which is the most usual one), but not in building the sides or tail of the layer. The usual mantras in laying down and invoking a brick are two viz., 'tayā devatayā-... sīda (Vāj. S. XII. 53, Tai. S. IV. 2. 4. 4) and 'tā asya sūda-dohasaḥ' (Vāj. S. XII. 55, Tai. S. IV. 2. 4. 4). Sat. XI. 8. 18 says that 'tayā devatayā... ...dhruvā sīda' is repeated after each brick is deposited. But special mantras are prescribed in several cases e. g. as to the ten *lokampṛṇā* bricks the mantra is 'lokam pṛṇa' (Vāj. XII. 54, Tai. S. IV. 2. 4. 4). Some kinds of bricks bear

2688. श्येनचितं चिन्वीत सुवर्गकामः। ..... कङ्कचितं चिन्वीत यः कामयेत श्रीर्-ग्यात्सर्विमिहेयेयमिति। ... ... अलजचितं चिन्वीत चतुःसीतं प्रतिष्ठाकामः। तै. सं. V. 4. 11 where several other patterns such as प्रउगचित, उभयतःप्रउग, रथ-चक्र, द्रोण, समूह, श्मशानचित are mentioned.

the names of sages (e. g. Vālakhilya bricks). Probably they were first used by those sages. There are three bricks which are called svayam-ātṛṇṇāḥ (i. e. they are long and thin stones and have natural holes) and which are placed in the centre of the 1st, 3rd and 5th layers and are deemed to represent earth, air and heaven.[2689] Jai. (V. 3. 17-20) deals with the respective positions of certain bricks called citriṇī and lokampṛṇā.

On the day of the last dīkṣā the measuring of the plot to be used as vedi takes place. Measurements are made with a rope which is in length twice the height of the sacrificer. A fifth part of the sacrificer's height is called aratni, tenth part is called pada, each pada is divided into twelve aṅgulas and three padas make a prakrama (Kāt. XVI. 8. 21). The ground for the uttaravedi on which the altar is to be constructed is ploughed with an udumbara plough and the ropes are made of muñja. Six, twelve or twenty-four oxen are yoked to the plough. He sows on the furrows made by the plough various kinds[2690] of corns (Āp. XVI. 19. 11-13 says fourteen kinds, seven being *grāmya* and seven wild). He omits one kind of corn which he has to abstain from partaking throughout life thereafter (Kāt. XVII. 3. 6-7). If so many kinds of corn cannot be had then in those furrows barley corn mixed with honey is sown. Then clods of earth are put thereon and the ground is made level. Several things are got ready and placed one after another on this ground (Āp. XVI. 13. 10 where they are said to be bricks but not of clay). Vide Sat. XI. 5. 21 also. The placing of bricks is begun after the first upasad (Sat. XI. 7. 2). A lotus leaf is first laid down on the spot where the horse planted its hoof (Āp. XVI. 22. 3) and on that leaf the golden ornament worn by the yajamāna at the time of the Viṣṇu strides is placed with the mantra 'brahma jajñānam' (Vāj. S. XIII. 3, Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2). To the south of that ornament is laid down the golden image of a man with head to the east and face turned to the sky in such a way that the image does not cover the hole pierced in the golden ornament (disc) by passing a string with which it was tied round

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2689. 'स्वयमातृण्णा भवति प्राणानामुत्सृष्ट्या अधो सुवर्णस्य लोकस्याभृत्या' । तै. सं. V. 2. 8. 1. सायण on तै. सं. IV. 2. 9. 1 explains शर्कराक्यानां शुभ्रपाषाणानां मध्ये पुरुषप्रयत्नमन्तरेण या स्वत एव छिद्रयुक्ता सेयं शर्करा स्वयमातृण्णा ।

2690. या जाता ओषधय इति चतुर्दशभिरोषधीर्वपति । ..... तिलमाषा व्रीहियवाः मिश्रकरणको गोधूमा वेणुयवाश्यामाकनीवारा जतिलाश्च मर्कटिका आरण्यजा मर्कटका चिह्नोपाः । आप. XVI. 19. 11-13.

the neck (the mantra repeated being very significant 'in the beginning Hiraṇyagarbha arose' Ṛg. X. 121. 1 = Vāj. S. XIII. 4). The sacrificer performs the adoration (upasthāna) to the golden man with the three verses 'bow to the serpents' (Vāj. S. XIII. 6-8, Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3). One should thereafter never go to the north of the image from the south by passing in front of it (i. e. to the east of it). By the side of the two arms of the golden man he places two srucs (one of kārśmarya wood filled with ghee near the right hand and the other of udumbara filled with curds near the left) with their tops to the east. A brick called svayamātṛṇṇā on which *ājya* is offered and over which the yajamāna breaths is handed over to a brāhmaṇa who places it in the centre with the help of the adhvaryu, the brāhmaṇa being looked upon as fire (Tai. S. V. 2. 8. 2). On that brick a dūrvā creeper is placed in such a way that its roots are on the brick and its tops hang on to the ground towards the east. Then the brick called *dviyajus* is laid to the east of the dūrvā, two retaḥsic bricks to the east of the preceding, then two ṛtavya bricks and then the Aṣāḍhā brick is placed to the east of the preceding. On all ṛtavya bricks *avakās* (mosslike plants) are deposited. About one aratni to the south of the Aṣāḍhā brick and to the east of the Svayamātṛṇṇā brick he places a living tortoise with its face to the east on the avakā plants (Āp. XVI. 25. 1, Kāt. XVII. 4. 27-28). The tortoise is anointed with a mixture of ghee, honey and curds, is enveloped in moss covered with a net and made motionless by means[2691] of pegs (Āp. XVII. 25. 2, Sat. XI. 7. 42). When depositing the tortoise it is invoked with three verses (Vāj. S. XIII. 30-32) which express the wish that the tortoise may go to the deep waters, that the sun and fire may not torment it by heat, that it may reach heavenly worlds and that divine rain may follow. Even in modern times a tortoise is so built up into the altar. A mortar[2692] and pestle of udumbara wood, each one span in length (the mortar being contracted in the middle and the pestle being rounded) are placed about one aratni to the north

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2691. The tortoise was probably built up into the altar to imitate the action of Prajāpati. Prajāpati is said to have created the world after assuming the form of a tortoise. Vide note 1716 and p. 718 above. Or this may be a relic of the widespread usage of slaying an animal and burying its body under the foundation of a building, a bridge &c.

2692. The mortar represents the *yoni* or womb, the ukhā represents the belly, and the pestle represents '*śiśna*' (vide Śat. Br. VII. 5. 1. 38).

of the svayamātṛṇṇā brick. A śūrpa also is placed near the above two (Āp. XVI. 26. 5). The ukhā filled with sand, ghee and honey is placed on the mortar and offerings of ājya are made on it with the sruva ladle. The fire in the ukhā is transferred to a hearth with eight bricks in the centre of the fifth layer, on which a second layer of eight bricks (called punaściti) is laid. This fire becomes the gārhapatya for the Fire-altar (Śat. Br. VIII. 6. 3. 7-11, Kāt. XVII. 12. 18-21). Seven pieces of gold are placed on the golden image, the first on the mouth, then two each on the two nostrils, the two eyes and two ears. In the forepart of the ukhā, the heads of the five animals (on which curds and honey are poured and on which 7 gold pieces are thrust) are placed in a certain order. The human head is in the middle, to the north the heads of the horse and ram and to the south the heads of the bull and goat (Kāt. XVII. 5. 13-18, Āp. XVI. 27. 5-19). According to Āp. and Sat. the head of a serpent also may be placed (Āp. XVI. 27. 22, Sat. XI. 7. 63) or only the mantras 'namo astu sarpebhyaḥ' (Vāj. S. XIII. 6-8, Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3) may be recited. The various kinds of bricks are heaped in various directions on thick mud spread on the above stated things so as to form the first layer. According to Sat. (XI. 5. 22) each layer consists of only 200 bricks (1000 for all five), when the sacrificer performs the cayana for the first time; he employs 2000 for all layers when he performs it a second time and this number goes on increasing each time he repeats agnicayana.[2693] According to the Śat. Br. (S.B.E. vol. 43 p. 22 n. 1), Kāt. XVII. 7. 21-23 the bricks required for all the five layers are 10800. The time required for piling also varies. Some held that the piling took one year (8 months for the first four layers and 4 months for the last) or all the layers may be laid in a few days. Sat (XII. 1. 1 ff) and Āp. (XVII. 1. 1-11, XVII. 2. 8, XVII. 3. 1) state that the five layers are laid on five successive days. On each layer thick mud (*purīṣa*) prepared from the earth (mixed with water) dug out of the cātvāla pit after touching a dark or bay horse that stands to the north is spread with 'pṛṣṭo divi' (Vāj. S. XVIII. 73, Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 1 quoted by Āp. XVI. 34. 6-7, Sat. XI. 5.). Each layer and the spreading of mud are carried out each day between the two upasads (morning one and afternoon one). When all the layers are

2693. यावद्भूमिमानमालभ्य यथार्थं लोकंपृणा आदृढ्नं साहस्रं चिन्वीत। नाभिदघ्नं द्विपाहस्रं द्वितीयम्। ..... उत्तरमुत्तरं न्यायांसम्। सत्या. XI. 5. 22.

completed the āhavanīya fire is established on the altar so built. Eight dhiṣṇyas, square or round, have to be constructed with bricks, viz. the āgnīdhrīya and 7 others as in somayāga (but the number of bricks for each differs). A small round and variegated stone (aśman) is placed to the south of the āgnīdhra's place on the northern part of the fire-altar. A fuel-stick is kindled on the new gārhapatya hearth, taken over the svayamātṛṇṇā brick of the 5th layer and an offering of the milk of a dark cow whose calf is white is made on that fire. Śatarudrīya homa is offered to Rudra. On the western corner of the northern side of the Fire-altar which is enclosed by a line of stones on all sides there are three stones, as high as the knee, naval and mouth on which (serving as āhavanīya) 425 oblations are offered to Rudra and his fearful aspects by means of the leaf of the Arka plant (serving as juhū) of wild sesame mixed with gavedhukā. A twig of *arka* plant is used to clear the leaf of the offerings. The priest faces the north and makes the oblations standing, the mantras being taken from the Śatarudrīya section (bginning with 'namaste rudra manyave,' Vāj. S. XVI. 1-66, Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-10). The arka leaf and twig are thrown into fire. The altar is cooled by the āgnīdhra with the water from a jar which is held over the stone referred to above. The stone is thrown to the south of the altar with 'May sorrow go to him whom we hate' (Vāj. S. XVII. 1) and if it is not broken the adhvaryu breaks it into pieces. On a long bamboo, a frog, avakā plants and reed (vetasa) twigs are tied and drawn over the altar from the south hip to the south shoulder[2694] and then they are thrown on the utkara. The Gāyatra, Rathantara and other sāmans are sung (Śat. Br. IX. I. 2. 35 ff, Kāt. XVIII. 3. 1 ff). Then follow numerous offerings, viz. one puroḍāśa to Vaiśvānara and 7 puroḍāśas to the Maruts,[2695] Vasordhārā[2696] (stream of wealth) offerings of ājya from an udumbara sruc, which is finally thrown into the fire, 6 Pārtha oblations as in Rājasūya followed later by six

2694. This is symbolical cooling. All three are suggestive of water.

2695. The 7th puroḍāśa to the Maruts is called 'araṇye anūoya' because the mantra for it 'ugraśca bhīmaśca' (Vāj. S. XXXIX. 7) is to be repeated in a forest.

2696. Vasordhārā is the name of the whole rite in which several hundred offerings are made to Agni with mantras (Vāj. S. XVIII. 1-29, Tai. S. IV. 7. 1-11, Kāt. XVIII. 5. 1, Āp. XVII. 17. 8) to secure all powers of the Firegod to the sacrificer.

more after the abhiṣeka of the sacrificer, the Vājaprasavīya[2697] offerings of the mixture of milk and water with the gruel of 14 *grāmya* and wild corns with an udumbara sruva that is four-cornered like a camasa (the sruva being thrown into the fire at the end). With the remnants of Vājaprasavīya offerings collected in a pot he sprinkles the sacrificer who sits on a dark antelope skin spread on an udumbara couch to the north of the tail of the fire altar. A royal sacrificer sits on a tiger skin and a vaiśya on a goat-skin. After this six Pārtha offerings are made followed by twelve Rāṣṭrabhṛt (supporting the kingdom) homas of ājya with mantras, that contain the words 'vāṭ' and 'svāhā' (Vāj. S. XVIII. 38-43, Tai. S. III. 4. 7).[2698] Then three Vāta (wind) homas are offered catching with his joined hands wind outside the vedi to the east and the three winds thus caught are represented as yoked to the chariot like horses, the mantra being Vāj. S. XVIII. 45, Tai. S. IV. 7. 12. 3 (Kāt. XVIII. 6. 1-3, Āp. XVII. 20. 11).

Then the procedure of Somayāga is followed. One or two special characteristics may be noted. Before the Prātaranuvāka the Fire is represented as yoked after touching the paridhis and repeating three mantras 'I yoke the fire &c.' (Vāj. S. XVIII. 51-53, Tai. S. IV. 7. 13. 1) and then Agni is released from the yoke before the Āgnimāruta stotra (i. e. Yajñāyajñīya) in the evening with a mantra (Vāj. S. XVIII. 54, Tai. S. IV. 3. 4. 2). After the anubandhyā paśu-puroḍāśa, messes of boiled rice are offered to Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū and a cake on twelve potsherds to Dhātṛ. At the end of the Udavasānīyā payasyā is offered to Mitra and Varuṇa or he may perform sautrāmaṇī (Āp. XVII. 24. 1, Sat. XII. 7. 14).

2697. The वाजप्रसवीय is one rite in which there are two groups of seven offerings, the first seven with the mantras beginning 'vājasyemam prasavaḥ' (Vāj. S. IX. 23-29, Tai. S. I. 7. 10) and seven others with the mantras 'vājasya nu prasave' (Vāj. S. XVIII. 30-36 and Tai. S. I. 7. 7). Vide Śat. Br. IX. 3. 4, Sat. XII. 6. 5, Kāt. XVIII. 5. 4-5, Āp. XVII. 19. 1-3. The mantra means 'for the promotion of vigour' (or food) &c.

2698. The first mantra is ऋताषाडृतधामाग्निर्गन्धर्वस्तस्यौषधयोऽप्सरसो हेडो नाम। स न इदं ब्रह्म क्षत्रं पातु तस्मै स्वाहा वाट् ताभ्यः स्वाहा. The latter half is repeated in all six verses. One āhuti is made after वाट् and another after स्वाहा. Vide Kāt. XVIII. 5. 16, Sat. XII. 6. 15 ff. The first is made to a male deity, and the 2nd to Apsarases variously named.

One who has performed the piling of the fire-altar has to observe certain vratas for a year viz. he should not bow to any one, he should not run in the rains, he should not partake of the flesh of any bird, he should not approach a śūdra woman. After he performs agnicayana a second time, he should approach no woman except his own wife of the same caste, when he has performed cayana thrice he should not approach[2699] even his own wife (vide Āp. XVII. 24. 1-5, Kāt. XVIII. 6. 25-31, Sat. XII. 7. 15-17). Jai. (II. 3. 21-23) declares that the piling of the fire-altar is a saṁskāra of fire and not an independent yāga by itself.

If a man does not prosper in the year after he performs agnicayana he may perform punaściti (just as punarādheya is performed). According to Āp. XVII. 24. 11 a punaściti can be performed for three objects, viz. for prosperity, for Vedic lore or for progeny.[2700]

In performing the innumerable and wearisome details of sacrifices many mistakes must have been committed and therefore the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras prescribe numberless expiations, some simple and others complicated. But this subject will be dealt with in the next volume under *prāyaścittas*.

In the next volume a few remarks will be offered on the philosophical side of sacrifices and on the causes whereby they gradually faded into the background and gave place to other religious observances.

2699. The idea appears to have been that the sacrificer was not to disperse the spiritual power acquired by fire-worship, but to conserve it in himself.

2700. For Agnicayana *vide* Tai. S. IV. 1-6, V. 2-7, Tai. Br. I. 5. 7-8, Śat. Br. VI-X, Āp. XVI-XVII, Kāt. XVI-XVIII, Sat. XI-XII, Śāṅ. IX. 22-28, Baud. X ; S. B. E. vol. 43, Introduction, pp. XIV ff., Prof. Keith's Introduction pp. CXXV-CXXXI to tr. of Tai. S., Haug's tr. of Ait. Br. p. 368 n.

APPENDIX

OF

LONGER EXTRACTS IN SANSKRIT

PAGE 202, NOTE 470—अथ यस्य जायामार्तवं विन्देत् त्र्यहं कंसेन पिबेद्दृतवासा नैनां वृषलो न वृषल्युपहन्यात् त्रिरात्रान्त आप्लुत्य व्रीहीनवघातयेत्।... अथाभिघारयेव स्थालीपाकावृताज्यं चेष्टित्वा स्थालीपाकस्योपघातं जुहोत्यग्नये स्वाहानुमतये स्वाहा देवाय सवित्रे सत्यप्रसवाय स्वाहेति हुत्वोद्धृत्य प्राश्नाति प्राश्येतरस्याः प्रयच्छति प्रक्षाल्य पाणी उदपात्रं पूरयित्वा तेनैनां त्रिरभ्युक्षत्युत्तिष्ठातो विश्वावसोऽन्यामिच्छ प्रपूर्व्यां सं जायां पत्या सहेति। अथैनामभिपद्यतेऽमोहमस्मि सा त्वं सा त्वमस्यमोऽहं सामाहमस्मि ऋक्त्वं द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वं तावेहि संरभावहै सह रेतो दधावहै पुंसे पुत्राय वित्तय इति। अथास्या ऊरू विहापयति विजिहीथां द्यावापृथिवी इति तस्यामर्थं निष्ठाय मुखेन मुखं संधाय त्रिरेनामनुलोमामनुमार्ष्टि। विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु। आसिञ्चतु प्रजापतिर्धाता गर्भं दधातु ते॥ गर्भं धेहि सिनीवालि गर्भं धेहि पृथुष्टुके। गर्भं ते अश्विनौ देवावाधत्तां पुष्करस्रजौ॥ हिरण्मयी अरणी याभ्यां निर्मन्थतामश्विनौ। तं ते गर्भं हवामहे दशमे मासि सूतये॥ यथाग्निगर्भा पृथिवी यथा द्यौरिन्द्रेण गर्भिणी। वायुर्दिशां यथा गर्भ एवं गर्भं दधामि तेऽसाविति। बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् VI. 4. 13 and 19–22. विष्णुर्योनिं...सूतये are Rg. X. 184. 1–3 and विष्णुर्योनिं ... दधामि ते are आप. म. पा. I. 12. 1–3 and 5.

PAGE 207, NOTE 481—अथ खलु यत्र क्व च होष्यन्स्यादिषुमात्रावरं सर्वतः स्थण्डिलमुपलिप्योल्लिख्य षड्लेखा उदगायतां पश्चात्प्रागायते नानान्तयोस्तिस्रो मध्ये तदभ्युक्ष्याग्निं प्रतिष्ठाप्यान्वाधाय परिसमूह्य परिस्तीर्य पुरस्ताद्दक्षिणतः पश्चादुत्तरत इत्युदक्संस्थं तूष्णीं पर्युक्षणम्। पवित्राभ्यामाज्यस्योत्पवनम्। अप्रच्छिन्नाग्रावनन्तर्गर्भौ प्रादेशमात्रौ कुशौ नानान्तयोर्गृहीत्वाङ्गुष्ठोपकनिष्ठिकाभ्यामुत्तानाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां सवितुष्ट्वा प्रसव उत्पुनाम्यच्छिद्रेण पवित्रेण वसोः सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिरिति प्रागुत्पुनाति सकृन्मन्त्रेण द्विस्तूष्णीम्। रुताकृतमाज्यहोमेषु परिस्तरणम्। तथाज्यभागौ पाकयज्ञेषु। ब्रह्मा च धन्वन्तरियज्ञशूलगवदर्जम्। अमुष्मै स्वाहेति जुहुयात्। अग्निरिन्द्रः प्रजापतिर्विश्वे देवा ब्रह्मेत्यनादेशे। आश्व. गृ. I. 3. 1–8. The मन्त्र with which the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is made is यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत् स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान्सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु मे। अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वप्रायश्चित्ताहुतीनां कामानां समर्धयित्रे सर्वान्नः कामान्त्समर्धय स्वाहा इति। आश्व. गृ. I. 10. 22.

PAGE 218, NOTE 510—उपनिषदि गर्भलम्भनं पुंसवनमनवलोभनं च। यदि नाधीयात्तृतीये गर्भमासे तिष्येणोपोषितायाः सरूपवत्सायां गोर्दधनि द्वौ द्वौ माषौ यवं च दधि प्रसृतेन प्राशयेत्। किं पिबसि किं पिबसीति पृष्ट्वा पुंसवनं पुंसवनमिति त्रिः प्रतिजानीयात्। एवं त्रिन्प्रसूतान्। अथास्यै मण्डलागारच्छायायां दक्षिणस्यां नासिकायामजीतामोषधिं नस्तः करोति। प्रजावज्जीवपुत्राभ्यां हैके। आ ते गर्भो...न रोदादिति। प्राजापत्यस्य स्थालीपाकस्य हुत्वा हृदयदेशमस्या आलभेत यत्ते सुसीमे हृदये हितमन्तः प्रजापतौ। मन्येऽहं मां तद्विद्वांसं माहं पौत्रमघं नियामिति। आश्व. गृ. I. 13. 1–7. For the text of the two verses आ ते रोदादिति, vide note 515.

PAGE 222, NOTE 518—चतुर्थे गर्भमासे सीमन्तोन्नयनम्। आपूर्यमाणपक्षे यदा पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युक्तः स्यात्। अथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानडुहं चर्मास्तीर्य प्राग्ग्रीवमुत्तरलोम तस्मिन्नुपविष्टायां समन्वारब्धायां धाता ददातु दाशुष इति द्वाभ्यां राकामहमिति द्वाभ्यां नेजमेष इति तिसृभिः प्रजापते न त्वदेतान्य इति च। अथास्यै युग्मेन शलाटुग्लप्सेन त्रेण्या च शलल्या त्रिभिश्च कुशपिञ्जूलैरुर्ध्वं सीमन्तं व्यूहति भूर्भुवः स्वरोमिति त्रिः। चतुर्वा। वीणागाथिनौ संशास्ति सोमं राजानं संगायेतामिति। सोमो नो राजावतु मानुषीः प्रजा निविष्टचक्रासाधीति यां नदीमुपवसिता भवन्ति। ब्राह्मण्यश्च वृद्धा जीवपत्यो जीवप्रजा यद्यदुपदिशेयुस्तत्तत्कुर्युः। ऋषभो दक्षिणा। आश्व. गृ. I. 14. 1–9.

PAGE 229, NOTE 526 (जातकर्म)—जातेऽग्निमुपसमाधायाङ्क आधाय कंसे पृषदाज्यं संनीय पृषदाज्यस्योपघातं जुहोत्यस्मिन्सहस्रं पुष्यासमेधमानः स्वे गृहे। अस्योपसन्यां मा छेत्सीत् प्रजया च पशुभिश्च स्वाहा। मयि प्राणांस्त्वयि मनसा जुहोमि स्वाहा। यत्कर्मणात्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत् स्विष्टकृद्विद्वान् स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु नः स्वाहेति। अथास्य दक्षिणं कर्णमभिनिधाय वाग्वागिति त्रिरथ दधिमधुघृतं संनीयानन्तर्हितेन जातरूपेण प्राशयति भूस्ते दधामि भुवस्ते दधामि स्वस्ते दधामि भूर्भुवः स्वः सर्वं त्वयि दधामीति। अथास्य नाम करोति वेदोसीति तदस्य तद्गुह्यमेव नाम भवति। अथैनं मात्रे प्रदाय स्तनं प्रयच्छति यस्ते स्तनः शशयो यो मयोभूर्यो रत्नधा वसुविद्यः सुदत्रः। येन विश्वा पुष्यसि वार्याणि सरस्वति तमिह धातवे करिति। अथास्य मातरमभिमन्त्रयते। इलासि मैत्रावरुणी वीरे वीरमजीजनत्। सा त्वं वीरवती भव यास्मान्वीरवतोऽकरदिति तं वा एतमाहुरतिपिता बताभूरतिपितामहो बताभूः परमां बत काष्ठां प्रापच्छ्रिया यशसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन य एवंविदो ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रो जायते। इति। बृह. उ. VI. 4. 24–28.

PAGE 231, NOTE 531—कुमारं जातं पुराम्बेरालम्भात्सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राशयेत्। प्र ते ददामि मधुनो घृतस्य वेदं सवित्रा प्रसूतं मघोनाम्। आयुष्मान्गुप्तो देवताभिः शतं जीव शरदो लोके अस्मिन्निति। कर्णयोरुपनिधाय मेधाजननं जपति। मेधां ते देवः सविता मेधां देवी सरस्वती। मेधां ते अश्विनौ देवावाधत्तां

पुष्करस्रजाविति । अंसावभिमृशति । अश्मा भव परशुर्भव हिरण्यमस्तृतं भव । वेदो वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतमिति । इन्द्र श्रेष्ठानि द्रविणानि धेह्यस्मे प्रयन्धि मघवन्नृजीषिन्निति च । नाम चास्मै दद्युः । आश्व. गृ. I. 15. 1–4.

PAGE 281, NOTE 653—(उपनयनप्रयोगः) —अलंकृतं कुमारं कुशलीकृतशिरसमहतेन वाससा संवीतमेणेयेन वाजिनेन ब्राह्मणं रौरवेण क्षत्रियमाजेन वैश्यं यदि वासांसि वसीरन् रक्तानि वसीरन् काषायं ब्राह्मणो माञ्जिष्ठं क्षत्रियो हारिद्रं वैश्यः । तेषां मेखलाः ।...तेषां दण्डाः । ... समन्वारब्धे हुत्वोत्तरतोऽग्नेः प्राङ्मुख आचार्योवतिष्ठते । पुरस्तात्प्रत्यङ्मुख इतरः । अपामञ्जली पूरयित्वा तत्सवितुर्वृणीमह इति पूर्णेनास्य पूर्णमवक्षारयत्यासिच्य देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां हस्तं गृह्णाम्यसाविति तस्य पाणिना पार्णिं साङ्गुष्ठं गृह्णीयात् । सविता ते हस्तमग्रभीदसाविति द्वितीयम् । अग्निराचार्यस्तवासाविति तृतीयम् । आदित्यमीक्षयेत् । देव सवितरेष ते ब्रह्मचारी तं गोपाय स मा मृतेत्याचार्यः । कस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि प्राणस्य ब्रह्मचार्यसि कस्त्वा कमुपनयते काय त्वा परिददामीति । धुवा सुवासाः परिवीत आगादित्यर्धर्चेनैनं प्रदक्षिणमावर्तयेत् । तस्याध्यंसौ पाणी कृत्वा हृदयदेशमालभेतोत्तरेण । अग्निं परिसमुह्य ब्रह्मचारी तूष्णीं समिधमादध्यात् तूष्णीं वै प्राजापत्यं प्राजापत्यो ब्रह्मचारी भवतीति विज्ञायते । मन्त्रेण हैके अग्नये समिधमाहार्षं बृहते जातवेदसे । तया त्वमग्ने वर्धस्व समिधा ब्रह्मणा वयं स्वाहेति । स समिधमाधायाग्निमुपस्पृश्य मुखं निमार्ष्टि त्रिः तेजसा मा समनज्मीति । तेजसा ह्येवात्मानं समनक्तीति विज्ञायते । मयि मेधां मयि प्रजां मय्यग्निस्तेजो दधातु । मयि मेधां...मयीन्द्र इन्द्रियं दधातु । मयि मेधां...मयि सूर्यो भ्राजो दधातु । यत्ते अग्ने तेजस्तेनाहं तेजस्वी भूयासम् । यत्ते अग्ने वर्चस्तेनाहं वर्चस्वी भूयासम् । यत्ते अग्ने हरस्तेनाहं हरस्वी भूयासम् । इत्युपस्थाय जान्वाच्योपसंगृह्य ब्रूयात् । अधीहि भोः सावित्रीं भो अनुब्रूहीति । तस्य वाससा पाणिभ्यां च पाणी संगृह्य सावित्रीमन्वाह पच्छोऽर्धर्चशः सर्वाम् । यथाशक्ति वाचयति । हृदयदेशेऽस्योर्ध्वाङ्गुलिं पाणिमुपदधाति । मम व्रते हृदयं ते दधामि मम चित्तमनु चित्तं ते अस्तु । मम वाचमेकव्रतो जुषस्व बृहस्पतिष्ट्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यमिति । मेखलामाबध्य दण्डं प्रदाय ब्रह्मचर्यमादिशेत् । ब्रह्मचार्यस्यपोशान कर्म कुरु दिवा मा स्वाप्सीराचार्याधीनो वेदमधीष्वेति । द्वादशवर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यम् । ग्रहणान्तं वा । सायंप्रातर्भिक्षेत । सायंप्रातः समिधमादध्यात् । ... तदाचार्याय वेदयीत तिष्ठेदहःशेषम् । आश्व. गृ. 1. 19. 8–1. 22–10.

(धर्मनिर्णयमण्डलसंकलितः उपनयनप्रयोगः)

(गणपतिपूजनसंकल्पपुण्याहवाचनानन्तरं) आचार्यो गोमयादिलिप्ते शुद्धे स्थले शुद्धमृदा चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमात्रं समचतुरस्रं चतुरङ्गुलोन्नतं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा अभ्युक्ष्य तत्र ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः समुद्भवनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । प्रोक्षितेन्धनानि निक्षिप्य धमन्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य अग्ने वैश्वानर शाण्डिल्य मेषध्वज मम संमुखो वरदो भव इति प्रार्थयेत् । अग्निं परिसमुह्य परिस्तर्यिं पर्युक्ष्य आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमिं प्रोक्ष्य

तत्र प्रादेशमात्रां दर्भमुष्टिं प्रस्तार्य तत्राज्यस्थालीं निदधाति। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वीमग्नौ प्रताप्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन दर्भाग्रैः दर्वीबिलं संमार्ष्टि दर्भमूलैः दर्वीमूलं च। पुनर्निष्टप्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो दर्भेषु निदधाति। संमार्गदर्भानग्नौ प्रहरेत्। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुं भूमौ निधाय वामेन हस्तेनेध्ममादाय दर्व्याज्येन त्रिरभिघार्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा ओं अयं त इध्म आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेध्यस्व वर्धस्व चेन्धि वर्धय चास्मान्प्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्चसेनान्नाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा इति मन्त्रेणाग्नावाधाय[1] जातवेदसेऽग्नय इदं न ममेति त्यजेत्। दर्व्याज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य वायव्यकोणमारभ्य आग्नेयीकोणपर्यन्तमखण्डधारया आज्याहुतिं ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा इति जुहोति। प्रजापतय इदं न मम इति त्यागः। पुनः दर्व्याज्यमादाय नैर्ऋतकोणमारभ्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा इति जुहोति। प्रजापतय इदं न मम इति त्यागः। दर्व्याज्येन ओं अग्नये स्वाहा इत्यग्नावुत्तरभागे जुहोति। अग्नय इदं न मम इति त्यागः। ओं सोमाय स्वाहा इत्यग्नौ दक्षिणभागे जुहोति। सोमायेदं न ममेति त्यागः। अस्मिन्काले कुमार आचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः कृताञ्जलिराचार्याभिमुखस्तिष्ठन्नाचार्यं प्रार्थयते ब्रह्मचर्यमागां ब्रह्मचर्यसानि–इति। आचार्यः ओं तथास्त्वित्याह। तत आचार्यः कुमाराय यज्ञोपवीतं दद्यात्। कुमार आचार्यदत्तं यज्ञोपवीतं गृहीत्वा ओं यज्ञोपवीतं परमं पवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत्सहजं पुरस्तात्। आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुञ्च शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तु तेजः। इति मन्त्रेण[2] धारयेत्। तत आचार्यः कुमारमाह। ओं सविताचार्यस्तव अमुकनामन्। इति। ओं मम हृदये[3] हृदयं ते अस्तु। मम चित्तं चित्तेनान्वेहि। मम वाचमेकमना जुषस्व। बृहस्पतिस्त्वा नियुनक्तु मह्यम्। इति च। अथैनं सूर्यमुदीक्षयति। ओं तच्चक्षुर्देवहितं[4] पुरस्ताच्छुक्रमुच्चरत्। पश्येम शरदः शतं जीवेम शरदः शतं नन्दाम शरदः शतं मोदाम शरदः शतं भवाम शरदः शतं शृणवाम शरदः शतं प्रब्रवाम शरदः शतमजीताः स्याम शरदः शतं ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे। इति। तत आचार्यः सवितारं प्रार्थयते। ओं सूर्यं एष ते पुत्रस्तं ते परिददामि इति। अथ कुमारं देवताभ्यः परिददाति। ओं[5] प्रजापतये त्वा परिददामि। देवाय सवित्रे त्वा परिददामि। अद्भ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यः परिददामि। द्यावापृथिवीभ्यां त्वा परिददामि। विश्वेभ्यस्त्वा देवेभ्यः परिददामि। सर्वेभ्यस्त्वा भूतेभ्यः परिददाम्यरिष्टये। इति। तत आचार्यः स्वासन उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणस्थकुमारेणान्वारब्ध आहुतिचतुष्टयं जुहोति। ओं भूः स्वाहा। अग्नय इदं न मम। ओं भुवः स्वाहा। वायव इदं न मम। ओं स्वः स्वाहा। सूर्यायेदं न मम। ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा। प्रजापतय इदं न मम। इति। ततः कुमारोग्निं परिसमूह्य पर्युक्ष्याग्नौ समिधमादध्यात्। ओं अग्नये[6] समिधमाहार्षं बृहते जातवेदसे। तया त्वमग्ने वर्धस्व समिधा ब्रह्मणा वयं स्वाहा। इति।

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१. आश्व. गृ. १. १०. १२; हिरण्य. गृ. १. २. ११

२. बौधायनगृह्य २. ५. ७.

३. आश्व. गृ. १. २१. ७; हिरण्य. गृ. १. ५. ११; पारस्करगृह्य २. २.

४. वाज. सं. ३६. २४; तै. आरण्यक ४. ४२. ५.

५. शतपथब्रा. ११. ५. ४. ३–४; पारस्करगृह्य २. २.

६. आश्व. गृ. १. २१. १; हिरण्य. गृ. १. ७. २.

पुनः परिसमूहनपर्युक्षणे कुर्यात्। ततो दक्षिणमार्द्रं पाणिमग्नौ निष्ण्य तेन स्वमुखं निर्मार्ष्टि। ओं तेजसा[७] मा समनज्मीति। अथाग्निमुपतिष्ठते। ओं मयि[८] मेधां मयि प्रजां मय्यग्निस्तेजो दधातु। मयि मेधां मयि प्रजां मयीन्द्र इन्द्रियं दधातु। मयि मेधां मयि प्रजां मयि सूर्यो भ्राजो दधातु। ओं यत्ते अग्ने तेजस्तेनाहं तेजस्वी भूयासम्। यत्ते अग्ने वर्चस्तेनाहं वर्चस्वी भूयासम्। यत्ते अग्ने हरस्तेनाहं हरस्वी भूयासमिति।

अथाचार्यो दर्व्यां आज्येन स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति। ओं यदस्य[९] कर्मणोत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत् स्विष्टकृद् विद्वान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहुतं करोतु मे। अग्नये[१०] स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वहुत आहुतीनां कामानां समर्धयित्रे स्वाहा। अग्नये स्विष्टकृते इदं न ममेति त्यागः। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुमग्नावभ्याधाय संस्रावं जुहोति। ओं विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहेति। विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदं न ममेति त्यागः। कुमारेण सह तिष्ठन्नुपतिष्ठते ओं[११] च मे स्वरश्च मे यज्ञेन च ते नमश्च। यत्ते न्यूनं तस्मै त उप यत्तेऽतिरिक्तं तस्मै ते नमः। श्रद्धां मेधां यशः प्रज्ञां विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रियं बलम्। आयुष्यं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हव्यवाहन इति।

ततः स्थण्डिलादुत्तरतः प्रशस्ते स्थल आचार्यं उपविशति। कुमार आचार्यस्य पादयोः शिरसा प्रणम्य रुताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् प्रार्थयते। सावित्रीं भो अनुब्रूहीति। आचार्यः ओं तथा इत्युक्त्वा आत्मनः पुरस्तात्कुमारं स्वाभिमुखं रुतब्रह्माञ्जलिमुपवेश्य गायत्र्या गाथिनो विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सविता देवता गायत्री छन्दः। ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः। तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्॥ इति सावित्रीमन्त्रं[१२] त्रिवारमुपदिशति।

अथ व्रतोपदेशं कुर्यात्। ब्रह्मचार्यसि[१३]। अद्भिः शुध्यस्व कर्म कुरु। दिवा मा स्वाप्सीः। सत्यं वद[१४]। धर्मं चर। स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम्। मातृदेवो भव। पितृदेवो भव। आचार्यदेवो भव। राष्ट्रदेवो भव। बलमुपास्वेति।

ततः कुमारः पूर्वाभिमुखस्तिष्ठन् मेधामन्त्रौ[१५] पठति।

मेधा देवी जुषमाणा न आगाद्विश्वाची भद्रा सुमनस्यमाना।
त्वया जुष्टा जुषमाणा दुरुक्तात् बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः॥
त्वया जुष्ट ऋषिर्भवति देवि त्वया ब्रह्मा गतश्रीरुत त्वया॥
त्वया जुष्टश्चित्रं विन्दते वसु सा नो जुषस्व द्रविणेन मेधे॥

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७. आश्व. गृ. १. २१. २.
८. तै. सं. ३.३. १. २; ३. ५. ३. २.
९. आश्व. गृ. १. १०. २२; हिरण्य. गृ. १. ३. ७.
१०. आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ २. १८. ३१; आश्व. गृ. १. १०. २२.
११. आश्व. श्रौ. १. ११. [१५.
१२. ऋ. सं. ३. ६२. १०, तै. सं. १. ५. ६. ४, वाज. सं. ३. ३५.
१३. शतपथब्रा. ११. ४. ५.
१४. तै. उपनिषद् १. ११.
१५. तै. आरण्यक १०. ३९. १.

ततः पिता अग्नेः पश्चादुपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः पत्नीं तद्दक्षिणतश्च ब्रह्मचारिणमुपवेश्य कर्मसमाप्तिं सोदकं ब्रूयात्। अनेनोपनयनाख्येन कर्मणा भगवान् परमेश्वरः प्रीयताम्। ओं तत् सत्। इति। द्विराचामेत्।

ततः कुमारो ब्राह्मणान्नमेत्। ब्राह्मणाश्च ओं ब्रह्मचर्येण[16] तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं हि रक्षति। आचार्यो ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्रह्मचारिणमिच्छते॥ ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्म बिभर्ति तस्मिन्देवा अधि विश्वे समोताः। प्राणापानौ जनयन्नाद् व्यानं वाचं मनो हृदयं ब्रह्म मेधाम्। इति मन्त्रैराशिषं दत्त्वा मन्त्राक्षतान् दद्युः।

PAGE 314, NOTE 746 (धर्मनिर्णयमण्डलसंकलिता संध्या)—आचमनप्राणायामयोरनन्तरं श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रातःसंध्योपास्तिं (सायंसंध्योपास्तिमिति वा यथाकालं) करिष्य इति संकल्पं कुर्यात्। (ततः अर्घ्यप्रदानम्) ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः। तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। श्रीसूर्यायेदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम। इत्युक्त्वा सूर्याभिमुखं जलमुत्क्षिपेत् त्रिवारम्। (तदनन्तरं जपः) ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः। तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। इति दशरुत्वो जपेत्। (ततः सूर्योपस्थानम्) पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्य प्राजापत्य व्यूह रश्मीन् समूह तेजः। यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि। योसावसौ पुरुषः सोहमस्मि। (अभिवादनम्)। अमुकप्रवरान्वित-अमुकगोत्रोत्पन्नः अमुकवेदस्य अमुकशाखा-अमुकसूत्राध्यायी अमुकशर्माहमभिवादये भोः। अनेन संध्योपासनाख्येन कर्मणा भगवान् श्रीपरमेश्वरः प्रीयताम्। ओं तत्सत्।

PAGE 455, NOTE 1075—(सापिण्ड्य)—असपिण्डां समानः एकः पिण्डो देहो यस्याः सा सपिण्डा न सपिण्डा असपिण्डा ताम्। सपिण्डता च एकशरीरावयवान्वयेन भवति। तथाहि पुत्रस्य पितृशरीरावयवान्वयेन पित्रा सह। एवं पितामहादिभिरपि पितृद्वारेण तच्छरीरावयवान्वयात्। एवं मातृशरीरावयवान्वयेन मात्रा। तथा मातामहादिभिरपि मातृद्वारेण। तथा मातृष्वसृमातुलादिभिरप्येकशरीरावयवान्वयात्। तथा पितृव्यपितृष्वस्रादिभिरपि। तथा पत्न्या सह पत्न्या एकशरीरारम्भकतया। एवं भ्रातृभार्याणामपि परस्परमेकशरीरारब्धैः सहैकशरीरारम्भकत्वेन। एवं यत्र यत्र सापिण्डशब्दस्तत्र तत्र साक्षात्परंपरया वा एकशरीरावयवान्वयो बोद्धितव्यः। ... अवश्यं चैकशरीरावयवान्वयेन सापिण्ड्यं वर्णनीयम्। 'आत्मा हि जज्ञ आत्मनः' इत्यादिश्रुतेः। तथा 'प्रजामनु प्रजायसे' इति च। 'स एवायं विरूढः प्रत्यक्षेणोपलभ्यते' इत्यापस्तम्बवचनाच्च। तथा गर्भोपनिषदि 'एतत् षाट्कौशिकं शरीरं त्रीणि पितृतस्त्राणि मातृतोऽस्थिस्नायुमज्जानः पितृतस्त्वङ्मांसरुधिराणि मातृतः' इति तत्र तत्रावयवान्वयप्रतिपादनात्।...असपिण्डामित्यत्रैकशरीरावयवान्वयद्वारेण साक्षात्परंपरया वा सापिण्ड्यमुक्तं तच्च सर्वत्र सर्वस्य यथाकथंचिदनादौ संसारे संभवतीत्यतिप्रसङ्ग इत्यत आह। पञ्चमात्सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा। मातृतो मातुः संताने पञ्चमादूर्ध्वं पितृतः पितु

16. अथर्ववेद ११. ५. १७ and १४.

संताने सप्तमादूर्ध्वं सापिण्ड्यं निवर्तत इति शेषः। अतश्चायं सपिण्डशब्दोऽवयवशक्त्या सर्वत्र वर्तमानोऽपि निर्मन्थ्यपङ्क्तजादिशब्दवन्नियतविषय एव। तथा च पित्रादयः षट्सपिण्डाः पुत्रादयश्च षट् आत्मा च सप्तमः। संतानभेदेपि यतः संतानभेदस्तमादाय गणयेद्यावत्सप्तम इति सर्वत्र योजनीयम्। तथा च मातरमारभ्य तत्पितृपितामहादिगणनायां पञ्चमसंतानवर्तिनी मातृतः पञ्चमीत्युपचर्यते। एवं पितरमारभ्य तत्पितृआदिगणनायां सप्तमपुरुषसंतानवर्तिनी पितृतः सप्तमीति। मिताक्षरा on या. I.52–53.

PAGE 490 NOTE 1144—The 49 pravara groups among which the hundreds of gotras enumerated in the Baud. Śr. (pravaraprasna 1–54) are assigned are given below, being arranged alphabetically from the first name in the group. The sections of the pravaraprasna (in Dr. Caland's edition) have been indicated in each case. Brief foot-notes are added showing only the important divergences in the texts of Āśv. Śr. (XII. 6. 10-15), Āp. Śr. (24. 5–10) and Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta (21. 3). It should not be forgotten that the Mss and printed editions present various forms of the same name.

	प्रवर	गोत्र
1	आगस्त्य–दार्ढच्युत–याज्ञवाहेति	यज्ञवाह (अगस्ति)–बौ. 51.
2	आगस्त्य–दार्ढच्युत–सौमवाहेति	सोमवाह (अगस्ति)–बौ. 50.
3	आगस्त्य–दार्ढच्युतैध्मवाहेति	अगस्ति–बौ. 49.
4	आङ्गिरस–गौतम–कारेणुपालेति	कारेणुपालि गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 15.
5	आङ्गिरस–गौतम–वामदेवेति	वामदेव (आङ्गिरस) बौ. 16.
6	आङ्गिरस–गौतम–शारद्वतेति	शारद्वत गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 11.
7	आङ्गिरस–गौतमौशनसेति	औशनस गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 14.
8	आङ्गिरस–पौरुकुत्स–त्रासदस्यवेति	विष्णुवृद्ध–बौ. 20.
9	आङ्गिरस–बार्हस्पत्य–भारद्वाजेति	भरद्वाज (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 17.
10	आङ्गिरस–बार्हस्पत्य–भारद्वाज–वान्दन–मातवचसेति	रौक्षायण (भरद्वाज)–बौ. 18.

– 2 and 3. Āśv. says that Agastis have optionally these two प्रवरs, while Āp. and Sat. state that they have only one प्रवर viz. Āgastya or three, viz. No. 3.

8. Āśv. and Āp. agree but Āśv. reads पौष्कुत्स्य.

9. Āp. (24. 6) and Sat. agree. According to Āśv. this is the प्रवर of भरद्वाजs and अग्निवेश्यs.

10. Āśv., Āp. and Sat. say that this is the प्रवर of ऋक्षs, but Āp. and Sat. add that optionally they are त्रिप्रवर viz आङ्गिरसवान्दनमातवचसेति.

	प्रवर	गोत्र
11	आङ्गिरस–बार्हस्पत्य–भारद्वाज–शैन्य–गार्ग्येति / आङ्गिरस–शैन्य–गार्ग्येति	गर्ग (भरद्वाज)–बौ. 19.
12	आङ्गिरस–भार्म्यश्व–मौद्गल्येति	मुद्गल–बौ. 25.
13	आङ्गिरस–वैरूप–राथीतरेति	रथीतर–बौ. 24.
14	आङ्गिरस–साङ्कृत्य–गौरिवीतेति	संकृति–बौ. 23.
15	आङ्गिरसाजमीढ–काण्वेति	कण्व–बौ. 21.
16	आङ्गिरसामहीय्यवौरुक्षयेति	कपि–बौ. 26.
17	आङ्गिरसाम्बरीष–यौवनाश्वेति	हरित–बौ. 22.
18	आङ्गिरसायास्य–गौतमेति	आयास्य गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 10.
19	आङ्गिरसौचथ्य–काक्षीवत–गौतम–कौमण्डेति	कौमण्ड गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 12.
20	आङ्गिरसौचथ्य–काक्षीवत–गौतम–दीर्घतमसेति	दीर्घतमस् गौतम (आङ्गिरस)–बौ. 13.
21	आत्रेयार्चनानस–गाविष्ठिरेति	गविष्ठिर (अत्रि)–बौ. 29.
22	आत्रेयार्चनानस–पौर्वातिथेति	मुद्गल (अत्रि)–बौ. 30.

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11. Āśv. agrees but has the order भारद्वाजगार्ग्यशैन्येति and allows optionally three pravaras viz. आङ्गिरसशैन्यगार्ग्येति, while Āp. gives the प्रवर as आङ्गिरसगार्ग्यशैन्येति and also, according to some, भरद्वाजगार्ग्यशैन्येति.

12. Āśv. and Āp. agree, but give another optional प्रवर according to some, viz तार्क्ष्यभार्म्याश्वमौद्गल्येति.

14. According to बौ. this is the प्रवर of संकृति and 16 others, while Āśv. reads it as आङ्गिरसगौरिवीतसाङ्कृत्येति, states that optionally the प्रवर is शाक्त्यगौरिवीतसाङ्कृत्येति and mentions only सङ्कृति and four others as having this प्रवर.

15. Āśv. agrees, but states that according to some the प्रवर is 'आङ्गिरसबौरकाण्वेति'; Āp. states this as the प्रवर of अजमीढाः कण्वाः.

16. Āp. reads 'आङ्गिरसामहीयौरुक्षयेति,' आश्व० 'आङ्गिरसामहीयवौरुक्षयसेति,' सत्याषाढ 'आङ्गिरसमाहय्यवौरुक्षय्येति'

17. Āśv. agrees, but according to बौ. the Haritas have 19 subdivisions, while आश्व. mentions only हरित, कुत्स, पिङ्ग, शङ्ख, वर्भ, भौमगव as having this प्रवर group and adds that according to some the प्रवर is मान्धात्राम्बरीषयौवनाश्वेति. Āp. accepts this option of प्रवर.

18. This is the प्रवर of गौतमस according to Āśv. and of आयास्य गौतमस (a subdivision of आङ्गिरसगण) according to Āp. and Sat.

20. According to Āśv. the प्रवर of दीर्घतमस् is आङ्गिरसौचथ्यदैर्घतमसेति.

21. Āp. and Sat. agree, but Āśv. reads 'आत्रेय-गाविष्ठिरपौर्वातिथेति.'

	प्रवर	गोत्र
23	आत्रेयार्चनानस–वाद्धुतकेति	वाद्धुतक (अत्रि)–बौ. 28.
24	आत्रेयार्चनानस–श्यावाश्वेति	अत्रि–बौ. 27.
25	काश्यपावत्सार–नैधुवेति	निधुवकश्यप–बौ. 41.
26	काश्यपावत्सारैरेभेति	रेभकश्यप–बौ. 42.
27	काश्यपावत्सार–शाण्डिलेति काश्यपावत्सारासितेति काश्यपावत्सारदैवलेति शाण्डिलासितदैवलेति	शण्डिल–बौ. 43.
28	काश्यपावत्सार–वासिष्ठेति काश्यपावत्सारासितेति	लोकाक्षि (कश्यप)–बौ. 44.
29	गार्त्समदेति (or शौनकेति)	शुनकगार्त्समद (भृगु)–बौ. 9.
30	भार्गव–च्यावन–आप्रवान–और्व–जामदग्नेति	वत्स (भृगु)–बौ. 3.
31	भार्गवच्यावनाप्रवानौर्व–वैदेति	विद (भृगु)–बौ. 4.
32	भार्गवच्यावनाप्रवान–आर्ष्टिषेण–अनूपेति	आर्ष्टिषेण (भृगु)–बौ. 5.
33	भार्गव–वाध्यश्व–दैवोदासेति	मित्रयु (भृगु)–बौ. 7.
34	भार्गव–वैतहव्य–सावेतसेति	यस्क (भृगु)–बौ. 6.

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24. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree.

25. Āśv. agrees, but आप. and Sat. give this as the प्रवर of काश्यप (without qualification).

26. Sat., Āp. and Āśv. agree, but Sat. reads ०रैभ्येति.

27. According to Āśv. काश्यपावत्सारासितेति is the प्रवर of काश्यप in general and the प्रवर of शाण्डिल is either शाण्डिलासितदैवलेति or काश्यपासित-दैवलेति. Āp. and Sat. state that Śaṇḍilas have either two pravara sages viz. दैवलासितेति or three viz. काश्यपदैवलासितेति.

29. According to Āśv. the Śunakas have either one pravara viz. Gṛtsamada or three pravaras भार्गव-शौनहोत्रगार्त्समदेति. Āp. and Sat. state that the Gārtsamada Śunakas have only one pravara 'Gārtsamada' (and there is no option).

30. Āśv., Āp. and Sat. say that this is the प्रवर of जामदग्न्यवत्स (under भृगुगण); Āśv. states that अजामदग्न्यवत्सs are त्रिप्रवर viz. भार्गवच्यावनाप्रवानेति and Āp. Sat. also give an optional प्रवर of three sages according to some, viz. भार्गवौर्वजामदग्न्येति.

31. Āśv. reads वैद् and विद्.

32. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree, but Āp. and Sat. state that according to some आर्ष्टिषेणs are त्रिप्रवर, viz. भार्गवार्ष्टिषेणानूपेति.

34. Āp., Sat. say this is the प्रवर of वैतहव्यs that have यास्क, वाधूल, मौन, मौक as subdivisions according to Āp. and read सावेतस. Āśv. states this is the प्रवर of यस्क-वाधूल-मौन-मौक-शार्कराक्षि-सार्ङ्गि-सावर्णि-शालङ्कायन-जैमिनि-दैवन्ययानां &c.

	प्रवर	गोत्र
35	भार्गव-वैन्य-पार्थेति	वैन्यपार्थवाष्कल (भृगु.)-बौ. 8.
36	वासिष्ठेति	वसिष्ठ—बौ. 45.
37	वसिष्ठमैत्रावरुणकौण्डिन्येति	कुण्डिन (वसिष्ठ) बौ. 46.
38	वासिष्ठ-शाक्त्य-पाराशर्येति	पराशर (वसिष्ठ)-बौ. 48.
39	वासिष्ठ-ऐन्द्रप्रमद-आभरद्वसवेति	उपमन्यु (वसिष्ठ)-बौ. 47.
40	वैश्वामित्रकात्यात्कीलेति	कत (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 35.
41	वैश्वामित्र-दैवरातौदलेति	कुशिक (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 31.
42	वैश्वामित्र-दैवश्रवस-दैवतरसेति	श्रौमतकामकायन (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 33.
43	वैश्वामित्र-पौरणेति	पूरण and वारिधापयन्त (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 40.
44	वैश्वामित्र-माधुच्छन्दस-धानंजयेति	धनञ्जय (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 36.
45	वैश्वामित्र-माधुच्छन्दस-आजेति	अज (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 37.
46	वैश्वामित्र-रौक्षक-रैणवेति	रौक्षक and रैणव (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 34.
47	वैश्वामित्राघमर्षण-कौशिकेति	अघमर्षण कुशिक (विश्वामित्र)-बो.38.
48	वैश्वामित्राष्टक-लौहितेति	लोहित (विश्वामित्र) बौ. 32.
49	वैश्वामित्रैन्द्र-कौशिकेति	इन्द्रकौशिक (विश्वामित्र)-बौ. 39.
	शाण्डिलासित-दैवलेति	शण्डिल कश्यप—बौ. 43. Vide No. 27 above.
	शौनकेति	शुनकगार्त्समद (भृगु)-बौ. 9. Vide No. 29 above.

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35. According to Āśv. this is the प्रवर of Śaitas (शैतानां) and of वैन्य पार्थस (no subdivisions named) according to Āp. and Sat.

36-38. Āśv., Āp. and Sat. agree, but they say that the Parāśaras (among Vasiṣṭhas) have the प्रवर stated in 38, while Āp. and Sat. further state that according to some Vāsiṣṭhas have three प्रवरs viz. वासिष्ठैन्द्र-प्रमदाभरद्वसु (No. 39). Āśv. and Āp. state that Kuṇḍinas have the same प्रवर as No. 37. Āśv. says that the प्रवर of उपमन्यु is वासिष्ठभरद्वरिक्षेन्द्रप्रमद्.

39. Sat. agrees but reads प्रमदाभरद्वसो इति

40. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree, but Sat. reads •कात्याक्षिलेति.

41. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree.

42. Āś.v, Āp. agree.

43. Āp. and Sat. agree, but Āśv. states that their प्रवर is वैश्वामित्रदेवरात-पौरणेति.

44. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree, but Āp. remarks that the Mādhuchchhandasas are Dhānañjayas.

45. Āśv., Āp. agree,, but both read • माधुच्छन्दसाज्येति.

47. Āśv., Āp., Sat. agree.

PAGE 527 NOTE 1230 (विवाहविधि)–आश्व. गृ. I. 7. 3–22 — पश्चादमेर्दक्षदमश्मानं प्रतिष्ठाप्योत्तरपुरस्तादुदकुम्भं समन्वारब्धायां हुत्वा तिष्ठन्प्रत्यङ्मुखः प्राङ्मुख्या आसीनाया गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तमित्यङ्गुष्ठमेव गृह्णीयादयं कामयीत पुमांस एव मे पुत्रा जायेरन्निति । अङ्गुलीरेव स्त्रीकामः । रोमान्ते हस्तं साङ्गुष्ठमुभयकामः । प्रदक्षिणमग्निमुदकुम्भं च त्रिः परिणयञ्जपति । अमोहमस्मि सा त्वं सा त्वमस्यमोहं द्यौरहं पृथिवी त्वं सामाहमृक्त्वं तावेहि विवहावहै । प्रजां प्रजनयावहै संप्रियौ रोचिष्णू सुमनस्यमानौ जीवेव शरदः शतमिति । परिणीय परिणीयाश्मानमारोहयति । इममश्मानमारोहाश्मेव त्वं स्थिरा भव । सहस्व पृतनायतोऽभितिष्ठ पृतन्यत इति । वध्वञ्जलावुपस्तीर्य भ्राता भ्रातृस्थानो वा द्विर्लाजानावपति । त्रिर्जामदग्न्यानाम् । प्रत्यभिघार्य हविः । अवत्तं च । एषोऽवदानधर्मः । अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत । स इमां देवो अर्यमा प्रेतो मुञ्चातु नामुतः स्वाहा । वरुणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत । स इमां देवो वरुणः प्रेतो मुञ्चातु नामुतः स्वाहा । पूषणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निमयक्षत । स इमां देवः पूषा प्रेतो मुञ्चातु नामुतः स्वाहेत्यविच्छिन्दत्यञ्जलिं स्रुचेव जुहुयात् । अपरिणयि शूर्पपुटेनाभ्यात्तं तूष्णीं चतुर्थम् । ओप्योप्य हैके लाजान् परिणयन्ति तथोत्तमे आहुती न संनिपततः । अथास्यै शिखे विमुञ्चति यदि रुते भवतः । ऊर्णास्तुके केशपक्षयोर्वद्धे भवतः । प्र त्वा मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशादिति । उत्तरामुत्तरया । अथैनामपराजितायां दिशि सप्त पदान्यभ्युत्क्रामयतीष एकपद्यूर्जे द्विपदी रायस्पोषाय त्रिपदी मायोभव्याय चतुष्पदी प्रजाभ्यः पञ्चपदीयृतुभ्यः षट्पदी सखा सप्तपदी भव सा मामनुव्रता भव । पुत्रान्विन्दावहै बहूंस्ते सन्तु जरदष्टय इति । उभयोः संनिधाय शिरसी उदकुम्भेनावासिच्य । ब्राह्मण्याश्च वृद्धाया जीवपत्न्या जीवप्रजाया अगार एतां रात्रिं नयन्ति । ध्रुवमरुन्धतीं सप्तऋषीनिति दृष्ट्वा । वाचं विसृजेत जीवपत्नीं प्रजां विन्देयेति ।

PAGE 543 NOTE 1258 (मधुपर्क). आश्व. गृ. I. 24. 5–26—दधनि मध्वानीय । सर्पिर्वा मध्वलाभे । विष्टरः पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयं मधुपर्को गौरित्येतेषां त्रिर्त्रिरेकैकं वेदयन्ते । अहं वर्ष्म सजातानां विद्युतामिव सूर्यः । इदं तमधितिष्ठामि यो मा कश्चाभिदासतात्युदगग्रे विष्टर उपविशेत् । आक्रम्य वा । पादौ प्रक्षालापयीत दक्षिणमग्रे ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छेत् । सव्यं शूद्राय । प्रक्षालितपादोऽर्घ्यमञ्जलिना प्रतिगृह्य । अथाचमनीयेनान्वाचामति अमृतोपस्तरणमसीति । मधुपर्कमाह्रियमाणमीक्षेत मित्रस्य त्वा चक्षुषा प्रतीक्ष इति । देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यां प्रतिगृह्णामीति तदञ्जलिना प्रतिगृह्य मधु वाता ऋतायत इति तृचेनावेक्ष्यानामिकया चाङ्गुष्ठेन च त्रिः प्रदक्षिणमालोड्य वसवस्त्वा गायत्रेण छन्दसा भक्षयन्त्विति पुरस्तान्निमार्ष्टि । रुद्रास्त्वा त्रैष्टुभेन छन्दसा भक्षयन्त्विति दक्षिणतः आदित्यास्त्वा जागतेन छन्दसा भक्षयन्त्विति पश्चात् विश्वे त्वा देवा आनुष्टुभेन छन्दसा भक्षयन्त्वित्युत्तरतः भूतेभ्यस्त्वेति मध्यात्त्रिरुदगृह्य । विराजो दोहोसीति प्रथमं प्राश्नीयात् । विराजो दोहमशीयेति द्वितीयं मयि दोहः पद्यायै विराज इति तृतीयम् । न सर्वम् । न तृप्तिं गच्छेत् । ब्राह्मणायोदङ्मुखश्छिष्टं प्रयच्छेदलाभेऽप्सु । सर्वं वा । अथाचमनीयेनान्वाचामति अमृतापिधानमसीति । सत्यं यशः श्रीर्मयि श्रीः श्रयतामिति द्वितीयम् । आचान्तोदकाय गां वेदयन्ते । इतो मे पाप्मा पाप्मा मे इत इति जपित्वो

कुरुतेति कारयिष्यन् । माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनामिति जपित्वोमुत्सृजतेत्युत्सृक्ष्यन् । नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति ।

PAGE 633 NOTE 1484—'अद्य अमुके मासि अमुके पक्षेऽमुकतिथौ अमुकगोत्रा श्रीमती अमुकी देवी अरुन्धतीसमाचारत्वपूर्वक-स्वर्गलोकमहीयमानत्व-मानवाधिकरणकलोमसमसंख्याब्दावच्छिन्नस्वर्गवासभर्तृसहितमोदमानत्व-मातृपितृश्वशुरकुलत्रय-पूतत्व-चतुर्दशेन्द्रावच्छिन्नकालाधिकरणकाप्सरोगणस्तूयमानत्व-पतिसहितक्रीडमानत्वब्रह्मघ्न-क्रतघ्नमित्रघ्नपतिपूतत्वकामा भर्तृज्वलच्चितारोहणमहं करिष्ये इति संकल्प्य अष्टौ लोकपाला आदित्यचन्द्रानिलाग्न्याकाशभूमिजलहृदयावस्थितार्न्तयामिपुरुषयमदिनरात्रिसंध्याधर्मा यूयं साक्षिणो भवत ज्वलच्चितारोहणेन भर्तृशरीरानुगमनमहं करोमि इत्युच्चार्य ज्वलच्चिताग्निं त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य ओमिमा नारी ... अनस्वरो अनमीवा ... जलयोनिमग्ने इति ऋग्वेदमन्त्रोक्ते ओमिमाः पतिव्रताः पुण्याः स्त्रियो या याः सुशोभनाः । सह भर्तृशरीरेण संविशन्तु विभावसुम् । इति पौराणिके मन्त्रे च ब्राह्मणेन पठिते नमो नम इत्युच्चार्य ज्वलच्चितां समारोहेत् । शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 242–43. When it is अनुमरण the संकल्प is 'ज्वलच्चिताप्रवेशेन भर्त्रनुमरणमहं करिष्ये' and she says भर्त्रनुमरणं करिष्ये for भर्तृशरीरा ... करोमि. The लोकपालs and others are said to be witnesses following the verse 'आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलोनलश्च' in Ādiparva 74. 30. Vide Max Müller's 'Chips from a German workshop' vol. II. pp. 34–36, Prof. H. H. Wilson's Works vol. II. p. 275.

PAGE 699 NOTE 1673—अथ सूना व्याख्यास्यामः । जङ्गमस्थावरादीन् प्राणिनः सूदयन्तीति सूनाः । ताः पञ्चविधा भवन्ति । द्रुतावतरणावगाहन-विक्षोभणविक्षेपणापूतग्रहणयानादिभिराद्यां कुर्वन्ति । अवेलाविस्पष्टद्रुतगमनाक्रमणादिभिर्द्वितीयाम् । आहननग्रहणबन्धनकुट्टनोत्पाटनादिभिस्तृतीयाम् । आक्रमणघर्षणपेषणादिभिश्चतुर्थीम् । आदीपनतापनस्वेदनभर्जनपचनादिभिः पञ्चमीम् । ता एताः पञ्चसूना निरययोनीरहरहः प्रजाः कुर्वन्ति । अग्निगुरुशुश्रूषास्वाध्यायैरादितः सूनात्रयं ब्रह्मचारिणः पावयन्ति । पञ्च पञ्चभिः पाकयज्ञैर्गृहिवानप्रस्थाः पावयन्ति । पवित्रज्ञानध्यानैर्भिक्षवः सूनाद्वयं पावयन्ति । अनिर्जयो दन्तसूनायाः । इति । हारीत quoted in आह्निकप्रकाश p. 389. The words अथ सूना व्या० ... सूदयन्तीतिसूनाः are quoted by स्मृतिच० I. p. 208 also. The आह्निकप्रकाश p. 390 explains 'प्रथमसूनाद्वयस्यैव संन्यासिनः संभवात् ।..... दन्तसूना दन्तैश्चर्वणादिभिर्बीजाङ्कुरादिहिंसा । तस्य उक्तेर्न शोभनमित्यर्थः । एवं च बीजभोजननिषेधोऽपि दन्तैर्बीजहिंसादिपर एव । तेन वह्निपक्वभग्नबीजादेर्भक्षणे न दोषः । अङ्कुरिणोऽङ्कुरयोग्यस्थावरबीजादेर्भक्षणे परं दोष इति ।'

PAGE 701 NOTE 1679—अथ ब्रह्मयज्ञः । स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञस्तस्य वा एतस्य ब्रह्मयज्ञस्य वागेव जुहूर्मन उपभृच्चक्षुर्ध्रुवा मेधा स्रुवः सत्यमवभृथः स्वर्गो लोक उदयनं यावन्तं ह वा इमां पृथिवीं वित्तेन पूर्णां ददल्लोकं जयति त्रिस्तावन्तं जयति भूयांसं

चाक्षय्यं य एवं विद्वानहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते तस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः ॥ पयआहुतयो वा एता देवानां यदृचः स य एवं विद्वानृचोऽहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते पयआहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति त एनं तृप्तास्तर्पयन्ति योगक्षेमेण प्राणेन रेतसा सर्वात्मना सर्वाभिः पुण्याभिः संपद्भिर्घृतकुल्या मधुकुल्या पितॄन्स्वधा अभिवहन्ति ॥...मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः स य एवं विद्वाननुशासनानि ... नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते मध्वाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति त एनं तृप्तास्तर्पयन्ति योग० ... । शतपथब्रा. XI. 5. 6. 3–4 and 8. Compare Āśv. gr. III. 3. 2–3; in Baud. Dh. S. II. 6. 8 the passage स्वाध्यायो वै ब्रह्मयज्ञः ... ध्येतव्यः is quoted as ब्राह्मण. 'यद् ब्राह्मणानीतिहासान्पुराणानि कल्पान् गाथा नाराशंसीर्मेदाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति त एनं तृप्ता आयुषा तेजसा वर्चसा श्रिया यशसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेनान्नाद्येन च तर्पयन्ति । तै. आ. II. 10. Vide गोभिलस्मृति II. 52–60 where these ideas (about the Vedas and others being āhutis of milk, honey &c.) are put forward.

ब्रह्मयज्ञेन यक्ष्यमाणः प्राच्यां दिशि ग्रामाद्च्छादिर्दर्शं उदीच्यां प्रागुदीच्यां वोदित आदित्ये दक्षिणत उपवीयोपविश्य हस्ताववनिज्य त्रिराचामेद् द्विः परिमृज्य सकृदुपस्पृश्य शिरश्चक्षुषी नासिके श्रोत्रे हृदयमालभ्य ... दर्भाणां महदुपस्तर्योपस्थं कृत्वा प्राङासीनः स्वाध्यायमधीयीतापां वा एष ओषधीनां रसो यद्दर्भाः सरसमेव ब्रह्म कुरुते । दक्षिणोत्तरौ पाणी पादौ कृत्वा सपवित्रावोमिति प्रतिपद्यत एतद्वै यजुष्मतीं विद्यां प्रत्येषा वागेतत्परममक्षरं तदेतदृचाभ्युक्तम् । ऋचो अक्षरे...समासते । इति । त्रीनेव प्रायुङ्क्त भूर्भुवः स्वरित्याहैतद्वै वाचः सत्यं यदेव वाचः सत्यं तत्प्रायुङ्क्त । अथ सावित्रीं गायत्रीं त्रिरन्वाह पच्छोर्धर्चशोऽनवानं सविता श्रियः प्रसविता श्रियमेवाप्नोत्यथो प्रज्ञातयैव प्रतिपद्या छन्दांसि प्रतिपद्यते । तै. आ. II. 11 (a clause praising ācamana &c. has been omitted). (ब्रह्मयज्ञ of modern times) आचम्य प्राणानायम्य श्रीपरमेश्वर ... इति संकल्प्य दर्भेषु दर्भपाणिः प्राङ्मुख एवोपविश्य वामजङ्घोपरिमूलदेशे दक्षिणपादं निधायाथवा वामपादाङ्गुष्ठोपरि दक्षिणपादाङ्गुष्ठं निधायैवमुपस्थं कृत्वा दक्षिणजानुस्थे वामकरे उत्ताने प्रागग्राङ्गुलौ प्रागग्रे द्वे पवित्रे धृत्वा दक्षिणकरेण तथैव संपुटीकृत्य द्यावापृथिव्योः संधिमीक्षमाणो निमीलिताक्षो वा ओंकारव्याहृतीः सकृदुच्चार्य गायत्रीं पच्छोर्धर्चशः सर्वामनवानामिति त्रिर्जपेत् । ततोग्निमीळ इति सूक्तं पठित्वा संहिताब्राह्मणषडङ्गानि एकं समाप्यापरमिति अध्यायं सूक्तमृचं वा यथाशक्ति क्रमशः पठेत् । मन्त्रब्राह्मणादीनि भागशः सर्वाणि यथाशक्ति प्रतिदिनं पठेदिति केचित् । एवं चतुर्वेदाध्यायी क्रमशश्चतुर्वेदान् भागशः सर्वानेव वा ऋग्वेदपूर्वकान्पठेत् । एकैकशाखाध्यायी तु स्वशाखामेव । शाखाध्ययनाभावे सूक्तमृचं वा पठित्वैकं यजुः साम चोपनिषदश्चेतिहासपुराणादींश्च पठेत् । पुरुषसूक्तमुक्त्वा नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोस्त्वग्नय इति ऋचं त्रिः पठेत् । नात्र ऋष्यादिस्मरणम् । विद्युदसीत्यादेरायन्ते पाठस्तैत्तिरीयविषयः । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 299.

PAGE 704 NOTE 1684 (तर्पण). आश्व. गृ. III. 4. 1–5. देवतास्तर्पयति । प्रजापतिर्ब्रह्मा वेदा देवा ऋषयः सर्वाणि छन्दांसि ओंकारो वषट्-

कारो व्याहृतयः सावित्री यज्ञा द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षमहोरात्राणि सांख्याः सिद्धाः समुद्रा नद्यो गिरयः क्षेत्रौषधिवनस्पतिगन्धर्वाप्सरसो नागा वयांसि गावः साध्या विप्रा यक्षा रक्षांसि भूतान्येवमन्तानि । अथ ऋषयः । शतर्चिनो माध्यमा गृत्समदो विश्वामित्रो वामदेवोऽत्रिर्भरद्वाजो वसिष्ठः प्रगाथाः पावमान्यः क्षुद्रसूक्ता महासूक्ता इति । प्राचीनावीती । सुमन्तुर्जैमिनिर्वैशम्पायनपैलसूत्रभाष्यभारतमहाभारतधर्माचार्या जानन्ति वाहविगार्ग्यगौतमशाकल्यबाभ्रव्यमाण्डव्यमाण्डूकेया गार्गीवाचक्नवी वडवाप्रातिथेयी सुलभामैत्रेयी कहोलं कौषीतकं महाकौषीतकं पैङ्ग्यं महापैङ्ग्यं सुयज्ञं सांख्यायनमैतरेयं महैतरेयं शाकलं बाष्कलं सुजातवक्त्रमौदवाहिं महौदवाहिं सौजामिं शौनकमाश्वलायनं ये चान्ये आचार्यास्ते सर्वे तृप्यन्विति । प्रतिपूरुषं पितॄंस्तर्पयित्वा गृह्यानेत्य यद्ददाति सा दक्षिणा ।

PAGE 770 NOTE 1842—कृतनित्यविधिः पादौ प्रक्षाल्य बहिर्द्विराचम्य प्राङ्मुख उदङ्मुखो वा यज्ञोपवीती सोत्तरवासा विभवे रत्नहिरण्यपाणिर्गन्धाक्षतमाल्यवाञ् शुचिः प्रशस्तश्रीपर्ण्यादिश्लक्ष्णे चतुष्पादपीठे सुखासीनो भूमौ पादौ प्रतिष्ठाप्यान्तर्जानुकरो वाग्यतस्ताम्रचित्तश्चतुरस्रे गोमयमण्डले सपर्यन्ते विप्रो दीपसंनिधौ भुञ्जीत । त्रिकोणमण्डले नृपः । वर्तुले वैश्यः । अभ्युक्षिते शूद्रो भुञ्जीत । ततो मण्डले पालिकायन्त्रादौ शुद्धं पात्रं निधाय प्रक्षाल्य पञ्चमहायज्ञावशिष्टं पूर्वं तु संस्कृतं विहितं मितं घृताप्लुतं मातृभार्यादिदत्तमतिथ्यभ्यागतभृत्यपुत्रादिपरिवृत एकान्ते भुञ्जीत । तदन्नमकुत्सयन् ब्रह्मग्रन्थिरहितपवित्रदक्षिणपाणिर्गायत्र्याऽभ्युक्ष्यान्नं ओंभूरित्यादिमन्त्रेणाभिमन्त्र्य सत्यं त्वर्तेन परिषिञ्चामि ओं चित्राय नमश्चित्रगुप्ताय नमो यमाय नमः सर्वभूतेभ्यो नम इति भूमौ बलिं दत्त्वा हस्तपादवदनार्द्रः करमध्येनान्नमलङ्घयन्नमृतोपस्तरणमसीत्यपोशनं गृहीत्वा सर्वाङ्गुलिभिः सर्वग्रासं ग्रसन् प्राणायापानाय व्यानायोदानाय समानायेति स्वाहान्तैः पञ्चाहुतीः सघृताः सक्षीरा वा हुत्वा वाक्पाणिपादचापल्यं वर्जयन् रुत्वा ग्रासं साङ्गुष्ठं ग्रसन्नरो भुक्त्वा अमृतापिधानमसीति गण्डूषार्धं पीत्वार्धं भूमौ बहिःपार्णिं निनीय पवित्रं विसृज्य भूमौ पात्रे वा क्षिप्त्वा सम्यगुच्छिष्टं प्रक्षाल्य द्विराचामेत् । ततो हस्तौ संमृज्य परिस्राव्याङ्गुष्ठेन चक्षुषोर्निषिञ्च्याक्षिणी स्पृष्ट्वाग्निमुपस्पृश्येष्टदेवतां स्मरेत् । स्मृत्यर्थसार pp. 68–69.

PAGE 811 NOTE 1926—अथातोऽध्यायोपाकरणम् । ओषधीनां प्रादुर्भावे श्रवणेन श्रावणस्य । पञ्चम्यां हस्तेन वा । आज्यभागौ हुत्वाज्याहुतीर्जुहुयात् । सावित्र्यै ब्रह्मणे श्रद्धायै मेधायै प्रज्ञायै धारणायै सदसस्पतयेऽनुमतये छन्दोभ्य ऋषिभ्यश्चेति । अथ दधिसक्तून्जुहोति । अग्निमीळे पुरोहितमित्येका । कुषुम्भकस्तदब्रवीत्, आवदंस्त्वं शकुने भद्रमावद, गृणाना जमदग्निना, धामं ते विश्वं भुवनमधिश्रितम्, गन्ता नो यज्ञं यज्ञियाः सुशमि, यो नः स्वो अरणः, प्रतिचक्ष्व विचक्ष्व, आग्ने याहि मरुत्सखा, यत्ते राजञ्छृतं हविरिति दृचाः । समानी व आकूतिरित्येका । तच्छंयोरावृणीमह इत्येका । अध्येष्यमाणोऽध्याप्यैरन्वारब्ध एताभ्यो देवताभ्यो हुत्वा सौविष्टकृतं हुत्वा दधिसक्तून्प्राश्य ततो मार्जनम् । अपरेणाग्निं प्राक्कूलेषु दर्भेषूपविश्योदपात्रे दर्भान्कृत्वा ब्रह्माञ्जलिकृतो जपेत् । ओंपूर्वा व्याहृतीः सावित्रीं च त्रिरभ्यस्य वेदादिमारभेत् । आश्व. गृ. III. 5. 3–12.

PAGE 821 NOTE 1943 (श्रवणाकर्म)—श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां श्रवणाकर्म। अक्षतसक्तूनां नवं कलशं पूरयित्वा दर्वीं च बलिहरणीं नवे शिक्ये निदधाति। अक्षतधानाः कृत्वा सर्पिषाऽर्धा अनक्ति। अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वैककपालं च पुरोडाशं अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मानिति चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा पाणिनैककपालं अच्युताय भौमाय स्वाहेति। अवप्लुतः स्यादाविःपृष्ठो वा। मा नो अग्नेऽवसृजो अघायेत्येनमाशयेनाभिजुहोति। शं नो भवन्तु वाजिनो हवेष्वित्युक्त्वा धाना अञ्जलिना। अमात्येभ्य इतरा दद्यात्। कलशात् सक्तूनां दर्वीं पूरयित्वा प्रागुपनिष्क्रम्य शुचौ देशेऽपो निनीय सर्पदेवजनेभ्यः स्वाहेति हुत्वा नमस्करोति। ये सर्पाः पार्थिवा ये आन्तरिक्षा ये दिव्या ये दिश्यास्तेभ्य इमं बलिमहार्षं तेभ्य इमं बलिमुपाकरोमीति। प्रदक्षिणं परीत्य पश्चादुपलेरुपविश्य सर्पोसि सर्पतां सर्पाणामधिपतिरस्यन्नेन मनुष्यांस्त्रायसेऽपूपेन सर्पान्यज्ञेन देवांस्त्वयि मा सन्तं त्वयि सन्तः सर्पा मा हिंसिषुर्ध्रुवा ते परिददामीति। ध्रुवामुं ते ध्रुवामुं ते इत्यमात्यानमनुपूर्वम्। ध्रुव मां ते परिददामीत्यात्मानमन्ततः। नैनमन्तरा व्यवेयुरा परिदानात्। सर्पदेवजनेभ्यः स्वाहेति सायं प्रातर्बलिं हरेदा प्रत्यवरोहणात्। प्रसंख्याय हैके तावतो बलींस्तदहरेवोपहरन्ति। आश्व. गृ. II. 1. 1–15.

PAGE 830 NOTE 1959—निवेशनं पुनर्नवीकृत्य लेपनस्तरणोपस्तरणैरस्तमिते पायसस्य जुहुयुरप श्वेतपदा जहि पूर्वेण चापरेण च। सप्त च वारुणीरिमाः सर्वाश्च राजबान्धवीः स्वाहा। न वै श्वेतस्याभ्यागारेऽहिर्जघान किंचन। श्वेताय वैदार्वाय नमः स्वाहेति। नात्र सौविष्टकृत्। अभयं नः प्राजापत्येभ्यो भूयादित्यग्निमीक्षमाणो जपति। शिवो नः सुमना भवेति हेमन्तं मनसा ध्यायात्। पश्चादग्नेः स्वस्तरः स्वास्तीर्णस्तस्मिन्नुपविश्य स्योना पृथिवी भवेति जपित्वा संविशेत्सामात्यः प्राक्शिरा उदङ्मुखः। यथावकाशमितरे। ज्यायात्र् ज्यायान्वानन्तरः। मन्त्रविदो मन्त्राञ्जपेयुः। संहाय अतो देवा अवन्तु न इति त्रिः। एतां दक्षिणामुखाः प्रत्यङ्मुखा उदङ्मुखाश्चतुर्थम्। संहाय सौर्याणि स्वस्त्ययनानि च जपित्वान्नं संस्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा स्वस्त्ययनं वाचयीत। आश्व. गृ. II. 3. 3–12.

PAGE 862 NOTE 2025—

1. बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्॥

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1. This occurs in भविष्यपुराण IV. 164. 22 (भुक्ता for दत्ता), in पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 26–27. This is read as राजभिर्बहुभिर्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः पुनः। यस्य etc. in E. I. vol. 20 p. 159 (in G. S. 159 i. e. 478–9 A. D.). In E. I. vol.15. p. 133 (G. S. 129) 2nd pāda is बहुभिश्चानुपालिता. This verse is बृहस्पति 26 and बृद्धगौतम p. 541; it is ascribed to Vyāsa in I. A. VI. p. 363 (śake 500) and p. 9 Gupta Inscriptions (G. S. 199), to Manu in E. I. vol. VI. p. 18; vide for other early citations E. I. vol.I. p. 88, vol. II. p. 20, VIII. p. 162, I. A. vol. 19 pp. 16–18, Gupta Inscriptions No. 21 p. 93 (156 G. S.), No. 23 p. 108 (G. S. 191).

2. षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥

3. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥

4. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।
स्वविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥

5. अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः ।
दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥

6. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।
महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥

7. स्वं दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखमन्यार्थपालनम् ।
दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥

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2. Quotod by विश्वरूप on या. I. 316, by अपरार्क from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on p. 369. I. A. VI. p. 9, E. I. XI. p. 221 (490 A. D.), E. I. X. p. 53 (456 A. D.), J. B. B. R. A. S. X. p. 365 (dated 532 śake) ascribe to Vyāsa. For other early references vide E. I. vol. XIX. p. 16, vol. X. p. 51 and 53, E. I. vol. 21 pp. 16, 18. The latter half is बृहस्पति v. 29. In E. I. vol. 12 p. 135 verses 1, 2, 6, 25 are ascribed to both Vyāsa and Manu. गृह. र. p. 517 quotes whole as बृहस्पति's.

3. Quoted as बृहस्पति's in Gr. R. Vidy I. A. VI. p. 9. (Valabhi saṁvat 269), E. I. vol. 8 p. 146 (4th pāda is हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम्), vol. 8. p. 162, E. I. XI. p. 111.

4. This is बृहस्पति 28, and Aparārka p. 370 from आदित्यपुराण (in both स्वविष्ठायां and बृहस्पति reads पच्यते). Vido Gupta inscriptions No. 23 (G. S. 191) and No. 26 p. 119 (स्वविष्ठायां) in G. S. 174, I. A. VI. p. 363 (śako 500), E. I. VI. p. 45 (G. S. 300), E. I. XIII. 270 and 333. Pargiter in J. R. A. S. 1912 p. 250 points out that verses 1, 2 and 4 occur in Padmapurāṇa VI. 33. 26–30.

5. पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 32 (तेषामनन्तं फलमश्नुवीत) This is वसिष्ठ 28. 16 (except 3rd *pāda*), बृहस्पति 30, वनपर्व 200. 128, संवर्त 77. This occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 81 p. 296, E. I. VI. p. 285 at p. 293 (śake 789), E. I. VII at p. 105, E. I. IX. p. 37 (śake 836). The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 63) says 'Gold is sprung from Agni's seod'.

6. It occurs in भविष्यपुराण IV. 164. 38. Last pāda is quoted by मिता. on या. I. 320. In some inscriptions it is read as पूर्ववत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष &c. It occurs in E. I. 17 p. 345 at p. 348 (G. S. 113), E. I. vol 15 p. 133 (G. S. 129), E. I. XI at p. 221, E. I. V. p. 37 (Cedi Saṁvat 392), E. I. 20 p. 59 (G. S. 199), E. I. VI. p. 285 (śake 789), E. I. VIII. p. 287 (G. S. 199), I. A. vol. VI. 363 (śake 500); Gupta Ins. No. 26 at p. 119 (G. S. 174).

7. E. I. vol. 15. p. 335, E. I. VI. p. 18, E. I. IX. p. 101 (660. A. D.)

8. विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
कृष्णसर्पाभिजायन्ते ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः ॥

9. यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि ।
निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादद्दीत ॥

10. सर्वानेतान्भाविनो भूमिपालान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ।
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥

11. न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते ।
विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकम् ॥

12. आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः ।
भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥

13. प्रायेण हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते नाशुभा गतिः ।
पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्रयच्छन्तो वसुन्धराम् ॥

8. Quoted as बृहस्पति's in गृह. र. p. 518. It occurs in E. I. vol. 20 p. 59 (G. S. 159), E. I. vol. II. pp. 20–21, E. I. vol. V. 37, E. I. VI. p. 211 (śake 692), and p. 298 (609–10 A. D.), I. A. vol. VI. p. 73 (śake 534), E. I. X. p. 74, E. I. XI. pp. 113–14, E. I. XII. p. 205. In some ins. the reading is ब्रह्मदेयस्यहारिणः and also देवद्रार्थं हरन्ति ये. भविष्यपुराण IV. 164. 39 is तोयहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्क०

9. This occurs in E. I. vol. II. pp. 20–21 (Cedi saṁ. 346), II. p. 220 (śake 922), II. 360 (saṁ. 1162), E. I. V. 37 (Cedi saṁ 392), E. I. VI. at p. 298 (609–10 A. D.), I. A. VI. 73 (śake 534), E. I. VIII. 190 (G. S. 320), E. I. XI. 16, 18 (574 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 35 (609 A. D.).

10. In some inscriptions the order of the halves is reversed. This occurs in E. I. IX. p. 37 (śake 836), E. I. X. at p. 67 (śake 815), E. I. II. 125 and 220 (śake 922), E. I. IV. p. 153, E. I. VI. p. 97 (śake 1114:), E. I. XI. pp. 20, 24 (saṁ. 1186) and p. 141 (1047 A. D.).

11. This is वसिष्ठ 17. 86, बृहस्पति 46, पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 45, बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 102 (first half). Some ins. read देवस्वं विषमुच्यते. This occurs in E. I. X. p. 67 (śake 815), E. I. XV. p. 252, E. I. XI. at pp. 312–13 (saṁ. 1176), E. I. XIII. p. 173 (śake 977), E. I. IX. at p. 305 (saṁ. 1148), E. I. XIII. at p. 22.

12. This is बृहस्पति 17 (with slight variations) and is quoted by अपरार्क p. 370 as from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. It is also पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 17. It occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 26 p. 117 (G. S. 174) and in Naihati plate of Ballāla-sena, E. I. XIV p. 156 at p. 161.

13. This occurs in Gupta Ins. No 26 p. 117 (G. S. 174).

14. सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलम् ।
हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥

15. भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

16. फालरुष्टां महीं दद्यात्सबीजां सस्यमालिनीम् ।
यावत्सूर्यरुता लोकास्तावत्स्वर्गे महीयते ॥

17. भूमिप्रदानान्न परं प्रदानं दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनं तु ।
सर्वैतिसृष्टां परिपाल्य भूमिं नृपा नृगाद्या दिवं प्रपन्नाः ॥

18. भूमिदानसमं दानमिह लोके न विद्यते ।
यः प्रयच्छति भूमिं हि सर्वकामान्ददाति सः ॥

19. योऽर्चितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्चितमेव वा ।
तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥

20. अपि गङ्गादितीर्थेषु हन्तुर्गामथवा द्विजम् ।
निष्कृतिः स्यान्न देवस्वब्रह्मस्वहरणे नृणाम् ॥

21. मद्वंशजा परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः ।
ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिमं समस्तं तेभ्यो मया विरचितोऽञ्जलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥

14. This is बृहस्पति 39 (with slight variations) and is quoted as यम's in गृह. र. p. 514 (भूमेरप्यर्धमङ्गुलम्). विश्वरूप on या. III. 252 quotes this verse but the 2nd half is अपहृत्य द्विजाग्र्येभ्यो नचिराद् वध्यते ध्रुवम् ॥. This occurs in E. I. IX. at p. 305 (sam. 1148), E. I. vol. II. p. 363 (sam. 1196), E. I. XI. at p. 145 (1047 A. D.).

15. This is बृहस्पति 32, पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 35-36, and वृद्धहारीत VII. 164; it is quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. II. 114. It occurs in E. I. II. p. 360 (sam. 1162), VII. 93 (1077 A. D.), E. I. IX. at p. 305 (sam. 1148), XI. p. 20 at p. 24 (sam. 1186) and p. 145 (1047 A. D.).

16. This is बृहस्पति 6, भविष्यपुराण (उत्तरपर्व chap. 164. 16), पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 6. It occurs in the Chiplun plates of Satyāśraya Pulakeśi II (between 609–642 A. D.), in E. I. III. at p. 52, in E. I. XII. p. 205 (1073 A. D.).

17. This is in E. I. VIII. pp. 287 (G. S. 199), Gupta Ins. No. 25 p. 115 (G. S. 209),

18. This occurs in the Pikira plates of Pallava Simhavarman (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 162).

19. This is Manu IV. 235 and occurs in E. I. vol. II. p. 360 (sam. 1162).

20. This occurs in E. I. XIII at p. 22 (Belgaum Ins. of 1204 A. D.).

21. E. I. vol. XII at p. 155.

22. अद्भिर्दत्तं त्रिभिर्भुक्तं सद्भिश्च परिपालितम् ।
एतानि न निवर्तन्ते पूर्वराजकृतानि च ॥

23. शङ्खो भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः ।
भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्पुरन्दर ॥

24. न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं धनम् ।
यथा तु मुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥

25. भूमिदानात्परं दानं न भूतं न भविष्यति ।
तस्यैव हरणात्पापं न भूतं न भविष्यति ॥

26. पूर्वैः पूर्वतरैश्चैव दत्तां भूमिं हरेत्तु यः ॥
स नित्यव्यसने मग्नो नरके च वसेत्पुनः ॥

27. गण्यन्ते पांसवो भूमेर्गण्यन्ते वृष्टिबिन्दवः ।
न गण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फलम् ॥

28. परदत्तां तु यो भूमिमुपहिंसेत्कदाचन ।
स बद्धो वारुणैः पाशैः क्षिप्यते पूयशोणिते ॥

29. इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।
इति विमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥

30. वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरा विषयोपभोगाः ।
प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिन्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥

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22. E. I. VI p. 18. (plates of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman ascribe it to Manu).

23. This is बृहस्पति 15 (with variations), पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 15 and occurs in E. I. VII. at p. 93 (1077 A. D.), I. H. Q. for 1932 vol. VIII. p. 305 (saṁ. 1079), E. I. X p. 89 (śake 697), E. I. XIV p. 156 at p. 162. हेमाद्रि (दानखण्ड) p. 501 quotes it.

24. This occurs in E. I. vol. II. p. 219, where it and verses 7, 12, 40, 41 are quoted after the remark 'इति पराशरवत्सकुत्साङ्गिरसगौतममहुपाञ्चवल्क्यशङ्खलिखितनामन्यवधार्य.'

25. The first half is quoted from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर by अपरार्क p. 368. This and the next occur in E. I. VIII. p. 235, in the Chendlur plates of Pallava Kumāra-Viṣṇu and in E. I. XII. p. 135.

26. E. I. VIII. p. 235.

27-28. Both occur in E. I. VI. p. 97 (Gadag Ins. of Hoysala Vīraballāla, *śake* 1114). बृहस्पति 36 has हरते हारयेद्यस्तु मन्दबुद्धिस्तमोवृतः । स ..... पाशैस्तिर्यग्योनिषु जायते ॥. No. 28 is quoted (with slight variations) in दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 41. It occurs in भविष्यपुराण IV. 164. 33.

29. E. I. VI. p. 285 at p. 294 (*śake* 789), E. I. VII. 93 (1077 A. D.), E. I. X. p. 89, I. H. Q. for 1932 vol. VIII. p. 305 (saṁ. 1079),

30. E. I. XI. p. 20 at p. 25 (saṁ. 1186), E. I. XII. p. 205.

31. अस्मत्कुलं परमुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमत्र नु मोदनीयम् ।
लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥

32 अस्मिन्वंशे द्विजाग्र्योपि यश्चान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत् ।
तस्यापि करलग्नोहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥

33. यावन्ति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च संख्यया ।
नरस्तावन्ति वर्षाणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥

34. न्यायेनोपार्जिता भूमिरन्यायेनापहारिता ।
हरन्तो हारयन्तोपि आक्रान्त्यासप्तमं कुलम् ॥

35. त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती ।
आसप्तमं फलन्त्येते दोहवाहनिवेदनैः ॥

36. सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम् ।
हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥

37. तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च ।
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥

38. सत्यं चैव हुतं चैव यत्किंचिद्धर्मसंचितम् ।
अर्धाङ्गुलेन सीमाया हरणेन प्रणश्यति ॥

31. E. I. II. p. 360 (saṁ. 1162), I. H. Q. 1932 vol. VIII. p. 305 (saṁ. 1079, reads अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदार°).

32. E. I. XI. at p. 141 (1047 A. D.), E. I. XI. p. 312-13 (*saṁ.* 1176 reads अस्मद्वंशे यदा क्षीणे यः कोपि क्षु..... त् । एतस्यार्हं करे लग्नः &c.), E. I. XII. p. 205 (1073 A. D.).

33. E. I. XI. at p. 312-313 (saṁvat 1176), E. I. XII. p. 205 (1073 A. D.). This is संवर्त 73.

34. Compare बृहस्पति 35 which is quoted with variations by वृह. र. p. 517. This occurs in E. I. XI. pp. 312-313, E. I. XII. 205; compare पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 34.

35. First half is वसिष्ठ 29. 19 and बृहस्पति v. 18. This occurs in E. I. XI. at p. 312-313 (saṁ. 1176). पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 18 is very similar.

36. This is संवर्त 78, बृहस्पति 33. This occurs in E. I. XI. at p. 312-13.

37. This is बृहस्पति 38 (वापी कूपसहस्रेण अश्व°), पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 37 (वापी-कूपसहस्रेण) and occurs in E. I. XIII p. 280-281 (śake 690), E. I. XI pp. 382-383. पराशर XII. 51 is वापीकूपतडागार्थैर्यजपेयशतैरपि । गवां ..... हन्यति ॥.

38. This is बृहस्पति 40 (हुतं दत्तं तपोधीतं यत् ..... अर्धाङ्गुलस्य &c) and occurs in E. I. XIII. p. 312-3 and is quoted as बृहस्पति's in दानक्रियाकौमुदी p. 41. Vide पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 38.

39. ऋणहर्ता भूमिहर्ता हारयिता हि ते त्रयः ।
एते च नरकं यान्ति यावदिन्द्राश्च चतुर्दश ॥

40. भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपर्वणि ।
अगाधपारसंसारसागरोत्तारणं भवेत् ॥

41. धवलान्यातपत्राणि दन्तिनश्च मदोद्धताः ।
भूमिदानस्य पुण्यानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरन्दर ॥

42. देवद्विजगतां भूमिं पूर्वभुक्तां हरेत यः ।
प्रणष्टमपि कालेन तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम् ॥

43. मा भूदफलशङ्कया वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः ।
स्वदानात्फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने ॥

PAGE 901 NOTE 2092—अथाग्नौ नित्यहोमान्ते विष्णोर्नित्यार्चा सर्वदेवार्चना भवति । अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमस्तदन्तरेण सर्वा अन्या देवता इति ब्राह्मणम् । तस्माद्गृहे परमं विष्णुं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सायंप्रातर्होमान्तेऽर्चयति । षडङ्गुलादहीनं तद्रूपं कल्पयित्वा पूर्वपक्षे पुण्ये नक्षत्रे प्रतिष्ठां कुर्यात् । तस्मात्पूर्वं तृतीयेऽह्न्योपासनाग्निकुण्डं कृत्वा पूर्ववत्प्रोक्षणोल्लेखनादि कर्म कुर्यात् । द्वितीयस्यां वेद्यां षट्त्रिंशदङ्गुलप्रमाणैर्दर्भैः कूर्चेन वा परिस्तीर्य परिधीनूर्ध्वसमिधौ निधायोर्ध्ववेद्यां यथादिशमिन्द्रादि दिग्देवान्दक्षिणे ब्रह्माणमुत्तरे सोमं च पुष्पाद्यैरभ्यर्च्य तथैवाघारं जुहोति । दद्भ्यः स्वाहा हनूभ्यां स्वाहेत्यङ्गहोममतो देवादींश्च हुत्वा पुरुषसूक्तं जपन्सुवर्णेनाक्ष्युन्मेषणं करोति । नद्यां तटाके जलपूर्णपात्रे वा ये ते शतायेत्यङ्गानि कुशांश्चास्तीर्य विष्णुसूक्तेन देवं प्राक्शिरः शाययित्वाधिवासयति । द्वितीयदिवसे स्नात्वा रात्रौ पूर्ववदाघारं हुत्वाष्टौ कलशानाहृत्य पञ्चगव्यघृतदधिक्षीराक्षतोदकफलोदककुशोदकरत्नोदकैः पूरयित्वा देवमभ्यर्च्य वसोः पवित्रमस आयाहीषे त्वोर्जे त्वा शन्नो देवीश्चत्वारि शृङ्गा सोमो धेनुं चत्वारि वागिदं विष्णुरिति कलशैः स्नापयित्वापोहिरण्यपवमानैर्गन्धतोयैश्च स्नापयति । अग्नेरुत्तरस्यां व्रीहिभिर्वेदिं रुत्वा विष्टरं न्यस्य वस्त्राण्यास्तीर्य देवमारोप्य वस्त्राद्यैरलंरुत्यार्चयति । पुण्याहं रुत्वा स्वस्तिसूक्तेन तामभिमृश्य स्वस्तिदा विशस्पतिरिति प्रतिसरां बद्ध्वा पूर्ववद्देवं शाययति । कालविहीनं कुम्भमुत्पूतैराधावैरापूर्य देवस्य पार्श्वे निधाय प्रणवेनाभिमृश्य कूर्चोक्षतसुवर्णरत्नानि प्रक्षिपेत् । निष्कलं देवं हृदये तथाधावे रुक्माभं रक्तास्यनेत्रपाणिपादं श्रीवत्साङ्कं चतुर्भुजं पीताम्बरधरं शङ्खचक्रधरं सौम्यसकलं ध्यात्वा प्रणमेत् । अग्निं परिषिच्य होत्रं प्रशास्य दक्षिणप्रणिध्यामों भूः पुरुषमों भुवः पुरुषमों सुवः पुरुषमों भूर्भुवः सुवः पुरुषं नारायणं विष्णुं

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39. E. I. XIII. p. 281 (śake 690, reads नरकान्न निवर्तन्ते यावदाभूतसंप्लवम्), E. I. XI. p. 313.

40–41. Both occur in E. I. II. p. 219 (śake 922).

42. This occurs in E. I. vol. XIII. at p. 173 (śake 977).

43. E. I. XV at p. 5 (about 8th century A. D.).

पुरुषं सत्यमच्युतमनिरुद्धं श्रियं महीमिति नाम्नावाह्य निर्वापं कृत्वाज्येन विष्णुसूक्तपुरुषसूक्ताभ्यामतो देवादीन् श्रिये जातो मेदिनी देवीति चतुरावर्त्यं हुत्वा नाम्ना साज्यं चरुं जुहुयात् । प्रभाते स्नात्वा प्रणवेन देवमुत्थाप्य शकुनसूक्तं जपन्सह कुम्भेन देवमानीय गृहे वायव्यां देवायतनेऽग्निशालायां वार्चापीठे रत्नं सुवर्णं वा संन्यस्य विष्णुसूक्तपुरुषसूक्ताभ्यां विष्णुं प्रतिष्ठापयामीति प्रतिष्ठाप्य बिम्बस्य मूर्ध्नि नाभौ पादे च सुवर्भुवर्भूरिति हृदये प्रणवं विन्यस्येदं विष्णुरिति देवं ध्यायन्कुम्भस्थमाधारं शक्तियुतं कूर्चेनादाय बिम्बस्य मूर्ध्नि विष्णुमावाहयामीति संस्राव्यावाहनं करोति । विधिनैवाराध्य हविर्निवेदयति । वैखानसस्मार्त VI. 10–11.

PAG 1066 NOTE 2384—इडोपहूता सह दिवा बृहतादित्येनोपास्माँ इडा ह्वयतां सह दिवा बृहतादित्येनेडोपहूता सहान्तरिक्षेण वामदेव्येन वायुनोपास्माँ इडा ह्वयतां सहान्तरिक्षेण वामदेव्येन वायुनेडोपहूता सह पृथिव्या रथन्तरेणाग्निनोपास्माँ इडा ह्वयतां सह पृथिव्या रथन्तरेणाग्निनोपहूता गावः सहाशिर उप मां गावः सहाशिरा ह्वयन्तामुपहूता धेनुः सहऋषभोप मां धेनुः सहऋषभा ह्वयतामुपहूता गौर्धृतपद्युप मां गौर्धृतपदी ह्वयतामुपहूता दिव्याः सप्त होतार उप मां दिव्याः सप्त होतारो ह्वयन्तामुपहूतः सत्ता भक्ष उप मां सत्ता भक्षो ह्वयतामुपहूतेडा वृष्टिरुप मामिडा वृष्टिर्ह्वयतामित्युपांश्वथोच्चैः इडोपहूतोपहूतेडोपास्माँ इडा ह्वयतामिडोपहूता मानवी घृतपदी मैत्रावरुणी ब्रह्मदेवरुतमुपहूतं दैव्या अध्वर्यव उपहूता उपहूता मनुष्याः । य इमं यज्ञमवान्ये च यज्ञपतिं वर्धानुपहूते द्यावापृथिवी पूर्वजे ऋतावरी देवी देवपुत्रे । उपहूतोऽयं यजमान उत्तरस्यां देवयज्यायामुपहूतो भूयसि हविष्करण इदं मे देव हविर्जुषन्तामिति तस्मिन्नुपहूत इति । आश्व. श्रौ. I. 7. 7.

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(N. B.—Full references to works and authors like the Mahābhārata, Manu, Yājñavalkya that are quoted dozens of times have not beon given. After the first dozen references the attempt has been given up in such cases. The only exceptions mado are about 'Inscriptions', 'Jaimini', and 'Śabara'.

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Yogakṣema, 914–915
Yogapaṭṭa,962
Yoktra, 1040n
Yoni, 1184
Yugādi (tithis), 395
Yūpāvaṭīya, 1152

ERRATA

(A few misprints due to the loss of such loose parts as anusvāras have not been specified here, since they can be easily detected)

Page	Line or note	
4	note 7	read हन्त्यासत् for हन्त्यसत्
26	note 57	read दस्यून् for दस्यून
54	note 126	read कन्यायां for कन्यायायां
56	note 132	read सवर्णो for सवर्णा
57	line 3	read 'pratiloma ones'
58	note 138	read संकरजातीना for संकरजीताना
61	note 149	read सर्वे for सव
70	note 170	read '172' for '202'
100	line 4	read '*Saudhanvana*'
117	note 252	read वुर्वेदा for वुवेदा
126	note 276	read सर्वेषां न निषिध्यते
151	note 345	omit 'for कलिवर्ज्य texts vide Appendix'
152	line 5	read 'kratvartha' for 'kvatvartha'
,,	note 351	read वचनाज्ञात्र for वचज्ञात्र
168	note 391	read 'N. K. Dutt' for 'N. P. Dutt'
172	note 402	read शर्वं तत्सृष्टिनं
186	note 435	read यस्यात्स्वामी तस्य
236	in last line but one	read 'rites' for 'rights'
241	line 6	read 'Phālgunīs'
249	note 565	read चूडामणिश्चेदीश-
266	line 13	read 'Raghu' for 'Aja'
,,	line 18	read 'Hartlib' for 'Hartile'
271	note 623	read वेदा वा एते
285	note 666	read 'on sūtras 6–7 says'
293	note 691	read 'वसिष्ठ 8. 17' for 'वसिष्ठ 8. 9'
308	note 729	read प्रादेशाज्ञाधिका
322	note 766	read त्वाशिषत्पितेति
359	note 875 line 7	read बृहस्पतिः
373	line 14	read 'vratāni' for 'vratam'
391	line 31	read 'notes 2218a and 2219' for 'notes 2321–22'
395	note 938	read सुन्दरकाण्ड 59. 35–36
432	note 1025 last line	read गीतश्चायमर्थोङ्गिरसा
453	note 1071	read -शरीरारम्भकतया
463	note 1092	read 'III. 4. 6' for 'III. 4. 15'
489	note 1142	read हारीतो for हारतो
,,	,,	,, बालम्भट्टी
529	note 1235	read पशुभ्यः
559	note 1299	read सवर्णासु

Page	Line or note	
597	line 20	read 'Yuddhakāṇḍa 117. 27' for 'the same kāṇḍa 116. 28'
646	note 1519 last line	read 'महीपाश्चिन्तयन्त्यर्थजातम्'
649	note 1527	read हिंसिषुरीश्वराः
657	note 1555	remove the bracket before आ and after 108
733	note 1746	read '102. 30 and 103. 15' for '103. 30 and 104. 15'
757	note 1810	read सरस्वत्यौ
,,	,,	,, विषयविज्ञानं
761	note 1821	read सुप्तये भोक्तव्यम् । आमीतं
791	line 13	read 'a kṣatriya'
813	note 1933	read 'would be'
854	note 2015	read सुवर्णं दक्षिणा
870	line 22	read 'of Prayāga'
896	note 2088	read एव एव विधिर्दृष्टः
983	line 9	read 'adhvaryu' for 'hotr'
1008	note 2270	read –द्रवेत् for –द्रजेत्
1032	note 2322	read 'aśvattha'
1034	note 2328	read स्तम्बयजुषो
1040	line 9	read 'ājyasthālī' for 'ayasthālī'
1066	note 2383	read अध्वर्युवान्यतरत्
1070	note 2993	read 'pratihartṛ'
1077	note 2408 line 4	read स्वस्तु
1094	note 2455	read अध्वर्य उपह्वयस्व
1106	note 2477	read अग्ने अयनं
1186	line 10	read 'succintly indicates'
1187	line 26	insert 'VIII. 72. 7' after VIII. 72. 8
1191	note 2616	read in line 15 अस् and मघवन्निन्द्र in line 16
1206	note 2636	read पानं for यानं
1227	line 18	read 'to Aditi'
1253	line 13	read 'navel'

Government Oriental Series Class B, No. 6

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

By
the late Dr. PANDURANG VAMAN KANE
National Professor of Indology

Vol. III

Second Edition

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
1973

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

The second volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in the third quarter of 1941. In the Preface to that volume I held forth hopes that the next volume dealing with the remaining subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra might be placed before scholars in about three years thereafter. The Great War was then being fought in Europe and it was generally believed that India would remain free from the fear of actual invasion. But such fond hopes were shattered by the sudden attack on Pearl Harbour by Japanese bombers on 7th December 1941. Japan gained rapid and phenomenal victories and within about three months from the attack on Pearl Harbour vast territories from the Philippines to Burma fell into the hands of the victors. Calcutta and Trincomalee were bombed. Serious fears were entertained about an invasion of the mainland of India by land, sea and air. There was great panic in such coastal cities as Madras, Bombay and Karachi. The matters uppermost in the minds of Government officials and the members of the public were A. R. P. measures, the recruiting of men for the army, navy and air force and the removal of families and valuables to places of safety in the interior. Important and rare books from the libraries of the Bombay Asiatic Society and of the University of Bombay were taken to distant places for reasons of security. During almost the whole of 1942 it was very difficult for me to work on the preparation of the third volume in the midst of a general atmosphere of panic caused by the fear of invasion and the removal of valuable reference books from Bombay Owing to the war there has been great scarcity of paper and printing also has become very costly. I decided upon writing only on a few of the several subjects that remained to be dealt with and chose Rājadharma, Vyavahāra and Sadācāra, the treatment of which is now placed before the public. Scarcity of paper and labour is responsible for the fact that this third volume has been in the press for nearly three years. The present volume increased in bulk beyond expectation The fourth and last volume will deal with the following subjects: Pātaka, karmavipāka and prāyaścitta; antyesti, aśauca and srāddha; tīrtha; vrata; kāla and muhūrta; śānti; Paurāna dharma; the influence of the Pūrvamīmāmsā and other śāstras on dharmaśāstra; the religious and philosophical background of dharmaśāstra; the essentials of our culture, its future, the coming

social and other trends and their impact on the dogmas and ideals of Dharmaśāstra. I am personally anxious to finish all the remaining work as early as possible But looking to my age (I am nearly 67 now), to my ailments and to the number of subjects that remain to be dealt with, it is impossible for me to say when the next and last volume may be published. This volume also is full of quotations, refers to many inscriptions, judicial decisions and legislative enactments. The reasons for this have been stated at length in the Preface to the second volume and I do not desire to repeat them here In the general index to the second volume full references to works like the Manusmrti were not given, because such works were quoted on almost every page But some critics found fault with this, therefore in the index to this volume full references to all works are inserted.

All that now remains is the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith and several volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of the preceding one. I wish to mention specially the debt I owe to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kamalakrsna Smrtitīrtha for his editorial work on twelve volumes on the different branches of dharmasāstra, which have been of great use to me in writing all the volumes of my History viz. Hāralatā, Vivādaratnākara, Grhastharatnākara, Krtyaratnākara, Tīrthacintāmani, Varsakriyākaumudī, Dānakriyākaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, Suddhikaumudī, Dandaviveka, Rājadharmakaustubha and Agastyasamhitā. I am highly obliged to Paramahamsa Svāmi Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai for frequent help and guidance in solving some intricate problems of Dharmaśāstra, to Prof N. A Gore, M. A. of Poona for help in the careful correction of proofs, to Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstri Kokje of Lonavla and Mr. N. G Chapekar, B A., LL.B (retired F. C Sub-judge), of Badlapur for reading through the whole volume and suggesting some additions and corrections.

Assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for the last four years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends and acquaintances, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof H. D. Velankar, Dr R N Dandekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Rao Bahadur Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Dr. A. S Altekar, Mr. P. K. Gode, Dr. Raghavan, Mr. S N Joshi of Bhārata-itihāsa-samśodhaka-mandala at Poona, Mr. Bhabatosh

Bhattacharya (son of M M Kamalakrsna Smrtitirtha), Mr S L Katre of Ujjain, Prof. A. M. Paramaśivanandan of Pacchaiappa College at Madras, the late Pandit Rangacarya Raddi. Thanks are due to all these and many others for help and interest in this volume. It need not be expressly stated that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this volume I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for carrying out the work of printing with care and promptitude in spite of difficulties caused by war conditions and paper and labour shortage

In a work bristling with thousands of quotations and references it is likely that many slips have escaped attention The indulgence of the reader is sought for forgiveness in the matter of several misprints in the footnotes caused by loss or displacement of the parts of letters in the process of printing

BOMBAY,
1st October, 1946.

P. V. KANE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

A. I. R. = All India Reporter of Nagpur

Ait Br. = Aitareya Brāhmana

All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series

A L. J. = Allahabad Law Journal

Āp. = Āpastamba (generally the author of the Dharmasūtra is meant)

Āp. Dh S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra

Āp. M P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pātha

A. S. W. I. = Archaelogical survey of Western India

Āsv. Gı. = Āsvalāyana-grhyasūtra

Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra

B I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta

Bom. = I. L. Reports, Bombay Series

Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer volumes

Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol I-XII)

Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal)

B. O R. I.
B. O. R Institute } = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

Br = Smrti of Brhaspati

Br. Up. = Brhadāranyaka Upanisad

B R W. W. = Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western world

Cal = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series

Catur. = Caturvimśatimata

Chān. Up. = Chāndogya Upanisad

C. I. I. or
Corpus I. I } = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (vol. I relating to Inscriptions of the times of Asoka, vol. II relating to Kusana Inscriptions and vol. III relating to Gupta Inscriptions)

C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal

Com. = Commentary or Commentator (according to context)

Cr. ed. = Critical edition (of the Mahābhārata, Poona)

C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports)

D. B. = The Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana

D. C. = Dattaka-candrikā

D C = Deccan College Collection (when mss. are concerned)
Dh S. = Dharmasūtra
D K. S. = Dāyakramasangraha of Śrīkrsna
D. N. = Dattakamīmāmsā of Nandapandita
E C = Epigraphia Carnatica
E I = Epigraphia Indica
F B. = Full Bench (decision)
Fick } = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr Shishukumar Mitra, 1920)
Gaut. = Gautama-dharmasūtra
Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara of Candesvara
H D } = History of Dharmaśāstra
H Dh }
Hir gr = Hiranyakesi-grhya-sūtra
I. A = Indian Antiquary
I A. } = Indian Appeals (Law Reports) The context will always indicate whether I. A stands for the volumes of the Indian Antiquary or for the Law Reports, Indian Appeals
I. H Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
I. L R = Indian Law Reports
Ins = Inscription or Inscriptions
I. P. C = Indian Penal Code
Jai = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtra
J. A O. S = Journal of the American Oriental Society
J. A S B = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J B. O. R S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J R. A S = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
Kām. = Kāmandakīya-nīti-sāra
Kāt. = Smrti of Kātyāyana reconstructed by P V Kane
Kaut. = Kautilya's Arthaśāstra
K V N. = Kalivarjyavinirnaya (ms)
L R I A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (Privy Council)
Mad. = Indian Law Reports, Madras Series
Mārk. = Mārkandeyapurāna
Medh. = Medhātithi, the oldest commentator of Manusmrti

Mit = Mitāksarā on the Yājñavalkya-smrti
M. L. J. = Madras Law Journal
Moo I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals (Reports
N. or n. = footnote
Nār. = Nārada-smrti
Nir. S = Nirnayasindhu
Nītisāra = Kāmandakīya-nīti-sāra
N. I. A. = New Indian Antiquary, Poona
Pān. = Pānini's Astādhyāyī
Pār. Gr. = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra
Par. M. = Parāśāra-Mādhavīya
Patna = Indian Law Reports, Patna Series
P. C. = Privy Council
P. J. = Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court
Q. or q = Quoted
Raghu. = Raghuvamsa
R. D. K. } = Rājadharmakānda of Kalpataru (on p. 43
Rāja Dh. K. } = R. D. K. by mistake stands for Rājadharma-kaustubha)
Rājadharma-K. = Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva
Rāja N. P. } = Rājanītiprakāśa (a part of the Vīramitrodaya
R. N. P. } = of Mitramiśra)
Rājat. = Rājatarangini
Rg. = Rgveda
Sam. K. = Samskāra-kaustubha
Sam Pr. = Samskāraprakāśa (a part of the Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra)
Śān. Gr. = Śānkhāyana-grhya-sūtra
Śat Br. = Śatapatha-brāhmana
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (series edited by Max Müller)
S. I. I. = South Indian Inscriptions
Sm. C. = Smrticandrikā
Sm. Kau. = Smrti-kaustubha
Sm. M. = Smrtimuktāphala
Śr. = Śrautasūtra
S. V. = Sarasvatīvilāsa

Śukra = Śukranītisāra
Tai Ār. = Taittirīya Āranyaka
Tai Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmana
Tai. S = Taittirīya Samhitā
Tai. Up = Taittirīya Upanisad
T. L L = Tagore Law Lectures
Tr = Translation or translated
Vāj S = Vājasaneyi-samhitā
Vas = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra
V C = Vivāda-cintāmani
V M / V Mātrkā = Vyavahāra-mātrkā of Jīmūtavāhana (except on p 709)
V. Mayūkha = Vyavahāramayūkha (In a very few places such as on p 709 through oversight V M stands for V Mayūkha)
V Nir / V Nirnaya = Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja
V P = Vyavahāraprakāsa (a part of the Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra)
V R = Vivādaratnākara of Candesvara
Visnu / Visnu Dh S. = Visnudharmasūtra
V. T. = Vivādatāndava of Kamalākara
Vy Nir / Vy Nirnaya = Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja
Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmrti
अथर्व = अथर्ववेद
अर्थशास्त्र = कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र
आप ध सू = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप म पा. = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ
ऋ. = ऋग्वेद
ऐ ब्रा = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण
कलिवर्ज्यवि = कलिवर्ज्यविनिर्णय (ms)
कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार
कात्या. श्रौ. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र
काम / कामन्दक = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार
कृत्यर. = कृत्यरत्नाकर

कौ. / कौटिलीय } = कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र

गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर

गौ. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र

चतुर्वि. = चतुर्विंशतिमत

छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

जै. = जैमिनीयपूर्वमीमांसासूत्र

जै. न्या. मा. = जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तार

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता

दत्त. च. = दत्तकचन्द्रिका

दत्त. मी. = दत्तकमीमांसा

नारद. = नारदस्मृति

नीतिवा. / नीतिवाक्या. } = नीतिवाक्यामृत

नीतिसार = कामन्दकीयनीतिसार

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

बुध. / बुधभू. } = बुधभूषण

बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests)

बृह. उप. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

बृहत्सं. = बृहत्संहिता

बौ. ध. / बौ. ध. सू. } = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र

बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात

मनु. = मनुस्मृति

मिता. = मिताक्षराटीका of विज्ञानेश्वर

मीमांसाकौ. / मी. कौ. } = मीमांसाकौस्तुभ of खण्डदेव

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's भाष्य on मनुस्मृति

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति

रा. ध. कौ. or राजध कौ. or राजधर्मका. = राजधर्मकौस्तुभ

रा. नी. प्र. or राजनी. प्र. or राजनीतिप्र. = राजनीतिप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र

राज. र. or राजनीतिर. = राजनीतिरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर

वाज. सं = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वि चि = विवादचिन्तामणि
वि. ता = विवादताण्डव of कमलाकर
वि र = विवादरत्नाकर
व्यव. त = व्यवहारतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन
व्य. नि or व्यव. नि = व्यवहारनिर्णय
व्य प्र = व्यवहारप्रकाश of मित्रमिश्र
व्य. म or व्य. मयूख = व्यवहारमयूख
व्य मा = व्यवहारमातृका
व्यव सा. = व्यवहारसार
शुक्र, शुक्रनी, शुक्रनीति. } = शुक्रनीतिसार
स कौ = संस्कारकौस्तुभ
सत्या. श्रौ. = सत्याषाढश्रौतसूत्र
स वि. = सरस्वतीविलास
स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृतिमु = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of some important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B —Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are more or less conjectural

4000 B. C. — 1000 B. C - The period of the Vedic Samhitas, Brāhmanas and Upanisads. Some hymns of the Rgveda, the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmana and the Atharvaveda may possibly go back to a period earlier than even 4000 B. C. and some of the Upanisads (even from among those that are regarded as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C

800 B C — 500 B. C. — The Nirukta.

800 B C. — 400 B. C — The principal srauta sutras (of Apastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhayana, Kātyāyana, Satyāsādha and others) and some of the Grhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600 B. C. — 300 B C. — The dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasistha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C. — 300 B. C. — Pānini

500 B. C. — 200 B C — Jaimini's Pūrvamimāmsasūtra

300 B. C — Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pānini.

300 B C. — 100 A D — Arthasāstra of Kautilya.

150 B. C. — The Mahābhāsya of Patañjali.

200 B. C. — 100 A. D — Manusmrti

100 A. D. — 300 A. D — Yājñavalkyasmrti

100 A. D. — 300 A. D — Visnudharmasutra

100 A. D. — 400 A D. — Nāradasmrti

200 A D. — 500 A. D. — Śabara, com of Jaimini

300 A. D. — 500 A. D. — Brhaspatismrti on Vyavahāra (not yet found. Extracts translated in S. B. E. vol. 33).

300 A. D — 600 A. D — Some of the extant Purānas, such as Vāyu, Visnu, Mārkandeya, Matsya, Kūrma

400 A D — 600 A D. — Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (not yet found Extracts collected by me and translated in English)

400 A D — 600 A D. — Kāmandakīyanītisāra

505 A D — 587 A D. — Varāhamihira, author of Bṛhatsamhitā, Bṛhajjātaka, Pañcasiddhāntika and other works

600 A D — 650 A D. — Bāna, author of the Kādambarī and the Harsacarita

650 A D. — 750 A D. — Kumārilabhatta, author of Ślokavārtika, Tantravārtika and Tup-tīkā

600 A D. — 900 A. D — Most of the smṛtis and some of the Purāṇas

788 A. D — 820 A. D — Śaṅkarācarya, the great Advaita philosopher

800 A D. — 850 A D — Viśvarūpa, com. of Yājñavalkyasmṛti

900 A. D. — Medhātithi, com. of Manusmṛti

900 A. D. — 1100 A. D —Pārthasārathimiśra, author of Śāstradīpikā, Tantraratna, Nyāyaratnākara

966 A D — Utpala, com of Bṛhat-samhitā and Bṛhajjātaka

1000 A. D — 1055 A. D — Dhāresvara (Bhoja)

1070 A D — 1100 A. D — Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksarā com on Yājñavalkya

1080 — 1140 A D —Govindarāja, author of a com on Manusmṛti

1100 — 1150 A D — Laksmīdhara, author of a large digest called Krtya-kalpataru or simply Kalpataru

1100 — 1150 A D — Jīmūtavāhana, author of Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātrkā

1114 — 1183 A D — Bhāskarācārya, author of Siddhāntasiromani, of which Līlāvatī is a part

1125 A D — Aparārka, author of a com on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti

1127 — 1138 A. D — Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārthacintāmani of Somesvaradeva

1150 — 1160 A D — Rājataranginī of Kalhana

1150 — 1200 A D. — Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara.

1200 — 1225 A. D — Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa

1150 — 1300 A D — Haradatta, com on Gautamadharmasūtra and Āpastambadharmasūtra

1150 — 1300 A. D. — Kullūka, com. of Manusmṛti.

1200 — 1300 A D — Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja

1260 — 1270 A. D. — Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri

1290 — 1370 A D. — Candeśvara, author of Rājanītiratnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Grhastharatnākara and other works

1300 — 1380 A D — Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśaramādhavīya.

1360 — 1390 A D. — Madanapārijāta compiled under king Madanapāla

1375 — 1460 A D. — Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, com on Yājñavalkya.

1400 — 1500 A D. — Nyāyasudhā of Someśvara, com on Tantravārtika.

1400 — 1450 A D — Vivādacandra of Misarumisra

1425 — 1450 A D — Madanaratna of Madanasimha.

1490 — 1512 — The Vyavahārasāra of Dalapati, a part of the Nrsimhaprasāda

1500 — 1525 A. D —. The Sarasvativilāsa compiled under king Pratāparudradeva

1500 — 1550 A D. — Vardhamāna, author of Dandaviveka.

1500 — 1550 — Vācaspatimisra, author of Vivādacintāmani and several other works

1520 — 1575 A D — Raghunandana, author of Dāyatattva, Divyatattva, Vyavahāratattva and other Tattvas

1560 — 1620 A D — Śankarabhatta, author of Dvaitanirnaya or Dharmadvaitanirnaya

1590 — 1630 A. D — Nandapandita, author of the Dattakamīmāmsā and Vaijayantī, com on Visnudharmasūtra.

1610—1640 A. D —Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirnayasindhu, Vivādatāndava, Śūdrakamalākara and other works.

1615 — 1645 A D — Nīlakanthabhatta, author of Nītimayūkha, Vyavahāramayūkha and other Mayūkhas

1615 — 1645 A. D — Mitramisra, author of Vīramitrodaya, divided into Rājanītiprakāśa, Vyavhāraprakāsa and other prakāśas

1650 — 1680 A D — Anantadeva, author of Rājadharmakaustubha

1750 — 1820 A. D — Bālambhatta, author of the Bālambhattī, com on the Mitāksarā

1790 A D — Dharmasindhu of Kaśīnātha

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42 Bom 136 710n.
46 Bom. 213 327n.
48 Bom. 203 763n
60 Bom. 311 450.
31 Bom L R 199 327n.
31 Bom L R. 1030 11.
47 Bom. L R, 5 602n, 763n, 814.
1 Cal. 1 602n.
6 Cal 119 725n.
19 Cal 91 602n.
28 Cal 194 602n.
39 Cal. 862 447n.
47 Cal, 274 327n.
I L R (1940) Cal 415 818.
6 I A 88 450n.
7 I A 115 708n.
17 I. A. 128 602
26 I. A 113 677n, 682.
41 I A 290 725n, 758.
42 I A 208 751n
51 I A 129 449n
53 I. A 163 763n.
58 I A. 402 603.
5 Mad. H. C. R. 150 581n.
1 Mad 306 602n
4 Mad. 250 581n
8 Mad 290 710n.
11 Mad 287 760n
23 Mad 16 601.
27 Mad 300 579n.
30 Mad. 406 760n.
31 Mad 250 427n.
34 Mad 68 602n.
37 Mad. 458 447.
38 Mad 556 622n.
39 Mad 298 876.
40 Mad 925 574n
42 Mad 711 450
53 Mad 84 619n
53 Mad 549 427n.
58 Mad. 126 622n.
58 Mad 238 760n.
A. I R (1945) Mad. 327 592n
5 Patna 646 710n
23 Patna 599 576n.
P. J (for 1874) p. 250 867n.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

(A few misprints due to the loss or displacement of such loose parts as *anusvāras* have not been specified, since they can be easily detected)

Page	Line or note	
22	n. 24	read विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 95;
31	n 41	read शान्ति 59 for शान्ति 9
57	n. 70	The verse दुष्टस्य दण्डः &c occurs also in वराहमिहिर's योगयात्रा 2. 33
57	n. 70	read सर्वकल्मष°
62	l. 3	read 'Śāntiparva (56. 45–46)
72	l. 31	read 'option for'
143	n. 184	read 'Śabara' in line 3
147	l. 16	Add 'Br. Sam. 23. 2 is: हस्तविशालं कुण्डकमधिकृत्याम्बुप्रमाणनिर्देशः । षष्ठाशत्पल-माढकमनेन मितुयाज्जल पतितम् ॥. उत्पल explains 'हस्तविशालं कुण्डकं वर्षति देवे संस्थाप्य तत्र यज्जलं पतति तन्मापयेत् । तद्यदि पलशतद्वयं भवति तदा द्रोणो वृष्टः'. On Br. Sam 21. 32 उत्पल quotes a verse of 'पराशर' समे विशाङ्गुलानाहे द्विचतुष्काङ्गुलोच्छ्रिते। भाण्डे वर्षति संपूर्णे ज्ञेयमाढकवर्षणम् ॥'. This shows the dimensions of a vessel used as a rainguage.
182	n. 230	read in line 3 राजधर्मकौ.
183	l 34	read 'Rājadharmakaustubha'.
183	l. 38	" "
193	n. 250	read संभृतानि कनककरितुरग°
227	n. 306	add at end 'Compare योगयात्रा 5. 15 'एकस्य सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनसः परिद्धिः। चेतसोऽस्ति सहयानरणे भीर्मारुतोऽपि विजयाजयहेतुः ॥'
242	l. 14	read 'Manu VIII. 1.' for 'Manu VIII. 1,'

Page	Line or note	
258	n 335	read in last line स्मृतिच.
265	l. 20	read '*padas*'
379	n 395	read सभ्यै.
382	l 6	read *pahcam...pratīta*
405	last line	put a full stop after 'hanged',
414	n. 669	read ऋणमस्मिन्
423	n. 690	read गुणैर्व्यवस्था
533	n 982	should we read वधमकुर्वन् for वधं कुर्वन्?
538	n 995	read in first line द्यूतं
542	n. 1009	read in second line द्यूतं
570	n 1069	read पैतामहे
586	n 1104	read in line 9 च for ज
588	n. 1111	read in line 2 दुर्गादित्याह
605	n 1142	put a full stop after बौधायन in l. 5
,,	,,	read in line 9 निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च
627	n. 1197	read न त्वयत्वे अनुष्ठेया
651	n 1235	read in line 1 एक एवौरस and in line 2 वि. र.
659	n. 1248	read गौणपुत्राणा
,,	n 1250	read in line 2 कुर्वन्न
677	n 1277	add at the end 'For the words शूर्पेण जुहोति शूर्पेण ह्यशनं क्रियते' vide शतपथ ब्राह्मण II. 5 2. 23, vide तै ब्रा. I. 6 4 for two वेदिs in वरुणप्रघास and बौ. श्रौ. 5 5.
695	n 1321	Add at end 'For अर्धम...बहिर्वेदि compare तै स. VI. 6 4 and बौ. श्रौ. सू 4 2
702	l. 27	read '(Śākuntala Act VI)
706	n 1349	read पत्नीनामंशभागित्वम्
,,	l. 15	read 'her deceased sonless and separated husband's wealth'.

Page	Line or note	
751	l. 30	read after 'British rule' the words 'the widows of gotraja sapindas'.
776	n. 1499	read in l. 2 मूल्यत्वेन
781	n. 1509	read in last line स्वातन्त्र्येण
804	n. 1561	Add at the end 'Recently the Indian Legislature passed Act XIX of 1946 which confers on Hindu married women the rights to separate residence and maintenance as against the husbands in certain circumstances'.
846	l. 28	read 'mother'
897	n. 1762	read in line 7 'Institute' for 'Society'.
936	last line	read 'naugamanābhāve'.

RĀJADHARMA

(GOVERNMENT AND STATECRAFT)

CHAPTER I

Rājadharma has been a subject of discussion in works on dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Āp. Dh. S. II 9 25.1 says 'The general and special *dharmas* of all varnas have been explained; but now we shall declare the dharmas of a king in particular'. Āp then states that the king should cause to be built a capital and a palace, the gates of which both should face the south; that the palace should be in the heart of the capital; that in front of the capital there was to be a hall called 'āmantrana' (hall of invitation); that to the south of the town there was to be an assembly house with doors on the north and south. Āp requires that in the king's realm no brāhmana should suffer hunger, sickness, cold or heat; Āp gives regulations about the assembly house and about persons who were to be allowed to engage in gambling; he prescribes that (the exercise in) arms, dancing, singing and music should not go on anywhere except in the houses of the king's servants, that the king was to see that there was no danger from thieves in villages and forests, that the king should donate fields and money to brāhmanas according to their worth without detriment to his servants, that the king who meets death in recovering the property of brāhmanas and other warlike persons who meet death in fighting for a similar worthy cause reap the merit of a sacrifice (i. e reach heaven as reward); that the king should appoint in towns and villages officers and their subordinates, who are pure and truthful, for the protection of the subjects against thieves and who are to be made to make good what is stolen; that they are to collect lawful taxes for the king from the people except from learned brāhmanas, women of all castes, minors, students staying with teachers and ascetics fulfilling the rules of their order, śūdras who do menial work for the higher castes (such as washing their feet), persons that are blind, deaf or dumb Āp. then lays down punishments for adultery and rape, for slander and defamation, for manslaughter, for theft and appropriation of another's land, for breach of contract to cultivate the field of another, for a herdsman leaving his herd or negligently allowing

it to perish He states that if the king does not punish the guilty he incurs sin, that in disputes judges should be men of learning, clever and fulfilling their duties, that witnesses were to tell the truth and were to be punished if they be untruthful It will be noticed how Āp briefly covers the whole field of rājadharma In the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata rājadharma is dealt with at great length in chapters 56–130 and to some extent in 131–172 The Manusmṛti also states at the beginning of chap VII (1) that it will expound rājadharmas That great literary activity on the science and art of government went on for many centuries before the Christian era follows from several considerations The Anuśāsanaparva (chap 39 8) speaks of the śāstras composed by Brhaspati and Usanas The Śāntiparva (58 1–3) names as expounders of *rājaśāstra* Brhaspati, Bharadvāja, Gaurasiras, Kāvya, Mahendra, Manu Prācetasa and Viśālākṣa Śāntiparva (102 31–32) opposes the view of Śambara to that of ācāryas[1] The Arthasāstra of Kautilya mentions five schools (viz those of the Mānavas, the Bārhaspatyas, the Auśanasas, the Pārāśaras and the Āmbhīyas), seven individual teachers (V. 5, and I. 8) only once (viz Bāhudantīputra, Dirgha Cārāyana, Ghotamukha, Kaninka Bhāradvāja, Kātyāyana, Kiñjalka, Pisunaputra,) and several times mentions the views of Bhāradvāja, Kaunapadanta, Parāśara, Pisuna, Vātavyādhi, Viśālākṣa. Kautilya also cites at least 53 times the views of ācāryas, almost in every case for dissent Śānti 103 44 refers to a Bhāsya on rājasāstra Is it possible to see in this a reference to one out of the bhāsyakāras indicated in the verse appended at the end of the Kautilīya or to the Kautilīya itself? Another fact indicative of the systematization of the science of government is that in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, Manu and Kautilya ideas expressed by numbers had already been stereotyped long before those works were written viz such as saptānga rājya (State with seven constituent elements), sādgunya (the six ways of policy viz alliance, declaration of war &c), three *śaktis*, the four upāyas (sāma, dāna, bheda, danda), astavarga, and pañcavarga (Manu VII. 155), the 18 and 15 tīrthas (Sabhāparva 5 38)[2] For detailed information

1. मन्यते कर्षयित्वा तु क्षमा साध्वीति शम्बरः। असन्तसं तु यद्राज प्रत्येति प्रकृतिं पुनः॥ नैतत्प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या न च साधुनिदर्शनम्। शान्ति 102 31–32.

2 दशपञ्चचतुर्वर्गान्सप्तवर्गं च तत्त्वतः। अष्टवर्गं त्रिवर्गं च विद्यास्तिस्रश्च राघव॥ कृत्स्नं विंशतिवर्गञ्च तथा प्रकृतिमण्डलम्। अयोध्याकाण्ड 100. 68–69 दशवर्ग means the ten व्यसनs.

about the Rājaśāstras of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja culled from the Mahābhārata and other ancient works *vide* my paper on them in the Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XI part 2 pp. 73–83, 1942.

The fulfilment of their duties and responsibilities by rulers was of paramount importance to the stability and orderly development of society and to the happiness of individuals in the State and therefore one often finds that rājadharma is said to be the root of or the quintessence of all *dharmas*. Śāntiparva (63.25) states 'know that all dharmas are merged in rājadharma; that rājadharmas are at the head of all dharmas' and (141 9–10) 'the welfare, good rains, sickness, calamities and death among people owe their origin to the king[3]'. It was the king's duty to see that the people in his kingdom acted according to the rules laid down in the smṛtis for the several varnas and āśramas, to administer justice and to interfere when his help was sought for by a *pariṣad* (assembly of learned men) in enforcing the *prāyaścitta* (penance) prescribed for various lapses. Vide Gautama X. 7–8, XI. 9–11, Āp. Dh. S II. 5 10. 13–16[4], Vasiṣṭha 19 1–2, Viṣṇu III. 2–3, Nārada (prakīrnaka, 5–7 and 33–34), Śāntiparva 77 33 and 57 15, Matsyapurāna 215.63, Mārkandeyapurāna 27 28 and 28 36 and H. Dh. vol. II. p. 965. Therefore it may be said with truth (as done by the Mahābhārata) that *rājadharma* was the highest goal of all the world, that it comprehended within itself all rules of *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* (administration of justice) and *prāyaścitta* (penance). It is on account of this all-pervading influence of government or royal power that the Mahābhārata frequently emphasizes that the king is the maker of his age, that it is he who can usher a golden age or an age of strife and misery for the country[5]. The Śukranītisāra (I.

3. एवं धर्मान् राजधर्मेषु सर्वान्सर्वावस्थं संप्रलीनान्विबोध । ... सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः । सर्वे धर्मा राजधर्मप्रधानाः । शान्तिपर्व 63 25, 26, 29; राजमूला महाभाग योगक्षेमसमुद्भवः । प्रजासु व्याधयश्चैव मरणं च भयानि च ॥ कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्च भरतर्षभ । राजमूला हीति मतिर्मम नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ शान्ति 141. 9–10; सर्वस्य जगतोऽस्य राजधर्मः परायणम् । शान्ति 56. 3.

4. आप. ध. सू II. 5. 10. 13–16 तस्य चेच्छास्त्रमतिप्रवर्तेरन् राजानं गमयेत् । राजा पुरोहितं धर्मार्थकुशलम् । स ब्राह्मणानियुञ्ज्यात् । बलविशेषेण वधदास्यवर्जं नियमैरुपशोषयेत् ।

5. कालो वा कारणं राज्ञो राजा वा कालकारणम् । इति ते संशयो मा भूद्राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥ उद्योग 132. 16 and शान्ति 69 79; कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्च भरतर्षभ । राजवृत्तानि सर्वाणि राजैव युगमुच्यते ॥ ... राजैव कर्ता भूतानां राजैव च विनाशकः । शान्ति. 91. 6 and 9; तत्र चेत्संमुह्येत धर्मे राजर्षिसेविते । लोकस्य संस्था न भवेत्सर्वं च व्याकुलीभवेत् ॥ शान्ति. 56. 6; युगप्रवर्तको राजा धर्माधर्मप्रशिक्षणात् । युगानां न प्रजानां न दोषः किन्तु नृपस्य तु ॥ शुक्रनीतिसार IV. 1. 60.

59–60) remarks that one should learn from śāstra what are good and evil actions, give up evil deeds and perform good ones and that the king is hence declared to be the cause of (good or evil) times according as he does good or evil acts Śukra IV. 1, 60 states that the king is the prompter of his age

Though rājadharma was thus an integral part of dharmaśāstra and was one of the most important subjects therein, yet apart from the works on dharmaśāstra separate treatises dealing with rājadharma alone came into existence in very early times Śāntiparva (chap 59) states that originally in the Krta age there was no king nor punishment, that then *moha* (delusion), greed and lust entered men, that in order to provide against the complete destruction of dharma, Brahmā composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters on dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa (verses 30 and 79), that part of this work on Nīti (science of government) was abridged by Śaṅkara Viśālākṣa (verse 80, and so it was called Vaiśālākṣa) into 10000 chapters, that Indra studied it and reduced it to 5000 chapters (and the work was called Bāhudantaka, verse 83), that it was compressed into 3000 chapters by Bṛhaspati (and so was called Bārhaspatya) and that Kāvya (Uśanas) reduced the work to 1000 chapters. The Kāmasūtra (I 5–8) contains a somewhat similar story that Prajāpati composed a work in one hundred thousand chapters, that Manu abridged it as regards dharma, Bṛhaspati as regards *artha* and Nandī abridged in 1000 chapters the science of erotics. The Śāntiparva (69) gives (verses 33–74) a summary of the contents of the work of Brahmā on rājadharma which remarkably agrees with the principal topics of the Kautilīya

The Nītiprakāsikā (I 21–22) states that Brahmā, Maheśvara, Skanda, Indra, Prācetasa Manu, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Bhāradvāja, Veda-Vyāsa, Gauraśiras were the expounders of Rājaśāstra, that Brahmā composed a work on rājasāstra in 100000 chapters, which was gradually reduced in size by each of the above-mentioned founders until Gauraśiras reduced it to 500 chapters and Vyāsa to 300 The Śukranītisāra (I 2–4) states that Brahmā composed nītiśāstra in 100000 verses, which was subsequently abridged by Vasistha and others (including Śukra)

It is interesting to note the names given to the science of government The most appropriate word is 'rājaśāstra' and it is employed by the Mahābhārata, which speaks of Bṛhaspati, Bharadvāja and others as 'rājaśāstra-pranetāraḥ' (vide p 2 above) The Nītiprakāśikā (I, 21–22) also dubs the divine and human

writers on government 'rājaśāstrānām pranetārah.' The same word is employed by such ancient classical writers as Aśvaghosa in his Buddhacarita (I. 46).[6] The first verse in Prof Edgerton's reconstructed Pañcatantra performs obeisance to Manu, Brhaspati, Sukra, Parāśara and his son and Cānakya as the authors of nrpasāstra (science of kingship) Another name is *Dandanīti*. The Sāntiparva (59. 78) explains why Dandanīti is so called viz 'this world is led (on to the right path) by danda (the power of punishment, sanction) or this science carries (or sets forth) the rod of punishment; hence it is called dandanīti and it (faces) pervades the three worlds' In Śāntiparva 69. 76 it is stated that 'Dandanīti controls the four varnas so as to lead them on to the performance of their duties and when it is employed by the ruler properly, it makes them desist from adharma'[7] Śānti 63. 28 identifies Dandanīti with rājadharmas The Kautilīya (I. 4) explains 'Danda is the means of the stability and welfare of Anvīksikī, Trayī (the three Vedas) and Vārtā; the rules that treat of danda are called dandanīti, which is a means of acquiring what has not been acquired, which safeguards what is acquired, which increases what is guarded and distributes (increased wealth) among the deserving.[8] The Mahābhārata says (Śānti 69. 102) that a wise ksatriya, putting dandanīti in front, should always desire to acquire what is till then unacquired and should guard what is acquired.[9] The Nītisāra (II. 15) says that *dama* (control or chastisement) is called danda, the king is called 'danda' because control is centered in him; that the nīti (rules) of danda is called dandanīti and nīti is so called because it leads (people).'[10] Śānti (69. 104) says that dandanīti is the special concern of the ksatriya (rājan). It is said in the Vanaparva 150. 32 that without Dandanīti this

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6 यद्राजशास्त्रं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा न चक्रतुर्वीक्षकरावृषी तौ ॥ तयोः हुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्तत्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ बुद्धचरित I. 46.

7. दण्डेन नीयते चेदं दण्डं नयति वा पुनः । दण्डनीतिरिति ख्याता त्रीँल्लोकानभिवर्तते ॥ शान्तिपर्व 59. 78; दण्डनीतिः स्वधर्मेभ्यश्चातुर्वर्ण्यं नियच्छति । प्रयुक्ता स्वामिना सम्यगधर्मेभ्यो नियच्छति ॥ शान्ति. 69. 76. स्वधर्मेभ्यः is in the dative and अधर्मेभ्यः in the ablative.

8. आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीवार्तानां योगक्षेमसाधनो दण्डः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः । अलब्धलाभार्था लब्धपरिरक्षणी रक्षितविवर्धनी वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनी च ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 4 (p. 9).

9. दण्डनीतिं पुरस्कृत्य विजानन् क्षत्रियः सदा । अनवाप्तं च लिप्सेत लब्धं च परिपालयेत् ॥ शान्ति. 69 102.

10. दमो दण्ड इति ख्यातस्तात्स्थाद्दण्डो महीपतिः । तस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिर्नयनान्नीतिरुच्यते ॥ नीतिसार II. 15 and शुक्र० I. 157 (latter reading तस्माद्दण्डो &c.)

whole world would break all bounds Vide also Śānti 15.29, 63.28, 69.74 ff (eulogy of Dandanīti) Dandanīti is said to be the support of the world (Śānti 121 24) and to have been produced by Devī Sarasvatī (Śānti 122 25)

Arthaśāstra has been a synonym for dandanīti When the Āp. Dh. S. II. 5 10 16 requires the king to appoint as purohita a brāhmana well-versed in dharma and artha, it is clear that Āpastamba has in view dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra The Anuśāsanaparva says that Brhaspati and others composed arthaśāstras (39.10–11) Dronaparva 6 1 speaks of a science of artha composed by Manu (*Mānavī arthavidyā*) Vide Jayaswal in 'Manu and Yājñavalkya' (pp. 5, 7, 16, 25, 26, 41, 42, 50, 84, for Manu and Artha) Śānti (71 14) states that a king whose sole concern is with arthaśāstra does not secure dharma and kāma and that all the wealth of such a king vanishes in (the pursuit of) improper objects. Vide Śānti 302 109 which speaks of arthaśāstra as resorted to by the best among kings. The Rāmāyana (II 100. 14) states that Sudhanvā, Upādhyāya of Rāma, was an adept in arthaśāstra. The arthaśāstra of Kautilya starts with the statement that it is the quintessence of all the arthaśāstras composed by former teachers in the whole world and at the end Kautilya states that that śāstra which is a means of acquiring and guarding the earth is arthaśāstra This mentions two of the four objects of dandanīti stated in the Kautilīya itself (as shown in *n* 8 above) Only two objects are mentioned by Kauṭilya (as in Śānti 69 102) since they are the first and principal ones to be gained by the practice of the science of government. It is not meant that there was, as regards the topics to be dealt with, any distinction between Dandanīti and Arthaśāstra The four objects mentioned by Kautilya are always placed before the ksatriya by Manu (VII. 99–100), Śānti 102 57 and 140 5, Yāj. I. 317, Nītisāra I 18 (while I. 8 mentions only two purposes of rājavidyā) At the end (XV 1) Kautilya states '*artha* is the sustenance of human beings, that is, the earth peopled by men That śāstra which is a means of acquiring and guarding that earth is arthaśāstra' Men derive their sustenance from the earth and all wealth also arises from the earth. Mr Jayaswal (Hindu Polity p 5) is not right when he translates 'Artha is human population' Vide U Ghoshal's 'Hindu Political Theories' p 74 n and p 76 for the various interpretations of this passage by Jayaswal and others Authors a few centuries later than both the Mahābhārata and the Kautilīya treat the two as

identical. Dandin in his Daśakumāracarita (VIII.) expressly says that Visnugupta composed his work on dandanīti for the Maurya king in 6000 ślokas, though the Kautilīya states at the very beginning that the work is an arthaśāstra Dandin in the same context refers to 'Arthaśāstras as helping to polish the intellect' and speaks of some of the predecessors mentioned by Kauṭilya as writers on the śāstra (viz. the Arthaśāstra).[11] The Amarakośa treats the two as identical.[12] Medhātithi on Manu VII. 43 holds that the word 'Dandanīti' therein refers to the works of Cānakya and others The Mitāksarā on Yāj. I. 313 paraphrases daṇḍanīti by arthaśāstra and on Yāj. I. 311 explains daṇḍanīti as the lore useful in the acquisition and guarding of wealth (only the two objects mentioned by Kautilya in connection with arthaśāstra) According to the Śukranītisāra (IV. 3 56) 'that is said to be arthaśāstra in which instruction about the conduct of kings and the like is given without coming in conflict with Śruti and Smrti and in which the acquisition of wealth with great skill is taught'.

The words arthaśāstra and dandanīti are applied to the science of government from two different points of view. Artha is defined in the Kāmasūtra (I. 20) as 'education, lands, gold, cattle, corn, domestic utensils and friends and the augmenting of what is acquired' (vide H. Dh. Vol II part I. p. 9 note 22). Therefore when wealth and prosperity of all kinds is the spring and motive of giving a name the science treating of these is called arthaśāstra and when the government of the people and the punishment of offenders are the main ideas the same is called dandanīti. Though works like Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra place a high value on dharma they are principally concerned with the treatment of central and local government, taxation, the employment of *sāma* and other upāyas, with alliances and wars, appointment of officers and punishment Therefore Arthaśāstra is mainly what is called *drstārtha* smrti, as stated by the Bhavisyapurāna (quoted by Aparārka p. 626, the Smrticandrikā p 24, vyavahāra and Viramitrodaya, *paribhāṣā* p. 19). Medhātithi on Manu VII. 1 explains that dharma in that verse means

11. अधीत्य तावद्दण्डनीतिम् । इयमिदानीमाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता । ..... येऽपि मन्त्रककणाः शास्त्रतन्त्रकाराः शुक्राङ्गिरसाविशालाक्षबाहुदन्तिपुत्रपराशरप्रभृतयः &c. । दशकुमारचरित VIII. pp. 131 and 133 (B.S. Series edition).

12. आन्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिस्तर्कविद्यार्थशास्त्रयोः । अमरकोश (शब्दादिवर्ग). क्षीरस्वामी derives 'दृम्पतेनेन दृमनं वा दृण्डः स नीयते दृम्यं प्रति प्राप्यते यया सा दृण्डनीतिरर्थशास्त्रम् ।

'duties' (dharmaśabdah kartavyatāvacanah), that the duties of the king are either drstārtha (i e the effects of which are worldly and visible) such as the employment of six *gunas* (sandhi, vigraha &c) or adrstārtha (that have no visible effect but have a spiritual result) such as Agnihotra; here (in chap VII–IX of Manu) the remarks relate principally to drstārtha matters since it is well-known that the word *rājadharma* is applicable to such matters (the six gunas &c) only [12] Medhātithi here declares that the rules of rājanīti are not based on the canonical books of dharmaśāstra but principally on the experience of worldly affairs

Another name for the science of government is Nītisāstra or Rājanītiśāstra Śānti[14] 59 74 says that in the nītiśāstra are set forth all those means whereby people are prevented from forsaking the right path. The Nītisāra of Kāmandaka[15] (I. 6) does obeisance to Vișnugupta who extracted the nectar of Nītiśāstra from the vast ocean of Arthaśāstra (works). The Pañcatantra p 2 holds that Arthasāstra and Nītiśāstra are synonymous The Mitāksarā on Yāj II. 21 remarks that the arthaśāstra referred to by Yāj is rājanītiśāstra that is part and parcel of dharmaśāstra The word 'rājanīti' occurs in Raghuvamśa 17 68 Vide Bhagavadgītā X. 38, Āśramavāsikaparva 6.5, Manu VII. 177, Śānti 111 73, 138,39, 43 and 196, 268 9 and Anuśāsana 163 7 for Nītiśāstra meaning Arthaśāstra or Rājanīti and Drona 152 29 and Śānti 37 9 for the word rājanīti. Another noteworthy word is 'naya' which means 'line of policy' and is employed by the Arthaśāstra (I. 2) when it says 'naya and anaya (bad policy) are treated of in Dandanīti'. It is also used in several classical works, such as the Kirātārjunīya (II. 3, 12, 54, XIII. 17).

The relation of arthaśāstra to dharmaśāstra has now to be understood. As stated above rājadharma is a very important subject of dharma-śāstra Arthaśāstra which is principally concerned with the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the ruler is therefore properly speaking a part of dharmaśāstra As shown above it is supposed to have

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13 धर्मशब्दः कर्तव्यतावचन इत्युक्तम् । .. कर्तव्यं च दृष्टार्थं पाङ्गुण्यादि । अदृष्टार्थमग्निहोत्रादि । तत्रेह प्राधान्येन दृष्टार्थ उपदिश्यते । तत्रैव च राजधर्मप्रसिद्धि । मेधा० on मनु VII I

14. यैर्धैरुपायैर्लोकस्तु न चलेदार्यवर्त्मनः । तत्सर्वं राजशार्दूल नीतिशास्त्रेभिवर्णितम् ॥ शान्ति. 59. 74

15 नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः । समुद्धरे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥ कामन्दकीयनीतिसार I. 6

like dharmaśāstra a divine source But works on arthaśāstra enter into great details about the government of a country in all its aspects, while dharmaśāstra works generally deal only with a few salient features of rājaśāstra Just as the Kāmasūtra (I 2 14) states that dharma is the highest goal and kāma is the lowest of the three puruṣārthas (vide H. Dh. vol. II part 1 p 9), so Arthaśāstra also sets the highest value on dharma The Kautilya states (III. 1. at end)[16] 'In any matter where there is a conflict between dharmaśāstra and practices or between dharmaśāstra and any secular transaction, (the king) should decide that matter by relying on dharma. If śāstra comes in conflict with any rational and equitable rule then the latter shall be the deciding factor and the (strict) letter of the text will be nowhere'. But Kautilya and other writers on arthaśāstra lay the greatest emphasis on artha In the eager and relentless pursuit of worldly prosperity means may be recommended or followed which may come in conflict with the strictly ethical standpoint of the dictates of dharmaśāstra. In such cases of conflict dharmaśāstra works lay down (e. g. Āp. Dh. I.9. 24. 23, Yāj. II. 21, Nārada, vyavahāramātṛkā chap. I. 39) that dharmaśāstra rules are to be preferred to the dictates of arthaśāstra. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj. II. 21) states that according to some predecessors of his the conflict between the dictates of dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra is illustrated as follows. Manu VIII. 351 (which is the same as Viṣnu-dharmasūtra V. 190 and Matsyapurāṇa 227. 116-117) when dealing with vyavahāra (a subject that pre-eminently belongs to arthaśāstra) provides that in killing an *ātatāyin*, no fault attaches to the killer: while Manu XI. 89 in the chapter on prāyaścittas (which is pre-eminently a topic of dharmaśāstra) states that no penance is prescribed (i. e. there is no prāyaścitta for removing the guilt) when a person of set purpose kills a brāhmaṇa. The result is that the latter rule prevails and sin is incurred by killing a brāhmaṇa even if the latter be an ātatāyin (though there may be no punishment by the king). Viśvarūpa does not accept

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[16]. संस्थाया धर्मशास्त्रेण शास्त्रं वा व्यावहारिकम् । यस्मिन्नर्थे विरुध्येत धर्मेणार्थं विनिश्चयेत् ॥ शास्त्रं विप्रतिषेधे धर्मन्यायेन केनचित् । न्यायस्तत्र प्रमाणं स्यात्तत्र पाठो हि नश्यति ॥ कौटिलीय III. 1. p. 150. Prof. K V. Rangaswami Aiyangar gives two inconsistent translations of these verses at pp. 54, 170 of his 'Ancient Indian Polity' (1935). धर्ममूलत्वात्कामफलत्वाच्चार्थस्य धर्मार्थकामानुबन्धायार्थस्य सिद्धिः सा सर्वार्थसिद्धि । कौटिलीय IX. 7. p. 362

this illustration. The Mitāksarā also refers to this example, disapproves of it and gives its own example The Arthaśāstra declares that a king should endeavour to secure friends, since the acquisition of friends is superior to the acquisition of gold and land (as is laid down in Yāj I. 352) The rule of dharmaśāstra is that a king has to dispense justice, being free from anger and avarice and in accordance with dharmaśāstra Therefore when a suit comes before a king he must decide it according to law, even though he may lose the friendship of a person if his decision goes against the latter The Viramitrodaya follows the Mitāksarā Dharmasāstra went by the name of smrti (Manu II 10), while arthaśāstra was treated as an Upaveda The Visnupurāna III. 6. 28, Vāyu 61. 79 and Brahmānda 35 88-89 mention the four Upavedas[17] viz Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra as affiliated to the four Vedas respectively viz. Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda Kautilya (I. 5) states that the king should listen to the recital of *itihāsa* in the latter part of the day and includes both *dharmaśāstra* and arthaśāstra under itihāsa[18] and requires the minister knowing arthasāstra to advise the king (with examples and precepts derived) from itihāsa and purāna

Though Arthaśāstra is in theory for keeping to the path of dharma, one cannot blink one's eyes to the fact that the Mahābhārata and the Kautilīya both support in several places the adoption of means entirely divorced from all rules of fair dealing and morality In Ādiparva 140 we have a discourse by Kanika said to have been a *mantrin* of Dhrtarāstra and a profound student of Rājaśāstra, which is almost on the same lines as Śāntiparva chap 140 where Bhīsma sets out what lines of policy (*nīti*) should be followed by the ruler in adversity and how he should give up all thoughts of kindliness in such straits He is supposed to give the substance of the dialogue between the sage Bhāradvāja and Śatruntapa, king of Sauvīra The whole chapter is full of Machiavellian advice. A few specimens may be set out here One should be very courteous in speech, but like a razor at heart (verse 13); one desirous of prosperity may fold one's hands, may take an oath, may use

17. आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चेति ते त्रय । अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं च विद्या अष्टादशैव ता. ॥ विष्णुपुराण III 6 28 quoted by अपरार्क p. 6

18 पश्चिमामितिहासश्रवणे । पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरण धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः । कौटिलीय I. 5. p. 10.

sweet words, place his head on another's feet and even shed tears, one may carry on one's shoulders one's enemy till one accomplishes one's object and when a fit opportunity arises should break him like an earthen pot on a stone (17–18); the king should raise hopes promising their fulfilment at a distant day, but should put obstacles in the fulfilment of the hopes raised in others (32); when one is reduced to a wretched state one may extricate oneself from it by any act whatever whether gentle or horrible and practise dharma after one becomes able to do so (38); one should inspire confidence in one's enemy by some means which appear to be true (to the enemy), but one should strike him down at the right moment when he takes a wrong step (44); whoever causes obstacles to the purpose of the king, whether son or brother or father or friend, should be killed by the king who desires to prosper (47); without cutting the vitals of others, without committing horrible deeds and without killing indiscriminately as the fisherman in the case of fish one does not secure high prosperity (50); when about to strike one should utter sweet words and even after striking one should use honeyed words; even after severing another's head with a sword one should lament and shed tears (54); if some remainder is left in the case of a debt or fire or enemies, there is a tendency to grow and so no remainder should be left of these (58) It is to be noted that this chapter deals specially with what should be done in difficulties and cannot be supposed to be the real teaching of the Mahābhārata which is generally in line with the higher code of dharmaśāstra It embodied probably the words of earlier arthaśāstra writers like Bhāradvāja. After hearing this discourse on calculated cruelty and deceit Yudhisthira stood aghast and frankly told Bhīṣma that the course of conduct outlined by him did not differ from that of robbers and that he felt bewildered and would not exert himself in the way pointed out In chap. 142 Bhīsma replies to this by saying that he did not base his discourse merely on the sacred texts, but also on reason and the essence was distilled by wise men, that the considered rule of conduct for the king is twofold, viz. straightforward and crooked, that one should not ordinarily employ the crooked course of conduct, but should employ it as against an enemy who employs a crooked policy and effectively meet him by such policy. He further says that *rājadharma* cannot be based on a single source (v. 7) and that policies are to be pursued not merely by reliance on the sacred codes of law but on reason as well

(v 17) and that Indra himself has declared this rule which he derived from Bṛhaspati. In Śānti-parva a weak king is advised to harass a very powerful ruler's state by sword, fire and poison In chap 130 it is stated that the preservation of the state is the paramount consideration and that a king whose treasury is depleted and who is therefore in difficulties may replenish his treasury even by harassing his subjects (except *tāpasas* and learned brāhmanas) In chap 138 it is said that self-interest makes friends or foes and that *aviśvāsa* (putting trust in no one) is the grand line of policy for kings So it is clear that the Mahābhārata was prepared to give up in certain circumstances the strict rules of dharmasāstra for kings and to allow them to pursue devious modes of action that were far from moral i e it tries to effect a synthesis of dharmasāstra and arthasāstra

The Kautilīya also discloses how arthasāstra writers did not shrink from giving advice which, to say the least, was most cruel, selfish and immoral For example, in the section called 'guarding the prince' (Kauṭ I 17) the views of several teachers are set out Bhāradvāja says that princes are of the nature of crabs eating up their parent; so it is better to finish them in secret when they have no love for their father Viśālāksa abhorred this advice as cruel, as unsanctioned murder and as destructive of the seed of ksatriyas and recommended that it was better to keep them confined in a single spot. Vātavyādhi recommended that princes should be made addicted to sensual excesses Kauṭ disapproves of this as living death (for the princes), recommends proper care before conception and after birth and instruction in dharma In Kaut V. 6 Bhāradvāja is quoted as saying that when the king is on his death-bed, the minister may set up the kinsmen of the king and the principal princes against one another, that whoever attacks should be killed by inciting the people against him, or having secretly punished the kinsmen and chief princes and brought them under control, the minister should himself take possession of the kingdom. Kautilya does not approve of this But even he advises (XIV Aupanisadika) the employment of poison, herbs and incantations against those who are irreligious or wicked In I. 18 even Kaut does not shrink from advising that secret emissaries (of the reigning king) may kill an abandoned prince with weapons and poison and in V. 1 Kauṭ. remarks that, when a king cannot openly put down the principal courtiers or chiefs

who are dangerous to the kingdom, he may inflict punishment on them in secret or may induce the brother of the officer to be punished to attack the latter by promising to give him the position and wealth of the officer and then destroy that attacker with weapons or poison saying that he was guilty of fratricide In V. 2 for replenishing a depleted treasury Kautilya coolly asks the king to deprive the temples in the kingdom of their wealth through the superintendent of religious endowments

Sanskrit literature on rājadharma is very extensive. Apart from the meagre materials contained in such ancient dharmasūtras as that of Āpastamba, the following works deserve close study and have been utilized in this section; the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 150, Sabhā 5, Udyoga 33-34, Śānti 1-130, Āśramavāsika 5-7), the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā, chap. 15, 67, 100; Yuddha 17-18, 63), Manusmrti VII-IX, Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (which is the leading work on rājadharma), Yāj I 304-367, Vrddha-Hārītasmrti chap VII. verses 188-271, Bṛhat-Parāśara chap. X.pp. 277-285, Visnudharmasūtra III, the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka, Agnipurāna chap. 218-242, Garudapurāna 108-115, Matsya 215-243, Visnudharmottara II, Mārkandeya 24, Kālikā 87, the Nītiprakāsikā attributed to Vaiśampāyana (ed by Oppert), Śukranītisāra (ed by Jīvānanda, 1890), the Abhilasitārthacintāmani or Mānasollāsa (first four vimśatis) of Someśvara, Yukti-kalpataru of Bhoja, Nītivākyāmrta of Somadeva (959 A. D), Bārhaspatyasūtra (ed by Dr. F.W. Thomas), the Rājanītikānda of the Krtyakalpataru of Laksmīdhara (edited from a single ms by Jagadish Lal Shastri at Lahore, 1942), Rājanīti-ratnākara of Candeśvara, Rājanītiprakāśa of Mitramiśra, Nītimayūkha of Nīlakantha, Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva, Budhabhūsana of Prince Sambhāji (between A. D. 1675-1680, ed by Prof. H D. Velankar), Dandanīti of Keśavapandita (edited by V.S Bendrey, Poona, 1943) In recent times there is a deluge of works mostly inspired by the publication of the Kautilīya dealing with ancient and medieval Indian polity in its various branches The most important of these and a few other works independent of Kautilya are mentioned in the note below.[19]

19. Some parts of the Śāntiparva may be later than Kāmandaka's work, since Śānti (123. 11-12) refers to the dialogue of Kāmandaka and Āngarisṭha king of Anga. But it need hardly be said that it is not absolutely necessary to hold that the extant Nītisāra of Kāmandaka is referred to by Śāntiparva.

(*Continued on next page*)

It would be impossible to go into all details about Government and Politics within the space at my disposal What is

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(*Continued from last page*)

The reference may be only to a legend. The modern works referred to above are:—'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (1935) and 'Rājadharma' (1941) by Rao Bahadur K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar; 'The Nature and grounds of political obligation in the Hindu state' by J. J. Anjāria (1935); 'Development of Hindu polity and Political Theories' (Calcutta, 1929) by N C. Bandopadhyaya; "Public Administration in Ancient India" (1916) by Dr. P. N Bannerjea, 'Some Aspects of ancient Hindu Polity' (1921) by Prof. D R Bhandarkar; 'The theory of Government in Ancient India', (1927) and 'The State in Ancient India' (1928) by Dr Beni Prasad; 'Buddhist India' (1903) by Rhys Davids, 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' (Madras, 1929) and 'Mauryan Polity' (Madras, 1932) by Prof. V R Ramchandra Dikshitar, 'History of Hindu Political Theories' (2nd ed Calcutta, 1927) by U Ghoshal; Prof E W. Hopkins' 'Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India' in Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XIII. pp 57-372, 'Hindu Polity' (1924) by K. P. Jayaswal. 'Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas' (1938) by Dr. C Minakshi, 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity' (vol. I, 1914), 'Inter-state Relations in Ancient India' (London, 1920), 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (Oxford, 1921), 'Studies in Indian History and Culture' (1925) by Dr. Narendranath Law; 'Corporate Life in Ancient India' (Calcutta, 1919) by Dr. R. C. Majmudar, 'Local Government in Ancient India' (1919) by Dr Radhakumud Mukerjee, 'Study in the Economic condition of Ancient India' by Dr Pran Nath, 'Positive Background of Hindu Sociology' (Allahabad, 1914) and 'The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus' (1922) by Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar, 'Sovereignty in Ancient Hindu Polity' by Dr H. N Sinha (London, 1938), 'International Law in Ancient India' by Prof S. V Visvanathan I have to make general acknowledgments to these works for much useful information, particularly to those of K P. Jayaswal and N N. Law. For a list of Mss. on Polity or its sub-topics, vide N N Law's articles in Modern Review for October 1917 to January 1918 and March and June 1918 and for a list of available Mss. and printed works on '*Vārtā*' (economics) vide the same writer's 'Studies in Indian History and Culture' pp 384 ff. In my treatment of *rājadharma* I have generally restricted myself to data derived from Sanskrit works on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra and have rarely ventured into works in Pāli. Similarly it has to be borne in mind that the works referred to cover a period of several centuries and further that India is not one country but a continent of which northern India formed one more or less homogeneous unit, while the Deccan formed another and South India formed a third unit. The institutions of these, particularly of the last of the three, differ in many particulars from those of the other two But the authentic data furnished by South India are later by centuries than those supplied by the north and besides are comparatively meagre. Therefore in this work one has to confine oneself principally to Sanskrit works composed in North India or the Deccan.

proposed is to indicate and dilate upon only the fundamental ideas and principles of the several matters falling under rājadharma. Nor is it possible to enter here into formal and lengthy refutations of the several views propounded by Western and Indian writers about the forms and functions of Government and the state of society in ancient India. Most of the modern works referred to in note 19 above are more or less based on the same material in Sanskrit and Pāli, but the emotional or subjective element is different in each case. Some western writers have without very solid foundations indulged in a facile and sweeping generalization that the great Empires of antiquity such as those of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medians and Persians and the Indians were mainly tax-gathering institutions (vide Sir Henry Maine's 'Early History of Institutions' 1875, pp. 384 and 390; and Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar's 'Ancient Indian Polity' 1935, pp. 5—6 and pp. 66–69 (where passages from T. H. Green and others are cited); while some Indian writers vehemently assert that the Government in Ancient India was always some form of limited monarchy. Both characterisations are in my opinion misleading An endeavour will be made to present from the original texts as true a picture of the polity of ancient and medieval India as it is possible for me to do. It will do no good to label the ancient institutions of India with concepts and terms current in the West during the last one hundred and fifty years or so. Even in the West true democracies or real democratic governments did not exist and the masses in no country had elective popular assemblies or councils before the last quarter of the 18th century. Such assemblies do not exist even now in several countries of Europe Even in the ancient Greek city states the number of slaves who had no voice in the government was several times as large as the free citizens and those states were no democracies at all in the strict sense.[19a] Indian polity has a recorded history of over two thousand years from at least the 4th century B. C Its growth was gradual but its aims and ideals and its main elements have been the same throughout the centuries. India need not feel ashamed or fear

19a. Berolzheimer in 'the World's Legal Philosophies' (tr. by Jastrow, New York, 1929) p. 62 remarks 'Plato approved of slavery unreservedly, finding it a necessary condition for the maintenance of the proper status of the citizen. ... Thus in the maritime and industrial states there was a large slave class; in Corinth, 460000; Aegina, 470000, in Attica (according to the census of 309 B. C.) 400000'.

a comparison of its ideals and theories of State with the ideals and theories of western countries in ancient and medieval times. If western countries could boast of so-called republics and city states in ancient Greece and Rome, India also had several republics in ancient times. The ancient Hindus made their own contributions to political thought, though unfortunately Western scholars of the 19th century like Max Müller, Weber and Roth were concerned most with the Vedic and allied literature and either did not know or ignored the vast literature on politics contained in Sanskrit and Pāli works. Vide 'Some Aspects of ancient Hindu Polity' by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (1929) pp. 2–3 for views of Max Muller and others and criticism thereof, also Dr. Beni Prasad's 'Theory of Government &c.' p. 1, U. Ghoshal 'History of Hindu Political Theories' pp. 3–4.

CHAPTER II

SEVEN AṄGAS OF RĀJYA

According to almost all of our authorities a state (*rājya*) is constituted by seven elements[20] viz *svāmin* (ruler or sovereign), *amātya* (minister), *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (the territory of the State and its people), *durga* (fortified city or capital), *kośa* (accumulated wealth in the ruler's treasury), *daṇḍa* (army), *mitra* (friends or allies). These seven are called *aṅgas* or *prakṛtis* The word prakṛti in works on politics is also used for the constituents of a circle of states (of a maṇḍala) Vide Manu VII. 156 and Kautilya (VI.2). The word also means ministers as in Śukranitisāra II. 70-73 and 'subjects' in Khāravela's Inscription (E. I vol. 20 p.79 l. 4), Nārada (prakīrnaka 5), Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 18. The order in which these are arranged and their names vary a good deal. The quotations given below will indicate how the order differs. The sequence is important for the reason that some of our authorities expressly state that when calamities befall or deterioration sets in each of the seven elements, those that befall each preceding one are more serious for the State than those of each succeeding one (Kautilya VIII. 1, Manu IX. 295). For *janapada* sometimes the word *jana* or *rāṣṭra* is used, for 'daṇḍa' the word 'bala' and the word 'pura' for 'durga'. The Āśramavāsiparva (5 8) speaks of eight aṅgas of *rājya*. According to Sumantu quoted by the Sarasvatīvilāsa (p 46) *daṇḍa* means "punishment bodily or monetary" and 'army' is included under 'kośa'. Sumantu says that th e*svāmin* has to be preserved by himself, the ministers by showing them proper respect, the people by keeping them contented, the fortified capital by abundance of wealth and grain, the kośa by proper expenditure, danda

20. स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः। कौ. VI. 1, p 257, स्वाम्यमात्यौ जनो दुर्गं कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च। मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते॥ याज्ञ. I. 353; स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोशदण्डौ सुहृत्तथा। सप्त प्रकृतयो ह्येताः सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते॥ मनु IX. 294; स्वाम्यमात्यदुर्गकोशदण्डराष्ट्रमित्राणि प्रकृतयः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 33; स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृद्दुर्गकोशदण्डजनाः। गौतमसूत्र quoted in सरस्वतीविलास p.45. Vide also शान्ति 69, 64-65, मत्स्य 225. 11 and 239, अग्निपुराण 233. 12, कामन्दक I. 16 and IV. 1-2 The application of the word प्रकृति to these is lucidly explained by Aparārka (p. 588) यतः कार्यमुत्पद्यतेऽवतिष्ठते नियमेन भवति सा प्रकृतिः। यथा हिरण्यं कुण्डलस्य। राज्यं च विना स्वाम्यादिभिर्नोत्पद्यते, उत्पन्नमपि न तैर्विना चिरकालमनुवर्तते। ततो भवन्ति स्वाम्यादयो राज्याङ्गानि।

by following one's dharma, friends by truthfulness. The authorities are agreed that the ruler is the most important or the first of the seven. Kautilya puts the matter very forcibly and realistically when he states that the briefest exposition of the elements of *rājya* is to say that the king is the State [21]. This is really not the same doctrine as that emphasized by Louis XIV of France when he said '*L'Etat c'est moi*'. Kautilya makes his position clear (in VIII. 1) by saying that it is the king who appoints ministers and servants and superintendents, who takes measures of relief against calamities befalling the other prakṛtis and measures of prosperity, that it is he who appoints other ministers when those already appointed are under calamities, that if the ruler is prosperous he transmits prosperity to his prakṛtis, that the prakṛtis bear that character which the king has and that hence the ruler occupies the position of a permanent, never-exhausted centre of power. The Śukranītisāra II.4 remarks that if the king begins to act at his sweet will, it leads to calamities, to loss of ministers and of the kingdom The Sukranītisāra (I. 61-62) compares the seven angās of rājya to the organs of the body viz, the king is the head, the ministers are the eyes, ally the ear, treasury the mouth, the army the mind, capital and rāstra are hands and feet. It is emphasized by Kām. (IV.1–2) that each of the seven elements is complementary to the others, that if the state is defective even in one out of the seven elements it does not pull well. the] Śāntiparva it is stated that it is not possible to say categorically that any one of the seven excels the others in merit, but that at different times a different element assumes importance over others, since that particular element is in the particular circumstances capable of accomplishing the purpose in hand This shows that Manu and the Mahābhārata held that there was an organic unity in the several elements of rājya All must work harmoniously towards one ideal or end Manu (IX 296–297) says this by means of a simile 'Just as among the three staves tied together (by a rope of cow's hair) used by a *sannyāsin* no particular staff is superior (to the others), so among

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21. राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः । कौटिल्य VIII 2, तत्कूटस्थानीयो हि स्वामीति । कौ VIII. 1, सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते राज्यं तत्र मूर्धा नृपः स्मृतः । दृगमात्यः सुहृच्छ्रोत्रं मुखं कोशो बलं मनः । हस्तौ पादौ दुर्गराष्ट्रौ (?)—शुक्रनीति I. 61-62, सप्तांगस्यापि राज्यस्य मूलं स्वामी प्रकीर्तितः । राजनीतिप्र. p. 123, सप्ताङ्गस्यास्य राज्यस्य त्रिदण्डस्येव तिष्ठतः । अन्योन्यगुणयुक्तस्य कः केन गुणतोऽधिकः ॥ तेषु तेषु हि कालेषु तत्तदङ्गं विशिष्यते । येन यत् सिध्यते कार्यं तत्प्राधान्याय कल्पते ॥ शान्तिपर्व ; मनु IX 296-297 contain almost these very words and ideas मत्स्य 239 1 has परस्परोपकारीदं सप्ताङ्गं राज्यमुच्यते ।

the seven elements of the state no particular one can be said to excel the others, since each of them has a particular excellence of its own; a particular element is pre-eminent in some particular matter and therefore the superiority of one to the others when expressed (as e. g. in Manu IX. 295) is to be confined to that matter alone.' Manu here emphasizes the harmonious working or unity of the seven elements though they are diverse in their individual characters. The analysis of the elements and nature of the State led ancient Indian writers to hold that a mere conglomeration of people did not by itself constitute a State, but that for a State there must be people who live within certain definite geographical limits (rāstra), they must be bound by the bond to render allegiance to a ruler (svāmī), have a certain system of government (amātya), must have a regulated economic system, a force for defence and international relationships. That is, the most essential elements of a state are (1) a sovereign, (2) a system of government, (3) a definite territory and (4) a population of some size. These four were known even to the most ancient sūtras. Vide Gaut. XI. 1 (rājā), Āp. II. 6. 25. 10 (amātya), Āp. II. 10. 25. 11, II. 10. 26. 4 (visaya, nagara, grāma), Gaut XI. 5–8 (prajā).

These seven elements will now be dealt with one after another.

It should be noted that neither Kauṭilya nor Kāmandaka defines *rājya*. Etymologically it means the 'karma' or 'bhāva' (activity or state of a king)', being derived from 'rājan' with the affix 'ya' (syañ or 'yak', acc. to Pāṇini V. 1. 124 and 128). This is the etymological meaning. But 'rājya' is employed in the sense of 'kingdom' in popular parlance and also in the smṛtis and works on polity as in Manu VII. 111, Kām. XIII. 81–82. But when it is said that 'rājya' has seven elements then 'rājya' has a very wide meaning and stands for the king, the ministers, the country and its people and the economic and military resources and in such a case it is proper to translate the word as 'the State' (as including both the Government and the governed). In some cases 'rājya' should be rendered as 'government' which includes only the king and his ministers and conveys also in modern times the agency or machinery through which the will of the State is formulated, realized or carried out; vide Mānasollāsa II. 8, verses 688, 689, 691 The Nītivākyāmṛta (p. 43) says "rājya means the activity of the ruler that would be appropriate to protecting the earth".

Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 1 remarks that *rājya* means 'a prosperous people'. In XIII. 4 Kauṭilya states (*na hyajano janapado rājyam janapadam vā bhavatīti Kauṭilyah*) it as his opinion that a territory without any inhabitants cannot become a *rājya* (a kingdom) or a janapada (as one of the seven elements). Śabara on Jai. II. 3. 3 has a discourse on the derivation of rājya.

Prof. Bhandarkar in 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' (pp. 66–89), Jayaswal in 'Hindu Polity' part II p 9, Prof. B K Sarkar in 'Positive Background of Hindu Sociology' Book II pp 34–39 and others maintain that this ancient analysis of rājya into seven elements shows that the idea of the State as an organism, that is, the organic theory of the State was known to Hindu thinkers and that this doctrine of *saptānga rājya*[21a] satisfies the definition of the State given by Bluntschli and others On the other hand Mr Anjaria in chapter IV of his 'Nature and grounds of political obligation in the Hindu state' after pointing out how there are different versions of the organic theory of the state denies vehemently that the Hindu theory can be called a proper organic theory of the State, particularly because the Hindu thinkers did not regard the State as a moral organism, because they attached a permanent stigma of inferiority to large sections of the community on the bare ground of birth and that the Hindu conceptions did not harmonize the authority of the State and the liberty of the individual. It would be far beyond the scope of the present work to enter into any discussion of this problem All that may be said is that Mr Anjaria tilts the balance to the other side too much. The faults he points out in the Hindu theory and practice beset almost all theories of the State almost in all countries. Even in the times of Plato and Aristotle huge populations of slaves had no voice in the affairs of the state Up to the 19th century true democracies never existed even in Europe

The *Ruler*—The necessity of a ruler is forcibly emphasized in several works The Ait. Br. I. 14 says that the gods thought they were worsted because they had no king, that therefore they elected one by consent This shows that military necessities

21a Korkunov in 'General Theory of Law' (tr by W G Hastings, New York, 1922) says 'Bluntschli' assimilates government to the head, as it is the head of the State, the ministry of the interior to the ears, and that of foreign affairs to the nose' (p. 274).

led to kingship. Manu VII. 3 (=Śukranītisāra I. 71) says 'the Creator created the king for the protection of all this world when everything ran through fear hither and thither, as there was then no ruler in the world'. It goes on to say that the Creator proceeded to create Daṇḍa (the power of punishment) for the sake of the king and that if the king does not sedulously employ daṇḍa for punishing those that deserve it, the strong would torment the weak as fish are fried on a pike or as in water fish devour each other (Manu VII. 14 and 20, the last also showing a variant 'jale' for 'śūle'). This idea of *mātsyanyāya* (the maxim of the larger fish devouring the smaller ones or the strong despoiling the weak) is frequently dwelt upon by Kautilya, the Mahābhārata and other works. It can be traced back to the Śatapatha-brāhmana XI. 1. 6. 24 'whenever there is drought, then the stronger seizes upon the weaker, for the waters are the law', which appears to mean that when there is no rain, the reign of law comes to an end and *mātsyanyāya* begins to operate. Kautilya says 'if daṇḍa be not employed, it gives rise to the condition of *mātsyanyāya*, since in the absence of a chastiser the strong devour the weak' and 'the people overwhelmed by the operation of mātsyanyāya made Manu Vaivasvata their king.' [22] That in the absence of a king (*arājaka*) or when there is no fear of punishment, the condition of *mātsyanyāya* follows is declared by several works such as the Rāmāyana II. chap. 67, Śāntiparva 15. 30 and 67. 16, Kāmandaka II. 40, Matsyapurāna 225. 9, Mānasollāsa II. 20 verse 1295. Numerous works contain eulogies of danda. The king is called daṇḍadhara in many works e. g. in Śāntiparva 67. 16 and Kām. I. 1. Gautama XI. 28 says that the word danda is derived by the wise from the root 'dam' (to control), that he (the king) should control by means of danda those who observe no restraint and (XI. 31) that the instructions of the teacher and the power of punishment (wielded by the king) guard those who violate the rules of varnas and āśramas. The Matsyapurāna [23]

22. (दण्डः) अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति । बलीयानबलं हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे । कौटिल्य I. 4; मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे । कौ. I. 13; मत्स्या इव जना नित्यं भक्षयन्ति परस्परम् । अयोध्या 67. 31; दण्डश्चेत् भवेल्लोके विनश्येदुरिमाः प्रजाः । जले मत्स्यानिवाभक्ष्यन्दुर्बलं बलवत्तराः ॥ शान्ति 15. 30; राजा चेत् भवेल्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः । जले ... बलवत्तराः ॥ शान्ति 67. 16; दण्डाभावे परिध्वंसी मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्तते । कामन्दक II. 40.

23 यस्मादृद्दान्तान्दमयत्यशिष्टान्दण्डयत्यपि । दमनाद्दण्डनाच्चैव तस्माद्दण्डं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ शान्ति 15. 3, अग्नि. 226. 16 (reads ०दमयत्यदण्डयान्दण्डयत्यपि), मत्स्य 225. 17 (reads दुर्मदान् दण्डयत्यपि).

225. 17, Agnipurāna 226. 16 and Śāntiparva 15 8 state that danda is so called because it suppresses those that are not restrained (from the root 'dam') and punishes those that are imprudent or ungentlemanlike (from the root 'dand'). Danda is raised to the position of a divinity by Manu [24] VII. 25 (= Vishudharma-sūtra III. 95 = Matsya 225 8), Yāj I. 354, Śānti 121. 15. Danda rules over all people, it protects all of them, danda is awake even when (the guardians of law) have gone to sleep, the wise regard danda as dharma (Manu VII. 18=Śānti 15. 2 = Matsya 225 14-15). The whole world is under the heel of danda, for it is difficult to find a man who is pure by nature (Manu VII. 22 = Śānti 15. 34) The conception of danda is therefore this that the State's will and coercive power keep the individual and nation within the bounds of dharma, punish for breaches and effect the good of the whole The gods, *dānavas*, gandharvas, the rākṣasas and reptiles—these also tend to bring about enjoyment for men because they are pressed down by danda (Manu VII. 23) [25] The Bhagavadgītā (X. 38) identifies danda with the divine Kṛṣṇa 'I am danda in the hands of those who control others, I am *nīti* (i. e. rājanīti) for the conquerors'. For the detailed effects and long eulogies of danda, vide Manu VII. 14-31, Matsya 225. 4-17, Kāmandaka II. 38-44. These eulogies of danda presuppose the theory that people obey law and the dictates of the śāstra through the fear of force or punishment Danda should be neither too severe nor too mild, but should be appropriate to the fault committed (Kaut I. 4, Kāmandaka II 37, Manu VII. 16, Śānti 15. 1ff, Śānti 56 21, 103 34) Śānti 57. 41 advises that one should first secure a king, then wife and then wealth, for in the absence of the ruler there would be no wife nor private property [26] This shows that the institutions of family and private property and the protection of the weak are bound up with the existence of a ruler. Kātyāyana (in Rāja N. P. p. 30) says the king is the

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24. यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा। प्रजास्तत्र न मुह्यन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति ॥ मनु VII. 25 = मत्स्य 225. 8 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र '96 'III शान्ति (121. 15-16) has नीलोत्पलदलश्यामश्चतुर्दंष्ट्रश्चतुर्भुजः। ... एतद्रूपं बिभर्त्युग्रं दण्डो नित्यं दुरासदं ॥

25. This appears to be suggested by the words of the Tai Up. II. 8 'भीषास्माद्वातः पवते भीषोदेति सूर्यः। भीषास्मादग्निश्चेन्द्रश्च मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः ॥'

26. राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत्ततो भार्यां ततो धनम्। राज्यन्यसति लोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम् ॥ शान्ति 57. 41. The first half is आदिपर्व 160. 12 (Cr. ed. 148 12). This verse is said to have been uttered by Bhārgava.

protector of the helpless, the home of the homeless, the son of the sonless and the father of the fatherless

In order to magnify the importance of the kingly office, certain works state that the king has in him parts of the gods. For example, Manu says " the Creator created the king with the essential parts taken from Indra, the Wind god, Yama, the Sun, Agni, Varuna, the Moon and Kubera the lord of wealth and therefore he surpasses all beings by his majesty (VII. 4–5 and compare Manu V. 96); one should not disrespect a boy-king with the thought ' he is a human being (like others) ' for it is a great deity that stands (before people) in human form as a king " (Manu VII. 8 = Śānti 68. 40). This conception goes back to Gautama XI. 32 (' Therefore a king and a spiritual teacher must not be reviled ') and Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 31. 5 (' he shall not speak harsh or abusive words of the gods or of the king '). Manu VII. 3–4 are the same as Śukranītisāra I. 71–72. The Matsyapurāṇa 226. 1 states that the king was created by Brahmā by taking portions of gods for wielding the power of punishment for the protection of all beings. Manu (IX. 303–311) puts forward a slightly diluted theory, viz. the king should possess the majesty of and imitate in his actions the first seven deities enumerated above with the Earth as the 8th and Manu sets out what the eight characteristic actions are. Matsya 226. 9–12 are the same as Manu IX. 303–306. The Agnipurāna (226. 17–20) states that as the king exercises the functions of nine deities viz. the Sun, the Moon, Vāyu, Yama, Varuna, Fire, Kubera, the Earth and Viṣṇu he has the form of these. Vide Śukranītisāra I. 73–79 for similar ideas. These verses do not amount to the express theory of divine origin, but assimilate by analogy the king's functions to those of certain deities. The Nārada-smṛti (prakīrnaka section, verses 20–31) contains [27] several interesting dicta. It says that in the form of the king it is really Indra himself who moves about on the earth (v. 20), that a king even when devoid of qualities deserves honour from the people, that kings exercise the functions of five deities viz. of Agni, Indra, Soma, Yama

27. राजेति सञ्जरत्येष भूमौ साक्षात्सहस्रदृक् । प्रजाना विशुणोप्येवं पूज्य एव प्रजापतिः ॥ पञ्च रूपाणि राजानो धारयन्त्यमितौजसः । अग्नेरिन्द्रस्य सोमस्य यमस्य धनदस्य च ॥ अशुचिर्वचनाद्यस्य शुचिर्भवति मानवः । शुचिश्चैवाशुचिः सम्यक् कथं राजा न दैवतम् ॥ नारदस्मृति, प्रकीर्णक 20, 22, 26, 52, इन्द्रमेव प्रब्रुवते यद्राजानमिति श्रुतिः । यथैवेन्द्रस्तथा राजा संपूज्यो मूर्तिमिच्छता ॥ शान्ति. 67. 4; कात्यायन says ' सुराध्यक्षश्च्युतः स्वर्गान्नृप-रूपेण तिष्ठति । कर्तव्यं तेन तत्रेत्यं येन तत्त्वं समाप्नुयात् ' ॥ quoted by राजधर्मकाण्ड III p. 16. तत्त्वं means सुरेशत्वम्.

and Kubera (vv. 26–31). The Mārkandeyapurāna (27. 21–26) mentions the same five deities. 'The Veda says that when a king is chosen it is Indra himself that is chosen; one desirous of prosperity should honour the king just as one worships Indra'—says Śānti 67 4 Śānti 69 states that all the gods are invisible, but the king is a deity that can be seen. The Vāyupurāna (57. 72) remarks [28] that in all past and future *manvantaras* universal emperors (*cakravartin*) are born on the earth with parts of Visnu. The Matsyapurāna (226. 1–12) mixes up the theory of the creation of the king from parts of the gods with the lesser idea of his functions being similar to those of certain deities The Bhāgavata-purāna (IV. 14. 26–27) states that Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva, Indra, Vāyu, Varuna—these and other gods—exist in the body of the king and that the king is full of (the parts of) all gods. It is to strengthen this conception that ancient ksatriya dynasties and their panegyrists tried to trace for those dynasties descent from the Sun or the Moon and in later times from Fire The practice of addressing the king as 'deva' in Sanskrit dramas is due to the same tendency of the glorification of the royal office Aśoka was styled 'devānām priya' (beloved of the gods) and Kushana emperors like Kaniska and Huviska styled themselves Devaputra (E I. vol I. pp 371 at pp 381 and 386) This phenomenon is not confined to India Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar had their descent traced to gods and goddesses Alexander was deified during his life-time in 324 B C by the Greek world (vide Cambridge Ancient History, vol. VI p 433) and Cæsar's image was carried among those of the immortal gods Kautilya (I. 13) makes a spy say among pauras and jānapadas 'kings are (in) the place of (perform the functions of) Indra and Yama, since they visibly inflict punishment and bestow favours Even divine punishment affects those who despise them (kings). Therefore kings should not be despised' Hence it must be said that the conception of the divine nature of the kingly office was well-known in Kautilya's days and he was not above recommending the employment of this conception for safeguarding the king's position Vide Rāmāyana, III. 1. 18–19 and VII. 76 37–45 and Mārkandeyapurāna 24 23–28, Visnudharmottara II. 2. 9 for similar ideas The phrase 'nā visnuh prthivīpatih'

28. विष्णोरंशेन जायन्ते पृथिव्यां चक्रवर्तिनः॥ मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु अतीतानागतेषु वै ॥ वायु 57. 72, compare कादम्बरी para 80 about prince Candrāpīḍa 'सर्वथा नमोस्मै रूपान्तरधारिणे भगवते चन्द्रापीडच्छद्मने पुण्डरीकेक्षणाय'.

is well-known and may be interpreted in two ways viz. the ruler of the earth is Visnu incarnated as man or no king is not Visnu i. e. every king is Visnu. The Pañcatantra[29] (I. 120 p. 19) states 'Manu has declared that the king is made up (of parts) of all gods'. The Rājanītiprakāśa is careful to point out that the idea of the king having in him parts of the deities applied only to the mahārāja (the sovereign ruler), while the idea of a ruler doing the functions of five deities applies to vassal kings.[30] For eulogy of the kingly office, vide Manu VII. 6-17, Śānti 63. 24-30, Śānti 68, Kām. I. 9-11, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 17-31.

But it should not be supposed that this glorification of the king resulted in the full-fledged theory of the divine right of kings or that every king, however bad, was looked upon as a divinity or could do what he liked. In the first place, the Rājanītiratnākara[31] (p. 83) when speaking of the coronation of a prince by his abdicating royal father quotes a verse where the people (*prajā*) themselves are called Visnu. In the second place the king's authority over brāhmanas was limited (vide H. Dh. vol. II. part 1 pp. 139-140). The Gautama-dharmasūtra (XI. 1, 7 and 8) says[32] 'the king rules over all, except over brāhmanas; all, except brāhmanas, should while sitting low on the ground wait upon (worship) him (the king) who occupies a high seat; they (the brāhmanas) too should honour him'. From the time of the Ait Br. (37. 5) the harmony between the king and the brāhmanas and the king's following the advice of brāhmanas had been insisted upon. Vide Ait. Br. 40. 1, Gaut. VIII. 1, XI. 27. Further the Śukranītisāra (I. 70) states that a king who oppresses the subjects and causes loss of dharma is made up of the parts of *rākṣasas*.[33] Manu (VII. 111-112) states that

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29. सर्वदेवमयो राजा मनुना संप्रकीर्तितः । तस्मात्तमेव सेवेत न व्यलीकेन कर्हिचित् ॥ पञ्चतन्त्र I. Some editions read तस्मात्तं देवतत्पश्येत्.

30. इयं च पूर्वोक्तदेवांशरूपता महाराजस्यैव । पञ्च रूपाणि... धनदस्य च-इतीयं नारदोक्तपञ्चरूपता तु कियन्माण्डलिकस्य भूपस्य । राजनीतिप्र. p. 20. Vide Śānti 68. 41-47 for the five

31 इति सर्वान् (सर्व?) प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं भावयेन्मुहुः । राजनीतिर. p 83.

32. राजा सर्वस्येटे ब्राह्मणवर्जम् । तमुपर्यासीनमधस्तादुपासीरन्पे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः । तेभ्येनं मन्येरन् । गौ. XI. 1, 7-8. गौ. XI. 7 is quoted by मेधा. on मनु VII. 6 and by राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 17.

33. यो हि धर्मगरो राजा देवांशेभ्यश्च रक्षसाम् । अंशभूतो धर्मलोपी प्रजापीडाकरो भवेत् ॥ शुक्रनीति I. 70; नीचहीनो दीर्घदर्शी वृद्धसेवी सुनीतियुक् । गुणिज्ञस्तु यो राजा स ज्ञेयो देवतांशकः । विपरीतस्तु रक्षोंशः स वै नरकभाजनः । नृपांशसदृशा नित्यं तत्सहायगणाः किल ॥ शुक्रनीति. I. 86-87.

the king who harasses his subjects loses his life, family and kingdom Moreover stories of kings killed for their tyranny are found in the ancient Literature. For example, Vena, who was jealous of the gods, wanted sacrificial offerings to be made to himself (and not to the gods) and violated dharma, was killed by the brāhmanas (Śāntiparva 59 93–95, Bhāgavata-purāna IV. 14) The Anusāsanaparva [34] (61 32–33) solemnly sanctions the killing of a king in certain circumstances "The people should gird themselves up and kill a cruel king who does not protect his subjects, who extracts taxes and simply robs them of their wealth, who gives no lead Such a king is *Kali* (evil and strife) incarnate That king who after declaring 'I shall protect you' does not protect his subjects should be killed (by the people) after forming a confederacy, like a dog that is afflicted with madness". Manu (VII. 27–28) states that the great principle of *daṇḍa* if properly wielded conduces to the advancement of the three *puruṣārthas*, but if a voluptuous, mean and unjust king wields it, it recoils on his head and destroys the king together with his relations Kām 2. 38 makes it clear that danda foolishly wielded might exasperate even hermits The Śāntiparva 92 19 recommends that a king who has false and very wicked ministers and who puts down dharma should be killed by the people Even as early as the Tai S II. 3 1 it appears that kings were driven away, while the Śatapatha Brāhmana (XII. 9 3. 1 and 3) mentions a king Dustarītu Paumsāyana who had been expelled from the kingdom which had descended to him through ten ancestors The Sautrāmani *iṣṭi* is prescribed as a rite for a king to regain a kingdom from which he had been driven away (vide H Dh vol II. p 1227) Śānti 92. 6 and 9, Manu VII. 27 and 34, Yāj I. 356 appear to justify at least deposing a king, if not tyrannicide Similarly, the Śukranītisāra (II. 274–275) states [35] that a king, though of a noble pedigree, should be abandoned, if he violates dharma, if he hates good qualities (in others), lines of policy and the army and if his conduct would lead to the destruction of the kingdom and that the family priest with the consent of the principal

34. अरक्षितारं हर्तारं विलोसारमनायकम् । तं वै राजकलिं हन्युः प्रजाः सङ्घश निर्घृणम् ॥ अहं वो रक्षितेत्युक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिपः । स संहत्यां निहन्तव्यः श्वेव सोन्मादं आतुरः ॥ अनुशासन 61 32–33, असत्यापिष्ठसचिवो वध्यो लोकस्य धर्महा । शान्ति 92 19

35 गुणनीतिबलद्वेषी कुलभूतोप्यधार्मिकः । नृपो यदि भवेत्तं तु त्यजेद्राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ॥ तत्पदे तस्य कुलजं गुणयुक्तं पुरोहित. । प्रकृत्यनुमतिं कृत्वा स्थापयेद्राज्यगह्वरे ॥ शुक्र० II. 274–275.

officers of state should place on the throne another scion of the royal family who is possessed of the requisite virtues. Nārada props up the theory of divine right by stating that the king secures dominion over (lit. purchases) his subjects by his austerities (performed in former lives) and therefore the king is their lord (prakīrnaka 25). Śukranīti I. 20 also brings in the doctrine of Karma 'the king holds the earth by the actions of his former lives and by his austerities' Compare Manu VII. 111-112, Śānti 78. 36. The Śukranītisāra (IV. 7. 332-333) says that brāhmanas may even fight and destroy an oppressive ksatriya king and would thereby incur no sin. The Yaśastilaka (III. p. 431) gives examples of kings killed by their subjects, one being a Kalinga king who made a barber his commander-in-chief. In fact in all works on polity we find comparatively little about the king's rights and special privileges, but on the other hand the greatest emphasis is laid on the king's duties and responsibilities. Some works describe the king as a servant of the people whose wages or remuneration for the protection he affords is the taxes he raises. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 1, Śukranīti I. 188, Nārada (prakīrnaka 48), Śānti 71. 10.[36] It may be said here that the apparently inconsistent dicta about the divinity of the king and about his being liable to be deposed or even killed for evil deeds are delivered from two different standpoints and are addressed to different persons. The writers believed in maintaining the *status quo* about the duties of varnas and āśramas, in the privileges of the respective castes and in the progressive deterioration of dharma in the ages to come and wanted a strong king to preserve the social order; therefore the king was raised to divinity and absolute obedience to his orders was demanded. This was addressed to the people in general There was danger however of bad kings and ministers oppressing the people by misrule. Hence the king and his ministers were threatened with destruction and death. These dicta were principally meant for the king and his advisers.

In the Kautilīya V. 3 we meet with these words "In Rājasūya and other solemn (or elaborate) sacrifices the '*rājā*' gets three times the salary given to others who are as learned as he is" (samānavidyebhyas-trigunavetano rājā rājasūyādisu

36. अन्यप्रकाराद्धुचिताद् भूमेः षड्भागसंज्ञितात्। बलिः स तस्य विहितः प्रजापालनवेतनम् ॥ नारद् (प्रकीर्णक verse 48); बलिषड्भेन शुल्केन दण्डेनाथापराधिनाम्। शास्त्रानीतेन लिप्सेथा वेतनेन धनागमम् ॥ शान्ति 71. 10; स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजाना च नृपः कृतः। ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥ शुक्रनीति I. 188.

kratusu). Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II. p 136) seizes upon this passage to show that the king was a salaried person like the prime minister or the commander-in-chief The words 'in Rājasūya and other *kratus*' should have raised doubts in his mind about his interpretation, but he entirely missed the significance of the passage Kautilya in that passage is *not* referring to the king himself but to his representative or deputy when the king is engaged in numerous ceremonial duties during sacrifices of long duration like the Aśvamedha The Āp Śrautasūtra (XX 3. 1–2), Baudhāyana Śrauta XV 4, Satyāsādha Śr. XIV. 1 24–25 state that the *adhvaryu* priest was to deputize for the king when the latter was engaged in the Aśvamedha [37] (which was spread over a period of about two years) The salary referred to by Kautilya is to be paid to the adhvaryu when representing the king Vide H Dh vol II p 1232 for this. In X. 3 it is said by Kautilya that a virtuous king on the eve of a battle should urge on his soldiers the fact 'I am a wage-earner like yourselves, this kingdom is to be enjoyed by me along with you You have to strike down the enemy pointed out by me" [38] Here the theory of the king being a wage-earner or a servant of the State is emphasized in a striking manner.

The word 'rājan' is derived in the Nirukta (II. 3) from the root 'rāj' to shine, but the Mahābhārata (Śānti 59. 125) likes to say that the king is styled 'rājā' since he keeps all people contented, that is, it derives the word 'rājan' from the root 'rañj'. Great poets like Kālidāsa (Raghu IV. 12) follow the Mahābhārata in this, as also in deriving the word 'ksatriya' from 'ksata' and the root 'trai', meaning one who protects from wound and injury (Śānti 59 126 and Raghu-vamśa II. 53) Br. quoted in the Rāja Dh K. (I p 5) appears to derive the word both from 'rāj' and 'rañj' (balena caturangena yato rañjayati prajāh | dīpyamānah sa vapusā tena rājābhidhīyate).

There are in our authorities germs of several theories about the origin of kingship Rg X 173 (which corresponds to

37. अत्र ये क्षत्रस्याभिषेक्तारस्तेऽध्वर्युमाभिषिञ्चन्ति । स आह । ब्राह्मणाश्च राजानश्चाध्वर्युरेतौ द्वा संवत्सरौ राजा भविष्यति तस्य शुश्रूषध्वं यो द्वास्य न शुश्रूषिष्यते सर्वस्वं तं जारयन्तीति । अथाध्वर्युरेतौ द्वौ संवत्सरौ राजा भवति । यजमान इतीतरमाचक्षते । कौ. श्रौ. XV. 4

38 निर्दिष्टकालो धर्मिष्ठः सैन्यस्य दण्डं ब्रूयात् । तुल्यवेतनोस्मि । भवद्भिः सह भोग्यमिदं राज्यम् । मयाभिहिताः परेभिहन्तव्याः । कौटिल्य X. 3. p. 367.

Atharvaveda VI. 87 and 88. 1–2) has been taken as an election hymn by some writers (e. g Jayaswal in 'Hindu polity' p. 7). But one is constrained to say that it is probably nothing of the kind The only words that may lend some colour to the theory of election are 'let all the people desire thee (as king)' in Rg. X. 173. 1, but those words may apply as a benediction even in the case of one who is already a king. In the Atharvaveda III. 4 2 there[39] is a reference to the election of a king by the people 'the people (viśah) chose thee to govern the kingdom, these quarters, the five goddesses (chose thee)'. In Atharvaveda III. 5, 6 and 7 also there is a faint allusion to the election of a king by nobles, king-makers, sūtas and headmen of villages, by the clever makers of chariots and the skilled workers in metals. These 'king-makers' are called 'ratnins' in other Vedic texts and the Tai. Br. I. 7.3 states in connection with the twelve offerings in the Rājasūya called 'ratninām havīmsi' that the 'ratnins' give the (rāstra) kingdom (to the king). Vide H. Dh. vol. II. p. 1215 n 2648 and p. 1216 for the 'ratnins'. So it appears that the conception was that the king got the kingdom from nobles, high functionaries and the common people. For the coronation bath (and its implications) mentioned in the Ait. Br. vide note 105 below. The Ayodhyākānda (chap. 1 and 2) describes how Daśaratha when he grew old desired to make his eldest son Rāma the Crown Prince (yuvarāja), how he called together an assembly of vassal kings, citizens and rural inhabitants and placed before the assembly his idea, how they acclaimed loudly the old emperor's proposal and readily gave their consent. This shows that though kingship became hereditary in course of time some element of popular approval was sought for. But such passages referring to the approval of the people cannot be stretched to mean that the king was chosen by a parliament the members of which were elected by the people. All that happened appears to have been only this that citizens that approved assembled spontaneously and expressed their feelings in the assembly. In the Rāmāyaṇa II. 67. 2 it is said that when Daśaratha died sages like Mārkandeya and Vāmadeva declared along with the *amātyas* in the presence of the family priest (purohita) Vasistha that as Rāma and Laksmana had gone into exile and Bharata and Śatrughna were in the Kekaya country, some scion

39. त्वां विशो वृणतां राज्याय त्वामिमाः प्रदिशः पञ्च देवीः । अथर्व III. 4. 2; ये राजानो राजकृतः सूता ग्रामण्यश्च ये । उपस्तीन् पर्ण मह्यं त्वं सर्वान्कृण्वभितो जनान् ॥ अथर्व III. 5. 7.

of the Iksvāku race should be chosen as king These sages and ministers are spoken of as king-makers ('rāja-kartārah') here and in chap. 79 1. In the Ādiparva 44. 6 it is stated that all the citizens of the capital in one voice elected Janamejaya, though a boy, as a king on the death of Parīksit and Janamejaya ruled with the help of his ministers and purohita There are historical examples of the election of kings The *ksatrapa* Rudradāman was elected king by the people of Surāstra (who at one time formed a republic, acc to Kautilya XI. 1) and he took an oath as stated in his Junagadh inscription in the year 72 (150 A D) [40] Vide E I Vol. VIII p 36 at p 40 Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (730–740 A D.), was elected a king (E I Vol IV. p. 243 at p 248 and Jayaswal's 'History of India,' 150–350 A. D. pp 44–45) It appears that it was the business of the chief ministers and brāhmanas to propose somebody as king and such persons were called 'rājakartārah'. In Ayodhyā 67. 8 they say 'our country is without a ruler and may therefore encounter disaster'. Arājaka does not necessarily mean in Ayodhyā 67 anarchy but a condition in which there is no king nor ruler. Though this is so, it is not possible to agree with Mr. K P. Jayaswal ('Hindu Polity', part I, pp 97–98, 134, 173) that 'arājaka' was 'an idealistic constitution, that it was an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal, that it was based on a legal and communal basis, that it was a case of extreme individualism in which government itself was regarded as an evil' Ayodhyā 67 8–31, Ādi 41 27 ff, Śānti 67 3 ff, Matsyapurāna 225. 8–9 are the principal passages on arājaka. A perusal of these will convince any one not carried away by the over-patriotic desire to find the latest European thought in our ancient books that *arājaka* was viewed as a state of chaos and the negation of any constitution; that when a country was without a ruler, no private property in anything existed or was respected and people preyed upon each other like fishes (Ayodhyā 67 31) and that no Tolstoian ideals were present before the eyes of the writers that drew such a harrowing picture of a State without a ruler The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang notices (vide Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, 1884, vol I pp 210–216) that when Rājyavardhana was

40 आ गर्भात्प्रभृत्यविहतसप्तद्वितरा जलक्ष्मीधारणगुणतः सर्ववर्णैरभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन आ प्राणोच्छ्वासात्सुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृतसत्यप्रतिज्ञेनान्यत्र संग्रामेषु। E. I vol. VIII. p 36 at p 40, मात्स्यन्यायमपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लब्धाः करं ग्राहित श्रीगोपाल इति क्षितीशशिरसां चूडामणिस्तदभूत: ॥ E I. vol IV. p 243 at p. 248 about गोपाल

treacherously murdered by king Śaśānka, the great minister Bhandin (who was also a cousin of Harsa) called an assembly of ministers and made to the young Harsavardhana a proposal to assume the royal authority, which proposal was backed up by all the ministers and magistrates, that thereupon Harsa agreed to become king after consulting the oracle of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. After the death of Parameśvaravarman II (of the Pallava dynasty), when the Pallava kingdom was subject to anarchy, the subjects chose a king. For the details of this election, vide the important constitutional document of the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple (Dr. C. Minakshi's 'Administration and Social life under the Pallavas', 1938, p. 38). The Rājataraṅginī narrates (V. 461–463) that Yaśaskara who was originally a poor man was chosen as king by the brāhmaṇas.

In some other places a theory somewhat like the theory of social contract expounded by Rousseau is adumbrated. The theory of social contract is presented in modern times under two forms. In one there is supposed to be a tacit or explicit agreement between the Government and the people. In the 2nd form it is supposed that a political society was constituted by a compact among individuals (to which the ruler was not a party). This theory puts forward the notion that government depended on the consent of the people. Kautilya (I. 13) refers to the legend that Manu Vaivasvata was made a king by the people, who agreed to assign one-sixth of the grain raised by them as the king's share in return for the protection afforded by him. But Kauṭilya is silent as to whether Manu made any promise to the people. Śāntiparva, chap. 59, states how Vainya, the first king, was called upon by the gods and sages to take an oath and how he promised them that he would protect the world, and would carry out his duties as laid down in the science of government and not act at his sweet will.[41] When this theory of an agreement between the king who took an oath and the people spread among the people, the theory of the divine right of kings, if ever seriously held, would recede more and more into the back-ground. Vide Dr Beni Prasad's 'Theory of Government in Ancient India' chap. VIII and 'Pre-Buddhist India' (1939) by Mr R N. Mehta, chap. II pp. 79 ff. and 101 for election of

41. प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा। पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्मेत्येवाह चासकृत् ॥ पश्चात्र धर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिरुपाश्रयः । तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥ शान्ति 9. 106–108.

kings and for Buddhist theories of government. It is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U. Ghosal and others do (e. g. 'Manu and Yājñavalkya' II, 'Hindu Polity' part II pp 54-57) that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and that the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Pusyamitra. Jayaswal is wrong in saying (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p. 57) 'the theory of the Mānava was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book'. It has been shown above that Nārada and others espoused the same theory. Manu himself eulogises the supreme power of danda over the king himself (Manu VII. 28). He makes use of both the theories as occasion demands

The germ of the theory of Divine Right of kings probably goes back even to the Ṛgveda. Ṛg IV. 42 is a hymn of king Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa. Some of the ideas therein are startling enough. He says 'the gods rely on the might of Varuna, while I am the lord of the people (verse 1, *kratum sacante Varunasya devā rājānu kṛṣṭeḥ &c*); I am Indra and Varuna, I am the wide and the deep Heaven and Earth, I am the son of Aditi (verses 3 and 4)'. Here there is an explicit claim by a king to be identical with the mightiest and greatest gods of the Vedic pantheon. In the Atharvaveda VI. 87. 1-2 it is said about the king 'May all the people long for you, may not the kingdom be lost from your hands, may you stand firm in the world like Indra and may you uphold the kingdom' In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa V. 1 5. 14 (when describing the shooting of arrows in the Vājapeya) it is said 'the *rājanya* is most manifestly of Prajāpati, while being one he rules over many'. Here the position of the rājanya appears to be regarded as due to his being the representative of Prajāpati. In the Śat Br V. 4. 3 4 the sacrificer in the Rājasūya is identified with Indra and it is said that that position is due to two causes viz. (1) his being a member of the kṣatriya order and (2) his participating in a solemn sacrifice. But passages like the last and Śat. Br V. 1. 3 4, V. 1. 4. 2, V. 2. 2. 14 *should not* be relied upon in support of the theory of the divine right of kings (as done by U. Ghoshal in 'Hindu Political Theories', pp. 28-29), since every participator (whether a brāhmaṇa or a ksatriya) in such solemn sacrifices as the Agnistoma and Vājapeya was supposed to possess a celestial body after *dīkṣā* and Pravargya and was often spoken of as identified with Indra and other gods Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 350 quotes a long vedic passage (*āgama*) in which it is stated "the gods said to Prajāpati 'we shall arrange for a king in human

form by taking from the moon, the sun, Indra, Visnu, Vaiśravana (Kubera) and Yama respectively majesty, brilliance, valour, victoriousness, liberality and control" and that the king thus formed asked the gods to give to him Dharma as his friend and that then he would protect the people and then the gods made Dharma (i. e. danda) his friend.

We may examine the theories of the origin of kingship in the Mahābhārata. The Śāntiparva deals with this subject in two places, in chap. 59 and 67. In chap. 59 Yudhisthira asks the great warrior and statesman Bhīsma how the title 'king' arose and how one man, who has fundamentally the same physical and mental equipment as other men, rules over all men. These are not really two questions but only two aspects of the same question. Then Bhīsma starts by saying that there was originally a state of perfection (*Kṛtayuga*) in which there was no king, no kingdom, no punishment and no chastiser. Gradually *moha* (delusion or aberration of mind) spread among people and then greed, sexual desire and passions arose and the Vedas and dharma perished. The gods did not receive offerings and went to Brahmā, who composed a vast treatise as stated above (p. 4) that dealt with the four goals of existence for the benefit of the world and that was the cream of learning. Then the gods went to Visnu and requested him to appoint (as king) one who deserved to be the best among men. Visnu created a son from his mind called Virajas who did not want to be a king. Fifth in descent from Virajas was Vena who destroyed dharma and so the brāhmanas killed him and from his right arm they churned Prthu, handsome, well-armed and proficient in the Vedas, Vedāngas and Dandanīti. Gods and sages asked him to follow settled dharma, to control his senses and to take an oath (set out above in note 41). He was crowned by the gods and sages for the protection of the people. Visnu himself established him saying 'Oh king, no man will go contrary to your order' and then Visnu entered the king Prthu (verse 128) and it is therefore that this world since then bows to kings as to gods. In this account the oath administered to Pṛthu was so administered by the gods and sages and not by the people in the mass, nor does Prthu expressly promise anything to the people as such. Probably it was thought that the promise to the sages was impliedly a promise to the people in general. But the account, such as it is, rather appears to emphasize the divine origin of kingship.

Chap 67 contains a much shorter version of the origin of kingship, probably because a few chapters before another version has already been given or because it embodies the views of some prior work or teacher. It begins by saying that the most desirable thing for a State is to crown a king, that in a kingless country there is no dharma, no security of life nor of property, that therefore the gods appointed kings for protecting people Then it proceeds to say that the people assembled and made compacts (*samayān*) amongst themselves that whoever would commit libel or assault or adultery and break the compacts made by the people should be abandoned. All people went to Brahmā and requested him to appoint a ruler whom they would all honour and who would protect them. Brahmā appointed Manu for that purpose, but Manu did not at first like the idea, saying 'Government is a very difficult business among men who are always deceitful and I am afraid of the sinful acts of men'. The people asked him not to be afraid as the sins committed by men will affect the perpetrators (and not Manu) and that the people would give him shares of produce (one-tenth of grain, one-fifth of cattle, one-fourth of their dharma &c.) Manu then agreed, went round the world, terrorizing evil-doers and making them conform to dharma This story about Manu and the people is alluded to by Kautilya (vide p. 31 above). Even here Manu promises nothing expressly, while the people agree to pay taxes and answer for their own sins. There is no doubt that some of the details in the two chapters are different. In chap 67 there is no reference to an original state of perfection nor to a vast work nor to any oath; so also in one it is Vainya who becomes the first king and in the other it is Manu. But the conception in both is mythological and the fundamental fact in both is the same God gives a king to the people in both, when they were without a king and degeneracy had set in. Though there is no offer to give a share in chap 59 yet it is to be inferred from the *prakṛṣṭā* of Vainya that every subsequent king was deemed to do the same It may be said that in chap 67 there is a blending of the theory of Divine Right and of an original compact between king and people. In both, however, the emphasis is on the theory of the divine origin of kingship Śānti 67. 4 states 'one desirous of prosperity should honour the king as one honours Indra', while chap. 59. 139 asks 'what is the cause but the divine character (the king possesses) on account of which people remain under his control'? It must be said that in both

chapters of the Śāntiparva there is no proper theory of contract between king and people.

The Nāradasmṛti as indicated above (pp. 23, 27 and note 27) is a thorough-going advocate of the theory of divine right. It says (prakīrnaka 20–22) 'It is Indra himself who moves about on the earth as king; people can nowhere live after transgressing his orders. Since the privilege of protection is his because of his supreme power (majesty) and on account of the fact that he is benign to all creatures, the settled rule is that whatever a king does is right. Just as the husband, though weak, must be honoured by the wife, so a ruler though devoid of qualities must be honoured by his subjects'. Verse 25 inculcates the duty of obedience to the king.

According to Mr. J. N. Figgis in his book 'The divine right of kings' (1934) pp. 5–6, the theory of the Divine Right of kings in its completest form involved the following propositions: (I) monarchy is a divinely ordained institution; (II) hereditary right is indefeasible i. e. the right acquired by birth and descending by the law of primogeniture cannot be forfeited through any acts of usurpation, or by any incapacity of the heirs or by any act of deposition; (III) kings are accountable to God alone, i. e. a limited monarchy is a contradiction in terms; (IV) non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God i e in any circumstances resistance to the king is a sin and leads to damnation and that when the king issues a command directly contrary to God's law, the latter is to be obeyed and also all penalties attached to the breach of the king's law are to be patiently borne. This theory was very much to the fore in the 16th and 17th centuries when in Europe theology and politics were in close union.

It is to be seen how far the ancient Hindu theory agreed with this full-fledged theory of the divine right of kings. As regards proposition I it has been shown above that the Manusmṛti, the Mahābhārata and other works held that the king was either God himself, or god's vicar or vicegerent performing functions similar to those of several gods As regards proposition II all Sanskrit works recognised hereditary right and primogeniture, but they allowed exceptions as will be shown later on. Our ancient books did not accept the third and the fourth propositions *in toto*. They say that the king cannot do as he likes, that he has to carry out the dictates of dharma, his

power to make new rules is limited and if he does not act up to the rules of dharma he may be deposed, disobeyed or killed. Vide quotations from Śukranīti and Anuśāsanaparva cited above. When Manu (VII. 111–112) says that a king who harasses his kingdom loses his life, his family and his kingdom, it is implied that people are not bound to suffer silently all the wrongs heaped upon them by a bad king but that they may turn round and either depose him or kill him. Fick (pp. 103–104) gives examples from the Buddhist Jātakas where bad kings were killed by the people and others were elected in their place There is no doubt that obedience to the king is enjoined by Nārada and others, but it is due to the king only so long as he does not swerve from the path of right and virtue. Nārada[42] (prakīrnaka verses 12 and 32) says 'on account of his majesty and sanctity a king and brāhmana are not to be abused if they do not swerve from the right path; one should not treat with contempt or scold the king, one should abide by his order, since (the penalty of) death may follow from violating it (king's order)'. Here the duty of obedience is not based on the divine origin of kingship, but on the practical wordly ground that an offended king may punish with death Nārada's doctrine does not lead to the requirement of absolute submission and non-resistance to a wicked king.

It is impossible to hold that the theory of divine right was put forward as a counterblast to the theory of social contract. The theory of divine right would arise very naturally even in the oldest days, while the theory of social contract is the produot of a more advanced stage of political thought. The theory of divine right is not more absurd than the theory of social contract and was popularly held not only in India, but in many Christian countries, relying on passages in the Bible such as Daniel 4 and Romans 13. 1–7. The theory of divine right was circumscribed in India by another theory from very ancient times The cry of the American colonists against England in the 18th century was that taxation and representation went hand in hand; that of the ancient Hindu political and dharmaśāstra writers was that taxation and protection went hand in hand (see n 45). Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 1. says 'the king being hired for the sixth

42 अनिर्देश्यावनिन्द्यौ च राजा ब्राह्मण एव च । दीप्तिमत्त्वाच्छुचित्वाच्च यदि न स्यात्पथश्च्युतः ॥ तपःक्रीता प्रजा राज्ञा प्रभुरासा ततो नृपः । ततस्तद्भक्तिसि स्थेय वार्ता चासा तदाश्रया ॥ तस्मात् तं नावजानीयाज्जाकोशेच्च विशेषतः । आज्ञापा चास्य विहित मृत्यु· स्यात्तद्व्यतिक्रमात् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 12, 25, 32) Vide Manu VII. 12–13, Gautama XI. 32. (rājācāryāvanindyau).

part (that he takes as tax) should protect the subjects'. Yāj. I. 337 states 'The king shares half of that evil which the subjects do when not protected by the king, since he takes taxes (from the people)' and Yāj. I. 334 lays down that a king who protects according to śāstras receives the 6th part of the merit (*punya*) of the subjects. Śāntiparva (57. 44–45) states 'One should abandon six persons like a leaking boat in the ocean viz. a teacher who does not explain, a priest who does not study the Veda, a king who does not protect &c.' Śukranīti I. 121 affirms 'the gods destroy a king who does not protect, a brāhmana who does not perform austerities, a wealthy man who makes no gifts.' Vide Vasistha I. 44–46, Gaut. XI 11, Visnu Dh S. III. 28, Udyogaparva 132. 12, Śānti 67. 27 (4th part of punya), Śānti 24. 12 (4th part), Śānti 72. 20, Āśramavāsi 3.40, Anuśāsana 61.34 and 36, Kām. II. 10 for the idea that the king receives a part (generally 6th part) of the *punya* (and also sin) of the people. The king had to protect even forest hermits who paid no taxes, as he would share in their *punya*[43]. Vide Rāmāyana III. 6. 14. Kālidāsa echoes this in the Śākuntala II. 13 Ādiparva 213. 9 looks upon the king who takes the sixth part as tax and affords no protection as the arch-sinner in the world. Śānti 71. 29 says that the spiritual merit that a king gathers by protection according to the sacred code yields rewards for him in heaven for ten thousand years.

From the preceding pages it is clear that the following are put forward as the grounds on which the obligation to render obedience to the ruler is based: (1) the king has divinity in him, (2) the great utility of the ruler affording protection as regards life, liberty and property, (3) the fear of punishment (Manu VII. 22), (4) a primeval contract between the ruler and the people, (5) the interdependence of the ruler and the people as parts of one organism (viz. the State). Vide Medhātithi on Manu IX. 294 for this last.

Who should be king? There were several views on this point. One meaning of the word 'rājan' is 'ksatriya'. Manu (VII. 1) states that he will declare *rājadharmas* and in the very next verse he employs the word 'ksatriya' and remarks that a ksatriya who has undergone the upanayana *samskāra* (or *abhiseka* according to some commentators) should afford protection to all in his kingdom. Therefore a ksatriya is the most proper person

43. यत्करोति परं धर्मं मुनिर्मूलफलाशन । तत्र राज्ञश्चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 6. 14.

to be a king Some of the works such as the Rājadharma-kaustubha, Rājanītiprakāśa, the Nītimayūkha, and Par. M. vol I. pp. 449–451 refer to the discussion in the Pūrvamīmānsā works on the topic of the *Avesti* sacrifice On Jaimini II 3. 3 Śabara and Kumārila hold an elaborate discussion. The Vedic texts say 'rājā rājasūyena yajeta' ('the Rājasūya should be performed by a rājan'). Among the numerous constituents of that sacrifice there is an *iṣṭi* called Avesti, with reference to which a vedic passage says 'if a brāhmana performs avesti, he places the *āhuti* (offering) for Brhaspati in the middle, if a ksatriya performs it the offering to Indra is placed in the middle of the offerings &c.'. The *pūrvapaksa* (prima facie view) is that the word 'rājan' applies to any one (whether a brāhmana, a ksatriya or a vaisya) who protects the people The *siddhānta* (the established conclusion) is that in this text the word *rājan* means a ksatriya and that by the other passage about brāhmanas &c. what is meant is that brāhmanas and vaiśyas may independently perform the Avesti sacrifice, but that only a ksatriya can perform the Avesti as part of the Rājasūya rites. Śabara makes the interesting remark that in the Āndhra country the word 'rājan' is applied to a man of the ksatriya caste even though he does not pursue the occupation of protecting a country or a city; while Kumārila observes that persons of all the four varnas are seen as rulers of kingdoms.[44] In the literature on dharmaśāstra the word 'rājan' is understood in the sense of 'one who rules over or protects a country' (i e the pūrvapaksa view in the Pūrvamīmānsā) Vide Medhātithi on Manu VII. 1. Aparārka[45] (on Yāj I 366) remarks "when he who is not a ksatriya performs the work of a ksatriya (i e becomes a king) he should do all this (that a ksatriya king has to do) since the maxim is 'that by assuming the position or the work of a particular person or thing one receives what is due to that other' and the

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44. अवेष्टौ यज्ञसयोगात्कर्तृमधानमुच्यते। जै. II 3. 3, नन्वु जनपदपुररक्षणवृत्तिमनुपजीवित्यपि क्षत्रिये राजशब्दमान्ध्रा प्रयुञ्जते प्रयोक्तारः। शबर (p. 580), तच्च राज्यमविशेषेण चत्वारोपि वर्णाः कुर्वाणा दृश्यन्ते। तस्मात्सर्वे राजानः। तन्त्रवार्तिक p 580

45 एतत्सर्वं क्षत्रियस्य राज्यं कुर्वतः प्रविहितम्। यदा पुनरक्षत्रियः क्षत्रियकार्यं कुर्यात्तदानेनाप्येतत्सर्वमनुष्ठेयम्। तत्कार्यापत्त्या तद्धर्मलाभ—इति न्यायात्। करादानमप्युक्तवाञ्च प्रजापालनस्य। सर्वो हि धनं प्रयच्छत्प्रजात्समवायि प्रयोजनमनुद्दिशति। न च करदानस्य स्वयुक्तेरन्यत्प्रयोजनमस्ति। तस्मात्करमादद्वानेन प्रजापालनं विधेयमिति सिद्धम्। अपरार्क on या. I. 366 This maxim is taken from the महाभाष्य on the first वार्तिक on पाणिनि I 1. 56 'लोके यो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति लभतेऽसौ तत्कार्याणि। तद्यथा। उपाध्यायस्य शिष्यो याज्यकुलानि गत्वाग्रासनादीनि लभते' Kielhorn's ed. vol I, p 133. Its form in grammatical works is तत्स्थानापन्ने तद्धर्मलाभः।

duty of protecting the subjects arises from the fact of taking taxes from them. For everyone when giving wealth does so with reference to a purpose related to himself and there is no purpose except one's protection that is intended in rendering taxes. Hence it is established that whoever receives taxes must secure protection of the subjects". According to Kullūka the word 'rājan' means 'any person who is crowned king and protects the country and capital' and is not used in the sense of 'a person of the ksatriya caste'. The Rājanītiratnākara (p. 2) after citing Kullūka and Kāmadhenu states that many hold that 'rājan' means 'any one who takes upon himself the task of protecting the subjects'. The Rājanītiprakāśa holds[46] a long discussion (pp. 10–15), states that the word 'rājan' may have three meanings viz. any one who protects people, a ksatriya in general or a ksatriya who is crowned and ultimately gives it as its opinion that the word 'rājan' is applied in popular usage to any one, whether crowned as king or not, who is the ruler of a country. The Vaijayantī on Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 44 explains 'rājñām' as 'of ksatriyas' by following the Avesti maxim.

Several brāhmaṇa families founded kingdoms and empires. Puṣyamitra, founder of the Śunga empire, was a brāhmaṇa (Harivaṃśa III. 2. 35 ff, E. I. vol. 20 p. 54); the Kānvāyanas, who followed the Śungas, were brāhmaṇas and so were the Vākāṭakas, the Kadambas (vide Talagunda pillar Inscription of Kakusthavarman in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 24) and several others. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 122–123 for texts on the question as to when a brāhmaṇa should follow the profession of arms. Manu XII. 100 states that a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda deserves to be made a king, a commander-in-chief, the wielder of the power of punishment. Kumārila's dictum that persons of all varnas are seen to be rulers has been already quoted. Gopāla the founder of the Pāla dynastry of Bengal was a śūdra. Manu IV. 61 directs a brāhmaṇa not to stay in a country where the ruler was a śūdra. Medhātithi[47] explains this by saying

46. नृपग्रहणेन जनपदैश्वर्यवतोधिकारमाह । प्रमाणान्तरमूला ह्यत्र धर्मा उच्यन्ते न सर्वे वेदमूलाः । मेधा० on मनु VII. 1; तथा विज्ञानेश्वरोपि अभिषेकाद्विगुणयुक्तस्य राज्ञः प्रजापालनं परो धर्मः।तथापि नृपग्रहणसमभिव्याहारादनभिषिक्तेपि जनपदैश्वर्यवति लोकप्रसिद्ध्या राजशब्दो वर्तते। राजनीतिप्र. p 14, अवेष्टिन्यायेन राज्ञां क्षत्रियाणां न पार्थिवानामेव-वैजयन्ती.

47. यो जनपदः शूद्रवशवर्ती तत्र न वसेत् । मन्त्रिसेनापतिदण्डकारिकाद्याः सप्त प्रकृतयो राज्यं यत्र सर्वाः शूद्रजातीयाः तत्र निवासनिषेधोयम् । मेधा. on मनु IV. 61. It is not clear who दण्डकारिक (inflicter of punishment?) is. Should we read दण्डपाशिक (as in the Valabhi plates in E. I XI pp. 83 and 94 or XV. p. 257) or दण्डनायक (as in E. I. IX. p. 289 or E I XX. p. 7)?

that the prohibition applies only to a country where all the seven high functionaries such as the chief minister, the commander-in-chief are of the sūdra caste; compare Ap. Dh. S I. 11. 32. 18. Manu's dictum related to a time when there was hardly any sūdra king. But the logic of facts was too much for Medhātithi who had to twist the plain words of Manu Medhātithi on Manu VIII 1 remarks that 'persons of other varnas who subsist by the mode prescribed for ksatriyas have power over the kingdom and have to protect the people'. Śāntiparva remarks, that whoever protects people from the hordes of dasyus and wields the power of punishment according to smrti rules must be considered as king. The Harivamsa (III 3. 6 'aksatriyāsca rājāno viprāh sūdropajīvinah') and some of the Purānas in depicting the awful degeneracy of the Kali age in a prophetic strain state that the kings in the Kali age will be mostly sūdras and that śūdra kings will celebrate Asvamedha sacrifices Vide, for example, Matsya 144 40 and 43 and Linga-purāna 40. 7 and 42. Hiouen Thsang notices that in the first half of the 7th century A. D Sind was under a sūdra king (Beal's B R W. W. vol II p 272)

It was almost a universal rule that a male alone was to be the ruler. There appear to have been stray exceptions. The Śāntiparva (33.43–46) enjoins[48] upon a conqueror the duty to place on the throne of a conquered country the brother, son or grandson of the vanquished king and if no prince be available, then to crown even the daughter of the late king The Rāja-tarangini (V 249 and VI 332) describes at great length the *regime* of the notorious queens Sugandhā (904–906 A. D) and Diddā (980–81 A D) of Kashmir In India for many centuries there has been no Salic Law expressly declaring that daughters cannot inherit land, though on account of the general position of women, the requirements of disturbed times and military necessity women did not generally assume the role of sovereigns. In a copper-plate grant from Ganjam (of about the 13th century) it is stated that when a certain king named Śubhākara died his queen ascended the throne and after her her daughter Dandi-mahādevī, who is styled 'parama-bhattārikā-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvarī' ruled the earth for a long time (E I vol VI p 133 at p. 138). Whether the grandiloquent titles were deserved by the queen or were only the exaggerated effusions of a courtier,

48 येषां पुरेषु राष्ट्राणि गत्वा राजन् सुहृद्वृत[ः]। भ्रातॄन् पुत्रांश्च पौत्रांश्च स्वे स्वे राज्येऽभिषेचय ॥ ... कुमारो नास्ति येषां च कन्यास्तत्राभिषेचय। शान्ति 33. 43 and 45

it is clear that the widow and daughter of the last male ruler succeeded to the throne. The Raghuvaṁśa (XIX. 55, 57) states that the widowed queen of king Agnivarna sat on the throne and carried on the government with the help of hereditary ministers.

Apart from conquest and election in rare cases, monarchy was hereditary and generally descended by primogeniture. The passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmana (XII. 9.3, 1 and 3) mentioning the descent of kingship for ten generations in succession has already been referred to (p 26) Though succession was hereditary it was the general rule that the eldest son ascended the throne when the reigning monarch died or abdicated. The rights of the eldest son or daughter as against the younger son or daughter were very jealously guarded in the vedic age. It has already been shown how marrying before one's elder brother or sister was condemned in the vedic age and also in the times of the smrtis (H. Dh. II. pp. 546–549). Even the Ṛgveda several times refers to *jyaisthya* (rights of seniority) of Indra (Ṛg. I 5.6, III 50 3). The Tai S. II. 2.11.5 states that the gods agreed to treat Indra as the 'jyestha' (the eldest) and Tai. S. II.[49] 5.2.7 refers to the ancient practice of giving all wealth (of the father) to the eldest son. The Ait. Br. 19.4 narrates the story that the gods did not accept Indra's position as the eldest and most exalted among them and that Indra then induced Bṛhaspati to perform the Dvādaśāha sacrifice for him, whereby he secured that position. The Nirukta II. 10 sets out the interesting story that Devāpi and Śantanu were two brothers, scions of the Kuru family, of whom Devāpi was the eldest, but Śantanu the younger one got himself crowned king and so Devāpi practised austerities. The result was that there was a drought in Śantanu's kingdom for 12 years. The brāhmanas said to him 'You are guilty of having violated dharma in that passing over the eldest brother you got yourself crowned Therefore God does not send down rain' Then Śantanu desired to give the kingdom to Devāpi, who however said that he would be his purohita and make him perform a sacrifice. The Ṛgveda hymn X 98 was then composed by Devāpi for bringing down rain. This story shows how long before Yāska the popular belief was that it was a great sin to

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[49] तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै सं II 5.2 7. Āp. Dh. S (II. 6. 14 12–13) cites this text and says that it is a mere *anuvāda* and not a *vidhi* and gives it as its own view that sons equally share the paternal wealth.

pass over an elder brother in marriage and other matters and doing so brought down the serious displeasure of the gods. Vide Brhad-devatā VII. 156–157 and VIII. 1–9 for the same story in a little greater detail, viz that Devāpi suffered from a skin disease, that when Devāpi said to the subjects that he did not deserve the kingdom and that Śantanu should be their king, the subjects crowned Śantanu as king When Yayāti desired to pass over his elder sons Yadu and others because they disobeyed him and wanted to make the younger Pūru his successor the brāhmanas and citizens protested 'How can the younger son secure the kingdom passing over the elder one[50]'? Arjuna upbraids Bhīmasena who got enraged against Yudhisthira 'who would act against one's eldest brother that follows the path of dharma?' (Sabhā 68 8). In the Rāmāyana[51] Daśaratha addresses Rāma (II. 3 40) 'you are born of my eldest queen, who is of the same class as myself (i e of ksatriya blood)' and Vasistha says to Rāma 'Among all Iksvākus the eldest son becomes the king; a younger brother is not crowned king when the elder exists' (II 110 36). The Ayodhyākānda in several places (8.23–24, 101.2) reiterates the idea that all the sons of a king do not succeed but only the eldest, although the other sons may be equally fit and endowed with qualities. Kautilya (I 17)[52] states that people esteem rulership going to the eldest except in the case of some calamity. Manu IX. 106 says that by the very birth of the eldest son, a man becomes free from the debt he owes to his *pitrs* and therefore the eldest deserves to get everything from the father. The Rājadharma-k. (pp. 234–235) after quoting the Kālikāpurāna and the Rāmāyana lays down the following propositions: (1) the aurasa son of a king alone succeeds in preference to the eleven kinds of secondary sons (whether he is junior or senior in age); (2) if the son of a junior queen (of the same caste) is senior by birth, he succeeds in preference to the son of the senior queen,

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50 कथं ज्येष्ठानतिक्रम्य कनीयान् राज्यमर्हति ॥ ... मातापित्रोर्वचनकृद्धितः पञ्चश्च यः सुतः । स पुत्रः पुत्रवद्यश्च वर्तते पितृमातृषु ॥ आदिपर्व 85. 22 and 25 = वायु 93. 79 and 81.

51. ज्येष्ठायामपि मे पत्न्यां सदृश्यां सदृशः सुतः । उत्पन्नस्त्वं गुणज्येष्ठो मम रामात्मजः प्रियः । ... तस्मात्त्वं पुरुषयोगेन यौवराज्यमवाप्नुहि । अयोध्याकाण्ड II 3 39–41. These are quoted in राजधर्मकौ. p 234 and राजधर्मकाण्ड II p. 13 (with variations). इक्ष्वाकूणां हि सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः । पूर्वजे नावरः पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते ॥ अयोध्या 110 36

52 अन्यत्रापद् ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी (?) हि पूज्यते । कौटिल्य I 17 last verse but one.

who (son) is younger in age; (3) if two sons are born to two queens at the same moment, the son of the senior queen is preferred; (4) if twins are born to the senior queen, the son who is born first is to be preferred.

If the eldest son suffers from a physical or mental defect (such as blindness or lunacy) he is to be passed over and his younger brother becomes king (vide Manu IX. 201 for grounds of exclusion from inheritance). Ādiparva[53] 109. 25 states that Dhrtarāstra because he was blind did not succeed to the kingdom. Vide also Udyoga 147. 39. The Śukranītisāra (I. 343-344) states that if the eldest prince suffers from deafness, dumbness, blindness, leprosy or impotence he is unfit to rule and that in such a case his younger brother or son should succeed.[54] The Śukranītisāra further points out that by dividing a kingdom among the several princes no benefit results, but on the contrary the small parts would fall an easy prey to enemies; therefore when the eldest alone succeeds he should make his younger brothers provincial governors or superintendents over the treasury, horses &c. (I. 346-348). The Rājadharmakaustubha lays down a few additional propositions: (1) even if the eldest does not succeed owing to some mental or physical defect, his son's right will remain intact and R. D K. quotes the words of the fisherman chief to Bhīsma in Ādi 100. 92.[55] The Bālambhatti on Yāj. I. 309 and Rājanītiprakāśa p 40 say the same. Another example is that of Aṅśumān who became king when his father Asamañja was exiled from the state by Sagara for his misdeeds. (2) When a younger son is crowned king because the eldest is disqualified, then after the former's death his son succeeds and not the son of the disqualified eldest son who is born after the coronation of the younger (e g. Yudhisthira deserved the kingdom on Pāndu's death and not Duryodhana). The Nītivākyāmrta (sec. 24 p. 249) lays down the order of succession in the case of kings as follows: the son, full brother, half-brother, uncle, a male of the same family, daughter's son, a stranger (who is either elected or who takes up the kingdom[56]).

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53. धृतराष्ट्रस्त्वचक्षुष्ट्वाद्राज्यं न प्राप्तवान्पुरा । आदिपर्व 109. 25 quoted by राजधर्मकौ p. 235.

54. ज्येष्ठोऽपि बधिरः कुष्ठी मूकोन्धः षण्ढ एव च । स राज्यार्हो भवेन्नैव भ्राता तत्सुत्र एव हि ॥ शुक्रनी. I. 343-344.

55. तवापत्यं भवेद्यत्तु तत्र नः संशयो महान् । आदि 100. 92.

56. मृतसोदरसपत्नपितृव्यकुलद्यौहित्रागन्तुकेषु पूर्वपूर्वाभावे भवत्युत्तरस्य राज्यपदावाप्तिः । नीतिवाक्यामृत (राजरक्षासमुद्देश) p. 249.

Sometimes a king selected a younger son to succeed him. There are famous historical examples. The great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta though a younger son was nominated by his father Chandragupta I to succeed and by his brilliant and most successful career Samudragupta more than justified the choice. Vide the Allahabad Pillar Inscription verse 4 (Gupta Inscriptions p 6) Similarly Chandragupta II, though younger, was nominated by his father Samudragupta to succeed himself. Yayāti selected his youngest son Pūru because he was devoted and obedient and the eldest and other sons disobeyed him Vide Adiparva chap 75 ff and above p 42. The principle of hereditary succession was so strong that even a boy king was placed on the throne. Vide Raghu XVIII 39.

In almost all works on rājaśāstra there is a disquisition on the qualities that a good king should possess Vide Kaut VI 1, Manu VII 32–44, Yāj I. 309–311 and 334, Śankha-Likhita quoted in R. D. K III p 14 and Rājanīti-prakāsa p 116, Śānti 57 12 ff. and 70, Kām I. 21–22, IV 6–24, XV 31, Mānasollāsa II. 1 1–9 (p. 29), Śukra I 73–86, Visnudharmottara II. 3 Only one or two passages can be set out here Yāj (I. 309–311 and 334) states 'a king should have great energy, should be generous, mindful of past (good or bad) turns done by others, dependent on those who are advanced (in austerities, knowledge and experience), possessed of a disciplined mind, endowed with an even temper (in good or bad luck), born of a noble family (on both sides), truthful, pure (in body and mind), prompt in action, of strong memory, not mean-minded, not harsh (in words or acts), observant of the rules of *dharma* (as to varnas and āśramas), free from vices, talented, brave, clever in concealing secrets (or acc. to Bhāruchi and Aparārka 'clever in scenting the secrets of his enemies'), guarding the weak points of his state, well-taught as regards logic, the science of government, the science of wealth and the three vedas He should be forbearing towards brāhmanas, straightforward towards his friends, wrathful towards his enemies, and should be (kind) like a father towards his servants and subjects'. Manu VII 32 is very similar to Yāj I 334 The Mit says that the qualities specified in Yāj I. 309–311 are *antaranga* (inward or more essential). The 2nd quality 'sthūla-laksa' occurs also in the inscription of Rudradāman (E. I vol. VIII. at p 44) From I 312 Yāj. states the *bahiranga* qualities viz selection of ministers, purohita and sacrificial priests, gifts to worthy brāhmanas, protection &c.

Kautilya VI. 1 contains several lists of the king's qualities from several points of view. First, there is a list of qualities that make the king win the heart of the people (or make him approachable) viz. being of a noble family, godly, spirited, consulting the aged, virtuous, truthful, not failing in his promises, grateful, taking broad views (not pusillanimous), highly enthusiastic, not given to procrastination, powerful enough to control his feudatories, firm in mind, having a council of ministers of no mean calibre, desirous of self-discipline These are called 'ābhigāmika-gunas' which word occurs in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II (of Valabhi) in E.I vol. XI p 83 and in the Māliya plate of the same king (Gupta Ins. pp. 164, 169). The Daśakumāracarita VIII appears to make a pointed reference to this list when it makes a character say that the king (there referred to) has in him all the qualities beginning from good family (sarvaivātma-sampad-abhijanāt-prabhrti &c.) Then the intellectual qualities he should possess are: desire to learn, study, understanding of what is studied and retaining it, reflection, discussion and devotion to the principles accepted after discussion. Almost the same qualities of the intellect (*dhī*) are mentioned by Kām. IV. 22. The word 'śakyasāmanta' (in Kaut. VI. 1) occurs also in Agnipurāna 239. 4. The qualities that are the different aspects of his enthusiasm (or energy) are: valour, non-endurance (of the might of others), quickness (of action) and assiduity. The same occur in Kām. IV. 23. Then follows a long list of qualities that go to make up the personal endowment of the king (*ātma-sampat*). Gaut. (XI. 2, 4–6) requires that the king should do what is right (acc. to śāstras) and speak (or decide) rightly, should be pure (at heart and externally), should control his senses, be possessed of qualified servants and endowed with knowledge of the means of policy, should be even-handed towards all his subjects and look after their welfare. The long list of Śankha-likhita agrees more or less with those of Kautilya and Yāj. Śāntiparva 70 states that the king should possess 36 qualities, viz. he should not speak bitterly, he should be godly, not wicked, not haughty, of agreeable address &c. Kām. I. 21–22 mentions 16 qualities that lead to the well-equipped personality of the king (*ātma-sampat*), viz. study of śāstra (Daṇḍanīti), intellect, serenity, cleverness, boldness, power of comprehension, energy, eloquence, firmness, capacity to endure the worries of adversities, majesty, purity, kindness, liberality, truthfulness, gratefulness, noble family, character, self-restraint. Then Kām. in IV. 15–19 sets out the qualities called *ātma-sampat*, which

generally agree with Kauṭilya's enumeration (in VI. 1). Acc to Kām. IV 24 liberality, truthfulness and valour are the three greatest qualities in a king, who, when endowed with these, acquires all other qualities The Mānasollāsa (II. 1 2–7) first enumerates 44 qualities such as truthfulness, spiritedness (which agree more or less with Kautilya's enumeration) and then states that the five most essential qualities in a king are truthfulness, valour, forbearance, liberality and capacity to appreciate the worth of others. The Agnipurāna (239. 2–5) enumerates 21 qualities such as noble family, character &c In the Paraśurāma-pratāpa 96 qualities are enumerated in the Rājavallabhakānda (Ms 239 of Visrāmabāg collection II, folio 21b). The Sabhāparva 5 107–109 and Rāmāyana II. 100 65–67 require the king to avoid 14 faults viz. atheism, falsehood, hot temper, carelessness, procrastination, not seeing the wise, laziness, addiction to five pleasures of sense, considering state matters alone (without *mantrins*), taking counsel with those who do not know politics, not starting to do what is decided upon, not guarding secret royal policy, not practising auspicious acts, taking up undertakings on all sides at one and the same time. Vanaparva 251. 5 says that subjects do not like a king who is very timid, very weak, procrastinating, careless and immersed in pleasures on account of vices. Sabhā 5 125 states that sleep (by day), laziness, timidity, hot temper, softness and dilatoriness are six calamities in a king

The works on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra devote a good deal of space to the education of the king and to his moral discipline. Gaut XI. 3 requires that the king should have received instruction in Trayī (the three Vedas) and Ānvīksikī This last has been differently interpreted by different writers. Kaut I. 2 says that Ānvīksikī comprehends Sānkhya,[57] Yoga and Lokā-

57. सारुयं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षिकी । .. बलाबले चैतासा हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्योपकरोति व्यसनेष्युदये च बुद्धिमवस्थापयति प्रज्ञावाक्यक्रियावैशारद्यं च करोति। प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्। आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणा शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 2 This last verse occurs in वात्स्यायनभाष्य on न्यायसूत्र I 1 1, where the 4th pāda is विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिता Some read आन्वीक्षकी (Jolly's ed of अर्थशास्त्र) but आन्वीक्षिकी seems to be more grammatical and to be the reading of most classical works The Trivandrum ed reads आन्वीक्षिकी Patañjali in his Mahābhāsya has a sentence वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य (Bhāguri expounds the Lokāyata system), vol III p 325 on Pāṇini VII 3 45 Later on Lokāyata came to be identified with atheistic views that denied the existence of a soul or the next world Sankara on Vedāntasūtra II 2 1 and

(*Continued on the next page*)

yata and that it examines the relative strength of the three other *vidyās* with reasons, and thereby benefits the world, steadies the mind in calamities and prosperity and imparts excellence in intellect, speech and actions. It is always the torch of (sheds light on) all vidyās, it is the means of (inducing to go in for) all undertakings, it is the source of all dharmas. Kautilya derives the name from the root 'Iks' with 'anu' and he takes it to mean the science of ratiocination. It is somewhat strange that Lokāyata is included in Ānvīksikī, one of the subjects of study for the prince. But it appears from the remarks he makes that Kaut. uses it only in the sense of logic based on premises derived from ordinary experience (loka) though in later literature Lokāyata came to mean 'nāstika' (atheist, materialist). Acc.[58]

(*Continued from last page*)

III. 3 53 and 54 states that the Laukāyatikas held the view that consciousness is a quality of the body (and there is no soul over and above the body). The Tantravārtika runs them down as fools and apes (on Jaimini 1. 3. 3). In the Rāmāyana Rāma asks Bharata not to resort to Lokāyatika brāhmanas, who, though ehuldish, look upon themselves as learned and who relying on the knowledge acquired by Ānvīksikī speak nonsense in spite of the fact that there are principal Dharmaśāstras (that point out the sensible path). काञ्चिन्न लौकायतिकान् ब्राह्मणांस्तात सेवसे । अनर्थकुशला ह्येते बालाः पण्डितमानिनः ॥ धर्मशास्त्रेषु मुख्येषु विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः । बुद्धिमान्वीक्षिकीं प्राप्य निरर्थं प्रवदन्ति ते ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 100 38-39. The Kāmasūtra (I 2 30) says that the Laukāyatikas hold that a kārsāpana (copper coin) which one is certain of is better than a niska (a gold coio) which is doubtful. वरं सांशयिकाच्चिष्काद्सांशयिकः कार्षापण इति लौकायतिकाः । कामसूत्र I 2. 30 Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā p 37 (Gaekwad's O. series, ed of 1934) refers to the opinion of the Laukāyatika logicians that the consciousness in human beings arises from the *bhūtas* (elements) just as the power of intoxication (in wine) is due to the mixture of several ingredients (none of which may by itself be intoxicating). The Nītivākyāmṛta p. 76 remarks "the Lokāyatika view leads to the effectuation of worldly affairs, for the king is able to uproot the thorns of the country by the help of Lokāyata". ऐहिकव्यवहारप्रसाधनपरं लोकायतिकम् । लोकायतको हि राजा राष्ट्रकण्टकानुच्छेदयति । नीतिवा p. 76. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1917 p. 175 n. 2, article on लोकायत in J A O.S. 1930 p. 132 ff., H. Dh. vol II p. 359 n.; 'Historical Notices of the Lokāyatas' in the Silver Jubilee vol. of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona pp 386-397.

58. आन्वीक्षिकी समस्तसान्दृष्टिकनिरूपणक्षमा हेतुविद्या । विश्वरूप on या. I, 306; आन्वीक्षिक्यां तर्कशास्त्रं वेदान्ताद्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । शुक्रनीति. I. 153, आन्वीक्षिकी वेदाद्यविरुद्धा आत्मज्ञानोपयोगिनी न्यायविद्या । राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 118. The word आन्वीक्षिकी is derived as अन्वीक्षा प्रयोजनं (फलं) अस्याः इति आन्वीक्षिकी acc. to पाणिनि V. 1. 109. क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश explains 'प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्यामीक्षितस्य पश्चाद्दीक्षणमन्वीक्षा सा प्रयोजन यस्या'; while विश्वनाथ on न्यायसूत्रभाष्य I. 1. 1 'अवणादनु पश्चात् ईक्षा अन्वीक्षा उच्यते तत्रिर्वाहिका सेयमान्वीक्षिकी न्यायतर्कादिशब्दैरपि व्यवह्रियते ।'. Vide नीलकण्ठ on शान्ति 319, 28 for a similar derivation.

to the Amarakosa, Visvarūpa on Yāj I. 306, Haradatta on Gaut. (XI. 3), Aparārka and several others Ānvīksikī means 'Logic'. Acc. to Kām. II. 7 and 11, the Mit on Yāj I. 311, Śukranīti I. 158 it means 'Ātmavidyā' (Metaphysics), while Śukranīti I. 153 and Rājanīti-prakāsa p 118 combine the two by saying that it is logic that leads on to or is useful for acquiring knowledge of the Self. The Nītimayūkha (p. 34) includes logic and Vedānta in Ānvīksikī and Mīmānsā and smrtis under Trayī The Bārhaspatyasūtra (II. 5-6) advises the king to follow the Laukāyatika doctrines at the time of securing *artha* (wealth) and the Kāpālika-sāstra in achieving his sexual and similar desires [59]

Great divergence of views prevailed as to the vidyās that were essential for the education of the king According to the Manusmrti VII 43, Śānti 59 33, Kaut I. 2, Yāj I. 311, Kām II. 2, Śukranīti I. 152, Agni. 238 8, the subjects for the king's education are four viz, Anvīksikī, Trayī, Vārtā and Dandanīti. Kaut notes that the school of the Mānavas held the view that the *vidyās* were three and regarded Ānvīksikī as a special branch of Trayī; that the Bārhaspatya school was of opinion that they were only two, Vārtā and Dandanīti, since Trayī only acted as a screen (to obscure the intellect) of one (the king) who wants to know the ways of the world; and the Ausanasas regarded Dandanīti as the only vidyā for a king, since according to them, the efforts to learn all vidyās are tied down to it (i. e are ultimately intended to lead on to the mastery of Dandanīti) It will be seen how the Ausanasas and Bārhaspatyas had an entirely secular view in the science of government and divorced it from the study of sacred books and metaphysics in the case of the king The Dasakumāracarita VIII (that displays a deep study of Kautilya) says that the vidyās for the king are four (catasro rājavidyās-trayīvārtānvīksikīdandanītih) The Bārhaspatyasūtra I 3 (Dandanītireva vidyā) holds that Dandanīti is the only (essential) vidyā for the king Kautilya further explains that dharma and its opposite are learnt from the three Vedas, viz Sāmaveda, Rgveda and Yajurveda, that the Atharvaveda and Itihāsaveda (i e Itihāsa and Purāna) are the other Vedas and that the six Angas also (viz. phonetics, ritual, grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy) are comprehend-

59. सर्वथा लौकायतिकमेव शास्त्रमर्थसाधनकाले । कापालिकमेव कामसाधने । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र II, 5-6

ed in the word 'Trayī[60]'. Śukranīti I. 155 says that the 14 vidyās (enumerated in Yāj. I. 3) are comprehended in Trayī. Gaut. XI. 19 expressly says that in doing his duty of making the people observe the rules of the sacred codes the king would have to rely on the Veda, Dharmaśāstras, the Angas, Upavedas and Purāna. In the Rāmāyana, Rāma and his brothers are often spoken of as proficient in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, in Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda, Rājavidyā &c. (I. 18. 24 and 26, II. 1.20, II. 2. 34-35, V. 35. 13-14). In the Vanaparva 277. 4 it is said that the princes were proficient in the Vedas with their secret doctrine and in Dhanurveda. In the Ādiparva 221. 72-74 Abhimanyu is said to have learned from Arjuna before he became 16 the Dhanurveda in four sections, the knowledge of *astras*, and the theory and practice of these. Vide also Anuśāsana 104. 146-147. Khāravela in his Hathigumphā Inscription (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79 ll. 2 and 5) states that he learnt Lekha (official correspondence), Rūpa (currency), Gananā (Accountancy) and the administration of justice, when he was the crown prince and also Gāndharvaveda (music). In the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman (E. I. vol. VIII at page 44) the Mahāksatrapa is said to have attained great fame by his deep study, retention, and actual practice of grammar, artha (either lexicography or politics), music, logic and other vidyās and to have been a fine rider of horses, elephants, chariots and a great adept in wielding the sword and shield and in wrestling[61]. The personal attainments of Samudragupta (in Gupta Inscriptions No. 1 pp. 12, 15-16) show how thorough the education of at least some princes was or at least what the ideal about their education was. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. p. 364 for the education of princes and Dr. Beni

60. धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्याम्। अर्थानर्थौ वार्तायाम्। नयानयौ दण्डनीत्याम्। ..... सामवेदोऽपि। अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः। शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरण निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति चाङ्गानि। अर्थशास्त्र I. 2 and 3. In the Raghuvamśa XVIII. 50 Kālidāsa speaks of only three princely vidyās and Mallinātha quotes the very words of कौटिल्य cited here and also Kām. II त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिरितिस्रो विद्या मनोर्मताः। त्रय्या एव विभागोयं येन सान्वीक्षिकी मता॥. It should be noted that the Sāmaveda is here mentioned first Probably Kauṭilya was a student of that Veda. In the Brāhmanas and Upanisads Rgveda comes first in the enumeration. Itihāsa and Purāna are called the fifth Veda in Chāndogya VII. 1. 2. Compare Agnipurāṇa 238, 9 for words similar to धर्माधर्मौ त्रय्याम् etc.

61. शब्दार्थगान्धर्वोपायानां विद्यानां महतीनां धारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावदिपुल कीर्तिना तुरगगजरथचर्यासिचर्मनिबुद्धाद्य ..... (broken) बलक्षयवसौष्ठवक्रियेण &c E. I. vol. VIII p. 44 l. 13.

Prasad's 'Theory of Government in Ancient India' p. 218 for an ideal course of education for a prince quoted from the Buddhist work, Sūtrālankāra of Aśvaghosa. The Nītivākyāmṛta[62] adds a long list of the accomplishments which a prince should possess viz. all scripts, valuing of jewels, knowledge of arms &c. On reading the ideal courses prescribed for the education of the prince by ancient Indian writers one cannot help feeling that they were probably actuated by the same sentiments that are attributed to Socrates by Plato in his 'Republic' (tr. by Jowett, ed. of 1875, vol. III. p. 357) viz. 'Until philosophers are kings or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy and political greatness and wisdom meet in one and these commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from ill–no, nor the human race as I believe–and then only will our State have a possibility of light and behold the light of day &c' The Agnipurāna (225. 1–4) prescribes that the prince should be taught dharmaśāstra, kāmaśāstra, arthaśāstra, science of archery (dhanurveda), the various arts and crafts by trusted teachers, that he should not be allowed to be associated with those who are angry with the king or disrespected by him or who are greedy and that if it is impossible to impart good qualities to him he should be confined, surrounded by pleasures. The princes were sometimes educated in their own capital or in a nearby college. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. p 364. Sometimes, it appears, princes went to such famous seats of learning as Taksaśilā (vide Jātakas ed. by Fausböll II. 87, 278, 319, 323, 400, III. 158, 168, 415, 463) The subjects of study there were the three vedas and 18 śilpāni or vidyās (Jātakas, vol. II. 87, III. 115). Kautilya (I. 4) explains that Vārtā is constituted by agriculture, the rearing of cattle and trade; it benefits (the State) by bringing in grain, cattle, gold, baser metals, and free labour; by means of vārtā the king secures treasury and army whereby he brings under control his own side and the enemy. In the Sabhāparva[63] 5. 79 and Ayodhyākānda 100 47 it is declared

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62. शिक्षालापक्रियाक्षमः राजपुत्रः सर्वासु लिपिषु प्रसंख्याने यद्प्रमाणमयोगकर्मणि नीत्यागमेषु रत्नपरीक्षायां संभोगप्रहरणोपवाह्यविद्यासु च। नीतिवा. p. 161.

63 वार्तायां संश्रितस्तात लोकोयं सुखमेधते॥ सभा 5. 79, अयोध्या 100. 47; पण्याकरवणिज्याभिः कृष्या गोजाविपोषणैः। वार्तया धार्यते सर्वं धर्मैरेतैर्द्विजातिभिः॥ वनपर्व 150 30, वार्तामूलो ह्ययं लोकस्त्रय्या चै धार्यते सदा॥ शान्ति 68. 35; नहि वर्तेदय लोको वार्तामुत्सृज्य केवलाम्। शान्ति. 263. 3, वार्तासमृद्धौ सर्वाः समृद्धयो राज्ञः। तस्य खलु संसारसुखं यस्य कृषिर्धेनवः शाकवाटः सन्नन्युदपानं च। नीतिवा. p. 93.

that when the world relies on vārtā it easily prospers. The Śānti-parva (263. 3) gives the warning that this world would cease to exist if vārtā was given up, that this world is rooted in vārtā and is sustained by the three vedas (68. 35). The Vanaparva (150. 30) states that the whole world is sustained by vārtā i. e. by merchandise, mines, trade, agriculture and tending cows, she-goats and ewes. The Nītivākyāmṛta (p. 93) after defining vārtā as above emphasizes that the king secures the abundance of everything when vārtā is prosperous and that the man who has his own agriculture, milch-cattle, plot for growing vegetables and a well in his own house has indeed all the pleasures of this world. These quotations indicate what importance was attached to agriculture and the economic structure of society. The result is that in the Arthaśāstra economic matters occupy a very large space.

Kautilya (I. 5) starts by saying that the three vidyās (except daṇḍanīti) in the case of the prince depend upon daṇḍa, that daṇḍa in its turn is based upon discipline, which is of two kinds, natural and induced (or acquired). Vidyās produce discipline (of the 2nd kind) in him who possesses the qualities of intellect specified above. Then he goes on to say that the prince should learn the alphabet and arithmetic after his *caula* is performed (in the 3rd year or later) and after *upanayana* he should learn the three vedas and ānvīksikī from the *śiṣṭas* (those learned in the veda), vārtā from the heads or superintendents (of the various departments thereof) and daṇḍanīti from expounders (of the *vidyā*) and from practical politicians. Vide Manu VII. 43 (=Matsya 215. 54 and Agni 225. 21-22) for directions as to from whom the prince was to learn the four vidyās Kautilya prescribes that the prince should study these up to the 16th year, should then marry and that in order to foster the growth of the discipline of the intellect he should always associate with those who are advanced in the vidyās enumerated above (after his 16th year) and that the king should spend the first part of the day in practising the riding of elephants, horses, chariots and in the science of arms and the latter part of the day in listening to Itihāsa which comprises Purāna, history, stories, panegyrics, dharmasāstra and arthaśāstra. A king whose intellect is thus disciplined and who is devoted to disciplining his subjects also and to doing good to all will be the sole ruler of the earth. The Nītivākyāmṛta (p. 162) defines *vinaya* as 'acting with humility towards those

who excel in vratas, vidyās and are aged' Manu VII. 38-39. Kām. I 19-20 and 59-63, Śukra I. 92-93 (taken from Kām. I. 19-20) extol the value and importance of *vinaya*, and waiting upon the aged and the learned Manu (VII. 40-42) states that many kings perished with their vast paraphernalia through want of discipline while others, though residing in a forest (i.e without an army &c), gained kingdoms through vinaya, and names Vena, Nahusa, Sudās son of Pijavana and Sumukha Nimi as those who perished through lack of *vinaya* and gives Prthu and Manu as examples of those who secured kingdoms through *vinaya*. Matsya 215.53 is the same as Manu VII. 40. Ancient Indian writers harp on the education of the prince so much because their ideal of kingship was that the king should be a *rājarṣi* (a royal sage) Kālidāsa frequently speaks of this e g in Śākuntala II. 14 and Raghuvamśa (I. 58) They were aware, like Socrates, that until either philosophers became[64] kings or kings philosophers States will never succeed in remedying their short-comings (vide p. 50 above). Not only was an extensive course of intellectual training prescribed for the king, but both dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra works strongly and frequently insist upon the necessity of moral discipline and the right direction of the emotions and will in the case of the king.

Kautilya (I. 6) emphasizes that control of the organs of sense is the cause of (proficiency in) vidyās and discipline should be attempted by giving up the six enemical tendencies viz. lust, hot temper, greed, vanity (*māna*), haughtiness or insolence (*mada*), overjoy. He says that (the whole purpose or insistence of) all sāstras is the restraint of the senses, that even a supreme ruler of the whole earth up to its four borders whose senses are not under control will at once perish and cites two examples on each of these six tendencies, viz Dāndakya Bhoja who attempted to rape a brāhmana girl through lust and perished with his kingdom and kinsmen and Karāla king of Videha; Janamejaya (perished) who attacked brāhmanas through hot temper and Tālajangha who did so against the Bhrgus, Aila who exacted through greed excessive taxes from persons of the four varnas and Ajabindu, the king of Sauvīra; Rāvana who did not restore another's wife through his conceit and Duryodhana who did not give even a part from his kingdom; Dambhodbhava who despised all beings through his insolence and

64 The word 'philosopher' used by Plato has not the narrow meaning of modern times.

Arjuna of the Haihaya dynasty ; Vātāpi through overjoy when he attacked Agastya and also the oligarchy of the Vṛsnis when they attacked Dvaipāyana[65]. These six evil tendencies are called *śatru-saḍ-varga* or *ari-saḍvarga*. Kautilya adds that by the conquest of these six evil tendencies Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) and Ambarīsa enjoyed the earth for a long time. Kām. (I. 55–58) and Śukra. I. 144–146 give six of the twelve examples of Kaut and Kām. I. 58 is the same as the last verse of Kautilya I. 6. Vide Mārkandeya 27. 12–13. In the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu (Hall's ed pp. 273–276) there is a long list of the kings of antiquity (Purūravas, Nahusa, Yayāti, Sudyumna, Nala and nine others) who suffered owing to some failing or other in themselves The Udyogaparva (74. 13–18) mentions by name 18 kings who by their evil career destroyed themselves, their friends and relatives (such as Mudāvarta of the Haihayas, Janamejaya of the Nīpas, Bahula of Tālajanghas, Dhautamūlaka of the Cīnas). This shows that Cīna does not probably stand for modern China in the epic. Manu VII. 44 (=Matsya 215. 55) also emphasizes the necessity for the king incessantly to curb the senses and not to fall a prey to vices arising from *kāma* and *krodha*. Manu (VII. 45–48) enumerates ten vicious tendencies due to kāma (desire for pleasures) viz. hunting, gambling, sleep by day, finding fault (with others), women, drunkenness, (excessive indulgence in) dancing, singing and instrumental music, and aimless wandering; and eight vicious tendencies due to krodha (hot temper) viz. tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slander, (improper) seizure of property, reviling and assault. Manu further declares (VII. 50) that among the vices due to *kāma*, drinking wine, gambling, women and hunting are the most harmful, each preceding one being worse than each succeeding

65. Most of these stories occur in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, and Buddhist works Vide Jolly's ed. of the Kautiliya vol. II. p. 5 But the story of the Vṛsnis and Dvaipāyana is not known. For Janamejaya (different from the descendant of Arjuna, the Pāndava) incurring the sin of brāhmana-killing, vide Śānti 150 3. For Arjuna (called Kārtavīrya) king of Haihayas, vide Sabhāpa.va 22 24, Vanaparva 115 12, Anuśāsana 153. 3 ff, Śānti 49 35 ff. and Āśvamedhikaparva 29, Matsyapurāna 43, Vāyu 94 For Agastya and Vātāpi vide Vanaparva 96. In the Mārkandeya the instances of kings that came to grief through *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha* &c. are different except that of Aila (chap. 27. 14–17). For Dambhodbhava vide Sabhā 22 24 and Udyoga 96 7 (cr. ed 94. 7) For the story of Danda who raped a maiden of the Bhrgu family vide Rāmāyana VII. 80–81. Dāndakya Bhoja is mentioned (along with Rāvana and Kīcaka) by the Kāmasūtra I. 2. 44–45.

one and (VII. 52) that among the vices due to hot temper, causing physical injury, reviling and deprivation of wealth are the worst. Manu (VII. 52) has a sly hit that these seven vices are more or less prevalent among kings (*sarvatrāvānusaṅganah*) and therefore the only choice is that of the lesser or least of evils Kautilya (VIII. 3) has a lengthy disquisition on the views of his predecessors about the relative harmfulness of the three vices due to hot temper and of the four due to *kāma* and states his own opinion that *arthadūsana* meaning loss of the means of livelihood by gifts, exactions (by the king), loss or abandonment of property is more harmful than reviling and dandapārusya is more harmful than arthadūsana He points out the benefits derived from hunting viz exercise, the disappearance of phlegm, bile. fat and sweat, the acquisition of skill in aiming at stationary and moving bodies, the ascertainment of the minds of beasts when they are provoked and occasional travel[66] These are echoed, almost in the same words by Kām XIV 25 and in the Śākuntala (II. 25) by Kālidāsa Vide Sabhā 68 20, Udyoga 33 92 for the seven principal vices Kām (XIV. 6 and 7) enumerates the three vices of hot temper and the four of *kāma* and holds an elaborate discussion on their respective demerits He defines arthadūsana (XIV. 17) somewhat differently (viz as the abandoning of an important object or of great wealth in order to show that what really merits blame is not so) Vide the Visnudharmottara II.65 12–15 for the two meanings of arthadūsana[67]. Kām does not agree that hunting has many good points in its favour and advises the king to prepare a separate well-guarded hunting ground of one-half *yojana* in length and breadth if he really desires to hunt (XIV. 28–42) The Mānasollāsa (vol II) in the 15th chapter of the 4th vimsati deals with hunting as a sport for kings and points out how a forest is to be preserved for royal hunting and how it is to be guarded and enumerates 31 methods of hunting. Kām warns the king who wants to retain

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66. मृगयाया तु व्यायाम. श्लेष्मपित्तमेदस्वेदनाशश्चले स्थिरे च काये लक्षपरिचयः कोपस्थाने हि तेषु च मृगाणां चित्तज्ञानमनित्ययानं चेति। कौटिल्य VIII. 3; जितश्रमत्वं व्यायाम आममेदःकफक्षयः। चरस्थिरेषु लक्षेषु बाणसिद्धिरनुत्तमा॥ मृगयायां गुणानेतानाहुरन्ये न तत्क्षमम्। दोषाः प्राणहराः प्रायस्तस्माच्चद्व्यसनं महत्॥ काम. XIV. 25–26. The reading कोपभयस्थाने in some Mss. of the Kautiliya is preferable in view of Kālidāsa's words 'चित्तं भयक्रोधयोः.'

67. Vide the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (II. 65 12–15) 'अर्थस्य दूषण राम द्विप्रकारं विवर्जयेत्॥ अर्थानां दूषणं चैकं तथा चार्थेन दूषणम्। प्राकाराणां सदुच्छेदो दुर्गादीनां समक्रिया॥ अर्थानां दूषणं प्रोक्त विप्रकीर्णत्वमेव च। अदेशकाले यद्दानमपात्रे दानमेव च॥ अर्थेस्तु दूषणं प्रोक्तमसत्कर्मप्रवर्तनम्।'

his kingdom against fondness for women (XIV. 57–58). He further says that a king may even indulge in fondness for women and may even drink moderately, but he must totally avoid gambling and hunting (XIV. 65). Kautilya regards gambling as the worst of the vices for a king (VIII. 3 last sentence in prose). In the Daśakumāracarita (VIII) there is an elaborate (but ironical) description of the mental and other benefits derived from the four principal vices due to *kāma*. Kām. I. 54 states that hunting, gambling and wine in the case of kings must be condemned, since calamities befell Pāṇḍu, Nala and the Vṛṣṇis (respectively) by being addicted to these. Even an ideal king like Rāma was fond of hunting. Śukra (I. 332–333) points out that hunting has much in its favour, but there is one great defect in it viz. slaughter of animals. Śukra (I. 109–119) denounces gambling, drinking and fondness for women as the worst of vices and points out that Indra, Daṇḍakya, Nahusa and Rāvaṇa came to grief through their passion for women (I. 114) and that a king who is excessively fond of dancers, singers, courtesans, wrestlers, eunuchs and men of low birth falls an easy prey to his enemies (I. 128). Kām. (I. 40–46, which are almost the same as Śukra I. 102–107) gives a poetic description of how animals like the deer, the elephant, the moth, the fish and the bee meet death or become confined by extreme attachment to one only out of the five objects of sense and emphasizes that man who can and does enjoy all the pleasures of the five senses must practise great restraint.

CHAPTER III

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RULER.

All works are agreed that the first and foremost duty of the king is the protection of subjects Śāntiparva (68 1-4) notes that all the seven expounders of polity (rājaśāstrapranetārah) named by it extol protection as the highest *dharma* of the king Manu VII. 144 states that the protection of subjects is the highest dharma and Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa 14 67 alludes to this dictum of Manu. Protection consists in punishing internal aggression (such as by thieves and robbers and by persons who invade a man's rights) and in meeting external[68] aggression Vide quotation from Brhaspati below Gautama (X. 7-8) prescribes that the special responsibility of the king is to protect all beings, to award just punishment and that he has to protect the several varnas and āśramas according to the rules of śāstra and to bring them round to the path of their proper duties when they swerve from it (XI. 9-10) Vasistha (19 1-2) states that the wise say that protection is a life-long *sattra* in which he has to give up fear and softness of heart. Vas 19 7-8 and Visnu Dh S III 2-3 are similar to Gaut XI. 9-10 The Śāntiparva (23 15) repeats a *gāthā* of Brhaspati 'As a snake swallows mice lying in holes, so the earth swallows these two viz a king who does not fight (an invader) and a brāhmana who does not go on a journey (for acquiring knowledge from famous teachers)'[68a] Manu IX 306 states that the king protecting his subjects according to the śāstra and meting out punishment to those who deserve it performs every day sacrifices in which the fees are one hundred thousand cows (i e he secures the spiritual reward of very solemn sacrifices) Yāj I.335 is to the same effect Kautilya also lays emphasis on the duty to keep the varnas and āsramas to their duties 'Therefore the

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68. बृहस्पतिः । तत्प्रजापालनं प्रोक्तं त्रिविध न्यायवेदिभि । परचक्राऽऽटवीभयादूचालिनोन्यायवर्तिन ॥ परानीकस्तेनभयमुपायै. शमयेन्नृप. । चलत्परिभूतानां प्रत्यहं न्यायदर्शनै. ॥ quoted by राजनीतिप्र pp 254-255.

68a. घूमिरेतौ निगिरति सर्पो बिलशयानिव । राजान चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम् ॥ शान्ति 23. 15. This is attributed to Uśanas in Śānti 57 3 (but the words are द्वाविमौ ग्रसते भूमि· सर्पो &c). Vide also Sabhā 55 14 The same verse is शुक्रनीतिसार IV. 7. 303

king should not allow the people to swerve from their duties. He, who keeps dharma intact (without breach), enjoys bliss in this world and the next'. Nārada[69] (prakīrnaka 33) states 'His duty is to protect the subjects, to (honour or) listen to the aged and the wise, to look into the disputes of people and to be energetic in his functions as king'. Śukra (I. 14) says that the highest dharma of the king is to protect the subjects and to put down the wicked. According to Atri (verse 28),[70] to punish the wicked, to honour the good, to increase the treasury in the right way, to deal impartially with litigants and to protect the kingdom—these five are declared to be sacrifices in the case of kings. The Visnudharmottara (III. 323. 25-26) refers to the five sacrifices in very similar words. In Śānti 77. 33 the king's duty to restrain brāhmanas from engaging in unworthy actions is specially emphasized. These passages establish that the principal duties of the king were conceived to be to protect the subjects, to see that the rules of varnas and āśramas were carried out by them, to punish the wicked and to do justice.

The duty to protect involved fighting and probable death. Therefore the ancient works on dharma-śāstra always insist that it is the duty of the ksatriya to fight and that death on the battlefield is to be his highest ideal. Manu (VII. 87-89) enjoins upon the king, when protecting his subjects against invasion, not to run away from battle and promises heaven as the reward for kings who die fighting in battle. Yāj I 324 holds forth the same reward for all soldiers who are killed in battle. Vide Strīparva 2 16 and 18 and 11. 8-9. The Bhagavadgītā (II. 31-37) most solemnly declares that there is nothing higher for a ksatriya than a righteous war, that a ksatriya's duty requires him not to quail in battle, that if he dies in battle he goes to heaven and if he survives he rules over the world, that he should fight as a duty without caring for gain or loss, victory or defeat and if he fights with this attitude no sin attaches to him. Śāntiparva 78 31 states that just as those who join in the bath of the king at the end of the Aśvamedha are purified of all sins, so all

69. तस्य धर्मः प्रजारक्षा वृद्धप्राज्ञोपसेवनम् । दर्शनं व्यवहाराणामुत्थानं च स्वधर्मसु ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 33); नृपस्य परमो धर्म प्रजाना परिपालनम् । दुष्टनिग्रहणं नित्यं न नीत्या ते विना ह्युभे ॥ शुक्र० I. 14.

70. दुष्टस्य दण्डः सुजनस्य पूजा न्यायेन कोशस्य च संप्रवृद्धि । अपक्षपातोऽर्थिषु राष्ट्ररक्षा पञ्चैव यज्ञाः कथिता नृपाणाम् ॥ अत्रि verse 28. compare दुष्टदण्डः सतां पूजा धर्मेण च धनार्जनम् । राष्ट्ररक्षा समत्वं च व्यवहारेषु पञ्चकम् ॥ भूमिपाना महायज्ञाः सर्वाकल्मषनाशनाः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 323. 25-26.

soldiers (of whatever caste and on whatever side) killed in battle become pure by the destruction of their sins Manu (VII 94-95) sets out the results for a soldier when he flees from the battlefield. Parāsara[71] III. 37 says "Two men pierce the orb of the sun (i e. reach heavenly worlds) viz an ascetic endowed with Yoga and a soldier killed while facing the enemy" and the following verses (III. 38 ff) dilate upon how the slain warrior is waited upon in heaven by divine damsels A verse of the Ṛgveda X 154 3 (= Atharva 18 2 17) appears to hold that warriors losing life in battle reap the same rewards that those who make gifts of a thousand cows in sacrifices secure [72] It is probably this passage which Kautilya has in mind when in X. 3 he refers to the Veda for inciting the soldiers to fight without regard to life Āp Dh. S. (II. 10 26 2-3) states that a king, who strives to recover the wealth of brāhmanas (stolen by thieves) and dies in the effort, is said to perform a sacrifice, in which his body is the sacrificial post and the fees are incalculable and that other valiant men losing life in fighting for a (good) cause are in a similar position To die fighting for the protection of cows and brāhmanas is specially commended (vide Śānti 21. 19 and 77. 28 and 30) The Visnudharmasūtra III. 44-46 prescribes 'there is no duty for kings equal to losing one's life in battle; those who meet death in protecting a cow, a brāhmana, a king, a friend, their own wealth and their wife enter heaven as also those who meet death in preventing confusion of varnas (caused by adultery &c.)' On the eve of battle the great warrior Bhīsma says to his officers 'it is a sinful act for a ksatriya to die in his house from some disease; the ancient code of conduct for him is that he should meet death from steel' (Bhīsmaparva 17 11) The same idea is presented in Śalyaparva 5 32, Śānti 97 23 and 25

Kāmandaka[73] (V. 82-83) makes it clear that the subjects require protection against the king's officers, thieves, enemies of the king, royal favourites (like the queen and the princes) and

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71 द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ। परिव्राड्योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखे हतः॥ पराशर III 37, quoted by मेधातिथि on मनु VII 89 The same is उद्योगपर्व 33. 61 which reads पुरुषव्याघ्र in the first *pāda*

72 ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तनूत्यज। ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात्॥ ऋ X 154 3 = अथर्व 18 2 17 This also is quoted by मेधा. on मनु VII 89 अर्थशास्त्र (X 3) has 'वेदेष्वप्यनुश्रूयते — समासहस्रदक्षिणानां यज्ञानामवभृथेषु सा ते गतिर्या शूराणामिति।'

73. आयुक्तकेभ्यश्चोरेभ्यः परेभ्यो राजवल्लभात्। पृथिवीपतिलोभाच्च प्रजानां पञ्चधा भयम्॥ पञ्चप्रकारमप्येतदुपोह्यं नृपतेर्भयम्। कामन्दक V. 82-83.

the greed of the king himself As an extension of the king's duty to protect, the works lay down that it is his duty to support students, learned brāhmaṇas, and sacrificers.[74] Vide Gaut X. 9-12, XVIII 31, Kaut. II. 1, Anuśāsana 61. 28-30, Śānti 165. 6-7, Viṣnudharmasūtra III. 79-80, Manu VII. 82 and 134, Yāj I. 315 and 323 and III 44, Matsya 215. 58, Atri 24 The Hindu kings of ancient and medieval India followed this advice with great liberality for centuries and the subject has already been treated in vol II. pp 113, 856-864. The functions of Government were not supposed to end with the maintenance of peace and order, but Government must be an instrument of the diffusion of culture. The king is also called upon to support helpless and aged people, the blind, the cripple, lunatics, widows, orphans, those suffering from diseases and calamities, pregnant women by giving them medicines, lodging, food and clothing according to their requirements[75]. Vide Vas 19. 35-36, Viṣnudharmasūtra III. 65, Matsya 215. 62, Agni 225 25, Ādiparva 49. 11, Sabhā 18. 24, Virāṭaparva 18. 24, Śānti 77. 18 The Rājanīti-prakāśa (pp. 130-131) quotes[76] the Viṣnudharmottara requiring the king to honour and protect chaste women (pativratās) and Śaṅkha-Likhita to the effect that even kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who cannot maintain themselves by the methods prescribed by the śāstras for them should approach the king who should help them with the means of livelihood and they should work for the king in the manner laid down for them and that śūdras also should apply their skill and crafts for the benefit of the king when so maintained [77] Medhātithi on Manu V. 94 states that when a king supports his subjects in a famine by distributing food from his treasury no question of his being in mourning would come in the way These provisions for the old, the blind, the widows, orphans and helpless persons and for the relief of unemployed kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras strike one as

74. ऋत्विगाचार्यपुरोहितश्रोत्रियेभ्यो ब्रह्मदेयान्यदृष्टकराण्याभिरूपदायकानि प्रयच्छेत् । ... ... बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसन्यनाथांश्च राजा बिभृयात् । स्त्रियमप्रजातां प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान् । कौटिल्य II. 1.

75. कृपणानाथवृद्धानां विधवानां च योषिताम् । योगक्षेमं च वृत्तिं च नित्यमेव प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ शान्ति 86. 24 (= मत्स्य 215 62 = अग्निपुराण 225. 25 with slight variations); कृपणातुरनाथव्यङ्गविधवाबालवृद्धानौषधान्नसधाशनाच्छादनैर्बिभृयात् । शङ्खलिखितौ quoted in राजनीतिप्र. p 138, कब्धिदन्धांश्च मूकांश्च पङ्गून् व्यङ्गानबान्धवान् । पितेव पासि धर्मज्ञ तथा प्रव्रजितानपि ॥ सभा 5. 124.

76. साध्वीनां पालनं कुर्यात्पूजनं च महीपतिः । एकपत्न्यः स्त्रियः सर्वा धारयन्ति जगत्त्रयम् ॥ राजनीतिप्र p. 130.

77. राजन्यवैश्यावप्यजीवन्तौ राजानमुपतिष्ठेयाताम् साधुभौ शक्तितः संविभक्तारौ कुर्यातां स्वस्वधर्मानुष्ठानेन शिल्पिनः कारवश्च शूद्राः ॥ शङ्खलिखितौ quoted in राजनीतिप्र p. 141.

rather modern in tone In many modern countries the State has become the means of providing services for the greater part of its subjects, not only armed forces and the police, but social services such as education, public health, medical attendance, insurance against unemployment, old age, widowhood, and orphanage, relief of poverty &c In ancient India, though there were naturally no Acts of Parliament guaranteeing the above services to the subjects, public opinion, the views of eminent writers and the practice of the best kings created an atmosphere in which it was thought that it was imperative for the king representing the State and its resources to encourage learning, to care for the blind, the decrepit, the old and the widowed and to give employment to those who were unemployed Asoka constructed hospitals for men and animals (2nd Rock Edict at Kalsi in C I I vol 1, p 28), alms-houses, rest houses, watering places, shady trees on the highways and irrigation works, visited and supported the aged (8th Girnar Rock Edict in C I I p 15). In the 2nd century B C Khāravela, emperor of Kalinga, declares in his Hāthigumphā Inscription (E I vol. XX p 71 at p 86) that in the very first year of his reign he constructed embankments round the Khibīra lake in the Kalinga capital and renovated all public gardens Rudradāman in the 2nd century A. D repaired the Sudarśana lake at great cost from his own treasury without levying fresh taxes or benevolences (*pranaya*) or forced labour The Anuśāsanaparva says that good kings should[78] construct meeting halls, *prapās*, tanks, temples and lodging places for brāhmanas The Matsyapurāna 215. 64 remarks that the king should give to those who stay in hermitages food, oil and pots Vide Āp. Dh S II. 2 4, 21 and Haradatta thereon as to provision for śūdra guests. It is quite possible that these rules of the texts were not literally followed by all kings, but it is well-known how even legislative enactments are carried out by the subordinate staff in all countries including those of the West One has only to turn to Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' for some indication of the administration of Poor Laws and work-houses in England about a hundred years ago

As regards the king's daily routine Kaut I 19, Manu VII. 145-147, 216-226, Yāj. I. 327-333, Śukranīti I. 276–285, Agnipurāna 235, Visnudharmottara II.151, Bhāgavata X 70 4–17, Nītiprakāśikā VIII. 9 ff, Rājanītiprakāśa pp 153–169 and other works lay down

78. शालाप्रपातडागानि देवतायतनानि च । ब्राह्मणावसथाश्चैव कर्तव्यं ह्युपसर्पतैः ॥ अनुशासनपर्व quoted in परा मा. I. part 1 p 466.

detailed rules, which have been already set out (H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 805–806) Every day on rising from his bed the king was advised (by Manu VII. 37) to wait upon brāhmanas learned in the three Vedas and endowed with wisdom and to abide by their directions. Vas. I. 39–41, Gaut. XI. 13–14 say the same. In giving this advice exaggerated claims were made for brāhmanas which have been already set out before Vide H. Dh. vol II pp. 135–136 and Anuśāsana 33 2–8. The king was also expected to show himself to all people every day (Ayodhyā 100 51, Sabhā 5. 90)[79].

An extremely high ideal was placed before the king by the Kautilīya, the Mahābhārata and other works In the Arthaśāstra I. 19 Kautilya[80] proclaims the magnificent ideal 'in the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, in their welfare lies his welfare; the good of the king does not consist in what is pleasing to himself, but what is pleasing to the subjects constitutes his good'. Similar words occur in the Visnudharmasūtra III. last verse[81] The Mahābhārata (Śānti 69. 72–73) purports to quote two verses of Angiras (i.e. Bṛhaspati), one of which says 'of what use is *tapas* to that king or of what use are even sacrifices to him who has well looked after his subjects? He is surely one who knows all dharmas' Kautilya compares the king to the performer of a sacrifice, in which his *vrata*[82] (in the case of the sacrificer observances about food, scratching the body &c.) consists in being ever active, the sacrifice consists in issuing orders for carrying out the business (of the State), the sacrificial fee (that the king pays) is his

79. कच्चिद्दृश्यसे नित्यं मनुष्यान्समलकृतः । सभापर्व 5 90.

80 राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानं यज्ञः कार्यानुशासनम् । दक्षिणा वृत्तिसाम्यं च दीक्षितस्याभिवेचनम् ॥ प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् । नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 19

81. प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तद्दुःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कीर्तिमुत्तमो लोकेस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III last verse quoted in राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 15; कृत्वा सर्वाणि कार्याणि सम्यक् संपाल्य मेदिनीम् । पालयित्वा तथा पौरान् परत्र सुखमेधते ॥ किं तस्य तपसा राज्ञ किं च तस्याध्वरैरपि । सुपालितप्रजो यः स्यात्सर्वधर्मविदेव सः ॥ शान्ति 69 72–73. These words remind one of the famous proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1857 (called an impossible charter by a notably energetic but retrograde Viceroy) which breathes the same high and noble sentiments 'in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward'.

82 Vide Āp Sr X 12–15, Baud Sr VI. 6 for long lists of observances (*vratas*) some of which are set out in H Dh. vol II pp 1139–1140 and *ibid* p. 1135 for the bath of the sacrificer.

impartiality to all (lit behaving in the same way to all), and his coronation corresponds to the bath of the person who is consecrated for a sacrifice Śāntiparva [83] (56. 44 and 46) and Nītiprakāśikā VIII 2 declare that a king like a pregnant woman should not do what is pleasing to him, but what would conduce to the good of the people and the ancient dharma for a king is to keep the subjects contented. In Śānti 90 1 and 5 it is said 'the king is there for the upholding of dharma and not for acting as he likes and that all beings have to depend on dharma which in its turn depends on the king'. In Udyogaparva 118. 13–14 a king exclaims 'the wealth I possess is for the benefit of the urban and rural population and not for my own enjoyment; for, that king who at his sweet will gives away what (really is not his but) belongs to others does not become endowed with spiritual merit nor with fame'. King Marutta is warned by his grand-mother in the Mārkandeya [84] (130. 33–34) that the king's body is not meant for pleasures but for undergoing great trouble in protecting the earth and carrying out his duties Ancient writers loved to dwell upon the rule of the king as paternal. Kaut. II 1 states that the king should favour like a father those who are outside the rules for remission of taxes Yāj I. 334 requires the king to be like a father to his subjects and servants Vide Śānti 139. 104–105 for the same idea. [85] In the Rāmāyana II. 2. 28–47 and V 35. 9–14 the virtues of the prince Rāma are set out in great detail, where it is said that Rāma behaved like a father (II. 2 39), that he sympathized with the people in their sorrows and was pleased like a father when the subjects celebrated festivals The Rāmāyana [86] III 6 11 declares that it would be a great *adharma* on the part of that king who takes a

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83. लोकरञ्जनमेवात्र राज्ञां धर्मः सनातन । शान्ति. 57 11; यथा हि गर्भिणी हित्वा स्वं प्रियं मनसोऽनुगम् । गर्भस्य हितमाधत्ते तथा राज्ञाप्यसंशयम् ॥ वर्तितव्यं कुरुश्रेष्ठ सदा धर्मानुवर्तिना । स्वं प्रियं तु परित्यज्य यद्यल्लोकहितं भवेत् ॥ शान्ति 56 45–46; the first is नीतिप्रकाशिका VIII. 2 which reads the last pāda तथा कुर्यात्प्रजाहितम्. धर्मार्थं राजा भवति न कामकरणाय तु । ... धर्मं तिष्ठन्ति भूतानि धर्मो राजनि तिष्ठति ॥ शान्ति 90 1 and 5 पौरजानपदार्थं तु ममार्थो नात्मभोगतः ॥ कामतो हि धनं राजा यः पारक्यं प्रयच्छति । न स धर्मेण धर्मात्मन्युज्यते यशसा न च ॥ उद्योग 118 13–14.

84. राज्ञां शरीरग्रहणं न भोगाय महीपते । क्लेशाय महते पृथ्वीरक्षधर्मपरिपालने ॥ मार्कण्डेय 130 33–34.

85. पिता भ्राता गुरुः शास्ता बन्धिर्वैश्रवणो यमः । सप्त राज्ञो गुणानेतान्मनुराह प्रजापतिः । पिता हि राजा लोकस्य प्रजानां यौऽनुकम्पिता । शान्ति 139. 104–105.

86. अधर्मः सुमहाञ्जाथ भवेत्तस्य महीपतेः । यो हरेद् बलिषड्भागं न च रक्षति पुत्रवत् ॥ अरण्यकाण्ड 6 11.

sixth part of the produce (of fields) and does not protect his subjects as if they were his children. These sentiments are echoed by classical poets like Kālidāsa in the Śākuntala V. 5 and VI. 23 and the Raghuvaṁśa (I. 24) In the Harsacarita (V) the dying king Prabhākaravardhana consoles his young and favourite son Harsa by exhorting him to reflect over the idea that kings are to be deemed to have relatives in their subjects and not merely in agnates.[86a] Asoka also in his Edicts harps on the paternal relation 'all men are my children' (the first separate Jaugadh Edict, C. I. I. vol I pp. 111 and 114).

There were, it appears, several grades of rulers from the most ancient times The word *rājan* occurs in numerous places in the Rgveda. It is applied to such gods as Mitra and Varuna (Rg. VII 64 2), Varuna (Rg I 24 12 and 13, X. 173. 5) It appears to be used in two senses, viz (1) 'king' as in Rg. I. 65 7, III. 43. 5 ('will you make me the protector of people, the king, O Indra'), IV. 4 1, IX. 7. 5, X. 174. 4) and (2) 'noble' as in Rg. IX. 10. 3, X. 78. 1, X. 97. 6 ('where the plants come together as nobles in an assembly' *rājānaḥ samitāviva*). In Rg. VIII. 21 18 it is said[87] 'Citra who gave thousands and ten thousands is the only king, others are only small chiefs along the bank of the Sarasvatī'. The word 'samrāj' is known to the Rgveda and is used as an epithet of Varuṇa (in Rg. VI. 68. 9) and of Indra (in Rg VIII. 16. 1) and the word sāmrājya also occurs in relation to Varuna in Rg I. 25 10. In Rg. VIII. 37. 3 Indra is said to be sole ruler of the world (*ekarāṭ*) It is not unlikely therefore that the idea of an emperor who had suzerainty over several kings was known, though it is possible that in Rg. VIII. 37. 3 the word is used only in a metaphorical sense. In Rg VII. 83. 7–8[87a] it is said that ten kings though they formed a confederacy could not vanquish king Sudās and that in the ten kings' battle (*dāśarājñe*) Indra and Varuna helped Sudās who was surrounded by them on all sides. A very large number of kings is mentioned by name in numerous places in the Rgveda (e. g. I. 53. 8 and 10, I. 54. 6, I. 100 17, VII. 33. 2, VIII. 3. 12, . VIII. 4. 2) Besides these it appears that there were

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86a. प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजानो न ज्ञातिभिः। हर्षचरित V.

87. चित्र इद्राजा राजका इदन्यके यके सरस्वतीमनु। पर्जन्य इव ततनद्धि वृष्ट्या सहस्रमयुता ददत्॥ ऋ. VIII. 21. 18.

87a दश राजानः समिता अयज्यवः सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणा न युयुधुः।...दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदास इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम्। ऋ. VII. 83. 7–8.

tribal chiefs or governments of such clans or tribes as the Anus, Druhyus, Turvasas, Pūrus, Yadus (Rg I 108 8, all in the plural, VII 18 6 and VIII 6 46) But sometimes these words are used in the singular, when they mean 'a king or chief of that clan'. Vide Rg VIII. 4. 7, VIII. 10 5, IV 30 17 In the Atharvaveda III 4 1 (may you shine forth as the sole ruler of men) that word (*ekarāt*) is used in its literal sense and in Atharva VI 98.1 (may[87b] Indra conquer and may he never be defeated, may he shine as the overlord among kings) the idea of an emperor (*adhirāja*) is clearly set forth In Rg. X 128 9[88] the word 'adhirāja' must be taken in the same sense The Atharvaveda speaks of an Ugra which word seems to mean a formidable king (or emperor) 'Then you chase away disease as a formidable (king) who is in the midst (of many kings presses hard each of them)' IV 9 4 In the Atharvaveda III. 4. 3 it is said 'May the *ugra* see a lot of tribute'. In Rg X 34 8 the word *ugra* has probably the same sense viz 'a formidable king' In the Tai S II. 6 2. 2 it is said that men are held (supported or restrained) by the king (tasmād rājñā manusyā vidhrtāh) In the Tai S I. 8 10 2 occur[89] the words in the *Ājñā* formula recited in the Rājasūya 'May the gods extract for men great power, great overlordship, great sovereignty over people, this, O Bharatas, is your king, while Soma is king of us brāhmanas'. The exact relation of the two words 'ādhipatya' and 'jānarājya' is not clear. Similar words occur in Vāj S IX 40 and X. 18 and in Kāthaka XV 5 In the Ait Br (39 1) it is said[90] that 'whoever desires the king to attain supremacy over all kings, to attain to the rank of emperor and desires that he be the supreme ruler, the sole emperor (ekarāt) of the whole earth bounded by the sea up to its very extremities should be consecrated and crowned with the *Aindra Mahābhiseka* after making him take an oath.' In this passage the meanings of the words 'bhaujya', 'svārājya', 'vairājya' and 'pārameṣṭhya' in

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87b इन्द्रो जयाति न परा जयाता अधिराजो राजसु राजयातै। अथर्ववेद VI 98 1

88 ये न सपत्ना अप ते भवन्त्विन्द्राग्निभ्यामव बाधामहे तान्। वसवो रुद्रा आदित्या उपरिस्पर्शं मोग्रं चेत्तारमधिराजमक्रन्॥ ऋ X 128 9.

89. ये देवा देवसुवः स्थ त इममामुष्यायणममित्राय सुवध्वं महते क्षत्राय महत आधिपत्याय महते जानराज्यायेय वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा। तै स I 8. 10. 2 Vide *H Dh* vol II p 1217 and n 2651.

90 स य इच्छेदेवंवित्क्षत्रियमयं .. सर्वाल्लोकान्विन्देतायं सर्वेषां राज्ञां श्रैष्ठ्यमतिष्ठा परमतां गच्छेत साम्राज्य भौज्यं स्वाराज्य वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्य राज्यं माहाराज्यमाधिपत्यमयं समन्तपर्यायी स्यात्सार्वभौमः सार्वायुष आन्तादापरार्धात् पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एकराडिति तमेतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण क्षत्रिय शापयित्वाभिषिञ्चेत्। ऐ ब्रा 39 1.

relation to sovereignty over people are not clear. They are probably hyperbolical and grandiloquent words to convey supreme power. Even a brāhmana, according to vedic texts, may perform the Vājapeya if he desires 'svārājya' which means supereminence. Parameshthin means 'Prajāpati' and so pārameṣṭhya simply means godlike power. Further there is no apparent reason why, after rising high from sāmrājya to 'pārameshthya' there should be a descent to mere 'rājya' and 'māhārājya'. Sāyana[91] takes 'rājya' and 'māhārājya' at the end of the passage as referring to the position of the king in the next world. This is rather far-fetched. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part 1 pp. 89–90 and p. 133) takes these words to mean 'the Bhaujya constitution &c.' relying on the occurrence of the Bhojas in Aśoka's Rock Edicts V and XIII and in Khāravela's Inscription, on the appearance of Bhojas as rulers in Western India and the town of Bhuj in Cutch and 'vairājya' as kingless system and 'svārājya' as 'self-ruling system'; but this is all unwarranted and is a fair sample of the way in which some of Jayaswal's theories are built up. It passes one's understanding how a paramount sovereign is promised *vairājya* (in Jayaswal's sense) in the Ait. Br. In the Ṛgveda (V. 66. 6) we have the word 'svarājya' (which probably means the same thing as 'svārājya') in 'Let us strive for an all-embracing sovereignty, which will afford protection to many'[92]. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana the distinction between a king (rājan) and an emperor is very clearly expressed as follows: 'For, by offering the Rājasūya he becomes king and by the Vājapeya he becomes emperor; and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor higher' (V. 1. 1. 13). Śatapatha IX. 3 4. 8 contains the same idea again. In Śatapatha I 6. 4 21 it is said 'before the slaying of Vrtra he was Indra, it is true; but after slaying Vrtra he became Mahendra, even as a king (rājan) becomes a mahārāja after obtaining victory'. These passages are sufficient to establish that the idea of a suzerainty extending over many kingdoms was known in the times of the Ṛgveda and had been fully developed before the composition of the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmanas.

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91. सायण (on ऐ आ. 37 2 where also these words occur) explains 'साम्राज्यं धर्मेण पालनं भौज्यं भोगसमृद्धि स्वाराज्यमपराधीनत्वं वैराज्यमितरेभ्यो भूपतिभ्यो वैशिष्ट्यम्। एतदुक्तमैहिकम्। अथामुष्मिकमुच्यते। पारमेष्ठ्यं प्रजापतिलोकप्राप्तिः। तत्र राज्यमैश्वर्यं माहाराज्यं तत्रत्येभ्य इतरेभ्य आधिक्यम्।'; वायुपुराण 45. 87 says 'अयं लोकस्तु वै सम्राडन्तरीक्षो विराट्स्मृतः। स्वराडन्यः स्मृतो लोकः पुनर्वक्ष्यामि विस्तरम्।'

92. आ यद्वामीयचक्षसा मित्र वयं च सूरयः। व्यचिष्ठे बहुपाय्ये यतेमहि स्वराज्ये ॥ ऋ. V. 66. 6.

The Aitareya Brāhmana mentions by name twelve emperors of ancient India and the Śatapatha thirteen (XIII. 5 4 1-19) Pāṇini explains (V. 1. 41-42) 'sārva-bhauma' as 'the lord of the whole earth'. The Amarakośa states that the words 'rāj', 'pārthiva', 'kṣmābhṛt', 'nṛpa', 'bhūpa' and 'mahīkṣit' are synonyms and mean 'king', that a king before whom all feudatories humble themselves is styled 'adhīśvara', 'cakravartin', 'sārvabhauma' i. e these three last words are synonyms The word 'cakravartin' is derived[93] by Kṣīrasvāmin as 'one who wields lordship over a circle of kings' or 'who makes the circle (i e kingdom) abide by his orders'. The word 'cakravartin', though not so ancient as 'sārvabhauma', has been employed from very ancient times The Maitrī Upaniṣad 1 4 mentions[94] 15 cakravartins The Rājanītiprakāśa (p. 58) quotes[95] a passage from the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana (III. 5. 2) 'the priest should perform the coronation with the Ekavṛṣa Sāman for that king whom he desires to be the sole ruler and whose circle of territory (he does not desire) to be overwhelmed (by an enemy)'. Here probably is one of the earliest references to the derivation of the word cakravartin. In the Mahāvagga (Selasutta, S B E. vol X p 102), Lord Buddha is made to say 'I am a king, an incomparable, religious king (dharmarāja); with justice (dhammena) I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible'. Here the idea of the secular cakravartin is carried into the moral and spiritual sphere. In the Nānāghāt Inscription (of about 200 B C) occurs the word 'apratihatacakasa' (i. e —cakrasya) Vide A S W I, vol. V p 50 at p.60. Khāravela is styled Kalinga-cakravartin in the Mañchapuri record of his chief queen (E I. vol XX p 86n), 'supavatavijaya-caka' (supravṛttavijaya-cakra, in l. 14) and 'pavata-caka' (pravṛtta-cakra in l 17) of his Hāthigumphā Inscription (E I. vol. XX at pp. 88-89) Kautilya (IX. 1) defines the land of the cakravartin[96] as the territory on the earth spreading towards the

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93. नृपचक्रे राजके वर्तते स्वाम्येन चक्रं राष्ट्रं वर्तयति वा चक्रवर्ती। क्षीरस्वामी

94. अथ किमेतैर्वा परेन्ये महाधनुर्धराश्चक्रवर्तिन. केचित्सुद्युम्नभूरिद्युम्नेन्द्रद्युम्नकुवलयाश्वयौवनाश्वबभ्रुश्वाश्वपतिशशबिन्दुहरिश्चन्द्राम्बरीषननक्षु (नहुष?) सर्यातिययात्यनरण्याक्षसेनादयः। मैत्री उप I. 4.

95. यमेवं कामयेतैकराज स्यादाहार्य चक्रं प्रतिहन्येतेत्येकवृषेणाभिषिञ्चेत्। सामविधानब्राह्मण III. 5 2, 9 in राजनीतिप्र p 58 सायण paraphrases चक्रं by मण्डलम्.

96. देशः पृथिवी तस्या हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणमविषम्यक्चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्। कौटिल्य IX 1; कुमारीपुरात्प्रभृति चिन्तुसरोवधि योजनानां दक्षशती चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्। तं विजयमानश्चक्रवर्ती भवति। काव्यमीमांसा p 92 Vide Jayaswal's 'History of India' plate IV after p 211 where there is a wheel with eight spokes on a pillar with an inscription (*vākāṭakānām*).

north from the sea to the Himālaya, which is a thousand *yojanas* in extent when measured in a straight line. The same idea occurs in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (p. 92). Kautilya also employs the expression 'cāturanto rājā' (a king of the earth up to its four boundaries). Śānti-parva[97] speaks of a ruler who brings the whole earth under one umbrella. On the birth of Harsa, the chief astrologer told his father Prabhākaravardhana that the boy would be the leader of the seven cakravartins (Harsacarita IV). In some works the six cakravartins are said to be Māndhātā, Dhundhumāra, Hariścandra, Purūravas, Bharata, Kārtavīrya. The Sabhāparva (15. 15-16) mentions five emperors of old viz. Yauvanāśva (Māndhātā), Bhagīratha, Kārtavīrya, Bharata and Marutta. Vide Dr. N. N. Law's 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity' pp. 17-21 for exhaustive lists of ancient emperors, from the Mahābhārata, the Śatapatha Brāhmana and other works. This ideal of cakravartin was set before them by all ambitious and energetic Indian rulers from ancient times. The result was that constant wars took place. We have a galaxy of historical emperors that emulated such mythical heroes and emperors as Māndhātā and Bharata and practically realized the ideal. To name only a few, Candragupta, Aśoka, Pusyamitra, Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśivas, Pravarasena Vākātaka, Samudragupta and Harsa are great names in our ancient history. Even if this ideal of universal empire had not been there, wars could not have been avoided. That was a very usual thing everywhere in the ancient world. Only about 700 years ago, Britain, which is a very small country compared to India, had three kingdoms engaged in constant warfare.

The Matsya-purāna (114 9-10) first gives the dimensions of Bharata-varsa from South to North (from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges) as one thousand yojanas, states that its extent is ten thousand yojanas (when measured upwards across the boundaries) and that on all borders of it there are Mlecchas and that Yavanas and Kirātas dwell to its east and west (verse 11) and that the king who conquers the whole of Bharatavarsa is styled 'samrāt' (verse 15). Vide Brahmapurāna 17. 8 ff for almost the same words. The Śukranītisāra (I. 183-187) states that a sāmanta is one whose yearly revenue is from 1 to 3 lakhs of silver karsas without oppressing the people, the revenue of a māṇḍalika is from 4 to 10 lakhs, that of a rājan is from 11 to 20

97. य इमां पृथिवीं कृत्स्नामेकच्छत्रां प्रशास्ति ह। शान्तिपर्व.

lakhs, of a mahārāja from 21 to 50 lakhs, of a svarāt from 51 lakhs to a crore, of a virāt from two crores to ten, of the sārvabhauma (who wields suzerainty over the whole earth i. e Bharatavarsa) from 11 crores to 50. Though these definitions may be regarded as scholastic and too rigid to have been practically followed they do convey a sufficiently clear idea about the power of a feudatory, a king and an emperor. The Sabhāparva[98] (15. 2) says 'there are kings in each house, who do what pleases them, but they do not reach the position of emperor, which title can be acquired with great difficulty', and 'that king under whose sole dominion the world abides secures the position of *samrāj*'. In these and other places 'world' means 'Bharatavarsa' for which see H. Dh vol. II pp 17–18. Sovereignty (sāmrājya) consisted in ancient India not necessarily or invariably in acquiring control over vassal kings in all their affairs Generally the supreme ruler did not hanker after territory so much as after having his superior prowess acknowledged. The descriptions of *digvijayas* (world conquests) in the Mahābhārata (e g. of Pāndu in Ādi 113, of Arjuna and the other Pāndava brothers in Sabhā, chap. 26–32) show that there was no aggrandizement by acquiring fresh territory but all that was desired was to make the several kings submit and pay tribute or offer presents Arjuna expressly says in Sabhā 25 3 that he would bring tribute from all kings and the conquered kings are generally represented as submitting and making presents of gems, golds, horses, cows to the conqueror. The Allahabad stone pillar[99] Inscription of Samudragupta (Gupta Ins p 8) states that the *pratyanta* (bordering) kings of Samatata and other countries and the Mālava and other tribal oligarchies fully gratified Samudragupta's commands by giving all tribute, by obeying his orders and by coming to perform obeisance Śānti 96 insists that conquests should be made according to dharma Empire did not mean imposition of the language or the government system of the conqueror on the conquered country The conqueror's duty as understood by ancient Indian works was quite different

98 गृहे गृहे हि राजान स्वस्य स्वस्य प्रियंकराः । न च साम्राज्यमाप्नोति सम्राडशब्दो हि कृच्छ्रभाक् ॥ सभा 15 2, प्रभुर्यस्तु परो राजा यस्मिन्नेकवशे जगत् । स साम्राज्य महाराज प्राप्तो भवति योगत ॥ सभा 14. 9–10.

99 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप ..... कर्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिर्मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानिककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च सर्वकरदानाज्ञाकरणप्रणामागमनपरितोषित-प्रचण्डशासनस्य । Gupta Inscriptions p. 8.

as will be presently shown. Kautilya (XII. 1) declares[100] that there are three kinds of invaders, viz. *dharmavijayin* (who is satisfied with mere submission or obeisance), *lobhavijayin* (who is satisfied with gain in land and money), *asuravijayin* (who is not satisfied with land and money only but robs the defeated king of his son, wife and life). The Nitivākyāmrta (pp. 362–363, Yuddhasamuddeśa) defines the three almost in the same words. This shows that in the first two kinds of conquests the conquered state retained its own institutions, organization and government intact. Bāna gives[101] in very striking language what Harsa proclaimed when he started against the treacherous king of Gauḍa and on *digvijaya*. It appears that even the queens of vanquished chiefs had to perform the duties of maids at the time of the coronation of the emperor and empress, as queen Yaśomatī says to Harsa (in Harsacarita V). Vide Sabhā 31. 73–74 where Bibhīsana is said to have come with presents to Sahadeva. Aśoka (in Kalsi Edict No. XIII in C. I. I. I, pp. 44 and 46, ed by Hultzsch) speaks of his conquest being *dharma-vijaya*. This means that he foreswore greed and cruelty and wanted that his influence be only acknowledged. The Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (of Kāñcī) who had performed the Agnistoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices calls himself *dhamma-mahārājādhirāja* (a dharma-vijayī emperor) in E. I. vol. I. p. 5. In the Dudia plate of Pravarasena II, Prthvīsena is styled dharma-vijayin (E. I. vol. III p. 258 at p. 261). Samudra-gupta's conquest of South India seems to have been only a dharmavijaya. As time went on the titles of kings grew in grandiloquence. Aśoka whose empire extended at least from Afganistan to the Bay of Bengal and included some part of the Deccan and Mysore calls himself '*rājō*'. Khāravela is styled only mahārāja and Kalingādhipati in the Hāthigumphā Inscription.

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100. त्रयोभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति । तेषामभ्यवपत्त्या धर्मविजयी तुष्यति । तमभ्यवपद्येत । परेषामपि भयाद् भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तुष्यति तमर्थेनाभ्यव-पद्येत । भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारप्राणहरणेनासुरविजयी तं भूमिद्रव्याभ्यासुपगृह्याशाः प्रतिकुर्वीत । कौटिल्य XII 1, स धर्मविजयो राजा विधेयमात्रेणैव सन्तुष्टः प्राणार्थाभिमानेषु न व्यभिचरति । स लोभविजयी राजा यो द्रव्येण कृतप्रीतिः प्राणाभिमानेषु न व्यभिचरति । सोऽसुरविजयी यः प्राणार्थमानोपघातेन महीमभिलषति । नीतिवा. pp. 362–363. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 145 21 for धर्मविजयी king and अधर्मविजयी.

101. सर्वेषां राज्ञां सज्जीक्रियन्तां कराः करदानाय शस्त्रग्रहणाय वा गृह्यन्तां दिशश्चा-मराणि वा नमन्तु शिरांसि धनूंषि वा कर्णपूरीक्रियन्तामाज्ञा मौर्व्यो वा शेखरीभवन्तु पाद-रजांसि शिरस्त्राणि वा घटन्तामञ्जलयः करिघटाबन्धा वा मुच्यन्तां भूमय इषवो वा समा-लम्ब्यन्तां वेत्रयष्टयः कुन्तयष्टयो वा सृष्टिः क्रियतामात्मा मज्जरणनखेषु कृपाणदर्पणेषु वा । हर्षचरित VI.

Huviska, the Kusana emperor, is styled *Mahārāja-rājātirāja-devaputra* (E I. vol. I. pp. 371, 386). Samudragupta is simply mahārāja (Gupta Inscriptions p 8). But later emperors styled themselves paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja (Gupta Inscriptions p. 70, Indore copperplate of Skandagupta of Gupta year 146 i. o. 465–66 A. D.) or sometimes 'parama-bhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara' (Gupta Inscriptions No. 39, p. 176 copperplate of the Valabhi king Śīlāditya in 447 of the Valabhi era i. e 766–67 A. D). Ancient works are not very particular about the epithets they employ when speaking of a king or an emperor Sānti (68 54) says that a king is praised with the epithets rājan, bhoja, virāt, samrāt, ksatriya, bhūpati and nrpa.[102] Dasaratha is styled rājā in Ayodhyā 2 2. and mahārāja in 18.15 and 57.32. The Rājanītiratnākara (pp 3–4) holds that kings are of three kinds; viz. emperor (samrāt), one who pays tribute and one who does not pay even tribute (but is not a samrāṭ), quotes several verses from a work of Nārada on politics and states that the words cakravartin, samrāt, adhīsvara and mahārāja are synonyms. Kings aspiring to be called samrāt performed the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha in ancient India. The Sabhāparva 13.30 speaks of Rājasūya as fit to be performed by a samrāt. Senāpati Pusyamitra (about 180 B C) is said to have performed two Aśvamedhas (vide E. I vol XX p 54, 57). The Ghosundi Inscription (E I. vol. 16 p. 25 and E I. vol 22 p 198) speaks of Sarvatāta, a great devotee of Visnu, as a performer of Aśvamedha. Khāravela (who was a Jain) performed Rājasūya (E. I. vol. XX at p 79) The Vākātaka king Pravarasena I had performed four Asvamedhas (E. I. vol. III p 258 and Gupta Inscriptions No 55). In the Vākātaka copperplates the Bhāraśivas are extolled as having performed ten Aśvamedhas (E. I. III 258 at p. 260) The Sālankāyana king Vijayadevavarma, whose capital was at Vengi in Āndhra, is said to have performed an Aśvamedha (E. I. IX p 56, about 350 A D) The Cālukya king Pulakeśin I had performed Asvamedha (E. I. vol. VI p 1 and IX. p 100) about 550 A D Pusyamitra is styled simply Senāpati in the Mālavikāgnimitra Act V when he sends a message to his son about attending the Rājasūya in which he had been engaged For the significance of the Abhisecanīya rite in Rājasūya vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 1216–1218. The Kadambas are said to have performed Aśvamedhas in the Nilambur plates (E. I. vol. VIII p. 148) The Visnukundin

102 राजा भोजो विराट् सम्राट् क्षत्रियो भूपतिर्नृपः । य एभिः स्तूयते शब्दैः कस्तं नार्चितुमर्हति ॥ शान्ति 68. 54.

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman performed eleven Aśvamedhas and one thousand Agnistomas (I. H. Q vol. IX p 278). Vide H. Dh. vol II pages 1238–1239 for a few more historic examples of the performers of Aśvamedha.

Kautilya (VII. 16) prescribes that the conqueror should not covet the territory, wealth, sons and wives of the slain (in battle), that he should re-instate the late king's kinsmen in their proper places (or positions), that he should instal the son of the deceased king on the throne of his father and adds that the emperor who kills or imprisons the kings that submit and covets their lands, wealth, sons or wives provokes the *maṇḍala* (the circle of States) and makes it rise against himself. Yājñavalkya (I. 342–43) prescribes that it is the duty of the conqueror to protect the conquered country in the same way as his own country and the conqueror is to respect the customs of the conquered country, its laws and the usages of the families therein

The Visnudharmasūtra[103] (III. 42 and 47–49) enjoins upon the conqueror not to uproot the usages of the conquered country, to establish in its capital some kinsman (of the slain king) and not to destroy the royal family unless it be of low birth Manu (VII. 202–203) and Agnipurāna 236·22 prescribe similar rules. The Rāmāyana (VII. 62·18–19) requires the conqueror, after uprooting the king, to establish another king there in order to ensure stable government. Vide Sānti 33·43–46 quoted above on p. 40. Kātyāyana (q in the Rājanītiprakāśa p. 411) prescribes that even when the (vanquished) king is at fault, the conqueror should not ruin the country (for the fault of the vanquished king), since he (the vanquished king) did not start (on his career of) wrong-doing with the consent of his subjects. The Rājanītiprakāśa draws from this the conclusion that the ministers with whose consent the war was started may be harassed by the conqueror. This advice was generally followed by ancient conquerors and emperors. Rudradāman (150 A. D.) is styled the establisher of kings that had lost their territories (in the Junāgadh Ins., E. I. vol. VIII at p. 44) and in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta it is said that his fame travelled over the whole world because of his

103. परदेशावासौ तद्देशधर्मांश्चोच्छिन्द्यात् । ... राजा परपुरावासौ तु तत्र तत्कुलीनमभिषिञ्चेत् । न राजकुलमुच्छिन्द्यात् । अन्यत्राकुलीनराजकुलात् । वि ष्णुधर्मसूत्र. III 42, 47–49; दुष्टस्यापि नरेन्द्रस्य तद्राज्यं न विनाशयेत् । न प्रजाक्षमतो यस्मादन्यायेषु प्रवर्तते ॥ कात्यायन quoted by राजनीतिप्र p 411, which adds येषामम.त्यादीनामक्षमत्वाऽन्याये मङ्गचित्तान् पीडयेदेवेति ध्येयम्.

having re-established several royal families that had lost their kingdoms (Gupta Inscriptions, p 8). The Śukranītisāra (IV. 7·397–399) requires the conqueror to support the well-behaved son and the queen of the vanquished king or to give a fourth of the conquered kingdom to him and only $\frac{1}{8}$th part of it to one who is not endowed with good qualities and the conqueror may appropriate the whole treasury of the conquered

The coronation of a king was a very solemn and important ceremony. Reasons of space forbid any lengthy treatment but something must be said about it. In the mediæval text-books, various procedures are described from different sources The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 42–112), the Nīti-mayūkha (pp 1–13) and the Rājadharmakaustubha (pp. 237–374), the Rāja Dh K (II. pp. 6–10) quote procedures of coronation from the Ait Br., the Gopatha Br., the Sāmavidhana Br, the Brahmapurāna, the Visnudharmottara and other works The procedure from the Purānas probably originated when persons of the śūdra caste frequently became kings. The Rājanītiprakāśa[104] (p 112) says that there being different procedures of coronation rites based on Vedic texts, some hold, following the dictum of Śabara (on Jaimini II. 4 9), that the coronation rite should comprehend all the different items mentioned in the several vedic texts (provided they do not contradict each other), while others hold that there should be no comprehensive inclusion of all items but each vedic or smrti procedure should be followed separately by itself. Mitramiśra concludes that the purohita should follow that course which is nearest to his own śākhā The Rājadharmakaustubha (p 339) says that as the rite described in the Visnudharmottara contains the largest number of details, one who is able to do so, may follow that Purāna, while for those who cannot do so there is an option or students of the Rgveda may follow the Rgvidhāna mode, of the Sāmaveda the Sāmavidhāna Br and all may follow the Purāna mode of coronation I shall first briefly indicate what procedure was followed in some vedic texts such as the Gopatha Brāhmana, the Sāmavidhāna Br. and in the Grhyasūtras, then point out what was done in the times of the

104. पूर्वोक्तानां श्रौतानामभिषेकाणामविरुद्धानामेकत्रोपसंहारेणैकोभिषेकः कार्यः सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययमेकं कर्मेति न्यायादित्येके । अन्ये तु श्रौतानां स्मार्तानां च तत्तच्छृतिस्मृतिपठितानामङ्गोपसंहारेणैकैकप्रयोगमिच्छन्ति । तदेवं यस्य पुरोहितस्य स्वशाखाविहितत्वेन यः पक्षः सन्निहितस्तेनैव तेनाभिषेकः कार्यः । राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 112 On एकं वा सयोगरूपचोदनारूयाविशेषात्, (Jai II 4 9) Śabara remarks न चैतदस्ति यद्वक्तुं शाखान्तरेषु कर्मभेद इति। सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययं सर्वब्राह्मणप्रत्ययं चैकं कर्म। अर्थसयोगस्याविशेषात्.

epics and set out the prominent items in the procedure of the purāṇas.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (38) describes the Great Coronation of Indra (*Aindra mahābhiṣeka*) and in that connection mentions how the kings of the Sātvatas in the south were called 'Bhoja' after coronation, the kings of the eastern countries were called 'samrāt', the kings in the west were called 'svarāt' and the kings of the north i. e. of countries beyond the Himālaya (viz. Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras) were called 'virāt'. Then (in 39) it states that the ksatriya king is to be made to take an oath and is to be crowned in the manner of the Aindra Mahābhiseka[105]. The oath which the ksatriya is to take before the priest with faith is: 'the merit of sacrifices and good works that belongs to me from the night I was born up to the night on which I shall die, my worlds, good deeds, life, progeny,—these you may destroy if I hate (or prove false to) thee'. Vide note 41 above for the coronation oath in Śānti 59. 106 ff. It will be noticed that this passage of the Ait. Br. contains no undertaking given by the king to the people to rule according to dharma or for their welfare. So this passage cannot strictly be interpreted as postulating a contractual basis for the authority or power of the king, as done by Jayaswal ('in Hindu Polity' part II. p. 28). The Ait. Br. sets out the materials (*sambhāras*) for the coronation of a king (in chap. 39·2) viz. fruits of nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha and plakṣa trees, grains of small rice, large-sized rice, priyangu and barley, a couch of udumbara with span-long feet, a spoon with a four-cornered scooped basin of udumbara and an udumbara vessel, on one of which two the other materials were to be placed and curds, honey, clarified butter and rain water gathered when the sun is shining. The mantras to be recited are mentioned in 39·3–4 and the fee in 39·6. In the Rājasūya (to be performed only by a ksatriya) described in the Brāhmaṇas and sūtras, the principal rite is the Abhisecanīya in which the king is bathed with waters brought from seventeen sources in seventeen vessels of udumbara wood. Vide H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 1216–1218 for the rite. The Rājanītiprakāśa (p. 92–107) explains the procedure of coronation from the Ait. Br. In the Rājasūya, among the preliminary rites are the offerings

105. एतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण क्षत्रियं शापयित्वा अभिषिञ्चेत् ... स ब्रूयात्तह अद्भ्या। यां च रात्रिमजायेहं यां च मेतास्मिन वद्वभयमन्तरेणेष्टापूर्तं मे लोकं सुकृतमाद्धः प्रजां वृङ्गीया यद्दिं ते द्रुह्येयमिति। ऐ. ब्रा. 39. 1.

called 'ratninām havimsi' (the offerings in the houses of the jewels, which are twelve). Vide H. Dh. vol. II pp. 1215-16. They have a symbolical value. The person to be crowned recognizes the importance of his high functionaries and is declared to be their king and they are supposed to approve of him as king. In the Abhisecanīya rite of the Rājasūya, there are two parts, a religious and a popular. First, the adhvaryu and the other priests sprinkle the king with holy water collected from various sources in vessels; then the king's brother, a friendly ksatriya and a vaiśya also sprinkle him with the holy water. This last is symbolic of the popular approval of the coronation.

The Tai Br. II. 7. 15-17 deals with coronation. It first gives the seven mantras for seven *āhutis* that are offered. A tiger skin is spread on which the king is seated and he is sprinkled with holy water in which sprouts of barley and dūrvā grass are mixed up; the king ascends a chariot to the accompaniment of mantras, then the four wheels of the chariot are touched, the purohita and charioteer are addressed with mantras; Anumati, the Earth (as mother), and Heaven (as father) are implored to approve of the coronation, the king is made to look up towards the Sun and then the king looks on the subjects; the king then undergoes shaving when seated on a chair of udumbara wood, then his arms and head are anointed with milk blended with clarified butter

The Nītimayūkha pp. 4-5, Rājanītiprakāśa pp 42-43, Rājadharmakaustubha pp. 335-336 quote a passage from the Gopatha Brāhmana[106] on the rites of coronation as follows.— We shall expound the rite of the coronation of the king Having

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106. आथर्वणगोपथब्राह्मणे—अथ राज्ञोभिषेकविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। बिल्वप्रभृतीन्सम्भारान् संभृत्य षोडशकलशान् षोडश बिल्वानि वल्मीकस्य च मृत्तिकां सर्वाणि सर्वसान् सर्वबीजानि। तत्र चत्वारः सौवर्णाश्चत्वारो राजताश्चत्वारस्ताम्राश्चत्वारो मृन्मया. कुम्भा. । तान् ह्रदे सरसि षोडशसु तो नामैनाम इक्षुदकेन पूरयित्वा वेदिपृष्ठे संस्थाप्य कुम्भेषु बिल्वमेकैक वृथात् । सर्वाश्च सर्वसान् सर्वबीजानि च प्रक्षिप्याभयैरपराजितैराप्युच्यैः स्वस्त्ययने सौवर्णेषु संपातान्, संस्राव्यैः ससिक्तीयैश्चैव राजतेषु, भैषज्यैरहोरात्रेषु, सवेशसवर्णाभ्या शन्तातीयैः प्राणसूक्तेन च मृन्मयेषु। ततस्तान् कलशान् गृहीत्वा श्रोत्रियैः पवित्रवतमै राजानमभिषिञ्चेत् । भूमिमिन्द्रं च वर्धयित्वा क्षत्रिय म इति (इमामिन्द्र वर्धय क्षत्रिय म इति?) सिंहासनमारूढमभिमन्त्रयेत् । एवमभिषिक्तस्तु रसान्प्राश्नीयाद् विमेभ्यश्च, वृषाङ्गोसहस्र सदस्येभ्यः कर्त्रे ग्रामवरम्। विपुलं यशः प्राप्नोति सुरुक्ते धरा जितशत्रुः सदा भवेदिति। राजनीतिप्र. pp. 42-43, राजध कौ. pp. 335-336, नीतिमयूख pp 4-5. There are a few variants due to the scribes and the editors not being able to read the Mss properly. The कौशिकसूत्र 17. 28 reads 'इमामिन्द्र वर्धय क्षत्रिय मे which is अथर्ववेद IV. 22. 1.

collected the materials required such as bilva fruit, viz. sixteen jars, sixteen bilva fruits, earth from an ant-hill, all kinds of husked grains, all liquids, and all kinds of grains (unhusked). There should be four jars each of gold, silver, copper and clay. Having filled them, keeping their mouths up, with water from a deep reservoir of water or a lake to the accompaniment of the mantra 'nāmainām a' (?) and having put the jars down on the surface of the altar, he (the priest) should place one bilva fruit apiece in each of the 16 jars and cast (into the jars) the husked and unhusked grains and all fluids, adding them (to the water) in the golden jars with the mantras called Abhaya (Atharvaveda 19 15), Aparājita, Āyusya (Atharvaveda I. 30) and Svastyayana [107] (Atharvaveda I. 21, VII. 85. 1, VII. 86. 1, VII 117.1), in the silver jars, with the mantras called samsrāvya (Atharvaveda 19.1) and Samsiktiya (Atharvaveda II. 26), in the copper jars with the mantras called Bhaisajya (Atharva VII. 45 'janād') and Amhomuc and in the earthen jars with Samveśa, Saṁvargya and Śantātiya mantras and with the Prāna hymn (Atharvaveda XI. 4). He should then bathe the king with (the water of) the jars held by very holy and learned brāhmaṇas (śrotriyas). He should consecrate the king seated on the throne with the mantra (Atharvaveda IV. 22.1) 'O Indra, make this my ksatriya prosper'. (The king) being thus bathed should eat the several liquids, should make gifts of a thousand cows to the brāhmaṇa priests who assist the chief priest, bestow a good village on the chief priest He (the king) thereby acquires great glory, enjoys the earth and always vanquishes his foes'.

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107 For Svastyayana vide H. Db II. p 83 (*n*). For Āyusya vide Kauśikasūtra 52 18; for Abhaya, Kauśika 16. 8; for Aparājita hymns Kauśikasūtra 14 7 note, for Svastyayana, Kauśika 8. 2 n; the Śantātiya are Atharvaveda I. 6 1, I. 33 1, VII 68, VII 69 1 &c. The Amhomuc verses are Atharva IV 23 29 Vide Nitimayūkha p.25 for Aparājita mantras. The राजधर्मकाण्ड (p. 7) quotes from the अङ्गपुराण a long passage in which the mantras to be recited by the purohita are stated to be these 'ऋषोदश महामन्त्रान् तर्पयेज्जातवेदसि । गणं चैवाप्रतिरथं सत्यधर्मगणौ तथा । आयुष्यमभयं चैव तथा स्वस्त्ययनं परम् । वैष्णवानथ मन्त्रांश्च तथा पौरन्दरानपि । सावित्रबार्हस्पत्यांश्च वारुणानथ सर्वदा' ॥ and explains ऋताषाडिति ऋषोदश मन्त्राः । गणाः ईड्यगन्धाभृतेत्यादयः । अप्रतिरथः आशुः शिशान इति । सत्यगणः आगात्सत्यमिति । धर्मगणः यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुव इति । अभयस्वस्त्ययने यत इन्द्र स्वस्तिदा इति । ऋताषाड् is the first word of वाज. सं. 18, 38, अप्रतिरथ is ऋ X 103, आगात् सत्यम् is तै. ब्रा. III. 12 3 2 and यास्ते अग्ने घोरास्तनुवः is तै. ब्रा I. 1. 7. 3, यत इन्द्र is ऋ. VIII. 61. 13 and स्वस्तिदा is ऋ. X 152 2.

The Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana[108] (III. 5) describes a shorter rite: "(The priest) should crown the king when the moon is in the Pusya or Śravana constellation. Having brought waters (separately in separate jars) from famous holy rivers (like the Ganges)[109] and from the sea and having mixed in them rice, barley, sesame and māsa (black beans) grains and curds, honey, flowers and gold, he should bathe the king seated on an auspicious throne made of udumbara wood on which is spread tiger-skin with the hair outside, from horn-pipes cut off from the horns of living cows to the accompaniment of the *rahasya* mantra 'abhrātrvyah' (you are without an enemy &c, Rg. VIII. 21 13, Sāmaveda 399 and 1489). He should bathe the king to the accompaniment of the Ekavrsa hymn (instead of Rg VIII. 21.13) whom he desires to be the sole ruler (of the earth) and whose circle of kings is desired by him not to be overwhelmed by an enemy. On the priest performing the coronation rite the king should bestow the best village, a hundred maid servants and a thousand oows and (the king) should be obedient to him (the officiating priest)".

The Baud. Grhyaśesasūtra (I. 23) contains the procedure of coronation, the whole of which is quoted by the Bālambhattī on the Mitāksarā on Yāj I 309. It is briefly as follows:—On the 5th or 13th *tithi* of the bright half when the moon is in Pusya or Śravana or in any other auspicious constellation (*naksatra*), two brāhmanas are fed (the day previous). Then a worthy *purohita* is chosen, who mutters certain texts. At sunset the purohita makes a lotus-like circle in which are collected the materials viz. waters of the ocean and of rivers mixed with rice, barley, sesame, māsas and *pañcagavya*, and a *bhadrāsana* made of udumbara, a tiger-skin, and golden jars and horns of cows In the north-east part of the palaoe, a *homa* is performed with eight thousand *āhutis* (oblations) of rice &c to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*, the *Gāyatrī* and the *mantra* to Tryambaka

108. सामविधानब्राह्मणेपि—राजानमभिषेक्ष्यन् तिष्येण श्रवणेन वा । व्रीहियवैस्तिलमाषैर्दधिमधुसुमनोजातरूपैर्यशस्विनीभ्यो नदीभ्यः सङ्गम्याभ्योदकान्याहृत्यौदुम्बरे भद्रासने वैयाघ्रे चर्मण्युत्तरलोमन्यासीनं जीवन्तीनां गवा शृङ्गकोशैरभिषिञ्चेद्भ्रातृव्य इति रहस्येन। यं कामयेतैकराजः स्यादिति नास्य चक्रं प्रतिहन्येतेत्येकर्चेणाभिषिञ्चेत् । अभिषेक्ष्ये दृढग्रामवरं दासीशतं सहस्रं तदधीनश्च भवेत् । इति । सामविधानब्रा III 5 1-3 quoted by राजनीतिप्र p 58 and राजध कौ p 338, both quote the gloss of Mādhavācārya on this

109 The भारशिवs who became allied to the वाकाटकs by marriage are described as भागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां E I vol III p. 258

(Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2). The priest first propitiates the goddess Laksmī with the hymn[110] to Śrī and then washes the crown with cow's urine and dung, milk, curds, clarified butter and with water mixed with *kuśas* to the accompaniment of appropriate mantras, and ties an amulet (*pratisara*), and sprinkles the king and his conveyance (horse). At sunrise next day (the day of coronation) the tiger-skin is spread on the throne, the king sits thereon facing the east, the priest takes the golden jars and sprinkles the king with water falling upon him from the cone-like horns of cows with several mantras (such as those addressed to waters, Varuna &c.). After the king is made to take a bath, a fee of a thousand *nuskas* and a hundred *dāsīs* is paid to the brāhmanas. Then the crown is placed on his head and drums are beaten.

The Kauśikasūtra of the Atharvaveda (in 17.1-10) describes the abhiseka (called *laghu*) performed on the Yuvarāja, Māndalika, Sāmanta and Senāpati and (in 17.11-34) describes the mahābhiseka of the king.

In the Rāmāyana there are numerous references to coronation. In the Yuddhakānda 131 we have a lengthy description of the coronation of Rāma. Some of the salient features are: Rāma was shaved that day, had a bath and put on costly clothes. Sītā also was suitably dressed and ornamented. Rāma sat in a chariot and went through the capital, when Bharata held the reins, Śatrughna held the umbrella, Laksmana the white *chowrie*; then Rāma rode an elephant; drums were beaten and conches were blown; as auspicious signs gold, cows, maidens, brāhmanas, men with sweetmeats in their hands passed in front of Rāma; the citizens had raised banners on every house; Jāmbavān, Hanumān and two others brought four jars full of sea-water and waters of five hundred rivers were brought

110. The Visnudharmottara (II. 128. 2-6) states that the hymn to Srī is different for each veda; the hymn of 15 verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnām harinīm' occurring in the parisista to the Rgveda is the one for Rgvedi, the hymn of four verses beginning with 'rathe aksesu vrsabhasya vāje' (Tai. Br. II 7. 7) is the Śrīsūkta for the Yajurveda, the verse 'srāyanta iva' (267, 1319) for Sāmaveda and 'śriyam dhātur mayi dehi' is the one for Atharvaveda. The Agnipurāna (237. 2-17) contains a hymn to Śrī, which is not vedic but paurānic. Similarly the Rājadharma-kaustubha (pp 367-370) contains a long paurānic hymn (said to have been repeated by Indra) to Śrī which is to be recited while the king was to be seated on the throne after coronation. It is taken from the Visnupurāna I. 9.

in jars; the aged Vasiṣṭha, the family priest, seated Rāma and Sītā on a jewelled throne; Vasistha and other sages sprinkled Rāma with the holy and scented waters, then maidens, the ministers, soldiers, the guilds of merchants also sprinkled Rāma; Vasistha placed an ancient crown on Rāma's head, there was dancing and singing; Rāma gave presents to the priests and to his friends and to such helpers as Sugrīva, Angada, Bibhīsana and others and Sītā gave a necklace to Hanumān. In the Ayodhyākānda 15 we have a description of preparations for the abhiseka of Rāma as yuvarāja. The Raghuvamsa XVII. 10 mentions the coronation of Kuśa's son with waters of holy rivers (tīrthas) from golden jars.

In the Mahābhārata also there are several references to and descriptions of coronation. Vide Sabhā 33 (where people of all castes including sūdras were invited at the Rājasūya, vv 41–42) for the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira; Śānti 40 (in verses 9–13 the materials for coronation are described); Ādi 44, 85, 101 (only references).

The sambhāras (materials required) of coronation are stated in the Pratimānātaka (I. 1) ascribed to Bhāsa and in the Pañcatantra III (after verse 75)

In the Agnipurāna, chap 218 deals with coronation and chap 219 sets out the mantras The following are the principal items in the ceremony; bath (with water in which sesame and mustard are mixed), seating on bhadrāsana, proclamation of *abhaya* (security and non-injury to all), releasing some prisoners from jail, Aindrī Śānti, fast by king, recital of mantras, sanctifying the head and other limbs of the king with earth taken from the top of a mountain and from other places, sprinkling *pañcagavya*, sprinkling of water from four jars of gold, silver, copper and earth by amātyas of the four varnas, *abhaseka* by a Rgvedin with water mixed with honey, by Chandoga with water mixed with kusa grass, by Yajurvedin and Atharvavedin brāhmanas touching king's head and throat with yellow pigment, singing and beating of musical instruments, holding of chowrie and fan before the king, king's looking into a mirror and clarified butter, worship of Visnu and other gods, sitting on a tiger-skin below which there are four skins viz of lion, *cheeta*, cat and bull; purohita to give madhuparka, to tie patta (a fillet or tiara) round the king's head and to place the crown on his head; presentation of ministers by the *pratihāra*;

king to give presents to the priests and other brāhmaṇas; going round fire; doing obeisance to eldors; touching a bull; worshipping a cow with calf; riding a horse; honouring an elephant and riding it; procession in the capital; honouring all people and taking leave of them.

There are descriptions of the abhiṣeka of a yuvarāja (as of Bhīma in Śānti 41), of a great commander (as of Bhīṣma in Udyogaparva 155.26-32), of Droṇa in Droṇaparva 5.39-43, of Skanda in Śalyaparva 45.

The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 49-83), the Rājadharma-kaustubha (pp. 318-363) and Nītimayūkha pp. 1-4 quote from the Viṣnudharmottara almost the whole of chapters 21-22 of the 2nd khaṇḍa that deal with the rites and mantras of coronation. It appears that the Kaustubha appropriates all the glosses of Mitramiśra. The Viṣnudharmottara (II. 19) sets out first the Śānti (propitiatory) rite in honour of Indra (called the Paurandarī or Aindrī Śānti). It is impossible to give the details here, but a few matters may be noticed. The purāṇa (in II. 21) includes all the details from the Vedic texts (such as Svastyayana, Āyuṣya, Abhaya and Aparājita hymns) and adds other rites also. It mentions the procedure stated above from the Agnipurāṇa and employs Vedic mantras in doing so. In II. 22 the Viṣnudharmottara gives purāṇa mantras in 182 verses, in which such gods as Brahmā, Nakṣatras (from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī), the planets, 14 Manus, 11 Rudras, Viśve-Devas, Gandharvas and Apsarases, dānavas, dākinīs, birds like Garuḍa, nāgas, sages like Veda-Vyāsa, emperors like Pṛthu, Dilīpa, Bharata, vedas and vidyās, rivers &c. are invoked to crown the king.

The Rājadharmakaustubha gives the most elaborate description of coronation. First a śānti rite is performed, then on the next (2nd) day, a sacrifice to Īśāna (Rudra); on the 3rd day worship of the planets and other deities like waters, the earth, Nārāyaṇa, Indra &c and the invocation of nakṣatras; on the 4th day a *yāga* for nakṣatras; on the 5th day at night a sacrifice to the goddess Nirṛti (a clay idol seated on an ass with dark vesture); on the sixth day Aindrī Śānti (propitiatory rite in honour of Indra); then the rites prescribed in the Viṣnudharmottara purāṇa.

The Viṣnudharmottara notes (II. 18. 2-4) that on the death of the reigning king, there is no waiting for an auspicious time.

The successor should be bathed with water in which sesame and mustard are mixed, proclamation should be issued in his name that he has succeeded as king, the purohita and astrologer should show him to the people while he occupies a seat other than that occupied by the late king ; the king should honour the people, proclaim peace and security, set free some prisoners and wait for the formal coronation. The Rājanītiprakāśa (p. 62) adds that on the death of a king his successor should be crowned one year thereafter and that when a king abdicates his successor may be crowned on any auspicious day without waiting for a year. From the fact that the Kaliṅga king Khāravela was crowned in his 25th year and the fact that the Bārhaspatya-sūtra [111] (I. 89–90) states that up to the 25th year the prince may spend his time in play and education and then in earning wealth, Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II. p 52) concludes that a Hindu coronation could not take place before the 25th year This is proving too much. The Bārhaspatya-sūtra says not a word about the *age of coronation* Authorities like the Visnu-dharmottara require waiting for a year only after the death of the former king.

The Visnudharmottara [112] (II. 7) specifies at great length the qualities of the principal queen (*agra-mahisī*), which are quoted by the Rājanītikaustubha pp. 249–250 The chief queen should have the coronation rite performed along with the king or she should be separately crowned after the king. Manu VII. 77 advises the king to marry a lady of noble family, of the same caste, of charming appearance and possessed of good qualities. The Rājatarangiṇī (VIII. 82) notes that Jayamati, the queen of the good king Uccala of Kashmir (1101–1111 A. D.) always occupied half his throne.

The Nītimayūkha and Rājadharmakaustubha give the most detailed description of the Aindrī Śānti. For want of space it has to be passed over. The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 63–66) and Rājadharmakaustubha (pp 340–346) contain in one place a summary of the whole ceremony after Aindrī Śānti commencing one day previous to the actual day of coronation. One detail of the

111. पञ्चविंशतिवर्षं यावत् क्रीडाविद्या व्यसनात् कुर्यात् । अत उत्तरमर्थार्जनम् । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र I. 89–90

112 एवं गुणगणोपेता नरेन्द्रेण सहानघ । अभिषेच्या भवेद्राज्ये राज्यस्थेन नृपेण वा ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 7. 8 on which रा. ध कौ. p 249 remarks राज्ञा सहाग्रमहिषी अभिषेक्तव्या अथवा अभिषिक्तेन राज्ञा पश्चात्स्वयमभिषेक्तव्या इत्युक्तम् ।

rites is interesting, viz. after the learned brāhmaṇas and priests sprinkle the king with holy waters from several jars to the accompaniment of mantras and a Ṛgvedin brāhmaṇa touches the king's head and throat with powder of *gorocanā* with the mantra 'gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ā. X. 1.10), principal virtuous ladies, whose sons are alive, of the four varṇas and also of mixed castes reciting auspicious songs (except the śūdra ladies who remain silent) should sprinkle the king with the waters derived from the sea and other holy places.[113] There is a graphic description of the coronation of Shivaji[113a] the founder of the Maratha Empire in 1674 A. D. in the chronicle (*bakhar*) compiled by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (ed. by K. N. Sane, pp. 98–104), where it is said that a costly throne was prepared, from 108 places waters were brought in 108 golden jars (95 *tīrthas* are actually named), Gāgābhatta and other brāhmaṇas officiated and sprinkled waters on the king, large gifts including the sixteen mahādānas were made. Eight ministers stood round the throne (whose names and offices are set out), the head of the ecclesiastical department called Panditrao being to the right and the prime minister (mukhya pradhāna) to the left, an umbrella (chatra) set with jewels was held over his head, new golden coins were struck and a new era was started called 'Rājyābhiṣeka' era commencing from that year. In a small work called 'Shivarāja-rājyābhiṣeka-kalpataru' (published in the quarterly Journal of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala at Poona, vol X part I pp. 28–40) in 236 verses it is stated that a Yogin named Niścalapurī, an adept in Tāntrika rites, got a second coronation of Shivaji performed over three months after that performed by Gāgābhatta, with Tāntrika mantras on Wednesday the 5th of the bright half of Āśvina śake 1596, one interesting fact stated being that Shivaji went through a form of marriage with vaidika mantras with his wives that had already been married to him with paurāṇic mantras.

113. ततो मुख्या ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः पतिव्रताः पुत्रवत्यो नार्यो मूर्धाभिषिक्ताश्च यथासम्भवं समुद्रादिनानातीर्थाहृतैर्जलैरभिषिञ्चेयुः। शूद्राद्यास्तूष्णीम् । राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 66. Vide also राजधर्मकौस्तुभ p 346 and नीतिमयूख p. 12 for similar words.

113a. For a detailed and graphic description of the coronation of King Shivaji in 1674 A. D. vide 'Shiva-chatrapatimahārāja-caritra' by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis (ed in 1882) pp. 120–125 (in Marathi). Shivaji's upanayana was performed on the 5th of the bright half of Jyestha, for seven days various rites went on; Vināyakaśānti, Grahaśānti, Aindrī and Pauraṇdarī are said to have been performed and he was actually crowned on the 13th of the bright half of Jyestha In Sambhāji-rāje-caritra by the same author (edited by Rao Bahadur K N Sane, 3rd ed. of 1915) at p. 8 there is a description of the coronation of Sambhāji, son of Shivaji.

The symbols of royalty viz the umbrella, the chowries and the cane stick are brought in to the king by principal ministers The Visnudharmottara (II. 12) states that the *cāmara* for the king must be made from the tails of *camarī* deer and must be all white with a handle of gold or silver and that the one for a councillor or purohita should be yellowish, while the same purāna in 11. 13 describes the requisites of a royal umbrella That the umbrella and cāmaras were inseparable emblems of sovereignty is emphasized by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamsa III. 16 Vide the Bṛhatsamhitā, chap. 71 and 72, for cāmara and umbrella

It appears that sometimes a king took another name on coronation which was called *abhisekanāma* Vide Dr. R C Majumdar's 'Champā' p 157 for a list of such names from Champā and Dr. Minakshi's 'Administrative and social life under Pallavas' p. 39 for the Pallava Rājasimha having the coronation name Narasimhavarman Certain kings, when they performed Aśvamedha, assumed new titles e. g Kumāragupta I seems to have assumed the title of Mahendra, as is clear from some of his coins on which his name and title occur

The Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 48) lays down that the *patta* (tiara) for the king and others should be made of pure gold, that their length should be double of the breadth in the middle of it, that there should be five aigrettes in the king's tiara, three in the queen's and yuvarāja's, one in that of the commander-in-chief and none in the one that the king may give to a person as a mark of favour Utpala in his com on the Brhatsamhitā says that patta is the same as *mukuta*, while acc to the Nītimayūkha (p 13) and other works patta is tied on the forehead and *mukuṭa* (crown) is placed on the king's head Vide Rājanītiprakāsa (pp 54–55) and Rājadharmakaustubha (p. 324) for further details The Visnudharmottara (II. 14) describes the characteristics of *bhadrāsana* (the throne) for the king; vide also Rājanītiprakāśa pp 51–52 It must be made of gold, silver or copper or a tree from which milky juice oozes when cut, it was to be one cubit and half high for a *samrāt*, 1¼ cubit for a king and one cubit high for a feudatory (sāmanta)

The Visnudharmottara (II. 162) states that on every anniversary of the first coronation when the moon is in the same naksatra as that on which the first coronation took place the king should repeat the rites of coronation. The Brahmapurāna

quoted by the R. D. K. (p. 10) also says the same.[113b] Vide Rājanītiprakāśa p. 115 and Kaustubha p. 379 also.

Manu (VII. 217–220) warns the king against poisoning 'The king should partake of food that is well examined and prepared by servants that are trust-worthy (lit. as if they were his own self), that know the proper times (for dining), that cannot be won over and over the food spells destroying poison should have been muttered. He should mix up in all that he partakes medicines that are antidotes against poison and should always wear gems that work against poison. Only women devoted to him and well examined and found safe as regards their dress and ornaments should be allowed to touch him when fanning or bathing him or applying perfumes to his body. The king should take care in this way as regards his vehicles, bed, food, bath, applying perfumes and all ornamentation'. Kām VII. 8 and Matsya 219.10 are very similar to Manu VII. 220. Kautilya (I. 17) states that the king should first secure his personal safety against his sons and wives and then the security of the kingdom against near and distant enemies. He first deals with safety from his own sons, the princes. The opinions of various authors on polity are cited (some of which have been noted above) viz. secret punishment (acc. to Bhāradvāja), keeping under guard in one place (acc. to Viśālākṣa), keeping the prince in a fort under the boundary guard (acc. to the Pārāśaras), keeping the prince away from his own kingdom in a fort belonging to a feudatory (acc. to Piśuna), sending him to his maternal relations (acc to Kaunapadanta), making the prince addicted to sensual pleasures (acc. to Vātavyādhi), proper pre-natal care and proper education after birth about dharma and restraint (acc. to Kaut.). This symposium shows how the problem of the king's safety against bad princes taxed the ingenuity of all ancient writers on Arthasāstra and how Kauṭilya advocated the only reasonable course possible. The Matsyapurāna, chap. 220, also relies on training, discipline and gradual transfer of responsibility and advises the imprisonment of a bad prince in a well-guarded place furnished with comforts suitable to his

113b अनेनैव विधानेन कुर्याद्वर्धापनं सदा। अभिषेकादि यत्नेन प्रतिसंवत्सरं नृपः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण quoted in राजधर्मकाण्ड p 10.

position [114] In I 20 Kautilya gives practical hints against the danger of fire and poisons: e g he says that poisonous snakes will not enter a building provided with Jīvantī, Śvetā and other plants; that cats, peacocks, mongoose and spotted deer when let loose eat serpents, that certain birds like parrots, *mainas*, malbar bird shriek when they suspect snake poison, the heron loses his consciousness in the vicinity of poison, the pheasant (jīvañjīvaka) feels exhausted; the young cuckoo dies, the eyes of *cakora* become redden [115]. Kām (VII 10–13) repeats the words of Kaut 1 20 and the Matsya (219 17–22) refers to the effects of poison on the same birds and a few others The Matsyapurāna in chap 219–220 closely follows Kaut and Kām and appears to be based on them (e g Matsya 219 30 latter half is the same as Kām VII 24 first half) Vide Yaśastilaka III pp 511–512 for the effects of poison on birds almost in the same words as those of Kaut and Kām Vide Śukra I 326–328 Kaut I 21, Kām VII 15–26, Matsya 219 9–32 state that part of the food for the king should first be cast into fire and offered to birds and the effects noted, they dwell at great length on the different tints of the flames of fire and of the smoke when different kinds of food are cast into fire, they point out the actions and gestures of the poisoner, they prescribe that the cook and the doctor giving medicines for mixing in food as antidotes should be made to partake of the food and then the king should himself partake of it The king has to be careful in the harem, when receiving presents or anything sent by others, when sitting in a conveyance or riding a horse or travelling in a boat or when attending festivals (Kaut I 20–21, Kām VII 28–47) Kaut I 20 and Kām (VII 44 and 50) advise the king not to trust women and even the queen and to approach even the queen after she has been examined by men 80 years old and women over 50

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114 गुणाधानमशक्यं तु यस्य कर्तुं स्वभावतः ॥ बन्धनं तस्य कर्तव्यं शुद्धदेशे सुखान्वितम् । अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विशीर्यते ॥ अधिकारेषु सर्वेषु विनीतं विनियोजयेत् । आदौ स्वल्पे ततः पश्चात्क्रमेणाथ महत्स्वपि ॥ मत्स्य 220 5–7 Compare कामन्दक VII 2–6 राजपुत्रा मदोद्धूता गजा इव निरङ्कुशाः । भ्रातरं वाभिनिघ्नन्ति पितरं वाभिमानिनः ॥ ... विनयोपग्रहान् भृत्यैः कुर्वीत नृपतिः सुतान् । अविनीतकुमारं हि कुलमाशु विनश्यति ॥ विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येभिषेचयेत् । दुष्टं गजमिवोद्वृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखबन्धनम् ॥ Vide also अग्निपुराण 225. 3–4 for similar provisions

115. विरज्येते in कामन्दक VII, 12 is explained by the com. as रागरहिते भवतः.

years in the harem and found[115] safe. Kaut. (I. 20) and Kām. (VII. 51-54) both name seven kings that met death in their queen's chambers by the stratagems of the queens themselves or those that were incited by them; viz. Bhadrasena killed by his brother concealed in the chamber of his queen (who was in love with the king's brother), the king of Karūsa killed by his own son who had concealed himself under the bed of the queen (who was angered by the king's promise to give the kingdom to the son of a rival queen), the king of Kāśi killed by his queen who mixed fried rice with poison pretending that it was honey; the queen of the king of Sauvīra killed him with a jewel in her girdle that was smeared with poison; Vairantya was killed by his queen with her anklet smeared with poison; Jalūtha (or Jarūsa in Kām.) was killed with a mirror (with a razor-like edge) covered with poison; Vidūratha was killed by his queen who had concealed a weapon in her braided hair. The Harsacarita (VI) of Bāna mentions with additional details the cases of Bhadrasena king of Kalinga killed by his brother Vīrasena, the king of Karūsa (Dadhra by name), Kāśirāja (named Mahāsena) whose queen Suprabhā killed him to secure the kingdom to her son, Jarūtha king of Ayodhyā, Vairantya named Rantideva, Vidūratha of the Vrsnis killed by Bindumatī, the Sauvīra king Vīrasena killed by queen Hamsavatī. In the Brhatsamhitā (77 1-2) two of these, Vidūratha and Kāśirāja, are mentioned, but the latter is said to have been killed by his estranged queen with an anklet smeared with poison. Medhātithi on Manu VII 153 quotes four of these seven The Nītivākyāmrta (rājaraksāsamuddeśa 35-36, pp. 231-232) sets out six other examples of kings killed by their queens The king has also to beware of treachery from ministers and officials. Kaut. (in I. 10) describes how ancient writers devised methods of ascertaining the purity or impurity of ministers by putting before them allurements regarding dharma, wealth, sexual desires and playing on their fears and gives it as his own opinion that temptations that have direct reference to the king or queen should not be placed in the way of the ministers. In the Harsacarita VI, Skanda-

116. अन्तर्गृहगतः स्थविरस्त्रीपरिशुद्धां देवीं पश्येत्। ...आशीतिकाः पुरुषाः पञ्चाशत्काः स्त्रियो वा मातृपितृव्यस्नुषाः स्थविरवर्षवराभ्यागारिकाश्चावरोधानां शौचाशौचं विद्युः। कौटिल्य I 20; आशीतिकाश्च पुरुषाः पञ्चाशत्काश्च योषितः। वृध्येरन्नवरोधानां शौचमागारिकाश्च ये॥ न हि देवीगृहं गच्छेदात्मियात्सानिवेशनात्। अत्यर्थवल्लभोपीह विश्वासं स्त्रीषु न व्रजेत्॥ काम. VII 44 and 50. Dr. Sham Sastri's translation (p 46) of Kautilya 'eighty men and fifty women' is not correct

gupta, the commander of the elephant arm of Harsa's army, warns the Emperor against putting trust in everybody and gives 19 instances of kings that met misfortunes, death or destruction through their own carelessness and the stratagems of those about them (apart from the seven mentioned above and two more who fell victims to the wiles of their queens) Some of them are famous and deserve mention here, viz the king of Vatsa (i e Udayana) who was imprisoned by the soldiers of Mahāsena that jumped out of a faked elephant; Maurya Brhadratha killed by his Senāpati Pusyamitra (called 'anārya' by Bāna on account of his treachery to his master); Kākavarna Śaisunāri (Śaiśunāgi?), Sumitra, son of Agnimitra, whose head was cut off by Mitradeva while the king fond of dancing was in the midst of actors, the Śunga Devabhūti killed by his minister Vasudeva; Candragupta (of the Gupta dynasty) who dressed as a charming woman cut off the king of Śakas; the foolish Maukhari king Ksatravarman killed by bards Vide Kāmasūtra V 5 30 for two other examples of the Ābhira king Kottarāja and Jayatsena king of Kāśi The Nītivākyāmrta (Dūtasamuddeśa) p 171 states that Cānakya killed one of the Nandas through a *dūta* and that two other kings met death from presents of poisoned clothes and a jewelled box containing snake poison. The Yaśastilakacampū (III pp 431–432) sets out many instances of kings that met with death from the wrath or the machinations of their ministers, purohita &c

From these examples one should not draw the facile and sweeping conclusion that in India the life of no king was safe. In the vast continent of India there were always numerous kingdoms at the same time It is no wonder that in the course of several thousand years and over such vast territories, some kings met death by treachery and stratagem. This is not a phenomenon restricted to India In a small country like England we have within two hundred years instances of the murder of the boy king Edward V and his brother prince Richard, of Lady Jane Grey nominated by Edward VI as his successor and the further fact that Cromwell during the last few months of his life was afraid of being assassinated During about 150 years from 1789 out of 30 Presidents of the U S A several such as Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley met death at the hands of assassins

The truth is that in a monarchy the king was the pivot of the whole State. As the Matsyapurāna (219.34) finely puts it

'the king was the root and the subjects were the tree; in saving the king from dangers the whole kingdom was on the road to prosperity and therefore all were to make efforts to guard the king'

Hereditary monarchy was the norm of government in ancient and medieval India. Kautilya expressly states (I. 17 at end) that the practice to make the eldest son the king is honoured except in the case of a calamity. At or about the time of Buddha and a few centuries thereafter there were a few oligarchies or (as some scholars prefer to call them) republics. But our Dharmaśāstra or Arthasāstra authorities contain rather very meagre references to them. The Mahābhārata in Śānti 107 furnishes the following data about ganarājyas (government by groups): Internal dissensions are the root of the ruin of *ganas*; it is very difficult to keep lines of policy secret when there are many (when the government is that of many, i. e. an oligarchy or a republic); all members of the gana in their entirety do not deserve to hear the line of policy decided upon, but the chief persons among the ganas should meet together and arrange among themselves to secure the welfare of the whole gana; if disputes that arise among the families (or clans) are connived at by the heads of the clan, the ruin of the clan takes place which leads on to dissensions among the whole group (gana) Danger from internal dissensions must be guarded against (in the case of *ganarājya*), external dangers are not serious (in the case of ganarājya). All members of the gana are equal by birth and family, but they are not equal in energy, intelligence, bodily appearance and wealth. By their enemies ganas are broken by means of internal dissensions and bribes; therefore the greatest safety of ganas lies in union[117]. In these words the author of the Mahābhārata unerringly puts his finger on the weak spots of the rule of many viz. secrecy cannot be kept, there is corruption due to greed and jealousy, which bring about their downfall. In another place (Śānti 81) the Mahābhārata

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117. भेदमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्ष्यते। मन्त्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः॥ 8 ... न गणाः कृत्स्नशो मन्त्रं श्रोतुमर्हन्ति भारत। गणमुख्यैस्तु संभूय कार्यं गणहितं मिथः। 25 ... कुलेषु कलहा जाताः कुलवृद्धैरुपेक्षिताः। गोत्रस्य नाशं कुर्वन्ति गणभेदस्य कारकम्। आभ्यन्तरभयं ह्येतन्मसारं बाह्यतो भयम्॥ ... ज्ञात्वा च सदृशा सर्वे कुलेन सदृशास्तथा। न चोद्योगेन बुद्ध्या वा रूपद्रव्येण वा पुनः। भेदाच्चैव प्रदानाच्च भिद्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः। तस्मात्संघातमेवाहुर्गणानां शरणं महत्॥ शान्ति 107. 27-32. भेदाद्विनाशः सङ्घानां सङ्घमुख्योसि केशव। यथा त्वां प्राप्य नोत्सीदेदयं सङ्घस्तथा कुरु॥ नान्यत्र बुद्धिशान्तिभ्यां नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिग्रहात्॥ नान्यत्र धनसंत्यागाद्गणः प्राज्ञेऽवतिष्ठते॥ शान्ति 81. 25-26.

refers to the *saṅgha* of the Vrsnis, of whom Krsna was the president, and the great truth that the ruin of sanghas is brought about by internal dissensions and corruption and it hits off the qualities required in the wise leader of the sangha to be four viz sagacity, forbearance, self-control and giving up the acquisitive spirit The words *sangha* and *gana* are employed as synonyms in the Mahābhārata Pāninī (III 3 86) states that *saṅgha* means gana. Patañjali in his Mahābhāsya (vol II p 356) states that *saṅgha*, *samūha* and *samudāya* mean the same thing Pāninī knows two kinds of sanghas viz *āyudhajīvin* (who practised the profession of arms) and those that were not so and further he also indicates that in the Vāhika country sanghas included [118] brāhmanas, ksatriyas and others (vide V. 3 114). He names the sanghas of Vrkas, Trigartas, Yaudheyas, Parśus (V 3 115–117) as *āyudhajīvin* Kātyāyana by his *vārtika* 'ksatriyādekarājāt sanghapratisedhārtham' on Pāninī IV 1 168 shows that sangha was differentiated from monarchy. Acc to Kautilya (p 53 above) the sangha of the Vrsnis perished when it came in conflict with Dvaipāyana In another place Kautilya says that (in some cases) the kingdom may be ruled by a clan, for the confederacy [119] of a clan is invincible, it is free from the calamity of a kingless State and therefore exists on the earth very long Kautilya devotes one section (Adhikarana XI) to the dealings of the ambitious king with sanghas. There he states that securing the sangha on one's side is far better than securing an army or allies and makes the most interesting remark [120] that the corporation of the ksatriyas and others in

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118 In the Karnaparva the country of Vāhikas is severely 'condemned and it is said to be the country between the Indus and the five rivers of the Panjab (chap 44 7) पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येन्तराश्रिता. । तान् धर्मबाह्यान-शुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ In chap 44 10 it is stated that their chief city is Śākala and in verses 11–30 and 35–38 their condemned practices are set out, and verses 31–34 say that the country of the five rivers is called Āratta and Vāhika In Karnaparva 45. 6–13 the interesting fact is mentioned that in that country only one brother in a family acts as a brāhmana should and that their sons do not inherit but their sister's sons take the inheritance Vide 'Indian Culture' vol. VI 129–136 and vol VIII p 85 ff for information on 'Vāhika'.

119 अन्यत्रापद् ऐश्वर्यं ज्येष्ठभागी तु पूज्यते । कुलस्य वा भवेद्राज्यं कुलसङ्घो हि दुर्जयः । अराजव्यसनाबाधः शश्वदावसति क्षितिम् ॥ कौटिल्य I 17.

120 सङ्घलाभो दृष्टमित्रबलाभानामुत्तमः । ... ... काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः । लिच्छविकनृजिकमल्लकनन्दकक्कुर-कुरुपाञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः । कौटिल्य XI 1, विशेषतश्च सङ्घानां सङ्घधर्मिणां राजकुलानां ध्रुवनिमित्तो भेदः, तन्निमित्तो विनाश इति । कौटिल्य VIII. 3.

the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāstra practise *vārtā* (husbandry and trade) and the profession of arms, while those of the Licchivikas, Vrjikas, Mallakas, Madrakas, Kukuras, Kurus and Pāñcālas live on the title of *rājan* applied to them (i.e. they are not cultivators of the soil and soldiers, but are only chiefs or nobles). What Kautilya means by 'vārtā-śastropajīvinah' appears to be that they were agriculturists ordinarily but were ready with their swords to defend their country when occasion required. Kautilya then describes in detail without any scruples how the conqueror may by various subterfuges cause dissensions among the members of the sangha and its leader or leaders (*sangha-mukhya*). In VIII. 3 Kautilya remarks that dissension becomes particularly rife owing to gambling among sanghas and noble clans that have the sangha constitution and they are destroyed. From about the 5th or 6th century A. D. the oligarchic States or Republics became rare and gradually disappeared. We get further data about these ganarājyas from Buddhist works, Greek sources (like the fragments of Megasthenes), coins and inscriptions. Rudradāman (in Junāgadh Inscription of 150 A. D.) boasts that he had uprooted the Yaudheyas who had become puffed up and unbending on account of the title of heroes (*vīra*) that was prominently applied to them among all ksatriyas[121] (E. I. vol VIII. at p. 44). Samudragupta (in the first half of the 4th century A. D.) subjugated the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas &c. In Gupta Inscriptions No. 58 p. 251 there is mention of a *mahārāja-malāsenāpah* who was made their leader by the Yaudheya-gana. The Brhatsamhitā in several places refers to the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas (e.g. 4.25; 5.40, 67, 75; 14.25 and 28; 16.21; 17.19) and speaks of Yaudheya-nrpa in 9.11. Vide Rapson's 'Indian coins' pp. 11 and 15 and Plate II, nos 13-15 and Plate III, no. 20 for the coins of the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas. Arrian writes in 'Indika' (tr. by MacCrindle IX. p. 208, ed. of 1926) 'from Dionysus to Sandrakottos the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among them a republic was thrice established'. MacCrindle's 'Invasion of India' (p. 121) speaks of an aristocratic government on the

121 सर्वक्षत्राविष्कृतवीरशब्दजातोत्सेकविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन। E. I. VIII at p. 44, यौधेयगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापतेः &c. in Gupta Inscriptions pp. 251–252. Vide Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of India (Silver Jubilee number) p. 114 for Yaudheyas, and J. B. O. R. S. vol 23 p. 148.

Hyphasis or Beas The Greek writers describing the invasion of Alexander speak of the democracies of the Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas), Malloi (the Mālavas), the Siboi (Śibis), Sambastai (the Ambasthas) and several others (Vide K. P. Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity' part I. chap. VIII (pp 63–79) for Hindu Republics mentioned in Greek writings Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' pp 19 ff. summarizes the data about Indian republics derived from Buddhist works. On p 22 he gives the names of eleven republican clans with their capitals, some of which like the Śākyas (of Kapilavastu), the Mallas (of Kusinārā and Pāvā), the Videhas (of Mithilā) and Licchavis (of Vesālī) are well-known. Rhys Davids states (p. 19) that the administrative and judicial business of the Śākyas was carried on in a mote-hall (santhāgāra) at Kapilavastu, that a single chief was chosen (but how and for what period is not known) who presided over the sessions and (when no sessions were being held) also over the State, that he bore the title of *rājā* He mentions that at one time Buddha's cousin Bhaddiya was *rājā* and that in another passage Buddha's father Śuddhodana is styled *rājā* He further points out (p. 26) that the Vajjians had eight confederate clans of which the Licchavis and the Videhas were the most important. K P. Jayaswal in 'Hindu Polity' part I pp 25–165 brings together all the data about Hindu oligarchies (or republics as he calls them) and his work deserves the serious attention of all those who are interested in the study of ancient Indian political institutions, though here and there one cannot approve of his interpretations and theories To take only one example, he holds that the procedure prescribed by Buddha for the deliberations of the *sangha* in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta was borrowed from the procedure followed by the republics in their deliberations and therefore he describes the procedure of the Buddhist *sangha* in great detail ('Hindu Polity,' part I chap XI pp 103–117) Dr D R Bhandarkar also (in 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity' pp 121–125) adopts this theory This to say the least is a gratuitous assumption The mere fact that Buddha told the prime minister of Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, who contemplated attacking the Vajjian confederacy, that the latter would not decline but prosper as long as they observed seven conditions and the fact that those very seven conditions were prescribed by the Buddha for the welfare of the sangha do not lead on to the further inference that the procedure followed by the monks in the deliberations of the meeting of the sangha (which is set out in such passages as the Mahāvagga IX 3, S.B E.

vol. XVII p. 264 ff, Cullavagga IV. 9, S. B. E. vol. XX pp. 24-27) was the procedure of the meetings of the oligarchies. The seven conditions (both for the welfare of the Vajjians and the Sangha) are set out in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, chap. I. (S. B E. vol. XI. pp. 3-8) viz holding full and frequent public assemblies, meeting together in concord and carrying out undertakings in concord, enacting nothing not already established and abrogating nothing that has been already enacted and acting in accordance with ancient institutions established in former days, honouring and reverting and supporting elders and hearkening to their words, not detaining women or girls of their clans by force or abduction, honouring and supporting Vajjian shrines in town or country and not allowing proper offerings and rites to fall into desuetude, protecting and supporting the Arahats among them. On the most important points in connection with a republic or oligarchy we have no information at all, viz. who were entitled to vote, what were the qualifications for membership of the assembly that governed the State, how voting took place, what was the period for which members of the assembly were elected, whether the president was elected for life or a shorter period or was elected at all, what were the powers and procedure of the assembly. Vide Dr. Beni Prasad in 'Hindu Political Theories' p 158 for criticisms. Rhys Davids (in 'Buddhist India' p. 41) says that according to the Jātakas there were at Vesāli (modern Basadh in the Muzaffarpur District), the capital of the Licchavis, 7707 *rājās* (or chiefs). In the Bhaddasāla-jātaka (Fausboll, vol. IV p 148) there is a reference to a tank reserved for the bath of the families of the ruling chiefs (rājās) of the gana in the city of Vesāli. In the Mahāvastu (ed by Senart vol. I. p. 271) it is stated that there were twice eighty-four thousand nobles (rājānā) among the Licchavis. This explains what Kautilya means by 'rājaśabdopajīvinah. These people called 'rājās' were probably the scions of the several branches of the Licchavis, who had in their hands the government and who were not doing manual (or agricultural) work. Vide Government Epigraphic Report for 1899 p 23 and Indian Historical Quarterly vol. IV p. 652, where it is said that in an inscription from Uttaramallur the extent of land and of Vedic learning required in a candidate for election are specified as also the method of writing on tickets the names of candidates. But such records, even in South India, are very few and refer to village sabhās and there is nothing in the works on dharmaśāstra or arthaśāstra about the methods of

election to political assemblies and the qualifications of candidates. Vide Dr D R Bhandarkar's 'Some aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity' (1929) pp. 101–121 for a concise statement of several types of republics in Ancient India.

Another important question is whether in monarchical states there were popular assemblies of elected representatives or, in modern language, Parliaments. The words 'sabhā' and 'samiti' require consideration in this connection In Rg I 91 20 Soma is said to confer a son who is' *sādanya*, *vidathya* and *sabheya*, from which it follows that sabhā is in some respects different from 'vidatha'. In Rg *II* 24 13 a vipra (a priest or composer of hymns) is said to be *sabheya* 'clever or eminent in a sabhā'. In Rg X 34 6 'sabhā' [122] appears to mean a gambling hall In Vāj S XXX 6 *sabhācara* seems to mean only 'sabhāsad', a member of a judicial tribunal, while in XXX 18 the sabhāsthānu is given up to Āskanda in the symbolic Purusamedha. In the Vāj. S XVI 24 there is an obeisance to *sabhās* and *sabhāpatis* (presidents of sabhās) In Atharvaveda VII 12 1 'sabhā' and 'samiti' are said to be the two daughters of Prajāpati, from which it may by argued that they were very similar but somewhat different. In Atharvaveda XV. 9 2 also *sabhā* and *samiti* are separately mentioned In Tai. Br III. 7 4 the word sabhāpāla occurs and sabhā is explained as 'gambling-hall' by Sāyana In Rg X 97 6 and Vāj S XII. 80 it is said 'that *vipra* is said to be a doctor (bhisak) in whom medicinal herbs come together as nobles (rājānah) in a *samiti* (meeting or battle)'. In Rg. X 191 3 the word 'samiti' seems to mean no more than a meeting or meeting place In Atharvaveda V 19 15[123] we have 'the assembly (samiti) does not suit him (or is not won over by him) who harasses a brāhmana' In the Chāndogya Up. (V 3. 1) Śvetaketu is said to have repaired to the assembly (*samiti*) of the Pañcāla country, where the king Pravāhana Jaivali asked him five questions which the former could not answer and then he approached the next morning the king who was in his *sabhā* Here it seems that both words are applied to the same assembly It is impossible to say how the *sabhā* or *samiti* was constituted in the Vedic period All that we can say is that it was an assembly of people to which the king, learned men and others went. It is extremely doubtful whether it was an elective body Probably it was an *ad hoc* assembly of such people as cared to

122. सभामेति कितवः पृच्छमानो जेष्यामीति तन्वा शूशुजानः । ऋ X 34. 6

123 न वर्षं मैत्रावरुणं ब्रह्मज्यमभिवर्षति । नास्मै समितिः कल्पते न मित्र नयते वशम् ॥ अथर्व V. 19 15

be present. K P. Jayaswal (in ' Hindu Polity ' part I p 11) holds that ' samiti ' in the vedic age was the national assembly of the whole people, that it was the king's duty to attend it (*ibid.* p. 12) and that ' sabhā ' was the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the samiti (*ibid.* p. 18)'. This is all conjectural, as Jayaswal himself admits ' the *sabhā* was certainly related to the *samiti*, but its exact relationship is not deducible from the data available ' (*ibid.* p. 18).

These frantic efforts by such scholars as Jayaswal to prove that India had elective assemblies are made to counteract the sinister propaganda of many English writers that East is East and West is West and that the democratic institutions of the West cannot be transplanted with success on the soil of India This is mischievous propaganda. There were no democracies even in Europe a few hundred years ago; even in England, France and a few other countries democracies have been introduced and have thrived within a short time There is no reason why they should not do so in India, if honest efforts are made and difficulties are not purposely created by vested interests Korkunov in ' General theory of law ' (tr. by Hastings, 1922, New York p 296) says ' According to the historical school the political organization of England is good for England alone, for it corresponds to a natural genius very peculiar.. .This doctrine of the historical school is false, since we have already seen that a change produced in the social ideal may bring about a change in the whole social development The influence of one people on the life of another is a proof of this The ideal is a force supporting the social life and this ideal may be the result not merely of our own special experience, but also of the experience of neighbouring peoples '.

Two other words require consideration, viz. *Paura* and *Jānapada*. The word ' paura ' occurs in Rg V. 74. 4 where it has three applications, viz. to the Aśvins, to the sage Paura (who was an Ātreya) and to the cloud (acc. to Sāyana). K. P Jayaswal (in ' Hindu Polity ', part II pp 60–108) devotes considerable space to ' Paura ' and ' Jānapada ' and one may at once admit that he displays great learning, industry and ingenuity in his discourse on this subject He holds that the Paura and the Jānapada were elective parliamentary bodies or what may be called the Hindu Diet and he sums up (on p. 108) their functions as follows ' we had an organism or a twin

at p. 45 or in the Rāmāyana II. 2. 51, II. 111. 19 'paurajānapadam janam'). Lastly if the paurajānapada organization had (as said by Jayaswal in the quotation cited above) the power to depose kings and pass even hostile statutes, is it not a contradiction in terms to say that, instead of the Parliament or Diet deciding to remit certain taxes, it was the king who remitted taxes and bestowed favours (or privileges) of lakhs of rupees on the supposedly all powerful Paura-Jānapada assembly? In all passages that he quotes from the Rāmāyana and other classical sanskrit works the ordinary meaning of *paura* (residents of the capital) and *jānapada* (inhabitants of the country other than the capital) is quite enough and it is impossible to hold that any elective body is meant In most passages the plural 'paura-jānapadān' is used. If 'Paura-jānapada' stands for one elective body or two bodies, no explanation is offered why the plural should generally be used and not the dual. Kautilya (I. 19) states that the king should in the 2nd part of the day (divided into eight parts) look into the causes of the paura-jānapadas. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part II p. 95) misinterprets this passage by saying that the king had to set apart one period daily for the business of the paura-jānapada assembly. Here again the plural is used and the dictum of Kautilya is the same as that of Yāj. I. 327 who says that the king should look into the law-suits (vyavahārān) of the people. The word 'kārya' is employed by Manu VIII. 43, Nārada and other writers on vyavahāra in the sense of 'law-suit'. Yāj. II. 36 says that the king should restore to the jānapada property stolen by thieves. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity', part II. p. 93) presses the singular 'jānapadāya' into his service and holds that it was the popular assembly that demanded the restoration of the things stolen. This, to say the least, is twisting the plain words of Yāj. The Mit paraphrases the word to mean 'to the person dwelling in his country from whom the property was stolen'. The corresponding passage of Manu VIII. 40 (dātavyam sarva-varnebhyo rājñā corair-hrtam dhanam) is quite clear, since it fortunately does not use the word jānapada and Medhātithi explains it as 'it should be restored to those from whom it was stolen'. Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p. 79) holds that a passage in the Arthaśāstra (II. 14) refers to the fact that the Paura-Jānapada assembly got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master.[124]

124. सौवर्णिकः पौरजानपदानां रूप्यसुवर्णमावेशभिभिः कारयेत् । निर्दिष्टकालकार्यं च कर्म कुर्युः । अर्थशास्त्र II. 14.

But the plain meaning is that the mint-master was to mint standard silver and gold coins for all people when they brought bullion to him to have coins struck One striking circumstance to be considered is that, though in all works on polity a *rājya* is said to have seven elements, none of them includes a political elective assembly (like the paura-jānapada postulated by Jayaswal) among them. They only enumerate the country and the capital and declare even these as of lesser importance than the king and the ministers. Another matter that makes the existence of powerful elective political assemblies in monarchies most unlikely is the total absence of any reference in works on polity to the method of election, the system of voting, the qualifications of members, the period for which the assembly was elected and allied matters When medieval writers like Aparārka on Yāj II 1 (p 600) quote from Brhaspati verses about four kinds of sabhā, they refer only to judicial tribunals of various sorts and grades (the same verses are quoted as Hārīta's in Rājanītiratnākara p 20) Vide n 368 below

If elective popular assemblies did not exist, then it may be asked whether the king was an absolute monarch or a despot or whether there were any checks that mitigated or regulated the power and doings of monarchs. The answer is that there were such checks and limitations These were of various kinds Exhortations addressed to the king himself exercised a restraining influence. For example, Kāt (10) says 'the king who gives way to wrath without proper thought would reside in a horrible hell for half a Kalpa' The importance of dharma as an all-embracing institution was impressed upon the king by our writers so frequently that it must have had its psychological effect on every king The idea that *danda* personified as a Deity might strike down the bad king himself (Manu VII. 19, 27, 28, 30, Yāj I 354–356) would tend to keep even a whimsical king within bounds. The views of ancient writers have already been cited according to which the king was not to act as he pleased, but was to regard his high office as a sacred trust and was to rule according to the dictates of the sāstras These views created public opinion which must have certainly influenced the king's acts The ideal king Rāma is depicted as having abandoned his queen Sītā (whom he knew to be pure) because the people could not accept her as pure after her long stay in Rāvana's prison Vide Rāmāyana VII. 45 Then there were the ministers whose advice the king was enjoined to seek Besides there was the purohita and there were learned brāhmanas,

who were to propound what dharma was, whose directions he was to carry out and who were supposed to have power to ruin a bad king (vide Vas I. 39–41, Gautama XI. 12–14, Manu IX. 320). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 138–145 for the peculiar sanctity attaching to the person of a brāhmana and the superior position of brāhmanas as a class *vis-a-vis* the king. There was a deep-rooted faith that the rules of the śāstras (the Śrauta and Smārta dharma) were divinely inspired and were above the king. Observance of dharma was the great social and political ideal from very ancient times for all including the king. This is most emphatically put in the Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11–14, where it is stated "even after creating the four varnas He (the Creator) did not think that stability had been attained. He then created the most excellent *Dharma* which is the might of the mighty (i e. more powerful than the warrior caste) There is nothing higher than dharma Even a very weak man hopes to prevail over a very strong man on the strength of dharma, just as (he prevails over a wrong-doer) with the help of the king. So what is called dharma is really truth. Therefore people say about a man who declares the truth that he is declaring dharma and about one who declares what dharma is they say that he speaks the truth These two (dharma and truth) are this" (i. e. one).[125] Kāmandaka I. 14 stated that the Yavana king ruled over the earth for a long time because he ruled according to the dictates of dharma. In his administration of justice the king was to be checked by the judge and sabhyas, who were fearlessly to render advice to the erring king (as will be shown in the section on vyavahāra). Besides corporations and guilds were powerful and had a sort of self-government. Manu (VIII. 336 and Yāj. II. 307) went so far as to prescribe a heavy fine which the king was to inflict on himself for his illegal exactions and punishments and to direct that the king should distribute among brāhmanas wealth forfeited by grave sinners (Manu IX. 243–244). Lastly there was the final sanction that the śāstras allowed the subjects to abandon a worthless king or even to kill a misguided one or tyrant, as stated above (vide Manu VII. 27–28, Arthaśāstra I. 4).[126]

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125 स नैव व्यभवत्तच्छ्रेयो रूपमत्यसृजत धर्मं तदेतत्क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्धर्मस्तस्माद्धर्मात्परं नास्ति। अथो अबलीयान्बलीयांसमाशंसते धर्मेण यथा राज्ञा। एवं यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतदुभयमेवैतदुभयं भवति। बृह उप I 4. 14

126 दुष्प्रणीतः (दण्डः) कामक्रोधाभ्यामज्ञानाद्ज्ञानपस्थपरिव्राजकानपि कोपयति किमङ्ग पुनर्गृहस्थान्। अर्थशास्त्र I 4.

Kautilya (VIII. 3) when dealing [127] with the evil results of want of discipline in a king states that kings who are hot-tempered are known to have fallen victims to popular fury (or the fury of ministers) We may say that in theory and so far as ordinary people were concerned the sovereign's power was absolute and unlimited as Manu IX. 9–12 aptly illustrate and as Brhat-Parāsara states 'the king is Brahmā, Śiva, Visnu, Indra, he is the giver, the destroyer, and the enforcer according to the karma of his subjects'. But there were (as stated above) very real checks and limitations that effectively prevented him from exercising his undoubtedly unlimited powers These checks, though real, cannot be called constitutional in the sense in which that word is used in modern times. As said by Nārada the subjects are dependent while the king is uncontrolled, but he could not go against the śāstra (vide Haradatta on Gaut XI. 2)

In modern times the activities of a sovereign person are three-fold, viz. executive, judicial and legislative The judicial activities of the ancient Indian king will be dealt with in another section on law and the administration of justice One great difference between ancient and modern societies is that the legislative action of the king was extremely limited in ancient times, while in modern times people are more and more looking to legislation for regulating all manner of things Manu (VII. 13) lays down that since the king has in him the glory of all deities, whatever rule as regards desirable matters the king establishes and whatever action he declares as undesirable among those actions that are harmful, should not be transgressed by any one In his gloss on this verse Medhātithi carefully points out what orders the king can issue and on what subjects he cannot issue orders He gives the following instances of orders of both kinds: 'To-day all should observe a festival in the capital, all should attend a marriage ceremony at the house of the minister; animals should not be killed to-day by the butchers and birds should not be caught. debtors should not be harassed by creditors on these days (to be specified), no one should associate with such and such a man (an undesirable person); no one should allow a certain (undesirable) person to enter the house'. Medhātithi adds that the king is not authorised to interfere with the *śāstric rules* governing the

127. अविनीतो हि व्यसनदोषान् न पश्यति । ताडुपदेश्यामः । कोपजास्त्रिवर्गः कामजश्चतुर्वर्गः तयो कोपो गरीयान् सर्वत्र हि कोपश्चरति । प्रायशश्च कोपवशा राजानः प्रकृतिकोपैर्हताः श्रूयन्ते । अर्थशास्त्र VIII. 3

varnas and āśramas such as the performance of agnihotra.[127a] This gloss of Medhātithi occurs word for word in the Rājanīti-prakāśa (pp. 23-24), which gives a more correct text than the printed editions of Mandlik and Gharpure. Kautilya (II. 10) devotes a chapter to the drawing up of śāsanas, particularly with reference to their linguistic elegance and diplomatic etiquette. The Śukranītisāra (I.312–313) prescribes that the king's edicts (śāsana) should be proclaimed to the subjects by beat of drum, that his edicts should be written and displayed where four roads meet, and that the king should declare that breaches of the orders would entail heavy fines. In I. 292–311 Śukra gives instances of such orders, the most important of which are: Watchmen should take rounds in the several streets every one hour and a half at night in order to prevent thieves and paramours moving about; people should not employ abuse or beating towards their slave, servant, wife, son or pupil; no one should practise deceit in respect of measures, weights, coins, resins, metals, ghee, honey, milk, fat, flour; no document should be got by force; no bribes should be taken nor should any bribes be given to persons engaged in doing the king's work; no one should offer shelter to bad characters, thieves, paramours, those who hate the king, the enemy; parents, persons worthy of honour, learned men, men of good character should not be disrespected or ridiculed; no dissensions should be sown between husband and wife, master and servant, between brothers, between teacher and pupil, between father and son; no interference or obstruction should be caused to wells, parks, boundaries, *dharmaśālās*, temples, roads or to those who are deficient in a limb; without the king's permission no one should engage in gambling, selling liquor, hunting, bearing arms, sale or purchase of cattle or elephants or horses or camels or she-buffaloes or slaves or immoveable property or silver, gold, gems, intoxicants, poisons, drugs, the profession of medicine or should pass a sale deed, deed of gift or give a decision about a debt; no one should falsely accuse another of the great sins, nor take treasure trove, nor frame new rules for clubs or convivial gatherings (*samāja*) nor should publish slander against a caste, nor should appropriate property which is without an owner or has been lost, nor divulge the (king's) lines of policy, nor babble about the vices of the king; the people should not

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127a न त्वग्निहोत्रव्यवस्थायै वर्णाश्रमिणां राजा प्रभवति स्मृत्यन्तरविरोधप्रसङ्गात्, अविरोधे चास्मिन् विषये वचनस्यार्थवत्त्वात्। मेधा० on मनु VII. 13.

even think of forsaking their dharma, speaking untruth, committing adultery with another's wife, giving false evidence or fabricating documents, accepting gifts secretly, committing thefts and engaging in other desperate acts, engaging in sedition; public servants should not exact more than the tax already settled; only such weights and measures are to be used as bear the royal stamp; all subjects should strive to possess good qualities; desperadoes should be arrested and handed over to the king; bulls let loose (in memory of the dead) should be kept well controlled and fed by those who let them loose. Medhātithi on Manu VIII 399 states that a king may prohibit the export of foodstuffs from the kingdom in a famine. The several edicts of Aśoka show that his orders were framed on the same lines that are contained centuries later on in the Śukranītisāra. Most of his proclamations insist on moral virtues such as truthfulness, obedience and reverence to parents, elders and preceptors, honouring brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas, kindness to animals, tolerance of other faiths. Proclamations that may be called positive laws are very few, such as his order in Pillar Edict IV to give three days' respite to criminals condemned to death (C I I. vol. I p 125) or his regulations restricting the killing of animals contained in the 5th Pillar Edict (C I I. vol. I. p 138) or in the First Rock Edict at Girnar (p 7) 'no living being must be killed or sacrificed and no festival meeting must be held'. In the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir the killing of living beings was prohibited for ten years (vide Rājataraṅgiṇī V 64). Law-making in the modern sense is almost entirely lacking in the smṛtis. Gaut XI 19-25 show[128] that the king was to find the law required for the decision of causes from the following, viz (1) the Veda, Dharmaśāstras, the Aṅgas (lores auxiliary to the Veda such as grammar, exegesis, metrics etc.), Upavedas, Purāṇas; (2) customs of countries, castes and families that were not opposed to the Veda; (3) the usages of husbandmen, traders, herdsmen, moneylenders and artizans; (4) ratiocination, (5) the opinions[128a] delivered

128 तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् । देशजातिकुलधर्माश्चाम्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् । कर्षकवणिक्पशुपालकुसीदिकारव स्वे स्वे वर्गे । ... न्यायाधिगमे तर्कोन्युपायः । ..विप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविद्यवृद्धेभ्यः प्रत्यवहृत्य निष्ठा गमयेत् तथा ह्यस्य निःश्रेयस भवति । गौ XI 19-26

128a चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञा पर्षत् त्रैविद्यमेव वा । सा ब्रूते य स धर्मः स्यादेको वाध्यात्मविच्चमः ॥ या. I 9, on which विश्वरूप remarks शङ्खोप्याह । श्रुतिविरोधे त्रैविद्यसमवायेषु निर्णयः इति यथावत्प्रेप शास्त्रतस्तेऽनुयुरिति च । These two show that parisad and traividya were more or less synonymous.

by the assembly (parisad) of men deeply learned in the three Vedas. The authoritativeness of customs, usages and conventions and their relation to śāstra will be discussed later on. In the decision of causes there were four deciding factors, dharma, vyavahāra, caritra and rājaśāsana, which will also be dealt with later. So royal edicts or orders first came to be made in the administration of justice and probably served as laws or precedents in later times. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 968–970 for the role of parisads in religious matters. Yāj I. 9 and Śankha speak of *parṣat* or assembly of learned men as final authorities on dharma.

The executive functions of the king required a large number of ministers and officers. This topic will be dealt with immediately below.

There is another way of looking at the king's functions viz. they were religious and secular. The first required him to do certain acts for propitiating gods and unseen powers and removing dangers therefrom with the help of the purohita and sacrificial priests (vide Gaut XI. 15–17, Yāj I. 308) and he had to guard dharma. His secular functions included those that led to prosperity, that helped the people in famine and similar calamities, dealing even-handed justice, guarding person and property from thieves and trespassers and against invasion.

The Mahābhārata records the tradition that many kings of former times abdicated the throne in favour of their sons and resorted to the forest as hermits Vanaparva 202.8 mentions Brhadaśva who crowned his son Kuvalāśva. Vide also Vāyu 88.32. Dhrtarāstra says to Yudhisthira that in their family it was customary for kings to transfer the sovereignty to their sons and resort to a forest towards the close of their lives (Āśramavāsi 3.38). Vyāsa says that that was the practice of all *rājarṣis* (Āśramavāsi 4.5) and the Āśramavāsiparva (20) mentions the names of several such kings. Vide also Śānti 21.15. In Ayodhyā 23.27, 94 19 this practice is referred to.[129] In the Raghuvaṁśa (I. 8, XVIII. 7, 9, 26) Kālidāsa says that in the family of Raghu kings in their old age became *munis* (hermits) and in chap. VIII. 11–23 he draws a fine contrast between the lives of Aja and his father Raghu (who had become a *yati*). There are Jain traditions of some antiquity that connect the

129. पूर्वराजर्षिवृत्त्या हि वनवासोऽभिधीयते । प्रजा निक्षिप्य पुत्रेषु पुत्रवत्परिपालने ॥ अयोध्या 23. 27, इदमेवामृतं माद्र राज्ञि राजर्षयः परे । वनवासं भवार्थाय प्रेत्य मे प्रपितामहाः ॥ अयोध्या 94. 19.

great Jain sage Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakevalin, with Candragupta Maurya, who is said to have abdicated in favour of his son and to have gone to Śravana Belgola Vide Indian Antiquary, vol 21 pp. 156 ff where Fleet criticizes this tradition and rejects it In the Divyāvadāna (XXIX p 431, ed. by Cowell and Neil) it is stated that Aśoka died destitute of power[130] and possessions and Fleet (in J R A S for 1913 pp. 656–658) says that there is in this probably a reminiscence of abdication by Aśoka King Lavanaprasāda of the Vāghela dynasty in Gujerat abdicated in favour of his son Vīradhavala (1233–38 A. D.). Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I part 1 pp 198, 200, 206

Kautilya (VIII. 2) speaks of a novel rule called 'dvairājya'[131] (sovereignty of two) and distinguishes it from 'vairājya'. The Mss differ in their readings, but the reading given in the footnote by Dr Sham Sastri seems preferable. Kaut remarks "As between dvairājya and vairājya (foreign rule) the former perishes on account of mutual hatred and rivalry; but the latter according to the *ācāryas* is enjoyed by foreigners as it is, when it pays attention to winning over the subjects; 'No' says Kautilya 'dvairājya' (generally) exists between father and son or between two brothers, their welfare is the same and therefore by reason of the influence of *amātyas* (over the two rulers) it can last, but *vairājya* comes into existence by being seized from another king who is living and therefore the (foreign ruler) thinking 'this country is not mine' impoverishes it and carries off its wealth or treats it as a chattel (for sale) or when he finds that the country is disaffected towards him abandons it and goes away". This remarkable passage contains the mentality of foreign rulers in a nutshell. Manu IV 160 in a lucid and laconic manner states how individual and national happiness lies in freedom Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra[132] (Act V) appears to refer to the conception

130 अशोक is made to say 'दाक्षिण्यादुक्तं हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं शेष त्वामलकार्धनित्यवसित यत्र प्रभुत्व मम । ऐश्वर्यं धिगनार्यसङ्गतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपम मर्त्येन्द्रस्य समापि यत्प्रविभयं दारिद्र्यमभ्यागतम् ॥' दिव्यावदान XXIX p 431

131. द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययो. द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषाद्रागाभ्यां परस्परसङ्घर्षेण वा विन-श्यति । वैराज्यं तु प्रकृतिचित्तग्रहणापेक्षि यथास्थितमन्यैर्भुज्यत इत्याचार्या । नेति कौटिल्य पितापुत्रयोर्भ्रात्रोर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेममसमात्यावग्रह वर्तयेतेति । वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्या-च्छित्त्य नैतन्ममेति मन्यमान. कर्शयत्यपवाहयति पण्यं वा करोति विरक्त वा परित्यज्यापग-च्छतीति । अर्थशास्त्र VIII 2

132 तत्रभवतोर्भ्रात्रोर्यज्ञसेनमाधवसेनयोर्द्वैराज्यमिदानीमवस्थापयितुकामोस्मि । तौ पृथग्वरदातीरे शिष्टाभ्युत्तरदक्षिणे । नक्तंदिनं विभज्योभौ शीतोष्णकिरणाविव ॥ द्विधा विभक्ता श्रियमुद्वहन्तौ धुरं रथाश्वाविव सप्रहीतुः । तौ स्थास्यतस्ते नृपतेर्निदेशे परस्परावग्रहनिर्विकारौ ॥ मालविका० V. 13–14

of dvairājya when he makes Agnimitra say that the latter desires to establish a dvairājya for the brothers Yajñasena and Mādhavasena on the north and south banks of the river Varadā, who would both remain under the command of the king (Agnimitra). In the Mahābhārata a similar rule of two brothers, Vinda and Anuvinda in Avanti, appears to be referred to (vide Udyogaparva 166, cr. ed. chap 163). MacCrindle in 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 296 quotes Diodorus to the effect that Alexander sailing up the river came to Taula (Patala?) a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan, for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority. Vide Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity' part I pp. 96-97 and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Ancient Indian Polity' p. 99-100 for some further details on dvairājya from Buddhist and other sources

CHAPTER IV

MINISTERS

Amātya—The second of the seven elements of *rājya* is the *amātya*, which word may be translated as 'minister.' There are three words that are interchangeable though sometimes distinguished, viz. *amātya*, *sacıva* and *mantrın*, the first being the oldest of the three. A Kārikā on Pānini (IV. 2 104) teaches the formation of the word with the affix *tyap* (tya) from *amā* meaning 'near or with' (vide Mahābhāsya, vol. II. p 292). In Rg IV. 4. 1[133] there is the germ of this word 'O Agni! Go like a king riding an elephant, accompanied by his ministers'. Yāska (in Nirukta VI. 12) explains 'amavān' as 'amātyavān,' though two more explanations of the word are offered by him. The word *amātya* itself occurs in Rg. VII. 15. 3, but there it is an adjective and means 'our own' or 'abiding in our house'. In some of the sūtras like the Baudhāyanapitr-medhasūtra (I. 4. 13, I. 12 7) the word amātya is used in the sense of 'near male relations in the house'. Vide H Dh. vol II. p. 588 n. 1375. The word 'amātya' occurs in the sense of minister in Āp Dh. S II. 10. 25 10 'The king should not live better or more luxuriously than his *gurus* (elders) and his ministers (gurūnamātyāṅśca nātiյīvet)' The word 'sacıva' occurs in the Ait Br (XII. 9) where it is said that Indra considered the Maruts as his 'sacivas' (helpers or comrades). The necessity of *amātyas* or *sacıvas* is stated in graphic language by several writers Kautilya (I 7 last verse) says 'kingship is possible only with (the aid of) assistants, a single wheel cannot work (a chariot), therefore the king should appoint ministers and listen to their opinions'. Manu (VII 55 = Sukra II. 1) says 'it is difficult for a person single-handed to accomplish even an easy task, how can government particularly, which has great good as its aim, be accomplished without helpers'? The Matsya-purāna (215. 2) prescribes 'the king, while his head is still wet with the waters of coronation, if he wants to supervise his State, should choose his helpers, as in the latter the kingdom secures stability'. Matsya 215 3 is the same as Manu VII 55 Vide

133. कृणुष्व पाज. प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीं याहि राजेवामवाँ इभेन । ऋ IV 4 1, याहि राजा इव अमात्यवान् अग्यमनवान् स्ववान् वा । निरुक्त VI 12

Visnudharmottara II. 24. 2-3 which are the same as Matsya 215. 2-3; also Śānti 106. 11 and Rājanītiprakāśa p. 174. From Arthasāstra I. 7 and 8, Manu VII. 54 and 60, Kām. IV. 25, 27, XIII. 24 and 64 it appears that they use the words saciva and amātya as synonyms Rudradāman in his Junāgadh Inscription[134] (E. I. vol. VIII. p. 36 at p. 44) states that his great enterprise to repair the Sudarsana lake was disapproved of by his advisory (mati-saciva) and executive councillors (karma-saciva) who were all endowed with the qualities required in amātyas and yet who were averse to the project and had no enthusiasm for it, since the breach to be repaired was very great Here sacivas are divided into two sorts, those who give advice and those who execute the business decided upon and the word saciva seems to be a synonym of amātya. Amara[135] states that the amātya who is a *dhīsaciva* (i e *matisaciva*) is called a mantrin, while amātyas other than the mantrin are called karmasacivas. These distinctions are often not observed. Sumantra is called amātya in Rāmāyana I. 7 3 and the best of mantrins in I. 8. 4. In Ayodhyā 112. 17 amātya and mantrin seem to be distinguished. From Kaut. I. 8 (last verse) 'Having divided the spheres of their powers and having taken into consideration the time and place and the work they have to do, all these persons should be appointed as ministers (amātyas), but not as mantrins,' it follows that mantrins were regarded by Kautilya as of a higher grade than amātyas in general. The R. N P. p. 178 says that the amātyas are also styled mantrins Kautilya states (I. 10) how amātyas are to be tested by *upadhās* i. e by means of tempting them as regards each of *dharma, artha, kāma,* and *bhaya* (fear) and to be employed if found honest after any one of the four tests, while *mantrins* were to be appointed only if their integrity and loyalty were proved by all the tests combined Upadhā[136] is defined by the Nītivākyāmrta p 111 as 'testing the mind of a person as regards dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya by various devices' (employed by secret agents) Kāt (4-5) quoted by R. N. P. p. 136 states that the minds of kings always go astray on the (slightest) cause by

134. अस्मिन्नर्थे महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुदयुक्तैरतिमहत्वाद्धेर्दस्याद्युत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारम्भम् &c E. I. VIII. p. 36 at p. 44, l 17

135. मन्त्री धीसचिवोऽमात्योन्ये कर्मसचिवास्ततः । अमरकोश II, क्षत्रियवर्ग.

136 धर्मार्थकामभयेषु व्याजेन परचित्तपरीक्षणमुपधा । नीतिवाक्यामृत (मन्त्रिसमुद्देश 14 p. 111). उपेत्य धीयते यस्मादुपधेति ततः स्मृता । उपाया उपधा ज्ञेयास्तैरामात्यान्परीक्षयेत् ॥ कामन्दक IV. 27.

reason of the fact that they possess great valour, knowledge, wealth and particularly the fact that they possess absolute power; therefore brāhmanas should always enlighten the mind of the king as to the duties of a king.

About the number of members in the council of ministers there has been a great divergence of views from ancient times Kauṭ I. 15 and Kām. XI. 67–68 state that according to the Mānava school the council (*parisad*) of ministers should be constituted of twelve amātyas, acc. to the Bārhaspatyas of 16, acc to the Auśanasas of 20, but Kautilya's own opinion was that the number is determined by the power or exigencies of the State (*yathāsāmarthyam*) The Bālakānda (7 2–3) states that Daśaratha had eight honest and devoted amātyas (who are then named) Manu VII. 54 and Mānasollāsa (II. 2. verse 57) require that the king should select seven or eight ministers who should be hereditary, versed in the śāstras, brave, born of high family and well-tested. This advice was followed by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, who had a council of eight ministers (*Pradhānas*). Vide Ranade's 'Rise of the Maratha Power' pp 125–126 where he describes the functions of the eight ministers called 'Mukhya-pradhāna' (Prime minister)', Pant Amātya (Finance minister), Pant Sachiva (General Accountant and Auditor), Senāpati (Commander-in-chief), Mantri (in charge of king's private affairs), Sumanta (Foreign Secretary), Panditrao (in charge of the Ecclesiastical Department), Nyāyādhīsha (Chief Justice). This list was probably taken by Shivaji's advisers from the Śukranītisāra II 71–72 where almost the same eight are said to be the ministers according to some. Vide also Grant Duff's History of the Marathas, vol. I. p. 193, and Rao Bahadur Wad's selections of *sanads* and letters (in Marathi) published by Messrs. Mawajee and Parasnis in 1913, where the names of the eight ministers of Shivaji are stated and their duties are described (p. 123). In the Śāntiparva (85. 7–9) it is declared that the king should have 37 sacivas, of whom 4 should be learned and bold brāhmanas, 8 valiant ksatriyas, 21 prosperous vaiśyas, 3 śūdras and one *sūta* versed in the Purānas, but verse 11 adds that the king should discuss and settle lines of policy in the midst of eight mantrins and Śānti 83 47 says that mantrins should not be less than three. In the Rāmāyana (II. 100. 71) Rāma whom Bharata came to meet in the former's exile asks him whether he held consultation with three or four mantrins and (in verse 18 = Sabhāparva 5. 30) Rāma hopes

that Bharata did not settle his policies by himself alone or in consultation with too many ministers. Kautilya also (I. 15) lays down that the king should hold consultation with three or four mantrins The Nītivākyāmrta (mantrisamuddeśa pp. 127–128) holds that they should be three, five or seven, that unanimity is difficult to secure in a group of persons of different characters and that when there are many ministers they are jealous and try to carry out their own ideas. These passages show that firstly there was to be a small cabinet of three or four ministers, secondly there was to be a council (*parisad*) of ministers who might be eight or more in number according to requirements and thirdly there was a large number of amātyās or sacivas (high functionaries concerned with various departments). The council is mentioned in the 3rd and 6th Rock Edicts of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I. p. 4 'parisā pi yute ājñāpayisati') in the words 'the council will order the officers called Yuktas'. The qualifications of ministers (amātyas) are laid down in several places e g in Kautilya I. 9, Manu VII. 54, Yāj. I. 312, Kām. IV. 25–30 (of which verses 28–30 are almost the same as the words of Kautilya), Śānti 118 2–3 (14 qualities of mantrins are mentioned), Śānti 80. 25–28, Bālakānda 7. 7–14, Ayodhyākānda 100. 15, Medhātithi on Manu VII. 54, Agnipurāṇa 239. 11–15 (= Kam. IV. 25 and 28–31), Mānasollāsa II. 2, verses 52–59, Nītivākyāmrta p. 108, Rājanītiratnākara pp 13–14 (quoting Nārada and Hārīta), Rājanītiprakāśa pp 174–178, Rājadharmakaustubha pp. 251–254, Budhabhūsana pp. 32, 57–58. Only the qualities required by Kautilya in amātya are set out here: He must be a native of the country, born of high family, influential, well-trained in arts, far-sighted, wise, of good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, endowed with enthusiasm and dignity, capable of endurance, pure (in mind and actions), well-disposed, firmly devoted (to the king), endowed with character, strength, health, spiritedness, free from arrogance and fickleness, affectionate, who would not have recourse to hatred (even when offended by the king). Kautilya states that amātyas are of three kinds, the best, middling and inferior, of which the first must be endowed in full with the qualities set out by him and the other two are deficient by one quarter and a half respectively. In Śānti 83. 35–40 the faults that disqualify a person for being a mantrin are stated and verses 41–46 set out the qualifications for a mantrin, one of which deserves special notice, viz. (verse 46) he should have secured the confidence of the pauras and jānapadas. Many works prescribe that the ministers were

to be hereditary if the son was capable like his father, e g Manu VII 54, Yāj I 312, Rāmāyana II 100 26 (=Sabhāparva 5. 43), Agni. 220 16–17, Śukra II 114 The Matsya 215 83–84 and Agnipurāna (220 16–17) add the very sensible remark that such hereditary ministers should not be allowed to dispose of the cases of their *dāyādas* (agnates) The Visnudharmottara (II. 24 55–56) contains the same rule This hereditary character is borne out by many inscriptions For example, in the Allahabad stone pillar ins of Samudragupta, Harisena is himself a Mahādanda-nāyaka whose father Dhruvabhūti was also a Mahādanda-nāyaka (Gupta Inscriptions pp 10, 15) and in the Udayagiri cave Inscription of Candragupta II (ibid p 34) Vīrasena is described as 'anvayaprāptasācivya' (who hereditarily obtained the post of *saciva*) The R N P (p 176) after quoting the Matsya-purāna expressly states that the hereditary principle was to be given up, if the son or grandson of a former minister had not the requisite qualifications, but that such a descendant was to be employed only in such state work as was suited to his[137] attainments The mantrins should, according to most authorities, be chosen from among brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas, but not from śūdras, even if the latter be endowed with qualities (vide Śukra II. 426–427, Nītivākyāmrta p 108)[137a] The consultation with the council of ministers was to be in secret Kautilya (I 15) says 'All administrative undertakings must be preceded by consultation with ministers The place for consultation should be so secluded that the conversation going on inside will not be heard outside and that even birds cannot see it, for it is narrated that secret consultations were divulged by parrots, *mainas*, dogs and other lower animals'[138] The Harsacarita VI states that Nāgasena of the Nāga dynasty met destruction in Padmāvatī because his secret policy was divulged

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137. मत्स्यपुराणेपि । गुणहीनानपि तथा विज्ञाय नृपतिः स्वयम् । कर्मस्वेव नियुञ्जीत यथायोग्येषु भागशः ॥ अत्राय वाक्यार्थः। यदि मौला. कुलीना अपि तथा पितृपैतामहपदयोग्य-गुणहीनास्तास्तथाविधगुणहीनानपि विज्ञाय यथायोग्येष्वेव कर्मसु स्वय भागशः कर्मविभागेन नियुञ्जीत न तु तत्तत्पितृपैतामहपदेषु तत्र तत्र तेषामयोग्यत्वात् । रा नी प्र p 176

137a ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशामेकतमं स्वदेशजमाचाराभिजनविशुद्धमग्र्यसचिवमग्र्याभि-चारिणमधीताखिलव्यवहारतन्त्रमस्रजमशेषोपाधिविशुद्ध च मन्त्रिण कुर्वीत । समस्तपक्षपातेषु स्वदेशपक्षपातो महान् । नीतिवाक्या० p 108

138. मन्त्रपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भा । तदुद्देश संवृत कथानामनिसाधी पक्षिभिरनालोक्य स्यात् । श्रूयते हि शुकसारिकाभि मन्त्रो भिन्न श्वभिरन्यैश्च तिर्यग्योनिभि । अर्थशास्त्र I 15. compare हर्षचरित VI 'नागकुलजन्मन सारिकाश्रावितमन्त्रस्यासीच्चाशो नागसेनस्य पद्मावत्याम् । शुकश्रुतरहस्यस्य च श्रीरदर्शयत श्रुतवर्मण श्रावस्त्याम् ।'

by a *mantrī*, Śrutavarman lost his kingdom in Srāvastī as his secret was disclosed by a parrot, and king Suvarnacūda met his death in Mrttikāvatī by babbling in a dream about his policy. Vide also Manu VII. 147-150, Yāj. I. 344, Kām. XI. 53, 65-66, Agnipurāna 225. 19, Mānasollāsa II 9, verses 700-705 p 92. Kaut. (I 15) has a verse 'no outsider should know the king's secret policy which he desires to carry out Only those who are to carry it out should know it only when it is begun or accomplished'. Vide for a similar rule Manu VII. 105 (=Śānti. 140 24 which is also the last but one verse in Kaut. I 15).[139] The king presided in the council, but if he was not present the chief minister presided (Manu VII. 141). In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V) the king's decision to make a *dravājya* is conveyed to the council of ministers and then the amātya (who here means the chief minister or President of the council) informs the king that the council agreed with the king, whereupon the king asks the council to depute the commander-in-chief Vīrasena to carry out the proposal. Kaut. further says (I. 15) that all business was to be transacted in the presence of the ministers; but if any one was absent his opinion was to be elicited by despatching a letter. In matters of emergency (or great danger) the king is to call his cabinet ministers and the council of ministers and what the majority decide or what would lead to success is to be carried out by the king. Śukra I. 365 also refers to the view of the majority. It is the duty of the ministers, according to Kām. IV. 41-49, to prevent a king from pursuing an evil course, it is the duty of the king to listen to the advice of his ministers and such ministers are not merely his friends but are really his *gurus*.[140] Śukra (II. 82-83) asks 'How can the kingdom be brought to prosperity by those ministers whom the king is not afraid to offend? They are no better than ladies who are to be decked with ornaments and fine clothes. What is the use of those ministers, whose advice does not tend to the advancement of the kingdom, the people, the army, the treasury, good government and to the destruction

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139. नास्य छिद्रं परः पश्येच्छिद्रेषु परमन्वियात् । गूहेत्कूर्म इवाङ्गानि रक्षेद्विवरमात्मन ॥ शान्ति 83. 49 and शान्ति 140. 24 with slight variations; कौटिल्य reads नास्य गुह्यं परे विद्युश्छिद्रं विद्यात्परस्य च । ... यस्याद्विवृतमात्मनः ॥

140. सज्जमाननकार्येषु निरुन्ध्युर्मन्त्रिणो नृपम् । गुरूणामिव चैतेषां शृणुयाद्वचनं नृपः ॥ ...नृपस्य ते हि सुहृदस्त एव गुरवो मताः । य एनमुत्पथगतं वारयन्त्यनिवारिताः ॥ सज्जमानमकार्येषु सुहृदो वारयन्ति ये । सत्यं ते नैव सुहृदो गुरवो गुरवो हि ते ॥ कामन्दक IV 41, 44-45

of enemies? The ministers, however, must have found it difficult to please the king and also to placate the subjects A well-known subhāsita states that one who looks to the benefit of the king comes to be hated by the people and he who looks to the good of the people (only) is abandoned by the king; when there is this great conflict it is rare to find a person who can secure the aims of both the king and the people [140a] Manu (VII 56-59) prescribes the matters in which consultations are to be held with ministers and the procedure thereof, viz. peace and war, *sthāna* (i e army, treasury, capital and the country), sources of revenue, protection (of himself and of the country), the proper bestowal of the wealth obtained, the king is to ascertain the opinions of ministers separately and then jointly and then do what is beneficial; he is then to hold consultation on the most important affairs relating to the six means of policy with a wise brāhmana who is the most distinguished of all ministers and always to rely upon him, to settle all lines of policy finally on his advice and then to act Yāj I 312 also requires the king to consult his *mantrins*, then a brāhmana (purohita) and thereafter to decide himself the course of action The principal matters which mantrins have to concentrate themselves upon, acc to Kām XIII 23-24 (=Agnipurāna 241 16-18), are: *mantra*, securing the fruit of the line of policy adopted (such as conquering a country and protecting it), the carrying out of the business (of the State), predicting the good or evil effects (of an action taken), revenue and expenditure, government (i e punishing those who deserve punishment), subduing enemies, measures against calamities like famine, guarding the king and the kingdom. [141] The Nītivākyāmrta (p 185) concisely puts the same by saying that amātyas have to concern themselves with revenue, expenditure, guarding the ruler (i e his body, his dharma, wife and children), looking after the army in all its arms

Yāj I 343 says 'since the State depends upon *mantra* (i e. lines of policy arrived at after consultation with ministers), the

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140a नरपतिहितकर्ता द्वेष्यतां याति लोके जनपदहितकर्ता त्यज्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः । इति महति विरोधे वर्तमाने समाने नृपतिजनपदानां दुर्लभः कार्यकर्ता ॥ q. by क्षेम. p. 86, last pāda being read as तदुभयहितकर्ता त्यज्यते पार्थिवेन्द्रैः.

141 मन्त्रो मन्त्रफलावाप्तिः कार्यानुष्ठानमायतिः । आयव्ययौ दण्डनीतिरमित्रप्रतिषेधनम् ॥ व्यसनस्य प्रतीकारो राजराज्याभिरक्षणम् । इत्यमात्यस्य कर्मेदं हन्ति स व्यसनान्वित । कामन्दक XIII. 23-24 and अग्निपुराण 241 16-18, आयो व्ययः स्वामिरक्षा तन्त्रपोषणं चामात्यानामधिकारः । नीतिवाक्यामृत (अमात्यसमुद्देशः) p 185

king should keep his lines of policy secret in such a way that people should not know them till the results of his undertakings manifest themselves'. Kautilya (X. 6 last verse) emphasizes the importance of mantra in 'an arrow discharged by an archer may kill one man or none at all, but a (well-considered) scheme put into operation by a wise man may destroy even those who are only conceived' [142] Both Sabhāparva 5. 27 and Ayodhyā 100. 16 have the same verse, viz *mantra* is the root of victory.[143] Kautilya and the Nītivākyāmṛta p. 114 say that *mantra* accomplishes the following, viz. the apprehension of what is not or cannot be seen, imparting the strength of definite conclusion to what is apprehended, removal of doubt when two courses or opinions are possible, inference of an entire matter when only a part is seen.[144] In most works such as Kauṭ. I. 15, Kām. XI. 56, Agnipurāna 241. 4, Pañcatantra I. p 85, Mānasollāsa (II. 9 verse 697 ff, p 92) it is said that *mantra* has five elements which have to be considered (it is *pañcāṅga*), viz. means of carrying out actions (or works), plenty of men and materials, proper allotment of time and place, remedies against pitfalls, the (happiness of the kingdom or people) that will result from the accomplishment of the course decided upon.[145]

The high functionaries and office-holders have been different at different times. In the Vedic age, in the performance of the Rājasūya, there are certain offerings (generally twelve in number) which are called 'ratnināṃ havīṃsi'. Their order and names differ in different texts, though most are the same in all. Besides the king (the sacrificer), the eleven 'ratnas' (jewels) or 'ratnins' are (according to the Śat Br. V 3. 2). the commander-in-chief, the *purohita*, the crowned queen, *sūta grāmaṇī, ksattṛ* (chamberlain), *saṅgrahitṛ* (treasurer or charioteer?),

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142. एकं हन्याच्च वा हन्याद्विद्धः क्षिप्तो धनुष्मता । प्राज्ञेन तु मतिः क्षिप्ता हन्याद्गर्भगतानपि ॥ अर्थशास्त्र X. 6 last verse, quoted in गणपतिशास्त्रि III. p. 386.

143. मन्त्रो विजयमूलं हि राज्ञां भवति राघव । अयोध्या 100 16, विजयो मन्त्रमूलो हि राज्ञां भवति भारत । सभा 5. 27.

144. अनुपलब्धस्य ज्ञानमुपलब्धस्य निश्चयबलाधानमर्थद्वैधस्य संशयोच्छेदमेकदेशदृष्टस्य शेषोपलब्धिरिति मन्त्रसाध्यमेतत् । तस्माद् बुद्धिवृद्धैः सार्धमासीत मन्त्रम् । अर्थशास्त्र I, 15 and नीतिवा. p. 114, which reads उपलब्धस्य निश्चयो निश्चितस्य बलाधानम्.

145. कर्मणामारम्भोपायः, पुरुषद्रव्यसम्पत्, देशकालविभागः, विनिपातप्रतीकारः, कार्यसिद्धिरिति पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः । अर्थशास्त्र I. 15, सहायाः साधनोपाया विभागो देशकालयोः । विपत्तेश्च प्रतीकारो मन्त्रः पञ्चाङ्ग इष्यते । कामन्दक XI 56 It will be noticed that Kām. omits कार्यसिद्धिः and makes up the five by counting देशविभाग and कालविभाग separately.

akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling or of the records?), bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), govikartana (? hunter), dūta (courier), parivṛkti (discarded queen) Vide H Dh vol II p. 1215 n and 1216 In Tai. Br (I. 7 3) they are the same as above except that govikartana is omitted and the queen called 'vāvātā' is added These are described in the Tai Br. I. 7 3 as the bestowers of the kingdom (ete vai rāstrasya pradātāraḥ). Vide also Tai. S I. 8 9 1-2. It is clear from Śat Br V 3. 2 2 and 4 that some of these jewels like the commander-in-chief and the huntsman were of low caste or of the śūdra caste Later on certain functionaries began to be called *tīrthas*, their number being 18; vide Sabhāparva 5 38 (=Ayodhyā 100. 36) and Śānti 69 52 for a reference to the 18 tīrthas.[146] Kautilya (I 12) speaks of the 18 tīrthas and enumerates them [147] In the Raghuvaṃśa 17.68 Kālidāsa employs the word tīrtha in this sense. According to the Nītivākyāmṛta (p 29) persons who are helpers in dharma and state business are called tīrtha In the Edicts of Aśoka the high officers were called mahāmātras (in Rock Edict XII there are dharma-mahāmātras) and other officers were yuktas, rājukas and prādeśikas (in Rock Edict III) of whom the first at least were subordinate to the council of ministers. Later writers like Govindarāja on Ayodhyā 100 36, the com

146. काञ्चिद्दृष्टादृशान्येषु स्वपक्षे दश पञ्च च । त्रिभिस्त्रिभिरविज्ञातैर्वेत्ति तीर्थानि चारकैः ॥ अयोध्या 100 36=सभापर्व 5, 38=नीतिप्रकाशिका I. 52.

147 तान्राजा स्वविषये मन्त्रि-पुरोहित-सेनापति-युवराज-दौवारिकान्तर्वंशिक-प्रशास्तृ-समाहर्तृ-संनिधातृ-प्रदेष्टृनायक-पौरव्यावहारिक-कार्मान्तिक-मन्त्रिपरिषदध्यक्ष-दण्डदुर्गान्त-पालाटविकेषु अद्धेयदेशवेषशिल्पभाषाभिजनापदेशान् भक्तितः सामर्थ्ययोगाच्चापसर्पयेत् ।.. एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेक्ष्यतान्। उदासीने च तेषां च तीर्थेष्वष्टादशस्वपि ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I 12 दौवारिक is lit doorkeeper i e Lord Mayor of the palace, आन्तर्वंशिक is Lord Chamberlain (the same as रूपाध्यक्ष or कलत्राध्यक्ष in Aśvamedhika-parva 22 20 and Śalya 29 72 and 94 and the रूपाध्यक्षमहामात्र in the 12th Rock Edict at Girnar or Mansehra in Corpus I, I, p 80, and the अन्त पुराध्यक्ष in मत्स्यपुराण 215 42) प्रशास्तृ is probably Chief Magistrate. समाहर्तृ is the minister or the Chief Commissioner of Revenue. संनिधातृ is the minister in charge of the Treasury. प्रदेष्टृ functions are not known, नायक is probably नगराध्यक्ष. पौरव्यावहारिक is the Chief Justice whose court was in the capital कार्मान्तिक was superintendent of all mines and State manufactories, दण्डपाल was officer in charge of all branches of the army, दुर्गपाल (=राष्ट्रपाल) officer in charge of all forts, अन्तपाल officer in charge of all frontiers, आटविक superintendent of forests and forest tribes It is possible to regard प्रदेष्टृनायक as one word meaning the chief of pradesīs (they were many, acc to Kautilya V. 2) and to take Paura as equal to the Nāgaraka i, e capital Superintendent (vide Arthaśāstra II 36) and Vyāvahārika as Chief Justice. For गोविकर्तन see विराट 2, 7, (cr. ed.).

on the Yaśastilaka I. p. 91 differ as to the names of these 18.[148] The Rājataraṅgiṇī I. 120 informs us that in former times there were only seven departments (*karmasthānas*), that later on they became 18 and that five more were added to these eighteen (IV. 142–143 and 512) viz. mahāpratihāra, mahāsāndhivigraha, mahāśvaśāla, mahābhāndāgāra, mahāsādhanabhāga (and so the Heads were called 'adhigata-pañcamahāśabda' i e. to whom five titles with 'mahā' in them were given).[149] The Agnipurāna 220 mentions several high functionaries like the senāpati, pratihāra, dūta and heads of departments. The Śukranītisāra (II. 69–70) enumerates ten principal high functionaries of the king (prakrtis) viz. purodhas (purohita), pratinidhi, pradhāna (President of council), saciva (war minister), mantrin (Home minister), prādvivāka (minister of justice), paṇḍita (minister of ecclesiastical matters), sumantra (Finance minister), amātya (revenue minister) and dūta (minister of diplomatic relations) and remarks that others omitted purodhas and dūta from this list of ten and held that these eight should all receive the same pay (verses 71–72), while Śukra was of opinion that the ten high dignitaries should each receive in order one tenth more as pay than the succeeding one (v. 71), that the purohita was the most eminent of all, that among the rest each preceding was more eminent than each succeeding one (II. 74–77), that after these high dignitaries came the other officers (adhikārigaṇa, II. 279), that then came the darśaka (secretary ?), and lekhaka (clerk), then the menial servants who waited on the king and lastly the lowest were those who carried out dirty work. In II. 84–87 Śukra briefly brings out the special functions of the

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148 उक्तं च। सेनापतिर्गणको राजश्रेष्ठी दण्डाधिपो मन्त्री महत्तरो बलवत्तरश्चत्वारो वर्णाश्चतुरङ्गबलं पुरोहितोऽमात्यो महामात्यश्चेत्यष्टादश राज्ञां तीर्थानि भवन्ति। com on यशस्तिलक I. p. 91, धर्मसमवायिनः कार्यसमवायिनश्च पुरुषास्तीर्थम्। नीतिवा p. 29 (अर्थसमुद्देश).

149. This is a meaning of *pañcamahāśabda* which is peculiar to the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Elsewhere that title generally means one before whom were beaten the five musical instruments In the Talcher grant of Kulastambha in the 9th century the epithet 'samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda' is applied to a king (mahārājādhirāja) in E. I vol XII p 157, while in an Inscription from Yewur of about 1040 A D it is applied to a mahāmaṇḍaleśvara (E I. vol XII. p 269). In the Pimpari plates of Dhāravarsa Dhruvarāja dated śake 697 the same title is applied to a minister described as महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतसामन्त (E. I. vol. X. p. 89) Vide J B B R A S (New series) vol. I pp. 238–245, VII. 487, VIII. 93 for discussion.

ministers from pratinidhi to dūta[150] and then in II. 88-105 at length. In I. 353-361 Śukra lays down how the king's public *durbar* should be arranged, viz. the king's throne should be in the centre of the western half of the hall on which the king should sit well-dressed, wearing his crown, armour and a drawn sword; his sons, grandsons, brother's and sister's sons should sit behind him, his daughter's sons should sit on his right and on his left should sit in order his uncles, chief agnates, members of the assembly, commanders; in front of the king to his right should be seated his maternal grandfather's relatives, the mantrins, and to the left his father-in-law, wife's brother, officers &c. The Śukranitisāra (*I* 374-376) lays down certain very practical rules for the king: 'he should personally observe villages, towns and districts every year; he should see whether his subjects are kept contented or are harassed by his officers, he should not side with the officers (with the man on the spot) but rather should take the side of the subjects, he should remove an officer who is hateful to many (lit. a hundred) people and an *amātya* should be removed if he is found to commit several illegal acts Śukra (in II. 107-113) further advises the change of portfolios among the ministers (e. g sumantra should be appointed amātya or *vice versa*); he says that for each department three should be engaged, one the most clever being the head and two others being darśakas (secretaries) who should be changed every three, five, seven or ten years; one man should not be allowed to hold the same high office for a long time, since otherwise he becomes intoxicated with power,[151] servants should not do any business without a written order nor should a king order anything to be done except in writing-(II. 290).

The words in Aśoka's Edict III 'pañcasu pañcasu vāsesu niyātu' probably refer to the practice of the transfer of high

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150 कार्याकार्यमविज्ञाता स्मृतः प्रतिनिधिस्तु सः । सर्वदर्शी प्रधानस्तु सेनावित् सचिवस्तथा ॥ मन्त्री तु नीतिकुशलः पण्डितो धर्मतत्त्ववित् । लोकशास्त्रनयज्ञस्तु प्राड्विवाक. स्मृतः सदा ॥ देशकालमविज्ञाता ह्यमात्य इति कथ्यते । अयव्ययमविज्ञाता सुमन्त्र स च कीर्तितः ॥ शुक्रनीति II. 84-86

151 Compare what Kautilya says 'चलं हि चित्तं विकरोति' (VII 14 p 305) That power corrupts is forcibly stated by Plato in his 'Laws' Book IV p 485 (Random House ed) 'Chronos knew that no human nature invested with supreme power is able to order human affairs and not overflow with insolence and wrong'

officers every five years. The 6th caste mentioned by Megasthenes (Fragment 1 p. 41 and Fragment XXXIII p. 85 in McCrindle's 'Ancient India') was that of overseers who inquired into and superintended all that went on in India, and made reports to the king or, where there was no king, to the magistrate. Megasthenes probably confounded the ministers and adhyaksas (who were often hereditary) with a caste. Vide also Fragment XXXIV pp. 86–88 about the officers of state and their duties. It is probably on account of some such rule as is stated in Śukra about frequent change of portfolios that in the inscriptions high functionaries have epithets prefixed to them which indicate their connection with several portfolios e. g. in the Banskhera plate of Emperor Harsa (E. I. vol. IV p. 208 at p. 211) Skandagupta (who is probably the same as the Skandagupta mentioned by Bāna in the Harsacarita VI as commander of the elephant arm) was the *dūtaka* of the grant and is described as 'mahāpramātāramahāsāmanta'; in the Allahabad stone pillar Ins. of Emperor Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions p. 10 and p. 15 n. 4), Harisena is described as 'Sāndhivigrahika' (minister for peace and war), 'Kumārāmātya' (the minister of the Yuvarāja?) and Mahā-dandanāyaka[152] (commander of an army); Prthvīsena (a brāhmana) is described as mantrin, kumārāmātya and then mahābalādhikrta (in E. I. vol X p. 72, of Gupta Samvat 117). In theory and practice the king was to issue orders in the presence or under the advice of his principal ministers We read in the grant of Rājarāja I of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty that he issued his command in the presence of the mantrin, purohita, senāpatī, yuvarāja, dauvārika and pradhāna (E. I. vol IV. p. 300 at p. 302). Śukra (II. 362–370) describes the procedure followed in issuing orders about State business. First the mantrin, prādvivāka (Chief Judge), pandita (head of ecclesiastical department), and dūta should write out the business relating to their departments, then the amātya should write thereon (*sādhu likhanam-asti*, the writing is good), sumantra adds '*samyag vicārītam*' (it is well considered), the pradhāna writes 'satyam yathārtham' (it is the truth, it is as the business requires), pratinidhi should write 'aṅgīkartum yogyam' (it is proper to accept this), the yuvarāja should write 'angīkartavyam' (it should be accepted), the purohita should write 'lekhyam svā-

152. 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka' may mean 'the chief minister' as Manu VII 65 states 'on the amātya depends the control (of the government) and discipline (among subjects) depends on control (danda).'

bhimatam' (this writing is approved by me); all then should make their seals after their remarks and then the king should write 'angīkṛtam'[153] (it is accepted) and affix his seal

The Rājatarangiṇī shows that persons often rose to ministerial positions from low birth e g. (V. 73) it states that an engineer of Avantivarman was a foundling, (VII. 207) a watchman became chief minister.

It is necessary to say a few words about some of the great officers of State. First comes the Yuvarāja Kautilya devotes one chapter (I. 17) to taking care of the prince. The subjects of the prince's education, his association with state business, treatment of princes, good or bad, the coronation of a yuvarāja have already been dealt with (pp. 49, 83 &c.). The younger brother or eldest son was made yuvarāja (Crown Prince) during the reigning king's life (Ayodhyā, chap. 3–6, Kām. VII 6, Śukra II 14–16) Rāma on his coronation as king made Bharata the Crown Prince when Laksmana refused to be so (Yuddha 131. 93). The yuvarāja and princes were often sent as governors of different parts of the realm. The Divyāvadāna (XXVI. p 371) states that Aśoka was sent by his father Bindusāra to Taksaśilā to pacify popular disturbances and Emperor Aśoka himself is said to have sent his son Kunāla from Pātaliputra to the same town to pacify the citizens that had been offended by the arrogance of the *amātyas* (*ibid* pp 407–8) Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā Ins (E I. vol XX at pp. 79, 86) was a yuvarāja for nine years from his 16th to his 24th year From the Mālavikāgnimitra we learn that while Puṣyamitra was virtual emperor of Bharatavarsa his son Agnimitra was ruling at Vidiśā and had the authority to divide the kingdom of Berar between two brothers, Yajñasena and Mādhavasena The yuvarāja is not generally enumerated in the lists of mantrins, but he is one of the 18 tīrthas and from Śukra (above p 115) it appears that he had a seal and important matters passed through his hands along with those of the ministers. According[154] to

153. Compare the word 'drstam' occurring at the beginning of Chammak and Sivani grants of the Vākātaka emperor Pravarasena II and the same word in the plate of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (in E I. vol I at p 9) In most plates of the Vākātakas the word 'drstam' occurs at the beginning, vide E I vol 22 p 167

154. जीवन्सन् स्वामिता पुत्रे न देयाण्यखिला क्वचित् । स्वभावसद्गुणे यस्मान्महानर्थमवावहः ॥ विण्वत्यैरपि नो दत्ता स्वपुत्रे स्वाधिकारता । स्वायुषः स्वल्पशेषे तु सत्पुत्रे स्वाम्यमादिशेत् ॥ शुक्रनीति० V 17–18.

Śukra (II. 12) the yuvarāja and the group of amātyas are the two arms or eyes of the king, but Śukra V. 17 warns the king against transferring all power to the Crown Prince except when the king is about to die. The Matsyapurāna 220. 7 quoted in the Budhabhūsana (p. 33) prescribes that the king should entrust to the well-disciplined prince at first unimportant offices and then gradually important ones.[155] If a prince was ill-behaved he was not to be abandoned as he would go over to the enemies and harm the king, but he should be kept confined in a guarded place (Kām. VII 6, Budhabhūsana pp 33, 35, verses 77, 93). As regards his emoluments he was placed on the same footing as the mantrin, purohita, senāpati, the queen, the king's mother (Kaut V. 3). What office is meant by the Kumārāmātya in some of the Inscriptions (e. g. Gupta Ins. pp. 10, 50, E I. vol X p. 72, E. I. vol XI. p. 83) is not clear. It does not probably mean 'a royal prince who was also an amātya', but rather some minister attached to the yuvarāja, as contradistinguished from rājāmātya (which office occurs in Gupta Inscriptions, p. 218) It appears that in ancient times provincial governors could be total strangers to the royal family From Rudradāman's Junāgadh Ins. we learn that the governor of Surāstra under Candragupta Maurya was a vaiśya called Pusyagupta and under Aśoka a *Yavana* noble or king called Tusāspa[155a] (E. I. VIII p 36 at p. 43).

Next comes the *purohita*. In H. Dh vol. II pp. 40 and 363 it has been already shown how purohitas existed from the most ancient period of the Ṛgveda, how the purohita was thought to be half the soul of the king and how the co-operation of the spiritual teacher and the secular head (the king) was deemed absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the kingdom, how Gautama (XI 12-14) and Āp Dh. S II 5 10. 16 prescribed the qualities of the purohita. Our authorities show that the purohita was not a mere priest. The Ait Br. (40. 2) calls the purohita 'rāstragopa' (the saviour of the kingdom). The Śukranīti also,

155. अधिकारेषु सर्वेषु विनीत विनियोजयेत् । आद्यौ स्वल्पे ततः पश्चात्क्रमेणाथ महत्स्वपि ॥ मत्स्य 220. 7, बुध p. 33

155a It is strange that Dr Beni Prasad in 'The State in ancient India' (p 189) remarks "the former governor is designated *rāstriya* while the latter is called *adhisthāya*" 'Adhisthāya' in Rudradāman's Ins. is only a gerund of 'sthā' with 'adhi' and means 'having ruled over' राष्ट्रिय is formed from राष्ट्र according to राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ (Pān IV. 2 93) and means 'one ruling over a province, a Provincial Governor' In dramas राष्ट्रिय means 'king's brother-in-law'. Kṣīrasvāmī says 'नात्यादन्यत्र राष्ट्रा-धिकृतो राष्ट्रियः'.

though a very late work, similarly describes the purohita (II. 74) as 'rājarāstrabhrt' (the supporter of the king and the kingdom) In the Rgveda III. 53. 12 we find the idea that the hymns and the spiritual power of the purohita Viśvāmitra protected the Bharata clan [156] He made the king ready for battle and accompanied him in battle murmuring 'where the arrows fly &c'. (Rg. VI. 75 17) while the fight went on (vide Āśv. Gr III 12 19 quoted below n. 308) The Visnudharmasūtra III 70, Yāj I. 313, Kām. IV 32 require that the purohita was to be well versed [157] in the vedas, itihāsa, dharmaśāstra or dandanīti, in astrology and portents, in rites of propitiation contained in the Atharvaveda, of high family, endowed with all *vidyās* and good acts as stated in the śāstras and with austerities. Kaut. (I 9) states almost the same qualifications for the purohita, requires the king to honour his advice as a pupil honours his teacher or a son his father or a servant his master and says that royal power advanced by brāhmanas, enforced as with a spell by the consultations of mantrins and endowed as with a weapon by the observance of śāstric rules becomes invincible and secures success Vide Ādi. 170 74–75, 174. 14–15, Śānti. 72. 2–18 and chap. 73, Rājanītiprakāśa pp 59–61 and 136–137, Rājadharma-kaustubha pp 255–257 for qualifications expected in the purohita Kautilya (X 3) states that while a battle is going on the (chief) minister and purohita should urge on and encourage the soldiers by exhorting them with verses from the Veda and classical Sanskrit, promising great rewards in the next world for those who fall in battle The Śukranītisāra (II. 78–80) requires in the purohita among other qualities the study of dhanurveda, proficiency in arms and in formations of armies for battle and possession of so much religious merit as to be able to pronounce an effective curse A purohita was to be distinguished from a *rtvij* (a sacrificial priest) as Manu VII 78 and Yāj I 314 show Vide Mānasollāsa II 2 60 (p 34), Rājanītiratnākara pp 16–17, Visnudharmottara II. 5, Agni 239 16–17 for further passages on purohita Some authorities include

156. विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेद भारतं जनम्। ऋ. III 53 12

157 वेदेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशल कुलीनमव्यङ्ग तपस्विनं पुरोहितं च वरयेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 70, पुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम्। दण्डनीत्या च कुशलमथर्वाङ्गिरसे तथा॥ याज्ञ. I. 313, पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलं षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत। तमाचार्यं शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत। .... ब्राह्मणेनैधित क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम्। जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगमशस्त्रितम्॥ कौटिल्य I. 9, राजा पुरोहित कुर्यादुदितं ब्राह्मणं हितम्। कृताध्ययनसंपन्नमलुब्धं सत्यवादिनम्॥ कात्या. q in स वि. p 20.

the purohita among amātyas or mantrins (e. g. Vijñāneśvara on Yāj. I. 353, Śukra II. 69–70), while others like Yāj. I. 312 regard him as distinct from mantrins. The purohita was often hereditary. Acc. to Kautilya quoted above he was to employ means declared in the Atharvaveda to remove calamities, divine and human. The great divine calamities acc. to Kautilya IV. 3 are fire, flood, disease, famine, rats, wild elephants, snakes and evil spirits.[158] According to Manu VII. 78 the purohita was concerned with the religious rites laid down in the śrauta and grhya sūtras and Āp II. 5. 10. 14–17 show that the purohita had complete jurisdiction in matters of penance for offences. Vas. (19. 40–42) provides that if the king lets off an offender deserving to be punished the king had to fast for a day and the purohita for three days and to perform the heavy penance of Krcchra if the king punished the innocent. According to most authorities he played a role that was pre-eminently religious He is not mentioned among the 10 limbs of the sabhā in the administration of justice. Kāt. 24 (quoted in S. V. p. 20) does not require him to be an expert in arthaśāstra, though Kāt 56 quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 2 and Sm. C. (II. p. 14) say that the king should enter the Hall of Justice with learned brāhmanas, the ministers, the chief justice, the purohita &c. Yāj. I. 312 and the Mit. on Yāj. I. 312–313 on the other hand prescribe that even after consulting all mantrins, the king was finally to consult the purohita in all secular and religious matters. The Nītivākyāmrta (purohitasamuddeśa) p 160 states that the divine calamities are: shower of fire (fall of lightning?), excessive rainfall, epidemics, famine, damage or disease of crops, swarms of locusts and other vermin, diseases, goblins and female evil spirits, snakes, wild elephants, rats. The purohita is required to know ritual of five kinds,[159] viz. that dealing with the propitiation of Naksatras, that of śrauta sacrifices, that of the *samhitās* (of Tantra worship), that of Atharvaśiras and that of

158. दैवान्यष्टौ महाभयानि-अग्निरुदकं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मूषिका व्यालाः सर्पा रक्षांसीति। तेभ्यो जनपदं रक्षेत्। अर्थशास्त्र IV. 3; अमानुष्योग्नेर्वर्षमतिवर्षं मरकी (मरको?) दुर्भिक्षं सस्योपघातो जन्तुसर्गो व्याधिर्भूतपिशाचशाकिनीसर्पव्यालमूषकाश्चेत्यापदः। नीतिवा p.160.

159. पञ्चकल्पविधानज्ञं वरयेत्तु सुदर्शनम्। नक्षत्रकल्पो वैतानस्तृतीयः संहिताविधिः। चतुर्थः शिरसा कल्पः शान्तिकल्पस्तु पञ्चमः॥ पञ्चकल्पविधानज्ञमाचार्यं माप्य भूपतिः। सर्वोत्पातमशान्तात्मा भुनक्ति वसुधां चिरम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 5. 3–5 quoted in राजनीतिकौ. p. 256. शिरस् here seems to mean अथर्वशिरस् which is an Upaniṣad mentioned in Gaut. 19.12, Vas. 28. 14, Visnudharmasūtra 56. 22 among the holy Vedic texts that purify a person of sins. It begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोकमगमंस्ते देवा रुद्रमपृच्छन्को भवानिति। Vide Muir's Sanskrit Texts vol. IV, p. 356 ff for text (portion) and translation.

sāntis (such as grahaśānti &c.). Calamities, according to Kām. XIII. 20–21, are of two sorts, divine (daiva) and human: there are five kinds of the first viz. fire, flood, disease, famine and epidemic, all of which can be met by human effort and by propitiatory rites, while human calamities should be withstood by constant effort and by proper lines of policy. The same verses are Agnipurāna 241 14–16.

Acc to Kautilya (V 3) 48000 panas were the salary of the (royal) sacrificial priest, ācārya (teacher), mantrin, purohita, commander-in-chief, crown prince, the king's mother, the queens and he holds that "with that amount of maintenance they would not yield to temptation or revolt (against the king)".[160] The amātyas, the chief judge and even the purohita could be punished by the king, acc to Manu, if any of them went wrong (VIII 335 and IX 234) and Kaut. (IX. 3) prescribes that when the purohita is guilty even of a great offence, the remedy is to imprison him or banish him. Some great ministers, though not exactly purohitas of the king, were learned brāhmanas and led simple lives such as Cānakya and Mādhava There is divergence of views about the salaries set out in the Arthaśāstra (V. 3). Jayaswal (in 'Hindu Polity' part II p 136) holds that the salaries were yearly and the panas in which they were paid were silver ones. Prof Dikshitar (in 'Mauryan Polity' p 151) holds that the salaries were monthly Confusion is caused by the fact that there were panas of copper, silver and gold Vide Rājanītiprakāśa p 294 The Rājatarangini VII 950 speaks of *dīnnāras* of gold, silver and copper Rao Bahadur K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar holds that the salaries (in the Arthaśāstra) were monthly and in golden panas (in 'Ancient Indian Polity' pp 44–45) Therefore this matter must be investigated Manu (VIII 13) promises that those names of copper, silver and gold coins which are well-known among the people (of its day) for purposes of trade will be described by him Acc. to Manu VIII. 134 and 136, Visnu Dh S IV. 6–10, and Yāj I 363–365 five krsnalas are equal to a māsa, 16 māsas are equal to a suvarna, 4 suvarnas (or five acc. to some) are equal to a pala, a karsa is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pala and a piece of copper one-fourth of a pala in weight is called a pana, which is the same as kārsāpana[161] (equal to 80 *raktikās* or

160. ऋत्विगाचार्यमन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजराजमातृराजमहिष्योऽष्टचत्वारिंशत्सहस्राः । एतावता भरणेनानास्वाद्यत्वमकोपकं चेषां भवति । कौटिल्य V 3

161. कर्षसमितस्ताम्रविकारः पणसंज्ञो भवति कार्षापणसंज्ञकश्च कार्षापणस्तु विज्ञेयस्ताम्रिकः कार्षिकः पण—इति मनुवचनात् । मिता० on या I 365, पणकार्षापणशब्दौ पलचतुर्थांशकर्षस्य ताम्रद्रव्यस्य नामधेयम् । स्मृतिश्च (II p 99). धान्यमाषा दश सुवर्णमाषकाः पञ्च वा शुक्लाः । ते षोडश सुवर्णः कर्षो वा । चतुःकर्षं पलम् । अर्थशास्त्र II. 19.

guñjā berries). A pala was equal to 320 raktikās. Kaut II.19 says practically the same thing. In Kaut. V. 3 the salaries range from 48000 to 60 panas from the highest functionaries to the lowest servants. They must all be taken to be for the same period in every case and in the same metal, since Kaut expressly states no different periods and no difference in metal. Ordinarily the words pana and kārsāpana (as stated by Manu VIII 136 and the Mit. on Yāj. I. 365 and the Śukranīti IV. 1. 116) refer to copper pieces (used as coins) and bearing a stamp. Another table given by Manu VIII. 135–136, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 11–12, Yāj. I. 364 is: 2 raktikās[162] or krsnalas = one (silver) māsa, 16 māsas = one

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162. A *raktikā* was found by General Cunningham after many experiments to weigh on an average 1.8 grains (vide his 'Coins of Ancient India' pp 45–46 and also Rapson's 'Coins' pp. 2–3) So that a silver dharana or purāna (of 32 raktikās) should weigh about 57. 6 grains and a copper pana (of 80 raktikās) should weigh 144 grains It appears that the weights of Indian coins in different parts and at different times varied a good deal. Cunningham ('Coins of Ancient India' p. 5) states that gold was cheap in India, being as one to eight rates of silver. But in medieval times i. e. about 1300 A. D. (vide Śukra IV. 2 92–93) gold was 16 times the price of the same weight of silver, which again was 80 times of the price of the same weight of copper. Though, as stated in note 161 above, a copper pana was usually equal to eighty raktikās, a copper pana of 100 raktikās (i. e of 20 māsas) was known. Nār. (pariśista verse 58) speaks of *māsa* as the 20th part of the kārsāpana and the Mit on Yāj. I 365 and Vy Nirnaya p 207 quote a verse (attributed to Usanas by Haradatta and Maskarin in Gaut. XII 19) that a māsa is a twentieth part of pana (माषो विंशतिमो भागः पणस्य परिकीर्तितः). The Agnipurāna (227 2) appears to have known a pana of 120 krsnalas (कृष्णलानां तथा पञ्चा कर्षार्धं दाम कीर्तितम्) The verses in Nār. (pariśista 58–60) are ascribed to Kāt by the Sm C II. p 99 and it is stated by both that these terms are in vogue in Pañcanada (Punjab). When the pana of copper was equal to 20 māsas (and 100 *guñjās*), the copper coin would have been almost of the weight of the modern copper half anna coin. The table given by Nār. (pari 58–60) is: 4 kākinīs=māsa, 20 māsas=kārsāpana (which is the same as Andikā), 4 kārsāpanas = dhānaka, 12 dhānakas = suvarna (also called dīnāra) The table given by Br (as quoted in Sm. C. II p. 99 and V. R. p. 667) is the same. Br. as quoted by Aparārka p 832 and V. R. p. 111 employs the word 'nānaka' for coin, which word also occurs in the Mrcchakatika and in Yāj II. 240–241. The Amarakośa states that niska and dīnāra are synonyms and also gives other meanings of niska Śabara on Jai. IV. 3 39 gives the striking example 'no one would spend a kārsāpana for finding out a kākinī that he had lost'. The Arthaśastra II 12 p 84 states that the superintendent of the mint should manufacture copper panas, half panas, kākinīs and half kākinīs. The Visnu Dh S V. 96 refers to a golden

(*Continued on the next page*)

silver purāna or dharana; 10 dharanas = one (silver) śatamāna. This table was used for silver coins. Thus a dharana would be 1/10th of a *pala* as stated in the Bṛhatsamhitā (10. 13 palada-

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(*Continued from last page*)

māsaka. Under the Guptas golden coins are mentioned as dināras, vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p. 29 at p. 31 where there is a gift of 25 dināras in the Gupta year 93 and pp 38, 41, 261 (where it is stated that one *bhiksu* was to be fed every day throughout the year from the permanent endowment of 12 dināras). From the Baigram plate dated Gupta *samvat* 128 it appears that one dināra was equal to 16 rūpakas (silver coins) in E I vol XXI. p 80. A Mathurā Ins of the 28th year of Huviska speaks of the deposit of 550 purānas (E. I. vol XXI p. 55 at 61). Bhāskarācārya (who was born in śake 1036 and wrote his Siddhāntaśiromani in 1072 śake i e 1150 A. D) gives the following table (in Līlāvati I 2–4)· 20 varātakas = kākini, 4 kākinīs = pana, 16 panas = dramma, 16 drammas = niska, 2 yavas = guñjā, 3 guñjās = valla (modern Marathi *vāl*), 8 vallas = dharana, 2 dharanas = gadyānaka, 5 guñjās = māsa, 16 māsas = karsa, 4 karsas = pala and a karsa of gold is called Suvarna. It will be seen that Nār. and Līlāvati differ as to काकिणी Gadyānakas of gold are referred to in the Pattadakal pillar Ins of Kirtivarman I (754 A. D.) where it is stated that a field of 30 nivartanas was purchased for thirty gadyānakas of gold (E I vol III. pp 6–7) From a verse of the Caturvimśatimata quoted by the Mit on Yāj III 258 it appears that gadyānaka was also a silver coin. From an inscription of Vikramāditya V near Gadag dated *śake* 934 it appears that fines for offences were levied in gadyānakas (E I vol. XX p 64) The following works may be consulted for further information on Indian coins viz Cunningham's 'Coins of Ancient India' (1894), Rapson's 'Indian coins' (1897) in the *Grundriss*, C. J. Brown's 'Coins of India' (in 'the Heritage of India' series, 1922) The Dharmadvaitanirnaya (pp 137–139) and the Vaijayanti on Visnu Dh S IV. 9 may be consulted for efforts to reconcile the various statements about Suvarna, Niska &c For an informing paper on the most ancient *Denarii*, vide Proceedings of the British Academy vol XVIII pp 211-266 where it is established that the earliest *denarius* period begins about 187 B C Therefore Jolly's assumption (in Recht und Sitte p 23 followed by Winternitz in 'History of Indian Literature' vol II. p. 216 n. 4 that all Indian works in which the word dināra occurs cannot have been composed before 2nd century A D is unwarranted. Prof. Keith (JRAS for 1915 p 504) does not accept Jolly's assumption The dināra was variously defined According to Visnugupta quoted in Hemādri's Vratakhanda, a rūpaka is $\frac{1}{10}$th of suvarna and a dināra was equal to 28 rūpakas, while acc to Nār and Kāt सुवर्ण and दीनार were synonyms The Dharmadvaitanirnaya says that a kārsāpana (of silver it seems) was equal to eight or ten *dhabbukas*. One of the verses of the Jñāneśvarī (composed in 1290 A D) that speaks of gold as पंधरें (15 times in price of the same weight of silver) may be cited here 'पै भांगार जरी पंधरें। तरी राजवळीची अक्षरें। लाहे (v l साहे) तैचि सरे। जियापरी।' chap 17 verse 322 (Bhide's and Madgavkar's editions)

śabhāgo dharaṇam). Nārada (pariśista 57) expressly states that a silver kārsāpana is in vogue in the south i. e. a silver pana or kārsāpana was not universal.[163] A golden suvarna also comprised 80 guñjas, while the standard silver pana was of 32. Rhys Davids (in 'Buddhist India' p. 100) states that about the time of Buddha's birth transactions were carried on in terms of the *kahāpaṇa*, a square copper coin weighing about 144 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch marks made by private individuals, that there were half and quarter kahāpanas also, that a kahāpana would be now worth about $\frac{2}{3}$ths of a penny, though its purchasing power was then equal to about one shilling of the present day. Therefore it is proper to understand that a paṇa or kārsāpaṇa, when the word is used without any qualification, was meant to be one of copper and that *prima facie* the salaries in Kautilya were meant to be in copper panas This conclusion can be supported by various considerations Manu VII. 126 prescribes that the wages for the lowest menial servant (such as one who sweeps the house or brings water) is one pana a day and of a superior menial servant 6 panas a day and that the former was to get in addition one pair of garments every six months and every month a drona of corn (which would be equal to 1024 *muṣṭis* according to the Mit. on Yāj III. 274). Whatever ages may be assigned to the Arthaśāstra and the present Manusmrti the two works cannot be separated from each other, if at all, by more than a century or two. Therefore the economic conditions of the one may be held to have not differed much from those to which the other refers. It is impossible to hold that the lowest menial servant got one gold paṇa a day besides over 30 *muṣṭis* of corn every day (1024 in a month). If that were so, the lowest menial servants of Kauṭilya's days would have to be supposed to be a hundred times better off than their *confreres* in big cities like Bombay towards the end of the 19th century (when menial servants got from five to ten rupees a *month* without any allowance of grain). Therefore the pana in Kautilya V. 3 is not of gold. Kauṭilya (in V. 3) says that a king who has a depleted treasury may make payment of salary by giving forest produce, cattle or fields along with small quantities of cash, that if he has undertaken to colonize a waste tract he may make payment of salary in cash only and not by bestowing a village. In connection

163. कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते। नारद (परिशिष्ट 57); दशपणिको योजने दूतो मध्यमः। दशोत्तरे द्विगुणवेतन आ योजनशतादिति। कौटिल्य V 3.

with this he says that 60 panas are to be the equivalent of one ādhaka of corn (sastivetanasyādhakam krtvā hiranyānurūpam bhaktam kuryāt) [164] An ādhaka [165] came to only 256 *mustis* (handfuls) of corn and even in famine times one ādhaka could not have cost 60 silver panas, much less golden ones In V. 3 Kautilya declares that an ordinary dūta should get ten *panas* for a journey of one *yojana* and twice the wages for each yojana up to one hundred. A yojana acc to Kaut. himself (II. 20) is equal to 8000 *dhanus* (acc to another reading 4000 *dhanus*), a dhanus being equal to four aratnis (each aratni being 24 angulas). So taking the highest figure a yojana was at the

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164 The word hiranya has two senses 'gold' and 'money or 'cash' whether in gold, silver or copper (as said by Amara who gives 'dravina' as a synonym) When Kautilya says that the king may pay 'hiranya' and not 'grāma' he means only cash payment and not necessarily only gold. vide the copperplate grant of Śīlāditya VII in Gupta Inscriptions p 179 at p 189 where the grant of a village is said to be 'sadhānyahiranyādeyah' Here *dhānya* (payment of tax in kind) is contradistinguished from payment in *hiranya* i e in cash (either gold, silver or copper). When Patañjali states that the Mauryas being greedy of 'hiranya' founded or manufactured images (Mahābhāsya vol II p. 429 on Pān V 3 99 quoted in H Dh vol II p 710 n 1696) what is meant is that they wanted cash and not merely gold.

165 The measures of capacity such as आढक, प्रस्थ occur in the Mathura Ins of Huviska (E I XXI p 55 at p. 61) According to Parāśara (VI 70) two *prasthas* are equal to an ādhaka and 32 prasthas are equal to a drona The Mit on Yāj III 275 quotes a verse to this effect 8 mustis = one *kuñcit* or *kuñci* (acc to some), 8 kuñcit = puskala, 4 puskalas = ādhaka; 4 ādhakas = drona and 16 dronas = khārī Aparārka (pp 305 and 846) quotes two verses (which the Par. M II 1 p 141 ascribes to the Bhavisya-purāna) which say 2 palas = prasrti, 2 prasrtis = kudava, 4 kudavas = prastha, 4 prasthas = ādhaka, 4 ādhakas = drona, 2 dronas = kumbha The Danda viveka p. 135 refers to this, adds that some held the kumbha to be equal to 20 dronas (Kaut II 20 holds kumbha to be equal to 20 dronas) and quotes the following verse from चण्डेश्वर 'कुडवाद्या वेदगुणाः प्रस्थाढ्यद्रोणमानकाः खार्यः। कुम्भो विंशतिखार्या दृष्टो लोके यथाक्रमशः'॥ The word drona occurs even in the Rgveda in the sense of a wooden trough used for holding water or soma juice Vide Rg. VI 2 8, VI 37 2, VI 44 20, IX 28 4 etc In Rg IV 32 17 the sage prays Indra to grant a hundred khāris of soma The words *ādhaka* and *drona* occur in the ardharcādi group (Pān II. 4 31), *Khārī* in Pān. V 1. 33 and V. 4 101. The Par M II 1 141 says on this difference about kumbha 'देशभेदेन शास्त्रद्वयस्य व्यवस्थापनीयत्वात्' Kaut (II. 19 p 104) himself tells us that the measure drona was of four varieties, 162½ palas, 175, 187½ or 200 palas according as it was used for measurement in the harem, or for servants or for ordinary dealings or for royal income.

most about 9 or 10 miles (or only $4\frac{1}{2}$ or five miles according to the other reading). To hold that 10 silver panas were allowed to an ordinary dūta for going even ten miles (which he could cover in half a day or less) would be too much. Hence also the panas in Kaut. V. 3 are only copper ones. When once it is settled that the panas are of copper, it easily follows that the salaries in panas were monthly. Artisans and craftsmen were, acc. to Kaut., to get 120 panas. If this were yearly, they would get only 10 panas a month, while, according to Manu quoted above, even the lowest menial was to get a pana a day. Therefore 120 panas (of copper) were the monthly salary of an artisan. A monthly salary is more natural and practical than a yearly one. Other ancient writers like Śankha-Likhita (in Rājanītiprakāśa p. 252) contemplate a monthly salary for soldiers (viz. two suvarnas a month).[166] From the Nasik Inscription No. 12 (E. I. Vol. VIII.

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166. शङ्खलिखितौ । वाहनयोधानां सततमन्वीक्षणं प्रतिमासं द्विसौवर्णिकी वृत्तिः षाण्मास्यं स्मरणं चातुर्मास्यं वा । स्वयंतेषु दानमनुक्रोशो विदितेष्वनुग्रहदानं कुलचारित्रशील-विद्यालक्षणगुणाधिकेषु संमानं प्रयुञ्जीत । राजधर्मकाण्ड p 58, राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 252. राजधर्मकाण्ड explains राजकार्येण मृतेषु योधेषु तत्सुतादिभ्यो दानं दया च राज्ञा विधातव्या । प्रसिद्धेषु तु योधेषु दानवेतनाद्यधिकमपि वस्त्रादि देयमित्यर्थः. This provides for pension to the dependents when the soldier dies on duty, special bonuses or favours for special valour, work or worth.

A few words may be said about words like suvarna, śatamāna, niska &c. The word krsnala occurs in the Tai S II 3. 2 1. Hiranyakāra (goldsmith) is found in Vāj S 30 17. In Rg I. 126 2 gifts of a hundred niskas and horses are mentioned and in Rg IV 37 4 the Rbhus are addressed as wearing 'good niskas' In Atharva V. 14 3 'niska' occurs and in the Ait. Br (39 8) damsels who are *niskakanthyah* (whose necks are adorned with necklaces of niskas) are among the gifts So 'niska' was probably a gold piece used as a coin or an ornament or a thin plate of gold like a modern *patli*, several of which are even now worn by women in the form of a necklace In Rg II 33 10 Rudra is said to wear 'viśvarūpa-niska' which is probably an allusion to golden pieces stamped with various figures. In Rg VI 47 23 the sage says that he received ten 'hiranyapindas' (golden pieces) from Divodāsa In Rg VIII. 78 2 a prayer is offered to Indra for the bestowal of golden '*mana*', which may be the precursor of 'Śatamāna'. This last occurs in the Tai. S VI. 6 10 2 Pān (V. 1. 27, 29, 30) respectively mentions śatamāna (what is bought for a śatamāna is called śātamāna), kārsāpana, niska and V. I 34 refers to pana, pāda and māsa Patañjali (Mahābhāsya vol III. p 369 on Pān. VIII 1. 12) gives the instance 'from this kārsāpana give one māsa to each of these two persons who are here'. The sūtra of Pānini V. 2. 120 (rūpād--āhataprasastayor-yap) conveys that

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p. 82) we learn that in the early centuries of the Christian era 35 kārsāpanas were equal to one suvarna.

Hopkins in 'Position of the ruling caste' J. A. O. S. vol. XIII. pp. 151–162 traces how the influence of the purohita grew. One cannot accept his views about there being three layers in the Mahābhārata and the conclusions from such dealing with the text that he draws, which are rather subjective. Gradually the importance of the purohita waned As the Śukranītisāra cited above (n 150.) shows, long before that work he came to be omitted by several writers from the council of ministers and was supplanted by the Pandita. The same functions came to be exercised by an officer called dharmādhyaksa or dharmādhikaranika in Bengal and other countries The Matsyapurāna (215.24) states the qualifications of a *dharmādhikārin*.[167] Vide E I. vol. 14 p. 156 at p. 160 of the Naihati grant of Ballālasena, where we have both purohita and mahādharmādhyaksa mentioned among the great functionaries of State and the Benares copper-plate of the Cedi king Karnadeva in 1042 A D. in E I vol II. p 309 where we have mahādharmādhikaranika but no purohita. Besides another officer called sāmvatsara (astrologer) gradually took over some of the functions of the purohita. The Visnudharmasūtra III. 75 (*rājā ca sarvakāryesu sāmvatsarādhīnah syāt*) requires the king to depend on the sāmvatsara in all matters. The Brhat-samhitā (2.9) states that a king without a sāmvatsara mistakes his path like a blind man. Kām. 4.33 and Visnudharmottara II. 4. 5–16 recommend reliance on him. Kautilya[167a] IX. 4 was himself against too much reliance on astrology, while Yāj. I 307 holds that the rise and fall of kings depend on the (aspects or influence of) planets.

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Pāṇini knew metal pieces that were well beaten and trimmed into good-looking coins The Vārtika 'Kākinyāścopasankhyānam' (on Pāṇini V. I 33) establishes that kākini was used in those days as a medium of purchasing goods The Kāśikā gives 'rūpyo dināraḥ' as an example निघातिकाताडनादिना दीनारादिषु रूपं पटुत्वधते तदाहतमित्युच्यते। आहतं रूपमस्य रूप्यो दीनारः। रूप्यं कार्षापणम्। काशिका.

167. समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः। विमत्सरश्च कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकरणी भवेत्॥ मत्स्यपुराण 215. 24 and कृत्य. p. 48 verse 216.

167a. नक्षत्रमतिवृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोतिवर्तते। अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः॥ अर्थशास्त्र IX. 4 (last verse but one)

Senāpati: The qualities of a commander-in-chief are stated in several places such as Kauṭilya (II. 33), Ayodhyā 100. 30 (= Sabhā 5. 46), Śānti 85. 31-32, Matsya 215. 8-10, Agnipurāna 220. 1 ff, Kām. XVIII. 27-44, Visnudharmottara II. 24. 4-6, Mānasollāsa II. 2, verses 90-92 p. 37. Acc. to the Agnipurāna 220. 1, Matsya 215. 10 the commander-in-chief must be either a brāhmana or a ksatriya. Śukra (II. 429-430) requires that a ksatriya should be preferred as senāpati, but if a valiant ksatriya be not available a brāhmana may be chosen, but a śūdra should not be chosen. Acc. to the Mānasollāsa he should possess the following qualities: good family, character, courage, profioiency in (several) languages, cleverness in riding horses and elephants and in the science of arms, knowledge of omens and medicine, knowledge of the breeds of horses and of the difference between what is essential and non-essential, liberality, sweet speech, self-control, intelligence, resoluteness. In the Mahābhārata senāpatis are elected and consecrated (vide Udyoga 151, Drona 5, Karna 10), but this was not so in later times. He is appointed by the king on his own initiative.

Dūta: (Ambassador or messenger). The word and the office of *dūta* as messenger was known in the most ancient times. In Ṛg. I. 12.1, 1.161.3, VIII. 44.3 Agni is said to be the dūta and is requested to bring the gods to the sacrifice. There is also attached to the word the meaning of espionage, since Saramā, the bitch of the gods, is represented in Ṛg. X. 108. 2-4 as sent by Indra to find out the treasures of the Paṇis. The Udyogaparva (37.27, cr. ed. 37.25) specifies the eight qualities of a dūta viz. he must not be stiff-necked, nor timid, nor dilatory, he must be kind and amiable, not liable to be won over by others, free from diseases, endowed with a fine mode of speech.[168] Śānti 85.28 refers to seven qualities. Vide Ayodhyā 100.35, Manu VII. 63-64, Matsyapurāna 215. 12-13 for the qualities of a dūta. The dūta should speak only what he has been ordered (by his king) to speak, otherwise he would be liable to be killed (Udyogaparva 72.7, cr. ed. 70.7). Śānti 85. 26-27 say that the person of the dūta is sacred. Kauṭilya devotes one chapter (I. 16) to the treatment of the subject of dūta. He states that the dūta is to be sent by the king after the line of

168. अस्तब्धमक्लीबमदीर्घसूत्रं साङ्गक्रोशं श्लक्ष्णमहार्यमन्यैः। अरोगजातीयमुदारवाक्यं दूतं वदन्त्यष्टगुणोपपन्नम्॥ उद्योगपर्व 37. 27.

policy has been settled at a council of ministers to the king who is to be attacked (vide Kām. XII. 1 also). A dūta is of three kinds: (1) nisrstārtha[169] (one to whom is entrusted full discretion as to what is to be said) is one who is possessed of the qualifications required in a minister (*amātya*), such as Krsna from the Pāndavas or the ambassadors in modern times; (2) *parimitārtha* (entrusted with a definite mission, an envoy) who possesses the same qualifications as the first less by one quarter; (3) *śāsanahara* (a mere carrier of royal writings or missives) who possesses only half the qualifications of the first. The Mit. on Yāj. I 328 lucidly explains the three varieties. Kauṭ. dilates at great length on the qualifications of the dūta, what he has to note while in the enemy country, how he is to behave (such as avoiding women and wine), how he is to gather information through spies; but all this has to be passed over for want of space. Vide Kām XII 2-24 for the same. Kām. (XII. 22-23) briefly sets out the following duties of the dūta; determining those who are inimical to the king to whom he is sent, winning over to his side the friends and relatives of the enemy king, finding out the (number and equipment of) forts, the economic resources and military strength of the enemy king, collection of news as to what the enemy intends to do, bringing over to his side the officers in charge of the districts of enemy country, collecting knowledge about the places of the enemy where battles can be waged by his king or whence he can pass away swiftly. Manu VII. 65 says that it is the dūta who brings about alliance or war. Kaut. says that when the ruler to whom the dūta is accredited becomes displeased at the message he brings, the dūta should reply[170] 'All kings, you and others, speak through their dūta. Therefore dūtas have to deliver the message entrusted to them even if weapons are raised (to threaten them); even the lowest caste dūtas (cāndālas) are not to be killed, what need be said about a dūta who is a

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169. उद्धृतमन्त्रो दूतप्रणिधिः । अमात्यसंपदोपेतो निसृष्टार्थः । पादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः । अर्धगुणहीनः शासनहरः । अर्थशास्त्र I 16; 'दूताश्च ये प्रकृतमेव राजान्तरं प्रति गतागतमाचरन्ति । ते च त्रिविधाः । निसृष्टार्थाः सन्दिष्टार्थाः शासनहराश्चेति । तत्र निसृष्टार्था राजकार्याणि देशकालोचितानि स्वयमेव कथयितुं क्षमाः । उक्तमात्रं ये परस्मै निवेदयन्ति ते सन्दिष्टार्थाः । शासनहरास्तु राजलेखहारिणः । मिता. on याज्ञ. I. 328.

170 तं ब्रूयाद् दूतमुखा वै राजानस्त्वं चान्ये च । तस्माद्दूतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यथोक्तं वक्तारस्तेषामन्तावसायिनोऽप्यवध्याः । किमङ्ग पुनर्ब्राह्मणः । परस्यैतद्वाक्यमेव दूतधर्म इति । अर्थशास्त्र I 16. Almost these very words occur in नीतिवाक्यामृत (दूतसमुद्देश p. 171) and यशस्तिलक III. p 564.

brāhmana? This (that I utter) is the message of another. It is my duty to say it'. The Rāmāyana (V. 52. 14–15) says that good men do not allow the killing of a dūta, but certain modes of dealing with him (viz lashing him, shaving his head) are allowed in certain cases.

A dūta is to be distinguished from a *cara* or *cāra* (spy), as done by Kaut, Kām. XII. 32, Yāj. I. 328. Kām. XII. 33 says that a dūta is an open (*prakāśa*) spy, while a *cara* is a spy who works in secret In modern times also 'an ambassador is often nothing more than an honourable spy acting under the protection of the law of nations' (Encyclopædia Britannica on 'espionage'). Kaut. devotes four chapters to spies (I. 11–14) and Kām. (XII. 25–49) also deals at great length with them. The Śukranītisāra (I. 334–336) states that the king should learn every day at night from his secret spies the intentions and actions of his subjects and officers, and the opinions of ministers, enemies, soldiers, the members of the assembly, relations and the women in the harem The *cara* must, according to Kām. XII. 25, possess ability to infer the inner thoughts (of men), must have a good memory, must be soft in speech, have quick gait, be capable of enduring privations and heavy labour, swift in action, ready-witted. Kaut. (I. 11) says[171] that spies are those who work in the guise of a *kāpatika* (a bold pupil capable of knowing the minds of others), *udāsthita* (a sham ascetic, who has fallen from the real duties of asceticism and is endowed with intelligence and pure character), *grhapatika* (a householder who is a cultivator that has not the means to maintain himself, has intelligence and is of pure character), a *vaidehaka* (a trader who cannot maintain himself by trade and is possessed of intelligence and pure character), a *tāpasa* (a spy practising austerities, who has either shaved his head or has matted hair and is desirous to maintain himself), a class-mate or colleague (*sattrin*), a desperate character (*tiksna*), a poisoner and a female mendicant. The first five of these are called by Kautilya five *samsthās* (groups

171. उपधाभिः शुद्धामात्यवर्गो गूढपुरुषाञ्छ्रुत्वादद्येत् । कापटिकोदास्थितगृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च । परमर्मज्ञः प्रगल्भः छात्रः कापटिकः । ... प्रव्रज्यामत्यवसितः भज्ञाशौचयुक्त उदास्थितः । ..... कर्षको वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो गृहपतिकव्यञ्जनः । वाणिजको वृत्तिक्षीणः प्रज्ञाशौचयुक्तो वैदेहकव्यञ्जनः । ... मुण्डो जटिलो वा वृत्तिकामस्तापसव्यञ्जनः । ... पूजिताश्चार्थमानाभ्यां राज्ञा राजोपजीविनाम् । जानीयुः शौचमित्येताः पञ्च संस्थाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र I. 11. प्रव्रज्यामत्यवसित means the same thing as प्रव्रज्यावसित, which occurs in याज्ञ II. 183 and is explained by the मिताक्षरा as प्रव्रज्या संन्यासस्ततोऽवसितः मच्युतः. मेधातिथि on Manu VII 154 quotes almost *verbatim* a large part of Kaut I. 11 from कापटिको० and a portion from I. 12.

or institutions), which should be honoured by the king with awards of money and marks of respect and through which the king is to test the purity of the character of his servants. Kautilya says that the spy called *udāsthita* should carry on agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade on land set apart for the purpose, should be supplied with plenty of gold and disciples and should afford to all (sham) ascetics food, clothing and lodging, direct them to detect particular crimes and report. The spy called *tāpasa* was to stay near the capital, to have many pupils, to pretend to eat once in a month or two only a handful of vegetables or grass and eat secretly his favourite dishes His disciples were to proclaim that he possessed supernatural powers, he should pretend to make predictions about gain or fires or fear from robbers after ascertaining from his pupils by nods and signs such events In I. 12 Kaut. deals with wandering spies (called *sañcara*) viz. *sattrins* (who are orphans that are to be maintained by the State and that are taught palmistry, sorcery, tricks of legerdemain &c), *tīkṣna* (desperadoes who, regardless of their lives, may fight elephants for money), *rasada* (who have no affection even for their relatives, are indolent and cruel), *bhikṣukī* or *parivrājikā* (a poor brāhmana widow, clever and desirous to earn her livelihood, honoured in the king's harem and visiting the families of mahāmātras or high ministers). These are to spy on the 18 *tīrthas* (mentioned on p 112 above) in public For spying on their private character persons pretending to be hump-backed, dwarfs, kirātas (pigmies), the deaf and dumb, idiots, the blind, and others that are actors, dancers, singers and the like and women are to be employed This information is to be tested by the persons belonging to the five samsthās (mentioned above on p 129), but these are to act without their being known by the wandering spies and *vice versa* Then further testing by other spies follows When the information received from these three sources tallies then it will be held reliable; if the information frequently disagrees, the spies should be secretly punished or discharged. A similar rule about sending several spies on the same mission without their knowing each other is laid down by Visnudharmottara II. 24. 66–67. Kaut in I 13 deals with espionage on subjects in general (i. e those in the capital and other parts of the country) Spies are to pretend to take sides, some praising the king as possessed of all good qualities, others qualifying that praise They were also to report the rumours spreading among the people, to report whether there was discontent and the king was to honour those who were reported to be contented and to

bring round the discontented by conciliation, gifts, sowing dissensions among them or by punishing them. In. I 14 Kautilya deals with the employment of spies for taking advantage of parties in a foreign State i. e groups of persons angry with the foreign king or afraid of him or of persons who are ambitious or proud, who are to be won over by appropriate words and *stimuh*. It will be seen how there was a network of spies of all kinds, so much so that Kām. XII. 28 declares that spies are the king's eyes (*cāracaksur mahīpatih*). The Visnudharmottara II. 24. 63 says the same ('*rājānaś-cāracaksusah* ') and also Udyoga 34. 34 ' *cārah pasyanti rājānah* '. In IV. 4–6 Kautilya dilates [172] upon the employment by the samāhartr (Collector) of a host of spies for suppressing those who are thorns (or disturbers of peace), these being employed for detecting judges (dharmastha) and superintendents of various departments that take bribes, counterfeiters of coins, adulterers, thieves and robbers and other criminals. Kautilya relies in extreme cases on spies even in the decision of judicial matters. He says (III. 1 last verse) ' when owing to the depositions of witnesses the plaintiff's case and the defendant's case are both destroyed, when the cause of either of the parties is found through the spies to be false, then the decree shall be passed against that party'.[173] In Dronaparva 75. 4 it is said that Krsna had his spies in the army of Duryodhana and *vice versa* (74. 1). Śānti 69. 8–12 and 140. 39–42 mention the places where spies are to be set[174] up and emphasizes that they should not know each ether. One need not feel surprised at the machinery of espionage that Kautilya so elaborately describes. All governments in modern times employ spies, informers and secret agents to keep themselves informed of the activities, views and resources of their opponents. We know also how the Indian Police, in order to catch offenders against the Prevention of Gambling Act or other similar Acts, employ agents with marked coins or notes and draw in their net unsuspecting people.

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172 समाहर्ता जनपदे सिद्धतापसप्रव्रजितचक्रचरचारणकुहकमच्छन्दवृककार्तान्तिकनैमित्तिकमौहूर्तिकचिकित्सकोन्मत्तमूकबधिरजडान्धवैदेहककालशिल्पिकुशीलवक्लेशशौण्डिकापूपिकपाक्वमांसिकौदनिकव्यञ्जनान् प्रणिदध्यात् । ते ग्रामाणामध्यक्षाणां च शौचाशौचं विद्युः । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 4 Compare नीतिवाक्यामृत (चारसञ्चार उद्देश) p 172 for a long list of various kinds of people as spies.

173. पूर्वोत्तरार्थव्याघाते साक्षिवक्तव्यकारणे । चारहस्ताच्च निष्पाते प्रदेष्टव्यः पराजय ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 1, last verse.

174 पाषण्डांस्तापसादींश्च परराष्ट्रे निवेशयेत् । उद्यानेषु विहारेषु प्रपास्वावसथेषु च । पानागारे प्रवेशेषु तीर्थेषु च सभासु च । शान्ति 140. 39–42; यथा न विद्युरन्योन्यं प्रणिधेयास्तथा हि ते । शान्ति 69 10.

CHAPTER V

RĀSTRA (THE TERRITORY OF A STATE)

The word 'rāstra' occurs even in the Ṛgveda (IV. 42.1, 'mama dvitā rāstram ksatriyasya')-'mine is the kingdom on both sides (or in both spheres)' says king Trasadasyu In Ṛg VII. 34 11 Varuna is praised as the Lord of rāstras (rājā rāstrānām &c.) In Ṛg. VII. 84 2 and X 109. 3 the word rāstra occurs In a very famous benedictory [175] passage of the Tai. S VII 5. 18 1(= Vāj S. 22 22) one of the blessings invoked is ' may the king in this kingdom become brave, a skilled archer, and a great warrior ' Vide Tai. Br III 8 13 for explanation of the Tai. S. passage In the Atharvaveda XII. 1 8 and 10 the earth is called mother and invoked to impart to the *rāstra* strength and brilliance (or energy). Kām VI 3 says [175a] that since all the elements of the State spring from the territory of the State, the king should raise up his territory with all his efforts. The Agnipurāna 239. 2 holds that rāstra is the most important of all elements of the State. Manu VII. 69 prescribes that a king should make his home in a country that is not water-logged (i e is dry and not moist), [176] is rich in crops, inhabited mostly by Āryas (or well-conducted people), not disturbed (by epidemics &c.), that is charming (owing to trees, flowers and fruits), the chiefs in which have submitted to him and in which livelihood can be had easily Yāj. I. 321 and Visnudharmasūtra III 4-5 are to the same effect Kām (IV 50-56) remarks ' the territory of

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175. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामास्मिन् राष्ट्रे राजन्य इषव्यः शूरो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वोढानड्वानाशुः सप्ति. पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रथेष्ठाः सभेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायता निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलिन्यो न ओषधयः पच्यन्ता योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् । तै सं VII. 5 18. 1, वाज सं. 22. 22 (with slight variations).

175a. राज्याङ्गानां च सर्वेषां राष्ट्राङ्गवति सम्भव । तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन राजा राष्ट्रं समुन्नयेत् ॥ काम. VI. 3 The राज र p 86 ascribes this to शुक्र (and reads the last word as प्रसाधयेत्)

176. अल्पोदकतृणो यस्तु प्रवातः मञ्जुरातपः । स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो बहुधान्यादिसयुतः ॥ quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु VII 69, स्वल्पवृक्षोदकपर्वतो बहुपक्षिमृगः प्रचुरवर्षातपश्च जाङ्गलो देश इति । quoted by राजनीतिप्रकाश p 197 from a स्मृति. The मिता० on या I.321 remarks यद्यप्यल्पोदकतरुपर्वतोदेशो जाङ्गलस्तथाप्यत्र सजलतरुपर्वतो देशो जाङ्गलशब्देनाभिधीयते ।

the king depends for its prosperity on the qualities of the soil, the prosperity of the territory tends to the prosperity of the king; therefore a king should choose for the sake of his prosperity land possessing good qualities. That land is preferred for the sake of prosperity that is endowed with various crops and minerals, is full of merchandise, mines and various substances, that is favourable to cattle-rearing, that abounds in water, is inhabited by well-conducted people, is charming, has forests and elephants, has facilities of water and road transport and does not depend upon rain-water only.'[177] Land that is full of gravel and stones, full of forests always infested with thieves, that is waterless, full of thorny bushes and snakes is not fit for choosing as a *rāṣṭra*. A country is to be preferred that yields livelihood easily, is possessed of the qualities of good land (cited above), is full of water, that has hills in it, that consists mostly of śūdras, artisans and merchants, the husbandmen in which undertake great projects, that is loyal (to the king) and averse to the king's enemy, that can put up with troubles and taxes, that is large in extent, full of people from various countries, that follows the right path, that possesses plenty of cattle and wealth, the principal men in which are not foolish nor vicious. These requirements show that the country must be prosperous, well-stocked with the necessaries of life and well suited to defence. There is also some difference of opinion among the smṛti writers about the composition of the population. Manu VII. 69 requires that the kingdom should consist mostly of āryas (āryaprāya), while Viṣnu Dh. S. III. 5 holds that a country should be peopled mostly by vaiśyas and sūdras. In another place (VIII. 22) Manu says that that country in which śūdras abound, which is full of atheists and void of dvijas is overwhelmed by disease and famine and perishes. Similar provisions are found in the Matsyapurāna 217. 1–5, Viṣnudharmottara II. 26. 1–5, Mānasollāsa (II. 3 verses 151–153), Nītivākyāmṛta (Janapadasamuddeśa p 191 which defines rāṣtra, viṣaya, deśa, janapada &c.) The Matsyapurāna 217 5 and Viṣnudharmottara II. 26.5, (*evamvidhaṁ yathālābham rājā upayamāvaset*) point out that

177. अदेवमातृका चेति शस्यते भूविभूतये । काम 4 52 देवो यद्यम्बु-वृष्टयम्बु-संपन्नव्रीहिपालितः । स्यात्तदीमातृको देवमातृकश्च यथाक्रमम् ॥ अमरकोश, where the rice crop depends solely on the rainfall the country is called देवमातृक (देवो माता यस्य) and where it depends on the water of rivers, tanks &c. it is called नदीमातृक.

every rāstra cannot be expected to possess all the qualities mentioned by them and that the king must do the best with such qualities as his country possesses Kautilya II 1 advises[178] the king to found a district of villages either on old sites or on new ones by inducing people from other countries to immigrate or by causing thickly populated parts of his own country to send its overflowing population and to see that each village consists of not less than one hundred families nor more than five hundred, is peopled mostly by śūdra cultivators, has an extent of one *krośa* or two and is capable of offering help to its neighbours.

According to Paurānic geography there are seven *dvīpas*, viz Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śaka and Puṣkara (Viṣnupurāna II. 1. 11 ff) and each dvīpa is divided into *varsas* Jambudvīpa has 9 varsas of which Bharatavarsa is the first (Viṣnupurāna II. 2. 12 ff) The Mahābhārata speaks of 13 dvīpas (Ādi 75 19, Vanaparva 3 52 and 134 20) and 18 dvīpas also (Droṇa 70. 15). For Bharatavarsa vide H Dh vol. II. pp 17–18. Manu II 20 looks upon the holy land of Kuruksetra, of the Matsyas, Pañcālas and Śūrasenas as 'the chosen country' the learned brāhmanas in which were to be the leaders and guides of the whole world in appropriate thoughts and actions The Viṣnu (II 3 2), Brāhma, Mārkandeya 55 21–22 and other purānas proudly assert that Bharatavarsa is the land of action (karmabhūmi). This is patriotism of a sort but not of the kind we see in western countries Bharatavarsa itself has comprised numerous countries from the most ancient times The names of countries and the tribes or people inhabiting them were the same (vide Pānini IV 1 168,

178 भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं परदेशापवाहनेन स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् । शूद्रकर्षकमार्यं कुलशतावरं पञ्चशतकुलपरं ग्रामं क्रोशद्विक्रोशसीमानमन्योन्यारक्षं निवेशयेत् । अर्थशास्त्र II 1 This passage clearly shows that Kautilya at least employed the word *janapada* in the sense of a territory to be colonized and as one which was either included within the kingdom or not so included. Dr Prān Nath's interpretation of *janapada* that it was only 'a part of the kingdom' (p. 47, 'Study in the economic condition of ancient India') cannot be accepted in view of the express words भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वम् The usage of classical writers and the Purānas shows that janapada means simply 'country' and Amara gives it as a synonym of देश and विषय and क्षीरस्वामी explains that जनपद is called राष्ट्र The Kāvyamīmāmsā on which Dr. Prān Nath relies for the number of countries employs the word *janapada* for the names of the *countries* in the four quarters of India (not for parts of any kingdom)

IV. 2. 81) In the Ṛgveda we come across the tribes of Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Ṛg. 1. 108. 8, VIII. 10. 5 &c) and the countries of Cedi (VIII 5 39), Kīkata (III 53. 4), Ṛjīka (VIII. 7. 29), Ruśama (V. 30 12), Vetasu (X. 49. 4). In the Atharvaveda V. 22 several peoples or countries are mentioned of which Bahlikas (in vv 5 and 9), Mūjavat (vv 5 and 8), Gandhāri, Aṅga, Magadha (in v. 14) deserve notice. The Ait Br. (38. 3) divides India into five divisions in the east south, west and north (the Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras) and in the centre (Kuru-Pañcāla and Vaśa-Uśīnara) India was divided into two parts, Dakśināpatha (from the Narmadā southwards) and Uttarāpatha at least some centuries before Christ, since the Hāthigumphā Ins. (E. I. vol 20 at p 79) mentions a great many kings of Uttarāpatha and the Mahābhāsya refers to lakes in Dakśināpatha.[179] In the Brāhmaṇas frequent mention is made of the Kuru-Pañcālas (Tai Br. I.8. 4), Uttarakuru, Uttara-madra, Kuru-Pañcālas, Vaśa-Uśīnaras (in Ait Br.38 3), Kuru-Pañcālas, Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśi-Kośalas Śālva-Matsyas, Vaśa-Uśīnaras in Gopatha II. 10 (ed by Gastra). The Gandhāras occur in Chāndogya Up. (VI 14 1), Videha in Bṛ. Up. III 1. 1, Madras in Bṛ.Up. III 3 1 In the Mahābhārata there are long lists of countries in various connections, which are more than 200 (e g. Sabhā 4 21–32, 20 26–30, Sabhā 25 ff, Sabhā 52. 13–19,53. 5–9, Virāta 1 12–13, Bhīsma. 9. 39–69, 50.47–53, Drona 11.15–18, 70.11–13. Āśvamedhika 73–78, 83.10 ff) The Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeśasūtra I. 17 prescribes a maṇḍala for the worship of the Sun and names nine countries in the eight directions and in the centre as representatives The Purāṇas also contain long lists of countries e. g. Matsya 114 34–56, Mārkaṇḍeya 57 32–67 and chap 58, Brāhma 17.10-15 and 25 25–39. The same country sometimes has two names (e g. Vidarbha and Krathakaiśika denote the same country in Raghuvaṁśa VII 1 and 32). 'Buddhist India' (by Rhys Davids p 23) mentions the sixteen peoples (or countries), lists of which occur in the Aṅguttaranikāya I. p. 213, IV. p 252 and in the Dīghanikāya

179. The महाभाष्य names at least the following countries अजमीढ, अङ्ग, अम्बष्ठ, अवन्ति, इक्ष्वाकु, उशीनर, ऋषिक, कडेर, कलिङ्ग, काश्मीर, काशि, कुन्ति, कुरु, केरल, कोसल, क्षुद्रक, गान्धार, चोड, जिह्मु, त्रिगर्त, दशार्ण, नीचक, नीप, नेश, पञ्चाल, पारस्कर, पुण्ड्र, मगध, मद्र, महिष, मालव, युगन्धर, वङ्ग, विदर्भ, विदेह, वृजि, शिबि, सुह्म, सौवीर Some countries like अवन्ति, अश्मक, कलिङ्ग, काम्बोज, कुरु, कोसल, मगध, मद्र, साल्व, सौवीर are mentioned even by पाणिनि (in IV 1. 170–176, IV. 2. 108).

II. p. 200 viz. Angas, Magadhas, Kāśis, Kosalas, Vajjis, Mallas, Cetis (Cedis), Vamsas (Vatsa?), Kurus, Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Śūrasenas, Aśmakas, Avantis, Gandhāras, Kambojas Varāhamihira's Brhatsamhitā, Baudhāyana-grhyaśesasūtra I 17, Kāmasūtra V 6 33–41, Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra (III 83–117), the Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājaśekhara (17th chapter) name numerous countries This last divides India into five regions and gives the names of about 70 countries in the four directions but none from Central India The Bhāvaprakāśana (pp. 309–310) gives a list of 64 countries and states, that Daksināpatha (Deccan) is a fourth of Bharatavarsa and that in the Tretā and Dvāpara ages people afraid of being overwhelmed by ice came down to the south.[179a] 56 countries are named in some Tantra works (vide 'Indian Culture' vol VIII. p. 33) In the lexicon called Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa (11th century A.D.) edited by Dr G Oppert, over a hundred countries and capitals of some of the countries are named (in the Bhūmikānda and chapter on deśa thereof)

To constitute a rāstra a territory of some size and a large population are required There can hardly be a rāstra of a few villages or a few hundred inhabitants The boundaries of the numerous countries mentioned in the works cited above must have been fluid and must have changed from country to country owing to conquests

In ancient India the modern sentiment of nationalism had hardly taken root. Writers speak of rājya (State) and of rāstra (territory) as an element of rājya They had no sense of nationality nor did they seriously work for national unity The modern idea of a nation is more a question of feeling and sentiment than of objective fact The State has been at all times a great co-ordinating agency, but as its boundaries were extremely variable in ancient India, the modern sentiment of nationality, of 'my country, right or wrong' hardly ever arose in India (except perhaps for over a century in Mahārāstra in the 17th and 18th centuries and among the Sikhs) In the whole of Hindu India, there was no doubt a certain unity of religion, philosophy, literary forms and conventions of arts and forms of worship, and in reverence for holy places, but this did not make for a deep-seated and effective sentiment of nationhood or national unity

179a. त्रेतायुगे द्वापरे च हिमाक्रान्तिभयाज्जना । पादं पादं विसृज्यैते श्रयन्ते दक्षिणापथम् । भावप्रकाशन p. 309.

Most of the ancient sūtrakāras and smṛtis try to lay down the limits of the holy land of Āryāvarta and differentiate it from the lands of *mlecchas*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 11–18. The Viṣṇu (II. 3. 1–2), Mārkaṇḍeya (55. 21) and other purāṇas wax eloquent over the importance of Bharatavarṣa and describe it as the land of action for those who want to secure heaven or final release or as the land where alone sin and religious merit were to be found (*karmabhūmir-iyam svargam-apavargam ca gacchatām* or *tat-karma-bhūmir-nānyatra sampr āpti puṇyapāpayoh* in Mārk) Manu (II. 20) manifests great pride in and love for the holy countries of Brahmāvarta, Kuruksetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena by glorifying the brāhmaṇas of these countries as those 'from whom all men on this broad earth should learn the actions and usages appropriate to them'. Vas. I. 10 also says the same. Śaṅkha-Likhita (q. by Viśvarūpa on Yāj I. 2) hold that the country of Āryāvarta is endowed with high qualities, is ancient and holy (*deśa Āryo guṇavān ..... sanātanah puṇyaḥ*). As however the smṛtis were composed at different times, embodied the usages of different provinces in India and as they provided for the observances of all those who followed the Veda, they do not generally lay emphasis on localities but rather on what they thought was common to all Āryas in India (*yat tu samānam tad vakṣyāmah*, as Āśv. gr. says). There was no doubt a great emotional regard for Bharatavarṣa or Āryāvarta as a unity for many centuries among all writers from a religious point of view, though not from a political standpoint. Therefore one element of modern nationhood viz. being under the same government was wanting. But it must be noted that from very ancient times there was always the aspiration among great kings and the people to bring the whole of Bharatavarṣa "under one umbrella". Even in the West the sentiment of nationality practically arose after the partition of Poland, and as a consequence of the French Revolution and of the Industrial revolution, which led manufacturing countries to search for markets and to exploit backward and less developed peoples. Vide Laski's 'Grammar of Politics' chap VI. Modern nationalism undoubtedly leads to great self-sacrifice and produces certain virtues of high value in the individuals that are fired by that sentiment. But the ideals of the modern nation States are not high, particularly in their treatment of other peoples and in their attitude towards less favoured States. The one aim of the leading politicians of modern nation States and most of the inhabitants of these States seems to be to raise the standard of

living of their citizens to a high level and to maintain it at that level even by exploiting and robbing weaker races and lands. This is not the place to discuss these matters further Whatever the value of nationalism to the individuals fired by it may be, from the point of the welfare of the whole of mankind, modern nation States do not deserve to survive, unless the so-called progressive nation States are prepared to give up their racial pride, their spirit of grabbing and exploitation and to extend a brotherly hand to all struggling States to improve themselves in their own way and attain to higher standards of living without let or hindrance. It cannot be gainsaid that for several centuries in the past and also at the present moment all modern nation States have two moralities, one for their own nation and the other for their dealings with foreign States and races.

Some remarks must now be made about provincial and local administration Each kingdom comprised *deśas* (countries) and subdivisions of deśas. The governor of a rāstra was called rāstrapati or rāstriya Vide p 117 above about Pusyagupta having been the rāstriya of Surāstra (Kathiawad) under Candragupta Maurya and Śānti 85. 12 (which describes what the rāstriya is to do).

According to the Amarakosa the words desa, rāstra, visaya and janapada are synonyms Epigraphic usage is not uniform about the dimensions of these. Sometimes visaya appears to be a sub-division of deśa (vide the words 'rāstrapati-visayapati-grāmakūta' in I A. vol. VIII. at p. 20 in the grant of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla in śake 999 and I. A, vol XII pp 247, 251 in the grant of Rāṣṭrakūta Govinda in sāke 855). But in the Hirahadagalli plates (E I vol I p. 5) 'visaya' occurs first and then 'rāstra', so it appears that there 'visaya' is deemed to be larger than rāstra According to the Sahyādrikhanda (uttarārdha, chap 4) deśa is made up of 100 villages, mandala is made up of 4 desas, a khanda of 100 mandalas and the earth has nine khandas [180] From the Cambay plate of śake 852 (930 A D.), we see that mandala was a sub-division of desa (E I. vol. 7 p 26, at p 40) From

180. शतग्रामो भवेद्देशो देशचत्वारि मण्डलम् । शतमण्डल भवेत्खण्डं नवखण्डा च मेदिनी ॥ सह्याद्रिखण्ड, उत्तरार्ध chap. 4, 'लाटदेशखेटकमण्डलान्तर्गतकाविकामहास्थान-विनिर्गताय' in E. I vol. 7 p. 40; 'श्रीपुण्ड्रवर्धनभुक्तौ कोटीवर्षविषये गोकलिकामण्ड-लान्तःपाति ... ग्रामः' in E. I. vol. 14 p. 324.

the Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla I (E. I. vol. 14 p. 324) and the Amgachhi plate of Vigrahapālā III we see that mandala was smaller than visaya which again was a subdivision of 'bhukti'. The word 'bhoga' (which is similar in origin to 'bhukti') appears to be applied to a sub-division of visaya (which in its turn is a sub-division of rāstra) in the Bhamdak[181] plate of Krsnarāja I dated śake 694 (E. I. 14 p. 121, 126) and also in the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya in 609 śake (E. I. vol. 19 p 62 at p. 64 where the word 'rāstrapati' does not occur). The Mitāksarā on Yāj. I. 319 explains that only a king (mahīpati) can make a grant of land and not a *bhogapati* (i. e. the officer over a *bhoga*) Another ancient word for a division of a country is *āhāra* which occurs in the Rupnath Rock inscription and Sarnath pillar Edict of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I pp. 162 and 166), in the Nasik Inscriptions No. 3 and 12 (Govardhanāhāra and Kāpurāhāra, E. I. vol. VIII pp. 65 and 82) and in the Karle Ins. No. 19 (E I VII. p. 64) where we have Māmalāhāra, modern Māval (in Poona District). For want of space it is not possible to pursue this subject here. For further information vide Dr. Fleet in J. R. A. S. for 1912 p. 707 and my paper on 'the Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' (JBBRAS. vol. XXIV for 1914–1917 pp. 648–653). In the epigraphic records particularly of the Deccan and South India we come across names of territorial divisions to which small as well as very large figures (indicating the number of villages they comprised) are affixed: e g. a group of twelve villages in Aparānta on the sea near Kalvivana (modern Kelvem) is mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa (E I. 14 p 144 at p. 150), Nyāyapadra saptadaśa in Bhoja's grant in *samvat* 1076 (E. I. 18 at p. 322), Kisukād 70 (E I. 15 p. 73), Belvola 300 (in E I 13 at p. 40), Konkana 900 ruled over by the Kadamba king Jayakeśi II (E. I. 13 pp. 298, 317), Tardavādi 1000 (E. I. 15 p. 25), Kundi 3000 (E I. 13 at p. 18), Pratyandaka 4000 (E I III p. 306), Karahāta 10000 (E. I. 13 p 275), Banavāsi 12000 (E I. 13 p. 179), Nolambavādi 32000 (E. I. 19 p. 187), Kavadidvīpa sapādalaksa (one and a quarter lakh) in E I. 13 at p 299, the country of 7½ lakhs (in the Lakshmeshwar Ins of Vikramāditya VI in E I. 16 p. 31). Vide Dr. Fleet in J R A. S. 1912 pp 707–710 as to the meaning of these figures.

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181. राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिभोगपतिग्रभृतीन् समाज्ञापयति । E. I. vol. 14 p. 121 at p 126; सर्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटमहत्तरयुक्तकोपयुक्तकाधिकारिकान् समादिशति । E. I. vol. VII. p. 26 at p. 40.

Kauṭilya II. 1 says that in the kingdom groups of villages should be set up with a chief town or fort in each, a group of ten villages being called Sangrahana, of two hundred villages being called Khārvatika, of 400 villages being called Dronamukha, and in the midst of 800 villages [182] there is the Sthāniya.

182. अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं चतु:-शतग्राम्या द्रोणमुख द्विशतग्राम्याः खार्वटिकं दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणं स्थापयेत् । कौटिल्य II. 1 Vide Dr Shamsāstri's note on these स्थानीय has a similarity in sound and meaning to modern *thānā*, Dr. Prān Nāth (in 'Study of the economic condition of Ancient India' p 26) principally relying on a commentator of the Jain work called Prajñāpanopānga (which he misunderstands) holds that 'grāma' does not mean 'a village', but 'an estate or survey village which can pay 18 kinds of Government taxes' The learned Doctor says that he consulted many Sanskrit lexicons, but did not find this interpretation in any one of them That should have induced him to be cautious But he makes the bold and facile assumption that 'lexicons were compiled from a literary view-point and are not of much assistance as far as the technical meanings of words are concerned'. His great authority, the Jain commentator, says 'गामनिवेसेसु इत्यादि । ग्रसति क्षुद्रप्रादीन्प्राणानिति ग्राम· यदि वा गम्यः शास्त्रप्रसिद्धानामष्टादश-कराणामिति ग्रामः'. Dr Prān Nath's Jain authority is no better than lexicographers and their commentators. क्षीरस्वामी on Amara derives grāma as 'ग्रस्यते भोगिभिर्ग्रामः' i e the word ग्राम is derived from the root ग्रस्. The Jain commentator first derives the word ग्राम from ग्रस् and then from गम् Dr. Prān Nāth forgets that a fanciful or scholastic derivation is not a *definition*. The rest of the reasoning on the new meaning of grāma is on a par with this and cannot be examined in detail A commentator expressly states (*ibid* p 27) that he gives only the *vyutpatti* (etymology) of grāma, but Dr Prān Nāth pays no heed to this He has not correctly grasped the scholastic discussion in the commentary quoted on p 27. He misunderstands the word 'samagrāmāh' in Yāj II 152. The Amarakośa expressly says that 'sama' and 'samāna' are synonyms He is often very dogmatic without looking into all ancient and medieval authorities e g on p 51 he charges Dr. Fleet with misinterpretation of a Jātaka text (addha-tiyāni śatāni) which Dr Fleet translated as 250, while Dr Prān Nāth is sure that the meaning is '150' He probably never noticed that so far back as the 2nd century B C the Mahābhāsya had explained the word 'ardhatrtiya' as Dr Fleet does (अर्धे तृतीयमेषां or अर्धे तृतीयमनयो, vide Kielhorn, vol I p 426 on vārtika 22 on Pān II 2. 24) There is hardly any warrent for Dr Prān Nāth's assertion that each grāma (as interpreted by him) contained only about five families and had only about 15 or 20 acres of cropped area (pp. 39–40). Kaut (note 178) states that a grāma contains from 100 to 500 families If the inscriptions so far published are carefully searched it will be found that grāma ordinarily meant a village in the modern sense and included several hundred acres of land For example, in a grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Visnugopavarman (I. A vol V p 50)

(*Continued on the next page*)

Manu VII. 114 similarly observes that in the midst of two, three or five villages the king should place a central post of guards called 'gulma' and another called 'saṅgraha' in the midst of a hundred villages. Manu VII. 115–117, Viṣnudharmasūtra III. 7–14, Śānti 87 3ff, Agnipurāna 223. 1–4, Viṣnudharmottara II. 61. 1–6, Mānasollāsa II. 2. 159–162 (p. 43) require the king to appoint a hierarchy of officers for one village, for groups of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand villages, who are to report what is wrong within their jurisdictions that they cannot themselves remedy to the officer next in grade above themselves and Manu VII. 120 prescribes that a minister of the king should supervise the doings and conflicts of all these officers. The Edicts of Aśoka show that he had to employ a hierarchy of officers such as the mahāmātras, the yuktas and rājukas for the administration of his vast empire. A similar administrative system seems to have been continued under the Gupta Emperors From the Damodarpur, Baigram and other plates (E I XV. p 113, E I. XVII. pp 345ff, E I. XXI. p 78) it appears that the Provincial Governors were appointed by the Gupta Emperor himself and were called *uparika* mahārāja, that either the Governors or Emperors appointed District officers (visayapati) who were often called Kumārāmātya, that the District officers were aided in their administrative work by a board of four advisers called nagara-śresthin (banker), sārthavāha (chief merchant), prathamakulika (chief of craft guilds) and prathamakāyastha (chief secretary), that the District officer had his

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(*Continued from last page*)

very detailed and accurate boundaries of a village of 200 nivartanas are given A nivartana was equal to a square of twenty vamśas on each side, each vamśa being equal to ten cubits, so that a *nivartana* covered an area of 40000 cubits (200 × 200) i e. about 90000 square feet, while an acre is equal to 43560 square feet Therefore the village referred to in the above grant was over 400 acres in extent The Mahābhāsya (on vārtika 8 on Pān I 1 7) has an interesting discussion on the several meanings of the word grāma in popular language viz a number of houses (as in 'the grāma was burnt), the village wall or ditch (as in 'he entered the grāma'), 'men' (as in 'the grāma had gone'), a village with its forests and bushes, with its boundaries (such as rivers and hills) and with embanked fields (as in 'a grāma was acquired'). 'ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बहूर्थः। अस्त्येव शालासमुदाये वर्तते ... अस्ति सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते। तद्यथा ग्रामो लब्ध इति। As in modern times villages are found named after trees the same was the case in the days of Pān. and Patañjali शिरीषाणामदूरभवो ग्रामः शिरीषाः तस्य ग्रामस्य वनं शिरीषवनम्। महाभाष्य on पा. I. 2. 51 (vol I. p 224.)

headquarters in a place called adhisthāna and had his several offices or courts (adhikaranas), and that in sales of lands revenue officers called *pustapālas* (keepers of records of rights) were consulted and had to report In E I. vol. *XVII* pp 345, 348 a copperplate of Kumāragupta I has 'grāmāṣta-kulādhikaranam' which means an office having jurisdiction over 8 villages. Manu VII. 119 says that the officer over 10 villages was to have as his salary a kula of land and kula is here said to mean (by Kullūka) as much land as is ploughed by two ploughs having six oxen yoked to each The Vaijayantī on Visnu Dh. S. III. 15 says 'kulam haladvaya-karsanīyā bhūh'. Śukra (I. 191–192) states that the lord of one hundred *grāmas* is called sāmanta, an officer appointed by a king over one hundred villages is called anusāmanta, one over ten villages is called nāyaka (compare modern '*naik*') Manu VII. 61 and 81, Yāj I. 322, Kām V. 75, Visnudharmasūtra III 16–21, Visnudharmottara II. 24 48–49 say that the king should appoint as many *adhyakṣas* (superintendents) as are required for the several departments of the state, who are clever, honest and of good family. Kautilya [183] II.9 prescribes 'those who are possessed of the qualifications for amātyas (cited on p. 107 above) should be appointed, according to their abilities, as superintendents of the various departments and the king should constantly examine their work, since men are naturally fickle-minded and when appointed to do work exhibit like horses change of temper'. It is pointed out in works like the Visnudharmasūtra III 16–21 and the Visnudharmottara II 24. 48–49, Śānti 69. 29, that those who are highly devoted to dharma should be appointed to the ecclesiastical or judicial department, the brave ones to military work, those who are skilled to revenue work and those who are very trustworthy should be placed in charge of mines, salts, toll-gates, ferries, elephant forests.

Kautilya in his 2nd *adhikarana* exhaustively deals with the work done in 28 departments and the duties of their superintendents He enters into very minute details about each and his work is encyclopaedic in character on this subject

183. अमात्यसम्पदोपेताः सर्वाध्यक्षाः शक्तितः कर्मसु नियोज्याः । कर्मसु चैषां नित्यं परीक्षां कारयेच्चित्तानित्यत्वान्मनुष्याणाम् । अश्वसधर्माणो हि मनुष्या नियुक्ताः कर्मसु विकुर्वते । कौटिल्य II. 9, धर्मिष्ठान् धर्मकार्येषु शूरान् संग्रामकर्मणि । निपुणानर्थकृत्येषु सर्वत्र च तथा शुचीन् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 24. 48 Vide a similar verse quoted by the मिताः on या I. 322

Kautilya's work became the authority on Government and several inscriptions mention officers appointed according to the section on 'adhyaksapracāra', which is undoubtedly a reference to Kautilya's 2nd adhikarana. For example, in the Belava plate of Bhojavarmadeva (E. I. vol XII. at p. 40) and in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena (E. I. vol. XV. p 283) we have the words 'anyāṁśca sakala-rājapādopajīvinodhyaksapracāroktān ihākīrtitān cattabhata-jātīyān janapadān ksetrakarāmsca'. It is not possible to do anything more than indicate very briefly the sphere of each *adhyaksa*. The duty of the sannidhātr (II 5) is to look after the construction of the treasury house, the store-houses for merchandise, for grain, for forest produce, for arms and of the jail The samāhartr (the Collector-General) is to exercise superintendence over the collection of revenue from forts, the rural parts, mines, embankments, forests, herds of cattle and roads for traffic (II. 6). The samāhartr[184] has to divide (II 35) the kingdom into four districts and to arrange the villages into three grades, viz. those that are exempted from taxes, those that supply soldiers and those that pay taxes in the form of grain, cattle, money, forest produce, free labour and other equivalents for taxes It is the duty of the *gopa* to look after a group of five or ten villages under the orders of the samāhartṛ. The gopa has not only to register the total number of the inhabitants of all varṇas in the houses that pay taxes and that are exempt in the villages, but also to keep a register of the number of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, artisans, labourers, slaves, biped and quadruped animals, of the amount of money, free labour, tolls and fines that are recovered, and the number of women, men, young and old persons, and the extent of their actions, occupations, usages, expenditures. The *sthānika* (in charge of each of the four districts) should look after his charge in the same way. The superintendent of records and accounts (aksapatalādhyaksa) should have the account office constructed with its door facing the north or the east, with rooms

184. Both the samāhartr and the sannidhātr are mentioned as officers in the copperplate of Mahābhavagupta of Trikalinga (E I vol. VIII p 138 at p 141 and E I vol XI at p 94). Sabara in his bhāsya on Jaimini XII. 1. 28 refers to the samāhartr coming with his own phalanx of subordinates 'यथा सेनापतिर्मैत्यबलेन सहागतः समाहर्ता निजेन बलेन राजा तु सर्वबलैःसैन्यैश्च'. From Hionen Thsang's account of his travels (Beal's 'Buddhist Records' vol. I. p 78) we learn that each province kept a record of good and bad events

(for the clerks) set apart and with shelves of account books well-arranged (II 7) This officer had to enter numerous matters in the accounts, recover the king's dues from the sureties of servants, to check enbezzlement and to recover fines for loss due to neglect or fraud. The account year ended with the full moon of *Āsāḍha*, the year being of 354 days and the salary for an intercalary month being separately paid. Among the duties of the Superintendent of records and accounts was the important one of noting in his register the dharma, method of judicial procedure and the usages of countries, villages, castes, families and corporations (*deśagrāmajāti-kulasanghātānām dharma vyavahāra-caritra-samsthānam .. nibandha-pustakastham kārayet*) In II 8 Kautilya specifies forty modes of embezzlement by Government servants (to which a reference is made in the Daśakumāracarita VIII) In II 9 he employs the picturesque figure that it is not possible to know exactly how officers appointed to the several businesses of the State extract wealth, just as fish always dwelling in water cannot be observed when they drink water The superintendent of treasury (II. 11) shall in the presence of qualified persons receives into the treasury gems, pearls, articles of great or small value and forest produce (like sandal wood, *agaru* etc) The superintendent of mines and of government manufactories (II 12) must be proficient in the science of metals, mercury, liquids that ooze from the holes, caves and sides of mountains and hills Under him are officers called *lohādhyakṣa* (who carries on the manufacture of vessels of copper and other metals), a *lakṣanādhyakṣa* (a superintendent of mint, who manufactures silver and copper coins for the State), a *rūpadarśaka*[184a] (examiner of coins, who regulates the dealings with panas as a medium of exchange among the people and for stocking in the treasury), *khanyadhyakṣa* (who attends to conches, diamonds, pearls, coral and trade in them), a lavanādhyaksa (superintendent of salt) The suvarnādhyaksa (the superintendent of gold) has to construct a goldsmith's office for the manufacture of gold and silver articles with a single door and four halls, to appoint a skilful and trustworthy goldsmith to have a shop in the centre of the road (II. 13) and not to allow any one who is not an employee to

184a. Patañjali in the Mahābhāsya on vārtika 4 on Pān. I. 4 52 cites the example 'पश्यति रूपदर्कः कार्षापणम्। दर्शयति रूपदर्कं कार्षापणम्'. Here रूपदर्क appears to mean one who can examine a coin or probably the same as रूपदर्शक in Kaut.'.

enter the goldsmith's shop. If any one so entered he was to be beheaded. The State goldsmith (II. 14) has to manufacture gold and silver coins for the citizens and rural inhabitants through artisans employed by him. The superintendent of the storehouse (II. 15) has to keep together the produce of crown lands, taxes from the country districts, accidental revenue, manufacture of rice, oil &c. The superintendent of commerce (panyādhyaksa, II. 16) should keep himself acquainted with the demand or absence of demand for and the rise and fall in the prices of various kinds of merchandise produced on land or from water and brought by land or water routes The superintendent of forest produce (kūpyādhyaksa, II. 17) was to collect forest produce through guards of forest and Kautilya gives a long list of trees, varieties of bamboos, creepers, fibrous plants and rope-making material, drugs and poisons, skins of various animals, that came under this officer's care. The superintendent of armoury (āyudhāgārādhyaksa, II. 18) was to employ experienced artisans to manufacture arms, wheels, machines, armour &c. required in battle or for the defence of forts, or for battering the cities of the enemy The superintendent of weights and measures[185] was to get manufactured weights from half *māṣaka*

185. The weights specified are 10 seeds of māsa or 5 guñjās=1 suvarṇa-māsaka, 16 suvarṇa-māsakas =one suvarna or karsa, 4 karsas =one pala, 88 white mustard seeds =one rūpyamāsaka, 16 rūpyamāsakas or 20 śaibya seeds =one dharana The Kāśikā on Pān II 4 21 furnishes the interesting item of information that weights and measures (probably in vogue in its day) were first introduced by the Nandas (nandopakramāṇi mānāni). The chief measures of distance given in II 20 are 8 atoms=one particle of dust thrown up by a chariot wheel, 8 particles=liksā, 8 liksās=a medium-sized yūkā (louse), 8 yūkās =yava (barley corn) of medium size, 8 yavas =one angula, 12 angulas = vitasti, 2 vitastis =aratni or one prājāpatya hand, 2 vitastis plus 4 angulas (called dhanurgraha) =one hasta used in measuring pastures and cubic measures, 4 aratnis =danda or dhanus or nālikā-paurusa, 10 dandas =rajju, 3 rajjus = nivartana, 1000 dhanus (or 2000 acc to another reading) =goruta, 4 gorutas= one yojana. A *nivartana* was probably so called because it represented a day's ploughing by a team of eight or six oxen (from the root *vṛt* with *ni*), meaning the area from which they stopped after a day's work Vide H of Dh. vol. II p 859 note 2021 for *nivartana* and *gocarma*. The extent of the nivartana differed acc. to different authorities. The Matsya said it was 30 dandas square, each danda being of the length of seven hastas, while Sātātapa held the danda to be of 10 hastas The Līlāvatī (I 7) held that a nivartana was 20 vamśas sqnare, each vamśa being of 10 hastas According to the lexicon Vaijayantī, in Kosala the yojana was of four gavyūtis, while

(*Continued on the next page*)

onwards up to one hundred suvarnas, weights being made of iron or stones found in the Magadha country and the Mekala mountain. The superintendent of tolls (śulkādhyakṣa, II 21) was to erect near the principal gate of the capital a toll-house and its flag and when traders arrived with merchandise make four or five toll-collectors take down their names, whence they came, what merchandise they brought and whether it bore seal-mark. In II. 22 Kautilya specifies various rates of tolls for imports and exports. The superintendent of weaving (II. 23) was to employ qualified persons to make threads, coats (of armour), cloths and ropes and he was to employ for cutting wool, fibres, cotton, hemp and flax, widows, cripple women, girls, ascetic women paying off fines by doing work, mothers of prostitutes, old women servants of the palace, *devadāsīs* (temple girls) who have ceased to do temple services This superintendent was charged with the task of providing work for women who do not leave their homes, the wives of persons who have gone abroad, women who are cripple or unmarried and who have to work for their own maintenance. He was to give to them spinning work through the maid-servants in his department If he stared at their faces when they came to exchange their work for wages or spoke to them on any other matter he was fined in the first amercement. Thus the State helped home or cottage industry It is to be noted that he had large powers of levying fines and

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(*Continued from the last page*)

in Magadha it was only equal to two gavyūtis (last verse of deśādhyāya in bhūmikhaṇḍa). Kaut gives hastas of various lengths for various purposes Compare Manu VIII 132–134, Viṣnudharmasūtra IV 1–7, Yāj I 362–363, Nārada pariśiṣṭa 57–60, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 57 1 ff, Vāyupurāṇa 101 118 for some of these, which differ in some details from Kautilya's statements Kaut (II 20) states the duration of a *nāḍikā* to be the time required for the passage of one āḍhaka of water from a pot through an aperture of the same diameter as a wire of 4 angulas in length and made out of four suvarṇamāṣakas. 2 nāḍikās are equal to a muhūrta and 15 muhūrtas are equal to a day or a night In II 19 he gives measures of corn as follows — 4 kuḍumbas = prastha, 4 prasthas = āḍhaka, 4 āḍhakas = droṇa, 16 droṇas = khārī, 20 droṇas = kumbha. The droṇa differed for various purposes. Vide above (p 124 note 165) for a quotation from Mit. on Yāj III 274 Hemādri, vratakhaṇḍa pp 51–57, gives quotations from various sources for measures of time, corn &c. These measures were different in different countries and at different times The Līlāvatī (of 12th century A D) I 7 speaks of the khārī in Magadha being equal to 16 droṇas. Vide n 165 above and H. of Dh. vol. II p. 881 n. 2053 and L D. Barnett's 'Antiquities of India' (pp. 206–210) for tables of weights and measures.

awarding bodily punishments e. g. if a woman refused to work after receiving the wages he could cut off her thumb (? or bind up her thumb with the index finger so as to form a pair of tongs). The superintendent of agriculture (sītādhyakṣa,[186] II. 24) himself knowing or assisted by those who know the science of agriculture and the Āyurveda (the ancient lore) of trees was to collect at the proper times all kinds of corn, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbs, hemp and cotton seeds and to employ slaves, labourers and prisoners who worked to pay off fines they could not pay, to sow seeds on crown lands. In this chapter he makes interesting remarks about the extent of rainfall viz. the rainfall in a *jāṅgala* country (defined above at p. 132) is 16 dronas, in *anūpa* (very moist) countries 24 dronas, 13½ dronas in the Aśmaka country (modern Khandesh and part of Berar), 23 dronas in the Avanti country (round about modern Ujjain), an immense quantity in the Aparāntas (west coast of India) and the Himālayan regions.

The superintendent of liquor was to carry on the traffic in liquor and ferments in the capital, the other parts of the country and in army camps by employing men familiar with them, he was to impose a fine of 600 panas if any one other than the manufacturers, licensed vendors and vendees sold or purchased liquor, he was not to allow liquor-shops to be opened close to each other, he was to see that liquor was sold in small quantities such as ¼ or ½ of a *kuḍumba* or a half prastha to persons of known character in order that (lit. for fear) workmen employed should not cause loss through carelessness, that *āryas* might not violate the rules of good conduct and that desperadoes should not commit indiscreet acts Śukra was even more strict as regards

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186 Sītā, according to the Amarakośa, means the 'lines or furrow made by the ploughshare'. Therefore Kauṭilya appears to employ the word 'sītā' in the sense of 'land that has been cultivated'. Prof V. K. Ramchandra Dīkshitar (in 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' p. 369) is not right when he explains सीता लाङ्गलपद्धतिः (of Amara) as 'methods and means connected with the plough'. Paddhati only means the line or furrow made in the field by the ploughshare Kṣīraswāmī explains as स्यति सुवे सीता हललेखा. In II 15 Kauṭilya himself explains 'sītā' as the collection of grain brought in by the superintendent of agriculture 'सीताध्यक्षोपनीतः सस्यवर्णकः सीतां'. The sītādhyakṣa appears to have been concerned with crown lands, while the share of crops leviable on lands of private ownership was called 'bali' Both these were the concern of the samāhartr as stated in V. 1 (where rāstra is said to include sītā, bhāga, bali, kara &c) When in II 15 sītā and rāstra are separately mentioned that is on the analogy of the maxim of *brāhmaṇāśramaṇa* or of *gobalīvarda*.

wine, as he did not allow any one to drink wine in the day-time (IV. 4. 43). The superintendent of slaughter houses (sūnādhyaksa. II. 26) was entrusted with the power to regulate the killing of animals for meat and was to impose the highest amercement on those who trapped or beat or killed deer, cattle, birds or fish which were declared to be under State protection or that dwelt in protected forests The superintendent of nautch-girls (ganikādhyaksa [187]) is dealt with in II 27. The topic of *veśyās* has already been treated of in H Dh. vol. II pp 637–639. Kaut. says that a *ganikā* was to be employed for a salary of one thousand panas, whether she was born in a prostitute's family or not and she was to possess beauty, youth and accomplishments (i e the 64 *kalās* enumerated in Kāmasūtra I. 3. 16). Kaut prescribes that, if she left the country or died, her daughter or sister took her place and estate or her mother could substitute some other ganikā in her place; when none of these existed the king took her wealth and her son did not inherit her wealth. A ganikā could purchase her freedom by paying to the king 24000 panas as ransom She was to hold the umbrella, the golden pitcher and the fan for the king when he was seated on the throne or in a chariot or in his palanquin. There were grades among the ganikās as best, middling and inferior and salaries differed by a thousand. The sons of prostitutes were to be the chief actors on the royal stage It appears from these provisions that the veśyas were more or less slaves The superintendent of ships (nāvadhyaksa, II. 28) was to look after the passage of ships not only over the seas and at the mouths of rivers, but also over lakes and rivers in the sthānīya (vide above p 140) and other sub-divisions of the kingdom Kaut prescribes that villages on the sea-shore and river banks were to pay a fixed tax, fishermen were to render a sixth part of the haul of fish as fees for fishing licenses and merchants were to pay the customary tolls levied in port towns. This superintendent was to request the ships that touched at a harbour on their voyage to a distant port to pay the toll, he was to destroy pirate vessels bound for the country of an enemy as well as those that violated the usages of the port The superintendent of cattle (II. 29) was entrusted with the rearing,

187. आभिरूप्युच्छ्रिता वेश्या शीलिरूपगुणान्विता। लभते गणिकाशब्दं स्थानं च जनसंसदि॥ पूजिता सा सदा राज्ञा गुणवद्भिश्च संस्तुता। प्रार्थनीयाभिगम्या च लक्ष्यभूता च जायते॥ कामसूत्र I 3 20–21. This shows that every *veśyā* was not a ganikā, but only one that was honoured for her accomplishments (in 64 kalās) and who became the cynosure of all eyes.

preservation and care of cows, bulls, buffaloes and the dairy produce. The superintendent of horses (II. 30) was to record the breed, age, colour, marks, groups and places of origin of horses, which were to be classified as those kept in salehouses for sale, those that were recently purchased, those captured in battles, those that were pledged and those temporarily kept in stables &c. Kaut notes that the breed of horses from Kāmbhoja, Sindhu (modern Sindh), Āratta (western Punjab) and Vanāyu (North-west of India) countries are the best of horses, Bāhlīka (modern Balkh), Pāpeya, Sauvīra (eastern Sindh and western Rajputana) and Taitila breeds are of middle quality and the rest are inferior. The superintendent of elephants (II 31) had to take steps to guard elephant forests and supervise elephants that were in stables, the catching, training and feeding of them, their accoutrements &c Kaut devotes one chapter (II. 32) to the training and classification of elephants and medical treatment when they fell ill The superintendent of chariots and that of infantry (II. 33) have the charge of the chariot department and of the six classes of infantry respectively. The superintendent of passports (mudrādhyaksa) issued passes to inhabitants of the country or foreigners for entering into or going out and the superintendent of pastures (II. 34) was to see the passes and devote himself to the care of pastures Kautilya provides that a pass (mudrā) was to be given on payment of a māsaka, that one could enter into or go out of a country only when one had a pass, that a person who entered without a pass was to be fined twelve panas and that the superintendent of pastures and his men were to examine whether persons not going by the royal road but through pastures had a pass or not and that the superintendent of pastures and his men were to convey the approach of thieves and enemies by beating drums and blowing conches and were to send messages about the entrance of enemies into pastures by means of domesticated pigeons carrying letters bearing the official stamp or by means of smoke and fire. The nāgaraka (the mayor of the capital or cities or the chief of the police in the capital) was to look to the affairs of the capital (or the big cities) A *gopa* (under the *nāgaraka*) was to superintend a group of twenty or forty families in the capital and an officer designated *sthānika* was to be in charge of each of four wards into which the capital was to be divided. Yāj II. 173 mentions an officer called *sthānapāla* in connection with the finding of lost goods who appears to be the same as sthānika The gopa and sthānika had to keep a register of the caste, gotra,

name and occupation of the men and women in their districts and also of their income and expenditure Managers of charitable institutions had to send information to them about the heretics and travellers arriving to reside therein. Numerous rules about reporting and punishments for various defaults and wrongs are laid down, which are passed over. Manu VII. 121 and Śānti 87. 10 also provide for the appointment in each city (in the kingdom) of a high officer, who was to superintend all matters affecting the city and who had ample powers of restraint and coercion Many of the superintendents mentioned by Kautilya occur under the same names in the Kāmasūtra e.g. gavādhyaksa, sūtrādhyaksa, nāgaraka (explained by the com as dandapāśika), panyādhyaksa (in V. 5. 7–10) Vide E I. vol. 15 pp. 127–128 for a statement on the provincial administration under the Guptas.

As regards the emoluments of the officers in charge of a village, ten villages &c. Manu (VII. 118–119) has some interesting rules: 'The headman of a village should obtain (as his emoluments) those articles which the villagers have to furnish every day to the king viz. food, drink, fuel and the like The officer over ten villages should enjoy one *kula*[188], that over twenty villages should enjoy five *kulas*, the superintendent of a hundred villages should receive the revenue of one village and the high officer over a thousand villages should enjoy (the revenue of) a town. All this, as Medhātithi says, is only approximate and recommendatory and was not literally followed, but

188. The word 'pratyaham' (every day) excludes taxes on fields that are levied once a year or taxes levied on particular occasions only; while the words 'food, drink and fuel' exclude cattle, money &c The word 'kula' appears to be used as a technical term. It may mean as much land as would be required for the maintenance of a family Bnt there is another sense given by the commentators of Manu. Sarvajña-Nārāyana quotes a text that *kula* means 'two halas'. He and Kullūka quote Hārita to the effect that a plough (yoked acc to dharma) is one of eight bullocks, one of six bullocks is employed by those who want only bare maintenance, householders employ one of four bullocks, while those who in their greed want to incur heavy sin employ a plough with two bulls only So by kula is meant as much land as can be ploughed with two ploughs to which either 8, 6 or 4 bullocks are yoked. That 6 or 8 or 12 oxen were yoked to the plough is stated in Atharva VI. 91.1 and Tai. S. V. 2. 5 2. हलं तु द्विगुणं कुलमिति वचनाद् द्वाभ्यां हलाभ्यां या कृष्यते भूस्तां कुलीतेत्यर्थः। हलमानं च-अष्टागवं धर्महलं षड्गवं जीविकार्थिनाम्। चतुर्गवं गृहस्थानां द्विगवं ब्रह्मघातिनामिति हारीतोक्तम्। धर्महल ग्राह्यं गृहस्थहलं वा। सर्वज्ञनारायण on मनु VII 119.

only means that a salary commensurate with the position and responsibilities of each officer should be received by him. Vide Śānti 87. 6–8 for rules similar to Manu's (where the officer over a thousand villages gets as his salary the revenues of a śākhānagara). Kautilya (in V. 3) sets out the salaries of many officers and servants as follows: the salary paid to the chief mantrin, purohita and a few others has been already stated above (p. 120); the dauvārika, the superintendent of the harem (antarvaṁśika), the praśāstṛ, the samāhartṛ and the sannidhātṛ were to receive 24000 panas; the princes (other than the crown prince), the nurse (mātṛ, mother?) of the princes, nāyaka, the superintendent in charge of justice (or commercial transactions?) in the capital (the pauravyāvahārika), the superintendent of royal manufactories (karmāntika), the members of the council of ministers, the rāstrapāla (governor of a province), antapāla (the guardian of the borders) were to receive 12000 panas; the salary of the heads of śrenis (the military corporations?), the heads of the elephant army, cavalry, and chariot army, and the pradestrs was 8000 paṇas; the superintendents (below the commanders) of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, of the forest produce and elephant forests will each receive 4000; the chariot driver (anīka), the army physician, the trainer of horses, carpenters, *yampoṣaka* (?) will receive 2000; the foreteller (the reader of omens), astrologer (who finds auspicious times for undertakings), the reader of purānas, the sūta, māgadha (bard), the assistants (puruṣa) of the purohita and adhyaksas will receive 1000; trained foot-soldiers, the accountants and scribes will receive 500; musicians 250, but trumpet-blowers will receive 500; artisans (*kāru*) and craftsmen (*śilpin*) 120; servants in charge of bipeds and quadrupeds, workers doing miscellaneous things, attendants near the king, bodyguard and the officer procuring free labour (visti) will receive 60; those appointed to do piece work (kāryayukta, v. l āryayukta), the elephant driver, boys (mānavaka, a page?), mountain-diggers, all attendants, teachers and learned men shall receive honorarium (pūjāvetana) according to their merit from 500 to 1000; charioteer of the king 1000; spies of the five sorts (vide above p. 129) will receive 1000; the village servants (like washer-man), the spies of the type of sattrin, desperado, poisoner and ascetic women will receive 500; the wandering spies (vide above p. 130) three hundred or more according to the labour involved. The superintendents in charge of a group of hundred or a thousand (servants) were to regulate the subsistence (bhakta), cash salary, the perquisites,

the appointment and transfer of those under them. But there shall be no transfer of those who are the king's personal servants and of those who are appointed to guard forts and the country parts. The Sukranītisāra (I. 211) emphasizes that salaries should be in panas, that a king should not make a gift even of a finger-breadth of land as emolument to any servant, but that if he does give land, it should be held only for the life-time of the officer [189]. Kautilya (in II. 1) prescribes that lands may be granted as emoluments to superintendents (of the various departments), the accountants, to officers called gopa and sthānika, to officers in the army, physicians, horse-trainers, but without power to sell or mortgage Śukra II. 117–204 mentions numerous officers of the army, the treasury &c. Śukra IV. 7. 24–27 sets out the salaries of officers, when the king's income is one lakh of *mudrās* a year. Kaut provides for pensions and gratuities. He says 'the sons and wives of those that die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Young children, aged persons and ailing persons related to the (dying) officers shall be shown favour On occasions of funerals, sickness or childbirth the king shall bestow money and honours on them' The Mahābhārata (Sabhā 5. 54) prescribes [190] that it is the duty of the king to support the wives of those that meet death or calamities in the king's service Śukra II 406–411 contains very modern-looking rules about sick-leave, casual leave, pension after 40 years of service &c

The above provisions from Kautilya's work show how States in ancient India engaged in almost all the activities of modern States, had an equally complicated machinery of administration and an army of high and low officers. It will also be noticed how, as in India at present, comparatively very high salaries were paid to ministers and heads of departments as compared with the salaries of clerks (e g the ordinary clerks received five hundred, while the chief minister and samāhartr, the

189. न दद्याद्व्यङ्गुलमपि भूमेः स्वत्वनिवर्तनम् । वृत्त्यर्थं कल्पयेद्वापि यावद्ग्राहस्तु जीवति ॥ मृतौ तावद्वेतनार्धं विसृजेच्च सदैव हि । आरामार्थं गृहार्थं वा दद्याद्दत्ता कुटुम्बिनम् ॥ शुक्रनीतिसार I 211–212

190 कश्चिद्दारान्मनुष्याणां तवार्थे मृत्युमीयुषाम् । व्यसनं प्राप्नुपेताना बिभर्षि भरतर्षभ ॥ सभा 5 54, पादहीना भृतिं त्वार्ते दद्यात् त्रैमासिकी तत. । पञ्चवत्सरभृत्ये तु न्यूनाधिक्य यथा तथा ॥ षाण्मासिकीं तु दीर्घार्ते तद्ऊर्ध्वं न च कल्पयेत् । नैव पक्षार्धमार्तस्य हृतस्वाप्यपि वै भृतिं ॥ .. चत्वारिंशत् समा नीताः सेवया येन वै नृपः । तत· सेवा विना तस्मै भृत्यर्धं कल्पयेत्सदा ॥ ... स्वामिकार्ये विनष्टो यस्तद्भुत्रे तद्भृतिं वहेत् । यावद्बालोन्यथा पुत्रगुणान् दृष्ट्वा भृतिं वहेत् ॥ शुक्रनीति० II. 406, 407, 410, 413.

collector-general, received respectively 48000 and 24000 i. e. 96 and 48 times as much respectively. If all the different officers mentioned in the works on dharmaśāstra, arthaśāstra and in inscriptions be collected together, they will make a formidably long list. A list from one inscription is set out below as a sample.[191] Vide Vogel's 'Inscriptions from Chamba' pp 120-136 for explanations of about 30 titles of officers occurring in the inscriptions.

A few words must be said about local administration. The word *grāma* occurs even in the Rgveda. In Rg I. 114. 1 the poet offers his praise and prayer to Rudra so that he hopes that 'all bipeds and quadrupeds may fare well and all beings in this village may be free from disease and may enjoy prosperity'.[192] In Rg. V. 54.8 'heroes (or men) conquering grāmas' are mentioned (grāmajito yathā narah). In Rg. X. 62. 11 Manu is styled 'grāmaṇī' and the bestower of a thousand (cows?) and in Rg. X. 107. 5 it is said that the 'grāmaṇī who is endowed with (or dispenses) daksinā (cows or wealth) walks in front (of the village people)'. In the Tai. S. II. 5.4.4 it is said 'the prosperous are three indeed, viz the learned brāhmana, the village headman (grāmaṇī) and the rājanya (warrior)'.[192a] In the Tai. Br. I. 1 4.8, the consecration of fire for a vaiśya sacrificer is made with the mantra 'manostvā grāmanyo vratapate vratenādadhāmi' (where Manu is styled grāmaṇī). In the Śat. Br. V. 4 4. 19 the grāmaṇī is said to be stronger than his co-sharer (sajāta). Vide S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 111. We saw above

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191. In the Naihati grant of Ballālasena of Bengal in E I. vol. 14 p. 156 at p. 160 we have one of the longest lists of high and low officers. 'परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनदेवः कुशली समुपगतांश्चराज-राजन्यक-राज्ञी-राणक-राजपुत्र-राजामात्य-पुरोहित-महाधर्माध्यक्ष-महासान्धिविग्रहिक-महासेनापति-महाक्षप्रधिकृत-अन्तरङ्ग-बृहदुपरिक-महाक्षपटलिक-महाप्रतीहार-महाभोगिक-महापीलुपति-महागणस्थ-दौःसाधिक-चौरोद्धरणिक-नौ-बल-हस्त्यश्व-गो-महिषाजाविकादित्र्यापृतक-गौल्मिक-दण्डपाशिक-दण्डनायक-विषयपत्यादीनन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्तितान् चतुर्महाजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च । The word 'adhyaksapracāroktān' apparently refers as said above (p. 143) to the section II on the activities of adhyaksas in Kautilya. Vide appendix for a somewhat exhaustive list of officers mentioned in dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra works and in inscriptions.

192. यथा शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्ननातुरम् । ऋ. I 114. 1.

192a. त्रयो वै गताश्रियः श्रुश्रुवान् ग्रामणी राजन्यस्तेषां महेन्द्रो देवता । तै. सं. II. 5. 4. 4.

(p 111) that among the *ratnins*, grāmanī (the village headman) was one Grāma did not necessarily mean a village but may have been applied to a town (though not a capital). The headman of a village was called grāmanī, grāmika or grāmādhipati (in Manu VII. 115–116, Kaut III. 10), grāmakūta (in inscriptions e. g E I vol VII p 39 of śake 852, E I. vol VII p 183, 188) and Pattakila, modern Patil (in Ujjain plates of 975 and 1023 A. D. in I. A vol. 6 p. 51, 53, vol 18 p 322 grant of Bhoja in *samvat* 1076, I. A 16 p 254, E I. vol. XI p 304, 310 of *samvat* 1176) In an inscription of the 13th century from the Poona District we have the form 'pattela' (E I vol VII at p 183) The word 'gāvunda' for a village headman in the Canarese Districts is derived from grāmakūta (E. I. vol. VII p 183) Paithīnasi[193] quoted by Aparārka p. 239 states that the food of a grāmakūta could not be partaken by a brāhmana. The Gāthāsaptaśatī frequently refers to the great influence of the grāmanī and the love adventures of his son in the village (I. 30–31, VII. 24). The Kāmasūtra states (V. 5.5) that the young son of a grāmādhipati had certain women of the village at his beck and call[194] According to the Śukranītisāra I. 193 a grāma (village) is one krośa in extent and yields a revenue of one thousand silver karsas, while half a village is called *palli* and half of palli was *kumbha*. Hemādri in Dānakhanda (p 288) quotes from the Mārkandeya-purāna definitions of pura, kheta, kharvata and grāma Yāj II. 167 makes a distinction between grāma, kharvata and nagara (town) as regards the extent of the pasture lands to be preserved round them. Baudhāyana Dh S II 3. 58 and 60 condemns residence in a city for a religious brāhmana where the body is covered with dust which enters one's mouth and eyes and recommends for residence a grāma abounding in water, fuel, fodder, fuel-sticks, kuśa grass, flowers, which is full of well-to-do people, endowed with industrious people, where the majority are āryas and which cannot be entered by robbers In the Sabhāparva 5 84 five officers of a village are referred to It appears that from being a very high officer (a ratnin) in Vedic times the grāmanī was reduced in his influence, came to be appointed by the king alone and the office became hereditary and could be given permanently Vide

193. पैठीनसिः। सांवत्सरिकघाण्टिकग्रामकूटाञ्च वियम्। अपरार्क p. 239.

194 ग्रामाधिपतेरायुक्तकस्य हलोत्थवृत्तिपुत्रस्य यूनो ग्रामीणयोषितो यत्नमात्रसाध्यास्ताश्चर्षण्य इत्याचक्षते विदाः। कामसूत्र V. 5 5.

E.I. vol. VII. p. 177, 188, 189[195]. The Śukranītisāra (II 120–21) states that there were to be six officers in a village and (II. 428–29) prescribes their caste, viz. sāhasādhipati (i.e. a magistrate to deal with wrongs involving force) was to be a ksatriya, grāmanetr (the headman) a brāhmana, bhāgahāra (the person collecting the state land revenue) a ksatriya, lekhaka (a scribe, corresponding to the modern *kulkarṇī* in the Deccan) should be a kāyastha, śulkagrāha (the toll-gate keeper) a vaiśya, pratihāra (the guard at the gate of the village wall) a śūdra. Śukra (in II. 170–175) sets out their duties. The headman was to be alert in protecting the villagers like their parents from thieves, robbers and from the State officers, the bhāgahāra was to devote special care to the tending of trees; the lekhaka was to be skilled in accounting and proficient in several spoken languages; the pratihāra was to be of strong body, proficient in arms, humble and to call the villagers with the respect due to each; and the toll-gate keeper was to levy tolls in such a way that sellers did not incur loss of capital spent by them. From Kaut III 10 it appears that the village headman had the authority to inflict fines in certain cases e g when the headman (grāmika) had to travel on some business of the whole village the villagers were to accompany him by turns, but if they failed to do so they had to pay a fine of one pana or a half pana. Similarly, if a villager does not co-operate in the getting up of a show (preksā) in the village, he or his people would not be allowed to see the show and he was to be fined if he clandestinely saw it In villages, particularly in Karnātaka and South India and in brahmadeya grants (to learned brāhmanas) the village assemblies (sabhā) carried on local administration. From the Kotavumachgi Inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya V dated śake 934 (1012 A D) it appears that Ummachige was a great educational centre in the 11th century and 104 Mahājanas of the village were entrusted with the proper conduct of worship in the temple, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village and the punishment of criminals (E. I. vol. 20 p. 59). Vide Gopalan's 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī' pp. 93, 153–157 for the working of the village assemblies (sabhās) from the 9th century onwards, but as he observes (p 154), 'we do not know the nature of the rules that regulated their working, their exact sphere of action and their

195. अस्य ग्रामस्य ग्रामकूटत्वं कह्लाम्बात्मजकुसुमायुधाय दत्तं शाश्वतम् । E.I. VII p. 177 at p 188 (grant of Eastern Cālukya Amma dated 945 A. D.)

relation to the central government.' An inscription of king Parāntaka I (907–947 A. D.) at Uttaramerur deals with several classes of village committees that were appointed by vote (Annual Report of Archæological Survey of India, 1904–5 pp 131 ff) Five committees, viz annual committee, garden committee, tank committee, gold committee (for currency or for collecting taxes in cash), *pañcavāra* committee, are described and reference is made to a sixth called 'justice committee' and the mode of election and the qualifications and disqualifications of members are described in detail (pp. 142–145). Prof Nilkanth Sastri in 'Studies in Cola History' (pp. 131–175) publishes the text of two Parāntaka Inscriptions with English translation and exhaustive notes. Vide also E. I. vol 22 p 5 for resolutions of the sabhā at Manur to be followed in future meetings, the qualifications in property, education and character of the members &c, E. I. vol. 24 p 28 about the *regulations* of sabhā from two Uttaramallūr Inscriptions and E. I vol 23 p 22 for a note on the pañcavāra committee. For village communities as described in Buddhist works in the 7th century B C., vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' pp. 45–51. It appears from Pānini and the commentary Kāśikā thereon that certain craftsmen were attached hereditarily to the village, were probably paid a certain part of the crop produce yearly for their services and corresponded to the modern village servants (called the twelve *balutedārs*) in the Deccan For an account of these *balutedārs*, vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marathas' (Bombay ed of 1863, vol I. pp 23–27) For example, Pānini (VI. 2 62) teaches the accent of a compound word formed from 'grāma' with another word denoting 'silpin' (craftsman), such as grāmanāpita (village barber) or grāmakulāla (village potter), which are two examples given by the Kāśikā on this *sūtra*. From Pānini V 4 95 ('grāmakautābhyām ca taksnah') it may be inferred that a carpenter also was a village servant as in modern times in the Deccan Brhaspati[196] contains very

196. ग्रस्तश्रेणिगणाना च सङ्केत समयक्रिया। बाधाकाले तु सा कार्या धर्मकार्ये तथैव च॥ द्वौ त्रय पञ्च वा कार्या समूहहितवादिन। । कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभि॥ सभाप्रपादेवगृहतडागारामसंस्कृतिः। तथानाथदरिद्राणा सस्कारो यजनक्रिया॥ कुलायननिरोधं च कार्यमस्माभिरञ्जसा। यत्रैतल्लेखितं पत्रे धर्म्या सा समयक्रिया॥ पालनीया समस्तैस्तु यः समर्थो विसवदेत्। सर्वस्वहरणं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं पुरात्॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क pp 792–93, स्मृतिच० II 222–223, व्य प p 332 The latter reads कुलायननिरोधश्च and states that कल्पतरु read कुल्यायननिरोधश्च meaning 'starting water courses and stemming them' अपरार्क omits the half कुलायननिरोध च &c. The word कुला० is variously explained by the digests

important information about local administration in villages. A compact formed among villages, guilds and corporations (gana) is called a *samaya* (agreement); such an agreement must be observed in times of distress and for acts of dharma. Two, three or five persons shall be appointed as advisers of groups; their advice shall be followed by the villagers, the guilds, the corporations and others Examples of agreement as to times of distress are: When there is drought, there may be a compact that for the performance of a sacrifice to the planets or the like each field or house should contribute so much money or when there is trouble from robbers, each house should send one able-bodied and armed man. Then examples are given by Brhaspati himself about acts of dharma. The village people should put down in writing what work they are going to do, such as the repair of a house for their assembly, a shed for distributing water to travellers, a temple, a tank or a garden, the performance of the necessary samskāras (upanayana or funeral rites) of the poor and helpless, gifts for the performance of sacrifices, prevention of famine-stricken groups of families from coming. Such conventions would be proper and should be respected by all the villagers. Whoever being able to carry out such agreements violates them should be punished with loss of all wealth and banishment Brhaspati further says[197] that the heads of families, guilds and ganas and the inhabitants of towns and forts may pronounce the two punishments of reprimand and condemnation against wrong-doers and may also excommunicate them and the punishments and favours declared by them according to rules should be approved of by the king, since such power is regarded by the sages as delegated to them. For ejecting out of the village one who is not guilty of theft or adultery with another's wife the village headman or the village was liable to pay, according to Kautilya III. 10, a fine of 24 panas. It will be seen from what has preceded that village administration was self-contained and would function whatever Government might happen to be at the centre The central Government did not very much interfere with local administration, except in the matter of land revenue, protection against invasion and exercised only general control and supervision. The village communities were miniature states.

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197 कुलश्रेणिगणाध्यक्षाः पुरदुर्गनिवासिनः। वाग्विधर्दमं परित्यागं प्रकुर्युः पापकारिणाम्॥ तैः कृतं च स्वधर्मेण निग्रहानुग्रहं नृणाम्। तद्राज्ञोप्यनुमन्तव्य निसृष्टार्था हि ते स्मृताः॥ बृहस्पति quoted by अपरार्क p. 794, स्मृतिच II p. 225, सरस्वतीविलास p 329 There are some slight variations.

There was a great deal of decentralization or devolution of authority from the central government to the village committees and authorities. They were also entrusted with civil and criminal justice, as we shall see later on. For further details on the organization of a village as a political unit, Dr R C Majmudar's 'Corporate life in Ancient India' chap II. pp 135 ff. and Fick (p. 161) may be consulted. Just as there was some organization in villages in general, so also guilds (śrenis) and groups (ganas) had their own regulations and conventions. In XI 1 Kautilya refers to ksatriya guilds in the countries of Kāmbhoja and Surāstra that maintained themselves on husbandry and followed the profession of arms (vide above p. 88 n. 120). In III. 14 he refers to guilds of workmen or labourers (sangha-bhrtāh) Manu (I. 118) declares that his work deals not only with the enduring dharmas of countries, castes and families, but also with the dharmas of heretical sects (pāsanda) and of groups (gana). Manu (VIII. 41) requires the righteous king to consider carefully the dharmas of castes, countries, guilds and families (to find out whether they are opposed to the Vedas) and uphold those dharmas (that are not opposed) as binding (on those respective persons) Yāj. II 192 prescribes that the king should respect the usages and conventions of occupational guilds, merchants, heretical sects, and groups (corporations &c) and allow them to pursue the course of action they had followed from ancient times. Nārada (samayasyānapā-karma, verses 2–6) and Brhaspati quoted in the Vīramitrodaya (vyavahāra) contain very important directions as to what conventions of guilds the king should respect and what he is not bound to respect Nārada says that the king should enforce the conventions agreed upon by heretic sects, naigamas (merchants), srenis and other groups residing in the country or the capital. The king may allow them to follow their special rules (e g speaking the truth), their special actions (begging in the morning without having taken a bath), their mode of meeting (on hearing a drum being beaten), the means of livelihood they have been used to (e. g dressing as an ascetic) But the king should prohibit (out of their usages and conventions) such as are opposed to the king's interest, or are disapproved of by the people in general, would be ruinous to the purposes of the king The king should not tolerate their creating factious groups among themselves, taking up arms for a purpose detrimental to the State, and causing injury to each other The king should specially curb those who cause dissensions among the several

groups; if they are connived at in these activities they might cause terrible danger.[198] A good deal has already been said about guilds and corporations in H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 66–69. Among inscriptions, the following may be studied: the Nasik Ins. No. 15 of the time of Ābhīra Īśvarasena (E. I vol. VIII p. 88, where the śrenis of potters, oil-pressers and water-drawers receive deposits), Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. 4 p. 97, where a deposit of money with śrenis of bamboo-workers and braziers is made), Gupta Inscription No. 16 p. 70 (an endowment was entrusted to the guild of oil-men, whose head was Jīvanta), Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18 p. 79 (silk weavers from Lāta coming to Daśapura and building a Sun temple), E. I. vol. 15 p. 263, E. I. vol. 18 p. 326 and p. 30, E. I. 16 p. 332, E I. vol. I. 155 (of 933 *saṁvat*, inscription at Gopagiri, modern Gwalior, where the guilds of oil-millers and of gardeners are mentioned), I. 184 (Pehoa inscription, where a guild of 34 horse-dealers from different countries, some being brāhmanas, agreed to impose upon themselves and their customers tithes to be distributed to certain temples). Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 90–96) gives a list of the 18 guilds that probably existed in the times of the early Buddhist works (though two or three of them are of doubtful existence) and the number of which (18) is sometimes mentioned in the Jātakas (as in Mūgapakkhajātaka No. 538, vol. VI p. 14 in Cowell's tr.). For further details about the working and organization of guilds, vide chap. I of Dr. R. C. Majmudar's 'Corporate life in ancient India', and 'Indian Culture' vol 6 (for 1940) pp. 421–28 (on the economic guilds of blacksmiths, barbers &b. in the Kusāna period).

In numerous places rules are laid down about the qualifications of the ordinary servants (parivāra, bhrtya or anujīvin) of kings, how they should conduct themselves, how servants should

198. पाषण्डिनैगमश्रेणीपूगव्रातगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ यो धर्मः कर्म यच्चैषामुपस्थानविधिश्च यः । यच्चैषां वृत्युपादानमनुमन्येत तत्तथा ॥ नाकुलं च यद्राजा प्रकृत्यवमतं च यत् । बाधकं च यदार्याणां तत्तेभ्यो विनिवर्तयेत् ॥ मिथः सङ्घातकरणं महितं शस्त्रधारणम् । परस्परोपघातं च तेषां राजा न मर्षयेत् ॥ पृथग्गणांश्च ये भिन्द्युस्ते विनेया विशेषतः । आवहेयुर्भयं घोरं व्याधिवत्ते ह्युपेक्षिताः ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 2–6). In the Amraoti Inscriptions (E. I. vol. 15 p. 263) we find the words धञ्ञकडकस निगमस (of the trade guild of Dhanyakata). This place is variously identified (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 9). The अमरकोश holds that नैगम and वणिक् are synonyms. विश्वरूप on या. II. 192 explains 'सार्थवाहादिसमूहो नैगमः'; अपरार्क p. 796 explains 'सह देशान्तरवाणिज्यार्थं ये नानाजातीया अधिगच्छन्ति ते नैगमाः'.

find out whether the king is pleased or displeased with them. Vide Kautilya V. 4, Virāṭaparva 4 12–50 (where the refrain of most verses is 'sa rājavasatim vaset'), Matsyapurāna 216 (the whole of which is quoted in the Rājadharmakāṇḍa pp. 24–27 and in the Rājanītiprakāśa pp 189–192), Agnipurāna 221, Visnudharmottara II. 25. 2–28, Kām IV. 10–11, V 1–4, 6, 9, 11–63 (most of which are quoted in the Rājanītiratnākara pp 51–58), Śukranītisāra II. 54–68, 205–253. On the word 'aksudraparisad' occurring in Yāj I. 310 (where the Mit. has the reading 'aksudrosparusah') Viśvarūpa quotes a passage from Śankha [199] 'a *hamsa* (swan i e a good king) surrounded by vultures (greedy servants) is not desirable, but a vulture (i e a greedy king) surrounded by hamsas (servants of spotless character) may be preferred' The Rājanītiprakāśa (p 185) quotes the same passage from Śankha-Likhita with an addition viz. 'faults arise from those who surround the king and such faults are enough to ruin (the king) Therefore the (king) should first (before engaging his servants) put down in writing whether servants are endowed with learning, character and good family.' Śukra inculcates loyalty on servants in the following remarkable [200] words 'one should not forsake a good master when he is in adversity. Should not one always and quickly desire the welfare of one's protector whose salt (lit food) one has eaten with honour even once' (II 246–247)? This sentiment pervaded most Hindu servants in ancient and medieval times, even under foreign rulers professing a different religion The Rājanītiprakāsa p. 176 quotes a fine verse from the Garudapurāna as to matters to be principally considered in selecting servants, which are four, viz. education, character, family and

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199 तथा च शङ्ख । न हंसो गृध्रपरिवारः कामं तु गृध्रो हंसपरिवारः स्यात् । विश्वरूप on या. 1 305, शङ्खलिखितौ । न गृध्रपरिवारः स्यात्काम गृध्रो राजा मेयान्न हंसपरिवारो न हंसो गृध्रपरिवारः । परिवाराद्धि दोषाः प्रादुर्भवन्ति तेऽल विनाशाय । तस्मात्पूर्वमेव तत्परिवार लिखेच्छ्रुतशीलान्वयोपपन्नम् । राजनीतिप्र. p 185. This quotation seems to be corrupt. We have probably to omit the word न before हंसपरिवारः In वसिष्ठ XVI 21–26 (Fuhrers' ed. of 1916) we have a very similar passage, but it is corrupt. Vide राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 22 for the same passage ascribed to शङ्खलिखित The पञ्चतन्त्र has a similar verse of same sense (I 302) 'गृध्राकारोपि सेव्य स्याद्धसाकारै. सभासदैः । हंसाकारोपि सत्याज्यो गृध्राकारै स तैर्नृपः ॥

200. आपद्गत सुभर्तारं कदापि न परित्यजेत् । एकवारमप्यशितं यस्याश्च ह्यादरेण च । तदिष्टं चिन्तयेन्नित्यं पालकस्याशसा न किम् ॥ शुक्र II. 246–247.

actions, just as gold is tested in four ways, viz. by weighing it or by rubbing it (on a touchstone), by cutting it and by heating it[201]

Some responsibilities of the Government or king in ancient India towards the people will now be dealt with. From Kautilya (II. 29 and II. 34) we find that the State made great efforts for the rearing of cattle, made stringent rules for their protection and for the provision of pastures. Manu VIII. 237, Yāj II. 167, Matsya 227. 24 also make provision for pastures round villages, towns and cities Kauṭilya requires the superintendent of cattle to classify cattle as calves, steers, tameables, draught oxen, bulls to be yoked, stud-bulls, bulls meant for carts, cattle meant for meat and buffaloes meant for carrying loads or for being yoked, pregnant cows, milch cattle &c. and to mark them and note in a register of beasts the branded marks, natural marks, colour, the distance between the horns. He prescribes corporal punishments and fine for those who unauthorizedly kill or steal cattle or incite others to do so. He prescribes even the amount of fodder, oil-cakes, bran and salt on which different kinds of animals put to different kinds of work are to be fed. From the Mahābhārata also we learn that even princes[201a] went to supervise and enumerate the herds of cattle belonging to the State. Vide Vanaparva 239. 4 and 240. 4-6. Even such a grammatical work as the Mahābhāsya incidentally gives expression to the view that a country's wealth consists in its food-crops and in abundance of cattle.

We saw above (pp. 130-131) that spies were to be employed (acc to Kāut.) to test whether State officers took bribes. Yāj. (I 336, 338, 339) prescribes that the king should protect his subjects from the harassment caused by *kāyasthas* (the accountants and scribes), that he should ascertain the doings of the State officers through spies, honour those that are well-conducted and severely punish those who are badly behaved and should deprive those who take bribes of their wealth and banish them from the country. Vide also Manu VII. 122-124 and Visnudharmottara for similar rules. The Pañcatantra (I. 343) has the same verse as

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201. गरुडपुराणेपि। यथा चतुर्भिः कनकं परीक्ष्यते तुलाकषच्छेदनतापनेन। तथा चतुर्भिर्मृतकः परीक्ष्यते श्रुतेन शीलेन कुलेन कर्मणा॥ राजनीतिप्र. p. 176. This is गरुडपुराण 112 3 with slight variations.

201a. स्मारणे समयः प्राप्तो वत्सानामपि चाङ्कनम्। वनपर्व 239. 4, on which नीलकण्ठ explains 'स्मरणहेतौ कर्मणि गवां संख्यापूर्वं वयोवर्णजातिनाम्नां लेखने।; अर्थवानयं देश उच्यते यस्मिन्गावः सस्यानि च वर्तन्ते। महाभाष्य, vol. II. p 401.

Yāj. I. 336 (except the last pāda). Medhātithi on Manu IX. 294 remarks that the kingdom has no fear of ruin if kantakas (wicked people who are like thorns) are removed and justice is properly administered and that kaṇṭakas are generally under the protection of the queen, the prince, the king's favourites or the commander-in-chief

Great attention was paid to agriculture In the Sabhāparva 5. 77 the king [202] is advised to have large tanks in different parts of the country full of water and to see that agriculture did not depend on the rains alone Megasthenes (Fragment I p 30 of McCrindle's work) notes that the greater part of the soil of India was in his day under irrigation and consequently bore two crops in the year. Even from the Tai S V 1 7 3 it appears that two crops were grown in the year (tasmād dvih samvatsarasya sasyam pacyate). The Vāj S. 18 12 contains a list of twelve different kinds of crops such as rice, *yava*, wheat, *māśa*, sesame, *mudga*, *masūra* &c and the Br Up VI 3 13 enumerates ten kinds of grain (grāmyāni dhānyāni) In the Hathigumphā Inscription of Khāravela king of Kalinga (E I vol 20 p 71) it is stated that (p. 79) a canal which had already been opened in the 103rd year of the Nanda kings (i. e In the 4th century B. C) was extended by him in the 5th year of his reign. Rudradāman at great expense from his own treasury without any additional taxation or demand for free labour restored the famous Sudarśana lake near Junāgad (E.I vol VIII. p. 36) that had been built by the Governors of Candragupta and Aśoka and been breached by floods Irrigation had been made use of from Vedic times Rg VII. 49 2 refers to rivers and springs naturally flowing and to channels that were dug up. South Indian Inscriptions show how the Pallavas and kings of other dynasties built tanks which were named after the kings themselves or after some distinguished chief of the locality and that are in existence even now. Vide S I I vol. II part III, p 351, E. I. vol. IV p 152 (mention of tank called 'paramesvaratatāka '), S I I. vol I p 150, E I vol. VIII p. 145 (for mention of rājatatāka near which four nivartanas were granted by Cārudevī) The great engineer Suyya under Avantivarman of Kashmir (833–858) successfully dammed the river Vitastā with the result that a khārī of rice which could formerly be purchased for 200 *dīnāras* could be had after the great irrigation

202 काम्बोजान् सहागानि पूर्णानि च वृहन्ति च । भागशो विनिविष्टानि न कृषिर्देव-मातृका ॥ सभा 5 77.

work for 36 *dināras* (vide Rājatarangini V. 84–117). Kautilya (II. 24) refers to the various ways in which crops could be raised with water and the revenue to be demanded in each case, e.g. those who watered crops with manual labour had to pay 1/5th of the produce, those who carried water on their shoulders paid ¼th, those who watered their crops by means of water-lifts or water-wheels from natural springs paid one-third and those who raised water from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells paid ¼th. He notes that sugarcane crops are a heavy responsibility, as they are liable to many evils and entail great expense. Sugarcane had been grown even in the times of the Atharvaveda (I. 34. 5). The Śukranītisāra (IV. 4. 60) remarks that the king should see to it that there is plenty of water in his kingdom by digging wells, wells with steps, tanks, lakes &c. Megasthenes (fragment XXXIV p. 86 of McCrindle's 'Ancient India') says that some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal share of it. Kaut (IV. 3) devotes a special chapter to the king's duty to save the kingdom from national calamities, viz. fires, floods, diseases, famines, rats, wild elephants (or beasts), snakes and evil spirits. He gives practical hints for human and religious remedies and rites against these calamities The measures against famine suggested by him are: the king may provide the people with seeds and food, start works for those who are distressed, distribute either his own collection of provisions or that of the rich or call for help from his allies, tax the rich and make them disgorge their wealth, migrate to other countries that have abundant harvests. National calamities are called *iti*, which are six: excessive rainfall, drought, rats, locusts, parrots and too close presence of foreign kings[203] The work of Kāmandaka states that calamities are either divine or human and that the first are of five kinds. In another place he gives a longer list of calamities. There are several references in ancient and medieval works to severe famines. In the Chāndogya Upanisad I. 10. 1-3 we

203. अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिर्मूषकाः शलभाः शुकाः । अत्यासन्नाश्च राजान. षडेता ईतयः स्मृताः ॥ क्षीरस्वामी on अमर०, and राजनीतिप्रकाश p. 447, compare ईतयश्च न सन्ति मे । उद्योगपर्व 61. 17; हुताशनो जलं व्याधिर्दुर्भिक्षं मरकास्तथा । इति पञ्चविधं दैवं व्यसनं मानुषं परम् ॥ काम. 13. 20 = सुधासूषण p. 60 v. 329; अतिवृष्टि...शुकाः । असत्करश्च दण्डश्च परचक्राणि तस्कराः । राजानीकमिथोत्सर्गो मरकव्याधिपीडनम् । पशूनां मरणं रोगो राष्ट्रव्यसनमुच्यते ॥ काम. 13. 63–64 = सुधासूषण p. 59 verses 322–323.

have the story of Usasti Cākrāyana who took from another's plate *kulmāsas* that the other had been eating (i e. he took *ucchista* food), when the country of Kurus was overwhelmed with a shower of hail (or by locusts). The Bālakānda (chap. 9) refers to a famine in the country of Anga under Romapāda The Nirukta II 10 refers to a drought in the dim past for twelve years in the kingdom of Śantanu. A Mauryan inscription from Mahāsthāna (ancient Pundranagara) shows that Gandaka coins were distributed and also corn to famine-stricken people (J. A. S B for 1932 p. 123). The Sohagpur Copperplate Inscription (of Mauryan times) contains an order of the mahāmātras of Śrāvastī that the *dravya* storehouses were to be spent only in case of drought Vide Annals of B O. R Institute, vol. XI p. 32ff., E I. vol. 22 p. 1 and J. A. S B vol. VII (for 1941) part 2 p. 203. The Rājataranginī records several times the occurrence of famines in Kashmir at different periods (e. g vide II 17-54, V. 270-278, VII 1219 ff). The Manimekhalai (chap 28) speaks of a famine for twelve years at Kāñcī in South India There was a terrible famine (called the famine of Durgādevī) for twelve years in the Deccan about 1396 A. D. (vide Grant Duff's 'History of the Marāthas' vol. I. p. 43). Vide E. I. vol 15 p. 12 for a reference to a severe famine in *śake* 1313 when paddy could not be had even at the rate of ten nālis a panam.

It has been shown (in H. Dh. vol. II. pp. 113, 369, 856-858) how it was the king's duty to support learned brāhmanas, to hold assemblies of poets and learned men, to make gifts of land to educational institutions and to promote learning in all ways Vrddha-Hārīta VII. 229-230 says that only learned brāhmanas who are endowed with *tapas* are proper objects of the king's bounty. Some emperors like Harsa went far beyond what was reasonable. The Chinese pilgrim tells us (Beal's 'Buddhist Records &c' vol I pp 214, 233) that at the end of every five years Harsa held an assembly (*parisad*) at Prayāga and gave away all in charity. The Śukranītisāra (I. 368-369) holds that a king should be on the look-out for educated men, should appoint them to offices suited to their education, should honour every year those who have attained eminence in learning and the arts and take measures for the advancement of learning and arts. It has already been shown how this had been followed by ancient and medieval Indian kings to the letter. A comparison with the British Indian Government in the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th will be highly interesting. After the battle of

Plassey in 1757 the British East India Company got three such rich provinces as Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. During over 50 years the only thing that was done by the ruling power for the encouragement of learning among Indians was that in 1780 Warren Hastings started a *Madrassa* of Muslim religious learning at Calcutta with a *moulvi* and 40 stipendiaries and Lord Cornwallis founded a Sanskrit college at Benares in 1792. When the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1813 the only provision that was made for education and encouragement of learning (by George III, 1813 chap 155, clause 43) was 'that *it shall and may be lawful* for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that *out of any surplus* which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, a sum of *not less than one lakh of rupees* in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'. Detailed comment is not called for. More than 50 years after British rule began, when at least half of what is British India now had come into the hands of the British, and when the yearly income must have been many crores of rupees, the *sum* of *a lakh* of rupees was to be set apart for education of two kinds (Eastern and Western) in the whole of the then British India. Further this provision was not compulsory but only permissive, and was to be availed of only if some surplus was left after everything else had been provided for.

As in western Jurisprudence, so in India the king was looked upon as *parens patriæ*, the protector or guardian of all minors. Gaut.[204] X. 48-49 and Manu VIII. 27 prescribe that the king shall protect the property of a minor until he attains majority or until he returns from his teacher's house Medhātithi on Manu VIII 27 says that the minor's relatives like the uncles may contend that one of them is the guardian of the minor's property but it is the king who is to see that the minor's property is kept

204. रक्ष्य बालधनमाव्यवहारप्राप्णात् । समावृत्तेर्वा । गौ. X. 48-49, रक्षेद्राजा बालाना धनान्यप्राप्तव्यवहाराणा श्रोत्रियवीरपत्नीनाम् । शङ्खलिखित q in वि. र p 598, बालधनं राज्ञा स्वधनवत्परिपालनीयम् । अन्यथा पितृव्यादिबान्धवा मयेदं रक्षणीयं मयेदं रक्षणीयमिति विवदेरन् । मेधा. on मनु VIII. 27. On मनु VIII. 28 he remarks यः काश्चिदनाथस्तस्य सर्वस्य धनं राजा यथावत् परिरक्षेत् । तथा चोदाहरणमात्रं वशादय ॥

safe. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2 43, Vas. 16. 8-9, Viṣnu Dh. S III. 65, Śankha-Likhita contain a similar rule. Nār (rnādāna 35) declared that a person was a minor till the 16th year. Manu VIII. 28-29, Viṣnudharmasūtra III. 65 extend the same rule and say that the king must take care of barren women, women who have no sons, women whose families are extinct, wives and widows who are faithful to their husbands and of those who are afflicted with disease Nār.[205] as quoted by Medhātithi says that if a woman has nobody in her husband's or father's family to protect her, then it is the king who is to protect her. Kaut[206] (II 1) makes it a duty of the elders of the village to take care of and increase the properties of minors and of temples.

It was the special concern of the king to see that proper weights and measures were used. Kaut (II. 19) as stated above (pp 145-146) provides for a special superintendent of weights and measures. Vas[207] (19 13) and Manu VIII. 403 provide that all weights and measures must be duly marked (or stamped), that once in six months they must be re-examined and that the weights and measures for objects required by the class of householders must be guarded against falsifications. Yāj. II. 240 and Viṣnudharmasūtra V. 122 prescribe as punishment the highest ammercement for those who fabricate false balances, edicts, measures and coins and also for those who use them in their transactions The Nitivākyāmṛta (p. 98) requires the king to be vigilant as regards merchandise, balances and measures, since there is none who excels traders in stealing people's money before their very eyes.[208] Vide Alberuni (tr. by Sachau) vol I chap XV about weights and measures current in India in the 11th century

Another important responsibility of the king concerned thefts. Asvapati, king of Kekaya, boasted that in his kingdom there was no thief, no close-fisted person, no drinker of wine,

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205. विनियोगात्मरक्षासु भरणे च स ईश्वर । परिक्षीणे पतिकुले निर्मनुष्ये निराश्रये । तत्सपिण्डेषु वाऽसत्सु पितृपक्ष. प्रभुः स्त्रिया. । पक्षद्वयावसाने तु राजा भर्ता प्रभुः स्त्रियाः ॥ quoted by मेधा० on मनु V III. 28 The first three half-verses are नारद (दायभाग 28-29), the printed text of which does not contain the half verse पक्ष० &c

206. बालद्रव्यं ग्रामवृद्धा वर्धयेयुराप्यवहारमापणात् । देवद्रव्य च । कौटिल्य II. 1. p 48.

207. गार्हस्थ्याङ्गानां च मानोन्माने रक्षिते स्याताम् । वसिष्ठ 19. 13.

208. पण्यतुलामानवृद्धौ राजा स्वयं जागृयात् । न वणिग्भ्य सन्ति परे पदपतोहराः । नीतिवाक्या. p. 98.

(Chān. Up. V. 11. 5). Āp. Dh. S.[209] (II. 10. 26. 6-8) lays down that the officers should protect a city against theft for one *yojana* round it and in the case of villages for one *krośa* round them and that whatever is stolen within those limits must be returned to the owners by the officers. Gautama X. 46-47, Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36, Visnudharmasūtra III. 66-67, Śānti 75. 10 prescribe that the king should recover from the thief stolen property and restore it to the owner (without distinction of caste), that if he cannot restore it he should compensate the sufferer from his own treasury, and that, if he retained the property recovered from a thief or did not make efforts to catch the thief and compensate the owner, the king incurred sin. Kaut. III. 16 contains a similar rule.[210] Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 38 quotes a prose passage[211] of Br. with a similar import. The Visnudharmottara[212] (II. 61. 52) remarks that if a person is robbed by his own servants then he (the king) may endeavour to recover it from the servants (by threatening or beating them), but need not restore it from his own treasury. Yāj II. 270-272, Nār. (pariśista 16-21) and Kāt.[213] give further directions, viz. the thief should be made to restore the property stolen or its price; if the thief cannot be found the officers and wardens of the country pay the price of the stolen articles; the property stolen in the village should be made good by the headman of the village, if the thief's foot-steps

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209 सर्वतो योजनं नगरं तस्करेभ्यो रक्ष्यम्। क्रोशे ग्रामेभ्यः। तत्र यन्मुष्यते तैस्तत्प्रतिदाप्यम्। आप. ध. सू II 10. 26. 6-8.

210. परचक्राटवीभूतं तु प्रत्यानीय राजा यथास्वं प्रयच्छेत्। चोरहृतमविद्यमानं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य III. 16 p 190

211. चौरहृतमपाजित्य यथास्थानं गमयेत्। कोशाद्वा दद्यात्। गौ. X. 46-47; प्रत्याहर्तुमशक्यं स्याद्धनं चोरैर्हृतं यदि। तत्स्वकोशात्प्रदेयं स्यादृक्षैर्नोपजीवत. ॥ शान्ति 75 10. The मिताक्षरा on या. II. 36 quotes Gaut. and Śānti 75. 10, 'तथा च बृहस्पतिः। चोरापहृतं तु सर्वैरन्विष्यार्पणीयम्'। अलाभे स्वकोशाद्वा। अदद्यच्चोरकिल्बिषी स्यात्। विश्वरूप on या. II 38 (of Tri. ed.).

212. न तद्राज्ञा प्रदातव्यं गृहे यत्परिचारकैः। प्रचरद्भिर्हृतं द्रव्यं कार्यं तत्रान्वेक्षणम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 61. 52, quoted by राजनीतिप्र. p. 127

213. गृहे तु मुषितं राजा चौरग्राहास्तु दापयेत्। अरक्षकांश्च विक्रोशान् यदि चौरो न लभ्यते॥ ग्रामान्तरे हृतं द्रव्यं ग्रामाध्यक्षः प्रदापयेत्। विवीते स्वामिना देयं चोरोद्धर्तारविवीतके॥ कात्यायन quoted by अपरार्क p 844 Vide 'Selections from Peshwa Daftar' vol. 43 p 131 (No 166) for a comparatively recent (18th century) instance of a village (Pātas in this case) being held responsible collectively for a theft.

are not traced as going out of the village; if the theft takes place in a pasture land or forest (and the thief is not found), the owner of it should be made to pay; if however the theft is not committed in a forest but on the road then the officers appointed to arrest thieves should be made to pay; the whole village may be made to pay the compensation when the theft is within the boundaries of a village but outside the limit of the residential quarters, if the footsteps of the thief are not traced as going out of the village; if the theft takes place beyond one *krosa* from a village then the surrounding five or ten villages may be made to pay the compensation Yāj II. 271 and Kāt mention an officer called 'cauroddhartā' ('or coroddhartā') The 'cauroddharanika' (thief-catcher) is an officer mentioned in numerous inscriptions e g in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi in Gupta year 252 (E. I. vol. XI at p 83), in the inscription of Nārāyanapāla where we have both cauroddharanika and kottapāla, modern Kotwal (I A. vol XV p 304) and in the grant of Ballālasena quoted above (p. 153, n 191) Kautilya IV 13 also gives similar rules and mentions an officer called 'corarajjuka' who has to make good the loss of merchandise by theft between two villages or lands that are not pasture lands.

The first quality required in a king according to Yāj I. 309 quoted above (p. 44) is great energy and Kaut also (in VI. 1) mentions 'great energy' (mahotsāha) among the qualities called 'ābhigāmika'. Works on dharmasāstra and arthaśāstra emphasize the fact that a king must always be full of activity and must not be lethargic or fatalistic In the Mahābhārata the topic of human effort and *daiva* (fate or destiny) comes up for treatment in numerous places and is put in the mouth of several characters with different emphasis according to circumstances. In Ādi 1 246-247, 89. 7-10, Sabhā 46. 16, 47. 36, 58 14, Vanaparva 179. 27-28, Udyoga 8 52, 40 32, 159 4, 186 18, Āsramavāsika 10. 29 the emphasis is on *daiva* as all powerful, it being said that human effort is useless as against *daiva* A golden mean is advocated in Ādi. 123. 21, Sabhā 16 12, Udyoga 79 5-6, Śānti 56. 14-15, Sauptika 2. 3, in all of which it is said that worldly affairs require both *purusakāra* (effort) and *daiva* In certain other passages it is recommended that effort is superior to daiva and that one's business is to make efforts and not to care for fate; e g. in Drona 152. 27, Śānti 27 32, 58 13-16, 153. 50, Anuśāsana 6 1 ff, Sauptika 2 12-13 and 23-24 A few of the striking passages indicative of the three lines of thought are

set out in the note below.[214] Energetic action, according to Śānti. 58 13–15, is declared by Brhaspati to be the root of rājadharma. Nectar was obtained and asuras were killed by the gods by means of energetic action and Indra secured his high position in heaven and here by energetic action. Br. makes the characteristic remark 'A man who is a hero of action leads those who are heroes in speech and the latter are seen to cater for the pleasures of the former and wait humbly on him'. The Bhagavadgītā in its final summing up of the philosophy of Activism without an eye to the fruit of it but from a sense of duty declares (XVIII. 13–16) 'that in the Sānkhya philosophy five categories are mentioned as conducive to the accomplishment of all actions viz the place, the agent, various kinds of instruments, diverse and separate activities and lastly *daiva*; that whatever action a man commences either with his body, words or mind these five are its causes, whether the action be righteous (nyāyya) or the opposite of it, and that this being the true state of things (i. e the fruit depending on the co-operation of five elements and not on one alone) that man who regards himself alone as bringing about a result is a fool and has no correct perception' Kautilya also (I. 19 last two verses) says 'activity (*utthāna*) is the root of wealth and the opposite of it is the root of evil In the absence of activity the loss of present and future acquisitions is sure; by activity a king can obtain his desired object and plenty of wealth'. Yāj (I. 349 and 351) states that success in undertakings depends upon both fate and human effort, yet fate is nothing but the

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214 दैवं प्रज्ञाविशेषेण को निवर्तितुमर्हति ॥ विधातृविहितं मार्गं न कश्चिदतिवर्तते। आदि I. 246–247, दैवं पुरुषकारेण को निवर्तितुमुत्सहेत् । उद्योग 186 18, दैवमेव परं मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकम् । सभा 47 36, दैवं पुरुषकारेण को वञ्चयितुमर्हति । दैवमेव परं मन्ये पुरुषार्थो निरर्थकः । वनपर्व 179. 27 (said by भीम when caught by *Ajagara*); न हि दिष्टमतिक्रान्तुं शक्य भूतेन केनचित् । दिष्टमेव ध्रुवं मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकम् ॥ उद्योग 40 32, (2) दैवे पुरुषकारे च लोकोयं संप्रतिष्ठितः । आदि 123 21, जयस्य हेतुः सिद्धिर्हि कर्म दैवं च संश्रितम् । सभा 16 12, दैवे च मानुषे चैव संयुक्तं लोककारणम् । उद्योग 79 5' न ह्युत्थानमृते दैवं राज्ञामर्थं प्रसाधयेत् । साधारणं ह्यं ह्येतद्दैवमुत्थानमेव च ॥ शान्ति 56 14; न हि दैवेन सिध्यन्ति कार्याण्येकेन सत्तम । न चापि कर्मणैकेन द्वाभ्यां सिद्धिस्तु योगतः ॥ सौप्तिक 2 3; (3) यत्नो हि सततं कार्यस्ततो दैवेन सिध्यति । शान्ति 153. 50, तत्रालसा मनुष्याणा ये भवन्त्यमनस्विनः । उत्थानं ते विगर्हन्ति प्राज्ञानां तत्र रोचते ॥ वृद्धानां वचनं श्रुत्वा सोत्थानं प्रयोजयेत् । उत्थानस्य फलं सम्यक् तदा स लभतेऽचिरात् ॥ सौप्तिक 2. 12 and 23; उत्थानं हि नरेन्द्राणां बृहस्पतिरभाषत । राजधर्मस्य तन्मूलं श्लोकाश्चात्र निबोध मे ॥ उत्थानेनामृतं लब्धमुत्थानेनासुरा हताः । उत्थानेन महेन्द्रेण श्रैष्ठ्यं प्राप्तं दिवीह च । उत्थानवीरः पुरुषो वाग्वीरानधितिष्ठति । उत्थानवीरान्वाग्वीरा रमयन्त उपासते । शान्ति 58. 13–15

human effort of past lives manifesting its effect (in this life) and that as on a single wheel a chariot cannot progress, so fate cannot accomplish anything without human effort. Yāj. I. 350 refers to other views viz fate alone leads to success, human effort alone does so, that success results of itself (without any cause), while others say that it is Time that brings about all results. Manu VII. 205, Matsya 221. 1-12 (all of which are quoted in the Rājanītiprakāsa pp. 313-314) and Viṣnudharmottara II. 66 (which has the same verses as in Matsya 221) inculcate the same doctrine as that of Yāj. I 349 and 351 and emphasize that one must always make efforts (tasmāt sadotthānavatā hi bhāvyam-Matsya 221. 12). The Matsyapurāna 221. 2 emphatically[215] states that effort is superior. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 137 quotes a *subhāṣita* 'those devoid of effort are engaged in calculating the aspects of planets; there is nothing impossible of accomplishment for those who are determined and who are able to put forth spirited efforts'. Kaut. (IX. 4 last two verses), Kām. V. 11, XIII. 3-11 emphasize the importance of strenuous efforts. Śukranītisāra (I. 46-58) holds a long disquisition on effort and *daiva*. It contains the following fine sentiments (I. 48-49): 'Men of intellect whose career is honourable regard human effort as the highest (and not fate), while impotent men not being able to make efforts have recourse to fate; but all is centred in both daiva and effort'. Vide Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 312-315 and Nītimayūkha pp. 52-53 for further remarks on daiva and effort. In one place the Mahābhārata (Udyoga 127. 19) contains the bravest and loftiest advice 'man should always press forward (make efforts), should never bend; striving is manliness; one may even break at a point which is not the joint, but should never bend'[216]. The Bṛhat-Parāśara-smṛti X pp. 282-283 contains a long discourse on daiva and puruṣakāra. Vide Vāyu 9. 60-61 and Mārk. purāna 2. 61-62 and 23. 25-26 for similar passages on daiva and effort.

An important doctrine of the writers on Arthaśāstra is more or less based on the necessity of *utsāha*, viz the doctrine of three

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215. स्वमेव कर्म दैवाख्यं विद्धि देहान्तरार्जितम्। तस्मात्पौरुषमेवेह श्रेष्ठमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ मत्स्य 221. 2, धीमन्तो बन्ध्यचरिता मन्यन्ते पौरुषं महत्। अशक्ताः पौरुषं कृत्वा दैवं दुषासते ॥ दैवे पुरुषकारे च खलु सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम्। शुक्र० I. 48-49, अस्ति कस्यचिदुद्भावितम्। हीनाः पुरुषकारेण गणयन्ति ग्रहस्थितिम्। सच्चोत्तमसमर्थाना नासाध्यं व्यवसायिनाम् ॥ मेधा० on मनु IV 137

216 उत्थच्छेदेव न ननेदुद्यमो ह्येव पौरुषम्। अत्यपर्वणि भज्येत न ननेदिह कार्हिचित् ॥ उद्योग 127. 19.

śaktis, i e of *utsāha*, *prabhu* (or *prabhāva*) and *mantra*. These three occur in the Mahābhārata (Āśramavāsika 7. 6). The S. V. p. 46 quotes a sūtra of Gautama (not found in the printed Dh. S.) 'the three śaktis, viz. prabhu, mantra and utsāha are based on that (kośa)'.[216a] In VI. 2 Kautilya defines *mantra-śakti* as the power of the knowledge (of statecraft), *prabhuśakti* as the power of treasury and army and *utsāhaśakti* as the force of the king's bravery.[217] Kautilya (IX. 1) holds a discussion about the relative superiority of these three and gives it as his opinion (as against that of the ācāryas) that prabhuśakti is superior to utsāhaśakti and that mantraśakti is superior to prabhuśakti. Kām. XV. 32 defines[218] the three thus: 'the employment of the proper line of policy out of the six *upāyas* (sandhi, vigraha &c) is called mantraśakti; a full treasury and army constitute prabhuśakti and activity of the strong is called utsāhaśakti; the king possessed of all these three becomes the conqueror.' The Nītivākyāmṛta (sādguṇyasamuddesa) p. 322 defines them in the same way.[219] According to the Daśakumāracarita[220] VIII the goal (or purpose) of a king is determined by mantra (consultation with ministers about policy), commencement of actions (for securing the goal) is due to prabhāva and the successful termination of undertakings is brought about by energy. The Parasurāmapratāpa (folio 15a) quotes a verse which defines 'prabhuśakti' differently viz as the power to command. Vide also Agnipurāna 241. 1, Mānasollāsa II. 8-10 pp 91-94. Kām. (XIII. 41-58) brings together the numerous activities of the king.

A king endowed with valour has to employ several means (upāyas) to extend his dominions and to keep his hold on his own people. According to the Rāmāyana V. 41. 2-3, Manu VII. 109, Yāj. I. 346, Sukra IV. 1. 27 and others the

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216a अत एव गौतमसूत्रम् । प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्तयस्तन्मूलाः इति । तन्मूलाः कोशमूला इत्यर्थः । स वि. p 46

217. कृत्स्निविधा ज्ञानबलं मन्त्रशक्तिः कोशबलं प्रभुशक्तिः विक्रमबलमुत्साहशक्तिः। अर्थशास्त्र VI. 2. p 261.

218 मन्त्रदय शक्तिं सुनयोपचारं सुकोशदण्डौ प्रभुशक्तिमाहुः । उत्साहशक्तिं बलवद्विचेष्टां त्रिशक्तियुक्तो भवतीह जेता ॥ कामन्दकीय० XV. 32

219 कोशदण्डबलं प्रभुशक्तिः । शूद्रशक्तिकुमारौ दृष्टान्तौ । विक्रमो बलं चोत्साहशक्तिस्तत्र रामो दृष्टान्तः । नीतिवाक्यामृत pp. 322-323

220 मन्त्रेण हि विनिश्चयोऽर्थानां प्रभावेण प्रारम्भः उत्साहेन निर्वहणम् । दशकुमारचरित VIII. p 144 (Bom S S ed of 1919). आज्ञारूपेण या शक्तिः सर्वेषां मूर्धनि स्थिता । प्रभुशक्तिर्हि सा ज्ञेया सप्रभामहिमोदया ॥ q. by परशु in (राजवल्लभकाण्ड folio 15a) Vide पञ्चतन्त्र III 30 'उत्साहशक्तिसंपन्नो हस्यारुच्छत्रुं लघुर्नरम् ।'

upāyas are four viz. sāma (conciliation), dāna (giving gifts or presents), bheda (causing dissensions) and danda (punishment or depriving of property or causing bodily harm).[221] In the Hāthigumphā Inscription, the king Khāravela (latter half of 2nd century B C.) states that in the 10th year of his reign he sent, following the policy of danda, sandhi and sāma, an expedition against Bharatvarsa, conquered that land and obtained jewels and precious things (E I. vol. XX pp. 79, 88) This shows that the theory of the upāyas must have been evolved several centuries before the Christian era. Some others such as Kām XVII 3, Matsya 222. 2, Agnipurāna 226 5-6, Bārhaspatyasūtra V 1-3, Visnudharmottara II. 146-149 add three more to the above four. Sabhā 5 21 mentions the number seven and Vanaparva 150. 42 mentions sāma, dāna, bheda, danda and upeksā About the additional three there is some difference of opinion, most holding that the three are *māyā*, *upeksā* and *indrajāla* (Kām., Agnipurāna), while the Bārhaspatyasūtra (V 263) says they are māyā, upeksā and vadha and others say they that are māyā, aksa (dice) and indrajāla (Sarasvatīvilāsa p 42) Māyā means 'deceitful trick'. The Visnudharmottara II 148 gives illustrations, such as tying a firebrand to the tail of a bird that often perches on the enemy's camp to produce the delusion that a meteor (an evil omen) fell down from the sky Kām XVII 54 cites the example of Bhīma's meeting Kīcaka dressed as Draupadī. Kām (XVII. 51-53) gives other examples of māyā. *Upeksā* consists in not preventing a person from doing what is unjust or being addicted to some vice or engaging in a fight and is illustrated by king Virāta's connivance at the death of Kīcaka (Kām XVII. 55-57) Indrajāla means 'creating an illusion by means of incantations and other tricks' e. g. creating the illusion before the eyes of the enemy that a vast army is coming to attack them or showing that angels are descending to fight against them or making a shower of blood fall in the enemy's camp etc (Kām XVII 58-59, Visnudharmottara II. 149) About the four well-known *upāyas*, Manu (VII 108-109) says that for the prosperity of one's kingdom sāma and danda (punishment) are preferred, but if

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221 अल्पशेषमिदं कार्यं दृष्टेयमसितेक्षणा। त्रीन्नुपायानतिक्रम्य चतुर्थं इह दृश्यते॥ न साम रक्षःसु गुणाय कल्पते न दानमर्थोपचितेषु युज्यते। न भेदसाध्या बलदर्पिता जनाः पराक्रमस्त्वेव मनेह रोचते॥ सुन्दरकाण्ड 41 2-3, उपायोपपन्नविक्रमोऽनुरक्तप्रकृतिरुपदेशोपि भूपतिर्भवति सार्वभौम। न हि कुलागता कस्यापि भूमिः किन्तु वीरभोग्या वसुन्धरा। सामोपप्रदानभेददण्डा उपायाः। नीतिवाक्यामृत p 332.

the king's antagonists do not yield to him by the employment of the first three then he may bring them round by danda (i. e. fighting and harassing them) and that (VII. 198, 200) danda is to be employed as the last resort, since victory is not certain. In the Śāntiparva 69. 23 the view of Bṛhaspati is quoted[222] that fighting should always be avoided (as far as possible) and that for securing one's purpose three upāyas (other than fighting) are to be resorted to. Brhat-Parāśara X p. 280 also says that a wise man should not resort to fighting and that danda is to be resorted to only when there is no other course left. In Udyoga 132. 29-30 (cr. ed. chap. 130) Kuntī sends a message through Krsna to her son: 'begging is forbidden to you nor is agriculture appropriate for you; you are a ksatriya living by the power of his arms and a protector against injury (ksatāt trātā). Recover your ancestral share by sāma, dāna, bheda, danda and naya'. In Udyoga 150 (cr. ed 148) Krsna informs Yudhisthira how he first employed sāma, then bheda, then dāna (viz. giving up the whole kingdom for five villages) and how only danda is the proper recourse in the case of the wicked Kauravas. Hopkins, as very often, being obsessed with his ideas of three strata in the Mahābhārata says that three means appear to be the oldest form and four means a later idea. There is hardly any warrant for this opinion as for many others in the same strain (J. A. O. S. vol. XIII pp. 182-183 n). The Visnudharmottara II. 146 speaks of the four upāyas and states that danda as regards a foreign state is open (prakāśa) i. e. burning and not-open (aprakāśa i. e. by poison or secret death). The Mit on Yāj. I. 346 and Kām. XVIII 1 say the same thing. The Vismudharmasūtra III. 38 prescribes that the four upāyas are to be employed at the proper time and according to the attitudes of the hostile king, friendly king, the *madhyama* and *udāsīna* kings[223]. The Mit on Yāj. I. 346 expressly states that the four upāyas are to be employed not only in the affairs between kings but also in the lives of all ordinary people and cites a verse wherein a father or teacher addresses a son or pupil making use of all four means[224]. Kām. XVII, Mānsollāsa II.

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222. वर्जनीयं सदा युद्धं राज्यकामेन धीमता। उपायैस्त्रिभिरादानमर्थस्याह बृहस्पतिः॥ शान्ति 69 23, न युद्धमाश्रयेत्प्राज्ञो न कुर्यात् स्वबलक्षयम्। ... वदन्ति सर्वे नीतिज्ञा दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः। बृहत्पराशर; दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः is the last पाद् of या I 346

223. शत्रुमित्रोदासीनमध्यमेषु सामभेददानदण्डान् यथार्हं यथाकालं प्रयुञ्जीत। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 38.

224. एते सामादयो न केवलं राज्यव्यवहारविषयाः, अपि तु सकललोकव्यवहारविषयाः। यथा—अधीष्व पुत्रकाधीष्व दास्यामि तव मोदकान्। यद्वान्यस्मै प्रदास्यामि कर्णहुल्पाटयामि ते॥ इति। मिता. on या. I. 346.

17–20 verses 972 ff (pp 117–122). Nitivākyāmṛta pp. 332–336 treat at length of these four upāyas. A few points only are noted here. Sāma is of five kinds viz. recounting the good turns done by each to the other; praising the qualities and actions of the persons to be won over; declaring the relationship of each other; representing the good that will result in future; declaring 'I am yours and I am at your service' (Kām XVII. 4–5) Dāna consists in returning what is deposited with one by another, consenting to the taking away by another of one's things, making a gift of something new, giving what the other chooses to ask for, sending at fixed times what has to be given. *Bheda* (sowing dissensions) consists in giving heavy bribes or presents to ministers or feudatories, the crown prince and high officers of the enemy that are dissatisfied for various reasons, creating distrust between the king and his ministers, the rich men and the handsome men in the kingdom by the threat of the loss of life, honour, position, and wealth, by the fear of imprisonment, by the fear that the king may carry away the beautiful wife of a subject or by suggesting that a handsome young man has his eye on the king's harem, and suggesting to a king that a kinsman desires to secure the kingdom to himself and thereby inducing the king to put out his eyes or cut off his limbs. This is effected by secret spies or persons who are in the pay of both kings (*ubhayavetana*, acc to Mānasollāsa p 119 v. 995)[225]. Vide Kaut XI. 1, Matsya chap. 223 and Śukra IV 1 25–54 for *bheda*, Kaut XI. 1 explains at length how an aspiring conqueror is to sow dissensions between corporations and the leaders of corporations, between chiefs and other people One or two passages may be quoted by way of sample "Spies gaining access to these corporations (of warriors and others) and finding out jealousy, hatred and other causes of quarrel among them should sow seeds of a well-planned dissension among them, and tell one of them 'this man decries you'. Spies may give publicity to the consideration of priority shown to inferior persons in social intercourse in the face of the established custom of recognising the status of other persons by birth, bravery, and social position. In all these disputes the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the superior party. A woman who has disappointed her lover and has been for-

225 शत्रुस्थैरात्मपुरुषैर्गूढैकभवचेतनैः । भीतापमानितान् क्रुद्धान् भेदयेच्च दलद्वयात् ॥ प्राणापहो मानभङ्गो धनहानिश्च बन्धकः । दाराभिलाषोऽक्षिभङ्ग इति भेदोऽत्र षड्विधः ॥ मानसोल्लास II 18, verses 988–989 p 118.

given may approach and say to a chief 'this chief is troubling me when my mind is set on you; when he is alive I cannot stay here' and thus induce the former to slay the latter." The Matsyapurāna 223. 4 states that united people are more than a match even for Indra unless bheda is employed, that dissensions are of two kinds, internal and external, of which the former is more serious. External dissension means the quarrel with a chief, but internal dissension means dissension between a king and his queen or heir apparent or ministers. One should try to prevent dissension with one's own relatives. Śānti 69. 23 also advises the conquest of territory by fomenting dissensions. Therefore the expedient of '*divide et impera*' has a respectable antiquity. Danda in the case of a king's country consists in sentencing to death or corporal punishment or fine and in the case of the enemy in fighting, destroying or devastating his country by seizing his crops and grain, cattle, wealth, forts and in imprisoning and injuring his people, burning his villages and forests.

There were certain privileges that the king enjoyed. His rights to treasure trove have already been referred to (H. Dh. vol II, p 146) Kaut. (IV. 1) gives the following rules. The person giving information about the discovery of a mine, jewels or treasure trove gets one-sixth, but if the informer be a servant of the king he gets $\frac{1}{12}$; treasure trove beyond 100000 panas went to the king wholly (the finder being entitled to a $\frac{1}{6}$th share only up to 100000 panas of the whole); a subject who can prove that the treasure trove belonged to his ancestors would get the whole of it; if he takes it without establishing his ancestral ownership he is to be fined 500 panas and 1000 panas if he appropriated it secretly. The king also took by escheat the property of a person dying without leaving any heir except in the case of brāhmanas (vide H. Dh. II, p. 146 where some authorities are cited). This subject will be dealt with at greater length under the next section on 'law and justice' The king was also entitled to all property that was lost or given up by the true owner. Vide Gaut.[226] X. 36-38, Vas 16. 19, Manu VIII. 30-33, Yāj. II. 33, 173-174, Śaṅkha-Likhita Gaut. and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 17) say that the king should preserve for one year articles found after proclaiming the finding by beat of drum, while Manu says that

226. प्रणष्टस्वामिकमधिगम्य राज्ञे प्रयच्छेयुः। विक्रयाप्य संवत्सरं राज्ञा रक्षणम्। ऊर्ध्वमधिगन्तुश्चतुर्थं राज्ञः क्षेत्रः। गौ. X. 36-38, प्रहीणस्वामिकानि राजगामीनि भवन्ति। शङ्खलिखित quoted in वि. र p. 599

the period is three years. The Mit on Yāj. II. 33 reconciles these texts by saying that if the true owner comes to the king and establishes his ownership he gets back the entire article without paying anything for safe custody, if the owner comes in the 2nd year he pays $\frac{1}{10}$ of the price for custody, if in the third year he pays $\frac{1}{10}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ if he comes after three years The finder gets $\frac{1}{4}$ out of the share taken by the king. If the owner does not come at all the finder gets $\frac{1}{2}$ and the king the rest. The king may dispose of the article if none claims it within that period, but if the owner comes after three years and the article has been disposed off, the king should return the equivalent of the portion taken by him. Yāj II. 174 specifies other scales of charges for the custody of unclaimed animals such as four panas for a horse &c. Another special privilege of the king was that he could not be cited as a witness in a judicial proceeding between private parties. Vide Kaut III. 11 (p 175), Manu VIII. 65, Viṣnudharmasūtra 8. 2

Constitutionally there was no one who could directly bring to book the king guilty of injustice But the Dharmaśāstra writers insisted that *dharma* was the king of kings (Br Up I 4. 14 quoted above p 97 n 125), that Varuna was the chastiser of kings (Manu IX 245), therefore they appealed to the higher nature and conscience of the king and prescribed that if a king levied an unjust fine, he should offer thirty times of that amount to Varuna, throw the amount in water or distribute it among brāhmanas (Yāj II 307) and that where an ordinary man would incur a fine of one kārsāpana for a wrong, the king certainly deserves to be fined a thousand kārsāpanas (Manu VIII. 336) The remarks of Medhātithi on that verse quoted below are very interesting, when he insists on the principle that fines for the same wrong should vary with the capacity to pay[227] Even Kauṭilya (IV 13 last two verses) falls in line with Manu IX 245 and Yāj II 307 But these prescriptions of Manu, Yāj and Kaut were counsels of perfection and must have been futile No king would ordinarily fine himself Therefore some medieval

227. महाधनत्वादल्पं दण्ड न विगणयेद्राजा। अधिकृतानां मन्त्रिपुरोहितादीनामनयैव कल्पनया न्यूनाधिकभाव.। धनदण्डश्च ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽप्सु प्रवेशनेन वरुणाय वा यो तावद्दस्यति (यत्तावद्?) राज्ञा दण्डधरो हि स.। मेधा० on मनु VIII 336 Compare अदण्ड्यदण्डने राज्ञो दण्डस्त्रिंशद्गुणोभ्यासि। वरुणाय प्रदातव्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तत परम् ॥ तेन तत्प्रयते पाप राज्ञो दण्डापचारजम्। शास्ता हि वरुणो राज्ञा मिथ्या व्याचरता हृषु ॥ कौटिल्य IV 13 last two verses तस्माद्राज्ञामवान्तरनरपतीनामिति रत्नाकरोक्तमेव न्याय (ज्याय?) इति द्रष्टव्यम्। स्वस्य स्वय दण्डनाहुपपत्ते। दण्डविवेक p. 55.

digests like the Vivādaratnākara and the Dandaviveka (p 55) interpret these texts as meaning that the word 'rājan' applies here only to subordinate chiefs and not to a king who is independent

The flourishing state of a kingdom well governed by a good, well-equipped and active king is very graphically described in the Rāmāyana (II. 100. 43–46) 'I hope your country is full of hundreds of *caityas* (platforms for sacred trees) and of people who are well-placed; is rendered charming by temples, *prapās* (sheds where water is distributed to travellers *gratis*) and tanks, in which men and women are joyful; which is set off to advantage by merry gatherings and festivals; the whole extent of which is well cultivated; which is full of cattle and free from injury (to beings); which does not depend upon rains alone (for its crops); which is beautiful, free from beasts of prey and all kinds of dangers; which is endowed with mines; which is free from wicked men and enjoys prosperity and happiness' The Ādiparva chap 109 (cr. ed chap 102) also contains a fine description of a well-governed and prosperous country. The country was to be full of public wells, gardens and meeting-halls (sabhā) The Viṣṇu-dharmottara I 13. 2–12 contains an ideal description of ancient Ayodhyā. 'It was endowed with hundreds of parks; it celebrated festivals and held gatherings of people, its population was free from disease and had valiant men, it always resounded with the music of lutes, flutes and tabors, it had fair complexioned, charming *hetaras* clever in brilliant conversation; its population was always gay; it resounded with the recitation of the Veda and was endowed with companies of brāhmanas, its market rows were full of men that had applied scents to their bodies; there was not a man there who was wretched, dirty or emaciated; it stretched for three yojanas on the bank of the Śarayū and was ten yojanas in the middle'

CHAPTER VI

DURGA (FORT OR CAPITAL)

Manu IX. 294 places the capital (pura) even before rāstra Medhātithi (on IX. 295) and Kullūka explain that the loss of the capital is a more serious danger than even the loss of some territory, because if the capital, which possesses all the stocks of food, in which are centred the principal elements and the army, is saved, then it is possible to retrieve even lost territory and to protect the country. It is as it were the pivot of the whole machinery of government. Other writers (and even Manu in VII 69-70) place the capital or fort after the rāstra It is probably due to the geographical situation in North India and the nature of the fighting in ancient times that made the capital and forts of great importance in the several elements of the State. The capital mirrored the prosperity of the country and if properly walled also provided security Yāj I. 321 says that forts are meant for the safety of the king, the people and the treasury (*janakośātmaguptaye*) The reason for the construction of forts is well put by Manu VII. 74 viz that a single archer under the shelter of the fort-wall can fight a hundred of the enemy and a hundred can fight ten thousand The Pañcatantra (I 229 and II. 14) has a similar verse. Brhaspati quoted by the Rājanītiprakāsa[228] p 202 states that the king should construct a fort with walls and a gate for the protection of himself, his wives, the people and the (wealth) collected by him Kaut (II. 3 and 4) deals at length with the construction of durgas and the laying out of the capital in one of them. He says that in the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom forts should be built for offering resistance (to the enemy) on ground naturally fitted for the purpose He speaks of four kinds of forts viz '*audaka*' (water-protected, which is on an island surrounded by water or on a plain surrounded by low ground), *pārvata* (mountain one, such as a rocky hill or a cave), *dhānvana* (desert fort, on a waterless tract full of thickets or waste land), a forest fort full of wagtails and water and

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228 बृहस्पतिराह । आत्मदारार्थलोकानां संत्रितानां तु गुप्तये । वृषतिः कारयेद्दुर्गं प्राकारद्वारसंयुतम् ॥ राजनी प्र. p 202 and राजधर्मकाण्ड p 28

thickets of reed. He says that the first two are suited for the protection of populous places and the last two for the protection of foresters. Vāyu 8. 108 refers to four kinds of durgas. Manu VII. 70, Śānti 56. 35 and 86. 4–5, Visnudharmasūtra III. 6, Matsya 217. 6–7, Agnipurāna 222. 4–5, Visnudharmottara II. 26. 6–9, III. 323. 16–21, Śukra IV. 6 speak of six kinds of forts viz dhanvadurga (which is waterless five yojanas round a raised plain), mahīdurga (a land fort, which is surrounded by a wall built of stones or burnt bricks, that is at least twelve feet high and twice as high as it is broad), jaladurga (water fort, surrounded on all sides by deep water), vārksa durga (fort that is surrounded for one yojana on all sides with thorny and tall trees and thorny creepers and bushes), nrdurga (fort that is guarded by a numerous army of four sections on all sides), giridurga (mountain fortress, difficult to climb and with only one narrow access). Manu VII. 71 says that the mountain fortress is the best of all, while Śānti 56. 35 states that nṛdurga is the most difficult to conquer. The Mānasollāsa (II. 5 p. 78) speaks of nine kinds of durgas (adding those built with stones, bricks and mud). The Paraśurāma-pratāpa enumerates eight kinds of durgas (Rājavallabhakānda, folio 1) and states that the wall of a fort may be of stones or of baked bricks or of mud Manu VII. 75-Sabhā 5. 36 (=Ayodhyā 100, 53), Matsya 217. 8, Kām. IV. 60, Mānasollāsa III. 5 (verses 550–555), Śukra IV. 6 12–13, Visnudharmottara II 26. 20–88 prescribe that forts should possess plenty of arms, grain, drugs and other materials, wealth, horses, elephants, beasts of burden, brāhmanas, artisans, machines (called Śataghnīs acc to Matsya, that kill a hundred), water and fodder. The Nītivākyāmṛta (durga-samuddesa p. 199) says that there must be means of leaving it secretly, otherwise it will be a prison and that no one should be allowed to enter it or leave it without a pass or without being searched. Kaut. (II. 3) gives detailed instructions for the construction of fort walls, towers, ditches, pillars, lotus ponds and buildings inside the fort, which are all passed over for want of space. Vide the Rājadharmakānda pp. 28–36 and the Rājadharmakaustubha pp. 115–117 for numerous quotations from the Dhanurveda of Uśanas, the Mahābhārata, the Matsya, the Visnudharmottara and other works on *durga*

In the Ṛgveda we have frequent mention of cities. In I. 63. 7 Indra is said to have shattered seven cities for Purukutsa

and in II 20 8 it is narrated that Indra killed the dasyus and destroyed their cities of *ayas* (copper, *hatvī dasyūn pura āyasīr ni tāsīt*). This shows that walled cities were known even at that distant date There is difference of opinion as to whether the walls were of mud and wood or of stones and bricks. Vide Hopkins in J. A O. S. XIII pp 174-176 The Tai S VI 2 3 1 speaks of the three cities of asuras constructed with *ayas*, silver and gold (*hariṇī*) In the *agnicayana* as described in the Sat Br thousands of baked bricks were required The excavations at Mohenjo-daro show that walls were built of burnt bricks (Marshall, vol I. pp 15-26) There is no reason to assume that houses, palaces and city walls could not have been built of bricks, simply because no purely Hindu ruins anterior to Alexander have yet been discovered or because Megasthenes describes that Pātaliputra had a wall of wooden palisades One must demur to the remarks of Hopkins on pp. 174-175 of J. A O S vol XIII. Walls (prākāra), toranas (arched gates) and upper stories (attālakas), moats are very often spoken of in connection with capitals in both epics The gates were sometimes called after cities e g in Vanaparva I 9-10 the Pāndavas are said to have gone out of Hastināpura from the gate called Vardhamānapura [229] Vide also Āśramavāsi-parva 16 3 The Mahābhārata states that palaces had dancing halls (nartanāgāra) attached to them (Virāta-parva 22 16 and 25-26) Śānti 69 60 states that the capital was rendered gay by natas (players) and dancers and Śānti 86 (4-15) describes how cities were to be founded in durgas, how they were to be full of music, festivals and merry gatherings (*samājotsava*) and what stores they should contain. In the Rāmāyana (V. 2. 50-53) Lankā is described as having palaces of seven or eight stories and mosaic pavements The Bṛhatsamhitā (chap 53) contains in 125 verses very accurate directions and measurements about palaces, houses &c (i. e on vāstusāstra) It states that the best kind of royal palace was to be 108 cubits broad, that palaces of 100, 92, 84, 76 cubits may be built, that the length in each case was to be one-fourth as much more as the breadth. It speaks of the dimensions of mansions for the commander-in-chief, ministers, the queen, crown prince, purohita, physician &c In v 23 it states that the walls may be of baked bricks or of wood

229. वर्धमानपुरद्वारादभिनिष्क्रम्य पाण्डवाः। उदङ्मुखाः शस्त्रभृत प्रययुः सह कृष्णया॥ वनपर्व 1. 10; स वर्धमानद्वारेण निर्ययौ गजसाह्वयात्। आश्रमवासि 16. 3

The king was to have his capital inside a fort or independent of it Manu VII. 70, 76, Āśramavāsi 5. 16–17, Śānti 86. 6–10, Kām. IV. 57, Matsya 217. 9ff, Śukra I 213–217 describe where and how a capital was to be built Kautilya (in II. 4) describes at great length how the capital was to be laid out viz the extent should be demarcated by three royal roads from west to east and three from south to north, the capital should have twelve gates, provided with concealed land and water exits : the chariot roads, the royal roads and roads leading to drona-mukha, sthāniya, the rāstra and pastures should be four dandas (16 cubits) in width. He then prescribes the width of roads for various other purposes. Occupying one-ninth of the whole area of the capital, but to the north from the centre of the capital and in the midst of people of all castes the king's own palace should be built facing the east or north To the north-east of the palace should be the residences of the king's teacher (ācārya), purohita, ministers and the sacrificial place and water reservoir. He then assigns appropriate places round about the palace for the offices of the several superintendents, to merchants, principal artisans, brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, prostitutes, wool workers, sūdras &c In the centre of the capital were to be constructed apartments for the images of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta and the temples of Śiva, Kubera, the Aśvins, Laksmī and Madirā (Durgā ?) The principal gates named after Brahmā, Yama, Indra and Kārtikeya were to be constructed At a distance of 100 bows (400 cubits) beyond the ditch, platforms for holy trees, groves and embankments should be built The cemetery should be to the east or north but to the south for the higher varnas Heretics and cāndālas should have a place of residence beyond the cemetery. For each group of ten families there must be a well ; oil, grain, sugar, salt, medicines, dried vegetables, fire-wood, arms, and other essential commodities should be stored in such large quantities that they might last for several years in case of a siege or invasion. The Matsyapurāna (217. 9–87) differs from the above description in many ways. It prescribes four wide roads, at the ends of which a temple, the royal palace, the court of justice and the principal gate are to be respectively constructed Almost the whole of the description in the Matsya is quoted by the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 208–213) and also in the Rājadharmakānda pp. 28–36. The former also quotes (pp 214–219) a long passage from the Devīpurāna with regard to the construction of a *nagara*.

a *pura*, a *hatta* (market), a *purī*, a *pattana*[230] and the temples of several deities that are to be built in each, the rites to be observed in measuring out the ground for each and accurately finding out of the east and other directions. Pāṇini (VII 3. 14 prācām grāmanagarāṇām) distinguishes between grāma and nagara, while Patañjali thereon (vol III. p. 321) explains that grāma, ghosa, nagara, and samvāha are the appellations of different groups or settlements of people The Vāyupurāna (94 40) separately mentions cities (purāni) ghosas (hamlets of cowherds), villages and pattanas Vide Śukranītisāra I. 213-258 for provisions about the laying out of the capital, the palace, the court of justice, other state offices and public buildings, ditches &c and Yuktikalpataru pp 22 ff, Vāyu 8. 108 ff, Matsya 130 Śukra (I. 260-267) describes how four royal roads should start from the palace in four directions, how the best, middling and inferior royal roads should be 30, 20 and 15 cubits in breadth; he defines *padyā* (a foot-path), *vīthi* (a lane) and *mārga* as respectively equal to 3, 5 and 10 cubits in breadth, that in the capital there should be no narrow street like a padyā or vīthi, that even in villages the public road should be at least 10 cubits in width, that all roads should slope down from their middle and that all houses should face the royal road. For a description of Ayodhyā vide Rāmāyana II. 100. 40-42, which says that it was full of valiant men, had strong gates, was full of elephants, horses, and chariots, was inhabited by energetic people of all castes that were devoted to their duties, that had mansions of various sizes, that it was prosperous and had many physicians From the Rāmāyana (VI. 112. 42 *sikatharathyāntarāpanā*) and the Mahābhārata (Ādi. 221 36) it appears that the roads of the capital were watered. In the Harsacarita (III) Bāna gives a graphic description of Sthānvīśvara (modern Thanesar) For the local administration of the capital, vide the duties of the nāgaraka described above (p 149) from Kautilya (II. 36) From the Paharpur plates (dated Gupta samvat 159 i e 478-9 A. D.) it appears that a nagara-śresthin (the chief of the bankers and traders of the capital) was nominated (probably by the king) Vide E I. vol 20 p. 59 at p. 61. There was probably a board of the elders of the city (pauramukhyas or pauravrddhas

230. Compare ग्रामा इट्टादिशून्याः, पुरो इट्टादिमत्यः ता एव महत्यः पत्तनानि, दौर्गाण्यौदकादीनि । खेटाः कर्षकग्रामाः । खर्वटा. पर्वतप्रान्तग्रामा इति । श्रीधर on भागवत IV 18 31 q in राजनीतिको p 102 The शिल्परत्न (chap V) defines ग्राम, खेटक, खर्वट, दुर्ग, नगर, राजधानी, पत्तन, द्रोणीक, शिविर, स्कन्धावार, स्थानीय, विटङ्कक, निगम, शाखानगर in all 14 (Tri ed.) The मयमत (X 92) speaks of ten of these and IX 10 gives the extent of ग्राम, खेट, खर्वट, दुर्ग, नगर.

as in Kautilya) appointed to help the Governor of the capital (*nāgaraka*) in administration. In the Damodarpur copper plates also a nagaraśresthin is mentioned along with others who were approached for consenting to a purchase of land (E I. vol XV at pp. 130, 133, dated Gupta samvat 129). Megasthenes (in McCrindle's 'Ancient India', Fragment XXXIV p 187) describes the city of Palibothra (Pātaliputra) and its administration. He says that six committees of five each looked to the affairs of the city and were respectively in charge of (1) industrial arts, (2) entertainment and care of foreigners, (3) inquiries about births and deaths, (4) trade and commerce, weights and measures, (5) manufactured articles, (6) collection of the 10th of the prices of articles sold. Fragments XXV-XXVI (pp 65-67) inform us that Palibothra was 80 *stadia* in length and 15 in width, that in shape it was a parallelogram, that it was surrounded by a wooden wall with holes for discharging arrows and a ditch in front. Arrian states (pp 209-210 of McCrindle's 'Ancient India') that Palibothra had 570 towers and 64 gates. Patañjali in his Mahābhāsya frequently brings in Pātaliputra (e. g in vol. I p. 380 he states that Pātaliputra is alongside of the river Śona, on Pān. II. 1. 16), in vol. II. p 311 (vārtika 4 on Pān. IV 3. 66) he refers to its walls and to its palaces, in vol. II. p. 321 (on Pān. IV. 3. 134). In Fa-Hien's time (399-414 A. D) the royal palace and halls in the midst of the city built of stone still existed and were so grand that they were then believed to have been the work of spirits (vide Legge p 77). Vide Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India' pp 34-41 for the ancient Indian capitals in the 7th century B. C.

In the Bhāgavatapurāna (IV. 18. 30-32) it is narrated that Prthu, son of Vena, first levelled the earth, established human habitations in villages, towns, capitals, forts &c., and that before Prthu people resided where they liked and there were no such groups as villages or towns. Bhrgu quoted by Śrīdhara according to Rājanīti-kaustubha defines grāma as the habitation of brāhmanas, their hired labourers and śūdras, that kharvaṭa is on the bank of a river and of a mixed character, one side being a village and the other a town. Śaunaka quoted by the Rājanīti-kaustubha (pp 103-4) defines kheta as a place where brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas reside, that a place where all castes reside is called a town, that brāhmana householders should be established on soil that is whitish and has sweet odour, ksatriyas should be established in towns where the soil is reddish and wafts a sweet odour and vaisyas on yellowish soil.

CHAPTER VII

KOSA (TREASURY OR FINANCE)

Kaut (II 1) states that a king whose treasury is depleted preys upon the citizens and the rural population and (II. 8) very[231] rightly remarks that all undertakings depend upon kośa (financial position of the king), therefore the king must pay the first attention to kośa Gautama (as cited by S V p 46) holds that kośa is the basis or support of the other six elements of the State The Śāntiparva 119. 16 calls upon the king to guard his finances with great effort, since kings depend upon kośa, which tends to the prosperity (of the kingdom) Kām XIII. 33 states that it is on the lips of all that the king is dependent on kośa Śānti 133 contains a eulogy of kosa. The Visnudharmottara II. 61. 17 says that kosa is the root of the tree of State The two great pillars of the Indian States in ancient India were the revenue and the army Manu VII. 65 says that kosa and the government of the realm depend on the king i e they should be the personal concern of the king Yāj. (I. 327–328) recommends that the king should personally look into the income and expenditure every day and keep in his treasury buildings whatever is brought by those who are appointed to bring gold and wealth Kām V. 77 and Sukra I. 276–278 say the same The Rājatarangini (VII 507–508) tells us that king Kalaśa of Kashmir (1063–1089 A. D.) kept accounts like a merchant, closely watched income and expenditure and had a clerk by his side with chalk and *bhūrja* (birch leaf) to write upon. The principal means of filling the treasury is taxation It is therefore necessary to consider first the principles of taxation as evolved by our writers. The first principle was that the king could not levy, according to the smrtis, taxes at his pleasure or sweet will, that the rates of taxes which the king was entitled to levy were fixed by the smrtis and varied only according to the

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231. कोशमूलाः कोशपूर्वाः सर्वारम्भाः। तस्मात्पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत । कौटिल्य II 2. कोशश्च सततं रक्ष्यो यत्नमास्थाय राजभि. । कोशमूला हि राजानः कोशो वृद्धिकरो भवेत ॥ शान्ति 119. 16; कोशमूलो हि राजेति प्रवादः सार्वलौकिक । कामन्दक XIII. 33. This last occurs in बुधभू p 36; कोशस्तु सर्वथा अभिसंरक्ष्य इत्याह गौतम· । तन्मूलत्वात्तस्य कृतीनामिति । स. चि. p. 46.

commodity and also according as the times were normal or there was danger of invasion or some other calamity impending. For example, Gaut. X. 24, Manu VII 130, Visnu Dh. S. III. 22–23 declare that the king may ordinarily take a sixth part of the grain-crops or produce of the soil, but Kauṭ (V. 2), Manu (X. 118), Śānti 87, Śukra IV. 2. 9–10 permit the king to take even one-third or one-fourth part of the crops in times of distress (*āpad*) It has however to be noted that Kautilya requires the king to beg (*yāceta*) of the people for this heavy taxation, he employs the word *pranaya* (request) for such demands, such taxation was not to be levied from inferior lands, and he expressly says that such a demand for excessive taxation is to be made only once and not twice in the same distress.[232] Śānti (87. 26–33) contains a specimen of a long address to be given to the people when a king demands higher taxation in danger (such as 'if the enemy invades you, you will lose all including even your wives, the enemy will not restore to you what he robs you of' &c.) The word 'pranaya' occurs in this sense in the Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman (E I. vol VIII. p. 36 ll 15–16). Another principle laid down in somewhat poetical and picturesque language is that taxation should be felt by those taxed as light and not heavy or excessive. The Udyogaparva[233] (34. 17–18) states 'just as a bee draws honey but at the same time leaves the flowers uninjured, so the king should take wealth from men without harming them. One (a bee) may search each flower (for honey) but should not cut the very root just like a garland-maker, but not like a coal-maker'. Manu (VII 129 and 140) laconically puts the matter thus 'just as the leech, the calf and the bee take their sustenance little by little, so must the king draw from his kingdom annual taxes little by little Let the king not cut up his own root (by levying no taxes) nor the root of others by[234] excessive greed'. Śānti (88

232. कोशमकोशः प्रत्युत्पन्नार्थकृच्छ्रः संगृह्णीयात् । जनपदं महान्तमल्पममार्णं वा देवमातृकं प्रभूतधान्यं धान्यस्यांशं तृतीयं चतुर्थं वा याचेत । ... इति कर्षकेषु प्रणयः । ... इति व्यवहारिषु प्रणयः । ... सकृदेव न द्विः प्रयोज्यः । अर्थशास्त्र V. 2.

233 यथा मधु समादत्ते रक्षन् पुष्पाणि षट्पदः । तद्वदर्थान्मनुष्येभ्य आदद्यादविहिंसया॥ पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिन्वीत मूलच्छेदं न कारयेत् । मालाकार इवारामे न यथाङ्गारकारकः ॥ उद्योग 34. 17–18. पराशर I. 62 is the same as the last of the two. Compare धम्मपद 49 'यथापि भमरो पुप्फं वण्णगन्धं अहेठयं । पलेति रसमादाय एवं गामे मुनी चरे ॥'

234. यथा राजा च कर्ता च स्यातां कर्मणि भागिनौ । संवेद्य तु तथा राज्ञा प्रणेयाः सततं कराः ॥ नोच्छिन्द्यादात्मनो मूलं परेषां चापि तृष्णया । ईहाहाराणि संकल्प्य राजा संभोतदर्शनः ॥ शान्ति 87. 17–18, मनु. VII 139 has the half नोच्छिन्द्यात् &c.

4–6) states that the king should draw (taxes) from the realm lightly in the way the bee draws honey from the trees, he should do so in the way of the calf and should not bruise the udders (as the calf does not) Those verses also refer to the action of the leech, of the tigress carrying her cubs between her jaws and the rat gnawing at the feet of sleeping men These ideas pervaded society so much that the same figure of the bee is instanced as regards the Buddhist bhikkhu's importunity for alms in the Dhammapada (verse 49) The king should act like a gardener who prepares garlands without harming the trees and their leaves and should not act like one who prepares coals from trees (Śānti 71 20)[235]. Manu VII 139 requires that the king should not through greed tax the subjects heavily, as he would thereby cut off the roots (i e. prosperity and contentment) of the people, nor should he cut off his own roots (i e reduce himself to bankruptcy) by levying no taxes A third principle of taxation was that when increasing taxes the rise should be gradual and a little at a time (Śānti 88 7–8) Taxes were to be recovered at a proper time and proper place (Śānti 88 12 and Kām. V 83–84)[236] When taxing traders the king should make allowance for the price they had to pay, for the chances of selling the commodity (in his kingdom), the distance over which the merchandise was brought, what they must have spent for their food and condiments and the cost of guard-

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235 मालाकारोपमो राजन्भव माङ्गारिकोपम• । शान्ति 71 20, vide शुक्रनीतिसार IV 2 113 for the same figure.

236 आदद्दीत धनं काले त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये ॥ यथा गौ. पाल्यते काले दुह्यते च तथा प्रजा ॥ कामन्दक V 83–84. One may note the Moscow decree that all male and female peasants between 18 and 45 years were to work six days yearly without pay on roadwork With the above principles of taxation one may compare Adam Smith's famous canons (1) the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities i e in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State (2) The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid ought to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person (3) Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it (4) Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury (vide 'Wealth of nations' ed by Rogers, 1860, vol. II. pp 414–416)

ing the merchandise (Manu VII. 127=Śānti 87. 13-14)[237]. In the case of artisans, before taxing them, the king has to pay regard to the labour and skill involved and to the necessaries of life required by them (Śānti 87. 15). Every one, however poor, must contribute something to the finances of the realm. Manu (VII. 137-138) says that even a very poor man who maintains himself by following some occupation should be asked to contribute every year something in the nature of *kara* (a tax), while workers (like cooks), artisans (like blacksmiths), śūdras who subsist by manual labour (like porters) should be asked to contribute one day's work to the king in a month Vide Gaut X. 31-34, Visnu Dh. Ś. III 32 for the same. But Śukra IV. 2. 121 says that workers and artisans should do one day's work for the king gratis in a fortnight. Gaut. X. 34 adds that the king must supply them with food on the day they work gratis The importance of a gold and silver reserve was well understood. Kām (IV. 62-64) says [238] that the king's *kośa* should have many sources for filling it, but few outlets of expenditure, it should be full of all desired kinds of wealth, guarded by trusty officers, rich in pearls, gold and jewels, it should have been acquired according to *śāstric* rules, be capable of bearing great strain of expenditure and that *kośa* is to be preserved only for the purpose of securing the two goals viz. *dharma* and *artha*, for affording maintenance to the servants engaged by the king and as a safeguard against calamities. Śukra IV. 2 3 remarks that kośa is accumulated for the upkeep of the army and for the benefit of the people and for performing sacrifices. Gaut X. 28-29, Manu VII. 128, VIII. 306-308, Nār. (prakīrnaka 48) and others say, as has been already stated, that taxation is meant for the protection of the subjects and that it is the king's wages (*vetana*) for the protection he affords Manu IX. 305 compares the king taking taxes to the sun that produces vapour from the seas (in order to return it in the form of rain, as the Raghuvamśa I. 18 very happily puts it) Kām. (V. 78-79) enumerates eight principal sources (called *astavarga*) of filling the treasury

237. विक्रयं क्रयमध्वानं भक्तं च सपरिच्छदम् । योगक्षेमं च संप्रेक्ष्य वणिजां कारयेत्करान् ॥ शान्ति 87. 13. Manu VII. 127 reads भक्तं च सपरिव्ययम्; उत्पत्तिं दानवृत्तिं च शिल्पं सम्प्रेक्ष्य चासकृत् । शिल्पं प्रति करानेवं शिल्पिनः प्रति कारयेत् । शान्ति 87. 15.

238. बह्वादानोऽल्पनिःस्राव रक्षणतः पूजितदैवतः । ईप्सितद्रव्यसंपूर्णो हृद्य आप्तैरधिष्ठितः ॥ मुक्ताकनकरत्नाढ्यः पित्र्यैवामहोचितः । धर्मार्जितो व्ययसहः कोषः कोषज्ञसंमतः ॥ धर्महेतोस्त्वर्थार्थाय भृत्याना भरणाय च । आपदर्थं च संरक्ष्यः कोषः कोषवता सदा ॥ काम IV 62-64 quoted in राजनीतिरत्नाकर p 34

through the action of the heads of the departments viz. agriculture, trade-routes (both on land and water), the capital, water embankments, catching of elephants, working mines and collecting gold &c., levying wealth (from the rich), founding towns and villages in uninhabited spots The Mānasollāsa (II. 4 verses 539–540 p 77) advises the king to spend ordinarily three-fourths of the yearly revenues and save one-fourth Śukra (I. 315–317) prescribes that the king should save 1/6 of his total annual income and should spend 1/2 of the whole on the army and one-twelfth each on charity (to the learned, the poor and helpless &c), ministers, inferior officials, and his private purse or expenses Śukra IV. 2 26 requires the king to have as much stock of grain as would be required for three years' consumption in his country In IV 2 13 he sets before the king the impossible ideal that his treasury should be so full that he can support his army for 20 years if no taxes from agriculture or tolls were raised or no fines were recovered The Mānasollāsa (II. 4 394. 397 p 64) says that the king's treasury should be always full of gold, silver, jewels, ornaments and costly clothes, that pure gold in the form of niskas (coins) or bars or ornaments should be held in the treasury Kaut (IV 3) as stated above permitted the king in famines to make the rich disgorge their wealth. In V 2 he remarks that if after making special requests for additional taxation, when the treasury is empty and some danger is impending, to the cultivators, merchants, wine-sellers, prostitutes and those who rear pigs, poultry, cattle &c, the king may request the rich to give as much of their gold as they can and the king may honour them by bestowing on them a post at his court, or the dignity of an umbrella, a turban or some decoration in return for their wealth[239] He permits the king in calamities to take away the wealth of the corporations (*sanghas*) of heretics and of temples also, to set up all of a sudden on one night a god or a platform (caitya) for a holy tree or a sacred place for a man of miraculous powers and provide for fairs and merry gatherings there and secure the necessary money[240] He

239 सारतो वा हिरण्यमाढ्यान्याचेत । यथोपकारं वा स्ववशा वा यदुपदरेयुः स्थानछत्रवेष्टनविभूषाश्चैषां हिरण्येन प्रयच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र V 2

240 Compare note 164 above about the Mauryas who wanting money set up images, according to Patañjali The Rājatarangiṇī (V 166–177) describes the exactions of king Śaṅkara-varman of Kashmir (883–902) A D He plundered 64 temples under the pretext of supervision He imposed taxes on grhakrtya (i e on upanayana, marriages &c). In the 11th century king Harsa of Kashmir plundered most of the temples (Rājatarangiṇī VII 1090)

recommends many other tricks and dodges for securing money, which are passed over. Perhaps the only redeeming feature of these devices is that Kautilya is careful to point out that they were to be employed only against the seditious and the irreligious and not against others (V. 2 '*evam dūṣyeṣv adhārmikeṣu varteta netareṣu*'). Vide Nītivākyāmṛta (kosa-samuddeśa) p. 205 for similar provisions to replenish a depleted treasury. The Parasurāmapratāpa (Rājavallabhakāṇḍa, folio 27 b) quotes a verse which recommends resort to alchemy for replenishing the treasury[240a]. Śukra IV. 2 11 advises the king when in financial difficulties to promise interest to the rich and take their wealth and to return it with interest when the difficulties are got over[241]. Śānti (88. 29–30) asks[242] the king to honour the wealthy men in his kingdom, since they constitute an important element of the realm and are the most eminent among all beings and to request them 'confer along with me favours on the people'.

Several reasons are assigned for people's payment of taxes to the king Gaut X. 28 says that they should do so because he protects them. In some places the idea put forward is that taxes are the wages (*vetana*) of the king and that the subjects made a contract with the king Manu to that effect Vide Śānti 67 and 70. 10, Baud Dh. S. I. 10. 1, Nār. 18. 48, Kaut. I. 13 (quoted on p 21 above) Kāt [243] (verses 16–17) states that as the king is the owner of the earth but not of other kinds of wealth, he is entitled to get the sixth part of the produce of land and that since human beings reside on land they are declared to be owners (in ordinary parlance, but they have only a qualified ownership) Several kinds of taxes are mentioned in the dharmasāstras, arthasāstras and the inscriptions The oldest

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240a धातुवादप्रयोगैश्च विविधैर्वर्धयेद्धनम् । ताम्रेण साधयेत्स्वर्णं रौप्यं वङ्गेन साधयेत् ॥ परशुरामप्र. (राज० folio 27 b).

241 धनिकेभ्यो भृतिं दत्त्वा स्वापत्तौ तद्धनं हरेत् । राजा स्वात्पस्मुत्तीर्णस्तत्स्वं दद्यात्सवृद्धिकम् ॥ शुक्र IV. 2. 11.

242 धनिनः पूजयेन्नित्यं पानाच्छादनभोजनैः । वक्तव्याश्चालगृह्णीध्वं प्रजाः सह मयेति वै ॥ अङ्गमेतन्महद्राज्ये धनिनो नाम भारत । ककुदं सर्वभूतानां धनस्थो नात्र संशयः ॥ शान्ति 88 29–30.

243 कात्यायनः । भूस्वामी तु स्मृतो राजा नान्यद्रव्यस्य सर्वदा । तत्फलस्य हि षड्भागं प्राप्नुयान्नान्यथैव तु ॥ भूतानां तन्निवासित्वात्स्वामित्वं तेन कीर्तितम् । राजनीतिप्र. p 271. Vide H Dh. vol II. pp 865–869 on the question of the king's ownership of land. राजनीतिप्र explains 'तन्निवासित्वात् भूनिवासित्वात् । स्वामित्वं राज्ञ इति शेष. I interpret differently

word for a tax paid to the king is 'bali' Rg VII 6 5[244] and X 173 6 speak of the common people as 'balihrt' (bringers of *bali*, tribute or tax for the king) In the Tai Br (II. 7 18 3) it is said 'the people bring bali to him' In the Ait Br (35 3) the *vaiśya* is characterized as 'balikrt' (payer of taxes to another), since brāhmanas and ksatriyas were mostly exempt from taxation. Vide Prof. Hopkins' 'Social condition of the ruling class' J. A.O S vol XIII p 89 and Fick p 119 (as to the evidence of the Jātakas on taxation) Manu VII. 80, Matsya 215 57, Rāmāyana III. 6 11, Visnu Dh S III. 22 employ the word 'bali' in the sense of the 6th part of the produce of land that the king levied as tax. In the Rummindei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I p 164) it is said that the village of Lummini was made free from the payment of 'bali', but had to pay one-eighth share[245] Here 'bali' is contrasted with 'bhāga' which is a general term The word 'kara' appears to mean a tax in general Vide Āp Dh S II 10 26 10, Manu VII. 128, 129, 133, Vas 19. 23, Visnu Dh. S III. 26-27 The word 'bhāga' (share) is also general and means the king's dues on land, trees, drugs, cattle, wealth &c Vide Manu VII. 130-131, VIII 305, Visnu Dh S III 25 This meaning of 'bhāga' is ancient We saw above (p 112) that *bhāgadugha* is one of the ratnins of the king The Amarakośa treats *bali*, *kara*, and *bhāga* as synonymous

The word 'sulka' generally means the tolls or customs duties levied from vendors and purchasers on merchandise carried into or out of the kingdom (Śukranītisāra IV 2. 108) The Mahābhāsya on the vārtika āyasthānebhyasthak' on Pān IV 2. 104 gives saulkika and gaulmika as examples, indicating thereby that śulka or toll was levied as a source of income (āya) at the toll-gate

The principal and perennial sources of income to the state were three viz the king's share of the produce of land, tolls and customs duties, fines levied from wrongdoers or defeated litigants (vide Śānti 71 10 and Śukra IV 2 13) From this and from Manu X. 119-120 it appears that the principal tax-payers

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244 स निरुध्या नहुषो यहो अग्निर्विशश्चक्रे बलिहृतः सहोभिः ॥ ऋ VII 6 5, अधो त इन्द्रः केवलीर्विशो बलिहृतस्करत् ॥ ऋ X. 173 6, हरन्त्यस्मै विशो बलिम् । तै. ब्रा II. 7 18 3

245 लुमिनिगामे उबलिके (उद्बलिकः) कटे अठभागिये (अष्टभागिकः) च । Corpus I I vol I. p. 164

were agriculturists, traders, manual workors and artisans. In Manu VIII. 307 quoted in the Dandaviveka of Vardhamāna (p. 5) it is said that the king who, without affording protection, levies *bali*, *kara*, *śulka*, *pratibhoga* (pratibhāga in the printed smṛti) and *danda* (fines) goes at once to hell and Vardhamāna explains *kara* as the dues recovered every month from villagers and city-dwellers (every month or twice a year in Bhādrapada or Pausa according to Kullūka), śulka as the twelfth share recovered from traders, pratibhoga as the dues in the form of fruits, flowers and vegetables presented every day A few remarks on these and other taxes must be made here Manu VII. 130, Gaut. X. 24, Visnu Dh. S. III. 22, Mānasollāsa (II. 3. 163 p. 44) and several others prescribe that the king is entitled to the 6th, 8th or 12th part (only sixth in Visnu, also 10th in Gaut.) of the yield of grain from land. Brhaspati and the Visnudharmottara[246] (II. 61. 60–61) quoted in the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 262–263) make it clear under what circumstances these different shares are to be taken: viz the king takes 1/6 of *śūkadhānya* (awned or bearded grain like wheat and barley), 1/8 from śimbīdhānya (grain in pods), 10th part from crops grown on land that was fallow for many years, 1/8th from lands sownin the rainy season and one-sixth from lands that have spring crops The tax was to be paid once every year or once in six months according to the custom of the country. The varying rates prescribed by Kautilya have been indicated in describing the duties of the sītādhyaksa Śukra (IV. 2 121–122) gives a salutary rule that if a cultivator constructs a tank, a well or an artificial water-course or brings under cultivation land previously fallow, the king should not levy a tax thereon till the person making the expenditure has recovered twice the amount spent by him. Kaut. (II. 1) provides that the king may show favour (*anugraha*) to the cultivators by supplying them with seed, cattle and money and that they should return the advances by easy instalments and that the king shall bestow favours and remissions (*parihāra*) in such a way that they might tend to swell the treasury and not tend to its

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246 विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । शूकधान्येषु षड्भागं शिम्बीधान्येष्वथाष्टमम् । राजा बल्यर्थमादद्यादेशकालानुरूपतः ॥ शूकशिम्ब्यतिरिक्ते धान्ये मनुगौतमोक्तो द्वादशो दशमो वा भागः । तथा च बृहस्पतिः । दशाष्टषडं नृपतेर्भागं दद्यात्कूपीवलम् । खिलाद्वर्षावसन्नाच्च कृष्यमाणाद्यथाक्रमम् ॥ ..... स एवाह । देशस्थित्या बलिं दद्युर्नृपं षण्मासवार्षिकम् । एष धर्मः समाख्यातः कीनाशानां पुरातनः ॥ राजनीतिप्र. pp. 262–263 and राजधर्मकाण्ड p. 63 (for last two verses).

depletion.[247] It has already been stated that according to the smrtis the ordinary share of the king was one-sixth, but that in case of the danger of invasion or similar calamity he was allowed to raise it to one-fourth. Megasthenes (Fragment I, p 42) says that no person is permitted to own land and that besides the land tribute people pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce This shows that the tax on land was very heavy in the times of Candragupta probably owing to his wars to drive away the Greeks and the huge armies that he had to employ Manu VII 130, Gaut X. 25, Visnu Dh. S III. 24, Mānasollāsa (II 3 163 p 44) hold that the king is entitled to the 50th part of the cattle reared by herdsmen and of the interest earned by those who lend money at interest This last appears to be analogous to modern income-tax The Śukranītisāra IV 2 128 makes the tax to be $\frac{1}{32}$ on the interest earned by money-lending.[248] Visnu adds cloth to these two Manu VII 131–132, Gaut X 27, Visnu Dh S III 25, Visnudharmottara II 61 61–63 and Mānasollāsa lay down that the king is entitled to a sixth part of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes (like sandal-wood), medicinal plants (like *gudūcī*), rasa (salt &c), flowers, roots (like tumeric), fruits, leaves (like palm leaves), vegetables, grass, hides, articles manufactured from bamboo slips, earthenware, articles prepared from stones Visnu adds deer hides to these

Sulka is of two kinds, what is levied on goods carried by land and what is levied on goods carried by water (Mit on Yāj II 263) Gaut X 26 and Visnu Dh S. III 29 state that the sulka is 1/20th part on merchandise for sale (bought and sold in the country itself) which is interpreted by some (like Haradatta and Nandapandita) as meaning that 5 per cent of the price of articles sold should be taken by the king as tax, while the Rājanītiprakāśa (p 264) explains that the king is entitled only to five per cent of the difference between the cost price and the sale price of merchandise Manu VIII. 398 also is susceptible of these two interpretations, as the commentaries of Medhātithi and Kullūka show The Visnu Dh S (III 29–30) prescribes that the king takes one-tenth on merchandise produced in his *own* country and one-twentieth on goods *imported* from a foreign

247 धान्यपशुहिरण्यैश्चैनानन्यग्रहीयात्सान्यसङ्ख्येन दद्यु: । अनुग्रहपीडाभौ चैषां कोशवृद्धिकरौ दद्यात् । कौटिल्य *II 1. p 47*

248. वार्धुषिकाश्च कौसीदाद् द्वात्रिंशार्शं हरेन्नृपः । शुक्र *IV. 2. 128*

country Yāj. II. 261 says that the śulka on goods is twentieth part of the prices of the goods Kaut (II 21) in his chapter on the superintendent of tolls (śulkādhyakṣa) sets out several rules, of which a few interesting ones are given here Commodities intended for marriage or taken by a bride from her parents to her husband or meant as presents or for the purpose of sacrifices or the *accouchement* of women or for the worship of gods, or for the ceremonies of *caula*, *upanayana*, *godāna*, or for the observance of a *vrata* or for the consecration of a person for a sacrifice and for other special ceremonies shall be allowed to go free of tolls. Whatever commodities would cause harm to the realm or are useless should be destroyed; whatever is of great benefit and seeds not easily available should be allowed to be imported without charge[249] He further says (II. 22) that śulka is levied on exports and imports of merchandise and that on imports the tax will be one-fifth of the price of the commodities (as a general rule) and prescribes varying rates (1'6, 1/10, 1/15, 1/20, 1/25) on different kinds of articles In II 28 (on the superintendent of shipping) Kautilya gives further rules some of which have been already noted. He prescribes rules for ferries also, viz. that brāhmaṇas, ascetics, children, very old people, sick men, messengers, pregnant women are to be provided with free passes by the superintendent enabling them to use the ferries. A man with a load and small animals were to pay one māsa at a ferry, a cow or a horse two māsas and so on. The Mānasollāsa (II. 4. vv. 374-376 p 62) prescribes that the king should well guard all harbours (*velā-pura*) that are near the sea, that when the boats of sailors residing in his own country return to the harbour the king should charge one-tenth (of the price of goods brought) as the duty and that when foreign boats are driven to his harbour by an unfavourable wind, the king should confiscate all their merchandise or may give a little to the owners of those boats. In this connection a very interesting inscription may be referred to The Motupalli pillar Inscription[250] of the Kākatīya king Ganapatideva (of

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249 राष्ट्रपीडाकरं भाण्डमुच्छिन्द्याद्फल च यत् । महोपकारमुच्छुल्क कुर्याद्बीजं तु दुर्लभम् ॥ कौटिल्य II 21, verse at end.

250 पूर्वराजानः पोतपात्रेष्वन्यदेशादेशान्तरभृत्तेषु दुर्वातेन समापतितेषु भग्नेष्वस्तीर्थसंगतेषु च संभृतानि करितुरगरत्नादीनि वस्तूनि सकलानि बलाद्गृहरन्ति । वयमपि प्राणेभ्योऽपि गरीयो धनमिति समुद्रयानकृतमहासाहसेभ्यस्तेभ्यः कलशुल्कादृते कृपया कीर्त्यै धर्माय च सर्वं वितराम इति । तच्छुल्कपरिमाणं; then a Telugu passage about the dues Vide E I vol. XII p 195

1244–45 A. D.) issues (E. I. vol. XII p. 195) a charter of security (abhaya-śāsana) to the sailors who ply between towns in different countries, islands and continents: 'when ships that made voyages from one country to another were driven or were shattered or touched at a place that was not meant as a place of call, owing to unfavourable winds, former kings forcibly took away all commodities therein such as gold, elephants, horses &c.; but we, considering that wealth is dearer than life itself, have with kindness decided to give everything except the fixed *śulka* to those sailors who undertake the great venture of crossing the sea, so that thereby we shall secure fame and righteousness; the śulka fixed is as follows'. About *śulka* to be levied on goods brought by the sea the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 10. 15–16) prescribes that it is 10 per cent of the cargo except one best article (which is totally exempted). In the Kharepatan grant of the Śilāra king Rattarāja dated sake 930 it is provided that one golden *gadiyāna* was levied as duty on each vessel that came from another country (dvīpāntarāyāta-vahitrāt) and one golden *dharana* had to be paid on each vessel coming from the district of Kandalamūlīya excepting Cemulya (modern Cheul) and Candrapura. Vide E I. vol. III. p. 292 at p. 301 Śukra (IV. 2 109–111) lays down some very reasonable rules viz on the same commodity śulka is to be taken in the same country by the king only once and never more than once; the king may take either 1/16, 1/20 or 1/32 from the vendee or vendor; no śulka is to be taken from the vendor when he has to sell his goods at the same price at which he bought them or for less than the cost price; the king should always take from the buyer the proper śulka after seeing what profit he is going to make Nār (sambhūya-samutthāna verses 14–15) lays down that whatever is to be used by śrotriyas (brāhmanas learned in the Vedas) for domestic purposes is exempt, but not what they may employ in trade; the gifts received by brāhmanas, the property of stage-players, whatever is carried on a man's shoulders—on all these no śulka must be levied. The exemption of brāhmanas and others from taxation has already been dealt with in H. Dh. vol. II pp 143–145. Gaut. X. 9–12, Āp Dh. S II. 10. 26 10–16, Vas I 42–46 and 19 23–24, Manu. VIII. 394 exempt a learned brāhmana, the women of all varnas, all boys before the signs of puberty appear, all those who stay with a teacher for study, ascetics who are intent on dharma, śūdras that do menial work such as washing the feet of higher varnas, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the diseased, the cripple, an old man of 70 years or

more. Though these really required more protection than most people, humanity and higher feelings made them exempt from taxes from very ancient times The claims to exemption were probably exaggerated and not respected in practice. For example, Nārada (VI. 14) states that the king is not to levy tolls or customs duties on articles required by śrotriyas for domestic use but if they engaged in trade they had to pay taxes on merchandise.[251] The Mit. on Yāj. II. 4 states that the six exemptions mentioned in Gaut. (VIII. 12–13) apply only to a very learned brāhmana and not to all brāhmanas. Manu. VII. 133 provides that a king even when he has lost everything should not levy a tax on śrotriyas and relying on this the Vaijayanti explains Visnu Dh S III 26 as referring only to learned brāhmanas. The Rāmāyana (III. 6. 14)[251a] states, differing from other authorities, that the king shares one-fourth of the merit of *munis* (ascetics) dwelling in his kingdom There was a corresponding liability on the king; viz. he shared half and half in the demerit due to the sins committed by the subjects that are not properly restrained by him (Yāj. I 337) Manu and Visnu. Dh S. III. 28 and Visnudharmottara II. 61 25 say that he reaps the sixth part of the sin of his subjects.

Kaut in II. 15 mentions numerous kinds of taxes or dues that were levied by the king It is not possible to explain many of the terms used by him. In the ancient inscriptions, when making grants of a village and the like, it is usual for the kings to specify the exemptions from taxes and dues that went with the grant. Such exemptions were called *parihāra*, which word occurs in Kautilya and also in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela (in the 2nd century B C., E I. vol. xx at p. 9) where we read '*bamhanānam jātim parihāram dadāti*'. In certain early records even, these exemptions are said to be eighteen, e g. in the Hirahadagalli plate of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol I. p. 6) and[252] the Omgudu plate of Vijayaskandavarman

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251. सदा श्रोत्रियवर्ज्यानि शुल्कान्याहुः प्रजानता । गृहोपयोगि यच्चैषां न तु वाणिज्यकर्मणि ॥ नारद VI. 14, ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III. 26, on which वैजयन्ती says 'परंतु श्रोत्रियेभ्यः । ब्रियमाणो ... करमिति मानवात् ।'

251a यत्करोति परं धर्मं मुनिर्मूलफलाशनः । तत्र राज्ञश्चतुर्भागः प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षतः ॥ रामायण, अरण्य 6. 14.

252. The passage in the plate of Sivaskandavarman (E I vol I pp 8–9) is rendered by Dr Bühler as 'this garden .. is to be free from taxes, free from the taking of sweet and sour milk, free from troubles about

(*Continued on the next page*)

(E I 15 p. 250) Vide H Dh vol II pp 864-865 and notes thereon for grants containing names of numerous taxes that were remitted to the grantees and 'Pandyan kingdom' by Prof Nilkanta Śāstri p 217 on the same subject

Fines as a source of revenue will be discussed in the next section about 'law and justice' The king had numerous other sources of income Kaut (II. 12) describes the duties of the superintendent of mines Every thing dug up from mines belonged to the king (Visnudharmasūtra III 55) According to Manu VIII 39 and Medhātithi thereon the king is entitled to a half (or some share $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ &c) of the ore dug out of mines, as he is the lord of the earth and gives protection In modern times under sec 69 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, Government have a right to all mines and minerals The 'Paraśurāmapratāpa[252a] quotes a verse · 'Brahmā arranged that the king was (to be) the owner of all wealth and specially (wealth) that is inside the earth,' while Kāt (16-17) says (vide note 243) 'the king is declared to be the lord of the land, but never of other kinds of wealth; therefore he should secure the sixth part of the fruits of land, but not otherwise at all Since human beings reside on it (land) their (qualified) ownership thereof has been declared' For further discussion of the theory of the king's ownership of all land, vide H of Dh. vol II, pp 865-869 The State itself manufactured salt, took its share in salt manufactured by private persons and levied $\frac{1}{6}$ as State dues on imported salt. Kautilya mentions ten kinds of revenue from mines The

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(*Continued from the last page*)

salt and sugar (alonagulacchobham=alavana—guda—ksobham), free from taxes, forced labour, free from the taking of the oxen in succession, free from the taking of grass and wood, free from the taking of vegetables and flowers, with these and other immunities of eighteen kinds it must be exempted &c' (*evamādikeh atthārasajātiparihārehi*). Vide Vilavatti grant of Pallava king Simhavarman for a long enumeration of taxes collected from villages in South India in E I vol 24 p 296 and a copperplate grant of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita dated *śake* 915, where in granting a gardeo to a brāhmana occur the following words 'साद्वङ्गः सदण्डदशापराध प्रधाननिधानैकदोषवाह्य इतरसमस्तापुत्रालीयक-कुमारीसाहसप्रभृतिदण्डदोषसमन्वितः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः समस्तायस्थानसहितः ..... दत्तः in 'Important Inscriptions from Baroda' vol. I edited by Mr A. S. Gadre (p 55 at p. 61). कुमारीसाहस appears to mean the 'fine levied for violating a virgin or her modesty'.

252 a धनानामीश्वरा राजा ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पित. । भूगताना विशेषेण भर्तासौ विबुधाधिपः ॥ q. in परशुरामप्रताप folio 27a.

Mānasollāsa (II. 3 verses 332 and 361) asks the king to guard mines of gems, gold and silver and declares that the Creator made the king the ruler over all wealth and especially over what is inside the earth. Rudradāman (150 A. D) boasts that he filled his treasury by means of *bali*, *śulka* and *bhāga* levied according to the śāstras and that his treasury overflowed with heaps of gold, silver, diamonds, *lapis lazuli* and other gems (E I vol VIII. p. 36 at p 44) Kaut (IV 1) says that those who sweep the dust (near mines &c) should get one-third of the valuable things found and the king should get two-thirds and all jewels The king had also monopolies in certain matters He alone could catch elephants. Kaut (II 31-32) and Mānasollāsa (II. 3, pp 44-58) deal with this matter, the latter describing several methods of catching elephants. Medhātithi[253] on Manu VIII 400 says that kings have a monopoly as to elephants because it is well-known that they are most useful to them and he specifies certain monopolies such as those in saffron, silken cloth and wool, horses, pearls and jewels. Megasthenes (Fragment XXXVI p. 90) states that a private person was not allowed to keep an elephant or a horse and that those animals were held to be the special property of the king

The king recovered a sort of road cess through officers called *antapāla* (guardians of borders or boundaries) viz $1\frac{1}{4}$ pana on each cart loaded with merchandise, half a pana on each head of cattle, $\frac{1}{4}$th pana on minor quadrupeds, and one *māsa* on a load carried on a man's shoulders (Kaut. II. 21 p 111). Śukra IV. 2. 129 permits for the repairs to the roads a tax on those who use roads Revenues were raised in numerous other ways such as by charging for stamping weights and measures, by fees levied from keepers of gambling halls, from players, singers and musicians, from prostitutes, from forests and pastures &c. Bṛhat-Parāsara X p 282 allows the king in a financial crisis to use even temple funds and make them good when freed from his difficult position Similarly it allows the king (in difficulty) to take the wealth of usurers, of low people,

253. यानि भाण्डानि राजोपयोगितया यथा हस्तिनः काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमप्राच्येषु पट्टोर्णादीनि प्रतीच्येष्वश्वा दाक्षिणात्येषु मणिमुक्तादीनि। मेधा. on मनु VIII 400 The passage as printed by Mandlik and Gharpure is corrupt. We should rather read यथा हस्तिनः । काश्मीरेषु कुङ्कुमं प्राच्येषु पट्टोर्णादीनि. Saffron is still a monopoly in Kashmir ' सरकपांसुधावकाः सारत्रिभाग लभेरन् । द्वौ राजा रत्नं च । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 1

of heretics and prostitutes, as the continuance and prosperity of temples and the others depend upon the king [254]

The Rājatarangiṇī (VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddha at Gayā An inscription of Vikramāditya V found near Gadag dated *śake* 934 (1012–13 A. D.) refers to taxes levied on upanayana, marriages, vedic sacrifices &c. (E I. vol 20 p. 64). It appears that the king of Anahilavād, Siddharāja (1094–1143 A. D), levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhuloda and it is said that the tax yielded 72 lakhs of rupees a year, which Siddharāja remitted for the sake of and at the intervention of his mother; vide Bom G. vol I. part 1 p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (p. 84, Tawney) The amount is probably very highly exaggerated in order to glorify Siddharāja, but this shows that the yield of the pilgrim tax must have been substantial The Mānasollāsa in its great desire to help the king with the accumulation of wealth advises the king even to resort to alchemy [255]

A question may be asked. what were the means of preventing a king from being over-exacting and tyrannical in his taxes? Kaut. (VII. 5 pp 276–277) cites at great length the causes that lead to the impoverishment of the subjects, to their being greedy and disaffected Among these he mentions [256] 'not paying what ought to be paid and exacting what ought not to be exacted, not punishing the guilty and severely punishing the guilty, not protecting the people against thieves and robbing them of their wealth' He then states that when the subjects become impoverished they become greedy and when greedy they become disaffected and voluntarily go over to the side of the king's enemy or destroy their own king In another

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254 नृपस्य यदि जातानि देवद्रव्याणि कोशवत् । आदाय स्वस्य चात्मानं ततस्तत्र च तत् क्षिपेत् । वित्तं वार्धुषिकाणां तु कदर्यस्यापि यद्भवेत् । पाषण्डिगणिकावित्त हरन्नातो न किल्बिषी । देवब्राह्मणपाषण्डिगणका गणिकादयः । वणिग्वार्धुषिकाः सर्वे स्वस्थे राजनि दुःखिताः ॥ बृहस्पतराज X p 282.

255. धातुवादप्रयोगैश्च विविधैर्वर्धयेद्धनम्। ताम्रेण साधयेत् स्वर्णं रौप्यं वङ्गेन साधयेत्। मानसोल्लास II 4, verse 327 p 63 Vide n 240 above

256 अमदानैश्च देयानामदेयानां च साधनैः । अदण्डनैश्च दण्ड्यानां दण्ड्यानां चण्डदण्डनैः ॥ ... अरक्षणैश्च चोरेभ्य. स्वानां च परिमोषणैः । ... राज्ञः प्रमादालस्याभ्यां योगक्षेमविधावपि । प्रकृतीनां क्षयो लाभो वैराग्यं चोपजायते ॥ क्षीणाः प्रकृतयो लोभं लुब्धा यान्ति विरागताम् । विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्तारं भ्रान्ति वा स्वयम् ॥ कौटिल्य VII 5

place Kautilya (XIII. 1) suggests[257] that a conqueror may employ spies who should encourage the subjects of his enemy suffering from famine, depredations of thieves and wild tribes to tell their king, 'we shall beg the king for favoure (remission of taxes or help in the way of seeds &c.) but if he does not agree to bestow favours we shall go to another country'. So the threat of disaffection and migrating to another country were the deterrents against the tyranny of heavy taxation according to Kautilya. Śānti 87. 36 says[257a] that if the vaiśyas (*gominah*, who bore the brunt of taxation) were neglected, they may disappear from the country and dwell in forests. Manu (VII. 111-112) warns kings who through folly rashly oppress their kingdoms that they may ere long lose their own lives and those of their relativee and also their kingdoms. Yāj. (I. 340-341) is even more emphatic and says that the king who seeks to increase his treasury with wealth extracted by unjust means from his realm loses his wealth in no time and meets destruction along with his relatives. 'The fire springing from the wrath caused by the harassment of the subjects does not cease without burning the family, the wealth and the life of the king.' Kātyāyana (v. 19) harps on the spiritual consequences: 'the king who unjustly takes from his kingdom taxes, fines, share of crops and tolls, incurs[258] sin.' Śukra[259] (II. 319-321 and 370) emphasizes the keeping of daily, monthly and yearly accounts and the entering of the several items of income on the left side of the account and of those of expenditure on the right. The Nītivākyāmṛta[259a] refers to the appointment of auditors when there is discrepancy in the items of income and expenditure.

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257. दुर्भिक्षस्तेनाटव्युपघातेषु पौरजानपदानुत्साहयन्तः सन्निधौ ब्रूयुः । राजानमनुग्रहं याचामहे निरनुग्रहाः परत्र गच्छामः । इति । कौ. XIII. 1.

257a. उपेक्षिता हि नश्येयुर्गोमिनोऽरण्यवासिनः । तस्मात्तेषु विशेषेण मृदुपूर्वं समाचरेत् ॥ शान्ति 87. 36.

258. अन्यायेन हि यो राष्ट्रात्करं दण्डं च पार्थिवः । सस्यभागं च शुल्कं चाप्यादत्ते स पापभाक् ॥ कात्यायन q. in राजनीतिप्र. p 276.

259. वत्सरे वत्सरे वापि मासि मासि दिने दिने । हिरण्यपशुधान्यादि स्वार्थानं व्ययसंज्ञकम् ॥ पराधीनं कृतं पत्रं व्ययसंज्ञं धनं च तत् । ... आयमादौ लिखेत्सम्यग् व्ययं पश्चात्तु यागतम् । वामे वायं व्ययं वृक्षे पत्रभागे च लेखयेत् ॥ शुक्रनीतिसार II 321, 370.

259a. आयव्ययविधितिपत्तौ कुशलकरणकार्यपुरुषेभ्यस्तद्विनिश्चयः । नीतिवाक्यामृत- p. 189 (अमात्यसमुद्देश).

CHAPTER VIII

BALA (THE ARMY).

Bala is also called *danda* in Kaut and elsewhere According to Sumantu danda means 'punishment, corporal or monetary' and the army with its four arms is included by Sumantu under kośa (acc to S V p 46)[260] In the Rgveda we have frequent references to armies, weapons, battles &c The word *senānī* occurs in Rg X 84 2 where *Manyu* (martial Fury) is invoked to be the Commander[261] Rg VI 75 is full of references to bows, arrows, armour, bow-strings, quiver, charioteer, horses, chariots &c. Kām (XIII 34-37) states that the king possessed of a sound financial position increases his depleted army, supports his own subjects and is depended upon even by his enemies All the following result from the possession of a (powerful) army viz increase of the wealth of one's friends and enemies and of the (king's) territories, prompt attainment of objects that seemed distant, protection of what is already secured, destruction of the armies of the enemy, the keeping together of one's army Most authorities agree in saying that troops are of six kinds viz *maula* (hereditary), *bhṛta* or *bhṛtaka* or *bhṛtya* (hired troops), *śreṇi* (guild troops), *mitra* (troops of an ally or friendly power or feudatories), *amitra* (troops that once belonged to the enemy), *atavī* or *āṭavika* (wild tribes as troops) Vide Kaut[262] IX. 2 (first sentence), Kām. XVIII 4, Agnipurāna 242 1-2, Mānasollāsa (II 6, verse 556 p 76) The first three works say that each earlier variety of troops is superior to each later one *Maula* troops corresponded to the modern standing army, since Kaut (IX 2) prefers them on the ground that they depend on the king for maintenance and are being constantly drilled They most probably consisted of persons who and whose ancestors got tax-free lands in lieu of military service The Sabhāparva 5. 63 appears to refer to four kinds (omitting śreṇi and amitra) and Yuddhakānda 17 24 refers to five (omitting śreṇi)

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260. दण्डः चतुरङ्गसैन्यं न भवति । अपराधानुसारेण शारीरोऽर्थदण्डः परिकल्पनीय । अयमभिसन्धि -सुमन्तुमते चतुरङ्गसैन्यस्य कोश एवान्तर्भाव इति । स वि p 46

261 अग्निरिव मन्यो त्विषितः सहस्व सेनानीर्नः सहुरे हूत एधि । ऋ. X 84 2

262. मौलभृतकश्रेणीमित्रामित्राटवीबलानां समुदानकालः । ... पूर्वः पूर्वः चैषां श्रेयः संनाहयितुम् । कौटिल्य IX 2.

The Āśramavāsikaparva[263] (7 7-8) names five kinds (except *amitra*) and states that maula and mitra armies are superior to the rest and hired troops and śreni troops are each other's equals. This division of armies into various kinds is mentioned in the grant of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi in Gupta-Valabhi year 206 (E I. vol. XI p 106, where the king is said to have acquired the kingdom with the help of maula, bhṛta, mitra and śreni armies). Mānasollāsa defines the ātavika[264] army as consisting of *niṣūdas*, *mlecchas* and similar castes dwelling in the vicinity of mountains and *amitra* troops as soldiers who once belonged to an enemy king but being defeated were taken captive and made slaves. According to the Rājanītiratnākara (p 38) 'aribala' means 'troops that come to a king after leaving the king's enemy'. Kām. XVIII 7 says that the ātavika troops are, by nature, irreligious, greedy, *anāryas* and non-observers of truth. They correspond to the *pendharis* and freebooters of later times The reasons why hereditary and other troops are superior to amitra and ātavika varieties are explained at great length by Kaut. IX. 2 and Kām. XVIII. 5-9. Kaut. (IX. 2) states that an *amitra* army led by an ārya is superior to wild tribe troops Both of them are out for plunder and in case no plunder can be had or when there is a disaster they may prove as dangerous as snakes. By śreni-bala he has in mind the organized bands of soldiers to whom he refers elsewhere as 'vārtāśastropajīvinah' (vide p. 89 above). As it is not unlikely that members of trade-guilds either themselves learnt the profession of arms or engaged soldiers for the protection of their merchandise and property, these could be pressed into his service by a king in case of need and were distinguished from the hereditary army and hired troops as 'śreni-bala'. Differing from the *ācāryas* that troops composed of brāhmaṇas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras are superior for enlistment in the order of the castes, Kaut holds that an army of ksatriyas well-trained in the wielding of arms or an army of

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263. आदद्यात् बलं राजा मौल मित्रबलं तथा । अटवीबलं भृतं चैव तथा श्रेणीबलं प्रभो । तत्र मित्रबलं राजन् मौलं चैव विशिष्यते । श्रेणीबलं भृतं चैव तुल्ये एवेति मे मतिः ॥ आश्रमवासिक 7. 7-8.

264. पर्वतोपान्तसंवासिनिषादम्लेच्छजातिकम् । अधमं तत्समाख्यातं बलमाटविकं बुधैः ॥ शात्रवास्तु समाक्रान्ता दासभावमुपस्थिताः । तेषां बलं तु विज्ञेयममित्रजबलं बुधैः ॥ मानसोल्लास II. 6. verses 559-560 p. 79.

vaisyas and sūdras having greater numerical strength is better than an army composed of brāhmana soldiers, since an enemy may win over the latter army by prostrating himself before them [265] Vide H Dh vol II pp 122–123 for discussion on the question whether brāhmanas could become soldiers In Udyogaparva 96 7 (cr ed chap 94) it is said that king Dambhodbhava every day asked in the morning whether there was any śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya or brāhmana equal or superior to him in armed conflict That shows that soldiers of castes other than ksatriyas were not unheard of in the Epic age Kām IV. (63, 65, 67) says that the hereditary army (pitr-paitāmaha) should consist mostly of ksatriyas In the Malıya copperplate of Mahārāja Dharasena II (252 Valabhi samvat i. e. 571–72 A. D.) Bhatārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, is said to have secured the kingdom with the help of maula, bhrta, mitra and śreni troops (Gupta Inscriptions p. 165). Śukra (II. 137–139) says that the soldiers may be śūdras, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, mlecchas or of mixed castes, provided they are brave, restrained, well-built, devoted to their master and their dharma, and hate the enemy. Śānti (101 3–5) describes in what respects soldiers from Gāndhāra, Sindhu and other countries and Yavana and Deccan soldiers excel, remarks that brave and strong men are to be found everywhere (verse 6) and that men from the border (i e. *bhillas* and *kaivartas* according to Nilakantha) are desperate fighters, would never run away from battle and so should be preferred for enlistment in the army (verse 19). The Yasastilaka III (pp 461–467) describes the characteristics of Northern Indian (auttarāpatha), Deccan (dāksinātya), Dramila (South Indian), Tirhut (Tairabhukta) and Gurjara soldiers. An army was said to be composed of four parts, viz. elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers (caturanga bala). Kām. XVIII. 24 says that *bala* is sixfold, viz the four sections of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants together with *mantra* (line of policy) and kośa (treasury) In Śānti. 103. 38 the army is said to have six angas (the well-known four plus kośa and roads for traffic) According to Kautilya (II. 2, VII. 11) and Kām. XIX. 62 the destruction of

265. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात्- पूर्वं पूर्वं श्रेयः संनाहयितुमित्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । प्रणिपातेन ब्राह्मबलं परोभिहारयेत् । प्रहरणविद्याविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयो बहुलसारं वैश्यशूद्रबलानीति । कौटिल्य IX. 2.

the enemy's forces and victory depended on elephants [266] Śāntiparva (100 24) says that an army in which the infantry predominates remains firm and that cavalry and chariots are all right when there is no rain. Śānti (59. 41–42) enumerates eight elements of the army viz. the well-known four (elephants etc), visti (labourers or porters who gave free labour and were only fed but were paid no wages), boats, spies, and guides (deśika) [267] Vide Śānti 121. 44 also In the Mahābhārata elephants do not, except in rare cases, play any role in the fighting that went on, while chariots and the other arms of an army are described everywhere. In the Virāṭaparva (65. 6) Vikarna was seated on an elephant when he attacked Arjuna; Bhīsmaparva 20. 7 refers to Duryodhana as riding an elephant and (95. 32–33) Bhagadatta is described as seated on an elephant when he attacked Bhīma In this respect the Epic carries on the vedic tradition Megasthenes (Fragment 1 p. 30) notes that in ancient India elephants were trained for war and turned the scale of victory. Vast armies were kept by ancient kings and emperors. When Śatrughna started against the demon Lavana he had an army of 4000 horses, 2000 chariots and 100 elephants with him (Rāmāyana VII. 64 2–4). In the Daśakumāracarita VIII the cynical jester Vihārabhadra reminds his master that the latter had 10000 elephants, three lakhs of horse and numberless foot-soldiers (B S. S p. 133, of ed. of 1919)

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266. हस्तिप्रधानो विजयो राज्ञाम्। कौटिल्य II. 2; हस्तिप्रधानो हि परानीकवध॰। कौटिल्य VII. 11, नागेषु हि क्षितिभुजां विजयो निबद्धस्तस्माद्भूयाधिकबलो नृपतिः सदा स्यात्। कामन्दक XIX 62; मुख्यं दन्तिबलं राज्ञां समरे विजयैषिणाम्। तस्माज्जिजबले कार्या बहवो द्विरदा नृपैः॥ मानसोल्लास II 8 verse 678 p. 90; यतो नागास्ततो जयः। बुधभू p 42; बलेषु हस्तिन प्रधानमङ्गं स्वैरवयवैरष्टायुधा हस्तिनो भवन्ति। नीतिवा॰ (चलसमुद्देश) p. 207. The four feet, the two tusks, the trunk and the tail are the eight weapons of an elephant Though the Budhabhūṣana (p. 42) contains a glowing eulogy of elephants, the नीतिवाक्यामृत holds that elephants, if not properly trained, cause loss of wealth (because they eat vast quantities of fodder and grains) and of lives (they trample down their own soldiers through fright) 'अशिक्षिता हस्तिनः केवलमर्थप्राणहराः' 22 5 p. 208 The यशस्तिलक III p 491 notes 'न विनीता गजा येषां तेषां ते नृप केवलम्। क्लेशायापि विनाशाय रणे चात्मवधाय च॥. This has often been illustrated in battles against early Moslem and other invaders e g vide Elphinstone's History of India (5th ed. of 1866) p 309 (the fate of Dahir king of Sindh against Mohammed bin Casim, when the former's elephant was struck with a fireball) and p 329 (Anangpal against Mahmnd of Gazni) and also Cambridge History of India, vol III. (1928) pp. 5 and 16 for the same.

267 रथा नागा हयाश्चैव पादाताश्चैव पाण्डव। विदिर्नावश्चराश्चैव देशिका इति चाष्टमम्॥ अङ्गान्येतानि कौरव्य प्रकाशानि बलस्य तु। शान्ति 59. 41–42.

Megasthenes (in Fragment XXVII p 68) speaks of the camp of Sandrakottos (Candragupta Maurya) that had 400000 men, notes (in Fragment LVI) that the king of Palibothra had in his pay a standing army of six lakhs of foot-soldiers, 30000 cavalry and 9000 elephants (p 141, McCrindle), that the king of Horatae (Surāstra) had 150000 foot-soldiers, 5000 cavalry and 1600 elephants (*ibid* p. 150) and that even the Pāndyan kingdom ruled by women had 150000 foot and 500 elephants (*ibid*. p. 147). Vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records &c.' vol. I p 213 for the armies collected by Harsa in his march against the murderer of his elder brother (viz 5000 elephants, 2000 horse and 50000 foot-soldiers) and the vast armies that he had after six years of conquest viz. 60000 elephants and 100000 cavalry In the Āsvamedhikarparva (60. 14–20) it is narrated that when Drona assumed the post of commander-in-chief the Kaurava army had been reduced to 9 *akṣauhiṇīs* from eleven, that only five were left when Karna became *Senāpati* and the Pāndavas had then only three left and under Śalya's command there were only three aksauhinīs and the Pāndavas could oppose to him only one. In reply to a question from Dhṛtarāstra Yudhisthira states that in the great war the total number of warriors killed in battle came to the colossal figure of 1660020006 (Strīparva 26. 9).[268] The Udyogaparva gives (155. 24–26) the following table for an aksauhinī: 500 elephants, 500 chariots, 1500 cavalry and 2500 foot-soldiers constituted an army called *senā*, 10 *senās*=*pṛtanā*, 10 *pṛtanās*=*vāhinī*, 10 *vāhinīs*=*dhvajinī*, 10 *dhvajinīs*=*camū* and 10 *camūs*=aksauhinī. The Kauravas had eleven aksauhinīs and the Pāndavas had 7. If we take the table in Ādi 2. 19–22 one aksauhinī contained 21870 elephants, the same number of chariots, 65610 horses and 109350 foot-soldiers.[269] But if the other tables be followed then the numbers may be much larger still. Another table furnished by Udyogaparva 155. 28–29 is: 55 men constituted patti, 3 pattis=senāmukha or gulma, 3 gulmas=gaṇa and there were ayutas (10 thousands) of gaṇas in the army of the Kauravas The Ādiparva (2 19–22)

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268 दशायुतानामयुतं सहस्राणि च विंशति। कोट्यः षट्चैव हास्मिन्राजन् मृधे हताः॥ स्त्रीपर्व 26 9.

269 एको रथो गजश्चैको नराः पञ्च पदातयः। त्रयश्च तुरगास्तज्ज्ञैः पत्तिरित्यभिधीयते॥ पत्तिं तु त्रिगुणामेतामाहुः सेनामुखं बुधाः। तीणि सेनामुखान्येको गुल्म इत्यभिधीयते॥ त्रयो गुल्मा गणो नाम वाहिनी तु गणात्रय। स्मृतास्तिस्रस्तु वाहिन्यः पृतनेति विचक्षणैः॥ चमूस्तु पृतनास्तिस्रस्तिस्रश्चम्वस्त्वनीकिनी। अनीकिनीं दशगुणां प्राहुरक्षौहिणीं बुधाः॥ आदि 2 19–22

differs from both tables in some respects The Udyogaparva 155 22 further notes that each horseman was surrounded by ten men as attendants (narā daśa hayaścāsan pādaraksāh samantatah). Though throughout the centuries the infantry was theoretically and in practice more numerous than cavalry, not much importance seems to have been attached to them as compared with chariots or horsemen. The lexicon called Vaijayanti says that patti consists of three horses, five foot-soldiers, one chariot and one elephant, that three pattis are equal to senāmukha and that senāmukha, gulma, gana, vāhinī, prtanā, camū, anīkinī represent each three times as many as the preceding one and that 10 anīkinīs are equal to an aksauhinī The Nitiprakāśikā[270] gives a table of groups from *patti* to *aksauhinī* and remarks that each of these groups had in turn numerous supporting men e g each elephant was followed by a hundred horsemen and a thousand foot-soldiers and each horseman was supported by a thousand foot-soldiers (VII. 3–10) Manu VII. 192 refers to battles on water also. From references in the Mahābhārata it appears that chariots had only two wheels Vide Bhīsma 98 47, Dronaparva 154 3, Salya 16 24 (Śaineyo daksinam cakram Dhrstadyumnas-tathottaram) Two noted warriors were told off to guard the two wheels of the chariot of the principal commanders and are called 'cakra-raksau' (vide Bhīsma 54. 76, 108 5, Drona 91, 36, Karna 11. 31, 34. 44). Chariots of great warriors were drawn by four horses e g Ādi. 198 15, Udyoga 48. 50, Drona 145 81 Udyoga 83. 15–21 describe the chariot of Krsna and Udyoga 140. 21 states that chariots had small tinkling bells attached to them and also screens of tiger-skin The Rg contains very graphic descriptions of chariots. Chariots were generally drawn by two horses in the vedic age (Rg V 30 1, V 36 5, VI 23 1) and had two wheels, but the chariot of the Aśvins is described as having three wheels (Rg. I. 118. 2, I. 157. 3, X. 41 1) Ghatotkaca, however, had eight wheels to his chariot (Drona 156. 61, 175 13). The Śukranītisāra (II. 140–148) mentions another method of grouping the army. Five or six foot-soldiers made a *patti* over which there

270. पत्तिः सेनामुखं गुल्मं गणो वै वाहिनी ततः । पृतना चम्वनीकिन्यौ ततश्चाक्षौहिणी स्मृता ॥ . पत्त्यंगैस्त्रिगुणैः सर्वैः क्रमाद्वाह्या यथोत्तरम् । अनीकिनीं दक्षगुणामाहुरक्षौहिणीं बुधाः ॥ नीतिप्रकाशिका VII 3 and 10 ; compare त्रिहयं पञ्चपादातं पत्तेरेकरथकुञ्जरम् । सैन्यं सा पत्तिरेतस्यास्त्रैगुण्यात्सुर्यथाक्रमम् । सेनामुखं गुल्मगणौ वाहिनी पृतना चमूः । अनीकिनीत्यनीकिन्यः पुनरक्षौहिणी दश ॥ verses 57–58 of the क्षत्रियाध्याय in the भूमिकाण्ड of वैजयन्ती

was an officer called *pattipa*, over 30 pattipālas there was the gaulmika, over 100 gaulmikas was the officer called śatānika, who had as his assistants an officer called anuśatika, a senānī and a lekhaka (scribe), the officer over twenty elephants or horses was called *nāyaka* (compare modern "naik") Each of these officers should have a distinctive badge indicative of their position Ayodhyā 100. 32 (=Sabhā 5. 48) asks 'I hope you give at the proper time pay and rations to your soldiers according to their deserts and do not delay payment' Both Nār (sambhūya-22) and Br state that among persons who work for hire the best is the soldier. The Mānasollāsa (II 6. 566-569 p 80) describes that the chiefs of the hereditary army should always be honoured by the king with presents of jewels, ornaments, costly clothes and sweet words and sumptuous provision for their maintenance should be made by bestowing on them a village, or two or more villages and heaps of gold, while hired soldiers should be paid every day or every month or once in three, four or six months or once in a year according to the needs of the king Megasthenes (Fragment XXXIV p. 88) describes the organization of the Indian army: 'A third governing body directs military affairs, of which there were six divisions with five members to each One co-operates with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of bullock trains, the third division has charge of foot-soldiers, the fourth of horses, the fifth of war chariots and the sixth of elephants' In medieval times chariots appear to have become obsolete In the graphic descriptions of armies contained in the Harsacarita (particularly in the 7th ucchvāsa) war chariots are conspicuous by their absence The Mahābhārata often speaks of horses from the countries to the north-west of India as the best; vide Sabhā 53 5 (for Kāmboja and Gāndhāra horses), Udyoga 86 6 (horses from Bālhi), Drona 125 25 and Sauptika 13 2 (Kāmboja horses) The Harsacarita II speaks of the best horses as coming from Vanāyu, Āratta, Kāmboja, Sindhudeśa and Pārasīka Śukra lays down certain practical rules about the army (IV 7. 379-390) He says that the soldiers should be encamped outside the town or village but not far from it, that no money-lending should be allowed between the soldiers and the village people, that the king should open separate shops for goods required by soldiers, that no army should be encamped at one place for more than a year, that soldiers should not enter the village without the king's permission, that receipts should be taken from soldiers

for payments made to them and they should be furnished with a writing about their pay. Some of these rules are very old. The Udyogaparva[271] 37. 30 mentions among persons with whom no contractual transactions should be entered into, the king, the king's servants and soldiers

The Arthaśāstra contains an elaborate discussion (in IX. 1–7 and X. 1–6) about the organization of the king's army, the proper time and place for starting on an invasion, internal and external troubles and calamities and measures against them, means of dealing with traitors and enemies, religious remedies (worshipping gods and falling at the feet of brāhmanas, magical rites based upon the Atharvaveda) against misfortunes like fire and flood, epidemics, famine &c., encampment (skandhāvāra) of armies, treacherous and strategic fighting, proper battle grounds, encouragement to one's own army, free labourers and their work, different arrangements or formations (*vyūhas*) of armies. Considerations of space prevent any treatment of these matters. But a few notable points will be set out here. A king may invade his enemy's country either in Mārgaśirsa (when the crops sown in the rains are ready) or in Caitra or when the enemy is suffering from some calamity. Śānti (100. 10–11) says the same thing. Internal trouble arises when any minister, *purohita*, *senāpati* or the crown prince is angry or dissatisfied with the king, who should get rid of such trouble by giving up his own fault or by pointing out the danger arising from an enemy. If the crown prince causes trouble he should be kept in confinement or killed, if there is another son of good character. The trouble caused by a provincial Governor or the officer in charge of boundaries (antapāla), the chief of wild tribes or a conquered king is termed external. The king should meet it by setting up one against the other. The encampment of an army is to be made on a site declared to be the best according to the science of buildings and measured by the *nāyaka* (the chief of the army), carpenter and astrologer, the encampment being circular, square or rectangular and having four gates, six roads and nine divisions Disputes, drinking, holding merry gatherings (*samāja*) and gambling should be prohibited in the camp and the system of passes should be enforced (X. 1). Vanaparva (15. 14, 19) also refers to the system of passes and the fact that

271. घृणी राजा पुंश्चली राजभृत्याः पुत्रो भ्राता विधवा बालपुत्रा । सेनाजीवी श्रोत्रिय-तभूतिरेव व्यवहारेषु वर्जनीयाः स्मृरेते ॥ उद्योग 37. 30 (cr. ed. 37. 28).

dancers and musicians were driven away, when Dvārakā was besieged by Śālva From Udyoga 151 58 (cr ed. 149. 53), 195. 12-19 (cr ed 196 12-19) it appears that markets, prostitutes, conveyances, oxen, machines, arms and physicians accompanied an army and that the camp (senāniveśa or skandhāvāra) of Duryodhana looked like the capital itself and was five *yojanas* in extent Physicians with surgical instruments, blunt instruments (like tweezers), medicines, curative oils and bandages in their hands and women (nurses) looking after the food and drink of the army should stand behind the soldiers uttering encouraging words[272] (Kaut X. 3) The Bhīsmaparva 120 55 also states that doctors well-versed in extracting splinters or arrow-heads (from the body) approached with their surgical instruments to extract the darts from Bhīsma's body The duties of the labourers (*vrsti*) were to examine the camp, roads, bridges, wells, and river *ghats*, to carry machines, weapons, armour, utensils, fodder, to remove from the battle-field wounded men along with their weapons and armour.[273] Each commander had some distinguishing device as his banner e. g Bhīsma had a golden tāla tree as his standard (Bhīsmaparva VI 17 18, tālena mahatā Bhīsmah pañcatārena ketunā). In X 6 Kautilya speaks of several formations (vyūhas) called danda, bhoga, mandala, asanihata and the subdivisions such as gomūtrikā, makara &c In Kām. XVIII. 48-49, XIX 40 ff., Manu VII. 187-191, Nītiprakāśikā, chap 6 and in the Mahābhārata many vyūhas are described Vanaparva (285 6-7) *refers to* Rāvana's arrangement of his army according to the rules of Usanas and of Rāma's army according to Bārhaspatya rules The Āśramavāsikaparva 7 15 refers to the formations called Śakata, Padma and Vajra described in the work of Usanas Kautilya X. 6 also refers to Ausanasa and Bārhaspatya arrangements of armies. Drona 75 27, 87 22-24, Karnaparva 11 14 and 28 mention certain vyūhas like Makara, Śakata &c Vide also Mānasollāsa II. 20 verses 1170-1181 pp 134-135, Agnipurāna 242 7-8 and 42-73 for vyūhas Though Kautilya recommends all sorts of tricks and treachery for securing a victory, the

272. चिकित्सका· शस्त्रयन्त्रागदस्नेहवस्त्रहस्ताः। स्त्रियश्चान्नपानरक्षिण्य. पुरुषाणामुद्वर्हणीयाः पृष्ठतस्तिष्ठेयुः। कौटिल्य X 3. उपातिष्ठन्त्यो वैद्याः शल्योद्धरणकोविदाः। भीष्म 120 55

273 शिबिरमार्गसेतुकूपतीर्थशोधनकर्मयन्त्रायुधावरणोपकरणव्रासवहनमायोधनाच्च प्रहरणावरणप्रतिविधापनयनमिति विष्टिकर्माणि। कौ X 4

Mahābhārata holds up a high ideal. The Bhīsmaparva[274] 21. 10 remarks that conquerors do not secure victory so much by their armies and prowess as by truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, the observance of dharma and energetic actions. The Śāntiparva (95. 17–18) states that it is better to die while fighting according to the rules of dharma rather than obtain a victory by wicked actions.

In the Bhīsmaparva (I. 27–32) certain rules of war agreed upon between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas are set out, such as one should fight only with one similarly equipped (i e. a foot-soldier with a foot-soldier and so on), one should not kill a soldier who is already in combat with another, or who has turned back from fight or is without armour. Āp Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 12, Gaut. X. 17–18, Yāj I. 326, Manu VII. 90–93, Śānti 95. 7–14, 96.3, Śānti 98 48–49, 297. 4, Dronaparva 143. 8, Karna 90. 111–113, Sauptika 5. 11–12, 6. 21–23, Śankha (quoted by the Mit on Yāj I 326), Baud. Dh. S.I. 10. 10–12, Vrddha-Hārita VII. 226, Brhat-Parāśara X p. 281, Śukra IV. 7. 354–362, Yuddha-kānda 18. 27–28 contain rules of war dictated by noble sentiments of humanity and chivalry. Some of these (that will bear comparison with the conventions of the Geneva and Hague Conferences) are set out here Gaut. (X 17–18)[275] states: 'no sin is committed by injuring or slaying men in battle excepting him who has lost his horse, charioteer or weapons, him who joins his hands (in supplication for life), whose hair are dishevelled (in flying), who turns away from the field, who sits down, who climbs an eminence or a tree (in flight), except envoys or messengers, except him who declares himself to be a cow or a brāhmana'. Vrddha-Hārīta VII 216 exempts spectators. Manu (VII 90–93) declares "one should not fight with treacherous

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274. न तथा बलवीर्याभ्यां जयन्ति विजिगीषवः। यथा सत्यानृशंस्याभ्यां धर्मेणैवेह-मेव च ॥ भीष्म 21 10, धर्मेण निधनं श्रेयो न जयः पापकर्मणा। नाधर्मश्चरितो राजन् सद्यः फलति गौरिव। मूलानि च प्रशाखाश्च दहत्य-धिगच्छति ॥ शान्ति 95. 17–18

275. न ह्येषो हिंसायामाहवे। अन्यत्र व्यश्वसारथ्यायुधकृताञ्जलिप्रकीर्णकेशपराङ्मुखोपविष्टस्थलवृक्षाधिरूढदूतगोब्राह्मणवादिभ्यः। गौतम X. 17–18; न पानीयं पिबन्तं न भुञ्जानं नोपानहौ मुञ्चन्तं नावर्माणं सवर्मा न स्त्रियं न करेणुं न वाजिनं न सारथिनं न सूतं न दूतं न ब्राह्मणं न राजानमराजा हन्यात्। शङ्ख q in मिताक्षरा on या. I 326, बद्धाञ्जलिपुटं दीनं याचन्तं शरणागतम्। न हन्यादानृशंस्यार्थमपि शत्रुं वरन्तप ॥ आर्तो वा यदि वा दृप्तः परेषां शरणं गतः। अरिः प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना ॥...एवं ह्येषो महानत्र प्रपन्नानामरक्षणे। अस्वर्ग्यं चायशस्यं च बलवीर्यविनाशनम् ॥ रामायण VI. 18. 27–28, 31; न वधः पूज्यते लोके सुप्तानामिह धर्मतः। सौप्तिकपर्व 5. 11; युद्धकालौ न हन्तव्यौ न च स्त्री नैव वृद्धतः। तृणपूर्णमुखश्चैव तवास्मीति च यो वदेत् ॥ शान्ति 98. 48–49.

(or concealed) weapons, or with barbed or poisoned weapons or with weapons the points of which are blazing with fire. Let a fighter not strike one who has climbed on an eminence, nor a eunuch, nor one who joins the palms of his hand (in supplication), nor one with flying hair (in flight), nor one who sits down or says 'I am thine', nor one who is asleep, nor one who has lost armour, nor one who is naked or disarmed, nor one who is merely looking on without taking part in the fight, nor one who is fighting with another foe, nor one whose weapons are broken, nor one who is afflicted with sorrow, nor one seriously wounded, nor one who is in fear, nor one who has turned to flee'[276] Śankha adds that a soldier should not kill another while the latter is drinking water or taking his meals or is taking off his shoes, nor should one kill a woman, a female elephant, nor a charioteer, nor a bard nor a brāhmana nor should one who is not a king (or noble) kill one who is a king Baud. Dh S I. 10 10 forbids the use of poisoned or barbed arrows (*karnin*) Śānti 95. 11 also does the same. Śānti (95 13–14) enjoins that even an enemy soldier, when wounded, should be treated with medicine and allowed to go when his wounds are healed.[276] Śānti adds that a soldier should not kill boys or old men nor from behind nor one who holds a blade of grass in his mouth (as a mark of submission) These rules, though probably ideal and not strictly followed in every case, are far more humane as compared with the practice in modern warfare when non-combatants are killed from the air even at night without warning. In ancient times non-combatants went generally unmolested, to which Megasthenes bears testimony when he says (Frag I. p 32) 'Tillers of the soil even when battle is raging in the neighbourhood are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested.' Manu VII. 32 allows a king to harass his enemy's country, but Medhātithi on VII. 32 asks the invader to save his enemy's people if possible (particularly brāhmanas) The rule in *gadāyuddha* (fight with maces or clubs) was that no blow was to be struck below the navel (Salyaparva 60 6) But this rule was violated by Bhīma when he struck Duryodhana on the thigh with his mace. Duryodhana recounts (in Śalya 61) all the bad deeds of Krsna and the Pāndavas and the only reply that Krsna makes is that he too was guilty of

276 भग्नशस्त्रो विषक्तश्च कृतज्यो हतवाहनः। चिकित्स्यः स्याद् स्वविषये प्राप्यो वा स्वगृहे भवेत्॥ निर्व्रणश्च स मोक्तव्य एष धर्मः सनातनः। शान्ति 95 13–14.

numerous breaches of morality and the chivalrous rules of war (such as the slaying of Abhimanyu by many engaging him at one time). The general rule was that fighting ceased when the sun went down (Bhīsma 49. 52–53). But in Dronaparva 154 and 163. 16 ff we have a description of night battles and it is provided that chariots, elephants and horses should carry lamps.

It has already been shown how it was the duty of a ksatriya and of every soldier to fight and die in battle rather than run away. A fighting spirit was inculcated by holding out several rewards. One was the acquisition of booty and territory (Gaut. X. 41, Manu VII. 206, Bhagavadgītā II. 37); others were the satisfaction of having done one's duty as a ksatriya (Gītā II. 31–33), honour and fame (Gītā II. 34–35), heaven and other-worldly rewards (Yāj. I. 324, Manu VII. 88–89), protection of brāhmanas (Āp. Dh S. II 10. 26. 2–3). Visnu Dh S III. 44–46 have already been quoted above (p 58). The Śānti (98. 40–41) states that a soldier who runs away from the field falls into Hell. Yāj (I 324–325) declares that those who, while fighting with weapons that are not treacherous (poisoned &c.) for the sake of the land (of their master or of the enemy) die in battle without turning back from it go to heaven like *yogins*, that each step of those who do not flee even when their comrades have been killed is equal to a solemn sacrifice (like the Asvamedha), the king (the master) takes away all the merit of those who run away from the battlefield and are then killed. Manu VII. 95 contains the same idea These remarks were applicable not only to ksatriya soldiers, but to soldiers of all castes who maintained themselves by following the profession of arms Vide Rājanītiprakāśa p. 407. Parāśara (III. 31) and Brhat-Parāśara X. p 281 remark that a valiant soldier who does not seek mercy though surrounded by many enemies and falls fighting attains imperishable worlds and that when he reaches heaven divine damsels run after him to choose him as their Lord (III. 34–35) Parāśara III. 36 is a [277] verse which is

277. यं यज्ञसंघैस्तपसा च विप्राः स्वर्गेषिणोत्र यथैव यान्ति। क्षणेन यान्त्येव हि तत्र वीराः प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः ॥ पराशर III. 36; कौटिल्य X 3 presents some different readings The second verse in कौटिल्य is नव शरावं सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकृतोत्तरीयम्। तत्तस्य मा भूत्नरक च गच्छेद्यो भर्तुपिण्डस्य कृते न युध्येत्॥; it occurs also in the याज्ञवल्क्यधर्मशास्त्र (IV 2) attributed to भरद्वाज, where also it appears to be a quotation being introduced with the words शृण्वन्तु भवन्तः. पराङ्मुखीकृते सैन्ये यो युद्धान्न निवर्तते। तत्पदानि।ह तुल्यानि भूत्यर्थमेकचेतसः ॥ शिरोहतस्य ये वक्त्रे विशन्ति रक्तबिन्दवः। सोमपानेन ते तुल्या इति वसिष्ठजोब्रवीत् ॥ युध्यन्ते भूमृतो ये च भूत्यर्थमेकचेतसः। इष्टैस्तैर्बहुभिर्यागैरेव यान्ति त्रिविष्टपम् । बृहत्पराशर X. p 281. वसिष्ठज means पराशर.

one of the two quoted by Kaut (X 3) when soldiers are to be urged on to fight Kautilya (in X 3) advises that the king himself and his *mantrin* and *purohita* should urge on his soldiers by quoting Vedic and classical Sanskrit passages about the rewards waiting for those who fall fighting for their master and the religious punishments for those who run away Astrologers should infuse spirit into their side by asserting that the heavenly aspects favour their side The day before the battle the king should observe a fast, offer oblations into fire to the accompaniment of Atharvaveda *mantras* and cause benedictory texts to be repeated that refer to victory Bards should recite lays describing heaven as the reward for the brave and hell for the timid and extol the caste, guild, family, deeds and character of the soldiers The assistants of the purohita should declare that they have practised witchcraft against the enemy. The commander-in-chief and the officers under him should address the army as follows —'a hundred thousand (panas) will be the reward for him who kills the enemy king, fifty thousand for him who kills the commander-in-chief or the crown prince, . a hundred for slaying the officer of the patti (a battalion), twenty for bringing the head (of a common soldier) and twice the pay and the booty seized by each to all soldiers' Kām (*XIX* 18–21) says that the king should give the rewards (promised as in Kaut) to the soldiers after they succeed in the exploits mentioned Vide also Mānasollāsa II 20 verses 1163–1167 (pp 133-134) for similar promises Gaut (X 20–23) prescribes that whatever wealth is acquired by a soldier by his individual effort should be given to him by the king, but the horse or elephant caught by a soldier goes to the king, that if many soldiers by a joint effort obtain some valuable plunder the king should choose and retain the best for himself and the rest should be divided among the soldiers according to their services in the battle Vide Manu VII. 96–97 (which allow even a chariot, horse or elephant to be retained as booty by the soldier and everything else including female slaves, except jewels, gold and silver), Kām XIX [278] 21–22, Śukra IV. 7. 372

A treatise will be required to deal with the weapons of war from ancient times. Even in the Ṛgveda several weapons are mentioned e g ṛsti (Ṛg V 52 6, V 57 2 and 6 on the shoulders

278 रूप्य हेम च कुप्य च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत् । दद्याद् वस्त्वनुरूपं हि हतो योधान्नराधिप. ॥ काम XIX. 21–22 and शुक्र IV 7 372 (reads दद्यात्कार्षापणरूपं च ... प्रहर्षयन्).

of the Maruts), arrows (V. 57. 2, VI. 75. 17), quivers (V. 57. 2), the ankuśa (of Indra in VIII. 17. 10, X 44. 9), paraśu (X. 28. 8), krpāna (probably a dagger, in X 22 10), vajra made of *ayas* (X. 48.3, X. 113 5). Atharvaveda IV. 6. 6. refers to poisoned arrows In the Atharvaveda[279] I. 16. 2 and 4 reference is made to lead as destroying sorcerers and it is said 'if you kill our cow or horse or man we shall pierce you with lead so that you will cease to kill our strong men'. In Tai S. I. 5 7. 6 it is said[280] that when a *samidh* is offered into fire with the mantra 'indhānās-tvā śatam himāh' the sacrificer discharges against his enemy the śataghni (weapon killing a hundred) which acts like vajra itself'. Dr. Oppert in his Introduction to the Nītiprakāśikā pp 10–13 relies on these and other passages for holding that the ancient Indians knew fire-arms and that Atharvaveda I 16.4 refers to *leaden balls* discharged from cylinders. Vide Dr. Oppert's work on the 'weapons, army organisation and political maxims of the ancient Hindus' (1880), where he describes several weapons and holds that gunpowder was known in India long before the 13th century A. D. Mr. G. T. Date's 'Art of war in Ancient India' (London 1929), Dr. P. C. Chakravarti's work (1941, Dacca) and Prof. Dikshitar's book on the same subject may be consulted for details. The numerous weapons mentioned in the Mahābhārata (e. g Udyoga 155. 3–9) also are passed over here. Vide Hopkins' paper in J. A. O. S. Vol XIII pp. 269–303 for detailed descriptions. The Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (middle of 4th century A. D) contains a long list of weapons (C I I. III pp. 6–7).[280a] One important question is whether gunpowder and fire-arms were known to our ancient and medieval works Śukra refers to gunpowder called *agnicūrna* in II 93,196, IV. 7. 203, guns (IV. 7. 209–211) and gives the formula of gunpowder in IV. 7. 201 (viz the mixing of five *palas* of saltpetre, one *pala* of sulphur and one *pala* of coal powder). The Śukranitisāra is comparatively a late work and was probably

279. सीसायाध्याह वरुणः सीसायाग्निरुपावति । सीसं म इन्द्रः प्रायच्छत्तदङ्ग यातुचातनत् ॥ यदि नो गां हंसि यद्यश्वं यदि पूरुषम् । तं त्वा सीसेन विध्यामो यथा नोऽसो अवीरहा ॥ अथर्ववेद I 16 2 and 4.

280. एषा वै सूर्मी कर्णकावत्येतया ह स्म वै देवा असुराणां शततर्हा° स्तृण्वन्ति यदेतया समिधमादधाति वज्रमेवैतच्छतघ्नीं यजमानो भ्रातृव्याय प्रहरति। तै. सं I 5 7 6 सायण explains 'ज्वलन्ती लोहमयी स्थूणा सूर्मी। सा च कर्णकावती छिद्रवती । अन्तरपि ज्वलन्तीत्यर्थ । तत्समानेयमृक् । ... अनया समिधाधानेन शतघ्नीमेनामुच्चं वज्रं कृत्वा'.

280a. 'परशु-शर-शङ्कु-शक्ति-प्रास-असि-तोमर-भिन्दिपाल-नाराच-वैतंसिकाद्यनेकप्रहरणविरूढाकुलव्रणशताङ्कशोभासमुद्योपचितकान्ततरवर्ष्मणः' Gupta Inscriptions pp. 6–7.

written in the 13th or 14th century when cannon came to be used in Europe for the first time Both in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata the word *śataghnī* (killing a hundred people) occurs frequently. In the Yuddhakānda[281] 3 13 it is stated that at the gates of Lankā hundreds of iron śataghnīs, looking burnished, sharp and terrible, had been arranged by the demons. In a poetic description of Lankā in the Sundarakānda chap 2, it is said that śataghnīs and śūlas were like the hair on the head of I ankā (verse 21). In the Vanaparva 15 there is a fine description of Dvāravatī (Dvārkā) besieged by Śālva, in which it is said that the capital had numerous towers and turrets, machines, tomaras, ankuśas, śataghnīs &c In Ādi. 207. 34, Vanaparva 169. 16, 284. 5, 290 24, Drona 156 70, Karna 11. 8, Śalya 45 110 the śataghnī is mentioned, but it is impossible to find from these what exactly it was like From Vanaparva 284 31 it appears that the śataghnīs were discharged with force by the hands and had wheels and round balls or stones in it. In Drona 179. 46 it is said that the śataghnī employed by Ghatotkaca had wheels and killed four horses at once In Drona 199 19 śataghnīs are said to have two or four wheels. In Vanaparva[282] 284 4 it is said that the powder of *sarjarasa* (resin from Sal tree) had been collected In the Harivaṁśa (Bhavisyaparva 44 20), among the weapons hurled at Narasimha by Hiranyakaśipu were blazing śataghnīs (sataghnībhiśca dīptābhir-dandairapi sudārunaih) In Rāmāyana VII. 32 44 we are told that at the tip of the weapon called musala (club) blazed forth fire like a bunch of Aśoka flowers. The Sundarakānda couples together *śataghnī* and *musala* (4. 18). It looks probable that resinous powder was used in some cylindrical contrivance (or rockets) mounted on wheels and capable of throwing stones. But gunpowder appears not to have been used There is no description of smoke due to śataghnīs. Hopkins (J. A. O. S XIII pp 299–303) holds that gunpowder and fire-arms were unknown to the great Epic and in the present state of our knowledge this view seems to be correct.

The Nītiprakāśikā (chapters 2–5) names and describes numerous weapons divided into four classes viz *mukta* (thrown

281. द्वारेषु संस्कृता भीमाः कालायसमया शिताः । शतघ्नो रचिता वीरै शतघ्नो रक्षसां गणैः ॥ युद्धकाण्ड 3 13; यन्त्रप्राकारजघनां विपुलाम्बुवनाम्बराम् । शतघ्रीशूलकेशान्ता-महालकवतंसकाम् ॥ तसेव कृतां लङ्का निर्मितां विश्वकर्मणा । सुन्दरकाण्ड 2. 21–22

282 कपाटयन्त्रदुर्धर्षा बभूवु रघुपेढाः । साशीविषघटा घोराः ससर्जरसपांसवः । मुसलालातनाराचतोमरासिपरश्वधैः । अन्विताश्च शतघ्नीभिः समधूम्रैश्छदुद्गराः ॥ वनपर्व 284. 4–5.

or discharged such as arrows), *amukta* (not thrown such as swords), *muktāmukta* (thrown and not thrown, such as *astras* which after discharge can be taken back) and *mantramukta* (astras which cannot be taken back). The Agnipurāna (249–252) and the Visnudharmottara (II 178–182) give a summary of the Dhanurveda (both agreeing almost word for word, but the latter containing more verses than the former) and speak of five kinds of weapons viz yantramukta (discharged from a machine, a sling, bow &c.), pānimukta (thrown with the hand such as a stone or *tomara*), muktāmukta (like a prāsa), amukta (sword) and niyuddha or bāhuyuddha (wrestling). The science of astras was of a supernatural kind. In the epics and purāṇas, the great heroes are said to have learnt *astravidyā* either from a teacher or from their father or by practising austerities and sometimes (as in the case of Kuśa and Lava) certain astras pass to the son by the mere fact of his birth and the wish of his father. Whether the Dhanurveda often referred to in the epics had consigned this science of astras to writing and could have enabled a reader to possess the miraculous powers attributed to astras is more than a modern can say. The Agnipurāna (chap. 134–135) contains magical incantations for victory in war and conquest of the worlds. The Paraśurāmapratāpa (Rājavallabhakānda folios 9–12) contains numerous mantras and yantras and incantations derived from Tantra works like the Brahmayāmala.

The Mahābhārata is careful to point out that an army constitutes the most inferior kind of *bala* (power). Udyogaparva (37 52–55) states that *bala* is of five kinds viz. brute force (*bāhubala*), that due to the acquisition of ministers (amātyalābha), that derived from wealth (dhanalābha), that from noble descent (*abhijātabala*) and the power of wisdom (prajñābala), which last is the best of all. These are quoted by the Budhabhūsana p. 79. In Śānti. 134 8 it is said[283] that there is nothing that the strong cannot accomplish and that whatever the strong do is pure. In another place it is said 'everything is wholesome to the powerful' (Āśramavāsi 30. 24). In Ādi 175. 45 a warrior's power is scorned and the power of the spiritual merit of brāhmanas is extolled as the real power.

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283 यद्बलानां बलं श्रेष्ठं तत्प्रज्ञाबलमुच्यते । उद्योग 37. 55 ; नास्त्यसाध्यं बलवता सर्वं बलवतां शुचि । शान्ति 134. 8, सर्वं बलवतां पथ्यं सर्वं बलवतां शुचि । सर्वं बलवता धर्मः सर्वं बलवतां स्वकम् ॥ आश्रमवासि 30 24 : चित्रबलं क्षत्रियबलं ब्रह्मतेजोबलं बलम् । बलाबलं विनिश्चित्य तप एव परं बलम् ॥ आदि 175 45–46 These dicta about the strong remind us of the words of Nietzsche in 'Beyond Good and Evil', section 29 'It is the business of the very few to be independent, it is a privilege of the strong' (tr by H. Zimmern)

CHAPTER IX

SUHRT OR MITRA (ALLY OR FRIEND).

Manu inculcates the necessity of making friends in VII. 208 and cites the qualities of a good friend (for a king) 'a king does not prosper by the acquisition of gold and land so much as by securing a firm friend who would be powerful in future, though he may be of depleted resources at the time, That friend, though a weak one, is commended, who is righteous, grateful, whose subjects (or ministers) are contented, who is attached and who pursues (to the end) work undertaken' According to Manu VII. 206 land, gold and ally are the three fruits of royal endeavour or policy. Yāj I 352 is similar to Manu VII. 208. In VII. 9 Kautilya in opposition to the above holds that the acquisition of land is better than that of gold and friend and the acquisition of gold is superior to that of a friend[284]. The Mahābhārata (Sānti 138.110) states 'no one is the friend or enemy of any one else; friends or enemies are made by wealth (or objects pursued by a person)'.[285] Kām. VIII. 52 says the same. Śukra. (IV. 1. 8–10) opines 'in the case of a brave, energetic, strong and politic king all others, though outwardly friendly, secretly cherish enmity to him and only wait for (the proper) time (to strike) There is no wonder in this. Are they not themselves greedy of conquering territories? A king has no friend and he is the friend of none'. Śānti (80. 3) says[286] that a friend is of four kinds, one who has the same goal, one who comes for protection or security, one who is naturally so and one who is acquired. Karnaparva 88. 28 gives the four kinds somewhat differently viz. natural (*sahaja*), acquired by conciliatory words,

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284 संहितप्रधाणे मित्रहिरण्यभूमिलाभानामुत्तरोत्तरो लाभः श्रेयान् । मित्रहिरण्ये हि भूमिलाभाद्भवतः । मित्रहिरण्यबलाभावो वा लाभः सिद्धः शेषयोरन्यतरं साधयति ॥ कौटिल्य VII 9.

285 न कश्चित्कस्यचिन्मित्रं न कश्चित्कस्यचिद्रिपुः । अर्थतस्तु निबध्यन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा ॥ शान्ति 138 110; कारणेन हि जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा । कामन्दक VIII 52, नास्ति जात्या रिपुर्नाम मित्र नाम न विद्यते । सामर्थ्ययोगाज्जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II 145 14=शान्ति 140. 5, न राज्ञो विद्यते मित्रं राजा मित्रं न कस्य वै। शुक्र IV, 1, 9

286 सहार्थी भजमानश्च सहजः क्षात्रिमस्तथा । शान्ति 80 3 भजमान may mean 'पितृपैतामहक्रमागत' and सहज friends are one's mother's sister's son and the like.

won by wealth and one drawn by one's prowess. Kām. (IV. 74) says that a mitra is of four kinds viz. by birth (such as one's father's father, mother &c.), made by relationship (i. e. marriage), hereditary (one's father's friend), one who is saved from calamities.[287] According to Kām. (IV. 75–76) the qualities of a friendly king are purity (of heart), liberality, bravery, sharing happiness and sorrow, affection, vigilance (to carry out one's friend's object), truth; and briefly the characteristic of a true friend is devotion to the objects desired by his friend The purpose for which a friend is made is to secure one of the three purusārthas, dharma, artha and kāma (Kām. IV. 72).

This subject of making friends leads on to the well-known theory of mandala i. e. of inter-state relationship. Kaut. VI. 2 and VII, Manu VII. 154–211, Āśramvāsiparva 6–7, Yāj. I 345–348, Kām. VIII–XI, Agnipurāna 233 and 240, Viṣnudharmottara II. 145–150, Nītivākyāmrta pp. 317–343, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 316–330, Nītimayūkha pp. 44–46 deal with this theory of mandala and the six *guṇas* at great length. As the Kautilīya is probably the earliest of these and contains the most elaborate treatment of the subject, a brief outline from it is presented here. The Nītivākyāmrta (pp. 311–313) copies the very words of Kautilya.

The *yogakṣema* (welfare) of a State springs from peace (sama) and exertion (vyāyāma). The latter achieves the completion of works undertaken, while *śama* brings about the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of undertakings. The (proper) employment of the six *guṇas* (*sandhi* &c.) is the source of śama and vyāyāma What results (*udaya*) from these six gunas is either deterioration, stagnation or progress. *Udaya* depends upon human and divine causes which together govern the world. The human ones are *naya* and *apanaya* Human causes are seen (anticipated) and can be operated (by men). Naya (good policy) is that out of the human causes from which results *yogakṣema* (welfare); *apanaya* (impolitic way) is that which produces loss (or an unfavourable state). In VI. 1 (last verse) Kautilya says that a king who understands *naya* and is endowed with the *ātmaguṇas* and all the elements of the State will conquer the whole world, though originally he may have a small kingdom. The mandala theory is set out in relation to a king who

287. औरसं कृतसम्बन्धं तथा वंशक्रमागतम् । रक्षितं व्यसनेभ्यश्च मित्रं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥ काम. IV. 74.

is called *vijigīsu* (the ambitious ruler or conqueror). Kām. VIII 6 defines[288] vijigīsu as a king who aspires to extend his territories, who is possessed of all the seven elements of sovereignty, who has great energy and who makes great efforts. In verses 7–11 he mentions at length his qualities. All our works place before kings this ideal of conquest, domination or self-aggrandizement at the expense of one's weak neighbours. A vijigīsu is a king who is endowed with good qualities (called ātmasampat on p. 45 above) and with the several elements of the State and who is the fountain of policy (naya), i.e. who has a definite good policy to pursue. An *ari* (actual or potential enemy) is a king or kings who are the immediate neighbours on the circumference of the kingdom of the vijigīsu. From this it follows that *ari* may comprehend one king, two kings or more who are the immediate neighbours of the vijigīsu. But it should be remembered as insisted upon by the Nītivākyāmṛta[289] (p. 321 that there is no inflexible rule that the immediate neighbour is an enemy and that the king whose dominion is beyond the immediate neighbour will be a friend. Contiguity or distance is not necessarily the cause of friendship or enmity, but rather it is the purpose (or object) that makes friends or enemies. All that is meant is that the immediate neighbour is most likely to be an *ari* (a real or potential enemy). A mitra (friend of the vijigīsu) is he who is separated (from the vijigīsu) by the intervention of the kingdom of the *ari*. A *śatru* is a neighbouring ruler possessed of the characteristics of an enemy[290] (detailed in Kaut. VI 1). The *yātavya* (to be attacked or invaded by the vijigīsu) is an *ari* who is involved in difficulties. From this it is clear that in the terminology of Kautilya *ari* is a generic expression including actual and potential enemies who will generally be on the borders of the kingdom of the vijigīsu. A *śatru* is an *ari* who invites attack or destruction or harassment or reduction. That enemy who is plunged in vices or calamities may be

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288. सपत्नस्तु प्रकृतिभिर्महोत्साहः कृतश्रमः। जेतुमेषणशीलश्च विजिगीषुरिति स्मृतः। काम. VIII. 6.

289. अनन्तरः शत्रुरेकान्तरं मित्रमिति नैव एकान्त। कार्यं हि मित्रत्वामित्रत्वयोः कारणं न पुनर्विप्रकर्षसंनिकर्षौ। नीतिवा (वाङ्मय.) p. 321.

290. अराजवीजी लुब्धः क्षुद्रपरिषत्को विरक्तप्रकृतिरन्यायवृत्तिरपुत्रो व्यसनी निरुत्साहो दैवप्रमाणो यत्किञ्चनकारी अगतिरनुद्यमश्च. क्लीबो नित्यापकारी चेत्यमित्रसंपत्। एवंभूतो हि शत्रुः सुखः समुच्छेत्तुं भवति। कौटिल्य VI. 1.

attacked and is then called *yātavya*[291]; one who has no support or has only a weak support is to be extirpated; an enemy who is the opposite of this last (i.e. who has a support or strong support) is to be either harassed or to be reduced. Support (āśraya) means a strong fort or a good friend (Kām. VIII. 60). So that a *śatru* is of four sorts (yātavya, ucchedya, pīḍanīya, karśanīya). Harassment is caused to him who is without *mantra* and a strong army, while one who is strong in mantra and army is to be rendered weak in these respects. Both a *śatru* or a *mitra* are of three kinds, *sahaja*, *kṛtrima* and *prākṛta*. A sahaja (natural) friend is one who is related through one's parents (such as maternal or paternal aunt's son); one who is resorted to for wealth or safety is krtrima (acquired) i. e. one who has obliged the vijigīsu or has been under his obligations; and the king who is next to the neighbour (i. e. who is separated from the vijigīsu by the intervention of the neighbour king) is prākṛta (i. e. because he is a prakrti, an element in the maṇḍala theory). A *sahaja* enemy is one who is born of the same family (such as a step-brother), a *kṛtrima* is one who is antagonistic or incites antagonists (i. e. one who has caused harm to or who has been harmed by the vijigīsu), while the immediate neighbour is a *prākṛta* enemy. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 345 very concisely but lucidly explains all these and the four kinds of śatru. The Visnudharmottara (II. 145. 15–16) and the Agnipurāna (233. 21–22) say that in their opinion the prākṛta is really krtrima. Kām. VIII. 56 also speaks of only two, *sahaja* and *kṛtrima*. Although it is possible that the vijigīṣu's realm is surrounded by many kings, the one who is taken for discussion is the enemy and is to be regarded as in front (*purastāt*) of the vijigīsu. Therefore in front of the vijigīsu come in order the ari (immediate neighbour), then the mitra (whose domain is next after that of the ari), then the arimitra (the friend of the enemy who will be immediately after the mitra of the vijigīsu and so will be the enemy of the mitra), then comes the *mitra-mitra* (friend of the friend of the vijigīsu) and then arimitra-mitra (ally of the enemy's friend). When the *ari* is said

291. अरिसम्पद्युक्तः सामन्तः शत्रुः । व्यसनी यातव्य अनपाश्रयो दुर्बलाश्रयो वोच्छेद्-नीयः । विपर्यये पीडनीयः कर्शनीयो वा । कौटिल्य VI. 2, अरिः पुनश्चतुर्विधः । 'यातव्योच्छे-त्तव्यपीडनीयकर्शनीयभेदेन । तत्र यातव्योऽनन्तरभूमिपतिः व्यसनी हीनबलो विरक्तप्रकृतिः । विदुर्गो मित्रहीनो दुर्बलाश्रोच्छेत्तव्यः । पीडनीयो मन्त्रबलहीनः । प्रबलमन्त्रबलयुक्तः कर्श-नीयः । निर्मूलनात्समुच्छेदं पीडनं बलनिग्रहम् । कर्शनं तु पुनः प्राहुः कोशदण्डापकर्शनात् ॥ इति । मिताक्षरा on याज्ञ. 1. 345 These very words are quoted in the सरस्वती-विलास p 36.

to be in front of the vijigīsu, the ruler of the territory in the opposite direction is said to be in the rear of the vijigīsu (*paścāt*) and is called *pārsnigrāha*[292] (lit one who may seize or attack the heels) He is really an enemy but this special term is applied to him and he causes trouble in the realm of the vijigīsu when the latter has started on an invasion or is about to start on one. The king who is the ruler of the country beyond the pārsnigrāha is called *ākranda* (lit one for whose help a cry is or may be raised by the vijigīsu). He would ordinarily be a friend being separated from the vijigīsu by the realm of the pārsnigrāha. The friend of the pārsnigrāha (who would be immediately next after the ākranda) is called pārsnigrāhāsāra and the friend of the ākranda who would be beyond the pārsnigrāhāsāra is called ākrandāsāra A *madhyama*[293] king is one whose realm is close to (is on the border of) that of the vijigīsu and that of the *ari* (the immediate enemy in front) and who is capable of helping (or favouring) both of them whether both are combined in alliance or not and who is capable of resisting either of them individually when the two are not in combination. An *udāsīna* king is generally defined as one whose territory is beyond or outside of the sphere of the realms of the vijigīsu, his enemy in front and the madhyama, who is very strong on account of his elements of sovereignty, is capable of helping the above three kings whether they be in combination or not and who is capable of resisting any of the three when they are not in combination Kullūka on Manu. VII 153 differs from this explanation i.e the udāsīna is a powerful king whose realm may be situated in front or in the rear or even at a distance from that of the vijigīsu, but he is indifferent for some reason or other to the activities of the vijigīsu. The Mit on Yāj I. 345 observes that the udāsīna also is of three kinds and the prākrta udāsīna is the overlord of the State that is separated from the central state (vijigīsu) by two intervening States; the

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292 यो विजिगीषौ प्रस्थितेपि प्रतिष्ठमाने वा पश्चात्कोपं जनयति स पार्ष्णिग्राहः। पार्ष्णिग्राहाद्यः पश्चिमः स आक्रन्दः पार्ष्णिग्राहमित्रमासार आक्रन्दमित्रं च। नीतिवाक्यामृत p 319.

293 अरिविजिगीष्वोर्भूम्यन्तर संहतासंहतयोरनुग्रहसमर्थो निग्रहे चासंहतयोर्मध्यमः। अरिविजिगीषुमध्यानां बहिः प्रकृतिभ्यो बलवत्तरः संहतासंहतानामरिविजिगीषु मध्यमानामनुग्रहे समर्थो निग्रहे चासंहतानामुदासीनः। कौटिल्य VI. 2 p 261; vide अग्नि 240 3–5 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II, 145. 11–12 for almost the same words in verse मण्डलाद्बहिरेतेषामुदासीनो बलाधिकः। अनुग्रहे संहतानां व्यस्तानां च वधे प्रभुः अग्निपुराण 240 4–5 This is quoted by the सरस्वतीविलास p 39 without naming the source.

madhyama (or *madhyastha* acc. to Nītivākyāmṛta p. 318) is the immediate neighbour of both the vijigīsu and his enemy, but wants to remain neutral in the conflict of the two for some reason It will have been noticed that the vijigīsu, the enemy, the madhyama and the udāsīna are independent catagories, while four out of the remaining eight others viz. mitra, mitramitra, ākranda, ākrandāsāra can be grouped under vijigīsu, while the other four viz arimitra, arimitramitra, pārsnigrāha and pārsnigrāhāsāra may be grouped under ari. It is therefore that Manu (VII. 155-156) speaks of the four prakṛtis (vijigīsu, śatru, madhyama and udāsīna) as the *mūla* (basis) of the maṇḍala theory and Kām. VIII 20 informs us that Maya declared that a maṇḍala was constituted by these four. Kām VIII. 86 gives it as his own opinion that maṇḍala is constituted by *mitra, udāsīna* and *ripu* (enemy) only[294] Kautilya says that the maṇḍala is constituted as explained above by twelve *prakṛtis* Uśanas was of the same opinion (Kām. VIII. 22) and Kām. (VIII. 41) states that there were numerous views about the number of the elements of the maṇḍala, but a maṇḍala of twelve kings is quite clear and well-known among all people[295] Kām. (VIII 20-41) explains how by various combinations of the elements of the maṇḍala with some elements of sovereignty (viz ministers, rāstra, durga, kośa, bala) different writers held that the maṇḍala comprised 18, 26, 54, 72, 108 and other numbers of prakṛtis The Sarasvatīvilāsa (pp 37-41) shows how from different standpoints Uśanas himself argued that the maṇḍala was constituted by one prakṛti, two, three, 10, 21, 108 and that other writers speak also of 4, 5, 6, 14, 18, 30, 36, 44, 60, 72 prakṛtis All these figures are due to the inveterate habit of scholastic minds to run an idea to the earth and to indulge in divisions and sub-divisions. Even Manu (VII. 157) states that combining each of the twelve members of maṇḍala with the five elements of sovereignty from amātya onwards we get 60 which with the twelve[296] come to 72. It is to this that the

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294 Vide the मिताक्षरा on या I. 345 'पार्ष्णिग्राहाक्रन्दासारादयस्त्वरीमित्रोदासीनेष्वेवान्तर्भवन्ति संज्ञाभेदमात्रं ग्रन्थान्तरे दर्शितमिति योगीश्वरेण न पृथगुक्ताः ।'

295. इतिप्रकारं बहुधा मण्डलं परिचक्षते । सर्वलोकप्रतीतं तु सकृद द्वादशराजकम् ॥ काम VIII 41. This is quoted as a verse of Uśanas in the सरस्वतीविलास p.41.

296. एवं चतुर्मण्डलसङ्क्षेपः । द्वादश राजप्रकृतयः षष्टिर्द्रव्यप्रकृतयः सङ्क्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः । तासां यथास्वं सम्पदः शक्तिः सिद्धिश्च । बलं शक्तिः सुखं सिद्धिः । शक्तिस्त्रिविधा । कौटिल्य VI. 2. p. 261; मण्डलस्था च या चिन्ता राजन् द्वादशराजिका । द्विसप्ततिश्चैव भोक्ता या च स्वयम्भुवा ॥ शान्ति 59 70-71. नीलकण्ठ connects this half with medicine, while some read द्विसप्ततिविधा चैव शरीरस्य प्रतिक्रिया

Daśakumāracarita (VIII p 144) refers when speaking of the tree of *naya* that it has 72 prakrtis as its leaves (dvisaptatiprakrtipatrah nayavanaspatih). The central idea of the mandala was to keep a balance of power among a circle of States, some being friendly among themselves owing to their position and surroundings, while others would form an antagonistic group Kaut (VI 2) also refers to this number 72, out of which twelve are constituted by kings (*rājaprakrtis*) and 60 (five sovereignty elements of each of the twelve) are styled (*dravyaprakrtis*) The Śāntiparva (59 70–71) also refers to a mandala of 12 kings and to the number 72 Vide N. N Law's 'Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity' pp 195–208 for elucidation of the theory of mandala The theory of mandala has this element of truth in it that on a calculation of probabilities the kings who are the immediate neighbours of a ruler are likely to be his enemies (at least potential) and the kings that are beyond the immediate neighbours may make common cause with the central State taken for discourse in order to crush between them a hostile intermediate State It suggests that diplomacy may take the lines indicated by position and probabilities The diagram below will[297] illustrate the idea Manu (VII 177 and 180) declares that (state) policy consists briefly in this that a king must so arrange all things or means that the ally, the udāsīna and the satru cannot harm him or become superior to him Medhātithi (on Manu VII 177) remarks that even an ally may become an enemy if his interest so requires (*svārthagauravāccā mitramapyarir bhavati*)

Kautilya[298] relates the theory of mandala to the theory of *śaktis* (already referred to on p 171) and the six-fold policy (sādguṇya)

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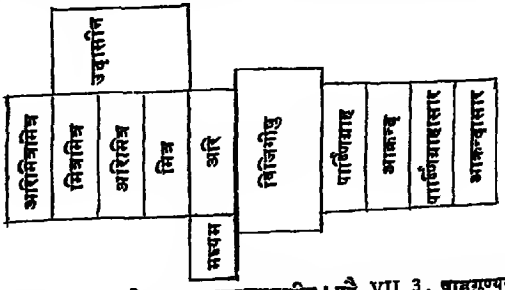

298 विजिगीषुः शक्त्यपेक्षः षाड्गुण्यमुपयुञ्जीत। कौ VII 3. षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमण्डलं योनिः। सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यमित्याचार्याः। कौ. VII 1: मण्डलानि समाचक्ष्व विजिगीषोर्यथाविधि। यान्यामित्र्य द्वयेः कार्यं सन्धिविग्रहचिन्तनम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 145. 6.

Everything secures success (i.e. his and his kingdom's happiness) according as the king is able to put forth each of the śaktis to their utmost. The aspiring king taking into account his three saktis may employ the six guṇas (methods of policy). The circle of the twelve States gives rise to the employment of the six methods. Differing from Vātavyādhi (who said that there were only two methods, sandhi and vigraha) and for once agreeing with the ācāryas, Kautilya accepts the position that there are six gunas and briefly defines them The Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 42) quotes a sūtra of Gautama about the six gunas, which is not found in the printed text.[299] Kautilya defines the six as follows: *Sandhi*[300] means making an arrangement or agreement; *vigraha* means taking up a hostile attitude; *āsana* means an attitude of indifference; *yāna* means preparing (for attacking one's enemy); *saṁśraya* means taking shelter (with another powerful king); *dvaidhībhāva* means making peace with one king and adopting a hostile attitude to another He then states that a king who is less strong than his neighbour may make an agreement with him, one who is rising in power may take up a hostile attitude, whoever thinks 'the hostile king cannot hurt me nor can I hurt him' may remain indifferent (or neutral) in his own State, one who is endowed with all advantages may march against the enemy, whoever is devoid of strength should seek the protection (of a powerful ruler), and one should resort to a two-fold attitude when one's object can be accomplished by a friend. Some other works give more exact definitions and also define dvaidhībhāva somewhat differently, viz. dvaidhībhāva is dividing one's army into two parts. Vide Viṣnudharmottara[301] II. 150. 3–5 and Mit. on Yāj. I. 346. Some say that saṁśraya means seeking the protection of the udāsīna or madhyama king. Kauṭilya (book VII) gives the most elaborate treatment of these six gunas and so do

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299. तथा च गौतमसूत्रम् । चतुष्टयायानबलञ्च सन्धिविग्रहयानासनद्वैधीभावसमाश्रयान्गुणान् परिकल्पयेत् । इति । सरस्वतीविलास p. 42

300. पणबन्धः सन्धिः, अपकारो विग्रहः, उपेक्षणमासनम्, अभ्युच्चयो यानम्, परार्पणं संश्रयः, सन्धिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभावः, इति षड्गुणाः । परस्माद्भीयमानः सन्दधीत । अभ्युच्चीयमानो विगृह्णीयात् । न मां परो नाई परमुपहन्तुं शक्त इत्यासीत । गुणातिशययुक्तो यायात् । शक्तिहीनः संश्रयेत । सहायसाध्ये कार्ये द्वैधीभावं गच्छेत् । इति गुणावस्थापनम् । कौटिल्य VII. I. Vide Raghuvaṁśa 8. 21 where Kālidāsa follows this 'पणबन्धमुखान्गुणानजः बहुपायमुदक्त समीहय तत्फलम् ।'

301. पणबन्धः स्मृतः संधिरपकारस्तु विग्रहः । जिगीषोः शत्रुविषये यानं यात्रा विधीयते ॥ विग्रहेपि स्वके देशे स्थितिरासनमुच्यते । बलार्पणं प्रयाणं तु द्वैधीभावं तदुच्यते ॥ उदासीनं मध्यमे वा संश्रयार्त्संश्रयः स्मृतः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 150. 3–5; द्वैधीभावः स्वबलस्य द्विधाकरणम् । मिता. on याज्ञ I, 346.

Manu VII. 160 ff, Kām. IX–XVI, Visnudharmottara II. 145–150, Agnipurāna 240, Mānasollāsa pp 94–116, Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 324–413. Only a few remarks are all that considerations of space allow. Manu (VII 162–168) states that each of the gunas is of two sorts. Kām. IX. 2–18 and Agni 240 enumerate sixteen kinds of sandhis and Kām defines them. His treatment is based on Kaut. VII 3 Kaut (VII. 3) says that when a weak king is attacked by a powerful king who is the leader in a circle of States, the former should at once submit and sue for peace on condition of offering his army, treasury, himself and his territory. Then he says that sandhis made on condition of offering the army are of three kinds viz *ātmāmisa* (lit. offering himself as the prey, which involves the condition that the king himself with a fixed number of troops or with the flower of his army would present himself when called), *ātmaraksana* (saving himself, where the condition is that the commander-in-chief or the crown prince would present himself with an army), *adrsta-purusa* (lit in which no person is definitely prescribed, where the agreement is that some one on the king's behalf or the king himself should march with the army to some place as required by the invader) These sandhis are called *dandopanata* (lit in which submission is made with the army) Sandhis made on condition of offering the treasury (*kośopanata*) are *parikraya* (lit. price, where by offering the treasury the other elements of rājya are kept free), *upagraha* (where as much money is offered as can be carried on a man's shoulder), *kapāla* (lit. broken half of a pot, where an immense amount of money has to be paid) Sandhis called *desopanata* (submission with offer of territory) are *ādista* (where a part of the realm is ceded and the rest saved from the invader), *ucchinna* (where all the realm except the capital which has been deprived of all its wealth is offered), *apakraya* where by offering the produce of the land the kingdom is freed, *paribhūsana* where the agreement is to pay more than the produce of the land Kām adds some varieties and remarks (IX. 21–22) that *upahāra* (offering a present) is the only *sandhi* (of which all the rest are varieties) in his opinion, that only the *maitra* sandhi (alliance of friendship without the offer of land, money or anything else) does not come under upahāra[302] Kām IX. 20 and Mānasollāsa (II. 11

302 एक एवोपहारस्तु सन्धिरेतन्मतं हि नः। उपहारस्य भेदास्तु सर्वेऽन्ये मैत्रवर्जिता॥ अभियोक्ता बली यस्मादलब्ध्वा न निवर्तते। उपहाराद्ऋते तस्मात् सन्धिरन्यो न विद्यते॥ कामन्दक IX. 21–22

pp. 94–95) speak of four sandhis, *maitra*, *parasparopakāra* (agreement to help each other), *sambandhaja* (by offer of a princess in marriage) and *upahāra*. An interesting example of a sandhi is furnished by the Lekhapañcāśikā which gives a form of treaty dated Monday, Full Moon of Vaiśākha in *saṃvat* 1288 (1232 A. D.) between Yādava king Singhana of Devagiri who is styled *mahārājādhirāja* and Lāvanyaprasāda (Lavanaprasāda) a Vāghela king who is styled *rāṇaka* and *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, whereby the high contracting parties agreed not to invade each other's possessions, to combine and oppose anyone else who invaded one of them. Vide Bom. G. Vol I part 1 p. 200 based on Bhandarkar's Report on the search for Mss. 1882–83 pp 38–40. Kām IX. 23–26 and Agnipurāna 240. 10–13 mention twenty kinds of persons with whom *sandhi* should not be made, Kām. (IX. 27–41) states the reasons why it should be so and in IX. 42–52 seven persons are enumerated with whom he recommends *sandhi* and gives reasons. A king should make sandhi even with one equal in strength (not only with one who is more powerful), since victory in battle is doubtful (Kām. IX. 59) [303] Kaut uses a striking simile when he says that if one king comes in conflict with an equal they both will be destroyed in the same way as two unbaked earthen pots striking against one another. If a more powerful king rejects the proposal of a weaker king for sandhi, the latter should take up the attitude of offering his army or follow the course prescribed in book XII (*ā balīyasaṃ*) In VII. 12 when dealing with agreements between kings, about undertakings to build forts or irrigational works or forests &c. Kaut makes very interesting remarks about land routes being superior to water routes and about the route to the Deccan and the south being more profitable than the one leading to the Himālayas.[304] Kām X. 15 (= Agni 240. 19) says that *vaira* (hostile attitude) is of five kinds viz that of step-brothers, that due to land (seizure of or encroachment on lands or houses), due to woman (carrying away one's wife or loving the same woman), due to words (cutting speech) and due to wrongs. Kām. X. 2–5

303. सन्धिनिच्छेत्समेनापि सन्दिग्धो विजयो युधि। न हि संशयितं कुर्पाद्रिपुवाच्च बृहस्पतिः॥ काम. IX. 59.

304. स्थलपथेभ्यो हैमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छ्रेयान् हस्त्यश्वमन्धदन्ताजिनरूप्यसुवर्णपण्याः सारवत्तरा इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। कम्बलाजिनाश्वपण्यवर्जाः शङ्खवज्रमणिमुक्ताः सुवर्णपण्याश्च प्रभूततरा दक्षिणापथे। कौटिल्य VII. 12

(= Agni. 240. 20-24) enlarges upon the 16 ways in which *vigraha* (hostility) springs, such as seizing the kingdom, wife, districts, vehicles (horses, elephants) and wealth of another, pride, harassment of subjects &c. When a king feels that his own army is well-nourished and pleased, that his subjects are prosperous and contented and that the army and subjects of another are the opposite of this, then he may adopt a hostile attitude and when he feels sure that he will secure one of the three fruits of hostility (viz. land, ally and wealth—Kām. X. 26-28). Kaut. VII. 15 deals with the attitude and conduct of a conquered king who has offered to the conqueror his army (*daṇḍopanata-vṛtta*), while VII. 16 speaks of the conduct of the *daṇḍopanāyī* (an aspiring king who wants to make by means of his army another king submit to him) *Yāna* means marching for invasion on the part of a *vijigīsu* whose army and prowess are of the highest and whose subjects are contented on account of his good qualities (Kām. XI. 1) The Matsya 240 2 and the Agnipurāna (228. 1-2) add that when the enemy in the rear is overwhelmed by an *ākranda*, then the vijigīsu should start on an invasion or when the enemy is plunged in calamities But before actually invading the enemy who is *yātavya* (chosen for attack) an ambassador (dūta) should be sent (Kām. XII. 1) to see whether the enemy will submit without fighting That is, there was to be no war without negotiations and an ultimatum In the Mahābhārata (Udyoga 83 5-7) it is said that Krsna started as an envoy from the Pāndavas to the Kauravas at the end of *sarad* (autumn) on the Revatī naksatra in the month of Kārtika (verse 7, *Kaumude māsi revatyām saradante himāgame*) In the Purānas and the medieval digests elaborate rules are laid down about the religious and propitiatory ceremonies before starting on an invasion. The Visnudharmottara II. 176 and Agnipurāna 236. 1-18 require that for seven days before starting on an invasion the king is to engage in the worship of and make offerings to various gods, first to Ganapati, then to all the guardians of the quarters, the planets, Asvins, Visnu and Siva and the images in the temples of his capital Then he is to note what good and bad dreams he sees on those days in his sleep and judge accordingly Vide Matsya 242, Agnipurāna 229 for dreams portending good and evil This prognostication of good fortune from dreams is very ancient The Chāndogya Up (V 2 8-9) quotes a verse to the effect that when a man is engaged in the performance of solemn sacrifices for securing some object and sees a woman in a dream he should feel that his rite will be

crowned with reward. Similarly the Ait.[305] Ār. III. 2. 4 mentions the signs of approaching death, one of which is to see in a dream a dark person with black teeth. Both these passages are quoted by Śaṅkara in his bhāsya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 14. The Visnudharmottara II. 132–144 (based on Garga), II. 164, Matsya 228–241, Agni 230–232 are concerned with the portents and omens in the heavens, in the sky and on the earth and rites (*śāntis*) meant to avert the evil prognostications from them. The Mānasollāsa II. 13 pp. 97–112 and Rājanītiprakāśa pp 331–351 also deal with these and other astrological matters, which are passed over here, though some of them are very interesting e. g. Visnudharmottara II. 135. 1 refers to the weeping and dancing of images. On the 6th day from the time the rites begin which is the day previous to the starting of the invasion the king undergoes a ceremonial bath for victory called *jayābhiseka*. This is described at great length in the Rājanītiprakāśa pp. 351–395 quoting extensive passages from the Lingapurāna. The ceremony of *Jayasnāna* resembles the coronation ceremony in many respects. The Matsyapurāna 243 15–16 and the Visnudharmottara II. 163. 18–31 contain the same long list (with very slight variations) of articles, persons and animals the sight of which is auspicious when the king starts on an invasion and Matsya (243. 2–14) contains another long list of inauspicious sights. A few of the auspicious ones are white flowers, jars full of water, cows, horses, elephants, fire in flames, a courtesan, dūrvā grass, gold, silver, copper, all gems, sword, umbrella, banner, corpse not accompanied by crying persons, fruits, the *svastika* sign. Among the inauspicious things and sights are dark grains, cotton, dried cowdung, fuel, jaggery, tonsured or naked man or man with dishevelled hair or wearing reddish robes, a lunatic, a cāndala, a pregnant woman, broken pot, chaff, ashes, bones. The Mānasollāsa II. 13 verses 811–823 (pp. 102–103), Nītimayūkha pp 58–59 also give long lists of inauspicious and auspicious sights or events. Matsya 243. 27 and Visnudharmottara II. 163. 32 are both careful to add that all evil signs are counterbalanced by the confident (or joyous) frame of the mind, which is the highest sign of victory.[306] Gaut.

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305. स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेष श्लोकः । यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति । समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन्स्वप्ननिदर्शने । छान्दोग्य V 2 8–9, न चिरमिव जीविष्यतीति विद्यात्... अथ स्वप्नः । पुरुषं कृष्णं कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एनं हन्ति । ऐत. आर III 2 4

306. मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम् । एकतः सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकतः ॥ मत्स्य 243. 27 = विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 163. 32.

(XI. 15-17) prescribes that the king should heed the advice of astrologers and of those who are adepts in averting the effects of portents and perform the rites indicated by them such as grahaśānti, rites on auspicious days and of *svastyayana*, rites of black magic against his enemy &c. Kaut. IX. 7 (at the end) says that the removal of divine calamities is brought about by the worship of deities and by honour to brāhmanas and by performing rites prescribed in the Atharvaveda. Manu VII. 82 and Yāj. I. 315 state that gifts made to learned brāhmaṇas are an inexhaustible treasure for the king The Rājadharmakānda (p 109) quotes the Brahmapurāna requiring the king to perform two Laksahomas every year and also a Kotihoma. The Rājadharmakāṇḍa (p 113) and Rājanītiprakāśa (p 144) quote Udyogaparva 33. 93–95 which set out eight indications of a man's approaching fall, viz hating brāhmanas, opposing brāhmanas, depriving them of their wealth, desire to kill or harm them, taking pleasure in calumniating them, not liking their praise, not remembering them in religious acts and getting angry when they make requests

It may be useful and interesting to see how in very ancient times the king was made ready for battle The Āsv. Gr. S. (III. 12) says: when a battle is impending (the purohita) should make the king put on his armour (in the following way). The purohita should stand to the west of the chariot (of the king) muttering the hymn (Rg X 173) 'I have brought thee &c.'. He should hand over to the king his armour with Rg VI. 75. 1 'when the man with armour advances it is like the appearance of the cloud &c '. He hands over the bow with the next verse (Rg. VI. 75. 2 'dhanvanā gā). The purohita should make the king recite the next verse (Rg. VI. 75. 3) and should himself mutter the 4th verse (Rg VI. 75. 4) He should hand over the quiver to the king with the 5th verse (Rg. VI. 75. 5) When the chariot turns in the direction intended the purohita should mutter the sixth verse (Rg. VI. 75 6) He should recite over the horses the 7th (Rg. VI. 75. 7) He makes the king recite the 8th (Rg. VI. 75. 8) when the latter looks at the arrows and makes the king recite Rg. VI. 75. 14 ('he envelopes his arm' &c.) when the latter fastens to his arm the leather (that protects his arm against the bow-string) When the king is being taken forward in the chariot by the charioteer the purohita ascends the chariot near the king and makes him recite the hymn called Abhīvarta (Rg. X. 174) and the two verses (Rg. VIII. 101. 3-4). Then the priest looks at the king with

the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103 'āśuḥ śiśāno'), the Śāsa hymn (Rg. X. 152 'śāsa itthā') and the Sauparna hymn 'pra dhārayantu madhuno ghṛtasya'.[307] Then the king should traverse in order all directions in which the Sun (by day) or Venus (by night) shines and give fight from that direction The king should pass his hand over the drum with the three verses (Rg. VI. 47. 29–31 'fill with breath (or roar) the heaven and the earth'). The king should discharge arrows with Rg. VI. 75. 16 and the purohita should mutter Rg. VI. 75. 17 ('where the arrows fall together &c.) when soldiers are fighting, or the purohita may direct or teach (the king to recite from the above such verses as are appropriate to his actions).[308] In the Harsacarita (7th Ucchvāsa first paragraph) Bāna favours us with a realistic and graphic description of the preparations made when Harsa marched out from his palace on his *digvijaya*. The astrologers found out an auspicious day and *lagna* (sign of zodiac

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307 This hymn is found in no *saṃhitā* Sāyana in his comment on Ait Br. 29. 9 (where the sauparna hymn is mentioned) gives an alternative explanation saying that the sauparna hymn referred to is the one declared in the gṛhyasūtra viz 'pra dhārā yantu &c ', i e he does not read 'pradhārayantu' as in the printed Aśv Gr , on Ait Br 37. 7 (where the Abhīvarta, Śāsa, Apratiratha and Sauparna hymns are mentioned) the comment of Sāyana as printed reads 'pradhārayantu'.

308. संग्रामे सङ्घर्षोद्दे राजानं संनाहयेत् । आ त्वा हार्वमन्तरेधीति पश्चान्मुखस्थाय-स्थाय । जीमूतस्येव भवति प्रतीकमिति कवचं प्रयच्छेत् । उत्तरया धनुः । उत्तरां वाचयेत् । स्वयं चतुर्थीं जपेत् । पञ्चम्येषुधिं प्रयच्छेत् । अभिप्रवर्तमाने षष्ठीम् । ससम्पाश्वात् । अष्टमी-मिथुनवेक्षमाणं वाचयति । अहिरिव भोगैः पर्येति बाहुमिति तलं नह्यमानम् । अधैनं सारथ-मानमुपारुह्याभीवर्तं वाचयति प्र यो वां मित्रावरुणेति च द्वे । अथेनमन्वीक्षेतामतिरथशास-सौपर्णैः । प्र धारयन्तु मधुनो घृतस्येति सौपर्णम् । सर्वां दिशोऽनुपरियायात् । आदित्यमौशनसं वाचयित्वा प्रयोधयेत् । जयश्चास्य पृथिवीमुत यामेति तूष्णीं दुन्दुभिमभिमृशेत् । अवसृष्टा परापतेतीषून्विसर्जयेत् । यत्र बाणाः संपतन्तीति युध्यमानेषु जपेत् । संक्षिप्याहृत । आश्व. गृ. III. 12. With आदित्यमौशनसं वा compare शान्तिपर्व 100. 20 'यतो वायुर्यतः सूर्यो यतः शुक्रस्ततो जयः । पूर्वं पूर्वं जयार्थं एषां संनिपाते युधिष्ठिर ॥'. This shows that the king desiring victory should not face the Sun or Venus (औशनस) but should have them behind him and that he should not have the wind blowing in his face but blowing behind him कालिदास in the कुमारसंभव III. 43 'दृष्टिप्रपातं परिहृत्य तस्य कामः पुरः शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे' refers to this, on which मल्लिनाथ quotes a verse 'प्रतिशुक्रं प्रतिबुधं प्रत्यङ्गारकमेव च । अपि शक्रसमो राजा हतसैन्यो निवर्तते ॥.' The शुक्रिकल्पतरु (ed. by N. N. Law) p. 176 says 'शस्तस्तु वेदलसतेऽध्वनि पृष्ठतोऽर्कः' (verse 79) Oldenberg's translation (in S B. E vol 29 p. 234) 'he should commence the battle in the line of battle invented by Āditya or Uśanas' is wrong, as will be seen from the above quotations Hopkins in J. A O. S XIII p. 193n simply follows Oldenberg's translation holding Āditya and Auśanasa to be vyūhas.

rising on the eastern horizon) indicative of his conquest of all the four quarters, Harsa was bathed in water poured from silver and golden jars, performed worship of Śiva, offered oblations into fire that sent up flames turning from left to right, made gifts of jars full of sesame grains and of cows whose hoofs and horns were tipped with gold, sat on a throne on which tiger-skin was spread &c

When starting on an invasion the king was required to perform a rite called *nīrājanāvidhi* which consisted in waving lights before horses, elephants, banners, armies &c.[309] In II. 30 Kautilya[310] prescribes that on the 9th day of Āśvina lights should be waved before horses and at the beginning and close of invasions and in times of diseases In II 32 Kautilya speaks of the waving of lights before elephants thrice in the cāturmāsya (from about July to October) and at the time when two seasons meet Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamsa 4·25 refers[311] to the performance of this ceremony when Raghu started on his digvijaya and states (in 17·13) that dūrvā grass, barley sprouts and the bark of the palāśa tree were required in the Nīrājanāvidhi. Kām IV. 66 speaks of waving lights before horses and elephants (nīrājita-hayadvipah). The Brhatsamhitā, chap. 44 (verses 16–28) deals with the ceremony of waving lamps before horses, elephants and men. This ceremony had to be performed every year in the month of Āsvina from the first to the 9th day of the bright half or on the 8th, 12th, or 15th of the bright half of Kārtika (acc. to the Brhatsamhitā 44·2) by those who owned horses and also elephants It is also described in the Śaunakiya II 8, Agnipurāna 268, Visnudharmottara II 159 (quoted at length in the Rājanīti-prakāśa pp 434–438), Kālikāpurāna 88 15 ff, Nirnayasindhu II. p 169, Yuktikalpataru p 178. The Brhatsamhitā describes it as follows :—In the north-east of the capital an ornamental arch of some holy tree was to be erected 10 cubits wide and 16 high Round the necks of horses threads smeared

309. राज्ञां यात्राविधिं वक्ष्ये जिगीषूणां परावनीम् । नीराजनाविधिं कृत्वा सैनिकांश्चानयेत्तत । गजानन्यान्मृगानन्यानिति यात्राक्रमो मतः ॥ युक्तिकल्पतरु p 178

310. नीराजनामाश्वयुजे कारयेन्नवमेऽहनि । यात्रादावथवा स्याधौ वा शान्तिके सतः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. 30 last verse, तिस्रो नीराजना. कार्याश्चातुर्मास्यर्तुसन्धिषु । अर्थशास्त्र II 32, last verse but one उत्पल explains नीराजन as नीरेण जलेन अजन स्पर्शनम् (on बृहत्संहिता 43 1) It is possible to derive the word from निर् + राजन (from राज्).

311. तस्मै सम्यग्धुतो वह्निर्वाजिनीराजनाविधौ । प्रदक्षिणार्चिर्वर्त्मजेन हस्तेनेव जयं ददौ ॥ रघु 4. 25.

with saffron paste and marking nut, with rice grains and white mustard and *kustha* plants tied on them were to be suspended. For seven days mantras addressed to the Sun, Varuna, Viśve-Devas, Prajāpati, Indra and Visnu were to be recited over the horses, during those days the horses were not to be harshly addressed nor struck with a whip and auspicious words were to be addressed to them, conches were to be blown, drums beaten and singing indulged in before them. On the 8th day, to the south of the arch a shed with its face to the north and covered with kuśa grass and barks was to be erected and in front of it on a *vedi* fire was to be lighted and various materials and plants such as sandal-wood were to be collected and thrown into jars full of water, various foods were to be offered as *bali*, fuel sticks of *khadira* and other holy trees were to be brought. The king seated on a tiger-skin and facing the east should sit near the fire together with an astrologer and horse doctor and should follow at the direction of the purohita the procedure laid down for Grahayajña (sacrifice to planets) and the raising of Indra's banner. A horse and an elephant possessing the most auspicious signs should be bathed and honoured with new white cloth, sandal-wood paste, garlands and incense and should be brought to the foot of the arch near the shed with sweet words to the accompaniment of music and conch-blowing. The movements of the horse and elephant should be watched and prognostications made therefrom about victory &c. A ball of food over which mantras have been recited should be offered to the horse and if the latter smells it or eats it that is a sign of coming victory. Dipping an *udumbara* twig in the jars filled with water and plants the purohita should touch therewith the horse, the elephant, the king and his soldiers to the accompaniment of mantras. Then making an effigy of the enemy the purohita should pierce it with a sharp and pointed stave in the region of the heart with incantations from the Atharvaveda and break it The purohita should pronounce over the bridle vedic mantras and insert it in the mouth of the horse, which the king should ride and proceed in the north-east together with his army, with drums beaten, conches blown and banners displayed This is a propitiatory rite (śānti) as said by Varāhamihira (Brhatsamhitā 44 2) and the Agnipurāna 26 8 and 31 and must have been in vogue centuries before Kautilya flourished.

The duty of the conqueror, after vanquishing his opponent, to place on the throne of the late king his son or a kinsman and to respect the customs and usages of the territory conquered has

already been set forth above (p. 71) Conquests resulted in either loss of territory or more generally in the offering of tribute of various kinds to the conqueror viz. wealth (gold and silver), horses, elephants, pearls and gems, fine cloth &c Particularly horses from Kāmboja, Bālhika, Gāndhāra and other countries in the north and west were highly prized Vide Sabhā 51.10, 53 5, Udyoga 86. 6, Drona 156. 47, Sauptika 13. 2; and Sabhā 27 27, 28 6 for horses as tribute. In Sabhā 30, 28-30 all the above kinds of tribute are said to have been levied from the Mleccha kings by Bhīma [312]

Kautilya devotes one book (VIII) to the discussion of *vyasana*. Vyasana [313] means 'what deprives a man of great good' (from the root 'as' to throw with 'vi') According to Kaut vyasana may be either the absence of qualities (such as noble birth) or the opposite of such qualities, faults (such as hot temper), excessive attachment (to women &c), harassment (by invasion or calamities like famines) So vyasanas may broadly be divided into two classes viz calamities and faults due to *kāma* (passion) and *krodha* (hot temper) The view of many *ācāryas* is that of the vyasanas of the king, ministers, the people of the realm, fort, treasury, army and ally, the vyasanas of each preceding one are more serious than those of each succeeding one From the discussion in VIII 1 it appears that Kautilya in this case agrees with the ācāryas Differing from Bhārdvāja Kaut holds that the calamities befalling a king or his vices are more serious in their consequences than those of the ministers, since it is the king who appoints the ministers, the purohita, other servants and superintendents of departments and he can employ others in their places and since the rise or fall of the people depends upon him Disagreeing with Viśālākṣa Kauṭilya holds that the vyasanas of ministers have more serious consequences than those of the people, as all (national) undertakings proceed from the ministers, as the security of person and property from internal and external enemies, adoption of remedies to resist calamities, recruiting of army, collection of taxes are all in their hands. Differing from the school of

312. स सर्वान् म्लेच्छनृपतीन् सागरानूपवासिन । करमाहारयामास रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥ चन्दनागुरुवस्त्राणि मणिमौक्तिककम्बलम् । काञ्चनं रजतं चैव विद्रुमं च महाधनम् ॥ ते कोटिशतसंख्येन कौन्तेयं महता तदा । अभ्यवर्षन्महाराज धनवर्षेण पाण्डवम् ॥ सभा 30. 28-30.

313. सुखमातिलोम्यमभावः प्रदोष प्रसक्तः पीडा वा व्यसनं व्यस्यत्येनं श्रेयस इति व्यसनम् । कौटिल्य VIII 1 Vide काम. XIII. 19 and नीतिवा p 177 for a similar derivation व्यस्यत्यावर्तयत्येनं दुष्कर्म श्रेयस इति व्यसनम् । नीतिवा.

Parāśara, Kautilya is of opinion that the vyasana of the people has graver consequences than that of the fort (or capital), for forts, treasury and army, all irrigation and agricultural work, stability, bravery and abundance (of things) spring from the people. Against Piśuna, Kautilya states that the calamities befalling the fort (or capital) give rise to graver consequences than those of the army for the reason that it is in the fort that the treasury and army are kept safe. Kaut. (VIII. 2) holds that internal troubles are more serious than external ones and troubles due to ministers are the most serious of all internal troubles. Kaut. prefers an ignorant ruler (who has not studied śāstras) to a king who is bent on swerving from the dictates of sāstras which he knows; he prefers a king suffering from illness to a new king (a conqueror), a weak but a high-born king to a strong but low-born one. In VIII 3 he enumerates the several faults and vices which have already been stated above (p. 54). After remarking that ignorance and lack of training are the causes of vices or faults, Kaut discourses on the relative seriousness of the several faults or vices and holds that gambling is worse than hunting, that sexual passion is worse than gambling, that drinking is worse than sexual vice and that gambling is the special cause of dissension among *sanghas* (corporate assemblies) and among families of nobles that have the characteristics of sanghas. In VIII. 4 he states that among divine visitations like fire, flood, epidemics and famine, floods are more devastating than fire, diseases and epidemics are less destructive than famine, that the loss of outstanding[314] men is more serious than that of common men even in large numbers, since there can hardly be one eminent man among a thousand ordinary or inferior men. He holds that the trouble caused by the Crown Prince is a lesser evil than that caused by a favourite queen In VIII. 5 Kautilya holds a discussion on the troubles arising from the army and allies. He first enumerates thirty-three matters that may cause trouble with the army, such as not giving due respect to it, or showing contempt to it, not dispensing the pay at the proper time, not preventing diseases from attacking it, having soldiers who are very fond of their wives He then takes pairs of troubles out of these and states which is the lesser evil of the two. Then he deals with causes that lead to the loss or defection of allies

314 नेति कौटिल्यः—शक्यः क्षुद्रक्षयः प्रतिसन्धातुं बाहुल्यात्। क्षुद्रकारणाच्च मुख्यक्षयः। सहस्रेषु हि मुख्यो भवत्येको न वा सत्त्वप्रज्ञाधिक्याश्रयत्वात् क्षुद्रकाणामिति। कौ. VIII 4

In the Rājadharmakānda, the Rājanītiprakāśa and other works the king is advised to celebrate several rites and festivals, which may be briefly referred to here They were meant as propitiatory rites to avert national calamities and also to keep the populace in good humour and to afford enjoyment to people The Rājadharmakānda (pp 115–117) and the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp 416–419) quote about 35 verses from the Brahmapurāna to the effect that the king is to celebrate in one or more of the six months from Vaiśākha festivals (devayātrā) in honour of various deities such as Brahmā, the gods, the Ganges, Vināyaka, Nāgas, Skanda, the Ādityas, Indra and Rudra, the Mātrs (Durgā and others), the Earth, Viśvakarman, Visnu, Kāmadeva, Śiva, the Moon respectively on the *tithis* from the 1st to the 15th The same two works quote a passage of 18 verses from the Skandapurāna about the festival of moonlight and also the rite of raising the banner of Indra and the latter quotes (pp 425–433) a long passage from the Visnudharmottarapurāna also Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 825–26 for description of the festival of Indra's banner They describe the worship of Devī on the 8th and 9th days of Āśvina (from the Devīpurāna) when animals were sacrificed, the gifts of cows on the Amāvāsyā of Kārtika, the rite called Vasordhārā (stream of wealth) The details of all these are passed over here for want of space

CHAPTER X

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY OF RĀJADHARMA AND THE ENDS OF THE STATE

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to present a picture of the theory and practice of Government and statecraft as delineated by ancient and medieval Indian writers on dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra One feature that would strike any reader is the religious colouring with which all theories and ideals are suffused. Another is that the ideal set before rulers and their officers is a highly moral one. Several faults have been found in the theory and practice inculcated by the writers. Except for some centuries before and after the Christian era, monarchy has been the only form of government known in India and monarchy alone is generally envisaged by Indian writers. The result has been that the king came in practice to be almost synonymous with government and the State, though a very lofty sense of his duties and responsibilities was impressed on the king. Another defect lies in the almost total absence of discussion on the form and working of oligarchical or republican States Besides, once the main outlines of the theory of the State were established by the first writers on polity, for about two thousand years succeeding generations of authors were content to follow in the old grooves and hardly ever made any fresh approach to the problems of government or started any rival conceptions or theories Ancient authors were content to induce the kings and the people to support as far as possible the *status quo*. They thus provided for a more or less static society and did not encourage any dynamic thoughts or movements There was no strong or assertive middle class nor was there any organized Church. Though the brāhmanas were a sacred class, they were not organized as a body and had to depend only on exhortations and texts to exert influence on the monarchs It may no doubt be pointed out that similar conditions prevailed almost all the world over. Small States, constant wars and invasions were the commonest phenomena in Europe till the 15th or 16th century and no reproach should be levelled at the Indian writers alone It cannot, however, be gainsaid that even after experiencing the constant plundering expeditions and religious persecutions of Scythian, Hun and Moslem invaders from the

1st to the 11th and the following centuries the able thinkers, warriors and statesmen of India did not enlarge their limited horizon and find means to consolidate and weld together into a united block the numerous small States that were scattered all over India. They could have put forward a common idea and ideal before all the provinces and peoples of India viz. meeting the onslaught of plundering and fanatical invaders, which, if properly handled, would have acted as a unifying force. It was to some extent only in Vijayānagara and Mahārāstra that in medieval times means were adopted to weaken the power of the invader, to present a solid front and establish powerful Hindu kingdoms. The old writers spun the same old webs of theories that had been there for centuries, they did not formulate new theories nor did they take steps to infuse into the common people a sense of solidarity and unity as Indians and did not inculcate deep and abiding sentiments of patriotism similar to those we find in Western countries for the last two or three hundred years. In spite of such drawbacks it will have to be conceded that ancient Indian writers made substantial and independent contributions to the theory and practice of Government and that their handiwork can stand comparison with the ancient and medieval thought of most countries of the world.

It may be asked: What in these days is the use of the study of the theory and practice of Government in ancient India? It may be argued that the world is now hoping, as promised by the great leaders of the United Nations, to enjoy several freedoms, that great expectations are created in the minds of millions of down-trodden peoples, and that all peoples including Indians will be faced in the near future with democracy and great problems of reconstruction and that knowledge of the past cannot throw much light on the pressing needs of the present or the serious questions that will confront all in the latter half of the 20th century It may be conceded that the situation in which we find ourselves now and in which we shall be placed in the near future is unique and much light cannot be thrown by a study of the past on the solution of the problems that will have to be tackled by us But that study has certain useful purposes to serve. Millions of people in India as well as in the world are hardly better than hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own countries. They intensely desire to be masters in their own countries and of their own destinies. The iron has entered

deep in their souls that for countries as well as individuals freedom of action spells happiness and dependence on the will of others is misery (as Manu laconically puts in IV. 160), that men who have no independence are hardly human beings (as the Mārkandeya 125·29 says).[315] The study of the past will give us hope and convey the assurance that we have in the past conducted governments and administrations of vast empires, that we evolved theories and practices which were not inferior to those of some of the most advanced nations of the world, that, allowed opportunities and scope, we may rise equal to what the circumstances may demand of us. On the other hand, such a study will stimulate thought, focus our attention on our mistakes and short-comings, make us be careful to avoid pitfalls and give us indications of the directions in which we must make a new orientation in our ideals and practices.

At the end of this section on Rājadharma, a question may be asked: what were the ends or purposes that the State in ancient India placed before itself or the dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra writers said the State should place before itself? The end of the State has been differently stated by different philosophers and theorists of the West from ancient times to the present day. To take only a few examples To Plato and Aristotle[316] the end of the State was good life for the citizens. But it is not very easy to say what is meant by the good life. Bluntschli in 'Theory of the State' (Oxford, 1885) Book V Chap. IV p. 300 formulates the proper and direct end of the State to be 'the development of the national capacities, the perfection of the national life and finally its completion', provided, of course, that the process of moral and political development shall not be opposed to the destiny of humanity. This definition is not easy to grasp. There is no agreement as to what is the destiny of humanity and the concepts of nation and national life are hardly older than a few centuries even in Europe. For 'nation' one may substitute the word 'country'

315. सर्वं परवशं दुःख सर्वमात्मवशं सुखम्। एतद्विद्यात्समासेन लक्षणं सुखदुःखयोः॥ मनु. IV. 160; स्वतन्त्रता मनुष्याणां परतन्त्रा सदाचला। नरोपि परतन्त्रो यस्तस्य कीदृङ्मनुष्यता॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 125. 29.

316. Aristotle in 'Politics' says 'A state exists for the sake of a good life and not for the sake of life only .. Political society exists for the sake of noble actions and not of mere companionship' (Book III Chap. 9).

or 'kingdom'. Then it may be of some application to India It is impossible to define the end of the State in a single word or in a few words. This question about the end of the State has been partly answered already when speaking of the ideals of kingship. At the risk of some repetition a reply to the above question may be given in the following words The authors on Dharmasāstra had a very low estimate of human nature, they believed that ordinarily men were depraved, that it was difficult to find a man pure by nature and that men were kept in the straight path by the fear of punishment (Manu VII. 22 = Śānti[316a] 15. 34) Yāj I. 361 requires the king to punish and bring to the proper path castes and guilds when they swerve from their dharma. Kām. (II. 40 and 42–43) says the same thing and adds that in the absence of danda the world will revert to the state of mātsya-nyāya (the strong devouring the weak). Śukra I. 23 says the same thing The ancient writers did not rely on the natural moral impulses of man and on his will to do the right thing. The same ideas are expressed by some Western writers on law and politics 'A herd of wolves is quieter and more at one than so many men, unless they all had one reason in them or have one power over them' says Jeremy Taylor Salmond (Jurisprudence p 65) states 'man is by nature a fighting animal and force is the *ultima ratio* not of kings alone but of all mankind' We must distinguish between immediate or proximate ends and the ultimate end The ultimate end or goal of most of our philosophy was moksa (release or liberation from the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths and from the miseries and suffering of life) The same was the ultimate goal of rājadharma But the proximate goal of the State in India was to create such conditions and

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316a सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः। दण्डस्य हि भयाद्भीतो भोगायैव प्रवर्तते ॥ शान्ति 15 34, इदं प्रकृत्या विषयैर्वशीकृतं परस्परं स्त्रीधनलोलुपं जगत्। सनातने वर्त्मनि साधुसेविते प्रतिष्ठते दण्डभयोपपीडितम् ॥ काम. II 42, राजदण्डभयाद्भीतः स्वस्वधर्मपरो भवेत्। शुक्र I. 23, This conception bears striking resemblance to the words of Machia. 'Discourses' I 3 quoted by H Butterfield in 'State craft of Machiavelli' (1940) p 111 'Those who have discussed the problems of civic life demonstrate–and history is full of examples to confirm the fact–that whoever organizes a state and arranges laws for the government of it must presuppose that all men are wicked and that they will not fail to show their natural depravity whenever they have a clear opportunity, though possibly it may be concealed for a while'

environments as would enable all men to live in peace and happiness, to pursue their avocations, to follow their own customs and usages and their 'svadharma', to enjoy without interference the fruits of their labour and the property acquired by them. The king was the divinely provided instrument to create the conditions of peace, order and happiness. If the king impartially exercises the power of *daṇḍa* over all, whether his own son or enemy, in proportion to their guilt, he secures this world and the next for himself and the people; the king's scrupulous performance of his own duties leads him and his people to heaven The task of the State (or the king who represented the State) was to repress by the threat and use of force any violation of the rights of personal freedom and property, to enforce the practice of people's own traditional customs and usages and to take serious care of virtues and dharma. These were the sentiments of Kautilya himself (III 1.).[316] At the very threshold of his work he remarks 'therefore the king should not allow people to swerve from or fail in their duties (dharma); for whoever holds fast by his dharma, observes the rules laid down for *āryas* and those of castes and āśramas (the stages of life) will be happy in this world and the next. The members of society consisting of four castes and having four āśramas when guarded by the king with danda will abide by their respective paths, being devoted adherents of their respective duties and avocations'.

Both Kām. I. 13 and Śukra I. 67 state[317] that a king following the path of righteousness confers upon himself and his subjects the group of three viz. the three *puruṣārthas* of dharma, artha and kāma; if he acts otherwise he certainly ruins (himself and the people) The same doctrine is inculcated by other works, such as Śānti 85. 2, Mārkandeya 27. 29-30.[318]

316 b. राजः स्वधर्मः स्वर्गाय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितुः । ... दण्डो हि केवलो लोकं परं चेमं च रक्षति ॥ राज्ञा पुत्रे च शत्रौ च यथादोषं समं धृतः ॥ कौटिल्य III 1; तस्मात्स्वधर्मं भूताना राजा न व्यभिचारयेत् । स्वधर्मं सन्दधानो हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति ॥ व्यवस्थितार्य-मर्याद कृतवर्णाश्रमस्थितिः । त्रय्या हि रक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति ॥ कौटिल्य I. 3, last two verses; चतुर्वर्णाश्रमो लोको राज्ञा दण्डेण पालितः । स्वधर्मकर्माभिरतो वर्तते स्वेषु वर्त्मसु ॥ कौटिल्य I 4, last verse.

317 न्यायमवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमपि च प्रजाः । त्रिवर्गेणोपसन्धत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥ काम I 13 and शुक्र I. 67.

318. वर्णधर्मा न सीदन्ति यस्य राज्ये तथाश्रमाः । वत्स तस्य सुखं प्रेत्य परत्रेह च शाश्वतम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 27. 29.

Therefore what the king was to do was to see that the dharmas of *varna* and *āśrama* were observed by the people and if they swerved from them to bring them back by punishments Śukra IV 4 39 says that each caste was to observe the rules of the caste handed down from generation to generation and that if its members behaved otherwise they were liable to be punished by the king The principal works emphasize that each individual in the State should fulfil his own duties (svadharma) as belonging to a particular class (varna) or a particular stage of life (āśrama) or his own duties due to the position he occupies and those known as sāmānya dharma such as *ahiṃsā*, truthfulness &c (for which see H of Dh vol II pp 10–11) and that the purpose of the State was to enable him to do so and to prevent others from interfering with him All this laid undue emphasis on the preservation of the *status quo*, on current beliefs and practices as the ideal The writers do not emphasize that each individual must actively pursue the good of the society as a whole As the final goal was moksa, undue emphasis was laid on other-worldiness, on individual attainment and on detachment and running away from ordinary worldly affairs The goal of the State was deemed to be to enable men to attain the four *puruṣārthas*, particularly the first three (as the last viz *moksa* depended only upon individual philosophical insight and mystical experience and was attainable only by a microscopic number) Even the Bārhaspatya-sūtra[319] (II. 43) says that the fruit of polity was the attainment of dharma, artha and kāma Somadeva begins his Nītivākyāmṛta in a characteristic way when he performs obeisance to *rājya* (the State) that yields the three fruits of dharma, artha and kāma [320] Kām.[321] IV. 77 winds up his discussion of the seven elements of rājya with the declaration that the entire State depends for its highest stability on wealth and the army and that the State when handled by a sagacious minister results in securing the three goals Kautilya[322] (in I. 7) first advises people not to eschew pleasures altogether,

319. नीते. फलं धर्मार्थकामावाप्ति । धर्मेणार्थकामौ परीक्ष्यौ । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र II 43–44

320 अथ धर्मार्थकामफलाय राज्याय नम. । नीतिवाक्यामृत p. 7

321 इति स्म राज्यं सकलं समीरितं परा प्रतिष्ठास्य धृत ससाधनम् । गृहीतमेतत्त्रिपुणेन मन्त्रिणा त्रिवर्गनिष्पत्तिसुपैति शाश्वतीम् ॥ काम. IV 77.

322. धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न हि सुखः स्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम् ।

but to enjoy pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with the requirements of dharma and artha, and adds that a man may enjoy in an equal degree the three goals of life that are dependent on each other, since any one of the three if pursued to excess harms not only the other two but also itself. The Dharmaśāstra authors held that Dharma was the supreme power in the State and was above the king, who was only the instrument to realize the goal of dharma. To these authors the State was not an end in itself but only a means to an end. Kautilya, true to his position as a writer on arthaśāstra, finally states his opinion that *artha* is the chief among the three goals, as the other two depend upon wealth for their realization. With this statement of Kautilya, one of the most renowned figures of Indian antiquity, this section on rājadharma may be appropriately brought to a close.

VYAVAHĀRA

(LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE)

CHAPTER XI

That to administer justice impartially and to punish the guilty were among the prime functions of the sovereign has been stated above (p. 57) The king was deemed to be the fountain (i.e the distributor) of justice Kautilya[323] (I. 19) prescribes that the king was to look into the disputes of citizens and country people in the 2nd part of the day (divided into eight parts). Manu (VIII. 1–3) states that the king desirous of looking into the disputes of people should enter the *sabhā* (the hall of justice) accompanied by brāhmanas, ministers and should there decide every day the causes of litigants. Śukra IV. 5·45 is the same as Manu VIII. 1, Vas 16 2, Śankha-Likhita, Yāj. I. 327 and II. 1, Visnu Dh. S. III. 72, Nār. (I. 2), Śukra IV. 5·5, Mānasollāsa II. 20, verse 1243 state that the administration of justice was the personal concern of the king. The Mit on Yāj. II. 1 says that protecting the subjects is the highest duty of a king and that that duty cannot be discharged without eradicating and punishing the wicked, which latter requires that the king should administer justice (vyavahāradarśana). Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 1 also says that protection consists in the removal of troubles, secular and spiritual (adrsta). Manu VIII. 12 and 14 (= Nār III. 8-9 p. 42) personifies the administration of justice as Dharma incarnate by representing that when justice is administered the dart of adharma or falsehood by which dharma is pierced is taken out from the body of Dharma. Yāj. (I. 359–360) declares that the impartial administration of justice yields the same rewards as solemn vedic sacrifices do. In this way administration of justice was held to be a very sacred duty. Manu VII. 128 (= Vrddha-Hārīta VII. 194) declares that a king who punishes those that do not deserve to be punished and who does not punish those that deserve punishment incurs great obloquy and goes to hell. Vas. (19·40–43) prescribes one day's fast for the king and three 'days' fast for the *purohita* when the king lets off those that deserve punishment and three days' fast for the king and the *krcchra* penance for the purohita when the king

323. द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत्। कौ. 1. 19.

punishes the innocent. The Mahābhārata[324] (Anuśāsana 6·38 and chap. 70) and Rāmāyana say that if a king intent on pleasures does not show himself to litigants who approach him for decision, he would suffer like king Nṛga. The Śukranītisāra (IV. 5·8) also says the same thing. In the Rāmāyana (VII. 53–54) king Nrga is said to have been cursed to become a chameleon for a long period by two brāhmanas who had a dispute about the ownership of a cow and could not see the king for many days. Megasthenes (Frag. XXVII. pp. 70–71) says 'the king remains the whole day in court without allowing the business to be interrupted.' Kaut[325] (I. 19) gives the advice that, when in court, the king should not cause petitioners or litigants to wait long at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible, those who are near him create confusion about what should or should not be done, whereby the king engenders disaffection among his subjects and makes himself a prey to his foes. The king's court[326] of justice was called *dharmasthāna* (Śankha-Likhita), *dharmāsana* (Nārada I. 34, Manu VIII. 23, Śukra IV. 5·46) or *dharmādhikarana* (Kātyāyana and Śukra IV. 5·44)· 'The place where the decision of the truth of the plaint (lit. the cause or root of dispute) is carried on by a consideration of the rules of the sacred law is called the *dharmādhikaraṇa* (the Hall of Justice)'—says Kātyāyana Kālidāsa (Śākuntala V) and Bhavabhūti (Uttararāmcarita I.) employ the word dharmāsana·

The authors of smrtis believed that there was a golden age or era of perfect virtue in the dim past, when men were bent only on right conduct, that later ages saw the advent of sinful

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324. अर्थिनामुपसन्नानां यस्तु नोपैति दर्शनम् । सुखे प्रसक्तो नृपतिः स तप्येत नृगो यथा ॥ महाभारत quoted by दण्डविवेक p. 13; अर्थिना कार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं यस्मात्त्वं नैवि दर्शनम् ॥ अदृश्यः सर्वभूतानां कृकलासो भविष्यसि । ... कार्यार्थिनां विमर्दो हि राज्ञां दोषाय कल्पते । रामायण, उत्तरकाण्ड 53. 18, 19, 25; पौरकार्याणि यो राजा न करोति सुखे स्थितः । व्यर्कं स नरके घोरे पच्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ शुक्र IV. 5. 8; vide उत्तरकाण्ड 53. 6 for very similar words; शङ्खलिखितौ । राजा स्वाधीनवृत्तिरात्मप्रत्ययकोशः स्वयं कृत्यानुदर्शी यमस्वानिवृत्तश्चिरं भद्राणि पश्यति । राजनीतिप्र. p. 134.

325. उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् । दुर्दर्शो हि राजा कार्याकार्यविपर्यासमासन्नैः कार्यते । तेन प्रकृतिकोपमरिवर्गं वा गच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र I. 19.

326. धर्मस्थानं प्राच्यां दिशि तच्चाग्न्युदकैः समवेतं स्यात् । शङ्ख q. in स्मृतिच. (II. p. 19); धर्मशास्त्रविचारेण मूलसारविवेचनम् । यत्राधिक्रियते स्थाने धर्माधिकरणं हि तत्॥ कात्या० q. in स्मृतिच० (II, p 19), परा. मा. III 1 p. 22. The व्य. म. p. 8 reads धर्मशास्त्रानुसारेण अर्थशास्त्रविवेचनम्. The verse as thus read is the same as Śukra IV. 5. 44. Vide स. वि. p. 63 'यत्र स्थाने आवेदितव्यतत्त्वनिष्कर्षः धर्मशास्त्रविचारेण निर्णेतृभिः क्रियते इति धर्मस्थानम् । अस्यैव धर्माधिकरणमिति नामान्तरम् ।'

promptings, that therefore regulation of life by the learned and the king came into vogue (compare Gaut VIII. 1). Manu I. 81–82 (= Śāntiparva 231. 23–24) state that in the Krta age dharma prevailed in its perfection, there was no advent of adharma among men then and that in each of the three succeeding *yugas* dharma declined progressively by the introduction of theft, falsehood and deceit. The Śāntiparva (59. 13 ff) narrates that in the Krta age there was no king and no punishment, that gradually kāma (lust) and rāga (passion) began to wield sway and dharma dwindled away. This belief in an ideal or perfect past was universal and was probably depicted in order to induce men to rise higher and higher in goodness and virtue and to make them submit easily to the discipline of government and the priestly requirements. This ideal description of the past, is often found associated with the picture of anarchy that reigned in the dim past which was retrieved from horrors by the creation of the kingly office (vide pp 30–34 above). These diametrically opposite views of the past contained in the same works (such as Manu and the Mahābhārata) probably owe their origin to the desire of the writers to make the common people submit to the absolute rule of kings. Almost all works even from the Ṛgveda (X. 10. 10) downwards believe in the progressive deterioration of religion and morals. A state of anarchy is visualised in a few works only for the purpose of glorifying the great usefulness of the institution of kingship. Nār. I. 1 states[327] 'when people were solely bent on dharma and were truthful, there existed neither administration of law and justice nor hatred nor jealousy. When dharma declined (or disappeared) among men, administration of law and justice came to be introduced and the king was declared to be the decider of disputes and the chastiser (of the guilty)'. Br. also (S. B E. 33 p. 277) says 'In bygone ages men were pre-eminently virtuous and free from cruel tendencies; now that men are overwhelmed by greed and hatred, judicial procedure has to be declared'.

The idea of Dharma took the place of the very ancient conception of *ṛta*. In the Ṛgveda ṛta denotes the supreme

327. धर्मैकताना पुरुषा यदासन्सत्यवादिनः । तदा न व्यवहारोऽभूत्र द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः । नष्टे धर्मे मनुष्याणां व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते । द्रष्टा च व्यवहाराणां राजा दण्डधरः स्मृतः ॥ नारद I. 1–2, धर्मप्रधानाः पुरुषा पूर्वमासन्महर्षिकाः । लोभद्वेषाभिभूतानां व्यवहारः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II p 1, व्य प्र. p. 4 Compare Plato in 'Laws' (Book IV p 485 of the Random House edition) 'There is a tradition of the happy life of mankind in days when all things were spontaneous and abundant'

transcendental law or the cosmic order by which the universe and even the gods are governed and which is intimately connected with sacrifice. Vide Ṛg. I. 68. 2, I. 105. 12, I. 136. 2, I 142. 7, I. 164. 11, II 28. 4, IV. 23. 8–10 (in which the word rta occurs ten times), X. 190 1. On the relation of rta and law Berolzheimer in his 'The world's legal philosophies' (translated by Jastrow, New York, 1929) says: " closely connected with the religious and philosophical views of the Aryans are certain fundamental positions in regard to the philosophy of law which in turn became the antecedents of later legal and ethical developments among the Greeks and Romans. Foremost among these philosophical conceptions is 'rita', which is at once the organized principle of the universe and the divine ordering of earthly life; as the former it regulates the appearance of the sun and the moon, of day and night and embodies the unchangeable principle that pervades the succession of phenomena; as the latter it is affiliated with purpose and human benefit and is exemplified in the flow of the rivers which fertilize the fields; in the cattle useful to men; in the institutions of marriage, of the monarchical state, of the patriarchal home; and in man's sense of responsibility for his sins. The derivative conceptions of 'vrata', 'dharma', 'dhāma', 'svadhā' represent special aspects of 'rita'; thus 'vrata' refers to any specialized embodied 'rita'; while 'dharma' refers specifically to the moral function of rewarding good and punishing evil" (pp. 37–38). Vide Prof. V. M. Apte's paper or 'Ṛta' in the Ṛgveda (pp. 55–60 of the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the B. O. R. Institute) in which he tries to prove that ṛta means primarily 'the belt of the Zodiac'.

The word *vyavahāra* is used in several senses in the *sūtras* and *smṛtis*. One meaning of vyavahāra is 'transaction or dealing' as in Udyogaparva 37. 30 quoted above (on p 207) or in Āp. Dh. S II. 7·16·17, I. 6·20. 11 and 16. It also means 'a dispute, a lawsuit' in Śānti 69·28, Manu VIII. 1., Vas. 16·1, Yāj. II. 1., Visnu Dh. S. III. 72, Nār. I. 1 and 2, Śukra IV. 5·5. A third sense is 'legal capacity to enter into transactions' (as in Gaut. X. 48,

Vas. 16·8, Śankha-Likhita (*rakṣed rājā bālānām dhanānyapi āpla-vyavahārāṇām* &c. quoted in V. R. p. 599) A fourth but a rare sense is 'the means of deciding a matter' (as in Gaut XI. 19 'tasya *vyavahāro* vedo dharmaśāstrānyangāni &c). In this chapter the word vyavahāra is taken to mean 'law-suit or dispute in a court' and 'legal procedure'. This sense is very ancient. In the Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict No. 1 of Aśoka (Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 123) we have the word 'viyohālasamatā' (vyavahārasamatā) and the word 'vyavahāravidhi' occurs in Kharavela's Hāthigumphā Inscription (E I. vol XX. p. 79). A 'vohārika-mahāmatta' (vyāvahārika-mahāmātra, minister of justice) occurs in the Mahāvagga, I. 40 3 and Chullavagga VI 4 9). In the medieval digests, both law and procedure are sometimes dealt with in one book as in the Vyavahāra-nirnaya of Varadarāja and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha, sometimes the titles of law are treated of in one work and judicial procedure in another. For example, Candeśvara composed the Vivādaratnākara (on titles of law) and Vyavahāraratnākara (on judicial procedure) The word vyavahāra is restricted in some works to judicial procedure alone (as in the Vyavahāramātrkā of Jīmūtavāhana and the Vyavahāratattva of Raghunandana). The word *vivāda* which means 'dispute' is often used as a synonym for vyavahāra in the sense of law-suit or legal procedure or both In Āp. Dh S. II. 11·29 5 and in Nār. I. 5 *vivāda* means 'law-suit' In the Vivādacandra of Misarumiśra and the Vivādatāndava of Kamalākara both law and judicial procedure are treated of. Yāj. (II. 8 and 305) appears to distinguish between *vivāda* (law-suit) and *vyavahāra* (judicial procedure)

The word '*vyavahāra*' is defined by several smrtis and commentators. Kātyāyana gives two definitions, one based on etymology and referring principally to procedure and the other giving the conventional sense having in view a dispute "The (*upasarga*) *vi* is employed in the sense of 'various', '*avi*' in the sense of 'doubt', '*hāra*' means 'removing'; *vyavahāra* is so called because of its removing various doubts" (quoted by V. M.

p. 283, Par. M. III. p. 7 and Kullūka on Manu VIII. 1).[327a] This definition places the administration of justice on a high plane. The purpose of all branches of Indian philosophy is the quest of Truth or Reality. The purpose of legal procedure is, according to Kāt, the same viz. to find out the truth when there is a dispute. But there are some points of difference. The philosopher may take his own time in his search for truth; but justice has to be done as quickly as possible. Further, legal procedure has its own method and limitations in finding out the truth, that is, it depends on oral and documentary evidence, while a philosopher's quest of truth may be purely intellectual and subjective. Another definition is: 'When the ramifications of right conduct, that are together called dharma and that can be established with efforts (of various kinds such as truthful speech &c.), have been violated, the dispute (in a court between parties) which springs from what is sought to be proved (such as a debt), is said to be *vyavahāra*'. Hārīta gives an easier definition: 'that is declared to be *vyavahāra* where the attainment of one's wealth (taken away by another) and the avoidance of the dharmas of others (such as those of heretics) are secured with (the help of) the means of proof' (quoted by the Sm. C. II. p. 1). The Mit. (on Yāj II. 1) defines vyavahāra as 'averment (about a matter) as related to oneself in opposition to another'. Śukra IV. 5. 4 gives another definition. The Vyavahāramayūkha gives a much

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327 a. वि नानार्थेऽव सन्देहे हरणं हार उच्यते । नानासन्देहहरणाद् व्यवहार इति स्मृतः ॥ कात्या. quoted in व्य मा. p. 283, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 1, दीपकालिका p. 36, which says 'ऋणादानादिनानाविवादपदविषयः निराक्रियतेऽनेनेति नानासंशयहारी विचारः व्यवहारः ।', प्रयत्नसाध्ये विच्छिन्ने धर्माख्ये न्यायविस्तरे । साध्यमूलस्तु यो वादो व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥ अपरार्क p 596, स्मृतिच. (II. p. 1), परा. मा. III pp. 5–7, व्य. प्र. pp. 3–4. This last verse is variously explained. Vide my notes to Kāt. 25. The मदनरत्न (व्यव Ms in my possession) explains 'प्रयत्नसाध्ये कष्टसाध्ये गृहक्षेत्रादिके विषये विच्छिन्ने स्वेच्छया भोक्तुमशक्ये सति न्यायविस्तरे न्यायः प्रमाण विस्तीर्यते प्रगच्छते निर्णीयते यस्मिंस्तस्मिन् धर्माख्ये धर्मनामके धर्माधिकरणमिति प्रसिद्धे सभालक्षणे स्थले साध्यमूलको यो गृहक्षेत्रादिविषयो वादः स व्यवहार इति ।'; स्वधनस्य यथा प्राप्तिः परधर्मस्य वर्जनम् । न्यायेन यत्र क्रियते व्यवहारः स उच्यते ॥ हारीत q. by स्मृतिच. (II. p. 1).

more elaborate definition (vide text p 1 and notes pp. 3–4 of my ed.).

A *vyavahārapada*[328] means 'the topic or subject matter of litigation or dispute'. It is the same thing as 'vivādapada' which word occurs also in Kaut. (III ·16 p 191 and IV. 7 p. 218) and in Nār. (dattāpradānika 1, abhyupetyāśuśrūsā 1). Manu VIII. 8 shows that '*pada*' means '*sthāna*'. Yāj. II. 5 defines it as 'If a person, who is set at naught by others in a manner that is opposed to the rules of smrti and to good usage or conventions, informs the king (or his judge), that is a *vyavahārapada*'. From very ancient times eighteen vyavahārapadas have been enumerated. The underlying idea is that most of the disputes between men can be classified under 18 heads. Even Manu (VIII. 8) was conscious of the fact that the enumeration of 18 vyavahārapadas was a matter of a convenient arrangement and that the number 18 did not embrace all disputes whatever but only the largest number of disputes and the most important among them. Medhātithi and Kullūka make this position quite clear.[329]

There is some difference about the number and nomenclature of the vyavahārapadas among Manu and other writers of smrtis The following table will give some idea of the divergence as to nomenclature and the sequence in which they are treated of. All do not mention them in the same order as in Manu VIII. 4–7. For example, the order in Yāj is rnādāna, upanidhi, dāyavibhāga, sīmā-vivāda, svāmipālavivāda, asvāmivikraya &c. Yāj. does not enumerate all of them in one place as Manu and Nārada do.

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328. व्यवहारः तस्य पदं विषयः । मिता० on या. II 6; पदं स्थानं निमित्तमिति यावत् । अपरार्क on the same

329. भूयिष्ठग्रहणं माधान्यख्यापनार्थम् । अन्येऽपि व्यवहारहेतवः सन्ति यथा निवेसनार्थं स्वया मे वेश्म दत्तं तत्र किमित्यर्वाक्संवत्सरादन्यस्मै ददासीति न चेदं दत्तानपकर्म नेत्र स्वत्वनिवृत्तिरस्ति भोगाङ्गत्वमात्रं वसतः । मेधा on मनु VIII. 8, भूयिष्ठशब्देनान्यान्यपि विवादपदानि सन्तीति सूचयति । तानि च प्रकीर्णकशब्देन नारदाद्युक्तानि । कुल्लूक on the same.

MANU	KAUṬILYA	YĀJÑAVALKYA (acc. to Mit.)	NĀRADA	BṚHASPATI (in Sm. C. II. p. 9)
	5 rnādāna	1 rnādāna	1 rnādāna	1 kusīda
	6 upanidhi	2 upanidhi	2 nikṣepa	2 nidhi
1 rnādāna	11 asvāmivikraya	6 asvāmivikraya	7 asvāmivikraya	8 asvāmivikraya
2 nikṣepa	8 sambhūya-samut-	17 sambhūya-samut-	3 sambhūyasamu-	4 sambhūyotthāna
3 asvāmivikraya	thāna	thāna	thāna	
4 sambhūya-samut-	10 dattasyānapākarma	7 dattāpradānika	4 dattāpradānika	3 adeyādya
thāna	(in III. 13 bare mention)	11 vetanādāna	6 vetanasyānapā-	5 bhṛtyadāna
5 dattasyānapākarma	7 karmakarakalpa	10 samvid-vyatikrama	karma	10 samayatikrama
6 vetanādāna	4 samayasyānapā-	8 kritānusaya	10 samayasyānapā-	9 krayavikrayānu-
7 samvidvyatikrama	karma	16 vikriyāsampra-	karma	śaya
	9 vikrītakritānusaya	dāna	9 kritānusaya	0
8 krayavikrayānusaya		5 svāmipālavivāda	8 vikriyāsam-	7 bhūvāda
	0	4 sīmāvivāda	pradāna	15 vākpārusya
9 svāmipālavivāda	3 sīmāvivāda	13 vākpārusya	0	16 dandapārusya
10 sīmāvivāda	13 vākpārusya	14 dandapārusya	11 ksetrajavivāda	12 steya
11 vākpārusya	14 dandapārusya	18 steya	15 vākpārusya	17 vadha
12 dandapārusya	0	15 sāhasa	16 dandapārusya	18 strisangraha
13 steya	12 sāhasa	19 strisangrahana	0	11 strīpumsayoga
14 sāhasa	sangrahana (IV. 12)	0	14 sāhasa	
15 strisangrahana	1 (no name but subject		0	13 dāyabhāga
16 strīpumdharma	dealt with in III. 2–4)	3 dāyavibhāga	12 strīpumsayoga	14 aksadevana
	2 dāyavibhāga	12 dyūtasamāhvaya	13 dāyabhāga	6 asusrūsā
17 vibhāga	15 dyūtasamāhvaya	9 abhyupetyāsuśrūsā	17 dyūtasamāhvaya	19 prakīrnaka
18 dyūtasamāhvaya	0	20 prakīrnaka	5 abhyupetyāsuśrūsā	
	17 prakīrnaka		18 prakīrnaka	

It will be noticed that Yāj omits the duties of husband and wife from the 18 topics of vyavahāra as he had already dealt with them in his section on *ācāra*, adds *abhyupetyāśuśrūsā* and *prakīrnaka* (miscellaneous wrongs) and splits krayavikrayānuśaya into two and thus gives 20 topics Nārada (I. 16-19) has the same 15 topics as those of Manu (in some cases under slightly different names), omits svāmipālavivādā, steya and strīsangrahana, adds abhyupetyāsuśrūsā and another topic viz prakīrnaka and splits krayavikrayānuśaya into two, viz *krītānuśaya* and *vikrīyāsampradāna*. He includes *steya* under *sāhasa* (sāhasa verse 21) and also in what is an appendix. Brhaspati as quoted in the Smrti-candrikā (vyavahāra p 9) names the 18 vyavahārapadas and adds prakīrnaka Kautilya also adds prakīrnaka and omits 'steya' under his dharmasthīya section, though he deals with theft elsewhere (as in IV. 8 and 11). It is not to be supposed that the 18 topics were first started by the Manusmrti. Gaut. XII. 1 mentions *vākpārusya* and *dandapārusya*, treats of some of the topics without specifying the technical names e g. he refers to the subjects of sangrahana (in XII 2-3), of theft (XII. 12-13), of svāmipālavivāda (in XII 16 ff), of rnādāna (in XII. 26-33), of nidhi (in XII 39), of dāyavibhāga (in XXVIII). Similarly the Āp Dh. S speaks in scattered places of some of the topics of vyavahāra such as murder (i. e *sāhasa*) in I. 9. 24, of adultery in I 9. 25. 1-2 and I. 10. 28 15-20, II. 10 26 18 ff, theft in I. 9 ·25 4-11, dāyavibhāga in II. 6 14, vākpārusya in II. 10. 27 14. Vas. also mentions the word dāyavibhāga (in XVII. 40) and sets out rules about it and about means of proof (XVI. 13-15), about *rnādāna* (XVI 31), about the twelve kinds of sons (XVII. 12-39). The Baud Dh S. (II. 2 8) employs the word dāyavibhāga and gives several rules on that subject. Thus some at least out of the eighteen vyavahārapadas (such as vākpārusya, dandapārusya, dāyabhāga, steya) were distinctly recognized centuries before the present Manusmrti was composed. Someśvara in Mānasollāsa (II. 20 verses 1265-1273) enumerates 22 vyavahārapadas, by splitting dattasyānapākarma into two as *datta* and *dattāpahāraka*, adds svāmibhrtyavivāda after svāmipālavivāda, counts krayavikrayānuśaya as two and dyūtasamāhvaya as two distinct topics

The definition of *vyavahārapada* in Yāj II 5 (= Śukra IV. 5. 68) viz 'if a person informs or complains to the king' (*āvedayati ced rājñe*) conveys that vyavahārapada means and includes only those disputes that are started or brought before

the Court at the instance of the parties. Manu VIII. 43 prescribes that neither the king nor his officers should start a dispute (i. e. a legal proceeding), nor should he sit silent upon (hush up) a matter which has been brought before him by another (i. e. by a party). Gaut. XIII. 27 lays down that a party should humbly approach a judge with his complaint. Kātyāyana (27) states: 'The king[330] should not, through influence or through greed of money, take upon himself the disputes of men, when they do not themselves want to contend (in a court)'. Mānasollāsa II. 20 verse 1274 and Śukra IV. 5. 69 say the same. There must have always been several matters, of which nobody might complain and which the king might have to look into *suo motu*. Manu after dealing with the 18 vyavahārapadas (in VIII. 1 to IX. 251) requires the king (in IX. 252–253) to make efforts to destroy kantakas (thorns, harmful persons) and dilates upon many aspects of his activities in this respect. Nārada relegates all matters in which the king took action *suo motu* to a separate topic, prakīrnaka, about which he says 'under prakīrnaka are comprised lawsuits depending on the king (i. e. on the king's own action) such as transgressions of the king's commandments and obedience to his injunctions, grants of towns, dissensions among the constituent elements (such as ministers) of the State, the duties and breaches there of among heretics, followers of the veda, corporations (of merchants) and groups, dispute between father and son, neglect of prescribed penances, abstraction of gifts made to worthy persons, the wrath of hermits, sinful confusion of castes and the rules regarding their maintenance and (in short) whatever (matter) has been omitted in the preceding (vyavahārapadas)—these are treated under prakīrnaka'.[331] Brhaspati defines prakīrnaka in

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330 न राजा तु वशित्वेन धनलोभेन वा पुनः। स्वयं कार्याणि कुर्वीत नराणामविवादिनाम् ॥ कात्यायन q. by कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 43, व्य मा. p. 285 (which reads न वागमविवादिनाम्); स्वयं नोत्पादयेत्कार्यं समर्थः पृथिवीपतिः। नादद्दीत तथोत्कोचं दृष्टं कार्यार्थिना नृपः ॥ मानसोल्लास II, 20. 1274.

331. प्रकीर्णके पुनर्ज्ञेयो व्यवहारो नृपाश्रयः। राज्ञामाज्ञाप्रतीघातस्तत्कर्मकरणं तथा ॥ पुरप्रदानं संभेद्य प्रकृतीनां तथैव च। पाखण्डिनैगमश्रेणीगणधर्मविपर्ययः। पितापुत्रविवादश्च प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिक्रमः। प्रतिग्रहविलोपश्च कोपश्चाश्रमिणामपि। वर्णसङ्करदोषश्च तद्वृत्तिनियमस्तथा। न दृष्टं यच्च पूर्वेषु सर्वं तत्स्यात्प्रकीर्णकम् ॥ नारद (प्रकीर्णक 1–4) quoted by the मिता on या. II. 295. The स्मृतिच० (II. p 331) reads पुरप्रमाणं and explains पौरचरितलेख्यप्रमाणम्. तत्र बृहस्पतिः। एष वादिकृतः प्रोक्तो व्यवहारः समासतः। नृपाश्रयं प्रवक्ष्यामि व्यवहारं प्रकीर्णकम् ॥ स्मृतिच० II. p. 331.

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the same way as Nārada Kautilya deals with the vyavahārapadas in his Dharmasthīya (III) section and in the Kantakaśodhana section (IV) speaks of matters that are similarly dealt with by officers called *pradestrs* (who correspond to coroners and police magistrates of modern times), while matters falling under the dharmasthīya section (viz. the vyavahārapadas) were disposed off by judges (called *dharmasthas*). Kantaka means in Kautilya as in Manu IX. 252 'harmful persons' The chief matters that fell within the purview of the kantakaśodhana (removal or punishment of harmful persons) officers or courts were: Artisans like blacksmiths and carpenters were generally to work in guilds and receive from people materials for working them up; if they caused unreasonable delay in handing back finished articles, they were to receive one-fourth less than the proper wages and were to be fined twice the amount of wages, similar provisions are made for loss of wages and fines for weavers who do not increase the weight of cloth (cotton, linen, silk or woollen) woven up to the usual standard: washermen were to wash clothes on wooden planks or smooth stones, but if they washed them elsewhere, they were to pay compensation for loss caused and a fine of 6 *panas*; they were to be fined twelve panas for the sale, pledge or hiring out of other's clothes; they were also to be fined for keeping clothes with them beyond the time ordinarily required, for washing the best garments, garments of middling quality and inferior garments the wages were respectively one pana, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$; trustworthy persons and experts were to decide disputes about colour and wages; similar rules apply to tailors; goldsmiths, who

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In an interesting paper contributed to the Sir Denison Ross volume of papers pp 234–240 Dr. V. Raghavan describes a work called 'Vaiśyavaṃśa-sudhākara' composed by Kolācala Mallinātha, the renowned commentator of the five classical Sanskrit Kāvyas This work is the report or decision given by a commission presided over by Mallinātha appointed to settle a dispute (which in these days might be called a caste question not cognisable by civil courts) that arose in the times of Devarāya II of Vidyānagara (1422–1466 A D). Vaiśyas were given a license to trade in the 24 cities and 108 shrines of the realm, certain subcastes like the Komatis claimed to be vaiśyas and this privilege also. Mallinātha decides after a searching examination of authorities that the words vaiśya, vaṇik, nāgara, ūruja, tṛtīya-jātīya are synonyms, that Komatis, who were styled *vijātis* by their rivals, were vaiśyas and entitled to all the privileges of vaiśyas. This decision would come under either पाखण्डि ... विपर्यय: or तद्वृत्तिनियम:.

without informing (government officers) purchased from unclean hands (i e from menial servants or slaves) without changing the form of the article or after changing the form, or purchased from a thief were to be fined respectively 12, 24 or 48 panas; for stealing one (gold) māsaka (one-sixteenth of a suvarna) from off a suvarna, the gold-smith was to be fined two hundred panas and for stealing one māsaka out of a silver *dharana* there was a fine of twelve panas; fines are provided for loss of weight (beyond the recognised standard) in the case of working up copper, lead, brass, bell-metal, tin into vessels and articles; for manufacturing a counterfeit coin, for accepting it or passing it off to another the fine was a thousand panas and for entering a counterfeit coin in the royal treasury the punishment was death; a physician, who undertook the medical treatment of a patient without informing (government officers) of the dangerous nature of the disease, was to be punished with the first amercement if the patient died and with the middling fine if the patient died through the carelessness of the physician and if the patient suffered some vital injury, the matter was to be dealt with as assault (dandapārusya); musicians and actors shall stay in one place during the rainy season and shall avoid taking excessive gifts or indulging in excessive praise of one patron; for violating this rule the fine was twelve panas The same rules apply to those who show dumb plays and to other mendicants, the latter receiving as many lashes as the fine imposed in similar cases on others. In IV. 2 Kautilya prescribes fines against merchants that use false measures, weights and balances; that sell timber, iron, jewels, ropes, clothes misrepresenting them as superior when they are inferior; that conspire to prevent the sale of merchandise; that cause adulteration of grains, oils, salt, medicines &c.; that raise the prices beyond those fixed by the superintendent of commerce for local commodities and for foreign produce. In IV. 3 Kaut. provides for measures against such calamities as fire, floods, pestilential diseases, famine, rats, tigers, serpents and prescribes a fine of twelve panas for catching or injuring cats and mongooses employed to destroy rats. In IV. 4 Kaut. prescribes the measures that the officer called samāhartṛ has to take to protect the subjects against those who prey upon the people secretly by employing foul means. He has to employ spies under various disguises to find out the honesty or corruption of officers in the villages, of superintendents, of judges, of magistrates and witnesses and the punishment in these cases is generally

banishment Kautilya IV. 5 deals with the detection of young men inclined to robbery and adultery by the employment of spies and agents *provocateurs* in the guise of ascetics and persons reputed to possess miraculous powers The Kautilīya IV 6 and 7 respectively describe the seizure of criminals on suspicion or in the very act itself and examination in cases of sudden death Kaut IV. 8 speaks of questioning in the presence of the wronged party of the witnesses of the accused, whether they are his relatives or total strangers, as regards the country, the caste, the family, the name, occupation, property, friends and residence of the accused and of the application of torture to the accused to elicit an admission of guilt It is said that torture is to be applied only in the case of those whose guilt is believed to be established *prima facie* (*āpladosam karma kārayet*), that torture is not to be employed when the accused is guilty of a minor offence, is under age, old or diseased, is under the influence of intoxicants, or is a lunatic, or is overwhelmed by hunger or thirst or fatigue due to a journey, or has eaten to excess or is suffering from indigestion or is weak, nor is it to be employed in the case of a pregnant woman or a woman who was delivered of a child within a month; and in the case of other women only half the torture prescribed for males or only the asking of questions is to be employed. Learned brāhmanas and ascetics (when accused) are to be subjected to espionage only. Those who violate these rules or incite others to do so and those who are guilty of causing the death of an accused by torture are to be punished with the highest amercement. Four kinds of torture were employed in the case of complaints about wrongs viz. six dandas, seven whippings, two kinds of suspension, and (fourthly) water-tube (i e injecting salt water in the nose from a tube) [332] In this chapter Kaut states that one who

332 The exact meaning of the four kinds of torture is not clear. Prof V. R Dikshitar in 'Hindu Administrative Institutions' pp 237-247 tries very hard to establish that Kaut recommends no torture in any case, that '*vākyānuyoga*' means 'pronouncing of guilt by the jury' and *karmānuyoga* means 'judgment of the Chief Justice' Though the learned Professor's attempt to exculpate Kautilya may be due to laudable motives, the words of Kautilya are too clear to admit of any other interpretation than the one given above If one dispassionately considers the fact that no *karma* was allowed to be employed in the case of the weak, the diseased, old men &c., that in the case of women '*ardhakarma*' alone was allowed, that a heavy fine was imposed for causing death by *karma* (*karmanā vyāpādanena*),

(*Continued on the next page*)

charges an innocent man with being a thief or who conceals a thief is to be punished like a thief and that even one who is not a thief may for fear of torture admit that he is a thief, as Māndavya did. Kaut in IV. 9 prescribes that the *samāhartr* and *pradestrs* should exercise control over all superintendents of the various State departments and their subordinates, that those who steal or seize valuable articles or jewels from State mines or manufactories should be simply sentenced to death, prescribes various fines and punishments for stealing or removing by force articles of different prices from the State granaries and store-houses, provides punishment for judges that threaten, browbeat, send out or unjustly silence or abuse litigants or that do not ask proper questions or ask improper questions, that cause unnecessary delay, unjustly rehear causes that have been heard or disposed of, and provides heavy punish-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

that Māndavya, though really not a thief, declared that he was so through the fear of the torments of *karma* (*karmaklesabhayāt*), that in the four karmas we find suspension and water-tube and that immediately after the words '*karma kārayet*' we get the rule that in all crimes the brāhmana was not to be subjected to bodily pain, it will have to be admitted that '*karma*' in this chapter of the Arthaśāstra means 'torture'. One fails to see what 'ardhakarma' in the case of women will mean if 'karma' signifies only the judgment of the chief justice or why Māndavya should have confessed theft through fear of 'karmaklesa' And one need not feel apologetic if Kautilya recommends torture in certain well-defined cases. Torture was an essential part in the Roman Criminal Procedure and Augustus had issued an edict about it. Vide Stephens' 'History of English Criminal Law' vol. I, pp. 47–49 Torture by the police and third-degree methods are not unknown in the 20th century in the West (even apart from the latest German methods) or in India, though they are not expressly mentioned in any text-book or Act as allowable Vide Harry E Barnes' 'Story of Punishment' pp. 10–15 for various kinds of tortures employed in the West for several centuries and third-degree methods (pp. 15–24), which he asserts are even now in almost universal use by the Police Department in the U. S. A The story of Māndavya who though not a thief was held to be a thief, because he, owing to his vow of silence, did not reply when questioned and near whom was found the booty stolen and who was impaled, is found in Ādi. 63. 92–93 (cr ed chap. 57), Ādi. 107–108 (cr. ed chap 101), Anuśāsana 18. 46–50 and in Nār, (I 42) and Br. quoted by Aparārka (p 599). शूले मोतः पुराणर्षिरचोरश्चोरशङ्कया । अणीमाण्डव्य इत्येवं विख्यात. क्षुमहायशाः ॥ आदि 63. 92–93 Kaut IV 8 appears to have had a different version of the story before him. The Mārkandeyapurāna chap 16 has the story of Animāndavya. The story of Māndavya was a leading case, it appears, in criminal law The Mṛcchakaṭika (Act IX. 36) appears to refer to torture.

ments for releasing persons jailed or for rape on a woman in a lock-up Kaut. IV. 10 prescribes alternative punishments of fines in lieu of the cutting off of fingers or mutilation of limbs for several offences such as theft or assault, abuse and defamation or showing contempt to the king by riding his horse or other conveyance or fabricating royal orders, prescribes death for selling human flesh, simple death or highest amercement for stealing images of gods or animals, for abducting human beings or for wrongfully seizing fields, houses, gold, gold coins, jewels and crops. Death with or without torture is provided for in Kaut. IV. 11 for murdering a man in a quarrel (but when the wounded man dies a fortnight or a month after the quarrel, highest fine or fine of five hundred *panas* and the expenses of medical treatment); different kinds of punishments are provided for wounding with a weapon, impalement for causing violent death of men and women, burning alive for those who aim at securing the kingdom or force entrance into the royal harem or incite wild tribes or enemies or instigate disaffection in the capital or country or army, drowning (or solitary confinement in a dark room, acc. to another reading) for a brāhmana offender of this sort, cutting of tongue for insulting or abuse of parents or a teacher or an ascetic, drowning for one destroying the dam of a tank or for a poisoner or for a woman murdering a man, tearing to death by bulls for a woman who murders her husband or child or her elders or administers poison or sets fire Kaut adds that the punishment of death with torture has been prescribed by ancient smrti-writers, but that it is proper to order simple death in cases of offences in which no cruelty enters. Kaut. IV 12 starts by declaring that no man shall have sexual intercourse with a woman (not his wife) against her will, prescribes different punishments for forcible sexual intercourse with an immature girl or a girl that has attained maturity, of the same caste, or of a different caste, provides that for intercourse with a willing maiden the fine will be 54 panas for the man and 27 for the maiden, further provides that it is no offence for a man of the same caste to have intercourse with a maiden who has not been got married for three years after the appearance of menses, provides fines for deceitfulness in substituting one girl at marriage while showing another before, provides that if a woman whose husband is gone abroad commits adultery a relative or servant of the husband may keep her under restraint and that if the husband on his return forgives the woman her paramour may not be proceeded against,

but if he does not condone, the nose and ears of the woman may be cut off and the paramour should be sentenced to death. Kaut. IV. 13 provides punishment for brāhmanas eating or drinking what is forbidden to them and varying fines for administering forbidden food or drink to members of the four varnas, provides fines for house-trespass and lurking house-trespass by night, provides punishments for witchcraft, provides burning alive in a vessel for adultery with the queen and other punishments for adultery with women of the several castes, whether guarded or unguarded, prescribes a fine of 24 panas for adultery with a nun

The above is a meagre summary of Kautilya's section on kaṇṭakaśodhana. Kautilya is encyclopaedic on this subject as on several others. The number of offences dealt with by him is very large and his treatment in some respects compares favourably with such modern criminal codes as the Indian Penal Code. Many of the provisions contained in Kaut. IV are found in Yāj. (II. 273-304), in Nārada (in prakīrnaka and elsewhere) and also in Manu (e g. VIII. 365-368 about rape or adultery, VIII. 396-97 about washermen and weavers, IX. 225-226 about musicians and dancers, IX. 231-232, IX. 261-267). Why Kaut. treats of several offences under kaṇṭakaśodhana and not under the dharmasthīya section, it is somewhat difficult to say. It is probable that he included under dharmasthīya only those complaints or actions that were fought out between the parties, even though many of the wrongs complained of under vākpārusya, daṇḍapārusya, sangrahana and steya were criminal and the same as those treated of in the section on kaṇṭakaśodhana In wrongs dealt with in the kaṇṭakaśodhana section it was the king or king's officers who themselves brought up the offenders for punishment and the offences were viewed not as mere private matters, but as matters in which the State was concerned for the eradication of crime in general. Kautilya in III. 20 speaks of *prakīrnaka* but therein he seems to include some miscellaneous matters like non-return of borrowed articles or deposits (at the proper time and place), evading payment of ferry tax under the pretence of being a brāhmana, connection with a public woman kept by another, misappropriating revenue collected as agent for a householder, a cāndāla's touching an Ārya woman, inviting for dinner in honour of Gods and Manes Buddhist or Ājīvaka or Śudra mendicants, abandonment of parents, child, wife or husband, brother or sister, teacher or pupil (when not

guilty of a grave sin), wrongful confinement of a person &c. Kautilya does not apparently include under prakīrnaka all matters in which the king acts *suo motu* as Nār, Br. and Kāt do but includes these latter under kantakaśodhana. He, however, states here and there (IV. 1 and 13) that the matters dealt with under kantakaśodhana are quite analogous to those under such titles as dandapārusya treated of under the dharmasthīya section. For example, in IV. 1. he says that if a physician through negligence causes loss of a vital part to a patient then the matter may be treated as dandapārusya.[333] So Kautilya probably represents a much earlier stage of judicial administration than Nār. or Br, who included under prakīrnaka all matters in which the king acted of his own motion (i. e all that falls under kantakaśodhana in Kaut.)

The enumeration of vyavahārapadas is very ancient and authoritative, but there is hardly any scientific principle of classification underlying them. A writer called Nibandhanakāra quoted in the Sarasvatīvilāsa[334] (p. 51) holds that in all the vyavahārapadas from *rnādāna* to *dāyavibhāga* the relief claimed is something to be given or rendered (*deya*) by one party to the other, while in vākpārusya, dandapārusya, sāhasa, gambling and betting the principal relief is in the form of danda (punishment). Here there is a glimmering of the distinction between civil and criminal litigation. Two deep-seated principles in the administration of law and justice everywhere are 'fulfil your promises' and 'cause injury (himsā) to no one'. It is therefore that we find Brhaspati stating that lawsuits are of two kinds according as they originate in (demands about) wealth or in injuries. Yāj. II 23 speaks of *arthavivāda* (civil dispute) and so made a distinction between civil and criminal disputes. Lawsuits[335] originating in wealth are divided into

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333. भिषजः ..... कर्मापराधेन विपत्तौ मध्यमः । मर्मवेधवैगुण्यकरणे दण्डपारुष्यं विद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 1. दुर्बलं वेश्म शकटमनुत्तब्धमूर्ध्वस्तम्भशल्यमनपाश्रयमतिच्छन्नं स्वभ्रं कूपं कूटावपातं वा कृत्वा हिंसायां दण्डपारुष्यं विद्यात्। अर्थशास्त्र IV. 13.

334. तथा च गौतमसूत्रम्। द्विरुत्थानतो द्विगतिरिति। व्यवहार इत्यनुषज्यते। तत्र निबन्धनकारेणोक्तम्-ऋणादानादिदायविभागान्ताना देयनिबन्धनत्वं साहसादिपञ्चकस्य दण्डनिबन्धनत्वमिति द्विरुत्थानतेत्यर्थ इति। स. वि. p. 51.

335. द्विपदो व्यवहारः स्याद्धनहिंसासमुद्भवः। द्विसप्तकोऽर्थमूलस्तु हिंसामूलश्चतुर्विधः॥ ... एवमर्थसमुत्थानि पदानि तु चतुर्दश। पुनरेव प्रभिन्नानि क्रियाभेदादनेकधा। पारुष्ये द्वे साहसे च परस्त्रीसंग्रहस्तथा। हिंसोद्भवपदान्येवं चत्वार्याह बृहस्पतिः॥ स्मृतिच० II p 9, व्य.मा p 277 (for first verse), परा मा. III. pp. 20-21, सार्थं वादस्य मूलं स्याद्धनादिना यतिर्यदि। देयादानं हिंसा चेत्युत्थानद्वयमुच्यते॥ कात्यायन (30) quoted in स्मृतिच० II p. 13.

fourteen sorts and those originating in injuries are of four sorts These last are vākpārusya (defamation and abuse), dandapārusya (assault and battery), sāhasa (murder and other forms of violence) and strīsangraha (adultery). Here there is a clear distinction made between civil disputes (*arthamūla* or *dhanamūla*) and criminal ones (*hiṃsā-mūla*) Kāt. also says that disputes have their source in two viz. not rendering what should be given and injury (himsā). Though in this way a distinction was made between civil and criminal disputes among the 18 titles of law, it appears that the set of rules and the procedure in both were the same (except as to the time allowed for reply, as to the qualifications of witnesses and as to proxies), the same courts tried both kinds of disputes and not as in modern times (when civil disputes are tried in one class of courts and criminal complaints in another and when the procedure also in both differs a great deal) There were not two sets of courts in ancient India as there were in England before the fusion of Law and Equity, but all courts in ancient and medieval India were required to administer the law of the texts tempered by common sense and reason as laid down by Br.: 'a decision should not be given by merely relying on the text of the sāstra; when consideration of a matter is divorced from reason and common sense loss of dharma results' (q by Aparārka p. 599).

Nār. (I. 8-29), Bṛ., Kāt, the Agnipurāna (253. 1-12 which reproduce almost *verbatim* the verses of Nār.) and others predicate several things about vyavahāra, such as that it is *dviphala* (has two results) and so on. All these are brought together here below for convenience Vyavahāra is:—

Catuspād—having four feet, viz. dharma,[336] vyavahāra, caritra, rājasāsana, acc. to Nār (I. 10); while acc. to Yāj II. 8

336. Among the verses at the end of IV.1 of the Arthaśāstra the following two verses occur. धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम्। विवादार्थश्चतुष्पादः पश्चिमः पूर्वबाधकः। तत्र सत्ये स्थितो धर्मो व्यवहारस्तु साक्षिषु। चरित्रं संग्रहे पुंसां राज्ञामाज्ञा तु शासनम् ॥. These two occur in Nār (I 10-11) and Hārīta (q. in S V. p 58) with variations, viz. both read चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोयमुत्तरः पूर्व० and चरित्रं पुस्तकरणे. Par M. III. p. 10 reads चरित्रं तु स्वीकरणे. Lengthy explanations of these verses are offered in Aparārka (p. 597), Smrticandrikā (II. pp 10-11), Vyavahāraprakāśa (pp. 7, 88-89) and other digests. It has to be noted that the four (dharma &c) mentioned in these verses are the means of arriving at a decision in a law-suit, as Br. says· धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया। चतुष्प्रकारोभिहितः सन्दिग्धेर्थे विनिर्णयः ॥ (in स्मृतिच० II p 10, परा. मा. III. p. 16, व्य प्र p 6); व्यवहारोपि चरित्रेण बाध्यते यथा। साक्षिभिः साधितेप्यभीरःस्त्रिया। पुरुषान्तरोपभोगे तद्दृष्टे च व्यवहारतः मासेपि राजकुलाधिगतलिखितासिद्धतते। एवं हि तत्र लिखितम्- आभीरस्त्रीणां व्यभिचारेपि सति दण्डो न ग्राह्य इति। अपरार्क p. 597 (on या. II. 17.)

and Br. they are the plaint, the reply, the proof (*kriyā*) and decision (*nirnaya*) or acc. to Kāt. 31 (q. by Aparārka p 616) plaint, reply, *pratyākalita*[337] and *kriyā*

Dharma and the other three are really the four feet of nirnaya (final decision), which is one of the four stages of a law-suit (vyavahāra) and so only in a secondary or far-fetched sense they are the four pādas of vyavahāra Each of these four is said to be of two kinds. Vide Sm C. II. pp 10–11, Par. M III. pp. 198–199, V. P. pp. 87–88 where the verses of Br are set out and fully explained A decision is said to be arrived at according to dharma when the wrong-doer admits his guilt or wrong-doing and the real owner secures his wealth or the relief due to him without having to undergo the trouble of a protracted trial by means of witnesses, documents &c Similarly a decision to be arrived at by ordeals is said to be one by dharma Dharma and satya are often identified (vide note 125 above) and here the wrong-doer tells the truth and the decision is therefore said to be by *dharma*. When a litigation is fought out in Court by citing witnesses, the decision is said to be by vyavahāra 'Witnesses' are mentioned only by way of illustration (and imply documents, possession and other means of proof) When a defendant is guilty of not giving a straight reply or when his reply is tainted with faults and so is unacceptable and a decision is given against him on that ground alone it is still a decision by vyavahāra *Caritra* means 'the usages of a country, village or family' (*deśasthitiḥ pūrvakṛtā caritram samudāhṛtam*—Vyāsa q. in Sm C II. p 11 and Vy Nir p 138) This seems to be the sense of 'caritra' in 'phalakavāre charitratoti' occurring in Nasik Inscription No 12 in E I. vol VIII p 82. In prakīrnaka 24 Nār seems to give the same sense 'sthityartham prthivīpālaiscaritravisayāh krtāh'. *Caritra* also means 'anumāna' (possession and presumptions). 'Anumānena nirnītam caritramiti kathyate'—says Br. quoted in Vy Nirnaya p. 139 and Par. M. III. p. 198. Usages are the means of decision in certain cases apart from the question whether they are supported by the smrtis or

337. *Pratyākalita* means, acc. to Aparārka p 616, the deliberation of the judge and sabhyas as to where the burden of proof (*onus probandi*) lies and as to the method of proof. Acc. to the Mit on Yāj II 8, pratyākalita in this sense is not a vyavahārapāda, since it is not directly related to the litigants. Acc to Nār. II. 21 pratyākalita seems to mean an addition to the plaint or to the reply (i e a supplementary written statement), वादिन्या लिखिताच्चेयं यत्पुनर्वादिना स्मृतम्। तत्प्रत्याकलितं नाम स्वपादे तस्य लिख्यते ॥

not. 'Caritram pustakarane' means that such usages are valid means of decision if they have been written down or recorded by the king, while 'caritram tu svīkarane' (the reading in Par. M) means 'usages become the rule of decision when they are accepted as valid by the people and by the courts'. When a king issues in a matter of dispute an order which is not opposed to smrtis or local usages and which is thought out as the most appropriate one by the king's intellect or which is issued to decide a matter when the authorities on each of two sides are equally strong, it is a decision by royal command Br (in Par. M III p. 148) and Kāt (verses 35-38 q in Sm C II p. 10, Par. M. III pp. 16-17, V P p 7) explain the above four. Brhaspati gives two meanings of caritra: (1) what is decided by inference; (2) the usages of a country When it is said that each later one of the four stultifies each preceding one, the idea is not that in all cases it is so, but that it is so only in some cases. Vide Kāt. (43 q by V. P. p 90) which makes this clear. Some examples may be given If one litigant says that he would prove his case by an ordeal, while the other says that he will prove his contention by human means (documents or witnesses &c.), then the trial by ordeal is not to be resorted to but the hearing of the case is to proceed in the ordinary way. Vide Kāt 218 (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 22) for this rule. Here dharma is set aside in favour of vyavahāra. Another example is given in the Par M. III. p. 18. A person belonging to one of the four varnas commits a seditious act (*rājadroha*) and through timidity admits his guilt (this is *satya*), but the witnesses (relying on Manu X. 130 that where the punishment would be death, a witness may tell a lie) deny that he was guilty of the act and he is let off. Here dharma is set aside in favour of vyavahāra (trial based on the depositions of witnesses). Vide Sm. C. (II. p. 11) for another similar example. In the country of Kerala visiting a prostitute was not condemned by custom So even though it is established by witnesses that a person in Kerala did so, the local king may not punish him with a fine Or suppose a person is charged with the offence of adultery with the wife of an *ābhīra* and this fact is established by witnesses. Yet the man charged may show that among the ābhīras there is a usage (written down in the census records of the king) that adultery with an ābhīra woman is not punishable. In such cases caritra (usage) annuls the (ordinary) vyavahāra. But suppose that in such cases the king, in order to improve the morals of a section of his subjects, issues a

proclamation that from the date of the proclamation one who is guilty of adultery with an ābhīra woman will be punished, then in that case usage will be set aside by royal command, which will then be the rule of decision Similarly where there are no witnesses nor documents nor possession and no room for ordeal and there are no texts and local usages it is the king who has to decide as best as he can Vide Pitāmaha q in Sm C (II p 28) Kāt (verses 39–43 q in V. P p 89) describes how and when each later one sets aside each prior one

Catusthāna—having four bases viz satya, witnesses, pustakarana and rājasāsana

Catuhsādhana—having four means viz *sāma*, *dāna*, *bheda* and *daṇḍa*

Caturhita—benefitting the four (the four varnas and four āśramas).

Caturvyāpin—that envelopes or reaches four viz the disputants, witnesses, the sabhyas and the king

Catushkārin—that brings about four results viz dharma (justice), gain, renown, love or regard of the people

Aṣṭānga—it has eight limbs or members viz, the king, his good officer (chief judge), sabhyas (*assne judges*), śāstra (law books), accountant, scribe, gold, fire and water

Aṣṭādaśapada—has eighteen titles (viz ṛnādāna and others enumerated above)

Śatuśākha—having a hundred branches This is approximate. Nār. (I. 20–25) states that the 18 titles have 132 sub-heads (ṛnādāna 25, upanidhi 6, sambhūyasamutthāna 3, dattāpradānika 4, aśuśrūsā 9, vetana 4, asvāmivikraya 2, vikrīyādāna 1, krītānusaya 4, samayasyānapākarma 1, ksetravāda 12, strīpumsayoga 20, dāyabhāga 19, sāhasa 12, yākpārusya and dandapārusya 3, dyūtasamāhvaya 1, prakīrnaka 6)

Trayoni—having three springs or motives viz kāma (sexual desire), krodha (hot temper), lobha (greed).

Dvyabhiyoga—founded on two kinds of complaint viz. on suspicion or on fact Nār I 27 says that a complaint on suspicion may be made against those who associate with men of evil repute (such as thieves, gamblers and dissolute persons) or it may be made on the ground that a certain person is really

the thief because the thing stolen is found with him (this is *tattvābhiyoga*). This latter may take two forms i e. the grievance of the plaintiff may be negative (e. g. the defendant took or borrowed a debt or article and does not return it) or positive e. g. the defendant has dispossessed the plaintiff of land).[338] Vide Mit on Yāj II. 5.

Dvidvāra—having two openings i. e. it is based on the statements in the plaint and those in the reply.

Dvigati—having two issues, that is, the decision may be founded on truth or on error.

Dvipada—having two aspects, viz. relating to wealth and so civil (dhanamūla), and relating to injury and so criminal (himsāmūla) This is acc to Kāt. 29.

Dvirutthāna—having two springs or sources. It is the same as above. Hārīta and Kāt. 30 mention this

Duskandha—having two trunks viz. dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra (acc to Kāt. 32).

Dviphala—having two results, victory or failure (Kāt 32).

Ekamūla—Hārīta and Kāt mention this. It means 'having only one (viz. what is to be established) as its root'.

Sapaṇa and *apaṇa*—where both parties to the litigation or one of the parties stakes (either through pride or anger or belief in the truth of his case) a certain sum of money to be paid by him in case of his defeat, that is called *sapaṇa* law-suit (Yāj. II. 18); in this case the defeated party will pay to the king the usual fine for a defeated party and also the sum staked by him and will deliver to the successful party what is due to him. Vide also Visnudharmottara III. 324 44 A lawsuit may also be *apaṇa* (without a stake being declared). Nār. (I. 4) employs the words *sottara* and *anuttara* for these two

The Sm. C. (II. pp 27–28), Par. M. (III. pp 42–45), Sarasvatīvilāsa pp. 73–74, V P. pp 36–38, state that, according to Pitāmaha, the king may take cognizance of his own motion without

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338. न्यायं मे नेच्छते कर्तुमन्यायं वा करोति च। न लेखयति यस्त्वेवं तस्य पक्षो न सिध्यति॥ कात्या. q. by विश्वरूप (on या. II. 6), स्मृतिच० II p. 39, मिता. on या. II. 5 'न्यायागतं मदीयं धनं गृहीत्वा न ददातीतिवत् प्रतिषेधरूपेण वा मदीयं क्षेत्रादिकमपहरतीति वा विधिरूपेण वा यो न लेखयतीत्यर्थः।' स्मृतिच० II. p. 39.

the complaints of private persons of certain matters called *apa-rādhas*, *padas* and *chalas* and these works set out the lists of ten *aparādhas*, 22 *padas* and 50 *chalas*[339]. The king may himself come to know about these or these matters may be brought to his notice by an officer called sūcaka or a private man called *stobhaka*, defined acc to Kāt. (33-34) as follows —[340] that man is declared to be *sūcaka* who is appointed by the king himself for finding out the wrong-doings of people and who on coming to know of them conveys them to the king; that man is a *stobhaka* who with a sole eye to money and without being urged by the king informs the king first of actions (among the people) that are condemned by the sāstras' Therefore a stobhaka is a private informant for money The ten aparādhas, acc. to Nār, are· disobedience of the king's order, murder of a woman, confusion of varnas, adultery, theft, pregnancy from one not the husband, abuse and defamation, obscenity, assault (danda-pārusya), abortion[341] They were called aparādhas because they were met with fine It will be noticed that some of these come under several vyavahārapadas and some like 'varnasankara' are included in prakīrnaka by Nārada (v 4) The king could by his own action investigate these even if no private complaint be lodged. Samvarta (quoted by the Sm C II p 28, Par M III. pp 44-45) gives another list which differs in some respects from the above. In the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladeva (E I vol XVII p 310, p 321) an officer called 'dasāparādhika' is mentioned In many grants from the 7th century onwards among the taxes remitted to the donees we often meet the expression 'together with the ten aparādhas' (sadaśāparādhah', in Valabhī grant of Dhruvasena III dated samvat 334 i e 653-4 A.D, E I. vol. I p. 85, at p 88, E.I. XVII p 310 at p 321, in Gupta Ins. No 39 p 179 of 766-767 A. D), or 'daśāparādhādisamastot-pattisahito dattah' (in E I vol VII p. 26, p 40 of śake 852), or

339 छलानि चापराधाश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेद-कैर्वना ॥ पितामह q in स्मृतिच II p 27, परा. मा III p 42

340 शास्त्रेण निन्दितं स्वर्थमुरुष्यो राज्ञाप्रचोदित. । आवेदयति यत्पूर्वं स्तोभक· स उदाहृत· ॥ नृपेणैव नियुक्तो य. परदोषमवेक्षितुम् । नृपस्य सूचयेज्ज्ञात्वा सूचक· स उदाहृतः ॥ कात्यायन q in स्मृतिच० III p 28 (reads मुरुष्यश्चार्थप्रचोदित·), परा. मा III p 45 (reads स्वर्थं मुरुष्यश्चार्थं and नृपस्य समर्थं ज्ञात्वा), व्य प्र p 38 (reads परदोषानवेक्षणे)

341. आज्ञालङ्घनकर्तार स्त्रीवधो वर्णसङ्करः । परस्त्रीगमनं चौर्यं गर्भश्चैव पतिं विना ॥ वाक्पारुष्यमवाच्यं यद्दण्डपारुष्यमेव च । गर्भस्य पातनं चैवेत्यपराधा दशैव तु ॥ नारद q in स्मृतिच. II. p 28, परा. मा III p. 44, स. वि. p 73, दण्डनीतिप्रकरण of केशव p. 12.

'sadaṇḍadaśāparādhaḥ' (E. I. vol. III p. 53 at p. 56, Torkhede plate of Govinda in śake 735, and E. I. vol. III p. 265, 266, the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva dated Vikrama saṁvat 1016). It is not correct to hold that the words refer to the right of the donee to be exempt from guilt arising from the commission of some traditional offences or that authority was conferred by the grant on the donee to deal with offenders committing the ten aparādhas and to recover the fines imposed by themselves (as suggested in J B O R S for 1916 p. 53n). No king would ever think of exempting donees in pious gifts or the villages in those grants from the results of such grave aparādhas as the murder of a woman, adultery, theft and abortion, nor is it possible to hold that a king authorised a private individual or individuals to exercise judicial power in such crimes as murder when (as we shall see later on) the power of dealing with *sāhasa* was not conferred on śreni or gana tribunals. The real meaning appears to be that the fines levied by him for the commission of the aparādhas in the villages granted would be made over to the donees as part of the gift, when recovered by the king. The 22 *vadas* were called *padas* of the king to distinguish them from the vyavahārapadas. According to Pitāmaha[342] they are: ripping open an animal's body (with a sharp weapon), destruction of growing crops, incendiarism, rape of a maiden, concealment of treasure trove, making a breach in an embankment or thorny hedge, grazing cattle over the field of another, destruction of a public garden, poisoning, high treason, unauthorised breaking of the royal seal, divulging the secret line of policy of the king, releasing from jail a prisoner, appropriation of the taxes or fines to be levied by the king (these are two), appropriating gifts (made by the king) or the *utseka*

342. उत्कर्ती सस्यघाती चाप्यग्निदश्च तथैव च। विध्वंसकः कुमार्याश्च निधानस्योपगोपकः॥ सेतुकण्टकभेत्ता च क्षेत्रसञ्चारकस्तथा। आरामच्छेदकश्चैव गरदश्च तथैव च॥ राज्ञो मोहमकर्ता च तन्मुद्रामेदकस्तथा। तन्मन्त्रस्य प्रभेत्ता च चक्षुरस्यैव च मोचकः॥ भोगदण्डौ च गृह्णाति दानमुत्सेकमेव (? मुत्सर्गमेव) च। पडहाघोषणाच्छादी द्रव्यमस्वामिकं च यत्॥ राजावलीढं द्रव्यं यश्चैवाङ्कविनाशनम्। द्वाविंशतिं पदान्याहुर्वृद्धपज्ञेयानि पण्डिताः॥ स्मृतिच II. p. 28, परा. मा III. p. 45, स वि. p 73, व्य. प्र p. 37. The passage is somewhat corrupt; स. वि. gives a summary in prose and begins with चिकृतिः, while the rest read उत्कर्ती or उत्कृत्ती. व्य. प्र and वृद्धनीतिप्रकरण p. 12 reads दानं विक्रयमेव च (which would mean 'appropriating a gift or property sold by the king').

(? *utsarga*, dedication to the public), preventing the proclamation (of royal orders) by beat of drum from being heard, receiving property from a person who is not the owner, receiving articles that are enjoyed by the king (without his permission), causing destruction (or loss) of any one of the (seven) elements (of the State). The fifty *chalas* were mostly breaches of etiquette before the eyes or in the presence of the king. According to Pitāmaha they are: obstructing the road, raising the hand threateningly, leaping over a fort-wall (without permission or reason), destroying a cistern, destroying a temple, filling up a ditch (dug round a fort), divulging the weak points of the king (to the enemy), unauthorized entrance into the harem or royal chamber or the treasury or the royal kitchen (these are four), prying when the king is taking his meals, voiding ordure or urinating or blowing the nose or passing wind in the presence of the king (these are four), to sit before the king on haunches (*paryaṅkāsana*), to occupy the foremost seat in the king's presence, to enter royal presence in a dress more resplendent than the king's or supported by another or by the wrong-doer or at an improper time (these are four), to lie down on the bed or seat of the king or to put on his shoes (these are three), to go near the king (uncalled) when the latter is lying down on his bed, to serve the king's enemies, to occupy a seat that is not offered, to use gold in the dress or ornaments (these are two), to take tāmbūla (from the king's betel box) and chewing it (this is one), to speak loudly without being asked (by the king), to run down the king, to wear only one garment, to appear before the king with oil on the hair, to untie the hair (before him), to cover one's face, to have a body painted with figures, to wear a garland, to shake one's garment, to cover the head, to be bent on finding the weak points of the king, to be thick with evil men (or to touch the king), to have dishevelled hair, pointing out the nose, the ears and the eyes (these are three), to pick the teeth, to cleanse the ear or the nose (these are two). As the list of *chalas* is a very long one the verses are not quoted below, but are given in the Appendix (note 342 a). Śukra (IV. 5. 73-88) quotes all the verses from Nārada and Pitāmaha on the *aparādhas*, *padas* and *chalas* and in III. 6 also gives a list of ten sins, which is different from that of the aparādhas.

In modern works on Jurisprudence various classifications of Law are stated. For example, Dr. E. Jenks in 'New Jurisprudence' (1933) furnishes at the end of his work a very

elaborate classification which is set out in the note below.[343] Ancient systems cannot be expected to present such a classification. Ancient Hindu smrtis were content, as shown above, to

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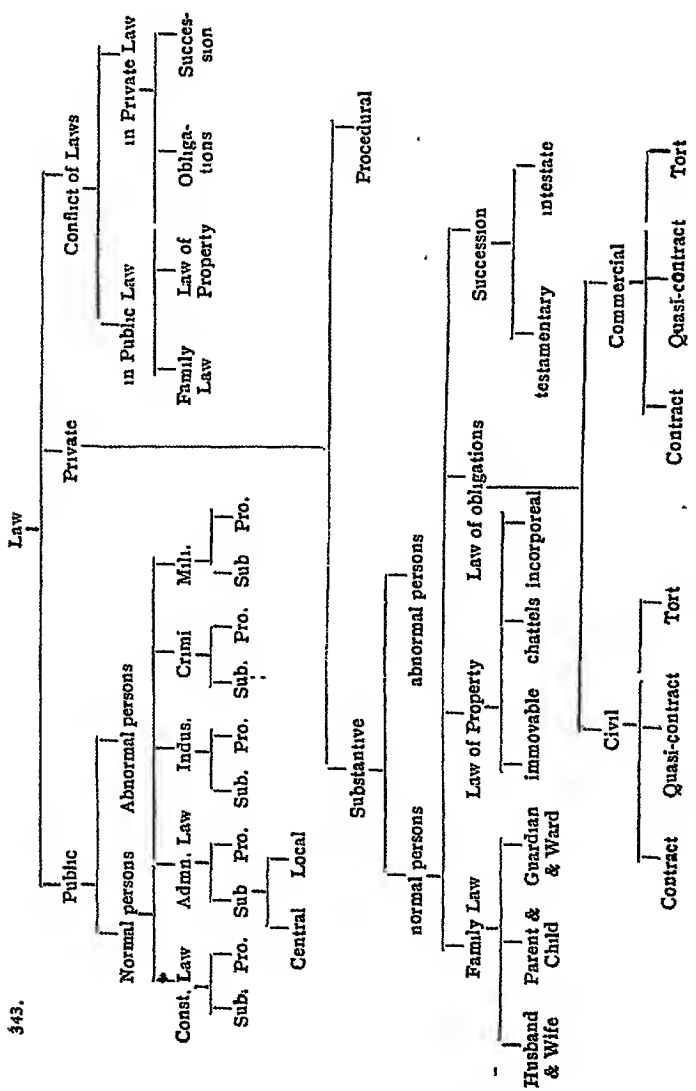

divide the vyavahārapadas into civil and criminal They more or less deal with most of the subjects brought out in modern classifications but not in an orderly manner They also divide laws into substantive and adjective or procedural The vyavahārapadas correspond to the former and the rules about procedure, the appointment of Judges and the constitution of courts, evidence and limitation are adjective law. Some of these are dealt with in the commentaries and digests under a section called *vyavahāramātṛkā* (the elements of judicial procedure) and the rules of evidence are stated in Yāj, Nār. and others under the vyavahārapada ṛnādāna once alone It would be more convenient to deal with adjective law first That law is now of antiquarian or academic interest only and will therefore be treated somewhat briefly. The smrtis lay down a high level of judicial procedure, but the procedure must have been modified to suit the requirements of different times and the resources and inclinations of different kings. Some of the vyavahārapadas viz *ṛṇādāna* (recovery of debt), *strīpumsayoga* and *dāyabhāga* (partition of heritage) are of great practical importance even now, as all Hindus are governed in matters of partition, inheritance, debts, marriage and sonship by the rules of Hindu Law gathered from the Smrtis and digests as modified by legislative enactments and judicial decisions For description of Judicial administration in the Buddhist texts and times, vide Fick pp 107, 111–112 (which show that the administration of justice in Vesāli, the capital of the Licchavis, was a complicated affair, one of the courts being that of the *atthakulakas* i. e. of eight heads of families), Jayaswal's 'Hindu Polity', part II pp. 156–157, Hiouen Thsang's account in Beal's B.R W. W. Vol. I. pp 84–85 ; and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 24 pp 266–267 (for the administration of Justice under the Marathas)

Justice was to be primarily dispensed by the king. He was an original court as well as an appellate tribunal. Smrtis and digests insist that the king cannot dispense justice by himself alone, but must do so with the help and guidance of others. Manu VIII. 1–2 and Yāj II. 1 provide that the king wearing no gaudy dress or ornaments is to enter the sabhā (the Hall of Justice) for looking into the causes of litigants, accompanied by learned brāhmanas and ministers proficient in statecraft, is to be free from hot temper and greed and decide according to the law laid down in dharmaśāstras. Kāt. (55–56 quoted in V. M. p. 278, Mit. on Yāj. II. 2) says the same thing and adds that

a king who examines disputes in the presence of the Judge, the ministers, learned brāhmanas, the purohita and the sabhyas attains heaven. Vide Śukra IV. 5. 5 to the same effect (taking half verses from Yāj. and Kāt.). The king was not to decide by himself but was to follow the advice of his judge, though the responsibility even when he took advice was the king's. Vide Śukra IV. 5.6 (*naikah paśyecca kāryāṇi*). Nār. I. 35 says that the king has to abide by the view of the judge (*prāḍvivāka-mate sthitah*). This sentiment that it is not safe for a single man, however clever he may be, to undertake to decide a dispute was so ingrained among all people that Kālidāsa gives expression to it in the Mālavikāgnimitra (Act I) when he pens the sentence 'sarvajñasyāpyekākino nirnayābhyupagamo dosāya'. In Raghuvaṁśa 17.39, Kālidāsa states that king Atithi always looked into the causes of people himself with the help of judges (*dharmastha*)[344]. Pitāmaha[345] states that a person even if he knows the rules (of dharma) should not give a decision single-handed. Justice was to be dispensed openly in the court and not secretly. Śukra (IV. 5. 6–7) states[346] that neither the king nor the judge nor the sabhyas were to hear a cause in secret and that there were five reasons that led to the charge of partiality in judges viz. hot temper, greed, threats, enmity and hearing disputes in private. Judicial action is divisible into two provinces, viz. that of law and that of fact. The latter is a field in which it is impossible to lay down rules for determination. On points of facts there was a vast scope for the king's or judge's discretion. And therefore the texts contented themselves by saying that the king or judge should keep an open or impartial mind, should be free from hot temper or greed, should hear causes under the glare of public view and should not decide at his own will alone but with the help of learned brāhmanas and sabhyas. As regards points of law the king or judge is

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344. स धर्मस्थसखः शश्वदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनां स्वयम् । ददर्श संशयच्छेदान्व्यवहारान-तन्द्रितः ॥ रघुवंश । 17. 39. The word धर्मस्थ used here for judges may be noted. Kaut uses the same word in III. 1. From a detailed examination of the Raghuvaṁśa it appears very probable that Kālidāsa had closely studied Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

345. तस्माच्च वाच्यमेकेन विधिज्ञेनापि धर्मतः । इति पितामहेन एकस्य धर्मकथननिषेधात् । स वि p. 67.

346. नैकः पश्येच्च कार्याणि वादिनोः शृणुयाद्वचः । रहसि च नृपः प्राज्ञः सभ्यैश्चैव कदाचन ॥ पक्षपातार्थिरोषस्य कारणानि च पञ्च वै । रागलोभभयद्वेषा वादिनोश्च रहःश्रुतिः ॥ शुक्र. IV. 5. 6–7.

required to decide according to the rules of dharmaśāstra (Manu VIII. 3, Yāj II. 1, Nār. I. 37, Sukra IV. 5. 11) and where there are no texts the king should decide in accordance with the recognized custom of the country. Kāt solemnly warns[347] the king against legislating or deciding according to his own will in the face of the texts: 'If a king decides (a case) by his own *fiat* where there is a text (of the śāstra applicable to it) it leads him away from heaven, it causes ruin to the people, it brings danger (to the king) from the armies of his foes and it strikes down the roots of (long) life; therefore a king should decide the causes of people according to the rules of śāstra; but in the absence of smrti texts he should carry out (judicial administration) according to the usages (lit the views) of the country'. These are the same as Śukra (V. 5. 10–11). Kāt further prescribes that the usages established in a country by the approval of its people and that are not in direct conflict with Veda and Smrtis should be recorded in writing under the seal of the king Pitāmaha[348] quoted by the Sm. C. (II. p. 26) states that in certain cases it is the king's own mind that is the deciding factor.

How the king directly dispensed justice is illustrated by the rules of Gaut. XII 40–42 and Manu VIII. 314–316 that a thief who has stolen a brāhmana's gold may run with dishevelled hair to the king carrying an iron club or a heavy bludgeon of khadira wood, may declare the sin committed by him and request the king to award punishment, that the king may then strike him with the club and that whether the thief dies or lives after the king so strikes him he becomes free from the guilt. The king was also the highest court of appeal. The Rājatarangini (VI. 14–41) states how king Yaśaskara heard the appeal of a person who had sold his house without the well, who on returning

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347. अस्वर्ग्या लोकनाशाय परानीकभयावहा। आयुर्बीजहरी राज्ञा सति वाक्ये स्वयंकृतिः॥ तस्माच्छास्त्रानुसारेण राजा कार्याणि कारयेत्। वाक्याभावे तु सर्वेषां देशदृष्टेन तत्त्वयेत्॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 599, स्मृतिच. II. pp. 25–26, परा. मा. III. p 41 शुक्र IV. 5 10–11 are the same as कात्या. यस्य देशस्य यो धर्मः प्रवृत्तः सार्वकालिकः। श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरोधेन देशदृष्टः स उच्यते॥ देशस्यानुमतेनैव व्यवस्था या निरूपिता। लिखिता तु सदा धार्या मुद्रिता राजमुद्रया॥ कात्या. q. in स्मृतिच. II. p 26, परा. मा III p 41. Vide मनु 8 3 for देशदृष्ट.

348 यत्र चैते हेतवो न विद्यन्ते तत्र पार्थिवचनाभिर्णय इत्याह स एव (पितामह एव)। लेख्यं यत्र न विद्येत न युक्तिर्न च साक्षिणः। न च दिव्यावतारोस्ति प्रमाणं तत्र पार्थिवः। निश्चेतुं ये न शक्याः स्युर्वादा सन्दिग्धरूपिणः। तेषां नृपः प्रमाणं स्यात् स सर्वत्र प्रभुर्यतः॥ स्मृतिच॥ II. p. 26.

from a long absence abroad found the well usurped by the vendee and was defeated in the lower courts because the vendee had bribed the scribe to write '*kūpasahita*' instead of '*kūpaḥahita*' and how the king decided in the man's favour by exposing the vendee with a trick; while in VI. 42–69 the same king is said to have reversed another decision about a contract by a man whose 100 coins had fallen into a well. The same work in another place (IV. 82–108) states how a brāhmana wife appealed to the king of Kashmir to find out the culprit who had murdered her husband in his sleep and how the king by superhuman means held a sorcerer to be the murderer.

When owing to pressure of other weighty business the king cannot attend to the work of administering justice, the king should appoint a learned brāhmana together with three sabhyas to decide the disputes of people. Vide Manu VIII. 9–10, Yāj. II. 3, Kāt. 63[349] (same as Śukra IV. 5. 12). The qualifications of a judge are set out in many places. Āp.[350] Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 5 prescribes that in law-suits judges shall be endowed with learning, good family, and should be old, clever, and careful about dharma. Nār. requires: 'The Judge should be proficient in the texts on the eighteen titles of law, their 8000 sub-heads, in logic (ānvīksiki) and should be master of the Veda and Smṛtis. Just as a physician takes out from the body an iron dart by the employment of surgical instruments, so a judge should extricate from a law-suit the deceit (underlying it)'.[351] Kāt. says that a judge should be restrained, born of a good family, impartial, not repellent (or harsh in his manners), steady, afraid of the next world, highly religious, assiduous and free from hot temper. A fine enumeration of the qualities required in a judge is given in the ancient drama Mṛcchakatika (IX. 4). Vide Mānasollāsa

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349. यदा कुर्याच्च नृपतिः स्वयं कार्यविनिर्णयम्। तदा तत्र नियुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणं शास्त्रपारगम् ॥ दान्तं कुलीनं मध्यस्थमद्वेगकरं स्थिरम्। परत्र भीरुं धर्मिष्ठमुद्युक्तं क्रोधवर्जितम् ॥ काल्या. quoted in स्य. मा. p. 279, स्मृतिच० II p. 16, राज. र. p. 18 (first verse), मिता० on या. II. 3 (2nd verse), व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 196, शुक्र IV. 5. 12–13. Some read दक्षं कुलीनम्.

350. विवादे विद्याभिजनसम्पन्ना वृद्धा मेधाविनो धर्मेष्वविनिपातिनः। आप. ध. II. 11. 29. 5.

351. अष्टादशपदाभिज्ञस्तद्भेदाष्टसहस्रवित्। आन्वीक्षिक्यादिकुशलः श्रुतिस्मृतिपरायणः ॥ यथा शल्यं भिषक्छायादुद्धरेद्यन्त्रयुक्तिभिः। प्राड्विवाकस्तथा शल्यमुद्धरेदृज्यवहारतः ॥ नारद् q in स्मृतिच० II. p. 14. The 2nd is नारद् (III. 16). It is quoted as हारीत's in राज. र. p. 19.

II. 2 verses 93-94. A Judge was generally styled *prāḍvivāka* or sometimes *dharmādhyakṣa* (as in Rāj R p. 18),[352] or *dharmapravaktṛ* (Manu VIII. 20) or *dharmādhikārin* (as in Mānasollāsa II. 2. verse 93). Prāḍvivāka is an ancient word. It occurs in Gaut XIII. 26, 27 and 31, Nār.[353] (I 35), Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p. 602). The word is a combination of '*prāḍ*' (one who puts questions to the suitors, from the root 'pracch') and '*vivāka*' (who speaks out or analyses the truth, from the root 'vac' with 'vi'). The derivation is given by Nār, Brhaspati, Kāt. 68 and others. The word 'praśnavivāka' (which is quite close to prādvivāka in sense and etymology) goes very far into antiquity and occurs in Vāj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai. Br III. 5 6. The existence of the word prāḍvivāka as early as Gautama (about 500 B.C.) and of praśnavivāka in the Vāj. S and Tai Br. clearly establishes that in ancient India judicial functions became separated very early from executive or political functions.

The chief Judge was preferably to be a learned brāhmana (Manu VIII. 9, Yāj. II. 3). Kāt. (67)[354] and Śukra IV. 5. 14 prescribe that, if a learned brāhmana cannot be had for the post of the chief judge, then a ksatriya or a vaiśya who knows the

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352. स्मृतिः । कुलशीलगुणोपेतः सत्यधर्मपरायणः । प्रवीणः पेशलो दक्षो धर्माध्यक्षो विधीयते । राज. र. p. 18.

353 विवादसंश्रितं धर्मं पृच्छति प्रकृतं मतम् । विवेचयति यस्तस्मात्प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ नारद q. in स्मृतिच० II. p 14, व्यवहाराश्रितं प्रश्नं पृच्छति प्राड्डिति स्थिति । विवेचयति यस्तस्मिन् प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ कात्या in व्य मा p 274. अपरार्क p 602 quotes this as from बृहस्पति The मिता० on या II 3 derives 'अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ पृच्छतीति प्राद् तयावचनं विरुद्धमविरुद्धं च सभ्यैः सह विविनक्ति विवेचयति वेति विवाकः । प्राद् चासौ विवाकश्च प्राड्विवाकः'. पूर्वोत्तरपक्षौ पृच्छतीति प्राद् निर्णयं विशेषेण प्रवक्तीति विवाक इति यौगिकी तस्य संज्ञा । प्राड्विवाक इति पृषोदरादित्वात्साधुः । स वि. p 64. Vide अपरार्क p 602 and राज. र p. 18 for another verse of बृहस्पति 'विवादे पृच्छति' and मिता. on या. II 3. and राज. र. p 19 for a verse of व्यास on the derivation of प्राड्विवाक. Vide शुक्र IV. 5. 66 for the derivation of विवाक from the root विच् or वच्. मर्यादायै प्रश्नविवाकम् । राज सं. XXX. 10

354. ब्राह्मणो यत्र न स्यात्तु क्षत्रियं तत्र योजयेत् । वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं दूरेण वर्जयेत् ॥ कात्या q. by मिता० (on या II 3), अपरार्क p. 601, व्य मा 279, राज र. p. 23, स्मृतिच० II p. 17. The स्मृतिच० II. p 17 cites another verse where the first quarter is यत्र विप्रो न विद्वान् स्यात् and the other three are the same as above. शुक्र IV. 5 14 (यदा विप्रो न विद्वान्) is the same as this वेदव्यास IV. 44 defines ब्राह्मणव्रुव (which occurs in मनु VIII 20) 'गर्भाधानादिभिर्मन्त्रैर्वेदोपनयनेन च । नाध्यापयति नाधीते स भवेद् ब्राह्मणव्रुवः ॥'. कुल्लूक on मनु. VII. 85 explains यो ब्राह्मणः क्रियारहित आत्मानं ब्राह्मणं ब्रवीति स ब्राह्मणव्रुव.'.

dharmaśāstras may be appointed, but the king should carefully avoid appointing a śūdra as a judge. Manu VIII. 20 says that the king may prefer a brāhmana who is not learned and maintains himself by the mere fact of his caste, but should never have a śūdra as the expounder of dharma and that the country whose king has a śūdra as judge to expound dharma comes to ruin as a cow sinks in mud. Vyāsa (q. in S. V. p. 65) is to the same effect. Manu (VIII. 10-11), Yāj. (II. 3;), Nār. (III. 4) and Śukra IV. 5. 17 state that the king should appoint at least three sabhyas (*puisne* judges or members of the court of justice) to associate with the Chief Judge in the disposal of suits (the idea being that three are the least number of sabhyas to be appointed). Kaut. (III. 1) prescribes that the courts called '*dharmasthīya*' should be manned by three judges called *dharmasthas* who should possess the qualifications and status of amātyas and that such courts should be established on the borders of the provinces, for a group of ten villages (*saṅgrahana*), for a district (*dronamukha*, 400 villages) and provinces (*sthānīya*, 800 villages). Brhaspati says[355] that the sabhyas may be seven, five or three. As in the case of the chief judge, the sabhyas should be preferably brāhmanas, but they may be ksatriyas or vaiśyas. Manu (VIII. 11) and Br. say that when in a sabhā three brāhmanas learned in the Vedas sit along with the chief judge appointed by the king that is like the *sabhā* of Brahmā or it is like a sacrifice. Yāj II. 2, Visnudharmasūtra III. 74, Kāt. 57, Nār. III. 4-5, Śukra IV. 5. 16-17 and others require the following qualifications in the sabhyas: they should be endowed with the study of the Vedas, should know dharmaśāstra, should speak the truth, should be impartial to friend or foe, should be steady, devoted to their work, intelligent, hereditary, proficient[356] in arthaśāstra. Impartiality in the king and the judges is insisted on in the texts. Vide Vas. 16 5-5, Nār. (I. 34, III. 5) The king was not to appoint as sabhyas those who were ignorant of the usages of the country, who were atheists and devoid of the study of śāstras, who were either puffed up, hot-tempered, greedy or distressed (Br. q. in Sm. C.

355. लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञाः सप्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा। यत्रोपविष्टा विप्राः स्युः सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा॥ बृहस्पति quoted in स्मृतिच० II. p. 15. It is also शुक्र० IV. 5. 26.

356. स तु सभ्यैः स्थिरैर्युक्तः प्राज्ञैर्मौलैर्द्विजोत्तमैः। धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदैः॥ कात्या. q. by मिता० (on या. II 2), व्य. मा. p. 278, स्मृतिच० II. p. 15; अलुब्धा धनवन्तश्च धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः। सर्वशास्त्रप्रवीणाश्च सभ्याः कार्या द्विजोत्तमाः॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 601, राज. र p. 23. Vide शान्ति 83.2 for सभ्यगुण.

II. p. 15). The chief justice (*prādvivāka*) with the sabhyas constituted the Court, being appointed (*niyukta*) by the king It was stated above that the king was to enter the Hall of Justice with the chief justice, sabhyas and brāhmanas. The distinction is that sabhyas were appointed by the king as judges, while brāhmanas were persons who were well-versed in dharmaśāstra, who could attend the Court, though not appointed (*aniyukta*) and whose opinions on difficult points of law were respectfully received by the judges. They (the learned brāhmanas) were in the position of *amicus curiæ*. All and sundry were not to intermeddle in trials before the court, but only those who were learned in dharmaśāstra were allowed to express their opinions on knotty points. Vide[357] Mit on Yāj. II. 2. Manu VIII. 12–14 (same as Nār. III. 8–10 in a different order) say that either a person should not enter a *sabhā* or if he enters should say what is proper, that a man remaining silent or declaring what is false becomes a sinner and that, where in spite of the opinion of some or all sabhyas, justice is not done by the king, they become participators in the king's guilt. Kāt. (74–78) makes it the duty of the sabhyas to bring round a king gradually to the right path when the king is about to start on the path of injustice and to state the true decision.[358] In the case of the brāhmanas their duty ends with stating the rule according to the śāstras; they have not, like the sabhyas, to prevent the king from doing the wrong thing or to bring him round to the path of right and justice. Nār. (III. 1) states elsewhere that one who is not appointed by the king should not interfere by his speech in the decision of a case and that if he does so he would be fined. This applies to the people that are present in the court to see the trial or that accompany the litigants. It has no application to learned brāhmanas, who though not appointed by the king, can state their view of the law.[359] Vide Vyavahārasāra pp. 16–17. Nār. III. 17 requires that all the judges of the Court should give a unanimous decision, and that then only the decision leaves no grievance (in the

357. तत्र ब्राह्मणा अनियुक्ताः सभासदस्तु नियुक्ता इति भेदः। मिता. on या. II 2.

358. अन्यायेनापि तं यान्तं येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः। तेऽपि तद्भागिनस्तस्माद् बोधनीयः प्रयत्नेनृपः॥ अधर्माय यदा राजा नियुञ्जीत विवादिनाम्। विज्ञाप्य नृपतिं सम्यक्सदाकार्यं निवर्तयेत्॥ कात्या. q. in स्मृतिच० II p 21, राज. र. pp. 24–25

359. नियुक्तो वानियुक्तो वा धर्मज्ञो वक्तुमर्हति। यो वा यावं स वदति यः शास्त्रमुपजीवति॥ नारद III. 2 (= शुक्र IV. 5. 28)

mind of the litigants).[360] The V. P. (p. 27) states, following Jaimini XII 2. 22, that the opinion of the majority of sabhyas is to prevail.[361] According to Gaut.[362] XI. 25 as interpreted by Aparārka p. 599, if there is a difference of opinion among the judges, the king is to seek the advice of those who are learned in the three Vedas (along with the other *vidyās*) and decide the matter finally. Kāt. (58–59) states that the court of justice should have associated with the task of deciding disputes some merchants who belong to a guild, who are men of good family and character, of mature age, endowed with wealth and decent conduct and free from malice. The Mit. and Sm. C. say that this is done to placate the common people in the country.[363] This also shows the growing importance of the moneyed classes and of traders In the Mrcchakatika a śreṣṭhin and a kāyastha are associated with the Judge

The chief judge and the sabhyas[364] were not to hold conversation in private with any one of the litigants while the suit was pending and if they did so they were liable to be fined (Kāt. 70). Kaut IV. 9 prescribes fines and even corporal punishments for judges (*dharmasthas*) and pradestṛs who corruptly give wrong decisions, cause loss or sentence to corporal punishment. If the sabhyas[365] give a decision, which is opposed to smṛti and usage, through friendship, greed or fear, each was liable to be fined twice as much as the fine to be paid by the defeated party (Yāj. II. 4, Nār. I. 67, Kāt. 79–80). The Visnu Dh. S. V. 180 and Br prescribe banishment and forfeiture of all property for

360. यत्र सभ्यो जनः सर्वः साध्वेतदिति मन्यते । स निःशल्यो विवादः स्यात् सशल्यः स्यादतोऽन्यथा ॥ नारद (III. 17)

361. संख्यावैषम्ये तु भूयोल्पविरोधे भूयसां स्यात्सधर्मत्वमिति न्यायेन विप्रतिपत्तावधिकसंख्यावचनमादरणीयं गुणसाम्ये । व्य म p. 27. जैमिनि's sūtra (XII. 2. 22) is विप्रतिषिद्धधर्माणां समवाये भूयसां स्यात्सधर्मत्वम् ।

362 विप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविद्यवृद्धेभ्यः प्रत्यवहृत्य निष्ठां गमयेत् । गौ. XI. 25; विचारकाणामन्योन्यविप्रतिपत्तौ त्रैविद्यवृद्धेभ्यः समधिगतचतुर्दशविद्यास्थानेभ्यो न्यायं प्रत्यवहृत्यागम्य व्यवहारं निष्ठां समाप्तिं निर्णयं गमयेत् । अपरार्क p 599.

363. कुलशीलवयोवृत्तवित्तवद्भिरमत्सरैः । वणिग्भिः स्यात्कतिपयैः कुलभूतैरधिष्ठितम् ॥ श्रोत्रारो वणिजस्तत्र कर्तव्या न्यायदर्शिनः । कात्या. quoted by mitā. (on yā. p. 2), स्मृतिच्० II p. 17, parā. mā. III p. 31, व्य. म. p 31 (which explains कुलभूतैः as वृद्धैः)

364. अनिर्णीते तु यद्यर्थे सम्भाषेत रहोर्थिना । प्राड्विवाकोथ दण्ड्यः स्यात्सभ्याश्चैव विशेषतः ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 604, व्य मा. p. 283, parā mā. III. 35.

365. स्नेहादज्ञानतो वापि लोभाद्वा मोहतोपि वा । तत्र सभ्योऽन्यथावादी दण्ड्योऽसभ्यः स्मृतो हि सः ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 603, स्मृतिच II p. 22.

sabhyas that give an unjust decision or take bribes Kāt 81 prescribes that the loss caused by the fault of sabhyas must be made good by them to the losing party, but the decision given by them will stand[366] Śukra (IV. 5 63-64) prescribes the punishment of a thief for a *lekhaka* (a scribe) taking down a different deposition from the one actually given or for a sabhya making use of such a deposition knowingly, IV 5 93 prescribes fine and removal from office if a sabhya gives a wrong decision through greed &c. and IV. 5. 282 prescribes a fine of 1000 panas against a judge giving a corrupt decision. There must have been a few cases of judges taking bribes in ancient India as in modern times (even Lord Bacon in the 17th century was found guilty of taking bribes as Lord Chancellor and confessed his guilt) In the Daśakumāracarita[367] (VIII. p 131) the cynical jester Vihārabhadra says to his king that judges decide matters just as they please after taking bribes and the king thereby incurs infamy and the sin of doing injustice It was believed that when a just decision was given, the king and the sabhyas became free from sin, the sin reaches him only who is guilty (whether plaintiff or defendant); but where an unjust decision is rendered a quarter of the sin falls on the litigant (plaintiff or defendant) who is guilty of *adharma*, one quarter each on the witnesses, the sabhyas and the king The Baud Dh S I.10 30-31, Manu VIII. 18-19, Nār (III 12-13) have the same two verses. The Vyavahāratattva (p 200) says that Hārīta also had the same verses In the Mattavilāsa-prahasana (pp. 23-24) reference is made to the giving of bribes to the presiding officers of courts (we should read '*adhikaraṇa-karaṇikānām*' instead of '— kārunikānām). Kaut IV 4 makes it a duty of the *samāhartr* to employ spies in various disguises to test the honesty of judges (dharmasthas) and magistrates (pradestrs) and, if they were found to be ready to succumb to bribes, to order their banishment

As to *sabhā*, vide pp. 92-93 above The Nirukta (III. 5) in explaining Rg. I. 124. 7 (*gartārug-iva sanaye dhanānām*) states that *gartā* means a wooden board or stump in a sabhā on which a sonless widow claiming her husband's wealth had to stand when claiming it.

366. सम्यग्दोषाद्यु यस्तद देयं सभ्येन तत्तदा। कार्यं तु कार्यिणामेव निश्चित न विचालयेत्॥ कात्या q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 23, स वि p 69

367. द्वितीयेन्योन्यविवदमानानां प्रजानामाकोशाद् दृश्यमानकर्ण· कटं जीवति। तत्रापि माद्भविवाकादृष· स्वेच्छया जयपराजयौ विदधानाः पापेनाकीर्त्या च भर्तारमात्मानं चार्थैर्योजयन्ति। दशकुमारचरित VIII. p. 131.

A court of justice was (acc. to Br.[368]) of four kinds, viz. one established (*pratiṣṭhitā*) in a fixed place such as a town, *apratiṣṭhitā* (not fixed in one place, but moving from place to place as on a circuit), *mudritā* (the court of a judge appointed by the king, who is authorised to use the royal seal), *śāstā* (or śāstritā, acc to S. V p. 68 and Par. M. III. p. 24) i. e. the court in which the king himself presides The Court of justice (in the capital) was to be to the east of the palace as stated by Śankha and Br. (in Sm. C. II. p. 19) and was to face the east The court-house should be decorated[369] with flowers, statues, paintings, idols of gods and should be furnished with incense, throne or seat (for the king or judge), seeds, fire and water (Br. in Sm C. II. p. 19). The sabhā was also called, as stated above, dharmādhikarana or simply adhikarana (in Mrcchakatika IX and the Kādambarī, para 85) or dharmasthāna or dharmāsana or sadas (Vas. 16. 2) The Kādambarī (para 85) speaks of the royal palace as having a court of justice where the judges (dharmādhikārins) sat on high cane seats The time for holding the court is the morning, acc. to Manu VII. 145, Yāj. I. 327. Kaut states that the king[370] should look into the disputes of people in the 2nd part of the day divided into eight parts. The Dasakumāracarita (note 367 above) shows the same thing. Kāt. (61-62) prescribes that the time for holding the court as laid down in the śāstras is three parts of the day after the first part (when the day is divided into eight parts) i. e. from 7-30 A. M. to noon. There were holidays on which courts were closed i. e on 8th and 14th *tithis*, Full Moon day and the *amāvāsyā* of every month (Samvarta acc. to Par. M. III. p. 23, Hārīta, acc. to S. V. p. 72). The sabhā is said to have ten *aṅgas*

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368. प्रतिष्ठिता पुरे ग्रामे नानाग्रामेऽप्रतिष्ठिता । मुद्रिताध्यक्षसंयुक्ता राजयुक्ता च शासिता ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 600, राज. र. p. 20 ascribes it to हारीत.

369. माल्यधूपासनोपेतां बीजरत्नसमन्विताम् । प्रतिमालेख्यदेवैश्च युक्तामग्न्यम्बुना तथा ॥ बृह. in राजधर्मकाण्ड p 30, स्मृतिच. II. p. 19 and व्य. नि. p. 5. It is probably such a hall decorated with statues and pictures that is referred to in the play Kundamālā (p. 10) 'शुश्रूषयितव्य प्रतिमागतो महाराजः' (in Prākrit), in which some scholars find a reference to the play called Pratimā, one of the Trivandrum plays. अधिकरणमण्डपगतैश्चार्यवैषरत्युद्धवेत्रासनोपविष्टैर्धर्ममयैरिव धर्माधिकारिभिर्महापुरुषैरधिष्ठितम् (राजकुलम्) । कादम्बरी para 85.

370 नाडिकाभिरहरष्टधा रात्रिं च विभजेत् । ... ... द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् । अर्थशास्त्र I 19; आद्यादद्वोष्टभागाद्यदूर्ध्वं भागत्रयं भवेत् । स कालो व्यवहारस्य शास्त्रदृष्टो मनीषिभिः ॥ काप्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 601, स्मृतिच. II. p. 27, स वि p. 72.

by Br.[371] viz the king, the chief judge appointed by him, the sabhyas, smrti, ganaka (accountant), lekhaka (the scribe), gold, fire, water and *svapurusa* (a bailiff, otherwise called sādhyapāla) The chief judge declares (the law), the king awards punishment, the sabhyas examine the dispute, smrti (dharmaśāstra) lays down the rule of decision, the success (of one party or the other) and the punishment; gold and fire are required for taking oaths, the water is for men when they feel thirsty, the ganaka counts the wealth or subject matter of dispute, the scribe writes down the pleadings, depositions and the decision, the *purusa* summons the sabhyas, the defendant, the witnesses and he guards the complainant and the defendant when they have furnished no surety (for appearance). It is further said that of these ten *angas* (limbs) the king is the head, the judge the mouth &c. Acc to Br. (q. in Par. M III. p 30) and Śukra IV 5 43 the accountant and the scribe were to be proficient in grammar, lexicography and counting, were to be pure (in character) and conversant with several alphabets Purusa was called sādhyapāla, who was to be hereditary, strongly built, a śūdra and obedient to the sabhyas (Vyāsa in Par M. III p 30, V P p 31) The ten angas enumerated above (viz. king &c) are respectively identified with the head, the mouth, the arms, the hands, the thighs (ganaka and lekhaka), the two eyes (gold and water), the heart, feet (Br. in V. P p 31, Hārīta in Rāj R p 20) In the Hall of Justice the king faces the east, the sabhyas, the accountant and the scribe respectively face the north, the west and the south (Br. in Par M III. p. 35, Vyavahārasāra p 25) Omitting the king and the chief judge the sabhā is said to have eight angas in certain works (e g. S V p 72) The chief justice, the sabhyas and the learned brāhmanas were probably elderly people, as great emphasis is laid on this by Nār. (III. 18) and Udyogaparva 35.58 'that is not a real sabhā where there are no elderly men &c'[372].

371. नृपाधिकृतसभ्याश्च स्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ। हिमाग्न्यम्बुस्वपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानि वै दश॥ ... वक्ताध्यक्षो नृप॰ शास्ता सभ्याः कार्यपरीक्षकाः। स्मृतिर्विनिर्णय ब्रूते जयदान दमं तथा। शपथार्थे हिरण्याग्नी अम्बु तृषितजन्तुषु। गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेल्लेखकन्यायं च लेखक॰। प्रत्यर्थिसभ्यानयन साक्षिणा च स्वपूरुषः। कुर्यादलग्नको रक्षेदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा॥ बृहस्पति q in अपरार्क p 600, स्मृतिच॰ II p 20, परा मा III p 31, राज र (pp 20–21) attributes these to हारीत Vide शुक्र IV 5 38–42 for the verses up to लेखक॰.

372 न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा वृद्धा न ते ये न वदन्ति धर्मम्। नासौ धर्मो यत्र नो सत्यमस्ति न तत्सत्य यच्छलेनानुविद्धम्॥ नारद III 18 = उद्योगपर्व 35 58 (reads यच्छलेनाभ्युपेतम्). Acc to a verse quoted from the राजधर्म by the भाष्य on सत्या॰ श्रौ सू a सभा is of three kinds सभास्तु तिस्रो विज्ञेया धर्मस्यैका च कर्मण॰। तथा राजसभेत्येता विद्वद्भिः परिकीर्तिता॥ The first (धर्मसभा) dealt with व्यवहार and प्रायश्चित्त, the 2nd (कर्मसभा) was a hall where sacrifices were performed and the 3rd (राजसभा) was the royal *durbar* attended by brāhmanas, warriors, royal officers and servants.

In the drama Mrcchakatika (Act IX) we have a graphic, though brief, description of judicial procedure in ancient India. That drama is at least as old as the 4th or 5th century A. D. It is very instructive to compare the procedure described in it with that gathered from Nār., Br. and Kāt. who constitute the leading triumvirate on law and procedure in the smrtis and who probably flourished a little before and a little after the drama. It will be found on comparison that the procedure in the drama is in essentials the same as that of the three smrtis mentioned above, though there is some difference in minor details. The principal points in the drama bearing on judicial administration may be brought together here at one place. The court house was called 'adhikarana'; the chief judge was called adhikaranika; he was assisted by the *śresthin* (a prominent merchant or banker) and a *kāyastha*; all three are referred to as 'adhikaranabhojaka' and are addressed as *adhikrta* or *nyukta* (appointed by the king); when a despot was on the throne, the judge's position was precarious and he could be deprived of the post at the king's sweet will (the Śakāra, king's brother-in-law, threatens the chief justice with summary dismissal). There was a servant who arranged the seats in the court, inquired whether there was any litigant, summoned Vasantasenā's mother and Cārudatta (this man corresponds to the purusa or 'sādhyapāla); inquiry was made by the judges as to whether any one wanted to file a suit or complaint; the śresṭhin and kāyastha are asked by the presiding judge to write down the important parts of the complainant's statement; a private person (who was not a relative) could complain to the court about an alleged murder; the judge allowed an old person like the mother of Vasantasenā and a respectable and well-known citizen like Cārudatta to occupy a seat when replying to questions from the court, but Cārudatta was deprived of this concession when a *prima facie* case was made out against him; the court-house (being probably situated near the palace) had near it mantrins, dūtas, spies, an elephant and a horse (and the chief of the city police is asked to ride the horse and find out whether the corpse of a woman lay in the public garden), and kāyasthas; Cārudatta was called upon to state the truth and the judge tells him that in the court no trick (*chala*) will be allowed to pass;[373] when a strong case was

373. Compare छलं निरस्य भूतेन व्यवहारान्नयेन्नृपः। याज्ञ. II. 19; भूतच्छलाकुलात्स्विद्यात् द्विगतिः सहसादृतः। नारद I 29, न तु शिष्टं छलं राजा मर्षयेद्धर्मसाधनः। भूतमेव ब्रूयात् धर्ममूला यतः श्रियः॥ नारद I. 31.

made out against Cārudatta by circumstantial evidence he was asked to confess his guilt, otherwise he was told that he would be whipped (i.e this refers to whipping to extort a confession, vide above note 332); the judge was only to pronounce the judgment and recommend the legal punishment, while the king had the last word about the exact punishment, Manu's work was an authority; a brāhmana offender was not to be sentenced to death, but was to be banished with all his wealth, though some kings did not act up to this rule; impalement was carried out by cāndālas, ordeals of fire, water, poison and balance were known and Śūdraka conveys (*visasalilatulāgniprāthite me vcāre*) that Cārudatta had prayed for trial by ordeal, but that the chief justice, because there were witnesses and circumstantial evidence, refused that request.

The court so far described (i. e. where the king or the chief justice appointed by him presided) was the highest court. But other tribunals were recognized in the smrtis and digests Yāj. I 30 and Nār. (I. 7) state[374] that law-suits may be decided by village councils (*kulāni*), corporations (*śrenī*), assemblies (*pūga* in Yāj, *gana* in Nār.), the judges appointed by the king and the king himself, each later one being superior to each preceding one The first three were practically arbitration tribunals like the modern *panchayats* The several words here require explanation and they have been differently interpreted by different digests Medhātithi on Manu VIII 2 explains these words at great length Acc to him 'kulāni' means 'group of relatives' and also (acc. to some) 'impartial persons' (madhyasthapurusāh) and '*gana*' means 'builders of houses and mansions or brāhmanas dwelling in mathas'. Acc to the Mit and V P. p 29 'kulāni' means 'an assembly of the relations, agnatic and cognatic, of the litigants', acc. to the Sm. C. it means 'the agnates of the parties'; acc. to Aparārka it means 'husbandmen'. It appears likely that 'kulāni' means officers who presided over a group of eight or ten villages and who were granted the produce of one *kula* of land as their salary. Vide Manu VII. 119 and Kullūka thereon and Dāmodarpur plate of Gupta year 124 in which the head of the district (visayapati) is said to have been assisted by the nagaraśresthin, prathama-kulika and prathama-kāyastha (E. I. 15 p. 130) and

374 कुलानि श्रेणयश्चैव गणश्चाधिकृतो नृपः । प्रतिष्ठा व्यवहाराणा गुर्वंग्यस्तूत्तरोत्तरम् ॥ नारद (I. 7).

'grāmāsta-kul ādhikaranam' in E. I. vol. 17 p. 345 at p. 348 in the reign of Ku māragupta I. From the Sanchi stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (of the Gupta year 93 i. e 412–13 A D.) it appears that *panchayats* were called 'pañcamandalī' (Gupta Inscriptions pp. 29, 31). 'Śreni' means, acc. to most commentators, 'the corporation of persons following the same craft or avocation, though they may belong to different castes' such as horse-dealers, betel-leaf sellers, weavers and dealers in hide. Acc. to the V. M. p. 280, 'śreṇi' is an association of artisans or traders'. 'Pūgas' are assemblies of men of one place (a village or a town) belonging to different castes and following different avocations. Kāt (225 and 682) distinguishes between *gana* and *pūga* which he respectively defines as 'assembly of families' (*kulas*) (Sm. C. II p. 18, Par. M. III. p. 352) and 'assemblies of traders and the like' (V. R. p. 668) V. P. p. 30 says *gana* and *pūga* are synonyms The king was thus the highest court of appeal and next to him was the court of the judges appointed by him. Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 281 verse 28) ordains[375] that the kulas, śrenis and ganas that are well-known to the king may decide the disputes of litigants except those that fall under *sāhasa* and that it was only the king who could carry out the order for fines or corporal punishments, i. e the arbitration courts could only decide disputes not involving *sāhasa* and they had no power to execute their decrees about fines and corporal punishments, but that their decisions had to be filed with the king, who, if he did not disapprove of them, put them into execution. Pitāmaha[376] appears to mention three classes of State courts, while Yāj and Nār. refer only to two (viz. that of the chief justice and that of the king himself): 'a dispute decided in a village may be taken to the city and one examined in the city (court) to the king; a dispute decided by the king whether correctly or incorrectly cannot be reviewed.' It is distinctly

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375. वाग्दण्डो धिग्वृमश्चैव विप्रायत्तावुभौ स्मृतौ। अर्थदण्डवधावुक्तौ राजायत्तावुभावपि। राज्ञा ये विदिताः सम्यक्कुलश्रेणिगणादयः। साहसन्यायवर्ज्यानि कुर्युः कार्याणि ते नृणाम्॥ बृह in स्मृतिच० II. 20, परा मा III. p 32, स वि p 68, व्यव. सा. p. 22 For the first, vide शुक्र IV 5. 279 and the second is शुक्र IV. 5. 30 which reads साहसस्तेयवर्ज्यानि.

376. ग्रामे दृष्टः पुरे यायात्पुरे दृष्टस्तु राजनि। राज्ञा दृष्ट कुदृष्टो वा नास्ति तस्य पुनर्भवः॥ पितामह in स्मृतिच. II. p 19, परा मा. III. p 42.

provided by Br.[377] (S B. E. vol 33 p. 282 verse 31) that the sabhyas are superior to the *kulas* and the rest, the chief justice is superior to sabhyas and the king is superior to all Pitāmaha[377a] provides that when a litigant is not satisfied with the decision given by a kula tribunal or the others, he can carry the matter by way of appeal to the king. Besides these courts it appears from Kautilya that the village headman (*grāmika* or *grāmakūta*) exercised certain summary powers such as driving out of the village a thief or an adulterer (III. 10) and that he could try some offences (IV. 4, *grāmakūṭamadhyakṣam vā satrī brūyāt &c.*). Even in the 20th century in the Bombay Presidency under the Village Police Act (Bombay Act VIII of 1867) the village headman (called Police Patil) has the authority to try and on conviction to punish with confinement for a period not exceeding twenty-four hours any person charged with the commission of petty assault or abuse within the limits of a village and the person convicted has no right of appeal to any court or magistrate against such conviction and only the High Court has the power to entertain a petition for revision (which it hardly ever does). Bhrgu[378] quoted in Sm. C II. p 18 and other digests says that there are ten tribunals common to all men viz. the village people, the assembly of the citizens of the capital, gana, sreni, men learned in the four vedas (or *vidyās* viz. ānvīksiki and the rest), the *virgins*, *kulas*, *kulikas*, judges (appointed by

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377. विचार्यं श्रेणिभिः कार्यं कुलैर्वापि विचारितम् । गणैश्च श्रेण्यविरूपातं गणाज्ञातं निपुणकैः ॥ कुलादिभ्योधिकाः सभ्यास्तेभ्योध्यक्षोधिकः कृतः । सर्वेषामधिको राजा धर्मं यत्नेन निश्चितम् ॥ बृह in व्य. म p 30 शुक्र IV. 5 32 has the last verse, the last pāda being धर्मार्थमनियोजकः. The व्य म p 30 explains कुलादीनां ज्ञात्यादिरूपाणां द्वासिप्यादिनान्यथादर्शनमपि संभाव्यते ... । श्रेणीनामुदासीनतया ततो बलवत्ता । पूगानां त्वेकस्थानवासमात्रसम्बन्धेपि भिन्नजातितया भिन्नवृत्तितया च ततोपि निर्योगपेक्षया दौदास्याद्बलवत्त्वम् । नृपाधिकृतानां ततोपि मि सम्बन्धतया राज्ञा परीक्ष्याधिकृतानां राजभयादपि पक्षपातदूषिण्याद्यसंभव इति पूगेभ्यो बलवत्तरत्वम् ।

377a. कुलादिभिः कृतं कार्यं विचार्यं तद्यथोत्तरम् । असन्तुष्टस्य कर्तव्य यावदाज्ञा कृतं भवेत् ॥ पितामह q by व्य. नि. p 15.

378. दश स्थानानि वादानां पञ्च चैवाब्रवीद्भृगुः । निर्णयं येन गच्छन्ति विवादं मानवा वादिनः ॥ आरण्यास्तु स्वकैः कुर्युः सार्थिकाः सार्थिकैस्तथा । सैनिकाः सैनिकैरेव ग्रामेऽप्युभयवासिनः ॥ उभयानुमतं चैव गृहते स्थानमौन्नितम् । कुलिकाः सार्थसुख्याश्च पुरग्रामनिवासिनः ॥ ग्रामपौरगणश्रेण्यज्ञातविद्याश्च वर्णिनः । कुलानि कुलिकाश्चैव नियुक्ता नृपतिस्तथा ॥ भृगु q. by स्मृतिच० II. p 18, परा मा. III p 24, स वि p 67 (*summary in prose*), व्य म pp. 8-9 'कुलिकाः केचनाधिगोत्रा वृद्धा.' स्मृतिच ; 'कुलिकाः कुलभेडा.' परा मा व्य म. p. 9 ; 'सार्थिनो ग्रामयात्रादौ मिलितो जनसङ्घः । मुख्या ग्रामण्यादयः' परा मा III. p. 25, 'सार्थो ग्रामदेवयात्रादौ मिलितो जनसङ्घः तन्मुख्याः सार्थवाहादयः ।' व्य. म. p 9. It should be noted that here कुलानि and कुलिकाः are separate tribunals.

the king) and the king himself. The *vargins*[379] are the groups of various kinds such as ganas, pūgas, vrātas, srenis and others Kulikas may be the elders of the families of the plaintiff and the defendant. In the Dāmodarpur plates (E. I. 15 p 130) we come across one Dhrtimitra who is described as 'prathamakulika'. The word 'pañcakula' was applied to certain high officers in Gujarat and Kathiawad; vide I. A, vol. 11 p. 220 (Abu Ins. of Bhīmadeva dated Vikrama year 1265) and Tawney's translation of the Prabandha-cintāmani pp. 18, 84, 129, 149, 190 for 'pañcakula'. The provisions about the conflict between customs and usages on the one hand and *śruti* and *smrti* on the other will be dealt with in detail later on in another section. A few words may be said here about conflicts between smrtis. In disputes between residents of the same country, the same city or the same hamlet of cowherds or of the same capital or village, the decision should be according to their own conventional usages, but in disputes between these and others (who are not residents of those respective places) the decision must be in accordance with the sacred texts[380] (Kāt. 47 q in S. V p 72, Par. M. III. p. 41). Another rule is that when there is an apparent conflict between two smrtis, reasoning is to decide in ordinary life which should be followed or reasoning based on the actions of the aged and the experienced is to decide what text to follow (Yāj. II 21) and the business of the interpreter consists in holding that one of the smrtis contains a general rule and the other an exception or that the two apply to different sets of circumstances (visaya-vyavasthā) or that an option may be intended. Voluminous glosses have been written on this one text of Yāj II. 21 right from Viśvarūpa in the 9th century downwards Another rule is that in the administration of justice dharmaśāstra rules have superior force to those of arthaśāstra This has been already referred to above (p 9) Bhrgu further provides that foresters may get their disputes settled by foresters, members of caravans by other members, soldiers by (a tribunal of) soldiers and those who stay in a village as well as in a forest may get their disputes settled either by villagers or by foresters by mutual

379 गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च व्राताश्च श्रेणयस्तथा । समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्यास्ते बृहस्पतिः ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 18, स. चि p 67, ग्रामाण्यमेव ये वेदे न वदन्ति कुहूदयः । तेषां बौद्धार्हतादीनां पाषण्डाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते ॥ षड्विंशन्मत q by व्य नि. p. 13.

380 देशपत्तनगोष्ठीषु पुरग्रामेषु वादिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमयैर्धर्मशास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सह ॥ कात्या q by परा मा. III p. 41, स चि p. 72 स्मृतिच. II p 26 appears to ascribe it to पितामह

agreement and that the five tribunals for foresters and others are *kulikas* (high officers or heads of families), *sārthas* (members of caravans), headmen, villagers, citizens The texts further provide that in certain cases the court was to call in aid outsiders to help in deciding disputes. Vyāsa[381] says: 'In the case of disputes among traders, artisans, husbandmen and actors it is impossible for others to give a (correct) decision, hence such matters should be got decided by experts in those various matters' Br. states that in disputes among husbandmen, craftsmen (carpenters and the like), artisans (like painters), money-lenders, guilds, dancers, sectarians (like Pāśupatas) and criminal tribes the decision should be made with the help of those who understand the conventions made by them and their usages. In disputes about the boundaries of villages and about fields in a village, four, eight or ten neighbours were to settle the boundaries (vide Manu VIII. 258, Kaut. III. 9, Yāj. II. 150-152). Kaut. 1 19 and Br.[382] (q in V P. p. 23) say that disputes between those who have performed austerities or between those who are adepts in witchcraft and Yoga should not be decided by the king (unaided), but with the help of those learned in the three Vedas, as otherwise they may feel offended These quotations show that certain people could claim to be tried by their peers or at least by a jury. This jury system was resorted to for settling complicated questions of fact It is a very ancient system, being mentioned even by Gautama[383] XI. 21-22 'the king, having received help from the heads of husbandmen, merchants, cow-herds, money-lenders and artisans as regards disputes in their own groups, should finally decide what is just'.

It has already been stated above that the king is to decide according to the smrtis He has also to take into consideration the duties and usages of the several varnas and the eighteen low

381 वणिक्कुशिल्पिप्रभृतिषु कृषिरङ्गोपजीविषु । अशक्यो निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तदीयैरेव कारयेत् ॥ व्यास quoted in परा मा III p 42, व्य प्र p 23, कीनाशा· कारुकाः शिल्पिकुसीदिश्रेणिनर्तकाः । लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराः कुर्युः स्वेन धर्मेण निर्णयम् ॥ बृहस्पति, quoted in व्य प्र p 23 This is शुक्र IV 5 18.

382. तपस्विना तु कार्याणि त्रैविद्यै सह कारयेत् । मायायोगविदो चैव न स्वय कोप-कारणात् ॥ कौटिल्य I 19 towards end, बृह in व्य प्र p, 23, व्य मा. p 281 ascribes it to both बृह and कात्या

383. कर्षक-वणिक्-पशुपाल-कुसीदि-कारवः स्वे स्वे वर्गे । तेषां यथाधिकारमर्थान्प्राप्य· तद · धर्मव्यवस्था । गौ XI. 21-22

castes[384] (acc. to Manu VIII. 41 and Hārita). The eighteen low castes said to be outside the pale of the four varnas and āśramas are enumerated by Pitāmaha, viz. washerman, shoe-maker, nata (dancer caste), bamboo-worker, fisherman, mleccha, bhilla, ābhīra, mātanga and nine others (the names of which are not given here as the text is corrupt).

The foregoing gradations of tribunals did not all exist at all times in ancient and medieval India. One thing is, however, quite clear There was always a court of the Chief Justice appointed by the ruling power and final appeal lay to the ruler himself. But as regards inferior tribunals usage varied. For example, it appears from a decision of 1742 in which a ruling of king Shivaji about a Kulkarni *vatan* is set out that in Shivaji's time disputes could be taken before three different but inferior tribunals, viz the *got* (i. e. the assembly of castemen) which is somewhat like the *kula* tribunal of the smrtis, or before arbitrators hailing from a place other than where the dispute took place or before the officers, *balutedars* and chief men of several villages round about.[385]

Manu (VIII 23) prescribes that the king fully dressed and with an undisturbed mind, after taking his seat in the Hall of Justice, should perform obeisance to the gods, the guardians of the (eight) quarters (Indra and others, as specified in Manu VII 4) and should then commence the work of looking into the legal business The transaction of legal business has four stages (from the king's or judge's point of view) viz. first receiving information from a person, then finding out under what title of law (vyavahārapada) the information falls, then consideration of the pleadings of the parties and the evidence

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384 शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः । व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा तत्सर्वमाचरेत् ॥ हारीत in स्मृतिच० II p. 29, परा. मा. III. p 46, स. वि p 74 : प्रकृतयः पितामहेन दर्शिताः । रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च । कैवर्तकश्च विज्ञेयो म्लेच्छभिल्लौ तथैव च । ... एताः प्रकृतयः प्रोक्ता अष्टादश मनीषिभिः । वर्णानामाश्रमाणां च सर्वदा तु बहिः स्थिताः । स्मृतिच० II p. 29, परा. मा III. p. 46

385 Vide 'Vatanpatrem, Nivādapatrem' edited by Messrs Mavji an Parasnis (1909 A D) in Marathi p 12 at p 18 'सदरहू दोघांच्या तकारिरा मनास आणून दोघा वादियांस म्हटलें कीं तुम्ही गोतास राजी असाल तर गोतास पाठवूं अगर परस्थळास राजी असाल तर परस्थळास पाठवूं अगर हमशाई गावींचे मोकदम व मोख्तेसर व मौजे मजकूरचे मोकदम व चारा बलुते यांसी राजी असाल तर त्यांचे गोहीवरून मनसुफी करून जे गोष्टी तुम्हास मानती ते सांगणें '

led by them and lastly the decision.[386] When a litigant comes before the court at a proper time (i. e. when the court is sitting) and makes his bow, he (the king or judge) should[387] address him as follows.—" What is your business? What is the injury done to you? Don't be afraid, speak out, man! By whom, when, where and why (was the injury caused)? When thus asked whatever he replies should be considered by (the judge) with the sabhyas and brāhmanas and if the matter be legally entertainable he (the judge) should deliver the seal (sealed order) to the plaintiff or order the bailiff to summon (the defendant)". These observations are made by Kāt (86-88) Whatever a man, being excited by one of the emotions of love (or anger or greed), says before the court, should be first written down on a board or the like by the scribe (Nār [388] II 18)

Very elaborate rules are laid down about the summoning of the defendant or accused by Nār. (I. 52-54), Br, Kāt (96-100), Śukra (IV. 5·102-106) and others. A few of the rules are set out below. The first person to be summoned is the one against whom a complaint based on suspicion or truth is made by the plaintiff or complainant But other persons may be called as defendants[389] either when the person proceeded against by the plaintiff puts forward another as liable to plaintiff's claim or makes another liable along with himself or when another person is accepted by the plaintiff (on behalf of another who is a minor &c.) or (acc. to the Madanaratna) another person himself comes forward (as defendant) The king should not require the personal appearance of the following persons the diseased, minors, very old (beyond 70), one in a calamity, one engaged in some

386. आगमः प्रथमं कार्यो व्यवहारपदं ततः । चिकित्सा निर्णयश्चैव दर्शनं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ नारद (I 36) For explanation, vide स्मृतिच० II. p 29, स वि. p 75

387. काले कार्यार्थिनं पृच्छेत्प्रणतं पुरतः स्थितम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा मा भैषीर्ब्रूहि मानव ॥ केन कस्मिन्कदा कस्मात्पृच्छेदेवं सभागतम् । एवं पृष्टः स यद्ब्रूयात् तत्सभ्यैर्ब्राह्मणैः सह । विमृश्य कार्यं न्याय्यं चेदाह्वानार्थमत. परम् । मुद्रां वा निक्षिपेत्तस्मिन्पुरुषं वा समादिशेत् ॥ कात्या q by मिता on या II 5, परा मा III. 52 and 55, स्मृतिच० II. pp 31, 32 The words किं कार्यं refer to a civil dispute and का च ते पीडा to a criminal dispute (हिंसामूल)

388 रागादीनां यदेकेन कोपितः करणं वदेत् । तदादौ तु लिखेत्सर्वं वादिनः फलकादिषु ॥ नारद (II 18)

389. अधिकारोभियुक्तस्य नेतरस्यास्त्यसङ्गते. । इतरोप्यभियुक्तेन प्रतिरोधीकृतो मत । समर्पितोर्थिना चोक्तः परो धर्माधिकारिणि । प्रतिवादी स विज्ञेयः प्रतिपक्षश्च यः स्वयम् ॥ कात्या quoted by अपरार्क p. 639 (reads प्रहितोधिकृतो मत), स्मृतिच० II. p.32, स वि. p. 80.

religious rite, one who would suffer irreparable loss by coming, one in misfortune (such as the death or disappearance of a dear relative), one engaged in the king's business or in a (religious) festival, one intoxicated, a lunatic, one distressed, a servant, a woman[390] who is young and whose family is in straitened circumstances or who is of good family or who is recently delivered, a maiden who is of a higher caste than that of the complainant. Nār. (I. 53) prescribes that cowherds when it is the season for taking cows for grazing, agriculturists in the sowing season, artisans actually engaged in work and soldiers engaged[390a] in war should not be summoned to appear in person, while so engaged. In these cases some one on their behalf should be summoned as a representative. But it is provided that even these persons may be summoned with proper safeguards in important cases or grave charges, such as the killing of human beings, theft, rape, eating forbidden food, counterfeiting coins, high treason &c. But women who by their earnings support their families, unchaste women, prostitutes, women without family and women excommunicated for grave sins may be summoned to appear personally[391]. A person who is summoned and is able to appear but does not appear in person was to be fined according to the value or importance of the subject matter of dispute e. g. in slight causes fifty (copper) panas, two hundred at least in the cases of middling value and 500 panas at least in heavy causes (vide Kāt. 100-101 quoted by Sm. C. II p 34, Aparārka p. 607.) After taking the fine and waiting for 30 days or a month and a half the king may give a judgment in favour of the plaintiff, due to defendant's default. But if the defendant does come after that time, the suit may be restored and proceeded with.[392] But when there is an invasion by an enemy or a famine or an epidemic or disease the king should not impose a fine, but send a second summons. In the case of those who are exempted from personal appearance (as above) their relatives (son, father &c.) or some other person

390. Compare sec. 132 of the Indian Civil Pro. Code (Act V of 1908) for exemption of certain women from personal appearance.

390a. Compare the Indian Soldiers (Litigation) Act (IV of 1925).

391. Vide Mit. on Yāj II. 5 (for quotations about most of these rules), Aparārka p 606, Par. M. III p 51, Vyavahāra-mayūkha pp 9-10.

392 एवं दण्डमादाय त्रिंशद्रात्राद्ऊर्ध्वं त्रिपक्षाद्वादशवन्धार्थं (त्रिपक्षाद्वा दशवन्धं ?) गृहीत्वा हानिनिमित्तजयपत्रं दद्यात्। एवं कृते यदि प्रतिवाद्यागच्छति पुनरपि व्यवहारदर्शनं कर्तव्यमिति। स्य. नि. p. 29

appointed by them (such as a pupil, servant &c.) or one who can be recognised as their agent may be allowed to appear [392a] But no representative was allowed in serious charges cited above (vide Kāt 93–95 q by Aparārka p. 639, Sm C. II p 34). If a father, brother, a friend, or a relative appears before the court for the real litigant, the law-suit may be proceeded with (Prāmaha) Whoever carries on anything through another by appointing him to that task should be understood to have done it himself and the business transacted by such a representative or agent cannot be annulled If a person who is not a brother nor father nor son nor appointed to represent another prosecutes a law-suit for another, he is liable to be fined[393] As the king was supposed to be the guardian of a minor's wealth, it appears from this that a king could have appointed a guardian for the suit when a minor was concerned. The above provisions show that maintenance and champerty were not encouraged by ancient Hindu lawyers.

An interesting question arises whether lawyers as an institution existed in ancient India The answer must be that so far as the smrtis are concerned, there is nothing to show that any class of persons whose profession was the same as that of modern counsel, solicitors or legal practitioners and who were regulated by the State existed. This does not preclude the idea that persons well-versed in the law of the smrtis and the procedure of the courts were appointed (*niyukta*) to represent a party and place his case before the court The procedure prescribed by Nār, Br and Kāt reaches a very high level of technicalities and skilled help must often have been required in litigation. In the com of Asahāya as edited by Kalyānabhatta on Nār. (rnādāna 4) there is an instructive story from which it appears that persons who had studied the smrtis helped parties in return for a monetary consideration to raise contentions

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392a. कुलस्त्रीबालकोन्मत्तजडार्तानां च बान्धवाः । पूर्ववादोत्तरे कुर्युर्नियुक्तो भृतकस्तथा ॥ q by विवादचन्द्र p 89, व्यव त p 201, अप्रगल्भजडोन्मत्तवृद्धस्त्रीबालरोगिणाम् । पूर्वोत्तरं वदेद्बन्धुर्नियुक्तोऽन्योथवा नरः । बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच॰ II p. 33, व्य. प्र p 40; दासा. कर्मकराः शिष्या नियुक्ता बान्धवास्तथा । वादिनो न च दण्ड्याः स्युर्यस्त्वतोऽन्यः स दण्डभाक् ॥ कात्या quoted by अपरार्क p 639.

393 पिता भ्राता सुहृच्चापि बन्धुः सम्बन्धिनोपि वा । यदि कुर्युरुपस्थान वादं तत्र प्रवर्तयेत् ॥ य कश्चित्कारयेत्किञ्चिन्नियोगात्येन केनचित् । तत्तेनैव कृतं ज्ञेयमनिवर्त्य हि तत् स्मृतम् ॥ पितामह in स्मृतिच॰ II p 32. these are शुक्र IV 5 112–113, यो यस्यार्थे विवदते तयोर्जयपराजयौ । यो न भ्राता न च पिता न सुहृो न नियोगकृत् । परार्थवादी दण्ड्यः स्याद् व्यवहारेपि विब्रुवन् ॥ नारद (II 22–23) This is शुक्र IV 5 118.

before the court. But there also the helper comes forward saying that he is a very old friend of the family and has been appointed by the party to represent him. So he corresponded to what is called a recognized agent in the Indian Civil Pro. Code, Order III r 2 (Act V of 1908). In Śukra IV. 5. 114–117 some important rules are given:[394] the person who is appointed to represent a party should get as his wages 1/16, 1/20, 1/40, 1/80 or 1/160 part of the amount in dispute, that the wages become less and less as the claim in dispute becomes higher or if several persons employ one representative; one who knows dharmaśāstra and the procedure of law-suits should be appointed as representative and not any one who is deficient in these; if the representative takes wages without knowing these he should be punished by the king. A representative is to be appointed by the party and not by the king at his will; if the representative allows the matter entrusted to him to fail owing to his greed he is liable to be fined[395]. In the 'Questions of Milinda' (S. B.

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394. नियोगि (जि?) तस्यापि भृतिं विवादात् षोडशांशिकीम् । विंशत्यंशां तदर्धां वा तदर्धां च तदर्धिकाम् ॥ यथा द्रव्याधिकं कार्यं हीना हीना भृतिस्तथा । यदि बहुनियोगी स्यादन्यथा तस्य पोषणम् ॥ धर्मज्ञो व्यवहारज्ञो नियोक्तव्योऽन्यथा न हि । अन्यथा भृतिं गृह्णन्तं दण्डयेच्च नियोगिनम् ॥ कार्यो नित्यो नियोगी न नृपेण स्वमनीषया। लोभेन स्वन्यथा कुर्वन् नियोगी दण्डमर्हति ॥ शुक्र IV. 5. 114–117. The words भृतिं गृह्णन्तं present a difficulty. Probably there is a compound of भृति with गृह्णन्तम्.

395 The story in the com. on Nār. is as follows: In Pātaliputra (modern Pātnā) a brāhmana named Śrīdhara acquired with great trouble a fortune and lent to a trader named Devadhara ten thousand *drammas* at the rate of 2 per cent per month When one month passed Devadhara paid as interest 200 drammas. When the 2nd month was running, Devadhara died of high fever, his son died of cholera and only the great-grandson of Devadhara, by name Mahīdhara, remained. He was a very young man addicted to gambling and other vices His property was taken under their protection by his maternal uncles They were advised hy a brāhmana who had a smattering of smrti lore and was called Smārtadurdhara 'Don't pay even a rupee to the creditor Śrīdhara I shall save you even in Court by citing appropriate texts' The uncles replied 'if you save us, we shall give you a thousand *drammas* as a reward' When the 2nd month passed (from the date of borrowing), Śrīdhara called upon the uncles to pay 200 drammas as interest for the 2nd month. They replied 'You cannot claim even the principal (from the great-grandson of the original horrower), much less interest'. Smārtadurdhara, the legal adviser of the uncles, said "Nārada declares (rnādāna 4) 'grandsons should pay the debts of the grandfather; that (debt) ceases from the fourth'. On hearing this Śrīdhara was stunned, but gathering his wits filed a suit in the court and had summonses issued

(*Continued on the next page*)

E vol 36 p. 238) there is a passage about certain *bhikkhus* in the 'city of Righteousness' (*dhammanagara*) who are styled 'dhammāpanikas' (dealers in dharma) and are described as follows: '(Bhikkhus), who in the spirit and the letter, in its arguments and explanations, its reasons and examples teach and repeat, utter forth and recapitulate the ninefold word of the Buddha; such bhikkhus are called, O king, lawyers in the blessed one's city of Righteousness' and on p 239 there are 'dhammasetthino' (bankers of dharma), which word reminds us of the sresthin in the Mrcchakatika. The dhammāpanikas probably correspond to such lawyers as Smārtadurdhara mentioned above The rules of Śukra make a near approach to the modern institution of the Bar and the fees prescribed by Śukra are similar to those allowed by the Bombay Regulation II of 1827 and by Schedule III to the Bombay Pleaders' Act (Bombay Act XVII of 1920) The first legislative enactment in India to deal with lawyers for representing parties passed by the British Government was the Bengal Regulation VII of 1793 which defined the privileges, the fees (five per cent up to 1000 and then on a sliding scale) and responsibilities of *vakeels* (which word originally means 'agent').

The plaintiff may put under restraint till the approach of the summoner (the bailiff) by the king's order the defendant, who does not stand up to meet the claim (i e, is about to abscond or may abscond) that is to be investigated (or when the plaintiff spoke to him about the claim before coming to court) and

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(*Continued from the last page*)

to Mahidhara, great-grandson of Devadhara, and his uncles Sureties were taken from both sides The uncles were asked (by the court) 'why don't you pay the interest to Śridhara'? They appointed as their representative Smārtadurdhara, who said that he and his ancestors were friends of the family of Mahidhara and so he addressed the court 'I rely on Nārada's words (quoted above), and Mahidhara being the fourth from Devadhara (including the latter) is not liable to pay' Bhatta Smārtaśekhara laughed at this and said 'Smārtadurdhara, you are not deeply learned in the smrti texts nor have you studied glosses thereon The whole of the debt of 10000 drammas lent by Śridhara is still due from Mahidhara, as he is the great-grandson of the borrower, as three male descendants of the borrower are liable to pay the ancestor's debt and as Nārada means only this that the son of the great-grandson (who is the fourth from the borrower, excluding the latter from computation) is not liable to pay the debt of his great-great-grand-father' and the learned speaker charged him with having been promised a gratification. Smārtadurdhara and his proteges lost the case.

who disregards the words of the claimant. This is called *āsedha* which is explained by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 5 as restraint under the king's order. It is of four kinds viz. restraint as to (*sthāna*) place (e g. you are not to go elsewhere from your house or a temple), as to time (e. g. you must present yourself on the 5th of a certain month), restraint from going on (*pravāsa*) a journey (till the suit is decided) and restraint from doing certain actions (e. g. you are not to sell certain property or to plough a certain field till the disposal of the suit)[396]. The rules about āsedha are laid down by Nār. (I. 47-54), Br. (q. by V. P. p. 42, Sm. C II. pp. 30-31), Kāt 103-110 (all quoted by V. P. pp 41-42, Sm. C. II. pp. 30-31) Nār. (I. 54) states that those persons whose personal appearance is dispensed with as stated above are not to be subjected to āsedha Nārada provides that he who disregards the prohibitory order (āsedha) of the court should be punished and that he who obtains a restraint order against a person that should not have been thus proceeded against should also be punished. Acc to Kāt. that man who restrains the defendant so as to prevent him from exercising his limbs or from talking or breathing freely should be punished and not the defendant if he breaks such restraint. A defendant would not be liable to be fined, if he disregards a restraint order which ties him down to a river ford, or to a forest, to a bad place (infested by thieves and tigers) or at the time of an invasion (Nār I 49) There is a provision which looks like one for the appointment of a Receiver in modern times. Kāt. (120) says 'A king should not allow a litigant to proceed if the litigant retains the property or money which he has (been shown to have) seized: it should be delivered over to the opposing litigant (if he be trustworthy)' or it may be kept with a third person (as receiver for the successful party)[397] When the defendant comes on being summoned, he and the plaintiff are both to be placed before the judges (Pitāmaha q. in Sm C II p 34) Then a surety is to be taken from both who would be capable of carrying

396. It should be noted that these provisions about *āsedha* are analogous to those about attachment or arrest before judgment (section 94 and Order 38 of the Indian Civil Pro Code of 1908) and temporary injunction (Order 39 of the same).

397. गृहीतग्रहणो न्यायो न प्रवर्त्यो महीभुजा। तस्य वा तत्समर्प्यं स्यात्स्थाप्यं वापि परस्य तत्। कात्या q in स्मृतिच. II. 5 35, विवादचन्द्र p. 94, which explains 'अर्थिना प्रत्यर्थिसकाशाद्विवादपदमानीयते तदा यावत्प्रत्यर्थिनि मध्यस्थे वा न समर्प्यते तावद्विवादो न प्रवर्त्यः। गृहीत॰। गृह्यते इति ग्रहणं विवादपदं तद्गृहीतं यत्र स गृहीतग्रहणः। तस्य प्रत्यर्थिनः कृते (इत्ते?) तत्समर्प्यं परस्य मध्यस्थस्य स्थाने वा स्थाप्यमित्यर्थः।'

out the decree made by the court i. e who would be able to pay the amount of fine to the king if the defendant denied the plaintiff's claim or who would be able to pay double the amount of the claim if the plaintiff's claim be found to be false (Yāj. II 10–11) If any one of the parties cannot offer a surety, then he has to be kept in the custody of the court's bailiff (sādhyapāla) and has to pay the daily wages of the bailiff at the end of every[398] day (Kāt 117 q. by Mit on Yāj II 10) The following persons could not be accepted as sureties (Kāt. 114–116 q. by Mit on Yāj II 57) 'the master (in the case of a party being a servant), an enemy, one authorised by the master, one arrested, one fined, one accused of grave sins or offences, one who is a co-sharer in family property, a friend, one who is a perpetual student, one who is appointed to do the king's business, ascetics, one who would not be able to pay the amount decreed and the fine to the king, one whose father is living, one who incites the party for whom surety is demanded, one whose antecedents are unknown' When a person (of any caste) is kept guarded for want of a surety he is not to be prevented from doing necessary and obligatory acts (bath, *sandhyā* worship &c) and if he runs away from the guard he should be fined eight panas (Kāt 119 q in Par M III 58).

When the defendant comes before the court, the information at first given by the plaintiff is to be written down accurately in his presence together with the year, month, fortnight, day, names (of parties), caste &c (Yāj II. 6) When the aggrieved party first comes to the court, all that is taken down is the matter in dispute (i e the draft of the plaint), when the defendant comes, the plaint is written down with all details (including the grievance as stated in the beginning).[399] The plaint is called by various names in Sanskrit viz. *paksa, bhāṣā, pratijñā* (Mit on Yāj II 6) Sometimes the word 'pūrvapaksa' is used for paksa (as in Kāt 131, Nār II. 1) *Vādin* and *prativādin* generally mean the plaintiff and the defendant, though vādin sometimes means 'a litigant' (either the plaintiff or defendant) *'Arthin'* (one who seeks the assistance of the court) and *abhyoktr* (attacker) are synonyms of *vādin*, and *pratyarthin* and *abhyukta* (attacked) are synonyms of *prativādin* Kāt.

398. अथ चेत्प्रतिभूर्नास्ति कार्ययोग्यस्तु वादिनः । स रक्षितो दिनस्यान्ते दद्याद्भृत्यांश्च वेतनम् ॥ कात्या quoted by मिता. on या II. 10 and V P. p. 44

399 आवेदनसमये कार्यमात्रं लिखित प्रत्यर्थिनोऽग्रतः समाप्तासाविशिष्टं लिख्यते इति विशेषः । भाषा प्रतिज्ञा पक्ष इति नार्थान्तरम् । मिता on या. II 6.

(130–131) says that the judge[400] should have the plaint written down on a board (or on the ground) with a piece of chalk as narrated naturally by the claimant and then on a leaf (palm leaf or bark or paper) when it is corrected (after the defendant appears) and that the plaintiff may delete some matters from the original (draft of) plaint and may fill in gaps and that such amendments may be made in the draft till the plaint is finally settled.[401] It appears from the Vyavahāratattva (p. 205) that the pleadings (the plaint and the reply) could be written down in Sanskrit or in the vernacular of the parties if they were ignorant The Mrcchakatika (Act IX) shows how the presiding judge asks the śresthin and kāyastha to write down the words 'not by me' as the complaint of the Śakāra when the latter averred that Vasantasenā was killed by Cārudatta and not by himself The plaint could be amended till the filing of the reply[402] (Nār II 7). Elaborate rules are laid down about the contents of the plaint by many writers from Kautilya (III. 1) downwards. Kaut[403] states that in the plaint should be entered the year, season, month, fortnight, day, the documents (to be relied upon), the court (in which the plaint is lodged), the (amount of) debt (or other money due) and the country, village, caste, family, names and occupations of the plaintiff and defendant together with the relationship in which they stood to each other. Kāt (127–128 q by Mit on Yāj II. 6 and Aparārka p 608) requires that in suits about immoveable property, ten details should be recorded in the plaint viz the country, the place (town or village in which the property is situated), situation (boundaries or the figure such as a square &c.), the caste (of both parties), names,

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400 अधिकान् शोधयेदर्थानन्यांश्च प्रतिपूरयेत् । भूमौ निवेशयेत्तावद्यावत् पक्षः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ पूर्वपक्षं स्वभावोक्त प्राड्विवाकोऽभिलेखयेत् । पाण्डुलेखेन फलके ततः पत्रे विशोधितम्॥ कात्या॰ q the first by विश्वरूप on या II. 6, the 2nd by मिता॰ on या. II. 6 and both by अपरार्क p 611, परा मा III pp 65–67.

401. शोधयेत्पूर्ववादं तु यावत्प्रोत्तरदर्शनम् । अवष्टब्धस्योत्तरेण निवृत्तं शोधनं भवेत् ॥ नारद q by मिता॰ on या II 6. एतच्च संस्कृतदेशभाषान्यतरेण यथाबोधं वक्तव्यं लेखय वा। मूर्खाणामपि वादिप्रतिवादितादर्शनात् । अत एवाध्यायनेपि तथोक्तं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैर्यः शिष्यमनुरूपतः । देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत्स गुरु॰ स्मृत. ॥ व्यवहारतत्त्व p 205

402 Under the Civil Pro Code, Order VI r 17 (Act V of 1908) the plaint may be allowed to be amended at any stage of the suit. The ancient Indian rule was somewhat stricter

403. सवत्सरमृतु मासं पक्षं दिवसं करणमधिकरणमूर्णं वेदकावेदकयो॰ कृतसमर्थावस्थयोर्देशग्रामजातिगोत्रनामकर्माणि चाभिलिख्य वादिप्रतिवादिप्रश्नानर्थान्पूर्व्यानिवेशयेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III 1.

the dwelling place (of the parties), the measure (so many *nivartanas* &c), the name of the field, (names of) the father, grandfather and great-grand-father, mention of the former kings Kāt. 124–126, Br (q in Sm C. p. 36 and V M p. 294) give further details, which are passed over for want of space. All the details enumerated above need not occur in every plaint, but the necessary ones must be stated according to the facts of each case[404].

These rules about the contents of plaints are very similar to those in the Indian Civil Pro. Code, Order VII rules 1–5

In modern India no suit or appeal can be filed unless the plaintiff or appellant pays substantial court-fees (Rs 7½ per cent upto Rs 1000 and 5 per cent for higher claims up to 5000 and so on at reduced rates as the claim rises) It is interesting to see how the litigants in ancient India fared in this respect It appears that in disputes of a criminal nature no court fees had to be paid in ancient India The person found guilty had to pay to the king the fine declared in the Smrtis for offences or awarded by the Court. As regards civil disputes also nothing had to be paid at the inception of the suit Certain rules are prescribed by Kaut (III 1), Yāj, Viṣnudharmasūtra, Nār and others about payments to the king after the suit is decided, which payments may be regarded as in the nature of court fees Yāj II 42 and Viṣnudharmasūtra VI. 20–21 state that in the case of suits for the recovery of debts the debtor who admitted that he was a debtor (but did not pay the creditor) should be made to pay to the king 10 per cent on the amount decreed and the successful creditor should pay five per cent out of the amount decreed (as *bhṛti*, compensation or court fee)[405]. When the debtor denies the fact of debt altogether and the creditor succeeds in establishing it, the debtor had to pay the amount decreed to the creditor and an equal amount to the king as fine, but if the plaintiff turns out to be a false claimant (i. e. the relationship and the amount of the debt are not proved) he had to pay to the king as fine twice as much as the amount claimed by him (Yāj II 11) Nār also (IV 132) says[406] that a debtor, who is able to repay a debt but does not

404. येषा मध्ये यानि साधकबाधकप्रमाणोपन्यासोपयोगीनि यत्र भवन्ति तत्र तान्येव लेख्यानि न सर्वाणि प्रयोजनाभावात् । अपरार्क p 608

405 उत्तमर्णश्चेद्राजानमियात्तद्विभावितोऽधमर्णो राज्ञे धनदशभागसमित दण्डं दद्यात् प्रातार्थश्चोत्तमर्णो विंशतितमसंशम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VI 20–21

406. ऋणिकः सधनो यस्तु दौरात्म्याद्य प्रयच्छति । राज्ञा दापयितव्य स्यात् गृहीत्वा पञ्चार्क शतम् ॥ नारद IV 132. The व्य. मयूख p 182 reads गृहीत्वाश तु विंशकम् (i. e 20 per cent)

do so through wickedness or malice, should be made to pay the debt after recovering five per cent from the debtor. The Sm. C. II. p 121 says that this applies to a case where the debtor admits his liability to the plaintiff. Manu VIII. 139 gives milder rules: 'if a debtor admits before the Court that he is a debtor, then he has to pay a fine equal to five per cent on the amount decreed, but if he denied the fact of debt altogether, then he has to pay as fine ten per cent'. Manu VIII. 59 which prescribes a fine twice of that amount which the debtor falsely denies or which the creditor falsely claims contains a somewhat different rule (which Medhātithi says applies where parties are guilty of downright fraud, while VIII. 139 applies where there is negligence or loss of memory &c.). In suits other than for debts such fines are also prescribed e. g. in Yāj. II. 26 for one who misappropriates a pledge, II. 33, II 188 (for breach of the rules of guilds and other groups), Yāj. II. 171 (where a person claiming to be the owner of lost goods and failing to prove his ownership of them was fined *pañca-bandha* i. e a fifth part of the price of the goods). Kaut prescribes[407] that when a party is guilty of contradictory pleadings, or does not cite witnesses though saying he has witnesses and is defeated for these and similar reasons he has to pay a fine of 20 per cent of the claim and 10 per cent only if he relied on his own deposition (and called no witnesses) and further the defeated party has to pay the costs viz. the wages of the bailiff and of the subsistence allowance of witnesses. Therefore it may be said that in ancient times Indian litigants had an easy time, while in modern times litigation is often ruinous, what with the heavy court fees to be paid in several courts, the fees of legal practitioners and the expenses of witnesses and the delay of years[408]. The remark of Dr. Hart (in 'Way to justice' p. 17) is as applicable to modern India as to England 'the plain truth is that the justice of the courts is unattainable by some citizens through want of the necessary financial resources; while in the case

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407. परोक्तदृण्डः पञ्चबन्धः स्वयंवादिदृण्डो दशबन्धः । पुरुषभृतिरष्टाङ्गः । पाणिभक्तमर्यादविशेषतः । तद्दुभयं नियम्यो दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 1.

408 In modern times a plaint or memorandum of appeal is to be rejected if not properly stamped Vide Order VII. r. 11 of the Indian Civil Pro Code The Peshva's Government appears to have taken one-fourth or one-fifth from the party whose claim for partition or for recovery of debt succeeded Vide 'Peshwa's Diaries' ed by Rao Bahadur Wad, vol 2 pp 132, 146, 163

of many others it is not worth having at the cost which it involves'.

In one of his most famous soliloquies Shakespeare (in Hamlet III. 1 'Oppressor's wrong, the proud mans's contumely, the pangs of despised love, the *law's delays*') enumerates law's delays among the principal evils of human life. In modern India as in England[409] before 1873 delay in the decision of causes is a crying evil. In the rough and ready methods of administering justice in ancient India care seems to have been bestowed on disposing of cases as quickly as possible The story of king Nrga who caused delay has already been referred to (p 243). Kaut (III. 1) states that if the plaintiff, after the defendant files his answer, does not on the same day begin to support his case (by evidence) he would be declared to be defeated, since the plaintiff comes to court after determining the strength of his case, but the defendant does not do so (he is dragged to the court); that the defendant may be allowed an adjournment of three or seven days for his defence; if he is not ready with his defence within that time he may be punished with a fine ranging from 3 to 12 panas; if he does not answer even after three fortnights he shall be punished with fine for *parokṣa* (viz *pañcabandha* or *daśabandha* as stated above in note 407) and the plaintiff's claim would be recovered from the property of the defendant A similar rule is laid down in Manu VIII. 58. Yāj. II. 12 prescribes that disputes relating to *sāhasa* (killing by poison or weapon), theft, abuse, assault, cows, charges of grave sins and women (about the chastity of all women and about ownership in the case of female slaves), the defendant has to make his defence at once, and that in other cases time may be granted at the discretion of the court Nār. I. 45 is to the same effect. Nār. I. 44 holds that adjournments may be granted in suits about debts and the like for finding out the truth as such disputes are complicated and as memory is weak. Pitāmaha (q. in Sm. C. II. p. 42) says that adjournments may be granted in disputes about deposits, sealed deposits, gifts, partnerships, transgression of conventions and partition of heritage. Gautama XIII. 28 speaks in general terms of an adjournment for one year, when the defendant does not remember the transaction, but prescribes immediate trial in

409. For the enormous delay in the disposal of even simple proceedings or Bills in Chancery in England, vide Holdsworth's 'History of English Law' (1926) Vol. IX. pp. 374–375 and 433–435.

disputes about kine, women and children or when the matter is urgent i e. where loss or abandonment of the thing will be the result of delay (Gaut. XIII. 29–30). Brhaspati allows time even to the plaintiff if he is not able to put forward his case owing to his immaturity or lack of boldness.[410] Kāt. (145–158 quoted by Aparārka p. 619, Sm. C II. p 42, Par. M: III. pp. 69–72) contains elaborate rules about adjournments. He says that according to the importance or otherwise of the dispute, one, three, five, or seven days may be allowed to the defendant to make his defence in disputes about debts, according as the debt was contracted three months ago or 6, 12, 20 or 30 years ago ; that even more than a year may be allowed if the defendant is an idiot or lunatic or is suffering from disease or if the subject of dispute or the witnesses are in a foreign country ; that more adjournments than one may be granted in such cases ; that according to Brhaspati in disputes about immoveable property also no adjournments should be granted ; that if the act of God (*daiva*) or the king prevents the defendant from making his defence he should not be declared defeated, but time should be granted to him to prove this. It is clear that with the advance of time adjournments became longer and more frequent in Kāt. compared with the rigid rules of Kaut.. Kāt. and Śukra (IV. 5. 167, 209) contain the last word on this point. According to them delay in deciding causes is tantamount[411] to denial of justice (*dharmavyāpatti*, lit. death of Justice).

The sequence of stages in a law-suit is as follows : first the plaintiff makes his averments, then the defendant makes his reply; when both have finished, the members of the court speak (or deliberate among themselves) and after them (speaks) the judge (Kāt. 121 q by Aparārka p. 611, Par. M. III. p. 58). The four stages (*pādas*) of a law-suit, acc. to Yāj. II. 6–8, and

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410 ऋणोपनिधिनिक्षेपदानसंभूयकर्मणाम् । समये द्वयभागे च कालः कार्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥ पितामह q. in स्मृतिच० II. p. 42 ; अभियोक्ताऽप्रगल्भत्वाद् वक्तुं नोत्सहते यदि । तस्य कालः प्रदातव्यः कार्यशक्त्यल्पलक्षयतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. in स्मृतिच० II. p 40, अपरार्क p. 611.

411. न कालहरणं कार्यं राज्ञा साधनदर्शने । महान् दोषो भवेत्कालाद् धर्मव्यापत्तिलक्षणः ॥ दृष्ट्वादेशात्तुरूपं तु कालं साधनदर्शने । उपाधिं वा समीक्ष्यैव दैवराजकृतं सदा ॥ शुक्र IV. 5 167 and 209. The first is almost the same as Kāt. 339 (q. in स्मृतिच० II. p. 92, व्य. मा. p. 306, स. वि. p. 148, which read साक्षिप्रभाषणे and धर्मव्यापत्तिः)

Br are named[412] *bhāṣāpāda* (the plaint), *uttarapāda* (the reply), *kriyāpāda* (the adducing of evidence), *sādhyasiddhi*[413] or *nirnaya* (the decision); while Kāt 31 states them as pūrvapakṣa, uttara, pratyākalita and kriyā Pratyākalita means 'discussion or consideration among the *sabhyas* about the burden of proof' (vide p 260 n 337) If several persons come simultaneously with complaints or plaints, then the order of taking up the cases is regulated by the *varna* of the plaintiffs i. e. the suit of a brāhmana is first taken up (Manu VIII 24) Kaut I 19 states[414] that the causes of temples (or idols), ascetics, heretics, brāhmanas learned in the vedas, about cattle and sacred places, of minors, of the aged, of those afflicted with disease or misfortunes, of the helpless and of women are to be looked into in the order enumerated or according to the importance of the causes or their urgency. Kāt (122 q in Sm C II. p 35, Par M III p. 59) says that preference should be given to that litigant whose injury is greater or whose cause is more important than those of the rest. Kaut III. 20 went[415] so far as to say that judges should look into the causes of idols (or temples), brāhmanas, persons performing austerities, women, minors, the old, the diseased, the helpless, even if they did not come forward to complain nor should judges put forward the excuses of time (i. e. the long delay in taking cognisance of their causes), place, or (long) enjoyment (of their opponents)

Lengthy quotations and illustrations are cited in the commentaries and digests about the requirements of a good plaint They are all passed over. They well illustrate the *penchant* of ancient Indian writers for divisions, sub-divisions and subtle distinctions.

Kāt. (136 quoted by Aparārka p. 609) specifies several reasons which make a plaint unacceptable viz one that lacks

412. पूर्वपक्षः स्मृत पादो द्वितीयस्तूत्तरस्तथा । क्रियापादस्तथा चाख्यश्चतुर्थो निर्णय स्तथा ॥ बृह० q. by अपरार्क p 616, पूर्वपक्षश्चोत्तरं च -प्रत्याकलितमेव च । क्रियापादश्च तेनायं चतुष्पात्सम्मुदाहृतः ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 616, V P p 44 quotes a verse of Br , where प्रत्याकलित is the 4th पाद

413 अत्र च सिद्धिशब्देन सभ्यानामर्थिप्रत्यर्थिविषयजयपराजयावधारणोपायभूतं प्रमाणमस्येदं शास्त्रतः प्राप्नोतीति विचारकाणां परामर्शः प्रत्याकलितादिशब्दवाच्य उच्यते सिद्धिफलत्वात् । अपरार्क p 616

414. तस्मादेषतामश्रमपाषण्डश्रोत्रियपशुपुण्यस्थानानां बालवृद्धव्याधितस्त्रीणां च क्रमेण कार्याणि पश्येत् । कार्यगौरवादारभ्यक्रमेण वा । अर्थशास्त्र I 19.

415. देवब्राह्मणतपस्विस्त्रीबालवृद्धव्याधितानामनाथानामभिसरतां धर्मस्था कार्याणि कुर्युः । न च देशकालभोगकुलेनातिहरेयुः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

the mention of the time and place (of the cause of action), that omits the statement of the material (*drawya*, which is the subject of dispute) or the amount thereof and that is wanting in (stating) the extent of the relief claimed, that is opposed (to the interests or usages) of the country, that is prohibited by the king's order, that mixes up several vyavahārapadas.[416] Certain plaints are declared to be vitiated (*paksābhāsa*)[417] and not entertainable viz. a plaint that contains an unknown (or imaginary) grievance, that discloses no injury, that contains letters or words making no coherent sense, that states no cause of action, that is incapable of proof or is self-contradictory (Kāt. 140 q. by Mit on Yāj. II 6, Par. M III. 61) Nār. II. 8 also points out the faults (*dosas*) of a plaint and explains them (II. 9-14) Brhaspati states that there is to be no law-suit between teacher and pupil, father and son, husband and wife, and master and servant This does not mean that law-suits between these pairs are altogether prohibited but that suits between them are undesirable, that the king or judges should persuade them to desist from proceeding in Court, that if they persist the court has to decide the suits according to the śāstra.[418] Manu (VIII. 299-300) prescribing the same punishment as for a thief in cases where a wife, son, slave, servant or brother is beaten for correction more severely than is allowed in the śāstras by the husband, father, master, or elder brother respectively conveys by implication that a legal proceeding by these is possible The smrtis did not encourage disputes based on

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416 If a plaintiff states ' the defendant stole my gold, I deposited a thousand *drammas* with him which he does not return, he sold a cow to me without being its owner ', there is a joinder of three vyavahārapadas viz *steya*, *nikṣepa*, *asvāmivikraya* This is not a bad or altogether unacceptable plaint All that is meant is that the trial of all these cannot be carried on simultaneously, but one after another

417 अप्रसिद्धं निराबाध निरर्थं निष्प्रयोजनम् । असाध्यं वा विरुद्ध वा पक्षाभास विवर्जयेत् ॥ कात्यायन quoted by मिता. on या. II 6 (without name), परा. मा III 61 The स्मृतिच० II 37 ascribes the same verse to बृहस्पति (last pāda being पक्षं राजा विवर्जयेत्). Vide my notes to Kāt 140 where it is shown how there is a good deal of divergence about the interpretation of this verse

418. गुरुशिष्यौ पितापुत्रौ दम्पती स्वामिभृत्यकौ । एतेषा समवेताना व्यवहारो न विद्यते । नारद acc to विश्वरूप on याज्ञ II, 5, and बृह. acc to मदनरत्न and व्य प्र p 34 The latter remarks ' तस्माद्दिदं वचनं गुर्वादीना शिष्यादिभिः सह व्यवहारकरणे लोकद्वये न श्रेय इह निन्दावहत्वादमुत्र नरकजनकत्वादित्येतत्परमेव । राजादिभिस्तु नायसूचितो व्यवहारो लोकद्वयहानिकरत्वादिति निवार्यमाणा अपि शिष्यादयो न परितुष्यन्ति चेत्तदा तेषा यथाशास्त्रं निर्णयकरणमदोष एव ।; vide also मिता. on या II. 32 for similar words.

flimsy or trumpery grounds. Brhaspati[419] says that a plaint that is *nirarthaka* (i. e the injury in which is very small or the monetary value involved is negligible) should not be entertained by the king This is on the principle of *de minimis non curat lex* (the law does not take account of trifles) also embodied in sec. 95 of the Indian Penal Code.

When the plaint has been finally settled, the defendant should be called on to reply in writing to the plaint in the presence of the plaintiff (Yāj II. 7, Nār. II 2) This is called *uttara* (reply) or *pratipaksa* (Nār. II. 2). When time may be given to the defendant for putting in his answer has already been stated above.

The answer of the defendant must possess the following characteristics viz it must completely meet all the points of the plaint, it must not deviate from the truth, must not employ vague words, must not be self-contradictory, it should not be such as to require further explanation (because of containing words in a foreign tongue or unknown or rarely used words or elliptical or badly arranged sentences)[420] A reply is of four kinds, (1) *mithyā* (of denial), *samprati pati* or *satya* (confession or admission), *kārana* or *pratyavaskandana* (of special plea or demurrer), *prānnyāya* or *pūrvanyāya* (of former judgment or *res judicata*) A reply of denial may take four forms (Nār II. 5) viz. (1) this (what is affirmed in the plaint) is false, I do not know anything about it, I was not present (when the transaction alleged in the plaint is said to have taken place), I was then not born[421] The first is a direct denial, the others are implied or indirect Very strict rules of pleading were evolved by the

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419 स्वल्पापराधः स्वल्पार्थो निरर्थक इति स्मृत । बृहस्पति q in स. वि p 87 and स्मृतिच० II p 37, which explains तत्र निरर्थकस्योदाहरणम् । अहमनेन संमित निरीक्षित मामकी लाक्षानेनापहृता इति वा ।

420. पक्षस्य व्यापकं सारमसन्दिग्धमनाकुलम् । अव्याख्यागम्यमित्येतदुत्तरं तद्विदो विदुः ॥ quoted by मिता. on या II. 7, अपरार्क p. 612 (ascribes to नारद), स्मृतिच० II. p. 42 (ascribes to प्रजापति), शुक्र IV. 5 139

421. मिथ्या संप्रतिपत्तिर्वा प्रत्यवस्कन्दमेव वा । प्राङ्न्यायविधिसाध्य वा उत्तरं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ नारद II 2, कात्यायन has सर्व्यं मिथ्योत्तरं चैव प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं तथा । पूर्व्यायविधिश्चैवमुत्तरं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ q. in मिता on या II 7. The same is शुक्र IV. 5 144 एतदेवाधर्यमिति कैश्चिदुच्यते। वृद्धकात्यायन--व्यपेता तु क्रिया यत्र अभियुक्तेन कीर्तिता। आधर्यं तद्विजानीयात्पूर्वपक्षस्य नान्यथा ॥ व्यव नि p 51 and व्य. मा. p 307 (reads बाधिका तु क्रिया) आधर्य is probably derived from अधर (meaning 'lower', 'weak' or 'inferior'). The व्य. मा reads आधार्यं, which appears to be a wrong reading.

time of Kāt., who provides (144) that if a statement asserted by the plaintiff in the hearing of the defendant is not traversed by the latter or if the latter remains silent when he should have given a reply, it (should be held by the court that it) is admitted (by the defendant).[422] When the defendant declares the truth of the claim made in the plaint that is a reply of admission. Where the defendant accepting as correct the matters (or facts) set out by the plaintiff raises a plea, that is a reply of special plea.[423] The same is designed by some as *ādhārya* or *ādharya* (rendering futile) of the plaint. For example, where plaintiff avers that defendant took one hundred rupees and defendant accepts that fact but adds either that he later on returned them or that they were really donated to him, that is a reply of special plea. Where a person though defeated in a (former) proceeding again causes a plaint to be written and is addressed (answered) with the words 'you were formerly defeated', that is a reply of former judgment. That there was a former judgment between the same parties may be proved by citing the judges or arbitrators or by citing other witnesses or by producing the writing itself i. e the copy of the judgment (Kāt. 172).[424] In a reply of admission there are only two stages of *vyavahāra* viz. the plaint and the reply; there is no need of proof (so there is no *kriyāpāda*) and the plaintiff succeeds as a matter of course (and so there is no necessity of a regular judgment, *nirnaya*). Kāt. (173–190) states at great length the faults of a reply and also what are not proper replies The Mit (on Yāj. II. 7), Aparārka pp 613–614, Sm. C. II. pp. 43–46 and

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422. आभ्यमाणोर्थिना यत्र यो ह्यर्थो न विघातितः । दानकालेऽथवा तूष्णीं स्थितः सोर्थोऽनुमोदितः ॥ कात्या. q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु. Compare Order VIII rule 5 of the Civil Pro. Code.

423. अर्थिना लेखितो पोर्थः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा । प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयात्प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं स्मृतम् ॥ शुक्र IV. 5 148, नारद q by मिता. on या. II. 7, vide कात्यायन 170, q. by व्य. मा p. 307 (reads पोर्थिनार्थः समुद्दिशः), व्य. प्र. p 59 (which reads अधर्यं ब्रूयुरब्रवीत् as the last *pāda*).

424 विभावयामि कुलिकैः साक्षिभिर्लिखितेन वा । जितश्चैव मयार्थः प्राङ्न्यायक्रियाकारकः ॥ कात्यायन q. by स्मृतिच० II p. 43 which explains 'कुलिकैरिति प्रकृतव्यवहारद्रव्यापहृपलक्षणार्थम्', व्य. प्र. p 61. The व्यव. नि. (p. 53) has the following note on this 'ऐन्द्रस्थाने जितस्य प्राङ्न्यायविधिसिद्धौ जयपत्रेणाहं भावयामीत्येकः कुलव्यवहारे च जयपत्राभावात्-कुल्या कुलविवादेषु विज्ञेयास्तेपि साक्षिणः—इति वचनात् तैरेव व्यवहारदर्शिभिर्भावयामीति द्वितीयः । राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन यच्छ्रुतं तत्त्वदर्शिना । नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र हुक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरम् ॥—इति वचनात् साक्ष्यभावात्तेन राज्ञा भावयामीति तृतीयः ॥

other digests quote long passages from Kāt, Br, Hārīta, Vyāsa and others on faults of *uttara* and illustrate them at length These have to be omitted for want of space One of the faults is '*saṅkara*' (mixture or confusion or misjoinder of pleas in defence). For example, if the plaint alleges 'the defendant took gold, a hundred rupees, certain valuable clothes and a quantity of corn and has not returned any of them,' and the defendant's reply is 'I took the gold, I never took any rupees, the plaintiff donated the clothes to me, as to the corn plaintiff had already filed a suit against me and failed' Here the reply contains all four varieties, viz. the first is a reply of admission, the 2nd is one of denial, the third is a special plea and the 4th is a plea of former judgment This is a *saṅkara* But it is not meant that this reply would not be allowed All that is meant is that, as the burden of proof varies, the adducing of evidence will not be allowed simultaneously, but one after another. Vide Mit. on Yāj II. 7, Par M III pp 77–80. These questions are concerned with cases in which several issues arise, the burden of proving some of which lies on the plaintiff and the burden of proving others lies on the defendant If a defendant does not come forward to give a reply, the king or judge should make him give one by *sāma* (conciliatory words), *bheda* (threats) and other ways and if he does not give a reply for seven days after that, he may be declared to have been defeated and a decree may be passed against[425] him Kaut (III. 1), Yāj II. 9, Nār I. 55, Kāt (163) state that a defendant cannot[426] raise a counter-claim (*pratyabhyoga*) as long as he has not met the attack of the plaintiff, nor should another plaintiff attack a person who is a defendant in a suit already filed, except in the case of abuse and assault, *sāhasa* (death or grievous hurt by a weapon &c.), theft or in a very urgent matter, or in disputes among members of caravans or guilds or in charges of adultery, Yāj II. 29, Nār. IV 93, Śukra IV. 5. 120 say that when a litigant dies while a suit is pending, his son (or other representative) who takes his estate should carry on the litigation or be liable for the claim and the son cannot add his own enjoyment (to make up

425 उपायैश्चोद्यमानस्तु न दद्यादुत्तरं तु यः । अतिक्रान्ते सप्तरात्रे जितोऽसौ दाप्त मर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ q in स्मृतिच० II p 46, परा मा III p 81, व्य प्र p 56 (reads उभयैश्चोद्य० and दण्डमर्हति). This is हारीत acc to स वि p 99

426 अभियुक्तो न प्रत्यभियुञ्जीत अन्यत्र कलहसाहससार्थसमवायेभ्यः । न ह्यभियुक्तेऽभियोगोस्ति । अर्थशास्त्र III 1. अभियुक्तोऽभियोक्तारमभियुञ्जीत कर्हिचित् । अन्यत्र दण्डपारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहणात्ययात् ॥ कात्या. q by व्य मा. p 299, should we not read नाभियुक्तो or नाभियुञ्जीत?

three generations &c. as required for possession ripening into ownership) [427]

There were many grounds on account of which a litigant became what is called *hīna* (a losing party) and some times either had his plaint dismissed or his defence struck out and a decree passed against him or he was simply fined. For example, Nār. II. 33 speaks of five kinds[428] of *hīna* viz. one who changes his statements (or pleading), who does not prosecute his pleading by adducing evidence (i. e. avoids investigation), who does not appear when summoned, who gives no reply, who disappears or runs away when summoned. Nār. I. 56–61, II. 24 explain some of these and other *hīna* parties. Kāt. 202 (q. by Sm C. II. p. 47) prescribes that the above five should respectively be fined 5, 10 12, 16 and 20 panas Nār. II. 25 states that in all civil disputes such as those about women, land or debts the litigant does not lose his cause even if he commits a mistake in his statements, but he is liable to fine. This conveys that in disputes arising out of wrath (manyukrta i. e. in criminal matters) a person loses his cause if he is guilty of the above acts and he is prohibited from pursuing the matter again. Kaut III. 1, Manu VIII. 53–57 contain in almost the same words, certain similar rules, Kaut. calling the several actions causes of *parokta* (defeat). Vide Yāj. II. 16, Śukra IV 5. 136, Kāt. 191–210 for further details on dismissal for default and cognate matters. In these cases of *hīnavādins*, though a fine was imposed, a retrial could be ordered. When defendant filed his reply and parties joined issue in court, Br. and Kāt say that they should not then be allowed to compromise the dispute privately without the permission of the

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427. योभियुक्तः परेतः स्यात्तस्य रिक्थी तमुद्धरेत् । या II. 29, प्रवर्तयित्वा वादं तु वादिनौ तु मृतौ यदि । तत्पुत्रो विवदेत्तज्ज्ञो ह्यन्यथा तु निवर्तयेत् ॥ शुक्र IV. 5. 120.

428. अन्यवादी क्रियाद्वेषी नोपस्थाता निकृत्तरः । आहूतमपलायी च हीनः पञ्चविधः स्मृतः ॥ नारद II. 33.

429. पूर्वोत्तरे संनिविष्टे विचारे संभवर्तिते । प्रशमं ये मिथो यान्ति दाप्यास्ते द्विगुणं दमम् ॥ ... साक्षिसम्यविकल्पस्तु भवेत्तत्रोभयोरपि । दोलायमानौ यौ सन्धिं कुर्यातां तौ विचक्षणौ ॥ प्रमाणसमता यत्र भेदः शास्त्रचरित्रयोः। तत्र राजाज्ञया सन्धिरुभयोरपि शस्यते ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच० II. p. 49, स वि. 104, परा मा. III. pp 84–85, व्य. प्र. p 77; आवेद्य प्रगृहीतार्थं प्रशमं यान्ति ये मिथः । सर्वे द्विगुणदण्ड्याः स्युर्विप्रलम्भान्नृपस्य तु ॥ कात्या 210, q. by स्मृतिच० II. p 49, परा मा III. p. 84, व्य प्र p. 77. the व्य. प्र. says (p 77) 'द्विगुणो दण्डस्तु पराजयनिमित्तदण्डापेक्षया न तु विवादास्पदीभूतद्रव्यापेक्षया। अद्रव्यविवादेष्वन्यत्र.' Vide S B. E. vol. 33 pp. 295–296 verses 10–12 for Br. (Dr. Jolly's tr of verse 10 is not correct) Compare Order 23 r 3. of the Indian Civil Pro. Code and sec. 345 of the Criminal Pro. Code for compounding offences).

court. if they did so they were both to pay double of the fine imposed on a defeated party, as they deprived the king of his dues (court *fees*). But a compromise with the court's permission was allowed when the parties were in doubt as to what the witnesses might say or the *sabhyas* might decide (in such cases it would be wisdom for the parties to compromise) and particularly when the evidence on both sides was evenly balanced or where there was a conflict between the different smṛtis and usages

When the reply had been given the *sabhyas* had to consider the question about the burden of proof. Br.[430] says 'the sabhyas after considering the nature of the reply should call upon one of the parties that are in court to establish his case' (Sm C. II. p 50). What a party sets out to establish is called *sādhya* and the means whereby the claim (of the litigant) in its entirety is established is called *sādhana* (Kāt. 213 in V. P p. 79). Yāj II. 7 and Nār. II 27 say that the party (on whom the burden of proof lies) should immediately (after the reply is given) write down the means whereby he proposes to prove his averments. This third stage (pāda) is called *kriyā* i. e. proof. *Sādhya* and *kārya* are synonyms, *kriyā* and *sādhana* also are synonyms (Kāt. in Aparārka p 616, Vyāsa in Sm. C. II. p 54). The rules about burden of proof are laid down by Hārīta (q in Mit on Yāj II. 7, Aparārka p 616). In a reply of denial, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff, in a reply of former judgment or of a special plea, it is on the defendant and in a reply of admission no question of burden of proof arises Compare also Nār II. 31. The Mit on Yāj II. 80 states another rule that an affirmative proposition has to be proved by him who asserts it (*bhāvapratijñāvādina eva kriyā*) Yāj. II. 22, Nār. II. 28-29 and IV. 69, Br. (in Sm. C. II p. 54), and others say that means of proof are two-fold, human and divine, and that documents, witnesses and possession are the human means of proof (Vas. 16. 10 also), while the ordeals of balance and others are divine means. Yāj II. 22, Nār. II. 29, Kāt. 217 expressly state that ordeals are to be resorted to only when none of the human means are possible or available. If one party relies on human means alone and the other offers divine means, the king (or judge) has to accept human means and not divine; in disputes among men, if there be human means of proof though reaching

430. ये तु विहन्ति करणे तेषां सम्यैर्विभावना । कलयित्वोत्तर सम्यग्व्रातःपैकस्य वादिनः ॥ बृह. in स्मृतिच० II. 50.

(or covering) only a portion (of the allegations in the plaint) then human means should be accepted and not divine ones even though the latter may cover the whole ground (Kāt. 218–219 q by Mit. on Yāj. II 22). This latter rule is based on the proposition laid down in Yāj. II. 20 and Viṣnudharmasūtra VI. 22 that when a party totally denies a claim and the opponent establishes by evidence a substantial portion of it, the judge may pass a decree against the denying party for the whole of the claim This is practically the same as the maxim 'omnia praesumuntur contra spoliatorem '.[431] Therefore the general rule was that the divine mode of proof was to be resorted to only in the absence of any human means of proof. Kāt. 229 (q. by Mit on Yāj. II. 22, Aparārka p. 629) allows witnesses or ordeals when the dispute is started with reference to *sāhasa*, assault or abuse and causes that spring from force and Kāt. 230 (q in Sm. C. II. p 51) provides that, in the case of a person guilty of *sāhasa* perpetrated in secret, investigation has to be made by divine proof. Kāt. 225–228 (q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 22, Aparārka p. 629, Sm. C. II. pp. 53–54) lay down certain rules about preference among the several means of proof: whatever are declared as the conventional usages of the associations of traders, of guilds (of artisans) and of groups (of brāhmanas), the means of proving them are documents and not ordeals nor witnesses; enjoyment[431a] (or possession) alone is weightier in the case of the making and (the use of) doors and ways, as also in the case of water-courses and the like (i. e. in the case of easements) and not writing nor witnesses; in the case of things promised to be given but not given, when a decision is to be given in disputes of servants with masters, in the matter of taking back a thing after it is sold or when a person having purchased a thing does not pay the price, in gambling and prize fighting–when in these matters disputes arise the means

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431 Vide H of Dh vol I. p 204 and n. 357, where a half verse from the drama Vikramorvaśīya (IV. 17) is quoted containing the same proposition and it is shown that Nārada as quoted in V. M. p. 311 and Par M III p. 203 contained the same half verse The half verse is विभावितैकदेशेन देयं यद्भियुज्यते. The maxim cited above is relied upon in *Ardeshir* v *The Collector of Surat* 3 Bom H C. R (A C J) p. 116 and in *Framji* v *The Commissioner of Customs* 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C J.) p 89.

431a In *Lalubhai* v. *Bai Amrit* I. L. R. 2 Bom. 299 at p. 312 there is a reference to Kāt 226 द्वारमार्गक्रियाभोगे जलवाहादिके तथा । मुक्तिरेव तु दुर्बी स्यात्प्रमाणेष्विति निश्चयः ॥. There is a similar verse of Kāt 314 (q in स्मृतिच० II. p. 67) 'दत्त्यानिर्गमनद्वारजलवाहादिसंशये । मुक्तिरेव तु दुर्बी स्यात्प्रमाणेष्विति निश्चयः ॥.'

of proof are witnesses and not documents nor ordeals Marīci (q. by Sm. C. II. 60, V. P p 141) states that as regards the sale, mortgage, gift or partition of immoveable property a document (should be executed as it) enables the person (in whose favour it is executed) to acquire (clear) title and freedom from doubt[432] (even after the lapse of years) It is in consonance with this that the Indian Legislature (in the Transfer of Property Act, IV of 1882) requires writing and registration as regards the sale, mortgage and gift of immoveable property Nārada IV 75 very concisely hits the special characteristics of each *pramāna*: 'a document is always strong, witnesses are strong (as evidence) only as long as they are alive, possession becomes strong as time passes'. The comparative strength of the several kinds of evidence is well put by Brhaspati[433]: 'Witnesses are superior to inference (circumstantial evidence), a document is superior to witnesses, undisturbed possession for three generations is superior to all these' Kāt. 221 (q. by Mit on Yāj II 80 and V. P. p. 80) gives the warning that when a litigant abandoning a strong ground or means of proof resorts to a weak one to prove his case, he would not be again entitled to rely on that (strong ground of proof) after the members of the court have decided as to who should succeed This practically propounds the same rule as that of constructive *res judicata* contained in explanation 4 to section 11 of the Indian Civil Pro Code (of 1908)

The means of proof will now be briefly dealt with in order And first come documents 'Those in search of an exhaustive treatment may usefully consult Dr Amareshwar Thakur's 'Hindu Law of Evidence' (Calcutta, 1933).

When writing was first employed in India and how the Indian Brāhmī alphabet was derived have been moot points for many decades among scholars Max Muller's theory ('History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature' p 507) that the use of writing for literary purposes was unknown to Pānini was thoroughly exploded by Goldstückor in 'Pānini and his place in Sanskrit Literature' and was later on abandoned by Max Muller himself

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432. स्थावरे विक्रयाधाने विभागे दान एव च । लिखितेनामुयास्सिद्धिर्भावेसवादमेव च ॥ मरीचि q. by स्मृतिच० II p 60.

433. अनुमानाद्गुरुः साक्षी साक्षिभ्यो लिखितं गुरु । अध्याहता त्रिपुरुषी श्रुतिरेभ्यो गरीयसी ॥ बृह. in व्य मा. p 350. व्यवहारतत्त्व p 224, the same is कात्यायन (315) acc. to व्य. मा. p. 313. Probably कात्या took over बृहस्पति's verse or there may be some mistake in quoting.

Then Bühler (in 'the Origin of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet') started the theory that Brāhmī was derived from a foreign Semitic script about 800 B C. and this hypothesis held the field for a long time (vide e. g. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' chapters VII and VIII). Even Western scholars are not now prepared to accept this dating of Buhler; vide Cambridge History of India, vol. I p. 141 (1922) The excavations at Mohenjodaro tend to throw grave doubts on this theory and discredit it At Harappa and Mohenjo-daro there is writing (not satisfactorily deciphered yet) on burnt clay and pottery. The Piprahva vase shows writing on stone several centuries before the Christian era and the Sohagpur copperplate inscription is the earliest writing on copper plates yet discovered (vide Annals of B. O R Institute, Vol XI. p. 32 ff) This is not the place to discuss the questions about the origin of the art of writing in India and of the Brāhmī script. It cannot be gainsaid that the most ancient dharmaśāstras refer to writing as well-known. Gaut XIII. 4 appears to refer to a witness signing himself as such on a document Vas. 16. 10, Visnudharmasūtra VI. 23, Yāj II. 22 mention *likhita* (document) as the first means of proof Manu VIII. 51 uses the word *karana* in the sense of document (*arthepavyayamānam tu karanena vibhāvitam*), in VIII. 168 refers to documents obtained by coercion and in IX. 232 to fabricated royal edicts (kūtasāsana). Kaut. has a special chapter (II. 10) on royal writings (śāsana), in which he dilates upon the qualifications of the king's scribe, on the contents of an official document, the good points required in an official missive, on various divisions of writings and on the faults in official writings that are to be avoided. In I. 11 Kaut. prescribes that the king should hold consultations with absent ministers by sending a letter (*patra*, a leaf of palm or a piece of birch bark or similar material) and in I. 19 states that consultation by letter (*patra*) with the council of ministers should be held in the fifth part of the day. In II. 7 Kaut. advises the construction of rooms with shelves for books containing accounts (*akṣapaṭalam nibandhapustakasthānam kārayet*). Vide also Kaut. II. 21, II. 30, IV. 9, IV. 10 for references to writing in various other connections. Kaut. (III 1) appears[434] to use the word *karana* in the sense of document and gives a rule which is the same as Yāj. II. 23. Yāj. I. 319 speaks of land grants being written or

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434. पश्चिमं त्वेषां करणमावेशाधिवर्जं अन्वेयम्। अर्थशास्त्र III 1; compare याज्ञ. II. 23 सर्वेष्वर्थविवादेषु बलवत्युत्तरा क्रिया। आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते पूर्वा तु बलवत्तरा ॥.

engraved on cloth or copperplate Megasthenes (McCrindle p. 69) no doubt says that Indians have no written laws, but there is no doubt that he is under some misapprehension as to what he was told, since in another place (p. 83) he refers to philosophers committing useful suggestions to writing Similarly Strabo (XV. 1 53–54) states that the Indians were ignorant of writing, but (67) narrates that Nearchus states that Indians write letters on cloth. One of the oldest copperplate grants is the Taxila plate of Moga (identified with Moa of the Śakas) and is not later than 120 B. C Vide E. I. Vol IV. p. 54 and Rapson's 'Indian coins' p. 7. It appears that wooden boards were used for writing ephemeral matters and *patra* for more permanent use, as Kāt (p. 293, n. 400 above) states that the first information was to be written on a board with chalk and the formal plaint on a leaf (*patra*). The Lalitavistara (10th chap. p. 143, B. I. ed.) states that the Buddha used a board of sandal-wood for learning the scripts (-candanamayam lipiphalakam-ādāya).

Yāj. II. 84–94, Nār. IV. 69–75 and 135–146, Br., Kāt. 249–312, Śukra II. 291–318, IV. 172–182 and several digests devote great attention to documents. A few salient points only will be brought out here. Nār. (IV. 70–71) eulogises documents by saying that if the Creator had not created writing which is like an excellent eye, the world would have come to grief and that a document is an indubitable means of apprehending the time, the place, the object, the material, the extent and the duration of a transaction. Br. (q. in V. P p. 141) says that, since [435] people begin to entertain doubts (about a transaction) even in six months (from an occurrence or transaction) the Creator therefore created in the hoary past letters which are recorded on writing material (*patra*). The Lalitavistara (about 2nd or 3rd century A. D.) mentions 64 scripts which were known to the Buddha, among which the first is Brāhmī (10th chap p. 143). Nār., Br., and Śukra probably try to explain why the alphabet current in their days was called Brāhmī (it was created by Brahmā). Śukra II. 297, IV. 5. 172 are similar verses. The texts divide documents in different ways. Visnu [436] Dh. S.

435. वाग्व्यवहारिकेपि समये भ्रान्तिः प्रजायते कृणात्। यावत्तरणि सृष्टानि पत्रारूढानि स्वतः पुरा ॥ बृह. q by स्मृ. चि. p 81, स्म. म. p 141; भ्रान्ते. पुरुषधर्मत्वाल्लेखं निर्णायकं परम् । ... अतीतस्य स्मृत्यर्थं लिखितं निर्मितं पुरा। यत्नाच्च ब्रह्मणा वाचां वर्णस्वरविधिश्चितम् ॥ शुक्र II. 291 and 297.

436. राजाधिकरणे तस्मिन्मुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदृक्षपक्षकरांचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

VII. 2 divides documents into three kinds viz. those written before the king (i. e. by public officers), those bearing the superscription of witnesses and those without witnesses. The first is a document written in a state office by a scribe appointed by the king and bearing the signature of the head or superintendent of the office. This is just like the registration of documents in modern India. Br.[437] (q by V. P. p. 141, V. May, p. 24) divides documents into three sorts viz. royal writing, writing made at a fixed place and that written in one's own hand. Nār. IV. 135 speaks of two kinds viz. one written by the executant himself in his own hand and that written by another; (the first of these is valid) without attesting witnesses, while the second requires to be attested. In the former no writer (lekhaka) nor witnesses are necessary, while in the latter both are necessary. Even now in India no deed concerning even immoveable property is required by law to be attested except mortgages and gifts. The author of the Saṅgraha, the Mit. on Yāj. II. 84 and several others divide documents into *rājakīya* (public) and *jānapada* (private or of the common people). The V. Mayūkha (p. 24) says that *laukika* and *jānapada* are synonyms and jānapada document is of two kinds viz. written by the executant himself in his own hand and that written by another, and that the first may be without attestation of witnesses, but the other must be attested. On Yāj. II. 22 the Mit. divides documents into śāsana and cīraka. The first is the same as rājakīya (described in Yāj. I. 318–320) and cīraka is practically the same as jānapada writing. On Yāj. II. 89 the Mit. remarks that a royal deed must be written in correct and elegant language but a document executed by ordinary people is not required to be in correct Sanskrit, but may be written in the local dialect of the parties. Yāj. II. 89 states that a document written by the executant himself in his own hand is authoritative except when it is brought about by force or fraud. Yāj. II. 84–87 prescribe that a document of debt or the like should be written down by mutual agreement, that the creditor's name should be placed first, that it should

437. राजलेखं स्थानकृतं स्वहस्तलिखितं तथा। लेखं तु त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं भिन्नं तद्बहुधा पुनः॥ बृह. in व्य. प्र. p. 141, व्य. न. p. 24, परा. मा. III. 119. स्थानकृत means 'written in a well-known place by a professional scribe appointed by the king or his officers and attested by witnesses' राजकीयं जानपदं द्विविधं लिखितं स्मृतम्। शासनं राजकृत्यादौ चीरकं स्वाक्षरणादिषु॥ प्रजापति q. by व्यव नि. p. 82, व्यव. नि. p. 83 explains स्थानलेखं तु ग्रामजनपदादिव्यधिकृतकायस्थकृतं तदृष्टयक्षकराङ्कितं चीरकमित्युच्यते।.

mention the year, month, half month, *tithi* (day), the names, caste, gotras, the Vedic School, the names of the fathers of the parties, that when the writing is finished the debtor should write at the end that the deed is approved by N. N (the executant) son of so and so, that an even number (i e not less than two) should attest the document, stating their father's names and that they attest as witnesses and the scribe should write at the end that he wrote the document at the request of both parties. If the debtor or any witness cannot write, his signature should be made by another in the presence of all witnesses (Nār. q by Mit. on Yāj. II 87 and by Vy. Nir. p. 87 without name). Rājakīya documents are of three kinds (acc. to Br quoted in V P p 141, V May. p. 24) viz *śāsana* (a royal grant of land), *jayapatra* (a judgment deciding a law-suit), *prasāda-patra* (a deed showing the king's pleasure at the devoted service or bravery of a person); acc. to Vasiṣtha (q in Sm. C. II p. 55 and V. May p 28) it is of four kinds viz *śāsana, jayapatra, ājñāpatra* (a royal command addressed to feudatories, high or low officers like the wardens of the marches), *prajñāpanāpatra* (a writing of request addressed by the king to sacrificial priests, a *purohita*, teacher, learned brāhmaṇas or other highly honoured persons), it is five-fold acc. to S. V pp. 111–113 viz sāsana, jayapatra, ājñāpatra, prajñāpanāpatra and prasādapatra. Kaut in II. 10 speaks of several kinds of royal orders and names them, such as prajñāpanā (request by a messenger about what another prays), ājñāpatra (as above), *paridāna* (honour to the deserving or gift in distress), *parihāra* (remission of taxes for certain castes or villages by the king), *nisṛstilekha* (writing whereby the king accepts the actions or words of some trustworthy person as his own), *prāvṛttika* (conveying information about some portentous happening or some news about enemies etc.), *pratilekha* (reply in accordance with discussion held with the king on a message from another), *sarvatraga* (order addressed to high functionaries and officers for the welfare of travellers) The contents and form of royal grants have been described in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 860–861. The jānapada writings are divided into various sorts, seven (acc. to Br. q. by Aparārka p 683, Sm C II p. 60) or eight (acc to Vyāsa in Sm C II. p. 59) and the Sm. C. remarks that there is no emphasis on the number and there may be many more varieties. Br. (S B. E vol. 33 p 305), Kāt (254–257) and others mention and define the following jānapada writings; *bhāga*- or *vibhāgapatra* (deed of partition), *dānapatra* (deed of gift),

krayapatra (sale deed), *ādhānapatra* or *ādhipatra* (deed of pledge or mortgage), *sthitipatra* or *samvitpatra* (deed of convention, which is made by the inhabitants of a village or city or the members of a corporation or guild by mutual agreement for settling their conventions), *dāsapatra* (deed of bondage to serve executed by a person devoid of food or clothing), *rnalekha* or *uddhārpatra* (bond of debt promising return at a future date with interest), *viśuddhipatra* (deed of purification given to a person with the attestation of witnesses when a penance for a sin has been performed), *sandhipatra* (deed of peace when a compromise in the presence of leading people after a charge of the commission of a crime has been made), *sīmāpatra* (deed of boundary when a dispute about it is settled), *upagata* (a receipt passed by the creditor to a debtor on payment of the whole or part of a debt, Yāj II. 93), *anvādhipatra* (a sub-mortgage i. e where the mortgagee or pledgee mortgages or pledges the property or thing to another and hands over the former deed to his own creditor). The two branches of private documents (jānapada) are either *ciraka* or not ciraka; ciraka is defined as a document written by hereditary scribes residing in the capital, who are approached by the parties and bearing the signatures of the parties and witnesses and the names of their fathers (Sangraha q by Sm. C II. p 59, Par M III. p 127). Vide n. 437 above and Śukra II. 299–318 and IV. 5. 172–177 for definitions of these and other kinds of documents But acc to Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. II. p 59 private documents are of eight kinds viz ciraka, upagata (a receipt), svahasta (written by the executant himself), ādhipatra, krayapatra, sthitipatra, sandhipatra, viśuddhipatra Some works like the Vyavahārasāra (p 69) and the Mit write the word as *cīraka* and not *ciraka*. It was so called (viz *ciraka*) probably because it was written on the back (of the bark of the birch or some other tree). If the proper word is *ciraka* then it was employed because being executed by scribes appointed by the king, it had validity for all time (*cira*) as compared with purely private documents. 'Ciraka' in this last sense seems to be equal to 'sthānakrta' of other writers.

Nār.[438] IV. 136, Visnu. Dh. S VII. 11 and Kāt. (252) require that a document is held valid which is not adverse to the custom of the country, the contents of which follow the rules

438. देशाचाराविरुद्धं यद्व्यक्ताधिविधिलक्षणम् । तत्प्रमाणं स्मृतं लेख्यमविलुप्तक्रमाक्षरम् ॥ नारद IV. 136, देशाचाराविरुद्धं व्यक्ताधिविधिलक्षणमलुप्तक्रमाक्षरं प्रमाणम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 11.

regarding pledges (and other transactions) and the sequence of the sense and of the words in which is not contradictory or confusing. Sm C. II. p. 59 applies the word[439] *pañcārūḍha* (on which five are recorded) to documents that are signed by the creditor, the debtor, two witnesses and the scribe. The Sarasvatīvilāsa p 114 holds that *pañcārūḍhatva* consists in having the creditor, debtor, witnesses (as one item), scribe and the matter to be written. Hārīta and Vyāsa (q in Sm. C. II. p. 59) employ the dual (sāksinau), while Yāj II. 87 employs the plural Therefore ordinarily two witnesses sufficed, but in very important writings there should be more witnesses. Viśvarūpa reads 'asamāh' in Yāj. II. 87 and requires three witnesses as the minimum. Nār. IV. 137, Viṣnu[440] Dh. S VII. 6–10, Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 307 v. 23.), Kāt. (271) state that a document is invalid that is executed by a person intoxicated, by one already charged (with an offence), by a woman, a minor, that has been brought about by threats or deceit or coercion, by one dying, by one diseased, by a lunatic, or by those that are dependent. Viṣnu Dh. S. (VII. 8–9) and Kāt. 273 (q by V. M. p. 338, Aparārka p. 686, Par. M. III. p. 131) state that a document may be held invalid owing to defects in the witnesses or in the scribe or to the fraud of the creditor or executant

Nār. IV. 145, Kāt. (306–307), Samvarta (both quoted by Aparārka pp. 691–692) and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 309 verse 31) say that no oral evidence should be allowed to contradict the (terms of a) document, that the mode of proving (a matter) by a document is always superior, that a writing can be refuted or superseded only by another document relating to the same matter and not by the oaths of witnesses and that if oral evidence

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439 उत्तमर्णाधमर्णौ च साक्षिणौ लेखकस्तथा । समवायेन चैतेषां लेखं कुर्वीत नान्यथा ॥ इति हारीतेन लेख्यमात्रे साक्षिणामिदमुक्तत्वात् । एवं चात्मकृतलेख्यस्योत्तमर्णाधमर्णसाक्षिद्वयलेखकरूपपञ्चारूढत्वात्पञ्चारूढं पत्रमिति लोके व्यवहारः साक्षिसंख्याधिक्ये चार्थं व्यवहारो गौण इति मन्तव्यम् । स्मृतिच० II p. 59.

440. तद्बलात्कारितमप्रमाणम् । उपधिकृताश्च सर्व एव । कूटितकर्मदुष्टसाक्ष्यकृतं ससाक्षिकमपि । बादृन्विधेन लेखकेन लिखितं च । बालाद्यवतन्त्रमत्तोन्मत्तभीतताडितकृतं च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 6–10, सुमूर्छुक्षिप्तभीतार्तस्त्रीमत्तव्यसनाहतैः । निशोपधिबलात्कारकृतं लेख्यं न सिध्यति ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच० II. p. 62. Manu. (VIII. 165 and 168) declares that fraud vitiates all transactions Compare with Viṣnu Dh. S sections 10–12, 15–18 of the Indian Contract Act (of 1872) In I L. R. 5 Bom. 99 at p 104 'strīmatta' in Br (S B. E vol 33 p 307 v 23) is taken as one word and rendered 'under female or aphrodisiac influence', which is not correct as shown by the texts of Viṣnu and Kāt., where the two words are separated by other words.

were allowed to overrule the force of documents there would be confusion and an end to all written transactions[441]. If there is a conflict among documents then a *jānapada* document (written by a scribe and attested) is superior to one written in the hand of the executant himself and a public document is superior to a jānapada one (Vyāsa q. by Sm. C. II p 66 S. V p 122).

Yāj. II. 91, Nār. IV. 146 and Kāt. 312 (q. by Aparārka p. 687) prescribe that when a document is in another country or when it is illegibly written, when it is lost or its letters have become indistinct (by lapse of time or other causes) or it has been stolen or is crushed or burnt or shattered into pieces, another document may be caused to be written (if both parties agree), but if they do not agree and the contents have to be proved or if the executant denies his signature, then Nār. IV. 142 and Kāt. (282 q. by Sm C II p. 63) say that time may be given to bring it from the foreign country or the contents may be proved by the evidence of the attesting witnesses or of the scribe or of those that have seen it. This shows that the smṛti law required the production of the document itself as primary evidence, but allowed secondary evidence only in exceptional cases [442] If a document belonging to one man is produced by another the latter has to explain his custody of it[443] (Vyāsa q. by Aparārka p. 690, Sm. C. II. 66). Kāt. (308 q by Sm. C. II. p. 65) says[444] that just as the reflection of a person or thing made in a mirror is seen as if it were real though it is unreal, so clever people can fabricate documents resembling (the genuine writing of a person). Vyāsa (in Aparārka p. 688, Sm C. II. 65) and Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 307

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441. न दिव्यैः साक्षिभिर्वापि हीयते लिखितं क्वचित् । लेख्यधर्मः सदा श्रेष्ठो ह्यतो नान्येन हीयते ॥ तद्युक्तिप्रतिलेखेन तद्विशिष्टेन वा सदा । लेख्यक्रिया निरस्येत न साक्षिशपथैः क्वचित् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 692; वाचिकैर्यदि सामर्थ्यमक्षराणा विहन्यते । क्रियाणां सर्वनाशः स्यादनवस्था च जायते ॥ संवर्त q. by अपरार्क p. 692. Compare sec. 92 of the Indian Evidence Act The poet Māgha gives expression in his own laconic way to the same idea in निर्धारितेर्थे लेखेन खलूक्त्वा खलु वाचिकम् । शिशुपालवध II. 70.

442. Compare sec 63 and 65 of the Indian Evidence Act about the meaning of secondary evidence and the circumstances under which it can be given.

443. यद्धान्यस्य कृतं लेख्यमन्यहस्ते प्रदृश्यते । अवश्यं तेन वक्तव्यं पत्रस्यागमनं ततः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 690.

444. दर्पणस्थं यथा बिम्बमसत्सदिव दृश्यते । तथा लेख्यस्य बिम्बानि कुर्वन्ति कुशला जनाः ॥ कात्या० in स्मृतिच० II. 65, व्य. म. p. 148, व्यव. नि. p 91 (it attributes the verse to नारद).

vv. 20–21) say the same thing and add that documents have to be carefully scrutinized and that no certain conclusion can be established by documents alone (in every case), that women, minors and illiterate persons are deceived even by their relatives by the fabrication of documents bearing the names of these (women and others) and that this has to be investigated with skill. When there is a doubt about the genuineness of a document, it can be established by comparison with other documents admitted to be written or signed by the same person, by ratiocination, by the probability of the two parties being together at the time of the transaction, by citing the attesting witnesses,[445] by the peculiarities or flourishes in writing certain letters or making certain signs (in the writing questioned and in other admitted writings), the previous transactions between the parties (or their subsequent conduct), and the source of the acquisition of the subject matter in dispute (Yāj II. 92, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 12, Nār. IV. 143–144, Kāt 283 q. in Mit. on Yāj II. 92). Viṣṇu Dh. S. (VII. 13) and Kāt.[446] 285–286 (q by Aparārka pp. 689–690) prescribe that if the debtor, creditor, witnesses or the scribe be dead the authenticity of the document has to be ascertained by (a comparison of the signatures on the disputed document) with other specimens of their handwriting or signatures or other documents executed by the debtor. Kāt 287 (q. by Aparāka p. 689, Sm. C. II. p. 64 and Par. M. III. p. 134) states the striking[447] rule that when a document bears the royal seal, that document is presumed to be authentic, even though all the three (viz. the debtor, the witnesses and the scribe) are dead. This shows that documents bearing the king's seal or that of royal officers were regarded as prima facie genuine and this rule is analogous to the provisions in sec 79 of the Indian Evidence Act and sections 59–60 of the Indian Registration Act. That even copperplate grants were sometimes forged is clear from the reference in the Madhuban plate of Emperor

445. Vide sec. 68 of the Indian Evidence Act about the proof of attested documents

446. अथ पञ्चत्वमापन्नो लेखकः सह साक्षिभिः । तत्स्वहस्तादिभिस्तेषां विद्युध्येत न संशयः ॥ ऋणिस्वहस्तसन्देहे जीवतो वा मृतस्य वा । तत्स्वहस्तकृतैरन्यैः पत्रैस्तल्लेख्यनिर्णयः ॥ कात्या. quoted by व्य मा p 339, अपरार्क pp 689–690, परा मा III p. 134; स्मृतिच० II p 63 ascribes the 2nd to हारीत Compare sec 69 and 73 (for proof of handwriting by comparison) of the Indian Evidence Act.

447. सम्मुद्रेपि यदा लेख्ये मृताः सर्वेपि ते स्थिताः । लिखितं तत्प्रमाणं तु मृतेष्वपि हि तेषु च ॥ कात्या. quoted by अपरार्क p. 689, स्मृतिच० II. p. 64.

Harsa (E. I. VII. p. 155, 158), and from the Tārāchandi Rock Inscription (in Bihar) of Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavaladeva (in E. I. XX. Appendix No. 340) of *saṁvat* 1225 which declares that a certain copperplate purporting to be issued by Vijayacandra of Kanoj was forged. Vide Fleet in I. A. vol. 30 pp. 201–223 for many forged grants. Verses (variously attributed to Kāt. or Bṛhaspati by the digests) state that when a loan (recorded in a document) has not been expressly claimed by the creditor able to claim from a debtor who is able to pay off and who is at hand, the document loses its validity because a suspicion arises that the debt has been paid off and that a document executed more than thirty years before which has never been seen (by any body) nor read out (by the creditor to any body) does not attain validity even though the witnesses on it are living. Nār. IV. 141 is very similar to this last. Kāt. 298–299, 301 (q by Par. M. III. 136, Mit. on Yāj. II. 24, Aparārka p. 690–691) prescribe that if no objection is raised for twenty years as regards a patent fault in a document of debt or pledge or of the settlement of boundaries, then the document ceases to be voidable Kāt. 275 and Br. (S. B. E vol. 33 p. 302 v. 25) both quoted by Aparārka p. 671 and V. P. p 122 require that the latent defects in documents or witnesses must be declared (pointed out) by the disputant at the (proper) time (i. e. when they are produced), while patent defects may be considered by the *sabhyas* at the time (of the consideration of the evidence) by reference to the rules of the śāstra. Yāj. II 93–94, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 25–26[448] prescribe that when a debtor pays part of a debt, the debtor should write on the back of the document how much he paid or the creditor may hand over to the debtor a writing of receipt signed or written by himself, particularly when the original document is not at hand, and when the whole debt is paid or the contract is fully performed the creditor should tear off the document or should execute another document in order to make clear the fact of satisfaction

The fabrication of royal edicts and private documents was so much condemned by the sentiments of society that Manu IX. 232 and Visnu Dh. S V. 9–10 prescribe the extreme penalty of death for such offences as in the case of the murder of women, minors and brāhmanas. Yāj. II. 295 (= Matsya 227. 202)

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448. लिखितार्थे प्रविष्टे लिखितं पाटयेत् । असमक्षदाने लेख्यासंनिधाने चोत्तमर्णः स्वलिखितं दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VI 25–26

prescribes the highest fine for him who adds to or writes less than what was intended to be declared in a royal grant or edict. Śaṅkha also prescribes death or the excision of a limb for fabrication of documents (q. by V R. pp. 298, 369).

For detailed treatment about documents in ancient and medieval India two papers in the Annals of B. O. R. Institute, vol. IX. pp 49–81 and in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Society, vol. 18 pp 203–232 may be consulted

CHAPTER XII

BHUKTI or BHOGA (possession).

According to Gaut. X. 39 a man becomes an owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure (appropriation of forest trees and other things which have no owner) and finding (i e appropriation of lost property the owner of which is unknown). Gaut. (X. 40–41) adds that in the case of brāhmanas acceptance (of a thing donated) is an additional mode (of becoming an owner), that conquest in the case of a ksatriya and gain (by trade or labour) in the case of a vaiśya or sūdra are also additional modes Vas. 16. 16 mentions eight modes. Br. (quoted in V. P. p 153, Aparārka p. 635, S. B. E. vol. 33 p 309 v. 2) mentions seven modes of acquiring immovable property viz. by learning, purchase, mortgage, valour (i e. conquest), through the wife (as dowry), inheritance (from an ancestor) and succession to an issueless kinsman. Nārada (q. in Sm. C. II p. 70) mentions the same except mortgage. None of these expressly says that long possession is by itself a source of ownership Great divergence[449] has prevailed throughout the centuries among the sages and digests about the relation of title and possession and about the length of possession necessary for making a person secure in his right to property by reason of possession Possession (*bhukti*) may be with title (*sāgamā*) or without title (*anāgamā*). Āgama means 'origin' or 'source of title' such as purchase or simply 'title'.[450] Manu VIII. 200, Yāj II. 27, Nār. IV. 84 employ that word in that sense Vide Kāt 317 (q. in Sm. C II p 73 and Par. M III. p 141) If property is held in one of the modes of acquiring ownership stated above and there is also possession, one's right to that property is indefeasible (Nār. IV. 85, Br. q. by Sm. C. II. p. 70, S. B. E. 33 pp. 309 and 312 v. 3 and 22), but possession without a clear title

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449. Vide *Lalubhai v. Bai Amrit* I. L R 2 Bom 299, 304 ff, where Mr Justice West enters on an elaborate analysis of the doctrines of the Mit. and the Vyavahāramayūkha on title and possession

450 स्वस्वहेतुः प्रतिग्रहक्रयादिः आगमः । मिता. on या II 27, आ समन्माप्यते प्राप्यते स्वीक्रियते येन स आगमः क्रयादिरिति व्यवहारमातृका । आगमः साक्षिपत्रादिकमिति दीपकलिका । आगमो धनार्जनोपायः क्रयादिरिति मैथिलाः । व्यवहारतत्त्व p. 225.

does not lead to (or ripen into) ownership[451] (with certain exceptions to be noted later on) Vyāsa and Pitāmaha[452] declare that possession in order to be valid must have five characteristics viz it must have title behind it, must be of long standing, unbroken, free from protest (by another person) and in the presence (i. e before the very eyes) of the opponent (q in Mit on Yāj II 27 and Aparārka p 635) Even title, if not accompanied by some slight possession, has no strength, while title is stronger than possession not handed down hereditarily (Yāj II. 27) Nār. IV. 85 states that possession becomes strong when backed by clear title. These passages present some difficulty and make title and possession depend on each other. Nār. IV. 77 states that even if there be a document or witnesses to support a man's title, when there is no enjoyment, particularly in the case of immovable property, there is no validity All that is meant is that a transfer without possession though under a deed or before witnesses is risky and that title and possession lend support to each other as stated by Nār IV. 84–86, Br, Hārita and Pitāmaha[453] Nār (IV. 86–87) declares that one who pleads mere possession and no title at all should be considered a thief on account of his putting forward the deceptive plea of possession (which even a thief can assert) and that the king should punish as a thief one who enjoys a property even for hundreds of years without title. All that this last verse means is that the person in possession must prove legal origin or such a long possession that there is no possibility of an inference that the possession

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451 मुक्त्या केवलया नैव भूमिः सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । आगमेनापि शुद्धेन क्रियया सिध्यति नान्यथा ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 70

452. सागमो दीर्घकालश्चाविच्छेदोऽपरवोज्झितः । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधानश्च पञ्चाङ्गो भोग इष्यते ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 71 This is also cited by the Mitā. on याज्ञ II. 27 (without name). पितामह has almost the same words सागमा दीर्घकाला च विच्छिन्नापरवोज्झिता । प्रत्यर्थिसंनिधाना च भुक्तिः पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥ स्मृतिच II. p 70.

453. पित्र्यलब्धक्रयाधानरिक्थशौर्यप्रवेदनात् । प्राप्ते समर्विधे भोगः सागमः सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥ बृह. in व्यव नि. p 126, व्य. प्र p. 153, न मूलेन विना शाखा अन्तरिक्षे प्ररोहति । आगमस्तु भवेन्मूलं भुक्तिः शाखा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ हारीतः; नागमेन विना भुक्तिर्नागमो भुक्तिवर्जितः । तयोरन्योन्यसम्बन्धात्प्रमाणत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥ पितामहः, both q by स्मृतिच II p 70, स वि p 131. The व्यव. नि which regarded *tripurusa-bhoga* as equal to 60 years (p. 128) briefly explains the strength of title and possession as follows: आद्यविंशतावागमप्राबल्यं भोगस्य तदाढ्यगुण्यात् । द्वितीये भोगागमयोः साम्यम् । तृतीये भुक्तेः प्राबल्यम् । चतुर्थे पुरुषे पञ्चाङ्गभोग एव प्रमाणं नागमापेक्षेति सिद्धम् । p. 132

of his ancestor originated is wrong. Delivery of possession was the principal mode of transferring ownership in ancient times in almost all systems of jurisprudence and so possession was given great weight as evidence of ownership.[454] The Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 makes the position clear. In the case of a gift or sale there must be the cessation of the ownership of the transferor and the arising of the ownership of the transferee. This last occurs only when the transferee accepts the property and not otherwise. Acceptance is mental, vocal and physical (i. e. the acceptor makes a resolve to accept, says that he accepts and takes physical possession). These three may exist in the case of such movable articles as gold, clothes &c But in the case of a field physical acceptance is not possible except by enjoying the fruits or profits thereof Therefore in order to make a gift or sale perfect there must be some slight possession at least In the absence of such possession mere title is weak. Title may succeed against the man in possession who has no title and who has not been in possession for the prescribed period (such as three generations). If the possessor proves possession for that period he will succeed against one who has bare title and no possession whatever. If it is known or proved that a man purchased from A but got no possession and that another purchased from A subsequently and got possession (but was not in continuous possession for the prescribed period) the prior title though without possession will prevail over the later one, acc. to Yāj. II 23. But when it is doubtful as to which title is prior and which posterior the one with possession will prevail. Where the possession has been uninterruptedly with a man's ancestors for three generations he will succeed against one who has bare title. Therefore possession was not absolutely indispensable for transfer even acc. to the Mit. and other works, but title without possession was risky and so possession was insisted upon as it was 'nine points of law'. It follows, acc. to the Mit., that (1) when possession was comparatively of short duration and not supported by any title much weight was not attached to possession and title by itself would prevail against it, that (2) continuous possession for three generations (though there is

454. In English Law until the year 1845 (8 and 9 Vic. chap. 106, sec. 2) land could in theory be conveyed in no other method than by delivery of possession and no deed or conveyance was in itself of any effect. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence, 9th ed. 1937, p. 620.

nothing to show there was title to begin with) will prevail over a mere documentary title and that (3) a prior title with less than the possession for three generations (but with some possession) succeeds over a later title accompanied by possession. Long possession was assumed to have originated in legal title, although owing to lapse of time it was not possible to prove the origin [455] The main controversy has raged round the question of what is long possession. Yāj II. 24 literally translated means ' loss of land results in twenty years when it is enjoyed by a stranger before the owner's very eyes and without any protest from him and loss of chattels (results under similar circumstances) in ten years '. Manu VIII 147-148 and Nārada IV. 79-80 have two verses in common which mean ' If the owner of anything silently looks on (i. e raises no protest) when it is being enjoyed in his presence for ten years by strangers he does not deserve to recover it (i.e he loses the thing). When the owner is not an idiot nor a minor and his property is enjoyed within his sight then the property being lost by his conduct (*upayahāra*) comes to belong to the enjoyer '. Gaut. XII. 34 has almost [456] the same words as Manu VIII 148. Śankha (in V. R p 208) also refers to ten years. These passages apparently mean that at the end of 20 or 10 years' adverse possession by the wrongful possessor the ownership of the original owner is lost and the wrongful possessor becomes the owner. But there are several other smrti passages where it is said that possession even for a hundred years originating in wrong cannot confer title and much longer periods are required for the loss of ownership and the acquisition of ownership by prescription Vide Nār IV. 86-87 cited (on p 318 above) Nār. (IV 89) himself says elsewhere that possession requires

455 Under the Law of England 'Time immemorial or time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary ' was considered to include the whole period of time from the reign of Richard I This was a very inconvenient and absurd rule which was abrogated by sec 1 of the Prescription Act of 1832 (2 and 3 William IV, chap 71) whereby the rights to any land became absolute and indefeasible by sixty years' uninterrupted enjoyment before that Act (except when the enjoyment was by some consent or agreement made under a deed) By French Law the time of memory was held to extend for one hundred years as done by the Mit and other Sanskrit digests. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence (9th ed of 1937) p 265. *note y.*

456. अजडापोगण्डधनं दशवर्षमुक्तं परैः सन्निधौ भोक्तुः । गौ. XII. 34. ग्रामनगर क्षेत्रश्रेणिविरोधे दशवर्षमुक्तमन्यत्र राजविप्रस्वात् । शङ्ख q. in वि. र. p. 208.

to be supported by title only during *smārtakāla* (during human memory), but in cases beyond human memory possession continued successively for three generations (or ancestors) is proof of ownership even in the absence of a document (or other title). Visnu Dh. S. V. 187 is in similar[457] terms. The Mit. on Yāj. (II. 27) says that *smārtakāla* is a period of 100 years, as the Veda declares that the span of a man's life is 100 years. For a hundred years it is possible for witnesses to depose to the origin of possession. So if there is possession for less than one hundred years, oral evidence can be adduced for establishing its origin, and title will have to be proved by the possessor and if no oral evidence is adduced to prove title, it is a case in which it may be held as certain that there was no title to begin with. Mere possession is not enumerated by sages like Gautama among the means of acquiring ownership. As the Sarasvatī-vilāsa (p. 124) puts it, long uninterrupted possession only leads to an inference that it originated in title acquired by sale, gift or the like i. e. there arises a presumption of lawful origin[458] Therefore in order to enable a man to rely on possession alone as proof of ownership it must extend uninterruptedly over 100 years (acc. to the Mit). The Smṛticandrikā[459] (II. p. 72) accepts this meaning, only requiring 105 years' possession instead of 100 years'. Acc. to a smṛti quoted by it each generation means 35 years and so when Nārada requires possession for three generations 105 years are meant (acc to Sm. C.) Visnu Dh. S. V. 187, Kāt (327) also hold that continuous enjoyment for three generations makes the fourth generation owner of the land. Kāt. (321 q. by Mit. on Yāj. II. 27, Aparārka p 636) states 'in cases falling within the memory of man it is desirable that possession must be accompanied with title

457 त्रिभिरेव तु या भुक्ता पुरुषैर्भूर्यधाविधि । लेख्याभावेपि तां तत्र चतुर्थः समवाप्नुयात् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 187. The same is ascribed to both विष्णु and कात्यायन by व्य मा p. 341 The व्यव. नि p 130 ascribes it to अग्निमित्र.

458. मुक्तिरपि कैश्चिद्विशेषणैर्युक्ता स्वत्वहेतुभूतक्रयदानादिकमभ्युपेक्षारादनुमापयति । अन्यथानुपपद्यमाना कल्पयतीत्यनुमानेऽर्थापत्तौ चान्तर्भवतीति प्रमाणमेव । सरस्वतीविलास p 124, these words are apparently taken from the व्यव. नि p. 73.

459. एतदुक्तं भवति । स्मरणयोग्ये पञ्चाधिकशतवर्षपर्यन्तातीतकालमध्ये प्रारब्धा मुक्तिः स्वेतरप्रमाणावगतागममूलैव स्वत्वे प्रमाणमिष्यते । स्वतः स्वमूलावगतेर्योग्यानुपलब्ध्या बाध्यमानत्वात् । स्मरणयोग्ये पुनः पञ्चाधिकशतवर्षपर्यन्तातीतकालात्प्राचीनकाले प्रारब्धा स्वदार्ढ्यावगतागममूलिका विनापि मानान्तरावगतागममूलतां स्वत्वे प्रमाणमिति । स्मृतिश्च II. p. 71.

(in order to be proof of ownership as to land); but in cases beyond the memory of man possession extending over three generations in succession (is independent proof of ownership), since there is no certainty that there was no title (to begin with)'. Vide also Br. (in S. B. E. vol. 33 p 313 verses 26-28). 'Three generations' is a vague expression. The great-grandfather, the grandfather and the father of a man may die in the space of ten years and if the great-grandfather took possession wrongfully and all died within ten years of the time of taking possession one after another, the fourth in descent might urge that there was possession for three generations and that he had become owner. Therefore Kāt. in another verse (318, q by Aparārka p 636 and V. P. p. 155) laid down that unbroken possession for three generations extending over sixty years becomes firm (independent means of proof of ownership) Thus *tripurusa-bhoga* or *pūrvakramāgata-bhoga* (in Yāj II 27) means the same thing as possession continuing from a time beyond human memory (*asmārta-kāla*) and is equal to 60 years acc. to Kāt, Vyāsa and a few other smrti writers[460]. Nārada (q. by Aparārka p 636) says that as regards possession one generation means twenty years, while Br. (q by Sm. C. II. p 72) says it means thirty years. It will be noticed from the above that early authors like Gaut, Manu., Yāj appear to lay down 20 years' adverse enjoyment of land as sufficient to create ownership, while other and comparatively later authors like Nār. and Kāt. require sixty years enjoyment In order to remove this conflict and following the maxim that apparently conflicting texts should be reconciled as far as possible, the writers of commentaries and digests from Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi (on Manu VIII· 148) downwards proposed various interpretations of Yāj. II 24 and similar texts. Some lay emphasis on possession and others on title. There are at least three explanations Aparārka (pp. 631-632), Kullūka and Raghunandana take the literal sense and say that on 20 years' adverse possession there is loss of ownership (i e. there

460 मुख्या पैतामही भुक्तिः पैतृकी वापि संमता। त्रिभिरेतैरविच्छिन्ना स्थिरा षष्टाब्दिकी मता॥ कात्या०; वर्षाणि विंशतिं भुक्ता स्वामिनाऽध्याहृता सती। भुक्तिः सा पौत्रकी भुक्तिर्द्विगुणा च द्विपौत्रकी। त्रिपौत्रकी च त्रिगुणा न तत्रान्वेष्य आगमः॥ नारद; both quoted by अपरार्क p. 636, and व्य म. p. 155 which ascribes the verses वर्षाणि &c to व्यास; परा III. p 142 also ascribes it to व्यास. प्रपितामहेन यद्भुक्तं तत्पुत्रेण विना च तत्। तौ विना यस्य पित्रा च तस्य भोगस्त्रिपौत्रकः॥ व्यास q in व्यवहारमातृका p. 341.

is *svatvahānam*)[461]. The 2nd explanation is that the meaning of Yāj. II 24 is that after 20 years' enjoyment by a stranger, if the owner brings a suit and relies on a document in his favour, he runs the risk of being unable to prove his ownership barely on the strength of the document, since it is possible to argue that, even though he had a document, by his silence he acquiesced in the stranger taking possession and tacitly consented to it. Therefore all that Yāj II. 24 means or recommends is that an owner should not be negligent (*upekṣā*) or should not remain silent when a stranger takes wrongful possession This view was first started by Visvarūpa among extant writers and it approaches the modern idea of requiring vigilance in the assertion of ones' rights[462], that is there is only loss of the suit (vyavahārahāni). This view lays emphasis on a verse attributed to Nār. and the word *vyavahāra* in it and in Manu VIII 148 and Nārada IV. 80, where the word means lawsuit also, the idea being that the sages declare only what would happen or be decided by the judges in a law court and do not intend to say that the decision would be just or righteous from the higher or the moralist's point The third view is that of the Mit. (followed by the Vyavahāramayūkha, Mitramiśra and several others) which[463] explains that the loss is not that of the ownership of the thing itself but of the produce of it (there is only '*phala-hānam*') i e. if without protest the owner allows a stranger to remain in possession before his very eyes for twenty years and then he brings a suit, he may succeed in getting back his land but he would lose his claim to the profits of the land. The Mit., the Vyavahāramātrkā and V. P (pp 157–165) contain very

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461 तस्माच्चाज्ञवल्क्यादिवचनार्द्विंशतिवर्षदशवर्षादिकालैर्योग एव स्वत्वं जनयति तथा कालप्राप्तिबलेन बीजमङ्कुरं जनयति तरवश्च कुसुममिति स्वामिना चापरित्यक्तेपि शास्त्रोक्तकालीनभोगात्स्वाम्यमन्यस्य भवति यथा जयेन राज्ञः परराष्ट्रधने इति । एवमेव श्रीकरबालकयोर्लोकभवदेवभट्टशूलपाणिकुट्टकभट्टचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिवर्धमानोपाध्यायप्रभृतयः । व्यवहारोपि तादृगेव । एतद्विरुद्धवचनान्यन्यथा व्याख्येयानि । व्यवहारतत्त्व p 223, तस्माद्राज्यादिव्यतिरिक्तस्य यथोक्तया भुक्त्या स्वत्वसिद्धिः । अपरार्क p 632.

462 हानिश्चात्र लिखितबलेनात्मीयत्वप्रसाधनमात्रस्याभिप्रेता । न पुनर्भुक्त्यादौ तत्फले वा स्वत्वस्य । नोपेक्षामात्रेण स्वत्वमपैतीत्युक्तत्वात् । स्मृतिच्० II p 68, परैर्भुज्यमानं नोपेक्षणीयमित्यभिप्राय । ... उपेक्षानिषेधमात्रं चैतत् । हानिवचन तु निर्व्याजमात्रत्वेनोपेक्षेकस्य व्यवहारप्रवृत्तयोग्यतामात्रज्ञापिकं तदेव चात्र युक्तम् । विश्वरूप on या II 26, उपेक्षां कुर्वतस्तस्य तूष्णींभूतस्य तिष्ठतः । कालेतिपक्षे पूर्वोक्तो व्यवहारो न सिध्यति ॥ नारद q by अपरार्क (p. 632), स्मृतिच्० II, 68.

463 तस्मात्स्वाम्युपेक्षालक्षणस्यापराधादस्माच्च वचनाद्विंशतेरूर्ध्वं फलं नष्टं न लभत इति स्थितम् । मिता.

elaborate discussions on Yāj. II. 24; but considerations of space forbid any further reference to them. The V M [464] connects Yāj II. 24 with the preceding verse (viz that in mortgages, gifts and sales a prior transaction prevails over a later one) and remarks that this verse (Yāj. II 24) says that if a person after a gift, sale, or mortgage to him allows the property to remain with the seller, donor or mortgagor, who subsequently transfers it to another with possession and the latter holds it for twenty years, then the first dealing though prior is of no avail (as it is not accompanied with possession for 20 years). Śrīkara (as stated in the Vyavahāramātrkā) tried to reconcile the conflicting smrti texts by holding that in twenty years the real owner lost ownership if he was present and did not protest while a stranger was in possession, but passages speaking about possession for three generations (or sixty years) applied only where the owner was absent. The Mit. and others point out that Yāj II. 24 (who employs the words 'paśyatah' and 'abruvatah') conveys that if a stranger takes possession while the owner is absent or if the owner protests, then even 20 years' possession does not lead to the loss of anything. The text of Nār. IV. 87 quoted above (p. 318) shows that the sage held that possession for several hundred years even would not avail the possessor if it is certain or established that the possessor had no title at all to begin with or that his possession started wrongfully. This text is emphasized by those who favour title and want to discourage persons benefiting by their own wrongdoing But there are other smrti texts of a contrary tenor. For example, Nār. IV. 91 himself says 'whatever has been enjoyed even unlawfully for three generations (i e by three ancestors) including the father cannot be recovered by the owner from the person (who is the 4th in succession) because it has gone through three lives in succession'; a text of Hārīta states 'what has been enjoyed by three prior ancestors without any title whatever cannot be recovered back (from the present holder, who is 4th), since it has descended successively through three generations' These two are relied upon by those who hold long possession as leading

464. अयं तत्त्वार्थः। क्रीताहितप्रतिग्रहीतां द्विधनभूमिगतः परस्य दशविंशतिवार्षिको भोगः क्षमाकारणजडपोगण्डत्वाद्यभावेष्वपेक्षितत्वाद्धानिं कुरुते। स्वोपभोगार्थं तेन क्रयादेश्च तेनोपेक्षितत्वादिति मुनीनामभिप्रायः। तस्मात् 'पश्यतोऽब्रुवत' इति वचनं 'आधौ प्रतिग्रहे क्रीते' इत्यस्यापवादकम्। आधिग्रहणक्रयणप्रतिग्रहकर्तृणामाहितक्रीतप्रतिगृहीतेषु गवाश्वाद्विषु योन्येषु दशवर्षाणि परभोगोपेक्षया स्वत्वहानिः। भूमौ तु विंशतिवार्षिकी। तेन वचनात्कारणत्वेनावधारिता उपेक्षा कार्यभूतां स्वत्वहानिं ज्ञापयति। व्यवहारमातृका p 348–49

to an inference of title (*tripurusa-bhuktavādinah*, as Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 148 calls them). These like the Vyavahāratattva and Vivādacandra[465] who rely solely on possession boldly say that long possession even originating in wrong leads to ownership. Medhātithi says 'there can be no memory of the origin of title when there has been possession for hundreds of years and (if title had to be proved for the origin of such possession) a king may resume villages enjoyed by ancient temples, brāhmanas and mathas; therefore ancient possession is evidence of ownership because it makes it extremely probable that the ancient possession originated in gift or the like'. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 (which is *svatvavādi*) refers to all the three views, refutes the first two and accepts the view of loss of profits It does not literally interpret the texts of Hārita and Nārada quoted above, takes them to be over-statements and intended to convey that continuous possession for over three generations cannot be interfered with even if there is no clear proof of the origin of title In modern India under the Indian Limitation Act (IX of 1908) the tendency is to prescribe the very short period of twelve years for adverse possession in order to defeat a title, following the English Real Property Limitation Act of 1833 (3 and 4 William IV chap. 27), sec. 2 of which insisting on vigilance by every one about one's rights however prescribes the period of 20 years within which to bring an action for recovery of land. Modern case law has rather gone too far and sets a premium on wrongful possession by holding that it is not necessary that adverse possession should have been brought to the knowledge of the real owner[466] Ancient Hindu lawyers put down the tendency to usurp another's property and placed many obstacles in the way of the wrongful possessor.

It may be noted that there were a few rare texts that referred to very short periods for possession causing loss of

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465 अन्यायेनापि पित्रादित्रयभुक्तो भोगः प्रमाणमेव—अन्यायेनापि यद्भुक्तं पित्रा पूर्वतरैस्त्रिभिः । न तच्छक्यमपाकर्तुं क्रमात्त्रिपुरुषागतम् ॥ (नारद ४ ९१)-इति वचनात् । पित्रेति पित्रा सहेत्यर्थ । अन्यायेनापि अन्यायानिश्चयेनापीत्यर्थः। तेन वस्तुतो भोग इत्यायातीति नान्यायभोगः प्रमाणमिति केचित् । अन्ये तु वचनबलादेवंविधोऽन्यायभोगोऽपि प्रमाणमेवेत्याहुः । चरमः पक्षोत्र समीचीनः । त्रिभिरेव यदा भुक्ता पुरुषैर्भूर्यथाविधि । लेख्याभावेपि तां तत्र चतुर्थं समवाप्नुयात् ॥ इति वचनात् । विवादचन्द्र p. 134. Vide note 457 above for the verse त्रिभिरेव.

466 Vide *The Secretary of State for India v Debendra Lal Khan* 61 I A p 78 at p 82 (=36 Bom. L R 249) and *Srischandra Nandy v. Baijnath*, 62 I A 40 at p. 44 (=37 Bom. L R 323).

title, viz. 3 years for immovable property (provided there was no permissive origin, *kṣamālinga*) or one year for corn, cattle and other movables[467]. This idea being opposed to innumerable texts was explained away as merely conveying the great importance of possession. Marici states[468] that cows, beasts of burden, ornaments that are borrowed through friendship should be returned within four or five years, otherwise the owner would lose them This is opposed to Manu VIII. 146 and other texts and so is explained as being applicable only if there is no sufficient cause for allowing them to remain with the borrower. The ancient Roman Law was very like this. Before Justinian the Roman Law gave the ownership of a thing by quiet possession bona fide and founded on good title if maintained during one year over movables and during two years over immovable property[469]. Justinian altered this and provided that possession during three years gave ownership of movables and possession during ten years (if parties resided in the same province) or during twenty years (if they did not) gave the ownership of immovable property.

Br (S. B E. vol. 33 p. 314 verse 31) lays down the proposition that if a person has title and is already in possession and is dispossessed by another then he may succeed in a lawsuit on the strength of his prior possession provided the dispossessor does not establish continuous possession for three generations[470]. This is similar to a suit in ejeotment contemplated by Art 142 of the Indian Limitation Act.

Br (S B E vol 33 p. 310 v. 11) and Kāt. 335 (both quoted by Aparārka p 637, V. P p. 166) state that what is enjoyed by a man's agnates and cognates and his own people does not pass to their ownership by their mere possession; one should regard

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467 अत्र बृहस्पतिर्विशेषमाह । त्रिवर्षं भुज्यते येन समग्रा भूरवारिता । तस्य सा नापहर्तव्या क्षमालिङ्गं न चेद्भवेत् ॥ चतुष्पाद्धनधान्यादि वर्षाद्धानिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ एतद्वचन भुक्तेरादरार्थं यथाश्रुत (न ?) व्याख्येयं बहुप्रतिपक्षत्वादिति वरदराजः । स वि p 135 Vide व्यव. नि. p 132 from which this is taken, which introduces these verses with the words 'अत्र पञ्चाध्याय्या बृहस्पतिः.' It is probable that the work of Br on vyavahāra had five adhyāyas

468 धेनुवाह्यालङ्कृतं याचित प्रीतिकर्मणा । चतुःपाञ्चद्विक क्षेममन्यथा हानिमाप्नुयात् । मरीचि in स्मृतिच० II 69, परा मा III p 148 (reads धनवाह्या०)

469 Vide Sandar's Introduction to the Institutes of Justinian, sec 72

470 सत्यपि विच्छेदे सागमा भुक्तिः प्रमाणमित्याह बृहस्पतिः । भुक्तिर्बलवती शास्त्रे ह्याविच्छिन्ना चिरन्तनी । विच्छिन्नापि हि सा ज्ञेया या तु पूर्वप्रसाधिता ॥ इति । परा मा III. p 144-145, स्मृतिच० II p. 74.

possession (as leading to ownership) in cases other than these. Pitāmaha states that possession by a stranger is powerful, but possession by members of one's own family has certainly not the same force[471]. This appears to adumbrate the principle of modern law that possession by one co-owner or one tenant-in-common is ordinarily the possession of all co-owners and the mere fact that the profits of a property have been enjoyed by only one co-heir or tenant-in-common for many years does not by itself amount to the ouster of the other tenants-in-common[472]. It is stated in Gaut. XII. 35 that property which is enjoyed for a long time by a śrotriya, an ascetic or a king's officer is not lost to the owner by that enjoyment, since the owner may have thought that he would reap long-enduring spiritual merit by the first two enjoying this property (such as a vacant house) or that he might be prevented from asserting his right from fear (of the royal official). Compare Br. (S B. E. vol 33 p. 311 v. 12).[473] Manu VIII. 149 (=Nār. IV. 81 and Vas. 16. 18), Yāj II. 25, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 312 v. 21), Kāt. (330) state the following exceptions to the rule of loss by long possession; a mortgaged or pledged property, boundary, minor's property, an open deposit, a sealed deposit, women (female slaves), the property of the king i. e. (of the State) and the property of a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda are not lost by the possession of another (for twenty or ten years referred to in Manu VIII. 147 and Yāj. II. 24). Manu VIII. 145 provides that neither a pledge nor a deposit can be lost by lapse of time and that both are recoverable even if they have remained long (with the pledgee or depositee). Yāj II. 25 adds to the above list the properties of idiots and of women. Nār. IV. 83 emphatically states that women's property (strīdhana) and state property (land) is not lost even after hundreds of years, when it is enjoyed without title. Kāt. (330) adds to the above list temple property and what is inherited

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471. सनाभिभिर्बान्धवैश्च यद्भुक्तं स्वजनैस्तथा। भोगात्तत्र न सिद्धिः स्याद्भोगमन्यत्र कल्पयेत्॥ कात्या०; अस्वामिना तु यद्भुक्तं गृहक्षेत्रापणादिकम्। सुहृद्बन्धुसकुल्यस्य न तद्भोगेन हीयते॥ बृह; both quoted by अपरार्क p 637, व्यव. नि. pp. 128–129, व्य. म. p. 166, विवादचन्द्र p. 135 (2nd verse), the first is ascribed to both बृह. and कात्या by व्यव. नि.; भुक्तिर्बलवती तत्र भोक्ता यत्र परो भवेत्। स्वगोत्रे भोगिनां मुक्तिर्न शका शाश्वती नृणाम्। पितामह in स्मृतिच० II p. 69

472. Vide I L. R. 46 Bom. 213, 31 Bom. L. R 199 and 1030 (P. C.), 47 Cal 274 for this proposition.

473. धर्मोऽक्षयः श्रोत्रिये स्याद् अर्थं स्याद् राजपूरुषे। स्नेहः सुहृद्बान्धवेषु भुक्तमेतैर्न हीयते। बृह. in स्मृतिच० II. p 69, परा मा. III, p. 149.

from the father or mother[471]. All systems of jurisprudence throw protection round the interests of minors, persons of unsound mind and others similarly situated and provide longer periods of possession for loss of their right The Mit. on Yāj II. 25 gives reasons why the several exceptions are made· in the case of a pledge or mortgage the property is enjoyed by the pledgee or mortgagee under an agreement and so there is no fault on the part of the owner if he remains quiet while the property is being enjoyed by the creditor, boundaries between villages can be easily established by such signs as trees (growing on the border), streaks of chaff and coal (buried underground), deposits are entrusted to a person out of confidence for being preserved and not for enjoyment; idiots and minors are ignorant or incapable of understanding their rights, the king being engrossed in numerous state affairs may not be able in time to look into the question about possession of state properties; women on account of their ignorance and timidity may not assert their rights and a learned brāhmana being devoted to learning, teaching and performance of rites and duties may have no time to go to law. In modern times also the law favours minors and other persons as indicated in the note below[475]. Kāt (331–334 q. by Par. M III. p 148, Sm C II p. 69

474. न भोगं कल्पयेत्क्षीणे देवराजधनेषु च। बालश्रोत्रियचित्ते च मातृत. पितृत: क्रमात् ॥ काट्या quoted in व्य मा p 351 (reads श्रोत्रियवृद्धे च प्राप्तेपि पितृत: &c), स्मृतिच. II 69 उपनिधि and निक्षेप are defined by नारद as 'असंख्यातमविज्ञातं समुद्र यन्निधीयते। तज्ज्ञानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं विदु. ॥' (q by मिता on या. II 65)

475 Under the Indian Limitation Act, a mortgagor can sue for redemption and possession within 60 years from the time when the right to redeem accrues (Art 148), though for ordinary suits for possession the period is 12 years, while a pawnor of moveable property has 30 years (Art 145) from the date of the pawn, if a thing is entrusted to a man for a specific purpose as a trustee then sec 10 of the Limitation Act provides that no length of time will bar a suit for recovering from him or his legal representatives or voluntary assigns the trust property or its proceeds (*upanidhi* and *nikṣepa* may be examples of trust), a suit on behalf of the Secretary of State for India can be brought within 60 years (Art. 149), sections 6–8 provide longer periods for persons who were minors, idiots or lunatics at the time when their rights were invaded Under the Real Property Limitation Act of 1833 (3 and 4 William IV chap 27 sections 16 and 17) a suit could be brought within ten years of the time when the disability ceased in the case of minors, lunatics, idiots, *those absent beyond the seas*, but no suit can be

(*Continued on the next page*)

which ascribes them to Nārada) prescribes that in the case of a *Snātaka*, engaged in his vow of veda study extending over 36 years, and in the case of a man who remains in a foreign country in pursuit of wealth, enjoyment extending over 50 years will alone make him lose his property by the possession of another ; that when a person has been a student for a shorter period than 36 years he may get longer additional periods proportionately and that when a person is in jail time does not run against him

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(*Continued from the last page*)

brought beyond forty years from the starting point Section 13 of the Indian Limitation Act provides that when the defendant is absent from British India the plaintiff can add the period of defendant's absence to the period prescribed for bringing a suit but does not provide for the rule of Kāt which allows a longer period for loss of right when a person (who may have to sue) is absent in a foreign country. Under the Civil Law of Rome the rule was ' *nullum tempus occurrit regi* ' (lapse of time does not bar the right of the crown) Vide *Vyakunta v Government of Bombay* 12 Bom H C R (O. C J.) 1 at p 217 for this rule and its limitation under modern Indian Law

CHAPTER XIII

WITNESSES (*sākṣinaḥ*).

The word *sākṣin* occurs in the Śvetāśvataropanisad[476] (VI. 11) where it is applied to the one immanent Spirit of the universe as All-seeing. Pāṇini[477] V. 2. 91 explains the word *sākṣin* as meaning 'one who has directly seen' Gaut[478] XIII. 1, Kauṭ III. 11, Nār IV. 147 state that when two persons litigate and there is a doubt or discrepancy between the two the determination of the truth in the dispute is due to witnesses Manu VIII. 74, Sabhāparva[479] 68 84, Nār. IV. 148, Visnu Dh. S. 8 13, Kāt 346 (q in V M p 317 and V. P p 106) provide that a (proper) witness is one who has himself either seen or heard or experienced the matter in dispute. This means that the evidence of a witness must be direct and should not be what is called hearsay. Medhātithi (on Manu VIII. 74) says[480] that hearsay evidence occurs when a person who hears from another that has himself heard something from another comes forward as a witness and that hearsay is no legal evidence. Manu VIII. 76 prescribes that even though a man may not have been expressly asked or appointed by the parties (in the words 'you are the witness to this transaction'), he is a proper witness when asked as to any matter in dispute that he has himself seen or heard The only exception to hearsay evidence allowed by

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476 एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः. साक्षी चेता केवलो निर्गुणश्च ॥ श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् VI 11

477 साक्षाद्द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम् । पा V. 2. 91.

478 विप्रतिपत्तौ साक्षिनिमित्ता सत्यव्यवस्था । गौ XIII. 1, असंप्रतिपत्तौ तु साक्षिण प्रमाणम् । कौटिल्य III 11

479 श्रुतदृष्टानुभूतार्थात् साक्षिभ्यो वक्तिदर्शनम् । नारद IV. 147, अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसंनिध्यादनुभूतं तु यद्ब्रवेत् । तद्ग्राह्यं साक्षिणो वाक्यमन्यथा न वृहस्पति. ॥ कात्या in व्य प्र p. 106, समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षी श्रवणाच्चेति धारणात् । सभापर्व 68 84. समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षी श्रवणाद्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 8 13

480 समक्षदर्शनात्साक्षादनुभवाच्छ्रवणाच्च समक्षशब्दाद्वयङ्गः कर्तव्य । यत् कुतश्चिदेकेन श्रूयते ततोन्येन तत्परंपराश्रुतं तेन परंपराश्रावी न साक्षी । मे on मनु 8 74, चक्षुषा श्रोत्रेण वा येन विवादविषयः पूर्वं प्रमितः स तत्र साक्षीत्यर्थः । .. तेन यो विवादविषयो येन प्रमितः स तत्र साक्षित्वेनाकृतोपि साक्षी भवतीति सिध्यति इतरथा चेतनादानादिषु विवादेषु लिखितादीनामसम्भवेन साक्ष्यभावप्रसङ्गः । सदरत्न (ms) Compare व्य. प्र p. 109 for almost the same words.

the Visnu Dh S. VIII. 12 is that[481] when a person that is appointed as a witness is dead or gone abroad, those who have heard what he said may give evidence It has already been stated (p 297) that a king was not to delay the examination of witnesses Kāt. (340-341 q by Aparārka pp 675, 677, Sm C. II. p 92, V. M p. 331) prescribes that the king (or the chief judge) should himself examine the witnesses that are present (in court) and should consider along with the *sabhyas* the statements made by witnesses and that, where it is doubtful who the witnesses on a disputed matter are, time should be given for producing the witnesses in order to ascertain the proper means of proof but that where it is clear who the witnesses may be he should make the hearing of the case proceed at once Kāt (352) further prescribes[482] that when it is impossible to bring witnesses because they reside in a foreign country, evidence taken in writing before a man learned in the three Vedas and sent by him should be read in deciding the cause[483]. Gaut. 13. 2, Manu VIII. 60, Yāj. II 69, Nār. IV. 153 and others require that ordinarily there should be at least three witnesses in a cause. Br. (S. B E 33 p 301 v. 16) says that there may be nine; seven, five, four or three witnesses, or two only if they are learned brāhmanas[484]. Visnu Dh S VIII 5 and Br. (S. B. E vol. 33 p 301 v 16) emphasize that a single witness alone cannot be examined for deciding a matter[485].

481 उद्दिष्टसाक्षिणि सृते देशान्तरगते वा तदभिहितश्रोतारः प्रमाणम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VIII 12

482, अशक्य आगमो यत्र विदेशं प्रतिवादिनाम् (विदेशप्रतिवासिनाम्?) । वैविध्यमहित लेख्यसाक्ष्यं तत्र प्रवादयेत् ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 667.

483. This corresponds to the modern rule of taking evidence on commission as provided for in Order 26 rules 4 and 5 of the Indian Civil Pro Code (of 1908)

484 नव सप्त पञ्च वा स्युश्चत्वारस्त्रय एव वा। उभौ वा श्रोत्रियौ ब्रूयातौ नैकं पृच्छेत्कदाचन ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II 76 (adds उभावपि लिखितगूढसाक्षिविषयम्), परा. मा. III 95, व्य प p 112.

485 Vide Best on 'Evidence' (12th ed of 1922) p 515 The Mosaic law in some cases and the Civilians and Canonists in all exacted the evidence of more than one witness, a doctrine adopted by most nations in Europe and by the ecclesiastical and some other tribunals among us' According to the Common Law of England and the Indian Evidence Act (I of 1872) sec 134, no particular number of witnesses shall in any case be required for the proof of any fact Best (*ibid* p 520) notices that in prosecutions for perjury the testimony of at least two witnesses is required by the Common Law of England (now confirmed by Statute) and that by Statute two witnesses at least are required in trials for treason Vide *Emperor v Bal Gangadhar Tilak* 6 Bom. L R 324 where the rule about two witnesses in convictions for perjury according to the Common Law of England was relied on

But Yāj II 72, Viṣnu Dh S VIII. 9, Nār IV 192 state that one man alone may be a witness in a cause if he is endowed with the regular performance of his religious duties (is possessed of the qualities stated in Viṣnu Dh S VIII 8) and is accepted as a witness by both sides Vide Manu VIII 77 also Br (S B E vol 33 p 301 v 18) allows a single witness to furnish valid proof if he is a dūtaka[486] (messenger), an accountant, one who has accidentally witnessed the transaction or if he is the king or the chief justice Vyāsa says[487] that even a single person may be enough in a cause, especially in heinous offences called *sāhasa*, if he be one whose actions are pure, who knows the *dharma* and whose truthfulness has been well attested before Kaut (III 11) says that a single witness (whether a man or a woman) may be enough in cases where the transaction in question was effected in secret (except the king and one performing austerities)[488] Kāt (353–355 q by V M pp 319–320, Sm. C II 76, V. P. pp. 112–113) states that even a single person may be allowed to depose as a witness if he was taken in confidence at the time of making a deposit; so also a messenger sent by a litigant for borrowing an article (such as an ornament) or the manufacturer of an article may alone be sufficient to prove the identity of the article or when a matter has been decided by the king or chief judge, the scribe, the chief justice or any one of the sabhyas may alone prove the plea of *res judicata* or the point as to what was said by the plaintiff or the defendant in a suit[489] Vide Br (S B E. 33 p 300 verses 13–14).

The qualifications of witnesses to be examined in a suit are stated in numerous places such as Gaut XIII. 2, Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 62–63, Vas 16·28, Śankha-Likhita (q in S. V. p 138), Yāj II 68, Nār IV 153–154, Viṣnu Dh S VIII 8, Br (S. B E vol 33 p 302 v 28), Kāt 347 (in Sm C II p 76 and

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486 Br (S B E vol 33 p 300 v 8) defines a *dūtaka* as one who is a respectable man esteemed and appointed by both parties and had come near to listen to the speeches of the parties

487. शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञ साक्षी यत्राद्भुतवाक् । प्रमाणमकोपि भवेत्साहसेषु किं पत. ॥ व्यास in स्मृतिच II p 76, व्य म p. 112

488 रहस्यव्यवहारेष्वेको स्त्री पुरुष उपश्रोता उपद्रष्टा वा साक्षी स्याद्राजतारमात्यं। कौटिल्य III 11

489 अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनोर्वाक्य यच्छ्रुतं भूभृता स्वयम् । स तत्र तत्र साक्षी स्याद्विसंवादे द्वयोरपि ॥ निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत् । अध्यक्षः सभ्यसहित साक्षी स्यात् तत्र नान्यथा ॥ बृह्. q. by अपरार्क p 667, व्य म p 108

V P p 111) The principal qualifications are;[489a] they should be born of a good family, should have lived hereditarily in the country, should be householders having a son or sons, should be well-to-do and men of character, should be trustworthy, should know dharma and act up to it, should not be covetous and should have been cited by the parties as witnesses. Some Smṛti texts such as Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 68 (=Kāt. 351 and Vas. 16·30), Kāt 348 provide[490] that ordinarily witnesses should be of the same *varṇa* or caste as the parties, that women should be witnesses in disputes between women, that men of the lowest castes (*antyajas*) should be witnesses for litigants of those castes and that a litigant of a lower caste should not try to prove his case by citing witnesses of a higher caste or a brāhmaṇa (unless the latter is an attesting witness on a deed). But most (even including Gaut and Manu) give an option and say that persons of all castes (even śūdras) may be witnesses for all. Vide Gaut. XIII 3, Manu VIII. 69, Yāj. II. 69, Nār. IV. 154, Vas. 16·29 (*sarveṣu sarva eva vā*). Nār. IV 155 and Kāt (349–50 q by Aparārka p 666 and V. P. pp 111–112) provide[491] that in disputes between members of groups such as those who wear peculiar symbols (indicative of their sect), śreṇis (guilds), pūgas (associations), companies of traders and all others who work in groups and who are therefore called *varga*s and in the case of slaves, bards, wrestlers, elephant riders, horse-trainers and soldiers the heads (called *varga*) of these groups are the proper witnesses. Gaut. XI. 21 says that in disputes among members of classes of agriculturists, traders, cowherds, money-

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489a बहव· स्युरनिन्दिताः स्वकर्मसु प्रात्ययिका राज्ञां निष्प्रीत्यनभितापाश्चान्यतरस्मिन् । गौ XIII 2. प्रात्ययिका· शुचयोऽलुब्धता वा त्रयोवराद्यां. पक्षाद्गुमतौ वा द्वौ ऋण प्रति न स्ववैरि. । कौ III 11. कुलजा वृत्तवित्तसंपन्ना यज्वानस्तपस्विनः पुत्रिणो धर्मज्ञा अधीयाना. सत्यवन्त. त्रैविद्यवृद्धाः । विष्णु VIII 8; मौलाः प्रतिष्ठिता. सादयर्थं विदितवन्तः कुलीना ऋजवो जन्मत कर्मतोर्थतः शुद्धाः पुत्रिणः सत्यवादिनः श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियायुक्ता विगतद्वेषमत्सरा अप्रवासिनो युवानो लोभमोहविवर्जितास्त्रयवरा नवसंख्याका न जातु कूटता प्रतिपद्यन्ते । शङ्खलिखितौ in स. वि. p 138

490 ब्राह्मणस्त्वब्राह्मणवचनादनवरोध्योऽनिबद्धश्चेत् । गौ. XIII 4. विभाष्यो वादिना यादृक् सदृशैरेव भावयेत् । नोत्कृष्टैश्चावकृष्टस्तु साक्षिभिर्भावयेत्सदा ॥ कात्या q by व्य प्र p 111, मदनरत्न (which reads नोत्कृष्टं चावकृष्टैस्तु, which seems to mean 'a litigant of a higher caste should not be proved to be what he is alleged to be by the evidence of witnesses of lower castes').

491. लिङ्गिनः श्रेणिपूगाश्च वणिग्व्रातास्तथापरे । समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्तानब्रवीद्गुरुः । दासचारणमल्लानां हस्त्यश्वायुधजीविनाम् । प्रत्येकैकं समूहानां नायका वर्गिणस्तथा । तेषां वादे स्ववर्गेषु वर्गिणस्तेषु साक्षिणः । कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 666 For श्रेणि, पूग, vide p. 280 and note 383 above and H. of Dh vol, II. pp. 67–68

lenders and craftsmen (such as carpenters and washermen), the help of other members of the same calling may be taken as witnesses and arbitrators.

Long lists of persons who are generally to be regarded as incompetent to be witnesses are given in Kaut. III. 11, Manu VIII 64–67. Udyogaparva 35. 44–47, Yāj II 70–71, Nār. IV. 177–187, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 1–4, Br (S B E vol. 33 p. 303 vv. 29–30), Kāt 360–364 (q by Aparārka pp. 669–670, Sm C II pp 77–78, V. P p. 119) Manu VIII 118 states the general grounds why oral evidence tends to be false viz covetousness, infatuation, fear, desire of pleasures, anger, friendship, ignorance, minority. As the list of incompetent witnesses in Nār. is the longest,[492] that alone is set out here. one who has monetary[493] interest in the parties or the subject matter of the suit (such as a co-sharer, creditor and debtor of the parties), a

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492 Vide appendix for the verses of Nārada The commentaries and digests give various interpretations of some of the words A few such are stated in the next note

493 The Mit explains 'arthasambandhin' as 'vipratipadyamānārtha sambandhin' while V P. p 117 explains as 'creditor or debtor' of a party. 'Āptāh' is defined by Kāt 361 (quoted by Aparārka p 669) as 'those who depend for livelihood on the subsistence given by a party to the suit or those who serve him or cause benefit to him or those who are his relatives, friends or servants' Sm C explains 'cākrika' as a bard, while V P. (p 118) as oil-presser. The printed text of Nār reads 'asrāddha' (who is not invited at a śrāddha), while V P and others read 'aśraddha', for vrātya (one whose upanayana has not been performed) vide H of Dh vol II p 376, 'prāg-drstadosa' is explained by Asabāya as 'one who suffers from a disease which is the effect of evil actions done in past lives' Kāt 362 (q by Aparārka p 669) explains 'sanābhayah as sons of one's mother's sister or one's full sister or one's maternal uncle The printed text reads 'śrānta', while Sm C II p 78 reads 'aśānta' (restless) and V P 117 reads 'aśrānta' (one constantly engaged in work) Kulika is explained as 'one appointed by the king to decide causes' (by Kalpataru), while the Madanaratna says 'he is the person in authority over a kula i e a group of brāhmanas or the like'. Vide V P p 119 Sm C II p 78 and V P p 118 read 'sūcaka' (one appointed by the king to find out crime amoog the people) for 'stāvaka' of the printed Nār

friend (or relative such as an uncle); associate (in undertakings); enemy; one who has already been held to have given false evidence; one charged with (or addicted to) sins; a slave; one who is in the habit of finding the weak points of others (or harming others); one who has no faith in religion; a very old man (above 80 years); a minor; a woman; an oil-presser; one intoxicated; a lunatic; one who is extremely inattentive; one distressed; a gambler; a village priest; one who undertakes long journeys (on the great roads); one who is a merchant engaged in sea voyages; an ascetic (who has renounced the world); one sick; one bereft of a limb; one who is the only witness; a brāhmaṇa learned in the Veda; one who does not perform the customary religious rites; an impotent person; an actor; an atheist; a *vrātya*; one who has abandoned his wife; one who has given up *agnihotra* (daily offerings into *śrauta* or *smārta* fire); one that officiates as priest for persons who are not entitled to perform vedic sacrifices; one who is an associate in eating food from the same vessel in which food is cooked (i e. who is in commensality with a party); a former enemy (*aricara* as one word); a spy; an agnate, a cognate (or born of the same womb); one whose evil doings in former lives are seen clearly; a public dancer (śailūsa, or one who makes his women actresses); one who lives by (i. e. buys or sells) poison; a snake-catcher; one who is a poisoner, an incendiary, a mean person (*kināśa*, or parsimonious person); the son of a śūdra woman (from one of a higher caste); one guilty of a minor sin (upapātaka); one fatigued; a desperado; one who has relinquished all attachments; a person who is penniless (through gambling or other extravagance); a member of the lowest (untouchable) caste; one leading a bad life; a brahmacārin who has not yet returned from his teacher's house: an idiot; an oil-seller, a seller of roots; one possessed (by a ghost or demon); one hated by the king; a weather-prophet; an astrologer; one who proclaims to the public the sins of others; one who has sold himself (for money): one who has a limb too little (e. g. having four fingers to the hand): one who lives on the immorality of his wife, one who has bad nails: one with black teeth; one who has betrayed his friend; a rogue; a seller of liquor; a juggler, an avaricious man; a ferocious man; an opponent of a śreni (guild) or gaṇa (association); a butcher; a hide-worker; a cripple; one excommunicated for a grave sin (like brāhmaṇa-murder); a forger (of documents or coins or weights &c); one who employs incantations and drugs for influencing

others: one who is an apostate[494] from the order of ascetics (*pratrajitasaka*); a robber; a servant of the king, a brāhmana who sells human beings, cattle, meat, bones, honey, milk, water or clarified butter; a member of the three higher castes who engages in usury; one who has given up the peculiar duties of his caste (or station); a *kuhaka*; a bard; one who is the servant of a low person; one who has quarrelled with his father, one who causes dissensions Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 65, Visnu Dh S. VIII. 1 and several others say that the king cannot be cited as a witness[495] (except possibly to prove the plea of *res judicata* or to prove what transpired before him when a litigation was going on)

The above is a formidable list of incompetent witnesses, therefore, most Smrtis such as Gaut XIII 9, Kaut III 11, Manu VIII 72, Yaj II 72, Nār IV 188-189, Visnu Dh S III 6, Usanas (q. in Sm. C II p 79), Kāt 365-366 (q in Sm C II. p 79) expressly point out that strict examination of the character of witnesses should be entered upon in disputes about debts and

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494 In *Omichund v Barker* (Willes 1737-1860 p 538) where Willes (Lord Chief Justice) says (at p 551) that in Popish times and for some little time afterwards till the Reformation was fully established there was a notion that 'even an alien friend especially if he were an infidel could not sue in a court of justice here' That shows how non-Christians found it difficult to sue in England for their just rights a few centuries back In the case cited above Lord Chief Justice Willes had to deliver an elaborate judgment in 1745 for holding that evidence taken in India according to the oaths administered to non-Christian witnesses could be read in a trial held in England. So one need not laugh at Nār who flourished at least about 1200 years before that date if he held an atheist or an apostate to be an incompetent witness It should be noted that 'By the canon Law a Jew is not admitted to give evidence against a Christian, especially if he be a clergyman,' vide Taylor on Evidence (ed of 1848, p 655 note C.)

495. Vide Taylor's 'Law of Evidence' (12th ed) vol II p 872 para 1381 about the sovereign giving evidence on oath, his considered opinion being (after referring to the case of *R v Mylius* in which the defendant was prosecuted for a libel upon king George V) 'that the sovereign if so pleased may be examined as a witness in any case, civil or criminal, but not without being sworn' The व्यव. नि p 100 says नतु न साक्षी नृपति. कार्य इति राज्ञ साक्षित्वनिषेधात्। तस्य कथं साक्षित्वमिति चेत्, उच्यते। व्यवहारदर्शनकालेऽवगतेऽर्थेतु तस्यैव साक्षित्वमुच्यते, कालान्तरापेक्षया निषेधः। तथा च व्यासः। राज्ञा धर्मासनस्थेन यच्छ्रुतं तत्त्वमिच्छता। नान्यः साक्षी भवेत्तत्र मुक्त्वा राजानमीश्वरम्। इति। बृहस्पति.। निर्णीते व्यवहारे तु पुनर्न्यायो यदा भवेत्। अध्यक्ष सभ्यसहितः साक्षी स्यात्तत्र नान्यथा॥ The स्मृतिच II. p 80 and परा मा III. p. 103 have the verse of बृहस्पति न साक्षी नृपति कार्यो is मनु. VIII. 65.

the like which are of a fixed nature (of a civil nature), but that in complaints about all kinds of *sāhasa* (heinous crime), in robbery, adultery or the two kinds of *pāruṣya* (viz. defamation and assault) there should be no (strict) inquiry into the character of witnesses (that is, all can be witnesses in such cases) and that even those like slaves and fault-finders who have been enumerated among incompetent witnesses can become witnesses in grave matters[496]. The idea is that in such cases the witnesses need not be strictly examined as to their possessing the good qualities ordinarily required in witnesses But this does not authorize the examination of such persons as lunatics or idiots as witnesses, because they have not the power to understand things Manu VIII 77 emphatically states that even a single male, if he is free from greed, may be (sufficient as) a witness, but not women of good character, even though they be many, since the feminine intellect is apt to be unsteady But even Manu had to concede (VIII 70) that a woman or a minor or a very old person or a pupil, relative, slave or a hired servant may be a (competent) witness, if it is impossible to find another witness (in matters that occurred inside a house or in a forest or in crimes where life is lost). Kāt 367 (q by Aparārka p. 671) says the same thing. Uśanas[497] (quoted in the Sm. C II p 79, V. P. p. 120) provides that even a slave, a blind man, a deaf person, a leper, a woman, a minor, a very old man may be (competent) witnesses in *sāhasa*, provided they are not interested in the matter of dispute (or are not related or partial to the parties). Nār. (IV. 190–191) gives it as his view that even when there is to be no strict inquiry into the character of witnesses in *sāhasa*, still a minor, a woman, a single person, one who forges deeds (or who is a

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496 ऋणादिषु परीक्षेत साक्षिणः स्थिरकर्मसु । साहसात्ययिके चैव परीक्षा कुत्रचित्स्मृता ॥ व्याधातेषु नृपाज्ञायां संग्रहे साहसेषु च । स्तेयपारुष्ययोश्चैव न परीक्षेत साक्षिणः ॥ अन्तर्वेश्मनि रात्रौ च वहिर्ग्रामाच्च यद्भवेत् । एतेष्वेवाभिधेयेऽपश्येत्र परीक्षेत साक्षिण ॥ कात्या. in अपरार्क p. 670-71, स्मृतिच II. p. 79, पारुष्यस्तेयसंग्रहणेषु तु वैरिस्यालसहायवर्जा । कौ III 11

497. दासोऽन्धो बधिरः कुष्ठी स्त्रीबालस्थविरादयः । एतेऽनभिसम्बन्धाः साहसे साक्षिणो मताः ॥ उशनस् q by स्मृतिच. II p. 79 साहस is of four kinds 'मनुष्यमारणं चौर्यं परदाराभिमर्शनम् । पारुष्यमुभयं चैव साहस तु चतुर्विधम् ॥ q by अपरार्क p 670 (as from मनु), परा मा III p. 450 (as from बृह.), व्य. म. p 120. यत्र पुमासावधिप्रत्यर्थिनौ तत्र स्त्रीणा साक्ष्यं नास्ति यत्र तु स्त्रिया सह पुंस कार्यं स्त्रीणां चेतरेतरं स्वल्पं तत्र भवन्त्येव स्त्रिय साक्षिण्यः । न चायं नियमः स्त्रीणां स्त्रिय एव साक्ष्यं कुर्युर्न पुमासः । केवलं युवतिविषये व्यवहारे क्वचिदेव स्त्रीणा साक्ष्य यतोऽस्थिरत्वादिति हेतुरुपात्तः । भवन्ति काश्चन स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्य इव सत्यवादिन्यः स्थिरबुद्धयश्च । मेधा० on मनु VIII 68

cheat), a relative and an enemy cannot be witnesses in *sāhasa*, since a child through ignorance, a woman from her habit of untruthfulness, a forger (or cheat) because he is accustomed to doing evil deeds, a relative from affection and an enemy from the idea of taking revenge may speak falsely There was no total disqualification of women as witnesses, since Manu quoted above allows them to be witnesses in disputes between women and in cases where it is not possible to have other witnesses. Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 68 holds that women are disqualified as witnesses only where the plaintiff and defendant are both males but that where there is a litigation between a man and a woman or between women alone, a woman may be a competent witness. Ancient Hindu Law is not singular in its partial rejection of the testimony of women. Vide Best on Evidence (12th ed. of 1922) pp 53–56 where it is shown how ancient Roman Law and the Medieval laws of several countries of Europe more or less excluded the testimony of women, how some States in the U S A. excluded the testimony of negroes and persons of coloured blood. By the Canon Law more credit was given to male than female witnesses (Taylor on Evidence, ed. of 1848 p. 655, note d).

Nār. (IV. 157–172) states that incompetent witnesses fall into five classes : (1) some[498] like learned brāhmanas, very old men, ascetics, persons practising austerities are incompetent because ancient texts (*vacana*) say so and there is no other (special) reason for their exclusion. The Vyavahāratattva

498. असाक्ष्यपि हि शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् दृष्ट. पञ्चविधो बुधैः । वचनाद्दोषतो भेदात्स्वयमुक्तिर्मृतान्तरः ॥ श्रोत्रिया तापसा वृद्धा ये च प्रव्रजिता नरा । असाक्षिणस्ते वचनान्नात्र हेतुरुदाहृतः ॥ स्तेनाः साहसिकाश्चण्डाः कितवा वधकाश्च ये । असाक्षिणस्ते दृष्टत्वात्तेषु सत्यं न विद्यते ॥ राज्ञा परिगृहीतेषु साक्षिष्वेकार्थनिश्चये । वचनं यत्र भिद्येत ते स्युर्भेदादसाक्षिणः ॥ आनिर्दिष्टस्तु साक्षित्वे स्वयमेवैत्य यो वदेत् । सूचीमुक्तः स शास्त्रेषु न स साक्षित्वमर्हति ॥ योर्थः श्रावयितव्य' स्यात्तस्मिंश्चसति चार्थिनि । क्व तद्वदतु साक्षित्वमित्यसाक्षी मृतान्तरः ॥ नारद् IV 157–162, compare नारद् IV. 94 'सन्तोपि न प्रमाणं स्युर्मृते धनिनि साक्षिण । अन्यत्र आवितात्स्वयमासन्नमृत्युना ॥ शख q. by मिता on या. *II 69* says 'पित्रा विवदमानशुश्रूषकुलवासिपरिव्राजकवानप्रस्था निर्ग्रन्थाश्चासाक्षिणः'. This may be one of the texts to which Nār. refers in the words असाक्षिणस्ते वचनात्'. The व्य. म p 115 explains मृतान्तर as सामान्यतो य आवयोः कश्चिद् व्यवहारसम्बन्धोस्ति तत्र त्वया साक्षिणा भाव्यमित्येतावन्मात्रमुक्त विशिष्य च व्यवहारविषयो न तस्मै आवितः श्रावयिता च नास्ति स पृष्टोऽपि विशिष्य विषयाज्ञानादसाक्षीति यावत् ।'. The स्मृतिच II p 81 and व्यव नि p. 106 explain मृतान्तर differently. धानीनि प्रेते अनावेदिते च व्यवहारे अनाहूतः सन् स्वयमेवैत्य मृतपुत्रं निर्दिश्याशुव्ययासौ धारयति अहं साक्षीति यो ब्रवीति असौ मृतान्तरनामा असाक्षी । मुमूर्षुणा पुत्र प्रति आवितेतस्मिंश्चयंऽसौ साक्षीत्येव आवितः पुत्र प्रति साक्षी भवत्येव । व्यव नि. p 106.

(p. 214) points out that śrotriyas and others cannot be appointed as witnesses, but they may be what is called *akṛta* witnesses explained below (i e. they may if they choose appear as witnesses in a cause). They are not competent like the king, not because they are untrustworthy but because it is not advisable to call them. They were privileged persons; (2) thieves, robbers, dangerous characters, gamblers, assasins are declared to be incompetent because there is the defect (*dosa*) of untruthfulness in them; (3) witnesses are rendered incompetent on the ground of contradiction (*bheda*), when the statement of witnesses who have been accepted by the king for determination of the same matter do not agree; (4) he who without having been appointed (by the parties to a transaction) as a witness (to it) comes of his own accord to depose is termed a *sūcī* (i. e a spy) in the *śāstras* (and so was styled *svayamukta* by Nār. IV. 157) and is unworthy to be a witness; (5) a person is incompetent as a witness by reason of intervening death (i e. he is *mṛtāntara*); when can any person bear testimony if the creditor (or claimant) is no longer alive, whose claim should have been heard by him specifically (but was not heard in that way)? *Mṛtāntara* is a witness whom one or other of the parties informed in a general way that there was some dealing between the parties and who was asked to be a witness (but was not told the details of the dealing) and then subsequently the party died. In such a case the person told is not a good witness, as he cannot give the details. But Nār. (IV. 94) mentions an exception to this last rule viz when a father while on the point of death tells his sons and the like 'these are the witnesses on such and such a matter,' there even after the father's death those witnesses would be competent though death intervenes.

Witnesses are divided by Nār. IV. 149 into two sorts; (1) those appointed (*kṛta*) by the parties and (2) those not appointed (*akṛta*); the first being of five kinds and the last of six kinds. The first five (acc to Nār IV 150) are a subscribing witness (*likhita*), one who has been reminded (*smārita*) i e. one who is called as a witness without there being a document and who is present at a transaction and is again and again reminded of it by a party to it in order that the transaction may be effectively proved thereafter (Kāt. 371 and 372 q. in Mit on Yāj. II. 68), a casual witness i e one, who, while a transaction is being entered into, comes there by mere chance and is then asked to be a witness (yadṛcchābhijñā or yādṛcchika,

acc. to Br.), a secret witness i. e. one who is made to listen the speech of the debtor while concealed behind a wall screen, an indirect (*uttara*)[499] witness (i. e one who learn from a witness who has seen or heard of a transaction when th latter is going to a distant country or is on the point of death. The six *akrta* witnesses (acc. to Nār IV. 151–152) are co-villager (in disputes about boundaries), the chief judge, the king (befor whom a suit was tried), one who is closely acquainted with the transaction of the parties (i. e *kāryamadhyagata*, acc. Br.), one who is deputed by a party (for borrowing an ornamen or for settling a transaction, called *dūtaka* by Br.), members of the family (*kulya*) in disputes among other members of the family (as regards partition &c) Br. mentions twelve kinds of witnesses that are practically the same as the eleven of Nār. except one which he adds viz *lekhita*[500] (one whose name is caused to be written by a party in the presence of the witness when that party enters into some transaction in writing such as a loan with another) The only difference between 'likhita' and 'lekhita' seems to be that the first himself writes his own name as a witness on a document while the latter's name is written as a witness by one party in the presence of the other and of the witness Br (S. B E. vol. 33 p. 299 verses 4-15 q. by Aparārka pp 666–667) defines at great length all the twelve and Kāt also defines most of them, but these definitions are passed over as not very important. Visvarūpa remarks that these nice distinctions among eleven kinds of witnesses are made only for the sake of exposition and for the benefit of simple people[501].

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499. यत्र साक्षी दिशं गच्छेन्मुमूर्षुर्वा यथाक्रमम् । अन्य संश्रावयेत्तं तु विद्याद्वुत्तर-साक्षिणम् ॥ बृह. in अपरार्क p 666, साक्षिणामपि यः साक्ष्यमुपर्युपरि भाषते । श्रवणाच्छ्रावणाद्वापि स साक्ष्युत्तरसंज्ञितः ॥ काल्या q by मित. on या. II 68 Dr. Jolly's rendering of Kāt in S B E. 33 p 80 n is not correct Vide my *notes* to व्यवहारमयूख pp. 66–67 The व्यवहारतत्त्व reads 'यत्साक्ष्यं स्वपक्षे परिभाषताम् । अक्ष०;' vide the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VIII 12 quoted in n 481 which refers to a witness that is the same as उत्तर. Compare sec 32 of the Indian Evidence Act about verbal or written statements of a person who is dead or whose attendance cannot be procured except after unreasonable delay or expense.

500 अर्थिना च क्रियाभेदैस्तस्य कृत्वा ऋणादिकम् । मत्यक्षं लिख्यते यस्तु लेखित स उदाहृतः ॥ बृह q by व्य प्र p 108. अपरार्क p 667 reads सविक्रियां क्रियाभेदैः. कार्यं कृत्वा

501. यत्तु नारदेनैकादशविध साक्ष्य कृताकृतत्वभेदेनोक्त तत्सौढदान्धजनभुत्पन्न-

[illegible] on या II 71.

Before a witness for a party begins to depose, it is the duty of the opposite party to point out the ground or grounds, if any, of the incompetence of the witness put forward for examination. Kāt. adds[502] that the latent defects of the witnesses of a party must be pointed out by the opposite party, but the patent defects will be considered by the members of the court at the time of giving their decision. Vyāsa[503] states 'the defects of the witnesses of a party should be pointed out by the opponent in open court by putting them down in writing and the witnesses should be called upon (by the judge) to refute them; if the witnesses admit (the faults pointed out) they do not deserve to be witnesses; if otherwise (if the faults are not admitted) they should be established by the opponent with evidence (other than those of other witnesses); for if the defects of the witnesses of a party were allowed to be established by other witnesses to be cited by the opponent, there would result the fault of a never-ending series (*anavasthā*), since the first party would then try to show defects in the latter set of witnesses and this may have to be carried on *ad infinitum*.' Br. laid down that an opponent should not be allowed to point out the grounds of incompetency in witnesses after they have begun to depose and Kāt. adds[504] that he (that party), who points out, after the witnesses have deposed to a matter, faults in them in whom he found none at first and who can not set out a proper reason (for his not proclaiming the faults at first) should be fined in

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502. प्रमाणस्य हि ये दोषा वक्तव्यास्ते विवादिना। गूढास्तु प्रकटा सभ्यैः काले शास्त्रप्रदर्शनात्॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 671, स्मृतिच II. p 83 which adds काले निर्णयकाले. The व्य म p, 39 says 'गूढाः शास्त्रप्रदर्शनेन साक्षिवादात्पूर्वकाले वक्तव्याः'.

503. साक्षिदोषाः प्रयोक्तव्याः संसदि प्रतिवादिना। पत्रेऽभिलेख्य तान् सर्वान् वाच्याः प्रत्युत्तरं तु ते॥ प्रतिपन्नौ न साक्षित्वमर्हन्ति तु कदाचन। अतोऽन्यथा भावनीयाः क्रियया प्रतिवादिना॥ अन्यैस्तु साक्षिभिः साध्ये दूषणे पूर्वसाक्षिणाम्। अनवस्था भवेद्दोषस्तेषामप्यन्यसम्भवात्॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिच II. p 83, व्य म. p 38 (first two) The first two are ascribed to कात्या. by परा. मा III. p. 106 and व्यव नि. pp 112–113 The मिता॰ on या. II 73 has the following lucid note 'प्रतिवादिना साक्षिदूषणे दत्ते प्रत्यक्षयोग्यदूषणेषु बाल्यादिषु तथैव निर्णयः। अयोग्येषु तु तद्वचनाच्छोकतश्च निर्णयो न साध्यन्तरेणेति नानवस्था। यदि साक्षिदोषमुद्भाव्य साधयितुं न शक्नोति प्रतिवादी तदासौ साराज्ञसारेण दण्ड्यः। अथ साधयति तदा न साक्षिणः।'. Compare sections 148 and 153 of the Indian Evidence Act about cross examination to shake the credit of a witness.

504 लेख्यदोषास्तु ये केचिदसाक्षिणां चैव ये स्मृताः। वादकाले तु वक्तव्याः पश्चादुक्ताश्च दूषयेत्॥ उक्तेर्थे साक्षिणो यस्तु दूषयेत्प्रागदूषितान्। न च तत्कारणं ब्रूयात्साप्नुयात् पूर्वसाहसम्। कात्या in स्मृतिच p 83, स चि. pp. 143–144 The first is ascribed to बृहस्पति by अपरार्क p. 672.

the first amercement. Br. further states[505] that the defendant may point out the defects, if they exist, in the witnesses cited by the plaintiff; but if he finds faults which do not exist in the witnesses, he should be punished with a fine equal to the amount claimed (in monetary disputes) or equal to that which is levied from a false witness. If the witness of a party is not able to refute the defect pointed out by the opponent, the party calling him should try to clear his witness of the fault; otherwise he should not succeed in his suit

When a witness is about[506] to depose, he was, acc, to Br. (S B. E 33 p 302 v. 23), to put off his shoes and turban, raise his right hand (in order to draw the attention of the Court) and after touching gold, cowdung or *darbha* grass was to depose to the truth Āp Dh S. II. 11 29. 7 says[507] that a witness should depose to the truth on an auspicious day in the morning in the presence of kindled fire and near (a jar of) water in the hall presided over by the king (or chief justice) and after being exhorted as regards both (viz. the results of truthfulness and falsehood) and when accepted by all (the court and parties) as a competent witness. Kaut also (in III. 11) says that witnesses should be examined in the presence of brāhmaṇas, water-jar and fire. Manu (VIII 79-80) provides that the judge should in a conciliatory manner exhort all witnesses assembled inside the court in the presence of the plaintiff and defendant as follows: 'whatever acts of these two (litigants) between themselves you know as regards this matter (in dispute), narrate them all truthfully, since you are the witnesses in this case'. Yāj II. 73 also states that witnesses should be made to depose in the presence of the parties and Gaut. XIII. 13 and Kāt (q by Mit on Yāj II. 73) prescribe that witnesses[508]

505 साक्षिणोर्थिसमक्षेषु दोषेषु दूषयेत् । अदुष्टान्दूषयन्वादी तत्समं दण्डमर्हति ॥ बृह० q by स्मृतिच० II p 83, स वि p 143

506 विहायोपानदुष्णीषं दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धरेत् । हिरण्यगोशकृद्दर्भान् समादाय ऋतं वदेत् ॥ बृह०. प्राङ्मुखोवस्थितः साक्षी शपथैः शापितः स्वकैः । हिरण्य.. दर्भाम्बुपस्पृशन्वदेदृतम् ॥ वसिष्ठ; both q by स वि p 157, परा मा III p 112 The first is ascribed to कात्यायन by व्यव नि p 116 (reads हिरण्यगोबीजवर्भान् समालभ्य मतं वदेत्)

507 पुण्याहे प्रातरग्नाविद्धेऽपामन्ते राजवत्युभयतः समाख्याप्य सर्वानुमते मुख्यः सत्यं प्रश्नं भूयात् । आप ध. II 11 29. 7

508. देवब्राह्मणसन्निधौ साक्ष्यं पृच्छेदृतं द्विजान् । उदङ्मुखान्प्राङ्मुखान्वा पूर्वाह्णे वै शुचिः शुचीन् ॥ आहूय साक्षिण पृच्छेत्क्रियमर्थस्य शपथैर्भृशम् । समस्तान् विदितावारान् विज्ञातार्थान् पृथक्पृथक् ॥ कात्या. 344-45 q. by मिता on या II 73. The first is मनु VIII. 87 and the 2nd is नारद IV 198.

should face the east or north, are to be examined in the presence of the images of gods and brāhmanas in the first half of the day and should be exhorted to tell the truth by being bound with oaths. This examination in the public and after an oath went a long way in checking the tendency to depose falsely. The oath consisted of two parts, viz. (1) the requirement to tell the truth and (2) the exhortatory and imprecatory part. Both were administered by the presiding judge. Gaut. (XIII. 12–13) appears to prescribe that an oath (*śapatha*) was not to be administered to brāhmana witness, but ManuVIII. 113 (= Nār. IV. 199) does not make this distinction. Gaut. (XIII. 14–23), Manu VIII. 81–86, 89–101, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 24–37, Nār. IV. 201–228 contain very long exhortations addressed by the judge to the witnesses relating to the importance and high worth of truth, stating how the conscience of a man pricks him, what rewards await the truthful witness here and in the next world and what sin and terrible torments in Hell are the lot of an untruthful witness, what evil befalls even the deceased ancestors of an untruthful witness and how he is liable to be punished by the king. They are too long to be cited here[509]. Shorter exhortations are found in Yāj. II. 73–75, Vas 16. 32–34, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 19. 9–12 (S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 203), Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 301 verses 19–22), Kāt. 343. Nār. IV. 200 provides 'let him (the judge) inspire them (the witnesses) with awe by (quoting) ancient texts, extolling the greatness of truth and denouncing falsehood'. Kaut. (III. 11), Manu VIII. 88 and 113 (=Nar. IV 199), Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 20–23 add further modes of speech and exhortations according to the *varna* of the witness: A brāhmana witness is to be addressed by the judge as 'speak' and to be exhorted to swear by his veracity, a ksatriya one was to be addressed as 'speak the truth' and to be sworn by the animal he rides and his weapons (which he is to touch), a vaisya is to be sworn by his kine, grain and gold and a śūdra is to be sworn by (imprecating on his head) all grave sins. Manu VIII. 88 provides that a brāhmana should be asked to depose

509. Vide Appendix for Nārada's verses

510. The exhortation in the अर्थशास्त्र (III. 11) is somewhat different from Manu's 'तत्र ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयात्सत्यं ब्रूहीति राजन्यं वैश्यं वा मा तवेष्टापूर्तफलं, कपालहस्त शत्रुबलं भित्वार्थी गच्छेरिति शूद्रं जन्ममरणान्तरे यद्वः पुण्यफलं तद्राजानं गच्छेत्, राज्ञश्च किल्बिषं पुमानन्यथावादे। दण्डव्याधुवन्धः पश्चादपि श्रावेत यथाद्रुडक्षुतम्। एकस्याः सत्यमवहरतीति।'. The text in Dr Sham Shastri's edition is rather corrupt and not properly arranged.

with the word 'speak', while VIII. 113 states that a brāhmana is to be made to swear by his truth Some explain that the first rule applies to excellent brāhmanas and the second to inferior ones and rely on Gaut (XIII 12-13) who prescribes that an oath to speak the truth is not to be administered to brāhmanas but only to others. Vide Haradatta on Gaut and Vivādacandra p 127 Manu VIII 102 (=Baud Dh. S I. 5 95) is careful to point out that the exhortation is not to depend purely on the caste but that brāhmanas (and others) who tend kine, who engage in trade, who are craftsmen or actors, who are menial servants and usurers should be treated (by the judge) as śūdras[511] (in the matter of taking oaths) Witnesses after they are assembled before the Court are to be ordinarily examined separately (vide Kāt quoted in n. 508 above) But Gaut XIII. 5 and Kāt 394 provide[512] that if a certain matter is seen by the witnesses as a body then they may be examined together. Manu VIII 78 and Kāt 392 prescribe that what the witnesses declare quite naturally (without hesitation and fear) should be taken down and that when the witnesses have declared (what they know) they should not be questioned again and again by the king (or judge). From the Smrtis and the 9th Act of the Mrcchakatika it appears that

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511. The Mit on Yāj. II 73 explains Manu VIII 113 as follows a brāhmana witness is to be sworn by being told that if he spoke untruth his truth will perish, a ksatriya that his vehicle and arms will be fruitless, a vaisya that his cattle, grain and gold will be lost and a śūdra that all sins will be his lot. Others explain differently The Vyavahāratattva p 215 says 'गोबीजकाञ्चनापहारे यत्पापं तत्तवावृत्ताभिधाने स्यादिति वैश्यम्' The दीपकलिका on या. II 74 says the same Medhātithi on Mann VIII 113 appears to hold that the exhortatory part is repeated by the witness यद्यहमेव कुर्यां तदिदमनिष्टमाप्नुयामिति संकीर्तनक्रिया शपथः। तत्र यः शाप्यते स एवं वाच्यते सत्येन शपे सत्यादिनिबन्धनोयं धर्मो वा मे निष्फलः स्यादिति। ... गोबीजकाञ्चनानि वैश्यो हस्तेन स्पर्शयित्वाभिशपेदेतानि वा मे निष्फलानीति पूर्ववत्।' The Madanaratna says that brāhmanas following such avocations as rearing cattle should be made to take an oath like śūdras, गोरक्षणादिभिरपकृष्टा ब्राह्मणास्तु शूद्रवच्छपथं कार्यैरन् ये व्यपेताः स्वकर्मभ्य परपिण्डोपजीविनः। द्विजत्वमभिकाङ्क्षन्ति तांश्च शूद्रवदाचरेत्॥ Vas. III. 1 and Manu II 168 provide that brāhmanas who have not studied the Veda, who do not expound it or do not keep the sacred fires become equal to śūdras The Indian Oaths Act (X of 1873) sec 6 allows a witness who has an objection to taking an oath to make an affirmation.

512. 'समवेतैस्तु यद्दृष्टं वक्तव्यं तत्तथैव तु। विभिन्नैकैककार्यं यद्वक्तव्यं तत्पृथक् पृथक्॥ कात्या. q in अपरार्क p 675 Vide व्य म p 126 for two different readings and interpretations of गौ XIII 5 स्वभावोक्तं वचस्तेषां ग्राह्यं यद्दोषवर्जितम्। उक्ते तु साक्षिणो राज्ञा न भेतव्याः पुनः पुनः॥ कात्या q in अपरार्क p 675, मिता on या II 79 (without name)

it was the chief judge or the judges who put questions and that there was no elaborate cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses as in England (which practice is followed in modern India). The only cross examination that appears to have been allowed was about the faults or grounds that made a person an incompetent witness. In this respect ancient Indian practice resembled modern judicial practice in some European[513] countries other than England. Witnesses were compelled to attend. Kaut III. 11 states that witnesses who are not far removed by time or space should be produced by the parties themselves, but those who are far away or who are unwilling to stir shall be got summoned by order of the king[514]. Manu VIII. 107, Yāj. II. 77, Br., Kāt and Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 37 say that if a witness knowing all facts and not prevented from coming by disease or similar causes refuses to come as a witness he incurs the sin of false witness, has to pay the amount in dispute and ten per cent thereof as fine to the king. This is in accordance with the principle enforced in modern times that it is the duty of a citizen to appear before a court of justice when summoned. Kaut (III 1) provides for subsistence allowance to witnesses. It is not quite clear whether parties could be regarded under ancient Hindu Law as competent witnesses on their own behalf. Yāj (II. 13-15) appears to suggest that parties could be regarded as witnesses in their own cause and held to be false from their demeanour as in the case of witnesses. Kaut. IV.[515] 8 and the 9th Act of the Mrcchakatika show that the accused was questioned by the Court as to his movements about the time of the alleged offence and till his arrest. Śukra [516]

513. Vide Stephens' 'History of the Criminal Law of England' (1883), vol. I. chap XII, where on p 431 he remarks 'cross examination is a highly characteristic part of an English trial, whether civil or criminal, and hardly any of the contrasts between the English and continental systems strikes an English lawyer so forcibly as its absence in the continental system'

514 देशकालाविदूरस्थान् साक्षिणः प्रतिपादयेत् । दूरस्थानमसारान्वा स्वामिवाक्येन साधयेत् ॥ कौ. III. 11 last verse. आहूतो यस्तु नागच्छेत्साक्षी रोगविवर्जितः । ऋणं दमं च दाप्य स्तत्पक्षात्परतस्तु सः ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 91, परा. मा III p. 115; compare Order 16 rules 10-15 (of the Indian Civil Procedure Code) about the compellability of witnesses and the remedies against such as disobey a summons

515. ततः पूर्वस्याह्नः मचारं रात्रौ निवास चामहणादिति अनुयुञ्जीत । कौटिल्य IV. 8.

516. स्वेतरः कार्यविज्ञानी यः स साक्षी स्वनेकधा । दृष्टार्थश्च श्रुतार्थश्च कृतश्चैवाकृतो द्विधा ॥ शुक्र IV. 5. 184.

IV. 5. 184 defines sākṣī in such a way as to exclude the litigant himself. Ordinarily witnesses were examined in the open court in the presence of the parties and never behind their back, but Kāt (387–389) prescribes that in the case of immovable property oral evidence may be taken on the property itself and in some cases even elsewhere than these two (viz the Court and immovable property), that is, in the case of the death of living beings witnesses may be made to depose before the corpse (of the animal killed) or, in the absence of the body, before[517] some mark (such as the horn of an animal) Br. and Manu VIII. 25 state that the truth of the statements of witnesses should be examined by marking their tone, their change of colour, their eyes, their gestures, and their demeanour[518] Texts like Śaṅkha-Likhita (q by V. P. p 124), Nar IV 193–196, Viṣṇu Dh S VIII. 18, Yaj. II 13–15 and Kāt 386 point out the actions and appearances of a party or witness that deposes falsely, viz he appears restless, changes his place (*i e* moves from one spot to another), licks the corners of his lips, his forehead perspires, his face loses colour, he frequently coughs and heaves frequent sighs, he scratches the ground with his feet (toes), waves his hands and garment, his mouth becomes dry and his voice falters, he speaks incoherently, talks too much though not asked and does not reply straight to the questions asked and avoids meeting the eyes of the questioner Such a witness may be looked upon as untrue and the king or judge should bring him under discipline (so that he will be afraid to lie) Merely on seeing these signs a witness was not to be punished or entirely disbelieved, since these signs raise only a probability of untruthfulness (as remarked by Mit. on Yāj II 15 and V P p 124)

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517. सभान्त स्थैस्तु वक्तव्यं साक्ष्य नान्यत्र साक्षिभिः । सर्वसाक्ष्येष्वय धर्मो ह्यन्यत्र स्थावरेषु तु ॥ अर्थस्योपरि वक्तव्यं तयोरपि विना क्वचित् । चतुष्पदेष्वय धर्मो द्विपदस्थावरेषु च । वध चैत्यक्षिणा साक्ष्य वाक्येष्वच्छिवसन्निधौ । तदभावे तु चिह्नस्य नान्यथैव प्रवादयेत् ॥ काश्या q by स्मृतिच II p 89, परा मा III. pp 112–113, व्य म p 41, व्य. प्र. p. 125 The reading शवसन्निधौ for शिव० is better व्य प्र p. 124 quotes a long prose passage from शङ्खलिखित about the demeanour of witnesses The मिता० on या. II 15 remarks 'एतच्च दोषसम्भावनामात्रमुच्यते न दोषनिश्चयाय । स्वाभाविकनैमित्तिकविकारयोर्विवेकस्य दुर्ज्ञेयत्वात्.'

518. उपास्थिताः परीक्ष्या स्युः स्वरवर्णेङ्गितादिभि । बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 85, व्य. प्र p 124 On कूटसाक्षी स चिह्नेषस्त पापं विनयेद् भृशम् (नारद IV 196), व्य. प्र, remarks विनयेत् शिक्षयेद्यथा कौटसाक्ष्याद् विभेतीत्यर्थः । ..प्राकृतिक-वैकारिक-विकार-विवेकस्य दुष्करत्वात् संभावनामात्रेण च दण्डनस्यान्याय्यत्वादिति युक्तम् । (p 124), Vide also मिता० on या. II 15 cited above

When there are many witnesses but they differ in their statements certain rules are laid down by Manu VIII. 73 (=Visnu Dh S. VIII. 39), Yāj II. 78, Nār. IV. 229, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 303 v. 35), Kāt. (408) They are briefly these:[519] The statement of the majority of witnesses should be accepted, but if they are equally divided then the statement of those who are more pure (in character or more disinterested) should be accepted and if the meritorious are divided equally then those who are the best among them should be accepted as true. The Mit on Yāj. II. 78 adds that if there is a conflict of testimony between the statements of a few but eminently qualified witnesses on the one hand and those of a larger number of ordinary witnesses, then the former should be accepted as Yāj II. 72 requires i. e it prefers quality to mere numbers. Kaut. III. 11 prescribes that when there is conflict in the oral evidence the decision should be according to the evidence of the majority of witnesses or of those who are pure in character or of those who are approved of by both sides as good witnesses or a mean should be drawn from their statements. Nār. IV 160 and Kāt. 359 state[520] that if one out of the (three) witnesses attesting a document or out of (three) witnesses that are cited by a party deposes in a way contradictory to what is deposed to by the other two, then all the three become incompetent witnesses on account of contradiction This has been interpreted by the Vyavahāra mātrkā (p. 326) to mean that where all witnesses are of equal status and there is a majority of only one favouring one side, then all the witnesses are incompetent and oral evidence is in that case futile for decision.

The important question is how much has to be proved by the party calling witnesses Yāj. II. 79 (=Visnu Dh S VIII. 38), Nār II. 27 and Br (q by Sm C. II. 91) state the general rule that that party whose averments are supported in their entirety as true by the witnesses becomes successful, while that litigant.

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519 साक्षिद्वैधे प्रभूतास्ते ग्राह्याः साम्ये गुणान्विताः । गुणिद्वैधे क्रियायुक्तास्तत्साम्ये शुचिमत्तराः ॥ बृह. q by व्य मा p 325, पराः मा III p 116 The मिता० on याः II 76 explains 'यदा पुनर्गुणिनां विप्रतिपत्तिस्तदा ये गुणवत्तमाः श्रुताध्ययनतदर्थानुष्ठान-धनयुक्तादिगुणसंपन्नास्तेषां वचनं ग्राह्यम् । यत्र तु गुणिनः कतिपये इतरे च बहवस्तत्रापि गुणिनामेव वचनं ग्राह्यम् । उभयानुमत. साक्षी भवत्येकोऽपि धर्मविदिति गुणातिशयस्य गुरुत्वात् ।'

520. साक्षिणां लिखितानां तु निर्दिष्टानां च वादिना । तेषामेकोऽन्यथावादी भेदात्सर्वे न साक्षिणः ॥ कात्या. q by अपरार्क p. 670, व्य मा. p. 325, पराः मा. III. 116.

whose claim is declared by them to be false certainly loses [521]. Nār. IV. 232 and 234, Kāt. 396, 398 lay down [522] the rule that in civil disputes that are of a non-urgent nature (like recovery of debts), if witnesses depose to more or less (than what is averred in the plaint), then the claim is not established in its entirety, where the witnesses depose to more or less (than the claim affirmed by the party) the deposition of the witnesses should be considered as not taken down or it should be omitted (from consideration) [523], the witnesses in such a case are not liable to fine; they may deserve to be fined if they do not depose (to what they know) Similarly Nār. IV 233 and Kāt [524] 399 say that where the depositions of witnesses are in conflict as to the place, the time, the property, the amount, the colour, the species (or caste), the form (or shape), the age (as stated in the pleading of a party), the depositions are to be regarded as good as not given at all The rule amounts to this that any discrepancy between the essential details or particulars of a claim

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521. यत्राशेषप्रतिज्ञार्थः साक्षिभिः प्रतिषेधितः । स जयी स्यादन्यथा तु साध्यार्थं न समाप्नुयात् ॥ बृह. q by अपरार्क p 678, स्मृतिच. II. p 91, परा मा III. 114.

522. ऋणादिषु विवादेषु स्थिरमाधेषु निश्चितम् । ऊने वाप्यधिके चार्थे मोक्षे साध्यं न सिध्यति । ऊनाधिकं तु यत्र स्यात् तत्साक्ष्यं तत्र वर्जयेत् । साक्षी तत्र न दण्ड्यः स्याद्बुवन् दृष्टमर्हति ॥ कात्या 396, 398 q by व्य. मा p. 312 and 318, अपरार्क p. 678, स्मृतिच II. p. 90, व्यव. नि. p. 68

523. The maxim (in Yāj. II 20) that on proof a part of a claim the whole may be held to be proved (vide above n 431) applies only where the opponent totally denies every item of the claim of the plaintiff. This is a presumption and the king or judge is not to be blamed for acting upon it in case of total denial, as said by Gaut. XI 23 and 32 'न्यायाधिगमे तर्कोन्मुपायः । ... तस्माद्राजाचार्यावनिन्द्यौ' This text of Yāj is apparently in conflict with Kāt 473 (q. by Mit on Yāj II 20) 'in claims containing several items, the creditor (or plaintiff) secures a decree for as much out of them as he is able to establish by means of witnesses'. These two verses are sought to be reconciled in various ways by the Mit (on Yāj II, 20), the Sm. C II pp. 120–121 Vyavahāra-mātrkā pp.310–312 (where it criticizes the views of Yogloka), V P. pp. 98–102. It is impossible for want of space to go into these interpretations The Mit. says that Kāt 473 applies to a case where the son or the like being ignorant of the debts contracted by his father or the like says 'I do not know' i. e. pleads ignorance. In that case he does not deny (he is not 'nihnava-vādin but only ajñānin The Vyavahāranirnaya p. 68 explains Kāt. 473 in the same way and about 396 it adds that when he cites witnesses as supporting his entire claim and the witnesses depose only to a part of it or to more than he avers then his claim fails in its entirety but in sāhasa, theft and adultery it is otherwise.

524. देशं कालं धर्मं संख्यां रूपं जात्याकृतौ वयः । विसंवदेद्यत्र साक्ष्ये वदृतुके विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ कात्या. in अपरार्क p. 678 (reads विनं for धर्मं), स्मृतिच. II. p. 90.

made in the plaint (such as the time, place, number &c.) and the case made out in the depositions as to any of these essential particulars will have the same consequence as tendering no oral evidence. This rule was not followed to the letter and besides other means of proof could be resorted to, as stated by the Mit., the Vivādacandra and others[525]. Kaut. III. 11[526] states that when the witnesses depose to less than what is averred in the plaint, the plaintiff has to pay a fine (of a fifth part) on the excess and when they depose to more than the claim, the excess (held proved on the depositions) may be taken by the king.

In charges of adultery, heinous crimes (*sāhasa*) and theft the whole of the matter that is alleged may be held proved, when witnesses depose to only a part of the matter[527] (says Kāt. 397).

Nārada IV. 165 prescribes that a litigant[528] should not secretly approach a witness cited by his opponent, nor should he try to win him over (by bribes or threats) through another; if he does so, he would suffer the consequences of a losing party (*hīna*).

There were rules about the late production of evidence. It has been already shown how if a litigant adduces weak evidence, though strong evidence is available, he would not be allowed to rely on the latter after judgment is pronounced. It is said by Nār. I. 62 that when a law-suit has proceeded far enough (lit. has been cleansed or thrashed out), evidence such as a

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525. यत्र तु प्रतिज्ञातार्थस्य विस्मरणादिना भावाभावौ साक्षिणो न प्रतिपादयन्ति तत्र प्रमाणान्तरेण निर्णयः कार्यः । मिता० on या. II 79. एतावदा सन्देहे तूष्णींभावे वा न जानामि इति भाषणे वा किञ्चिदभिधाने वा यावत्यर्थे संशयस्तत्र क्रियान्तरेण निर्णय इत्यापाति । प्रकृतविरोध्यधिकाभिधाने जय एव । प्रकृतविरोध्यधिकाभिधाने भङ्ग एवेति । विवादचन्द्र pp. 131–132.

526 साक्षिणश्चेदभियोगादूनं ब्रूयुरतिरिक्तस्याभियोक्ता बन्धं दद्यात् । अतिरिक्तं वा ब्रूयुस्तदतिरिक्तं राजा हरेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11.

527. साध्यार्थांशेपि गदिते साक्षिभिः सकलं भवेत् । स्त्रीसङ्गे साहसे चौर्ये यत्साध्यं परिकल्पितम् ॥ कात्या. q by मिता. on या II. 20, अपरार्क p. 678, स्मृतिच II, p 90.

528. The fact that a party requested a witness to give false evidence is, admissible evidence against such a party, it being an admission by conduct that the party has a bad case Vide Cockburn C. J. in *Moriarty v. London Chatham and Dover Ry* Co. L. R. 5 Q B p 314 at p. 319 ' if you can show that a plaintiff has been suborning false testimony and has endeavoured to have recourse to perjury, it is strong evidence that he knew perfectly well his cause was an unrighteous one '. Vide illustration e to section 8 of the Indian Evidence Act.

document or witnesses, would then become useless, if that evidence had not been announced before[529] After a reply is filed by the defendant, the plaintiff has to give a list of his evidence i e documents or witnesses (Yāj II 7) The meaning briefly is as follows: If he does not do so, proceeds with the trial and does not call all necessary witnesses or produce all documents and the case is almost finished, but judgment is not pronounced, even then he would not be allowed to produce fresh evidence at that late stage For if fresh evidence not previously disclosed were allowed to be given at that late stage, it would cause surprise to the defendant, who would then demand time for adducing evidence in rebuttal and then the plaintiff may again cite further evidence and this process is in danger of being carried on *ad infinitum*. If however witnesses were already cited but all were not examined (e g. if ten witnesses were mentioned and only three examined) and the plaintiff found that the evidence of the few witnesses examined for him is contradictory or hostile, then he may be allowed to produce even at a late stage the remaining witnesses (who may be seven i e. double the number of those already examined or who may be more respectable or purer in character). This proposition is contained in Yāj II 80 on which the Mitāksarā remarks that even if witnesses are not mentioned in a list, but before judgment is pronounced other more reliable or respectable witnesses or double in number (and of the same status as) of those examined are available, they should be examined by the court even at a late stage The rule is that as long as witnesses are available resort to ordeals should not be had Yāj. II 80 also has given rise to various interpretations Vide Mit and Aparārka on Yāj II 80, Sm C II. p 94, V. P p. 130–134 The Mit thinks that the verse applies where the plaintiff or the party on whom lies the burden of proving a positive proposition finds that the witnesses produced by him are hostile or contradictory and that in such a case he may be allowed to cite other more respectable or more numerous witnesses to prove his proposition and to show that the first set of witnesses is false, while Aparārka holds that the verse says that when the party who has to prove his

529 निर्णिक्तव्यवहारेषु प्रमाणमफल भवेत् । लिखित साक्षिणो वापि पूर्वमावेदित न चेत् ॥ नारद I. 62, निर्णिक्त does not mean निर्णीत, but शोधित (as स्म प्र p 8 says) lit washed out, cleansed (carried far) For detailed explanation of this verse vide my notes to स्म प्र. pp 78–80. The Madanaratna introduces Nār. I. 62 with the words 'अथ च विपरीतसाधनोपन्यासे व्यवहारसमाप्ति प्राग्दर्शयन्'.

case cites witnesses which the opponent feels are false, the opponent may produce more respectable or more numerous witnesses to depose to the contrary and he would thus prove the first set to be false Aparārka relies on Kāt. (408) for this proposition[530]. It may be said that Aparārka's interpretation appears more natural. V. P. (p 134) accepts Kātyāyana, but says that the interpretation of the Mit. (of Yāj. II. 80) is correct. Whatever view is accepted it leads to this that one set of witnesses not only may prove the truth of a party's case but also establish that another set of that party's witnesses are guilty of perjury.

Yāj. II. 82 provides that if a witness, having promised with other witnesses to depose to a state of things, denies at the time of his examination that he saw the matter in dispute, he should be fined eight times the amount that a defeated litigant would have to pay and a brāhmana witness similarly guilty if unable to pay may be banished (or his house should be razed to the ground). Nār. IV. 197 says that such a person is worse than a false witness Manu VIII. 107, Yāj II. 76, and Kāt. (405) prescribe that if a person who has witnessed a transaction does not depose (i. e. remains silent) about it, though not suffering from disease or some other calamity, he should be made (after waiting for three fortnights) to pay the amount of the debt or other matter in dispute and also one-tenth thereof as fine to the king.

After the witnesses have deposed the chief justice and sabhyas have to consider the depositions of witnesses (as Kāt. 340 provides)[531] The Court has to find out which set of witnesses are to be believed and what witnesses are perjured. Perjury entailed, according to dharmaśāstra works, both secular and other-worldly consequences. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 29. 8-9) states: 'When a witness deposes falsely the king should fine him and, in addition, the witness incurs hell after death' and Gaut. provides (XIII. 7 and 23), 'a witness telling the truth goes to heaven, but falls into hell if he does the reverse and when he deposes falsely he is to be censured and fined'. Manu VIII. 118 states that witnesses depose falsely through covetousness,

530. यत्र वै भाषितं क्वापि साक्षिभिर्वादिना भवेत् । प्रतिवादी यदा तत्र भावयेत्कार्यमन्यथा । बहुभिश्च कुलीनैर्वा पूर्वः स्युः कूटसाक्षिणः । कात्या 408 q. by अपरार्क p. 679, व्य. मा. p 335, स्मृतिच. II 94, व्य. प्र p. 134.

531. साक्षिभिर्भाषितं वाक्यं सभ्यैः सह परीक्षयेत् । कात्या 340 q. by मिता. on या. II. 80, अपरार्क p. 675, व्य मा. p. 331.

wrong ideas, fear, friendship, sexual passion, wrath, ignorance and minority and prescribes (VIII. 120-122) varying fines for perjury arising from these several causes. Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 301 v. 21) regards[532] a corrupt judge, a perjured witness and the murderer of a brāhmana as equally sinful. Yāj. II. 81 and Kāt. (407) prescribe[533] that the litigant who procures perjured evidence and the witnesses guilty of perjury should each be separately fined double the amount of the fine prescribed for defeat in various disputes and a brāhmana (guilty of doing the same) should be banished from the country[534] (but not fined). But when a person (of any of the three castes other than brāhmana) is frequently guilty of perjury he should be fined and given physical punishment (as cutting the tongue or death) and a similarly guilty brāhmana should be fined and banished (or degraded by being carried naked through the streets or deprived of his house) The Mit. on Yāj. II. 81 says that when Manu prescribes (VIII. 380) that a brāhmana guilty of a sin is not to be awarded death or corporal punishment and that he is to be banished with all his wealth, he refers to the brāhmana being a first offender and not a confirmed one. Manu VIII. 108 says 'where within seven days from deposing in a cause a (serious or painful) disease or fire or the death of a relative befalls a witness, he should be (being held as a false witness owing to these portentous happenings) made to pay the debt in dispute to the opposite side and a fine to the king' The Sm. C. (II. p 94) explains that this applies to a witness who is the only one on a disputed matter such as a messenger and the king or judge should wait for seven days to see whether any of these calamities befalls that witness and then hold him to be perjured. Kāt. (410) contains[535] a similar rule, but he states that the king should wait one, two or three weeks or up to 45 days according to the value of the matter in dispute and the caste of the deponent Manu VIII. 117 (=Visnu Dh S VIII 40) prescribes that in

532. कूटसन्य· कूटसाक्षी ब्रह्महा च समा· स्मृता । बृह. q by व्य प्र p. 135.

533 येन कार्यस्य लोभेन निर्दिष्टा· कूटसाक्षिण· । गृहीत्वा वस्य सर्वस्वं कुर्यात्तैर्द्विगुणं दमं ततः ॥ काल्या. 407 q by अपरार्क p 672, स्मृतिच II p. 93

534 The मिता० explains विवासन in या. II 82 as follows 'विवासनं च नगरीकरणगृहभङ्गदेशनिर्वासनलक्षणं विषयाद्व्यसारेण द्रष्टव्यम् । इतरेषां स्वदासुणदण्डदण्ड-दानासम्भवे स्वजात्युचितकर्मकरणनिगडबन्धनकारागृहप्रवेशादि द्रष्टव्यम् ।.' Vide मिता० on या. II 81 for three meanings of विवासयेत्.

535 सप्ताहात्तु प्रतीक्षेत यत्र साक्ष्यनृतं वदेत् । रोगोऽग्निर्ज्ञातिमरणं हिंसमाहत्तिन्नस या। यद्यत्वारिंशके वापि द्रव्यजात्यादिभेदतः ॥ काल्या. 410 q by स. चि. p. 149.

whatever lawsuit it is established that witnesses perjured themselves, the judge should hear it again (from the beginning) or if the suit has ended he should set aside the decision and examine it again.

Gaut 13 24–25, Vas 16. 36, Manu VIII. 104, Yāj. II. 83, Visnu Dh. S. VIII. 15 prescribe that a witness may depose falsely in a cause when, if he were to speak the truth, a person of the four varnas is liable to suffer the sentence of death. Manu VIII. 105–106, Yāj II. 83, Visnu Dh S. VIII. 16 prescribe that as a penance for the falsehood a witness of the three higher castes may offer three oblations of boiled rice to the goddess of speech (Śarasvatī) or he may offer into fire clarified butter with the mantras called Kūsmānda (Vāj. S. XX. 14–16 or Tai Ā. X. 3–5), or with the three verses beginning with 'yaddevā devahedanam' or with the verse sacred to Varuna (viz Rg. I. 24 15, 'uduttamam varuna') or with three verses of which waters' are the deity (Rg. X. 9. 1–3 'āpo hi sthā)'. Visnu Dh S. VIII. 17 adds that a śūdra guilty of perjury in the above case may by way of expiation feed ten cows for one day. It is strange that the dharmaśāstra works should permit perjury to save a culprit from being sentenced to death. Probably popular sentiment of old standing allowing the speaking of falsehood in certain cases was responsible for this In the Mahābhārata frequent reference is made to the permission to speak untruth in ordinary life when one's own life or another's life is in imminent danger Vide Śānti[536] 45. 35, 109. 19. It is stated in Śānti 165. 30 that speaking falsely is not a sin in five cases viz in jest, to women, at the time of (i. e. in bringing about) a marriage, for the preservation of great wealth and for one's life Vas. 16. 56 mentions those five occasions somewhat differently. Vide Manu VIII. 112 also for a similar rule. But so old a sage as Gaut (23 29) implies that he disapproves of this sentiment[537], when he states, 'according to some falsehood entails no fault (i. e. no expiation need be performed) in (bringing about or breaking promises made at)

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536. प्राणत्राणेऽनृतं वाच्यमात्मनो वा परस्य च । गुर्वर्थे स्त्रीषु चैव स्याद्विवाहकरणेषु च ॥ शान्ति 34 25, न नर्मयुक्तमनृतं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन्न विवाहकाले । न गुर्वर्थे नात्मनो जीवितार्थे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥ शान्ति 165 30, उद्वाहकाले रतिसंप्रयोगे प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे । विप्रस्य चार्थे ह्यनृतं वदेयुः पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥ वसिष्ठ 16 36 In आदि 82 16 we have the verse न नर्म etc. as 'प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चा० '

537. विवाहनैथुननर्मार्तिसंयोगेष्वदोषमेकेऽनृतम् । गौ. 23. 29.

marriage, in sexual intercourse, in jest and in giving relief to one distressed'. Vide Gr. R. pp. 507–508 quoting Hārita Dharmasūtra on the same subject and mentioning four kinds of falsehood such as that by a witness, that in transactions of sale &c.

Nār. (IV. 235–236) states that when through[539] the carelessness of the creditor (who dies) there is no document nor witness to prove a debt and the defendant denies it, then one of three methods (of proof) may be resorted to, viz. *codanā prati(ti)kālam* (dunning the debtor each time to repay), *yukti(kti)leśa* (putting forth arguments) and *śapatha* (special oaths and ordeals)[538a]. Kāt. (233 q. by Sm C. II. p 52 and Par M. III. 91) has a similar verse *Yukti* according to Nārada IV. 238 means[539] 'the creditor should follow (the debtor) by arguments and by himself remembering and by reminding the debtor of the time, the place, the relation (subsisting between the two)' Others interpret *yukti* differently, that is, it means 'logical reasoning' Kāt (214) defines[540] 'yukti' as 'the ascertainment or knowledge of a *linga*' (i e. a sign that leads on to an inference).

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538 प्रमादाद्धनिनो यत्र न स्याद्लेखं न साक्षिण. । अर्थे चापह्नुते वादी तत्रोक्तस्त्रिविधो विधिः ॥ चोदना प्रतिकालं च युक्तिलेशस्तथैव च । तृतीयः शपथः प्रोक्तस्तैरेनं साधयेत् क्रमात् ॥ अभीक्ष्णं चोद्यमानो यः प्रतिहन्याच्च तद्वचः । त्रिश्चतु· पञ्चकृत्वो वा परतोर्थं स.दापयेत् ॥ नारद IV 235–237. अर्थिनाऽभ्यर्थितो यस्तु विघात न प्रयोजयेत् । त्रिचतुःपञ्चकृत्वो वा परतस्तद्दणमिवेत् । कात्या. 386 q by व्य प्र p 168, which explains नारद as 'चोदनाया धनदानादिविषयकप्रेरणाया अप्रतिकालोऽप्रतिषेधः । सोपि यद्यमस्य ऋणादिसम्बन्धी न स्याद्याच्यमान एव निराकुर्याद्निराकरणाद्स्त्यस्यानेन सम्बन्ध इत्यर्थापत्तिविधयाऽनुमानविधया वा ऋणादिसम्बन्धं साधयन् भवति प्रमाणम् ।'.

538a. The printed text of Nār. IV 236 reads चोदना प्रतिकाले च as separate words The Sm C. II, p. 52 explains that as meaning 'pressing or urging the debtor three, four or five times in the presence of third persons without the debtor protesting against the demand' The Madanaratna and V. P p 168 appear to read, चोदनाप्रतिकालश्च (equal to चोदना+अप्रतिकाल) and interpret 'if there is no denial or protest (by the debtor) when the creditor frequently demands the debt, then the court may presume that he is a debtor' The Madanaratna explains 'चोदनाप्रतिकाल. बहुकृत्वो धन मे दृहीति प्रेरणाया अप्रतिकालः अनिराकरणम् '

539 चोदनाप्रतिघाते तु युक्तिलेशैस्तमन्वियात् । देशकालार्थसम्बन्धपरिमाणक्रियादिभिः ॥ नारद IV 238, स्मृतिच० II. p 52 explains युक्तिलेश as 'अमुस्मिन्देशे अमुस्मिन् काले अमुनार्थसम्बन्धेन यत्परिणमेत् तत्कर्मार्थभूतं गृहीतं त्वयेत्यादि' द्वितीयोपायः ।'.

540. लिङ्गोद्देशस्तु युक्तिः स्यादित्यानीह विषादय । कात्या (214) quoted by परा. मा. III 91, व्यवहारसार p. 43, व्य प्र. p 167 which explains लिङ्गस्य अग्रिदत्वाद्यभिचारिण उत्कादृशतत्वादेः उद्देशो निश्चयः तेन चाग्निदत्वाद्यनुमानम्.

It is stated by Brhaspati that *anumāna* (inference[541] or presumption), as a means of deciding a law suit, is of three kinds, but it is inferior to witnesses (vide note 433 above). Vyāsa (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 95) states that *anumāna* is the same as *hetu* and *tarka* V. P. (p 167) remarks that (long continued) possession and the frequent urging by the creditor both lead to the inference of title and the taking of a loan respectively and are therefore to be comprehended under *yukti* according to the definition of Kātyāyana Yet by popular usage *yukti* is restricted to presumptions arising from certain circumstances on the analogy of the maxim of 'gobalīvarda' explained below under 'steya' Yukti therefore means circumstantial evidence from which an inference may be drawn about a fact in issue in a judical poceeding. Āp. Dh.[542] S. II. 11. 29 6 says that in case of doubt (judges) should decide from signs (i. e by inference) or divine proof (ordeals). Vas. 19. 39 mentions the view of some sages that one who is found armed or wounded or in possession of the booty (stolen) may be declared to be (the thief or offender). Manu IX. 270 (=Matsya 227. 166) requires the just king not to condemn to death one accused of theft unless his guilt is proved as certain by proof that the accused had in his possession the articles stolen and tools for theft (for house-breaking). 'An adulterer is proved[543] to be so by being caught in such acts as playing with the hair of another's wife, an incendiary by being caught with a firebrand in his hand (near the house set on fire), a murderer by being found (near the murdered man) armed and a thief when caught with some of the articles stolen in his possession'—say Śankha-Likhita[544].

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541. अनुमानं त्रिधा प्रोक्तं नवधा दैविकी क्रिया। बृह. q by परा. मा III. p. 87, साक्षिलेख्यानुमानं तु मानुषी त्रिविधा क्रिया। षडाद्या धर्मजान्ता च दैवी नवविधा स्मृता॥ बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 50, व्यव. नि. p 73 and मदनरत्न (ms) which latter remarks 'अत्र युक्तेः पृथगनिर्देशोऽनुमानेन्तर्भावात्'. व्यव नि. p 73 quotes बृहस्पति as अनुमानं तु द्विविधं and explains युक्तिः कैश्चिद्विशेषणैर्विशिष्टा स्वत्वहेतुः। सा तु कपत्साक्षिलेख्यादिकमवष्यभिचारादनुमापयति, अनुपपद्यमाना वा कल्पयतीत्यनुमानं द्विविधमिति युक्तरेवोक्ता।

542 सन्देहे लिङ्गतो दैवेनेति विचिन्त्य। आप. ध. II. 11 29 6

543 केशाकेशिसङ्ग्रहणात्पारजायिक उत्काहस्तोऽग्निदः शस्त्रपाणिर्घातुको लोपत्रहस्तश्चौरः। शङ्खलिखित q by परा मा III 119, स्मृच्चि. II p 95, व्य म. p 168

544. Compare sec. 114 of the Indian Evidence Act which lays down how a court is to draw presumptions of fact from the common course of natural events in relation to the facts of the case before it, illustration (a) to which is 'the court may presume that a man who is in possession of stolen goods soon after the theft is either the thief or has received the goods knowing them to be stolen, unless he can account for his possession'

Kaut.[545] IV. 12 and Yāj. II. 283 similarly say that adultery may be inferred from (the man and woman) being caught in the act of dalliance with the hair or from the signs left (such as marks of nails or teeth on the lips, cheek &c) after carnal enjoyment or from the admission of the woman concerned (or of both) Nār. (IV. 172–175) declares that there are six kinds of disputes in which the indications (or circumstances) themselves serve as witnesses and lead to a conclusion without the testimony of witnesses viz one found with a fire-brand in his hand (near the scene of arson) may be inferred to be the incendiary, one armed[546] (found near the scene of murder) as the murderer, one caught dallying with the hair of another's wife as an adulterer, one with a spade in his hand near a breached embankment as the person who caused the breach in it and one armed with an axe as the feller of a tree, a person guilty of an assault may be inferred to be so from visible signs (such as his club or sword being smeared with blood) But Nār. IV 176 gives the warning that in such cases it is necessary to be careful in arriving at a conclusion, since a person in order to bring into trouble another whom he hates may create marks of injury on himself Kāt (337–338) further provides[547] that where one litigant proves as against his opponent (such as a debtor) either the offer of a bribe, or the effacing of the means of recognition (such as effacing one's signature on a document) or holding out temptations (to the witnesses or *sabhyas*) or the concealment of his wealth (to avoid its being attached in execution of a decree), there the original claim (such as a debt) may be presumed to be proved even if he (the opponent) denies his liability.

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545 केशाकेशिकं सग्रहणम् । उपलिङ्गनाद्वा शरीरोपभोगाना तज्जातेभ्यः क्रीवचनाद्वा । कौटिल्य IV 12

546 Best on 'Evidence' (12th ed 1922) sec 294 cites as an illustration of circumstantial evidence the fact of one armed being regarded as the probable murderer in certain cases Compare Wills on 'Circumstantial evidence' (7th ed of 1937 English and Indian combined) p 145 'Amongst the most forcible of presumptive indications may be mentioned all attempts to pollute or disturb the current of truth or justice, or to prevent a fair or impartial trial by endeavours to intimidate, suborn, bribe or otherwise tamper with the prosecutor, or the witnesses or the officers of justice, or by the concealment, suppression, destruction, alteration of any article of real evidence'

547 दानं प्रज्ञापनाभेदः संप्रलोभक्रिया च या । चित्तापनयन चैव हेतवो हि विभावकाः । एषामन्यतमो यत्र वादिना भावितो भवेत् । मूलक्रिया तु तत्र स्याद् भाविते वादिनिह्नवे ॥ कात्या (337–338) q by व्य. प्र p 169, विवादचन्द्र p 188 (only the first), which reads चित्तापनयनम्.

Judges often repeat from the Bench the words 'witnesses may lie, but circumstances cannot'. But this so-called maxim is often dangerous. Circumstantial evidence leads to conclusions that are in several instances false. The ancient Hindu lawyers were quite aware of the dangers of drawing inferences from circumstantial evidence. Nārada's warning has already been mentioned (p. 356). Kaut.[548] (in IV 8) remarks: 'even one not a thief may by chance be on the way by which thieves pass and one meeting thieves is seen to be apprehended as a thief because he is mixed up in dress, arms and articles carried with the thieves or is found near the articles stolen, just as Māndavya though not a thief declared himself to be a thief for fear of being subjected to torture; therefore (the king) should punish one only after thorough examination' Māndavya's is a leading case on the danger of relying on purely circumstantial evidence. Brhaspati[549] also remarks that 'a decision should not be arrived at merely by relying on the words of texts; for, if judges come to a conclusion without applying careful reasoning, loss of dharma results; a thief is held to be not a thief and a good man is held to be a wicked one in a judical proceeding (not arrived at with proper reasoning). The sage Māndavya was held to be a thief on account of the decision being arrived at without proper reasoning'[550].

The 9th Act of the Mṛcchakaṭika is a standing literary condemnation of conclusions about guilt drawn from circumstantial evidence and of how judicial procedure is vitiated (of *vyavahāra-dustatā*, as the author says in Act I)

Nār IV. 289 provides that when even circumstantial evidence and presumptions therefrom do not enable the court to arrive at a decision, the judge should press the litigant with

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548 दृश्यते ह्यचोरोपि चोरमार्गे यदृच्छया संनिपाते चोरवेषशस्त्रभाण्डसामान्येन गृह्यमाणो दृष्टः, चोरभाण्डस्योपवासेन वा यथा हि माण्डव्यः कर्मक्लेशभयादचोरश्चोरोऽस्मीति ब्रुवाणः। तस्मात्समाप्तकरणं नियमयेत्। कौटिल्य IV. 8

549 केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः। युक्तिहीनविचारे हि धर्महानिः प्रजायते। चौरोऽचौरः साध्वसाधुर्जायते व्यवहारतः। युक्तिं विना विचारेण माण्डव्यश्चौरतां गतः॥ बृह q by स्य प्र. pp 13–14, परा मा III. p 39 The स्मृतिच॰ II p 25 quotes a verse of नारद (I. 42) 'यात्यचोरोपि चोरत्वं चोरश्चायात्यचोरताम्। अचोरश्चौरता यातो माण्डव्यो व्यवहारतः॥'. Vide note 332 above for other references to माण्डव्य

550 Wills' work 'Principles of circumstantial evidence' (English and Indian ed combined, 7th ed pp 39–48) contains a lucid exposition of the value and defects of purely circumstantial evidence.

śapathas (oaths and ordeals) according to the place, time and strength of the litigant, such as fire, water, his spiritual merit and others Manu VIII. 109 also says that when there are no witnesses the truth would have to be found out by *śapathas* Divine proof is called *dauṛkīkriyā* or *samayakriyā* (Viṣnu Dh S. IX. 1) Some writers make a distinction between *sapathas* (special oaths) and ordeals (*divyas*), others (like Manu VIII 109–114, Nār. IV. 239) do not For example, the Vivādacandra quotes Nār IV. 247 'when there is no witness in a dispute between litigants, there the judge should decide by means of ordeals[551] and various *śapathas*' Acc. to the Mit. (on Yāj II. 96) and S V (p. 106) both special oaths and ordeals are divine proof (*divya pramāna*), but in disputes of small value *sapathas* (oaths) were generally employed, while ordeals were resorted to only in serious disputes or crimes The Mit (on Yāj. II 96), the V May. p 46 and V P (p 170) state that ordeals are those that generally end in immediate decision of the dispute, while *śapathas* take time for decision (because after the oath the king has to wait for a week or more to see whether a calamity befalls the person taking the special oath) Vyāsa quoted by Sm C II. p. 96 employs the word *śapathas* for both special oaths (taken as to one's 'satya ') and ordeals like balance. Śankha-Likhita state that divine proofs are the balance, eating poison, entering fire, holding a piece of (hot) iron, offering one's merit acquired by sacrifices and charity and the king should make him undergo other sapathas[552]. Brhaspati says that where documents or witnesses do not lead to a certain decision or where inference from circumstantial evidence also is confusing, there the matter is to be decided by divine proof[553]

Special oaths were taken not only in judicial proceedings, but also in ordinary dealings to clinch one's assertion or to clear one's character or reputation Nār (IV. 243–244) refers to

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551 यदा साक्षी न विद्येत विवादे वदतां नृणाम् । तदा दिव्यैः परीक्षेत शपथैश्च पृथग्विधैः ॥ नारद IV. 247 q by विवादचन्द्र p 112 and स्म चि p 106 अर्थाहरूपा शपथाः स्मृताः सत्यधर्मादयः ॥ व्यास in स्मृतिच II 96.

552 तत्र दिव्यं नाम तुलाधारण विषाशनमग्निप्रवेशो लोहधारणमिष्टापूर्तप्रदानमन्यांश्च शपथान् कारयेत् । शङ्खलिखित q in परा मा. III p 151, स्मृतिच० II p 96, अपरार्क p 694 The व्यव नि p 140 reads विषाशनमपां प्रवेशो and इष्टापूर्तापत्यप्रदान०.

553. लिखिते साक्षिवादे च सन्दिग्धिर्यत्र जायते । अनुमाने च सम्भ्रान्ते तत्र दिव्यं विशोधनम् ॥ बृह. q by व्य. मा. p 333, अपरार्क p. 629, विवादचन्द्र p. 111 (reads प्रकल्पयेत् as the last word).

the special oaths taken for clearing themselves by Vasistha when he was suspected to be a *yātudhāna* (a demon or sorcerer) and by the seven sages together with Indra, who (sages) were suspected to have stolen lotus fibres (by each among them[554]). Manu VIII. 110 also speaks of the *śapatha* taken by Vasistha before Sudās, son of Pijavana (when the sage was charged by Viśvāmitra with the offence of devouring his own hundred sons). Nārada (IV. 243) refers to Rg. VII. 104 15-16 in the first of which Vasistha made the imprecation,[555] 'May I die this very day if I am a *yātudhāna* or if I injured the life of a human being, May he who falsely addressed me as yātudhāna be deprived of his ten valiant sons'! Manu VIII. 110 also refers to the same hymn[556]. Manu VIII. 113 (=Nār. IV. 199) referred to above (p 343) states the various oaths to be taken or administered to the parties according to their respective castes. Manu VIII. 114 further provides for special oaths for litigants by touching the heads of their sons and wives. That sapatha taken by *satya* was common in very ancient times appears from Pān. V 4 66 (*satyād-asapathe*).[557] Nār. IV. 249 prescribes that in charges of grave offences ordeals may be resorted to and *śapathas* in matters of small moment Nār. IV. 248 mentions 'truth, horses and arms, kine, grains and gold, the feet of (the images of) gods and the ancestors, acts of charity and good deeds (*sukṛta*) are to be employed in śapathas as declared by Manu' Brhaspati[558] enumerates the special

554. In the Anuśāsanaparva 95 13-35 it is narrated that each of the seven sages suspected the others of the theft of lotus-fibres and that they cleared themselves by taking oaths Indra is said to have taken an oath when he was the subject of suspicion in relation to Ahalyā. Vide Best on 'Evidence' (12th ed. of 1922) pp 42-45 sections 56-59 for the employment of oaths in all ancient societies in courts as well as outside, for the forms and sanctions of oaths and for the arguments urged against their use

555. अधा सुरीय यदि यातुधानो अस्मि यदि वायुस्ततप पूरुषस्य । अधा स वीरैर्दश-भिर्वि यूया यो मा मोघं यातुधानेत्याह ॥ ऋ VII 104 15 The बृहद्देवता (VI. 33-34) refers to the story thus पञ्चदृश्या तु सूक्तस्य अष्टम्या चैव वाक्यिः । दुःखशोकपरीतात्मा शपते विलपन्निव ॥ हते पुत्रशते तस्मिन् वसिष्ठो दुःखितस्तदा । रक्षोभूतेन शापात्तु सुदा सेनेति वै श्रुतिः ॥

556. The story of king Kalmāsapāda cursed to be a demon by Śakti, eldest son of Vasiṣṭha, who then devoured one hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha is narrated in Ādiparva 176 (cr ed. 166).

557. On सत्यादशपथे, the काशिका says. सत्यशब्दोऽयं व्रततिपक्षवचनः । क्वचि-च्छपथे च वर्तते सत्येन शापयेहीतिवत् । तस्यायं प्रतिषेधः । सत्यंकारेति भाण्डं वणिक् । नयैत क्रेतव्यमिति तदयं करोतीत्यर्थः । अशपथ इति किम् । सत्य करोति ब्राह्मण. ।

558 सत्यवाहनशस्त्राणि गोबीजकनकानि च । देवब्राह्मणपादाश्च पुत्रदारशिरांस च । एते तु शपथाः प्रोक्ताः सर्वसंधेषु सुकराः सदा ॥ बृह. in स्मृतिच. II p. 96, परा. मा. III p 151.

oaths mentioned by Manu and Nār. and adds that they are to be employed in small matters (civil and criminal) The Viṣnu Dh. S. (IX. 5–10) prescribes that when the litigant is a sūdra and the dispute relates to a matter worth less than one, two, three, four or five *kṛsnalas* he should swear respectively by holding in his hand *dūrvā* grass, sesame, silver, gold or earth taken from ploughed land, that (IX 11–12) beyond that value various ordeals may be offered and that oaths with similar objects in the hands may be offered to vaiśyas, kṣatriyas and brāhmaṇas when the value of the subject matter is double, three times or four times of the value in the case of a sūdra Manu VIII. 111 gives the admonition that a wise man should not make a false oath, because by so doing he incurs loss (of reputation) here and after death (by falling into Hell) Yāj II. 236 prescribes a fine of 100 *paṇas* for one who takes an improper or profane oath [559].

The benefit of doubt is to be given, according to modern ideas on the administration of justice, to the accused. This principle was put forward several centuries before Christ by Āp Dh. S II 5 11 2 'the king should not punish when there is a doubt' (about a man's guilt [560])

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559. The Mit explains 'यश्चायुक्तं मातरं गमिष्यामीत्येवं शपथं करोति।'

560 न च सन्देहे दण्डं कुर्यात्। आप ध सू II 5 11. 2

CHAPTER XIV

ORDEALS

A brief history of ordeals may be set out here. Rg. I. 158. 4–5, wherein[561] the sage Dirghatamas, son of Ucatha, prays that the fire of faggots heaped tenfold may not burn him and that the rivers in which he was thrown bound hand and foot may not engulf him, are regarded by some as a reference to the ordeal of fire and water Yet in those verses there is probably no reference to ordeals, but to the cruel treatment of Dirghatamas by *dāsas* headed by Traitana Rg. III. 53. 22 also, where it[562] is said 'he heats the axe (or acc to Sāyana 'just as the tree is injured by contact with the axe &c')', does not contain a clear or certain reference to the ordeal of holding the heated axe. Atharvaveda[563] II. 12 is held by several Western scholars to contain a reference to the fire ordeal. This also is far from certain, though verse 8 may lend some support to that view[564] The Pañcavimsa (or Tāndya) Brāhmana 14. 6. 6 refers[565] to the story of Vatsa, who was abused by his step-brother that the former was the son of a śūdra woman, against which Vatsa protested, urged that he was a brāhmana, entered fire to prove the truth of his assertion and came out of fire unscathed. This is referred to by Manu VIII. 116. This is probably the earliest

561. मा मामेधो दशतयश्चितो धाक्रू प्र यद्वां बद्धस्त्मनि खादति क्षाम् ॥ न मा गरन्त्यापो मातृतमा दासा यदीं सुसमब्धमवाधुः । ऋ. I. 158. 4–5

562. परशुं चिद्धि तपति शिम्बलं चिद्धि वृश्चति । उखा चिदिन्द्र येषन्ती प्रयस्ता फेनमस्यति ॥ ऋ. III 53. 22.

563. आ दधामि ते पद समिद्धे जातवेदसि । अग्निः शरीरं वेवेष्टूवसु वागपि गच्छतु ॥ अथर्ववेद II. 12. 8.

564 Vide Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, vol XIII pp CCXXI–XXVI where, after referring to the views of Ludwig (III p. 445), Weber (Indische Studien XIII. p 164) and Zimmer (Altindische Leben, p 184) about the mention of the fire ordeal in the above hymn, it is sought to be proved that the hymn refers to re-establishing a soiled reputation and reliance is placed on the Kausikasūtra (47. 25 ff) which does not treat it as a fire ordeal hymn.

565. वत्सश्च वै मेधातिथिश्च काण्वावास्तां तं वत्सं मेधातिथिराक्रोशदब्राह्मणोसि शूद्रा-पुत्र इति । सोग्निमुदूतेनाग्निं व्यपाद यत्तरो नौ ब्रह्मीयानिति । वात्सेन वत्सो व्यैन्मेधातिथेन मेधातिथिस्तस्य न लोम च नौपत् । ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 14. 6. 6.

and clearest reference in ancient Sanskrit Literature to the fire ordeal Next comes the reference to holding in the hand the heated head of an axe by a person accused of theft to prove his innocence contained in the Chāndogya[566] Upanisad VI. 16 1. Āp. Dh S. II. 11. 29 6 refers to inference and divine proof (quoted above n. 542). In another place (II 5. 11. 3) Āpastamba states that after carefully considering (the charge before him) by means of divine proof and questioning (of witnesses) the king should set about awarding punishment Śankha-Likhita (n 552) name four ordeals, viz those of balance, poison, water and holding red-hot iron[567]. Manu VIII. 114 mentions only two viz. the holding of fire (i. e. red-hot iron) in the hand or plunging in water, but Nār. IV. 251 states that Manu declared five kinds of ordeals. Yāj II 95, Visnu Dh. S. IX-XIV and Nār. IV. 252 mention five viz. balance, fire, water, poison and *kośa* (consecrated water). Nārada, however, knew two more viz. *taptamāsa* (IV. 343) and *tandula* (IV. 337). Brhaspati (S. B E. vol. 33 p. 315 verses 4 and 5) and Pitāmaha speak of nine (Aparārka pp. 628, 694 respectively).

Yāj II. 95-113, Visnu Dh. S IX-XIV, Nār. IV. 239-348, Kāt. 411-461, Śukra IV. 5. 233-270 treat of the several ordeals Pitāmaha contained, as the quotations from the digests show, the most elaborate treatment That ordeals had attained great vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era is shown by the Mrcchakatika Act IX. 43 (where the ordeals of poison, water, balance and fire are expressly named) and by Bāna who mentions the same four in Kādambarī, para 47[568]. Among the digests and commentaries the Mitāksarā, the Smrticandrikā, the Divyatattva of Raghunandana, the Vyavahāramayūkha and the Vyavahāraprakāśa contain the most elaborate treatment of ordeals[569]

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566. पुरुषं सोन्योत हस्तगृहीतमानयन्त्यपहार्षीत् स्तेयमकार्षीत् परशुमस्मै तपतेति स यदि तस्य कर्ता भवति तत एवानृतमात्मानं कुरुते सोऽनृताभिसन्धोऽनृतेनात्मानमन्तर्धाय परशु तप्तं प्रतिगृह्णाति स दह्यतेऽथ हन्यते। छान्दोग्य VI 16 1.

567 षटाद्या धर्मजात्यन्ता दैवी नवविधा क्रिया। बृह. q. by अपरार्क 628; घटोग्निरुदकं चैव विषं कोशश्च पञ्चमः। षष्ठं च तण्डुलाः प्रोक्तं सप्तम तप्तमाषकम्। अष्टमं कालमित्युक्त नवमं धर्मजं भवेत्। पितामह q by अपरार्क p. 694; the same verses are quoted as बृहस्पति's in दिव्यतत्त्व p. 574 and व्य. म p 45

568. वनकारिणां चारिभवेशः ... ... व्रतिनामग्निधारणं ग्रहणां तुलारोहणमगस्त्योदये विषशुद्धिः। कादम्बरी para 47.

569. Those interested in the further study of ordeals may consult my translation of and notes on the Vyavahāramayūkha

Divya is defined as 'that which decides a matter (in dispute) not determined by human means of proof' (V. Mayūkha) or 'that which decides what cannot be or is not to be decided by human means of proof' (Divyatattva[570] p. 574). Medhātithi on Manu VIII 116 discusses the question how ordeals can be relied upon for the discovery of truth The objection is raised that fire and water are natural forces that act in a uniform way and are not intelligent beings which may change their minds by an appeal to them. Therefore, the objector says, ordeals and oaths are like magic and are only meant to frighten the parties into telling the truth It is further objected that thieves may (by some trick) not be burnt in the fire ordeal and good men are seen to suffer burns. The reply is: the usefulness of ordeals cannot be negatived by these examples of failures, as they are not frequent and as even direct perception and inference sometimes lead to uncertain results No one, however, says that these latter should not be relied upon. Just as one relies on witnesses in deciding a matter (who may for aught one knows be telling lies), so reliance can be placed on ordeals. Where there is failure in case of ordeals, it must be held to be due to the results of the performer's actions in past lives. The general rule as stated by Yāj II. 22, Nār. II 29, IV. 239, Brhaspati[571], Kāt (217) and Pitāmaha is that ordeals were to be resorted to only if no human evidence (witnesses, documents, possession) or circumstantial evidence was available Kāt. (218-219) prescribes that[572] if one party relies on human means of proof and the other on divine proof, the king (or judge) is to accept human means and not divine and that if human means of proof reach (i e. are able to establish) only a part of the allegations (in the plaint), then human means should be accepted and no divine modes of proof, even though they may be complete (i.e completely cover all allegations) When Nār. II 30 (= IV. 241) states that divine means of proof are to be resorted to when a transaction takes place in a forest, in

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570. तत्र मानुषप्रमाणानिर्णेयस्यापि निर्णायकं यत्तद्दिव्यमिति लोकप्रसिद्धम्। अग्निना मानुषप्रमाणसत्त्वेपि यत्र चैव घटाद्यङ्गीकारस्तत्राप्येतद्भवतीति सूचितम्। दिव्यतत्त्व p. 574

571. प्रमाणहीने वादे तु निर्दोषा दैविकी क्रिया। बृह in स्म. प्र. p 169, संशये साक्षिणां प्राज्ञो दैविकीं वर्जयेत् क्रियाम्। कात्या. in स्मृतिच० II. p. 51, यस्मिन् यस्मिन् विवादे तु साक्षिणा नास्ति सम्भवः। साहसेषु विशेषेण तत्र दिव्यानि दापयेत्॥ पितामह in स्मृतिच० II. p 95

572 यत्रैको मानुषीं ब्रूयादन्यो ब्रूयात्तु दैविकीम्। मानुषीं तत्र गृह्णीयान्न तु दैवीं कथंचन॥ यत्रैकदेशन्यासापि क्रिया विद्येत मानुषी। सा ग्राह्या न तु पूर्णापि दैविकी वदतां वृणाम्॥ कात्या० in मिता० on या. II. 22 and स्म. मा p. 315

a lonely place, at night, inside a house, in cases of *sāhasa* and when a deposit is denied, or when Kāt (230) prescribes that trial by ordeals is to be resorted to in the case of persons accused of committing *sāhasa* in secret (i.e. by wearing masks &c.),[573] those words only apply where it is impossible to have human evidence. Kāt. (229) states an exception to this viz. when the dispute[574] investigated is about *sāhasa* or about assault or abuse and defamation and in causes that spring from the use of force there is an option that witnesses or divine proof may be resorted to. Nār. IV. 242 states that divine proof could be resorted to when the chastity of women was in question, in theft and *sāhasa* and in all cases of the denial of monetary liability. Sītā's ordeal of fire at once comes to mind as an illustration of Nārada's rule. Brhaspati[575] and Pitāmaha say that in disputes about immoveable property divine proof should be avoided, which does not forbid *divya* altogether, but only where the evidence of neighbours or of a document is available and that in the latter case even if the defendant offers to pay a fine if he fails by the divine proof, *divya* is not to be resorted to. The ordinary rule was that ordeals were to be administered to the defendant[576] (Kāt. 411 = Visnu Dh. S. IX. 21). But Yāj II. 96 gives an option that any one of the two litigants may by mutual agreement undergo an ordeal and the other should agree to pay on defeat a fine or undergo physical punishment This means that human proof is adduced to prove a positive proposition, that divine proof may be resorted to prove a negative proposition as well (e. g. a defendant denying the claim for a debt may prove by *divya* that he did not borrow a loan). Making an offer to pay a fine or undergo corporal punishment is said to be being *śirsakastha*[577] or *śirastha*

573 गूढसाहसिकानां तु प्राप्तं दिव्यैः परीक्षणम् । कात्या. q. by मिता. on या. II 22, स्मृतिच० II. p 51

574. रक्षःस्ते साहसे वादे पारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके । अरोद्भूतेषु कार्येषु साक्षिणो दिव्यमेव वा । कात्या in मिता on या II 22, अपरार्क p 629, स्मृतिच० II p. 51.

575. स्थावरेषु विवादेषु दिव्यानि परिवर्जयेत् । पितामह in मिता. on या II 22, स्मृतिच० II p 53, वाक्पारुष्ये महीवादे निषिद्धा दैविकी क्रिया। बृह q. by अपरार्क p. 629, स्मृतिच० II p 53.

576 न कश्चिद्दिव्ययोक्तारं दिव्येषु विनियोजयेत् । अभियुक्ताय दातव्य दिव्यं दिव्यविचारवैः ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 695, परा मा III 152, व्य म p 172

577. On शीर्षकस्थेऽभियोक्तरि (या. II 95) the मिता. explains 'शीर्षक शिरो व्यवहारस्य चतुर्थः पादो जयपराजयलक्षणस्तेन च दण्डो लक्ष्यते तत्र तिष्ठतीति शीर्षकस्थः तत्प्रयुक्तदण्डभागित्यर्थः ।' *Śiras* (head) indicates the fourth stage of a law-suit viz success or defeat and since fine is imposed on the defeated party, it indicates fine or corporal punishment.

(in Yāj. 95, Viṣnu Dh. S IX. 20, 22, Pitāmaha, Nār IV. 257, Kāt. 412-413) Yāj. II 95 prescribes that the ordeals of balance, fire, poison and water were to be prescribed in disputes of great value and not elsewhere and in II. 99 he says that all claims above 1000 panas (of copper) are to be regarded as of great value, but in charges of treason and of the committing of any one of the five grave sins (*mahāpātakas*) any one of these four ordeals may be resorted to without regard to value and without any offer to pay fine on defeat. So also these four ordeals were to be offered to the defendant where the plaintiff offered to pay a fine on defeat. The ordeal of *kośa* was allowed in all claims whether of high value or low value or whether the plaintiff offered to pay a fine on defeat or not.

Yāj. II. 98 states that the ordeal of balance should be given to women, a minor (under 16), a very old person (above eighty years), the blind, the cripple, brāhmaṇas and the diseased; the fire ordeal (i. e. heated ploughshare and heated māsa) to kṣatriyas, water ordeal to vaiśyas, poison to śūdras. Nār. IV. 335 assigns ordeals to the different varṇas similarly. Nār IV. 256 prescribes that ordeals should not be undergone by those who are observing a vow, who are much distressed or who are performing austerities, and by women Pitāmaha quoted by Mit. (on Yāj. II. 98) adds minors and old persons to these. The Sm. C. II p. 103 explains this as referring to the ordeals of fire, poison and water only. Another Smṛti (q. by Mit on Yāj. II. 98) prescribes that the ordeals of balance and kośamay be offered to women, minors and the others mentioned above. There is in all these rules a spirit of tolerance, kindness and concern for the weaknesses of mankind. Kāt (423) holds[578] that persons of the higher castes who are cowherds, traders, artisans, bards, domestic servants and usurers should be given ordeals as if they were śūdras. Kāt (422) allows all ordeals to members of all castes, except that brāhmaṇas are not to undergo the poison ordeal. Kāt. (424-426) prescribes that the ordeal of fire should not be offered to blacksmiths or those who are leprous nor of water to those who ply boats or who suffer from difficulty in breathing or cough, nor poison to those who are experts in incantations and *yoga* practices or who suffer from (excess

578. गोरक्षकान्वाणिजकांस्तथा कारुकुशीलवान् । प्रेष्यान्वार्धुषिकांश्चैव ग्राहयेच्छूद्रवद् द्विजान् ॥ कात्या. q. by अपरार्क p. 698, स्मृ. चि p. 180.

of) bile or phlegm, nor *kośa* to those who are drunkards, to persons fond of women, to gamblers and to those who are atheists. Visnu Dh. S. IX. 25, 29 and Nār IV. 255, 332 contain similar provisions. Kāt (427–430) further provides that no ordeal should be allowed to be performed personally by the following persons, viz. those charged with the murder of their father, mother, a brāhmana, their teacher, a minor, a woman and the king; those guilty of the (five) grave sins; particularly those that are atheists; those who wear (or subsist by) peculiar sect marks; great rogues; those who are experts in incantations and *yoga* practices; those who are the progeny of unions of persons of different varnas; those who repeatedly engage in sin; in the case of these the king should offer ordeals to good men appointed by them on their behalf and if such good men are not willing then they should appoint their own relatives. Śankha-Likhita also refer to the appointment of friends or relatives as representatives (Aparārka p. 842)[579] Kāt (433)[580] lays down the following rather remarkable provision, viz when untouchables, men of lowest castes, slaves, *mlecchas* and those born of mixed unions in the reverse order of the castes are guilty of crimes, the determination of their guilt (by the above mentioned ordeals) should not be made by the king; he should indicate such ordeals as are in vogue among them. The Sm. C and Par M say that this applies

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579. असाक्षिमणिहिते दिव्यम् । अथवा मित्रैः सज्जनैरात्मानं वा शोधयेदेव । स चेद्दण्डोऽधिना चार्थं दापयेत् । शङ्खलिखित q by अपरार्क p 842

580 अस्पृश्याधमदासाना म्लेच्छाना पापकारिणाम् । प्रातिलोम्यप्रसूताना निश्चयो न हु राजनि । तत्प्रसिद्धानि दिव्यानि संशये तेषु निर्दिशेत् ॥ कात्या q by मिता on या II 99, स्मृतिच० II p 104, परा मा III p 161, 'तत्प्रसिद्धानि सर्पघटादीनि' व्यवहारतत्त्व p 579, व्य. प्र 180 'तत्प्रसिद्धानि सर्पघटादीनि इति स्मृतितत्त्वे'. In the Gadag Inscription of Vikramāditya VI dated 1098 A D. (E I vol 15 p 348 at p 360' there is this passage 'we handle boiling water, *we strike with the hand a great snake placed in a jar* or we may well mount the balance' In I A, vol 19 p 242 at p 246 it is stated in an inscription dated 1208 A D of the Mahāmandaleśvara Kārtavīrya IV that Candrikā (or Candaladevī), the queen of Laksmīdhara of the Rattas of Sugandhavarti (Saundatti) was a pativratā and got success by *ghatasarpa* 'भाति श्लाघ्यगुणा पतिव्रततया देवी चिर चन्द्रिका संग्राह्य घटसर्पजातविजयं लक्ष्मीधरेयसी'. The Bombay Gazetteer vol I part 2 p 556 n 5 gives a quotation from the Asiatic Researches vol I where the ordeal of putting a ring or coin in a vessel in which a snake has been already placed and asking a person to take it out is mentioned. Vide also Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1924 para 66 for the ordeal of dipping the fingers in boiling ghee or oil

only when they cannot secure relatives or other persons appointed by them to undergo the usual ordeals on their behalf. The Vyavahāratattva (p. 579) explains that the ordeals referred to among mlecchas and others are the snake in the jar and the like. This seems to have consisted in taking out a ring or coin with the hand from a jar in which a snake was placed; if there was no snake-bite or no effect even if the snake bit, the person was declared innocent. Vide note 580. Yāj. II. 97 and Nār. IV. 268, 320 prescribe that all ordeals are to be administered by the chief justice in the morning at sunrise or in the forenoon in the presence of the king, the sabhyas and brāhmanas. The Mit. adds that a Sunday is the proper day according to the usage of respectable people (*śiṣṭas*). Pitāmaha specially provides that the water ordeal should be administered in the noon and poison in the last watch of the night (Mit. on Yāj. II. 97). Certain seasons and months were either appropriate or inappropriate to certain ordeals e. g. Nār. IV. 254 states that the fire ordeal should be given in the rainy season, balance in the winter (*śiśira*), water in summer, poison when the season is cool Nār. IV. 259 prohibits water ordeal in the cold season, fire in summer, poison in the rainy season and balance while the wind blows violently. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 97) and Par. M. III. 162 quote Pitāmaha to the effect that the months of Caitra, Vaiśākha and Mārgaśīrsa are common to all ordeals, *kośa* and balance may be administered in all months.

As regards the place, Pitāmaha prescribes that ordeals are to be administered by the king or the judge appointed by the king in the presence of learned brāhmanas and the public (or the ministers)[581]. Kāt. (434–35 and 437) provides:[582] 'ordeals should be administered in some well-known temple in the case of men accused of grave sins and near the royal gate in the case

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581. प्रत्यक्षं वापयेद्दिव्यं राजा चाधिकृतोपि वा । ब्राह्मणानां श्रुतवतां प्रकृतीनां तथैव च ॥ पितामह in परा. मा. III. 164, स. वि. p 183.

582. इन्द्रस्थानेऽभिशस्तानां महापातकिनां नृणाम् । नृपद्वोहे प्रवृत्तानां राजद्वारे प्रयोजयेत् ॥ प्रातिलोम्यमसृतानां दिव्यं देयं चतुष्पथे । अतीन्येषु सभामध्ये दिव्यं देयं विबुर्बुधाः ॥ अदेशकालवृत्तानि बहिर्वासकृतानि च । व्यभिचारं सदार्घेषु कुर्वन्तीह न संशयः ॥ काश्य. in मिता. (on याज्ञ II. 99), परा. मा. III. 163, स्मृतिच० II. p. 105, स. वि. p. 183. 'इन्द्रस्थानं प्रख्यातदेवतायतनम्' स्मृतिच० II. p. 104 and स. वि. p. 183; 'इन्द्रध्व। 'इन्द्रध्वजस्थाने' दिव्यतत्त्व p 576; 'इन्द्रध्वजपूजास्थाने' व्य. म. p. 182. For the festival of the banner of Indra, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 398, 825–826. On व्यभिचारं &c the स्मृतिच० says 'विहितदेशाद्यनादरे दिव्यमाप्यहानिर्भवतीत्याह स एव'.

of those charged with treason; in a public place where four roads meet in the case of those born of mixed unions in the reverse order of castes, in cases other than these in the hall of justice. When ordeals are administered in an improper place or at an improper time and when they are performed outside human habitation (in a lonely place) they fail as to the matter in hand (i. e. they cease to be decisive). Nār IV 265 prescribes that the balance should be planted in the hall of justice or at the royal gate or near a temple or where four roads meet.

The procedure common to all ordeals and described in the Mit on Yāj II 97 and 99, the V May pp 52–55, V P. pp 183–186 (all relying on Pitāmaha) and Vyavahāra-nirnaya pp 148–53 (relying on Prajāpati, Pitāmaha, Br) is briefly as follows —In ordeals the chief justice is to do every thing at the king's bidding as the *adhvaryu* priest does in all sacrifices He should observe a fast and the *śodhya* (person undergoing the ordeal to clear himself) is also to do the same. Both are to bathe in the morning and the śodhya was to have his wet clothes on. The Chief Judge is to invoke the gods to the accompaniment of music and to offer flowers, sandal-wood paste and incense He should fold his hands, face the east and invoke Dharma to be present at the ordeal (Dharma being the principal deity in ordeals) and assign places to Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kubera in the four principal quarters from the east and to Agni and other guardians of quarters in the corners of the principal quarters. He is to contemplate on the eight deities of the eight quarters as having different colours (viz Indra as yellow, Yama as dark &c.) He is to assign the eight Vasus (repeating their names) to the south of Indra, the twelve Ādityas (repeating their names) between Indra and Īsāna (i. e. between east and north-east), assign a place to the eleven Rudras to the west of Agni, assign a place to the seven Mother goddesses between Yama and Nirrti (between south and south-west), assign a place to Ganeśa to the north of Nirrti, to the Maruts (seven) to the north of Varuna; to the north of the balance (or the place of other ordeals) he should invoke Durgā. All these deities are to be invoked with appropriate Vedic mantras (set out in V. May.) He should offer the several items of worship from *arghya* (water offered by way of honour) to ornament to Dharma (as the principal deity) and then to the subsidiary deities from Indra to Durgā (according to appropriateness) and then sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya* to the deities from Dharma to Durgā The

flowers for Dharma are to be red. Up to this is the work of the Chief Justice. Sacrificial priests should offer into fire in the four quarters 108 oblations of clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks with syllable *Om* and the *Gāyatrī* and with '*Om*' and '*svāhā*' at the end of each. Having written down on a leaf the subject matter for which the party is undergoing ordeal the leaf should be placed on the head of the śodhya with the *mantra*,[583] 'the sun, the moon, the wind, fire, heaven and earth, waters, the heart, Yama, day and night, the two twilights and Dharma know (see or mark) the deeds of men'.

The several ordeals will now be briefly described.

First comes *tulā* or *dhata* (balance) A sacrificial tree (such as *khadira* or *udumbara*) should be cut to the accompaniment of vedic mantras (employed in making a sacrificial post). Two wooden posts made of that tree should support a transverse beam (called *akṣa*). The posts should be fixed in the ground, the part above ground being four cubits and that below being two cubits. This frame should face the east (i. e. the posts must be in the south and north). Then the beam of the balance was to be made from the same tree and was to be suspended from the transverse beam of the frame by means of a hook. Three iron rings were to be fastened to the beam of the balance, two at the end and one in the middle for suspending the balance from the transverse beam by means of a chain or string. Two scales were to be suspended at the two ends of the beam by hooks and strings from the iron rings fixed at the ends of the beam On the two sides of the balance there should be two arches in which the scales should move and which should be ten angulas higher than the balance. There should be two perpendicular pendants made of clay hanging down from the arches and touching the upper surface of the balance In the pan to the west the *śodhya* should be placed and weighed against clay, bricks and stones placed in the other pan. Then traders or goldsmiths or braziers should examine the balance and bring it on a level with the two pendants hanging down from the arches and examine the perfect horizontality of the

583. The मन्त्र is आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलोऽनलश्च द्यौर्भूमिरापो हृदयं यमश्च । अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभे च सन्ध्ये धर्मोपि जानाति नरस्य वृत्तम् ॥ आदिपर्व 74 30. It is to be noted that पितामह quoted by the मिता० regards this verse of the आदिपर्व as a मन्त्र and Prajāpati quoted by the Vyavahāranirnaya p. 153 does the same Compare for a similar verse Manu VIII. 86.

beam of the balance by spilling a little water on the beam. When the person sitting in one pan is equal in weight to the materials (clay &c) in the other, a line should be drawn with chalk by the experts on the arch (to show the exact position of the pans). Then the man is made to get down from the pan and he is to invoke the balance as stated in Yāj. II. 101-102, 'O balance, you are the abode of truth, you were created by the gods for this purpose, declare the truth, free me from this (cloud of) suspicion. Mother! if I am a sinner then take me lower, if I am pure take me upwards'. The person is then to hear exhortations about the result of untruth after putting the writing on his head (vide Nār. IV. 276 and Visnu Dh. S. X. 9), then he is again to be placed in the pan to the accompaniment of invocations (Nār. IV. 278-279, Visnu Dh. S. X 10-11). A worthy brāhmana learned in astronomy is to calculate the time of five *palas*[584] or *vināḍīs* Then his weight is again to be marked. If the person goes up (i. e is found lighter than what he formerly weighed) he is declared innocent (acc. to the com. on Nār. IV. 283, V. Mayūkha p. 60, Dīpakalikā on Yāj II. 102); if he weighs the same or goes down (i. e. weighs more) he is guilty. Then the person concerned is to distribute gifts to the judge, the brāhmanas and sacrificial priests and take leave of the deities invoked Brhaspati (SBE vol. 33 p 317 v. 19) states that he who weighs the same should be weighed once more. If the pan or the beam or the hooks break or the ropes give way owing to some visible cause then the procedure was to be repeated, but if the breaking is due to an unseen cause or accident, the person was to be declared guilty.

The ordeal of fire is as follows :—Nine circles with cowdung are to be drawn from west to east, they being meant for Agni, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Yama, Indra, Kubera, Soma, Savitr and all gods. Each circle was to be 16 *aṅgulas* in diameter and the space between two circles was to be 16 angulas. In each circle kuśa grass was to be spread and the person to be tested was to plant his feet on them; ghee was to be offered into fire 108 times A blacksmith by birth should heat in fire a ball of iron weighing 50 *palas* (16 palas[585] in the case of a weak man) and eight

584 A vināḍī is the time required for reciting 60 long syllables and 60 vināḍīs make one ghaṭikā So five vināḍīs will be equal to two minutes

585 A *pala* weighed 320 *guñjās* according to the Līlāvatī (*I. 4*). Acc. to Divyatattva (p. 608) 20 palas were equal to 66 *tolakas*, five māsas and 4 guñjās, which, while accepting the view that a pala is equal to 320 guñjās, gives the rather modern measurement into tolakas (*tolas*).

angulas in length till it becomes red-hot and emits sparks. Then all the details described above ending with the placing of the writing on the head of the *śodhya* are to be gone through by the judge and the fire (in the red-hot piece) is to be invoked with several mantras (such as Yāj. II. 104[586] and Visnu Dh. S. XI. 11-12). The *sodhya* should stand in the first circle facing the east. Having made red marks on all sores of the hands of the śodhya on which grains of rice have been rubbed, he (the judge) should place seven leaves of the *aśvattha* tree on them and also grains of rice and curds and should fasten round them threads Then the judge should carry the red-hot iron piece by means of a pair of tongs and place it in the hands of the śodhya (that are covered with leaves). Then the śodhya holding in both his hands the red-hot piece should walk from the first to the eighth circle not hurriedly but slowly and at ease. Having reached the 8th[587] circle he should throw the red-hot iron piece on to the 9th circle. Then the judge should rub on the hands of the śodhya rice grains and when the latter shows no hesitation at the rubbing and no injury on his hand at the end of the day he is declared to be innocent. Kāt. (441) and Yāj. II. 107 provide that if the red-hot piece falls earlier (i. e. before reaching the 8th circle) or there is a doubt (whether his hands are injured or not) or if he loses his footing or is burnt elsewhere than on the hands he should again undergo the ordeal.

The ordeal of water as described in the smrtis and digests is rather complicated. The Sm. C. (II. p. 116) remarks that[588] as the ordeals of water and poison had gone out of vogue (in its day) it passes over the procedure of these and takes up the description of *kośa* ordeal after the fire ordeal. Having gone to a reservoir of water the judge should get erected on its bank a *torana* (an arch) as high as the ear of the *śodhya* on an even and cowdunged plot. He should offer worship to Varuna (Lord of waters), to a bow of middling size and to three arrows (the points of which are made not of iron but of bamboo) with sandal

586. Before the red-hot iron is placed on his hands the शोध्य repeats 'त्वमग्ने सर्वभूतानामन्तश्चरसि पावक। साक्षिवत्सुप्यपापेभ्यो ब्रूहि सत्यं कवे मम ॥ या. II. 104; the आदिपर्व 5 27. (cr. ed. 5. 22) has the same verse (but reads सुप्यपापेषु सत्यं ब्रूहि कवे वच').

587. अथ सप्तस्वथपर्णान्तरिते षोडशपलमग्निवर्णं लोहपिण्डमञ्जलिनादाय सप्त मर्यादा गच्छेत्। शङ्खलिखित in स्मृतिच० II. p. 112, व्य. प्र p 196.

588 अथ जलविषयोक्तस्य ज्ञानुष्ठानत्वात् तद्विधिमनारभ्याथ कोशविधिरुच्यते । स्मृतिच० II. p. 116.

paste, incense, lamp, flowers A target is to be fixed at the distance of 150 *hastas* (cubits) from the torana A post of some sacred tree is to be fixed in the water and a strong man of one of the three higher castes free from love or hatred for the *śodhya* is to stand in navel-deep water facing the east and holding the post Then the judge is to make the *śodhya* stand in water, invoke the deities from Dharma to Durgā, perform all the rites up to the placing of the writing (embodying the accusation) on the head of the *śodhya* A ksatriya or a brāhmana following the profession of arms who is of a pure heart and has observed a fast should discharge, while standing near the root of the torana, three arrows at the target. The *śodhya* should invoke the water with the mantra, 'O Varuna ! save me by means of truth' (Yāj. II. 108)[589]. Then a young but swift man should run to the spot where the second arrow struck the ground, and stand there holding that arrow in his hand. Another swift man stands at the root of the torana whence the arrows were discharged. Then the judge claps his hands thrice. At the third clap the śodhya dives into the water seizing the thighs of the man standing in water and at the same time the swift man near the arch runs at his best speed to the place where the second arrow fell The other man who holds the arrow starts off the moment the first runner reaches him and comes running to the arch If he does not see the śodhya or sees only his head (i. e. the back of the head) when he reaches the arch the śodhya is to be declared innocent; but if he sees other parts of the head (such as the ear or nose &c.) or if the *śodhya* floats to some part other than the one where he dived he is not innocent

Ordeal of poison After worshipping Maheśvara with incense[590] and the like (mentioned above) poison placed before the image of Maheśvara is to be administered in the presence of (images of)

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589 Several smrtis give different mantras to be recited by the judge in invoking the waters (so that there is an option) Vide Visnu Dh S XII 7–8 (tvamambhah &c), Pitāmaha (toya tvam prāninām prānāh &c) quoted by the Mit on Yāj. II 108, Nār IV. 316–317 (satyānrtavibhāgasya &c.), Kālikāpurāna q. by V P. p 206 The mantra in Śankha-Likhita (q. by Madanaratna and V. P. p 206) was सदसच्च त्वमेव वरुण । उभयोः प्रतिष्ठितस्यापि सत्यं त्विदं देव वरुण । त्वमेव तद्ब्रूहि वरेण्य तदादिशस्व ।. The Ms of मदनरत्न reads तदादिशस्वा ।

590. It is most appropriate that Siva is to be worshipped in the poison ordeal, since, according to the Paurānic mythology, he swallowed the Hālāhala poison prodnced at the churning of the sea. 960 *yavas* make one *pala*.

gods and brāhmanas The poison to be selected is *śārṅga* (derived from the śrnga plant) or *vatsanābha* (aconite) or *haimavata* (Visnu Dh. S. XIII 3, Nār. IV. 322 &c.). Pitāmaha (q. by Aparārka p. 712) treats the three as distinct, while Yāj. II. 111 appears to prescribe śārnga growing on the Himālaya as the poison to be selected. Visnu Dh S. (XIII. 2–3) also does the same. In the rains the quantity of poison is to be six *yavas* in weight, in summer five, in hemanta (and śiśira) seven or eight and in śarad (autumn) less than the latter (i. e. six yavas acc. to Mit. and three acc. to V. Mayūkha). Poison is to be administered in the last watch of the night and never in the noon or afternoon or twilight; it was to be mixed with ghee thirty times as much. It may be administered to any one except a brāhmana. Visnu Dh. S. XIII. 6–7 and Nār. IV. 325 are mantras with which the judge invokes poison and Yāj. II. 110 is the mantra which the *śodhya* repeats before taking poison viz. 'O poison! thou art the son of Brahmā, thou art firm in the duty of (deciding) the truth. Save me from this accusation and be like nectar to me by truth (if I be innocent)'. Nār. IV. 326 states that then the śodhya should eat the poison, should be kept in shade without food and guarded the rest of the day and if he discloses no signs of the effect of poison should be declared innocent. If the dose of poison is large, the Mit. (on Yāj II. 111) says that when the śodhya shows no change till five hundred clappings of hands then he should be declared to be innocent and medical treatment should be resorted to. Pitāmaha says that, in order to prevent fraud, for three or five nights before the ordeal the intending śodhya should be kept under the supervision of the king's servants and an examination should be made whether medicines, incantations or precious stones that are antidotes are secretly employed.

The ordeal of kośa. The śodhya is made to worship the stern deities (such as Rudra, Durgā, Āditya) with sandal wood paste, flowers etc. and made to bathe the images with water. Then the judge asks the śodhya to invoke the consecrated water with the mantra '*satyena mābhuraksa*' (Yāj. II. 108) and makes him drink three handfuls (*prasṛti*) of that water. Pitāmaha gives some special rules. The water may be that of the bath of the image of that god of which the *śodhya* is a devotee or if he holds all images in equal esteem, then of the Sun. In the case of Durgā it is her spike (śūla) that is to be bathed, the orb in the case of the Sun and the weapons in the case of other

gods The water of the bath of Durgā is to be offered as ordeal to thieves and those who live by the profession of arms and the water of the bath of the Sun is not to be given to brāhmanas In other divyas the result is declared immediately, but in the kośa ordeal there is a period of waiting which is more or less according to the value of the claim or the gravity of the offence Acc to Yāj. II. 113, Visnu Dh S 14. 4–5, Nār. IV. 330, if within fourteen days of taking the kośa ordeal the śodhya does not suffer any serious calamity due to the king's action or the act of God or does not fall seriously ill or does not lose by death his son or wife or other dear relative or his wealth, then he is to be declared innocent Insignificant loss or illness did not matter as it is unavoidable in this world. Besides, the calamity or illness must not be one common to several people (such as an epidemic). Drinking holy water (*kośapāna*) was employed not only as an ordeal for proving innocence, but it was resorted to also for assuring another about one's good will and future honesty (vide Rājat V. 326).

Ordeal of Taṇḍula (rice grains). It is to be administered in charges of theft or disputes about debts or other monetary matters. On the preceding day grains of rice should be made white (i e. husked). The judge should perform all the rites on the previous day. The rice grains should be placed in an earthen vessel, exposed to the sun, water of the bath of (the image of) the sun should be poured over them in the vessel and the vessel should be kept in that state the whole night The next day in the morning the *śodhya* should swallow thrice the rice grains He should be made to spit on a *pippala* or birch leaf. If blood is found mixed in his saliva he should be declared guilty.

Ordeal of taptamāsa (heated piece of gold). In a vessel of copper, iron or clay sixteen angulas in diameter and four angulas deep, the judge should get twenty palas of ghee and oil poured and heat it to the boiling point. Then the judge should cast into it a golden piece weighing one māsaka (equal to five *guñjās*). The *śodhya* should take out the heated golden piece with the thumb and the next two fingers. If he does not jerk his fingers or there is no scalded skin he should be declared to be innocent There is another method. Cow's ghee should be poured in a vessel of gold, silver, copper, iron or clay and it should be heated to the boiling point so that when a green leaf is cast into it the sound '*churu*' is produced. Into the

boiling ghee he should cast a golden, silver, copper or iron seal ring once washed. Then he should invoke the ghee with this mantra 'O ghee! thou art the holiest thing in sacrifices, thou art nectar; burn him (the śodhya) if he is a sinner; be cool as ice if he be innocent.' Then the śodhya takes out the ring from the boiling ghee. If there are no marks of scalding on his forefinger he is innocent

Ordeal by phāla (ploughshare). This is described by Brhaspati (S.B.E. vol. 33 p. 318 verse 28) quoted by the Sm C II. p. 119, V.P. p. 218 and others. A ploughshare of iron weighing twelve *palas*, eight angulas long and four broad should be made red-hot and the thief should be made to lick it once with his tongue. If he is not burnt he establishes his innocence; if otherwise, he is guilty The Vyavahāratattva (p 608) mentions that acc. to Maithila writers the thief meant is a cattle-lifter. The ordeal mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad is a *phāla divya*.

Ordeal of dharma (i. e of the images or pictures of Dharma). Men guilty of causing bodily injuries or who have monetary disputes or who desire to undergo this ordeal as an expiation for sins should undergo this. A silver image of Dharma and a leaden or iron one of Adharma should be prepared or the judge should draw on a birch leaf or a piece of cloth figures or pictures of Dharma and Adharma respectively white and dark in colour. Having sprinkled *pañcagavya* over the two, he should worship them with white and dark flowers respectively. The images or figures should then be placed in two balls of clay or cowdung. The two balls should be then placed inside a new earthen vessel in a cowdunged spot in the presence of images of gods and in the presence of brāhmanas. Then the judge should perform all the rites from the invocation of Dharma to the placing of the writing on the head. The śodhya should repeat the words 'if I am free from guilt may (the image or picture of) Dharma come to my hands'. Saying this he should take out one ball from the vessel. If he takes out Dharma he is innocent This resembles the drawing of lots.

Ordeals played their part in the judicial systems of most ancient countries. In early England handling of red-hot iron and plunging the hand in boiling water were the commonest ordeals. In the ordeal of water sinking was a sign of innocence and floating of guilt. Stephens (History of Criminal Law of England, vol I. p 73) suggests that the ordeal of water

was a form of honourable suicide. The Assize of Northampton (1176 A. D) prescribed the ordeal of water for murder, robbery, theft, forgery and arson, but ordeals were abolished in England from 1215 A. D. (*ibid.* vol I. p. 300) In India[591] there is epigraphic and other evidence to show that ordeals were resorted to till the end of the 18th century and rarely even later. In the Kittur Pillar Inscription (J. B. B R A. S vol IX. pp. 307-309) dated in Kaliyuga era 4289 in the reign of Kadamba king Jayakeśideva there is a description of the *phāladivya* which was administered by mutual agreement on Sunday to an ācārya Śivaśakti who had a dispute about a plot of land with Kalyāna-śakti the ācārya of another shrine and whose hand was examined the next day after he underwent the ordeal by all the bankers of the *agrahāra* village Degāve In the Silimpur stone slab Inscription of the time of Jayapāladeva (E. I vol XIII. p. 283 at p. 291-292) there is a reference to the ordeal of

591 In Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol I p. 84 (also Watters on Yuan Chwang's travels vol . I p 172) four kinds of ordeals are mentioned as in vogue, viz. by water, fire, weight and poison. In the water ordeal the accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel and thrown into deep water If the man sinks and the stone floats he is guilty, if the man floats and the stone sinks then he is pronounced innocent. The ordeal by fire is they heat a plate of iron and make the accused sit on it and again place his feet on it and apply it to the palms of his hands, moreover he is made to pass his tongue over it. If no scar results he is innocent, if there are scars his guilt is proved In the ordeal by weight a man and a stone are placed evenly in a balance If the accused is innocent the stone rises in the balance, if he is guilty the man rises and the stone falls In the ordeal of poison an incision is made in the right thigh of a ram, all sorts of poison with a portion of the food of the accused are placed in the incised wound If the man is guilty poison takes effect and the animal dies, if he is innocent the poison has no effect and the animal survives It will be noticed that these descriptions of the four ordeals do not agree in several respects with the descriptions in the smrtis and digests, while the poison ordeal in Beal has nothing in common with the smrti poison ordeal Alberuni (tr by Sachau, vol II. pp. 159-160) probably speaks of poison ordeal in the words 'the accused person is invited to drink *bish* called hrāhmana' (he is probably referring to poison being called the offspring of Brahmā in Yāj. II 110 and Nār. IV 325) In the ordeal of water the accused is simply thrown into a deep and rapidly flowing river or a deep well and he was held innocent if he was not drowned He describes the *kośa* ordeal and balance ordeal accurately, but states that if the man has spoken the truth he weighs more than before He describes correctly *taptamāṣa* (gold piece taken from boiling clarified butter) and also the ordeal of the red-hot iron piece.

balance[592] (about 1200 A. D.). The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman in the 7th century A. D. (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, vol. VI pp. 17, 20, 24) is said to have carried out various ordeals (*avasita-vindha-divyaḥ*). The E C. vol. III (Māndyā Taluka Ins. No. 79 p. 47) records that a dispute having arisen about the boundaries of land bestowed by means of a copperplate grant by the Hoysala king Vīra-Narasimhadeva, one Kannaya, a descendant of the original donee, performed an ordeal by holding consecrated food in the presence of the God Hoysaleśvara in the capital Dorasamudra and came out successful. E. C. IV. p. 27 (Yelandur Jagir Ins. No. 2 page 27, about 1580 A D.) is a charter to potters whose headmen underwent the ordeal of dipping their hands in boiling ghee as against barbers and washermen who denied that potters could pare their toe nails and tie on upper cloth (at the time of marriage). In the Indian Antiquary for 1931 (vol. 60 p 179) an extract is cited from the Archæological Report for Travancore 1930 which describes the balance ordeal undergone by a brāhmana 18 years before and seen by the writer himself in the temple of Śiva at Calicut. For the ordeal of red-hot ploughshare in the case of thefts, vide Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1907, para. 27.

In the times of the Maratha kings ordeals were resorted to. For example, in 'Peshwa's Diaries' vol. 2 p. 150 (in 1764–65 A. D.) mention is made of *taptakatāha* ordeal (i. e. taking out a coin or ring or a piece of metal from a large vessel in which either water or oil or ghee had been brought to the boiling point) in which the person undergoing it had his right hand burnt up to the middle joints of the fingers and was declared to be false. In a Marathi publication called 'Vatanpatrem, nivādapatrem &c' pp. 46–56 edited by P. V. Mavjee and D. B. Parasnis (1909) there is a document which describes in great detail the ordeal of fire undergone in connection with a dispute about the office and emoluments of Deshpande in the district of Kalyan in *śake* 1666 Pausa bright 11th, Thursday (1745 A. D.). It is stated therein that the ordeal was performed on the tank of the sacred river Godāvarī at Kopargaon in accordance with Dharmaśāstra in the presence of the Peshwa himself and learned brāhmanas and *paṇḍitas* near the temple of the god Śrī Śukleśvara, that as the opponent was long in

592. सन्दिग्धनिर्णयं युक्त्या कुर्वतोपि सहस्रशः । 'यस्य धर्मतुला नासीद्वनालङ्घित-पुञ्चका' E. I vol. XII, at pp. 291–292.

possession the ordeal had to be performed by the man claiming title, that an iron ball of 50 palas (i. e. 166 *tolas* and two *māsas*) was heated red-hot and the *śodhya* carried it across seven circles and threw it in the 8th circle on flour and bundles which began to burn, that his hands were examined in the presence of the opponent and the respectable people and were found unaffected and the opponent was made to pass a document of victory to the *śodhya* called '*yejitapatra*'. The description agrees very closely with that given above. In the same work at pp. 36–41 there is a remarkable description about an ordeal undergone (in 1742 A. D) by Mahomedan litigants in their own mosque for 15 days by lighting lamps and sitting down in the shrine. There are several other *vatanpatras* in the same work which refer to ordeals.

For an informing article on divyas reference may be made to Dr. Dines Chandra Sirkar's 'The successors[593] of the Śātavāhanas' Appendix pp 354–376 (Calcutta, 1939) He quotes therein a passage from the 'Asiatic Researches' vol. 1, from which it appears that a magistrate named Ali Ibrahim Khan at Benares tried by *phāla divya* two cases in 1783 A. D. and reported them to the then Governor–General, Warren Hastings. In the 'Trtīya-sammelana-vrtta' (pp. 18–26) and in the Caturtha-sammelana-vrtta pp 100–154 of the Bhārata-itihāsa-samśodhaka-mandala at Poona (both in Marathi) Mr Bhaskar Vaman Bhat contributes two thoughtful and scholary papers on the administration of Justice in the times of the Marathas in which the part played by ordeals is described at some length.

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593. It is somewhat strange that Dr Sirkar refers to 'Divyatattva of Bṛhaspati' (in 'Successors of the Sātavāhanas' Appendix p. 360). A Divyatattva of Raghunandana is well-known. A Divyatattva of Brhaspati has so far been mentioned nowhere.

CHAPTER XV

DECISION

The last (i. e. 4th) stage in a judicial proceeding is *siddhi* (Yāj. II. 8) or *nirnaya* (decision). If pratyākalita (as defined above on p 298) is regarded as a *pāda* of *vyavahāra* (and since all are agreed that there are only four pādas) then the decision is not a *pāda* of a lawsuit but is the fruit thereof (V. P. p. 86). When the evidence has been led, the king (or chief justice) should with the help of the *sabhyas* decide upon the success or failure of the plaintiff[594]. Nar. II. 42 says that the sabhyas should ask the parties to leave the court when they are considering their verdict or what decision was to be pronounced[595]. It is stated by Vyāsa and Śukra IV. 5. 271 that the decision of a case is based on eight sources[596] (6 acc to Śukra) viz. the three *pramāṇas* (possession, documents and witnesses), logical inference, the usages of the country, śapathas (oaths and ordeals), the king's edict and the admission of the litigants. Pitāmaha prescribes that, in disputes where there are no witnesses, no possession nor documents and no recourse can be had to divine proof, there the king is the final deciding factor as he is the lord of all[597].

It is stated by Nārada II. 41 and 43 that, whether a party is defeated by his own admission or by his own conduct (i. e. because he adduces false witnesses or forged documents) or

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594. उक्तप्रकाररूपेण स्वमतस्थापिता क्रिया । राज्ञा परीक्ष्य सभ्यैश्च स्थाप्यौ जयपराजयौ ॥ संग्रहकार q. by स्मृतिच० II. 120, परा. मा. III p. 199.

595. Dr Jolly (S B. E. vol. 33 p 35) is not right when he translates Nār II. 42 as 'whenever the false assertions have been removed the judges shall pass a decree'. He has not also correctly rendered the com. of Asahāya. There is no word for 'assertions' in Nār. II 42 पक्षाद्युत्सार्य तु सभ्यै कार्यो विनिश्चयः सदा' on which the comment of Asahāya is: यदा निर्णयकालो भवति लग्नस्तदा वादिप्रतिवादिनोः पक्षैः सर्वैस्तत्क्षणसम्भव्यमानकैः सह द्वावप्युत्सार्य सभ्यैः निर्णयः कार्यः ।

596 प्रमाणैर्हेतुचरितैः शपथेन नृपाज्ञया । वादिसंप्रतिपत्त्या वा निर्णयोऽष्टविधः स्मृतः ॥ स्यात् in स्मृ. चि. p 138, व्य. प्र. p. 86. शुक्रनीति IV. 5. 271 (reads बहुविधः स्मृतः). शुक्र apparently regards प्रमाण as one.

597. लेख्यं यत्र न विद्येत न भुक्तिर्न च साक्षिणः । न च दिव्यावतारोस्ति प्रमाणं तत्र पार्थिवः । निश्चेतुं ये न शक्याः स्युर्वादाः सन्दिग्धरूपिणः । तेषां नृपः प्रमाणं स्यात्स सर्वस्य प्रभुर्यतः ॥ पितामह q. by स्मृतिच० II. 26, परा. मा III. p 93. व्यवहारसार p. 43, मदनरत्न.

whether he is defeated after full trial and the adducing of proof, it is proper that the defeat should be declared by the sabhyas (the judges) and that a *Jayapatra* (a document of success i.e. a judgment) should be given to the successful party couched in fitting terms Several verses of Nārada (quoted by Aparārka p. 684), Brhaspati (S B. E. vol. 33 p 307 verse 19), Kāt. (259–265), Vrddha-Vasistha (q. by Mit. on Yāj II 91- and Aparārka p. 684) and Vyāsa (Sm C II. p 57) lay down the contents of the judgment[598] It was to contain a brief statement of the plaint, the reply, the evidence, the depositions of witnesses, discussion thereof, arguments, the smrti texts applicable, the opinion of the sabhyas, the decision and the relief granted, and should be signed by the chief justice and bear the royal seal Vas. 19 10 refers to precedents also in the decision of cases and the awarding of punishments (*āgamād-dṛṣṭāntāc-ca*) The Mit quotes a smrti text (on Yāj. II. 91) that other members of the assembly (who are not judges) proficient in smrti may also sign the judgment to show that the decision is acceptable to them also. But this was not absolutely necessary, as is made clear by the Vivādacandra p. 146. Kāt (256) applies the word *paścātkāra*[599] (refutation) to a judgment containing the above particulars given after a complete contest, while he restricts the word *jayapatra* to a document (given by the judge) when a plaintiff becomes what is called *hīnavādī* (because he makes a change in his pleading or for similar cause) and when there has been no complete trial of an action; and such a document embodies only what happened. Kaut. (III. 19) appears to employ the word 'paścātkāra' in a somewhat different sense when he says 'the

598. सकलं पूर्वपादं च सोत्तरं सक्रिय तथा । सावधारणक चैव तज्ज्ञेयं जयपत्रकम् ॥ नारद (q by अपरार्क p 684), यथोपन्यस्तसाध्यार्थसंयुक्तं सोत्तरक्रियम् । सावधारणकं चैव जयपत्रकमिष्यते ॥ प्राड्विवाकाविहस्ताङ्कं मुद्रितं राजमुद्रया । सिद्धेऽर्थे वादिने दद्याज्जयिने जयपत्रकम् ॥ वृद्धवसिष्ठ q by मिता० on या II. 91 and अपरार्क p 684, पूर्वोत्तरक्रियापादं प्रमाणं तत्परीक्षणम् । निगदं स्मृतिवाक्यं च यथासम्य विनिश्चितम् । एतत्सर्वं समासेन जयपत्रेऽभिलेखयेत् ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच० II 57; पूर्वोत्तरक्रियायुक्तं निर्णयान्तं यदा नृपः । प्रदद्याज्जयिने लेख्यं जयपत्रं तदुच्यते ॥ बृह q. by व्य. मा. p 309; सभासदश्च ये तत्र स्मृतिशास्त्रविदः स्थिताः । यथा लेख्यविधौ तद्वत् स्वहस्तं तत्र दापयेत् ॥ कात्या (263) q by स्मृतिच. II. p 57, मिता on या II 91 (without name) 'जयपत्रे सभ्याः प्राड्विवाकभूपतिसंमतिरेव प्रयोजिका न तु पावत्पण्डितस्वहस्तोपि' विवादचन्द्र p 146 Compare Order 20 r 4 of the Indian Civil Procedure code for the contents of the judgment.

599. निरस्तास्तु क्रिया यत्र प्रमाणेनैव वादिना । पश्चात्कारो भवेत्तत्र न सर्वासु विधीयते ॥ अन्यवाद्यादिहीनेभ्य इतरेषां प्रदीयते । वृत्तान्तवादसंसिद्धं तत्र स्याज्जयपत्रकम् ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II 57-58, परा मा III. 124-125, व्य. म p 146 For हीनवादी vide above p. 303.

person, who, when charged with murder, does not reply to the charge that very day, stands refuted' (i. e. is found guilty)[600]. The Mit (on Yāj. II. 91) differing from Kāt holds a jayapatra to be a judgment giving a summary of the plaint, the reply, the evidence and the decision, while when a plaintiff is defeated for change of pleading or for default of appearance or for non-prosecution the document stating this is called '*hīnapatrāka*'. It is to be regretted that ancient jayapatras in Sanskrit have not yet been discovered. In 25 Calcutta Weekly Notes pp. CXLII—III Dr. Jolly communicated the substance of a *jayapatra*, couched in ancient Javanese, engraved on a copper-plate found in the island of Java and described by Dr. Brandes in a Dutch paper. That judgment is dated *śake* 849 (928 A. D.), relates to a dispute about a debt of one *suvarna* in which the plaintiff failed because he did not appear at the trial. At the end there are the signatures of four witnesses and the document is styled jayapatra at the end. Vide for the same jayapatra J. B. O. R. S. vol. VII pp. 117 ff The late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal published in 24 Calcutta Weekly Notes (pp. CXLIX-CLVI) a *jayapatra* (text, translation and remarks) granted by the Hindu court of Mithilā in *śake* 1716 (1794 A. D.) and in J. B. O. R. S. vol. VI pp 246-258, which strictly conforms to the rules of procedure laid down in the smṛtis and nibandhas and is couched in dignified, technical and scrupulously formal language. It related to the ownership of a slave girl. Plaintiff at first made default in appearance; the judgment notes this and also refers to the restoration of the suit. The defendant raised an objection that a single witness to prove a matter was inadmissible. This objection was upheld. Then plaintiff prayed that he might be allowed to undergo an ordeal, but this request was disallowed as human proof was possible and plaintiff ultimately lost his suit The judgment is written and signed by one Sacalamiśra, who was the chief justice, and is addressed to other members of the sabhā, called dharmādhyaksas and panditas, seven of whom express their concurrence (*sammati*) at the top of the document. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society vol XXVIII for 1942 for nine Sanskrit jayapatras from the courts of Mithilā in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Mit. (on Yāj II. 91), and V. Mātṛkā p. 309 note that a jayapatra is given specially to prevent the same matter being

600. पाताभियोगमप्रतिब्रुवतस्तदहरेव पश्चात्कारः । कौटिल्य III 19.

agitated again, while a document given where a party is hīnavādī (i. e. a *hīnapatraka*) serves the purpose of making that party liable later on to pay a fine When a dispute was decided by a domestic tribunal (kula &c) there was no jayapatra but only a *nirṇaya-patra* (*kulādibhir nirnaye jayapatrābhāvān-nirnaya-ptram tatra kāryam parattapatramiti yāvat*, as the Vy. Nirnaya p. 85 says). It would be better to adopt the reading '*vritapatram*' as given by one Ms

The defeated party has to pay a fine to the king and the successful party was complimented (or honoured) by the king (or chief justice) and was to be put in possession of the matter that he succeeded in proving[601]. Manu VIII. 51 prescribes that in monetary matters (i. e. in civil disputes) the defeated party should be made by the king to pay the judgment debt to the successful party and also some fine to the king according to his ability, while Manu VIII 139 lays down that when the defendant admits in the court his liability he has to pay to the king five per cent as fine and if the defendant denied his liability altogether and was proved to be false he had to pay as fine double of that (i. e ten per cent) This is analogous to court fee, for which see above pp. 294–295. If one or both parties had laid down a stake or wager (viz. 'if I be defeated in this suit I shall pay a hundred panas') then he had to pay that stake to the king and a fine as above and the subject of dispute to the successful party (Yāj. II. 18 and Nār. II. 5)[602]; compare Viṣnu Dh. S. V. 153–159 for similar rules. The punishments awarded in criminal matters will be discussed immediately below.

It would be necessary to see in what cases review of judgment was allowed. The general rule is stated by Manu IX. 233, 'whenever any legal proceeding has been completed (*tirita*) or has been carried out so far as to recover a fine from the defeated party, a wise king shall not annul it' (at his mere will or pleasure or through greed). The words 'tirita' and

601. सिद्धेनार्थेन संयोज्यो वादी सत्कारपूर्वकम् । लेखयं स्वहस्तसंयुक्तं तस्मै दद्यात्तु पार्थिवः ॥ कात्या q by स्मृतिच. II. p 57, अपरार्के p. 684, स. वि. p 220 The मदनरत्न (व्यव. ms) explains 'सिद्धेनार्थेन साधितधनेन। लेखयं जयपत्रम्। साधित धने तदभिवृद्धिसहितं दापनीयम् ।'

602 विवादे सोत्तरपणे द्वयोर्यस्तत्र हीयते । स एव हि पणं दाप्यो विनयं च पराजये ॥ नारद II. 5.

'anuśiṣṭa' have been variously explained[603]. The word 'tirita' is very ancient and occurs in the Delhi Pillar Edict IV of Aśoka (E I. Vol. II. p. 253) as 'tilita-dandānam' qualifying men imprisoned in jails. Medhātithi and Kullūka explain them as 'decided according to the rules of the śāstra' and 'taken so far as to recover fine from the unsuccessful party' respectively. Kāt. (495) defines them differently: "When a certain side is decided by the sabhyas themselves (without the examination of witnesses) to be either true or false, it is said to be tirita and that matter or side is called 'anuśista' which is declared (to be true or false) on the testimony of witnesses." The lexcion called Vaijayantī seems to have Kāt. in mind and defines 'tirita' as a perverse decision given by the sabhyas themselves and 'anuśista' occurs where the evidence of witnesses makes what is true appear as false (Bhūmikāṇḍa, vaiśyādhyāya, verses 11–12). Nār. II. 65 (S.B.E. vol 33 p 22) employs the two words, which the Mit on Yāj. II. 306 respectively explains as (tirita) 'decided by reliance on documents and witnesses but not carried so far as to recover a fine', and ('anuśiṣta') as 'decided so far as to recover a fine from the defeated party'. Vide Aparārka p. 866 and V. P p. 90 for explanations.

According to Kāt. quoted in the Vyavahārasāra (p 101)[604] the decree should provide for the successful party receiving the interest on or accretions to the movable or immovable property placed (during the pendency of the suit) in the hands of a third party (as a sort of Receiver). Kāt. (477–480) points[605] out the various ways in which a decree may be executed. The king should make a brāhmana debtor return the decretal debt

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603. तीरितं समाप्तितं निर्णयपर्यन्तं प्रापितमिति यावत् । ... अनुशिष्टं अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ प्रति कथितं जयपत्रे चारोपितम् । व्य. प्र p. 90; तीरितं समाप्तं अनुशिष्टं साक्षिभिरुक्तम् । दीपकलिका on या. II. 306; तीरितं समाप्तितं निर्णीतमिति यावत् । अनुशिष्टं साक्षिभिरुक्तम् । मदनरत्न (व्यव ms); संदेहात्सत्कृतं सभ्यैस्तीरितं साक्षिणा तु चेत् । अनुशिष्टमथो लेख्ये लेख्यं दिव्यं तु दैविकम् ॥ वैजयन्तीकोश.

604 मध्यस्थस्थापितं द्रव्यं चलं वा यदि वा स्थिरम् । पश्चात्तत्सोदयं दाप्यं जयिने पत्रमुत्तरम् ॥ कात्या. in व्यवहारसार p 101. This is ascribed to नारद in स्मृतिच. II. p 120, and मदनरत्न which reads मध्ये यत्स्थापितं and जयिने जयपत्रकम् and explains 'मध्ये यत्स्थापितं विवादकाले मध्यस्थस्थापितम्'.

605. राजा तु स्वामिने विद्यं सान्त्वेनैव प्रदापयेत् । देशाचारेण चान्यांस्तु वृद्धान् संपीड्य दापयेत् ॥ रिक्थिनं सुहृदं वापि छलेनैव प्रदापयेत् । वणिजः कर्षकांश्चापि शिल्पिनश्चान्नवीवृधः ॥ धनदानासहं बुद्ध्वा स्वाधीनं कर्म कारयेत् । अशक्तौ बन्धनागारं प्रवेश्यो ब्राह्मणादृते । कर्षकान् क्षत्रविट्शूद्रान् समीहांस्तु दापयेत् । कात्या. q. by मिता on या II. 40 and 26, अपरार्क p. 645, स्मृतिच. II. pp. 121, 124, पररा. मा. III. 200 and 209.

to the judgment creditor by conciliatory words, should make other debtors return it according to the usage of the country and compel bad people to satisfy the decree by means of physical pain (i. e. imprisonment) The king should make a co-sharer or friend (of the successful party) pay the decretal debt by means of a ruse (i. e by borrowing an ornament or the like from him on a festive occasion and handing it over to the creditor) and also make traders, husbandmen and artisans (to pay) in a similar way. On finding that the debtor is unable to return the debt in cash, the king should make the debtor, whether a ksatriya, vaiśya, śūdra or husbandman, work (for the creditor) If he be unable to work the debtor should be sent to jail except when he is a brāhmana Manu also (IX. 229) says that if the members of the three varnas other than brāhmana are unable to pay the fine imposed by the king they should be made to work for the king, but a brāhmana may be allowed to pay in easy and small instalments. If a brāhmana debtor was unable to pay, nothing could be done for recovery of the decretal debt except taking a surety from him if any one cared to be one In modern times also judgment debtors are liable to be arrested and detained in civil jail in execution of decrees under rules 55–58 of the Indian Civil Procedure code (except women in execution of a decree for the payment of money). If in ancient times state policy exempted brāhmanas from arrest and detention in a civil jail for monetary debts on spiritual grounds and on the ground of caste, in modern times the State in Indra exempts agriculturists from arrest or imprisonment in execution of a decree for money on economic grounds under certain legislative enactments like sec. 21 of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (Bombay Act XVII of 1879) As regards women also Kāt. (488–489) laid down certain prudent rules "Women who are not[606] independent should not be arrested (for offences like adultery); it is the male who should be regarded as the offender; women should be punished by their lord (i e the person on whom they depend) but the king should take away for punishment the male offender Even if a woman whose husband has gone abroad be consigned to jail she should be kept imprisoned only till he returns." The Sm. C. II. p 323 explains that the first verse applies to a woman who can perform the

606. नास्वतन्त्राः स्त्रियो ग्राह्याः पुमांस्तत्रापराध्यति । प्रभुणा शासनीयास्ता राजा तु पुरुषं नयेत् ॥ प्रोषितस्वामिका नारी स्थापिता यद्यपि ग्रहे । तावत्सा बन्धने स्थाप्या यावत्प्रत्यागतः प्रभुः ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच० II. p. 323.

expiation for adultery and who is dependent and the adultery is not with a male of a lower caste.

Nār (II. 40) lays down[607] a qualification that when a party has been defeated by his own conduct (i. e. by his demeanour or by his having adduced manifestly false witnesses or forged documents) there is to be no retrial or review of judgment, but where a man has lost his cause through (the dishonesty of) witnesses or the *sabhyas*, the cause may be tried anew. There are four exceptions to the finality of the judgments of the king's court. Where a litigant either through folly or insolence[608] thinks a decision to be wrong, he may be allowed a retrial, provided he agrees to pay double the fine inflicted on the losing party (Yāj II 306, Nār. I. 65, Kāt. 496). Secondly, where the former judgment is obtained by fraud or force, it may be set aside (Yāj. II. 31)[609]. Thirdly, where the litigant was incompetent, i.e. was a woman or a minor or a lunatic or intoxicated, seriously ill or distressed by a calamity or where the proceeding was carried on by another on behalf of a litigant who did not appoint him or with whom he was not connected in any way or was held inside a house or outside a town or village (i. e. in a forest) or by an enemy, the decision may be set aside and a retrial ordered (Nār. I. 43 in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 16, Yāj. II. 31-32). Fourthly, a king could set right a former decision of his predecessor which was unjust and arrived at through ignorance (Mit. on Yāj. II. 306)[610].

Yāj. (II. 4 and 305) prescribes that legal proceedings that are suspected to have been wrongly decided by the *sabhyas* through partiality or greed or intimidation should again be tried by the king and if the suspicion turns out to be true he should levy from the *sabhyas* and the party who at first succeeded double the fine that is imposed on a defeated party. Nār. I. 66 (in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 22) is similar. Manu IX. 231 (= Matsya 227. 158)

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607. साक्षिसम्भावसक्षानां दूषणे दर्शनं पुनः । स्वचर्याऽवसितानां तु नास्ति पौनर्भवो विधिः ॥ नारद II. 40.

608. तीरितं चाप्तशिष्टं च यो मन्येत विधर्मतः । द्विगुणं दण्डमास्थाय तत्कार्यं पुनरुद्धरेत् ॥ नारद I. 65; कुलादिभिर्निश्चितेऽपि सन्तोषं न गतस्तु यः । विचार्य तत्कृतं राजा कुर्यात् पुनरुद्धरेत् ॥ बृह० and कात्या० q. by व्य प्र p. 91.

609. छलोपधिविनिर्वृत्तान् व्यवहाराञ्निवर्तयेत् । याज्ञ. II. 31

610 न्यायापेतं यदन्येन राज्ञाज्ञानकृतं भवेत् । तदृष्ट्यन्यायविहितं पुनर्न्याये निवेशयेत् ॥ स्मृति q. by मिता. on या. II. 306, परा. मा. III. p. 582. This is नारद, प्रकीर्णक 9.

and 234 prescribe that when officers appointed to administer justice cause loss to litigants by taking bribes, the king should deprive them of all their wealth and when the *amātyas* (ministers) or chief justice disposes of a matter wrongly (but without being bribed), the king should himself decide the matter correctly and should impose on the *amātyas* or chief justice a fine of 1000 *panas*

Though there is hardly any express smṛti text for the transfer of cases from one court or judge to another court or judge, in practice this must have been done, though rarely In "Selections from Peshwa's Daftar" vol 43 p 108 there is a letter (of 12-8-1764 A. D) written by the renowned minister Nana Phadnis to the Peshwa Madhavrao in which the former endeavours to persuade the latter to cancel his order for transfer of a case from the court of Rāmśāstri, famed for his impartiality and strict life, to another judge on the ground that one of the litigants was afraid that Rāmsāstri showed some partiality to the other litigant. Manu (VIII 174-175) states that the king who decides the causes of people unjustly through greed is soon subjugated by his enemies, while the king who curbing his own temper and desires impartially decides causes according to the dictates of śāstra becomes of one mind with his subjects as rivers merge in the ocean. Br and Nār I 74 (S B.E vol. 33 p 24) lay emphasis on both the secular and spiritual effects of doing even justice, saying that when the king gives decisions according to śāstra he spreads his fame in this world and secures Heaven[611]

A crime may be defined as an act or omission that breaks the law and is subject to public punishment But all kinds of breaches of the law do not result in punishment; only some do. Those breaches are crimes which are deemed to be menaces to the conditions of existence of society, which society, the ruler or legislation recognises as preventible only through punishment The menace is not that of the specific action, but the abstract menace inherent in that type of action. A breach that is held to be a crime at one time may even be held not to be a crime at another time or in another country. For example, adultery is a crime under the Indian Penal Code (sec 497), while it is not a crime but a civil wrong in English Law.

611 एवं शास्त्रोदितं राजा कुर्वन्निर्णयपालनम्। वितरेद् यशो लोके महेन्द्रसदृशो भवेत्॥ साक्षिलेख्यानुमानेन प्रकुर्वन्कार्यनिर्णयम्। वितरेद् यशो राजा ब्रह्मप्राप्नोति विस्तरम्॥ बृह० q. by स्मृतिच० II p 123, परा. मा. III. p. 219.

Many crimes and wrongs were sins and entailed secular punishments and also religious sanctions (viz expiations, *prāyaścittas*). Vide Manu IX. 236, 240, Br. (S. B. E. vol 33, p. 362, verse 22) and Paiṭhīnasi quoted below[612]. Maine in his 'Ancient Law' chap. X (3rd ed of 1866) examines ancient western systems like those of Greece and Rome and makes the generalisation (p. 370) that the 'penal law of ancient communities is not the law of crimes; it is the law of wrongs or, to use the English technical word, of Torts The person injured proceeds against the wrong-doer by an ordinary civil action and recovers compensation in the shape of money damages if he succeeds'. Dr. Priya Nath Sen in his Tagore Law Lectures on 'Hindu Jurisprudence' (1918, Lecture XII) rightly points out that this generalisation is not applicable to Ancient Hindu Law. It has already been shown (on pp. 264–266) that the king could of his own motion take cognisance of many wrongs called *chalas, padas* and *aparādhas* and it is clear that in such crimes as theft, assault, adultery, rape, and manslaughter the smṛti texts do not prescribe only a money compensation to the person wronged, but corporal punishment in the first instance and monetary compensation in addition. Vide for example, Manu VIII. 287, Yāj. II. 222, Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 358 verses 9–10), Kāt. (787) which prescribe a punishment for causing pain to the body or the loss of a limb and also the expenses of curing the person injured and some *solatium* to him[613] Āp. Dh S (I. 9. 24. 1 and 4) lays down that the slayer of a ksatriya should give a thousand cows in order to remove the enmity (i. e as compensation to relatives) and one bull in addition for expiation.[614] The Chāndogya Upanisad quoted above (p. 362) shows that a thief was punished with death in those early days. There is a passage in the Tai. S II.

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612. अकार्यकारिणामेषा प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यनुरूपं च दण्डं चैषां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविवेक p. 76.

613. देहेन्द्रियविनाशे तु यथा दण्डं प्रकल्पयेत् । तथा तुष्टिकरं देयं समुत्थान च पण्डितैः ॥ समुत्थानव्ययं चासौ दद्यादात्रणविरोपणात् । काल्या q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 329, अपरार्क p 816, परा मा III. pp. 419–420; दण्डस्त्वभिहतायैव दण्डपारुष्यकल्पितः । हते तद्द्विगुणं चान्यद्राजदण्डस्ततोऽधिकः ॥ बृह. q. by विश्वरूप on या. II 226.

614. क्षत्रियं हत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैरयातनार्थं दद्यात् । ... ऋषभश्चात्राधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 24. 1 and 4. हरदत्त in order to bring Āp in line with Manu XI. 127 and Yāj. III. 266 explains that 1000 cows and one bull are all for expiation.

6. 10. 1 (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 151 n. 346) which states, 'He who threatens a brāhmana should be made to pay a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmana should be made to pay a thousand'. It is rather doubtful whether the figures stated are fines or are meant as *solatium* to the wronged In Rg. II. 32. 4 (which also occurs in Tai S III 3 11. 5) the poet prays to Rākā[615] (the Full Moon personified) that she may be pleased to grant the boon of a valiant son, who would be 'śatadāya'. Sāyana's rendering of this word as 'possessed of plentiful heritage or wealth' appears to be the right one. The words 'śatadāyam vīram' in the Tai S. III. 3. 11. 5 are translated by Prof Keith as 'a hero whose *wergild* is a hundred'. This is incorrect, confounding as it does the ideas of western Germanic tribes with the Rgveda composed several millenniums earlier It would be a strange thing to pray to a goddess for a son and at the same time to have in mind or refer to the price set upon him if he happened to be killed.

The ancient smṛti writers were quite aware of the several purposes served by punishments for crimes,[616] though they do not develop a regular science of penology. The person wronged feels a great urge for revenge or retaliation and other men sympathise with that emotion The individual, however, could not, in civilized societies, take the law into his own hands and therefore the State saw to it that the emotion for retaliation or revenge was to some degree satisfied by the adequate punishment of the wrongdoer. Yāj. II. 16 and Nār. I. 46 (SBE vol. 33 p. 17) state that when a person without complaining to the king sets about to secure what is denied by the opposite side or is doubtful he becomes liable to punishment and he also cannot secure the object he wants.[616a] In all ancient societies the *lex talionis* (the law of retaliation, viz. an eye for an eye,

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615. राकामहं सुभगां सुहवां हुवे ... वदातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम् ॥ ऋ II 32.4.

616. The work of Harry Elmer Barnes on 'The Study of punishment (1930, New York) may be read with great interest and profit. It will set off to great advantage the comparatively humane treatment of criminals in Ancient India as compared with the horrible and revolting methods for punishing criminals employed in the West

616 a. अनावेद्य तु यो राज्ञे सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे प्रवर्तते । प्रसह्य स विनेयः स्यात्स चास्यार्थो न सिध्यति ॥ नारद I. 46.

a tooth for a tooth) prevailed.[617] Manu VIII. 280 (which is almost the same as Nār., pārusya, verse 25), Yāj II. 215, Visnu Dh. S. V. 19 and Śankha-Likhita prescribe that with whatever limb[618] a man of low caste offends against a brāhmana, that very limb of his shall be cut off. Another and the most important purpose of punishment is deterrent. Punishment of the evil-doer serves as an example and a warning to all others that might be tempted to tread the paths of violence and crime. This aspect of punishment (danda) has already been dwelt upon in the section on *rājadharma* (p. 21). The end sought to be served by punishment was the protection of society and the securing of its happiness. The Śāntiparva (15 5–6) remarks that people do not commit sins through fear of punishment at the hands of the king, through fear of Yama and of the next world and through fear of others (i. e public opinion).[619] Gaut XI. 28 derives the word *danda* from the root *dam* to restrain or to deter. This purpose of punishment is well brought out in the Mṛcchakatika (X) when the sentence passed on Cārudatta for the alleged murder of Vasantasenā is proclaimed to the citizens by the executioners[620] Another purpose of punishment is preventive i. e. if a culprit is imprisoned for an offence he is prevented or disabled from repeating the same offence or

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617. Vide Deut XIX. 21, Lev, XXIV. 20 for the ancient Hebrew Code (eye for eye &c.), the code of Hammurabi (about 2200 B. C.) in Babylon and the law of the Twelve Tables in Romé. In the 8th Table in Ortolan's 'History of Roman Law' (tr. by Pritchard and Nasmyth, 1871) p. 114 the 2od provisioo is: 'retaliation against him who breaks the limb of another and does not offer compensation'. In Hammurabi's Code (text tr. by C. H. W. Johns, 1903) sections 196 and 200 are: 'If a man has caused the loss of a geotleman's eye, his eye one shall cause to be lost. If a man has made the tooth of a man that is his equal to fall, one shall make his tooth to fall out'.

618. येन येनाङ्गेनापराधं कुर्यात्तत्तदस्य च्छेत्तव्यमन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात्। शङ्खलिखित q. in स्म. च. p. 249; येनाङ्गेनावरवर्णो ब्राह्मणस्यापराध्नुयात्। तदङ्गं तस्य च्छेत्तव्यमेवं हुद्धिमवामुयात् ॥ नारद (पारुष्य 25); हीनवर्णोऽधिकवर्णस्य येनाङ्गेनापराधं कुर्यात्तेद्वास्य शातयेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 19.

619. राजदण्डभयादेके पापं पापं न कुर्वते। यमदण्डभयादेके परलोकभयादपि। परस्परभयादेके पापाः पापं न कुर्वते। ... दण्डस्यैव भयादेते मनुष्या वर्त्मनि स्थिताः ॥ शान्ति 15. 5–6, Vide मत्स्य for almost the same words (225. 16–17).

620. शृणुत आर्याः शृणुत। एष ... आर्यचारुदत्तो नाम। एतेन... वसन्तसेना मारिता ... तदा राज्ञा पालकेन वयमाज्ञप्ता एतं मारयितुम्। यद्यपर ईदृशमुभयलोकविरुद्धमकार्यं करोति तमपि राजा पालक एवमेव शास्ति। मृच्छकटिक X after verse 11.

committing further offences for some time at least and if he be sentenced to death or transported for life or banished, the commission of offences by him is prevented for his life-time Another purpose was that of reform or redemption of the evil-doer The punishment was deemed to be a sort of expiation, which purged the man of sinful promptings and reformed his character. Manu VIII 318 (= Vas. 19 45) states that men who are guilty of crimes and have been punished by the king go to heaven, becoming pure like those who perform meritorious deeds Medhātithi remarks on this verse that this applies only where the punishment is corporal and not merely monetary It will be seen from the early sūtras like that of Gautama and from the Manusmrti that the more ancient criminal law in India was very severe and drastic, but that from the times of Yājñavalkya, Nār. and Br. the rigour of punishments was lessened and softened and fines came to be the ordinary punishments for many crimes, as is noted by Fa Hien (399–400 A D) in relation to middle India (*Madhyadeśa*) under the Guptas apparently 'The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishments Criminals are simply fined, lightly or heavily according to the circumstances Even in circumstances of repeated attempts at wicked rebellion they only have their right hands cut off' (Legge, 1886 p 43). This may be contrasted with the state of things depicted by Megasthenes 700 years earlier than Fa Hien: (Fragment XXVII p. 71) 'a person bearing false witness suffers mutilation of his extremities. He who maims anyone not only suffers loss of the same limb but his hand also is cut off If he causes an artisan to lose his hand and eye he is put to death'. The Daśakumāracarita (II p 56) states that the Mauryas conferred a boon on traders that for certain offences they were not to be sentenced to death, but were to be deprived of all their wealth and banished The first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli (Corpus I I pp. 93, 97) shows that great Emperor's anxiety that his judicial officers should strive to see that there is no undeserved fettering or no undeserved harsh treatment In India the list of capital offences at any time was much shorter than in the West. Stephens is constrained to admit that in England 'there can be no doubt that the legislation of the 18th century in criminal matters was severe to the highest degree and destitute of any sort of principle or system' (His. of Cr. Law, vol I. p 471) As stated by Dr. Hart (in 'Way to justice' p 94), at the beginning of the 19th century in England more than a hundred offences were

punishable by death. In 1832 a child was convicted at Ludgate Hill for stealing a box of paints worth two pence, was tried at the Old Bailey and hanged (vide 'In the service of youth', by Dr. J M. Brew, 1943 chap XV. p 208).

Manu VIII. 129, Yāj I 367 and Br. (S B E. 33 p. 387 verse 5), Vrddha-Hārīta (7 195) speak of four methods of punishment (*danda*) viz. by gentle admonition by severe reproof, by fine and by corporal punishment and declare that these punishments may be inflicted separately or together according to the nature of the offence.[621] The first takes the form of saying 'you have not done a proper thing', the 2nd 'fie upon you who are a wrongdoer and guilty of *adharma*' Br. lays down that preceptors, *purohitas* and sons should be sentenced to the punishment of wordy admonition, other persons who engage in disputes should be punished with reproof or fines and those guilty of mahāpātakas should be punished with corporal punishment That admonition and reproof were two modes of punishment shows that ancient writers were alive to the notion that among very sensitive persons or in a very sensitive society verbal condemnation would be enough to achieve the main purposes of punishment Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 388 verse 8) states that the first two are within the privilege of the brāhmana (appointed as chief justice) but fines and corporal punishment are to be inflicted by the king (on the recommendation of the chief justice, *prāḍvivākamate sthitah*). The Mrcchakatika (IX) bears this out when the judge says 'We have authority only to pronounce the judgment; as to the rest the king is the final authority' (*nirnaye vayam pramānam śese tu rājā*) Gaut. XII. 51, Vas. 19 9, Manu VII. 16, VIII. 126 and Yāj I. 368 (=Vrddha-Hārīta VII. 195-196), Brhat Parāśara p. 284, Kaut IV. 10 lay down that the award of punishment must be regulated by a consideration of the motive and nature of the offence, the time and place, the strength, age, conduct (or duties), learning and monetary position of the offender and by the

621 The Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna (published in Gaikwad Oriental series, 1931) deals exhaustively with the subject of punishments. न त्वयेदं सम्यक् कृतमिति निन्दा, धिक् त्वां पापीयांसमधर्मकारिणमिति निर्भर्त्सनम् । दण्डविवेक p. 20; these are respectively वाग्दण्ड and धिग्दण्ड. गुरून्पुरोहितान्पुत्रान्वाग्दण्डेनैव दण्डयेत् । विवादिनो नरांश्चान्यान्हिरण्यधनाभ्यां च दण्डयेत् ॥ महापातकयुक्ताश्च वधदण्डेन दण्डयेत्। बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 126 and व्यव. नि. p. 528.

fact whether the offence [622] is repeated. This provision means that the dharmaśāstras did not hold that the same punishment must be meted out for the same offence irrespective of the antecedents, characteristics or physical and mental condition of the offender. They always took extenuating circumstances into account. Kaut (I. 4), differing from the view of the ācāryas that there is nothing like danda for bringing under one's complete control all beings, gives his own opinion that, as a king whose control and punishments are most severe makes the subjects disgusted with him and as the king who deals mild punishments is disregarded by the people, the king should distribute punishments according to the deserts of the offenders and would then command respect [623] One reason why some of the works on dharmaśāstra prescribe mild punishments is the doctrine of *karmavipāka* (a man committing certain sins is born in the next life afflicted with certain diseases or bodily deficiencies or is born as a low or filthy beast or bird) Vide Manu XI 49-52, Yāj III 207-216, Visnu Dh. S 44-45. This doctrine will be dealt with later on under *pātaka* and *prāyaścitta*. Gaut. XII. 48 first provides that the king must take into account, when awarding punishment to the criminal, his physical or monetary circumstances, the nature of the crime, the fact of repetition of the crime and then adds that the king should award punishment after consulting an assembly of learned brāhmanas The Dandaviveka (p. 36) quotes a verse in which the considerations that should weigh in awarding punishment are brought together viz. the offender's caste (as in Manu VIII. 337-338 for theft), the value of the thing, the extent or measure (as in Manu VIII 320), use or usefulness of the thing with regard to which an offence is committed (as in Manu VIII 285), the person against whom an offence is committed (such as an idol or temple or king or brāhmana), age, ability (to pay),

622 पुरुषं चापराधं च कारणं शुरुलाघवम्। अनुबन्धं तदात्वं च देशकालौ समीक्ष्य च। उत्तमापरमध्यत्वं प्रदेष्टा दण्डकर्मणि। राज्ञश्च प्रकृतीनां च कल्पयदण्डतान्वित॥ कौ. IV. 10; दण्डस्तु देशकालधर्मवयोविद्यास्थानविशेषैर्हिंसाक्रोशयोः कल्प्यः। वसिष्ठ 19. 9; पुरुषशक्त्यपराधानुबन्धविज्ञानाद्दण्डनियोगः। अनुज्ञानं वा वेदविस्मवायवचनात्। गौ. XII 48-49, अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत्॥ मनु 8 126, on which मेधातिथि makes the striking remark that this is the fundamental verse about all offences 'उक्तानुक्तदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मातृकाश्लोकोयम्। एतदर्थानुसारेण सर्वदण्डकल्पनैः कर्तव्या॥'

623. न ह्येवंविधं वशीपनयनमस्ति भूतानां यथा दण्ड इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः। मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते। यथार्थदण्डः पूज्यः। सुविज्ञातप्रणीतो हि दण्डः प्रजा धर्मार्थकामैर्योजयति। अर्थशास्त्र I. 4. Vide Manu VII 103 (=Śānti 140. 8) which appears to be of the same opinion as the ācāryas.

qualities, time, place, the nature of the offence (whether it is repeated or is a first offence). The Rājatarangiṇī (VIII. 158) provides that in disputes where parties are in doubt as to their rights it is proper to award punishment with forbearance but where a man starts on an evil path of set purpose (the king and officers) must award severe punishment. In modern times there are controversies among several schools of criminology. Some hold that every man has freedom to act criminally or not or to act in the way he does and that each man has complete moral responsibility for his own acts. On the other hand there are some who go to the other extreme and propound that a so-called criminal act is mostly due to biological, physiological, pathological or sociological conditions, to the upbringing and environment of the person charged with crime. They favour determinism The ancient Indian writers do not enter into these speculations. But when they said that regard must be paid to time and place and other considerations they were faintly conscious of or were groping towards the ideas of the 2nd school.

Fines are either fixed or not fixed (i. e. variable). They range from a *kākiṇī* to the confiscation of all wealth; fixed fines were of three kinds called *prathama sāhasa*, *madhyama sāhasa* (middling amercement) and *uttama sāhasa* (highest). These are variously defined. According to Śankha-Likhita the first[624] amercement is fine from 24 panas to 91, the middling one is from 200 to 500 panas and the highest is from six hundred to 1000

624. चतुर्विंशतिरेकनवतिः प्रथमसाहसः । द्विशतं पञ्चाशतं चैव मध्यमसाहसः । षट्शतं सहस्रं चोत्तमः । यथासारापकारम् । शङ्खलिखित q. by वि. र p 664, दण्डविवेक p. 23.

There was great divergence of views about the metal in which the fines were to be paid. According to Vijñāneśvara the figures of fines in such verses as Manu VIII. 378 (where no metal is specified) the *panas* are those of copper, while according to Bhārnchi (quoted in S. V. p 150) they are of gold. The S V. remarks that local usage is to be followed. The V. Mayūkha (p. 255) states that in all texts (about fines) the mention of a number without specifying the object to which it refers is to be deemed to refer to panas, that pana is a copper piece one *karsa* in weight and that karsa is one fourth of a pala. Br. (q. by Sm C. II p. 99) states that the tables in Manu (VIII 132–136) beginning with the dust particle in a beam and ending with kārsāpana is to be followed in ordeals and fines. An interesting sidelight is shed on crimes and their punishments in the Inscription of Cālnkya Vikramāditya V (dated *śake* 934) from Gadag which provides that the fines for abuse, assault, for drawing out a dagger, for stabbing and for adultery by a bachelor were respectively 2 panas, 12 panas, 3 gadyāṇas, 12 gadyānas and 3 gadyāṇas (vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 64.)

in proportion to the value of the matter in dispute or the injury caused Manu VIII. 138 (=Visnu Dh S. IV. 10) states that the first, middling and highest fines are respectively 250, 500 and 1000 panas, while Yāj I. 366 puts these respectively at 270, 540 and 1080. The Mit explains that the lesser figures of Manu represent the fines to be awarded for offences committed without set purpose. Nār. (sāhasa, verses 7-8) prescribes that 100 panas is the lowest limit of fines for the lowest kind of *sāhasa*, 500 is the lowest for middling sāhasa, 1000 is the lowest fine in what is called the highest amercement (and might include death penalty, forfeiture of all property, banishment, branding and cutting off of a limb). Fines were supposed to be lesser than corporal punishment. Kāt (490-493) lays[625] down the following rules: Whatever figure of fine is prescribed in the smrti texts for a wrong it is to be paid to the king in panas of copper or their equivalent. Where the fine is said to be one-fourth or one half of a māsa, there it is a golden māsa that is meant; when the fine is declared in māsas, they are to be understood as those of silver and where the fine is declared in krsnalas the same is to be understood; a māsa is $\frac{1}{16}$th of a kārsāpana ' The general rule that lesser punishment is to be inflicted on women is stated by Kāt. (487) ' In the case of all offences, women are to suffer half of the fine in money which is prescribed for a male offender (of the same kind) and when the punishment is death for a male, the punishment for a woman would be the excision of a limb.'[626] Kaut (III. 3) provides. ' a woman attains ability to enter into transactions on completion of 12 years and men when they are 16; if they disobey after that (i e after attaining majority) the woman shall be fined twelve panas and a man twice that amount.'[627] Angiras quoted by the Mit (on Yāj.

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625. कल्पितो यस्य यो दण्डस्त्वपराधस्य यत्नतः । पणाना ग्रहणं तु स्यात्तन्मूल्यं राज्ञ राजनि ॥ मापपादो द्विपादो वा दण्डो यत्र प्रवर्तित । अनिर्दिष्टं तु सौवर्णं मापकं तत्र कल्पयेत् । यत्रोक्तो मापकैर्दण्डो राजत तत्र निर्दिशेत् । कृष्णलैश्चोक्तमेव स्याद्विज्ञेयो दण्डविनिश्चय ॥ विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य तु ॥ कात्या 490-493 q .by स्मृतिच II. p 127, दण्डविवेक p 29-30 (there are various readings in all these). The व्यव .नि. p 202 says धर्मशास्त्रेषु दण्डविधानादौ सत्यामात्रे निर्दिष्टे पणाना व्यवहारार्थतया बलवत्वात् सत्यपेयतया मायेण तत्र पणा एव गृह्यन्त इति ।

626. सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंसो योर्धदमः स्मृतः । तदर्धं योषितो दद्युर्वधे पुसोदकर्तनम् । कात्या (487) q by स्मृतिच II p. 321, व्य म p 246

627 द्वादशवर्षा स्त्री प्राप्तव्यवहारा भवति षोडशवर्षः पुमान् । आ उत्तमसाहसाद्दा- दशपण. स्त्रिया दण्ड· पुंसो द्विगुणः ॥ कौ III. 3.

III. 243) states that[628] an old man over eighty, a boy below ixteen, women and persons suffering from diseases are to be given half prāyaścitta and Śankha quoted by the Mit. (on the same verse) that a child less than five commits no crime nor sin by any act and is not to suffer any punishment nor to undergo a prāyaścitta[629]. Under the Indian Penal Code, sec. 82, nothing is an offence which is done by a child under seven years of age The severity of punishment depended on caste also. In the case of theft, Gaut. XII. 15–16, Manu VIII 338–39 prescribe that a vaiśya, a ksatriya and a brāhmana should respectively be fined twice, four times and eight times of the fine to be imposed upon a sūdra for a theft, since each of these is deemed more and more aware of the heinousness of the crime. Kāt (485) and Vyāsa state this as a general rule for all offences[630]. In the case of abuse and defamation the scales are turned in favour of the higher castes as regards fines. Gaut. XII 1, 8–12, Manu VIII. 267–268 (=Nār. pārusya 15–16), Yāj II. 206–207 prescribe that a ksatriya or a vaisya or a śūdra abusing or defaming a brāhmana was to be respectively punished with the fine of 100 panas, 150 panas and with corporal punishment (cutting off the tongue), while a brāhmana defaming a ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra was to be fined 50, 25 or 12 panas respectively (nothing in the last case acc to Gaut. XII. 13). In the case of adultery and rape the caste of the offender and of the woman concerned made great difference in the punishment awarded For adultery with a woman of the same caste Yāj II. 286 prescribed the highest amercement, the middling one when the paramour was of a higher caste, but if the male be of a lower caste than the woman, the male offender was sentenced to death and the woman had her ears cut off. Corporal punishment assumes (as pointed out by the Dandaviveka p. 20) various forms according as it is meant to cause only harassment (pain) or is

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628. अशीतिर्वर्षस्य वर्षाणि बालो वाप्यूनषोडशः। प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो व्याधित एव च ॥ ऊनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च। चरेद्गुरुः सुहृच्चैव प्रायश्चित्तं विशुद्धये ॥ अतो बालतरस्यान्य नापराधो न पातकम्। राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्त न विद्यते ॥ q. by हरदत्त on गौ II. 6 (without name) The मिता॰ on या III. 243 ascribes the first to अंगिरस् and the last two to शङ्ख.

629. Nār. IV. 85 holds that a boy is called *śiśu* and is like an embryo till eight and *bāla* or *poganda* thereafter till 16

630. येन दोषेण शूद्रस्य दण्डो भवति धर्मतः। तेन चेत्क्षत्रविशाणां द्विगुणो द्विगुणो भवेत् ॥ कात्या. 485 q by स्मृतिच II 127, परा मा III 211 (ascribes to पितामह), प्रायश्चित्त च दण्डं च शौच चातो यथाक्रमम्। कल्प्यमुत्कृष्टमुत्कृष्टे मध्यं मध्येऽधमेऽधमम् ॥ व्यास q. by विश्वरूप on या. I. 17.

carried out by cutting off (or destroying) a limb or to cause death. Harassment or pain may be inflicted by imprisonment, beating, putting fetters, by making ridiculous (by the complete shaving of the head, declaring the offence by beat of drum in the presence of the convict, parading him through the streets on an ass) and marking him with signs indicative of offences like theft. Manu (VIII. 125) provides that punishment may fall upon any one (or more) of ten places in the case of the three higher castes, viz. the private parts, the belly, the tongue (either whole or half), the hands, the feet, the eyes, the nose, the ears, wealth and the whole body; but a brāhmana shall depart unhurt from the country (i. e. he is to be only banished). Br. (SBE 33 p. 388 verses 9–10) speaks of fourteen places of punishment adding the neck, the thumb and index, the forehead, the lips, the hind part, hips, one half of the feet (to Manu's ten) and omitting wealth and the whole body therefrom. Gaut. XII. 43, Kaut. IV. 8, Manu (VIII. 125, 380–381), Yāj. II. 270, Nār. (sāhasa, 9–10), Visnu V. 1–8, Br. (SBE. vol 33 p. 388 verse 11), Vrddha–Hārita VII. 191 prescribe that a brāhmana was not to be sentenced to death or corporal punishment for any offence whatever, but if he were guilty of an offence deserving the death penalty, he was to be punished by ordering his entire head to be shaved, he might be banished from the country (from the city acc. to Nār.), a mark appropriate to the grave sin committed by him might be branded on his forehead and he might be paraded on an ass.[631] Yama,[632] quoted by Sm. C. and V. P., while providing that a brāhmana was to be free from undergoing corporal punishment, allows

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631. वधार्हते ब्राह्मणस्य न वधं ब्राह्मणोर्हति । शिरसो मुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासनं पुरात् । ललाटे चाभिशस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेन च ॥ नारद (साहस 9–10). In these days of fasts as part of the technique of *satyāgraha* for redress of grievances or for justice pursued by Mahātmā Gāndhi and some of his ardent followers it is interesting to note that the widow of the murdered brāhmana referred to on p 397 had been undergoing voluntary starvation (prāyopavesa) for four days for securing punishment of her husband's murderer (who she believed was a wizard) and that the king himself being unable to prove the guilt of the accused began to starve himself and found proof by supernatural means (Rājatarangini IV 82–105).

632. न शारीरो ब्राह्मणस्य दण्डो भवति कर्हिचित् । मुखे तु बन्धने कृत्वा राजा भक्तं प्रदापयेत् । अथवाप्यधनं रक्षाकर्म वा कारयेन्नृप· । मासार्धमास कुर्वीत कार्यं विज्ञाय तत्त्वतः । यथापराध विधं तु विकर्माण्यपि कारयेत् । अवध्या ब्राह्मणा गावो लोकेस्मिन्वैदिकी श्रुति ॥ यम quoted by स्मृतिच. II. p. 317, व्य. म. p. 393 (only the first).

the king to keep a brāhmana offender in confinement in a secret place and give him bare maintenance or the king may make him do the work of guarding cattle for a month or a fortnight or make him perform other work not fit for a decent brāhmana. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 270 explains that the mark of female private parts for violating *guru's* bed, of a tavern for drinking the liquor called *surā*, a dog's foot for theft, of a headless corpse for brāhmaṇa murder (as laid down by Manu IX. 237 and 240, Visnu Dh S. V. 4) is to be made on the forehead only if the offender (whether a brāhmana or not) did not perform *prāyaścitta* for those grave sins. Branding with marks appropriate to the crime committed were in vogue in Rome and in Britain up to 1699 (such as the mark of the letter M for murderers, T for thieves &c.). Vide Barnes' 'Story of punishment' p. 62. The Rājatarangiṇī (IV. 96–106) refers to a case in the reign of king Candrāpīda of Kashmir when a brāhmana guilty of the murder of a brāhmana was exempted from death sentence because of the smrti rule. Manu IX. 241 gives option that a brāhmana (unintentionally) guilty of grave offences may be punished with the middle amercement or he may be banished from the realm keeping all his wealth. The punishments for a brāhmana offender, according to Gaut. XII. 44, were preventing him from doing the same thing again, depriving him of all wealth, taking sureties from him, proclaiming him as a thief in the city banishment, putting on his forehead the mark indicative of his crime. Āp. Dh.S. (II. 10 27. 16–17)[633] lays down that a brāhmana guilty of murder, theft, forcible seizure of another's land was to have his eyes covered over with cloth for the whole of his life (while a śūdra guilty of any of the three was to receive the death sentence). Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII.209–210) says that a brāhmana should be branded on the body for all those offences that entailed corporal punishment for other offenders, that he should have his head shaved, that he should be deprived of all his property and banished from the realm. The force of popular feeling on the point of exempting a brāhmana offender from the death sentence was so great that Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay) in Regulation 14 of 1827, sec. IV (cl. 5) exempted brāhmaṇas and women from death sentence even for murder where public feeling would

633. पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूम्यादाने इति स्त्र्यादाय वध्यः चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य। आप ध सू II. 10. 27. 16–17.

be shocked[634]. It is not to be supposed that this exemption of the brāhmana from the death sentence was unanimous or universal Kāt. (806) contains this remarkable statement.[635] 'Even a brāhmana deserves to be killed if he be guilty of

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634. यत्तु शङ्खेनोक्त 'अदण्ड्यौ मातापितरौ स्नातकपुरोहितौ परिव्राजकवानप्रस्थौ जन्मकर्मश्रुतशीलाचारवन्तश्च' इति, यद्यपि कात्यायनेन 'आचार्यस्य पितुर्मातुर्बान्धवानां तथैव च। एतेषामपराधेषु दण्डो नैव विधीयते' इतितच्छारीरार्थदण्डयोर्निषेधार्थं न पुनर्दण्डमात्रस्य। स्मृतिच II p 126 Medhātithi on Manu VIII 125 makes it clear that the absence of a fine occurs only in the case of a brāhmana who was a first offender, who did not commit the offence with forethought and who was endowed with learning, good family and character The Sm C II p 124 relying on Manu IX 236 says that a brāhmana could be imprisoned but he could not be subjected to such corporal punishment as cutting off a limb or whipping The Smrtis openly regarded the brāhmana's person as sacred and so saved his body The smrtis endeavoured to reach the ideal of the rule of law and succeeded to a great extent in doing so They held that every man, whatever his rank or condition, was subject to the ordinary law of the realm and amenable to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals The only differential treatment that we find is in the appointment of judges (pp. 272-273), in the order of taking up causes of litigants (p 298), in the punishment for perjury (Manu VIII 123–124), in the matter of corporal punishment, in abuse, defamation and assault (pp 395–397), in punishment for adultery, in the repayment of debts and in the punishment for theft, which was severer for a brāhmana It will be shown below that from the 13th century, as indicated by the Sm C, S. V. and Madanaratna, differential punishments had gone out of vogue The smrtis did not, like some modern freedom-loving people, declare the equality of all before the law on paper and in practice indulge in lynching. Further the smrtis required all offenders of whatever caste to be brought before the same tribunals Manu VIII. 335 and Yāj. I 358 emphasize that there is none who is exempt from punishment in the king's court whether the person be the king's father or teacher or friend or mother or wife or a son or a family priest or brother or father-in law or maternal uncle Śankha-Likhita and Kāt (481) on doubt say that a king should not punish his parents, his family priest, teacher, near relatives, forest hermits, ascetics But, as the Sm C. II. p. 126 explains, the real meaning is not that the king is to allow these to escape scot-free, but that he should not inflict corporal punishments or fines on these, but should employ admonition or severe reprof towards them The smrtis do not contain rules like those in the Indian Criminal Pro. Code entitling Europeans and Americans in India to claim a jury preponderantly composed of their countrymen and claiming trial only by the High Court or like the privileges of the English Peers to be tried only by the House of Lords for felonies or the doctrine of the benefit of clergy abolished in 1827. Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp. 140–143 and 147–152 about certain privileges of brāhmanas

635 गर्भस्थ पातने स्तेनो ब्राह्मण्यां शस्त्रपातने। अदुष्टा योषित हत्वा एतावपो ब्राह्मणो पि हि॥ कात्या q. by विश्वरूप on या. II. 281.

causing abortion, if he be a thief (of gold) or if he kills a brāhmana woman with a sharp weapon or if he kills a chaste woman'. Kautilya (IV. 11) prescribes that a brāhmana who aims at the kingdom or who forces entrance into the king's harem or who incites wild tribes or enemies (against his king) or who foments disaffection (or rebellion) in forts, the country or the army should be sentenced to death by drowning.[636] The fact that Cārudatta, a brāhmana, is represented as having been condemned to death by king Pālaka in the Mrcchakatika indicates that the sentence of death against brāhmanas was not entirely unheard of. It appears from Fick's 'Social organisation' &c p. 212 that in many Jātaka passages the execution of brāhmanas is referred to.

The Śāntiparva chap. 268 contains an interesting dialogue between king Dyumatsena and his son prince Satyavat on the subject of the punishment of death, which contains some of the arguments forcibly urged in these days by those that are opposed to capital punishment altogether. The prince pleads that punishment should be light even for grave offences, that when the sentence of death is carried out in the case of robbers,[636a] several innocent persons (such as the wife, the mother, the son of the condemned man) suffer great loss (and they may die also), that if offenders give themselves up to priests, swear before them that they will never commit sin, they may be let off after undergoing penance, that if great men go astray their punishment should be proportionate to their greatness The king replies that in former ages when people were most truthful, soft-hearted, and not hot-tempered the punishment of saying 'fie on you' sufficed, then vocal remonstrances and upbraidings sufficed, but in the later ages (of Kali) corporal punishment and death sentence have to be resorted to and that some people are not deterred even by the fear of death sentence.

A few remarks will be made on each of the several modes of punishment The sentence of death was, acc. to Kām XIV. 16, Śukra IV. 1 93, to be avoided even in the gravest offences

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636 राज्यकामुकमन्तःपुरप्रधर्षकमदण्ड्यमित्रोत्साहकं दुर्गराष्ट्रदण्डकोपकं वा शिरोहस्तमादापिकं घातयेत्। ब्राह्मणं तमपः प्रवेशयेत्। अर्थशास्त्र IV. 11

636a दस्यूंश्चिदन्ति वै राजा भूयसोऽधाप्यनागसः। भार्या माता पिता पुत्रो हन्यते दण्डपेण वै॥ न मूलघातः कर्तव्यः &c. शान्ति 268 10-11.

except for the offence of subverting the state.[637] Viṣṇu Dh. S V. 1 provides that all persons except brāhmaṇas guilty of the mahāpātakas may be sentenced to death. But Manu IX. 236 says that this extreme penalty was to be awarded only if they performed no prāyaścitta. Kaut (IV. 11) prescribes death sentence for causing the death of any one with a sharp weapon. Vṛddha-Hārīta (VII. 190) prescribes it for incendiaries, poisoners, murderers, robbers, bad characters, rogues and those guilty of grave sins. The death sentence was carried out in various ways such as by giving poison or by trampling at the feet of an elephant, or by a sharp weapon (like a sword), by being burnt or drowned[638]. Impalement was a punishment prescribed by Manu IX. 276 for thieves guilty of housebreaking by night (after first cutting off their hands), by Yāj II. 273 for those who made another a captive or stole horses and elephants or killed another by the use of force and by Vṛddha-Hārīta VII. 202 for the murderer of a brāhmaṇa or for one who killed a woman, a child or a cow. Death sentence by being trampled under the feet of an elephant continued up to the times of the Marathas. The Daśakumāracarita 4th Ucchvāsa shows that a thief could be trampled upon by an elephant by way of punishment. Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's Daftar' (edited by Mr. G. S Sardesai) vol. 43 No. 143 p 114 (dated 7-9-1775 A. D.), where out of seven dacoits of the *Berad* caste two were ordered to be trampled to death at the feet of an elephant[639] and five were ordered to be simply beheaded Death sentence is said by the Daṇḍaviveka (p. 20) to be simple *śuddha*), which is of two kinds, *avicitra* when the offender is beheaded (with a sword), and *citra* or *vicitra* (when the offender is impaled or burnt) and it is *miśra* (when his hands or feet or other limbs are cut off and then he is killed)[640]. Simple death

637. महत्स्वप्यपराधेषु दण्डं प्राणान्तिकं त्यजेत् । ऋते राज्यापहारात्तु युक्तदण्डः प्रशस्यते ॥ काम XIV. 16 This is q. by सुध p 61 verse 346

638 विषेषु (?) वृन्तिमुजगशस्त्रानलजलादिभिः । पापानां प्राणहरणं वधदण्डः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ मानसोल्लास II 20, verse 1287, p 144

639. In 'Pandyan Kingdom' by Prof. K A Nilkant Sastri p. 224 the sentence for the murderer of a brāhmaṇa is shown to have been that of being tied to the leg of a he-buffalo and being dragged by it

640. The word 'śuddha-vadha' is used by Manu IX 279 and the words 'śuddha' and 'citra' occur in Kauṭilya IV. 11 and also in Śānti 85 22 राज्ञो वध विकीर्षेद्यस्तस्य चित्रो वधो भवेत् । आदीपकस्य स्नेनस्य वर्तनद्वारिकस्य च ॥

is prescribed by Manu IX. 271 for those who abet thieves by giving them subsistence, instruments of house-breaking or asylum. If a man of a low caste had sexual intercourse with a woman of a higher caste (with or without her consent) or kidnapped a maiden he was to be sentenced to death (Manu VIII. 366, Yāj. II. 286–288, 294) Vas. XXI. 1–5 prescribed for a śūdra, vaiśya or ksatriya guilty of adultery with a brāhmana woman the horrible punishment of being burnt to death after being respectively covered with *vīraṇa* grass, with red *darbhas* and *śara* leaves respectively and similar punishment for a śūdra paramour of a ksatriya or vaisya woman and for a vaiśya paramour of a ksatriya woman. The consenting woman (adulteress) was, acc. to Vas. XXI 1–3, to be shaved, to have her head anointed with clarified butter and to be paraded naked on an ass and left to die on the Great Journey, while, acc. to Gaut. XXIII. 14 and Manu VIII. 371, an adulteress, vain of her charms or the wealth of her parents, was to be openly devoured by dogs, if her paramour was a man of lower caste. Śaṅkha[641] prescribes this punishment (of being devoured by dogs) for a woman's paramour of a lower caste and for the erring woman death by burning. Vrddha-Hārita VII. 192 prescribes that in the case of a woman who is a confirmed adulteress, or who destroys her foetus, her husband should have her ears, nose and lips cut off and then she should be banished and verses 220–221 prescribe death by being burnt with grass (katāgni) for those guilty of incest. These severe penalties for adultery were very much relaxed and softened by later smrti writers as is shown in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 571–573. A man who made a breach in the embankment of a lake or tank (and thereby caused it to become dry) may be sentenced to death by drowning (Manu IX. 279) or a woman who was extremely wicked (such as one who killed her own child in the womb) or who murdered a man or who destroyed the embankments of a tank may have a stone tied round her neck and be drowned, provided she be not pregnant at the time of the sentence (Yāj. II. 278). Yāj. II. 279 (=Matsyapurāna 227. 200) prescribes death by being gored by the horns of bulls (after the nose, lips, ears and hands are cut off) for a woman who is guilty of poisoning (the food or drink of another) or who is guilty of incendiarism or who kills her husband, elders

641. श्रेयसः शयनशायिनं राजा बद्ध्वा स्वभिः खादयेत्काष्ठैश्चैनां दहेत् । शङ्ख quoted by वि. र. p. 396.

or her own child (provided she is not pregnant)[642]. Yāj II 282 provides death by being burnt with the fire of straw for those who set fire to growing crops, houses, forests, village, pastures and threshing floors or who approach the queen Nār. (pārusya, verse 31) prescribes that one who strikes with a weapon the king, even though the latter be at fault, should be impaled and roasted in fire. These examples are enough to convey an idea of the crimes for which the sentence of death was provided in some of the ancient smrtis. Manu VIII 272, Nār (pārusya 24), Visnu Dh. S. V. 24 prescribe the pouring of boiling oil in the mouth and ears of a śūdra who through insolence tries to expound dharma to brāhmanas. Cutting off limbs as a punishment (particularly hands and feet or fingers) was common in the case of thieves, pickpockets and cut-purses (Manu IX. 276-277, Nār., pariśista verse 32, Yāj II. 274). Excision of the tongue was the sentence when a śūdra abused a brāhmana or a ksatriya by falsely charging him with some grave sin (Āp. Dh. S. II. 10. 27. 14, Manu VIII. 270, Nārada, pārusya 22), when a śudra loudly repeated the Veda along with twice-born persons (Gaut XII. 4), when a person abused the king (Nār., pārusya 30), when a person repeatedly proclaimed what was disliked by the king or divulged the secret policy of the king (Yāj. II. 302). Excision of the male organ was prescribed for a śūdra who sexually approached a woman of the three higher varnas (Gaut XII. 2), for any one guilty of the rape of another's wife (Vrddha-Hārīta VII. 201 and also confiscation of all property), for any one guilty of incest or intercourse with mother, mother's sister, paternal aunt, sister,

642 The general rule was that women were not to be killed on any account. Vide H of Dh. vol II. pp. 575, 593-94. Certain offences were exceptions. Even as to them Vas. XXI. 10 and Yāj I. 72 suggest another and very mild alternative viz abandonment (*tyāga*), when a woman conceives from intercourse with a man of lower varna or when a woman was guilty of killing her husband or foetus Acc to the Mit on Yāj III 268 the king appears to have had to undergo some expiation for ordering the death of a guilty woman. In the 18th century the famous judge of the Peshwa's court, Rāmśāstri Prabhune, ordered a woman guilty of a brāhmana's murder to undergo only the expiation of circumambulating the holy shrine and hill of Tryambakeśvara near Nasik ('Selections from Peshwa's Daftar', vol. 43 No 156 pp. 121-122) Under sec 382 of the Indian Criminal Procedure Code 'if a woman sentenced to death is found to be pregnant, the High Court shall order the execution of the sentence to be postponed and may, if it thinks fit, commute the sentence to transportation for life'.

the wife of an uncle, friend or pupil, daughter, daughter-in-law, teacher's wife, a woman come for refuge, the queen, an ascetic woman, a wet-nurse and any chaste woman or a woman of a higher varna (Nār., strīpumsayoga 73–75) The nose, the ears and the hands were cut off in the case of an offender guilty of selling false gold or forbidden flesh such as that of a dog (Yāj. II. 297). For branding, vide Gaut. XII. 44, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10. 19, Nār. (sāhasa 10), Manu XI. 237 (=Matsya 227. 16), Visnu Dh. S. V. 3–7. The Daṇḍaviveka (p. 47) states that branding was to be resorted to if the proper penance was not performed and if the offence was intentional. Yāj II. 202 provides branding for a gambler using false dice and (II. 294) for persons of the three higher *varnas* having intercourse with a very low caste woman and Daksa VII 33 prescribes it for an ascetic giving up his duties. The Rājatarangiṇī mentions (VI. 108–112) that king Yaśaskara (939–948 A. D) of Kashmir branded on a brāhmana's forehead the mark of dog's foot. Keśavapandita in his Daṇḍanīti-prakarana (p. 6) quotes the author of the Vaijayantī (Nanda-pandita) to the effect that the making of marks was to be effected with the juice of the marking nut in the case of brāhmanas and with a red-hot iron *śalākā* in the case of others In England about a hundred years ago branding for desertion from the army was practised. Manu VIII. 370 prescribes the shaving of the head as a punishment for a woman who pollutes a maiden, Nār. (śāhasa 10) prescribes it for a brāhmana who is not sentenced to death on account of his caste, Śankha-Likhita (q. by Aparārka p 807) for one who abuses officers, brāhmanas and elders. Megasthenes (Fragment XXVII. p. 72) notes 'If one is guilty of a very heinous offence the king orders his hair to be cropped, this being a punishment to the last degree infamous'. Imprisonment for life is prescribed by Visnu V. 71 for striking out both eyes of a man and by Śukra IV. 1. 88 (for repeating an offence more than three times) For imprisonment with labour, vide Śukra IV. 1. 92 and 108–109. Flogging was prescribed[643] by Vishnu Dh S. V. 105 for a woman.

643. The punishment of whipping is allowed in England for several offences; vide 'Laws of England' (ed. by Lord Hailsham, vol. IX, pp. 229–230). In India under the Prisons Act (IX of 1894) by section 46 whipping is allowed for certain prison offences and under the Whipping Act (IV of 1909) whipping is awarded for certain offences such as theft, house-breaking, dacoity, rape and for juvenile offenders. In modern times many persons interested in criminology and penology condemn most strongly the stentences of death and whipping परतन्त्रास्तु ये केचिद् दासत्वे ये च संस्थिता । अनीशास्ते तु निर्दिष्टास्तेषां दण्डस्तु ताडनम् । स्त्रीबालोन्मत्तवृद्धानां दरिद्राणां तु रोगिणाम् । शिफाविदलरज्ज्वाद्यैर्विदध्यान्नृपतिर्दमम् ॥ कात्या. q. in स्मृ. चं. pp. 531–532.

in her monthly course touching intentionally members of the higher castes. It was also prescribed for offenders who were slaves or who were dependents and for women, minors, lunatics, old men, poor men and those suffering from diseases (Kāt). The punishment of banishment was prescribed for brāhmanas guilty of the gravest offences meriting death sentence (Gaut XII. 44, Manu IX. 241, VIII. 380, Visnu Dh S V. 3 and 8, Baud Dh. S. I. 10. 19, Yāj. II. 270). It was often associated with branding. Banishment is also prescribed by Yāj I 339 for officers taking bribes (and also confiscation of all wealth), for a perjured brāhmana witness (Yāj II. 81), for one who embezzles the money of a corporation or transgresses the conventions agreed upon by a guild or village &c (Yāj. II. 187, Manu VIII. 219, Visnu Dh S. V. 167-168), for playing with false dice (Yāj. II. 202 and Nār., dyūtasamāhvaya 6), for a brāhmana guilty of very heinous offences[644] (Śānti 14 116) Śukra (IV. 1. 98-108) contains a long list of offenders that deserve to be sentenced to banishment. Confiscation of all property was the punishment for several offences such as the commission of the *mahāpātakas* by persons other than brāhmanas, provided they committed them unintentionally (Manu IX. 242), for perjury, for taking bribes by *sabhyas* (Visnu Dh. S V. 179-180) Nār (prakīrnaka 10-11) provides a humane rule that even when the king orders the confiscation of all the property of an offender he should not deprive the offender of the tools of his trade or the tools of his craft, such as arms in the case of a soldier, materials of art in the case of artisans, ornaments of courtezans, musical instruments of musicians Śaṅkha-Likhita[645] quoted by V. R p 656 contain a similar provision Enhanced punishment was prescribed for committing an offence again. Visnu Dh. S. III. 93 holds that a king should never pardon or let off a man who is guilty of a second

644. महासाहसिकं विप्रं कृताङ्कं विप्रवासयेत् । शान्ति 14. 116

645. शिल्पिनः कारवः शूद्रास्तेषां स्वभिचारेष्वपि शिल्पोपकरणानि रक्षेत् । तुलामानप्रतिमानसमुत्थानि वणिक्पथानां, क्षेत्रबीजभक्तपोशकटफर्षकद्रव्याणि कर्षकाणां, शस्त्रास्त्रभाण्डाबद्धारवासांसि रङ्गोपजीविनां, मृदङ्गवाद्यद्धारवासांसि वेश्यानां, शस्त्रास्त्रि भाण्डोपकरणी-विनां सर्वेषां कारणद्रव्याणि नाहार्याणि राज्ञा । अथाभिक्रेण हि कृत्वा पापमुत्साद्यादिपापाश्च भवन्ति तेभ्यः पापाद्भागराजा तस्मात्साधनाजानुपकरणान्न कुर्यात्तन्मूला हि वृत्तिर्भवति । वृत्तिमूलो निवासः । सैनिकस्य हि स्त्रीतं राष्ट्रमुच्यते । शङ्खलिखित ग by वि र. p. 656, which explains 'स्वभिचारेषु सर्वस्वापहारयोग्येषु अपराधेषु ... अस्त्र कृषिसिद्ध्यर्थमस्त्रं कर्षणद्रव्यं इत्यादि'. *Compare* section 60 (a, b, c) of the Indian Civil Pro. Code for the property which is not liable to attachment and sale in execution of a decree.

offence (though a first offender may be let off with a mere admonition). Kaut. IV. 10 states that when a person is a first offender as to theft at a holy place or as a pickpocket or house-breaking from the roof, his thumb and index finger may be cut off or he may be fined 54 panas, for a second offence all fingers may be cut or a fine of 100 panas may be levied; for a third offence the punishment is cutting of the right hand or a fine of 400 panas and for the fourth death in any way the king may direct Manu IX. 277, Yāj II. 274, Visnu Dh. S. V. 136 contain a similar rule Vide Āp Dh. S. II. 10. 27. 11-13 for adultery. If several people conspire together and kill or injure a single man the punishment was to be double of what a single man committing the same offence would receive (Kaut. III. 19, Yāj. II. 221, Visnu Dh. S. V. 73). As indicative of the superstitions of ancient (and even modern) times punishment for witchcraft may be mentioned. Kaut. IV. 4 prescribes[646] the employment of spies to find out those who profess to use charms for securing illicit love and banish them and adds that persons who are engaged in witchcraft to injure others may be similarly dealt with. In the times of the Peshwas wizards[647] and raisers of ghosts appear to have been frequent and were severely dealt with by the people themselves by being put to death, but the State generally confiscated the property or cut off the alleged wizard's finger. Up to the beginning of the 18th century even in England wretched old women were frequently convicted as witches and hanged[648]

646 यं वा मन्त्रयोगमूलकर्मभिः इमाशानिकैर्वा सवनकारकं मन्येत तं सत्री ब्रूयात् असुष्य भार्यां स्नुषां दुहितरं वा कामये सा मा प्रतिकामयतामयं चार्थः प्रतिगृह्यतामिति । स चेत्तथा कुर्यात्सवनकारक इति प्रवासयेत । तेन कृत्याभिचारशीलौ व्याख्यातौ । कौटिल्य IV 4.

647. Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's records' vol 43 pp. 25–26 about frequent witchcraft in Kolhapur territories (and a wizard of the *mang* caste being impaled), p. 32 (for a woman who was killed as a witch by the Patils without Government orders) and Rao Bahadur Wad's extracts from Peshwa's Diaries vol II p. 7 (for confiscation of Vatan and razing to the ground the house of a ghost-raiser) and vol. VIII p. 147 (for cutting off a finger).

648. Vide e. g 6 State Trials p 647 (a trial of witches held in 1665 A D. before Sir Matthew Hale C. B. who condemned them to death) and 8 State Trials p. 1017 (in 1682) and Stephens' 'History of Cr. Law of England' vol. II. p 435 for numerous cases of trials for witchcraft between 1653 to 1712 A D. Vide Lea's 'Superstition and force' (ed. of 1878) p. 425 as to torture of heretics for extracting confessions expressly allowed by Papal Bulls and pp. 506–507 for torture being allowed in sorcery and witchcraft cases in England up to the 17th century. Vide a very discerning and interesting paper on 'Witchcraft in Ancient India' by Dr. Winternitz in Indian Antiquary, vol. 28 pp. 71–83.

Manu IX. 290 (=Matsya 227. 183) prescribes the very mild punishment of the fine of 200 panas for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and various kinds of raising ghosts and goblins. Medhātithi and Kullūka say that if the magic rites are successful the punishment would be that for murder. Br. (S B E. vol. 33 p. 361 verse 16) provides banishment for those who practise incantations with roots.

Kaut. in II 5 prescribes[649] that a jail should be constructed in the capital provided with separate accommodation for men and women kept apart and well guarded at the entrances. He further provides[650] that among the duties of the *nāgaraka* is to let out of the jail on the day of the festival of the birth constellation of the king and on the full moon day (of every month) such persons as are young, very old, suffering from diseases and helpless, or those who are charitably disposed may pay the fines or others bind themselves by an agreement to pay in cash the fines for the offences for which the prisoners are jailed (and then the prisoners may be released). The persons jailed may be set free on their working every day or once in five days or by undergoing corporal punishment (whipping &c.), paying fines in cash. Prisoners may be released from jail (as a favour) on the conquest of fresh territory or on the coronation of the Crown Prince or on the birth of a son to the king. In the Delhi Topra Pillar Edict No. IV (Corpus I. I vol. I. p. 123 and E. I. vol. II. pp. 253-54) Emperor Aśoka promulgates that he gives three days' respite to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death and in the 5th Pillar Edict of Delhi Topra (Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 126-128 and E I. vol. II. pp 258-259) he says that he let off prisoners 25 times in 26 years (which is in conformity with Kautilya's dictum cited above). In the first separate Edicts at Dhauli Aśoka addresses his officers of justice in the capital (*Nagaravyāvahārikāh*) that they should so act that even a single person should not unnecessarily suffer imprisonment or pain. In spite of this if we are to believe Yuan Chwang, Aśoka in his early career was most cruel and had constructed a jail

649. विभक्तस्त्रीपुरुषस्थानमपसारतः सुगुप्तकक्ष्यं बन्धनागारं कारयेत्। कौटिल्य II 5.

650 बन्धनागारे च बालवृद्धव्याधितानाथाना च जातनक्षत्रपौर्णमासीषु विसर्गपुण्यशीलाः समयाद्धबद्धा वा दोषनिष्क्रय दद्युः। दिवसे पञ्चरात्रे वा बन्धनस्थान् विशोधयेत्। कर्मणा कायदण्डेन हिरण्याङ्गग्रहेण वा॥ अपूर्वदेशाधिगमे युवराजाभिषेचने। पुत्रजन्मनि वा मोक्षो बन्धनस्य विधीयते॥ कौटिल्य II 36.

that was called Hell-prison of Aśoka (vide Watters, vol. II. pp. 88–90). Manu IX 288 requires that all jails should be so built as to abut on the royal road where the offenders suffering pain and in bad condition would be seen by all (in order to deter others from committing offences). The Śilappadikāram, one of the earliest works in Tamil, mentions the release of prisoners on the king's birthday and at the founding of a temple (pp. 38–39 of Mr Dikshitar's translation). Kālidāsa in the Mālavikāgnimitra[651] (Act IV) makes the Vidūsaka report to the king, 'the astrologers think that, as the constellation on which Your Majesty was born is in evil aspect now, let all prisoners be released'. Kālidāsa (in Raghu 17. 19) alludes to the release of prisoners and the commutation of death sentences at the time of the coronation of king Atithi. The Brhat-Samhitā (47·81) states that when the king takes the *Pusyasnāna* (ceremonial bath on the day on which the moon is in conjunction with the Pusya constellation in the month of Pausa or every month) he may order release except as to those prisoners who were convicted for offences connected with his own person or with the harem.[652] In the Mṛcchakatika (Act X) also various occasions for the release of prisoners are mentioned by the executioner. The Harsacarita[653] (II. 2nd para) refers to the usage of releasing prisoners at the time of a coronation and on the birth of Harsa (IV.). The prisoners are described in the latter passage as having long beards and as darkened by the accumulation of dirt on their bodies.

Manu IX. 243 enjoins upon the king not to appropriate to himself the property of a man guilty of the mahāpātakas (by way of fine or confiscation) and warns that if he takes it out of greed he is tainted by the guilt of the offender. Manu (IX. 244–45) recommends that such fine may be cast into water as an offering to Varuna (the Lord of waters) who wields sceptre even over kings or may be bestowed on learned and virtuous

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651. दैवचिन्तकैर्विज्ञापितो राजा । सोपसर्गो वो नक्षत्रं सर्वबन्धनमोक्षः क्रियतामिति । मालविकाग्निमित्र IV after verse 5, बन्धच्छेदं स बद्धानां वधार्हाणामवध्यताम्। पुर्याणां च पुरो मोक्षमर्दोहं चादिशद्गवाम् ॥ रघु. 17. 19.

652. बन्धनमोक्षं कुर्यादभ्यन्तरदोषकृद्वर्जम् । बृहत्संहिता 47. 81, on which उत्पल remarks 'नृपशरीरे अन्तःपुरे वा यैर्दोषः कृतः &c '

653. अभिनन्दितश्च सर्वस्या पृथिव्यां सकलकुलक्षमबन्धनमोक्षमकरोत्मपन्नुष्णसमय. । हर्षचरित II. para 2, प्रलम्बश्मश्रुजालजटिलाननानि बहलमलपङ्ककलङ्ककालकायानि नश्यतः कलिकालस्य बान्धवकुलानीवाकुलान्यधावन्त शुक्तानि बन्धनवृन्दानि । हर्षचरित IV.

brāhmanas, that are lords of the whole world Manu (IX. 246–247) further states that in the country where the king avoids taking the property of very wicked sinners men become long-lived, crops spring up, there is no infant mortality &c.

Generally no one was allowed to take the law into his own hands except as to recovery of debts (which will be discussed below). But Nār. (pārusya[654] 11–14) contains the following remarkable passage: 'If a *śvapāka*, a *meda*, a *caṇḍāla*, one devoid of a limb, one gaining livelihood by killing animals, an elephant driver, *vrātya* (i. e. deprived of caste for non-performance of *upanayana*), a slave, one who disregards his elders or spiritual teacher—if these should transgress the limits they must observe towards their superiors, they should be punished then and there by the person offended and the person so doing is not regarded as committing an offence (equal to theft) Should any such low person insult another (who is his superior) that man himself shall punish him and the king has nothing to do with the punishment. These people are like the refuse (dregs) of humanity and their property also is impure. The king is entitled to inflict bodily punishment (whipping), but he should not inflict fines on them'. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 270 quotes a text of Vrddha-Manu of similar import and explains that the words 'the king should avoid taking fines' refer to cases of grave offences[655].

Something must be said about the law of Limitation. In the smrtis and digests rules of Limitation play very little part for several reasons. As on spiritual grounds, which will be set out under the title of rnādāna, not only the debtor, but also his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons were liable to pay a debt (Mit. on Yāj. II. 50), there was no scope at all for prescribing any period of limitation so far as recovery of debts was concerned Unpaid purchase money was treated as a debt. In other matters also the smrtis and dharmaśāstras, under the influence of religious and other-worldly considerations always lean against

654. श्वपाकमेदश्चण्डालव्यङ्गेषु वधबन्धिषु। हस्तिपव्रात्यदासेषु गुर्वाचार्यार्तिगेषु च ॥ मर्यादातिक्रमे सद्यो घात एवाशुशासनम्। न च तद्दण्डपारुष्यं स्तेयमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ धनेन हीते मनुष्येषु धनमेषां मलात्मकम्। अपि ताभ्यातयेद्राजा नार्थदण्डेन दण्डयेत् ॥ नारद (पारुष्य 11–14). For श्वपाक, मेद, चण्डाल and व्रात्य vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 97, 92, 81, 378 respectively.

655. यत्पुनर्वृद्धमनुवचन 'अन्यायोपात्तवित्तस्वाद्धनमेषां मलात्मकम्। अतस्तान् घातयेद्राजा नार्थदण्डेन दण्डयेत् ॥' इति तदपि महापराधविषयम्। मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 270.

allowing mere lapse of time to prevent a man from asserting his just rights But rarely there were writers who were more secular and laid down periods of limitation. For example, Kaundinya[656] (quoted in V. Mātrakā p. 341) holds that a debt not claimed for ten years cannot be recovered except when the creditor was a minor or very old or was a woman or was suffering from disease or there was confusion due to invasion or (the creditor or debtor) had left the country. Some important rules on the law of Limitation are set out here in one place:

1. Manu VIII. 148, Yāj II. 24, Gaut. XII. 35, Vas 16. 17, Nār. IV. 79 and others state that enjoyment of immovable property in the presence of the real owner without protest from him causes loss of ownership and ten years' enjoyment of movables under similar circumstances leads to the same result. There are various views on the subject which have already been indicated above (on pp. 322–325).

2. An exception to the above rule is stated to be that no limitation applies to pledges boundaries, deposits, and to the property of minors, idiots, the State, women and brāhmanas learned in the Vedas. Vide Gaut. XII. 35–36, Vas. 16. 18, Manu VIII. 149, Yāj. II. 25, Nār. IV 81, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 312 verse 21).

3 As the rules about deposit are extended by Nār. (upanidhi verse 14) to articles borrowed or given to artisans for being worked, and to *anvāhita*, *nyāsa* and *pratinyāsa*, in the case of these also there would be ordinarily no bar of limitation. Vide Manu VIII. 145–146, Yāj II. 58, Visnu Dh. S. VI. 7–8. Here also there are dicta to the contrary. Marīci (q. in Sm C II. p 69 quoted above on p. 326) says that cows, beasts of burden, ornaments and the like borrowed in a friendly way would have to be returned (at the latest) in four or five years, otherwise they are lost. Acc. to Vyāsa[657] this rule would not apply to what is lent to

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656 दशवर्षोपेक्षितमुण न ब्राह्मणस्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितयोर्विद्देशत्यागपरचक्रविभ्रमेभ्यः। कौण्डिन्य quoted in स्म. मा p. 341; compare the very similar words of कौटिल्य (III 16) 'यस्त्व द्रव्यमन्यैर्भुज्यमानं दशवर्षाण्युपेक्षेत हीयेतास्य अन्यत्र बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसनिभ्योविद्देशत्यागराज्यविभ्रमेभ्यः। पिंशतिवर्षोपेक्षितमनुवासितं वास्तु न.नुयुञ्जीत'। Is कौण्डिन्य a misreading for कौटिल्य in the व्यवहारमातृका ?.

657. याज्ञावल्क्येन यद्भुक्तं श्रोत्रिये राजपूरुषे । सुहृद्भिर्बान्धवैर्वापि न तद्भोगेन हीयते व्यास in स्मृतिच० II p 69

friends, relatives, brāhmanas and the servants of the king on their request

4 It appears that a period of twenty years was prescribed for avoiding a document on the ground of patent defects by one who had seen it and was affected by it Vide Kāt 298-300 Similarly when a thing is enjoyed for twenty years on the basis of a writing in the presence of an opponent able (to challege the enjoyment and the writing) then the writing becomes unassailable (even if the witnesses are all dead or there is no other document for comparison). Vide Kāt (299)[658].

5. A deed settling a boundary dispute becomes unassailable after twenty years Vide Kāt. (301).[659]

6 No suit can lie on a document executed beyond thirty years, which has never been seen by any body nor read out (by the creditor to any body) even though the attesting witnesses may be living Vide Br. (S. B. E vol. 33 p. 308 verse 29)[660].

In the preceding pages we have passed in review the law of judicial procedure, evidence and limitation A careful perusal will convince any unbiassed reader that the Dharmaśāstras evolved during the course of centuries an indigenous system of judicial procedure of a high order Nārada, Brhaspati and Kātyāyana represent the high water mark of ancient Indian adjective law These writers flourished before 600 A. D and the first two of them are probably older by several centuries than that date They present an orderly system providing for the appointment and duties of judges, proper pleadings, the law of evidence and limitation, decrees and their execution, crimes and punishments. This system compares most favourably with any system of judicial procedure prevalent anywhere in the West up to the 18th century A. D.

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658. दृष्टे पत्रे स्फुटान् दोषान्नोक्त्वाद्दाणिको यदि । ततो विंशतिवर्षाणि स्थित पत्र स्थिरं भवेत् ॥ कात्या (298) q by व्य मा p 340, परा मा III p. 136. शक्तस्य सन्निधावर्थो येन लेख्येन भुज्यते । वर्षाणि विंशतिं यावत्तत्पत्रं दोषवर्जितम् ॥ कात्या 299 q. by मिता on या. II 24, अपरार्क p 690, व्य मा p 340.

659 सीमाविवादे निर्णीते सीमापत्रं विधीयते । तस्य दोषा. प्रवक्तव्या यावद्वर्षाणि विंशति. ॥ कात्या 301 q by मिता on या II 24, अपरार्क p. 691, परा मा III p 136.

660 लेख्यं त्रिंशत्समातीतमदृष्टाश्रावितं च यत् । न तत्सिद्धिमवाप्नोति लिङ्गस्थापि हि साक्षिषु ॥ बृह. q by अपरार्क p. 692, व्य मा p. 340.

CHAPTER XVI

CONTRACTS

There are only three titles of law, viz. recovery of debts, the relation of husband and wife (*strīpuṁsayoga*) and partition of wealth (*dāyabhāga*) that are of importance to modern Hindus, since to a very large extent they are even now governed in these matters by the ancient Hindu Law as interpreted by the commentators. These three topics therefore have to be described in detail while other titles will not and cannot be allowed to occupy much space. In almost all smṛtis and digests of Hindu Law *ṛnādāna* (recovery of debts) is treated of first Therefore here also that subject will be taken up first. A good deal of the matter falling under the title of the relation of husband and wife has already been dealt with in the 2nd volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra pp. 427–636. The topic of *dāyabhāga* will be dealt with last of all, the other topics being taken up in the same order as in Manu. Many of the *vyavahārapadas* are concerned with the law of contracts in various aspects, viz. the contract of debt, of pledge or mortgage, of bailments, of sale, of partnership, of hire and service.

Our writers do not set out with an analysis of the conception of contract in general. They had before them the ancient 18 titles of law, many of which related to various kinds of contracts and therefore they take up one title after another, in the order contained in Manu or in Nārada (as the Sm. C II. p. 206 expressly says). But it is not to be supposed that they did not evolve certain general principles about contracts. They do say a good deal about the competence of persons to enter into contracts, about fraud vitiating all contracts, about damages for breach of contract &c. Similarly the dharmaśāstras do not lay down a general Code of rules applicable to all transfers of immovable property, nor do they treat of transfers by way of sale, mortgage or gift in separate sections What they have to say on these transfers is tacked on to some *vyavahārapada* e. g. they speak about sales and exchanges of land under asvāmi-vikraya and sīmāvivāda, about gifts under dattāpradānika and about mortgages under ṛnādāna. As this work has to represent what the ancient law was like the same

arrangement has been followed here. Similarly the law of crimes is not to be found in one place. It is scattered under different titles of law such as vākpārusya, dandapārusya, sāhasa, strīsangrahana and steya; nor is there a complete analysis of intention or motive or of the right of private defence, although all these subjects are briefly dealt with in the smrtis in different places

A great deal has been said by ancient writers about what persons are competent to enter into transactions (vyavahāra) The Arthasāstra (in III. 1)[661] has a lengthy disquisition on it. Briefly, it holds that dependent persons, minors, extremely old people, those charged with grave sins, *sannyāsins*, persons who are devoid of a limb and those who are addicted to vices (like drinking and whoring) are incompetent and agreements made with such people are invalid. Among dependent people Kautilya mentions a son when the father is alive (and manages the affairs), a father when he has a son (who manages the family affairs), a brother who has left the family, a younger brother whose share has not been separated, a woman whose husband or son is alive, a slave or a hired servant. He states that these may enter into binding agreements if those on whom they are dependent authorize them to do so. He further says that contracts made by persons that are at the time of making them intoxicated or are under the influence of wrath or are distressed or are of unsound mind or under duress (imprisoned or confined) are invalid. Yāj (II. 31-32) concisely puts down the same propositions by saying that all transactions brought about by force or fraud should be declared (by the king) to be unenforceable, so also those entered into by women or the other persons specified above or entered into at night, or in the interior of the house or outside the town or village (in a forest &c.) or with one's enemy or by persons unconnected with or unauthorized by the persons who are to be bound by them[662] Manu (VIII 165 and 168) also declares that all transactions (such as sale, mortgage, gift) brought about by force or fraud are

661. अपाश्रयबन्धिश्च कृता, पितृमता पुत्रेण, पित्रा पुत्रवता, निष्कुलेन भ्रात्रा, कनिष्ठेनाविभक्तांशेन, पतिमत्या पुत्रवत्या च स्त्रिया, दासाहितकाभ्याम्, अप्राप्तव्यवहारव्यम्, अभिशस्तमव्रजितव्यङ्गव्यसनिभिश्चान्यत्र निसृष्टव्यवहारेभ्यः। तत्रापि क्रुद्धेनातेन मत्तेनोन्मत्तेनापगृहीतेन वा कृता व्यवहारा न सिध्येयुः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 1.

662. It should be noted that the rules of Kaut and Yāj are in remarkable agreement with sections 11 to 19 of the Indian Contract Act (IX of 1872)

null and void. Nār. IV. 26-42 treat this subject[663] exhaustively. Some of Narada's dicta are interesting. He says: 'in this world three are independent viz. the king, the Vedic teacher and the head of the house in his own house (32). Wives, sons and slaves are not independent; the head of the house has independent power as to what belongs to him by inheritance (34).' Kāt. (497) also prescribes that one should not give a loan to women, minors or slaves. When the texts say that women are incompetent to make contracts, what is meant is that they cannot make contracts binding on their husbands or family or against the family property. Women are not inherently incompetent to deal with their own separate property except that the husband has some control (these matters will be discussed at length later on under stridhana). Another proposition laid down by Yāj II 23, Nār. IV. 97, Kāt. (517) and others[664] is that in all transactions relating to a debt or any other title of law the last act is the deciding factor; but in the cases of gift, pledge or purchase each prior transaction (of gift &c.) is of superior efficacy to the succeeding one.[665]'

After the establishment of British rule in India during about 150 years numerous publications dealing with Hindu customs and usages and the Hindu law of debts, contracts, adoption, family rights, partition and inheritance have been published. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of these nor is it necessary to do so. Most of them have now only an academic or historic interest. But a few of them must be mentioned for their worth, for purposes of study and for a knowledge of the modern Hindu Law as administered by the British Indian courts They are: Bannerjee's 'Hindu Law of Marriage and stridhan'

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663 The Vyavahāramātrkā p 288 quotes five verses as from Kaundinya which are almost the same as Nārada IV. 29, 30, 39, 34, 40 respectively. The learned editor does not notice this

664 यद्दानादिषु सर्वेषु बलवत्युत्तरा क्रिया। प्रतिग्रहाधिकीतेषु पूर्वा पूर्वा बलीयसी॥ नारद IV 97, आधिनैकं द्वयोर्यस्तु कुर्यात्का प्रतिपद्यते। तयोः पूर्वकृत ग्राह्य तत्कर्ता चोत्तरदण्डभाक्॥ कात्या 517 q by स्मृतिच II. p. 144, वि र p. 35, स. वि p 237

665. For example, if A establishes that he lent a sum to B but if the latter establishes that he repaid the amount, this later fact of repayment is decisive of the dispute if A files a suit for recovery of the money. If A mortgages a field to B for a loan and then mortgages the same field to C, the mortgage of B, being prior is superior to that made in favour of C The same principle is laid down in section 48 of the Transfer of Property Act (IV of 1882).

(5th ed. of 1923); Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, which is a translation of Jagannātha's Vivādabhangārnava (3rd ed. of 1864, Madras); the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer and the Gazetteers of the other provinces and the Imperial Gazetteer of India; A. Ghosh's 'Law of endowments' (*2nd ed.*, 1938); Dr. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures on Partition, Inheritance and Adoption and *Recht* und *Sitte* translated by Prof. Batakrishna Ghosh (1928)); Mayne's Hindu Law (10th ed. of 1938), Mulla's Hindu Law (9th ed. of 1940), K L Sarkar's 'Mimansa rules of interpretation'; G. C. Sarkar's Hindu Law and Hindu Law of Adoption (2nd ed. 1916); Rajkumar Sarvadhikari's 'Principles of the Hindu Law of Inheritance' (2nd ed. 1922), Dr. P. N. Sen's 'General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence' (1918); Steele's Law and custom of Hindu castes' in the Deccan (London, 1868), Stoke's Hindu Law Texts (a work constantly quoted by the Courts and the Privy Council) containing English translations of the Mitāksarā, the Dāyabhāga, the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Dattakamīmāmsā, the Dattakacandrikā, the Dāyakramasangraha; West and Buhler's Digest of Hindu Law.

The idea of the liability to pay off one's debts was developed in India in the most ancient times. In Ṛg VIII. 47. 17[666] the poet exclaims 'Let us drive away the evil effects of bad dreams as we pay off debts'. In Ṛg X 34. 10 (the gambler's lament) it is stated that the gambler, because he owes a (gambling) debt, is afraid and approaches the houses of others at night, desiring wealth'.[667] This indicates that a debtor was afraid of being detained by his creditor in those days Ṛg. VIII. 66. 10 indicates that money-lenders made a stipulation to receive double of what they lent, 'Indra strikes by his power all *panis* who make representations of taking double'.[668] The Ait Br 33 1 (*rnam-asmin san-nayati*)[669] employs the very verb '*san-nayati*' which occurs in Ṛg. VIII. 47. 17. The Atharvaveda VI 117. 3 and Tai Br III 7. 9. 8 contain the same verse about a man being free from the obligations of this world, the next

666 यथा कलां यथा शफं यथ ऋणं सञ्जयामसि । एवा दुष्वप्न्यं सर्वमाप्ये स नयामस्यमेदसो व ऊतयः सुऊतयो व ऊतय ॥ ऋ. VIII 47 17

667. ऋणावा बिभ्यद्धनमिच्छमानोऽन्येषामस्तमुपनक्तमेति । ऋ X 34 10.

668 इन्द्रो विश्वान् बेकनाटाँ अहर्दृशं उत क्रत्वा पणींरभि ॥ ऋ VIII 66 10 The word बेकनाट is very like a *prākrit* word

669 जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी । तै स VI 3 10 5, ऋणमस्मिन् संनयत्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येच्चेज्जीवतो मुखम् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1.

world (of pitrs) and the third world (the world of gods).[670] The Tai. S. (III. 3. 8. 1-2) uses the very word 'kusīda', which occurs[671] in the Dharmasūtras and smrtis (for money-lending) when it says, 'O Agni! whatever debt has not been paid back by me, the tribute that I owe to Yama, here do I make return of it; may I be freed from that debt!'. The Śat. Br. XIII. 4 3. 11 associates *kusīdin* with black magic in the Pāriplava. The Nirukta (VI. 32) while commenting on Rg. III. 53. 14 explains the word 'Pramaganda' occurring therein as 'one who is born of a family that is extremely usurious'.[672] Pānini employs the technical word 'uttamarna' (creditor) in his sūtra 'dhārer-uttamarnah' (I. 4. 35), he speaks of 'ādhamarnya' (the position of a debtor) in II. 3. 70 and the word 'pratibhū' occurs in Pānini II. 3. 39, the word 'vrddhi' (interest) in V. 1. 47. Pānini (IV. 4. 31) derives the words 'kusīdika' and 'kusīdikin' It is noteworthy that Pānini does not derive or mention the word *vārdhusika*, which is employed by even Āp. Dh. S and Baud. Dh. S and which is derived by Kātyāyana (the grammarian) in Vārtika 3 on Pānini IV. 4. 30, in which Pānini refers to such words as 'dvaigunika' or 'traigunika' which were applied to people that carried on the condemned methods of money-lending viz. extorting twofold or threefold of the money lent (the sūtra is 'prayacchati garhyam'). Brahmanaspati is spoken of as 'one who recovers a debt (*rnam-ādadhih*) in Rg II. 24. 13 and the Ādityas as those 'who, themselves being the observers of *rta* (the universal Law of Right), collect[673] debts' (Rg. II. 27 4) In Rg. VIII 32. 16 it is said that those priests who extract (and offer) Soma juice do not indeed owe a debt (to the gods) Divodāsa is said in Rg VI 61. 1 to have been the gift of Sarasvatī to Vadhryaśva as a son to pay off debts (*rnacyutam*)[674] These passages certainly establish that in the remote ages of the

670. अनृणा अस्मिन्ननृणाः परस्मिन् तृतीये लोके अनृणाः स्याम । ये देवयाना उत पितृयाणाः सर्वान्पथो अनृणा आ क्षीयेम ॥ तै. ब्रा. III 7 9. 8, अथर्ववेद VI. 117. 3 (with very slight variations)

671. यत्कुसीदमप्रतीत्तं मयि येन यमस्य चरामि । इहैव सन्निरवद्ये तदेतत्तद्रे अनृणो भवामि ॥ तै सं III 3 8 1-2, अथर्ववेद VI. 117 1 closely agrees

672 मगन्दः कुसीदी माङ्गदो मामागमिष्यतीति ददाति तदपत्य प्रमगन्दः अत्यन्त कुसीदिकुलीन. । निरुक्त VI. 32.

673. दीर्घाधियो रक्षमाणा असुर्यसृतावानश्चयमाना ऋणानि । ऋ II 27 4

674 इयमददाद्रभसमृणच्युत दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे । ऋ. VI. 61. 1

Rgveda it was a firm belief that men were under obligations to gods and pitṛs, which could be fulfilled only by worship (yajña) and by the birth of a son. These passages contain the germ of the doctrine of the three religious and spiritual debts that a man owed to gods, Manes (*pitṛs*) and sages, which he paid off by sacrifices, by the birth of a son and by vedic study (vide Tai. S VI 3 10. 5, Śat. Br. I. 7. 2. 11 and Ait. Br. 33. 1 quoted in H. of Dh vol II. pp.270, 560 notes 621 and 1302 and above n 669). Gradually further universal obligations came to be added to this theory of spiritual debts The Ādiparva (120. 17–20) holds that men owe four debts, viz the three vedic ones and the fourth to humanity in general (which is paid back by goodness to all) and Anuśāsana 37. 17 raises them to five (adding brāhmaṇas and guests to the well-known three)[675]. It appears to me that this theory of spiritual debts being already in the air, the same sanctity came gradually to be transferred to one's promises to repay monetary debts and carry out other secular engagements The word *ṛṇa* had been applied both to spiritual and secular debts. It is on account of this that the son was not only desired for repaying the spiritual debt owed to one's ancestors, but he was also expected to free his father (if the father could not himself repay the monetary debt) from the liability he incurred to his creditor Nār. IV. 5–9 puts this clearly and most emphatically: "fathers desire to have sons for their own benefit thinking in their heart 'he will release me from liability to creditors and debtors' (or probably 'from high or low debts' i. e spiritual and earthly debts). Three deceased (ancestors) must be honoured (by a man) and he must subsist on three (descendants) that come after him. These (the first three) series of ancestors rely (for repayment) of their twofold debts (spiritual and secular) on the fourth in descent If a man fails to pay on demand a debt or promised gift that sum (by the addition of interest) goes on growing till it amounts to a hundred crores and when a hundred crores are reached he is born again and again in the house of his creditor as a slave in order to repay the debt (by his labour). If an ascetic or a brāhmaṇa perpetually keeping the sacred fire (*agnihotra*) dies

675 ऋणैश्चतुर्भिः संयुक्ता जायन्ते मानवा भुवि। पितृदेवर्षिमनुजैर्देयं तेभ्यश्च धर्मतः॥ .. यज्ञैरग्नु देवान् प्रीणाति स्वाध्यायतपसा मुनीन्। पुत्रै श्राद्धैः पितॄंश्चापि आनृशंस्येन मानवान्। आदिपर्व 120 17–20, ऋणमुन्मुच्य देवानामृषीणा च तथैव च। पितॄणामथ विप्राणामतिथीनां च पञ्चमम्। अनुशासन 37. 17

without discharging his debts, the whole merit due to his austerities and the perpetual tending of fire belongs to his creditors".[676] Kāt. (551, 591) expresses the same idea but adds that a debtor who has not repaid money borrowed may be born as a slave, a servant, a woman or a beast in the house of his creditor. It was this belief that led to the doctrine of the pious obligation of the son to pay off his father's debts even if he received no property from the father.[677]

Nārada IV. 98 defines '*kusīda*' in a rather obscure verse as 'the receiving of money paid in consequence of the original (amount advanced) and the profit (agreed to be paid) thereon and those are called *kusīdin* who maintain themselves by this occupation'. Brhaspati (S. B. E 33 p. 320 verse 2) derives[678] *kusīda* as 'that is called kusīda, which is taken fourfold or (even) eightfold without any qualm (by a person) from a wretched man who is sinking (or distressed)'. Nār IV. 110 defines *vārdhusa* as the interest (in kind) on grain,[678a] but Āp. Dh S I. 6. 18. 22 and Baud. Dh. S. employ the word 'vārdhusika' and Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 10 has a verse in which the word *vrddhi* occurs. Vas (II. 41–42 = Baud. Dh. S I. 5. 93–94) quotes

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676 पूजनीयास्त्रयोतीता उपजीव्यास्त्रयोऽग्रतः । एतदुक्थसन्तानसूणयो· स्याच्च· तुर्थके ॥ तपस्वी चाग्निहोत्री च ऋणवान् म्रियते यदि । तपश्चैवाग्निहोत्रं च सर्वं तद्धनिनां धनम् ॥ नारद IV 6 and 9 ; पितृणां मुह्यभिर्जातैर्दानेनैवाधमाद्भूणात् । विमोक्षस्तु यतस्तस्मादिच्छन्ति पितर. सुतान् ॥ उद्धारादिकमादाय स्वामिने न ददाति य·। स तस्य दासो भृत्यः स्त्री पशुर्वा जायते गृहे ॥ कात्या. 551, 591, quoted by Sm' C pp 168 and 161, परा. मा III. pp 261 and 263, व्य प्र p 277. Dr Jolly's translation of Nār IV 6 (S B E 33, p 43) 'three must be reverenced before the rest' does not seem to be correct What Nār. means is that a man has to offer worship in śrāddha to three ancestors while he himself depends upon (*upajīvyāstrayaḥ*) his three descendants for the pinda (they offer) Upajīvya does not mean 'to be reverenced' but 'to be subsisted on'. The Sm C II p 161 notes that the verse 'tapasvī &c' (Nār IV 9) occurs in a Purāna

677. स्थानलाभनिमित्तं हि दानग्रहणमिष्यते । तत्कुसीदमिति प्रोक्तं तेन . वृत्तिः कुसीदिनाम् ॥ नारद IV. 98, The वि चि explains: स्थानमवस्थानं मूलधनस्य तस्मिन्सत्येव लाभो वृद्धिस्तदर्थं दानग्रहणम् ।; 'देयमस्यं दीयत इति दानं इति व्युत्पत्तेः तस्य ग्रहणमधमर्णेन' विवादचन्द्र p 2

678 कुत्सितात्सीदनश्चैव निर्विशङ्कै प्रगृह्यते । चतुर्गुणं चाष्टगुणं कुसीदाकथमतः स्मृतम् ॥ बृहस्पति Q. by व्य म. p 167, मदनरत्न

678a. वृद्धिस्तु प्रोक्ता धान्यस्य वार्धुषं तदुदाहृतम् । नारद IV. 110.

two verses: 'a vārdhusika (usurer) is one who taking cheap grain lends it on condition of receiving a quantity of grain of high price and is condemned among the *brahmavādins* (students of the veda) Brāhmana murder and usury were weighed in a balance; the murderer of a brāhmana rose to the top while the usurer trembled'. Here usury of the type of the one described in Vas. II 41 (and not all lending of money at interest) is condemned as a great sin Gaut. XII 26, Vas II 50, Kaut III 11, Manu VIII. 140–141 and others declare it righteous (dharmyā) moneylending when an 80th part is stipulated as the interest per month.[679]

Megasthenes (fragment XXVII B p. 72) states: 'The Indians neither put out money at usury nor know how to borrow,' but he is under some misapprehension, for he again says (p 73) 'one who is unable to recover a loan or deposit has no remedy at law. All the creditor can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue'.

Nār. IV. 1 states that the principal topics under the title of *ṛṇādāna* are seven: what debts must be paid and what not; by whom, where and in what manner (they are to be paid); and the rules about advancing the loan and receiving it back The first five of these relate to the debtor and the last two to the creditor Brhaspati (S. B E. 33 p. 320 v 4) says that interest (*vrddhi*) is described to be of four kinds by some, of five kinds by others and of six kinds by still others Nār. (IV 102–104) names four kinds and defines them, viz *kārita* (interest that is stipulated by the debtor himself), *kālika* (interest accruing and payable every month), *kāyika* (interest of a *pana* or quarter *pana* to be paid every day without the principal being liable to be reduced, whatever interest may have been recovered), *cakravṛddhi* (interest on interest called compound interest). Manu VIII 153 mentions these four and commentators thereon give varying interpretations Brhaspati (S B E. 33 p 321 verse 6) and Vyāsa (q by Sm C II p 154) define *kāyikā* as interest received from the body i e. milk received from a cow pledged or the work put in by a slave or by a bull pledged Br (S B. E vol 33 p 321 verses 7–8)

679 कुसीदवृद्धिर्धर्म्या विंशति. पञ्चमापिकी मासम् । गो XII 26, सपादपणा धर्म्या मासवृद्धि. पणशतस्य । कौटिल्य III. 11.

adds two more varieties viz. *śikhāvrddhi*[680] (hair-like interest i e. interest payable every day and so growing every day, just as the top-knot on one's head grows every day) and *bhogalābha* (profit by enjoyment i e. making use of a house or taking the produce of a field in lieu of interest in the case of a mortgage). Gaut. (XII. 31–32) mentions the six, but instead of *bhogalābha* he uses the word '*ādhibhoga*', which is defined by Kāt. (501) as a transaction in which the complete enjoyment of the thing pledged or mortgaged is to be the interest Kāt. (498–500) defines kāritā, śikhāvrddhi and bhogalābha

Br. (S B E 33 p. 319 verse 1) states[681] that the creditor should always advance a loan after taking an adequate pledge or a deposit (with a mutual friend) or a reliable surety and after committing the transaction to writing or making the loan in the presence of witnesses. The interest may be either stipulated (*kṛta*) at the time of the loan or not stipulated (*akṛta*), as indicated in Visnu VI. 4. Yāj. II 38 and Visnu Dh. S. VI. 3 state the general rule that debtors of all castes may pay to creditors of all castes the interest settled by mutual agreement and the rate of interest stipulated may be with reference to an

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680 वृद्धिश्चतुर्विधा प्रोक्ता पञ्चधान्यैः प्रकीर्तिता । षड्विधास्मिन् समाख्याता तत्त्वतस्तां निबोधत ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II p 154, व्यव नि p 224 (reads षड्विधान्यैः); कायिका कर्मसयुक्ता मासद्यात्रा तु कालिका । वृद्धेर्वृद्धिश्चक्रवृद्धिः कारिता ऋणिना कृता ॥ प्रत्यह गृह्यते या तु शिखावृद्धिस्तु सा स्मृता । गृहात्तोषः (स्तोमः v l) शदः क्षेत्राद्भोगलाभः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ बृह० q by अपरार्क p 642, स्मृतिच० II p. 154, परा मा III. pp. 220–221; व्यव नि p 225 ascribes these to नारद; शिखेव वर्धते नित्यं शिरश्छेदाच्चिवर्तते । मूले छन्ने तथैवेयं शिखावृद्धिस्ततः स्मृता ॥ कात्या in हरदत्त on गौ. XII. 32 and स वि p 233, आधिर्भोगस्त्वशोधो यो वृद्धिस्तु परिकल्पित । प्रयोगो यत्र चैव स्यादाधिभोगः स उच्यते ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच II. p 154, वि. र p. 12 वि चि p 4.

681 परिपूर्णं गृहीत्वाधिं बन्ध वा साधुलक्षकम् । लेख्यारूढं साक्षिमद्वा ऋणं दद्याद्धनी सदा ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II 135, परा मा III p 220, 'परिपूर्णं सवृद्धिकमूलद्रव्यपर्याप्तमित्यर्थः ।' स्मृतिच० II p 135 The words *ādhi* and *bandha* are treated as synonyms by the Amarakośa and by Br (S. B. E vol 33 p 323 verse 17) himself The difference made by some between the two is this: *ādhi* is a pledge or mortgage of a chattel or immovable property to the creditor himself (with possession or without), while *bandha* consists in placing in the hands of a mutual friend a thing belonging to the debtor in order to inspire confidence (in the creditor). 'विवक्षित बन्धशब्दस्यार्थमाह नारदः । निक्षेपो मित्रहस्तस्थो बन्धो विश्वासकः स्मृतः ॥ इति । ' नारद q by व्य म p 224 The व्य. म. (p 166) defines bandha as an undertaking by the debtor that he would not alienate by sale, gift or mortgage the house, land or other property of his until the debt due to the creditor is paid off This is clearly an hypothecation without possession, यावत्तावकसुणं न शोध्यते तावदेतद्गृहक्षेत्रादेर्दानविक्रयाधिकरणाद्यहं न करिष्यामीति निर्बन्धो बन्ध. । विश्वासहेतुर्मित्रहस्तस्थो निक्षेपो बन्ध इत्यर्थ. । मदनरत्न (व्यव. ms).

article pledged or with reference to a surety given or with reference to a debt totally unsecured. Though this was the general rule, Manu VIII. 153 and Br condemn taking even agreed interest if it exceeds the rates (to be specified below)[682] allowed by the smrtis or taking the agreed heavy interest for more than a year or taking compound interest or more than double the principal or the capitalization of interest The smrtis lay down various rates of interest from different points of view Gaut XII 26, Yaj. II. 37, Baud. Dh S I. 5. 90-91, Manu VIII, 140 (=Nār IV. 99), Br (S B E vol 33 p 320 v. 3), Vrddha-Hārīta VII 235 and others state the rule first laid down by Vasistha that it is just and proper to take every month $\frac{1}{80}$th part of the principal lent, so that the principal is doubled in six years and eight months,[683] and Vrddha-Hārīta adds

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682 भोगो यद्द्विगुणात्पूर्वं चक्रवृद्धिश्च गृह्यते । मूल च सोदय पश्चाद्धार्युस्य तच्च गर्हितम् । गृह्य quoted by वि चि p 6 which says द्विगुणाधिकवृद्धिग्रहण वृद्धेर्वृद्धिग्रहण वृद्धया तए मूलमेकीकृत्य मूलत्वेनैव तद्ग्रहण एतत्त्रय निन्दितमिति गृहस्थरत्ना-कर. Vide p 445 of गृह र This verse occurs in वि र p 14 which says that such actions are condemned, but if a Shylock insists on his agreement he can and does recover compound interest and so on, 'तद्धार्युस्य विगर्हितम्, अधर्मोय तन्द्धगति न तु भोगाधिक तच्च लभते एव तल्लाभस्य तैस्तैर्वाक्यैर्बोधनात्' This shows that the ancient sages were quite alive to the hardships of debtors and the evils of usurious interest. They condemned usury as a greater sin than even the murder of a learned brāhmana Vide Baud Dh. S I 5. 93 and Vas II 40-42 quoted above on pp 417-418

683. कुसीदवृद्धिर्धर्म्या विंशतिः पञ्चमाषिकी मासम् । गौ XII 26, पञ्चमाषस्तु विंशत्या एवं धर्मो न हीयते। वसिष्ठ II 50, वैश्य. कुसीदमुपजीवेत् । पञ्चविंशतिरत्वेव पञ्च-माषकी स्यात् । बौ ध सू I 5. 90-91, पुराणपञ्चविंशत्या मासे अष्टपणा वृद्धि । एव षड्भिर्मासैश्चतुर्भिर्वत्सरद्विपर्यागत सन्तिष्ठते । एषा धर्मवृद्धिर्नानया धर्माच्च्यवते । हारीत q by गृह र p 447, which explains पुराणमिह षोडशपणा पण काकिणीचतुष्टयम् । Should we not read एवं सष्टिमासकै in the quotation from Hārīta? 'Gaut and Vas provide that five māsas were the interest on 20 *panas* per month and if we are to suppose that they accepted the rule that 1/80 of the prin-cipal sum was the proper rate of interest (as ascribed to Vasistha by Manu VIII 140, Nār IV 99 and others), then the pana, acc to those two, must be equal to 20 māsas (i e 100 *raktikās*), while acc to Baud the pana would be equal to 16 māsas When Hārīta says that 8 panas are the monthly interest on 25 *purānas* (which were silver coins and each of which weighed 32 *raktikās*) and that in 4 years and 2 months the interest on 25 purānas at 8 panas per month came to be as much as the principal, it follows that a raktikā of silver was 40 times as valuable as a raktikā of copper ($8\times80\times50$ =32000 divided by 800) But this does not agree with what Sukra states (note 162 above) Probably the relative values of gold, silver and copper varied from age to age, according to the supply of some or all of these metals from foreign countries

that double the interest stated above may be taken when there is nothing pledged to secure the debt. Yāj and Vyāsa provide that this rate is the proper one when some thing is pledged or mortgaged by way of security. Yāj. II. 37, Manu VIII. 142 (=Nār IV. 100), Visnu Dh S VI. 2 provide an option that two, three, four or five per cent per month may be charged as interest in the order of the *varnas*[684] (i. e 2 per cent per month for a brāhmana debtor and so on) Yāj. II. 37 allows these rates only if there is nothing pledged by way of security Vyāsa[685] (in Par M. III. p 221) provided that the monthly rate of interest was $\frac{1}{60}$th of the principal lent when a pledge or mortgage was given as against the loan, $\frac{1}{80}$th when only a surety was offered and two per cent per month when money was lent on personal security. The Anuśāsanaparva 117.20 condemns to Hell those who take exorbitant interest. Kaut. prescribed (as stated in n. 688) fines for taking heavier interest than that allowed by him Kāt (498) provides that if a debtor himself stipulates a higher rate of interest than is allowed by the sāstra in times of difficulty (in order to induce the creditor to part with his money) that stipulated interest must be paid but a rate of interest imposed by the creditor otherwise (by force &c.) should not be enforced by the Court[686] It is probable that these rates are specified because of the economic conditions of those times which proved too much even for the ancient sages or different mercantile usages about interest prevailed in different countries at different times, as expressly stated by Nār. IV 105-106 that[687] these high rates (including eight per cent per month) had to be paid according to the law merchant in different countries Manu VIII. 141 (=Nār. IV. 100) holds that to take two per cent per month (on unsecured debts) is not improper In medieval times also the rate of interest was rather high e g interest at 25 per cent is said to have been

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684. विश्वरूप on या II 39 quotes a sūtra of Br for raising the rate of interest according to the varna of the debtor (वादेपञ्चयाल्क्रमेणेतरेषाम्)

685 सम्बन्धे भाग आशीत. पाष्टो भाग. सलग्नके। निराधारे द्विकशत मासलाभ उदाहृत. ॥ व्यास q. in परा मा. III p 221, व्य प्र p 227

686 ऋणिकेन तु या वृद्धिरधिका संप्रकल्पिता। आपत्कालकृता नित्य दातव्या कारिता तु सा। अन्यथा कारिता वृद्धिर्न दातव्या कथंचन। कात्या 498 q by स्मृतिच II 154, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII 153, वि र p 10 The वि र explains ऋणिकन तु स्वकायतया आशीतभागद्विकशताद्विरूपवृद्धिलोभिका वृद्धिर्व्यवस्थापिता सा कारिता सा च तेन देया, अन्यथा तेन व्यवस्थापिता बलेन स्वीकारितापि न देया।

687. या देशस्थितिस्त्वन्या यत्रर्णमवतिष्ठते। द्विगुणं त्रिगुण वापि तथान्यत्र चतुर्गुणम्। तथाऽष्टगुणमन्यस्मिन् देयं देशेऽवतिष्ठते ॥ नारद IV. 105-106.

charged on a deposit of six *gadyānas* kept with the *mahājanas* of Śivapura (vide Yewur Ins. in E. I XII. p. 273) Yāj. II. 38 provides that those debtors who carry on trade by traversing dense forests and those who are sea-faring traders should respectively pay 10 per cent and 20 per cent per month and the Mit adds that these exorbitant rates are allowed because of the great danger of the loss of even the principal as the debtors may perish by ship-wreck or from the attacks of robbers and wild beasts. Manu VIII. 157 leaves the rate of interest in the case of seafaring merchants to those who are clever in these matters and who know the proper time and place Kaut. (III. 11) states[688] that the prescribed (*dharmya*) rate of interest is 1¼ *pana* per cent per month, but in transactions (or in commercial usage) it is five panas per cent per month (as the highest, it appears), that those who traverse forests and those who carry on maritime trade should pay respectively ten and twenty per cent per month, that those who exceed or induce creditors to exceed these rates should be punished with the first amercement, that each of the witnesses to such usurious transactions should be punished with half of the above fine

Other rules laid down in the smṛtis relate to the maximum that can be recovered by a creditor from a debtor at one time All are agreed that the creditor cannot recover at one time from the debtor for principal and interest more than double of the money lent Vide Kaut. (III 11), Manu VIII 151, Gaut XII. 28, Yāj II 39, Viṣnu Dh VI 11, Nār IV. 107, Kāt (509) This is called the rule of *dvaguṇya*[689] in the smṛtis and of *dāmdupat* in modern times It will be explained in detail a little below As regards the interest in kind on articles lent there is some difference of opinion, which need not be gone into in great detail Manu VIII. 151 and Gaut XII 33 state that on loans of grain, fruits, wool and beasts of burden, and products like ghee and milk had from cattle the total recoverable cannot exceed in any case five times of what is lent Yāj II 39 states

688 सपादपणा धर्म्या मासवृद्धि. पणशतस्य । पञ्चपणा व्यावहारिकी । दशपणा कान्तारकाणाम् । विंशतिपणा सामुद्राणाम् । तत परे कर्तु कारयितुश्च पूर्व. साहसदण्ड. । श्रोतृणामेकैक प्रत्यर्धदण्ड. । अर्थशास्त्र III 11

689 चिरस्थाने द्वैगुण्यं प्रयोगस्य । गौ XII 28. हिरण्यस्य परा वृद्धिर्द्विगुणा । विष्णुध. VI. 11. चिरप्रवास. संस्तम्भमविष्टो वा मूल्यद्विगुण दद्यात् । कौटिल्य III 11. कुसीदवृद्धिर्द्वैगुण्यं नात्येति सकृदाहृता । मनु VIII 151 There is another reading सकृदाहिता

that in the case of cattle and female slaves when loaned their progeny is the profit, in the case of liquids (like oil and ghee) when loaned the maximum recoverable is eightfold and in the case of clothes and grain it is respectively four and three times Vas. II. 44–47 says the maximum recoverable at one time in the case of grain, flowers, roots, fruits and fluids (like oil) is three-fold and eight-fold in the case of things that can be weighed Vide Visnu Dh. S VI. 12–15 Visnu VI 17 (*amukhānām dvaguṇā*) provides that where no special rule is laid down the maximum recoverable is to be only double of what is lent Kāt. (570–572) states[690] that the maximum recoverable in the case of precious stones, pearls, corals, gold, silver, fruits, silk, wool is double of what is loaned; of oils, liquors, ghee, raw-sugar and salt and land eight-fold, of baser metals five-fold Vide Br. (S B E vol. 33 p. 322 verses 13–16) and V Nirnaya p 229 (quoting Bharadvāja) for similar provisions.

The rule of what is called *dāmdupat* in modern times expressed laconically by Manu VIII. 151 and Gaut XII. 28 is this that 'the amount of principal and interest recoverable at one time in a lump sum cannot be more than double of the money lent' As a debt was recoverable not only from a man himself but also from his three descendants and as therefore there was practically no period of limitation for bringing a suit for money lent, creditors had great temptations to allow interest to go on increasing Therefore the sages who condemned the profession of usury and particularly waiting long for the increase of interest[691] laid down that whatever the length of time during which the principal was at interest and whatever the rate of interest might have been, the creditor could recover by suit in a lump sum only double of the money lent This acted as a great

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690 मणिमुक्तामवालाना सुवर्णरजतस्य च। तिष्ठति द्विगुणा वृद्धिः फलकैतावितस्य च। तैलानां चैव सर्वेषां मद्यानामथ सर्पिषाम्। वृद्धिरष्टगुणा ज्ञेया गुडस्य लवणस्य च॥ कुप्यं पञ्चगुणं भूमिस्तथैवाष्टगुणा मता। कात्या. q in स वि pp 228–230, वि. र pp 17, 19 (first two), व्य. म p 170. The वि र p 17 accounts for this divergence as follows. 'बृहस्पतिना धान्ये चतुर्गुणत्वमुक्तं विष्णुमरीचिवसिष्ठहारीतैश्च त्रिगुणत्वमुक्तं तदुत्तमर्णापकृष्टगुणत्वमभ्यगुणत्वोत्कृष्टगुणैरयवस्था महार्हसमानार्घधान्यके कालदेशभेदेन वा व्यवस्था।

691 एवं च वृद्धिपरिगणनं वृद्धिगुरुत्वे अधर्माधिक्यप्रतिपादनार्थम्, अतिपीडाकरत्वात्। अधर्मस्तु कालग्रहणमात्र एव विष्ठा पार्श्वपिकस्यापीति निन्दनात्। चिरस्थापने विशेषाविधानाच्च। विवादचन्द्र p. 2

check on the creditors' rapacity. Several propositions are laid down in the Mit.,[692] the Vyavahāramayūkha and other digests that graft exceptions on the general rule, and that flow from the interpretation of Manu VIII. 151 in both readings. The first modification is that if interest is received every day, month or year and is not claimed in a lump sum at one time then the total interest received by a creditor may be even several times more than the principal lent Br. provides (S B E. vol 33 p. 321 verse 11) that every day interest or bodily interest and *bhogalābha* may be taken by the creditor (irrespective of the question of *dvaiguṇya*) as long as the principal is not paid[693] (2) Further, if after the interest has accumulated for some time, there is a fresh agreement with the same debtor whereby the sum lent together with interest due is taken as the principal and interest is agreed to be paid on the amount so arrived at, then the total recoverable after this fresh agreement may exceed double the original sum lent. Manu (VIII 154-155) and Br (S. B. E vol. 33 p 331 verse 60) allow such a fresh agreement. But if the debtor does not make a fresh agreement then the rule of *dāmdupat* would apply. (3) If after the sum due to the creditor has become double of the principal lent, the creditor accepts another man as the debtor (who takes the liability on himself), then the creditor may recover from the substituted debtor after the lapse of years an amount which may be more than double of the sum originally lent (4) If the debtor pays a part of the principal or if the creditor makes a concession (called '*reka*' in the Mit on Yāj II 39) and reduces the total recoverable or if the debtor receives an additional amount of money (called '*seka*' in the Mit) and it is added to the original amount borrowed and a fresh agreement is made between the parties to put the whole to interest, then the rule of dāmdupat would not apply

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692 एतच्च सकृत्प्रयोगे सकृदाहरणे च वेदितव्यम् । पुरुषान्तरसंक्रमणेन प्रयोगान्तरकरणे तस्मिन्नेव वा पुरुषे अनेकशः प्रयोगान्तरकरणे सुवर्णादिकं द्वैगुण्याद्यतिक्रम्य पूर्ववर्द्धते । सकृत्प्रयोगेपि प्रतिदिनं प्रतिमासं प्रतिसंवत्सरं वा वृद्ध्याहरणेऽधमर्णे देयस्य द्वैगुण्यसंभवात्पूर्वाहृतवृद्ध्या सह द्वैगुण्यमतिक्रम्य वर्धत एव। मिता on या. II 39

693 शिखावृद्धिं कायिकां च भोगलाभं तथैव च। धनी तावत्समादद्याद्यावन्मूलं न शोधयेत् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच० II. p 161, परा मा III. p. 230, विवादचन्द्र p. 2.

The rule of *dāmdupat* has been acted upon by the courts in India in modern times[694]. Though under the Transfer of property Act before its amendment in 1929 there was a conflict of decisions, since 1929 it is settled that the rule of dāmdupat does not apply to mortgages governed by the Transfer of Property Act. But the rule is so reasonable and humane that the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (XVII of 1879) has made (by sec. 13) the rule of dāmdupat applicable to all agriculturists as defined by the Act, whether Hindus or non-Hindus; and the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act (of 1939), sec. 42, the Madras Debt Conciliation Act (XI of 1936, sec. 16) do the same.

A loan has to be returned on demand if no time is fixed for repayment or on the expiry of the time (if one has been fixed by the parties) or when interest ceases on account of becoming equal to the principal (Br. in S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 328 verse 47) Interest stops when on the debtor offering to pay the loan the creditor refuses to accept it and the debtor deposits the money in the hands of a third person (Gaut. XII. 30, Yāj. II. 44). With Yāj. II. 44 section 84 of the Transfer of Property Act (IV. of 1882) may be compared. Vas. II. 49 states the remarkable rule that interest stops the moment the king dies and begins to run only after the coronation of the successor.[695] Nār. II 39

694 Vide *Balkrishna* v *Gopal* I L R 1 Bom. 73 (where it was held that the rule of dāmdupat should not be exteoded to apply to the amount recoverable in execotion of the decree of a civil court), *Nanchand* v *Bapusaheb* I L. R 3 Bom. 131 (held that the rule of dāmdupat does not apply wheo the defendant is a noo-Hiodu), *Gopal* v *Gangaram* I L. R 20 Bom. 721 F B (the rule is excluded from mortgages the terms of which oecessitate the existence of an accouot hetweeo the mortgagor aod the mortgagee in possession ahout the rents and profits), *Sundarabai* v *Jayawant* 1 Bom L.R. 551, 555 (rule applies between all Hindu debtors and creditors both in respect of simple as well as mortgage debts), *Khimji* v *Chunilal* 21 Bom. L R. 419 (by agreement interest which does oot exceed the principal may be capitalized) It is interesting to find that in aocieot Egypt the legal maximum rate of interest was thirty per cent and it was forbidden to allow interest to iocrease heyond the double of the principal Vide Wilkioson's 'Maoners and Customs of the aocient Egyptians' (First Series), 1842, vol. II p. 50. Usory was coodemned io aocieot Egypt, amoog the Jews (vide Psalm XV. 5, Ezek XVIII 8 and 17, Lev XXV. 36-37) and by the aocieot smrtis (as more heioous than even the morder of a brāhmana, H. of Dh. vol. II. p 124 n 269).

695. राजा तु मृतभावेन द्रव्यवृद्धिं विनाशयेत् । पुना राजाभिषेकेण द्रव्यमूलं च वर्धते ॥ वसिष्ठ II. 49.

(S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 33) provides that no interest runs on the price of commodities, on wages, on a deposit, on a fine, on what has been idly promised (to bards and the like) and on the stake won in gambling, unless there is a special or express agreement to pay interest.[696] Kāt. (508) has a similar verse,[697] but adds hides, crops, liquor, bride-price and suretyship debts to some of those mentioned by Nār Kaut. (III. 11) provides that no interest runs where the debtor is a person engaged in a Vedic sacrifice of long duration, or is suffering from a disease or is staying at his teacher's house (*gurukula*) for study or is a minor or is a man without any substance As regards some cases where originally a thing is lent to a person out of friendship or because he asked a loan of it, Nār. (IV. 108) and Kāt (502–505) lay down certain rules which are quoted in the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 38) and other works Nār. (IV. 108) prescribes[698] that no interest ever attaches to things loaned through friendship, unless there is an express stipulation to that effect; but even in the absence of a stipulation interest starts running after the expiry of six months. Nār. IV. 109 and Kāt. (505) both lay down that a loan (of money or an article) made through friendship cannot begin to earn interest as long as no demand is made for its return. If the debtor refuses to return it after it is demanded interest begins to run at the rate of five per cent. Kāt (502–504)[699] lays down three propositions about *yācitaka* (a temporary loan of money or of an article) · (1) When a person takes such a loan and goes to another country without

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696. पण्यमूल्यं भृतिर्न्यासो दण्डो यच्चावहारकम् । वृथादानाक्षिकपणा वर्धन्ते नाविवक्षिताः ॥ नारद II 36, मिता on या II 38, परा मा III p 224, स्म च p 169 read दण्डो यच्च प्रकल्पित· वि चि p 7 reads यच्चाभिहारिकम् (what is appropriated by fraud or force), अवहारकम् is translated by Jolly as 'what is abandoned by one and found by another' (S B E 33 p 33).

697. चर्मसस्यास्तबद्धेषु पण्यमूल्ये च सर्वदा । क्षीणुल्केषु न वृद्धि. स्यात्प्रातिभे व्यागतेषु च ॥ कात्या. (508) q. by स्मृतिच II. p 157, परा मा. III p 225, वि. र p. 20. दीर्घसत्रव्याधिशुल्ककुलोपरुद्धं बालमसारं वा नर्णमृणवर्धते । कौ III 11

698. न वृद्धिः प्रीतिदत्तानां स्यादनाकारितं क्वचित् । अनाकारितमप्यूर्ध्वं वत्सरार्धाद्विवर्धते ॥ नारद IV 108, which स्मृतिच० II p 156 explains 'अनाकारितं अकृत्वा ' प्रीतिदत्तानां प्रतियाचनप्रतिदानदिननिर्देशशून्यानामिति शेषः ।' प्रीतिदत्तं तु यत्किञ्चिन्न तद्वर्धत्ययाचितम् । याच्यमानमदत्तं चेद्वर्धते पञ्चकं शतम् ॥ नारद IV. 109

699 यो याचितकमादाय तमदत्त्वा दिशं व्रजेत् । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्तस्य तद्धनं वृद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥ कृत्वोद्धारमदत्त्वा यो याचितस्तु दिशं व्रजेत् । ऊर्ध्वं मासत्रयात्तस्य तद्धनं वृद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥ स्वदेशेऽपि स्थितो यस्तु न दद्याद्याचितः क्वचित् । त ततोऽकारितां वृद्धिमनिच्छन्त च दापयेत् ॥ कात्या. (502–504) q. by मिता. on या. II. 38, वि. र. pp 15–16, स्मृतिच II. p. 156.

returning it, that loan begins to acquire interest after a year from the date of the loan (though no demand be made); (2) if a person after taking a loan goes to another[700] country without returning it even when pressed by the lender to return it that loan begins to acquire interest three months (after demand); (3) when the borrower of a thing does not return it even though he is pressed to return it, the king should make him pay interest from that day (i. e. day of demand), though it was not agreed upon, though he remained in the country and though he be unwilling to pay interest. The Madanaratna says that in these cases where no interest is settled beforehand and where the texts do not specify the rate (as Kāt. 505–506 do viz. what is lent through friendship, a deposit, balance of interest, unpaid purchase money, if not returned on demand, begin to carry interest at five per cent per month), the rate of interest would be the one stated by Yāj. II. 37 (viz. 1/80th per month) and Visnu VI. 4. (*akṛtāmapi vatsarātikramena yathāvṛhtām*).

Ādhi[701] means pledge of a movable or mortgage of immovable property. Nār. IV. 117 remarks[702] that in lending money an *ādhi* and surety are the two sources that inspire confidence (in the creditor that his money will be safe) and a document and witnesses are the two modes of proof that will establish (the existence of a debt). An *ādhi* is so called because the creditor is authorised to wield power over it or it is placed within his power (Nār. IV. 124 and Mit. on Yāj. II. 58)[703]. The

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700. Compare Visnu Dh S. VI. 4 with the first proposition. Pānini (IV 4. 21) derives *yācitaka* (in the sense 'yācitena nirvrttam') In *Saundanappa* v. *Shivbasawa* 31 Bom. 354 Mr. Justice Chandavarkar translates (at p. 361) Nār IV. 108 and Kāt (502–504), discusses the explanations of those passages by the Mit on Yāj II 38 and holds that these incidents are even now applicable to contracts of debts by Hindu debtors and that neither the Interest Act (XXXII of 1839) nor the Indian Contract Act affects the ancient Hindu Law. It should be noted that 31 Mad 250 and 53 Mad 549 at p 579 dissent from this view.

701. For an illuminating discussion on pledges, vide Dr Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' chap VI pp. 176–206

702 विश्रम्भहेतू द्वावत्र प्रतिभूराधिरेव च । लिखितं साक्षिणश्चेह प्रमाणे व्यक्तिकारके ॥ नारद IV 117.

703. आधिर्नाम गृहीतस्य द्रव्यस्योपरि विश्वासार्थमधमर्णेनोत्तमर्णोऽधिक्रियते आधीयत इत्याधिः । यथाह नारदः—अधिक्रियत इत्याधिः—इति । मिता. on या. II. 58.

word ādhi occurs in Āp. Dh. S I. 6 18. 20[704] (which includes among those who are unfit to be invited at a śrāddha 'one who subsists on ādhi'). Gaut. XII. 29 also refers to *ādhi*. Kaut (III. 12) briefly deals with *ādhi* and after stating some rules extends the principles of *upanidhi* (deposit) and debt to it. Manu VIII. 165 employs the word 'ādhamana' in the sense of 'mortgage'. According to Br.[705] (S B E. vol. 33 p. 323 verse 17) an ādhi is of four kinds viz. of movable property, of immovable property, *gopya* (to be kept in custody of the pledgee only), *bhogya* (to be enjoyed). Nār. IV. 124 first divides ādhi into two sorts, viz. one that is to be redeemed within a certain time fixed (by agreement at the time of contracting the debt) or to be retained till the debt is paid off and Nār. IV. 125 again subdivides each of these two into *gopya* and *bhogya*. This latter division was known to Gaut. XII. 32, Manu VIII. 143, Yāj II. 59, Kāt. (576). The subdivisions of ādhi are made from several points of view viz. the nature of the property, the form of the pledge, the mention or non-mention of a period and the evidence to establish it. The Mit. on Yāj. II 58 explains[706] that the first kind of ādhi mentioned in Nār. IV. 124 contains the conditions that the money will be repaid at a fixed time and that if the money be not so paid at the time fixed the thing pledged or mortgaged will belong to the creditor. Yāj. II. 58 sets out three provisions viz. (1) when a time is fixed for payment, the thing pledged or mortgaged is lost to the debtor if the time fixed is allowed to pass without there being any repayment (whether it be an ādhi that is to be merely kept or whether it is one to be enjoyed); (2) but if no time be fixed the thing given as security is not lost

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704. ये च शस्त्रमाजीवन्ति । ये चाधिम् । भिषक् । वार्धुषिकः । आप. ध सू I. 6 18 19–22 हरदत्त explains आधि here 'as rent of a house,' because वार्धुषिक occurs a little later. But that sense is very rare and besides hardly any smṛtikāra has condemned the letting out of one's house for rent. It is better to take ādhi as pledge or mortgage and hold that vārdhuṣika refers only to those who lend corn in order to take 1½ times as much (or more) after the rainy season as defined by Nār IV. 110 quoted above (on p. 417).

705. आधिर्बन्धः समाख्यातः स च मोक्षश्चतुर्विधः । जङ्गम- स्थावरश्चैव गोप्यो भोग्य- स्तथैव च ॥ बृह. q. by व्यव. नि. p. 233, व्य. म. p 171; अधिक्रियत इत्याधिः स त्रिज्ञेयो द्विलक्षणः । कृतकालोपनेयश्च यावद्देयोद्यतस्तथा ॥ स पुनर्द्विविधः प्रोक्तो गोप्यो भोग्यस्तथैव च । नारद IV 124–25.

706. कृते काले आधानकाले एवमुक्तिमन्काले दीपोत्तरवादौ मयायमाधिर्मोक्तव्योऽन्यथा तवैवाधिर्भविष्यतीति । एवं निरूपिते काले उपनेयः आत्मसमीपं नेतव्यो मोचनीय इत्यर्थः । देयं दानं देयमनतिक्रम्य यावद्देयमुद्यतो नियतः स्थापितः इत्यर्थः । यावद्देयमुद्यतो यावद्देयोद्यतः गृहीतधनमूल्यर्पणावधिरानिरूपितकाल इत्यर्थः । मिता on या. II 58.

to the debtor at all, when it is an ādhi that is to be enjoyed; (3) if no time is fixed and the ādhi is only to be kept (*gopya*) then it is lost to the debtor only if it is not redeemed even when the debt has grown to double of the principal by non-payment of the interest agreed upon. There is a period of fourteen days' grace after this, as stated by Br. (S. B. E [707] vol. 33 p 324, verses 27-28) that when the principal has been doubled or the stipulated period in the case of a pledge delivered for a certain time only has expired, the creditor becomes the owner of the pledge, after waiting for a fortnight during which the debtor may repay the debt and redeem his property. Gaut. XII. 29, Manu VIII. 143, Yāj. II. 58, Visnu Dh S. VI. 5 provide that an ādhi which is mortgaged with the condition that the fruit or profits are to be enjoyed bears no interest nor can the creditor, even after keeping such an ādhi for a long time, make a gift of it or sell it Medhātithi on Manu VII. 143 holds that a mortgagee with possession who is to enjoy the produce cannot, by virtue of the last quarter of Manu VIII. 143, make a sub-mortgage (called *anvādhi*). Kullūka on [708] the other hand says that it is common practice in all countries for a mortgagee to execute a sub-mortgage of land and the like and that Manu VIII. 143 does not forbid it. Prajāpati [709] (q. by Par. M. III. p. 242) defines a deed of sub-mortgage: 'if the creditor pledges to another the thing already pledged to him for the same amount (for which it was pledged to him) he should pass a fresh deed of pledge (or mortgage) and should hand over the former deed to his own creditor.' It appears that sub-mortgages came to be recognized rather late. Bharadvāja states that if a sub-mortgage be effected without the mortgagor's consent, the mortgagee would lose his money.

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707. हिरण्ये द्विगुणीभूते पूर्णे काले कृतावधेः । बन्धकस्य धनी स्वामी द्विसप्ताहं प्रतीक्ष्य च । तदन्तरा धनं दत्त्वा ऋणी बन्धमवाप्नुयात् । बृह. q. by मिता. on या. II. 58 Compare the description of mortgage by conditional sale in sec. 58 (c) of the Transfer of Property Act (of 1882).

708. अत इह निसर्गोऽन्यत्राधानं विक्रयसाहचर्यात् । सदृशौ हि तौ केनचिद्वंशेन । मेधा० on मनु. VIII. 143, मेधातिथिगोविन्दराजौ तु आधेश्चिरकालेऽवस्थानेपि न निसर्गो नान्यत्र बन्धकेनार्णमिति व्याचक्षाते । अत्र तु सर्वदेशीयशिष्टाचारविरोधः, बन्धकीकृतभूम्यादेरन्यत्राधीकरणसमाचारात् । कुल्लूक on मनु. VIII. 143.

709. धनी धनेन तेनैव परमार्थिं नयेद्यदि । कृत्वा तदाधिलिखितं पूर्वं चास्य समर्पयेत् ॥ प्रजापति q. by स्मृतिच. II, 143, परा. मा. III. 242, व्य. म. p. 26; 'अयं चान्याधिर्धनस्य द्वैगुण्ये सति संप्रतिपत्तौ तु द्वैगुण्यादूर्ध्वमपि द्रष्टव्यः' परा. मा. III p 242; स्वामिना चागतज्ञात आधेरार्धिं करोति चेत् । स्वधनात्स तु हीनः स्यात्करोत्यापदि पूर्ववत् ॥ भरद्वाज in स. चि. pp. 234-235.

The general rule was that an ādhi (whether of movable or immovable property) that was *bhogya* carried no interest but the profits were to be taken in lieu of interest (vide Kāt 516)[710] and the debtor would in this case get back his property on paying the principal Kaut (III 12) states[711] that immovable property mortgaged may be such that it can be enjoyed only by expending labour over it or without expending one's own labour the creditor may enjoy the fruits or income thereof But as noted by Vyāsa and Bharadvāja[712] the stipulation about a *bhogya ādhi* may be that the income from the property is to be taken as in payment of the whole interest and part of the principal This latter is called *sapratyaya-bhogyādhi* and the other variety where the income is taken in lieu of interest only is called *apratyaya-bhogyādhi* The Mit. on Yāj. II. 64 after citing a text of Brhaspati refers to these two varieties (though it does not use these terms) and adds that if the income is not sufficient to meet the interest wholly then the debtor may have to pay the principal and the unpaid part of the debt before redeeming his property. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 64) states that the appropriate name 'ksayādhi' is given by the people to what is called (above) as *sapratyaya-bhogyādhi* Bharadvāja states that on taking an account (where there is an agreement to apply the income towards interest and reduction of the principal) if the creditor has been overpaid he is to restore the overpaid amount to the debtor and that if a portion of the principal remains unpaid the debtor has to repay it.

If a man first mortgaged his property and then sold it, the purchaser took it subject to the rights of the mortgagee (Vasiṣṭha quoted by Sm. C II. p 145) If a person executed a mortgage, a sale and a gift of the same thing on the same day, then the

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710. द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा वृद्ध्यर्थं भोगयोग्यं ददाति चेत् । जङ्गम स्थावरं वापि भोग्याधिः स तु कथ्यते ॥ मूल्य तदखिल दत्त्वा स्वक्षेत्रादिकमाप्नुयात् ॥ कात्या. 516 q. by व्यव. नि p. 242, स वि p. 234, which says that this is अप्रत्ययभोग्याधि.

711. स्थावरस्तु प्रयासभोग्यः फलभोग्यो वा । कौटिल्य III. 12.

712. अत्र भोग्यो द्विविधः सप्रत्ययभोग्याधिः अप्रत्ययभोग्याधिश्चेति । तत्रर्द्धिक मूल्यापाकरणार्थौ यः स सप्रत्ययभोग्याधिरित्युच्यते । वृद्धिमात्रापकरणार्थो य. सोऽप्रत्ययभो ग्याधिरित्युच्यते । तत्र सप्रत्ययभोग्याधिमाह व्यास· । कांक्षिद्वृद्धिं समाभाद्य द्रव्यमादाय तथत· । मत्क्षेत्रं भुक्त्व वृद्ध्यर्थमधिकं मूलनाशनम् । द्रव्याधि प्रत्ययाधिः स्याद्वृद्धेर्दुग्धे निष्क्रयो भवेत् । ... अत्र भरद्वाजः । ... यत्तु तत्राधिकं वृद्धेर्दैयं तद्धनिने पुनः । हीनं यावत्तु तद्वृद्धे तावत्सम्पूरयेद्ऋणी ॥ स. वि. pp. 233–234, vide व्यव नि pp 242–243 from which S V. appears to have borrowed.

donee would take one-third of the thing and the mortgagee and purchaser would share the remaining two-thirds in proportion to the money paid by each[713]. If a person was liable to pay several debts, some secured by a pledge or mortgage and some taken on personal security, the latter were to be paid first and redemption of the mortgage was to be ordered afterwards, according to Bharadvāja (q. by Vy. Nir p. 245).

The restriction that more money should not be taken from the sub-mortgagee than what was advanced to the mortgagor was for the benefit of the latter. The Par. M. (III. p. 242) provides that a sub-mortgage can be made only when the amount due has risen to double the principal, but that if the owner consents a sub-mortgage may be made even before that contingency arises.

Kāt. (522) requires that an ādhi becomes valid when such particulars as the boundaries of the field or house and the village (in which it is situated) are specified[714]. Kāt. (518) further provides that a writing of pledge or sale or gift is superior to a similar transaction made in the presence of witnesses only. If the same field or other thing is mortgaged or pledged to two persons separately, Visnu Dh. S. V. 185[715] and Bṛ. (S. B. E. 33 p 326 verse 34) prescribe[716] that the one who got possession first (without force) is entitled to preference. This shows that under ancient Hindu Law possession was nine points of law and that hypothecation without delivery of possession was known to Kāt. and other smrti writers, even if earlier smrtis did not recognise an hypothecation without possession. Yāj. II. 60 and Nār. IV. 139 emphatically assert that a pledge or mortgage becomes perfect or effective only if there

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713. यं पूर्वतरमाधाय विक्रीणाति तु तं पुनः । किमेतयोर्बलीयः स्यात्प्राक्तनं बलवत्तरम् ॥ कृतं यत्रैकदिवसे दानाधमनविक्रयम् । त्रयाणामिति सन्देहे कथं तत्र विनिश्चिनुयेत् । त्रयोपि तद्धनं धर्म्यं विभजेयुर्यथांशतः । उभौ क्रियानुसारेण त्रिभागेन मतिग्रह. ॥ इति । वसिष्ठ q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 145, स वि. p. 238-239, Br quoted by both has similar verses

714. मर्यादाचिह्नितं क्षेत्रं गृहं वापि यदा भवेत् । ग्रामादयश्च लिख्यन्ते तदा सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् । कात्या q. by स. वि. p. 236. Compare sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Registration Act

715 ययोर्निक्षिप्त आधिस्तौ विवदेतां यदा नरौ । यस्य भुक्तिः फलं तस्य बलात्कारं विना कृता ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 185; परा मा. III 233 reads जयं for फलम्.

716. क्षेत्रमेक द्वयोर्बन्धे यद्दत्तं समकालिकम् । येन भुक्तं भवेत्पूर्वं तस्य तत्सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् । बृह. q. by परा मा. III. p. 233, स्मृतिच II p 144; vide a similar verse of वसिष्ठ quoted in व्य म. p. 173.

is enjoyment and not otherwise. This is to be taken along with Yāj. II. 23 and so the first in time shall prevail only if the first is accompanied with possession If a sale or mortgage be made before witnesses to one man and in writing to another, the latter prevails over the former[717]. If a debtor were to pledge or mortgage the same thing to another after pledging it to one and without redeeming the first debt, Viṣnu Dh. S. (V. 181–182) prescribed[718] the drastic measure of corporal punishment (whipping or imprisonment) if the land mortgaged was a *gocarma* or more in extent or a fine of 16 *suvarnas* if it was less. Kāt (517) in similar circumstances made the debtor liable to the fine imposed on a thief Kāt. (519–521 q. in Sm. C. II pp 144–145 and V. P. pp. 240–241) states that in a competition between a document of pledge which does not give particulars of the thing pledged or which refers to a thing not existing at the time and a document in which the thing pledged is described with particulars or in which the thing existed at the time the deed was executed, the latter is entitled to preference; similarly the pledge of a thing specifically described is superior to a prior pledge of all the debtor's property mentioned in general terms

If an *ādhi* deteriorates[719] in value (i e. becomes inadequate to meet principal and interest) or if it be lost or destroyed though proper care be taken thereof by the creditor, then the debtor must either pledge another adequate thing (in substitution) or the debtor should return the amount due (Yāj II. 60, Kāt 524) The Mit on Yāj. II. 60 remarks that it follows from this that it is the duty of the pledgee to take proper care of the thing pledged. Br. (S B E 33 p. 323 verse 19) expressly says

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717 आधानं विक्रयो दानं लेख्यसाक्ष्यकृतं यदा । एकक्रियाविरुद्धं तु लेख्यं तत्रापहारकम् ॥ कात्या (518) q. by परा मा III 235, स्मृतिच II p 144, स वि p. 237. Compare Kāt. 518 with sec 48 of the Registration Act which provides that a document relating to movable or immovable property shall prevail over an oral agreement or declaration unless the latter is accompanied or followed by delivery of possession.

718 गोचर्ममात्राधिका भुक्तमन्यस्याधीकृतां तस्मादनिर्मोच्यान्यस्य च प्रयच्छेत्स वध्य. । ऊना चेत् षोडशसुवर्णान् दण्ड्यः । विष्णु V. 181–182 गोचर्म is variously defined: समहस्तेन दण्डेन त्रिंशद्दण्डा निवर्तनम् । दश तान्येव गोचर्म दत्त्वा स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ बृहस्पतिस्मृति 8 q. by मिता on या I 210 and अपरार्क p. 367, विष्णु V 183 एकोऽप्नीयाद् यदुत्पन्नं नरः संवत्सरं फलम् । गोचर्ममात्रा सा क्षौणी स्तोका वा यदि वा बहु. ॥ Vide also पराशर XII 49, बृहद्गौतम p 539, अपरार्क p. 1225 for other definitions.

719. आधीकृतं तु चल्किंचिद्विनष्टं दैवराजतः । तत्रर्णी सोदयं दाप्यो धनिनामधमर्णिक ॥ न चेद्धनिकदोषेण नियतेद्वा ह्रियेत वा । आधिमन्यं स दाप्यः स्याद्दर्शनान्मुच्येत नर्णिकः ॥ कात्या 523, 524 q. by स्मृतिच० II. pp. 137, 138, वि र p. 26–27.

that the pledge has to be kept carefully like a deposit, as otherwise interest is forfeited in case of its being damaged. If a pledge which is to be kept only is enjoyed by the creditor, then the interest stops and if it deteriorates or is lost the creditor has to restore it to its former condition or substitute another of equal value; if a pledge to be enjoyed is lost or deteriorates by use then also the interest stops; and the creditor has to restore it, otherwise he will lose his principal (Yāj II. 59 and the Mit thereon, Nār. IV. 125, 127) If a pledge is lost without any fault or negligence of the creditor, but through fate (i. e accidents like fire or flood) or the action of the king, the debtor has to furnish another pledge or to pay the amount due (Kāt. 523, Nār IV. 126, 130, Yāj. II. 59, Visnu Dh S VI 6, Gaut. XII. 39, Br., S. B E 33 p 323 verse 21). From the time of Gautama[720] (about 500 B. C) onwards the rule about the care required of a pledgee, bailee, depositee was the same viz that he is to take of another's property kept with him as much care as he would take of his own Nār. (*nikṣepa* 14) and Yāj II. 67 lay down the same rule for all kinds of bailments Manu VIII. 189 (=Nār., *nikṣepa*, verse 12) illustrates what is meant by accidental loss.

The debtor cannot redeem the pledge or mortgage before the time fixed by mutual agreement, but by mutual agreement he can redeem even before (Br. S. B. E. p 325 verses 32–33). If the creditor does not allow redemption when the debtor has a right to redeem and is ready to do so, the creditor may be liable to be fined as a thief (Yāj. II. 62). Acc. to Kaut (III. 12) the fine is 12 panas[721].

It has already been stated above (p 429) that in certain cases (i.e. when it is a *gopya ādhi*) the ownership is lost to the mortgagor (i. e. in the language of modern law there is a foreclosure), if the amount has risen to double of the money lent without payment (even after the period of grace) or if the period fixed has passed away without there being repayment (whether the

720. निक्ष्यन्वाधियाचितावक्रीताधयो नष्टा. सर्वाननिन्दितान्पुरुषापराधेन । गौ XII. 39, on which हरदत्त says. पुरुषापराधस्तु यदि धारयितारः स्वद्रव्यवन्न रक्षयेयुः, यद्यग्निभयादौ स्वद्रव्यं गृहीत्वा निक्ष्याद्युपेक्षेरन् स्वद्रव्यं वा गुप्तं निधाय बहिर्निर्ह्याद्दि स्थापयेयुः । एतस्मिन्पुरुषापराधे सति दद्युरेव ॥; दैवराजोपघातेन यदि तन्नाशमाप्नुयात् । ग्रहीतृद्रव्यसहितं तत्र दोषो न विद्यते ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच्च II p 179, व्य म p. 192, अराजदैविकेनापि निक्षिप्तं यत्र नाशितम् । ग्रहीतुः सह भाण्डेन दातुर्नष्टं तदुच्यते । कात्या q by स्मृतिच्च II. p. 179. Compare sections 151 and 152 of the Indian Contract Act, where the same propositions about the care to be taken by the bailee are laid down.

721. उपरियतस्याधिमप्रयच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 12.

amount has risen to double of that lent or not, acc. to Mit on Yāj. II. 58) But if at the time of contracting the debt the stipulation is to repay the sum lent with interest and there is no stipulation about loss of the ownership of the thing mortgaged (i. e it is like a simple mortgage of modern times), then there is no loss of ownership There is then only a power of sale in the mortgagee So also in the case of a *bhogyādhi* the mortgagor or his heirs can redeem the property at any time by paying the principal and there is no loss of ownership to the mortgagor According to Yāj II. 63 and Br.[722] (S B E vol 33 p 325 verse 29) the creditor can sell in the presence of (the debtor's relatives) and witnesses the ādhi, when the amount has grown to double of that lent or when the period fixed has passed, if the debtor has not redeemed and is absent or dead After meeting his own dues the creditor has, as said by Kāt. 529, to hand over the balance of the sale price to the king (i e probably to the court of the locality) Kaut.[723] (III. 12) provides that if the debtor is present and the creditor is afraid of the loss of his money because it may exceed the market value of the ādhi he may sell it with the permission of the judges (*dharmastha*) or he may demand a surety for assurance It appears from these passages that a sale through court and a right of private sale were both recognised in the case of mortgages in ancient India (as in modern times under sections 65 and 69 of the Transfer of Property Act).

There were two other special kinds of ādhi described in Yāj. II. 61 viz. *cāritrabandhaka*[724] and *satyaṅkāra*. The first

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722 हिरण्ये द्विगुणीभूते मृते नष्टेऽधमर्णिके। द्रव्य तदीयं संगृह्य विक्रीणीत ससाक्षिकम्॥ बृह q by ब्य स p 174, परा मा III p 240 which remarks 'आधीकृत द्रव्यं ससाक्षिकं विक्रीय ऋणाद्युरूप द्विगुणीभूतद्रव्यपर्याप्त गृहीतं ततोऽवशिष्टं वर्जयेत्। राज्ञे समर्पयेदित्यर्थ; विना धारणकाद्वापि विक्रीणीत ससाक्षिकम्। या II 63, धारणकाद्धमर्णाद्विना। मिता

723 धारणकसन्निधाने वा विनाशभयाद्बुद्ध्वार्धं धर्मस्थाद्यज्ञातो विक्रीणीत। आधिपालप्रत्ययो वा। अर्थशास्त्र III 12 Acc. to the Sm C II. 150 ādhipāla was a surety in case of *gopyādhi* (quoting पितामह). राज्ञस्तत स विख्यातो विक्रेय इति धारणा। संवृद्धिकं गृहीत्वार्धं शेषं राजन्यर्पयेत्॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 658, परा मा III. p 241, स. वि p 245, विवादचन्द्र p. 9, यदा तु न सकुल्या स्युर्न च सम्बन्धिबान्धवा। तदा दद्याद् द्विजातिभ्यस्तेष्वसत्स्वप्सु निक्षिपेत्॥ नारद IV 113, तथा च सग्रहकार। सुतादिग्राह्मणान्तानां रिक्थभाजामसंभवे। पलाशस्य पलाशेन जुहुयान्मध्यमेन तु। यत्कुसीदमिति प्राग्येदधवाप्त्वेव तद्धनम्॥ स्मृतिच II p 177

724 चरित्रबन्धककृतं संवृद्ध्या दापयेद्धनम्। सत्यङ्कारकृत द्रव्य द्विगुण प्रतिपादयेत्॥ या II 61, on सत्यंकारकृत the मिता. says सत्यस्य कार सत्यकार.-कारे सत्यागदस्य इति घुस्। सत्यंकारेण कृतं सत्यंकारकृतम्। Two meanings are given of चरित्रबन्धककृत and सत्यंकारकृत 'कारे सत्यागदस्य' is पाणिनि VI 3 70.

occurs either when the creditor being known to be very honest the debtor gives as security a property of very great value for a small debt or where a debtor being known to be very honest a property of very small value is accepted as security for a large debt. In such a case there is no forfeiture or foreclosure of the property in any case but the king (or judge) should award only double the principal lent Another meaning is that in a *caritrabandhaka* it is the merit (*apūrva* or *punya*) arising from bathing in the Ganges or from performance of *agnihotra* that is given as security (i. e. he will forfeit merit on non-payment). In this case the creditor will receive double and there is no loss or forfeiture of ādhi. A pledge made with *satyaṅkāra* occurs when at the time of making a pledge the stipulation is 'I am liable to pay only double but there will be no loss of the thing pledged' or (a second meaning of) satyaṅkāra is that 'when an earnest (a ring or the like) is given at the time of a sale and the vendor breaks the promise he has to pay double of the earnest'.

If the mortgagee is dead or absent abroad, and the debtor wants to redeem he may take back the ādhi after paying the amount due to the family i. e. to his sons and other agnatic relations or to his cognates and in the absence of these (if the creditor be a brāhmana) to other brāhmanas (and if no brāhmanas be available) he may cast the money into water (Yāj. II. 62 and Nār. IV. 112–113) The Kauśika-sūtra[725] (46. 36–40) contains provisions about casting the debt in the cemetery or where four roads meet if the creditor is dead and there are no heirs. The Sangraha says that it may be thrown into water with a palāśa leaf to the accompaniment of Tai S. III. 3 4 1–2 quoted above (n 671) Another alternative is that the debtor may have a valuation of the ādhi made at the time when he wants to redeem (and the creditor is absent), and allow it to remain with the creditor but without interest (and redeem it at the valuation when the creditor comes or secure the price from the creditor if the ādhi be afterwards lost or destroyed, acc. to Mit. on Yāj II. 63)

Prabhū A *prabhū* or *lagnaka* (Br. quoted in n. 681 and Kāt. 530) means 'surety'. *Prākbhāvya* (being a surety) was known to Gautama (XII 38) and *prabhū* was known to Pānini

725. उत्तमर्णे मृते तदपत्याय प्रयच्छति । सगोत्राय । श्मशाने निवपति । चतुष्पथे च । कक्षानादीपयति । कौशिकसूत्र 46 36–40.

(II. 3. 39). Suretyship requires the concurrence of three persons viz. the creditor, the borrower (called the principal debtor) and the person who agrees, for inspiring confidence in the creditor[726], to pay or indemnify if the principal debtor commits default Manu VIII. 160 speaks of surety for appearance and for repayment of debt. According to the purpose of the transaction a surety is of three kinds (Yāj. II. 53 = Visnu Dh. S VI 41 and Nār. IV. 118) viz for appearance, for payment and for honesty The first undertakes to produce a person before a court and assures the court that the person concerned will not abscond from the country; the surety for payment agrees that in case the debtor does not pay the principal and interest, he will himself pay both; the surety for honesty assures the employer or other person with whom another man deals that the latter is an honest and good man, that he would not deceive and that reliance may be placed on him (vide Mit. on Yāj II 53 and Sm. C II. p 148 for these explanations). Br (S. B. E [727] vol. 33 p. 327 verses 39-40) speaks of four (including the three of Yāj II. 53), his fourth being one who promises to deliver or restore the assets that are with the debtor (such as household furniture or ornaments). Yāj. and Nār. must be deemed to include this last under the surety for payment. Kāt. (530)[728] says that a surety (*lagnaka*) may be caused to be given for repayment (of a debt), for appearance (*upasthāna*), in lawsuits, for honesty and for taking oaths (or ordeals). Acc. to Hārita a surety is taken for five purposes viz. for keeping the peace (*abhaya*),

726. प्रातिभाव्य नाम विश्वासार्थं पुरुषान्तरेण सह समय । मिता on या II 53, व्य. प्र p. 247.

727. दर्शने प्रत्यये दाने ऋणिद्रव्यार्पणे तथा । चतुष्प्रकार' प्रतिभू' शास्त्रे दृष्टो मनीषिभिः ॥ आहैको दर्शयामीति साधुरित्यपरोब्रवीत् । दातादमेतद्द्रविणमर्पयामीति चापर ॥ बृह् q by अपरार्क p 655, स्मृतिच II p 148 and व्य प्र p 247

728. दानोपस्थानविश्वासविवादशपथाय च । लग्नकं दापयेदेव यथायोगं विपर्यये ॥ कात्या. 530 q, by अपरार्क p 655, परा. मा. III 249, स वि. p 247 When a special oath or ordeal was to be taken or undergone at some future date, a surety was taken from the party. A surety was also to be taken from both parties to a litigation (Yāj II 10). अभये प्रत्यये दाने उपस्थाने प्रदर्शने । पञ्चस्वेव प्रकारेषु ग्राह्यो हि प्रतिभूर्बुधै ॥ हारीत q by स्मृतिच II 148 and व्य प्र p 248 'उपस्थानमत्र बन्धद्रव्यार्पणमभिमत न दर्शनम्, तस्य स्वपदेनैवोपात्तत्वात्, पञ्चस्वित्यस्याधदनाच्च । स्मृतिच All the above kinds of sureties are taken in modern civil and criminal proceedings Vide sec 145 of the Civil Pro Code (for sureties for the performance of a decretal order or repayment of money ordered by a Court to be paid, for restitution of property taken in execution), sec 55 (4), Order 25 rule 1, Order 38 r 5, Order 41 rules 6 and 10 of the Civil Pro. Code and Cr. Pro. Code, chap. VIII, sec 426, 499 &c in criminal matters.

for honesty, for repayment of debt, for delivering the debtor's property to the creditor, for appearance V. P. p 248 quotes Vyāsa (who mentions seven kinds of sureties) and remarks that all can ultimately be reduced to three varieties.

If the surety for appearance cannot produce the person at the time and place agreed upon, he should in that case pay to the creditor what he has bound himself to pay except where the debtor is prevented from appearing by act of God or of the king. But a period of a fortnight, a month or three fortnights at the most should be allowed to the surety to find out the absconding person[729]. If he can produce him within that time the surety would be free from liability (Kāt 531, 532, Br. in S. B E vol 33 p. 327 verse 42). If the surety for appearance cannot (even after time is given) produce the debtor or the debtor dies then the surety has to pay from his own pocket the money due from the debtor (Manu VIII. 158 and Kāt. 532–33). All this is subject to the proviso of the act of God or of the king.

Sureties of all kinds are personally liable to make good the loss arising from the non-appearance of the debtor, or from his dishonesty or non-payment (Yāj. II. 53, Visnu VI. 41, Br. in S B. E 33 p. 327 v. 41); but the sons of the surety for appearance or honesty were not liable, if the surety died[730]. Yet if the surety for appearance or honesty stood surety only after taking some security from the debtor for so doing, then even the son would be liable to reimburse from such security the person losing. The liability of sons and grandsons for the suretyship debt of the father or grandfather will be discussed a little later on. If there are several sureties, then each will have to pay a proportionate part of the debt; but if each of the sureties has undertaken the whole liability of the debtor (i e. if the liability of all is joint and several) then the creditor may at his will recover the whole debt from any one of the several sureties

729. नष्टस्यान्वेषणे कालं दद्यात्प्रतिभुवे धनी। देशाद्धरूपतः पक्षं मासं सार्धमथापि वा॥ बृह ; नष्टस्यान्वेषणार्थं तु देयं पक्षत्रयं परम्। यद्यसौ दर्शयेत्तत्र मोक्तव्यः प्रतिभूर्भवेत्। काले प्रतीते प्रतिभूर्यदि तं नैव दर्शयेत्। स तमर्थं प्रदाप्यः स्याल्लेते चैव विधिः स्मृतः॥ कात्या ; both q by स्मृतिच. II. p 149, व्य म. p 249, मिता on या II. 57.

730. आद्यौ तु वितथे दाप्यौ तत्कालावेदितं धनम्। उत्तरौ तु विसंवादे तौ विना तत्सुतौ तथा॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच. II p. 150, व्य म p 250; गृहीत्वा बन्धकं यत्र दर्शनेऽस्य स्थितो भवेत्। विना पित्रा धनात्तस्माद्दाप्य स्यात्तद्धनं सुतः॥ कात्या. 534 q by मिता on या II 54, अपरार्क p. 656, व्य म p. 251.

(Yāj II 55, Nār. IV. 120) Kāt 538 states[731] a special rule that whichever out of several sureties that have incurred joint and several liability is found present at the place (of the agreement) should be made to pay the debt, if such a surety has gone abroad his son may be made to pay the whole, but if the surety be dead the son should be made to pay only the share of his father (there being several sureties) If a surety being pressed or harassed by a creditor pays openly (before all people) the debt (wholly or in part)[732] then the debtor will be made to pay after three fortnights double of what the surety has to pay (Yāj II. 56, Nār. IV. 121, Viṣnu Dh S. VI. 44, Kāt 539) But if the surety pays without being pressed he would get only what he paid and if the debtor reimburses the surety without loss of time then he has not to pay double These rules apply to money lent, but in the case of grain, clothes and liquids the debtor must pay to the surety three, four or eight times respectively (Yāj II 57) Who could not be accepted as sureties has already been stated (on pp. 291–292).

Several were the modes of the recovery of debts Manu (VIII. 47–48) requires the king to make the debtor repay his debt to the creditor in whatever way he can do it There is a difference in the modes of recovery according as the liability is admitted by the debtor or not. If liability is denied then the only method is to file a suit for the recovery of the debt. But if the liability is admitted by the debtor, then Manu VIII 49 (=Nār IV 122), and Br (S B E vol 33 p 329 v. 54) mention five means of recovery viz *dharma* (persuasion), *nyayahāra* (legal proceeding), *chala* or *upadhi* (trick), *carita* (sitting down at his door) or *bala* (compulsion to do work or confinement) It appears from Āp Dh S (I. 6 19 1) that the method of sitting at the door for recovery of debts was known to Āp (the creditor so doing is designated *pratyupavista*). In a Marwad Inscription

731. बहवश्चेत्प्रतिभुवो दृश्यस्तेऽर्थं यथाकृतम्। अर्थेऽविशेषिते ह्येषु धनिनश्छन्दत: क्रिया। नारद IV. 120, विष्णु VI 42, एकच्छायामविष्टाना दाप्यो यस्तत्र दृश्यते। मोचिते तत्सुत सर्वे पित्रंशं तु सूते समम्॥ कात्या 538, q by मिता on या II 55, व्य म p 251 एकच्छायाश्रित or एकच्छायामविष्ट is a technical expression meaning the same as 'undertaking joint and several liability' and is explained by the मिता as 'एकस्याधमर्णस्य छाया सादृश्यं तामाश्रिता एकच्छायाश्रिता अधमर्णा यथा कृत्स्नद्रव्यदानाय स्थितस्तथा दाने प्रतिभुवोऽपि प्रत्येकं कृत्स्नद्रव्यदानाय स्थिता:'.

732 प्रतिभाव्यं च यो दृष्ट्वात्पीडित. प्रतिभावित। त्रिपक्षात्परत: सोऽर्थं द्विगुणं दण्डमर्हति॥ कात्या 539, q by अपरार्क p 657, परा मा III p 252, वि र p 45, व्य म p 253 ascribes it to both कात्यायन and बृहस्पति

dated *saṁvat* 1198 (1141–42 A. D.) this practice is called *kāya-vrata* (*yadi brāhmaṇaḥ kāyavrataṁ kṛtvā mriyate*). Vide E. I. vol. XI p. 37 at p 40 These modes of recovery except vyavahāra are explained by Bṛhaspati as follows:[733] The method of dharma consists in sending messages (to the debtor) from his friends and relatives, in persuading him to pay with sweet words, by following the debtor (i. e. by persistent dunning) and by frequent requests. Trick consists in the creditor borrowing from the debtor some ornament or other article under the pretext of its being required in a festival and not returning it or in retaining what the debtor has handed over to the creditor for being delivered to another, that is compulsion when the debtor is brought to the creditor's house, is then confined or beaten and thus induced to repay the debt; that is *āvaruta* where the creditor keeps tied his own wife or son or cattle at the debtor s house or sits down at his door (fasting) All these methods could not be employed in the case of all debtors Kāt. (477–480) has already been cited (on p. 383) to show how the king is to employ the various methods in the case of brāhmaṇas, traders &c. If the creditor employs any one of the methods (other than vyavahāra) and harasses a debtor when the latter claims judicial investigation and there is a doubt or dispute between the two as to the amount, the rate of interest, the liability to pay, the creditor would lose his claim and would have to pay a fine equal (to the claim)[734] Kāt 589 and Br[735] (S. B E vol 33, p. 331 verses 63–65) lay this down But when the debtor admits his liability and yet does not pay and when the creditor therefore employs one of the means (other than a suit) appropriate to the caste and position of the debtor, then, if the debtor complains to the king

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733 प्रतिपन्नमृणं दाप्यः सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः । धर्मोपधिबलात्कारैर्गृहसंरोधनेन च ॥ सुहृत्सम्बन्धिसन्दिष्टैः सामोक्त्यानुगमेन च । प्रायेण वा ऋणी दाप्यो धर्म एष उदाहृतः ॥ छलना याचितं चार्थमानीय ऋणिकाद्धनी । अन्वाहितादि वाहृत्य दाप्यते तत्र सोपधिः ॥ यदा स्वगृहमानीय ताडनाद्यैरुपक्रमैः । ऋणिको दाप्यते यत्र बलात्कारः स कीर्तितः । द्वारपुत्रपशून् बद्ध्वा कृत्वा द्वारोपवेशनम् । यत्रर्णी दाप्यतेऽर्थं स्वं तदाचारितमुच्यते ॥ बृह q. by स्मृतिच्च II. p 164, परा मा III p 255–256, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII 49, व्य प्र pp 256–257.

734 न रौद्धव्यः क्रियावादी सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे कथञ्चन । आमेधर्यस्त्वनासेध्यं दण्ड्यो भवति धर्मतः ॥ प्रदातव्यं यद्भवति न्यायतस्तद्ददाम्यहम् । एवं यत्रर्णिको ब्रूते क्रियावादी स उच्यते ॥ रूपसंख्यादिलाभेषु यत्र भान्तिर्द्वयोर्भवेत् । देयानादेययोर्वापि सन्दिग्धोऽर्थः स कीर्तितः ॥ अनावेद्य तु राज्ञे यः सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे प्रवर्तते । प्रसह्य स विनेयः स्यात्स चाप्यर्थो न सिध्यति ॥ बृह. in स्मृतिच. II p 166, व्य प्र pp 259–260

735. पीडयेद्यो धनी काश्चिदृणिकं न्यायवादिनम् । तस्मादर्थात्स हीयेत तत्समं चाप्नुयाद्दमम् ॥ कात्या 589, q. by मिता on या II 40, अपरार्क p 645, व्य. प्र p 260.

against the creditor, the debtor would be compelled by the king to pay the debt and a fine for unnecessary complaint (Yāj II 40, Manu VIII. 176, Viṣnu Dh S VI 19) Kāt (580–584) provides that where[736] it is the custom of the country, the creditor may hold the debtor in restraint openly before an assembly of people until he pays what is due, that when a man so restrained has an inclination to answer calls of nature, he should be followed behind by the creditor or he should be allowed to go alone but fettered, that he should be allowed to go home for his meals and at night if he furnishes a surety, and that the surety will have to remain in restraint (while the debtor is absent), that if the debtor cannot secure a surety or does not accept the proposal of furnishing one he should be confined in jail or should be kept guarded by men, but that a respectable man who is trust-worthy and pure in conduct should not be put in jail, that he should be allowed to go without fetters or after being bound by an oath. Manu VIII 177, Yāj II. 43, Nar. IV 131 lay down that if a debtor is unable to pay a debt then he should be made to do work suitable to his caste in the house of his creditor of the same or higher caste in order to gradually liquidate the debt (but without detriment to his own family) and a brāhmana debtor should be made to pay by easy instalments[737]. Kaut. III. 11 provides[738] that agriculturists and king's servants should not be seized (for debts) at the time when it is the season for them to work, nor a woman for her husband's debt unless she has promised to repay her

736. धार्योवरुद्धस्त्वणिकः प्रकाश जनसंसदि । यावत्क दद्यादेय च देशाचारस्थिति-र्यथा ॥ विण्मूत्रशङ्का यत्र स्याद् धार्यमाणस्य देहिन । पृष्ठतो वाऽनुगन्तव्यो निबद्ध वा समुत्सृजेत् ॥ स कृतप्रतिभूश्चैव मोक्तव्य स्याद्दिने दिने । आहारकाले प्राप्ते च निबन्धे प्रतिभू स्थित ॥ यो दर्शनप्रतिभुवं नाधिगच्छेत्क चाश्रयेत् । स चारके निरोद्धव्य स्थाप्यो वावेद्य रक्षिण. ॥ न चारके निरोद्धव्य आर्य भाव्यधिक शुचिः । सोनिबद्ध. प्रमोक्तव्यो निबद्ध' शपथेन वा ॥ कात्या 580–584 q. by स्मृतिच II p 165, वि र pp 69–70, व्य प्र pp 257–258 वि र p 67 says that the mode in the first verse is a method of व्यवहार. In modern times a debtor who owes a decretal debt can be kept in civil jail under Order 21 rules 37–40 of the Civil Pro. Code In most European countries imprisonment for debts was abolished only in the 2nd half of the 19th century Even now in England under certain circumstances a judgment debtor may be imprisoned for 42 days For चारके निरोद्धव्य. vide दशकुमारचरित I p 36 'सा च दुष्टकन्या .. चारके निरोद्धव्येति'

737 निर्धनसुणिकं कर्म गृहमानीय कारयेत् । शौण्डिकाद्य ब्राह्मणस्तु दापनीय शनैः शनैः ॥ बृह q. by वि र. p 71, व्य प्र. p 261.

738. अग्राह्या. कर्मकालेषु कर्षका राजपुरुषाश्च। स्त्री वाप्रतिश्राविणी पतिकृतमूणमन्यत्र गोपालकार्धसीतिकेभ्य. । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11

husband's debt, but wives of cowherds and those who take a lease of lands for half produce may be arrested for non-payment by the husband. As compared with the harsh legislation against debtors in most ancient and medieval systems of jurisprudence the rules laid down by the smrtis are very mild and humane[739]. If there were several creditors there was priority among them i. e. the earlier debt prevailed over the later one; a brāhmana creditor however (whatever the date of his advance) was preferred to a ksatriya or other creditor (Yāj II. 41, Kāt. 514). Kaut[740] states that the debts owed to the Crown and a śrotriya take precedence over other debts and that unless the debtor is going to abscond several creditors should not simultaneously proceed against one debtor. Section 56 of the Bombay Land Revenue Code makes Government assessment a paramount charge on the land. But acc. to Kāt. (513) if several debts were contracted in writing on the same date, they should all be treated as equal and paid off *pro rata* from the debtor's assets if insufficient; but, if a creditor established that a particular article belonging to a debtor was manufactured by the debtor with his money only, that creditor alone got the money recovered by sale of the article (Kāt. 515). Bharadvāja states[741] that if a debtor has no cash then the creditor should be paid by sale of the debtor's other property in order viz. grain, gold, iron, cattle, clothes, land, slaves, and conveyances, (in the absence of fields) his garden and lastly his house and in the absence of even a house time should be granted to debtors of the three higher castes.

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739. Under the law of the Twelve Tables in Rome a creditor could put the debtor to death or sell him to a stranger beyond the Tiber or, if there were several creditors, they could divide the body of the debtor among themselves after the third market day (Table III in Ortolan's Roman Law p 106). Vide Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' pp 316-17 for later Roman and Irish rules

740. नानर्णसमवाये तु नैकं द्वौ युगपदभिवदेयातामन्यत्र प्रतिष्ठमानात् । तत्रापि गृहीतानुपूर्व्या । राजश्रोत्रियद्रव्यं वा पूर्वं प्रतिपादयेत् । कौटिल्य III. 11, नानर्णसमवाये तु यत्पूर्वकृतं भवेत् । तत्तदेवाग्रतो देयं राज्ञः स्याच्छ्रोत्रियादृते । कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 167, स वि p. 255.

741. ऋणिकस्य धनाभावे देयोन्योर्थस्तु तत्क्रमात् । धान्यं हिरण्यं लोहं वा गोमहिष्यादिकं तथा ॥ वस्त्रं भूर्दासवर्गं च वाहनादि यथाक्रमम् । धनिकस्य तु विक्रीय प्रदेयमनुपूर्वशः । क्षेत्राभावे तथारामस्तस्याभावे गृहक्रय. । द्विजातीना गृहाभावे कालहारो विधीयते ॥ भरद्वाज q. by व्यव नि. p 254, परा मा III. 259, व्यवहारसार p. 116. In view of this passage the remark of Mr. Golap Chandra Sarkar in his 'Hindu Law' (7th ed. of 1933) p 432 'Hindu Law nowhere contemplates a compulsory sale of immovable property in execution of decrees' seems hardly correct.

When a debtor was not able to return the entire debt in a lump, he should write on the back of the document of debt the sums paid by him from time to time or the creditor may pass a receipt (*upagata* or *praveśapatra*, as the Mit designates it) to the debtor signed by himself (Yāj II 93, Nār IV. 114, Visnu Dh S VI. 26). If the creditor, though requested by the debtor, would not pass a receipt he was to lose the balance of his debt (Nār. IV. 114) Nār. IV 115 and Br (S B E vol 33 p 332 verse 66) further provide that if the creditor does not write down (either on the bond itself or in a separate document) the money recovered by *dharma* or some other method then the debtor himself will be entitled to interest on the amount paid by him [741a] When the whole debt is paid off, the creditor should tear off the bond of debt or he may execute another document in order to show that the debtor is freed from the debt (if the original is lost or is not within easy reach) and when a debt is borrowed in the presence of witnesses, it should be returned in the presence of the same or other witnesses (Yāj II. 94, Visnu Dh S. VI. 24–25) Nār IV 116 requires the creditor to return the document when the whole debt is paid off or to announce openly to others that it has been paid [742]

It has now to be seen who (other the man himself) are liable to pay a man's debt The liability to pay another's debt may arise on three grounds, (1) religious, (2) equitable and moral, (3) legal, such as agency (express or implied) or authority. That the sons and grandsons of the original debtor are liable to pay on religious grounds the debt of the father is expressly stated by numerous writers such as Kaut [743] III. 11, Yāj. II 50, Nār. IV. 4, Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 328 verse 49), Kāt (560), Vrddha-Hārita VII. 250–51, Visnu Dh. S VI. 27.

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741 a धर्मादिनोद्दयाद्य धन यस्तूपरि न लेखयेत् । न चैवोपगत दद्यात्तस्य तद्वृद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥ बृह q. by वि र p. 80, व्य. प्र p 277

742 लेख दद्याद्विशुद्धर्णे तदभावे प्रतिश्रयम्। धनिकर्णिकयोरेव विशुद्धि स्यात्परस्परम्॥ नारद IV 116 असहाय explains 'प्रतिश्रयं विशुद्धिपत्रम्', while the स्मृतिच. II p 162 and व्य प्र p. 277 read प्रतिश्रवम् and explain 'प्रतिदान कृतमिति साक्षिभि श्रावणम्'

743. जीवितविवाहभूमिप्रातिभाव्यमसरूयातदेशकाल तु पुत्रा पौत्रा वा वहेयु । अर्थशास्त्र III 11, क्रमादृव्याहर्त प्राप्त पुत्रैर्यत्नर्णमुद्धृतम् । दृष्ट पैतामह पौत्रास्तच्चतुर्थांन्निवर्तते ॥ नारद IV. 4, ऋणमात्मयिवत्पित्र्य देय पुत्रैर्विभावितम् । पैतामह सम देयमदेयं तत्सुतस्य तु ॥ बृह. q. by the मिता on या II 50, पुत्राभावे तु दातव्यमृण पौत्रेण यत्नत । चतुर्थेन न दातव्य तस्मात्तद्विनिवर्तते ॥ कात्या 560 q स्मृतिच II p 171, परा मा III p 264, वि र p 49, व्य प्र p. 264.

The important question is whether the smrtis declare the liability of the great-grandson. It is clear that smrtis like that of Br. expressly say that the great-grandson is not liable to pay his great-grandfather's debt. The Visnu Dh. S. VI. 28 says that the descendants beyond the grandson need not pay if they are unwilling to pay Others like Nār IV. 4 and Kāt. say that the obligation to return a debt ceases from the fourth. The question is what is meant by the fourth i. e. is it meant to exclude, in calculating, the original debtor or to include him ? It is possible to hold (particularly because the great-grandson is not expressly mentioned in most smrtis) that the fourth means 'inclusive of the original debtor'. But this appears to be in conflict with the rule in Manu IX. 137 (which is the same as Baud Dh. S. II 9. 6, Vas. 17. 5, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) that the son, grandson, and great-grandson confer the greatest spiritual benefit on the ancestor, the rule (Manu IX. 186, Nār. IV. 6) that *piṇḍas* (in *śrāddha*) are to be offered by three persons in descent and the general rule that whoever takes the inheritance must offer the pinda and pay the debts of the ancestor (Gaut. XII. 37, Yāj. II. 51, Nār. IV. 23, Visnu Dh. S XV. 40 and VI. 29). Therefore, following the canons, viz. the rights to property are co-extensive with the liability to perform śrāddha and to pay off debts (which is quite logical and reasonable), that the texts relating to the same subject matter must be harmonized and reconciled as far as it is reasonably possible[744] to do (*ekavākyatā-nyāya*), that apparently conflicting texts are to be assigned their appropriate spheres (*viṣayavyavasthā*), and that a direct conflict (and so an option) is to be presumed only if no other recourse is open, the Mitāksarā and other commentators put forward the interpretation that the texts stating that the great-grandson is not liable to pay the great-grandfather's debt apply only to cases where the great-grandson inherits no ancestral property, but that he *is liable* if he takes ancestral property. Dr. Jolly in his note on Nār. IV. 6 (in S. B E. vol. 33 p 44) remarks: "the doctrine, viz. the liability to pay debts contracted

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744 This principle is stated by the मिता on या I 4–5 as 'एतेषां (मन्वादीनां) प्रत्येकं मामाप्येषि साकाङ्क्षाणामाकाङ्क्षापरिपूरणमन्यत. क्रियते विरोधे विकल्पः ।.' मेधातिथि on मनु XI. 216 puts it in the same way 'एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्र योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः'. This view is based on जैमिनि II. 1 46 अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्ष चेद्विभागे स्यात्. The word एकवाक्यता occurs in Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 24. In *Vithal v. Prahlad* 39 Bom 373 at p. 379 this principle has been judicially recognized

by an ancestor extends to the great-grandson, is opposed to the teaching of such an eminent authority as *Vijñāneśvara, who maintains in the Mitāksarā that the great-grandson*[745] *is not liable for debts contracted by his great-grandfather*, and conversely that he does not inherit his property' He makes similar remarks in his Tagore Law Lectures for 1885 (on 'adoption, partition' &c. p. 171). Dr. Jolly is under some misapprehension since the Mit. in two places deals with this matter and expressly states that the great-grandson is liable to pay debts contracted by his great-grandfather if he has taken ancestral estate but not otherwise. The following propositions are deducible from the smrti texts and authoritative commentaries like the Mit and the Vīramitrodaya (Vyavahāraprakāśa). The[746] first proposition is that the debts of a man must be paid by his three descendants (son, grandson and great-grandson) if they have ancestral estate in their hands (Mit on Yāj II. 51 quoted in note 745, Sm. C II. p 171, V. P. p. 264). The 2nd proposition is that even when no ancestral estate was taken by the descendants the son was liable to pay his father's debts with interest, the grandson was liable to pay his grandfather's debt but without interest and the great-grandson was not liable to pay even the principal, if he was unwilling to pay. This proposition is enunciated by Visnu Dh S VI. 27–28, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 328

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745. On ऋणमात्मीय &c. of बृहस्पति referred to above the मिता (on या II 50) remarks, 'सम यावद्गृहीतं तावदेव देय न वृद्धिः । तत्तुतस्य अपौत्रस्य अदेयमगृहीतधनस्य । एतच्चोत्तरश्लोके स्पष्टयिष्यते' On the words पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिनः (on या II. 51) the मिता explains इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रादयो यदि रिक्थं गृह्णन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्याः नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम्।'. Dr Jolly probably misunderstood 'अगृहीतधनस्य' and held it to mean 'that a great-grandson does not take the ancestral estate', but it really means 'if he has not taken &c' The स्मृतिच. II. p 171 says, 'एव च अपितामहादिकृतर्णापकरणानधिकारो चतुर्थादेरगृहीतरिक्थस्यैव न पुनर्गृहीतरिक्थस्येत्यवगन्तव्यम् । .. गृहीतरिक्थाना तु पौत्राणामधिकारो वृद्धिसाहितऋणापाकरणे। देय पैतामह सममित्यस्यागृहीतरिक्थविषयत्वात्।'

746 The first proposition is followed by modern decisions in British India Vide *Lachman Das v Khunnu* 19 All. 26 (F. B) which holds that the mortgagee of a man who had mortgaged joint ancestral property can enforce his mortgage against the grandson of the mortgagor for the realization of *interest* as well as principal, *Ladu Narain v. Gobardhan* 4 Patna 478, *Masit Ullah v. Damodar Prasad* 48 All. 518 (P. C) where the Privy Council held that the great-grandson is liable for the debts of his great-grandfather as much as he is liable for those of his father or grandfather In all these cases passages from the smrtis of Yāj , Nār. and Br and from the Mit. and the Vīramitrodaya are quoted and discussed.

v. 49 referred to on p. 443) and Kāt. 556[747]. In *Narasimharav v. Antaji* 2 Bom. H. C R. 61 it was held (probably following Brhaspati, though not quoted in the judgment) that the grandson was liable to pay the debt of his grandfather without interest even if there was no ancestral estate. This was felt to be a great hardship on heirs (taking no ancestral estate) and in order to remove it Bombay Act VII of 1866 (the Hindu Heirs' Relief Act) was passed whereby it is provided that a son or grandson is not liable to be sued for the debts of his deceased ancestor merely by reason of his being such a son or grandson and that the son, grandson or other heir shall be liable only to the extent of the assets that come to his hands. The same is the law laid down in other parts of India by judicial decisions. Br. (S B. E. vol. 33 p. 328 verse 48) recommends that the father's debt must be paid first of all and after that one's own debt; but a debt of the grandfather must always be paid even before the preceding[748] two kinds of debt. These two propositions of Hindu jurists are very lucidly, but succinctly, set forth by the Vīramitrodaya quoted below[749]. The third proposition (which is an exception to the above two) is that even a son is not liable to pay certain illegal and immoral debts of his father This proposition will be discussed a little further on A fourth proposition is that even when the father is not dead, the son, grandson or great-grandson may be liable to pay the father's or other ancestor's debt under certain circumstances. Yāj. II. 50 provides that sons (and grandsons) must pay the debt of the father when he is dead or has gone to a distant country or is afflicted with an incurable disease. Nār.[750] IV. 14, Visnu VI. 27, Kāt.

747. पैतामहं तु यत्पुत्रैर्न दृत्तं रोगिभिः स्थितैः । तस्माद्वेवंविधं पौत्रैर्देयं पैतामहं समम् ॥ कात्या 556 q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 170 and वि र p 48.

748. पित्र्यमेवाग्रतो देयं पश्चादात्मीयमेव च । तयोः पैतामहं पूर्वं देयमेवमृणं सदा ॥ बृह q by व्य म p. 185, वि र p. 47, परा मा. III p 264

749. पुत्रेण रिक्थग्रहणाग्रहणयोः सदृष्टिकमेव देयम् । पुत्राभावे पौत्रेण रिक्थग्रहणे सोदर्यं देयम् । अग्रहणे मूलमेव । प्रपौत्रेण तु रिक्थाग्रहणे मूलमपि न देयम् । व्य म p 264.

750. धनग्राहिणि प्रेते भग्नजिते द्विदशसमाः प्रवासिते वा तत्पुत्रपौत्रैर्धनं देयम् । विष्णु. VI. 27, विद्यमानेपि रोगार्ते स्वदेशात्प्रोषितेपि वा । विंशात्संवत्सरादेयमृणं पितृकृतं सुतै ॥ व्याधितोन्मत्तवृद्धानां तथा दीर्घप्रवासिनाम् । ऋणमेवंविध पुत्राञ् जीवतामपि दापयेत् ॥ सांनिध्येपि पितुः पुत्रैर्ऋणं देयं विभावितम् । जात्यन्धपतितोन्मत्तक्षयश्चित्रादिरोगिणः ॥ कात्या० 548-550 q by अपरार्क p 650, वि. र pp 50-51, परा मा III 264, स्मृतिच II. p. 169. व्यव नि pp. 255-56 Some of these ascribe the last to बृहस्पति The first and third verses of Kāt are quoted in *Peda Venkanna v. Srcenivasa* 41 Mad. 136 at p 149. The व्यव. नि. (p 256) remarks that these texts indicate that during the father's lifetime only the sons are liable for the father's debts and not the grandsons, but if no sons are alive then even grandsons will be liable.

548-550 state that when the father, though living and near, becomes an ascetic (acc. to Visnu), is afflicted with such diseases or calamities as blindness from birth or loss of caste (due to grave sins), lunacy, tuberculosis, leprosy and other (incurable) diseases or when he has left his country or has gone on a long journey or is very old (above 80) the son will have to pay the debt of the father after the twentieth year (from his going abroad). Acc. to V. R. (p 50) if the father's disease was incurable or if it was certain that he would not return from his journey then the son was bound to pay at once and was not entitled to wait for 20 years Kāt (552-553) introduces [751] a further restriction that even when the father is dead, if the son has not attained years of discretion (i e. if he is a minor) he need not pay the debt of his father during his minority; but when the proper time to pay arrives he must pay the debt, otherwise the (ancestors) may remain in hell. Thus the son's liability during the father's lifetime or absence was not absolute but limited according to the smrtis and digests; judicial decisions, however, have brushed all this aside and the son's liability to pay his father's debts during the latter's lifetime is now as absolute as after his death. This will be discussed further on.

According to all smrti writers even the son, though he may have taken the ancestral estate, is not liable to pay certain debts of the father which are compendiously described as 'illegal or immoral' in the decisions of courts. Gaut, [752] XII.

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751. नाप्राप्तव्यवहारेण पितर्युपरते क्वचित् । काले तु विधिना देय वसेयुर्नरकेन्यथा । अप्राप्तव्यवहारश्चेत्स्वतन्त्रोपि हि नर्णभाक् । स्वातन्त्र्य हि स्मृत ज्यैष्ठ्ये ज्यैष्ठ्य गुणवय कृतम् ॥ कात्या 552-553 q by स्मृतिच. II p 164, व्य म p 263, The 2nd is नारद IV 31

752 प्रातिभाव्यवणिक्शुल्कमद्यद्यूतदण्डाः पुत्रान्नान्याभवेयुः । गौ XII 38, प्रातिभाव्यं दण्डशुल्कशेषमाक्षिक सौरिक कामदान च नाकाम पुत्रो दायादो वा रिक्थहरो दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III 16, सुराकामद्यूतकृतं दण्डशुल्कावशिष्टकम् । वृधादानं तथैवेह पुत्रो दद्याच्च पैतृकम् ॥ दर्शनप्रतिभूर्यत्र मृत प्रात्ययिकोपि वा ॥ न तत्पुत्रा ऋण दद्युर्दद्युर्दानाय य स्थित ॥ या. II 47, 54, न पुत्रर्ण पिता दद्याद्दद्यात्पुत्रस्तु पैतृकम् । कामक्रोधसुराद्यूतप्रातिभाव्यकृतं विना ॥ नारद IV 10, दण्डं वा दण्डशेषं वा शुल्क तच्छेषमेव वा । न दातव्य तु पुत्रेण यच्च न व्यावहारिकम् ॥ उशनस् q by मिता on या II 47, कात्यायन explains कामक्रोधकृत debts (mentioned in Nār. IV 10 and Br) as follows. 'परपूर्वस्त्रियै यत्तु विद्यात्कामकृत ऋणम् । यत्र हिंसां समुत्पाद्य क्रोधाद्द्रव्य विनाश्य वा । उक्त तुष्टिकर यत्तु विद्यात् क्रोधकृत हि तत् ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 648, स्मृतिच II. p 170, परा मा III p. 266, वि र. p 58, व्य. म p 266, वृधादान is explained as द्यूते बन्दिनि म्लेच्छे कुवेश्ये कितवे शठे । चाटचारणचौरेषु दत्तं भवति निष्फलम् ॥ q. by मिता on या II. 47, स्मृतिच II. p 170.

38, Kaut. III. 16, Manu VIII. 159-160, Vas 16. 31, Yāj. II. 47 and 54, Nār. IV. 10, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 329 verse 51), Kāt. (564-565), Uśanas and Vyāsa provide that the son is not bound to pay the following debts of his father viz. those incurred as a surety (for honesty or appearance), for drinking or in gambling, those arising from idle promises (to bards, wrestlers and the like), debts for promises made under the influence of wrath or illicit love to women, the balance of a fine or toll and those that are not *vyāvahārika*. A debt arising from wrath is explained by Kāt as one where the father causes physical injury to another or destroys another's property through anger and then promises something to pacify the person wronged. As regards the suretyship debts of the father, Yāj. II. 54, Vyāsa and Kāt. (561) provide that when the father was a surety for payment, then the son was bound to pay the principal of the debt for which the father stood surety, but the son of the son was not liable at all to pay the suretyship debt of his grandfather even when the latter was a surety for payment[753]. These verses about the debts which the son was not bound to pay have been quoted and explained in numerous decisions of the courts. But as this work does not profess to be a treatise on modern Hindu Law those cases are passed over here. What is meant by 'debts that are not vyāvahārika' has presented the greatest difficulty to the medieval commentaries and digests and also to modern courts as noted below[754]. Kāt. 534 further notes that

753 ऋणं पैतामहं पौत्राः प्रतिभाव्यागतं सुतः । समं दद्युरसत्सूनुना तु न दाप्यावितिनिश्चयः ॥ व्यास q by the मिता on या II 54; प्रतिभाव्यागतं पौत्रैर्दातव्यं न तु तत्कश्चित् । पुत्रेणापि समं देयमृणं सर्वत्र पैतृकम् ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 656, वि र p. 44.

754. यच्च न व्यावहारिकं न देयमित्यर्थः । अपरार्क p 658, 'सौरिकम्' स्मृतिच II p. 170; न व्यावहारिकं सुरापानादिनिमित्तम् । व्य. प्र p. 265: न कुटुम्बोपयोगीत्यर्थः । बालम्भट्टी; व्यवहारबहिष्कृतम् । वि चि p 17. Colebrooke translates न व्यावहारिकं as 'debt for a cause repugnant to good morals'; other renderings are 'which as a decent and respectable man the father ought not to have incurred' (32 Bom. 348 at p. 351); 'not lawful, usual or customary' (39 Cal. p 862 at pp. 868-869), 'not supportable as valid by legal arguments and on which no right could be established in a court of justice in the creditor's favour' (37 Mad, 458 at p 460); vide *Bai Mani v Usafali* 33 Bom. L. R 130 (at p 133) and *Bai v. Maneklal* 56 Bom 36 where the various meanings of 'avyāvahārika' and the conflict of judicial decisions are set out (at pp 50-53) In the latter case the wide meaning of the words given in 32 Bom 348 has been disapproved of (at p 53) In *Govindprasad v. Raghunathprasad* I. L. R. (1939) Bom. 533 a Full Bench has dealt with the meaning of 'avyāvahārika'. In *Hemraj v. Khemchand* 1 L R. (1943) All. 727 the Privy Council state the various renderings of avyāvahārika given by different authors and judges and hold that Colebrooke's rendering makes the nearest approach to the real meaning of the word as used in the smṛtis and that it is the character of the debt that is to be looked to and not the actions of the father.

where the father became a surety for appearance (or honesty) after receiving a pledge from the person whose surety he became, then the son of the surety may be made to pay the money due from that pledge in case the father is dead or has gone abroad[755].

The case law on the subject of the father's debts and the son's liability to pay them has assumed enormous proportions. This is not the place to discuss the case-law. But as the courts in India profess to follow the Hindu Law of the sages and medieval digests, it is necessary to examine some of the principles laid down by the latest decision of the Privy Council. In *Brij Narain* v. *Mangla Prasad* 51 I. A. 129 (=46 All. 95) the following five propositions are laid down by the Privy Council (at p 139): (1) the managing member of a joint undivided estate cannot alienate or burden the estate *qua* manager except for purposes of necessity; (2) if he is the father and the other members are the sons, he may, by incurring debt, so long as it is not for an immoral purpose, lay the estate open to be taken in execution proceeding upon a decree for payment of that debt; (3) if he purports to burden the estate by mortgage then, unless that mortgage is to discharge an antecedent debt, it would not bind the estate; (4) antecedent debt means antecedent in fact as well as in time, that is to say, that the debt must be truly independent and not part of the transaction impeached; (5) there is no rule that this result is affected by the question whether the father, who contracted the debt or burdened the estate, is alive or dead. It

755. गृहीत्वा बन्धकं यत्र दर्शनस्य स्थितो भवेत् । विना पित्रा धनं तस्माद् दाप्य स्यात्तद्दर्शनं श्रुतं ॥ कात्या 534, q. by the Mit. on Yāj II 54, अपरार्क p 656. Vide *Choudhuri Govind Chandra* v *Hayagriba* 10 Patna 94, where it was held that when a father stood surety for the honesty or good behaviour of another as guardian for a minor's property, the son was not bound to pay the suretyship debt of the father. In *Kottapalli* v *Kanuparti* 58 Mad 375, where the father executed a surety bond that a certain judgment debtor would file an insolvency petition within a specified period and the debtor failed to do so, it was held that the guarantee was one for confidence or honesty and that the sons were not liable on the father's death Similarly in *Dhir Narain* v *Shiva Sahay* A. I R. 1935 Patna 127 it was held that sons are not liable under Hindu Law where the father stood surety for appearance only In *Narayan* v *Venkatacharya* 6 Bom L. R 434 it was held that under the law of the Mitāksarā a grandson is not liable to pay a debt which his grandfather contracted as a surety unless the latter in accepting the liability of a surety received some consideration for it.

is necessary to see how far these principles agree with or deviate from the law of the *smṛtis* and the digests. The first proposition is in consonance with the law of the smrtis and of the commentaries like the Mit. Yāj. II. 45 provides[756] that whatever debt is contracted by the head of the joint family for the necessities of the family has to be paid by the members who take the ancestral estate when the head is dead or goes to a foreign country. The Mit. on Yāj II. 114 quotes and explains a smrti text, " Even one (the head or manager of a joint family) can make a mortgage, sale or gift of immovable property in a time of distress, for the necessities of the family and particularly for religious and charitable purposes.". What is meant by 'debts in times of distress' and 'kuṭumbārthe' is explained by Kāt (,542–43) quoted in n. 756. This has been the foundation of numerous cases, the first and the most important of which is that of *Hunoomanpersaud* v. *Mussumat Babooee*[757] 6 Moore's Indian Appeals p. 393 (P. C.). The 2nd proposition laid down

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756 अविभक्तैः कुटुम्बार्थे यद्दत्तं तु कृतं भवेत् । दद्युस्तद्विभक्तिनः प्रेते प्रोषिते वा कुटुम्बिनि ॥ या II 45, कुटुम्बार्थमशक्तेन गृहीतं व्याधितेन वा । उपप्लवनिमित्तं च विद्यादापत्कृते तु तत् ॥ कन्यावैवाहिकं चैव प्रेतकार्यं च यत्कृतम् । एतत्सर्वं प्रदातव्यं कुटुम्बेन कृतं प्रभोः ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 647, परा मा III p 268 Nār. IV. 3, Manu VIII 166, Visnu Dh S. VI. 39 contain similar provisions, all of them employing the word कुटुम्बार्थे (for the purposes or benefit of the family).

757. At pp 423 and 424 of 6 Moore's Indian Appeals the Privy Council employ the following words that have become classical: 'The power of the manager for an infant heir to charge an estate not his own is under the Hindu Law a limited and qualified power. It can only be exercised rightly in a case of need or for the benefit of the estate. The actual pressure on the estate, the danger to be averted or the benefit to be conferred upon it in the particular instance, is the thing to be regarded....They think that if the lender does inquire and acts honestly, the real existence of an alleged sufficient and reasonably credited necessity is not a condition precedent to the validity of his charge and they do not think that under such circumstances, he is bound to see to the *application* of the money'. The words 'the actual pressure, the benefit to be conferred' and the remarks about inquiry by the lender are a prolific source of litigation and have given rise to a mass of case law In L.R 5I I A 129 at p. 137 the Privy Council themselves say that the distinction made between secured and unsecured debts of the father is anomalous They give an instance 'A father who is manager borrows a like sum from A and B. To A he gives a mortgage on the family estate containing a personal covenant. To B he gives a simple acknowledgment of loan B sues and gets a decree, on this decree execution can follow and the estate can be taken. A, suing on his mortgage, cannot recover' (because the debt was not antecedent).

above also follows from several smrtis (such as Yāj. II. 5[illegible] Visnu Dh S. VI. 35, Nār. IV. 2, 4, 6) and the rules abou immoral debts cited above. But it is difficult to understand why the Privy Council make a distinction between a simple personal money debt of the father and a debt secured by mortgage (as in propositions 2 and 3). The ancient texts and commentaries make no such distinction. Vide 42 Mad 711 at p. 731, 26 Bom. 206 at pp. 217–219 (F. B.) and 60 Bom. 311 (F. B., where this is pointed out. With the greatest respect it must be said that the distinction is not only without dharmaśāstra authority, but is also anomalous. The distinction between 'antecedent debt' and a debt contracted at the time of executing a mortgage is unknown to the smrtis or digests. The Privy Council had used for the first time in a very early case (viz. *Suraj Bunsi* v. *Sheo Proshad* 6 I. A. 88 at p. 106 = 5 Cal. 148, 171) the words 'antecedent debt'[758] for which there is nothing corresponding in the Sanskrit authorities and round which elaborate arguments came to be centred in numerous later cases. According to the Privy Council (proposition 5) the son's pious duty to pay his father's debt is as absolute during the father's lifetime as after his death. It has been shown above that the duty was not absolute but qualified and limited during the father's life according to the smrtis.

Yāj. II. 52, Kaut. (III. 11) provide[759] that husband and wife, father and son and brothers cannot, as long as they are undivided, stand sureties for each other or be debtors and creditors of each other or be witnesses for each other. The Mit. has a long note on Yāj. II. 52. It shows that a wife may be divided as to estate from the husband if the latter desires (as laid down in Yāj. II. 114) and that in that case there may be the relation of debtor and creditor between them.

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758 The proposition laid down in 6 I. A. at p. 106 is 'where joint ancestral property has passed out of a joint family, either under a conveyance executed by a father in consideration of *an antecedent debt* or in order to raise money for an *antecedent* debt or under a sale in execution of a decree for the father's debt, his sons, by reason of their duty to pay their father's debts, cannot recover that property, unless they show that the debts were contracted for immoral purposes and that the purchasers had notice that they were so contracted'.

759. भ्रातॄणामथ दम्पत्योः पितुः पुत्रस्य चैव हि । प्रातिभाव्यमृणं साक्ष्यमविभक्ते न हि स्मृतम् । या II 52, दम्पत्योः पितापुत्रयोः भ्रातॄणां चाविभक्तानां परस्परकृतमृणसाक्ष्यम् कौटिल्य III. 11.

The Mit. further explains the sūtras of Āpastamba[760] (Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 16–19) which lay down 'there can be no division between husband and wife, for since the day of marriage they have to perform religious rites together, they also participate together in the rewards of merit arising from religious rites and also in the wealth acquired; for this reason when the husband has gone abroad if the wife spends on necessary occasions (out of the family wealth) it is not declared to be theft'. The Mit. explains that the absence of division between husband and wife is restricted to religious rites performed with *śrauta* fires or *smārta* fire and in the rewards of meritorious acts and not in all actions or as to all property. Therefore in other charities where no sacred fire is required (*pūrta* acts such as constructing a well or a public park) they have separate rights. Vide S. V. pp. 353 for various explanations of Bhāruchi and others on Āp. Dh. S. and V. P. pp. 255–56.

The father is not bound to pay his son's personal debt; the husband is not liable to pay the wife's debt, nor the wife her husband's or son's But in all these cases if the debt is incurred for the benefit or purposes of the family by the son, the wife or the husband then the father, husband or wife respectively would be liable (Yāj II. 47, Nār. IV. 10–11, Kāt. 545, 579)[761]. If the father promised to pay his son's individual debt or if he approved or acquiesced in it he was liable to pay it. Manu VIII. 167, Yāj II. 45, Nār. IV. 12, Bṛ. (S. B. E. 33 p. 329 v. 50), Kāt. (545) provide that a debt incurred for the purposes of the family by any one such as the son, brother, uncle, the wife, the mother, the pupil or a servant or a slave even without the consent of the head of the family when he has gone abroad, should be paid by the head of the family. This liability and the liability when the manager of a family contracts a debt for the benefit or necessities of the family arise from agency (*implied*) or authority. Kaut. (III. 11) holds that the husband may be seized (for work)

760. जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते । पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु । तथा पुण्यफलेषु द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च । न हि भर्तुर्विप्रवासे नैमित्तिके दाने स्तेयशब्दप्रदिश्यते । आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 16–19.

761. शोचितव्यामतेनापि कुटुम्बार्थभृणं कृतम् । दासस्त्रीमातृशिष्यैर्वा दद्यादप्रेण वा भृशः ॥ कात्या (545) q. by अपरार्के p. 648, परा. मा. p. 268, वि. र. 56. अपरार्के reads दासस्त्रयमात्यशिष्यैर्वा. अमात्य would mean agnates residing in the house. This verse is quoted in *Viraswami* v. *Appaswami* 1 Mad. H. C. R p 375, 379n. पितुर्भ्रातुसुतस्त्रीदासशिष्यानुजीविभिः । यद् गृहीतं कुटुम्बार्थे तद् गृही दातुमर्हति ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 174.

if he starts to go abroad without providing for the return of the debt contracted by his wife [762]

The general rule that the husband was not liable to pay the wife's debt had an exception viz the husband was liable for the debts of the wife in the case of cowherds, vintners, actors, washermen and hunters (and the like) whose income depends on their wives and whose household expenses are defrayed by their wives (Yāj II. 48, Viṣnu Dh S VI. 37, Nār IV. 19) Similarly the rule that the wife was not liable for the husband's debt had certain exceptions, viz a debt of the husband which she promised to pay because he was dying or going abroad or which was contracted jointly with her husband[763] (Yāj II 49, Nār IV 16–17) The Mit. on Yāj. II. 49 answers the objection raised by some that, as according to Manu VIII. 416 (=Udyogaparva 33. 64) the wife, son and slave are without property and whatever they earn is acquired for him to whom they belong, the wife would not be able to pay anything at all. The reply is that this verse of Manu does not mean that a wife or son can own no property at all, but all that it declares is that they have no independent power to dispose of their property.

The order in which persons are liable to pay a man's debts after his death is declared by Yāj II. 51, Nār IV. 23, Br. (S B E. vol. 33 p. 329 verse 52), Kāt. (562, 577), Viṣnu[764] VI. 29–30.

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762 पतिस्तु ग्राह्य स्त्रीकृतमृणमप्रातिविधाय प्रोषित इति । अर्थशास्त्र III. 11

763 न स्त्रीपतिकृत दृष्टादृष्टं पुत्रकृत तथा । अभ्युपेताद्दते यद्वा सह पत्या कृत भवेत् ॥ नारद IV 16, भर्त्रा पुत्रेण वा सार्ध केवलेनात्मना कृतम् । ऋणमेवविध देय नान्यथा तत्कृत स्त्रिया ॥ मर्तृकामेन या भर्त्रा मोक्षा देयमृण त्वया । अमपन्नापि सा दाप्या धन यद्याश्रित स्त्रियाम् ॥ कात्या 546, 547 q, by स्मृतिच्च II p 176, व्य म pp 273–274 In I L R I Bom 121 at p 124 Kāt 546 is cited. In *Narotam v Nanka* 6 Bom. 473 it was held that a married woman who contracted a debt jointly with her husband was liable to the extent of her *stridhana* only and not personally

764 धनस्त्रीहारिपुत्राणामृणभाग्यो धन हरेत् । पुत्रोऽसतो स्त्रीधनिनो स्त्रीहारी धनिपुत्रयोः ॥ नारद IV 23, पूर्व दृष्टादृष्टग्राहः पुत्रस्तस्मादनन्तरम् । योषिद्ग्राह मृतावावे पुत्रो वात्यन्तनिर्धन ॥ कात्या (577) q by स्मृतिच्च II p 172, व्य म p 271, रिक्थहर्त्रा ऋण देय तदभावे च योषित । पुत्रैश्च तदभावेऽपै रिक्थमाश्रित्यर्थयाक्रमम् ॥ कात्या (562) q by विश्वरूप on या II 47, विश्वरूप quotes a prose passage of बृहस्पति 'धनस्त्रीहारिपुत्राणा पूर्वाभावे यथोत्तरमाधमर्ण्यं तदभावे क्रमशोन्येषा रिक्थभाजाम्', while later works like the स्मृतिच्च II p 172 and व्य म p 267 quote a verse of बृहस्पति 'स्त्रीहारी च तथैव स्यादभावे धनहारिण' The वैजयन्ती on विष्णु IV 30 explains Yāj II 51 as अत्र पुत्रो विशेष्य तस्यैतानि स्त्रीप्यपि विशेषणानि । तत्रानेकपुत्रसमवाये रिक्थग्राह पुत्र । तदभावे कृतदाराकृतदाराणां समवाये योषिद्ग्राह । तदभावे अनन्याश्रितद्रव्य । न विद्यन्ते अन्ये पुत्रदारादयो यस्य स अनन्य पुत्रदारादिरहित । न श्रित द्रव्य येनासौ अश्रितद्रव्य निर्धनो वा । अनन्यसाहित. अश्रितद्रव्य मध्यमपदलोपी समास । तादृश पुत्र ऋणं दाप्य'.

Whoever takes the wealth of the deceased (whether a son or a collateral heir) is primarily responsible to pay the debts of the deceased; but if the deceased died without leaving any property, then he who takes his wife has to pay the deceased's debts; if there be no wealth or taker of the deceased's widow, then the son even if he succeeds to no wealth has to pay. This liability may be said to be based on the equitable and moral principle that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased or his widow (over whom the deceased had a sort of dominion) was bound to pay his debts. There appears to be some conflict between the texts; but it is more apparent than real Verses (like Kāt 577) where the son is placed after the taker of wealth and before the taker of the widow refer to a son who has separate and independent wealth of his own and is more wealthy than the taker of the widow (though he himself being disqualified did not succeed to, ancestral wealth) When there is no wealth and there are several sons one of whom is congenitally blind or otherwise incompetent to succeed then the other sons are liable. From the fact that the taker of the widow is made liable for the debts of the first husband it should not be supposed that the ancient sages approved of widow-remarriage. On the contrary they condemned it (vide Manu V. 162), but, as the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 51) remarks, remarriages took place by custom among certain castes and nothing could prevent persons from taking widows as kept mistresses Therefore as the wife was half of the husband (acc. to Vedic and other passages q. in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 428, 584 n.) she was practically the husband's wealth (Nār. IV. 22 expressly says so)[765] and so the taker of the widow was saddled with the obligation to pay the debts of the deceased. This sentiment continued to modern times and in the Bombay Presidency the Legislature had to declare (by Bombay Act VII of 1866, sec 4) that 'no person who has married a widow shall merely by reason of such marriage, be liable for any of the debts of any prior husband of such widow'. The Vaijayanti on Visnu Dh. S. VI 30 quotes Yāj. II. 51 and Nār. IV. 23 and

765. अधनस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य मृतस्योपैति यः स्त्रियम् । स अभजेद्ऋणं वोढुः सैव तस्य धनं यतः ॥ नारद् IV 22; योषिद्ग्राहो यद्यपि शास्त्रविरोधेन न संभवति तथाप्यतिक्रान्तनिषेधः पूर्वपतिकृतर्णापाकरणाधिकारी भवत्येव । योषिद्ग्राहो यश्चतसृणां स्वैरिणीनामन्तिमा गृह्णाति यश्च पुनर्भुवां तिसृणां प्रथमाम् । मिता. on या II. 51. Then नारद् (स्त्रीपुंसयोग) verses 45–53 are quoted by the Mit.

explains them differently. According to it the word 'putra' (in Yāj II. 51) is qualified by all the three adjectives viz 'rikthagrāha', 'yosidgrāha' (one who is married) and 'ananyāśritadravya' (one who has no wife nor child and one who has taken no ancestral wealth, either because he does not desire it or because none exists). Therefore according to it among sons, the son that takes ancestral wealth has to pay the debts of the father, on failure of such a son when some of the sons are married and some are not, the married ones have to repay ancestral debts and lastly when there are no married sons the one that is wifeless, childless and also without wealth has to pay them.

Niksepa (deposit). The words *nikṣepa*, *upanidhi* and *nyāsa* are sometimes said to be synonyms (as done by Amara)[766], though several ancient works define them separately. According to Yāj II. 65 *upanidhi* is the deposit of an article enclosed in a box or the like made with another without telling him of the contents of the box. Yāj II. 67 holds nyāsa and niksepa to be different from upanidhi. Nārada[767] as quoted in the Mit. on Yāj. II. 65 defines upanidhi as the deposit of an article in a sealed receptacle without counting it in the presence of the person to whom it is entrusted and without telling him what the receptacle contains, while a niksepa is a deposit entrusted to a man after counting the articles in his presence. Manu VIII 149 (=Vas. 16. 18), Kaut. III. 12 hold niksepa and upanidhi to be distinct. A verse quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara defines nyāsa as an open deposit and niksepa as the delivery of some goods to an artist or craftsman for being worked up or manufactured. Nār. (V. 1 and 5) defines niksepa as the deposit of one's articles with another through confidence, while upanidhi is defined in the same way as Yāj II. 65. Viśvarūpa[768] defines nyāsa as an open deposit for safe custody and niksepa as delivery of one's article to another for handing over to a

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766 पुमान्नुपनिधिर्न्यासः प्रतिदानं तदर्पणम् । अमरकोश; स्यातां क्लेबे भेदोऽस्ति । न्यासः नस्य .. न्यस्य यदर्पितम् । द्रव्यमुपनिधिर्न्यासः प्रकाश्य स्थापितं तु यत् । निक्षेपः शिल्पिहस्ते तु भाण्डं सत्कर्तुमर्पितम् । क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश

767. यथाह नारदः । असरव्यातमविज्ञातं संहृत्य यन्निधीयते । तज्जानीयादुपनिधिं निक्षेपं गणितं बुधः । मिता. on याज्ञ II 65

768. न्यासो निर्दिष्टस्वरूपं द्रव्यं यद्रक्षणार्थं समर्पितम् । निक्षेपोऽन्यहस्त एव यद्द्रव्यमेव देयत्वेन निक्षिप्तम् । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ II. 69

third. Kāt. (592) makes[769] *upanidhi* a generic term for all bailments such as a sold article remaining in the hands of the vendor, a deposit, a pledge, bailment to one for delivery to another, loan of article for temporary use, goods handed over for sale to an agent. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 67 defines nyāsa as handing over to some member in the house an article in the absence of the head of the house for delivery to the head of the house and nikṣepa as a deposit in the presence of the depositee himself. The V. P. p 280 briefly distinguishes the three as noted below.[770]

Nikṣepa or *upanidhi* was a bailment made in trust and differed from an *ādhi* in this that the former was not given by way of security for a debt or for collecting interest but in confidence for safe custody.[771] Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 332 verse 2) says that such a deposit is made with another when one is leaving one's home, or through fear of the king or for depriving one's kinsmen.[772] Manu VIII 179 (=Nār. V. 2) says that one should entrust a deposit to a person who is born of a good family, is well-conducted, knows *dharma*, speaks the truth, has a large family, is wealthy and straightforward. The person with whom a deposit is made generally receives no personal benefit from it; hence the smṛtis (such as Br. in SBE 33 p. 333 verses 6-8) extol the holder[773] of a deposit made in trust to be as meritorious as one who makes gifts of gold or other inferior

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769. क्रयः प्रेषितनिक्षिप्तं बन्धान्वाहितयाचितम् । वैश्यवृत्त्यर्पितं चैव सोर्थस्तूपनिधिः स्मृत. ॥ कात्या 592 q. by स्मृतिच., II. p 3, अपरार्क p 662, विवादचन्द्र (p 27, reads क्रय प्रेषितनिक्षेपो).

770 ग्राहकस्य समक्षं गणयित्वा स्थापितं निक्षेप· । गृहस्वामिनोऽसमक्षं गणितमगणित वा तस्मिन्नागते एतद्गातव्यमित्युक्त्वान्यस्य तत्पुत्रादेर्हस्ते दत्त न्यासः । मुद्राङ्कित समक्षमगणित स्थापितमुपनिधिरिति । व्य. प्र p. 280

771. पूर्वकुपत्ययापेक्षया परहस्ते दत्तमृण तदनपेक्षया रक्षणार्थमेवान्यहस्ते द्रव्यमुपनिधिरिति ऋणादानानन्तरमुपनिधेरवसर । स वि p 265

772. स्थानत्यागाद्राजभयाद् दायादानां च वञ्चनात् । स्वद्रव्यमर्प्यतेन्यस्य हस्ते निक्षेपमाह तम् ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 178, राजचौरारातिभयाद्दायादाना च वञ्चनात् । स्थाप्यतेऽन्यगृहे द्रव्यं न्यासः स परिकीर्तित. ॥ बृह as q by व्य प्र p 279

773. दृदतो यद्भवेत्पुण्यं हेमकुप्याम्बरादिकम् । तत्स्यात्पालयतो न्यासं तथैव शरणागतम् । भर्तृद्रोहे यथा नार्या. पुंस पुत्रसुहृद्वधे । दोषो भवेत्तथा न्यासे भक्षितोपेक्षिते नृणाम् ॥ न्यासद्रव्यं न गृह्णीयात्तज्ज्ञाशस्त्वयशस्करः । गृहीतं पालयेद्यत्नात्सकृद्याचितमर्पयेत् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II. p 178, पराः मा. III. p 281, व्य प्र. p. 281, अपरार्क p 662 (first two only).

metals or clothes and condemn the misappropriation of a deposit or the losing of it through negligence as very sinful The idea is that no one is bound to accept a deposit, but when a person accepts it, his primary duty is to preserve it with care and the next duty is to return it at the time agreed or on demand. The obligation arises from the trust reposed in a person. The rights of the bailee are limited as compared to those of the mortgagee or pledgee, but the very fact of his custody in trust clothes him with certain rights The amount of care required of the depositee is the same as in the case of an *ādhi*, viz he is to take the same care of it as he takes of his own goods and is not liable if the deposit is lost (along with his own property) through act of God or the king or is stolen by thieves (Manu VIII. 189, Yāj. II. 66, Nār. V. 9 and 12, Br. in S.B.E 33 p. 333, verse 10, Kāt. 593).[774] In the Mrcchakatika Cārudatta accepts liability for the loss of the ornaments deposited with him by Vasantasenā, though they were stolen, because of his high sense of chivalry and of his idea that proper care was not taken by him or his friend. But Nār V 9 is careful to add that the loss through *vis major* or through theft must be real and not fraudulently brought about[775] Nār. V. 6 and Br (in SBE 33 p. 334 verse 14) state that a deposit may be made in the presence of witnesses or without them, that it should be returned in the same way and condition in which it was made and that if there is a dispute, it may be settled by ordeal (when there are no witnesses)[776] The article deposited must be returned in the same condition (as regards seal &c.) in which it was handed over (Yāj II. 65). It must also be returned to the man himself who made the deposit and not to his co-owners (Manu VIII 185, Br. in SBE 33 p 333 verse 9).[777] He is estopped

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774 दैवराजोपघातेन यदि तन्नाशमाप्नुयात् । अहीतृद्रव्यसहित तत्र दोषो न विद्यते । बृह. q by स्मृतिच्च II p 179, निक्षिप्तं यस्य यत्किञ्चित् तत्प्रयत्नेन पालयेत् । दैवराजकृतादन्यो विनाशस्तस्य कीर्त्यते ॥ कात्या q by स्मृतिच्च II p 179, व्य म p 282

775. अहीतुः सह योगेन अष्टो नष्टः स दायिन । दैवराजकृते तद्वन्न चेत्तज्जिह्मकारितम् ॥ नारद V 9

776 सहो दृत्ते निधौ यत्र विसवाद. प्रजायते । विभावकं तत्र दिव्यमुभयोरपि च स्मृतम् ॥ बृह q by अपरार्क p 664, व्य म p. 284

777. स्थापितं येन विधिना येन यत्र यथाविधि । तथैव तस्य तद्देय न देयं प्रत्यनन्तरे ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच्च II p 181, परा मा III p 281 'स्थापकेतरस्य यस्य स्थापितद्रव्ये स्वाम्यमस्ति स इह प्रत्यनन्तर इत्युक्यते ।' स्मृतिच्च II p 181 व्य म *286 remarks on* मनु VIII 186 'प्रत्यनन्तरबन्धुत्वे तु नैकस्मिन् प्रत्यनन्तरे देयम् । किं तु सवप्रत्यनन्तरसन्निधाविति न निक्षेपृबन्धुभिरभियोक्तव्य इत्यनेन सूचयांबभूव ।

from recognising the title of any one except the depositor, as in section 116 of the Indian Evidence Act. But if the bailor be dead the bailee can return it of his own accord without demand to the co-owners (Manu VIII. 186 = Nār. V. 10). In doing so however he must not return it to one of several heirs, but to all or in the presence of all. The loss of a deposit may be due to the fact that the bailee consumes it by using it, or to the bailee's negligence or to his ignorance. In these cases the bailee was made to reimburse the bailor for the loss. But Kāt. (597)[778] makes a difference, viz. when a bailee consumes the deposit by use he should be made to pay the price with interest, when he loses it through negligence he is to pay only the price (but without interest) and if he loses through ignorance, then he is to pay a little less (i. e. less by one-fourth) than the price. Vide Br. (S B E vol. 33 p. 333 verse 11) and Nār. V. 8. If a bailor knowing the proposed bailee to be a careless man deposits his goods with him, the bailee is not liable even if the goods are lost from any cause whatever (Kāt. 599).[779] If immediately on demand by the depositor the bailee does not return the thing deposited or it is lost after demand from any cause whatever (including act of God or king), the bailee has to return the thing or the price of the thing (when lost) and also is liable to be fined by the king in the same amount (Yāj. II. 66, Nār. V. 7). If the bailee makes use of the article bailed without the permission of the bailor, he should be fined by the king and should be made to return the thing bailed with interest (Yāj. II. 67, Nār V. 8). In the Rāj. T. (VIII. 124–157) occurs the story of a person who had deposited one *lakh* of *dīnāras* with a merchant and had withdrawn some money from time to time. It further states that, when the balance was demanded, the merchant furnished a statement of accounts giving a list of

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778. न्यासादिकं परद्रव्यं प्रभक्षितमुपेक्षितम् । अज्ञाननाशितं चैव येन दाप्यः स एव तत् ॥ भक्षितं सोदयं दाप्यः समं दाप्य उपेक्षितम् । किंचिन्न्यूनं प्रदाप्यः स्याद्द्रव्यमज्ञान-नाशितम् ॥ कात्या. 596–597, quoted by पराः मा. III. p 283 (ascribes 597 to व्यास), व्य. प्र. p 282 (ascribes 597 to both कात्यायन and व्यास), मिता. on या II. 67 (597 only). बृह. q. by पराः मा. III. p 283 and व्य. प्र. p. 282 has a simlar verse भेदेनोपेक्षया न्यास ग्रहीता यदि नाशयेत् । याच्यमानो न दद्याद्वा दाप्यं तत्सोदयं भवेत् ॥. 'किंचिन्न्यूनमिति चतुर्थांशहीनम्' मिता. Compare Sec. 161 of the Indian Contract Act.

779. ज्ञात्वा द्रव्यवियोगं तु दाता यत्र विनिक्षिपेत् । सर्वोपायविनाशेपि ग्रहीता नैव दाप्यते ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच. II. p. 179, पराः मा. III. p. 283, वि. र. 89, व्य. प्र. p. 282.

fictitious items of withdrawals for many years with interest and showing that very little of the deposit was left. The king brought home the fraud to the merchant and ordered that the original deposit being used by the merchant should bear interest.

Kāt. (506) provides that when a deposit, a balance of interest, purchase price (not paid though the article be delivered to vendee), or sale price (article sold being retained by vendor though price is paid) is not returned or paid when demand is made, it carries interest at 5 per cent (from the date of demand).[780] Manu VIII. 191 (which is almost the same as Nār. V. 13) provides that where a bailee does not return the deposit though demanded or where a person without making a deposit claims it from a person, both are to be punished as a thief by the king and to be made to pay a fine equal in amount to the price of the bailed article (claimed). The deposit has to be taken back at the proper time by the depositor and the bailee has to avoid returning it at an improper time; if the latter returns at an improper time he should be made to pay a fine double of the value of the thing[781] (Kāt. 601).

Yāj. II. 67, Nār. V. 14, Br.[782] (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 334 verse 15) extend these rules about *nikṣepa* to other kinds of bailments viz. to *yācitaka* (an article such as an ornament borrowed from a man on a festive occasion), *anvāhita* (what is handed over to a third man and is the property of another and has been pledged with a man), nyāsa, upanidhi, *tulpnyāsa* (giving an article such as gold to an artisan like a goldsmith for preparing an ear-ring or the like), *pratinyāsa* (mutual deposit). Some of the rules about yācitaka are stated above

780. निक्षेपं वृद्धिशेष च क्रयं विक्रयमेव च । याच्यमानं न दद्याच्चेद्दर्धते पञ्चक शतम् ॥ कात्या. q by मिता on या. II. 67, परा. मा. III. p. 224, वि र 15. 'यो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विक्रीतमपि वस्त्रादि याचितं न ददाति केता वा क्रीत्वा क्रयसाधनमूल्य याचित न ददाति स पञ्चकशतक्रमेण वृद्धिं दद्यादित्यर्थ.' वि. र p 15.

781. ग्राह्यस्तूपनिधि. काले कालहीनं हु वर्जयेत् । कालहीन ददद् दण्डं द्विगुण च प्रदाप्यते ॥ कात्या 601 q. by अपरार्क p. 663, स्मृतिच. II, p 181, परा. मा III. p 286, व्य. म. p. 285 which remarks (following Sm. C) यद्भयाद्वुपनिधिरन्यस्य हस्ते न्यस्तस्तद्भयातीते काले स ग्राह्य इत्यर्थः । तद्भयातीतेपि काले स्वयमेव नायाचितमर्पणीयम् । सकृद्याचितमर्पयेदिति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात् । तद्भये वर्तमाने स्वयमेवायाचित दीयमान कालहीन तस्य दानं द्वौद्यैनैवेति तद्ददतोपि दण्डो युक्तः । Compare sec. 159–160 of the Indian Contract Act

782. अन्वाहिते याचितके शिल्पिन्यासे सबन्धके । एष एवोदितो धर्मस्तथा च शरणागते ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 182, व्य. म. 287.

(pp. 426-427). Kaut.[783] III. 12 states that a *yācitaka* or *avakrīta* (lent on hire) article should be returned in the same condition in which it was received. If lost through act of God or king or through theft (after taking proper care) the depositee would not be liable. Kāt. (610) provides[784] that he who having taken the loan of an article for use does not deliver it even on demand should be restrained (by the owner) and forcibly made to return it and fined by the king if he does not return it; he should be made to pay the price with interest (if the thing be lost after demand). If the loan of an article was taken for a specified period or for a particular occasion or purpose and a demand for return be made in the middle and the article is not returned when demanded, the person taking the loan would not be made to pay the price: but if a person who has taken on loan an article does not return it after the period fixed has expired or the purpose is served, the borrower must offer to the owner the price if the article be destroyed or lost and if he does not return even after demand (when the period has ended) the borrower would have to pay the price with interest.

Kāt. (609) states a reasonable counter-exception to the rule in 606 viz. 'when the owner of an article borrowed by another is likely to sustain loss if the article borrowed were not returned on demand, then the borrower should be made to deliver it even though the time fixed has not ended or the purpose of the loan was only half fulfilled'.

There are some special rules about *tilpnyāsa* also. Kāt. (603-604) provides that if an artisan or craftsman retains an article delivered to him beyond the time that was settled (or

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783. यान्चितकमवक्रीतकं वा यथाविधं गृह्णीयुस्तथाविधमेवार्पयेयुः । क्षेपोपनिपाताभ्यां देशकालोपरोधि दग्धं नष्टं विनष्टं वा नाप्नुयुरेवः । शेषमुपनिधिना व्याख्यातम् । अर्थशास्त्र III 12 On अन्वाहित there is difference between the digests The मिता. defines 'यदेकस्य हस्ते निक्षिप्तं द्रव्यं तेनाप्यन्यहस्ते स्वामिने देहीति निहितं तदन्वाहितम् ।' and is supported by कात्यायन (611 q. by वि. र p 84) 'अनुमार्गेण कार्येषु अन्यस्मिन्वचनान्मम । दद्यास्त्वमिति यो दत्तः स इहान्वाधिरुच्यते ॥.' The व्यवहारसार p 144 quotes the very words of the मिता. स्मृतिच्च II. p 182 and व्य. म. p. 287 define अन्वाहित as 'स्वस्मिन्द स्थितं परधनमन्यहस्ते कृतम्,' 'प्रतिन्यासस्य च परस्परप्रयोजनापेक्षया त्वयेदं मदीयं रक्षणीयं मयेदं त्वदीयं रक्ष्यते इति न्यस्तस्य ग्रहणम् ।' मिता on या II 67

784. यो याचितकमादाय न दद्यात्प्रतियाचितः । स निगृह्य बलाद्दाप्यो दण्ड्यश्च न वदाति च. ॥ कात्या 610 q by अपरार्क p. 664, स्मृतिच्च. II. p 184, वि र. p. 92. This shows that he could at once resort to the remedy of बल.

agreed) for finishing the work he should be made to pay (its price) even if the article was lost through act of God, but the artisan shall not be liable to pay the price if the article were to be lost through defects in the article itself; if (however) what is delivered for being worked or polished is destroyed through the fault of the artisan he should be made to pay the price[785].

From the fact that Kāt. 596 (quoted above in n. 778) employs the expression '*dāpyaḥ sa eva tat*' (he alone who misappropriates or causes loss of a deposit by negligence), the words of Gaut. XII 39 (quoted above under *ādhi*) and the fact that nikṣepa is a title distinct from *rnādāna* (under which alone the liability of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons is expressly declared) it follows that sons are not liable for the misappropriation or loss of a deposit or article bailed to their father or other ancestor provided they have not themselves joined or helped in the embezzlement or loss This is made clear by Haradatta on Gaut. XII. 39, the Vivādacintāmani and the Vivādacandra quoted below[786].

It is interesting to note that Nār.[787] V. 15 places on the same level (as to liability for loss) with the depositee and the like the man who takes in his charge a minor that has a good deal of wealth i.e the person undertaking the position of the guardian of a minor's property has to take as much care of it as of his own and is liable in the same circumstances as a

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785 यैश्च संस्क्रियते न्यासो दिवसैः परिनिश्चितै । तदूर्ध्वं स्थापयेच्छिल्पी दाप्यो दैवकृतोपि तत् ॥ न्यासदोषाद्विनाश स्याच्छिल्पिन तत्र दापयेत् । दापयेच्छिल्पिदोषात्तत्संस्कारार्थी यदर्पितम् । कात्या 603-604 q by स्मृतिच. II. p 183, परा. मा III. p. 288, वि. र p. 98 The example of 604 given in Sm C and others is old clothes delivered to a washerman and torn in the process of cleaning. Compare Sec 161 of the Contract Act with verse 604.

786. न केवल पुत्रानेव नाभ्याभवेयुः किं तर्हि येषा सकाशें निक्षादयः कृतास्तानपि नाभ्याभवन्ति । हरदत्त on गौ XII 39, कात्यायन । न्यासादिक ... दाप्य स एव तत् । एवकारेण त्वपराधानन्तर्गततत्पुत्रादिव्यवच्छेद । तथा च नाध्याभवेयुरित्यधिकारे गौतमः निक्षेपन्तु । राणेन । सर्वान्पुत्रादीन्निरपराधान् । वि चि p 26, पितृपरोक्षे तु तद्गृहीतो न्यासः पुत्रादिना न देयः । ऋणातिरिक्तर्णत्वादिति नष्टातिरिक्तप्राप्तिभाव्यातिरिक्तानां बलात्कारगृहीतानामुक्तानां सर्वेषामन्यदेयत्वेनान्येन दानेऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । ऋणादिवद्विद्वेषवचनाभावाच्च । विवादचन्द्र p 27

787 प्रतिगृह्णाति पौगण्ड यश्च सम्प्रधन नरः । तस्याप्येष भवेद्धर्म षष्ठेते विधय समाः ॥ नारद V 15 नारद IV 35 defines पौगण्ड as a synonym of बाल (a minor up to the 16th year) 'बाल आ षोडशाद्वर्षात्पौगण्ड इति शब्दते' Gaut XII. 34 and गौ VIII 148 employ the word.

depositee would be for loss of the minor's property. Vide section 27 of the Guardian and Wards Act (VIII of 1890) for the care required of a guardian [788].

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788. The British India Courts have been very much exercised over the question of the liability of ancestral property in the hands of the son for the obligations incurred by the father by his misconduct or embezzlement either as agent or manager for another or as guardian of a minor's property. It would follow from the passages quoted in n. 786 that ancestral property in the hands of the sons is not liable, acc. to some of our digests, if the father used or lost a deposit or loaned article by his negligence or mismanaged a minor's property It is firmly established that the son is not liable for a debt incurred by the father in circumstances which would render the father liable to a criminal prosecution. Vide *Toshanpal Singh v District Judge of Agra* 61 I. A 350. In the latest case on the point, *Govindprasad v. Raghunathprasad* 41 Bom L. R. 589 (F. B) the exemption is carried further and it is recognized that as to the exemption of the son for '*avyāvahārika*' debts of the father, there are many cases which cannot be reconciled, that it is repugnant to good sense to construe ancient texts in the light of a system of criminal Jurisprudence developed long after and that the correct rule is to hold that 'the son can claim immunity when he proves that the debt of the father was of a character which was illegal, dishonest or immoral (p 602)' though difficult cases may arise in the application of this rule It would be far beyond the scope of this work to cite or discuss the other numerous decisions.

CHAPTER XVII

ASVĀMIVIKRAYA (sale by one not the owner).

The different modes of the sources of ownership have already been referred to (H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 130 ff) and will be referred to again under *dāyabhāga*. According to Nār. VII. 1 and Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 335 verse 2) when[789] a person, who holds an open deposit, a sealed deposit, an article bailed for delivery to another, stolen property, an article borrowed for some festival, a pledge, or property lost by a stranger and found (by him), sells it in secret (or behind the back of the owner) it is to be considered as a sale by one who is not the rightful owner. Vyāsa has a similar verse. The word 'sells' is only illustrative and includes gifts and pledges. Similarly as most sales by one not the owner are clandestinely brought about, Br. employs the words 'in secret' but even if the sale is effected openly the same consequences may follow. The same rules will apply to an article lost by the owner and found by a stranger. Kāt. (612) provides[790] that a sale, gift, or pledge, made by one who is not the owner, should be rescinded (by the king or judge), Manu VIII. 199 and Nār. (q. by Sm. C. II. p. 213, V. P p. 291) and others say the same thing. Yāj. II. 168, Nār. VII. 2 provide that the owner is entitled to recover his property from the person that purchases from one who is not the owner. If the buyer purchases an article not in the open market, then he is liable for punishment; if he purchases from one who could have no means of possessing the thing sold (such as a slave without the master's consent) or for a very inadequate price or at a very unusual hour (at midnight or

789 निक्षिप्तं वा परद्रव्यं नष्टं लब्धापहृत्य वा। विक्रीयतेऽसमक्षं यद्विज्ञेयोऽस्वामिविक्रयः॥ नारद VII 1; निक्षेपान्वाहितन्यासहृतयाचितबन्धकम्। उपांशु येन विक्रीतमस्वामी सोऽभिधीयते॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच्च II p 213 व्य. म. p 290. याचितान्वाहितन्यास हृत्वा दान्यस्य यद्धनम्। विक्रीयते स्वाम्यभावे स ज्ञेयोऽस्वामिविक्रयः। व्यास q by व्य. म. 195, व्य म. p 290.

790 अस्वामिविक्रयं दानमाधिं च विनिवर्तयेत्। कात्या 612 q by the मिता. on या. II 168, परा मा p. 291, वि र p 104. The व्य म p 291 takes अस्वामिविक्रयं as one word 'अस्वामिना कृतं विक्रयम्। अस्वामिकृतत्वं दानाद्योरपि तत्साधर्म्यात्'; while व्य म. p 195 says अस्वामि is a separate word and an adverb. he latter had to explain in this way in order to directly connect the absence f ownership with all the three kinds of transactions.

the like) or from bad characters then he is to be punished as a thief (Yāj. II. 168, Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 166, Nār. VII. 3, Manu VIII. 202, Br. in SBE vol. 33 p. 336 verse 11). Such a sale is a fraudulent one If the buyer purchases (through ignorance) in market overt from one who is not the owner, he incurs no blame (no punishment), but he may have to hand over the article to the real owner (Viṣnu Dh. S. V 164–166).[791] The purchaser from one not the real owner can free himself by producing the vendor (called *mūla* in Manu VIII. 202, Bṛ. and Kāt.) and should not attempt to conceal from whom he came by the thing, otherwise he would be liable to be punished equally with the vendor as a thief (Nār. VII. 4). Br. (SBE 33 p. 335 verse 3), Manu VIII. 201 and Yāj. II. 170 say that when the vendor has been produced by the vendee, then the latter is not to be proceeded against, but the vendor has to litigate with the real owner who has lost his property and when the vendor loses the suit he has to pay the price to the buyer and a fine to the king and the owner gets his property back.[792] If the vendor has gone abroad adequate time should be granted to the purchaser to produce him (Kāt. 615). The purchaser in order to escape blame (punishment) has to produce the vendor and if that cannot be done owing to the vendor's absence he has to prove that he purchased[793] openly (Bṛ. in SBE 33 p. 335 v. 4, Manu VIII. 202, Kāt. 615, 618–619). If he cannot do any of these two, then the purchaser would be liable to pay the price to the real owner as claimed and a fine to the king. Manu VIII. 198 prescribes that one who sells without being the owner but being a member of the owner's family should be fined 600 paṇas, while a vendor unconnected with the real owner's family should be dealt with as a thief. The same rule applies to a

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791. अजानानः प्रकाशं य. परद्रव्यं क्रीणीयात् तत्र तस्यादोषः । स्वामी द्रव्यमाप्नुयात् । यद्यप्रकाशं हीनमूल्यं च क्रीणीयात्तदा क्रेता विक्रेता च चोरवच्छास्यौ । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 164–166; अन्तर्गेहे बहिर्ग्रामाविज्ञायामसतो जनात् । हीनमूल्यं च यत्क्रीतं क्रेयोसाकुपधिक्रयः ॥ बृह q by व्य म. p. 291, वि. र. 107, परा मा III. 293.

792. मूले समाहूते क्रेता नाभियोज्यः कथञ्चन । मूलेन सह वादस्तु नाष्टिकस्य विधीयते ॥ बृह q. by मिता. on या II 170, while परा मा. III. 295 and स्मृतिच. II p 215 attribute it to व्यास. विक्रेता दर्शितो यत्र हीयते व्यवहारतः । क्रेत्रे राज्ञे मूल्यदण्डौ प्रदद्यात्स्वामिने धनम् ॥ बृह q. by परा. मा. III p 295, स्मृतिच II p 215.

793. प्रकाशं वा क्रय कुर्यान्मूलं वापि समर्पयेत् । मूलानयनकालस्तु देयो योजनसंख्यया ॥ कात्या q by मिता. on या. II. 170 (reads देयस्तत्राध्वसंख्यया), अपरार्क p 776, वि र. p. 101. असमाहार्यमूलस्तु क्रयमेव विशोधयेत् । विशोधिते क्रये राज्ञा न वक्तव्य. स किंचन ॥ अनुपस्थापयन्मूलं क्रय वाप्यविशोधयन् । यथाभियोगं धानिने धनं दाप्यो दमं च सः ॥ कात्या. 618–619 q. by मिता. on या. II. 170, वि. र. pp. 106, 108, व्य. म. pp. 195–197.

vendor selling another's article through ignorance or mistake and one doing so with full knowledge. The person who has lost a chattel and claims it from the finder is described as *nāsthika*[794] in Kaut III. 16, Manu VIII. 202, Kāt. (614) and elsewhere, the word being derived from *nasta* (what is lost). The idea is that openly purchasing an article in the presence of a number of people for an adequate price negatives fraudulent intent and leads to the inference of a purchase in good faith and such a purchaser even though he may have to part with the chattel to the real owner when the latter proves his title, incurs no blame and is entitled to recover from the vendor, if he has to surrender the article, the price paid by him. When a person claims a lost article as his he has first to prove his title and possession by evidence (such as that of his kinsmen or a document &c.) and that he had not sold or donated or abandoned it;[795] after he has proved his title the purchaser is called upon to prove his purchase as honest by evidence i. e. by producing the vendor or by showing that he purchased openly and for adequate price (Kāt 613, Yāj. II. 170). When this is done the purchaser escapes blame but has to surrender the article to the true owner. Kāt. (616) adds[796] that in the case of 'asvāmi-vikraya' no other means of proof whether divine or human (except the evidence of witnesses such as kinsmen) is declared to be proper. Acc to the V. P p 293 other evidence and even ordeals may be admissible in sale without ownership, but the Sm. C. p. 216 and the Madanaratna say that on account of the express words of Kāt. this is not possible. If the owner who alleges the loss of an article fails to prove his title and prior possession he has to pay a fine to the king equal to $\frac{1}{8}$th of the price of the article. Kāt. (620) and Kaut. (III. 16) state that on failure to prove his title the person claiming[797] the article as his should be fined as a thief, in order to deter (others) from taking undue advantage (i e. preferring false claims). Kaut[798] III. 16 and Yāj. II. 169

794. नष्टमन्वेषते नास्तिक। । नष्टमस्यास्तीत्येव ठनि कृते मत्वादित्वात्स्वार्थिकोऽण् कर्तव्य । नष्टं प्रयोजनमस्येति वा । मेधा० on मनु VIII. 202 The sūtras referred to are पाणिनि V. 2 115, V 4 38 and V. 1 109.

795 नास्तिकस्तु प्रकुर्वीत तद्धनं ज्ञातृभिः स्वकम् । अदत्तस्यक्तविक्रीत कृत्वा स्व लभते धनम् । कात्या 614 q by अपरार्क p 777, वि. र. p. 104 स वि p 306

796. प्रकाशं च क्रयं कुर्यात्साधुभिर्ज्ञातिभिः स्वकैः । न तत्रान्या क्रिया मोक्षा दैविकी न च मानुषी ॥ कात्या. 616 q. by अपरार्क p 717, परा. मा 296, वि र. p 106

797. यदि स्वं नैव कुरुते ज्ञातिभिर्नास्तिको धनम् । प्रसङ्गविनिवृत्त्यर्थं चोरवद्दण्डमर्हति ॥ कात्या. 620 q. by अपरार्क p 777, वि र p. 105, परा मा III p 297.

798 नष्टापहृतमासाद्य स्वामी धर्मस्थेन ग्राहयेत् । देशकालातिपत्तौ वा स्वयं गृहीत्वोपहरेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 16.

provide that when the real owner finds his lost article in the hands of a stranger he should get him apprehended by the royal officers (such as *chauroddharaṇika*, acc. to Mit.), but that if the owner thinks that much time will be lost or distance will have to be traversed (for going to officers) he should himself seize the person and bring him before the court The Mit explains that the buyer should have the seller arrested and, if the seller is dead or gone abroad, that he should hand over the article to the real owner. Where a purchase has been made in the midst of a row of traders to the knowledge of the king's officers, but from a vendor whose habitation was unknown or where (after the purchase) the vendor dies, the real owner (of the thing sold by one not the owner) will recover his own property after paying half the price to the purchaser, since the rule of justice in such a case so requires, because to purchase from one (whose habitation is) not known is a fault (in the purchaser) and not taking proper care (of one's goods) is also a fault in the real owner (Br. in S B. E. vol. 33 pp. 335–36 verses 7–9 or Kāt 621–623)[799]. Marīci (q by Aparārka p. 775, Sm. C. II. p. 217) has similar provisions. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 335 verse[800] 6) provides that in a suit where there is no evidence the king shall take into consideration the character of the litigants and give a decision according as the credibility of the parties is equal, greater or less.

As regards articles lost and found by the king's officers, vide above (pp. 175–176).

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799. वणिग्वीथीपरिगतं विज्ञातं राजपूरुषैः। अविज्ञाताध्वयात् क्रीतं विक्रेता यत्र वा सृत. । स्वामी दत्त्वार्धमूल्यं तु मनुष्टीत स्वकं धनम् । अर्धं द्वयोरपहृतं तत्र स्याद्व्यवहारत. ॥ अविज्ञात-क्रयो दोषस्तथा चापरिपालनम् । एतद् द्वयं समाख्यातं द्रव्यहानिकरं बुधैः ॥ बृह., acc. to अपरार्क p 775, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 202 (the first two only), and कात्या acc. to स्मृतिच IL pp. 216–217, परा. मा III pp 297 and 300, वृ म pp 295–296 Law helps the vigilant The rules under 'asvāmivikraya' are based on the doctrine that no *one* can confer a better title to the goods sold than he himself has (vide section 27 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act IX of 1930). The verses recognise an exception in cases where both purchaser and the real owner are equally at fault.

800. प्रमाणहीनवादे तु दृष्टापेक्षया नृपः । समन्यूनाधिकत्वेन स्वयं कुर्याद्विनिर्णयम् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II. p. 216, वि. र. p. 108.

CHAPTER XVIII

SAMBHŪYA-SAMUTTHĀNA [801]

(A joint undertaking, partnership)

Where traders or others (like actors, musicians or artisans) carry on a business jointly it is termed a partnership (Nār. VI 1 and Kāt. 624).[802] Br (SBE vol. 33 p. 336 verses 1-2) says that a man should carry on a joint business with other persons of good family, that are clever, active, intelligent (or educated), familiar with coins, skilled in (controlling) expenditure and income, honest and valiant (or enterprising) and that joint undertakings like trade should not be carried on by prudent men with persons (partners) who are weak or lazy or afflicted with disease or are unlucky or destitute (of money).[803] The meaning is not that all the above qualities must exist in all partners, but that according to the nature of the undertaking some of these qualities will be absolutely necessary Nār. VI. 2-3, Yāj. II. 259, Br. (SBE vol 33 pp. 336-337 verses 3 and 4) prescribe that the expenses, loss, profit or work of those who jointly lend gold, grain or liquids shall be according to the capital put in by each.[804] The duty of each is to act honestly towards the others, whether they are present or absent,

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801 सम्भूय is the indeclinable past participle of the root भू with सम् and means 'having formed together or come together' and समुत्थान means 'undertaking'. So the two words mean 'undertaking in which are joined together' (labour, capital or both)

802 समवेतास्तु ये केचिच्छिल्पिनो वणिजोऽपि वा। अविभज्य पृथग्भूते प्राप्ते तत्र फलं समम् ॥ कात्या 624 q by अपरार्क p 832, परा मा III. p 304.

803 कुलीनदक्षानलसैः प्राज्ञैर्नाणकवेदिभिः। आयव्ययज्ञैः शुचिभिः शूरैः कुर्यात्सहक्रियाम् ॥ अशक्तालसरोगार्तमन्दभाग्यनिराश्रयैः। वाणिज्याद्या सहैतैस्तु न कर्तव्या बुधैः क्रिया ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच. II p 184, अपरार्क pp 831-832 'सहक्रिया वाणिज्यकृषिशिल्पकुसीदतस्तैन्यात्मिकामित्यर्थः। तत्र वाणिज्यक्रिया नाणकवेदिभिरायव्ययज्ञैः सम्भूय कार्या। कृषिक्रिया तु आयव्ययज्ञैः। शिल्पक्रिया सगीतक्रिया च प्राज्ञैः।' स्मृतिच II p 184.

804 प्रयोगं कुर्वतो ये तु हेमधान्यरसादिना। समन्यूनाधिकैरंशैर्लाभस्तेषां तथाविधः ॥ समो न्यूनोधिको वांशो येन क्षिप्तस्तथैव सः। व्यय दृष्ट्वात्कर्म कुर्याल्लाभं गृहीत चैव हि ॥ बृह. q. by. स्मृतिच II p. 185, व्य प्र p. 298 अपरार्क p 832 ascribes the first to कात्यायन.

in sales or purchases of various commodities.[805] Br. (SBE vol 33 p 337 verses 5–7) provides that whatever[806] property one partner may give (or transfer), being authorised to do so by the rest, or whatever document (or transaction) he may cause to be executed, all that is to be deemed as done by all partners; the partners themselves are declared to be the judges (the deciding persons) or witnesses among themselves in a doubtful case and in case of fraud, provided they are not already at feud among themselves. It follows from this that by entering into an agreement of partnership, each partner agrees that he submits to the decision of the other partners in cases of doubt If any one from them is found out to have practised fraud on the others in sales or purchases he should clear himself by special oaths or ordeals. Yāj II. 260, Nār. VI. 5,[807] Br. (SBE vol. 33 p. 337 verse 9) provide that each partner is responsible to make good what has been lost through his negligence or in consequence of his acting against the instructions of the others or of his acting without their authority or consent. If any one of the partners saves partnership property from act of God or the king or thieves (or similar calamity) by his own exertions he is to be awarded (as his special share) one tenth of the property saved (Yāj II. 260, Kāt 631,[808] Nār VI. 6) If any partner is crooked or fraudulent the rest may expel him without giving him any profit; a partner who is incompetent to work (personally) should get the partnership business done through another (Yāj II. 265) Yāj. II. 264 and Nār VI. 7 and 17–18 state that if one partner

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805. समक्षमसमक्षं वाऽवञ्चयन्तः परस्परम् । नानापण्यानुसारात्ते प्रकुर्युः क्रयविक्रयौ ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच्च II p 185, अपरार्क p 832. Compare sec. 9 of the Indian Partnership Act (IX of 1932) about the duty to be just and faithful.

806. बहूनां समतो यस्तु दद्यादेको धनं नर. । करणं कारयेद्वापि सर्वैरेव कृतं भवेत् ॥ परीक्षकाः साक्षिणस्तु त एवोक्ताः परस्परम् । सन्दिग्धेर्थे वञ्चनायां न चेद्विद्वेषसंयुताः ॥ यः कश्चिद्वञ्चकस्तेषां विज्ञातः क्रयविक्रये । क्षपयेः सोपि शोध्यः स्यात् सर्ववादेष्वयं विधि. ॥ बृह. q by व्य म p 200, वि र pp. 113, 123, व्य म p. 299, अपरार्क p 832 has all these, ascribes the first to कात्या. and reads ऋणं च कारये॰ What is meant is that when one partner raises an objection they have to decide what is to be done by a majority (and so they are judges in their business) Vide sections 12 and 18 of the Indian Partnership Act as to the decision by the view of majority and as to agency of partners

807. प्रमादाच्चाशितं द्राव्यः प्रतिषिद्धकृतं च यत् । असन्दिष्टश्च यत्कुर्यात्सर्वंसम्भूयकारिणः ॥ नारद VI. 5.

808 चोरतः सलिलाद्ग्नेर्द्रव्यं यस्तु समाहरेत् । तस्याशो दशमो देयः सर्वद्रव्येष्वयं विधिः ॥ कात्या 631 q. by परा. मा III. 305, वि. र. p. 114.

goes to a foreign country and dies, his share should be taken by his heirs (son &c.) or by his agnates or cognates ; in default of these the other partners may take it and in default of them the king may take it after waiting for ten years to see whether any heir or claimant turns up. Kātyāyana[809] states that in the case of artisans who together carry out some work, those among them who are directors of new methods get four shares, those who are adepts in the craft three shares, those who have studied the craft two shares and the apprentices only one share Whatever is given to strangers by all together (i. e. by the partnership firm) should be claimed back by the firm as such ; any single partner should not claim it ; if he does so he will lose his share of the profit[810]. Some rules are prescribed by Br that among dancers, singers and musicians, the singers get equal shares, while those who beat the tune only get half share each; similarly in the joint construction of a mansion or a temple the head of the artisans gets two shares. An artisan[811] (*śilpin*) is one who manufactures or works upon gold, silver, yarn, wood, stone and hides or one who has mastered one of the (64) arts. If a king has ordered a band of adventurers from among his subjects to make a plundering expedition in enemy country, Br. (in V. R p. 125) and Kāt. (633–635)[812] prescribe that the king gets one tenth ($\frac{1}{8}$ acc. to Br.), the leader gets four shares in the remainder, the valiant among his followers three shares, the more capable two shares and the rest one each and that if any one of them is caught the money for his ransom should be contributed by all according to their shares. When no agreement is made as to shares in property by traders, husbandmen, thieves and artisans similar rules apply[813].

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809. शिल्पकाभिज्ञकुशला आचार्याश्चेति शिल्पिनः। एकद्वित्रिचतुर्भागान्हरेयुस्ते यथोत्तरम् ॥ कात्या. 632, q by व्य म. p 201, अपरार्क p. 838, वि. र. p 124.

810. समवेतैस्तु यद्दत्तं मार्गणीयं तथैव तत्। न याचेत च यः किञ्चिल्लाभात्स परिहीयते ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p 833, वि र p. 123, व्य प्र. p 300.

811. हिरण्यरूप्यसूत्राणां काष्ठपाषाणचर्मणाम्। संस्कर्ता च कलाभिज्ञः शिल्पी चोक्तो मनीषिभिः ॥ बृह q by वि. र p. 124, व्य प्र. p. 304 (reads हिरण्यकुप्य°)

812. परराष्ट्राद्धनं यत्याच्चौरैः स्वाम्याज्ञया हृतम्। राज्ञो दशांशमुद्धृत्य विभजेरन्यथाविधि। चोराणां मुख्यभूतस्तु चतुरोंशांस्ततो हरेत्। शूरोंशांश्चीन्समर्थौ द्वौ शेषास्त्वेकैकमेव वा ॥ तेषां वेश्मसुतानां यो ग्रहणं समवाप्नुयात्। तन्मोक्षणार्थं यद्दत्तं वहेयुस्ते यथांशतः ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच II. p 189, व्यव. नि. p 286, परा मा III. 311, व्य. प्र p 305

813. वणिजां कर्षकाणां च चौराणां शिल्पिनां तथा। अनियम्यांशकर्तॄणां सर्वेषामेव निर्णयः ॥ कात्या. q by व्य. प्र. p. 305, परा. मा III p. 312, वि र p 126.

It is interesting to note that the ancient Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba and Baudhāyana are silent about partnerships, that Manu (VIII. 206–210) lays down rules about the distribution of fees among the priests at a sacrifice and that in one verse (VIII. 211) he remarks that the same principles are to be applied in all matters where men work conjointly (i. e. each is to be paid according to the importance and volume of the work he does). The rules about sacrificial priests in Manu are: If a priest chosen to do work in a sacrifice abandons his work a share only of the fee in proportion to the work (done) shall be given to him by those conjointly working with him; if a priest leaves after the fees are distributed (as at the time of midday extraction of Soma in the great sacrifices like Jyotiṣṭoma) then he keeps the whole of it and shall cause the remaining work to be performed by another (who will be paid by the sacrificer, acc. to Medhātithi) When specific fees are prescribed to be paid to individual priests at the performance of the several parts in a complicated sacrifice, the individual priests are to receive them and all are not to participate; as for example, the adhvaryu takes the chariot, the brahmā priest takes the horse in Agnyādhāna, the hotr also takes the horse and the udgātṛ the cart used in purchasing the soma plant. The four chief priests are entitled to one half of the fees, the first group of their assistants will get half of what the chief ones get, the 2nd group ⅓ and the fourth ¼. Nār. VI. 10 and Br (in V. R. p. 120) state that sacrificial priests are of three kinds viz. one hereditary and honoured by the ancestors of the sacrificer, one appointed by the sacrificer himself and one who performs the functions of his own accord through friendship and that (VI. 9 and 11) if an officiating priest forsakes a sacrificer who is free from any fault and who has caused no harm or if a sacrificer abandons a priest who is faultless, they both shall be punished but this does not apply to the third kind of priest. Śankha-Likhita, as quoted in V. R. pp. 117 and 120–121 and Sm. C. II. p. 188, give elaborate rules about sacrificial priests dying or leaving work and the fines to be imposed on them. Kaut. III. 14 lays down rules for the receipt of fees by priests when they leave off at different stages of such solemn sacrifices as the Agnistoma and also when the sacrificer dies without completing the sacrifice. The Vy. Nir. (pp. 284–285) quotes a few sentences from Kaut. III. 14.

The above shows that in the times of the ancient sūtras, secular partnerships had not attained sufficient importance and

CHAPTER XIX

DATTĀNAPAKARMA (resumption of gift).

This title is also called *dattāpradānika*[815] (lit that which is concerned with the non-delivery or resumption of a gift). Nār. VII. 1 defines it as that title where a man desires to resume what has been given by him because it has been improperly (in a manner opposed to law) given by him Nār. (VII. 2) divides this title into four topics viz what may not be given, what may be given, what are valid gifts and what are invalid gifts. Nār. VII. 3–5 and Br (SBE vol. 33 p. 342 verse 2) state that there are eight things that cannot be given (*adeya*) viz an *anvāhita*, a deposit, *yācitaka*, a pledge, property jointly owned with others, a deposit, son and wife, the entire property in the case of one who has offspring, and what has been already promised to another. Vide Kaut. III. 16, Yāj. II. 175[816] for a similar but more compendious statement, and Kāt. 638. These cannot be given either because they are not one's absolute property or because the gift of them is forbidden by the sages. In the case of even those who hold that one has ownership over one's son or wife, the gift of them is not possible because it is forbidden, just as though one owns rice, *yavas* and *māṣa* beans, one cannot make offerings of māsa because the veda prohibits their use in the words 'ayajñiyā vai māsāh' (q by Śabara on Jai. VI. 3. 20). So son and wife cannot be given on account of the prohibition in the smrtis. The general rule of what may be given is stated

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815 मेधातिथि on मनु VIII. 214 explains it as अपक्रिया क्रियायाः तस्य तत्रामतिषेध. । दानमेवं न चलितं भवति । एवैव दाने स्थितिरिति यावत् । कथं प्रतिश्रुत्यादीयमाने धर्मो न नश्यतीति नैषा शङ्का कर्तव्या । एष एवात्र धर्मो यक्त दीयते दत्तं च प्रत्यादीयते । So acc. to this दत्तस्यानपाकर्म means 'not improper abstraction of what is given or promised to be given' The मिता on या II. 175 explains both दत्तामदानिक and दत्तानपाकर्म as follows : दत्तस्य अप्रदानं पुनर्हरण यस्मिन्दानाख्ये तद् दत्तामदानिकं नाम व्यवहारपदम् । .. दत्तस्य अनपाकर्म अपुनरादानं यत्र दानाख्ये विवादपदे तद्दत्तानपाकर्म. Acc to this दत्तानपाकर्म means 'that in which what is donated cannot be taken back because the gift is according to law' (also impliedly the converse of it)

816 सर्वस्वं पुत्रदारमात्मानं प्रदायानुशयिनः प्रपद्येत । अर्थशास्त्र III. 16 सामान्यपुत्रदाराधिसर्वस्वन्यासयाचितम् । प्रतिश्रुतं तथान्यस्मेप्यदेयं त्रिष्टधा स्मृतम् ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच्च II. 189, व्य. प्र p. 306; similar verses of Nār. VII 4–5 and Dakṣa III. 19–20 have been quoted in (H. of Dh. vol II. p 850 n. 2005).

by Yāj II 175, Nār. VII. 6 and Br. (SBE 33 p 342 verse 3), Kāt 640 viz. whatever is absolutely one's own excepting that required for the maintenance of one's family may be given [817] Manu (XI. 9-10), Nār. VII. 6 and Br. (quoted in H. of Dh. vol II pp. 850-851 n. 2007) condemn those who stint their family or servants in order to be charitable to others and say that he who does so would incur sin. Manu XI. 7 (=Nār. VII. 7), Vas VIII. 10, Yāj I. 124, Visnu Dh S. 59.8 prescribe that he alone who has property sufficient to provide for three years' maintenance for those whom he is bound to maintain or has more wealth than that may drink *soma* i. e. may engage in a soma sacrifice (which costs much)

Nār. VII. 8 states that there are seven kinds of *datta* gifts, i e gifts or transfers that cannot be resumed because they are made by a person in full possession of his faculties and of things that belong to him absolutely and are not forbidden They are: the price paid for goods bought, wages, what is paid for pleasure (derived from dancing, singing, wrestling), a gift through affection, a gift made in gratitude, money paid to a bride's kinsmen, and gifts for spiritual or charitable purposes Acc. to Br.[818] (SBE vol. 33 p. 343 verse 8) there are eight kinds of valid gifts. Nār. VII 9-11 mentions sixteen kinds of invalid gifts, which have already been set out (in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 887 where Gaut. V. 22 that specifies some invalid gifts has also been cited). Vide Kāt. 647. The difference between gifts of *adeya* and *adatta* gifts is this. In the first class of cases, the gifts being forbidden are entirely null and void, while *adatta* gifts are those that are voidable and may be set aside by the court on the application of the donor himself, because, of the incapacity of the donor due to intoxication, lunacy, old age, minority, mistake etc. Kāt 646 and Kaut (III. 13) state

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817. सर्वस्वं गृहवर्जं तु कुटुम्बभरणाधिकम् । यद् ह्यन्यं तत्स्वकं देयमेव स्यादृतोऽन्यथा ॥ कात्या. 640 q. by परा. मा III. 214, वि. र p 129, स वि p 283 Kāt. prohibits the gift of a house if a man owns only one

818. भूत्वा हृत्वा पण्यमूल्यं क्षीणोत्कहृपकारिणे । अज्ञातग्रहणं प्रीत्या दृत्तमष्टविधं विदुः ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच. II. p 193. कात्यायन 644-645 explain भूति and मूल्योपकार occurring in नारद and बृह., the first being a reward for finding out a lost article or an unknown offender and the second being a reward for protecting a man from danger or for guarding the donor's property when he was a minor or effecting some object desired by the donor (such as his marriage &c)

that if a man[819] is in danger of life and promises the gift of all his property to whomsoever may save him, he may resile from the promise and pay only what an expert or arbitrator may award. Kāt. (650–651) defines *utkoca* (bribe)[820] as what is obtained in these ways viz. by giving (or threatening to give false) information about a person as a thief or a felon, or as one who breaks the rules of decent conduct, or as an adulterous person, or by pointing out those who are of bad character or by spreading false reports about a person. He further provides that a person offering the bribe should not be fined, but the intermediary may be fined and if the person accepting the bribe has been appointed to an office by the king he should be made to return the bribe and pay a fine eleven times as much to the king. But Kāt. adds that where a person not holding a public appointment obtains some gratification for work done, he would not be held guilty and would not have to return what he received as a reward or in gratitude. Hārita holds out[821] other-worldly evil consequences for not actually delivering what is promised or for resuming what has been already delivered as a gift viz the person doing so falls into Hell and is born as one of the lower animals and adds that what is promised as a gift for a religious purpose in so many words but is not actually delivered becomes a debt in this world and the next i. e. the king should make the promisor give the

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819. प्राणसंशयमापन्नं यो मामुत्तारयेदिति । सर्वस्व तस्य दास्यामीत्युक्तेपि न तथा भवेत् ॥ कात्या 646 q. by अपरार्क p 781, वि र p 134, स्मृतिच II. p 193, नदीविगज्वालास्तेनव्यालोपरुद्ध. सर्वस्वमुद्धरात्मदानेनार्तत्रातारमाद्रृत्य निस्तीर्णः कुशलप्रदिष्ट वेतनं दद्यात् । तेन सर्वत्रार्तदानाज्ञशया व्याख्याता. ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 13.

820. स्तेनसाहसिकोद्वृत्तपारजायिकशंसनात् । दर्शनाद् वृत्तभङ्गस्य तथासत्यप्रवर्तनात् । प्राप्तमेतैस्तु यत्किञ्चित् तदुत्कोचाख्यमुच्यते । न दाता तत्र दण्ड्यः स्यान्मध्यस्थश्चैव दोषभाक् । नियुक्तो यस्तु कार्येषु स चेदुत्कोचमाप्नुयात् । स दाप्यस्तद्धनं कृत्स्नं वृत्तभङ्गैकादशाधिकम् ॥ अनियुक्तस्तु कार्यार्थमुत्कोचं यमवाप्नुयात् । कृतमप्युपकारार्थस्तस्य दोषो न विद्यते ॥ कात्या. 650–653 q. by स वि 286, अपरार्क 782, परा. मा III 320, व्य. म. p. 312, व्य म. p. 205 The Indian Penal Code, section 116 (illustration a) read with sec 161, makes one who offers a bribe to a public servant punishable as an abettor. The ancient Indian law exempting the offerer from punishment would appear to be more reasonable from certain points of view.

821. प्रतिश्रुतार्थादानेन दत्तस्याच्छेदनेन च । विविधाञ्जरकान् याति तिर्यग्योनौ च जायते ॥ वाचैव यत्प्रतिज्ञातं कर्मणा नोपपादितम् । ऋणं तद्धर्मसंयुक्तमिह लोके परत्र च ॥ हारीत q. by व्य. म. p 310, विवादचन्द्र p. 36, स्मृतिच. II. p. 192, which remarks 'ऋणवदित्यभिधानेन अर्थादप्रदायको दाप्यो दण्डश्चेत्युक्तम्' स. वि p 285 ascribes the first verse to कात्या. and reads 'कल्पकोटिशतं मर्त्यस्तिर्यग्योनौ०'.

promised gift and should inflict a fine. Kāt. (642) provides[822] that a man who having voluntarily promised a gift to a brāhmana does not deliver it should be made to render it as a debt and should be awarded the lowest amercement and further (verse 566) that if a man promises a gift for a religious purpose whether in good health or in disease, his son (or other heir) should be made to pay it if the promisor died without actually delivering it These verses show that in two cases gifts though not completed by delivery of possession were enforced by ancient Indian courts viz. when the gift was promised to a brāhmana or when the gift was declared to be made for a religious and charitable purpose. The last verse contains the beginnings of the idea of a will, since the mere declaration of the intention of a man to give for a religious purpose is made enforceable after his death against his son or heir. But this germ could not evolve into a full-fledged law of testamentary succession on account of the practice of adoption, the requirement that a gift must be accompanied by present possession and the incidents of the joint family on account of which no single member could alienate family property except for legal necessity and which involved the doctrine that on the death of a member his rights ended and passed by survivorship to other members. Br. expressly states this.[823] But a gift though promised need not be paid or carried out if the promisee turns out to be an irreligious man (Gaut. V. 21). Nār. VII. 12 and Br. provide that he who enjoys an invalid gift and he who makes a forbidden gift are both to be punished by the king.[824]

In H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 841 it has been stated that gift consists in the cessation of the ownership of the donor in a thing and creating ownership in another. This latter is effected by acceptance (*svīkāra*) by the donee. Acceptance may be made mentally, vocally or physically. For the formalities accompanying a gift such as sprinkling water on the thing donated and the

822. स्वेच्छया यः प्रतिश्रुत्य ब्राह्मणाय प्रतिग्रहम् । न दद्यादृणवद्दाप्यः प्रागुपायात्पूर्वसाहसम् ॥ कात्या q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 192, स. वि. p. 285, व्य प्र p. 310, स्वधेनार्तेन वा देयं श्रावितं धर्मकारणात् । अदत्त्वा तु मृते दाप्यस्तत्सुतो नात्र संशय. ॥ कात्या. q. by वि. चि. p 16, व्य प्र p 313, स. वि p 287, विवादचन्द्र p. 37, प्रतिश्रुत्याप्रदातारं सुवर्णं दण्डयेन्नृपः । मत्स्यपुराण 227. 8 q by व्य. प्र p. 310, प्रतिश्रुत्याप्यधर्मसंयुक्ताय न दद्यात् । गौ. V 21.

823. मदूर्ध्वमिति यद्दत्तं न तत्स्वत्वावहं भवेत् । तेनेदानीमदत्तत्वान्मृते रिक्थिनमापतेत् ॥ बृह. q. by व्यव. नि. p. 298

824. [illegible]भो[illegible] दण्ड्यः स्यात्तथादेयप्रदायकः । बृह. q. by स. वि. p. 288,

offering of a *dakṣiṇā* to the donee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 855. Some writers like Jīmūtavāhana dispute the statement[825] that acceptance is necessary to constitute a gift The Dāyabhāga states that by the mere relinquishment of a thing by the donor (i. e. by the activity of the donor himself) the ownership of the thing passes to the person intended as the donee, that the ownership of the other man does not arise by acceptance, that though ownership in the donee does arise by the mere activity of the donor, yet acceptance (svīkāra) which is an activity of the donee makes the thing donated capable of being disposed off by the donee as he likes on account of his idea 'this is mine' The Dāyabhāga indulges in casuistical reasoning in support of its view, which it is not necessary to set out here. But the remarks of the Dāyabhāga are not satisfactory, since it does not adequately explain what is to happen if the intended donee refuses the gift On its hypothesis ownership has passed to the donee without acceptance being necessary. If the donee refuses, or dies without accepting, who is the owner? Can it be said that the thing becomes the property of whosoever first takes it up and that the donor cannot prevent a third person taking it up? The V. P. pp. 426–428 severely criticizes the Dāyabhāga for its views

825. दृष्टं च लोकेऽपि दाने हि चेतनोद्देशविशिष्टत्यागादेव दातृव्यापारात्सम्प्रदानस्य द्रव्ये स्वामित्वम् । न च स्वीकरणात् स्वत्वं स्वीकर्तुरेव दातृत्वापत्तेः । ... उत्पन्नमपि स्वत्वं संप्रदानव्यापारेण ममेदमिति ज्ञानेन यथेष्टव्यवहारार्थं क्रियत इति स्वीकारशब्दार्थः । दायभाग I. 21–24 pp. 13–15

CHAPTER XX

VETANĀSYĀNAPĀKARMA, ABHYUPETYĀŚUŚRŪSĀ AND SVĀMIPĀLAVIVĀDA

(Non-payment of wages, non-rendition of service, dispute between master and herdsman).

The question about the payment or non-payment of wages to those whose services are hired for work is dealt with under this title (Nār IX. 1) According to Br. there[826] are three titles of law in which the question of hiring enters, viz. *abhyupetyāśuśrūsā*, *vetanasyānapākarma* and *svāmipālavivāda*. Manu and Kaut. do not treat of the first of these three Here *vetanasyānapākarma* will be first dealt with, then *abhyupetyāśuśrūsā* and *svāmipālavivāda* will be separately treated of. All these three topics are concerned with masters and servants or employers and employees The rules are different according as the contract of service is for a fixed term or for an indefinite period or is for executing a definite piece of work and according as the rate of wages or the hire is fixed beforehand or is not fixed. We have further to remember that the rules are spread over a large period i. e from about 6th century B C. to about 500 A. D. (from Gaut. and Āp. to Br. and Kāt) The rules deal with the liabilities of both masters and servants Nār. IX. 2 states that the wages agreed upon may be paid at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the work undertaken. But when no wages are settled beforehand Nār. IX. 3, Yāj II. 194, Kaut. III.[827] 13 provide that the (agent of a) trader, the cowherd, the husbandman should receive a tenth part respectively of the profit, of the milk and of the crops. This latter according to the Sm. C. II p. 201 holds good where the crops are raised easily But Br.

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826. अतेऽयादिकमाख्यातं भृतानामुच्यते विधिः । अशुश्रूषाभ्युपेत्यैतत्पदमादौ निगद्यते ॥ वेतनस्यानपाकर्म तदनु स्वामिपालयोः । क्रमशः कथ्यते बादौ भृतभेदत्रय स्थितम् ॥ बृह. in वि. र p 139, वि चि p. 41.

827. कर्मकालाद्यरूपमसम्भाषितवेतनः । कर्षक सस्याना गोपालक सर्पिषां वैदेहक पण्यानामात्मना व्यवहृतानां दशभागमसंभाषितवेतनो लभेत ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III 13, भृतावनिश्चितार्थां तु दशभागं समाप्नुयुः । लाभगोबीजसस्यानां वणिग्गोपकृषीवलाः ॥ नारद IX. 3 This is ascribed to कात्या. by स. चि p 298

S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 345[828] verse 13) lays down the rule that if the employer supplies food and clothing to the servant, the latter should get a fifth part of the crops (if no wages are settled) or a third part if the servant is given no food nor clothing by the employer. When no wages are settled Vṛddha-Manu prescribes that proper wages will be determined by experts in carrying[829] maritime trade (and other traders) who take into consideration the time, the place and the purpose Even when the wages were settled the employer could give less or more according to his pleasure in certain cases viz when a servant or agent acts against the restrictions of time and place prescribed by his employer and consequently the profit is much less, the employer may give less than what is agreed but if the agent brings more profit (than expected) he may give more (Yāj II. 195). When two or more employees undertake to finish a work but cannot finish it (owing to ill-health or similar obstacle) each of them should be given the wages appropriate to the portion done by each (as settled by an arbitrator), but if the whole work is finished by them the agreed wages must be paid to all of them together (Yāj. II. 196). Yāj. II. 193, Nār. IX. 4 and[830] Br. state that it is the duty of the employed or servant to take as much care of the utensils supplied by the employer as he would take of his own, and that he should not act in that respect wantonly (or crookedly) and that if he did so his wages would become less. If a hired servant, after receiving his wages, does not do the work agreed to be done though able to do so, he should be made to repay to the employer the wages received and a fine equal to double of the wages and if he had not received wages but left the work without cause he should be made to pay to the employer

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828. भक्ताच्छादभृतः सीराद्भागं गृह्णीत पञ्चमम् । जातस्स्यात् त्रिभागं तु भक्तहीनाद्भागभृतः ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. p 202, व्य म p 324, स. वि. p 298.

829. सप्तद्वयानकुशला देशकालार्थदर्शिनः । नियच्छेयुर्भृतिं यां तु सा स्यात् प्राकृता यदि ॥ बृद्धमनु q by वि र. p 158, व्य. म. p 324. The स्मृतिच II. 202 ascribes it to Manu Compare अर्थशास्त्र III 13 'कारुशिल्पिकुशीलवचिकित्सकवाग्जीवनपरिचारकादिराशाकारिकवर्गस्तु यथान्यस्तस्तद्विध· कुर्याद् यथा वा कुशला कल्पयेयुस्तथा वेतनं लभेत ।'

830. क्रियोपकरणं चैव क्रियां यत्प्रत्युदाहृतम् । तत्स्वभावेन कुर्वीत न जिह्मेन समाचरेत् ॥ नारद IX 4. स्मृतिच II p. 202 and परा मा. III. 324 read आत्मभावेन तद्वस्य न जैह्म्येन &c ; भृतकस्तु न कुर्वीत स्वामिनः शातवमण्वपि । भृतिहानिं समाप्नोति ततो वाद् प्रवर्तते ॥ बृह q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 202, परा. मा. III. p 324.

an amount equal to the wages (Yāj II 193, Nār. IX. 5, Br. in SBE vol. 33 p. 345 verse 15). Kaut (III. 14) prescribes a fine of 12 panas for a hired servant who does not do the work undertaken even after receiving the wages and that he should be compelled to do the work. Nār. IX. 5 and Kāt. 657 provide that that the king should compel him to do the work and then the agreed wages may be paid to him ; but if he does not do it he should be fined [832] The fine in such cases acc to Vrddha-Manu was 200 panas. Manu VIII. 215 and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 345 verse 16) and Matsya 227. 9 provide that a hired servant, who though not ill, does not arrogantly do the work agreed should be fined eight *krsnalas* and would not get wages at all. This applies where a substantial portion is left undone, but where only a little of the work undertaken is left undone then the servant is not to be fined, but he would lose all the wages (Manu VIII. 217). But if a servant falls ill, then he may do the work after he becomes well and would get the agreed wages even if a long time may have elapsed (Manu VIII. 216). Kaut. (III. 14) also provides that if the servant suffers from illness or is overwhelmed by a calamity, concession may be given to him or he may offer a substitute. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 11. 28. 2–4) prescribes that if a husbandman who is not a slave but is hired for work) gives up the work or a cowherd acts similarly he should be punished with flogging and the animals handed over to the cowherd should be taken back from him. This may have been the ancient law, but it was modified in later ages. Kaut. (III. 13) states that if the employer does not pay the wages he should be fined six panas or a tenth part of the proper wages or the wages agreed upon and if the hired person denies the receipt of wages (though he really received them) he should be fined twelve panas or a fifth part of the wages [833] Kaut. (III. 14) further provides that in the contract of service it may be provided that the master is not to employ

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831. गृहीतवेतनः कर्म न करोति यदा भृतः । समर्थश्चेद् दमं दाप्यो द्विगुणं तच्च वेतनम् ॥ बृह q. by स्मृतिच्च II p 202, वि. र. p 159, कर्मारम्भ तु प. कृत्वा सिद्धं नैव तु कारयेत् । बलात्कारयितव्योऽसावकुर्वन् दण्डमर्हति ॥ कात्या. 657 q by स्मृतिच्च II. p. 203, वि र. p 110, गृहीत्वा वेतन कर्माकुर्वतो भृतकस्य द्वादशपणो दण्ड. । संरोधभाकारणात् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 14.

832. प्रतिश्रुत्य न कुर्याद्य स कार्य. स्याद् बलादपि । स चेन्न कुर्यात्तत्कर्म प्राप्नुयाद् द्विशतं दमम् ॥ बृद्धमनु q. by स्मृतिच्च. II. p. 203, परा मा. III. p 325, व्य. म. p 325

833 वेतनादाने दशबन्धो दण्ड. षट्पणो वा । अपव्ययमाने द्वादशपणो दण्ड पञ्चबन्धो वा । अर्थशास्त्र III. 13.

another servant or that the servant is not to work for another master during the period fixed.

Yāj. II. 197, Nār IX. 9, Kāt. 659, Visnu Dh. S.[834] V. 155–156 provide that if through the fault of a carrier (and not through act of God or the king) goods entrusted to him for carrying are lost or become deteriorated, he should be made to pay for the loss. Vrddha-Manu specifies that if the goods are lost through the negligence of the servant he has to pay only the price, but if through spite then he should be made to pay double the price. If a hired servant (such as a palanquin-bearer or an armed guard) causes obstruction (by refusing to work) at the time of starting for an auspicious matter (such as a marriage), he should be made to pay double the amount of the wages agreed upon and another servant may be engaged (Yāj. II. 197, Nār. IX. 8, Kāt. 658, Vrddha-Manu in V R. p. 163). Yāj. II. 198, Nār. IX. 7 provide that if a servant abandons his work (as a bearer or guard) after a start is made (when not seized by illness) he should be made to pay $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ or the whole of the wages according to the distance traversed and a master abandoning a servant in similar circumstances should be made to pay similarly.

If a servant agrees to take a lump sum for some work to be done for a certain period and leaves the work before the period elapses he would lose all the wages, but if he leaves in the middle of the period through the fault of the employer (such as scolding without any fault of the servant) he would be entitled to receive a proportionate part of the wages (Nār. q. by V. R. p. 161).[835] Visnu Dh. S V. 153–154 and 157–158 provide that in the same circumstances the servant would have to pay a fine

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834. भाण्डं व्यसनमागच्छेद्यदि वाहकदोषतः। स दाप्यो यत्प्रणष्टं स्याद्दैवराजकृताद्दते। नारद IX. 9: न तु दाप्यो हृतं चौरैर्दग्धमूर्द जलेन वा। कात्या 659, q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 203, अपरार्क p 799, स. वि p. 300. प्रमादाकाशितं दाप्यः समं द्विग्रीहनाशितम्। वृद्धमनु q. by स्मृतिच II. p 203, वि. र. p. 162, तद्दोषेण यद्विनश्येत् तत्स्वामिने। अन्यत्र दैवोपघातात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 155–56, विघ्नयन्वाहको दाप्यः मस्थाने द्विगुणं दमम्। कात्या 658 q. by स्मृतिच. II p 203, परा. मा. III. p 327. The provisions for breach of contract of personal service during a journey and the like set out here are very mild as compared with the severe punishment provided for it under section 490 of the Indian Penal Code (repealed in 1925).

835. कालेऽपूर्णे त्यजन् कर्म भृतेर्नाशमवाप्नुयात्। स्वामिदोषादपक्रामन् यावत्कृतमवाप्नुयात्॥ नारद q. in वि र p. 161, व्य म p 326. त्यजेत्पथि सहायं यः आन्तं रोगार्तमेव वा। प्राप्तुयात्साहसं पूर्वं ग्रामे त्यहमपालयन्॥ कात्या 660 q. by वि. र. p. 665, अपरार्क p. 800.

of 100 panas and that if the employer abandone the eervant before the period fixed has expired he would have to pay the whole of the wages to the servant and a fine of one hundred panas (except in the case of act of God and the king). Kāt (660) provides that a master deserting on a journey his servant that ie tired or falls ill should be fined the first amercement if he doee not wait for three days in the village. If a trader after engaging a vehicle or draught animals for carrying his merchandise for hire, doee not employ them to carry his goods he should be made to pay a fourth of the hire settled and the whole of it if he discharges them when only a part of the journey has been made (Nār. IX. 7) If the merchandise be attached[836] (by the king'e officers for toll &c.) or be etolen the servant engaged to carry the goods will receive a proportionate amount (out of the lump sum agreed to be paid for a certain journey) according to the distance travelled (Kāt. 661) If the employer doee not pay the wagee of a servant even though the latter hae done his work the king should make him pay the wagee and also a proper fine (Br in S. B. E vol. 33 p 346 verse 18). If a man[837] having hired elephants, horses, bulls, assee or camele does not return them even though the work (for which he hired them) is finished he should be made to restore them together with the hire (up to the day of return) The same rule applies to a man taking on rent a house or water (reservior) or a market and not giving it up at the time fixed (Kāt. 662–663) Nār. (IX. 20–21) provides that if a person builds a house on another's land by paying rent (*stoma*) for the land, he may take away when vacating the land the bricks, the timber and grass (thatch) of the house built by him, but if a man builds a house on another'e land without paying rent and against the owner'e wish then he has to leave

836. यदा च पथि तद्भाण्डमासिध्येत क्रियेत वा । यावानध्वा गतस्तेन प्राप्नुयात्तावतीं भृतिम् ॥ कात्या 661 q by स्मृतिच II 204, वि र p 164, कृते कर्मणि च, स्वामी न दद्याद्वेतनं भृते । राज्ञा दापयितव्य. स्याद्विनय चाप्युरूपत ॥ बृह in स्मृतिच II p 204, वि र p 165

837. हस्त्यश्वगोखरोष्ट्रादीन् गृहीत्वा भाटकेन या. । नार्पयेत्कृतकृत्यार्थं स तु दाप्य सभाटकम् । गृहवार्यापणादीनि गृहीत्वा भाटकेन यः । स्वामिने नार्पयेद्यावत्तावद्दाप्य सभाटकम् ॥ कात्या 662–663 q by स्मृतिच II p 205, वि र pp 168–169, परा मा III pp. 330–331. The word भाटक (which corresponds to the word भाडें in Marathi and other vernaculars) appears to be a *prākrit* equivalent of the old Sanskrit word भृति treated again as a Sanskrit word In Sanskrit वेतन or वृत्ति is used for wages, while भाटक or स्तोम means rent of a house or land or the like

the materials of his house to the owner of the land when he has to give up the land. An important rule is stated by Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 346 verse 17) that when a servant[838] employed by an employer does some improper act (such as a theft) to another for the benefit of his master, the latter would be held responsible for the loss. The Matsyapurāna says that if a teacher having agreed to teach a lore or craft for money which he receives fails to do so, he should be fined the whole of the amount[839] of the fee.

From the above it will be clear that contracts of service and letting on hire are lumped together under one head by the smrtis.

Kaut. III. 14 provides that persons may be paid wages by a guild or corporation of workers of which they are members. The earnings of such guilds may be divided equally among all workers or as agreed upon among themselves. Yāj. II. 265 also refers to the fact that rules similar to those of partnerships may apply to guilds of husbandmen and artisans.

Certain rules are laid down in Nār. IX. 18, Yāj. II. 292 and Matsyapurāna 227. 144–146 about the monetary liabilities of prostitutes and persons visiting them. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 638–39 above. The Matsyapurāna (227. 144–146) states that a brāhmana who visits a prostitute should be fined as many panas as he paid to her, that if a prostitute after receiving her fee does not receive the visitor and goes elsewhere she should be made to pay to the visitor double of the fee and a similar sum as fine to the king, and that if one, after telling a prostitute that she is to visit a certain person, takes her to a different person, he should be fined one gold māsaka.

The Matsyapurāna (227.147) further states that a visitor who has had sexual intercourse with a prostitute and yet has not paid her fee should be made to pay double the (agreed) fee to her and a similar sum as fine to the king. Nārada provides that the chief prostitutes and the voluptuaries that stay with them

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838. प्रभुणा विनियुक्तः सन् भृतको विदधाति यत् । तदर्थमशुभं कर्म स्वामी तत्रापराध्नुयात् । बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. p 204, वि र. p. 162 Compare section 238 of the Indian Contract Act as to the principal's liability for his agent's misrepresentation or fraud

839. मूल्यमादाय यो विद्यां शिल्पं वा न प्रयच्छति । दण्ड्यः स मूलं सकलं धर्मज्ञेन महीभृता ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 227. 6 q. by वि. र. p 163.

should help in deciding monetary disputes in which prostitutes are concerned[840] (q in Sm. C. II. p. 206 and others). Nār. (IX. 18-19) prescribes the payment of eight times the fee and a similar fine in the case contemplated in Matsya 227. 147.

Abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā (non-rendition of service after making a contract to serve or obey)[841]. Nār VIII. 1 defines it as the title in which after having undertaken to serve or obey one does not act up to it. The ancient dharmasūtras mention only two kinds of servants viz. agricultural labourers and herdsmen Vide Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 28. 2-3 and Gaut. XII. 16-17[842]. Acc. to Nār. VIII. 2 and 3 there are five kinds of servers (or attendants) viz. four that are called *karmakara* (performers of labour) and the fifth class comprehends slaves of fifteen kinds; and the four *karmakaras* are pupil (*śisya*), apprentice (*antevāsin*), a hired servant (*bhṛtaka*) and one who supervises hired servants (*adhikarmakṛt*). Not being free to do as they like is the common attribute of these five kinds of attendants, but there is a distinction among them due to their castes, their peculiar actions and their mode of maintaining themselves (Nār VIII. 4). A śisya (pupil) is one who desires (from his teacher) instruction in Vedic learning, an antevāsin is one who receives instruction in some craft such as goldsmith's work or dancing, a hired servant is one that does some work for wages, an adhikarmakṛt is one who supervises hired servants. Work is of two kinds, *śubha* (i. e. pure, done by the four kinds of karmakaras) and *aśubha* i. e impure (done only by slaves). Aśubha acts comprise[843] (Nār. VIII. 6-7 and Kāt. 720) sweeping the doors of houses, pits in which leavings of food are thrown, roads, rubbish heaps; scratching or shampooing the private parts (of the masters); collecting and throwing away leavings of food, ordure and urine and making use of one's limbs (hand &c) at the master's desire for wiping off the master's private parts, all other actions are pure Karmakaras do work for securing Vedic learning or *vijñāna* (art or craft), some desire or money. The

840 वेश्याः प्रधाना यास्तत्र काहुकास्तद्गृहोषिता । तत्सम्बन्धेषु कार्येषु निर्णयं सप्तमे विदुः ॥ नारद q by स्मृतिच्च II p 206, वि र p 167, व्य म p 330

841 आज्ञाकरण शुश्रूषा तामङ्गीकृत्य पश्चाद्यो न सम्पादयति तद्विवादपदमभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषाख्यम् । मिता. on या II. 182

842 अवशिष्ट कीनाशस्य कर्मण्यासे दण्डताडनम् । तथा पशुपस्य । आप ध. II. 11. 28. 2-3.

843. विण्मूत्रोन्मार्जनं चैव नग्नत्वपरिमर्दनम् । प्रायो दासीसुता कुर्युर्गवादिग्रहणं च यत् । कात्या 720 q. by वि र p. 144

duties of a vedic student are described by Nār. VIII. 8-15 and have been set out above in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 305-312 viz. to wait upon the teacher, his wife and son, to beg for food, to sleep on the ground, to do the bidding of the teacher, to learn the vedas, to offer fee to the teacher at the end of vedic study. An apprentice is distinguished in his actions and mode of maintenance from a śiṣya. The antevāsin, acc. to Yāj. II. 184, Nār. VIII. 16-21, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 344 verse 6) and Kāt. 713, resides with a master craftsman to learn some[844] art or craft (such as goldsmith's work, singing, dancing, house-building), agreeing to work under him for a stated period, the master craftsman gives him food and teaches him in his own house, does not put him to any other work; if the apprentice leaves the teacher even though the latter is willing to teach him, he (the pupil) should be made to stay with the teacher and may be whipped or confined; the pupil even though he may have become an adept has to stay with the master till the end of the agreed period and the teacher appropriates the fruits of the apprentice's labour. If the master does not instruct the apprentice in the craft and makes him do other work, he would be liable to pay the first amercement and the pupil may leave him[845].

Hired servants have different grades among them arising from the work they do, the wages they receive and the period for which they are employed and they are distinguished from apprentices in these respects and not as regards caste or mode of maintenance. According to Nār. VIII. 22-23 and Br. (S. B. E vol. 33, p 344 verse 8) a hired servant is of three kinds and his wages depend on the work he does and his ability to do it. The three kinds are the highest (viz a soldier), middling (an agriculturist), the lowest[846] (a porter) A hired servant may

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844. अनेकधा तेऽभिहिता जातिकर्मानुरूपत । विद्याविज्ञानकामार्थनिमित्तेन चतुर्विधाः । एकैक. दुर्नरेतेषां क्रियाभेदात्प्रपद्यते ॥ विद्या त्रयी समाख्याता ऋग्यजुःसामलक्षणा । तदर्थं गुरुशुश्रूषा प्रकुर्याच्छास्त्रदेशिताम् । विज्ञानमुच्यते शिल्पं हेमकुप्यादिसंस्कृति । नृत्यादिकं च तच्छिक्षन् कुर्यात् कर्म गुरोर्गृहे ॥ बृह q by वि र pp 140-41, स्मृतिच II. p 195, व्य म p 314, व्यवहारसार p. 155 (the last three contain only the last two verses)

845 यस्तु न ग्राहयेच्छिल्प कर्माण्यन्यानि कारयेत् । प्राप्नुयात्साहसं पूर्वं तस्माच्छिल्पी निवर्तते ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 790, परा मा III. 338, वि. र p 141

846 बहुधार्थभृत· प्रोक्तस्तथा भागभृतोऽपर· । हीनमध्योत्तमत्वं च सर्वेषामेव चोदितम् ॥ द्विनमासार्धषण्मासत्रिमासाब्दभृतस्तथा । कर्म कुर्यात्प्रतिज्ञातं लभते पारिभाषितम् ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 196, परा मा III. p 339-10.

be engaged for a day, a fortnight, a month or for longer periods, should perform the work undertaken and get the wages agreed upon.' He may be paid in cash or by giving him a share of crops or a share in the milk of the cattle he tends[847]

A person who is employed and given authority over all servants and also one who looks to the affairs (expenditure &c.) of the household is called 'adhikarmakrta (or-krt), acc. to Nār. VIII. 24. All these four are called workers in clean occupations, while the fifteen kinds of slaves are employed in the lowest and dirtiest work (Nār. VIII. 25) The difference between the hired servants and slaves is this that the latter surrender all their freedom and themselves entirely to another, while the former, though dependent to some extent, do retain some freedom (Kāt 715), but a brāhmana was not to be a slave[848]. In very ancient times the master's liability for the acts of his servant does not seem to have been recognized. For example, Gaut XII 17 states that if cattle entrusted to a herdsman cause loss to crops, then the herdsman is to be held responsible (and not the owner who employs the herdsman). But Manu VIII. 243, Yāj. II. 161, Nār XIV. 29 appear to hold the master liable to make good the loss caused by the herdsman's default Vide Br. quoted above under *vetanasyānapākarma.*

The kinds of slaves and the incidents of slavery have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 180–189. A few matters not referred to there may be dealt with here 'Buddhist India' p. 55 (by Rhys Davids) shows how slavery in the Buddhist period was not as miserable as under the Greeks The Rājatarangini IV 39 states that king Vajrāditya of Kashmir (in the 8th Century A D.) sold many men as slaves to Mlecchas. One cannot help blaming the British Indian Government for the Assam Labour and Emigration Act (VI of 1901) whereby a modified form of serfdom or slavery was legalised for the benefit of the tea planters of Assam, Bengal and other provinces and by sections 168–169 of which poor indentured labourers who were induced to labour on the sumptuous monthly wages of five rupees were liable to be sentenced to fine or in

847 द्विप्रकारो भागभृत् कृषिगोजीवन स्मृत । जातसस्यात्तथा क्षीरात् लभेत स सशय ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p. 196, च्य म p 316, वि र. p 143

848 स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद्दासत्व दारवद्भवेत् । त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेय दास्य नियत न क्वचित् । कात्या 715 q by अपरार्क p 788, स्मृतिच II p. 197.

default to imprisonment, if they left off the work to which by agreement they were tied down in unhealthy districts and unhealthier surroundings.

Kāt. (725) provides that[849] if a woman who is not a slave marries a slave she becomes a slave since her husband is her lord and is dependent on his master. If a person buys or sells a brāhmana woman[850] as a slave the king should annul that transaction and all persons (concerned in it) should be fined by him and the same holds good in the case of a woman of a respectable family who took shelter with a person and was made a slave by him or transferred by him to another as a slave (Kāt. 726–727). The punishment of first amercement is prescribed for a person who has sexual intercourse with the nurse of his child or with another woman who is not a slave and the wife of his attendant as if she were a slave; and a fine of two hundred panas is provided in case a master who is not in difficulties and is well-off desires to sell a female slave who is faithful and weeps bitterly (being unwilling to leave him). Nār. VIII. 40 provides that if a slave leaves his master and goes over to another saying 'I am your slave' that would not help the slave, as his former owner would be entitled to claim him back. Uśanas states[851] that a *guru* (elderly person), a *sapiṇḍa*, a brāhmaṇa and persons of the lowest castes (cāṇḍālas &c.) cannot be made slaves, nor can any one (of the higher castes) who is superior in learning be the slave of one of the same caste.

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849 दासेनोढा त्वदासी या सापि दासित्वमाप्नुयात् । यस्माद्भर्ता प्रभुस्तस्या स्वाम्यधीनः प्रभुर्यतः ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच्च II 201, व्य प्र p 322, स वि p 294

850 आदद्याद् ब्राह्मणी वस्तु विक्रीणीत तथैव च । राज्ञा तदकृतं कार्यं दण्ड्याः स्युः सर्व एव ते ॥ कामात्तु संश्रिता वस्तु दासीं कुर्यात्कुलस्त्रियम् । संक्रामयेत वान्यत्र दण्डस्तच्चाकृत भवेत् ॥ बालधात्रीमदासीं च दासीमिव भुनक्ति यः । परिचारकपत्नीं वा प्राप्नुयात्पूर्वसाहसम् ॥ विक्रोशमानां यो भर्तां दासीं विक्रेतुमिच्छति । अनापद्विस्थ शक्तः सन् प्राप्नुयाद् द्विशतं दमम् ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 789, वि. र. pp 154–155, व्य प्र p 323.

851 न शूद्रेण सपिण्डश्च न विप्रो नान्ययोनयः । दासभावं न तेऽर्हन्ति न च विद्याधिको द्विज ॥ उशनस् q by स वि p 296, which explains 'ब्राह्मणस्य अन्ययोनिर्न दास विद्याधिकश्च । एव क्षत्रियादेर्ब्राह्मण । समवर्णे तु विद्याधिको न दास· ।'

CHAPTER XXI

SAMVID-VYATIKRAMA AND OTHER TITLES

(Violation of compacts or conventions)

Nār. (XIII. 1) employs the expression *samayasyānapākarma*, Manu VIII. 5 employs the first expression. Manu (VIII. 218-219) has both names in view, when he says 'I shall now declare the rules applicable to those who violate *samayas* (conventions) He who having entered into a compact (*samvid*) under (the sanction of) an oath with the inhabitants of a village or a district or with a group of traders or other persons breaks it through greed should be banished from the kingdom by the king.' In Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 2 and II 4, 8 13 the word 'samaya' [852] is employed in the sense of 'convention or accepted doctrine'. The same word is also used in the sense of 'agreement' as in Yāj. I 61 (*gāndharvah samayānmuthah*) In this title it means 'the acceptance of a certain rule or convention arrived at by many', as explained by [853] Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 219. It signifies a local or caste usage or convention made by groups of people (such as guilds and corporations) binding on all members that form or join the several groups. The Amarakosa holds that *ācāra* and *samvid* are among the several meanings of *samaya* Medhātithi explains that, if the inhabitants of a village come to a decision that they would oppose the inhabitants of a neighbouring village who were indulging in grazing their cattle in the pastures of the former village or diverting the watercourses and that if in doing so there was a riot or a suit were filed before the king, all should

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852 धर्मज्ञसमय प्रमाण वेदाश्च । आप ध सू I 1 1 2, अज्ञाना तु यदाचरणदेर् इति न्यायविस्समयः ॥ आप ध सू II 4. 8 13

853 समयसिद्धि (समय सिद्ध ?) सङ्केत इदं मया भवतामनुमते क्रियतां इत्यभ्युपगम । मेधा on मनु 8. 219. समया. शपथाचारयोलसिद्धान्तयोश्च । अमरकोश Medh on Manu VIII 220 takes the word 'saṅgha' by itself and [illegible] (S B E vol 25 p 293) is misled (probably by some corrupt [illegible] translating as 'belonging to a corporation inhabiting a village or a [illegible] मेधा says 'स्वं ग्राममुदायो देशसघ (देश सङ्घ) एकधर्मानुष्ठाना सजातीयानाजातीयानामपि प्राणिनां समूहो यथा मिक्षणां सङ्घो वणिजां सङ्घ इत्यादि सङ्घ इति ।'

be of one mind, that any one of those who encouraged this decision would be liable to be punished if he backed out of it through some inducement offered by the headman of the other village. Nār. XIII. 1 explains that *samaya* means the rules (or conventions) settled among heretics, *naigamas*[854] and the like. Yāj II. 192 and Nār. XIII. 2 provide that the conventions of guilds, *naigamas*, heretics, śrenis, pūgas, ganas and in towns and districts should be enforced by the king and their traditional mode of conducting their business should be protected Some remarks have already been made on guilds and corporations above (pp. 156-57 notes 196-198). Vide also H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 66-69 for the guilds and corporations and the meanings of words like *śreni*, *pūga*, *gana* etc. Some further information is added here. The Sm. C. (II. p. 223) has a very[855] interesting note illustrating the various conventions of several groups and its remarks are copied *verbatim* by the V. P. pp. 332-333. It says: 'Even heretics have certain rules made for the benefit of their monasteries Among naigamas there is a practice that those who disregard messages brought by servants wearing a specific jacket (as a uniform) should be fined. Śreṇis are guilds of craftsmen such as weavers. They have rules that certain articles are to be sold only by a certain guild and by no other. Pūgas are groups of elephant riders and horse riders.' Vrāta is defined by Kāt. as a body of persons armed with various weapons, while the Mahābhāsya on Pānini V. 2. 21 (*vrātena jīvati*) explains it as a 'group of men of several castes and several occupations who make a living by relying on their formidable bodies'. Acc to the Mit. heretics are those like the Bauddhas who do not regard the Veda as authoritative. Gana means, acc.

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854 नैगम is defined by पद्मत्रिंशन्मत as follows. पौरुषेयतया वेदं प्रामाण्य (वेदप्रामाण्य ?) प्रवदन्ति ये। तेषा वैशेषिकादीना नैगमाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते॥ q by व्यव नि p 13 But this sense is not appropriate here The same work (p 14) quotes कात्यायन's definition which is more appropriate 'नानापौरसमाजस्तु नैगमाख्यः प्रकीर्तित॰ ।'

855 पूगव्राते चान्योन्यमुत्सृज्य समरे न गन्तव्यमित्यादयः सन्ति समया । गणे तु पञ्चमेद्धि पञ्चमे वाद्दे कर्णवेध कर्तव्य इत्येवमादिरस्ति समय । गणादिशब्देन ब्रह्मपुरीमहाजन. परिगृहीतः । तत्र गुरुदक्षिणाद्यर्थमागतो माननीय इत्यादिसमयोस्ति । दुर्गे तु धान्यादिकं गृहीत्वा अन्यत्र यात्यतो न तद्विक्रेयमित्यस्ति समय. । जनपदे तु क्वचिद्विक्रेतृहस्ते दशबन्धग्रहण कार्य क्वचित्कोतृहस्ते इत्यादिकोस्त्यनेकविध समयः । जनपदे तथेत्यत्र तथाशब्दोऽनुक्तधान्यघोषगुरुादीना प्रदर्शनार्थ. । तत्र न गोमच्चारस्थाने क्रातव्यमित्यादिकोस्ति ग्रामे समयः। आभीरस्त्रीपुरुषव्यभिचारे न दण्ड इत्यादिकोस्ति घोषे समय· । स्मृतिच II p 223 on नारद XIII 2 'पाषण्डिनैगमश्रेणीपूगव्रातगणादिषु । सरक्षेत् समय राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा॥'.

to Mit 'an assemblage of armed persons subsisting by following one occupation', while Kāt (680) says it is a corporation of brāhmaṇas. In the Rājat II. 132 reference is made to corporations of purohitas at temples and tīrthas (sacred places). The Sm. C states that among pūgas and vrātas there is a convention that they must go to battle all *together* and not separately. Among ganas there is a usage that the lobes of the ear (of a child) are to be pierced on the 5th day or in the fifth year from birth. Among *mahājanas* in a settlement of brāhmaṇas there is a convention that a brāhmaṇa repairing to them for collecting fees to be paid to his teacher (at the close of Vedic study) should be honoured (i e. should be paid some contribution). In certain districts there is a usage that either the seller or the buyer should keep in his hand $\frac{1}{10}$ of the price (probably for finding out whether the article is useful for the purpose in hand and resiling from the bargain if it is not). In forts or capitals there is a rule that corn taken out of it by a person with him when going out elsewhere should not be sold by him. In villages there is a rule that in pastures no digging would be allowed. In the hamlets inhabited by ābhīras there is a convention that for adultery by a male or female there is to be no fine. It does credit to the ancient writers on dharmaśāstra that they were tolerant enough to require the king, whatever his own religious persuasion might be, to honour and enforce the usages of even heretics among themselves. The only requirement was that the enforcement of their usages must not be opposed to the interest of the country or the capital and must not cause commotion and must not be plainly immoral[856] (Nār XIII. 4-5 and 7 and Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 220) Yāj (II. 188-192) lays down the following rules: there should be a committee (of two, three or five, acc. to Br.)[857] to look after the business of the guilds &c (called *kāryacintaka*) who should be religious, pure, not covetous and all members should carry out what they decide upon; when the committee members approach the king on some business of their guild he should bestow on them gifts and

856 दोषवत्करण यत्स्याद्वृत्तान्नायप्रकल्पितम् । प्रवृत्तमपि तद्राजा श्रेयस्कामो निवर्तयेत् ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 7) on which the व्य म p 337 has the following instructive note यल्लोभादिदोषवत्करण श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्ध विधवादौ वेश्यात्वादिक पाषण्डादिभिः प्रकल्पितं तद्बहुकालप्रवृत्तमपि राज्ञा निवर्तनीयमित्यर्थ ।

857. द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्या समूहहितवादिनः । कर्तव्य वचन तेषा ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभिः ॥ बृह q in स्मृतिच II. p 224, व्य म p 334 For the qualities of the committee members (similar to Yāj II. 191) vide Br (S. B E vol. 33 [illegible] by व्य. म p. 334.

honour them. Whatever is obtained by any one sent on the business of the group must be handed over by him to the heads of the group (also Br. in S. B E. vol. 33 p. 349 verse 22)[858] and if he does not do so he should be fined eleven times as much. Whoever goes against the heads of the group that are working for its benefit should be punished in the first amercement (by the group itself, acc. to Sm. C. II. p 224). Kāt. (677) states the general rule that whatever is obtained (by the committee or advisers of the group) or is saved by them or whatever debts are incurred by them for their group and whatever they obtain through the king's favour should be shared equally by all (members of the group). Kāt. (674–675) provides that whatever debt was professedly incurred by the committee for the group but was misappropriated by them or applied to their individual purposes must be paid by them and that those who subsequently join the groups already formed become equally entitled to the property and liable for the debts previously acquired or incurred. Manu VIII. 220 and Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 348 v. 14) provide a fine of six *niskas* of four suvarnas each (or six niskas and four suvarnas) for him who falls out with his associates. Kāt (671) provides that that member (of a group) who opposes what is reasonable, who gives no scope to (i. e obstructs or persistently interrupts) a speaker (in a meeting of the group) or who speaks absurdly should be made to pay the first amercement. Yāj. II. 187 prescribes forfeiture of all property and banishment for him, who misappropriates the property of the group or corporation or who violates the conventions made by the group (or the king). As stated by the Mit this and other sentences depended upon the nature and gravity of the offence and the capacity of the offender[859].

Krayavikrayānuśaya (repentance after purchase or sale). Manu VIII. 222 and Kaut. III. 15 regard this as one title of law. But Nār. (XI and XII) splits this into two titles viz. *vikrīyāsampradāna* (non-delivery of a thing after it is sold for a price) and *krītvānuśaya* (repentance after buying) Manu states the general rule that whenever a person after buying

858. यत्तैः प्राप्तं रक्षितं वा गणार्थे वा ऋणं कृतम्। राजप्रसादलब्धं च सर्वैरेवैव तत्समम्॥ गणमुद्दिश्य यत्किञ्चित्कृत्वर्णं भक्षितं भवेत्। आत्मार्थं विनियुक्तं वा देयं तैरेव तद्भवेत्॥ गणानां श्रेणिवर्गाणां गता स्युर्ये तु मध्यताम्। प्राक्तनस्य धनस्यैव समांशाः सर्व एव ते॥ कात्या q by स वि p. 330–331, वि र p 187, स्मृतिच्च II p 227, व्य प्र p 338

859. मनुप्रतिपादितदण्डाना निर्वासनन्चतु सुवर्णनिष्कशतमानानामन्यतमो जातिशक्त्यपेक्षया कल्पनीय। मिता on या II 187.

or selling anything repents of having done so, he may return or take back that thing within ten days Nār XI 2 states that property is of two kinds in this world viz movable and immovable and that all property is designated as *panya* (saleable) in rules about purchase and sale. According to Yāj II. 254, Nār XI. 4-5, Visnu Dh S. V 127 [860], if a man sells property and does not deliver it to the purchaser, he should be made to deliver it to the purchaser together with profits (between the time of sale and delivery) and if it is movable together with the price of profits arising [861] from it (such as milk in the case of a cow) Visnu Dh S V 128 prescribes a fine of 100 panas against the vendor. Kaut III. 15 prescribes a fine of 12 panas against the vendor who after selling a thing does not deliver it and also against a buyer who having purchased does not take delivery of it, except when the thing itself is defective or is lost by act of king or theft or by fire or flood or unless the transaction was for inadequate price or brought about in distress [862] If the article sold is not delivered by the vendor after demand by the vendee and it is injured, destroyed by fire or stolen, the loss will fall on the vendor (Nār. XI. 6, Visnu Dh. S V. 129, Yāj II. 256). These rules apply when the vendor does not feel repentance for having sold the thing, but if he feels repentance then Manu VIII. 222 will apply and the vendor may pay back the price and recover the article within ten days [863] from the sale Kāt. (684) provides the same rule. No one, either buyer or vendor, can rescind the sale after ten days and if any one uses force in

860 विक्रीय पण्य मूल्येन क्रेतुर्यो न प्रयच्छति । स्थावरस्योदयं दाप्यो जङ्गमस्य क्रियाफलम् ॥ नारद XI 4 The मिता on या II 254, विवादचन्द्र (p 50), व्य प्र. p 342 and others read स्थावरस्य क्षयं and explain 'विक्रयानन्तरं जात उपभोग क्षय·' (व्य प) and 'क्रिया वाहनादिका फलं बुध्यादि । समाहारोयम्' (विवादचन्द्र p 50)

861 'Udaya' in Nār and Yāj may mean either the profits from the property that the vendor enjoyed or the difference in price between the date of sale and the date of delivery if the property became less in value. This applies when both parties are inhabitants of the same place, but if the purchaser is one who comes from another country then he may be awarded the profit that he would have made in the other country by selling it if it had been delivered to him at once

862. क्रीतमक्रीणतो या हानि· सा क्रेतुरेव स्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V 129, विक्रीय पण्यमप्रयच्छतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र दोषोपनिपातादिवक्षोभ्य· क्रीत्वा पण्यमप्रतिगृह्णतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र दोषो · क्षोभ्य । कौटिल्य III 15.

863. एवं धर्मो दशाहात्तु परतोऽनुशयो न तु । कात्या 684 q. by स्मृतिच्च II p. 218, वि र p 192, परा मा III p 367

recovering the article sold or bought after that period the king should fine him 600 panas Manu VIII 228 extends these rules about repentance and recovery within ten days to all transactions whatever. Kāt. (685) prescribes that the period of ten days for repentance is allowed to vendors and vendees only in the case of land, and that the period is 12 days when the parties to sale of land are sapiṇḍas of one another and that in other cases the period is even shorter.[864] Yāj. II. 257, Nār. XI. 7-8, Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 350 verse 4) provide that when a vendor having sold a thing to one man for a price received sells it to another or having concealed the defects of an article sells it as free from defects he should be made to return double the price to the purchaser and a fine equal to double the price to the king.[865] The above rules apply where the purchaser has paid the price, but if there is a mere agreement and no price is paid, then the vendor or vendee is guilty of no wrong if he resiles from the bare agreement to sell or buy unless they have made an express stipulation that the agreement cannot be rescinded (Nār. XI. 10). When at the time of the agreement for sale, the vendee pays something by way of earnest, then if the sale goes off through the fault of the vendor, the latter has to return to the vendee double of the earnest;[866] but if the purchaser does not finally take it he loses the thing and also the earnest. Nār. XII. 1 prescribes that when a vendee after having purchased a thing for a price repents of the purchase that is the title of law called 'resoission of purchase.' Nār XII. 2 prescribes that if the purchaser thinks that he has made a bad bargain he may return the thing purchased to the vendor on the same day in an undamaged condition (and may receive back the price paid); but if he returns it on the 2nd or 3rd day after the purchase (including the day of purchase) he will have to lose respectively one-thirtieth or one-fifteenth of the price and after the third day he cannot return the thing at all (Nār XII. 3). But Yāj. II. 177 and Nār. XII. 5-6 lay down

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864. भूमेर्दशाहे विक्रेतुरायस्तत्क्रेतुरेव च । द्वादशाहः सपिण्डानामपि चाल्पमतः परम् ॥ कात्या (685) q. by परा. मा. III p. 364

865. ज्ञात्वा सदोष यत्पण्य विक्रीणीते विचक्षण. । तदेव द्विगुणं दाप्यस्तत्क्षण विनयं तथा ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 220, परा. मा III. p. 370.

866. सत्यङ्कारकृतं द्रव्यं द्विगुणं प्रतिदापयेत् । याज्ञ. II. 61. vide the मिता thereon सत्यङ्कारं च यो दत्त्वा यथाकालं न दृश्यते । पण्यं भवेत्क्रिसृष्टं तद्दीयमानमगृह्णत ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच II. p 220, परा. मा III p 370 क्लीबे सत्यापनं सत्यङ्कार. सत्याकृतिः स्त्रियाम् । अमरकोश, on which क्षीरस्वामी says 'अवश्यं मयैतद् विक्रेयमिति सत्यस्य करणं सत्यापनम्' and for सत्यङ्कार relies on पाणिनि VI. 3. 70 'कारे सत्यागदस्य'.

the following periods for examination of things purchased, viz one, three, five, seven, ten days, half a month and one month respectively in the case of iron (and clothes), milch cattle, beasts of burden, jewels (precious stones, pearls and corals), all sorts of grain, a male slave and a female slave It must be supposed that these verses contain exceptions to the general rule in Manu VIII 222 cited above. Kaut. (III. 15) allows only one night, three nights, five nights and seven nights for repentance to traders, husbandmen, cowherds, the mixed castes and higher castes and provides that where the articles sold are perishable a very short time only may be allowed. The above rules apply only when the purchaser made no examination at the time of purchase Nār.[867] XII 4 and Br. (S. B. E vol 33 p. 350 verse 3) recommend that a purchaser should himself closely examine an article before buying it and also show it to others in order to find out its defects and good qualities and provide that when he has approved of an article after close examination he cannot return it to the vendor Vyāsa provides that hides, fuel, bricks, yarn, grain, intoxicants, fluids, gold, inferior metals (like lead and tin) and other wealth should be carefully examined then and there i. e. when once bought after close examination none of these can be returned even if some defect[868] is found therein Nār. (XII. 5-6) cited above contains exceptions to this Nār XII. 7 gives an example of a purchase being not liable to be rescinded when a defective article is purchased with open eyes viz. a worn garment which is soiled with dirt and is in ragged condition cannot be returned to the vendor if it was in that state at the time of the purchase i e the maxim '*caveat emptor*' applies. If a purchaser does not take delivery of the thing sold to him, the vendor may sell it again to another[869] and if the thing is lost through act of God or the king the loss falls on the buyer alone (Yāj. II. 255, Nār XI 9) Kāt (692) provides[870] that what has been sold by a lunatic or an intoxicated

867 परीक्षेत स्वयं पण्यमन्येषा च प्रदर्शयेत् । परीक्षितं बहुमत गृहीत्वा न पुनस्त्यजेत् ॥ बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. p 220, वि र. p 198

868 चर्मकाष्टेष्टकासूत्रधान्यासवरसस्य तु । वस्तुकुप्यद्विरण्याना सद्य एव परीक्षणम् ॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिच II 220, वि र p. 198 (reads तृणकाष्ट and वस्तकुप्य), व्य म p 339

869. Compare section 46 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act (III of 1930) for the vendor's right of resale and sec 26 about the person who has to bear the loss of goods

870 मत्तोन्मत्तेन विक्रीत हीनमूल्य भयेन वा । अस्वतन्त्रेण मुग्धेन त्याज्य तस्य पुनर्भवेत् ॥ कात्या q. by स. वि p 312, वि चि p 57, व्यव. नि p 354 and व्य म p. 345 ascribe it to बृह

person or through intimidation or for an inadequate price or by one who is dependent or by an idiot should be relinquished by the purchaser; it still belongs to the seller Kāt. (705–706) lays down a novel rule to find out what is adequate or inadequate price What[871] is decided by the neighbours assembled together, who know (the land &c and its value) and who are afraid of committing sin, as the price of fields, gardens, houses and the like, of bipeds and quadrupeds, is declared to be the proper price; a price which is less or more than it by one-eighth is declared to be improper; what is sold for an improper price may be annulled even after a hundred years Kāt. (704) states that when the owner of a field absconds together with the surety[872] for the payment of the land tax, the judges of the court may order a sale for recovery of the tax and that such a sale may be set aside up to ten years and a compromise or exchange up to three generations, if it is inequitable Bhāradvāja provides that when taxes are not paid both by the tax-payer and his surety even when called upon to do so, then the king may order a charge on the land or sale of the land.

Uktalābha is defined as a conditional sale, where a man borrows only a portion of the proper price of a land and stipulates that he would return the money on a certain day and that if he did not do so his ownership over the land would come to an end[873] Kāt (711) adds that a sale of the uktalābha kind will be valid if it is for more than half (the proper price of the land), provided more than ten years have elapsed (after

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871 समवेतैस्तु सामन्तैरभिज्ञैः पापभीरुभिः । क्षेत्रारामगृहादीनां द्विपदा च चतुष्पदाम् । कल्पित मूल्यमित्याहुर्भाग कृत्वा तदष्टधा । एकभागातिरिक्त वा हीन वाद्युच्चितं स्मृतम् ॥ समाशतमतीतेऽपि सर्वं तद्विनिवर्तते । हीनमूल्यं तु तत्सर्वं कृतमप्यकृतं भवेत् । कात्या q by स वि p 325, व्यव नि p. 352, vide बृह q. by स वि p 326 'मूल्य दशाधिक न्यूनं मूल्यस्याद्युच्चितं स्मृतम् । क्रयसिद्धिस्तु नैव स्याद्वत्सराणा शतैरपि ॥'

872 पलायिते तु करदे करमतिभुवा सह । करार्थं करदक्षेत्र विक्रीणीयु. सभासद. ॥ सन्धिश्च परिवृत्तिश्च विषमा वा त्रिभोगतः । आज्ञयापि क्रयश्चापि दशाब्द विनिवर्तयेत् ॥ कात्या and बृद्धकात्या respectively q by स वि pp 324 and 320, व्यव नि p 348 reads slightly differently, आज्ञाधिस्तत्क्रयश्चैव करे दृष्टो विधीयते । उभावन्यत्र न स्यातामिति धर्मविदो विदु. ॥ भारद्वाज q by स वि p 324.

873 किञ्चिच्च द्रव्यमादाय काले दास्यामि ते क्वचित् । नो चेन्मूलमिद त्यक्त केदारस्येति य. क्रय. । स उक्तलाभ इत्युक्त उक्तकालेऽप्यनर्पणात् । भारद्वाज q by व्यव नि p 351, स वि p 324. This is similar to the mortgage by conditional sale defined in section 58 of the Transfer of Property Act.

the period fixed for repayment) An *avakraya*[874] becomes valid after possession for over three generations and a (regular) purchase by mutual agreement becomes valid at once Kāt. (712) further[875] prescribes that the unpaid purchase money carries compound interest after demand if no time is fixed for payment, but, if a time is fixed, then only the balance has to be paid up to the end of that period Br provides that in all sales, the sale deed should mention the wells and trees (on the land), the water and ways and that the crops, trees and fruits, wells, tanks and house standing on the land sold would belong to the vendor if they are not put down in the deed of sale.[876] According to Hārīta the rules of sales are to be extended to exchanges.[877]

From the Rājatarangiṇī VI. 41 it appears that a fraudulent purchaser, who, by means of the heavy bribe of 1000 *dināras*, induced the officially authorized scribe to include a well in the sale of a house when it was intended to be excluded from it, was banished from the country by the king, his property being confiscated and given over to the cheated vendor.

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874. अर्धाधिके क्रय· सिध्येदुक्तलाभो वृशाद्धिक.। अवक्रयस्त्रिभोगेन सद्य एव रुचिक्रय.॥ कात्या. (711) q by व्यव नि. p 349 (which reads ऋणक्रिया at the end, that makes hardly any sense) and स वि p 326 The word अवक्रय is explained in various ways The Mit on Yāj. II. 238 defines it as a transaction whereby a bailee (e g a washerman) transfers an article bailed to him (for washing &c.) to another for hire Pāṇini IV 4 50 employs the word 'avakraya', but the Siddhāntakaumudī explains it as the due to be recovered by a king from a market (or the like). Gaut XII 39 employs the word 'avakrita' which is explained by Haradatta as meaning 'what is purchased, but the price of which is unpaid or only partly paid' This last seems to be the sense intended by Kāt. who provides that a sale of land, the price being wholly or partly unpaid, would become indefeasible only after enjoyment for three generations सुमन्तु as quoted in S V p 321 defines अवक्रय as 'अर्धदत्तमदत्तं तु क्रयमाहुरवक्रयम्। अवक्रयो निवर्तेत यदि काले न दीयते॥'

875. मूल्यात्स्वल्पमदानेपि क्रयसिद्धि· कृता भवेत्। चक्रवृद्ध्या मदातव्यं देय तत्सम-याद्दते॥ कात्या 712 q by स वि p. 327

876. विक्रयेषु च सर्वेषु कूपवृक्षादि लेखयेत्। जलमार्गादि यत्किञ्चिदन्यच्चैव वृह-स्पति.॥ क्षेत्राद्युपेतं परिपक्वसस्यं वृक्ष फल वाप्युपभोगयोग्यम्। कूपं तटाकं गृहसङ्गतं च क्रीतेपि विक्रेतुरिद् वदन्ति॥ बृह q. by व्यव नि p 349, स वि p 326 Compare sec 9 of the Transfer of Property Act (Act IV of 1882) as to what passes on a sale. The व्यव नि p. 349 explains as एव्वलिखितेषु क्रेतुर्न भवन्तीत्यर्थ.

877 मत्तमूढानभिज्ञातभीतैर्विनिमय कृत। यच्चान्युचितमूल्य स्यात्सर्वं तद् विनि-वर्तते॥ हारीत q by स वि p 326. Compare sec 118 of the Transfer of Property Act.

The Vyavahāranirnaya, after quoting Br. and Vyāsa, very lucidly explains what is meant by sale, purchase, exchange &c. Gold and the like which a man desires to render or pay is called price, while land, house and the like are said to be 'panya' (saleable thing) Purchase means acceptance of a thing preceded by the offering of a price (either paid or agreed to be paid); sale is the acceptance of a price preceded by the offering of a saleable thing *Parivarta* or *parivartanā* is the acceptance of an article for an article of the same kind; if there is a disparity in value between the two articles exchanged the exchange is called '*avakraya*'; when there is an exchange of two articles of different kinds but of the same value it is called *vimmaya* [878] The Vyavahāranirnaya makes elaborate provisions for sale of land at the order of the king for non-payment of land tax It quotes Prajāpati (p. 350) to the effect that the purchaser at such a sale must offer half or at least one-fourth of the real price of the field and that the original owner could get back his property sold for the royal dues by paying the full price to the purchaser up to three generations. Other elaborate rules on the same subject are passed over here for reasons of space These provisions indicate that ownership in cultivated fields belonged to individuals and that the State had only the right to levy taxes Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp 865–869 and Kāt quoted above (on p. 196) for a discussion of the theory of the State's ownership of all lands. Taking into consideration the Pūrvamīmāmsā texts, the Vyavahāramayūkha and the verses of Kāt, and others it appears that the State was deemed to be the owner of all lands as a general proposition, but that where individuals or bodies of persons had been in long possession of lands that they cultivated, the ownership of the State was qualified and restricted only to the recovery of a tax or share

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878 स (बृहस्पतिः) एवाह—आत्मीयस्य विजातीयं द्रव्यमादाय चान्यतः। क्रयोस्थस्य (क्रयोर्थस्य ?) परित्यागः साम्ये तु परिवर्तना ॥ इति। व्यास॰। आत्मीयस्य विजातीयं द्रव्यमादाय चान्यत॰। क्रयो मूल्यस्य संत्याग॰ स्वत्वहेतुः परस्परम्। परिवृत्तिः सजातीयद्रव्ये विनिमय स्मृत। वैषम्ये विक्रय. प्रोक्तो मिश्रे विनिमयः स्मृत ॥ इति। स्वत्वहेतुफलजनका एते क्रयविक्रयपरिवर्तनविनिमया इति। तत्र लोके जिहासितं द्रुवर्णादि मूल्यमुच्यते। उपादित्सितं क्षेत्रगृहादि पण्यमित्युच्यते। तत्र मूल्यत्यागपूर्वकपण्यस्वीकार॰ क्रय.। पण्यत्यागपूर्वको मूल्ये स्वत्वजनको मूल्यस्वीकारो विक्रयः। सजातीयत्यागपूर्वकः सजातीयस्य स्वीकार॰ परिवर्तना। वैषम्ये सति परिवर्तनैवावक्रयशब्देनोच्यते। विजातीयसजातीयमिश्रपरिवर्तनायां विजातीयाधिक्येऽवक्रयो भवति, सजातीयाधिक्ये परिवर्तना भवति। सजातीयविजातीययो. साम्ये विनिमयो भवति। व्यव नि pp 347–348 The definition of sale given by the Vyavahāranirnaya looks quite modern Compare sec 4 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act (III. of 1930)

of crops and that individuals and groups that had cultivated lands in their possession were regarded practically as owners of the land subject to the liability to pay land tax and to the right of the State to sell the land for non-payment of tax. The Vyavahāranirnaya quotes Br and another smrti text that śūdras, persons excommunicated for grave sins (*patita*), cāndālas and desperate characters cannot be allowed to possess the lands of a brāhmana by sale, partition or in lieu of wages,[879] the same work further quotes Vyāsa, Bhāradvāja and Br. that when land is sold there is a right of pre-emption in favour of full brothers, sapindas, samānodakas, sagotras, neighbours, creditors and one's co-villagers in order.[880]

Gifts of immovables were looked upon in very ancient times with disfavour, though they were made even in the times of the Upanisads Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp 740–41 But sales of land must have been rarer still in ancient times owing to the patriarchal and joint family systems. The Mit on Yāj II 114 quotes a verse forbidding the sale of immovable property;[881] but sales of lands are mentioned in many copperplate grants. Vide Paharpur plate grant of Gupta year 159 i e 478–79 A. D. in E. I. vol 20 p. 59 (where one kulyāvāpa of land is stated to have been sold for two *dīnāras* to a brāhmana and his wife named Rāmī by the city council for the provision of the worship with sandal-wood paste &c of the divine *arhats* at a *vihāra*), E. I. vol 17 p 345 (grant of the time of Kumāragupta I in Gupta year 113), the Damodarpur plates (E I vol. 15 p 113), Faridpur plates (Ind Ant. vol. 39 p 193), E I vol 18 p 74 From these records of the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. it appears that land was owned by private individuals or by

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879 शूद्राश्च पतिताश्चैव चण्डालाश्चाततायिन । नार्हन्ति विप्रदेहस्य क्रयविक्रयकर्मणि ॥ बृह ; विभागेन क्रयेणापि वेतनग्रहणेपि वा । शूद्रः केनापि रूपेण न विप्रस्तिष्ठेत्कदाचन ॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q by व्यव नि p 354 With these provisions prescribed at least 1500 years ago one may compare the South African legislation passed in the midst of the Second World War (alleged to be fought for different kinds of freedoms) against Indians preventing the purchase by them of lands in areas reserved for Whites

880 व्यास । ज्ञातिसामन्तधनिका क्रमेण क्रयरक्षिण । तत्रासम्भवतः पूर्वे सपिण्डाश्च क्रये मता ॥ बृहस्पति । सोदकाश्च सपिण्डाश्च सोदकाश्च समाश्रिण । सामन्ता धनिका मार्गा सर्वेते भूक्रये मता ॥ q by व्यव नि pp 355–56

881 स्थावरे विक्रयो नास्ति कुर्यादाधिमनुज्ञया । q. by मिता on याज II 114

joint families or by the village community or by the king and there was a fixed procedure when land was to be sold, that the purchaser approached the District Officers who consulted the *pustapālas* that kept a record of titles and that the villagers and headmen were consulted and asked to mark off the land to be sold. It appears that the smrtis recommended that sales should be clothed in the formalities of gifts, probably because gifts were frequent and sales were not A smrti quoted by the Mit (on Yāj. II 114) states 'land passes (i. e. is transferred) with the assent of the villagers, the agnatic relations, the neighbours, the co-sharers and with the offering of gold and water' The Mit explains that these[882] are not absolutely necessary formalities of a sale, but that they are recommended for the sake of greater caution and convenience, that the assent of the villagers is to be secured for the publication of the transaction of sale, as a text says that acceptance, particularly of immovables, should be made openly, that the neighbours' assent should be secured for preventing boundary disputes, that the assent of agnates and co-sharers is desired for making it easy to complete the transaction, that it does not follow that without the assent of these the sale of land is not valid or complete. Water and gold are to be offered because gifts being highly commended, a sale should be clothed outwardly with the same formalities. Vide Dr. P. N. Sen's 'Hindu Jurisprudence' pp. 76–78 for the opposite procedure of the ancient Roman Law that gifts were to be clothed with the formalities of sale. For water and gold in the case of gifts vide above under *dattāpradānika*.

Svāmipālavivāda (disputee between the owner of cattle and herdsman who is engaged to look after them) In ancient times this must have been a prominent source of litigation in a predominantly agricultural country like India Nār. appears to have included this title under *cetanasyānapākarma*. Yāj. II. 164, Nār. IX. 11 provide that the cowherd has to bring back to the owner in the evening the cows (and other domestic animals) handed over to him in the morning by

882. यद्यपि-स्वग्रामज्ञातिसामन्तदायादानुमतेन च। हिरण्योदकदानेन बहुभिर्गच्छति मेदिनी॥ इति तत्रापि ग्रामानुमतिः-प्रतिग्रहः प्रकाशः स्यात् स्थावराय (स्थावरस्य?) विक्रयत इति स्मरणात् व्यवहारप्रकाशनार्थमेवापेक्ष्यते न पुनर्ग्रामानुमत्या विना व्यवहारासिद्धिः। विक्रयेऽपि कर्तव्ये सहिरण्यमुदकं दत्त्वा दानरूपेण स्थावरविक्रयं कुर्यादित्यर्थः। मिता on या II. 114, प्रतिग्रहः &c is या, II 176

the owner, after grazing them in the pastures and making them drink water. Manu VIII. 230 says that during the day the responsibility for the safety of the cattle rests on the herdsman and during the night on the owner provided they are in the latter's house. When there is no express agreement as to wages Nār IX. 10 and Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 346 verse 19) prescribe that a cowherd[883] will get as his wages all the milk of the cows tended by him on every eighth day plus a heifer (two years old) every year out of every one hundred cows tended by him or a milch cow with her calf every year for every two hundred cows looked after by him Manu VIII 231 provides another method when no wages are fixed by agreement viz. a hired herdsman, who is paid with milk, may milk as hire the best cow out of ten with the consent of the owner It is the duty of the cowherd to struggle as much as in him lies to protect the cows from accidents and if he is unable to do so he must quickly inform the owner (Nār. IX. 12). Br (S B. E 33 p 346 verse 20) states[884] that the cowherd shall save cattle from the danger of worms (or reptiles), robbers, tigers and from caverns and pits and that he should try to protect them to the best of his ability, should call out for help or inform his master. If the herdsman does not struggle to protect the cows, nor raise a hue and cry nor inform his master he must make good the value of the cow lost and must pay a fine to the king (Nār. IX. 13) Manu VIII 232 and 235, Yāj II 164–165, Visnu Dh S V[885] 137–138, Nār (IX. 14–15) provide that if a cow or other domestic animal strays or is killed by worms (or reptiles) or slain by dogs (and wild animals) or dies by falling into a pit or by any negligent act of the herdsman, he himself shall make good the loss, if he did not exert himself to prevent this happening or if goats and sheep are surrounded by wolves and carried away while the herdsman does not hasten to their help he shall bear the responsibility for the loss In these cases the herdsman has also

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883 तथा धेनुभृतः क्षीर लभेताह्नचष्टमेऽखिलम् । बृह q by the स्मृतिच II p 207, व्य म p 346 ' .

884 कृमिचोरव्यालभयाद्दरीश्वभ्राच्च पालयेत् । व्यायच्छेच्छक्तित क्रोशेत्स्वामिने वा निवेदयेत् ॥ बृह. q by वि र p 172, व्य म p 347, the स्मृतिच II p 205 ascribes it to नारद

885 दिवा पशूना वृकाद्यु धाते पाले त्वनायति पालदोष । विनष्टपशुमूल्यं च स्वामिने दद्यात् । विष्णु V 137–138

to pay a fine of 12½ panas[886] to the king (Yāj. II 165) Ap. Dh. S II. 11. 28. 6 makes[887] the herdsman liable to pay the price if an animal in his charge dies or is lost (by theft &c). Manu VIII. 233, 236, Nār IX 16, Vyāsa state exceptions to the above viz where an animal is carried away[888] by robbers though the herdsman raised a cry, he would not be liable to make good the loss provided he gave information to his master at the proper time (immediately after the animal is carried away) and proper place; or when the herdsman himself is seized or the village is attacked or the country is invaded, the herdsman would not be liable for loss or seizure of any animal under his charge; and also where, while the herd is grazing in a proper order near a forest, a wolf suddenly kills an animal. Manu VIII 234, Nār. IX. 17 state that when cattle die through act of God or king or die without any fault of his while in charge of a herdsman, he has to free himself from liability or from the suspicion of himself having[889] carried away surreptitiously the animal by producing before his master their ears, skin, tails, bladders, tendons and yellow bile or by showing their limbs (viz. their characteristic marks). Vyāsa states that if a herdsman, who has received his wages, abandons cattle in an untenanted forest and moves about in the village he should be fined by the king.[890]

Yāj. II. 166 provides that a portion of land should be set apart at the discretion of the villagers or that of the king as pasture for cows Manu VIII. 237, Yāj. II. 167 prescribe

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886 अर्धत्रयोदश in या. II. 165 means, acc to the Mit , Sm C. II. p 308 and अपरार्क p. 773, 13½, while परा मा III. p 375 and व्य. म. p 348 say that it means 12½, 'अर्धत्रयोदशपण अर्धरहितत्रयोदशपणः सार्धद्वादशपण इति यावत् । ता-(क्त?)स्तृतीयपूर्वपदा समानाधिकरणेन समस्यन्ते उत्तरपदलोपश्च इति वार्तिकादुत्तरपदलोपी कर्मधारयः। यत्तु केनचिदधिकत्रयोदशपणो दण्ड इति व्याख्यातं तत्साधद्विमात्रादिषु अर्धत्रिमात्रादिमहाभाष्यकारशब्दप्रयोगदर्शनाद्रूपेक्ष्यम् ।' व्य म. p 348. The वार्तिक seems to be सिद्धं तु समानाधिकरणाधिकारे क्तस्तृतीयापूर्वपद उत्तरपदलोपश्च on पा II 1 34 (Kielhorn's ed), where the महाभाष्य cites दृध्योदन (दध्ना उपसिक्तो दृध्युपसिक्त ओदन.) as an example Vide p 140 and note 182 above on अर्धतृतीय.

887. अवरुध्य पशून् मारणे नाशने वा स्वामिभ्योऽवसृजेत् । आप ध सू II 11 28 6

888. पालग्राहे ग्रामघाते तथा राष्ट्रस्य विभ्रमे । यत्पणष्ट हृत वा स्याद्न पालस्तत्र किल्बिषी । व्यास in स्मृतिच II p 207, वि र p 172, अपरार्क p 772

889 सूतेषु च विशुद्धिः स्याद्बालशृङ्गादिदर्शनात् । नारद IX 17.

890. गृहीतमूल्यो गोपालस्तांस्त्यक्त्वा निर्जने वने । ग्रामचारी नृपैर्दण्ड्य. शलाकी च वनेचर ॥ व्यास q. by व्य म p. 347. शलाकी means 'barber'.

that on all sides round a village, a *khaṭvāta* and a town an uncultivated space for pastures (between it and the fields) shall be kept respectively of 100, 200, 400 *dhanus*[891] in extent. Kāt (666) prescribes that the owner of a field (which is near a forest) should construct a high paling before the crops have grown, for animals (or deer) when they have once tasted the sweet[892] (crops) can be warded off with difficulty. Manu VIII. 239 = (Matsya 227 25), Nār. XIV 41 prescribe that a hedge should be constructed for a field that is near a public way so high that a camel cannot look inside over it or a horse or cattle cannot jump over or so thick that a dog or boar should not be able to thrust its head inside it through holes. Manu VIII. 238 (= Matsyapurāna 227 26), Yāj II. 162, Nār. XIV 40 provide that if a field situated near a village or a pasture or near a public road is not protected by a hedge and cattle straying into it cause loss, the herdsman is not to be held guilty. It is provided by Āp. Dh. S II. 11 28 5, Manu VIII. 240, Nār. XIV. 28, Kāt 664-665 that if cattle enter into fields,[893] parks or pastures that are situated near a village or a public road and are enclosed by a hedge, they may be seized or beaten off, the herdsman is to be fined (a hundred panas). Yāj II. 159-161, Manu VIII. 241, Nār. XIV 28-29, Kāt. 667 and others lay down that where cattle enter fields (not near a village or road) and cause loss, the herdsman is to be fined or whipped, the owner of the cattle is to make good the loss and

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891 A धनु is 4 cubits (or about 6 feet). Manu VIII 237 ordains having a space of 300 *dhanus* round a city, it also says that the space round a village for pastures should be three throws of *śamyā*. Āp. Dh. S I 3 9 6 and 23 employ the expression शम्यामात्र for stating distance. शम्या means yoke-pin (युगकीलक). Vide p 145 note 185 above for *dhanus* and other measures of distance. In E I vol I. pp 154-155 a पारमेश्वरीय हस्त (the king's hand) is mentioned in an inscription dated *saṁvat* 933 at Gwalior. A दण्ड was 4 हस्तs but there were दण्डs of 7 or 10 hastas. Vide मिता on या II 106. It was but natural that in ancient times man relied upon his own fingers or hand or height as a measure of length. Vide H. of Dh vol II p 209 n 485 and n 2021 (for हस्त, दण्ड and निवर्तन), p 1034 (for Vedi being as much in length as the height of the sacrificer) and purusa as a measure of length in तै स V 2 5 1 and कात्यायनश्रौत 16. 8. 21-25. Vide also H. of Dh vol II p 989 n.

892 अजातेष्वेव सस्येषु कुर्यादावरणं महत्। दु खेनेह निवार्यन्ते लब्धस्वादुरसा मृगा। कात्या 666 q by अपरार्क p 770, स्मृतिच. II p 209.

893. क्षेत्रारामविवीतेषु गृहेषु पशुवाटिषु। ग्रहण तत्प्रविष्टाना ताडन वा बृहस्पति। कात्या 664 q by स्मृतिच II 208, वि. र p 241. हित्वा व्रजमादिन. कर्शयेत् पशून्। आप. ध II 11 28. 5.

pay the fine prescribed and the fines vary e g Yāj II. 159 prescribes fines of 2, 4 and 8 māsas respectively when a goat or a cow or a she-buffalo strays and causes loss of crops, while Śāt. (667) prescribes only ¼ pana in the case of cows and sheep and ½ in the case of she-buffaloes Vide Gaut. XII 19–22 and Kaut III. 10 also. Those who purposely set cattle to eat or destroy crops were to be punished as thieves (Nār XIV. 34)

Ancient India entertained tender feelings for certain animals and in certain circumstances Nār. XIV 30, Yāj II. 163, Manu VIII. 242, Kaut III 10[894] and Uśanas provide that cows within ten days after calving, a stud bull, a horse, an elephant, animals let loose in honour of ancestors or deities, and cattle that have strayed from the herd or that have no herdsman to look after them and have met with an accident are to be warded off when causing harm to crops, but the owner is not to be fined. Uśanas[895] states that the reason for this leniency is that horses and elephants are protectors of people Aparārka (p 771) explains that this exemption applies only to the king's horses and elephants. Uśanas adds that (owners of) cows should not be fined when they cause some loss at the time of festivals and śrāddhas. The great veneration for cows led Uśanas to lay down that he who requires the owner of a cow to re-imburse the loss of crops that are eaten up or destroyed by a cow will find that his *pitṛs* and the gods do not receive the offerings made[896] by him This is explained by the Par. M. III. p 385 as referring to crops in fields near a village not enclosed by a hedge and by the Madanaratna to crops eaten at the time of śrāddha Br., Yāj II. 161 and Nār. XIV. 38 require the owner of the cow to re-imburse the owner of the crops for the loss as settled by the neighbours. Vide under 'steya' for cases in which there is no offence of theft even if a person takes certain things belonging to another without his permission.

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894 ग्रामदेवतृषा वा अनिर्दशाहा वा धेन्वृतुक्षाणो गोवृषाश्वादण्ड्याः। अर्थशास्त्र III 10

895 अदण्ड्या हस्तिनो ह्यश्वा. प्रजापाला हि ते स्मृता । अदण्ड्यौ काणकुन्जौ च ये शश्वत्कृतलक्षणा. ॥ अदण्ड्यागन्तुकी गौश्च सूतिका चाभिसारिणी। अदण्ड्याश्चोत्सवे गावः श्राद्धकाले तथैव च ॥ उशनस् q by मिता on या II 163, वि. र p 240 Compare नारद् XIV 31–32 where two half verses are the same as in Uśanas Manu VIII. 242 mentions देवपशून्, which Sm C II. p 212 explains as 'देवपशवो हि देवतामतिमादीनां क्षीरस्नानाद्यर्थं तदुद्देशेन दत्ता '

896 गोभिर्विनाशितं धान्यं यो नर प्रतियाचते। पितरस्तस्य नाश्नन्ति नाश्नन्ति त्रिदिवौकसः ॥ उशनस् q. by अपरार्क p. 770, वि. र p. 232.

CHAPTER XXII

SĪMĀVIVĀDA (boundary disputes).

This is called *kṣetrajavivāda*[897] (disputes relating to fields) by Nārada XIV. 1, who defines it as 'dispute with regard to land in which questions about dikes or embankments, the boundaries of fields, ploughed land and fallow land have to be decided' Nārada's idea appears to be that the word 'sīmāvivāda' in Manu is only illustrative and is a compendious way of mentioning disputes about land in general According to Kāt (732) there are six causes[898] of land disputes viz claiming more land, claim that a person is entitled to less than he possesses, claim to a share, denial of a share, seizing possession when previously there was none, boundary In all these cases boundaries have directly or indirectly to be settled and therefore all these are included under the topic of *sīmāvivāda* A boundary dispute may relate to the boundaries of a district (janapada), a village, a field and a house. Boundaries, acc. to Nār., may be of five kinds.[899] They are described as follows: *dvhajnī* is what is indicated by trees which are like a flag-staff. Manu (VIII. 246-247) prescribes that trees such as aśvattha, the silk cotton, śāla, tāla (palmyra palm), that have milky juice (like udumbara) should be planted to indicate boundaries and also bamboo clumps, bushes, reeds &c A *matsyinī* (lit. having fish) boundary is provided by rivers flowing naturally and full of fish and tortoises or by tanks and reservoirs of water (Manu VIII 248) A *naidhānī* boundary is one indicated by concealed signs (just as nidhāna i e treasure is concealed in the earth), such as pots filled with chaff, coal, bricks, bones and similar things that the earth does not corrode

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897 सेतुकेदारमर्यादाविकृष्टाकृष्टनिश्चये। क्षेत्राधिकारो यस्तु स्याद्विवादः क्षेत्रजस्तु सः॥ नारद XIV 1. वि र p 201 takes केदारमर्यादा as one word, while व्य म p 353 holds *kedāra* and *maryādā* separate. विकृष्टो लाङ्गलमहतो देशः, अकृष्टस्तद्रहितः। व्य म p. 353

898. आधिक्यं न्यूनता चाङ्गे अस्तिनास्तित्वमेव च। अभोगभुक्तिः सीमा च षड्भेदो वादस्य हेतवः॥ कात्या 732 q by मिता on या II. 150, वि र p 201, अपरार्क p. 759, व्य. म p. 353. Vide the मिता and व्य म for explanations

899 ध्वजिनी मत्स्यिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता। राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्मृता॥ नारद q by मिता on या II. 150.

and are buried inside the earth Manu (VIII. 250–251) enumerates those objects that should be buried in the earth, which would serve to indicate the boundaries of a village or field and which are therefore called concealed (*upacchannā*) by him. A *bhayāvanṇā* (free from danger) boundary is settled by the agreement of the parties The fifth kind is the one that is laid down by order of the king. Bṛ (S. B. E 33 p 351 verse 2) prescribes[900] that at the time of founding a village definite boundaries should be erected or constructed by means of visible or patent (*prakāśa*) and concealed (upāmśu or upacchanna) signs and the Sm C II. 228 explains that a row of big stones should be employed to indicate the boundary. Brhaspati (S. B. E. vol 33 p 351 verses 3–7) states what patent and concealed boundary marks should be and requires elderly persons to point them out to youths and children who in their turn when old are to point out the boundaries to other youths and in this way traditional knowledge of boundaries may be kept up. Manu (VIII. 252–253) states that in disputes boundaries should be settled in accordance with the visible and concealed signs described above, by reliance on long former enjoyment and by the constant flow of water and that if there be doubt even after observing the signs then the dispute has to be decided on the evidence of witnesses. Witnesses could either depose to the marks of boundaries or to the boundaries themselves. Those who could not point out the marks but were to define the boundaries themselves were to follow a certain procedure Manu VIII. 254 states that the witnesses should be asked about the marks of boundaries in the presence of the litigating parties and groups (or families) of the villagers The witnesses on being asked were to trace, point out and settle the boundary unanimously, being clad in red garments, wearing red chaplets and being exhorted to depose truly by their spiritual merit[901] and carrying clods of earth on their heads, by reference to mounds or depressions, coals, bones and chaff (buried underground,

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900. निवेशकाले कर्तव्य. सीमाबन्धविनिश्चय. । प्रकाशोपांशुचिह्नैश्च लक्षित· संज्ञया-"ट: ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच्च II p 227, which says ग्रामादिप्रवेशकाले तत्सीमानियामक-स्थूलगुडक प्रकाशमुलिङ्गोपेत. सीमासन्धौ स्थापनीय इति ।

901. On सुकृतै. शापिता. स्वै: स्वै:, वि र p 211 remarks: धर्मा अस्माकं क्षीणा भवन्ति यदि मिथ्या वदाम इति वादिता इत्यर्थ· , सीमाविवादं ग्रामयोरुभयो: सामन्ता. पञ्च-ग्रामी दशग्रामी वा सेतुभि. स्थावरै· कृत्रिमैवा कुर्यात् । कर्षकगोपालवृद्धका· पूर्वभुक्तिका वा, अवाच्या. सेतूनामभिज्ञा बहव एको वा निर्दिश्य सीमासेतून् विपरीतवेषा सीमानं नयेयु । क्षेत्रविवादं सामन्तग्रामवृद्धा: कुर्युं । अर्थशास्त्र III 9

in a vessel), embankments, anthills, platforms of stones or bricks (Manu VIII. 255, 256, Yāj II. 151, Nār XIV 4-6). Vas 16 13, Kaut III. 9, Yāj II. 150, Manu VIII. 258, 260, Nār (XIV 2-3) prescribe that on failure of witnesses of the adjoining villages, neighbours (sāmanta),[902] old men, cowherds husbandmen who plough the fields near the one in dispute, hunters, fowlers, fishermen, snake catchers and foresters should settle the disputed boundary in the presence of the king The Mit. on Yāj[903] II. 153 quotes Kāt (743-745, 51) to show that witnesses were divided into *sāmanta*, *mūla*, *vriddha* and *uddhṛta*, each preceding group being superior to the succeeding The Mit. further says that the neighbours as witnesses are to be arranged in the form of the layers of the petals of a lotus viz. the nearest ones (*samvāsaka*) are those most preferred, (but if this group has faults) then a second but a more removed group and then a third group still more remote may be examined Sankha-Likhita and Vas.[904] 16.13-15 prescribe that in boundary disputes the decision depends on neighbours, in the case of conflict of witnesses on documents and then on the old men in the town or village and the guilds. Yāj. II. 152 and Manu VIII. 258 require that the neighbours who are to settle the boundary should be four, eight or ten (even in number) and inhabitants of the same village (if possible). Br. (S B E 33 p 352 verse 14) requires that the witnesses[905] should know the source of title (to the disputed land), the measurement (in *nivartanas*, *dandas* &c.), the length of enjoyment or possession, the names of persons (in possession) and the characteristic geography or lie of the land The general rule was (as stated by Nār XIV 9)

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902 समन्ताद्भवा. सामन्ताः । चतसृषु दिक्ष्वनन्तरग्रामादयस्ते च प्रतिसीमं स्वस्थिताः—ग्रामे ग्रामस्य सामन्तः क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रस्य कीर्तितम् । गृहं गृहस्य निर्दिष्टं समन्तात् परिरक्ष्य हि ॥ इति कात्यायनवचनात् । ग्रामादिशब्देन तत्स्था पुरुषा लक्ष्यन्ते । मिता on या II 151.

903 तेषामभावे सामन्तमौलवृद्धोद्धृतादय । स्थावरे षट्प्रकारेपि कार्या मात्र विचारणा । कात्या 737, q by मिता on या II 152, वि र. 206

904. गृहक्षेत्रविरोधे सामन्तप्रत्यय । सामन्तविरोधे लेख्यप्रत्यय· । प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्यय ॥ वसिष्ठ 16. 13-15 . गृहक्षेत्रयोर्विरोधे सामन्तप्रत्यय । सामन्तविरोधे अभिलेख्यप्रत्यय· अभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणिप्रत्यय. ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणिविरोधे दृष्टवर्षमुक्तमन्यत्र राजविप्रस्वात् । शङ्खलिखित q in वि. र p 208 स्वार्थसिद्धौ नृपेऽन्यत्र सामन्तेष्वर्थगौरवात् । तत्सत्कैस्तु कर्तव्य उद्धारो मात्र सशय. । संसक्तसन्दोषे तु कार्यसम्भवात् प्रकीर्तिता । कर्तव्या न प्रदुष्टास्तु राज्ञा धर्मं विजानता । कात्या q by मिता on या II 152

905 आगमं च प्रमाणं च भोगकालं च नाम च । भूभागलक्षणं चैव ते विद्युर्नेऽत्र साक्षिण । बृह q by मिता. on या. II. 152, परा मा III p 392. व्य प्र p 355 Some works read भोगं कालं च

that a single witness however confident he might be (or however reliable) should not take upon himself to point out and settle the boundary, since this (boundary) dispute being a very important (difficult) matter, its decision should rest with many. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 152) explains that this prohibition holds good only if the single witness is one not accepted by both sides as reliable. But Nār. (XIV. 10) and Br. (S. B. E.[906] 33 p. 352 verse 11) hold that where a single witness accepted by both sides has to settle the boundary (in the absence of more witnesses and in the absence of reliable patent or concealed signs) he should do so after placing a clod of earth on his head, after being dressed in red robes and wearing red flowers and after observing a fast. If it was a śūdra who was to trace or lay down a boundary Viśvarūpa[907] on Yāj. II. 156 quotes a prose passage of Brhaspati that he was to be decked in red pieces of cloth, his face was to be smeared with ashes from a cemetery, a mark was to be made on his chest with five fingers dipped in the blood of a goat and the entrails of the sacrificed goat were to be tied round his neck and he was to hold a clod of earth in the right hand. All this was to impress upon him the gravity of the work and the necessity of doing his best impartially. If no knowing witness or no patent or concealed signs are available the king has himself to settle the boundary between the two villages at his own discretion (Yāj. II. 153, Nār. XIV. 11, Manu VIII. 265). He may divide the land between the two villages equally and construct new marks of boundaries, but if the disputed land will be of greater benefit to one village than to the other the king may assign the whole of the disputed land to the former Manu VIII. 245 prescribes that when there is a boundary dispute between two villages the king should decide it in the month of Jyestha when the embankment (marks) become quite clear (owing to water being dried up in summer). The decision made by the witnesses or neighbours became final only after the lapse of three weeks if no calamity (from act

906 ज्ञातृचिह्नैर्विना साधुरेकोप्युभयसंमत । रक्तमाल्याम्बरधरो मृदमादाय मूर्धनि । सत्यव्रत. सोपवास सीमानं दर्शयेत्स्वर । बृह. q by स्मृतिच्च II. p. 231, परा. मा. III. p 393, व्य. म p. 359 Ms of मदनरत्न reads सीमान्तम्

907. शूद्राणा तु यथाह बृहस्पति । यदि शूद्रो नेता स्यात्त क्लैव्येनालङ्कारेणालङ्कृत्य शवभस्मना मुख विलिप्याग्नेयस्य पशो शोणितेनोरसि पञ्चाङ्गुलानि कृत्वा ग्रीवायामान्त्राणि प्रतिमुच्य सत्येन पाणिना सीमालोष्ट मूर्ध्नि धारयेदिति । रक्तकर्पटवसनादि. क्लैव्योलङ्कार· । विश्वरूप.

of (God or king) befell the witnesses (Kāt 751).[908] Manu prescribes (VIII. 261) that the boundary settled by witnesses should be fixed by the king (or recorded in a document containing the names of witnesses) An ancient instance of the fixing of boundaries by two feudatory chiefs is recorded in the Bhumara stone Pillar inscription of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin and Mahārāja Śarvanātha, who erected a pillar at Ambloda to show the boundary between their territories about 510 A. D. (vide Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions No 24 p. 110). Vide also E. I. vol. 24 pp. 32-34 for inscriptional evidence about the carrying out of all the details laid down in dharmasāstra works on the settlement of boundaries. Manu VIII, 263, Yāj II. 153, Nār. XIV 7 prescribe the middle amercement for each one of the *sāmantas* that falsely settle the boundaries, while Manu (VIII. 257) and Nār XIV. 8 prescribe the first amercement only for other witnesses such as members of corporations and elderly villagers. If through friendship, greed or fear the witnesses who know the facts do not come forward to settle the boundary they are each to be fined in the highest amercement (Kāt.[909] 750).

Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 353 verses 19-21) lays down certain interesting rules about alluvion and diluvion. Where a river is the boundary between two villages and the river carries away soil from one village and attaches it to another, the accretion belongs to the village to which it becomes attached, *but this is* so when the soil carried away has no crops growing on it; if however soil with growing crops is separated from a village and joined to another by a river in flood, the former owner can reap only the crops and the land will belong to the village or field to which it has become attached[910]

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908. सीमाच्छेदक्रमणे कोशे पादस्पर्शे तथैव च । त्रिपक्षपक्षसप्ताहं दैवराजिकमिष्यते । कात्या 751 q. by मिता. on या II 152 V. P (p 359) adds 'यथासंख्यमिति शेष.'

909. बद्धना तु गृहीताना न सर्वे निर्णय यदि । कुर्युर्भयाद्वा लोभाद्वा दाप्यास्तूत्तमसाहसम् ॥ कात्या. 750 q by मिता on या II 152, अपरार्क p 763.

910. ग्रामयोरुभयोर्यत्र मर्यादा कलिता नदी । कुरुते दानहरण भाग्याभाग्यवशाद्गुणाम् । एकत्र कूलपात तु भूमेरन्यत्र सस्थितिम् । नदी तीरे प्रकुरुते तस्य ता न विचालयेत् । क्षेत्र सशस्यमुत्सृज्य भूमिश्छिन्ना यदा भवेत् । नदीस्रोत.प्रवाहेण पूर्वस्वामी लभेत ताम् । बृह. q by स्मृतिच. II p 234, परा मा. III pp 398, 399, वि र 217, व्य. म. p 362, the latter explains तस्य नदीत्रसात्यासभूमिकस्य ता प्राप्ता भूमिं न विचालयेत् नान्यथा कुर्यात् पूर्वस्वामी नापच्छिन्द्यादित्यर्थः । एतदुक्तमशस्यतीरविषयम् । उभतीरविषये पुन स एव-क्षेत्र.' ता सशस्या भूमिम् । उभशस्यफललाभपर्यन्तमेतत् । तत्फललाभानन्तरं तु न पूर्वस्वामी तां भूमिं लभेत इत्यवगन्तव्यम् ।. The वि र p 217 holds a different view. 'यत्र तु नदी क्षेत्रादिक सशस्यं छित्त्वा याति तत्र पूर्वग्रामस्यैव सा भूमिरित्यर्थ ।.'

Manu VIII. 262, Yāj. II. 154, Nār. XIV. 12, Kāt 749 prescribe that the decision of disputes about the boundaries of fields, wells, tanks, groves and parks, palaces, houses, cottages, temples and channels carrying rain water is to be similarly arrived at by the testimony of witnesses (*sāmantas* and others)

Several rules are laid down by Nār., Br. and Kāt. about easements and water-courses

Br. (S B. E. 33 p 354 verse 24) prescribes that no[911] interference should be caused to the manner of the enjoyment of houses (as regards doors, compounds &c.), to the enjoyment of water and markets in the way in which they had been enjoyed from the time the village or house was established or built. This means, acc. to the Sm. C. II. p. 234 and V. P. p. 363 that if a new mode of enjoyment is started in the case of these after the village was established or the house was built then interference may be allowed. Br. (S. B. E 33 p. 354 verse 25) further says that ancient windows,[912] watercourses, balconies (pegs?), raised platforms on the borders of streets, waterspouts carrying rainwater from a square of houses (and cottages) enjoyed from former days should not be allowed to be interfered with, even if they might cause some inconvenience to the neighbouring house Kāt (752-753) similarly provides 'one should not interfere with the base of the wall, a drain (or waterspout), a balcony, window, watercourse and dwelling house of another. These are not to be added to one's house after the first building of it (so as to cause obstruction or annoyance to another), one should not open a window[913] (so as to command a view) in the interior of another's house or open a spout (that will drain off

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911 निवेशकालादारभ्य गृहवार्यापणादिकम् । येन यावद्यथा भुक्तं तस्य तत्र विचालयेत् । वातायनं प्रणालीं च तथा निर्यूहवेदिकां (निर्व्यूह?) । चतुःशालस्यन्दनिकाः प्राङ्निविष्टा न चालयेत् ॥ बृह q. by अपरार्क p 764, स्मृतिच. II. p 235, व्य. प्र. p. 363. 'एवं निवेशनकाले कल्पितं गवाक्षादिकं प्रातिवेश्यानिष्टकार्यपि न केनचिच्चालनीयमित्यात स एव' स्मृतिच II p. 235; निर्व्यूहो द्वारनिर्गतकाष्ठाद्विशेष इति कृत्यकल्पतरौ निर्व्यूहो गृहकोण (गृहचोण?) इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायाम् । वेदिका रथ्यादिप्रदेशसंस्कृतोत्तरा भूमि । व्य. प्र. p 363 These words are taken from the मदनरत्न

912 Compare section 15 of the Easements Act (Act V of 1882) for the acquisition by prescription of easements of light and air for a building, of support or of right of way &c

913. 'One should not open a window &c.'—This right of privacy is recognized even now by the courts as enforceable in Gujerat Vide *Nathubhai v. Chhaganlal* 2 Bom L R 454, *Manekbai v Mohanlal* 22 Bom L R 226.

water) on to another's house. One should construct places (pits) for depositing ordure, urine and filthy water, a fireplace and a pit at a distance of at least two cubits from the walls of other people (his neighbours) and should not construct these very near to another's house' (vide also Br S. B. E. vol 33 p. 354 verses 25-26).

Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 27) defines a *samsaraṇa*[914] as the road by which men and beasts pass to and fro without let or hindrance Kāt. (755) calls it *catuspatha* and defines *rāja-mārga* as the road by which people are allowed to pass at certain times (and not at all times). Several rules are prescribed by Kautilya and others for obviating nuisances on public roads or near private houses. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 354 verse 28) and Kat (756) provide that roads should not be obstructed by parking[915] carts and the like thereon, that no one should plant anything on a public road, that a man who puts obstruction on the public road, makes pits or plants trees or wilfully voids excrement thereon should be fined a *māsaka*, and one who does not give[916] precedence on the road to his *guru*, preceptor or the king should be fined. Manu IX. 282 prescribes the fine of two *kārṣāpaṇas* for voiding or dropping ordure on the public road in the absence of distress and requires the wrongdoer to clean the road, but Manu (IX. 283) makes an exception in the case of persons diseased, very old men, a pregnant woman and a child, who are not to be fined but only reproved for voiding ordure on the road. Vide Matsya 227. 175-76 for the same two verses Kaut II. 36[917] prescribes the fine of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a paṇa for throwing dust on a cart-road and $\frac{1}{4}$ for obstructing it with mud and a fine double of these

914. यान्त्ययान्ति जना येन पशवश्चानिवारिताः । तद्रुच्यते ससरण न रोद्धव्यं तु केनचित् । बृह q by अपरार्क p. 765, स्मृतिच II p 235, सर्वे जना सदा येन प्रयान्ति स चतुष्पथ । अनिषिद्धा यथाकालं राजमार्ग स उच्यते ॥ कात्या 755 q. by स्मृति II p 235, वि. र 221

915 यस्तत्र सङ्करं श्वभ्र वृक्षारोपणमेव च । कामात्कुर्याच्च तस्य दण्डस्तु मासक । बृह q. by अपरार्क p 765, स्मृतिच II p 235, वि. र. p 221 ascribes this verse to कात्या and notes that हरिहर and others ascribe it to प्रजापति. न तत्र रोधयेत्किंचिन्नोपहन्यात्तु केनचित् । गुर्वाचार्यनृपादीना मार्गदानात्तु दण्डभाक् ॥ कात्या 756 q. by वि. र. p. 221.

916. For precedence on the road, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 146-147.

917 पासुन्यासे रथ्यायामष्टभागो दण्ड । पङ्कोदकसनिरोधे पाद । राजमार्गे द्विगुण । पुण्यस्थानोदकस्थानदेवगृहराजपरिग्रहेषु पणोत्तरा विद्यादण्डाः । मूत्रेष्वर्धदण्डा । भैषज्यव्याधिभयनिमित्तमदण्ड्या । अर्थशास्त्र II. 36

for doing the same on a royal road; prescribes a fine of one, two, three or four panas respectively for voiding ordure on or near a holy place, or a place whence water is taken, or a temple or the king's buildings and exempts from fine such persons as those mentioned in Manu IX. 283. Kāt. (758-759) provides[918] that he who defiles a tank, a garden or holy water (or *ghats*) by throwing filthy matter (ordure &c.) therein should be made to remove the filth and fined the first amercement and also one who pollutes by washing soiled clothes in holy and purifying sacred places (*ghats* &c.) established by great or saintly persons. Yāj. II. 155 prescribes the first, the highest and middling amercements respectively for making breaches in the boundary (between two or more fields), for ploughing a field beyond the boundary of one's field and for depriving a man of his field by intimidation and the like. Vide also Visnu Dh. S. V. 172 and Śankha-Likhita[919] who prescribe a fine of 1008 panas for transgressing (the whole of) the boundary (of a field). Manu VIII. 264 (= Matsya 227. 30) provides a fine of 200 panas for seizing another's field, garden or house through inadvertance, but 500 for seizing any one of these by intimidation. Nār. XIV. 13-14 and Kāt. (760-761) state[920] that the fruits and flowers of those trees that grow on the boundary between two fields should be declared (by the Judge) as joint between the owners of the two fields and that if the branches of trees growing in one man's field spread over another man's field that man should be understood to be the owner of the trees and branches (together with fruit &c.) in whose field the trees are born (have taken root). The first proposition implies that if one owner

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918. तडागोद्यानतीर्थानि योऽमेध्येन विनाशयेत्। अमेध्य शोधयित्वा तु दण्डयेत् पूर्वसाहसम्॥ दूषयेत्सिद्धतीर्थानि स्थापितानि महात्मभिः। पुण्यानि पावनीयानि मानुषात् पूर्वसाहसम्॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 765, स्मृतिच II. 235, व्य. प्र p 365

919. सीमाव्यतिक्रमे त्वद्यसाहस्रम्। शङ्खलिखित q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 236, व्य. प्र. p. 366; सीमाभेत्तारमुत्तमसाहसं दण्डयित्वा पुनः सीमां लिङ्गान्वितां कारयेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V 172, which स्मृतिच II p 236 explains as 'तत्र सीमाभेत्तारमित्यस्य सीमामुल्लङ्घ्य कर्षकामित्यर्थोऽध्यवसेयः। सीमामदेशे पुनः कर्षणाद्यकरणमेव पुनः सीमाकरणम्। तद्यथा भवति तथा राजा यतेतेति पुनः सीमां कारयेदित्यस्यार्थः'. The text in Mr. Gharpure's ed. is corrupt

920. सीमामध्ये तु जातानां वृक्षाणां क्षेत्रयोर्द्वयोः। फलं पुष्पं च सामान्यं क्षेत्रस्वामिषु निर्दिशेत्। अन्यक्षेत्रे तु जातानां शाखा यत्रान्यसंश्रिताः। स्वामिनं तं विजानीयाद्यस्य क्षेत्रेषु संश्रिता॥ कात्या 760-61 q. by अपरार्क pp. 766-767, स्मृतिच II p 236, वि. र. 223 नारद XIV. 13-14 are almost the same, reading स्वामिनस्ता विजानीयादन्यक्षेत्रविनिर्गताः

alone takes all the fruits he is liable to be fined for taking half the fruits.

A *setu* (watercourse) is said by Nār (XIV. 18) to be of two kinds, viz that which is dug (*kheya*) into the soil in order to drain off excessive water and that which is constructed (*bandhya*) as an embankment to prevent water from flowing away. Yāj II. 156 and Nar XIV. 17 provide that a *setu* made by the owner of one field in the neighbouring field should not be forbidden by the owner of that field, if the loss of soil it causes (to the latter) is small as compared with the great benefit that it may confer Nār (XIV. 20–21) and Yāj II. 157 prescribe that one should make a dike or watercourse on another's land with the permission of that man or with the permission of the king as otherwise he cannot reap the benefit thereof. Kāt (762–63) provides a similar rule about the repairs to a house or garden or tank made by a stranger without the owner's or the king's permission It is stated by Nāi (XIV. 23–25) that when the owner of a field is unable (to cultivate it) or is dead or is not heard of, if a stranger cultivates the field without objection from any body, the stranger shall enjoy the produce of the field, that if the owner (or his *son*) returns while the field is being tilled by a stranger, he can get his field back on repayment to the stranger of all the money expended on making the land (*ready for crops*). If the owner is unable to return the expenses, the stranger may retain $\frac{7}{8}$th of the produce every year for eight years giving $\frac{1}{8}$th to the owner every year and should hand over the field to the owner when the 8th year arrives Yāj II. 158 and Vyāsa provide that if a person takes a field from the owner on rent for cultivation, but gives up the cultivation after slightly ploughing it and does not employ someone else to complete the cultivation, then he should be made to pay the produce that would have been recovered from the field if properly cultivated and also should be fined and the field may be taken from him and given to another tenant[921].

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921. क्षेत्रं गृहीत्वा य कश्चिन्न कुर्याच्च कारयेत् । स्वामिने स ह्यदं दाप्यो राज्ञे दण्डं च तत्समम् ॥ व्यास q by वि चि p 65, व्य. म. p. 368, स्मृतिच II. p 238, परा मा. III. p 408 ascribe this to बृह

CHAPTER XXIII

VAKPĀRUSYA AND DAṆḌAPĀRUSYA

(Abuse and defamation; assault)

Vākpārusya, dandapārusya, steya, strīsangrahana, sāhasa are five titles out of 18 that are concerned with what may be called criminal matters or crimes in modern nomenclature. Vide under *sāhasa* below.

Nār. XVIII. 1 defines *vākpārusya* as 'abusive words that loudly proclaim censure of another's country, caste, family and the like and that cause mental pain or offence to that man.' Kāt. (768) defines it as[922] consisting in making the sound 'hum' (of defiance) before another or coughing before him, of imitating or uttering before another whatever is censurable according to popular notions. Nār. (XVIII. 2–3) says that abuse is of three kinds, *usthura* (reproachful such as calling a man a fool or a rogue), *aślīla* (obscene or insulting), *tīvra* (mercilessly severe such as charging a man with such grave sins as brāhmana-murder or drinking liquor) and that the punishment for each later one is more severe than for each preceding one. Examples of the abuse of country, caste and family are respectively 'the Gauḍas are quarrelsome', 'brāhmanas are extremely greedy', 'persons of the Viśvāmitra gotra commit cruel deeds'. Br. (S. B. E. vol, 33 p. 355 verses 2–4) divided vākpārusya into three kinds viz. lowest (when the country, caste or family of a person is abused or sinfulness is ascribed without specifying any definite act), middling (speaking that the abuser will have sexual intercourse with the mother or sister of the abused or ascribing the commission of *upapātakas*[923] or minor sins to the abused), highest (charging him with taking forbidden food or drink or mercilessly exposing or ascribing the grave sins to a person). Various fines are prescribed in the smrtis that depend upon the above distinctions and also on the castes of the abuser and the

922. हुङ्कारः कासनं चैव लोके यच्च विगर्हितम्। अनुकुर्यादनुब्रूयाद् वाक्पारुष्यं तदुच्यते॥ कात्या (768) q. by अपरार्क p. 805, स्मृतिच II. p 6

923. For upapātakas vide Manu XI. 59–66 (such as *govadha*, adultery), Yā. III. 234–242, Viṣnudharmasūtra (37) which contain long lists of them.

abused. For example, Manu VIII. 267 (= Nār XVIII. 15 = Matsya 227. 66) prescribes the punishments of 100 panas, 150 or 200 panas, corporal punishment respectively against a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra abusing a brāhmana and conversely Manu VIII 268 (= Nār. XVIII. 16) provides that a brāhmana calumniating a ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra should respectively be fined 50, 25 or 12 panas. In the case of the abuser and the abused being of the same varna the fine for ordinary abuse is 12 panas, but double of this if the abuse is, according to Manu VIII. 269 (= Nār. XVIII. 17), foul (relating to mother, sister &c.). Vide Yāj II. 206–207, Visnudharmasūtra V. 35. From the remarks of the Sm. C. and the Madanaratna it appears that these discriminating provisions[924] based on the caste[925] and the ascription of minor or grave sins had become a dead letter and were not being enforced by the kings in India by the 12th century A. D. at least. One or two matters, however, may be noted. Manu VIII. 268–272 and 274 are the same as Nār. XVIII. 16–17, 22–24. Even the truth of an imputation[926] afforded no complete exemption e g. if a person angrily calls a man a thief (who was once convicted of it) or speaks of him as blind or cripple, the former would be fined at least one kārsāpana (Manu VIII. 274 = Nār. XVIII. 18). Kāut. (III 18) provides in this case three panas[927] as fine and Visnudharmasūtra (V. 27) two panas. When the

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924. एव जातिगुणयोर्विधिविशेषदर्शने तथा प्रथममध्यमोत्तमभावेन विधाभिहित वाक्पारुष्यान्तर्गतभेददर्शने तथा निष्ठुराश्लीलतीव्रत्वादिवाक्पारुष्यविशेषदर्शने तथा श्रुताभिजनदेशकर्मशरीरपितृमातृदुर्वाग्विधिक्षेपविशेषदर्शने तत्रिबन्धनोच्चावचदण्डविधायिका स्मृतयो यद्यपि बच्चःसमुच्चयकारै ससुचिता अस्माभिस्तु संप्रति तदर्थानुष्ठाननिष्ठप्रजाधिक्षयाभावाद् वृथा ग्रन्थविस्तारापत्तिर्मा भूदिति न समुच्चिता । स्मृतिच II p 327 The words from श्रुताभिजन up to सम्प्रति occur also in स्मृ. चि p 479, which winds up as 'संप्रति तदनुष्ठानाभावाद् ग्रन्थविस्तरत (०र. ?) किमर्थमित्युपरतम्'; यद्यपि वाक्पारुष्य दण्डपारुष्ययोर्विषयभेदेनान्येपि दण्डविशेषा स्मर्तृभिरुपदिष्टा. सन्ति तथापीदानींतनै राजभि: प्रजाक्षोभप्रसङ्गेन तादृग्दण्डस्य कर्तुमशक्यत्वादृग्विधयोगाभावान निरर्थकग्रन्थविस्तरभयाच्चास्माभिः संगृहीता । (मदनरत्न at the end of दण्डपारुष्य)

925 Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 14 6. 6. for an abuse as to varna 'ब्राह्मण्य यदि तिथिश्च काण्यावास्ता त यस्य मेधातिथिराकोशदब्राह्मणोसि शूद्रापुत्र इति ।'

926. Compare sec 499 of the Indian Penal Code, exception one, which provides that the mere truth of an imputation does not exonerate a man from the charge of defamation, unless the imputation is uttered for the public good.

927. शरीरप्रकृतिश्रुतवृत्तिजनपदानां शरीरोपघातेन काणाद्यन्यतमादिभि मध्ये विद्ध्यं दण्ड. । मिथ्योपवादे पूर्वयणो दण्ड । शोभनाक्षिदन्त इति काणाद्यन्यतमादीनां स्मृतिलिङ्गानां द्वादशपणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 18.

imputation is false all provide for a fine double of that provided in case the imputation is true. Ironic praise of a man (such as describing one who is blind of one eye as one endowed with a beautiful eye) is made punishable by Kaut. (III. 18). To warn[928] a man against associating with a person who is guilty of a grave sin or of theft does not entail punishment if the truth of the imputation be established (Kāt. 776). Acc to Kaut and Kāt (775) the king was to award only half the fine prescribed if the accused said 'what I uttered in abuse was done through ignorance, carelessness, rivalry or friendship; I shall not again do so'[929]. A person who abuses a king doing his duty was to have his tongue cut off or forfeited all his property (Nār XVIII. 30, Yāj. II. 302). Āp. II. 10. 27. 14 prescribed for a sūdra that abused any one of the three higher castes leading a religious life the punishment of the cutting of the tongue[930].

Daṇḍapārusya (assault). Kaut III. 19 begins his treatment of this topic by saying that it comprises touching, threatening to strike and actually striking another[931]. Nār. XVIII. 4 defines it as injuring the limbs of another with the hand, foot, weapon or other means (such as stones) or defiling or causing pain by (bringing) ashes and similar substances in contact with another. The Mit. on Yāj II. 212 explains that even causing injury to animals and trees would fall under this title Nār XVIII. 5–6 provide that assault may be of three kinds viz. mild, middling and highly punishable according as a person merely makes preparations to assault or attacks without any qualm or causes a wound and that this crime can further be divided into three kinds according as the object attacked is low in value or middling or high A verse from the Pariśista (quoted by Sm. C. II. p. 327 and V. P. p. 370) states 'whoever causes pain or draws blood, wounds, breaks, cuts off, pierces (the limbs or bodies) of living beings is guilty of dandapārusya' According to Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p 357 verse

928. यत्र स्यात्परिहारार्थं पतितस्तेन (पतितत्वेन ?) कीर्तनम्। वचनात्तत्र न स्यात्तु दोषो यत्र विभावयेत्॥ कात्या (776) q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 327, वि र. p. 258. Compare exceptions 9 and 10 of sec. 499 of the I. P. C.

929. मोहात्प्रमादात्सङ्कर्षात् प्रीत्या भीत्या मयेति यः। नाहमेवं पुनर्वक्ष्ये दण्डार्हो तस्य कल्पयेत्॥ कात्या. 775 q. by वि र p 246, वि. चि. p. 70 (both ascribe to कात्या. and उशनस्) स्मृतिच II p. 327, व्य. म. 229, व्य. प्र p. 384 ascribe to उशनस् alone. प्रमादमदमोहादिभिरर्धदण्डाः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 18

930. जिह्वाच्छेदनं शूद्रस्यार्थे धार्मिकमाक्रोशत.। आप. ध. सू. II 10. 27. 14.

931. दण्डपारुष्य स्पर्शनमवयूर्ण ग्रहणमिति। अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

1) *daṇḍapāruṣya*[932] consists in striking (a person) with the hand, with a stone, a club, ashes, mud, dust or a weapon. The Mit on Yaj II 212 following Nār XVIII 7–12 lays down certain propositions about both abuse and assault A person who does not return abuse or does not assault when abused or assaulted, deserves to be commended, if he returns the abuse or assaults in return, the person who began the quarrel is to be dealt with more severely than the other When two persons[933] attack each other and there are no means for finding who began the quarrel equal punishment is to be awarded to both, but when two quarrel he who began the quarrel or he who persists longer than the other is to be fined more than the other party and lastly if men of the lowest[934] castes such as *śvapāka, meda, cāṇḍāla*, hunters, elephant riders, vrātyas and dāsas (slaves) assault respectable men and ācāryas then they are to be punished (whipped) by good men then and there, but if such punishment is not possible, then the king should award corporal punishment (of various kinds according to the nature of the crime) and should not take fines from them, since they are the foulest among men and their wealth also is foul. Kāt (783) and Br (S. B. E 33 p 359 verse 15) are to the same effect The several smṛtis lay down various punishments for various kinds of assaults but no useful purpose will be served by going into details Kāt[935] (786) provides that just as in abuse punishments depend on the castes of the abuser and the abused so also in assaults higher punishment is to be awarded if the attacker is of a lower caste than the person attacked or lower punishment if the person attacked is of a lower caste Manu VIII 286 and Uśanas[936] lay down that the punishment for the offence should be commensurate with

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932 हस्तपाषाणलगुडैर्भस्मकर्दमपांशुभिः । आयुधैश्च प्रहरण दण्डपारुष्यमुच्यते ॥ बृह. q by वि र p. 259

933 द्वयोः प्रहरतोर्दण्ड: समयोस्तु सम. स्मृत । आरम्भकोऽनुबन्धी च दाप्य स्याद्विगुणं दमम् ॥ बृह. q by अपरार्क p 812, वि र p 275

934 अस्पृश्यधूर्तदासाना म्लेच्छाना पापकारिणाम् । प्रतिलोमप्रसूतानां ताडन नार्थतो दम ॥ काट्या q by अपरार्क p 813, वि. र p 278, प्रतिलोम्यास्तथा चान्त्या पृष्ठवाणां गला स्मृता । ब्राह्मणातिक्रमे वध्या न दातव्या धन क्वचित् । वि र p. 277.

935. वाक्पारुष्ये यथैवोक्ता प्रातिलोम्यानुलोमत । तथैव दण्डपारुष्ये गाढ्या दण्डा यथाक्रमम् ॥ काट्या. 786, q. by परा मा III. p 418, वि. र 269,

936 यत्र नोक्तो दम सर्वैरानन्त्यात्तु महात्मभि । तत्र कार्य परिज्ञाय फर्तव्य दण्डधारणम् । उशनस् q. by स्मृतिच II. p 328 (which explains कार्य प्राणिषु प्राप्यन्तरेत्यादित दुःखम्).

the pain or injury caused by the offender to a man or beast. A few examples may be set out. Probably the oldest reference to fines for assault in Sanskrit literature is contained in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā[937] II 6 10. 2. 'He who threatens to strike a brāhmaṇa shall be fined with a hundred (cows or niṣkas?), he who strikes a brāhmaṇa shall be fined with a thousand, he who draws blood from him shall not behold the *pitṛs* for as many years as there are particles of dust mixed with the blood that falls on them'. This passage is interpreted in Jai III [938] 4 17 as being a recommendatary injunction (*puruṣārtha*) to all at all times to desist from assaulting a brāhmaṇa. Gaut (21 20-22) and Manu XI. 206-207 appear to take the Tai. S passage differently and refer the figures of 100 and 1000 to years. Kaut III 19 prescribes various fines for various kinds of assaults. Br (S. B. E 33 p 357 verses 2, 3 and 7) says that if a person throws ashes or the like at another or beats him with the hand the fine should be one *māṣa*, but if he strikes with a brick, stone or stick the fine should be two māsakas; this however applies when both are of the same caste, but if he assaults a woman who is another's wife or a person of a higher caste, the fine may be higher and higher. For one who bruises the skin of another or draws blood by assault the fine is one hundred panas, and for him who causes a wound by removing some flesh the fine is six māsakas and he who causes breaking of bones should be banished (Manu VIII 284 = Nār XVIII 29). Kāt prescribes the highest amercement for cutting off the ear, the lip, the nose, the foot, the eye, the tongue, the penis, the hand, and the middle amercement for causing injury (or wounding). Gaut XII 1, Kaut III 19, Manu VIII [939] 279, Yāj II. 215, Br provide the punishment of the cutting of that limb with which a śūdra strikes a person of the three higher castes. And the Mit on Yāj II 215 applies by analogy the same rule to a vaiśya striking a kṣatriya. Manu VIII. 280 extends the same punishment to a śūdra for

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937 यो ब्राह्मणायाघसुरते त शतेन यातयात्, यो निहन्त सहस्रेण यातयात्, यो लोहितं करवद्यात्तदस्रक्त्व पासूत्व संगृह्णात्तावत सवत्सरान् पितॄंल्लोके न प्रजानादिति। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणाय नाघसुरेत न निहन्याच्च लोहित कुर्यात्। ते स II 6 10 2

938 शपौ च सर्वपरिदानात्। जै III 4 17 जबरs conclusion ब सर्वत्रैवस्य ब्राह्मणस्याय प्रतिषेध उक्त. न दर्शपूर्णमासगतेनैव नावगारणादि कर्तव्यमिति।

939 शूद्रो द्विजातीनभिसन्धायाभिहत्य च गात्रदुःखाद्यागमङ्गोच्छेदं येनाप्नुयात्। मौ XII 1. शूद्रो येनाङ्गेन ब्राह्मणमभिहन्यात्तदस्य छेदयेत्। अवश्यं निष्क्रयः। एवंनार्थदण्ड.। अर्थशास्त्र III 19. येनाङ्गेन द्विजातीना शूद्र प्रहरत स्यात्। तस्य तत्तदेवास्य तन्मनोरनुशासनम्॥ वृद्ध q by स्मृतिच्च II. p 328

merely raising the hand or a club to strike one of a higher caste. Manu VIII 281-283 (=Nār. XVIII 26-28) provide that a person of a low caste defiantly sitting on the same seat with one of a higher caste was to be first branded on the waist and then banished or his hips were to be gashed (in such a way that he might not die), that a śūdra defiantly spitting on the body of a brāhmana had his lips cut off or a śūdra voiding urine or fæces on a brāhmana had those offending limbs cut off, or a śūdra defiantly seizing a brāhmana by the hair or the feet or beard or neck or testicles would have both his hands cut off If several conspire and strike a person who is alone, each one was to be sentenced to twice the punishment prescribed for the offence (Yāj II. 221, Kaut[940] III 19, Visnu Dh. S. V 73) Kaut. III. 19, Manu VIII. 287, Yāj II. 222, Br., Kāt 787, Visnu Dh S. V. 75-76 provide that the king should make an offender pay a fine and also the expenses of medical treatment and diet till the wound is healed up and the person attacked is able to do his usual work (vide note 613 above) For mischief to property[941] and for killing or maiming animals, Kaut., Manu, Yājñavalkya and others provide various fines. For example, Kaut. III. 19 prescribes that when property of small value is destroyed by a man he should be punished with fine equal to the value of the article and should be made to restore the article or its value to the owner; but in the case of articles of substantial value the fine is double of the value. Manu VIII 288 is of similar import. Yāj II. 223 provides varying fines if a person wrongfully causes damage to a wall by knocking it (with a club), or pierces it or divides it into two or demolishes it and makes the offender pay to the owner the cost of restoring it Manu. VIII. 296-298, Yāj II 225-226 prescribe fines for causing death or injury to animals of small value (such as goats) and big animals like elephants, horses and cows Yāj II 227-229, Kaut III 19, and Kāt 793 provide fines for causing loss by injuring or felling trees, shrubs and creepers Yāj II. 214 holds[942] that if a person throws mud,

940 महाजनस्यैक घ्नतो प्रत्येक द्विगुणो दण्डः । अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

941 ममापणे भाण्डभूता दद्यात्तत्प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यालुरूपं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ कात्या 792 q by परा मा. III p 425, वि र 284; धनस्पतीना सर्वेषामल्पभोगो यथा यथा । तथा तथा दम कार्यो हिंसायामिति धारणा ॥ मनु VIII 285. This last is cited as कात्यायन's in वि. र p. 284.

942 हीनेष्वर्धदमो मोहमदादिभिरदण्डनम् । या II. 214, हीनेष्वर्धदण्डा परस्त्रीषु द्विगुणा । प्रमादमदमोहादिभिरर्धदण्डा । अर्थशास्त्र III 19.

dust or saliva or filthy things on another or strikes with his feet, he should not be fined if he is under the influence of intoxicants at the time or is not in his right mind or does it through mistake, while Kaut. III 19 prescribes half of the usual fine in such cases.

An important question is how far the right of private defence of person or property was recognised by the dharma-śāstra works. This subject has partly been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 148–151 in connection with an *ātatāyin* (a desperate man) who is an incendiary or a poisoner or is armed with a weapon, is a robber, one carrying away another's wife or seizing by force (a field). Although there is great diversity of views about killing a brāhmana *ātatāyin*, there is no difference of opinion as to repelling with force culminating even in death an *ātatāyin* of any other caste. Gaut. VII. 25 allows even a brāhmana to arm himself when his life is in danger.[943], Baud. Dh. S. II.[944] 2. 80, Manu VIII. 348–349 lay down that brāhmanas and vaiśyas may oppose with force when they are prevented from doing their religious duties by felons or when there are disturbances caused by invasion or the like, for saving their own lives, for preventing the seizure of their cows or other wealth or for protecting women or brāhmanas. The Mit.[945] on Yāj. II. 286 remarks that these rules of Manu are applicable when there is no time to report to the king or when delay in opposing violence will mean loss or ruin. According to Kāt.[946] (800) no blame attaches to a man who kills wicked men that are about to kill another, but when they have desisted from their attempt, they should be arrested and not killed. Aparārka (on Yāj. III. 227) remarks that persons are to be regarded as *ātatāyin* while they are about to set fire or to kill or they are in the act of setting fire or killing and the like, that where it is not possible to prevent them from doing what

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943. प्राणसंशये ब्राह्मणोपि शस्त्रमादद्दीत । गौ VII. 25.

944. गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा वर्णानां वापि सङ्करे । गृह्णीयातां विप्रविशौ शस्त्रं धर्मव्यपेक्षया ॥ बौ. ध. II. 2. 80 ; शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते । मनु VIII 348, which the मदनरत्न (ms) explains 'धर्मस्तटाकादिरूपो यत्र देशे काले वा भेदनछेदनादिनोपरुध्यते तत्र । ... तथा दक्षिणाना सङ्करे गोग्रहणनिमित्तके युद्धे । स्त्रीविभाग्युपपत्तौ दुर्बलहिंसानिवारणे धर्माद्वितोर्ध्वन्न दुष्यति ।'

945 यदा तु राज्ञो निवेदनेन कालविलम्बनेन कार्यातिपाताशङ्का तदा स्वयमेव जारादीन्हन्यात् । शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते । इति । मिता on या II. 286.

946. उद्यतानां तु पापानां हन्तुर्दोषो न विद्यते । निवृत्तास्तु यदारम्भाद्ग्रहण न वधः स्मृतः ॥ कात्या 800 q by स्मृतिच. II, p. 315

they intend to do except by killing them there only the texts allow killing; but that where it is possible to prevent them by merely wounding them with a weapon or stick, killing them would be an offence [947] Medhātithi[947a] on Manu VIII 348 differs from this and allows the killing of a desperado even after he has carried out his purpose and not only when he is about to carry it out or is in the act of carrying it out The view of the Mit on Yāj II 21 is that one has a right to oppose and kill another in self-defence, in defence of women and other weak people, who cannot defend themselves against a murderous or violent attack and that even if a wrongdoer of the brāhmaṇa caste was killed in the exercise of such right there is no punishment at the hands of the king and the prāyaścitta (for killing a brāhmaṇa) is a light one Similarly a man can kill with impunity animals having claws, horns or fangs or horses or elephants if they attack a person (Kāt. 805 q by Sm C II. p 316)

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947 अत्र च वर्तमाग्निदानादिव्यापार एवाततायिन उच्यन्ते । तद्व्यापारनिवारण च यत्र वधमन्तरेण न सम्भवति तत्रैव तद्वधाज्ञा । यत्र तु दण्डशस्त्रादिप्रहारमात्रेण शक्यो निवारयितुं तत्र तु तद्वधो दोषनिमित्तमेव । अत एवोक्त बृहस्पतिना-आक्रुष्टस्तु समाक्राश-स्ताडित प्रतिताडयन्-इत्यादि । अपरार्क p 1043 For the right of private defence of person and property compare the above dicta with sections 99 to 105 of the Indian Penal Code

947a आयान्तमिति वचनादाततायिनो हन्तुमभिधावन् द्वारान् वा जिघांसन हन्तव्य एव ते तु दोषे किमन्यत्करिष्यतीत्युपक्षा उचिते वदयुक्त यत प्रकाशमकार्षीत् चेति यथा । समानौ स्तो करिष्यन् कृतवाश्च सूद (? दूद) श्रेद्धिति । तस्मादायान्तमित्यनुवाद कर्तमागत कृत्वा वागतमिति । आततायित्वाच्चामो हन्यते न च कृतवचन आततायित्वमुपति । न च कृतवत आततायित्वमर्पति) । मेधा on मनु VIII 348, अतश्च ब्राह्मणादेव आततायिनम् आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसन्धिना निवार्यमाणा प्रमादाद्यदि विपरेतस्य हन्तुरप्यधिक दण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चय । मित. on याj II. 21 The मदनरत्न quotes both the above and also that of स्मृतिच II p 315.

CHAPTER XXIV

STEYA (theft).

In the Rg. there[1] is frequent mention of *taskara*, *stena* and *tāyu* In Rg. VI. 28 3 the sage[948] says 'may the cows not disappear from us, may a thief not injure them'. In Rg. VIII 29. 6 it is said 'Pūsan guards the ways and knows of concealed treasures as a thief does' From Rg X. 4 6 it appears that thieves were desperate and bound people with ropes and (from Rg I. 191 5) that thieves (*taskaras*) appeared at night. *Tāyu* (thief) occurs in Rg I. 50 2, IV. 38. 5, VI. 12 5 and is an Indo-Iranian word. The word 'stena' occurs in Rg. VI 28. 7 and means 'one who is a cattle-lifter'. Rg. VIII. 67 14 indicates that a *stena* was bound with ropes (when caught). In Rg VII. 55. 3 the dog is asked to run after a *stena* and a *taskara*, the first being probably a thief (who secretly carries away property) and the second a thief who openly carries it away. In the Vāj[948a] S XI. 79 (=Tai. S. IV. 1. 10 2) we have the *malimlu* in addition to *stena* and *taskara*. Atharvaveda IV. 3 contains charms against wolves, tigers and thieves (*taskaras*).

Steya is distinguished from *sāhasa* in Manu VIII. 332, Kaut III. 17, Nār. XVII. 12 and other works as stated under sāhasa below Kāt 810 defines[948b] it as 'depriving a man of his wealth either clandestinely or openly and either by night or by day'. Nār XVII 17 defines it as 'deprivation of wealth by various means from people that are asleep, careless or intoxicated'. It may be of three kinds according to the value of the thing stolen viz. trifling (when earthen-ware, seats, cots, wood, hides, grass, beans in pods or cooked food is stolen) or middling (when the theft relates to clothes except silken

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948 न ता नशन्ति न दभाति तस्करो नासामामित्रो व्यथिरा दधर्षति । ऋ. VI. 28 3. पथ एक पीपाय तस्करो यथाँ एष वेद निधीनाम् ॥ ऋ VIII. 29 6. तनूत्यजेव तस्करा वनर्गू रशनाभिर्दशभिरप्यधीताम् । ऋ. X 4. 6 (explained in निरुक्त III. 14).

948a ये जनेषु मलिम्लव. स्तेनासस्तस्करा वने । ये कक्षेष्वघायवस्तांस्ते दधामि जम्भयो ॥ वाज. स XI 79. The com. on Tai. S explains. 'स्तेना: गुप्तचौरा: तस्करा. प्रकटचोरा अतिप्रकटा निर्भया ग्रामेषु वन्दिकरा: मलिम्लुव: '.

948b प्रच्छन्नं वा प्रकाशं वा निशायामथवा दिवा । यत्परद्रव्यहरणं स्तेयं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥ कात्या. 810 q by व्यवहार VI. 9, p. 224.

ones, animals except cows and bulls, metals except gold, rice and barley), grave or high (when gold, jewels, silken cloth, women, men, cattle, elephants, horses and the wealth of brāhmaṇas or temples is stolen) Vide Nār. XVII 13-16 and Yāj II 275. Thieves are either *prakāśa* (open or patent) or *aprakāśa* (secret) acc to Manu IX 256, Br [949] (S B E 33 p 359 v 2) Acc to Manu IX 258-260, Nār. (pariśista 2-3) and Br (S B E. 33 p 360 verses 3-4) patent thieves are traders who employ false weights and balances, gamblers, quacks, bribers of *sabhyas*, prostitutes, those who profess to arbitrate, those who manufacture imitation articles, those who subsist by prognosticating good fortune or portents or by magic or palmistry, false witnesses &c Manu (IX 261-266) states that in order to find out such thieves the king should employ spies in various disguises at various places such as meeting halls, refreshment rooms, brothels, wineshops, theatres &c The concealed thieves are those who move about with tools for house-breaking without being observed and whose residence is not known, they are principally [950] of nine kinds viz. one who quietly relieves a man of his money when the latter is attending to something else, a house-breaker, a highway robber (who robs travellers), a cut-purse, one who steals (or kidnaps) a woman or a man, cattle, horses and other animals. Yāj II. 266-268 and Nār. (pariśista 9-12) indicate the various ways in which thieves may be detected and caught viz by the (police) officers recovering a part of the booty from a man or by tracing foot-steps, or by seizing one who has been often found to be a thief, or by finding out that the man suspected cannot state his place of residence; and they recommend that on suspicion others may be caught, if on being questioned they attempt to conceal their caste or name or if they are found addicted to gambling, wine and women or if their mouth becomes dry or their voice changes or if they spend lavishly though they have no ostensible means of earning, or those who sell lost or second-hand goods or who move about in disguise or who are found making inquiries about others' houses

949. प्रकाशाश्चाप्रकाशाश्च द्विविधास्तस्करा स्मृता । प्रज्ञासामर्थ्यमायाभि प्रभिज्ञास्ते सहस्रधा ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच II p. 317, व्य. प्र. p 386.

950 उत्क्षेपकः सन्धिभेत्ता पान्थशुद्धग्रन्थिभेदकः । क्रीडुंगोश्वपशुस्तेयी चौरो नवविधः स्मृतः ॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 318, व्य. प्र. p. 387.

or wealth The Mit. on Yāj [951] II. 268 quotes Nār and gives the warning that the king must carefully examine whether the man caught is really the thief and should not convict merely on suspicion, since even an innocent man may have stolen property near him or betray some of the signs noted above. When property alleged to be stolen is found with a man, it may be that the articles came to his hands from another's hand or he may have taken it up when it lay unclaimed on the ground or he may have taken it as a thief; liars often have the appearance of honest men and *vice versa* (Nār I 71)[952] Nārada's dictum (I. 42) that one who is not a thief may be held to be a thief as in the case of Māndavya has already been quoted above (p 357n 549). Vide Manu IX 270 (= Matsya 227. 166) cited on p 355 above When a person is seized on suspicion of being a thief he could not be acquitted on his mere denial of the offence He had to prove innocence by ordinary evidence (such as proof that he was elsewhere when the theft was committed) or ordeals (Yāj II. 269) The general rule about the punishment of patent thieves was that the punishment was to be proportionate to the lightness or gravity of the crime and not to their wealth (Vyāsa)[953] Br. (S B E 33 p 361 verses 10 ff) quoted in Par. M. III pp. 439–440 and V P pp 387–88 prescribes various punishments for particular kinds of patent thieves e g. sabhyas giving wrong decisions (for bribes) or those who deceive by betraying the trust imposed in them are to be banished Manu IX 292 (= Matsya 227 184–185) holds that the goldsmith is the worst of all deceitful persons (*kantakas*) and if he is found committing fraud his limbs should be cut off bit by bit.

As regards the concealed thieves the texts lay down special rules Nār XVII 21 extends to theft of the three kinds mentioned above the same punishments that are awarded in the three kinds of sāhasa Manu VIII 323 prescribes death sentence for kidnapping men of good family and particularly women

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951 अन्यहस्तान्परिभ्रष्टमकामादुद्धृत क्षुवि। चौरेण वा परिक्षिप्त लोष्ट्र यत्नात्परीक्षयेत्॥ कात्या acc to अपरार्क p 841, वि र p 337 मिता on या II 268 and परा मा. III p 437 ascribe it to नारद. The मिता remarks न पुनर्लिङ्गदर्शनमात्रेण चौरनिर्णय कुर्यात्। अचौरस्यापि लोष्ठाटिचौर्यलिङ्गसम्बन्धसम्भवात्.

952 असत्या सत्यसकाशा सत्याश्चासत्यसन्निभा। दृश्यन्ते विविधा भावास्तस्माद्युक्त परीक्षणम्॥ नारद I 71, in the शान्तिपर्व 111 65-66 this very verse occurs with the variation that सभ्य and असभ्य are substituted for सत्य and असत्य

953 नैगमाद्या भूरिधना दण्डया दोषानुरूपत। यथा ते न विनश्यन्ति तिष्ठन्ति समये तथा॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिच II p 317, व्य प्र p 387

and for theft of costly jewels; while Vyāsa prescribes death by burning on red-hot iron bed for kidnapping women and mutilation of hands and feet for kidnapping a man Yāj II 273 provides impalement for those who confine others as captives, for those who steal horses and elephants and who strike others with violence, while Manu IX. 280 prescribes death for those who break royal store-houses and armoury, the inner shrine in a temple and who steal horses, chariots and elephants For him who commits theft by housebreaking at night Manu (IX 276) and Br. (S B E 33 p 361, verse 17) provide impalement[951] after cutting off his hands. Yāj. II. 274, Manu IX 277, Visnu Dh S. V 136 prescribe for the cut-purse the punishment of the cutting of the thumb and index finger for the first offence, the cutting of the hand and foot if it is the second offence and death if he repeats the same offence a third time Not only was the thief made to undergo punishment but he was also liable to make good the loss of property to the person robbed (Manu VIII 320, Yāj. II 270, Visnu Dh S V. 89, Nār. parisista 21) According to Nār (parisista 22-24) for thefts of articles of small value the fine was five times their price, while Manu (VIII. 326-329) said it was twice as much as the price. Gaut XII. 12-14,[955] Manu VIII. 337-338, Nār. (parisista 51-52) lay down that the fine for theft is higher in the case of the higher castes i e. if the śūdra thief is fined eight times of the value of the article stolen, the vaiśya, ksatriya and brāhmana thieves were respectively fined 16, 32 and 64 times the price of the article, as each is deemed to know better owing to his higher status and culture. Manu VIII. 380 lays down the general rule that a brāhmana offender was not to be killed whatever the offence might be but he was to be banished from the country allowing him to take with him all his wealth. But there were other provisions and exceptions also. Kāt[956] (823) states that

954. सन्धिच्छेदकृतो ज्ञात्वा शूलमाग्राहयेत्प्रभु । बृह q by स्मृ p 388

955 अदापाद्य स्तेयकिल्बिष शूद्रस्य । द्विगुणोत्तराणीतरेषा प्रतिवर्णम् । विदुषोऽतिक्रमे दण्डभूयस्त्वम् । गौ XII 12-14

956 मानवा सद्य एवाहु सहोढाना प्रवासनम् । गौतमानामनिष्ट यत्प्राप्युच्छेदाद्दि-गर्हितम् । सहोढमसहोढ वा तत्त्वागमितसाहसम् । संगृह्य चिह्नमादेय सर्वदेविषयोजयेत् । अथ सन्दानमुसाद्य सन्दभक्ता बलान्विता । कुर्यु कर्माणि नृपतेरा भृत्योरिति कौशिक ॥ काल्पा 823-825 q. by वि र p 332, वि चि p 92, अपरार्क p 849 (last two verses) अत्र कात्यायनवाक्ये वृत्तस्वाध्यायवत प्रवासनं, तच्छून्यस्य धनवत सर्वस्वहरणं, निर्धनस्य तु तथाविधस्य बन्धनादिकमभिप्रेत ब्राह्मणविषयं चैतत् । वि र p 332, अपरार्क reads प्रगृह्याच्छिन्नमादेय, which seems to mean that his guilt and the signs whereby it is ascertained should be proclaimed to the public.

the school of the Mānavas declared that thieves caught with the stolen things on them should be at once banished but that the school of Gautama disapproved of this mode, since it is condemned because it entails loss (reduction) of people in the country The V. R. p. 332 explains this verse as referring to a learned brāhmana. Two more verses of Kāt. (824–825) are quoted by V. R p. 332 and V. C. p 92 the first of which provides that a brāhmana who is not learned whether caught with booty or not should be branded (with the appropriate signs) and deprived of all his property, provided his guilt is brought home with certainty and the second provides that a brāhmana thief who is neither learned nor rich but is strongly built should be kept under guard with fetters on his feet, should be fed on meagre food and made to do hard labour for the king till his death Gaut. XII. 46–48, Nār. (parisista 13–14), Manu IX. 271 and 278, Kāt (827) hold that the punishment for those who knowingly give food, fire (when they feel cold), water or asylum to thieves or who receive or purchase stolen property or who conceal them are to be punished like the thieves themselves [957] Yāj II. 276 prescribes the highest amercement for any one who knowingly gives help to a thief or murderer in the above ways or by directions or by supplying tools or money wherewith to go to a place for committing the offence.

In certain cases a person could take without being liable to be punished as a thief certain things belonging to another even if he had not the latter's permission Gaut XII.[958] 25, Manu VIII 339 (= Matsya 227. 112–113), Yāj II. 166 allow a person of the three higher castes to take grass, fuel-sticks, flowers of trees and plants for feeding cows and for the worship of fire from any place as if they belonged to himself and also fruits of trees that were not enclosed In such cases he would not be liable to a fine nor does he incur sin (Kullūka on Manu VIII. 339). A smrti passage stating that if a man takes

957 Compare sec 212 (about harbouring an offender) and 411 (on receiving stolen property) of the I P C

958. गोऽन्यर्थं तृणमेधान्वीरुद्वनस्पतीना च पुष्पाणि स्वयदाददीत फलानि चापरिवृतानाम्। गौ XII 25 अपरार्क p 773 remarks that this is so only when there is difficulty in getting these (आपदि) यत्पुनरुक्तम्-तृण वा यदि वा काष्ठं पुष्पं वा यदि वा फलम्। अनापृच्छन्हि गृह्णानो हस्तच्छेदनमर्हति। इति-तद् द्विजव्यतिरिक्तविषयमनापद्विषय वा गवादिव्यतिरिक्तविषय वेति। मिता on याj II 166, अपरार्क p 774 says तदनापद्गतशूद्रादिविषयम्'.

grass or fuel or flowers or fruits without permission deserves to have his hand cut off is explained by the Mit. (on Yāj 166), Aparārka p. 774 and others as meant to apply to persons other than *dvijas* or as meant to refer to a case where they are taken by a person who has really no difficulty in securing these or where these are not taken for the use of cows or for worship. This matter had been a subject of discussion from ancient times. Āp. Dh S [959] (I 10 28 1-5) contains a discussion from which it appears that Kautsa, Hārīta, Kānva and Puskarasādi were of the opinion that whatever (however trifling or in whatever circumstances) a man took without the consent of the owner, he became a thief, that Vārsyāyani held that there were exceptions to this rule viz. that owners should not forbid the taking (of a small quantity of) grain in pods (such as *mudga* or *māsa*) or grass for bulls yoked to carts, but that if large quantities even of these were taken there would be theft. Śānti 165. 11-13, Manu XI. 16-18 and Yāj III. 43 state that when a brāhmana or other person has fasted for three days because he has had no grain with him, he may on the 4th day take grain for one day's meal from anywhere he can get, whether from a threshing floor or from a field or a house, and that if the owner questioned he should declare to him the reason, but a person of a lower caste should not in this way take grain belonging to one of a higher caste, unless the latter pursues a sinful course or does not perform the duties of his caste. Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. I. p. 175 allows a man to commit even theft, when he is in distress for food, first from a person of a lower caste, then from one of the same caste and then from one of a higher caste Manu VIII. 341 (= Matsya 227. 110, 114), Nār (prakīrnaka 39), Śankha and Kāt (822A) state that a traveller whose food has run out may take from another's land without being liable to punishment two sugarcane stalks, two *mūlakas* (esculent roots), two cucumbers or melons, five mangoes or pomegranate fruit

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959. यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतौ तथा काण्व-पुष्करसादी। सन्त्यपवादा परपरिग्रहेष्विति वार्ष्यायणि। । शम्योवा युग्यघासो न स्वामिन-प्रतिषेधयन्ति। अतिव्यवहारो वृद्धो भवति। सर्वत्रानुमतिपूर्वमिति हारीत। आप ध सू I 10. 28. 1-5

960. आपत्सु विहित स्तैन्य विशिष्टसमहीनत। हीनादादेयमादौ स्यात्समाद्वा तदनन्तरम्। व्यास q by स्मृतिच I. p 175, शान्तिपर्व 141 395 आपत्सु .. विशिष्ट च महीयस। विप्रेण प्राणरक्षार्थं कर्तव्यमिति निश्चय।

and a handful of dates and of such corn as rice, wheat, gram &c [961]

Sāhasa (crimes of violence). Manu VIII 332, Kaut III 17, Nār. XVII 1, Yāj II. 230, Kāt. (795–796) define sāhasa[962] as any act which is done with violence in defiance of or in spite of the presence of royal officers or guards or people The word sāhasa is a derivative from 'sahas' meaning 'force' (Nār XVII 1). Sometimes it is distinguished from theft (as in Manu VIII. 332, Kaut III. 17 and Nār. XVII. 12) by saying that theft consists in depriving a person of his wealth stealthily (without force), while in sāhasa there is the use of force or violence[963]. Nār. XVII. 2 and Br (S B. E. vol 33 p. 359 verse 1) state that sāhasa[964] is of four kinds viz manslaughter, theft, violence to the wives of others, and the two kinds of *pārusya* (treated as one head). Although these topics can be comprehended under sāhasa, they are generally dealt with separately in the smrtis and digests as a matter of convenience and in order to provide heavier punishment for crimes of violence[965], since a man guilty of a crime of violence is a worse sinner than one guilty of abuse, theft or assault (Manu VIII. 345 and Mit. on Yāj. II. 230) and Manu VIII 244 enjoins upon the king not to tolerate for a moment a man guilty of violence The

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961 तिलमुद्गमाषयवगोधूमादीनां सस्यक्षुधिग्रहणेषु न दोष. पथिकानाम्। शङ्ख q by स्मृतिच. I. p 176, त्रयुषे वाऽके हे तु पञ्चाग्रं पञ्चदाडिमम्। खर्जूरजदरादीना मुष्टिं गृह्णन्न दुष्यति। बृह and कात्या acc to गृह र p 520, चणकजीहिगोधूमयवाना मुद्गमाषयो। अनिषिद्धैर्यदीतरयो मुष्टिरेक पथि स्थिते॥ q by मिता on या II 275

962 स्यात्साहसं त्वन्वयवत् प्रसभं कर्म यत्कृतम्। निरन्वयं भवेत्स्तेयं हत्वापव्ययते च यत्॥ मनु VIII 332, साहसमन्वयवत् प्रसभकर्म। निरन्वये स्तेयमपव्ययने च। अर्थशास्त्र III 17, सहसा क्रियते कर्म यत्किञ्चिद्बलदर्पितैः। तत्साहसमिति प्रोक्त सहो बलमिहोच्यते॥ नारद XVII 1, सहसा यत्कृतं कर्म तत्साहसमुदाहृतम्। सान्वयस्त्वपहारो य. प्रसह्य हरण च यत्। साहसं च भवेदेवं स्तेयमुक्त विनिह्नवे॥ कात्या 795–796 q by स वि pp 451, 457, स्मृतिच. II p 316 and वि. र p 287 (the last two quote 796 only) स्मृतिच. II 316 explains अन्वयो रक्षणकालक्रमप्राप्तपालकनरैरन्तर्यं, तस्मिन्सति योऽपहारः स सान्वयोऽपहार.

963 तस्यैव भेद. स्तेयं स्याद्विशेषस्तत्र दृश्यते। आधि साहसमाक्रम्य स्तेयमाधिश्छलेन तु॥ नारद XVII 12 व्य प्र p 385 explains आधि. पीडा धनापहरणादिद्वारा आक्रम्य प्रसह्य परस्य क्रियमाण. क्लेशः साहसरूपं स्तेयम्। छलेन क्रियमाण. आधिः केवलस्तेयमित्यर्थः

964 मनुष्यमारणं चौर्यं परदाराभिमर्शनम्। पारुष्यमुभयं चेति साहसं स्याच्चतुर्विधम्। बृह. q by स्मृतिच II. p 312, व्य प्र p 392

965 तदिद साहसं चौर्यवाग्दण्डपारुष्यस्त्रीसंग्रहणेषु व्यासकमपि बलदर्पावष्टम्भोपाधितो भिद्यते इति दण्डातिरेकार्थं पृथगभिधानम्। मिता. on या II. 230.

V May. (text p 2) says that in differentiating *steya* from *sāhasa* the maxim of 'cows' and 'bulls' is applicable[966].

Sāhasa is divided by Nār. XVII 3-6 and Br (S B E 33 p 363 verse 24) into three varieties, viz. the lowest (destruction, abuse and trampling of fruits, roots, water, agricultural implements), middling (destruction &c of clothes, food and drink, household utensils), highest (killing with weapons or poison, violence to others' wives and whatever causes pain to sentient beings) These three kinds are respectively punished with the three kinds of punishments described above (pp. 393-94) The principal crimes included under sāhasa in its narrow sense are homicide, rape and robbery Rape will be dealt with under *strīsaṃgrahaṇa* Br.[967] states the general rule that one guilty of murder by violence should be punished with death and not with fines (S B. E 33 p. 363 v 29) To this the brāhmaṇa offender was an exception (Manu IX. 241), who was only to be banished Manu IX 242 introduces another exception viz. persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of the great sins (specified in IX 235) through negligence should be only deprived of all their property but if they murder a man intentionally then only are they to be sentenced to death. Manu IX. 232 and Viṣnu Dh S V 9-11 provide the punishment of death for those who fabricate false royal edicts, or who tamper with the loyalty of the elements of the State or who kill women, children and brāhmaṇas Baud Dh S I 10. 20-21, Br and Vyāsa prescribe[968] that if a brāhmaṇa is killed by a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra, the king should sentence

966 स्त्रीसंग्रहणवाक्पारुष्यदण्डपारुष्याणा साहसभेदत्वेपि पृथङ्निर्देशो गोबलीवर्द्दन्यायेन। व्य मयूख p 2 When a man says गाव आनीयन्ता बलीवर्दाश्च the separate mention of *balīvardas* (bulls) that can be included under the word 'gāvaḥ' is due to the fact that bulls, being more intractable than cows, special attention must be paid to manage them. अपरार्क p 1048 (on Yāj III 230) employs the same maxim in a similar connection 'गोबलीवर्द्दन्यायेन च पौनरुक्त्यपरिहार'

967 साहसं पञ्चधा मोक्त वधस्तत्राधिक स्मृत। तत्कारिणो नार्थदमै शास्त्या हन्या प्रयत्नत ॥ बृह q by वि चि p 105 The word 'vadha' has two senses, (1) death and (2) corporal punishment Here वध means death

968 क्षत्रियादीना ब्राह्मणवधे वध सर्वस्वहरण च तेषामेव तुल्यापकृष्टवधे यथाशास्त्रमनुरूपान्दण्डान् प्रकल्पयेत्। यौ ध I 10 20-21, ज्ञात्वा तु घातक सम्यक् ससहाय सबान्धवम्। हन्याच्चित्रवधोपायैरुद्वेजनकरैर्नृप ॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिच II 312 and व्य म. p 394, प्रकाशघातका ये तु तथा चोपाशुघातका। ज्ञात्वा सम्यग्वधन हत्वा हन्तव्या विविधैर्वधै ॥ बृह q by स्मृतिच p 312 and व्य म p 394 वि चि p 105 reads राज्ञा सम्यग्वधै हित्वा हन्तव्या. and explains 'सम्यग्वध सकृच्छिरश्छेद, विविधो वध अङ्गशास्तिपूर्विका प्राणशास्ति'.

the offender to death in various ways and confiscate all his property, but if a man kills another of his own caste or of a lower caste then the king may punish the offender with some punishment appropriate to the crime and the strength of the offender In IV. 11 Kaut. provides sentences of death in various ways for murder following ancient śāstras, but remarks that if murderers have not been guilty of cruelty they should simply be sentenced to death without torture or the like[969]. One special rule deserves notice Gaut 22 12, Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24 6–9, Manu XI. 87, Vas 20 34, Yāj III 251 prescribe the same prāyaścitta for murdering a brāhmana woman who is an *ātreyī* as for one who kills a brāhmana male. The different meanings of 'ātreyī' given from ancient times are noted below[970]. Texts

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969 गते शास्त्रेष्वलुगता क्लेशदण्डा महात्मनाम्। अक्लिष्टानां तु पापाना धर्म्यः शुद्धवधः स्मृतः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र IV 11, last verse.

970 आत्रेय्याश्चैवम्। गौ 22 12. आत्रेयीं च स्त्रियम्। आप ध सू I 9 24 9. आत्रेयी is variously explained The word occurs as early as the Sat Br I. 4, 5, 13 where in explaining why the offerings to Prajāpati are made in a low tone a legend about the goddess 'Vāc' is narrated and it is said that in having sexual intercourse with an ātreyī, a man incurs sin' (तस्मादप्यात्रेय्या योषितैनस्वी). Here the word appears to mean a woman who is in her monthly illness Vas (20 35–36) defines ātreyī as a woman who has taken the purificatory bath on the 4th day after her monthly illness begins and derives the word from अत्र 'आत्रेयीं वक्ष्यामः रजस्वलामृतुस्नातामात्रेयीमाहुः। अत्र ह्येष्यदपत्य भवतीति.' Vasistha either cites or summarises a Vedic passage (as stated by Viśvarūpa) which means 'here (i e in the womb of this woman) a child is to come'. In SBE vol. 14 p 107 the same is translated as 'if the husband approaches her at that (time) he will have offspring' But this is not correct 'Esyat' qualifies 'apatyam' and is not in the masculine. Vas derives the word from अत्र and the root इ Visnu Dh S 36 1 and 50 9 appear to hold that ātreyī means a woman of the Atrigotra Haradatta on both Gaut. and Āp explains ātreyī as Vasistha does and states that others interpreted it as 'अत्रिगोत्रा', on या. III 251 (तथात्रेयीनिपूदक') विश्वरूप explains आत्रेयी as a woman within 16 days from the beginning of the monthly illness and quotes वसिष्ठ 20 36 and also says 'आत्रेयीं अत्रिगोत्रा वर्णयन्ति। तदपि युक्तमेव। तथा चाम्नायः ततोऽत्रिः सम्बभूवेत्युक्त्वा तस्मादप्यात्रेय्या योषितैनस्विनमाहुः। तेनोभे सम्यग्व्याख्याने एव।'. From Sabara on Jai VI 1 7 it appears that some derived the word as 'अत्र कुक्षावस्या विद्यत इत्यात्रेयी', while Śabara himself preferred the meaning 'अत्रिगोत्रा' and regarded the prohibition to kill an ātreyī as simply meant for praising that gotra 'तथा गोत्रप्रशंसार्थं आत्रेय्या अवधसङ्कीर्तनम्। न चापन्नसत्त्वा आत्रेयी। गोत्रं ह्येतत्। न हि अत्रशब्दादयं तद्धित उत्पन्नः। समर्थाना हि तद्धित उत्पद्यते। न च अत्रशब्दस्य सामर्थ्यमस्ति' (on जै VI. 1. 9) यम quoted by परा मा II 1 p 103 gives two meanings 'जन्मप्रभृति संस्कारै संस्कृता ब्रह्मचर्यया। गर्भिणी वाथ वा या स्यात्तामात्रेयीं विनिर्दिशेत्॥' The अमरकोश gives आत्रेयी as a synonym of रजस्वला

like Āp I 9 24. 1-5, Gaut XXII prescribe different prāyaścittas for murder depending upon the castes and sexes of the murderer and the murdered These will be briefly dealt with under prāyaścitta later on In certain cases acc. to Manu VIII 291-292, Yāj II 298-299, Kaut IV 13, though death or injury to persons or loss of property results, no punishment was prescribed viz when the nose-string of bulls yoked to a cart snaps, when the yoke breaks, when the cart swerves on one side owing to the unevenness of the ground, when the axle or wheel breaks or when the leather thongs with which the several parts of the cart are tied give way, or when the rope cast round the necks of bulls or the reins break or when in spite of the driver loudly calling upon a person to move aside from the way an accident occurs But Manu VIII. 293, 294 (=Matsya 227. 95-96) provide that where through the want of skill of the driver knowingly engaged by a master the cart is overturned and injury is caused, the master should be fined 200 panas, but if the driver employed be known to be skilful, then when injury is caused the driver should be fined (and not the employer) Further if the driver, though seeing that the road is blocked by cattle or other carts, rashly drives and kills men and animals he should be punished (Manu VIII. 295) It is stated by Nār (pārusya 33, S B. E vol 33 p 212) that the father is not liable for his son's offence, nor is the owner of a horse, dog or ape liable to punishment (for injury caused by any of these) provided they are not set up (to do harm) by the owner. If a driver kills a man by rash or negligent driving he is to be punished like a thief, if he kills any one of the larger animals (such as a cow, a horse, a camel or elephant) the punishment would be half of the preceding, if he kills one of the inferior animals, the fine would be two hundred Kaut III 19, Manu (VIII 285), Yāj. II 227-229 and Visnu Dh S. V 55-59 prescribe graduated fines for the destruction of trees, plants and branches, flowers and fruits according to their usefulness and sanctity The smṛtis made a distinction as regards punishments between crimes of violence and crimes due to negligence or mistake For example, Manu VIII 264 (=Matsya 227 30) prescribes a fine of 500 panas for depriving a man of his house, garden or field by threats of violence, but only prescribes a fine of two hundred if a man deprives another of his house &c by mistake

Various rules were laid down about inciters or abettors Yāj II. 231 and Kaut [971] III. 17 prescribe for the man who incites another to crimes of violence double the punishment to be inflicted on the perpetrator himself and four times for one who incites another by assuring him 'I shall give as much money as will be required'. Kāt. (798) and Br [972] (S. B E 33 p 363 vers 31) prescribe that if several violently beat a man to death, he who gives the fatal blow on a vital part is declared to be the murderer and is to suffer the full punishment for murder. Kāt (832–834) [973] and Br. (S B E. 33 p. 364 verse 32) provide that he who commences a crime of violence, who is a helper, who gives advice as to the way (in which *sāhasa* is to be carried out), who gives refuge (asylum) to the offender or supplies weapons, who gives food to wrongdoers, who incites (offenders) to put up a fight, who shows how the person (killed) is to be destroyed, who connives (at the commission of an offence), who exposes the faults (of the person killed), who gives his approval (to the offence), who though able does not forbid or prevent the commission of the offence—all these are (practically) perpetrators of the crime and the king should award punishment according to their ability and their guilt. Vide also Āp Dh. S. II. 11 29. 1 [974] For those who begin an offence or abet its commission Br (S B. E. 33 p. 364 verse 32) prescribes half the punishment prescribed for the wrongdoer. [975] Yāj. (II. 232–242) enumerates several kinds of offences as allied to *sāhasa* and prescribes punishments therefor, such as breaking a house that is closed under seal, causing harm to neighbours and *kulikas*

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971 यः साहसं प्रतिपत्तेति कारयति स द्विगुण दद्यात् । यावद्धिरण्यमुपयोक्ष्यते तावद् दास्यामीति स चतुर्गुण दण्ड दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III 17

972 एकस्य बहवो यत्र प्रहरन्ति रुषान्विता । मर्मप्रहारको यस्तु घातक स उदाहृत. ॥ बृह q by वि. र. p 373, व्य प्र p 395, मर्मघाती तु यस्तेषा यश्चोक्त दापयेद्धनम् । बृह. q by स्मृतिच. II p 312, वि. र p 373

973 आरम्भकृत्सहायश्च तथा मार्गानुदेशक । आश्रय. शस्त्रदाता च भक्तदाता विकर्मिणाम् ॥ युद्धोपदेशकश्चैव तद्विनाशप्रदर्शक· । उपेक्षाकारकश्चैव दोषवक्तानुमोदक । अनिषेद्धा क्षमो य· स्यात्सर्वे ते कार्यकारिण । यथाशक्त्यनुरूपं तु दण्डमेषा प्रकल्पयेत् । का॰ा q by स्मृतिच II p. 312, परा मा. III p 455, वि र p 375, व्य प्र p 395 There are slight differences in readings

974 प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्तेति स्वर्गनरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिनः । आप ध सू. II. 11. 29. 1

975 आरम्भकृत्सहायश्च दोषभागी तदर्धत· ॥ बृह. q. by परा मा III p. 455, वि र p. 374, व्य प्र p 395 Compare sections 119 and 120 of the I P C. for lesser sentences in the case of abettors

(one's agnates), abandoning one's parents or sons or brothers or sisters even though they be not *patita*, sexual intercourse with a widow, (intentional) defilement of the higher castes by cāndālas, making counter-feit coins or false weights and measures, giving quack medicines to royal officers or other men These are all passed over here.

CHAPTER XXV

STRĪSAṄGRAHAṆA (Adultery or unlawful intercourse with a woman).

The Mit. (on Yāj. II.[976] 283) states that *saṅgrahaṇa* means the unlawful coming together of a man and a woman for sexual enjoyment. Br. (S B. E. 33 p 365 verses 1–2) says that sinful[977] *saṅgrahaṇa* is of three kinds, viz. brought about by force, deceit or sensual passion. The first (which is rape) occurs when intercourse is had in a secluded place against the will of a woman, or with a woman who is intoxicated or is disordered in mind or is under a mistake or when she raises a cry; the second occurs when a woman is brought to one's house by some trick or pretence, an intoxicant (such as *Dhatura*) is administered to her or her mind is brought under control (by chants or otherwise) and sexual intercourse takes place; the third occurs when intercourse takes place by conveying (passion) to each other by means of the eyes (glances) or by employing a go-between and when the parties are drawn to each other by the temptation of beauty or of wealth This last is again of three kinds acc to Vyāsa and Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 365–66 verses 6–8 q. by Sm. C. II. p. 8) viz. trifling, middling and grave The first is characterised by winking at a woman, smiling at her, sending a go-between, touching her ornaments or clothes; the second by the sending of flowers, unguents, fruits, incense, food, clothes, and indulging in private talks; the third is characterised by lying on the same bed, dalliance, kissing and embraces. Strisangrahana by force (that is rape) is really included under

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976 स्त्रीपुंसयोर्मिथुनीभाव संग्रहणम्। मिता. on या II. 283; सग्रहणं परस्त्रिया सह पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धः। स्मृतिच II p 8

977. पापमूलं संग्रहणं त्रिप्रकार निबोधत। बलोपधिकृते ह्रे तु तृतीयमनुरागजम्॥ अनिच्छन्त्या यत्क्रियते मत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तया। प्रलपन्त्या च रहसि बलात्कारकृतं तु तत्। छद्मना गृहमानीय दत्त्वा वा मद्यकार्मणम्। सयोग क्रियते यत्र तच्चूपधिकृत विदु॥ अन्योन्यचक्षूरागेण दूतीसप्रेषणेन वा। कृत रूपार्थलोभेन ज्ञेय तदनुरागजम्। बृह. q. by अपरार्क p 854, स्मृतिच. II p. 8, व्य. म p 397, वि. र. p. 379, परा मा III p. 462. There are many various readings The स्मृतिच explains कार्मण as कर्मणा वशीकरणम् Compare section 375 of the I. P. C with the first kind, sec. 493 with the 2nd kind and sections 497, 498 with the 3rd kind.

sāhasa,[978] as stated by the Madanaratna, the V. P. pp. 396-397 and others The punishments for rape were very heavy. Br (S B. E[979] 33 p 366 verse 10) states that if a man commits rape on a woman of the same caste, he was to forfeit all his property, to have his penis and testicles cut out and was to be paraded on the back of an ass, that if the woman raped was of a lower caste, then half of this punishment was to be awarded and if she was of a higher caste, he was to be sentenced to death together with confiscation of all property Kāt (830) prescribes that when[980] a man has forcibly had sexual intercourse with a woman capital punishment is to be inflicted inasmuch as it is a violation of (proper) conduct When sexual intercourse was had by deceit the man was punished with confiscation of all property, with branding on the forehead of the sign of the female private parts and banishment from the town (Br. in S. B E 33 p. 366 verse[981] 11) Here also the rule of Br cited above (about the reduction of sentence according to the caste of the woman concerned) applies. In the case of rape and sexual intercourse by deceit the woman was not at all punished[982] but she had to undergo a penance (prāyascitta) of *krcchra* or *pan ūka* for contact with a male other than her husband and till she performed the prāyascitta she was to be kept well-guarded in the house, was to remain dirty (i. e

978. तत्र बलात्कारकृतं स्त्रीसग्रहण साहसान्तर्भूतत्वात् तत्प्रकरणे अधुनैव दर्शितम्। स्मृतरत्न Compare sec 376 of the I P C which prescribes transportation for life as the maximum punishment for rape Vide Russell on Crimes (9th ed 1936) vol I. pp 613-614 for the ancient law of England (which provided death sentence and the sentence of castration and loss of eyes) and modern law which provides penal servitude for life as the maximum.

979 सहसा कामयेद्यस्तु धन तस्याखिलं हरेत्। उत्कृत्य लिङ्गवृषणौ शमयेद्गर्दभेन तु॥ दमो नेय समाया तु हीनायामर्धिकस्तत । पुस कार्योऽधिकाया तु गमने सप्रमापणम्। बृह. q in स्मृतिच II p. 320, व्य म. pp 396-397, परा मा III 466

980 स्त्रीषु वृत्तोपभोग स्यात्प्रसह्य पुरुषो यदा। वधे तत्र प्रवर्तेत कार्यातिक्रमणं हि तत्॥ कात्या 830 q. by स्मृतिच II p 320, व्य म p. 397, व्य म p 244 All these three works differ as to the circumstances in which this verse applies

981. छद्मना कामयेद्यस्तु तस्य सर्वहरो दम । अङ्कयित्वा भगाङ्केन पुराभिर्वासयेत्तत॥ बृह q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 320, वि र p. 389.

982 अनिच्छन्ती तु या भुक्ता गुप्ता वासयेद्गृहे। मलिनाम्बरसंधृक्षां पिण्डमात्रां पजीविनीम्। कारयेल्लिष्कृतिं कृच्छ्रं पराक वा समे गताम्। नियर्णोपभुक्ता या स्याज्जपा वपना थवा भवेत्। बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 321, वि र 400 For कृच्छ्र and पराक see मनु XI 212 and 216 The स्मृतिच II. p 320 says 'तथापीतरपुरुषसम्भोगे नार्या सम्पद्यते। ततश्चासत्यवहार्यता अत्रापि दण्ड्यायानिर यमाना। सा प्रायश्चित्तेन क्वचिद् येति क्वचिन्नेत्याह बृहस्पति । अनिच्छन्ती &c ।

not to deck herself or apply or use perfumes &c.), to lie on the ground (not on a bed-stead or couch), was to receive bare maintenance. After performing prāyaścitta she was restored to her former position. Acc. to Yāj. II. 286 and Br (S. B. E. 33 p. 366 verse 12), for adultery (in which there is consent) the highest fine is prescribed for the male in the case of a woman of the same caste, half of this in the case of a woman lower in caste (than the paramour), but when adultery is committed with a woman of a higher caste the male shall be put to death and the woman shall have her ears and the like cut off. Vide Shakespeare's Othello IV. 1, where Othello exclaims 'I see that nose of yours but not that dog I shall throw it to' There were other sages who were humane and opposed to the punishment of disfigurement by way of the cutting of the ear or the nose. Yama[982a] states that in the case of a woman guilty of adultery at her will, there was to be no punishment of death or disfigurement, but only abandonment. Kāt (487) lays down the general rule that in all offences women should be sentenced to half the fine in money which is prescribed for a male and that when the punishment is death for a male the punishment for a woman would be cutting off a limb (vide note 626).

Nār. (XV. 73-75) holds[983] that sexual intercourse with the step-mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, the paternal or maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a friend's or pupil's wife, sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, a woman that has sought protection, with the queen or an ascetic woman (*prawrajitā*) or a wet-nurse or a virtuous wife (*sādhwī*) or a woman of a higher caste is incestuous and the punishment to be prescribed for this crime is the excision of the penis and no less. Vide Manu XI. 170-71, Kaut IV. 13,[984] Yāj III. 231-233, Matsya-

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982a स्वच्छन्दगा च या नारी तस्यास्त्यागो विधीयते । इति यमस्मरणात् । न वध न च वैरूप्य वध स्त्रीणा विवर्जयेत् । स्त्रीणा महापराधे वध कुर्वन् विसर्जनमेव तासां कुर्यादित्यर्थः । वैरूप्य कर्णनासाद्यङ्गविकर्तनं तदपि भर्त्रा न कदाचित्कार्यमित्यर्थ· । न चैव स्त्रीवध कुर्याच्च चैवाङ्गविकर्तनम्-इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात् । स्मृतिच II p 246, vide परा. मा. III. p 477 also

983. माता मातृष्वसा श्वश्रूर्मातुलानी पितृष्वसा । पितृव्यसखिशिष्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्नुषा । दुहितुश्चार्यभार्या च सगोत्रा शरणागता । राज्ञी प्रव्रजिता धात्री साध्वी वर्णोत्तमा च या । आसामन्यतमां गत्वा गुरुतल्पग उच्यते । शिश्नस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य नान्यो दण्डो विधीयते । नारद XV. 73-75. The वि र. p 392 remarks: मातात्र जननीव्यतिरिक्ता पितृपत्नी । गुप्तविषयमेतत्.

984. मातापित्रोर्भगिनीं मातुलानीमाचार्याणीं स्नुषां दुहितर भगिनीं वाधिचरत लिङ्गच्छेदन वधश्च । सकामा तदेव लभेत । अर्थशास्त्र IV. 13.

purāna 227 139–141, which latter (three) prescribe excision of the penis and death by way of punishment (except for a brāhmana) and expiation and for the woman (if she was a consenting party) death sentence Brhad-Yama III 7, Āp (in verse) IX. 1 (Jivananda ed.) and Yama (Ānandāsrama) 35 prescribe that there is no expiation except that of entering fire for incest with mother, teacher's wife, sister or daughter It is remarkable that Kaut.[985] and Yāj (*II* 293) prescribe only a fine of 24 panas for adultery with a female ascetic, while Nār XV. 74 and Matsya 227. 141 deem it a most heinous offence The explanation probably lies in the fact that Kaut and Yāj refer to female ascetics of the lowest castes not following the orthodox religion, while Nār. refers to nuns of a higher order Vide Manu VIII. 363 also. For forcible intercourse with a prostitute against[986] her will Kaut. IV. 13 and Yāj II 291 prescribe a fine of 12 and 24 panas respectively For unnatural offences or offences against the order of nature, Kaut IV 13, Yāj. II 289, 293, Visnu Dh S V. 44, Nar. XV. 76 provide fines of 12, 24, 100, 500 panas[987]

Manu IV. 134 (= Anusāsana 104. 21 = Mārkandeya-purāna 34. 62–63) forbids a man to have sexual intercourse with another's wife and states that there is nothing so detrimental to long life as that There are stray indications in the Vedic literature about sexual intercourse outside marriage. Vide H. of Dh. II pp. 637–639 In Rg. I 92. 4 (*adhi peśāmsi vapate nṛtūriva*) there appears to be a reference to a dancing girl or *hetaira*. Wives hating (or proving false) to their husbands are believed to go to Hell in Rg IV. 5 5 (*patiripo na janayo durevāh*) In Rg II. 29 1 the sage prays to the Ādityas 'remove away from me sin as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret removes it' (*āre matkam rahasūr-vāgah*). The gambler (in Rg X. 34 4) states 'others have intercourse with his wife' (*anye jāyām pari marśantyasya*). The word *pumścalī* occurs in Vāj. S XXX 22. We have already seen (H. of Dh II. pp 576, 1098) how in the Varunapraghāsa (one of the Cāturmāsyas) the wife of the sacrificer had to confess if she had a lover and how even after

985 प्रव्रजितागमने चतुर्विंशतिपणो दण्ड. । सकामा तदेव लभेत । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13

986 रूपाजीवायाः प्रसह्योपभोगे द्वादशपणो दण्ड । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13, तथा प्रव्रजिता नारी वर्णोत्कृष्टा तथैव च । हत्यगम्याश्च निर्दिष्टास्तासा तु गमने नर. । शिरश्चन्योत्कर्तन कृत्वा ततस्तु वधमर्हति । मत्स्य 227 141

987. स्त्रियमयोनौ गच्छत. पूर्वं साहसदण्ड. पुरुषमधिनेहतश्च । मैथुने द्वादशपणानि. मैन्योनिष्वनात्मनः । अर्थशास्त्र IV 13.

she confessed to having had one she was allowed to co-operate in the sacrifice on undergoing an expiation After a man performed the solemn sacrifice called Agnicayana he was enjoined (Tai. S. V. 6. 8 3)[988] not to approach a śūdra woman and after he performed Agnicayana twice he was not to approach another's wife (H of Dh vol. II. p. 1255).

The punishment for sangrahana (rape and adultery) varied according to the caste of the man and the woman, according as the woman was married or unmarried and according as she was guarded (*guptā*) or unguarded. Vide Gaut. XII. 2, Vas XXI. 1–5, Manu VIII. 359, Visnu Dh. S V. 41, Yāj. II. 286, 294, Nār. XV 70 (as to higher or lower caste of offender), Gaut. XII. 3, Manu VIII. 374–378, 382–385, Kaut. IV. 13 (about offence against guarded or unguarded woman), Manu VIII. 364–370, Yāj. II 285, 287, Kaut IV. 12, Nār. XV. 71–72 (about maidens). Further the ancient sūtras and smrtis prescribe more severe sentences than later smrtis. Details of these matters are passed over here for want of space and as being now of academic interest only. But some examples may be noted. Gaut. XXIII. 14–15 and Manu VIII. 371 prescribe for an adulteress death by being devoured by dogs, but Yāj II. 286 softened the rigour of this Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 26. 20–21) prescribed the penalty of cutting the penis and testicles for the male if guilty of adultery with a married woman, but only confiscation of all property if he committed adultery with an unmarried woman. But Yāj. II. 288, Manu VIII. 366, Nār. XV. 72 went so far as to say that if a man had sexual intercourse with a maiden (of the same caste) who encouraged his advances, then there is no offence punishable by the king, but he was to bestow ornaments on her, honour her and must marry her

It has further to be noted that Yāj. II. 290 and Nār. (XV 79)[989] make it punishable to visit a dāsi kept by a man in his own house or outside and Yāj prescribes the fine of 50 panas for so doing. Vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 637–639 about prostitutes. But Manu VIII 362 states that the rules making conversation with others' wives in lonely places punishable does not hold good in the case of the wives of actors, singers

988. नाग्नें चित्वा रामासुपेयादयोनौ रेतो धास्यामीति न द्वितीयं चित्वान्यस्य स्त्रियमुपेयान्न तृतीय चित्वा का च नोपेयात् । तै सं V 6. 8 3–4.

989. आस्वेव तु भुजिष्यासु दोष. स्यात्परदारवत् । गम्या अपि हि नोपेया यत्ता परपरिग्रहा ॥ नारद् XV 79.

and those who live on the earnings of their wives, since they themselves introduce their wives to others and make them mix among men (while they themselves remain concealed)

Strīpundharma (duties of husband and wife). Most of the matters falling under this head have been dealt with in H of Dh, vol. II. pp. 556–592. The liability of the husband or wife for the debts of the other has been already dealt with under *ṛṇādāna* The rights of partition, inheritance and maintenance will be discussed later on under *dāyabhāga* Nār. XV. 1 defines this title of law as that in which the rules of the marriage of women and men and other related matters are described Under this head Nār. speaks of the essential ceremonies of marriage, the rules about selecting a bride and a bridegroom, restrictions as to the caste of the bride, the guardians for marriage, faults or defects in a proposed bride or bridegroom, the forms of marriage, women called *punarbhū* and *svairiṇī*, the practice of *niyoga*, illicit sexual intercourse, punishment of women for adultery, re-marriage, *varnasankara*, mixed castes. In IX 1 Manu promises that he will dilate upón the obligatory duties of man and wife, whether they are staying together or apart. Manu IX. 2 holds that the first duty of the husband and the males in his family is to keep women dependent and under their control if they become attached to a life of pleasure and Nār. XVI. 30 states that even women of good family come to ruin by independence The next most important matter acc to Manu IX. 5 and Br. (S B. E. 33 p 367 verse 2)[990] is to guard women against improper attachments however trifling, since if they go astray they bring sorrow to both families (of the husband and of the father). Acc to Hārita,[991] Śankha-Likhita,[992] Manu (IX. 7, 9) and others the husband has to guard the wife from the approaches of other men in order to ensure the purity of the issue and by guarding her the husband guards his reputation, family, soul and his *dharma*,

990 सूक्ष्मेभ्योपि प्रसङ्गेभ्यो निवार्या स्त्री स्वबन्धुभि । श्वश्रूादिभि गुरुस्त्रीभि पालनीया दिवानिशम् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच्च II p. 239, व्य म p 405, वि र p 411

991, तस्माद्वेतोपघाताज्जायां रक्षेत् । जायानाशे कुलनाश· कुलनाशे तन्तुनाश तन्तुनाशे देवपितृयज्ञनाश·, यज्ञनाशे धर्मनाशः, धर्मनाशे आत्मनाश , आत्मनाशे सर्वनाश । तस्माद्वेना धर्मशीलां सुशुसां पत्नीं रक्षेत् । हारीत q. by स्मृतिच्च II p 239, वि र p 410, व्य म. p 405, मदनरत्न.

992 यस्मिन्भावोऽर्पितः स्त्रीणामार्तवे तच्छीलं पुत्रं जनयन्ति यथा नीलवृषेण नीलवृष-वत्सप्रभव· श्वेतेन श्वेत एव जायते । एवं योनिरेव चलवती यस्माद्दूर्णा सकीर्यन्ते । शङ्खलिखित q by वि र. p 414, स्मृतिच्च. II. p 241, व्य म p 408 (at p 405 reads तादृश तन्तु जनयन्ति)

since a woman gives birth to a son similar to the male with whom she consorts or on whom she sets her heart during the days after the monthly illness. Here there is some anticipation of modern Eugenics. Manu IX. 10 was quite clear that women could not be completely guarded by confining them with force in seclusion, that their minds must be occupied in family work as stated by him in IX 11 and by Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 368[993] verse 4), that the husband must try to deserve her regard and affection and show her honour (Manu IX. 22–24, 26, Yāj. I. 82). Divorce has been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 619–623 Vide 'Selections from Peshwa's *daftar*' vol. 43 p. 112 where the divorce of a woman (*ghatasphota*) is ordered because the husband was really a converted Mahomedan who had been illegally admitted to caste after an incorrect method of expiation

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993. आयव्ययेऽर्थसंस्कारे गृहोपस्कररक्षणे । शौचान्नेकार्ये सयोज्या स्त्रीणा बुद्धिरियं स्मृता ॥ बृद. q by च्य प p 409

CHAPTER XXVI

DYŪTASAMĀHVAYA

(Gambling and prize-fighting)

Manu IX. 223, Nār. XIX. 1 and Br. (S B. E. 33 p. 385 verse 3) define *dyūta* (gambling) as that sport which is carried on with inanimate objects such as dice, pieces of leather, ivory and the like and in which there is a stake, while sport carried on with animate objects such as cocks, pigeons, rams, buffaloes and wrestlers is called *samāhvaya* The attitude of Manu towards gambling was uncompromising. Manu (IX 221–222, 224–226) calls upon the king to suppress gambling and prize-fighting in his country as they cause the destruction of the State; he states that gambling is open theft and therefore the king should endeavour to put it down and that the king should punish with corporal punishment all those who engage in gambling or who induce or help others to gamble, and that he should banish gamblers from the city because gamblers residing in the country harass wellconducted subjects by their deceitful tricks. Manu IX. 227 (= Udyogaparva 37. 19) states that in ancient times gambling engendered great enmities and therefore a wise man should not resort to it even for amusement or in jest. Kāt (934) is to the same effect Yāj II. 203 and Kaut. III. 20[994] allowed gambling in a central place under State supervision as it led to the detection of thieves Br[995] (S B. E. 33 p. 385 verse 1) refers to this divergence of views: 'Gambling that causes loss of truth, purity and wealth was forbidden by Manu, but others allowed it because it led to the detection of thieves, provided it was carried on in the presence of a master of the gambling hall and provided it yielded revenue to the king' The person who was in charge of the

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994 द्यूतमेकमुख कार्यं तस्करज्ञानकारणात्। याज्ञ II 203, द्यूताध्यक्षो द्यूतमेकमुख कारयेदन्यत्र दीव्यतो द्वादशपणो दण्ड. गूढाजीविज्ञापनार्थम्। अर्थशास्त्र III 20, ध्रुव द्यूतारुलिर्यस्मादिषं सर्पमुखादिव। तस्माद्राजा निवर्तेत विषये व्यसन हि तत्। कात्या q. by वि. र p. 611

995 द्यूत निषिद्ध मनुना सत्यशौचधनापहम्। अन्यमुज्ञातमन्यैस्तु राजभागसमन्वितम्। सभिकाधिष्ठित कार्यं तस्करज्ञानहेतुना। बृह q by स्मृतिच II p 331, अपरार्क p 805, वि र 611–612.

gambling hall which gamblers made their haunt and who supplied the dice and other instruments of gambling was called *sabhika* and the stake or money agreed to be paid by the defeated gambler to the winning gambler was called *pana* or *glaha* (Yāj II 199) Nār. XIX. 8 provides an optional method viz. instead[996] of gambling in a hall presided over by a sabhika, gamblers may give the king his share in the stakes, then indulge in gambling openly and if they do so they incur no punishment. Acc. to Yāj. II. 199 as interpreted by Par. M. III p. 574 and V. P. p 565 the sabhika was to receive five per cent or $\frac{1}{20}$th part when the stake was 100 panas or more and 10 per cent or $\frac{1}{10}$th when the stake was less than 100 panas. Aparārka (p. 802) explains that the sabhika was to receive as his fee five per cent from the victorious gambler and ten per cent from the losing gambler. Nār XIX. 2 prescribes a flat rate of ten per cent on the stake as the fee of the sabhika, while Kaut.[997] III 20 lays down the fee as five per cent and allows the sabhika to charge hire for supplying gambling accessories (such as dice, leather pieces) and for supplying water and accommodation The sabhika receiving protection from the king was to pay to the king the tax agreed upon by him, was to recover from the defeated gambler the stake (by means of confinement or restraint order) and pay it over to the victor and was to be honest and forbearing[998] (Yāj. II 200, Kāt 940, Nār. XIX 2) Kāt (937) states that the sabhika[999] may give to the winner the money won out of his own pocket and may recover from the losing gambler within three fortnights or at once if there is fear of losing the money. Kāt (935)[1000] holds that if gambling was to be allowed it must be carried on openly with an arch constructed near the door in order that respectable people might not be misled (about its real nature) and it should yield revenue to the king If the sabhika is

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996. अथवा कितवा राज्ञे दत्त्वा भाग यथोदितम् । प्रकाश देवन कुर्युरेव दोषो न विद्यते ॥ नारद् XIX. 8.

997 जितद्रव्यादध्यक्षः पञ्चकं शतमावृद्दीत काकण्यक्षारलाशलाकावक्रयमुदकभूमिकर्मक्रय च । अर्थशास्त्र III. 20.

998. प्रसह्य दापयेद्देयं तस्मिन्स्थाने न चान्यथा । जित त्रै सभिकस्तत्र सभिकप्रत्यया क्रिया ॥ कात्या 940 q by अपरार्क p 804, वि. र p 615

999 जेतुर्दद्याच्चक द्रव्यं जिताद् ग्राह्य त्रिपक्षकम् । सद्यो वा सभिकेनैव कितवाद्धनसशये ॥ कात्या 937 q. by अपरार्क p 803, परा मा III 575, वि र 612.

1000 वर्तेत चेत् प्रकाश तु द्वारावस्थिततोरणम् । असंमोहार्थमार्याणा कारयेत्तत्करमदम् ॥ कात्या 935 q. by वि र p 611

unable to make the defeated gambler pay the stake to the victor, the king would make the former pay to the latter provided the gambling was done openly in the presence of the sabhika and a group of gamblers and the king's dues were paid by the sabhika, but not otherwise (Yāj II 201). Nār. XIX 6-7 and Yāj II 202 provide that when gambling is carried on secretly and without the king's permission or with false dice or other deceitful tricks, the gamblers and the sabhika would not be able to gain their object (i e. recovering bets won or the fee) and would be liable to punishment, viz. branding on the head (with dog's foot and the like) and banishment Nār. XIX. 6 adds that the banished gamblers would have wreaths of dice tied round their necks. Kāt. (941) and Br. (S B. E. 33 p. 386 verse 7) state that a person ignorant of gambling should, if defeated in gambling in private, be released from his liability, but one who is an adept in gambling should not be relieved when defeated, but even an adept in gambling if he has lost the whole of his wealth as a stake should not be made to pay the whole.[1001] In disputes among gamblers, in deciding on victory or in the matter of gain to the winner, and as regards the question of false dice the keeper of the gaming house, if honest, is the final authority[1002] (Kāt. 942). Nār. XIX. 4, Yāj. II. 202, Br (S B. E 33 p. 386 verse 6), Kāt. (943) provide that when there is a dispute as to success or defeat the king should appoint gamblers to decide the dispute and gamblers will also be the witnesses in such a dispute (in spite of the rule stated above on p. 335 that gamblers are not competent witnesses), but if the gamblers are alleged to be inimical to the disputants the king may then[1003] himself decide the matter. Yāj. II 203 extends all the rules about gambling to *samāhvaya* Br. (S. B. E. 33 p 386 verse 4) notes that the stake is to be paid by the owner of the animal that is defeated.[1004] The S. V. (p. 487) quotes a text of Visnu and a (Bhāruci's?) gloss

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1001 अनभिज्ञो जितो मोच्योऽमोच्योऽभिज्ञो जितो वहः। सर्वस्वेपि जितेऽभिज्ञे न सर्वस्व प्रदापयेत्। कात्या . वहो जितोऽनभिज्ञश्च कूटाक्षैः कपटेन वा। मोच्योऽभिज्ञोपि सर्वस्व जितं सर्व न दाप्यते ॥ बृह., both q. by अपरार्क p. 804 and वि र. p 616. दीपकलिका on या. II 200 cites वहो जितो etc.

1002. विग्रहेऽथ जये लाभे करणे कूटदेविनाम् । प्रमाण सभिकस्तत्र शुचिश्च सभिको यदि ॥ कात्या. 942 q by अपरार्क p 804, वि र p 617.

1003. उभयोरपि सन्दिग्धौ कितवा. स्यु· परीक्षकाः । यदा विद्वेषिणस्ते तु तदा राजा विचारयेत् ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p 804, परा मा III. p 576, वि र p 618.

1004. द्वन्द्वयुद्धेन य. कश्चिद्दवसावृमवाप्नुयात् । तत्स्वामिना पणो देयः यस्तत्र परिकल्पित. ॥ बृह. q. by वि. र. p. 614, स वि. p. 486.

thereon that the king gets one-fourth of the stake from each of the owners of the fighting animals and that the animal that is defeated (except a wrestler or a buffalo) is to be made over, whether living or dead, to the owner of the winner. The Mānasollāsa (vol. III. p 229) contains an elaborate description of a king's amusements by way of wrestling matches, cock-fights &c. The Daśakumāracarita makes frequent reference to gambling In Uochvāsa II. (p. 47) we are told that there are 25 kalās on which gambling depends, that legal proceedings between gamblers were decided by reliance on the sabhika and that out of a stake of 16000 *dīnāras*, the successful gambler took half and distributed the other half among the *sabhika* and the denizens of the gambling hall

Gambling is one of the most ancient vices. Rg. X. 34 is a hymn which contains the lament of a gambler. Elsewhere also in the Rg. gambling is referred to Vide Rg. I. 41. 9 (explained in Nirukta III. 16), VII. 86 6 (where it is said that dice made of Vibhīdaka tree are one of the sources of sin), Rg X. 42. 9, X. 43 5. In the Atharvaveda also dice and *glaha* occur frequently. Vide Atharva IV. 16 5, IV. 38 (a hymn for good luck in gambling) In Vāj. S. 30. 18 we have the words 'aksarājāya kitavam'. In certain solemn sacrifices like the Rājasūya dice play was an important item. Vide H. of Dh vol II. p 1219. Pānini teaches the formation of many words relating to gambling In II.[1005] 1. 10 he teaches the formation of *Avyayībhāva* compounds like 'aksapari' or 'salākāpari' in the sense 'that loss was caused by one dice being cast in a way different from the way in which it was cast in a prior game'. In IV. 4. 2 he teaches that 'āksika' means one who uses dice in gambling or wins by using[1006] dice and in IV. 4 19 he states that 'āksadyūtika'[1007] means '(enmity) brought about by using dice in gambling'. Vide also Pān. II 3. 57–58 Āp. Dh. S. II.[1008] 10 25 12–13 prescribe that in the

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1005 अक्षशलाकासंख्या. परिणा । पाणिनि II. 1. 10, on which the महाभाष्य quotes a कारिका 'अक्षादयस्तृतीयान्ता. पूर्वोक्तस्य यथा न तत् । कितवव्यवहारे च एकस्मेऽक्ष-शलाकयोः ॥'

1006. तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । पाणिनि IV 4 2, अक्षैर्दीव्यति जयति वा आक्षिक ।

1007. निर्वृत्तेऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्य । पाणिनि IV 4 19, अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षद्यूतिक वैरम् ।

1008. सभाया मध्येऽधिदेवनमुद्धृत्यावोदयाक्षान्निक्षिपेद्युग्मान्वैभीतकान् यथार्थान्। आर्याः शुचयः सत्यशीला दीर्घितार. स्युः । आप. ध सू. II. 10 25. 12–13.

midst of the sabhā (hall) having raised a table for playing dice one should place thereon dice even in number and made from the vibhītaka wood and that players should be men of the three higher castes, pure and devoted to truth. In the Mahābhārata Yudhiṣṭhira[1009] is made to say that it was his vow not to refuse dice play when he was challenged to it. It was well-known that gambling affects the minds even of the good, while in the case of those who were not ordinarily good it led to dissensions and calamities Many modern people justify the action of Yudhiṣṭhira on the ground that the code of ksatriya chivalry and morality of those ancient days required that he should not be afraid to play with dice when challenged by an adversary Conceding for the sake of argument that indulgence in gambling even on the part of such a virtuous, noble and philosophic warrior as Yudhiṣṭhira was justified or at least excusable, there is nothing to show that the code of ksatriya chivalry permitted him to gamble away his own spirited, devoted and virtuous queen and his four valiant brothers It appears that the real aim of the great author of the Mahābhārata is to emphasize that gambling is such a reprehensible pastime and so ruinous and degrading that even the greatest and the best, when once they indulge in it, lose all sense of duty, morality and of the claims of love and affection. It has already been seen how gambling was looked upon as a great vice in the king by writers on politics and also on dharmaśāstra Even the Purāṇas here and there condemn gambling For example, the Brahmapurāṇa (171. 29-38) condemns it in strong language It says that the gambler's wife is always in distress and the gambler on seeing the condition of his wife is also worried (this is in almost the same words as Rg X. 34 10-11), that the Veda condemns gambling and that there is no sin comparable to gambling

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1009. आहूतोऽहं न निवर्ते कदाचित्तदाहितं शाश्वत वै व्रत मे ॥ सभापर्व 58 16, अक्षद्यूत महाप्राज्ञ सता मतिविनाशनम् । असता तत्र जायन्ते भेदाश्च व्यसनानि च ॥ उद्योग 128 6

CHAPTER XXVII

DĀYABHĀGA

(Partition of wealth)

The word *dāya* has been used even in the oldest period of the Vedic Literature Rg. II. 32 4 (*dadātu vīram śatadāyam-ukthyam*) has already been quoted above (on p. 388) In Rg X. 114 10 (*śramasya dāyam vibhajantyebhyaḥ*) the meaning of the word seems to be 'a share' or 'reward'. In the Tai S and the Brāhmanas the word dāya appears to be employed in the sense of 'paternal wealth' or simply 'wealth' In the story of Nābhānedistha[1010] it is stated that Manu divided his *dāya* among (for) his sons' (Tai S III 1 9 4) That 'dāya' here stands for 'dhana' follows from another passage of the Tai S. (II. 5 2 7) 'Therefore they distinguish (or establish) the eldest son by wealth'. In the Tāndya Brāhmana[1011] 16. 4 3-5 also it is said 'Therefore whoever among (a man's) sons secures the best or major portion of wealth as *dāya*, him they regard as the son who would be the lord of all'. Another word viz. *riktha* occurring in the sūtra and smṛti literature is also employed in the Rgveda[1012] III 31 2 'the son of the body does not give to his sister the ancestral wealth, but makes her the receptacle for the son of her husband' The word *dāyāda* (meaning a co-sharer, one who takes a share) occurs frequently in the Vedic Literature In the Tai. S VI. 5 8. 2[1013] it is said 'Therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion (of Soma)

1010 मनु पुत्रेभ्यो दाय व्यभजत् । तै स III 1. 9 4, तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्र धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै स. II. 5 2 7 आप ध सू (II 6 14. 11-12) quotes both these texts when combating the view that the eldest son gets the entire ancestral wealth For the story of Nābhānedistha with slight variation, vide Ait Br 22 9, which is an attempt to explain the obscure hymns Rg X 61-62

1011 तस्माद्य पुत्राणा दायं धनतमामिवोपैति तं मन्यन्ते यमेवेद भविष्यतीति । ताण्ड्य 16 4. 3-4

1012 न जामये तान्वो रिक्थमारैक् चकार गर्भं सनितुर्निधानम् । ऋ III 31 2 This is explained in the Nir (III 6) as 'न जामये भगिन्यै तान्व. आत्मज· पुत्र: रिक्थं मारिचत् प्रादात् । चकार गना गर्भनिधानी सनितुर्हस्तग्राहस्य'.

1013 तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरिपे पापात्पुस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति । तै स VI 5 8 2 दायाद is derived as दायमादत्ते (from दा with आ)

and speak more weakly than even a wretched (low) man'. In the Atharvaveda V 18 6 Soma is said[1014] to be the *dāyāda* of the brāhmanas Viśvāmitra invites Sunahśepa to share in the spiritual wealth (dāya) belonging to him (Ait Br 33 5), calls upon his sons to follow him and states that he (Śunahśepa) would accept them, his wealth (dāya) and his learning[1015] The Nir III 4 quotes or summarizes other Vedic passages in which the words dāya and dāyāda occur. In Pāṇini II. 3 39 and VI. 2. 5 the word dāyāda occurs.

The principal heads discussed under the *vyavahārapada* called *dāyabhāga* are two, viz partition and inheritance. For at least a thousand years there have been two schools that widely differ on these two heads, they are respectively known as the school of the Mitāksarā and that of the Dāyabhāga on account of the pre-eminent position of these works in the respective schools The latter school is predominant in Bengal while the former prevails in the whole of India excepting Bengal. But even in Bengal there are in modern times families governed by the law of the Mitāksarā This work in intention and scope does not profess to be a treatise on modern Hindu Law. It concerns itself with pointing out what the law of the Smrtis and writers of medieval digests was and has to eschew an exhaustive discussion of the modern case-law and legislative enactments that have made the Hindu Law appear in many respects to be entirely different from the law of the commentaries and digests Generally speaking, only very important divergences made by legislation and case law in the ancient and medieval Hindu Law can and may be pointed out here

The principal Sanskrit works of the Dāyabhāga school are three viz. the Dāyabhāga of Jīmūtavāhana, the Dāyatattva of Raghunandana and the Dāyakramasangraha of Śrikrsna Tarkālankāra The Mitāksarā school is subdivided into four sub-schools in which besides the Mitāksarā, the supreme authority, other works are referred to as supplementary to it and as modifying some of its doctrines viz the Benares school (which regards the Viramitrodaya as of high authority), the

1014. न ब्राह्मणो हिंसितव्योऽग्नि प्रियतनोरिव । सोमो ह्यस्य दायाद इन्द्रो अस्याभिशस्तिपाः । अथर्व V. 18 6

1015. उपेया देव मे दायं तेन वै त्वोपमन्त्रय इति । ते ब्रा. 33 5; एष व कुशिकां वीरो देवरातस्तमन्वित । युष्माश्च दाय म उपेता विद्या पाशु च विद्मसि । ते ब्रा. 33. 6.

Mithilā school (which relies on the Vivādaratnākara, the Vivādacandra and the Vivādacintāmani), the Mahārāstra or Bombay school (where the Vyavahāramayūkha is of the highest authority in Gujerat, Bombay Island and Northern Konkan even superseding the Mitāksarā in some matters and the Viramitrodaya and the Nirnayasindhu are also relied upon), the Dravida or Madras school (where the Smrticandrikā, the Vyavahāranirnaya of Varadarāja, the Parāśara-mādhavīya and the Sarasvatīvilāsa are also works of authority) In spite of some differences in the rules accepted in different provinces in all of which the Mitāksarā is of high autbority, all the provinces except Bengal are held to be governed by one school. Vide *Ambabai* v. *Keshav* I. L. R. (1941) Bom. 250.

The words *dāya* and *vibhāga* have been variously defined in the digests Nār. (*dāyabhāga*, verse 1) defines the vyavahārapada dāyabhāga as one in which sons arrange for the partition of their father's wealth. The Madanaratna as noted by the V. Mayūkha (text p. 94) reads 'arthasya pitryādeh' (wealth of the father and others) for 'pitryasya' in Nārada's verse The Smrtisangraha quoted in the Sm. C. and other works states that the word dāya applies to wealth that comes to a man through the father or the mother and the Nighantu defines dāya as the paternal wealth that is to be divided.[1016] The Dāyabhāga, the Mit. and others explain that the words 'pitryasya' (father's) and 'putraih' (by the sons) in Nār. are only illustrative, the real meaning being that the word 'dāyabhāga' applies wherever the wealth of a relative (father, grand-father &c) is distributed among his relatives (sons, grandsons &c) simply on account of their relation to the deceased[1017] owner This is borne out by the fact that Manu and Nārada both speak of the distribution of the mother's wealth also under dāyabhāga The Mit while introducing Yāj II. 114 says that the word *dāya* means the wealth which becomes another's property simply by reason of the fact of his relation to the owner. The V. Mayūkha (p. 93) defines dāya as that wealth which is to be divided and which is not the wealth of re-united members.

1016. विभक्तव्य पितृद्रव्यं दायमाहुर्मनीषिणः । निघण्टु q by स्मृतिच II. p 255, व्य म. p 93, पितृद्वारागत द्रव्य मातृद्वारागतं च यत् । क्वचित् दायशब्देन तद्विभागोधुनोच्यते ॥ स्मृतिसग्रह q by स्मृतिच II p 255, व्य म p 93

1017. विभज्येति पुत्रैरिति च द्वयमपि सम्बन्धिमात्रोपलक्षणं सम्बन्धिमात्रेण सम्बन्धिमात्रधनविभागेपि दायभागपदप्रयोगात् । दायभाग I. 3; तत्र दायशब्देन यद्धन स्वामिसम्बन्धादेव निमित्तादन्यस्य स्वं भवति तद्धुच्यते मिता : असहद्भि विभजनीयं धनं दाय । व्य म p 93.

The word 'dāya' though derived from the root 'dā' (to give) does not apply to 'heritable wealth' in the literal sense (of gift)[1018] The word dāya is rather conventionally used, though derived from the root 'dā'. In a gift (as stated in H. of Dh. vol II p. 841) there are two chief ingredients viz. 'abandoning one's ownership over a thing' and 'bringing about the ownership of another in that thing'. But in the case of dāya the deceased does not of his own accord abandon his ownership with the idea of creating ownership in another The two (dāna and dāya) are analogous in this that in both there is cessation of the ownership of a man in a thing.

The Mit., the Par. M., the Madanaratna, the V. Mayūkha, the V. P. and other works that follow the doctrines of the Mit. divide dāya into two varieties viz. *apratibandha* (unobstructible)[1019] and '*sapratibandha*' (obstructible). The first occurs in the case of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, who, by the very fact of their being the sons or grandsons, obtain ownership in the (ancestral) wealth held by the father or the grandfather. In this case the existence of the father or grandfather presents no obstacle (*pratibandha*) to the son's or grandson's taking an interest by the very fact of his birth in the family property that is in the hands of the father or grandfather. Therefore this is called *apratibandha dāya*. But when a man takes the wealth of his paternal uncle or a father succeeds to the wealth of his son because the uncle or the son dies issueless, it is *sapratibandha dāya*, as in these cases the nephew or the father has no right in the uncle's or son's property as long as the uncle or the son is alive or as long as the uncle or son has a son or grandson That is, the life of the owner or the existence of a son presents an obstacle to the nephew's or father's succession. Hence it is *sapratibandha dāya*.

It is to be noted that the Dāyabhāga, the Dāyatattva and a few other works do not divide dāya into two kinds According

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1018 दीयत इति व्युत्पत्त्या दायशब्दो द्रव्यातिप्रयोगश्च गौण, मृतप्रव्रजितादिस्वत्वनिवृत्तिपूर्वकपरस्वत्वोत्पत्तिफलसाम्यात् । न तु मृतादीना तत्र त्यागोस्ति । ततश्च पूर्वस्वामिसम्बन्धाधीन तत्स्वाम्योपरमे यत्र द्रव्ये स्वत्व तत्र निरूढो दायशब्द । दायभाग 1 4-5. Vide दायतत्त्व pp 161, 163 for almost identical words The व्य म (pp. 411-12) quotes these words and criticizes them

1019 अयं च दायो द्विविध सप्रतिबन्धोऽप्रतिबन्धश्चेति । यद् द्रव्यं स्वामिनस्तत्पुत्रादेरप्यभावे स्व भवति स सप्रतिबन्धो दाय । यथा पित्रादीना पुत्रादिधनम् । यत्पुत्रपौत्रयोः पितृपितामहधन जन्मन आरभ्य स्व भवति सोऽप्रतिबन्धो दाय । तत्र स्वामितत्पुत्रसन्ताबस्थाप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । मदनरत्न (व्य. folio 89)

to them, all dāya is *sapratibandha* i e. ownership arises in another only on the death of the previous owner[1020] or on the cessation of the latter's ownership owing to his becoming *patita* or a *sannyāsin* (ascetic).[1021] The doctrine of this school is called *uparamasvatvavāda* (ownership arising on death), while the school of the Mit. holds the view of *janmasvatvavāda*. This is the great difference between the school of the Dāyabhāga and that of the Mitāksarā. The former does not recognise that the son, grandson or great-grandson acquires by birth any right of ownership in the ancestral property held by the father or other ancestor.

The two words '*sva*' and '*svāmin*' are correlative, the idea underlying both is the same and they are two aspects of the same question. 'Sva' means 'what belongs to a person' i. e. 'property'. It has direct reference to a thing and indirect reference to the owner of the thing. 'Svāmin' means 'master or owner' and directly refers to the person owning and indirectly to the thing. Vide Salmond's Jurisprudence, chap. XII. pp. 339–340 (9th ed. of 1937) for the idea of ownership. According to Śiromanibhattācārya *svatva* is a separate *padārtha* (category) by itself, while others say that it is a capacity.[1022]

1020. अतो जीवतोः पित्रोर्धने पुत्राणां स्वाम्यं नास्ति किं तूपरतयोरिति ज्ञापनार्थं मन्वादिवचनम् । एकः शब्दोऽपरश्चार्थ । न चोपरममात्रमेव विवक्षितं किंतु पतितप्रव्रजितत्वाद्युपलक्षयति स्वत्वविनाशहेतुतासाम्यात् । दायभाग I. 30–31, p 18, the वि. ता (folio 99) says 'ते (जीमूतवाहनादयः) सर्वत्र सप्रतिबन्धस्यैव दायस्य सत्त्वात् रिक्थसंविभागयोर्भिदाभावात् पूर्वोक्तयुक्तिविरोधान्मूर्खा एव'.

1021. It is to be noted that becoming *patita* entailed loss of the ownership of wealth, even according to Indian writers, only if the proper prāyaścittas were not performed For example, the V P. (p 429) states 'पातित्ये न प्रायश्चितानाचरण एव स्वत्वनाशो विभागानर्हता च । अन्यथा द्रव्यसाध्यं प्रायश्चित्तमपि पित्रोः स्वद्रव्येण न स्यात् ।' Ancient and medieval Hindu jurists were very considerate if one compares their prescriptions with the harsh laws against Non-conformists and Roman Catholics prevalent only about a hundred years ago in England and Ireland as briefly disclosed in Pollard's work 'Conscience and Liberty' pp 46–48 The Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850) provides that so much of any law or usage in force in British India, which inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights of property or may be held to impair or affect any right of inheritance by reason of his renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of any religion or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in British India This act, therefore, did away with the effects of being *patita* without undergoing *prāyaścitta* or of being excommunicated by a caste for some grave lapse.

1022 स्वत्वं पदार्थान्तरमेवेति शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्याः । स्वमिति व्यवहारविषयत्वं शक्ति विदोषो वेत्यन्ये । तच्च स्वगम्यमिति केचित् । वि. ता. (ms.) folio 96.

Since in defining dāya the idea of *svatva* (ownership) was brought in, many of the digests enter upon a learned disquisition on the question whether *svatva* is to be understood from the *śāstra* alone or is a matter of popular understanding. There is also an ulterior purpose in the minds of some writers in this discussion, viz that of denying that *svatva* can arise by mere birth. The reasoning of those who say that *svatva* is to be understood from śāstra alone is as follows Gaut (X 39-42) lays[1022a] down five sources of ownership common to all viz *riktha* (inheritance), purchase, partition, seizure, finding (of treasure and the like) and further states that in the case of brāhmanas acceptance of gifts is an additional source of ownership, conquest in the case of ksatriyas, gain by agriculture and service in the cases of vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. If ownership were to be apprehended from means other than śāstras, then this text of Gautama laying down sources of ownership that are common to all varnas and that are peculiar to each of the several varnas would serve no useful purpose and would be superfluous. Further Manu (VIII. 340) states that if a brāhmana seeks wealth even by teaching or officiating as a priest for a man whom he knows to be a thief, he would be punishable like a thief. If *svatva* is a matter of popular understanding then this is not proper, since the priest or teacher who obtains the wealth from one who is in possession of stolen things would have to be regarded as guilty of no offence as he merely pursues the methods of earning wealth specially prescribed for him by the smrti texts Further, if *svatva* is not to be apprehended from śāstra, such complaints as 'a thing that belongs to me has been stolen by this man' would not be possible, as svatva being a purely secular matter the thief would himself be (or would have to be deemed to be) the owner of the thing, because the latter is in possession of it. Thieving is forbidden by śāstra and so on the view of svatva being apprehended from śāstra alone, such a complaint is understandable[1023]. Besides eminent

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1022a स्वामी रिक्थक्रयसविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेषु । ब्राह्मणस्याधिक लब्धं क्षत्रियस्य विजित निर्विष्ट वैश्यशूद्रयो । गो X 39-42 The Mit explains तत्रामतिबन्धो दाय परिग्रहोऽन्यपूर्वस्य जलतृणकाष्ठादे स्वीकारः । अधिगमो निध्यादेः प्राप्तिः ।

1023 वर्तते यस्य यद्धस्ते तस्य स्वामी स एव न । अन्यस्वमन्यहस्ते तु चौर्यादौ किं न दृश्यते । तस्माच्छास्त्रत एव स्यात्स्वाम्य नानुभवादपि । अस्यापह्नतमेतेन न युक्त वक्तुमन्यथा । विहितोर्थागम शास्त्रे यथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् । न च स्वमुच्यते तद्यत् स्वेच्छया विनियुज्यते । विनियोगोत्र सर्वस्य शास्त्रेणैव नियम्यते । सग्रह q by स्मृतिच II pp 256-257, मदनरत्न (folio 89), व्य म p. 416 The last notes that 'तथावर्णं पृथक् पृथक् is the reading of the मदनरत्न, but in my ms of the मदनरत्न the reading is as in the स्मृतिच.

works and writers like the Smrtisangraha and Dhāreśvara[1024] support the view Those who hold that svatva is known only from śāstra explain that riktha in Gautama's sūtra means simply dāya and samvibhāga means partition of dāya which establishes the separate ownership of a person on a portion of dāya (vide V. P. p. 415)[1025] They further urge that Gautama's text does not specifically mention birth as a source of ownership.

Others headed by the Mit. hold that *svatva* is apprehended from worldly usage and not from śāstra Their reasoning is: (1) just as rice effects an ordinary worldly purpose, so svatva brings about worldly transactions such as sale. What is not owned by a man does not enable him to effect such worldly objects and transactions as sale or mortgage. Such matters as the Āhavanīya fire that are prescribed by the śāstras are not useful in effecting secular purposes, but only śāstric ones. The Āhavanīya fire may be used in cooking rice, but that is in virtue of its ordinary nature as fire and not in its śāstric nature of being the Āhavanīya fire.[1026] (2) Even among Mlecchas and lowest peoples who are quite innocent of the knowledge of śāstras, the ideas of ownership arising from transactions of sale and the like do exist. Further (3) learned men well-versed in

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1024 एतत्सग्रहकारमतं धारेश्वरभट्टेनाप्याश्रितम् । मदनरत्न (folio 90); यपञ्चितं चैतद्धारेश्वरसूरिणा । स्मृतिच II. p 257 It is somewhat strange that Dhāreśvara who is no other than the celebrated king Bhoja of Dhārā should be styled *bhatta* by the Madanaratna and *ācārya* by the Mit (on Yāj. III 24) and the V Mayūkha (p. 89)

1025 When a man dies his wealth is the dāya which several persons may inherit In their case, it becomes their joint property. So their ownership, being joint, is denoted by the word 'riktha' The joint owners become exclusive owners of definite parts of the dāya by partition, thus partition is a source of ownership (in this case exclusive ownership of distinct parts by several) But if there is a single heir then there can be no *samvibhāga* (partition) and so the source of his ownership is *riktha* and not samvibhāga. When there are several heirs riktha is on this view a source of joint ownership only It must be said that on the hypothesis of Jīmūtavāhana, *riktha* and *samvibhāga* rather coalesce with one another and cannot be distinguished so well as on the theory of the Mit

1026. *Vide* the Mit (on Yāj II 114), V P pp 419–422, V. Mayūkha pp 89–90, Par M. III. pp 482–483 for elaboration of this view. The S. V. p 396 ff while accepting the view that svatva is *laukika* does not accept the reasoning of the Mit , particularly with regard to the Āhavanīya fire.

the Mīmāṁsā such as Prabhākara[1027] (on Jaimini IV. 1. 2) and

1027. The Mit (on Yāj. II 114) quotes a passage of Prabhākara on the *lipsāsūtra* and explains it. Jaimini's sūtra (IV. 1. 2) is चस्मिन्नीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्सार्थलक्षणाऽविभक्तत्वात् In this sūtra the word *lipsā* occurs Therefore this is called *lipsāsūtra*. The words अर्जनं त्वन्यं नापाहयतीति विप्रतिषिद्धं occur in the Dāyabhāga also (*II. 67 p 49*) and in Medhātithi on Manu VIII 417. These words are quoted in the Mit. as taken from Prabhākara (called *Guru*) and so it follows that even Medhātithi quotes from Prabhākara. The earliest extant commentary of Sabara offers three explanations of this sūtra, which deals with the question of what is *kratvartha* and what is *puruṣārtha* The third explanation concerns itself with the rules about acquiring wealth (which is necessary for performing every sacrifice) such as acceptance of gifts in the case of brāhmaṇas The question is whether these rules about the means of acquiring wealth are kratvartha or puruṣārtha If they are the former (i. e , if they are meant to be directly connected with the sacrifice) then a sacrifice performed with wealth not acquired according to the rules of śāstra will be defective or a nullity. But if the rules are puruṣārtha (i e addressed to the sacrificer only or to his conscience and sense of dharma) then even if the sacrifice is performed with wealth not acquired in accordance with śāstra there will be no defect in the sacrifice itself, only the acquirer will be at fault and may have to perform prāyaścitta. Says Śabara. सर्वं वा द्रव्यार्जनमुदाहरणम्। इह द्रव्यार्जनं तैस्तैर्निर्वर्त्यते. श्रूयते । ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिग्रहादिना राजन्यस्य जयादिना वैश्यस्य कृष्यादिना । तत्र सन्देहः किं क्रत्वर्थो द्रव्यपरिग्रह उत पुरुषार्थ इति ।.

The Mit. points out that in the plausible view (pūrvapakṣa) and the established conclusion (siddhānta) it is assumed that acquisition of wealth by acceptance of gift is a matter known from worldly usage (*lokasiddha*). The comment of Prabhākara (called *Guru*) on this sūtra is not yet available in print The Sm. C. II pp 257–258, the Madanaratna, and V. P. p 420 quote a passage from the Nayaviveka of Bhavanātha on the same subject and explain it. The मदनरत्न says 'इत्थं चैतन्नयविवेके प्रामाकरमतानुसारेण भवनाथेन । लोकसिद्धं हि अर्जनं जन्मादि । अत एवानिर्दृष्टमलोकधीविषयतया नित्ये नित्यन्यनार्थो (=विधिपरतया स्वरूपेणानिबन्धनार्थो ?) स्मृतिर्न्यायकरणादिस्मृतिवत् ' The passage as printed in V. P. p 420 (अत एवानिर्दृष्टं मयनलोकधीविषयत्वव्यवहितं शक्तिमन्यनार्थो स्मृति) is corrupt and hardly makes any sense. The V. Mayūkha simply refers to Bhavanātha without quoting him. The वि रा (folio 98) remarks 'मीमांसकरप्युक्तं प्रतिग्रहादिनियमानां पुरुषार्थत्वं तेन विना अर्जितद्रव्यं पुरुषस्यैव दोष क्रतुसिद्धिर्भवत्येव ।.' Vide H. of Dh vol II pp 129–130 for quotations from several smṛtis laying down various means of livelihood Manu X. 115 enumerates seven sources of wealth as sanctioned by śāstra viz. finding (*of treasure*), *dāya* (inheritance), purchase, conquest lending for interest, work (agriculture and trade), acceptance of a gift from a worthy person and in X. 116 mentions ten means of maintaining oneself (in distress). The Mahābhāṣya (vol I. p 483) on Pāṇ II 3 50 states that a thing becomes one's own *in four* ways viz by purchase, by seizure, by begging or by exchange 'चतुर्भिरेतत्कारणैर्भवति क्रयणात्प्रहरणाद्याचनाया विनिमयादिति.' It must be remembered that the enumeration of the means of acquiring property in the dharmaśāstra works is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

Bhavanātha, author of the Nayaviveka, hold that ownership which springs from certain fixed sources only (such as purchase) is a matter of worldly usage or experience. Bhavanātha says: the sources of acquisition such as birth and purchase &c. are known from the world. The conception about the sources of ownership was not started for the first time by the śāstra, but such sources have been known from times immemorial (long before the smṛtis). That is, the recognition of the sources of ownership is prior and śāstra only systematises them subsequently. Therefore the smṛti of Gautama (X. 39) only assigns their proper spheres to the several sources of ownership that are already well-known (viz. five are common to all, acceptance of gifts is peculiar to brāhmaṇas and so on). In this respect it is like the grammar of Pāṇini. Pāṇini does not create or lay down new words but he takes the words already current in the language and introduces a system about their formation. Similarly Gautama only voices a certain fixed system among the several sources of ownership. The Mit. and its followers say that Gautama simply repeats the several sources of ownership known in ordinary worldly life (as the V. Mayūkha says 'lokasiddhakāraṇānuvādakam)'. The Mit, Par. M. III. p. 481, S V. p 402 and others hold that riktha and saṃvibhāga in Gautama's sūtra stand for apratibandha dāya and sapratibandha dāya respectively.[1028] The Mit. meets the other arguments of its opponents by replying that in the first place that even ordinary popular usage does not recognise that the thief becomes the rightful owner by simply possessing the thing stolen and that in the case where a person says 'this man has stolen my property' there is doubt and dispute whether the man charged has got ownership by purchase or the like.

The purpose of this discussion of the topic whether ownership is only known from śāstra or is a secular matter is, according to the Mit., as follows:—Manu XI. 193 (= Viṣnu Dh. S 54. 28) states that when brāhmaṇas acquire wealth by reprehensible actions (such as accepting a gift from an unworthy person or engaging in the sale of articles which he should not sell)

1028. The word *riktha* is often used in the sense of sapratibandha dāya also as in Gaut XII. 37 (rikthabhāja rnam pratikuryuḥ) and Yāj II. 51 (rikthagrāha rnam dāpyaḥ), Baud (riktham mṛtāyāh kanyāyāh) q. by the Mit. on Yāj II. 146. Vide *Bai Parson v Bai Somli* 36 Bom 424 at pp. 428–434 for an exhaustive exposition of the basic principles underlying the two kinds of dāya in the Mit. and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha).

they are purified from the sin by abandoning that wealth, by repeating the sacred texts (like the Gāyatrī) and by austerities If ownership springs from śāstra alone, what is earned by a person in ways condemned by śāstra cannot become the property of that man and so his sons cannot divide what is not his property. But if ownership is deemed to be a secular matter (*laukika*) then even what is obtained by condemned means becomes the property of that man, his sons incur no blame (though the acquirer may have to perform penance) and can divide that wealth (which is dāya), since Manu X. 115 enumerates dāya among the seven approved sources of wealth. The Madanaratna does not approve of this. Its reason briefly is that Manu XI. 193 simply lays down a penance, but does not say that wealth so obtained does not become the acquirer's property, that it is on account of this that Manu does not prescribe any special fine or punishment for one who acquires wealth by means of a bad gift, as he prescribes for a thief and that what is acquired by theft does not become the property of the thief and his sons cannot divide it and would incur punishment if they do so. V. P. (pp. 423-424) refers to the views of the Mit. and the Madanaratna and approves of the views of the former.

This discussion leads on to the next question, viz. whether ownership arises from partition or whether partition takes place of what already belongs to oneself (by birth) This subject has exercised the minds of writers on Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. It should be noted that the difference of opinion relates only to the case of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons All writers are agreed that persons other than these have no rights by birth in the wealth of their relatives Those who oppose the view that sons acquire right by birth argue as follows:—

If sons have ownership by birth in ancestral property, then, on the birth of a son, the father cannot enter upon such religious duties as conseorating Vedic fires (which entail the expenditure of ancestral wealth) without the consent of the son. This would be opposed to the Vedic injunction "a man, whose hair is yet dark and who has had a son, should consecrate the sacred Vedic fires" Further, Smrti passages stating that a gift made by the father to one out of several sons as a favour (Nār. dāyabhāga 6) or by the husband to his wife out of affection is not liable to partition would be meaningless, since such gifts cannot be made without the consent of the sons (on the

theory that sons acquire property by birth). Besides, there are smrti texts like those of Devala[1029] which expressly negative the son's ownership during the father's lifetime. Manu IX. 104 and Nār. (dāyabhāga 2) enjoining that sons should divide wealth after the father goes to heaven (because the sons are not masters when the parents are alive, as Manu says) indicate that sons have no ownership by birth Moreover *svatva* is apprehended only from śāstras (like Gautama), which do not expressly enumerate birth as a source of ownership along with purchase and the like. Therefore the ownership of the son or sons arises on the cessation of the ownership of the previous owner (by his death or by his becoming *patita* or becoming an ascetic). When there is a single son, he inherits on the death of the father and there is no necessity of a partition But when there are several sons, they jointly inherit paternal wealth and can become exclusive owners of separate parts of the paternal wealth by partition alone As this last is the most usual case, it is said that *svatva* arises from partition (*vibhāgāt svatvam*). If this doctrine that ownership arises by partition alone were literally interpreted, then an only son inheriting his father's property will have no ownership as urged by the Vyavahāra-nirnaya, since there can be no partition in his case[1030].

The arguments advanced by those who hold that ownership in ancestral wealth arises by birth are as follows.—

It has been established that ownership is a matter of ordinary worldly usage. It cannot be denied that it is quite well-known to all ordinary people that sons acquire ownership by birth. Besides there is the text of Gautama[1031] "the ācāryas hold that one acquires ownership by birth itself" Moreover there are numerous smrti passages like those of Yāj. II 121,

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1029. पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभजेयुर्धन पितुः। अस्वाम्य हि भवेद्देषा निर्दोषे पितरि स्थिते॥ देवल q by दायभाग I 18, p 13, दीपकालिका (on या II 114), वि र p 456, परा मा III. p 480

1030 तथा विभागात्स्वत्वपक्षे एकपुत्रस्य मातापित्रोरूर्ध्वं विभागाभावात् स्वत्व न स्यात् तेन कुलमर्यादेव पितृपैतामहद्रव्येपि पुत्रस्य स्वाम्यमस्त्येव। व्यव नि p. 412

1031 तथा 'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थस्वामित्व लभेतेत्याचार्या.' इति गौतमवचनाच्च। मिता on या II 114 This is variously read by the digests and commentaries. The Madanaratna, Sm C. II. p. 258 and Dāyatattva p 162 read उत्पत्त्यैवार्थ स्वामित्वाल्लभेतेत्याचार्या The व्य म p 89 reads लभन्त इत्याचार्याः, while स वि reads 'उत्पत्त्यैवाय स्वामित्व लभत इत्याचार्या.' (p 402) Both Sm C. and S V. explain 'उत्पत्त्यैव मातृगर्भे शरीरोत्पत्त्यैवेत्यर्थ.', while the सुबोधिनी and the बालम्भट्टी on the मिताक्षरा explain उत्पत्त्यैव as जन्मनैव.

Br (S B E. 33 p 370 verse 3), Kāt. (839), Vyāsa and Visnu Dh.[1032] S. XVII. 2 which expressly state that in the paternal grandfather's wealth, the father and the son have equal ownership (and so the right of the son must be by birth). Those who uphold the son's ownership by birth repel the arguments advanced in favour of the opposite theory as follows:—The Vedic text enjoining consecration of Vedic fires at a certain age indicates that the father has the power to spend for religious rites from ancestral wealth even after the birth of a son. Similarly as head of the family and its manager, the father has independent authority to spend ancestral wealth (except immovable property) for indispensable acts of religious duty expressly enjoined by Vedic and Smrti texts and for making gifts of affection, for maintenance of the family and for ridding the family of distress. Further the father or the manager of the family can dispose of even immovable property by mortgage or sale in a season of distress or for the benefit of the family and for necessary religious purposes (such as śrāddhas[1033] etc.)

Ownership has to be distinguished from possession and custody. Further ownership is of various kinds, such as corporeal and incorporeal, sole ownership and joint ownership, ownership as trustee and beneficial ownership, vested and contingent. Even Western writers on Jurisprudence like Austin, Pollock and Salmond, find it difficult to define the exact meaning of ownership. Austin (Lecture XLVII) defines

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1032. द्रव्ये पितामहोपात्ते स्थावरे जङ्गमे तथा । समर्मशित्वमाख्यात पितु. पुत्रस्य चैव हि ॥ बृह q by दायभाग II. 50 p 46, अपरार्क p 728, व्यव. नि. p 410, दीपकालिका, स. वि. p 374, वि. र. p. 461, व्य म p 98. This is ascribed to व्यास by स्मृतिच. II p 279 पैतामहं समान स्यात् पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयो । स्वयं चोपार्जिते पित्रा न पुत्रः स्वाम्यमर्हति ॥ कात्या q by अपरार्क p 725, व्यव. नि p. 410, स्मृतिच II. p. 279, क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितृपुत्रा· समांशिनः । पैतृके न विभागार्हा सुताः पितुरनिच्छतः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 728, व्यव. नि p 410, स वि p, 475 (reads पुत्रपौत्रा. समांशिनः), वि र. p 461, पैतामहे स्वर्थे पितुपुत्रयो· तुल्य स्वामित्वम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 2.

1033. तस्मात् पैतृके पैतामहे च द्रव्ये जन्मनैव स्वत्वम्, तथापि पितुरावश्यकेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वाक्चनिकेषु प्रसाददानकुटुम्बभरणापद्विमोक्षादिषु च स्थावरव्यतिरिक्तद्रव्यविनियोगे स्वातन्त्र्यमिति स्थितम् । स्थावरे तु स्वार्जिते पित्रादिप्राप्ते च पुत्रादियारतन्त्र्यमेव । . अस्यापवाद.। एकोपि स्थावरे कुर्याद्दानाधमनविक्रयम् । आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थे धर्मार्थे च विशेषतः ॥ इति। मिता on या II. 114. This is the basic passage of the Mit. on which innumerable decisions have been given in the law reports, one of the latest and most authoritative being *Brij Narain v Mangla Prasad* L. R. 51 I. A 129 quoted on p. 448 above

property or dominion as the right to use or deal with some given subject in a manner or to an extent, which though not unlimited, is indefinite. Pollock defines ownership as the entirety of the powers of use and disposal allowed by law. But the idea of ownership does not require, according to Sanskrit works on Dharmaśāstra, that the owner should always be able to do with his property as he pleases. On the contrary the śāstras lay down restrictions on the owner, enjoining upon him not to make gifts to the detriment of his family (vide Yāj. II. 175 "*svam kutumbāya nodhena deyam*" and the verse of the Smṛti-sangraha "*na ca svamucyate*" quoted in note 963 above). Therefore property does not comprise only what one can dispose of at one's sweet will, but what is capable (in appropriate circumstances only) of being disposed of as one[1034] likes. A person may be prevented from dealing with his property as he likes by the king or by the rules of śāstra, by public opinion, by his own inclinations and by the pressure of those around him. But what he owns is theoretically capable of being disposed off by him as he likes. The Madanaratna puts forth the illustration that seeds kept dry in a granary do not sprout, yet they have the capacity of sprouting and so are as well denominated seeds as others that sprout. There are various grades of the limitations on property, such as the father's power, the widow's power and so on. What a person earns should belong to him, should be his property. But there are passages like Manu VIII. 416 and Nār. (abhyupetyāśuśrūsā, verse 41) that state[1035] "three are declared to be without wealth viz. the wife, the son and the slave; whatever they earn is for him to whom they (wife, son and slave) belong". It has been stated

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1034. न च यथेष्टविनियोज्यत्व स्वत्वामिति वयं ब्रूम किं तर्हि यथेष्टावीनियोगयोग्यत्वम्। तच्च शास्त्रे कुटुम्बभरणादिविनियोगनियमनेन विनियोगान्तरविषयतामलभमानस्याप्यजितत्वमयुक्तमस्त्येव। यथा कुतश्चिद्धेतोरद्य कुरोत्पादनमकुर्वतोपि कुशूलादिस्थितस्य बीजस्य बीजत्वमयुक्तमद्य कुरोत्पादनयोग्यत्वम्। उक्त च नयविवेके। तच्च तस्य तदर्हं येनार्जितमिति। तदर्हं यथेष्टविनियोगार्हम्। भट्टमतानुसारिणि तन्त्ररत्नेपि। यथेष्टविनियोज्यत्व हि स्वत्वं केवलक्रत्वर्थत्वेऽन्यत्राविनियोगाद्यथेष्टविनियोज्यत्वाभाव (विनियोज्यत्वाभावात्स्वत्वाभाव?) इति। विनियोज्यमत्र विनियोगार्हं 'अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्चेति' पाणिनिस्मरणात्। मदनरत्न. 'अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च' is पाणिनि III 3. 169. The passage यथेष्टविनि ... त्वाभाव इति occurs in the तन्त्ररत्न (सरस्वतीभवन series) part 1 p. 19. Vide व्य. म p. 416 for a similar statement and p. 422 for the illustration of seed in the granary

1035 भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधना. स्मृताः। यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम्॥ मनु VIII. 416, उद्योगपर्व 33 64 reads त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः। यत्ते &c., नारद (अम्यु 41) is अधनास्त्रय एवोक्ता भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः। यत्ते &c

by such an ancient writer as Śabara-svāmin[1036] that this passage does not deny the ownership of the wife or son in what she or he earns, but is only intended to lay down that the wife or son cannot independently (without the consent of the husband or father) dispose of what she or he earns. This view of the text of Manu is accepted by the Dāyabhāga as well as by the Mitākṣarā School. The latter holds on the analogy of the interpretation of Manu VIII. 416 that the texts of Devala, Nār and Manu IX. 104 which apparently deny ownership (*svāmya*)[1037] to the son during the father's lifetime over property in the hands of the father are to be interpreted only as denying the son's power of independent dealing with such property during the father's lifetime or as referring to the self-acquisitions of the father On the other hand the Dāyabhāga and the Dāyatattva try to explain away such passages as those of Yāj II. 121, Viṣnu and others (quoted above) that speak of the son's ownership by birth The Dāyabhāga offers two explanations of Yāj II.121.[1038] The first explanation offered by it and taken from Udyota is — If A has two sons B and C of whom C dies first, leaving a son D and then A dies, then Yāj says that both B (son of A) and D (grandson of A) will be equally entitled to the wealth left by A and not B alone, though he is nearer to A than D, because both B and D offer pindas of the same efficacy to A in the pārvana-śrāddha and so there should be no difference between the two. The words "sadṛśam svāmyam" refer to this equality of the son and grandson. The 2nd explanation is that of

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1036 On जै VI 1 12 शबर says 'एवं स्मरति। भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धना सर्व एव ते। यत्ते. तद्धनमिति।' Then on जै. VI 1. 14 he remarks 'यत्तूच्यते भार्यादयो निर्धना इति। स्मर्यमाणमपि निर्धनत्वमन्याय्यमेव श्रुतिविरोधात्। तस्मादृत्वातन्त्र्यमनेन प्रकारेणोच्यते संव्यवहारमसिद्ध्यर्थम्।'.

1037. यत्तु देवलोपि पितर्युपरते. स्थिते इति अत्रास्वाम्यवचननस्वातन्त्र्यप्रतिपादनार्थमिति मन्तव्यम्। स्मृतिच II 256, vide also अपरार्क p 718, व्यव नि p 412, परा मा III. p 480 for similar remarks 'देवल पितर्युपरते.. इति तत्पित्रर्जित स्वातन्त्र्यनिषेधार्थं न पैतामहे' वि ता folio 96

1038 यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं 'भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता.. चोभयो' इति तस्य निरवद्य-विद्योद्योतेन द्योतितस्तत्त्वतोऽयमर्थः। यत्र द्वयोर्भ्रात्रोर्जीवत्पितृकयोरप्यासभागयोरेक पुत्रमुत्पाद्य विनष्टोऽन्यो जीवति अनन्तर पिता सुत तत्र पुत्र एव तद्धनं यास्यति अतिसन्निकर्षात् तदर्थं सदृश स्वाम्यमिति वचनम्। यथा पैतामहधने पितुः स्वाम्यं तथैव तस्मिन्मृते तत्पुत्राणामपि न तत्र सन्निकर्षविप्रकर्षाभ्यां कोपि विशेषः पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानेन द्वयोरपि तदुपकारकत्वाविशेषादित्यभिप्राय। दायभाग II 9, p 29 Here the Dāyabhāga appears to refer to a very learned predecessor called Udyota, who is styled निरवद्यविद्य (of unblemished learning) From the व्यवहारनिर्णय (pp 78, 455) it appears that उद्योतन was an ancient author on vyavahāra spoken of in the same breath with धारेश्वर and असहाय

Dhāreśvara viz. that when the father desires to make a partition, he may distribute his self-acquired property as he likes among his sons, but as to the property he got from his own father (i. e the grandfather of his sons) he has the same ownership that sons have and he cannot make an unequal division at his sweet will. The Dāyabhāga[1039] rejects the view that Yāj. II. 121 enables the son to demand partition of the grand-father's property from the father even against the will of the latter or that father and son have equal shares in the grandfather's property The same remarks apply to the texts of Visnu and others viz. that in the grandfather's property father and son are equally owners and that the words "tulyam svāmyam" or "samamamśitvam" do not mean that father and son take the same share therein

From the above discussion it will be clear that the two schools of the Dāyabhāga and of the Mitāksarā were not started by them for the first time, but each had respectable antiquity behind it. Smrtis like those of Manu, Nārada and Devala and eminent authors like Udyota and Dhāreśvara had put forward the doctrine of *upaiama-svatvavāda*, while the Smrtis of Yāj., Visnu, Br. espoused the doctrine of *janmasvatvavāda* Viśvarūpa who commented on Yāj (in the first half of the 9th century) holds that ownership arises by birth[1040]. The Mitāksarā further supports that theory by citing a sūtra of Gautama (*utpattyava* etc.) which is not found in the extant Gautama-dharma-sūtra. This sūtra does not occur in Aparārka and several other works and is stated by Śrīkrsna Tarkālankāra (on Dāyabhāga I. 21 p 14) to be not authoritative (*amūla*). These facts emboldened Dr. Jolly to go so far as to make the facile suggestion that it was fabricated by Vijñāneśvara or his predecessors (Tagore Law Lectures p. 110). We have seen that so early a writer as Visvarūpa was excited over the question whether ownership arises on partition or by birth The learned Doctor has failed to note that the ancient commentator Medhātithi (about 900 A D.) favoured the view of ownership by birth and quotes (without name) the sūtra in a slightly different form (on Manu

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1039 अत: पितापुत्रयो: पैतामहधने समविभागार्थं सदृशं स्वाम्यमिति वचनं पुत्राणां वा विभागस्तात्पर्यार्थमिति मतद्वयमपि हेयम्। दायभाग II. 18 p 31.

1040 या त्विच्छया विभागस्मृति: सा स्वयमुपात्तद्रव्यतो द्रष्टव्या। अत स्वत्वे सति विभाग इति सिद्धम्। विश्वरूप on 'भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता' (या II. 124).

IX. 156).[1041] So it was not necessary for Vijñānesvara to fabricate a sūtra nor for any one else, for even in the absence of Gautama's sūtra the texts of Yāj and others were quite capable of the *interpretation* put on them by the Mitāksarā. It has to be noted that the Dāyabhāga[1042] does admit that in some (texts?) ownership is stated to arise by birth itself (*kvacit janmanaiveti*) and it explains that the words are not to be taken literally but that birth is said to be the source in an indirect way, as the relation of father and son is based upon birth and on the death of the father the son's ownership arises (therefore though ownership directly arises on death, birth may be said to be the source of it as the son is the first heir because of his being born as a son to the father). The Dāyatattva does not say that the sūtra of Gautama is not authoritative, but explains it away on lines similar to those of the Dāyabhāga. It may be stated here briefly that the Dāyabhāga differs from the Mitāksarā in four main points:—(1) The Dāyabhāga denies the theory that property is by birth, while the Mit. accepts it; (2) the Dāyabhāga lays down that the right to inherit and the order of heirs is determined by the principle of religious efficacy, while the Mit. school holds that blood relationship is the governing factor in this matter; (3) the Dāyabhāga holds that members of a joint family (such as brothers or cousins) hold their shares in quasi-severalty and can dispose of them even when there is no partition by metes and bounds; (4) the Dāyabhāga holds that even in an undivided family the widow succeeds

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1041. On मनु IX 209 मेधातिथि says 'यतस्ते पितामहधनस्येशाते। तथा चोक्तं भूर्या क्षोभयोरिति। ... सर्वे पितामहधनभाज स्वत्वपूर्वकत्वाद्विभागस्य।, on मनु IX. 156 he says तथाप्युक्तं सवर्णापुत्रोऽन्यायवृत्तौ न लभेतैकेषामिति। तदेतदसत्। जातेरत्यन्तमान्यत्वात्। उत्पन्नो वार्थस्वाम्यमित्याचार्या इति।

1042. क्वचिज्जन्मनैवेति (जन्मनैवेति?) च जन्मनिबन्धनत्वात् पितापुत्रसम्बन्धस्य पितुर्मरणस्य च स्वत्वकारणत्वात् परम्परया वर्णनम्। दायभाग I 20 p 13 अच्युत and some of the commentators of the Dāyabhāga refer these words to the sūtra of Gautama which they read as 'उत्पन्नैवार्थे स्वामित्वाद्भवेत्याचार्या.' यत्तु मिताक्षरायां 'उत्पन्नैवार्थे स्वामित्वाद्भवेत्याचार्या.' इति गौतमवचनं तदपि पितुस्वत्वोपरमेऽङ्गजत्वहेतुत्वेनोत्पत्तिमात्रसम्बन्धेनान्यसम्बन्धाधिकेन जनकधने पुत्राणा स्वामित्वाद्धनं पुत्रो लभेत नान्यसम्बन्धीत्याचार्या मन्यन्ते। दायतत्त्व p 162 This is quoted almost in the same words by the व्य म p 414 and on p 418 the व्य म appears to hold that the explanation of the दायभाग quoted above relates to the sūtra of Gautama अतश्च उत्पन्नैवार्थस्वामित्वमिति गौतमवचनस्य यज्ञीमूतवाहनरघुनन्दनाग्यां पारम्परिकोत्पत्तिस्वत्वहेतुत्वेन व्याख्यानं कृत तदपि व्यर्थमेव। व्य. म p 418, vide व्य म p 426 for an elaborate refutation of the Dāyabhāga passage (quoted above) and other passages that follow

to her husband's share on his death without male issue, while the Mit school holds that she does not do so.

Various attempts have been made to explain why in Bengal alone the laws of succession and inheritance should diverge materially from the laws prevailing in the rest of India. In two learned papers 'on the origin and development of the Bengal school of Hindu Law' contributed to the Law Quarterly Review (vol. XXI for 1905 pp. 380–392 and vol. XXII for 1906 pp 50–63) Mr. Justice Saradacharan Mitra tries at some length to advance a theory of his own: 'The commercial spirit of the newly formed nation in the eastern corner of the Indian peninsula with its deltaic character and nearness to the sea, the new ideas which other nations trading with it were bringing in every day, the necessary admixture of races in some parts of the country, the religion of Buddha which for centuries was here the religion of the sovereign as well as of the people and the influence of the Buddhistic *tantras* combined to bring about a law of property dissimilar in material respects from the rules propounded by Brahmanical sages of old and explained and commented upon in the Mitāksarā and the books based on the same'. His idea is that, as Buddhism profoundly affected the position of women and as tantras like the Mahānirvāna subscribed to the exaltation of the feminine element in nature, the ancient law of property, particularly in relation to women, came to be affected and conceptions of individual ownership, of freedom from restrictions on alienation and of the rights of females arose in Bengal which were incorporated by Jīmūtavāhana in his Dāyabhāga. With the greatest respect to the learned writer, it must be said that the grounds he urges are far from convincing. A thorough examination of his thesis cannot be undertaken here for want of space. But a few remarks must be made. As regards maritime activity the West coast of India was far more in touch with seafaring and commerce with the West than even Bengal, as the mention of the ports of Barugaza (Broach) and Kalliéné (modern Kalyan) by Greek writers, the finding of hoards of Roman coins and the existence of Syrians on the West Coast clearly establish. Buddhism had spread to central and western India as early (if not earlier than) the period when it could have spread to Eastern Bengal and Assam. Sanchi, Bhilsa, Bharhut, the Nasik and Karla caves bear eloquent testimony to the influence of Buddhism in central and western India for centuries before and after the Christian era. Besides as Mr. Justice Mitra himself

admits 'Buddhism had not its own law of property' (Law Quarterly Review vol. XXI p. 388) Buddhist countries like Burma themselves borrowed their laws of succession and inheritance from the Manusmrti. Vijñāneśvara is far more liberal to women than Jīmūtavāhana, who does not allow any woman to succeed as heir unless she is expressly mentioned as an heir in the smrti texts. The Mahānirvāna-tantra treats a sister and stepmother as near heirs and allows even a paternal uncle's widow and son's daugther to succeed, but under the Dāyabhāga these are not at all heirs. One branch of the Mitāksarā school, viz that of the V. Mayūkha in Western India is far more liberal about the claims of women than any school. The Marumakkatayam and Aliyasantan law in force in some districts of South India and among certain communities like the Nambudri brāhmanas and Nairs go to the other extreme in their regard for women but no one has so far traced that law to Buddhist or Tantric influence. The peculiarity of the Dāyabhāga, viz the principle of religious efficacy is far more remote from rules of affinity given in the Mahānirvāna-tantra than the principle of consanguinity espoused by the Mitāksarā school. Mr. Justice Mitra is wrong in his estimate of the age of Jīmūtavāhana. As stated above (on p. 557) Jīmūtavāhana relies on authors like Udyota and the smrtis of Devala and others It is best to admit that no satisfactory explanation can be given of the peculiar doctrines of the Dāyabhāga. They have an indigenous and independent origin and growth.

Vibhāga (partition) is defined by the Mit. [1043] as the allotment to individuals of definite portions of aggregates of wealth over which many persons have joint ownership The Dāyabhāga found several faults with this definition, the principal criticism being that it is cumbrous and farfetched to assume that the (joint) ownership of several (sons and the like) is first produced in the entire wealth of the father and then to hold that this joint ownership is subsequently destroyed Its own definition is: "*Vibhāga* means the indication of the ownership (of one out of many) by the casting of a ball or pebble (on a definite part of the land or cash), which (ownership) arises with

1043. विभागो नाम द्रव्यसमुदायविषयाणामनेकस्वाम्यानां तदेकदेशेषु व्यवस्थापनम्। मिता on या II 114, व्यवहारतार p 212, अपरार्क p 729 is almost the same, एकदेशेऽपि तस्यैव भूहिरण्यादावुत्पन्नस्य स्वत्वस्य विनिगमनाभमाणाभावेन वैशेषिकव्यवहारानर्हतया अव्यवस्थितस्य गुटिकापातादिना व्यञ्जन विभागः। विशेषेण भजनं स्वत्वज्ञापन वा विभाग। दाय भाग I. 8-9, p. 8.

reference to a portion only (of the heritage of land and cash), but which is indefinite because it is not possible (for one man) to deal specifically with a particular portion (of the heritage) since there is nothing to show for certain what portion belongs to whom". The Dāyabhāga denies that ownership jointly arises in all co-sharers (before partition) over every portion of the heritage and states that it arises in portions of it but there is no certain indication to show which part belongs to whom and that the portion of each is made definite and ascertained by partition effected by casting a ball or pebble on a portion (saying 'this is A's exclusive portion' etc.). The Dāyatattva[1044] (p. 163) criticizes this definition. If before partition each of the co-heirs has ownership in part only of the entire heritage, what assurance is there that the allotment of a part to one co-heir by means of casting a ball will be as to the same portion over which his ownership arose before the partition? The Dāyatattva, though differing[1045] from the Mit. as to the doctrine of ownership by birth, agrees with it as to the definition of vibhāga. The differing definitions of vibhāga given by the Mit. and the Dāyabhāga lead to different results. Under the Mit when there is a joint family of father and sons or grandsons, all these are coparceners and the ownership of the coparcenary property is in the whole body of coparceners i. e. there is unity of ownership while the family remains joint, no coparcener can say that he is owner of a definite share, one fourth or one fifth etc. A coparcener's interest is fluctuating, is capable of being enlarged by deaths and is liable to be diminished by births. It is only on partition that a coparcener becomes entitled to a definite share. On the other hand according to the Dāyabhāga there is no ownership by birth, the sons on the father's death constitute a coparcenary but the ownership of the family property is not in all the sons as a body. Every son takes a defined share, the moment the ownership of the father ceases (owing to death etc). The share so taken does not fluctuate with births and deaths. The sons are coparceners in the sense that their possession of the property

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1044. तत्र विभागस्तु सम्बन्ध्यन्तरसन्निधानेन भूहिरण्य।दावुत्पन्नस्य...शुटिकापातादिना अमुकरपेदमिति विशेषेण भजनं स्वत्वज्ञापनमिति वदन्ति तन्न समीचीनम् । यत्र अस्य स्वत्वं तत्रैव शुटिकापात इति कथं वचनाभावाच्छिश्चेतव्यः । दायतत्त्व p 163.

1045 वस्तुतस्तु पूर्वस्वामिस्वत्वोपरमे सम्बन्धाविशेषात् सम्बन्धिना सर्वधनप्रसूतस्वत्वस्य शुटिकापातादिना प्रादेशिकस्वत्वव्यवस्थापनं विभाग. । एवं कृत्स्नधनगतस्वत्वोत्पादविनाशावपि कल्प्येते । दायतत्त्व p 163.

inherited from the father is joint i e. there is *unity of possession*, though there is no *unity of ownership*.

According to the Mitāksarā sons take by birth an interest in ancestral estate. Suppose A is sole owner of an ancestral estate and has no issue. In that case there is no coparcenary. But the moment a son is born to him, a coparcenary is started. That is, under the Mitāksarā the birth of a son starts a coparcenary. Under the Dāyabhāga there is no coparcenary between father and sons as the latter acquire no rights by birth even in ancestral property but it may subsist between brothers or uncles and nephews Under the Dāyabhāga, the *death* of a man may start a coparcenary among his sons (who will be brothers).

Partition has two senses, (1) division by metes and bounds and (2) separation or severance in interest. Under the Mitāksarā it is possible to have partition in both these senses The members of a coparcenary may define, at a particular moment, the shares that each would be entitled to; but the actual division of property by metes and bounds may be postponed to a future date and in the intervening period they may enjoy the property in common as before. This is clearly brought out by the Vyavahāramayūkha[1046] when it says " even in the absence of joint (family) property severance (of interest) takes place also by a mere declaration in the form 'I am separate from thee'; for severance is merely a particular mode (or state) of the mind and this declaration merely manifests that (state or mode of the mind)". The S. V. (p. 347) has a similar passage. It is here stated that an unequivocal declaration of intention to separate effects the severance of a member from the joint family and that it is not absolutely necessary that there should be any joint property or that the property be divided by metes and bounds. This last follows as a matter of course when there is a severance of interest This proposition has been accepted by the Privy Council[1047] and this passage of the Vyavahāra-

1046 द्रव्यसामान्याभावेपि त्वत्तोऽहं विभक्त इति व्यवस्थामात्रेणापि भवत्येव विभाग । बुद्धिविशेषमात्रमेव हि विभागः । तस्यैवाभिव्यक्तिकेयं व्यवस्था (व्य म p. 94, अनेन ज्ञापते परिभाषा विना सङ्कल्पमात्रेणापि विभागसिद्धिः । स वि p. 347.

1047. Vide *Pandit Suraj Narain* v. *Iqbal Narain* 40 I A p. 40 (=15 Bom. L R 456) for this proposition and *Soundararajan* v *Arunachalam* 39 Mad. 159 (F. B.) at pp 174-175, 185 and *Giryabai* v *Sadashiv* 43 I A 151 at p. 160 (=18 Bom L. R. 621) for citation of the above passage of the V. Mayūkha.

mayūkha has been quoted in several cases. What constitutes an unequivocal declaration of intention to separate has as usual given rise to a good deal of case law which has to be passed over here. Under the Dāyabhāga heirs succeed on the death of the previous owner in certain definite shares and therefore partition has ordinarily only the first sense viz. assigning to the coparceners specific portions of the property inherited. Another way of separating a member[1048] is also mentioned by Manu IX. 207 and Yāj II. 116, viz. that when a member of the family is able to fare for himself and does not desire to have a share in the family property, he should be separated by giving him some trifle (as a token). The Mit. adds that the trifle is given as a piece of evidence to prevent his sons claiming a share later on.

The principal matters to be discussed under *Dāyabhāga* or *Dāyavibhāga* are, as stated by the Sangraha and the Mit., four, viz. the time of partition, the property liable to partition, the mode of partition and the persons entitled to partition[1049].

Time for partition. The evolution of the son's right to demand a partition has been a process of ages. It would not be out of place to say a few words on this topic here. In most primitive societies where the patriarchal family system prevailed, the father had absolute power over the son, it was the son's duty to obey the father, alienation of family property was not allowed, the father had power over the acquisitions of all persons including the son and women were incompetent to hold property. Faint traces of these can be detected in the Vedic literature. The legend of Sunahśepa narrated in the Ait. Br. (33 1 ff), where we are told that Ajigarta sold his son for being offered as a victim to Varuna, that Viśvāmitra adopted Śunahsepa as his son, though he had already a hundred and one sons, and that he cursed and disinherited his fifty sons for their disobedience to

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1048. शक्तस्यानीहमानस्य किञ्चिद्दत्वा पृथक् क्रिया। या II 116 on which the मिता says 'तत्पुत्रादीना दायजिघृक्षा मा भूदिति'; व्य प्र p 449 notes that प्रकाश explained या. II. 116 and मनु IX. 207 differently (taking अनीहमानस्य as meaning 'who does not work though able to do so') 'प्रकाशकारस्तु यो भागिषु धनार्थं व्यापृतेषु प्रमादालस्यादिना नेहेत न व्याप्रियेत साहाय्यं न कुर्यात् स्वकर्मणा स्वव्यापारेण शक्त साहाय्यकर्मणि क्षमोपि सन् स स्वकादंशात् स्वव्यापारजनिताद्धनाद् बहिः कार्यः किञ्चिदुपजीवन दत्त्वा मूलधनमात्रभागीकरणीय इति।'. अपरार्क p 719 gives both these meanings.

1049. यस्मिन्काले यया भङ्ग्या यैरेव क्रियतेपि च। याद्दशस्य च दायस्य यथाशास्त्रं प्रदृश्यते। संग्रह q. by स्मृतिच II. p. 255, स. वि. p. 349, इदमिह निरूपणीयम्। कस्मिन्काले कस्य कथं कैश्च विभागः कर्तव्य इति। मिता on या. II. 114.

his order, indicates that in the days of the Ait Br. it was believed that in hoary ages long before it, the father's power over his sons was absolute. But a caution is necessary. It is possible to over-emphasize the legend of Śunahśepa; it has to be remembered that it is a mere legend and that the Ait Br. itself shows that the conduct of Ajigarta was condemned as most unworthy of a decent man even according to the legend.[1050] In modern times there are rare instances where parents insure their children and then poison them or maim them for earning the insurance money. But no one says that this is usual or that modern law allows it. In Rg. I. 117. 17 it is stated that the eyes of Ŗjrāśva were put out by his father because the former gave a hundred rams to a she-wolf. This is a solitary instance and it is probable that the verse has some esoteric meaning or refers to some terrestrial or celestial phenomenon. In the Kāthaka Samhitā XI. 4 it is said "the father rules over the son" (*pitā putrasyese*). But it must be said that ideas about the father's absolute power over the sons lingered on in historic times. The Nir. (in III 4) puts forward the argument of some predecessors that daughters did not succeed to the father's wealth because women could be donated, sold or abandoned and not men, while others said that males also were liable to the same treatment as evidenced by the story of Śunahśepa.[1051] Vasistha (XV. 2) states that[1052] father and mother have power to make a gift or sale of the son or to abandon him. We saw above (n 1035) that Manu stated that a son's earnings belonged to his father. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 10–11) emphatically says that the right to give away or sell one's child is not recognized and that the word "sale" used in connection with a bride is used only metaphorically. About the word "sale" in relation to marriage vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 503–506.

On the other hand even in the Rg. we find that sons divided the father's property during his lifetime when the father grew old. "O Agni! men worship you in many places in various ways; they take (from you) wealth as from an aged father"

1050. स होवाच शुन शेपो य सकृत्प्रापक कुर्यात्कुर्यादिनस्तनोऽपरम् । नापागा. शौद्रान्न्याय।दसन्धेयं त्वया कृतमिति । ऐ ब्रा 33. 5.

1051. स्त्रीणा दानविक्रयातिसर्गो विद्यन्ते न पुंसः । पुसापेत्थिके शौन शेपे दर्शनात् निरुक्त III. 4.

1052. तस्य (पुरुषस्य) प्रदानविक्रयत्यागेषु मातापितरौ प्रभवत । वासिष्ठ 15. 2, दान क्रयधर्मश्चापत्यस्य न विद्यते । आप ध सू. II. 6. 13. 10.

(Rg. I. 70 5).[1053] In the Ait Br. (22. 9) the story of Nābhānedistha[1054], the youngest son of Manu, shows that the elder brothers divided all the father's property among themselves, and excluded Nābhānedistha during the father's lifetime apparently without any protest from him or in spite of it In the Tai S. III. 1. 9. 4–5[1055] the version of the same story is different, since it is there said that Manu himself divided his wealth among his sons and did not give any share of the paternal wealth to Nābhānedistha who was away at a teacher's house as a vedic student In the Gopatha Brāhmana (IV. 17) it is said "therefore in their childhood sons subsist on their father, while in his advancing years the father subsists on the son". In the Śat.[1056] Br (S. B. E. vol. 44, p. 157) we read "whence in early life the sons subsist on the father...whence in later life, the father subsists on his sons". In the Kausītaki Br. Upanisad (II. 15) after describing the symbolical handing over to the son of all his physical and mental powers by a father who is expecting death it is said that if after this rite the father recovers he has either to remain under the son's dominion or go out as a wanderer (a *sannyāsin*)[1057] From some of the above passages, it appears that in rare cases sons divided paternal wealth even during the lifetime of the father and against his will. The remark of Dr Jolly that "it may be unhesitatingly set down as a fact that in the earliest period of Indian Law, partition of property was an entirely unknown proceeding" (Tagore Law Lectures p. 90) goes too far and is not fully warranted by Vedic texts Just as the Tai. S. (III. 1. 9. 4)[1058] narrates that Manu distributed his wealth among his sons, it also speaks of the eldest son being established with ancestral

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1053. वि त्वा नरः पुत्रा सपर्यन्पितुर्न जिह्वेर्वि वेदो भरन्त। ऋ I 70. 5.

1054. नाभानेदिष्ठ शसति नाभानेदिष्ठ वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन्सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यमभाक्षेत्येतमेव निष्टावमवदितारमित्यब्रुवंस्तस्माद्वाप्येतर्हि पितरं पुत्रा निष्टावोऽवादितेत्येवाचक्षते स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्वा वाव मह्य तताभाक्षुरिति त पिताब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदादृथा. &c. । ऐ ब्रा 22 9 (V. 14).

1055. मनु. पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत्स नाभानेदिष्ठं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं निरभजत् सोऽब्रवीत्कथा मा निरभागीति न त्वा निरभाक्षमित्यब्रवीत्। तै. स III 1 9 4

1056 तस्मात्पूर्ववयसे पुत्रा. पितरमुपजीवन्ति। तस्मादुत्तरवयसे पुत्रान्पितोपजीवति। शतपथ XII 2. 3 4.

1057 स यद्यगदः स्यात्पुत्रस्यैश्वर्ये पिता वसेत्परि वा व्रजेत्। कौ. उप. II. 15.

1058 ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति किंदेवत्यं पौर्णमासमिति प्राजापत्यमिति ब्रूयात्तेनेन्द्रं ज्येष्ठ पुत्र निरवसाययदिति तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति। तै. स II 5 2 7.

wealth. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 14. 6 and 10–12) refers to both these passages of the Tai. S. but concludes that equal division among sons is the proper mode and that giving a major part of the estate to the eldest alone is forbidden by the śāstras[1059]. These lead to the conclusion that equal distribution among all sons was believed to be the rule and giving the major portion to the eldest son was an exception (and a rare case) even in the Vedic age. The Ait. Br. (19.3) speaks of the right[1060] of Indra to primogeniture (jyaisthya) and pre-eminence (śraisthya) This right of the eldest son to special treatment at the time of partition persisted in the times of Manu (IX. 112 ff) and Yāj (II. 114) also and even in modern times it is recognized to some extent in the case of impartible estates and even in ordinary families on the ground of custom or from the nature of the grants made by the former Governments or the British Government (such as Jaghirs and Saranjams). Both Kaut. and Kāt. declare that customs of countries, castes, villages and groups varying rules of partition and inheritance should be enforced by the king[1061]. Dr. Jolly (ibid. p. 98) further relies on the fact that the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra mentions no other kind of partition than that made by the father. But this is far from conclusive. Āpastamba was a great purist and idealist. He ignores several matters which are wellknown to have existed long before his time. For example, he takes no notice of the several kinds of secondary sons and he does not allow a brāhmana to take up a weapon even for examining it except when he is murderously attacked (I. 10. 29 7–8), while Manu (VIII. 345–349), Gautama VII. 6 and 25 and others allow a brāhmana much greater latitude. Therefore Āpastamba's silence cannot lead to the positive conclusion of the absence of any other method of partition. As a matter of fact, Gautama (15. 19) who is generally regarded as prior to Āpastamba states that brāhmanas that had separated from their fathers against the latter's will were not fit to be

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1059. ज्येष्ठो दायाद इत्येके। . तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । मनु पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजद्विरूपविशेषेण श्रूयते । अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्त्येकवच्छ्रूयते । आप ध. सू II 6.14 6, 10–12

1060. सोऽब्रवीद् बृहस्पतिं याजय मा द्वादशाहेनेति तमयाजयत्ततो वै तस्मै देवा ज्यैष्ठ्याय श्रैष्ठ्यायातिष्ठन्त। ऐ ब्रा 19 3

1061. देशस्य जात्या सङ्घस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वापि यः । उचितस्तस्य तेनैव दायधर्मं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 7 (last verse), कात्या q. by वि र. p. 505 reads देशस्य ... ग्रामस्य यो भूयः। उदितः स्यात्स तेनैव दायभागं प्र०.

invited for dinner at a śrāddha [1062] That shows that partition of sons from the father against the father's will was wellknown long before Gautama. Dr. Jolly also (ibid p. 90) relies on an anonymous smrti text (quoted by the Mit in its introduction to Yāj. II 114) which absolutely prohibits the sale of land. But this is irrelevant The text could not be taken literally when we have seen that sales of land have been taking place for at least two thousand years. All that the text means is that a sale should be clothed in the form of a gift [1063]. Similarly the few smrti passages that include lands and houses among indivisible properties are to be explained as having in view the fragmentation of a field into small uneconomic plots or holdings or the division of a single small house among numerous co-sharers. It is impossible to believe that the texts meant that houses could never be partitioned among co-heirs. All that we can reasonably infer is that as a general rule such partitions were looked upon with disfavour by society. One may concede that this sentiment continued long after even Gautama and Āpastamba and even in the 20th century a Hindu son suing his father for partition incurs great opprobrium.

Apart from the inference to be drawn from some of the Vedic passages quoted above, it follows that partition did take place, though probably rarely, during the father's lifetime and even against his will, as indicated by Gautama's dictum. It is now to be seen what the smrtis and the medieval writers say about the time of partition. One time was when the father divided the property among his sons during his lifetime as evidenced by the Tai. S. III. 1 9. 4, Āp Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1, Gaut. 28 2, Baud Dh.S. II. 2.8, Yāj II. 114, Nār. dāyabhāga 4. Another time was after the death of the father (Gaut 28. 1, Manu IX. 104, Yāj II 117, Nār. dāyabhāga 2). The Dāyabhāga [1064] admits only these two times for partition viz. on the cessation of the father's

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1062. न भोजयेत् . . पित्रा वाकामेन विभक्तान् । गौ. 15. 15 and 19

1063. हिरण्योदकदानेनेति स्थावरे विक्रयो नास्ति कुर्यादाधिमद्वारया इति स्थावरस्य विक्रयमतिषेधात् 'भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ' इति दानमहांसादर्शनाच्च । विक्रयेऽपि कर्तव्ये सहिरण्यमुदकं दत्त्वा दानरूपेण स्थावरविक्रयं कुर्यादित्यर्थ । मिता. on या II 114 The दायतत्त्व quotes this view of the मिताक्षरा and remarks 'वस्तुतस्तु स्थावरविक्रयनिषेधोऽविभक्तस्थावरविषय. ।' Vide n. 882 above.

1064. तदेवं पितृस्वत्वापगम एक कालोऽपरश्चानपगत एव पितु. स्वाम्ये पितरिच्छयेति कालद्वयम् । दायभाग I 38, तस्मात्पतितत्वनिसृहत्वोपरमैः स्वत्वापगम इत्येकः कालोऽपरश्च सति स्वत्वे तादिच्छान इति कालद्वयमेव युक्तम् ॥ दायभाग I. 44.

ownership (by death or renunciation of the world as an ascetic or because he has lost all desires) and during the father's lifetime at his own desire. The V. P. (pp. 429 and 434, 435) strongly criticizes the Dāyabhāga as to these two. Some writers like Jimūtavāhana went so far as to hold that even though the father be dead there *should* be no partition among the sons during their mother's life[1065]. The Mit (following Gaut. 28. 1–2) indicates three principal times for partition,[1066] viz (1) at the father's desire during his lifetime, (2) when the father has lost all desire for worldly goods, desists from sexual intercourse and the mother is past the age of child-bearing, partition may take place at the desire of the sons even against the wish of the father (Gaut. 28. 2, Nār. dāyabhāga 3, Br S B E. 33 p 369 verse 1); (3) after the death of the father. The Mit relying on Śankha's[1067] text adds that even though the mother may not be past child-bearing, yet the sons can partition at

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1065 पित्रोरिति द्विवचननिर्देशात्सोदरभ्रातृणा पितृधनविभागोपि मातृरभाव एव कार्य· । दायभाग II. 5, p 27 श्रीकृष्ण was constrained to explain कार्य· as प्रशस्त· thereby showing that this was only recommendatory V P (p 436) strongly criticizes this view of the Dāyabhāga pointing out that Manu IX. 104 mentions the father and mother separately and indicates that partition of mother's wealth takes place after her death Vide दायभाग III 9, p 60 also 'अत एकस्मिन्नपि जीवति विभागो न धर्म्य किन्तु उभयोरभावे ।'. The दायतत्त्व also (p 170) says मातरि जीवन्त्या सोदराणा विभागो न धर्म्य· । यथा शङ्खलिखितौ रिक्थमूल हि कुटुम्बमस्वतन्त्राः पितृमन्तो मातृरप्येवमवस्थितायाः ।

1066 निवृत्ते रजसि मातुर्जीवति चेच्छति । गौ 28. 2 (this refers to two times); मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि प्रत्तासु भगिनीषु च । निवृत्ते वापि रमणे पितर्युपरतस्पृहे ॥ नारद (दायभाग 3). This verse is variously read and explained by the commentators V R. (p 462) notes that Prakāśa read either निरपेक्षे च रमणे or निरस्ते चापि रमणे The Dāyabhāga (I 32–33 p 18) reads विनष्टे वाप्यशरणे and explains विनष्टे पतिते अशरणे गृहस्थाश्रमरहिते The व्य म (p 433) reads निवृत्ते चापि रमणात् and हलायुध also read it so (V R p 462) The दायभाग (I 47, p 24) says दृत्तासु भगिनीषु चेति न कालार्थं किं तु तासामवश्य दानार्थम्

1067 यथाह शङ्ख. अकामे पितरि रिक्थविभागो वृद्धे विपरीतचेतसि रोगिणि च । मिता. on या.II 114, मदनरत्न; पितर्यशक्ते व्यवहाराऽज्येष्ठ· प्रतिकुर्यादनन्तरो वा कार्यज्ञस्तदभुमतो न त्वकामे पितरि रिक्थविभागो वृद्धे विपरीतचेतसि दीर्घरोगिणि वा ज्येष्ठ एव पितृवदर्थान् पालयेदितरेषा रिक्थमूल हि कुटुम्बमस्वतन्त्रा. पितृमन्तो मातृरप्येवमवस्थिताया । दायभाग I 42, p. 23 (q as शङ्खलिखितौ and adds अतो न त्वकामे पितरि इत्येतदेव कार्याक्षमे पितरि रिक्थविभाग इति भ्रान्तलिखितम् It will thus be seen that the two schools read the passage of Śankha-Likhita differently. The व्य. मयूख (p 90) omits the words काम दीने &c. The मदनरत्न has the words काम दीने चिन्तयेत् The V. R (p 460) has the same passage of हारीत (as in the Dāyabhāga) with slight variations, viz. जीवति पितरि पुत्राणामर्थादानविसर्गविभागाक्षेपेष्वस्वातन्त्र्य काम दीने प्रोषिते आर्ते गते वा ज्येष्ठोर्थांश्चिन्तयेत् । हारीत q. by दायभाग I. 42 p 23.

their desire, even against the father's will if the father pursues an immoral or irreligious mode of life or is afflicted with a chronic disease or is very old. Nār. (dāyabhāga 16) is similar. It should not be supposed that the Mit. holds that there are only three times for partition; according to it there are other times also (as in the text of Śankha quoted by it). This is made clear by the V. P. p 434. The Dāyabhāga reads the text of Śankha-Likhita differently and takes it to mean that as long as the father is alive there can be no partition against his will even if he be very old or suffering from a chronic disease or has not all his wits about him, and that in such a contingency the eldest son or with his consent the next younger brother who is capable may manage the family affairs. The Dāyabhāga quotes a similar passage of Hārita (which is also quoted by the Madanaratna, the Vyavahāramayūkha and other digests). On account of the remarks of the Mit. some works like the Madanapārijāta (pp. 645 ff) speak of four times for partition, viz. during the father's lifetime at his choice (Yāj. II. 114), even against his will when the mother is past child-bearing and the father is free from all sexual desires and does not care for wealth (Nār. dāyabhāga 3), when the father is old or follows the path of *adharma* or suffers from an incurable disease then even against his will (relying on Śankha as quoted in the Mit.), and after the father's death. The V. Nir. (p. 408) is almost of the same view.

The Mitāksarā is quite clear on the point that the son has an absolute right of partition of ancestral property during his father's lifetime even against the father's wish. The discussion in the Mitāksarā may be briefly set out here In Yāj. II. 120 (latter half) it is stated that in the case of grandsons the partition is according to (or through) the fathers i. e it is *per stirpes* and not *per capita*. The text of Yāj (*anekapitṛkāṇām*[1068] *tu pitṛto bhāgakalpanā*) is explained by the Mitāksarā in this way that although sons and grandsons have rights of ownership by birth in the grandfather's property, yet when each of several sons dies leaving a differing number of sons (one leaves two, another three and so on) or when some sons are alive and others die leaving their own sons, then partition takes place *per stirpes* i e. the grandsons born of a particular deceased son

1068 It may be noted that the Bālambhāttī (p 150) and V. P. (p. 449) support the reading प्रमीतपितृकाणां तु instead of अनेकपितृकाणा तु in या. II. 120.

get among themselves the share which their deceased father would have got if living i. e. grandsons appear to get partition of property through the son (their father) and not directly by themselves On this a doubt arises as follows:—If the father of several sons is separated from his brothers as to the grandfather's property or if the father has no brother and is joint with his father (i. e. the grandfather of the grandson) the grandson cannot demand a share in the grandfather's wealth (since Yāj II. 120 has been explained as meaning that when the father is dead then the assignment of shares among grandsons is according to the share of the father) Another doubt is — even if a partition can be had by the grandsons in these cases it will be only if the father so desires To this the Mit replies emphatically[1069] that in the grandfather's property the ownership of father and son is wellknown in the world and therefore *partition* (in the above two cases of doubt) does take place. The Mit. further on expressly says that even when the mother is not past child-bearing and the father still cares for wealth and worldly affairs, partition of grandfather's wealth does take place at the desire of the son even if the father is unwilling. The Mit. makes it clear that the rule of division *per stirpes* is a special rule laid down by the texts (*vācanikī vyavasthā*) for a special case and that in other cases the primary rule of ownership by birth applies. From Manu IX. 209 the Mitāksarā further draws the inference that even against the father's wish a son can demand partition of property acquired by the grandfather. This is the modern *Hindu Law* in the Mitāksarā school generally recognised by the Courts in British India. In *Apaji Narhar*[1070] *v. Ramchandra* a majority of the Full Bench of the

1069. नष्टानामपि पुत्रा पित्र्यानेवांशाँल्लभन्त इति वाचनिकी व्यवस्था। अधुना विभक्ते पितर्यविद्यमानभ्रातृके वा पौत्रस्य पतामहे द्रव्ये विभागो नास्ति अधियमाणे पितरि पितृतो भागकल्पनेत्युक्तत्वात्। भवतु वा स्वार्जितवत् पितुरिच्छयैवेत्याशङ्क्याह । भूर्णा पिता० (याज्ञ II 122) ... तत्र पितुः पुत्रस्य च स्वाम्य लोकप्रसिद्धमिति कृत्वा विभागोऽस्ति। तस्माच्च पितुरिच्छयैव विभागो नापि पितुर्भागद्वयम्। तथा च सरजस्कायां मातरि सस्पृहे च पितरि विभागमनिच्छत्यपि पुत्रेच्छया पैतामहद्रव्यविभागो भवति । मिता. The बालम्भट्टी (pp. 151-152, of Gharpure's edition) very clearly explains this passage. The व्य. म (p 460) also says अत्र च पुत्रेच्छया यो जीवद्विभागो यश्चाजीवद्विभागः स एकेच्छयापि भवत्यविशेषात्। . अथ च पुत्राणा विभाग पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रपर्यन्त समो नान्योन्यचित्तः प्रत्यासत्तिक्रमेणाधिकारक्रम । पुत्रादीनां त्रयाणामेव पार्वणे पिण्डदानाधिकारात्। vide स्मृतिच II. p 279 for a similar passage

1070. Vide 16 Bom 29, where Telang J., who was great as a Sanskrit scholar as well as a judge, differed from three learned judges On pp. 43-51 Telang J. gives a very lucid explanation of the words of the Mit.

Bombay High Court held that a son cannot in the lifetime of his father sue his father and uncles for a partition of the family property and for possession of his share therein, when the father does not assent to such a suit, although the son has a right by birth in ancestral property. The other High Courts have dissented from this view of the majority of the Bombay Full Bench and have followed the dissenting judgment of Telang J.[1071].

When the son's right of ownership by birth in ancestral property came to be recognised by such smrtis as that of Yāj., it followed as a logical consequence that any person who acquires a right by birth can demand partition and separate possession of his share at any time It has been already seen that even before Gautama sons separated from their father against his will, but this was condemned by the sages and obloquy and infamy attached to such conduct. Some of the smrtis recognised the son's right to partition even in the father's lifetime under great restrictions More than fifteen centuries passed (from Gautama to the Mitāksarā) before the son's right to separate from his father during the latter's lifetime and against his desire was clearly, ungrudgingly and emphatically recognized The Viramitrodaya also clearly recognizes this right of the son. But even among writers that generally follow the Mit. there were some that could not bring themselves to admit this right of the son. For example, the Madanapārijāta (p. 662) asserts that merely at the will of the son there can be no partition. Under the Dāyabhāga, these questions cannot arise, as the son has no right by birth in ancestral property.

This evolution of the son's right to demand partition even during the father's lifetime received a fillip from certain religious sentiments entertained in ancient times. Gaut. (28 4) remarks that if, instead of remaining united, brothers separate there is increase of spiritual merit (*vibhāge tu dharmavrddhih*). Manu IX. 111 states "they (the brothers) may stay united or may stay separate if they desire an increase of *dharma*; by living separate *dharma* increases; therefore separation is meritorious".[1072]

1071. Vide *Jagul Kishore* v *Shib Sahai* 5 All 430 (F B.), *Rameshwar* v *Lachmi* 31 Cal 111, *Subba* v *Ganas*, 18 Mad. 179, *Digambar* v. *Dhanraj* 1 Patna 361.

1072. मनु IX. 111 is quoted as प्रजापतिः by व्यव. नि. p 408. The मदनरत्न regards मनु and प्रजापति as different 'पृथग्दैवयज्ञकर्मकरणाद्भेदबुद्धिमपेक्षमाणा विभजेयुरित्याहतुर्मनुप्रजापती एवं सह वसेयुर्वा etc).

This shows that there was an option either to remain joint after the father's death or to become separate. Śankha-Likhita say that brothers may stay together since being united they will prosper (materially).[1073] Br. provides that in the case of members of a joint family that live together and have a common kitchen the worship of gods, Manes and brāhmanas is single for all, while when they become separate such worship will be separately carried on in each house.[1074] Nār. (dāyabhāga 37) lays down that when brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them but when there is a partition, the religious acts are separately performed by each Dharma means here mainly such religious acts as the performance[1075] of the five great daily sacrifices (*pañca mahāyajñas*). When the family is joint, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva, honouring of family guests are only single for the whole family and all participate in the spiritual benefits derived from such acts, but when the members become separate, each performs these religious acts separately. Manu III. 67 lays down that each householder has to perform with the *grhya* fire kindled at the time of marriage all grhya rites such as morning and evening offerings, the five great sacrifices and the daily cooking of food. The Sangraha seems to have held that *dharma* refers to the performance of *agnihotra*, but the Sm. C. II. p. 259 and V. P. (437-438) do not accept this and hold that even when joint any coparcener can perform all śrauta and smārta rites like agnihotra with the help of the undivided joint estate and so *dharma* means only the worship of gods and Manes and the honouring of guests. Vyāsa[1076] also has a verse similar to Nār. and Br.

1073. कामं वसेयुरेकत्र संहता वृद्धिमाप्नुयुरित्र । शङ्खलिखितौ in वि. र. p 458. The मदनरत्न reads सह वसेयु and आपद्येरन्

1074. एकपाकेन वसता पितृदेवद्विजार्चनम् । एक भवेद्विभक्तानां तदेव स्याद् गृहे गृहे ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p 719, व्यव नि. p 468, कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 111, हरदत्त on गौ. 28 4, वि र p. 459

1075 अधीतवेदेषु अधिगतवेदार्थेषु चाग्निहोत्राद्यनुष्ठानसमर्थेषु च विभाग एव श्रेयान् । अपरार्क p. 719; धर्म. पितृदेवद्विजार्चनजन्य । उक्तं च तथैव संग्रहकारेण । क्रियते स्व विभागेन पुत्राणा पैतृकं धनम् । स्वत्वे सति प्रवर्तन्ते तस्माद्धर्म्या पृथक् क्रिया ॥ *प्रवर्तन्ते* स्व-साध्याग्निहोत्रादय इति शेषः । अत्रोच्यते &c. । स्मृतिच. III. p 259, तस्मात्पञ्चमहा-यज्ञादिधर्म एव धर्मशब्देनात्र ग्राह्य । व्य म. p 438, स्वत्वाविशेषादेवाविभक्तद्रव्येण यत्कृत तत्र दृष्टादृष्टे कर्मणि सर्वेषा फलभागित्वम् । दायतत्त्व p 164

1076 भ्रातृणा जीवतो पित्रोः सहवासो विधीयते । तदभावे विभक्तानां धर्मस्तेषां विवर्धते ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 719, व्यव नि p 409, दायभाग III. 8.

Partition was generally made when all the coparceners were major,[1077] but from Kaut (III. 5), Baud Dh. S. (II. 2 42) and Kāt. (844–45) it appears that the minority of a coparcener did not operate as a bar to partition. Kaut. (III. 5) says 'partition takes place when the persons separating have attained majority; but (the separating coparceners) should keep in the custody of the mother's relatives of those coparceners who are minors or of the elders of the village the share of the minors after all debts of the family are paid off, till the minor coparceners attain majority. The same rule applies to a member (of a joint family) that has gone abroad'. Baud. employs almost the same words. Kāt. provides "partition is ordained among coparceners who have attained (years of) understanding of worldly affairs and in the case of males they attain this understanding at the 16th year. The property (share in joint family estate) of those who have not attained years of discretion, being made free from expenses (debts etc.), should be kept (by the other major coparceners) with the relatives or friends of the minor members. The same should be done to the share of those who have gone abroad." This shows that partition could take place even when some members of the family were minors and even a single member could demand at his will a partition of his share as expressly stated by the Dāyabhāga (III. 16–17), the V P. and other works[1078]. There is a controversy among commentators whether minority terminated at the beginning or end of the 16th year. Nār. IV. 35 states[1079] that a person is a minor (*bāla*) till the 16th year. From a verse (attributed to Angiras by Mit. on Yāj III. 243 and quoted without name by Haradatta on Gaut. II. 6) it appears that one was to be regarded as a *bāla* till

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1077. प्राप्तव्यवहाराणां विभागः। अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां देयविशुद्धिं मातृबन्धुषु ग्रामवृद्धेषु वा स्थापयेदुरात्यवहारप्रापणात् मोचितस्य वा। अर्थशास्त्र III 5, तेषामप्राप्तव्यवहाराणामक्षान् गश्च विधीयते। पुंसां च षोडशे वर्षे जायते व्यवहारिता॥ अप्राप्तव्यवहाराणां च धनं व्ययविवर्जितम्। न्यसेयुर्बन्धुमित्रेषु मोचितानां तथैव च॥ कात्या 844–845 q by अपरार्क p 722, दायभाग (III 17 p. 72) and व्य. प्र. p 460 (last two have verse 845 only) The विवादचन्द्र (p. 63) quotes the verse समाप्त॰ for the proposition that there is to be no partition with a minor 'बालेन सम न विभागः समाप्त॰ इति वचनात्'

1078 अत्र च पुत्रेच्छया यो जीवद्विभागो यश्चाजीवद्विभागः स एकेच्छयापि भवत्यविशेषात्। अत एव विभाग प्रक्रम्य यत्कात्यायनेनोक्तं—अप्राप्त॰, इति तदपि सङ्गतम्। अन्यथा तदनुमतिमन्तरेण विभागाभावे तद्धनस्य बन्धुमित्रेषु न्यासविधानमनुपपन्नं स्यात्। व्य प्र p 460.

1079. बाल आ षोडशाद्वर्षात्पौगण्ड इति शब्द्यते। नारद (ऋणादान 35)

the beginning of the 16th year.[1080] A verse of Kāt appears to hold that minority ends at the beginning of the 16th year; many commentators also hold this view, but several such as Haradatta (on Gaut X. 48), V. R p. 599, V. P p. 263 expressly state that minority ends at the end of the 16th year.[1081] It may be stated that according to Gaut X. 48-49, Manu VIII. 27, Vas. 16. 8, Visnu Dh. S. III. 65 the king was to guard the property of minors, women and helpless people In modern times under the Indian Majority Act (Act IX of 1875) the age of majority is 18 (or 21 in certain cases only) except in matters of marriage, dower, divorce and adoption. In these last matters the ancient Hindu Law will apply to Hindus[1081a]. Similarly a partition could be made even though the wife of a coparcener was pregnant It was therefore that Vas. 17. 41 advised postponing partition till the delivery of the pregnant wives of coparceners, or Yāj. II. 122 and Manu IX. 216 provide for a son born after partition between father and sons

The next question is what property is liable to be partitioned. A few preliminary remarks on property must be made here Property is generally divided by most smrtis into two kinds, *sthāvara* (immovable, such as lands and houses) and *jangama* (movable) For example, Br. (S. B E. vol. 33 p 323 verse 17) and Kāt (516) speak of both kinds of property as subjects of pledges or mortgages. There is another classification in Yāj, II. 121 and a few other smrtis viz. property is of three kinds.

1080. अशीतिर्यस्य वर्षाणि बालो वाप्यूनषोडशः । प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च ॥ इत्यङ्गिरःस्मरणात् । मिता. on या III. 243

1081 यावद्सौ व्यवहारमात्र षोडशवर्षो भवति । हरदत्त on गौ X 48, पुत्राधिकारे बौधायन. तेषामप्राप्तव्यवहाराणा॰ । आङ् अभिविधौ तेन सप्तदशवर्षान्प्राक् । वि र p 599, कात्यायनोपि । नाप्राप्तव्यवहारैस्तु॰ । इति । नाप्राप्तव्यवहारौ हेयोपादेयपरिज्ञानविशेष-सहितौ. षोडशवर्षैरित्यर्थ । षोडशवार्षिकस्य व्यवहारज्ञत्वमाह । गर्भस्थै &c (नारद IV 35) । व्य प्र p 263.

1081a In Bengal minority was held to terminate at the end of the 15th year, vide *Cally Churn v Bhuggobutty* 10 Bengal L R 231 (F. B.) at p 240 and *Mothoormohun v Sourendro* I Cal 108 (F B) In Bombay and Madras it has been held to terminate at the end of the 16th year, vide *Shivaji v Datu* 12 Bom. H. C R. 281, *Reade v. Krishna* 9 Mad. 391, 397. But see 40 Mad 925, 929. As the Indian Majority Act does not apply to adoption, it was held in *Basappa, v Sidramappa* 43 Bom 481 that a Hindu widow who was about 15 years old could validly adopt a son, even though a contract by her would have been void on the ground of minority.

bhū (land including houses), *nibandha*[1082] (inaccurately rendered as 'corrody') and *dravya* (gold, silver and other movables). Sometimes however the word "dravya" is employed in the sense of all property, whether movable or immovable, as in Br. (*dravye pitāmahopātte jangame sthāvare tathā*) quoted in note 1032 above. Property, according to ancient Hindu Law,

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1082. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्ध वा कृत्वा लेख्यं तु कारयेत् । आगामिभद्रनृपतिपरिज्ञानाय पार्थिव. ॥ याज्ञ. I. 318. The व्य मयूख p 27 states that it occurs in बृह. also. In कात्या (882) we have उदक चैव दासश्च निबन्धो यः क्रमागत· (q by अपरार्क p. 725, वि. र. p 504) 'निबन्धो वाणिज्यादिकारिभि. प्रतिवर्ष प्रतिमास वा किञ्चिद्धनमस्मै ब्राह्मणायास्यै देवतायै वा देयमित्यादि प्रभुसमयलभ्योऽर्थः । स्मृतिच्च II p 55, निबन्धः आकरादौ राजादिदत्तं नियतलभ्यम् । व्य मयूख p 28 and दीपकालिका (reading नियतद्रव्यम्); दायतत्त्व p 166 states that this was the explanation given by कल्पतरु. निबन्धो राज्ञाऽकस्यैकस्मिन् पर्णभरकक्रमुकभरकादावियन्ति पर्णादीनि देयानीति शासनरूपतया यद् वृत्तित्वेन दीयते तदुच्यते । व्य प्र p 445

The word "nibandha" means a periodic payment or allowance in cash or kind permanently granted by a king, a corporation or a village or a caste to a person, a family, a *math* or a temple. The Mit (on Yā) I 318 and II 121) explains it as a delivery or payment of so many leaves (of betel or the like) on each bundle of leaves or so many rupees on each load of merchandise or so many betelnuts on each load of betelnuts; the Sm C. explains it as the wealth to be obtained under the order or direction of a king or other authority that dealers in commodities should pay every year or month a certain amount to a certain brāhmana or shrine, the V. Mayūkha (p 28) explains "what is granted by a king or the like, to be obtained at fixed times from mines and the like" and on p 131 paraphrases it as "vrtti". Nibandha is rendered as corrody by Colebrooke in his Digest, but as observed by the Privy Council in *Pattehsangji v. Desai Kalianrayji* L. R 1 I A. 34 at p 51 it is not a very happy rendering In *Ghelabhai v. Hargovan* 36 Bom 94 (at p. 101) the explanation of *nibandha* by the V. Mayūkha is construed as conveying that it is not the king alone who can make a grant of a nibandha and it is held that the office of a hereditary priest (*yajamāna-vrtti*) is a nibandha and ranks as immovable property. Bombay Regulation V of 1827, section 1, clause 1 includes hereditary offices among immovable property Vide *Collector of Thana v Krishnanath* 5 Bom 322 at pp 331-32 (for a discussion of what is included in *nibandha*), *Collector of Thana v Hari* 6 Bom 546 (F. B.) at pp 555-559, *Lakshmandas v Manohar* 10 Bom 149, *Jatindra Mohan v. Ghanashyama* 50 Cal 266 at p 271 (for various definitions of *nibandha* and for the view that an annuity in favour of the settlor's daughter for her life and then to her son charged on and payable out of the settlor's estate was a nibandha). With Vijñānesvara's examples of nibandha one may compare an inscription of *śake* 1088 (1167 A D.) from the Ron Taluka of Dharwar District in E. I. vol. 20 p. 109 at p. 121 ('the income granted by the dealers in betel leaves, a hundred leaves for one cart load, a hundred for a bullock load, fifty for a man's load')

may be divided into two classes, (1) joint family property, (2) separate property. Joint family property is either ancestral property or property jointly acquired[1083] with or without the aid of ancestral property or property acquired separately but thrown into the common stock (Manu IX. 204) The Mit on Yāj I 120 states 'among unseparated brothers, if the common stock be improved or augmented by one of them through agriculture, trade or similar means, an equal distribution nevertheless takes place and a double share is not allotted to the acquirer.' This contains the doctrine of merger of estate by blending. Vide *Shibuprasad v Prayag Kumari* L. R 59 I. A. 331 = 34 Bom. L. R. 1567. Ancestral property (*apratibandha dāya*) is all property inherited by a male from his father, paternal grandfather or paternal great-grandfather, in which according to the Mit. School, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons[1084] of the person who inherits it acquire an interest *by birth*. Separate property also includes what is called self-acquired property (*svārjita*), which will be discussed a little later on If a person obtains a share of ancestral property on partition, it has been held that it is his separate property if he has no son, grandson or great-grandson, but if there be any of these then it is ancestral property in his hands so far as he and any of his male descendants are concerned. Under the Dāyabhāga, as the son does not acquire ownership by birth in ancestral property, there is hardly any distinction between ancestral property and separate property so far as the father's powers of alienation are concerned A few of the outstanding features of the Dāyabhāga system have already been set out above and some may be discussed later

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1083 सामान्यार्थसमुत्थाने विभागस्तु समः स्मृत । या. II 120, समवेतैस्तु यत्प्राप्त सर्वं तत्र समांशिनः । तत्सुता विषमसमाः पितृभागहराः स्मृताः ॥ बृह. q by अपरार्क p 727, व्यव. नि p 424, वि. र p 481, भ्रातॄणामविभक्तानां यद्यत्थान भवेत्सह । न पुत्रभाग विषम पिता दद्यात्कथंचन ॥ मनु IX 215 (= अनुशासनपर्व 105 13).

1084. The Mit. speaks only of the son's and grandson's right by birth in ancestral property and does not expressly mention the great-grandson. But other writers like the author of the Viramitrodaya quoted above in note 1069 mention the great-grandson as having a right by birth and this has been accepted by the courts The words 'ancestral property" have a *technical* sense viz it is *paitāmaha* i e. paternal grandfather's or great-grandfather's property. Vide *Muhammad Husain v Kishwa Nandan* 64 I A 250 where this is made clear In a recent case from Patna, 23 Patna 599 (F B), it has been held that, where a grandfather makes a gift of his self-acquired property to his son (the father), the son or sons of the latter can treat it as ancestral property and take an interest in it by birth unless the gift makes it clear that it was made exclusively for the donee's benefit only.

A person while he is a member of a joint Hindu family under the Mit and has an interest in joint family property may have separate property of his own acquired in various ways. The different sources of ownership have been already mentioned above (pp. 317 and 548) The different kinds of separate property are mainly these: (1) property taken as obstructed heritage, that is, property inherited from any person other than the father, father's father or father's father's father (such as a brother, uncle etc.)[1085]; (2) a gift of a small portion of ancestral movable property made through affection by the father to his issue (smrti quoted by Mit.)[1086], (3) gift or bequest of separate property made by the father[1087] to his sons; (4) gifts and bequests made by other relations and friends and gifts at the time of marriage; (5) ancestral property lost to the family and recovered from a stranger by a member of a joint family with his own efforts without assistance from joint family property; (6) separate earnings and gains of learning or science (*vidyādhana*). A few remarks will be made on some of these in the sequel.

It is a remarkable fact that the smrti texts on separate property do not expressly mention gifts received from strangers by a member of a joint family as the separate property of that particular member The only gifts mentioned are those from friends, or those received at the time of marriage (called *audvāhika* in Yāj. II. 118 and Manu IX 206) or at a *madhuparka* in

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1085 A decision of the P C. from Madras held that property inherited by two brothers living as members of a joint family from their maternal grandfather became joint property in their hands with rights of survivorship Vide *Venkayyamma v. Venkataramanayamma* L. R 29 I A 156 See 27 Mad 300 (F B) and 29 All 667 for the difficulties caused by L. R 29 I A. 156 But it may be taken that even in Madras such property inherited from the maternal grandfather will now be held to be the separate property of the two brothers Vide *Muhammad Husain Khan v Kishva Nandan Sahai* L R 64 I A 250 which explains away (on pp 264–265) the case of L. R. 29 I. A 156

1086 शौर्यभार्याधने क्षेत्रे पञ्च विद्याधन भवेत् । श्रीण्येतान्यविभाज्यानि प्रसादो पत्र्र पैतृकः ॥ q by मिता. in intro. to या. II. 114; व्यव. नि p 443, वि र. p. 501 ascribe it to Nārada (it is नारद, दायभाग 6).

1087. In Bombay, Allahabad and Oudh such gifts by the father of his separate property are held to be separate property of the son or sons Vide *Jugmohandas v. Sir Mangaldas* 10 Bom 528, 579 But in Calcutta they are held to be ancestral (*Hazari Mall v. Abannath* 17 C W. N. 280) and in Madras it is a question of intention (*Nagalingam v. Ramchandra* 24 Mad. 429.)

honour of a learned man, a priest etc. It is probable that gifts from strangers to a member of the joint family that did not fall within the several classes of separate property mentioned above belonged to the whole family The concept of the separate property of a member of a joint family was of slow growth. Originally all property however acquired by any member might have been held to belong to the whole family. This is indicated to some extent by Manu VIII. 416, which was (as shown above on pp. 555–556) however interpreted by Śabara, Medhātithi, the Dāyabhāga and others in subsequent times, as meaning that the acquirer (son or wife) had no independent power of disposal though he or she was owner of what was earned by him or her It is noticeable that so late a writer as Haradatta[1088] relies on this verse of Manu and remarks that while the father is alive whatever is earned by a member, whether learned or not, belongs to the father (on Gaut 28 29) The Dāyabhāga[1089] (II. 66–72) quotes a text of Kāt. (851) "the father gets two shares or half of the wealth acquired by the son" and explains it in two ways. If the son acquires wealth with the help of ancestral funds, the father takes half of it, the acquirer gets two shares and the other sons one share each. if the son acquires wealth without using ancestral funds, the father and acquirer take two shares each and the others take nothing Another meaning is that if the father is learned he takes half, but if he is not so, he takes only two shares. The V P. (pp 444–45) severely criticizes the Dāyabhāga for these remarks The first inroad on the conception that the earnings of all in the family belonged to the head of the family was made in the times of the sūtras by the recognition of *udyādhana* as separate property. Manu[1090] IX. 208 (= Viṣnu Dh. S. 18. 42) states that what one (member of a joint family, a brother, etc.) may acquire by his own labour without using (or without detriment to) paternal estate he shall

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1088. तत्र सूत्रद्वयमपि चैतद् भ्रातृविषयमेव। पितरि तु जीवति. विदुषाविदुषा वाऽविभक्तेनार्जितं पितुरेव। भार्या पुत्रश्च तद्धनम्॥ इति मनु। हरदत्त on गौ 28 29

1089 तथा पुत्रार्जितेपि धने पितुरर्धहृत्व द्वावंशावीति गृह्णीतांशद्वयमिति चाविशेषश्रुते। मुख्यकल्पमाह कात्यायनः। त्र्यंशहरोर्धहरो वा पुत्रवित्तार्जनात् पिता। मातापि पितरि प्रेते पुत्रतुल्यांशभागिनी। . . तत्र पितृद्रव्योपघातेन पुत्रार्जितवित्तस्यार्धं पितुरर्जकस्य पुत्रस्यांशद्वयमितरेषामेकैकांशिता। अनुपघाते तु पितुरंशद्वयमर्जकस्यापि तावदेव इतरेषामनंशित्वम्। यद्वा विद्यादिगुणसम्पन्नस्य पितुरर्धहरत्व विद्यादिनापि ज्येष्ठस्यैवाधिकदर्शनात्, विद्यादिशून्यस्य जनकतामात्रेण दुरंशित्वम्। वायभाग II. 66–72, pp 49–52

1090. अनुशासन 105. 12 closely resembles मनु IX 208 It is 'अनुपघ्नन् पितुर्दायं जङ्घनश्रमफलोच्चय. । स्वयमीहितलब्धं तु नाकामो दातुमर्हति॥'

not share with others if he does not desire to do so, because that acquisition was made by his own activity. Manu IX. 206 mentions besides *vidyādhana*, gifts from friends, gifts at the time of marriage and at *madhuparka* as the separate property of a person Yāj. (II. 118–119) prescribes: 'whatever is acquired by a person himself without detriment to or expenditure of paternal wealth, gifts from friends, gifts at marriage, these are not liable to be divided among a man's coparceners; similarly he who recovers ancestral property lost to the family (and not recovered by the father and others) would not have to share it at a partition with his coparceners nor his gains of learning'. The construction to be put on these words was a bone of contention even before Viśvarūpa. The Mit. understands that the words 'whatever is acquired without detriment to the paternal wealth' are to be understood as qualifying each of the following four kinds of property.[1091] The result is that if a gift is acquired by a member from a grateful person who was placed under obligation by spending family wealth, if property was acquired by gift from a father-in-law who was paid from the family property some wealth for securing the bride for that member (as in an *āsura* marriage) or if the property lost to the family was recovered with the help of paternal estate or if a man learnt at the expense of the family and made gains from that learning, then these kinds of properties were liable to be partitioned among all members. The result of taking the first half of Yāj II 118 as a qualification of the subsequent four kinds of property (as done by the Mit) is that if a man receives a gift from a stranger even without detriment to the paternal estate the gift was liable to be divided among all members. The reason of the Mit is that, if the first half of Yāj II. 118 is not a qualifying clause of the four kinds of property, then the following four kinds need not be expressly mentioned at all. If whatever is acquired by a member himself without

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1091. अत्र च पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यत्किञ्चित्स्वयमर्जितमिति सर्वशेष: । . . तथा पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्यस्य सर्वशेषत्वादेव पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन प्रतिग्रहलब्धमपि विभजनीयम् । मिता on या. II. 118–119. The word शेष is used here in the technical sense of Jaimini III 1 2 (śesah parārthatvāt) on which Sabara says 'यस्तु अत्यन्तं परार्थस्तं स्वयं शेष इति क्रमः' विश्वरूप is opposed to this 'पितृद्रव्योपघातेनापि मैत्राद्यविभाज्यमेव, आरम्भसामर्थ्यात् । अन्ये तु मैत्रादिकमेव पितृधनानुपघातार्जितमविभाज्यमिच्छन्ति.' On या. II 118 the दायभाग remarks मैत्रादिग्रहणं मदर्शनार्थम् and again (VI. 1. 39 p 115) तस्मात्साधारणधनोपघातार्जितं धनं विभजेदिति विधि. । शौर्यादिपदं च वाक्येषु मदर्शनार्थम् ।

detriment to paternal or joint estate is by itself separate property then the following four will only be particular illustrations of the proposition contained in the first half of Yaj II 118 It would be opposed to the usage of *śiṣṭas* to say that gifts from friends or gifts at the time of marriage or gains of learning acquired at the expense of the family estate become the separate property of a person and, as to *vidyādhana* acquired from learning at the expense of the family, opposed to the express text of Nār. (dāyabhāga 10) " when one brother maintains the family of another brother who is engaged in studying the śāstras, he shall receive a share of the wealth gained by that study, though he (the supporting brother) be ignorant himself ". Further, if the first half of Yāj II. 118 were taken as a separate and independent clause by itself then it would follow that what is acquired by *pratigraha* (as a gift to a learned brāhmana) without detriment to the paternal estate would be indivisible but the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is the opposite of this That there was such a usage about *pratigraha* is admitted by the Dāyabhāga (VI. 1 54 p 121) It must be stated however that this view of the Mit. about the first half of Yāj II 118 is not shared by several writers and works such as the Dāyabhāga VI. 1. 8 p. 106, Dīpakalikā, Viśvarūpa, V. R p 501, Aparārka p. 723.

As regards family property lost to the family by the adverse acts of a stranger but recovered by a member with his own efforts without using ancestral estate, certain provisions deserve notice Manu IX. 209 (= Visnu Dh. S. 18 43), Br. (S. B. E 33 p 371 verse 12) and Kāt [1092] (866) lay down the special rule that if the father recovers property lost to the family, whether movable or immovable, with his own effort without using joint family funds, he may retain the whole of it as his self-acquisition The rule of Yāj. II 119 applies only where the property lost and recovered by one member (not the father) with his own effort and without assistance from joint estate is movable (which then becomes wholly his self-acquisition), but if the property so recovered by one member (who is

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1092 अनाश्रित्य पितृद्रव्यं स्वशक्त्यामोति यद्धनम् । दायादेभ्यो न तद् दद्याद्विद्यालब्धं तु यद्भवेत् । व्यास q by वि र p, 502, स्मृतिच. II p 276, दायभाग VI. 1 5 p 106 and VI. 1 36 p 113 . स्वशक्त्याप्तं तु यद्धनं नष्टं स्वयमाप्तं च यद्भवेत् ।तत्सर्वं पिता पुत्रैर्विभागे नैव दाप्यते ॥ कात्या 866 q by अपरार्क p. 728, स्मृतिच II p 260, परा मा III. p 498

not the father) is land, then the recoverer gets one fourth of it as his reward (according to Śankha)[1093] and the remainder is divided equally among all members of the family including the recoverer. These rules have been followed in modern times by the British Indian Courts[1094].

Vidyādhana (gains of learning) has undergone the greatest changes of fortune since the earliest times to modern days. It was probably the first kind of self-acquisition recognised in very early times Though the Āp. Dh S and Baud. Dh S. say nothing about it, yet Gaut [1094a] (28. 28–29) lays down that all members (of a joint family), if not learned, should divide equally whatever is earned by them (by agriculture etc.) but what a learned man himself acquires by his learning he may not share with his unlearned brothers if he so desires. Haradatta says that this applies only between brothers that are joint. Vasistha 17. 51 appears[1095] to give two shares to the acquirer of wealth at a partition among brothers and his rule probably represents a very early stage when the acquirer could not retain the whole of his self-acquisition but got only two shares

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1093 एव च पूर्वनष्टा च यो भूम्मिमेकश्चेदुद्धरेच्छ्रमात्। यथाभाग भजन्त्यन्ये दृत्वांशं तु तुरीयकम्॥ इति शङ्खवचनं भ्रात्राद्युद्धृतविषयम्। अत्र स्वय तुरीयांशं गृहीत्वा भ्रात्रादिभिः सहोद्धर्ता गृह्णीयादन्यथा विषमसृष्ट स्यात्। दायतत्त्व p. 166 and p. 177. The मिता. (as printed) reads उद्धरेत् क्रमात् (which seems to be a misreading for श्रमात्) and remarks 'तत्र क्षेत्रे तुरीयाशमुद्धर्ता लभते शेषं तु सर्वेषां सममेव' and it requires that the recovery must be with the consent of the other members Vide मद्. पा 684 and दायभाग VI. 2. 38–39 p 129 The वि. र. (p. 499) attributes it to हारीत and remarks 'यत्र सहितायां हारीतः पूर्वनष्टां .. तुरीयकमिति वाक्यं लिखति स्म तच्च स्मृतिमहार्णवकामधेनुकल्पतरुपारिजातमभृत्यलिखनादयुक्तमेव' This remark of वि र. is quoted by the दायतत्त्व (p 177) and dissented from, as the मिताक्षरा and दायभाग cite this verse. As the verse is stated by the वि. र. to be not found in the पारिजात and as it is quoted in the मदनपारिजात it follows that the पारिजात is a different work from the मद्. पा.

1094. Vide for example, 5 Mad H. C R. 150 at p. 152–153, 4 Mad. 250 at pp. 259–260, *Bajaba v Trimbak* 34 Bom. 106 at pp. 110–111.

1094a स्वयमर्जितमवैद्येभ्यो वैद्यः कामं न दद्यात्। अवैद्या समं विभजेरन्। गौ 28 28–29. विद्यामधीते इति वैद्यः। हरदत्त; पाणिनि IV. 2 59 is 'तदधीते तद्वेद्'.

1095. येन चैवां स्वयमुपार्जित स्यात्स व्यंशमेव हरेत्। वसिष्ठ 17 51 (which reads स्वयमुत्पादित स्यात्) मिता on या. II 119 and स्मृतिच. II. p 275 read as above, दायभाग II. 41 p 42 as समुत्पादितं, परा. मा III 560 'यदुपार्जितं'.

in it and the rest of the joint family members took one share each in it. Manu IX. 206, Yāj. II. 119, Nār (dāyabhāga 11), Kāt [1096] (868) and Vyāsa say generally that *vidyādhana* is not liable to be divided at a partition. Among writers of smrtis Kāt contains the most elaborate treatment of vidyādhana and of self-acquisitions in general. It will be set out in the sequel. But some of the smrtis point out that even vidyādhana is partible, if learning was acquired at the expense of the family funds (as in Nār dāyabhāga 10 referred to above) or when the learning was acquired in the family house itself from the father or an elder brother (Kāt [1097] 874). The Dāyabhāga (VI 1 42–49) discusses at great length the views of Śrīkara on Yāj II. 118 and Manu IX. 208 and dissents from them and states his conclusion as follows· A man since his birth depends upon his family for food and maintenance and so if the words "without expending ancestral estate" were literally and widely interpreted, hardly any man can say that no paternal wealth was expended on him and so earnings of whatever kind would have to be deemed to be partible and there would be no propriety or purpose in the words of Manu IX. 208. Therefore it must be understood as done by Viśvarūpa that the detriment meant is not the expenditure of food in maintaining a person in the house from infancy, but that when a member acquires estate by his learning or in any other way without giving or spending paternal wealth for acquiring that, then only it becomes his self-acquisition [1098].

1096. उपन्यस्ते तु यल्लब्धं विद्यया पणपूर्वकम् । विद्याधनं तु तद्विद्याद् विभागे न विभज्यते ॥ कात्या. 868 q. by अपरार्क p 724, कुल्लूक on मनु IX 206, दायभाग VI 2 1 p 122 , विद्याप्राप्त शौर्यधनं यच्च सौदायिक भवेत् । विभागकाले तत्तस्य नान्वेष्टव्यं स्वरिक्थिभि. । व्यास q by अपरार्क p 725 स्मृतिच II. p 274.

1097 वैद्यो वैद्याय नाकामो दद्यादंशं स्वतो धनात् । पित्र्य द्रव्यं समाश्रित्य न चेत्तेन तदाहृतम् ॥ नारद, दायभाग 11 ; कुले विनीतविद्याना भ्रातृणा पितृतोपि वा । शौर्यात्प्राप्तं तु यद्वित्तं विभाज्य तद् बृहस्पति. । कात्या. 874 q by स्मृतिच II p 275, परा मा III. p. 560, व्य म. p. 126 From this verse it appears that Kāt echoes the views of Br. In the व्यव नि p. 447 this verse is ascribed to बृह

1098. यतो विशेषणानर्थक्यादेव भक्षणाद्युपभोगोपयुक्तधनोपधातादन्यस्यैवोपधातादिरूपस्य वर्जनार्थत्वात् । अत एवोक्तं विश्वरूपेण पितृद्रव्यं दृष्ट्वा यदि नोपार्जित धनं तदा तस्यैवासाधारणं चैवाहिकवदेवोक्तं न तु भक्षणाद्युपभोगमात्रेण तस्य स्तन्यपानादितुल्यत्वादित्यन्तेन । दायभाग VI 1 47 and 49 pp. 118–119 The printed विश्वरूप has no corresponding passage.

Kāt. (867–873) defines[1099] and illustrates vidyādhana as follows :—

That wealth is said to be the gains of *vidyā* which is acquired by means of learning received from another while subsisting on food furnished by others, when a matter (a doubt or difficult point) has been placed (before an assembly of learned men) with a wager, whatever is gained by (the display of) one's learning is known as *vidyādhana*, which is not divided at a partition. What is acquired from a pupil (i. e. by following the profession of teaching), by performing the work of a priest at a sacrifice, by propounding a question, by solving a doubtful point, by exhibiting one's knowledge, by disputation with a rival, what is gained by deep learning–all these are declared to be *vidyādhana*, which is not divided at a partition. The same is the rule in the case of artisans and as to whatever is obtained (as a reward) over and above the proper price of an article (which surplus becomes the self-acquisition of the member selling it) After vanquishing a rival in a wager whatever is obtained by (superior) knowledge should be known as vidyādhana and it is not liable to be partitioned. This is the view of Brhaspati. What is earned by an assertion of one's learning, what is obtained from a pupil (i e. by teaching) and what is acquired on the analogy of priests officiating at a sacrifice–all these are known as vidyādhana, according to Bhrgu. What is obtained by the superiority of one's learning and from a sacrificer and from a pupil–all this is declared to be vidyādhana; acquisitions other than these are common (i. e. jointly owned) with others.

Kāt distinguishes between *śaurydhana* (reward given by the king or a master when pleased with a soldier or servant

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1099. परभक्तोपयोगेन विद्या मात्सान्यतस्तु या। तया प्राप्तं धनं यत्तु विद्याप्तं तदुच्यते॥ उपन्यस्ते तु यल्लब्धं विद्यया पणपूर्वकम्। विद्याधन तु तद्विद्याद्विभागे न विभज्यते॥ शिष्यादाऋत्विज्यतः प्रश्नात्सन्दिग्धप्रश्ननिर्णयात्। स्वज्ञानशंसनाद् वादाल्लब्ध प्राध्ययनाच्च यत्। विद्याधनं तु तत्प्राहुर्विभागे न विभज्यते। शिल्पिष्वपि हि धर्मोर्थं मूल्याद्यच्चाधिकं भवेत्॥ परं निरस्य यल्लब्धं विद्यया पणपूर्वकम्। विद्याधन तु तद्विद्याच्च विभाज्यं बृहस्पतिः॥ विद्यामतिज्ञया लब्धं शिष्यादाप्तं च यद्भवेत्। ऋत्विङ्न्यायेन यल्लब्धमेतद्विद्याधनं भृगुः॥ विद्याबलकृत चैव याज्यतः शिष्यतस्तथा। एतद्विद्याधन प्राहुः सामान्य यदतोन्यथा॥ कात्या 867–873 q by अपरार्क p 724, वि र. p 502, व्य. म p 125, व्यव. नि. (pp. 444–45) quotes all except पर निरस्य, the first is quoted by the मिता on या II 118–119, all except the first and last are quoted in the दायभाग VI. 2 1-14 which remarks at the end तदयमर्थो यया कयाचिद् विद्यया यल्लब्धमर्जकस्यैव तत्, नेतरेषाम्। प्रदर्शनार्थं तु कात्यायनेन विस्तरेणोक्तं श्रीकरादिभ्रमनिरासार्थम्। अत. स्वज्ञानख्यापनादिना यत् प्रतिग्रहलब्धं तदपि विद्याधनमेव विद्यैव विदुषे प्रतिग्रहदानात्।

who putting his life in danger did an act of valour) and *dhanajāhṛta* (what is recovered in a battle after putting one's life in danger of death and after putting to flight the army of the adversary) Nār (dāyabhāga 6) and Br (S B E vol. 33 p. 381 verse 78) appear to put both under *saṃyadhana*. Kāt divides the *bhāryādhana* of Nār and Br into two, viz *kanyāgata* (what is obtained at the time of marriage with a maiden of the same caste) and *sanāhika* (wealth that comes with one's wife) So it is the same as the *sanāhika* (of Manu IX 206) and the *audvāhika* (of Yāj II 118). Vyāsa mentions[1100] a limitation that even wealth acquired by valour does not become the exclusive property of the acquirer if he used a horse and weapons belonging to the joint family; in such a case the acquirer gets two shares and the other members of the family one share each

In modern times vidyādhana has been a fruitful source of litigation The first verse of Kāt quoted above has been cited in several cases such as *Durga Dat v. Ganesh Dat* 32 All. 305 at p 312, where it is said that Kātyāyana's definition of vidyādhana is not exhaustive, but only illustrative (the same is the view of the Dāyabhāga)

The leading cases that discuss the texts and lay down propositions are noted below[1101].

Two propositions were well established by the cases, viz (1) that money earned by a member of a joint Hindu family by the practice of a profession requiring special training was joint family property, provided such training was imparted at the expense of joint family property; (2) that gains made by personal labour and without the use or help of joint family funds by a member of a joint Hindu family, who was maintained out of joint family funds and received no more than an elementary or ordinary education suitable to his position as a member of that particular family were the self-acquisitions of such member. But all doubts and disputes are now set at rest by the Hindu

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1100. साधारण समाश्रित्य यत्किञ्चिद्वाहनायुधम् । शौर्यादिनाप्नोति धन भ्रातरस्तत्र भागिन । तस्य भागद्वयं देयं शेषास्तु समभागिन ॥ व्यास q by अपरार्क p. 725, व्यव नि. p 446, व्य म p 127

1101 *Chalakonda Alasani v Chalakonda Ratnachalam* 2 Mad H C R 56, *Bai Manchha v. Narotamdas* 6 Bom H C. R (A C J) 1, *Pauliem v Pauliem* L R. 4 I A 109, *Lakshman v Jamnabai* 6 Bom. 225, *Krishnaji v. Moro* 15 Bom 32, *Metharam v Rewachand* 45 I. A 41 (= 45 Cal 666), *Gokalchand v. Hukamchand* 48 I. A. 162.

Gains of Learning Act (Act XXX of 1930) which provides that, notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of Hindu Law, no gains of learning (i. e. education whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general and training of every kind which enables a person to pursue any trade, industry or avocation), whether made *before* or *after* the commencement of the Act, shall be held not to be the exclusive and separate property of the acquirer merely by reason of his learning having been wholly or in part imparted to him by any member, living or deceased, of his family or with the aid of the funds of the joint family or of any member thereof or by reason of himself or his family having, while he was acquiring his learning, been supported wholly or in part by the joint funds of the family or the funds of any member thereof. This Act is thus retrospective

All property of a joint family other than the separate property of individual members is liable to partition, i. e as stated by Kāt., property of the grandfather, of the father and whatever is acquired by each member (by the use of joint funds[1102] is so liable). Separate property is said to be impartible (*avibhājya*) on account of the source from which or the manner in which it is acquired. But there are certain kinds of property which from their very nature are not allowed to be partitioned and have to be enjoyed in common or by turns.

The oldest provision on this point is contained in Gautama[1103] (28. 44–45) that water (well), (property set apart or destined for) pious uses or sacrifices and food prepared (for festivals etc.) shall not be divided nor women connected with individual

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1102 पैतामहं च पित्र्यं च यत्किञ्चित्स्वयमर्जितम् । दायादानां विभागे तु सर्वमेतद् विभज्यते ॥ कात्या. q by दायभाग VI 1 1 p 105, स्मृतिच. II p 273, व्यव नि p 446, परा मा. III. p 556 'स्वयमर्जितं पित्राद्यविभक्तद्रव्योपयोगेन' स्मृतिच.

1103. उदकयोगक्षेमकृताश्चेष्वविभाग । स्त्रीषु च संयुक्तासु । गौ 28 44–45. This applies, acc to Haradatta, to the concubines not only of the father but also to those of any member of the joint family. Vide *Nagubai v. Monghibai* 53 I. A 153, 159–160 where Gaut. and Mit are quoted.

members of the family (as concubines). Śankha-Likhita[1104] forbid the partition of a building,[1104a] water vessels, ornaments and clothes that are daily worn by the respective members Similarly Uśanas says[1105] "there is no partition among agnates even up to the thousandth generation of what is acquired by officiating as priests, of a field, of vehicles, prepared food, water and women". Prajāpati (quoted by Sm. C. II p 277) asserts that there is no partition of houses, fields and temples (*yājya*), gifts made through favour by the father or mother. The prohibition against dividing a house or a field is explained in three ways. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 explains that it has in view a brāhmana's son from a wife of the ksatriya or vaiśya class, when the brāhmana acquired it as a religious gift made to him for his learning, since Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 374 verse 30) states "land bestowed[1106] as a gift on a brāhmana should not be given to the son (of the brāhmana) from a wife of the ksatriya caste; even if the father gives it to the son of the ksatriya wife, after the father's death, the son of the wife of the brāhmana class

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1104 न वास्तुविभागो नोदपात्रालङ्कारोपयुक्तवाससाम् । शङ्खलिखित q. by अपरार्क p 726, दायभाग VI. 2. 29 p 127, व्य. म. p. 129, वि. र p. 503 This sūtra is variously read The दायभाग reads न वास्तुविभागो नोदकपात्रालङ्काराद्युपयुक्तस्त्रीवाससामपां प्रचारस्थानां विभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः, while अपरार्क reads न चास्ति विभागोऽन्नोदपात्रालङ्कारसयुक्तस्त्रीवाससाद्युपचाराद्यर्थाना विभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः, the वि. र reads mostly like the दायभाग 'न .. नोदपात्रालङ्कारादुपयुक्तस्त्रीवाससामपा प्रचारवर्त्मनामविभागश्चेति प्रजापतिः' and explains उदपात्र लौहवारिभाजन, अलकारोऽङ्गदस्त एव, अनुपयुक्तसुपभुक्त तेनैकोपभोगविषयस्त्रीवाससा न विभाग इति प्राप्यते । अपा प्रचारवर्त्मना ज मचरणमार्गाणाम् ।'. मेधा on मनु IX 219 seems to have this sūtra in view If the reading is अनुपयुक्त it means 'what is of no use (as books to an ignorant member)', acc to श्रीकृष्ण. स्त्री refers to women other than female slaves

1104a Compare sections 2 and 4 of the Partition Act (IV of 1893) about the division of a house and *Vaman v Vasudev* 23 Bom 73.

1105. अविभाज्यं सगोत्राणामा सहस्रकुलादपि । याज्यं क्षेत्र च पत्र च कृताकृतमुदक स्त्रियः ॥ उशनस् acc to मिता on या. II. 119, स्मृतिच II. p 277, परा मा III p 564, and व्यास acc. to दायभाग VI. 2 25 p 127, वि र., व्य म. p. 130 ,याज्य याजनकर्मलब्धम् ' मिता.; ' याज्य यागस्थान देवता वा न तु याजनलब्ध धन तस्य विद्याधनत्वेनैव गतार्थत्वात् ' दायभाग Acc to the Dāyabhāga, yājya means 'an idol or place of worship'. Three explanations are given in the व्य म p 130 ' वास्तुक्षेत्रयोरविभाज्यत्वमाहुस्तद्धर्मवास्तुगोमत्रारक्षेत्रादिपरम् । प्रतिग्रहोपात्तयोस्तयोः क्षत्रियादिविभागप्रतिषेधपरं पूर्वोक्तनिषेधात् । अल्पमूल्ययोर्मूल्येन विभागो न स्वरूपत इत्येवंपरं वा '. पितरि जीवति यस्मिन्वास्तौ येन गृहेद्यानादिकं कृत तत्तस्याविभाज्य पितुरप्रतिषेधेनानुमतत्वात् । दायभाग p 128

1106. न प्रतिग्रहभूर्देया क्षत्रियादिसुताय वै । यद्यप्येषा पिता दद्यान्मृते विभासुतो हरेत् ॥ q. by मिता. on या. II 119 (without name), ascribed to बृह. by मेधा० on मनु. IX. 153. व्यव नि. p. 431, व्य. म. p 103.

may take it away". Another explanation is that the prohibition refers to a site or dwelling for religious purposes and to a field that is meant for grazing cows. The third explanation is that the prohibition implies that when the house or field is of small value it should not be partitioned by metes and bounds, but there should be partitioning of the price only. The Dāyabhāga gives yet another explanation (VI. 2. 30 p. 128) that if during the father's lifetime any of the sons builds a house or lays out a garden on a family site, then it should not be divided at a partition but assigned to him only.

The basic verse on things impartible from their very nature is Manu IX. 219[1107] (=Visnu Dh. S. 18. 44) which says "clothes, vehicles, ornaments, cooked food, water (well etc), women, *yogaksema* and ways—these are declared to be impartible". All commentators explain that clothes ordinarily worn by the several members are impartible, provided they are more or less equal in value but not costly ones nor new ones. The same remark applies to vehicles and ornaments. *Pracāra* means either "ways leading to the house, garden and the like" (Mit, Aparārka, and V. P.) and also 'ways and pasture lands for cows and the like' (Sm. C. II. p. 277, Kullūka). The Mit. (on Yāj II. 118–119) states a special rule from Br. that[1108] the clothes and ornaments worn by the father, the bed and the vehicle used by him should on his death be donated to the brāhmana invited at the father's śrāddha. As to ornaments, the Mit. following Manu IX. 200 says that those ornaments that are ordinarily worn by the respective members or their wives should not be divided, but those that are not so used everyday should be divided. A well is to be enjoyed by turns and not to

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1107. वस्त्रं पत्रमलङ्कारं कृतान्नमुदकं स्त्रियः। योगक्षेमं प्रचारं च न विभाज्यं प्रचक्षते॥ मनु IX, 219, विष्णु reads न विभाज्य च पुस्तकम्. The express mention of books in Visnu Dh S is an indication of its posteriority to Manu Several meanings are assigned to पत्र, योगक्षेम and प्रचार by different writers All commentators of Manu except Nandana explain पत्र as vehicle (i. e a horse, cart &c.), while नन्दन reads पात्र (water vessel) and अपरार्क p. 725, वि. र. 504, मद. पा. p 685 explain पत्र as document evidencing a debt.

1108. पितृधृतवस्त्राणि तु पितुरूर्ध्वं विभजता श्राद्धभोक्त्रे दातव्यानि। यथाह बृहस्पति। वस्त्रालङ्कारशय्यादि पितुर्यद्वाहनादिकम्। गन्धमाल्यैः समभ्यर्च्य श्राद्धभोक्त्रे समर्पयेदिति। मिता. on या. II. 119.

be partitioned by valuing it.[1109] If there be a single female slave (not a concubine) she was to be made to work for the divided members by turns, but if there be several slaves they could be assigned to each or their price could be divided. The expression "*yogaksema*" has been variously explained from very ancient times. Laugāksi (quoted by the Mit.) states "those who know the truth say that 'yoga' means 'sacrifices' and ksema means *pūrta* (i. e. works of charity like wells). They both (i. e the money set apart for these or the merit derived from these) are impartible, as are also the bed and the (wooden) seat (used by the father or other member)." From this verse the Mit. concludes that *yogaksema* means sacrificial acts performed with śrauta or smārta fire and charitable gifts such as constructing a tank or park etc. For ista and pūrta vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 147, 843–844 and pp. 914–915 n. 2112 for the Mit. on yogaksema. The words "yoga" and "ksema" occur even in the Ṛgveda VII. 86. 8, X. 89 10, X. 166. 5 and in Tai Br III. 9. 19. 3 and Ait. Br. 37. 2. Even though joint family funds are spent for these still they are impartible. The Mit. further states that according to some *yogaksema* means[1110] "royal ministers and purohita" who bring about the welfare of people, while others hold that the word means "umbrella, *chowrie*, weapons, shoes, and the like". From Gaut IX. 63 and XI. 16 it appears that *yogakṣema* came to mean even before Gautama's time "comfortable life" or "easy and happy way of maintenance" (particularly for a learned brāhmana). The V. R. p 504 tells[1111] us that,

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1109 Vide *Shantaram v. Waman* 47 Bom 389 for the proposition that, both according to the Mit. and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha, a piece of land reserved as a common passage at the time of partition cannot be subsequently divided and *Nathubhai v Bai Hansgavri* 36 Bom 379 and *Govind v Trimbak* 36 Bom 275 for the propositions that rights of way and rights to wells and water belonging to a joint family are, if numerically unequal, indivisible, that there is a presumption that they continue joint and undivided even after partition, unless it is proved that at the partition a right of way or to water was exclusively allotted to a single member (at p. 277 and p 282 the texts about water are quoted)

1110. योगक्षेमशब्देन योगक्षेमकारिणो राजमन्त्रिपुरोहितादय उच्यन्त इति केचित्। छत्रचामरशस्त्रोपानत्प्रभृतय इत्यन्ये। मिता on या II 119 Vide *Parthasarathy v. Tiruvengada* 30 Mad 340, 343–44 for yogaksema in the Mit

1111 योगक्षेमं पितृक्रमेण राजकुलादाद्युपजीव्यमिति प्रकाशः। हलायुधस्तु योगो योगहेतुर्नौकादि क्षेमः क्षेमहेतुर्दुर्गादीत्याह। वि.र p 504 The meaning given by Prakāśa appears to be the one intended in some medieval grants called *yogaksema* grants, for an instance of which *vide Vaman v. the Collector of Thana* 6 Bom. H C. R. (A. C. J.) p. 191 at p. 196.

according to Prakāśa, yogaksema means "maintenance or annuity descending from the father (to the son) at a royal palace" and that Halāyudha explained yoga as meaning a ship or the like and ksema as fort. The Sm. C. II p. 277 after quoting Laugāksi gives an alternative explanation that yogaksema means the wealth gained by a learned brāhmana resorting to a rich man for his maintenance.[1112]

Kaut. (III. 5) states[1113] the view of the ācāryas that those who are poor may divide even their water vessels and Kaut. adds that this dictum is fallacious or contradictory. Kāt. (882–884) brings together several things that are impartible[1114] "money that is entered in a document and is set apart for a religious purpose, water, women, a *subandha* (periodic gain) that descends hereditarily, clothes worn (on the body every day), ornaments, whatever else that is not fit to be divided—these should be so employed by co-sharers that they may be enjoyed (in common by all) at the proper time. A pasture for cattle, ways, clothes worn on the body (every day), money lent and what is set apart for religious purposes—these should not be divided This is the view of Brhaspati."

Brhaspati (S B. E. 33 p. 382 verses 79–84) has a good deal to say about things impartible. He finds fault with Manu IX. 219 for his somewhat wide proposition that clothes, ornaments

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1112. अथवा योगक्षेमार्थमुपात्तेश्वरसकाशाद् यो रिक्थानां लाभः स एवात्र योगक्षेमशब्देनोच्यते। स्मृतिच्च II. p. 277. गौ. IX 63 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 63, 1 prescribe योगक्षेमार्थमीश्वरपार्श्वगच्छेत्.

1113. उदपात्राण्यपि निष्किञ्चना विभजेरन्नित्याचार्याः। छलमेतदिति कौटिल्यः। अर्थशास्त्र III 5 For the meaning of छल, vide न्यायसूत्र I 2. 51 कौटिल्य means that if a man has at least water pots he is not निष्किञ्चन so far, as, if he is really निष्किञ्चन, he can have no water pots even.

1114 धन पत्रनिविष्टं तु धर्मार्थं च निरूपितम्। उदकं चैव दाराश्च निबन्धो यः क्रमागतः॥ धृत वस्त्रमलङ्कारो नाद्यरूपं तु यद्भवेत्। यथा कालोपयोग्यानि तथा योज्यानि बन्धुभिः॥ गोमचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्र यच्चाङ्गयोजितम्। प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत धर्मार्थं च बृहस्पतिः॥ कात्या 882–884 q by अपरार्क pp 725–726, वि र pp 504–505. स्मृतिच्च II. p 277 refers to the first and last, दायभाग VI. 2 27 p. 127 has the verse गोमचारश्च &c and reads प्रयोज्य and शिल्पार्थं for धर्मार्थम् दाराश्च is probably a misreading of दासश्च. The first half may be split up in two 'bond debts and what is set apart for a religious purpose' (देवाराधनाय घण्टादि—says वि. र p 505); 'प्रयोज्य प्रयुक्तमूषणमिति हलायुधः, प्रयोज्यं प्रयोगार्हं पुस्तकादि तच्च विभज्येत मूर्खादिभिरिति पारिजातः' वि. र. p. 505.

and the like are impartible. He says[1115] "those who declared that clothes and the like are impartible have not given proper thought. In the case of the rich, their wealth may consist of (valuable) clothes and ornaments. If these (clothes and ornaments) be kept joint (i. e undivided) they cannot yield subsistence nor can they be assigned to one alone (out of many co-sharers) They should therefore be distributed with skill, otherwise they will become useless Clothes and ornaments may be divided by selling them (i. e. by dividing the proceeds of sale), debt consigned to writing is divided after recovering it (i. e. the bond itself is not divided), cooked food (may be divided) by exchanging it for uncooked food. The waters of wells that have flights of steps and of other wells is to be enjoyed by drawing it out according to the needs (of the co-sharers); in the same way a field or a water course is to be enjoyed according to respective shares; a single female slave is to be made to work in the houses of the co-sharers according to their shares; if there be several female slaves, they are to be allotted in equal shares (to the sharers); this very rule applies to male slaves also; the income derived from a yogaksema grant is to be equally divided and pasture lands (or ways) are to be used by the co-sharers according to their respective shares."

The next points to be dealt with are what persons are entitled to partition and what is the mode of partition But before doing so some preliminary remarks must be made on the expressions coparcenary and 'joint family', which occur at every step in modern works on Hindu Law. In the smrtis and commentaries we come across the words *kutumba* (Nār., dattāpradānika 6 or Yāj II 175), or *avibhakta-kutumba* (Yāj. II. 45). A joint Hindu family consists of all males lineally descended from a common male ancestor and includes their wives and unmarried daughters. A daughter on marriage ceases to be a member of her father's

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1115 वस्त्राद्योऽविभाज्या यैरुक्तं तैर्न विचारितम् । धनं भवेत् समृद्धानां वस्त्राद्यूहार-संश्रितम् ॥ मध्यस्थितमनाजीव्य दातुं नैकस्य शक्यते । मुख्यो विभजनीय तदन्यथानर्थकं भवेत् ॥ विक्रीय वस्त्राभरणमृणमुद्ग्राह्य लेखितम् । कृताकृ चाकृताक्षेन परिवार्य विभज्यते । उद्धृत्य कूपवाप्यम्भस्त्वनुसारेण गृह्यते । तथा भागानुसारेण क्षेत्रदेयं विभज्यते ॥ एकां स्त्रीं कार्येत्कर्म यथाक्षेन गृहे गृहे । बहूनां समांशतो देया दासानामप्ययं विधिः ॥ योगक्षेमवर्तं लाभः समत्वेन विभज्यते । प्रचारश्च यथांशेन कर्तव्यो रिक्थिभिः सदा ॥ बृह q by अपरार्क p 726, स्मृतिच. II. 277, वि र pp 505-506 Br. generally holds Manu in the highest veneration as he says वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोरयम् । मन्वर्थ-विपरीता या स्मृति सा न प्रशस्यते ॥ (q by अपरार्क p 628 and कुल्लूक on मनु I 1), but here he criticizes Manu IX. 219.

family and becomes a member of her husband's family. Under the Mitāksarā a Hindu coparcenary strictly so called is a much narrower group than the joint family. It comprises only those males who take by birth an interest in the joint or coparcenary property i. e. a person himself and his sons, son's sons and son's grandsons form for the time being a coparcenary. The diagram and the note below[1116] will explain the limits of a coparcenary.

A coparcenary is purely a creation of law; it cannot be created by act of parties, except by adoption. In order to be able to claim a partition, it does not matter how remote from the common ancestor a person may be, provided he is not more than four degrees removed from the last male owner who has himself taken an interest by birth.[1117]

Some characteristic features of the Mitāksarā coparcenary may be briefly stated. There is in the first place *unity of ownership* i. e. the whole body of coparceners is the owner and no individual member can say, while the family is undivided, that he has a definite share, as his interest is always fluctuating, being liable to be enlarged by deaths and diminished by births in the family. There is also unity of possession and enjoyment i. e all are entitled to possession and enjoyment of the family

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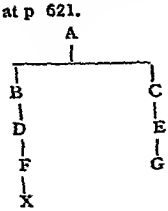
1116 Vide *Commissioner of Income Tax v Laxminarayan* 59 Bom. 618 at p 621.



Here all are to be assumed to be males A and his sons B and C may form a coparcenary. So also, if B and C have each a son, then A, B, C, D, E, will form a coparcenary. If D and E have respectively F and G as sons, all persons from A to G will form a coparcenary But here the limit is reached If X is born during the lifetime of A, he being the son of the great-grandson of A takes no interest by birth and is outside the coparcenary during A's lifetime But if X is born after the death of A, then he forms a coparcenary with B, D, F. Snppose that B dies before A. That will not however introduce X into the coparcenary of which A is the head, as X being the son of A's great-grandson F takes no interest by birth in ancestral property held by A. Suppose that B C D E F and G all die in the lifetime of A, then A becomes the sole surviving coparcener and X is not a coparcener along with A, because he is 5th in descent (counting both A and X) from A. Snppose A the only surviving coparcener dies Then X will take A's property as an heir and not by survivorship as a coparcener.

1117. Vide *Moro v. Ganesh* 10 Bom. H C. R p 444, pp 461-468 where Mr Justice Nanabhai Haridas very lucidly explains by several diagrams the limits of a coparcenary and what persons are entitled to demand a partition and from whom.

property and the possession of one is ordinarily possession on behalf of all Further, while the family is joint and some coparceners have many children and others have few or none or some are absent, they cannot complain at the time of partition about some coparceners having exhausted the whole income and cannot ask for an account of past income and expenditure Kāt. (888) expressly states so [1118] Moreover, the joint family property devolves by survivorship i e on the death of a coparcener his interest lapses and goes to the other coparceners, subject to this that if the deceased has left a son, grandson, or great-grandson, the latter represents and occupies the place of the deceased coparcener when a partition takes place A female cannot be a coparcener (even if she be the wife or the mother) Another characteristic is that each coparcener has a right to enforce a partition. The affairs of the family are managed by the father and if he be very old or dead, by the senior brother or member or by any other member with the consent of the senior member (Nār., dāyabhāga 5 and Śankha quoted above in note 1067). The manager is called *kartā* in modern times though the smṛtis and digests employ words like *kutumbin* (Yāj II. 45), *gṛhin*, *gṛhapati*, *prabhu* (Kāt 543) and not *kartā*. He has special powers of disposition (by mortgage, sale or gift) of family property in a season of distress (for debts), for the purposes and benefit of the family (maintenance, education and marriages of members and other dependents) and particularly for religious purposes (śrāddhas and the like).[1119] The father has the same powers as manager and certain other special powers, which no other coparcener has The father can separate his sons from himself and also among themselves if he so desires, even if they do not desire to separate[1120] (Yāj. II. 114); while an ordinary

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1118 बन्धुनापहृतं द्रव्यं बलात्त्वैव प्रदापयेत् । बन्धूनामविभक्तानां भोग नैव प्रदापयेत् ॥ कात्या. q by दायभाग XIII 7 p 222, वि र, p. 526 The दायभाग explains 'सामादिना दाप्यो न बलात् अविभक्तेन तु यदधिक भुक्त तदृसौ न दाप्य ' and वि. र, 'तद्विभागकाले नासावधिकोपभोक्ता च भोग दापयितव्य इत्यर्थः' The दायतत्त्व p. 183 says 'अत्रापहृतपद भाक्तम्'.

1119. एकोपि स्थावरे कुर्याद्दानाधमनविक्रयम् । आपत्काले कुटुम्बार्थे धर्मार्थे च विशेषतः ॥ इति । अस्यार्थः । अप्राप्तव्यवहारेषु पुत्रेषु पौत्रेषु वानुज्ञादानादावसमर्थेषु भ्रातृषु वा तथाविधेष्वविभक्तेष्वपि सकलकुटुम्बव्यापिन्यामापदि तत्पोषणे वावश्यकर्तव्येषु च पितृभ्रात्रादिषु स्थावरस्य दानाधमनविक्रयमेकोपि समर्थः कुर्यात् । इति । मिता on या II. 114. The verse एकोपि is ascribed to व्यास by व्यव नि p 411.

1120. This power of the father has been recognized even in modern times. Vide *Kandasami v Doraisami* 2 Mad 317, 321–322, *Nirman v Fateh* 52 All 178. But it has been held that the grandfather has no power to separate his grandsons *inter se*. Vide A I R. (1945) Mad. 327.

coparcener can only separate himself from the family. The father can make within reasonable limits gifts of ancestral movable property without[1121] the consent of his sons for performing indispensable acts of duty and for purposes laid down by the texts, such as gifts through affection (to wife, daughter, son or the like), the support of the family and relief from distress. The father can make a gift of even immovable property within[1122] reasonable limits for pious purposes only (such as to a family idol or to an idol in a temple at the time of obsequies). The father can sell or mortgage the joint family property to pay off an antecedent debt contracted by him for his own personal benefit, provided it is not illegal or immoral (vide p. 448 above). No coparcener (except the father or manager as stated above) can dispose of his undivided interest by gift, sale or mortgage according to the strict theory of the Mitāksarā except with the consent of the other coparceners. This right to object to alienations made without consent or made without legal necessity is another characteristic of the joint Hindu family under the Mitāksarā. Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 384 verse 93) says[1123] "whether kinsmen are joint or separate they are alike as regards immovable property, since a single one from among them has no power in any case to make a gift, sale or mortgage of it." But in modern times the courts in Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces have loosened this strict rule by holding that

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1121 मणिमुक्ताप्रवालानां सर्वस्यैव पिता प्रभुः। स्थावरस्य तु सर्वस्य न पिता न पितामहः॥ पितृप्रसादाद् भुज्यन्ते वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च। स्थावरं तु न भुञ्जीत प्रसादे सति वैतृके॥ both quoted by the मिता. on या. II 114, परा. मा III.484, (the first) by दायभाग II. 22 p 33 (attributing it to या.) and the first is ascribed to व्यास by व्यव नि. p 411 and to विष्णु by विवादताण्डव folio 100. Vide note 1033 above

1122 Vide *Ramalinga v. Sivachidambara* 42 Mad 440, *Gangi Reddi v. Tammi Reddi* 54 I A. 136, 140, *Sri Thakurji v. Nanda* 43 All 560 for the validity of gifts of small immovable property by the *kartā* for religious purposes. But in *Jinnappa v. Chimmava* 59 Bom 459 a gift of a small portion of joint family immovable property by the father to his daughter on the ground that she looked after him in his old age was set aside at the suit of his grandsons

1123. यत्तु बृहस्पतिवचन-अविभक्ता विभक्ता वा सपिण्डा स्थावरे समा। एको ह्यमीक्ष. सर्वत्र दानाधमनविक्रये-इति तदपि अविभक्तेषु द्रव्यस्य मध्यस्थत्वादेकस्यानीश्वरत्वात्सर्वाभ्यनुज्ञाद्वयं कार्या। विभक्तेषूत्तरकालं विभक्ताविभक्तसंशयच्छुदासेन व्यवहारसौकर्याय सर्वाभ्यनुज्ञा न पुनरेकस्यानीश्वरत्वेनातो विभक्तानुमतिव्यतिरेकेणापि व्यवहार. सिध्यत्येवेति व्याख्येयम्। मिता on या II. 114. The स्मृतिच. II p 309, the व्य म p 136 and some others read दायादाः for सपिण्डाः; दायभाग II 27 p 34 reads विभक्ता अविभक्ता वा सपिण्डाः and attributes it to व्यास; अपरार्क p 757 attributes विभक्ता वाविभक्ता वा to कात्या.

a coparcener may sell, mortgage or alienate for *value* his undivided interest in coparcenary property without the consent of the other coparceners[1124] and the courts have allowed the undivided interest of a coparcener in joint family property to be attached at the instance of a creditor for the individual debts of a coparcener. This is one of the most serious departures from ancient and medieval Hindu Law made by the Courts on the ground of equity. One more right of all members of the joint Hindu family is the right to be maintained from the property and income of the joint family Such matters as the remedies of the purchaser or mortgagee from an individual coparcener are here left out of consideration as appropriate only in a treatise on modern Hindu Law.

The conception of a coparcenary under the Dāyabhāga system is entirely different from that of the Mitāksarā. Under the Dāyabhāga, sons do not acquire any interest by birth in ancestral property, but the son's rights arise for the first time on the father's death and the sons take as heirs and not by survivorship There is hence no coparcenary in the sense of the Mitāksarā between a father and his sons The father has absolute power to dispose of all kinds of ancestral property by sale, mortgage, gift, will or otherwise in the same way ae he can dispose of his separate property. The son has no right to demand a partition during his father's lifetime. A coparcenary starts on the death of the father between the latter's sons or grandsons i. e. between brothers, uncles and nephews, or between cousins. If a coparcener dies without male issue, there is no right of survivorship in the other coparceners but the deceased member's widow or daughter may succeed to his share and thus even females may become members of a coparcenary under the Dāyabhāga. Each coparcener takes a defined share under the Dāyabhāga (not an indefinite one as under the Mitāksarā) Any coparcener under the Dāyabhāga can sell, mortgage, or dispose off by gift or will his share (Dāyabhāga II. 28-31) [1125]

1124. Numerous cases lay down this proposition , vide, for example, *Vasudeva v Venkatesh* 10 Bom. H C R p 139 which was approved of by the Full Bench in *Fakirappa v. Chanapa* 10 Bom H C R. p. 162, *Vitla Butten v. Yamenamma* 8 Mad. H C. R 6

1125. On विभक्ता ... एको द्वयोश्च etc. the दायभाग (II. 28-30 p 34-35) remarks 'व्यासवचनं तु स्वामित्वेन दुर्वृत्तपुत्रगोचरविक्रयदानादिना कुटुम्बविरोधाद्धर्म-भागिताज्ञापनार्थं निषेधरूपं न तु विक्रयाद्यनिष्पत्त्यर्थम् । एव च स्थावर द्विपद् ... विक्रय — इत्येवमादिकं तदप्येवमेव वर्णनीयम् । .. तेन दानविक्रयकर्तव्यतानिषेधात् तत्करणाद् विध्यति-क्रमो भवति न तु दानाद्यनिष्पत्तिः । वचनशतेनापि वस्तुनोऽन्यथाकरणाशक्तेः ।

Every coparcener is entitled to a share on partition. It has been already stated (on pp. 570–571) how in Bombay a son is not entitled to a partition if the father is *joint* with his own father, brothers or other coparceners and does not assent to the son's claim. There is a volume of case-law about a suit for partition brought on behalf of a minor, but it has to be passed over here, as there is hardly anything corresponding to this in the works on dharma-śāstra. The texts provide for the case of a son who was in the mother's womb at the time of partition but was born after it. If A and his sons B and C, who are members of a joint family, come to a partition and take one third each of the family property and six months later A's wife gives birth to a son D, then the partition has to be reopened and D will get $\frac{1}{4}$ ($\frac{1}{5}$ if the mother is given a share) of the family property that will remain after meeting all proper charges since the first partition and taking into account all income and accretions during the interval. The same rule applies to a partition among brothers, when the widow of a predeceased brother gives birth to a posthumous son conceived before the partition but born after it. Vide Yāj.[1126] II. 122 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 17. 3. Vasiṣṭha (17. 40–41) therefore recommends that when it is known that the wives of some brothers (predeceased) are pregnant the other brothers should postpone partition till the delivery of those women. Where a son is born as well as conceived after partition between a father and his sons the rights of the afterborn son are declared by Gaut.[1127] 28. 27, Manu IX. 216, Yāj II. 122,[1128] Nār (dāyabhāga 44), Br. (S B. E 33 p. 372 verses 17 and 19) that he takes the share allotted to the father and also all the self-

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1126. पितृविभक्ता विभागानन्तरोत्पन्नस्य भाग दद्युः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17 3. दृश्याद्वा तद्विभाग. स्यादायव्ययविशोधितात् । या II. 122, on which the मिता. remarks 'एतच्च विभागसमयेऽप्रजस्य भ्रातुर्भार्यायामस्पष्टगर्भायां विभागादूर्ध्वमुत्पन्नस्यापि वेदितव्यम् । स्पष्टगर्भायां तु प्रसवं प्रतीक्ष्य विभागः कर्तव्य. । यथाह वसिष्ठः । अथ भ्रातृणा दायविभागः । याश्चानपत्या स्त्रियस्तासा पुत्रलाभात् । इति ।'

1127. विभक्तजः पितृपक्षेव । गौ 28. 27; भ्रातृभिः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत्स्वयमर्जितम् । विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशा. पूर्वजाः स्मृताः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by मिता. on या II 122, हरदत्त on गौ 28 27, स्मृतिच्च II p 307, दायभाग VII, 6 p 131, व्य म p 104.

1128 There is great divergence among commentators about Yāj. II. 122 विभक्तेषु सुतो जात सवर्णायां विभागभाक् । दृश्याद्वा तद्विभागः स्यादायव्यय-विशोधितात् ॥.

acquisitions of the father made after the partition.[1129] The Mit understands that the first half (of Yāj. II. 122) refers to a partition during the father's lifetime and provides that if a son was conceived and born to the father after partition he took the share allotted to the father and all the self-acquisitions of the father made after partition (*tathā vibhāgottarakālam pitrā yat kiñcit arjitam tat sarvam vibhaktavyasyaiva*) and the Mit. relies on Manu IX. 216 and Br. for this. The Mit. takes the 2nd half of Yāj. II 122 as referring to a partition made after the father's death and states that, if a son was in the mother's womb when the brothers separated after the father's death and was born subsequently, the posthumous son would be entitled to reopen the partition and would get a share out of the property (not as it stood at the date of partition) that would be there after allowing for proper expenditure (e. g. payment of debts etc.) and accretions. The Mit. extends the same rule to a posthumous son born after partition to the widow of a brother who died before the partition and

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1129. In *Nawal Singh v. Bhagwan Singh* 4 All. 427, where after the father separated from his three sons he married a second wife, had a son from her and died leaving certain property inherited by him from a third person, it was held, relying on Manu, the Mit , Br. and the Viramitrodaya, that the son born after partition was entitled to the whole of the property acquired by the father to the exclusion of the three sons that had separated from him In *Chengama v. Munisami* 20 Mad 75 (where a father partitioned his ancestral property half and half between his two sons, reserved no share for himself and subsequently another son was born to him) it was held that the subsequently born son was entitled to one-third by partition not only in the property as it stood at the date of partition, but also in the property acquired by the two sons by means of the produce of that property (relying on the words of Yāj. II 122 "*āyavyayaviśodhitāt*") The dates of the partition and of the birth of the son are not clear from the report. In *Ganpat v. Gopalrao* 23 Bom 636 (where in 1875 a father separated his son born of his first wife by giving him one third of the estate and gave two thirds to his two minor sons from the second wife and lived with them and another son was born to him in 1880, who sued in 1894 claiming one-fourth of all property) it was held that the one third given to the son by the first wife could not be affected and the plaintiff was only entitled to claim a share in the property given to the other two sons, and further that the texts of Viṣnu and Yājñavalkya are somewhat vague and are applicable only to the case of posthumous sons who have no provision made for them. Vide also *Shivajirao v. Vasantrao* 33 Bom 267 for further limitations on this rule in favour of the after-born son.

when the fact of the pregnancy was not known to the separating brothers. Viśvarūpa regards the whole verse as laying down one proposition, the first half declaring that if a son (who had been already conceived) were born to the father after partition with the sons, he would be entitled to the share taken by the father, while the 2nd half declares that if the father took no share then the son so born would be entitled to reopen the partition and take a share of the property remaining after taking into account accretions and expenses. The Dīpakalikā seems to be of the same opinion as Viśvarūpa, but it adds that Manu IX. 216 provides for the case where the son is both conceived and born after partition The Sm. C. (II. pp. 306–307) holds that when in the father's lifetime partition takes place the sons separating should give a share to the after-born son, but the father should retain his, while the whole of Yāj. II. 122 applies to the case where partition is made after the father's death and a posthumous son is born to the mother or to the widow of a brother dying before partition. In such a case the partition should be reopened and a share given out of the property as it stood at the first partition or out of the property as found to exist at the reopened partition after allowing for accretions and proper expenses (for payment of debts, for saṁskāras of brothers and sisters); vide V. P. p. 463 for explanation of 'dṛśyād' etc. The Vyavahāra-mayūkha (p. 105) follows the Sm. C. and V. R. (p. 539) in explaining the whole of Yāj II. 122 as referring to the case of a posthumous son conceived before partition made on the father's death but born after partition from the mother or step-mother of the separating brothers or from the wife of a brother dying before partition.

An adopted son, if adopted by a coparcener in a joint family or by a sole surviving coparcener, becomes under the Mitāksarā law a member of the coparcenary from the moment of his adoption and has the same rights to demand a partition as an *aurasa* son has. Under the Dāyabhāga even an aurasa son cannot claim partition during his father's life and so an adopted son would be in no better position. If after a person adopts he has an aurasa son, the adopted son's share becomes reduced according to most commentators, but this subject will be dealt with later on under adoption.

The smṛtis and some of the medieval and later digests ever enter into elaborate discussions about the rights of a son or sons born from wives of classes lower than that of the father. Vide

Gaut 28. 33–37, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 10, Kaut. III. 6, Vas 17. 48–50, Manu IX. 149–155, Yāj. II. 125, Visnu Dh. S. 18. 1–33, Nār. (dāyabhāga 14), Br. (S. B. E 33 p 374 verses 27–29), Śankha (quoted in V R. p. 531) It is not necessary to deal in detail with the varying provisions made in these works, as marriages with women of a lower class have not been in vogue for several centuries; but a few remarks will have to be made. Manu IX. 153 and Yāj. II. 125, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 374 v. 27) clearly state that if a brāhmana has sons from wives of the four classes, the whole property should be divided into ten parts which should be distributed as follows:—four for the son of the wife of the brāhmana caste, three for the son of the ksatriya caste wife, two for the son of the vaiśya caste wife and one for the son of the śūdra class wife Manu IX. 154 (almost the same as Anuśāsana 47 21) further provides that whether a brāhmana leaves sons or no sons born (of wives of the three twice-born classes) the heir shall give, according to the law, to the son of a sūdra class wife no more than a tenth part of his estate. V. P. p. 487 and the Mit (on Yāj. II. 133) after quoting Manu, make this quite clear. But as remarked by the Mit on Yāj II. 125 the son of a brāhmana from a wife of the ksatriya or other lower class was not to share in land obtained by the brāhmana by way of gift (vide Br. quoted in note 1106 above) though he could share land acquired by purchase or the like. A verse (attributed to Br. by Dāy IX 22 and V. R. p. 534 and to Devala by V. P. p. 466) denies altogether a share in land to a sūdra class wife's son of a brāhmana, while Manu IX. 155 (the son of a person of the three higher classes from a śūdra woman gets no share in the paternal wealth) is variously explained, the Mit saying that it applies only where the son has already got some property from his father while the Mayūkha and some others say that it applies to the son of a śūdra woman who is not married to the person of higher caste but is only a mistress Kaut III 6 and Br (quoted by V. R p. 534) provide that the *pāraśava* son gets $\frac{1}{3}$ of his father's estate and the nearest sapinda gets the remaining two thirds. Śankha-Likhita (quoted by Medhātithi on Manu IX. 155) have the same rule as in Manu IX. 155 It is remarkable that early medieval writers like Vijñānesvara (about 1100 A. D.) or even later ones like Mitramisra (first half of 17th century) in V. P. pp 464–466 enter with zest into elaborate explanations of Manu IX. 153 and Yāj. II. 125 and never expressly state that these [illegible] had ceased to be applicable in their days, though there

are a few other medieval works like the Sm. C. II. pp. 288-289 and the Madanaratna[1130] that either do not explain these verses at all or say that these verses are applicable to a different age. According to Manu (IX. 178, 160) the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra class wife is called śaudra or pārasava, while according to Yāj I. 91 he is called both nisāda and pārasava (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 86-87 for nisāda and pārasava). But he is one of the secondary sons (*gauna-putra*) according to Manu (IX. 180), Vas. 17. 38 and others. Writers from Aparārka downwards quote certain[1131] verses from Śaunaka on matters forbidden in the Kali age (*kali-varjya*) one of which is the acceptance of sons other than aurasa and dattaka.[1132]

1130. असवर्णेषु पुत्रेषु गुणवत्त्वनिर्गुणत्वादिकृतो यो विशेषः स कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजन्मभिः-इति आदिपुराणे कलिवर्ज्यप्रकरणे असवर्णापरिणयस्य निषेधात् सांप्रत मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां प्रचाराभावेन नेह प्रपञ्चितः। समयनिर्णयोद्द्योते कलिवर्ज्यप्रकरणेऽस्मा-भिरुद्दाहृतेन दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः-इति वचनेन कलौ युगे दत्तौरसपुत्रिकापुत्र-व्यतिरिक्तानां क्षेत्रजादीनां गौणपुत्राणां निषेधात् सांप्रतं तेषां प्रचाराभावेन तद्विभागविषय-विशेषो नात्र निरूप्यते। मदनरत्न (folio 93a); अत एवास्माभिरसवर्णपुत्राणां दत्तके-तरेषां गौणपुत्राणां पुत्रिकापारतन्त्र्यतस्तस्य च भागविधयो न निबध्यन्ते। संप्रत्यननुष्ठीयमानत्वाद् वृथा च ग्रन्थविस्तारापत्तेः। स्मृतिच. II p. 289

1131. अत एव कलौ निवर्तन्ते इत्यनुवृत्तौ शौनकेनोक्तं दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह इति। अपरार्क p 739 Vide also परा. मा I. 2. p. 97, व्यवहारमयूख p. 107 (अत्र दत्तकभिन्ना गौणाः पुत्रा कलौ वर्ज्याः। दत्तौरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह इति तन्निषेधेषु पाठात्).

1132 In *Natha v. Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra wife was held entitled to a tenth share in the estate of his father and uncle and that the remaining nine-tenths would go to the nearest agnate, and Manu and Yāj are relied upon. But this would be opposed to the view of the Mayūkha that secondary sons are not allowed now and is also against the spirit of the warning given by the Privy Council to Judges of modern times over 75 years ago in *Collector of Madura v Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo. I. A 397 at p 436 "the duty of an European Judge who is under an obligation to administer Hindu Law is not so much to inquire whether a disputed doctrine is fairly deducible from the earliest authorities, as to ascertain whether it has been received by the particular school which governs the district with which he has to deal and has there been sanctioned by usage For *under the Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law*' This passage (omitting the word "European") is quoted by the P. C. in *Atmaram v. Bajirao* 62 I. A 139 where it is further held that in a conflict between smrti texts and commentators the opinion of the latter prevails in the provinces where their authority is recognized *Natha v. Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 purports to follow *Bai Gulab v. Jivanlal* 46 Bom 871 In both cases the parties came from

(*Continued on the next page*)

An illegitimate son has in certain circumstances rights of partition in the property of his putative father. An illegitimate son may be a son by a concubine who is a *dāsī* (i e. who is in exclusive and continuous keeping) or he may be the son of a woman who is not a *dāsī*. The first is called *dāsīputra*[1133] and the second is hardly ever dealt with in dharmaśāstra works[1134]

(*Continued from the last page*)

Gujerat where the Vyavahāramayūkha is of paramount authority In both cases not a word is said about the proof of the usage of marriages between a brāhmana and a śūdra woman taking place in Gujerat but reliance is placed solely on the recognition of *anuloma* marriages by Manu and Yājñavalkya, the strong condemnation of pratiloma marriages by both and the inference drawn from the comment of Vijñāneśvara and the remarks of Nīlakantha that anuloma marriages are not prohibited With the most profound respect for the learned Judges who decided those two cases, it has to be said that they took up the position of legislators and did not merely interpret the Hindu Law in accordance with usage and ignored the text of the Mayūkha itself stating that all secondary sons (among which the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra caste wife is included by Manu) except aurasa son (who is defined by Yāj II. 128 himself and the Mit. as the son of a *wife of the same class*) and dattaka are forbidden in the present age The decision in *Bai Gulab v Jivanlal* was opposed to the considered view expressed by Chandavarkar J. in *Bai Kashi v Jamnadas*, 14 Bom. L R 547 at p 552 ' From this gloss of the Mitāksarā from which Nīlakantha expressed nowhere any dissent it is reasonable to infer that, according to the leading authorities on Hindu Law as recognised in this Presidency, a shudra wife is not permitted to a brahmin, a kshatriya or a vaishya " and to the decisions of some other High Courts in India (vide 28 All 458 for example) It should not be supposed that the present writer is entirely against such marriages What he is concerned to emphasize is that the Legislature should deal with these matters, that Judges should not assume the role of legislators and give rise to conflict of laws which are inevitable if the same kind of marriage is held valid by the Bombay High Court and invalid by the Allahabad or Madras High Court

1133 Dāsīputra occurs in the story of Kavasa Ailūsa in the Aitareya and Sānkhāyana Brāhmanas 'माध्यमा. सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत तद्धापि कवषो मत्रं निषसाद त हेमे उपेदुर्दास्या वै त्वं पुत्रोसि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति'। शां. ब्रा. XII 3, ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत ते कवषमैलूषं सोमादनयन्दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽब्राह्मणः कथं नो मध्येऽदीक्षिष्टेति । ऐ ब्रा. 8 1 Vide note 925 for śūdrāputra in the Tāndya Br 14. 6. 6

1134. Yāj II 290 appears to distinguish between a dāsī in general and one who is *avaruddhā* (in the exclusive and continuous keeping of a man) " अवरुद्धासु दासीषु भुजिष्यासु तथैव च । गम्यास्वपि पुमान्दाप्यः पञ्चाशत्पणिक दमम्' For the com. of the Mit vide n 1595 below

From ancient times it had been settled that the dāsīputra of a person belonging to the twice-born classes is not entitled to a share on partition or to inherit, but is entitled to maintenance only Gaut 28 37 provides[1135] that even the son of a brāhmana who is issueless from a śūdra woman (a concubine) should receive the means of maintenance provided he is obedient in the manner of a pupil Br. (S B. E. vol. 33 p. 374 verse 31) contains a similar rule for the maintenance of an illegitimate son born of a śūdra woman after the father's death. But as regards the son of a śūdra from a *dāsī* Manu IX. 179 provides that such an illegitimate son may take a share in the father's property if the father allows him to do so. The classical passage on the rights of the illegitimate son of a śūdra from a dāsī is Yāj II. 133–134 which verses are introduced by the V. Mayūkha[1136] with the words "Yāj declares a special rule as regards one begotten by a śūdra on a woman (of the same caste) not married to him" and which may be rendered thus "even a son begotten by a śūdra on a dāsī may partake of a share at the choice (of his father). But, when the father is dead, the brothers should make him the recipient of a half share". This passage and the comments of the Mit., the V. Mayūkha, the Dāyabhāga have been cited and explained in numerous cases The following propositions as deduced from the texts and the case-law may be set out here:—(1) the illegitimate son of a śūdra even under the Mit. does not acquire by birth any interest in the estate held by the father and so cannot enforce a partition in his father's lifetime, but the father may give him a share in his lifetime, which may even be equal to that of a legitimate son (4 Bom. 37, 44–45, 23 Mad 16); (2) on the father's death an illegitimate son of a deceased śūdra

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1135. शूद्रापुत्रोऽप्यनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुरुश्वेल्लभेत वृत्तिमूलमन्तेवासिविधिना। गौ. 28 37, अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुर्गुणवाञ् शूद्रयोनिज । लभेत जीवन शेषं सपिण्डाः समवाप्नुयुः ॥बृह q by दायभाग IX. 28 p. 141, व्यव नि p 430

1136 शूद्रेणापरिणीतायामुत्पन्ने विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। जातोऽपि दास्यां शूद्रेण कामतोंऽशहरो भवेत् । सुते पितरि कुर्युस्त भ्रातरस्त्वर्धभागिकम् । अभ्रातृको हरेत्सर्वं दुहितृणां सुतादृते ॥ व्य मयूख pp 103–104, अत्र च शूद्रग्रहणाद् द्विजातिना दास्यामुत्पन्नः पितुरिच्छयाप्यंशं न लभते नाप्यर्धं दूरत एव कुत्सनम्। किन्त्वनुकूलश्चेज्जीवनमात्रं लभते। मिता.; विश्वरूप quotes a prose text of Brhaspati to the same effect 'यथाह बृहस्पतिः' कामतश्च शूद्रावरोधजस्य भ्रातुरंश समानमात्र मेते पितरि दद्युः शुश्रूषुश्चेत् । इति In *Rahi v Govind* 1 Bom 97 at p 113 and in other cases the word 'aparinītāyām' in the V Mayūkha has been wrongly translated as meaning 'an unmarried woman', when it really means 'a woman not married (to the śūdra)'.

becomes a coparcener along with the legitimate sons and the former is entitled to seek partition (4 Bom. 37 F. B.); (3) on a partition the illegitimate son takes only one half of what he would have taken[1137] if he were a legitimate son i. e. if there be one legitimate and one illegitimate son, the latter would take one-fourth and the former three-fourths, (4) if no partition takes place and the legitimate son or sons all die without partition, the illegitimate son would take the whole as the last survivor of the coparcenary (L. R 17. I. A. 128); (5) if there be no legitimate sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons of the śūdra father, the illegitimate son takes the whole estate ;[1138] (6) as the text of Yāj refers only to a son, an illegitimate daughter is not entitled to any inheritance or even to maintenance (32 Bom. 562); (7) if the śūdra father be joint with his collaterals such as brothers, uncles or nephews, the illegitimate

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1137. The decisions establish that *dāsī* is not to be taken in the strict literal sense (a female slave), but means a woman kept as a concubine, the connection being continuous, exclusive and lawful. In order that the illegitimate son of a śūdra may take a share or inherit, it must be shown that the connection between the śūdra man and the woman was not incestuous or adulterous or though adulterous at the beginning had ceased to be so when the illegitimate son was born Vide *Rahi v Govind* 1 Bom. 97 at p 110, *Sadu v. Baiza* 4 Bom. 37 (F. B.) at p 44, *Vithabai v. Pandu* 28 Bom. L R 595, *Soundararajan v Arunachalam* 39 Mad. 136 (F. B.) pp. 152–159, *Tukaram v. Dinkar* 33 Bom. L. R 289 But even the son of an adulterous intercourse has been held entitled to maintenance (1 Mad 306, 34 Mad. 68, 47 Bom. L. R. 5 F. B.). The earlier cases in Calcutta (as in 1 Cal. 1, 19 Cal 91, 28 Cal. 194), held that dāsī meant only a female slave and as slavery was abolished in India, there could be no *dāsīputra* strictly so called. But in *Rajaninath v. Nitai* 48 Cal 643 (F. B) the former Calcutta decisions were overruled and the Bombay High Court's interpretation of dāsīputra has been accepted. The passage of the Dāyabhāga (IX. 29 p. 143) which was to be correctly interpreted in the Calcutta cases runs " शूद्रस्य पुनरपरिणीतादास्यादिशूद्रापुत्र· पितुरुक्तमत्या पुत्रान्तरतुल्यांशहर· । तदाह मनु· । दास्या वा० (मनु IX. 179) । अनुमतिमन्तरेण स्वर्धांशहर· । तदाह याज्ञवल्क्य· । जातोपि० (या. II 133–34) The Dāy. passage is quoted on pp 680 and 723 of 48 Cal. 643 (F B)

1138. अत्र बहुवचनात्सर्वे स्वस्वभागावृधं वृथ्वारिति न भ्रमितव्यम् । तथा सति बहुभ्रातृकस्य ततोप्यतिबहुधनत्वापत्तेरव्यवस्था स्यात् । किं त्वेकपुत्रस्य यावान्भागस्तदर्धभाग शूद्रापुत्रा लभन्ते । ... परिणीतशूद्रापुत्रतत्पुत्राद्यभावे तु दासीपुत्रोऽपि कृत्स्नं शूद्रस्य वित्तर्धनं लभत इत्यर्थाद् गम्यते । व्य म pp. 487–488 विश्वरूप on या II 138 (Trivedi edition) quotes the view of some expressed by बृहस्पति in a prose aphorism according to which the illegitimate son succeeds, when there is no legitimate son, grandson or great-grandson, to the whole estate with the king's permission. 'अनन्वयिन सर्वं राजा हरेत् तदनुज्ञया वावरोधज इत्येके'.

son cannot demand a partition of the joint family property though he is entitled to maintenance as a member of the family provided the father left no separate estate (L. R. 58 I. A. 402). It has been held that if a śūdra keeps a woman of the brāhmana caste as his exclusive mistress and has a son from her, he is not a dāsīputra (but acc. ancient works a cāndāla) and is not entitled to inherit the estate the śūdra father as an illegitimate son Vide *Ramchandra v. Hanamnaik* 37 Bom L. R. 920 followed in 18 Lucknow 585. Further rules about the inheritance of the illegitimate son when in competition with the widow, legitimate daughter or legitimate daughter's son will be dealt with later on (vide n. 1356 below).

An absent coparcener stood on the same footing as a minor (vide note 1077 above); in modern times he would be subject to the law of Limitation (Articles 127 and 144 of the Indian Limitation Act of 1908)

The wife cannot herself demand a partition, but if the husband himself separates his sons during his lifetime or if the sons claim a partition during the father's lifetime, the wife was entitled to a share equal to that of a son, according to Yāj II. 115. If there be several wives each gets a share equal to that of a son. There is a proviso that the wife or wives must not be in possession of *stridhana* property given by the husband or by the father-in-law and that if there is stridhana, then only as much more will be allotted to her as will make her share equal to that of a son (as stated in Yāj II. 148). The Mit. on Yāj. II. 52 states that at the husband's will the wife also gets a share of the family wealth but not by her own will[1139]. The Madanaratna explains that the meaning[1140] is simply this that the

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1139 तस्माद्भर्तुरिच्छया भार्याया अपि द्रव्यविभागो भवत्येव न स्वेच्छया । यथा वक्ष्यति यदि कुर्यात् . . इति । मित्ता. on या II 52.

1140 पत्न्य इति बहुवचनात्प्रतिपत्ति स्वाधीन समानमंशं गृह्णीयात्र तु ताभ्य. पृथक्कृत्यांशो देय । जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते इति हारीतवचनविरोधापत्तेः । मदनरत्न (ms. folio 91 b) It is curious that the मदनरत्न ascribes जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते to हारीत; this sūtra is आप ध सू II 6. 14. 16, vide above p 451 and H. of Dh vol. II pp 429 and 518 for quotation from Āp and p. 556 for a verse from Tai Br. quoted in Mit on या II 52 about husband and wife enjoying together in heaven the rewards of religious acts नात्र जायापत्योर्विभाग उच्यते येन हारीतवचनविरोध स्यात् । किं तु पत्यैव पुत्रविभागसमये ताभ्यस्तत्समांशदानं प्रीतिदानवत् । व्य. प्र pp 441–442 It is worthy of note that the व्य. प्र. p. 510 elsewhere

(*Continued on the next page*)

father when separating from the sons should take for each of his wives a share equal to that of each son, but it is not meant that the husband is to carve out separate portions of the joint property and hand them over to his wives, since such a procedure would be opposed to the *dictum* "there is no partition between husband and wife". The V P (pp 441-42) after quoting this view of the Madanaratna refutes it by saying that Yāj is not here speaking of the partition between husband and wife but between the father and sons and that the husband assigns to the wife a share as he may give a gift of affection to his wife It deserves to be noted that the ancient commentator Viśvarūpa (on Yāj II 119 of Trı edition) anticipates modern legislation as he states that the widows of pre-deceased sons and grandsons also should be given the shares that would have been taken by their husbands if living along with his own wives by the father at the time of partition with his sons Recently by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act (Act XVIII of 1937 as amended by Act XI of 1938), it is provided that when after the Act comes into force a Hindu governed by the Dāyabhāga School dies intestate or where a Hindu governed by any other school dies living separate property, his widow will be entitled to the same share as that of a son and the widow of a pre-deceased son or grandson shall inherit in the same manner as a son or grandson and further where a Hindu governed by any school other than the Dāyabhāga dies having an interest in joint family property his widow will succeed to a Hindu widow's estate as regards the interest he himself had This last provision brings the law of the Mitāksarā into line with that of the Dāyabhāga and makes the widow of a deceased coparcener a member of the coparcenary and at one stroke does away with the fundamental doctrine of the Mit about

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(*Continued from the last page*)

refers the sūtras जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते पाणिग्रहणाद्धि सहत्व कर्मसु to गौतम. It further says that the wife's ownership in the husband's property is only technical and not real and that when the husband dies and his ownership in joint family estate lapses her technical ownership comes to an end 'पाणिग्रहणाद्धि ग्रहेषु चेति गौतमवचनात्पत्न्या अपि तद्भागेऽविभिक्तेपि स्वत्वसद्भाव तत्राश· किमिति तत्सत्त्वे कल्प्यत इति चेन्न । औपपत्तिकोऽस्ति न तु तात्त्विक । पत्न्या· पतिद्रव्ये स्वत्वं नीरक्षीरवदेकलोलीभावापन्न सहाधिकारिकमोपयोगि न तु भातृणामिव पररपरम् ।' व्य म p 510 , समांशदानपक्षे प्रमीतभर्तृका· पुत्रपौत्रपत्न्य· स्वपत्न्यश्च भर्तृभागार्हा· कार्या· । विश्वरूप on या II 119

male coparceners alone taking by survivorship joint family property.[1141]

The mother (or step-mother) also, when the sons come to a partition after the father's death, is entitled to a share equal to that of a son in the coparcenary property.[1141a] But she cannot compel a partition so long as the sons choose to remain joint But her share is liable to be reduced on account of her possession of stridhana as in the case of the wife Vide Yāj II. 123, Visnu Dh. S. 18. 34 and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 12) The Mit. (on Yāj II 135) combats the view of some predecessors that the mother does not take a share but only as much wealth as would be necessary for her maintenance, by relying on the words "equal share" occurring in Yāj, Visnu, and Nār which would be meaningless on that view It also refutes another view that the mother takes an equal share with the sons when the ancestral property is small, while she takes only as much as would be necessary for her maintenance when the property is large, by stating that this view is liable to the fault of *vdhvau ūpya* according to the conclusion established in the Pūrvamīmāmsā, that is, here the same sentence will be interpreted as laying down two different propositions in different sets of circumstances, which is not a legitimate or reasonable way of interpretation. The Sm C (II p 268) held the same view about the mother having no right to a share and was criticized by the Madanaratna (by name) Several works like the Vyavahārasāra (p 225) and the Vivādacandra (p 67)[1142] hold the

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1141. Vide *Saradambal v S Subbarama* I L R (1942) Mad 630, *Jodu Rosamma v Jodu Chenchiah* (1943) 2 M L J p 172 for the effect of the Act XVIII of 1937 on the status of widows

1141a. जनन्यस्वधना पुत्रैर्विभागंश समं हरेत् इति स्मरणात् । अस्वधना प्रातिस्विकस्त्रीधनशून्या जननी पुत्रैरजीवद्विभागे क्रियमाणे पुत्रांशसममेवांश हरेदित्यर्थः । स्मृतिच II 268. This text and the explanation are given also in the मदनरत्न (folio 92 a) in the same words

1142 स्त्रीणां सर्वासामनंशत्वमेव । यत्वाप्यंशश्रवण पितुरूर्ध्वं विभजतां मातापर्यंशं समं हरेदित्यादौ तत्रापि किञ्चिद्दान विवक्षितम्। अर्हति स्त्रीत्यनुवृत्तौ न दाय निरिन्द्रिया अदाया पि स्त्रियो मता —इति चौधायनवचनात् । निरिन्द्रिया नि सत्त्वा इति प्रकाशः । अदाया अनंशा इत्यर्थः । विवादचन्द्र p 67 The स्मृतिच (II p 267) also relies on चौधायन The चौ ध. सू after the verse पिता रक्षति .. न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति has the sūtra निरिन्द्रिया ह्यदायाश्च स्त्रियो मता इति श्रुतिः (II. 2. 53). In the तै सं. VI. 5. 3. 2 we have the words 'तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीरापि पापात्पुस उपस्तितरं वदन्ति।' Vide Bühler's note in S. B. E vol 14 p. 231 on the confusion about this text of Baud मनु IX 18 is 'निरिन्द्रिया ह्यमन्त्राश्च स्त्रियोऽनृतमिति स्थिति ॥ on which मेधातिथि explains 'इन्द्रियं वीर्यं तेनयन्त्राबलादि'.

view that no woman (whether wife or mother) should get a share of the ancestral wealth but only as much wealth as is necessary for maintenance and rely on the words of Baudhāyana "there is a Vedic text that women are devoid of strength and take no share", which refers to a passage in the Tai S. VI 5 8 2, occurring in the context of the ritual of the Soma sacrifice "therefore women being destitute of strength take no portion (of Soma drink) and speak more weakly than even a wretched (low) man". Manu IX 18 also contains an echo of this passage of the Tai S and of Baud Dh. S. There was an intermediate stage in the evolution of the rights of the wife or mother. The highest she could get in the husband's wealth was two thousand panas, according to Vyāsa,[1143] which is variously read and explained, the Sm. C. (II p 281) saying that it means as much wealth as would every year yield an income of 2000 panas

In modern times some High Courts such as those at Bombay[1144] and Calcutta allow wives and mothers to have a share when the husband or the sons divide ancestral estate by metes and bounds, while in Southern India the practice of allotting shares to them has gone out of vogue long since and the Madras High Court does not allow a share to the mother but only maintenance The Dāyabhāga seems to have[1145] held that a step-mother who was herself sonless was not entitled to a share when her step-sons came to a partition, but was only entitled to maintenance (vide *Srimati Hemangini v. Kedarnath* L. R. 16 I A. p. 115 at p 117)

1143. द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य च । व्यास q by स्मृतिच II p 281, व्यव. नि p 450, विश्वरूप on या II 119

1144 Vide *Dular Koeri v Dwarkanath* 32 Cal 234, *Damodardas v Uttamram* 17 Bom 271, *Jairam v Nathu* 31 Bom 54, *Hosbanna v Devanna* 48 Bom 468 for cases of a share allotted to the mother or step-mother But see *Subramaniam v Arunachelam* 28 Mad 1, 8 for the statement that the right of a mother to a share on a partition between the sons is not enforced in the Madras Presidency Vide *Nanuram v Radhabai* I L R. (1942) Nag p 24 where it was held that the mother gets only maintenance when there is only a severance of interest between father and sons but no partition by metes and bounds

1145. पितरि चोपरते सोदरभ्रातृभिर्विभागे क्रियमाणे मात्रेऽपि पुत्रसमांशो दातव्यः। समांशहारिणी मातेति वचनात्। मातृपदस्य जननीपरत्वात् न सपत्नीमातृपरत्वमपि सकृच्छ्रुतस्य मुख्यगौणत्वानुपपत्तेः। दायभाग III. 29-30 p. 67.

If a person had several wives and several sons from each wife, some of the texts prescribed from very ancient times that the sons should divide according to the wives or mothers (i e. *patnibhāga*, or which is practically the same thing, *mātṛbhāga* was recommended), though the generally recognized rule formerly as well as now is to divide according to the number of sons i. e *putrabhāga* (ignoring the fact of their being born from[1146] different mothers). For example, Gaut 28 15 recommends that partition should be made by grouping the sons according to their mothers and then allowing a special share to the eldest among each group of sons Both Br. (S. B E 33 p 372 verse 15) and Vyāsa[1147] lay down that if there be many sons sprung from the same father, who are equal in caste and number but who are the sons of different mothers, a division according to mothers may be legally made Such a partition on the basis of mothers is recognized in rare cases even now on[1148] the ground of custom in certain places and among certain castes

A paternal grandmother or step-grandmother cannot herself demand a partition, but when a partition takes place between her son's sons, her own son being dead or when it takes place between her son and the sons of a deceased son she is entitled to a share A text of Vyāsa says[1149] "the childless wives of the father are declared to be entitled to a share equal (to that of a son) and all grandmothers are declared equal to the mother". The Allahabad and Bombay High Courts hold that the grandmother is not entitled to a share when a partition takes place between her son and his sons, while the High Courts

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1146 प्रतिमातृ वा स्वस्वर्गे भागविशेषः । गौ 28 15

1147 समानजातिसख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः । विभिन्नमातृकास्तेषा मातृभागः प्रशस्यते ॥ व्यास, यद्येकजाता बहव समाना जातिसंख्यया । सापत्न्यात्तैर्विभक्तव्यं मातृभागेन धर्मतः ॥ बृह, both are quoted by दायभाग III 12, परा मा III. p 503, व्य म p. 102, वि. र p 475 (बृह. only)

1148 Vide *Palaniappa v. Alayan* 48 I A 539 for a case from the Madura District in the Madras Presidency, where a custom among the chettis of allowing a partition on the principle of patnibhāga (division of property according to wives or mothers) was upheld

1149 असुतास्तु पितु पत्न्य समानाशा प्रकीर्तिताः । पितामह्यश्च सर्वास्ता मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ व्यास q by अपरार्क p 730, दायभाग III 3 2 p. 68, स्मृतिच II. p 267, वि. र. p 484 The मद. पा (p 664) remarks यदा तु पितामहोपार्जित धनं पितापुत्रौ विभज्य गृहीतस्तदा पितामहपत्नी सपुत्रा पूर्वोक्तरीत्या समांशं लभते मातृत्वश्च समं एरेदित्युक्तत्वात् पितामहोपार्जितद्रव्यत्वाच्च । यदि पितामहपत्न्यपुत्रा तर्हि स्वालङ्कारं मौलिदत्त लभते नांशम् । तथा पैतामहधनविभागे मातांशं न लभते किं तु स्वाभरणादिकमेव ।

of Calcutta and Patna hold that she is entitled to a share even in this last case [1150]

On account of certain bodily, mental or other defects and certain conduct also persons were excluded in ancient India from demanding a share on partition and also from taking by inheritance Gaut 28 41, Āp Dh. S. II 6 14 1, Vas. 17 52-53, Visnu Dh S 15 32-39, Baud Dh S II 2. 43-46, Kaut III 5 speak [1151] of various grounds of exclusion from partition (and inheritance) such as lunacy, idiocy, impotence, excommunication for grave sins or lapses of conduct, blindness, incurable disease, entering a different āsrama (viz that of forest hermit or *sannyāsa*). These grounds of exclusion probably arose from the fact of the persons labouring under them being regarded as incompetent to perform religious acts and from the close connection between property and its use for religious purposes Jaimini [1152] (VI. 1. 41-42) lays down two propositions, viz that one who is suffering from an incurable or irremediable bodily defect is not entitled to undertake vedic rites, such as Agnihotra, but that one who has some defect which is remediable may engage in them and Sabara gives a blind man, a deaf man and a cripple as persons who are incompetent to engage in Vedic rites The story of the brothers Devāpi and Śantanu (vide

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1150 Vide *Vithal v Prahlad* 39 Bom 373 (partition among grandsons), *Kanhaiya Lal v Gaura* 47 All 127 (partition between grandsons), *Babuna v Jagat Narain* 50 All 532 (partition between one son and his predeceased brother's son), in all of which the grandmother was held entitled to a share See *Sheonarain v Janki Prasad* 34 All 505 (F B), *Jamnabai v Vasudev* 54 Bom 417 for the proposition that in a suit for partition between father and his son only the paternal grandmother is not entitled to a share, but vide *Badri Roy v Bhugvat* 8 Cal 649, *Krishnalal v. Nandeshwar* 4 Pat L J 39, 42-44 (for the opposite proposition that the grandmother would be entitled to a share in a partition between her only son and the latter's son). In view of the fact that Vyāsa declares the grandmother to be equal to the mother it appears that all grand-mothers, whether sonless or not, should secure a share

1151 जडक्लीबौ भर्तव्यौ । गौ. 28 41. एकश्चनेन ज्येष्ठ तोषयित्वा जीवन् पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजेत् सम क्लीबमुन्मत्तं पतितं च परिहाप्य । आप ध सू II 6 14 1, अतीतव्यवहारान्यासाच्छादनैर्विभूषु । अन्धजडक्लीबिव्यसनिव्याधिताश्च । अकर्मिणः । पतिततज्जातवर्जम् । बौ ध सू II 2 43-46; अनशास्त्वाश्रमान्तरगता' । क्लीबोन्मत्तपतिताश्च । वसिष्ठ 17. 52-53, पतितक्लीबाचिकित्स्यरोगविकलास्त्वभागहारिण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15 32, पतितः पतितात्जाताः क्लीबाश्चानशाः । जडोन्मत्तान्धकुष्ठिनश्च । अर्थशास्त्र III. 5

1152. अङ्गहीनश्च तद्धर्मा । उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात् । जै. VI 1 41-42.

H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 109) as narrated in the Brhad-devatā[1153] states that the elder brother Devāpi suffered from a skin disease and so refused the kingdom which went to his younger brother Śantanu. We know from the Mahābhārata that Dhṛtarāstra who was blind from birth, though elder, had to give up the kingdom in favour of his younger brother Pāndu[1154]. The Mit. (on Yāj. II. 135) energetically combats the view put forward by some predecessors that all wealth is meant for sacrifices. They relied on two smṛti passages[1155] "all *dravya* (all kinds of wealth or movable property) has been created for the sake of sacrifice; therefore all those who are not competent to perform sacrifices are not entitled to share ancestral wealth but are only entitled to food and raiment. Wealth has been created for sacrifices; therefore one should employ it (or spend it) on purposes of dharma and not on women, fools and irreligious people". Kāt. (852) and Br (S. B. E. 33 p 371 verse 10) contain similar remarks. The Mit. does not accept this proposition, which argues that on that hypothesis no gifts (apart from sacrifices) that are recommended by the śāstras will be possible, nor can one accomplish two of the *puruṣārthas*[1156] viz. *artha* and *kāma* (as required by Gaut. IX. 46, Yāj. I. 115) and that the verses quoted above only mean that whatever wealth is collected for sacrifices should be spent only for that purpose even by the sons of the man who collected it, since a smṛti text condemns generally everyone who does not spend wealth collected for a sacrifice for that purpose to becoming a crow or a *bhāsa* (a cock or water fowl) in the next life The Mit. further argues that the view would be opposed to the conclusion of Jaimini III 4. 20–24 that the Vedic injunction "one should wear gold on one's person" is merely *puruṣārtha* and not '*kratvartha*'. Aparārka

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1153. स्वद्वीपी राजपुत्रश्च कृष्टिरोगेणसूतोऽभवत् । बृहद्देवता VII 156, न राज्यमहमर्हामि स्वद्वीपोपहतेन्द्रियः ॥ बृहद्देवता VIII 5

1154. अन्ध करणहीनत्वात् वै राजा पिता तव । उद्योगपर्व 147 39, vide आदिपर्व 106 (chap 100 of cr ed.) for the congenital blindness of धृतराष्ट्र

1155. यज्ञार्थं द्रव्यमुत्पन्नं तत्रानधिकृतास्तु ये । अरिक्थभाजस्ते सर्वे ग्रासाच्छादनभाजना ॥ यज्ञार्थं विहित वित्तं तस्मात्तद् विनियोजयेत् । स्थानेषु धर्मलुप्तेषु न स्त्रीमूर्खविधर्मिषु ॥ q. by मिता on या. II 135, परा मा III p 534; compare शान्तिपर्व 26 25. यज्ञाय सृष्टानि धनानि धात्रा यज्ञाय सृष्टः पुरुषो रक्षिता च । तस्मात् सर्वं यज्ञ एवोपयोज्य धनं न कामाय हितं मशस्तम् ॥. The स्प मयूख p. 157 appears to ascribe the verse यज्ञार्थं to देवल and the दायतत्त्व p. 172 ascribes it to कात्यायन Vide यथा यथा विभागात्त धनं यागार्थतामियात् । तथा तथा विधानज्ञं विद्वद्भिर्भाग्गौरवम् ॥ कात्या 852 q by स्मृतिच्च II p. 265, परा. मा. III p. 490.

1156 Vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp 8–9 for the puruṣārthas.

also holds the same view[1157] and adds that women have the authority to perform pūrtadharma (acts of charity such as construction of wells, temples &c.). Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 844–45 for *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*

The most famous passages on the grounds of exclusion from inheritance are Manu IX 201, Yāj II. 140 and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 21–22). Manu IX 201 provides[1158] "impotent persons, outcasts (*patita*), persons blind or deaf from birth, insane persons, idiots, the dumb and those deficient in any organ (or sense) are

1157. सर्वस्या एव धनोत्पत्तेर्यज्ञार्थत्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । तैत्र हि-द्वादश रात्रीर्दीक्षितो भूतिं वर्धनीत-इत्येवमादिवचनविहिता तैत्र धनोत्पत्तिः क्रत्वर्था । अन्यथा तु पुरुषार्थैव । अपरार्क p. 743.

1158. अनशौ क्लीबपतितौ जात्यन्धबधिरौ तथा । उन्मत्तजडमूकाश्च ये च केचिन्निरिन्द्रिया ॥ मनु IX 201. क्लीबोथ पतितस्तज्जः पङ्गुरुन्मत्तको जड । अन्धोऽचिकित्स्यरोगार्ता भर्तव्या स्युर्निरंशका. ॥ या II 140, मृते पितरि न क्लीबकुष्ठ्युन्मत्तजडान्धका । पतितः पतितापत्य लिङ्गी दायांशभागिन ॥ तेषा पतितवर्जेभ्यो भक्तवस्त्र प्रदीयते । तत्सुता. पितृदायांश लभेरन् दोषवर्जिता ॥ देवल q by दायभाग V 11 p 102 (which explains लिङ्गी as प्रव्रजितादि), वि र p 490 (लिङ्गी अतिशयेन कपटव्रतचारी), स्मृतिच II. p 272, पितृद्विट् पतित षण्ढो यश्च स्याद्दोषपातिक. । औरसा अपि नैतेंश लभेरन् क्षेत्रजा कुत । दीर्घतीव्रामयग्रस्ता जडोन्मत्तान्धपङ्गव. । भर्तव्याः स्यु. कुले चैते तत्पुत्रास्त्वंशभागिन ॥ नारद (दाय. 21–22) पितृद्विट् is variously explained, वि र p 489 'द्वेषश्च पितरि जीवति मारणादिफल मृते तु तदुद्देशेनोदकाद्यदानरूप', 'पितृद्वेषो नाम असौ मम पिता नेत्येवरूप' सरस्वतीविलास p 364. In नारद, the मिता., दायभाग, अपरार्क, दायतत्त्व and व्य प्र. read औपपातिक (which means 'one guilty of उपपातकs') Vide मनु XI 59-66 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र chap. 37 for long lists of उपपातकs such as गोवध, पारदार्य, अयाज्ययाजन &c. The स्मृतिच. II. p 270 reads अवपातिक and explains अवपातिक. अवपातित . . अवपातितस्य महापराधेन बन्धुबहिष्कृतस्य and quotes शङ्खलिखितसूत्र in support 'आवपातिकस्य रिक्थपिण्डोदकानि निवर्तन्ते' which is read as अपपात्रितस्य by the दायभाग V 3. p 100. and अपरार्क p 720. The मदनरत्न and व्य मयूख p 163 read अपपात्रित in नारद, while कल्पतरु read अपपात्रित and explained it as 'राजवधादिदोषेण बान्धवैर्यस्य घटापवर्जन कृतम्' (vide दायतत्त्व) The मदनरत्न gave this very explanation for अपपात्रित The वि र reads अपपात्रित (p 489) and gives the same explanation of it as the कल्पतरु The व्य मयूख p. 163 says it is better to explain अपपात्रित (derived from पात्रा meaning 'sea voyage') differently, disapproves of the explanation of अपपात्रित given by the मदनरत्न on the ground that for one guilty of sedition or high treason the breaking of a jar or of excommunication is not prescribed and that अपपात्रित means 'one who goes to another continent or country by sea in a vessel for trade and the like' Constantly engaging in sea voyage was one of the matters forbidden in the Kali age, *vide* 'द्विजस्याब्धौ तु नौयातु शोधितस्याप्यसग्रह.' quoted by नीलकण्ठ, which verse is quoted as from आदित्यपुराण by हेमाद्रि vol III. 2 p. 667. नीलकण्ठ is wrong about high treason गौतम (20 1–4) declares that one should desert even one's father who is guilty of regicide and describes a ceremony in which an unclean vessel is brought by a slave or servant from a dust heap and is filled with water from a jar carried by a female slave and then the vessel is struck with the foot and emptied with the words 'I make so and so one who will get no water from me.'

entitled to no share". Yāj II. 140 declares that the impotent, the outcast and his son, a lame man, a mad man, an idiot, a blind man and one afflicted with an incurable disease are not entitled to a share. It will be noticed that Yāj. expressly excludes the son of an outcast, as do also Baud. and Devala. Nār. (dāyabhāga 21–22) says 'one hostile to his father, an outcast (*patita*), an impotent person, one who goes to another continent by sea (from India)—these even though they be *aurasa* sons shall not get a share; how can a ksetraja (a son of the wife raised by another person by appointment) get a share (if he has these defects) and persons afflicted with long standing (like phthisis) and severe diseases (like leprosy), persons who are either idiots, insane or lame—these must be maintained by the family, but their sons are entitled to a share'. These verses of Manu, Yāj and Nār. have been quoted and explained in numerous decisions of the courts in India, but all such cases are mostly of academic interest now since the passing of the Hindu Inheritance (Disabilities Removal) Act of 1928 and hence need not be dwelt upon here. The Act (XII of 1928) applies to the whole of British India except to persons governed by the Dāyabhāga school and provides that no person governed by the Hindu Law, other than a person who is and has been from birth a lunatic or idiot, shall be excluded from inheritance or from any right or share in joint family property by reason only of any disease, deformity or physical or mental defect. This Act is not retrospective and does not confer on any person any right in respect of any religious office or service or any right to the management of any religious or charitable trust which he would not have had before the Act. Therefore under the Act the only defects that would disqualify a person governed by the Mitāksarā school from claiming partition or inheritance are congenital lunacy and congenital idiocy. Under the Dāyabhāga school the grounds of exclusion will still remain as before except as modified by judicial decisions and by other Acts. An important question under the Mit school arises in this way. What is the exact position of a son that is congenitally idiotic or insane Both Manu (IX. 201 and 203) and Yāj (II 140, 141) declare that they are *anamsa* or *nirāmśaka* (not entitled to a share of the ancestral estate), but must be given maintenance and if maintenance be not given by those who are liable to give it, they would incur sin (as Manu IX. 202 expressly says) and that the sons of disqualified persons take a share, if they are themselves free from defects. If A has a son B who is congenitally idiotic, is B still a copar-

cener of A (though not entitled to a share or to claim partition) so that A cannot make a gift of the whole or a portion of the property or a bequest thereof to his widow? This question arose in *Amirthammal v. Vallimayil* I L R (1942) Mad. 807 (F. B.), where it was decided that, when A made a will in the above circumstances bequeathing all family property absolutely to his widow and two sons were born to the disqualified man B after A's death, the father had no power to make a will as the disqualified member B was still a coparcener (though not entitled to a share) and that he transmitted the heritage to his sons The chief ground of the decision was a passage of the Sarasvativilāsa (explained on pp. 817 and 828–830) which is quoted below[1159].

The grounds of disqualification apply to males and females alike, as stated by the Mit. on Yāj II. 140[1160]. A few remarks will be made on *patita* and his son The commission of every sinful act did not make one *patita* as the word was technically understood. There were various grades among sins, which will be described in the section on *pātakas* The grave sins were differently enumerated by different ancient writers In explaining[1161]

1159. अनंशौ क्लीबपतितावित्युक्त्वा दायार्हभ्रातृभिः रिक्थग्राहैर्वा योषिद्ग्राहैर्वा पोष्यौ। जात्यन्धबधिराविति द्वित्वोक्त्या तयोरशोरत्वेव किं त्वशक्तावपि पोष्यौ विवाहसंस्कार-सद्भावात्। तथाशब्दभयोगेण षड्त्वादयः विवाहसंस्कारार्हाश्चेदृशहरा. पोष्याश्चेति रहस्यम्। उन्मत्तजडमूकाश्चेति समुच्चयोक्त्या तेपि भर्तव्या एव नाशहराः। विवाहार्हा न चेदिति शेषः। स वि p 364 The S V does not appear to be laying down any novel proposition All that this passage appears to mean is that though these disqualified persons cannot themselves enjoy a share, yet they do have a share (in theory) and if they can marry or are eligible for marriage their sons that are free from defects do take a share and that one cannot lay down a sweeping proposition that all congenitally dumb or insane persons or idiots can marry, but that there are degrees in these defects and in certain extreme circumstances these disqualified persons cannot marry Vide Madras Law Journal for 1942 (Jonrnal portion pp 63–82) for a reasoned criticism of the F B. case.

1160 पतितादिषु तु पुंलिङ्गत्वमविवक्षितम्। अतश्च पत्नीदुहितृमात्रादीनामप्युक्तदोष-दुष्टानामनशित्व वेदितव्यम्। मिता on या II 140

1161 सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्ततक्षुस्तासामेकामिदभ्यंहुरो गात्। ऋ X 5 6; सप्त एव मर्यादाः कवय ततक्षुः त्वक्षुः। तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन्न अहस्त्वान् भवति। स्तेयं तल्पारोहण ब्रह्महत्यां भ्रूणहत्या दुष्कृतस्य कर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवा पातके अवृतोद्यामेति। निरुक्त VI 27. The meaning of this Rgveda verse is doubtful The Nir distinguishes between ब्रह्महत्या and भ्रूणहत्या. For the various meanings of भ्रूण, vide H. of Dh vol II p. 131 n 290 and p 148 n 334. In the Nir. भ्रूण probably means 'foetus', as it does in Gaut XXI. 9 'भ्रूणहनि हीनवर्णसेवायां च स्त्री पतति'. Vas 20 23 (भ्रूणहनं वक्ष्यामो ब्राह्मणं हत्वा भ्रूणहा भवत्यविज्ञात च गर्भम्) appears to give two senses to 'भ्रूणहा' (killer of a brāhmana or killer of a foetus when its sex is not known)

Rg. X. 5 6 "the wise made seven boundaries (restrictions) by transgressing even any one of which a man becomes sinful", the Nirukta VI 27 enumerates the seven sins as "theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a brāhmana, murder of a bhrūna, continual performance of sinful acts, telling a lie as to a sinful matter". In the Tai. S. II. 5 1. 1., Śat. Br. XIII. 3 1. 1. and other Brāhmana texts, the murder of a brāhmana seems to have been regarded as the gravest of all sins (vide H of Dh. vol II p 147 and *n* 333) In the Chāndogya[1162] Up. V. 10. 9 the five great sinners are declared to be the thief of gold, the drinker of liquor, the violator of the guru's bed, the murderer of a brāhmana and one who associates with them. Gaut (XXI. 1-3) declares that the murderer of a brāhmana, the drinker of liquor, one guilty of sexual intercourse with the wife of his *guru* (elder or teacher) or with women who are the sapindas of his father or mother, a thief (who steals a brāhmana's gold), an atheist, one who continually does forbidden acts, one who does not abandon a *patita* (son or the like through affection) and one who deserts his relations though they are not *patita* are *patitas* and so is one who incites another to commit a grave sin and also one who associates with a *patita* for a year (as regards a vehicle, a seat and bed). Āp. Dh. S (I. 7. 21. 8-11) contains a longer list of grave sins (*patanīya*). Vas (I. 19-21) states that there are five grave sins (*mahāpātakas*) viz. violating the bed of the *guru*, drinking liquor, murder of a learned brāhmana, robbing a brāhmana of gold and contact with a *patita* by being his teacher or pupil or priest or by contracting a matrimonial alliance with him. The Baud. Dh. S II. 1. 50-56 has a somewhat different list of *patanīya* actions viz. sea voyage, robbing a brāhmana of his wealth and misappropriating a deposit, perjury for land, trading in (forbidden) articles, service under a sūdra and having a child from a śūdra woman. Manu XI 54, Yāj III. 227 and Visnu Dh. S 35 1 enumerate the five well-

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1162. स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन्ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चाचरंस्तैरिति । छान्दोग्योप. V 10 9, बृह उप IV 3 22 mentions as great sinners the thief and the भ्रूणहा. Though some later smṛtis employ the word स्तेय, it is always restricted by the commentators (e. g Mit on Yāj III. 227) to the theft of brāhmana's gold. Vide *H. of Dh.* vol II p 580 for ancient texts asking a person to desert one's father who is *patita* or a regicide &c., but never his mother even though she be *patita*. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 57 1-5 'अथ त्याज्या । बाल्यः । पतिता । स्त्रियुपद मातृत. पितृतश्चाशुद्धा । सर्व एवाभोज्याश्चामतिग्राह्याः ।'

known mahāpātakas, viz. murder of a brāhmana, drinking of liquor, theft, incest and continuous association for a year with these. Association with any sinner of any sort for one year made the associater guilty of the same sin (Yāj. III. 261). *Samsarga* or *samyoga* (contact or association) was of various kinds. Manu XI 180 (= Śānti 165.37 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 88= Vas. 1. 22) states that a person who associates with a *patita* for a year as regards using the same vehicle or seat or taking food with him in the same row becomes patita; but he becomes patita at once by being his sacrificial priest or by being his teacher of the Veda or by entering into[1163] a matrimonial alliance with him. Vrddha-Brhaspati[1164] (quoted by Mitāksarā on Yāj III. 261) states that association (*sankara*) with a *patita* is of nine kinds viz. occupying the same seat or bed, taking dinner in the same row with him, cooking food in his cooking pots, partaking of cooked food prepared by him, being a sacrificial priest or employing him as a priest, being his teacher of the Veda or making him one's teacher of the Veda, giving him one's daughter in marriage or taking his daughter in marriage, taking food with him in the same pot. Devala[1165] declares that sin is passed on from one man to another by conversation (with a sinner), by touching him, by his breath (coming in close contact with one's nose), by occupying the same vehicle (horse) or seat, by eating (in his company), by being a priest for him or by making him one's priest, by being his teacher of Veda or making him one's teacher or by matrimonial alliance. The same causes that led to a male being patita operated in the case of a woman to make her *patita*; there was one additional cause viz a woman became *patita* by sexual connection with a male of a lower class than herself (Gaut 21 9, Yāj III. 297 and Śaunaka[1166]) The ancient sages were very considerate even

1163. सवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । एकयानभोजनासनशयनैः । यौनसांवत्सरैः सम्बन्धैरतु सख एव । विष्णु 35 3-5 'सांवत्सरशब्देन याजनमभिधीयते मौख्य(मुख्य)शब्देन सुखभवत्वेनाध्यापनम्' मिता on या III. 261

1164 यथाह वृद्धबृहस्पतिः-एकशय्यासन पङ्क्तिभाण्डपक्वान्नमिश्रणम् । याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सहभोजनम् । नवधा सङ्कर प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योऽधमै सह । मिता. on या III. 261 (printed text reads पक्त्यन्न for पक्वान्न, but this seems to be wrong if we look at the explanation), अपरार्क p. 1086, गृह्य र p 587 (both ascribe to बृह.) These verses are ascribed to देवल in दीपकलिका p 99.

1165. सलापस्पर्शनिःश्वाससहयानासनाशनात् । याजनाध्यापनाद्योनात्पाप सङ्क्रामते नृणाम् ॥ याजन योनिसम्बन्धं स्वाध्यायं सहभोजनम् । कृत्वा सख पतत्येव पतितेन न संशयः ॥ देवल q by मिता on या. III. 261, अपरार्क p 1087

1166 यथाह शौनक । पुरुषस्य यानि पतननिमित्तानि स्त्रीणामपि तान्येव । ब्राह्मणी हीनवर्णासेवायामाधिकं पततीति । मिता. on या III. 261

to fallen women. They provide that even women that are *patita* and have not yet performed the proper penance were not to be cast on the streets, but they were to be given a hut (near the house) for residence and bare maintenance that would keep body and soul together and were to be guarded against further lapses (Yāj. III. 296). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571–573.

How far unchastity will debar a female from inheritance will be discussed a little later on. Adultery in general was an upapātaka only according to Manu XI. 59 and the ordinary penance for it was *cāndrāyana* or *govrata* (Manu XI. 117). But if the adultery was with a person of low caste, the woman became *patita* and would not have been entitled to a share on partition (as a wife or mother) under the old Hindu Law.

In the case of those guilty of grave sins who did not perform the prāyaścittas prescribed for such sins there was a peculiar procedure called *ghatasphota* prescribed for excommunicating them and severing all connection with them and treating them as dead, which has been described in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 388. Vide Gaut. 20. 2–7, Manu XI. 182–184, Yāj. III 294. But when the sinner performed the appropriate prāyascitta (penance), the smrtis declare that he became fit to be associated with (*vyavahārya*), he was to be welcomed by his relatives who were to take a bath along with him in a holy river or the like and who were to throw in the water an unused jar filled with water, he should offer grass to cows in the midst of his relations, they were not to find fault with him later on. Vide Manu XI. 186–187, Yāj III. 295, 299, Vas. 15. 20, Gaut 20. 10–14 (which prescribes the recital of certain Vedic mantras and the offering of clarified butter into fire). Ap Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 24–25 and I. 10. 29. 1–2 prescribe for the sinner who kills a *guru* or a *śrotriya* that has performed *soma* sacrifice or a *bhrūna* certain observances till death, but declare that such a person can never get rid of the loss of the right of association with all people, that there is no return for him to his relatives.[1167] In the Nirnayasindhu (III Uttarārdha pp. 567–68) and in the Dharmasindhu (III Uttarārdha pp. 453–54) the rite of *ghatasphota* for a *patita* and the rite for taking him back are concisely described.[1168]

The smrtis state that when a man knowingly committed a sin, penances did not necessarily remove the otherworldly con-

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1167 गुरुं हत्वा श्रोत्रियं वा कर्मसमाप्तमेतेनैव विधिनोत्तमाङ्गच्छ्वासाञ्चरेत्। नास्यास्मिंल्लोके भत्यापत्तिर्विद्यते फलमर्थं तु निर्हण्यते। आप. ध सू I 9 24. 24–25.

1168. Vide Appendix.

sequences of the sin altogether but the sinner became fit to be associated with (Yāj. III. 226). In the case of the *patita*, even his son born after he committed a grave sin was held to be patita by most writers of smrtis (Yāj II. 140, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 35-36, Kaut III. 5)[1169]. But in the case of the daughter a difference was mercifully made. Vas. (13 51-53)[1170] states "the sages say that one born of a patita becomes a patita, except a female child, since she is to go to another (person as his wife); one may marry her without accepting any wealth (of her *patita* father) along with her ". Yāj III. 261 also says that the daughter of a patita may be married after making her fast and after making her leave everything (belonging to the patita father) in her father's house. Viśvarūpa (on Yāj III. 257) quotes a prose passage from Hārīta to the following effect : the daughter of a patita should have fasted one day and night, should take a bath without clothes, should put on white and new garments in the morning, should loudly repeat thrice 'I do not belong to him (my patita father) nor is he anyone to me ' and then she may be married at a sacred place (river etc.) or in one's (the bridegroom's) house.

These *rules* about a patita led to this result that if a Hindu changed his religion or was excommunicated or was made an outcast for some lapse that his caste looked upon with great disfavour, he was deemed to have lost his rights of partition or inheritance. The Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850) abrogates these rules of the ancient[1171] Hindu Law

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1169 तेषां चौरसाः पुत्रा भागहारिण । न तु पतनीयस्य पतनीये कर्मणि कृते त्वनन्तरोत्पन्ना । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 34-36. On या II. 140 the मद. पा 681 explains: तज्जः पतितावकृतमायश्चित्तादुत्पन्नः

1170. पतितेनोत्पन्न· पतितो भवतीत्याहुरन्यत्र स्त्रिया । सा हि परगामिनी । तामरिक्थाद्युपेक्षात् । वसिष्ठ 13 51-58; कन्या समुद्वहेद्येषां सोपवासामकिंचनाम् । या III 261, तथा च हारीत. । पतितस्य तु कुमारी विवक्षामाछाद्याहोरात्रोपोषिता प्रात स्नुक्लेनाहतेन वाससाच्छाद्य नाहमेतेषा न ममैत इति त्रिरुच्चैरभिधाय तीर्थे स्वगृहे वोद्वहेत् । विश्वरूप on या. III 257. The मिता on the same verse of या quotes this passage (with slight variations) as from वृद्धहारीत

1171. Vide *Khunni Lal v. Gobind* L. R. 38 I. A. p 87 where A and B, being father and son and forming a joint family and A becoming a convert to the Moslem religion, it was held that A did not forfeit his interest in the joint family property and that the only effect of the conversion was that it operated as a severance of A from the family and that one half of the property immediately vested in A and the other half in B. Vide p. 101 where the P C. say that the Legislature virtually set aside the provisions of the Hindu Law. The Act of 1850 is felt by many Hindus as a great hardship and should be removed from the statute book In England the Blasphemy Act of 1698 is still in force.

All the smrtis say that those who are deprived of their rights to partition on account of the several defects mentioned are entitled to maintenance out of the family property as long as they are alive (Gaut. 28. 41, Vas. 17. 54, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 33, Manu IX. 202, Yāj. II. 140 etc.). If the disqualified persons want to marry or are married, then their sonless wives that are chaste should be maintained (Yāj. II. 142), but those that are unchaste should be driven out and so also those wives that are hostile to the family; but the Mit. adds that even hostile wives of disqualified heirs must be maintained provided they are chaste. If the disqualified person has an *aurasa* son or *ksetraja* son[1171a] who is free from the defects mentioned above (such as impotence) he becomes entitled to a share of the joint family property and the daughters of disqualified persons are entitled to be maintained in the family and provision must be made for their marriages (Manu IX. 203, Yāj. II. 141). It follows that disqualified heirs could not adopt, since Yāj II. 141 mentions only aurasa and ksetraja sons. Many of the smrtis did not allow even maintenance to the *patita* and his son (vide Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 46, Kaut. III. 5, Devala, Visnu Dh. S. 15. 35-36). Coparceners were prevented from claiming a share at a partition if at the time of the partition they were labouring under the defects mentioned above. But if after partition[1172] the defect which disqualified a member be

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1171a. तत्र क्लीवस्य क्षेत्रजः पुत्रः सम्भवत्यन्येषामौरसा अपि। **औरसक्षेत्रजयोर्ग्रहण-मितरपुत्रव्युदासार्थम्**। मिता on या. II. 141. In former ages a क्षेत्रज son was possible in the case of an impotent person. The अर्थशास्त्र also (III. 5) states सति भार्यार्थे तेषामपत्यमतद्विधं भागं हरेत्। ग्रासाच्छादनमितरे पतितवर्जाः। तेषां च कृतदाराणां सुते भजनीये सति। **दुजेयुर्बान्धवा· दुर्जास्तेषामंशं प्रकल्पयेत्** ॥. मनु IX 203 allows even impotent persons to marry, though he appears to have disapproved of it. A क्लीव is indicated, acc to वात्स्यायन, by the following signs: '**न मूर्ध्नि फेनिलं यस्य विड्वा चाप्सु निमज्जति। मेढ्रश्चोन्मादशुक्राभ्यां हीनः क्लीबः स उच्यते** ॥ कात्या. q by दायभाग V. 8. p 102. नारद (क्लीबसंयोग 9-10) states the signs of a potent man and in verses 11-13 speaks of 14 kinds of impotent persons. The अर्थशास्त्र in III 18 declares that the means of judging about impotence are women, froth of urine and the sinking of the fæces in water (**क्लीबभावे स्त्रियः मूत्रफेनमप्सु विड्वानिमज्जनं च**). The close agreement between Kaut. and Vāt. may be noted.

1172. एतेषां विभागात् प्रागेव दोषमात्रावगमेऽप्यनुपपन्नं न पुनर्विभक्तस्य। विभागोत्तरकालजन्योपधादेना दोषनिर्हरणे भागमात्रिरस्येव। विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णायां विभागभाग्नित्यस्य समानन्यायत्वात्। मिता. on या.II. 140. Vide *Deo Kishen v. Budh Prakash* 3 All. 509 (F. B) and *Abilakh v. Bhekhi* 22 Cal. 864 for cases respectively of insanity at the time of inheritance barring succession and supervening insanity not divesting a person.

removed by medical treatment or the like then the disqualified member was entitled to reopen the partition on the analogy of a posthumous son born after partition. So also if a person is quite free from defect when he takes at a partition a share in joint family property or inherits, subsequently supervening defect does not divest the property once vested in him.

Some of the smrtis contain rules that appear to be only recommendatory. Āp. Dh.[1173] S. II. 6. 14. 15 says that if even the eldest son or brother were to waste joint wealth in immoral or improper ways he should be given no share (by the father or brothers at a partition). To the same effect are Gaut. 28. 38 and Manu IX. 214.

Gaut. 28. 43 and Visnu Dh. S. 15. 37 provide[1174] that the sons of *pratiloma* unions (i. e. of a man with a woman of a higher class) are to be dealt with like the sons of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman i. e they would be entitled to maintenance from their father, though pratiloma unions were condemned. Kāt. (862–864) provides that the son of a woman married out of her order, one who is born of a *sagotra* union and one who is an apostate from the order of ascetics do not obtain ancestral wealth; but the son of a woman married in the wrong order takes the ancestral wealth if he is of the same class as his father, and the son of a woman who is not of the same caste as the husband (but of a lower caste) and is married in the proper order takes the wealth of the father. But the son of a woman

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1173. यद्यवधर्मेण द्रव्याणि प्रतिपादयति ज्येष्ठोपि तमभागं कुर्वीत । आप. ध. सू. II. 6, 14. 15; सवर्णापुत्रोप्यन्याय्यवृत्तो न लभेतैकेषाम्। गौ. 28 38.

1174. शूद्रापुत्रवत्प्रतिलोमासु । गौ. 28. 43 , प्रतिलोमासु स्त्रीषु चोत्पन्नाश्चाभागिनः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 37; अक्रमोढासुतश्चैव सगोत्रायास्तु जायते । प्रव्रज्यावसितश्चैव न रिक्थं तेषु चार्हति ॥ अक्रमोढासुतस्त्वृक्थी सवर्णश्च यदा पितुः । असवर्णमसूतश्च क्रमोढाया च यो भवेत् ॥ प्रतिलोमप्रसूता या तस्याः पुत्रो न रिक्थभाक् । ग्रासाच्छादनमत्यन्तं देयं तद्बन्धुभिर्नृतम् ॥ बन्धूनामप्यभावे तु पित्र्यं द्रव्यं तदाप्नुयात् ॥कात्या. (862–864) q. by दायभाग V. 14 p. 103, वि. र. p. 491, वि. चि. pp 133–134, व्य. मयूख pp 163–164. The word अक्रमोढासुत is interpreted in two ways: (1) If a brāhmaṇa married a ksatriya girl first and then married a brāhmaṇa girl, both women became अक्रमोढा (as the procedure was against Manu III 12) The son of the ksatriya woman in such a case did not take the wealth of his father but only the son of the other woman took it. The other interpretation (given by the व्यवहारमयूख) is based upon the doctrine of परिवेदन, for which vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp 546–549 and Manu. III. 172. The son of a younger sister married before her elder sister and of the latter married after a younger one were both excluded from inheritance to their father. Kāt. (862) is quoted in *Natha* v. *Chotalal* 55 Bom. 1 at p. 8.

united with a man in the reverse order of castes does not take the ancestral estate; but the approved view is that he should be given food and raiment till his death by the kinsmen. In case there are no kinsmen such a son takes the whole wealth of his father and if the father left no wealth kinsmen are not bound to maintain him.

Provision must also be made before ordering partition in a suit for partition by a brother for the marriage expenses of the unmarried sister or sisters of the brothers Here there has been a great divergence of views among the writers of digests and commentaries. Kaut. III.5 (quoted below in *n* 1181), Visnu Dh. S.18. 35 and 15. 31 and Br. simply state that wealth for the marriage expenses of the unmarried sisters must be set apart. But Manu IX. 118, Yāj. II. 124 and Kāt. (858)[1175] state that the brothers should get their unmarried sisters married by giving them one fourth share. The Mit. explains[1176] that this does not mean that each brother is to give one fourth of his share to the sister (for in that case if there are five brothers and one unmarried sister she may get more than each brother) but that the unmarried sister is to get one fourth of what she would have got if she were a male and that if a person has sons and daughters from wives of different classes then the unmarried daughter of the wife of each class will take one fourth of what her brother from the same mother would have taken. The Mit. further adds that one should not explain that the word " one fourth " is not to be taken literally and that the unmarried sister gets only as much as is necessary for her marriage, since such an explanation is opposed to the express words of Manu IX. 118 and since Manu declaress sinfulness as the consequence of not giving one fourth share. The Mit. informs us that its explanation was the same as that of Asahāya and Medhātithi and that Bhāruci gave another explanation (viz. that an unmarried sister was entitled to as much wealth as would be necessary for her

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1175. कन्यकानामदत्तानां चतुर्थो भाग इष्यते । पुत्राणां तु त्रयो भागाः स्वार्थं स्वल्पधने स्मृतम् ॥ कात्या. q. by व्यवहार III. 35 p 69, स्मृतिच्च II p. 268, वि र p. 494. This text is cited in 53 Mad. 84 at p. 97.

1176. निजादंशाच्चतुर्थमंशं दत्त्वा । अनेन दुहितरोपि पितुरूर्ध्वमंशभागिन्य इति गम्यते । न च निजादंशाद् दत्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकामिति तुरीयांशाविवक्षया संस्कारमात्रोपयोगि द्रव्यं दत्त्वेति व्याख्यानं युक्तं मनुवचनविरोधात् 'स्वेभ्योंशेभ्यस्तु ... पतिताः स्युरदित्सवः ॥' ... पतिता स्युरदित्सव इत्यकरणे प्रत्यवायश्रवणाद्दत्वर्थं दातव्यता प्रतीयते । मिता on या. II. 124.

marriage and not to a definite share). The Dāyabhāga held the opinion[1177] that if ancestral wealth was small, the provision for the marriage of the unmarried daughter should be made by giving her a fourth share but if the wealth was ample then she should get only as much as was necessary for her marriage. The Sm. C., V. R. p 494, V. C. p. 134 follow the view of Bhāruci, while the V. M. (p. 106), Madanaratna and V. P. (p. 456 ff) follow the Mit. The former group particularly relies on the texts of Devala[1178] (wealth necessary for marriage should be given to unmarried daughters from the paternal estate), Sankha (when partition of heritage takes place the unmarried daughter takes the maidenly trinkets, wealth for her marriage expenses and stridhana) and Visnu Dh. S. 15. 31. In modern times the Courts allow no share to unmarried daughters but only provision for marriage expenses and this too is restricted to the unmarried sister of a person who requires or sues for partition and does not hold good as to the daughters of brothers or other collaterals[1179]. In *Bhagavati Shukul* v. *Ram Jatan* 45 All. 297 it was held (at p. 299) that "quarter share" in the text means as much money as will suffice for marriage expenses and that where the daughter was a cripple and blind and all the property was worth Rs 500 an alienation of the whole of it by the widowed mother for raising a dowry for the daughter was justifiable.

1177. अल्पधने पुत्रैः स्वात्स्वादंशादाकृष्य कन्याभ्यश्चतुर्थांशो दातव्यः । यथा मनुः स्वेभ्यः० । .. एवं च बहुतरधने विवाहोचितधनं दातव्यं न चतुर्थांशनियम इति सिध्यति । दायभाग III. 36, 39 pp 69–70. The दायतत्त्व p 171 says, एवं तुरीयाशदानमतिपादकमपि विवाहोचितद्रव्यदानपरम् ।

1178 कन्याभ्यश्च पितृद्रव्यं देयं वैवाहिकं वसु । अपुत्रकस्य स्वं कन्या धर्मजा पुत्रवद्धरेत् ॥ देवल q by स्मृतिच. II p 268, व्यव. नि p 451, परा मा III p 510; विभज्यमाने दायाद्ये कन्यालङ्कारं वैवाहिकं स्त्रीधनं च कन्या लभेत । शङ्ख q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 269, वि र. p. 495, परा. मा III. p 511; अदद्ताना स्ववित्ताद्यनुरूपेण संस्कार कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 31.

1179. Vide *Subbayya* v. *Anant* 53 Mad. 84, where A had a son S by one wife and a son S1 and three daughters D1, D2, and D3 by another wife and S sued A and S1 for partition and D1 was married after the institution of the suit, one-third of the marriage expenses of D1 were deducted from the one-third share of S1 and as regards one-third of the marriage expenses of D2 and D3 (which were yet to be incurred) his share (one-third) was charged with one-third expenses of marriage, but it was held that he was not liable for the marriage expenses of the daughter of his brother S 1.

Mode of partition and allotment of shares.

Before allotting shares provision must be made out of the joint family property for the payment of joint family debts[1179a], for the personal debts of the father that are not immoral or illegal, for small gifts of affection made by the father, the maintenance of disqualified coparceners and female dependent members and for marriage expenses. Vide Manu VIII. 166 (as to family debts), Yāj II. 117, Nār. (dāyabhāga 32) and Kāt. 850 (for payment of father's debts and gifts of affection) and 542–43 (for the various legal necessities[1180]) If brothers want to separate and some of them are already married and others are unmarried then provision must be made for the samskāras (such as marriages) of the latter from the joint family property. Even Kautilya makes provision for the marriage of unmarried brothers and sisters[1181]. Yāj II 124, Nār. (dāyabhāga 33), Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 373 verse 21) lay down that the *saṁskāras* (upanayana, marriage &c) of younger brothers must be provided for out of paternal wealth[1182].

1179a. ऋणरिक्थयोः समो विभागः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 5; ऋणं प्रीतिमदानं च दृष्ट्वा शेषं विभाजयेत्। कात्या. 850 q by स्मृतिच. II p. 273, व्यव. नि. p. 446 (reads रिक्थं for ऋणं). The verse is quoted in *Ponappa v Pappuvayyangar* 4 Mad. 1 (F. B) at p. 49.

1180. कुटुम्बार्थमशक्तेन गृहीतं व्याधितेन वा। उपग्रहनिमित्तं च विद्यादापत्कृतं तु तत्॥ कन्यावैवाहिकं चैव मेतकार्यं च यत्कृतम्। एतत्सर्वं प्रदातव्यं कुटुम्बेन कृतं प्रभोः॥ कात्या. 542–543 q by अपरार्क p. 647, स्मृतिच. II pp 174–175, वि. र. p. 56 प्रभोः means प्रभुणा

1181. संनिविष्टसममसंनिविष्टेभ्यो नैवेशानिकं दद्युः। कन्याभ्यश्च प्रदानिकम्। अर्थशास्त्र III. 5; असंस्कृता भ्रातरस्तु ये स्युस्तत्र यवीयसः। संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिश्चैव पैतृकान्मध्यगाद्धनात्। बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 269 (तत्राजीवत्पितृकेषु भ्रातृषु), वि. र. p. 492, असंस्कृतास्तु यास्तत्र पैतृकादेव ता धनात्। संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्येष्ठैः कन्याश्च यथाविधि॥ बृह q. by व्य. मयूख p 106, attributed to व्यास by अपरार्क p. 731, परा मा III. 508, व्य. प्र p. 454 (all these read ये तत्र पैतृकादेव ते धनात् or तद्धनात्). संस्कारः परिणयनम्। तत्पूर्वसंस्कृतैरसंस्कृताना भ्रातृणा कार्यम्। . अस्मादेव च ज्ञायते साधारणद्रव्याद् विवाह निर्वृत्तिः। विश्वरूप on या. II. 128 (Tri. ed); असंस्कृतानां विवाहान्तसंस्कारैरसंस्कृतानां भ्रातृणां भगिनीनां च विवाहान्तसंस्कारं कृत्वा पश्चाद्विभागः कर्तव्य इत्यर्थः। मद. पा p. 648

1182. This rule, according to Yāj. II 124, was restricted to brothers only and was not to be extended If, for example, there is a joint family consisting of several cousins with their sons and the marriages of some of the sons of the cousins are performed at the expense of the joint family, then when a suit is filed for partition no provision can be made for the marriages of other sons of the cousins. Vide *Ramlinga v. Narayan* L. R. 49 I. A. 168 In *Jairam v. Nathu* 31 Bom. 54, it was held that in a partition suit

(Continued on the next page)

It has already been seen that a father could during his life time separate his sons from himself and also among themselves[1182a] and that he could assign shares of property to his sons. This power of the father is indicated even in the Tai. S. III. 1. 9. 4 (quoted above in note 1055) which refers to the story of Manu having distributed his wealth among his sons. It is argued by Āp. Dh. S. II 6. 14. 11 that, as this Vedic text (Tai. S.) does not expressly state that any difference was made by Manu as to the shares of his sons, the division must have been equal, that therefore the preference of the eldest son is forbidden by the śāstras and that when the Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7 states that "they distinguish the eldest by (a larger share of) the wealth" that is not a rule, but a mere *anuvāda* (a statement of fact) and the Vedic passage only recites what some people do in spite of the rule of the śāstras. The general rule, in the absence of express provision to the contrary, is equal distribution, as stated in Jai. X. 3. 53 (*samam syād-aśruteḥ*) which is relied upon by the prima facie view in Mit on Yāj. II. 265. From the Tai S. it appears that both practices viz. equal division of property among all sons and giving a larger share to the eldest were wellknown in those far-off ages. Āp II. 6.

(*Continued from the last page*)

between father and sons, a minor son is entitled to have provision made for his thread, betrothal and marriage ceremonies out of the joint family property before the property is partitioned. In *Sundrabai v Shiv Narayan* 32 Bom. 81 it was held that marriage is one of the samskāras which both Yāj and Nārada refer to. In 38 Mad. 556 the same principle was established But in *Venkatarayudu v Sivaramkrishnayya* 58 Mad. 120 and in *Pranjivan v Motiram* 29 Bom L R 1412 it has been held that the decisions in 38 Mad. 556 and in 31 Bom. 54 must be regarded as overruled by the P. C decision in L R 49 I A. 168, and in 58 Mad 126 it was held that an unmarried brother is not entitled to have provision made for his marriage in a decree for partition. It is submitted with great respect that these Madras and Bombay decisions are wrong so far as unmarried brothers are concerned, that they go against the express texts of several writers like Kautilya, Nārada, Br., Viśvarūpa, Madanapārijāta (p 648) and that the Privy Council in 49 I. A 168 was dealing with the provision for marriages of the children of coparceners and not of brothers

1182a. It has been held in *Ekallu Subharamu v. Ekallu Chenchura ghavan* (1945) 1 M L J. p 151 that the paternal grandfather has no power to separate his grandsons among themselves and that it is only the father who has this power.

14. 7 clearly[1183] states that in some countries gold or black corn or black produce of the earth is the (special) share of the eldest. Almost all the sūtras and smṛtis prescribe the rule of equal division among the sons of wives of the same class as the father (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 2–3, Manu IX 156, Yāj. II. 117, Viṣnu Dh. S. 18. 36, Kauṭ. III. 5, Br. S. B. E. 33 p. 371 v. 10, Kāt. 838). Some of these no doubt refer to the special share or provision given to the eldest (called *uddhāra*). Kaut. says "the father in a partition during his own life should not give a special share to one out of several sons, nor should he deprive a son of a share without any cause[1184] (such as blindness etc.)." Kāt. 843 says the same thing in almost the same words. But from certain passages when construed literally (such as Yāj. II. 116, Nār. dāyabhāga 15) it appears that the early Indian father often distributed the ancestral wealth among his sons just as he pleased. Nār (dāyabhāga 15)[1185] says: "When a father has distributed his property amongst his sons that is a lawful distribution for them (and cannot be set aside), whether the share of one be less or greater than or equal to the shares of the rest; for the father is the lord of all". To the same effect is Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 370 v. 4) who adds that if they try to alter the arrangement (made by the father) they shall be punished. But later on these passages were either held to apply to former ages (V. Mayūkha p. 99 says so) or to the self-acquired property of the father (Mit. on Yāj. II. 114) or were so interpreted as to mean that the partition made by the father could not be annulled if it was legal, but if illegal it could be set aside (Mit. on Yāj. II. 116, Madanaratna, Madanapārijāta p. 646). Nār. (dāyabhāga 16) himself denies authority to the father to give shares to the sons as he pleases

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1183. एकधनेन ज्येष्ठं तोषयित्वा । .. ज्येष्ठो दायाद इत्येके । देशविशेषे सुवर्णं कृष्णा गावः कृष्णं भौमं ज्येष्ठस्य । ... तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम् । मनु. एवंस्त्रयो दायं व्यभजन्दित्यविशेषेण श्रूयते । अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्तीत्येकवच्छ्रुयते । अथापि नित्यानुवाद-मविधिमाहुर्न्यायविदो यथा तस्मादजावयः पशूनां सह चरन्तीति । ... सर्वे हि धर्मयुक्ता भागिनः । आप. ध सू. II. 6 14. 1, 6–7, 10–13.

1184. जीवद्विभागे पिता नैकं विशेषयेत् । न चैकमकारणाच्चिरविभजेत । अर्थशास्त्र III 5 p 161, जीवद्विभागे तु पिता नैकं पुत्रं विशेषयेत् । निर्भाजयेच्च चैवैकमकर्मात्कारणं विना ॥ कात्या 843 q. by दायभाग I. 84 (p. 56), व्य. प्र p 439.

1185 पित्रैव तु विभक्ता ये हीनाधिकसमैर्धनैः । तेषां स एव धर्मः स्यात्सर्वस्य हि पिता प्रभुः ॥ नारद (दायभाग 15); समन्यूनाधिका भागाः पित्रा येषां प्रकल्पिताः । तथैव ते पालनीया विनेयास्ते स्वरन्यथा ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 717, स्मृतिच. II. p. 261, व्यव. नि. p. 413, वि र. p. 468 (ascribes to नारद, बृह. and या.). The व्य. मयूख (p. 99) says, 'यद्यपि नारद—पित्रैव ... प्रभुः—इति तद्युगान्तरपरम्' ।

when he is suffering from diseases, is angry (with a son or sons), or is engrossed in pleasures or pursues paths opposed to śāstras.

The eldest son has received special treatment in all ages down to modern times (vide p 566 above). That treatment took various forms Sometimes the texts say that the eldest son took the whole estate. Āp. II. 6. 14. 6, Manu IX. 105–107, Nār. (dāyabhāga 5) refer to this view. Manu (IX 105–107) allows the eldest son to take the entire paternal estate, provides that the other sons should depend for their maintenance on the eldest son as on the father, remarks that the eldest by the mere fact of his birth enables the father to free himself from the debt to the ancestors and that therefore he (the eldest) deserves to get from the father the entire estate.[1186]

Another mode of dealing with the privileges of the eldest son was to give him some excellent or valuable article and then to distribute the rest equally. The Tai S. II 2. 2. 7 seems to have been understood by Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 2–5[1187] in this sense. Manu IX 114 says that the eldest may get the best of all the items of wealth, whatever is the most eminent and the best of a group of ten cattle. Br. (S. B. E 33 p. 371 verse 8) is to the same effect. Kaut. III. 6 points out that according to Uśanas among the sons born of the same mother, goats shall be the special share of the eldest among brāhmanas, horses among ksatriyas, cows among vaiśyas and sheep among śūdras, that if there be no quadrupeds the eldest was to take an additional share of one-tenth of the whole property excepting precious stones, since he releases his father from fetters (of Hell) by offering śrāddha. Kaut. himself holds that the eldest should get the vehicle and ornaments of his father (after the latter's death); the middle-most his bed, seat and the bronze plate from which the father took his meals; and the youngest should get black grain (like sesame),

1186. Compare the Vedic passages about the three debts owed to gods, ancestors and sages quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 270 (n 621), 425 (n. 1008), 560 (n. 1302).

1187. मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजदिति श्रुतिः। समश्न सर्वेषामविशेषात्। वरं वा ज्येष्ठपुत्रायोद्धरेज्ज्येष्ठः। तस्माज्ज्येष्ठ पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्तीति श्रुतिः। बौ. ध सू. II 2. 2–5 निरवसाययन्ति is explained as तोषयन्ति by स्मृतिच. II. p 260 and आप also (II 6. 14. 1) employs the words एकधनेन ज्येष्ठ तोषयित्वा (having satisfied the eldest by giving him an excellent article of wealth). वि. र. p. 467 explains ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेनोद्धरणलक्षणेन निरवसाययन्ति इतरपुत्रेभ्यः पृथक् कुर्वन्ति.

iron, domestic utensils and the bullock cart. Hārīta[1188] says: "at a partition the eldest should get a bull, the most precious wealth, the images for worship and the ancestral house, the other brothers should go out and build new houses or if there be a single house the eldest should get the southern (or best) portion". This special allotment to the eldest is called *uddhāra* (lit. what is first taken out) in Manu IX. 115–116 and Visnu Dh. S. 18. 37, and Baud. employs the form "uddharet". There were other methods also prescribed for special distribution of wealth. Gaut. 28. 5 says that the eldest should get one-twentieth of the whole as a special share, a bull and a cow, a cow, a chariot to which horses, asses or mules are yoked and a bull. Manu IX. 112 provides that the special share of the eldest was one-twentieth of the whole property and whatever was the most valuable out of the ancestral property, the middlemost son should get half of this (i. e. one-fortieth part) and the youngest one-fourth of this (one-eighteth of the whole). Manu IX. 117 states that when no valuable items are taken out for the eldest the latter should get two shares, the son next to him one share and a half and the other sons one share each. Vas. 17. 42, Nār. (dāyabhāga 13), Br. (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 371 verse 9) also give two shares to the eldest, the latter[1189] making it to depend on the possession of learning and good qualities by the eldest. Similarly Nār (dāyabhāga 12), Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 p. 370 verse 5) provide[1190] that when the father makes a division during his lifetime he may retain two shares for himself. Śankha-Likhita allowed this right to the father only when he had an only son [1191]

1188. विभजिष्यमाणे गवां समूहे वृषभमेकधनं वरिष्ठं वा ज्येष्ठाय दद्युर्देवतां गृहं च इतरे निष्क्रम्य कुर्युः। एकस्मिन्नेव दक्षिणं ज्येष्ठायाल्पपूर्वमितरेषाम्। हारीत q by वि र p. 471 Vide *Damodardas* v. *Uttamram* 17 Bom 271, 288, for the eldest son being given the custody of the family idol and the property appertaining to it.

1189 जन्मविद्यागुणज्येष्ठो ज्यैष्ठं दायादवाप्नुयात्। समांशभागिनस्त्वन्ये तेषां पितृसमस्तु सः॥ बृह. q by दायभाग II 42 p 42, वि र. p 480, स्मृतिच. II. p. 266, परा मा III. p 490 व्यवहारसार quotes first half as कात्यायनस्य (p. 218).

1190 जीवद्विभागे तु पिता गृह्णीतांशद्वयं स्वयम्। बृह. q. by दायभाग II. 35 p. 36, स्मृतिच II. p. 261, व्यव नि p. 414, व्य म p 444, वि. र p 465.

1191. स यद्येकपुत्रः स्याद् द्वौ भागावात्मनः कुर्यात्। शङ्खलिखित q by वि र. pp. 465, दायभाग II. 59 pp 47–48, अपरार्क p 717 (attributes to शङ्ख). The दायभाग does not take the word एकपुत्र as a बहुव्रीहि but explains it as meaning एकस्य पुत्रः (i e औरस and not क्षेत्रज), while स्मृतिच. explains it as गलितवयस्क वि. र p 466 says 'पारिजातस्तु एकपुत्रः ज्येष्ठपुत्र इत्याह। भाष्यकारस्तु पुत्रशब्दं न पठितवान्। यद्येकाकी स्यादिति पठितवान्। यद्येकाकी पत्नीविरहितोपि स्यात्तदाप्यशद्वयं गृह्णीयात्। सपत्नकिश्चेत्तामप्यपरेणाशेन तोषयेत्।' The भाष्यकार seems to be that of the शङ्खलिखितसूत्र The मदनरत्न (folio 91 b) refers to पारिजात's explanation (एकशब्दोऽत्र श्रेष्ठवाची) The व्य. म p 444 criticizes दायभाग.

In course of time there was a revulsion of popular feeling against allowing a special share to the eldest son and even to the father. Kāt. (838)[1192] states that where the parents and brothers divide the whole joint property in equal shares that is a just (or legal) division. Br. (S. B. E. 33[1193] p. 370 verse 2) declares that the father and sons are entitled to equal shares in lands and houses that are ancestral, but in property acquired by the father the sons cannot claim a share against the will of the father. The V. M (p. 95) remarks on this that it follows impliedly that in the wealth acquired by the grand-father or other (remoter) ancestor, the sons can demand a partition even against the father's desire.

According to Manu IX. 125,[1194] if all wives of a person are of the same caste, then the son who is born first (even from a wife who is junior i e married later) is the eldest son and that among twins the one that is born first is the eldest (verse 126), just as in the Subrahmanyā[1195] texts the invocation of Indra is made by the name of the first-born. But if he has wives of different castes then the son of the wife of his own caste is the eldest (though born later) and the son of a wife of a lower caste though born first would be postponed. Devala[1195a] quoted in V. R. p. 477 and V. C. p. 128 says the

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1192. सकलं द्रव्यजातं यद्भागैर्गृह्णन्ति तत्समै· । पितरौ भ्रातरश्चैव विभागो धर्म्य उच्यते ॥ कात्या. 838 q by स्मृतिच. II p 260, मदनरत्न (folio 91 b), व्य मयूख p 98, व्य, प्र p 448 which last remarks 'मदनरत्नधृतकात्यायनवचनानु सर्वदा भ्रातृणा पितापुत्राणां च समाशग्रहणमेव सुख्यमिति प्रतीयते। . अत एव योगीश्वरोपि सर्वे वा स्युः समांशिनः इति सर्वपद मानुवृत्त । अन्यथा समांशिनो वा कुर्वीत सुतानिति वदेत् ।'

1193. क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितापुत्रा· समांशिन· । पैतृके न विभागार्हा. सुता पितुरनिच्छया ॥ बृह. q by व्य मयूख p 95 which adds 'अर्थात्पितामहाद्यर्जिते तदनिच्छयापि विभागार्हा इत्यर्थः ।'

1194. सदृशस्त्रीषु जातानां पुत्राणामविशेषत. । न मातृतो ज्येष्ठ्यमस्ति जन्मतो ज्येष्ठता सता ॥ मनु IX 125, the वि. चि. p. 128 after quoting this verse remarks 'तेन नानावर्णासु भार्यासु पतिसवर्णाया पश्चाज्जातो ज्येष्ठ इत्यर्थः' and निर्णयसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p 251 says 'तेन कनिष्ठाया पूर्वजात एव ज्येष्ठो न ज्येष्ठाया पश्चाज्जात इत्यर्थ '.

1195 For Subrahmanyā invocation, vide H of Dh vol II pp. 1144–45 and note 2550 as to how the names of descendants by the seniority of birth are included in that invocation.

1195a. बहिर्वर्णेषु चारित्र्याद्यमयो· पूर्वजन्मत । यस्य जातस्य यमयो पश्यन्ति प्रथम मुखम् । सन्तान· पितरश्चैव तस्मिञ्ज्यैष्ठ्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् । देवल q by वि र 477, वि चि p. 128, निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 251 The वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 18 37 correctly points out that the word द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ स्मृतिवैशविपर्ययात् are quoted by Śridhara (in his comment on the भागवत).

same as Manu IX. 125. Manu IX. 123 and Gaut. 28. 16 appear to conflict with Manu IX. 125 and probably refer to some other ancient text or opinion The V. Mayūkha (pp. 97–98) notes that in some medical works and in the (commentary on the) Bhāgavata Purāna III 17. 18, it is said that among twins the one born later is deemed to be the elder, but that this, being opposed to the indications contained in the Vedic Subrahmanyā formula and in Manu IX. 126, has no bearing here (but only in medical matters). The Nirnayasindhu (III Pūrvārdha p. 251) makes a reference to the Bhāgavata.

General feeling went so much against allowing a special share to the eldest or allowing the father to make an unequal division among his sons, that such action was condemned in the same breath with *niyoga*,[1196] or the sacrifice of the cow called Anubandhyā. It is very instructive to follow the agruments of the Mit. and other writers on this point The oldest extant commentator, Medhātithi, on Manu IX. 112 shows that even before his time there were writers that held that the texts of Manu on *niyoga* and on the special share to the eldest at a partition were in vogue only in bygone days and not in their days, that the rules of the smrtis were conditioned by time and country, just as *sattras* of long duration, though declared in the Vedic texts committed to memory by Vedic students, were not being performed and just as Manu (I. 85) declares that the dharmas were different in different *yugas*. But Medhātithi[1197] does not accept this reasoning, denies that different dharmas are prescribed for different *yugas* and holds that there is no restriction as to the dharmas to be performed in a country. Though sattras may not be performed now still it is possible to perform them. The argument of the Mit. on Yāj.

1196. For *niyoga* vide H. of Dh vol II pp. 599–607. The anubandhyā (or anūbandhyā, a barren cow) was sacrificed after the *Udayanīyā isti* performed at the end of the Agnistoma Even in the times of the sūtras (such as Āp Srauta XIII 24 10 and Kāt Srauta X. 9. 14–15) *āmiksā* (curds mixed in heated milk) was optionally offered. Vide. H. of Dh vol. II pp. 1200–1201.

1197. इमशुद्धारनियोगस्मृतिरतिक्रान्तकालविषया न लभ्यते । अनुज्ञेये नियतकालत्वात्स्मृतीनामिति केचित् । ... तस्मादुद्धारनियोगगोवधस्मृतय उपदिष्टा नानुज्ञेयाः । तदेतदपेशलम् । मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 112.

II. 117 is briefly as follows[1198]:—Unequal division though found in the śāstras (e. g. Manu IX. 105, 112, 116, 117, Yāj. II. 114) should not be practised because it has come to be condemned (or has become hateful to) by the people, since there is the prohibition (in Yāj I. 156) that an action, though prescribed in the śāstras, should not be performed when it has come to be condemned by the people, since such an action does not lead to the attainment of Heaven. For example, though Yāj. I. 109 prescribes the offering of a big ox or a goat to a learned brāhmana guest, it is not now practised because people have come to hate it; or just as, although there is a Vedic text laying down the sacrificing of a cow "one should sacrifice a barren cow called anubandhyā for Mitra and Varuna", still it is not done because people condemn it. And it has been said "just as the practice of *niyoga* or the killing of the anubandhyā cow is not now in vogue, so also division after giving a special share (to the eldest son) does not now exist". Āpastamba also (II. 6. 14. 1–14) prescribes equal division, refers to the view of some that the eldest takes the whole estate, shows that allotting a special share to the eldest is the view of some and refutes it as opposed to the śāstras by quoting the Vedic text "Manu divided his wealth among his sons". Therefore unequal division though found in the sāstra should not be practised as it is opposed to popular sentiments and to the Veda and so Yāj. (II. 117) gives the restrictive rule that in partitioning there must be equal division. The Sm. C. (II. p. 266) tells us that Dhāreśvara also did not discuss passages like Manu IX. 112 since he said that the practice (of uddhāravibhāga) had been altogether given up by the people[1199].

1198 अयं विषमो विभाग: शास्त्रदृष्टस्तथापि लोकविद्विष्टत्वान्नानुष्ठेय: । अस्वर्ग्य लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु-इति निषेधात् । यथा-महोक्षं वा महाजं वा श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेत्-इति विधानेपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादनुष्ठानम् । यथा वा-मैत्रावरुणीं गां वशामनुबन्ध्यामालभेत-इति गवालम्भनविधानेपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादनुष्ठानम् । उक्त च—यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्यावधोपि वा । तथोद्धारविभागोऽपि नैव सम्यति वर्तते ॥-इति । ... तस्माद्विषमो विभाग: शास्त्रदृष्टोपि लोकविरोधाच्छ्रुतिविरोधाच्च नानुष्ठेय इति सममेव विभजेरन्निति नियम्यते । मिता. on या. II. 117. The verse यथा नियोग० is attributed to the स्मृतिसंग्रह by the मदनरत्न (folio 92a) and व्य. प्र p 443 and to the संग्रह by स्मृतिच II p. 266 which reads धर्मोद्य and explains अद्यसंप्रतिशब्दौ कलियुगमभिसन्धायोक्तौ. The व्यव. नि. p 414 ascribes it to प्रजापति; the परा. मा. III 492, व्यवहारसार p. 219, and others attribute it to संग्रहकार.

1199. एतदेव धारेश्वरेणोक्तम् । ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धार इत्येवमादीनि वाक्यानि न विचार्यन्ते लोकेनात्यन्तपरित्यक्तत्वात् । कलाविति शेष: । द्वापरादावनुष्ठेयत्वेनात्यन्तपरित्यागाभावात् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 266.

The Sm. C. finds fault with Viśvarūpa for saying that just as the offering of an ox or a goat to a learned brāhmana is not practised because the practice of the śistas is against it, so *uddhāra* is not practised. It says that when there is a conflict between a smrti text and *śistācāra*, the latter is the weaker (of the two) and cannot refute the smrti text as laid down by Vas. I. 4–5. Further not offering a bull cannot be said to be śistācāra, but it is really the absence of śistācāra. The Sm. C. finds fault with the Mit. for saying that people have come to condemn a special share for the eldest. It says that, on the contrary, if a special share is given to the eldest who is endowed with learning, good qualities or holy actions then people commend such a procedure. The Madanaratna[1200] quotes the verse "yathā niyoga &c.," and a verse from the Ādipurāna The V. P.[1201] (pp 442–443) generally follows the Mit., but criticizes it by saying that there is no real *śruti-vrodha* (opposition to a Vedic text). If that were so, as śruti (the Veda) is promulgated for all ages, unequal division would be forbidden in all ages and it would follow that the particular śruti passages speaking of

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1200. एवमादीनि विषमविभागप्रतिषाधकानि मन्वादिवचनानि कलियुगव्यतिरिक्त-विषयाणि। अत एव कलौ विषमविभागनिषेध आदिपुराणे। ऊढायाः पुनरुद्वाहं ज्येष्ठांशं गावधं तथा। कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत भ्रातृजाया कमण्डलुम्॥ ज्येष्ठांशं 'जन्मविद्यादिकृतज्यैष्ठ्यनिबन्धन-मंशम्। स्मृतिसंग्रहेपि। यथा नियोगधर्मो ... संप्रति वर्तते॥ इति। संप्रति कलियुगे। मदनरत्न (folio 92 a). The verse ऊढायाः is quoted in the Sm C (II. p 266) also from a पुराण (without naming it) Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyangar (In Introduction to V Nir XLIX–LI) wrongly thinks that by स्मृतिसंग्रह is meant the व्यव नि of वरदराज which quotes the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो from प्रजापति. He failed to note that the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो &c is quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117, the Mitāksarā being one of the authorities quoted in the V. Nir. Therefore the स्मृतिसंग्रह from which the verse is said to have been taken is the work of that name also called संग्रह.

1201. अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु। इति योगीश्वरवचनात्। अत्र लोक-पदेन युगमुच्यते। युगान्तरे धर्म्यमपि युगान्तरे यद्विद्विष्टं प्रतिषिद्धं तन्नाचरेदित्यर्थः। अन्यथा धर्म्यत्वास्वर्ग्यत्वयोर्व्याघातः। शास्त्रविहिते तदभिज्ञविद्वेषो बाधित एव। तदनभिज्ञपामरजन-विद्वेषस्तु नास्वर्ग्यत्वापादकोऽग्नीषोमीयादिहिंसादावतिप्रसङ्गादित्यादि दूषणं स्यात्। व्य. प्र. p 442. It should be noted that विश्वरूप reads the verse of Yāj. as अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं and takes अस्वर्ग्य as (अ + सु + अर्ग past p participle of अर्ज्) 'अस्वर्ग्यम् असुगतम्। असुपरिनिश्चितमित्यर्थः'. He then notices another reading अस्वर्ग्यं which means अशोभनान्तम् (not bringing about welfare in the end). He further explains 'लोकं कर्मसाध्यं ये जानन्ति ते लोकविदो मन्वादयः तैर्द्विष्टं नाचरेत्।'.

unequal division are without authority, since it (unequal division) could not have been practised in other ages also (but as a matter of fact it was); besides Baud. sets out another Vedic text which mentions unequal division. The V. P. desiring to guard against the rather wide statement that whatever is condemned by the people should not be practised holds that the word "loka" in Yāj. I. 156 means "yuga"; otherwise there would be confusion about what is proper conduct and what does not lead to Heaven. The condemnation by low or ordinary people who are quite innocent of śāstras cannot make an action incapable of leading to Heaven, since such people might condemn the *hiṃsā* (slaughter) of the animal offered to Agni and Soma. The above discussion illustrates how practices once recognized by Vedic passages and by the people gradually fell into disuetude and how reason and the common sense of ordinary people asserted themselves even against Vedic and smṛti texts. The Mit. is very clear in its statement that whatever comes to be hated by the people in general should not be practised, even though it was once practised and has the support and authority of Vedic and smṛti texts behind it. Those who desire change in social customs and the practices of the people in various directions rely on this text of Yāj. and on similar texts[1202] of Manu IV. 176 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 71. 85 and on the Mit. for authority. Orthodox writers like Mitramiśra therefore have to twist plain words like "loka", since they cannot tolerate the idea that common people can have anything to say in what these writers believe to be the injunctions of the śāstra. Instead of candidly saying that ancient practices came to be modified by common people, writers like Mitramiśra say that common people should not be listened to in these matters, that each *yuga* has its own peculiar practices and that common people have no authority to change śāstric practices prescribed by the texts for a particular age. It is sheer quibbling to say that not offering a bull is not śiṣṭācāra, but absence of śiṣṭācāra; what is clear is that common people abhorred the practice of niyoga and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice and writers of sūtras and *smṛtis* fell into line with them and prohibited such practices in the

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1202. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । धर्मं चाप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविकुष्टमेव च ॥ मनु IV. 176, धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ । लोकविद्विष्टं च धर्ममपि (परिहरेत्) । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 84-85; जनवादे सति क्षुद्रकर्म न कुर्यात् । बार्हस्पत्य-अर्थशास्त्र I. 95

Kali age, though they were either permitted or (even) enjoined by the Vedic texts; that is, the voice of the common man or his revolt was allowed to prevail over the word of the sacred Veda.

Though the assignment of a larger share to the eldest son or giving him the whole property ceased to be generally prevalent, vestiges of it are still found. There are certain estates in the nature of *zamindaries* or a *rāj* that are impartible and descend by the rule of primogeniture to a single heir. Vide *Baboo Gunesh Dutta v. Maharaja Mohesh* 6 Moo. I A. 164, *Neelkisto v. Beer Chunder* 12 Moo. I. A. 523, *Mohesh v. Sahughan* 29 I. A. 62, *Ram Nundun v. Maharani Janki* 29 I. A. 178, for examples of impartible estates. Sometimes by custom certain estates such as Deshmukh and Deshpande *vatans* have been held to be impartible. Vide *Ramrao v. Yeshvantrao* 10 Bom. 327 and *Gopalrao v. Trimbakrao* 10 Bom. 598. In certain other cases a larger share (called *jyeṣṭhāṁśa* or *motap*) has been allowed by custom to the eldest son at a partition. Vide *Manikchand v. Hiralal* 20 Cal. 45 (P. C.), *Prithusingji v. Umedsingji* 6 Bom. L. R. 98, *Malubhai v. Sursangji* 7 Bom. L. R. 821.

The following propositions may be laid down about the allotment of shares on a partition: (1) When there is a partition between a father and his sons each son takes a share equal to that of the father; (2) where the partition is only between brothers all of them share equally; (3) on the death of a member leaving male issue his right to a share on partition passes to and is represented by his male issue; (4) when there is a partition among members who are uncles and nephews or cousins, the allotment is *per stirpes* (according to the stock) as regards each branch and *per capita* among the members of the same branch. This rule is expressly laid down[1203] by Kaut-

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1203. अपितृका बहवोपि च भ्रातरो भ्रातृपुत्राश्च पितुरेकमंशं हरेयु· । सोदर्याणामनेकपितृकाणां पितृतो दायविभाग· । अर्थशास्त्र III, 5 , अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना । या II. 120 This is read as प्रमीतपितृकाणां in the स्मृतिच. II p 278, व्य म p. 449 and a few other digests Vide n. 1068. समवेतैस्तु यस्मात्स सर्वं तत्र समाशिन· । तस्मात्ता विषमसमाः पितृभागहरा. स्मृताः ॥ बृह q by अपरार्क p 727, स्मृतिच II p 278, व्यव नि. p 424, वि. र. pp. 481–82, अविभक्तेऽलुजे प्रेते तत्सुतं रिक्थभागिनम्। कुर्वीत जीवन येन लब्धं तेन पितामहात् ॥ लभेताशं स पित्र्यं तु पितृव्यात्तस्य वा सुतात् । स एवांशस्तु सर्वेषा भ्रातृणा न्यायतो भवेत् । लभेत तत्सुतो वापि निवृत्तिः परतो भवेत् ॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p 727, स्मृतिच. II. p 278, वि. र. p. 482, व्य. म p. 449. These verses are

(*Continued on the next page*)

III. 5., Yāj. II. 120, Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 372 v. 14) and Kāt. (855-56). This last rule requires to be explained and illustrated. Yāj. II. 120 concisely states: "in the case of those who claim through different fathers, the assignment of shares is according to the fathers". Kāt. says: "if an undivided younger brother dies, he (the elder brother or the other brother) should make the son of the former a partaker of the ancestral wealth, when he has not obtained from his grandfather livelihood (i. e. share of heritage); he should obtain from his paternal uncle or the uncle's son the share which his father would have got (if alive); that very share would be the share according to law of all the brothers (who are the sons of the deceased brother). Or even a son (of that son of the brother dying) would obtain that share; beyond this (i. e. beyond the grandson of the deceased brother) there is cessation (of the right to demand a share)". It was stated that in the ancestral property (*paitāmaha dravya*) sons and grandsons equally have rights by birth, but in the case of the grandsons assignment of shares is made to them through their

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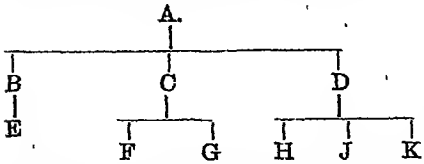
(*Continued from the last page*)

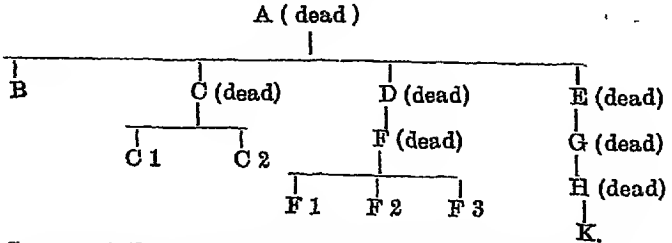
lucidly explained in *Moro v. Ganesh* 10 Bom H. C R. 444 (at pp 461, 466-67) and are quoted in *Debi Parshad v. Thakur Dial* 1 All 105 (F B.) at p 111 On these verses of कात्यायन the व्य मयूख (p. 101) says that they do not refer to undivided coparceners, but rather to those who are re-united Why it says so is not clear The first verse of Kāt. starts with the words अविभक्तेषुजे and therefore the topic is that of undivided family and there is no express indication that it has changed to reunion in the following verse. The reason appears to be that नीलकण्ठ takes the verse of देवल 'अविभक्तविभक्तानां कुल्याना वसता सह । भूयो दायविभाग· स्यादाचतुर्थादिति स्थिति· ' as referring to re-union on account of the word भूयः in it. The words आचतुर्थात् (in देवल) and निवृत्ति परतो भवेत् (in कात्यायन) mean the same thing and so नीलकण्ठ probably thought that they referred to the same subject. The interpretation of देवल (by नील०) is forced and is opposed to the explanation of most works like the विवादरत्नाकर (p 482) and व्य म. p. 449, स्मृतिच. II p. 279 They take अविभक्तविभक्ताना as a *dvanda* compound meaning 'those who are undivided' and 'those who are divided', while नील० takes that word to mean 'those who being once undivided are divided' (i. e. as a कर्मधारय) सह वसता—acc to the other digests means either 'who dwell together' (in the case of the undivided) and 'who reunite' (in the case of the divided) 'अविभक्तानामेव वा विभक्ताना सह वसतां संयुक्तानां या पुनर्विभागो भ्रातृतत्सुततत्सुतपर्यन्तमेव तत्सुताच्चतुर्थाच्निवर्तत इति' वि र p 482, पीजिचतुर्थमभिव्याप्य दायभाग इत्यर्थ । विभक्तानामपि संसर्गादिना सहवासे सति इय व्यवस्था। वसता सहेति वचनात् । व्य. म p 449. Vide *Moro v Ganesh* 10 Bom. H C R. p. 444 at pp 465-468 for several objections to the explanation of Devala's verse offered by Nilakaṇṭha.

fathers and not in their separate individual capacity. This may be illustrated by some examples.



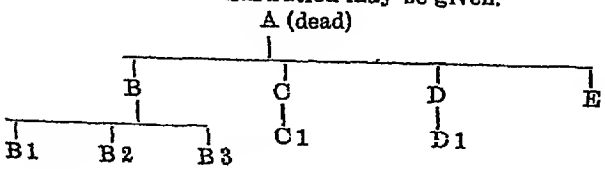
Suppose A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K formed a joint family and that A, B, C, D all die without making a partition, B leaving one son E, C leaving two sons F, G, and D dying leaving three sons H, J, K. If E, F, G, H, J, K want to partition, then these six will not take one-sixth each, but the partition will be through their fathers i. e. E the only son of B will take one-third, F and G (the two sons of C) will take one-third (i. e each will take one-sixth) and H, J, K will together take one-third (i. e. one-ninth each) The same will be the result if only A, B, C die, leaving D to K. Here D, the uncle of E, F, G, along with his three sons H, J, K will take one-third only.

To take another example.



Suppose A the head of the joint family dies leaving a son B, two grandsons C1 and C2, three great-grandsons F1, F2, F 3, and one great-great-grandson K. Here K cannot demand a share, as he is beyond 4th from A the common ancestor A that died last. Therefore the joint property will be divided *per stirpes* into three parts, B taking one-third, C 1 and C 2 together taking one-third and F 1, F 2, F 3 together taking one-third

One more illustration may be given.



Suppose A, the head of a Hindu joint family, dies leaving four sons, B, C, D, E and five grand-sons, B 1, B 2, B 3, C 1, D 1 and then B dies. Then B3 receives his share, which is one-third of one-fourth (=one-twelfth), goes out of the family and the rest continue joint Then C dies, then D, then E, and then B 2. Then B 1 sues C 1 and D 1 for his share. Here if we again apply the rule of *per stirpes* division, the property that remained at the date of the suit of B 1 will be divided into three parts and B 1, C 1 and D 1 (who represent three stocks, B, C, D) will each get one third of that property. This was so decided in *Pranjivandas v Ichharam* 39 Bom. 734. The Madras High Court, however, holds that the rule of *per stirpes* applies only when all the coparceners desire a partition at the same time and that if only some members separate at one time and others on a later occasion, regard should be had to the share allotted at the first partition in computing the share to be allotted at the second partition That is, according to the Madras High Court in the above case B 1 will be entitled to one-third minus one-twelth (which latter was allotted to B 3 when he left the family). The Madras High Court says that its views are based not on strict principles of Hindu Law, but on necessary considerations of equity Vide *Manjanatha v Narayana* 5 Mad. 362 and *Narayana v Shankar* 53 Mad. 1 (F B at p. 6).

Manu (IX. 47) emphatically states:[1203a] " once is a partition made, once is a maiden given in marriage, once does a man say 'I shall make a gift of this or that'; these three are done only once by the good ". This means that a partition once made is final and cannot ordinarily be reopened But there are exceptions to this rule. One viz. about the posthumous son born after partition has already been mentioned above (pp. 595–597). Br.[1204] (S. B E 33 pp 373–74 verses 24–26) says, " If a man

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1203a. सकृदंशो निपतति सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते । सकृदाह ददानीति त्रीण्येतानि सतां सकृत् ॥ मनु IX. 47 which is the same as नारद (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 28) and वनपर्व 294 26.

1204. गोत्रसाधारणं त्यक्त्वा योन्यदेश समाश्रित. । तद्वश्यस्यागतस्यांश प्रदातव्यो न संशय: ॥ तृतीय. पञ्चमश्चैव सप्तमो वापि यो भवेत् । जन्मनामपरिज्ञाने लभेताशं क्रमागतम् ॥ यं परम्परया मौला: सामन्ता: स्वामिनं विदु. । तद्न्वयस्यागतस्य दातव्या गोत्रजैर्मही ॥ बृह q by दायभाग VIII. 2-3, स्मृतिच II pp. 307-308, वायतत्त्व p 180, वि. र. pp. 540-541. The वि चि. p 132 seems to ascribe these to कात्यायन. For मौला: vide ये तत्र पूर्वं सामन्ता: पश्चाद्देशान्तरं गता: । तन्मूलत्वात्तु ते मौला ऋषिभि: संप्रकीर्तिता: ॥ कात्या q by मिता. on या II. 151, अपरार्क p. 760 Kāt. derives मौल from मूल and states that they were once neighbours but later migrated and hence they are so called.

leaving the country common to himself and his co-sharers goes to another country, his share must undoubtedly be given to his descendant when the latter comes back to the original country. Whether he (the descendant) be the third or fifth or even seventh in descent (from the man who left the country) he would get the share that descends hereditarily provided his birth and family name are ascertained. The *gotrajas* (agnatic members of the family) should allow (a share in the ancestral) lands to the descendant of a man whom the *maulas* and neighbours know to be a co-owner (in the lands) by descent, when he comes (after a partition) to demand his share". The V. R. explains[1205] that the rule of Devala (given above) about a claim to a share being allowed up to the fourth applies when all the members stay together in the same place or country, while the above rule of Br. allowing even the seventh in descent to claim his share after a partition has taken place applies where such descendant and his forefathers had migrated to a distant land. These rules of Br. indicate that, even after a long time, a descendant could claim his share in a joint family estate and no bar of limitation was allowed.

Another rule is that where some property of the joint family had been fraudulently concealed by one member and was discovered afterwards, or where some property was left out from partition either through mistake or accident, such property should be divided according to their shares among the persons who made the first partition. In this case there is no reopening of the partition once made, but there is another partition. Manu IX. 218, Yāj II. 126, Kaut. III. 5 and Kāt 885–86 lay down[1206] this. Kāt. says: 'If (joint) wealth was concealed, but

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1205. यस्त्वा चतुर्थात्विभक्तविभक्तानामित्यादिदेवलोक्तनियमः स सहवासादौ। अयं तु दूरदुर्गमवासादावित्यविरोधः। वि र. p 541. The स्मृतिच. II. p 308 states that the last verse applies only to lands (i. e. a partition can be reopened only as to immovable property). तदनेन चिरप्रोषितवंश्येन समन्ताद्दासिभिर्मौलैरात्मज्ञापनपूर्वकं भागग्रहणं कार्यम्। दायभाग VIII 4 Compare Art. 127 of the Indian Limitation Act.

1206 दुर्विभक्तमन्योन्यापहृतमन्तर्हितमविज्ञातोत्पन्नं वा पुनर्विभजेरन्। अर्थशास्त्र III 5, प्रच्छादितं यदि धनं पुनरासाद्य तत्समम्। भजेरन् भ्रातृभिः सार्धमभावे हि पितुः सुतः॥ अन्योन्यापहृतं द्रव्यं दुर्विभक्तं च यत्नवेत्। पश्चात्प्राप्तं विभज्येत समभागेन तद्भृगुः॥ कात्या. 885–886 q by अपरार्क pp 732–733 (which reads last half as हृतं नष्टं च यद्द्रव्यं माशुक्रं च पुनर्भजेत्), स्मृतिच. II pp 308–309, दायभाग XIII 4 p. 221, वि र 526 विभजेरन्निति वदता येन दृश्यते तेनैव न ग्राह्यमिति दर्शितम्। मिता. on या II. 126; पूर्वं यथा यस्य विभागकल्पना कृता तत्समानैव कार्या न पुनरपहर्तृरपहर्तृतया अल्पभागो दातव्यो न दातव्य एव वेति समता नयेदित्यस्यार्थं। दायभाग XIII 2.

is afterwards discovered, the sons should divide it equally with their brothers in the absence of the father (i. e. even after his death). Whatever is concealed from each other (by the co-sharers) or what was divided in an unjust manner and whatever was recovered (such as debts) after (partition) should be partitioned in equal shares. This is the view of Bhrgu '.

In the Ait Br. (VI. 7)[1207] it is said 'He who deprives a person entitled to a share of his share, him he (who is deprived) punishes (or destroys). If he does not punish (or destroy) him (the depriver), then he punishes his son or grandson; but he does punish him'. Manu IX. 213 declares that even the eldest brother who through greed deprives his younger brothers (of their shares) ceases to be the eldest (i. e. forfeits his position as the oldest), is deprived of his (special) share (as eldest) and should be punished by the king. From these passages it follows that fraudulently concealing joint property or depriving a person of his share is condemned. This leads on to a divergence of views among commentators and digests. If a man conceals joint property at a partition, is he a wrongdoer or not? What he conceals is partly his own. Therefore the Dāyabhāga[1208] (XIII. 8) holds that there is no theft in this case, since a thief is commonly understood to be one who knowing that some thing belongs to another, makes it his own without any ground for so doing; while a co-sharer cannot be said to be no owner at all of the joint property. The Dāyabhāga (XIII. 11-12) says that Viśvarūpa and Jitendriya both held the same opinion that even if technically it may be called theft, still there is no sin attaching to it as smrtis allow him also who conceals joint property to share in it at the subsequent partition. The Vivādaratnākara (p. 526) states that Halāyudha also held the opinion that in suppressing some joint property the co-sharer did not incur the sin of theft. On the other hand the Mit., Aparārka (p. 732), V. P. p. 555 hold that in view of Manu IX. 213

1207 यो वै भागिन भागान्मुदते चयते वैनं स यदि वैनं न चयतेऽथ पुत्रमथ पौत्रं चयते इत्येवैनमिति । ऐ ब्रा. VI 7. This is cited as गौतम's in the मिता on या. II 126, in the व्य म p. 131. The परा मा. III. p. 566, स. वि p 438, व्य म' 555 correctly refer to it as श्रुति.

1208 तदुक्तं विश्वरूपेणापि । अतस्तस्करदोषो नास्तीति वचनारम्भसामर्थ्यात् स्तेनधात्वर्थानिष्पत्तेरित्यभिप्राय. । .. सत्यपि वा स्तेयेऽपहर्तुरपि विभागवचनदर्शनाच्च स्तेयदोषः । अन्यथा सुवर्णादिनिह्नवे पतितस्य भागो न स्यात् । दायभाग XIII. 11 and 13 pp. 224-225

(which declares even the eldest as punishable by the king if he deprives his younger brothers of their due share) and the Ait. Br. there is the fault of theft in case a co-sharer fraudulently conceals joint property. The Mit. and V. P. further rely upon an example derived from the Pūrvamīmāmsā in support of their view. When a *caru* (boiled food) of *mudga* pulse is prescribed and mudgas are not available, some substitute must be employed just as when rice is not available *nīvāra* grain may be employed. The parts of māsa resemble those of mudga and some one may plausibly say that in the absence of mudgas, a caru of māsas may be used. To this Jai. VI 3 20[1209] replies that, since *māsas*, *vaṭakas* and *kodravas* are forbidden as being unfit for use in sacrifices, one cannot take parts of māsas as substitute for parts of mudgas though both may be so similar as not to be easily distinguishable. So the general prohibition against depriving another of his wealth holds good even in the case of goods that belong jointly to oneself and to others. The Dāyabhāga (XIII. 16 pp 227–228) tells us that a predecessor of it named Bālaka relied on this very *nyāya* of Jaimini and finds fault with him It should be noted however that Kāt. (888) recommends that the king[1210] even if a complaint be lodged about fraudulent suppression by a co-sharer should not use force against the fraudulent suppressor but should make him give up the concealed property by persuasion or trick. Br. and Kāt.[1211] declare that if there is a suspicion that some joint wealth has been concealed by a co-sharer, the *kośa* ordeal may be resorted to.

1209. प्रतिषिद्ध चाविशेषेण हि तच्छ्रुतिः । जै. VI. 3. 20 , अथ यत्प्रतिषिद्धं अयज्ञिया वै वरका· कोद्रवा· अयज्ञिया वै माषा इति । किं तच्छ्रुतद्रव्यापचारे प्रतिनिधातव्यमुत नेति । किं प्राप्तं प्रतिनिधेयमिति । . . एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः । प्रतिषिद्धं च न प्रतिनिधातव्यमिति । अविशेषेण ह्येतदुच्यते न यज्ञार्हा माषा वरका· कोद्रवाश्चेति । यज्ञसम्बन्ध एवां प्रतिषिध्यते । शाबर; यथा मौद्गे चरौ विपक्षे सदृशतया माषेषु अयज्ञिया वै माषा इति निषेधो न प्रविशति मुद्गावयवबुद्ध्या गृह्यमाणत्वादिति पूर्वपक्षिणोक्ते मुद्गावयवेषु गृह्यमाणेष्ववर्जनीयतया माषावयवा अपि गृह्यन्त एवेति निषेध· प्रविशत्येवेति सिद्धान्तिनोक्तम् । तस्माद्वचनतो न्यायतश्च साधारणद्रव्यापहारे दोषोऽस्त्येवेति सिद्धम् । मिता. on या II. 126

1210 बन्धुनापहृतं द्रव्यं बलात्कारेण प्रदापयेत् । कात्या q. by दायभाग XIII 7 (p 222), दायतत्त्व p. 183, वि र. p. 526, व्य. प्र 556 which says 'राज्ञे तु भागिभिर्न निवेदनीय राज्ञे निवेदितमपि तेन सामादिनैव दापनीयमिति प्रीत्यविच्छेदादिदृष्टप्रयोजनकमेव'.

1211. गृहोपस्करवास्त्राद्यं दोह्याभरणकर्मिणः । दृश्यमाना विभज्यन्ते कोशं गूढेऽन्यवीक्ष्य तु ॥ कात्या. 842 q by स्मृतिच्च II. p. 273, वि र p. 498. The स्मृतिच. quotes a very similar verse of बृहस्पति (on the same page) viz. गृहोपस्करवास्त्राद्यं दोह्यालङ्कारकार्मिणः । .. गूढे कोशो विधीयते ॥

If there was a dispute whether a partition had already taken place, Yāj. II 149 mentions some of the indications that lead to the inference or proof of partition viz. 'the determination of the dispute follows from the testimony of kinsmen, cognates (like maternal uncle), other witnesses, a deed (of partition) and by (the fact of) houses and fields being separately held ' Nār. (dāyabhāga 36–41) gives more [1212] elaborate rules on the subject viz. that the status of division can be determined from the fact of their transactions (agriculture &c) being separate, that the separate performance of religious rites is another indication of separation 'Receiving and returning a debt, the beasts (kine &c), food, houses and fields and servants must be separate in the case of those who are divided, as also cooking food, performance of religious rites, income and expenditure. It is only divided persons (and not undivided ones) that can become in respect of each other witnesses, sureties or debtors and creditors People should regard them to be divided even though there be no deed of partition, in whose case these transactions are entered into openly with their co-sharers' Yāj II. 52 also declares that between brothers, husband and wife, father and son there cannot be, as long as they are undivided, the relationship of being sureties or witnesses for each other or of being debtor and creditor. Nār. (dāyabhāga 41) and Kāt (893) state that when for ten years brothers (and other members of a family) reside (separately) doing religious observances separately and have separate transactions, they should be known as separate so far as the ancestral estate is concerned [1213] It is on account of these passages that the courts say that presumably every Hindu family is joint in food, worship [1214] and estate and 'that cesser of commensality is an *element* which may properly be considered in determining the question whether there has been

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1212. Vide *Debi Parshad v Thakur Dial* 1 All 105 F B (at p 109) for the verse of Nār about religious rites being single when there has been no partition

1213. वसेयुर्दश वर्षाणि पृथग्धर्माः पृथक्क्रियाः । भ्रातरस्तेपि विज्ञेया विभक्ता. पैतृकाद्धनात् ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच्च II p 311, स वि p 348, अपरार्क p. 757 (reads वसेयुर्वै दशाब्दानि and पैतृके धने) नारद (दायभाग 41) is वसेयुर्ये दशाब्दानि. . । विभक्ता भ्रातरस्ते तु विज्ञेया इति निश्चय ॥ *In Lalubhai v Bai Amrit* 2 Bom 299 (at p 309) the verse of Kāt. is referred to.

1214 Vide *Sri Raghunadha v. Sri Brozo Kishoro* L. R. 3 I. A. 154 at p. 191

a partition of joint family property, but it is *not conclusive*'.[1215] Br. says that where there are no witnesses nor a document to prove partition, a conclusion may be arrived at by inference.

A few words may be said about the self-acquired property of the father or grand-father. According to the strict theory of the Mit the son[1216] acquires by birth an interest even in the self-acquired property of the father, but the Mit. makes it clear that the son has no power to prevent his father from disposing of his own self-acquisitions, but has to give his approval to his father's alienations of his self-acquisitions. The Mit sets out two smrti texts viz. 'though immovable property and bipeds may have been acquired by the father himself, there can be no gift nor sale of them without (calling together or) consulting all the sons. Those that are born, those that are unborn and those that are in (their mother's) womb expect maintenance (and therefore) there can be no gift nor sale'. But these have been treated by the Mit. and the Dāyabhāga also as more or less recommendatory If the father alienates his self-acquisitions without his son's consent he may be held guilty of transgressing a smrti precept but the transaction does hold good and is valid,[1217] since a fact cannot be altered by even a hundred texts (as the Dāyabhāga puts it). It should not be supposed that the Mit. was the first to propound this right as to self-acquisitions. Centuries before, the Visnu Dh. S. 17. 1 expressly declared that as regards self-acquired property the father has absolute discretion to divide it as he pleases.

1215 Vide *Ganesh Dutt v Jewach* L. R 31 I. A 10 at p. 13. साहसं स्थावरं न्यासः स्त्रीविभागश्च रिक्थिनाम् । अनुमानेन विज्ञेयं न स्यात्र पत्रसाक्षिणौ ॥ बृह. q by दायभाग XIV. 8, p 231, स्मृतिच II p. 310 (reads स्थावरस्वाम्यं), व्य. म. p. 564.

1216. तस्मात्पैतृके पैतामहे च द्रव्ये जन्मनैव स्वत्वम् । ... स्थावरे तु स्वार्जिते पित्रादिप्राप्ते च पुत्रादिपारतन्त्र्यमेव । स्थावरं द्विपदं चैव यद्यपि स्वयमर्जितम् । असम्भूय सुतान्सर्वान्न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥ ये जाता येऽप्यजाताश्च ये च गर्भे व्यवस्थिता । वृत्तिं च तेभिकाङ्क्षन्ति न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥ द्रव्यादिस्मरणात् । मिता on या. II 114. The first is q by the दायभाग II. 29-30 (for which see note 1125). The first is ascribed to बृह. by व्यव नि. p. 411.

1217 पैतृके पैतामहे च स्वाम्यं यद्यपि जन्मनैव तथापि पैतृके पितृपरतन्त्रत्वात् पितुश्चार्जकत्वेन प्राधान्यात् पित्रा विनियुज्यमाने स्वार्जिते द्रव्ये पुत्रेणानुमतिः कर्तव्या । पैतामहे तु द्वयोः स्वाम्यमविशिष्टमिति निषेधाधिकारोस्तीति विशेषः । मिता. on या. II. 121.

Kāt. (839) also says that the son has no ownership in the father's self-acquisition.[1218] When Yāj. II. 114 allows the father either to give the best share to the eldest son or to make an equal division among all sons, the Mit. explains that this unequal division holds good only as to the self-acquisitions of the father. Similarly when Nār. (dāyabhāga 12) or Śankha-Likhita say that the father may take two shares for himself, that is with reference to self-acquisitions, acc. to the Mit. Manu IX. 104 stating that sons have no power over property during the life of the parents refers to the self-acquisitions of the parents In modern times courts have followed the view that a Hindu father (or any Hindu person whatever) may give, sell or bequeath by will his self acquired property (whether movable or immovable) to any body he likes (vide *Rao Balwant Singh v Rani Kishori* 25 I. A. p. 54 at pp. 67-68 where the two verses cited by the Mit were held to contain only a moral precept and not a rule of law capable of being enforced).

Mr Kishori Lal Sarkar in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Mīmāmsā rules of interpretation states (p 21) that 'Mitākṣarā bears the impress of Buddhistic influence'. For this proposition he advances hardly any substantial evidence that will bear scrutiny. His reasons are mostly subjective and he refers to no ancient or medieval Buddhistic texts that elaborate the principle of taking property by birth or the rule of propinquity in deciding questions of inheritance, which two are the most fundamental tenets of the Mitāksarā system It appears that the evolution of the son's right to partition, of his equality with his father, of the absolute rights of a person to his self-acquisitions was a gradual indigenous growth and had nothing to do with Buddhistic thought. Buddhists had hardly any independent set of juristic ideas or works different from those of the Brahmanical jurists and in medieval times countries like Burma professing Buddhism turned to Brahmanic codes like that of Manu for regulating succession, inheritance and allied

1218. पैतामह समान स्यात्पितु. पुत्रस्य चोभयोः । स्वयं चोपार्जिते पित्रा न पुत्र. स्वाम्यमर्हति ॥ कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II. pp. 279-280, व्यव. नि. p. 410.

matters.[1219] Vide pp. 559–560 about the origin of Dāyabhāga doctrines.

In the preceding pages reference has been frequently made to sons, to their rights in ancestral property by birth and to their shares on partition. It is now time to refer to the various kinds of sons, principal (*mukhya*) and *gauṇa* (subsidiary or secondary).

In H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 560–561 passages from the Ṛgveda, the Tai. S, Śat. Br., Ait. Br., the sūtras and smṛtis emphasizing the importance of a son for the spiritual welfare of a man have been cited. The principal purposes served by the birth of a son are succinctly stated in the Ait. Br. 33. 1. viz. the son enables the father to pay off the debt he owes to his ancestors, to secure immortality (*amṛtatva*) and heavenly worlds These were the main purposes deemed to be served by a son in most remote times. Manu (IX. 106–107) and Yāj I. 78 also mention these benefits. The desire was to continue and perpetuate the family (*vaṃśasya avicchedah* as the Mit. has it) and to provide for the performance and preservation of religious *sacra* and offerings. This desire was common in ancient societies almost everywhere. The Śat. Br. XII. 4 3. 1 (S B. E. vol. 44 p 157) states 'the father in later life subsists on the son and the son in early life subsists on the father'. The Nirukta[1220] (III. 4) quotes a *ṛk* verse,' thou

1219. Vide 'Notes on Buddhist Law' by John Jardine and 'Principles of Buddhist Law' by Chan-toon (Rangoon, 1894) for the *Dhammathats* (Dharmaśāstras), their origin from Indian Codes and works and contents and *Mah Nhin Bwin v. U. Schwe Gone* L. R. 41 I A. 121 pp. 131–139 for detailed remarks on the 36 Dhammathats of which the Manu Kyay is the most important and which were derived in their remotest origin from the laws of Manu. In 'Champā' by Dr. R C Majumdar in Inscription No 65 of Jaya-Indravarman II dated śake 1010 it is said 'He followed 18 titles of law prescribed by Manu ('Manumārga') Manu VIII. 3 employs the words अष्टादश मार्गेषु निषद्धानि Vide also 'Indian influence on the Literature of Java and Bali' by Himansu Bhushan Sarkar pp 93–94 and 104 for the influence of Manu on Javanese and Balinese codes and Dr. Majumdar on 'Suvarnadvīpa' part II pp. 1–23

1220. तदेतदृक्श्लोकाभ्यामभ्युक्तम् । अङ्गादङ्गात्संभवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम् ॥ निरुक्त III. 4 This verse is found in कौषीतकि आरण्यक 4 11 and is prescribed as a *mantra* in the Āp. Mantrapāṭha II. 11. 33 for recital in *jātakarma*, in आश्व गृ 1. 15 11 and मानवगृह्य I. 18. 6 Vide H of Dh vol II p 235 n 537. It occurs also in कौ. ध सू II. 2. 15–16 (as a quotation) and in शङ्खलिखित (q by वि र. pp 554–555). The first half occurs in बृह. उप. VI 4 9 in another connection and the whole of it in आदिपर्व 74. 63.

art born from each of the limbs, from the heart (of the father), thou art indeed one's own self called son; mayst though live for a hundred autumns!'. Gradually the idea arose (probably suggested by etymologists) that the son saved the father from the Hell called *put*,[1221] as stated by Manu IX. 138 (= Ādiparva 229. 14 = Visnu Dh. S. 15. 44). The son's close connection with the offering of pindas to the ancestors is not much emphasized in the oldest works. But in the sūtras, in Manu and the other smrtis this aspect of the benefits derived from the son is far more prominent than the others. In speaking of the putrikā-putra Manu (IX 136) declares 'he should offer pinda' (to his maternal grandfather) and take the latter's wealth. As three descendants (son, grandson and great-grandson) presented pindas to the ancestor, all three had extravagant praises bestowed on them Manu IX. 137 says: 'a man secures the (higher) worlds through (the birth of) a son, he obtains permanence (in those worlds) through a grandson, through the son of a grandson he wins the world of the Sun'[1222]. The Visnudharma-sūtra 85. 67 declares[1223] 'A man should desire to have many sons (with the thought) that some one out of them may go to Gayā or offer the Aśvamedha sacrifice or let loose (in honour of the deceased father) a dark bull'. Br (q. in Par M. I. 2 p. 305) states: 'the pitrs afraid of falling into Hell desire to have sons; (they think) one of them may go to Gayā and that one will save us; he will set at liberty a bull, he may perform sacrifices and execute works of public utility (like tanks, temples and parks), he will take care of us in our old age, he will offer śrāddha day by day'. The Matsyapurāna 204 (3-17) contains verses (that are called *pitrgāthās*, verses sung by pitrs) which breathe the hankerings of deceased ancestors after what

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1221 The कौ. गृह्यपरिभाषा I 2 5 quotes 'पुरिति नरकस्याख्या दु खं च नरक विदु । पुदि त्राणासत. पुत्रमिहिच्छन्ति परत्र च ॥'; शङ्खलिखित q by वि. र p 555 state आत्मा पुत्र इति प्रोक्तः पितुर्मातुरुद्धयहात् । पुन्नाम्नो नरकात्त्रायते यस्मात्पुत्रस्तेनासि संज्ञितः ॥

1222. पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रध्नस्यामोति विष्टपम् ॥ मनु IX. 137. This verse occurs in Vas 17. 5, कौ. ध सू. II 9. 7 (reads last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरोहति), विष्णुध सू. 15. 46

1223 एतस्या बहव' पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गया व्रजेत । यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नील वा वृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 67 = मत्स्यपुराण 22. 6=वायु 150 10 = ब्रह्मपुराण 220 32-33 (which reads गौरीं वाप्युद्वहेत्कन्यां नील &c. मत्स्य (207 39-40) calls this verse an ancient गाथा and reads as in ब्रह्मपुराण. Compare अत्रिस्मृति verse 55 for almost the same verse कांक्षन्ति पितर पुत्राञ्जरकापातभीरवः । गया यास्यति यः कश्चित्तोस्मान्सन्तारयिष्यति । करिष्यति वृषोत्सर्गमेडापूर्तं तथैव च । पालयिष्यति वृद्धत्वे श्राद्धं दास्यति चान्वहम् । बृह. q. by परा. मा. I. 2, p. 305.

they expect their descendants to do such as offering water in holy rivers, śrāddhas, going to Gayā, gifts of various kinds, construction of tanks, &c.

It is not, however, to be supposed that purely secular benefits to be derived from sons were not thought of at all. People were alive to them but those benefits were submerged under the flood of extravagant ideas about the spiritual benefits derived from sons. For example, the Br.[1224] Up. I. 5. 16, after mentioning the three worlds of men, *pitṛs* and gods, declares that the world of men can be won only through the son (while in I. 5. 17 there is eulogy of the son and instruction to him that he is Brahma, he is yajña, he is the heavenly world). Nār. IV 5 says[1225] "fathers wish to have sons on their own account thinking in their hearts 'He will free me from low and high debts'". Kāt. (551) has a similar verse and makes the meaning of Nār. clear[1226]. Vide above (under ṛnādāna pp. 416–417).

Besides the *aurasa*, eleven or twelve kinds of subsidiary sons are mentioned by most ancient smṛti writers. Āp. Dh. S. does not recognize any son except the *aurasa*. Āp. quotes certain verses which express the view of an ancient sage called Aupajanghani and which are also quoted by the Baud. Dh. S. according to which the aurasa was to be recognized as the only son (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 602 n 1417 for the quotation) Āp. II. 5. 13 10 emphasizes that there can be no real gift or sale of one's child (*dānam krayadhaḥ maścāpatyasya na vidyate*). But Āp. Dh. S. clearly shows that it knew that ksetraja sons were

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1224. अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जय्यो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोकः । बृह. उप. I. 5. 16.

1225. इच्छन्ति पितरः पुत्रान् स्वार्थहेतोर्यतस्ततः । उत्तमर्णाधमर्णेभ्यो मामयं मोचयिष्यति । नारद (ऋणादान 5), कृष्ण says to घटोत्कच in द्रोणपर्व 173. 54 'इच्छन्ति पितरः पुत्रान्स्वार्थहेतोर्घटोत्कच । इह लोकात्परे लोके तारयिष्यन्ति ये हिताः ॥'. 'जायमानोऽ इति श्रुत्युक्तं पितृऋणमुत्तमं बृहद्या देयमधममृणमित्यर्थः । ' वि ता folio 181.

1226. पितॄणां सुतमिर्जातैर्दानेनैवाधमाद्दणात् । विमोक्षस्तु यतस्तस्मादिच्छन्ति पितरः सुतान् ॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच. II. p 168, परा. मा. III. 263.

raised and forbids that practice. In II. 6. 13. 1–5[1227] it states, 'sons begotten by a man, who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste that has not belonged to another man (as wife) and that has been married to him according to the śāstras, have the privilege to follow the occupations (peculiar to their castes) and to inherit property; if a man has sexual intercourse with a woman who had been married before to another or was not married legally to him or belongs to a different caste, they both incur sin and through that (i. e their sinfulness) the son also becomes sinful'. In II. 10. 27. 2–6 Āp. condemns the practice of *niyoga* 'a husband (or his elders) shall not appoint a wife who occupies the position of a *sagotra* to others (who are not sagotra), for they declare that a bride is given to the family (of the husband and not to the husband alone). This (practice of appointment) is forbidden (now) on account of the weakness of (men's) senses The hand of even a sagotra is (deemed in law to be) that of a stranger, as well as that of any other person (except the husband) If the marriage vow is violated, both (husband and wife) go to Hell.' Gaut. 28. 30–31, Baud. Dh S II. 2. 14–37, Vas 17. 12–38, Arthaśāstra III. 7, Śankha-Likhita (q by V. R. p 547), Hārita (q by V. R. p. 549), Manu IX. 158–160, Yāj. II. 128–132, Nār. (dāyabhāga 45–46), Kāt (q. by V. Nir pp. 434–435), Br. (S. B. E. vol 33 pp. 375–376 verses 33–35, 39–41), Devala (q by Haradatta on Gaut. 28. 32, Dāyabhāga X. 7–8 p 147, V. R p 550), Visnu Dh. S. 15 1–30, Mahābhārata (Ādiparva 120 31–34), Brahmapurāna (q. by Aparārka p. 737), Yama (q. by V. R p. 147 and D. C. pp. 80–81) enumerate the several *sons* in different sequences and sometimes under different names also Taking the order in the Manusmrti as the basis, the following table will, it is hoped, convey some idea about their number, rank and importance.

1227. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथर्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः । दायेन .. पूर्ववदयामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोष । तत्रापि दोषवान्पुत्र एव । आप ध सू. II. 6 13. 1–4, सगोत्रस्थानीयां न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत । कुलाय हि स्त्री प्रदीयत इत्युपदिशन्ति । तदिन्द्रियदौर्बल्यादिमतिपत्स्यम् । अविशिष्टं हि परत्व पाणेः । तदृश्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरक । आप. ध. सू. II 10 27 2–6.

Kind of son (acc. to Manu)	Gautama	Baudhāyana	Kautilya	Vasistha	Hārita	Sankha-Likhita	Yāj.	Nārada	Brhaspati	Devala	Visnu	Ādiparva	Yama	Brahma-purāna
1 Aurasa[1228] ..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2 Putrikāputra	10	2	2	3	5	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	3	2
3 Ksetraja .	2	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	3	2	3
4 Datta .	3	4	9	8	7	9	7	9	4	9	8	7	9	4
5 Krtrima	4	5	11		.		9	11	7	11	12	9	10	6
6 Gūdhotpanna .	5	6	4	6	6	6	4	6	12	5	6	6	6	9
7 Apaviddha	6	7	5	11	9	7	12	8	5	6	11		7	8
8 Kānīna .	7	8	6	5	4	5	5	4	10	4	5	5	5	10
9 Sahodha ..	8	9	7	7	10	8	11	5	11	7	7	11	8	11
10 Krīta	12	10	12	9	8	10	8	10	6	12	9	8	11	7
11 Paunarbhava .	9	11	8	4	3	4	6	7	9	8	4	4	4	12
12 Svayamdatta	11	12	10	10	11	12	10	12		10	10	10	12	5
13 Saudra .		13	.	12	.	11			8	.		12	...	13

1228. The औरस is called स्वयंजात in आदिपर्व 120 33 I understand प्रणीत, परिक्रीत and स्वैरिणीपुत्र in the आदिपर्व to be the same as पुत्रिकापुत्र, क्षेत्रज and गूढज respectively. स्वयंजातः प्रणीतश्च परिक्रीतश्च यः सुत·। पौनर्भवश्च कानीन. स्वैरिण्यां यश्च जायते। दत्तः क्रीतः कृत्रिमश्च उपगच्छेत्स्वयं च य· । सहोढो ज्ञातिरेताश्च हीनयोनिधृतश्च यः। पूर्वपूर्वतमाभावं मत्वा लिप्सेत वै सुतम् । उत्तमाद्वेवरात्पुंस· काङ्क्षन्ते पुत्रमापदि । आदिपर्व 120. 33-35. I take ज्ञातिरेता· as an adjective of सहोढ and हीनयोनिधृतः as शौद्र It has to be noted that the अनुशासनपर्व (49 3-11) mentions 20 sons in all and employs a peculiar terminology in several cases, viz औरस (also called अनन्तरज), निरुक्तज (for क्षेत्रज), प्रसूतज (meaning अनियोगोत्पन्न), पतितात्स्वभार्यायां जात, and speaks of दत्त, क्रीत, अध्यूढ (=सहोढ), 6 अपर्यंसजs (i e अनुलोमs), कानीन and 6 अपसदs (चाण्डाल, व्रात्य, वैद्य, मागध, वामक and सूत). The Anusāsana (49. 11) expressly states that it is not possible to deny altogether the status of sonship to these sons (पुत्रा ह्येते न शक्यन्ते मिथ्या कर्तुं नराधिप) . It then says (49. 20-21) that when a boy is abandoned by his parents and he is brought up by another and his natural parents are not known, he belongs to the caste of the man who brings him up and that even for कानीन and अध्यूढ (सहोढ) sons samskāras are to be performed as if they were one's sons (49 25-26)

Viṣnu Dh. S. (15. 27) mentions 'yatra-kvacanotpādita' (procreated anywhere) as the 12th and last The com. Vaijayanti explains it in two ways: (1) procreated by a person on a woman, regardless of whether she is his own or another's wife or whether she is of the same caste or not, whether she is married or unmarried, whether her marriage has been consummated or not; (2) the son of a man from a śūdra woman not married to him. Even in the last sense he cannot be called *śaudra* (whom Manu IX. 178 and Yāj. I. 91 define as the son of a śūdra *wife* from a brāhmaṇa). Hārīta as quoted in the V R p 549 mentions a son called 'sahasā dṛsta' (seen by chance), who seems to be probably the same as kṛtrima The śaudra is omitted by several writers (even ancient ones) like Gautama, Kauṭilya and Hārīta Manu speaks of only twelve sons (IX. 158) and does not enumerate the putrikāputra among them, though he speaks of the putrikā (IX. 127 and 134 and elsewhere) as equal to the son It is therefore that Br. (S. B E. 33 p 375 verse 33) states that of the thirteen sons mentioned in succession by Manu the legitimate son of the body (*aurasa*) and the *putrikā* (the daughter appointed as a son) continue the family. Vas. 17. 12 emphatically declares (*dvādaśa ityeva putrāḥ purāṇadṛṣṭāḥ*) that only twelve sons have been noticed by the ancient (sages) and it is no doubt true that most writers generally enumerate twelve. A smṛti text quoted by Haradatta on Gautama and by the Dattaka-mīmāṃsā mentions 15 kinds of sons. Vide note below[1229]. The number is arrived at by counting the putrikā

1229 औरस· पुत्रिका बीजिक्षेत्रजौ पुत्रिकासुतः । पौनर्भवश्च कानीन सहोढो गूढसंभव· । दत्तः क्रीतः स्वयंदत्त. कृत्रिमश्चापविद्धकः । यत्र क्वचोत्पादितश्च पुत्रारण्या दश पञ्च च ॥ स्मृति q by हरदत्त on गौ. 28 32, दत्त मी. p 68. The compound बीजिक्षेत्रजौ is to be taken as बीजिज and क्षेत्रज. The word *bījin* is the epithet of the man who is appointed to beget issue in the practice of *niyoga*, the बीजिज being the son begotten by such a man, who (the son) is deemed by some to be the son of both (of the begetter and of the husband of the wife). Dr Jolly in Tagore Law Lectures on partition &c. p 146 is wrong in taking 'bījin' as 'the son procreated with another man's wife', 'Bījin' is employed by Gaut. IV 3 and Manu IX 51–53 in the sense given above Vide H. of Dh II p 599 n. 1409 for bījin, kṣetra (meaning wife) and *kṣetrika* तद्वत्परस्त्रियाः पुत्रौ द्वौ सुतौ कुण्डगोलकौ । पत्यौ जीवति कुण्ड. स्यान्मृते भर्तरि गोलक ॥ औरसः क्षेत्रजश्चैव दत्त· कृत्रिमकः सुतः । दद्यान्माता पिता वापि स पुत्रो दत्तको भवेत् ॥ पराशर IV. 23–24. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (21 14–15) says that though certain sages provide that the Kuṇḍa and Golaka sons should have the saṃskāras performed on them, that was the practice in other ages and that it is prohibited in the Kali age.

(daughter appointed as a son) and the putrikāputra (the son of the appointed daughter) as two, dividing the ksetraja into two viz. as the son of the begetter (*bījin*) and as the son of the wife (i. e. of the husband of the wife) and the son produced anywhere (as mentioned by Viṣṇu Dh. S.) is 15th and the last. The Parāśarasmṛti (IV. 23–24) mentions, besides Kuṇḍa and Golaka, only five kinds of sons.

It is necessary, before proceeding further, to give brief definitions of the twelve or thirteen kinds of sons from Manu and other writers The legitimate son (aurasa) is one begotten by a man on his own wedded wife of the same caste. The putrikāputra [1230] is of two kinds; (1) a sonless man may appoint his daughter as his son (she is then called *putrikā* and treated as a son); (2) or she may be given to a person in marriage with the stipulation 'I give you in marriage this brotherless girl decked with ornaments; the son born of her will be my son'. In this case the son born of the daughter so given becomes the son of his maternal grandfather. The *ksetraja* (the son of the wife) is one who is begotten on a man's wife (or widow) by a *sagotra* (agnatic kinsman) or by one not of the same gotra, according to the rules of *niyoga*, when the man himself is either dead or impotent or suffering from (an incurable) disease. That is the son given (*dattaka* or *dattrima*) whom his father or mother gives as a son affectionately in a time of distress with water and who is of the same caste (as the adopter). He is the son called *krtrima* (made) whom a man makes his son, the latter being of the same caste, being clever in distinguishing between right and wrong and being endowed with the qualities a son should possess He is the son born secretly (*gūḍhotpanna or gūḍhaja* as he is called by Baud. and Yāj), who is born in a man's house, it being not known who is his begetter; and he belongs to him of whose wife he is born. He is the son called *apaviddha* (cast off) whom a man receives as his son after he has been abandoned by his parents or by one of them. The *kānīna* (maiden's son) is one whom a maiden bears secretly in the house of her father and he belongs to him who marries her afterwards.

1230 पुत्रिकासुतो द्वेधा। तत्राद्यमाह वसिष्ठः (१७. १७)—अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलङ्कृताम्। अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥ इति । अन्त्यमाह स एव—तृतीयः पुत्रिकैव—इति। अस्मिन्पक्षे कन्यैव पितुरौर्ध्वदेहिकादि कार्यम्। व्य. मयूख p. 107 In the first sense mentioned above in the text the word पुत्रिकापुत्र is dissolved as पुत्रिका एव पुत्रः (a कर्मधारय) and in the 2nd as पुत्रिकायाः पुत्रः (a तत्पुरुष compound). The मिता. on या II. 128 gives the same explanation.

The *sahodha* (received together with the bride) is the son born of a woman who was pregnant at the time of marriage, whether that fact was known or unknown (to the person marrying her) and he belongs to the person who weds the (pregnant) woman. The *krīta* (son bought) is one who is bought by a person from his father and mother for making the boy his son, whether the boy be equal or unequal (in qualities) The *paunarbhava* (the son of a remarried woman) is one to whom a woman, being abandoned by her husband or being a widow, gives birth after she contracts a second marriage of her own accord. He, who, having lost his parents or being abandoned by them without proper cause, gives himself to a man (as a son) is called *svayaṁdatta* (a son self-given). The son whom a brāhmana begets through lust from a śūdra wife is called pāraśava (or śaudra), since he, though living, is (like a) corpse.

The list of twelve or thirteen kinds of sons looks rather formidable, has puzzled and misled even great scholars into making all sorts of sweeping assertions and putting forward untenable theories about the origin and necessity of so many sons. For example, Dr. Jolly in his '*Recht und Sitte*' (English tr. p. 156) observes 'The twelve kinds of sonship, which to some extent are based on the illicit connection of the mother and for the greater part have nothing to do with the blood-relationship of the son with the father, are probably the most striking feature of Indian family law. The cause of this abnormal importance being attached to male issue is to be sought, according to the smrtis, in the offering of sacrifices to the *manes* which depends upon the male issue; yet, however, originally an economic motive was perhaps a more important factor in it—to get for the family as many powerful workers as possible' The learned writer appears to hold that the smrtis regarded all the secondary sons as equally competent to confer spiritual benefit and that at one and the same time a man could have all or most of them as sons. But he is mistaken in both these respects. The very definition of putrikāputra, ksetraja[1231] and dattaka given by many of the smrtis show that one who has already an aurasa

1231 अपुत्रोऽनेन विधिना सुता कुर्वीत पुत्रिकाम् । मनु IX. 127, पितोत्सृजेत्पुत्रिकामनपत्योऽपि प्रजापतिं चेद्दत्वाऽस्मादधंमपत्यमिति सवाच्य । गौ 28. 16, देवराद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा स्त्रिया सम्यङ्नियुक्तया । प्रजेप्सिताधिगन्तव्या सन्तानस्य परिक्षये ॥ मनु IX, 59, अपुत्रेणैव कर्तव्य पुत्रप्रतिनिधि. सदा । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतोर्यस्मात्तस्मात्प्रयत्नत. ॥ अत्रि 52 q. by दत्त. मी. p. 3 and दत्त. च. p. 2.

son, grandson or great-grandson could not have a putrikāputra, a ksetraja or an adopted son. If the definitions of all the 12 or 13 kinds of sons are carefully analysed, it will be quite apparent that the long list is due to the ancient writers' great *penchant* for divisions and sub-divisions based upon very slight differences of circumstances The several kinds can be classified into three or four groups as done by Devala.[1232] All the five sons called *dattaka, krīta, krtrima, svayamdatta* and *apaviddha* are sons who are affiliated by a person under various circumstances. There is no tinge of any illicit connection of the mother in any one of these, the one thing common to all of them being that they are the sons of one man and are treated by another as his. Similarly the *paunarbhava* and *śaudra* are the legal sons of the man himself, but there is opprobrium attaching to them, because in the first case the mother contracted a remarriage (which was very much condemned by the smrtis) and in the other a brāhmana married a śūdra woman (which also was looked down upon, if not absolutely forbidden as done by Yāj. I. 56) The *paunarbhava* son of a *dvija* is still called a dvija by Manu III. 181, but Manu only provides that he is not fit to be invited at a śrāddha. The putrikā (the daughter appointed as a son) is the man's own child and the putrikāputra also is the man's own grandchild and both these are special cases of adoption and no question of mother's illicit connection arises in these. So out of 13 kinds of sons, nine were entirely free from any taint of illicit connection. There remain only the four viz. ksetraja, gūdhotpanna, kānina, sahodha. The ksetraja was in a class by himself and was a survival of an ancient practice prevalent in many countries all the world over, which had been condemned in India by Āp. (as shown above on p 644) and his predecessors several centuries before the Christian era. It may, however, be pointed out that some medieval writers held the view that several secondary sons like the dattaka, krīta &c. could be had by a man having no aurasa son,[1232a]

1232 एते द्वादश पुत्रास्तु सन्तत्यर्थमुदाहृताः । आत्मजा. परजाश्चैव लब्धा याद्दच्छिकास्तथा ॥ देवल q by दायभाग X. 7 p. 147, वि. र. p. 550, हरदत्त on गौ 28. 32. The औरस, पुत्रिका, पौनर्भव and शौद्र would be आत्मज, the क्षेत्रज would be परज, the कृत्रक, कृत्रिम, क्रीत, स्वयंदत्त and अपविद्ध would be लब्ध (and also परज) and गूढज, कानीन and सहोढ may be called याद्दच्छिक.

1232a. Vide the वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी of बालकृष्ण (D. C. Ms. No. 203 of 1886-92, folio 11b) 'तस्मादुक्तमकारेणोक्तविधेः काम्यत्वप्रसाधनद्वारा यावत्कामनासिद्धिपर्यन्तं पुत्रान्तरग्रहणस्य शास्त्रसिद्धत्वयोक्तं वृत्तादिभिः पुत्रैर्बहुपुत्रत्वं पितुः समर्थनमेवेति सिद्धान्तः ।

The chief concern of the *smṛtis* as shown clearly by the Anuśāsanaparva (*chap.* 49 quoted above on p. 645) and the com. of Nīlakaṇṭha was to provide for the maintenance and the performance of the saṃskāras of those children that may be either abandoned by their parents or may be under the cloud of illegitimacy.

There is great confusion and contradiction among the sūtras and smṛtis about the place of the several kinds of sons and about their rights. For example, Gautama (probably the most ancient among extant *sūtrakāras*) assigns the 10th place to the putrikāputra, while Baud., Kaut., Yāj, Bṛ. and Devala give him the 2nd place and Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Nār, and Viṣṇu put him 3rd. The *datlaka* is placed very low in the list by most works except by Manu, Gaut, Baud., Br. and Brahmapurāṇa (which put him 3rd or 4th). The 12 kinds are put in two groups by some works. Gaut. (28. 30-31) provides that the aurasa, kṣetraja, datta, kṛtrima, gūdhotpanna and apaviddha are *rikthabhājaḥ* (take the wealth) and also belong to the *gotra* of the man whose sons they are, while the other six take only the gotra but not the wealth. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 36-37) employs the same words *rikthabhājaḥ* and *gotrabhājaḥ* but differs from Gaut. in including putrikāputra among 'rikthabhājaḥ' and omitting him from the group of 'gotrabhājaḥ'.[1233] Another division (each having six kinds) is into *bandhu-dāyāda* or *dāyādabāndhava* (Manu IX. 158-159 and Nār. dāyabhāga 47) and *adāyādabāndhava* (Manu IX. 160, Vas. 17. 38, Nār. dāyabhāga. 47) The first group, acc. to Manu, comprises aurasa (also putrikā), kṣetraja, datta, kṛtrima, gūdhotpanna and apaviddha They are so called because they take the wealth of their father and also of his kinsmen (in the absence of nearer heirs), while the members of the 2nd group (which acc. to Manu IX. 160 comprises kānina,

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1233. पुत्रा औरसक्षेत्रजकृत्रिमगूढोत्पन्नापविद्धा रिक्थभाजः। कानीनसहोढपौनर्भव-पुत्रिकापुत्रस्वयंदत्तक्रीता गोत्रभाजः। गौ 28 30-31; एते गोत्रभाजो गोत्रमेव केवलं भजन्ते न रिक्थम्। पूर्वे तु रिक्थभाजो गोत्रभाजश्चौरसेन सहाभिधानात्। सर्वे चैते सजातीयाः। हरदत्त. What is meant by रिक्थभाजः is not quite certain. *Does it mean* 'they take the wealth of their father and of his kinsmen' *or does it mean* 'they take the wealth of their father alone and of no *one else*' देवल appears to hold that बन्धुदायाद has the first sense तेषां बन्धुदायादाः पूर्वेषां पितुरेव यद्। देवल q. by दायभाग X 7 p 147 Both the मिता on या II 132 and the दायभाग explain बन्धुदायाद in the first of the two senses set out above. 'औरसादयः यद् न केवलं पितुर्दायहराः किन्तु बन्धूनामपि सपिण्डादीनां दायहराः। अन्ये परभूताः पितुरेव पर दायहरा न सपिण्डादीनाम्। दायभाग X. 8 p. 147. स्वयजातः पितृबन्धूनां च दायादः। परे जातः संस्कर्तृरेव न बन्धूनाम्। अर्थशास्त्र III. 7.

sahodha, kṛita, paunarbhava, svayamdatta and śaudra) are only bāndhavas (i. e belong to the gotra of their father), but cannot succeed to the wealth of their father's kinsmen. Here also there is no agreement among the smṛtis. Vas. (17. 5–25), Śankha-Likhita (q. in V R p 247), Nār. dāyabhāga 47 and Hārīta include in the first group aurasa, kṣetraja, putrikāputra, paunarbhava, kānīna and gūdhaja and the rest in the 2nd group. Kaut asserts that only the aurasa son succeeds as heir to the kinsmen of his father while the others (that are not procreated by him) succeed only to the father who brings them up, but not to his kinsmen Yāj II. 132 states that each of the twelve kinds mentioned by him takes the wealth of the father and offers *piṇḍa* to him in default of the preceding one and further requires that this is so only if it is certain that the sons are of the same caste as that of the father. Gaut. 28. 32 states that[1234] the kānīna and the other sons called *gotrabhājah* (in 28. 31) take only one fourth of the estate of the father if no aurasa nor any of the other sons called *rikthabhājah* exists (and the rest of the estate is taken by the sapindas), while Kaut, Devala and Kāt. (857) state that the dattaka, kṣetraja and other kinds of sons are entitled to one third share only if an aurasa is born provided they are of the same *varṇa* and that if they are of a different caste, they are only entitled to food and raiment. If a man, having no son, made his daughter a putrikā or thinking himself to be impotent had a kṣetraja son or adopted a son and then an aurasa son was born, difficult questions of the distribution of his property arose on which there was no unanimity. Manu IX. 163 says that only the aurasa son is entitled to all the paternal wealth and all the other kinds should be given maintenance in order to avoid the fault of being cruel. But as regards the case where a putrikā is first made and then an aurasa is born Manu (IX. 134) prescribes that these two should divide the paternal estate equally,[1235] while

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1234. चतुर्थांशिन औरसाद्यभावे । गौ. 28 32 ; तेषां सवर्णा ये पुत्रास्ते तृतीयांशभागिनः । हीनास्तदुपजीवेयुर्ग्रासाच्छादनसभृता. ॥ देवल q by दायभाग X 7. p 147, उत्पन्ने त्वौरसे पुत्रे चतुर्थांशहरा· स्मृता· । सवर्णा असवर्णासु ग्रासाच्छादनभाजनाः ॥ कात्या. q. by मिता. on या II. 132 दायभाग X. 13 p. 148 and वि. चि p 150 read तृतीयाशहरा· in कात्या. ; औरसे तूत्पन्ने सवर्णास्तृतीयाशहरा· । असवर्णा ग्रासाच्छादनभागिनः । अर्थशास्त्र III. 7. The मदनरत्न (folio 93*b*) says कल्पतरु read 'तृतीयांशहराः'

1235 बृहस्पति appears to combine Manu IX 163 and 134 'एक एवौर पित्र्ये धने स्वामी प्रकीर्तितः । तद्वृत्त्या तु स्त्रियः सर्वा भर्तव्यास्त्वपरे स्मृताः ॥ q. by वि. p. 541, स्मृ. चं. p. 427, मदनरत्न, folio 93b)

Manu IX. 164 asks the aurasa to give 1/5 or 1/6 of the paternal wealth to the ksetraja This confusion and contradiction about the places and the shares of the several sons leads one to infer that the institution of several kinds of sons was not very common or generally recognized, was rather confined to some localities or communities and was dying out even in the times of the ancient smrtis, if it ever existed in full force at all at any time.

As regards gūdhaja, kānIna and sahodha there is this to be said. They were the result of illicit connection; but some one had to maintain them, to bring them up and be their guardian. The smrtis when they assign these as the sons of the husbands of the women of whom they are born are really providing for these matters of maintenance and guardianship. Br. says that dattaka, apaviddha, krIta, krta, and śaudra, if of pure caste and pure actions, are middling, while the ksetraja, paunarbhava, kānIna, sahodha and gūdhaja are condemned by the good (S B. E. 33 p. 376 verses 40–41).[1236] The kānIna was to be under the guardianship of the father of the girl (Yāj. II. 129) till she remained unmarried, but when she married the damsel's son came under the dominion of the person who married her (Manu IX. 172). The very fact that the kānIna was assigned to the husband who married the girl shows that this was done because it was deemed that by marrying such a girl the husband condoned her past lapses. Similarly in the case of *sahodha*, it was deemed that either the child must have been procreated by the husband himself before marriage or that he condoned the conduct of the wife. It appears to have been thought that when the husband (the party most concerned) did not openly object it was not open or allowable for any one else even by proof that the child was kānIna or sahodha to call

1236. वृत्तोपविद्धः क्रीतश्च कृतः शौद्रस्तथैव च। जातिशुद्धाः कर्मशुद्धा मध्यमास्ते स्मृता मताः॥ क्षेत्रजो गर्हितः सद्भिस्तथा पौनर्भवः स्मृतः। कानीनश्च सहोढश्च गूढोत्पन्नस्तथैव च॥ बृहद्. q. by वि. र. p 552; हारीत (q by वि र. 552) designates क्रीत, स्वयंदत्त and शौद्र as काण्डपृष्ठ शूद्रापुत्राः स्वयंदत्ता ये चैते क्रीतकास्तथा। सर्वे ते शौद्रिकाः पुत्राः काण्डपृष्ठा न संशयः॥ स्वकुलं पृष्ठतः कृत्वा यो वै परकुलं व्रजेत्। तेन दुश्चरितेनासौ काण्डपृष्ठो न संशयः॥ The 2nd verse is quoted by अपरार्क p 455 नारद IV 60 calls a ब्राह्मण who persists in the profession of arms after a season of distress is over काण्डपृष्ठ. The अनुशासनपर्व 23 22 has that word. कुल काण्डमिति ख्यात यस्माद् बाणाः ते जहुः। तत्र ज्येष्ठतरो य. स्यात् स वै काण्डं विनिर्दिशेत्। यम q by व्य म. p 486 which also quotes the verse स्वकुल° from यम and हारीत both separately काण्डपृष्ठ literally means one who carries on his back arrows' (i. e probably a brāhmaṇa whose profession is that of a soldier).

for the abandonment of the child. Similar remarks apply to the gūḍhaja As shown in H. of Dh vol. II pp. 571–573 if the wife was guilty of adultery the husband had certain powers of correction over the wife, but if he chose to be complaisant, then the smṛtis did not compel him to disown or abandon the child. These very smṛtis (like Gautama, Vas , Nār.) that are very harsh on women for adultery allow the gūḍhaja, kānīna and sahoḍha to be secondary sons. So the only way in which these two attitudes can be reconciled is by holding that when the husband condones moral lapses on the part of the woman whom he had accepted as his wife the smṛtis provide for the maintenance, guardianship and succession of such offspring of illicit connection. Even among medieval commentators there was divergence about paunarbhava, kānīna, sahodha and gūḍhaja; Medhātithi on Manu IX. 181 holds that they are entitled to nothing but food and raiment in any case, while the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 132) holds that even the kānīna and the rest take the father's wealth in default of aurasa and the other kinds of sons. The Mit. (on Yāj. I. 90) however holds that kānīna, sahodha and gūḍhaja being the outcome of adultery cannot be savarna with the husband of their mother, are really different from savarna sons and even anuloma and pratiloma sons.

A good deal can be said about the spiritual benefit supposed to be derived from secondary sons.

The high eulogy bestowed on the son in the Vedic and smṛti literature has reference only to the *aurasa* son. Manu IX. 180 asserts that the eleven kinds of sons viz. kṣetraja and the rest (except aurasa and putrikā) are merely substitutes for the real son, admitted to prevent the cessation of religious rites and in IX. 181 Manu states the final conclusion that such sons as the *kṣetraja* that are procreated from the seed of others really belong to him from whose seed they spring and not to the other man (who takes them up). Br [1237] (S B E. 33 p. 375 verses 35–36) declares: 'thirteen sons were enumerated in

1237. पुत्रास्त्रयोदश प्रोक्ता मनुना येऽग्रपूर्वशः । सन्तानकारणं तेषामौरसः पुत्रिका तथा ॥ आज्ये चिना यथा तैल सन्निधिः प्रतिनिधि स्मृतम् । तथैकादश पुत्रास्तु पुत्रिकौरसयोरिना ॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p 735, व्यव. नि. p. 439. The 2nd is attributed to बृहद्बृहस्पति by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 181 The कृत्यरत्नाकर (p. 73) quotes मैत्रायणीयपरिशिष्ट as follows 'आज्याभावे तैलं प्रतिनिधिरलाभे दधिपयसी तदलाभे तण्डुलपिष्टानि वान्द्रि संसृज्याज्यार्थे कुर्वन्ति ' The सन्यासाष्टकभाष्यतत् III 1 provides: यथा दुग्धलाभे सर्पिषोऽभावे तैलम्

order by Manu, out of whom only the aurasa and putrikā are the cause of propagating the line. Just as oil is declared by the good to be a substitute (in sacrifices) in the absence of clarified butter, so the eleven kinds of sons in the absence of *aurasa* and *putrikā*[1238] (are admitted merely as substitutes and not the real thing).' Although Yāj. II. 132 declares that each succeeding one out of the twelve kinds of sons takes the estate in the absence of each preceding one and offers *piṇḍa* to the deceased owner, yet the efficacy of the pindas offered by the several sons was deemed to differ very much. Manu leaves no room for doubt on this point when he says (IX. 161) 'a man desiring to cross beyond the gloom (of bad worlds, hells) through (or with the help of) bad sons (such as the *kṣetraja*) secures a result similar to what a person crossing (a sheet of) water in a leaking boat secures'. The idea is that secondary sons cannot confer the same spiritual benefit as the *aurasa* son can Medhātithi on Manu IX. 166 and the D. M. explain this very clearly. An aurasa son confers the highest spiritual benefit. The substitute sons (as indicated by the very use of the word *pratinidhi*) confer a much less benefit. Even a man's widow can perform his śrāddha if he be sonless, but as she could not offer the *pārvaṇa śrāddha* her act was not deemed to be as efficacious as a *śrāddha performed by a son.*[1239] Jaimini devotes several sūtras to the subject of *pratinidhi* (a substitute) in VI. 3. 13-41. The main conclusion established is that generally speaking there can be no substitute as regards the *devatā* (the deity to which a particular offering is directed by the Veda to be offered in a particular sacrifice), the fire (āhavanīya and other consecrated fires), the *mantra* (which is to accompany a particular offering) and certain rites specifically prescribed to be done in a sacrifice (such as 'samidho yajati' in Darśa-pūrṇamāsa) and the *svāmin* (the sacrificer) On Jaimini VI.

1238. कानीनसहोढपौनर्भवगूढोत्पन्ना न रिक्थभाजः दत्तकादयस्तु रिक्थभाजोऽस्यौरसे कानीनादयश्च सत्यौरसे न पितृधनहराः ग्रासाच्छादनभाजः केवलं सत्यसति चौरसे। मेधा. on मनु. IX. 181; औरसाभावे तु कानीनादीनामपि सकलपित्र्यधनग्रहणमस्त्येव। पूर्वाभावे परः परः—इति वचनात्। मिता. on या II. 132.

1239. यद्यपि पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्यादित्यादिना पत्न्यादीनामपि क्रियाधिकारः श्रूयते तथापि नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीत्यादिश्रवणात् पुत्रकृतक्रियाजन्या लोका न कयादिकृतक्रियया जन्यन्त इत्यवश्यं वाच्यम्। ... उक्तं च मेधातिथिना। यद्यौरसस्य प्रथमकालिपकत्ववचनं तत्र व्यवहारोपयोगि किं तु उपकारातिशयाय। यथौरसो भूयांस शक्नोत्युपकारं कर्तुं न तथेतर इति। उपकारापचयाभिप्रायश्च प्रतिनिधिष्वपहार इति। दत्त. मी. pp. 38-39 The passage quoted from मेधा occurs in his भाष्य on मनु IX. 166 (with slight variations)

3. 35 Śabara makes[1240] it clear that in employing a *pratinidhi* the vedic rite becomes deficient and does not yield the full reward of the religious act. The Satyāsāḍha Śr S. III. 1. asserts[1241] that there can be no substitute for the sacrificer, the wife, the son, the place, time &c. (prescribed by the Vedic texts for any rite) Therefore it is clear that there was difference of view among very ancient writers about the spiritual benefit to be derived from substitute sons. The natural human tendency to simplify matters and water down strict injunctions prevailed and it began to be thought that even subsidiary sons conferred some spiritual benefit (though not as much as the aurasa son) For about two thousand years the ksetraja and other sons have been prohibited by the smrtis. For example, Br states that Manu first describes the procedure of *niyoga* and then forbids it, that it is impossible to practise *niyoga* in the *dvāpara* and *kali* ages owing to the deterioration in man's knowledge and *tapas* (vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 603 n. 1418 for the quotation). The passage from Śaunaka forbidding sons other than *aurasa* and *dattaka* in the Kali age quoted by Aparārka and others has been cited above (n. 1131).

A few remarks will be made on each of the several sons.

Aurasa. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 14, Manu IX. 166, Vas 17. 13, Visnu Dh. S. 15 2, Kaut. III. 7 and others define the aurasa as the son procreated by a man himself from his wife married acc. to sacramental forms prescribed by the śāstra From Āp. (quoted above in n. 1227) and Baud it follows that the aurasa is only the son procreated on a wife of the same varna as that of the husband; but this was the purists' view. Others including

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1240 अभावे हि श्रुतस्यानुकल्पः प्रतिनिधिः। श्रुते हि सकला व्यक्तयः। प्रतिनिधौ विकलाः। शबर on जै VI 3 35.

1241 न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य वेशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवताया. कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते। सत्याषाढश्रौत III. 1 The D. M. (pp 33-34) explains this sūtra about there being no प्रतिनिधि in place of a son by saying that it is restricted to certain śrauta matters only such as the 'Pitāputriya sāman', or the uttering of a benediction in the words 'tantave jyotismatīm &c' and that if the sūtra were taken as forbidding a substitute for a son everywhere, it would be opposed to Manu (IX. 180 पुत्रप्रतिनिधीनाहु) and Atri यद्यपि 'न स्वामित्वस्य .. प्रतिनिधि.' इति सत्याषाढवचनेन पुत्रप्रतिनिधिनिराकरणं तत् 'तन्तवे ज्योतिष्मती तामाशिषमाशासते' इत्यादौ अपुत्रस्य पुत्रप्रतिनिधिं कृत्वा आशीराशंसननिवृत्त्यर्थम्। अत एव श्रुतिः यस्य पुत्रो जातः स्यात् तन्तवे ज्योतिष्मतीमिति ब्रूयात्। ... न पुन सर्वथैव पुत्रप्रतिनिधिनिराकरणार्थम्। पुत्रप्रतिनिधि कर्तव्य· पुत्रप्रतिनिधीनाहुरित्यादिस्मृतिविरोधात्। वृत्त. मी. pp. 33-34. Vide तै सं. I. 5. 8.

such medieval works as the Mit. (on Yāj II. 133), the Pārijāta and Aparārka hold that even the son procreated on a wife married in the anuloma order[1242] (e. g. the son of a brāhmana from a ksatriya wife or of a ksatriya from a vaiśya caste wife) was also *aurasa* The exception was the son of a brāhmana from a śūdra wife, who was called *śaudra* or *pārasava* and distinguished from the technical aurasa. From the definition of aurasa given by all smrti writers (and the dicta of such commentaries as the Mit) it follows that in order to be an aurasa the procreation and the birth of the son must both be after the marriage But the Privy Council held long ago in *Pedda Amani* v *Zemindar* of *Marungpuri* (1 I. A. 282, 293) that procreation after marriage is not distinctly necessary for legitimacy as a son even according to the ancient texts, that to hold so would be an inconvenient doctrine and that the Hindu Law is the same in that respect as the English Law.[1243]

From the times of the Rgveda people prayed for the birth of an *aurasa* son and did not like to adopt the son of another. A Rgvedic poet exclaims (VII. 4. 7-8) 'As the wealth (son)

1242 स्वयजातः कृताक्रियायामौरसः । अर्थशास्त्र III 7, सवर्णायां संस्कृतायां स्वयमुत्पादितमौरस पुत्रं विद्यात् । बौ. ध. सू. II 2 14, 'सवर्णा हिजस्य द्विजा, शूद्रस्य शूद्रा, न तु ब्राह्मणस्य ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रियस्य क्षत्रिया, अन्यथा ब्राह्मणपरिणीतक्षत्रियापुत्रादेर्द्वादशपुत्रान्तर्भावो न स्यादिति पारिजात । वि र. p. 554, 'तथानुलोमजाना मूर्धावसिक्तादीनामौरसेष्वन्तर्भावात्तेषामप्यभावे क्षेत्रजादीना दायहरत्वं बोद्धव्यम् । शूद्रापुत्रस्यौरसोऽपि कृत्स्न भागमन्यभावेपि न लभते । यथाह मनु (९ १५४) । मिता on या II 133, अन्येष्वनुलोमजेष्वौरसेषु सत्सु न प्रतिनिधिरस्ति । अपरार्क p 740 Vide मद् पा p 651 for the same views The मदनरत्न (folio 93a) however remarks, 'सांप्रत मूर्धावसिक्तादीनां प्रचाराभावेन नेह प्रपञ्चित' Vide *n* 1130 above The position of the Mit is somewhat remarkable The Mit. admits that niyoga is not allowed in the present Kali age (vide above p 628) and it quotes a smrti text to that effect, but it allows the sons of anuloma marriages to be aurasa and to succeed before every other kinds of sons Therefore it follows that the Mit. either did not know the passages of Saunaka and of the Nāradiyapurāna (pūrvārdha 24 13) which forbade marriage with *asavarna* girls for the twice-born classes in the Kali age or did not hold them to be authoritative द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा । एतान्धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ बृहन्नारदीयपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 24. 13 and 16)

1243 As this is a decision of the highest tribunal for British India it must be taken to be the law The Privy Council was probably influenced by the description of such secondary sons as the sahodha The decision is in accordance with English Law and section 112 of the Indian Evidence Act. Vide Dr Bannerjee's 'Marriage and stridhana' p. 177 for criticism of the P. C. decision

of another (who is unconnected) is to be avoided, so may we be masters of wealth of our own (i. e. son of our body); O! Agni, the child of another cannot be one's offspring; it may be so in the case of the fool; do not spoil our path. A stranger, born of another's loins, though very pleasing, should not be taken, should not be even thought of in the mind (as one's son). Then he goes back to the same house (from which he came); may a vigorous, victorious, newly born son come to us!"[1244]

In modern times the courts generally recognize only two kinds of sons, viz *aurasa* and *dattaka*, the other kinds of sons being held to be long since obsolete. Vide *Nagindas v. Bachoo* 43 I. A. 56, 67. But two more kinds of sons have been recognized in modern times in certain provinces only, viz. the kṛtrima in Mithilā (modern Tirhoot) and the putrikāputra among the Nambudri brāhmaṇas of Malabar, both of which will be dealt with below.

Putrikāputra. The two meanings of this word given by the Mit. and others relying on Vas. have been stated above (p. 647) Kaut III. 7, Yāj. II. 128, Manu IX. 134 declare the putrikā or putrikāputra to be equal to the aurasa son. The conception underlying the putrikā has a hoary antiquity. There are traces of the putrikā in the Ṛgveda itself. Vas[1245] XVII. 16 refers to

1244. परिषद्यं ह्यरणस्य रेक्णो नित्यस्य रायः पतयः स्याम । न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजात-मत्यन्तचेतानस्य मा पथो वि दुक्षः ॥ न हि ग्रभायारणः सुशेवोऽन्योद्यौर्यो मनसा मन्तवा उ । अधा चिद्दोकः पुनरित्स एत्या नो वाज्यभापाळेतु नव्यः ॥ ऋ. VII 4. 7-8. The verses are rather obscure, particularly the first one The meaning given above is that of such an ancient writer as Yāska in Nir. III 1-3 He says that these two verses support the view that the son belongs to the begetter (and not to the adopter): 'तद्यथा जनयितुः प्रजा एवमर्थीये ऋचावुदाहरिष्याम । परिषद्य० ।.' Compare आप. ध. सू. II 6 13. 5 'उत्पादयितुः पुत्र इति हि ब्राह्मणम्। The निर्णय-सिन्धु says that the verse (न हि ग्रभाय) does not really mean to prohibit the adoption of sons but is intended to extol the aurasa, as otherwise it would be opposed to the indications contained in the story of the acceptance of Śunaḥśepa as a son and to the words of the latter 'may I become your son', योपि न हि ग्रभाया . . मन्तवा उ—इति श्रुतौ दृत्तकनिषेध. सोप्यौरसातिशयार्थ', अन्यथा शुन शेपादिप्रतिग्रहश्रौतलिङ्गविरोधापत्तेः । उपेयां तव दृत्ताभिरित्युक्तेः । नि. सि. III पूर्वार्ध p 250 उपेयां तव दृत्ताम् are the words of शुन.शेप in ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 5

1245. विज्ञायते अभ्रातृका पुंसः पितॄनभ्येति प्रतीचीनं गच्छति पुत्रत्वम् । वसिष्ठ 17 16: अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची गर्भाऋंगिव सनये धनानाम् । जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासा उषा हस्रेव नि रिणीते अप्स ॥ ऋ. I. 124. 7. the निरुक्त (III 5) comments 'अभ्रातृकेव पुंस' पितॄनेत्यभिप्रेत्य सन्तानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय न पतिम् । ... उषा हसना इव दृन्तान् विद्यु-एते रूपाणि ।'. अमूर्या यन्ति योषितो हिरा लोहितवाससः । अभ्रातर इव जामयस्तिष्ठन्ति एतवर्त्तवे ॥ अथर्ववेद 1 17. 1. The निरुक्त III. 4 reads अभ्रातर इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति एतवर्त्तवे, and explains अभ्रातृका इव योषास्तिष्ठन्ति सन्तानकर्मणे पिण्डदानाय एतवर्त्मानः। इति अभ्रातृकाया अनिर्वाद औपमिकः ।

Rg. I. 124. 7 in connection with putrikā. That verse contains four similes in describing the advent of *Uṣas* (Dawn) 'As a woman that has no brother comes back to (her) male relations,... like a smiling damsel the Dawn unmasks objects (or her beauty)'. The Nirukta (III. 5) explains the first quarter as meaning that a brotherless maiden (after marriage) comes back to her paternal line for continuing that line and for offering *piṇḍas* (to her paternal ancestors) and does not go to her husband's line. The Rg. in several places refers to the difficulty of getting brotherless maidens married and to the fact of their remaining in their father's house as old maidens; vide Rg II. 17. 7 '*amājūr-iva pitroḥ sacā satī*' and IV. 5. 5. The Atharvaveda I. 17. 1 states 'like brotherless sisters let these stand still with their splendours gone'. Yāska explains that, as brotherless maidens, when married, bar the way to the continuance of the family of their husbands and to offering of pindas (through their son), so are these red arteries &c. Yāska (Nirukta III. 4) relies for the appointment of a brotherless daughter as a son upon another very obscure verse of the Rg. (III. 31. 1)[1216] 'the husband declares (or promises) that the father may regard (the daughter's son) as his son's son'. The Nirukta[1217] (III. 5) quotes a Vedic text 'one should not marry a brotherless (girl), for she becomes (her father's) son' and holds that it expressly prohibits marriage with a brotherless maiden and also declares that such a girl becomes a son to her father. The brotherless maiden is appointed as a son by express agreement, but according to Gautama 28. 17 the opinion of one school (which he does not approve) was that a brotherless girl became a putrikā by the mere unilateral intention of the father and therefore one should not marry a brotherless maiden for fear that the father (without expressly stipulating so) might intend her to be putrikā. Manu III. 11 contains a similar caution. This recommendation not to marry a brotherless maiden continued down to the days of Yāj. (I. 53 'arogiṇīm bhrātṛmatīm'), though in modern times many would prefer to marry such a girl, provided the father was well-off. Manu IX. 140 states that the

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1246. शासद्वहिर्दुहितुर्नप्त्यं गाद्वेः ऋतस्य दीधितिं सपर्यन् । पिता यत्र दुहितुः सेकमृञ्जन् स शम्भ्वैन मनसा दधन्वे ॥ ऋ III 31 1. The निरुक्त III 4 explains प्रशास्ति वोढा सन्तानकर्मणे दुहितुः पुत्रभावम् । . नप्तारमुपागमद् दौहित्रं पौत्रमिति ।.

1247. नाभ्रातृकां पश्येच्छ्रोत्रियस्य तद्धवति—इति अभ्रातृकाया उपयमनप्रतिषेधः प्रत्यक्षः पितुश्च पुत्रभावः । निरुक्त III 5 विश्वरूप on या I. 53 states that नाभ्रातृकाम् &c. is a text of the Bhāllavins मेधा० on मनु IX 132 quotes नाभ्रातृकां ... तद्धवति. अभिसन्धिमात्रात्पुत्रिकेत्येकेषाम् । तत्सशयाकोपयच्छेदभ्रातृकाम् । गौ. 28. 17-18.

three pindas that the putrikāputra offered were respectively to his mother, to the mother's father and to the mother's paternal grand-father.

The putrikāputra is no longer recognised anywhere in India except among the Nambudri brāhmanas of Malabar. Vide *Tnakoor Jeebnath v. Court of Wards* 2 I. A. 163, 167, *Babu Rita v. Babu Puran* 1 Pat. L. J. 581, *Kumaran v. Narayanan* 9 Mad. 260, *Chemnauth v. Palakuzhu* 25 Mad. 662, 31 Mad. 310. It appears that even a Madras authority like the Smrticandrikā[1248] was not aware of the prevalence of the putrikāputra in Malabar.

Ksetraja This kind of son arose from the practice of *niyoga*. The origin of this practice and the limitations under which it was allowed have been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 599–607. One matter not mentioned therein is this that the Brahmapurāṇa states that ksetraja sons were very common among ksatriyas since they had no progeny either because they were cursed (by sages for their misdeeds) or because they were constantly engaged in war.[1249] The Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 21–23 and Kauṭ. III. 7 declare the ksetraja to be the son of two fathers, to have two *gotras* and to offer pindas to both fathers (provided there is no aurasa son born subsequently) and to take their wealth and that in offering each pinda they have to associate it with two names.[1250] It is to be noted that the Mit. on Yāj. II. 127 introduces the ksetraja as dvyāmusyāyana, although that word, as will be seen later on, has another significance also. The Madanapārijāta (p. 651) also regards ksetraja and dvyāmusyāyana as synonyms. The Vivādatā..dava (folio 122) states that the dvyāmusyāyana and sons of intercaste marriages being forbidden in Kali it does not enter into any discussion about the rules of allotting shares to them.

1248 अत्र एवाद्यानभिसम्बन्धेनोक्ताः। वृत्तक्षेत्रेषां गोणपुत्राणां पुत्रिकायास्तत्सुतस्य च भागविधयो न निरूप्यन्ते संप्रत्यननुष्ठीयमानत्वाद् वृथा च ग्रन्थविस्तारापत्तेः। स्मृतिच. II. p 289. Vide n 1130

1249 राज्ञां तु शापदग्धानां नित्यं क्षयवतां तथा। अथ संग्रामशीलानां न कदाचिद्भवन्ति ते। औरसो यदि वा पुत्रस्तथा पुत्रिकासुतः। विद्यते न हि तेषां तु विशेषेण क्षेत्रजादयः। ब्रह्मपुराण quoted by अपरार्क p 737.

1250 स एव द्विपिता द्विगोत्रश्च द्वयोरपि स्वधानिरूपभाग्भवति। अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। द्विपितृ पिण्डदान स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी। त्रयश्च पिण्डा पञ्चमं स्वरेण कुर्वन्ति सूरयः इति। या ध सू II 2. 21–23. जनयितुरन्यस्मिन्क्षेत्रे स एव द्विपितृको द्विगोत्रो वा द्वयोरपि स्वधानिरूपभाग्भवति। अथशब्द III 7, 'द्वयोर्मुख्यायणस्य विजातीयानां च विभागे विशेषः कालायनकोऽभिधीयते' वि. ता. folio 122.

Dattaka. This will be dealt with separately later on.

Kṛtrima—(or *krta*, as in Nār. dāyabhāga 46). According to Manu IX 169, Yāj. II. 131, Baud. Dh. S II. 2 25 and the Mit. and other works a krtrima is a person (of the same caste as the adopter) who has no parents and who is adopted with *his own consent* by the tempting offer of wealth He is distinguished from the *dattaka* by the fact that he is not given by the father or mother and by the fact that his own consent is necessary (so that he must be major according to the ancient Hindu Law). Such a son is recognized in modern times only in Mithilā (Tirhoot) and the adjoining districts and among the Nambudri brāhmanas of Malabar (as held in *Vasudevan v Secretary of State* 11 Mad. 157). Considerable case law exists about the krtrima adoption, for which Mulla's Hindu Law pp 563-564 (9th ed) and Mayne's Hindu law (10th ed.) pp 293-294 may be consulted.

Gūḍhaja. There is probably a reference to such a son in the Ṛg. II 29. 1[1251] 'O! Ādityas, that uphold the moral law, that are always active, keep away from me sin as a woman giving birth to a child in secret (removes it)'.

Kānīna. This word is derived from the word 'kanyā' (a maiden). Pānini IV. 1 116 (*kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca*) derives the word in the sense of "child of a maiden" and the Kāśikā gives Karna and Vyāsa as instances of kānīna sons The word kānīna occurs in the Atharvaveda V. 5. 8 and *kumārīputra* occurs in the Vājasaneyasamhitā 30. 6. Nār. (dāyabhāga 17)[1252] says that the kānīna, sahodha and gūdhaja are the sons of the man who marries the mother of these and they take the wealth of the husband of their mother. The Pārijāta (q by V. R. p. 565) states that the kānīna and sahodha become the sons of their mother's father if the latter is sonless, but if he has a son then they become the sons of the husband of their mother and if both have no sons then they become the sons of both.

Krīta—(the son bought). Vas. (17. 30-32) states that Hariścandra purchased Śunahśepa from Ajīgarta and that

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1251. धृतव्रता आदित्या इषिरा आरे मत्कर्तं रहसूरिवागः। ऋ II. 29 1.

1252. कानीनश्च सहोढश्च गूढाया यश्च जायते। तेषां वोढा पिता ज्ञेयस्ते च भागहराः स्मृताः॥ नारद, दायभाग 17, on this वि र p 565 states 'अथापुत्रो यदि मातामहस्तदा तस्य पुत्र. कानीनः सहोढश्च। सपुत्रश्चेत्तदा वोढु', उभयोरपुत्रत्वे चोभयोरिति पारिजात'।. The मद्. पा p 562, however, says about कानीन 'तत्र वोढुरित्युपादानाद्विवाहिता चेत्तदा वोढुर्नो चेन्मातामहस्येत्येतदवगम्यते'.

Śunahśepa was a krīta son. *Svayaṁdatta*—Vas. (17. 33–35) says that Śunahśepa became the svayamdatta son of Viśvāmitra as stated in the Ait. Br. (referred to above in n. 1244). *Paunarbhava* (the son of a *punarbhū*)—vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 608–610 for the meaning of punarbhū and the remarriage of widows (pp. 611–621).

CHAPTER XXVIII

DATTAKA (adopted son)

No branch of Hindu Law in modern times has been so fruitful in litigation as adoption. There are instances, where, fifty years after a point in the law of adoption was deemed to have been settled by a Full Bench decision, the Privy Council intervened and overruled the Full Bench decision in spite of its usual practice to follow the rule of *stare decisis*. The medieval digests are full of varying interpretations of the same smrti texts and the law of adoption differs from province to province according to the authoritative medieval works and modern case law. Voluminous works like those of Shastri Golapchandra Sarkar and of Mr. Kapur have been written on the subject of adoption in all its details. There is so much bewildering confusion and so much case law on the several aspects of adoption that it is only legislation that can resolve the tangled skein of the modern law of adoption. In this section an attempt will be made to present the law of adoption as evolved by the smrtis and medieval works and only some important cases bearing in various ways on the ancient law will be cited.

It has been shown above (pp. 641,657) how even in the times of the Ṛgveda the son of the body was eagerly sought for and how the adoption of another man's son was declared to be not worthy of being thought of. Even so late an author as Śukra (II. 31) says that the adopted and other secondary sons should never be thought as one's sons, since on seeing a rich man they desire to be adopted[1252a]. Yet Vedic Literature contains some references to adopted sons. In the Tai S. VII. 1 8 1 we come across the the story of Atri,[1252b] who gave an only son in adoption to Aurva in these words: 'Atri gave his son in adoption to Aurva

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1252a. मनसापि न मन्तव्या वृत्तायां. स्वसुता इति । ते वृत्तकात्वमिच्छन्ति दृष्ट्वा पतुं धनिक नरम् । शुक्रनीति II 31.

1252b अत्रिरृद्धावौर्वाय प्रजां पुत्रकामाय । स रिरिचानोऽमन्यत निर्वीर्यं किंचिलो वातयामा स एतं चतूरात्रमपश्यत्तमाहरत्तेनायजत ततो वै तस्य चत्वारो वीरा आजायन्त जुहोता ध्रुवता स्वध्वर्यु तसभेयः । तै स VII. 1. 8. 1. For चतूरात्र, vide काल्या. श्रौ 23. 1. 7 and आश्व. श्रौ. XI 1. 16-26.

who desired to have a son. He (Atri), having become empty (as it were, by giving away his only son), thought himself to be destitute of strength, to be weak and worn out (lit. stale). He (Atri) saw this *catūrātra* (a sacrifice of that name lasting for four days). He made preparations for it and performed that sacrifice. Then he had four valiant sons born to him, a good Hotr, a good Udgātr, a good Adhvaryu and a good *sabheya* (skilful speaker in an assembly)'. The story of Sunaḥśepa in the Ait. Br. (33) shows that Viśvāmitra, though he had already one hundred and one sons, adopted Śunaḥśepa under the name Devarāta, with the consent of his fifty-one sons (with Madhucchandas[1253] at their head), though the elder 50 sons disobeyed their father. It must be supposed that the later rule allowing only a sonless man to adopt did not apply to Viśvāmitra.

The sūtras and smṛtis contain hardly anything about the dattaka except his name (among the 12 kinds of sons) or the definition, as in Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 24, Manu IX 168, Yāj. II. 130, Visnu Dh. S 15 18-19, Nār. (dāyabhāga 46) The Vas Dh. S is an exception. It not only gives a definition (in 17 28-29), but is one of the earliest smrti texts to dilate on the rules about adoption (in 15. 1-9). What it says may be set forth in one place. "Man produced from seed and blood owes his birth to his mother and father. (Hence) the mother and father have power to give, to sell or to abandon him. But one should not give or accept an only son, for, he is required to continue the line of his ancestors. A woman should neither give nor receive a son (in adoption) except with the permission of her husband. One about to take a son in adoption should, after having invited his kinsmen, having informed the ruler (of the intended adoption) and having performed in the middle part of his house a *homa* with the *vyāhṛtis*, take only him who is closely related and who is a kinsman not remote (in habitation and speech) If a doubt arises (as to the family of the person to be adopted) he (the person desiring to adopt) should treat one whose kinsmen are in a remote place as if he were a śūdra; for it is declared (in the Brāhmana or Vedic works) 'by means of one (son, aurasa or adopted) he (the adopter) saves many.' If, after a son is taken (in adoption), an aurasa is born (to the adopter) the adopted son shall be the recipient of a fourth

1253. सहोवाच मधुरछन्दा॰ । पञ्चाशता सार्धं यवः पिता सजानीते तस्मिन्निदमाह्वे वयम् । पुरस्ता सर्वे कुर्महे त्वामन्दक्षो वयं रमसि । इति । ऐ ब्रा 33, 6 This is q. by the वृत्त. नी. p. 17

share"[1254]. Manu IX. 141 refers to the adoption of a son who is not of the same gotra as the adopter and IX. 142 sets out the results of adoption. The other principal ancient texts quoted by the D. M. and V. Mayūkha are those of Atri, Śaunaka,[1255] Śākala and the Kālikāpurāṇa. The Mit. does not contain more than a few lines on the *dattaka*. It is only in such late works (belonging to the 17th century and later times) like the V. Mayūkha, the Dattakamīmāmsā, the Samskāra-kaustubha, the Dattakacandrikā, that the dattaka receives an elaborate treatment. In modern times the D. M. and D C (which is branded as a forgery by some Bengal writers)[1256] have been regarded by

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1254. शुक्रशोणितसम्भवः पुरुषो भवति मातापितृनिमित्तकः । तस्य प्रदानविक्रयत्यागेषु मातापितरौ प्रभवतः । न त्वेक पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वा । स हि सन्तानाय पूर्वेषाम् । न स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वान्यत्राज्ञज्ञानान्नृतुः । पुत्र प्रतिग्रहीष्यन् बन्धूनाहूय राजानि च निवेद्य निवेशनस्य मध्ये व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वा अदूरबान्धवं बन्धुसंनिकृष्टमेव प्रतिगृह्णीयात् । सन्देहे चोत्पन्ने दूरेबान्धवं शूद्रमिव स्याद्यतेत् । विज्ञायते लोकेन बहूञ्जायत इति । तस्मिन्नेवमतिगृहीत औरसः पुत्र उत्पद्येत चतुर्थभागभागी स्याद्दत्तकः । वसिष्ठ 15. 1–9 The Band. Grhyaśesasūtra II 6 has the first five and the last sūtras out of these. In Aparārka pp. 737–738, V R. p 568, the V. Mayūkha p 112, V. P pp. 477–478 and in the D M this passage is quoted The V Mayūkha reads स हि त्रायते पुरुषं for स हि .पूर्वेषाम् , while the वि ता. (folio 124) reads स हि ..पूर्वेषाम्. The Mit on Yāj II 130 quotes a portion of this passage. On स हि सन्तानाय the V R p. 569 explains 'सन्तानोऽर्थे हि पिण्डोदकक्रियानिवृत्तिर्महान्दोष इति प्रकाशः' Aparārka pp 737 and Sm C II. p 192 read असंनिकृष्टमेव and explain respectively 'असम्बन्धिनमेव' and 'संनिकृष्टभ्रातृपुत्रादिव्यतिरिक्तमेव गृह्णीयात्', but these explanations are not good, since the brother's son is recommended as the best for adoption according to others Therefore the explanation of V R. p 569 that असंनिकृष्टमेव means असनिकृष्टमपि is preferable. The whole of this passage of Vas except the last sūtra is quoted in *Ganga Sahai v. Lekhraj* 9 All 253 at p 300 and the first five sūtras in *Tulshi Ram v. Behari Lal* 12 All. 328,338 and *Jogesh Chandra v Nrityakali* 30 Cal 965 at p 972.

1255 Vide Appendix for Saunaka's verses on adoption and for Band grhya-śesasūtra

1256 As to the tradition among Bengal Pandits that the Dattakacandrikā was fabricated by a pandit called Raghumani to support the claim of an adopted son to a *Rāj*, vide Golapchandra Sarkar's Tagore Law Lectures on adoption (2nd. ed. of 1916 pp. 122–126) It may, however, be noted that in *Bhagwan v Bhagwan* 17 All. 294, 313 Mr. Justice Banerji refused to place any reliance on the tradition.

the Privy Council as of the highest authority in matters of adoption. In *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 at p. 437 the P. C. observe: 'Of the Dattakamīmāṁsā of Nanda Pandita and the Dattaka. Candrikā of Devanna Bhatta, two treatises on the particular subject of adoption, Sir William Macnaghten says that they are respected all over India; but that when they differ the doctrine of the latter is adhered to in Bengal and by the southern Jurists, while the former is said to be the infallible guide in the provinces of Mithila and Benares'. But Jolly (T. L. L. p. 166) gives a far more correct estimate of the value of the D. M. when he says 'It is simply a misfortune that so much authority should have been attributed in the courts all over India to such a treatise as Nanda Pandita's Mīmāmsā which abounds more in fanciful distinctions than perhaps any other work on adoption and it is high time that the numerous other treatises on adoption should be thoroughly examined and given their due weight'. In *Bhagwan v. Bhagwan* 26 I. A 153 at p. 161 the P. C. observe 'To call it (the Dattakamīmāmsā) infallible is too strong an expression and the estimates of Sutherland and of West and Buhler seem nearer the true mark; but it is clear that both works must be accepted as bearing high authority for so long a time that they have become embedded in the general law'. Yet even these works have been set at naught and departed from by Courts in India on many points as will appear in the sequel.

The principal matters to be discussed under adoption are: object of adoption, persons that may legally take in adoption, persons that may give in adoption, persons that may be taken in adoption, the requisites and ceremonies of adoption and the results of adoption.

The objects of adoption—Atri (verse 52) quoted above in note 1231 declares that that man alone who has no son should always secure a substitute for a son with all possible effort for the sake of securing the offering of pindas (funeral and śrāddha cakes) and water. The D. C. quotes this verse and also another ascribed by it to Manu[1257] in which the object of adoption is said to be twofold, viz securing spiritual benefit from the pindas and water (offered by him) and perpetuating the name and family of the adopter. In one of the latest cases on adop-

1257. तत्राद्य मनुः । अपुत्रेण सुत. कार्यो यादृक् तादृक् प्रयत्नतः । पिण्डोदकक्रियाहेतो-र्नामसङ्कीर्तनाय च ॥ वृत्त च p 2.

tion that revolutionized the law the Privy Council[1258] emphasize the peculiar religious significance that has attached to the son among all classes of Hindus, refer to the 9th chapter of Manu verses *106, 107, 137, 138* of which are instinct with this doctrine, hold that the foundation of the Brahminical doctrine of adoption is the duty which every Hindu owes to his ancestors to provide for the continuance of the line and the solemnization of the necessary rites and that in this doctrine the devolution of property, though recognized as the inherent right of the son, is altogether a secondary consideration.

Persons who can give in adoption—The primary right to give in adoption is that of the father, who can do so without consulting the mother.[1259] The mother cannot without the husband's permission give her son in adoption while the father is alive and capable of consenting. But the mother alone can (as said by Manu IX. 168, Yāj. II. 130) give her son in adoption if the father be dead or if he is incapable of giving consent or has entered the order of ascetics, provided he has not expressly or impliedly prohibited her to do so. If both parents are dead no one else, not even the paternal grand-father or the step-mother or a brother, can give a man in adoption. If A has a son B and is then given in adoption by his mother into another family, it was held in *Martand v. Narayan* that A still retained his power as father to give away B in adoption (1 L. R 1939 Bom. 586 F. B.). This decision has been dissented from by the Nagpur High Court in *Sharadachandra v. Shantabai* (I. L. R 1944 Nag. p. 544, F. B.). But the reasons given by the Nagpur High Court are not convincing and the judges seem to be influenced by the dictum of the P. C. that the adopted son is

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1258. Vide *Amarendra Man Singh v Sanatan* 60 I A. p. 242. Though it may be conceded that in the majority of cases the object of the *adopter* is religious, the object of the *giver* and of the *person adopted* (if he is grown up) is far from religious The main object of the latter two at least in *modern* times is to secure wealth without effort and hardly any religious motives enter into their minds No one gives a son in adoption to a poor man, though a poor man has a soul to save as much as a rich man. Besides in adoption by widows, their motive is very often far from religious. They often adopt out of pique against their husband's brothers or nephews and for benefiting themselves monetarily by making agreements with the adopted sons to share the property with them.

1259. अत एव माता पिता वा दद्यातामिति मनुना मातुर्भर्त्रनुज्ञामपेक्षत्वाज्जयन्तस्वं स्वयमनुज्ञाननैरपेक्ष्यात् पितुर्मध्यमत्वं जनकतात्पर्यान्यादुभयोक्तकपत्वमभिप्रेत्य पूर्वपूर्वापेक्षया-दुत्तरोत्तरमभिहितम्। वृत्त. मी pp. 119-121.

just like an aurasa son except in a few well defined cases. It cannot be supposed that the P. C. knew all the texts of the *nibandhas* dealing with adoption. Though the Bombay High Court held in *Putalabai v. Mahadu* 33 Bom. 107 that a mother did not by her remarriage forfeit her right to give in adoption her son by the first husband, that decision was subsequently overruled in *Fakirappa v. Savitrewa* 23 Bom. L. R. 482 (F B.) which decided that after remarriage a widow has no power to give in adoption her son by the first husband. The same High Court held in *Shamsing v Shantabai* (25 Bom. 551) that a Hindu father, who, after the birth of a son, became a convert to the Moslem faith, did not by reason of his conversion lose his power of giving his son, who remained a Hindu, in adoption though the physical act of giving in adoption, being accompanied by religious ceremonies, may have to be delegated by him to a Hindu. This decision was based on the Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1851 (for which see above p. 547, *n.* 1021). This decision is against the spirit of the ancient Hindu Law.

What persons may adopt a son.—Every male Hindu, who is of sound mind and has attained the age of discretion though he may be a minor according to the Indian Majority Act (III of 1875), can take a son in adoption provided he has no son, grandson or great-grandson, natural or adopted, living at the time of adoption The word 'aputrena' in the verse of Atri (quoted above in n. 1231) is explained by the D. M. as meaning[1260] one who had no son at all or whose son is dead and as including the grandson and great-grandson. It would appear from a Bombay decision that even if a Hindu has a son, grandson or great-grandson disqualified from inheriting on the grounds mentioned above he cannot adopt (vide *Bharmappa v. Ujjangauda* 46 Bom. 455). In the Dattasiddhāntamañjarī of Bālakrsna (folio 11b) it is stated that if the aurasa son of a person is congenitally blind, dumb or deaf he can take a boy in adoption. In *Krishnaji v. Raghavendra* I. L. R. (1942) Bom. 492 it has been held, relying upon 46 Bom. 455, that a widow

1260. अपुत्रोऽजातपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा। अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा पुत्रार्थं समुपोष्य च—इति शौनकीयात्। ... अपुत्रेण इति पुत्रपदं पौत्रप्रपौत्रयोरप्युपलक्षणम्। पुत्रेण लोकान्नयति० (मनु ९. १३७) इति पात्रादिना विशिष्टलोकप्रतिपादनेन नापुत्रस्य लोकोस्तीत्यायलोकसाधारण्यात्। वृत्त भी p 3 and p. 18; अत्र पुत्रपदं पौत्रप्रपौत्रयोरप्युपलक्षणम्। तयोरपि पिण्डदातृत्ववंशकरत्वाविशेषात्। वृत्त च p. 3; अत एव जन्मान्धमूकबधिरौरसपुत्रवतः पितुर्दत्तग्रहण सङ्गच्छते। वृत्तसिद्धान्तमञ्जरी folio 11 b.

idea is that the permission (*anujñāna*) of the husband is not required to be given just at the time of the adoption and that it may be given long before the actual adoption. (3) In Madras a widow may also adopt without[1263] her husband's authority, provided she secures the consent of the father-in-law or (if the latter be dead) of all the co-parceners of the husband, if her husband died as a member of a joint family, and if the husband was separate at the time of his death, then the consent of the father-in-law or (if he were dead) of a substantial majority of her husband's nearest sapiṇḍas. In this view the word 'of the husband' (in Vasiṣṭha) is taken as only illustrative and not literally. (4) The Vyavahāramayūkha,[1264] the Nirnayasindhu, the Samskārakaustubha, the Dharmasindhu, that are regarded as authoritative in Bombay and Western India, hold that the passage of Vasiṣṭha refers only to a wife whose husband is alive and that a widow may adopt without the husband's authority. According to this school the husband's authority to adopt is always to be presumed, unless he has prohibited his widow expressly or by necessary implication from adopting. The D. C. appeals to the general maxim 'another's (or the opponent's) view if not dissented from may be taken as having been approved'.

1263 In *Balsubramanya* v *M Subbayya* L. R 65 I. A. 93 at p. 99 the Privy Council say. 'their Lordships are not laying down that the requisite authority must necessarily be express but they agree with the District Judge that in order to constitute an implied authority there must be circumstantial evidence of a cogent character'. Vide *The Collector of Madura* v. *Mootoo* 12 Moo. I. A. 397 pp. 435–36 where three of these four interpretations are pointed out.

1264. भर्तृज्ञा तु सधवाया एव दृष्टार्थत्वात् । विधवायास्तु तां विनापि पितृस्तद्भावे ज्ञातीनामाज्ञया भवति । .. अतो यस्यामवस्थायां भर्तृज्ञा मासा सैवात्रानूद्यते न त्वपूर्वा विधीयते । अतो विधवाया भर्तुराज्ञां विनाप्यधिकार· । व्य मयूख p. 113; तत्रैव वसिष्ठः । न स्त्रैवैकं पुत्रं . . भर्तुरिति । इदं च भर्तृसत्त्वे । अन्यथा वृद्धान्माता पिता वा यं स पुत्रो दत्रिमः स्मृत इति यत्सव्यासवचोविरोधः स्यात् । दानं प्रतिग्रहोपलक्षणम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 249, स्त्रियास्तु जीवति भर्तरि तदनुमतौ । प्रोषिते मृते वा तदनुज्ञां विनापि । यथा वसिष्ठ· । 'न स्त्री ... भर्तु·' । इति । अनुमतिश्चामतिषेधेपि भवति । अमतिषिद्ध परमतमनुमतं भवतीति न्यायात् । दत्त. च p 18, तच्छास्त्रास्त्रित्यकाम्यव्रतादिधर्माचरणे इव पुत्रप्रतिग्रहेपि नापुत्रस्य लोकोस्तीत्यादिसामान्यशास्त्रादेव विधवाया अधिकारः । उक्तविधदत्तकस्त्रीकारः पुमिरिव स्त्रीभिरपि सधवाभिर्विधवाभिश्च कार्यः । वन्ध्या वा मृतपुत्रा वा पुत्रार्थं समुपेयुष्य चेति शौनकीयवचस्यविशेषश्रवणात् । सं कौ p 160. It will be noticed that the सं कौ. reads वन्ध्या वा मृतपुत्रा वा for अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा in शौनक's text which is the reading of all other works, the former being probably a fabrication inserted to support widow's claims to adopt. The D. M p. 3 notices the reading वन्ध्यो मृतमजो वापि in Saunaka's text. For the maxim अमतिषिद्धं &c. vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 4. 12.

There is a large volume of case law about the construction of the authority to adopt, about the rights of co-widows in the matter of adoption, about the limits of a widow's power, which are deemed to be outside the purview of this work.

As regards the power of a widow to adopt in the Bombay school, when her husband was joint at the time of his death, the case law has fluctuated from time to time Only a few cases may be referred to here. In *Ramji v. Ghamau* 6 Bom. 498 (F. B.) a Full Bench of the Bombay High Court held that a widow, whose husband was a member of a joint family at the time of his death, could not adopt when she has not the authority of her husband or the consent of the husband's undivided coparceners. After this decision had stood for 50 years the Privy Council held in *Bhimabai v. Gurunathgouda*[1265] L. R 60 I. A. p. 25 that the Full Bench decision had already been overruled in *Yadao v. Namdeo* (48 I. A. 513) and that a Hindu widow can adopt without the consent of her husband's

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1265. In Bhimabai s case the Privy Council purport to follow the case of *Rakhmabai* v. *Radhabai* 5 Bom H. C. R (A C. J) p 181. But in that case the husband was separate at the time of his death The P C. however point out that in *Yadao* v *Namdeo* (48 I A 513 at p. 529) it was said that the decision in Rakhmabai's case was not based on the fact that the husband was separate at his death or on the fact that the widow when she made the adoption had the estate vested in her and it was held that that decision was equally applicable where the husband was joint. Apart from the fact that the decision of the P. C is opposed to the general sentiment of Hindu society at present, with the greatest respect two criticisms have to be offered against the decision in Bhimabai's case The passage of the Vyavahāramayūkha relied upon in Rakhmabai's case and in Bhimabai's case has not been correctly understood. The Mayūkha was combating the view of others that a widow cannot adopt at all Therefore he tried to establish that a widow can adopt without her husband's authority But the Mayūkha did not say expressly that she can adopt without any body's authority or that she can adopt even in a joint family without the consent of the coparceners or even against their wishes On the contrary if we look at the whole context where he quotes Yāj. I 85 and a verse of Śāt. (930) it would appear that he meant to convey that the consent of the father of the husband or of his kinsmen would be necessary. Further, no one drew the attention of the P. C to another passage of the V. Mayūkha where it summarizes the rite of adoption and states 'Women whose husbands are alive are entitled to adopt with the permission of their husbands; failing the husband, a woman can adopt with the permission of the (husband's) father and the rest': 'स्त्रीणां सधवानां भर्तरनुज्ञया भर्तृभावे पित्रादीनाम्' व्य. मयूख p. 120.

co-parceners, when the husband was a member of a joint family at the time of his death. This decision was carried further by Amarendra'e oase (60 I. A. 242) by holding that when a widow, who had authority to adopt, adopted even after the estate had devolved on a male collateral heir euoh adopted son would take the estate and deprive the heir of it. Ae any widow was held to be able to adopt in Bombay without anybody's consent, hundrede of adoptions have taken place, which came and are coming before the courts. Another Full Bench caee held that when a Hindu coparcenary came to an end on the death of the last surviving coparcener and the family property became vested in his heir, a subsequent adoption by the widow of a predeceased coparcener was valid, but it did not revive the coparcenary nor did it vest the property of the former coparcenary in the adopted son (*Balu v. Lahoo* I. L. R. 1937 Bom. 508). When a co-paroenary wae broken up by partition among the members, it was held[1266] that the widow of a coparcener who died long before the partition cannot make a valid adoption and reliance was placed on a paseage of the Viramitrodaya (quoted below).[1267]

But these decieions have been dissented from in *Bajirao v. Ramkrishna* I. L. R. (1941) Nagpur 707 and in *K. R. Sankarlingam Pillai v. Veluchami Pillai* I. L. R (1943) Mad. 309 (F. B.), where it has been laid down that when the surviving coparcenere of a joint Hindu family were in posseseion of the joint family properties which they obtained in a partition among themselves after the death of a coparcener and subsequent to the partition a valid adoption was made to the deceased coparoener by his widow the adopted eon was entitled to reopen the partition. They rely by way of analogy on the provieions of Yāj that the posthumoue son can reopen a partition already made and aleo on that of the diequalified heir when the disqualification is removed and on the dicta in eome caeee that an adoption dates back to the date of the death of the adoptive father. But no emrti text and no digest has extended the exceptional rules about the posthumous son and the disqualified heir to a son

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1266 Vide *Hirachand v. Sojpal* I. L. R. 1939 Bom. 512 and *Irappa v. Rachayya* I. L R. 1940 Bom 42.

1267. अत्र मूलम् । प्रत्येकवृत्तीनि सम्बन्धाविशेषात्स्वत्वानि स्वाम्यानि च सन्त्येव। परस्परविभागाते परस्परस्वाम्यान्यदीयमृत्वे तानि नश्यन्ति । परमरणपारिव्राज्यादिनेवेति न काप्यनुपपत्ति. । व्यवस्थापनमपीदृमेव, अन्यथैकदेशे उत्पादनमित्येव वदेत् । अत एव विनाशमात्रकल्पना न तु स्वत्वान्तरोत्पादकल्पना । व्य म. pp. 431-32.

adopted after partition. Their reasoning as regards the Bombay cases is not satisfactory. It amounts to this that as between the separating co-parceners the coparcenary may be extinct but as to the subsequently adopted son it exists i. e. a co-parcenary is extinct and existing at the same time, which, to use no stronger expression, appears rather strange. Besides the general rule is that partition is made only once (Manu IX. 47). The cases of the posthumous son and of the disqualified heir are expressly provided by way of exceptions. The usual rule is that exceptions are to be strictly limited to the matters expressly stated and are not to be extended by analogy to cases not covered by the words of the exception and that other cases are governed by the general rule. It is a canon of interpretation in Hindu Law that a special text forming an exception to a general text should be construed strictly and applied only to the cases clearly falling within it (*Ganpu v. Chandrabhagabai* 32 Bom. 275, 283, *Hanmant v. Ganesh* 43 Bom. 612, 624). Further, a Hindu widow is not compelled to adopt at any particular time; she may adopt at any time during her life. In *Raje Vyankatrao v. Jayavantrao* 4 Bom. H. C. R (A. C J.) 191 it is noticed that the widow in that case adopted 71 years after her husband's death. If the reasoning of the learned Judges of Nagpur and Madras is correct then when three or four generations have succeeded to the separating coparceners, an adopted son can reopen the partition after three quarters of a century This result, to say the least, would be most unreasonable. The Nagpur High Court observes that every Hindu widow is a potential mother. This is a fiction which has been carried too far by that court and by the Privy Council A woman in the order of nature can hardly ever have an *aurasa* son beyond the age of fifty or so, but when a fiction is employed a woman can bring into existence a son even when she is 80 or 90 The Privy Council have approved of the Nagpur and Madras decisions recently in *Anant v. Shankar* 46 Bom. L. R 1. They hold that a Hindu family cannot be brought to an end while it is possible in nature or law to add a male member to it or while there is still a potential mother if that mother in the way of nature or law brings in a new member In *Ramchandra v Shankar* 47 Bom. L. R 121 (F B) the Privy Council decision in *Anant v. Shankar* has been followed and it is hald that the decision in *Balu v. Lahoo* has been expressly overruled by the Privy Council. The consequences of these latest decisions will be most disastrous for Hindus. In Amarendra's case the P. C. state that there

must be some limit to the power of a widow to adopt or some conditions in which it would be contrary to the spirit of the doctrine to admit its continuance or inequitable in the face of other rights to allow it to take effect (L. R. 60 I. A. 242 at p. 249). In *Madana Mohana v. Purshothama* L. R. 45 I. A. 156 the P. C. approving of *Ramkrishna v. Shamrao* 26 Bom. 526 (F. B) held that, when a man dies leaving a widow and a son and that son dies leaving his own son or a widow to continue the line by adoption, the power of the former widow comes to an end and cannot be revived; that is, they were prepared to hold that the grandmother succeeding to her grandson who died unmarried could not make a valid adoption and allowed the grandfather and his ancestors to remain without the religious benefits that a son adopted by the grandmother would have conferred (in spite of the 9th chapter of Manu on which they rely in Amarendra's case). According to the recent rulings any widow whose husband died a member of a joint Hindu family may adopt *at any time* even when the other members become separate and may remain separate for 50 years or more and yet a large slice of the estate may be taken away after several generations have succeeded, laboured and acquired a vast estate. Further, it is not clear how far the P. C. will go in their solicitude for the adopted son. Suppose three brothers separate and one of them sells the property that came to his share. If the partition is to be opened for the benefit of a son subsequently adopted by a predeceased member's widow, will the purchaser be affected or not (supposing the sale is within 12 years of the adoption)? Supposing that the last surviving member of a family dies leaving a married daughter and a predeceased son's widow and the daughter inherits an absolute estate (as she does in Bombay) and remains in possession for 30 years, is it meant that a son thereafter adopted by the widowed daughter-in-law can divest an estate vested for thirty years in a married daughter who is not a member of the family at all after her marriage? The recent P. C. decision in *Anant v. Shankar* appears to indicate that whatever the length of time the adopted son will oust a collateral to whom the estate may have gone by inheritance. Intending purchasers have become afraid that there is no knowing how far the P. C may go These decisions will lead on to hurried sales of joint family property at whatever price may be fetched immediately a coparcener dies leaving a widow. The result of the several decisions of the P. C has been that properties of

Hindu families in which widows of predeceased coparceners exist are not easily saleable and do not yield their proper market value. The inroads on the ancient joint family system of the Mitākṣarā have been so many that only the shell remains; the burdens are there, but the soul is gone, what with the right of each coparcener to alienate his share for consideration, the Gains of learning Act, Act 18 of 1937, the decisions of the P C. about adoption, sec 39 of the Transfer of Property Act. It would be better if the Legislature declared that the joint family system of the Mitāksarā type has been abrogated, if all the innovations introduced by legislation and judicial decisions are to be kept intact.

A widow who has attained years of discretion may adopt although she is a minor according to the Indian Majority Act (of 1875) It has been held in Bengal that an unchaste[1268] widow cannot adopt, but in the Bombay Presidency it has been held that a śūdra widow, though unchaste, may make a valid adoption.[1269] If a man dies leaving a widow D and two sons A and B, who form a joint Hindu family, and subsequently A dies leaving a widow C and his brother B, and if B dies unmarried and the mother D succeeds as heir to her unmarried son B, she has still the power to adopt a son. The duty of continuing the line was cast upon both A and B and not on A alone and therefore when A dies that duty is cast on the surviving coparcener B Therefore the proposition laid down in *Ramkrishna v Shamrao* cannot apply and the mother of B can adopt (vide *Anant v. Dnyaneshwar* 46 Bom. L. R. 353)

Who may be adopted.

The person to be adopted must be a male according to the Vyavahāramayūkha[1270] which relies on the analogy of *upanayana* (that only a male undergoes, as stated in the ancient text '*aṣṭavarsaṁ brāhmanam-upanayīta*). This has been followed by

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1268. Vide *Sayamalal v Saudamini* 5 Beng L. R. 362.

1269. Vide *Basvant v Mallappa* 45 Bom 459

1270 दत्तकञ्च पुमानेव भवति न कन्या । स ज्ञेयो दत्रिम. सुत (मनु ९. १६८)—इति संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धबोधकवाक्यगतेन स इति सर्वनाम्ना मातापितृकर्तृक-प्रीतिजनकगुणकापत्ति-मित्तकदानकर्मीभूतसजातीयपुंस एव—अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत तमध्यापयीत—इति तच्छब्देनाष्टवर्ष—ब्राह्मण्यपुंस्त्वोपनयनाद्यसंस्कृतस्पेव परामर्शात । व्य मयूख pp. 108-109 For अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत, vide आप. गृ IV 10. 2 and सुदर्शनाचार्य's gloss thereon The धर्मसिन्धु says एवं दत्तकन्याया अपि स्वीकार उक्तविधिना कार्य । तत्र परगोत्रोत्पन्नाया ग्रहणे विवाहे गोत्रद्वयवर्जनं मात्रम् । पुत्रपत्न्योरभावे दत्तकस्पेव पितृधन-भागिनी । (III पूर्वार्ध p. 162)

the Indian Courts.[1271] But the D. M. (pp 112–116), Sam. K. (p. 188) and Dharmasindhu[1272] relying upon such instances as that of Śāntā, the daughter of king Dasaratha (who was adopted by king Lomapāda) and of Prthā, who was the daughter of Śūra and was adopted by Kuntibhoja, say that even a girl may be adopted Pannalal in 'Kumaun local customs' states that a girl may be adopted as a daughter in Kumaun by custom The person to be adopted must be of the same caste as the adopting father Yāj. II. 133, providing that the twelve kinds of sons that offer the pinda and take the wealth one after another in order, applies only to sons of the same caste. Śaunaka also requires sameness of caste. Manu IX 168 employs the word 'sadṛśam', which was interpreted by Medhātithi as meaning 'similar to the adopter in qualities and not in caste'. Medhātithi[1273] expressly states that a brāhmana may adopt a ksatriya boy. But Kullūka and the other commentators of Manu, the V. Mayūkha and other works hold that the boy must be of the same caste The Sam K. p 150 and Dharmasindhu go a step further by saying that even a brāhmana should adopt another of the same country. The Vāyupurāna (99 137–139) narrates that Bharata, son of Dusyanta, adopted Bharadvāja, son of Bṛhaspati and a brāhmana, who then became a ksatriya.[1274] The courts accept the view of Kullūka and the rest. It is likely that courts may allow a boy from a subcaste of each of the four principal varnas to be adopted by a man belonging to another subcaste of the same varna.[1274a] Śaunaka and Vrddha-Yāj q by D. C. provide

1271. Vide *Gangabai v Anant* 13 Bom 690, where the Vyavahāramayūkha is expressly referred to and followed in preference to D M. and Samskārakaustubha. Vide also *In re Munshram* 12 Lahore 658 at p 661.

1272. For the quotation from the सं कौ. vide H. of Db vol I. p 449 n 1119. The D. M. adds passages from the स्कन्दपुराण, लिङ्गपुराण, हरिवंश and आदिपर्व Vide आदिपर्व 111. 2–3 (cr. ed chap 104) for the adoption of कुन्ती, and रामायण, बालकाण्ड, 9th chap. for that of शान्ता

1273. सदृशं न ज्ञातितः किं तर्हि कुलालरूपैर्गुणैः । क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य वृत्तको दृश्यते । मेधा on मनु IX. 168. विप्रादीनां वर्णानां समानवर्ण एव । तत्रापि देशभेदप्रयुक्त-गुर्जरत्वान्ध्रत्वादिना समानजातीय एव । धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 158

1274. तस्माद् दिष्यो भरद्वाजो ब्राह्मण्याक्षत्रियोऽभवत् । द्विमुख्यायनसंज्ञा स स्मृतो द्विपितृकस्तु वै ॥ वायु 99 157. द्विमुख्यायन seems to be a corrupt form of द्वयामुष्यायण

1274a In *Raj Nandini v Aswini Kumar* I. L. R. (1941) 1 Cal 457 the adoption of a Vaidya child by a Kāyastha was upheld in the Sylhet district, as both are now treated as śūdras

that the *dattaka* may be of a different caste, but that such a son will not take the wealth [1275] In spite of the words of Vas. 15. 3 and of Śaunaka (that one having an only son should not give him) the courts have held that even an only son may be given or taken in adoption and that the words of Vasistha are merely recommendatory. Vide *Sri Balusu Gurulingaswami v. Sri Balusu Ramalakshmamma* 26 I. A. p. 113 and *Vyas Chimanlal v. Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom. 367 (F. B.) In connection with the force of the words of Vas. 15. 3–4 stating why an only son should not be given or taken, Jaimini's rule contained in what is called the 'hetuvan-nigadādhikarana '[1276] (Jai. I. 2. 26–30) came in for very exhaustive discussion in *Beni Prasad v Hardai Bibi* 14 All. 67 (F. B.) and *Radha Mohun v Hardai Bibi* 26 I. A. pp. 113, 146. There are several Vedic passages like this, 'he offers the grains into the fire with a winnowing basket, for food is prepared with the help of it' (Tai Br. I. 6. 5). The question is whether such sentences put forward a reason for what is enjoined in the preceding portion or whether they are intended merely as *arthavādas* (i. e. for the praise of what is stated in the preceding part of the passage). Jaimini concludes that they are for the purpose of praise[1277] alone.

1275. यदि स्यादन्यजातीयो गृहीतोपि सुतः क्वचित् । अंशभाज न तं कुर्याच्छौनकस्य मतं हि तत् ॥... व्यक्तमाह वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यः । सजातीयः सुतो ग्राह्य पिण्डदाता स रिक्थभाक् । तदभावे विजातीयो वक्षमात्रकर स्मृत । आसाच्छादनमात्र तु लभते स तदिक्थिनः ॥ इति । दत्त. च. p 7, दत्त. मी. quotes the verse यदि स्यात् & as शौनक's (p 104) and also as वृद्धगौतम's(p 52)

1276 हेतुर्वा स्यादर्थवत्त्वोपपत्तिभ्याम् । स्तुतिस्तु शब्दपूर्वत्वाद्चोदना च तस्य । जै. I. 2. 26–27 ; अथ ये हेतुवन्निगदा शूर्पेण जुहोति तेन ह्यन्न क्रियत इत्येवमादयस्तेषु सन्देहः। किं स्तुतिस्तेषा कार्यमुत हेतुरिति । किं प्राप्तम् । हेतुः स्यादन्नकरण होमस्य । शबर, इह ये हेतुवन्निगद्यन्ते हिशब्दादिभिर्न च परमार्थहेतवस्ते उदाहरणम् । तन्त्रवार्तिक

1277. Nigada means 'a sentence or sacrificial formula' and 'hetuvat' means containing a word or words (like 'hi') which are generally used to indicate a reason' for a statement already made. In preparing food from grains, the śūrpa is required for winnowing them to free them from husk &c. as also are required the pan or pot for boiling the grains and a ladle for stirring the grains when they are being boiled. The *Śruti* passage provides that with the help of a śūrpa the homa is made of Karambhapātras (pots full of husked grains of *yava* slightly fried on the Daksina fire, ground and mixed with curds) in the Varunapraghāsa, one of the *cāturmāsyas*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 1095–96 and 1098 for the śūrpa used as a *juhū* ladle. If the latter part of the passage contains a reason for the first part, then it would follow that the pot or ladle (both of which are useful in getting food

(*Continued on the next page*)

The eldest son also should not be taken in adoption, since, as the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 130) puts it, it is the eldest son alone who is the foremost in serving the purposes of a son as regards his genetive father acc. to Manu IX. 106 which says 'a man becomes one having a son (a father) by the mere fact of the birth of his (first) son and becomes free from the debt owed to

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(*Continued from the last page*)

prepared) may equally be used instead of the śūrpa. But the object of the latter half is not to assign a reason, but rather to praise and recommend the śūrpa as the means of making the homa and so nothing but the śūrpa can be employed in making the offering. The Veda is the final authority in all matters pertaining to sacrifice; it does not stand in need of giving reasons for its prescriptions but it may enlogise an act to indnce people to perform it. Therefore in the hetuvan-nigadādhikarana Jaimini does not lay down (as thought by Mandlik and by the High Conrt in 14 All. 67, pp 73, 84, 125) that when a text is supported by a clause containing words of reason, it shonld he regarded as merely recommendatory (and not obligatory), but what Jaimini lays down is that clauses containing words generally meaning 'reason' are to be construed as *arthavādas* (praises) of the obligatory rule contained in a previous clause. Mr. Mandlik says (p 499 of his 'Hindu Law') 'It is a rule of the Pūrvamimāmsā that all texts supported by the assigning of a reason are to be deemed not as *vidhi* but simply as *arthavāda* (recommendatory). When a text is treated as an arthavāda it follows that it has no obligatory force whatever. Śabarasvāmin constructs an adhikarana on this head which he calls 'hetuman-nigadādhikarana' (quoted in 14 All. 67 at p. 73). This is entirely wrong as shown above and the adhikarana is not called 'hetuman etc' but 'hetuvan etc.'. Acc to Jaimini's rule the words of Vas 15. 3 'naikam putram' contain a vidhi (an obligatory rule), while the following clause containing the word 'hi' (indicative of a reason) '*sa hi santānāya pūrvesām*' is merely an arthavāda, which praises the vidhi hy emphasizing the importance of a son. Sarkar in his 'Mīmāmsā Rules' (pp. 175–176) correctly represents the meaning of Jaimini, though in somewhat obscure language The decisions in 14 All. 67 and 26 I A. 113 are correct so far as the Mit. and the Mayūkha are concerned, though the judgments in the former case are wrong in what is regarded to be the meaning of Jaimini's aphorisms constituting 'hetuvan-nigadādhikarana' The Privy Council in 26 I A 113 at p. 146 refer to the supposed rule of Jaimini that all precepts supported by the assignment of a reason are to he taken as recommendations only, hut they express themselves guardedly and say that the rule is rather startling and they would not admit it to be true unless they made an intimate study of the smrtis The commentaries will make the Pūrvamimāmsā position clear. अस्मत्पक्षे पुनः शूर्पं स्तूयते । तेन ह्यर्थे क्रियत इति वृत्तान्तान्वाख्यान न च वृत्तान्तज्ञानाय किं तर्हि मरोचनायैव । तस्माद्धेतुवच्चिगदस्यापि स्तुतिरेव कार्यमिति । शबर on जै. I. 2. 30. The शास्त्रदीपिका states 'न च वेदेनोच्यमानं शूर्पस्य होमसाधनत्वं हेतुमपेक्षते वेदस्यैव तत्र प्रमाणत्वात् । अर्थवादस्त्वपेक्षितः मरोचनार्थत्वेन । तस्मादर्थवादत्वम् ।'.

the *pitṛs*'. But in modern times this rule is taken to be only recommendatory and the adoption of the eldest son is held valid as also that of an only son[1278]. The V. Mayūkha (p. 108) states: acc. to the Mit. the prohibition to give the eldest son affects only the giver but not the adopter and he criticizes the Mit that Manu IX. 106 does not forbid the giving of the eldest son, but only provides that by the birth of the first son a man becomes free from debt (to pitṛs). So the V. Mayūkha goes a step further and holds that there is no prohibition at all either to give or take in adoption the eldest son, while the Mit., though it does not hold the adoption bad, seems to hold that the giver incurred blame. The Sam. K. p. 150 also does not allow the adoption of the eldest son. Two or more persons cannot adopt the same boy and if they do so the adoption by each is invalid[1279]. The Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa adoption, to be described later on, is an exception.

The texts contain rules about preference in selecting a boy for adoption, when several are eligible The Mit.[1280] on Yāj. II. 132 declares that the verse of Manu IX. 182 stating that 'when out of several brothers who are sons of the same father one has a son all of them become, through that son persons having a son' does not provide that he becomes really the son of all but it indicates that when a brother's son is available

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1278 Vide *Kashibai* v *Tatia* 7 Bom. 221, *Tukaram* v. *Babaji* 1 Bom. L. R. 144 (for valid adoption of eldest son), where at p. 152 the following passage from the Mayūkha is referred to: ज्येष्ठेन जातमात्रेण पुत्रीभवति मानव इति ज्येष्ठस्यैव पुत्रकार्यकरणे मुख्यत्वात्स न देय इत्यपमपि निषेधो दातुरेव न प्रतिग्रहीतुरित्यपि सः। स्यादयं प्रतिषेधो दातुरेव यद्येतस्य ज्येष्ठदाननिषेधकता स्यात्। न तु सास्ति। मानाभावात्। पुत्रीभवतीत्यनेन पुत्रित्वमात्रोक्त्या ऋणापाकरणोक्तिमात्रपरत्वाच्च। अत एव पितृणामनृणश्चैव स तस्मात्सर्वमर्हति—इत्युत्तरार्धं सङ्गच्छते। च्य मयूख p 108 The same passage of the Mayūkha is referred to in *Vyas Chunilal* v *Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom 367 (F. B) at p. 375.

1279 अपुत्रेणेत्येकत्वश्रवणाच्च न द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिर्वा एकः पुत्र. कर्तव्य इति गम्यते। वृत्त मी 'p. 25.

1280. यत्तु-भ्रातृणामेकजातानामेकश्चेत्पुत्रवान्भवेत्। सर्वे ते तेन पुत्रेण पुत्रिणो मनुरब्रवीत्—इति (मनु ९. १८२) तदपि भ्रातृपुत्रस्य पुत्रीकरणसम्भवेऽन्यथा पुत्रीकरणनिषेधार्थत्वं, न पुनः पुत्रत्वप्रतिपादनाय तत्सुता गोत्रजा बन्धुरित्यनेन विरोधात्। मिता. on या. II. 132. The same verse is वसिष्ठ 17. 10 (with variations). व्यव. नि. p. 440 quotes similar verses of हारीत and बृहस्पति Compare विष्णुध सू. 15 42 also 'भ्रात्रन्तराणां पुत्रवत्त्वोक्तिर्ग्रामस्य तात इतिवदौरसप्रशंसार्था। यत्तु संग्रहकारेणोक्तं यद्येकजाता बहवो भ्रातरस्तु सहोदराः। एकस्यापि सुते जाते सर्वे ते पुत्रिणः स्मृताः—इति तत्र ... देवस्वामिना तात्पर्यार्थं उक्तः—उभयत्रापि नान्यः प्रतिनिधिः कार्य इति ब्रुवेन। स्मृतिच. II p. 289. Vide स वि. p. 395 for quotation of this passage of स्मृतिच.

for adoption another boy should not be adopted. A similar explanation had been given by an ancient commentator Devasvāmin. The D. M., D. C. (pp. 5–6) and Sam. K. p. 150 quote passages of Śaunaka[1281] and Śākala that a man should prefer a sapinda or a sagotra to one who is not a sapinda or of the same gotra. The D. M., D. C., the Sam. K p. 150, the Dharmasindhu recommend the following order: the full brother's son, then a sagotra sapinda, then a sapinda though not of the same gotra (such as a boy from one's maternal uncle's line or a paternal aunt's descendant), then one not a sapinda though of the same gotra, then one who is neither a sapinda nor a sagotra. This order is purely recommendatory and an adoption in breach of it is quite valid. It has been recently held that an adoption is invalid if the boy adopted be congenitally and incurably deaf and dumb though not an idiot. Vide *Surendra v Bholanath* I L. R. (1944) 1 Cal. 139

As to the age of the boy to be adopted there is great divergence among the medieval writers which is also reflected in the case law. In this connection certain verses of the Kālikāpurāṇa assume[1282] great importance The V. Mayūkha and the D. C

1281. ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंग्रहः । तदभावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् ॥ शौनक; सपिण्डापत्यकं चैव सगोत्रजमथापि वा । अपुत्रको द्विजो यस्मात्पुत्रत्वे परिकल्पयेत् । समानगोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् । शाकल; both q. by दत्त. मी. p. 41 and 48, and दत्त. च. pp 5–6. A comparatively late work called असपिण्डासगोत्रपुत्रपरिग्रहपरीक्षा (composed after about 1700 A. D, since it mentions the दत्तकमीमांसा and संस्कारकौस्तुभ) after an elaborate discussion of Rg. VII 4. 7–8 and the above passages of Saunaka and Sākala states the following conclusion (D C College Ms No 133 of 1886–92 folio 16 b) 'यथा ... दाक्षिणात्यैः समर्थितं मातुलकन्यापरिणयनं ... तथा असपिण्डासगोत्रपरिग्रहोऽपि यस्मिन् देशे येषां कुलेऽनादिसिद्धस्तेषामेव नान्येषामिति व्यवतिष्ठते'.

1282. पितुर्गोत्रेण यः पुत्र. संस्कृतः पृथिवीपते । आचूडान्तं न पुत्रः स पुत्रतां याति चान्यत. ॥ चूडोपनयसंस्कारा निजगोत्रेण वै कृता' । दत्ताद्यास्तनयास्ते स्युरन्यथा दास उच्यते । ऊर्ध्वं तु पञ्चमाद्वर्षान्न दत्ताद्याः सुता नृप । गृहीत्वा पञ्चवर्षीयं पुत्रेष्टिं प्रथमं चरेत् ॥ कालिकापुराण q. by दत्त. मी p 122, नि. सि. III पूर्वार्ध p 250, व्य. मयूख p. 114, दत्त. च. pp 31–33 (reads यदि स्यात्कृतसंस्कारो यदि वातीतशैशवः ग्रहणे पञ्चमाद्वर्षात् पुत्रेष्टिं), सं कौ. p 169 (reads चूडाद्या यदि and अन्यथा अदास) The cūḍā was usually performed in the third year and the locks that were kept on the boy's head depended upon the number of the *pravara* sages of the gotra of the father. Vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 260–265 for cūḍākaraṇa. So if a boy (who was असगोत्र) was adopted after cūḍā, his position would be this that some संस्कारs would have been performed with one gotra, while others would be performed with another gotra i. e. he would thus belong to two gotras. To prevent this and to complete his affiliation into the adoptive family the putresti had to be performed.

hold that the passage is of doubtful authenticity (as the verses are not found in several mss.), while the D. M. and the Nirnayasindhu hold them to be genuine and the Sam K. pp. (169-172) after referring to these views states that those verses are opposed to what is stated in the Ait. Br. about Śunahśepa who was adopted by Viśvāmitra as a son even after upanayana. The verses are. 'O King! that son, whose *samskāras* up to (including) the *cūḍā* (tonsure) ceremony are performed with the gotra of his (natural) father, does not (i. e. cannot) attain the status of the adopted son of another When the ceremonies of cūdā and upanayana are performed under his own gotra (by the adoptive father) the *dattaka* and the other kinds become (recognised as) sons (in the adoptive family); otherwise they are called *dāsa* (slave). After the fifth year the adopted son and the rest cannot be (recognised as) sons. Having taken one who is five years old, one (the adopter) should first perform the *putresti*'. These verses state four propositions: (1) If all samskāras from *jātakarma* to *cūḍā* (i. e including it) have been performed in the family of birth that boy cannot be adopted in another family; (2) if a boy's *cūḍā* and other later ceremonies are performed in the family of adoption he is fully an adopted son; (3) a boy over five years of age cannot be adopted at all, (4) a boy whose cūḍā has been performed in the family of birth may be adopted up to five years, provided the rite called putresti[1283] is first performed in the adoptive family before any other ceremony is performed on the adopted boy. The D. M. says that the best time for adoption is up to three years, then from three years to five is the next best (*gauṇa*) and that after five no boy can be adopted. The D C. (p. 36) holds that a boy of the three higher classes can be adopted up to *upanayana* and that a śūdra boy can be adopted till his marriage The Nirnayasindhu seems to be of the same opinion The V. Mayūkha[1284]

1283 About the पुत्रेष्टि, the वृत्त. मी p 132 says 'अग्नये पुत्रवते पुरोडाशमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेदिन्द्राय पुत्रिणे पुरोडाशमेकादशकपाल प्रजाकाम । अग्निरेवास्मै प्रजां प्रजनयति वृद्धानिन्द्रः प्रयच्छतीति वाक्ये प्रजाफलकत्वमिष्टे श्रूयते। तथा चान्यत्पक्षा प्रजा तत्र तदुत्पत्तिरेव भाव्या यत्र तूत्पन्ना परिगृह्यते तत्रोत्पत्तिरेवाभावात्तस्याः प्रजात्वमेव भाव्यमिति कल्प्यते प्रकृतविध्यन्यथानुपपत्तेः ।'. The सं. कौ p 173 contains the words अग्नये प्रयच्छति Vide आश्व श्रौ II. 10 'पुत्रकामेष्ट्यामग्नि पुत्री '

1284. वृत्तकरतु परिणीत उत्पन्नपुत्रोपि च भवतीति तातचरणा । युक्त चेद बाधकाभावात् व्य म. p 114 When Nilakantha says that the three verses of the Kālikāpurāna refer to the adoption of an asagotra boy, that is not his real opinion; he only concedes that that passage may, if at all, refer to the adoption of an asagotra boy. एवं च चूडाद्या इत्यतदृगुणसविज्ञानबहुव्रीहिणा द्विजातीनामुपनयनलाभः शूद्रस्य तु विवाहादिलाभ । वृत्त. च. p 36

and Sam. K. both hold that even a boy not of the same gotra may be taken in adoption after upanayana or after marriage and even when the person to be adopted has himself had a son. In Bengal, Benares[1285] and Bihar the courts hold that the boy must be adopted before *upanayana*. The same rule holds good in Madras[1286]; but there it is further held that if the boy to be adopted is of the same gotra as the adopter, the adoption may be made after upanayana but before marriage. In Bombay a person may be adopted at any age, even after marriage and even after he has had children and he may be even older than the adopter.[1287] In the whole of India, a śūdra may be adopted only before his marriage, but in the Bombay Presidency the adoption of a married man and of one having even a child is allowed also among śūdras[1288].

1285. Vide *Ganga Sahai v. Lekhraj* 9 All. 253 (at p. 306 the translations of the Kālikāpurāna verses by Sutherland and Colebrooke are quoted and at p 318 the authenticity of those verses is held to be extremely doubtful); *Raja Mukund v. Jagannath* 2 Patna 469, 477 (where the passage of the Kālikāpurāna is quoted), in which it was held that a boy may be adopted till upanayana and that it does not matter if the cūdā ceremony is performed in the family of birth and the putreṣṭi is omitted at the time of adoption; *Chandreshwar v. Bisheshwar* 5 Patna 777 at p 844 (where the passage as to five years was held not binding); vide *Surabala Devi v. Sudhirkumar* AIR (1944) Cal 265.

1286. *Viraraghava v Ramalinga* 9 Mad 148 (F B) for the validity of the adoption of a sagotra after upanayanya and *Pichuvayyan v. Subbayyan* 13 Mad 128 for the invalidity of a married man's adoption

1287. Vide *Dharma v Ramkrishna* 10 Bom 80, 84 (where it is said that though Nīlakantha's explanation that the Kālikāpurāna verses refer to an asagotra causes a difficulty, yet it does not follow that he adopts that interpretation as his own) in which the adoption of a married asagotra brāhmana was upheld; *Kalgavda v Somappa* 33 Bom. 669 where the adoption of a married man having a son was upheld, but it was decided that the son born before adoption remained for purposes of inheritance in the natural family; *Balabai v Mahadu* 48 Bom 387 (where the adopted man was older than the adopter)

1288. *Lingayya v. Chengalammal* 48 Mad. 407 where it was held that even a śūdra cannot be adopted after his marriage, (which decision follows the D. C)

Śaunaka required that the boy to be adopted must be *putracchāyāvaha*[1289] (one who bears resemblance to or is a reflection of the *aurasa* son). This has led to differing explanations by the commentators and contradictory decisions in the several Indian High Courts. The D. M. and D. C (p 21) both explain that the resemblance consists in the possibility of being procreated by the adopter himself by *niyoga* and the like. The meaning of the D. M. is: A brother's son or a sapinda's son or a sagotra's son can be adopted because the adopter could have procreated a son by the practice of niyoga on the wife of a brother or a sapinda or a sagotra (according to the rules of niyoga); but he could not have done so as regards his mother, or grandmother, daughter or sister or his mother's sister. Therefore a man cannot adopt his own brother, paternal or maternal uncle, a daughter's son or a sister's son and the like One strange thing is that, though *niyoga* had been forbidden for many centuries before the D. M., the author of it brings in the rules of the long obsolete practice of *niyoga*[1290] to find out who could or could not be adopted. But stranger things were to happen Sutherland who translated both the D.M. and the D.C explained in his notes the word 'niyogādinā' as 'by such an appointment or marriage and the like'. Vide Stoke's Hindu Law Texts p. 590 (Dattakamīmāmsa, sec. V. *placitum* 16 note). There was no warrant for introducing the word 'marriage' after 'niyoga' The rules of niyoga are different from those of marriage The judges most of whom were generally ignorant of Sanskrit and had yet to decide cases among Hindus according to Hindu Law as understood by them (vide 26 I A. 113 at page 128 about the ignorance of Sanskrit among judges) seized upon this explanation and evolved the curious rule that no one could be adopted whose mother the adopter could not have married in her maiden state (i. e the relationship has reference to a time *prior* to

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1289. पुत्रच्छाया पुत्रसादृश्यं तच्च नियोगादिना स्वयमुत्पादनयोग्यत्व यथा भ्रातृसपिण्डसगोत्रादिपुत्रस्य । न चासम्बन्धिनि नियोगासम्भव । बीजार्थं ब्राह्मण. कश्चिद्धनेनोपनिमन्त्र्यतामिति स्मरणात् । ततश्च भ्रातृपितृव्यमातुलदौहित्रभागिनेयादीना निरास· पुत्रसादृश्याभावात् । . तथा मक्ते विरुद्धसम्बन्धपुत्रो वर्जनीय इति । यतो रतियोग सम्भवति तादृशः कार्य इति यावत् । दत्त मी. pp 144–145 and p 147. The words पुत्रच्छाया योग्यत्वं occur in दत्त. च also (p 21). The half verse बीजार्थं ब्राह्मण्यताम् is almost like आदिपर्व 105. 2

1290. For the rules of *niyoga* vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599–601.

marriage). This is still the law in all Presidencies[1291] except Bombay. Although the D. M. stated that the boy to be adopted must be capable of being procreated by niyoga, at another place it remarks, after quoting verses of Śaunaka[1292] and Śākala, that a boy of another gotra may be adopted except a daughter's son, a sister's son and a mother's sister's son. The Bombay High Court holds that any one may be adopted except these three (vide *Ramchandra v Gopal* 32 Bom 619, *Walbai v. Heerbai* 34 Bom. 491 holding that a man cannot adopt his mother's sister's son, *Ramkrishna v Chimnaji* 15 Bom. L. R 824 holding the adoption of father's sister's son valid). Very strange results have followed from this viz. the Bombay High Court has upheld the validity of the adoption as a son by a man of his own half-brother (vide *Gajanan v Kashinath* 39 Bom. 410), of his own maternal uncle's son, and the adoption by a widow of her deceased husband's son-in-law (vide *Sitabai v. Parvatibai* 47 Bom 35). It should be noted that the Dvaitanirnaya or Dharmadvaitanirnaya[1293] (of Śankarabhatta, father of Nīlakantha) and the V. Mayūkha both hold after a very abstruse reasoning based on several Mīmāmsā rules, that men of the three higher classes may

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1291. Vide *Minakshi v. Ramanada* 11 Mad. 49 (F B.), *Bhagwan Singh v. Bhagwan Singh* L R. 26 I. A. 153, 160, in the latter of which the texts of Saunaka and Sākala are relied upon.

1292 तथा च शौनक· । ... दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रैश्च क्रियते सुतः । ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेय· सुत· क्वचित् । ... तदेतत्सपटमाचष्टे शाकल· । समानगोत्रजाभावे पालयेदन्यगोत्रजम् । दौहित्रं भागिनेयं च मातृस्वसृसुतं विना । इति । एतेन भागिनेयपदं दौहित्रमातृष्वस्रेययोरुपलक्षणमिति स्पष्टमेव सिद्धम् । युक्तं चतत्, विरुद्धसम्बन्धस्य त्रिष्वपि समानत्वात् । दत्त. मी pp 80 and 101; दत्त च p 8, दत्त. च p 6 quotes शाकल's verse. The दत्त. मी elsewhere (p. 98) and the सं. कौ. p 158 read शूद्राणां विहितः सुतः and the सं. कौ p 176 reads 'दौहित्रं भागिनेयं वा शूद्राणां चापि दापयेत्,' while the धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p 105) and the व्य. मयूख p. 110 read दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते. वृद्धगौतम q by the दत्त. मी. p 146 reads 'ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेयः सुत. क्वचित्।'

1293. Vide the text of the V. Mayūkha p. 111 and notes pp 173–179 in my edition of the V. Mayūkha for explanation. The Dvaitanirnaya (p. 105) concludes. तेन ब्राह्मणादिभिरपि दौहित्रभागिनेयौ पुत्रत्वेन ग्राह्याविति सिद्धम् । तथा शूद्रेण सति सम्भवे दौहित्रभागिनेयावेव ग्राह्यौ. ' The V. Mayūkha p 111 follows the Dvaitanirnaya and states that usage is in accordance with its explanation ' विपूतं चैतद् द्वैतनिर्णये तात्पचरणै. शिष्टाचारोप्येवम् ।' In *Gopal v Hanmant* 3 Bom 273 at p 280 it was held that Nīlakantha also interdicted the adoption of the daughter's son and of the other two by the regenerate classes It is submitted that this view as to the position of the V; Mayūkha on this point is entirely wrong

adopt a daughter's son, a sisters's son or a mother's sister's son and that a śūdra must adopt one of these if available in preference to any one else. The Bombay High Court follows the interpretation of Śaunaka's verse given by Nandapandita in preference to Nīlakantha's, but in its turn disregards the authority of Nandapandita who forbade the adoption of a brother or uncle. It would have been far better if it had generally brushed aside everywhere the dicta of Nandapandita and preferred the interpretation of the Mayūkha. Popular sentiment is in favour of the daughter's son or sister's son being adopted, as they are the nearest and often the dearest relations, and yet the High Court shuts the door against them, while it opens it ajar for the adoption of a brother or maternal uncle or his son or one's own daughter's husband, which appears absurd to people. Besides the High Courts have recognised the adoption even of a daughter's son[1294] on the ground of custom by Deśastha smārta brāhmanas in the Dharwar District (vide *Sundrabai v Hanmant* 56 Bom. 298), by Telugu brāhmanas (*Viswasundara v. Somasundara* 43 Mad. 876). Śūdras can adopt a daughter's or sister's or mother's sister's son all over India. The D. M. went so far as to say that a widow could not adopt *her* brother's son.[1295] The D. M. ignored the fact that the widow adopts to her husband (and not to herself) who bore no relation to his wife's brother's wife and who could have himself adopted that son. The Bombay High Court and the Privy Council have discarded this absurd proposition of the D. M Pannalal in 'Kumaun Local customs'

1294 It may be noted that the question of the adoption of the daughter's son cropped up even in the times of the Peshwas. In 'Selections from Peshwa's Records' vol 43 No 146 pp 116–117 the opinion of Rāmśāstri, the Chief Justice of the Peshwa's court, is sought on the adoption of a daughter's son from the Ratnagiri District The Prthvīrāja Rāsau states that the famous Chohan hero Prthvīrāja had been adopted by his maternal grand-father Anangapāla of the Tomara dynasty of Delhi But modern historians say that this is imaginary (vide 'History of Medieval India' by Prof Ishwari Prasad p 9 n).

1295. तदाह वृद्धगौतमः। ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेयः सुत: क्वचित्। इति। भागिनेयपद् भ्रातृपुत्रस्यापुपलक्षणम्। तेन भगिन्या भ्रातृपुत्रो न ग्राह्यः। वृत्त. मी pp. 56–57. Vide *Bai Nani* v. *Chunilal* 22 Bom. 973, *Puttulal v Parbati* 42 I. A p. 155, where after admitting that the Dattakamimāmsā is embedded in law, the P C say that caution is required in accepting the glosses of Nanda Pandita where they deviate from or add to the *smrtis* (p 161).

notes that in that part of India a daughter's or a sister's son may be adopted (p. 14 para 56). It has been recently held that the adoption of the illegitimate son of a woman even among śūdras is invalid. Vide *Apya v. Ramakka* I. L. R. (1941) Bom. 350. This was relied upon for holding that a woman cannot give in adoption an illegitimate son among Lingayats in *Tirkangauda v. Shivappa* A. I. R (1944) Bom. 40.

It is now necessary to say a few words about the *dvyāmusyāyana*. A *dattaka* is of two kinds[1296], *kevala* (simple or ordinary) and *dvyāmusyāyana* (the son of two fathers). When a man gives *his only* son in adoption to another under an agreement that he is to be considered as the son of both the natural father (*janaka* or *janaka-pitṛ*) and of the adoptive father (*pālaka*), the son so given is called *dvyāmusyāyana*. The Bombay High Court has held that in order to constitute a *dvyāmusyāyana* an express agreement as stated above must be proved even when one brother adopts the only son of another[1297]. A dvyāmusyāyana inherits both in the natural and adoptive families. The word dvyāmusyāyana was employed in some of

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1296. अथ च दत्तको द्विविधः केवलो द्व्यामुष्यायणश्च। संविदं विना दत्त आद्यः। आवयोरसाविति संविदा दत्तस्त्वन्त्यः। व्य. मयूख p 114. The दत्त. च (pp 61,66) employs the word शुद्धदत्तक for केवलदत्तक Vide *Laxmipatrao v. Venkatesh* 41 Bom 315, *Huchrao v. Bhimarao* 42 Bom 277 It has already been seen (p. 659) that the Mit employs the words dvyāmusyāyana and kṣetraja as synonyms. Nār. (dāyabhāga 23) appears to use it in the same sense, 'द्विरामुष्यायणा दद्युर्द्वार्ष्यं पिण्डोदकं पृथक्। रिक्थादर्धं समादद्युर्धीजिक्षेत्रिकयोस्तथा॥ In this verse Nār. does not employ the form dvyāmusyāyana, but the word āmusyāyana with the adverb 'dvih' meaning 'twice'. The word dvyāmusyāyana is made up of 'dvi' (two) and 'āmusyāyana' (issue of this man, issue of so and so) The word āmusyāyana occurs in the Tai Br. II 7 7. 7 (अपां य ऊर्मौ रसस्तमहमस्मा आमुष्यायणाय ओजसा वीर्याय गृह्णामि) and in the Atharvaveda IV 16 9, X. 5. 36 and 44, XVI. 7 8 in the form 'āmusyāyana amuṣyāh putra'. In the Hir gr. I. 9 19 we have इदमहमामुष्यायणस्य पाप्मानमवगृह्णामि, where Mātrdatta explains: अमुष्यायं आमुष्यायण इति. Similar words occur in the Bhāradvāja gr II. 19. Kātyāyana has vārtika 2 'आमुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकेत्युपसंख्यानम्' on Pān. VI. 3 21. 'Āmusyāyana' is formed from 'amuṣya' (of this or that man) in the sense of 'apatya' acc to Pāṇini IV. 1. 99 (*naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) In the Āśv. Sr. S (Uttarasatka 6 13) the word 'dvipravācana' is employed for dvyāmusyāyana, 'अथ य एते द्विमवाचना यथैतच्छौङ्गशैशिरेय' on which Nārāyana explains, य एते द्विमवाचना ऋषिदृष्टयप्यपदेश्याः यथैते शौङ्गशैशिरा द्व्यामुष्यायणाः शौङ्गेयस्य क्षेत्रे शैशिरेयकीजोत्पन्नाः वंशाः.

1297. Vide *Laxmipatrao v Venkatesh* 41 Bom 315 and *Huchrao v. Bhimarao* 42 Bom. 277,

the smṛtis as applicable to all such sons as the dattaka, kṛita[1298]. The V. Mayūkha quotes a prose passage from Kātyāyana (which is attributed to Paiṭhīnasi in D. C) and the V. Mayūkha, D M. and D C. all quote a verse (which is ascribed to Pravarādhyāya by the first and to Pārijāta by the D. M.) that supports this. The D. M and D C. both quote two sūtras of Satyāsādha and Śabara's gloss (*bhāṣya*) thereon in which the *kṣetraja* is called *nitya dvyāmusyāyaṇa* and the dattaka and others are called *anitya* dvyāmusyāyana Yāj II. 127 and Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 21 provide that a kṣetraja is the son of both the begetter and of the husband of the wife on whom the son is procreated. Therefore such a son is called *nitya* dvyāmusyāyana (because he is always the son of two fathers). When the kṣetraja became obsolete and forbidden, the only dvyāmusyāyana was an only son taken in adoption with a stipulation as described above. About the dattaka Manu IX. 142 states the general rule that the dattaka loses the gotra of his genetive father and assumes that of the adopter. But a dattaka belonged to two gotras according to some, if his saṃskāras up to *cauḍa* were performed in his natural family and the saṃskāra of upanayana and those that follow were performed in the adoptive family. Therefore it was not a general proposition that a dattaka always belonged to two gotras. If all the saṃskāras from *jātakarma* were performed by the adopter, then the dattaka would take the gotra of the adopter alone Hence the sons called dattaka and 'the bought' were styled *anitya* dvyāmusyāyanas (who were not in all cases dvyāmusyāyanas) The D. M. states this[1299] twofold division of dvyāmusyāyanas and employs the words *nityavat* or *nitya* and *anityavat* or *anitya*

1298 यत्तु-अथ चेद्दत्तकक्रीतपुत्रिकापुत्रा· परपरिग्रहेणानादेयास्ते द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्ति—इति द्व्यामुष्यायणानुपक्रम्य कात्यायन. । व्य. मयूख p. 115. वृत्त च p 46 ascribes this to पैठीनसि and reads, अथ वृत्तकक्रीतकृत्रिमपुत्रि· ग्रहेणावेण येऽन्न जातास्तेऽसङ्कृतकुलीना द्व्यामुष्यायणा भवन्तीति ।; द्व्यामुष्यायणका ये स्युर्दत्तकक्रीतकादय· । गोत्रद्वयेप्यनुद्वाह· शौङ्गशैशिरयोर्यथा । q from प्रवराध्याय by व्य मयूख p 118

1299. द्विविधा दत्तकादयो नित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्य.यण अनित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्यायणाश्च । तत्र नित्यवद् द्व्यामुष्य.यणा नाम ये जनकप्रतिग्रहीतुर्भ्यामाययोरपं पुत्र इति सम्मतिपत्रा । अनित्यवद्व्यामुष्यायणास्तु ये चूडान्ते सस्कारैर्जनकेन संस्कृता उपनयनादिभिश्च प्रतिग्रहीत्रा । तेषां गोत्रद्वयेनापि सस्कृतत्वाद् द्व्यामुष्यायणत्वं पर त्वनित्यम् । जातसंस्कारैस्तु परिग्रहे गोत्रद्वयेन संस्काराभावात् तस्य प्रतिग्रहीतुर्गोत्रमेव । तदिदं सर्वमभिप्रेत्याह सत्याषाढ· । 'नित्यानां द्व्यामुष्यायणानां द्वयो.' इति सूत्रेण नित्यवद्व्यामुष्यायणाना गोत्रद्वये प्रवरसम्बन्धमुक्त्वा तभेदानित्येवव्यतिदिशति 'वृत्तकादीनां तु द्व्यामुष्यायणवत्' इति सूत्रेण । वृत्त मी pp. 188–89, vide वृत्त. च. p 44 for the सूत्र of सत्याषाढ.

to denote the two varieties and restricts the former only to a son adopted with a stipulation as stated above. The ksetraja became quite obsolete many centuries ago and the courts have held that the anitya dvyāmusyāyana is also now obsolete [1300] It is now held that every adoption is presumed to be in the simple (*kevala*) form, unless a stipulation that the boy will be the son of both is proved (when it will be a dvyāmusyāyana adoption).

When a man is adopted in the dvyāmusyāyana form, his son born after such adoption has been held to inherit as grandson to the adoptive father, if the dvyāmusyāyana son died before the adoptive father.[1300a]

Ceremonies of Adoption.—The most essential ingredient in adoption is the giving of the boy by the natural father and the taking of the boy by the adopter with the intention to transfer the boy to the family of the adopter. Another requisite (in some cases) is the homa called *dattahoma*[1301] which as described by Śaunaka and Baud. is given[1302] in the Appendix. It is not necessary that the *dattahoma* must be performed immediately after the giving and taking, but it may be performed later and its performance may be delegated to others when the giver or taker is a widow or a śūdra or is ill &c. Although in Vedic times women composed hymns and although Hārita and Yama stated that women had the upanayana performed on them and could study the Veda (H. Dh. vol. II pp. 293–295), in later times it was held that women could not study the Veda, could not repeat Vedic mantras and therefore could not perform any homa (including *dattahoma*). Therefore some writers said that a widow could not adopt at all, while others like the V. Mayūkha said that women are to be assimilated to sūdras and so just as a śūdra can get the dattahoma performed through a brāhmana, so a widow, though she cannot herself engage in homa, may employ a brāhmana to perform the dattahoma Vide H Dh. vol II. pp 365–368 (for deterioration in the

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1300 Vide *Basappa v. Gurlingawa* 57 Bom. 74, 77, where the two kinds of dvyāmusyāyanas are mentioned and it is stated that the anitya dvyāmusyāyana is now obsolete.

1300 *a*. Vide *Ganpatrao v Balkrishna* I L. R (1942) Bom. 340.

1301. तस्माद् वृत्तकादिषु संस्कारनिमित्तमेव पुत्रत्वमिति सिद्धम् । दानप्रतिग्रहहोमाद्यस्वत्वनाभावे तु पुत्रत्वाभाव एवेति । वृत्त. मी. p. 161.

1302. Vide Appendix.

position of women), and note 1262 above and V. Mayūkha quoted below.[1303] It has been held that the *dattahoma* is not[1301] necessary among twice-born classes if the boy to be adopted belongs to the same gotra as that of the adoptive father. Jolly (in T. L. L. p. 160) states that the Dattakadarpana refers to a text of Yama from the Sarasvatīvilāsa to the effect that *homa* is not absolutely essential in all cases. From Colebrooke's Digest V. 4 CCLXXIII it appears that Jagannātha held the same view The Dharmasindhu remarks that in certain countries an adoption of a sagotra sapinda boy can be validly effected with the mere assent of the giver and adopter without Vedic ceremonies There is a good deal of conflict in the case law on this point, which is passed over Among śūdras no *homa* is necessary. The ceremony of adoption as described by Baud. gr sesasūtra II. 6 4–9 (which is probably the oldest on record and which was the one to be followed by the Taittirīyas or followers of the Black Yajurveda, according to D. M., Sam K. p. 177 and the Dharma sindhu p. 161) is as follows· When about to take (in adoption) the adopter makes ready (or collects) the following viz two pieces of cloth, two ear-rings, a finger ring, an ācārya (officiating priest) who is well versed in the Veda, a bundle of kuśa grass, fuel sticks of palāśa (Butea Frondosa). Then in the midst of invited relatives, after informing the ruler, he serves food to brāhmaṇas in the assembly hall or in the middle of the house. *He (the adopter) makes (the brāhmaṇas)* pronounce the benedictions 'May the day be auspicious! May you fare well! May there be prosperity!' and performs the acts (usual in all homas) from drawing lines on the altar up to carrying forward the Prañitā water. Vide H of Dh. vol II pp 209–212 for the procedure common to all homas. Then he goes into the

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1303 यच्छुद्धिविवेक उक्तं वैदिकमन्त्रसाध्यहोमवति पुत्रप्रतिग्रहे शूद्रस्यानधिकार इति तदप्रास्तम्। समन्त्रकहोमस्तु तेन विप्रद्वारा कार्यः। . स्त्रियो अपि शूद्रवदेवाधिकारः। स्त्रीशूद्राश्च सधर्माण—इति वाक्यात्। व्य मयूख p 112 (text) Vide H Dh vol II pp 594–595 notes 1392–1395 for other texts treating women (of higher castes) and śūdras alike

1304. Vide *Valubai v Govind* 24 Bom. 218, *Bal Gangadhar v Shrinivas* 39 Bom 441 (P C), *Govindayyar v Dorasami* 11 Mad 5 (F B); *Muthuvayyangar v Thiruvangadammal* I L R (1942) Mad p 682 स्त्रियाश्च होमासम्भवस्तथापि व्रतादिवद्विप्रद्वारा होमादि कारयेदिति हरिनाथादयः। सम्प्रदत्तेवेत्यम्। एवं शूद्रस्यापि स्त्रीशूद्राश्च सधर्माण इति स्मृते। अत एव शूद्रकर्तृकहोमो विप्रद्वारैव पराशरेणोक्तः। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 249, क्वचिद्देशे वैदिकविधि विनापि दत्तपरिग्रहीतृसमतिराजपुरुषानुमत्यादिलौकिकव्यापारमात्रेणोपनयनादिसंस्कारकरणमात्रेण च सगोत्रसपिण्डे पुत्रत्वसिद्धिव्यवहारो दृश्यते तत्र मूल नोपलभ्यते। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 158.

presence of the giver and begs of him 'give me your son'. The other one (the giver) says 'I give'. He (adopter) then takes hold of the boy with the words 'I accept thee for the continuity (of my family)'. Then he decks (the boy) with the pieces of cloth, the ear-rings, the finger ring and performs the acts from laying fuel sticks round the altar up to the offering of oblations into fire; he offers boiled rice into fire with the mantra 'yastvā hṛdā' (Ṛg. V. 4. 10 or Tai. S. I. 4. 46 1) as a *puronuvākyā*[1305] (prayer of invitation) and with the mantra 'yasmai tvam sukṛte' (Ṛg. V 4. 11, Tai. S. I. 4. 46. 1) as a *yājyā* (prayer of worship or offering). Then having offered oblations of clarified butter with the vyāhṛtis[1306] he performs the acts from the offering to Agni Svistakṛt down to the giving of the cow and presents. He (the adopter) gives as dakṣinā (fee) to the priest these very pieces of cloth and rings (with which the boy was decked).

The procedure laid down by Saunaka, who appears to be much later than Baud., is somewhat different (though there is a good deal common to both) and is meant for the students of the Ṛgveda (acc to Sam. K. p. 175). A few salient points may be noted. The adopter should fast the previous day, he should offer *madhuparka* to the officiating priest, should perform all the details from the placing of fuel sticks on the fire up to the purification of clarified butter with the blades of kusa grass. The giver recites (when begged) the five verses beginning with 'ye yajñena' (Ṛg X 62 1-5) and the adopter holds the boy with both hands while repeating the mantra 'devasya tvā' (Āśv gr I. 20. 4), mutters the ṛk 'angād-angād' (quoted above on p 641 *n.* 1202) and smells the boy on his head The adopter offers boiled rice with Ṛg V 4 10, X. 85. 38, X. 85. 41-46. A much more elaborate procedure is set out in the V. Mayūkha (pp. 120-122 text) and the Dharmasindhu (III pūrvārdha pp. 160-161).

The results of adoption—Adoption has the effect of transferring the adopted person from his natural family into the adoptive family. Adoption confers upon the adopted person the same rights and privileges in the family of adoption as the son

1305 For the meaning of Puronuvākyā and Yājyā, vide H. of Dh vol. II. p 1060 n 2372 and pp 1058-59 respectively For the offering to Agni Svistakṛt vide H of Dh vol. II p 208 and appendix p 1257 n. 481.

1306. The vyāhṛtis are the mystic syllables *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ* and *svaḥ*. The offerings will be accompanied with these syllables as follows: 'om bhūḥ svāhā', 'om bhuvaḥ svāhā', 'om svaḥ svāhā', 'om bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ svāhā'.

of the body (*aurasa*) except in a few well defined cases. The basic text on this point is that of Manu[1307] IX. 142 which may be literally rendered as follows: 'The son given should not take the *gotra* (the family name) and the wealth of his natural father; the pinda (the cake of boiled rice offered to deceased ancestors in śrāddhas) follows the *gotra* and the wealth (i. e. is invariably concomitant with them); of him who gives (his son in adoption) the *svadhā* (obsequial rites) ceases (so far as that son is concerned)'. The preceding verse (Manu IX. 141) states that the adopted son takes the wealth of his adoptive father and all that this verse says is that, after adoption, the son given in adoption does not take the name of his natural father and has no right in the wealth that then is the natural father's and that he does not perform the obsequial and śrāddha rites for his natural father. But from this verse a learned Hindu Judge derived the sweeping proposition that 'the theory of adoption depends upon the principle of a complete severance of the child adopted from the family in which he is born, both in respect to the paternal and maternal line, and his complete substitution into the adopter's family as if he were born in it'. There is no warrant for the idea of complete severance emphasized here. This dictum was followed in many cases and was accepted by the Privy Council[1308]. Another great Judge went so far as to

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1307. गोत्ररिक्थे जनयितुर्न हरेद् दत्रिमः क्वचित् । गोत्ररिक्थाहृग् पिण्डो ध्वपैति वृदतः स्वधा ॥ मनु IX 142 The Mit on Yāj II 132 and V Mayūkha p. 115 read 'न भजेद् दत्रिम. सुतः'. But this reading makes no change whatever in the meaning, since in ancient sūtras and smṛtis, the roots '*bhaj*' and '*hṛ*' and derivatives from them are used promiscuously in the same sense with regard to gotra and riktha Vide the words gotra-bhājaḥ and riktha-bhājaḥ cited above (on p 650) from Baud. Dh S 11 2 36–37 and Gaut 28 30–31, the words 'riktham bhajeran' (in Gaut. 28. 19) and 'rikthabhāk' (in Gaut. 28 26), Vas 17 84 (tayoralābhe rājā haret), Yāj 11 132 (पिण्डदोंशहरश्चैषां) and II. 138 (दद्यादपहरेच्चांश), विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 40 (यश्चार्थहर. स पिण्डदापी) Even 'apaharet' which ordinarily means 'should steal or take away' is used by Yāj II 138 only in the sense of 'should take or claim' Manu (IX 153 and 154) employs the words 'haret' and 'ādadyāt' in the same sense Vide also रिक्थभाक् (in Manu IX. 155) and भजेरन् (in IX. 192). Therefore the learned Judges in *Dattatraya v Govind* 40 Bom. 429 and in *Bai Kesarba v. Shivsangji* 34 Bom L R 1332 (at pp. 1340–41) unnecessarily enter into a long discussion on 'haret' and 'bhajet' and the several translations of these words by Golapchandra Sarkar and others.

1308. Vide *Uma Shunker Moitro v. Kali Komul* 6 Cal 256 (F. B.) at p 260. Vide *Kali Komul v Uma Shunkur* L R 10 I. A 138, 149 for the acceptance by the P. C.

say that 'an absolute adoption appears to operate as birth of the boy in the family of adoption and as civil death in the family of birth, having regard to the legal consequences that are incidents of such adoption'[1309]. But then the P. C felt that matters were being carried too far and administered the warning[1310] that "As has been more than once observed the expressions 'civilly dead or as if he had never been born in the family' are not for all purposes correct or logically applicable but they are complimentary to the term 'new birth'." We have to see what construction was put upon the verse of Manu by authoritative digests. The V. Mayūkha explains Manu IX. 142 and arrives at the conclusion that the four words *gotra*, *riktha*, *pinḍa* and *svadhā* are not to be taken literally but they are only used to indicate all those consequences only in relation to the natural father and the like that are brought about by their connection with the pinḍa and the verse of Manu conveys the cessation of all those consequences only. It further adds that the son on being given away in adoption ceases to have similar relationship to his brother, paternal uncle (in the family of birth). It should be noted that the V. Mayūkha does *not* say that the son given away is dead to the family of birth or ceases to have any connection whatever with the members of the family of birth, but restricts the cessation of relation to the offering of pinḍa and the taking of the estate after he is adopted. The D. M. quotes[1311] the Sm. C. (II. 289) and holds that by the gift the adopted son ceases to have the same gotra as the giver. The D. C. (pp 23–24) states[1312] the same proposition, without naming the Sm. C. The learned Judges who had to decide cases of adoption, even if they knew Sanskrit, do not generally appear to have consulted authoritative works other than the few that had been translated and were quite unaware as

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1309. Per Sir Asutosh Mukerji J. in *Birbhadra v Kalpataru* 1 C. L. J 388 at p. 400 (where Manu IX 142 is cited in the original for this)

1310. Vide *Rajkumar Chandra v. Subhadra* L. R. 55 I. A. 139, 148 followed in *Martand v Narayan* I. L R 1939 Bom 586 (F B).

1311. एतेन पुत्रत्वापादकक्रियैव दत्रिमस्य प्रतिग्रहीतृधने स्वत्व तत्सगोत्रत्वं च भवति। दातृधने तु दानादेव पुत्रत्वनिवृत्तिद्वारा दत्रिमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिर्दातृगोत्रनिवृत्तिश्च भवतीत्युच्यते इति चन्द्रिकाकार:। दत्त. मी pp. 163–164. The words पुत्रत्वापाद ... निवृत्तिश्च भवति occur in the स्मृतिच. II. p. 289.

1312. तथा मनु: । गोत्ररिक्थे . . स्वधा । इति । एतेन दातृधने दानादेव पुत्रत्वनिवृत्ति-द्वारा दत्रिमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिर्दातृगोत्रनिवृत्तिश्च भवतीत्युच्यते । तथा च गोत्रादिनिवृत्तेरेव कृत्स्नात् संस्कुर्यात्स्वसुतान् पितेति स्मरणात् ग्रहणानन्तरमभाव्यमाना एव दत्तकस्य संस्कारा: प्रतिग्रहीत्रा कार्या न पुनर्जनकेन कृतपूर्वा अपि निवर्तनीया: । दत्त. च. pp 23–24

to whether even the cessation of the pinda and gotra and of the right to wealth when a son was given away was so universally accepted by the leading Dharmaśāstra works as they thought. The Sarasvatīvilāsa (p. 394) quotes a text of Viṣṇu[1313] that even the adopted son should perform the obsequial rites of the natural father and explains that Manu IX. 142 applies when the natural father has no issue at the time of his death. Rudraskanda on Khādira gr. III. 5. 16 says the same. Kamalākara, the author of the Nirnayasindhu[1314] and a first cousin and contemporary of Nīlakaṇṭha expressly states that Manu IX. 142 only applies when the natural father has a son or sons (other than the one given away) and quotes Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi cited in the Pravaramañjarī (p. 146) in support. The Dharmasindhu[1315] also says that when a boy of another gotra is adopted after his upanayana is performed in the family of birth or when only the upanayana is performed by the adoptive father, the adopted boy should repeat both gotras at the time of bowing at the feet of elders or in śrāddha and other rites; but when all the ceremonies including the cūḍā are performed by the adoptive father then the adopted boy has only one gotra (viz. that of the adopter).

The plain meaning of the verse of Manu (IX 142) is that when a man gives away his son in adoption, then that son is transferred into another family, does not perform the śrāddha and similar rites for the giver and cannot claim to take the wealth of his natural father as a son on the father's death or demand a partition from his father. The other son or sons

1313. नन्वेवं—गोत्ररिक्थे ... स्वधा—इति मनुवचनाद् दत्रिमस्य स्वजनकगोत्रसापिण्ड्ययोर्निवृत्तौ कथ दत्रिमोपि स्वजनयितुः स्वधां कुर्यादिति विष्णुवचनामिति चेदुच्यते। तत्र दत्रिमजनकस्य सन्तत्यभावे वेदितव्यम्। स. वि. p. 394; तथा दत्तपुत्रोपि जनयितुः पुत्रान्तराभावे। एवमन्योपि यो द्वयोः पुत्र। रुद्रस्कन्द on खादिरगृह्य III. 5. 16

1314. दत्तस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यान्न तत्सत्त्वे गोत्ररिक्थे स्वधेति मनूक्तेः। इदं जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वविषयम्। एतच्च प्रवरमञ्जर्यां कात्यायनलौगाक्षिभ्यां स्पष्टमुक्तम्। अथ ये दत्तकीत ... द्व्यानुव्यायणा भवन्ति..भवन्तीत्याद्विना द्वयो पित्रोः प्रवरानुक्त्वोक्तं 'अथ यथैवं स्वाद्यु भार्यास्वपत्यं न स्याद्रिक्थे हरेयुः पिण्ड चैभ्याश्रियुरुर्ध्व दशुर्यथ्वभयोर्न स्यादुभाभ्यामेव दशुरेकस्मिन्न् आद्धे पृथगुद्दिश्य द्वावनुकीर्तयेत्परिगृहीतारं चोत्पादयितारं चा तृतीयात्पुरुषादिति। नि. सि III उत्तरार्ध p 389. The passage quoted occurs on p. 146 of the प्रवरमञ्जरी. This passage is quoted in the स्य म p. 115 also. Vide note 1298 above for a portion of it The वि त्र folio 127 says 'गोत्ररिक्थे... स्वधा॥ इदं जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वे तद्भावे जनकस्यापि रिक्थहर. श्राद्धदश्च। तदुक्तं कात्यलौगाक्षिसूत्रे। अथ ये ... भवन्ति.'

1315. परगोत्रोत्पन्नदत्तकस्योपनयनभावे पालकगोत्रेण कृते उपनयनोत्तरं प्रतिग्रहे वा दत्तकेनाभिवादनश्राद्धादिकर्मसु गोत्रद्वयोच्चारः कार्यः। चूडादिसंस्कारे पालकेन कृते पालकैकगोत्र एव। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p 161.

of the giver are to perform the śrāddhas for the father and to succeed to the family wealth. But this verse has been twisted by some High Court decisions to yield another rule. Suppose A, a Hindu, has an only son B. On A's death B takes the whole ancestral property as the only surviving co-parcener and then B is given in adoption by his mother to X. Suppose B has a daughter C born to him before his adoption to X Does B forfeit the estate taken by him as the last surviving male with the result that on B's adoption to X his daughter C takes the estate (which had already vested absolutely in B) as if he was dead in the family of A. The Bombay High Court has held in two decisions that on B's[1316] adoption to X in the above illustration he loses or forfeits the property he took as the last surviving co-parcener in the family of A and his daughter C would take the estate of B as if he were then dead (though he is actually living) The result of these decisions is that the verse of Manu is construed as laying down that though a man may have been absolutely entitled to certain property as a member of one family, on his adoption into another family he loses that estate which then passes on to his heir as if he had died on the day of adoption This construction of the verse of Manu has not been accepted by the Madras and Calcutta High Courts,[1317] which hold that an adoption does not divest any property which has vested in a man previous to his adoption into another family. It may be noted that the Bombay High Court itself gave a decision[1318] which is inconsistent in principle with the two decisions

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1316 Vide *Dattatraya v Govind* 40 Bom 429 (where Manu IX 142 is relied on for this proposition at pp 433–434) and *Manikbai v Gokuldas* 49 Bom 520

1317. Vide *Venkata Narasimha v Rangayya* 29 Mad. 437, *Behari Lal v Kailas Chunder* 1 C W N 121; *Shyama Charan v Sricharan* 56 Cal. 1135

1318 Vide *Mahableshwar v Subramanya* 47 Bom 542 In *Manikbai v Gokuldas* 49 Bom 520 (at p 525) both the cases viz 40 Bom 429 and 47 Bom. 542 are apparently quoted with approval, but it is extremely difficult to reconcile the last two cases If on adoption a separated coparcener is not divested of the estate already taken by him at a partition because the share taken by him cannot be said to be the estate of his natural father within the meaning of Manu IX 142, the estate taken by a sole surviving co-parcener also cannot be divested by his subsequent adoption, because at the adoption it had ceased to be the estate of his natural father long before the adoption, because when a co-parcener dies his rights lapse to the other co-parceners and because the root cause of being entitled to partition and taking as surviving coparcener is the same viz the birth right of a son under the Mitāksarā

cited above, when it held that where a father and his four sons partitioned ancestral family property and one of the sons was subsequently given in adoption into another family, the son so adopted was not divested by the subsequent adoption of the property already taken by the son on partition. In a still later case the Bombay High Court approves of its first decision in 40 Bom 429 and observes: [1319] 'the verse of Manu refers not only to the *riktha* of the natural father but also to the gotra of the natural father. It is quite clear that the gotra of the natural father is vested in the son by his birth. The gotra so vested in the son ceases after the son is given in adoption. It is difficult to understand why the riktha which is spoken of in the same manner as gotra in the verse should not cease by the entire cessation of connection with the natural family. The gotra and riktha are inextricably joined together in a dvandva compound and it would follow logically as well as grammatically that the adopted son must lose both together and cannot lose the former and keep the latter.' In this passage the premiss that there is entire cessation of connection with the natural family is entirely wrong as has already been shown and will be shown a little later on. The adoptee's connection with the gotra of the natural family does not cease for all purposes at all. Therefore the reasoning of the passage quoted above is entirely misconceived and is further opposed to two well known rules of the Mīmāmsā evolved for the construction of texts On the interpretation given to Manu IX. 142 by the Bombay decisions that verse lays down two rules (*vidhis*), viz. (1) a person adopted into another family will not take the wealth of his natural father or any one in that family *after* adoption; (2) that a person adopted into another family loses or forfeits on adoption wealth that he may have already taken absolutely in the natural family as a member of that family *before* adoption. These are two entirely different propositions and the rule of mīmāmsā is that one and the same sentence [1320] should not be construed as laying down two rules (*vidhis*) applicable to different sets of circumstances. To so construe a text is to be guilty

1319 Vide *Bai Kesarba v Shivsangji* 34 Bom. L R 1332 which accepts 'na haret' as meaning 'shall not take', and quotes on pp 1341–42 the D. M, D C and V Mayūkha on this verse The P C decision in *Raghu Raj Chandra v Subhadra* L R. 55 I A 139 does not approve of 40 Bom 429 as regards the exact point of decision viz the forfeiture of property already vested before adoption

1320 अनेकविधितो हि वाक्यभेद उक्तः। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 551 on जै. II. 2 26

of the fault of *vākyabheda* (splitting up of a sentence so as to yield two distinct rules). The V. Mayūkha construed Manu IX. 142 so as to indicate only one sense and avoid the fault of *vākyabheda* on the analogy of two examples discussed in the Pūrvamīmāmsā[1321] works, but if the reasoning of the Bombay High Court were followed the same fault to avoid which Nīlakantha strives hard would be committed. There is another mimāmsā rule[1322] which will be violated by the Bombay High Court's interpretation of Manu IX. 142 viz. when an already existing thing or entity and something to be accomplished or brought about in future are spoken of together in a sentence the thing already existing or accomplished is mentioned simply for the sake of the thing to be accomplished The accomplished fact is adoption itself. Manu who mentions adoption or the adopted son which is an accomplished entity also mentions along with it the taking of property (rikthaharana); hence that taking must have reference to the future bringing about and not the undoing of rikthaharana which had already taken place long before.

That the gotra of the natural family persists in some matters even after a person is adopted is made clear by the digests. The Sam[1323] K. (p. 182) says that every dattaka must, when entering on marriage, avoid the gotra of his natural as also of his adoptive father. The Dharmasindhu (III. p. 161) says the same and states that the prohibition against marriage

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1321. यथा जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोष्णीनाद्यधीत—इत्यत्र वयोवस्थाविशेषः, यथा वा—अर्धमन्तर्वेदि मिनोत्यर्धं बहिर्वेदि—इत्यनेन देशविशेषो लक्ष्यते तथात्र गोत्ररिक्थपिण्डस्वधापदैर्जनकादीनां पिण्डसम्बन्धमयुक्तं कार्यमात्रं लक्षयित्वा तन्निवृत्तिरुच्यते। तेन सोदरपितृव्यादिसम्बन्धनिवृत्तिरपि सिद्धा भवति। व्य. मयूख p. 115. Vide my notes to V. M. pp. 189–191 for explanations Jai (III 7, 13–14) deals with the 2nd example The bhāsya of Sabara and the Tantravārtika explain how there will be vākyabheda if the sentence (ardham &c) is literally construed.

1322. भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणे भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते। शबर on जै. III. 4. 40, p 976 द्रव्यदेवतं हि भूतं भावयितव्यो यजत्यर्थः। भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणे च भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते· शबर on जै. IX. 1. 9 p 1652; भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यत इति भूतं द्रव्यं भव्यां क्रियां निर्वर्तयतीति क्रियातोऽहत्वम्। तुप्टीका on जै. IV 1 18 p 1207. This is called भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणन्याय in the तन्त्रवार्तिक on III 4 24 and 11. 1 12 and it has been employed elsewhere by the व्यवहारमयूख (p. 111 text) शबर very frequently employs this maxim, vide e g on जै. II. 1. 4.

1323. विवाहे तु दत्तकमात्रेण बीजिप्रतिग्रहीत्रोः पित्र्योर्गोत्रप्रवरवर्जनं कार्यम्। प्रवरमन्त्रार्षाविनिबन्धेषु तल्लिपेधोक्तेः। सं. की p. 182; विवाहे तु सर्वदत्तकेन जनकपालकयोरुभयोरपि पित्र्योर्गोत्रप्रवरसम्बन्धिनी कन्या वर्जनीया। नात्र सासपोदकं पाञ्चपोदकमित्येवं दूरदर्शनियम उपलभ्यते। धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 161.

with a girl of the gotras of the natural and adoptive fathers is absolute and not restricted to seven or five degrees Thus if there is no total or absolute cessation of gotra relation with the *natural family* for all purposes there is no reason why in the case of wealth already taken before adoption there should be a cessation or forfeiture or why the cessation of relation as to riktha, should not be restricted to the future. As regards sapinda relationship there is some conflict among the digests The D. M.[1324] states that the *dvyāmuṣyāyana* has to observe the prohibitions against marrying a sapinda girl up to three degrees in the families of the natural father and of the adoptive father, while the simple dattaka has to observe *sapinda* relationship based upon the presentation of rice balls in the adoptive father's family for three generations (since the adopted son can generally have no particles of the body in common with the adoptive father) and in the natural family *sapinda* relationship based upon particles of the same body for seven generations. The Nirnayasindhu (III pp. 290–291) sets out the various conflicting views and gives it as its own opinion that the sapinda relationship must be looked to in marriage up to seven generations in the natural as well as in the adoptive family (in the latter it being based on the offering of balls of rice) According to the V. Mayūkha (p 119) the simple adopted son has sapinda relationship in the adoptive father's family for seven generations and in the adoptive mother's family for five generations and it seems to hold that there is no sapinda relationship in the natural family (owing to Manu IX. 142) The D. C. (pp. 61 66) appears to hold that the dvyāmusyāyana has to observe sapinda relationship (as stated in the D. M.), while as to the simple dattaka there is sapinda relationship only in the adoptive family for seven generations (as indicated by Manu IX 142) The Dharmasindhu (III. p. 161) states that sapinda relationship depends in its degrees on the question whether the adoption is made after upanayana in the natural family or before upanayana or whether all samskāras from *jātakarma* are performed in the adoptive family.

1324. यद्विद्द्व्युभयत्र त्रिपुरुषसापिण्ड्याभिधान तद् द्व्यामुष्यायणाभिप्रायेण त्रिक द्वयेन सपिण्डीकरणाभिधानाद् । शुद्धदत्तकस्य तु प्रतिगृहीतृकुले त्रिपुरुष पिण्डान्वयरूप सापिण्ड्यं जनककुले सप्तपौरुषमवयवान्वयरूपमेवेत्यत्र प्रपञ्चेन । दत्त. मी. p. 167, मम तु पालककुले एकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयित्वरूप सप्तपौरुषमेव सापिण्ड्यं, नीजिनश्चेति गौतमोक्ते-र्जनककुलेपि तावदेव । नि. सि. III पूर्वार्ध p 291.

The Bombay High Court[1325] has held that the adopted son cannot marry within prohibited degrees in the natural family, that to that extent an adopted son cannot be considered as not to have been born in his natural family and that the sapinda relationship is recognized in both the families for the purpose of prohibition of marriage.

The Nir. S., the Dharmasindhu[1326] and the D. C pp. 48–49 declare that the adopted son can perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter has at his death no son or other qualified person to perform it. The Nir S. and the Sam[1327] K. (pp. 185–186) both say that the adopted son has to observe three days' mourning on the death of the natural father and *vice versa*; but the D M. and D. C (p. 68) differ and state that the simple adopted son has to observe no mourning for his natural father or other relatives in the natural family. If a married man having a son is given in adoption (which is possible in the Bombay Presidency) the son (born before the adoption) remains in the natural family and does not acquire the gotra and rights to property of the family into which his father is adopted. Yet the father who has gone into another family by adoption has been held to retain his right to give in adoption his son who was born before his own adoption and who remains in the natural family[1328].

From the above discussion it follows that the person adopted retains the tie of blood with his natural family (so that he cannot marry a girl within the prohibited degrees from that family), the samskāras already performed in the natural family are not repeated on him after adoption, he still retains the gotra so far that he cannot marry a girl having the same gotra as his natural father and further he has according to most writers to observe mourning for his natural father. Therefore it is clear that the severance from the natural family brought about by adoption is only partial and restricted to pinḍa and riktha

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1325 Vide *Bai Kesarba v. Shivsangji* 34 Bom. L. R 1332 at p 1352 and *Basappa v Gurlingawa* 57 Bom 74 at p. 81.

1326. दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्रायभावे जनकपितुः श्राद्धं कुर्याद्धनं च गृह्णीयात्। जनकपालकयोरुभयो. पित्रोः सन्तत्यभावे दत्तको जनकपालकयोरुभयोरपि धनं हरेत्, श्राद्धं च मतियापिकसुभयोः कुर्यात्। धर्मसिन्धु III उत्तरार्ध p 371.

1327. दत्तक्रीतकृत्रिमादिपुत्रेषु अहीनवर्णगासु स्त्रीषु च सपिण्डत्वेपि प्रसवे मरणे च पूर्वापरपित्रोर्भर्तुश्च त्रिरात्रमेव न दशाहादि। ... पितृमरणेपि दत्तकादीनां त्रिरात्रम्। नि. सि. III उत्तरार्ध p 524, शुद्धदत्तकस्य जनककुले परस्परमशौचं नास्त्येव। गोत्रपिण्डनिवृत्त्याशौचनिवृत्तेरर्थसिद्धत्वात्। इत्यासुब्यायणस्य तूभयत्रैवाशौचमिति। दत्त. च. p. 68.

1328 Vide *Martand v. Narayan* I. L. R. (1939) Bom. 586 (F B.,

and connected matters and not *complete* as stated or assumed in some decided cases.

The adopted son is entitled to inherit in the adoptive family as fully as if he were a natural born son i. e. he may inherit not only to his adoptive father, but also to that father's brother or cousin if the latter have no son or no other nearer heir. The adopted son also inherits to the adoptive mother and her relations[1329], viz. her father and brother. Conversely, the adoptive mother and her relations in her father's family are entitled to inherit to him.

Vas. and Baud. both laid down that if after a son is taken in adoption an *aurasa* son is born to the adoptive father the former takes a fourth share. There is conflict among the smṛtis and the digests about the share of the adopted son when an *aurasa* is subsequently born, and about the meaning of 'a fourth share'. The Dāyabhāga (X. 13 p. 148) and V. C. p. 150 quote a verse of Kātyāyana[1330] that when an aurasa son is born, other kinds of sons, if of the same caste as the father, take only a third of the estate. It has been held in Bengal that in these circumstances the adopted son takes one third of his adoptive father's estate. In Benares and among Jains[1331] the adopted son gets one fourth of the estate. The S. V. p. 393 holds that he gets[1332] ¼th. In Bombay it[1333] has been held that the adopted son takes not ¼th of the whole estate, but ¼th of the share of the aurasa son i. e. ¼th (the aurasa son taking ¾ths). In Bombay the same rule applies among śūdras [1334] But in Bengal and Madras it has been decided, relying on a passage in the

1329. दत्तकादीना मातामहा अपि प्रतिग्रहीत्री या माता तत्पितर एव पितुन्यायस्य मातामहेष्वपि समानत्वात् । दत्त मी p. 198 ; शुद्धदत्तकस्य तु प्रतिग्रहीत्र्या एव मातुः पित्रादिपिण्डदानम् । दत्त च p. 61. Vide *Dattatraya v. Gangabai* 46 Bom. 541 for the proposition that an adopted son is competent to inherit the property of his adoptive mother's ancestors.

1330. उत्पन्ने त्वौरसे पुत्रे तृतीयांशहरा· स्मृताः । सवर्णा असवर्णास्तु ग्रासाच्छादनभागिन. ॥ कात्या q by दायभाग X 13. p 148, वि चि. p. 150, विवादचन्द्र p. 80 Vide note 1234 for various readings and Kaut

1331. Vide *Rukhab v. Chunilal* 16 Bom 347 (holding that among Jains an adopted son is entitled to ¼th of the estate of the adoptive father when an aurasa son is subsequently born).

1332. तथा च कात्यायन । उत्पन्ने त्वौरसे पुत्रे चतुर्थांशहरा· सुता· । . . चतुर्थांशो नाम चतुर्थस्य यांशः समत्वेन परिकल्प्यते तत्तुल्यांशः पञ्चमांश इत्यर्थ. । स. वि. p 393.

1333. Vide *Giriappa v. Ningappa* 17 Bom. 100 (where the texts are exhaustively reviewed by Telang J), *Bala Krishnayya v. Venkata* 43 Mad. 398, 402 (where Kāt , Vas. and Baud are referred to).

1334. Vide *Tukaram v. Ramchandra* 49 Bom 672 (*held* that among śūdras an adopted son takes one fourth of the natural born son's share).

Dattakacandrikā (p. 98)[1335] that the adopted son and the subsequently born *aurasa* son of a śūdra share equally.[1336] If the estate is impartible property or an estate to be taken by lineal primogeniture and the owner first adopted a son and then he had an aurasa son, it has been held that the subsequently born aurasa son takes the whole estate.[1337] If there are two brothers who form a joint Hindu family and one of them has a natural-born son and the other adopts a son, the adopted son of one brother gets on partition a share of the family estate equal to that of the natural born son of the other[1338] brother, since the rule of Vas. applies only as between the aurasa and dattaka sons of the *same man*.[1338a]

1335. अत एव-दत्तपुत्रे यथाजाते कदाचित्त्वौरसो भवेत् । पितृरिक्थस्य सर्वस्य भवेतां समभागिनौ ॥ इत्यपि वचनं शूद्रविषय एव योजनीयम् । दत्त. च. p. 98.

1336. Vide *Asita v Nirode* 20 C W. N. 901: *Perrasu v. Subbarayudu* L. R. 48 I. A 280 (equal share among śūdras).

1337. Vide *Sahebgouda v Shiddangouda* I. L. R (1939) Bom. 314 (F. B.). Manu IX 163 would support this decision.

1338. Vide *Nagindas v. Bachoo* L R. 43 I, A. 56 where a passage of the D. C. is explained (at p 65) which is as follows: एवं धनिनः पुत्रान्तरसत्त्वे मृतपितृकस्य दत्तकपौत्रस्यापि दृक्चोचितांशभागित्वं तदसत्त्वे सर्वहरत्वमपीति । न च पौत्रस्य स्वपितृयोग्यांशभागित्वनियमात् दत्तकस्य ग्रहीतुः पितामहौरससत्त्वे तावद्दशपितृव्यतुल्यस्यांशस्य तद्योग्यत्वाद्दत्तकपौत्रः पितृव्यतुल्यमेवांशं लभतामिति वाच्यं, पुत्रस्य दत्तकत्वे चतुर्थांशः पौत्रस्य तु तथात्वे समानांश इति वैषम्यात् । ततश्च स्वसमानरूपस्य पितुर्यादृशांशः शास्त्रसिद्धस्तस्यैव स्वपितृयोग्यांशतेति यथोक्तमेव साधु । दत्त. च pp. 89–90.

1338a It appears to me that the V. Mayūkha went far beyond the spirit of the ancient smṛti texts and of most of the medieval digests when it allowed the adoption of a married man or even of one who had already had a son. The son to be adopted, it was declared by Śaunaka and others, should be a reflection of an aurasa son. Therefore he must be adopted at an age when by proper training and environment he will come to entertain towards the adoptive parents the same feeling that an aurasa son has. Hence it appears to me that the Legislature should intervene and provide that no one can be adopted after his upanayana, or at all events after his marriage, in the natural family. It is natural for a sonless man or a widow to feel, apart from religious considerations, the necessity of a young person as a solace, security and help in old age, and to adopt a person. Even in England by the Adoption of Children Act (16 and 17 Geo V chap. 29) the adoption of a minor is now allowed after observing certain formalities. Further, no adoption by a widow who has not become major according to the Indian Majority Act should be held valid. An agreement or a transfer of the smallest property by a person who is a minor according to that Act is held to be absolutely null and void. There is no reason why an adoption by a widow of 15 or 16 should be upheld when that adoption divests her of all (or now half of) the property of the husband held by her.

CHAPTER XXIX

ORDER OF SUCCESSION AFTER THE SON

It has been stated above that *dāya* is either *apratibandha* or *sapratibandha* and that sons, grandsons and great-grandsons take the first kind of dāya. If a man has no son either aurasa or secondary (viz. the dattaka, the other kinds of sons being now forbidden or obsolete), then his property devolves in a certain order. When a man dies sonless and is a member of a joint Hindu family then on the surviving coparceners the whole estate devolves except that after 1937 (by Act XVIII of 1937) his widow takes his place as to the joint family property. But if he dies separated and has male issue (from whom also he is separate) then his male issue will succeed to him in a body viz. his son, grandson (son of a predeceased son) and great-grandson (son of a predeceased son's predeceased son) will together take his separate property *per stirpes*. From Manu IX. 137 (which is the same as Vas. 17·5 and Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) and 186 and Yāj. I 78 it follows that the son, grandson and great-grandson equally confer great spiritual benefit and so are the principal group of heirs. According to the strict theory of the Mitāksarā as stated above, son, grandson and great-grandson take by birth an interest even in property acquired by a man himself, but they have no power to prevent him from alienating it. If one or more out of a man's sons, grand-sons or great-grandsons are separate from him then on his death his self-acquired property will first be taken by those sons, grandsons and great-grandsons that are joint with him and if none of these is joint with him, the separated son, grandson and great-grandson will succeed *per stirpes* to his estate.[1339]

This view is at least as old as the Baud.[1340] Dh. S. I. 5. 113–115 which speak of the three ascendants of a man, of himself,

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1339. Vide *Gangadhar v. Ibrahim* 47 Bom. 556, *Marudayi v Doraisami* 30 Mad 348 In *Ramappa v. Sithammal* 2 Mad. 182 (F. B.) a separated son was preferred as an heir to the widow of the deceased.

1340. अपि च पितामहः पितामह. पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णायाः पुत्र पौत्रः प्रपौत्रस्तत्पुत्रवर्जं तेषा च पुत्रपौत्रमविभक्तदायं सपिण्डानाचक्षते । विभक्तदायानपि सकुल्यानाचक्षते । असत्स्वन्येषु तद्वामी ह्यर्थो भवति । बौ ध. सू. I 5. 113–115. The दायभाग (XI. 4, 5, 37) and दायतत्त्व p. 189 quote या, विष्णु and बौ, read 'सत्स्वङ्गेषु तद्वामी ह्यर्थो भवति' and अविभक्तदायादान् and explain बौ. at length.

of his full brothers and of his son, grandson and great-grandson from a savarna wife as one group called *ambhakta-dāya* sapindas and that in the absence of these only, the wealth of a man goes to his sakulyas.

On the succession to the property of a man dying without male issue (i. e. without son, grandson or great-grandson) the basic texts are two verses of Yājñavalkya[1341] (II. 135–136): 'The lawfully wedded wife, the daughters and (the daughter's son), the parents, the brothers, their sons, *gotrajas* (agnatic kinsmen), *bandhu* (cognatic relation), a pupil, a fellow student—on failure of each preceding one out of these each succeeding one is entitled to take the wealth of a man who is dead (lit. who has gone to heaven) and who leaves no male issue. This rule applies to all varnas'. The Visnu Dh. S. (17. 4–15) is almost to the same effect. The word 'aputrasya' in Yāj. is taken to mean one having no son, grandson or great-grandson (at the time of death) by V. C., Raghunandana and Mitramiśra[1342]. The Mit. explains the words 'to all varnas' as applying even to all that are the offspring of *anuloma* or *pratiloma* unions

We have separate rules for inheritance to the property of males and to that of females. Then there is great difference as to the rights of women as heirs. First, inheritance to the property of males will be taken up. Here again the fundamental principles are different acc. to the Mit and the Dāyabhāga

Among the heirs (apart from male issue) of a man as regards his separate property the first is the widow The wife's right to succeed to her deceased husband's estate, when he died separated and un-reunited, was acknowledged only after a long struggle extending over centuries The passage of the Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2 speaking of women as 'adāyādiḥ' has already

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1341. पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा । तत्सुता गोत्रजा बन्धुशिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः । स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥ या. II. 135–136. The first is also लघुहारीत 64–65 Translations of these verses are cited in many cases; vide, for example, *Lallubhai v. Mankorebai* 2 Bom 388, 416

1342. अनपत्यस्य पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रहीनस्य । पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा—इत्यादिना अमीषां पाठक्रमेणैव स्वधाधिकारे सिद्धे तत्समानशीलस्य रिक्थग्रहणस्यापि तथैवाधिकारसिद्धेः । वि चि p 151: अत्र अपुत्रपदं पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्राभावपरं तेषां पार्वणपिण्डदातृत्वाविशेषात् । दायतत्त्व p. 189; अपुत्रपद पत्नीत्यादिषु श्रूयमाणं पौत्रप्रपौत्राभावोपलक्षणम् । व्य. प्र. p. 503.

been quoted (on p. 606). The meaning of that word is somewhat dubious, as will be shown later on. The Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2 states generally[1343] that in default of a son the nearest sapinda succeeds but does not expressly mention the wife as an heir, though it mentions (in II 6. 14 4) the daughter as a possible heir. Baud also omits the wife as an heir Vas mentions no woman as heir. Gaut 28. 19 appears to state that the wealth of one who dies without issue should be taken by his sapindas, sagotras and sapravaras or his wife (i. e. according to Haradatta, the wife takes a share only along with the nearest sapinda or sagotra and not exclusively). Haradatta himself was of this view. Manu does not declare that the wife is the heir of a sonless man and there are certain passages which impliedly exclude her, as e. g Manu IX. 185 (the father takes the wealth of a man dying sonless or his brothers take it), IX. 217 (the mother should take the wealth of a sonless man). Śankha (q. by the Mit., Dāyabhāga XI 1. 15) prescribes that the wealth of a man dying without issue goes to his brothers, failing them the parents take it or the eldest wife.[1344] Devala (q. by the Dāyabhāga XI. 1. 17–18 and V. R. p 593) arranges the heirs in order as full brothers, daughters, father, half brothers, mother and wife. It may be noticed that in the days of Kālidāsa the sonless widow did not succeed to the wealth of her deceased husband, but was only entitled to maintenance and that the estate escheated to the king. This is clear from the letter written by the minister to king Dusyanta about the wealth of a merchant who perished in a ship-wreck (Act VI) Yāj. and Visnu among smrti writers were probably the first to clearly enunciate the rule that the wife was the foremost heir of a man dying without male issue. Br. makes the wife the first heir of a sonless man and supports his

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1343. पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14 2, पिण्डगोत्रर्षि-सम्बन्धा रिक्थं भजेरन् स्त्री वानपत्यस्य। गौ 28. 19 on which हरदत्त say: 'स्त्री तु सर्व-सगोत्रादिभिः सहोच्यते। यदा सपिण्डादयो गृह्णन्ति तदा तैः सह पत्न्यप्येकमंशं हरेत्।.. पत्नीदायस्तु आचार्यस्य पक्षो न भवति।'. On आप. II. 6 14. 2 he gives the view of गौतम, 'गौतमस्तु पुत्राभावे पत्न्याः सपिण्डादिभिः समांशमाह। अयमप्येतमेव पक्षं रोचयामहे'.

1344 स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य भ्रातृगामि द्रव्यं तदभावे पितरौ हरेयाता ज्येष्ठा वा पत्नी। शङ्ख (q. by मिता on या II 135 and अपरार्क p. 741) दायभाग XI. 1, 15 p 154 ascribes this text to शङ्खलिखित, पैठीनसि and यम and adds सगोत्रशिष्यसब्रह्मचारिण after पत्नी अपरार्क also ascribes it (p 744) to शङ्खलिखित and पैठीनसि. The Mit. explains that it applies to re-united brothers

opinion with reasons. He says:[1345] 'In the Veda and in the doctrines of the smṛtis and in popular usage the wife is declared to be half the body of the husband, equally sharing the consequences of good and evil acts. Of him whose wife is not dead half the body survives. How can another obtain the property, while half the body (of the deceased) lives? Although kinsmen, although his father, mother or his relatives may be alive, the wife of a man dying without issue succeeds to his share. A wife dying before her husband takes away his sacred fires (i. e. she is cremated with the sacred Vedic fires, if he be an Agnihotrin); but when the husband dies before the wife, she takes his property, if she be chaste'. Even when Yāj. proclaimed the paramount right of succession in the case of widows there were other smṛtis and some early commentators who did not subscribe to that view. Nār. (dāyabhāga, 25–26) provides that if among several brothers one who is childless dies or becomes an ascetic the others should divide the property excepting strīdhana, that they should make provision for his women till their death in case they remain faithful but if they are otherwise (i. e. unfaithful) they may cut off the allowance'. Nār. (dāyabhāga, 50–51) provides that on failure of sons, the daughter, *sakulyas*, *bandhus*, a man of the same caste, the king succeed in order and thus omits the wife altogether. Vyāsa[1346] (quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 28·19 and by Sm. C. II. p. 281) holds that a wife may take the whole of the husband's property if it does not exceed 2000 panas in value. The Mit. tells us that Śrīkara espoused this position that the wife takes the whole if

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1345. आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः । शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥ यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्धं तस्य जीवति। जीवत्यर्धशरीरेयं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥ सकुल्यैर्विद्यमानेषु पितृभ्रातृसनाभिभिः । असुतस्य मृतस्य पत्नी तद्धागहारिणी ॥ पूर्वं मृता त्वग्निहोत्रं मृते भर्तरि तद्धनम् । चिन्वीत पतिव्रता नारी धर्म एष सनातनः ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क pp. 740–41, दायभाग XI. 1 2 pp 149–150, कुल्लूक on मनु IX 187, स्मृतिच. II pp 290–91 (ascribes the last to प्रजापति). The मिता. reads the third verse as कुल्येषु विद्यमानेषु ·सनाभिषु. The तै सं. VI. 1. 8. 5 reads 'अर्धो वा एष आत्मनो यत्पत्नी'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p 428 n 1015 for passages from the Veda and Mahābhārata for the wife being deemed to be half of the body. pp pp 556–57 for husband and wife enjoying the fruits of their actions together, and p 558 for wife's cremation with the Vedic fires and the sacrificial utensils of the husband. Both वसिष्ठ 21. 15 and पराशर X 26 say 'पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरां पिबेत्। पतितार्धशरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥'

1346 द्विसहस्रपणो दायः पत्न्यै देयो धनस्य तु। यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममाप्नुयात् ॥ व्यास q by हरदत्त on गौ 28 19, व्यव. नि. p 450, विवादचन्द्र p 72. The अनुशासन 47. 23 reads, त्रिसहस्रपदो दाय....भर्त्रा तच्च धनं दत्तं यथार्हं भोक्तुमर्हति ॥.

the property is small, but only maintenance if the property is large and refutes it by saying that it is opposed to the spirit of Yāj. who allows a share to the wife and the mother even along with sons when even joint family property is being partitioned and that the view is also liable to the fault of *vidhivaiṣamya* on the analogy of the Mīmāmsā rule stated above on p. 605.[1347] The same text of Yāj. will have to be held as laying down only maintenance when the husband left great wealth, and also laying down a share equal to that of a son when the husband leaves inconsiderable wealth.[1347a] Another view was maintained

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1347 पिण्डगो ..... नपत्यस्य । बीजं वा लिप्सेत । गौ 28. 19-20 This is explained by धारेश्वर as 'स्त्री वा रिक्थं भजेत यदि बीजं लिप्सेत'. The मिता. says that this really means that there are two courses open to the widow, viz. she may remain chaste and succeed along with the sapindas or she may resort to niyoga.

1347a Jai. VII. 3 19-25 as understood by the Mit. may be briefly explained as follows: The Cāturmāsyas (seasonal sacrifices) are four, Vaiśvadeva, Varunapraghāsa, Sākamedha, Sunāsīriya (vide H of Dh vol II. pp 1091-1105 for description). In regard to these the following texts occur in the Veda and are cited by Sabara and others: द्वयोः प्रणयन्ति । तस्माद् द्वाभ्या यन्ति ऊरू वा एतौ यज्ञस्य यद्वरुणप्रघासश्च साकमेधश्च । तस्माद् द्वाभ्यां यन्ति । .. उपाञ्ज वपन्ति । न वैश्वदेवे उत्तरवेदिमुपकिरन्ति न शुनासीरीये । (They carry forward the fire in these two; therefore they march on two, indeed the Varunapraghāsa and Sākamedha are the two thighs of *yajña*; therefore they (are said to) march on two; they fill with earth (the *uttaravedi*) here, but not so in Vaiśvadeva nor in Sunāsīriya). Sabara reads 'उत्तरवेदिमुपवपन्ति' while Mit. reads as above. *Pranayana* means 'carrying towards the east fire from the Gārhapatya fire to the Āhavanīya' There is pranayana in the Darśapūrnamāsa which is simple (and without details) and there is also pranayana in Agnistoma which is full of details (and not simple). An *uttaravedi* (vide H of Dh vol. II pp. 1096-1097 for description) is not required in Darśapūrnamāsa, but it is required in a Soma sacrifice The cāturmāsyas are modifications (*vikṛti*) of the Darśapūrnamāsa, so that whatever is prescribed in the latter follows in the absence of express directions as a matter of course in the former. In the texts quoted above the words 'dvayoh pranayanti' lay down a *vidhi* and the words 'tasmād . sākamedhaśca' contain an *arthavāda* which forms a syntactical whole with the vidhi and which only eulogizes it. The *pūrvapakṣa* argues: As cāturmāsyas are modifications of Darśapūrnamāsa, it is unnecessary to lay down expressly a simple pranayana in them, therefore, the pranayana prescribed in 'dvayoh pranayanti' must be the pranayana as described in a Soma sacrifice Further the prohibition of an uttaravedi in Vaiśvadeva and Sunāsīriya indicates the same, since a prohibition implies that there was a fear that what is prohibited would have otherwise followed and since an

(*Continued on the next page*)

by the Smrtisaṅgraha and Dhāreśvara, viz. that the wife would

(*Continued from the last page*)

uttaravedi is required only in a Soma sacrifice. Therefore the pranayana prescribed in 'dvayoh pranayanti' is of the Somapranayana type. To this a partisan of the *siddhāntin* (siddhāntaikadeśin) replies as follows:—The real view is that in *dvayoh pranayanti* the pranayana is of the simple darśapūrnamāsa type and the prohibition about Vaiśvadeva and Śunāsīrīya is not to be explained as you do; in the words 'upātra vapanti' an *uttaravedi* is generally (without exception) prescribed for all cāturmāsyas, but in the following two sentences 'na vaiśvadeve &c.' the preparation of uttaravedi is forbidden in the case of Vaiśvadeva and Śunāsīrīya, therefore the partisan says that the idea is that, though the pranayana is of the simple darśapūrnamāsa type, yet an uttaravedi is prepared in the 2nd and 3rd but not in the first and fourth of the cāturmāsyas. The pūrvapaksin retorts that even on this construction *vidhivaisamya* would still be there as follows: as there is prescription of uttaravedi in all four and prohibition in two (viz the first and fourth of the four cāturmāsyas), there is an option of uttaravedi in these latter two (as the rule is 'tulyabala-virodhe vikalpah') and there is no option as to the other two and there will arise the fault of *vidhivaisamya*, the same sentence viz 'upātra vapanti' being taken as an unqualified and independent rule about the 2nd and 3rd of the cāturmāsyas and taken as an optional rule as to the 1st and 4th.

The proper siddhānta view is as follows: Though the words 'dvayoh pranayanti' are very general, they are to be narrowed down so as to refer to only two (viz. 2nd and 3rd of the cāturmāsyas) on account of the recommendatory passage that follows (speaking of Varunapraghāsa and Sākamedha as the thighs of cāturmāsya yajña) The vidhi and the following arthavāda form one syntactical whole (*ekavākya*), as laid down by Jai I. 2 7. The arthavāda passage means that just as a man marches on in strength if his thighs are strong, so the cāturmāsya sacrifice reaches a successful close by means of Varunapraghāsa and Sākamedha in which an uttarvedi is specially prepared and fire is laid thereon (being taken from the āhavanīya fire by the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātr) Therefore the meaning is that there is pranayana in the 2nd and 3rd out of the four cāturmāsyas and uttaravedi is prescribed in those two alone and the words 'there is no uttaravedi in Vaiśvadeva and Sunāsīrīya' are a mere *anuvāda* (repetition of what is already known) and not a prohibition, as in the words 'fire should be kindled on the earth and not in the sky nor in heaven'. On this interpretation there is no vidhivaisamya Sabara makes two *adhikaranas* of Jai VII. 3. 19–25, while Kumārila makes one adhikarana of these seven sūtras He further differs as to the siddhānta, which, according to him, is that in 'dvayoh pranayanti' there is a special (*apūrva*) kind of pranayana prescribed, *prākrta* (of darśapūrnamāsa type) and *saumika* pranayana being the two other views which he rejects. The Subodhinī on the Mit. very lucidly explains this discussion and concludes. यथा तत्रैकदेशिमते विधिवैषम्यं दोषस्तथा 'पत्न्यः कार्या समाशिकाः,' 'माताप्यंशं सम हरेत्' इत्यत्र च सकृदाम्नातौ अंशसमशब्दावपि भर्तृबहुधनत्वपक्षे 'भरण चास्य कुर्वीरन्' इत्यादिवाक्यपर्यालोचनया जीवनोपयुक्तधनपरौ स्वल्पधनत्वे तु वाक्यान्तरनैरपेक्ष्येण नित्यवस्तुत्रांशसमांशपराविति श्रीकराद्युक्तव्याख्यानेपि विधिवैषम्यदोषो दुर्वार इति। The Bālambhattī repeats the Subodhinī almost word for word This *nyāya* occurs in Dāyabhāga XI. 5. 16 also.

take the estate of her sonless deceased husband if she submitted to *niyoga* and procured a son for the husband. This view derived support from Gautama 28·19–20, Vas. 17 65 (who prohibits niyoga if resorted to through greed of wealth), and Manu IX. 146 and 190 (which call upon the surviving brother to procreate a son on the widow of his brother and to hand over the deceased's share to that son). This view is refuted by the Mit.,[1348] Sm. C. II p. 294, V. P. pp 495–497.

Even Medhātithi,[1349] generally a liberal writer, holds that the widow is prohibited from inheriting her husband's wealth.

The Mit. after an elaborate statement and refutation of the views of Śrīkara, Dhāreśvara and others due to the conflict among smṛti texts on the question of the widow's right of succession, establishes the proposition that the widow, if chaste, is entitled to the whole of her deceased sonless husband's wealth.[1350] Almost all writers since the time of the Mit. accept the widow's right to succeed to her husband's wealth Many writers note that the smṛti texts on the heirship of the widow are in conflict.[1351] They explain verses like those of Nār. (dāyabhāga 25–26) providing only maintenance for women either as

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1348. तथा सद्ब्रह्मचारिः । भ्रातृषु प्रविभक्तेषु संसृष्टेष्वप्यसत्सु च । शुर्वादेशात्रियोगस्था पत्नी धनमवाप्नुयात् ॥ इति । शुर्वादेशान्नियोगस्थेति धारेश्वरमत विश्वरूपादिभिः सम्यग्दूषितत्वादुपेक्षणीयम् । स्मृतिच II. p. 294; एतेषामन्योन्यविरुद्धाना वचनानां धारेश्वर इदमर्थ व्यवस्थामाह । विभक्तासंसृष्टभ्रातुरपुत्रस्य पत्नी यदि नियोगमङ्गीकुरुते तदैव पतिधनं लभते । अनियोगार्थिन्यां तु तस्यामविभक्तसंसृष्टपत्नीवद्भरणमात्रमेव । नियोगद्वारेणापुत्रपत्न्या पतिस्वापतेयस्वामित्वम् । व्य. प्र. p. 495,

1349. अतो यन्मेधातिथिना पत्नीनामंशभागित्व निषिद्धमुक्त तदसम्बद्धम् । पत्नीनामंशभागित्वं बृहस्पत्यादिसंमतम् । मेधातिथिर्निराकुर्वन् न प्रीणाति सतां मनः ॥ कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 187.

1350. तस्माद्गुरुश्वस्य स्वर्यातस्य विभक्तस्यासंसृष्टिनो धनं परिणीता स्त्री संयता सकलमेव गृह्णातीति स्थितम् । मिता. on या II. 135.

1351. अथापुत्रस्य मृतस्य धने परस्परविरुद्धवचनदर्शनेन व्याख्यातारो विवदन्ते । दायभाग XI. 1. 1; एतद्विरुद्धानीव वाक्यानि लक्ष्यन्ते । मिता. on या. II. 135. It may, however, be noted that in a small treatise called श्वश्रूस्तुवाधनसंवाद of which there are three Mss. in the Maharaja's Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore (Nos. 19003–5 described in vol. XVIII of their new Descriptive Catalogue) an attempt is made to establish that, if a man dies leaving a widow and his mother, both take equal shares in the estate The mainstay of the argument is a verse of Kāt. quoted in the व्य मयूख 'भो स्नुषेति कलत्रार्थी श्वश्रूश्वशुरणे रता । न कुर्याद्यदि शुश्रूषां चैलं पिण्डं नियोजयेत्' from which the conclusion drawn is 'श्वश्रूश्वशुरादिगुरुशुश्रूषणे रतायास्तदनुमतायाः सयतायाः तदिदार्या च सत्यां पत्न्या धनहारित्वं नान्यथा'.

referring to exclusively kept concubines of the deceased or to the wives of re-united coparceners.

Patni means a woman who is married to the deceased, the word being formed from 'pati' with an affix in the sense of 'being fit to join with the husband in the performance of sacrifice' (Pānini IV. 1. 33). The Sm. C. II. p. 290 quotes a verse that a woman who is procured for sexual intercourse in exchange for money is only a *dāsī* and is not a *patnī* and therefore is not entitled to inherit to a sonless paramour.[1352] The Baud. Dh. S. I 11. 20 quotes a similar verse. Several texts require that the widow must be chaste before she can claim the inheritance of the deceased. A text attributed to Vrddha-Manu[1353] says, 'The wife alone, being sonless and keeping the bed of her lord unsullied and leading a life of religious observances, may offer pinda to her deceased husband and take his entire estate'. Kāt. (926) also declares that 'the wife who is chaste takes the wealth of her husband'. The widow must be chaste at the time the inheritance opens. The courts have held that once the husband's estate is vested in the widow, it will not be divested or forfeited by reason of *unchastity subsequent* to the death of the husband.[1354] If the widow remarries after inheriting, then, though the remarriage of a widow is legalized by the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856), she forfeits the estate of the husband taken by her or the estate which she took as a widowed mother of her deceased son and it passes to the other heirs of the husband or son as if she were then dead and this applies to widows of all castes according to almost all High Courts (even when remarriage

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1352. क्रयक्रीता तु या नारी न सा पत्नी विधीयते। न सा दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां कवयो विदुः॥ q. by स्मृतिच. II. p 290, व्य. म. p. 488, क्रीता द्रव्येण या नारी सा न पत्नी विधीयते। सा न दैवे न सा पित्र्ये दासीं तां काश्यपोऽब्रवीत्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 11. 20 This is cited as Manu's in व्य नि p. 397, which quotes a similar verse of Yama on p 398 व्य म. 488 says 'अत्र च दासीत्वकथनमङ्गीकृतार्थकर्मसु सदाधिकारराभावाभिप्रायेण। न तु दासीवदम्यत्वाभिप्रायेण। विवाहितात्वेन परदारत्वबाधात्।'

1353. अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता। पत्न्येव दद्यात् तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च॥ वृद्धमनु q. by मिता. on या. II. 135, दायभाग XI. 1. 7, वि. र. p. 589; पत्नी भर्तुर्धनहरी या स्यादप्यभिचारिणी। कात्या q. by the मिता. on या. II 135.

1354 Vide *Moniram v. Kerry* L. R. 7 I. A 115; *Sellam v Chinnammal* 24 Mad. 441; *Nehalo v. Kishen* 2 All. 150 (F. B.)

is allowed by the custom of the caste to which the widow belongs).[1355]

According to the Dāyabhāga there being no *apratibandha dāya*, the widow of a sonless member even in a joint family succeeds to his share in the family property and there is no difference between joint family property and separate property.

In the case of śūdras, if the owner dies leaving a widow or a daughter or a daughter's son and an illegitimate son, it has been held by the courts following Yāj. II. 134, the Mit. and Dāyabhāga IX. 31 that the widow or daughter or daughter's son takes one half and the illegitimate son takes the other half.[1356]

The rights of the widow in property inherited by her from her husband are limited. Kaut. III. 2 was[1357] probably the first to propound clearly the characteristics of the Hindu widow's estate and the verse of Kāt quoted below is remarkably close to the words of Kaut. The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 47. 24) states that women have only the right to enjoy the estate of their husbands and that they should not waste or destroy the

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1355. Vide *Vithu v. Govind* 22 Bom. 321 (F. B.) and *Murugayi v. Vsramakali* 1 Mad. 226; but *Bhola v. Kausilla* 55 All. 24 (F. B) holds that a woman belonging to a caste in which remarriage of widows is allowed by custom does not forfeit on remarriage the estate of the first husband which she took as his widow, the principal reasons being, that there is no express text about forfeiture on subsequent unchastity and that it would be absurd to hold that a widow, who, on the P C, ruling in 7 I. A , does not forfeit the estate taken as heir by subsequent unchastity, should be liable to forfeit it by remarriage (which presumes that she wants to live a decent life). Looking to the expressed object of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, section 2 should not have been so interpreted as to apply to widows who could remarry according to caste custom before the Act.

1356. Vide *Shesgiri v. Gireva* 14 Bom. 282; *Meenakshi v. Appakutti* 33 Mad. 226 (in this case the original authorities are mentioned and discussed). Vide अभ्रातृको हरेत्सर्वं दुहितॄणां सुताहते । या. II 134 ; अथ परिणीतापुत्रा न सन्ति तदा कृत्स्नं धनं दासीपुत्रो गृह्णीयाद्यदि परिणीतादुहितरस्तत्सुता वा न सन्ति । तत्सद्भावे तु अर्धभागिक एव दासीपुत्रः । मिता., तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः । अभा . द्वते । सति तु दौहित्रे सर्वं विभज्य गृह्णीयाद्विशेषाभ्रवणात् । दायभाग IX 31 p 143.

1357. अपुत्रा पतिशयनं पालयन्ती गुरुसमीपे स्त्री धनमायुःक्षयाद् भुञ्जीत । आपदर्थं हि स्त्रीधनम् । ऊर्ध्वं दायाद् गच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III 2 p 153, स्त्रीणां स्वपतिदायस्तु उपभोगफल. स्मृतः । नापहार स्त्रियः कुर्युः पतिवित्तात्कथञ्चन । अनुशासन 47. 24 q by विवादचन्द्र p. 71, वि चि p. 152, the व्य. म p 491, दायभाग XI 1. 60 (latter three quote it as from the महाभारत).

husband's estate (by gift, sale &c.). Br.[1538] (S. B. E. vol. 33 pp. 377–78 verses 50–51 and 53) states: 'when the husband is separate his widow takes all his various kinds of property such as a pledge, except immovable property. After having received movable and immovable property, gold, inferior metals, grain, liquids and clothes the widow shall cause (her husband's) monthly, six-monthly and annual śrāddhas to be performed. Let her honour with funeral offerings and pious charity her husband's paternal uncle, *gurus* (elders), daughter's son, sister's son and maternal uncle as also aged or helpless persons, guests and women'. Mādhava (Par M. III. p. 536) explains that 'except immovable property' means that she is prohibited from making a sale of immovable property without the consent of the male kinsmen. The V. Mayūkha (p. 138) accepts this interpretation and modern courts have done the same. In *Damodardas v.' Purmanandas* 7 Bom. 155 it was held that a widow to whom movable property was bequeathed by the will of her husband takes it absolutely But here the movable property was not *inherited* by her and as it was a bequest by will it became her strīdhana according to Nār (q. by V. M. on p. 155). Besides, this was a case from Bombay Island and was governed by the law of V. Mayūkha. In some early cases in Bombay it had been held that a widow in Western India under the Mitāksarā had absolute power over the movable property inherited by her from her husband. In *Gadadhar v Chandrabhagabai* 17 Bom. 690 (F. B.) it was held that under the law of the Mitāksarā a widow has no power to bequeath moveable property inherited by her from her husband and that to that extent the decision in *Damodar v. Purmanandas* must be treated as of no authority if it be interpreted to have decided the point in that way. In *Sha Chamanlal v. Doshi Ganesh* 28 Bom. 453 it was decided that even under the Mayūkha a widow inheriting movable property from her husband has no

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1358. यद्विभक्ते धनं किंचिदाध्यादि विविधं स्मृतम्। तज्जाया स्थावरं मुक्त्वा लभेत मृतभर्तृका॥ जङ्गमं स्थावरं हैम कुप्यं धान्यं रसाम्बरम्। आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं मासषाण्मासिकान्वितम्। पितृष्वसृस्वसृदौहित्रान्भर्तुः स्वसीयमातुलान्। पूजयेत्कव्यपूर्ताभ्यां वृद्धानाथातिथीन् स्त्रियः॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II p. 291, वि. र p. 590 (last two), मदनरत्न (folio 99b), परा. मा. III p 536, व्य. मयूख pp. 137–138. The स्मृतिच, मदनरत्न and व्य. मयूख ascribe the last two to प्रजापति The मदनरत्न says that the verse यद्विभक्ते was ascribed to बृह. by the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, but it should be disregarded as it is opposed to the verse जङ्गमं स्थावरं quoted in the कल्पतरु and others as that of बृह.। 'स्थावरं मुक्त्वेत्यभिधानं दायादानुमतिमन्तरेण स्थावरविक्रयनिषेधपरमिति माधवीये विचारण्यश्रीचरणाः।' मदनरत्न (folio 99b).

power to dispose of it by will. Lastly in *Pandharinath v. Govind* 32 Bom. 59 it was held, after an elaborate examination of authorities, that a widow is not under the Mitākṣarā competent to make a gift of the movables inherited by her from her husband and it was said (on p. 75) that possibly with the spread of education amongst, and the general emancipation of, their women Hindus may be led to call in aid the relief of Legislature. In cases arising under the Mayūkha a widow may dispose of movable property inherited by her from her husband by gift *inter vivos* but not by will. Kāt.[1359] (921, 924-925) propounds the limitations of the widow's rights as follows: 'A sonless widow, preserving the bed of her husband (unsullied) and residing with her elders and being self-controlled, should enjoy (her husband's property) till her death; after her the (other) heirs (of the husband) would get it. A wife who preserves (the honour of) the family would get the share of her husband when he is dead till her death, but she has no power to make a gift, sale or mortgage. A widow engrossed in religious observances and fasts, fixed in the vow of celibacy, always intent on restraining her senses and making gifts goes to heaven even though sonless'.[1360] These verses show that the widow was to enjoy the income of her husband's property till her death; that she could not sell or mortgage or give away immovable property without the consent of the heirs that would come after her and that for religious and charitable purposes or those that conduce to the spiritual welfare of her husband a widow had large powers of disposition. These rules

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1359. अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती गुरौ स्थिता। भुञ्जीतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः॥ कात्या. q by दायभाग XI. 1. 56, स्मृतिच. III. p. 292, मृते भर्तरि भर्त्रंशं लभेत कुलपालिका। यावज्जीवं न हि स्वाम्यं दानाधमनविक्रये। व्रतोपवाससनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता। दमदानरता नित्यमपुत्रापि दिवं व्रजेत्॥ कात्या. q by स्मृतिच II. p 292, व्य. मयूख p 138. The D. B. adds, 'अतः पत्नी दुहितरश्चेत्याविना ये पूर्वपूर्वस्याभावे परभूताधिकारिणो निर्दिष्टास्ते यथा पत्न्यधिकारभागभावे गृह्णीयुस्तथा जाताधिकारायाः पत्न्या अधिकारमध्वंसेपि भोगावशिष्टं धन गृह्णीयु ।' दायभाग XI. 1. 59. The first verse is quoted in *Bhugwandeen v Myna Baee* 11 Moo I. A. 487 at p. 517, 8 Mad. 290, 292, 5 Patna 646, 678. These verses are quoted or referred to in 8 Mad. 290, 292, *Pandharinath v Govind* 32 Bom 59 (which holds that according to the Mit a Hindu widow cannot make a gift even of the movables inherited by her from her husband), 42 Bom. 136, 143.

1360. It was believed that one to whom no son was born did not go to heaven (vide Ait Br. 'nāputrasya lokosti' quoted above on p. 654 n. 2239). An exception was made in the case of those who observed perpetual studenthood (Āp Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 29) and Manu extends it to chaste widows (V. 159-160). Vide Viṣṇu Dh S. 25. 17.

have been accepted by modern decisions; vide *Collector of Masulipatam v. Cavaly Venkata* 8 Moo. I. A. 500 at p. 551 for an oftquoted passage about the widow's powers of disposal. There is a large volume of case law on the widow's powers of alienation, on what are religious and charitable purposes and about the consent of the kinsmen, which have to be passed over here. The heir or heirs expectant on the death of a widow are called reversioners or reversionary heirs in the decided cases. There is no exact Sanskrit word to convey the same idea except 'dāyāda' that occurs in Kāt quoted above and in D. B., which makes it clear that the reversioners take the estate after the widow's estate ends (by death, remarriage, surrender &c.). The doctrine of the surrender by the widow of her estate in favour of the next heirs (the reversioners) whose estate is said to be accelerated is based on meagre foundations viz. the words of Kāt. and the D. B. quoted in n. 1359. Judicial decisions, however, have raised a stupendous structure on these slight foundations; but they are passed over here.

If a man dies leaving several widows then they may partition the property equally among themselves, as stated by the Mit.[1361]

If after partitioning among themselves, one of the widows dies, the portion given to her comes to the other widow or widows i. e. there is survivorship among them and no one else can succeed to the husband's property as long as there is any widow alive and not remarried. Hindu Law does not favour the distribution of a deceased man's estate among his several relatives, as some other systems (like that of the Moslems) do. It gives the whole estate to one heir or one class of heirs to the exclusion of all others. It is greatly to the credit of the ancient Hindu Law that it boldly gave all the separate property of a deceased male to women, viz. to the widow and after her to the daughter in preference to the man's own father or brother or nephew. Attempts are now being made through the Legislature that even when there are sons, the widow and daughters of the deceased should be given shares. Though these efforts spring from the laudable motive of enlarging the rights of women, they do not deserve unqualified encouragement. They will produce friction, cause fragmenta-

1361. ताश्च बहुष्वेवंजातीया विजातीयाश्च तदा यथांशं विभज्य गृह्णन्ति । मिता. on या. II. 135.

tion of lands, make holdings uneconomic and it is extremely doubtful whether they are in the best interests of society or nation as a whole and whether the vast mass of Hindus want them. Prajāpati[1362] says that the king should punish as thieves those sapindas and relatives that oppose or obstruct a widow in succeeding to her husband's estate.

The words of the Tai S. quoted above (p. 606) about women being without strength and not entitled to dāya (adāyādīh) really occur in the ritual of Soma offerings and should mean that women are not allowed to share in the drinking of Soma. But the Baud. Dh. S. (S. B. E vol. 14 p 231) appears to have taken them as excluding women from inheritance. Manu IX. 18 also relies on it and declares that the *saṃskāras* on women (except marriage) are not to be performed with Vedic mantras, as the Veda declares them to be 'nirindriya' and 'anrta'. Later writers like Haradatta (on Gaut. 28. 19, Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1) and V. P. pp. 517 and 554 base the exclusion of women from inheritance on this passage of the Veda. They say that, though the Vedic text is very sweeping and general, it is meant to exclude only women other than those expressly mentioned in the smṛtis as entitled to inherit. For example, the Dāyabhāga XI. 6. 11 quotes Baud. and remarks that the wife is entitled to inherit because of special texts (like those of Yāj and Viṣnu) in her favour. The Sm. C II. p. 294[1363] says that the Vedic passage is only an *arthavāda* (meant for praise) and not an absolute rule and it must be taken as not referring to those women that are expressly mentioned (lit. by being seized by the horn). The V. P. says the same. Aparārka (p. 743) holds that the Vedic passage is merely an *anuvāda* and excludes women only when there is a son. It should be noted that the Par. M. (III. p. 536) holds that the Tai S passage merely means that the wife of the sacrificer is not entitled to partake of Soma

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1362. तत्सपिण्डा बान्धवाश्च ये तस्या परिपन्थिनः। हिंस्युर्धनानि तान्राजा चौर्यदण्डेन शासयेत् ॥ प्रजापति q by स्मृतिच. II p 294, वि चि p 151

1363. यत्तु श्रुतौ चोक्तं तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादा इति तदपि न वृद्धमन्वादिवचनबाधकम्। निरिन्द्रियपुत्रसाहचर्यादपत्यभूतस्त्रीविषयत्वावगतेः। भवतु वा सर्वस्त्रीविषयत्वावगतिः। तथापि दायादतया शृङ्गग्राहोक्तपत्न्यादिस्त्रीव्यतिरिक्तविषया अर्थवादश्रुतिरिति सर्वं सुस्थम्। स्मृतिच II. p. 294, यत्तु तस्मात् स्त्रियो ... अदायादा इति श्रुतिवचनं तन्मूलकं च 'निरिन्द्रिया. नित्यमिति स्थितिः' इति मनुवचनं तद् द्वयमपि यासां शृङ्गग्राहिकया धनग्रहणं नोक्तं तद्विषयमवसेयम्। गौतममिताक्षरायां हरदत्तोप्येवमाह। व्य. प्र. p 517, यद्यपि चार्थवादवचनं तस्मात् ... अदायादाः—इति तदपि यथाभाति वर्णनीयमनुवादकत्वादिति पुत्रसद्भावविषयत्वेन व्याख्येयम्। अपरार्क p. 743.

taken in the Pātnīvata cup and that 'indriya' means Soma drink.[1364] But Mādhavācārya in his comment on the Tai. S. I 4. 27 quotes Tai. S. VI. 5. 8. 2 and explains it somewhat differently as meaning that women being without strength do not take the heritage when there are children. It is very remarkable that both the Mit. and the V. Mayūkha do not at all refer to the Tai. S. or Baud. Dh. S. in speaking of the rights of women to inheritance. It cannot be said that they were unaware of them, but probably they took the Tai. S. text in the sense in which the Par. M explains it. The result of the reliance on the Tai. S. and on Baud. by most medieval digests has been that in the whole of India except in the Madras and Bombay provinces only five females are recognized as heirs viz the widow, the daughter, the mother, the father's mother and paternal grand-father's mother, because they were expressly mentioned as heirs in the smrtis or early commentaries. This subject will be pursued further a little later on.

The right of the wife to maintenance during her husband's life time has already been dealt with in H. of Dh. II. pp 568–569. If the wife was guilty of unchastity but repented of her lapse, she was still entitled to be maintained by the husband (vide H. of Dh. II. pp. 571–573). As regards the rights of maintenance of the widows of deceased members of a joint Hindu family there is a good deal of case law which is passed over here. One or two points may be noted. The right of the widows in a joint Hindu family are conditional upon their leading a life of chastity. Male members are often unwilling to maintain widows who are often compelled to go to court. In the 'Selections from Peshwa Daftar', vol. 43, there is an order (letter No 142) of Rāmaśāstrī, the chief justice of the Peshwa's court, calling upon one Bapuji Tambavekar under threat of penalties to restore the ornaments of the widow of his elder brother (that had died only seven days after marriage) and to give her a yearly maintenance of Rs. 125.

Daughters.—Daughters do not inherit as long as any widow of the deceased owner is alive. The daughter also had to

1364. या च श्रुति.—तस्मात्स्त्रियो ... अद्वायादा —इति सा पात्नीवतग्रहे तत्पत्न्या अंशो नास्तीत्येवपरा। इन्द्रियशब्दस्य 'इन्द्रिय वै सोमपीथ.' इति सोमे प्रयोगदर्शनात्। परा. मा. III. p 536. This explanation of the परा. मा is noted by the व्य. प्र p. 517, which adds that the sentence is only meant to extol the importance of the Pātnīvata cup (of Soma). The व्यव नि. p. 459 has almost the same words as those of परा मा

struggle hard for recognition as heir just as the widow had. Gaut., Baud and Vas omit the daughter as an heir. Ap Dh. S. II. 6. 143 recognizes the daughter as an optional heir (probably with sapiṇḍas). When Manu IX. 130 declares, 'one's son is like one's self and one's daughter is equal to one's son; how can another person take the wealth (of the deceased) when she who is the very self (of the deceased) lives', it appears from the context (IX. 128–129) that it is the *putrikā* (the daughter appointed as a son) that is intended to be referred to therein. Medhātithi, Nārāyana and Kullūka interpret the word 'duhitā' in Manu IX. 130 as applicable to the putrikā only In the Nirukta,[1365] Yāska cites Ṛg. III. 31 1 as relied upon by those who support the claims of the daughter to inheritance and also derives the word 'duhitā' in various ways, but from his explanation of Ṛg. III. 31 1 it appears that he is referring to the putrikā's right of inheritance. As the usage of appointing a daughter as a son became gradually obsolete, the ordinary daughter came to be recognized by analogy as the heir of a sonless man after the widow. Yāj. and Viṣṇu both recognize the daughter as an heir after the widow. Nār. (dāyabhāga, 50) recognizes[1366] the daughter as an heir after the son on the ground that she continues the lineage (of the deceased father) just like a son. When Nār. (dāyahhāga, 27) speaks of the daughter being entitled to maintenance till marriage, the context shows (as remarked by the Sm. C II. p. 296) that he is referring to the daughter of a person who was re-united at the time of his death. Br. declares[1367] (S. B. E. 33 p. 378 verses 55–56), 'the wife is declared to be the inheritor of the husband's wealth and, in default of her, the daughter; the daughter, like a son, springs from the limbs of a man: how can another man inherit her father's property while she lives?'. Though the words of Yāj, Viṣnu and Br. were clear enough ancient com-

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1365. अथैता दुहितृदायाय उदाहरन्ति । पुत्रदायाय इत्येके । शासद्वह्निर्दुहितर्नप्त्यं गात्० । (ऋ. ३. ३१. १); प्रशास्ति धीढा सन्तानकर्मणे दुहितु: पुत्रभावम् । दुहिता दुर्हिता दूरे हिता दोग्धेर्वा । निरुक्त III. 3–4.

1366. पुत्राभावे तु दुहिता तुल्यसन्तानकारणात् । पुत्रश्च दुहिता चोभौ पितु: सन्तानकारकौ॥ नारद (दाय० ५०), या तस्य दुहिता तस्या पित्र्योंशो भरणे मत । आसस्कारं भजेरंस्तां परतो विभृयात्पतिः ॥ नारद (दायभाग 27); स्यादेवं यदि नारदवचनं विभक्तविषयं स्यात् । संसृष्टविषयं तु तदिति तस्यैव पूर्वापरपर्यालोचनया स्पष्टमवगम्यते । स्मृतिच्च II. p 296.

1367. भर्तुर्धनहरी पत्नी तां विना दुहिता स्मृता । अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवति पुत्रवद् दुहिता नृणाम् । तस्मात्पित्तुधनं त्वन्यः कथं गृह्णीत मानव । बृहस्पति q. by the Mitā. on yā II. 135, स्मृतिच्च II. p. 294, वि. र p 591.

mentators were not prepared to accept them in their literal sense. Viśvarūpa holds that Yāj. means only the putrikā and employs the plural in order to convey that several daughters may be appointed as sons. The Sm C. II. p 295 informs us that the same opinion was held by Dhāreśvara, Devasvāmin and Devarāta.[1368] The Mit rightly refutes these views by saying that the word 'duhitarah' in Yāj. cannot refer to 'putrikā', since Yāj, has himself stated the putrikā as equal to the aurasa son (in II. 128), as the putrikā is included among the sons by Vas and as the widow and the daughters are declared by him as heirs in the absence of all the sons, principal and secondary Yāj, Viṣnu, Br. are silent as to whether any discrimination was made between daughters as heirs. Kāt. (926) gives[1369] a preference to the unmarried daughter and the Mit. and the subsequent digests follow Kāt. The Dāyabhāga[1370] (XI. 2. 4 p. 175) quotes a prose passage of Parāśara preferring an unmarried daughter as an heir to a married daughter. Among married daughters the Mit., pressing into service a text of Gaut. on succession to strīdhana, holds by analogy that among married daughters the indigent (or unprovided for) one is to be preferred to one who is well-placed.[1371] Herein the Mit. follows common sense and the natural inclination of a father to feel more concern for a poor daughter. The Dāyabhāga prefers the unmarried daughter to the married daughter as is done by the Mit., but among married daughters Jīmūtavāhana, following an author called Dīksita, prefers one who has had a

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1368. एवं सोपपत्तिकीं पत्न्यभावे दुहितृगामितां ब्रुवता बृहस्पतिनैव यद् दुहितृगामि धनमिति विधायकं वचनजातं तत्पुत्रिकाविषयमेव न पुनरपुत्रिकादुहितृविषयमिति धारेश्वर-देवस्वामिदेवरातमतं स्मृतिवन्त्राभिज्ञत्वाभिमानोन्मादकल्पितं निरस्तं वेदितव्यम् । स्मृतिच. II. p. 295.

1369 तदभावे तु दुहिता यद्यनूढा भवेत्तदा । कात्या. q by मिता. on या II. 135, स्मृतिच. II p. 296 (reads यद्यनूढामतिष्ठिता), मद. पा. p. 672, पप. मा III. p. 524.

1370. तत्र प्रथमं कन्यैवैका पितृधनहारिणी । यथा पराशरः । अपुत्रस्य मृतस्य कुमारी रिक्थं गृह्णीयात् तदभावे चोढा । ऊढापदं पूर्वोक्तविशेषपरम् । दायभाग XI. 2. 4 p. 175. Vide *Jamnabas v. Khimji* 14 Bom. 1, 13 (for preference of unmarried daughter).

1371. तथा प्रतिष्ठितामप्रतिष्ठितानां समवाये अप्रतिष्ठितैव तदभावे प्रतिष्ठिता । स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणाममत्तानामप्रतिष्ठितानां च—इति गौतमवचनस्य पितृधनेपि समानत्वात् । मिता. on या. II 135. 'स्त्रीधनं ... . ष्ठितानां च' is गौ 28. 22. मत्ता means 'given in marriage'. अप्रतिष्ठिता means निर्धना acc. to the मिता, स्म. मयूख p. 141, व्य प्र p. 520.

son or who is likely to have a son to a widowed or barren daughter or to one who has given birth only to daughters. This preference is due to the principle of the Dāyabhāga[1372] that spiritual benefit is the governing factor in succession The barren daughter or widowed daughter is unable to confer spiritual benefit on her father since she will have no son that will offer pindas to the deceased owner (who will be the maternal grand-father). The Mit on the other hand relies on nearness of blood (prattyāsatti) as the guiding principle But, as pointed out by the V. P. p. 519, the Dāyabhāga is inconsistent. There is no reason on its own principle why the unmarried daughter should be preferred to a married daughter who has a son. The latter is then and there capable of conferring spiritual benefit while it is problematical whether the unmarried daughter will confer spiritual benefit (since she may after all be blessed with no son after marriage). Aparārka (p. 721) and V. R (p. 517) give three meanings of the word 'apratisthitā' viz. 'childless, poor, widowed'. In deciding whether a particular married daughter is indigent as compared with another, the Courts refuse[1373] to go into nice or minute questions of the respective monetary positions of their husbands and prefer one to the other only if there is great disparity or marked difference between their positions.

According to all High Courts in India except that of Bombay a daughter's estate is similar to that of the widow. She takes only a limited interest, can only enjoy the usufruct of the property and cannot alienate it. On her death the estate passes not to her heirs, but to the next heir of her father In Bombay,[1374] however, the daughter takes an absolute interest

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1372 दुहितुरधिकारे सन्तानदर्शनं हेतुतया निगदितं सन्तानश्च पिण्डदोऽभिमतः, अपिण्डदस्यानुपकारकत्वेन 'अन्यसन्तानादसन्तानाच्चाविशेषात् । दौहित्रश्च तत्पिण्डदाता ... । अतः पुत्रवती सम्भावितपुत्रा चाधिकारिणी । वन्ध्यात्व-विधवात्व-दुहितृमत्त्वादिना विपर्यस्त-पुत्रा पुनरनधिकारिण्येवेति दीक्षितमतमादूरणीयम् । व्यवहार XI. 2 1-3 p 175. व्य. म. p 518 quotes this and remarks, तेनैव प्रथमं कन्यैवैका पितृधनाधिकारिणीत्यनेन ग्रन्थेनाभिधानात् । तदानीं च पुत्रसम्भावनानिश्चयाभावात् । हेतुनिर्देशश्च मत्सरव्यक्तिज्ञापनमात्रमवदर्शकतयाऽनुपपन्नः । व्य. म p 529

1373 Vide *Totawa v. Basawa* 23 Bom 229; *Mankı v. Kundan* 47 All 403.

1374 See *Bhagirthibai v. Kahnujirav* 11 Bom 285 (F. B.); *Vithappa v. Savitri* 34 Bom 510 (daughters take absolute estates in the Bombay Presidency).

in her father's estate when she succeeds as heir and on her death the estate will go to her own heirs.

A daughter is entitled to succeed, according to the decided cases, to her father's estate even if she be unchaste at the time of his death (except in cases governed by the Dāyabhāga).[1375] The reason assigned is that Kāt. and other smrti writers do not expressly mention the requirement of chastity in the case of the daughter or mother as they do as regards the widow. According to the[1376] Dāyabhāga (XI. 2. 8) Br. declares: ' a daughter equal in caste to the father and married to a husband of the same caste as her own, who is virtuous and intent on serving her husband, inherits her father's property '. Therefore a daughter who is unchaste cannot inherit. Further a daughter succeeds not because she is the daughter, but because she satisfies all conditions laid down by Br. The Dāyabhāga (XI. 2. 31) further says that the word ' wife ' (in XI. 1. 56) is merely illustrative and whatever restrictions are imposed on the wife apply to all women as heirs. The illegitimate daughter, even of a śūdra, has no right of inheritance to her father.[1377]

By virtue of local or family custom daughters have in some cases been held to be excluded from inheritance.[1378]

It may be noted that in his Vaijayantī (on Visnu Dh. S. XVII. 5-6) Nandapandita appears to have preferred a daughter-in-law to a daughter; but he stands practically alone in this. Vide Jolly's T. L. L. p. 199 and p 286 for quotation which however is not found in the D. C. Ms. No. 69 of the Vaijayantī. The daughter-in-law is not an heir at all in the whole of India,

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1375. Vide *Advyappa v. Rudrava* 4 Bom 104 (where the original Smrtis and digests are cited at length and discussed); *Kojyadu v. Lakshmi* 5 Mad. 149, 156.

1376 तदाह बृहस्पतिः । सदृशी सदृशेनोढा भर्तुश्शुश्रूषणे रता । कृताकृता वा पुत्रस्य पितुर्धनहरी तु सा ॥ ... सेति च पूर्ववचनोपात्ता दुहिता परामृश्यते । तदेवं सदृशी सदृशेनोढा इत्यादिविशेषणात् दुहितुमात्रतया पितृधनाधिकारितेति दर्शयति । ... यद्वा पत्नीस्युपलक्षणं स्त्रीमात्राधिकारेऽयमर्थो वोद्धव्य इति तात्पर्यम् । दायभाग XI. 2. 8, 13, 31. Vide *Ramanand v. Rai Kishori* 22 Cal. 347 for the exclusion of the unchaste daughter from inheritance

1377. Vide *Bhikya v. Babu* 32 Bom 562 (holds that the illegitimate daughter of a śūdra has no right of inheritance as against the son of the śūdra's brother)

1378 Vide *Bajrangi v. Manokarnika* 35 I A p. 1 (daughters held excluded by custom among Bhale Sultan Chhatris from Oudh).

except in Bombay (where she inherits as the widow of a *gotraja sapiṇḍa*) The Bālambhaṭṭī criticizes Nandapandita without naming him and holds that a daughter-in-law inherits only as a gotraja and not before a daughter.

Raghunandana in his comment on the Dāyabhāga makes the position about unchaste daughters quite clear[1379]. The smṛtis give preference among daughters to an unmarried daughter i. e. to a daughter who is a virgin (*kumārī*) It has been held by the Indian High Courts that though chastity is not required in the case of daughters to entitle them to inherit, yet in a competition between a married daughter and a daughter who was never married, but became a concubine or prostitute, the latter would be postponed to the former as the latter is not a virgin though unmarried. Some smṛtis like Parāśara[1380] employ the word *kumārī* in speaking of daughters' succession, while others employ the word '*kanyā*', but both words are synonymous In *Govind v. Bhiku* 46 Bom. L. R. 699, where a man died leaving as heirs a married daughter and another daughter who never married, but was living as the permanent concubine of another man, it was held that the latter cannot inherit the property of her sonless father to the exclusion of or along with his married daughter. The old texts speak of only unmarried daughters and married daughters and prefer the former to the latter. Medhātithi on Manu IX 132 says that *kanyā* means a girl who has had no sexual intercourse with any man. The Mit. makes three classes of daughters succeed one after another viz (1) unmarried daughter, (2) indigent married daughter, (3) well-to-do married daughter. Judicial decisions have added a fourth variety viz unmarried daughter who has become a prostitute. This fourth class being a new one must be placed after the other three classes expressly mentioned by the texts and commentaries on the basis of the maxim (intruders or uninvited persons must be seated at the end of or after those

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1379 पत्नीरयुपलक्षणमिति । अपुत्रा शयनं भर्तुः · दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयु —इत्यादि कात्यायनवचनपरवचनपूर्वार्धे भर्तुर्धनहरी पत्नी या स्यादप्यभिचारिणी—इति पत्नीपदमुपलक्षणं पूर्वत्र पक्षे तु एकत्र दृष्टः शास्त्रार्थ इति न्यायेन पत्न्यधिकारः, इह तु पत्नीपदेन लक्षणया दुहितृपत्न्योरपि ग्रहणमिति भेदः । रघुनन्दन on दायभाग XI. 2 31 This is quoted in *Trailokya Nath v Radha* 30 C. L. J 235 (about mother) at p 240.

1380. अपुत्रस्य कुमारी रिक्थं गृह्णीयात्तदभावे चोढा चेति पराशरवचनाच्चैवात्र क्रम इति बालरूपः । वि. चि. p 153 ; the बालम्भट्टी also quotes पराशर almost in the same words. Vide *Tara v. Krishna* 31 Bom 495 (where the original authorities about the word 'kanyā' are exhaustively dealt with).

that are specially invited) noted by Śabara on Jai. V. 2. 19 and X. 5. 1 and by Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 3. 3 and employed by the V. Mayūkha (text p. 143) for settling the place of the paternal grandmother after the brother's son.

The daughter's son (*dauhitra*). On failure of daughters the daughter's son inherits. Gaut., Āp., Vas., are all silent about the daughter's son and so are Yāj. and Viṣnu. But it has been plausibly urged by Viśvarūpa that, since[1381] Yāj. himself has (in II. 134) stated that the illegitimate son of a śūdra takes the whole estate if there be no legitimate son provided there exists no heir up to the daughter's son, the latter must have been intended to be an heir by Yāj. taking after the daughters. The Madanapārijāta (p. 672) relies on the word 'ca' in Yāj. to bring in the daughter's son. Though the printed text of Viṣnu Dh. S. is silent about the daughter's son, the Mit., the Dāyabhāga and others quote a verse of Viṣnu,[1382] 'when there is no continuance of lineage through sons and son's son the daughter's sons take the wealth (of the deceased owner); in offering śrāddha to the ancestors, daughter's sons are regarded as son's sons'. The V. Mayūkha (p. 142) includes a sūtra about the dauhitra in Viṣnu Dh. S. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manu, is said by the Dāyabhāga, to have held, relying on this verse of Viṣnu, that the daughter's son inherited the estate even before a married daughter of the deceased. But the Dāyabhāga did not approve of this view. The Dāyabhāga (XI. 2. 27) notes that Bālaka held that as the daughter's son was not expressly named by Yāj he came in as an heir after all those that were expressly mentioned as heirs. Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 17 distinguished[1383] between the putrikāputra and daughter but it is not clear whether Baud. intended to lay down that the dauhitra was an heir. In IX. 131-133 Manu expressly says that the *dauhitra*

1381. अभ्रातृकस्तु दुहितृतत्सुताभावे सर्वभाक् स्याद्राज्ञाज्ञया बृहस्पतिवचनादेव—अनन्वयिन. सर्वे राजा हरेत्सवृत्तज्ञया वावरोधज इत्येके-इति। अस्मादेव च दौहित्राभाववचनाद् द्विजातीनामपि पुत्राभावे दौहित्रा धनभाज इति। अत एव च मातामहश्राद्धनियमोपपत्तिः। विश्वरूप ०म पा. 'अभ्रातृको ... इते'.

1382 तथा गोविन्दराजेनापि मनुटीकायां—अपुत्रपौत्रे संसारे दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयु। पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रकाः समाः। एतद्विष्णुवचनबलेनोद्धातः प्रागेव दौहित्ररूपाधिकारो दर्शितः। स चास्मभ्यं न रोचते। दायभाग IX 23-24 p 181. The मिता. reads 'अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने' and मता: for समाः.

1383. अस्पुपगम्य दुहितरि जातं पुत्रिकापुत्रमन्यं दौहित्रम्। गौ. ध. सू. II. 2 17. The दायभाग XI. 2. 21 p. 181 quotes this and remarks, किं च स्मृतिषु दौहित्रपदमपुत्रिकाजातपरं निगदितम्।

should inherit the entire wealth of a sonless man, that he should offer one pinda to his father and another to the maternal grandfather and that in religious matters there is no difference between a son's son and a daughter's son, since their father and mother (respectively) spring from the body of the deceased owner. The context and the wording of these verses show, as held by Kullūka and other commentators, that the daughter's son here referred to is the son of the appointed daughter. But Manu IX. 136 is somewhat clearer. It says, 'through a son born to a daughter from a husband of the same class, whether she be appointed (as a son) or not, the maternal grand-father becomes one having a son's son; that son should offer pinda and take the wealth of the maternal grandfather'. The Mit takes the word 'akrtā' in this verse as referring to the ordinary daughter, while Medhātithi and Kullūka hold that this verse also only refers to the son of the putrikā and that krtā means an appointed daughter with regard to whom an express agreement was made with her husband, while akrtā means one (who is intended mentally to be appointed as a son) about whom there is no such express agreement Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 379 verse 58) provides: 'just as (the daughter) gets ownership in her father's property (as an heir), though there may be other relatives, so her son also becomes the owner of his mother's and maternal grand-father's property'.[1384]

The daughter's sons inherit *per capita* and not *per stirpes*. Suppose that A has two daughters B and C, that B has three sons and C has two sons, that then both B and C die in A's lifetime; on A's death his estate will be divided into five parts, each daughter's son taking one fifth.

A daughter's son is really a bandhu and a *bhinnagotra sapiṇḍa*, but owing to historical causes and the high religious efficacy of the śrāddha offered by him he has been given a very high place among heirs by express texts.

Parents (pitarau) Great divergence prevails among mediaval digests on the position of the father and the mother as heirs to their son. Yāj gives no clue as to which among the parents is to be preferred if both are alive when their son dies. The text of the

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1384 यथा पितृधनं स्वाम्यं तस्याः सत्स्वपि बन्धुषु । तथैव तत्सुतोपीष्टे मातृमातामहे धने ॥ बृह. quoted by व्यवहारभाग XI. 2. 17. p 180, व्य म p. 521.

Visnu Dh.[1385] S. as read by most digests places the father before the mother Manu IX 217 states that when the son dies issueless the mother takes his wealth, while Manu IX. 185 provides that the father takes the wealth of a sonless man and the brothers also. So Manu is not definite about the preference among parents. Kāt. (927) observes,[1386] ' of a sonless man (the heirs) are declared to be the wife of good family, the daughters, the father on failure of them, the mother, the brother and (the brother's) sons '. Br. (S. B E. 33 p. 379 v 63) says,[1387] ' when a son dies without leaving his own wife or male issue, his mother is to be considered as her son's heir or a brother may succeed with the consent of the mother '. In this conflict it may be stated that the Mit , the Madanapārijāta, S. V (p. 416), the V. C., the V. P. prefer the mother to the father, while the Dāyabhāga, the Sm. C., the Madanaratna, the V. Mayūkha prefer the father to the mother. Śrīkara[1388] held that both parents, if alive, succeed together. But the Dāyabhāga, Sm. C

1385. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 4-16 read अपुत्रधन पत्न्यभिगामि । तदभावे दुहितृगामि । तदभावे पितृगामि । तदभावे मातृगामि । तदभावे भ्रातृगामि । तदभावे भ्रातृपुत्रगामि । तदभावे बन्धुगामि । तदभावे सकुल्यगामि । तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि । तदभावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्जं राजगामि । ब्राह्मणार्थो ब्राह्मणानाम् । वानप्रस्थधनमाचार्यो गृह्णीयाच्छिष्यो वा । These passages are cited as बृहद्विष्णु in the स्मृतिच., मदनरत्न (folio 100 b), व्य. प्र. and some other digests and as वृद्धविष्णु by the मिता, the परा मा, व्यवहारसार (p 252). Tho व्य. मयूख p 142 and मदनरत्न add तदभावे दौहित्रगामि after दुहितृगामि. The वि र p. 595 and वि चि p. 151 reverse the order and read तदभावे मातृगामि तदभावे पितृगामि But the व्य प्र p 524 notes that such an order is found in no other work and so must be taken to be a mistake. Even the printed मिता reads पितृगामि first. तस्मात्स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-मदनरत्नकार-कल्पतरु-रत्नाकर-पारिजातकारप्रभृतीना बहूना पितुरभावे मातु. पुत्रधनाधिकार इत्येव सिद्धान्तः । वाचस्पतिना तु तदभावे मातृगामि तदभावे पितृगामि—इति बृहद्विष्णुवचन पठित्वा यथामिताक्षरमेव सिद्धान्तितम् । तत्तु कुत्रापि तदतिरिक्तग्रन्थे तथा पाठस्यालिखनाद् भ्रान्तिविलसितमेव । व्य. प्र. p 524. It is, however, to be noted that in the printed वि र (p. 592) the father is placed after the mother (मातुरभावे पित्रादीनामधिकारस्य स्थितत्वात्). So it is probable that the text of the वि र. was tampered with after the time of मित्रमिश्र

1386 अपुत्रस्याथ कुलजा पत्नी दुहितरोपि वा । तदभावे पिता माता भ्राता पुत्राश्च कीर्तिताः ॥ कात्या. q by मिता on या II 135 (reads चार्यकुलजा), स्मृतिच. II p. 299, परा मा. III. p. 526, व्य. मयूख p 141.

1387. भार्यासुतविहीनस्य तमस्य सुतस्य तु । माता रिक्थहरी ज्ञेया भ्राता वा तदनुज्ञया ॥ बृह. q. by अपरार्क p. 744, स्मृतिच II. 299, दायभाग XI 3. 2 p 186.

1388. अत एव श्रीकरेण पित्रोर्विभज्य धनग्रहणमुक्तं तदप्ययुक्तम् । पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य रिक्थं, स्वर्यातस्य स्वपुत्रस्य माता दायमवाप्नुयात् इत्येताभ्यां श्रीहियवयोर्निरपेक्षसाधनत्वबलिरपेक्षस्वामित्वमतीते. । स्मृतिच. II. p. 297.

and others criticise this view. The reasons why the Mit. prefers the mother before the father are three, out of which two are based on grammar. The word 'pitarau' in Yāj. is what is called an '*ekaśesa*' *dvandva* compound and in dissolving it or in the full-fledged dvandva the mother comes first in order and hence she should be preferred. Another reason is.[1389] A father may have several wives and sons from them all, so that a mother is directly related to her own son only and not to the other sons of her husband. So (the Mit. says) the mother has greater nearness (prattyāsatti) to her son than the father has The Sm. C. (II p 297) refers to Jai V. 1 14 where the Vedic sentence 'sārasvatau bhavatah' is interpreted and it is stated that the first oblation is offered to Sarasvatī because the Yājyā and Anuvākyā verses as first set out are meant for Sarasvatī (and not on the ground of the method in which the *ekaśesa* is dissolved); therefore as to *pitarau* also no reliance should be placed on the dissolution of the compound Nīlakantha in the V. Mayūkha denies the assumptions based upon grammar, says that Pān does not direct that in dissolving the compound the word mātā must be employed first and there is no authority for doing so.[1390] But the V. P. says that though Pānini may

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1389. पिता सपत्नीषुत्रेष्वपि साधारण. । माता तु न साधारणीति मत्यासत्त्यति-शयोस्तीति विमलम्भसदृशमिदं न हि जननीजनकयोर्जन्य मतिं सन्निकर्षतारतम्यमस्ति। स्मृतिच II p 297.

1390. The general rule is that several words that would be in the same case when separately used may be compounded together to form a *dvandva*, when they are employed to convey the sense of 'ca', as said in 'cārthe dvandvah' (Pān. II. 2 29). Such a compound is called dvandva and mātā-pitarau is an example of it Another sūtra (I 2 64) of Pānini states that when words denoting several individuals of the same kind are to be compounded together, only one of them may be retained and that is called an ekaśesa compound, which is of two kinds, *sarūpa* (e. g. hamsaśca hamsaśca hamsau) and *virūpa* (when the two words are of different genders) The latter kind of ekaśesa is of restricted use In such a compound when a male and female are associated together only the word in the masculine gender remains or the word 'pitr' when compounded with mātr (vide Pān. I. 2. 67 and I 2 70). There fore we have two forms to denote the idea of parents viz. *mātāpitarau* or *pitarau*. In dissolving this compound (*pitarau*) we employ the phraseology 'mātā ca pitā ca' and in the word 'mātāpitarau' the word for mother comes first. Therefore among parents as heirs mother should come first Vide pp. 242-244 of my notes to the V. Mayūkha (ed. of text) where both the Mit. passage and its criticism by the V. Mayūkha are explained at length. In *Balkrishna v. Lakshman* 14 Bom. 605 both the Mit. and Mayūkha's criticism thereof are set out (pp. 608-609).

contain no such direction, all grammatical works like the Kāśikā dissolve the compound as 'mātā ca pitā ca' and grammatical usage for centuries supports the argument that the word mātā comes first[1391]. The argument about the mother being nearer is quite specious Looked at from the son (whose inheritance is in question), the mother and father are both equally proximate. The V. P. holds that according to the maxim that even a slight ground of difference leads one to determine (priority) the mother should be preferred to the father (since we dissolve the compound as *mātā ca pitā ca*). The V. P. (p 525) further tries to get over the text of Visnu (putting the father before the mother) by explaining that if the mother is most worthy as a *pativratā* and the father an ordinary man she should be preferred but if the father is more worthy than the mother he should be preferred. Hardly any one supports V. P. and the courts have not followed this. Owing to the difference of opinion among the digests on the question of the preference between parents as heirs, queer results follow. For example, in the province of Bombay itself the father is preferred as an heir to the mother in Gujerat, the island of Bombay and in Northern Konkan (because in these regions the V. Mayūkha has been held to be of paramount authority), while in the rest of the Bombay Presidency the mother is preferred to the father as an heir. The mother takes a limited interest as an heir which is the same as the interest taken by a widow as heir to her husband. The father would take an absolute interest. The word mother includes an adoptive mother; that is, if an adopted son dies leaving no son, widow, daughter or daughter's son, the adoptive mother would succeed[1392] to him as an heir (and even in preference to the adoptive father in those provinces where the Mit. is the supreme authority). In the case of a dvyāmusyāyana adoption, if the son adopted in that form dies leaving only his adoptive mother and natural mother, it has been held that both the mothers take his estate

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1391. विग्रहवाक्ये यद्यपि पूर्वनिपातनियमो नाद्यशासनसिद्धस्तथापि व्याख्यातृसम्प्रदायसिद्धोऽस्त्येव । न हि क्वापि पिता च माता च पितराविति विगृह्यन्त इष्यते । किं तु माता च पिता च पितरावित्येवेत्यणुरपि विशेषोऽध्यवसायकर इति न्यायेन तस्यापि विनिगमकता संभवतीत्यनेनाशयेन तथोक्तं. संभवः । व्य. म. 525.

1392 Vide *Ananda v Hari Suba* 33 Bom. 404 (where, in the case of a simple adopted son, the adoptive mother was preferred to the adoptive father).

as co-heiresses [1393] It has further been held that if, after succeeding as adoptive mother to a dvyāmusyāyana son, the adoptive mother again adopts a son, the latter does not deprive the natural mother of the half share taken by her as heir of the deceased dvyāmusyāyana son.

The word 'mother' in the Mit. does not include a step-mother. The latter is not recognised as an heir of her step-son at all in the whole of India (except in Bombay) on account of the rule of the exclusion of women from inheritance [1394] except where texts expressly mention them as heirs and the property would go to the crown instead of to the step-mother, if the latter alone were left, but she would be entitled to maintenance In Bombay the step-mother would inherit as the widow of a gotraja sapinda, but she is assigned a remote [1395] place among gotraja sapindas If a widow remarries and then her son by her first husband dies without leaving a child, a widow, a daughter or daughter's son his remarried mother is allowed to inherit to him by the [1396] Bombay High Court, though if she inherited first as a mother and then remarried, she is held by the same court to forfeit the inheritance taken (on account of section 2 of the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856).

The mother succeeding to her son takes only a limited estate i. e. she cannot alienate it except for legal necessity If Vijñāneśvara's definition of strīdhana be literally interpreted even property inherited from a son would be strīdhana. There is a striking example in E. I. vol. XIV p. 83 (the Śrīrangam plates of Mummadi Nāyaka in śake 1280) where a mother inheriting a village granted to her son Parāśarabhatta made a gift of it to the god Ranganātha at Śrīrangam.

1393 *Basappa v. Gurlingawa* 57 Bom. 74 (which holds that the adoptive mother and natural mother inherit equally). Vide *Kantawa v. Sangangowda* I. L. R. (1942) Bom 303 for the effect of adoption by the adoptive mother on the estate taken by the natural mother from a dvyāmusyāyana son.

1394. Vide *Rama Nand v Surgiani* 16 All 221; *Tahaldai v. Gaya Pershad* 37 Cal 214; *Seethai v Nachiar* 37 Mad. 286, all holding that the step-mother does not inherit to her step-son

1395. Vide *Kesserbai v. Valab* 4 Bom. 188 at p. 208 (for holding that 'step-mother' is not included in the term 'mother' in the Mit., but that she would inherit as the widow of a gotraja sapinda and so as gotraja sapinda herself). In this case numerous authorities are examined at length.

1396. Vide *Basappa v. Rayava* 29 Bom. 91 (F. B) for remarried mother inheriting to her son (by the first husband) dying after her remarriage.

Brothers (bhrātarah) and *brother's sons*. Acc. to both Yāj. and Visnu, on failure of the parents the brothers succeed and on failure of brothers, brother's sons inherit. There were apparently conflicting texts, Śankha, Manu (IX. 185) and others giving the inheritance to the brothers even before the parents. All these are somehow reconciled and almost all digests from the Mit. downwards are agreed that brothers inherit after the parents But again a conflict of views ensues. The Mit says that among brothers, those of full blood inherit in preference to half brothers (i. e. sons of the same father but sprung from a different mother). It then says that on failure of both kinds of brothers, the inheritance goes to brother's sons; but even here the sons of full brothers are preferred to sons of half brothers This view of the Mit. is shared by the Dāyabhāga and almost all eminent writers of digests except the author of the V. Mayūkha. The Mit. prefers the full brother to the half brother on the ground that the full brother has particles of the bodies of both the father and the mother of the deceased, while the half brother has only the particles of the father's body (the mother being different) Therefore the full brother is nearer than the half brother. The Dāyabhāga argues[1397] that the full brother offers pindas to the same three paternal ancestors and the same three maternal ancestors to whom the deceased was bound to offer pindas and is to be preferred to the half brother who offers pindas to the three paternal ancestors of the deceased alone (but not to the maternal ancestors of the deceased). This view of spiritual benefit being the governing principle in preferring the full brother to the half brother is accepted by Aparārka (p. 745) [1398] The reasons of the V. Mayūkha for preferring even the full brother's son to the half brother are: the word 'brothers' principally stands for 'brothers of the whole blood' (*sodara*) and only secondarily for brothers of the half blood. The general rule of Mīmāmsā[1399] is that the same word is

1397. सापत्नस्य च सोदरान्मृतदेवर्षादपौरुषिकपिण्डदातुर्मृतभोग्यमात्रपित्रादिपिण्डप्रदातृतया जघन्यत्वात् । दायभाग XI. 5 12.

1398. संप्रदानकारकीभूतानां पित्रादीनां त्रयाणां चोदकादिदाता यश्च तत्सन्ततिजोन्योपि तेषामेवोदकादिदाता स तस्य प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्ड· । तदत्र तु सोदरो भ्राताऽतिशयेन प्रत्यासन्न· समानसप्रदानोदकादिदातृत्वात् । अपरार्क p 745.

1399 मुख्य एव विनियोक्तव्यो मन्त्रो न गौण इति । कुतः उभयाशक्यत्वात् । शबर on जै. III. 2 1. Compare दायभाग III. 30 p 67 (quoted on p 606 n. 1145) and न ह्येकस्मिन्प्रकरणे एकस्मिंश्च वाक्ये एकः शब्दः सकृदुच्चरितो बहुभिः संबध्यमानः क्वचिन्मुख्य क्वचिद्गौण इत्यध्यवसातुं शक्यम् । वैरूप्यप्रसङ्गात् । शारीरकभाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र II 4 3. Vide 6 Cal 119, 126 (F. B.) quoted in 41 I. A 290, 303–4 for this maxim.

not to be understood in the same sentence or rule as used in the primary and also in the secondary sense. Just as the word 'mother' applies only to the natural mother (and not to the step-mother), so bhrātarah should not include both full and half brothers. The V. Mayūkha is however wrong. As pointed out by the Dāyabhāga, when Yāj wants to speak of the full brother he employs the words '*sodara*' (Yāj. II. 138) and when he wants to refer to the half brother he employs the word '*anyodarya*' or '*anyamātrja*' (Yāj. II. 139). Therefore the word 'bhrātarah' applies to both full and half brothers in the primary sense. There are other smrti texts such as that of the Smrti-sangraha stating that brothers are of two kinds viz. those of full blood and those of half blood.[1400]

The Sm.[1401] C. II. 300 refutes the view of some that the word 'bhrātarah' in Yāj. is an *ekaśesa dvandva* compound that it means 'brothers and sisters' according to Pān. I. 2 68' (*bhrātr-putrau svasr-duhitrbhyām*) and that on failure of brothers sisters inherit. The V. Mayūkha[1402] also does not accept this interpretation of 'bhrātarah' advanced by some, since there is no reason why 'bhrātarah' should be taken as an *ekaśesa* of the *vrūpa* kind (which is restricted only to rare cases) and not of the *sarūpa* kind. The Bālambhattī supports the wider interpretation of 'bhrātarah' and at one time the Bombay High Court was inclined to accept this

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1400 सोदर्याः सन्त्यसोदर्या भ्रातरो द्विविधा यदि । विद्यमानेष्वसोदर्येषु सोदर्या एव भागिनः ॥ संग्रह q. by स्मृतिच II p 300, व्य प्र p. 527

1401. यद्यपि भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वस्दुहितृभ्यामिति शाब्दस्मृत्या पुत्रेभ्य इत्यत्र विरूपैकशेषं कृत्वा दुहितृणामनुप्रवेशोऽत्र कर्तुं शक्यते तथापि दुर्मांसो दायादा न स्त्रिय.—तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीः—इति श्रुतेरित्येतेनेदं निरस्तं यत्कैश्चिदुक्तम् । स्मृतिच II p. 300 पुत्रेभ्यः refers to Āp Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 1. Bhrātarah, if it means only brothers, would be an ekaśeṣa of the *sarūpa* kind, but if it means 'brothers and sisters', it will be an ekaśesa of the *vrūpa* kind. The latter is to be resorted to only where there is a special reason to do so, as in the sentence 'bring two kukkutas, we shall make a pair of sponses' (and then kukkutau means a cock and a hen, while ordinarily it would mean 'two cocks'). कारणान्तरादेव हि कुक्कुटावानय मिथुनीकरिष्याम इत्येवमादौ विरूपैकशेषावगतिः । स्मृतिच II. p. 300.

1402 केचित्तु भ्रातर इत्यत्र भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वस्दुहितृभ्यामित्यनुशासनाद् भ्रातरश्च स्वसारश्च भ्रातर इति विरूपैकशेषेण भ्रात्रभावे भगिन्य इत्याहुस्तच्च । विरूपैकशेषे मानाभावात् । व्य. मयूख p. 142 ; भ्रातृपुत्रौ इत्येकशेषेण भ्रातृपक्षसिद्धान्तरीत्या पूर्वं भ्राता तदभावे स्वसा । बालम्भट्टी on व्यवहार p. 209.

interpretation.[1403] The above shows that some at least of the medieval and later Hindu jurists were more sympathetic and well disposed to the enlargement of the rights of women, though their views failed to secure general acceptance It has been held that brothers by the same father (though by different mothers) are preferred to brothers by the same mother (though by different fathers), it being pointed out that "there is no provision in the Mitāksarā or elsewhere for the sons born of the same mother after her remarriage being treated as brothers of the same womb for the purpose of inheritance so as to be included in the meaning of the word 'bhrātaraḥ' used in the texts."[1404] But Nandapandita expressly provides in his Vaijayantī the following order of succession among brothers and sisters of the whole and of the half blood · (1) brothers of the whole blood, (2) sisters of the whole blood, (3) brothers who are sons of the same father, (4) brothers who are sons of the same mother (vide Jolly T. L. L pp. 208 and 287). Because Manu IX. 217 says that the wealth of a childless man is taken by the mother and that if the mother be dead, the father's mother would take it, the Sm. C. II. p. 299 places the paternal grandmother before the brothers, but it stands almost alone in this and the Mit. observes[1405] that Manu does not lay down the order but only provides that the paternal grand-mother is an heir capable of inheriting. The V. P. (p. 527) expresses its dissatisfaction with this method of the Mit. whereby only Yāj. and Visnu are deemed to lay down the order in which heirs

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1403 *Sakharam v. Sitabai* 3 Bom. 353 at p. 359–368 (where the Mayūkha, Nandapandita and Bālambhattī on the interpretation of 'brothers' in Yāj. are referred to), but vide *Mulji v. Cursandas* 24 Bom 563 and *Bhagwan v Warubai* 32 Bom 300 for the proposition that the interpretation of the Bālambhattī has not been accepted by the courts as authoritative so far as the districts governed by the Mit. are concerned

1404. Vide *Ekoba v. Kashiram* 46 Bom 716 at p 718. In *Narayan v. Laxman* 51 Bom. 784 it was held that the sister of a prostitute is entitled to succeed to the prostitute's property as a sapinda before the property goes to the Crown by escheat, relying (at p. 793) on the analogy afforded by a passage from the Vaijayantī of Nandapandita on the Visnudharmasūtra quoted in Dr. Jolly's T. L. L. on 'Partition &c.' pp 208 and 287. तत्र प्रथमं समानमातापितृका भ्रातरो गृह्णीयुः । ... तदभावे समानमातापितृका भगिन्यो गृह्णीयुः । तदभावे तु वेपि (भिन्नोदरा) गृह्णीयुः । ... तत्रापि प्रथमं समानपितृका. पश्चात्समानमातृका बीजस्य प्राधान्यात्पश्यास्तेश्च क्रमनियामकत्वात् । वैजयन्ती.

1405 पितुर्माता धनं हरेदित्यस्य वचनस्य धनग्रहणाधिकारमात्रपरत्वादुत्कर्षे तत्सुतानन्तरं पितामही गृह्णातीत्यविरोधः । मिता. on या. II, 135.

take, while Manu, Śankha and others are deemed to be only concerned with declaring the right of certain persons to inherit.

The V. Mayūkha proposes a special order of inheritance as follows:—(1) full brothers; (2) then full brother's sons, (3) the gotraja sapindas of whom the first is the paternal grandmother, (4) then the sister, (5) then the paternal grandfather and the half brother at the same time, (6) then the paternal great-grandfather, paternal uncle and the half brother's son together. It should be noted that this conjoint inheritance by heirs of different degrees of ascent and descent which is peculiar to the Mayūkha has been regarded by the Bombay High Court as unknown in practice and obsolete [1406] Therefore it is probable that even in districts governed by the Mayūkha the order of heirs after the paternal grandmother and full sister would be half brother, then half sister and then half brother's son and then it will be the same both according to the Mit and the Mayūkha.

The Mit. does not expressly mention the sister at all but the Bombay High Court has held her to be a very near heir even where the Mit. is paramount, placing her after the brothers (whether full or half), brother's sons (whether of the whole blood or half blood) and paternal grandmother, the difference from the Mayūkha being that under the latter the full sister comes only after the full brothers and full brother's sons and paternal grandmother and before half brothers and half brother's sons.

One passage of the Mayūkha, being wrongly translated by Borradaile, has led the courts (including the P. C.) to decide that full brothers succeed along with the sons of a deceased full brother wherever the Mayūkha is supreme. The passage of the Mayūkha as translated by Borradaile (vide Stokes H. L. Books p. 88, IV. 8. 17) runs "the sons of a brother also, if themselves fatherless, at the time of the paternal uncle's death, provided they are capable of understanding (the use of) property, will divide the father's share with their father's other brothers, after the example 'among grandsons by different fathers, the allotment of shares is according to the fathers'".

1406 Vide *Sakharam v. Sitabai* 3 Bom. 353 at p. 363; *Kesserbai v. Valab* 4 Bom. 188 at p 208.

The text of the Mayūkha is given in the note below. It is[1407] almost the same as a passage of the Mitāksarā, which has not been misunderstood. Both passages contemplate a case like this A dies leaving B, C, D, his brothers, as his nearest heirs, so that A's estate vests in interest in B, C, D. Before the estate of A is actually divided by metes and bounds, B dies leaving three sons E, F, G. The last three had no right to the property of A at their uncle A's death because their father B was living at the time (i. e. *pitrvyamaranakāle jivatpitrkatayā asañjāta-dhanasambandhāh*). Yet when the property is later on actually to be divided they (E, F, G) will take the share which their father B would have taken if the property of A had been divided at the moment of A's death. Here a distinction is drawn between vesting of property (*dhanasambandha*) and its actual partition. But, in order to entitle nephews to take by actual partition, their father should have survived the deceased. This is the real meaning.

The Privy[1408] Council, following a wrong translation, held that, under the law of the V. Mayūkha, brothers and the sons

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1407. भ्रातृपुत्रा अपि पितृव्यमरणकाले जीवत्पितृकतयासञ्जातधनसम्बन्धाश्चेत्–अनेक-पितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना—इति न्यायेन पित्र्यमंशं पितृव्यान्तरैः सह विभज्य गृह्णीयुः । व्य. मयूख p 142, it appears that Borradaile read °मरणकालेऽजीवत्पितृकतया and misunderstood असञ्जातधनसम्बन्धाः. Compare मिता. 'यदा त्वपुत्रे भ्रातरि स्वर्याते तद्भ्रातृणामविशेषेण धनसम्बन्धे जाते भ्रातृधनविभागात्प्रागेव यदि कश्चिद् भ्राता मृतस्तदा तद्पुत्राणां पितृतोधिकारे प्राप्ते तेषां भ्रातृणां च विभज्य धनग्रहणे पितृतो भागकल्पनेति युक्तम्।'. Vide व्य. प्र p 528 for a passage similar to the Mit. The मदनरत्न (folio 101 a) and मद्. पा. p 672 have also a similar passage

1408 Vide *Chandika v Muna* L. R. 29 I A. 70 where this rule was applied to Ahhan Thakurs that had migrated from Gujerat to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh before the V. Mayūkha was composed, on the ground that the Mayūkha only embodied and defined pre-existing customs. There was thus a double error. The Mayūkha was misunderstood and further the Mayūkha had nothing to do with Gujerat usages as it was composed by a Mahārāstra brāhmana whose family had migrated to Benares. It may be true to some extent as a general proposition that commentators and digest writers embody pre-existing customs of the districts where they wrote. But often times this is not so and varying statements of the law are due to individual opinions For example, the Mayūkha provides for the simultaneous succession of the paternal great-grandfather, the paternal uncle and the half brother's son ; but the Bombay High Court has discarded this view of the Mayūkha. The Mayūkha places the father before the mother as an heir, but V. T. composed by Nilakantha's own first cousin

(*Continued on the next page*)

of a brother that died *before* the propositus (the brother inheritance to whom is in question) shared the estate of the latter. This erroneous decision has been persisted in to this day on the principle of *stare decisis* The view of the Vaijayantī about the sons of the same woman from different husbands being sapindas of each other has already been noted (p. 727). Govindarāja on Manu III. 11 says that it is wellknown that children of different fathers but of the same mother are spoken of as brother and sister. Kullūka on Manu III 11 refers to this view of Govindarāja.[1409]

A question arises whether the distinction between full blood and half blood made by the Mit in the case of brothers and nephews was to be carried beyond them Though a Full Bench[1410] of the Bombay High Court held that the distinction was not to be carried beyond brothers and nephews and that paternal uncles of the half blood inherited along with paternal uncles of the full blood, the Privy Council overruled this decision and held that the preference of the whole blood to the half blood extends to all sapindas of the same degree from the common ancestor (and therefore a paternal uncle of the whole blood excludes one of the half blood) The Madanapārijāta[1411] p. 674 expressly extends the preference of the whole blood to paternal uncles.

(*Continued from the last page*)

places the mother before the father (folios 139–140). Following this case it was held in *Haridas v Ranchoidas* 5 Bom L R 516 that the son of a predeceased brother inherited along with the brothers of the deceased. This rule is not to be carried beyond brothers and brothers' sons. In *Kesarlal v Jagubhai* 49 Bom 282 the differing translations of the Mayūkha were referred to (at p 286), it was held that the principle of *stare decisis* required that the Privy Council decision should be followed and the estate of a deceased brother was allowed to devolve on the sons of a brother that had died *before* the deceased along with the surviving brother.

1409 भिन्नपितृकयोरप्येकमातृकयोर्भ्रातृत्वमसिद्धं । गोविन्दराज on मनु III 11.

1410 Vide *Shankar v. Kashinath* 51 Bom 194 (F B.), where the relevant texts are discussed, over-ruled in *Mahant Garuddas v Mahant Laldas* L R 60 I A 189

1411. पितुरभावे भ्रातृणामिव पितामहस्याभावे पितृव्यास्त्रापि सोदरभिन्नोदरत्वयोः पूर्ववदेव । साक्षात्पितामहीपुत्रा प्रथमं धनभाजस्तदभावे सापत्नपितामहीपुत्रा । मद. पा. p 674.

It is noteworthy that the Vīramitrodaya which generally follows the Mit invokes the principle of spiritual benefit in preferring the full brother's son to the half brother's son [1412]

The heirs from the wife to the brother's sons are spoken of as 'baddhakrama' (lit whose order is fixed) in the Mit., the V. Mayūkha (p. 143) and other works and as 'the compact series (of heirs)' in the case law For example, in rejecting the view of some that rely on Manu IX. 217 that the father's mother succeeds immediately after the mother, it is said that the heirs from the parents to the brother's son being mentioned in a fixed order (by Yāj.), no place can be found for the father's mother in the fixed series of heirs and that Manu IX. 187 indicates only this that the father's mother is an heir.[1413] The V. Mayūkha relies on the popular maxim that when certain persons are specially invited for a meeting or a dinner they are seated on seats definitely allotted to them but that those who come uninvited are assigned places at the end of the row of those who were specially invited [1414]

The question arises whether the brother's son's son inherits immediately after the brother's son and before any other heir. There is a conflict among Sanskrit writers on this point. The Sm. C. II p. 300,[1415] the Subodhinī, the Madanapārijāta (p. 673) say that the compact series ends with the brother's son, while Aparārka, Varadarāja (V. Nir. p. 453) and the Vaijayantī of Nandapaṇḍita hold that the brother's son's son comes immediate-

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1412 युक्तं चैतत्। असोदरभ्रातृपुत्रो हि धनिनो मातर विहाय स्वपितामहीविशिष्टस्य धनिपिण्डं ददातीति सोदरभ्रातृपुत्राज्जघन्यस्तदनन्तरमेवाधिकारीति। व्य म. p. 528.

1413. मातर्यपि च वृत्तायां पितुर्माता धन हरेदिति मात्रनन्तरं पितामह्या धनग्रहणे माते पित्रादीनां भ्रातृसुतपर्यन्तानां बद्धक्रमत्वेन मध्येऽस्यप्रवेशाभावात्। मिता on या II. 135, पक्षपीयं (पितामही) मातुरनन्तरं श्रुता तथापि बद्धक्रमभ्रातृपुत्रान्तेषु मध्ये निवेशायोगादग्रान्नूनामन्ते निवेश इतिवद् भ्रातृपुत्रान्ते निवेश्या। व्य मयूख p. 143.

1414. For आगन्तूनामन्ते निवेश., vide शबर on जै X. 5 1 'यथा समाजेषु समासेषु च ये आगन्तवो भवन्ति ते पूर्वपविद्यानुपमृद्यैव निविशन्ते एवमिहापि द्रष्टव्यम्।' *Vide also* शबर on जै. V. 2 19, शारीरकभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र IV. 3 3 and भामती 'आगन्तूनां निवेशोन्ते स्थानाभावात् प्रसाधित'. In *Mohandas v Krishnabai* 5 Bom. 597 this maxim is quoted and it is said that it applies only to the compact series of heirs and that it does not apply to the list of bandhus enumerated by Nilakantha (p 602) The maxim is also relied on in *Govind Bhaushet v Bhiku* 46 Bom L R. 699

1415 गोत्रजा इति धनभाज इति शेष। गोत्रजशब्दोऽत्र गोबलीवर्दन्यायात् पूर्वोक्तपितृभ्रातृतत्सुतव्यतिरिक्तपितामहसुतादिगोत्रजेषु वर्तते। Sm C II p 300, vide V. P. p. 528 for almost the same words.

ly after the brother's son. A Full Bench of the[1416] Bombay High Court holds, basing its decision on the usage of the province, that the compact series ends with the brother's son, while the Privy Council would seem to lend colour to the view that in the Benares school it ends with the brother's *son's* son. The Dāyabhāga (XI. 6. 6 p. 208) places the brother's son's son immediately after the brother's son on the ground of the superior efficacy of the pindas offered by him.

Gotrajas (lit. 'those born in the same gotra' or agnates). Yāj. says that on failure of the heirs up to brother's sons the gotrajas succeed. Though one's father, brothers and brother's sons also are really gotrajas, they are expressly assigned certain fixed places in the order of heirs and other persons born in the gotra are included in the term gotrajas on the analogy of such an example as 'let the cattle be brought and also the bulls' where the bulls, though really included under 'cattle' (*gāvah*), are separately mentioned in order to emphasize that special attention must be paid to them on account of their intractable nature. Vide p 526 note 966 above. Acc. to the Mit. gotrajas are the father's mother (as the first among them), then other sapiṇḍas and samānodakas. The V. Mayūkha (p 143) also says the same thing and places the father's mother as the first among gotraja sapindas. It may be remarked that Yāj. avoids the word sapiṇḍa and employs the word gotraja. The Mit. and Mayūkha state that sapindas succeed as heirs and that sapindas are of two kinds, viz. *gotrajas* (born in or having the same gotra as the *propositus*) and those that are born in (or are of) a different gotra. These latter (viz *bhinnagotra sapiṇḍas*) are designated as *bandhus* by Yāj. Therefore it comes to this that, though Yāj. does not employ the word sapinda, the inheritance goes after the brother's son to the nearest sapinda. Yāj. knew the word 'sapiṇḍa' (I. 52) and defines the limits of sapinda relationship for marriage (in I. 53), from which it follows that he does not use the word sapinda in the sense given to the word by Jīmūtavāhana In I 68 Yāj mentions both sapinda and sagotra (in the matter of *niyoga*) and thereby indicates two things viz. that the words were not synonymous and that sagotra had the same sense as gotraja

1416. Vide *Appaji v Mohanlal* 54 Bom 564 (F B), in which *Buddha Singh v. Lalta Singh* L. R 42 I. A. 208 was distinguished on the ground that it was not an express decision on the question whether the compact series of heirs ended with the brother's son.

Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 14. 2 provides[1417] that 'on failure of sons the nearest sapiṇḍa' (inherits). Manu[1418] IX. 187 is the classical text on this point, which appears to mean literally, 'whoever is nearest from among the sapindas, to him the estate (of the deceased) shall belong'. This verse has been variously explained by the commentators and digests and variously translated by eminent Judges and writers on Hindu Law. The chief difficulty lies in the expression 'sapindādyaḥ' and the words 'tasya tasya'. Some take the first as equal to two words 'sapiṇḍāt yah' and others as one word 'sapindādyah' (sapiṇḍa and the like). Some take one 'tasya' (of him) as referring to the deceased and the other to the inheritor; while others take 'tasya tasya' as both referring to the inheritor alone, corresponding to 'yah' (one more 'yah' being suppressed for the sake of metre) Though the printed text and most of the commentaries read the half verse of Manu as in the note below there are several digests that read it differently. For example, the Sm. C II. p. 301 reads it as 'yo yo hyanantarah pindāt' and quotes Dhāreśvara's explanation that 'pindāt' means 'sapiṇḍāt'. Kullūka and the Dāyatattva p. 195 explain 'sapiṇḍāt' as 'sapindamadhyāt' (from among sapiṇḍas) and this appears to be the best explanation. Br.[1419] (S. B. E. 33 p. 379 verse 62)

1417. पुत्राभावे यः प्रत्यासन्नः सपिण्डः । आप ध सू II. 6. 14 2.

1418. अनन्तर. सपिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । Manu IX. 187. Vide Bühler's note on this in S. B. E. vol. 25 pp. 366-368 for the varying interpretations of commentators. Bühler is not right when he emphatically says· "On philological grounds it seems to me improbable that 'anantarah sapindāt' can mean anything else than 'nearest to the sapinda' and that this sapinda can be anybody else than the deceased". In the first place the singular 'sapindāt' can be easily interpreted as used in a generic sense (*jātāvekavacanam*) i. e. as meaning 'sapiṇḍebhyaḥ' (from among sapindas). In Āp, Br. and other works wherever inheritance is spoken of, it is the *inheritor* who is required to be the *sapinda* or *bāndhava* or *sakulya* and the deceased is hardly anywhere spoken of as the sapinda of the inheritor but rather as 'mṛta', 'svaryāta', 'dhanin' &c. The verse of Manu is variously read. अनन्तरः सपिण्डो यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । व्यव नि. p 451, मदनरत्न (folio 100 a), यो यो ह्यनन्तरः पिण्डात्तस्य तस्य धनं भवेत् । . तदेतद् धारेश्वरो व्याचष्टे यो यो ह्यनन्तरः पिण्डादित्यत्र पिण्डात्सपिण्डादित्यर्थो द्रष्टव्य· । स्मृतिच II 301, व्यवहारसार p 254 reads as यो यो as in स्मृतिच 'अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्य इत्यनेन यः सपिण्डात्सन्निहित· तस्य सपिण्डसन्निहितस्य धनं सपिण्डस्य सन्निहितस्य धनं भवेदिति विहितत्वात् । सुबोधिनी p. 71.

1419 बहवो ज्ञातयो यत्र सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा । यस्त्वासन्नतरस्तेषा सोऽनपत्यधनं हरेत् ॥ बृह. q. by स्मृतिच II. p 301, मदनरत्न (folio 101 a), परा. मा III p 529, दायतत्त्व p 195, व्य. प्र p 527. The स्मृतिच and मदनरत्न explain ज्ञातय· सपिण्डाः सकुल्या· समानोदका । बान्धवा ... स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शिता· आत्मपितृव्यसु· पुत्रा ० ।

says, 'when there are several *agnates*, *sakulyas* and *bāndhavas* (cognates), whosoever of them is the nearest shall take the wealth of him that dies without issue'

The important question is what is the meaning of the word 'sapinda'. The Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga propound two different meanings of the word that have been explained at length in II. of Dh vol. II, pp. 452–458 and 472–477 Therefore it is not necessary to repeat those explanations The word 'sapinda' is employed by Pāṇini (IV. 1 165) in connection with the technical definition of *gotra* (Pān. IV. 1. 162) given by him. It appears to have been used in the sense of blood relationship as stated by the Kāśikā. According to the Mit. the right to inheritance depends upon blood relationship (connection through particles of the same body, *ekaśarīrāvayavānvaya*) and the preference among those who are blood relations is determined by nearness or propinquity (*pratyāsatti*) According to the Dāyabhāga, sapinda relationships is based on religious efficacy i. e. on the capacity to offer the cake or ball of rice in śrāddha and it has evolved a peculiar method of determining preference which will be explained immediately below. That there appears to have been a close connection between taking the wealth of the deceased and offering srāddha to him may be admitted But the question is whether a person was deemed to be an heir and entitled to take the estate of the deceased because he offered śrāddha to that person or whether the heirship was originally determined on other grounds and whoever took the estate was saddled with the responsibility of performing śrāddhas for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. It is difficult to give a convincing answer to this. It appears, however, that ancient sūtras do not emphasize the religious efficacy of pindas as the determining principle in heirship. Āp., Manu, Br. (particularly the first and last) speak only of nearness (which more naturally means 'nearness of blood'). Yāj omits the word sapinda altogether in mentioning heirs Manu IX. 142 states that pinda follows the gotra and riktha (wealth) Viṣnu Dh. S. XV. 40 declares, 'whoever inherits the estate (of the deceased) has to offer pinda to him'. This rule is emphasized even by those works (like V. Mayūkha)[1420] that make blood relationship

1420 मृतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनोर्ध्वदेहिक दशाहान्त कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णु । यश्चार्थहर स पिण्डदायी स्मृत—इति । व्य. मयूख p. 145, यो धनमादत्ते स तस्मै श्राद्धं कुर्यात्पिण्ड च त्रिपुरुषं दद्यात् । स्मृति q by अपरार्क p 746, मेधा on मनु IX 132, वि र p 599 and बालम्भट्टी II p 207 (ascribes to वृद्धशातातप) त्रयाणा तुल्योपकारित्वं च पार्वणनिधिना पिण्डदानेन स्पष्टम् । व्य म. 504

the test of heirship by saying that whoever even including the king (who takes by escheat on failure of all heirs) that takes the estate of the deceased must perform or arrange for the performance of the funeral ceremonies of the deceased up to 10 days after death and the śrāddhas, as said by the Brahmapurāṇa 220 79 (tadabhāve ca nṛpatiḥ kārayettvakutumbināṃ tajjātiyair-naraiḥ samyak-dāhādyāḥ sakalāḥ kriyāḥ) The Mit. view is upheld by V. R, V. C., Par. M., Madanapārijāta, Saraswatīvilāsa, V. Mayūkha, Bālambhaṭṭī and many other works. The theory of the Dāyabhāga is propounded by only a few medieval works and writers like Aparārka (quoted above on p 725), Raghunandana, Nandapandita. The Vīramitrodaya generally follows the Mit. but in certain cases it relies on or refers to the principle of religious efficacy in preferring one heir to another, as for example, in preferring the full brother to the step-brother (compare note 1397 and V. P p 528) or in preferring three male descendants to the widow It is therefore that the Privy Council remark,[1421] 'now it is absolutely clear that under the Mitākṣarā while the right of inheritance arises from blood relationship or community of blood, in judging of the nearness of blood relationship or propinquity among the gotrajas the test to be applied to discover the preferential heir is the capacity to offer oblations'. Its position is peculiar.[1422] It says that the capacity to offer pindas is not the governing principle as to heirship, but it is only useful in finding out the preferential heir among gotrajas.

Viṣṇu quoted by the Mit (not found in the printed Dharmasūtra) prescribes: 'If there be no son or grandson left for continuing the line, the daughter's sons shall take the wealth, for in regard to the obsequies of ancestors daughter's sons are regarded as son's sons'. This is in line with Manu IX. 136 (cited above on p 720) which says that the daughter's son should offer the pinda and take the wealth. Therefore it appears that Manu, Viṣṇu and others relied upon the capacity for the offering of pinda as the reason for being entitled as heir, but that this idea was vague and not elaborated in any way. The idea that blood relationship settled the right to inheritance is implicit in the order of heirs in Yāj Yāj. (II. 127) in speaking of the ksetraja son says that he inherits the wealth of both (the

1421 Vide *Buddha Singh v. Lalta Singh* 42 I. A 208 at p 227.

1422 नहि पिण्डदानाधिकार एव दायग्रहणे प्रयोजकः, ज्येष्ठे सति कनीयसामनधिकारेपि दायग्रहणात्। गोत्रजादीना दायदराणामनेकेषा समवाये पिण्डदानाद्युपकारिस्व धनस्वामिनो यत्तद्नुपकारिण्यापत्तेऽपर न तु तदेव प्रयोजकम्। व्य. म p. 461.

begetter and the husband of the wife on whom he is begotten) *and* offers pinda to both. He *does not* state that because he offers pinda to both he inherits the wealth. So this verse also favours the view that offering of pinda was a duty laid upon him who took the wealth (except in the case of male issue). Hence it appears that the theory of the Mit. also has a very respectable antiquity and further it has been followed by most medieval writers throughout India (except in Bengal).

The argument of the Dāyabhāga (which was propounded before it by a writer probably named Udyota[1423]) that the taking of a deceased person's estate depends upon the spiritual benefit conferred on him is briefly as follows. It relies principally on Baud Dh. S and Manu. In the section on the partition of wealth (which begins from IX. 103) Manu (IX. 137) declares the super-eminent spiritual benefits conferred by the son, grandson and great-grandson; further (in IX. 106) Manu states that the son gets all wealth from his father because he frees the latter from *debt*, that (in IX. 139) the daughter's son also is spoken of as saving the grandfather in the next world and as therefore entitled to the grandfather's wealth, that the verse immediately preceding Manu IX. 187 (declaring that the nearest amongst sapindas inherits) speaks of the offering of pinda to three ancestors; and since it is reasonable to presume that the blind and the like are excluded from inheritance (Manu IX. 201) because they are incapable of performing religious rites, it follows that Manu and others regarded the taking of wealth as dependent on the conferring of spiritual benefit. This point of view the Dāyabhāga emphasizes at every step. It[1424] says: "There are two purposes for which wealth is acquired, viz. for worldly enjoyment and for the unseen or spiritual benefit derived from making gifts and the like; but when the acquirer is dead, he cannot have enjoyment of the wealth and the *only purpose that remains* is the unseen purpose or benefit. It is therefore that Br. says, 'from the wealth inherited, the inheritor should carefully set apart half for the benefit of the deceased for defraying the expenses of the

1423. उपकारकत्वेनैव धनसम्बन्धो न्यायप्राप्तो मन्वादीनामभिमत इति मन्यते । इति निरवद्यविद्योद्योतेन द्योतितोऽयमर्थो विद्वद्भिरादरणीयः । दायभाग XI 6. 31-32 p. 216.

1424 धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यदृष्टार्थत्वं च । तत्रार्जकस्य तु मृतत्वाद्भने भोग्यत्वाभावेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव शिष्टम् । अत एव बृहस्पतिः । सञ्चयात्तु धनादूर्ध्वं तदर्थं स्थापयेत् पृथक् । मासवार्ष्मासिके श्राद्धे वार्षिके च प्रयत्नतः ॥ दायभाग XI. 6. 13. The verse of बृह is q. by वि. र. p. 595, व्यव. नि. p. 447, विवादचन्द्र p. 81.

monthly, six-monthly and annual śrāddhas". The subject of śrāddhas will be dealt with in another volume. But here it is necessary to say a few words for making the position of the Dāyabhāga clear. Among the several kinds of śrāddhas two deserve notice, viz. *Ekoddiṣṭa* and *Pārvana.*[1425] The first (*ekoddiṣṭa*) is performed for the benefit of a single deceased person. There are sixteen such śrāddhas performed for the benefit of the deceased during the course of one year after his death or on the 11th day of death And every year on the anniversary of death an ekoddista śrāddha may be performed for a deceased person. The pārvana śrāddha is performed on certain specified days, such as the *amāvāsyā* of a month, or particularly in the dark half or on the *amāvāsyā* of Bhādrapada or on a *saṅkrānti*. In this śrāddha the three deceased paternal ancestors of the performer are principally invoked and the three deceased paternal ancestors of his mother are also invoked but their invocation is secondary and is dependent on the principal invocation. There is one more word that must be explained here viz. *sapiṇḍana* or *sapiṇḍīkarana*. This is a śrāddha rite performed one year after the death of a person or on the 12th day from his death. By this śrāddha the person recently deceased ceases to be a *preta* (a departed spirit) and is elevated to the rank of *pitṛs* (Manes). The widow and daughter can perform only the ekoddista śrāddha, while sons, grandsons and great-grandsons can perform the pārvana śrāddha also. The Dāyabhāga refers (XI. 1. 34 p. 162) to the fact that the three male descendants, by performing the pārvana śrāddha, confer great spiritual benefit on the owner (compare note 1342 above). Elsewhere (XI. 7. 17 p. 211) it designates the pārvana as 'traipurusika' (i e. performed for the benefit of three ancestors). When speaking of the right of the widow to inherit it emphasizes (XI. 1. 43 p 165), by quoting verses from Vyāsa,[1426] that

1425. 'एक॰ उद्दिष्ट॰ यस्मिन् श्राद्धे तदेकोद्दिष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम्' मिता. on या I 251, तत्र त्रिपुरुषोद्देशेन यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्। एकपुरुषोद्देशेन क्रियमाणमेकोद्दिष्टम्। मिता on या I 217. पार्वण means 'performed on a *parvan* day' Acc. to the विष्णुपुराण III 11. 118 the parvan days are, अमावास्या, पौर्णमा, चतुर्दशी, अष्टमी and रविसंक्रान्ति भविष्यपुराण q in श्राद्धतत्त्व p 192 defines the पार्वणश्राद्ध as 'अमावास्यां यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुदाहृतम्। क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्मृतिः'.

1426 तदाह व्यास॰। मृते भर्तरि साध्वी स्त्री ब्रह्मचर्यव्रते स्थिता। स्नाता प्रतिदिनं वृथा-स्वभर्त्रं सतिलाञ्जलीन्॥ ...लोकान्तरस्थं भर्तारमात्मानं च वरानने। तारयत्युभयं नारी नित्यं धर्म-परायणा॥ तदेवमादिभिर्वचनै पत्न्या अपि नरकनिस्तारकत्वश्रुते धनहीनतया वाकार्यं कुर्वती पुण्यापुण्यफलसमत्वेन भर्तारमपि पातयतीति तदर्थं तद्धनं पूर्वस्वाम्यर्थमेव भवतीति युक्तं पत्न्याः स्वाम्यम्। दायभाग XI. 1. 43-44 p. 165. This is quoted in व्य. प्र p 509.

a widow by leading a chaste life, by offering water mixed with sesame every day to her deceased husband, by making gifts and observing fasts saves himself and her husband in the next world. It adds that if the widow misbehaves she makes her husband fall, as husband and wife share in the fruits of each other's good and evil deeds. Therefore the widow takes her husband's wealth for his benefit Brhan-Manu (q. by the Dāyabhāga XI. 1. 7 and by the Mit.) declares that a sonless chaste widow should offer pinda to her husband and take his entire estate Similarly Prajāpati (cited above on p 709 and quoted by even the V. Mayūkha and other works of the Mitāksarā school) requires the widow who inherits all the movable and immovable property of her deceased husband to perform the monthly, six-monthly and annual śrāddhas of her husband.[1427] Similarly the Dāyabhāga allows the unmarried daughter or a married daughter having a son (or who is likely to have a son) to inherit because her son will offer pinda to the owner who will be the maternal grand-father. It prefers the daughter's son[1428] as an heir even to the father because the former offers a pinda to the owner himself, while the father offers pindas to two of the three paternal ancestors to whom the owner would have been bound to offer pindas. The D. B. winds up by saying[1429] that the order of inheritors must be followed in such a way that the wealth of the deceased may be most beneficial to (the soul of) the deceased. In certain respects the D. B. does not strictly and logically follow its own theory but is compelled to twist it by reason of the places assigned by special

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1427. On आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं मासषाण्मासिकाब्दिकम् (vide n 1358 above), वि. र p 590 says: केचित्त्विदया पार्वणमप्याहुस्तान्निषेधाय श्राद्धानि परिगणयति मासषाण्मासिकाब्दिकमिति । ... .. आदिशब्देन एकादशसपिण्डनप्रत्यब्दकर्तव्यक्षयाहश्राद्धानि गृह्यन्ते । अतो नान्यत्कुर्यात् ।'.

1428. पिण्डदानमेव च हेयोरेकं निमित्तमनुवदति बृहस्पतिः । यथा पितृधने स्वाम्यं तस्याः सत्स्वपि बन्धुषु । तथैव तत्सुतेऽपीष्टे मातृमातामहे धने । यथा चेन दौहित्रदेयपिण्डेन दुहिता पितृधनाधिकारिणी तथैव तेनैव पिण्डदानेन दुहितृसुतोऽपि मातामहधने स्वामी सत्स्वपि पित्रादिषु । दायभाग XI. 2. 17 p. 180.

1429. तस्माद्यथा यथा सूतधनस्य तदुपयुक्तत्वं भवति तथा तथाधिकारक्रमोऽनुसरणीयः । .. एवं च सर्वत्रोक्तरीत्या सूतधनस्य सूतार्थत्वमनुसन्धेयमुक्तक्रमेण । दायभाग XI 6. 28 and 30 p. 215 The last sentence is quoted by the दायतत्त्व p 197.

texts to certain heirs.[1430] For example, the order of heirs according to the D. B. is; son, grandson and great grandson; widow; daughter; daughter's son: father; mother; full brother; half brother; full brother's son; half brother's son. But the persons entitled to perform the śrāddha of the deceased in order are somewhat different. In fact the order of succession does not strictly follow in any school the order of those that are called *śrāddhādhikārins*. The order of those who are entitled to offer śrāddha to a deceased separated male (*śrāddhādhikārin*) given in most works is as follows; son (aurasa or adopted); grandson; great-grandson; widow; married daughter; unmarried daughter who has succeeded to the deceased's wealth; daughter's son who succeeds to the wealth; full brother; half brother (son of a different mother); full brother's son; half brother's son; father; mother; daughter-in-law; full sister; half sister; full sister's son; half sister's son; paternal uncle; paternal uncle's son; other gotraja sapiṇḍas; sodaka; any gotraja; cognates such as maternal grandfather, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son (i. e. the bandhus of the three kinds in order); pupil; son-in-law; father-in-law; friend; any brāhmana who takes a brāhmana's wealth or king who takes by escheat. Vide Nirnayasindhu III uttarārdha pp. 382–386, Dharmasindhu III uttarārdha pp. 368–369, Śrāddhaviveka p 48. If the principle of the capacity to offer or of the offering of pindas regulating the right to succeed is to be strictly and logically followed, there is no reason why the mother or the paternal grandmother should succeed immediately after the father or the paternal grandfather respectively. Her recognition in the D. B. school is due to the fact she is expressly mentioned in Manu as an heir. Similarly in the rules about the succession to re-united coparceners, the school of D. B. gives preference to re-united co-parceners and does not apply the theory of spiritual benefit. Further the Dāyatattva says that all that is required is the capacity

1430. Vide *Akshaya Chandra* v. *Haridas* 35 Cal 721 at p. 726 and *Nalinaksha* v. *Rajanikanta* 58 Cal. 1392 for the propositions that the doctrine of spiritual benefit cannot be applied consistently in all cases such as the succession of females to males, the succession of samānodakas &c. and that in cases not contemplated by Jimūtavāhana or his followers in the Bengal school, the principle of propinquity and of natural love and affection should be followed The Dāyatattva p. 195 after quoting Br. cited above observes that both the superiority of pindas offered and nearness of line are to be considered in inheritance, 'पिण्डदानसम्बन्धतारतम्येन आसन्नजननतारतम्येन च धनेष्वधिकारी'.

to receive pinda or the capacity to participate in the pinda offered by others and not the actual offering of pindas. For example, if a man performs srāddha for his ancestors, then dies, but no one performs his sapindana and therefore he does not participate in the pindas given to his ancestors, still his wealth will be inherited on the principle of religious efficacy [1431] Owing to considerations of space it is not possible to go into great detail about the several propositions established in relation to the theory of religious benefit as the determining factor in matters of inheritance. But the following propositions may be set out in one place:

(1) Benefits are conferred on the deceased by means of the *ekoddista* or the *pārvana śrāddha*. The capacity to perform the pārvana śrāddha is not the sole ground on which rests the right to inheritance to a man. Therefore the widow, the daughter and the pupil were recognized as heirs though they perform only the ekoddista śrāddha. But those who are competent to perform the pārvana śrāddha have a preferable claim to those who are entitled to perform only the ekoddista srāddha Therefore the male issue of a deceased person are preferred to a widow or daughter.

(2) Spiritual benefit is conferred on a man by presenting pinda directly to him or by offering pinda to one or more of his paternal ancestors to whom he presents pindas during his own life time and with whom he participates in pindas offered after his death by others or by offering a pinda to one or more of his maternal ancestors (mother's father, mother's father's father and the latter's father) to whom he was bound to offer pindas during his life (but with whom he does not participate in the pinda offered to them [1432]).

(3) The pinda offered to a man himself directly is of greater efficacy than the pinda offered to a paternal ancestor in which he participates after his own death as one of the Manes. Therefore the son, grandson or great-grandson is preferred to every one else. The brother offers a pinda to the father and two more

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1431 अथ यः खलु पिण्डान् दत्त्वैव मृत परतश्चामासपित्रभाव स कथं सपिण्ड इति पिण्डदातृत्वभोक्तृत्वलक्षणसम्बन्धाभावादिति चेत्तद्योग्यतयेति ब्रूम । योग्यतामपोज्झ्य च सामान्यशास्त्रविषयत्वम् । शुद्धितत्त्व p 397

1432. यश्च जीवन् यत्पिण्डदाता स मृत सपिण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता । तद यः सति भव्यरिक्थतः पुरुष पूर्वेषां जीवन् पिण्डदाता स मृत मन् सपिण्डनात् तत्पिण्डभोक्ता च। दायभाग XI. 1. 38 p. 163, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 396.

paternal ancestors of the deceased in which he (the deceased owner) only participates after his death. Therefore the brother is postponed to the son or daughter's son (who offers a pinda directly to the deceased himself as his maternal grandfather).

(4) The pindas offered to paternal ancestors have greater efficacy than those offered to maternal ancestors (hence a brother's son is preferred to a sister's son because the former offers pindas to his own and the owner's paternal ancestors, while the latter offers pindas to his maternal ancestors who are the paternal ancestors of the owner).

(5) The pinda offered to the owner's father is of greater efficacy than that offered to the paternal grandfather or great-grandfather. Therefore a brother's son or grandson is preferred to a paternal uncle [1433] Hence it should follow that all agnatic and cognatic descendants of the father of the deceased would be preferred to any descendant of the paternal grandfather or great-grandfather.

(6) Where the number of pindas offered by two claimants is the same, he who offers a pinda to the nearer ancestor is to be preferred.

The Dāyabhāga, strarting with Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113 ff), Manu (IX. 186–187) and the Matsyapurāna elaborates its own definition in the following[1434] way. A man's son and a daughter are both born in the family The daughter's son springs from the family of his maternal grandfather but he belongs to another gotra (viz his own father's gotra); similarly, a man's sister (i.e. father's daughter) is born in his family but her son, though mediately sprung from the deceased owner's family, belongs to another gotra (viz that of the sister's husband): the same is true of a father's sister's son and the paternal grandfather's sister's son. A sister's son offers a pinda to the father

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1433. पितृष्वो हि धनिनः पितामहमपितामहयोः पिण्डदः भ्रातृ. पुत्रस्तु धनिन प्रधानं पितरमेवादाय पुरुषद्वयस्य पिण्डदातेति स एव बलवानिति पितृव्यात्पूर्वमधिक्रियते। अत एव भ्रातृजापि पितृव्यस्य बाधकः मृतधनिकस्य पितु प्रधानस्यैव पिण्डदातृत्वात्। दायभाग XI 6 5–6.

1434 तस्माद्यो यत्तत्कुलोत्पन्नोऽतद्गोत्रोऽपि स्वदौहित्रापितृदौहित्रादिरतत्कुलोत्पन्नो मातुलादिर्धनिनो मृतस्य पितृमातृकुलगतत्रैपुरुषिकपिण्डदातृतया एकपिण्डसम्बन्धेन सपिण्ड तस्य तस्माप्यधिकारार्थं त्रयाणामिति वचनं, आनन्तर्येण च विशेषार्थमनन्तर इति वचनं वर्णनीयम्। तेन मृतभोग्यमृतदेयपित्राद्येष्वपिण्डदातृ पितृदौहित्रादेरभावे मृतदेयमातामहादिपिण्डदातृणा मातुलादीनामानन्तर्यक्रमेणाधिकारो बौद्धव्यः। दायभाग XI 6 19–20 p. 212. त्रयाणामुदक कार्यं is Manu IX. 186 and अनन्तर सपिण्डाद्य. is Manu IX. 187.

of the deceased, as the owner's father is the former's maternal grandfather and therefore he is connected as sapiṇḍa with the owner. A father's sister's son offers a piṇḍa to the paternal grandfather of the owner, who (paternal grandfather) is the maternal grandfather of the father's sister's son. A maternal uncle is not sprung even mediately from the family of the owner, but he offers a piṇḍa to his own father who is the maternal grandfather of the deceased owner. Therefore the maternal uncle or his son or son's son being connected with a piṇḍa that is offered to the maternal grandfather or maternal great-grandfather respectively of the deceased owner is a sapiṇḍa of the deceased owner. A maternal aunt's son also offers a piṇḍa to his mother's father, who is also the owner's mother's father and so the maternal aunt's son is a sapiṇḍa of the owner. The piṇḍas offered to the maternal ancestors by him are inferior and secondary. Further, one's own mother, the father's mother, father's father's mother were associated with their respective husbands as to the piṇḍas offered to the male ancestors and the same holds good about the wives of the maternal ancestors also.[1435]

The result of this way of defining a sapiṇḍa is to obliterate the distinction between a *gotraja* and a *bandhu*. Yāj (II. 136) expressly says that a bandhu can succeed only on failure of all gotrajas and so according to him a bandhu is one who is not a gotraja. The Dāyabhāga brings in the sister's son immediately after the the brother's son's son and before the paternal grandfather (i. e. even before a near agnatic ancestor) who is literally a *gotraja*, while the sister's son is literally not a *gotraja*. When the Dāyabhāga designates one's sister's son as sprung from the *kula* of the owner though not of the same gotra, he does violence to popular usage prevalent throughout India. An ordinary person in India hardly ever says that his sister's son or father's sister's son is born in his own *kula* The Dāyabhāga only quibbles over the word 'gotraja' in Yāj which it reads in the singular (gotrajah) and not in the plural (gotrajāḥ) as the Mit. does. Under the Mit. the sister's son is only a bandhu and cannot succeed before a paternal uncle or his son or a paternal grand-uncle or any other gotraja. The Dāyabhāga thus gives the go-by to the text of Yāj and shuffles in several

1435. मात्रादिशब्दाना स्वजननी-पितृजननी-पितामहजननीष्वेव मुख्यत्वात्तैरेव च पदैः श्राद्धेऽनुभवेशात्। यथा—स्वेन भर्त्रा सह श्राद्धं माता भुङ्क्ते स्वधामयम्। पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव प्रपितामही। सपत्नीमात्रादीना च पार्वणश्राद्धानुभवेशो निषिद्ध एव। दायभाग XI. 6. 3 p 207.

cognates as very near heirs The D. B. regards Manu IX. 186–187 as the crucial text and Yāj. II. 135–36 as only secondary.

The following diagrams will illustrate the working of the theory of religious efficacy. A person is a sapinda of those to whom he is bound to offer a pinḍa while he is alive, of those who on his death are bound to offer pinda to him (viz his three male descendants, his daughter's son, his son's daughter's son and his son's son's daughter's son) and of those who are bound to offer a pinda to the ancestors to whom he is bound to offer a pinda viz. to his three paternal ancestors and his three maternal ancestors and all of these are his sapindas The last of these three groups has four sub-groups :—sub-group No. 1 comprises those who offer pindas to their own paternal ancestors who are also the paternal ancestors of the owner. sub-group II contains those who offer pindas to their three maternal ancestors who are all or some of them the paternal ancestors of the owner, to whom he was bound to offer a pinda; sub-group III comprises those who offer pindas to their paternal ancestors all or some of whom are the maternal ancestors of the owner; sub-group IV exhibits those who offer pindas to their own maternal ancestors who are also the maternal ancestors of the owner. Each of these sub-groups contains 9 persons (as the minimum) who are all shown in thick type. If the owner has several brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts &c. the number of possible sapindas will be much larger. All heirs in the three sub-groups II–IV will be bandhus according to the Mitāksarā and will be postponed to gotrajas under the Mitāksarā. It should be noticed that Jīmūtavāhana brought in the father's daughter's son immediately after the father's great-grandson, the paternal grandfather's daughter's son after the paternal grandfather's great-grandson and the paternal great-grandfather's daughter's son immediately after that ancestor's great-grandson on the analogy of the rights of the owner's daughter's son and on the basis of Manu IX. 139 that the *dauhitra* (daughter's son) saves an ancestor in the next world just as a son's son does.[1436]

1436 किं तु पितुरपि प्रपौत्रपर्यन्ताभावे पितृदौहित्रस्याधिकारो बोद्धव्यो धनिदौहित्रस्येव । एव पितामहप्रपितामहसन्ततेरपि दौहित्रान्तायाः पिण्डप्रत्यासत्तिक्रमेणाधिकारो बोद्धव्यः । दौहित्रोऽपि स्वपुत्रैर्न सन्तारयति पौत्रवदिति हेतोरविशेषात् । स्वदौहित्रवत्पित्रादिदौहित्रस्यापि तद्भोग्यपिण्डदानेन सन्तारकत्वात् । दायभाग XI. 6. 8–9 pp. 208–209. In *Hurı Das v Bama Churn* 15 Cal. 780 at p. 796 these *placita* were considered and it was held that they are not to be extended to the brother's

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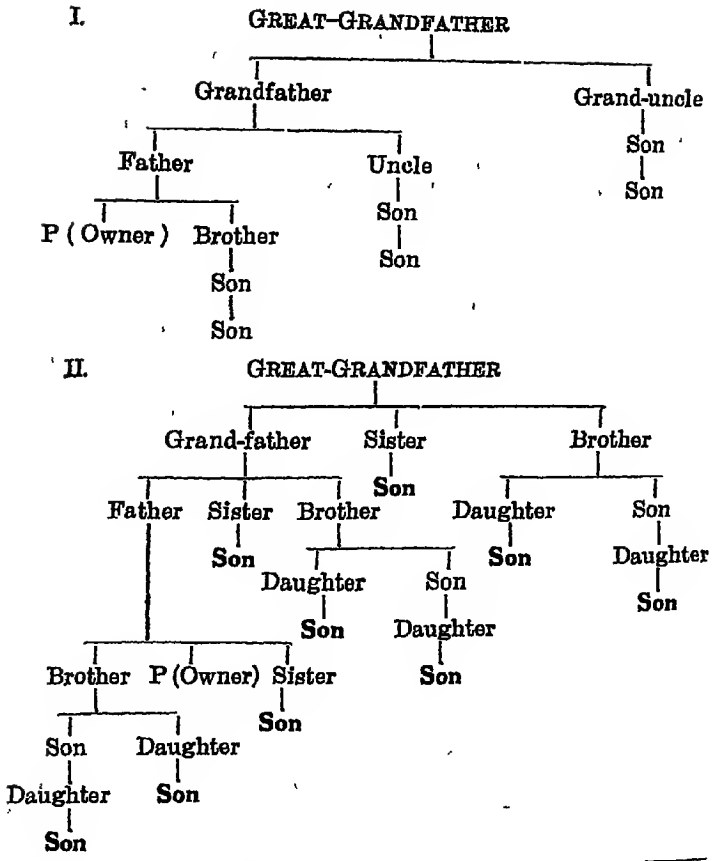

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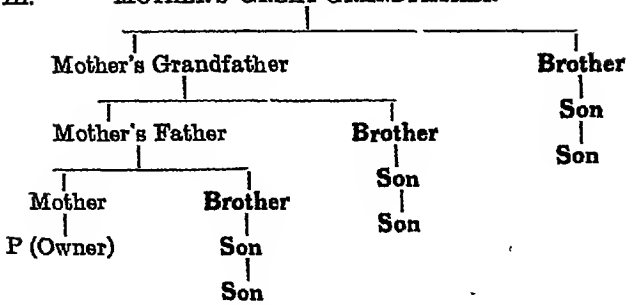
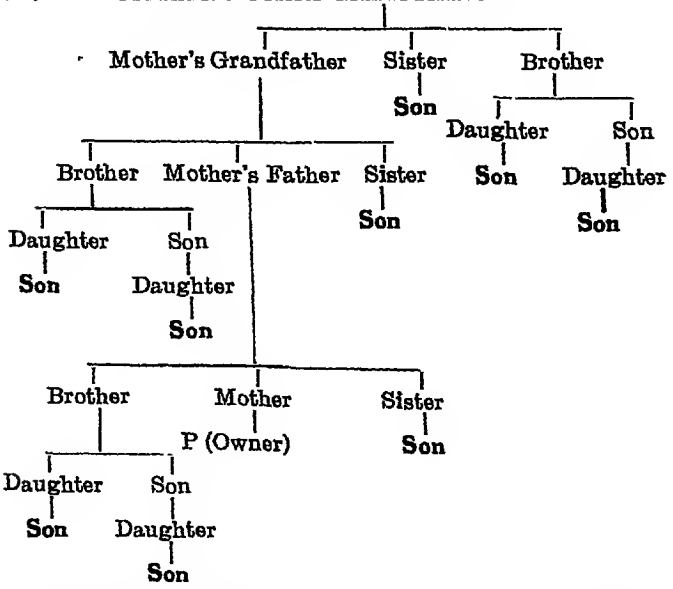
daughter's son and that the latter though a sapiṇḍa of the owner and an heir was not to be preferred to the great-grand son of the paternal grandfather of the propositus Sarvadhikari (T. L. L on Inheritance, 2nd ed. of 1922 pp. 701–702) criticizes this decision as wrong, but it does not appear that the Calcutta High Court is prepared to follow him A similar conflict arises as to several cognate heirs For example, the son's daughter's son and the son's daughter's son offer piṇḍas to the owner himself directly as a maternal ancestor (just as the daughter's son does) and therefore should be placed immediately after the daughter's son as heirs. But the Calcutta High Court would refuse to do so if the reasoning in 15 Cal. 780 be followed. Sarvadhikari (p. 709) however would place them immediately after the daughter's son.

III. MOTHER'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER



IV. MOTHER'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER



The D. B. says[1437] that the word 'gotrajah' (mas. singular) is employed by Yāj. for excluding all sapinda women (except

1437. याज्ञवल्क्येन च पित्रादिदौहित्रस्यापि तद्गोत्रजातस्य पिण्डदानानन्तर्यक्रमेणाधिकारमतिप्रथर्थं गोत्रजपदं कृतं सपिण्डस्त्रीणां च व्युदासार्थं तासामतद्गोत्रजातत्वात् । ..... मपितामहसन्तानस्य दौहित्रान्तस्य मृतभोग्यपिण्डदातुरभावे मृतदेयमातामहादिपिण्डदानेन पिण्डानन्तर्यात् मातुलादिग्रहणार्थं बन्धुपदं प्रयुक्तवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः । मनुना तु पिण्डदानानन्तर्यसूचनेनैव दर्शितम् । . . तस्मात् तद्भोग्यपिण्डदातुरभावे तद्देयपिण्डदातुर्मातुलादेरधिकारो ग्राह्य एव । दायभाग XI. 6. 10, 12, 13 दायतत्त्व p. 196 has a similar passage

those that are expressly named as heirs by special texts since they are not born or (even mediately) sprung from th family of the owner, as the sister's son or the father's sister' son that is held by it to be so sprung, that the word '*bandhu*' employed by Yāj to include a maternal uncle and the lik among heritable sapindas, since they are not sprung eve mediately from the *kula* of the owner and are also not of th same gotra, that the maternal uncle and the like come in onl after all descendants in the lines of the paternal ancestor inclusive of the great-grandfather up to the latter's daughter' son are exhausted,[1438] and that Manu had not to enter int these details as its two verses (IX 186–187) were quite enough to lead to all that has been elaborated by the D. B about th working of the theory of religious efficacy.

It will have been noticed that no female except the fiv expressly mentioned can inherit under the Dāyabhāga scheme and the result is that a man's own son's daughter or daughter' daughter does not take as heir, whereas a distant relative like th father's father's sister's son takes it. The same is also the case even under the Mitāksarā in the whole of India (except in Bombay and to some extent in Madras for which see a little later on)

A man offers only the leavings or remnants of the pindas that stick to his hand (when offering pindas to his three paternal ancestors) and that (leavings) are cast on kusa grass to three paternal ancestors above the paternal great-grandfather (Manu III. 216). So also the three male descendants beyond the great-grandson offer the leavings (called *pindalepa*) to the owner; these three remote paternal ancestors and the three remote male descendants (spoken of as 'vibhaktadāyāda in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5 114) are designated *sakulya* by Baud, and

1438. Vide *Kailasha Chandra v. Karuna Nath* 18 C W N, 477 where the above passages are considered at length and it is held that the paternal grand-uncle's daughter's son (though not expressly mentioned by the D B) is entitled to preference over the maternal uncle (who is expressly mentioned as an heir and a sapinda by D B), since the former offers a pinda to the paternal great-grandfather of the owner to whom the owner was bound to offer a pinda in which the owner participates after his own death, while the latter offers a pinda to the maternal grandfather of the owner to whom the owner was bound to offer a pinda in which, however, the owner did not participate after his death.

the D. B.[1439] (XI. 1. 38) According to D. B sakulyas succeed after all sapindas are exhausted Just as a man participates after his death in the pindas offered to his paternal ancestors so he would participate in the leavings also offered to his paternal ancestors from the 4th to 6th by their descendants (from 4th to 6th) The D B. remarks that this difference between sapindas and sakulyas is made only in the matter of inheritance But in the matter of the periods of mourning both the sapindas (strictly so called in the section on inheritance) and the sakulyas are designated sapindas by Manu (V. 60) and by the Mārkandeya-purāna (28. 4).[1440] According to Manu IX. 187 *sakulyas* succeed on failure of sapindas, while Visnu Dh S (XVII. 9–11) prescribes[1441] that on failure of bandhus, sakulyas succeed It appears that Visnu employs the word bandhu in the sense of sapinda Nār (dāyabhāga, 51) states that on failure of daughters and sakulyas, bāndhavas and persons of the same caste succeed Here it appears that sakulya and bāndhava are employed in the sense of gotraja and bāndhava as done in Yāj. The Bālambhatti says that *gotraja* and *sakulya* are synonymous. The Dāyabhāga appears to be somewhat inconsistent in its references to sakulyas. In XI. 6 15 and 23 it includes samānodakas among sakulyas, while in XI. 6 21–22 it defines sakulya as stated above. The Mit. on the other hand comprehends the sakulyas of the D. B. (as defined in XI 6. 21) under its gotraja sapindas

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1439 विभक्तदायादान् सकुल्यानाचक्षते । . . . सपिण्डाभावे सकुल्यः । बौ ध. सू. I 5. 114–116. एतेन वृद्धप्रपितामहप्रभृतयस्तस्य पूर्वपुरुषा· प्रतिग्रणहुश्च प्रभृत्यधस्तनास्तस्य. पुरुषा एकपिण्डभोक्तृत्वाभावाद् विभक्तदायादा· सकुल्या इत्याचक्षते । दायभाग XI 1 38 p 163. तत्रापि प्रतिग्रणदात्रादेरानन्तर्यं पिण्डलेपहारेण तेषामुपकारकत्वात् तदभावे च वृद्धप्रपितामहसन्तति. सूतदेयपिण्डलेपभोगिभ्यो वृद्धप्रपितामहादिभ्य· पिण्डदातृत्वात् । एवविधसकुल्याभावे च समानोदका· सकुल्यपदेनैवोपात्ता मन्तव्या· । दायभाग XI 6 22-23 p 213.

1440 पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात् । प्रभृत्युक्ताश्चयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तम. । इत्येव मुनिभि प्रोक्त· सम्बन्ध· सप्तपौरुष ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28. 4–5 quoted by दायभाग XI. 1 41 The ब्रह्मपुराण (220 85–86) reads 'लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामह .. सप्तपौरुष '

1441. तदभावे भ्रातृपुत्रगामि । तदभावे बन्धुगामि । तदभावे सकुल्यगामि । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 9–11 This is the reading of अपरार्क p 741, वि र. p. 595. The व्य प्र p. 530 says that in Visnu bandhu and sakolya stand for sapinda and sagotra Some works like दायतत्त्व (p. 189), दायभाग (XI. 1 5, p 151), व्य मयूख p 142 read 'तदभावे सकुल्यगामि तदभावे बन्धुगामि'. तत्र च पितृसन्तानाभावे पितामही पितामह पितृव्यास्ततपुत्राश्च क्रमेण धनभाज । पितामहसन्तानाभावे प्रपितामही प्रपितामहस्तत्पुत्रास्ततस्सूनवश्चैतत्पैतृमासप्तममात्समानगोत्राणा सपिण्डाना धनग्रहण वेदितव्यम्। मिता oo या. II 136

The Mit. states that the gotrajas are the paternal grandmother, the sapindas and samānodakas of the deceased. It then proceeds to say that the paternal grandmother is the first among *gotrajas*, then comes paternal grandfather. It paraphrases the word gotraja (born in the gotra) as *samānagotra* (having the same gotra) and then proceeds, 'on failure of the father's line (*santāna*) the heirs are the paternal grandmother, the paternal grandfather, the paternal uncles and their sons in order; on failure of the paternal grandfather's line the paternal great-grandmother, the paternal great-grandfather, his sons and son's sons inherit. In this manner must be understood the succession of sapindas belonging to the same gotra (as the deceased) up to the 7th degree'. According to the Mit. sapinda relationship extends up to the 7th degree (reckoned from and inclusive of the owner) Therefore the owner's sapindas for purposes of inheritance according to the Mit. are the owner's (1) 6 male descendants in the male line, (2) 6 male ascendants in the male line and the wives of the first three of them (that are expressly so declared, viz. mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother) and probably the wives of the next three also, (3) the six male descendants of *each* of his six male ascendants in the collateral male lines. Besides, a man's wife and daughter are treated as his sapindas and the daughter's son, though a *bhinnagotra sapiṇḍa*, is placed high among the gotraja sapinda heirs

Even under the Mitāksarā in the whole of India (except in the Bombay and Madras schools), no women succeed as gotraja sapindas (except five expressly named and cited above on p. 713). In Bombay the sister (full or half) is brought in as a gotraja by the V Mayūkha (though the Mitāksarā is entirely silent) and placed by it immediately after the paternal grandmother. It relies on the general words of Manu IX. 187 and of Br. (quoted above on p 733) that to the nearest person in blood the inheritance goes and then proceeds.[1442] 'She is also a gotraja as being born in the gotra in which her brother (the deceased owner) was born. She is, however, not a *sagotra* (of the deceased brother), but being a sagotra is not mentioned here (in Yāj) as the condition that leads on to the taking of the wealth of the deceased'. Here the V Mayūkha plays upon the word *gotraja* and takes its literal meaning. But that is a specious argument. The

1442. तद्भावे भगिनी । . . तस्या अपि भ्रातृगोत्र उत्पत्तत्वेन गोत्रजत्वाविशेषाच्च सगोत्रता पर नास्ति । न च सात्र धनग्रहणप्रयोजकत्वेनोक्ता । व्य. मयूख p 143.

widow and mother are not gotrajas (in this sense of being born in the gotra) but on marriage they enter the gotra of their husbands and become sagotra Further, on the same reasoning, a son's daughter, brother's daughter, father's sister and other women born in the family of the deceased will become his gotrajas (though not sagotras because on marriage they pass into the gotra of their husbands). But these other women are not expressly recognised even by the V. Mayūkha as gotrajas. Even though she was not mentioned in the Mit the sister has been recognised as a gotraja sapinda by the Bombay High Court in parts of the Bombay Presidency where the Mit. is the paramount authority. The order of heirs under the Mit would be as follows:—Full brother, half brother, full brother's son, half brother's son, paternal grandmother, sister (full being preferred to half), paternal grandfather. According to the V. Mayūkha the order is slightly different, viz full brothers along with sons of full brothers that are dead, full brother's son, grandmother, full sister, halfbrother, halfsister, paternal grandfather. The unmarried sister had been recognized as entitled to a share when brothers came to a partition and they had to provide for her marriage expenses Vide above pp 619–620 and Nār [1443] (dāyabhāga, 13), Visnu Dh. S. 18. 35, Manu IX. 118, Yāj II. 124. In Madras the sister had been recognized as a bandhu The Legislature has intervened and laid down (Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Act II of 1929) that in territories governed by the law of the Mitāksarā and in respect of the property of males not held in coparcenary and not disposed by will, a son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son shall be entitled to rank as heirs in the order specified in the Act next after a father's father and before a father's brother The first three of these were before this Act not at all recognized as heirs in the whole of India except in Bombay (where the sister was recognised as a gotraja sapinda and the first two as bandhus) and except in Madras (where the first three were recognized only as bandhus). The sister's son was given a very high place as a sapinda under the Dāyabhāga and was treated as a bandhu elsewhere in India. This enactment does not affect the Dāyabhāga scheme and so the three females mentioned in the Act are not heirs even now under the Dāyabhāga The sister's place as settled by Bombay decisions is after the paternal

1443. ज्येष्ठायांशोऽधिको देय कनिष्ठायावर स्मृतः । समांशभाज शेषा स्युरमत्ता भगिनी तथा ॥ नारद (दायभाग 13)

grandmother and before the paternal grandfather, while the above Act places her after the paternal grandfather. In *Bai Mahalaxmi v The Deputy Nazir* 45 Bom. L. R. 434 it has for this reason been held that the Act does not apply to the Bombay Province. If it be held that the Act does apply to Bombay (except as to the sister), then the same Act will have to be deemed to be laying down two different orders of succession as to the same four heirs in different provinces, which, to say the least, is not a reasonable or desirable way of interpreting statutes (just as in the case of texts).

Some difficulty is caused by the use of the word *santāna* in the Mit. as regards the father's, grandfather's and great-grandfather's line. It has been seen above (p 731) that the compact series ends with the brother's son (father's son's son i. e after two descendants of the father) according to the Bombay High Court, while elsewhere in India it is supposed to end with the brother's son's son (i. e after three descendants of the father). The Mit expressly mentions only two descendants in the grandfather's and great-grandfather's line. The general rule is that sapinda relationship extends to six descendants of each line (excluding the man or ancestor from whom the counting is made) The further general rule gathered from the meagre words of the Mit. is that the nearer line excludes the more remote (e. g. the grandfather, his son and grandson are expressly mentioned by the Mit. as taking before the great-grandfather, his son and grandson). The question is whether the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th descendants of a nearer line would exclude even the 1st or 2nd descendant of a remoter line e g whether the great-grandson of the grandfather would take before the son or grandson of the great-grand-father or whether the 6th descendant of the grandfather would take before the son of the great-grandfather. There were three views[1444] on this point.

1444. Vide *Buddha Singh v. Lalta Singh* L. R. 42 I. A 208 pp 220-24 for the three views and their expounders. The P. C overruled the first view and held (p 227) that the descendants in each ascending line up to the fixed limit should be exhausted at any rate to the third degree before making the ascent to the next line in order of succession गोत्रजशब्देनैव भ्रातृतत्सुतयोर्निर्देशे गम्यमानेपि पृथक् तयोरभिधानस्य गोत्रजेषु पितामहादिषु तस्य तस्य सन्ततौ पितृसन्तताविव द्वयोरेव पुत्रपौत्रयोर्धनभागित्वज्ञापनार्थत्वात्। स्मृतिच II p 300 In Sm. C. II. p. 300 the passage as printed is somewhat corrupt. The Subodhini also says 'पितृसन्तानो भ्रातृतत्सुतपर्यन्तः' p. 74, vide मदः पा. p. 674 also for the same view.

The first view, relying upon certain words of the Smṛ C., held that after two descents in each line, one should ascend into a remoter line and after the two descendants of that line are exhausted, one should revert to the 3rd to 6th descendants of a nearer line. The 2nd view was that in each line three generations were to be first exhausted, because the word *putra* in several places in the Mit. includes the three male descendants. The 3rd view[1445] was that in each line *six* descendants were to be exhausted before ascending to the next remoter line (as sapiṇḍa relationship extended to six degrees).

Another question is whether the widows of agnatic relations (such as the son's widow, brother's widow, step-mother or paternal uncle's widow) are included in the term 'gotrajāḥ' for purposes of inheritance. Under the Dāyabhāga, as well as under the Mitākṣarā throughout India (except in the Bombay School), the widows of gotraja sapiṇḍas are not heirs at all, since according to almost all writers, women do not inherit except when expressly mentioned by texts. In the Bombay School the position is different. According to both the Mit. and the Mayūkha, wives enter by marriage the gotra of their husbands and become sapiṇḍas of their husbands. The Bālambhaṭṭī declared the son's widow to be an heir, even before the paternal grandmother and includes females also in the word *gotrajāḥ*. When *gotraja* was rendered as *samānagotra*, the term became wide enough not only to include those born in the gotra but even those who entered the gotra by marriage. Besides, it was argued that if the paternal grandmother or paternal great-grandmother succeeded as a gotraja there was no reason why other widows of other gotrajas should not succeed. From the earliest days of British rule the gotraja sapiṇḍas (such as the son's, brother's, paternal uncle's widows) have been recognized as heirs in the Bombay Presidency. They take only a limited estate like the owner's widow or mother or

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1445 The third view was propounded by Telang J. in *Rachava v. Kalingappa* 16 Bom. 716, which is referred to by the P. C. in 42 I. A. 208, at pp. 220 and 226. The P. C. do not dissent from Telang J. but do not expressly approve of his views as it was not necessary to do so in that case, where the question was whether the great-grandson of the grandfather of the deceased was to be preferred to the grandson of the great-grandfather and it was held by the P. C. that he was to be preferred. The 2nd view appears to be supported by the words of Aparārka p. 745 'एव भ्राता तत्पुत्र-स्तत्पौत्र इति पितृमन्ततो त्रय प्रत्यासन्ना सपिण्डा । एव पितामहमन्ततो प्रपितामहमन्ततो च । एवमभावे पित्रादित्रयस्य ये प्रपौत्रास्तेषा पुत्रादित्रय सापिण्ड्यात्तन्नयाद्दकम् ।'

paternal grandmother. They are recognized rather on the ground of 'positive acceptance and usage' by the Privy Council than on the ground of any texts[1446]. They occupy the same place as their husbands, succeed after the compact series, the sister and half-sister and only after all the male gotraja sapindas (up to the 7th degree inclusive of the ancestor) properly belonging to the line to which their husbands belonged; e g the son's widow would succeed before the brother's son's[1447] son, the brother's widow or step-mother would succeed after all the six male descendants of the husband's father, but before the father's father, paternal uncle or his son &c These widows of gotraja sapindas succeed before any bandhu. Since Act XVIII of 1937 a man's own widow, his predeceased son's widow and the widow of a predeceased son's predeceased son succeed along with his son or sons throughout India.

Samānodakas According to the Mit gotrajas are either sapindas or samānodakas. The word 'samānodaka' has a technical meaning Acc. to Manu V.60, 'the sapinda relationship ceases with the seventh person, the relationship of samānodaka[1448] ends when birth (in the family) and name are no longer known'. This occurs in the chapter on impurity. The Mit declares that the samānodakas comprise males seven generations beyond the sapindas or all males (beyond sapindas) whose birth (in the same family as that of the deceased) and name are known. It quotes a text of Brhan-Manu, 'the sapinda relationship ceases with the seventh person; the relation of

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1446 Vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom 388, 447, which went up to the Privy Council as *Lallubhoy v Cassibai* L R 7 I A 212 at p 237. In *Gandhi Maganlal v Bai Jadab* 24 Bom 192 (P. B) at p 212 it was observed: 'The grandmother's claim was indeed found so strong that it served to help the widows of collateral sapindas to be also recognized as gotraja sapindas'.

1447 Vide *Appaji v Mohanlal* 54 Bom. 564 (P B) for the daughter in-law being preferred to a brother's grandson, *Kashibai v Moreshwar* 35 Bom 389 (where the paternal uncle's *grandson* was preferred to a paternal uncle's widow because he was a male gotraja sapinda of the same line within seven degrees, to which the widow's husband belonged), *Basangavda v. Basangavda* 39 Bom. 87 where the brother's widow was preferred to the paternal uncle's son (as she belonged to a nearer line)

1448 सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते । समानोदकभावस्तु जन्मनाम्नोरवेदने ॥ मनु V 60, यथाह बृहन्मनुः । सपिण्ड .. वर्तते । समानोदकभावस्तु निवर्तेता चतुर्दशात् । जन्मनाम्नोः स्मृतेरेके तत्पर गोत्रमुच्यते । मिता. on या II 136 These verses are attributed to बृहस्पति by स्म. नि. p. 454

samānodaka ceases after the 14th; according to some it extends as far as the memory of name and family (or birth) reach; the gotra is said to extend up to that'. The samānodakas comprise the 7 ascendants of a person after the great-grandfather's great-grandfather, the 13 descendants of these seven ascendants, the 7 descendants after the 6th descendant of his 6 male ancestors from his own father; and descendants of himself from the 7th to the 13th. The Privy Council have ruled[1449] in a recent case that, according to the Mitāksarā school, samānodaka relationship does not extend beyond the 14th degree (from and inclusive of the common ancestor of the claimant and the propositus).

The word 'samānodaka' literally means 'those who offer to or receive water from the same person'. The word is employed by Vas.[1450] 17. 79. But in the law of inheritance it has a technical meaning as stated above.

Bandhu (cognate).[1451] It has been seen above (on p. 742) how the Dāyabhāga shuffles cognates among the gotrajas

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1449. Vide *Atmaram v. Bajirao* L. R. 62 I. A. p. 139 where it was said that in the event of a conflict between the ancient text writers and the commentators the opinion of the latter prevails in the provinces where their authority is recognized on the ground that the commentators only voiced the usage of the time and of the country in which they lived. The case of *Bai Devkore v. Amritram* 10 Bom. 372 where the word samānodaka was interpreted to include any agnate without any limit of degree was not overruled but was distinguished on the ground that it was governed by the law of the Vyavahāra-mayūkha which quotes only Manu V. 60 and does not quote Brhan-Manu.

1450. अत ऊर्ध्वं समानार्षजन्मपिण्डोदकगोत्राणा पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान्। वसिष्ठ 17 79.

1451. The word 'bandhu' is a very ancient one and has been used in various senses throughout the ages In Ṛg. 1 113. 2 Night and Dawn (*Usas*) are called *samānabandhū* (bound together or having a common relative). In Ṛg I. 154. 5 (*urukramasya sa hi bandhur-itthā*) the word appears to be used in the sense of 'friend'. In Rg I 164. 33 'nābhi' and 'bandhu' are employed one after another. The sage Vasistha tells Aśvins (Rg VII. 72. 2) that their mutual friendship is ancestral and their relation is common (*yuvorhi nah sakhyā pitryāni samāno bandhuruta tasya vittam*). Vide also Rg. V. 73 4, VIII. 21. 4, VIII 100. 6, IX 14. 2 In the Atharvaveda V 11. 11 Atharvan is said to be the bandhu of the gods and Varuna is said to be both the friend (*sakhā*) and *bandhu* (relative) of the sage. In Atharvaveda VI. 15. 2 and VI 54. 3 the same half verse occurs, 'whoever

(*Continued on the next page*)

literally so called. According to the Mit bandhus are sapindas of the deceased belonging to a different gotra. Bandhus succeed under the Mit., the V. Mayūkha and all other authorities except those of the Dāyabhāga school only on failure of samānodakas (or sodakas). It will have been noticed from the discussion above that gotrajas, whether sapindas and samānodakas, are all agnates (and in some cases their wives) i. e. persons related to the deceased by unbroken male descent. The bandhus are persons related to the deceased through one or more females The basic texts on the inheritance of *bandhus* are three verses attributed to Vrddha-Sātātapa

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(*Continued from the last page*)

whether our relative or not attacks us' (*sabandhuścāsabandhuśca yosmānabhidāsati*) In the Vāj S IV. 22 (*asme ramasvāsme te bandhuh*)' the poet prays that the god may find delight in them and find in them his bandhu, Among sūtras Gaut. IV. 3 and Vārāhagrhya 9 speak of pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus (persons related through the father and mother) In Yāj. the word *bandhu* or *bāndhava* occurs many times and has at least three senses viz relative in general (in I 82, 108, 113, 116, 220; II. 144, 280; III 11, 239), agnate (II 294), cognate (II. 135, 149, 264). Manu IX. 158 and XII. 79 employ the word bandhu in the sense of relative in general. The Āp. Dh. S. I 7 21. 8 and II 5. 11. 16 and Gaut 14 18 employ the word '*yonisambandha*' for persons connected through a female On the other hand Pāṇini V. 3. 23 (rto vidyāyonisambandhebhyah) appears to employ the word in a general sense viz 'blood relation' (whether paternal or maternal) Another word frequently used from Vedic times is 'jñāti' which generally means 'agnate' or 'relative' Vide Rg X 66 14, X 117 9 In the Atharvaveda IV 5 6 a man desirous of a clandestine intercourse with a woman prays '*svapantvasyai jñātayah svaptvayam-abhito janah*'. In I. 1. 35 Pāṇini appears to use the word jñāti in the sense of agnates 'समज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्'. In Gaut II. 43, Āp Dh S. I. 3 10 3 'jñāti' occurs and is explained by Haradatta as agnatic relations In Manu III 31 (*jnātibhyo dravinam dattvā*) jñāti appears to mean paternal relations. In Manu III. 264, IV 179, Yāj II. 149 jñāti is distinguished from bāndhava or bandhu and so means 'agnates' Two other words are 'sajāta' and 'sanābhi'. The first occurs in the Tai S I 6 2 1 and I 6 10. 1 (*ugrohaṁ sajātesu bhūyāsam*) and in the Atharvaveda I 9 3, III. 8. 2, VI 5. 2 and means 'agnates or kinsmen'. The word sanābhi occurs in Rg IX 89. 4 and means also the same thing as 'jñāti' in Āp. Gr. VII. 20. 18, Maou V. 72, Br (S B. E 33 p 310 verse 11), but in the Nirukta IV. 21 and in Kāt. (q. by Aparārka pp. 669–670) the word *sanābhi* is used in a wider sense (as including paternal and maternal relations). The Amarakośa gives sapinda as a synonym of sanābhi. नान्या सनद्धा गर्भा जायन्ते इत्याहुरेतस्मादेव ज्ञातीन् सनाभय इत्याचक्षते सबन्धव इति च। निरुक्त IV. 21. क्षीरस्वामी (on अमरकोश) explains समानो नाभिर्मूलमेषां ते सनाभयः and relies on पाणिनि VI. 3. 85.

or Baudhāyana. They may be translated as follows: 'The sons of one's father's sister, the sons of one's mother's sister and the sons of one's maternal uncle—these are to be known as *ātmabandhus* (one's own bandhus); the sons of one's father's father's sister, the sons of one's father's mother's sister, the son's of one's father's maternal uncle—these are to be known as one's *pitrbandhus* (father's bandhus), the sons of one's mother's father's sister, the sons of one's mother's mother's sister, the sons of one's mother's maternal uncle—these are to be known as the *mātrbandhus* (mother's bandhus).[1452] The Mit. states on this text that bandhus are of three kinds viz. ātmabandhus, pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus and that ātmabandhus succeed before pitrbandhus on account of their greater propinquity to the deceased and pitrbandhus succeed before the mātrbandhus[1453] The treatment of the rights of bandhus in the Mit and other commentaries and digests is very meagre. This has led in modern times to a bewildering mass of case law on the inheritance of bandhus.

The first question is whether the enumeration of *bandhus* in the verses quoted is exhaustive or only illustrative. The V. P. expressly[1454] states that if the enumeration be held to be exhaustive absurd results would follow. For example, a maternal uncle's son is expressly named as an *ātmabandhu* in the verses quoted above, but his father (the maternal uncle), being not mentioned, would on that hypothesis be excluded. Therefore it was held by the Privy Council in a very early case[1455] that the enumeration of bandhus is only illustrative, that the maternal uncle though not mentioned is a nearer

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1452 आत्मपितृष्वसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृष्वसुः सुता । आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवा ॥ पितृ. पितृष्व · पुत्रा· पितुर्मातृष्वसुः सुताः । पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवा ॥ मातृ पितृष्वर पुत्रा मातुर्मातृष्वसु· सुता । मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥ q. by the मिता on या. II 136 These are ascribed to बौधायन by the परा मा. III p 528 and स्म नि. p 455 and to वृद्धशातातप by मद् पा. p. 674 and बालम्भट्टी.

1453. तत्र चान्तरङ्गत्वात्प्रथममात्मबन्धवो धनभाजस्तदभावे पितृबन्धवस्तदभावे मातृबन्धव इति क्रमो वेदितव्य. । मिता on या. II. 136. Almost the same words occur in the मद् पा. p 674

1454 योगीश्वरवचनेपि बन्धुपदेन मातुलाद्युपलक्षणमन्यथा मातुलादीनामग्रहणमेव प्रसज्येतेति तत्पुत्राणा धनाधिकारस्तत प्रत्यासत्तानां तेषामेव स नेति मह वनौचित्यमापद्येत । स्म. म pp 530–531.

1455. Vide *Gridhari Lall v. The Bengal Government* 12 Moore's I A. 448.

bandhu and would succeed in preference to his own son wh is expressly mentioned. In *Balasubrahmanya v. Subbayya* 65 A. 93 it was held that under the Mitākṣarā the principle o proximity of blood relationship applies to the succession o bandhus, that in determining which of two ātmabandhus is entit led to succeed nearness of degree and not religious efficacy is the proper test to apply, that when the ātmabandhus are equal in degree the test of religious efficacy may be applied to determine preference and that the maternal uncle of the deceased is entitled to preference over the deceased's father's half sister's son. This was followed in *Virangauda v. Yellappa* I. L R (1943) Bom. 259 (F. B.) where the mother's brother of the deceased was preferred to the father's sister's son. So also the mother's father would be a bandhu. It is strange that the deceased's own descendants through a female or the deceased's father's descendants through a female such as the son's daughter's son, daughter's son's son, daughter's daughter's son, sister's son or sister's daughter's son, are not mentioned in any authoritative commentaries or digests as his *bandhus*. Further, the bandhus enumerated in the three verses do not go beyond the 4th degree from the common ancestor. But bandhu relationship extends up to five degrees at least. There is an ancient instance of the sister's daughter's son having succeeded to a Buddhist *bhikṣu* in Cambodia (in Śake 586). This would be so only according to the principles of the Mit. Vide 'Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia' p 55 by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterji (Cal. 1928). All the above (such as the son's daughter's son) have been recognized by the Indian Courts as ātmabandhus entitled to inherit. In *United Provinces v. Kanhaiya Lal* 16 Lucknow 551 it has been held that the father's father's daughter's son's son would be an ātmabandhu of the deceased. In an early case[1456] in British India two propositions were laid down, viz. (1) there must be mutuality of sapiṇḍa relation between the deceased and the claimant (i. e. each must be a sapiṇḍa of the other) and (2) that in order that a man may be an heritable bandhu of the deceased they must be related *directly* through themselves or

1456. Vide *Umaid Bahadur v. Udoi Chand* 6 Cal. 119 (F. B.), 128 where it was held that a man's sister's daughter's son is a heritable *bandhu* but a remark was made (which was an *obiter dictum*) that the sister's daughter's son's son would not be a bandhu of the propositus because the latter was not a descendant of the grandfather of the former, his father or mother.

through their mother or father. These propositions were accepted by the Privy Council,[1457] which further said that sapinda relationship extends in the case of bandhus only up to five degrees. The first proposition about mutuality has some support in the interpretation put on the famous verse of Manu IX. 187 by the Bālambhattī and the Subodhinī (vide above note 1418). But difficulty is created about mutuality by the unwarranted assumption that the common ancestor must be a member of one out of four families as stated by Sarvadhikari. The other propositions, however, are not supported by any texts or sound reasoning. Since the enumeration of bandhus is admitted to be not exhaustive, no sound inference can be drawn from the list of nine bandhus that a heritable bandhu must be connected with the deceased in any particular way All that can be required is that he must be a bandhu as defined by the Mit and connected with the deceased by having particles of the body of a common ancestor within the limits of sapiṇḍa relationship as laid down by the Mit. The limit of five degrees categorically laid down by the P. C is not, it is submitted with great respect, based on very sure or strong foundations. The Mit says that sapinda relationship extends to seven degrees when traced through the father, that wherever the word 'sapinda' is employed this meaning has to be understood and it extends up to five degrees when traced through the mother. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 454–455. What is material is

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1457. Vide *Ramchandra* v. *Vinayak* L. R. 41 I. A 290 (= 42 Cal. 384 at pp. 418–421) for the propositions about mutuality, relationship through himself, father or mother and restriction to five degrees Dr. Sarvadhikari (T. L. L. p 630ff) is not right in inferring from the nine bandhus expressly mentioned in the verses quoted above that the propositus must be a descendant of a common ancestor who is a member of the following families, viz (1) claimant's agnate family, (2) claimant's mother's agnate family, (3) claimant's father's mother's agnate family, (4) claimant's mother's mother's agnate family. Following this opinion, it was held in *Lowji* v *Mithabai* 2 Bom L R 842 that the great-grandson of a sister is not an heir under Hindu Law But this decision is against the definition of sapinda given by the Mit and is wroog Vide *Chinna* v *Padmanabha* 44 Mad. 121 pp 128–130 for a reasoned and trenchant criticism of the requirement of mutuality laid down without any discussion or explanation in the case of 6 Cal 119 and the views of Sarvadhikari. It is to be regretted that owing to the ignorance of Sanskrit on the part of most judges that had to decide cases of Hindu Law, the opinions of individual learned authors like Mayne and Sarvadhikari were followed without personal examination by judges of the authorities on which the opinions of authors were based.

not whether a female intervenes somewhere, but whether the person about whose sapindaship a question is raised traces his descent to a common ancestor through his father or through his mother. In the P. C. case the claimant claimed sapindaship with the deceased through his mother, and it was rightly decided that he being 6th from the common ancestor was not a bandhu But to lay down as a universal rule that a bandhu in order to inherit under the Mit. should not be beyond five degrees from the common ancestor is against the definition of sapinda given by the Mit. itself and unduly narrows the express words of the Mit The words of the P. C. 'the sapinda relationship, on which the heritable right of collaterals is founded, ceases in the case of the bhinna-gotra sapinda with the fifth degree from the common ancestor' (L. R 41 I. A. 290 at p. 312) are very generally expressed and are susceptible of the interpretation that they lay down the rule of five degrees even when the claimant claims[1458] relationship with the deceased through his own father Some support for the Privy Council rule that sapinda relationship ceases with the 5th

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1458 Vide *Brij Mohan v Kishun Lal* (1938) A L J 670 where the Allahabad High Court held that, even when the claimant traced sapinda relationship through his father, heritable bandhu relation ceases after the fifth degree But in *Kesar Singh v. Secretary of State for India* 49 Mad 652 at p. 690 it is said that, though in the P. C. decision there are some observations which at first sight imply that sapinda relationship of bandhus for inheritance ceases with the 5th degree in all cases, there is nothing to suggest that the Privy Council intended to do away with the well-known distinction between bhinnagotra sapindas that claim relationship through their father and those that trace it through their mother There is great diversity of view yet about what the P. C meant in 41 I A. 290. In *Seelam Nagamma v Reddam* I L R. (1943) Mad 759 (F B) it was held that Dr Sarvadhikari is wrong in his restrictions of heritable bandhus to the lines he propounds, that 54 All. 698 is wrongly decided and that 49 Mad 652 lays down the correct law On the other hand, in *Hanmant v. Vasudev* I. L. R. (1943) Bom 465 it has been held that the P. C means that heritable bandhus whether claiming through the father or the mother must be within five degrees from the common ancestor. Vide *Debi Das v. Mukat Behari* I. L. R (1943) All p 131 which lays down several rules deducible from an examination of numerous cases As an illustration of how the law of the succession of bandhus is in a bewildering state, the following two cases may be read. In *Sakharam v Raikrishna* 49 Bom. 739 (F B) it was held that a father's sister's son is to be preferred under the V. Mayūkha to the maternal uncle, but the P C decided in *Balsubramanya v. Subbayya* L. R. 65 I. A 93 that the maternal uncle is entitled to preference over the father's sister's son.

degree from the common ancestor in the case of bhinnagotra sapindas may be found in the words of Mitramiśra in his commentary on Yāj I. 52, in the implication of the words of Kullūka[1459] on Manu V. 60 and in the remarks of the Bālambhattī (p 191). But this view is opposed to other weighty authorities such as the Nirnayasindhu and the Dharmasindhu

The whole law about the succession of bandhus is in a confused state owing to conflicting decisions, but the P. C. has laid down certain propositions which may be set down here: (1) ātmabandhus succeed before pitrbandhus and pitrbandhus before mātrbandhus; (2) the nearer in degree in each class of bandhus is preferable to the more remote; (3) as between bandhus of the same class, the conferring of spiritual benefit would be a ground of preference, as the Viramitrodaya invokes that principle in several cases (and so the father's half sister's son would be preferred to the mother's sister's son, though both are ātmabandhus and of equal degree); (4) if the above three rules fail, bandhus *ex parte paterna* (on the father's side) succeed before bandhus *ex parte materna* (on the mother's side); (5) the bandhu between whom and the propositus a lesser number of females intervenes is to be preferred. As a corollary of the 2nd rule it should follow that the descendants of the propositus would be preferred to ascendants and collaterals and that bandhus of the same class that are descendants of a nearer line would succeed in preference to descendants of a remoter line though of the same class. But this last proposition has not yet been settled by the Privy Council. It has been, however, held in *Debi Das v Mukat Behari* I. L. R (1943) All. 131 that a sister's son's son should be preferred to the deceased's cousin's daughter's son, since the former belongs to a nearer line.

For the purposes of this work it is irrelevant and unnecessary to wade through the mass of case-law on the succession of

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1459. कुल्लूक after quoting the मत्स्यपुराण on the question of sapindaship based on the offerings of pindas remarks, 'सगोत्रत्वे चेय सपिण्डता। अत एव शङ्ख-लिखितौ—सपिण्डता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः सप्तपौरुषी' मित्रमिश्र on या I. 52 quotes the smrti text, 'सगोत्रे खलु सापिण्ड्यं विज्ञेयं सप्तपौरुषम्। विगोत्रे तत्तु सर्वत्र विज्ञेयं पञ्च-पौरुषम्॥' and remarks 'तेन मातृमातामहादिपक्षेऽपि विवाह्यत्व धर्मसमत न विरुध्येत। माता च स्वारम्भयोजकत्वशोणिता योन्या। तेन पितृमातामहपुत्र्यादेर्न्युदास.। एवं च पितृमातामहाद्यधिकसमन्धः परिणयाचारोपि सङ्गच्छते।'

bandhus. One or two matters, however, call for remark. If the theory of spiritual benefit be *strictly* applied, many of those who would inherit as bandhus under the Mit. system would be barred from inheritance. For example, the daughter's son's son[1459a] or daughter's daughter's son would be a heritable bandhu under the Mitāksarā, but under the Dāyabhāga he would not be so, as he offers no pinda to the deceased or to any of the latter's ancestors. It is probably to obviate this unnatural and unjust consequence that the Dāyatattva refers to the text of Br. (quoted above in *n* 1419) in which the word 'bāndhavāḥ' occurs, remarks that the relatives of the father and mother of (the deceased) inherit in the order of their nearness to the latter and quotes the three verses about the three classes of bandhus, indicating thereby that spiritual benefit is not the sole test, but that where it fails the test of blood relationship may be applied.[1460]

Very elaborate rules have been evolved by Sarvadhikari in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Hindu Law of inheritance (2nd ed. of 1922, pp. 571–640). The author devoted great industry, labour and ingenuity in evolving those rules. But one regrets to say that he raised a stupendous structure on very slippery and meagre foundations And the pity of it is that many Judges have more or less followed his lead, though emphatic disapproval of his views, whereby the list of bandhus capable of inheriting has been very much restricted, has not been wanting.[1461] It is not possible to examine here in detail his reasonings and results. But the futility of much that he has evolved can and must be briefly shown. The only solid foundations that we have in the Mit. are: (1) the definition of sapinda given by it on Yāj I. 53; (2) the remark that bandhus are bhinnagotra sapindas (as contrasted with gotrajas); (3) that the bandhus of a man may be described under three classes; (4) that those that may be called ātmabandhus succeed before those called pitrbandhus and these latter inherit before mātrbandhus. It is agreed on all hands that

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1459a. Vide 11 Mad. 287, 17 All. 523, 30 Mad 406 (for the daughter's son's son's succession) and 31 All 454, 58 Mad. 238 (for the daughter's daughter's son's succession).

1460. बृहस्पत्युक्तबान्धवा इत्यनेन यथाक्रममासन्नपित्रादिमातृबान्धवा धनाधिकारिण। ते च 'आत्मपितुः स्वसुः पुत्राः ... विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवा ।' दायतत्त्व p. 196.

1461. Vide *Kesar Singh* v. *The Secretary of State for India* 49 Mad. 652 at pp. 661, 686–89 for dissent from Sarvadhikari's views.

the nine bandhus enumerated in the verses of Śātātapa or Baudhāyana are only illustrative. Therefore, the nine bandhus expressly mentiond should not have been used to *exclude* any one as not a heritable bandhu, as we have not got anywhere an exhaustive enumeration Any one who satisfied the first two requirements stated above was a bandhu. Of the nine bandhus enumerated in the verses quoted above, none is connected by direct descent with the propositus, his father or mother; but one is a descendant of his paternal grandfather, one of his paternal great-grandfather, two of his maternal grandfather, two of his father's maternal grandfather, one of his mother's paternal grandfather, two of his mother's maternal grandfather. Sarvadhikari makes a different classification of these (p. 627) viz. 'two are connected through the father, three through the mother, two through the paternal grandmother and two through the maternal grandmother'. The whole trouble has been caused by this latter grouping. Instead of emphasizing lines of direct descent, he catches hold of females who are never spoken of in ancient works in connection with tracing descent (except in the case of the mother of the man concerned). If, because the illustrations given happen to be connected only with four lines of families, persons connected with the propositus through other lines are to be excluded, there is no reason why a man's own daughter's son's son, son's daughter's son, sister's son, or sister's son's son should be held to be bandhus. They bear no close analogy to the ātmabandhus enumerated by Śātātapa. But it is admitted by Sarvadhikari that they are ātmabandhus. The terms ātmabandhu, pitrbandhu and mātrbandhu are mere labels or devices to show nearness and preference among bandhus. Acc. to the V. Mayūkha[1462] the words pitrbandhu and mātrbandhu are to be dissolved as *sasthī-tatpurusa* compounds (pituḥ bāndhavāh

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1462 नन्तु पत्न्यादीनां सर्वेषां सूतनिरूपितानामेव धनभाक्त्वं बान्धवानामपि तथैवास्तु। अत कथं पितृमातृश्च बान्धवाना धनसम्बन्ध । पितु· पितृष्वसुः पुत्राः इत्यादि तु संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धमात्रार्थं न धनसम्बन्धार्थमिति चेदुच्यते। विनाप्येतद्वचनं पितृमातुलपितृपितृष्वादिष्विव पितृमातृबान्धवेष्वपि योगेनैव तत्प्रवृत्तिसम्भवे संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धबोधनानर्थक्यापत्तिः। तेन बन्धूनुद्दिश्य धनसम्बन्धविधौ पितृमातृबन्धुभापणेनैव पञ्चीर्थवत्ता। बन्धूद्देशेनाशौचादिविधावप्येवमेवेति दिक्। व्य मयूख p. 144 In *Gajadhar Prasad v Gauri Shankar* 54 All 698 (F, B) Mukerji J. (at pp. 725-26) prefers to dissolve the word पितृबन्धु or मातृबन्धु as either पञ्चमीतत्पुरुष or तृतीयातत्पुरुष (पितु· बन्धुः, पित्रा बन्धु) rather than as षष्ठीतत्पुरुष No Sanskrit authority is quoted for doing this and this view of his is opposed to the view of the व्य. मयूख, the सरस्वतीविलास and some other works.

or mātuh bāndhavāh) i. e. according to it pitṛbandhus or mātṛbandhus are bandhus of the father or mother and must also be bandhus of the propositus if they are to inherit It is not known in what context the three verses quoted in the Mit. and other digests from Śātātapa or Baudhāyana occurred. In Manu V. 81 it is laid down that one should observe mourning on the death of a pupil, sacrificial priest and *bāndhavas* for the duration of *paksmi*. It is possible that the three verses only illustrate what is meant by bāndhavas in such a connection.

The Bālambhaṭṭī (vyavahāra p. 214) here also explains that females are included in the word 'bandhu', although the verses quoted speak of 'putrah' only and the Bombay and Madras High Courts have allowed female bandhus to inherit, though in Madras the position assigned to female bandhus is very much lower than in Bombay.

Strangers as Heirs—In default of even bandhus, the Mit states[1463] that the teacher (of the veda) is the heir of the deceased, in default of the teacher the pupil (and relies on Āp. Dh. S II. 6. 14. 3) and that in default of pupil a *sabrahmacārin* (fellow student whose *upanayana* was performed by the same teacher as that of the deceased and who studied the veda under the same teacher)[1464] inherits. In the absence of even a fellow student the wealth of a brāhmana was to be given to some *śrotriya* (a brāhmana learned in the Veda) as laid down by Gaut (28. 39) and in default of a śrotriya in the same village, as said by the Dāyabhāga XI. 6. 27, to any brāhmana, since Manu (IX. 188-189) says, 'in the absence of all (heirs), brāhmanas that have studied the three vedas, that are pure and restrained, take the wealth ; in this way dharma does not suffer : the rule is that the wealth of a brāhmana should never be taken by the king'. Nār.[1465] (dāyabhāga, 51-52) is to the same effect To the same

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1463. बन्धूनामभावे आचार्य: । तदभावे शिष्य: । पुत्राभावे य: प्रत्यासन्न: सपिण्डस्तद्भावे आचार्य: । आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासीत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात् । मिता

1464. शिष्याभावे सब्रह्मचारी धनभाक् । येन सहैकस्मादाचार्यादुपनयनाः पठनवृद्धज्ञानमासिः स सब्रह्मचारी । मिता. The word सब्रह्मचारिन् is derived by Pāṇini VI. 3. 86 as 'चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि'. The सि कौ explains 'ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स. स्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने'.

1465. ततः सजाति सर्वेषामभावे राजगामि तत् ॥ अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्य. स्यादाजा धर्मपरायणः । नारद (दायभाग, 51-52). The मिता. has a different verse 'नारदेनाप्युक्तम्—ब्राह्मणार्थस्य तज्ज्ञाने दायादश्चेन्न कश्चन । ब्राह्मणायैव दातव्यमेतन्नी रक्षतः षोऽधवा । इति ।'

effect are Viṣṇu[1466] Dh. S. 17. 13–14, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 120–122 and Śaṅkha-Likhita, Devala (q. by V. R. p. 597 and V. C. p. 155). This direction of so many ancient sages has not been respected in modern times.[1467] Manu (IX. 189) and Br.[1468] (S. B. E. vol. 33, p. 380 verse 67) say that the wealth of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras escheats to the king in default of heirs up to a fellow student. When the king takes by escheat heirless property he has to set apart a portion of the wealth of the deceased for the maintenance of his concubines and servants and for the performance of his funeral rites and śrāddhas as stated by Kāt[1469] 931. Kaut III. 5, Nār. (dāyabhāga, 52) provide that the king (when he takes heirless property) should provide maintenance for his women and both the Mit. and the V. Mayūkha explain that the word 'women' stands for *avaruddhastrī* (exclusively kept concubine) and not for his wives (who would succeed as heirs and then there would be no escheat), because the word '*patnī*' is not employed in the verse. These verses of Nār. and Kāt. are the foundation of the right to maintenance of a concubine against the heirs of the deceased paramour in modern times.[1470]

1466. तद्भावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्जं राजगामि । ब्राह्मणार्थो ब्राह्मणानाम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 12–13; अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रघ्नं विषमेकाकिनं हरेत् । न विष विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । तस्माद्राजा ब्राह्मणस्वं नावदीत परमं ह्येतद्विषं यद् ब्राह्मणस्वमिति । चौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 120–122; this is q. by वि. र. p. 597 (except the half verse न विषं०), वि. चि. pp. 155–156; परिवद्वानि वा श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं न राजगामि । शङ्खलिखित q. by वि. र. p. 598, वि. चि. p 156. This is quoted as पैठीनसि's by अपरार्क p. 746.

1467. Vide *Collector of Masulipatam* v *Cavaly Venkata* 8 Moore's I. A. 500 at pp 526–527.

1468. येऽपुत्राः क्षत्रविद्शूद्राः पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिताः । तेषां धनहरो राजा सर्वस्याधिपतिर्हि सः ॥ बृह q. by अपरार्क p. 746, वि. र. p. 598.

1469. अदायिकं राजगामि योविद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् । अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं श्रोत्रियेभ्यस्तदर्पयेत् ॥ कात्या q. by मिता. on या II. 135, परा. मा. III. p 535, व्य. मयूख p. 139. तदप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयं योविद्ग्रहणात् । मिता.; अदायादकं राजा हरेत् स्त्रीवृत्तिमेतदर्थवर्जमन्यत्र श्रोत्रियद्रव्यात् । तत् त्रैविद्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 5.

1470. Vide 2 Bom. 573, 607, 12 Bom 26 (in both Kāt. is quoted), 26 Bom. 163, L. R. 53 I. A at p 163 for the concubine's right. In 48 Bom. 203 a woman whose husband was alive was not treated as a concubine entitled to maintenance from the heirs of her deceased paramour, but this decision has been recently overruled by a Full Bench in 47 Bom. L. R. p. 5 (F. B.).

Yāj. (II. 137) states a special rule[1471] which is an exception to the general rule of inheritance laid down in II. 135-136 viz. '(the heirs) who take the wealth of a forest hermit, a *yati* (ascetic), a (perpetual) vedic student are in order the (vedic) teacher, a virtuous pupil, one who is looked upon as a brother and belongs to the same order'. According to the Mit. the heirs mentioned are to be taken in the reverse order of the words of the text i. e. the ācārya (who is mentioned first among the three heirs) is to be taken as the heir of the last of the three mentioned in the first half of the verse, so that the teacher, good pupil and the person looked upon as brother are respectively the heirs of the perpetual student, the ascetic and the forest hermit. According to the Dāyabhāga also the reverse order has to be taken, but it says that the wealth of the forest hermit, yati and perpetual student is taken respectively by one looked upon as brother, a worthy pupil and teacher, but that in the absence of these, any one who is in the same āśrama as the deceased may take it. According to the Madanaratna[1472] the order of heirs is the direct one, that is, the teacher, good pupil and accepted brother take the wealth of the forest hermit, ascetic and perpetual student, since the Viṣṇu Dh. S. (17. 15-16) expressly says so. The Mit. adds that a brahmacārin is of two kinds viz. perpetual (*naiṣṭhika*), and *upakurvāṇa* (who intends to remain as a student for some time and then marry in order to confer the benefit of male progeny on his ancestors), that

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1471. वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणां रिक्थभागिनः । क्रमेणाचार्यसच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥ या. II. 137; क्रमेण प्रतिलोमक्रमेण ब्रह्मचारी नैष्ठिकः उपकुर्वाणश्च तद्वद्धर्मं मात्राद्य एव गृह्णन्ति । .. सच्छिष्यः पुनरध्यात्मशास्त्रश्रवणधारणतदर्थाद्यनुष्ठानक्षमः । दुर्बुद्धेस्त्याचार्यादेरपि भागानर्हत्वात् । धर्मभ्राता प्रतिपन्नो भ्राता एकतीर्थी एकाश्रमी धर्मभ्राता चासौ एकतीर्थी च धर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थी । मिता.; प्रतिलोमक्रमेण यथासम्भव धनं ग्रहीतव्यम् । ब्रह्मचारी च नैष्ठिकौपनिषत पित्रादिपरित्यागेन यावज्जीवमाचार्यकुलनिवासपरिचर्यानिष्ठायाः तेन कृतत्वात् । व्यवहार XI 6 36. शिष्यस्य सम्यक्त्वसुपलक्षणम् । अत आचार्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनावपि सुकृत्तावेव धनग्राहिणावित्याह । .. ... अनेनैवाभिप्रायेण याज्ञवल्क्योपि आचार्यसच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिन इत्युभयत्र सम्बन्धं द्योतयिष्यं सच्छिष्य इति मध्ये परिणयामास । सुबोधिनी मदनरत्न explains धर्मभ्राता as समानाचार्यक and दीपकलिका explains एकतीर्थी as समानगुरु 'The word उपकुर्वाण occurs in वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र II. 12 and in हारीत q by अपरार्क p 71. नैष्ठिक is derived from निष्ठा 'end', विष्णुध. सू 28. 46 and वैखा II. 12 employ the word नैष्ठिक लघुविष्णु I. 24 defines. निष्ठां तत्रैव यो गच्छेन्नैष्ठिकः स उदाहृतः and मेधा on मनु III. 1 explains निष्ठां समाप्तिं गच्छति नैष्ठिकः.

1472. एवं क्रमशब्दस्य प्रतिलोमक्रमपरत्वमाश्रित्य नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचार्यादिधनमाचार्यादयो गृह्णन्तीत्युक्तं विज्ञानेश्वराचार्यैः । अस्माकं तु वानप्रस्थधनमाचार्यो गृह्णीयाच्छिष्यो वेति विष्णुवाक्यदर्शनात् क्रमशब्दोऽनुलोमक्रमपर इति प्रतिभाति । मदनरत्न folio 101 b This view of the Madanaratna is referred to by the स्मृ. मयूख p. 145.

Yājñavalkya's words apply only to the former, that if the latter (upakurvāna) leaves any wealth of his own it is taken by his mother, father and the other heirs. The Mit. further says that a worthy pupil is one who is capable of studying the philosophical parts of the Veda, of understanding them and of acting up to them, that a badly behaved pupil will not succeed, so also a badly conducted teacher shall not succeed. The Mit explains that Yāj III 47 allowed a forest hermit to accumulate materials that will be enough to meet his needs for a day, a month or six months or a year and so he may on his death leave some wealth Similarly, though an ascetic was required by Gautama (III. 10) to make no accumulation of wealth, yet even an ascetic requires clothes to cover his body, he has his sandals and books on Yoga and the like; and so also the perpetual student requires these.

The heirs enumerated above succeed to persons in those religious orders in priority of their kindred. It has been held that members of the three twice-born classes alone can be ascetics with the result that their pupils inherit and not the kindred and that in the case[1473] of śūdra ascetics their kindred succeed unless some usage to the effect that a pupil inherits is proved. For the foundation and administration of *mathas* and properties attached to them, the selection of the heads of mathas and their powers and duties and about ascetics and their pupils, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 906–914 and pp. 944–952.

Reunion.—A reunion properly so called can take place only between those who were parties to the original partition. Reunion, therefore, postulates three stages, viz. (1) joint family, (2) partition between members of a joint family, (3) an intention and an agreement, express or implied, to reunite in estate among members who were parties to the partition. If persons who had separated in interest merely stay together, that is not

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1473. Vide *Dharmapuram v. Viraṇandiyam* 22 Mad 302 (holds that the ordinary law of succession applies to a śūdra ascetic); *Ramdas v. Baldevadasji* 39 Bom. 168; *Somasundaram v. Vaithilinga* 40 Mad 846, at p 869, *Haris Chandra v Atir* 40 Cal. 545; but see *Sambasivam v. Secretary of State* 44 Mad. 704 (holding that the disciple of a śūdra ascetic who dies without leaving any blood relations is an heir under the Hindu Law, but that strict proof would be required of the claimant's spiritual relationship)

reunion in law, as said by the Sm. C. II. p. 302 and Vivādacandra[1474] p. 82. The Vivādacandra quoting Viṣṇupurāṇa says that reunion may be implied from a course of conduct, even though an express agreement cannot be proved. There is a divergence of views as to who can reunite. The Mit., the Dāyabhāga[1475], the Sm. C. hold, literally construing a verse of Br. (S. B. E. 33 p. 381 verse 72), that a member of a joint family when once divided can reunite only with his father, brother or paternal uncle, but not with any other relation (such as a paternal uncle's son or paternal grand-father), while the V. C. (p. 157), the V. Mayūkha (p. 146), the V. P. (p. 533) hold that the members expressly mentioned by Br. are only illustrative and that a person may reunite with *any* member who was a party to the original partition. A reunited person is called *samsṛsta* or *saṃsṛstin*[1476] (who has reunited wealth). The subject of reunion has a comparatively ancient history. Gaut. 28. 26 states the general rule that on the death of a reunited co-parcener the surviving reunited member succeeds to the share of the deceased Kaut. (III. 5 p. 160) states[1477] that those, who live together though they may have no ancestral estate or do so after dividing their ancestral estate, may divide their reunited estate again in equal shares. Manu IX. 210 (=Viṣnu Dh. S 18. 41) is similar to it.

1474 सहवासे पुरुषाणामाहत्य संसर्गाभावाद्धनद्वारेण संसर्गो वाच्य इति तन्निमित्तभूतावच्छेदकापनोदेन विभक्तानां धनादीनां पूर्ववदेकराशीकरणपर्यन्त संसर्गो न पुनः सहवासमात्रमिति मन्तव्यम्। स्मृतिच्च II. p 302. संसर्गो नैकपाकवासमात्रं संभूयव्यवसाये गतत्वात् किं तु विभज्यैकीकृतधनत्वम्। ... .. यावज्जूतमाविभक्तद्धनं मम यत्तव यथा तव तथा ममेति स्वीकारः स च क्वचिद्वाचनिकः क्वचिदृव्यवहारान्वेयः। विवादचन्द्र p 82, यत्र संसर्ग प्रमाणान्तरं नास्ति तत्र साधारणकृत्ये तत्तद्वंशविनियोजनमपि प्रमाणम्। न च तादृशवचनाभावे तदभावः, अलुक्त्वापि कृत्या व्यवहारसिद्धेः। तदुक्तं विष्णुपुराणे। अलुक्त्वापि यच्चकिंचित् कृतं भवति कर्मणा। इति। विवादचन्द्र p. 86. संसर्गे तु सहजोरत्नमतिर्मूलम्। वि. चि. p 157, विद्यमान भावि वा धनमावयोः पुनर्विभागावधि साधारणमित्याकारिका बुद्धिरिच्छा वा संसर्गः। व्य. मयूख p. 146.

1475. संसृष्टत्वं च न येन केनापि किं तु पित्रा भ्रात्रा पितृव्येण वा। यथाह बृहस्पतिः। विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकत्र संस्थितः। पितृव्येणाथवा भीत्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते। इति। मिता. on या. II 138, संसृष्टिता च पित्रादिनैव कर्तव्या नान्येन विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रादि प्राग्लिखितबृहस्पतिवचनादिति सहवः। अस्माभिस्तूपलक्षणं पित्रादिग्रहणमित्यादि प्रागेव प्रपञ्चितम्। व्य. म p 533.

1476. विभक्त धनं पुनर्मिलीकृत संसृष्ट तद्वस्यास्तीति संसृष्टी। मिता on या II 138

1477. संसृष्टिनि प्रेते ससृष्टी रिक्थभाक्। गौ. 28 26; अपितृव्या विभक्तपितृव्या वा सह जीवन्तः पुनर्विभजेरन्। अर्थशास्त्र III. 5..

The verses of Yāj. (II. 138–139)[1478] on succession to a deceased reunited person are understood by the Mit. to be an exception to the rules contained in Yāj II. 135–136 laying down that the wife and others inherit the property of a person dying sonless. Therefore it follows that where a person reunites with his brother and then dies leaving a son not reunited with him, it is the son who will inherit and not the brother, though reunited But if A separates from two sons B and C of whom B reunites with him and C does not and then A dies, then the reunited son B succeeds to A's interest and C takes nothing. This is expressly stated by the Vivādacandra p. 85 that relies on the Smṛtisāra[1479]. The two verses of Yāj (II. 138–139) are variously read and interpreted by the Mit. and other commentators and it is not possible nor quite necessary to set out all these readings and explanations. Acc. to the Mit the two verses mean: 'in the case of a deceased reunited person, the (surviving) reunited member should give (to the posthumous son of the former) the share of the deceased but may take it himself if there is no son (but only a wife); but from among the reunited brothers, the full brother, if reunited, should similarly give to the posthumous son of the deceased the latter's share and (if there be no son) he should take it himself to the exclusion of reunited half brothers; a reunited half brother takes the wealth of the deceased reunited member (dying sonless) and not another half brother who is not reunited; a full brother, though not reunited, may take the wealth along with a half brother who is reunited but the latter will not alone be entitled'. In this interpretation the word 'asamsṛsṭi' in the latter half of II. 139 has to be taken in two connections, once with 'anyodaryah' in the first half and then again with 'samsṛstah' (in the 2nd half). This last word is to be understood in two senses, viz.

1478. संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदर । दद्यादपहरेच्चांश जातस्य च मृतस्य च ॥ अन्योदर्यस्तु ससृष्टी नान्योदर्यो धनं हरेत् । असंसृष्टयपि दद्यात्संसृष्टो नान्यमातृज· ॥ या. II. 138–139. The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17 17 also अपरार्क (p 747) reads 'नान्योदर्यधनं हरेत्' and आदद्यात्सोदर्यो नान्यमातृक. विश्वरूप, जितेन्द्रिय and विवादचन्द्र p 84 read 'चादद्यात्सोदरो नान्यमातृजः'

1479 Vide *Fakirappa v. Yellappa* 22 Bom. 101, 104 for the proposition that a reunited son has a preferential right of inheritance to a grandson who remains separate. Vide विवादचन्द्र p 85 'यस्तु पिता पुत्रेणैव केनचित्सस्रष्टस्तस्यांश संसृष्ट एव गृह्णीयात्रासंसृष्टी संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्ट इति वचनात्। . . अत एव स्मृतिसारे यदा पितैव केनचित्पुत्रेणैव संसृष्टस्तदा तद्धनं तद्धनं संसृष्टिपुत्रो गृह्णीयान्नासंसृष्टी विभक्तपुत्रः संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीत्यविशेषेणाभिधानादित्युक्तम्।.

(1) full brother (with the preceding word asamsṛsti) and (2) 'reunited' (with the word 'anyamātrjah'). Further, acc. to the Mit. we have to understand 'eva' after 'anyamātrjah'. Aparārka (p. 748) reads differently and he, Viśvarūpa and Śrīkaramiśra (Dāyabhāga XI. 5-16) explain that a full brother though not reunited takes the whole estate and not the half brother though reunited with the deceased. The V. Mayūkha differs from the Mit. when it says that the word *aputrasya* (of one dying sonless) is not to be understood with Yāj (II 138). It derives two propositions from the first half of Yāj II. 138, viz (1) the wealth of one dying reunited is taken by the surviving reunited member or members; (2) in a competition between reunited full brother and reunited half-brother, the former takes the whole. The latter half of II. 138 is an independent sentence (and not joined with the preceding half as the Mit. understands) and applies where a reunited member dies leaving a wife who is pregnant but that fact being unknown the other reunited members divide the estate. In such a case if a son is born the surviving members should hand over to the son the share of the deceased reunited member. But if no such son is born then the survivors may take the estate. In II. 139 the Mayūkha holds that the words 'anyodarya' and 'anyamātrja' are not restricted to brothers only, but apply to a paternal uncle or his sons or other persons who were reunited, because their mother is also different from the mother of the deceased The Dāyabhāga discusses Yāj II. 138-139 under the topic of *succession* to the separate property of a sonless man and its treatment of succession to reunited property is very meagre (*vide* XII)[1480] The V. P. p. 533 notices this and levels against Jīmūtavāhana the criticism that he got confused. Aparārka (pp. 748-749) seems to be of the same opinion as the Dāyabhāga. The V. P. follows the Mit. and criticizes the explanation given by Śrīkara, Sm. C. and others (pp. 535-538). It says that the texts of Śankha, Nārada and others conflict with the text of Yāj. II 135 and that the order of heirs as to a reunited co-parcener is based on express texts and not on Yāj, II. 135[1481] or logical reasoning. According to the V. P. the order of succession to a deceased reunited

1480. एतेन पत्न्याद्यपुत्रधनग्रहणाधिकारिगणे भ्रात्रधिकारावसरे वचनमिदं प्रवर्तते इति व्याचक्षाणो जीमूतवाहनो भ्रान्त एवेत्यवसेयम्। व्य. प्र p 533.

1481 ततश्च पत्नीदुहित्रादिक्रमविरोधादविरोधायैतत् संसृष्टभागविषयमिति कल्प्यते। विभक्तोक्तनैयायिकपत्नीदुहित्रादिक्रमोऽत्र वाचनिककक्षेण वाध्यते। अस्मिन् क्रमे कस्यचिन्न्यायस्याभावाद्वाचनिक एवायं क्रमः। व्य. प्र p. 539.

person seems to be: (1–3) son, grandson, great-grandson; (4) reunited full brother; (5) reunited half brother and separated full brother; (6) reunited mother; (7) reunited father; (8) any other reunited member; (9) half brother not reunited; (10) mother not reunited; (11) father not reunited; (12) widow; (13) daughter; (14) daughter's son; (15) sister. The V. Mayūkha gives the order as follows: (1) son if reunited, (2) son not reunited, though there may be reunited members (other than a son); (3) the parents if reunited in preference to other reunited persons (other than a son); (4) full brother if reunited; (5) full brother not reunited and half brother reunited; (6) half brothers and uncles, if reunited; (7) other male members reunited (in preferenoe to wife though she be reunited); (8) wife if she be reunited; (9) full sister (or daughter according to another reading);[1482] (10) any other sapinda who is nearest. It is to be noted that Manu IX. 212 prescribes a peculiar rule of succession for reunited co-parceners viz. that full brothers (not reunited) and full sisters of the deceased reunited co-parcener equally inherit along with half brothers that are reunited the wealth of the deceased. This verse of Manu has been variously explained by Kullūka, Aparārka p. 749, Sm. C. (II pp 304–305), Nīlakantha, Vivādacandra (p. 83) and others.

It may be stated here that cases of reunion come very rarely before the courts.

1482. या तस्य भगिनी सा तु ततोऽर्धं लब्धुमर्हति । अनपत्यस्य धर्मोपमभार्यापितृकस्य च । बृह. q by व्य. मयूख p 152, व्य म. p 539. The व्यव. म. says केचित्तु या तस्य दुहितेति पेठु । दुहितृभगिन्योरभावेऽनन्तरः सपिण्ड.. Vide परा. मा III. p. 541 for similar words

CHAPTER XXX

STRIDHANA

Stridhana (woman's property). This subject abounds with differing views on several topics that fall under it, as will be seen below

The germs of the topic of stridhana can be traced to the Vedic Literature. As Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee remarks (in 'Marriage and Stridhana' p 370), 'nowhere were proprietary rights of women recognized so early as in India; and in very few ancient systems of law have these rights been so largely conceded as in our own'. The wedding hymn in the Ṛgveda (X. 85) contains two verses[1483] (13 and 38) which indicate that gifts were sent to the bridegroom's house with the bride. They are .' the bridal gifts of Sūryā that Savitr sent off have gone forth; in the Aghās (Maghā constellation) are struck the kine and in the Arjunis (Phalgunī constellation) is carried (the bridal gift); for thee in the beginning they carried about Sūryā together with the bridal gifts &c.'. Sāyana explains 'vahatu' as 'cows and other objects given for pleasing the girl to be married', while Lanman (Harvard O series vol. VIII p. 753) renders it as 'bridal car'. Sāyana's interpretation suits the context much better. In the Tai. S VI. 2. 1 1 we read,[1484] 'the wife (of the sacrificer) holds on (to the cart), for the wife is the mistress of the household gear'. Manu IX. 11 uses the word 'pārinahya' (household gear) and states that the wife should be entrusted among other matters with the supervision over it. Jaimini[1485], according to Śabara, refers to

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1483. सूर्यायां वहतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवासृजत् । अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते ॥ तुभ्यमग्ने पर्यवहन् सूर्यां वहतुना सह । पुनः पतिभ्यो जायां दा अग्ने प्रजया सह ॥ ऋ X. 85, 13 and 38 These are almost the same as अथर्ववेद 14 1 13 and 14 2 1.

1484. पत्न्यन्वारभते पत्नी हि पारीणाह्यस्येशे । तै. स VI 2. 1. 1 (in connection with अतिथ्येष्टि).

1485. स्ववत्तामपि दर्शयति । जै. VI 1. 16, पत्नी वै पारिणह्यस्येष्टे पत्न्यैव गतमनुमतं क्रियते । शबर The printed text differs from the Tai S. text पारिणह्य would mean 'nuptial gifts'. The वि र p 517 explains पारिणाह्यं (in Vas. 17 46) as पारिणाह्य परिच्छद आदर्शकङ्कणादि (paraphernalia, mirrors and bracelets). वि चि p. 142 reads °कङ्कतिकादि (combs &c) वि. त (*folio 160*) says: पारिणाह्यानुपस्करः । आदर्शकङ्कणताम्बूलकरण्डकादिरिति कल्पतरु । परिणेयमिति पाठान्यौतकमित्यन्ये

this passage of the Tai. S. for establishing that women do own certain property. Medhātithi[1486] on Manu VIII 416 (cited above on p 452) quotes this passage of the Tai S. and argues that if Manu VIII 416 (saying that whatever a wife earns is her husband's) were literally understood passages like the one in Tai. S would have no scope and that therefore Manu simply means that though women may be owners they cannot dispose of the property independently It appears from these ancient passages that the properties, which in early days were held to be owned by women, were presents made at the time of marriage (such as ornaments and costly dresses) and household articles that are generally under the control of women and that the later smrti rules about the devolution of strīdhana in the female line arose from the peculiar nature of the articles over which dominion was conceded to women This early state of things is indicated by some of the early sūtras. Āp Dh[1487] S (II 6. 14. 9) states the view of some predecessors (which Āp himself does not approve) that the ornaments belong to the wife and also such wealth as came to her from her agnates (father, brother &c). Baud. Dh S. II 2. 49 says that daughters get the ornaments of their mother and whatever else it is customary for them to get. Vas 17. 46 prescribes that women (daughters) should divide the nuptial presents given to their mother. Śankha (q by Sam. Pr. p. 851) prescribes that in all forms of marriage ornaments and strīdhana should be given to the girl It may be that Manu VIII 416 only gives expression to an ancient opinion, that the literal meaning of that verse was given up long before and that all that Manu meant was that during coverture a woman was subject to the control of the husband as regards her strīdhana.

Three principal topics have to be discussed under strīdhana viz what constitutes strīdhana, woman's dominion over her

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1486. असति वा स्त्रीणा स्वाम्ये पत्न्यैवाद्युगमन क्रियते पत्नी वै पारिणह्यस्वेशे इत्यादि-श्रुतयो निरालम्बनाः स्युः । अत्रोच्यते । पारतन्त्र्याभिधानमेतत् । असत्यां भर्तृसन्तायां न स्त्रीभि स्वातन्त्र्येण यत्र क्वचिद्धन विनियोक्तव्यम्। मेधा on मनु VIII 416

1487 अलङ्कारो भार्यायां ज्ञातिधनं चैके। आप ध सू. II. 6 14 9. मातुरलङ्कार दुहितर सामदायिकं लभेरन्यद्वा। बौ ध सू II 2 49. मातु पारिणेय स्त्रियो विभजेरन्। वसिष्ठ 17. 46 The वि र p 521 explains आप as 'ज्ञातिधन चेति विवाहे यद्धनं यौतकाख्य लब्ध तदपि भार्याया एव' The मिता. on याज्ञ II 117 seems to have read this as a supplement to the preceding sūtra about the special share of the eldest son. The दायभाग IV 2 15 p 82 and विवादचन्द्र p 75 read पारिणाख्य in Vas and explain as परिणयनलब्ध धन or विवाहकालीनं respectively

strīdhana and inheritance to strīdhana. On each one of these topics great diversity of views prevails and the subject has become very complicated, as the Dāyabhāga remarks[1488].

Gautama contains three sūtras about the devolution of strīdhana, but he does not define or describe it.[1488a] Kaut (III 2. p. 152) defines[1489]: 'means of subsistence and what could be tied on the body (i e ornaments and jewellery) constitute strīdhana. The means of subsistence should be fixed at 2000 (panas) as the maximum, while there is no limit to (what may be given) as *ābadhya* (ornaments &c.)'. This may be compared with a verse of Kāt. (902) and a similar[1490] verse of Vyāsa viz. 'the father, the mother, the husband, brother and kinsmen should give strīdhana to a woman according to their means up to two thousand (panas) except immovable property' The Sm. C. and V. Mayūkha explain that this limit of 2000 applies to gifts made every year, but that if a gift is to be made once for all, then more may be given and even immovable property may be given.

The term strīdhana literally means 'woman's property'. But in the ancient smṛti works the word was restricted to certain special kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions or at different stages of her life. Gradually such kinds of property went on increasing in extent and value. We have to follow this evolution of the meaning and content of the word strīdhana. One characteristic feature of strīdhana from the times of Gautama downwards has been that it devolved on females in the first instance The oldest extant definition of it

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1488. बृहस्पतिगहनमुक्तममजःस्त्रीधनम्। दायभाग IV 3 42 p 99.

1488a. For exhaustive treatment of strīdhana the following works may be consulted. Sir Gooroodass Bannerjee's 'Hindu Law of marriage and strīdhana' (5th ed. of 1923) pp. 319–519, Dr Jolly's T L L on 'Adoption, Inheritance and Partition' (1885) pp. 226–270.

1489 वृत्तिरावश्यं वा स्त्रीधनम्। परद्विसहस्रा स्थाप्या वृत्तिः। आवश्यानियम.। अर्थशास्त्र III 2.

1490. पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृज्ञातीभिः स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियै। यथाशक्त्या द्विसाहस्राद् दातव्यं स्थावराद्ऋते। कात्या. q by स्मृतिच II 281, परा मा III. p. 548, व्य. मयूख p 154; द्विसाहस्रः परो दायः स्त्रियै देयो धनस्य च। यच्च भर्त्रा धनं दत्तं सा यथाकाममश्नुयात्॥ व्यासः q. by स्मृतिच. II p 281, अपरार्क p 752, दायभाग IV. 1. 10, बालम्भट्टी, व्य. मयूख p. 154 The परा. मा III p. 548 quotes बृहस्पति 'यथाऽधन च पर्याप्तं क्षेत्रांशं वा यदिच्छति।'

in Dharmaśāstra works is that of Manu[1491] IX. 194· 'what (was given) before the nuptial fire, what was given on the bridal procession, what was given in token of love, what was received from her brother, mother or father, that is called the sixfold woman's property'. The Mit. on Yāj II 143 explains that the number six is intended to exclude a smaller number of the kinds of strīdhana and does not exclude a larger number. In IX. 195 Manu appears to mention one more kind viz. '*anvādheya*' (gift subsequent)' Nār. (dāyabhāga, 8) has the same six kinds as Manu IX. 194, but reads 'bhartrdāya' (the husband's gift) for Manu's 'what is given in token of affection', the latter being thus wider than Nārada's words Yāj. (II. 143–44) enumerates[1492] the several kinds of strīdhana as follows: 'what was given (to a woman) by the father, mother, husband or brother or was received by her before the nuptial fire, or what was presented on her husband's marrying another wife (*ādhivedanika*) and the like—these are denominated strīdhana; so also what is given by the cognate relations (of the woman), the *śulka* (fee), and gifts subsequent to marriage'. The Mit. and most of its followers read 'ādhivedanikādyam ca', while Aparārka and the Dāyabhāga read 'ādhivedanikam caiva', the difference being that if one reads as the Mit. does, several other kinds not expressly enumerated can be easily included under strīdhana. But it should be noted that even without reading —'kādyam', Aparārka explains the verse in the same way as the Mit. does. Visnu[1493] Dh S. 17. 18 enumerates almost the same kinds of strīdhana as Yāj, but omits the word 'ādya'.

Among smrti writers Kātyāyana gives the most elaborate treatment of strīdhana in about twenty-seven verses. He

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1491 अध्यग्न्यध्यावहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि । भ्रातृमातृपितृमात्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ मनु IX 194 काश्या. (894) acc to दायभाग (IV. 1 4 p. 72), वि र. 522 and वि चि. p 138 had practically the same verse (reading *प्रीतितः स्त्रियै*) The मिता says, 'यत्पुनर्मनुनोक्तं . .. स्त्रीधनस्य षड्विधत्वं तन्न्यूनसंख्याव्यवच्छेदार्थं नाधिकसंख्याव्यवच्छेदाय '।; अध्यग्न्यध्यावहनिकं भर्तृदायस्तथैव च । भ्रातृमातृपितृमात्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ नारद (दायभाग, 8).

1492. पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतम् । आधिवेदनिकाद्यं च स्त्रीधन परिकीर्तितम् ॥ बन्धुदत्तं तथा शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमेव च । या. II. 143–144 On आधिवेदनिकं चैव, अपरार्क p 751 says चशब्दः आद्यर्थः । तेन च स्त्रीधनान्तरपरिग्रहः । तद्यथा—कार्यापत्यः समाशिका, मातापित्रंशं समं हरेत् । स्वसमादंशाच्चतुर्भागं, मातुः परिणाह्यं स्त्रियो विभजेरन्, अन्यदपि यत्स्त्रीस्वामिकं तत्स्त्रीधनमिति मन्वादिभिः परिकीर्तितम् । Against the reading चैव the बालम्भट्टी remarks 'अत्र *आधिवेदनिकं चैवेति* माध्यधृतपाठो न युक्तः, चशब्दस्य वैयर्थ्यात्, न्यूनतापत्तेः, पञ्चसान्तरविरोधापत्तेश्च ।'

1493 पितृमातृसुतभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतमाधिवेदानिकं बन्धुदत्तं शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमिति स्त्रीधनम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17, 18.

defines several kinds of strīdhana enumerated by Manu, Yāj., Nār., and Viṣṇu (in all six) as follows[1494]: what is given to women at the time of marriage before the nuptial fire is declared by the wise to be *adhyagni*[1495] strīdhana. That again which a woman obtains when she is being taken (in a procession) from her father's house (to the bridegroom's) is declared to be *adhyāvahanika* strīdhana. Whatever is given to a woman through affection by the father-in-law or mother-in law and what is received by her at the time of doing obeisance at the feet (of elders) is said to be *prītidatta* (gift through affection) strīdhana. That is declared to be *śulka* (bride's fee) which is obtained as the price of household utensils, of beasts of burden, of milch cattle, ornaments and slaves. Whatever is obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband as also from the family of her (father's) kinsmen is said to be *anvādheya* (gift subsequent). According to Bhṛgu whatever is obtained by a woman after marriage through affection from her husband or from her parents is *anvādheya*'. It may be noted that Kātyāyana's definitions of adhyagni and adhyāvahanika are wide

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1494. विवाहकाले यल्लब्धं दीयते ह्यग्निसंनिधौ। तदध्यग्निकृतं सद्भिः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम्॥ यद्भुनर्लभते नारी नीयमाना पितृगृहात्। अध्यावहनिकं चैव स्त्रीधनं तदुदाहृतम्॥ प्रीत्या दत्तं तु यत्किंचित् श्वश्रूया वा श्वशुरेण वा। पादवन्दनिकं चैव प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते॥ गृहोपस्करवाह्यानां दोह्याभरणकर्मणाम्। मूल्यं लब्धं तु यत्किंचिच्छुल्कं तत् परिकीर्तितम्॥ विवाहात्परतो यत्तु लब्धं भर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया। अन्वाधेयं तदुक्तं तु लब्धं बन्धुकुलात् तथा॥ ऊर्ध्वं लब्धं तु यत्किंचित् संस्कारात् प्रीतितः स्त्रिया। भर्तुः पितुश्च सकाशाद्वा अन्वाधेयं तु तद् भृगुः॥ऊढया कन्यया वापि भर्तुः पितृगृहेऽपि वा। भ्रातुः सकाशात् पितुर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं स्मृतम्॥ कात्या 895–901. The Mitā quotes all except two (viz 898 and 900), the दायभाग (IV) quotes all except 897. वि र, (pp 510, 524–525) reads all, दीपकलिका, दायभाग IV 1 5 p 73, कुल्लूक on मनु 9 194, वि चि p. 138 read नीयमाना हि (or तु) पैतृकात् in 896, अपरार्क p. 751, व्यव नि p 465, विवादचन्द्र p 77, वि. चि p 138 read तल्लावण्यार्जितमुच्यते for प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते; दीपकलिका, व्यवहारसार p 237, व्य प्र p 543 read दोह्याभरणकर्मणाम्; वि चि p 139 and व्य. मयूख p 153 read यल्लब्धं स्वकुलात्तथा; मिता, स चि p 380 read यल्लब्धं पितृकुलात्तथा. दायभाग reads भर्तुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा

1495. Some of the words deserve explanation. अध्यग्नि is formed as an अव्ययीभाव from अधि + अग्नि acc to पा II. 1. 6 'अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीप०' and means अग्नौ अधिकृत्य अग्निसन्निधौ इत्यर्थः (बालम्भट्टी); आधिवेदनिक अधिवेदन धर्मपत्न्या सत्या रागत एव विवाहान्तरकरणे तत् निमित्त अस्मीति। सुबोधिनी and बालम्भट्टी (which relies on पा. V. 1, 38). Some read अध्यावहनिक, others read अध्यावाहनिक. आवहन or आवाहन means पितृकुलाद् भर्तृकुलप्राप्तिः (नन्दन on मनु IX 194) तत्समयोपलब्धमध्यावहनिकं; अन्वाधेय means अनु (विवाहानन्तर) आधीयते इति (नन्दन). Instead of प्रीतिदत्त some read लावण्यार्जित (obtained by her loveliness) which is explained by the वि चि (138) as लावण्य शीलनैपुण्यादि। तथा च पादमूलतापै शीलादिमत्यै वा स्त्रियै श्वशुरादिना दत्त तृतीयं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थः।

enough to include gifts made even by strangers on those occasions

These definitions given by Kātyāyana have been accepted by all digests including even the Dāyabhāga.

"That is known as *saudāyika* which is obtained by a married woman or by a maiden in her husband's or father's house from her brother or from her parents" (Kāt.). Some of the divergences in readings and in interpretation deserve to be noted Acc. to the reading adopted by the Mit *adhyāvahanika* includes all gifts made *by any one* when the newly married girl is taken from her father's house in a procession, while the reading adopted by the Dāyabhāga[1496] and some others (*paitṛkāt*) restricts the adhyāvahanika to gifts made by the father's or mother's family only. The V. R (p. 523) includes under adhyāvāhanika also the gifts made by the father-in-law and others when the girl is taken back to her father's house and the V C. (p 138) says that it is what is obtained at the time of '*punāgamana*'. The Dāyabhāga[1497] (IV. 3. 19–20 p. 93) explains 'dohyābharana-karminām' differently as 'the gratification paid by house-builders or goldsmiths to induce her to press her husband to engage them' or as Vyāsa says 'what is given to a woman to induce her (cheerfully) to go to her husband's house'. The Sm. C. and V. P. explain śulka as the price of the articles which the bridegroom was in the habit of presenting to the bride at the time of marriage or when he started a house.[1498] The V.

1496 पैतृकादित्येकशेषेण पितृमातृकुलाद् यल्लभते धनं भर्तृगृह नीयमाना तदध्यावाहनिकम्। दायभाग IV 1 6 p 73. 'भर्तृगृहाद्यदा पितृकुलं याह्यते तदा श्वशुरादिभिर्दत्तमध्यावाहनिकामिति मेधातिथिः तदपि ग्राह्य न्यायसाम्यात्।' वि र. pp. 522–523; द्विरागमनकाले यत्कुतोऽप्यवाप्त तदध्यावाहनिकमित्यर्थः। वि. चि p 138. The printed editions do not contain the comment of मेधातिथि on मनु IX. 194 and the following verses

1497 गृहादिकर्मभिः शिल्पिभिस्तत्कर्मकरणाय भर्त्रादिप्रेरणार्थं स्त्रियै यद्वरकोचदान तच्चुल्क तदेव मूल्य प्रवृत्त्यर्थत्वात्। व्यासोक्तं वा यथा। यदा नेतुं भर्तृगृहे शुल्कं तत् परिकीर्तितम्। भर्तृगृहगमनार्थमुत्कोचादि यद्दत्त तच्च ब्राह्मादिष्वनिन्दितम्। दायभाग IV. 3. 20–21 p. 93

1498 The change in the meaning of *śulka* is interesting One meaning of śulka is 'tax or toll on merchandise'. Vide Visnu Dh S III 29, Yāj II 173, 261, Vas 19. 37 Pāṇini V 1. 47 uses that word in that sense (तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते) and the Kāśikā explains it as रक्षानिवेशो राजभागः शुल्क Another sense is 'the fee paid to the bride or her parents by the bridegroom in consideration of marriage'. The word occurs in

(*Continued on the next page*)

Nir. (p. 468) states that śulka has two senses; (1) what is given as the price of the girl to the guardians of the girl which goes to the mother and brother (on her death); (2) what is given (by the bridegroom) as the price of the ornaments for the girl and of the household gear.[1499] Another verse of Kāt. (904) has been quoted by many writers, which restricts the literal sense of the word stridhana, 'over that wealth that is obtained by a woman by mechanical arts (such as spinning) or from a stranger through affection, the husband has ownership

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(*Continued from the last page*)

Gaut. 28 23 and in Sankha (*svayam śulkam vodhā*) q by V. R. p 521 In very ancient days there appears to have been a practice to offer in some cases considerable wealth to the father of the bride to induce him to give her in marriage. *Rg* I *109. 2* refers to this. 'O Indra and Agni! I have heard that you are more liberal than even an unsuitable (or deficient) son-in-law or even a brother-in-law'. Yāska (VI. *9*) in explaining this verse remarks that the southern people speak of the husband of the bride that i purchased as '*vijāmātr*' (*विजामाता इति शश्वद् दाक्षिणात्याः क्रीतायतिमाचक्षते अहुसमास इव वरोभिमेतः*) But this verse also shows that the bride's brother (*śyāla*) had to give wealth to his sister's husband. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp *503–506* for passages about the sale and purchase of girls in marriage from ancient times right down to *1800* A. D. Though sometimes girls were purchased for marriage, popular feeling gradually asserted itself against this In the Vanaparva (115. 23) Gādhi claims as the custom of his family one thousand horses of the best kind *from* Rcika when the latter preferred his suit for the hand of Gādhi's daughter (*उचितं नः कुले किंचिद् वृणीष्वैतत्समर्पितम्। एकतः श्यामकर्णानां पाण्डुराणां तरस्विनाम्। सहस्रं वाजिनां शुल्कमिति विद्धि द्विजोत्तम॥*) Vide Anuśāsana 4 12 (for a similar statement) and 2 31. Manu III. *51* forbids the taking of even a small gratuity through *greed* by the father when giving away his daughter in marriage and says that if he does so he would be guilty of the sale of his child and in III. *54* (almost the same as Anuśāsana 46. 1–2) Manu says that when agnates do not appropriate to themselves the gratuity paid (*by* the bridegroom) for the bride but hand it over to the bride then it is not sale, but it is honour shown to the girl and is merely kindness to her. The Mit defines śulka as the gratuity after getting which the girl is given The V. C p. *139* defines it as what is obtained from the husband *on* condition of furnishing household gear &c. '*गृहोपस्करादिकरणोपाधिना स्त्रिया गृहपतितो यद्धनं तच्छुल्कमित्यर्थः*'

1499. *तत्र शुल्कं द्विविधं कन्याविक्रयमूल्यादेन कन्यावद्भ्यो दत्तमेकम्। तस्मादृतादि भ्रातृभ्यो वा। कन्याभूषणगृहोपकरणमूल्यत्वेन दत्तमपरं शुल्कम्। तद्भ्रातृभिरादेयम्।* स्मृ. चं. p. 468.

the rest is declared to be stridhana'.[1500] The prima facie view (*pūrvapakṣa*) in Jai. VI. 1. 12 urges that what a woman gets by serving cooked food or by cutting clothes does not belong to her. The gifts from strangers here referred to are other than those made by a stranger before the nuptial fire or at the time of the bridal procession. This definition makes it clear that what is obtained even from a stranger by a maiden or by a woman who is a widow at the time of the gift is pure stridhana. Devala says, 'maintenance (what was given for maintenance), ornaments, śulka (bride's gratuity), the profits of money-lending are a woman's stridhana. She alone is entitled to enjoy it and the husband is not entitled to enjoy it except in the case of distress'.[1501] Manu IX. 200 states, 'the heirs of the husband should not divide (among themselves) the ornaments worn by women during the lifetime of their husband; if they divide them they incur sin'. In the printed editions of Manu there is no comment of Medhātithi on this verse, but the V. R (p. 509), V. C. p. 139, Dāyatattva p. 184 all say that acc. to Medhātithi even ornaments, though not donated expressly, become stridhana, if worn with the husband's consent.[1502] According to the Vaijayantī such ornaments should be assigned to the share of the woman's husband so that she alone might put them on and that it is not meant that such ornaments are not to be taken into account at all at the time of partition.

1500. मासं शिल्पैस्तु यद्वित्तं प्रीत्या चैव यदन्यतः । भर्तुः स्वाम्यं तदा तत्र शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥ कात्या. q. by दायभाग IV. 1. 19–20 p 76, स्मृतिच II p 281, परा मा III 550, व्य. मयूख p. 154. दायभाग explains: अन्यत इति पितृमातृभर्तृकुलव्यतिरिक्तात् यल्लब्धं शिल्पेन वा यदर्जितं तत्र भर्तुः स्वाम्य स्वातन्त्र्यम्, अनापद्यपि भर्ता ग्रहीतुमर्हति तेन स्त्रिया अपि धनं न स्त्रीधनमस्वातन्त्र्यात्. 'यदनया भक्तोत्सर्पणेन वा कर्तनेन वा धनमुपार्जितं तेन यदयत इति । उच्यते तदप्यस्या न स्वम् ।' भाष्य on जै. VI. 1 12.

1501. वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् । भोक्त्री च स्वयमेवेदं पतिर्नार्हत्यनापदि ॥ देवल q by अपरार्क p 755, स्मृतिच II, p 283, दायभाग IV. 1. 15 p. 75, वि. र. p 512, व्य मयूख p 56, वि चि. p 141. Some read वृद्धि· (व्य. म. p. 545 does so) लाभ is variously explained. लभ्यते इति लाभः । एतदुक्तं भवति । पार्वत्यादिप्रीत्यर्थं व्रतादौ यत् स्त्रिया लभ्यते तदपि स्त्रीधनमिति । स्मृतिच. II. p. 283, व्य. म. p 545 and मदनरत्न follow this, 'लाभा बन्धुभ्यो लब्धम्' वि र. p. 512, वि चि. p. 141; 'वृत्तिर्जीवनार्थं पित्रादिदत्तं लाभो वृद्धिः' व्य. मयूख p 156

1502. पत्यौ जीवति यः स्त्रीभिरलङ्कारो धृतो भवेत् । न तं भजेरन् दायादा भजमानाः पतन्ति ते ॥ मनु IX. 200, which is almost same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 22 पत्युरज्ञातेमा(ज्ञानेना ?)प्यदत्तोप्यलङ्कारो यो मण्डनार्थं धृतः सोपि दायादैर्न हर्तव्य इति मेधातिथेरिति प्रकाश. । वि. र. p 509; पत्युरदत्तोपि तदज्ञया परिहितोप्यलङ्कारस्तावदेव भार्यायाः स्त्रीयो भवतीति मेधातिथिः । वि चि. p 139 and दायतत्त्व p 184.

Saudāyika is not a special kind of stridhana. It is rather a comprehensive term for several kinds of stridhana as the definition given by Kāt shows and as the V. C. (p. 139) expressly states[1503]. It is almost synonymous with stridhana in the technical sense. Acc. to most writers, it is wealth received by a woman, whether as a maiden or as a married woman, in her father's or husband's house from her parents or relatives of the father and mother. The Sm C. II. p. 282 and V. R p. 511 hold that saudāyika is all wealth obtained by a woman whether as a maiden or as a married woman from her mother, father or paternal relatives only, while the Dāyabhāga IV. 1. 23 pp 76-77 and V. C. hold that *saudāyika* includes also all property donated by the husband except immovable property, which latter she cannot alienate even after her husband's death. There is a verse of Vyāsa[1504] that defines saudāyika similarly, 'whatever is obtained by a woman as a maiden at the time of marriage and after marriage from the house of her father or husband, is termed saudāyika' The word 'saudāyika' is derived from 'sudāya' and means, according to the Dāyabhāga IV. 1. 22 p. 76, 'received from affectionate kindred'. The Amarakośa says that 'sudāya' means 'gifts of yautaka and the like' and that saudāyaka is merely a derivative without change of meaning[1505]

Another word requiring explanation is '*yautaka*'. It occurs in Manu IX. 131, 'whatever is the yautaka of the mother goes to the maiden daughter' (and not to the married daughter or son). So yautaka seems to be a synonym for stridhana in

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1503. एवं स्त्रीधनानि भवन्ति। एतदेव स्त्रीणां सौदायिकं तथा च कात्यायन । ऊढया ... भवेत्। पत्युरित्यत्रापि गृहे इति सम्बन्धः। . . भ्रातुरित्युपलक्षणम्। तेन कन्यया वा ऊढया वा पितृतो वा तत्कुलतो वा पतिकुलतो वा यल्लब्धं तत्सर्वं तस्याः सौदायिकमित्यर्थः । वक्ष्यमाणवृत्त्यादिकमप्येतत्प्रपञ्चः। वि चि. p. 139, दायभाग IV. 1. 21 reads भर्तुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा, 'भर्तुः सकाशादिति कल्पतर्वादौ पाठः' व्य प्र. p 543.

1504. यत्कन्यया विवाहे च विवाहात्परतश्च यत् । पितृभर्तृगृहात्प्राप्तं धनं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥ व्यास. q. by स्मृतिच Il p 282, स. वि. p 378.

1505. सुदायसम्बन्धिभ्यो लब्धं सौदायिकम्। दायभाग IV. 1. 22, यौतकादि तु यद्देयं सुदायो हरणं च तत्। अमरकोशः, नन्नु 'सौदायिकं तु यद्देयं सुदायो भरण च तत्' इति निघण्टुपाठात् कथ सौदायिकशब्दोऽत्र प्रयुक्त । स्वार्थे तद्धितान्ततयेत्यनवद्यम्। स्मृतिच II p 282 The quotation from Amara seems to be corrupt as printed by Mr. Gharpure, the Mysore edition correctly reads यौतकादि तु यद्देय सुदाय इति निघण्टुपाठात् (vol III. 2. p. 655) 'सुदाय एव सौदायिक स्वार्थिकष्टच्। स्वदायतो लब्धमिति वा । स्वदाय(सुदाय?)सम्बन्धिभ्यो लब्धमिति तु माध.' बालम्भट्टी on या. II. 143

the technical sense The Sm [1506] C II p. 285, Madanaratna (folio 105 b) and V. Mayūkha remark 'yautaka is that wealth that is received as a gift from anybody by a woman while she is seated together with her husband at the time of marriage and the like'. It is derived from *yuta* (joined). It should, however, be noted that Yāj II. 149 employs the word *yautaka* as an adjective in the sense of 'separated' and that Medhātithi on Manu IX 131 explains 'yautaka'-as the separate property of a woman, her strīdhana The Sm C II. p 285 remarks that Devasvāmī derived 'yautaka' from 'yu' (to separate) and held it to mean 'wealth obtained from the family of the woman's father which is separate in its characteristics'. The V. C. p 142 and Vivādacandra p. 74 read 'yautuka' and the former explains it as gifts from the father and the like at the time of marriage The Dāyatattva (p 186) states that both forms 'yautaka' and 'yautuka' are in vogue and relies on Vācaspati and Rāyamukuta in support

Kaut (III. 2. p 153) names śulka, anvādheya, ādhivedanika and bandhudatta as kinds of strīdhana.

The above are the principal smṛti texts on the question of what constitutes strīdhana. It will be seen that the smṛtis only enumerate and describe certain kinds of property as strīdhana, which word is not used by them in the etymological sense of 'all kinds of property possessed by a woman'. They do not attempt a comprehensive definition of strīdhana. From the texts of the smṛtis it follows that strīdhana was a technical term, which at first included only six kinds of property, then nine and ultimately by the time of Kātyāyana it included all property (whether movable or immovable) obtained by a woman, either as a maiden or at marriage or after marriage,

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1506 यौतकं विवाहादिकाले एकवासनोपविष्टाभ्यां लब्धम्। अत एवोक्तं निघण्टुकारैर्युतयोर्यौतकमिति। मदनरत्न folio 105 b; व्य. मयूख p 158 quotes the मदनरत्न; वि. र p. 517 explains 'यौतकमत्र परिणयनकाले पित्राद्यैः स्त्रियै दत्तम्'; परा. मा. III. p 552 explains as पितृकुललब्धम् यौतकं समानासनोपवेशनप्रत्यासन्नयोर्वधूवरयोर्विवाहादौ येन केनचित्समर्पितं धनं तद्वधूवरयोर्दैयं युतयोर्यौतकं मतमिति निघण्टुकारोक्तत्वात्। ... देवस्वामी तु पितृगृहालब्धं भर्तृगृहालब्धापेक्षया पृथग्धनतया यौतकं मातृधनं (भ्रातृधनं?) नेत्याह। तच्चिन्त्यम्। पक्षद्वयस्यापि कल्पनामात्रत्वात्। स्मृतिच्च. II p 285. Vide व्य. म. p 548 for most of these being brought together. व्यव नि. p. 463 explains यौतकं as मातृकुललब्धम्. 'यौतकशब्दः पृथग्भावेन च क्रीधने। तत्र हि तस्या एव केवलायाः स्वाम्यम्। अन्ये तु सौदायकमेव तत्सम्बन्धक्रीधनं तत्र हि तस्याः स्वातन्त्र्यम्। मेधा on मनु IX 131: वाचस्पतिमिश्रराजमुकुटभूताद् यौतुकं यौतकमपि साधु। परिणयनकालः परिणयनपूर्वापरीभूतकाल स च वृद्धिश्राद्धारम्भपरत्वमभिधातुन्नान्तो विवाहतत्रे विवृतः। वाचस्पति p. 186.

from her parents or the family or relatives of the parents or from the husband and his family (except immovable property given by the husband) and that what was obtained by a woman *after her marriage* by her own labour or from strangers did not become stridhana. Most smrtis employ the word 'datta' (donated), but Kāt. and Vyāsa sometimes use the word 'obtained' (*prāpta* or *labdha*), which is ordinarily wider than 'datta'. But it is clear that the commentators do not expressly say that 'obtained' includes 'inherited', though from their general remarks to be quoted below it is arguable that they probably included inherited property under property obtained.

This is stridhana in a technical sense.

It is now necessary to find how stridhana was defined by the several commentaries and digests that are held authoritative in the several schools. This is a most important matter for practical purposes, since the courts have to follow the opinions of commentators[1507] that are authoritative in each school and are not at liberty to put their own construction upon ancient smrti texts, if such construction would run counter to the express opinions of the authoritative commentators. First then comes the Mitāksarā. Its gloss on Yāj. II. 143 may be translated as follows[1508]: 'whatever is given by the father, mother, husband and brother; what was presented by the maternal uncle and the like at the time of marriage before the nuptial fire; and *ādhivedanika*, that is, gift made (by the husband) at the time of marrying a second wife as will be described subsequently in the words 'he should give to the wife that is superseded' (Yāj. II. 148); by the word 'ādya' (meaning 'and the like') is indicated property that is obtained by succession, purchase, partition, seizure or finding—all this is declared by Manu and others to be stridhana. The word stridhana is employed here in its etymological sense and not in a technical sense, since, when the etymological sense is possible, it is improper to resort to the technical sense' The Mitāksarā expanded the

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1507. Vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo I. A 397, 436, quoted in *Atmaram v. Bajirao* 62 I A. 139 at p 143

1508 पित्रा मात्रा पत्या भ्राता च यद्दत्तं यच्च विवाहकालेऽग्नावधिकृत्य मातुलादिभिर्दत्तं, आधिवेदनिक अधिवेदननिमित्तं अधिविक्तायै दत्तादिति पदमाणम् । आद्यशब्देन रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहः धिगमप्रभृतम् एतत्स्त्रीधन मन्वादिभिरुक्तम् । स्त्रीधनशब्दश्च यौगिको न पारिभाषिक । योगसम्भवे परिभाषाया अयुक्तत्वात् । मिता on याज्ञ II. 143 As against the last sentence of the Mit may be compared the maxim (*nyāya*) 'रूढियोगमपहरति' (relied upon in पराश. मा I. 1. p. 300)

definition of strīdhana so as to include under it the five kinds of property of which a man becomes owner in various ways according to Gautama X. 39. The result is that, according to the Mit, property of any description belonging to a woman becomes strīdhana even if it be inherited by her from a male as a widow or as a mother or even if it be obtained at a partition by a wife or mother (acc. to Yāj. II 115 or 123 respectively). The same interpretation of the word 'ādya' has been accepted by several works, such as the Madanapārijāta (p 671), the S. V. (p. 379), V. P. (p 542), the Bālambhattī. Aparārka without reading 'ādya' gave the same explanation of 'ca' as stated above (on p. 773). On the other hand, the Dāyabhāga gave a restricted meaning to the word. Jīmūtavāhana reads Yāj II. 143 as '*ādhivedanikam cāpa*', quotes the verse of Devala (in note 1501), remarks that strīdhana is not restricted to the six kinds of Manu (IX. 194) but includes other kinds mentioned by other smṛtis and finally[1509] observes: 'that alone is strīdhana which a woman has authority to donate, sell or enjoy independently of her husband's control'. The Dāyabhāga does not expressly state the kinds of property that a woman can dispose of independently of her husband, but immediately after defining strīdhana it quotes the texts of Kāt. (about earnings from mechanical arts and gifts from strangers) and Nār. (IV. 28), 'what has been given to a wife by her loving husband, she may spend or give away as she likes even after his death excepting immovables'. From this it follows that, according to the Dāyabhāga, all gifts from relations except a gift of immovable property made by the husband and gifts from even strangers made before the nuptial fire or on the bridal procession constitute strīdhana, but property inherited by a woman or obtained on partition, gifts from strangers (other than the two kinds noted above) and property acquired by her by mechanical arts or by her labour are not strīdhana. The Dāyatattva closely follows the Dāyabhāga.

The Sm. C. does not give a defintion of strīdhana, but it does not adopt the interpretation of the word 'ādya' given by

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1509. तदेवमन्यव्यतिरिक्तसंख्यस्त्रीधनकीर्तनात् यद्संख्या विवक्षिता किं तु स्त्रीधनकीर्तनमात्रपराणि वचनानि। तदेव च स्त्रीधनं यद् भर्तृत स्वातन्त्र्येण दानविक्रयभोगान्कर्तुमधिकरोति। ... स्थावरेऽपि भर्तृदत्तमात्रे स्त्रिया दानाद्यनधिकारः। तदाह नारदः। भर्त्रा प्रीतेन यद्दत्तं स्त्रियै तस्मिन्मृतेऽपि तत्। सा यथाकाममश्नीयाद् दद्याद्वा स्थावरादृते। भर्तृदत्तविशेषणाद् भर्तृदत्तस्थावरादृते अन्यत् स्थावरं देयमेव भवति। दायभाग IV 1. 18 and 23. श्रीकृष्ण says 'स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्येण विनियोज्यं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थः।'

the Mit. Therefore it may be said that it is in line with the Dāyabhāga. The Par. M. III, p. 547[1510] (another Madras authority) appears to follow the *Mit.*, since it says: "'ādya' includes 'ādhivedanika' and what is acquired by inheritance, sale and the like." The Vivādacintāmani (the leading authority in Mithilā) does not define strīdhana in general, but enumerates the several kinds of strīdhana described by Manu, Yāj., Viṣnu, Kāt, and Devala and so is on a par with the Dāyabhāga. The V. Mayūkha divides strīdhana into two kinds, *pāribhāsika* (technical) and *apāribhāsika* (non-technical). The former comprises properties expressly stated to be strīdhana by the sages, while the latter includes all other property belonging to a woman (except what is called technical) and acquired by her by partition or cutting (sewing or other mechanical arts).[1511] This division is peculiar to the V. Mayūkha. The Vīramitrodaya (the paramount authority in the Benares school) agrees with Mit. as stated above.

It is beyond the scope of this work to go deeply into modern caselaw. But it is necessary to show how the Indian Courts have in modern times dealt with strīdhana as defined by the commentators. It may be said at once that the inclusion by the Mit. of property inherited by a woman or obtained at a partition under strīdhana has been totally discarded by the Privy Council for all provinces in India except Bombay[1512]. A woman may inherit property from a male, such as from her husband, father or son or she may inherit property from a female, that is, from her mother, daughter &c. Both these kinds of property

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1510. आद्यशब्देन अध्यावाहनिकक्रय(रिक्थ?)क्रयादिभागं च । परा. मा III p. 547.

1511. यत्तु विभजेरन्सुताः पित्रोरूर्ध्वं रिक्थमृणं समामिति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तं सत्पारिभाषिकातिरिक्तविभागकर्तनादिलब्धपरम् । व्य. मयूख p 160.

1512. Vide *Sheo Shankar v. Debi Sahai* L R. 30 I A. 202 (a case from Allahabad) for the proposition that according to the law of the Benares school even property inherited by a woman from a female is not her stridhana and does not pass to her heirs. The principal grounds for the decision were that as regards property inherited by a female from males the rule deducible from the gloss of Vijñāneśvara had already been discarded and that even as to property inherited from a female the same rule had been applied in most High Courts (p. 208). Vide also *Balwantrao v Baji Rao* L. R. 47 I. A. 213, 223 where the Privy Council approve of the Bombay High Court's decision in *Bhau v. Raghunath* 30 Bom 229 that a daughter succeeding to her father takes the property absolutely as stridhana in the Bombay Presidency.

are stridhana according to the Mit, but the Privy Council has held as to both these kinds that they are not stridhana; e g if a daughter inherits property from her father or inherits the stridhana property of her mother, it does not become her stridhana, that on the death of the daughter, the property does not pass to *her* heirs, but to the next heir of the person from whom she inherited it The Bombay school makes a distinction. If a woman enters a family by marriage and then inherits to a male of that family (as e g a widow succeeding to her husband, a mother to her son or a predeceased son's widow to her father-in-law), the property she inherits is not her stridhana, she takes only a limited estate in it and on her death it passes to the next heir of the male from whom she inherited But if a woman inherits from a male belonging to the family in which she was born (e. g a daughter succeeding to her father, a sister to her brother) or if a woman inherits property from a female, the property so inherited becomes her stridhana (in Bombay). As to property acquired by a wife or mother on partition[1513], it has been held by the Privy Council that it is not stridhana even in provinces governed by the Mitāksarā (including Bombay).

Kāt (903) declares.[1514] 'whatever was given to a woman for wearing only on some occasion (or on condition) or with fraudulent intent by the father, brother or husband is not held to be stridhana.' The idea is that if the father or husband gives some ornament to his daughter or wife for wearing on some special occasion (*upādhi*) or if a father or husband in fraud of his co-parceners gives some family property to his daughter or wife it cannot become stridhana.

Dominion over stridhana.—What is stridhana and what dominion a woman has over stridhana depend on three things, viz the source of acquiring the property, her status at the time of acquisition (i e whether she was a maiden or a married woman whose husband was living or a widow), the school of law by which she is governed Certain verses of Kāt and Nār are the principal texts on this subject Kāt (905-907, 911)

1513 Vide *Deb. Mangal Prasad* v. *Mahadeo Prasad* I L R 39 I A 151, 131-132 (about the share of immovable property on partition not being stridhana and not passing on her death to her stridhana heirs)

1514 यत्तु उत्सवादावेव धार्यमित्येवमनुपाधिना अलङ्कारादि दत्तं यत्र क्वचादौ दिवसमात्रार्थं दत्तं तत्स्त्रीधनं न भवतीत्यत्र कात्यायन । यत्तु संग्रामिकं दत्तं यत्तु योगक्षेमं च । पित्रा भ्रात्राथवा दत्तं न तत्स्त्रीधनमिष्यते ॥स्मृतिच II p 281 The verse is quoted by परा मा. III p 519, व्य मयूख p 151 (reads तत्र सांग्रामिकं यत्तत्)

says:[1515] 'on obtaining wealth of the *saudāyika* kind it is declared (lit. desired) that women have independent power over it, since it was given by them (the kindred) as support (or maintenance) in order that they (women) may not be reduced to a terrible (or wretched) condition. It has been declared that women always have independence in *saudāyika* property as regards sale or gift at their pleasure and even in immovables (if saudāyika). A woman, when her husband is dead, may deal with the gift (of movables) given by the husband as she pleases, but she should preserve it as long as he is alive or she may spend it on his family. Neither the husband *nor the son*, nor the father nor the brothers have power to use or alienate the stridhana of a woman'. The verse of Kāt about property acquired by labour or about the gift from strangers through affection and that of Nārada about the gift of immovable property made by the husband have already been quoted From these texts it follows that a Hindu woman during her maidenhood[1516] could dispose of her stridhana property of every description at her pleasure, that during her widowhood she could dispose of every kind of stridhana including movable property given by the husband but not immovable property given by him and that a married woman whose husband was living could dispose of at her pleasure only that kind of property called *saudāyika* (i e. gifts from relations except those made by the husband). Under modern decisions the distinction between saudāyika and

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1515. सौदायिकं धन प्राप्य स्त्रीणा स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते । यस्मात्तदाहृतं दत्तमुपजीवनम् ॥ सौदायिके सदा स्त्रीणा स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् । विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेष्टं स्थाव रेष्वपि ॥ भर्तृदाय मृते पत्यौ विन्यसेत् स्त्री यथेष्टतः । विद्यमाने तु सरक्षेत् क्षयमेत्तत्कुलेऽन्यथा ॥ न भर्ता नैव च सुता न पिता भ्रातरो न च । अदाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्णव ॥ कात्या q. अपरार्क p 752 (except भर्तृदायं &c), स्मृतिच II p 282, दायभाग IV 1 22 and 24 and व्य. मयूख p. 155 (except भर्तृदाय &c.), वि. र pp 510-11, 514 (all), वि. चि. pp. 139-140. On आहृतस्यार्थं वि र says, 'आहृतस्यमदारुणता तेन यस्मादियं वित्ताभावाद्दारुणा न भवत्येतदर्थम्' (p 511), 'आहृतस्यार्थं अनुकल्पार्थं' (अपिहृण्य) On सदा the स्मृतिच says 'पत्यौ विद्यमानेपि स्वातन्त्र्यमुक्तं सदेत्यभिधानात्.' On भर्तृदाय the स्मृतिच says 'भर्तृदायो भर्तृदत्तम् । तन्मध्ये तु तदनन्तरोक्तपादत्रयेणाविद्य-माने पत्यौ स्वातन्त्र्यमुक्तम् । विद्यमाने तु सरक्षेदित्यभिधानात् । सरक्षेद्भर्तृदत्त भर्त्रनुज्ञया विना न विन्यसेदित्यर्थः'. वि र p. 511 and वि चि. p. 140 take भर्तृदाय to mean husband's own property and the former says that हलायुध and पारिजात explained it as स्त्रीधन given by the husband

1516 So long as a Hindu maiden is a minor she cannot alienate her property or dispose of it by will, only her guardian can alienate it for purposes laid down in Hunooman Persbad's case, vide 6 Moo I. A 393 (cited above on p 449).

non-saudāyika is retained,[1517] but the distinction between saudāyika given by the relations and that given by the husband is not kept.[1518] Now the woman's power to dispose off as she likes depends on the question whether the gift was meant to pass an absolute estate or a limited estate even if the husband was the donor. During marriage when the husband is living her dominion depends under modern law upon the character of the strīdhana. If it is of the kind called saudāyika she can dispose of it by sale, gift or will as she likes without her husband's consent; but as to other kinds of strīdhana property (such as gifts from strangers, property acquired by mechanical arts or property inherited) she cannot dispose of it without her husband's consent. If she disposes of it without such consent the alienation is void According to the D B IV. 1. 20 property acquired by a married woman by mechanical arts or by gift from a stranger is subject to the husband's dominion during his life and may be taken by him even when there is no distress No one else (except the husband) has got control over even such strīdhana After the husband's death, she can dispose of even non-saudāyika strīdhana as she likes But even as regards saudāyika the texts concede certain rights to the husband in certain circumstances Yāj II. 147 says: 'the husband is not liable to return to the wife her strīdhana taken (i e used) by him in a famine, for (indispensable) religious acts, in disease, or when imprisoned (by the creditor or by the king or an enemy)[1519]

1517. Vide *Bhau v Raghunath* 30 Bom 229 (where it was held that property inherited by a woman from her father could not be bequeathed by her without the consent of the husband who survived her) Bequests to a woman are on the same footing as a gift for the purposes of strīdhana Vide *Damodar v. Purmanandas* 7 Bom 155

1518. Vide *Shalig Ram v Chararjit Lal* 57 I A. 282, 289

1519 दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ संप्रतिरोधके। गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्त्रा न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति॥ या II 147, on which Mitā says. प्रकारान्तरेणापहरन् दद्यात्। भर्तृव्यतिरेकेण जीवन्त्या स्त्रिया धनं केनापि दायादेन न ग्रहीतव्यम्।, some like स्म प्र p 546 read नाकामो दातुम्, वि र p 513, वि चि p 141, विवादचन्द्र p.73 regard संप्रतिरोधके as an adjective of व्याधौ, 'संप्रतिरोधकेति व्याधिविशेषण कार्यानुष्ठानबाधके इति तदर्थः। वि. चि.; 'नाकामो दातुमर्हतीत्यपि दारिद्र्यादिदुःखदानासामर्थ्ये बोध्यम्। सति तु सामर्थ्ये दुर्भिक्षादिगृहीतमप्यवश्य देयम्। एतावतैव वचनोपपत्तौ सामर्थ्येऽप्यदानमिच्छयेत्यस्य कल्पयितुमनर्हत्वात्। पतिग्रहणादापदपि पत्युरेव पत्नीधनग्रहणाधिकार। अतिदानं चेच्छया नाम्यधेति ज्ञेयम्। स्म प्र p. 546

Kāt. (914)[1520] has a similar verse which says that he may return stridhana wealth if he chooses to do so when it is used by him in a disease or in calamities or when harassed by creditors. Kaut. (III. 2 p. 152) is closely similar to Yāj. and adds that the woman can spend it without blame for the maintenance of herself, her son and daughter-in-law or when the husband has gone abroad without making provision for the maintenance of these. Kaut (III. 2. p. 152) further provides[1521] that there should be no complaint (by the wife) as regards the expenditure of stridhana made more than three years before by joint action of the husband and wife when they have given birth to two children (or to twins) and when the marriage has been in the most approved forms (*brāhma* and the other three), that when stridhana has been expended by (the husband and wife) that are married in the *gāndharva* or *āsura* form both should be made to restore it with interest and that what is expended when the marriage is in the *rākṣasa* or *paiśāca* form the expenditure of stridhana should be dealt with as theft. The meaning of 'mithunam prajātayoh' and 'triversopabhuktam' in Kaut is not quite clear. It is probable that Kautilya lays down a rule of limitation. If more than three years are allowed to pass without complaint, then no complaint made later (than three years after the expenditure) would be entertained. So also if there be no children of the marriage and the husband expends stridhana without objection by the wife then also no complaint would be entertained as the restraint on alienation of stridhana by the husband and wife was meant for the benefit and advancement of the children None of the later smrtis like those of Yāj, Nār. or Kāt. makes these distinctions and so Kaut probably represents an early stage in the evolution of the husband's dominion over stridhana. These later smrtis hold that the husband and wife may be entirely separate as regards their properties and as a general rule the husband's debts are not binding on the wife's properties nor are the wife's separate debts binding on the husband or his properties (Yāj. II. 46,

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1520 व्याधितं व्यसनस्थं च धनिकैर्वोपपीडितम् । ज्ञात्वा निसृष्टं यत्नीत्या दद्यादात्मेच्छया तु सः ॥ कात्या. q by अपरार्क p. 755, स्मृतिच. II p. 283, वि र. p 513, वि. चि. p 141, तदात्मपुत्रस्नुषाभर्मणि प्रवासप्रतिविधाने च भार्याया भोक्तृमद्दोषः । प्रतिरोधकव्याधि-दुर्भिक्ष-भयप्रतीकारे धर्मकार्ये च पत्युः । अर्थशास्त्र III 2 p 152.

1521. सम्भूय वा दम्पत्योर्मिथुनं प्रजावतोर्विवर्षोपसृष्टं च धर्मिष्ठेषु विवाहेषु नानुयुञ्जीत । गान्धर्वासुरोपसृष्टं सद्वृद्धिकरभय दाप्येत । राक्षसपैशाचोपसृष्टं स्तेय दद्यात् । अर्थशास्त्र III. 2 p. 152.

Visnu Dh. S. VI. 31-32). But the same smṛtis make it clear that under certain distressing circumstances the wife's separate property was liable for the maintenanoe or debts of the husband. The Mit. expressly states[1521a] that if the husband uses his wife's stridhana under any other circumstances (than those specified by Yāj. II. 147 and Kāt) then he has to return it, that no relation except the husband has any right to use a woman's stridhana during her lifetime even in distress or disease &o. and relies on Manu VIII. 29 whioh requires the righteous king to award the punishment for theft against such relatives as appropriate the wealth of women. The Sm. C. and V. Mayūkha follow the Mit., but the V. R. and V. C. hold that Kātyāyana's verse applies not only to the husband, but also to the son, father and brothers of the woman. Kāt. (912-913) provides[1521a] that if any one of the four persons (q. in n. 1515 above) forcibly consumes stridhana he should be made to return it with interest and should be also liable to fine (or punishment) and that if any one of these oonsumes stridhana amioably after securing her consent then he would be liable to return only the prinoipal amount, when he becomes well-off (i. e. able to pay). Devala[1522] also states, 'if the husband makes a gift of stridhana without cause or enjoys it, he must pay it baok with interest, but he may use the stridhana of his wife for relieving the distress of a son (and also of the family, aco. to V. Mayūkha). Kāt. (908)[1523] adds a speoial rule, 'if the husband has two wives and he does not reside with one of them (i. e neglects her), he should be forcibly made to return (the stridhana of his neglected wife) by the king even though she bestowed it upon him through affection.' The texts of Kāt., Devala and Nār. quoted above about the dominion of the woman over her stridhana and about the husband's power over it are

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1521a. यदि ह्येकतरो ह्येषां स्त्रीधनं भक्षयेद् बलात्। सद्वृद्धिकं स दाप्यः स्याद् वृद्धं चैव समाप्नुयात्। तदेव यद्यनुज्ञाप्य भक्षयेत्तमीतिपूर्वकम्। मूलमेव प्रदाप्यः स्याद्यदासौ धनवान् भवेत्॥ कात्या. q by अपरार्क p 755, वीरमित्र. IV. 1. 24 p. 78, स्मृतिच. II. p 282.

1522. वृथा मोक्षे च भोगे च क्रिये दद्यात्सवृद्धिकम्। पुत्रार्तिहरणे वापि स्त्रीधनं भोक्तुमर्हति॥ देवल q by स्मृतिच. II. p 283 (पुत्रग्रहणं कुटुम्बोपलक्षणार्थम्), अपरार्क p 755, व्य. मयूख p. 156.

1523. अथ चेत्स द्विभार्यः स्याज्ज्यायसीं तां भजते पुनः। प्रीत्या निसृष्टमपि चेत्प्रतिदाप्यः स तद् बलात्॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p. 755, वीरमित्र IV. 1. 24 p. 78, स्मृतिच. II, p. 283. The व्य म p 156 ascribes this verse to देवल.

authoritative in all schools even now. Manu IX. 199[1524] provides: 'wives should not spend (for their own benefit) from the property of their families which is common to many, nor from their own property without the husband's permission.' The V. Mayūkha interprets this as meaning that she has no independent power even over ādhivedanika and the like, but this would be opposed to the express texts of Kāt, Vyāsa and Devala. Therefore the words must be taken as only recommendatory.

Kāt. (916) delivers a special rule viz 'strīdhana[1525] which was promised (to a woman) by her husband should be paid to her as a debt by the sons (i e by her own sons or stepsons) provided she resides in the husband's family, she should not reside with her paternal family.' The Sm. C. and V P. (p 546) explain that even grandsons and great-grandsons are liable to pay just as sons are. According to Kāt. as understood by the Sm. C and others a wife who is full of evil acts, is immodest, wastes property and is given up to adultery, does not deserve (to dispose of) strīdhana and V. P. and V. C. explain that it may be taken away from her in such a case[1526] In modern times this rule of forfeiture of rights would not be enforced by the courts as regards strīdhana Some explain this verse as referring to the widow as heir and separate the words as 'strī dhanam.'[1527] Vide *Ganga v. Ghasita* 1 All 46 (F. B), 48–49.

Succession to Strīdhana.—The several schools of Hindu Law differ from each other perhaps more widely on this subject than

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1524. न निर्हारं स्त्रियः कुर्युः कुटुम्बाद्बहुमध्यगात् । स्वकादपि च वित्ताद्धि स्वस्य भर्तुरनाज्ञया ॥ मनु IX 199 This verse is variously explained कुल्लूक, राघवानन्द and others explain निर्हारं as 'रत्नालंकाराद्यर्थं धनसञ्चयं,' while सर्वज्ञनारायण and व्य. मयूख explain as 'व्ययं' and सर्वज्ञ० explains स्वकात् as 'स्वस्यासाधारणधनादपि स्त्रीधनव्यतिरिक्तात्'

1525 भर्त्रा प्रतिश्रुतं देयमृणवत्स्त्रीधनं हुतैः । तिष्ठेद् भर्तृकुले या तु न सा पितृकुले वसेत् ॥ कात्या q by स्मृतिच्च II p 283 (first half), वि. र. p 514, वि चि p. 142. The व्य. म. p. 153 quotes the first half as देवलस्य

1526. अपचारक्रियायुक्ता निर्लज्जा वार्धनाशिका । व्यभिचाररता या च स्त्रीधनं सा न चार्हति । कात्या q by मेधा on मनु VIII 28 (without name), स्मृतिच्च II p. 283, वि. चि. p 141–142, व्य म. p. 157, व्य म. p. 545 'या पुन. अतिदुष्टा स्त्री सा स्वधनमनिसृष्टमपि निनियोक्तुं नार्हतीत्याह स एव' स्मृतिच्च

1527. For a comparison of the ancient and medieval Hindu Law of strīdhana with the Roman, French and English law, vide Bannerjee's 'Marriage and stridhana' pp, 394–399.

on any other. But one thing is generally common to all schools viz. that as regards succession to strīdhana daughters are preferred to sons, though in later days sons were introduced by some writers as heirs along with daughters or even as preferable to daughters for certain kinds of strīdhana. This was probably due to the fact that the value of strīdhana property became considerable in later times and society which held to the doctrine of the dependence and inferior position of women could not tolerate the idea that large estates should go to women alone. The causes of the variance among writers on the devolution of strīdhana are historical. The text-writers wrote at different times and in different countries and probably reflect the popular sentiments of their own countries and times tinged now and then by personal predilections also. The digests sometimes expressly say that their interpretation follows the usage of their times (vide V Mayūkha in note 1529 below).

The succession to strīdhana varies according as the woman is unmarried or married, according as the marriage was in an approved or an unapproved form, and also according to the species of strīdhana and the school of law to which she is subject.

First, the important texts of the smṛtis on succession to strīdhana may be brought together. The oldest extant text is that of Gaut 28.22 which provides,[1528] 'strīdhana devolves (first) on daughters; (in a competition among daughters) it goes to those that are unmarried (*apratta*, lit. not given away in marriage) and (in a competition among married daughters) to those that are not well provided for (i. e. that are indigent).' Manu (IX 192–193) provides: 'when the mother dies all the full brothers and full sisters should equally divide the mother's estate. Even to the daughters of those daughters some thing should be given (that is) as much as would be seemly out of the estate of their grandmother on the ground of affection'. In Manu IX. 195 it is said that the six kinds of strīdhana, as also anvādheya strīdhana and gifts made by the husband through affection, should go to her progeny if she dies in her husband's lifetime. The verses of Manu (IX. 192–3) are variously explained by the commentators, Sarvajña-Nārāyana holding that mother's estate means estate other than technical strīdhana. Most of them rely on a text of Br. and

1528. स्त्रीधनं दुहितॄणामप्रत्तानाममनिर्ह्रियाणा च । गौ. 28 22.

hold that full brothers and unmarried sisters succeed together and married sisters (i. e. daughters of the woman whose heirs are to be found) get some trifle (¼ of each brother acc. to Kullūka). Manu IX. 196–197 further provide that when a woman was married in one of the five forms of marriage viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārsa, Prājāpatya and Gāndharva and died without issue her strīdhana goes to her husband and if she was married in the Āsura and the other two forms it went, if she died issueless, to her mother and father. Yāj. II.[1529] 117 provides that daughters take the strīdhana estate of their mother and on failure of them the (male) issue. In II.[1530] 144 Yāj again says that strīdhana goes to daughters, but that if the woman dies without issue then it goes to the husband if she was married in one of the four forms (brāhma, daiva, ārsa, prājāpatya) but to her parents if she was married in the other four forms. Viṣnu Dh. S. (17. 19–21) and Nār. (dāyabhāga, 9) contain the same rules as Yāj. II. 144–145, while Nār. (dāyabhāga 2) states that the mother's wealth should be divided among the daughters and in the absence of daughters the latter's issue takes it. Śaṅkha-Likhita[1531] declare that the mother's estate is taken in equal shares by the full brothers (sons of the deceased mother) and their unmarried sisters. Br.[1532] (S. B. E.

1529. मातुर्दुहितरः शेषमूणान्तास्य ऋतेऽन्वयः । या. II. 117 on which the मिता. says, 'दुहितृणामभावे अन्वयः पुत्रादिर्गृह्णीयात् ।'; some construe the word अन्वय as meaning the issue of the daughters (i. e. daughter's daughters and daughter's sons). Vide व्य. न. p 159, "यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्य 'मातुर्दुहि ... न्वयः' इति तत्राप्यन्वयपदं कन्यासन्ततिपरमिति केचित् । परे तु दुहित्रभावे पुत्रा एव गृह्णीयु, नारदीये तद्वत् मातुरेव परामर्शादित्याहुः । आचारसंवादी चार्य पक्षः ।" नारद (दायभाग, 2) as मातुर्दुहितरोऽभावे दुहितृणां तदन्वयः ।, about which the मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 145 remarks 'तच्छब्देन संनिहितदुहितृपरामर्शात्'. The मद. पा (p. 667) explains नारद as मातुर्धन दुहितर आप्त्वपुत्रतद्भावे दुहितृणां दौहित्रीणां तदभावे तदन्वये ये जाता दौहित्रास्तेषामित्यर्थः ।; the विवादचन्द्र p. 75 says 'दुहितृणामभावे तदन्वयस्तत्पुत्रादिर्विभजेदित्यर्थः' मातुरन्वय इति बालरूप. ।'

1530. अतीतायामप्रजसि बान्धवास्तद्धनाप्नुयुः । अप्रज.स्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि । दुहितृणां मृतवा चेच्छेरेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥ या. II. 144–145, ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्षु विवाहेष्वप्रजायामतीतायां तद्भर्तुः । शेषेषु च पिता हरेत् । सर्वेष्वेव मृतवां यद् धनं तद् दुहितृगामि । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 17. 19–21. स्त्रीधनं तदपत्यानां भर्तृगाम्यप्रजासु तु । ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वाहुः पितृगामीतरेषु च ॥ नारद (दायभाग, verse 9).

1531. समं सर्वे सोदर्या मातृकं रिक्थमर्हन्ति कुमार्यश्च । शङ्खलिखित q by दायभाग IV. 24 p. 79, परा मा. III. p. 551, बालम्भट्टी on या. II. 145 हरदत्त on गौ 28 22 reads समं ... द्रव्यमर्हाः स्त्रीकुमार्यश्च.

1532. स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां दुहिता च तदंशिनी । अमत्ता चेत्समूढा तु लभते मानमात्रकम् । बृह. q. by स्मृतिच. II p. 285, हरदत्त on गौ 28. 22, दायभाग IV 2, 3 p. 79 (अपत्यपद पुत्रपरं तेषामप्रजाभिर्दुहितृभि. सह मातृधनविभाग), परा. मा III. p. 552 (reads सा न मातृकम्), विवादचन्द्र p. 75.

33 p. 383 verse 87) declares, 'stridhana goes to her progeny, but the unmarried daughter is preferred, while the married one gets only some trifle as a token of regard'. Parāśara holds that the unmarried daughters take all the stridhana, but in a competition between married daughters alone and sons they all take equal shares. Devala[1533] states, 'on the death of a woman her stridhana is taken in equal shares by her sons and daughters; if she leaves no issue it would be taken by her husband, mother, brother or father'. Pāraskara[1534] (q by Par. M. III. 552) states that stridhana devolves on the unmarried daughter, that the son does not get it, but that he shares equally with a married daughter. Kaut[1535] (III. 2 p. 153) prescribes that if a woman dies during her husband's lifetime her sons and daughters divide her stridhana; if she has no son then daughters divide it, on failure (of both sons and daughters) the husband takes it and that the śulka, anvādheya or any other kind of stridhana given by her relatives is taken by her relatives. Kātyāyana[1536] (917–920) whose treatment of stridhana is the most detailed of all smrti writers has the following verses on succession to stridhana: 'Sisters whose husbands are living should share with their brothers the stridhana (of their mother); this is the rule of law about stridhana and partition (among brothers and sisters) is prescribed. On failure of daughters the (stridhana) wealth devolves on sons (of the deceased woman); the wealth given to a woman by her kinsmen (paternal or maternal) goes in the absence of the kinsmen (that gave it) to the husband.

1533. सामान्यं पुत्रकन्यानां मृतायां स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियाम्। अप्रजाया हरेद्भर्ता माता भ्राता पितापि वा। देवल q. by दायभाग IV. 2 6 p. 79, व्यव. नि. p. 466, बालम्भट्टी on या. II. 145.

1534. अप्रत्तायास्तु दुहितुः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम्। पुत्रस्तु नैव लभते प्रत्तायां तु समांशभाक्। पारस्कर q. by परा मा III. p. 552 (तदमतिष्ठितोढदुहितृविषयम्), व्यव. नि p. 463. Is it पराशर?

1535. जीवति भर्तरि मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन्। अपुत्राया दुहितरः। तदभावे भर्ता। ... ... शुल्कमन्वाधेयमन्यद्वा बन्धुभिर्दत्तं बान्धवा हरेयुः। अर्थशास्त्र III 2. p 153.

1536. भगिन्यो बान्धवैः सार्धं विभजेरन् सभर्तृकाः। स्त्रीधनस्येति धर्म्योयं विभागस्तु प्रकल्पितः। दुहितॄणामभावे तु रिक्थं पुत्रेषु तद्वत्। बन्धुदत्तं तु बन्धूनामभावे भर्तृगामि तत्॥ पितृभ्यां चैव यद्दत्तं दुहितृ स्थावरं धनम्। अप्रजायामतीतायां भ्रातृगामि तु सर्वदा॥ आसुरादिषु यद्दत्तं स्त्रीधनं पैतृकं स्त्रिया। अभावे तदपत्यानां मातापित्रोस्तदिष्यते॥ कात्या q. by अपरार्क p. 721 (the first two only), स्मृतिच्च II pp. 285–287 (all except पितृभ्यां &c.), वि. र p 518 and वि. नि. p. 143 (first two); दायभाग IV, 2 12 p 92 has the verse पितृभ्यां (ascribes it to वृद्धकात्यायन); व्य. म. p. 162 reads पुत्रगामि for भर्तृगामि.

Whatever immovable property was given by the parents to their daughter always goes to her brother if she dies without issue. Whatever wealth was obtained by a woman from her parents in the forms of marriage beginning with āsura is declared as going to her parents on failure of her progeny.'[1537] The first two verses are apparently in conflict and must be read with Gaut 28 22 So probably the following propositions were laid down by Kāt. viz (1) unmarried daughters are preferred; (2) married daughters whose husbands are living share along with their brothers, if there be no unmarried daughter; (3) widowed daughters take only if there are no daughters whose husbands are living or if there are no sons; (4) wealth given by paternal and maternal kinsmen goes to them and on failure of these, to the husband; (5) immovable property given by parents goes to the brother of the woman on failure of issue; (6) wealth given in the āsura, rāksasa and paiśāca forms goes to parents on failure of issue Yama has a verse very similar to Kātyāyana's about a woman married in the āsura and the following forms The commentaries and digests make valiant efforts to reconcile the conflicts among the smrti texts quoted above It is not quite necessary to go into that question here in detail for fear of encumbering this work too much.

How the devolution of stridhana was dealt with by the commentators has now to be seen. They all prefer daughters to sons for certain kinds of stridhana. Why the devolution of stridhana property should be different from that of the property of a male is not clearly explained anywhere. The Mit on Yāj[1538] II. 117 gives the reason that woman's property goes to the daughter because in her more particles of the mother's body inhere than in the son Probably the daughters were preferred as heirs to stridhana as a sort of equity, when sons were allowed to exclude daughters in the inheritance to the father's wealth.

According to the Mit. there are two lines of succession to stridhana, one for śulka and the other for all other kinds of stridhana Śulka, acc. to the Mit. that quotes Gaut, devolves first

1537. आसुरादिषु यद् द्रव्यं विवाहेषु मदीयते । अप्रजायामतीतायां पितैव तु धनं हरेत् ॥ यम q by स्मृतिच. II. p 286, दायभाग IV 2. 28 p 88

1538. मातृकृतेभ्यः पुत्रैरेवापाकरणीय न दुहितृभिः । ऋणावशिष्ट तु धनं दुहितरो गृह्णीयुरिति । शुक्र चैतत् । पुमान् पुंसोधिके शुक्रे स्त्री भवत्यधिके स्त्रिया—इति स्त्र्यवयवाना दुहितृषु बाहुल्यात् स्त्रीधनं दुहितृगामि । पितृधन पुत्रगामि पित्रवयवाना पुत्रेषु बाहुल्यात् । मिता. on या. II. 117. पुमान्पुंसो &c. is मनु III. 49.

on the full brothers, then on the mother.[1539] Some like the Subodhinī, the Dīpakalikā, Haradatta on Gaut. 28. 23 hold that it devolves on the mother first and then on the full brothers; but many works such as the Dāyabhāga IV. 3. 28 (p. 95), Sm. C., Par. M, V. P., V. C. follow the Mit. It is somewhat strange that the Madanapārijāta p. 668 (which was really composed by the author of the Subodhinī in the name of his patron Madanapāla, holds that the śulka is first taken by the brothers and then by the mother. This raises a doubt whether the printed Subodhinī is correct or whether the author changed his opinion.

As regards succession to the property of a maiden there is no difference at all between the Mit. and other works. The Mit. quotes a text of Baudhāyana[1540] that the wealth of a deceased maiden first devolves on her full brothers, then on the mother and then on the father. The V. P. adds that on failure of the father the maiden's wealth goes to the parents' nearest sapinda.[1541] Yāj. II. 146 provides that if a girl who had been promised in marriage dies before marriage, the intending bridegroom was entitled to take back the śulka or other gifts

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1539. भगिनीशुल्कं सोदर्याणामूर्ध्वं मातुः पूर्वं चैके। गौ. 28. 23–24, मिता. (on या. II. 145) says, शुल्कं तु सोदर्याणामेव; 'मातृरभावे सोदर्या गृह्णीयुरित्यर्थः' सुबोधिनी on या. II. 145, 'शुल्कं तु सोदराणामेव। भगिनीशुल्कं सोदर्याणामिति गौतमवचनात्सोदराभावे मातुः। ऊर्ध्वं मातुरिति तद्वचनादेव। पूर्वं चैके इति तु परमतम्' व्य. म. p 553; शुल्कं तु सोदरा एव गृह्णीयुः। तथा च गौतमः। भगिनी .. मातुरिति। दुहित्रादिषु पौत्रपर्यन्तेषु विद्यमानेष्वपि भगिनीशुल्कं सोदरा एव हरेयुरित्यर्थः। मद. पा. p. 668; 'ऊर्ध्वमिति मातुर्मरणादनन्तरमित्यर्थः। कल्पतरुरप्येवम्।' ... माता चात्र भगिन्येव। तथा च तद्रूपमातृरभावे दुहित्रादिषु पौत्रपर्यन्तेषु सत्स्वपि स्वभगिनीशुल्कं सोदरा एव गृह्णीयुरित्यर्थः। बालम्भट्टी (व्य. p 257). ऊर्ध्वं मातुरुपरतावित्यर्थः। मातापित्रोस्तु सद्भावे तयोरेव। दीपकलिका.

1540. रिक्थं सूतायाः कन्याया गृह्णीयुः सोदरास्तदभावे मातुस्तदभावे पितुरिति बौधायनस्मरणात्। मिता. on या. II. 146; the वीरमित्रोदय makes of this a verse as रिक्थं... सोदराः स्वयम्। तदभावे भवेन्मातुस्तदभावे भवेत्पितुः॥'. The मदनरत्न (folio 106a) reads it as रिक्थं ... समम्। ... तदभावे पितुर्भवेत्॥; मातापित्रोरभावे तत्सपत्नसङ्गामि। व्य म. p 552 The above passage of the Mit is referred to in *Gandhi Maganlal* v. *Bai Jadab* 24 Bom 192 (F. B.) at p 211 (where it was held that a paternal grandmother in Gujarat inherited the wealth left by her maiden granddaughter in the absence of nearer heirs, that she took an absolute interest and that on her death the property goes to *her* heir and not to that of the grand-daughter.

1541 Vide also *Janglubai v Jetha Appaji* 32 Bom. 409, 412 and *Vithal* v. *Balu* 60 Bom 671, 677 for instances of sapindas of the parents inheriting to the stridhana of a woman dying respectively as a maiden or as a woman married in an approved form of marriage.

made by him after deducting his own expenses and those of her family.

The Mitākṣarā order of succession for all kinds of strīdhana, other than śulka and maiden's property, is as follows: (1) unmarried daughter; (2) married daughter who is indigent; (3) married daughter who is well provided for; (4) daughter's daughters; (5) daughter's son; (6) sons; (7) son's sons (here also the rule of *per stirpes* applies); (8) husband (if the woman was married in one of the four approved forms); (9) sapiṇḍas of the husband in the order of propinquity; on failure of any sapiṇḍa of the husband, her mother, then her father and then the sapiṇḍas of the father (before it goes to the Crown). But if the woman was married in one of the unapproved forms, then on failure of her descendants her strīdhana went to her mother, then to her father and then to the father's sapiṇḍas in the order of propinquity. On failure of the sapiṇḍas of the father it would (by analogy) go to her husband and then to his sapiṇḍas (before going to the Crown). When grand-daughters directly inherit the strīdhana of their grandmother they take *per stirpes* (acc to the Mit which quotes Gaut. 28 15), if they are the daughters of several daughters.[1542] The Mit (on Yāj. II. 145), Aparārka (p. 721) and several others provide (following Manu IX. 198 = Anuśāsana 47.35) that if a woman of a lower caste dies issueless leaving strīdhana, then the daughter of her co-wife of a higher class inherits that strīdhana and on failure of such step-daughter, the son of the latter inherits. It may be noted that as regards succession to strīdhana, the rule of representation which holds good in relation to succession to males does not apply. When a male dies leaving separate property and a son and a grandson (son of a predeceased son) both succeed together, the grandson representing his deceased father. But if a woman possessed of strīdhana dies having only a son and a predeceased son's son, the son will take the whole of the strīdhana excluding the son's son. Vide *Bai Raman v Jagnvandas* 41 Bom 618.

It is not possible nor necessary to deal exhaustively with the devolution of strīdhana according to the various schools of Hindu Law. But a few indications from the important text

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1542. तासां भिन्नमातृकाणां विषमाणां समवाये मातृद्वारेण भागकल्पना। प्रतिमातृतो वा स्वर्गे भागविशेषः—इति गौतमस्मरणात्। मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 145.

books having authority in the different provinces will be offered. According to the Sm. C. (which is the leading authority in Madras after the Mit.) strīdhana includes only those kinds of property that are so described in the smrtis (i. e. only technical strīdhana) and the lines of devolution are as follows : (1) śulka devolves in the same way as laid down by the Mit. cited above (Sm. C. II. p. 287); (2) Yautaka devolves on unmarried daughters first (Sm. C. II. p. 285); (3) Anvādheyaka and Bhartrdatta pass to sons and married daughters whose husbands are living, all inheriting together in equal shares (Sm. C. II. p. 284); (4) other kinds of technical strīdhana such as adhyagni &c pass first to the maiden daughters and married daughters who are *aprāptsthita*,[1543] then to married daughters that are provided for ; then to daughter's daughters, then to daughter's sons, then to sons, then to son's sons &c., then to the husband or father (according to the form of marriage). The Madras High Court follows the Mit. (in preference to the Sm. C.) as to the devolution of Anvādheyaka and Bhartrdatta and holds that certain kinds of non-technical strīdhana (such as gifts by strangers during coverture) devolve acc. to the rules of the Mit. Vide *Salemma v. Lutchmana* 21 Mad. 100.

The Vivādacintāmani, the leading authority in Mithilā, restricts strīdhana to the technical strīdhana recognized by the smrtis and lays down the devolution of it as follows : (1) Śulka[1544] (defined as property received by a woman at the time of her marriage, if in an unapproved form) passes as under the Mit. cited above ; (2) Yautaka passes first to unmarried daughters, then in the way laid down by the Mit. for all strīdhana ; (3) all technical strīdhana other than the two preceding varieties passes to sons and unmarried daughters together, then to sons and married daughters jointly, then to daughter's daughters, then to daughter's sons and then as under the Mit system (for strīdhana in general.)

The Vyavahāramayūkha which is held to be of paramount authority in Gujarat, Bombay Island and Northern

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1543 The word अप्रतिष्ठिता is explained by the Sm. C as follows, 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धना दुर्भगा विधवा वा। एवमपरार्कोद्धृतात् गौतमवचनं व्याख्यातम्। अस्य विज्ञानेश्वरकृता व्याख्या हेया स्वबुद्धिमात्रेणाध्याहारादिकरणात्।' स्मृतिच. II. p. 285 वि. चि. p. 147 also says 'अप्रतिष्ठिता अनपत्या निर्धनभर्तृका दुर्भगा चेति रत्नाकरादयः।'

1544 गौतमः। भगिनीशुल्कं सोदर्याणामूर्ध्वं मातुः। पूर्वे चेत्येके। आसुरादिविवाहेषूत्पन्नस्त्रीधनविषयमेतत्। वि चि. p. 143.

Konkan[1545] proposes various lines of succession to stridhana. Its treatment is based on the Sm. C. and the Madanaratna. It first divides stridhana as stated above into technical (pāribhāsika) and non-technical (apāribhāsika). The first is subdivided into four classes for the purpose of inheritance; (I) śulka which passes as stated above under the Mitāksarā; (II) yautaka goes to unmarried daughters, (if there be no unmarried daughters)

1545. For the territory in which the V Mayūkha is supreme, vide *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom. 388 (F B) at p 418, *Jankibai v. Sundra* 14 Bom 612 at pp 623–24, *Vyas Chimanlal v Vyas Ramchandra* 24 Bom 367 (F B.) at p 373. How the Vyavahāramayūkha composed by a Mahārāstra brāhmana whose family had settled at Benares came to be regarded as a work of high authority in Gujarat is explained in *Lallubhai v. Mankuvarbai* 2 Bom. 388 at pp 418–419 and in *Bhagirthibai v. Kahnujirav* 11 Bom 285 (F B) at pp. 294–95 As there is divergence between the views of the Mit and the Mayūkha in the rules of succession, it becomes a matter of great practical importance to settle with precision the exact limits in Northern Konkan up to which the Mayūkha must be regarded as a work of paramount authority. It has been judicially decided that Karanja, an island opposite the Bombay harbour, is governed by the Mayūkha (in *Sakharam v. Sitabai* 3 Bom. 353), that Mahad, the southernmost Taluka of the Kolaba District, is not so governed and that the predominance of the Mayūkha cannot be taken further south than Cheul and Nagothna in the Kolaba District (vide *Narhar v Bhau* 40 Bom 621) Similarly difficult questions arise whether Kathiawar which is quite contiguous to Gujarat and some territory bordering on Gujerat towards the north or east is governed by the views of the Mayūkha in preference to those of the Mit. Some parts of Kathiawar which were (and even now are) under the domination of the Gaikwad of Baroda may, on the analogy of the grounds on which the Mayūkha is held to be of paramount authority in Gujarat, be deemed to be governed by the Mayūkha It appears to me that the tendency of courts should be to restrict the extent of the territory in which the Mayūkha is supreme and to hold that everywhere the Mitāksarā is supreme, except in those territories where the Mayūkha has been expressly recognized as supreme by the feudatory States contiguous to Gujarat or by judicial decisions The Mit is the paramount authority in the whole of India except in Bengal, therefore on the analogy of the maxim that a general rule is applicable and is supreme in all cases except where an exception clearly covers the matter (अपवादविषय-परिहारेण उत्सर्गस्य व्यवस्थितिः) districts outside modern Gujarat but bordering on it should not be held to be governed by the Mayūkha.

then probably to the married daughters; (III) anvādheya[1545a] and bhatrpriti-datta (husband's gift of affection) are inherited by sons and unmarried daughters together in accordance with Manu (IX. 192 and 195), (if there be no unmarried daughters) by sons and married daughters, then daughter's issue, then son's sons; (IV) other[1546] kinds of technical stridhana devolves as under the Mit; (V) non-technical[1547] stridhana is inherited in the following order; sons, son's sons, sons' sons' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, daughter's daughters. When there is no issue of the woman the succession depends in all cases as under the Mit on the question whether the woman was married in an approved or an un-approved form. The V. Mayūkha employs language somewhat different from that of the Mit. in speaking of the inheritance to stridhana when a woman dies without

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1545a Vide *Sitabai v. Vasantrao* 3 Bom L. R. 201 (where a long passage from the V. Mayūkha is quoted in translation and it is held that *anvādheya* includes gifts or bequests from parents after marriage as well as from the husband and that sons and daughters succeed equally to *anvādheya*), *Dayaldas v Savitribai* 34 Bom 385 (F B), where it was held that a passage of the Mayūkha wherein the view of the Mit was first stated and then the view of others really meant that the latter was the view of the Mayūkha, that sons and daughters inherited anvādheya together and that if there were both married and unmarried daughters, the unmarried daughters and the sons inherited together मृतायाः स्त्रिया धनं पुत्रैर्दुहितृभिश्च साम्येन ग्राह्यम्। तथा च मनुः—जनन्यां ... सनाभयः॥ एतच्चान्वाधेयभर्तृप्रीतिदत्तविषयम्। एतद्विविधधनविषयेऽपरिणीतपरिणीतपुत्रीसमवाये विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः। स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां ...। अप्रजानामभावे प्रजाभिरविधवाभिर्भ्रातृभिः सह विभज्य ग्राह्यमित्याह कात्यायनः। मदनरत्न (folio 105 b) Vide व्य म text pp. 157-58 for the two views. It will be noticed that the Mit construes the verse of Manu distributively i e sons take equally when they succeed and daughters do so when they succeed and that Manu does not mean that sons and daughters inherit simultaneously.

1546. अन्वाधेयभर्तृप्रीतिदत्ताप्राप्तपूर्वदृष्टपूर्वादिस्त्रीधनं दुहितर एव गृह्णीयुः। सासु च प्रजासत्सत्समवाये सत्यप्रजा एव गृह्णीयु। मदनरत्न (folio 105 b): अन्वाधेयभर्तृप्रीतिदत्तभिन्ने पूर्वोक्ते पारिभाषिके स्त्रीधने तु विशेषमाह गौतमः—स्त्रीधनं ... अप्रतिष्ठितानां च—इति। व्य. मयूख p. 159

1547. Vide *Mamlat Rewadat v Bai Rewa* 17 Bom. 758 (as to inheritance of non-technical stridhana) where it was held that as regards stridhana under the Mayūkha the woman is recognized as a fresh source of devolution, that the words 'sons and the rest' mean no more than sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, that as regards property which does not class as pāribhāṣika stridhana, the sons and the rest take precedence over the 'daughters and the rest (i e their issue)', that failing sons and daughters the heirs to pāribhāsika stridhana and apāribhāsika stridhana are the same, save that as between male and female offspring the latter have a preferential right as to pāribhāsika, while the former have a similar right as to apāribhāsika. पारिभाषिकातिरिक्ते मातृधने दुहितृसहिते पुत्रावृत्य एव लभेरन्। व्य. मयूख p. 160.

issue But it has now been judicially held that both mean the same thing[1548].

In the Dāyabhāga school the devolution of various kinds of *stridhana* according to the Dāyabhāga and D K. S, is as follows: (I) *śulka* devolves[1549] in the following order: (1) full brother, (2) mother, (3) father, (4) husband; (II) Yautaka devolves[1550] in the following order: (1) unmarried and unbetrothed daughters, (2) betrothed daughters, (3) married daughters, who have or are likely to have *sons*, (4) barren married daughters and childless widowed daughters taking together in equal shares, (5) sons, (6) daughter's sons, (7) sons' sons, (8) son's son's sons, (9) step-son, (10 and 11) stepson's son, stepson's grandson Then if the marriage was in an approved form, yautaka passed in the absence of any of the above in order to husband, brother, mother and father. If the marriage of the woman was celebrated in an unapproved form then her stridhana passed in order to mother, father, brother, husband. (III) Anvādheya *gifts*[1551] (*gifts* or bequests) made subsequent to marriage by the father

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1548. Vide *Tukaram v Narayan 36 Bom 339 (F. B)*, where there is an elaborate discussion about the following passages of the Mit. and the Mayūkha. तदप्रजःस्त्रीधन पितृगामि। माता च पिता च पितरौ तौ गच्छतीति पितृगामि। तदभावे तत्प्रत्यासन्नानां धनग्रहणम् । मिता. on या. II 145, भर्तृरभावे तत्कुले तस्याः प्रत्यासन्नो लभते। पित्रभावे च पितृकुले तस्या प्रत्यासन्न · । .. यत्तु मिताक्षरायां भत्रभावे तत्प्रत्यासन्नानां सपिण्डानां पित्रभावे च तत्प्रत्यासन्नानां सपिण्डानामिति तत्रापि तेनास्याः प्रत्यासन्नास्तत्प्रत्यासन्नास्तद्द्वारा तत्कुले प्रत्यासन्ना इति याज्ञवल्क्येव व्याख्येयम् । व्य. मयूख p 161.

1549 अत.(शुल्कं) प्रथम सोदराणा तदभावे मातुर्मातृरभावे पितुः । एषां पुनरभावे तद्धनं भर्तु । दायभाग IV. 3. 29 p 95

1550. ततश्च परिणयनलब्धस्त्रीधनं दुहितृरेव न पुत्राणां तत्रैव च क्रमार्थ गौतमवचन स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणा . ष्टितानां च । ब्राह्मादिषु विवाहेषु यल्लब्धमध्यग्निधनं स्त्रियाः ततस्तासां मृतायां प्रथमं दुहितृणामेव तत्रापि प्रथमं कन्यायास्तदभावे प्रत्तायास्तदभावे परिणीतायाः । सर्वदुहित्रभावे च पुत्रस्याधिकार · । अप्रजःस्त्रीधने भर्तुराधिकारात् । Dāyabhāga IV 2 22 and 25, pp 85-86. It will be noticed that the D B. distinguishes between un-betrothed, betrothed and married daughters. Vide Bannerjee's 'Marriage and Stridhana' pp 477, 489-491 for order of inheritance to Yautaka

1551. यत्पुन· परिणयनानन्तर पितृमातृभर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया लब्धं धन तद् भ्रातृणामेव। तदाह याज्ञवल्क्यः। बन्धुदत्तं.. प्लुयुः ॥ (या २ १४५)...अतः प्रथम सोदराणां तदभावे मातुर्मातृरभावे पितुः । एषां पुनरभावे तद्धनं भर्तुः । यथा कात्यायनः । बन्धुदत्त तु बन्धुनामभावे भर्तृगामि तत् । Dāyabhāga IV. 3. 10 and 29 Vide *Prosanno v Sarat 36 Cal. 86* (son being held the preferential heir to a married daughter to stridhana given to a woman after marriage by her father), *Ram Gopal v Naram* 33 Cal. 315 (mother held entitled to preference over the husband of a childless woman who died leaving property gifted to her by her father after marriage) In both these cases there is an elaborate examination of passages of the Dāyabhāga and it is shown how Śrīkrsna and even *modern writers* have created confusion by offering varying explanations.

(Dāyabhāga IV. 2.12–16 pp 92–93) devolve in the same order as for Yautaka except in a few respects, viz. the son takes before married daughters and in case the woman dies without issue the brother, mother, father and husband succeed in that order IV. As regards Ayautaka (i. e all technical strīdhana other than the above three) there is a conflict of authority between the Dāyabhāga (IV. 2. 1–12 pp 79–81) on the one hand and Raghunandana and Śrīkrsna on the other. Acc to the former the order[1552] is: son and *kumārī* daughter (or to either on failure of the other), (on failure of both) married daughters that have sons or are likely to have sons; son's sons; daughter's sons; barren and widowed daughters. But Raghunandana and Śrīkrsna interpolate son's son, son's son's son, stepson, stepson's son, stepson's grandson between daughter's sons and barren and widowed daughters. In the decided cases the latter order has generally been followed.

If there be none of the above both Yautaka and Ayautaka strīdhana pass in order (acc to Dāyabhāga IV. 3. 37 p. 98) to six heirs[1553] viz. the husband's younger brother, husband's

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1552 तत्र मनु· । जनन्या .. सनाभयः । . बृहस्पतिरपि .. स्त्रीधनं तदपत्यानां । अपत्यपद पुत्रपरम् । तेऽसमप्तास्तभिर्दुहितृभिः सह मातृधनविभागः । .. किं तूक्तादेव हेतोः पुत्रकुमारीदुहित्रोस्तुल्यवदधिकार· । एतयोश्चान्यतराभावेऽन्यतरस्य तद्धन द्वयोरप्येतयोरभावे तु ऊढाया दुहितुः पुत्रवत्या· सम्भावितपुत्राया श्च तुल्याधिकारः स्वपुत्रद्वारेण पार्वणपिण्डदानसम्भवात् । .. पौत्रदौहित्रयोस्तु सद्भावे पौत्रस्यैवाधिकार ... उक्ताना तु सर्वेषां दौहित्रपर्यन्तानामभावे वन्ध्याविधवयोरपि मातृधनाधिकारिता । तयोरपि तत्यजात्वात् मजाभावे चान्येषामधिकारात् । दायभाग IV 2 1–2, 9, 11–12. Dayabhāga employs the word *aprattā* elsewhere in the sense of 'unbetrothed' and so betrothed daughters cannot take along with sons. The last passage in the quotation shows that the doctrine of spiritual benefit was not to be rigidly employed in succession to strīdhana, acc to the Dāyabhāga श्रीकृष्ण remarks (in his comment on दायभाग), दौहित्रपर्यन्तानामिति प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तोपलक्षणम् ।

1553 यदाह बृहस्पति· । मातु·स्वसा मातुलानी पितृष्यस्त्री पितृष्वसा । श्वश्रूः पूर्वजपत्नी च मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः । यदासामौरसो न स्यात्सुतो दौहित्र एव वा । तत्सुतो वा धन तासा स्वस्त्रीयाद्या समाप्नुयु· ॥ तदेषा पुत्रादीना भ्रात्रादिभर्तृपर्यन्तानां चाभावे सत्स्वपि श्वशुरभ्रातृश्वशुरादिषु सपिण्डेषु भगिनीपुत्रादीनामधिकारिता अनन्यगतेर्वचनात्, स्त्रीणां मातृतुल्यत्वप्रतिपादनेनामीषा पुत्रतुल्यत्वज्ञापनेन पिण्डदातृत्वसूचनस्य दायभागप्रकरणे धनाधिकारज्ञापनैकप्रयोजनकत्वात् । . मातुलो भागिनेयस्य स्वस्त्रीयो मातुलस्य च । श्वशुरस्य गुरोश्चैव सव्यमुर्मातामहस्य च । एतेषा चैव भार्याश्च. स्वसमोंह पितस्तथा । श्राद्धदान तु कर्तव्यमिति वेदविदा स्थिति. । इति बृहच्छातातपवचनात् अमीषां पिण्डदातृत्वप्रतिपादनात् अयं पिण्डदानविशेषादधिकारक्रम । तत्र प्रथमं देवर· ततोपिण्डतदूर्ध्वपिण्डतदूर्ध्वदेषपूर्वपुरुषत्रय-पिण्डदातृत्वात्सपिण्डत्वाच्च तद्धनेधिक्रियते । . तस्याप्यभावे श्वशुरयो. पिण्डदानात् जामाता श्वश्रूधनेऽधिकारीति । अयं क्रमो ज्ञात्र । स्वस्त्रीयाद्या इति तु न क्रमार्थं किं त्वधिकारिमात्रज्ञाप-

(*Continued on the next page*)

brother's son, sister's son, husband's sister's son, brother's son, daughter's husband. Br. says that the mother's sister, maternal uncle's wife, paternal uncle's wife, father's sister, mother-in-law, elder brother's wife are declared to be like one's mother, that when these women have no *aurasa* child or a son of their co-wife or a daughter's son or a son's son or stepson's son, then the sister's son and the rest may take their wealth. This text, acc. to the Dāyabhāga, simply declares that a sister's son and the others may be heirs to the strīdhana of the maternal aunt and the rest but the priority is determined among the six heirs mentioned above in Brhaspati's text by the principle of religious benefit. Though the sister's son is the first in Brhaspati's text, it is the husband's younger brother who stands really the first among the six if regard is had to the principle of religious benefit. The Vir. (V. P. p. 554) states that in the absence of heirs up to the stepson and stepson's sons, the sister's son and the rest (mentioned in Br.) are the heirs to a woman's strīdhana even when sapindas like her father-in-law are alive, since mere sapinda relationship would not count when in conflict with a special text It does not appear that the V. P. holds that the six take in the order stated in the text of Br ;[1554] it rather states that among these six the choice of the preferential heir

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(Continued from the last page)

नार्थपरम् । दायभाग IV 3 31, 35, 36-38 pp 96-98 Vide also pp 187-188 The verses of Br. occur in Sm C II p 287, V. Nir p 472, Par M III p 555, V Mayūkha p 161, V. P pp 553-554. The above verses of Br mean that males who are a woman's sister's son or her husband's sister's son or her husband's brother's son or her own brother's son or her daughter's husband or her husband's younger brother are like her son and inherit her strīdhana in certain circumstances

1554 In *Bai Kesserbai v. Hunsraj* L. R 33 I A 176 the above text of Bṛhaspati was discussed in a Bombay case at great length (pp 190-197) and it was held that under the Mayūkha a co-widow was entitled to succeed to the strīdhana of a widow in preference to her husband's brother or brother's son, that the text of Br. must be taken distributively, that is, when the marriage is in an approved form the husband's sister's son will succeed and that when the marriage is in an unapproved form the brother's son or sister's son will succeed, that the text does not indicate the order of succession which is governed by the principle of propinquity under the Mit or the Mayūkha. It may be noted that the V Nir p 472 expressly gives the distributive order Acc. to the Sm C the six heirs referred to in the text of Br. take in the order stated therein The Dāyabhāga does not hold this view.

would be determined by greater or less propinquity[1555]. On failure of these six the husband's sapiṇḍas, sakulyas and samānodakas take and then the father's kinsmen.

The question of an unchaste daughter's succession to strīdhana would be decided in the same way as her succession to her father's property. Under the Dāyabhāga an unchaste daughter will not succeed. But under the Mitāksarā as interpreted by modern courts an unchaste daughter who is a kept mistress or a prostitute may succeed but only after virgin daughters or married daughters as the case[1556] may be. The Mit. on Yāj. II 290 relies upon the Skandapurāna for the proposition that prostitutes are a fifth caste descended from certain *apsarases*.[1557]

It has been held by the courts that though prostitution entailed degradation according to ancient Hindu Law, it did not sever the tie of blood. So the strīdhana of a *naikin* (a dancing girl) or of a married woman who becomes a prostitute may be inherited by her brother or sister or her husband or her husband's relations.[1558]

It may not be out of place here to suggest how strīdhana should be dealt with when Hindu Law comes to be codified as it is likely to be in the near future. It may be urged that all distinctions on the ground of sex should be altogether done away with and whenever a woman succeeds to any property whether of a male or of a female she should take an absolute estate. But if this change is opposed by a large volume of opinion as it is quite possible, then it should at least be provided

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1555. तदेवामभावे सत्त्वपि श्वश्वादिषु सपिण्डेष्वनन्यगतिकैतद्वचनबलाद्भगिनीपुत्रादीनामेव मातृष्वस्रादिधने प्रत्यासत्तितारतम्येनाधिकारः । स्नुषादीनां तु ग्रासाच्छादनमात्रभाक्त्वम् । वचनविरोधे सपिण्डवत्प्रत्यासत्तेरप्रयोजकत्वात् । व्य. म. p 554.

1556. Vide *Tara* v. *Krishna* 31 Bom. 495 and *Govind* v. *Bhiku* 46 Bom. L. R. 699.

1557 स्मर्यते हि स्कन्दपुराणे पञ्चचूडा नाम काश्चनाप्सरसस्ततस्सन्ततिर्वेश्यारूपा पञ्चमी जातिरिति । मिता on या. II 290.

1558 *Hiralal* v *Tripura* 40 Cal. 650, F. B (holds that brother's son inherited the strīdhana of a woman who had become a prostitute), *Narayan* v. *Laxman* 51 Bom. 784 (sister of a prostitute was held to be her heir), *Narain Das* v *Tirlok* 29 All 4 (husband held entitled to property acquired by a woman after she deserted him). *Subbaraya* v *Ramasami* 23 Mad. 171 (stepson was held entitled to succeed to a woman's property though she had deserted her husband and led a life of unchastity).

that all property which a woman inherits from a female should be her absolute property. Then as regards inheritance to strīdhana one simple and straightforward rule should be laid down that the woman's sons and daughters should succeed together taking equal shares. A third suggestion would be that when there are no descendants of the woman herself, then the husband should be the next heir. When the strīdhana is that of a maiden, the heirs in order should be her brothers and sisters, then her mother, then her father and after the father the latter's nearest heir. It is not quite necessary at this stage to specify what further rules of devolution should be prescribed.

CHAPTER XXXI

MAINTENANCE AND OTHER TOPICS

The subject of maintenance occupies an important place in modern Hindu Law. A brief statement of the law of the smrtis and the digests on this subject must be made here.

The liability to provide maintenance for certain persons arises under the ancient Hindu Law in either of two ways viz. (1) on account of bare relationship between the parties or (2) on the ground of the possession of property. A verse[1559] quoted by Medhātithi on Manu III. 72 and IV. 251, by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 224 and II. 175 and occurring in some mss. of the Manusmrti after XI 10 provides, 'Manu declares that one must maintain one's aged parents, a virtuous wife and a minor son by doing even a hundred bad acts.' From this verse it follows that irrespective of the possession of property there is a personal legal obligation on the father to maintain his minor son, on the husband to maintain his wife and on the son to maintain his aged parents. Baud. Dh. S (II. 2. 48) goes further and provides[1560] that a son is bound to maintain a mother even if she be *patita*. To the same effect are Āp Dh. S I. 10. 28. 9 and Vas. 13. 47.

1559. वृद्धौ च मातापितरौ साध्वी भार्या सुत· शिशु· । अप्यकार्यशतं कृत्वा भर्तव्या मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ मेधा on मनु IV. 251 quotes part of it as स्मृत्यन्तर, while the मिता on या. II 175 ascribes it to Mann. This verse is cited in *Savitribai v Luxmibai* 2 Bom. 573 (F. B) at p. 597 (which holds that a Hindu widow voluntarily living apart from her husband's relatives is not entitled to a money allowance as maintenance from them if they were separated from him at the time of his death and that she is not entitled to such maintenance from them whether they were separated or unseparated from him at the time of his death if they have no ancestral estate belonging to him in their hands). The texts of Mann, Yāj I 76 and Nār. are held on p. 598 of that report to impose a personal obligation enforceable by the State Vide *Raja Rama Rao v. Raja of Pittapur* 45 I. A. 148 at p. 154 where it is stated that the grandson is not included under the word 'son' and a grandfather is under no personal obligation to maintain a grandson if there is no ancestral property in his hands

1560 पतितामपि तु मातरं बिभृयादनभिभाष्यमाणः । बौ. ध. सू. II. 2. 48 ; पतितः पिता परित्याज्यो माता तु पुत्रे न पतति । वसिष्ठ 13. 47 ; अत्याज्या माता तथा पिता सपिण्डा गुणवन्त सर्वे वात्याज्याः । यस्त्यजेत्कामादपतित मन् स दण्डं प्राप्नुयाद् द्विगुणं शतम् । दाक्षलिखित q. by अपरार्क p 823 on या. II 237.

Manu VIII. 389 prescribes that the man who abandons and does not maintain his parents, wife and son, when they are not *patita*, should be fined 600 *panas* by the king. Nār. also (S. B. E. 33 p. 184 verse 95) provides punishment for such a husband. Yāj. I. 76 states that if a man abandoned a wife who was obedient, diligent, the mother of a son and agreeable in speech he was to be made to give one third of his property to the wife and to maintain her, if he had no property. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 163 made the husband punishable like a thief if he abandoned his blameless wife. Kaut. II. 1 prescribes[1561] that if a man being able fails to maintain his child or wife, parents, minor brothers and sisters, unmarried daughters, widowed daughters, when these are not *patita*, should be fined twelve panas. These dicta have been followed even by modern courts in India. In *'Subbarayana v. Subbakka*[1562] it has been held that a son is bound to maintain his aged mother whether he has inherited property from his father or not

The manager of a joint Hindu family is under a legal obligation to maintain all male members of the family, their wives and children Nārada states[1563] that if any one among several (undivided) brothers dies without issue or becomes an ascetic the rest should take the estate and give maintenance to his wives till their death, provided they keep the bed of their husband unsullied but that they may cut off the maintenance if they (wives) behave otherwise. This is because the surviving brothers succeed to the estate in which the deceased had an interest during his lifetime. This is made quite clear[1564]

1561. अपत्यदारं मातापितरौ भ्रातृनभाप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनीः कन्या विधवाश्चाबिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो द्वादशपणो दण्डोऽन्यत्र पतितेभ्योऽन्यत्र मातुः । कौ. II. 1. p. 48.

1562. 8 Mad. 236, referred to in *Surampalli v. Surampalli* 31 Mad. 338 at p. 342.

1563 This verse of Nār is quoted in *Bhikubai v. Hariba* 49 Bom. 459, 463, 27 Bom. L. R. 13 at p. 16.

1564. तथा च नारदः । या. पत्न्यो विधवाः साध्व्यो ज्येष्ठेन श्वशुरेण वा । गोत्रजेनापि कार्येण भर्तव्याश्छादनाशनैः ॥ धनग्राहिणेति सर्वत्र ज्येष्ठादौ शेषो द्रष्टव्यः । धनग्रहणनिमित्तत्वाद् भरणस्य । अत्र विशेषमाह कात्यायनः । स्वर्याते स्वामिनि स्त्री तु ग्रासाच्छादनभागिनी । अविभक्तधनांशे तु यावज्जीवमित्यर्थः । धनांशं यावता धनेन वत्सजीवनं धनसाध्यं तु नित्यनैमित्तिककर्म कार्यं व्रतादिकं सिध्यति तावद्धनमित्यर्थः । तु शब्दो वा शब्दार्थे । .. एतावद्धनसम्पादकक्षेत्रांशं वा यावज्जीवमित्यर्थः । स्मृतिच्च II. p. 292 and व्य. म. p. 516. (The passage of नारद in Mr. Gharpure's edition is rather corrupt) The व्य मयूख p. 139 quotes कात्यायन; this verse of Kātyāyana is quoted in *Lakshman v. Satyabhamabai* 2 Bom. 494 at p. 511.

in the Sm. C. explaining a verse of Nār. viz. 'widows that are virtuous must be maintained with food and raiment by the eldest brother (of the deceased) or by the father-in-law or by any other gotraja' on which it remarks: "The words 'by him who takes the estate' must be understood before all the words such as 'the eldest brother'". Kāt. (922) states, 'when the husband goes to heaven the wife is entitled only to food and raiment if he was unseparated or she may get a share in (ancestral) property till her death'. The Sm. C. remarks that as maintenance depends upon taking wealth, Kāt. provides two alternatives. In cases too numerous to cite this has been followed by all High Courts. Similarly an heir is bound to maintain out of the estate taken by him those persons whom the deceased was legally or morally bound to maintain. Those persons who are excluded from inheritance or partition are entitled to maintenance and their virtuous wives and unmarried daughters also are entitled to be maintained (Yāj. II. 140–142 Manu IX. 202, Vas 17. 54). The Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 43–46)[1565] provides that those who are past undertaking transactions (i e. are very old) should be given food and raiment and also those who are blind, idiotic, impotent, immersed in vice and suffering from (incurable) diseases, and those that engage in prohibited acts, except the *patita* and his issue. Devala (quoted in the V Mayūkha p. 165) has a similar passage, 'when the father is dead (or even when being alive he makes a partition) the impotent, the leper, the lunatic, the idiot, the blind, an outcast and his offspring, a person wearing a heretical sect mark—these are not entitled to a share of the heritage; to these except the *patita* food and raiment are to be given'. These persons suffer from a personal disqualification and maintenance is given to them in lieu of a share not because their status is denied but because they are incapable of management and enjoyment of property. Vide *Raja Ram Rao v. Raja of Pittapur*.[1566]

The general principle is that an heir is legally bound to provide out of the estate taken by him as heir maintenance for those persons, male or female, whom the late owner was morally or legally bound to maintain. For example, if there is no ancestral property the father-in-law who possesses only self-

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1565 Vide note 1151 above for बौ. ध सू. II. 2. 43–46 This and the text of Devala are quoted in *Murarji v. Parvatibai* 1 Bom. 177 at p. 183.

1566 45 I. A 148 at p 154.

acquired property is not legally bound to maintain his daughter-in-law (widow of a predeceased son); but on the death of the father-in-law, his heir *i.* e. son, widow, or daughter would be legally bound to maintain a widowed daughter-in-law.[1566a] The Bombay High Court, however, adds the condition that the predeceased son must have been in union with his father when he died ; vide 23 Bom. 608.

By Act XVIII of 1937 it has been provided that in a family governed by the Mitākṣarā the widows of deceased coparceners such as the daughter-*in*-law and the grand-daughter-in-law are entitled to their husband's interest. The Act does not expressly state that their rights to maintenance are taken away. In many cases such widows may prefer to take a share instead of being allotted only maintenance and so far the law of maintenance will tend to become obsolete.

Another important question is what is the effect of unchastity on the right to maintenance ? As regards the wife's right to maintenance and the effect of unchastity thereon during the husband's lifetime, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571–73 above. Manu XI. 176 says that a wife guilty of adultery should be confined by the husband in the same house and should be made to undergo the same penance as a man guilty of adultery has to undergo ; Yāj I. 70 also says that a wife guilty of adultery should be deprived of her status as a wife as to wealth and religious observances, should be given bare maintenance and should be confined to a part of the house. Unchastity on the part of a Hindu widow disentitles her to maintenance under certain circumstances Vas 21. 10 provides that four classes of wives must be abandoned viz. one who yields herself to her husband's pupil or to his *guru* and especially one who attempts the life of her husband or who commits adultery with a man of a degraded caste and in 21. 12 Vasiṣṭha states that the wives of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas, who commit adultery with a śūdra, may be purified by penance if no child is born (of the adulterous intercourse) but not otherwise'. It is provided by Yāj. I. 72 that if a woman (of the three higher castes) conceives through adultery with a śūdra or kills her foetus or attempts the death of her husband or is guilty of grave sins (such as brāhmaṇa-murder) she shall be abandoned

1566a Vide *Rajani Kanta v. Sajani Sundari* 61 I. A 29; *Yamunabai v. Manubai* 23 B m. 608.

Manu IX. 188 provides that when women become *patita*, the rite called *ghatasphoṭa* (the procedure of which may be seen at p. 388 of the H. of Dh. vol. II and in note 1168 in the Appendix to this volume) may be performed, but they must be given food and raiment and they must be provided with a hut near the family house. Yāj. III. 296 has a similar provision. The result is that there is no text which provides that a widow who is once unchaste must be deemed unchaste for ever and must for ever forfeit her claim even to a starving maintenance even if she repents, reforms her ways and gives up an immoral life. On the contrary the texts say that widows guilty of adultery are purified by penance and may be restored to all their social privileges. For example, Manu[1567] XI. 189 says generally about all persons that after they perform the appropriate *prāyaścitta*, they should not be rebuked or avoided (but should be restored to all social intercourse). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 expressly says that the abandonment of even such women as are referred to in that verse consists in not associating with them conjugally and in religious matters, but does not mean that they are to be driven out of the house.[1568]

On Yāj. III. 297 (which states that in the case of women there are three peculiarly grave sins viz. adultery with a low-caste man, killing the foetus and attempt to murder the husband) the Mit sums up the whole position as follows: (1) total abandonment of women for the four grave sins laid down in Vas. 21. 10 takes place when they do not perform penance; (2) women guilty of adultery not of the aggravated kind mentioned in Vas 21. 10 are to be given starving maintenance that would keep body and soul together and are to be lodged in a hut near the house and to be afforded protection (Yāj. I. 70 and III. 296), even if they do not perform the requisite penance. But the Mit. is silent as to the claim to maintenance of widows that at first led a life of incontinence (but not of the aggravated kind) and subsequently reformed their ways. But from Manu XI. 189 it may be inferred that widows not guilty of

1567. एतस्विभिरनिर्णिक्तैर्नार्थं किञ्चित्सहाचरेत्। कृतनिर्णेजनांश्चैव न जुगुप्सेत कर्हिचित्॥ मनु XI 189 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54 31. अपरार्क p 98 says on या. I. 70, कृतमायश्चित्ता तु संप्रवहार्या भवति-कृतनिर्णे ... कर्हिचित्-इति मनुवचनात्।

1568. त्यागश्चोपभोगधर्मकार्ययोर्न तु निष्कासन गृहान्तरणा। निरुन्ध्यादेकवेश्मनि—इति नियमात्। मिता. on या I. 72. निरुन्ध्यादेकवेश्मनि is मनु XI 176 This passage of the Mit is quoted in *Bhikubai v Harsha* 27 Bom L. R. 13 at p 20 (=49 Bom 459 at p 467).

aggravated adultery that have undergone the proper *prāyaścitta* and that return to decent life would have been entitled to ordinary maintenance from the period they turned over a new leaf.[1569]

A brief reference to the modern case law on this point may be made here. In *Bhikubai v. Hariba*[1570] Sir Lallubhai Shah (after an elaborate examination of ancient and medieval authorities and decided cases) held that a widow who had been unchaste, but who is proved to have given up the life of unchastity is entitled to bare maintenance. In *Lakhmichand v. Anandi* the Privy Council make the general observation.[1571] 'It is true that the right of a Hindu widow to maintenance is conditional upon her leading a life of chastity and that she loses that right if she becomes unchaste'. In *Kisanji v. Lakshmi*[1572] it was held that subsequent unchastity disentitled a widow from recovering maintenance, even though it is claimable under an agreement made with the deceased husband's father and brother. In *Musammat Ganga v. Ghasita* 1 All. 46 (F. B.) it has been held that unchastity does not incapacitate a daughter from inheriting stridhana. In *Angammal v. Venkata* 26 Mad 509 the same rule was laid down.

The illegitimate son born of a śūdra concubine to a man of the three higher castes appears to have been held entitled to maintenance from very early times. Gaut. 28. 37 provides, 'the son from a śūdra woman of a man (of the three higher varnas) who is without issue receives maintenance (lit source of maintenance), if he is obedient, in the same way as a pupil might receive'. And Gautama (28 43) extends the same rule to the offspring of *pratiloma* unions. Vide p. 601 above and note 1135 for the text of Gaut and Br. on the point. Manu IX.

1569. Vide *Sathyabhama v Kesavacharya* 39 Mad *658* at p *660* where it is said, 'But in none of these texts is there any provision for a woman who has repented and was subsequently leading an honest life. It is not to be presumed from the omission to provide for such a contingency that the resumption once made is to be irrevocable and that the fallen woman who had reformed is to be denied even a starving allowance'. Vide also *Bhikubai v Hariba* 27 Bom L R 13 at pp 23 and 26 and *Ramkumar v Bhagawanta* 56 All 392, 394.

1570. 27 Bom L R. 13 = 49 Bom 459.

1571. 62 I. A 250 at p. 255

1572. 33 Bom L R. 510 But this case seems to be in conflict with the decision in *Shivlal v. Bai Sankli* 23 Bom L. R. 490.

155 also provides that the son of a man of the three higher castes from a śūdra woman (not married to him) is not entitled to share in the ancestral estate. Br. (S B.E. 33 p. 374 v. 31) states[1573] that an obedient and meritorious son born from a woman of the śūdra caste to a man who has no other child should get maintenance and that the sapindas should divide the rest of the wealth of the deceased. Both the Mit and the V. Mayūkha, while explaining Yāj. II. 133–134 about the rights of the illegitimate son of a śūdra from a śūdra woman, remark that one who is begotten on a *dāsī*[1574] by a member of the regenerate classes is not entitled to a share even at the father's choice nor to a half share after his father's death but that he is only entitled to maintenance.[1575]

There is a good deal of case law on this subject, but much of it is irrelevant in this treatise. The right of maintenance attaches in the first instance to the separate property of the putative father and if the latter leaves no such property but was a member of a joint family it attaches to the property of the joint family of which the putative father was a member.[1576] It has further been held that it does not matter if the woman was not a dāsī (a slave) or a permanent concubine in the exclusive keeping of a man or that the intercourse was adulterous.[1577] It has been also held that the illegitimate son's right to maintenance is a personal right and cannot be transmitted to his son[1578] and that maintenance has to be provided for him till his death[1579] (and not merely up to his attaining majority),

1573. अनपत्यस्य . . समवाप्नुयुः ॥ बृह. cited above in *n*. 1135 and q. by दायभाग IX. 28, स्य. मयूख (p 103). This verse of Br is cited and translated in *Krishnayyan v. Muttusami* 7 Mad 407 at p 412 and in *Rajani Nath v. Nitai* 48 Cal 643 (F. B) at p 686.

1574. For the meaning of *dāsī* vide above p. 602 *n*. 1137.

1575. अत्र च शूद्रग्रहणाद् . किं त्वनुकूलश्वेऽजीवनमात्रं लभते । मिता on या II. 133–134 q. above in *n* 1136 Vide स्य. मयूख p 104 and स्य. प्र p. 488 for almost the same words The word जीवनमात्र does not mean 'bare maintenance' or 'bare necessities of life,' has no reference to the amount of maintenance but is used to distinguish it from *aṃśa* (share). Vide *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom 779 at pp. 787 and 794.

1576. *Ananthaya v. Vishnu* 17 Mad. 160; *Subramania v. Valu* 34 Mad. 68. *Vellayappa v Natarajan* 58 I. A 402. *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom. 779 = 40 Bom L. R 935.

1577. Vide *Rahi v Govind* 1 Bom. 97.

1578 *Roshan Singh v. Balwant Singh* 27 I A. 51 = 22 All. 191.

1579. *Hargobind v Dharam Singh* 6 All. 329; *Kuppa v. Singaravelu* 8. Mad. 325; *Hiralal v. Meghraj* I. L. R. (1938) Bom. 779.

except in Bengal.[1580] The fact that the texts employ the word "śūdrāputra" (in the masculine gender) has been interpreted by the decided cases as involving that an illegitimate daughter is not entitled under Hindu Law to maintenance. Vide *Parvati v. Ganpatrao*[1581] and *Vellaiyappa v. Natarajan.*[1582]

Another frequent subject of litigation in modern times has been a concubine's right of maintenance under the Hindu Law. It has been held that a concubine has no legal right to claim maintenance from her paramour during the latter's lifetime, as he can discard her at any time and as she cannot compel him to keep her.[1583] So also a Hindu is not entitled to transfer joint family property to a concubine for her maintenance during his lifetime.[1584] But on the death of the paramour a great difference is made in the rights of a concubine that was in his *exclusive keeping till his death.* Such a concubine has been held to possess a legal right to maintenance payable out of the estate, ancestral or self-acquired as the case may be, in the hands of those who take it after the death of the paramour The rights of women, who are not wives, to maintenance are based mainly on two texts, viz. of Nārada and Kātyāyana, that are explained in the Mit, the V. Mayūkha and other medieval works. Nārada says:[1585] 'A king devoted to dharma should give maintenance to the women (*strī*) of a deceased person (when the king succeeds as heir by escheat), except when the deceased person is a brāhmana'; while Kāt. (931) states,[1586] 'heirless property goes to the king after keeping aside (wealth sufficient to provide) for the women (*yosit*), the dependents (or servants) and the funeral rites and śrāddhas (of the deceased)'

1580. *Nilmoney v. Baneshur* 4 Cal. 91.

1581. 18 Bom 177, 183.

1582. 50 Mad 340.

1583. *Ramanarasu v. Buchamma* 23 Mad. 282, *Ningareddi v. Lakshmawa* 26 Bom 163, *Akku v. Ganesh* 47 Bom. L. R. 5 (F. B) at p. 12.

1584. *Thakur Rab Prasad v Chhotay Munwan* 12 Lucknow 469.

1585. अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् किन्तु राजा धर्मपरायणः। तत्स्त्रीणां जीवनं दद्यादेष दायविधिः स्मृतः॥ नारद (दायभाग 52). q. by the Mit. on Yāj. II 114, परा. मा. III. p. 535,

1586. अदायिक राजगामि यौविद्भृत्यौर्ध्वदैहिकम्। अपास्य श्रोत्रियद्रव्यं श्रोत्रियेभ्यस्तदर्पयेत्॥ कात्या. q. by मिता. on या II 114, परा. मा. III. p 535, स्म. च. p. 139. This verse is quoted in *Savitribai v. Laxmibai* 2 Bom. 573 at p. 608, *Yashvantrao v. Kashibai* 12 Bom. 26.

Kaut. also similarly prescribes (III.[1587] 5. p. 161), 'the king takes heirless property except that of *śrotriyas*, setting apart (wealth) for the maintenance of women (of the deceased), for funeral rites and for poor or wretched (dependents of the deceased)'. The Mit., the V. Mayūkha, the Par. M. and others state that the verses of Nār. and Kāt refer to *avaruddha-strī* alone, since the word *patnī* (duly wedded wife) does not occur therein, but only the words '*yosit*' and '*strī*'.[1588] There has been a great divergence of views in the decided cases about the significance of *avaruddha strī*. It is generally rendered as a concubine or mistress in the exclusive keeping of a person till the latter's death'. Several conditions are necessary to constitute a woman an *avaruddha strī* capable of claiming maintenance from the estate of her deceased paramour in the hands of his sons or other heirs. In the first place, she must have been continuously and exclusively in his keeping till his death. How long she should have been thus in his keeping cannot be fixed by any hard and fast rules. She must have been so long in his keeping continuously till his death that it can be said that the connection had become permanent. In *Bai Nagubai v Bai Monghubai* a period of five years was deemed to be sufficient In the second place the concubine[1589] must observe sexual fidelity to her deceased paramour after his death in order to be able to claim maintenance from the estate in the hands of his heirs or successors. In *Bai Monghubai v. Bai Nagubai*[1590] a third condition was laid down viz. that the connection of the concubine with the deceased paramour should be perfectly open and recognized and she must have been kept practically as a member of the family. But in *Bai Nagubai v Bai Monghubai*[1591] the Privy Council overruled the above decision and held that in order to entitle a mistress to maintenance it is not necessary that she should have resided in the same

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1587. अदायादकं राजा हरेत्स्त्रीवृत्ति-प्रेत-कदर्यवर्जमन्यत्र श्रोत्रियदण्ड्यात्। तत् त्रैविद्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत्। कौ. III. 5 p 161, Dr Sham Shastri's translation (p 205) 'property for which no claimant is found shall go to the king, except the property of a woman, of a dead man for whom no funeral rites have been performed or of a niggardly man' is clearly inaccurate and hardly in consonance with the actual words of the text.

1588 यद्यपि कात्यायनेनोक्त-अदायिकं .... पयेत्-इति .... तदप्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयं योषिद्ग्रहणात्। नारदवचन च अन्यत्र .. ... स्मृत—इत्यवरुद्धस्त्रीविषयमेव। स्त्रीशब्द-ग्रहणात्। मिता. on या. II 114.

1589 *Yashvantrao v. Kashibai* 12 Bom. 26 at p 28.

1590. 24 Bom. L R. 1009 = 47 Bom. 401.

1591. 53 I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604 = 28 Bom, L, R. 1143.

house with the deceased together with his wife and the ordinary members of his family. And in *Dayavati v Kesarbai*[1592] it was further held that the concubine need not prove that she was recognized by the family of the deceased or that his relationship with her was known to the family. A further restriction was imposed by the case of *Anandilal v Chandrabai*[1593] that the intercourse with the paramour should not have been adulterous. But this case has been overruled by a recent Full Bench decision in *Akku v Ganesh*[1594] which holds that a permanently kept concubine is entitled to be maintained out of the estate of her deceased paramour, although she has a husband living (who was examined in the case as a witness), provided she observes sexual fidelity to the deceased paramour after his death. It becomes, therefore, necessary to examine the Sanskrit medieval commentaries and digests in order to arrive at a correct interpretation of the expression '*avaruddha strī*'. Strangely enough, the Mit. does not define the word in the section on dāyabhāga, but only under 'strī-sangrahaṇa'. Yāj II 290 provides, 'a man should be awarded a fine of fifty *paṇas*, if he has intercourse with dāsīs that are *avaruddhā* or that are *bhujiṣyā* and also (other women such as prostitutes and *svairinīs*), even though ordinarily they (i e dāsīs and others) are approachable (without incurring the consequence of punishment)' The Mit explains that the word 'ca' placed after 'bhujisyāsu' in Yāj. II. 290 is meant to include *veśyas* and *svairinīs* along with bhujisyās. Acc. to the Mit. the verse prescribes the same fine for intercourse with three kinds of women, viz. dāsīs that are avaruddhā, dāsīs that are bhujisyā and other women such as *veśyās* (who are ordinarily approachable by all males of their own or higher castes) and *svairinīs* (who abandon their husbands and resort at their desire to some other male of their own caste, as defined by Yāj. I. 67) A woman though originally a *veśyā* or a *svairiṇī* may be known to be kept by a man In that case if another man approaches her, Yāj II 290 declares that he would be liable to be fined in the same amount as if he approached an avaruddhā dāsī or bhujisyā, because being in the keeping of another at the time she would be like a wife (as the other two classes do) so far as punishment for approaching a kept woman is concerned. This verse is not concerned with the maintenance

1592. 36 Bom. L. R. 61.
1593. 48 Bom. 203 = 26 Bom. L. R. 63
1594. 47 Bom. L. R. 5 (F. B).

of women at all. The Mit. here defines 'avaruddhā dāsī' as "a slave woman who is prohibited by her master from intercourse with other men with an order to stay in the master's house alone in order that there may be no loss of attendance (on the master)." The Mit. defines a *bhujisyā dāsī* as 'one who is restricted (as to enjoyment) to certain definite males' (*puruṣaniyata-parigrahā bhujisyāḥ*)[1595] It is worthy of note that the Mit. employs different phraseology in defining the two words. In defining a bhujisyā it employs the word '*niyata*', which generally means 'fixed or definite', while in defining 'avaruddhā' it employs the word 'niruddhāh' meaning 'prevented or prohibited'. If the two words were intended to convey the same meaning, there is no reason why the Mit. should not have employed the same word (*niruddhā*) in defining a bhujisyā. The difference between an avaruddhā dāsī and a bhujisyā is that the former is ordered to stay in the master's house, while the bhujisyā is not so ordered and secondly the avaruddhā is forbidden to have sexual intercourse with any one except the master, while the bhujisyā is not so forbidden, but she is to restrict herself to enjoyment by certain specified males (friends or men of the master's family) and not necessarily by the master alone. This is the meaning assigned to those words by Mitramiśra in his commentary[1596] (not his digest) on Yāj II. 290. The Mit. itself indicates the meaning of 'niyata' by saying elsewhere that ownership springs from certain fixed sources (*nyatopāyakaṁ svatvam* on Yāj II 114). It is respectfully submitted that the Privy Council gave a wrong interpretation of the word 'avaruddhā' in *Bai Naqubai v. Bai Monghibai*[1597]. Though slavery is now abolished in India there is no reason why the two characteristics of avaruddhā (viz staying in the master's house and being

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1595. Vide note 1134 for या II 290. उक्तलक्षणा वर्णस्त्रियो दास्यस्ता एव स्वामिना शुश्रूषादानिच्युदासार्थं गृह एव स्थातव्यमित्येवं पुरुषान्तरोपभोगतो निरुद्धा अवरुद्धा। पुरुषनियतपरिग्रहा भुजिष्या। यदा दास्योऽवरुद्धा भुजिष्या वा भवेयुस्तदा तासु। तथा चशब्दाद् वेश्यास्वैरिणीनामपि साधारणस्त्रीणां भुजिष्यायां च ग्रहणम्। मिता. on या. II. 290.

1596 हीनां स्त्रीभिरयुक्तमपवदति। अवरुद्धास्वित्यादि। दासी पुरुषविशेषेण विवाह्या परिगृहीता च त्रिविधा। एकेन पुरुषेण स्वभोगार्थं पुरुषान्तरभोगतो निरुद्धा, भुजिष्या वेश्या चेति। भुजिष्या च स्वमित्रपुरुषान्तरोपभोगविषय· स्वपरिचर्याकारिणी। ... एवं च सकामाया वेश्याया एकेन बहुभिर्वाभिगमे दृष्टाभाव·। अवरुद्धाभुजिष्ययोरपि नियतपुरुषस्याभिगमे दृष्टाभाव, गम्यास्त्रियभिधानादिति मिताक्षरास्वरस। मित्रमिश्र in com. on या II. 290.

1597 53 I. A. 153 = 50 Bom. 604.

exclusively kept by the master) stated by the Mit. should not have been strictly adhered to by the Privy Council, particularly when they were holding heirs liable for the maintenance of kept mistresses, which is hardly ever allowed in any other system of law. With the greatest respect to the Full Bench, it must be said they went wrong in holding that *bhujisyā* means 'a mistress who is restrained from intercourse with other persons (other than the master)' and in holding that the only distinction between an avaruddhā and a bhujisyā is that the former is required to stay in the house of the paramour, while the latter is not (47 Bom. L. R. at pp. 13 and 22). The learned judges have not correctly interpreted the word 'niyata' and also the explanation of 'bhujisyā' given by the Bālambhatti[1598]. The meaning of the Bālambhatti was misunderstood on account of the wrong meaning attached to the word 'niyata'. What the Bālambhatti means in explaining the definition of bhujisyā is 'one who is to be enjoyed by certain definite males only other than the master' (i. e. by the master and also certain defined males) and it does not mean 'who is forbidden to be enjoyed by males other than the master'.

The F. B. further rely upon a passage of the Mit. in support of their conclusion (47 Bom. L. R. at pp. 14 and 22) On the question of what properties are impartible, the Mit. on Yāj. II. 119 quotes Manu IX. 219 viz 'clothes, conveyances, ornaments, cooked food, water (wells &c.), women, *yogakṣema* and pastures (or ways)—these they declare are impartible 'The Mit explanation[1599] of the word 'striyah' may be translated as follows: 'striyah' here means 'female slaves; if they are uneven in number they should not be divided by taking their price into consideration, but they are to be made to work in turns (for the separated members of the family), but as regards women kept by the father such as svairinīs and the rest, they are not to be divided by the sons even though they be even in number". It is difficult to see how this passage supports the Full Bench decision. That

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1598 पुरुषान्तेति। स्वभोग्यतां तु नैवेति भाव'। पुरुषेति स्वामिभिन्नेत्यर्थः। बालम्भट्टी on yā. II. 290.

1599. स्त्रियश्च दास्यो विषमा न मूल्यद्वारेण विभाज्याः पर्यायेण कर्म कारयितव्या'। अवरुद्धास्तु पित्रा स्वैरिण्याद्या समा अपि पुत्रैर्न विभाज्याः। क्रीतु च संयुक्तास्वविभाग—इति गौतमस्मरणात्। मिता. on yā. II. 119; the सुबोधिनी remarks, 'पित्रवरुद्धस्वैरिण्यादीनां समानामप्यविभाज्यत्वे गौतमवचनं दर्शयति क्रीतु च संयुक्तास्विति। संयुक्तासु उपभुक्तासु अवरुद्धास्विति यावत्।'. अरक्षिता गृहे रुद्धाः पुरुषैराकारिभिः—इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात्। एव च रुद्धामित्यत्र गृहेऽवरुद्धामित्यध्याहर्तव्यम्। स्मृतिच. II. p. 321.

passage can be explained in two or three different ways. In the first place, the Mit. having itself clearly distinguished and defined three classes, viz avaruddhā, bhujisyā and svairiṇīs (together with veśyas also) it cannot be lightly supposed that elsewhere it gives up that distinction. Therefore it would be difficult to say that here (on Yāj II. 119) the Mit. means that svairiṇīs are also the same as avaruddhās. Hence the interpretation should be that women who are avaruddhā (kept exclusively by the father) and even other women also like svairiṇīs (who had sexual connection with the father though not as avaruddhā) should not be divided i. e. a 'ca' should be understood after 'svairiṇyādyāh'. Or it is possible to hold that the word 'avaruddhā' in that passage is not employed in the strict technical sense (as defined by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 290), but in its etymological sense meaning 'women who are svairiṇīs and the like that are taken into his harem (or under his protection) by the father should not be divided'. This interpretation derives support from the explanation offered by the Subodhinī (which is repeated almost verbatim by the Bālambhattī) about the text of Gautama quoted by the Mit. that 'samyukta' in Gaut. means 'enjoyed' or 'confined' (in the house). This shows that the words 'ruddhā' and 'avaruddhā' were used in the etymological sense by distinguished writers. The Sm. C. II p. 321 while explaining the word 'ruddhā' in Manu IX. 12 applied to a wife guilty of adultery explains it as meaning 'confined in a part of the house' (gṛhe avaruddhām). When the Mit. states (p. 811) that the verses of Nār. and Kāt. refer to avaruddhā strī it follows that these verses do not refer to bhujisyā, who would therefore be deemed not entitled to maintenance at all.

There is a large body of caselaw about the right of a widow in a joint Hindu family to reside in the family house, about the right of a daughter-in-law against her deceased husband's father who has no ancestral property in his hands and against the heirs of the father-in-law, about the amount of maintenance to be allowed to a widow and about the rate at which arrears of maintenance are to be allowed, about the period for which arrears may be awarded, about making the maintenance a charge on the estate in the hands of the heirs, about varying the rate of maintenance fixed by a decree or an agreement &c. These are not quite germane to the present volume, particularly because most of the decisions on these

matters are not based on the words of the smṛtis or of the medieval digests, but are based on logic and principles of justice and equity. But there is one matter which deserves a passing reference. Ancient Hindu Law attached the highest spiritual importance to the payment of debts (vide pp. 414–417 above). Therefore debts contracted by a Hindu are held by the Courts to take precedence over the right of maintenance of a man's wife, his infant child or his widow after his death.[1600] Similarly debts contracted by the manager of the joint family of which the widow's husband was a member would take precedence over the widow's right of maintenance, provided the debts were for the benefit of the family or were for legal necessity.

The last *vyavahārapada* is *prakīrnaka*, which is defined by Visnu Dh. S. 42 · 1 as ' miscellaneous ' (yadanuktam tat prakīrnakam) or by Nār. as matters that were to be set in motion by the king himself (vide note 331). These have been dealt with above and do not require any further treatment here.

At the end of this section on Vyavahāra it would not be out of place to say a few words about wills. Owing to the joint family system and the custom of adoption testamentary dispositions did not come into vogue in ancient India. Among the many kinds of documents (*lekhya*) mentioned by Kaut., Br, Kāt and others cited above there is no term for a document which can convey the idea of a modern will. But it need not be supposed that the idea had not at all dawned upon the minds of people before the advent of the British[1601]. Wills were known among Mahomedans and contact with them would naturally suggest the idea of a will. Oral or written instructions by a man expecting death to his heirs intended to affect the disposal of his property must have been given occasionally and should not

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1600 Vide *Lakshman v. Satyabhamabai* 2 Bom. 494 at pp 499, 505, *Radhabai v. Gopal* 45 Bom. L. R. 980 at p. 991.

1601. In *Nagalutchmee Ummal v. Gopoo Nadaraja* 6 Moo I A. p 309 the P. C. said (at p. 344): 'It must be allowed that in the ancient Hindu Law, as it was understood through the whole of Hindustan, testamentary instruments in the sense affixed by English lawyers to that expression were unknown; and it is stated by a writer of authority (Sir Thomas Strange) that the Hindoo language has no terms to express what we mean by a will. But it does not necessarily follow that what in effect though not in form are testamentary instruments which are only to come into operation and affect property after the death of the maker of the instrument were equally unknown.

be supposed to have been entirely unknown. Verses 341–359 of the Rājataraṅginī IV. appear to embody the political testament of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century. Kāt. (566) makes a very near approach to the modern conception of a will[1602]. He says, 'if a gift was promised by a man for a religious purpose whether when in good health or when afflicted with disease, the son should be made to pay it, if the father dies without giving it over.' Here the mere declaration of the intention of a person was made enforceable after his death against the son or other heir. Brhaspati's verse saying that a promise or direction to take effect after the death of the promisor was not ordinarily enforceable has already been quoted above (n. 823). In the quarterly of the Bhārata-itihāsa-saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala of Poona, vol. XX p. 210 (for May 1940) there is a letter (dated 1775 A. D.) written by one Naro Babaji, who, after referring to his illness, provides on a generous scale for his funeral and śrāddha expenses and makes dispositions in favour of his daughter-in-law, of another widow, and for the marriage of his kinsman's sons and distribution of the balance of his assets[1603].

1602 स्वस्थेनार्तेन वा देयं श्रावितं धर्मकारणात् । अदत्त्वा तु मृते दाप्यस्तत्सुतो नात्र संशय. । कात्या q by अपरार्क p. 782, वि. चि. p 16, व्य. मयूख p. 206. 'श्रावयित्वा यदि दानमकृत्वैव मृतस्तदा तद्दापयैस्तद्देयम् । अप्रयच्छन्तो राज्ञा दाप्याः । एतच्च धर्मार्थं प्रतिश्रवणे सति द्रष्टव्यम् । अपरार्क p. 782

1603. यादी चिरंजीव राजश्री माधवराव यासि नारो बाबाजी असिरवाद उपरि सन ११८५ मन्मथनाम संवत्सरे आपले शरीर आज महिनाभर वेथा झाली आहे न जाने शरीराचा भरवसा नाही आपला धर्माचा ऐवज अन्तकाल वगैरे ठेवला आहे तो येणेप्रमाणे :

धर्म करावा जीतपशील

५००० आपण जिवंत असतां आपले हाते प्रायश्चीत व हिरण्यद्वारा गोशत वगैरे प्रसंग आल्यास करवावें

१०००० क्रियेस लावावे

२००० मासिक वर्षश्राद्ध मिलोन

× ×

१५००० आपले गयावर्जन व कासीत एक गायीत्रीपुरश्चरण व किरकोल धर्म

५००० यासिवाय किरकोल धर्म कासीस अथवा अन्य क्षेत्रीं

× ×

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(*Continued on the next page*)

One of the earliest wills to come before the British Indian Courts was that of the notorious Umichand[1604] (who died in 1758 A. D.). Bengal Regulation XI of 1793 recognized by section VI the power of a Hindu proprietor to make a will or declaration giving, prior or subsequent to 1st July 1794, his entire landed estate to his eldest son or next heir or other son or heir or to any person or persons. In a Bombay case the will of a Hindu made in 1789 is referred to[1605]. A Pundit of the Recorder's court of Bombay gave it as his opinion in 1812 A.D., 'there is no mention of wills in our *Shaster*; therefore they ought not to be made' (vide Strange's Hindu Law, vol. II p. 449). In I. L. R. (1940) 1 Cal. 415 at p. 424 the Privy Council observe that the Hindu will in its present form is a development since the middle of the 18th century.

It is beyond the scope of this work to dilate on the modern Acts dealing with Testamentary dispositions such as the Indian Succession Act (Act 39 of 1925).

Now that the foregoing lengthy presentation of the ancient and medieval Hindu judicial procedure and substantive law has been brought to a close a few general observations may be indulged in here. The Hindu Law of pleading and evidence compares favourably with similar laws of many other countries and has extorted the admiration and encomiums of such

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(*Continued from the last page*)

× ×

याशिवाय कलमे

५००० राधाबाई सून तिजपाशीं वस्ता अजमासे पाचा सहा हजाराच्या आहेत यासिवाय काशीस गेली आथवा आपले बापाचे घरीं राहीली तर तीस रुपये द्यावे

३००० तीर्थस्वरूप दादाचे क्रियेस लावावे

५०० भाचेसून रखमाबाईस वर्षास धर्माकरिता ५० रुपये देतच आहा पुढें तुम्हापासोन जाईल तेव्हा तीस द्यावे

३५००० तुम्ही आपले तीन्ही मुलाचे लग्नास खर्च करावा

५३५०० सदरहूप्रमाणे करार

सदरहू रुपये जाऊन बाकी राहिल त्यात तुम्ही विठोबाचे व त्याचे बायकोचें आपणापाशीं ठेवून चालवावें पुढे तो थोर झाल्यावर कोणी त्यास बीर देईल आणि तो तुम्हापासून वेगळा निघो लागला तर बाकी निमे त्यास द्यावे व तुम्ही निमे घ्यावे. × × × The rest gives a history of the family and how the testator earned his fortune

1604. The will is set out in an English translation in W A. Montriou's 'The Hindu Will in Bengal' (Calcutta, 1870) pp. 9ff.

1605. Vide *Jugmohandas v. Sir Mangaldas* 10 Bom. 528.

eminent Jurists and Judges as Sir William Jones, Sir Thomas Strange and others. For example, Sir Thomas Strange in 'Hindu Law' (1830) vol. I observes (at p. 311), "sufficient be it to observe that Hindu pleading was noticed with commendation by Sir William Jones and that, with some trifling exceptions, the Hindu doctrine of evidence is, for the most part, distinguished nearly as much as our own, by the excellent sense that determines the competency and designates the choice of witnesses with the manner of examining and the credit to be given them; as well as by the solemn earnestness with which the obligation of truth is urged and inculcated; insomuch that less cannot be said of this part of their law than that it will be read by every English lawyer with a mixture of admiration and delight, as it may be studied by him to advantage. Even the *pious perjury* which it has been supposed to sanction[1605a] being resolvable after all into no greater liberty than what our juries (not indeed with perfect approbation) have long been allowed to take, where the life of a prisoner on trial before them is at stake; credit is to be given to the pregnant brevity of the Hindu oath viz. 'what you know ..declare at large and with truth' (Manu VIII. 80); as also to the noble warning, with which the subject as detailed by Manu is ushered in, that 'either the court must not be entered by judges, parties and witnesses or law and truth must be openly declared' (Manu VIII. 13)." The medieval digests made a very near approach to the modern ideal of equality of all men before the law. How even in the 20th century the much vaunted equality before the law of all people in England is far from being achieved and how it often proves quite illusory where the poor or the labouring classes are concerned is well brought out in a book entitled 'Justice in England' by a Barrister published by Victor Gollancz in 1938, especially in chapters I and VI. The Hindu jurists evolved tolerably clear and sound ideas about contracts, debts, deposits and pledges, sales, mortgages and gifts of immovable properties, developed a system of joint family rights and liabilities and laid down a peculiar law of inheritance and succession to males and females. The Hindu system of inheritance and succession

1605a This is a reference to the texts of Gaut. 23 29, the Mahābhārata, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others cited on p 353 above Sir William Jones remarks (in Works, vol. VIII p. 445, ed. of 1807): 'In the great system of contracts and the common intercourse between man and man, the *Pootee* (*Pothi*?) of the Indians and the Digest of the Romans are by no means dissimilar'.

pursues a middle course. It does not distribute the estate of a deceased person simultaneously among several heirs as under the Mahomedan Law (where the widow, the father, mother, sons and daughters of a man take the estate together if they are all alive at the time). Nor did the Hindu system confine the descent to a single person among a group of heirs of the same degree and sex as in the English system before 1926 (where the eldest son succeeded to the real estate of an intestate person).

It has further been seen how the ancient and medieval Hindu rules as to debts, adoption, partition and inheritance have been moulded for over a century by Legislation and by decisions of the Privy Council and the Courts in India Many persons feel that the time has now arrived for the codification of Hindu Law. A Committee presided over by Sir B N. Rau has prepared a draft code which attempts to codify certain branches of Hindu Law From several quarters there has been vehement opposition to this draft code The objections raised are many. It is not possible to deal here with the several objections in detail. But some of them which raise questions of fundamental importance will have to be briefly stated and answered. The first objection is that in view of Queen Victoria's proclamation of 1858 the Indian Legislature should not interfere with the customs and usages of the people that are part and parcel of the Hindu religious system But this objection is hollow and unsubstantial and conveniently ignores what has happened during the last hundred years or so. All that the Queen proclaimed was · 'Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We desire it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all *interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our* subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.' Notwithstanding the noble sentiments expressed here, the Indian Legislature both before and after the proclamation passed numerous laws that more or less impinged upon or affected the religious theories, sentiments and practices of millions of Hindus! The following is a list of some of the important laws of this character which will convince any one of the fact that

people have always submitted to laws passed by the Governor-General or the Legislature that prevented them from carrying out their cherished ideas and practices: Regulation XVII of 1829 which declared the practice of *Satī* illegal and a crime punishable by the courts; the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850); Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856, which legalises the marriages of Hindu widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary); the Indian Penal Code (XLV of 1860, which makes sexual intercourse by a man with his own wife that is under thirteen years of age punishable as rape); the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929), which makes the marriage of a male below 18 and of a female below 14 punishable as a crime; the Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act (XII of 1928) which sets aside the Mitāksarā rules about exclusion from partition and inheritance except in the case of those that have been lunatics or idiots from birth; the Hindu Law of Inheritance Amendment Act (II of 1929, which enables the son's daughter, daughter's daughter, sister and sister's son to succeed under the Mitāksarā in that order after the paternal grandfather and before a father's brother); the Hindu Gains of Learning Act (XXX of 1930); the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act (XVIII of 1937, which enables the widow of a deceased member of a joint Hindu family to succeed to the interest of her husband in the joint family property and to succeed to her deceased husband's separate property for the same share as that of a son). The Privy Council claimed more than 70 years ago that 'the British Government by virtue of its sovereign power asserted, as the former rulers of the country had done, the right to visit endowments of this kind (viz temples) and to prevent and redress abuses in their management' (*Rajah Muttu Ramalinga v. Perianayagum* 1 I. A. 209 at p. 232). Non-Hindu Judges of the Privy Council and the High Courts have been interpreting and laying down the Hindu Law for over a hundred years and on many points the law declared by them has thoroughly changed the law of the smrtis and digests If all this has been allowed to happen without hardly a demur, there is apparently no satisfactory or convincing reason why an elected Indian Legislature the majority of whose members are likely to be Hindus should not pass an Act dealing with Hindu Law.

Another objection raised even by some retired judges of the High Court is that the present system of laying down the

Hindu Law by means of judicial decisions is quite satisfactory and there is no need of a code of Hindu Law. This objection merely shows that change is rather a painful process for most men. The present method may be a veritable El Dorado or paradise for lawyers and busy bodies fomenting longdrawn litigations One must stand appalled at the colossal expenditure of time, labour and money which must have been involved during the last hundred years or more in fighting out doubtful points of Hindu Law from the lowest court to the Privy Council. It not unfrequently happens that after a point had been settled by a Full Bench decision of a High Court and after common people and lawyers had followed the law thus settled for fifty years the Privy Council upsets the decision on an appeal by an enterprising litigant. For example, the Bombay High Court decided in 1879 in *Ramji v. Ghamau* (6 Bom. 498) that the adoption by the widow of a deceased co-parcener, who had not her husband's express authority to adopt, was invalid, if made without the consent of the surviving co-parceners. But in 1932 the Privy Council held that *Ramji v. Ghamau* was wrongly decided and that a widow can adopt without her husband's express authority and even in the teeth of the opposition of the surviving members of her husband's family. And when an appeal was made to the principle of '*stare decisis*' the Privy Council was pleased to observe, 'It was pressed on their Lordships that *Ramji v. Ghamau* had been accepted and acted upon in the Presidency of Bombay since 1879 and that the decision should not be disturbed. But this is a belated appeal. It should have been made when *Yadav v Namdeo* was before the Board' To ordinary minds this dictum, speaking with the utmost respect, appears strange. If for some reason or other a certain line of argument is not placed before the Privy Council by the counsel of a private party and a wrong decision is given, is it to be supposed that all litigants are to be precluded from trying to set the wrong decision right for all time to come? The Privy Council has not seldom set right a wrong decision given by the Board in a prior appeal In *Sahu Ram v. Bhup Singh* 44 I. A. 126 the Privy Council held that the pious duty of the son to discharge his father's or grandfather's debts does not attach while the father or grandfather is alive; but in *Brij Narain v. Mangla Prasad* 51 I. A. 129 the Privy Council held (at p. 134) that the pious duty is always there irrespective of the question whether the father or grandfather is alive or dead.

Others opine that one Code for the whole of India is not and cannot be a practicable proposition. In support of their objection they rely on the existence of the several schools of law now prevalent in the whole of India. If India desires to be a self-governing political unity in the future, there is a compelling reason why it should be governed by a single Code of Hindu Law, as it has been gov erned and will be governed in other substantial provinces of law by codes applicable to all alike. That will help in the direction of solidarity and will be of some use in doing away with fissiparous tendencies. There are really only two schools of Hindu Law. And the unification of Hindu Law will be helped by the abolition of the right by birth which is the cornerstone of the Mitāksarā school and which the draft Hindu Code seeks to abolish. Many people are vehemently opposed to the change But they forget that, what with the rule that any member of a joint Hindu family may alienate his interest for value, what with the Gains of Learning Act, the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act and other enactments, the real core of the ancient Hindu family system has been removed and only the outer moribund shell remains (vide p. 604 above) Some are opposed to giving along with sons a share to daughters, particularly to married daughters. But here a compromise may be effected by allowing a share to unmarried daughters alone (as Yāj II. 124 and the Mitāksarā thereon expressly provide).

Another provision in the draft Hindu Code which has come in for severe animadversion is the provision that a woman even when taking by inheritance an estate from a male or by partition should be held to become absolute owner thereof. In the first place, if a man's agnate of the 13th degree or a male cognate up to the 5th degree takes an estate absolutely and may squander it away as he pleases, one fails to see why his own widow should not have a like power in the 20th century, whatever may have been the view of ancient works. In the second place, this objection can be met by means of a compromise, viz. that a widow inheriting her husband's estate will take only a limited estate if at the time of her husband's death any one of the compact series of heirs or any direct lineal descendant of her husband (such as a son's daughter or daughter's daughter) be alive, but she will take an absolute estate if none of these exists. Such a compromise should allay all fears about the widow unfairly disposing of the estate against near relations

like the daughter or daughter's son or husband's brother &c. There are numerous other objections, but they are in matters of detail and if once it is agreed that there should be a Code of Hindu Law passed by the Indian Legislature these matters of detail may be adjusted to the satisfaction of most people.

Similarly serious objections are raised to the provisions of the Code as regards marriages and divorce. The draft code proposes to do away with the prohibitions based on sameness of gotra and pravara. This is a desirable change and being optional should not be opposed Some reasons for this change have been advanced in H. of Dh. vol II. p 498. Besides, this provision will affect only a small percentage of the Hindu population Similarly the insistence on monogamy is opposed by many. In this case some compromise may be arrived at as regards classes to whom two wives are an economic advantage The provisions about divorce have been overdue. Among the higher castes no divorce has been allowed on any ground whatever. Many hard cases occur where there is no redress and the draft code proposes to give relief in such cases.

On the most contentious subject of adoption the draft code, it is satisfactory to note, has made certain provisions which are in line with the suggestions put forth by me in note 1338a above.

Compelling reasons exist why Hindu Law should be codified as early as possible Men naturally desire that they should have easy access to the laws by which they are to be governed in all their actions, dealings and relations It is hardly a commendable or desirable state of things that people should be forced to consult lawyers or bulky textbooks every now and then and even in small and simple matters. The general outlines and provisions of Hindu Law must be within easy reach of every intelligent or inquiring Hindu. This can only happen if there is a code for all Hindus or, if that is deemed impracticable for the present, at least for a large province or for a number of provinces.

CHAPTER XXXII

SADĀCĀRA

CUSTOMS AND MODERN CUSTOMARY LAW[1606]

From Gautama[1606a] downwards many writers dilate upon the sources of *dharma*. Gautama I. 1–2 states: 'the Veda is the source (*mūla*) of dharma and also the tradition (or smrtis) and practice of those who know the Veda'. Similarly Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1. 1. 1–2) says: 'we shall propound the acts (that produce merit) which are evolved from conventions and practices; the authority (for finding out the *dharmas*) are the conventions of those who know the dharma and the Vedas'. Vas. I. 4–7 provides: 'dharma is declared by the Vedas and Smrtis; on failure of these two the practice of the śistas is the authority (for finding out what dharma is); a śista however is one whose heart is free from (worldly) desires and (only) such acts of śiṣṭas are (to be held as) dharma for which no (worldly

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1606. This chapter and the next represent, with a few minor additions, two of the four lectures I delivered in November 1944 at the Bombay University as the Sir Lallubhai Shah Lecturer. I am thankful to the Syndicate of the Bombay University for permission to incorporate these two lectures in this volume

1606a. वेदो धर्ममूलम्। तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले। गौ. I 1–2, अथातः सामयाचारिकान्धर्मान् व्याख्यास्यामः। धर्मज्ञसमय. प्रमाणं वेदाश्च। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 1–3, श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितो धर्मः। तदलाभे शिष्टाचार. प्रमाणम्। शिष्टः पुनरकामात्मा। अगृह्यमाणकारणो धर्म। वसिष्ठ I 4–7; श्रुति. स्मृति· सदाचार. स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः। सम्यक्सङ्कल्पज. कामः धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम्॥ या. I. 7; वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम्। आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च॥ मनु I. 6. हरदत्त explains mūla in Gaut. as pramāna and सामयाचारिकान् as 'पौरुषेयी व्यवस्था समय. स च त्रिविधः विधिर्नियम प्रतिषेध इति। समयमूला आचाराः समयाचाराः तेषु भवा सामयाचारिकाः एवंभूतान्धर्मानिति। कर्मजन्योऽनुदयनि·श्रेयसहेतुरपूर्वाख्य आत्मगुणो धर्मः'. According to him सामयाचारिकान् means relating to practices based upon agreements or conventions Manu distinguishes between śīla and ācāra The first means, acc. to Kullūka and others, such moral qualities as 'devotion to learning, to gods and to parents' &c mentioned in Hārīta (quoted by Kullūka) All commentators connect 'svasya' in Manu II 12 and Yāj I. 7 with 'priyam'. but Pandit Gattulal connects it with 'sadācāra' which means according to him 'sampradāya' (in Satsiddhāntamārtanda I. 5 p. 49, Nir. ed. 1942).

or secular) cause (or motive) can be assigned'.[1607] Manu II. and Yāj. I. 7 declare that Veda (or śruti), smṛti and the practices of the good are the principal *sources* of dharma The words employed in these works are *śīla*, *samaya*, *ācāra* or *sadācār* or *śiṣṭācāra*[1607] (the latter three meaning the same thing) Āp. employs both words viz. *samaya* and *ācāra*, the first of which probably means 'agreement or convention or usage', while the latter means 'custom'. The word 'custom' now conveys the idea of some antiquity,[1608] while usage or convention does not necessarily convey that idea. A usage may be recent or it may be established by agreement among a certain class of persons (such as traders or craftsmen) We have to see what is meant when it is said that *ācāra* or *śiṣṭācāra* or *sadācāra* is the source (mūla) of dharma. An indication of the meaning is furnished by the word *pramāna* employed by Āp. and Vas. The meaning is that just as the revealed books (Veda) and the smṛtis authoritatively lay down what dharma is, so also in our quest to find out what dharma is in the varying circumstances of life the practices of those who may be called śistas furnish us with the necessary criterion or norm i e. śistācāra is the touchstone for judging whether an act is in consonance with what the śāstras require us to do. The theory of the ancient writers was that the smṛtis were based on parts of Veda (that consists of *mantras* and Brāhmana texts) which though formerly existent are not now extant or available, that similarly the practices of those who were learned in the Vedas and were deemed to be śistas must be inferred to have been based on portions of Veda not now available. This theory was advanced by such ancient

1607. As to the qualifications of śistas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 971–72 where references are given to Baud Dh S, Manu, the Matsyapurāna and a few other works. The Tai. Up. I. 11 contains perhaps the oldest extant indication as to who should be regarded as śistas, though that word itself is not used. अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा स्यात् । ये तत्र ब्राह्मणा· संमर्शिनः युक्ता आयुक्ता अलूक्षा धर्मकामा. स्युः यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् तथा तत्र वर्तेथा । अथाभ्याख्यातेषु । ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः . . धर्मकामाः स्यु· यथा ते तेषु वर्तेरन् तथा तेषु वर्तेथा· ।.

1608. Vide *Dalglish v. Guzuffer* 23 Cal. 427, 429 and *Sarratullah v. Pran Nath* 26 Cal. 184, 187 for the meaning of usage in modern enactments as distinguished from 'custom'. In *Juggomohun Ghose v Manickchund* 7 Moo I A. 264 at p 282 (mercantile) usage is sharply distinguished from custom in that the former need not possess the characteristics of antiquity, uniformity and notoriety that the latter must possess.

writers as Āp.[1609] and was taken up by many subsequent works. Manu II. 7 also states that whatever dharma has been ordained for any person by Manu, all that has been entirely declared in the Veda for the Veda is full of all knowledge. But it does not follow from this nor is it ever meant that all practices of śiṣṭas are authoritative in matters of dharma. The qualification was added that where the practices of śiṣṭas are clearly referable to or are prompted by a seen motive or by the desire to secure pleasure, there they are not authoritative. Manu (II. 18) restricted the word sadācāra to the customs handed down from generation to generation among the four varnas and the mixed castes in the country called by him Brahmāvarta (II. 17). But many other writers did not so restrict it in this way.

We have to distinguish between what are called the sources (*mūla* or *pramāna*) of dharma and the *sthānas* of dharma (Yāj I. 3 and 7).[1610] The former indicate to the inquiring spirit what dharma is (i e. they are what are called *jñāpaka hetu*), while the latter must be studied as aids by the expounders of dharma in order to correctly grasp what dharma is, i. e. the different lores (other than Veda and smṛti) are not directly the sources of dharma, but are only mediately so. This distinction is an ancient one as even Gautama XI. 19 provides that the king is helped in his administration of justice by the Veda, the dharmaśāstras, the auxiliary lores (angas), the Upavedas and the Purāna [1611]

The position of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā in relation to the authoritativeness of smṛtis and customs requires careful and

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1609. आर्षसमयो ह्यगृह्यमानकारण. । ... ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयस्तेषामुत्सर्गाः पाठा. भयोगादनुमीयन्ते । यत्र तु प्रीत्युपलब्धित· प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति । तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राध्यति । आप ध. सू. I. 4 12. 8, 10–13 The first sūtra may be used for explaining Vas I 4, गृह्यमाणकारण means 'that has a known or perceptible worldly motive such as covetousness'. Vide note 1653 below Compare जै. I. 3 7 अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे &c quoted below

1610 पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ या I 3, on which मिता. says, धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश स्थानानि हेतवः । एतानि च वैगणिकैरध्येतव्यानि, while मित्रमिश्र explains, 'विद्याना पुरुषार्थसाधनज्ञानानाम् । अत एव धर्मस्यापि स्थानान्युपाया विद्याया. प्रवृत्तिद्वारा धर्मप्रयोजकत्वात्.' On I 7 मित्रमिश्र says, पुराणादीनां स्वर्गादिकथाप्राधान्यादितिहासस्थूलत्वेनार्थवादादिरूपतया न्यायमीमांसा-गौरवकंद्वारा शिक्षादीनामङ्गानां तत्तदुपकारसम्पादनेन वेदानुग्राहकतया धर्मे प्रामाण्य न साक्षादिति न तान्यत्र गणितानि ।

1611 तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् । गौ. XI, 19.

detailed consideration. In I. 3. 1–2[1612] Jaimini considers the question whether such smṛti injunctions as 'one should perform the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas',[1613] or 'one should construct a tank or set up a *prapā* (place for free distribution of water to thirsty travellers'), or 'tufts of hair should be kept on the head' (at *caula* according to the gotra) are authoritative and establishes the conclusion that they are authoritative, since such smṛti injunctions equally with Vedic ones are addressed to the same persons (viz. the followers of the Veda) who have to act according to them The idea is that those who perform the acts expressly enjoined by the Veda are also seen to perform the acts enjoined by such smṛtis as that of Manu and therefore the principal reason why these smṛtis are authoritative is the fact that those who know the Veda accept these smṛtis as authoritative and hold fast by them, as Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 says citing some verses from his own work called Smṛtiviveka.[1614] Śabara endeavours to show that there are indications (*liṅga*) in the Vedic texts pointing to the existence of what is prescribed in the smṛtis, e. g he cites the Vedic verse 'yām janāh' as indicative

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1612. धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वाद्शब्दमनपेक्ष स्यात् । अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात् । जै I 3 1–2 The word अनुमान is here used in the sense of स्मृति 'अपि वा पक्षो व्यावर्त्यते । प्रमाण हि स्मृतिः । . ग्रन्थस्त्वनुमीयेत कर्तृसामान्यास्स्मृतिवैदिकपदार्थयो' । तेनोपपन्नो वेदसयोगश्चैवाणिकानाम् ।' शबर, about अष्टका he says 'अष्टकालिङ्गाश्च मन्त्रा वेदे श्रूयन्ते यां जना प्रतिनन्दन्तीत्येवमादय' ।'. That verse is, यां जना· प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं धेनुमिवायतीम् । सवत्सस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली । This occurs in आप म पा II 10 27, in पारस्करगृह्य III 2 and in अथर्ववेद III 10 2 where we have या देवा etc Acc to प्रभाकर the topic of Jai I 3 1–2 is not such smṛti texts as those on Aṣṭakā, but the Vedic verse या जना itself The न्यायसुधा p 126 adds 'अष्टाकायै सुराधसे स्वाहेति तस्याष्टकादेवतारात्रिप्रकाशकत्वादेषा वै सवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदष्टकेति संवत्सरपत्नीत्वसस्तुताष्टकाप्रकाशकत्वाच्चाष्टकालिङ्गत्व स्पष्टमेवेति' The word कर्तृसामान्यात् in the sūtra is explained in the मयूखमालिका as 'अग्निहोत्रादीनां वैदिकपदार्थानां ये कर्तारस्त एव अष्टकादिस्मृतीनामिति कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रामाण्यसूक्तम्' (on जै I 3 4 p 27), while the न्यायसुधा (p 125) proposes also another explanation 'यद्वा स्मृतिकर्तृणा मन्वादीना वैदिकपदार्थकर्तृणां तदानींतनानां शिष्टाना त्रैवर्णिकत्वेन समानत्वात् इदानींतनधर्मन्वादीनामप्युपपन्नो वेदसंयोग इत्यर्थः'.

1613 Vide Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 1 ff, Sān. Gr. III. 12–14, Pār. Gr. III. 3 for Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. Passages of the smṛtis about tanks and prapās are set out in H of Dh vol II pp 889–890 For tufts of hair kept in *caula* vide H of Dh. vol II pp. 261 and 264,

1614. वैदिकै स्मर्यमाणत्वात्तत्परिग्रहदार्ढ्यत. । संभाव्यवेदमूलत्वास्स्मृतीनां वेदमूलता ॥ quoted in the शास्त्रदीपिका on जै. I 3 2; 'स्मार्तवैदिकयोर्नित्य व्यतिषङ्गात्परस्परम् । कर्तृतः कर्मतो वापि वियुज्येते न जातु तौ । .. प्रामाण्यकारणं हुड्यं वेदाविद्धि. परिग्रहः । तदुक्त कर्तृसामान्यादनुमानं श्रुतौ. प्रति ॥ q. from स्मृतिविवेक by मेधा. on मनु. II. 6

of aṣṭakās, Ṛg X. 4. 1 of prapās, Ṛg. VI. 75. 17 of tufts of hair The objection may be stated as follows:—The smṛtis are composed by human authors (i. e. they are *pauruseya*) and so have no independent authority in matters of dharma, as a man may say what is either false or mistaken. If it be said that the smṛtis really propound what is stated by the Veda, then they are practically superfluous and useless. and not being Veda they should be discarded (anapeksa) To this the reply is that smṛtis are generally authoritative, as they must be held to be based on Veda because they are composed by men (like Manu) who were followers of the Veda, because what the smṛtis lay down has been consistently followed from generation to generation by the śistas and because it is possible to regard the Veda as their source. To the question why the Vedic passages on which the smṛti rules are postulated to have been based are not seen or found by us several answers were proposed by different writers One view was that just as Vedic indications about locks of hair lead to the inference of śruti texts enjoining the keeping of tufts on the head, so the fact of the existence of such rules leads to the inference that śruti must have contained injunctions corresponding to all smṛti prescriptions Kumārila raises objections to this view. Inference is based on perception (*pratyakṣa*) and invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). There is no vyāpti between the smṛtis and śruti texts that are never found pronounced by any one, so no inference is possible and it would be like one blind man following another.[1615] Manu must have composed his smṛti on finding that ācāryas preceding him performed certain acts as based on Veda These last must have believed that their predecessors also acted on the same belief. Hence there is what is called an 'andha-paramparā' on this hypothesis And further this hypothesis of the inference of Śruti in all cases is opposed to perception, since as a matter of fact hundreds of Śruti passages are known that can be the basis of corresponding smṛti texts Another view is (and Kumārila holds that it is somewhat better than the preceding view) that one should infer that the Vedic passages that were the basis of smṛtis are lost (utsanna or pralīna) Some support is lent to this by such Vedic texts as 'anantā vai vedāh' (Tai. Br. III 10.

1615. तत्रयुक्तमन्धपरम्परान्यायादेव। या हि चोदना न कदाचिदुच्चार्यते तस्या सर्वपुरुषप्रत्यक्षादिमसराभावाद् दुर्लभतरमस्तित्वम्। ... लिङ्गादीनां तु नित्यत्वाश्रितयमनुच्चरितस्य पनुमानकारणत्वमविरुद्धम्। तेन यदे मूलीनश्रुत्यनुमानमेव। तन्त्रवार्तिक p 164 on जै. I. 3. 2.

11) and by Āp. Dh. S I. 4 12. 10. Even this view is not acceptable to the Tantravārtika and most of the Mīmāmsakas The objection against the 2nd view is raised as follows. Even Bauddhas and other heretical sects[1616] would advance the argument that their works also are based on śruti texts that are now lost, and any one may regard anything as authoritative by pretending that the basic vedic texts are lost. Further the Mīmāmsā view that the Veda is eternal (*nitya*) would be refuted if it were admitted that some portion of the Veda is lost. There is not much difference between the first view and the second view. Therefore Kumārila propounds the third view viz. that smrtis are to be inferred as based on Vedic texts that are already in existence[1617]. If an objection is raised against this hypothesis that it must be explained why such Vedic texts (the bases of smrtis) are not seen or found, the Tantravārtika replies in a famous *kārikā* that as the Vedic *śākhās* (the several branches of the Veda) are scattered about (in various countries), as men (followers of the Veda) are negligent and unmindful (i. e they do not visit all the countries and so are unable to have a complete knowledge of all Vedic texts) and as several rules are declared in different contexts even when occurring in the same śākhā (and not at one place) it is not always possible to point out the Vedic sources of smrti texts. If an objector were to ask: 'why were not the Vedic passages themselves (that are the sources of smrti rules) embodied bodily into the smrtis,' Kumārila replies that this was not done from the fear of the loss of the correct arrangement of the Vedic texts as traditionally handed down. The Veda is principally concerned

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1616. यदि तु प्रलीनशाखामूलता कल्प्येत ततः सर्वासा बुद्धादिस्मृतीनामपि तद्द्वारं प्रामाण्य प्रसज्यते। यस्यैव च यदभिप्रेतं स एव तत्प्रलीनशाखामस्तके निक्षिप्य प्रमाणीकुर्यात्। तन्त्रवार्तिक p 163, नित्यानुमेयपक्षो यो वाप्यागमपरम्परा। तयोरन्धप्रवाहत्व न भेदः कश्चिदीक्ष्यते। स्मृतिविवेक q by मेधा. on मनु II. 6

1617. यद्वा विद्यमानशाखागतश्रुतिमूलत्वमेवास्तु। कथमनुपलब्धिरिति चेदुच्यते। शाखानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात्पुरुषाणां प्रमादतः। नानाप्रकरणस्थत्वात्स्मृतेर्मूल न दृश्यते॥ यतु किमर्थं वेदवाक्यान्येव नोपसंगृहीतानीति। संप्रदायविनाशभीतेः। विशिष्टाद्यपूर्वा हि स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः श्रूयते। स्मार्ताश्चाचाराः केचित् क्वचित्करणाचिच्छास्त्रायाम्। तत्रापि तु केचित्पुरुषमेवाधिकृत्याम्नायन्ते। येन क्रतुप्रकरणाम्नाताः केनचिन्निमित्तेनाकृष्यमाणाः पुरुषधर्मतां भजन्ते। यथा—मलवद्वाससा सह न संवदेत्—तस्माच्च ब्राह्मणायावसुरेत्—इत्येवमादयः। तत्र यदि तावत्तान्येव वाक्यान्युद्धृत्याध्यापयेयुस्ततः क्रमान्यत्वात्स्वाध्यायविधिविरोधः स्यात्। अनेन च निर्देशेनान्येष्यर्थवादोद्धरणे विधिमात्रमधीयीरन् कर्मोपयिकमात्रं वा। तत्र वेदभलप. प्रसज्येत। तन्त्रवा. on जै I. 3. 2. p. 164. *For* मलवद् &c *vide* तै. सं. II 5. 1 5 and *for* तस्माच्च &c. तै सं. II 6. 10 2 (q in H. of Dh. vol. II p. 803 *n* 1917 and p. 151 *n*. 346 respectively).

with sacrifices, though now and then there are rules addressed to men for regulating conduct only. People would only study the Vedic sentences contained in the smṛtis (that are concerned principally with conduct) where they would be arranged in a different order according to subjects and there would thus be loss of the arrangement of the Veda as originally delivered. Viśvarūpa[1618] (on Yāj. I. 7) quotes the above verse of Kumārila and states that there are thousands of smṛti rules that have their source in the Veda; he and Kumārila instance the rules against talking with (or coming in contact with) a woman in her monthly illness or the rule against assaulting a brāhmaṇa, or the rule about the sin of killing an ātreyī woman &c. Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 has an elaborate discussion on this very topic and quotes several verses from his own work called Smṛtiviveka[1619]. He does not approve of the first two views and follows Kumārila's view. Mīmāṃsā writers and commentators like Medhātithi say that Manu and other authors of smṛtis brought together for easy comprehension matters that are scattered about in the various Vedic texts, that are either not known to the students of the several śākhās or that cannot be brought together by men of ordinary or weak intellect.[1619a]

The general proposition that smṛtis are authoritative being established, a further question arises. What is to happen if a smṛti rule conflicts with the rule of the Veda? Jaimini deals

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1618 स्मृतिमूला हि विधयः सन्ति वेदे सहस्रशः। संप्रदायविनाशात्तु भीतै साक्षाद्-संहृति॰ ॥ उत्कटत्वस्तु ख्यातोयं मलवद्वाससा सह। न सवसेदिति विधि. स्मृतिमूलत्वसमतः ॥ आत्रेय्या योषितैनस्वी भवेद् घातयितेत्यपि। वृत्तं तस्मादनिन्द्यस्य नापक्रामेदितीति च ॥ अनारभ्य च सौवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यनित्ययम्। रूपसपत्तये चैवं भवितव्य सुवाससा ॥ विश्वरूप on या I. 7. pp. 14–15

1619. शाखाः काश्चित्समुत्सन्ना॰ पक्षो नैष मतो मम। पक्षेस्मिन्नप्रमाणं हि श्रद्धद्दष्टं प्रसज्यते। उपपत्तेतर. पक्षो विक्षिप्तानां ततस्तत॰। उत्पत्त्यादिसमाहार प्रायशो दृश्यते ह्यद. ॥ मेधा. on मनु. II. 6,

1619a. अथाद्यत्वे पठ्यन्त एव ता. शाखा॰ किन्तु विप्रकीर्णास्ते धर्माः कस्याञ्चिच्छा-खायामष्टकादीनां कर्मणामुत्पत्तिः कस्याञ्चिद्दृष्टं क्वचिद्देवता क्वचिन्मन्त्र इत्येव विप्रकीर्णानां मन्वादयोऽङ्गोपसंहार सुखावबोधार्थं चक्रु.। मेधा. on मनु II. 6. उच्चार्यन्त एव स्मृतिमूलभूता. श्रुतयः संप्रत्यपि विप्रकीर्णा काश्चित्क्वचित्कस्यांचिच्छाखायां विप्रकीर्णत्वाच्च शाखान्तराध्या-यिभि शाखान्तरगतानामनुपलम्भात् तादृश्येनार्थवत्त्वेनवन्धनं तदुपलम्भेपि वा मन्दधीभि-रङ्गोपसहरणीयानामनुपसंहारफलं स्मृतिप्रणयनमिति न वैयर्थ्यमतः स्मृतयः प्रमाणमिति सिद्धम्। शास्त्रदीपिका.

with this question in I. 3. 3–4,[1620] which form a topic that states an exception to the general rule contained in Jai. I.3.1–2. Śabara gives three instances where there is apparently a conflict between the prescriptions of the śruti and those of smrtis. The Veda says, 'the priest should chant (the *stotra*) after touching the *audumbarī* post', while smrti says 'the whole of the audumbarī post should be covered with cloth'. 'The Veda says 'one to whom a son has been born and whose hair is still dark (and has not turned grey) should consecrate the Vedic fires', while smrti says 'a man should observe Vedic studenthood for 48 years'[1621]; the Veda says 'when the Agnisomīya rite is finished then one may eat (the food prepared) in the house of the sacrificer', while smrti says 'the food of one who has undergone dikṣā for a sacrifice may be eaten after he purchases the soma plant'. In these cases the proposition enunciated by Jaimini is that 'in case of conflict (between an express śruti rule and a smrti rule) the smrti rule should be discarded, for when there is no conflict (with an express śruti) inference may be made (that a smrti rule is based upon some Vedic text).' The examples may be explained as follows: The 'audumbarī' is a post of udumbara planted in the *sadas* in the performance of the Agnistoma; the stotras (other than Bahispavamāna) are chanted near the audumbarī post in the sadas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p 1135 for the fixing of the audumbara post in the *sadas* and p. 1185 for the chanting of stotras near the *audumbarī*. If the whole of the post be covered with cloth, it would not be possible to touch the post, but only the cloth would be touched. So there is contradiction. If a man is to consecrate Vedic fires when he has a son and his hair is dark, he must be between about 20 and 40 (i. e a young man), but if a man were to observe brahmacarya for

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1620. विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् । हेतुदर्शनाच्च । जै I 3 3–4, अथ यत्र श्रुतिविरोधस्तत्र कथम् । यथौदुम्बर्यां सर्ववेष्टनं 'औदुम्बरीं स्पृष्ट्वोद्गायेत्' इति श्रुत्या विरुद्धम्। अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं 'जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्निमादधीत' इत्येन विरुद्धम्। क्रीतराजकोऽभोज्याक्न इति 'तस्माद्दक्षिणोमीये सन्धिते यजमानस्य गृहेऽशितव्यम्' इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्। तत्प्रमाणं कर्तृसामान्यात्। इत्येवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः। अशक्यत्वाद्ध्यामीह इत्यवगम्यते। ... तस्माद्युक्तं श्रुतिविरुद्धा स्मृतिरप्रमाणमिति। अतश्च सर्ववेष्टनादि नादरणीयम्। शाबर.

1621. For अष्टाचत्वारिं &c vide गौ ध सू. I. 2 1–5 अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि पौराणं वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्। चतुर्विंशतिं द्वादश वा प्रतिवेदम् .. । ग्रहणान्तं वा जीवितस्थास्थिरत्वात्। कृष्णकेशोऽग्निमादधीतेति श्रुतेः । For क्रीतराजको &c. vide आप ध. सू. I. 6 18 16 and 23 'सङ्क्रामभोज्यम्। दीक्षितोऽक्रीतराजकः'. It may be noted that आप. mentions also several other views such as 'अग्नीषोमीयसंस्थायामेव। हुतायां वपायां दीक्षितस्य भोक्तव्यम्' (I. 6. 18. 24–25).

48 years, he would be about 52 to 56 years of age before he married (as the upanayana of a brāhmaṇa was to be performed generally in the 8th year or from the 5th year onwards at the most). Only a married man could consecrate Vedic fires. But a man's hair when he is fiftytwo years of age or more can hardly be all dark. Therefore there is contradiction between the rule derived from the Veda and that derived from smṛti. In the Jyotiṣṭoma (which generally occupied five days), the dīkṣā (purification and initiation of the sacrificer) takes place on the first day in the afternoon (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1134-1136). Soma is purchased on the 2nd day of the Jyotiṣṭoma (*ibid.* 1140-4) and the animal is sacrificed for Agni and Soma on the 4th day (*ibid.* pp. 1158-59). According to śruti therefore the food prepared in the house of a dīkṣita may be eaten only after the 4th day, while smṛti says that it may be eaten after the purchase of *soma* on the 2nd day. In this way there is contradiction. Kumārila[1622] does not agree with Śabara as regards these examples in particular and as regards the general attitude towards smṛtis that are accepted by Vedic followers. He makes great efforts to explain how there is no real conflict in the cases cited by Śabara. As regards the cloth covering the *audumbarī* he says that it may cover the bottom and the upper portion of the post and leave a space of two or three finger-breadths in the middle uncovered (so that the audumbarī post can be touched in that particular portion), that (p. 188) there is a passage in the Śāṭyāyani

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1622. The sūtra (Jai. I. 3 3) is read as अनपेक्ष or अनपेक्ष्यं and with both readings it has been explained in different ways from ancient times. The तन्त्रवार्तिक says 'औतस्मार्तविज्ञानविरोधे यद्यनपेक्षमपेक्षाबीजितं यस्य चाऽपेक्षणीयमन्यन्नास्तीति एवं पाठद्वयेपि पूर्वसूत्रात्प्रमाणशब्दमनुषङ्गेण सम्बध्य यदनपेक्षं तत्तावत् प्रमाणं स्यादिति' (p. 193), 'श्रुतिविरोधे यन्मानान्तरानपेक्षं श्रुतिवाक्यं तदेव प्रमाणं स्याच्च तु स्मृतिवाक्यं यस्मात्सत्येव विरोधे स्मृतेः श्रुत्यनुमापकत्वम्' मयूखमालिका On this interpretation the sūtra means 'in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti, the former which is independent is authoritative, for only when there is no conflict does an inference arise that smṛti is based on śruti'. The तन्त्रवार्तिक when it explains Jai. I. 3 3-4 as referring to Bauddhas and the like takes 'anapekṣya' to mean 'deserving to be discarded'; 'तस्माद्धर्मे मिते त्रयीवाह्यमेवंजातीयकं प्रामाण्येनानपेक्ष्यं स्यादिति सिद्धम्' p 196. शङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II 1. 1 appears to adopt Kumārila's 2nd interpretation of Jai. 1. 3. 3. 'विप्रतिपत्तौ च स्मृतीनामवश्यकर्तव्येऽन्यतरपरिग्रहेऽन्यतरपरित्यागे च श्रुत्यनुसारिण्यः स्मृतय· प्रमाणमनपेक्ष्या इतराः। तदुक्तं प्रमाणलक्षणे विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानमिति।' कुल्लूक on मनु II. 14 quotes जै I 3. 3 and explains 'श्रुतिविरोधे स्मृतिवाक्यमनपेक्ष्यममाणमनादरणीयम्। असति विरोधे मूलवेदानुमानमित्यर्थः'.

Brāhmana which refers to the cloth covering the audumbari (and so there may at most be an option), that as regards the taking of food in the house of a dīksita after the purchase of *soma* there is a śruti passage in the Atharvaveda (pp. 181 and 189) similar to the smrti passage (and thus there is no conflict between sruti and smrti, but between śruti and śruti, which would lead to an option) and further the smrti rule may apply in the case of a man in distress (*āpad-dharma*), that smrti does not prescribe an absolute period of 48 years for the study of Veda, but Baud. Dh. S. itself allows several alternative or optional periods and so no question of conflict with śruti arises. Kumārila's own position is this: In the case of apparent conflicts between śruti and smrti, various methods of interpretation and reconciliation are possible. Each of the two may be given its proper scope as referring to different subject matters (which is called *viṣaya-vyavasthā*); it is also possible to hold that smrti is based on some sruti texts already existing but not found at the time of discussion, but which may ultimately be found, in which case there will be an option, though the latter is to be avoided as far as possible as it is liable to eight faults (vide Tantravārtika pp. 174–175); or the two may be reconciled even when referring to the same subject matter e. g. a man may have dark hair even when he is 52 or more and the smrti may be taken as meant to refer to such a man, while the śruti states the general rule about the age when consecration of Vedic fires was to be made Therefore Kumārila holds that all that is meant by Jaimini and even by Śabara is that there is a great distinction between śruti and smrti in that the former is *apauruseya* and an independent authority, while the latter has a human author (liable to err), is either actually based on the Veda or is inferred to be so based, that the two therefore can never be said to be quite alike each other as regards their authoritativeness and that lastly smrti is not in itself to be regarded as unauthoritative[1623]. Kumārila therefore suggests that the proper subject of discussion in Jai. I. 3 3–4 is the works of Bauddhas, Sānkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Pāśupata and other heretical sects and the practices of *mlecchas*. These works contain some matters such as the emphasis on *ahimsā*, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and compassion, which are also emphasized in the Veda, but these works are not

1623. अतश्चैवं श्रुतिस्मृत्योर्विशेषोनेन दृश्यते । नात्यन्तमेव चाश्चर्यं न चाप्यत्यन्त-तुल्यता । तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 194.

generally accepted by the followers of the Veda, are based on specious and false reasoning only (they are *haitukas* in the words of Manu), that they deny the authority of the Veda. Therefore Jaimini means that these works of heretic sects are not authoritative in matters of dharma as they are opposed to the Veda and should be discarded. For want of space it is not possible to set out in detail the interesting discussion in the Tantravārtika. The Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālāvistāra also gives another explanation of Jai. I. 3. 3.

Śabara (on Jai. I. 3. 4) explains that the three smrti passages stated above are not authoritative since it is possible to point out how they originated in a visible worldly motive such as greed. When a visible motive can be pointed out for any smrti text, it is not proper to infer that it is based on the Veda and has an unseen spiritual motive. Śabara[1624] postulates the reasons in the way of a modern man finding fault with priests. Some priests covered the whole of the Audumbarī post with cloth, because they coveted the cloth as part of the fee; others who desired a free meal when hungry took food at the house of a dīksita even after he had purchased the Soma plant; certain others in order to conceal their absence of virility went in for Veda study for 48 years. The Tantravārtika tries to show that in all these cases there is really no visible motive such as covetousness (pp. 188–189)

Śabara gives an alternative explanation of this sūtra (Jai. I. 3.4) and makes a separate topic (*adhikaraṇa*) of it. The reasons[1625] for giving an alternative explanation of a *sūtra* or *adhikarana* are two, viz. dissatisfaction with the explanation already given or the wide scope of the subject under discussion. In I. 3. 3 passages from smrtis were cited which were apparently in conflict with śruti. If they were really in conflict, that one reason alone is more than sufficient to render the smrtis invalid. Therefore to say further that those smrti passages originate in worldly motives like greed does not add any very substantial reason for the abandonment of smrtis as authoritative. Therefore Śabara makes another adhikarana of sūtra 4 of Jai. I. 3.

1624. हेतुदर्शनाच्च । जै I. 3. 4: लोभाद्वास आदित्समाना औदुम्बरीं कुरुत्तां वेष्टितवन्तः केचित् । तत्सूतेर्बीजम् । बुभुक्षमाणाः केचित् क्रीतराजकस्य भोजनमाचरितवन्तः । अपुंस्त्वं प्रच्छादयन्तश्चाष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यं चरितवन्तः । तत एवा स्मृतिरवगम्यते । शाबर.

1625. सर्वस्याश्रयादिकल्पानां द्वयमेव प्रयोजनम् । पूर्वत्रापरितोषो वा विषयस्यातिरेव वा ॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 186.

He cites smrti passages which are not opposed to Veda at all and says that such passages have seen a worldly motive such as covetousness and it is not proper to suppose that they are based on Veda and are therefore authoritative, when a visible purpose or motive can be ascribed to them. The result of the explanations of I. 3. 3–4 given by Śabara would be that smrti rules that are opposed to śruti rules and smrti prescriptions that can be shown to have a clear worldly motive are not authoritative or absolutely binding, while the rest of smrti texts are authoritative.[1626]

Śabara cites on Jai. I. 3. 4 (when taken as a separate topic)[1626a] two examples; (1) the adhvaryu priest takes (as his fee) the cloth used in the Vaisarjana *homa*; (2) they perform the gift of the elephant (i. e. the cloth covering) of the sacrificial post. Śabara says that these passages are not opposed to any śruti text but instead of inferring a Vedic text as their basis it is far better to hold that there is a manifest worldly motive for these rules (viz. covetousness of the adhvaryu) and so these smrti passages need not be looked upon as authoritative.[1627]

This discussion raises an important doctrine which frequently figures in dharmaśāstra works. The doctrine is expressed

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1626. न दृष्टे हेतौ हेत्वन्तरानुमानं क्रमते । दृष्टश्चात्र लोभ एव हेतुरिति । अतः श्रुतिविरुद्धं दृष्टकारणं च स्मरणमप्रमाणं ततोऽन्यत्प्रमाणमिति । शाबरदीपिका on जै I 3. 4

1626a. अधिकरणान्तरं वा । वैसर्जनहोमीयं वासोऽध्वर्युर्गृह्णाति-इति, यूपहस्तिनो दानमाचरन्ति-इति । तत्कर्तृसामान्यात्प्रमाणमिति भाते । अप्रमाणं स्मृति । अश्रान्यन्मूलम् । लोभादाचरितवन्तः केचित्तत एवा स्मृति । उपपन्नतरं चैतत् वैदिकवचनकल्पनात् । शबर on जै. I. 3. 4 प्रभाकर in his बृहती refers to this example (on Jai. I 1 13 p. 285) 'दृष्टश्चायमर्थो यत्प्राज्ञैः ऋजव उपजीव्यन्त इति । यथा च सिद्धमागमवादिनामपि हेतुदर्शनात् प्रामाण्यं यूपहस्तिनो दानमाचरन्तीत्येवमादिषु '.

1627. For the Vaisarjana *homa*, vide H of Dh II p 1158 In this a piece of fresh cloth is spread over the sacrificer (who touches the adhvaryu), the sacrificer's wife (who touches the yajamāna), the brother and sons of the sacrificer (who touch the wife) In the Vājapeya, the sacrificial post was 17 *aratnis* in height and 17 pieces of cloth were employed to prepare the appearance of a turban on the tip when enveloping the *yūpa* with a girdle. The figure presented by the cloth covering the yūpa was called यूपहस्तिन् (probably because it looked like the head and trunk of an elephant). 'वाजपेयादौ यूपपरिव्याणशाटकं यूपहस्तिशब्दवाच्यं' मयूखमालिका. 'यूपवेष्टनं सप्तदशभिर्वस्त्रैर्ध्रुवग्रथनं वा परिव्ययणकाले' कात्या. श्रौ. 14. 1. 20 and the com. on Kāt. Sr. says 'दक्षिणापरिव्ययणकाले सप्तदशभिर्वस्त्रैर्यूपस्य वेष्टनं कर्तव्यम् । अथवा ध्रुवग्रथनं विधिमूर्ध्नं ग्रथनं कर्तव्यं न तु वेष्टनमात्रम्'.

in this form viz. when a visible motive or purpose is obvious in the case of a rule or prescription it is not proper to ascribe an unseen or spiritual purpose or reason for it. This doctrine is older than even Āp. Dh. S. I. 4. 12 11 which says, 'where men act because they find pleasure in so doing, there śāstra has no scope'. Śabara also says,[1628] 'those rules (in the smṛti) that have a seen purpose derive their authority from that fact, while those that have no visible purpose may be inferred to be based upon the Veda (and derive their authority from that).' These words of Śabara are quoted by Kullūka on Manu III. 7 where Manu states that a girl should not be selected as a bride from a family that neglects the *saṃskāras*, in which no male children are born, in which there is no Veda study, the members of which have on their bodies long and thick hair, that suffers from such diseases as piles, dyspepsia, epilepsy, black and white leprosy. Kullūka remarks that the works on medicine hold that such diseases are inherited and so if such a girl be married the progeny might suffer from these diseases, and thus this prohibition is based on a visible motive. From this a very important conclusion is drawn by dharmaśāstra writers viz. if one while performing a rite or when engaged in any matter acts contrary to a rule that has a seen purpose, the rite or matter does not become invalid or void, while where a rule is based on an unseen or spiritual purpose and it is infringed, the act itself becomes void or invalid. Yāj I. 52 and 53[1629] prescribe among other things that the bride to be chosen by a man must be free from (incurable) diseases, must have a brother living, must not be a *sapiṇḍa* of the bridegroom or must not have the same *gotra* or *pravara* as that of the bridegroom. On this the Mit. remarks that if a man marries a girl who is suffering from an incurable disease, the marriage is valid, only he does an act which runs counter to seen results (i. e. he may suffer the consequence that

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1628. तथा प्रत्युपस्थितनियमानामाचाराणां दृष्टार्थत्वादेव प्रामाण्यम् । .. .. तेन ये दृष्टार्थास्ते तत एव प्रमाणम् । ये त्वदृष्टार्थास्तेषु वैदिकशब्दानुमानमिति । शबर on जै. I 3 2, quoted by कुल्लूक on मनु III. 7, अदृष्टं हि तत्र कल्पनीयं स्यात् तच्चाशास्त्रं दृष्टे सम्भवति । शबर on जै. IX. 3. 3, तत्र दृष्टं प्रयोजनमुत्सृज्य न शास्त्रमदृष्टं कल्पयितुम् । शबर on जै X 2. 23. The न्यायसुधा on जै. I. 3. 4 p 158 says, 'दृष्टे संभवत्यदृष्टकल्पनमयुक्तमिति न्यायस्य'; यत्र तु भीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति । आप ध सू. I. 4. 12 11.

1629. अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो लक्षण्यां स्त्रियमुद्वहेत् । अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यवीयसीम् । अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ॥ या. I. 52-53, सपिण्डासमानगोत्रासमानप्रवराह भार्यात्वमेव नोत्पद्यते । रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्वे उत्पन्नेपि दृष्टविरोध एव । मिताक्षरा

his children may be diseased), but if he goes through a ceremony of marriage with a girl who is a sapiṇḍa or of the same gotra or pravara there is no valid marriage and the girl is not his legal wife. No clear visible purpose can be associated with the prohibition against marrying a sapiṇḍa or sagotra girl; hence there must be a spiritual purpose in that prohibition and so if one infringes it the act itself (viz. marriage) becomes void.[1630]

The Tantravārtika of Kumārila has as usual a very long note on this discussion. He does not see eye to eye with Śabara. He says[1631] that the Mīmāṃsā is concerned with the investigation of dharma, that śruti is the prime authority in matters of dharma, that Mīmāṃsā has concern with smṛtis only so far as their authoritativeness in matters of dharma goes, that just as agriculture and the like are not discussed in Mīmāṃsā works because they have a purely secular purpose, so all acts that men do for a visible worldly purpose have no bearing on the investigation of dharma and that therefore the bhāṣyakāra (Śabara) was not quite right in saying that such practices as rising to receive an old man or a teacher have a visible purpose and are authoritative on that ground. He further remarks that visible and invisible or spiritual purposes are often inextricably mixed up. When the Veda prescribes 'he pounds the grains of paddy' or enjoins a sacrifice like the Kārīrī for bringing down rain, there is a visible purpose therein (e.g. the rice grains have to be freed from husk before boiled rice for oblations can be prepared). So even when an act has a seen purpose it may still have Veda as the basis; so also an act such as rising to show respect to a teacher may have a seen result (such as the teacher being pleased teaches the pupils with enthusiasm) as well as an unseen result (viz. completion of Veda study without obstacles). Therefore he argues that all

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1630. In a very recent case (*Madhavrao v. Raghavendrarao* 48 Bom L. R. 196) the Bombay High Court has expressed doubts about the logic or reasonableness of this doctrine of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā in relation to marriages of sagotra parties

1631 दृष्टार्थत्वादेव प्रामाण्यमिति। एतदयुक्तम्। धर्मं प्रति यतोऽयं प्रामाण्य मस्मृत स्मृतेः। तस्मात्कुण्यादिवत्तेषामुपन्यासो न युज्यते॥ न हि यावत्किञ्चिदाचरण तस्य सर्वस्य मूलमिह प्रमाणीक्रियते। धर्मजिज्ञासाधिकारात्। यदि च गुर्वनुगमनादीनां केवलं दृष्टार्थत्वमेव स्यात्ततः कुण्यादिवद्धर्मं प्रत्यप्रामाण्यमेवेति नोपन्यसितव्यः।.. न चावश्यतादीनां वृष्टिकाम-यागादीनां च दृष्टार्थानामवैदिकत्वम्। तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 165-166.

smṛtis[1632] are authoritative according to the purpose they serve, that whatever portion of the smṛtis is concerned with *dharma* and *mokṣa* (final release from saṁsāra) has its origin in the Veda and whatever is concerned with wealth and the satisfaction of desires (*artha* and *kāma*) is based on worldly practices. In this way are to be explained the didactic portions of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the episodes in these being useful as *arthavādas* (eulogies of what are prescribed as religious duties), the description of the several divisions of the earth being useful for indicating what countries are suitable for the performance of dharma and the enjoyment of its rewards and being based partly on Veda and partly on direct experience. Similarly the auxiliary lores (*aṅgas*) of the Veda (such as phonetics, grammar, metrics &c.) are partly based on the Veda and partly on worldly experience. Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya (logic) are necessary for the correct interpretation and understanding of the Veda (as stated by Manu in XII. 105–106) He is even prepared to concede that systems[1633] like the Sāṅkhya (which postulates a prime cause of the world called *Pradhāna*), or Vedānta (which postulates Puruṣa as the cause of the world), the theory of atoms (propounded by Kaṇāda) serve the purpose of explaining the creation and dissolution of the world, lead one to understand how the performance of sacrifices gives rise to the subtle *apūrva* which leads on to heaven and also exemplify how human effort and fate have their own spheres of operation (i. e without human effort the world is produced and in spite of human effort it may be dissolved). Kumārila goes a step further and states that even the Buddhist philosophies of *vijñāna* (cognitions being the only reality), of the non-existence of the soul or of eternal flux arise from the arthavāda

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1632. तेन सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रयोजनवती प्रामाण्यसिद्धिः । तत्र यावद्धर्ममोक्षसम्बन्धि तद्वेदप्रभवम् । यत्त्वर्थसुखविषयं तल्लोकव्यवहारपूर्वकमिति विवेकव्यम् । एवैवेतिहासपुराणयोरप्युपदेशवाक्यानां गतिः । उपाख्यानानि स्वर्थवादेषु व्याख्यातानि । . मीमांसा तु लौकादेव प्रत्यक्षानुमानादिभिरविच्छिन्नसंप्रदायपण्डितव्यवहारैः प्रवृत्ता । न हि कश्चिदपि प्रथममेतावन्तं पुस्तिकलापमुपसंहर्तुं क्षमः । एतेन न्यायविस्तरं व्याचक्षीत । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 166–167.

1633 याश्चैता. प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरपरमाणुकारणादिप्रक्रियाः सृष्टिप्रलयादिरूपेण प्रतीतास्ताः सर्वा मन्त्रार्थवादज्ञानादेव दृश्यमानसूक्ष्मस्थूलद्रव्यप्रकृतिविकारभावदर्शनेन च द्रष्टव्याः । प्रयोजनं च स्वर्गपागाद्यर्थायोत्पादकविभागज्ञानम् । सर्गप्रलयोपवर्णनमपि दैवपुरुषकारप्रभावप्रविभागदर्शनार्थम् । . विज्ञानमात्रक्षणभङ्गनैराम्यादिवादानामप्युपनिषदर्थवादप्रभवत्वं विधेयाध्यन्तिकं रागं निवर्तयितुमित्युपपन्नं सर्वेषां प्रामाण्यम् । सर्वत्र च यत्र कालान्तरफलत्वादिदानीमनुभवासम्भवस्तत्र श्रुतिमूलता । सान्दृष्टिकफले तु वृश्चिकविषादौ पुरुषान्तरे व्यवहारदर्शनादेव प्रामाण्यमिति विवेकसिद्धिः । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 168.

passages of the Upanisads and serve the purpose of inducing men to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and therefore may be useful in their own way. He winds up by saying that in the case of all knowledge or works wherever the result (or reward) of the course laid down in them is to take place in the future and there is no possibility of experiencing its happening in the present such work may be deemed to be based on the Veda; but where, as in the science of medicine, the result can be seen taking place in other people, that knowledge is authoritative only because of the visible result.

This discussion about smrtis based on the Veda or on perceptible purposes or motives is taken up in the digests on dharmaśāstra For example, Aparārka[1634] (pp. 626–627) quotes long passages from the Bhavisyapurāna dividing the contents of smrtis into five categories and exemplifying that division, viz. (1) those based on a visible purpose or motive, (2) those based on unseen or spiritual motives or purposes, (3) those based on both visible purposes and unseen or spiritual purposes, (4) those based on reasoning, (5) those that merely re-iterate what is already well-known or determined. All these except the first variety are based according to the Bhavisyapurāna on the Veda. The examples of the five kinds given by the same Purāna are respectively as follows: (1) the smrti (viz. Arthaśāstra or Dandanīti) in which there is a discussion about six gunas (*sandhi* &c), the four upāyas (*sāma, dāna* &c), the various superintendents of state departments (*adhyaksa*) and of *kantakas*, (2) the prescription that one should perform the *sandhyā* worship or that one should not partake of dog's flesh; (3) a *brahmacārin*

1634. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । दृष्टार्था च स्मृतिः काचिदृष्टादृष्टार्था तथा परा। दृष्टाद्दष्टार्थरूपाऽन्या न्यायमूला तथापरा। अनुवादस्मृतिस्त्वन्या शिष्टैर्दृष्टा तु पञ्चमी। सर्वा एता वेदमूला दृष्टार्थी(र्थाः?) परिहृत्य तु ॥ षाड्गुण्यस्य यथायोगं प्रयोगात्कार्यगौरवात्। (प्रयोगः कार्य-?) । सामादीनामुपायानां योगो व्यासमतासत ॥ अध्यक्षाणां च निक्षेपः कण्टकानां निरूपणम् । दृष्टार्थेयं स्मृतिः. भोक्ता ऋविभिर्गरुडाग्रज ॥ सन्ध्योपासनं सदा कार्यं शुनो मांस न भक्षयेत् । अदृष्टार्था स्मृतिः. भोक्ता ऋविभिर्ज्ञानकोविदैः । पालाशं धारयेद्दण्ड-मुभयार्थं विदुर्बुधाः । विरोधे तु विकल्पः स्याज्जपहोमश्रुतौ यथा ॥ श्रुतौ दृष्टं यथा कार्यं स्मृतौ न सदृशं यदि । अनूक्तबादिनी सा तु पारिव्राज्यं यथा गृहात् ॥ अपरार्क pp 626-627, मित्रमिश्र in his comment on या I. 3 quotes the first two verses and in his परिभाषाप्रकाश p 19 quotes all कुल्लूक on मनु III. 7 quotes from the भविष्य० the half verse 'सर्वा ... दृष्टार्थाः परिहृत्य तु'. The स्मृतिच्च II. p 24 quotes from भविष्य० the two verses षाड्गुण्यस्य ... गरुडाग्रज and remarks 'दृष्टार्थाया स्मृतेरुदाहरणमेतत् । एवं च सन्धिविग्रहादि दृष्टार्थविषया स्मृतिरर्थशास्त्रमित्यर्थः ।'; should we not read 'स्मृतौ च सदृशं'?

should carry a staff of *palāśa* (the staff serves for one's protection, which is a seen purpose, but that it should be of palāśa and of no other tree is based on an unseen motive); (4) when one text declares that *homa* should be performed after sunrise and another declares that it should be performed before sunrise, reasoning requires that there should be an option (vide Manu II 15), (5) when Manu declares (in VI 38) that a brāhmana should leave home to become a wandering ascetic he simply re-iterates what is laid down in such Vedic passages as Br Up. III 5 1 (vyutthāyātha bhiksācaryam caranti) or Jābāla Up 4.

In I. 3. 5–7 Jaimini as interpreted by Śabara[1635] deals with the topic of the authoritativeness of certain usages laid down in the smṛtis in relation to Vedic rites. Śabara states: *śiṣṭa*s say that religious rites should be performed after sipping water (i. e. after *ācamana*), one should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* way in the worship of gods, one should do with the right hand all religious acts The question is whether these acts should be done if not opposed to the śruti or should not be performed if opposed to what is taught in the Veda. The *pūrva-pakṣa* view is that these acts should not be done because they run counter to the sequence of the acts laid down in the Veda. For example, the Veda says, 'after getting ready a bundle (or handful) of kusa grass called *veda* one should prepare the *vedi* (altar)' Here the preparation of the vedi is declared to follow immediately after the getting ready of a handful of kuśas. If after the handful is got ready a man has a sneeze he has according to Manu V 145 and Vas III 38 to sip water before going on with the preparation of the *vedi*. This would be against the sequence (*krama*) of acts laid down in the Veda. Strangely enough Mr. K L Sarkar in T.L.L (on Mimāmsā rules) translates the words 'vedam krtvā vedim karoti' as 'make the vedi and

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1635 शिष्टाकोपेऽविरुद्धमिति चेत् । न शास्त्रपरिमाणत्वात् । अपि वा कारणग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् । जै I. 3 5–7 . आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्य दक्षिणाचरेण कर्तव्यमित्येवंलक्षणानि उदाहरणानि । किमेतानि श्रुतिविरुद्धानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविरुद्धानि कार्याणि चेत्पश्यासे तैरप्यनुष्ठीयमानैर्वेदिर्क किंचिन्न कुप्यति तस्मादविरुद्धानीति । नैतदेवम् । शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि क्रम बाधेरन् । कथम् वेदं कृत्वा वेदिं कुर्वीतेतीमा श्रुतिमुपरुन्ध्यादन्तरा वेदं वेदिं चानुष्ठीयमानमाचमनादि । शबर ; तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्येति वा समाप्ते । . अपि वा कारण हृद्द यस्मादेषु न गृह्यते । तस्मान्नाचमनादीनां क्रतुश्रुतिविरुद्धता ॥ तन्त्र p 198 कुमारिल says that the 7th sūtra should end with the words 'तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य,' which may also be taken as part of the 8th sūtra and relies on the maxim of the crow's eye The words प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् mean 'शिष्टैरनुष्ठितानाचमनादीनाद्रियेरन् '.

then recite the vedas' (p. 241), thereby committing two mistakes He misunderstands the word 'veda' which in this passage only means a 'handful of kuśas' and inverts the sequence of the acts denoted by the gerundial termination 'tvā'. On account of these two mistakes the discussion on pp 240–242 is misleading and obscure If a man were to do the things required in a vedic rite with both hands, he would be able to do them quickly The smrti rule that every religious act should be done with the right hand alone interferes with the quick performance of religious acts The established conclusion is that these religious acts (such as ācamana) are performed by the śistas, are prompted by no visible motive (such as covetousness) and are therefore to be looked upon as authoritative, being not opposed to sruti. Kumārila does not like this way of explaining the sūtras, since the instances given by Śabara really do not deserve to be put forth as even *prima facie* opposed to Śruti. The Tantravārtika (p. 201) sets out śruti passages wherein the wearing of the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form[1636] (Tai. S. II. 5. 11. 1 and Tai. Ār. II. 1), ācamana (Tai. Ā. II. 11), are enjoined Therefore it explains the sūtras in a different way. It splits up Jai I. 3. 5-7 into two adhikaranas. The first two constitute one topic. The pūrvapaksa[1637] is those precepts of Buddha and other founders of sects, such as the construction of monasteries and parks, the insistence on desirelessness, the practice of meditation, *ahimsā*, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and kindness, are such that they are also laid down by the Veda, are not opposed to the ideas of śistas or do not run counter to nor rouse those who know the Veda to anger and therefore they must be held to be authoritative. This is denied by saying that the Bauddha doctrines even on the abovesaid matters are not to

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1636 Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp 287, 288, notes 671, 677 for the passages of Tai S and Tai Ā

1637. सूत्राणि तु पूर्वाधिकरणाक्षेपपरिहारसूत्रत्वेनैव व्याख्यातव्यानि । यत्तर्हि वेदविहितं न बाधते शिष्टान् वा वेदविदो न कोपयति विहारारामभण्डलकरणवैराग्य-ध्यानाभ्यासाहिंसा-सत्यवचन-दम-दान-दयादि तद्दुरुद्धादिभावितं प्रमाणेनाविरुद्धमिति चेत् । न । शास्त्रपरिमाणत्वात् । परिमितान्येव हि चतुर्दशाष्टादश वा विद्यास्थानानि धर्मप्रमाणत्वेन शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि वेदोपवेदाङ्गोपाङ्गाष्टादशधर्मसंहिता पुराणशास्त्रशिक्षादण्डनीतिसंज्ञकानि, न च तेषां मध्ये बौद्धार्हतादिग्रन्थाः स्मृता गृहीता वा । . . तेन ... सन्मूलमध्यहिंसादि श्वदृतिनिक्षिप्तक्षीरवद्दुष्टपर्यायविभ्रम्भणीय च तन्मात्रोपलब्ध भवतीत्यवश्यं यावत्परिगणितधर्मशास्त्रेभ्यो नोपलभ्यते तावदग्राह्यं भवति । तन्त्र० pp. 201–203, vide n. 1620 above.

be accepted as authoritative since only a limited[1638] number (14 or 18) of vidyās (the four vedas, the upavedas, the angas of the veda, the 18 smrtis, purānas, Dandanīti) have been accepted by the vedic sistas as authoritative on matters of dharma and the works of the Bauddhas and Jainas are not included therein Just as milk though originally pure becomes useless and unreliable when put into a bag of dog-skin, so the doctrines of Bauddhas such as ahimsā, though based on truth, are useless and are not authoritative in themselves for the followers of the Veda.

The Tantravārtika holds that Jai. I. 3. 7 is an adhikarana by itself and is concerned with the authoritativeness of *sadācāra* (the customs and usages of śistas). Its position is that those usages are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by Vedic śistas under the belief that they are right conduct (dharma) and for which no visible motive (such as pleasure or the satisfaction of desires or the acquisition of wealth) can be predicated. Śistas are those who perform the religious acts expressly enjoined by the Veda They are not so called because they practise what is said to be sadācāra; otherwise there will be an argument in a circle (in the form 'sadācāra means what is practised by śistas and śistas are those who practise sadācāra'). The practices traditionally handed down from generation to generation which are observed by sistas (as stated above) with the idea that they constitute a part of dharma must be regarded as dharma and as leading to heaven[1639] Practices do not become authoritative by the mere fact that no such motive or purpose can be postulated for them, but they become so only when they are observed by sistas as

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1638. Vide Yāj I 3 for the 14 Vidyāsthānas For the four upavedas which raise the number to 18 vide n 17 p 10 above Acc. to the Nyāyasudhā (p 183) Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra are four Upavedas, Mimāmsā and Nyāya (logic) are two upāngas, śiksā (not the Vedānga on phonetics) is separately mentioned because there are works on phonetics like that of Kātyāyana laying down special rules for distinct śākhās Dandanīti is the same as Arthaśāstra

1639. दृष्टकारणहीनानि यानि कर्माणि साधुभिः । प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् धर्मत्वेनेह तान्यपि ॥ शारीरश्रमतो यानि सुखार्थं वा प्रयुञ्जते । अर्थार्थं वा न तेष्वस्ति शिष्टानामेव धर्मधीः ॥ धर्मत्वेन प्रयुक्तानि शिष्टैर्यानि तु कानिचित् । वैदिकैः कर्तृसामान्यात्तेषां धर्मत्वमिष्यते ॥ ... नैव लेषा सदाचारनिमित्ता शिष्टता मता । साक्षाद्धितकारित्वाच्छिष्टत्वे सति तद्वच. ॥ न पक्षवेदविहितधर्मक्रियया हि लब्धशिष्टत्वसम्पदेशा यत्परम्पराप्राप्तमन्यदपि धर्मबुद्ध्या कुर्वन्ति तदपि रागप्रत्याद्धर्मसम्पदमेव । तन्त्रवार्तिक pp 205-6

part of dharma. The Tantravārtika (p. 205) gives certain illustrations of such practices viz gifts, *japa*, mātryajña (offerings to the mother Goddesses), the festival of Indra's banner, fairs held at temples, fasts by maidens on the 4th day of a month, gifts of lamps on the first day of Kārtika, the spring[1640] festival on the first day of the dark half of Phālguna &c The Tantravārtika is careful to point out that many activities such as agriculture, menial service or trade that are the means of securing wealth and pleasures and that give rise to several fixed and varying acts and also such actions as eating sumptuous food, drinking, sleeping on soft beds, possessing a charming house and garden, engaging in painting, singing and dancing, enjoying the fragrance of sandalwood and flowers, all of which are common to *mlecchas* and *Āryas*, are not deemed by any one to be part of dharma and that it does not follow that, because a few actions (of sistas) are accepted as dharma, all their actions are to be looked upon as dharma[1641] In ordinary life certain practices only are deemed to be śistācāra, while there are certain other acts that are common to all human beings (including sistas), but are not so regarded Certain practices such as worship of gods and honouring brāhmanas are seen to be common among all people and yet do constitute dharma, because that is deemed to be so by the śistas. Those practices alone are dharma that are observed by śistas only as obligatory on them and not other practices that are common to all beings The Trantravārtika then refers to the Dharma-

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1640. For the festival called Indramaha, vide H of Dh. vol II pp 825–826 The spring festival was one in which on the first day of the dark half of Phālguna people went about drenching each other in ordinary or coloured water discharged from syringes and the like 'फाल्गुनकृष्णप्रतिपदि क्रियमाणः परस्परजलसेकः वसन्तोत्सवः' मयूखमालिका on शाबरदीपिका on जै. I. 3. 7 Modern practice combines this with the lighting of bonfires on the Full moon of Phālguna The mythical origin of होलिका of modern days on the Full moon day of Phālguna is described in भविष्यपुराण (उत्तरपर्व chap 132)

1641 यानि तु म्लेच्छादिसमानानि नियतानियतक्रियान्तराण्यर्थसुखसाधनकृषिसेवा-वाणिज्यादीनि सुष्टाक्षपानमृदुशयनासनरमणीयगृहोद्यानालेख्यगीतचूर्ण्यगन्धपुष्पादिकर्माणि प्रसिद्धानि तेषु नैव कस्यचिद्धर्मत्वाशङ्कास्तीति न तत्सामान्यतो दृष्टेनेतरनिराकियोपपत्तिः केषाञ्चिद्धा धर्मत्वाभ्युपगमात् सर्वेषामेव तत्प्रसङ्गः । किं तु-देवब्राह्मणपूजादि यत्तेषामपि किञ्चन । तच्चेष्टमेव धर्मत्व शिष्टाचारमत हि तत् ॥ लोके हि कश्चिदाचार शिष्टत्वेन विशिष्यते । कश्चिच्तु प्राणिसामान्यमासस्तैरपि सङ्गतः ॥ तत्र य कार्यरूपेण शिष्टानेवानुवर्तते । स एव केवलो धर्मो नेतरः प्राणिमात्रगः ॥ तन्त्र p 206, यो हि सदाचार पुण्यबुद्ध्या क्रियते स धर्मादर्शत्वं प्रतिपद्यते । यस्तु कामक्रोधलोभमोहशोकादिहेतुत्वेनोपलभ्यते स यथाविधिमति-क्रेयं वर्तिष्यते । तन्त्रवार्तिक p 208

sūtra[1642] of Gaut. (I. 3) and Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 7–8) which say that ancient (or great) men in several instances were guilty of transgressions of dharma and of committing desperate acts, that on account of their spiritual merit they did not incur sin, but if a man of later days were to follow them in the same acts he would sink into hell It then gives twelve instances of lapses from good conduct (attributed even to *avatārs*) that were transgressions and either explains them away or says that they were due to wrath, hatred or other passions, were not intended by the authors (of those acts) themselves to be dharma and are not to be looked upon as śistācāra by modern men. The instances are: (1) Prajāpati who is said to have approached Usas, his daughter (Śat. Br. I. 7 4. 1 or Ait Br. 13 9); (2) Indra, who is described as the paramour of Ahalyā (in the Subrahmanyā litany); (3) Nahusa, who occupied the position of Indra, made approaches to Śacī, the wife of Indra (Udyoga, chap. 13 ff) and was transformed into an *ajagara* (Boa Constrictor) ; (4) Vasistha, who when his 100 sons were devoured by a demon, was so struck with grief that he threw himself bound into the Vipāsā river(Nirukta IX.26, Ādiparva chap 177 1–6 = cr. ed. 167. 1–6, Vanaparva 130. 8–9, Anusāsana 3 12–13); (5) Purūravas who thought of dying by hanging or by being devoured by wolves (Ṛg. X. 95. 14, Śat Br. XI. 5. 1–8) when separated from Urvaśī; (6) Viśvāmitra, who officiated as priest at the sacrifice of Triśanku that had become a cāndāla through a curse (Ādiparva 71. 31–33); (7) Yudhisthira who took Draupadī as wife although she had been won by his younger brother Arjuna by his skill in archery and who prevaricated in order to bring about the death of his brāhmana teacher Drona (Dronaparva 190 55); (8) Krsna Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa), who thought himself a perpetual student, procreated by *niyoga* at the request of his mother Satyavatī two sons on the widows of his brother Vicitravīrya; (9) Bhīsma who lived on without belonging to any (of the four) āśramas and who is said to have performed several Asvamedhas though he had no wife; (10)

1642 दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रम साहस च महताम् । अवरदौर्बल्यात् । गौ. I 3–4 ; दृष्टो · साहसं च पूर्वेषाम् । तेषा तेजोविशेषेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते । तदन्वीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः । आप ध सू. II 6 13 7–9. भागवतपुराण X (पूर्वार्ध 33. 30) has a verse to the same effect.

Rāma who performed Aśvamedha accompanied by a golden image of Sītā ; (11) Dhrtarāstra, though blind, *performed sacrifices*; (12) Vāsudeva and Arjuna are described as being drunk and as having married Rukminī and Subhadrā respectively who were their maternal uncle's daughters (such marriages being forbidden). Kumārila, like a modern comparative mythologist, explains (Tantravārtika p. 208) that Prajāpati means 'the Sun' who approaches (i e. rises after) the Dawn. This explanation is as old as the Ait Br. 13. 9 where it is said that there are two views viz. it is either 'Heaven' or 'Usas' that is meant by the word 'daughter.' Similarly Indra and Ahalyā respectively mean the Sun and the Night and *jāra* means literally 'one who makes to disappear or wither away' (*and not paramour*) in that passage. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1145 note 2550 for the epithet 'Ahalyāyai jāra' in the Veda and quotation from Tantravārtika The story of Ahalyā and Indra varies in its details in the epics. Vide Rāmāyana I. 48, Udyoga 12. 6 These two are instances of transgression of dharma (dharma-vyatikrama) and the next case of Vasistha is an example of *sāhasa* (through sorrow) Kumārila says that Viśvāmitra was prompted by his hatred of Vasistha and his pride, that the sin accruing from his act would be neutralized by his great austerities. So his actions cannot serve as a model for imitation by others. Vyāsa, who was a son of Satyavatī *from* Parāśara when she was a maiden, had Vicitravīrya as (his uterine) brother after Satyavatī married Śantanu. In the case of a brahmacārin, sexual intercourse is most reprehensible (vide H of Dh. vol. II. p 374)[r] But Vyāsa agreed to *niyoga* because of his regard for his mother, as allowed by Gaut 18 4–5. Kumārila adds that Vyāsa could do so on account of his great past and future austerities, that another person with similar qualifications may do so even in spite of all prohibitions, since the Mahābhārata (Āsramavāsika 30. 24) says 'sarvam balavatām pathyam' (to the strong everything is wholesome or allowable) He gives an apt illustration. An elephant can devour branches of trees without harm, but others doing so would meet death. Daksa V.10 prescribes 'anāśramī na tistheta ksanamekamapi dvijah' (a twice-born person should not stay even for a moment unattached to some āśrama). Bhīsma remained unmarried out of filial devotion to his father and Rāma could not think of another wife as he was so much attached to Sītā. Kumārila boldly asserts that Bhīsma had a wife only for the purpose of the sacrifices he performed (though this is mentioned in no Itihāsa or Purāna) and *relies upon the*

mode of proof called *arthāpatti* for this[1643]. His words are given below. This and some other explanations offered by Kumārila shed a very interesting light on the theological apologetics of Mīmāmsakas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 558 and 684 for Rāma and the golden image of Sītā As to Yudhisthira's bringing about the death of his brāhmana teacher the explanation is that the former performed Aśvamedha after the end of the war by way of prāyaścitta (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 147 n 333 and pp. 1236-37 notes 2674-75 for Aśvamedha as the re mover of all sins). As to Draupadī being the wife of five brothers Kumārila quotes Ādiparva 198. 14 (=or ed. 190 14) and offers several explanations (p 209), the most astounding being that there were five wives of the five brothers who were so similar that they were all referred to as one. As the Nyāyasudhā (p. 194) remarks, these various explanations were offered to show off great resourcefulness of interpretation (parihāra-vaibhavārtham), the proper one being that the practice of the Pāndavas was an evil one and was not to be imitated. A blind man could not perform sacrifices and was exoluded from inheritance. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 157 n. 369 and vol. III. p 609 n 1154. But Kumārila says that as Dhrtarāstra was blessed with sight for a while and saw his deceased sons through the miraculous power of Vyāsa (Āsramavāsiparva chap. 32-37) he might have been endowed with sight at the time of the sacrifices or what is meant is that he made gifts which are spoken of as sacrifices. As regards Subhadrā, Kumārila asserts that in spite of the fact that Subhadrā was said in the Ādiparva (219. 18 = cr. ed 211. 18) to have been the *daughter* of Vasudeva and *sister* of Krsna, she was really the daughter of Krsna's step-mother's sister or the daughter's daughter of the sister of his step-mother's father (a female cousin being often called a sister among the Lātas). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 459-460 and notes to my edition of the text of V. Mayūkha (pp. 200-202). Krsna's marriage with Rukminī is to be similarly explained. It is somewhat surpris-

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1643 लोभाद्यभिभवात्सम्भिदितानर्थादर्शनेनाधर्माचरण धर्मव्यतिक्रमः । दृष्टस्याप्यनर्थस्य बलवर्पणानादराद्धर्माचरणं साहसम् । न्यायसुधा p 185, भ्रातृणामेक .. मनुरब्रवीत् (मनु ९, १८२) — इत्येव विच्चिद्वर्षक्षेत्रजपुत्रलब्धपित्रृणत्व केवलयज्ञार्थपत्नीसम्बन्ध आसीदित्यर्थापत्त्यानुक्तमपि गम्यते । यो वा पिण्ड पितु. पाणौ विज्ञातेपि न दत्तवान् । ज्ञात्वार्थातिक्रमाद्भीतो यजेतैकाक्रयसौ कथम् ॥ तन्त्र. p 208, अथवा बहूरय एव ता. सदृशरूपा द्रौपद्य एकस्वेनोपचरिता इति व्यवहारार्थापत्त्या गम्यते । तन्त्र p 209. एवमर्जुनस्य मातुलकन्याया: सुभद्राया. परिणयेपि सुभद्राया वसुदेवकन्यात्वस्य साक्षात् क्वचिदप्यश्रवणात् । मीमांसाकौ. p 48; but in the Ādiparva 219 18 Subhadrā is expressly stated to be the *daughter* of Vasudeva ' दुहिता वसुदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य च स्वसा '.

ing that Khandadeva states that it is nowhere found that Subhadrā was the daughter of Vasudeva Probably he had a corrupt reading of the Mahābhārata passage before him As to the charge of drinking spirituous liquor (*ubhau madhūśāvakṣībau* in Udyogaparva 59. 5) against both Vāsudeva and Arjuna, they were both ksatriyas and only brāhmanas were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drink (Gaut II. 25), while to ksatriyas and vaiśyas two kinds of wine called madhu (liquor from honey or madhuka flowers) and sidhu (rum) were allowed and only paistī (spirituous liquor distilled from flour) was forbidden (by Gaut. II. 25, Manu XI. 93-94).

Kumārila offers some other explanations of Jai[1644] I 3 5-7 which need not be set out here.

Kumārila mentions certain practices of his times and conoludes that they are to be condemned and not to be followed or regarded as authoritative. He says:[1645] even in these days brāhmana women of Ahicchatra and Mathurā drink wine; northerners (northern brāhmanas)' engage in such transactions as the gift and sale of horses and mules that have a mane, asses,

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1644. जै I. 3. 7. will have to be read as 'अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य' acc. to Kumārila, Khandadeva and others if Sabara's interpretation of the sūtra is to be accepted. 'तेषु आचमनादिषु क्रमादिविरोधस्यादर्शनादवैदिकमणीतत्वरूपामाण्यकारणस्याग्रहणे शिष्टे प्रयुक्तानि आचमनादीनि प्रमाणत्वेन प्रतीयेरन्निति सूत्रार्थः । एवं भाष्यकारेणाधिकरणार्थ उपपर्णित ।' मीमांसाकौस्तुभ on I. 3 7 p. 36 Kumārila implies a pūrvapaksa and holds that I. 3. 7 is the sūtra giving the final conclusion only and as an independent adhikarana by itself.

1645. अद्यत्वेप्यहिच्छत्रमथुरानिवासिब्राह्मणीना सुरापानम् । केसर्यश्वाश्वतरखरोष्ट्रेभयदहानप्रतिग्रहविक्रयव्यवहारभार्यापत्यमित्रसहभोजनाद्युदीच्यानाम् । मातुलदुहितृग्रहणसन्दीस्थभोजनादीनि दाक्षिणात्यानाम् । मित्रस्वजनोच्छिष्टसृष्टभोजनं सर्ववर्णपरस्परगृहता म्लादनतद्वसानानाचमन—निर्णेजकधौतवर्दभारूढवस्त्रपरिधान-ब्रह्मण्यपातिरिक्तमहापातककार्यपरिहरणादीन्युभयेषाम् । अतिस्थूलानि प्रतिपुरुषजातिकुलावस्थितसूक्ष्मसदृशधर्म्यणि क्रमणानि त्वनन्तभेदानि सर्वविज्ञानहेतुदर्शनानि च प्रायेणैव संभवन्तीति नवंजातीयकमिश्रसदाचारधर्मत्वाद्व्यवसानसम्भव । तन्त्र. p 204. अहिच्छत्र is modern Ramnagar in Rohilkhand Vide JRAS for 1903 p. 292. The form अहिच्छत्रा occurs in a Pabhosa Inscription (E I. vol. II. at p 243) For the different views about मातुलसुतापरिणयन vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 458-463 Kullūka on Manu XI 95 notes that certain commentators held that the prohibition against drinking in the case of brāhmanas did not apply to brāhmana women. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 765 for सहभोजन with wife and children and pp. 181 and 839 about gift and sale of horses and animals with two rows of teeth, where Tai S. II. 2. 6. 3 and II. 3. 12. 1. and Jai. III 4. 28-31 are cited.

camels and animals with two rows of teeth and eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends; brāhmanas of the south enter into matrimony with the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch (of wicker work); both (brāhmanas of the north and south) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating); they chew betelnut leaves that have been touched by persons of all varnas, do not perform sipping of water (*ācamana*) at the end of the chewing of betelnut, wear clothes washed by washermen and brought on the back of asses; they do not avoid contact even with persons guilty of grave sins (except of brāhmana murder). There are everywhere an infinite number of very obvious transgressions of the subtle dictates of dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that (transgressions) are contrary to śruti, smrti and each other and that have a visible purpose behind them. It is not possible to regard such practices as authoritative' Similarly Varadarāja, (1600–1660 A. D.) a pupil of Bhattoji Dīksita, in his work styled the Girvānapadamañjarī in a dialogue between a Kānyakubja brāhmana and a *sannyāsin* hailing from Vijayanagara makes the brāhmana host say that each country has certain practices which are *durācāras* such as marrying a maternal uncle's daughter in the south, marriage of girls among southerners even before they are four years old, sitting down to a meal without bathing in Karnātaka, in Mahārāstra the marriage of a younger brother before an elder one, in the hilly country the practice of *niyoga* (*vide* Mr. P. K. Gode's interesting paper in 'Bhāratiyā-vidyā' vol VI pp 27–30).

According to Śabara, Jaimini in I. 3. 8–9 deals with certain words like *yava, varāha* and *vetasa*, that have different significances among Āryas and Mlecchas (and therefore these sūtras constitute what is called yavavarāhādhikarana). But Kumārila does not like this view of Śabara and proposes another topic for these two sūtras, viz. the relative strength of smrti and sadācāra where they are in conflict. Here there are three[1646] possible

1646. तेनाचारबलीयस्त्व समत्वं वेह युज्यते। स्मृतीनां वा बलीयस्त्वं शास्त्रस्था वेति वर्ण्यते ॥ उभयो श्रुतिमूलत्वं न स्मृत्याचारयोः समम्। सप्रत्ययप्रणीता हि स्मृतिः सोपजिबन्धना ॥ तथा सुदृष्टमानं हि निर्विघ्नमुपजायते। आचाराच्च स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा श्रुतिर्विज्ञायते ततः ॥ तेन दुरन्तरितं तस्य मामाप्यं विभक्ष्यते। ... .. तेनाचारः स्मृतिं यावदनुमातुं प्रवर्तते। स्मृतिर्लब्धश्रुतिस्तावद्भमेनेवावधारयेत् ॥ तस्मादाचारेभ्यः स्मृतिर्बलीयसी सन्निबन्धनेति। तन्त्र pp 220–221.

views, viz. that both are equally strong and so there is an option in case of conflict, that ācāra is stronger, that smrti is the stronger of the two The prima facie view is that both are equally strong, since smrti and sadācāra are both inferred to be based upon Veda. Kumārila's own final conclusion is that smrti is of greater force than ācāra, that is, where they come in direct conflict smrti should prevail. His position is that, though both smrti and ācāra are to be deemed to be based on Veda, there is a difference between the two. People have full faith in such smrtis as that of Manu and Manu and others are believed to have been inspired sages and are the propounders of the rules of dharma scattered about in various Vedic śākhās, while the same cannot be said about modern men and their practices cannot claim or possess the same weight and allegiance that the practices laid down by Manu and other sages can. From the practice of śistas one may infer a smrti as the root thereof and then further one may infer a śruti as the root of the smrti. Therefore ācāra is removed by two stages from the Veda, while smrti is removed only by one stage from the Veda. Hence Kumārila says that in case of conflict smrti should prevail over ācāra. The practices that are discussed here (acc. to Kumārila, Pārthasārathi and others) are such as the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter or with a paternal aunt's daughter and the like that are in vogue among certain people and that are yet opposed to smrtis (such as Manu XI. 171–72) and for which a visible motive can easily be found (*kāmādihetvantaram spastameva dṛśyate*, as the Śāstradīpikā says).

Kumārila gives another (and so a third) explanation of Jai. I 3. 8–9 [1647] which need not detain us here.

1647. समा विप्रतिपत्ति. स्यात् । शास्त्रस्था वा तन्निमित्तत्वात् । जै I. 3. 8–9 Acc to कुमारिल here शास्त्र means स्मृति, while acc. to Sabara's gloss शास्त्रस्था means क्षिप्ताः. Sir G. Jha in 'Pūrvamīmāmsā in its sources' p. 226 translates 'giving and accepting in gift and buying and selling lions, horses'. केसरिन means 'a lion' also, but it is hardly possible to believe that gifts of lions were made to brāhmanas or that they accepted them. केसरि must be taken as an adjective of 'aśva' here. The शास्त्रदीपिका on III 4 34 remarks, तेन यत्र दोषस्तत्रेष्टिः । लौकिके चाश्वदाने न केसरिणो दृक्षतीति प्रतिषेधाद् दोषोस्ति वैदिके तु कर्माङ्गदाने 'विशेषविधानात्तत्प्रतिषेधाप्रवृत्तेर्नास्ति दोष'. This shows that the prohibition against the gift of 'kesarin' refers to the gift of horses. Śabara on Jai VI. 7 4 makes this quite clear when he says that in the Viśvajit where the sacrificer had to make a gift of all his wealth, horses

(*Continued on the next page*)

Jai I. 3. 15–23 constitute what is called Holākādhikarana, or Sāmānyaśrutikalpanādhikarana. The first two and the last two sūtras are the most important. Certain practices[1648] like the Holākā (spring) festival are observed by the easterners, certain others like Āhnīnaibuka (worship of growing Karañja or Arka or other trees as handed down in one's family) by the southerners, and the Udvrsabhayajña (honouring oxen on the Full Moon of Jyestha and making them run a race) by the northerners. The question is whether, in making an inference about these practices being based on Veda, one was to suppose that the inferred Vedic text also should be restricted to the easterners and the like[1649]. The pūrvapaksa view is that the śruti to be inferred as the basis of the respective practices must be deemed to be restricted to certain persons only (such as the easterners i. e. *prācyas* &c.). The established conclusion is that

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(*Continued from the last page*)

should not be gifted on account of the prohibition contained in 'he does not give *kesarin*'. एष हि विशेषोऽश्वानामन्येभ्यो द्रव्येभ्यो यदेषां दानं प्रतिषिध्यते न केसरिणो ददाति नोभयतोदत प्रतिगृह्णातीति विश्वजित्येव समाम्नायते. The मीमांसाकौ. (pp 60–61) explains the सूत्रः 'अथवाचार एव बलवान् ... तदनङ्गीकरणे तु परं समा विप्रतिपत्तिः भवेत् न तु स्मृतिप्रामाण्यमिति सूत्रार्थ. । सिद्धान्तस्तु स्मृतिशास्त्रस्थैव प्रतिपत्तिर्बलीयसी ।'; on तन्निमित्तत्वात् the न्यायसुधा observes 'तन्निमित्तत्वादिति शास्त्रत्वसामान्येन प्रकृतत्वाद् वेदाख्य शास्त्रं तच्छब्देन परामृश्य श्रुतिमूलत्वं हेतुरुच्यते तच्चोभयोः स्मृत्यधिकरणे प्राप्तं विरोधे पुनरुच्यमानमाचाराणा श्रुतिमूलत्वपरिस्फुरणार्थम्' (p 212)

1648 अनुमानव्यवस्थानात्तत्संयुक्तं प्रमाणं स्यात् । अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्तन्न्यायत्वाद्विधानस्य । . . कर्मधर्मो वा प्रवणवत् । तुल्यं तु कर्तृधर्मेण । जै. I. 3. 15–23; अनुमानात् स्मृतेराचाराणां च प्रामाण्यमिष्यते । येनैव हेतुना ते प्रमाणं तेनैव व्यवस्थिताः प्रामाण्यमर्हन्ति । तस्माद् होलाकादयः प्राच्यैरेव कर्तव्याः, आह्नीनैवुकादयो दाक्षिणात्यैरेव, उद्वृषभयज्ञादय उदीच्यैरेव । ... अपि वेति पक्षव्यावृत्तिः । एवंजातीयकः सर्वधर्मः स्यात् । कुतः तन्न्यायत्वात् विधानस्य । विधीयतेनेनेति विधानं शब्दः । सोऽनुमीयते स्मृत्या । - तस्मात्सर्वधर्मता विधेर्न्याय्या । शबर; the word अनुमान means लिङ्ग or अनुमापक or कल्पक. The first two सूत्रs may be briefly but closely paraphrased as 'अनुमानस्य कल्पकस्य व्यवस्थितत्वात्प्रमाणमूलभूता श्रुतिः व्यवस्थापकोपपदसंयुक्ता स्यात् । न व्यवस्थितमूलत्वं भवितुमर्हति, अपि तु सर्वधर्मः स्यात् । मूलभूते विधायके वाक्ये सर्वधर्मत्वोपपादकस्य न्यायस्य सत्त्वात्।' मीमांसाकौ pp 100–101. This अधिकरण is called होलाका because the first example to शबरभाष्य refers to the practice of होलाका मेधा. on मनु VIII. 46 refers to उद्वृषभयज्ञ as a practice of the northerners The जै. न्या मा explains. 'वसन्तोत्सवो होलाका । स्वस्वकुलागतं करलार्कादिरथावरदेवतापूजादिकमाह्नीनैवुकशब्देनोच्यते । ज्येष्ठमासस्य पौर्णमास्यां बलीवर्दानभ्यर्च्य धावयन्ति सोयमुद्वृषभयज्ञ ।'

1649. Vide the following remark about the demand for the divine origin of laws and usages from Berolzheimer. "historically political power, legal regulation and customs were popularly conceived as expressions of the Divine Will" (Author's Preface, p. XLIV, in 'the World's Legal Philosophies').

such practices must be deemed to be meant for all, since the general rule about vedic injunctions is that they are applicable to all. The performer specially meant by each Vedic injunction is known in either of three ways,[1650] viz. by capability, by non-prohibition and by the employment of a special epithet or attribute. When it is said '*svargakāmo yajeta*' then only the three twice-born classes are meant, for, they alone are capable of tending the sacred fires and of possessing Vedic learning and a śūdra is not a fit person to whom that injunction can apply. Those who are guilty of grave sins (*patita*) and the impotent are prohibited from performing Vedic rites. When the Veda says '*rājā rājasūyena yajeta*' there is a special attribute of the performer (viz. being a ksatriya) prescribed by the śruti and so no one else can perform Rājasūya. When none of these three exists a Vedic *vidhi* is in general meant for all (*sarvadharma*). The practices of Holākā, Vrsabhayajña and the like should not be held to be restricted to certain countries or people only, but should be inferred to be applicable to all. When a man leaves the east and goes to the south, he may still perform the Holākā festival; while a man from the eastern country itself may not perform it at all. Further the words 'southern, eastern and northern' are relative. A country that is called southern may be to the north of another. Therefore Holākā and other practices are not invariably concomitant with particular countries or peoples. Nor can it be said that those practices require those particular countries for their performance in the way in which śruti expressly requires the Vaiśvadeva rite (one of the four cāturmāsyas) to be performed on a spot that slopes towards the east. The Tantravārtika[1651] points out that persons receive appellations from names of countries on various grounds as being born in a country or as residing therein or as coming from that country or as going to that country. Medhātithi on Manu VIII. 46 says the same.

1650. त्रिधैव ज्ञायते कर्ता विशेषेण प्रतिक्रियम् । योग्यत्वाप्रतिषिद्धत्वविशेषोपपदान्वयैः ॥ तन्त्र. p. 245, यस्माच्छक्तमात्रं पुरुष विधायकवाक्यमधिकरोति नातिरिक्तं विशेषणमपेक्षते तस्मात्तस्य सर्वविषयविधित्वं न्याय्यमित्यर्थः । न्यायसुधा p 246 (explaining तन्त्रयात्वाद् विधानस्य).

1651. सम्बन्धैर्बहुभिर्देशसमाख्या हि प्रवर्तते । निवास-भव-जातत्व-तद्गमनहेतुभिः ॥ तन्त्र. p. 251. The last half refers to Pāṇini IV, 3 89, IV. 3 53, IV. 3. 25, IV. 3. 74 respectively; प्राच्यादिसमाख्यापि व्यभिचारिणी तद्देशगतानामपि केषांचिदनाचरणात् । चिरंविनिर्गतपुत्रपौत्रादीना चासत्यामपि समाख्यायामाचरणात् । तस्मादसति विशेषणे सर्वधर्मत्वमाचाराणा स्मृतीनाम चेति सिद्धम् । शास्त्रदीपिका (at end of Jai. I.3, 23).

The Tantravārtika explains that the first two sūtras are meant to refer to another question also, viz. whether the rules of the grhyasūtras[1652] and of such dharmasūtra works as the sūtra of Gautama are authoritative only as to certain groups or are meant to be authoritative for all He begins by saying that the Purānas, the Manusmrti and Itihāsa (i. e the Mahābhārata) are equally authoritative for all people and then points out that the Gobhila-grhya and Gautama-dharmasūtra are traditionally accepted by the students of the Sāmaveda, that the dharmasūtra of Vasistha is accepted by the students of the Rgveda, the sūtra of Śankha-Likhita by the followers of the white Yajurveda and the sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana by the followers of the Taittirīya Śākhā. The Śāstradīpikā explains that an author who was a student of the Sāmaveda taught his own work to his pupils who also learned the Sāmaveda under him, that these pupils in their turn taught that work to others and in that way there arose a tradition among the students of the Sāmaveda to study the sūtra of Gautama. Therefore, to say even as to grhya works that they are restricted to particular groups of persons is not correct Similarly in the case of practices there is no epithet or attribute that is common to all those who practise them or which distinguishes those who do not observe them from those that observe them and therefore it is not possible to restrict such practices as Holākā to particular countries or groups of people.

The requisites of valid customs as laid down by the eminent writers of the Pūrva-mīmāmsā school may now be summarised Such customs must be ancient, must not be opposed to the express texts of the Veda or of smrti, must be such as to be regarded as obligatory by the sistas and must be observed

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1652. देशधर्मानुदाहृत्य संप्रत्येतद्विचार्यते । किं व्यवस्थितमूलास्ते किं वैदा सर्वधर्मता ॥ ..आद्यं सूत्रद्वय यावदिदमप्यत्र चिन्त्यताम् । गृह्यगौतमसूत्रादिष्वयवस्थासर्वगामिते ॥ पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्तगौतमवसिष्ठशङ्खलिखितहारीतापस्तम्बबौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणा गृह्यग्रन्थाना च स्मृतिशास्त्रव्यपलक्षणवत्प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते । तद्यथा । गौतमगोभिलीये छन्दोगैरेव च परिगृहीते । वासिष्ठं बहवृचैरेव शाङ्खलिखितोक्त च वाजसनेयिभिः । आपस्तम्बीयबौधायनीये तैत्तिरीयैरेव प्रतिपन्ने । इत्येवं तत्र तत्र गृह्यव्यवस्थाम्युपगमादि दर्शयित्वा विचारयितव्यम् । किं तानि तेषामेव प्रमाणानि, उत सर्वाणि सर्वेषामिति । तत्र pp 243-244 , कर्ता हि छन्दोग. स्वशिष्याश्छन्दोगान् स्वग्रन्थमध्यापयाम तैप्यन्याश्छन्दोगानित्येव गौतमीयस्य छन्दोग पाठ । तथापस्तम्बग्रन्थस्य तैत्तिरीयैरेव गृह्यग्रन्थानामपीति व्यवस्थितधर्मविषयत्वमप्रमाणकम् । आचाराणा तु सर्वाचरित्रनुगतमनाचरितृभ्यश्च व्यावृत्तमाकृतिव्यक्तिगुणसंस्थानादिकं न किंचिद्विशेषण सभवति यदुपादाय लोलाक्यधिकारं विशिष्यात् । शास्त्रदीपिका p 42

by them with the consciousness that they are so, they must not have a seen or visible purpose, and they must not be immoral[1653]. It has to be remembered that the pūrvamīmāmsā writers did not lay down anything about the binding character of usages that were peculiarly secular but restricted their remarks to customs and usages that had more or less an unseen or spiritual purpose Khandadeva emphasizes this by stating 'only those customs can be deemed to be based on the Veda that are not opposed to the Veda and smrtis and that are observed by respectable people under the belief that thereby they are carrying what dharma dictates'[1654]. Medhātithi on Manu[1655] II 18 makes this position quite clear after quoting a verse of Kumārila 'a smrti that is opposed to the Veda or is self-contradictory, or has a visible secular purpose or expressly states a motive (for observing its precepts) cannot be deemed to be based on the Veda'. The Mīmāmsā-kaustubha (p. 51 on Jai. I 3. 7) quotes a verse to the effects that 'only those whose ancestors also observed certain usages handed down from generation to generation would not incur blame by observing them (if they are opposed to śruti or smrti), but not others (who

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1653. यत्तु अहिच्छत्रब्राह्मणीना सुरापान दाक्षिणात्याना च मातुलकन्यापरिणयादि तत्र केचिदेव परिहरन्ति 'येषां परम्परामात्रा पूर्वजैरप्यनुष्ठिताः। त एव तैर्न दुष्यियुराचारैर्नेतरे जनाः' इत्यापस्तम्बवचनात्, 'येनास्य पितरो .. दुष्यति' इति मनुवचनाच्च देशभ्यवस्थया स्मृत्याचारयोः प्रामाण्यम्। अतश्च यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागत. अतस्तदन्यदेश-विषयैव तन्निषेधस्मृतिरिति न विरोध इति। तच्च - आपस्तम्बवचनं तु गर्हानिराकरणपरतया व्याख्येयं मनुवचनं तु सतां मार्गमिति विशेषणादविरुद्धाचारपरं व्याख्येयमिति न विरोध'। अतश्चाहिच्छत्रब्राह्मणीसुरापानादेरनाचारत्वमेव। मी. कौ. p. 51 (on जै I. 3. 7).

1654. श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धानां शिष्टैर्धर्मबुद्ध्याऽनुष्ठीयमानानामाचाराणां वेदमूलकत्वम्। अत एव स्मृतौ 'श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरुद्धो यः स सदाचार उच्यते' इत्युक्तम्। वार्तिके तु आर्यावर्तनिवासिशिष्टप्रयोज्यत्वमेव सदाचारत्वोपलक्षणम्। अतश्च तत्रैव श्रुतिकल्पनमित्युक्तम्। वस्तुतस्तु आर्यावर्तगतानामप्याचाराणां श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधेऽग्राह्यत्वात्तस्यैव सदाचारोपलक्षणत्वं न युक्तम्। अतश्चाचाराणामपि श्रुतिमूलकत्वात्प्रामाण्योपपत्तिः। मीमांसाकौस्तुभ pp. 43–44 (on जै. I. 3. 7).

1655. न च दृष्टकारणयोः स्मृत्याचारयोः प्रामाण्यम्। उक्तं च भट्टपादैः। विरुद्धा च विगीता च दृष्टार्थादिष्टकारणे। स्मृतिर्न श्रुतिमूला स्याद्या चैषा सम्भवश्रुति. ॥ मेधा. on मनु II. 18 This verse refers to *five classes of smrti texts that cannot be based on* श्रुति दृष्टार्थं च आदिष्टकारणा च दृष्टार्थादिष्टकारणे (स्मृती); या च एषा सम्भवश्रुति is the fifth class, but the meaning is not clear Sir Ganganath Jha in his translation of Medhātithi does not say whence this verse is taken, nor does he correctly render the words विगीता and दृष्टार्थादिष्टकारणे and he omits altogether the fourth pāda. The words या चैषा सम्भवश्रुति appear to mean 'that smrti which declares its promulgation (by a sage) is not to be deemed to be based on Veda (since otherwise Veda will be held to be not *nitya*).

cannot rely on such a state of things)'. In a learned discussion on *bādha* Kumārila in his Tantravārtika (on Jai. III. 3. 14 pp. 859–860) brings together many *bādhas* out of which those that are relevant to this discussion are given in the note below[1656]. It says that inference is set aside by direct perception, smrti by śruti, a smrti not composed by an authoritative person and that is self-contradictory is set aside by a smrti that is authoritative and not self-contradictory, a smrti that has a visible worldly purpose by one that has an unseen spiritual purpose, a smrti based on inference drawn from a śruti or based upon a commendatory vedic passage is set aside by a smrti based upon (a direct) śruti text, a usage is set aside by a smrti and one usage is set aside by another usage that is accepted by more respectable people &c.

1656 अथ यत्तत्र तत्रोच्यते इदमनेन बाध्यते (शबर)—प्रत्यक्षेणानुमान ... श्रुत्या स्मृति, आप्तविगीतस्मृत्या अनाप्तविगीतास्मृति., अदृष्टार्थया दृष्टार्था, श्रुतिप्रभवया लिङ्गादिप्रभवार्थवादप्रभवा च, स्मृत्याप्याचार., सोऽप्यभियुक्ततराचारेण सन्दिग्धमसंदिग्धेन, &c. तन्त्रवार्तिक pp 859–860.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CUSTOMS AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA WORKS

It is now necessary to see how Dharmaśāstra works have dealt with the authority and binding force of customs and usages. *Sadācāra* is defined by Hārīta as follows[1657]:— the word 'sat' means 'good' and the good are those who are free from (moral) taint; the practices of such people are called *sadācāra*. Vide Manu II. 18, which also defines sadācāra. Even the most ancient sūtras testify to the fact that numerous customs and usages had arisen in different countries and villages. The Āśv. gr. (I. 7. 1–2) says,[1658] 'various indeed are the observances of (different) countries and villages; one should follow those in marriages; what, however, is common (to all or most) shall be declared by us'. The Āp. gr. (II. 15) declares, 'people should understand from women what procedure is to be observed (according to custom)' and the Āp Dh S. provides (I. 7. 20. 8 = II. 11. 29 14) that one[1659] should regulate one's course of action (in difficult or doubtful matters) according to the conduct which is unanimously approved of in all countries by the Āryas (men of the three higher castes), who have been properly disciplined, who are aged, who have restrained their senses and who are neither covetous nor hypocritical and concludes with the aphorism (II. 11. 29. 15) 'some teachers hold that the rest of the dharmas (not set out in this work) may be understood from women and from men of all castes'. Baud. Dh. S.[1660] (I. 5. 13) states (on the subject of śrāddha) 'the usages of people should be followed as to other rites to be performed'. Several grhyasūtras (like Pāraskara II. 17, Mānava

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1657. साधवः क्षीणदोषाः स्युः सच्छब्दः साधुवाचकः। तेषामाचरणं यत्तु स सदाचार उच्यते॥ हारीत q by परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 144. This is विष्णुपुराण III. 11, 3 quoted by the दीपकलिका on या. I. 7 as from that पुराण.

1658. अथ खलूक्तावचा जनपदधर्मा ग्रामधर्माश्च तान् विवाहे प्रतीयात्। यत्तु समानं तद्दृश्यामः। आश्व गृ. I. 7 1–2, vide H of Dh. vol. II. p. 441 n. 1049 for remarks of हरदत्त and नारायण on these sūtras.

1659 सर्वजनपदेष्वेकान्तसमाहितमार्याणां वृत्तं सम्यग्विनीतानां वृद्धानामात्मवतामलोलुपानामवृश्चिकानां वृत्तसादृश्यं भजेत। एवमुभौ लोकावभिजयति। क्षीणः सर्ववर्ण्यश्च धर्मदेशान्यतीयादित्येके। आप. ध. सू. II. 11. 29. 14–15 The first sūtra is the same as आप. ध सू. I. 7. 20. 8.

1660. शेषक्रियाणां लोकोऽनुरोद्धव्यः। बौ. ध सू. I. 5. 13.

gr. I. 4. 6) refer to the practices of people that should be followed in such matters as commencing agricultural operations, holidays &c. It is needless to set out these in detail here. Manu[1661] IV. 178 pronounces the general prescription for all men, 'one should walk in the path of good men which their fathers and grandfathers trod; by so doing one will come to no harm' For ordinary men this procedure is easy to understand and to follow This dictum sets a premium on the attitude of no change in any matter for fear that change may lead to some unexpected harm and has been throughout the ages up to the present the motto of most people in India. As ācāra or sadācāra is tangible and requires no effort to decide between conflicting views, we find eulogies of it in the earliest smrtis and purānas. Vide Manu IV. 155–158, Vas. VI. 6–8 (the first and last of which are the same as Manu IV. 157–158), Anuśāsanaparva 104. 6–9, Visnu Dh. S 71. 90–92 (which are almost the same as Manu IV. 155, 156, 158), Mārkandeya chap 34, Brahmapurāna 121. 6–9, Vismupurāna III. chapters 11–12, Kūrmapurāna (uttarārdha, chap 15).

The general rule about the binding character of customs is set out as follows Gaut (XI. 20) observes,[1662] 'the dharmas (customs) of countries, castes and families, which are not opposed to the Vedic scriptures, are authoritative and binding' Gaut provides in the next two sūtras that cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans can lay down conventions or usages that would be binding on the respective classes, that when a dispute arises as to these usages the king should learn affairs from those who wield authority over those classes and decide the dispute accordingly Vas I. 17 states, 'Manu has declared that the (peculiar) customs of countries, castes and families may be followed in the absence of rules propounded by the Veda', and in XIX. 7 prescribes that the king should

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1661 येनास्य पितरो याता येन याता पितामहाः। तेन यायात्सतां मार्गं तेन गच्छन्न रिष्यति॥ मनु IV. 178 The तन्त्रवार्तिक p 211 (on Jai I 3. 7) quotes this reads दुष्यति for रिष्यति and remarks 'येषां तु य पित्रादिभिरेवार्थो नाचरित· स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिषिद्धश्च ते तं परिहरन्त्येव.' मेधा very appositely explains, अविदुषां मूलमजानानामुपदेशोयमिति। . . यदि पितृपितामहादिभि कैश्चित्कथचिदधर्म आचरितपूर्व स न आश्रयणीय इति सता मार्गमित्याह। Vide also मिता on या I 254 where मनु IV. 178 is quoted and H of Dh vol II p 460 *n* 1086 where मेधा. on मनु II. 18 is quoted

1662 देशजातिकुलधर्माश्चान्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम्। कर्षकवणिक्पशुपालकुसीदिकारव इमे स्वे स्वे वर्गे। तेभ्यश्च यथाधिकारमर्थान्नत्यव्यहत्य धर्मव्यवस्था। गौ XI 20–22, देशधर्मजातिधर्मकुलधर्मान् श्रुत्यभावादवीन्मनु। वसिष्ठ I 17

enforce these among the four varnas Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 1 appears to lay down that the customs of countries and families (if not opposed to Veda) are authoritative and are to be followed in the respective countries or families. But this view seems to be unacceptable to Baudh Dh. S (I. 1. 19-26) which says,[1663] 'there is difference of opinion regarding five (practices) in the South as well as in the North We shall explain those peculiar to the south. They are· to eat in the company of (in the same plate with) one whose upanayana is not performed, to eat in the company of one's wife, to partake of stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt. Now (the customs peculiar) to the north are: to sell wool, to drink rum, to deal in the sale of animals with an upper and a lower row of teeth, to follow the profession of arms and to travel by sea He who follows (these practices) in any other country than where they are generally in vogue commits sin. For, in respect of these customs the authoritativeness must be restricted to the respective countries Gautama declares that this is false. And one should not approve of (accept) either (of the two sets of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of sistas (or opposed to the smrtis and the views of śiṣṭas)'. The Tantravārtika[1664] (p 211) mentions the argument of some concerning these passages of Āp and Baud viz. that Āpastamba's very general statement that practices of countries and families are authoritative in the respective countries cannot be accepted

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1663. पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः। यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः यथैतद्दुष्येतेन सह भोजन स्त्रिया सह भोजन पर्युषितभोजन मातुलपितृष्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति अथोत्तरत ऊर्णाविक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदन्द्रिन्यवहार आयुधीयक समुद्रसयानमिति। इतरदितरस्मिन् कुर्वन् दुष्यतीतरद्वितरस्मिन्। तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात्। मिश्रयैतदिति गौतम। उभय चेत्र नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात्। बौ. ध सू I. 1 19-26. The स्मृतिच I, p 10 explains. इतरो दाक्षिणात्यः इतरस्मिन् देशे उदीच्यदेशे अश्नुपनीतभोजन कुर्वन् दुष्यतीति न स्वदेशे। कुत देशप्रामाण्यात् तद्देशानिबन्धनत्वात्प्रामाण्यस्येत्यर्थ। Compare स्मृतिरत्न q by स्मृतिमु (वर्णाश्रम p 130) 'अब्रह्मचारिदाराद्यै सार्ध भोजनकर्म च। मातुलादिसुतायां च विवाह· शिष्टसमतः। इत्येते दाक्षिणात्यानामपि गीता (अविगीता?) उदाहृता। समुद्रयानं मासस्य भक्षणं शस्त्रजीविका। शीधुपानमुदीच्यानामविगीतानि धर्मत॥' Taking food in the same plate with one's wife is forbidden by Manu IV 43 and Yāj I 131. Vide H. of Dh vol. II p 765 n 1835

1664 सर्वेषामेवमादीना प्रतिदेश व्यवस्थया। आपस्तम्बेन संहृत्य दुष्टादुष्टत्वमाश्रितम्॥ येषां परम्पराप्राप्ताः पूर्वजैरप्यनुष्ठिता· । त एव तैर्न दुष्येयुराचारैर्नेतरे जनाः। ततश्च मन्वादिवाक्यप्रतिषिद्धाचाराणा प्रामाण्यमशक्यमभ्युपगन्तुम्। आपस्तम्बवचन तु चौधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम्। स्पष्टकामादिहेत्वन्तरदर्शनाच्च विरुद्धाचाराणामापस्तम्बवचनस्य वा श्रुतिमूलत्वंवापत्तिः। तत्र p 211. The व्य. म p. 22 quotes the verse येषां परम्परा० and remarks 'न दुष्येयु. अव्यवहार्या राजदण्डार्हाश्च न भवेयुरित्यर्थः'.

as valid, as it is opposed to the views of Gaut. (XI. 20), as Baud. expressly states that certain practices though prevalent in certain localities cannot be accepted as valid and binding even in those localities because they are opposed to the express words of such authoritative and highly venerated smrtis (as those of Manu) Manu in several places provides for the enforceability of customs and usages. In Manu VII. 203 it is said, 'the conqueror should hold as authoritative and binding the lawful customs of the conquered country, just as they are stated to be' and in Manu VIII. 41 and 46[1665] it is provided, 'A king who knows dharma (sacred law) should carefully inquire into the customs of castes, of countries, of guilds and of families and settle (or enforce) the customs peculiar to each Whatever may have been practised by the good and by twice-born men devoted to dharma, that shall be established (by the king) as the law, provided it be not opposed to the (customs of) countries, families and castes'. Medhātithi adds that the king has to see whether the customs of countries, families, castes and guilds are directly in conflict with the Veda or are harmful to others or utterly immoral (such as marrying one's mother) and only those that are found not to be so are to be enforced by the king and he[1666] adds on Manu II 6 that the practices of sistas (persons who are well conducted, free from greed and learned in the Veda) on matters on which the Veda and smrti are silent and which they observe with the consciousness that they (practices) are right (dharma) should be deemed to be based on Veda. He offers certain illustrations of such practices and also

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1665 जातिजानपदान्धर्मान् श्रेणीधर्मांश्च धर्मवित्। समीक्ष्य कुलधर्मांश्च स्वधर्मं प्रनिपादयेत् ॥ मनु. VIII 41, on which मेधा. remarks 'समीक्ष्य विचार्य किमाम्नायैर्विरुद्धा अथ न तथा पीडाकराः कस्यचिदुत न एवं विचार्य येऽविरुद्धास्तान् प्रतिपादयेत् अनुष्ठापयेदित्यर्थः। . मातृविवाहादि. सार्वभौमेन निवारणीय । . . एककार्यापेक्षा वणिक्कारुकुसीदचातुर्विद्यादय. तेषा धर्मा श्रेणीधर्माः'. It should be noted that in other works also the Pārasikas were credited with the highly immoral practice of marrying one's own mother Vide यशस्तिलकचम्पू 'श्रूयते हि बह्वीमण्डले नृपतिदोषान्मूर्देष्वास्तोपयोग पारसीकेषु च स्वमविवीमंयोग सिंहलेषु वि-भामित्रसृष्टिप्रयोग इति ।' (4th आश्वास p 95). The स्मृतिच (I p 10) and स्मृतिसु (वर्णाश्रम p 130) quote several verses from an anonymous smrti one of which is तथा मातृविवाहोगि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते

1666 आचारश्चैव साधूनां चशब्देन वेदविद्यामिति सम्बध्यते । पदद्वयेन शिष्टत्वं लक्ष्यते। शिष्टानां य आचार. सोपि धर्मे मूलम् । आचारो व्यवहार अनुष्ठानं यत्र श्रुतिस्मृतिधर्म्यादि न सन्ति शिष्टाश्च धर्मबुद्ध्यानुतिष्ठन्ति तदपि वेदिकमेव पूर्ववन्मन्तिपत्तव्यम् । यथा विवाहादौ कन्यादानधनादि माङ्गलिकत्वेन यत् क्रियते या च कन्यायास्तदहर्विवाहयिष्यमाणाया: प्रत्यातृसम्बन्धचतुष्पथादिपूजा देशभेदेन तथा वृत्तासंख्या देशभेदश्च(दाच?) या चातिस्यादीनां इदानीनामनुवृत्ति मिषद्वितन्त्रनामिवादनाभ्युत्थानादिरूपा । मेधा. on मनु II. 6.

relies[1667] upon the words of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 313. 117), 'what is true dharma is concealed as in a dark cave; the (only) path is to follow great men'. In I. 118 Mann declares that the ancient (or long enduring) laws (or customs) of countries, castes, families and the rules among heretics and companies (of traders and the like) have been dealt with by him in the śāstra (Institutes). Yāj. I. 343 provides that when a conqueror reduces a country to subjection he should preserve intact whatever customs, laws and judicial procedure, and family usages are handed down from generation to generation therein (provided they are not opposed to śāstras and, as the Mit. says, he should not cause confusion by imposing the usages of his own country on the conquered country). Yāj. II. 192 (like Manu and Gaut.) provides that the varying usages and conventions of śrenis (guilds of artisans), naigamas (traders), heretics and associations (of soldiers and the like) should be respected by the king in the same way as he honours the usages of learned brāhmanas. About the latter Yāj. II. 186 says that the king should sedulously enforce the conventions of learned brāhmanas which are not opposed to the dictates of the Veda and smrti (such as about pastures, water-courses and wells and the preservation of temples) and he should also enforce his edicts that are not opposed to Veda and smrti (such as making provision for travellers and prohibiting the sale of horses to an enemy &c.). Kautilya prescribes[1668] that the king should follow as regards inheritance and partition the customs that are in vogue in a country, a caste, a *sangha* (company or guild) or a village. Devala[1669] and Brhatparāśara (X. p. 281) have a verse very similar to Yāj I. 343. The Mahābhārata remarks that there is no custom or practice that can be said to be beneficial

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1667. अथाप्ययं न्यायो महाजनो येन गतः स पन्था इति... । विद्वांसो ह्यत्र निष्कामाः प्रवृत्तिपूर्वा अनिन्द्याश्च लोके । अथाप्यागमिकी प्रवृत्तिः सापि वेदप्रामाण्यात्सिद्धेवेति । मेधा. on मनु II. 1. The whole verse is: तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्ना नैको ऋषिर्यस्य मतं प्रमाणम् । धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥ वनपर्व 313. 117; the words 'धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां' are quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 9.

1668. देशस्य जात्या सङ्घस्य धर्मो ग्रामस्य वापि यः । उचितस्तस्य तेनैव व्यवहारं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 7. p. 165, अक्षपटलमध्यक्षः ... निबन्धपुस्तकरणानं कारयेत् । तत्राधिकरणानां संख्यां... देशग्रामजातिकुलसङ्घानां धर्मव्यवहारचरित्रसंस्थानं... निबन्धपुस्तकस्थं कारयेत् । अर्थशास्त्र II. 7 p. 62.

1669. यस्मिन्देशे पुरे ग्रामे त्रैविद्ये नगरेऽपि वा । यो यत्र विहितो धर्मस्तं धर्मं न विचारयेत् ॥ देवल in स्मृतिच. I. p. 10.

to all alike[1670]. From this it follows that variations in practices were to be tolerated by the king. Bṛhaspati[1671] advises the king to keep intact the customs of countries, castes and families that have been long in vogue in them and states that otherwise the subjects become irritated and disaffected and there is loss of wealth and army. He gives certain striking illustrations of peculiar practices: 'members of the twice-born classes in the southern countries take in marriage their maternal uncle's daughter; in the middle country (the country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya lying to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinaśana where the Sarasvatī disappears, as said by Manu II. 21) artisans and menial workers eat the flesh of a cow; in the eastern countries people (all including brāhmanas) eat fish and women are given to adultery; in the north women drink liquor and contact with them even in their monthly illness is allowed; the people of the *Khaśa* country take as wives the widows of their own brothers; these several people are not liable to undergo punishment or penance because of their doing these things in the respective countries'. Medieval writers differed about the meaning of the last half verse. The Madanaratna said (acc. to V. P. p 22) that there is neither punishment nor prāyaścitta when the above practices which are opposed to smṛti texts are indulged in by the inhabitants of the countries specified, while the V. P. p. 22 holds that there is only absence of punishment at the king's hands for these people in those countries, but they are still liable to undergo prāyaścitta and that if these practices are followed in other countries both punishment and prāyascitta have to be undergone

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1670. न हि सर्वहितः कश्चिदाचारः संभवति । शान्ति 261. 17

1671. देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्मास्तत्प्रवर्तिताः । तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रभुभिस्तत्प्रयत्नतः । जनापरक्षिर्भवति अलं कोशश्च नश्यति । उद्वाह्यते दक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः । मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः । मत्स्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः । उत्तरे मद्यपा नार्यः स्पृश्या नूणां रजस्वलाः । स्वजाताः प्रगृह्णन्ति भ्रातृभार्यामभर्तृकाम् । अनेन कर्मणा नैते प्रायश्चित्तदमार्हकाः ॥ बृह. q. in स्मृतिच॰ I. 10 (except जनाप ... नश्यति and last half), व्य. नि. p. 16 (except first verse and a half), मदनरत्न (folio 5a except half verse स्वजाता.), स्मृतिषु (वर्णाश्रम p 130), शुक्रनीति IV. 5. 48-52, व्य मयूख p 7 (except the half verse स्वश &c. and mentions नराः सर्वे as v. l.) व्य प्र p 22 स्वशः represents the Khakha tribe in the Vitastā valley उक्तं बृहस्पतिना । अभर्तृकाभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिवृत्तिम् । कुले कन्याप्रदानं च देशेष्वन्येषु वर्जयेत् ॥ हरदत्त on आप. ध. II. 10. 27. 3 (Bühler's ed.).

Kāt.[1672] defines what is meant by the customs of countries and families and states how and when they are to be enforced: 'That is said to be the custom of a country, which is in vogue in a country, is of long standing and is not opposed to the Veda and Smṛti That is called family custom which has come down hereditarily in a family as right conduct (dharma) to be observed (by members of that family); the king should preserve it as it is.' In disputes between the residents of the same country or capital, hamlet of cowherds, town or village the decision should be based on their own conventional usages, but in disputes between inhabitants of these and others the decision must be in accordance with the sacred texts Therefore the king should decide the causes of people according to the rules of śāstra: but in the absence of texts he should carry out (the administration of justice) according to the usage of the country Whatever conventions are settled in accordance with the consent of (the people of a) country should always be preserved in writing sealed with the royal seal. Such conventions should be sedulously upheld as if they were the dictates of śāstra and the king should decide (disputes) after carefully considering them' Here Kāt is principally concerned with the decision of legal disputes on the basis of the customs of countries and families, but his rules also have a general application. He also states that in the case of the conflict of laws by which the parties are governed śāstra prevails Pitāmaha[1673] has a similar verse about the usages of towns, villages and guilds and mentions that Br held the same view. Manu also (VIII. 3) requires the king to decide the disputes of people according to principles drawn from local customs (*deśadṛṣṭa hetu*) and from the Institutes of law (*śāstradṛṣṭa*). Medhātithi (on Manu VIII. 3) gives some interesting illustrations of local customs; viz in certain southern localities a sonless widow

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1672. यस्य देशस्य यो धर्मः प्रवृत्तः सार्वकालिकः । श्रुतिस्मृत्यविरोधेन देशदृष्ट स उच्यते ॥ गोव्रस्थितिस्तु या तेषां क्रमादायाति धर्मतः । कुलधर्म तु तं प्राहुः पालयेत्तं तथैव तु ॥ देशापत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वासिनाम् । तेषां स्वसमयैर्धर्मशास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सह ॥ तस्माच्छास्त्रानुसारेण राजा कार्याणि साधयेत् । वाक्याभावे तु सर्वेषां देशदृष्टेन संनयेत् ॥ देशग्रामकुलानामेव व्यवस्था या निरूपिता । लिखिता तु सदा धार्या मुद्रिता राजमुद्रया । शास्त्रबाधाततो रक्षा नो निरीक्ष्य विनिर्णयेत् । कात्या. q. by स्मृतिच. II p 26 (all except the verse गोव्रस्थितिस्तु), परा मा. III 41 (has first, 3rd and 4th), अपरार्क p. 599 (has the fourth), व्य म. pp. 21–22 (has 2nd and 4th), व्य. नि. pp. 15–16 (has the first two).

1673. ग्रामगोष्ठपुरश्रेणिसार्थसेनानिवासिनाम् । व्यवहारश्चरित्रेण निर्णेतव्यो हि धर्मतः । पितामह q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 26.

cupies a square low table in the hall of justice, when she is ruck with dice by the judicial officers and then she gets her sband's property (this is a reminiscence of Nirukta III. 5)laining Rg. I. 25. 7), in the north there is a custom that ıen certain persons come on behalf of a bridegroom seeking : a virgin in marriage and they are fed at the house of the 1's father then it is implied that there is a promise to give at girl in marriage to that particular bridegroom. These two ıstoms are not opposed to any śruti or smrti (and even the . P. p. 10 refers to the second as prevalent in the north and adhyadeśa). But Medhātithi mentions other local usages ıat are opposed to smrti e g grain is lent in spring and in the ıtumn of the same year double of it is taken. This is opposed) the rules of smrti laying down rates of interest.

Very difficult questions arise in regard to the relative force f śruti, smrti and sadācāra and numerous rules have been laid own in cases of apparent and real conflicts among them. As anu II. 6, Vas I. 4-5 and Yāj I. 7 mention the sources of harma to be śruti, smrti and sadācāra in that order, the Mitāk-arā remarks[1674] that 'in case of conflict, each preceding one of ıose three has more force (or binding character) than each ucceeding one.' Śruti or Veda is recognised by all smrti writers s the highest or supreme authority for those who desire to know vhat dharma[1675] is (vide Manu II. 13 and Yāj. I. 40). If two 'edic texts of equal authority are in conflict, then Gaut[1676] I 5, Manu II. 14 and Jābāli declare that there is an option. For xample, there are two Vedic texts 'he takes the soḍaśin cup in he Atirātra sacrifice' and 'he does not take the soḍaśin cup in he Atirātra'. In this case there is an option Similarly Vedic exts say that the daily Vedic agnihotra may be performed after sunrise, or before sunrise or when neither the sun nor stars are visible. Therefore there is an option, viz. the daily agni-hotra offering may be made at any one of the three times speci-fied (Manu II. 15). But a vedic text which is in apparent con-flict with another is not always of equal force with that other. In such a case there is no option, and various rules are laid

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1674. एवेदा विरोधे पूर्वपूर्वस्य बलीयस्त्वम्। मिता. on या. I. 7.

1675. धर्मे जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः। मनु II 13, धर्मे .. प्रथमं श्रुतिः। द्वितीयं तु स्मृत्याख्यं तृतीय लोकसंग्रहः॥ वृद्धगौतम XIV. p 599, vide या. I 40.

1676. तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः। गौ I 5; श्रुतिद्वैधं तु यत्र स्यात्तत्र धर्मावुभौ स्मृतौ॥ स्मृतिद्वैधे तु विषय कल्पनीया पृथक् पृथक्॥ जाबालि q by स्मृतिच्च II p 496. The first half of Jābāli's verse is the same as Manu II. 14

down in the Pūrvamīmāmsā some important ones among which will be discussed at length in the section on Pūrvamīmāmsā. Such texts may be explained by holding that one lays down a general rule (sāmānya), while the other lays down a special rule (viśesa) or an exception, or that one is a *vidhi* and the other merely an *arthavāda* or that the two texts have different scopes or refer to different ages &c. All these rules about the interpretation of Vedic texts have been held to apply to smṛti passages For example, Manu VIII. 381 is a general rule absolutely prohibiting the killing of a brāhmaṇa While Manu VIII. 350 allowing the killing of a brāhmana in self-defence is a special rule or may be regarded as a mere arthavāda (viz. even a guru who is really not to be killed on any account may be killed when he is an ātatāyin, what of others, as the Mit. on Yāj II. 21 explains). Similarly Manu VIII. 351 saying that there is no fault (*i.e.* no sin, no punishment and no prāyascitta) in slaying an ātatāyin has restricted scope as applying only to an ātatāyin who is not a brāhmana. A few more examples will be given immediately below.

In cases of conflict between sruti and smṛti, the rules laid down by the Pūrvamīmāmsā have already been explained (pp 832–34) Jaimini VI. 1. 13–14 and Śabara furnish an example If, relying on Manu VIII. 416, the pūrvapaksa were to argue that women own no wealth and so should not engage in a vedic sacrifice then as that smrti so interpreted is opposed to the Veda it may be discarded by women[1677]. Smṛtis also lay down certain general rules on that point Laugāksi[1678] and Jābāla lay down that in case of contradiction between śruti and smrti, the former has greater force and that if there is no contradiction then what is laid down in the smrti should be observed as if it were laid down by the Veda The Mit on Yāj III. 46 admits that a proposition of the Veda cannot be set aside (*bādhita*) by even a special proposition in a smṛti text. But in spite of the general proposition commentators like Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara

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1677 फलोत्साहाविशेषात् । जै VI 1 13 ; यदि स्मृतिमनुरूप्यमाना परेषां निर्धना च स्यात्, यजेतेत्युक्ते सति न यजेत । तत्र स्मृत्या श्रुतिर्बाध्येत । न चैतन्न्याय्यम् । तस्मात्फलार्थिनी सती स्मृतिममाणीकृत्य द्रव्यं परिगृह्णीयाद्यजेत चेति । शबर

1678 श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधे तु श्रुतिरेव गरीयसी । अविरोधे सदा कार्यं स्मार्तं वैदिकवत्सदा ॥ लौगाक्षि q by हरदत्त on गौ I 5 and स्मृतिश्च I. p 7. भाट्टरत्न p 191, मित्रमिश्र in his commentary on या II 21 reads (without naming the writer) श्रुति . गरीयसी । परस्परविरोधे तु योगयुक्तं (v. l. स्वायत्तुक्तं) प्रमाणवत् ॥ The ... of ... परस्पर ... स्वायत्तुक्तं प्रमाणवत्

had to admit that what was laid down by śruti texts was set aside or contradicted or abandoned by smrti texts or by popular sentiment. After the Udayanīyā (concluding *iṣṭi*) in the Agnistoma sacrifice was finished, a rite was prescribed by Vedic texts in which a barren cow (called Anūbandhyā) was sacrificed for Mitra and Varuna But later on this was oondemned and in lieu of a cow āmiksā (mixture of heated milk and ourds) was substituted. Vide H. D II pp 1200-1201 for the anūbandhyā cow and p. 628 n 1198 above for the verse quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 117 condemning cow sacrifice in Kaliyuga. Yāj. III. 234 puts *govadha* (slaughter of a cow) at the head of upapātakas. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 176 after stating that even such acts as donating all one's property in the Viśvajit sacrifice or killing a cow should not be done (though sanctioned by the Veda) remarks that he gives that explanation following his predecessors' views but that to him it appears that an express śruti text cannot be set aside by a smrti passage[1679]. Viśvarūpa also (on pp. 25-26) after adverting to the fact that Yāj III. 234 places *govadha* at the head of *Upapātakas* remarks that this may apply to the killing of cows spoken of in smrtis such as at the time of samāvartana (vide Manu III. 3) and that the rule must be upheld that a smrti that is in conflict with an express text of the Veda is to be set aside. Sometimes even a smrti text though theoretically weaker than śruti was allowed to prevail over a śruti. For example, the Veda prescribes the filling of the cups of wine in Sautrāmani isti, but this is one of the matters prohibited in Kali[1680] (vide chapter on Kalivarjyas below).

The general rule is that when a custom or usage is opposed to the text of the Veda the latter must prevail. So early a writer as Āpastamba states this rule emphatically in several places. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 4. 8 it is stated[1681]: 'For, an explicit śruti text has greater force than ācāra (usage) from which a śruti text (on which it may be supposed to be based)

1679 न हि प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविहितस्य स्मृत्या बाधो न्याय्यः। मेधा on मनु IV. 176; तेन वेदविरुद्धाया स्मृतेर्बाध इति स्थितिः। विश्वरूप p. 26 on या I. 7.

1680. क्वचिद् दुर्बलेनापि बलवतो बाध। यथा—सौत्रामण्यां सुराग्रहान् गृह्णातीति प्रत्यक्षश्रुतेरपि कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्मान् वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः—इति स्मृत्या। अन्यथानर्थक्यापत्तेः। परिभाषाप्रकाश p 27.

1681 श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्त्वमनिकादाचारात्। आप. ध. सू. I 1. 4 8, विप्रतिषेधे श्रुतिलक्षणं बलीयः। आप I 11. 30. 9, त्रैविद्यवृद्धानां तु वेदाः प्रमाणमिति निष्ठा। तत्र यानि श्रूयन्ते द्वीपिचषपदराज्यषप कपालपत्नीसम्बन्धान्युच्चैर्नीचै कार्यमिति तैर्विरुद्ध आचारोऽप्रमाणमिति मन्यन्ते। आप ध सू. II. 9. 23. 9.

may be inferred.' In I. 11. 30. 8-9 Āp Dh. S. says, 'during the morning and evening twilights a snātaka should be seated outside the village and should restrain his speech (should not speak about worldly matters); but (an agnihotrin must not go out for) what is enjoined by śruti is of more force in case of conflict of duties'. Similarly in Āp. II 9. 23. 8-9, 'It is the settled view of those who are deeply learned in the three Vedas that they are (highest) authority. They consider that the rites which are there prescribed for performance with rice, *yava*, animals, clarified butter, milk, potsherds (in conjunction) with the wife and accompanied by loudly or inaudibly recited (mantras) must be performed and that a usage opposed to these rites is without authority'. In spite of this and the doctrine of the Pūrvamīmāmsā stated above (p. 843) usages sprang up that were opposed to or gave the go-by to the prescriptions of the Veda as will appear a little below and particularly in the section on Kalivarjya

The conflict of smrtis among themselves presents much greater difficulties. From very ancient times authors of smrtis differed greatly among themselves. A few striking examples may be cited. Āp. Dh S. (I. 6. 19 2-12) cites the views of ten predecessors on the question of the persons whose food may be partaken of by a brāhmana (*ka āśyānnah*). The difference between Gautama and Baudhāyana on the one hand and Āp. on the other on the question of the validity of certain usages in certain localities has already been referred to (p 858). In III 16 Manu mentions three views (and four sages) on the question of the position of a brāhmana who marries a śūdra wife or has a son or a child from her. Baud. Dh. S. I. 8 2, Manu III. 13, Visnu Dh. S. 24. 1-4, Pār Gr. I. 4, Vas. I. 25 show that brāhmānas were allowed to have śūdra women as wives But Yāj. I 56 emphatically dissents from this by stating 'this is not my view'. In this state of affairs the medieval digests and commentators were hard put to it to evolve rules of interpretation One rule early evolved was that when two smrti texts were in conflict, 'reasoning based on the practices of elders (śistas) was of greater force' (Yāj. II. 21)[1682]. The Mit explains that ratiocina-

1682 स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः । या. II 21, on which the vy. m. p. 13 remarks 'न्यायानुपपन्नस्मृत्यपेक्षया न्यायोपपन्ना स्मृतिर्बलवतीति न्यायानुपपन्नस्मृतेस्तात्पर्यान्तरकल्पना- कार्येति । तस्य चोत्सर्गापवाद—विषयव्यवस्था—विकल्पादिरूपस्य

(*Continued on the next page*)

tion may take the form of holding that one text lays down a general rule and the other lays down a special rule (which prevails over a general rule), or the text may be held to relate to different sets of circumstances or in the last resort it may be held that there is an option, but in arriving at these conclusions the practice of the old or of śistas who follow the rule in one text and discard or avoid the rule in the other text is the guide[1683]. Br.[1684] gives the following warning to those who do not take reasoning into consideration: 'The decision (in a cause) should not be given by merely relying on śāstras, for in the case of a decision devoid of reasoning loss of dharma results'. Nār. (I. 40) provides in a strain similar to the Mit, 'when there is conflict between two texts of dharmaśāstra, it is declared that the method to adopt is to resort to reasoning, for the practices (of śistas) are of great force and the strict letter of the law is overruled by them (or properly understood through them)'. These provisions remind us of the working of the principle of *æquitas* applied by the prætors in Rome to the rigid older legislation or the influence of Equity in English Law. When

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(*Continued from the last page*)

न्यायस्य प्रत्यायक हेतुमाह व्यवहारत इति । वृद्धव्यवहारादन्वयव्यतिरेकादिरूपादनादिव्युत्पत्त्यपरपर्यायान्न्यायः प्रत्येतव्य इत्यर्थः । विश्वरूप reads स्मृतेर्विरोधे and gives three interpretations of this One is the same as that of the Mit, The other two are, (2) when there is a conflict between smṛti and reasoning, smṛti is stronger (he approves of this), (3) in case of conflict nyāya is stronger than smṛti. मित्रमिश्र in his commentary on या. II 21 explains व्यवहारतः differently as 'व्यवहारत. व्यवहारे विषये'.

1683. In *Bhau v Sundrabai* P. J. for 1874 p. 250, where the question was whether daughters were excluded from inheritance as regards the Utpat family of priests at the temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur), Yāj. II 21 was translated (at p 252) as follows. 'if two texts be opposed *usage* is of force for their construction'. In *Chunilal v Surajram* 33 Bom. 433 at p. 439 Yāj II 21 is rendered as 'where there is a conflict between two or more smṛtis that one should be accepted, which is conformable to equity'. The former rendering is rather obscure and the latter does not translate Yāj closely The exact meaning of 'equity' in this translation is not clear It certainly does not mean 'equity' in the strict sense of English Law

1684. न्यायमनालोचयतो दोषमाह बृहस्पतिः । केवल शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णय । युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ व्य. मयूख p. 7 The verse is q by परा मा. III p 39, व्य. मा. p 282, स्मृतिच. II p 24, व्य. प्र. p 13, धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधि स्मृतः । व्यवहारे हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ॥ नारद I 40 युक्ति means लोकव्यवहार acc. to व्य मा. p. 282 The व्यवहारतत्त्व (p 199) says, धर्मशास्त्रयोस्तु विरोधे लोकव्यवहार एवादरणीयः । . . अवहीयते अवगम्यते हि गतावित्यस्माद्धातोः . .

old rules become too narrow or are deemed to be not in harmony with the views of a changing or progressive society, it was thought to be the privilege of the king or the judge to adopt his practice to the existing state of society and not to decide a case by a too strict adherence to ancient dicta.

Another rule that was laid down was that in case of conflict between dharmaśāstra and arthaśāstra, the former is of more weight or authority or that one should discard the rule in the arthaśāstra[1685] (Āp. Dh. S. I. 9 24. 23; Yāj. II. 21; Nār. I, 39; Kāt. 20) Vide pp. 8–9 above for an explanation of this rule The rule of the arthasāstra has the accomplishment of a visible or worldly purpose as the goal, while the dharmaśāstra rule has as its purpose the securing of unseen or spiritual results. Therefore the latter from a spiritual or ethical point of view is superior to the former.

Several other methods of resolving conflicts between smrtis may be mentioned here. Br.[1686] states: 'Manusmrti occupies a pre-eminent position because it puts together the purport of the Vedas; that smrti which is in conflict with the purport of Manu is not commended'. Angiras also states that to follow the words (of another smrti) disregarding the unrivalled dharmaśāstra of Manu would not be beneficial to a person. The Mit. on Yāj III. 300 speaks of the Manusmrti and others as the great smrtis (mahā-smrti). Some writers[1687] quote the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said is indeed medicine' in this connection, thereby identifying the author of the Manusmrti with the Manu named in the Vedas. But this does not afford much help. Another principle evolved was that certain rules of conduct and certain smrtis were of special authority in certain cycles of time. Manu (I. 85–86 = Śānti 232. 27–28 = Parāśara I. 22–23

1685. यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्सृज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥ नारद I 39, मेधा. on मनु. VII, 1 says 'तथा च कात्यायनः । अर्थशास्त्रोक्त ... शास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ।'.

1686. वेदार्थोपनिबद्धत्वात्प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम् । मन्वर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते ॥ तावच्छास्त्राणि शोभन्ते तर्कव्याकरणानि च । धर्मार्थमोक्षोपदेष्टा मनुर्यावन्न दृश्यते ॥ बृह q by कुल्लूक on मनु. I. 1. The first is q by अपरार्क p 628 and by स्मृतिच. I. p 7 (reads वेदादुपनिबद्धत्वात्); यथादार्ढ्यादाः । यत्पूर्वं मनुना मोक्षं धर्मशास्त्रमनुत्तमम् । न हि तत्समतिक्रम्य वचनं हितमात्मनः ॥ स्मृतिच. I p. 7, स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम) p 6

1687. श्रुतिरपि यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम् । स्मृतिमु (वर्णाश्रम) p. 6. This text is in तै. सं. II. 2 10. 2 and Kāthaka XI. 5 has almost the same words.

= Brhat-Parāśara I. p. 55) himself says that the dharmas differ according to which of the four yugas is current, viz. *tapas* is the highest dharma in the Krta age, knowledge in Tretā, *yajña* in Dvāpara and only *dāna* in Kali. This verse only means that in a particular yuga the predominant or easily performed dharma is the one indicated but the verse does not mean that a dharma predominant in one yuga was prohibited in another. Parāśara I. 24[1688] (= Brhat-Parāśara I. p. 55) declares that in the Krta age the dharmas (to be observed) were those promulgated by Manu, in Tretā those of Gautama, in Dvāpara those of Śankha-Likhita and in Kali those of Parāśara. This also did not solve all difficulties, since the medieval digests and commentaries found that even what was allowed by Parāśara came to be disapproved of or condemned by the people. Many prescriptions of the smrtis were therefore included under *Kalivarjya* (acts forbidden in the Kali age) on the ground that action, though at one time prescribed or sanctioned by the śāstra, should not be resorted to, if it has become hateful to the people, since it would not lead to heaven[1689] (if persisted in). This was the dictum of Yāj. I. 156 (= Brhan-Nāradīya-purāna 24. 12), Manu IV. 176, Visnu Dh. S. (71. 84–85), the Visnupurāna (III. 11. 7), Śukra III. 64, Bārhaspatya-sūtra (on Arthaśāstra) V. 16. Vide p. 630 and n. 1202 above. These texts were relied upon for prohibiting certain acts (though done in former times) by the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 117, III. 18), V. P. (p. 442) and others. But these devices of interpretation also proved futile in certain cases. On the question of the periods of mourning due to death for ksatriyas and others the texts are so various and so conflicting that even the great Vijñāneśvara declares (on Yāj. III. 22) that he is not going to furnish any orderly presentation of the smrti texts assigning to each its proper province, since it would be useless to do so in view of the fact that the usage of śistas did not agree with most of them[1690]. Viśvarūpa also (on Yāj. III. 30) is in the same predicament. The commentators (such as

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1688 कृते तु मानवो धर्मस्त्रेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः। द्वापरे शाङ्खलिखितः कलौ पाराशरः स्मृतः॥ पराशर I 24 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p 11. This is ascribed to बृह. in the आचाररत्न p 12 quoting from the परा मा.

1689 परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप। धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7; धर्ममपि लोकविकुष्टं न कुर्यात् लोकविरुद्धं नाचरेत्। बार्हस्पत्य-सूत्र V 16.

1690. इत्येवमनेकोक्तावचाशौचकल्पा दर्शिताः। तेषां लोके समाचाराभावान्नातीव व्यवस्थामदर्शनमुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते। मिता. on या III, 22.

Mādhava in Par. M. on I. 1. p. 84) were aware that peopl e would not go in for religious practices that called for great effort and would seek for such rules as would be easy of observance [1691]

In some cases it was provided that where there is a conflict among smrtis the view of the majority should prevail Gobhila-smrti (III 148–149) provides[1692] that where there is a conflict among passages (of smrtis), authoritativeness rests with that view which is supported by a majority of the texts, but where two passages are of equal authority then reasoning has to be employed. The assumption or axiom was, according to Medhātithi[1693] (on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216), Mit (on III. 325), Sm C. (I. p. 5), Aparārka p. 1053, Madanapārijāta (pp. 11, 91) and others that all smrtis form one śāstra, that if some smrti texts on the same subject are in conflict there is an option and when there is no conflict all rules from all smrtis should be held applicable to the subject matter; this was based on the analogy of the maxim called 'sarva-śākhāpratyayanyāya' or 'śākhān-tarādhikarana' (vide Jai. II. 4. 9 and Śabara thereon)

It is further provided that works of heretical sects were to be left out of consideration. Manu calls them smrtis, but they are outside the pale of Vedic orthodoxy. Manu (XII. 95) declared,[1694] 'the smrtis that are outside the (pale of) Veda and all false or fallacious doctrines are of no avail after death, because they are all based on ignorance'. In the Vedāntasūtra (II. 1 1) also the word smrti is applied to the works on the

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1691. अतः कलौ प्राणिना प्रयाससाध्ये धर्मे प्रवृत्त्यसम्भवात् सुकरो धर्मोऽत्र मुशुस्तितः । परा. मा I part 1 p 84.

1692. अल्पाना यो विघात स्यात्स बाधो बहुभि स्मृत । प्राणसमित (प्राण ?) इत्यादि वासिष्ठं बाधितं यथा ॥ विरोधो यत्र वाक्याना प्रामाण्य तत्र भूयसाम् । तुल्यप्रमाणकत्वे तु न्याय एव(एव ?) प्रकीर्तितः ॥ गोभिलस्मृत्ति III 148–149 प्राणसमितो वैश्यस्य is वसिष्ठ XI 57 (about the length of the staff of a vaiśya brahmacārin) The verse विरोधो यत्र is quoted (without name) in मलमासतत्त्व p 767.

1693. यथा सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययमेक कर्म एव सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययमपि । यत्तु बहुत्वादूहशब्द-तीनां काश्रीयतामित्यनध्यवसाय । सर्वासा प्रामाण्याविशेषादेकार्थानां विकल्प भिन्नार्थाना समुच्चय । मेधा. on मनु II 29, एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्र योज्य विरोधे तु विकल्प । मेधा on मनु XI 216, एवमन्येष्वपि विरोधिपदार्थेषु विकल्प आश्रयणीय । अविरोधिषु समुच्चय । शाखान्तराधिकरणन्यायेन सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययत्वात्कर्मण । मिता on या III 325

1694 या वेदबाह्याः स्मृतयो याश्च काश्च कुदृष्टय । सर्वास्ता निष्फला प्रेत्य तमो-निष्ठा हि ता स्मृताः ॥ मनु XII 95. This is quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै 1. 3 5 p. 196 with the remark 'एतदीया ग्रन्था यद्य च मन्वादिभि परिहार्यत्वेनोक्ता । या वेदबाह्याः...तमोनिष्ठा हि ता स्मृता इति । तस्माद्धर्मं प्रति त्रयीबाह्यमेवंजातीयकं प्रामाण्येना-नपेक्ष्य स्यादिति सिद्धम् ।'

Sānkhya philosophy. The Tantravārtika (p. 195) says that the Bauddhas and other heretical sects do not admit that their doctrines are based on the Veda, like a bad son hating his parents; the prescriptions contained in their works are opposed to all the 14 *vidyās* except in the case of a few sentences laying down restraint of senses, charity and the like; they were promulgated by persons like the Buddha who had given up the path of the Veda and did acts contrary to the Veda and they were propounded to persons that were beyond the pale of the three Vedas and that mostly were śūdras and persons outside the system of the four varnas and āśramas. Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 adopts this and remarks[1695] that the Śākyas, Bhojakas and Ksapanakas do not admit the Veda as authoritative, they openly declare the Veda to be unauthoritative and they teach doctrines directly opposed to the Veda. The Caturvimśatimata[1696] states that the words of Arhat (Jina), of Cārvāka and of Bauddhas, should be abandoned as they lead to delusion.

Then comes the question of the conflict between smrtis and purānas. It has been shown in the H. of Dh., vol. I. pp. 160–167, how the Purānas are rich in Dharmaśāstra material. The sūtras and early smrtis do not look upon the Purānas as a source of dharma, though Gaut. XI. 19 and Yāj. I. 3 mention Purāna as one of the classes of works on which the king or any one else may draw for knowledge of dharma and though the Āp. Dh. S. quotes from a Purāna in I. 6. 19. 13, I. 10 29. 8 and II. 9. 23 3 and names a Bhavisyatpurāna in II. 9. 24 6. It is to be noted that the views quoted by Āp. from the Purānas in the first three passages are opposed to the views of the Kalivarjya section alleged to be taken from the Ādityapurāna in medieval digests. The passage of the Tantravārtika stating that Purānas, Manusmrti and Itihāsa are universally accepted throughout India has been already quoted (on p. 853). When Manu states that smrti is a source of dharma he does not obviously comprehend Purānas under smrti as Manu II. 10 clearly shows (*dharmaśāstram tu vai smrtih*). Manu III. 232 and Yāj. III. 189 employ the plural 'Purānāni' and so those smrtis obviously

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1695 नहि शाक्यभोजकक्षपणकादीनां वेदसंयोगसंभवो येन तन्मूलतया स्वविषये प्रमाण स्यु· स्वयमनभ्युपगमात्तैश्च वेदस्याप्रामाण्याभिधानात् प्रत्यक्षवेदविरुद्धार्थोपदेशाच्च। मेधा on मनु II. 6

1696. अर्हच्चार्वाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च। विमलम्भकवाक्यानि तानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेत्॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत (q in स्मृतिसु, वर्णाश्रम, p. 7, स्मृतिच. I p. 5).

knew several Purānas and Medhātithi notes that they were composed by Vyāsa and described the creation of the world &c. The Strīparva (13. 2) also employs the plural and the Svargārohanikaparva (5. 46–47) speaks of Krsna Dvaipāyana as the author of 18 Purānas. The Ādiparva[1697] (1. 293–94) prescribes that one should strengthen the Veda by (the study of) the Itihāsa and Purāna and that the Veda fears the man whose knowledge is insignificant 'this man will harm me' According to the Bhāgavata-purāna I 4. 25 the purpose[1698] of the composition of the Mahābhārata was this that as the Veda cannot be learnt by women, śūdras and brāhmanas who are so only by birth (and do not study) the sage Vyāsa took compassion on them and composed the Mahābhārata for their benefit. The same must be deemed to be the purpose of the composition of the purānas. The Daksasmrti II. 69 prescribes[1699] the recitation of itihāsa and purāna in the 6th and 7th parts of the day (divided into 8 parts). The Aušanasa smrti (III. p. 515, Jivananda) prescribes the study of the Veda in the bright half of the months from Māgha after *utsarjana* and the study of the Vedāngas and of Purāna in the dark half. It appears that some at least of the extant Purānas were composed in the first centuries of the Christian era and that from early times they contained dharmaśāstra material. In another section the *paurānadharma* will be separately dealt with hereafter. Gradually the Purānas became very popular in the course of centuries, some of the original rites prescribed by the Veda and the early smrtis went out of vogue and new modes of worship and rites provided by the Purānas came into general observance. The Vedavyāsa smrti[1700] (I. 4) and the Sangraha state that in case of conflict between smrti and purāna smrti is to be

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1697. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् । बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति (v. l प्रतरिष्यति) ॥ आदिपर्व 1. 293–294 (= बृद्धहारि chap 3 p 50, Jivananda, = वायुपुराण 1 201, वसिष्ठ 27. 6). It is ascribed to बृहस्पति in the स्मृतिच. I. p 3. लघुव्यास II. p. 320 (Jivananda) reads the first half as वेदार्थमुपबृंहयेत्

1698 स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूना त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ॥ भागवत I 4 25, तेनोक्तं सात्वतं तन्त्रं यज्ज्ञात्वा मुक्तिभाग्भवेत् । यत्र स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । कर्मश्रेयसि मूढानां श्रेय एवं भवेदिह । इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ॥ भागवतं तत्र यज्ज्ञात्वा सर्वज्ञो भवति द्विजः । तेनोक्तं सात्वतं तन्त्रं यज्ज्ञात्वा मुक्तिभाग्भवेत् । यत्र स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा । तेषामारोग्यमायुश्च श्रेयो वेदः करिष्यति । इति मत्वा महाभागैः कृपया मुनिसत्तमैः । पुराणसंहिता प्रोक्ता नारदाद्यैर्महात्मभिः । स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां

preferred. Aparārka (p. 9) quotes[1701] a smṛti text, 'that is highest dharma which is understood from the Veda, that is to be known as inferior dharma that is declared in the Purāṇas and the like'. Aparārka (p. 15) further tells us that[1702] according to the Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa the purāṇas are of authority in declaring dharma that is *vyāmiśra* (i. e. mixed up and not purely Vedic). Medieval writers were often divided as to the authoritativeness of purāṇas. Mitramiśra (in his commentary[1703] on Yāj. II. 21) asserts that dharmaśāstra (viz. smṛti) is not more authoritative than purāṇa and that in case of conflict between a smṛti text and a purāṇa text recourse must be had to reasoning as in the case of conflict between two smṛtis. On the other hand, the V. Mayūkha,[1704] after quoting Manu IX. 126 and Devala about the first born among twins being regarded as the oldest and after referring to a half verse from the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (rather from the commentary of Śrīdhara thereon) which holds that among twins the one born later is to be deemed as the elder, remarks that the Purāṇa passage is to be set aside in favour of the smṛti passages and that in the purāṇas usages opposed to the smṛtis are very frequently met with. It further says that this view is preferable to that of some others according to whom in this matter the custom of the country should be followed. The Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 251) also says the same. The respect for the purāṇas carried away late medieval writers so far that relying on some prophetic passages in the purāṇas about the disappearance of four varnas in the Kali age and the subsistence of only brāhmaṇas and sūdras therein, they denied the existence of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in the Kali age, in spite of the fact that all smṛtis (like Manu, Yāj, Parāśara) and many commentaries (including the Mitākṣarā) hold that the four varnas exist in the Kali age

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1701. अतः स परमो धर्मो यो वेदादधिगम्यते । अवरः स तु विज्ञेयो य पुराणादिषु स्मृतः ॥ व्यास q by अपरार्क p. 9, परिभाषाप्रकाश p 29, कृत्यर. p 39.

1702. एव प्रतिष्ठायामपि पुराणानुक्तेवेतिकर्तव्यता ग्राह्या नान्या । तेषामेव व्यामिश्रधर्मप्रमाणत्वेन भविष्यत्पुराणे परिज्ञातत्वात् । अपरार्क p. 15.

1703. तेन युद्धगाद्धर्मशास्त्रं स्मृत्यात्मकं न बलवत् । किं तु स्मृत्योरिव स्मृतिपुराणयो. परस्परविरोधे न्यायाद्बलाबलम्। मित्रमिश्र on या II 21, यत्र स्मृतिपुराणयोर्विरोधस्तत्र विकल्प· । संस्कारसार folio 14 a (part of कृसिंहप्रसाद).

1704 यत्तु द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ सूतिर्वशविपर्ययात्—इत्यादिना भागवते पश्चाज्जातस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यमुक्तं तदप्यनेन बाध्यते । पुराणेषु स्मृतिविरुद्धाचाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात् । देशाचारतो व्यवस्था ज्ञेयेति केचित् । युक्त तु पूर्वोक्तमेव । व्य मयूख pp 97-98. Vide राजनीतिप्र. pp. 37-39 for a similar view.

Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 380–382 about the existence of ksatriyas in the Kali age.

The case of conflict between smrti and customs has now to be considered. The general rule deduced from Vas. I. 5, Yāj. I. 7 and supported by the Mit. (on Yāj I. 7 and II. 117), the Sm. C. (II. p. 266), Kullūka (on Manu. II 10) and several others is that smtri is of superior authority to the usages of the śistas. But from early times there have been dissenting voices. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 250 states that that purport of the smrtis is to be followed which is in accordance with the settled practice of the śistas resident in Āryāvarta[1705]. On Manu IV. 176 Medhātithi points out that *niyoga* is permitted by such smṛtis[1706] as Gaut. 18. 4–14, Yāj. I. 68–69, Vas 17. 56–65, but being condemned by the people it is not practised. Therefore the principle that may be deduced from these is that the prescriptions of smrtis (and even of śruti) need not be observed and should not be observed when they are vehemently condemned by the people. The chapter on Kalivarjya will make this clear. Commentators like Medhātithi (on Manu II. 10) went so far as to say that Dharmaśāstra is that which prescribes what is to be done for attaining dharma, that is smrti from which dharma which one performs as a duty is understood and therefore śistācāra[1707] also is smrti. The smrtis themselves embodied the practices of the people current in their days, as Manu I. 107 declares, 'in this work dharma has been fully stated as well as the good and evil qualities of (human) actions and the ancient customs and usages of the four varnas.'[1708] Manu adds (I. 108), 'ācāra (customs and usages) are transcendental law, and so are the practices declared in the Veda and the smrti; therefore a twice-born person desirous of his own welfare should always

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1705. लोकश्च शब्दार्थाधिगमहेतुरिति नातीव क्लेशनीयम् । यथैवार्यावर्तनिवासिशिष्ट व्यवहारस्थितिस्तथैव स्मृत्यर्थोऽनुसर्तव्यो न तद्विपर्ययेण । विश्वरूप on याज्ञ. III. 250.

1706. इदं तु युक्ततरमुदाहरणम् । नियोगधर्मः स्मृत्या विहितो लोकसङ्कुष्टत्वान्न क्रियते । मेधा. on मनु IV. 176.

1707. इह सदाचारो न श्रुतिर्न स्मृतिर्निबन्धाभावात् । निबन्धाक्षरा हि स्मृतय प्रसिद्धाः । अतस्तस्य स्मृतित्वमुपपादयति । यत्कार्यं धर्मप्राप्त्यर्थं तद्धर्मशास्त्रम् । यत्र धर्म शिष्यते कर्तव्यतया प्रतीयते सा स्मृतिः । निबन्धानिबन्धावप्रयोजकौ शिष्टसमाचारादपि धर्मस्य कर्तव्यतावगतिः । सोऽपि स्मृतिरेव । मेधा on मनु II. 10

1708. अस्मिन्धर्मोऽखिलेनोक्तो गुणदोषौ च कर्मणाम् । चतुर्णामपि वर्णानामाचारश्चैव शाश्वतः ॥ मनु I 107, on which मेधा. says 'शाश्वतो वृद्धपरम्परया नेदानीन्तनैः प्रवर्तितः'.

make efforts to follow it'.[1709] This has been the basic text in modern decisions that recognize the binding nature of customs. It is therefore necessary to understand the exact meaning of this verse. Two constructions are possible; (1) that the word ācāra is qualified by the words 'śrutyukta' and 'smārta' and that the first half declares that usages declared in the Veda or smṛti are transcendental law (this is the meaning given by most commentators of Manu); (2) that ācāra by itself and other rules of conduct declared in the śruti or smṛti are transcendental (i. e. here in the first half of the verse there is a reference to three kinds of ācāras, as Govindarāja and Nandana explain). If we look to the preceding verse and the following verses (that eulogise ācāra) the 2nd construction looks more natural and has been accepted by the decided cases when[1710] they lay down that 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' (Sir William Jones' translation of Manu I. 108) and that "under the Hindu system of law clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law". The Anuśāsana (141. 65) and Śānti 354. 6 expressly state that dharma is threefold viz. that declared in the Veda, that declared in the smṛtis and the third is what is practised by śiṣṭas. Sumantu[1711] emphatically declares that family usage should be preferred to the prescriptions of śāstra. The Kūrmapurāna[1712] (Uttarārdha 15. 19) appears to support the 2nd interpretation when it says, 'one should observe that ācāra which is declared by the śruti and smṛti and which is rightly followed by the good'. The exact import of the word ācāra (or sadācāra) has been shifting from age to age and among commentators. In the earliest days, as shown by the Tai. Up., Gaut. (28. 48, 51), Baud Dh. S. I. 1. 4–9, Manu XII. 108–109,

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1709 आचारः परमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च । तस्मादस्मिन् सदा युक्तो नित्यं स्यादात्मवान् द्विजः ॥ मनु I. 108, 'य श्रुत्युक्त आचार. पुरुषसाधारणमाधान्यख्यापनार्थं च धर्मार्थम्. यश्च स्मार्त स परमः प्रकृष्टो धर्म परमो ज्योतिष्टोमादिभ्यः श्रौतस्मार्तधर्मेभ्यः' गोविन्दराज, 'श्रुत्युक्तोऽग्निहोत्रहोमादिः स्मार्तोऽष्टकादिः । अस्मिन् त्रये' नन्दन; compare अनुशासन 141. 65 वेदोक्त परमो धर्म स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोपर· । शिष्टाचीर्ण· पर· मोक्षस्त्रयो धर्मा· सनातना· ॥ and शान्ति 259 3 सदाचारः स्मृतिर्वेदस्त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ।

1710 Vide *Collector of Madura* v *Mootoo Ramlinga* 12 Moo I. A. 397 at p. 436, *Bhyah Ram Singh* v. *Bhyah Ugur Singh* 13 Moo. I. A. 373 at p. 390.

1711. तस्मिन् कुलक्रमागतमाचारं स्वाचरेद् बुध । स गरीयान् महाबाहो सर्वशास्त्रो-दितादपि । सुमन्तु q by स्मृतिमु (वर्णाश्रम) p. 7.

1712. श्रुतिस्मृत्युदित. सम्यक् साधुभिर्यश्च सेवित । समाचारं निषेवेत नेहेतान्यत्र कादिचित् ॥ (कूर्म, उत्तरार्ध 15. 19).

Vas. I. 6, the ācāra to be followed was that observed or declared by learned brāhmaṇas who were highly moral and selfless (the śiṣṭas) Medhātithi on Manu II. 6 states that binding ācāra is that of śiṣṭas learned in the Vedas Gradually every usage that had no visible secular purpose came to be looked upon as binding and lastly the usages of śūdras, of *pratiloma* castes and even of heterodox sects became, as will be shown in the sequel, enforceable by the king. As observed in 39 Mad. 298, 301 the commentaries indicate an attempt to reconcile the text law with the actual usages of the people.

The requisites of valid customs, according to the smṛtis and commentaries and digests, are similar to those laid down by the writers on Pūrvamīmāṃsā *i. e.* they must be ancient, must not be opposed to śruti and smṛti, must be such that they are regarded by respectable people as obligatory on them and such as are observed with that consciousness by the śiṣṭas, they must be strictly construed and cannot be availed of by others not within their purview and must not be immoral or severely condemned by popular sentiment Customs once in vogue may be abandoned by the people as the chapter on Kalivarjya will show.

From Gaut., Manu, Br., Kāt and other writers quoted above it follows that the customs and usages of which account has to be taken are those of districts (deśa or janapada), towns and villages, castes, families, guilds or corporations or groups (gaṇa, śreṇi, saṅgha, naigama, varga). A few words on each of these and on usages of *gotras* and *śākhās* will be said later on and a few illustrations of each will be given. But first of all certain preliminary observations have to be made about customs in general. The medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra make it clear that customs that depart from the generally received smṛti prescriptions must be strictly construed and that they cannot be extended on the ground of analogy to other matters outside the specific acknowledged customs For example, both the Sm C (I. 71) and the Smṛtimuktāphala[1713] (on Varṇāśrama p 31) say that, though one's maternal uncle's daughter can be married (by custom) yet one's mother's sister or mother's sister's daughter

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1713 अतो ब्राह्मादिविवाहेषु निवृत्तसपिण्डभावाया मातृस्वसपिण्डत्वान्मातुलसुता परिणेया। एवं पैतृष्वस्रेय्यपि। न च तथाविधा मातृष्वसा तद्दुहिता च किमिति न परिणेयेति वाच्यम्। शास्त्राविरोधेपि लोकविरुद्धत्वाद्धर्म्यमपि लोकविद्विष्टं तन्नाद्रुहेयम्। तदुक्तं मद्वना 'अस्वर्ग्यः ... चरेच्च तु इति। स्मृतिषु (वर्णाश्रम p 131). Vide H. Dh. vol II. p. 467 *n.* 1096 for the passage of the Sm. C. almost in the same words

cannot be married, because popular sentiment is opposed to the latter kind of marriages and popular sentiment has to be respected as Manu declares (in IV. 176). Similarly the Saṁskāra-kaustubha[1714] and the Dharmasindhu provide that where there is a local or family usage for narrowing down the limits of sapinda relationship in marriage, only those who belong to that locality or family can avail themselves of such narrowing down, but if a person in a different locality or belonging to a different family were to follow the practice of narrowing down the sapiṇḍa relationship, he would incur blame. Owing to the vastness of Bharatavarsa it was recognised that what was sadācāra in one country would not be so in another, as is noted by the Par. M. (I. 2. p. 65) in relation to marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter.[1715]

A few words may now be said about customs of countries. That usages about details of ritual varied a great deal even in the Vedic times is quite clear. The Śat Br. (I. 1. 4 13) notes that in former times it was the wife of the sacrificer that rose at the Haviskrt call, but that in its own day the wife or a priest (the Āgnidhra) rises in answer to the call. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1027 and n. 2311 on the Haviskrt call. For similar differences in practices vide the same Brāhmana XII. 3. 5. 1 and XII. 6 1. 41. The Ait. Br. frequently refers to one view and refutes it by saying that one should not do so (*tat tathā na kuryāt*) or one should discard it (*tat tat nādṛiyam*) e. g. vide chap. 12 7, 17. 1, 18. 8, 28 1, 29. 5. Vide also Tai. Br. I. 1. 8, I. 3. 1, III. 8 8 for similar words. That different districts had different customs about marriages and other matters even before the times of the grhyasūtras and dharmasūtras has been

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1714 Vide H of Dh vol. II p 465 *n.* 1093d for the quotation from the Dharmasindhu. The सं. कौ p 613 remarks 'यस्तु देशाद्युल्लेखेन कुलमार्गेण चोद्वहेत्। नित्यं स व्यवहार्यः स्याद्वेदाच्चैतन्मतीयते ॥ इति चतुर्विंशतिमताच्च। तृतीयां मातृतः कन्यां तृतीयां पितृतस्तथा। विवाहयेन्मनु प्राह पाराशर्योऽङ्गिरा यमः॥ इति चन्द्रिका-पारिजातोदाहृतषट्त्रिंशन्मताच्च'। and adds (p 620) अतः सिद्धमेतत्। कलावपि येषां कुले देशेऽनुकल्पत्वेन सापिण्ड्यसङ्कोचः परम्परया समागतः तेषां तादृशसङ्कोचेन न दोषः अस्ति च भार्यात्वोत्पत्तिः। अन्येषां तै. सह व्यवहारे नैव दोषः। स्वयं तु कुलदेशाविरुद्धसापिण्ड्यसंकोचेन विवाहे भवत्येव दोषः। The two verses यस्तु देशा० and तृतीयां are quoted by the वैजयन्ती on विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 24. 10.

1715 यद्यपि मातुलसुतापरिणयनमुदीच्यशिष्टगर्हितं तथापि दाक्षिणात्यशिष्टैराचरितत्वेन नाविगीतोयमुदीच्यानामाचारः। न च दाक्षिणात्यानां रागमूलत्वं शङ्कनीयं विधिनिषेध-परीक्षकैरेव तद्विवाहकरणात्। मातृष्वसृसुतावियादस्तु अविगीतेन शिष्टाचारेण गर्हितः। परा मा I. part 2 p 65.

noted above (pp. 856–857) Baudhāyana made a distinction about the customs of the northern and southern people (countries). That customs of the northern and southern countries differed is emphasized by many commentators and writers of digests. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. I 256 refers to the differing views of dākṣinātyas and udīcyas on Ekoddiṣṭa-śrāddha. Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭa in the introductory verses of the Dvaitanirṇaya (or Dharma-dvaita-) expressly states that he will furnish solutions of knotty points in Dharmaśāstra after abiding by the views of southern writers.[1716] The Nirnayasindhu in its section *on* sāpiṇḍya speaks of Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati and Śuddhiviveka as Gaudas and Maithilas, and points out that Śūlapāṇi in the Sambandha-viveka and the Sambandhatattva (a Gauḍa work) allow marriage with a girl separated by three gotras from the bride-groom, while the southern writers (dākṣinātyas) do not accept the view. But in those days there were no rigid territorial boundaries for certain practices or doctrines. For example, Vijñāneśvara, Madana-ratna, Pārijāta, Vācaspati and Śūlapāṇi accepted the view that sāpiṇḍya arises from community of the particles of the body, while Aparārka, Smṛticandrikā and Mādhava (though they were southern writers like Vijñāneśvara) held that sāpiṇḍya was based on the offering of piṇḍa in śrāddhas. The fashion of dividing Hindu works into schools and assigning them definite territorial limits started with Colebrooke and has been perpetuated by decisions of the Privy Council and of the Indian High courts Vide *Collector of Madura v. Mootoo* 12 Mad. I.A. 397 at p 432 (for reference to Colebrooke), p 435 (as to how schools arose), pp. 436–437 (as to different schools) Strange results have flowed from this. The Vyavahāra-mayūkha, written by Nīlakaṇṭha, whose family belonged to Paithan in Mahārāstra and migrated to Benares and who himself wrote under the patronage of a Bundella chief, came to be regarded as a work of the highest authority in Gujerat and North Konkan (even superseding the Mitāksarā), while in Mahārāstra proper its authority is subordinate to that of the Mitāksarā. The Mit (on Yāj. II. 119) avers that in the section on the partition of heritage the texts generally repeat what is

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1716. मीमांसाद्वैतसाम्राज्यनीतिज्ञो भट्टशङ्करः । .. गुरोश्च त्रिस्थलीसेतुकर्तुर्ज्ञात्वा मतानि तु । दाक्षिणात्यमते स्थित्वा धर्मद्वैतेषु निर्णयम् । तनुते सोऽविगाह्यैव नावनान्य कथंचन ॥ धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय *Intro.* verses 5–8.

already current among the people[1717] and that if Yāj. II. 118–119 were interpreted to mean that the words 'what is acquired at the cost of paternal estate by a person himself' stand by themselves and do not qualify the other clauses, then what is acquired through friendship even at the cost of the paternal estate would not be liable to partition, which would be opposed to the practice among people. The Vyavahāra-mayūkha also[1718] says on Manu IX. 210 (about reunion) that the law and administration of justice are generally based as is the case with grammar on people's usages. The Vīramitrodaya also states that all writers of digests are agreed that smrtis on Vyavāhara generally re-iterate recognized popular usages.

Customs of countries and families have been specially recognized from very ancient times in the sphere of marriage. The Āsv. gr. (I. 7. 1–2) has been already cited above (p. 856). The commentators on Āśv. gr., Haradatta and Nārāyana, both mention that in certain countries sexual intercourse is commenced immediately after marriage, that this practice is opposed to the rule in Āśv. gr. I 1. 10 that the married couple should be celibate after marriage for at least three nights (if not for a longer period) and that one should follow the rule laid down in the grhyaśūtra and not the usage of the country. The Āp. gr. (II. 15) remarks,[1719] 'people should understand from women (and others) what procedure is (to be followed according to the custom of the country)' and the commentator Sudarsanācārya notes that certain rites like the worship of planets, *aṅkurāropana* and the tying of *pratisara* (a string or ribbon tied round the wrist) are usual and are performed with Vedic Mantras The Kāthakagrhya (25. 7) allows the usages of countries and families to be observed in marriage and the

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1717 नह्यत्र शास्त्रस्य प्रतिषेधः किन्तु सिद्धस्यानुवादोऽयम् । लोकसिद्धस्यैवानुवादकान्येव प्रायेणास्मिन्प्रकरणे वचनानि । मिता on या II 119. Vide note 1091 above about partition of what is obtained through friendship. प्रायेण व्यवहारस्मृतीनां लोकसिद्धार्थानुवादकत्वमिति सकलनिबन्धकृद्भिरभिधानात् । व्य. म. p 420

1718 तेनाचारमूलकत्वेन्य वचस सम्भवति तद्विरुद्धश्रुतिकल्पनमन्याय्यम् । व्यवहारशास्त्रस्य व्याकरणवत्प्रायेणाचारमूलकत्वाच्चेति तु पक्षे । व्य मयूख p. 146.

1719. आवृतश्चा स्त्रीभ्य. प्रतीयेरन् । आप. गृ. II 15 , मन्त्ररहिता. क्रिया. आवृत उच्यन्ते । हरदत्त; आ स्त्रीभ्य सर्ववर्णेभ्य. सकाशात् अवगम्य प्रतीयेरन् कुर्वीरन् विवोढार. । तत्र समन्त्रका ग्रहपूजाङ्कुरारोपणप्रतिसरबन्धाद्या आचारसिद्धा. । अमन्त्रका नागबलियक्षबलीन्द्राणीपूजादय. । ताश्च यथाजनपदं यथावर्णं यथाकुलं यथास्त्रीयुग्मं व्यवस्थिता एव । न तु सर्वा. सर्वत्र समुच्चिनाः । तात्पर्यदर्शन.

commentators mention some usages, viz. Devapāla refers to stating the purpose of the visit, announcing the name of the maiden, worship of family deity, striking with flowers and creepers. The com. Brāhmaṇabala states that in Kashmir at the time of marriage the mother-in-law or some other woman whose husband is alive ties an auspicious wreath on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom, that the mother-in-law places flowers on the feet, knees, shoulders and head of the bridegroom and on the same seven places of the bride's body flowers are placed but in the reverse order (i. e. first on the left limb and then on the right).

Haradatta on Gaut. XI. 20 (cited above in n 1662) mentions the following usages: in the Cola country while the sun is in the zodiacal sign of Aries maidens draw with powders of various colours on the ground an orb of the sun together with attendants and offer worship in the morning and evening; on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrsa maidens putting on ornaments walk about in the village and offer to a temple idol whatever they get in their wanderings; when the sun is in the sign of the Crab, maidens worship the goddess Umā while the moon is in the constellation of the Pūrvā Phalgunīs and offer to the gods *mudga* beans that have put forth sprouts and salt; when the sun is in the sign of Pisces, house-holders worship the Goddess of wealth while the moon is in the constellation of Uttarā Phalgunī. Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 7 notes that in certain countries the special portions of the eldest son in paternal wealth are gold, dark-coloured cattle and black-coloured produce of the soil (i. e. black grain). Vide Br. and Tantravārtika quoted above (as to customs of certain countries).

Several such illustrations may be furnished from other writers, but considerations of space make it necessary to omit reference to them.

The Pār. gr. S. I. 8 states[1720] that the usages of villages may be followed, since a text says 'one should enter a village (i. e. follow the opinion of village elders) in case of marriage and funeral rites' and since the Veda says that 'the village is the authority in these two.'

1720. ग्रामधर्मान् च कुर्युर्विवाहश्मशानयोर्ग्रामं प्रविशतादिति वचनात्तस्मात्तयोर्ग्रामः प्रमाणमिति श्रुतेः । पार. गृ. सू. I. 8

Numerous caste customs have been recognized from ancient times to these days. Gaut. XI. 20, Vas I. 17, Manu I. 118, VIII. 41 and 46, Kaut. III. 7, Śukra IV. 5. 47 emphasize the validity of caste customs and call upon the king to enforce them. Yāj. I. 361 advises the king to punish those who swerve from the usages of their family, caste, guild, or group. Kātyāyana (40) enjoins[1721] that the king should not disregard the fixed usages even of *pratiloma* castes and of the inhabitants of inaccessible places (mountain forts or habitations), even if they be opposed (to the rules of smṛtis). In the Paribhāṣāprakāśa Mitramiśra holds[1722] that the usages of good śūdras free from moral defects are binding on their sons and others even though they do not know the Veda.

Compared to Western Christian countries very great religious tolerance prevailed in ancient India Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 388 (n. 928 a), 723–724 for some remarks on this. Aśoka in his Pillar Edict VII (E I. vol. II. p. 272) says that he looked after sanghas, brāhmaṇas, Ājīvakas and all other sects (pāsaṇḍa). The Bhagavadgītā (IX. 23–25) proclaims that the devotees that worship other gods do worship Krsna himself though in an irregular way and that those who offer worship to the Manes or to the elements reach the goals they desire. The Mānasollāsa enjoins[1723] that one should give up condemnation of or hatred towards other gods, that one should show reverence on seeing an image or a temple and should not pass it over (in contempt). People of different countries no doubt twitted each other on the customs and usages peculiar to each; but it rarely went beyond the bandying of words. For example, even such a

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1721 प्रतिलोमप्रसूतेषु तथा दुर्गनिवासिषु । विरुद्धं नियतं प्राहुस्त धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥ कात्या q. by व्य प्र. p. 89. The व्य, नि p. 16 reads प्रातिलोम्ये प्रसूतानां . निवासिनाम् । वर्णानां नियतं धर्मं न्यायोपेत न चालयेत् ॥. Acc to the Vyavahāra-Kalpataru, जुह्. read the verse as 'प्रतिलोमप्रसूतानां ... निवासिनाम्। शास्त्रवद् यत्नतो रक्षया सन्दिग्धौ साधनं तु सा' (quoted in 'Rājadharma' p. 155 by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyyangar).

1722. अथवा आचारश्चैव साधूनामिति,च्छेदः । एवं चावेदविदामपि क्षीणदोषपुरुषाणामाचारः प्रमाणम्। तथा च सच्छूद्राद्याचारस्तत्पुत्रादीन्प्रति भवति प्रमाणम् । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 9.

1723. अन्येषामपि देवानां निन्दां द्वेषं च वर्जयेत् । देवं देवकुलं दृष्ट्वा नमस्कुर्याच्च लङ्घयेत् ॥ मानसोल्लास, verse 105 p. 11.

philosophical work as the Jīvanmuktiviveka remarks[1724] that brāhmanas of the south condemn even the learned brāhmanas of the north as flesheaters and brāhmanas of the north condemn southern brāhmanas because they marry their maternal uncle's daughters and because they carry earthen vessels in fairs or on pilgrimages. It was on account of the general attitude of religious tolerance that the smrtis and digests prescribe that even the usages of heretical sects should be enforced by the king. Yāj. II. 192 prescribes[1725] that the king should guard against breach of the distinctive usages and conventions of guilds (of artisans), of traders, of heretical sects and bands (of soldiers). Nārada (samayasyānapākarma 1-3) states[1726] that the king should uphold the conventions of heretical sects, of traders, guilds and other groups and that whatever traditional usages, activities, mode of attendance and means of maintenance were peculiar to them should be permitted to them by the king without introducing any change. Among the matters of which the king was to take cognizance *suo motu* and included under prakīrnaka by Nārada (verse 2) was the transgression of the usages of heretics, traders, guilds and ganas. Brhaspati provides[1727] that in disputes among husbandmen, artisans, wrestlers, moneylenders, guilds, dancers, heretics, thieves, a decision is to be given in accordance with their conventions. It is no doubt true that certain smrtis present a sterner treatment of heretics and

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1724. तथाहि देशविशेषेण परस्परं निन्दावाहुल्यमुपलभ्यते। दाक्षिणात्यैर्विप्रैरौत्तराहा वेदविदो विप्रा मासभक्षिणो निन्द्यन्ते। औत्तराहैश्च मातुलसुतोद्वाहिनो यात्रासु मृन्भाण्डवाहिनो दाक्षिणात्या निन्द्यन्ते। बहुवृचा आश्वलायनशाखा काण्वशाखायाः प्रशस्ता मन्यन्ते वाजसनेयिनस्तु वैपरीत्येन। जीवन्मुक्तिविवेक (वासनाक्षयप्रकरण) p. 54.

1725. श्रेणिनैगमपाखण्डिगणानामप्यय विधिः। भेदं चैषां नृपो रक्षेत्पूर्ववृत्तिं च पालयेत्॥ या. II 192, नैगमा. ये वेदस्यासप्रणीतत्वेन प्रामाण्यमिच्छन्ति पाशुपतादय. । पाखण्डिनो ये वेदस्य प्रामाण्यमेव नेच्छन्ति नग्ना सौगतादयः । . एतेषां च श्रेण्यादीना भेदं धर्मव्यवस्थानं नृपो रक्षेत्। मिता०, the dīpakalikā explains 'नैगमौ वणिगादिनानापौरसमूहः । पाषण्ड· प्रव्रज्यावसितः', kātyāyana defines नैगम as 'नानापौरसमूहस्तु नैगमाख्य प्रकीर्तितः' and the पद्धतिशन्मत defines पाषण्ड as 'प्रामाण्यमेव ये वेदे न वदन्ति कुबुद्धयः। तेषा बौद्धार्हतादीना पाषण्डाख्या प्रकीर्त्यते। प्रव्रज्यावसिता ये तु पाषण्डाख्याः प्रकीर्तिता.। (q. by व्य. नि. p. 13). vide अपरार्क pp 171-72 for quotations from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and विष्णुपुराण about पाषण्डिन्.

1726. पाषण्डनैगमादीना स्थिति समय उच्यते। पाषण्डिनैगमश्रेणिपूगव्रातगणादिषु। संरक्षेत्समय राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा । यो धर्म· कर्म यच्चैषामुपस्थानविधिश्च य । यच्चैषां वृत्तिपादानमनुमन्येत तत्तथा॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 1-3) q by वि र p. 180.

1727. कीनाशाः कारुका मल्लाः कुसीदश्रेणिनर्तका । लिङ्गिनस्तस्कराश्चैव स्वेन धर्मेण निर्णयः॥ बृह q. by व्यव मा. p 281, व्य. नि p 11, व्य. म. p. 23 (which reads कारकाः शिल्पिकुसीदि°).

the like Gaut. IX. 17 provides[1728] that a snātaka should not talk with *mlecchas*, impure persons and sinners. Manu IX. 225 prescribes that the king should banish from his capital gamblers, dancers, heretics, vintners &c. Manu IV. 30 holds that one should not honour as guests even by words persons who are heretics, rogues &c. and recommends that one should not reside in a country which is overrun by groups of heretics. Yāj II. 70 and Nār. (rnādāna 180) say that a heretic (pākhandi) or an atheist is not a proper witness These passages may be explained in various ways. Probably the prescriptions of Gautama and Manu refer to an age when the schism caused by Buddhists and Jainas was not very old and feelings between the followers of the Veda and the heretics ran high. But most of these prescriptions are addressed to the followers of the Veda as individuals. They do not negative the requirements laid down by Nār., Br. and others that the king (though of a different persuasion) was to enforce among heretics their own usages. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that at least from the 4th century A. D. onwards the policy of the State in India was 'to *protect* all religions, but to interfere with none'.[1729]

Customs of families will be briefly referred to later on in connection with modern law cases Among family customs the customs about the year when *caula* was performed and the locks of hair kept on the head in the caula ceremony are frequently mentioned in the grhya sūtras and other works Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 260 and 265

The digests contain numerous examples about the customs and usages that were adhered to among the followers of the several Vedic branches (śākhās) and the grhya sūtras in performing several religious rites A few examples may be set out here by way of illustration. According to Yāj. I. 242 the offering of *piṇḍas* to the *pitrs* in a śrāddha takes place after the brāhmanas invited at the srāddha are fed, while Manu III. 261 shows that they were offered also before the brāhmanas were fed. The Sm C (on srāddha p. 471) says that one should follow the practice of one's own Vedic sākhā Among the five daily sacrifices (*mahāyajñas*) one is pitryajña, which acc. to some (such as Kātyāyana) means tarpana, while according to Manu

1728 न म्लेच्छाश्चोपधार्मिकैः सह सम्भाषेत। गौ IX 17.

1729 Vide *Vasudev v Vamnaji* 5 Bom 80 at p 82 where Melvill J states that this is the policy of the British Courts in modern India

III. 81 it means śrāddha and the Sm. C. (I. p 208) provides that one should follow one's śākhā. The same remark applies to the number of handfuls of water offered in *tarpana* (Sm. C. I. p. 191 and Madanapārijāta p. 286). About the month of pregnancy in which the ceremony of simantonnayana was to be performed each person was to follow his own grhyasūtra (Sm. C I. p. 17, and Par. M. I. part 2 p. 22). The same holds good as to the day of nāmakarana (Sm. C. I. p. 21, Par. M. I. part 2 p 25). It is not necessary to multiply examples. According to Gaut. XI. 21–22 and others already cited above, the king has to enforce the usages of guilds (śreni) and corporations. Several such usages have been cited above (pp. 487-488)

CHAPTER XXXIV

KALIVARJYA

(ACTIONS FORBIDDEN IN THE KALI AGE.)

It has been stated above (pp. 865–866) that one of the several ways in which the conflict between several smrti texts was got over was to hold some of them as legislating for a bygone age (yugāntara). For example, when Hārīta allowed upanayana to women, both the Sm. C. (I. 24) and Par. M. (I. 2. p. 83) hold that the text refers to another *kalpa* (aeon). In H of Dh. vol. II. (on pp. 151, 162, 424, 451, 603, 612, 620, 750, 790, 796, 928, 929, 934, 953, 1005 n, 1201 n) reference has been made to several matters forbidden in the Kali age. It is remarkable in this connection to note that, though the Parāśarasmrti (in I. 24) claims *par excellence* to lay down the dharmas for the Kali age, several important provisions contained in it, viz. the remarriage of a married woman[1730] (Parāsara IV. 30), the variation in the period of impurity due to births and deaths depending on the learning and character of a brāhmana (Parāśara III. 5–6), permission for a brāhmana to partake of the food of five classes among śūdras (XI. 21) are included among Kalivarjyas by the Ādityapurāna (as quoted by writers of the 12th and later centuries). It is necessary, therefore, to investigate into the origin and development of the Yuga theory and of the topic of Kalivarjya.

From the Mahābhārata (Śānti 59), Manu (I. 81), Nārada (I. 1–2), Brhaspati and the Purānas it is clear that they all believed in the existence of an ideally perfect community in the dim past followed by gradual degeneracy and decline in morals, health and length of life. But they also believed that a cycle of decline would be followed in the far distant future

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1730 Some of the printed editions of Parāśara (IV. 30) read नष्टे मृते ... पतितस्यो न विद्यते But the Par. M. on it (vol. II part 1 p 53) makes it clear that this reading was fabricated by orthodox people and that Mādhava at least read it as पतितस्यो विधीयते, as he remarks 'अयं च पुनर्वाहो युगान्तरविषय.'.

by another of moral perfection. The only pity is that all works that are extant think that they are in the midst of a very sinful age and there is not a single work which thinks that the era of perfection may dawn in the very near future

The germ of the theory of progressive deterioration in morals is found even in the Ṛgveda. In the famous dialogue of Yama and Yamī the former exclaims in one place[1731] (Ṛg X. 10. 10) 'those later ages are yet to come when sisters would do what is not sister-like'. The word 'yuga' occurs at least 33 times in the Ṛg., but the exact meaning is somewhat doubtful. In a few places it means 'yoke' (Ṛg X 60 8, X 101. 3 and 4). In several places it appears to stand for a very brief period of time (e. g. Ṛg. III. 26. 3) Generally it means 'a generation' (as in Ṛg. I 92 11, I. 103. 4, I 124 2, II 2 2, III. 33 8, V. 52 4) In Ṛg. I 158. 6, 'dīrghatamā māmateyo jujurvān daśame yuge' *yuga* probably means 'a period of four or five years', while in Ṛg. VI 15. 8, VI. 8 5, X 72 2, X. 94 12, X 97. 1 it should mean[1732] 'a long period of time'. In the Atharvaveda VIII. 2. 21 yuga appears to mean a period of several thousand years, two yugas being indicated as longer than 10000 years (*śatam teSyutam hāyanān dve yuge trīṇi catvāri kṛnmaḥ*). Here there is a clear reference to four yugas and to the fact that yuga meant a very long period of time. Whatever be the meaning of the word in each passage, the Ṛgveda does not contain the names of all the four well-known yugas viz. Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. The word 'Kṛta' when used in the Ṛgveda appears to mean 'the best throw of dice or of the seeds of vibhītaka in gambling' (X. 34. 6, X. 43 5). In the Atharvaveda VII. 52. 2, 5, 6 kṛta has the same meaning Kali is the name of the author of Ṛg. VIII. 66 and in verse 15

1731. आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामय कृणवन्नजामि। ऋ. X 10. 10. The Nirukta (IV. 20) understood this verse in the sense given above 'आगमिष्यन्ति तानि उत्तराणि युगानि यत्र जामय. करिष्यन्ति अजामिकर्माणि' Ṛg I. 113. 13 and III 33. 8 make it clear that उत्तर must mean' future'. शश्वत्पुरोषा व्युवास देव्यथो अद्येद् व्यावो मघोनी। अथो व्युच्छादुत्तरां अनुद्यूनजरामृता चरति स्वधाभि॥ ऋ I 113 13. Here the occurrence and sequence of पुरा, अद्य and उत्तरान leave no donbt about the meaning of the last word.

1732. या औषधी. पूर्वा जाता देवेभ्यस्त्रियुगं पुरा। ऋ. X 97 1. Here what is meant by त्रियुग is doubtful The निरुक्त IX 28 explains देवेभ्यस्त्रीणि युगानि पुरा, while सायण says कृतात्रियुगत्रयम्. In the शतपथ VII 2. 4 26 त्रियुगं means 'three seasons of spring, rains and autumn' (S. B. E. vol. 41 pp. 339-340).

of that hymn we read 'kalayo mā bibhītana' (O descendants of Kali! do not be afraid). In Rg. X. 39. 8 the Aśvins are said to have rejuvenated Kali who had become old. Vide also Rg. I. 112. 15 (where Kali is said to have got a wife from Aśvins). But Kali as a throw of dice does not occur in the Rgveda In the Atharvaveda VII 114 1 Kali[1733] means a throw of dice. The words *krta*, *tretā*, *dvāpara* and *āskanda* occur in the Tai S. IV. 3. 3, Vāj S. 30. 18[1734] and in the Śat. Br. XIII. 6. 2. 9-10 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 416). In later literature Kali is also called Tisya (as in Bhīsmaparva 10. 3). In the Tai Br. III. 4. 16 the word Kali is used[1735] in place of Āskanda. In all the above places Krta and the other three words denote throws in gambling, Krta being the most lucky and Kali being the most unlucky. In another passage of the Tai[1736] Br. (I. 5. 11) we read 'the four stomas (Trivrt, Pañcadaśa, Saptadaśa and Ekavimśa) are Krta and the five are Kali; therefore the *catustoma* (should be performed in the Jyotistoma)'. This shows that Krta meant a throw of four or any multiple of four and Kali a throw which when divided by four left one as remainder. The Aitareya Br. employs the words Krta[1737] and the other three in a metaphorical sense as representing progressively more desirable states of human activity, 'one lying down becomes Kali, when about to leave the bed he becomes Dvāpara, when rising he becomes Tretā, and when he moves about he

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1733. इदमुग्राय बभ्रवे नमो यो अक्षेषु तनूवशी। घृतेन कलिं शिक्षामि स नो मृडाती-दृशे॥ अथर्व VII 114 1.

1734 अक्षराजाय कितवं कृतायादिनवदर्शं त्रेतायै कल्पिनं द्वापरायाधिकल्पिनमास्क-न्दाय सभास्थाणुम्। वाज .सं 30. 18

1735 कृताय सभाविनं त्रेताया आदिनवदर्शं द्वापराय बहि·सदं कलये सभास्थाणुम्। तै ब्रा III 4. 16 For आदिनव vide अथर्व VII 114. 4 'आदिनवं मतिदीव्ने घृतेनास्मै अभिक्षर'. सायण explains 'आदिनवदर्शं मर्यादायां देवनस्य द्रष्टार परीक्षकम्'. The meanings of these technical expressions in gambling are extremely uncertain

1736 ये वै चत्वार स्तोमाः कृतं तत्। अथ पञ्च कलिं स.। तस्माच्चतुष्टोम। तै. ब्रा I 5 11.

1737 कलि. शयानो भवति सञ्जिहानस्तु द्वापर। उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं सम्पद्यते चरन्। ऐ ब्रा 33 3 The शाङ्खायनश्रौत (15 19) reads कलि शयान पुरुष· and उत्तिष्ठत्त्रेता भवति. मनु IX. 301-302 seem to be reminiscent of this verse of the ऐ. ब्रा.

becomes Kṛta'. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 6 speaks of Kali[1738] as '*abhibhū*' (the vanquisher) and suggests that Kali is a throw of five that vanquishes all others. In the Chān. Up. IV. 1. 4 it is said 'as (in a game[1739] of dice) all the lower throws are included in the Krta throw which becomes victorious, so to him (to Raikva) comes (the merit of) all the good acts that people do'. Here Śaṅkara explains that Krta is a throw of dice having four marks, while other throws that have three, two or one mark are called Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali respectively. The Mundaka Up. I. 2. 1 refers to Tretā[1740]. 'This is the truth; the sacrificial rites which the sages saw in the *mantras* (i. e. as prescribed in the hymns of the Ṛgveda and other vedas) have been performed in many ways in the Tretā'. This last word is explained by Śaṅkarācārya in two ways, first as referring to the threefold priestly duties (of hotr, adhvaryu and udgātr) which are based on the three Vedas and alternatively as referring to the Tretā age. From this resume it appears that even up to the times of the latest period of Vedic literature (i. e. Upanisads) the words Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali were used in the sense of throws of dice in gambling and that it is very doubtful whether they were used in the sense of different ages of the world. Even in the Mahābhārata Krta[1741] and Dvāpara are used also in the sense of throws of dice (vide Virāta 50. 24). In the Gopatha Brāhmana (I. 28) there is a reference to the beginning of the Dvāpara age.

Even in the Vedānga Jyotisa[1742] (of Ṛg.) the word *yuga* is used in the sense of a period of five years (pañcasamvatsaramayam

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1738. अथास्मै पञ्चाक्षान्पाणावावपति। अभिभूरस्येतास्ते पञ्च दिशः कल्पन्तामित्येव वा अयानभिभूर्यत् कलिरेव हि सर्वानयानभिभवति तस्मादाहाभिभूरसीति। शत ब्रा V. 4. 4 6. It is impossible to say definitely how the game was played. Vide S. B E. vol. 41 p. 106 for a note on the various explanations

1739 यथा कृतायविजितायाधरेयाः संयन्त्येवमेवं सर्वं तदभिसमेति यत्किं च प्रजाः साधु कुर्वन्ति। छान्दोग्य IV. I 4 and 6 शङ्कर explains यथा लोके कृताय. कृतो नामायो द्यूतसमये प्रसिद्धश्चतुरङ्कः स यदा जयति द्यूते प्रवृत्तानां तस्मै विजिताय तदधंमितरे त्रिद्व्येकाङ्का अधरेयास्रेताद्वापरकलिनामानः सयन्ति सङ्कच्छन्तेऽन्तर्भवन्ति। छान्दोग्य IV. 3. 8 suggests that each die was marked in all with ten dots (4, 3, 2, 1) 'तस्मा उ ह दद्रुस्ते वा एते पञ्चान्ये पञ्चान्ये दश सन्तस्तत्कृतम्'.

1740. तदेतत्सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यस्तानि त्रेतायां बहुधा सन्ततानि। मुण्डकोप I. 2. 1.

1741. नाक्षान् क्षिपति गाण्डीवं न कृतं द्वापरं न च। विराट 50. 24 (cr. ed. 45. 23).

1742. माघशुक्लप्रपन्नस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिनः। युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते॥ verse 5 of वेदाङ्गज्योतिष

yugādhyakṣaṁ prajāpatim). The ancient Pitāmahasiddhānta which is not now extant, stated, according to the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (XII. 1), that *yuga* means five years of the Sun and the Moon (raviśaśinoḥ pañca yugam varṣāni Pitāmahopadiṣṭāni). This sense of the word is still found in the Sabhāparva 11. 38.

The Nirukta (I. 20) distinguishes between ancient sages and those of later days in the words,[1743] 'the (ancient) sages had an intuitive perception of *dharma* and they imparted the Vedic mantras by instruction to later (sages) who had no intuitive perception of dharma'. But it does not mention or refer to any theory of four yugas. Both Gaut. I. 3–4 and Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 7–9 give expression to the view that among sages of old transgressions of dharma and violent actions are observed, but that on account of their distinguished spiritual greatness they incurred no sin, while a person of later days, being weak in spiritual merit, should not imitate them, otherwise he would come to grief. Here a distinction is drawn between very ancient sages and later sages as regards the endowment of spiritual merit, but nothing is said about the names or the theory of the four yugas. Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 4 further says[1744] that sages are not born among men of later days (*avareṣu*) on account of the transgressions of religious ordinances (prevalent in later ages). Therefore, it would not be quite wrong to assume that the theory had not been fully developed even in the times of the early dharmasūtras of Gaut. and Āp. even though both held that they were living in an age of decline and that sages coming after the authors of the *mantras* were inferior.

Here epigraphic evidence affords some help in fixing the lower limit of the period when the theory of yugas must have been developed.

In the Rock Edicts of Aśoka No. 4 and No 5 we have at Kalsi and two other places the words 'āva kapam' (yāvat kalpam) and at Girnar the words 'āva saṁvaṭa kapa' which mean 'up to the end of the kalpa' or 'up to the end of the kalpa when the clouds or fires of destruction called saṁvarta

1743. साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुस्तेऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान्सम्प्रादुः। निरुक्त I. 20. Almost the same words occur in वनपर्व 183. 67

1744. तस्माद्दृष्टयोऽवरेषु न जायन्ते नियमातिक्रमात्। आप. ध. सू. I. 2. 5.4

will arise'[1745]. Vide C. I. I. vol I. pp. 8, 10, 30–33. This indicates that the idea of a *kalpa* (a vast period of time at the end of which the universe would be dissolved) which is part of the theory of the yugas had been developed in the 3rd century B. C. The Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman[1746] (150 A. D.) refers to 'wind the velocity of which was as terrible as that at the end of the yuga'. In certain very early inscriptions of Pallava[1747] kings (of about the 3rd or 4th century A. D.) they are described as 'always ready to extricate dharma that had sunk deep owing to the evil effects of the Kali age'. In one of the Gupta Inscriptions dated in the 96th year of the Gupta era (415–16 A. D) Dhruvasarman is praised as following the path of righteous conduct which prevailed in Krtayuga,[1748] while the Chammak copperplate of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena II also speaks of Krtayuga (Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 p. 237 at p. 240) The Talgunda inscription of the early Kadamba king Kakusthavarman refers to Kaliyuga (E. I. vol. VIII p. 34) It is not necessary to adduce passages from inscriptions of a later date. From the above it may be said that the theory of yugas and kalpas had begun to take shape at least in the 4th or 3rd century B. C. and that in the first centuries of the Christian era it had been fully developed. It must have gone through several stages in the course of its development. For example, Brahmagupta (Brāhmasphuta-siddhānta XI. 10) states that the theory of yugas, Manus and kalpas set out by Āryabhata was not like that of the smṛtis.

The same conclusion is arrived at from a consideration of the classical Sanskrit literature. The theory of *yugas* and *manvantaras* as detailed in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva chapters 149, 188, Śānti chapters 69, 231–232), Manu chap. I, Visnudharma-sūtra XX. 1–21, the Purānas (such as Visnu I. 3, VI. 3, Mārkandeya 46, Brahma 229–230, Matsya 142–144) and astronomical writers from Brahmagupta is briefly as follows: Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali comprise together with the period

1745. Compare: ततः संवर्तको वह्निर्वायुना सह भारत। लोकमाविशते पूर्वमादित्यैरुपशोषितम्। वनपर्व 188. 69.

1746. युगनिधनसदृशपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना in E. I vol. VIII p. 36 at p. 43.

1747. Vide कलियुगदोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरणनित्यसनद्धस्य—which occurs as an epithet of Yuvamahārāja Visnugopavarman in I A vol V. p. 50 at p. 51 and of Simhavarman in the Pikira grant in E. I. vol. VIII p 159 at p. 162.

1748. कार्तयुगाचारसद्धर्मवर्त्मानुयायिना ... ... ध्रुवशर्मणा in Gupta Inscription No. 10 pp. 44–45.

called *sandhyā* (that precedes each yuga) and the period called *sandhyāṁśa* (that follows each yuga) 12000 years, i e. Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali extend respectively over 4000, 3000, 2000, 1000 years and sandhyā and sandhyāṁśa of these four extend over 400, 300, 200 and 100 years each (i. e the sandhyā of Krta is 400 years and the sandhyāṁśa of Krta is 400 years and so on). But these are divine years. Each divine year is equal to 360 human years. Therefore we have to multiply 12000 by 360 to arrive at the number of human years in the four yugas (i. e. the figure is 4320000). The Krtayuga with its sandhyā and sandhyāmsa comes to 1728000 human years, Tretā to 1296000, Dvāpara to 864000 and Kali to 432000 These four yugas are together called sometimes caturyuga (Manu I 71) or simply yuga also (Vanaparva 188. 27, Śānti 232. 29); 1000 of these four yugas constitute a day of Brahmā, which is called Kalpa. The night of Brahmā is of the same duration. At the end of a kalpa the universe is resolved into Brahmā (and this is called *pralaya*) and at the end of Brahmā's night the world is created again In one day of Brahmā there are 14 Manus and therefore each Manvantara is equal to about 71 caturyugas (1000 divided by 14) The life of Brahmā is 100, out of which half is gone and therefore the present is said to be the 2nd or latter half (*dvitīya parārdha*) of the life of Brahmā and at present the kalpa that is running is called Vārāha From the above it will be seen that, according to the Purānas, the universe has been created and dissolved many times and there have been numerous Manvantaras also (vide Manu I. 80) The four yugas in various ways differ in their characteristics. Krta is so called because it is an age in which everything is fulfilled by every one and nothing is left to be done [1749] The symbolic colours of the four yugas are respectively white, yellow, red and dark (Vanaparva 189. 32) In Krta, Dharma prevails in all its perfection and it stands with all its four feet (dharma being figuratively spoken of as vrsa,[1750] a bull, in Manu VIII. 16 and Vanaparva 190. 9) and it declines or deteriorates by a quarter in each of the following yugas (Manu I. 81–82 =Śānti 232. 23–24), so that in Kali only one quarter (or one foot) of dharma remains and adharma occupies three quarters. In Krta people are entirely free from diseases, secure all that

1749 कृतमेव न कर्तव्यं तस्मिन् काले युगोत्तमे। वनपर्व 149 11.

1750. कृते चतुष्पात्सकलो निर्व्याजोपाधिवर्जित । वृष प्रतिष्ठितो धर्मो मनुष्ये भरतर्षभ ॥ वनपर्व 190. 9.

they desire and the length of human life is four hundred years, all of which decline by one quarter successively in the following three yugas (Manu I. 83=Śānti 232 25). The dharmas in each of the four yugas are different; *tapas* was the highest in Kṛta, philosophic knowledge in Tretā, sacrifice in Dvāpara and charity alone in Kali (Manu I. 85-86=Parāsara I. 22-23 =Śānti 232. 27-28). Manu I. 85, Śānti 232 27 and 261. 8, Parāśara I. 22 all have the same verse stating that the dharmas prescribed for men in each yuga differ.

In Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali the dharmas (that should be observed) are respectively declared by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara (Parāśara I. 24) In Kṛta there was a single varna but at the end of Kali almost all will be śūdras (Brahma 229. 52, Matsya 144. 78) Parāśara (I. 25-28) points out other characteristics of the four yugas, which need not be detailed here. Manu IX. 301 and 302, however, indicate that the yugas are not watertight parts of Time. It is the king who can by his conduct introduce the characteristics of one yuga into another. Medhātithi on Manu IX. 301 explains that the king should not be misled into thinking that Kali is a historical part of Time and that he (the king) cannot therefore be Kali or Kṛta, but that it is the king's way of conducting himself that will produce the conditions of the several yugas among his people.

In Vanaparva 149. 11-38, Vāyu 32 and 57-58, Liṅga 39, Matsya 142-144, Garuda 223, Nāradapurāna (pūrvārdha 41) and in several other purāṇas there are descriptions of the nature of the four yugas, which are passed over here But it is important to see how the Great Epic and the Purāṇas describe the nature of Kaliyuga. Vanaparva chap. 188 and 190, the Yugapurāṇa chapter of the Gargasaṁhitā (published in the J. B O R S. vol. 14 pp. 400 ff. by K. P. Jayaswal), Harivaṁśa (Bhavisya chap. 3.5 ff), the Brahmapurāṇa 229-230, Vāyu 58 and 99. 391-428, Matsya 144. 32-47, Kūrma I. 30, Visnu VI. 1-2, Bhāgavata XII. 2, Brahmānda II. 31, Nāradīya (Pūrvārdha 41, verses 21-88), Liṅga 40, Nrsiṁha 54. 11-49 and several others present, often in identical verses, a very pessimistic, dismal and harrowing account of what will happen in the Kali age. One extract[1751] taken from the Vanaparva (188) is added at the end by way of sample, of which a summary is given below. All men will generally be liars; in

1751. Vide Appendix.

the Kali age substitutes will be invented for *yajñas*, gifts and *vratas*; brāhmanas will do actions prescribed as peculiar to śūdras and śūdras will be acquiring wealth (which is the peculiar privilege of vaiśyas) or they will maintain themselves by following the profession of arms; brāhmanas giving up the study of the Veda and the performance of sacrifices and devoid of the staff and deer skin will eat anything (i. e. will not observe rules about *bhakṣyābhakṣya*); brāhmanas will not engage in *japa* (muttering of Vedic mantras), while śūdras will be intent on *japa*; when the world will be turned topsy-turvy, it will be the first indication of coming destruction; many *mleccha* kings will rule over the earth, who will be sinful, will issue false edicts and will be engaged in fruitless wrangling; there will be Āndhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Bāhlikas (from Balkh) and valiant Ābhīras (as rulers); no brāhmana will maintain himself by pursuing his own dharma; ksatriyas and vaiśyas will indulge in prohibited or bad activities; people will be short-lived, have little strength, their valour and prowess will be insignificant, their spirits will be low and their bodies diminutive and they will speak words that have very little truth; countries will be mostly untenanted and the spaces will be occupied by beasts and snakes; people will be engaged in dry discussions about *brahma* (they will have no realisation or experience of brahma), śūdras will employ the word 'bhoh' (in addressing others[1752] of higher classes) and brāhmanas will employ the word *ārya* (in addressing peoples other than brāhmanas); swarms of insects will abound; all perfumes will not smell as fragrant as before and fluids will lose their sweet taste; women will have numerous progeny, will be of short stature, devoid of character and good conduct and engage in sexual intercourse against the order of nature; countries will suffer pangs of hunger[1753], squares where four

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1752. This would be against the rules of dharmaśūtras and smrtis about abhivādana Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp 336-339.

1753. Nilakantha notes that the verse अहशूला जनपदा. &c was variously explained before him, अह meant either 'food' or 'śulka': शूल means विक्रय, शिव means Veda, चतुष्पथ means ब्राह्मण or the square where four roads meet, केश means भग. नील० himself explains differently. According to him the explanation is. अहमन्नं तदेव शूलं दुःखद् येषा ते शुद्रप्याधिग्रस्ता, शिवा· सर्वपुरुषमार्थनीयतया कल्याणवत्यः शूलाः पण्यस्त्रियो येषु ते शिवशूला विटवाराङ्गनापूर्णा, स्त्रियो पाणिग्रहणवत्योपि केशोपलक्षितं सौभाग्यं लज्जामूलं शीलं शूलमिव दु खद त्याज्यं च यासां ता· केशशूलाः भर्तृद्वेषिण्यस्त्यक्तलज्जा· The शूद्रकमलाकर p 244 quotes the verse अहशूला and then remarks 'अस्यार्थमाह परशुराम· । 'अहमन्नं शिवो वेद शूलं विक्रय एव च । केशश्च भगमित्याहुर्वेदतत्त्वार्थदर्शिन ॥. '

roads meet will be full of *nautch* girls, and women will give up their chastity; cows will yield little milk; trees will produce few flowers and fruits and will abound in crows, brāhmanas will receive gifts from kings that are guilty of brāhmana murder and that falsely accuse others of grave sins, people in the various spaces will be dunned for alms by brāhmanas steeped in greed and ignorance, who falsely make a pretence of their being religious; householders afraid of the burden of taxation, guilty of thieving and subsisting on trade, will remain concealed under the false garb of ascetics; brāhmanas pretending to be brahmacārins will, through greed of wealth, fraudulently allow their nails and hair to grow; persons in the various stages of life, that observe false rules of conduct but are drunkards and indulge in incest, will desire mundane objects and the increase of flesh and blood, the āśramas (forest dwellings) will be full of various heretical opinions and will extol the merits of food provided by others (out of charity), Indra will not send down rain at the proper season and all seeds will not put forth proper growth; people will take delight in killing and will be impure and abundant will be the fruit of adharma; whoever will then be acting according to his dharma may be regarded as having a short time to live, since there will be no dharma whatever (in Kaliyuga); people will sell goods mostly with false weights and measures and traders will be full of many tricks; the righteous will wither away, the sinful will prosper; dharma will lose its strength and adharma will be powerful; those who follow dharma will have short lives and will be poor, while those who give up dharma will have long lives and will be prosperous, in the sporting grounds of cities people will be sinful (or adulterous) and people will enter into transactions by sinful means; people, that have saved a little, will be puffed up with the pride of the rich; people with whom wealth was deposited privately through trust will mostly be ready to deny the deposit, shamelessly saying 'it was never so deposited;' the sporting grounds of towns and temples belonging to towns will be infested by beasts and birds that prey upon human beings; girls of seven or eight years will become pregnant and males of ten or twelve years old will have sons born to them; people will be bald-headed in the 16th year and there will be quick decline in the length of the lives of men; young men whose lives will be short will act like old people and old people will have the habits of the young; women acting contrary to their duty

will deceive worthy husbands, will be of bad character and will have intercourse with slaves and even beasts; wives of heroes will resort to other men and will be guilty of adultery even while their husbands are alive.[1754]

The dates of the composition of the Purānas not being beyond controversy, it would be difficult to point to a particular period as the time when the full-fledged theory of the yugas was developed. But this much can be stated with certainty that by the 4th century A. D. at the latest the theory had been completely developed. Āryabhata[1755] (in Kālakriyāpāda 10) states that when three *pādas* of the yuga (i. e. Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara) and 3600 years more had elapsed, he was 23 years old i. e (accepting the calculations current at present) in 499 A. D. Āryabhata was 23 years old and so was born in 476 A. D In his Pañcasiddhāntikā Varāhamihira[1756] (505 to 587 A. D) summarises the data of several astronomical

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1754. It would be interesting to compare the descriptions of Kali given in the Mahābhārata and the several Purānas. Some verses are common to several of them and the ideas are almost the same throughout. The principal counts in the indictment are that there will be śūdra and Mleccha kings, that heretical sects will predominate, that the ordered duties and privileges of the several castes will be turned topsyturvy and there will be great physical and moral decline. After Vanaparva chap. 188 there is an additional description in chap 190 of what will happen in the Kali age, which appears, from the express words of Vanaparva 191. 16, to have been taken from the Vāyupurāna. So this chapter is a later interpolation The verse अट्टशूला &c. occurs again in Vanaparva 190 52 and also in Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyaparva 3. 12), Brahmapurāna 230. 11, Matsya 47 258. Two characteristic verses are: शुक्लदन्ता जिताक्षाश्च मुण्डा. कापायवासस । शूद्रा धर्मं वदिष्यन्ति शाक्यबुद्धोपजीविन. ॥ (ब्रह्मपुराण 230. 13, वायु 58 59, ब्रह्माण्ड II 31 59–60, Harivaṁśa, Bhavisyaparva 3. 15) and देवस्थानेषु चैत्येषु नागानानालयेषु च । एडूकचिह्ना पृथिवी न देवगृहभूषिता ॥ वनपर्व 190 67. The first says that śūdras with white teeth and (professiog to have) curbed their senses, with the head shaved and wearing ochre-colonred robes and maintaining themselves on false doctrines will proponnd dharma. This is a direct attack on Buddhist monks taken from the class of śūdras. The 2nd says that the earth will be covered with edifices enshrining bones (of Buddha) and not with temples of gods. The idea about girls of 5, 6 and 7 being mothers occurs in Visnnpurāna VI 1 41–42, Brahma 229. 41–42, Nāradīya Pūrvārdha 41. 64 and elsewhere.

1755 षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीता त्रयश्च युगपादाः । व्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनोतीता ॥ कालक्रियापाद 10. This does not necessarily mean that he composed this work when he was only 23.

1756. Vide J. A. S. B for 1912 pp. 275–278 for the date of Varāhamihira.

Siddhāntas of which Romaka is one, about which Brahmagupta remarks that the Romaka siddhānta is outside the pale of smṛtis because[1757] it omits all mention of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas that have been regarded by the smṛtis as useful in measuring time. Kālidāsa[1758] in Raghuvaṁśa 15. 96 speaks of dharma as having only three feet (in Tretā) when Rāma made up his mind to depart from this world. No scholar will assign to Kālidāsa a date later than the middle of the 5th century A. D. Therefore the theory of yugas must be deemed to have been perfected long before 400 A. D. K. P. Jayaswal holds that the Yugapurāna chapter of the Garga-samhitā was composed about 50 B. C. (J. B. O. R. S. vol. 14 p. 399) and he is probably right.

At present it is the practice to hold Kali 5046 (expired) as equal to 1945 A. D. or *śake* 1867 or *saṁvat* 2001-2. But it appears that there were several views about the date of the beginning of the Kaliyuga. The exact starting point on the above computation was Friday, 18th February 3102 B. C. One view was that Kaliyuga was about to begin when the great Mahābhārata war was fought out.[1759] This view is expressed in the Aihole Inscription which appears to equate the beginning of Kali with the Bhārata war and states that 3735years (expired) from the Bhārata war are equal to 556 years of the *śaka* era.[1760] Āryabhata knew this computation, since he says that he was 23 years old when three parts of the (great) yuga and 3600 had elapsed (Kāla-kriyāpāda, verse 10). Another view set forth in the Purānas is that Kaliyuga began when Krsna finished his *avatāra* and went to heaven.[1761] This would put the beginning

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1757 युगमन्वन्तरकल्पा कालपरिच्छेदका स्मृताबुक्ताः । यस्मात्र रोमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रोमकस्तस्मात् ॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I 13 q by S.B. Dikshit (2nd ed of 1931) in भारतीयज्योतिःशास्त्र p. 155. ब्रह्मगुप्त flourished from 598 A D to at least 665 A D.

1758. तस्मिन्नात्मचतुर्भागे प्राङ्नाकमधितस्थुषि । राघव शिथिल तस्थौ द्युवि धर्मस्त्रिपादिव ॥ रघुवंश 15 96.

1759 अन्तरे चैव संप्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् । समन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयो. ॥ आदि. 2. 13. प्राप्त कलियुगं विद्धि । शल्य 60. 25. एतत्कलियुग नामाचिराद्यत्प्रवर्तते वनपर्व 149. 38.

1760. त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः । सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥ पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च । समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥ E. I. vol. VI p. 1 at p. 7.

1761. यस्मिन्कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदा दिने । प्रतिपन्नः कलियुगस्तस्य संज्ञां निबोधत ॥ वायु 99. 428-429, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 241 The भागवत XII. 2 33 reads प्रतिपन्न कलियुगमिति प्राहु. पुराविद. मत्स्य 273. 49-50, विष्णु IV. 24 40 respectuvely read प्रतिपर्क कलियुग प्रमाणं तस्य मे शृणु and प्रतिपन्न...तस्य सख्या निबोध मे ॥. ब्रह्मपुराण 212. 8 has the same idea in different words.

of Kaliyuga several years after the date arrived at on the first view.[1762] Vide Mausalaparva chap. 1. 13 and 2. 20 for reference to the lapse of 36 years before Krsna's passing away. The Yugapurāna appears to make Kaliyuga start on the day Draupadī died (vide J. B O. R. S vol. 14 p. 400). Another view is that of Varāhamihira who says that the constellation of the Great Bear was in Maghā when Yudhisthira was on the throne and that that time is arrived at by adding 2526 years to the śaka year.[1763] This would place Yudhisthira in 653 of the Kali age (as calculated at present) and not at the end of Dvāpara and the beginning of Kali. The Rājataraṅginī I. 56 quotes the Brhat-saṁhitā and holds that Kurus and Pāṇḍavas flourished in 653 of the Kali yuga (I. 51). Great efforts have

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1762. Vide J R. A S for 1911 pp 479ff and 675ff about the Kaliyuga and its era; 'Five thousand years ago, the Mahābhārata war' a paper by Dr. D. S. Triveda in Festschrift Kane pp 515–525 in which after setting out many divergent views and criticizing them, it is held that the Mahābhārata war was fought out in 3137 B C., 'Purānic date of Mahābhārata', a paper by Mr. M. Raja Rao in the Bulletin of the Ganganath Jha Research Society, vol II pp. 125–143, which mentions numerous dates suggested by various scholars I am not at all convinced of the correctness of Dr. Triveda's conclusions, in spite of the great learning that he brings to bear on the problem. Vide also his paper in 'Bhāratīya Vidyā', vol. VI (1945) pp. 117–120.

1763. आसन् मघासु मुनय. शासति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ। षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुत शक-कालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च ॥ बृहत्संहिता 13 3 This is not a verse of Garga as some scholars assert. In 13 2 Varāhamihira promises that he will dilate on the movements of the seven sages (*muricāra*) according to the *opinion* of Vrddhagarga. It appears that 13 3 is his *own* verse. Garga held the opinion that the Great Bear remained in one constellation for one hundred years That is all Utpala quotes the verse of Garga, but it is in the Anustubh metre It was believed by the authors of the Purānas and even by such astronomers as Varāhamihira that the constellation of the Great Bear remained in each *nakṣatra* for a hundred years. Vide Br. Sam. 13 4, Bhāgavata XII 2 27–28, Matsya 273. 40–44, Vāyu 99. 421–422, Viṣnu IV 24 33 Mr Velandi Gopal Aiyer in 'Chronology of Ancient India' (p 75) holds that 'ṣad-dvika-pañca dvi' means 26 times 25 i e 650 years and that we should read 'śakyakāla' or 'śākyakāla' (p. 73) instead of 'śakakāla' in Br. Sam. 13 3 in order to correct the error of one mātrā in the 4th quarter of the verse In this last he is in error; he forgets that, according to works on chandas-śāstra, a short syllable at the end of a pāda is deemed to be prosodially long (and therefore the last syllable in Br. Sam 13. 3 is long) Besides, he is not able to cite a single example to show why the usual rule of अङ्गानां वामतो गतिः should not be followed here also or that Varāhamihira elsewhere employs a similar method in a compound word.

been made by several scholars to meet this discrepancy by explaining the word 'sad-dvika-pañca-dviyutah' (in the Brhat-samhitā) in various fanciful ways, which are far from satisfactory. There is no reason why *dvika* should not straightforwardly be taken in the sense of 'two',[1764] as the Līlāvatī and Br. Sam. 71. 5 itself do.

It is difficult to believe that the Śakakāla referred to in that verse is different from the Śakendrakāla or Śakbhūpakāla, which the Pañcasiddhāntikā (I 8) and the Brhat-samhitā (8. 20–21) make use of in several places At least Varāhamihira gives no such indication. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his 'Mahābhārata, a critiicism' pp. 80–81 holds that the Śakakāla referred to in the verse 'āsan maghāsu &c.' is the era of Buddha's Nirvāna. There is hardly any warrant for this assumption. His interpretation of 'sad–dvika-pañca-dviyutah' as meaning 2566 (and not 2526) is not bad and does not seriously affect the argument about the date of Yudhisthira. On that interpretation Yudhisthira would be placed in 2488 B. C. (instead of in 2448 B. C.). But there is no reason why the usual values of *sat* (six), *dvika* (two) and other words should not be understood to be meant here.

The data contained in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman (E. I. vol. XII p. 65), when properly scrutinized, appear to favour the position of Varāhamihira. Those plates in setting out the genealogy of Bhāskaravarman start with Naraka, whose son Bhagadatta fought on the side of the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war and was killed by Arjuna (vide Dronaparva chap 29) Bhagadatta's son is said to have been Vajradatta. After Vajradatta his descendants ruled over Kāmarūpa for 3000 years and then Pusyavarman, a scion of the Bhagadatta family, became king of Kāmarūpa. King Bhāskaravarman was 12th from Pusyavarman and was a contemporary of Emperor Harsa (first half of the 7th century A. D.). Taking an average of 20 years for the reign of each ruler, Pusyavarman should be taken as having flourished about the beginning of the 5th century A D. Adding 3000 years which are alleged by the plates to have intervened between Pusyavarman and Vajradatta, we arrive at about 2500 B. C. as the time of Vajradatta and therefore approximately of the Mahābhārata war. This

1764. The लीलावती (अङ्कपाशप्रकरण verse 262, Ānand ed) reads द्विकाष्टकाभ्या त्रिभवाष्टकैर्वा, where the com. says द्वाभ्यां द्विकाभ्यां..

corresponds rather very closely with the statement of Varāhamihira who puts Yudhiṣthira's reign at 653 Kaliyuga (i. e. 2448 B. C.). On the other hand, if we assume that the Mahābhārata war was fought in or that Kaliyuga started in 3101 B. C, then Pusyavarman who flourished 3000 years after the Mahābhārata war would have to be placed about 101 B. C. and there will be an interval of about 700 or 750 years between Pusyavarman and Bhāskaravarman. A period of 700 or 750 years for 12 rulers would work at about 60 years for each ruler, which is a very improbable average Therefore the Nidhanpur plates do not support the hypothesis that the Mahābhārata war was fought about 3101 B. C, but rather support the statement of Varāhamihira that it was fought about 2500 B. C.

Another epoch for the Mahābhārata war and the beginning of Kaliyuga is indicated by some passages of historic importance found in some of the Purānas The Vāyupurāna (99. 4–15) and the Matsyapurāna (273. 36) say that from the birth of Parīksit to the coronation of Mahāpadma (Nanda) a period of 1050 years elapsed, while the Bhāgavata XII. 2. 26 assigns 1015 years for the same. There is some mistake in the Purāna texts here. The Matsya (in chap. 271. 17–30) enumerates the kings of the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha descended from Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha, and states that the dynasty will rule (i. e ruled) for a thousand years. Then chap. 272 (verses 1–5) speaks of five kings, who will be followed by the Śiśunāka dynasty, that together reigned for 360 years and the last king in which was Mahānandi (verses 6–13) whose son from a śūdra wife was Mahāpadma (272. 18). So if the years of these three dynasties are added we get the period of about 1500 years. This is supported by the Bhāgavatapurāna (IX. 22. 48 and XII. 1–2) and Vāyupurāna (99. 308–321), which latter says that 32 kings of the Bārhadratha dynasty will rule for 1000, then five Vītihotra kings for 138 years (Pradyota and others) and then the Saiśunāka (Śiśunāga in the Bhāgavata and in the Brahmāndapurāna III. 74. 134–135) dynasty for 362 (in all exactly 1500 years). The same periods are given by the Visnupurāna (IV. 23 and 24) and by the Brahmāndapurāna III. 74. 121–135, Śrīdhara in his comment on Bhāgavata XII. 2. 26 states that the interval between Parīksit and Nanda is 1498 as the Bhāgavata holds that the Śaiśunāga dynasty ruled for 360 years (XII. 1. 4–6). Therefore the proper reading in the Vāyupurāna or Matsyapurāna or the Bhāgavata should be 'pañcaśatottaram'

instead of 'pañcāśaduttaram' or 'pañcadasottaram.' Taking the interval between Parīksit and Nanda to be 1500 years and holding as most modern scholars do that the Nandas flourished in the 4th century B. C., Parīksit, the grandson of Arjuna, the Mahābhārata war and the beginning of Kaliyuga would have to be placed in the 19th century B C Therefore there are so far three main different epochs for the Mahābhārata war viz. 3101 B. C, 2448 B. C. and about 1900 B. C. All the three are well attested by evidence dating at least from about the 5th century A. D. One cannot dogmatically say that a certain tradition alone out of these three is the only correct one. All that one can say is that one prefers a particular tradition to the other two. Since the epoch of 1900 B. C. is supported by the Purānas in great detail by citing the names of the several kings and their regnal years I personally regard the epoch of 1900 B. C. for the Mahābhārata war as more probable than the other two It is best to acknowledge one's inability to assign a certain date to the Mahābhārata war rather than twist plain words or ignore al together inconvenient passages or put on them fanciful or far-fetched interpretations. The first desideratum is to prepare critical editions of the important purānas from the best mss material. Even then it is doubtful whether unanimity among scholars can be secured. A scholarly beginning was made by Pargiter in his book 'The Purāna texts of the dynasties of the Kali Age' (1913). He compares the material available in the printed editions of several Purānas and Mss on the subject of royal dynasties. One cannot or may not agree with many of the assumptions and inferences that he makes or draws, yet one cannot withhold admiration for his industry and method. For example, I cannot agree with him when he takes 'bhavisye kathitān' of the Matsyapurāna or 'bhavisye pathitān' of Vāyu (99. 267) as referring to the Bhavisyapurāna In many passages of the Purānas we have references to 'bhavisyajña' (Brahmānda III. 74 105), which simply means 'those who are conversant with sections on the future' contained in ancient works like the Mahābhārata

It is not possible owing to limitations of space to enter into detailed examination of the theories of several scholars about the date of the Mahābhārata war But one or two important matters will have to be referred to here

Mr. Velandi Gopala Aiyer in 'The chronology of Ancient India' in chap. II. (pp. 51–104) examines the astronomical data

furnished by the Mahābhārata and relying on the far-fetched and wrong interpretation put by him on the words of the Brhat-samhitā (quoted above) and on the fact that the Kollam era in Malabar appears to take 1177 B. C as the starting point for Kaliyuga arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war took place in the latter part of 1194 B. C. This theory goes against all the three other starting points which are supported by comparatively ancient and authoritative evidence.

The information derived from the fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India are supposed to shed some light on this vexed problem In one fragment (p. 115 of 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes &c.') occurs the passage: 'From him (i. e. Bacchus) to Alexander the Great 6451 years are reckoned with three months additional, the calculation being made by counting the kings that reigned in the intermediate period to the number of 153'. An extract from Pliny makes out the number of kings to be 154. As against this we have the statement in the 'Indika' of Arrian (2nd century A. D., translated by McCrindle, p. 203): 'From the time of Dionysos to Sandrakottus, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established .... .. another to 300 years and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysos was earlier than Heracles by fifteen generations and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India'. This passage is of very great importance for one reason, viz that it proves that in the 4th century B C there was a persistent Indian tradition which carried back Indian civilization and ordered government to 6000 years before the 4th century B. C But there is great doubt as to what Megasthenes actually wrote and there is some divergence as to the number of years and kings also. Besides, this has no direct bearing on the date of the Mahābhārata war or the beginning of Kaliyuga, unless Heracles is taken to be Hari-Krsna, as some scholars[1765] do. The account of Heracles (pp 201-203 of McCrindle's work) agrees in some respects with the legends about Krsna viz. that he was honoured by the Sourasenoi (Śūrasenas), an Indian tribe who possess two large

1765 Vide Mr. C V. Vaidya's 'Mahābhārata, a criticism' pp. 75-76, where ignoring the figures of total years (viz 6042 or 6451) he comes to the conclusion that Krsna flourished about 3101 B. C. since 138 Kings between Heracles and Sandrakottus (i. e Candragupta) may have ruled in all about 2760 years, taking 20 years as the average for each reign

cities Methora (*Mathurā*) and Cleisobora and that Heracles had many wives; but then there are other anecdotes about Heracles which do not at all agree viz his having a daughter Pandaia with whom when she was only seven Heracles had intercourse for raising a mighty race. Here there is some confusion with the Pāṇḍavas and Kuntī or with the Pandyan kingdom in the South. Moreover, 6000 years for 153 or 154 kings is rather a very long period. It cannot be said that a king is only a unit of time in these computations (40 years on an average), since such Purānas as the Vāyu and the Matsya expressly mention the number of years that each dynasty held sway, the number of kings belonging to each dynastly and the lengths of the reigns of several kings It is no doubt true that the details of the names of the several kings, the number of kings and the duration of their reigns do not always tally. It appears that the Purānas that contain historical material were recast at different times, e. g. the Vāyupurāna (99. 383) refers to the Guptas while the Matsyapurāna is silent about them. The extant Purānas cannot be supposed to have given imaginary details about historical dynasties, but they must have had before them older records or traditions. The Purānas do not appear to have invented names of new kings or given imaginary lengths of reigns. The authors surely knew that the total of the several dynasties between Parīksit and Nanda did not square with the total of the lengths of the reigns of the several individual kings. But they gave both these without trying to solve the discrepancies as they wanted to record all the traditions they had got before them. The Purānas have a claim on our attention, but in the present state of our knowledge they cannot unfortunately form the basis of any certain or connected history and chronology of ancient times.

A few words may here be said about the attempts made to deduce the age of the Mahābhārata war from the astronomical references in the Epic.

The number of works and papers in which the dates of the Bhārata war and of Kaliyuga are discussed is very large. A few of them only are noted here. The late Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit in his exhaustive volume on 'the History of Indian Astronomy' (in Marathi, 2nd ed. of 1931) deals with this subject at pp. 107–127. Mr. C.V. Vaidya in 'Mahābhārata, a criticism, 1904 'devotes one chapter (pp. 55–78) and appendix note V (pp. 180–190) to the date of the Mahābhārata war. He holds fast to the traditional

view that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 3101 B. C Mr. N. Jagannatha Rao writes a book on 'the Age of the Mahābhārata war' (Bezwada, 1931), in which he disputes the identity of Candragupta Maurya with Sandracottus mentioned by Megasthenes, holds that Sandracottus is the Gupta Emperor Candragupta, that the date of Candragupta Maurya would be about 1535 B C., that the word 'Śakakāla' in the Brhatsamhitā refers really to the era of the Persian Emperor Cyrus about 550 B. C. and that the Great War was fought in 3139 B. C. The work does not go deeply into anything and is rather superficial. There is a lengthy and interesting article by Mr. K. G. Sankar on 'some problems of Indian Chronology' in Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, vol. XII pp. 301–361 in which he seems to favour 1198 B. C. as the date of the Mahābhārata war. Mr. J. S. Karandikar, editor of the 'Kesari' (Poona), contributed certain articles (in Marathi) which are now issued as a booklet (1939), in which he examines many of the astronomical references in the Mahābhārata and the Paurānic lists about the dynasties of ancient Indian kings and arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war was fought in 1931 B. C. Though I differ from him in important details, I think that the date arrived at by him appears to be one of the two probable or best authenticated dates among the several dates proposed by various scholars Prof. P. C. Sen-Gupta contributed a paper to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1937, vol. III pp 101–119, in which he discusses the date of the Mahābhārata war and arrives at the conclusion that the Bhārata war was fought about 2449 B C. This also is a very probable date and has the authority of the tradition mentioned in the Brhatsamhitā that the śaka era is 2526 years after the era of Yuddhiṣṭhira. In J. A. S. B. for 1938, vol. IV pp 393–413 Prof. Sen-Gupta again examines 'Bhārata battle traditions' and confirms the date 2449 B. C. already arrived at by him. Dr. K. L. Daftari delivered some lectures in the University of Nagpur on 'the astronomical method and its application to the chronology of Ancient India' which are published in book form (Nagpur, 1942) This work exhaustively deals with almost all the passages of astronomical importance contained in the Mahābhārata and is characterized by great industry, patient calculations and ingenious explanations of conflicting passages His conclusion is that the Bhārata war was fought in 1197 B. C. Although one feels nothing but admiration for the author's great learning and acumen, it is not possible to agree with the date arrived at by him or with

the method and theories adopted by him. Apart from details one cannot accede to the following theories propounded by him viz. his division of the astronomical references into two groups, his assumption that a passage in the Dronaparva (chap 184) about the rising of the moon at about 2 A. M is an interpolation (because it does not square with his explanations of the other passages), his bold expedient of changing 'citrām' to 'caitām' in Bhisma 3 12 and his transposition of Śravana and Pusya in Śalyaparva 34. 6, his taking 'angaraka' to mean Venus (and not Mars). Dr. Daftari's work was reviewed by Prof Sen-Gupta in JASB for 1943, vol. IX pp. 221–228 and after submitting it to a searching analysis and calculations, the learned Professor arrives at the conclusion that he cannot accept Dr. Daftari's *method, which is useless for all practical purposes.* Prof K. V. Abhyankar contributes an article to the Annals of B. O. R. I. for 1944, vol. XXV. pp. 116–136 on 'the date and time of the Bhārata war', in which he takes into account only the material available in the Epic itself and bases his conclusions on the principle of following the voice of the majority. He furnishes a useful table in an appendix that shows at a glance some of the important astronomical passages of the Mahābhārata with their interpretations given by the commentators Arjunamisra and Nīlakantha and by Mr. Karandikar and himself and finally gives his opinion that the traditional view of the date (3101 B. C.) is approximately correct. It appears that he had not, when he wrote the article, the work of Dr Daftari before him nor Prof. Sen-Gupta's devastating criticism of it. It will be apparent from the above that the attempts to settle the exact date of the Mahābhārata war on the strength of the astronomical materials contained therein are dismal failures Hardly any two scholars agree on the exact dates so arrived at, which range from 1193 B C to 3101 B C. and even beyond. There are many reasons for this disappointing result In the first place, several of the criteria mentioned in the epic are hopelessly inconsistent, as will be made clear a little below by a few examples. Further, several scholars assume that the epic was composed within a short time (about three years according to Adiparva, 62, 52, cr. ed. chap 56. 32) after the war Many (including my humble self) cannot subscribe to this view. Besides, we are totally in the dark about the details of the system of the calendar generally adopted at the period of the war Many suppose that it largely resembled the rules contained in the Vedānga Jyotisa (of the Rgveda). There is no unanimity on the question whether the months

ended with *amāvāsyā* (i. e whether they were *amānta*) or whether they ended with Full Moon (i. e. whether they were *pūrṇumānta*).[1766] That a pūrṇimānta month was in vogue in Vedic times is beyond dispute. For example, Tai. S states that Pūrvā Phalgunī is the last night of the year and Uttarā Phalgunī is the mouth (i. e. beginning) Similarly Tai S VII. 4. 8. 2 declares that the citrāpūrnamāsa is the mouth of the year; while Śān Br. IV. 4 declares that the Phālgunī Paurnamāsī is the *mukha* of the year. The author or authors of the Mahābhārata, in describing the evil portents of an impending tragic or catastrophic event, often assemble together (as in Udyoga 143.5–29, Bhīsma 2 16–33) all of them irrespective of the fact whether some of them are possible in the very order of nature For example, it is stated that Arundhatī went before Vasistha (Bhīṣma 2. 31), that a mare gave birth to a cow calf and that a bitch gave birth to a jackal (Bhīsma 3. 6) and that images of gods trembled, laughed and vomited blood (Bhīsma 2. 26, which may be compared with Brhatsamhitā 45. 8 and the verses of Garga quoted by Utpala thereon); it is several times said that the Moon and the Sun are seized (i. e. eclipsed) at an unusual season (*parvaṇ*) or simultaneously by Rāhu (vide

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1766 That the months in North-west India were pūrnimānta in the Kharoṣthī records drawn np in Kaniska's era is shown in E I. vol. 18 p 266 and E. I. vol. 19 at p. 10 Aparārka (p. 423) quotes a verse from ब्रह्मपुराण 'अश्वयुक्कृष्णपक्षे तु श्राद्धं कार्यं दिने दिने' and remarks that Bhādrapada dark half is in that verse said to be the dark half of Āśvina. In the Bhavisyapurāṇa (Uttara-parva, chap. 132 17) the Full Moon of Phālguna is said to be the end of the month' (किमर्थं फाल्गुनस्यान्ते पौर्णमास्यां जनार्दन । उत्सवो जायते लोके ग्रामे ग्रामे पुरे पुरे ॥) In the Matsyapnrāna (159 4–6) it is said that Skanda and Viśākha were born on the 15th of the dark half of Caitra, that in the bright half of Caitra itself on the 5th Indra made one boy out of the two and on the 6th crowned him as Lord This shows that in the Matsya Caitra was purnimānta and not amānta. When the month is pūrnimānta, the first fortnight ending with amāvāsyā is assigned to a month which is one month in advance of the *amānta* reckoning i e what is Kartika dark half with amānta reckoning becomes Mārgaśirsa dark half with the pūrnimānta reckoning On Jai VI. 5. 31 Sabara quotes a Vedic passage about गवामयन 'द्वादशात्पौर्णमास्यामाश्वतुरहे दीक्षेरन् । ऋतुमुखं वैषा पौर्णमासी संवत्सरस्य या चैत्री पौर्णमासी', which seems to indicate that the year began with the Full Moon of Caitra and that the pūrnimānta reckoning was not unknown.

Bhīsmaparva 3. 28 and 32-33 and Aśvamedhikaparva 77. 15).[1767] Further, these very verses state that the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon took place on the *same day* and on the 13th and in the same month. Dr. Daftari interprets 'ekāhnā' as meaning on the same week-day and 'on the 13th tithi' (pp. 5-6 of his work) calculated according to the wrong method of those days. It is extremely doubtful whether week-days had been known or named at the time of the Bhārata war or even at the time of the composition of the Epic. It is too much to assume that the astronomers of the Mahābhārata war days, while they could predict eclipses and state accurately the position of the planets, were so clumsy as to allow a mistake of two *tithis* to occur in their calendar with respect to the occurrence of a solar eclipse. The words in Bhīsmaparva 3. 28 and 32-33 appear to be a mere exaggerated statement of portents. If real observed eclipses are meant they would have to be taken in the order of the words in the text, viz. first an eclipse of the Moon (on Kārtika paurnimā) and then an eclipse of the Sun (on Kārtika amāvāsyā) and further it must be assumed that the dark half of Kārtika contained only 13 days. Dr. Daftari (pp. 44-46 of his work) holds that first there was a solar eclipse on Āśvina amāvāsyā, then a lunar eclipse and then again a solar eclipse. In that case we should expect the order to be 'sūrya-candrau' and not 'candrasūryau'. Besides, hardly any other scholar holds that there were three eclipses one after another. Therefore, it is hardly possible to say with certainty that the author accurately states astronomical facts observed by him or even traditionally handed down as definite facts and does not draw on his own imagination about the portents or does not exaggerate

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1767. चन्द्रसूर्यावुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम्। अपर्वणि ग्रहं यातौ प्रजासंक्षयमिच्छतः ॥ चन्द्रसूर्यावुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकमासीं त्रयोदशीम्। अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यतः ॥ भीष्मपर्व 3. 28, 32. The cr. edition of the Mahābhārata gives only the first of these two verses. Utpala in his com. on Brhatsamhitā 5. 26 reads एकमासे त्रयोदशे. The words प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यत. make it quite clear that eclipses and the fortnight of thirteen tithis are taken as very evil omens. Similar words occur in Bhīsma 3. 12 and 13 quoted below in note 1779. In Brhatsamhitā 3. 6 it is said that a *graha* called Tvastr makes the orb of the Sun look dark even when there is no parva (amāvāsyā). Utpala quotes on the same a verse of Parāśara 'अपर्वणि शशाङ्कार्कौ ग्रस्ता नाम महाग्रहः। आवृणोति तमःश्यामः सर्वलोकविपत्तये ॥. There is no doubt whatever that the writer of Bhīsma 2 and 3 is more concerned with chronicling evil omens than with setting out accurate astronomical and other data observed by him personally seen by others.

as a rhetorical device. In Brhatsamhitā 5. 26, 97-98 Varāhamihira states the evil consequences if a moon eclipse precedes or follows a sun eclipse in the period of one fortnight.

Most of the important astronomical details will now be set out from the time when Lord Krsna is said to have started as a peace-maker to the Kauravas. In Udyogaparva 83. 6-7[1768] it is said that Kṛsna started in the month of Kārtika (Kaumude māsi) *at the end of the śarad season* and about the advent of winter, when the moon was in Revatī naksatra and on *maitra muhūrta*. Āśvina and Kārtika are at present said to form the season of *śarad*, and Mārgaśīrsa and Pausa form *hemanta*. This verse itself presents a difficulty On the Full Moon day of Kārtika, the moon is in Krttikā naksatra and the moon would be in Revatī three days before i. e. on or about the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika. If we take this along with the words 'at the end of śarad' it follows that the month was *pūrnimānta*; otherwise (i. e. if the month were *amānta*) it would be highly improper to say that the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika was at the end of Śarad After Krsna failed in his mission he returned to the Pāṇḍavas (for all of which we must allow a few days after the 12th of Kārtika *śukla*) and reported what Duryodhana and he himself said. Two of the statements reported by him are very material Duryodhana said to his allies: 'March towards Kuruksetra (for battle); to-day the moon is (in) Pusya naksatra'.[1769] If Krsna started on his mission when the moon was in Revatī (on the 12th of the bright half of Kārtika), then these above words must have been uttered in his presence on or about the 5th of the dark half of Kārtika (or of Mārgaśīrsa if the month was pūrnimānta). Another important statement is that Krsna in his conversation with Karna (whom he had tried to win over) stated to him: 'this is a mild month in

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1768 मैत्रे मुहूर्ते संप्राप्ते मृद्वार्चिषि दिवाकरे। कौमुदे मासि रेवत्या शरदन्ते हिमागमे॥ उद्योगपर्व 83 6-7. 15 muhūrtas of the day and 15 of the night are referred to even in the शतपथब्राह्मण X 4 2. 18, 25, 27 and the तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण (III 10 11) mentions the names of the 15 muhūrtas of the day (such as Citra, Ketu &c). In the Kumārasambhava VII. 6 the *maitra* muhūrta is mentioned in connection with ceremonies preceding marriage. The commentators explain maitra as the 3rd muhūrta after sunrise. In the Atharva Jyotisa fifteen muhūrtas of the day are enumerated of which the first three are Raudra, Śveta and Maitra

1769 आज्ञापयच्च राजस्तान् पार्थिवान्दुष्टचेतसः। प्रयाहि वै कुरुक्षेत्रं पुण्योचोति पुनः पुनः॥ उद्योग 150. 3.

which fodder and fuel can be easily had, which is neither too hot nor too cold; on the 7th day (from today) there will be amāvāsyā; battle may be joined on that day; they regard it as having Indra for its (guardian)[1770] deity'. Therefore this must have been said on or about the 8th of the dark half of the month But what was the name of the month? If the reckoning was pūrnimānta, the month must be Mārgasīrsa, but if the reckoning was amānta, the month must be Kārtika. The words 'this month' taken along with Udyoga 83 6-7 would indicate that the month meant was Kārtika Further, Indra was the deity of Jyesthā naksatra and the amāvāsyā (as stated in Udyoga 142. 16-18) had Jyesthā naksatra. In modern times this is possible on Kārtika Amāvāsya, while there cannot be Jyesthā naksatra in modern times on Mārgaśīrsa amāvāsyā, but only on or about the 13th of the dark half of it. But this passage itself (Udyoga 142. 16-18) is in conflict with Śalya 35. 10 where Krsna says: 'the Kauravas do not act up to my words, being driven to do so by the Time Spirit; O! descendants of Pāndu, go out (for battle) together with me when the moon is in Pusya'. If the moon was in Jyesthā on amāvāsyā when Krsna had proposed to Karna that the war should be begun, this passage of Śalyaparva would put the beginning of the war 16 or 17 days after Kārtika amāvāsyā, which is not warranted by any other passage and which no scholar puts forward. In Udyoga 143 11 it is stated,[1771] 'the spot on the moon has turned away (disappeared) and Rāhu approaches the Sun' The exact meaning of the first quarter is not quite clear. Some interpret it to mean that 'an eclipse of the Moon has already taken place'. The moon looks beautiful with the spot thereon (compare Śākuntala I '*madhuramapi himāmśor lakṣma lakṣmīm tanoti*) The disappearance of the spot might have been looked upon as an evil portent Even supposing that the first quarter refers to an eclipse of the moon, it does not matter much The second quarter states that an eclipse of the Sun was expected when Karna addressed these words to Krsna, the envoy of the

1770 सौम्योय वर्तते मास सुगोपयवसेन्धन । . निष्पङ्को रसवत्तोयो नात्युष्ण-शिशिर सुख. ॥ सप्तमाच्चापि दिवसादमावास्या भविष्यति । सग्रामो युज्यता तत्रया तामाहु शक्रदेवताम् ॥ उद्योग 142. 16-18 नीलकण्ठ explains 'सग्राम· सग्रामसाधनकलाप युज्यतामेकीभूयावतिष्ठताम्। संग्रामारम्भस्तु दिनान्तर एवेति वदन्ति ।'. न कुर्वन्ति यदा सग्राम कुरव कालनोदिता । निर्गच्छध्व पाण्डवेया युष्येण सहिता मया ॥ शल्य 35 10

1771. सोमस्य लक्ष्म व्यावृत्तं राहुरर्कमुपैति च । *दिवश्चोल्का पतन्त्येता* मनिर्घाता मकम्पना ॥ उद्योग 143 11. Almost these very words occur in भीष्म 2 32 (व्यावृत्तं लक्ष्म सोमस्य भविष्यति महद्भयम्) and in भीष्म 3 11 (अर्कं राहुरुपैति च)

Pāndavas. Later on in Bhīsma 2 23 it is stated[1772] that the Moon had become devoid of brightness, was without its spot on the Full moon day of Kārtika and assumed the colour of fire while the sky retained its original hue; so that if there was an eclipse of the moon it was on *Kārtika Paurnmā* and an eclipse of the sun was yet to take place. On the whole, therefore, one may assume, though not without hesitation, that the months were *amānta*, that possibly there was an eclipse of the moon on Kārtika Full Moon when Krsna had gone as a peace-maker and that there was a solar eclipse on the amāvāsyā of Kārtika just about the time the war began. In Śalyaparva 56. 10 we again meet with the words (at the beginning of the mace duel) 'Rāhu swallowed the Sun at an unusual season'. This passage and Āśvamedhika 77. 15 (Rāhur-agrasadādityam yugapat soma-meva ca) rather suggest that the eclipse of the sun at an unusual time had become a stock example of an evil portent without the actual occurrence thereof. The words in Śalyaparva refer to the last day of the war before the mace duel between Duryodhana and Bhīma and the passage says that Rāhu seized the sun and there was an earth-quake also Hardly any one (except Dr. Daftari) holds that there was another eclipse on the last day of the war, when just before the war there already had been an eclipse on Kārtika amāvāsyā.

As to the exact *tithi* and *naksatra* on which the Great War began, there are many conflicting statements. In the Bhārata-sāvitrī it is stated that the Bhārata war started in the first month (i e Mārgasīrsa) of Hemanta on the 13th of the bright half when the moon was in the naksatra presided over by Yama (i e Bharani)[1773]. The Bhārata-sāvitrī is no part of the

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1772 अलक्ष्य· प्रभया हीनः पौर्णमास्यां च कार्तिकीम् । चन्द्रोभूदग्निवर्णश्च समवर्णे (v l पद्मवर्ण-) नभस्तले ॥ भीष्म 2. 23.

1773 The following verses of the भारतसावित्री are material for the days of the important events of the war: 'हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासे शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदशी । प्रवृत्त भारतं युद्ध नक्षत्र यमदैवतम् ॥ फाल्गुन्या निहतो भीष्म कृष्णपक्षे च सप्तमी । अष्टम्यां चैव सौभद्रो नवम्या च जयद्रथ । दशम्यां भगदत्तस्तु महायुद्धे निपातित. । एकादश्यामर्धरात्रौ हतो गीरो घटोत्कच. । तत· प्रभातसमये विराटद्रुपदौ हतौ । द्वादश्या चैव मध्याह्ने द्रोणाचार्यो रणे हत. ॥ त्रयोदश्यां तु मध्याह्ने वृषसेनो निपातित· । चतुर्दश्यां तु पूर्वाह्णे रणे दु.शासनो हत· । अमायां धर्मपुत्रेण शल्यो मद्राधिपो हत । . . अमायामर्धरात्रे तु राजा दुर्योधनो हत । . . अमायामेव यामिन्यां द्रौणिना निहतास्तदा । धृष्टद्युम्न शिखण्डी च द्रौपद्या· पञ्च चात्मजा. । (set out at the end of हरिवंश in the Citrasālā edition). There are some statements here that are opposed to the text of the Mahābhārata Abhimanyu

(*Continued on the next page*)

Mahābhārata, yet it has some traditional value, being probably earlier than all the commentators of the Mahābhārata and later than the text of Sauti. In conflict with this passage of the Bhāratasāvitrī we have the words of Udyoga 142. 18 (quoted above) where Krsna says to Karna that battle may be joined on amāvāsyā when the moon is in Jyesthā. The Mahābhārata itself states that after the disposition of the vast armies were made and commanders were appointed, Duryodhana called Ulūka and sent him to the Pāndavas to inflame their feelings with the words[1774] (Udyoga 160. 93) 'the worship of steel (weapons) has been performed, the site of Kuruksetra is dried up (has no mud), your horses are well fed, warriors are hired by you; fight tomorrow'. This Lohābhihāra (or-sāra) is the same as the rite of *nīrājanā* (according to the Amarakośa) or is performed immediately after nīrājanā (for which see pp. 230-231 above). Kautilya (II. 30 p. 135) prescribes a nīrājanā rite at the start of an invasion and when two seasons meet. So a nīrājanā rite on Kārtika amāvāsyā would be most appropriate (both because a battle was to be begun and because at the end of Kārtika the season of Śarad ended). The Brhatsamhitā (43. 1-2) prescribes a nīrājanā rite for horses, elephants and men on the 8th or 12th of Kārtika bright half or on the 15th of Kārtika (Full Moon or *amāvāsyā*). It is extremely doubtful

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was killed on the third day after Drona became commander-in-chief. It may be noted that Nīlakantha explains यमदैवतम् differently as meaning Mrgaśīrsa which has a double deity as its presiding deity It may be noted that this text of the भारतसावित्री as printed is not quite reliable, since नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on भीष्म 17. 2, reads 'अर्जुनेन हतो भीष्मो माघमासेऽसिताष्टमी' for फाल्गुन्यां . . सप्तमी and 'त्रयोदश्यां तु मध्याह्ने भारद्वाजो निपातित' for 'द्वादश्या . . रणे हतः' If these readings be accepted it follows that the Bhāratasāvitrī impliedly recognizes the existence of a *tithikṣaya*, since Drona is there said to have been killed on the 13th tithi of dark half when the epic itself says that he died on the 15th day after the battle began As the war commenced on the 13th of bright half, there would be 16 days on 13th of dark half.

1774 लोहाभिहारो निर्वृत्तः कुरुक्षेत्रमकर्दमम् । पुष्टास्तेऽश्वा भृता योधाः श्वो युध्यस्व सकेशवः ॥ उद्योग 160. 93. About this, अमरकोश says 'लोहाभिहारोऽस्त्रभृता राज्ञां नीराजनो विधिः (v. 1 नीराजनाह्विधिः).' The तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन quotes (Jivananda p 35) a passage from the Devīpurāna that on the 6th of Caitra Skanda is to be worshipped and it is called स्कन्दषष्ठी. The निर्णयसिन्धु II (on मार्गशीर्षकृत्य) says 'मार्गशीर्षशुक्लषष्ठी चम्पाषष्ठीति महाराष्ट्रेषु प्रसिद्धा । . . . . इयमेव स्कन्दषष्ठी.'

whether Mr. Karandikar is right in saying that Lohābhihāra (or-sāra) refers to Skandasasthī. In the first place, the worship of weapons can be done at any time, particularly when a battle is to be commenced. In the second place, it is not necessary to postulate the lapse of six days and more for the sending of Ulūka and his return from the time when Krsna said that battle may be begun on amāvāsyā. The armies had taken up opposite positions on the field of Kuruksetra and Ulūka could have come and gone in a day or two. Further, we have no evidence that Skanda-sasthī was performed in northern India in Mārgaśīrsa, though very late works composed by *dākṣṇātyas* like the Nirnayasindhu say that Skandasasthī is the same as Campāsasthī in Mahārāstra and is observed on the 6th of Mārgaśīrsa. Raghunandana quoting Devīpurāna places Skandasasthī on Caitra 6th of the bright half and is supported by the Matsyapurāna quoted above in n.1766. There is no reason why the actual fight should commence so late as the 13th day of Mārgaśīrsa (or even 11th as Mr. Karandikar suggests) when Krsna said that it should be joined on amāvāsyā. It is quite possible that the war began on or about Kārtika amāvāsyā. The observance of 'lohābhihāra' does not lead to the certain inference that the war was not begun till several days after the 6th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsa. Similarly, Mr. Karandikar says that the moon is ordinarily in Bharanī on the 11th or 12th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsa. It may be so. But it is possible to have the moon in Bharanī even on the 13th. I am inclined to hold that the Bhāratasāvitrī dates of the beginning of the war embody a different tradition altogether from the one contained in the Mahābhārata itself. The Bhāratasāvitrī is silent about naksatras on which the principal events of the war took place except at the commencement of the war. It mentions no *tithuksaya* or *tithuvṛddhi*. Krsna sends a message with Ulūka to Duryodhana (Udyoga 162. 57) 'tomorrow you will be seen' (in your true colours) and Arjuna does the same (Udyoga 163. 14).

The Mahābhārata nowhere states quite explicitly the *tithi* or *naksatra* on which the battle actually commenced We have to rely upon various indications to arrive at the *tithi* or *naksatra*. Balarāma could not bear to see the fight between Duryodhana and Bhīma, both of whom were his pupils in mace-duel and went on a pilgrimage (Udyoga 157. 33-35 and 158 39). Balarāma returned on the 18th day of the war and (in Śalyaparva 34. 6)

he remarks, 'it is 42 days since I left (on a pilgrimage); I started when the moon was in Pusya and I have come here again on Śravana '[1775]. In Śalya 35. 13-14 it is stated that Balarāma went to the river Sarasvatī on pilgrimage on 'maitra-naksatra-yoga' (i. e. when the moon was in Anurādhā). This conflict may be resolved by holding, as Nīlakantha does, that Balarāma left the Pāndavas on Pusya, reached the Sarasvatī on Anurādhā and returned on Śravana. If we follow Śalya 34.6 the war commenced when the moon was in or near Mrgaśīrsa (18 naksatras before Śravana). This would be in direct conflict with a passage in Bhīsmaparva 17.2 that[1776] 'on the day of battle the moon was in the province of Maghā' and also other passages that will be indicated later on. This last passage should ordinarily mean that the moon was near Maghā. Mr. Karandikar looks upon Śalya 34.6 as an interpolation and takes Bhīsma 17 2 to mean that the moon was in an inauspicious naksatra of the category of Maghā. This would suit Bharanī but not Rohini or Mrgaśīrsa. His meaning is far-fetched and he does not explain why Bharanī was not directly mentioned in the Epic, when in several other places the epic does mention directly the naksatra concerned. His explanation gives the go-by to the 13th *tithi*. Dr. Daftari boldly asserts that we must transpose the naksatras (in Salya 34. 6) and read 'śravane samprayātosmi pusyena punarāgatah'. If we once resort to these methods followed by these two learned writers, there is no knowing where one should stop. There are scholars who might with equal or greater plausibility claim that most of these astronomical references are either of very late date or are interpolations (vide Vaidya's 'Mahābhārata' p. 71). Similarly, if we once concede that we are at liberty to change readings to suit our theories even in the total absence of all manuscript evidence, then there is no sure foundation on which we can build. The Mahābhārata passages have a tradition of centuries behind them. We must, in the absence of good mss. evidence to the contrary, either accept *them all* and try to explain them or we must give up the job of reconciling them as a hopeless tangle and rely on other evidence to arrive at the date of the

1775. चत्वारिंशदहान्यद्य द्वे च मे निसृतस्य वै । पुष्येण संप्रयातोस्मि श्रवणे पुनरागतः । शल्य 34. 6.

1776. मघाविषयगः सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत । द्रीप्यमानाश्च संपेतुर्दिवि सप्त महाग्रहाः ॥ भीष्म .17. 2. नीलकण्ठ explains. मघा पित्र्यं नक्षत्रं तस्य विषयो देशः पितृलोकस्तद्गतः सोमः ।

Bhārata war as best as we can. We saw above that Jyesthā was the naksatra on Kārtika amāvāsyā and, if the war began then, the naksatra on the 18th day from then would be Pusya. Nīlakantha, following the Mīmāmsā rules of interpretation, holds that the concluding passage (*upasamhāravākya*) is superior in strength to passages that occur at the beginning of a work, that the passage in Salya 34 6 is the dominant one and other conflicting passages must be either brushed aside or explained away in conformity with Śalya 34. 6 and gives an explanation of 'Maghāvisayagah somah' which is quite unsatisfactory. Dr Daftari also holds, relying on Atharva Jyotisa, that the passage means 'the moon was in Mūla' (p. 27 para 62–65 of his work 'Astronomical method' &c.) The explanation is ingenious but one fails to see why this round-about way was resorted to and why the text did not simply say 'mūlanaksatragah somah', which violates no metrical requirements. In Anuśāsana parva (167 26–28) Bhīsma, while on the bed of darts, states.[1777] 'the sun has turned (towards the north); 58 days have passed by since I laid myself down on this (arrow bed) This is the mild month of Māgha that is now current, three parts of it remain and this fortnight should be *śukla*'. Bhīsma was struck down on the 10th day of the war; so 67 nights had passed from the day when the war began to the day in Māgha on which this was uttered The difficulty is how to connect 'tribhāgaśesah', whether as an adjective of 'māsa' or of 'paksa'. If we take it in the first way, these words were uttered on 8th of Māgha sukla: if we take it as an adjective of 'paksa', then they will have to be taken as uttered on the 4th of the bright half or on the 4th of the dark half which may be regarded in its astrological effects as equal to *śuklapaksa* (though the tithi itself is in the dark half) If the words were uttered on the 8th of Māgha śukla, the Bhārata war began on Kārtika amāvāsyā (which will be in consonance with Udyoga 142. 18 quoted in n 1770). The passage in Anuśāsana (167. 26–28) is supported by two other passages. After the war was over, Yudhisthira went to the capital and stayed there for 50 nights and when he found that the Sun had started on its apparent northward path (*uttarāyana*) he came to Bhīsma (Anusāsana 167 5) In Śāntiparva 51. 14 Krsna says to Bhīsma: 'You have yet to live 56 days' Nīlakantha, who takes Salya 34 6 as the dominant passage, puts a

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1777 अद्यपञ्चाशतं राज्ञ शयानस्याद्य मे गता. । . माघोय समनुप्राप्तो मास. सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर । त्रिभागशेष पक्षोय शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥ अनुशासन 167. 26–28.

most far-fetched construction on the word 'astapañcāśatam', which he takes to mean 'one hundred minus 58'. i. e. 42 nights and explains 'pañcāśatam sat ca' as equal to 30 This shows to what straits commentators are reduced when conflicting passages have got to be explained away. One more indication about the *tithi* on which the war commenced is afforded by Droṇaparva chap. 184, where it is stated that a grim fight went on till midnight when Ghatotkaca was killed, that the fatigued armies then snatched some sleep, that then the moon rose at about 2 A. M. (verse 46) and that the fight was then resumed[1778] (chap. 186. 1 'tribhāgamātraśesāyām rātryām yuddham-avartata) This description of moonrise shows that Ghaṭotkaca was killed on or about the 11th of the dark half. We know from the Mahābhārata itself that Ghatotkaca was killed on the night of the 4th day of Drona's command or on the 14th day after the war began. This would establish that the war began on the 12th or 13th of the bright half and ended on the 14th of the dark half or on amāvāsyā of Mārgaśirsa. Dr. Daftari holds that this description is an interpolation.

If we try to find out the *naksatra* on which the war began, we have one sure criterion in Śalya 34, 6 viz. that the war ended on Śravana naksatra when Balarāma returned from pilgrimage. Now the moon cannot be in Śravana at all in Mārgaśīrṣa dark half, but may be in it on the first or 2nd of the bright half of Pausa. So between the tithi and naksatra as disclosed by the Mahābhārata itself there is a slight discrepancy of a day or two. There is another way of looking at the data. Bhīsma was waiting for uttarāyana to begin and we know that he passed away on the 59th day after he was mortally wounded on the 10th day of the war. Therefore, a period of 67 days (58 nights of his lying on arrow-bed plus 9 nights of the battle when he slept on his usual bed) elapsed between the beginning of the war and the beginning of Uttarāyana, which undoubtedly occurred in Māgha in that year (as Anuśāsana 167. 28 expressly states) The real difficulty is to find out the *tithi* of the commencement of Uttarāyana. But if we accept the approximate tithi and naksatra (as stated above) of the end of

1778. त्रिभागमात्रशेषायां रात्र्यां युद्धमवर्तत। कुरूणां पाण्डवानां च समृष्टानां विशांपते॥ द्रोण 186.1. नीलकण्ठ explains 'मुहूर्तत्रयावशिष्टायाम्, तत्र सूर्योदयोत्तरं त्रयोदश्यां द्रोणस्य नाशः।'. He supposed that घटोत्कच was killed on the 12th of the dark half.

the war (i.e. Mārgaśīrsa amāvāsyā or 1st of Pausa and Śravana naksatra), uttarāyana began 49 days thereafter i. e on or about the 4th of the dark half of Māgha. According to the Vedāngajyotisa, 4th of the dark half of Māgha is one of the tithis on which uttarāyana may begin (vide Dikshit's work pp 75, 91). How scholars accept one of the data and reject others is well illustrated here. Acc. to Śalya 34 6 the war ended on Śravana (and so should have begun when the moon was in Mrgaśīrsa). Acc to the Bhāratasāvitrī the war began on Bharanī and on the 13th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsa and ended on Amāvāsyā (and therefore the naksatra was Mūla or Pūrvāsādhā). Arjunamisra gives up the nakṣatras and sticks to the tithis. Mr. Karandikar gives up the express verse about Śravana (and regards that whole chapter as an interpolation), he gives up the 13th tithi of the beginning of the war as given in the Bhāratasāvitrī, holds that the war began on 11th instead and sticks fast to the Bharanī naksatra given in the Bhāratasāvitrī. Dr. Daftari altogether changes the reading of Śalya 34 6 by transposing the naksatras mentioned

The difference between the day of Uttarāyana in Māgha stated in the Mahābhārata and the day thereof at present is utilised by scholars for arriving at the date of the Mahābhārata war.

There are other data in the Mahābhārata from which also the date of the Mahābhārata war is sought to be deduced. Before entering into details, some matters that are accepted by most scholars may be stated here. It is generally held that there were two eclipses, first, one of the moon immediately followed by a solar eclipse, that there was a fortnight of 13 days which was looked upon as very unusual and a very evil omen. Vide Bhīsma 3 28 quoted in n 1767. In Bhīsmaparva 3 31–32 Vyāsa is reported as saying, 'I have known amāvāsyā occurring on the 14th, 15th or 16th day (of a paksa), but I do not know an amāvāsyā occurring on the 13th day (of a paksa); both the moon and the sun were eclipsed in the same month on the 13th day'. In the Mausala-parva[1779] 2 18–19, when Krsna, 36 years after the war, beheld certain portents it is said, "on observing those portents on the amāvāsyā occurring on the 13th day he declared 'Rāhu had made this (13th day) appear as the 14th and 15th (when usually there is amāvāsyā) when the Bhārata

1779 एव पश्यन् हृषीकेश संप्राप्त कालपर्ययम् । त्रयोदश्याममावास्या तान् दृष्ट्वा भाव्यगीदिदम् ॥ चतुर्दशी पञ्चदशी कृतेय राहुणा पुनः । प्राप्ते वै भारते युद्धे प्राप्ता चाद्य क्षयाय न ॥ मौसलपर्व 2, 18–19.

war took place; to-day it has again occurred for our destruction'. From these words it is clear that the occurrence of an āvāsyā at the end of a *pakṣa* of 13 days was looked upon as a very evil omen. Then many scholars hold that a comet had also appeared at the time of the great war. Bhīṣma 3 13[1780] states, 'a very frightful comet stands in the sky covering the constellation of Puṣya'. There are grave doubts whether the statement is made from actual observation. The appearance of a comet has always been associated in ancient times with great calamities. Compare Kumārasambhava II 32 'upaplavāya lokānām dhūmaketurivotthitah'. As indicated above, the Mahābhārata gathers together several possible and impossible things to emphasize their significance as to impending calamities. Therefore the inclusion of a comet among portents does not establish that a comet had actually appeared at the time of the Bhārata war. Supposing for argument that a comet had appeared, that circumstance is of no help at all in settling the date. A large number of comets is included in the sun's retinue. The number of comets of long periods that approach the sun in a century is said to be 300. There is nothing to show what particular comet appeared at the time of the war and no one has data to connect the Mahābhārata comet with Halley's comet or any other comet well-known in modern times. Therefore the *datum* about a comet is entirely worthless for purposes of chronology. According to Brhatsamhitā 11. 5 and Utpala thereon the ancient writer Parāsara held the view that there were 101 *ketus* and Garga said that there were a thousand. The description in Bhīṣma 3 13 states that the *perihelion* of the comet was in Puṣya. In Udyogaparva 143 10 it is said 'since a *graha* specially afflicts Citrā, a great calamity is indeed approaching the Kauravas'. This may probably refer to a comet. Two other verses appear to have some bearing on this. Bhīṣma 3. 12 states[1781] that the white *graha* stands traversing

1780. श्वेतो ग्रहस्तथा चित्रां समतिक्रम्य तिष्ठति । अभाव हि विशेषेण कुरूणा तत्र पश्यति ॥ धूमकेतुर्महाघोरः पुष्य चाक्रम्य तिष्ठति । सेनयोरुभयोर्घोर करिष्यति महाभय ॥ 'श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलित सधूम इव पावक । ऐन्द्र तेजस्वि नक्षत्र ज्येष्टामाक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥ भीष्म 3 12, 13, 16. The Madras edition reads इयामो ग्रह. in भीष्म 3 16 and Dr Daftari proposes to read चैता for चित्राम् (p 64 para 130).

1781. ध्रुवं प्रज्वलितो घोरमपसव्य प्रवर्तते । रोहिणीं पीडयत्येवमुभौ च शशिभास्करौ ॥ चित्रास्वात्यन्तरे चैव विष्ठितः परुषग्रह । भीष्म 3 17, compare बृहत्संहिता 11 39 'श्वेत इति जटाकारो रूक्ष. इयावो वियद्भिभागगत । विनिवर्ततेऽपसव्य त्रिभागक्षोभा प्रजा कुरुते ॥'. उत्पल explains 'रूक्ष परुष इयाव कृष्णवर्ण'. It is remarkable that बृहत्सं 11. 57 in चित्रासु कुरुक्षेत्राधिपस्य मरण समादिशेत्तज्ज्ञ. ', thus agreeing very closely with भीष्म 3 12

citrā (i e it is about to enter into *svāti*) and verse 16 says, 'the white *graha* is fiery like fire emitting smoke and stands occupying Jyesthā which is a bright star presided over by Indra'. What is meant by 'white graha'? The words 'sveto grahah' should ordinarily denote Venus Nīlakantha takes them to mean Ketu (node) in Bhīsma 3 12 and another comet in 3 16. If this latter explanation be accepted there were two comets seen at the time. Even if we hold that Bhīsma 3. 16 describes the tail of the comet mentioned in 3 13, that is of very little help All that would be meant would be that the tail of the comet was a very long one Bhīsma 3. 17 has been taken to refer to Rāhu by Nīlakantha, while some modern scholars hold that it refers to a comet It means, 'a cruel comet standing between Citrā and Svāti, afflicts Rohinī and also the sun and the moon' The description of the Ketu called Śveta in Brhatsamhitā 11 39 agrees very closely with the description in the Bhīsmaparva and Parāsara quoted by Utpala thereon states that the Ketu called 'Śveta' becomes visible after 115 years and portends the destruction of two-thirds of the population

Then there are several passages which state the positions of several planets just before the battle or on the day the battle began. Here again at least two different positions are assigned to each planet except Mercury. It is first to be noted that at the beginning of the war all the seven planets excluding Rāhu and Ketu are declared to have been near each other (Bhīsma 17 2, q in note 1776 above). We know from the Mahābhārata itself that the Sun and the Moon on Kārtika amāvāsyā were in Jyesthā It the war began on amāvāsyā or a day later, the planets must be near Jyesthā If the Bhāratasāvitrī be followed then the war began on Mārgasīrsa bright 13 and on Bharanī. If that were so, the sun and the moon cannot be together. Mr Karandikar takes 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsa to be the tithi of the beginning of the war and holds that the Sun was in naksatra Jyesthā and that the moon was in Bharanī (following the Bhāratasāvitrī as to this last) I should hold that we are not at liberty to take one datum from one group of statements and another from another group and then say that it is proved that the war was fought at a particular time. It is further noted in Karnaparva 37. 4 that on Karna's death (i. e. 17 days after the war began), the seven planets were seen going away from the Sun [1782] The positions of the planets at the beginning of the war were as follows:—

1782 ते सप्तलो व्यदृश्यन्त सूर्यास्तं महाग्रहाः ॥ कर्ण 37. 4..

SUN— Udyoga 143. 11 (Rāhu approaches the Sun)
Bhīsma 3. 11 (" ")
Bhīsma 3. 28, 32 (q. above in n. 1767)
The Sun was either in Jyesthā or near Mrgaśīrsa.

MOON— Bhīsma 3 17 (*parusa graha* i e Rāhu afflicted both the Sun and the Moon) and Rohinī
Bhīsma 3. 28, 32 (q above in n. 1767)
Bhīsma 17. 2 (the Moon was in the province of Maghā q. above in n. 1776).

MERCURY— Karnaparva 94. 49 says that on Karna's death the son of the Moon (i. e. Mercury), the white luminary, rose slantingly resembling in hue fire and the Sun The Śalyaparva 11. 18 states that Mars, Venus and Mercury were in conjunction [1783] If Mars was in Maghā as stated in Bhīsma 3 14 and Mars and Mercury were in conjunction Mercury would be in Maghā, which forebodes destruction of people by war, as stated in Brhatsamhitā 7 3

MARS— Udyoga 143. 9 states, 'Mars having made a retrograde motion in Jyesthā seeks (to reach or afflict ?) Anurādhā, the naksatra presided over by Mitra, as if bringing death (to friends)'
Bhīsma 3 14 states: 'Mars is retrograde in Maghā ' What is the meaning of this ? Literally it means that Mars was in Maghā and was retrograde in motion Mr Karandikar holds that Mars had only *drsti* on Maghā and was in Pusya Supposing this is correct, Mars was not near the Sun but far away

Bhīsma 3 18 declares: 'Mars, having changed its motion after being retrograde and with the lustre of fire, stands covering Sravana, the mansion of Brhaspati '.[1784]

1783. ग्रहश्च तिर्यग् ज्वलनार्कवर्णः सोमस्य पुत्रोऽभ्युदियाय तिर्यक् ॥ कर्णपर्व 94 49, भूयश्चतुर्धराशुत्रौ शशिजेन समन्वितौ । चरम पाण्डुपुत्राणा पुरस्तात्सर्वभूतजाम् ॥ शल्य 11. 18.

1784 कृत्वा चाङ्गारको वक्र ज्येष्ठाया मधुसूदन । अनुराधा प्रार्थयते मैत्र सगमयञ्चिर ॥ उद्योग 143. 9, मघास्वङ्गारको वक्र श्रवणे च बृहस्पति । भग नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण

(*Continued on the next page*)

We find that the Mahābhārate employs two classes of expressions When it uses words like ' tisthati ' (stands), ' ākramya ' (having traversed), ' samvrtya or samparivārya ' (having covered or concealed) it means that the planet was in or very near that naksatra When words meaning ' afflicts (pīḍayati) are employed, the meaning is probably that the planet has only drsti on the naksatra It is impossible to say whether the rules and theories about drsti or pūrna drsti and partial drsti had been evolved at the time of the Mahābhārata War. If the war was fought about 3101 B C or even 1931 B C there is nothing to establish that the theories about drsti contained even in the Atharvajyotisa (which is certainly later than the Vedāngajyotisa of the Rgveda i e much later than about 1200 B. C) were known then Vide under Venus for further difficulties

JUPITER— Bhīsma 3 14 states that Jupiter was retrograde in Śravana ; Bhīsma 3 27 states,[1785] ' Both Jupiter and Saturn that had stayed together for a year are near Viśākhā and are both fiery '.

Jupiter cannot stay for one year in one naksatra ; it traverses 2½ naksatras in a year. If at the time of the war Jupiter was near Viśākhā it could not have been near it for a year. Eleven months before that it would have been very near Citrā. If it was near Visākhā at the time of the war and the Sun was in Jyesthā, it can hardly be correct to say that seven planets had come together in the sky (there being a distance of about two naksatras or about 26

(*Continued from the last page*)

पीड्यते ॥ भीष्म 3. 14 , वक्रानुवक्रं कृत्वा च अवर्णं पावकप्रभ । ब्रह्मराशिं समावृत्य लोहिताङ्गो व्यवस्थित ॥ भीष्म 3 18 उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 1. 10. explains, अनुवक्र स्पष्टगतित्वम् । वक्रां गतिं त्यक्त्वा पुन. स्पष्टां गतिमाश्रितो अनुवक्रित इत्युच्यते. In these verses there is probably some reference to the verses of Parāśara and Garga quoted by Utpala on Brhatsamhitā 6 1–13 गर्ग quoted on 6. 13 says that the naksatras from Pūrvāṣādhā to Aśvinī are to be of *dakṣina-mārga* and the movements of Mars in them cause danger.

1785. संवत्सरस्थायिनौ च ग्रहौ प्रज्वलितावुभौ । विशाखायां समीपस्थौ बृहस्पतिशनैश्चरौ ॥ भीष्म 3. 27 , बृहस्पतिं संपरिवार्य रोहिणीं बभूव चन्द्रार्कसमो विशांपते ॥ कर्ण 94. 51.

degrees between the two) Even if we hold the meaning to be that Jupiter and Saturn had remained near Viśākhā for one year and are (now at the time of the war) fiery, that does not solve the difficulty In the first place, it is not a natural construction This meaning would leave the exact position of the two planets at the time of the war unspecified But Jupiter and Saturn must be supposed to be in or near Jyesthā if the Sun was in Jyesthā at the beginning of the war If Saturn was in Jyesthā at the time of the war it could have been one year in Viśākhā about two years before the war. What is the propriety of mentioning Saturn's position two years before the war? The relevant point is to state that position at the time of the war Therefore it must be held that Bhīsma 3 27 states their position at the time of the war and adds one more circumstance that they were there for one year.

Karnaparva 94. 51 says: 'Brhaspati having entirely covered Rohinī has become like the Sun and the Moon'. If at the beginning of the war Brhaspati was retrograde and was near Viśākhā, it passes one's understanding how in a fortnight it came to Rohinī Mr. Karandikar suggests that Rohinī here is the name of Jyesthā as in the Tai S IV 4 10 1-3. Again in this explanation there are several difficulties There is nothing to show that at the time of the Bhārata war or of the epic Jyesthā was called Rohinī The Tai S does not employ the name Jyesthā in its list It speaks of Rohinī once as having Prajāpati for its presiding deity and then as having Indra as the presiding deity Jyesthā is well-known to the Mahābhārata and the word is employed by it in other passages Further, if Brhaspati had covered Jyesthā it can hardly be correct or even useful (for the purposes of chronology) to say that Jupiter was near Viśākhā.

VENUS— Bhīsma 3 15 states that Venus[1786] having ascended (i. e. occupied) the Pūrvābhādrapadā naksatra shines charmingly and it looks up to Uttarābhādrapadā together with (?) The meaning of ' parikramya sahitah ' is not at all clear. However the first half is as clear as possible. Venus was in Pūrvā Prosthapadā. If the Sun was in Jyesthā on Kārtika amāvāsyā, it is impossible that Venus could have been in the 8th naksatra from Jyesthā. Venus is never more than four naksatras from the Sun in the sky. This would completely knock on the head the principal statement that seven planets were near each other Mr. Karandikar in desperation suggests that we should understand Pūrvāsādhā for ' Prosthapade Pūrve ' and also that the word ' Prosthapade ' was an interpolation inserted by some busy body later on. As I have frequently said above, this is a most unjustifiable way of dealing with the so-called astronomical data in the Mahābhārata. ' Prosthapade Pūrve ' can never mean ' Pūrvāsādhā '. In the Tai. S. IV. 4. 10. 1-3, and the Tai. Br. I. 5. 1 and III. 1. 1 the word Prosthapadā is expressly employed for Pūrvā Bhādrapadā. Why should one word in a verse be held to be interpolated? Is it because it does not agree with one's hypothesis? In Śalya 11. 18 Venus and Mars are said to be in conjunction with the Moon. If the war started on Bharanī as the Bhāratasāvitrī says, then at the time of the mace-duel the moon might be in Jyesthā and therefore both Mars and Venus will have to be in Jyesthā. But this is opposed to two of the passages cited above referring to the position of Mars. If the war began on Jyesthā and Kārtika amāvāsyā, then on the 18th day the moon will be in Pusya or Āślesā and both Venus and Mars would have to be in one of these two. In any case, if Venus was in Pūrvā-bhādrapadā at the beginning of the

1786 शुक्र. मोहयदे पूर्वं समारुह्य विरोचते। उत्तरे तु परिक्रम्य सहितः सप्तदीक्षते॥ भीष्म 3. 15.

war, on the 18th day it can neither be in Jyesthā, nor in Pusya nor in Āslesā. Besides, it is debatable whether Bhīsma 3. 16 (where 'śveto grahah' is mentioned) refers to Venus or not Venus is often called 'Sita' in ancient astronomical works (e. g in Brhatsamhitā 9. 42, 45).

SATURN— We have four statements about Saturn. In Udyoga 143 8 we read,[1787] 'A refulgent and malignant planet, Saturn, afflicts the naksatra presided over by Prajāpati (i. e Rohinī)', Bhīsma 2 32 states, 'Saturn afflicts Rohinī': Bhīsma 3. 14 says, 'the naksatra presided over by Bhaga is covered and afflicted by Saturn', Jupiter and Saturn are near Viśākhā (Bhīsma 3.27 considered above). In the first three passages the root 'pīd' occurs and therefore it is possible to argue that some kind of aspect (*drsti* or *vedha*) of the naksatra mentioned in the text is meant. But in the third passage both 'ākramya' and 'pīdyatu' are used about the same naksatra. This makes that passage inexplicable in the usual way The 'prājāpatya naksatra' must be Rohinī as in the 2nd passage Rohinī is expressly named All authorities agree that Prajāpati is the deity of Rohinī 'Prājāpatya naksatra' cannot be taken to mean Mūla, since the presiding deity of Mūla is 'pitarah' in Tai. S. IV. 4. 10 1-3 and Nirrti (in the Tai. Br. I 5. 1 and in the Vedānga-jyotisa) and Prajāpati only in some later works Bhaga is the presiding deity of Uttarā Phalgunī in the Tai S IV 4 10. 1-3 and Tai Br. I 5 1, and III. 1 1, while in the Vedāngajyotisa (Rgveda, verse 25), Visnu Dh. S. (78 16), Śān. Gr (I. 26 9, SBE vol 29 p 53) Bhaga is the deity of Pūrvā Phalgunī. The 4th passage about Saturn being near Viśākhā has been already dealt with under Jupiter

1787 प्राजापत्यं हि नक्षत्रं ग्रहस्तीक्ष्णो मदाद्गति. । शनैश्चर. पीडयति पीडयन् प्राणिनोऽधिकम् ॥ उद्योग 143. 8, रोहिणीं पीडयन्नेष स्थितो राजन् शनैश्चर. । भीष्म 2, 32. भगं नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीड्यते । भीष्म 3. 14.

The above detailed statement about the astronomical passages of the Mahābhārata will induce any unbiassed reader who has no axe to grind that they are hopelessly inconsistent and that no certain chronological conclusion can be drawn therefrom In the above discussion I have generally not cited the various explanations indulged in by several scholars, as that would have involved me in a very lengthy discourse without any adequate benefit To me it appears probable that the final redactor of the Mahābhārata had two or more sets of astronomical data about the war before him and without trying to examine and sift them he included them all in his work. The Bhārata-sāvitrī probably represents one (and a later) tradition about the positions of the planets at the time of the war. As I hold that either the Mahābhārata passages on the positions of the planets were interpolated at a very late stage or are hopelessly inconsistent I deem it unnecessary to enter upon an examination of the mathematical calculations made by several scholars to find out the date of the Bhārata war from the shifting of the solstices and the position of the planets.

Since only 5046 years have elapsed (in 1945 A. D) from the beginning of the Kali age and as Kaliyuga extends to 432000 years according to Paurānic computations we are just on the threshold of the Kaliyuga and it is beyond one's comprehension to visualize what will happen towards the end of the vast period of about 427000 years that are still to pass before Kaliyuga ends It is very small consolation to read in the Purānas in a prophetic strain that at the end of that colossal period Visnu will be incarnated as Kalkin in a village Śambhala, will destroy all Mlechhas, sūdra kings and heretics and will establish dharma, so that the Krta age will then be ushered in. Here again as in almost all matters there are differences in the legend. The Vāyu (58 75-90) and the Matsya (144. 50-64) state that it will be Pramati Bhārgava who will be the *avatāra* of Visnu and uproot the Mlechhas, heretics and śūdra kings, while Vāyu 98. 104-110 and 99 396-7, Vanaparva 190 93-97, Bhāgavata XII 2 16-23 state that Kalkin will conquer the Mlecchas, will become a universal emperor (*cakravartin*) of the *dharmavijayin* type and will start the Krta age. In some passages he is called Kalki (nom. of Kalkin) as in Vanaparva 190 93, Brahma 213. 164, Vāyu 99 396, Matsya 47. 248, Nrsimha 54 3; while in others as Kalkih (nom. of Kalki) as in Vāyu 98. 104, Kalki 2 28, Bhāgavata XII. 2 16, Matsya 47. 251. In

some passages he is said to be the son of a brāhmana Visnuyaśas who will be the head[1788] of the village called Śambhala (Bhāgavata XII. 2. 16, Visnupurāna IV. 24. 26, Agni 16. 8, Nrsimha 54. 3, Kalkipurāna 2. 34), while in other passages he is himself styled Visnuyaśas (Vāyu 98, 104, Vanaparva 190. 93, Brahma 213. 164, Visnudharmottara I. 74. 40)[1788a] In some places

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1788 शम्भलग्राममुख्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य महात्मनः । भवने विष्णुयशसः कल्किः प्रादुर्भविष्यति ॥ अश्वमाशुगमारुह्य देवदत्तं जगत्पतिः । असिना साधुदमनमष्टैश्वर्यगुणान्वितः । .. यदावतीर्णो भगवान्कल्किर्धर्मपतिर्हरिः । कृत भविष्यति तदा प्रजासूतिश्च सात्त्विकी ॥ भागवत XII. 2 16–23

1788a Various efforts have been made about finding germs of history in the legend of Kalkin In I A vol 48 pp. 123–128 Prof. H B. Bhide tries to show how Jain authorities about Kalkin are conflicting Mr K. P. Jayaswal in I. A. vol 46 (for 1917) p. 145 holds that Kalkin must be identified with the great hero Yaśodharman who ruled over India from the Brahmaputrā to the Western Ocean and from the Himālaya to Mahendra and who conquered the Hun Mihirakula and made him pay homage to his feet as stated in the Mandasor Inscription (vide Gupta Ins. p. 149). Prof Pathak on the other hand relying upon certain Jaina sources identifies Kalkin with Mihirakula himself (I A for 1918 at p. 19). Otto Schrader in Brahmavidyā vol I pp 17–27 discusses how the names Kalkin or Kalki came to be given to the saviour of India from Mlecchas, heretics and the like. Kalka means 'sin' or 'sediment' and Karka means 'a white horse'. Therefore he thinks that Kalkin is a form of *karkin* (one riding a white horse). Vide also N I A vol. IV pp 337–343 (on Kalki from the Kalkipurāna). It is probable that the dismal accounts of Kalıyuga were put forth in the first centuries of the Christian era when the ancient varnāśrama-dharma had suffered a great set-back owing to the ascendancy of Buddhism and Jainism and the invasions of foreigners like the Śakas and Hūnas, that when Yaśodharman defeated the great Hun invader Mihirakula, people believed that the dark ages were at an end and that an era of perfect dharma was at hand That Mihirakula was a most ruthless and bloodthirsty invader who in his long career of 70 years slaughtered myriads of men and women is stated by the Rājatarangini I 310 (which speaks of him as *trikotihan*) and 322 (which narrates that he slaughtered three crores of women of respectable birth together with their husbands, brothers and sons) Hiouen Chwang (Beal's B. R W W pp. 171–172) narrates that Mihirakula either slaughtered or made slaves of nine lakhs of people in Gandhāra Passages in a prophetic vein were added about the time of Yaśodharman to those already existing about the decline of dharma in Kaliyuga This will of course necessitate that all passages about Kalkin in any work whatever were put in later than about 530 A D There are two theories as to who defeated Mihirakula Hiouen Chwang's account gives the name of the victor as Bālāditya of Magadha (vide Beal's B R. W. W. part I. pp. 167–171). On the other hand there are three inscriptions, the

(*Continued on the next page*)

he is said to have already flourished (Vāyu 98. 111, Matsya 47. 255), in other places the texts employ the future (Vāyu 99. 396, Bhāgavata XII 2. 16). This last discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the writers sometimes forget their role of prophets. Further, it has to be remembered that according to the Purānas the four yugas (and therefore the Kalki *avatāra*) have been repeated again and again. The Kalki-purāna (I. 2. 33 and I. 3 32-33) states that Kalki was a contemporary of Viśākhayūpa king of Māhismati, while the Vāyu (99. 312-314), Matsya (272. 4) and Visnu (IV. 24) state that Viśākhayūpa was the 3rd of the Pradyota dynasty that preceded the Śiśunāga dynasty. Though the Kalki-purāna several times uses the past tense about Kalki, yet at the very beginning it says (I. 10) that what is narrated is an ākhyāna (story) of the future It is interesting to note that in the Parnālaparvata-grahan-ākhyāna[1788b] of Jayarāma composed about 1673 A.D. Bahlolkhan,

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(*Continued from the last page*)

Gwalior stone Inscription of Mihiraknla (Gupta Ins. No. 37 p. 161), the Mandasor stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (Gupta Ins. No. 33 p 142), and the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman Vișnuvardhana (Gupta Ins No 35 p 150) in none of which is Bālāditya referred to. But in the Sarnath Stone of Prakatāditya, son of Bālāditya, another Bālāditya is referred to (Gupta Ins. No 79 p. 284) In the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription (Gupta Ins p. 147) occur these words relating to Mihirakula 'नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजबलावर्जनाक्लिष्टमूर्ध्ना चूडारत्नोपहारै-र्मिहिरकुलनृपेणाचितं पादयुग्मम्'. In the Mandasor Stone Ins (Gupta Ins. No 35 at p 153) lines 4 and 5 read अथ जयति नरेन्द्रः श्रीयशोधर्मनामा । आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीं पुनश्च श्रीविष्णुवर्धननराधिपतिः स एव ॥. Dr. Fleet held that Yaśodharman and Visnuvardhana were different, but the reasons he assigns are unconvincing and Jayaswal appears to be right in holding that Vișnuvardhana is the same as Yaśodharman (in 'Imperial History' pp. 39-41) and that Vișnuvardhana was the overlord of Bālāditya. It appears likely that the compilers of the extant Purānas combined the two principal parts of the two names Vișnuvardhana and Yaśodharman and that the conqueror of the Mlecchas was said to be Vișnuyaśas Vide I H Q. vol. XII p 531 and vol XV pp 302-306 for Yaśodharman, Vișnuvardhana and Mihiraknla and Dr R. G Basak in 'History of North-East India' (1934) pp 97-101 (who holds that Yaśodharman and Vișnuvardhana were two different Kings). Pargiter's 'Ancient Indian tradition' and 'Dynasties of the Kali age' and Dr Pradhan's 'Chronology of Ancient India' may be read with advantage in connection with the historic material in the Purānas.

1788b. श्रूयते किल हिन्दूनां शास्त्रे कौश्चिदुदाहृतम् । कल्की विष्णवताराणां दशमः सम्भविष्यति ॥ छेत्स्यते तेन सर्वत्र व्याप्तं यावनमण्डलम् । तस्यैव कल्किनस्तावदसावग्रे समागतः । दूतो वै मतिभाव्यस्मान्यतोऽस्मिन्विधनोद्यतः ॥ पर्णालपर्वतग्रहणाख्यान V 6-8, published by भारत-इतिहास-सशोधक-मण्डल at Poona, 1923.

commander-in-chief of the Bijapur army, is made to say to Khawaskhan, the Vazir, as follows, 'In the Hindu sāstras some say that Kalkin, the 10th avatāra of Visnu will be born and he will destroy the hordes of Yavanas. Shivaji appears to be the first harbinger of that Kalkin'.

Even though the Purānas are carried away by their over-zeal in condemning the moral and physical decline of the Kali age, almost all of them exhibit no verses about matters forbidden in the Kali age. We have to see when the topic of *Kalivarjya* attained prominence and what the matters are that were once practised by people without objection and that later on came to be prohibited or condemned.

The Āp. Dh S (II 6. 14. 6-10) condemns the practice of giving all or most of the ancestral property to the eldest son as opposed to śāstras. The Āp. Dh. S (II 10 27. 2-6), after referring to the view of some that a woman when being married is given to the whole family of the bridegroom, condemns the practice of *niyoga*.[1789] Both these practices (of *uddhāra ambhāga* and of *niyoga*) are among those included in the texts on Kalivarjya. Among the earliest references in the smrtis to practices once current, but forbidden in the Kali age is a passage of Brhaspati quoted by Aparārka p 97, where *niyoga* and the numerous secondary sons are said to be impossible owing to the decadence[1790] of spiritual power among men of the Dvāpara and Kali ages. Aparārka p 739 and the D M quote a passage of Śaunaka to the effect that sons other than the aurasa or dattaka are not allowed in the Kali age[1791] Prajāpati (verse 151) refers[1792] to the ancient practice of offering meat and wine in srāddhas, but prescribes that these should be eschewed in the Kali age Vyāsa[1793] quoted in the Nirnayasindhu and other works forbids

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1789 सगोत्रस्थानीया न परेभ्यः समाचक्षीत। कुलाय हि स्त्री प्रदीयत इत्युपदिशन्ति। तदिन्द्रियदौर्बल्याद्विप्रतिपत्तम्। अविशिष्ट हि परत्व पाणे·। तद्व्यतिक्रमे खलु पुनरुभयोर्नरकः। आप ध. सू II 10. 27. 2-6

1790 Vide H of Dh vol. II. p 603 *n*. 1418 for the quotation

1791 अत एव कलौ निवर्तन्ते इत्यनुवृत्तौ शौनकेनोक्त-दत्तौरसेतरेषा तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रह·-इति। अपरार्क p. 739. This is cited as from आदित्यपुराण in several other works

1792 मद्यमप्यमृतं श्राद्धे कलौ तच्च विवर्जयेत्। मासान्यपि हि सर्वाणि युगधर्मक्रमाद् भवेत्॥ प्रजापति 151

1793 चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणि चत्वार्यब्दशतानि च। कलेर्यदा गमिष्यन्ति तदा त्रेता-परिग्रह·। संन्यासस्तु न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेन विजानता॥ q bv भट्टोजि in टीका on चतु-र्विंशतिमत p 55 Vide H of Dh. vol II. p. 953 *n*. 2481 for other references to this text.

the setting of the three vedic fires and of resorting to sannyāsa after 4400 years of Kali. The Laghu-Āśvalāyana[1794] smṛti (21 14-15) states that the two kinds of sons called Kunda and Golaka were permitted in former ages and had the saṃskāras performed on them, but are condemned in the Kali age. Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi, it is worth noting, do not quote a single verse about Kalivarjya. On Yāj. III. 30 Viśvarūpa tries to reconcile Parāśara III. 5 (saying that a brāhmana who is learned in the Veda and keeps the sacred Vedic fires becomes free from impurity in a day) with Parāśara III 8 (that for ten days on impurity due to birth or death the food of that family becomes unpartakable for others). He does not accept the idea that the period of impurity is only one day for a learned man, but explains that Parāśara III. 5 is only an *arthavāda* meant for glorifying the study of Veda and the keeping of sacred fires. Among later commentators it is stated that the narrowing down of the periods of impurity on the ground of Veda study is forbidden in the Kali age. As this explanation is not offered by Viśvarūpa it is not unreasonable to infer that Viśvarūpa was not aware of the passage on this point quoted from the Ādityapurāna. Medhātithi[1795] also (on Manu IX. 112) refers to the opinion of some that the smṛti passages about niyoga and uddhāra-vibhāga were applicable only in bygone ages, since smṛtis are restricted to certain ages (vide Manu I. 85); but he refutes that view and explains Manu I. 85 by saying that the meaning is that the dharmas (i e qualities or natures of things) change from age to age as they do from season to season From this it is clear that he did not accept that certain practices current in one age were forbidden in others Vijñāneśvara[1796] quotes a single verse which condemns the practice of niyoga, the giving of a special share to the eldest son and the killing of a cow in a sacrifice as not allowable in the Kali age. That

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1794 संस्कार्यौ विधिवच्चोक्तौ सुनिभि. कुण्डगोलकौ । युगान्तरे स धर्मः स्यात् कलौ निन्द्य इति स्मृतः ॥ परिवित्त्या सुतः कुण्डो व्यभिचारसमुद्भवः । गोलको विधवायां च निषिद्धः स्यात्कलौ स्मृत ॥ लघ्वाश्वलायन 21 14-15.

1795 Vide *n* 1197 above for मेधातिथि's remarks इयमुद्धारनियोग ... तदेतदपेशलम्. Then मेधा continues. न ह्येवंविध. कालनियमः क्वचिदपि श्रूयते सार्यमातःपर्वादिनियमादन्यत्र । यच्चान्ये कृतयुगे धर्मा इति तत्तथम एव व्याख्यातम् । मेधा on मनु IX 112 On मनु I 85 अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माः he says धर्मशब्दो न यागादिवचन एव किं तर्हि पदार्थगुणमात्रे वर्तते । . . यथा वसन्तेऽन्यः पदार्थानां स्वभावोऽन्यो ग्रीष्मेऽन्य एव पर्वास्वेवं युगेष्वपि

1796. Vide above p. 628 *n*. 1198 for the verse यथा नियोगधर्मो नो.

verse is said by the Sm. C II p 266 to have occurred in the Sangraha (i e the work called Smrtisangraha) The Sm. C quotes a verse of Kratu which forbids four acts in Kali, viz niyoga, remarriage of a married girl, killing a cow in sacrifices and the taking of a jar.[1797] The Nāradīya-mahāpurāna contains four verses about Kalivarjya stating that certain practices which were once allowed are forbidden in the Kali age, viz. sea voyage, the carrying of a jar of water, marrying a girl of a class lower than one's own, *niyoga*, killing of an animal in Madhuparka, offering of flesh in śrāddhas, the stage of a forest hermit, remarriage of a married girl when the marriage was not consummated, perpetual student-hood, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, starting on the great journey, the sacrifice of a cow[1798]. Aparārka (pp. 15, 63) quotes one verse and a half from the Brahmapurāna about certain Kalivarjyas viz. perpetual student-hood, the carrying of a *kamandalu*, marriage with a sagotra or sapinda girl, the killing of a cow, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, drinking intoxicating liquors[1799]. This could not be traced to the Brahmapurāna, but the Prāyaścitta-tattva (p 520) ex-

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1797 क्रतुरपि । देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिः दत्ता कन्या न दीयते । न यज्ञे गोवध कार्यः कलौ च न कमण्डलुः ॥ q in स्मृतिच. I p. 12, भट्टोजि's टीका on चतुर्विंशतिमत p 49 कलिवर्ज्यानि folio 1, समयप्रकाश p. 261

1798. सप्तद्रयात्रास्वीकार कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्योद्वहनमस्तथा ॥ देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वध । मांसादान तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥ दत्ताक्षतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दान वरस्य च । नैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचर्य च नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥ महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मख । एतान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिण. ॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, 24 13-16. These are quoted as from the बृहन्नारदीयपुराण in the उद्वाहतत्त्व p 112, the निर्णयसिन्धु p 367 (reads सप्तद्रयात्रा· स्वीकारः), कालिवर्ज्यानि. folio 2 (reads मांसदान and सप्तद्रयात्रास्वीकारः). the स्मृत्यर्थसार p 2 contains the half verses सप्तद्रयात्रा · धारणम्, दत्ता परस्य च, and महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोपशुश्च सुराग्रह· (but without name) The मद् पा p. 16 has the first half (without name) and also the half दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ

1799. दीर्घकाल ब्रह्मचर्य धारण च कमण्डलो· । सगोत्राद्वा सपिण्डाद्वा विवाहो गोवधस्तथा । नराश्वमेधौ मद्य च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभि· ॥ इत्यादिना मत्स्यादेर्ब्रह्मपुराणादौ सामान्यतो वर्ज्यत्वेनाभिहितत्वात् । अपरार्क p 15, स्मृतिच. I. p, 12, परा मा I. part 1 p 133. The स्मृतिच., हेमाद्रि III 2 (p. 666), मदनरत्न and निर्णयसिन्धु (p 367) read गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डाच्च विवाह· which means 'marriage with a daughter of the paternal aunt or with a girl who is a sapinda of one's mother i. e maternal uncle's daughter' The स्मृतिच attributes these verses to आदित्यपुराण while निर्णयसिन्धु p 286 ascribes them to आदिपुराण The कलिवर्ज्यनिर्णय reads गोत्रान्मातृसपिण्डात्, notices also the reading गोत्रान्मातुः सपिण्डात् and has a long note on this, citing and refuting various views. According to the मांसतत्त्वविवेक of विश्वनाथ p. 27 even the कल्पतरु quoted this ब्रह्मपुराण passage (reading गोत्रान्मातृसपिण्डाद्वा)

pressly states that these were cited from the Brahmapurāṇa in the works of Halāyudha, Śūlapāṇi and in the Gṛhastharatnākara (i. e. from about the 12th century onwards). Aparārka (p. 98) quotes another passage from the Brahmapurāṇa[1800], which condemns remarriage of women, niyoga, independence of women, on the ground that men in the Kali age are sinners. Aparārka (p. 233) quotes two verses from a smṛti (without name) the first of which prohibits six acts, viz. killing a cow in sacrifice, niyoga (of husband's brother), the performance of *sattras*, taking a water jar, use of wine (in sautrāmani), being an ascetic (of the *paramahamsa* type) and the second prohibits five, viz. human sacrifice, cow sacrifice, the taking of a kamaṇḍalu, niyoga, and the remarriage of a girl whose marriage has not been consummated. Aparārka (p. 233) quotes a passage from the Mārkaṇḍeya recommending the offering of a golden vessel in place of the cow in Madhuparka and stating that Bhṛgu laid down that no animal was to be sacrificed in Kali. The Sm. C. (I. p. 12) quotes a Purāṇa passage that 'the remarriage of a married woman, special share to the eldest son, the killing of a cow, niyoga and the taking of a kamaṇḍalu—these five are to be avoided in Kali[1801]. Hemādri and the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa state, 'Agnihotra, the killing of a cow, *sannyāsa*, offering of meat in śraddha and raising of a son by the husband's brother—these five were[1802] to be avoided in Kali. Hemādri in Dānakhaṇḍa quotes a passage from the Garuḍapurāṇa in which seven matters are mentioned as forbidden in Kali, viz. Aśvamedha, Gosava, human sacrifice, Rājasūya, remarriage even of a girl whose first marriage was not consummated, the carrying of a kamaṇḍalu and procreation of a son on a widow by her husband's brother. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 2) mentions twenty-six Kalivarjyas without expressly citing the name of any work. In the Sm. C., the Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri (III. part 2 p. 666), the Par. M. I. part 1 pp. 131–137, the Madanapārijāta (pp. 15–16),

1800. क्षीणा पुनर्विवाहस्तु देवरात्पुत्रसन्ततिः। स्वातन्त्र्यं च कलियुगे कर्तव्यं न कदाचन। यत पातकिनो लोके नरा. सन्ति कलौ युगे। ब्रह्मपुराण q by अपरार्क p, 98

1801. पुराणेपि। ऊढाया. पुनरुद्वाहं ज्येष्ठांशं गोवधं तथा। कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत भ्रातुर्जायां कमण्डलुम्। स्मृतिच. I p. 12 This is quoted from the आदिपुराण in the मदनरत्न. Vide *n*, 1700 above and कलिवर्ज्यवि.; स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम) p. 13 quotes it as from पराशर.

1802. अग्निहोत्रं गवालम्भं संन्यासं पलपैतृकम्। देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिं कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत्॥ स्मृतिमु. (वर्णाश्रम p 176), यतिधर्मसंग्रह p 2, सह्याद्रिखण्ड (उत्तरभाग chap. V. 64–65) The first two read अग्न्याधेयम्. The निर्णयसिन्धु p. 370 *quotes* the verse as a निगम

Madanaratna (samayoddyota), the Udvāha-tattva (p 112), the Samaya-mayūkha, the Samayaprakāsa of Mitramiśra (pp. 261–263), the Nirnayasindhu (III, pūrvārdha at end), Bhattoji on Caturvimśati-mata, the Smrtimuktāphala (varnāśrama p. 13), the Smrtikaustubha, the Dharma-sindhu (pp. 357–358) and some other works quote long passages from a purāna (which in some of them is specified as the Ādityapurāna) that mentions about 50 Kalivarjyas[1803]. There is a work called Kalivarjyavinirnaya or Kalivarjyanirnaya composed by Dāmodara elder brother of Nīlakantha (first half of 17th century A. D.), who in his Samaya-mayūkha refers to it. It quotes the Ādityapurana, Brahma-purana and other texts that are quoted here from Hemādri and other older digests[1804].

In the passage quoted the several Kalivarjyas are not arranged on any systematic basis. Here, first of all a few Kalivarjyas that have a bearing on law will be mentioned and then the rest will be taken up one after another in the order in which they appear in the extract and lastly those that do not appear in that extract will also be dealt with. The first verse states that certain actions were discarded by the wise though this was unauthorized (by śruti or smrti) after arriving at a convention among themselves through fear of the loss of dharma (if they were persisted in), because in the Kali age there is absence of good men. The last verse and a half again state that at the beginning of the Kali great men arrived at certain conventions and discarded certain actions in order to guard the people (against harm and sin) and (it is well known) that the conventions of good men are authoritative like Veda[1805].

1. Giving a larger share of ancestral property or the whole of it to the eldest son (this is called *jyesthāmśa* or *uddhāra* or *uddhāravibhāga*). Vide pp. 624–631 above for this.[1806]

1803. Vide Appendix for the passage.

1804. A ms. of this work existing in the Central Library at Baroda was very kindly lent to me through the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona. There are eleven folios with ten lines on each side and about 40 letters in each line.

1805. Compare Āp Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 2-3 'धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणम् । वेदाश्च' and Vas. I 4–5.

1806. The earliest reference in English to Kalivarjya matters is found in a translation of the passage of the Samayoddyota section of the Madanaratna contained in Sir William Jones' Works vol. VIII (ed of 1807), General Note, vide also Strange's Hindu Law, vol. II pp 164–174 for reference in a modern work on Hindu Law to several topics of Kalivarjya.

2. Appointing the husband's brother (or a sagotra &c.) to raise issue on the wife of a sonless man. This is called *niyoga* and has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599–607. It may be added here that in the K. V. N. there is a long discussion on the question whether an elder brother of the deceased could have been appointed to raise issue on his younger brother's widow and gives it as the opinion of some that he could not be so appointed, but that only a younger brother could be appointed to raise issue on his elder brother's widow. They rely on the Mit. on Yāj. I. 68 where 'devara' is paraphrased as 'kanīyān bhrātā'. The K. V. N. (folio 5 b and 6 a) relying on Manu IX. 62 and the words of the Mit on Yāj. II. 127 (where Manu IX. 69–70 are cited and explained as 'devaras-tasya jyesthah kanistho vā) holds that any brother whether elder or younger than the husband could be appointed.

3. The admission of several kinds of secondary sons other than the aurasa and the dattaka. For this vide above pp. 647–653.

4. Remarriage of widows. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 608 ff. Some texts such as Vas. 17. 74 make a distinction between the remarriage of a woman whose marriage was not consummated and of a woman whose marriage was consummated, remarriage being allowed in the first case but not in the 2nd. The Kalivarjya texts forbid remarriage in both cases.[1807]

5. Intercaste marriages. This subject has been treated of in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 447–451. It has been shown by me above (pp. 599–600) that the decisions in 46 Bom. 871 and 55 Bom. 1 are based upon a misunderstanding about the real views of Nīlakantha.

6. Marriage with sagotra girls or with girls that are sapindas of the mother (such as the maternal uncle's daughter). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452–478 for prohibition on the ground

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1807. पाणिग्राहे मृते बाला केवलं मन्त्रसंस्कृता। सा चेदक्षतयोनिः स्यात्पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ वसिष्ठ 17. 74. The half verse बालिकाक्षतयोन्योस्तु वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः refers to both kinds of widows viz बालिका (whose marriage is not consummated) and क्षतयोनि (whose marriage is consummated). The reading of हेमाद्रि and कलिवर्ज्यनि. (folio 1) 'बालिकाक्षतयोन्यास्तु (or—न्याश्च) is to be understood as referring only to the first kind (बालिका चासौ अक्षतयोनिश्च). The निर्णयसिन्धु (p 368) reads बालायाः क्षतयोन्यास्तु

of sapinda relationship, pp. 497 ff. for prohibition on the ground of gotra and pp. 458–463 for marriage with maternal uncle's daughter. The custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter has persisted to this day in many castes in spite of the inclusion of it among Kalivarjyas. An inscription at Nāgārjunikonda (3rd century A. D.) shows that Vīrapurusa-datta, son of Śāntamūla, married three daughters of his paternal aunts (E. I. vol XX p. 1).

7. Slaying a brāhmana who comes as an ātatāyin in a properly conducted fight Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 148–151 and p. 517 above for this subject.

8. Awarding of fines against witnesses who depose in disputes between father and son [1808] It has already been seen (p 299) how ordinarily suits between husband and wife, father and son were not encouraged in ancient India. But when such a dispute came to the king's notice he could take action *suo motu*, as Nār. includes 'pitāputra-vivāda' among the miscellaneous matters (prakīrnaka verse 3) which the king was to set in motion. Even in ancient times this rule must not have been strictly enforced. As time went on and separation of father and son became frequent the rule must have appeared to be unreasonable. Vide Mit. on Yāj. II. 32 referred to above in n. 418. Yāj. II. 239 (= Matsya 227. 198) prescribed a fine of 3 panas for those who (instead of composing the quarrel between father and son and being able to do so) undertake to be witnesses. Viśvarūpa read 'a fine of two hundred panas'. Viṣṇu Dh. S V. 120 prescribes a fine of ten panas. This shows that at the time of the Matsyapurāna this act was probably not included among Kalivarjyas.

9. Taking (or stealing) of corn even from one whose actions are lowly (i. e. even from a śūdra), when a brāhmana has been without food for six times (i. e three days). Gaut. 18. 28–29, Manu XI. 16 and Yāj. III. 43 provide that when a brāhmana cannot earn his maintenance in a season of distress even in any one of the ways indicated in Yāj. III. 42 and has been hungry for three days he may steal or take away one day's food even from a low person such as a sūdra It should be noted that this Kalivarjya text pointedly repeats the very

1808. पितापुत्रयोर्विरोधे साक्षी न तिष्ठेत्। यस्तिष्ठेत्स दण्ड्यश्चीन् कार्षापणान्यथान्तरे तिष्ठेत्सोऽप्यष्टशतं दाप्यः। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by अपरार्क p. 824.

words of Manu XI. 16 'bhaktāni sad-anaśnatā .. hartavyam hīnakarmanaḥ). In ancient times theft of such a minor nature was permitted when the brāhmana was famished. But later times took a stricter view of the matter.

10. 'The admission to intercourse of a brāhmana who undertakes a sea voyage, even though he may have performed the penance prescribed for the same' (*l.* 7 in the appendix) Here the word used is 'dvijasya'. It may mean either any person of the three higher castes or a brāhmana. If a man who has made a sea voyage took prāyaścitta he expiated only the sin, but did not become fit, according to this dictum, to be associated with by others. Whether the Vedic Aryans knew the sea has been doubted. Vide 'Vedic Index' on 'samudra', vol. II. pp. 431–433. The Nirukta II. 10 refers to the fact that a doubt arises whether the word 'samudra' in a particular vedic verse refers to the sea or to the sky. In some verses as in Ṛg X. 98. 5 'he discharged divine rain waters from the higher to the lower samudra' both the meanings of 'samudra' (viz. sea, sky) are pointedly brought out. Vide also Ṛg. VII. 6. 7 (ā samudrād-avarād-ā parasmāt). In Ṛg. VII. 95. 2 Sarasvatī is mentioned as going from the mountains to the sea In Ṛg. X. 136. 5 the two seas, Eastern and Western, are mentioned (ubhau samudrāvā kseti yaśca pūrva utāparah). In Ṛg. VIII. 6. 4 it is said, 'all people bend down to him, as the sindhus (rivers) flow to the Ocean.' Ṛg. I. 116. 4–5, X. 39. 4 and X. 143. 5 refer to the story that Aśvins saved Bhujyu from the waters of the sea.[1809] The Atharvaveda XI. 2. 25 refers to eastern sea and northern sea. There is no doubt that in the Brāhmanas the sea was well-known. The Tai Br. II. 2. 5. 6 remarks, 'there is no end to desire and also to samudra' (neva hi kāmasyāntosti na samudrasya). The Ait. Br (40. 2) remarks 'just as the sea stands surrounding the earth' (tābhī rājānam parigrhya tisthati samudra iva bhūmim). It has already been seen that among the five practices peculiar to the north the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 22) enumerates sea voyage (samudra-samyāna) as the last and condemns it. Baud. (II. 1. 51) places sea voyage at the head of grave sins (*patanīyāni*) along with misappropriating a brāhmana's wealth kept as a deposit. The Mit.

1809 Vide 'Vedic Hymns' by Max Muller (S B E vol 32 pp. 57–62) for a note on the question whether the Indians of 'the Vedic age' knew the surging sea (terrestrial).

on Yāj. III. 288 quotes the sūtra of Baud. Manu (III. 158 and 166–167) provides that a brāhmana who had been on a sea voyage was sinful and was not to be invited at a śrāddha. But it is clear that Manu does not say that such a brāhmana altogether loses caste or that he becomes altogether unfit to be associated with; all that Manu provides is that such a brāhmana became unfit for invitation at a śrāddha. The Auśanasasmrti (IV. pp. 525–526) declares that those who sell the Veda, who marry a widow, who undertake a sea voyage are *patita* and are not to be invited at a śrāddha. These passages show that the prohibition against sea voyage affected only brāhmanas and even then they did not apparently become altogether unfit to be associated with. That brāhmanas crossed the ocean and went to such distant countries as Siam, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and Borneo can be easily proved[1810]. E. I. vol. 17 p. 314 gives references to inscriptions from Borneo to show that brāhmanas from India migrated to that country about 400 A. D. That kings and merchants undertook sea voyages is also clear from several considerations. The Bāveru Jātaka (vol. III No 339, Fausboll) tells us that merchants from Benares went to Babylon in order to sell Indian goods. The 'Questions of Milinda' S. B. E. vol. 36 p. 269 refers to a ship-owner voyaging by sea to distant countries[1811]. The Rājatarangini refers to the sea voyage of an envoy of king Jayāpida of Kashmir to Ceylon (IV 503–506). Manu VIII. 157 prescribes that the king should allow that rate of interest which those who are adepts in sea voyages and land journeys and who understand what is required to be the interest at certain times and in certain

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1810. Vide Dr. R. C. Majumdar's 'Champa' (1927) and 'Suvarnadvipa' (1937 and 1938): 'Indian influence in the Literature of Java and Bali' by Himansu Bhusana Sarkar, 'India and Java' by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee (1933). G Gorer's 'Bali and Angkor'; 'Sankrit texts from Bali' edited by M. Sylvain Levi in G. O. S. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, vol. IX. pp. 39–50. The standard writings of Brandes, Bergaigne, Kern, Krom, Parmentier and other scholars on Java, Champa and other countries of the Eastern Archipelago are not mentioned here, as they are not in English. They are referred to by Dr. Majumdar and others.

1811. The whole passage is interesting and may be set out here· 'Just as a shipowner, who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga or Takkola or China or Sovira, Surat or Alexandria or Coromandel coast or Further India or any other place where ships do congregate' &c (S. B. E vol. 36 p. 269).

places determine to be the proper one. Yāj. II. 38 provides for very high interest (20 per cent per month) from those who engage in trade by sea. Nār. IV. 179 says that a trader (samudra-vanik) who makes sea voyages is not a proper witness. The Vāyu (45. 78–80) and other purānas state that Bharatavarsa[1812] has nine divisions called *dvīpas*, all of which are separated from each other by the sea and are not (easily accessible, that Jambudvīpa (India proper) is the 9th dvīpa and the other eight are Indra, Kaseru, Tāmraparnī, Gabhastimat, Nāga, Saumya (Siam?), Gandharva, Vāruna (Borneo?). Therefore Bharatavarsa according to Paurānic Geography included modern India and also Greater India. None of the ancient works at least says anything against śūdras undertaking sea voyages; but now even śūdras, probably in their desire to emulate the brāhmaṇa and rise higher in social esteem, think that sea voyage is forbidden to them also.

When during the latter half of the 19th century some brāhmanas went to England on a political mission or for study and returned to India, the question whether after taking the appropriate *prāyaścitta* those brāhmanas could be associated with fully as before was referred to many orthodox and learned *Pandits* (such as the late Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati) and it is creditable to the Pandits and gratifying to note that many of them came to the conclusion that they could be associated with by others. The two principal texts referred to were those of the Brhan-Nāradapurāna (note 1798 above) and the one from the Ādityapurāna translated at the head of this particular Kalivarjya. Very interesting and hairsplitting arguments and explanations were advanced by the learned Pandits in 1872. Some of them may be noted here. As regards the Nāradīya passage, it is argued that only that seavoyage is forbidden in the Kali, which was a righteous act (dharma) in former times. In Parāśara-smṛti XII. 58 the following prāyaścitta[1813] is prescribed for brāhmana murder: 'the sinner should

1812. भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदा· प्रकीर्तिताः । समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम् ॥ इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् । नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः । अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीप· सागरसंवृत । वायु 45. 78–80. The same verses (except the half verse समुद्रान्तरिता &c) occur in मत्स्य 114. 7–9 and Brahmapurāna 19. 6–7.

1813. एतेषु स्यापयत्नेन. पुण्यं गत्वा तु सागरम् । दृशयोजनविस्तीर्णं शतयोजनमायतम् ॥ रामचन्द्रसमादिष्टं नलसञ्चयसञ्ज्ञितम् । सेतु दृष्ट्वा समुद्रस्य ब्रह्महत्या व्यपोहति ॥ पराशर· स्मृति XII. 69–71.

be directed to perform the penance of going to the *setu* on the ocean; he should beg for alms on the road to the setu from men of the four classes that are free from improper acts, should walk barefooted and without umbrella, should declare his sin in all towns, villages and hamlets of cowherds on the way while resting there or in forests, sacred places and rivers and after reaching the sea and on seeing the setu, 100 yojanas long and 10 yojanas broad, constructed with heaps of stones at the bidding of Rāma by Nala he will get rid of the sin of brāhmana murder'. Here brāhmana murder being a most heinous offence it cannot be supposed that a mere sight of the *setu* from land would absolve the sinner and the words about the length and breadth of the setu would be otherwise meaningless. Therefore what is meant is that he must undertake a sea-voyage and go along the whole length and breadth of the setu in a vessel. Such a voyage was religious conduct in former ages, but in Kali this is forbidden. The word 'holding a kamandalu' (which also was prescribed as dharma in former ages) conveys that a similar or analogous practice is referred to in the immediately preceding words. The words 'dvijasyābdhau &c.' are to be interpreted as follows: 'nauyātuh' is the genitive singular of 'nauyātr'. The affix 'tṛ' is not the ordinary 'tr' but it is 'trn' used in the sense of 'one who habitually does a thing', according to Pānini III. 2. 134–135.[1814] Therefore the words of the Ādityapurāna apply only to a dvija who habitually engages in a sea voyage either as a trader or as a helmsman or sailor. When Nārada (Dāyabhāga 21) states that even an aurasa son who is hostile to his father or who is patita (guilty of one of the five great sins) or is impotent or is 'apayātrita' he does not get a share of ancestral wealth, the Vyavahāramayūkha explains the last word as 'one who goes to another continent (other than Jambudvīpa) through mid ocean by means of a vessel for purposes of trade' and relies on this passage (dvijasyābdhau &c.) for support. So according to the author of the V. Mayūkha only that dvija who constantly undertakes sea voyages for trade is here declared to be unfit for social intercourse though he may have taken a prāyaścitta, and not one who casually or once in a life undertakes a sea voyage. No text prescribes a prāyaścitta merely for going in a vessel on the sea. If that were intended in this passage the text would have read differently viz. 'samudre naugamanābhāve &c.' Even śistas have been

1814. आक्रेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु । तृन् । पाणिनि III. 2. 134–135.

crossing the sea to Ceylon for purposes of trade. In dramas like the Ratnāvali (where the *kañcukan* Bābhravya undertakes a sea voyage and a merchant from Kauśāmbī is said to have gone to Ceylon) and in romances like the Daśakumāracarita frequent references are made to sea voyages to Ceylon and other countries. What is aimed to be hit when prāyaścitta for sea voyage is prescribed is the fact that on such voyages a man may give up for long such daily duties as the performance of *sandhyā* and may have come in very close contact with *mlecchas* as regards food etc. If he has done these two, then only he is not fit for intercourse even though he may have undergone a prāyaścitta. If he performs his daily duties wherever he may dwell and does not come in too close a contact with mlecchas he may have to perform no prāyaścitta, much less would he become unfit for social intercourse. The view of Medhātithi on Manu II. 23 that any country by itself is not unfit for the residence of an ārya, that if mlecchas overrun a country in India and permanently reside there it may become a mlecchadesa, that even a mlecchа country, if it be conquered by an Indian king and if the system of the four varnas be introduced therein, would be a fit one for the performance of Vedic sacrifices, has already been noted (in H. of Dh vol. II p 16). It has to be remembered that the Ādiparva (85. 34) states that *mlecchas* and *yavanas* sprang from Anu and Turvasu, sons of Yayāti. The Sabhāparva notes that Bhīma made mlecchas dwelling beyond the seas and in Anūpa bring tribute (30. 25–27) and that mlecchas came to see the Rājasūya sacrifice along with Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisa (Sabhā 34. 9–10). The following propositions follow from the above discussion: (1) As the word 'dvija' is used a śūdra or a person of the mixed castes (*saṅkīrna-jāti*) does not become unfit for social intercourse even by habitually undertaking a sea voyage, but he may have to undergo a prāyaścitta, (2) a dvija who casually undertakes a sea voyage to a place outside India either at the king's bidding or for any other purpose has to undergo a prāyaścitta, but if he does so he becomes fit for social intercourse; (3) a dvija habitually undertaking a sea voyage for trade or as a sailor would become unfit for intercourse even after undergoing prāyaścitta. Manu IX. 314, when enlarging upon the devastating power of brāhmanas, mentions that the sea was made undrinkable by brāhmanas, which, according to Medhātithi and other commentators, has in view the story in Śānti 343 60–61. It is difficult to say whether this story had any influence in leading to the prohibition against sea voyage.

The Smrtikaustubha explains that 'samudrayātrā' means 'tīrthayātrā' i e. pilgrimage to holy places beyond the sea and that is forbidden here. But this seems to be wrong, as stated by Krsnabhatta on the Nir. S. The latter says that expiation is to be undergone only where a sea voyage is undertaken from worldly motives, but where a sea voyage has to be undertaken for reaching a holy place like the Śankhoddhāra-tīrtha, it is an inseparable part of the pilgrimage and therefore there is no necessity to undergo a prāyaścitta.[1815]

11. 'The initiation for a *sattra*' (1. 8) Sattras were sacrificial sessions the duration of which varied from 12 days to a year, 12 years or even more. Only brāhmanas could perform them (Jai. VI. 6 16-23). Acc. to Śabara on Jai. VI. 2. 1 persons who engaged in them must not be less than 17 nor more than 24 All of them were both sacrificers (yajamāna) as well as priests. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1239-1246 for sattras. The prohibition against engaging in sattras is a clear indication that people had become tired of the ancient Vedic sacrifices, of the great demands they made on time and wealth and had begun to prefer other and easier modes of worship.

12. 'Carrying a jar of water' (1. 8). The Baud. Dh. S I 4 devotes numerous[1816] sūtras (1-27) to the subject of carrying an earthen or wooden jar full of water. Every *snātaka* was always to carry a jar of water from which he was to take water for *śauca* He was to wash it with water and rub it with his hand. This was declared to be equal to *paryagnikarana* (encircling with fire for purification, vide H. Dh. vol. II p. 1120 n. 2501). He was not to go to another's house or to the village boundary or on a journey without the jar. Vas. 12. 14-17, Manu IV. 36, Yāj I. 133 contain similar provisions Viśvarūpa explains that the snātaka himself need not carry it and that it may be carried for him by another. It was an encumbrance, gave rise to unhygienic and unclean habits and so gradually it came to be dispensed with. This practice was regularised by declaring that in the Kali age a water jar was

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1815 एतच्च प्रायश्चित्तं रागप्राप्ते समुद्रयान एव। शङ्खोद्धारादिवत्तीर्थे यात्राविधिनान्तरीयकं समुद्रयानमतो दोषाभावाच्च प्रायश्चित्तमित्यन्यत्र विस्तरः। कृष्णभट्ट on नि. सि p 1288.

1816. अथ कमण्डलुचर्याम्नुपदिशन्ति । ... तस्माच्छौचं कृत्वा पाणिना परिमृजीत पर्याग्निकरणं हि तत् । ... अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । कमण्डलुर्द्विजातीनां शौचार्थे विहित पुरा। ब्रह्मणा मुनिमुख्यैश्च तस्मात्तं धारयेत्सदा॥ तत. शौचं ततः पान सन्ध्योपासनमेव च। निर्विशङ्केन कर्तव्यं यदीच्छेच्छ्रेय आत्मनः। ... पितृदेवार्चिकार्येषु तस्मात्तं परिवर्जयेत्। तस्माद् विना कमण्डलुना नाध्वानं व्रजेत्न सीमान्तं न गृहाद् गृहम्। बौ. ध. सू. I. 4. 1. 3. 18-19, 24, 25.

not to be carried at all. The Madanapārijāta (p. 16) explained that 'kamandaluvidhārana' refers to perpetual studenthood, but this explanation cannot be accepted, because in the Nāradīyapurāna (note 1798 above) both are mentioned separately. The K. V. N. (folio 3 a) notes that some explained 'kamandaluvidhāranam' as standing for 'dīrghakālam brahmacaryam' (studenthood for long periods).

13. 'Starting on the Great Journey' (l. 9). The Bṛhan-Nāradīya-purāna (pūrvārdha 24. 16) also forbids this. According to Manu VI. 31 and Yāj. III. 55 a forest hermit, when he suffered from an incurable disease and could not perform the duties of his order, was allowed to start towards the north-east on the Great Journey (mahāprasthāna) till the body fell down to rise no more. Similarly, a man guilty of brāhmana murder was allowed to meet death at the hands of archers or to throw himself head foremost into fire. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 924-928 for Mahāprasthānagamana. Aparārka[1817] (p. 877-879) quotes long passages from the Ādipurāna to the effect that if a man suffering from an incurable disease starts on the Great Journey in the Himālaya or commits suicide by entering fire or water or by falling from a precipice, not only does he not incur sin, but on the contrary he goes to heaven. It is rather inconsistent that the Ādipurāna (or Ādityapurāna) should in one place extol the starting on the Great Journey and in another place should forbid it in the Kali age. The K. V. N. cites the instance of the Pāṇḍavas that are said to have started on the Great Journey. This makes one suspicious about the authenticity of the passages on Kalivarjya quoted from the Ādityapurāna by some and from Ādipurāna by others.

14. 'The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called Gosava' (l. 9).

There were various occasions on which in ancient times a cow was sacrificed. The Anūbandhyā cow killed at the end of the Udayanīyā iṣṭi in Agniṣṭoma has been referred to above (on p. 627 n. 1196). In the Madhuparka which was offered

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1817. तथा चादित्यपुराणम्। दुश्चिकित्स्यैर्महारोगैः पीडितस्तु पुमान्यदि। प्रविशेज्ज्वलनं दीप्तं करोत्यनशनं तथा॥ अगाधतोयराशिं वा भृगुप्रपतनं तथा। गच्छेन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिमादरात्॥ अयागवदशाखायां देहत्यागं करोति वा। स्वर्गं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः। उत्तमान्यायुषाद्योक्तान्नात्मघाती भवेत्क्वचित्। q. by अपरार्क p. 877 and by परा. मा. I. 2. 228 (as from आदित्यपुराण) अपरार्क (p. 879) further quotes 'महाप्रस्थानयात्रा च कर्तव्या तूहिनोपरि। आस्थितेन सदा धैर्यं च सदा. स्वर्गमवाप्नुयात्॥'

to an honoured guest a cow was either killed or let loose at the desire of the guest. Vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 543-545. A cow was killed in one of the three or four *astakā* śrāddhas (vide Khādira gr. III. 4 1, Gobhila gr. III. 10. 16). Āp Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 25 states that if cow's flesh is offered in śrāddha for the *pitṛs*, the latter are gratified for one year. There was a sacrifice called Gosava or Gomedha, that was an Ukthya in which the fees were ten thousand cows and which according to some could be performed only by a vaiśya (Kāt. Śr. 22. 11.[1818] 3-8). A bull was killed as an offering in the rite called śūlagava (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 831-832). As flesh-eating came to be looked down upon, cow sacrifice became most abhorrent and Kalivarjya texts only register a prohibition which had been acted upon centuries before.

15. 'The employment of cups of wine in the Sautrāmaṇī' (I. 10).

The Sautrāmaṇī is not a soma sacrifice but it is a combination of an *iṣṭi* with an animal sacrifice. It was so called from 'sutrāman' (an epithet of Indra). Its peculiar characteristic was the offering of *surā* in cups. In modern times milk is offered in its place and Āp Śr. allowed it even in ancient times[1819]. It was included among the seven *haviryajñas* by Gaut. (VIII. 20). At the end of the Rājasūya it was performed or in Agnicayana or for one who suffered vomiting or purging from the excessive drinking of soma. For sautrāmaṇī and the preparation of surā in it, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 1225-1228. Bhattoji (in com. on Caturvimśati-mata p. 53) and the Nirnayasindhu construe this to mean 'having social intercourse with one who employs surā in Sautrāmaṇī' but this is not satisfactory. The Dharmasindhu explains as above (III. pūrvārdha p. 357)[1820].

1818. ऋषभगोसवौ । . . उक्थ्यो गोसवो अयुतदक्षिणः । वैश्ययज्ञ इत्येके । सराजानो विशो यं पुरस्कुर्वीरन् । कात्या श्रौ 22. 11 3, 6-8.

1819. चात्वाले मार्जयित्वापरस्मिन् स्रुवे सुराग्रहान् गृह्णन्ति । ... पयोग्रहा वा स्युः । आप. श्रौ. 19. 2. 7. 13.

1820 सुराग्रहणस्य सुराग्रहणकर्तुः सग्रह. व्यवहारः । भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमत p 53 , सौत्रामण्यादियज्ञेपि सुरापात्रग्रहस्तथा । धर्मसिन्धु III p 357 The कलिवर्ज्यवि (follo 6b) remarks, 'सुराग्रहणस्य सग्रहः प्रयोगविधिनानुष्ठापनम् । यत्तु सग्रहपदस्वारस्यानुसारेण सुराग्रहणस्येत्यनेन सुराग्रहणकर्तार विवक्षित्वा तस्य संग्रहे व्यवहार इति व्याख्यात तत्र । अस्मदुक्तमार्गेण गतिसम्भवे लक्षणाश्रयस्य जघन्यत्वात् । किं चैव सति सौत्रामण्या सुराग्रहस्य निषेधो न स्यात्तत्कर्तु परे व्यवहारनिषेधः स्यात् । तच्च समाचारविरुद्धम् ।'.

16. 'The licking of the Agnihotrahavanī and the use of it even after it was licked' (l. 11) In the Agnihotra the *sruva* ladle is held in the right hand and the *sruc* called agnihotrahavanī is held in the left and the milk is poured into the latter from the milk pot with sruva. After the Agnihotra homa is offered the agnihotrahavanī is licked twice in order to take out the remnants of the milk and after wiping it with darbha blades it is used again. Ordinarily a vessel when it is once licked by a man cannot be used again in a religious rite unless proper purification is resorted to. But this did not apply to the Agnihotrahavanī and *camasas* of soma. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1002, n. 2663 for agnihotrahavanī, p. 1005 for its licking and p. 1177 (n. 2598) for the drinking of soma from the same *camasa* by the several priests. The licking of the agnihotrahavanī and its use constitute really the subject of the prohibition.[1821]

17. 'Entering on the stage of forest hermit as laid down in the texts about it' (l. 12). Gaut. III. 25–34, Āp. Dh. S (II. 9. 21. 18 to II. 9. 23. 2), Manu VI. 1–32, Vas IX 1–11, Yāj. III. 45–55 lay down elaborate rules for the stage of forest hermits. Vide H. of Dh vol II pp. 917–929 for a description and remarks on *sannyāsa* to be made later on.

18. 'The narrowing down or curtailment of the periods of impurity depending upon the Vedic learning and the mode of life of a person' (l. 13). 'Agha' means 'āśauca'; 'vrtta' (mode of life) refers to tending sacred fires or maintaining oneself in the way described by Manu IV. 7–10. The general rule about the period of impurity for a brāhmana on the death of a sapinda was stated by Gaut. 14. 1, Manu V. 59 and 83 to be that it was ten days and Angiras quoted by the Mit. on Yāj III. 22 prescribes impurity for ten days for all varnas, but Manu V. 59 also spoke of the period being four days, three days or one day, which, acc to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 28–29, refers respectively to kumbhidhānya, one who has collected food for three days or one who collects nothing for the morrow. Daksa VI. 6 and Parā-

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1821. प्राग्दण्डयोर्दण्डया वा स्रुचा द्विराचामति द्विश्च निर्लेढि। सरया श्रौ III 7 19. लीढाया उच्छिष्टदोषशुद्ध्युपाय विना परिग्रहो यस्मिन् विहितत्वेन निर्दोषत्वाविश्याशय.। ततश्च न पृथक्निषेध· परिग्रहस्य। स्मृतिकौस्तुभ p 471, अग्निहोत्रं हूयते यया स्रुचा सा चैकस्रुती अग्निहोत्रहवणी तस्याश्च होमानन्तर हुतावशिष्टमतिपत्तिधूतप्राशनार्थं लेहो जिह्वया-स्वादनं कथंचिल्लीढायास्तस्याः पुन. परिग्रहो विनान्तरे होमसाधनता। कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 7a.

śara[1822] III. 5 both state that a brāhmaṇa who keeps the Vedic fires and has studied the Veda becomes free from impurity in a day, one who has only studied the Veda (but does not tend sacred fires) becomes free in three days, while one devoid of both becomes free after ten days. Aparārka (p. 894) and Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 1 quote Bṛhaspati to the same effect. The Mit. remarks[1823] (on Yāj III. 28–29) that the curtailment of the period of impurity is not absolute but is restricted only to certain special matters viz. the receiving of gifts, the performance of Agnihotra, the study of the Veda and such matters in which distress would be caused if the period were not curtailed. This explanation clearly proves that Vijñāneśvara (end of 11th century) was not aware of the prohibition of the curtailment of the periods of impurity or treated it with scant respect. The curtailment of the period of impurity was laid down probably because curtailment led to confusion, since a person may claim to be learned, while his neighbours may not concede that claim.

19. 'Prescribing death as the penance for brāhmaṇas'. (I. 14)

Manu XI. 89 provides that if a person intentionally murders a brāhmaṇa there is no expiation for it. Manu XI 90 prescribes death by drinking boiling wine for the sin of drinking *surā*, while Manu XI. 146 provides[1824] that if a man knowingly drinks wine there is no expiation for it, but only death. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra (chap. 34) states that incest with the mother, daughter or daughter-in-law is *atipātaka*, such sinners have to

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1822. एकाहाच्छुध्यते विप्रो योऽग्निवेदसमन्वितः । त्र्यहात्केवलवेदस्तु द्विहीनो दशभिर्दिनैः । दक्ष VI. 6 and पराशर III 5, quoted by विश्वरूप on या. III, 30, त्रिरात्रेणैव शुध्येत्तु विप्रो वेदाग्निसंयुतः । पञ्चभिर्वाग्निहीनस्तु दशाहाद् ब्राह्मणव्रत ॥ शिलोञ्छायाचितैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुध्येद् द्विजोत्तमः । गायत्रीमात्रसारोपि तिस्रः सन्ध्या उपास्ति च ॥ न करोति श्ववृत्तिं च षडहः सूतकं भवेत् । बृह. q by अपरार्क p. 894.

1823. अथ चाशौचसङ्कोचो येनैव प्रतिग्रहादिना विनार्तिस्तद्विषयो न सर्वत्रेत्यवगन्तव्यम् । ... अतः क्वाचित्कमेवेदृमाशौचसङ्कोचविधान न पुनः सर्वसंध्यवहारादिगोचरमित्यलमतिप्रपञ्चेन । मिता. on या III. 28–29

1824 मतिपूर्वमनिर्देश्यं प्राणान्तिकमिति स्थिति । मनु XI 146 Most of the commentators of Manu explain this half differently as meaning 'a penance destructive of life should not be prescribed'. But this explanation is opposed to Gaut 21. 7 (त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्देश्यानि मनु.) and to Medhātithi Vide कल्पिवर्ज्यवि folio 7a ' यत्तु कैश्चिद् व्याख्यात मतिपूर्वं .. स्थितेरिति मनुराज्याद्यरोधात् सर्व्यैर्विप्रेभ्यो मरणान्तिकं नोपदेष्टव्यं तैस्तु रहस्यप्रायश्चित्तवद्यथाकथंचित्तदनुष्ठेयमिति तन्मन्दं मनुस्मृतेरेतद्गुणविधयत्वे प्रमाणाभावाद् । '.

enter fire and there is no other penance for this sin. Vide Gaut. 21. 7 also. Some smrtis held that there was no-prāyaścitta for certain grave sins except falling from a precipice or into fire. As a brāhmana's person became more and more sacred with the march of time, death ceased to be a penance for a brāhmana sinner, however grave the sin might be But this did not apply to a ksatriya or any one else (other than a brāhmaṇa).

20. 'Pollution through contact with a sinner' (1. 15). Manu XI. 180 (= Śānti 165. 37 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 88),[1825] Visnu Dh. S. 35. 2–5 provide that if a person continues for one year in close association (*samsarga*) with one guilty of the grave sins (enumerated in Manu XI. 54), in respect of occupying the same conveyance or seat with him or dining in the same row with him he becomes patita; but he becomes patita immediately if he officiates as a priest for such a sinner or performs his upanayana for teaching him the sacred Gāyatrī and the Veda or if he enters into a matrimonial alliance with him. Parāsara (I. 25–26) states that in the Krta age a person became patita by speaking with a patita, in Tretā by seeing him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house, but in Kali by actually committing a (sinful) deed and that when a grave sin was committed by a man, in the Krta age the whole district in which he lived was to be abandoned, in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara his family alone and in Kali only the perpetrator.[1826] Parāśara (XII. 79) no doubt[1827] says that 'sins (i. e pollutions are caused) are transferred, as a drop of oil (spreads) on water, by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance, by speaking with or by dining in the same row with a sinner'; but this only means that to associate with a sinner is bad, but it does not mean that to associate with a *patita* immediately makes the associator himself a patita. The Mit. on Yāj III. 261 quotes Devala[1828] and Vrddha-Brhaspati to the effect

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1825. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्योनात्र तु यानासनाशनात् । मनु XI 180, बौ ध. सू. II. 1. 88.

1826 त्यजेद्देशं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ग्राममुत्सृजेत् । द्वापरे कुलमेकं तु कर्तारं च कलौ युगे ॥ कृते सम्भाषणात्पाप त्रेतायां चैव दर्शनात् । द्वापरे चान्नमादाय कलौ पतति कर्मणा ॥ पराशर I. 25-26.

1827. आसनाच्छयनाद्यानात्सम्भाषात् सहभोजनात् । संक्रामन्ति हि पापानि तैलबिन्दुरिवाम्भसि ॥ पराशर XII, 79, which is the same as कण्व q by परा मा II. 1 p 28 (where सलापात् is read for सम्भाषात्).

1828 संलापस्पर्शनि.श्वाससहयानासनाशनात् । याजनाध्यापनाद्योनात्पापं संक्रमते नृणाम् ॥ देवल p. by मिता on या. III. 261, अपरार्क p. 1087

that *saṃsarga* arises in nine ways viz. by talk, by touch, by breathing the same air (i. e. by being in the same room), by being in the same conveyance or on the same seat or bed, by dining in the same row, by being a sinner's priest or vedic teacher or entering into matrimonial alliance with him. The Par M. says that Parāśara held the view that there was no *pātitya* by the various kinds of contact in Kali and so provided no prāyaścitta for *saṃsarga*. The Nirnayasindhu[1829] and Bhattoji make similar remarks. The Udvāhatattva says that Parāśara I. 25 is to be interpreted in this way that merely speaking or touching a *patita* or receiving money from him does not make another liable to any prāyaścitta, but that if the association with a patita goes quite beyond these, then sin may be incurred by association. So almost all the digests are agreed that the rigour of the very strict rules about saṃsarga in Manu and Baud. was modified by declaring that speech with or sight of a sinner involved no sin in Kali.[1830]

21. 'Undergoing (secret) expiation for the grave sins (mahāpātakas) except theft' (I. 15). Hārīta (q by Par. M. II[1831] part 2, p 153) prescribes secret expiation for a brāhmana who has studied dharmaśāstra and committed a sin without anyone knowing it. Gaut. (chap. 24) prescribes certain expiations to be undergone secretly (without any third person knowing of such performance) for even mahāpātakas such as brāhmana murder, drinking surā, incest and theft of gold. Vas. (chap. 25) also does the same and states (25. 2) that only those who have kept the sacred vedic fires, who are disciplined and old or learned are entitled to secret expiations for sins and not other people The Viṣnu Dh. S. 55 deals with secret expiations. Parāśara IX. 61 (last verse) laid down[1832] the general rule that one should openly

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1829 आचार्यस्तु कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्त नाम्नधात् अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे कलौ वर्ज्यानामनुक्रमणे संसर्गदोषः पापेषु इत्युक्तम्। परा मा II part 2 p 90, it may be noted that the धर्मट्टीकानिर्णय (p 132) *quotes this passage and criticizes it*; कलौ कर्तैव लिप्यते—इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः। निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368.

1830. कलौ कर्तैव लिप्यते — इत्यनेन संभाषणस्पर्शनादिजन्यपातित्यस्यैव निषेध। समयमयूख.

1831. अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुक्रमिष्यामः। रहस्य रहस्ये प्रकाशे प्रकाशम्। परा मा II part 2, p. 153.

1832. तस्मात्प्रकाशयेत्पापं स्वधर्मं सततं चरेत्। स्त्रीबालवृद्ध्यगोविप्रैरज्ञातिकोपं विवर्ज-

declare one's sin. The Kalivarjya text provides that secret expiation is allowed as regards only theft among the mahāpātakas in the Kali age, though in earlier ages it was allowed as to other mahāpātakas also The Nirnayasindhu says that secret expiation is allowed only to brāhmanas According to the Dharmasindhu, in the Kali age if a man is guilty of the murder of a brāhmana or of other mahāpātakas he does not avoid the consequences of falling into Hell when he undergoes an expiation but he becomes only fit for social intercourse, while as regards theft of gold (a mahāpātaka) by undergoing prāyaścitta he avoids the fall into hell and also becomes fit for social intercourse. The Kalivarjyavinirnaya appears to hold that all secret expiations are forbidden in Kali.[1833]

22. 'The act of offering an animal with the recital of Vedic *mantras* to the bridegroom, to a guest and in honour of pitrs' (1 16)[1834] Madhuparka was offered in ancient times on several occasions and to several persons such as to *rtvijs* at sacrifices, to the king, to a *snātaka*, to one's ācārya, father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncle and to a bridegroom. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 542–546 for details about Madhuparka. Originally a cow or a bull was killed for an honoured guest, later on when the cow came to be extremely sacred the flesh of some other animal was offered; when flesh-eating itself came to be looked down upon then only *pāyasa* and other vegetarian eatables came to be prescribed Vide H of Dh vol. II pp. 777–782 on flesh-eating. This half line forbids the offering of flesh to a bridegroom or to an honoured guest (in madhuparka) and the feeding of

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1833. The कलिवर्ज्यानि (folio 8a) notes, 'अत एव बृहन्नारदीयविष्णुपुराणादिषु-च्यादयन्ति प्रयत्नेन स्वदोषं पापकर्मिणः । रहस्यमेव कुर्वन्ति प्रायश्चित्तक्रियां कलौ॥ मनःशुद्धिविहीनानां निष्कृतिर्न ततो भवेत्—इत्यादि तत्र तत्र निन्दाप्रकर्षे रहस्यव्रतमेव निन्दितम् ।' It should be noticed that the Nirnayasindhu and a few others read ससर्गदोषस्तेयान्यमहापातकनिष्कृति as one word meaning 'secret expiation for mahāpātakas other than theft and other than association with those guilty of grave sins' The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p 2), मद (p. 16 and उद्वाहतत्त्व (p. 112) read this half line as ससर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः. 'ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकेषु प्रायश्चित्तेन नरकनिवृत्तिर्न भवति किं त्विह लोके व्यवहार्यतामात्रं कलौ भवति । स्वर्णस्तेयादिषु तु प्रायश्चित्तेन नरकनिवृत्तिर्व्यवहार्यता च । धर्मसिन्ध III, पूर्वार्ध p. 358.

1834. उपाकरण has a technical sense It means 'touching the animal to be sacrificed with several mantras' Manu V 7 employs the word in that sense and Kullūka comments, 'पशुयागादौ मन्त्रबहुत्वेन पशोः स्पर्शनमुपाकरणम्'. The कलिवर्ज्यानि. (9a) quotes देवतामादिशेदमुकं त्वा जुष्टमुपाकरोमि With reference to śrāddha the word upākarana is used in a secondary sense and not in the literal sense For the upākarana *mantra* अमुकं करोमि, vide आश्व गृ. I 11. 2

brāhmanas with flesh at śrāddhas. Comparatively so late a writer as Yāj (I. 258–259) extols the high gratification that the *Manes* feel when flesh of various animals is offered in śrāddhas. This one prohibition includes in itself several prohibitions that are separately mentioned in other texts such as 'govadha' (in notes 1797 and 1799), the killing of an animal in a Madhuparka (in n. 1798), 'gavālambha' and 'palapaitrka' (in note 1802). It is noteworthy that even so late as the first half of the 17th century Viśvanātha, a great logician, takes up the cudgels on behalf of flesh-eating by brāhmanas in sacrifices, śrāddha, madhuparka, in danger to life and when ordered by a brāhmana and charges those who totally forbid flesh-eating with being the followers of the doctrines of Bauddhas, while the latter at the same time prescribe expiations for even murderers of brāhmanas through greed of money and marry their maternal uncle's daughters or other sapindas of their mother, though both of these latter are forbidden by the Kalivarjya texts.[1835]

23. 'Association with those that are guilty of intercourse with women who are not of the same varna, even though the former may have undergone proper expiation for the lapse' (1. 18). There was great divergence of views as regards the prāyaścitta for adultery by a male with a female of the same class, of a higher class or of a lower class Further the ancient sūtras were rather hard on the guilty parties, the harsh rules being relaxed by later smrti writers. For example, Gaut 23 14–15 and Vas. 21. 1–3 prescribe for a male of a lower caste having intercourse with a woman of a higher caste death in various ways. If a brāhmana had sexual intercourse with a cāndāla or śvapāka woman Parāśara (X. 5–7) prescribes that he has to undergo a fast for three days, tonsure of the head together with the top knot, three Prājāpatyas, Brahmakūrca, feeding brāhmanas, constant recital of the Gāyatrī, gift of two pairs of cows and then he becomes pure, while a śūdra doing the same had to undergo the expiation of one Prājāpatya and had to make a

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1835 तस्माद्यज्ञे श्राद्धे मधुपर्के माणारभ्ये ब्राह्मणाज्ञायां च भोरूभ्यं तद्व्यतिरेकेणापि भृत्यभरणावश्यिष्टं देवपित्रर्चनावशिष्टं च चतुर्णामपि वर्णानामविशेषेण भक्ष्यमेव। मांसतत्त्वविवेक of विश्वनाथ (Sarasvatibhavana series, Benares, 1927), ये तु कलिवर्ज्यतया मांसश्राद्धे विवदन्ते तेषामन्यमहापातकनिष्कृतिरिति कलिवर्ज्यतयोक्तमपि ब्रह्महत्यातरसंसर्गमायश्चित्तं धनलोभाद्वर्षादिशन्ति मातृसपिण्डानयने (सपिण्डापरिणयने?) च न विवदन्ते रागरोवदूषितचेतसो देवानां प्रियास्ते केन शिक्षणीया इत्यलं मासाविद्विषाग्नेः सौगतमतानुसारिभिः सह श्रमेणेति। *ibid.* pp. 28–29.

gift of two cows. If a person of a low caste has intercourse with a woman of a higher caste (e g. a śūdra has intercourse with a brāhmana woman) Samvarta (verses 166–167) prescribes the expiation of subsisting for a month on cow's urine and *yāvaka* (barley gruel) for him If a brāhmana commits adultery with a śūdra or cāndāla woman Samvarta (verses 169–170) prescribes the expiation of cāndrāyana, while Parāśara (X. 17-20) prescribes a far more severe expiation The present text prescribes that, even after undergoing expiation, men guilty of intercourse with women of castes other than their own cannot be allowed to have social intercourse with their castemen. The Dharmasindhu[1836] says that śūdras that have intercourse with brāhmana or other women of a higher caste are hereby declared to be unfit for social intercourse even after they undergo expiation. This no doubt made for strictness in morale, but it also led to the preservation of caste exclusiveness.

24. 'Abandonment of a mother (or other woman who is to be honoured owing to relationship) because she has had sexual intercourse with one of low class' (1. 19).

The provisions of the sūtras and smrtis on the subject of expiation for adultery by women varied from time to time. Gaut 23. 14 and Manu VIII. 371 prescribe that a woman who has intercourse with a man of low caste is to be punished by the king with being devoured by dogs. But other smrtis and Manu himself (XI. 177) are not so harsh, but are rather humane in their treatment of adulteresses. Manu XI. 176 says that the husband should keep confined to one apartment his corrupt wife and compel her to perform the expiation which is prescribed for males in cases of adultery. Manu XI. 59 and Yāj III. 235 regard adultery by a male (pāradārya) as an upapātaka and Manu XI. 117 and Yāj. III. 265 prescribe cāndrāyana as an expiation for all upapātakas. Vas. XXI. 12 prescribes that the wives of men of the three higher castes who are guilty of adultery with a sūdra may be purified by an expiation if no child is born of the intercourse but not otherwise Yāj I. 72 provides that a woman becomes free from the taint of adultery when she has her monthly illness after the adultery but if she conceives in adulterous intercourse she may be abandoned. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 72 states that both Yāj. and Vas. are to be

1836. विप्रादिस्त्रीसम्भोगेन भ्रष्टानां शूद्रादीनां प्रायश्चित्तेपि संसर्गो निषिद्धः । धर्मसिन्धु III. पूर्वार्ध p. 358.

understood in the same sense and abandonment does not mean driving out of the house but only not allowing her to participate in religious acts and not having sexual intercourse with her. Vas. XXI. 10 states that only four kinds of women are to be abandoned, viz. one who has intercourse with the husband's pupil or with the husband's *guru*, one who attempts to kill her husband or one who commits adultery with a man of a degraded caste. Yāj. (III. 296–7) provides that to women that are patita the same rules apply as to men, but they should be given food, raiment and protection and that intercourse with a man of low caste is one of the three gravest sins for women. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 297. The present text states that a woman (such as a mother) who is entitled to honour from a person because of her relationship (as mother, elder sister etc.) is not to be abandoned and cast on the street by him, although she may be guilty of adultery with a degraded or low caste man, in spite of Vas. XXI. 10 and other texts (such as Br.).[1837] That is, this text was more humane to such women than ancient texts. Krsnabhatta explains that 'gurustriyāh' means 'of a brāhmana woman'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 571–573 for further remarks on adulterous women. Āp. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 9 requires the son always to serve and wait upon the mother even though she may be *patita*. Atri[1838] (195–196) and Devala (50–51) contain two verses (almost in the same words) which are lax as compared with other ancient texts. They say: 'If a woman conceives through intercourse with a male who is not of her caste, she becomes impure till her delivery. When she is delivered or she has her monthly illness after the intercourse she becomes like pure gold'. Atri (197–198) further provides that whether a woman willingly has sexual intercourse or is deceived or is enjoyed against her will or in secret, she should not be abandoned; one should wait till the monthly illness and she becomes purified by that illness'. This comparative laxity of

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1837. अनिच्छन्ती तु या भुक्ता गुप्तां तां वासयेद् गृहे। मलिनाङ्गीमधःशय्यां पिण्डमात्रोपजीविनीम्। कारयेच्छुद्धिं कृच्छ्रं पराकं वा सने गताम्। हीनवर्णापभुक्ता या त्याज्या वध्यापि वा भवेत्। बृहस्पति q. by विवादरत्नाकर p. 400 and by प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 360 (last half).

1838. असवर्णैस्तु यो गर्भो स्त्रीणां योनौ निषिच्यते। अशुद्धा सा भवेन्नारी यावद्गर्भं न मुञ्चति॥ विसृष्टे तु ततः शल्ये रजश्चापि प्रदृश्यते। तदा सा शुध्यते नारी विमलं काञ्चनं यथा॥ स्वयं विप्रतिपन्ना वा यदि वा विप्रतारिता। बलात्कारी प्रभुक्ता वा चौरभुक्ता तथापि वा॥ न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी न कामोऽस्या विधीयते। ऋतुकाल उपासीत पुष्पकालेन शुध्यति॥ अत्रि १९५–१९८.

the later smrtis of Devala and Atri is remedied by this Kalivarjya text which forbids abandonment of only such women as the mother, but allows the abandonment of others when guilty of intercourse with a male of low caste. Devala prescribes expiation by *sāntapana* in the case of those women that are raped by *mlecchas* and conceive (verses 47–49) Vide also Atri 201–202 The Sm Kau restricts this half verse to the mother alone. Parāśara (X 24–25) prescribes that if a woman be raped once she becomes free from pollution by undergoing Prājāpatya after she has her monthly illness and in other cases of rape she has to undergo Sāntapana.

25. 'Sacrificing one's life for the sake of another' (I. 20). The Visnu Dh. S III. 45 states [1839] that those who are killed in saving the life of a cow, a brāhmana, the king, a friend, one's wealth and one's wife go to heaven and XVI. 18 provides that even those (untouchables) who are outside (the pale of the four varnas) and sacrifice their life for brāhmanas, for cows and for women and children attain heaven The Ādityapurāna quoted in Rājadharmakānda (p. 91) has a similar verse. The Samayamayūkha and Bhattoji quote a smrti, 'one should at once sacrifice one's life for cows and brāhmanas'.[1840] This text forbids self-sacrifice of one's life simply for the promised reward of heaven in the cases specified. The K. V. N. (folio 9b) offers two more (rather far-fetched) explanations of this phrase, one of which is 'offering one's services as a serf to another'. This is prohibited to members of the three twice-born classes in Kali, but not to the śūdras, acc to K. V. N.

26. 'Offering (of food) to another that remains after one has partaken of it' (I 20). In the Madhuparka the honoured guest used to partake of a part of the offering of honey, milk

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1839. गोब्राह्मणनृपतिमित्रधनदारजीवितरक्षणाद्ये हतास्ते स्वर्गभाजः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र III 45; ब्राह्मणार्थे गवार्थे वा देहत्यागोऽनुपाकृतः । स्त्रीबालाभ्युपपत्तौ च बाह्यानां सिद्धिकारणम् ॥ *ibid* XVI 18, आदित्यपुराणे– .ब्राह्मणाना गवा चैव रक्षार्थं हन्यते यदि । स शूरो जीवितं हित्वा इन्दुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ राजधर्मकाण्ड p 91.

1840. परेषां गोब्राह्मणनृपादीनामुद्देशेन तदापद्विमोक्षार्थं प्राणत्याग 'गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा सद्य: प्राणान् परित्यजेत्'–इत्यादिनोक्त: । भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमत p. 54 Almost the same words 'परेषा ... मुद्देशेन निमित्तेन तदा . . मोक्षार्थं बुद्धिपूर्वं . इत्याद्युक्त ' occur in कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 9a We find in the पञ्चतन्त्र (I, verse 205) this verse quoted, 'गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे स्वाम्यर्थे स्त्रीकृते तथा । स्थानार्थे यस्त्यजेत्प्राणास्तस्य लोका. सनातना' ॥ ' and I 420 is 'गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे च प्राणत्यागं करोति य । सूर्यस्य मण्डल भित्त्वा स याति परमां गतिम् ॥. '

and curds and was to give the remainder to a brāhmana (or a son or a younger brother) This is prohibited by this Kalivarjya text Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 544 for this practice. Ap Dh. S. (I 1. 4. 1-6) provides that the pupil may partake of the leavings of his teacher's food, but the teacher should not give him honey or meat or other food which will be opposed to the observances of a vedic student The Nirnayasindhu reads 'uddistasyāpi varjanam'[1841], which means 'not accepting what has been donated.' Yāj. I. 213 says that if a person worthy of accepting a gift does not keep it for himself (but passes it on to others), he secures the highest worlds obtained by those who make generous gifts Bhattoji gives another explanation. Vas (14. 21) forbids a man to eat the remnants of his own food or to eat food that comes in contact with the leavings of food. This Kalivarjya text sets aside for the Kali age the prohibition contained in Vas. 14. 21 (acc to Bhattoji) The K. V N. (folio 10 a) states that this is the explanation given by some, but does not approve of it. The Sm Kau. gives yet another but extremely far-fetched explanation.[1842] These several explanations of the same half verse indicate how some of the Kalivarjya texts are comparatively recent and have no settled meaning even according to comparatively late writers of digests.

27. 'The resolve to offer worship (throughout life) with various details to a certain idol (I. 21)

It is not easy to see why such a resolve should have been prohibited. Therefore this explanation given by Bhattoji, K. V. N. (folio 10 a), the Samayamayūkha and others is not satisfactory. It is better to accept the explanation of the Nir S. that this forbids the undertaking of the worship of a particular image for wages Aparārka (pp. 450 and 923) quotes a smrti text defining a *devalaka* as a brāhmana who performs the worship of an image for wages for three years and who thereby becomes unfit

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1841. उच्छिष्टस्यापि वर्जनमिति । स्वमुच्छिष्टमुच्छिष्टोपहृत चेत्यादिवसिष्ठोक्तम् । भट्टोजि on चतुर्वि p 54, उद्दिष्टस्य त्यक्तस्य वर्जन प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोपीत्युक्तम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368

1842. वस्तुतस्तु उद्दिश्यव्ययेनोत्कृष्टेन पित्रादिनोद्दिष्ट निर्दिष्ट शिष्टमित्येक एवार्थः । तादृशस्याप (पि?) वर्जन प्रायपाठाद्विहितव्रतान्तर्गतत्वम् । अपेति पाठेपि तादृशस्य वस्तुन. परस्मै समर्पण तन्निषिध्यते । . तथा च कलौ गुरोर्वचनाद्गुरोधेन व्रतविच्छेदाचरणे न केवल व्रतहानिदोषाभाव प्रत्युत तद्वचनोल्लङ्घने दोषाधिक्यमपि । तथा च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते कलिब्रह्मसंवादे गुरुभजनमीश्वरभजनादप्यादरणीयमुक्तम् । स्मृतिकौ. p. 477.

to officiate at śrāddhas.[1843] Manu III. 152 declares the devalaka to be unfit for being invited for śrāddhas or rites in honour of gods and Kullūka quotes Devala to the effect that one who maintains himself on the treasury of a shrine is called devalaka. It is remarkable that Vrddha-Hārīta (VIII. 77–80) says that only the worshippers of Śiva for wages are called devalaka and those of Visnu are not. Acc. to the Sm. Kau. what is forbidden is the resolve to worship an image for securing a direct vision of the Deity.[1844] This is rather pedantic and far-fetched.

28. 'Touching the bodies of those (who are impure on the death of a relative) after the collection of the bones' (1 22). The day on which the bones were to be collected after the body was cremated differed greatly according to various writers. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 notes that according to Samvarta[1845] (verse 38) the bones may be collected on the first, third, seventh or 9th day, that the Visnu Dh. S (19. 10–11) prescribes the 4th day for it and recommends the casting of them into the Ganges, that some did it on the 2nd day and that therefore everyone should follow his own Grhyasūtra. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 18 quotes Devala to the effect that, after the lapse of one-third of the period of impurity prescribed for members of the four varnas (as in Yāj. III. 22), persons who lost relatives become touchable, that members of the four varnas become touchable in three, four, five and ten days respectively. Samvarta (verses 39–40) states that, after the collection of bones, touching those who are under pollution due to death is allowed on the 4th, 6th, 8th and 10th day respectively in the case of brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaisyas and śūdras. The present Kalivarjya text forbids this and becomes stricter as to the rules about impurity.

29. 'The performance by a brāhmana of the duties of the killer of the victim in a sacrifice' (1. 23).

1843. स्मृत्यन्तरम्। स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत्। देवार्चनपरो विप्रो वित्तार्थी वत्सरत्रयम्। असौ देवलको नाम हव्यकव्येषु गर्हितः। अपरार्क p. 923; देवकोशोपजीवी च नाम्ना देवलको भवेत्। अपाङ्क्तेय. स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु सर्वदा॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क p 450 and कुल्लूक on मनु III. 152 (first half).

1844. प्रतिमेत्यर्थेऽभिशब्दोऽपरोक्षज्ञानपरः। ... ततश्च देवतासाक्षात्कारूपो य. प्रतिमार्चनार्थः पूजाफलमिति यावत् तदुद्देश्यकः सङ्कल्पो निषिध्यते। प्रसक्तश्चासौ पूजाफलत्वेन देवतासाक्षात्कारस्य पौराणध्रुवादिगोचरानेकवच·सिद्धत्वात्। स्मृतिकौ. p. 473.

1845. प्रथमेह्नि तृतीये च सप्तमे नवमे तथा। चतुर्थेऽह्नि कर्तव्यमस्थिसञ्चयनं द्विजै॥ ततः सञ्चयनादूर्ध्वमङ्गस्पर्शो विधीयते। चतुर्थेऽहनि विप्रस्य षष्ठे वै क्षत्रियस्य च॥ अष्टमे दशमे चैव स्पर्शः स्याद्वैश्यशूद्रयोः। संवर्त 38–40.

The animal in a srauta sacrifice was to be killed by choking it and strangling it. The person who did so was called *samitr* Different views were entertained as to who was to be the samitr Acc. to Jai. III. 7. 28–29[1845] the adhvaryu himself was to be the samitr; the usual opinion was that he was to be some one other than the *rtvijs*. The Asv. Śr. (XII. 9. 12–13) shows that he may be a brāhmana or a non-brāhmana. For further details vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 1121–22, n. 2504. As animal sacrifices themselves came to be looked down upon or even forbidden, this text forbids a brahmana from being a samitr.

30. 'The sale of the soma plant by brahmanas' (1. 23).

Soma beverage was to be drunk only by brāhmanas. The soma plant had to be purchased and there was a symbolic haggling for it. The vendor of soma in ancient[1847] times was, acc. to Kāt. Śr. VII. 6. 2–4 and Āp Śr. X 20.12, either a brāhmana of Kutsa gotra or any brāhmana or a sūdra.[1847] In later times, though Manu XI. 7 (= Śānti.165. 7) and Nār. (dattāpradānika 7)[1848] allow a brāhmana who has wealth sufficient for the maintenance of himself and his dependents for three years or more to perform a soma sacrifice, yet Manu III. 158, Yāj I. 165 and Vas 14. 3 hold that a brāhmana who sells the soma plant is unfit to be invited at a śrāddha and that one should not partake of food at his house. Manu X. 88 forbids a brāhmana to sell water, arms, poison, soma &c Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 1141–1143 for purchase of soma and the dramatic haggling for it.

31. 'Allowing a brāhmana householder to eat food at the houses of four classes of people among śūdras viz his slave, his cowherd, a hereditary family friend and one who cultivates his fields on the basis of paying a half or other portion of the produce to him' (1. 25–26).

Gaut. 17. 6, Manu IV. 253 (=Visnu Dh. S.[1849] 57 16), Yāj I. 166 and Parāśara XI. 19 say that a brāhmana may eat the

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1846 शबर on जै. III. 7. 29 remarks, 'शामित्रमपि आध्वर्यवे समाम्नानादध्वर्युणा कर्तव्यम्। तस्माच्छमनादध्वर्युः शमिता.'

1847. कौत्साद्राजानं क्रीणीयादन्यस्माद्वा ब्राह्मणादित्युक्त्वाहाप्यब्राह्मणादिति। आप श्रौ X 20. 12.

1848. यस्य त्रैवार्षिकं वित्तं पर्याप्तं भृत्यवृत्तये। अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोम पातुमर्हति॥ नारद (दत्ताप्र 7). This is the same as मनु. XI. 7, but नारद reads वित्तं for भक्तम्.

1849. अधिकं कुलमित्रं च दासगोपालनापितः। एते शूद्रेषु भोज्यान्ना यश्चात्मान निवेदयेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 57. 16.

food of these four and of his own barber. Haradatta on Gaut. 17. 6 and Aparārka (p. 244) remark that a brāhmana can take the food of these persons among śūdras only in the event of extreme calamities. From this it appears that up to the 12th century A. D. the peremptory prohibition contained in this text was either unknown or was not much respected. The exclusiveness of caste in matters of food and marriage was made more strict by the Kalivarjya texts. Vide above (pp. 869 and 885) as to how Parāśara himself was overruled by this text.

32. 'Pilgrimages to very distant holy places' (1. 26).

A brāhmana was called upon to tend his Vedic or grhya fires. If he went to distant places on pilgrimage this duty would be interfered with. It is provided by Ap.[1850] Śr. IV 16. 18 that even when on a journey the *agnihotrin* has, after turning his face in the direction of his fire altar, to go mentally over the whole procedure of his daily fire worship and the Darśapūrnamāsa. The Gobhila-smrti II. 157 says the same. The Smrtikaustubha[1851] says that this prohibits pilgrimage to holy places beyond the sea or on the borders of Bharatavarsa. This text prohibits a brāhmana from going to distant places on pilgrimage, but it does not prevent him from undertaking a journey for earning wealth for performing sacrifices. K. V. N. (folio 10a) quotes a text of Satyavrata to this effect.

33. 'The rule that a pupil should habitually observe the same behaviour towards the wife of the *guru* as towards the guru himself' (1. 27). Ap. Dh.[1852] S. I. 2. 7. 27, Gaut. II. 31–34, Manu II. 210, Visnu Dh. S. 32. 1–2 prescribe that a student should perform the same acts of honour and obedience towards the wife or wives of his teacher as towards the teacher (except holding her feet in doing obeisance and eating the leavings of the food). As students were often grown-up young men and the teacher's wife might often be a young lady, Manu II. 212,

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1850 प्रवसन् विहारमभिमुखो याजमानं जपति । आप. श्रौ. IV. 16 18, मनसा चैत्यकं कर्म प्रवसन्नप्यतन्द्रित. । उपविश्य शुचि. सर्वं यथाकालमनुद्रवेत् । गोभिल II. 157.

1851 या च प्रत्यन्तदेशगततीर्थयात्रा पौराणी सा कलौ नेति । स्मृतिकौ. p 478; धनान्यर्जयितुं युक्त. प्रवासो ह्यग्निहोत्रिण. । धनैर्यज्ञसम्भवेद्विज्या तीर्थार्थं न तु व्रजेदिति सत्यव्रतस्मरणात् । कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 10a

1852. अन्यत्रोपसंग्रहणादुच्छिष्टाशनाच्चाचार्यवदाचार्यदारे वृत्ति. । आप. ध. I. 2, 7. 27, तद्भार्यासुत्रेषु चैवम् । नोच्छिष्टाशनस्नापनप्रसाधनपादप्रक्षालनोन्मर्दनोपसंग्रहणानि । विभोष्योपसंग्रहण गुरुभार्यायाम् । गौ. II. 37-39.

216, 217 (that are the same as Visnu Dh. S. 32. 13-15) provide that a pupil full twenty years old should not show honour to the young wife of his teacher by clasping her feet, but that he may prostrate himself on the ground before the teacher's young wife in performing obeisance and that he may hold her feet in obeisance only (once) when he returns from a journey. This text accepts the principle underlying the special rules laid down by Manu and Visnu and prohibits the daily touching of the feet of the guru's wife on the part of the pupil. The Sm [1853] Kau. and Dharmasindhu (III p. 353) hold that this sets aside the rule laid down in Yāj I 49 that a perpetual student may stay till his death with his teacher or with the teacher's son or (in default of both) with the teacher's wife.

34. 'The modes of maintenance conceded to brāhmanas in times of distress (or calamity)' (1. 28).

The special modes of maintenance prescribed for brāhmanas were receiving gifts, teaching the Veda and officiating as priests (Gaut. X. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 10. 5, Manu X. 76, I. 88, Vas. II. 14, Yāj. I. 118). But it was recognised from very ancient times that if a brāhmana could not maintain himself by following the above modes of earning wealth he could in a season of distress pursue the avocations peculiar to a ksatriya or vaiśya (Gaut. VII. 6-7, Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 77-81, Vas II. 22, Manu X. 81-82, Yāj. III 35)[1854]. Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 118-133 for detailed treatment of this matter and for the restrictions imposed even when brāhmanas were allowed to follow the avocations of ksatriyas and vaiśyas. The Kalivarjya prohibition is merely one on paper. From anoient times till now brāhmanas have pursued all sorts of avocations and hardly any importance has been attached to this dictum.

35. 'Not accumulating any wealth (or grains) for the morrow' (1. 28). Manu IV. 7 and Yāj. I. 128 provide that brāhmanas are of four kinds, viz. those who accumulate grain of the capacity of a *kusūla*, those who accumulate grain of the capacity of a *kumbhī*, those that accumulate grain enough to satisfy

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1853. गुरुपत्नीसमीपे गुरुपुत्राभावे चिर स्थितिर्विहिता सा निषिध्यते। न तु गुरुवत्प्रति-... इति मनूक्ता पूजा ' वृत्तिशीलतेति पदेन पूजानभिधानात् । स्मृतिकौ. p 478, but कलिवर्ज्यवि. folio 10a asays, शिष्यस्य गुरुपत्न्यां गुरुवद् वृत्ति.—गुरुवत्प्रतिपूज्यास्तु सवर्णा गुरुयोषित इत्यादि मनूक्ता '

1854. क्षात्रेण कर्मणा जीवेद्विशं वाप्यापदि द्विजः। निस्तीर्य तामथात्मान पावयित्वा न्यसेत्पथि ॥ या.III. 35.

their needs for three days and those who do not collect grain even for the next day. The smṛtis prescribe that each later one is superior in merit to each preceding one. The commentators differ as to the meaning conveyed by kusūladhānya (some holding that it means one who has accumulated grain for three years, while others say it means one who has grain for 12 days) and kumbhīdhānya (a person accumulating grain for a year, or grain for six days). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 110, note 234 and p. 641 note 1502. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 128 says that the advice not to accumulate corn even for three days or one day is not addressed to all brāhmaṇas, but to those only who are called yāyāvara[1855]. This explanation of the Mit. indicates that the Kalivarjya text on this point was either not known to the Mit. or was not much thought of by it. The Kalivarjya text provides that the ideal of extreme poverty and absence of acquisitiveness for brāhmaṇas was not to be insisted upon in the Kali age.

36. 'The acceptance of the kindling of a log of wood (i. e. setting up sacred Vedic fire) at the time of the *homa* of Jātakarma for the purpose of securing long life to the child born to a person' (l. 29). The *araṇis* are two logs of Aśvattha tree from which fire is produced by attrition, which (fire) is used for kindling the gārhapatya fire. In certain śākhās, it is the practice to kindle fire from araṇis and to use it for the homa in the Jātakarma rite. This fire was to be used in the subsequent rites for the child such as cūḍā, upanayana, marriage. It was supposed that this enabled the child to live long.[1856] The Sam K quotes a pariśiṣṭa text to this effect.[1857]

37. 'Constant journeys by brāhmaṇas' (l. 30). The Mahābhārata (Śānti 23. 15)[1858] says, 'As a snake swallows mice hiding in holes, the earth swallows two persons viz. a king who does not fight (an invader) and a brāhmaṇa who does not engage

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1855. For the two kinds of brāhmaṇas, viz śālīna and yāyāvara, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 641–42 n 1502–1505.

1856. क्वचिच्छाखाया जातकर्महोमे प्रजाजीवनार्थमरणिपरिग्रहो विहितः। कृष्णभट्ट on नि. सि. pp. 1299–1300.

1857. परिशिष्टान्तरे तु कुमारस्य जातस्य अरणीं षोडशाङ्गुलाम् । आहृत्य चोत्तरारणीं तास्यामग्निं तु मन्थयेत् । ..... तस्मिन् कुमारकर्माणि विवाहान्तानि कारयेत् । सं कौ under जातकर्म.

1858. भूमिरेतौ निगिरति सर्पो बिलशया इव । राजानं चाविरोद्धारं ब्राह्मणं चाप्रवासिनम् ॥ शान्ति 23 15. Vide also Sabhā 55. 14 Śānti 57. 3 and Anuśāsana 36 16 for almost the same words.

in travel' (for acquiring learning from famous teachers) This text only forbids taking aimlessly to long journeys but not those for study or for religious purposes.

38. 'Blowing on fire with the mouth' in order to kindle it into flames (I. 30). Gaut. IX. 32, Manu IV. 53 and Brahmapurāna 221. 102 forbid the blowing on fire with the mouth (as in doing so it is likely that drops of saliva from the mouth may fall into the fire and pollute it). Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 20 notices that in the Vājasaneya Śākhā it is said that fire should be kindled into flames by blowing upon it with the breath from the mouth since it sprang from the mouth of the Creator (as stated in the Purusasūkta, Rg. X. 90. 13). Therefore, acc. to Haradata and the Gobhila-smrti (I. 135–136)[1859] the *śrauta* fire could be kindled by blowing upon it with the mouth, but *smārta* fire or ordinary fire should not be kindled in that way (but only by using a fan or a bamboo cylindrical piece). The Kalivarjya text forbids blowing with the mouth even on śrauta fire.

39. 'Allowing social intercourse to women who have become polluted by rape and the like (when they have performed *prayaścitta*) as prescribed in the sāstras' (I. 31).[1860] Vas. 28. 2–3 state, 'when a woman is polluted by being raped or kidnapped by a thief, she should not be abandoned; one should wait till her monthly illness (making her undergo certain expiations till then) and she becomes pure after it.' Atri (V. 2–3) has the same verses, which are quoted (from Vas.) by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 256 (p 133. Tri. ed.) and explained at great length. The *Matsyapurāna* 227. 126 is liberal enough to say that the man who commits rape should be punished with death but the woman raped incurs no blame. Parasara (X. 27) provides that if a woman is raped by an evil-doer only once she becomes pure by undergoing the Prajapatya expiation and after the following monthly illness. Even so late a smrti writer as Devala provides that if a woman of any class is raped by *mlecchas* and she conceives she can be purified by the expiation of Sāntapana.

1859. मुखेनैके धमन्त्याग्निं मुखाद्वक्त्रेणोत्पन्नमायत । नाग्निं मुखेनेति च यद्लौकिके योजयन्ति तत् ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 136. This is q. by the स्मृतिच. I. p. 212. नाग्निं मुखेन is मनु IV 53.

1860. योषा गर्भं विधत्ते या म्लेच्छात्कामादकामतः । ब्राह्मणी क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा वर्णेतरा च या । अभक्ष्यभक्षणं कुर्याच्चस्याः शुद्धिः कथं भवेत् । कृच्छ्रं सान्तपनं शुद्धिर्दृष्टा धौम्येश्च पाचनम् ॥ देवल 48–49.

But this text is harsher on such innocent and unlucky women when it says that they cannot be restored to social intercourse even after undergoing expiation.

40. 'Begging of food by a *sannyāsin* from members of all varnas (including śudras) according to the rules of the śāstra' (l. 32). The Sm. M. p. 201 (on varnāśrama) quotes Kāthaka Brāhmana,[1861] Aruni Up., Parāśara (in prose) to the effect that a *yati* may beg for food from members of all varnas. Baud. Dh. S. II. 10 69[1862] also quotes a verse which allows the begging of food from all varnas to a *yati*. Vas. X. 7 requires a *yati* to beg at seven houses not selected beforehand and in X. 24 states that he should subsist on what food he gets at the houses of brāhmanas.[1863] The present text requires even the *yati* to observe caste rules as to food.

41. 'Not using for ten days fresh rain water' (l. 33). Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2, Bhattoji on Catur. (p. 54), Sm. Kau. p. 479 quote a verse, 'she-goats, cows, she-buffaloes and brāhmana women become free from impurity (due to delivery) after ten nights and so does fresh rain water accumulated on the ground'. According to this the long period of ten days in the case of rain water is set aside. But Bhattoji notes that according to another smrti 'rain water falling at the proper season is pure, but it is not to be used for drinking for three days; when rain falls at an unusual season rain water is impure for ten days and if a man drinks it within that period he should abstain from food for one day and night'. Bhattoji remarks that the Kalivarjya text only sets aside waiting for ten days, but does not set aside the rule against drinking it for three days.

42. '(Payment of) the fee demanded by the teacher' at the end of the period of brahmacarya (l. 33).

1861. काठकब्राह्मणे 'चतुर्वर्णेषु भैक्ष्यचर्यं चरेत् पाणिपात्रेणाशनं कुर्यादौषधवत्प्राश्नीयात्प्राणधारणार्थं यथा मेदोवृद्धिर्न जायते'। स्मृतिषु (वर्णा.) p. 201.

1862 भैक्ष्यं वा सर्ववर्णेभ्य एकान्नं वा द्विजातिषु । अपि वा सर्ववर्णेभ्यो न चैकान्नं द्विजातिषु । बौ. ध. सू. II 10. 69.

1863. सप्तागाराण्यसङ्कल्पितानि चरेद्भिक्षाम् । ब्राह्मणकुले यावल्लभेत तद्भुञ्जीत सायं प्रातर्मधुमांसवर्जम् । वसिष्ठ X. 7 and 24.

1864 अजा गावो महिष्यश्च ब्राह्मणी च प्रसूतिका । दशरात्रेण शुध्यन्ति भूमिष्ठं च नवोदकम् ॥ q by हरदत्त on आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15 2; 'काले नवोदकं शुद्धं न पिबेच्च ह्यहं च तत् । अकाले तु दशाहं स्यात्पीत्वा नाद्यादहर्निशम् ॥ इति स्मृत्युक्तस्य दशाहमतिषेधस्यैवं प्रतिप्रसवो न तु ह्यहमतिषेधस्येति दर्शयति । भट्टोजि on चतुर्वि p. 53.

The ancient practice was to make no agreement as to fees for teaching. Vide Br. Up. IV. 1. 2. Gaut. (II. 54–55) prescribes[1865] that at the end of his studies the student should request the teacher to accept the wealth that he could offer or ask the teacher what should be given and after paying or doing what was required by the *guru* or if the teacher permitted him to go without demanding anything the student should take the ceremonial bath. Vide Manu II. 245–246 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 360–361 for details. Yāj. I. 51 provides that at the end of his studies the student may give to the teacher what he desires (or a cow) according to his ability or may with his permission take the ceremonial bath (without paying anything). On account of these provisions we have stories in the ancient literature that very rarely teachers or their wives made fanciful demands. This Kalivarjya text only sets aside the requirement of paying what the guru demands, but does not prohibit the voluntary gift of a fee by the student.[1866]

43. 'The engagement of a śūdra for such acts as cooking and the like in the houses of brāhmanas and the rest' (1. 34). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 2. 3 1–8) requires that[1867] the food for Vaiśvadeva should be prepared by pure men of the first three varnas and also optionally allows a sudra to be a cook for an *ārya* provided he is under the supervision of men of the first three varnas, provided he sips water whenever he touches the hair, any limb or his garment, provided he cuts the hair (on his head and his body), the beard and nails every day or every 8th day of the month or on the new and full moon day and provided he bathes with the clothes on. It is this permission that is set aside by this Kalivarjya text.

44. 'Suicide of very old people by falling into fire or from a precipice' (1. 35).

This is analogous to No. 13 above. Atri did not condemn suicide in certain cases. He states,[1868] (verses 218–219) 'if one be

1865. विद्यान्ते गुरुरर्थेन निमन्त्र्यः । कृत्वाऽनुज्ञातस्य वा स्नानम् । गौ II. 54–55.

1866. विद्यान्ते गुरुप्रेरणया दक्षिणादानं यथा सान्दीपनये श्रीकृष्णेन सुतपुत्रस्य । न तु गुरवे दक्षिणामात्रं चोदितेतिपदवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । स्मृतिकौ p 479.

1867. आर्याः मयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः । ...आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः । तेषां स एवाचमनकल्प । अधिकमहरहः केशश्मश्रुलोमनखवापनम् । उदकोपस्पर्शन च सह वाससा । अपि वाष्टमीष्वेव पर्वसु वा वपेरन् । आप ध. सू II 2. 3. 1–8.

1868 वृद्धः शौचस्मृतेर्लोपः प्रत्याख्यातभिक्षक्रियः । आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भृग्वग्न्यनशनाम्बुभिः । तस्य त्रिरात्रमाशौचं द्वितीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम् । तृतीये नूदकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे श्राद्धमाचरेत् । अत्रि 218–219 q by मेधातिथि on मनु V. 89, मिता. on या. III 6, अपरार्क p. 942

old (beyond 70), if one cannot observe the rules of bodily purification (owing to extreme weakness), if one is so ill that all medical help is discarded, and if one in these circumstances kills himself by throwing himself from a precipice or into fire or water or by fasting, mourning should be observed for him for three days and śrāddha may be performed for him.' Aparārka (p. 536) quotes several smrtis to the effect that a very old man or one suffering from very serious illness, one who has no desires left and has carried out his tasks may bring about his death by entering fire or water or falling from a precipice and he will incur no sin. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 926-927 for further details. This text may also be taken as forbidding suicide by falling from a precipice or into fire as an expiation in the case of those that are guilty of mahāpātakas knowingly committed. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 quotes a smrti to this effect[1869] The Śuddhitattva holds (pp. 284-285) that suicide by entering water and the like is allowed in Kali only to śūdras and forbidden to brāhmaṇas and others.

45. 'The performance of ācamana (purificatory sipping of water) by śistas in as much water as is sufficient for slaking the thirst of a cow' (I. 36).

Manu V. 128, Vas. III. 35, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Yāj. I. 192, Visnu 23. 43 provide[1870] that water collected on the ground is pure (and may be used for ācamana) provided it is sufficient in quantity to slake the thirst of a cow. But this text forbids on hygienic grounds the use of small quantities of water collected on the ground for sipping and similar purposes.

46. 'The residence of an ascetic in the house near which he happens to be in the evening' (I. 38).

Acc. to Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 10 and Manu VI. 43, 55-56, an ascetic was to kindle no fire, was to be houseless and was to beg only once a day in the afternoon or evening when no smoke ascends from the kitchens of people, when the embers have been extinguished, when people have finished their meals &c. Vas. (X.

1869. यः कामतो महापापं नरः कुर्यात्कथंचन। न तस्य निष्कृतिर्दृष्टा मृग्वग्निपतनादृते ॥ q. by mitā. on yā. III. 226. जलप्रवेशादिकं तु कलौ शूद्रस्यैव। ब्राह्मणादीनां तु अदित्यपुराणेन सगुणाधशौचमकरणोक्तेन निषेधात्। शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 284-285.

1870. शुचि गोतृप्तिकृत्तोयं प्रकृतिस्थं महीगतम्। या. I. 192; मद्वरादपि या गोस्तर्पणसमर्था. स्युः। वसिष्ठ III. 35; आपः पवित्र भूमिगता गोतृप्तिर्यासु जायते। गौ. ध सू. I. 5. 65

12–15) provides[1871] that a *sannyasin* was to change his residence frequently, was to stay at the boundary of the village or in a temple, or in an empty house or at the bottom of a tree and should constantly live in a forest. Śankha (VII. 6) states that an ascetic should stay in an empty house or he may stay wherever he may be when the sun sets. This provision of Śankha is set aside by the Kalivarjya text Another meaning of the words, according to Krsnabhatta on the Nir. S. (p. 1310), is that this runs counter to the recommendation of Manu VI. 56 that an ascetic should go for begging to the houses in a village in the evening when all smoke from kitchens has ceased i. e, by this text he is allowed to beg in the noon. In a way this appears to be a better explanation.

The above is a complete list of all Kalivarjyas quoted from the Ādityapurāna (except one or two). Some of the Kalivarjyas not included here, but included in other texts cited above will also be now set out for the sake of completeness of treatment.

47. 'Resorting to *sannyāsa*'. Vyāsa quoted above (n. 1793) forbade sannyāsa in the Kali age after 4400 years of it had elapsed, but then Devala[1872] made an exception to this extent that as long as the division of society into four varnas existed and as long as the Veda was studied sannyāsa could be resorted to even in Kali. The Nir. S. explains that what is forbidden is the sannyāsa with three daṇḍas and not the sannyāsa with one daṇḍa. Baud II. 10. 53 (ekadaṇḍī vā) gives an option that a sannyāsin may carry three staffs or one, while Yāj III. 58 speaks of a *yati* as only tridaṇḍī. Daṇḍa meas a staff and also 'restraint, curbing'. Manu XII. 10 (same as Daksa VII. 30) declares that that man is called *tridaṇḍī* who has restraint over his body, speech and mind. Daksa[1873] also says that a *yati* is not called *tridaṇḍī* by carrying three bamboo staffs, that he is called tridaṇḍī who has

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1871 अनित्यां वसतिं वसेत् । ग्रामान्ते देवगृहे शून्यागारे वा वृक्षमूले वा । अरण्ये नित्य । वसिष्ठ X. 12–13 and 15, शून्यागारनिकेत. स्थायत्रसायंगृहो मुनि. । शङ्ख VII 6 The words यत्रसायंगृहो मुनिः occur also in वनपर्व 12. 11. गृहशब्दो गृहस्थवेश्मपर. सायंशब्दो प्रदोषवाचकः । ... भिक्षार्थं प्रविष्टस्य तत्र काले गृहवासो न दुष्ट इति तात्पर्यम् । अत एव श्रुति. । ग्रामं प्रविशेद्वासायेति । स्मृतिकौ. p. 479.

1872 यावद्वर्णविभागोस्ति यावद्वेदः प्रवर्तते । तावन्यासोग्निहोत्रं च कर्तव्यं तु कलौ युगे ॥ देवल q. by नि. सि III पूर्वार्ध p. 370, स्मृतिसु (वर्णाश्रम p 176 quoting it as from व्यास), यतिधर्मसंग्रह pp. 2–3.

1873. वैणवेन त्रिदण्डेन न त्रिदण्डीति कथ्यते । आध्यात्मदण्डयुक्तो यः स त्रिदण्डीति कथ्यते । वृद्ध VII 29 Several verses of वृद्ध VII are quoted by अपरार्क on p. 953.

the spiritual restraint in him (v. 29) In l. 12–13 Daksa says that just as a girdle, deer skin and a wooden staff are the outward signs of a vedic student, so three staffs are the peculiar sign of a yati. Vide H. of Dh vol II. pp. 937–938 for further details. If the Kalivarjya text were meant to forbid sannyāsa altogether, it must be said that it was never honoured and even now thousands become sannyāsins every year. If, as the Nir. S. says, this text only forbids the carrying of three dandas, it is a meaningless prohibition, giving importance only to outward symbols and not to the substance of the matter.

48. 'The observance of *agnihotra*' or 'the acceptance of three fires'. Vyāsa (n. 1793) forbade the performance of śrauta *agnihotra* along with *sannyāsa* in Kali, but an exception was made by Devala in favour of its observance as also of resort to sannyāsa on the grounds stated above (in No. 47). Some digests and authors such as the Nirnayasindhu[1874] and Bhattoji explain that agnihotra of the sarvādhāna type is forbidden in Kali, but that of the ardhādhāna type is allowed. Agnihotra means '*ādhāna*', that is, setting up of the śrauta fires. When a man consecrates the three śrauta fires he may do so with half of his smārta fire and keep up the other half of the smārta fire. This is called *ardhādhāna*. If he does not keep the smārta fire separate, it is *sarvādhāna* Laugāksi quoted by the Nir. S. (III. p. 370), Bhattoji and others states this. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 45 mentions these two modes Therefore, according to these explanations, sarvādhāna was allowed in former ages (and acc. to one interpretation up to 4400 years of Kali), while in Kali (or at least after 4400 years of Kali) only ardhādhāna is allowed

49. 'Human sacrifice' (vide note 1798 giving extract from Nāradapurāna).

The Tai. Br.[1875] (III. 4 1–19) contains a description of the procedure of human sacrifice. The oldest texts even do not show that a human being was killed. The whole procedure is

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1874 अर्धाधान स्मृतं श्रौतस्मार्ताग्न्योस्तु पृथक्कृतिः। सर्वाधान तयोरैक्यकृतिः पूर्वयुगाश्रया। लौगाक्षि q. in स्मृतिच. acc. to निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 370. अत्र पूर्वयुगाश्रितेति लौगाक्षिवाक्ये पूर्वयुगानि कृतादीनीत्येकोर्थः। अन्ये तु युगस्य पूर्वे कले. पूर्वो भागः स चत्वार्यब्दसहस्राणीति पूर्वोक्तिवाक्याच्चतुश्चत्वारिंशच्चतुर्थावच्छिन्नः तस्मिन् भागे सर्वाधानं कार्यं तदुत्तरं तु यावद्वर्णविभागोस्तीति वाक्यात् वर्णविभागपर्यन्तमर्धाधानमित्याहुः। नि. सि

1875. ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणमालभते क्षत्राय राजन्यम्। मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यम्। तपसे शूद्रम्॥ तै ब्रा. III 4. 1.

symbolical. The Vāj. S. (XXX. 5 ff.) has many passages in common with the Tai. Br. The Tai. Br. III. 4. 1 (= Vaj. S. 30. 5) begins, 'the brāhmaṇa should be offered to brahman (spiritual power), the kṣatriya to kṣatra (military power), the vaiśya to the Maruts' &c. Acc. to Āp. Śr. XX. 24, a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya performs this sacrifice, whereby he attains power and valour and all prosperity. There are eleven sacrificial posts and eleven animals to be offered to Agni and Soma. After the rite of *paryagnikaraṇa* is performed on the *brāhmaṇa* and others, they are presented to the several deities and then discharged from the sacrificial posts, eleven goats are killed and oblations of their flesh and limbs are offered. Acc. to the com. on Vāj. S., it is begun on the 10th day of the bright half of Caitra and goes on for 40 days, which are occupied with 23 dīkṣās, 12 *upasads* and five *sutyas* (days on which soma is extracted). After this *yāga*, the *yajamāna* usually resorted to a forest as a sannyāsin.[1876]

50. 'Aśvamedha' (n. 1798). The Tai. S. V. 3. 12. 2 states,[1877] 'he who performs the Aśvamedha becomes free from (the sin of) brāhmaṇa murder'. In spite of this Vedic authority the Bṛhan-Nāradīya and other purāṇas prohibited it. But no one heeded this prohibition and numerous historic kings performed this sacrifice from at least 200 B. C. to Jayasing in the 18th century A. D. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1238–1239 and pp. 70–71 above for numerous historical performers of Aśvamedha.

51. 'Rājasūya' (acc. to the Garudapurāṇa, p. 929 above). This was a very complex rite extending over two years and could be performed only by a kṣatriya. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1214–1223 for a brief description. The Rājasūya was performed by the Kaliṅga Emperor Khāravela as he proclaims in his Hāthigumphā Inscription (E. I. vol. XX p. 71 at p. 79) and by queen Nāyanikā as stated in the Nānāghāt Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. V. p. 60).

52. 'Perpetual studenthood' (n. 1798). Vedic students were of two kinds, *upakurvāṇa* (who offered some return or fee at the time when they returned home) and the *naiṣṭhika* (who remained students till death). Vide p. 764 n. 1471 above.

1876. त्रैधातवीययोर्वसाय पृथमरणीब्रह्मणीन्समारोप्योत्तरनारायणेनाविरयमुपस्थाया-ण्यमवतिष्ठेत । ग्राम्य पा प्रविहृय त्रैधातवीयया यजेत । आप. श्रौ. XX. 24. 16–17.

1877. तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 2.

Hārīta, Daksa[1878] (I. 7) and others mention these two varieties, while Yāj. I 49, Vedavyāsa I. 41 and Visnu Dh. S. 28. 46 name and describe the *naisthika*. Manu II. 243–244, Yāj. I. 49–50, Vas. VII. 4–5 provide that a perpetual Vedic student should stay with his teacher till his own death, that on the teacher's death he should stay with the teacher's son or the teacher's wife or should tend fire, that if he curbs his senses till his death, he reaches the world of *brahma* (immortality) and is not born again. This was a very difficult mode of life, there were great temptations as the flesh is weak and therefore the Brhan-Nāradīya and others prohibited perpetual studenthood. Some works such as the Madanapārijata (p. 16), the Kalivarjyavinirnaya of Dāmodara, and the Nir. S. read 'dīrgha-kālam brahmacaryam' in place of 'naisthikam brahmacaryam' in the Brhan-Nāradīva.

53. 'Brahmacarya for long periods' (n. 1799). The Baud. Dh. S. (I.2.1–5) declares, "the term of studentship for Veda study as observed in ancient times lasted for 48 years, or 24 years, or 12 years for each Veda or at least one year for each *kāṇḍa* (of the Tai. S.) or it lasted till the Veda was committed to memory, as life is evanescent and as the Veda ordains 'let him kindle the sacred fires while his hair is still black'." The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1 2. 11–16) provides that the student's stay with the teacher's household should be 48 years, 24 years or 12 years at the lowest. Manu III. 1 also states that the vow of studying the three Vedas under a *guru* must be observed for 36 years or for half of that time or for a quarter of it or until the student has mastered (the Veda). These long periods of 48 years, 36 or 24 years for Veda study (before a man could become an householder) are here forbidden in Kali. This was nothing new. Yāj. I. 36 had allowed 12 years for each Veda or five and if a man did not want to study all vedas but only one he could finish his studenthood in five years. Only an extremely small number could have spent 48 or 36 years in Veda study. Śabara on Jai. I. 3. 3 held that this text of Baud. was opposed to the *śruti* about kindling fires when a man was a young householder with black hair and was to be discarded. Vide pp. 832–834 above for a

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1878 द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी उपकुर्वाणो नैष्ठिकश्च। तयोरुपकुर्वाणको व्याख्यात:। निष्ठो चेद्दच्छेदा शरीरनिपाताद् गुरावासीत। हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 71; द्विविधो ब्रह्मचारी स्यादाद्योत्युपकुर्वाणक:। द्वितीयो नैष्ठिकश्चैव तस्मिन्नेव व्रते स्थित:॥ दक्ष I 7 q. by स्मृतिच I. p 64.

discussion of this. The authors of the Samayamayūkha and the Sm. Kau. both of whom had before them the reading 'dīrghakālam brahmacaryam' held that this prohibition was aimed at the words of Āp. and Baud. and that the vow of perpetual studentship which was undertaken with a special purpose in view (viz. realization of *brahma* and non-return to *saṁsāra*) was not prohibited by the Kalivarjya text and that there was nothing wrong in the practice of perpetual studenthood among the Dravidas.

54. 'Animal sacrifice.' In the Mārkandeya as quoted in Aparārka p. 929 above animal sacrifice was forbidden in the Kali age. Though popular feeling had gradually veered round to the view that meat should not be offered in śrāddhas, in madhuparka (No. 22 above), yet animal sacrifices were performed at all times and are even now performed, though very rarely.

55. 'Intoxicating drinks *(madya)*'. There were startling vicissitudes in the attitude to intoxicants.

In Vedic times *soma* was a beverage drunk by the priests and *surā* was a beverage for common men and usually not meant to be offered to the gods. Soma and sura are sharply distinguished (vide Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1, Vāj. S. 19. 7, Sat. Br. V. 1. 5. 28). The Śat. Br. (V. 1. 5. 28) has the striking antithesis 'For, Soma is truth, prosperity, light; and surā is untruth, misery, darkness'. In the Sautrāmaṇī *iṣṭi* a brāhmana had to be hired for drinking the dregs of surā offered in it and if a brāhmana could not be found the surā was poured on an anthill (Tai. Br. I. 8. 6 and Śabara on Jai. III. 5. 14–15). It appears from the Kāthaka-saṁhitā XII. 12 that[1879] brāhmanas had by that time come to regard the drinking of surā as sinful. From Chān. Up. V. 10. 9 it appears that a drinker of surā was enumerated among five grave sinners. In the Āśv. gr. II. 5. 3–5 it is said that in the rites of the Anvastakā day when pindas are offered to the male ancestors, the female ancestors viz. the mother, the paternal grandmother and great-grandmother are offered surā and the scum of boiled rice in addition[1880]. The Nir. S. (III.

1879. तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरा न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संसृज्या इति । काठकसं. XII 12, quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै I. 3. 7 p. 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 4. 31.

1880. पिण्डपितृयज्ञकल्पेन । हृत्वा मधुमन्थवर्जं पितृभ्यो वृथात् । क्रीम्यश्च सुरामाचाममित्यधिकम् । आश्व. गृ II. 5. 3–5.

p. 367) refers to this passage of the Āśv. Gr. and holds that the Kalivarjya text against intoxicants forbids this also.

Madya is a generic term applicable to all intoxicating drinks; *surā* is said to be of three kinds, viz that prepared from molasses, that from honey (or madhūka flowers or from grapes) and that from corn flour (Manu XI. 94, Visnu Dh. S 22. 82 and Saṁvarta 117). The Visṇu Dh. S. (22. 83-84) specifies ten kinds of madya, all of which a brāhmana was not even to touch. Gaut. II. 25[1881], Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 17. 21, Manu XI. 95 forbid all kinds of *madya* to brāhmanas at all stages of life. Āp. I. 7. 21. 8, Vas. I. 20, Manu XI 54, Visnu Dh. S. 35. 1 hold that the drinking of *surā* is one of the five grave sins (mahāpātakas), while Yāj. III. 227 employs the word 'madya' in place of surā in this connection. Baud. Dh. S. I. 1. 22 however notes that among the five practices peculiar to the brāhmanas of the north was that of drinking rum and Baud. condemns it. The verses of Manu XI. 93-94 about the three kinds of surā have been the subject of frequent and varying interpretations. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 222, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 253, Aparārka p 1069 and others establish that the word 'surā' primarily applies to *paṣṭī* (liquor prepared from flour) alone, that paiṣṭī is forbidden to all brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas, that it is the drinking of paiṣṭī alone that constitutes a mahāpātaka, that all intoxicating drinks are forbidden to brāhmanas in all ages, but intoxicants other than *paṣṭī* (such as those prepared from molasses or madhūka flowers) are not forbidden to ksatriyas and vaiśyas. Manu XI. 93 says that surā is the refuse of cooked food (rice); therefore members of the three higher castes should not drink surā. This clearly shows that Manu took surā as meaning only paiṣṭī (liquor prepared from rice flour). The Visnu Dh. S. (22. 84) expressly says that ksatriyas and vaiśyas are not polluted by touching the ten kinds of madyas specified by it. In the Udyogaparva (59 5) both Vāsudeva (Krsna) and Arjuna are described as intoxicated by drinking the liquor prepared from honey and the Tantravārtika establishes that there was nothing wrong in this as both were ksatriyas. Intoxicants were not forbidden to śudras. Brahmacārins of whatever varna had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. Aparārka[1882] (p 63)

1881. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः। गौ. II. 25, सर्वे मद्यमपेयम्। आप. ध. सू. I 5.17. 21.

1882. मद्यं नित्यं ब्राह्मणः। नित्यमिति वचनान्मद्यं कृतयुगादावपि ब्राह्मणेन वर्ज्यं क्षत्रियवैश्याभ्यां तु कलावेव। यद् ब्रह्मपुराणं ... नराश्वमेधौ मद्यं च कलौ वर्ज्यं द्विजातिभिः अपरार्क p. 63

after quoting the Brahmapurāna states that intoxicating drinks were forbidden to the three varnas in Kali and to brāhmanas in all yugas (ages). But this is opposed to tradition. The Ādiparva (chap. 76) narrates[1883] that Śukrācārya prohibited for the first time brāhmanas from drinking intoxicants (vide H. Dh. vol II. pp 792–799 for detailed discussion of this topic). The Kalivarjya text forbids the drinking of intoxicants to all the three twice-born classes. But ksatriyas and vaiśyas pay scant attention to this prohibition and even some brāhmanas in these days have taken to drink as a fashionable indulgence The K. V. N. (folio 5a), Krsnabhatta[1884] and Sm. Kau. note that in the sākta treatises (called Vāmāgama) madya is allowed to be offered to the idol for all the three varnas and to ksatriyas in the propitiatory rites for Vināyaka and for birth on the Mūla constellation but this kalivarjya text forbids all that.

An analysis of these 55 kalivarjyas yields very interesting results. About one-fourth out of the above 55 relate to Śrauta matters. There are several texts forbidding Agnihotra, Asvamedha, Rājasūya, Purusamedha, sattras, Gosava, animal sacrifices, while a few others are concerned with matters of detail in sacrifices (vide No. 11, 14–16, 29–30, 38, 48–51, 54) The first nine of these 55 are concerned with legal matters and relations. Some prohibitions are due to growing caste exclusiveness (No 5, 10, 31, 40, 43). Others again spring from ideas of greater insistence on the sacredness of the marriage tie, a stricter morality and a demand for greater decency and purity, particularly in women (No. 2, 3, 4, 9, 15, 23, 24, 33, 39, 55). A few are based on notions of compassion, justice and equity (No 1, 8, 24, 25, 42). Some owe their origin to the growing sacredness of the brāhmana's person and his high social position (No. 7, 10, 27, 29, 30). Some must have been suggested by hygienic considerations (No. 12, 16, 28, 38, 41, 45), some arose from strict ideas of sin, expiation and ceremonial purity and impurity (No 13, 18–21, 28, 44). Two of these, when they

1883. यो ब्राह्मणोद्यप्रभृतीह कश्चिन्मोहात्सुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः । अपेतधर्मा ब्रह्महा चैव स स्यादस्मिँल्लोके गर्हितः स्यात्परे च । आदिपर्व 76. 67 = मत्स्यपुराण 25. 62.

1884. यद्वा वामागमादौ त्रैवर्णिकपुरस्कारेणोक्तं देवनैवेद्यादौ मद्यविधानं तदिह निषिध्यते । अथवा विनायकशान्तौ मूलजातशान्तौ च — तुर्यं (पुर्यं ?) चित्रं सुगन्धं च सुरा च त्रिविधामपि । तथा-सुरापोलिकमांसाद्यैर्नैवेद्यैर्भोजनादिभिः—इत्येताभ्यां यन्मद्यं प्रातं तच्च यद्यपि-मद्यमासमुरादीनि ब्राह्मणं (ब्राह्मणो ?) विनिवर्जयेदित्यनेन ब्राह्मणाना निषिद्धं तथापि क्षत्रियादिपुरस्कारेणापि कलौ निषिध्यत इति । कालिवर्ज्यवि. (folio 5a). कृष्णभट्ट p 1291 ives a summary of this.

prohibit the stage of forest hermit and of sannyāsa, strike at the very root of the ancient scheme of āsramas.

The chapter on Kalivarjyas can be employed as a very effective answer to those who trot out the theory of the 'unchanging East'. Social ideas and practices undergo substantial changes even in the most static societies. Many of the practices, that had the authority of the Veda (which was supposed to be self-existent and eternal) and of such ancient smrtis as those of Āp, Manu and Yāj, had either come to be given up or had become obnoxious to popular sentiment. This fiction of great men meeting together and laying down conventions for the Kali age was the method that was hit upon to admit changes in religious practices and ideas of morality. The Kalivarjya texts are also a complete answer to those who hold fast to the notion that dharma (particularly *acaradharma*) is immutable and unchangeable (*aparivartanīya*). This chapter on Kalivarjya unmistakably shows how the most authoritative dicta of the Veda and of ancient sages and law-givers were set aside and held to be of no binding authority because they ran counter to prevailing notions and furnishes a powerful weapon in the hands of those who want to introduce reforms in the incidents of marriage, inheritance and other matters touching modern Hindu society. One can further see how some practices still persist in spite of the prohibitions in the Kalivarjya texts viz. marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter, sannyāsa, agnihotra and even srauta animal sacrifices (rarely).

Some works add two more to the Kalivarjya verses which mean, 'imprecations, omens, dreams, palmistry, listening for supernatural voices or messages, promises to make presents to a deity if a certain prayer were granted, prophetic replies by astrologers to questions, may rarely turn out to be true. One should not, however, resort to these through the desire to secure results from them Similarly there are other actions also (that have to be abandoned) in the Kali age, because they have come to be included (by people) under improper acts (adharma)'[1885]

1885. अत्र शपथा. काशीस्थलोलार्कतीर्थस्नानादय. । शकुनाः पूर्णकुम्भादयः । स्वप्नाः एकर्षं कृष्ण कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एन हन्तीत्यादिश्रुतिस्मृतिसिद्धा. । उपश्रुति. सन्ध्याया निर्णेजकादिगृहेऽक्षतप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं स्वेष्टादिसूचकतत्रस्थशब्दाकर्णनम् । उपयाचितमस्मिन् कार्ये सिद्धे भैरवाय सतैल कुसराद्यं दास्यामीत्यादिसङ्कल्पः । आदेशः प्रश्नवशेन ज्योतिर्विद्भिर्मविष्यत्कथनम् । एतत्सूचितस्यापीटादेः प्रतिबन्धकादृष्टभावाभावाभ्यां संवादलाभनियमाभावाच्च शकुनादिलाभनाक्षेण जयाद्युद्देश्यकविवादादिप्रवृत्तिरुचितेति दृष्टार्थकार्यनिषेध एव क्रियते

(*Continued on the next page*)

From the fact that no ancient smṛti speaks of Kalivarjya, that the ancient commentaries of Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and even Vijñāneśvara do not cite long lists of Kalivarjyas, that such lists first make their appearance in the Smṛtyarthasāra, the Sm. C. and Hemādri (works and authors of 12th and 13th centuries), the most probable inference is that these lists of Kalivarjyas were first put together at the earliest in the 10th or 11th century A. D. [1886]

(Continued from the last page)

न त्वदृष्टार्थस्य शान्त्यादेः । स्मृतिकौ. p 477. The passage 'पुरुषं कृष्ण ... हन्ति' is quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2 4. The कलिवर्ज्यवि. (folio 11b) explains 'शकुना. काककपोतादिचेष्टाविशेषाः । . . उपश्रुतिश्चैलधावादिगृहपार्श्वे स्थित्वा चिन्तितार्थसूचनशब्दाकर्णनम् । ... आदेशः आशीर्वादः प्रश्नबलेन भविष्यकथन वा . . एते च निबंधा इति वार्तिकानुसारिणः । निबन्धानुसारिणस्तु (निबन्धनानु० ?) धर्मविप्लवापत्तेरेते पर्युदासा एवेति मन्यन्ते ।.' वार्तिक means here the तन्त्रवार्तिक of कुमारिल and निबन्ध refers to the work of Prabhākara, who was called निबन्धनकार by the शास्त्रदीपिका on जै. II 1. 1.

1886 An attempt at a systematical collection of the Kalivarjya texts and elucidation thereof was made by me in a paper submitted to the 8th All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in December 1935. The paper was published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 12 pp 1–18 (New Series), 1936. Recently (1943) Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya has published a book which contains a full treatment of Kalivarjyas. He states in the preface that it is 'an exact reprint of the thesis for Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for 1933', that the subject is 'comparatively fresh and unexplored' and that the treatment is on lines marked out by the writer himself He claims that his work is 'original as a whole except one section on secondary sons'. He does not state exactly in what year the thesis for a prize of 1933 was submitted to the Calcutta University Presumably a thesis for a prize of 1933 should have been submitted in 1934 or 1935 at the latest. No satisfactory explanation is given why the thesis was published in 1943, so long after the year of the prize, nor does he mention my paper published so far back as 1936 It appears from quotations in the book as printed that it was probably retouched, if not actually written, after 1937 For example, on p 76 he quotes a passage from the Smṛtimuktāphala (section on Varnāśrama p. 201), which was published by Principal J. R Gharpure only in 1937 in Devanāgarī If the original thesis was written or revised in or after 1937 my paper published in 1936 should have been mentioned. Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya in his paper 'the sources of dharma and their comparative authority' published in the Proceedings of the 10th Oriental Conference at Tirupati held in 1940 refers to my paper on Kalivarjyas (p. 160) as 'brief and compact'. Thus shows that he knew my paper years before he published his work in 1943. The claim of the subject being 'unexplored' and the thesis being 'original' is hardly admissible.

CHAPTER XXXV

CUSTOMS IN MODERN INDIAN LAW

Though an elaborate treatment of customs in modern Anglo-Indian Law is far beyond the scope of the present work, yet a few words on customs in modern times may not be altogether out of place here When the British began to acquire political domination in India they realized the importance attached to customs by all persons in India and the Charter of the Mayor's court at Bombay in 1753, unconsciously following the ancient dicta of Manu (VII. 203) and Yāj (I. 343), contains the earliest trace in British royal charters of a reservation to the peoples of India of their laws and customs.[1887] The British Parliament and the Indian Legislatures have allowed customs to occupy a very high place in the administration of law and justice. The preamble to 21 Geo. III chap. 70 (1781 A. D.) recited that one of the purposes for which the Act was passed was that the inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of all their laws, *usages*, rights and privileges and sec. 17 of that Act provided among other things that, in the case of the inhabitants of Calcutta, their inheritance and succession to lands, rents and goods and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party shall be determined in the case of Mahomedans by the laws and usages of Mahomedans and in the case of Gentus by the laws and usages of Gentus[1888] and, where only one of the parties shall be a Mahomedan or Gentu, by the laws and usages of the defendant. 37 Geo. III chap. 142 (1796 A D), sec 13, Bombay Regulation IV of 1827, sec. 26, the Government of India Act of 1915 (5 and 6 Geo V chap 61, sec. 112), Government of India Act 1935 (25 Geo. V chap. 2, sec 223), the

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1887. Vide *Lopes v Lopes* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (O C J.) 172, 183.

1888. The word 'Gentu' (or Gentoo) was the Portuguese word for 'Gentile' and appears to mean a pagan inhabitant of Hindustan who is not a Mahomedan. Its use in a judicial document first occurs in the judgment of Lord Chief Justice Willes in *Omichand v. Barker* (Durnford's Reports of cases, 1737–1769, p 538) Vide on the word Gentoo 'Khojas and Memons case' in Perry's Oriental cases 110, 123 and *Lopes v Lopes* 5 Bom. H. C. R. (O. C. J.) 172, 185–186.

Madras Civil Courts Act (III of 1873, sec 16), the Bengal, North-west Provinces and Assam Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887 sec. 37), Central Provinces Laws Act (XX of 1875, sec 5), the Oudh Laws Act (XVIII of 1876, sec. 3), the Bengal Laws Act (XVI of 1872, sec 5) enact that the custom of the parties or of the defendant shall be the rule of decision in matters of succession and inheritance, marriage, caste, religious institutions and the like.

The burden of proving a custom opposed to the general law or in derogation of the ordinary rights of another lies heavily on the person alleging it.[1889] The decided cases lay down several essentials of a valid custom In order to make a particular custom valid it must be proved to be immemorial or ancient, uniform, certain, reasonable, obligatory and it must not be immoral or opposed to public policy or to any express enactment of the Legislature. What antiquity must be proved before a custom can be accepted as valid depends upon the circumstances of each case [1890] When it is said that a custom must be ancient it is not meant that the antiquity must be carried back to a period beyond the memory of man. According to the Mit. on Yāj. II. 27 *smārta-kāla* (time within living memory) in relation to possession means a period of one hundred years, while according to Kātyāyana and Vyāsa it is only a period of sixty years [1891] On evidence of the prevalence of a custom even for 20, 30, 80 or 90 years the Courts have held that a presumption may arise that the custom is ancient and that if the presumption is not rebutted the Court may accept it as a valid and ancient custom.[1892] Many instances have generally to be adduced for proof of a custom. No hard and fast rule can be laid down about the number of instances required to prove a

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1889. *Neelkisto Deb v Beer Chunder* 12 Moo. I A. 523, 542; *Shiba Prasad v Prayagkumari* 59 I. A. 331, 345; *Baba Narayan v. Saboosa* 46 Bom. L. R 312 (P. C.), 314.

1890. *Subham v. Nawab* 68 I A 1, followed in *Panchanon Roy v. Fazlur Rahman* 76 C. L. J 479.

1891. मुख्या पैतामही भुक्तिः पैतृकी चापि समता। त्रिभिरेतैरविच्छिन्ना स्थिरा पञ्चाद्विपूरुषी मता॥ काल्या q. by अपरार्क p. 636; पञ्चाशत् विंशतिं भुक्ता स्वामिनाप्यहता सती। भुक्तिः सा पौरुषी ज्ञेयेष्टिगुणा तु द्विपौरुषी। त्रिपौरुषी च त्रिगुणा न ततोऽन्येन आगमः॥ व्यास q. by स्मृतिच. II. p. 75.

1892. *Mahamaya Debi v. Haridas* 42 Cal. 455, 472, *Garuradhwaja v. Saparandhwaja* 27 I. A. 238, *Basant v. Brijraj* 62 I. A. 180, 193, *Parshottam v. Venichand* 45 Bom. 754, 767.

custom.[1893] In certain cases it has been held that specific instances are not absolutely necessary, but the opinions of persons likely to know the existence of the custom is entitled to great weight, even though they may not be able to cite specific instances.[1893a] Customs once prevalant, particularly family customs, may come to be discontinued on account of accident, *change* in popular sentiment or by the concurrent will of all the members concerned.[1894] Customs must be strictly construed and cannot be extended by analogy or parity of reasoning. Because in a particular caste marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is allowed by custom it does not follow that marriage with a maternal aunt's or paternal aunt's daughter will necessarily be valid. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 467 notes 1095–6. The evidence about a custom should be such as to prove the uniformity and continuity of the usage, the conviction of those following it that they were acting in accordance with law and the consciousness of obligatorines and the custom should not spring from mere habit, imitation and ignorance or mutual arrangement.[1895] A custom must not be unreasonable. A custom of excluding daughters from inheritance was held to be not unreasonable according to the ideas of the Hindu community.[1896] A custom that only members of certain castes (and not of others) were entitled to make use of a temple and to worship therein was held not unreasonable in India, though it may appear obnoxious to cultured people at the present day.[1897]

Customs must not be immoral. Whether a custom is immoral is to be judged by the sense of the whole community[1898].

1893. Vide *Ratilal v Motilal* 27 Bom L R 880; *Chandika v. Muna* 29 I. A 70.

1893a Vide *Ahmed Khan v. Channi Bibi* 52 I A. 372; *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* 37 Bom. L. R 584; *Ajai Verma v Vijai Kumari* 41 Bom. L. R. 700 (P. C); *Madhavrao v. Raghavendrarao* 48 Bom. L. R 196.

1894. *Vannia Kone v. Vannichi* 51 Mad. 1 (F. B.), *Rajkishen Singh v Ramjoy* 1 Cal 186, 195–96.

1895. *Mathura v. Esu* 4 Bom 545, 557, *Gopalayyan v Raghupatiayyan* 7 Mad. H. C. R 250 (F. B.), 254; *Ramrao v. Yeshvantrao* 10 Bom. 327.

1896 *Bhau v Sundrabai* 11 Bom H. C R. 249, 277.

1897. *Anandrao v Shankar* 7 Bom. 323; *Sankaralinga v. Rajeshwar* 31 Mad 236 (P C); *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* 37 Bom L. R 584; but vide *Narhari v Bhimrao* 39 Bom. L R 1295 (about a tank).

1898 *Devanayaga v Muthu* 44 Mad. 329, 333.

A custom which authorizes a woman of the lower castes to contract a second marriage without divorce on payment of a certain sum to the caste was held to be immoral[1899] and the Bombay High Court refused to recognize the authority of the caste to declare a marriage void or to give a woman permission to remarry without a release from the husband.[1900] The adoption of girls by dancing girls (*naikans*) has not been recognized by the Bombay High Court,[1901] though the Madras High Court would recognize such an adoption if there was no intention to make it for purposes of prostitution.[1902] Dagger marriages are practised among certain castes. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 111. 15 and 44-46) states that among ksatriyas there are several forms of marriage such as forcibly carrying away the bride (which is the form called rāksasa) or marriage with the weapons (of the bridegroom). In modern times dagger or sword marriages have not been held valid by the courts even among śūdras; vide *Maharaja of Kolhapur v. Sundaram* 48 Mad. 1, *Ram Saran v. Mahabir* 61 I. A. 106.

Many customs and usages have been expressly forbidden by the Central Indian or Provincial Legislatures e. g. *Sati*[1903], female infanticide,[1904] slavery,[1905] marriages of children under a certain age,[1906] the dedication of women as *devadāsis* to temples or idols.[1907] This being so, no court will allow a party to plead a custom against these positive enactments. It was recognised in a number of cases that in the Bombay Presidency[1908] a *vatandar josht* had the right to recover by suit from

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1899. *Reg v. Karsan* 2 Bom. H. C. R. 117, 125; *Ufi v. Hathi* 7 Bom. H. C. R. (A. C. J.) 133.

1900. *Keshav v. Bai Gandi* 39 Bom. 538, 543.

1901. *Mathura v. Esu* 4 Bom. 545, *Hira v Radha* 37 Bom. 116; *Girimallappa v. Kenchava* 45 Bom. 768, 784-5; *Ghasiti Umrao v. Umrao Jan* 20 I. A. 193.

1902 *Venku v Mahalinga* 11 Mad. 393 ; *Kamalakshi v. Ramasami* 19 Mad. 127 ; *Duggirala Veeranna v. Duggirala Sarasiratnam* 71 M. L. J. 53 , *Gangamma v. Cuddappah Kuppammal* I. L. R. (1938) Mad. 789.

1903. Vide Regulation XVII of 1829 and sec. 306 of I. P. C.

1904. Vide the Female Infanticide Prevention Act (VIII of 1870).

1905. Vide Act V of 1843 and sections 370 and 371 of I. P. C.

1906. The Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929 as amended by Act XIX of 1938).

1907. Bombay Act X of 1934, sections 3-5.

1908. Vide *Vithal v. Anant* 11 Bom. H C. R. 6; *Dinanath v. Sadashiva* 3 Bom 9 ; *Raja v. Krishnabhat* 3 Bom. 232, *Waman v. Balaji* 14 Bom. 167.

a *yajaman* who had employed another priest to perform religious ceremonies the amount of the fees which would properly be payable to the vatandar joshi if he had been employed to perform such ceremonies and also the right to recover damages from a person who intrudes upon his office. But Bombay Act XI of 1926 (the Invalidation of Hindu Ceremonial Emoluments Act) now enacts (by sec. 4) that no person shall be entitled to claim as a matter of right any ceremonial emoluments from any Hindu who does not call in the services of the person claiming those emoluments. Therefore, suits of the nature described above cannot be brought now in Bombay by a *vatandar joshi*

How customs and practices once prevalent may come to be discontinued or abrogated is well illustrated in the section on Kalivarjyas Some of those that have a legal bearing have been already discussed above.

APPENDIX

NOTE 191

Long lists of high functionaries and other officers occur in several inscriptions. Vide E. I. vol. VII at p. 91 (Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva), E. I. vol. XII at p. 40, E. I. vol. XIV at p. 327 (grant of Mahīpāla). There are about 40 titles in some inscriptions. They are generally arranged in order of dignity and importance, the highest coming first. Sometimes several offices are held by the same man. For example, in the Jesar plate of Śīlāditya (dated in Valabhi year 357) the high officer Mammaka is styled 'sandhivigrahādhikrta, divirapati, mahāpratīhāra, sāmanta' (E. I. XXII at p. 120). It is not claimed that the following is a thoroughly exhaustive list. It is, however, exhaustive enough. Titles and dignitaries in South Indian languages have been generally omitted. Vogel stands for Dr. Vogel's work on 'Antiquities of Chamba State' where, on pp. 120–136, he furnishes informing notes on some officers. There is difference of opinion among scholars about the exact meaning of certain office names. The individual functions of several officers are not quite clear. The references given here as to where an office occurs are not exhaustive. Chronologically older references alone are generally given and they are mostly taken (so far as inscriptions are concerned) from the Epigraphia Indica (E. I.) and the Indian Antiquary (I. A.). Many official titles have the word 'mahā' prefixed without any change in meaning in some cases. Vide India Office Plate of Laksmanasena in his 27th year (E. I. XXVI. p. 1 at p. 7) for many official titles beginning with 'mahā'.

अक्षपटलिक—Vide Mahāksapaṭalika below. 'Akṣapaṭala' means 'Account office' (Stein) or 'Record office' (Fleet). There is 'grāmāksapatalika' mentioned in the Harsacarita (VII, para 2). Vide Chandela plate dated *saṁvat* 1108 (E I. XX at p. 128) and Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva dated *saṁvat* 1148 (E I. IX at p. 305). Kauṭilya has a section on the superintendent of 'aksapatala' (II. 7).

अक्षपटलाधिकृत—This is synonymous with 'aksapatalika'. This word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 60 p. 257 and in Rājatarangini V. 301, 397–398.

अक्षपटलाध्यक्ष —Superintendent of records and accounts Vide Kautilya II. 7 and p. 143 above for his duties.

अक्षशालिक or अक्षशालिन्—Officer in charge of the gambling-hall. Vide Komanda plate of Nettabhañja in E. I. XXIV p. 172 at p. 173 (about 4th century A. D.)

अक्षावाप—Superintendent of gambling. He was one of the '*ratnins*' mentioned in the Tai. S and Śat Br. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1216 and above p 112

अट्टपति—'Market-master'. Vide Rājat. V. 167.

अधिकरणलेखक—Official recorder or scribe (who drew up deeds of sale and the like after having the land sold measured in his presence). Vide Rājat. VI. 38 and note 436 above where Visnu Dh. S. VII. 3 is quoted.

अन्तपाल—Officer in charge of boundaries. Vide Kautilya I 12 (one of the 18 *tīrthas*), II. 21, V. 1. and Kāmandaka XII. 5. The word occurs in the Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I.

अन्तःपुरमहामात्र—Officer in charge of the inner apartments or of the harem. Vide Masulipatam plate of Ammarāja II in E I. XXIV p. 268 at p. 276.

अन्तःपुरिक—Officer in charge of the king's inner apartments or harem of the king. Vide Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj (in *saṁvat* 1148) in E I. IX. at p. 305.

अन्तरङ्ग—A class of royal servants very intimate with the king (probably same as *ābhyantara*) Vide Parikud plate of Madhyamarājadeva of Śailadanta family in E. I. XI at p. 286 and grant of Laksmanasena in E. I. XII p. 91 (of 1122 A. D.).

अन्तर्वंशिक—Officer in charge of the inner apartments or harem. Kautilya I. 12 mentions this officer among the 18 *tīrthas*. The word occurs in the Kādambarī (para 88), the Daśa-kumāracarita III. p. 71 and is defined by the Amarakośa.

अभित्वरमाणक—A messenger. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva in E. I. XVII at p. 321 (the words are 'dūtapraisanika-gamāgamika-abhitvaramānaka') and in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla (E I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250). Vide also Chamba Ins. No. 15 p. 166 for the same and Vogel (pp. 125–126).

अमच—(Prākrit for अमात्य). Vide Nasik Ins. Nos. 4 and 5 in E. I. VIII pp. 71, 73)

अमात्य—Minister. Vide p. 104 and note 150 above.

अश्वघास-कायस्थ—A petty officer in charge of the fodder for horses. Vide Rājat. III. 489.

अश्वपति—A cavalry officer. Vide Gupta Ins. No 61 at p 259 (in the Gupta year 106).

आक्षपटलिक—Officer in charge of the account or record office. Vide E. I. vol. I pp 316, 318 (grant of Karna I dated *samvat* 1148).

आग्रहारिक—Officer in charge of an *agrahāra* or *agrahāras*. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 12 (Bihar stone Ins. of Skandagupta) p. 47 at p. 52 and Mallasarul plate of Vijayasena in E. I. XXIII p. 155 at p 159 The word may also be 'agrahārika' or 'agrahārin'. Vide E I XXIV at p. 127 for a note on 'agrahāra'.

आज्ञप्ति—One who communicates at the order of the king the details about a landgrant to local officers (probably the same as *dūtaka*) This word occurs in some of the earliest Ins. of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (in E. I. VI p. 84 at p. 88). Vide also E I VIII at p. 146 (plates of the great Pallava queen Cārudevī), JBBRAS vol. X p 365 of *śake* 532 (where the ājñapti is Durgapatī), E I. XII p. 3, E. I. XV p. 70 (plate of Sundara Cola) In the grant of the eastern Cālukya king Amma II we have 'ajñaptiḥ katakādhīśo bhattadevaśca lekhakaḥ' (E. I. VII at p. 188). Vide p. 184 of the same for a discussion of the meaning

आज्ञा—a synonym of आज्ञप्ति. Vide Parle plate of Indravarman in E I. XIV p 360 at p. 362 (of the Ganga year 149) where the words are 'ājñā mahāmahattara-Śivavarmā'. When in the Gupta Ins. No 25 at p. 115 (of Mahārāja Sanksobha) or in the plate of Dronasimha in the Valabhi year 183 in E. I. XVI at p. 19 the words at the end are 'svayam-ājñā' the meaning is that the king employed no *dūtaka* to convey the details of his grant to the local officers but that he gave the details in person.

आज्ञादापके—Probably the same as 'ājñapti' or 'dūtaka'. Vide I A. 14 p. 161 in the record of Vākpatirāja of Dhārā dated *samvat* 1036.

आटविक—Officer in charge of forest tracts. The word occurs in Kautilya I. 12 among the 18 *tīrthas*

आधिकारिक—Officer. The exact function cannot be indicated. Vide grant of Dhārāvarsa in *śake* 702 (E. I. XXIV p. 176

at p 184), Cambay plates of Govinda IV in *śake* 852 (E I VII p. 26 at p. 40), Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V in *śake* 930 (I. A. 16 p 15 at p. 24).

आभ्यन्तर—Officers specially intimate or in close contact with the king. Vide Rājat. VIII 426.

आयुक्त—An officer. The exact duties are not clear. Pāṇini II. 3 40 indicates that he knows the word in the sense of a servant or officer. Vide Gupta Ins. No. 1 p. 1 at p. 8 (Allahabad Stone pillar Ins. of Samudragupta) which has 'āyukta-purusa '.

आयुक्तक—Same as आयुक्त. The word occurs in Kāmasūtra V. 5. 5 and Kāmandaka V. 82 (q. in note 73 above). Vide Omgudu grant of Vijayaskandavarman (E. I. XI at p. 250), Paharpur plate (E I XX p. 59 at p 61 in Gupta year 159), plate of Dronasimha in Valabhi year 183 (E.I. XI p. 17), grant of Dharasena II in Valabhi year 252 (in I. A. vol. 15 p. 187), the Maitraka plate in Gupta year 252 (E. I XI p 83).

आर्यपुत्र—(Prākrit अयपुत्र)—occurs in Brahmagiri Rock Inscription of Aśoka (in Corpus I. I. vol. I p 175)

आशापाल—lit. guardian of quarters. Acc to Sukra I. 192 he is a chief ruling over 10000 villages

उपयुक्त—A subordinate officer Kautilya II 5 has that word The duties cannot be specified

उपयुक्तक—Probably the same as 'upayukta'. The word occurs in Karhad plates of Krsna III dated *śake* 880 (E I IV p 278, at p 285), the Cambay plates of Govinda IV in *śake* 852 (in E. I. VII p 26 at p 40).

उपरिक—A very high officer, somewhat like a Governor of a province. Vide Damodarpur plate of Kumāragupta I in the Gupta year 125 (i. e. 443-44 A. D) where an *uparika* is said to have been selected by Emperor Kumāragupta to govern Pundravardhanabhukti and where the uparika is said to have appointed the kumaramatya Vetravarman to govern the district (visaya) of Kotivarsa (E. I. XV p 130). He is sometimes styled mahārāja and rājaputra. Vide also Gupta Inscriptions pp. 213, 216, the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapala (I. A 15 p. 304 at p. 306), the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211) where *uparika* occurs after 'kumaramatya' and before 'visayapati Visvarūpa on Yāj. I. 307 quotes a prose passage from

Brhaspati where the qualities requisite in an *uparika* are set out. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Festschrift pp. 231–233 for note and Vogel p 123.

एकाङ्क—The exact meaning is not certain; probably an officer belonging to a body organized in military fashion for collecting revenue or performing police duties. The word occurs in Rājat V 249, VII. 1604.

कटकेश or कटकराज or कटकाधीश—Superintendent of the royal camp Vide E I. VII at p. 185 (grant of Amma II who ruled from 945 to 970 A. D.).

कटुक—Exact function not known. The word occurs in two Taleśvara plates in E I XIII at p 117. Vide महाकटुक below.

कम्पनाधिपति or कम्पनापति or कम्पनेश—Commander-in-chief Vide Rājat V. 447, VII 1362 and 1366.

कम्पनोद्ग्राहक—An officer connected with the army Vide Rājat. VIII. 1430

करण—A clerk. The word occurs in the Irda plate of Kamboja king Narapāladeva in E. I. XXII p. 150 at p 155 (about 10th century A. D).

करण-कायस्थ—A scribe of legal documents. Occurs in Chamba Ins No 25 p. 187 at p. 194. Vide Vogel p 133

करणिक—Officer in charge of a State department or office. The word occurs in the Nālandā stone Ins of Yaśovarmadeva's reign about 530 A. D. in E I. XX p 37 at p 44, in the Chatsu Ins. of Guhilot Bālāditya of about the 10th century in E. I XII p. 10 at p. 17, in a grant dated *samvat* 1203 of Govindacandra's son in E I. VIII p 158 (where we have 'karanika-thakkura-śrīvivika), in E I XX Appendix p 52 No. 350 of *saṁvat* 1228 (about the donation of a karanika-brāhmana-Chāhada)

करणिन्—Same as 'karanika'. The word occurs in the Harsacarita VII para 2 (*sakala-karani-parikarah*).

कर्मसचिव—Executive minister. The word occurs in Rudradāman's Junagadh Ins of 150 A. D. in E I. vol. VIII p 36 Vide p 105 above

कायस्थ—A scribe or writer in the revenue department of the king. The oldest references are probably those in Yāj I. 322, Visnu Dh. S. VII. 3 and Br. Sam 86. 12. Vide Aśvaghāsa-

kāyastha above and grāmakāyastha in Rājat. V. 175 and Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IX p 12 (a grant of Gupta year 120 i. e. 439-40 A. D.) Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 75-77 for a note on Kāyastha.

कार्मान्तिक—Superintendent of all mines and State manufactories. Kauṭilya I. 12 mentions him among the 18 *tīrthas*. Kautilya II. 12 is headed 'ākara-karmāntapravartanam' i. e. 'conducting mining operations and manufactories'.

कुमार—A prince younger than a Yuvarāja (the heir apparent). The word 'Kumāla' occurs in the first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli (Corpus I. I vol I pp. 93, 97). Vide also Corpus I. I. vol. II pp. 40 and 48 (Mathurā Lion Pillar capital).

कुमारामात्य—A high officer below a provincial Governor. Vide 'uparika' above. In the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, Harisena is described as *kumārāmātya* and also *sāndhivigrahika* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (Gupta Ins. No. 1 at p. 16) Vide Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216, the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p 208 at p. 211), E. I. X at p. 72 in the reign of Kumāragupta in Gupta year 117 (a brāhmana is described as mantrin, kumārāmātya and mahābalādhikṛta) Vide Dr. U. N Ghoshal's paper on 'kumārāmātya' in the proceedings of the 6th All India Oriental Conference pp. 211 ff, p 117 above and Vogel p. 123.

कुलकरणि—a hereditary clerk or officer. The word occurs in the Sūdi Ins. of *śake* 981 in E I. XV p. 85 at p. 91.

कुलिक—An officer in charge of ten villages who was granted a 'kula' of land for his salary. Vide Manu VII. 119 and Kullūka thereon. In the Damodarpur plate of Gupta year 124 it is said that the head of the district was assisted by the *nagara-śresthin, prathama-kulika* and *prathama-kayastha* (E. I. XV at p 130). In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva we read 'Odra-mālava-khasa-kulika-karnāta-hūna-cāta-bhatasevakādīn' (E. I. XVII at p. 321). Vide Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vogel says that 'Kulika' is a tribe (pp. 126-127) Probably the passage means 'officers in Orissa, Khaśa and Mālvā and the cātas and soldiers of Karnāta and Hūna origin'. Kulika also means 'an arbitrator as a tribunal'. Vide pp 280-282 above and Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. 19 p. 12 at p 14. Vide महापाषकुलिक

कोट्टपाल—Officer in charge of a fort. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala (I. A. 15 p 304 at p 306) and in the Nālandā plate of Devapaladeva in E. I. XVII at p 321 where the word is read as koṭapāla

क्षत्तृ—Chamberlain Vide p 111 above He is one of the '*ratnins*' According to Manu X. 16 and Yāj I. 94 the offspring of a ksatriya woman from a sudra male was called *ksattr* and it is probable that such mixed offspring were employed as door-keepers or chamberlains

क्षत्रप—A provincial chief. The word occurs in Corpus I.I. vol. II p XXXIV and pp 23, 28 (Taxila plate of Patika of the year 78) and in the plate of Vidagdha in 'Antiquities of Chamba', Ins No. 15 p. 164 at p. 166 Vogel says it must be read as 'ksetrapa'. Vide 'mahāksatrapa' below. The word is probably a Sanskritized form of Persian 'satrap'.

क्षेत्रप—The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at 306).

क्षेत्रपाल—Occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. XVII at p 321)

खण्डरक्ष—The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. XVII at p 321) and in the Chamba Inscription Nos 15 and 26 In 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins No. 25 the form is 'khadgaraksa'. Vide Vogel pp 127–128.

खण्डपाल—Occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva of *samvat* 1134 (E I VII p. 85 at p 91). The form खण्डपाल occurs in the Panchobh plate of संग्रामगुप्त (JBORS. vol. V p 582 at p. 588).

खोल—Occurs in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladeva (E I vol IV p. 243 at p 250). The meaning is uncertain

गजपति—Officer in charge of the elephant arm in an army. The word occurs in the plate of Jayacandra of Kanoj dated *samvat* 1225 in I. A. vol. 15 at p 7.

गजपति—Occurs in the Talesvara plate (6th to 8th centuries A. D.) in E I. XIII. p 109 at 115. उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 52. 13 says 'कोशभवनं गजः'.

गजवर—(a Persian word for 'treasurer')—occurs in the Ins of Mahāksatrapa Sodāsa found at Mathurā (in E I. IX p 247) Vide Rājat V. 177.

गमागमिक—The meaning is uncertain It probably means some kind of messenger. It occurs in Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A 15 p 304 at p. 306), the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E I. XVII at p. 321), the Rajor Ins. of Mathanadeva in *samvat* 1016 (in E I. vol III p. 263 at p 266) उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 85. 34 explains दूत as गमागमिक. In the Khalimpur plate (E. I. vol. IV pp. 243, 250) the words दूतखोलगमागमिकाभित्वरमाण occur one after another.

गावुण्ड—Same as *grāmakūta* below Vide Ins. from Hottur in E I XVI p 74 (of śake 929)

गावुण्डु—Same as above It occurs in the Ratta Ins from Saundatti of śake 902 (in JBBRAS. vol X at p. 208)

गुल्मपति—Officer in charge of a गुल्म, for which see p 205 above It occurs in the Panchobh plate of Sangrāmagupta (12th century) in JBORS. vol. V p. 582 at p. 588

गूढपुरुष—Secret service men. Vide Irda plate of Kamboja king Narapāladeva in E. I. XXII p 150 at p 156 (about 10th century).

गोप—Officer over five or ten villages. Vide Kaut. II. 35 and p 143 above.

गौल्मिक—' Superintendent of woods and forests ' (Fleet) The word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 12 p. 47 at p. 50, in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p 304 at p 306), in the grant of Laksmanasena (E. I. XII p. 6 at p 9). The word is formed from ' gulma ' acc. to Vārtika 13.(āyasthanebhyasthaka) on Pānini IV. 2. 104 Vogel (p. 127) boldly asserts that ' the words śaulkika and gaulmika are unknown in Sanskrit Literature ' in spite of Buhler's note in E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 7 that saulkikas are frequently mentioned in inscriptions. But śaulkika also occurs in Yāj. II. 173 and both words occur in the Mahābhāsya. Gulma means a post of guards. Vide p. 141 above The word ' gumike ' read in the grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol I p. 2 at p 5) is correctly held by Buhler to stand for ' gaulmika '.

ग्रामकायस्थ—Village scribe. Occurs in Rājat V. 175

ग्रामकूट—Village headman. Vide p 154 for reference from Paithinasi Kaut. IV. 4 has that word and the com on Kāmasūtra V. 5 5 explains ' halotthavrtti ' as ' grāmakūta Vide also Karhad plates of Krsna III dated śake 880 (E I.

IV p. 278 at p. 285), the Sanjan plates of Buddha-varasa (E. I XIV p 144 at p. 150), the grant of Karka Suvarnavarsa in śake 746 (E. I XXIV p. 77 at p. 84), Cambay plates of Govinda IV in śake 852 (E. I. VII pp. 26, 39)

ग्रामकूटक—Same as above. This form occurs in Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V dated śake 930 (I. A. vol. 16 p. 15 at p. 24).

ग्रामणी—Village headman. Vide pp. 153–154 above for ancient references Pānini V. 2 78 has this word.

ग्रामनेतृ—Same as above. Occurs in Śukra II. 120.

ग्रामपति—Occurs in the Mit. on Yāj. II. 271.

ग्राममतृ—Occurs in Yāj. II 271.

ग्रामाधिपति—Vide Kāmasūtra V. 5 5.

ग्रामिक—Village headman. Occurs in Manu VII. 116, Kaut. III. 10 and in Bhūmara stone Pillar Ins. of Hastin and Śarvanātha in Gupta year 189 (Gupta Inscription No. 24 p. 112).

घट्टपति—Officer in charge of quays or landing places (*ghats*). Occurs in Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *saṁvat* 1134 (E. I. VII. p. 85 at p. 91). For घट्टपाल vide JBORS vol. V pp. 582, 588.

चाट—This word has given rise to various opinions. Fleet and Buhler translate as 'irregular soldiers'. Vogel (pp. 130–132) points out that Chamba is the only place where the ancient word 'cāta' is still extant in the modern form 'chat' meaning 'head of a *pargana*'. Grants of villages are often expressed as 'acātabhatapraveśya' (not to be entered by cātas and bhatas)'. For example, in the Surat plate of Maitraka Vyāghrasena (E. I. XI at p. 221) it is stated that the granted land was not to be entered by cātas and bhatas except for (seizing) robbers and those guilty of harm or treason to the king Similar words occur in the Betul plates of Sanksobha in Gupta year 199 (acātabhaṭapraveśyam coradrohakavarjam) in E. I. VIII p. 287. The words occur also in the Khoh plate of Mahārāja Hastin in Gupta year 191 (Gupta Ins. No. 23 p. 106). Yāj I 336 states that it is the duty of the king to protect people from the harassment caused by *cātas*, robbers and *kāyasthas* and the Mit explains cāta' as persons who deprive people of their wealth after producing false confidence in them. Three quarters of the same verse occur in the Pañcatantra I p. 72 verse 343 Aparārka (p. 792) quotes Brhaspati that 'dangers common to all are those arising from cātas and thieves'.

Prof. Pathak while editing the Abhona plates of Sankaragana dated in Kalacuri *samvat* 347 in E. I. IX p. 296 quotes the words of Śankarācārya (tārkika-cāta-bhatarājāpravesyam) in his Bhāsya on Br Up. and Anandagiri's explanation thereon viz. *cātas* are those that transgress the rules of conduct for decent people and bhatas are servants telling falsehoods. Vide the Valabhi grant of Dharasana II in 252 Gupta year (I. A. 15 p 187) and the Palitana plates of the same king and of the same year in E I XI. p. 80 at p. 83 and the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E I. IV p 208, at p. 211 where we read 'bhatacāta-sevakādīn) for other early occurrences of the word In the Naihati grant of Ballālasena we have the words 'cattabhatta-jātīyān janapadān' (E I. XIV p. 156 at p. 160)

चोरग्राह—Thief-catcher. The word occurs in Nārada (parisista verse 18) and in Kāt. q by Aparārka p. 844

चोररज्जुक—Probably an officer whose duty it was to secure robbers with ropes. Kaut. IV. 13 mentions this officer and II. 6 refers to 'corarajjū' as one constituent of 'rāstra'.

चौरोद्धरणिक—Thief-catcher or one who exterminates thieves This word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 46 p 213 at p 216, the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187) and the Palitana plate of the same king in the same year (E. I XI p. 80 at p 83), the Rāstrakūta grant of śake 697 (JBBRAS vol 16 p 105 at p 108), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. 15 p 304 at p. 306), the grant of Laksmanasena (E. I XI p. 6 at p 9).

चौरोद्धर्तृ—Same as above The word occurs in Yāj II. 271 and in Kātyāyana quoted by Aparārka p 844

छत्रछायिक—Umbrella bearer This word occurs in 'Antiquities of Chamba', Ins. No. 15 at p 166 Vide Vogel p 128

ठक्कुर—It appears to have been a mere title and not an office whereby the holder was entitled to wield some kind of power in the State The word occurs in samvat 1005 (E I. XIX p. 243), in the plate of Govindacandra in samvat 1186 (in E. I. XIII p 295 at p 297), the Sevadi plate of Cāhamāna Ratnapāla in samvat 1176 (E. I. XI p 304 at p 310) It occurs as a title in Rājat VII. 290, 706, 738

तन्त्रपति—A Judge (dharmādhikārin) Occurs in Rājat VIII 2422.

तन्त्रपाल—Seems to mean some officer like "Charged' affaires". The word occurs in a record at Sūdi in Ron Taluka of Cālukya Someśvara I in śake 973 (E. I. V at p. 77) and in Partabgarh Ins. of Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla in *saṁvat* 1003 (in E. I. XIV p. 176 at p. 185), one Mādhava being styled ' tantrapāla-mahāsāmanta-mahādandanāyaka'.

तरपति—Superintendent of all ferries. Vide Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p. 321) and Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *saṁvat* 1134 (E. I. VII at p. 91). In the Nālandā plate ' tarika ' and ' tarapatika ' come immediately after one another and must be distinguished as to meaning.

तरिक—Probably means ' one who plies a ferry boat '. Occurs in Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306).

तलार or तलरक्ष—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Ins. of Samarasiṁha of Mewar in saṁvat 1330 (E. I. vol. XX. Appendix No. 579 p. 82). In Punjab a subdivision of high class *kshatris* is called Tālwār.

तलावाटक—Meaning not apparent. Bhagavanlal suggested that it is the same as modern ' Talāti ' (petty revenue officer). It occurs in the Deo-Baranark Ins. of Jīvitagupta (Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216).

दण्डनाथ—Commander of an army. In E. I. vol. V. p. 28 at p. 31 mention is made of a Dandanātha Sahadeva under the Yādava king Jaitugi or Jaitapāla (about 1200 A. D.).

दण्डनायक—Various meanings are assigned by several scholars. Stein on Rājat. VII. 951 takes it to mean ' prefect of police '. In many cases it appears to mean a ' General or Magistrate '. In E. I. VII, Appendix No. 291, 292 and 296 Ins. of the years 1178 to 1181 A. D. there is one Keśimayya styled ' dandanāyaka ' lower in rank than mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Vide also Ins of Jayakeśi Kadamba of 1125 A. D. in E. I. XIII p 298 and p. 317 (Daṇḍanāyaka Lakkharasa), JBBRAS XII p. 11 in śake 1145 (Daṇḍanāyaka Purusottama of Yādava Singhana), the Abhir Ins. in E. I. V p. 234 where one Mahādevarasa is styled mahāsāmantādhipati and daṇḍanāyaka and his subordinate Māyideva is also called ' daṇḍanāyaka ' (about 1153 A. D.), in several Kalacurya Inscriptions (E. I. V p. 24 at p. 28, E I. V. p. 213 at p 215). Lakanna and Mādanna were dandanāyakas of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara (about 1388 śake) in E. I. XV at p. 15. Vide p. 115 and n. 152 above. E I. XIX p 265 at p. 269 (grant of

Dharmarāja) reads 'dāndanāyaka'. In Br. Saṁ. 72. 4 the queen, yuvarāja, senāpati and dandanāyaka are placed on the same level in the matter of the staff (danda) to be prepared for them.

दण्डपति—Commander of forces or a governor. Vide Abu Vimala temple Ins. dated *samvat* 1378 in E. I. IX pp. 148, 156.

दण्डपाल—An officer in charge of all branches of the army. Vide Kauṭ. I. 12 and p. 112 n. 147 above.

दण्डपाशिक—Officer in charge of punishment i. e. criminal justice. The word occurs in the Palitana plates of Dharasena II dated in Gupta year 252 (E. I. XI p 83), in the Valabhi grant of the same king in the same year (I. A. 15 p. 187), in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306 which reads 'dāndapāśika') and Laksmanasena's grant (E. I. XII at p. 9), also in Yaśastilaka I. p. 50.

दण्डवासिक—(a prākrit form of dandapāśika). Occurs in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vide Vogel p. 129.

दण्डशक्ति—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla in E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p. 250.

दण्डाधिनाथ—Same as dandapāla. The word occurs in the Chittur plates of Kullottunga Codadeva (I. A. 14 p. 55 in *śake* 1056).

दण्डाधिप—Same as above. The word occurs in a quotation in the com. on Yaśastilaka I. p. 91 and the Abu Vimala temple Ins. dated samvat 1378 in E. I. IX p. 148 at p. 151. Vide note 148 above for quotation.

दण्डिक—Same as 'daṇḍavāsika'. Vide Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p. 166.

दण्डेश—Same as दण्डनाथ. In J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 15 p. 386 (of śake 1160) there is a commander (dandeśa) Bicirāya under Yādava king Singhana.

दाण्डपाशिक—Same as 'dandapāśika'. This word occurs in the Pañcatantra II, *Kathā* 4 (as dandapāśaka meaning a watchman), in the grant of Mahābhavagupta I (E. I. XI at p. 94), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), in E. I. XIX p. 265 at p. 269. Vide Vogel p. 129.

दाण्डभोगिक—Probably the same as दाण्डपाशिक. The word occurs in the Wala plate of Guhasena in Valabhi year 246 (E. I. XIII at p 339).

दाण्डिक—A police officer. The word occurs in the Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216, in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A 15 p 304 at p. 306), in the Nāḷandā plate of Devapāla

(E. I. XVII at p. 321). In this last 'dāndika' and 'dāṇḍapāśika' come immediately after one another.

दापक—Appears to be the same as 'dūtaka'. The word occurs in the grant of Paramāra king Siyakadeva dated *samvat* 1026 (in E. I. XIX p. 177) and in E. I. XIX at p. 243 (dated *saṁvat* 1005).

दाशापराधिक—meaning doubtful. Probably an officer whose concern was with the ten *aparādhas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu*. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p. 321) and in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306). Vide p. 264 above for the ten *aparādhas*.

दिक्पाल—Probably officers in charge of the borders of a kingdom. The word occurs in Nārada (Dr. Jolly's edition, pariśista verse 17) q. by the Mit. on Yāj. II 271 and Kāt. (813) q. by Aparārka p. 844.

दिविर—a clerk. The Rājat. VIII. 131 makes it clear that 'divira' was distinct from the 'kāyastha'. The word occurs in the Gupta Ins. No. 27 at p. 122 of Mahārāja Jayanātha in Gupta year 177 (where one of the donees is a *divira* Sarvavādha).

दिवीरपति (or दिविरपति)—chief of clerks. In the grant of Śīlāditya of the Gupta year 286 a certain officer is styled 'sāndhivigrahādhikrta-divirapati' (E. I. XI p. 174 at p. 180); vide also Jesar plate of Śīlāditya in 357 Valabhi year (E. I. XXII p. 114 at p. 117) where a person called Mammaka is styled 'divirapati' and also *sandhivigrahika-mahāpratihāra* and *sāmanta*'.

दुःसाधसाधनिक—Vide दौःसाधसाधनिक below.

दुर्गपाल—Superintendent of a fort. Vide p. 112 note 147 above.

दुष्टसाधक—meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva of *samvat* 1134 (E. I. VII at p 91).

दूत—Messenger, envoy. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24. 13-14, 28 for his qualifications and pp. 112, 127 above. In the 13th Rock Edit of Aśoka at Shahabazgadhi we have 'duta' (vide Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 67).

दूतक—A high officer or delegate who conveys the king's command about the grant of land to local officers The word occurs in the Betul plate of Saṅksobha in 199 Gupta year (Gupta Ins. pp. 286-289), and in the plate of Mahārāja Jayanātha of Gupta year 174 (Gupta Ins. No 26 p. 117 at

p. 119 where the 'dūtaka' is Uparikadiksita Sarvadatta), in the Banskhera plate of Harsa in E. I. IV p. 208 (dūtakotra mahāpramātāra-mahāsāmanta-śrī-Skandagupta) and also in the Madhuban plate of Harsa (E I. VII at p. 158). In the Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *samvat* 100 the dūtaka is said to be 'Yuvarāja-Nāgabhata'. Vide also E. I. VI p 285, E. I. VIII 287, XI p 80 In the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla (in E. I. vol. IV p. 243 at p 250) the king states that he was requested to make a grant by Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyanavarman through the Prince Tribhuvanpāla as dūtaka.

दूतप्रेषणिक—Meaning doubtful. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p. 321) and the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 p. 304 at p. 306)

देशाधिकृत—(Prākit 'desadhikata')—Governor of a Province The Prakrit form occurs in the Ins. of Pallava Sivaskandavarman in the year 8 (E I. vol. I. at p. 5).

दोःसाधसाधनिक—Meaning doubtful. Probably means 'those who catch dangerous robbers whom it is difficult to secure'. The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E I. IV p. 208 at p 211). The form 'duhsādha-sādhanika' occurs in the Sevadi plates of Cāhamāna Ratnapāla in samvat 1176 (E I. XI at p. 310). Vide also E. I. XXVI at p. 206 and 'mahāsādhanika' below.

दोःसाधिक—Probably the same as above. The word occurs in the grant of Laksmanasena in the 3rd year of his reign (i. e. 1122 A. D.) in E. I. XII at p. 9.

द्वारिक—Doorkeeper. Vide Kautilya I. 12, Lalitavistara p. 136, Visnudharmottara II. 24. 30.

द्रङ्गिक—Officer in charge of a city station or watch tower for collecting customs duties. 'Dranga' means either 'a town' (as in E. I. XX, No. 810 of śake 1509) or 'a watch station' (as in Rājat. VIII. 2010). The word occurs in Valabhi plate of Dharasena II in Valabhi samvat 252 (I. A. 15 p 187), Gupta Ins. No. 38 at p. 169, Palitana plate of Simhāditya in 255 Valabhi year (E. I. XI p. 16 at p. 18), Bhavanagar plate of Dhruvasena I in Valabhi year 210 (E. I. XV p. 257), Wala plate of Guhasena (E. I. XIII at p. 339), the Navalakhi plate of Śīlāditya (E. I. XI at p. 179).

द्राङ्गेश—Guardian of frontiers. Vide Stein's translation of Rājat. vol. II pp. 291–292 for the meaning of 'dranga'.

द्वारनाथ, द्वारपति, द्वाराधिप—Superintendent of passes leading into the kingdom (Stein). Vide Rājat. V. 214.

धर्ममहामात्र—Superintendent of morality. Vide Aśoka's Edicts in Corpus I. I. vol. I p. 96 (first Rock edict at Girnar).

धर्माधिकरण—Judge. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24. 24-25.

धर्माधिकरणिन्—Judge. Vide Matsyapurāna 215. 24 and note 167 above.

धर्माध्यक्ष—Vide p. 126 above.

ध्रुव—Collector of the royal share of grain. The word occurs in the Bhinmal Ins. of *samvat* 1320 (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I part 1 p. 477).

ध्रुवाधिकरणिक—Probably the same as above. The word occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 38 pp. 164-166 (Māliya plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), the Wala plate of Guhasena (E. I. VII at p. 339 of Valabhi year 246).

नगरपति—City Prefect. The word occurs in the Silāra grant of *śake* 1016 (I. A. vol. 9 p. 33 at p. 35).

नगरव्यावहारिक—City Magistrate. Vide Kautilya I. 12 for Pauravyāvahārika and note 147 on p. 112 above. The word 'Nagalaviyohālaka' occurs in the First separate Rock Edict of Asoka at Dhauli (Corpus I. I. vol. I. p. 92).

नगरश्रेष्ठिन्—City Banker or guild president of the town. The word occurs in the Damodarpur plate No. 4 of the time of Budhagupta (E. I. XV at p. 115) and in the Paharpur plate (E. I. XX at p. 63).

नगराधिकृत or नगराधिप—City prefect. Occurs in Rājat. IV. 81, VI. 70, VIII. 3334

नरपति—Exact function doubtful. The word occurs in the plate of Jayacandra of Kanoj in *samvat* 1225 (I. A. vol. 15 p. 6 at p. 7) and in the Panchobh plate of Sangrāmagupta in JBORS. vol. V p. 582 at p. 588.

नागरक—Chief Officer of the city. The word occurs in Kautilya II. 36, Kāmasūtra V. 5. 9 (the com. on which explains *nāgaraka* as *daṇḍapāśika*). Vide p. 149 above for his functions.

नागरिक—Chief of the police. The word occurs in the Vikramorvaśiya V (after verse 4), the Daśakumāracarita II. pp. 58 and 59. The Vaijayanti explains the word as 'karapati, (Jail Superintendent).

नायक—Head of (ten) villages. The word occurs in Kautilya I 12, Śukra I. 192.

नियुक्तक—An officer, whose exact function is not known. The word occurs in the grant of Karka dated *śake* 746 (E I XXIV p. 77 at p 84), in the Kauthem plate of Vikramāditya V dated *śake* 930 (I. A. vol. 16 p 15 at p 24), in the Rajor Ins. of Mathanadeva dated *samvat* 1016 (E. I. III p. 263 at p 266).

निहेलपति—Governor of some part of a kingdom. In Chamba Ins. No 15 p 164 at p 166 we read in Vidagdha's plate 'Visaya-pati-nihelapati-ksatrapa'. Vide Vogel p. 124 In Gupta Ins. No. 80 p. 286 at p. 289 the 'dūta' of the grant is 'nihila-pati' Kuśala-prakāśa. So 'nihila' and 'nihela' probably mean the same thing.

नैमित्तिक—Probably 'soothsayer or astrologer'. The word occurs in the plate of Candradeva of Kanoj of *samvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305).

पञ्चकुल—An officer over a certain number of villages. The word occurs in the grant of Arjunadeva of Anahillapātaka in Vikrama year 1320 (I. A. vol. 11 at p. 242, where we read 'Srī-Abhayasīhaprabhṛti-pañcakulapratipattau'), in the Bhinmal Ins. No. 12 dated *samvat* 1333 (Bombay Gazetteer vol. I part I p 480) where we read 'tan-niyukta-mahā-Gajasīha-prabhrti-pancakula-pratipattau'). In E. I. XXIV at p. 89 (in an Ins. from Udaipur) we have a Pañcolī of the Gughāvata family. Here, it appears that 'pañcakula' was a board of officers of whom Gajasimha was one (or the chief). Vide महापाञ्चकुलिक below.

पञ्चमण्डली—A board of five officers or a *panchayat*. The word occurs in the Sanchi Stone Ins. of Candragupta II in Gupta year 93 (vide Gupta Ins. No. 5 at p. 31)

पट्टकिल—Village headman The word occurs in the Malva plates of Vākpatirāja in *saṁvat* 1031 and 1078 (I. A. vol. 6 at pp. 51 and 53), in the Māndhātā plate of Jayasimha of Dhārā in *saṁvat* 1112 (E I. vol. III p. 46 at p. 48), in the plate of the Paramāra king Udayavarman of *samvat* 1256 (I. A. vol. 16 p. 252 at p. 254). Vide p. 154 above for other references.

पट्टोपाध्याय—Recorder of official documents. Vide Rājat. V. 397.

पण्डित—Vide note 150 above.

पिशुनवेत्रिक—probably means 'an officer who drives away undesirable persons with a cane'. The word occurs in the plate of Mahābhavagupta I (E I. XI p 93 at p 94).

पीठिकावित्ति—Meaning uncertain The word occurs in the Belava plate of Bhojavarmadeva (E I. XII p 37 at p. 40).

पुरुष—means 'inferior servant' (as in Kautilya II. 5) or a bailiff attached to a Court of justice (as in Br.). Vide p. 278 above.

पुरोहित—Vide pp. 111–112 and 117 above. The purohita occurs in the list of functionaries in the Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj in *saṁvat* 1148 (E I. IX at p. 305) and in the grant of Laksmanasena (E I. XII p 6 at p. 9).

पुस्तपाल—Keeper of land records The word occurs in the Damodarpur plates dated Gupta year 124 and 129 (E I XV p. 113, at p. 130) and in the Paharpur plates (E. I. vol XX. p. 61).

पारव्यावहारिक—Vide p. 112 note 147 above. Compare 'nagalaviyohālaka' above under 'nagara-vyāvahārika'.

प्रतिनर्तक—Herald This word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 39 p 171 at p. 190 dated 766–67 A. D (The words are 'tan-niyuktapratinartaka-kulaputrāmātya-Guhena').

प्रतिनिधि—Vide note 150 above.

प्रतिहार—Chamberlain or 'inditer of grants'. In Nasik Ins. No. 5 the word *paṭihāra* (pratihāra) occurs (E I VIII p. 73). Brhaspati quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 307 states the qualifications of a 'pratihāra'. Vide Ādiparva 85, 28–29, Visnudharmottara II. 24. 12, Śukra I. 121 for definitions. In the grant of Dhruvasena dated Valabhi year 206 the *dūtaka* of the grant is *pratihāra* Mammaka.

प्रतीहार—Same as above. The form occurs in the Vasantagadh Ins. of Varmalāta (E I IX p 187 at p 192), in the Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj in *saṁvat* 1148 (E I IX at p 305); in E I IX p 117 at p. 119 Paramāra king Jayavarma II causes *pratīhāra* Gaṅgadeva to give a village to three brāhmanas (in *saṁvat* 1317).

प्रथमकायस्थ—Chief scribe The word occurs in the Damodarpur plate 1 of Kumāragupta in Gupta year 124 (E. I. XV at p 130).

प्रदेष्टृ—Police Magistrate. Vide Kautilya I. 12, IV. 1, IV. 10 (last verse). The word occurs in the Irda plate of the

Kamboja king Nayapāladeva (of about the 10th century) in E. I. XXII. pp. 150 at p 156.

प्रधान—Vide note 150 above. The word occurs in the Śilāra plate of Mahāmandaleśvara Anantadeva (I. A 9 p 33 at p 35 where 'mantrin', 'amātya' and 'pradhāna' are mentioned)

प्रमातार—Vogel (pp. 122-123) holds that this officer was concerned with the administration of justice The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p 208 at p 211).

प्रमातृ—Probably 'civil judge'. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321) and in the grant of Dhruvasena III in the Gupta year 334 (E I. vol. 1 p 85 at p. 88). Vide also E I vol. I at p. 115

प्रवेशभागिक—Meaning doubtful. Stein conjectures that he is a subordinate officer of the treasury who received cash payments. The word occurs in Rājat. VIII. 278.

प्रशास्तृ—Probably chief magistrate. The word occurs in Kaut. I. 12; vide p. 112 *n.* 147 above.

प्राणाचार्य—Medical adviser to the king. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24. 33-34 for his qualifications.

प्राड्विवाक—Chief Justice Vide Manu IX. 234 and p. 272 above.

प्रातिसारक—Meaning doubtful. The word occurs in the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II dated Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187)

प्रादेशिक-(प्रादेसिक)—An officer under Aśoka, probably the same as the mahāmātra. The word occurs in the 3rd Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar (Corpus I. I. vol. I. pp. 4-5).

प्रान्तपाल—Governor of a Province or guardian of the frontiers. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 p 304, at p. 306) and in 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins. No. 15 at p. 166. Vide Vogel p. 124.

प्रायोपवेशाधिकृत—Officer who watched those that had resolved to fast unto death. Vide Rājat. VI. 14.

बलाधिकृत—Commander of an army. The word occurs in the Kādambarī (para 74) of Bāna (where Balāhaka is so called) and in the Rāstrakūta (Gujerat branch) grant of *śake* 679 (J. B. B. R. A. S vol. 16 p. 105 at p. 108 where 'balādhikrta' follows 'senāpati)'.

बाह्य—A class of royal servants (as distinguished from 'antaranga'. Vide Rājat. VIII. 426, 680, 1542.

बृहदुपरिक—Great Governor of a province. The word occurs in the grant of Laksmanāsena (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9). See 'uparika' above.

भट—The word occurs very frequently in conjunction with 'cāta' for which see above. Vide also Dudia plates of Pravarasena II in E I III p. 258 at p 261 and Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p. 211), grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I. p 2 at p 5) where 'bhada' stands for 'bhata'.

भागदुघ—Vide p 112 above.

भागहार—He who recovers the king's share of the produce of land; one of the six officers of each village, acc. to Śukra II. 120

भागिक—Meaning uncertain. The word has something to do with 'bhāga' and 'bhoga' which frequently occur in the Gupta Inscriptions (e g 'bhogabhāgam' in Gupta Ins. No. 40 at p. 194 and No. 41 at p. 198). Vide two Taleśvara plates (E. I XIII, p 109 at p 115) and 'Antiquities of Chamba' (Ins No. 15 p 166) where both 'bhāgika' and 'bhogika' are found. Mr. Y. R. Gupte renders it as 'owner of land'. Vide Vogel p. 130.

भाण्डागारप्रथम—The chief of the royal store-house or treasury. The word occurs in the Ambarnath Ins. of Mamvāni in sake 782 (J B B R A S. vol. 9 p. 219).

भाण्डागारिक—A storekeeper or keeper of royal treasury The word occurs as 'bhandākarikaya' ('bhāndāgārikasya', of a store-keeper) in Nasik Ins No. 19 (E I VIII p 91) and in the Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj dated *saṁvat* 1148 (E. I IX p. 302 at p. 305).

भिषक्—King's medical adviser Vide E. I IX p. 302 at p. 305.

भोगपति—Head of a district It occurs in the Mitāksarā on Yāj. I. 320, in E I. IX p 296 at p 298 plates of Śankarkagana where we read 'anyairvāgāminṛpati-bhogapatibhih', as contrasted with a king and in 'Antiquities of Chamba' Ins. No 45 at p. 166

भोगिक—Head of a district or Collector of the State share of land produce taken in kind (Bombay Gazetteer I part 1 p 82) The word occurs in Gupta Ins No. 21 p 93 at p 96 and No 22 p 100 at p 104 (of the Gupta year 163), No 23 p. 106 at p 108 (of the Gupta year 191), in the Kavi grant of

Jayabhata about the beginning of 5th century A. D. (I. A. vol. V at p 114), in the Taleśvara plates (E I. XIII p 109 at p. 117)

भोगोदरणिक—The same as 'bhogika' above

भोजक—A village headman or 'freeholder' (Buhler). The word occurs in the Deo Baranark Ins. of Jīvitagupta II (Gupta Ins. No. 46 p. 213 at p. 216) and in the grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol I. p 2 at p 5)

मण्डलेश—'Lord of a maṇḍala', a provincial governor Vide Rājat VI. 73, VII. 996, VIII. 1228, 1814, 2029.

मण्डलेश्वर—Same meaning as above. The word occurs frequently in the inscriptions of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 21 p 354 and 'mahāmaṇḍalesvara' below

मतिसचिव—Councillor. The word occurs in the Inscription of Rudradāman. Vide p 105 above.

मन्त्रिन्—Minister or councillor. The word occurs in Kaut I. 8, Yāj. I. 312 and in Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of Kanoj dated *saṁvat* 1148 (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 305). Vide pp. 105–106 and n. 150 above.

महत्तक—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs as Mahāmahattaka in the Bodh Gaya Ins dated in the 74th year of the Lakṣmana-sena era (i. e about 1194 A. D.) in E. I. XII p 27 at p. 30.

महत्तम—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 at p. 306) and the Rajor grant of Mathanadeva in *saṁvat* 1016 (E. I. III p 263 at p 266 where both 'mahattara' and 'mahattama' occur one after another) and in Rājat VII. 438.

महत्तर—lit meaning 'elder' (of a town or village). Stein on Rājat VII. 659 translates it as 'chamberlain' The word occurs in the Kavi plate of Jayabhata of the beginning of the 5th century A. D. (I. A. vol. V p 114, 'rāstragrāma-mahattara'), Gupta Ins. No 38 p 164 at p. 169 (the Maliya plate of Dharasena II), Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragana (595 A. D.) in E I. IX p. 297, Palitana plates of Simhāditya in the Gupta year 255 (E I. XI pp. 16, 18), Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187). Vide also E. I. VIII p 26 at p. 39 (śake 852), E. I. IV p. 278, 285 (śake 880), E. I. III p. 263, 266 (Vikrama year 1016), I. A.

vol. 16 p. 15 at p. 24 (śake 930) In the Daśakumāra-carita III p 77 there is 'janapada-mahattara'. Vide note 148 above.

महाकरणिक—Vide 'karanika' above. The word occurs in the Benares plate of Cedi king Karnadeva in Cedi era 793 (i. e. 1042 A. D) in E. I. vol II p. 297 at p. 309.

महाकर्ताकृतिक or महाकार्ताकृतिक—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol. 15 p. 304 at p. 306) and in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p 321) and the Wala grant of Dhruvasena I in Gupta year 216 (I A vol 4 p. 105).

महाकुमारामात्य—Vide 'Kumārāmātya' above. The word occurs in the same two plates as are mentioned under 'mahākartākrtika'.

महाक्षत्रप—The great *satrap* or provincial Governor. The Mathurā Lion Pillar capital (Corpus I. I. vol. II p. 30 at p. 48) and the coins of Rajula are the earliest to mention this word. Vide the Mathurā stone Ins. of Śondāsa (E. I. IX p. 247) and Rudradāman's Ins. (E. I. VIII p. 36 at p. 44).

महाक्षपटलिक—Vide 'aksapatatika' above. The word occurs in Gupta Ins No 39 at p 120 (in 766 A. D), in the Bhagalpur plate (I. A. 15 pp 304, 316), Benares plate of Karnadeva (A. D. 1042) in E. I. vol II p. 309, in Laksmanasena's grant (E I. XII p 91), E I X at p. 100 (Vikrama year 1253). In the Madhuban plate of Harsa (E I VII p. 155 at p. 158) we have 'mahāksapatalādhikaranādhikrta'.

महागणस्थ—meaning uncertain. The word occurs in the Naihati grant of Ballālasena (E I. vol XIV p. 156 at p. 160).

महातलवर—The functions of this high officer are not clear. See the Nagarjunikonda Ins. in E. I. XX at pp 6 and 16 where a person is styled mahāsenāpati and mahātalavara. Has the word anything to do with the modern word 'talvār' meaning a sword? If it has then it would mean 'a great swordsman' The word 'taravārī' in the sense of a double-edged sword occurs in the Yasastilaka I. p 50.

महादण्डनायक—Vide 'dandanāyaka' above and p. 115 note 152. In the Gupta Ins No. 1 pp 10, 15 Harisena, the author of the *praśasti*, is styled sāndhivigrahika, kumārāmātya and mahādandanāyaka; vide also Gupta Ins No 46 pp. 213, 216, Mathurā (Kusana) Ins of the year 74 (E I. IX p. 242), E. I. XVI p. 230 the Kankhera stone

Ins. of the year 201 (279 A D ?) where we read 'mahādandanāyakena śakena srīdharavarmanā'), in Nagarjunikonda Ins (3rd century A D.) in E I. XX at p 7; in the Wala grant of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I in the Gupta year 216 there are five titles applied to Dhruvasena of which mahādandanāyaka is one (I. A. vol 4 p 105), the other four being mahāsāmanta, mahāpratīhāra, mahākārtākrtika and mahārāja

महादानपति—The great lord of gifts The word occurs probably as a title only in the Taxila plate of Patika of the year 78 (Corpus I I. vol. II p. 23 at p 28)

महादानिक—Officer superintending the great gifts of the king called mahādānas For mahādānas vide H of Dh. vol II pp 869-870 The word occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva (E I. vol. VII at p. 91).

महादेवी—The first wife of a king. The mahādevī or mahārājñī often heads the list of persons to whom royal grants are addressed Vide Karnadeva's plate dated in 1077 A. D. (E. I XI. at p 141)

महादौःसाधसाधनिक—Vide 'dauhsādhasādhanika' above The word occurs in Nārāyanapāla's plate (I. A. 15 p 304 at p. 306) and Devapāla's Nālandā plate (E I. XVII p 310 at p 321).

महाधर्माधिकरणिक—The chief justice. The word occurs in the Benares plate of Karnadeva in A D. 1042 (E. I. II p 309) and also in his Goharwa plate (E I. XI p 139 at p 141)

महाधर्माध्यक्ष—Vide 'dharmādhyaksa' above. The word occurs in Laksmanasena's grant (E. I. XII p. 6 at p. 9)

महापाञ्चकुलिक—Vide पञ्चकुल above The word occurs in Sangrāmagupta's Panchobh plate (JBORS vol. V p 582 at p 588)

महापीलुपति—The great superintendent of elephants Mahāpilupati Pāśupata was the *dūtaka* of the Abhona plates of Kataccuri Śankaragana in Kataccuri *samvat* 347 (i. e 595-6 A D) in E I IX p 296 at p. 298 The word also occurs in Laksmanasena's grant (E. I. XII p 6 at p 9).

महाप्रतिहार—Superior officer above all doorkeepers, great chamberlain The word occurs in the Kādambarī of Bāna para 97, in the Rājat IV. 142. It occurs in the plates of Sangamasimha (541 A D.) in E. I. X p 72 at p. 75, in the Jesar plate of Śilāditya in 357 Valabhi year (E I. XXII p. 117), in Gupta Ins No. 46 pp 213, 216, Benares plate of Karnadeva in 1042 A. D. (E. I. vol II p. 309).

महाप्रधान—Great Minister (or Prime Minister). A mahāpradhāna and dandanāyaka Brahmadeva is found in an ins of Kalacurya Sankama's time in 1178 A. D. (E. I. V p 26 at p. 28) Vide also E. I XV p 32 at p. 36, I A. vol. 9 p 33 at p. 35 (where a mahāpradhāna Mahādevaiya under mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Anantadeva is mentioned in śake 1016.)

महाप्रभु—Governor. Vide Ehūra record of 1173 A. D. (E. I. XII at p 335)

महाप्रमत्तवार (महाप्रमातार)—Vide the Godharva plate of Karnadeva dated 1047 A. D. (E. I. XI p 141).

महाप्रमातार—see प्रमातार above The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E I IV p. 208) and Benares plate of Karnadeva (1042 A D.) in E I. vol. II p 297 at p. 309.

महावलाधिकृत—Great commander. Vide Gupta Ins. No 23 at p. 109 in 191 Gupta year, the same person being also the *dūtaka* of the grant; E I. X at p 72 (valabhi *samvat* 117 in Kumāragupta's reign), E. I VI p. 294 at p. 299 (609–610 A. D.), E. I XI at p 83 (Maitraka grant of Gupta year 252), E. I XII p. 30 at p. 35.

महाभाण्डागारिक—Vide Bhāndāgārika above. The word occurs in Karnadeva's Benares plate (in 1042 A. D.) in E I. vol II p. 39 and in his other plate in E I. XI p. 141 (in 1047 A. D.). For the Mahābhāṇḍāgāra office, vide Rājat IV 142.

महाभोगिक—Vide भोगिक above. Vide Laksmanasena's grant in E. I. XII p 6 at p. 9.

महामण्डलनाथ—Same as mahāmaṇḍaleśvara The word occurs in the Waghli ins of Seuna dated śake 991 (E I II at p 227)

महामण्डलीक—Same as the next. Occurs in Śilāra plate of Anantadeva in *śake* 1016 (I. A. vol. 9 p 33 at p 35).

महामण्डलेश्वर—Lord of a great territory. This title is borne by many of the Rattas of Saundatti (vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 21 p 354 for Belgaum), by Śilāhāra chiefs of the Konkan, by the Kadambas of Hangal and other cities and several other chiefs throughout central and south India Vide E I. XIII at p 16 (for Rattas of Saundatti, 1204 A. D), E I. XIII p 299 (for Kadamba Jayakeśi II being so called in A. D 1125), E I. V p. 234 at p 236 and p 238, E I. XII p 250 (for Bhandup plates of Śilāhāra Chittarājadeva in 1026 A. D), J B B R A S vol. 9 p 219 (Ambarnath Ins dated śake 782), I. A. vol 12 p 119 (Bassein plates of

Yādava Seunacandra II, śake 991), I A. vol 11 p. 9 for Kākatīya Mahā-Rudradeva in *śake* 1084, E. I. VIII p. 205 for the Vāghela chiefs Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala being called Mahā-), E I XIV pp. 265-66 (Sinda chief Rācamalla II of Kurgod in *śake* 1095 and 1103), E I. XIX p 75 at p. 80 (Haihaya king Prthvīdeva I is styled Mahā- though he ruled over 20000 villages of Mahākosala.

महामन्त्रिन्—'Great Minister or councillor'. Occurs in the Benares plate of Cedi king Karnadeva (E I. vol II p 309 in 1042 A. D.) and his Goharwa plate dated 1047 A D. (E I. XI p 141)

महामहत्तक—Vide mahattaka above. The word occurs in the Bodh Gaya Ins. dated in Laksmanasena year 74 (E I. XII p. 27 at p. 30).

महामहत्तर—Vide mahattara above The word occurs in the Purle plate of Ganga year 149 (E. I. XIV p. 362, where we read ājñā mahāmahattara-Śivaśarmā

महामहन्तक—Occurs in the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *saṁvat* 1134 (E I. VII p. 85 at p. 91)

महामात्य—'Great or Prime Minister'. Vide note 148 above and Vogel p 122. Occurs in Ambarnath Ins of śake 782 (J B B R A S, vol. 9 p 219), Bhadana plates of Śilāra Aparājita in śake 919 (E I. III p 267 at p. 290), plate of Karṇadeva in 1042 A. D. (E. I. vol. II. p 309), I A. vol. 11 p 242 in Vikrama year 1320 equal to Valabhi year 945 where mahāmātyarānaka-Māladeva is said to have done all the business of the seal of Veraval Ins of Arjunavarmadeva of Anahillapātaka and where a Mahomedan donor from Hurmuz grants some income to a *masjid* built by him, Mussulman congregations of Somanātha being appointed trustees.

महामात्र—High Officer Vide Kautilya I. 12, V 1 &c and Kāmasūtra V. 5 17, 33 and 35 The word occurs frequently in the Aśoka inscriptions e g the two separate Rock Edicts at Dhauli are addressed to the Mahāmātras of Tosali (Corpus I. I. vol. I pp 92, 95, 97, 99 and 175). In the Sohagpur plate (of about 300 B. C) also the 'Mahāmatas' of 'Savastī are mentioned (E I. XXII p 1) In Nasik Ins No. 22 in E I VIII p 93 (about 1st Century B. C) the word 'mahāmatena' is interpreted as mahāmātyena in Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 p 592, but it is better to take it as mahāmātrena. Manu employs the word mahāmātrāh

(in IX. 259, which Medhātithi explains as 'mantrins, purohita and others', while Kullūka explains it as meaning those whose profession is to tame elephants)

महामुद्राधिकृत—Officer in charge of the Royal seal. Occurs in the grant of Laksmanasena in E. I. XII p 6 at p. 9.

महाराज—'King or feudatory'. This is not an official under a king, but in some inscriptions an emperor addresses his order as to a grant of land to 'mahārāja mahārājñī-mahārājaputra' &c Vide Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV p. 208 at p 211).

महाराजपुत्र—'Great prince'–occurs in Benares plate of Karnadeva (E I. vol. II p 309 of 1042 A D) and his Goharwa plate in 1047 A D (E I XI p 141) and Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in *samvat* 1134 (E I. VII p 85 at p 91)

महाराज्ञी—Vide E I. VII p. 85 at p 91.

महाराणक—Vide I. A. vol 18 p 214 (of *samvat* 1216)

महाव्यूहपति—'Chief Master of battle arrays' Occurs in the plate of Bhojavarmadeva in E I XII p 37 at p 40

महाश्रेष्ठिन्—Great banker Occurs in Kahla plate of Soḍhadeva (E I. VII pp 85, 91)

महाश्वशाल—One of the five high offices instituted by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Vide Rājat. IV 142

महाश्वसाधनिक—Commander of a cavalry force Occurs in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Karnadeva (in E I vol II p 309 and E I. XI p 141), Kharha plate of Yaśahkarnadeva (E. I. XII p 205 at p 213)

महासन्धिविग्रहिक—Great Minister of peace and war. Occurs in Benares plate of Karnadeva in 1041 A. D. (E. I. II p. 309)

महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकृत—Great minister of peace and war Occurs in the Palitana plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (E I XI p. 80), in plate of Buddharāja (E I VI at p 299 in 609–10 A. D.), in the Pimpari plate of Dhruvarāja (E I X at p 89) in śake 697 In the Harsacarita (VI) Harsa is said to have dictated his proclamation of *digvijaya* to 'Mahā. .krta' who sat near him. In E I IX at p. 290 (plates of Śaṅkaragana) and E I. XII p 30 at p. 35, we have 'mahāsandhivigrahādhikaranādhikrta

महासाधनिक—Great Commander Occurs in Kahla plate of Sodhadeva in Vikrama 1134 (E I. VII p 85 at p 91).

महामाधनभाग—One of five high officers instituted by Lalitāditya of Kashmir. Vide Rājat. IV 142-43 .

महासान्धिविग्रहिक—Same as महासन्धिविग्रहिक Occurs in Gupta Ins No 22 p. 100 at p 104 (the Khoh plate of Gupta year 163), the Ambarnath Ins dated śake 782 (JBBRAS vol 9 p 219), the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A 15 p 304 at p 306), E. I. XI p 141, E. I. XII p. 6 at p 9 (Laksmanasena's grant).

महासामन्त—Great chieftain The Yādavas of Sindinagara (vide E I II p 317 of sake 922, I A. 17 p 120 of śake 948) and the Rattas of Saundatti were often so styled (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 21 p 354) The Valabhi king Dhruvasena is called mahārāja and mahāsāmanta in E I XI p 107 (in Gupta year 206) and E I. XV at 256 (in Gupta Year 210) and E I XIX p 302 and p 304 The word occurs in the Banskhera plate of Harsa in his 22nd year i e about 628-29 A. D (E I IV p 208, at p 211) and in the Madhuban plate of the 25th year of Harsa's reign (E I vol. I pp 63, 67) Vide also Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. vol 15 pp 304, 306), Rāstrakūta grant of śake 679 (JBBRAS vol 16 pp 105, 108), E I XV p 85 in śake 981 (where one Nāgadeva is both mahāsāmantādhipati and dandānāyaka of Someśvara I), E I vol. II p. 309 (Benares plate of Karnadeva)

महासामन्ताधिपति—Probably means the same thing as महासामन्त In E I. IV p 259 one Bhogadevarasa is styled mahāsāmantādhipati and dandanāyaka (Kelavadi Ins of the time of Somesvara I in 1053 A D), E I. VI pp 285, 292 (plate of Mahā-Dandivarma of Gujerat in śake 789), E I XX p 61 (one Kesavayya is dandanāyaka and mahā- of Belvola 300 in śake 934), E I. V p 234, I A. vol 48 p 1, E. I IV p. 243 at p. 250

महासेनापति—Great Commander of armies The word occurs in the Nasik Ins No. 24 We have a mahāsenāpati Bhavagopa (E I VIII at p 94) and in Nasik Ins. No. 3 of Vasithiputa Siripulumāvi (Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 p. 556), in the Nagarjunikonda Ins (of 3rd century A D.) Chāntisiri is said to have been married to a person entitled mahāo and mahātalavara (E. I. XX p. 1 and pp 6 and 16), in E. I. XII p 6, 9 (Laksmanasena's grant).

मार्गपति—Guardian of frontiers or passes Occurs in Nālandā stone Ins of Yaśovarmadeva's time about 530 A D. in E I. XX pp 37, 41.

मार्गपाल—Same as above Occurs in Nārada quoted by the Mit on Yāj II. 271. Vide *dikpāla* above for the reference

यष्टीक—' staff bearer ', an attendant on a king Vide Rājat VI. 203. The word is derived from ' yasti ' acc. to Pān IV. 4 59 (meaning ' yastih praharanam-asya ').

युक्त—An officer, whose exact function is not known ; but in the inscriptions of Asoka it is said that *yuktas* are to receive orders from the *parisad* (council of ministers). Vide the 3rd Rock Edict at Girnar (Corpus I. I. vol I p 4). The word also occurs in Kautilya II. 5 and 9.

युक्तक—Same as above Occurs in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV in sake 852 (E. I VII pp. 26, 39) and the Karhad plates of Krsna III of sake 880 (E I. IV. pp. 278, 285).

युवराज—Crown Prince. Occurs in Kauṭ. I. 12 among the 18 tīrthas. The word occurs in the Mathurā Lion pillar capital (Corpus I. I. vol. II p. 40) and in the Candrāvatī plates of Candradeva of Kanoj (E. I. IX p. 302 at p. 304)

रज्जुक (or लज्जुक) or रज्जुक—An officer of land survey and revenue department The word occurs (as rajuka) in the 3rd Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar in Corpus I. I. vol I pp 4–5 and in E I. XXIV p. 52 (under Vākāṭaka Emperor Pravarasena II).

रहस्याधिकृत—Private Secretary. The word occurs in the Pallava Śivaskandavarman's grant (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 7), in the Vilavatti grant of Pallava Simhavarman (E I. XXII p. 296 at p 298), in a Kadamba plate (E. I. VI p 13).

राजकुमार—A prince. Occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E I. vol. I p 2 at p 5)

राजकुल—(modern Rāval or Rāul). Vide E. I XX Appendix No 324 for the Ins of mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-rājakula-Ranasideva in Vikrama year 1223, E I. XXV at p. 156 Mayūrabhañja grant (where rājakula Heramba is said to be the *lekhaka*)

राजगुरु—Occurs frequently in the Inscriptions of the Rattas of Saundatti (Bombay Gazetteer, vol 21 p 354 for Belgaum) and in the plate of Yādava Seuṇacandra (I. A. vol, 12 p. 119 at p. 120).

राजन्—Either a mere title or 'a feudatory' This is often the first among the several persons addressed in several grants. The word occurs in Abhona plates of Śankaragana in 595 A. D. (E. IX p 297), in the Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva of *samvat* 1148 (E I. IX p 305), in Laksmanasena's grant (E I. XII at p 9) Vide Vogel p. 121

राजन्यक—a ksatriya chief. It occurs in Laksmanasena's grant (E I XII p. 6 at p 9).

राजपुत्र—*lit.* 'a prince', but in many inscriptions it has some technical meaning such as 'nobleman' or 'knight'. The word occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p. 321 where the order is 'rāja-rānaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya), in Gupta Ins. No 46 at pp 213, 216, Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A vol 15 pp 304, 306), in Laksmanasena's grant (E. I. VII p 6 at p 9). Vide Vogel p 121 and Fleet's note 1 on p. 218 of Gupta Ins

राजश्रेष्ठिन्—King's banker or chief of bankers Occurs in Com. on Yaśastilaka I p. 91. Vide note 148 above

राजस्थानीय—Exact function uncertain. In Gupta Ins No 35 at p 157 he appears to be a high officer, but a low one in Gupta Ins. No. 38 at p. 170. In the Rājat VIII. 2618 he appears to be chief justice Bühler in I. A vol V p 207 takes the word to mean 'an officer who carries out the object of protecting the subjects'. In J R A. S 1895 p 382 rājasthānīya Bhaṭṭi is the dūtaka of the grant In the plates of Simhāditya in Gupta—Valabhi year 255 (574 A. D) the order is 'rājaputra-rājasthānīyāmātya'. Vide the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E. I. IV pp. 208, 211), Gupta Ins. No 46 pp. 213, 216, Vasantagadh Ins of Varmalāta in samvat 682 (E. I. IX p. 192), Palitana plate of Dharasena (E. I. XI p. 83), the Gujerat Rāstrakūta grant of śake 697 in J B B R A S vol. 16 pp. 105, 108, Vogel p 122 and explanation in E. I. XI p. 176

राजानक—A minister. The title occurs frequently in the Rājat. (vide VI. 117, 261). It was given for services to the king and survives in the form 'Rāzdān' as a family name among Kashmir brāhmanas. The word occurs in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. vol 15 pp. 304, 306), in the Parikud plate of Madhyama-rājadeva of Śailodbhava dynasty (E. I. XI pp. 281, 286). Vide Vogel p. 121 who

remarks that the vassals of the Chamba king designated themselves in this way.

राजामात्य—King's minister. In the Nasik Ins. No. 19 (E. I. VIII p. 91) this word occurs in the Prākrit form 'rāyāmaca'. The word also occurs in Gupta Ins. No. 46 (pp. 213, 216), Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I. XVII at p. 321), Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (I. A. vol. 15 pp. 304, 306)

राज्ञी—Queen. Vide Candrāvatī plate of Candradeva in *saṁvat* 1148 (E. I. IX at p 305), the grant of Lakṣmaṇasena in E. I. XII at p. 9 (the order being 'aśesa-rāja-rājanyaka-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājāmātya &c) and the plate of Vijayasena (E. I. XV at p. 283).

राणक—A nobleman. Occurs in Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p. 321), in Laksmanasena's grant (E. I. XII at p. 9), in the Ins of Kalacuri Narasiṁhadeva of Dāhala in Vikrama year 1216 (I. A. vol. 18 p. 214). Vīradhavala and Lavanaprasāda of the Vāghela line are styled mahāmaṇḍalesvara and rāṇaka in Abu Ins. No. 2 dated 1123 A. D. (E. I. VIII at p. 205). Vide J. B. O. R. S. vol. V p. 582 at p 588.

राष्ट्रकूट—Head of a district (on the analogy of grāmakūṭa). Vide J B B R A S vol. 16 at p. 117.

राष्ट्रपति—Ruler of a province. The word occurs in E. I. VII p. 39 in 852 A. D., in the Karhad plates of Kṛṣna III dated śake 880 (E. I. IV pp. 278, 285), in the Kauṭhem plate of Vikramāditya V in śake 930 (I. A. vol. 16 pp. 15, 24).

राष्ट्रपाल—Head of a province. The word occurs in Kaut V. I.

राष्ट्रिक—Ruler of a province. In the Prākrit form 'raṭṭhika' the word occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p 2 at p 5).

राष्ट्रिय—Ruler of a district or province. Vide p 117 and note 155a above and Śāntiparva 85. 12.

रूपदर्शक—Examiner of coins. The word occurs in Kauṭ. II. 5, for which see note 184a. In E. I. XXII p 30 there is a statement that in the Jogimāra inscription *rūpadakha* (rūpadarśa or rūpadaksa ?) occurs. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar takes it to mean 'banker'.

लिपिकर—Writer of an edict or order. The word occurs in the Brahmagiri Rock Ins. in Corpus I. I. vol. I at p. 176. Pāṇini IV. 2. 21 teaches the formation of 'lipikara'.

लेखक—Scribe or clerk in a public office The word occurs in Nasik Ins No. 16 and No 26 (Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 pp 582 and 605), in the Visnudharmottara II. 24 26-28, Śukra II 120.

लेखहारक—Letter-carrier. Occurs in Rājat VI. 319.

लेखाधिकारिन्—A Secretary. Occurs in Rājat III. 206

विद्याधिकारिन्—Director of education. In the Kondavīdu Ins one Śrīnātha is said to have been the Vidyādhikārin of Vema in E I. XI p. 313 at p. 314

विनियुक्त—An officer, whose functions are not clear The word occurs in the Bhavnagar plate of Dhruvasena I in 529 A D (E I. XV p. 256), in the Valabhi grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (I. A vol 15 p 187), in the Gupta ins No 38 p. 164 at p. 169 (the Maliya plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 pp. 304, 306).

विनियुक्तक—Same as above. The word occurs in the grant of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252 (E I XI pp 80, 83), in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla in E I. XVII at p. 321 (where the word is preceded by 'āyuktaka')

विषयपति—Ruler of a district The word occurs in the Kavi grant of Jayabhata (I. A. 5 p. 114, in the beginning of the 5th century A D.), in the Abhona plates of Śankaragana in E. I. IX p 297 (in 595 A D), in the Banskhera plate of Harsa (E I. IV pp 208, 211), in the Karhad plate of Krsna III dated śake 880 (E. I. IV pp. 278, 285), in the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I. A. 15 pp 304, 306), in E I. VII p 39 (in 852 A. D.).

विषयेश—Same as above The word occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E I vol. I at p. 5).

वीथिमहत्तर—Probably elder of a vithi (a district). Occurs in a grant of Gupta year 120 (Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 19 p. 12 at pp. 16, 21)

वीरयात्रिक—'Person belonging to a military expedition'. The word occurs in Chamba Ins Nos. 15, 25, 26. Vide Vogel p. 129.

वेटकिल—Meaning uncertain, but it may mean 'bearer of a Vitikā' (betel) It occurs in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p 166. Vide Vogel p. 128.

वेलावित्त—Meaning uncertain. The word occurs frequently in the Rājat. (V. 226, VI 73, 106, 127).

वैक्षेपिक—Function unknown. It occurs in E. I XXVI at p. 206 (six Saindhava grants from Ghumli) of about 9th century A D

व्यवहारिन्—Meaning uncertain It occurs in the plate of Jayanāga from Karna-suvarna (E I. XVIII pp 60, 63).

व्रजभूमिक—Superintendent of cowpens. It occurs in the 12th Rock Edict of Aśoka at Girnar in the form 'vacabhūmika' (Corpus I. I. vol. I p 20).

शय्यापाल or शय्याग्राहक—Guardian of the bed-chamber. Vide 'Inscriptions from Baroda' edited by Mr. A. S Gadre p. 72 (a village was donated to a Nāgara-brāhmana Prabhākara who was 'śayyāgrāhaka of Karpūradevī')

शरभङ्ग—It occurs in the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E I XVII at 321) and in Chamba Ins. No. 15 at p 166 (where it is read as 'sarobhanga' Vide Vogel p 123 and 'Indian Culture' vol. VII p. 305 at p 309. Has the word anything to do with the words 'śarayantra' and 'śarayantrī'? The latter was a title bestowed in Mithilā upon a very learned man who faced the ordeal of answering satisfactorily all questions on any sāstra put to him by learned ācāryas and also the questions put by common people. Vide a paper 'Declaration of śarayantrī', contributed to the All India Oriental Conference at Benares (in 1943) by Pandit Ramānātha Jha of Darbhanga.

शुल्कग्राह—An official who recovered tolls or customs duties. Occurs in Śukra II 120.

शौल्किक—Superintendent of tolls or customs duties The word occurs in Yāj. II. 173 and in Gupta Ins. No. 12 pp 50, 52, in the grant of Dharasena II of Gupta year 252 (I. A. 15 p. 187), in Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāla (I A. 15 pp 304, 306). Vide note on 'gaulmika' above

श्रीकरण—A scribe. The minister Hemādri is styled 'sarvaśrīkarana-prabhu'. Vide H. of Dh. vol I p 356 n. 849.

श्रीकरणाधिप or श्रीकरणाग्रणी—Head of all scribes or head of all departments In E I. XIII at p 17 one Bīcana or Bīcirāja is said to have been the Śrīka- of mahāmandaleśvara Kārtavīrya IV of Hangal Hemādri is styled 'samastakaranādhiśvara' or 'samastakaranādhipati'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I pp. 356-357 notes 850-851.

षष्ठाधिकृत—Officer who collected the royal share viz. 6th of the crops. If occurs in the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla in E I. IV p. 243 at p. 250.

सचिव—Minister. Vide p. 105 and note 150 above.

सञ्चरन्तक—A spy. It occurs in the grant of Śivaskandavarman (E. I. vol. I p. 2 at p. 5). In I. 12 Kautilya speaks of sañcāras (wandering spies like *tīkṣna, rasada* &c.).

संग्रहीतृ—Vide p. 111 above.

सन्धिविग्रहिक—Minister for peace and war. This form of the word occurs in Viṣnudharmottara II. 24. 17 and in Śantiparva 85 30.

संनिधातृ—The Superintendent of the construction of the royal treasury, store houses &c. The word occurs in Kaut II. 5, 1. 12 and in the plate of Mahābhavagupta (E. I. VIII pp 138, 141 and E I. XI pp. 93, 94). Vide p. 143 above.

समाहर्तृ—Collector-General The word occurs in Kaut. I. 12 and II. 6, Śabara on Jai. XII. 1. 28 and in the plate of Mahābhavagupta (E I. VIII at p. 141 and XI at p. 94). Vide p. 143 and note 184 above.

सर्वदण्डनायक—Commander-in-chief of all forces. The word occurs in I. A. vol 8 p. 19, vol. 9 at p. 167, vol. 10 p. 129.

सर्वाधिकारिन्—Prime Minister. Occurs in Rajat. VII. 568.

सर्वाधिकृत—Probably the same as above The word occurs in the Purle plate of Indravarman in the Gaṅga year 149 i e. 605 A. D. (E. I. XIV pp. 360, 362).

सांवत्सर—Astrologer. Occurs in Viṣnu Dh. S III. 75, Bṛhatsamhitā 2. 9. Vide p 126 above

सांवत्सरिक—Astrologer. Occurs in Paiṭhīnasi Vide note 193 above.

साध्यपाल—Bailiff who summoned parties and witnesses. Vide p. 278 above.

सान्धिविग्रहिक—Minister for peace and war. Occurs in Viṣnudharmottara II. 24. 17 and in the Mit on Yāj. I. 320 (which quotes a verse to the effect that the 'sandhivigrahakārin' is to issue a royal grant) and in Gupta Ins. No. 1 at p. 15 (the *prasasti* of Samudragupta).

सामन्त—feudatory chief. Under the Raṭṭas of Saundatti certain high officials are often so called (Bom. Gazetteer vol. 21 p. 354 for Belgaum). The word occurs in Abhona plates of

Śaṅkaragāna in 595 A. D. (E. I. IX p 297), in Madhuban plate of Harsa (E. I. VII at p. 158), E. I. VI p. 298 (plate of Buddharāja in 609–10 A. D.).

साहसाधिपति—Occurs in Śukra I. 120.

सीमकर्मकर—Officer who looked to the work of boundaries. Occurs in Gupta Ins No. 46 pp 213, 216.

सुमन्त्र—Vide p. 114 and note 150.

सूत—One of the *ratnins*. Vide p. 111 above.

सूपकारपति—Head cook. The word occurs in Taleśvara plates (E. I. XIII pp. 109, 115)

सेनभोगिक—Meaning uncertain. It occurs in the plate of Dantivarman of Gujerat in śake 789 (E. I VI p 285).

सेनापति—Commander-in-chief. Vide p. 127 above and Br. quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj I. 307. Pusyamitra, the founder of of the Śuṅga dynasty and Bhatārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, and his son Dharasena were styled senāpati; vide I. A. 15 p 187 (plate of Dharasena II in Gupta year 252), E. I. vol. I p 2 at p 5 (grant of Pallava Śivaskandavarman), JBBRAS vol. 16 pp. 105, 108, E. I. IX at p. 305.

सौवर्णिक—State goldsmith. Vide pp 144–145 above.

स्कन्दक—A petty officer, probably head of the village administration. Vide Rājat. V. 175.

स्त्यध्यक्षमहामात्र—Officer superintendent of the harem The word occurs in the 12th rock Edict of Aśoka in a prākrit form (Corpus I. I. vol. I at p 20).

स्थपति—Architect. Vide Visnudharmottara II. 24. 39.

स्थपतिसम्राट्—Chief architect. Occurs in Karitalai plates ot Mahārāja Jayanātha (Gupta Ins. No. 26 of the Gupta year 174 at p. 119).

स्थानपाल—Officer in charge of a police post. Vide p. 149 above

स्थानिक—An officer in charge of a ward of a city or a district. Vide pp. 143 and 149 above.

हस्त्यश्वोष्ट्रबलव्यापृतक—Officers in charge of the elephant arm, cavalry, camel corps of an army. This occurs in Chamba Ins No. 15 at p 166. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāla (E. I. XVII at p 321) we have 'hastyaśvostra-nau-bala-vyāpṛtaka'.

NOTE 342 a—अत एवाह पितामहः ।

छलानि चापराधाश्च पदानि नृपतेस्तथा । स्वयमेतानि गृह्णीयान्नृपस्त्वावेदकैर्विना ॥
पाथिभङ्गी कराक्षेपी प्राकारोपरिलङ्घकः । निपानस्य विनाशी च तथा चायतनस्य च ॥ परि-
खापूरकश्चैव राजच्छिद्रप्रकाशकः ॥ अन्तःपुरं वासगृहं भाण्डागारं महानसम् । प्रविशत्यनियुक्तो
यो भोजनं च निरीक्षते ॥ विण्मूत्रश्लेष्मवाताना क्षेप्तुकामो नृपाव्रतः । पर्यङ्कासनबन्धी चाप्य-
ग्रस्थाननिरोधकः ॥ राज्ञोऽतिरिक्तवेषश्च विधृतः प्र विशेत्तु य । यश्चापद्वारेण विशेद वेलाया
तथैव च ॥ शय्यासने पादुकयोः शयनासनरोहणम् (रोहणे ?) । राजन्यासन्नशयने यस्तिष्ठति
समीपतः ॥ राज्ञो विद्विष्टसेवी चाप्यदत्तविहितासन । वस्त्राभरणयोश्चैव सुवर्णपरिधायकः ॥
स्वयंग्राहेण ताम्बूलं गृहीत्वा भक्षयेत्तु यः । अनियुक्तप्रभाषी च नृपाकोशक एव च ॥ एक-
वासास्तथाभ्यक्तो मुक्तकेशोऽवगुण्ठितः । विचित्रिताङ्गः स्रग्वी च परिधानविधूनकः ॥ शिरः-
प्रच्छादनश्चैव छिद्रान्वेषणतत्परः । आसङ्गी मुक्तकेशश्च यश्च कर्णाक्षिकर्शकः (दर्शकः ?) । दन्तो-
ल्लेखनकश्चैव कर्णनासाविशोधकः । छलान्येतानि पञ्चाशद्भवन्ति नृपसन्निधौ ॥ quoted in
स्मृतिच II pp 27–23, शुक्रनीति० IV. 5. 73–82 (except the name and
the first verse) with variant readings.

NOTE 492—

नार्थसम्बन्धिनो नाप्ता न सहाया न वैरिणः । न दृष्टदोषाः प्रष्टव्याः साक्षिणः प्रतिदूषिताः ॥
दासनैकृतिकाश्राद्धवृद्धस्त्रीबालचाकिकाः । मत्तोन्मत्तप्रमत्तार्तकितवश्रमयाजकाः ॥
महापथिकसामुद्रवणिक्प्रव्रजितातुराः । व्यङ्गैकश्रोत्रियाचारहीनक्लीबकुशीलवाः ॥
नास्तिकव्रात्यदाराग्नित्यागिनोऽन्याज्ययाजकाः । एकस्थालीसहायारिचरज्ञातिसनाभयः ॥
प्रागृष्टदोषशैलूषविषजीव्यहिंस्रदण्डिकाः । गरदाग्निदकीनाशशूद्रापुत्रौपपातिकाः ॥
क्लान्तसाहसिकश्रान्तनिर्धनान्त्यावसायिनः । भिन्नवृत्तासमावृत्तजडतैलिकमूलिकाः ॥
भूताविष्टनृपद्विष्टवर्षनक्षत्रसूचकाः । अघशंस्यात्मविक्रेतृहीनाङ्गभगवृत्तयः ॥
कुनखी श्याम(व ?) दन्तश्च मित्रध्रुक् शठशौण्डिकाः । ऐन्द्रजालिकलुब्धोग्रश्रेणीगणविरोधिनः ॥
वधकश्चर्मकृत्पट्टयुः पतितः कूटकारकः । कुहकः प्रत्यवसितस्तस्करो राजपूरुषः ॥
मनुष्यपशुमासास्थिमधुक्षीराम्बुसर्पिषाम् । विक्रेता ब्राह्मणश्चैव द्विजो वार्धुषिकश्च यः ॥
च्युतः स्वधर्माल्लुलिकः स्तावको हीनसेवकः । पित्रा विवदमानश्च भेदकृच्चेत्यसाक्षिणः ॥
नारद (ऋणादान 177–187)

NOTE 509—

नग्नो मुण्डः कपालेन भिक्षार्थी क्षुत्पिपासितः । अन्ध शत्रुगृहं गच्छेद्यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥ १
नग्नो मुण्डः कपालेन परद्वारे बुभुक्षितः । अमित्रान्भूयश(स ?) पश्येद्यः साक्ष्यमनृतं वदेत् ॥ २
या रात्रिमधिवित्रा स्त्री यां चैवाक्षपराजितः । या च भारामितप्राङ्गे दुर्विवक्ता स तां वसेत् ॥ ३
साक्षी साक्ष्ये समुद्दिशन्गोकर्णशिथिलं वचः । सहस्रं वारुणान्पाशान्भुङ्क्ते स बन्धनाद्ध्रुवम् ॥ ४
तस्य वर्षशते पूर्णे पाश एव प्रमुच्यते । तदा पाशाद्विनिर्मुक्तः स्त्री संभवति मानवः ॥ ५
एवं संबन्धनात्तस्मान्मुच्यते नियताच्च सः । पशुगोश्वपुरुषाणां हिरण्यं भूर्यथाक्रमम् ॥ ६
यावतो बान्धवांस्तस्मिन् हन्ति साक्ष्येनृतं वदन् । तावतः संप्रवक्ष्यामि शृणु सौम्यानुपूर्वशः ॥ ७
पञ्च पश्वनृते हन्ति दश हन्ति गवानृते । शतमश्वानृते हन्ति सहस्रं पुरुषानृते ॥ ८
हन्ति जातानजाताश्च हिरण्यार्थेऽनृतं वदन् । सर्वं भूम्यनृते हन्ति मास्म भूम्यनृतं वदीः ॥ ९

एकमेवाद्वितीयं तत्प्राहुः पावनमात्मनः । सत्यं स्वर्गस्य सोपानं पारावारस्य नौरिव ॥ १०
अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् । अश्वमेधसहस्रात्तु सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ ११
वरं कूपशताद्वापी वरं वापीशतात्क्रतुः । वरं क्रतुशतात्पुत्रः सत्यं पुत्रशताद्वरम् ॥ १२
भूर्धारयति सत्येन सत्येनोदेति भास्करः । सत्येन वायुः स्रवते सत्येनापः स्रवन्ति च ॥ १३
सत्यमेव परं दानं सत्यमेव परं तपः । सत्यमेव परो धर्मः लोकानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥ १४
सत्यं देवाः समासेन मनुष्यास्त्वनृतं स्मृतम् । इहैव तस्य देवत्वं यस्य सत्ये स्थिता मतिः ॥ १५
सत्यं ब्रह्मानृतं त्यक्त्वा सत्येन स्वर्गमेष्यसि । उक्त्वानृतं महाघोरं नरकं प्रतिपत्स्यसे ॥ १६
नरकेषु च ते शश्वज्जिह्वामुत्कृत्य दारुणाः । असिभिः शातयिष्यन्ति बलिनो यमकिङ्कराः ॥ १७
शूलैर्भेत्स्यन्ति चाक्रम्य क्रोशन्तमपरायणम् । अवस्थितं समुत्कृत्य क्षेप्स्यन्ति त्वां हुताशने ॥ १८
अनुभूय च तास्तीव्राश्चिरं नरकवेदनाः । इह यास्यसि पापासु गृध्रकाकादियोनिषु ॥ १९
ज्ञात्वैतानृते दोषाञ्ज्ञात्वा सत्ये च सद्गुणान् । सत्यं वदोद्धरात्मानं नात्मानं पातय स्वयम् ॥ २०
न बान्धवा न सुहृदो न धनानि महान्त्यपि । अलं धारयितुं शक्तास्तमस्युग्रे निमज्जतः ॥ २१
पितरस्त्ववलम्बन्ते त्वयि साक्षित्वमागते । तारयिष्यति किन्त्वस्मान् (किन्वस्मान् ?) किं चायं पातयिष्यति ॥ २२
सत्यमात्मा मनुष्यस्य सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् । सत्यमुक्त्वात्मनात्मानं श्रेयसा संनियोजय ॥ २३
यस्यां रात्रावजनिष्ठा यस्यां रात्रौ मरिष्यसि । वृथा तदन्तरं तुभ्यं साक्ष्यं चेदन्यथा कृथाः ॥ २४
ब्रह्मघ्नस्य तु ये लोका ये च स्त्रीबालघातिनाम् । ये च लोकाः कृतघ्नस्य ते ते स्युर्वृषतो वृथा ॥ २५
नास्ति सत्यात्परो धर्मो नानृतात्पातकं परम् । साक्षिधर्मं विशेषेण सत्यमेव वदेत्ततः ॥ २६
पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः । यः परार्थे प्रहिणुयात्त्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः । आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्यात्स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥ २७
वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मूला वाग्विनिश्चिताः । यो हि तां स्तेनयेद्वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः ॥ २८
नारद (ऋणादान 201–228)

Seven verses out of these occur elsewhere also. Verse 1 is the same as Manu 8. 93 and Vas. 16. 33; verse 3 is the same as Udyoga 35. 31; verses 7–9 are the same as Manu 8. 97–99, while verses 8–9 are the same as Udyogaparva 35. 33–34 and verse 8 occurs also in Baud. Dh S. I. 10. 35 and Vas. 16, 34; verse 11 is the same as Ādiparva 74. 103, Śāntiparva 162. 26 and Anuśāsana 75. 29; verse 25 is almost the same as Manu 8. 89.

NOTE 1168 on घटस्फोट—

क्वचिज्जीवतोऽप्यन्यकर्म विहितं यथा प्रायश्चित्तानिच्छोः पतितस्य घटस्फोटे । तथाहि । महापातकेनोपपातकेन वा पतितो यदि प्रायश्चित्तं न करोति तदा तं गुरूणां बान्धवानां राज्ञश्च समक्षमाहूय तत्पापं प्रकटीकृत्य तं पुनः पुनरुपादिशेत् प्रायश्चित्तं कुरुष्वाचारं लभस्वेति । स यद्येवमपि नाङ्गीकरोति तदा रिक्तादिनिन्द्यतिथौ सायाह्ने सपिण्डा बान्धवाश्च सम्भूय दासीहस्तेनानीतममेध्यकुत्सितजलादिपूर्णघटं सर्वतो दास्यायन्वारम्भं कुर्वन्तो दास्या दासस्य वा वामपादेन न्युब्जं छिन्नाग्रदर्भेषु कारयित्वा दासीसहिता वदेयुरमुमनुदकं करोमीति नामग्रहणपूर्वकं प्राचीनावीतिनो मुक्तशिखाश्च सन्तः । ततोऽधिकारी कर्ता दाहवर्जं जीवन्तमेवोद्दिश्य पिण्डोदकदानादिप्रेतकार्याण्येकादशाहान्तानि नाम्नैव कुर्यात् । मिताक्षरायां प्रेतकार्योत्तरं घट-

निनयनमुक्तम् । एकाहमाशौचं सर्वेषाम् । यस्य घटस्फोटः कृतस्तेन सह सम्भाषणस्पर्शादिसंसर्गो न केनापि कार्यः । करणे पतिततुल्यता । धर्मसिन्धु, परिच्छेद III, उत्तरार्ध p 453. This is a summary of a longer passage on the same subject from the निर्णयसिन्धु, परिच्छेद III उत्तरार्ध p. 567.

As to taking back into the social fold a man who repents after ghatasphota is performed the following procedure is prescribed in the Dharmasindhu:

घृतघटस्फोटस्य पुंसोऽनुतापे तत्पापप्रायश्चित्तान्ते संग्रहविधिरुच्यते । तत्रादौ शुद्धिपरीक्षा । कृतप्रायश्चित्तो ज्ञातिसमक्षं गोभ्यस्तृणभारं दद्यात् । गोभिस्तृणे भक्षिते शुद्धिः । भक्षणाभावे पुनः प्रायश्चित्तं चरेत् । एवं निश्चितसशुद्धौ समानेयुर्नवं घटम् । हैमं वा मृन्मयं वापि पवित्रजलपूरितम् ॥ तत सपिण्डास्त घटं संस्पृश्याभिमन्त्र्य तज्जलैः पावमानीभिरापोहिष्टेत्यादिभिस्तरत्समन्दीभिश्च पापिनमभिषिच्य तेन सह सर्वे स्नात्वा तं जलघटमस्मै दद्युः । स च शान्ता द्यौः शान्ता पृथिवी शान्तं विश्वमन्तरिक्षं यो रोचनस्तमिह गृह्णामीति यजुर्भिस्तं घटं गृह्णीयात् । ततस्तदुदकं तेनैव साकं सर्वे पिबेयु । ततः स कूष्माण्डमन्त्रैराज्यहोमं कृत्वा सुवर्णं गां च दद्यात् । ततस्तस्य जातकर्मादिव्रतबन्धान्ता विवाहान्ता वा संस्काराः कार्याः । एवं कृते शुद्धेन तेन संस्पर्शसंभोजनादिव्यवहारं कुर्यात् । एवमुपपातके महापातके च कृतघटस्फोटस्य शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया । इति संक्षेपतः कृतघटस्फोटशुद्धि । धर्मसिन्धु III उत्तरार्ध p. 454 The निर्णयसिन्धु (III उत्तरार्ध p 568) has a similar but more elaborate note, quotes and relies on Gaut. 20. 10–17, Manu XI. 186, Yaj. III. 295, Vas. 15. 17–21, the Mit, Aparārka and Hemādri.

NOTE 1302—The कौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र (II. 6. 1–10) is as follows :—

अथात पुत्रप्रतिग्रहकल्पं व्याख्यास्यामः । शोणितशुक्रसम्भवौ मातृपितृनिमित्तकृतस्य प्रदानपरित्यागविक्रयेषु मातापितरौ कर्तारौ भवतो न त्वेक पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वा स हि सन्तानाय पूर्वेषाम् । न तु स्त्री पुत्रं दद्यात्प्रतिगृह्णीयाद्वान्यत्रानुज्ञानाद्भर्तुः । पुत्रं प्रतिग्रहीष्यन्नुपकल्पयते—द्वे वाससी द्वे कुण्डले अङ्गुलीयकं चाचार्यं च वेदपारगं कुशमयं बर्हिः पर्णमयमिध्ममिति । अथ बन्धूनां मध्ये राजनि चावेद्य परिषदि वाग्गारमध्ये वा ब्राह्मणाननेन परिविष्य पुण्याहं स्वस्त्यृद्धमिति वाचयित्वाथ देवयजनोल्लेखनप्रभृत्याप्रणीताभ्यः कृत्वा दानु समीपं गत्वा पुत्रं मे देहीति भिक्षेत ददामीतीतर आह । तं पुत्र प्रतिगृह्णाति धर्माय त्वा गृह्णामि सन्तत्यै त्वा गृह्णामीति । अथैनं वस्त्रकुण्डलाभ्यामङ्गुलीयकेन चालङ्कृत्य परिधानप्रभृत्याग्निमुपसादयित्वा पक्वाज्जुहोति । 'यस्त्वा हृदा कीरिणा मन्यमानः' इति पुरोनुवाक्यामनूच्य 'यस्मै त्वं सुकृते जातवेदः' इति याज्यया जुहोति । अथ आज्याहुतीरुपजुहोति—व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वा स्विष्टकृत्प्रभृति सिद्धमाधेनुवरप्रदानात् । अथ दक्षिणां ददात्येते एव वाससी एते एव कुण्डले एतच्चाङ्गुलीयकम् । यद्येवंकृते औरस पुत्र उत्पद्यते तुरीयभागेय भवतीति ह स्माह भगवान्बौधायनः ।. This is quoted in the दत्त मी. pp. 152–153, सं. कौ. p 177, धर्मसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध p. 161 (partly) and Bühler published it with a translation in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society vol. 35 pp 161–164

NOTE 1302—

शौनकोऽहं प्रवक्ष्यामि पुत्रसङ्ग्रहमुत्तमम् । अपुत्रो मृतपुत्रो वा पुत्रार्थं समुपोष्य च ॥ १
वाससी कुण्डले दत्त्वा उष्णीषं चाङ्गुलीयकम् । आचार्यं धर्मसंयुक्तं वैष्णवं वेदपारगम् ॥ २
मधुपर्केण संपूज्य राजानं च द्विजाञ्शुचीन् । बर्हिः कुशमयं चैव पालाशं चेध्ममेव च ३
एतानाहृत्य बन्धूंश्च ज्ञातीनाहूय यत्नत । बन्धूनन्नेन संभोज्य ब्राह्मणांश्च विशेषतः ॥ ४
अन्वाधानादि यत्तन्त्रं कृत्वाज्योत्पवनादिकम् । दातु. समक्षं गत्वा तु पुत्रं देहीति याचयेत् ॥ ५
दाने समर्थो दातास्मै ये यज्ञेनेति पञ्चभि. । देवस्य त्वेति मन्त्रेण हस्ताभ्यां प्रतिगृह्य च ॥ ६
अङ्गादङ्गेत्यृचं जप्त्वा चाघ्राय शिशुमूर्धनि । वस्त्रादिभिरलङ्कृत्य पुत्रच्छायावहं सुतम् ॥ ७
नृत्यगीतैश्च वाद्यैश्च स्वस्तिशब्दैश्च संयुतम् । गृहमध्ये तमादाय चरुं हुत्वा विधानतः ॥ ८
यस्त्वा हृदेत्यृचा चैव तुभ्यमग्र ऋचैकया । सोमो दददित्येताभिः प्रत्यृचं पञ्चभिस्तथा ॥ ९
स्विष्टकृदादिहोमं च कृत्वा शेषं समापयेत् । ब्राह्मणानां सपिण्डेषु कर्तव्यः पुत्रसंग्रहः ॥ १०
तदभावेऽसपिण्डो वा अन्यत्र तु न कारयेत् । क्षत्रियाणां स्वजातौ वा गुरुगोत्रसमोपि वा ॥११
वैश्यानां वैश्यजातेषु शूद्राणा शूद्रजातिषु । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां जातिष्वेव न चान्यतः ॥ १२
दौहित्रो भागिनेयश्च शूद्रस्यापि च दीयते । ब्राह्मणादित्रये नास्ति भागिनेयः सुतः क्वचित् ॥१३
नैकपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं कदाचन । बहुपुत्रेण कर्तव्यं पुत्रदानं प्रयत्नतः ॥ १४
दक्षिणां गुरवे दद्याद्यथाशक्ति द्विजोत्तमः । नृपो राष्ट्रार्धमेवापि वैश्यो वित्तशतत्रयम् ॥ १५

शूद्रः सर्वस्वमेवापि अशक्तश्चेद्यथाबलम् । १६

The above text of Śaunaka is based on the व्यव. मयूख, नि. सि. (which does not quote all verses), दत्त. मी., दत्त. च., सं. कौ. and Dr. Bühler's text prepared from several mss. and published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, vol 35 at pp. 158–159 The शौनकीय text printed at Trivandrum, 1935, has 14½ verses on पुत्रग्रहणविधि (I. 8) The principal various readings are noted below. Verse 1—स. कौ. reads 'वन्ध्या वा मृतपुत्रा वा'; शौ. reads वन्ध्यो वा. The half verse 3a मधुपर्केण &c. is omitted by Bühler, व्यव. मयूख, नि. सि., सं. कौ. In 5a दत्त. मी and दत्त. च. read अग्न्याधानादिकं तत्र, and शौ., सं. कौ. and Bühler अग्न्याधानादि; and शौ. reads °त्पवनान्तकम्. In 6a शौ. reads समक्षस्थो ददेत्तस्मै. The नि सि. omits 7b and 8a and सं. कौ. reads छत्र-छायागतं सुतम् in 7b and शौ. छत्रछायावहम्. In 8b सं. कौ. and शौ. read गृहमेत्येध्ममाधाय. In 9a सं कौ. and शौ. read यस्त्वा हृदेति द्वाभ्यां च and in 10a स्विष्टकृदादिशेषं च कृत्वा होमं. In 11b दत्त. मी., Bühler and दत्त. च. read गुरुगोत्रसमेपि. In 13a Bühler and सं. कौ. read दौहित्रं भागिनेयं वा शूद्राणा चापि दापयेत्; दत्त. मी. reads शूद्रैस्तु क्रियते सुतः and also recognizes the reading शूद्राणां विहितः सुतः. The स्मृतिसु (वर्णाश्रम) p. 102 and शौ. read दौहित्रं भागिनेयं वा शूद्राणां त्वापदो यदि and omits ब्राह्मणादि... क्वचित्. 13b (ब्राह्म ... क्वचित्) is omitted by the व्यव. मयूख., सं. कौ., and Bühler. In 15b सं. कौ and शौ. read रत्नशतत्रयम् The order of the verses also slightly varies in some of the works.

NOTE 1751—वनपर्व 188. 30–64

सहस्रान्ते नराः सर्वे प्रायशोनृतवादिनः । यज्ञप्रतिनिधिः पार्थ दानप्रतिनिधिस्तथा ॥ ३०
व्रतप्रतिनिधिश्चैव तस्मिन् काले प्रवर्तते । ब्राह्मणाः शूद्रकर्माणस्तथा शूद्रा धनार्जकाः ॥ ३१
क्षत्रधर्मेण वाप्यत्र वर्तयन्ति गते युगे । निवृत्तयज्ञस्वाध्याया दण्डाजिनविवर्जिताः ॥ ३२
ब्राह्मणाः सर्वभक्षाश्च भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे । अजपा ब्राह्मणास्तात शूद्रा जपपरायणाः ॥३३
विपरीते तदा लोके पूर्वरूपं क्षयस्य यत् । बहवो म्लेच्छराजानः पृथिव्यां मनुजाधिप ॥ ३४
मृषानुशासिनः पापा मृषावादपरायणाः । आन्ध्राः शका. पुलिन्दाश्च यवनाश्च नराधिपाः ॥३५
काम्बोजा वाल्हिकाः शूरास्तथाभीरा नरोत्तम । न तदा ब्राह्मणः कश्चित्स्वधर्ममुपजीवति ॥३६
क्षत्रियाश्चापि वैश्याश्च विकर्मस्था नराधिप । अल्पायुष. स्वल्पबलाः स्वल्पवीर्यपराक्रमाः ॥३७
अल्पसारात्पदेहाश्च तथा सत्यात्पभाषिणः । बहुशून्या जनपदा मृगव्यालावृता दिश. ॥ ३८
युगान्ते समनुप्राप्ते वृथा च ब्रह्मवादिन । भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा ब्राह्मणाश्चार्यवादिनः ॥ ३९
युगान्ते मनुजव्याघ्र भवन्ति बहुजन्तवः । न तथा घ्राणयुक्ताश्च सर्वगन्धा विशांपते ॥ ४०
रसाश्च मनुजव्याघ्र न तथा स्वादुयोगिनः । बहुप्रजा ह्रस्वदेहाः शीलाचारविवर्जिताः ॥
मुखेभगाः स्त्रियो राजन् भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ४१
अष्टशूला जनपदाः शिवशूलाश्चतुष्पथाः । केशशूलाः स्त्रियो राजन् भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥४२
अल्पक्षीरास्तथा गावो भविष्यन्ति जनाधिप । अल्पपुष्पफलाश्चापि पादपा बहुवायसाः ॥ ४३
ब्रह्मवध्यानुलिप्तानां तथा मिथ्याभिशंसिनाम् । नृपाणां पृथिवीपाल प्रतिगृह्णन्ति वै द्विजाः ॥ ४४
लोभमोहपरीताश्च मिथ्याधर्मध्वजावृताः । भिक्षार्थं पृथिवीपाल चरन्तूर्यन्ते द्विजैर्दिशः ॥ ४५
करभारभयाद्भीता गृहस्थाः परिमोषकाः । मुनिच्छद्माकृतिच्छन्ना वाणिज्यमुपजीविनः ॥ ४६
मिथ्या च नखरोमाणि धारयन्ति तदा द्विजाः । अर्थलोभान्नरव्याघ्र तथा च ब्रह्मचारिणः ॥ ४७
आश्रमेषु वृथाचारा पानपा गुरुतल्पगाः । इहलौकिकमीहन्ते मांसशोणितवर्धनम् ॥ ४८
बहुपाषण्डसङ्कीर्णाः परान्नगुणवादिनः । आश्रमा मनुजव्याघ्र भविष्यन्ति युगक्षये ॥ ४९
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हिंसाभिरामश्च जनस्तथा संपद्यतेऽशुचिः । अधर्मफलमत्यर्थं तदा भवति चानघ ॥ ५१
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बहुमाया भवन्त्युत ॥ ५३
धर्मिष्ठाः परिहीयन्ते पापीयान्वर्धते जनः । धर्मस्य बलहानिः स्यादधर्मश्च बली तथा ॥ ५४
अल्पायुषो दरिद्राश्च धार्मिष्ठा मानवास्तथा । दीर्घायुषः समृद्धाश्च विधर्माणो युगक्षये ॥ ५५
नगराणां विहारेषु विधर्माणो युगक्षये । अधर्मिष्ठैस्तथायैश्च प्रजा व्यवहरन्त्युत ॥ ५६
सञ्चयेन तथाल्पेन भवन्त्याढ्यमदान्विताः । धनं विश्वासतो न्यस्तं मिथो भूयिष्ठशो नराः ॥५७
हर्तुं व्यवसिता राजन् पापाचारसमन्विताः । नैतदस्तीति मनुजा वर्तन्ते निरपत्रपाः ॥ ५८
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भवन्ति षोडशे वर्षे नराः पलितिनस्तथा । आयुरक्षयो मनुष्याणां क्षिप्रमेव प्रपद्यते ॥ ६१
क्षीणायुषो महाराज तरुणा वृद्धशीलिनः । तरुणानां च यच्छीलं तद् वृद्धेषु प्रजायते ॥ ६२

विपरीतास्तदा नार्यो वञ्चयित्वार्हतः पतीन्। व्युच्चरन्त्यपि दुःशीला दासैः पशुभिरेव च ॥ ६३
वीरपत्न्यस्तथा नार्यः संश्रयन्ति नरान्नृप। भर्तारमपि जीवन्तमन्यान् व्यभिचरन्त्युत ॥ ६४

NOTE 1783

विहितान्यपि कर्माणि धर्मलोपभयाद् बुधैः। १
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आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनम्। ६
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सत्रदीक्षा च सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधारणम्। ८
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोसङ्घप्तिश्च गोसवे। ९
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वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसङ्कोचनं तथा। १३
प्रायश्चित्तविधानं तु विप्राणां मरणान्तिकम्। १४
संसर्गदोषः स्तेयान्यमहापातकनिष्कृतिः। १५
वरातिथिपितृभ्यश्च पशूपाकरणक्रिया। १६
दत्तोरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः। १७
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A few important readings have already been noted in the text and notes there. The most extensive lists of Kalivarjyas occur in Sm C, Hemādri (pariśesakhanda, vol. III. part 2 pp. 666–668), Par M. vol I part 1 pp. 134–137, Madanaratnapradīpa (Samayanirnaya) Ms. No 146 of Viś collection I (now in the Govt. Mss. Library at B O. R. Institute, Poona), Udvāhatattva (p 112–113) and Śuddhitattva pp 273–274 (Jiv.), Nirnayasindhu, Samayamayūkha, Bhattoji on Caturvimśatimata and Smrti-kaustubha. Detailed explanations are given in the last four of these and in Krsnabhatta's com. on the Nir. S.

2. Some works such as the कलिवर्ज्यवि. read समापने निवृत्तानि, which कलिवर्ज्यवि. explains as जनमेजययज्ञसमाप्तौ and कृष्णभट्ट on नि. सि. p 1292 explains similarly.

4. मदनरत्नप्रदीप (folio 209a) reads वालायाक्षतयोन्याश्च.

18. The समयप्रकाश reads 'सवर्णानां तथा दुष्टैः संसर्गः' &c.

20–21 These are omitted in स्मृतिच., परा. मा., उद्वाहतत्त्व and some other works, though found in हेमाद्रि, भट्टोजि, कलिवर्ज्यनि. and निर्णयसिन्धु.

26. स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (आह्निक p. 447) reads भोज्यान्नता कलौ नास्ति तीर्थसेवा च दूरतः।

33. भट्टोजि and कलिवर्ज्यवि. read विधिचोदिता for गुरु°.

38. परा. मा., समयमयूख p. 109, कलिवर्ज्यवि. and भट्टोजि read यत्रसायंगृहत्वं च.

42–45. These are omitted by many of our authorities, though they occur in हेमाद्रि, समयमयूख, स्मृतिकौ., समयप्रकाश.

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Tīksna
Tinita
Tirtha
Traipurusika
Trayi
Tretā

Udāsina
Udāsthita
Uddhāra
Uddhārapatra
Udvrsabhayajña
Ugra
Uktalābhi
Upadhā
Upagata
Upagraha
Upahāra
Upākarana
Upakurvāna
Upanidhi
Uparika
Upaśruti
Upayācita
Upeksā
Utkoca
Utsāhaśakti
Uttamarna
Uttamasāhasa
Uttara (reply)
Uttara (a kind of witness)
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Vairājya
Vākyānuyoga
Vārdhusa
Vārdhusika
Vargin
Vārtā
Vatsanābha
Veda (bunch of kuśa grass)
Velāpura
Vibhāga
Vigraha
Vijigisu
Vinādī
Vinaya
Vinimaya
Virāt
Visaya
Visayapati
Visuddhipatra
Visti
Vivāda
Vitāsana
Vrāta
Vrddhi
Vyāhrti
Vyasana
Vyavahāra
Vyavahārapada
Vyāyāma

Yācitala
Yadrcchābhijña
Yādrcchika
Yājya
Yāna
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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

Vol IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA, KARMAVIPĀKA,
ANTYESTI, ĀŚAUCA, ŚUDDHI, ŚRĀDDHA
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1953

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PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmaśāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years This volume deals with eight topics, viz Pātaka, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka, Antyesti, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tīrthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning

of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *panas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmaśāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmana family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters. †

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects vratas and utsavas, śānti rites, kāla and muhūrta; paurāna-dharma, the influence of the Pūrvamīmāmsā and other śāstras on dharmaśāstra; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of dharmaśāstra; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of dharmaśāstra and the future of the latter This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahamsa Swāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shāstri Kokje of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S K Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B Diskalkar, Dr. G. S Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Laksmanashāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umesha Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY,
10-10-1953

P V KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra. In note 1886 on p 968 (of vol III) I refer to a work of Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kaṭivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the Smṛtimuktāphala (which was published in 1937 by Mr Gharpure) Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms of the Smṛtimuktāphala specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N Ghosal on p 32 (of vol III) I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛti to support the brāhmaṇa empire of Puṣyamitra' In writing this sentence my memory was at fault I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol 23, pp 68-70) Dr Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity In his whole career as a writer Dr Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728–29 are not included in this list)

A. G. = Ancient Geography of India
Ain. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmana
A. I. R = All India Reporter
A K. D = Antyakarmadīpika
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series
Anu. = Anuśāsanaparva
Āp = Āpastamba
Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh.S. = Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra
Āp. Gr. = Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pātha
Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S or Āp.Ś.S. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra
A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports
Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr S. = Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra
Āśv. Sr.S. or Āśv.Sr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra
A V. = Atharvaveda
Baud. = Baudhāyana
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma sūtra
Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra
Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyana-pitr-medha-sūtra
Baud. Śr = Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra
Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports
Bom G = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter
Bi. Up. = Brhadāranyakopanisad
B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series
C. I I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopanisad
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes
Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra
ed. = edited
E I = Epigraphia Indica
Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautama-dharma-sūtra
Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhya-sūtra
G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series
G. P. S. = Gautama-pitrmedha-sūtra
Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara
H. of D or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra
Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr = Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra
Hir. P S = Hiranyakeśi-pitr-medha-sūtra
I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)
I L. R. = Indian Law Reports series

I. H Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly
J. A S. B.=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Jai = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāmsā-sūtra
Jaimini Gr.=Jaimini-grhya-sūtra
JBBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition
J. O. R.=Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
J. R. A. S=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
Kāt =Kātyāyana
Kāt Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S.=Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra
Kāthaka Gr=Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra
Kātyāyana= Kātyāyana-smrtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)
Kauś or Kauśika=Kauśikasūtra
Kaus Up=Kausītaki Upanisad
Khādira Gr=Khādira-grhya-sūtra
m =mentioned
Mārk =Mārkandeyapurāna
Mit =Mitāksarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya
M. S.=Maitrāyanī-samhitā
Nir=Nirukta
Nirn.=Nirnayasāgara Press ed
Pān=Pānini's Astādhyāyī
Pār. gr=Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra
Par M.=Parāśara-Mādhavīya
Pr M.=Prāyaścitta-mayūkha
Pr. Pr. or Pr Prakāśa=Prāyaścitta-prakāśa
Pr. Prakarana = Prāyaścitta-prakarana
Pr S or Pr. sāra=Prāyaścittasāra
Pr T or Pr Tattva=Prāyaścittatattva
Pr. V. or Pr. Vi.=Prāyaścittaviveka
q=quoted
Q. B D =Queen's Bench Division
Rg.=Rgveda
Sāma. Br.=Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana
Śān. Br.=Śānkhāyana Brāhmana
Śān. gr=Śānkhāyana-grhya-sūtra
Śān Sr or Śān. Śr. S.=Śānkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra
Śat. Br =Śatapatha Brāhmana
Sat Śr =Satyāsādhaśrauta-sūtra
S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmuller)
S K. = Śuddhikaumudī
S. K L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā
Sm. C. or Smr. C.=Smrticandrikā
Smr M =Smrtimuktāphala
Śr. P. or Śr Pr = Śrāddhaprakāśa
Śr. K. K.=Śrāddhakriyākaumudī
S. V = Sāmaveda
Tai Ā. or Tai. Ār = Taittirīya Āranyaka
Tai Br = Taittirīya Brāhmana
Tai. S. = Taittirīya Samhitā
Tai Up = Taittirīya-upanisad
Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahābrāhmana
Tir. C. = Tīrthacintāmani
Tir. K =Tīrthakalpataru
Tīrthapr. or Tīr Pr. = Tīrthaprakāśa
Tri. S. = Tristhalīsetu
T S = Tīrthasāra
Up. = Upanisad
Vaik Smārta or Vaik Sm. S = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra
Vaik Śr or Vaik Śr. S = Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra
Vāj S. = Vājasaneya-samhitā
Vas = Vasistha-dharma-sūtra

Vishnu Dh. or Vishnu Dh. S. = Vishnudharmasūtra
Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha
Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti
अ. क. दी. = अन्त्यकर्मदीपक
अग्नि. or अग्निपु. = अग्निपुराण
अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद
अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व
अन्त्येष्टिप. = अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण
आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र
आप ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र
आप म. पा = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ
आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र
आश्व गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट
आश्व. गृ or आश्व गृ सू = आश्वलायनगृह्य-सूत्र
आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायन-श्रौतसूत्र
ऋ. = ऋग्वेद
ऐ आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक
ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण
क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्
कल्प॰ = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर
कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार
का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र
कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. = कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी
गङ्गावाक्या or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि
गरुड or गरुडपु. = गरुडपुराण
गृह र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र
चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु सं. = चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह
चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि
छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण
तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)
ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश
ती. चि. or तीर्थचि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति
तै आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of भट्टोजि
त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट
निर्णय॰ or नि. सि = निर्णयसिन्धु
पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
पा = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी
पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र
पृथ्वी॰ or पृथ्वीच॰ or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय
प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व
प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण
प्रा प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश
प्राय. वि or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्रायश्चित्तविवेक
प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख
प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार
बृह उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बृ. सं = बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र
ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण
भवि पु or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण
मत्स्य = मत्स्यपुराण
मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात
मनु = मनुस्मृति
महार्णव = महार्णवकर्मविपाक (ms.)
मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र
मिता. = मिताक्षरा
मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु
मै. सं = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज सं.=वाजसनेयसंहिता
वायु or वायुपु.=वायुपुराण
विष्णुपु =विष्णुपुराण
वि र.=विवादरत्नाकर
विष्णु or विष्णुध. सू =विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
वृद्धया.=वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य
वे. सू =वेदान्तसूत्र
व्यव नि =व्यवहारनिर्णय
व्य म.=व्यवहारमयूख
शत ब्रा or शतपथ or शतपथब्रा.=शतपथ-ब्राह्मण
शातातप=शातातपस्मृति
शाङ्खायनब्रा or शा ब्रा =शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण
शां. श्रौ. or शां श्रौ. सू.=शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र
शान्ति =शान्तिपर्व
शु कौ. or शुद्धिकौ.=शुद्धिकौमुदी
शुद्धिकल्प.=कल्पतरु on शुद्धि
शुद्धिप्र or शु प्र.=शुद्धिप्रकाश
श्रा. क ल =श्राद्धकल्पलता
श्रा. क्रि कौ =श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी
श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र =श्राद्धप्रकाश
सत्या श्रौ.=सत्याषाढश्रौतसूत्र
साम ब्रा =सामविधानब्राह्मण
स्कन्द or स्कन्दपु =स्कन्दपुराण
स्मृतिच =स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृतिमु or स्मृ मु.=स्मृतिमुक्ताफल
श्रा. वि =श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर
हिर गृ. or हिरण्य गृ.=हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śaṅkarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.–1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic saṃhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.–500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.–400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāṣāḍha and others) and some of the gṛhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600–300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.–300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.–200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.–200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.–100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.–100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

100 A. D.–300 A. D.—Yājñavalkyasmṛti
100 A. D.–300 A. D.—Viṣnudharmasūtra
100 A. D.–400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti
200 A. D.–400 A.D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāmsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)
300 A. D.–500 A. D.—Bṛhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found) Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series
300 A. D.–600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purānas such as Vāyu, Viṣnu, Mārkandeya, Matsya, Kūrma
500 A. D.–550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Bṛhatsamhitā, Bṛhat-Jātaka and other works
600 A. D.–650 A. D.—Bāna, author of the Kādambarī and Harsa-carita
650–665 A. D.—Kāśikā, commentary by Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī
650–700 A. D.—Kumārilabhatta, author of Tantravārtika and other works.
600 A. D.–900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śankha, Devala and some of the Purānas such as Agni, Garuda.
788 A. D.–820 A. D.—Śankarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
800 A. D.–850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti
825 A. D.–900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmṛti
966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira
1000 A. D.–1050 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works
1080 A. D.–1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
1080 A. D.–1110 A. D. Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti
1100–1130 A. D.—Laksmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru
1100–1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana, author of the Dāyabhāga, Kāla-viveka and Vyavahāramātṛkā.
1100–1150 A. D. Bhavadevabhatta, author of Prāyaścitta-prakarana and other works
1110 A. D.–1130—A. D. Aparārka, Śilāhāra king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkyasmṛti
1127 A. D.–1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilasitārtha-cintāmani of Someśvaradeva

1150 A.D.–1160 A.D.—Rājatarangiṇī of Kalhana

1150 A.D.–1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitrdayitā

1150 A D.–1200 A.D.—Smrtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara

1150 A.D.–1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and some grhyasūtras

1200 A.D.–1225 A.D.—Smrticandrikā of Devannabhatta

1150 A.D.–1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on Manusmrti

1175 A.D.–1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of Brāhmanasarvasva

1260 A D.–1270 A.D—Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri

1275 A.D.–1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pitrbhakti, Samayapradipa and other works

1300 A.D.–1370 A.D—Candeśvara, author of Grhastharatnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Krtyaratnākara and other works

1300 A.D.–1380 A.D.—Sāyana, compiler of bhāsyas on Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas

1300 A.D.–1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of Parāśarasmrti and other works and brother of Sāyana

1360 A. D.–1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahārnavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son

1360 A.D.–1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gangāvākyāvalī and other works. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 14 pp 190–191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyāpati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śake 1321, samvat 1455, La. Sam. 283 and *san* 807)

1375 A.D.–1440 A.D.—Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Durgotsavaviveka and other works.

1375–1500 A.D.—Prthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called Dharmatattvakalānidhi, divided into Prakāśas on śrāddha, vyavahāra and other topics.

1425–1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasimhadeva

1425 A.D.–1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of Śuddhiviveka, Śrāddhaviveka and other works

1425–1490 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of Śuddhicintāmani, Tīrthacintāmani and numerous other works.

1450–1500 A. D.—Vardhamāna, author of Dandaviveka, Gangākrtyaviveka and other works

1490 A.D.–1515 A.D.—Nrsimhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which Śrāddhasāra, Tīrthasāra, Prāyaścittasāra and several more are parts.

1500 A.D.–1540 A. D —Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and other works

1513–1580—Nārāyanabhatta, author of Prayogaratna, Antyestipaddhati, Tristhalīsetu

1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics

1520–1589—Ṭodarānanda compiled under the patronage of Todarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka and about 15 more topics

1590–1630 A D —Nandapandita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Visnudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamīmāmsā

1610–1640—Kamalākarabhatta, author of Nirnayasindhu and over 20 works besides

1610–1640—Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra, of which Tīrthaprakāśa, Prāyaścittaprakāśa, Śrāddhaprakāśa are parts

1610–1645—Nīlakantha, author of Bhagavantabhāskara in 12 Mayūkhas on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics

1700–1740—Smrtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha

1700–1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhatta, author of about 30 works among which Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara, Śrāddhenduśekhara were used in this volume

1790—Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in śake 1712

1730–1820—Bālambhatta, author of a commentary on the Mitāksarā, called Bālambhattī

BRIEF SYNOPSIS

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātrā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted]

Page	Line or Note	
8	note 17	Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण ध्रुति
9	note 19	Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33 1'
15	last line	Put a full stop after the word 'Visnu'
17	note 36	Read 'व्यापारे रूढ '.
18	line 25	Read 'selling of flesh'
19	note 43 l 8	Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5'
24	note 58	Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना
28	note 68 line 7	Read दोषो न संसर्ग०
36	line 34	Read 'they pray'.
37	note 88	Read यत्किंचेदं वरुण दैव्ये
42	line 24	Read 'to be spread over from one'
43	line 23	Read 'yadadīvyan' (Tai. Ā II 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III 7. 10)'
44	line 29	Read 'by offering either'
46	note 107 line 4	Read अथर्वाशिरस्.
47	line 7	Read 'four pākayajñas or mahāyajñas'
47	note 109	Read 'the five mahāyajñas or pākayajñas as they are called in Manu II 86'
54	note 133a	Add—The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य वर्जित ' is अग्निपु 175 5-6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol I. p 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुणs as 'तज्जाप्यजापी तद्ध्यान-तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादय ॥ उपवासकृतो ह्येते गुणा' प्रोक्ता मनीषिभि ।' The verse उपावृत्तस्य० is ascribed to Vasistha by Hemādri on vrata vol. I. p. 1004
58	note 139 line 6	Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे
94	lines 19	Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any

Page	Line or Note	
		time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare. अश्वत्थसागरौ सेव्यौ न स्प्रष्टव्यौ कदाचन। अश्वत्थं मन्दवारे च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत्। न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रस्नानकर्मणि॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36
106	note 242 line 3	Read प्राय. वि.
108	note 247	Add at end 'Verses from गाव सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14–20'
113	note 257	At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासात्प्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवर्तोक्तं द्रष्टव्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापत्तिं व्रजेद्यदि। स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमश्रान्तः षण्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम्॥' This is संवर्त 171–72
114	line 2	Add 'Vide the bhāsya of Śankara on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis tūbhayathāpi)'.
116	line 23	Add after the words 'for a month'—'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. Ā. II. 16. 17 'याजयित्वा प्रतिगृह्य वानश्नन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत'. Manu X. 109–111 appear to endorse this view.
140	line 7	Read 'and as marking'
149	line 23	Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āngirasa-smrti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Angiras'.
164	n 395 line 2	Read अष्टाविंशतिकोट्य·
169	n 406	Add 'This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the साख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S series p. 45.'
185	line 11	Add after 'namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5–6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 'मरणे या मतिः पुसा गतिर्भवति तादृशी', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

Page	Line or Note	
185	n 432	Read 'शान्तिपर्व, 285. 74 ff for शिवसहस्रनाम '
192	n 443 last line	Read ' Fargard '
200	n 476	Read in 2nd line ' recital ' and ' bones ' in line 3.
212	line 12	Add a new paragraph after this line viz ' A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br Up. I 5 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmanopanisad II 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
212		Add footnote 500a ' Though in modern times Nārāyanabhatta's Antyestipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kuśas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
216	n503 l 1	Read 'मिता on या. III. 2, मद. पा p. 395'
239	line 29	Read ' text of Samvarta that a '
244	line 6	Put the figure *555* above Rg VIII. 95. 7-9
265	n 594a	Read in last line but one तद्रूपं देहमन्यं
269	n 603 l. 2	Read तन्तुं तन्वन्रजसो भानुमन्विह्याक्षानहो
271	1 35	Add after the word ' death.' ' It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varnas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death '
277	l 13	Read ' preferably '
300	n 677, l 3	Read ' पतितानां च '
308	1 17	Omit the words ' with Sanskrit explanation '
310	note 695	Read ' संमार्ष्टव्या उत '
312	n 700	Add at end "Though Manu V 130 says generally 'नित्यमास्यं शुचि स्त्रीणाम्' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud Dh S I. 4 57 (स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गे), Vas 28 8, S'ankha 16 16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

Page	Line or Note	
321	lines 11–15	I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnāh' of the Tai S V. 6 1.1
345	top	Read 'Pañcajanāh'
,,	n. 776 l 4	Read 'षड् ऋतवस्तान् पितॄन् परिचक्षते'
355	n. 807 l. 1	Read 'मेषमजं चालभते'
368	n. 838 l 2	Read शकुना इव
377	n. 851 l. 2	Read तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ च प्रयत्नत·
382–383	note 861	Add at end "In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मसिन्धु II. 2 p. 39 says 'अमा १२ युग ४ मनु १४ क्रान्ति १२ धृति १२ पात १२ महालया: १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वेद्यु: ५ श्राद्धैर्नवतिश्च षट् ॥ इति ज्ञेयानि ॥' For 12 Astakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Astakās mentioned; vide p 361 and note 828 above."
388	note 870	In last line but one read प्रदास्यति
389	note 873	Read अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु
410	note 921	Read स याति नरकं घोरं
427	n959l.5 from end	Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
441	note 985	Read अर्हणीयानां पुरत·
442	l. 17	Read 'then turn it'
457	note 1018	Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176' 1–5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवा: somewhat differently'.
532	note 1195	Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
534	note 1200	Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राण:' ऐ. ब्रा. 33 1"
546	l. 17	Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following – According to the Nirnayasindhu (p 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

Page	Line or Note	
		the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'शुद्धमासे मृतानां तु प्रथमाब्दिकं मलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयाब्दिकं तु शुद्ध एव।.'
560	note 1260	After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III. chap 171 mentions *nine* mountains 'हिमवान्हेमकूटश्च निषधो नील एव च। श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्मौल्यवान्गन्धमादन। नवैतान् शैलपतीनेवम्यां पजयेन्नरः॥' (in पर्वताटनीव्रत)'
561	l. 7	Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
577	n. 1308 l 5	Read 'लक्ष्मेत्तु स. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
588	note 1333	Read 'दिवि मुव्यन्तरिक्षे च'
592	n. 1340 l 21	Read ' Another rule is that one makes '
595	n. 1347 l. 2	Read ' जलं स ने प्रीत इति '.
599	note 1360	Read ' पादलोक्तः'
605	n 1372 l. 6	Read ' the Aphsad stone Inscription '.
609–613		The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages On p 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word ' Gangāvākyāvalī ' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p 609 On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a, 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p 613 in line 24 on the word ' mokṣa ' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
615	note 1397	last line but one—Read ' occur in नारदीय '
633	note 1448	line 4 Read ' तावतैव '.
648	n. 1473 l 3	Read ' तर्पयेत् '
654	note 1500	Read ' गङ्गा पादोदकं '
657	line 36	After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

Page	Line or Note	
		eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mahanth i. e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Saivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *pinda dāna* '
670	l 6	Read ' śrāddhas at Gayā '
673	note 1524 l 4	Read ' तीर्थचि.'
689	n. 1565 l. 2	Add: It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I chapters 201–202 it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Sailūsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them, 'जहि शैलूषतनयान् गन्धर्वान् पापनिश्चयान्' विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10"
691	n. 1568 l 2	Read ' सुषुम्ना '
695	line 9	Add at end: 'Vide, for example, the statement that Purusottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap 1), that a dialogue between Śabara (a *bhilla*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradyumna's purohita took place (chap 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped '
696	n 1577 l. 3	Read ' चक्रं दृष्ट्वा '
699	l 13	Add after this line ' Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Purī. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan* But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.'

Page	Line or Note	
699	n 1582	Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II, 9 10 and तै आ X 45.1'.
709	l. 20	Read 'in Pañcavatī and on the left bank' &c.
721	l. 14	Add at end "Vide a paper on 'Identification of the idol of Vitthala in the Vitthala temple at Hampī' by Dr. C Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp 715–728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D Degree on 'the cult of Vithobā' by Rev G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
732		Add under Āmardaka 'Vide E I vol. I pp 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rānod in Gwalior State'
758		Under 'Irāvatī' add—'Vide Visnudharmottara I. 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I 162. 61–65 for the confluence of Irāvatī with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
769		Column 2 under Konārka add "Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp 153 ff. for an article 'Sungod of Konārak—where is he', which criticizes the article in the Modern Review."
796		Add under Rohītaka—'In the Madanpur plate of S'rīcandra in E. I. vol 28 at p 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri (acc to some Rohtasgadh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc to others)'
806		Column one under Śona add—'The Nirnayasindhu p 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven *nadas* शोणसिन्धुहिरण्याख्या कोकलोहितघर्घरा। शतद्रूश्च नदा. सप्त पावना परिकीर्तिता॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक Lohita is Brahmaputrā
832	line 5	Read 'अंशुरवश्च'
832	lines 8 and 10	Read मृत्यो and मृतै
832	line 18	Read वर्य
832	n. 693a l 3	Read स्नानं

SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmaśāstra

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics [1] It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

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1 In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy .. Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong Every thing is the result of complexes' It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin" Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903–4 at p 466 says 'The highest man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer' The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts, he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghee*) even by borrowing money from others There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.

The Rgveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it The idea of sin in the Rgveda is bound up with the conception of *rta*. The conception of rta cannot be discussed here in detail But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was [2]

Rta had a threefold aspect It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods', and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of rta may be cited here Rg. IV 23 8–10 are[3] three verses in which the word rta occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of rta throughout the universe 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to rta, the thought (or laudation) of rta destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to rta pierces the benumbed ears of man The props of rta are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i e man) Through rta they (people) desire food The cows (sun's rays) entered rta by rta He who wins over rta acquires it For the sake of rta (heaven) and earth are wide and deep, the two highest cows (i e Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of rta ' Some other passages are. 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the rta of Varuna' (rtam sindhavo Varunasya yanti, Rg. II 28 4), similarly Rg I. 105 12 (rtamarsanti sindhavah), The wheel of rta (i e the year) revolves round the

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2. For the conception of rta and the idea of sin in the Rgveda the following works may be consulted 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp 12, 125 ff), 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof A. B Keith (pp. 35, 83–85 &c.), 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry Lefever (1935) One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject

3 ऋतस्य हि शुरुध सन्ति पूर्वीऋतस्य धीतिर्बृजिनानि हन्ति। ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरा ततर्द कर्णा बुधान शुचमान आयोः॥ ऋतस्य दृळ्हा धरुणानि सन्ति पुरूणि चन्द्रा वपुषे वपूंषि। ऋतेन दीर्घमपणन्त पृक्ष ऋतेन गाव ऋतमाविवेशुः॥ ऋतं येमान ऋतमिद्वनोत्यृतस्य शुष्मस्तुरया उ गव्युः। ऋताय पृथ्वी बहुले गभीरे ऋताय धेनू परमे दुहाते॥ ऋ IV 23 8–10 These are rather obscure verses The Nirukta X 41 understands rta to mean 'water' and explains X 23·8 as 'ऋतस्य मज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्लोको बधिरस्यापि कर्णौ आतृणत्ति। बधिर बद्धश्रोत्र। कर्णौ बोधयन् दीप्यमानश्च आयो अयनस्य मनुष्यस्य ज्योतिर्वा वा उदकस्य वा।'

sky with twelve spokes (dvādaśāram . .. varvarti cakram pari dyām-rtasya, Rg. I 164 11), 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of rta ... ...' ('rtasya panthānam-anveti sādhu', Rg I 124 3); the young woman (Usas) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of ṛta (Rg I 123 9); the sun is the bright and lovely face of rta (Rg VI. 51. 1. 'rtasya śuci darśatam–anīkam); 'the path of rta became united with the rays' (Rg. I 136 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of rta the concealed host of cows' (Rg. I. 121 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of ṛta. Mitra and Varuna rule over all the world by ṛta (Rg V. 63 7, rtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājathah); Mitra and Varuna, the protectors of rta, occupy a chariot (Rg V. 63 1), Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of rta (yūyamrtasya rathyah, VII 66 12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of rta (Rg. VI 51 3) Agni is called 'the charioteer of ṛta' (rathī rtasya, Rg. III. 2 8), the protector of ṛta, in Rg. I. 1 8, III 10.2, X. 8.5, X 118.7 and rtāvān (in Rg IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of rta (in Rg. IX. 48 4, IX 73 8) and is said to support ṛta (IX. 97.24 ṛtam bharat subhrtam cārvinduh) In Rg. VII. 66.13 the Ādityas[4] are said to be *ṛtāsan* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *rtajāta* (sprung from rta) and rtāvrdh (augmenting or rejoicing in rta) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anṛta* (what is opposed to rta).'

Rta is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general In Rg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled *rtacit* (conversant with or observing ṛta) and is invoked to know the rta (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words 'rtena ṛtam' (e. g. in Rg IV. 3.9 rtena rtam niyatam-ila ā goḥ', V. 15.2 'rtena ṛtam dharunam dhārayanta yajñasya sāke, V. 68.4 rtam-ṛtena sapantā 'conforming to or joining *rta* with *rta*', where 'ṛtena' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and 'rtam' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of ṛta spread on the *dasāpavitra* (Rg. IX. 73.9 'rtasya tantur-vitatah pavitra ā). In

4. ऋतावानो ऋतजाता ऋतावृधो घोरासो अनृतद्विषः । तेषां वः सुम्ने सच्छर्दिष्टमे नरः स्याम ये च सूरयः ॥ ऋ. VII. 66.13

Rg. I 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ..the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of rta' (i e. in the soma sacrifice) Vide also Rg IV 1 13—(asmākam-atra pitaro manusyā abhi pra sedur-rtam-ā susānāh) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached rta etc', Rg I 71 3 (dadhannrtam dhanayannasya dhītim-ādidaryo)' Rg. X 67 2 (rtam śamsanta rju dīdhyānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Angirasas,, declaring the rta and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña', Rg. X 37 1 (maho devāya tad-itam saparyata, 'offer this rta to the great God')

The conception of rta as a moral imperative occurs in several passages Rg I. 90 6 (madhu vātā rtāyate madhu ksaranti sindhavah) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps rta', Rg V 12 2 'O Agni, that knowest rta, know rta alone (in me) .I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to rta of the reddish bull (i e of Agni)[5]; Rg. X 87 11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures rta by anrta be thrice bound in thy fetters' Yama in rejecting Yami's advances says (Rg X. 10 4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken rta (so far) now speak anrta?' (rtā vadanto anrtam rapema)

In two or three instances rta appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuna, to the gods and to the great (brhat) rta' (Rg I 75 5). Similarly, in Rg X. 66 4 the great (*mahat*) rta is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Visnu, the Maruts &c.

Rta and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda For example, Rg. V. 51 2 speaks of the Viśve Devas as 'rtadhītayah' (whose thoughts were fixed on rta) and 'satyadharmānah' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharmas are true). In Rg. IX 113.4 rta and satya both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing In Rg X. 190 1 rta and satya are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. Rta involves a wider conception and satya had originally a restricted meaning (viz truth and static order). The word anrta, however, is the

5. ऋत चिकित्व ऋतमित्चिकिद्धृतस्य धारा अनु तृन्धि पूर्वी । नाहं यातु सहसा न द्वयेन ऋत सपाम्यरुषस्य वृष्ण. । ऋ V 12.2.

opposite of both rta and satya as may be seen from Ṛg X. 10.4, Ṛg VII. 49.3 (Varuna who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Ṛg. X. 124.5 (Varuna who separates anṛta by means of *ṛta*). Gradually, however, the word *ṛta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II 1 and I.9.1) both *ṛta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Ṛgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuna and the Adityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas, enas, agha, duṛita, dushṛita, drugdha, aṁhas.* A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Ṛg. VII 86 is a hymn to Varuna in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuna is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuna! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasistha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Ṛg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (abhidroha) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dhaṛmas* laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*).' It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas, abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Ṛg. II. 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuna! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Ṛg. II. 28 5 Varuna is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Ṛg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (āgas).' In Ṛg II. 29.1 the Adityas are implored[6] 'cast away from me sin (āgas) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

6. भूतव्रता आदित्या इषिरा आरे मत्कर्त रहसूरिवागः । ऋ II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anāgas* occurs, vide Rg I. 162.22, I. 185 8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV 54 3, VII. 51 1, VII. 57 4, V. 85.7, VII. 87 7, VII. 93 7, X 36 12, X. 37 7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Rg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (āgas) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are Rg VI 51 7 'May we not have to enjoy (i e suffer for) the *enas* committed by another and Rg VI. 51 8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance', Rg VI. 74 3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Rg VII 20 1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Rg I 189 1, II. 28 7, VII. 52 2 The word '*agha*', also seems to mean sin 'Apa nah śośucad-agham' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. 1 97. 1–8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghāni*) be far away from us' (II 29 5, in which verse in the first half 'āgah' occurs), X 117 6 (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *amhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg II. 28 6 Varuna is implored 'remove *amhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)'[7] It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II 28 5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *amhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Rg III. 32 14), 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice[8]' Rg VIII. 19. 6, 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuna, save us from all sin' (Rg. X. 36. 3).[9] Rg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of *rta*, to protect the sage from 'amhas'. Vide also Rg X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vṛjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *ṛju*. The Ādityas are said to 'see inside

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7 दासेव वत्साद्विसुमुग्ध्यंहो नहि त्वदारे निमिषश्चनेशे। ऋ॰ II. 28 6, compare II 28 5 'वि मच्छ्राय रशनामिवाग ऋध्याम ते वरुण खामृतस्य॥'

8 न तमंहो देवकृत कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृत नशत्। ऋ. VIII. 19 6

9 विश्वस्माको अदितिः पात्वंहसो माता मित्रस्य वरुणस्य रेवत.। ऋ. X. 36 3

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)'[10] and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II. 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avṛjināh' (free from *vṛjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV 1 17). The same words (ṛju martesu vṛjinā ca paśyan) occur in Rg VI. 51. 2 and VII. 60.2 about the Sun.

The word '*anṛta*' is often used in the Ṛgveda. It has already been shown how Varuna is said to mark the *satya* and *anṛta* of men In Rg. VII 60 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of ṛta' Rg. VII 66 13 calling Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman haters of anṛta has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin In Rg I 23 22 the waters are invoked as follows:[11] 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words 'durita, droha and anṛta' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg I. 185 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (pātām-avadyād-duritād) 'Avadya' means 'garhya' acc. to Pān. III. 1. 101. Rg. VII. 82. 7 states 'Him neither *aṁhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuna!'. In Rg. X. 126. 1 'amhas'- and 'durita' are brought together (na tam-amho na duritam devāso asta martyam) In Rg VIII 67 21 the words amhati and rapas[12] seem to be employed in the sense of sin. 'Duskṛta' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII. 47. 13 and in Rg X 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins[13]. The word 'pāpa' generally[14]

10 अन्तः पश्यन्ति वृजिनोत साधु सर्वं राजभ्यः परमा चिदन्ति। ऋ II 27 3; आ सूर्यो बृहतस्तिष्ठदज्राँ ऋजु मर्तेषु वृजिना च पश्यन्॥ ऋ IV. 1 17.

11 इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मयि। यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उतानृतम्॥ ऋ I 23.22 शेप (or-फ) means मेढ्र

12 वि षु द्वेषो व्यंहतिमादित्यासो वि संहतिम्। विष्वग्वि बृहता रपः॥ ऋ. VIII 67 21, 'रप' रिमिति पापनामनी भवतः' निरुक्त IV. 21

13. यदाग्नियेदपीच्यं देवासो अस्ति दुष्कृतम्। त्रिते तद्विश्वमाप्त्य आरे अस्मद्धातन॥ ऋ VIII 47 13, अग्निर्विश्वान्यप दुष्कृतान्यजुष्टान्यारे अस्मद्धातु॥ ऋ. X. 164.3

14 पापमाहुर्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात्। ऋ X. 10 12, पापासः सन्तो अनृता असत्य इदं पदमजनता गभीरम्॥ ऋ. IV 5.5,

occurs in the Ṛg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Ṛg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Ṛg X 108 6, X. 164 5, I. 129. 11) In Ṛg VII. 32. 18, VII. 94 3, VIII. 19 26 'pāpatva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness' In the Brāhmanas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat Br. XI. 2 7. 19; vide also[15] Ait Br 33. 5 In the Upanisads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e g in Tai Up II 9, Chāndogya IV 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Ṛgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Ṛgvedic sages. Vide S B E vol I p XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times[16]. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin In the Ṛg VII. 86 6 a sage[17] pleads with Varuna that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right In the Kausītaki-brāhmanopanisad (III 9) it is stated· 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

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15 सहोवाचाजीगर्तः सौयवसिस्त्वै मा तात तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम्। ऐ ब्रा 33 5 (=VII 17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin', for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903–4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day) As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'

17. न स्वो दक्षो वरुण धाति· सा सुरा मन्युर्विभीदको अचित्तिः। अस्ति ज्यायान्कनीयस उपारे स्वप्नश्चनेदनृतस्य प्रयोता॥ ऋ. VII 86 6

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.[18] Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III. 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkṛṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so'? The answer given is (III. 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guna*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI. 21) says 'this[19] is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṁkhya philosophy viz. that there are three gunas, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guna* that is the cause of man's sinfulness In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *kāma* (lust) and it is said that krodha springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19.2 observes[20] that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, *neglecting what is prescribed* and *practising what is forbidden*'. Yājñavalkya III. 219 prescribes: 'by

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18. एष ह्येव साधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्यो उन्निनीषते एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति त्ं यमधो निनीषते। कौषीतकिब्रा उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahmasūtra II. 1.34 and II. 3.41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मन॰। कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत्॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33.6.

20. विहितस्याननुष्ठानान्निन्दितस्य च सेवनात्। अनिग्रहाच्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतनमृच्छति॥ या III 219, अकुर्वन् विहितं कर्म प्रतिषिद्धानि चाचरन्॥ प्रायश्चित्तीयते ह्येवं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन्॥ शान्तिपर्व 34 2 गौतम appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj in the first half of III 219 'अथ खल्वयं पुरुषो याज्येन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतदयाज्ययाजनमभक्ष्यभक्षणमवद्यवदनं शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति। गौ. 19 2 शबर on जै. XII. 3 16 echoes the very words of गौ. viz शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनमिति'.

omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i e sin)' Manu XI. 44 and Śāntiparva 34 2 are similar verses The Mitāksarā explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and Agnihotra and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor Viśvarūpa explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in Yāj III. 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by Gautama 21 4 viz 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in Yāj III. 219) becomes liable to undergo prāyascitta and that the words of Gautama (21.4) are restricted only to what are called mahāpātakas The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root '*pat*' Vide Medhātithi on Manu XI 54 'pātakaśabdah pātayatīti vyutpattyā sarva-vyatikramesu vartate' and Madanapārijāta p 786 In ancient works the word *patanīya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in Āp Dh S. I. 7 21 7 The Pr V (p 35) paraphrases patanīyāni by 'pātakāni' and derives it from the root 'pat' (*patatyanena iti patanīyam*) with the addition of the termination 'anīya' according to Pān III 3 113 The word occurs also in Yāj II. 210, III. 297, Śankha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 237 (in prose) and other smrtis

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times In the Rg X 5 6 it is said[21] 'the wise made (lit chiselled) seven limits, the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful' The Nirukta (VI. 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a brāhmana, murder of a bhrūna, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. Rg VII. 86 6 quoted above (in n 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the Tai. S. II. 5 1. 2, V 3 12 1–2, Śat Br XIII. 3 1 1 and other Brāhmana texts it appears that the murder of a brāhmana was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the Kāthaka samhitā (31. 7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्यादा कवयस्ततक्षुस्तासामेकामिदभ्यंहुरो गात्। ऋ X 5 6; सप्त एव मर्यादा कवयश्चक्रु.। तासामेकामपि अधिगच्छन्नंहस्वान् भवति। स्तेय तल्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्या भ्रूणहत्या सुरापानं दुष्कृतस्य कर्मण पुन पुन सेवा पातके अनृतोद्यमिति। निरुक्त VI 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūna which is even worse than brāhmana murder)[22]. The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyudita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhinimrukta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhisu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmana.[23]. It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5. 12. 22 where it is[24] said that though

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22. Bhrūnahan is either a killer of a learned brāhmana or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H of Dh vol II, p. 148n and vol. III p 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap 20 13–16 and Deut. 5. 17–20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देवा आप्येष्वमुजत। आप्या अमुजत ;सूर्याभ्युदिते। सूर्याभ्युदित. सूर्याभिनिमुक्ते। सूर्याभिनिमुक्तः कुनाखिनि। कुनखी श्यावदति। श्यावदन्नग्रदिधिषौ। अग्रदिधिषुः परिविन्ते। परिविन्तो वीरहाणि। वीरहा ब्रह्महाणि। तद् ब्रह्महणं नात्यच्यवत्। तै. ब्रा III 2. 8.11, In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read श्यावदन्परिविन्ते परिविन्तः परिविविदाने परिविविदानोऽग्रेदिधिषा अग्रेदिधिषुर्दिधिषूपतौ दिधिषूपतिर्वीरहाणि...ब्रह्महाणि ब्रह्महा भ्रूणहानि भ्रूणहनमेनो नात्येति। The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI. 113). The germ of it is found in Rg VIII 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अभिनिम्रक्ताभ्युदित—कुनाखिश्यावदाग्रेदिधिषू—दिधिषूपतिपर्याहितपरीक्षु-परिविन्त-परिविन्न-परिविविदानेषु चोत्तरोत्तरस्मिन्नज्येष्ठाचिकरानिर्वेशो गरीयान् गरीयान्। आप II 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिविन्त and परिविन्न often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires) Vide Manu III. 171-172. Acc. to Manu III. 173 a didhiṣūpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *niyoga*. परिविविदान is the same as परिवेत्ता अग्रेदिधिषु or-षू is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p. 451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III. 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and दिधिषु or दिधिषू is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one In Āp the word पति is to be connected with both अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषू. The Amarakośa explains दिधिषू differently. शङ्खस्मृति (17. 43–44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty 'परिवित्तिः परिवेत्ता यया च परिविद्यते। व्रतं संवत्सरं कुर्युर्दातृयाजकपञ्चमाः॥'.

these actions are not to be styled *patanīyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br viz *didhiṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhita* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivividāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivinna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upanisad[25] (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a brāhmana, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūna*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *patanīya* (those that cause loss of caste), *asucikara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S (I. 7.21.7–11) states that *patanīya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhiśasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female guru (mother &c) or with the female friend of one's *guru* (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a patanīya sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12–18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with śūdras, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a śūdra, and cohabitation by Ārya men with apapātra

25. तदेष श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन् ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वार. पञ्चमश्चाचरंस्तैः ॥ इति । छा उप. V. 10.9.

women.[26] According to some, those acts that are declared to be *aśucikara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also aśucikara. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6–9) enumerates those who are *abhiśasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmaṇa (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmaṇa even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreyī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides[27] sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of mahāpātakas and those guilty of upapātakas (I. 19–23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojjha', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4–12 special prāyaścittas for each of these 'enasvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The Mahāpātakas (mortal sins) according to Vasistha are five, viz (violating) a *guru's* bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a bhrūṇa (a learned brāhmaṇa), stealing gold from a brāhmaṇa and associating with a *patita*. Those guilty of upapātakas (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a guru, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra[28] (II. 1) divides sins into *patanīya, upapātaka* and *aśucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmaṇa or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

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26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785n. For the meaning of *ātreyī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याभ्युदितः सूर्याभिनिम्रुक्तः कुनखी श्यावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवेत्तान्नेदिधिषूदीधिषूपतिर्वीरहा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्विनः। पञ्च महापातकान्याचक्षते। गुरुतल्पं सुरापानं भ्रूणहत्या ब्राह्मणसुवर्णापहरणं पतितसंयोगश्चब्रह्मेण वा यौनेन वा। ... योनीनपविध्येद्वृत्तं च यः प्रतिदध्नुपाक्नास्तिको नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि। वसिष्ठ I. 19–23.

28. अथ पतनीयानि। समुद्रसंयानम्। ब्रह्मस्वन्यासापहरणम्। भूम्यनृतम्। सर्वपण्यैर्व्यवहरणम्। शूद्रसेवनम्। शूद्राभिजननम्। तदपत्यत्वं च। ... अथोपपातकानि। अगम्यागमनं गुर्वीसखीं गुरुसखीमपपात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं ग्रामयाजनं रङ्गोपजीवनं नाट्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरक्षणं यच्चान्यदप्येवं युक्तं कन्यादूषणमिति। ... अथाशुचिकराणि। व्रतमभिचारोऽनाहिताग्नेरुच्छवृत्तिः ते समावृत्तस्य भैक्षचर्या तस्य चैव गुरुकुले वास ऊर्ध्वं चतुर्थ्यो मासेभ्यस्तस्य चाध्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्देशश्चेति। गौ. ध. सू. II. 1.50–56, 60–61, 63–64.

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her[29]. The upapātakas, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60–61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an apapātra woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes[30] and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among asucikara (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleaning corn fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1–7) appears to include among patanīyas the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 21. 9–11) and Vasiṣṭha I. 23 (such as *nāstika*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of patanīyas, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss[31] of caste.

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29 That this is the correct translation of Baud and not the one in S. B. E vol. XIV p. 215 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'शौनकस्य सुतोत्पत्त्या तदपत्यतया भृगो' Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhrgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas alone Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as patanīya for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S II. 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X 50, Manu X 79, Yāj. I. 119 Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmaṇas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha Vide Gaut. 15 15–16 for long lists of those brāhmaṇas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महसुरापसुवर्णतल्पगमातृपितृयोनिसम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकानिन्दितकर्माभ्यासि-पतिता-ऽत्याज्यपतितत्यागिन. पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तैश्चाब्द समाचरन् ।...कौदसाक्षय राजगामि पैशुन गुरोरनृतताभिशसन महापातकसमानि । अपकृत्याना प्रायदुर्बलाद् गोहन्तृब्रह्महन्तृब्रह्मन्त्रकुदवकीर्णिपतितसावित्रीकेऽपपातकम । गौतम 21.1–3, 10–11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or grades of sins will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upanisad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upanisad[1] represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut, who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upanisad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upanisad is later than the Dharmasūtras of Āp., Gaut, Baud, and Vas

It appears that Kātyāyana[32] divided sinful acts into five classes viz. *mahāpāpa* (mortal sins), *atipāpa* (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), *pātaka* (sins similar to mahāpātakas), *prāsaṅgika* (due to association or contact) and *upapātaka* (minor sins). The Bhavisya-purāna also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas Vrddha-Hārīta also (IX. 215–216) speaks of five kinds viz. *mahāpāpa, pātaka, anupātaka, upapāpa* and *prakīrnaka* (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216–218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpātaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and *prakīrnaka* sins are the least sinful of all. The Visnudharmasūtra (33 3–5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. atipātaka, mahāpātaka, anupātaka, upapātaka, jātibhramśakara (effecting loss of caste), saṅkarīkarana, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), apātrīkarana (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), malāvaha (causing defilement) and prakīrnaka (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Visnu Dh. S 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścittamuktāvali of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Visnu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसमानां विष्णुनाह्नपातकेत्वेनोक्तानां पातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता। मिता. on या. III. 242 ; महापातकतुल्यानि पापान्युक्तानि यानि तु। तानि पातकसंज्ञानि क्रमादे चोपपातकम्। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व 190 9)

Hārīta Dh. S (it appears) quoted by the Mit knew[33] of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārīta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka Manu (in chap XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Visnu-dharmasūtra except atipātakas Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up (quoted on p. 12) viz brāhmana murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmana's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year[34]) Vide Vas I 19–20, Manu XI 55, 180, Yāj III. 227, 261), Visnudharmsūtra 35 1–5, Vrddha–Hārīta IX 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Visnudharmasūtra chap. 36 The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smrtis is found in Manu, Yāj and Visnu There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points For example, Manu[35] XI. 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *surā*; while Yāj. III. 228 states that three out of these (viz reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmana. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins.

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33. यत्तु हारीतेनोक्त—महापातकातिपातकानुपातकोपपातकानामेकतममेव सन्निपाते चाऽधर्मर्षणमेव त्रिर्जपेत्—इति तन्निमित्तकर्तृविषयम् । मिता on या III 301, in प्र प्रकाश (folio 69a) हारीत is quoted as follows 'पञ्चविधमशुभ भवति प्रासङ्गिकोपपातकपातकमहापातकात्यन्तपातकानि' and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'प्रासङ्गिकपदेन जातिभ्रंशकराणि परिशेषाद् गृह्यन्ते'

34 In the Mahābhāsya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five: 'यो हि अज्ञानन्वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सुरा वा पिबेत्सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् । महाभाष्य vol. I p 2, ध्वसते शुक्रतल्पगः । महाभाष्य vol. II p 103, वृषलरूपोयम् । अव्यय पलाण्डुना सुरा पिबेत् । महाभाष्य vol II p 419 on वार्तिक 4 on पा V 3 66. In the Khoh copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533–34 A. D.) it was stated that whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p 135).

35 ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदानिन्दा कौटसाक्ष्य सुहृद्वधः । गर्हितानाद्ययोर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि षट् ॥ मनु XI 56, गुरूणामध्यधिक्षेपो वेदनिन्दा सुहृद्वधः । ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमधीतस्य च नाशनम् ॥ या III 228 मेधातिथि explains 'गर्हितं शास्त्रप्रतिषिद्धं लशुनादि । अनाद्यमनस्तुष्टिकरं न भोक्ष्य इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य?) यद्भुज्यते', compare गौतम 21 10 कौटसाक्ष्य राजगामि पैशुन गुरोरनृताभिशंसनामिति महापातकसमानि ।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakas and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmatah*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakrt*) or done repeatedly (*asakrt*)

Brahmahatyā Hatyā or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.[36]. The Agnipurāna (173 1), the Mit, the Prāyaścittaviveka (p 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha* A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmana in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i e. he becomes the *kartā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (anumantā), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (anugrāhaka) and by becoming a *mumūṣu*.[37]

The Mit on Yāj. III. 227 and 243 (quoting verses from Paithīnasi) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrāhaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1–2 'He who[38] instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

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36. हन्तिरयं प्राणवियोगकरणे व्यापारे रूढ। यद्व्यापारसमनन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणान्तरनिरपेक्ष. प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्महा। मिता on या III. 227; स्वात्प्राणवियोगफलो व्यापारो हनन स्मृतम्। अग्निपु. 173 1, quoted by प्राय०तत्त्व p. 519.

37. वधित्वं पञ्चविध कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽनुमन्तानुग्राहको निमित्ती चेति। प्राय०वि. p. 47, अनुग्राहकश्च य. पलायमानममित्रमुपरुन्धन् परेभ्यश्च हन्तार परिरक्ष्य हन्तुर्दृढिमानमुपजनयन्नुपकरोति स उच्यते। अत एव मनुना ग्राहकस्य हिंसाफलसम्बन्धो दर्शित। बहूनामेककार्याणां सर्वेषा शस्त्रधारिणाम्। यद्येको घातयेत्तत्र सर्वे ते घातका स्मृता॥ इति। मिता on या III. 227. The verse बहूनामेक० occurs in अग्निपु 173 3.

38. प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्तेति स्वर्गनरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिन। यो भूय आरभते तस्मिन् फलविशेष॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 11.29. 1–2.

the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results'. A *murdhā*[39] is defined by Mit as one that angers another (who is a brāhmaṇa) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the brāhmaṇa that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a brāhmaṇa boy whose upanayana had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of brāhmaṇa murder.[40] The Samavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24. 6–9), Vas. 20. 34, Manu XI. 87, Yāj. III. 251 held that killing even a kṣatriya or vaiśya who had studied the Veda or had been initiated for a *soma* sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of *brahmahatyā*, as also the killing of the foetus (of brāhmaṇa parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an śrotriyā.[41] Killing a brāhmaṇa woman other than an śrotriyā or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a *soma* sacrifice was only an upapātaka, as Manu (XI. 66) and Yāj. (III. 236) lay down. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 264 says that no prāyaścitta can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three varṇas other than that of brāhmaṇa some smṛtis like that of Cyavana[42] laid down other mahāpātakas in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional *mahāpātakas* for kṣatriyas, employing false balances and weights for vaiśyas, the selling of flesh, injuring a brāhmaṇa, sexual intercourse with a brāhmaṇa woman, the drinking of the

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39. तथा चोदि भर्त्सनस्ताडनधनादिहरणादिना परात्मोद्वेजनं मोहादि मरणहेतुकृत्वमुत्पादयद्व्यापारः हिंसाहेतुर्मर्मवेधः। अत्र एव विष्णुनोक्तम्। आक्रुष्टस्ताडितो वापि धर्षणं विप्रयोजितः। यस्मिन्द्विषन्त्यजेत् प्राणान्मारयुर्ब्रह्मघातकम्। तथा। क्षतिमिच्छन्परार्थे मुह्यन्नेवाधमेन च। यस्मिन्द्विषन्त्यजेत् प्राणांस्तन्मारयुर्ब्रह्मघातकम्। इति। The मान चि. p. 5 ascribes the first verse to यज्ञविज्ञान and the 2nd to हारीत and cites two more verses of similar import from Bṛhaspati. The स्मृतिमु (आह्नि.) p. 562 ascribes both verses to विष्णु and quotes सप्त आर्षेयाः from कूर्मपु. The verse आक्रुष्टः is almost the same as अत्रिसं 173.

40. अत्र ब्राह्मणबधे संस्कृतसंस्कृतिद्विजबधस्य केनाप्यनुल्लेखात् अदीक्षितनिर्ब्राह्मणबधस्यैव मयोक्तत्वस्य च जातिविशेषत्वात् अदृष्टनीतब्राह्मणबधेऽपि महापातकम्। मान चि. p. 55.

41. पूर्वमेवार्जयेद्वेदांश्चरेत् इत्या सावित्र्या चाभिरूपः। ब्राह्मणमात्रे च। सर्वे च श्रुतयो विज्ञानम्। आत्रेयी च स्त्रियम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 25–6–9; राजन्यवैश्यौ सवनस्थौ इत्या ब्राह्मणव्यतिरेकेण दुष्टाहुतीष्टवतः। सामविधान्ना I. 7. 5.

42. क्षत्रियादीनामपरमपि महापातकमाह च्यवनः। अकृत्या युद्धपलायनं दुष्टस्य ब्राह्मणस्यवर्णस्य द्विजानां महापातकानि। अदण्ड्यदण्डनं तुलिपरिवर्तनं क्षत्रियस्य। मान्तुलाहरणं वैश्यस्य। मांसविक्रयणं ब्रह्महत्या ब्राह्मणीगमनं क्षत्रियाद्युत्पन्नानां शूद्रस्य। वीरमित्रो०प० पृ. III. 227.

milk of a kapilā (dark-brown) cow in the case of śūdras. If a brāhmana or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin [43] But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yāj. II. 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brāhmana administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhavisyapurāna and the Agnipurāna.[44] Gautama (II 48–50), Āp. Dh S I 2 8. 29–30, Manu VIII. 299–300 (=Matsyapurāna 227. 152–154), Visnu Dh. S 71 81–82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśuśrūṣā 13–14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp 362–363 for this topic

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brāhmana ātatāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H of Dh vol II pp. 148–151 and vol. III pp. 517–518. The conclusion of the Mitāksarā appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brāhmana comes as an ātatāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brāhmana offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

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43 क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विप्रे न पातकम् । या III 284, औषधं स्नेहमाहारं ददद्नो-ब्राह्मणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्याच्न स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 138 (The Ānan ed. reads last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम्) q by विश्वरूप on या III. 262, by the मिता on या. III 227 (with two more verses), by प्राय वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां प्राणवृत्त्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते) The same verse occurs in यम 50, लघुशङ्ख 61, लघु हारीत 28. The मिता and प्राय वि. quote another verse as संवर्त's which is 'दाहच्छेद्-शिराभेदप्रयत्नैरुपकुर्वताम्। प्राणसंत्राणसिद्ध्यर्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते' ॥ The अग्निपुराण 173 5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पापं स्यात् कृते मृते। पुत्रं शिष्यं तथा भार्यां शासतो न मृते त्वघम् ॥ '

44. पुत्रं शिष्यस्तथा भार्यां शासितश्चेद्विनश्यति। न शास्ता तत्र दोषेण लिप्यते देव-सत्तम ॥ भविष्यपु. q. by प्राय. वि. p. 58; आग्नपु. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmana's murder).[45]

Surāpāna (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahāpātaka The word surā occurs several times in the Ṛgveda (*e g.* Ṛg I. 116 7, I. 191.10, VII. 86 6, VIII. 2 12, X 107 9) Ṛg. VII. 86 6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the Ṛgvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling Ṛg. I 116 7 (satam kumbhān asiñcatam surāyāh) read with Ṛg I 117.6 (śatam madhūnām) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā* Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmana priests and was sharply distinguished from surā (e g in Tai S II 5 1 1, Vāj S. 19 7, Śat Br. V. 1 5 28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis '*soma* is truth, prosperity, light, and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāthaka Samhitā brāhmanas had come to regard the drinking of surā as very sinful [XII 12 'therefore the brāhmana does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin'][46] The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11 5 king[47] Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmanas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaiśvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by surā and when surāpāna becomes a mahāpātaka. By Manu XI. 93 suiā is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

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45 अतश्च ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसन्धिना निवार्यमाणा प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येरंस्तत्र लघुप्रायश्चित्त राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चय । मिता on II. 21.

46 तस्माद् ब्राह्मण सुरा न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्सयुज्या इति । काठक XII 12 q by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै I 3 7 p 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4 31.

47 स ह प्रात समिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपो नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुत ... । छा. उ. V. 11.5.

established by most of them are[48]: (1) that all the three higher varnas are forbidden to drink the surā prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (mahāpātaka) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varnas, (2) All intoxicants (*madya*) are forbidden to brāhmanas at all stages of life (Gaut. II. 25 'madyam nityam brāhmanah' and Āp. Dh. S. I 5. 17–21); but a brāhmana drinking surā of the gaudī or mādhvī kind would not be guilty of mahāpātaka but of anupātaka (acc to Visnu); (3) that intoxicants other than surā prepared from flour are not condemned for ksatriyas and vaiśyas; (4) the śūdra was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including surā made from flour); (5) brahmacārins of all varnas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Visnu Dh. S. (22 83–84) specifies ten kinds of madya (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, cocoanuts, sugarcane &c and Pulastya quoted by the Mit on Yāj. III. 253, by the Prāyaścittaprakarana of Bhavadeva (p 40), the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāni (p. 90), Pr. Prakāsa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of *madyas* apart from *surā* (dvādaśam to surāmadyam sarvesām adhamam smrtam). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp 964–966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks.

The Mit points out (on Yāj III. 253) that the prohibition against drinking surā applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of surā and since the Bhavisyapurāna[49] expressly forbids to a brāhmana female the drinking of *surā* The Kalpataru appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser prāyaścitta as will be shown below. Vas 21 11 and Yāj III 256 state that the wife of a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya who drinks surā (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

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48 अयमत्राथ । त्रैवर्णिकानामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति पैष्टीप्रतिषेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्रनिषेधोप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्येव । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तु न कदाचिदपि गौड्यादिमद्यप्रतिषेध । शूद्रस्य न सुराप्रतिषेधो नापि मद्यप्रतिषेध ॥ मिता. on या III. 253; पैष्टीशब्दाभिधेयब्रीह्यादिविकारो मुख्यसुराशब्दार्थः । तत्पानमेव त्रैवर्णिकस्य महापातकम् । गौडीमाध्वीसुरापाने तु ब्राह्मणस्य पैष्टीपानवदेव प्रायश्चित्तम् । क्षत्रियवैश्ययो स्तु तत्पाने न दोष इति । प्राय. प्रक p 42

49. तथा भविष्ये । तस्माच्च पेयं विप्रेण सुरामद्यं कथञ्चन । एतेनाद्युपेतविप्रस्य कुमारिकायाश्च दोषाभावो द्विजग्रहणादिति वदन् कल्पतरुः परास्त । प्रा प्रकाश folio 70 b The word द्विज occurs in मनु XI 90. ब्राह्मण्यापि न पेया वै सुरा पापभयावहा ॥ प्राय वि. p. 92.

would become in this world a bitch or a sow[50] The Mit. remarks[51] on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā even the śūdra wife of a brāhmana should not drink surā

Drinking *surā* means taking it down the throat Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā[52].

Steya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmana's gold of a certain quantity *Steya* is defined by Āp Dh S I. 10 28 1 as[53] 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)' Kātyāyana (810) defines[54] it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāsya on Yogasūtra II. 30 defines steya as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (steyam-asāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām paratah svīkaranam). Though Manu (XI. 54) and Yāj (III. 227) simply employ the word 'steya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the prāyaścitta

50 या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापी न ता देवा पतिलोकं नयन्तीहैव सा चरति क्षीणपुण्याप्सु लुप्तभवति शुक्तिका वा। वसिष्ठ 21 11. This is cited as श्रुति in प्राय वि. p 92 and these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 1–2 on पाणिनि III 2 8 'या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी भवति नैनां देवा पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol II p 99 (the वार्तिकs are सुरा-मीत्योः पिबते । बहुलं तणि।)

51. ब्राह्मणीग्रहण चात्र 'तिस्रो वर्णानुपूर्व्येण' इति न्यायेन यस्य द्विजातेर्यावत्यो भार्यास्तासामुपलक्षणम्। अत एव मनु । पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरा पिबेत्। पतितार्ध-शरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥ इति। द्विजातिभार्याया. शूद्राया अपि सुरामतिषेधप्राप्त्यर्थम्। मिता on या III 256 The verse पतत्यर्धं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ 21 15 and पराशर X 27.

52 पानं च द्रवीभूतस्याभ्यवहार. स च कण्ठदेशादधोनयनं न तु वक्त्रमात्रप्रवेश । निष्ठीवनाद्यर्थं कपोलधारणे पानशब्दाप्रयोगात्। . अत एवौष्ठमात्रे लेपे न पाननिष्पत्ति ॥ अतस्त-त्रोक्तमाङ्गल्पर्शायश्चित्तम्॥ प्राय वि p 93.

53 यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौत्सहारीतौ तथा काण्व-पुष्करसादी॥ . सर्वत्राल्पमतिपूर्वमिति हारीत ॥ आप. ध सू I. 10 28 1 and 5

54 प्रच्छन्न वा प्रकाशं वा निशायामथवा दिवा। यत्परद्रव्यहरण स्तेय तत्परिकीर्तितम्॥ कात्या० 810, q by दायभाग p 224 and प्राय. वि p 112, समक्षं वा परोक्ष वा बलाच्चौर्येण वा पुन ॥ परस्वानामुपादानं स्तेयमित्युच्यते बुधै ॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिमु० (प्रा) p 883, स्तेनो विस्रस्वामिकपोऽङ्गमापपरिमितस्य हेम्नश्छलबलचौर्याऽन्यतरेरपहर्ता ॥ प्रा प्रकाश folio 70 b

for steya Manu (XI. 99 'suvarnasteyakrt') and Yāj. III. 257 (brāhmanasvarnahārī) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmana, acc. to Yāj). Vas. 20. 41 and Cyavana (q by Pr V. p. 117) mention 'brāhmana-suvarna-harana' as a mahāpātaka and the Sāmavidhāna Br. (I. 6. 1) also employs the words 'brāhmanasvam hrtvā'. Vide Samvarta 122 and Viśvāmitra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yāj III. 252 'anākhyāya &c), the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 257), the Madana-pārijāta (pp 827–28), Prāyaścittaprakarana (p. 72), the Prāyaścittaviveka (p 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen *māsas* in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka[55]. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmana which is less than 16 māsas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 māsas) from a non-brāhmana (i. e. from a ksatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (*upapātaka*). The Mit relies on the verses of Yāj. I 362–363 for the technical meaning of suvarna (as 16 māsas) There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vārsyāyani if (Āp. Dh. S. I 10. 28.2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as *mudga, māṣa* and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart.[56]) According to Gautama 12.25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of *śrauta* or *smārta* fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII. 339 (=Matsya 227. 112–113) is almost like Gaut 12.25 and Manu VIII. 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another's field two sugarcane stalks and two mūlakas (esculent roots).

Gurvaṅganāgamah (sexual intercourse with the wife of the *guru*). Manu (XI.54) employs this word, while Yāj. III. 227 and Vas. 20.13 speak of the offender as *gurutalpaga* (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I. 20 mentions the sin as '*gurutalpam*'

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55. अत्र च सुवर्णशब्दः परिमाणविशिष्टहेमद्रव्यवचनो न जातिमात्रवचन. ॥ 'जालसूर्य .. कृष्णल. पञ्च ते मापस्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडश ॥' (या. 1 362–363) इति षोडशमाषपरिमिते हेमनि सुवर्णशब्दस्य परिभाषितत्वात् । ...अतः षोडशमाषात्मकसुवर्णपरिमितहेमहरण एव महापातकित्वं तज्जिमित्तं मरणान्तिकादिप्रायश्चित्तविधान च ॥ द्विजादिमाषात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरण-वदुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् ॥ मिता. on III. 257

56. सम्त्यपवादाः परपरिग्रहेष्विति वार्ष्यायणि. । शम्योपा युग्यघासो न स्वामिनः मतिषेधयन्ति । अतिव्यवहारो व्युप्तो भवति । आप. ध सू. I. 10. 28 2-4

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*) Guru primarily means acc to Manu II.142 and Yāj. I 34 (=Śankha III 2) the father. Acc to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Samvarta[57] 160 and Parāśara X. 13 (employing the words 'pitrdārān samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yāj III. 259. Acc to many digests such as the Mit and the Madanapārijāta p 835 *gurvanganā* means one's own mother Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakarana (p. 80) takes *gurvanganā*[58] as a *karmadhārayā* compound, following what is called the *nisādasthapati-nyāya* (Jai. VI. 1 51) After quoting Devala's dictum[59] that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word 'gurvanganā' is explained by the Pr Prakarana, the Prāyaścitta-viveka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakarana and holds that 'gurvanganā' or 'gurupatnī' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same varna as the father The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr V The Pr. M. p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyascitta-prakarana) and also with the Pr V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

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57. पितृभार्यां समारुह्य मातृवर्जं नराधम । भगिनीं मातुरात्मा च स्वसारं चान्यमातृजाम्॥ एतास्तिस्रः स्त्रियो गत्वा तप्तकृच्छ्रं समाचरेत् । संवर्त 159-160; 'गुरुशब्दश्चात्र मुख्यया वृत्त्या पितरि वर्तते । ..अत पितृपत्नीगमनमेव महापातकम् । गमन च चरमधातुविसर्गपर्यन्त कथ्यते । अतस्ततोऽर्वाक् निवृत्तौ न महापातकित्वम् । मिता on या III 259

58. तेन गुर्वी (गुरु ?) चासौ अङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवचन एवार्थ गुर्वङ्गनाशब्द । न तु गुरोरङ्गन गुर्वङ्गना इति षष्ठीसमासात सपत्नीमातृवचनोऽपि । तेन निषाद-स्थपतिं याजयेत्-इतिवत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवचन एवाय गुर्वङ्गनाशब्द· । प्राय प्रकरण p.80. शबर on जै VI. 1 51 says 'समानाधिकरणसमासस्तु बलीयान् । . तस्मात् निषाद एव स्थपति· स्यात् । (and not निषादानां स्थपति). Vide H. of Dh vol II p 46 for निषादस्थपतिन्याय.

59. तथा देवलः । आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव महीपति. । मातुलः श्वशुरश्चाता मातामहपितामहौ ॥ वर्णज्येष्ठ पितृव्यश्च गुरवेते गुरवो मताः । भ्राता प्राणरक्षक· । वर्णज्येष्ठ. क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मण । प्राय वि p 129, यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादश गुरवो दर्शिता-स्तथाप्यत्र पितैव गुरुर्गाह्यो नाचार्यादि । . मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृगमनस्य गुर्वङ्गनागमनत्वेन महापातकत्वात् अर्थादल्पपातके लघुनि हीनवर्णाया पितृपत्न्या ग्रहणम् । प्राय वि pp 134-135 ... तस्माद् मातृव्यतिरिक्तैकादशगुर्वङ्गनागमनमेव महापातकमिति युज्यते देवलवचनादिति । अत्र भवदेवेनोक्त नात्र गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गनेति षष्ठीसमास तत्पुरुष-समासाश्रयणे निषादस्थपतिवत्षष्ठ्यर्थलक्षणापत्तेः । अतो गुरुश्चासावङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयः । गुरुत्वं च मातुरेव न मातु सपत्न्या । ... तद्दसमतं मातृगमन दुहितृगमन स्नुषागमनमि-त्यतिपातकानीति विष्णुहारीताभ्या मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वाभिधानात् । यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादशगुरवो दर्शितास्तथाप्यत्र पितैव गुरुर्गाह्यो नाचार्यादिस्तत्पत्नीगमनस्य गुरुतल्पगमनस्य स्वाद्युपपत्तेरतिपातकत्वगतेश्च । प्राय. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III. 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Visnu Dh. S. 31.1-2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134-135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Visnu Dh. S. 36. 4-8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an anupātaka.

Mahāpātakasamsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21-22, Manu XI. 180 (=Śāntiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Visnu Dh. S 35.3, Agnipurāna 170. 1-2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka [60] and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *patita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that *is patita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Bṛhaspati speaks [61]

60. तैश्चाङ्गं समाचरन्॥ गौ. 21.3; संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। याजनाध्यापनाद्योनात्र तु यानासनाशनात्॥ मनु XI. 180, वसिष्ठ I 22, बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु 35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निपु. 170. 1-2.

61. एकशय्यासन पङ्क्तिर्भाण्डपक्वान्नमिश्रणम्॥ याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सहभोजनम्॥ नवधा सङ्करः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योऽधमैः सह॥ बृहस्पति q by अपरार्क p. 1086, बृह २ 587, प्राय. प्रकरण p 101, प्राय. वि p 143, the मिता० on III 261 ascribes it to वृद्धबृहस्पति The प्राय म p. 91 explains the divergence of views as to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कन्यादानं तत्कन्यापरिणयनं वेति-विज्ञानेश्वरकल्पतरुकारादयः। पातकिस्त्रीगमननित्यपरार्कशूलपाणी। योगापरित्यागात्त्विदमेव युक्तम्।' The प्रा प्रकाश folio 74a also says the same.

of nine kinds of *saṁsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *samsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. yonisambandha (marriage), *srauva* (i e that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (ekāmatrabhojana), the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet, eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*) The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c Adhyāpana in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also yājana must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as Darśapūrnamāsa, Cāturmāsya, Agnistoma Helping a mahāpātakin to perform the five daily yajñas or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the śāstras is only a minor sin. Parāśara[62] (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yāj. III 261, the Pr. Prakarana (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par M. (II. part 1. p 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *patita* one must simultaneously practise these four together, if practised separately, there is no *pātitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25–26) states that in the Krta age a man became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in Tretā by touching him, in Dvāpara by partaking of food prepared in his house and in Kali by actually committing a sinful act and that in the Krta age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *patita*), in Tretā the village, in Dvāpara the family (of the *patita* was abandoned) and in Kali only the actual perpetrator himself (is

62 आसनाच्छयनाद्यानात्सम्भाषात् सहभोजनात्। संक्रामन्ति हि पापानि तैलबिन्दु-रिवाम्भसि॥ पराशर XII 79, which is the same as a verse of कण्व q by परा. मा. II. 1 p 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a patita as speaking with him,[63] touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmanā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, surāpāna etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmanā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some smṛtis. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the Mīmāmsā that the same word conveys only[64] one sense in the same context The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātakin* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pātitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of saṁsarga in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity For example, the Smṛtyarthasāra[65] (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātakin* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The Mit. (on Yāj III. 261) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become patita is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

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63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। एकयानभोजनासनशयनैः॥ यौनस्रौवमौखसम्बन्धात् सद्य एव॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3–5 यौन (derived from योनि) refers to marital connection, स्रौव (derived from स्रुव a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), मौख (from मुख) means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So Viṣnu prescribes that *pātitya* results at once from the first kind of saṁsarga referred to above तत्र पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविषय याजनं लघु। अङ्गज्ञात्राध्ययनं लघु। दुहितृभगिनीव्यतिरिक्तो परिणयो लघु॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अश्नन्यातिरिक्तसक्त्वादिभक्षणं लघु॥ प्रा. प्रकाश folio 75a.

64 सकृच्छ्रुत. शब्दस्तमेवार्थं गमयति।, which maxim is relied upon in 6 Cal. 119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L. R. 41 I A 290, pp 303–4, 54 All 698, 722 (FB) अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्॥ शाबर on जै VI. 1 22, मद. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिव्रतस्यार्धं कुर्यात्॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser[65]. The Pr. Prakarana (p 109), Pr V. (pp 169–170) and the Pr T. (p 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *samsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti[67] (III. 1–3) states. 'If a cāndāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varnas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛcchra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛcchra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛcchra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for prāyaścitta. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par M (II part 2, p 90) remarks[68] that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *samsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

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66 अतः संसर्गिसंसर्गिणा द्विजातिकर्मण्यो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येव ॥ . तच्च पादहीनम् ॥ ..एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामत ससर्गिणोरर्धहीनं त्रिपादोन च द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ मिता on या III 261 प्रा प्रकाश (folio 110a) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संसृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयससर्गी नवाङ्गानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादोनं सप्ताङ्गानि कुर्यात् । एव चतुर्थपञ्चमादय. पूर्वपादोन व्यासवाक्यविशेषात् ।'.

67. अन्त्यजातिरविज्ञातो निवसेद्यस्य वेश्मनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विशोधनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा द्विजातीना विशोधनम् ॥ प्राजापत्यं तु शूद्राणा तथा ससर्गदूषणे ॥ यैस्तत्र भुक्तं पक्वान्नं कृच्छ्रं तेषा विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ तेषामपि च यैर्भुक्तं कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि pp 170 and 492, प्राय तत्त्व p. 547 The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बस्मृति (Anan. edition) III 1–3. The प्राय वि p 169 remarks 'व्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गिपर्यन्त प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चाण्डालादिसङ्करे व्यास ॥ ये तदन्नाशिनो विप्राः कृच्छ्र तेषा विधीयते ॥ तन्नोजिनोऽर्धकृच्छ्रेण तदन्नादाश्च पादत· ॥'.

68. आचार्यस्तु कालेयुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य ससर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नाभ्यधात् । अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरे कलौ वर्ज्यानामलङ्क्रमणे-संसर्गदोष पापेषु-इत्युक्तम् । परा. मा II part 2 p 90 For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p 132) The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows; 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्पतति कलौ तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थ । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कर्तार तु कलौ न्यसोदित्यनेन साक्षात् कर्त्रादे. ससर्गो निषिद्ध. । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु कलौ पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कर्तुरेव दोषोऽन संसर्गकर्तुरिति परस्परविरोध स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य कलौ ससर्गदोषाभावोक्तेरत्रैव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कलिनिषिद्धेषु ससर्गदोष इत्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यनेकविधससर्गाभावेपि यो देशादिमात्रससर्ग कृतयुगादौ दोषजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके यश्चोत्तरश्लोके कृतयुगादौ सम्भाषणमात्राद्दोष उक्तस्तद्विषया ।'.

there is no blemish of saṁsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛti includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a Kalivarjya). The Smṛtimuktāphala (Prāyaścitta pp. 897–98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point[69]. The Nirṇayasindhu[70] holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yāj III. 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pāṇini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasaṁyoga*' of time and space (distance) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word 'sārvakālikam' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III. 251 expressly states that one who kills a kṣatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreyī woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmaṇa murder (therefore this is *vācaṁkātideśa*). Yāj. III. 232–233 extends the sin of *guru-talpa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tādrūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) *mahāpātakas* in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atideśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

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69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्तः पराशरः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य प्रायश्चित्तमुक्त्वान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नाभ्यधात्। कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम्। तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठरवेणाह पराशरः (1 25) 'कृते संभाषणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा॥'. इति। .. स्मृतिकामधेनौ। संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकादिभिः कलौ। संसर्गदोष स्तेनाद्यैर्न महापापनिष्कृतिः। तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे। संसर्गदोषः...पापेष्विति पठितम्॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम्। संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्यापादकत्वाभावेपि पापमात्रापादकत्व-मस्तीत्याह पराशरः। स्मृतिषु (मा) pp 897–898.

70 कलौ कर्तैव लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः। निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 368, तत्रापि (याज्ञवल्क्यीये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया श्रूयते सा च कालाध्वनो-रत्यन्तसयोग इत्यत्यन्तसयोगे स्मृता। अत्यन्तसंयोगश्च यावदहोरात्रसम्बन्धः। .. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन्। भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाण. सार्वकालिकमिति देवलवाक्ये सार्व-कालिकशब्देन द्वितीयार्थ एवोक्त। मा, प्रकाश (folio 76 b).

for the mahāpātaka itself[71]. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the vācanika or tādrūpya kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the sūtras and the smṛtis Acc. to Gaut 21. 10 giving[72] false evidence, backbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI 55 (=Agnipurāna 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (i e. saying that one is a brāhmana when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmana's murder. Acc to Yāj. III 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking surā (Yāj. III 229), while acc. to Visnu Dh. S 37. 1–3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Visnu to be equal to drinking surā (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of smṛtis on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to surāpāna by one smṛti and as equal to brāhmana-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (=Agnipurāna 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to surāpāna. Vide Yāj III 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmana's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Visnu Dh S. 5 383, Agnipurāna 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc to Manu XI. 58 (=Agnipurāna 168 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāndālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र साम्यातिदेशेऽर्धं तादृप्यवाचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम्॥ प्राय म p. 8, vide प्राय प्रकरण pp. 85–87. एतेनातिदेशे पूर्णमायश्चित्तं वदन्तौ शूलपाणिभवदेवावपास्तौ। प्राय म p 9. अत्र समत्वाभिधानात् शिष्टाचारबलेन पादोन कल्प्यम्॥ ऋषिसमो ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीत्यादिषु समशब्दस्य किंचिन्न्यूने प्रयोगदर्शनात्॥ मद. पा p. 808, vide मिता. on या. III, 231 for similar words

72 कौटसाक्ष्यं राजगामि पैशुन्यं गुरोरनृतामिशंसनं महापातकसमानि॥ गौ. 21.10

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yāj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23. 12 and Manu XI. 170 are very similar. Yāj. III. 232–233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (strīpumsayoga, verses 73–75)[73] states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vrata* and a brāhmana woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yāj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yāj III. 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a brāhmana, since Manu (VIII. 380) prescribes that a brāhmana offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Visnudharma-sūtra (36.4–7) adds a few more women to the list of Yāj and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned brāhmana or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the *guru*[74] (Yāj. III. 228 or Manu XI 55 to Yāj. III 233 or Manu

73. सखीसयोनिसगोत्राशिष्यभार्यासु स्नुषायां गवि च गुरुतल्पसमः॥ गौ 23 12; माता मातृष्वसा श्वश्रूर्मातुलानी पितृष्वसा। पितृव्यसखिशिष्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्नुषा॥ दुहितार्चार्य-भार्या च सगोत्रा शरणागता॥ राज्ञी प्रव्रजिता धात्री साध्वी वर्णोत्तमा च या॥ आसामन्यतमां गत्वा गुरुतल्पग उच्यते॥ शिश्नस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य नान्यो दण्डो विधीयते॥ नारद (स्त्रीपुंसयोग 73–75), compare आप. ध. सू. I 9 25 (गुरुतल्पगामी सवृषणं शिश्नं परिवास्याञ्जलावाधाय दक्षिणां दिशमनावृत्तिं व्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10

74. एतानि गुर्वधिक्षेपाद्वेतनयागमनपर्यन्तानि महापातकातिदेशविषयाणि सद्यःपतन-हेतूत्पातकान्युच्यन्ते॥ मिता.-on या. III. 233.

XI 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vrddha-Hārīta (IX. 216–17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Visnudharmasūtra (36.8). Gautama[75] (21.1–2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *patita*s viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *patita* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

*Upapātaka*s (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smrti to smrti. Vas I 23 speaks[76] of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II 1 60–61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states[77] that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the bald man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śankha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj III 229–236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapatanīyas* The longest lists are contained in Manu XI 59-66, Yāj III 234-242, Vrddha-Hārita IX. 208-210, Visnudharmasūtra 37 and Agnipurāna (168 29–37). According to the Pr. V. (p 195)[78] the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

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75. ब्रह्मदेवसुरापगुरुतल्पगमातृपितृयोनिसम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकनिन्दितकर्मार्म्यासेपतिता-त्याज्यपतितत्यागिनः पतिता.॥ पातकसयोजकाश्च॥ गौतम 21 1-2 गौतम 20.1 mentions the persons whom one should abandon 'त्यजेत्पितरं राजघातकं शूद्रयाजकं शूद्रार्थयाजकं वेदविक्रायकं भ्रूणहन यश्चान्त्यावसायिभिः सह सवसेदन्त्यावसायिन्यां वा।'

76 चोऽन्नीनपविध्येद् गुरु च य प्रतिदध्युरान् नास्तिको नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोम च विक्री-णीयादित्युपपातकानि॥ वसिष्ठ I 23.

77. अपंक्त्याना प्राग्दुर्बालाद्रोहेऽन्तर्ब्रह्मञ्जतन्मन्त्रकुदवकीर्णिपतितसावित्रीकोपपातकम्। गौ. 21.11. The word दुर्बाल occurs in गौ 15 18.

78. एवं च गोवधादिनास्तिक्यान्तानि ऊनपञ्चाशदुपपातकानि। प्राय. वि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yāj. are set out below[79] (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'śūdrapreṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vrātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmana's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrauta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); parivedana (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *guru-talpagamana* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e taking more interest than is allowed by the smṛtis); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an ātreyī); killing a śūdra; killing a ksatriya or vaiśya (who is not initiated for a *śrauta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmana murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft [80] of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as śūdras or *vrātyas* &c); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गोवधो व्रात्यता स्तेयमृणानां चानपाक्रिया। अनाहिताग्निता पण्यविक्रयः पारिवेदनम्। भृतादध्ययनादानं भृतकाध्यापनं तथा॥ पारदार्यं पारिविद्यं वार्धुष्यं लवणक्रिया॥ स्त्रीशूद्रविक्षत्रवधो निन्दितार्थोपजीवनम्॥ नास्तिक्यं व्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः॥ धान्यकुप्यपशुस्तेयमयाज्यानां च याजनम्॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तदागारामविक्रयः॥ कन्यासन्दूषणं चैव परिविन्दकयाजनम्॥ कन्याप्रदानं तस्यैव कौटिल्यं व्रतलोपनम्॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मद्यस्त्रीनिषेवणम्॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निसुतत्यागो बान्धवत्याग एव च॥ इन्धनार्थं द्रुमच्छेदः स्त्रीहिंसौषधिजीवनम्। हिंस्रयन्त्रविधानं च व्यसनान्यात्मविक्रयः॥ क्षुद्रप्रेष्यं हीनसख्यं हीनयोनिनिषेवणम्। तथैवानाश्रमे वास. पराक्षपरिपुष्टता॥ असच्छास्त्राधिगमनमाकरेष्वधिकारिता॥ भार्याया विक्रयश्चैपानैकाशुपपातकम्॥ या III. 234–242.

80 'Steya' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka The mention of the theft of corn &c here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to पितृमातृसुतत्याग and बान्धवत्याग separately mentioned below.

mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public), ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother, giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to surāpāna), giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken[81], cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c, which attitude is condemned by Rg X 117 6 and Manu III 118), sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine, giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrauta* or *smārta* fire, abandoning one's son[82], not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means), cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food[83]), maintaining one's self on one's wife (i e on her immoral earnings or by means of her strīdhana) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms), setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45–48); selling one's self (as a slave for money), being the servant of a śūdra, friendship with low persons, intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four āśramas[84], fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others, studying the works of false sāstras (such as those of atheists like Cārvāka); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife

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81. *Vratalopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an upapātaka Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the मिताक्षरा.

82 In या III 237 we have पितृमातृसुतत्याग. and then in 239 again स्वाध्यायाग्निसुतत्याग· Therefore अपरार्क p 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्याग स्वाध्यायाग्नित्यागसाहचर्यात्। पितृमातृसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मादिसंस्काराकरण सुतस्य त्याग।'

83 पाकादिप्रयोजनाग्निसमिन्धनार्थमशुष्कवृक्षभञ्जन द्रुमच्छेदः। अपरार्क p 1051

84 अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेच्च क्षणमेकमपि द्विज.। आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रायश्चित्तीयते हि स॰॥ दक्ष I 10, one must belong to one of the four आश्रम, ब्रह्मचर्य, गार्हस्थ्य, वानप्रस्थ and संन्यास and act as would befit that āśrama.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive Vas I 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasvinah* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj III. 229–236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj occur in Manu (XI 59–66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj The Mit on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *patita* (as provided by Gaut 21. 1) Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātaka as one 'that may become a pātaka by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*[85]).

Manu XI. 67 (=Agnipurāna 168[86]. 37–38) and Visnu Dh. S. 38 1–6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhramśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz giving pain to a brāhmana (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc to Visnu) According to Manu XI 68 (=Agnipurāna 168 38–39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *sankarīkarana* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Visnu 29. 1 says that sankarikarana is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI. 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving śūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts *(apatrīkarana)*. The Visnu. Dh. S. 40. 1 adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāvaha* (which make a man impure). Visnu Dh. S. 41. 1–4 are similar. Visnu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

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85. उपपातकसंज्ञाप्येवमर्थेव। उपचयेन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव स्यादिति। अत्रैव गौतमेन पातकमध्ये निन्दितकर्माभ्यासो दर्शितः। विश्वरूप on या. III 229–236. The reference is to गौतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads भेदयं for जैह्मं in मनु XI.67 and अग्नि० 168,39 reads नकुल for महिष.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (prakīrnaka) Vrddha-Hārīta (IX. 210-215) specifies several lapses as prakīrnaka viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food), killing insects, big and small, eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva* [87] (i e its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on ekādasī or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c or that is stale) or *kriyā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *patita*, *cāndāla* or a dog &c); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood, over-eating, falsehood, restlessness about pleasures, sleep by day, spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours, eating at another's house, sexual intercourse by day, seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery, looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a śrāddha day, on a *parvan* day; service of a śūdra; friendship with the low, touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women, talking at random (or love prattle), looking at women that have untied their hair It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a sūdra, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj under upapātakas

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Rgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuna, the Ādityas and Agni to free them from *āgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharmas* or the *vratas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray 'whatever ordinance (*vrata*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Rg I. 25 2), 'O Varuna! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For भावदुष्ट, कालदुष्ट and क्रियादुष्ट food mentioned in बृहद्हारीत IX 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*),' strike us down' (Rg. VII. 89,5)[88]. In Rg X. 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (dharman) of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II. 29.6. In Rg. IX. 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him[89]. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I. 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg I. 189 2,IV. 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg VIII. 45 40).

In the Rgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII. 86. 4-5, VII. 88. 6-7, VII. 89. 1-4 (where 'mṛḷā suksatra mrlaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e g. I. 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed[90] from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai S. V. 3. 12 1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmana murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varunapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that[91] sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

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88 यत्किंचेद दैव्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याश्चरामसि ॥ अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः ॥ ऋ. VII 89,5

89. विद्वान्स्त विश्वा भुवनाभिपश्यत्यावृताम् विध्यति कर्ते अव्रतान् । ऋ. IX. 73.8.

90 सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरत्कापि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्या योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । तै सं. V. 3 12.1-2.

91 यज्जारं सन्तं न प्रब्रूयात्स्त्रियं ज्ञाति वन्ध्यात् । असौ मे जार इति निर्दिशेत् । निर्दिष्टैवैनं वरुणपाशेन ग्राहयति । तै ब्रा. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana śr. V,5. 6-10 'संमार्जनाय प्रेषितऽसंसृष्टे प्रतिमस्थाता पत्नीमानेष्यन्नाह केन चरसीति । संस्तुताना चष्टे । तृणानि वोदूहतीति यथासंस्तुतम् । अनाख्यातमहितं ज्ञातिभ्य इति श्रुतेः । आख्याते प्रवासिन इत्येना वाचयति नयन् । ', 'प्रवासिनो हवामहे' is वाज. सं III. 44

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vāj. S III 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e g. see Keith's Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads pp. 260–268) [92] But this is an over-statement When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanma* must be well remembered The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds The theory of karma and

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11 2–4 and Matthew 6. 9–13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11 9) This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11 9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upanisads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19. 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut.[93]; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2 2.27, Br. Up IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III. 14, and V. 3–10, Kaṭha 5. 6–7 and other Upanisad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Br. Up. IV. 4. 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III. 14. 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Katha Up. 5. 7).[94]

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years, (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed[95].'

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93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते। गौ ध सू 19 5 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV 1 13, न तु भोगादृते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम्। परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निबोध मे॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14 17, तस्माल्कृतस्य पापस्य प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्॥ नाभुक्तस्या-न्यथा नाशः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि॥ भविष्यपुराण I 19.27

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन। अथो खल्वाहुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्क्रतुर्भवति यत्क्रतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म तदभिसंपद्यते॥ बृह उ. IV, 4 5, अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेत. मेत्य भवति॥ छा III 14 1, योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः। स्थाणुमन्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम्॥ क उप. 5 7.

95 नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम्॥ स्मृति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on प्राय वि p. 17 and by सायण in his भाष्य on तै. आ 8 2 In परा. मा II part 1 p 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमनुभोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2–7 and Visnu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smrtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11[96] (=Vasistha 22.8) states: 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act)' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prānāyāmas* (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes. 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatrī or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śātātapa I. 4, Samvarta 203, Hārita (q. in Pr. T. p 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp 30, 31), Bhavisyapurāna (q. by Pr. V. p. 31)

Before proceeding with the subject of prāyaścittas we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin And first comes confession With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varunapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 5. 2)[97] says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

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96. तस्य निष्क्रयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम्। गौ 19.11=वसिष्ठ 22 8= बौ ध. सू III. 10 9 The word निष्क्रय occurs in Jai VI. 4 33 (niskraya-vādācca) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वाभ्य एव देवताभ्य आत्मानं निष्क्रीणीते' quoted by Śabara on जै. VI. 4.32.

97 पत्नी वाचयति मेध्यामेवैनां करोति। अथो तप एवैनामुपनयति। यज्जार ...आहयति। यथास्थान एवामहे इति पत्नीमुदानयति। तै ब्रा I 6,5, vide note 91 above for the passage यज्जार...आहयति.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Āp. Dh S. I. 9. 24. 15, I. 10. 28. 19, I. 10. 29. 1 it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhiśasta* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmana has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut, 23.18, Manu XI 122) [98]

Repentance (*anutāpa*)—Manu[99] XI. 229–230 (=Visnudharmottara II. 73 231–32) provide: "The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking 'I shall not do so again".[100] The Visnupurāna II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Krsna. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Angiras 'A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by prānāyāma'. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98 Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and mediæval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness'.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4. 17 and Mark I 15 and his last words (in Luke 24 47) that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations'. शोचेत मनसा नित्यं दुष्कृतान्यनुचिन्तयन् । तपस्वी चाप्रमत्तश्च पापेभ्य. स प्रमुच्यते ॥ इति कल्पतरूद्धृतवाक्येन तपस्त्रिपदोपादानात् ।...पुनरकरिण: । विकर्मणा तप्यमान पापाद्धि परिमुच्यते । इति । अत्रानुतापमात्रस्य पापनाशकत्वानुपपत्ते. पापनाशकप्रायश्चित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाशप्रयोजकत्वमुक्तम् । विष्णुरपि । मन संतापनात्तीव्रमुद्वहेच्छोकमन्तत. । ...अत्र सर्वत्राद्धतापस्य विहितत्वेन नखानि निकृन्तति इत्यादिवद् दीक्षितत्ववैराग्यवत्त्वाधिकारिविशेषणत्वमेव । प्रा. प्रकाश folio 11, यम । पश्चात्तापो निवृत्तिश्च स्नानं चाद्धृतयोदितम् । नैमित्तिकानां स्वातन्त्र्ये तद्विधि. स्यादनर्थक ॥ महाक्लेशसाध्यं हि प्रायश्चित्तम् । अल्पक्लेशा हि पश्चात्तापादय । तै. प्रायश्चित्तफले कृते प्रायश्चित्तविधिरफल इति स्पष्टम् । अपरार्क p 1231.

repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dīkṣita* Yama quoted by Aparārka (p 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of prāyaścittas and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath) Vide H of Dh. vol II p 317 for a description of this Manu XI. 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh S IV 1 31, Vas. 26 4, Atri II. 5, Sankhasmṛti XII 18–19) lays down 'sixteen prāṇāyāmas attended by the Vyāhṛtis and the Pranava (omkāra), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a bhrūna (a learned brāhmana)'. Visnu Dh S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas 26 1–3 provide that on the proper performance of three prāṇāyāmas all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed Yāj. III 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of upapātakas and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred prāṇāyāmas should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud Dh. S (IV 1 5–11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of prāṇāyāmas to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a śūdra to brāhmana murder This whole passage is quoted by the Mit on Yāj III.305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with The Agnipurāna 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III 305 (first half)

Tapas (austerity) Even Rg X 154 2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chān. Up V 10 1–2, Mundaka Up I 2 10–11 place *tapas* over *yajña* Gaut 19 15 says that celibacy,[101] truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities Baud Dh S III 10 13 adds to these '*ahimsā*' (non-injury to any being), *asteya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-suśrūsā* (attendance upon a teacher) Gaut. 19 17 states that

101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सत्यवचन सर्वेषूदकोपस्पर्शनमार्द्रवस्त्रताध.शायिताऽनाशक इति तपांसि । गौ. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239–241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas* This doctrine is shared by the Jainas as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S B. E. vol 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II 7–8) describes[102] the kūsmānda homa and dīksā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmānda *mantras* (mentioned in Tai Ā. II. 3–6, viz 'yaddevā deva-hedanam' (Vāj. S 20 14–16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1) The Mahārnava-karmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmānda homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows.— After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ājyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Anuvākas* beginning with 'yad devā devahedanam,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānārāya pratipā-dayāmi' He then offers *samidh* with the mantra 'yadadiva-yam' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dīksita viz not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmana), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on āmiksā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmānda-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7 1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmānda mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmana

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102 अथ कूष्माण्डैर्जुहुयाद्योऽपूत इव मन्येत यथा स्तेनो यथा भ्रूणहैवमेव भवति योऽयोनौ रेतः सिञ्चति । यद्वर्षीयानमेनो भ्रूणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । ते आ II 8, which is re-peated in बौ ध सू. III. 7 1, that is q. by the मिता. on या. III 303. 'यत्र कर्मणि यद्देवा देवहेडनमित्याद्यो मन्त्रास्तैत्तिरीयारण्यके समाम्नाताः स कूष्माण्डहोमः । परिस्रुश्च अग्ने नय सुपथेति च तथा अग्ने मत्वे प्रथमस्य प्रचेतस इत्याद्या ऋचस्तैत्तिरीयशाखायां समाम्नाता स गणहोम' । महार्णवकर्मविपाक folio 7 b For अग्ने नय vide Rg I 189 1, Tai S I. 1, 14 3, Tai. Ā I. 8 8.

and that (by performing homa with kūsmāndas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmana Yāj III. 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a *homa* with sesame with the sacred Gāyatrī *mantra*. The Mit following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI. 34 and Vas 26 16 say that a brāhmana becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (japa) and sacrifices (homa). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II. 5 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the *Dakṣināgni* with the mantra (Vaj S. III 45) 'whatever[103] sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, svāhā.' Both Manu (VIII. 105) and Yāj (II, 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī There are other homas also prescribed such as the Ganahoma, in which such verses as 'agne naya supathā' from the Taittirīya sākhā are recited (Mahārnava).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performd by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers) *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāmśu* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc to Laghu Hārīta IV. p 186,

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103 यद् ग्रामे यदरण्ये यत्सभायां यदिन्द्रिये। यदेनश्चकृमा वयमिदं तदवयजामहे स्वाहा॥ वाज सं III. 45, vide also तै. सं. I. 8 3 for a similar passage.

(Jivananda I.).[104] Śabara (on Jai. XII. 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or mantras[105]. Inaudible *japa* is praised[106] in Śānkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I. 1 20 provides that *japa*, anumantrana, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāṁśu*. The Āp. Śr (24 1. 8–10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered upāṁśu and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that upāṁśu recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i e. 'Karanavad-aśabdam-amanah-prayogam-upāṁśu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III. 10 10 = Vas 22 9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upanisads, Vedānta texts, the Samhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapāṭha* or *kramapāṭha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190 1–3), the Atharvaśiras, (the anuvākas called) Rudras, the Purusa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhineya, the Brhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Purusagati sāman, the Mahānāmni verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīrtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyestha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (sāman), the Kūsmāndas, the Pāvamānis (Rg. IX) and the Sāvitrī (Rg. III. 62 10).[107] The

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104. अत्र जपयज्ञं प्रकृत्य नरसिंहपुराणम्। त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्यात्तस्य भेदं निबोधत। वाचिकाख्य उपांशुश्च मानसस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः। त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयान् स्यादुत्तरोत्तरम्। इति। अत्र हारीत। उच्चस्त्वेकगुणः प्रोक्तो ध्यानाद्दशगुणः स्मृतः। उपांशुः स्याच्छतगुणः सहस्रो मानसः स्मृतः। स्मृतिश्च I p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो · उत्तरोत्तरम् occur in नृसिंहपुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारीत IV. p. 186 (Jiv I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपांशुजप as follows. 'मन्त्रमुच्चारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः। शनैरुच्चारयन्मन्त्रं किंचिदोष्ठौ प्रचालयेत्। किंचिच्छ्रवणयोग्य स्यात्स उपांशुजप स्मृत॥'

105 वचनं जपनमिति समानार्थं, यस्मात् जप व्यक्तायां वाचीति स्मर्यते। तेन यत्र वचनमात्रं मन्त्रस्य क्रियते न स्तूयते नाशास्यते स जप। शाबर on जै. XII. 4.1.

106. अथातं आज्यमाज्येन वै देवा. सर्वान्कामानाजयन्त सर्वमयृतत्वं ..तद्वा इदं षड्विधमाज्यं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं शंस. पुरोरुक्सूक्तमुक्थवीर्यं याज्येति। ... अथ यत्पुरस्तात् तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोको यज्ञस्तद्यत्पुरस्तात्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्त्ययनमेव तत्कुरुते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्ट्यै। शांखायनब्रा. 14.1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradatta as 'मधुशब्दयुक्तानि यजूंषि ब्रह्मणेतु मामित्यादीनि' These occur in तै. आ X 38. It is better to hold as done by the मद. पा p 761, by Maskarin in his bhāsya on Gaut and by Pr Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधूनि refers to the three verses beginning with the words 'Madhu vātā' that are Rg. I. 90. 6–8 and occur in Tai. S. IV 2.9 and

(*Continued on the next page*)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upanisads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realize the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by prāyaścitta

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(*Continued from the last page*)

Vāj s XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled मधुमती by आश्व गृ, पार गृ I 3, मानवगृ I. 9 14. Atharvaśāras is an उपनिषद् which begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोकमायंस्ते रुद्रमपृच्छन् को भवानिति Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upanisads (printed in 1925) for the अथर्वशिरस्. The अघमर्षण is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like Aśvamedha in Manu XI 259-60, Visnu Dh S 55.7, Vas 26 8, Baud. Dh S. IV 2 20. Rudras are the eleven *anuvākas* of Tai S IV 5. 1-11 beginning with नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यवे Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmans* Rājata and Rauhina are sung on the Rk verse 'Indram naro nemadhitā havante' (Rg. VII 27 1, Sāmaveda, Pūrvārcika 318). The बृहत्साम is sung on the verse त्वामिद्धि हवामहे (ऋ VI 46 1, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika No. 234), the Rathantara on the verse अभि त्वा शूर (ऋ VII 32 22, Sāmaveda Pūrvārcika 233) In the भगवद्गीता X 35 Śrīkrsna puts the Brhatsāma as the foremost among Sāmans (बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां) Purusagati Sāman is sung on the verse 'Ahamasmi prathamajā rtasya,' (Sāmaveda, Aranyakānda VI 1 594) महानाम्नी verses are those beginning with विदा मघवन् विदा which occur in the ऐ आ IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद (ed by Dr Raghuvira) and in other संहिताs The महावैराज (सामन्) is sung on the verse पिबा सोममिन्द्र मन्दतु त्वा (ऋ. VII 22 1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 398, उत्तरार्चिक 927), the महादेवाकीर्त्य is sung on विभ्राड्बृहत्पिबतु सोम्य (ऋ. X 170 1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तरार्चिक 1453). about the ज्येष्ठसामानि हरदत्त mentions two interpretations (of the तलवकार शाखा and छन्दोग), one holding that they are sung on उद्वु त्य (Rg I 50 1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 31) and चित्रं देवानां (Rg I 115 1), the other that they are three Sāmans sung on मूर्धानं दिवो (Rg VI 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वार्चिक 67, उत्तरार्चिक 1140) Maskarin holds that ज्येष्ठसामानि are those sung on the verses शं नो देवी- (Rg X. 9 4) and चित्रं देवानां (Rg I 115 1) The बहिष्पवमान is sung on तत्पात्रमे गायता नर. (Rg IX 11 1, सामवेद उत्तरार्चिक 651, 765) Vide H of Dh vol II pp 1169-1170 for further details of the बहिष्पवमान For the कूष्माण्डमन्त्र, vide तै आ II. 3-5 पावमान्य are the verses about *soma* in the 9th Mandala of the Rgveda Sāvitrī is the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III 62 10)

Manu II 85–87 (which are the same as Vás. 26 9–11 and Visnu Dh S 55. 10–21) lay[108] down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darśapūrnamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior The four pākayajñas [109] (Vaiśvadeva, *bali*, daily *śrāddha*, and honouring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmana attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa;* he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices), a brāhmana befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatrī *mantra* (Rg III. 62 10) for which pp. 303–305 of H of Dh. vol. II may be consulted Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.[110]

Manu[110a] XI. 261–262, Vas 27 1–3, Angiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmana who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever But these are simply laudatory (*arthavādas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27, 4 [111] (=Angiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some smrti passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many smrtis such as Manu XI 249–257 (which are almost the same as Visnudharmottara II. 74. 4–13), Vas 26. 5–7 and 28 10–15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI 249–251), Visnu

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108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkhasmrti also (XII. 28).

109. The five pākayajñas are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except brahmayajña (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'जपस्तु शतसंख्याक, अनादेशे शतमिति सूत्रादिति शूलपाणि. । प्रा प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27 3 are identical.

111. न वेदबलमाश्रित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दह्यते कर्म नेतरत् ॥ वसिष्ठ 27.4, अङ्गिरस् 102

Dh. S 56 3–27, Atri VI. 1–5 (which are almost the same as Vas[112] 28 10–15), Śankha, chap. 11 (=Vas 28 10–15), Samvarta 227–228, Baud Dh. S IV 2 4–5, IV. 3 8, IV 4. 2–5, Yāj III. 302–305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI 249–257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa[113], the three verses beginning with '*prati*' (Rg VII. 80 1–3) seen by Vasistha, the Māhitra hymn (Rg X 185), the verses called Śuddhavatīs (Rg VIII 95 7–9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmana) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i e. Rg I. 164 1–52), and the Śivasankalpa (Vāj S XXXIV. 1–6). The violater of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'havispāntam' (Rg. X 88 1–19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-amho' (i e. Rg X 126 1–8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i e. Rg X 119) and the hymn addressed to *Purusa* (Rg X 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i e 'ava te helo varuna namobhih' Rg I. 24. 14, Tai S I. 5 11 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Rg VII 89 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Rg X 119 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Rg IX 58 1–4)[114] becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Rg VI. 74 1–4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamanam' (Rg. IV 2 4–6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Rg I. 106 1–7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śākalahomas (Vāj S VIII 13) or by muttering the

112 Vas 28 10–15 are quoted in स्मृतिच I p 187 Atri VI. 1–5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr R p 245.

113 The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I. 97 1–8, all of which have as their refrain अप न. शोशुचदघम्, 'may he burn away our sin'

114 तरत्स मन्दी धावति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg IX 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds).' Vide Nir. XIII 6.

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI. 51. 8) One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamānī hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms [114a]

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies

The Sāma Br I. 5 2 says [115] generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as prāyaścitta. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold[116], to eat clarified butter, and to drink *soma* and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (*ṛṣis*), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj III. 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatrī and other Vedic mantras, still the sūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namaḥ* (i e he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1–7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वस्मान्नो अंहसो निष्पिपर्तन ('May you take us beyond all sin').

115. अनादेशे मन्त्रा बलवन्तस्तपोन्विताः पावना भवन्ति। आपन्न. प्रायश्चित्तं चरेत्। अभ्यास' सान्नां शतं दशावरम्। सामविधानब्रा I. 5 2–4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरदत्त as 'सर्पिरादौ हिरण्यं निवृत्य प्राशनं हिरण्यप्राशनम्'.

as stated by Gaut Dh S. X 66-67 and Yāj. I. 121[117]. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit on Yāj III. 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varnas Similarly, when Gaut IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *saṃskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp Dh S (I 4 13 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage The Yogasūtra (I. 27) avers that *om* (called pranava) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of om and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.[118]

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purānas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyana (or Hari or Krsna) removed all sins The Brahmapurāna (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Visnu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p 31 quotes a verse from the Bhavisyapurāna[118a] and three verses from the Visnupurāna as follows.—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Visnu) and not only by prāyaścittas' (Bhavisya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyana and others) and other actions (japa, homa, gifts) the meditation on

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117 अज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्र । पाकयज्ञै स्वयं यजेतेत्येके। गौ X 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य शूद्रस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्तं मनसा ध्यात्वा नमो नम इत्येवरूपो मन्त्रोऽनुज्ञातो धर्मज्ञै ; नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चयज्ञान् हापयेत्॥ या I 121 Vide H of Dh. vol II p 158 note 371 for further details मनु X 41 says that all pratilomas are like śūdras

118. ओङ्कार स्वर्गद्वार तस्माद् ब्रह्माध्येष्यमाण एतदादि प्रतिपद्येत । आप. ध. सू. I 4 13.6, 'तस्य वाचक प्रणव । तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् । योगसूत्र I. 27-28, वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जप प्रणवाभिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावनम्। तदस्य योगिन प्रणवं जपत. प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्र्य सम्पद्यते।.

118a भविष्यपुराणम् । अपुन करणाच्यागात्तरुयापनाद्दुश्चिन्तनात् । व्यपैति महदप्येन: प्रायश्चित्तैर्न केवलम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् । प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तप कर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णानुस्मरण परम्॥ प्रातर्नक्ति तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवाप्नोति सद्य पापक्षय नर ॥ प्राय वि p 31 The verse प्रायश्चि. .परम् is विष्णुपुराण II 6.39. The verse प्रातर्नक्ति is q by अपरार्क p 1232 and by प्राय तत्त्व also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22 37 and 39.

Krsna is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyana in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Visnupurāna). The Brahma-purāna[119] (216. 87–88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Visnu after death" The Visnupurāna affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. '*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nrsimha-purāna in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyanāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyanāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namah Śivāya' is dealt with in Lingapurāna (pūrvārdha, chap. 85) and Saura-purāna 65. Brahma-purāna speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nityācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides[120] that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma' "[121]. Visnu Dh S. 92.4 is to the same effect. Samvarta[122] (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

119. कृत्वापि बहुश पाप नरा मोहसमन्विता' ॥ न यान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहर हरिम् ॥ शाठ्येनापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम् । तेपि यान्ति तद्धं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ ब्रह्मपु 216.87–88: अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तका । विष्णुपुराण I. 6 39.

120. हिरण्यं गौर्वासोऽश्वो भूमिस्तिला घृतमन्नमिति देयानि । एतान्येवानादेशे विकल्पेन कियेरन् । गौ 19 16 and 18

121. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । यात्किंचित्कुरुते पाप पुरुषो वृत्तिकर्शितः । अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण भूमिदानेन शुध्यति ॥ वसिष्ठ 29 16. For the meaning of गोचर्म, vide H. of Dh vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं गोदान भूमिदानं तथैव च । नाशयन्त्याशु पापानि अन्यजन्मकृतान्यपि ॥ संवर्त 204 q by प्राय. तत्त्व p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजान्यपि at the end). हिंसायां दानमेव मुख्यमित्युक्त भविष्ये । हिंसात्मकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभि । प्राय-श्चित्तकदम्बानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (fol.o 86a).

quickly destroy sins even if committed in former lives Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 139) remarks that the verse implies that as to sins arising from injury to living beings gifts are the principal expiations. The subject of *dāna* has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh vol II pp. 837–888 A few further remarks may be made here In many inscriptions and copperplate grants of lands or villages the donor usually states that the grant is made for the increase of the merit of himself and of his parents (e g. E. I vol. XI. p. 219 at p 221). Brhaspati[123] as quoted in the Madanaratna (vyavahāra p 66) expressly provides that in land-grants the king should state that he made the gift for securing merit to his parents and to himself[124]. The Rājatarangini (I. 143)[125] refers to the founding of *vihāras* (monasteries).

Upavāsa (fasting). Fasting strictly means total abstinence from food and drink, but generally it means light diet restricted in quantity and also as regards the nature of the articles taken. Even the Tai S. (I. 6. 7 3–4) refers[126] to three ways of observing *vrata* on the days of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa-iṣṭi* either by subsisting only on food available in the village or on forest food or partaking of no food at all. Gaut 19 11 includes upavāsa among the several means of removing sins Tapas is also one of such means acc. to him. But in Gaut. 19 15 as stated above, Gaut includes fasting (*anāśaka*) among 'tapāmsi'.

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123. दत्त्वा भूम्यादिकं राजा ताम्रपट्टे ऽथवा। शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्यं स्थानवंश्यादिसंयुतम्। मात्रापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यायानुकमूनवे। दत्त मयानुकायाथ दान सब्रह्मचारिणे॥ बृह. in मदनरत्न p. 66 on व्यवहार

124. In Europe the same practice prevailed in the middle ages. 'The founder (of monasteries) constantly tells us that this sacrifice is made for the atonement of his own sins and those of his progenitors and kinsfolk" C. G. Coulton in 'Five centuries of Religion' (1936) vol III p. 27. Redemption of sin by monetary payments or by leaving property to the churches and monasteries was a very firm belief in the Middle Ages in Christian countries, so much so that men who had earned properties made large gifts to the church when the prospect of death was near and vast estates accumulated in the hands of churchmen, which led to the passing of the Statute of Mortmain in England.

125 तस्मिन् कृते न जायेत विहारच्छेदवैशसम्। तस्य तत्प्रेरकाणां च प्रायश्चित्त कृत भवेत्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I. 143.

126 यद्ग्राम्यान्नमुपवसति तेन ग्राम्यानवरुन्धे यदारण्यस्याश्नाति तेनारण्यान् यदुभयान्नाश्नात्युपवसेत् पितृदेवत्य स्यात्। तै. स. I, 6. 7. 3.

Haradatta explains *upavāsa*[127] as giving up the eating of boiled rice (bhaktatyāga) and adds that upavāsa is again included under *tapāṁsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāna passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Grhya sūtras upavāsa means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I. 5 26, Khādira gr II 1.4 and 6, Kauśika-sūtra I. 31–32, Kāthakagrhya 46.2[128]). The Br. Up IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāśaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul[129]. Jaimini (III. 8. 9–11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*[130]. Manu XI 203 (=Visnu Dh. S. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrnamāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla*[s] by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse[131]; but the Garudapurāna I. 128. 6 and Bhavisya-purāna (I. 184 27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Daksa quoted by the Par M states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

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127. उपवासो भक्तत्याग । स एव तप स्वपि पुन पठ्यते आदरख्यापनार्थम् । अपर आह । निष्क्रयणेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रह । व्यावृत्तस्यैव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणै सह । उपवासं तमाहुस्तु न शरीरस्य शोषणात्॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ 19. 11. The स्मृतिच॰ II p 355 attributes the verse to व्यास and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो ..सर्वभोगविवर्जित . मा. प्रकाश. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्निपुराण.

128 काठकगृह्य 46 2 is औपवस्त्रं भुक्त्वा and the com of देवपाल says उपवस्तु-रशनमौपवस्त्रं तत्पुनर्ग्रहणार्थं हविष्यान्न शाकमाषलवणमांसवर्जम्। व्रीहियवपयोघृतप्रभृतिभिर्भुक्त्वा ।

129. स वा एष महानज आत्मा...तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up passage.

130 तपश्च फलसिद्धित्वाल्लोकवत्। जै. III. 8. 9. शबर 'तप: श्रूयते ह्यहं नाश्नामि ह्यह नाश्नाति इति। तत्र सन्देह किमार्त्विजं तप याजमानमिति। याजमानं तप इति।'

131 असकृज्जलपानाच्च ताम्बूलस्य च भक्षणात् । उपवास प्रदुष्येत्तु दिवा स्वापाच्च मैथुनात्॥ देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 199, स्मृतिच॰ II. p. 355. The गरुडपुराण (I. 128. 7–8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Visuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins[132]. Manu XI. 166 (=Agnipurāna 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106 1) remarks[133] that men of all varnas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence The Bhavisya-purāna (I., chap 16, 12–14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18–22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight In the Śatapatha Brāhmana and the śrauta and grhya sūtras the word upavasatha is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide H of Dh. vol II. p 1010 and n 2276 for the Śat Br. The Khādira gr II. 1 4, Gobhila gr I. 6 2, Kauśika-sūtra I. 31 employ the word upavasatha Āp Dh S. II 1 1 4–5 prescribe an upavāsa for husband and wife on *parvan* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for upavāsa Aparārka p. 199, Smr C (śrāddha p 355) and Krtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word upavāsa[133a]. The Āp Dh S. II. 5 9–13, Baud. Dh II. 7 32, Vas 6 21 and Śān gr. II 16 5 have the same verse viz. 'an āhitāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating, they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to prāyaścittas (Baud. Dh Ś II. 7 34) and to fasts on Ekādaśī. The Śāntiparva 323 17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Sānti 79 18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but ahimsā, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

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132. अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा। अहोरात्रोषितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ वृक्ष q. by परा मा I 1 p 438.

133. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां म्लेच्छानां च पितामह। उपवासे मतिरियं कारणं च न विग्रहे॥ अनुशासन 166 1.

133a 'उपावृत्तस्य पापेभ्यो यस्तु वासो गुणैः सह। उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः अपरार्क p. 199. गुणैः means 'क्षमादिभिः' and वास. means 'जिघमेनावस्थानम्.'

Tirthayātrā:—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Visnu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a brāhmana that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. Parāśara (XII. 58 ff) prescribes[134] pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Lankā for a murderer of a brāhmana who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, brāhmaṇas that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The Matsyapurāna (184 18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches Avimukta (Benares). The Kūrmapurāna[135] (pūrvārdha 29.3) says 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the Kaliyuga for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for brāhmana murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the brāhmanas were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified In an order dated śake 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the Deshmukhas, Deshpandes and Mukadams that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one Pilaji Zende after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

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134 चातुर्विद्योपपन्ने तु विधने ब्रह्मघातके। समुद्रसेतुगमनं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्॥ पराशर XII 58 q. by अपरार्क p. 1061, प्राय. वि. p 45. The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks. 'ब्रह्महत्याव्रतमुपक्रम्य भविष्यपुराणे। विन्ध्याद्दक्षिणतो यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तितः। पराशरमतं तस्य सेतुबन्धस्य दर्शनम्॥ इति।..अत्र च विन्ध्योत्तरवर्तिन षष्ठ्यधिकशतत्रययोजनगमनेन तावत्संख्याकप्राजापत्यापनोद्यब्रह्महत्यापनोदोक्तरतीर्थाद्युत्कृष्टैकैकयोजनगमनस्यैकैकप्राजापत्यतुल्यत्वसमर्थाद्युक्तं भवति।'.

135. नान्यत्पश्यामि जन्तूना मुक्त्वा वाराणसीं पुरीम्। सर्वपापप्रशमनं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ युगे॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q by परा. मा II. 2 p. 162; अभिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च। नरः पापात्प्रमुच्येत ब्राह्मणांश्च तपस्विनः॥ सर्वाः समुद्गाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नगोत्तमा। सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रया॥ देवल q. by परा. मा II. 2 p. 201, प्रा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhīmā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.[136] The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisya-purāna about the penance for brāhmana murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tīrtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smrtyar-thasāra (pp. 149–150) quotes several verses from the Purānas stating that gods like Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva, great sages like Bhrgu, Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariscandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tīrthas and that Pāndavas, Śrī Krsna, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tīrthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

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136. Vide राजवाडे खण्ड 6 letter 113 p 225

CHAPTER III

PRĀYAŚCITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to prāyaścittas as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word 'prāyaścitta' in ancient times There are two forms of the word, prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyaścitti* appears to be the older of the two The form prāyaścitti frequently occurs in the Tai. S (as in II. 1.2,4, II. 1 4.1, III. 1.3 2-3, V 1.9.3, V. 3 12.1)[136a]. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In Tai S. V. 3.12.1 the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The Kausītaki[137] Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the threefold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the Atharvaveda XIV. 1 30, Vāj. S. 39.12 (in close proximity to niskrti), in the Ait. Br. V 27, in the Śat. Br. IV. 5. 7.1, VII. 1.4 9, XI. 5.3 8, XII. 4.1 6 and in other works also The form prāyaścitta occurs in Kausītaki Br. V. 9, VI. 12 and elsewhere. The Āśv. Śr. III 10.38 and Śānkhāyana Śr. III 19.1 respectively employ the words prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta[138]. In Pār gr I.

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136 a असावादित्यो न व्यरोचत तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तिमैच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2 4, II 1.4.1; यदि भिद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संसृजेत्सैव ततः प्रायश्चित्तिः । तै सं V. 1.9,3, एष वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एषा प्रायश्चित्तिः सर्वस्य भेषजम् । तै स V. 3.12 1

137 यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्खलितं वोल्बणं वा भवति ब्रह्मण एव तत्प्राहुस्तन्न त्रय्या विद्यया भिषज्यति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तिः । आश्व श्रौ III. 10, विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अथैलोपे प्रतिनिधि । शां श्रौ III 19 1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिर्घातार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाते विशेषे ध्यान नारायणस्य तज्जपेज्जाहोमाश्च हननार्थेति। वैखानसश्रौतसूत्र 20 1 (ed by

(*Continued on the next page*)

10 the form 'prāyaścitti' is employed. Jai. in several places employs the word prāyaścitta (as in VI 3 7, VI 4.10, VI 5.45 and 49, XII. 3 16). Śabara[139] on the last sūtra (XII. 3.16) explains that the prāyaścittas (in the Śruti texts) are of two kinds, viz some are meant to make good the defect in the procedure and materials of sacrifice which arises or befalls through some neglect or heedlessness, while others are subsidiary parts of a rite when an occasion arises i e they are undertaken to atone for not doing what is ordained or doing something which is forbidden (e g non-performance of daily Agnihotra even though the sun rises) The Śat. Br[140] XII 4 and Ait Br. 32 2–11 provide some interesting and amusing examples of the mishaps for which prāyaścittas are provided e. g when a vicious boar, ram or dog runs between the sacrifical fires, or if Agnihotra milk gets spilled while the cow is being milked or if the milk pot is turned upside down or if it were to break or if the cow were to lie down while being milked, or if the fire were to go out after the first libation is offered etc Vide also Mānava-grhya I 3, Hir. gr I. 5 1–16, Bhāradvāja gr II 32, Kauśika-sūtra 46. 14–55, Āśv Śr III 10 and Āśv gr. III. 6–7 for similar occurrences and prāyaścittas The Mahābhāsya on Pān. VI 1.157 explains[141] both prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta on the analogy of the word *Puraskara* Prāyaścittas may be said to be, in the language of the Mīmāmsā, either *kratvartha* or *puruṣārtha* The former are prescribed in the Śrautasūtras. It is the latter kind of prāyaścittas that are generally dealt with in Smrti works on prāyaścitta In this work the prāyaścittas mentioned in Śrauta

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(*Continued from the last page*)

Caland). The com. Nārāyana explains आप श्रौ III. 10 as follows विहितस्याकरणेऽन्यथाकरणे च प्रायश्चित्तिः कर्तव्या । प्रायो विनाश इति सन्धानम् । विनष्टसन्धानं प्रायश्चित्तिरित्युक्त भवति ।

139. 'प्रायश्चित्तानि द्विप्रकाराणि । कानिचिद्वैगुण्यस्य प्रमादादापतितस्य समाधानार्थानि कानिचिन्निमित्ते कर्माङ्गानि । तत्र समाधानार्थानि यथा यद्यूक्तो यज्ञ आर्तिमियात् भू स्वाहेति गार्हपत्ये जुहुयात् । शबर on जै XII. 3 16, 'यानि तु न दोषनिर्घातार्थानि तेषु समुच्चय । कानि पुनस्तानि यानि श्रुतस्याक्रियया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनानि तान्युच्यन्ते । यथा यस्याहतमग्निहोत्र सूर्योऽभ्युदियान्मैत्रं चरु निर्वपेत् सौर्यमेककपालम् । शबर on जै XII. 3 17 Compare आप श्रौ IX 1 1 श्रुतिलक्षण प्रायश्चित्त विध्यपराधे विधीयते । 'जपो होम इज्या च । दोषनिर्घातार्थानि भवन्ति ।

140 यस्याग्निहोत्र दोह्यमान स्कन्देत् कि तत्र कर्म का प्रायश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII. 4 1.6

141 प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयो । महाभाष्य on 'पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्' । पा. VI 1.157 (ed by Kielhorn, vol III p 96)

works are passed over, as they have either been mentioned in vol. II. or were of rare occurrence even in olden days.

Most digests and commentaries derive the word prāyaścitta relying on a verse (attributed to Angiras[142] by some) from *prāya* (meaning 'tapas') and *citta* (meaning resolve or firm belief), the idea being that prāyaścittas are so called because of their association with or emergence from a resolve to undergo *tapas* or because of the firm belief that it will be a means of the removal of sin. Various other derivations are suggested by some writers. The Bālambhatti[143] on Yāj. III. 206 quotes a half verse to the effect that 'prāya' means 'sin' and 'citta' means 'purification', which had been quoted by Paksadharamiśra[144], Bhaktūpādhyāya and the Todarānanda, but the Pr. M. (p. 2) says that the source or authenticity of that verse is doubtful. Hemādri refers to an unnamed bhāsyakāra's explanation viz. 'prāya' means 'destruction' and 'citta' means 'joining together' and prāyaścitta means the making good what is lost and that the word denotes a *naimittika* action on sin.

The Par. M. quotes a smrti text[145] and says that that is prāyaścitta whereby the 'citta' (the mind) of a repentant sinner is made generally (prāyaśah) free (from emotion i. e brought to a normal state) by the *parsad* (assembly of learned brāhmanas). Here 'prāyah' seems to be taken as equal to 'prāyaśaḥ' and 'citta' has its usual sense. In Sāyana's[146] comment on the

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142 प्रायो नाम तप प्रोक्तं चित्तं निश्चय उच्यते। तपोनिश्चयसंयोगात्प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम्॥ आङ्गिरस् acc to हरदत्त on गौ. 22.1., प्राय वि. p 2 (० निश्चयसंयुक्तं). मस्करि on गौ 19.20 quotes व्याघ्र as प्रायो ...चित्तं संयम उच्यते। तप संयमसंयुक्तं०, while प्राय प्रकरण p. 8 reads चित्तं नियम उच्यते.

143 तदुक्तम्। प्राय. पापं विनिर्दिष्टं चित्तं तस्य विशोधनम्। इति। चतुर्विंशतिमते ऽप्येवम्। तथा पापनिवर्तनक्षमधर्मविशेषे योगरूढोऽयं शब्द इति तत्त्वम्। बालम्भट्टी on या. III. 206.

144. यत्तु पक्षधरमिश्रभक्तूपाध्यायटोडरानन्दकृत —प्राय. पापं विजानीयाच्चित्तं तस्य विशोधनमिति च पेठुस्तन्नाकरश्चिन्त्य। प्राय. म. p. 2, भाष्यकारस्तु प्रायो विनाश. चित्तं सन्धान विनष्टस्य सन्धानमिति विभागयोगेन प्रायश्चित्तशब्द पापक्षयार्थे नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे वर्तते। हेमाद्रि (on प्राय०) p, 989.

145. प्रायश्चश्च समं चित्तं चारयित्वा प्रदीयते। पर्षदा कार्यते यत्तु प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम्॥ पापिनोऽनुतापिनश्च चित्तं व्याकुलं सत् विषमं भवति तच्च पर्षदा चेन व्रताद्युष्ठानेन प्रायशोऽवश्यं समं कार्यते तद्व्रतं प्रायश्चित्तम्। व्रतं चारयित्वा चित्तवैषम्यनिमित्तं पापं प्रदीयते खण्ड्यते विनाश्यते इत्यर्थ.। परा. मा. II part 1 p. 3.

146. अयं अयः प्राप्तिः प्रकर्षेणाय. प्रायः। विहितधर्माकरणस्य प्राप्तिरित्यर्थः। तत्प्रकार-विषयं चित्तं चित्तिर्ज्ञानम्। तत्पूर्वकाद्युष्ठानानि प्रायश्चित्तानि। com. on सामविधानब्रा. I, 5,1.

Sāmavidhāna Br I 5 1 another derivation is suggested viz that 'prāyah' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayah' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr Vi p 3 and Pr. Tattva p 467 quote Hārīta and give[147] yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water Hence, as the Mit says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally[148] denotes a certain act or rite of the *naimittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*) The Par. M quotes verses from Brhaspati's[149] work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *naimittika*[150] (to be performed when a cause

147 तत्र हारीत । प्रयतत्वाद्वौपचितमशुभं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति । यत्तपः-प्रभृतिकं कर्म उपचितं सञ्चितमशुभ पाप नाशयतीति । कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तृ प्रयतत्वाद्वा । शुद्धत्वा-देव तत्प्रायश्चित्तम् । तथा च पुनर्हारीत । यथा क्षारोपस्वेदच्छण्डनिर्णोदनप्रक्षालनादि-भिर्वाससि शुध्यन्ति एवं तपोदानयज्ञै पापकृतः शुद्धिमुपयन्ति । प्राय तत्त्व p 467, vide also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of हारीत The मद. पा. p 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद पा p 704 explains च्छण्डनिर्णोदन as 'चुल्ल्यधिश्रयणादिना तत्क्लेदनम्' and मा प्रकाश (folio 9a) 'च्छण्ड अग्नि. निर्णोदन तस्मिन्नधिश्रयणं क्लेदनमिति'

148 प्रायश्चित्तशब्दश्चाय पापक्षयार्थे नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे रूढ । मिता on या. III 220, which is q by स्मृतिमु (प्राय) p 859, परा मा II part 1 p. 3

149 तथा च बृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणस्योपक्रमोपसहारयो· नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति । नैमित्तिकं धर्मजात गदतो मे निबोधत । विहितस्याननुष्ठानात् प्रतिषिद्धनिषेवणात् । प्रायश्चित्त यत्क्रियते तन्नैमित्तिकमुच्यते । इत्युपक्रम । नैमित्तिकं समाख्यात प्रायश्चित्तं क्षमासत. । इत्युपसंहारश्च । परा मा. II part 1 p. 7, also in जालम्भट्टी on या III 206 and प्राय प्रकाश folio 7 b तथा च जाबाल· । अत· काम्य नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थिति. मा प्रकाश folio 8a,

150 Actions are divided into three kinds, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* Nitya acts are those like sandhyā-vandana (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness), naimittika are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and kāmya rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called putresti for a son), Manu in XI 53 says 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

(*Continued on the next page*)

or occasion arises). Jābāla q in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that prāyaścitta partakes of the nature of both naimittika and kāmya actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of prāyaścitta proposed by the Kalpataru, Śūlapāni and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are prāyaścittas which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II. 1.32 (tac-codakesu mantrākhyā) Bhattācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *yājñikas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate[150a]

Sins as stated by Brhaspati[151] and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether prāyaścittas can destroy sins intentionally committed Manu XI. 45 and Yāj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by prāyaścittas or by the study of the Veda The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3–6 = Vas. 22. 2–5) states two views,[151a] one holding that prāyaścitta should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that prāyaścitta should be per-

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(Continued from the last page)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because *those* whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a prāyaścitta must necessarily be performed and it is not *left to* the volition of the sinner whether to *perform* it or not Vide Mit on Yāj III. 220 But it does not follow from this that if prāyaścitta for removing a sin *is not* performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum)

150 a 'यथा भट्टाचार्यैस्तत्रोदकेषु मन्त्रास्त्येति ..यत्र वैदिकयाज्ञिकानामभियुक्तानां मन्त्र इति प्रसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति सूत्रतात्पर्ये वर्णितमेवमिहापि यत्राभियुक्तानां प्रायश्चित्तप्रसिद्धिस्तत्प्रायश्चित्तमिति लक्षणे मद्वयाज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यानां तात्पर्यमुन्नेयम्। folio 76 of प्रा. प्रकाश Ms.

151. कामाकामकृतं स्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम्। पुरुषापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता॥ बृहस्पति q. by प्राय वि p. 24, परा मा II part 1 p 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यान्न कुर्यादिति मीमांसन्ते । न कुर्यादित्याहु· । न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति। कुर्यादित्यपरम्। गौ 19 3 6 = वासिष्ठ 22 2–5 (the last being कुर्यादित्येव तस्माच्छ्रुतिनिबन्धनात्) न कुर्यादित्याहु This is the पूर्वपक्ष view The सिद्धान्त is 'कुर्यात्' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says "[152] 'after performing the *punahstoma*[153] one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is 'after performing Vrātyastoma (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the Aśvamedha sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond brāhmana murder'. The fourth is one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the Agnistut Vasistha also (20 1–2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances.[154] Manu XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, prāyaścittas may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the Vedas. It cannot be said that these Śruti passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary arthavādas, as laying down (a *vidhi*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform Aśvamedha and the other sacrifices mentioned In this case the maxim of *rātrisattra*[155] applies (vide Jai. IV. 3. 17–19). There are certain *sattras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called Trayo-

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152. पुन स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा पुन सवनमायान्तीति विज्ञायते । व्रात्यस्तोमैश्चेष्ट्वा । तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । अग्निष्टुताभिशस्यमानं याजयेदिति च । गौ 19.7–10. वसिष्ठ (22.6) is the same as गौ 19 9, while it (22 7) reads इति चाभिशस्तो गोसवेनाभिष्टुता यजेत तरति सर्वं is तै. सं V 3 12 2 quoted above and शतपथब्रा XIII 3 1 1. गोसव and अभिष्टुत् are different sacrifices The गोसव is a strange rite, for which vide H of Dh. vol II p 1213 n. 2644. It is described in तै ब्रा II. 7 6.

153 The Punahstoma is a śrauta sacrifice, of the class called ekāha (i e , performed in one day) acc to Haradatta. Vide Lātyāyana-śrauta IX 4 and 5 for its efficacy The Vrātyastoma is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become patita–sāvitrika). Yāj I, 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *patitasāvitrika*. Vide H of Dh vol II p 377 and p 385 (for its description from the Tāndya Brāhmana) The Agnistut is an *ekāha* (vide Tai Br II 7 12 and Āśv Śr IX. 7 22–25) Manu XI 74 prescribes Aśvamedha, Gosava or Agnistut and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of brāhmana murder.

154 अनभिसन्धिकृते प्रायश्चित्तमपराधे । अभिसन्धिकृतेप्येके । वसिष्ठ 20 1–2.

155. रात्री. प्रकृत्य श्रूयते प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति । ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनोऽन्नादा भवन्ति य एता उपयन्ति । इति । तत्र सन्देह । किं ते फलार्थवादा उत फलविधय इति । शबर on जैमिनि IV 3. 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 23.2.4 for the passage प्रतितिष्ठन्ति.. उपयन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisattras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisattras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisattras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratiṣṭhā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisattras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV. 3. 15-16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yāj III. 226 which say that sin is removed by penances[156]. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI. 2.7 5, Kāthaka S. VIII. 5, Ait Br 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *Śālāvṛkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI. 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various prāyaścittas. Yāj. III. 226 (latter half) appears to hold that prāyaścittas do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the prāyaścittas); but Yāj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI. 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yāj in III. 226 (latter half). Yāj. III. 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform prāyaścitta for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of prāyaścittas as conceived by the smṛtis, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

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156 'पुन स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा ..यजते इति ।...न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम्। अधिकारिविशेषणाकाक्षया रात्रिसत्रन्यायेनार्थवादिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात्। अतो युक्तं प्रायश्चित्तैरेत्येव इति। मिता on या III 226, vide प्राय वि p 9 and p 18 for similar views 'अतो रात्रिसत्रन्यायेनार्थवादिकपापक्षयकामिना प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम्। प्राय. वि p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity, ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ सू 22.8.7 'भूतिकामो वा ग्रामकामो वा प्रजाकामो वोपहव्येन यजेत,'

all people. Chāgaleya[157] holds that prāyaścittas free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of upapātakas and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II. 1 pp 200-201) cites a verse of Jābāli and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of prāyaścittas, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no prāyaścitta for sins committed knowingly and the view of Angiras that the penance is double in the latter case[158]. Angiras further says that prāyaścittas do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI. 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (*for* a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S (I. 9. 24. 24-25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c.) or a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 10-32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned brāhmaṇa) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)'.[159] It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Aṅgiras, Yama and others.

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157. छागलेयेऽपि। प्रायश्चित्तकालानां कालवार्ता न विद्यते। उपपातक एव स्यात्तथा चान्योपघाते॥ अस्यार्थः। कालवार्ता ज्ञानपूर्वकपापे नरकभोगनिवारकं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते। उपपातकात्मघातनयोस्तु ज्ञानपूर्वकालेऽपि स्यादेवेत्यत एवोक्तं। आत्मघातनार्थं विषभक्षणे कृते यदि जीवति तदा प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा मृतस्तदा तद्भक्षितमुखा कर्तव्यनिर्णयभयादपि प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः। नद्. पा p. 705. The half verse प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते occurs in परा मा II part 1 p 201.

158. अकामतः कृते पापे प्रायश्चित्तं न कामतः। स्वाध्यकामकृते त्वन्यद्विगुणं द्वादिपूर्वके॥ आदित्यपु q. by परा मा. II part 1 p 201; अस्ति निषिद्धकृतिजन्यं पापं तज्ज्ञानकृतं तु प्रायश्चित्तम्। तथा चाङ्गिराः। उद्यन्यदुद्यथादित्यस्तमः सर्वं व्यपोहति। तद्वत्कल्याणमानवनिहन्ति सर्वं पापं व्यपोहति। पापं चेत्कृत्वा कृत्वा कल्याणमभिपद्यते। मुच्यते पातकैः सर्वैरहाञ्चैरिव चन्द्रमाः॥ कल्याणं प्रायश्चित्तम्। प्रा. प्रकाश folio 6a.

159. गुरुं हत्वा श्रोत्रियं वा कर्ममनातनेतैनेव विधिनोत्तमादुच्छ्वासाञ्चरेत्। नास्यास्मिंल्लोके प्रत्यापत्तिर्विद्यते कालमर्यं तु निर्हरन्ति। आप. ध सू I. 9 24 24-25 Vide also आप ध सू. I. 10. 28 18 for the same words हरदत्त gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. ध सू. I 9 24 24-25 'अस्मिंल्लोके जीविते प्रत्यापत्तिः शुद्धिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः। कालमर्यं तु निर्हरन्ति। तस्य गुर्वादिभिः संस्कारादिः कर्तव्य इति भावः। अन्ये तु पूर्वं सूत्रं तावद्व्याख्यं मन्यन्ते। प्रत्यापत्तिः गुर्वादिभिः गुर्वादिभावेन सम्बन्ध इति।'.

In this conflict among the authors of smrtis the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yāj III. 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows[160]. The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs Therefore, even though a prāyaścitta may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in prāyascitta being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *patanīya* (do not cause loss of caste) prāyaścitta does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu. XI. 46. Even as to sins that are *patanīya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI. 73, Yāj III 247–248 and Gaut 22. 2–3 for brāhmana murder; Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj III. 253, Gaut 23 1 for drinking *surā*; Gaut 23 8–11, Manu XI 103–104 and Yāj. III. 259 for sexual intercourse with the *guru's* wife; Manu XI. 99–100 and Yāj. III. 257 for theft of brāhmana's gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh S I 9 24 25 and I 10. 28.18 quoted above When Manu says (in XI. 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a brāhmana intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI. 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of prāyaścitta in such a case, but that ordinary prāyascittas (such as those in Manu XI. 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the Prāyascitta-muktāvali (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalivarjya* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of brāhmana sinners and therefore a

160. यत्तु मनुवचनं 'इयं विशुद्धिरुदिता' इत्यादि (11 89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनामपरामृष्टद्वादशवार्षिकादिव्रतचर्याया एव 'कामतो ..विधीयते' इत्यनेन प्रतिषेधो न पुनः प्रायश्चित्तमात्रस्य। मरणान्तिकादेः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शितत्वात्।.. द्वे हि पापस्य शक्ती नरकोत्पादिका व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति। तत्रेतरशक्त्यविनाशेऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकाया शक्तेर्विनाशो नानुपपन्नस्तस्मात्पापानपगमेऽपि व्यवहार्यत्वं नानुपपन्नम्। यत्तु मनुवचनं (11 45) 'अकामतः...निदर्शनात्' इति तदपि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तमाप्त्यर्थं न पुनः पापक्षयप्रतिपादनपरम्। अपतनीयेऽपि पुनः कामकृतेऽपि प्रायश्चित्तेन पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः ..पृथग्विधैः॥' इति मनुस्मरणात् (11 46)। पतनीयेऽपि कर्मणि कामकृते मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तेषु कृतेषु पापक्षयो भवत्येव फलान्तराभावात्। 'नास्यामुष्मिंल्लोके · निर्हरन्ते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात्। मिता on या III 226 वृद्धहारीत IX. 173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances that end in death · प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येनो यदकार्यकृतं महत् (यदकामकृतं?)। कामतस्तु कृतं यत्तु मरणात्सिद्धिमृच्छति॥, महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम्। अग्निं प्रविश्य शुध्यन्ति स्मात्वा महति वा क्रतौ॥ यम q by प्रा. प्रकाश, folio 16 (b), अपरार्क p. 1039 reads चत्वारोप्यविशेषत' The words of the मिता are quoted or paraphrased by subsequent works such as the Prāyaścittasāra (p 4).

brāhmana murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par M. (II part 1 pp 201–203) sets out this view of the Mit and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yaj. III. 226 as 'kāmatoऽvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (śistas) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI 190 = Visnu Dh. S. 54,32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yāj III 298 on which the comment of Vijñāneśvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or smrti) deemed as authoritative. The Mit remarks [161] 'the prohibition (contained in Yāj. III, 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

161. प्रायश्चित्तेन क्षीणदोषानपि न सव्यवहारेदिति वाचनिकोऽयं प्रतिषेध। 'किमिति वचनं न कुर्याज्ज हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति'। अतश्च यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणीना वधेऽप्येष एव प्रायश्चित्त तथापि वाचनिकोऽय संव्यवहारप्रतिषेध.। मिता on या III 298 The words किमिव हि वचन. भार. occur frequently in शाबरभाष्य, e g on जै II 2.27, III 2 3, III. 7 11, IV 3 38, V 4 17 etc On जै VI 1 44 (about the privilege of the rathakāra to consecrate Vedic fires) Sabara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्यैवं किंचिदलभ्यं नाम.' Even Śankarācārya relies on these words of Sabara in his bhāsya on Vedāntasūtra III 4 32. When Yāj I 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*, but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know *Mīmāmsā* 'स्मृतिमात्रमेतद्भूताना भाविना पावनाद्युपपत्तेः। उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशाकृताभ्यागमप्रसङ्गात्। यद्वास्तु फलविधि। विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात्। न त्वागमाद्युसारिण्यर्थेऽद्युपपत्तिरिति शक्यं वक्तुम्। तथा च नैयायिका —न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तीत्याहु'।' विश्वरूप on या I, 58. Vide Aparārka on Yāj II. 73–75 (p. 673) who says that one man's merit (*punya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj. II. 73–75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (ṛnādāna 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāsya of Śabara and is a favourite device with all Dharmaśāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smrtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544–545) quotes [162] the Mit. about the two *śaktis* of sin and its remarks on Yāj III. 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Brhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhasa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others [162a]. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smrterācārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points [163] out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smrti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867–868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears [164] to hold that the great Śankarācārya explained

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162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिस्त्री प्रतिषेध इति मिताक्षरोक्तं न युक्तिसहम्। केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः। युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते। पापे गुरुणि गुरूणि स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विद। प्रायश्चित्तानि मैत्रेय जगुः स्वायम्भुवादयः। इति बृहस्पतिवचनात्। माध. त p 545.

162 a. स्यातां संव्यवहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः। धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाष्यो ज्ञेय उत्तमसाहसे॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अयं हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु गृहस्थविषयः। ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचाराणामेव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात्। इदं च कौशिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम्। नैष्ठिकानां वनस्थानां यतीना चावकीर्णिनाम्। शुद्धानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापत्तिर्न विद्यते॥ इति। परा मा. II part 1 p. 205. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 17 b) quotes कौशिक's verse.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु 'कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु' इति अकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं याज्ञवल्क्यवचो 'बहिस्तूभयथापि स्मृतेराचाराच्च' इति सूत्रे कृतप्रायश्चित्तनैष्ठिकब्रह्मचार्यादिपरम्। आरूढो नैष्ठिके धर्मे यस्तु भ्रष्यवते पुन·। प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन शुध्येत्स आत्महा॥ इति। माध. म p.7. The verse आरूढो० is अत्रि VIII 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Sankara's comment on Vedāntasūtra III. 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes, एवं तावत्सकलनिबन्धसमतं व्यवहार्य इतिपदच्छेदेन याज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यस्य व्याख्यानमुक्तम्। शारीरकमीमांसाया तु० .

Vedāntasūtra III 4. 43 after reading Yāj III 226 as 'kāmatas vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naisthika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with) The printed editions of the bhāsya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śankarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj III 226). The answer is: what [165] actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smrtis) For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all But the smrtis say so. If the smrtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smrtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to So also the Bhagavadgītā (IV 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smrtis are also offences punishable by the king or State For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo prāyaścittas. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pātakas*, acc to Vas I 19 and some of those are upapātakas acc to Yāj III. 239. It does not seem

165 नन्वेतत् प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येन इति न युक्तम्। फलविनाइयत्वात्कर्मणः। मैवम्। यथा पापोत्पत्ति. शास्त्रगम्या तथा तत्परिक्षयोपीति। नात्र प्रमाणान्तरं क्रमते। अत एव गौतमेन पूर्वोत्तरपक्षभङ्ग्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मिता on या. III. 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king are among the fifty *chalas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh vol III p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about prāyaścittas. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about prāyaścittas which were to be prescribed by a *parisad* (a meeting of learned brāhmanas) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that prāyaścittas like Aśvamedha are spoken of even in the Tai S. We also know that the *praśnavivāka* (which is quite close to prādvivāka in derivation and meaning) occurs in the Vāj. S. XXX. 10 and Tai Br. III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the Tāndya Br 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. Bṛhaspati, quoted in the Vivādaratnākara, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (S. B. E. vol. 33 p. 362 [166]).

The parisad made its own rules about prāyaścittas and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the parisad and the brāhmanas helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. वृत्तस्वाध्यायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनात् क्लिश्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः प्रायश्चित्तं तु कारयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q by विवादरत्नाकर p 331. It is possible that this verse means that a learned brāhmana who has been well conducted but fell a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to restore stolen property and given penance.

Visnu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4 5, observes:[167] 'the king and the brāhmana with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II 5.10.12-16) contains very important information: 'The ācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smrtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ācārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his *purohita* proficient in dharmaśāstra and the science of government. He (purohita) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmanas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out prāyaścittas. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (prakīrnaka, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala[168] probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of krcchras (i. e his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmaśāstras prescribes the prāyaścitta, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II. part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to prāyaścittas for sins like govadha or those that are greater than it. Devala[169] also has similar verses.

167 द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुत । गौ VIII. 1. śatapa V. 4.4 5 has 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा । एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ.'

168. कृच्छ्राणा दापको (दायको v l) राजा निर्देष्टा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी प्रयोक्ता च रक्षिता कृच्छ्रपालकः॥ देवल q. by मद. पा p 777, प्राय सा p 8. राज्ञश्चानुमते स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्त विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्य कर्तव्या स्वल्पनिष्कृति ॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा मा II. 1 p 232 says: अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वात्तमारभ्याधिकेषु राजानुज्ञयैव व्रतं निर्दिशेत् ।

169 याचितास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणा. पापभीरुणा । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्यात्तस्मै कृपाङ्गया ॥ स्वयं वा ब्राह्मणै कृच्छ्रमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राज्ञा च ब्राह्मणैश्चैव महत्सु सुपरीक्ष्य च ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा II part 1 p 232-233 and by प्राय सा p 21. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as स्वयं तु ब्राह्मणा क्रूयुरल्पदोषेषु निष्कृतिम् । राजा... महत्सु परिचक्षते ॥.

Parāśara VIII. 29 states that the king also should not ignore the parisad and should not by himself prescribe penance. Paithīnasi quoted by the Dandaviveka (p. 76) provides[170] for both prāyaścitta and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to medievel times One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1–4 provide[171] that one who kills a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. Āpastamba does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator Haradatta explains that they were to be given to brāhmanas. Manu XI. 127, 129, 130, and Yāj III. 266–267 have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10 23. expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words 'vairaniryātanārtham' and 'prāyaścittārthah' are employed by Āp. it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to Āpastamba. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was ot to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among brāhmanas. We know that Manu (IX. 243–245) provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to Varuna and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned brāhmanas. Manu IX. 236 provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (brāhmana murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the śāstra. Manu IX. 237

170. अकार्यकारिणामेषां प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथाशक्त्यपराधं च दण्डं चैषां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविवेक p 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा गवां सहस्रं वैरनिर्यातनार्थं दद्यात् । शतं वैश्ये । दश शूद्रे । ऋषभश्चाधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप ध. सू I. 9. 24 1–4, क्षत्रियवधे गोसहस्रमृषभैकाधिक राज्ञ उत्सृजेद्वैरनिर्यातनार्थम् । शतं वैश्ये दश शूद्रे ऋषभश्चाधिकः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 23–24.

(= Matsya 227 164) and Visnu V. 4–7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though prāyaścitta be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold Visnu Dh. S (V 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e rāja-danda) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e parisaddanda or daiva danda) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same For example, Gaut 23 10–11, Vas. 20. 13, Manu XI 104, Yāj. III 259 and several other smṛtikāras prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the *punishment (daṇḍa)* of the excision of the testicles The Mit. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj III 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyaścitta There were works like the Madanapārijāta[172] (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmanas (Manu VIII. 380) applies only to matters other than prāyaścittas and that since the Manusmṛti itself (XI. 100) states that a brāhmana guilty of theft of brāhmana's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmana as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII. 318 (=Vas 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10 27. 15–16 provide [173] that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmana he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of *his life* (*i. e.* he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I 9.25.4 the thief approached the king [174] with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314–316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अथ च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरिक्तस्य। न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्ववस्थितम्—इति तस्य वधनिषेधात् (मनु. ८.३८०)। वधस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तरूपत्वात्। मिता. on या III 233, but on या III 257 the मिता० says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकृद्भिन्न इत्यभिधाय गृहीत्वा मुसलं राजा सकृद्धन्यात्तु तं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणव्यतिरेकेणैव हननविधानात्। न जातु ब्राह्मण हन्यादित्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरिक्तदण्डरूपहननविषयत्वेनाप्युपपत्तेः॥'; vide also मद या p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूम्यादान इति स्वाम्यादाय वक्ष्यः। चक्षुर्निरोधस्त्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य। आप. ध सू II. 10. 27. 15–16.

174. स्तेन. प्रकीर्णकेशोंसे मुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्मात्मकथयेत तेनैनं हन्याद्यदि मोक्षः। आप ध सू I. 9 25 4., ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहरणे प्रकीर्य केशान् राजानमभिधावेत्स्तेनोस्मि भो शास्तु मा भवानिति तस्मै राजौदुम्बरं शस्त्रं दद्यात्सेनात्मानं प्रमापयेन्मरणान्मूतो भवतीति विज्ञायते। वसिष्ठ 20 41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red in colour' (i e made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śankha and a verse from Samvarta (122) to the same effect Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100–101 = Agnipurāna 169. 20–21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas 20. 41, Yāj. III. 259, Viṣnu 52. 1–2 and Parāśara XII. 69–70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmana's gold. Vasistha introduces an important change viz, that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally Nārada[175] (pariśista, verses 46–47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36 and 270, Brhaspati and by digests[176] like the Pr. Prakarana If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury[177] (Gaut X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kautilya III. 16) or he had to make his officers[178] entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Āp Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh vol. III. pp. 166–168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāndālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣnu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghātitvam cāṇḍālānām).

175. राजा स्तेनेन गन्तव्यो मुक्तकेशेन धावता। आचक्षाणेन तत्स्तेयमेवंकर्मास्मि शाधि माम्॥ अनेना भवति तेन स्वकर्मप्रतिपादनात्। राजा ततः स्पृशेदेनमुत्सृजेत्तु शास्तित्विषम्॥ नारद, परिशिष्ट 46–47.

176 दत्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायत। प्रायश्चित्तं ततः कुर्यात्कलमषस्यापनुत्तये॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52 14. सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरणादिस्तेयप्रायश्चित्तं विद्यमानस्यापहृतद्रव्यस्य त्यागपुरःसरमेव कर्तव्यम्। इतरथा कृतप्रायश्चित्तस्यापि पुनस्तद्द्रव्यस्वीकारे तथैव स्तेयप्रसङ्गात्। विनष्टे तु द्रव्ये पुनःस्वीकाराभावात्प्रायश्चित्तमेवेति। प्राय प्रक on p 77

177. चौरहृतमपजित्य यथास्थान गमयेत्। कोशाद्वा दद्यात्। गौ X 46–47: प्रत्याहर्तुमशक्य स्याद्धन चोरैर्हृतं यदि। तत् स्वकोशाद्यदेयं स्याद्दशकेनोपजीवत॥ शान्ति 75 10 q by the मिता on या II 36, चौरहृतमविद्यमानं स्वद्रव्येभ्य प्रयच्छेत्। कौटिल्य III 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यन्मुष्यते तैस्तत्प्रतिदाप्यम्। आप ध सू II. 10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional[179] (kāmataḥ) or unintentional (*akāmataḥ*) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kauṭilya IV. 10, Gaut. XII. 48, Manu VII. 16 and VIII. 126, Yāj I. 368, Viṣnu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.[180] Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III. 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāna 173. 6), Aṅgiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments[181]. The Pr. M. (pp. 124–125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Viṣnu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu IX 285 which provides a fine of 500

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179. ज्ञात्वापराधं देशं च कालं बलमथापि वा। वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत्॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्त्वतः। सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत्॥ मनु VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उक्तानुक्तदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मानुकाश्लोकोयम्। एतदर्थानुसारेण सर्वदण्डकल्पिः कर्तव्या'.

180 शरीरबलमायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च। समीक्ष्य धर्मवित् बुद्ध्या प्रायश्चित्तानि निर्दिशेत्॥ बौ ध. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पापं चावेक्ष्य यत्नतः। प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्यं स्याद्यत्र चोक्ता न निष्कृतिः॥ या III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे ज्ञातिशक्तिगुणापेक्षं सकृद्द्विरुद्धिकृत्तं तथा। अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत्॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपसूत्रम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 262 The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्र's in प्राय. प्रकरण. p 8, प्राय. नि p 29, परा. मा II. part 1 p 235 and as देवल's by the मिता on या III. 243. Vide also व्यास q by परा. मा. II part 1, p 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिसागरे देवलः। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिशस्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्विगुणो दम—इति मनुवचने (8 373) संवत्सरात्परतो द्विगुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरेणान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च। प्राय. तत्त्व p 474; vide p 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्डपोद्यानादि—देवतागारादि—भेदने काश्यपः। वापीकूपारामसेतुलतातडागदेवतायतनभेदने प्रायश्चित्तम्।...ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेत्। इति। एतच्चाल्पोपघाते। महतोपघातेऽभ्यासे प्राजापत्यादि कल्पनीयम्। देवता चात्र तन्मयी पूजोज्झिता च ग्राह्या। प्रायश्चित्तस्याल्पत्वादन्यत्र दण्डगौरवदर्शनेन प्रायश्चित्तगौरवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात्। तथात्र दण्डगौरवमाह कात्यायनः।..विष्णुरपि ..मनु.. इति।

paṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'dandavat prāyaścittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sāhasa* into three kinds viz *prathama, madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sāhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, sāhasa, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction[182] to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the prāyascitta prescribed by the *pariṣad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz that of excommunication by ghatasphota if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the prāyaścitta prescribed (i e. it was jātidanda). Vide Gaut 20 2-9, Manu XI 182-185 and Yāj III. 294 and II. of Dh vol II p 388 and vol. III p. 1009-1010 for the rite of ghatasphota and re-admission to caste after ghatasphota Many of the prāyascittas prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling surā or water or cow's urine or milk or ghee for drinking surā, Manu XI 73, 90-91, 103 &c) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the parisad as the words of Manu in XI. 73 'icchayātmanah' and 'prāsyed-ātmānam-agnau vā' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide[183] In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing prāyascitta So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned brāhmanas and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen Vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 971.

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182 दण्ड कुर्यान्नृपो नृणा प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । कामतोऽकामतो वापि प्रायश्चित्त कृतं चरेत ॥ अग्निपुराण 168 1 प्रायश्चित्ते शमं याति पापं कृतमसशयम् । राजदण्डाच्छम याति प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजाभिश्चाप्यदण्डिताः । नरक प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II 73 3-4 q. by परा मा II part 2 p 210, प्र प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183 प्राणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्त तु पर्षदा न देयम् । तत्स्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । प्राय सा. p. 41, एतच्च मरणान्तिक प्रायश्चित्त पर्षदा नादेष्टव्यमपि तु श्रुत्पन्नश्चेत्स्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । अश्रुत्पन्नश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूप शिष्टेभ्यो ज्ञात्वा तदनुज्ञामन्तरेण स्वयमेव कुर्यात् । मद पा p. 817.

The literature on prāyaścittas is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the Gautamadharma-sūtra, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed Vasistha-dharmasūtra, prāyaścittas cover nine (20–28) Manu devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the Yājñavalkyasmṛti containing 1009 verses deals with prāyaścittas in 122 verses (III. 205–327). Several printed smrtis such as those of Angiras (168 verses), Atri (chapters 1–8), Devala (90 verses), Brhad-Yama (182 verses), Śātātapasmrti (in 274 verses) from the Ānandāśrama collection of smrtis alone deal only with prāyaścittas. Many other smrtis and several purānas, such as the Agni (chap 168–174), Garuda 52, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 30–34), Varāha 131–136, Brahmānda (Upasamhārapāda chap. 9), Visnudharmottara (II 73, III 234–237) contain hundreds of verses on prāyaścittas. Besides commentaries like the Mitāksarā, Aparārka, Par. M. and others and digests like Madanapārijāta (pp. 691–994), there are special digests dealing with prāyaścittas alone such as Hemādri on Prāyaścitta (which is of doubtful authenticity), the Prāyaścittaprakarana of Bhavadeva, Prāyaścittaviveka, Prāyaścittatattva, Smrtimuktāphala (prāyaścitta section), Prāyaścittasāra (part of Nrsimhaprasāda), Prāyaścittamayūkha, Prāyaścittaprakāśa (ms. in the Anūp Sanskrit library, Bikaner, No. 2610), Prāyaścittenduśekhara of Nāgojibhatta, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in Prāyaścittaviveka, Par. M. II parts 1 and 2, and Prāyaścittaprakāśa.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them Since Manu XI. 44 (prāyaścittīyate narah) and Yāj III. 219 (narah patanam-rcchati) both employ the word 'man' without [184] any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all varnas, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (pratilomajas) and for even cāndālas. Yāj. III. 262 states that a śūdra sinner

184 नरग्रहणं सर्ववर्णिकप्रदर्शनार्थम्। विश्वरूप on या. III. 210, नरग्रहणं प्रतिलोमजातानामपि प्रायश्चित्ताधिकारप्राप्त्यर्थम्। तेषामप्यहिंसादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात्। मिता on या III 219, नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिचाण्डालान्तानां सर्वेषां पाप दर्शयति। अस्ति च चाण्डालादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च। यथा देवलः। स्वजातिशौचनं सर्वजनप्रणामस्तितिक्षा व्यवहारशुद्धिरपरापमान स्वभृत्यपोषणं प्रधानकर्मपरिवर्जनमिति चाण्डालधर्मः। मनु.। गवार्थे..ब्राह्मानां शुद्धिकारणम् ॥ (10.62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारिणामेव प्रायश्चित्तीयता न चाण्डालादीनामिति प्रत्युक्तम्। प्राय वि. p 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except japa and homa) for the periods prescribed. Angiras [185] provides that penance may be administered to a śūdra devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to japa and homa there were works like the Madanapārijāta p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI. 63–64 held that a homa could be performed for women and śūdras in the ordinary fire through a brāhmana[186]. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even Cāndālas have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform prāyaścitta, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several prāyaścittas prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some smrtis like Brhad-yāma III. 1–2 and Śankha state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some pātakas such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तस्माच्छूद्रं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम्। प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्य जपहोमविवर्जितम्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by the मिता. on या III. 262, प्राय म p. 12, प्रा. सार p. 173.

186. स्त्रीशूद्रयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नौ होमो भवत्येव। अत एव धर्मविवृतौ 'उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नान जपादिकम्। विप्रैः सम्पादित यस्य सम्पूर्ण तस्य तत्फलम्॥ इति।' मद. पा p. 749. This is पराशर VI. 63–64 (the printed edition in B. S. Series reads व्रतं चैव स्नान तीर्थ जपस्तप). It is rather inexplicable how while Nīlakantha in his Vyavahāramayūkha holds, relying on Parāśara, that the *dattahoma* may be performed by a *śūdra or a woman through* a brāhmana, the Prāyaścittamayūkha of the same author propounds a different view in the words 'एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयो. स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम्' (p 13) Did the author change his views or is the text of one of the two Mayūkhas tampered with by his successors? The प्र प्रकाश (folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63–64 in a different way It says that the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a brāhmana, but that where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is unable to perform japa and homa in person there alone he can appoint a brāhmana as *pratinidhi* अस्य प्रातेषु जपहोमादिषु अशक्तौ विप्ररूपप्रतिनिधिनियमार्थत्वात्। प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवाप्रवृत्तेस्तत्र तस्यामवृत्तिः। ..एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयो. स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम्। प्र प्रकाश folio 30 b

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any[187] prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmana should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink *surā*.[188] Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of *surā* by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Brhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several smrtis[189] provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187 ऊनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च। प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पिता वान्य सुहृज्जनः॥ अतो बालतरस्यास्य नापराधो न पातकम्। राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते॥ शङ्ख, quoted by the मिता on या III 243, बृहद्यम III 1-2 (reads वान्योपि बान्धव.). These are quoted by हरदत्त on गौ II 6 (without name) and the first occurs in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 7 as चरेद्गुरुः सुहृद्वापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशोधनम्. The first verse is देवल 31 Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by प्राय. वि p. 29.

188. भाषणनयनात् कामचार कामवाद कामभक्ष.। गौ. II. 1, मद्यमूत्रपुरीषाणां भक्षणे नास्ति कश्चन। दोषस्त्वा पञ्चमाद्वर्षादूर्ध्व पित्रो सुहृद्वरो॥ कुमार q by मिता. on या. III. 253, by प्राय. प्रक. p. 50, स्यात्कामचारभक्षोक्तिर्नहत पातकादते। बृहस्पति q by प्रा. तत्त्व p. 551.

189. अशीतिर्यस्य वर्षाणि बालो वाप्यूनषोडश। प्रायश्चित्तार्धमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव च॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54 33, लघुहारीत 33, देवल 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 3, बृहद्यम III. 3 (reads अशीत्यधिकवर्षाणि). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मिता. on या III 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध सू I. 9 26.5 The मद् पा. p. 796 ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् तथा बालवृद्धादीनां साक्षात्कर्तुरेऽप्यर्धमेव। अशीति रोगिण एव चेत्यङ्गिर स्मरणात्। तथा। अर्वाक्तु द्वादशाद्वर्षादशीतेरूर्ध्वमेव वा। अर्धमेव भवेत्पुसां तुरीयं तत्र योषिताम्॥ इति। तथानुपनीतस्यापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव प्रायश्चित्तम्। स्त्रीणामर्धं प्रदातव्यं वृद्धानां रोगिणां तथा। पादो बालेषु दातव्य. सर्वापेक्ष्वयं विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात्। मिता on या. III 243. The verses अर्वाक्तु and स्त्रीणामर्ध are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by मद पा p 796 and the latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by प्राय. वि. p. 28 and to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय प्रकरण p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the prāyaścitta (prescribed for able-bodied men) The Mit on Yāj III 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣnu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before upanayana) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth Cyavana (prose) prescribes half prāyascitta for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. Kātyāyana provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c)[190]

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (*akāmatah*) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (*kāmatah*) is this that for the latter the prāyascitta is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by Angiras,[191] Vyāsa and the Agnipurāna. As Yāj. III. 226 employs the word '*ajñāna*' in the first half and the word '*kāmatah*' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word '*jñānatah*' it follows that Yāj. makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *kāmanā* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the prāyaścitta as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh vol. III pp. 395–399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣnu[192] provides that the prāyascitta for

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190 बालवृद्धस्त्रीणामर्धं प्रायश्चित्तम् । आ षोडशाद्बाल । सप्ततेरूर्ध्वगता वृद्धा । व्यास q by परा मा II part 1 p 122 and प्राय. वि p 28 सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंसो योर्धदण्ड स्मृत ॥ तदर्धं योषितो दद्युर्वधे पुंसोङ्गकर्तनम् ॥ कात्या 487

191 स्याच्चकामकृते यत्तु द्विगुणं शुद्धिपूर्वके । अङ्गिरस् q by प्राय वि pp 22 and 24; विहितं यदकामाना कामात्तु द्विगुणं स्मृतम् । अग्निपुराण 173 9, q by the मिता on या. III 226 (without name), and as that of अङ्गिरस् by प्राय प्रकरण p 12 and as of मध्यमाङ्गिरस् by मा प्रकाश (*folio 16b*) गर्ह्यतेदेव कुर्वीत सुकृतल्पमकामत कामतो द्विगुणं प्रोक्त पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते ॥ व्यास q by प्राय. वि p 21

192. विप्रे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं क्षत्रिये मतम् । वैश्येर्धं पादशेषस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शस्यते ॥ विष्णु q by प्राय वि p 102 where it is stated that जिकन noted that this verse was not found in the विष्णुसंहिता It is ascribed to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय प्रकरण p. 16 and to वृद्धविष्णु by मिता on या III, 267.

a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra sinner should be respectively $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what is prescribed for a brāhmana sinner. The Agnipurāna says[193] the same thing. The Par. M II. 1. p. 231 quotes the Caturvimśatimata[194] to the same effect. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturvimśatimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four *sāhasas* is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Brhad-Yama (IV. 13-14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varnas Angiras (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Krcchra and Cāndrāyana for a brāhmana partaking of the food of an *antyaja*, half of these for a ksatriya or vaiśya guilty of the same. Yāj II. 206-207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varna or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a ksatriya or vaiśya defames a brāhmana the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmana defaming a brāhmana and conversely if a brāhmana defames a ksatriya or a vaiśya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit quoting Angiras says that the rules about punishments apply to prāyaścittas for slaying a person i e. if a brāhmana slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a ksatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmana and a vaiśya offender three times as much[195] It may be pointed out here that though the smrtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

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193 सर्वत्र शूद्रे पादः स्याद् द्वित्रयं वैश्यभूपयोः । अग्निपुराण 168 13

194. प्रायश्चित्तं यदाम्नातं ब्राह्मणस्य महर्षिभिः । पादोनं क्षत्रियः कुर्यादर्धं वैश्यः समाचरेत् । शूद्र समाचरेत्पादमशेषेष्वपि पाप्मसु ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q by the मिता on या. III 250. देवल 28 is a verse of similar import यत्तु चतुर्विंशतिमतवच्चनं प्रायश्चित्तं ..पाप्मसु-इति प्रतिलोमाद्युद्दिश्यचतुर्विधसाहसव्यतिरिक्तविषयम्। तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादीनामप्यसृग्लोमोत्पत्त्याना दण्डवत्प्रायश्चित्तमूहनीयम् ॥ मिता. The four साहसs are 'मद्यस्यमारणं स्तेयं परदाराभिमर्शनम्। पारुष्यमुभयं चेति साहसं स्याच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ '

195. यथाहाङ्गिरा.। पर्यया ब्राह्मणाना तु सा राज्ञां द्विगुणा मता। वैश्याना त्रिगुणा मोक्षा पर्यद्वच्च व्रतं स्मृतम्॥ इति। ..अनयैव दिशा क्षत्रियवैश्यादावपि हीनेनोत्कृष्टवधे दोषगौरवात्प्रायश्चित्तस्यापि द्वैगुण्यादि कल्पनीयम्। दोषगौरवं च दण्डगौरवादवगम्यते। मिता० on या III 250 Vide मिता on या III 267 also This verse is q by परा मा II part 2 p 67 while the प्राय वि p 102 ascribes it to देवल; 'परिषद्या ..स्मृता—इति देवलवचनं ब्रह्मवध एव द्वैगुण्यादिकं बोधयति' The प्राय . प्रक p 16 reads the verse of अङ्गिरस् as 'वैश्यानां . मोक्षा शूद्राणा तु चतुर्गुणा॥ परिषद्वद् व्रतं मोक्षं शुद्धये पापकर्मणाम्। '

complete statement or digest of the smrti material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the Smṛticandrikā, the Madanaratna (vyavahāra) and the Sarasvatīvilāsa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), prāyaścittas were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about prāyaścittas depending upon the varna of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuetude with the disappearance of the more severe prāyaścittas and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to prāyaścittas. For example, the Pr Prakarana, after quoting Gaut. 22. 14–16 about the prāyaścitta for killing a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those prāyaścittas were no longer part of the practices of the people.[196]

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo prāyaścitta depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by Manu XI. 171–172 and Baud Dh S. I 1 17–24 and other smrtis. Brhaspati refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo prāyaścitta or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for Brhaspati's verses.

Severity and extent of prāyaścitta depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The Āp Dh S (II. 10. 27. 11–13) prescribes that a brāhmana who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a śūdra having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

196 यच्च गौतमेनोक्तं राजन्यवधे ·गा दद्यात् (२२ १४–१६)–एवमादीनि नानाद्युनिवचनानि नानाविधप्रायश्चित्तोत्कर्षप्रतिपादकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातद्युत्तस्थ-यागस्थ-षडङ्गवेदाध्ययनादिगुणयुक्त-कामाकामादिकृतक्षत्रियादिवधविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानि । इदानीं तु तथाविधक्षत्रियाद्यभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वात् न प्रत्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति सर्वं चेदं ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियादिवधप्रायश्चित्तमुक्तम् । प्राय प्रक. p. 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed [197]). The Mit on Yāj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the prāyaścitta is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse prāyaścitta is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the prāyaścitta as stated by Angiras 'when persons in other āśramas are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the prāyaścitta is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity[198]). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Visnu Dh. S 60 26, Śankha 16. 23–24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 =Visnu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the smrtis was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama[199].

Though the smrtis have entered into very great details about the prāyaścittas for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

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197. सवर्णायामन्यपूर्वायां सकृत्संनिपाते पादः पततीत्युपदिशन्ति। एवमभ्यासे पादः पादः। चतुर्थे सर्वम्। आप ध सू. II 10 27.11–13.

198 तथाश्रमिणामपि अङ्गित्वेन विशेषो दर्शितः। गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्त्याश्रमिणो यदि। शौचवच्छोधनं कुर्युर्वाग्ब्रह्मनिदर्शनादिति। शौचवदिति –एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां द्विगुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम्। त्रिगुणं तु वनस्थानां यतीनां तु चतुर्गुणम्॥ इति (मनु ५ १३७) वचनाद्यथा ब्रह्मचार्यादीना शौचं द्वैगुण्यादिक्रमेण वर्धते तथा शोधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः। ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तद्वैगुण्यं षोडशवर्षादूर्ध्वमेव॥ मिता on या. III 250 On ब्रह्मनिदर्शनात् the prāy. m p 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिदर्शने तत्त्वज्ञानम्। ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तूत्पन्नपापं ज्ञानेनैव नाश्यते। ज्ञानाग्नि सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुनेति भगवद्गीतोक्तेः।' (गीता ४ ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिशङ्कया समाप्त्यनुपपत्तेः प्रवृत्तिरेव नोत्पद्यत इति शङ्कनीयम्। यत प्रक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तावपि पापक्षयो भवत्येव। तथा हारीत । प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्ता यदि विपद्यते। पूतस्तदहरेवासाविह लोके परत्र च॥ इति। व्यासोऽप्याह। धर्मार्थं यतमानस्तु न चेच्छक्नोति मानवः। प्राप्तो भवति तत्पुण्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशय॥ इति॥ मिता. on या III 250 बृहद्यम II 7 is almost the same as हारीत प्राय वि p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहन्मनु; अपरार्क p. 1058 ascribes it to यम

Gaut. (19. 18–20) provides that these acts (viz Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa are penances for all sins [200] Manu XI 209 (=Viṣṇu 54 34) provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the pariṣad) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. Parāśara (XI. 55–56) provides that the recitation of the Gāyatrī ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that Cāndrāyaṇa, Yāvaka, Tulāpuruṣa and serving cows destroy all sins Yāj. III. 265 provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by Cāndrāyaṇa, observance for a month of the milk *vrata* or by Parāka. Manu XI. 117 provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *govadha* or cāndrāyaṇa.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned brāhmaṇas and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (Yāj. [201] III 300 and Parāśara VIII. 2) The Mit, Par. M., Pr. S and other digests quote long passages in verse from Aṅgiras [202] who provides that the sinner should

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200 एतान्येवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेरन् ॥ एतेषु गुरुषु गुरुणि लघुषु लघूनि ॥ कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रौ चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वपापश्चित्तम् ॥ गौ 19 18–20. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण 22 36 and विष्णुपुराण II 6 38 for very similar words 'पापे गुरूणि गुरूणि स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विद । प्रायश्चित्तानि विमेन्द्रा जगु स्वायंभुवादय ॥ Instead of विमेन्द्रा the विष्णुपुराण has मैत्रेय This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in प्राय तत्त्व p 545 (with मैत्रेय for विमेन्द्राः)

201. विख्यातदोषः कुर्वीत पर्षदोऽनुमतं व्रतम् । या III 300. This is ascribed to both बृहस्पति and या. by परा मा II part 2 p 153. Vide शङ्ख 17 62 also

202 A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here. कृत्वा पापं न गूहेत गूहमानस्य वर्धते ॥ सचैलं वाप्यत स्नात्वा क्लिन्नवासा समाहितः । क्षत्रियो वाथ वैश्यो वा परिषद्युपतिष्ठति । उपस्थाय तत शीघ्रमार्तिमान्धरणीं व्रजेत् । गां च शिरसा चैव न च किंचिदुदाहरेत् । ततस्ते प्रणिपातेन दृष्ट्वा तं समुपस्थितम् । बृहा. पृच्छन्ति किं कार्यमुपविश्याग्रत स्थितम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीडा किं वा शृणुयसे द्विज । एव ते समनुज्ञातः सर्वे ब्रूयादशेषत । तस्मिन्निवेदिते कार्ये निष्कास्यो यस्तु कार्यवान् । सर्वेषां निश्चितं पश्चात् यच्च प्राणान् न घातयेत् । आहूय श्रावयेदेकः पर्षदा यो नियोजित । शृणुध्व भो इदं विप्र यत्ते आदिश्यते व्रतम् । यच्च पूर्वमुदाहार्यं यथोक्त धर्मकर्तृभिः । पश्चात्कार्यानुसारेण शक्त्या कुर्युरनुग्रहम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q by परा मा II 1 p 206–207 and 235–236 प्राय सा pp 7. 17–20, प्राय म pp 11–12, प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 27b and 28a).

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the smrti passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *parisad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of prāyaścitta and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the parisad, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the parisad, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Angiras q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānam vratādeśaścaryā śuddhiprakāśanam । prāyaścittam catuspādam vihitam dharmakartrbhih ॥ ").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *parisad*, of the qualifications of the śistas who were to be the members of the *parisad* and their privileges and duties These points have already been discussed at length in H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 966–974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII. 25) and the Caturvimśatimata quoted by Par M. state that a *dvija* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a śūdra who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a śūdra even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the śāstras should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog[203]. Instead of the word '*parisad*' the word *parsad* (which is an irre-

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203 दु.शीलोपि द्विज पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रिय· । कः परित्यज्य गां दुष्टां दुहेच्छीलवतीं खरीम् । पराशर VIII. 25 on which परा मा II 1. p 228 observes जातिशीलयोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव माधान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं तु यथासम्भवम् । अत एव चतुर्विंशतिमते शूद्रोपदेशस्याप्युपादेयत्वं प्रपञ्चयति । श्वचर्मणि यथा क्षीरमपेयं ब्राह्मणादिभिः । तद्वच्छूद्रमुखाद्वाक्यं न श्रोतव्यं कथञ्चन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानरतस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न ग्राह्यं शुनोच्छिष्टं हविर्यथा ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages[203a]. Parāśara (VI. 55–57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin[203b] Devala says the same and adds[204] that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmaśāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmanas who are proficient in Dharmasāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous[205] as far as possible

If the learned brāhmanas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance[206].

203a पर्यच्छन्दोऽत्र पृषोदरादित्वात्साधु । प्राय. वि. p 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिपीदन्त्यस्यामिति पर्षत् पृषोदरादित्वादिकारलोपो विकल्पित.' पाणिनि provides पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्। VI 3 109.

203 b दुर्बलेऽनुग्रहः प्रोक्तस्तथा बै बालवृद्धयो· । अतोन्यथा भवेद्दोषस्तस्माज्जानुग्रह. स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभाद्भयादज्ञानतोपि वा । कुर्वन्त्यनुग्रह ये तु तत्पाप तेषु गच्छति ॥ पराशर VI. 55–57.

204 प्रायश्चित्तं यथोद्दिष्टमशक्य दुर्बलादिभिः । इष्यतेनुग्रहस्तेषा लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहम्। धर्मज्ञा बहवो विप्रा. कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥ देवल q by परा मा II 1. pp. 130–131, प्राय. म p 12.

205 विचारस्तादृशः कार्यो यथा सर्वे सभासद । एकवाक्यतया ब्रूयुस्तथा श्रेयोधि· गच्छति ॥ q by प्राय सा p 18

206. आर्तानां मार्गमाणानां प्रायश्चित्तानि ये द्विजा । जानन्तो न प्रयच्छन्ति ते यान्ति समतां तु तै. ॥ आङ्गिरस् q. by मिता on या III 300, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 512, परा. मा II part I p 234.

CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the smṛtis contain numerous prāyaścittas for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta The commentaries and digests such as the Mit and the Prāyaścitta-viveka therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i.e they are bent on 'visayavyavasthā').[206a] In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several smrtis and digests. In the Śabdakalpadruma (part III) there is an analysis from the Prāyaścitta-viveka alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣinā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the prāyaścittas have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to brāhmanas, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as Visnu or Śiva. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the Mahāpātakas. Śankha [207] (17. 1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four mahāpātakas: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

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206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षापकर्षप्रतिपादकवचनानि ब्राह्मणादिजातत्व—वृत्तस्थावृत्तस्थत्व—वेदाग्न्यादियुक्तत्वायुक्तत्व—कामाकामकृतत्व—व्यवस्थया व्याख्येयानि। प्राय. वि. p 220, vide also प्राय वि pp 338-39 for a similar passage

207 नित्य त्रिषवणस्नायी कृत्वा पर्णकुटीं वने । अध शायी जटाधारी पर्णमूलफलाशन ॥ ग्रामं विशेच्च भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परिकीर्तयन्। एककालं समश्नीयाद्वर्षे तु द्वादशे गते॥ हेमस्तेयी सुरापश्च ब्रह्महा गुरुतल्पग । व्रतेनैतेन शुध्यन्ते महापातकिनस्त्विमे ॥ शङ्ख 17 1-3 q. by अपरार्क pp 1053-54, परा मा II. part 1 p. 320-321, मा. प्रकाश folio 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmana and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Visnu Dh S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atipātaka* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhavisyapurāna, Hārīta and Samvarta (q. by the Pr. V p 43) say the same But other smrtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj III. 227 treat mātr-gamana as a mahāpātaka (gurutalpa-gamana) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the mahāpātakas the first of which is the murder of a brāhmana Gaut. 22 2-10, Āp Dh. S I. 9. 24 10-25 and I. 9 25 12-13, Vas 20. 25-28, Visnu Dharmasūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI. 72-82, Yāj III 243-250, Agnipurāna 169. 1-4 and 173 7-8, Samvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmana-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhavisyapurāna (quoted by Kullūka on Manu XI. 72-82, Aparārka p 1055 and Pr V. p 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatyā* [208]. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmana the penance was to end in death[209]. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindānanda in his commentary (called Tattvārthakaumudī) on Prāyascittaviveka (p 63) are as follows :—

(1) The murderer of a brāhmana should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smrtis add some details. For example, Gaut 22 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

208 तथापि ब्राह्मणवधे प्रायश्चित्तानि सुव्रत। मनुना कीर्तितानीह त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम्। भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 1055, प्राय वि p 63

209. तत्र कामत साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवध विशेषाश्रवणात् सर्वेषामेव वर्णाना मरणान्तिक प्रायश्चित्तम्। यदाह याज्ञवल्क्य (3 247.) 'लोमभ्य स्वाहेत्येवं । तथा च मध्यमाङ्गिरा. । प्राणान्तिकं तु यत्प्रोक्त प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिभि । तत्तु कामकृत प्राप्य विज्ञेयं नात्र सशय। प्राय. प्रक pp 8-9 , परा मा II. part 2. p 72 and प्रा प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाङ्गिरस्

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yāj. III. 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point[209a]. Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmaṇa murder), that he should on seeing an *ārya* avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmaṇa's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmaṇa would do. The Mit. adds that this *vrata*[210] for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each smṛti and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yāj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'[211] and states

209 a. स्वप्यापादितविप्रस्यैव शिरो द्वेधा कृत्वार्धं ध्वजदण्डाग्रे स्थापयेदर्धं च हस्ते. अर्धीयादिति ..केचित्। अपरे तु द्वेधाकरणे प्रमाणाभावात् कृत्वा शवशिरोध्वजमिति मद्यवाक्ये. अखण्डितशिरःप्रतीतेश्चान्यशिरःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं स्वप्यापादितविप्रशिरस्तु दण्डाग्रे स्थाप्यमित्याहुः। इत्थमेव विज्ञानेश्वरशूलपाण्यादयः। वयं तु स्वप्यापादितशिरःकपालं हस्ते ग्राह्यं अन्यदीयशिरसा तु ध्वजः कार्यः। मा. मकाश folio 88a.

210. इयं च मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यगौतमादिमतिपादिता द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतचर्या एकैव न पुनर्भिन्ना। परस्परसापेक्षत्वादविरोधाच्च। तथाहि—भिक्षाशी कर्म वेदयत्—(या. 3. 243) इत्युक्ते किं भिक्षापात्रं केषां वा गृहेषु कतिषु वेत्याकाङ्क्षा जायेतैव। तत्र-लोहितकेन खण्डलक्षणेन (आप. ध. सू 1. 9 24. 14.)—इत्यापस्तम्बवचनैः परिपूरणमविरुद्धम्। अतः सर्वैरेकः कल्पोपदेशात्कैश्चिदुक्तं मनुगौतमाद्युक्तेतिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परसापेक्षत्वेऽपि विकल्प इति तन्निरूप्यैवोक्तमिति। मिता. on या III. 243.

211. अत्र च सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययमेकं कर्मेति न्यायेन स्मृत्यन्तरोक्ता अविरुद्धा धर्माः समुच्चयेन कर्तव्याः। विरुद्धास्तु विकल्पेन। अपरार्क p. 1053. Vide H of Dh. vol. III. p 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on जै II. 4. 9 and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smṛtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa[212] on Yāj. III. 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smṛtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI. 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmana is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Angiras provides that for intentional brāhmana murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit (on Yāj. III. 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmana and that the *anugrāhaka* has to undergo only 9 years' *vrata*, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *muttin* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala[213] that if a man commits several murders of brāhmanas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,[214] following the Bhavisya-purāna holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmanas, on the analogy of the *Kṣāmavatī iṣṭi* (Jai. VI. 4. 17–20) which is performed when both the purodāśas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmana

212. न चैकमेवैतत् सर्वस्मृतिसिद्धं द्वादशवार्षिकं व्रतमित्याशङ्क्यनीयं मतिस्मृति प्रयोगभेदस्य-वकारो धर्मशास्त्राणामित्यत्र श्लोके (या. १.४) अभिहितत्वात्। विश्वरूप on या III. 237 (शिर कपालवान्)

213. यच्च मनुदेवलाभ्यामुक्तं विधेः माथनिकादस्माद् द्वितीये द्विगुणं भवेत्। तृतीये त्रिगुणं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थे नास्ति निष्कृति॥ तच्च मतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकशास्त्रमात्रस्थं इति न्यायेन। मिता. on या III 243. प्राय वि. pp 25 and 77, प्राय प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verse to देवल alone, while परा मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and स्मृतिमु. (प्राय) p. 872 attributes it to मनु and गालव (if the ms was properly read by the editor). हरदत्त on गौ. 22 6 ascribes it to मनु alone

214. तथा नानाब्रह्मवधसत्वे सर्वोद्देशेन सकृत्प्रायश्चित्ते कृते सर्वब्रह्मवधजन्यपापनाश। यथा वधाद्वृत्तौ भविष्ये। ब्राह्मणस्य ब्राह्मणयोर्ब्राह्मणानां च पुत्रक। प्रायश्चित्तस्य चैकत्व जातिमाश्रित्य लक्ष्यते। क्षामवत्यादिना यद्वत् कर्मणा प्रतनापते। वैवदोषादकरणे जाते. दोषकदम्बके। होमेनैकेन दोषाणां सर्वेषां क्षयमादिशेत्। प्रा. तत्त्व p 468.

was a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a śūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years. (Smrtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmanas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI. 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmana-murder.

(2) According to Ap Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut 22. 3, Manu XI. 72, Yāj. III. 248, if a ksatriya intentionally killed a brāhmana he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmana murderer, or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmana-murder.

(3) According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25–26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI. 74, Yāj. III. 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death[215] (Mrtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice: with head downwards, according to Manu XI. 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmana by a ksatriya acc. to the Madanapārijāta and Bhavisyapurāna q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)—(8) The murderer of a brāhmana may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistut (Manu XI. 74) The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samrāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhavisyapurāna.[216] Visnu

215. अग्नौ सक्तिर्ब्रह्मघ्नलिरवच्छातस्य। गौ 22 2; अपि वा लोमानि स्वचं मांसमिति हावयित्वाग्नि प्रविशेत्। आप. ध I. 9 25.13: भ्रूणहाग्निमुपसमाधाय जुहुयादेता। लोमानि मृत्योर्जुहोमि लोमभिर्मृत्यु वासय इति प्रथमाम्।.. मज्जानं मृत्योर्जुहोमि मज्जाभिर्मृत्युं वासय इत्यष्टमीम्। वसिष्ठ 20 25–26 When या III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमभ्यः स्वाहा, the देवता is मृत्यु and लोम, त्वक् and all others are the आहुतिs.

216. तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे–स्वर्जितादेश्च यद्वीर कर्मणा प्रतनापते। अश्वमेधं द्विजातीनां वधे ह्यमतिपूर्वके॥ कुल्लूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H. of Dh.

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dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the mahāpātakas are purified by the performance of Aśvamedha or by going to all the *tirthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmana by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185.[217].

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmana may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmana who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yāj III 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmana (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos 10 and 11 are not separate penances It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Smrtyarthasāra (p 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmana or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77 [218] and Yāj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as nivāra, milk or

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vol II 1228-1237. The Viśvajit and Abhijit are ekāhas and the first and last rites of the Astarātra and Abhijit follow the procedure of *soma* sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI 7. 14 and VIII. 1 16 and Āśv Śr. VIII. 5 13. In the Viśvajit one has to make a gift of all his wealth. vide *H of Dh.* vol. II, p. 1212 n 2644 For Gosava and Agnistut vide note 153 above.

217. तथा च भविष्यपुराणेऽयमेव श्लोकः पठित व्याख्यातश्च-जातिमात्रं यदा विप्रं हन्याद्मतिपूर्वकम् । वेदविज्ञाग्निहोत्रीं च तदा तस्य भवेदिदम्॥ कुलूक on मनु XI.75.

218. हविष्यमुन्वाहुसरेत्यतिस्रोत सरस्वतीम्। मनु XI.77, मेधातिथि comments हविष्यं हुन्यर्क नीवारादि श्याम्यमपि पयोघृतादि । अतिस्रोत स्रोत स्रोन. अति यावन्ति

(*Continued on the next page*)

ghee) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhavisyapurāna and Kullūka, applies where a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotah sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātithi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyana and Rāghavānanda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotah' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI. 77 and Yāj. III. 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *saṃhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *saṃhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhavisyapurāna and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmaṇa by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI. 79, Yāj. III. 244 and 246, Vas. 20. 27–28 and Gaut. 22. 7–8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śankha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmaṇa and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger[219]. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmaṇa of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmaṇa or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmaṇa he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmaṇa murder.

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सरस्वत्या स्रोतांसि तावन्त्यनुसरेत्". अपरार्क p 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति स्रोतोऽन्तादारभ्योदगं यावदपि गत्वा शुध्यति'; सर्वज्ञनारायण explains प्रतिस्रोत प्रभासमारभ्य शुक्लप्रस्रवणान्त यत्र यत्र सरस्वती तत्र तत्र स्रोतो लक्षीकृत्य तीरेण गमनम्।" The मिता. on या. III 249 explains शुक्लात् प्रस्रवणादारभ्य पश्चिमोदधेः प्रतिस्रोत स्रोत' प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्वा गत्वा.' For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh vol II. pp 13–15 and later on under *tīrthas*

219. अन्तराले वा ब्राह्मणं मोचयित्वा गवां वा द्वादशानां परित्राणात्। इति। शङ्ख. by हरदत्त on गौ 22 14 and मिता. on या. III 244.

Manu XI. 82, Yāj III. 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmana announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Aśvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.[220] According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mit on Yāj III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmana or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65–67) prescribes for *brahmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rāma's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tīrthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmanas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmanas.

There are other penances for *brahmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064–1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmana killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmana who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakarana p. 13 quoting Bhaviṣya-purāna, Pr. V. pp. 70–71, Smṛtimuktāphala Pr. p 873 quoting Daksa III. 27–28 and Āp. Dh. S I.9 24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj III. 252). The Pr. Prakarana (p 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows[221] in proportion to the difference between his

220. अश्वमेधावभृथं गत्वा तत्राज्ञात स्नात्वा सत्र पूतो भवति। शङ्ख q by मिता on या III 244. अपरार्क p 1057 (on या III 244) and प्राय. सा p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम्। मातरं पितरं हत्वा सोदर्यं भ्रातरं तथा। गुरुं हत्वा श्रोत्रियं च आहिताग्निमथापि वा॥ आ उत्तमाद्गुच्छासाद् व्रत चीर्णो विशुध्यति। अत्र पेत्तृसङ्कलनाया जीवनकालस्यानियतत्वाद् विंशत्युत्तरं शते परमायुरेव ग्राह्यम्। तेन द्वादशाब्दिकं कृत्वा वधकालादूर्ध्वं विंशत्यधिकशतस्य यावद्वशिष्टं तावत्परिमाणद्वादशाब्दिकव्रतावृत्त्या धेन्वो दातव्याः। प्राय. प्रक p 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmana intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vrata* for *brahmahatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11*). The Mit. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahmahatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahmahatyā* or *surāpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a prāyaścitta for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakarana p. 15). Vas. 23. 18–19 and Parāśara XII.5–8 prescribe other prāyaścittas for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakarana (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama[221a] for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyana or two Taptakrcchras for them.

If a ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra intentionally and directly killed a brāhmana, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much prāyaścitta as a brāhmana sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmana.[222] Conversely, if a brāhmana killed a ksatriya or vaiśya or a śūdra the sin was only an upapātaka (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the ksatriya or vaiśya victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (Śāmavidhāna Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266–267, Manu XI. 126–130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1–4 prescribe other penances for killing a ksatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra. The penance for a ksatriya

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221. a जलाग्न्युद्बन्धनभ्रष्टाः प्रव्रज्यानाशकच्युताः । विषमपतनप्रायशस्त्रघातहताश्च ये ॥ नवैते प्रत्यवसिताः सर्वलोकबहिष्कृताः । चान्द्रायणेन शुध्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा ॥ यम, verses 22–23, बृहद्यम 3–4, नारदपुराण. These include those who give up *samnyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (माध).

222 माध मक. p. 16 says: तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् प्राणान्तिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मवधे प्रायश्चित्तं तद् क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां यथाक्रमं द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।...तथा च ब्रह्मवधप्रकरणेऽङ्गिराः । परिषद्या 0 (vide note 195 for the quotation), vide the माध वि p. 75 (which quotes भविष्यपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्गिरस्, स्मृत्यर्थसार p 105, स्मृतिमु. (मा.) p. 873. परा. मा. II part 2 p. 74 and मा. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of प्रजापति 'द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं चैव चतुर्गुणमथापि वा । क्षत्रविद्शूद्रजातीनां ब्राह्मणस्य वधे व्रतम् ॥.'

killing a kṣatriya is a little less (i. e. by ¼) than the penance for a brāhmana killing a ksatriya Vide the verse 'vipre tu sakalam deyam' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra males (Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI 66), except the cases where the woman was an Ātreyī or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut 22 17, Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12–13, Vas 20 34, Visnu Dh. S. 50 7–9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*) The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Dīksanīyā* isti to the *Udavasānīyā* (acc to the Mit) or up to the end of *avabhrtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut 22.26–27, Manu XI. 138, Yāj III. 268–269).

Manu (XI. 208=Visnu Dh. S 54 30) and Yāj III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a brāhmana the penance is krcchra, for striking him it is Ati-krcchra, for shedding his blood a Krcchra and Atikrcchra. The Sāmavidhāna Br. I. 7. 4 prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sāman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1,[223] Āp Dh S. I 9 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90–91, Yāj. III. 253 and Brhaspati prescribe that if a brāhmana drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI. 92 and Yāj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. सुरापोऽग्निस्पर्शी सुरा पिबेत्। आप. ध. सू. 1 9 25 3; सुरापस्य ब्राह्मणस्योष्णामासिञ्चेयुः सुरामास्ये मृत. शुध्येत्। गौ 23.1, सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिक्षिपेत्। मुखे तया विनिर्दग्धे मृत. शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ बृहस्पति q. by मिता. on या III 253, अपरार्क p. 1071, प्राय प्रक p 43, प्रायेण धर्मशास्त्रेषु सर्वेष्वेव नराधिप। मतिपूर्वं सुरापाने प्राणान्तिक सदाहृतम्॥ पैठीपाने तु ऋषिभिर्नेतरस्यां कदाचन। भविष्यपुराण q by दीपकलिका on या. III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmana sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanapārijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p 104, Pr Prakarana p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or force. According to Gaut 23. 2-3, Yāj. III 255, Manu. XI. 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrcchra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasistha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Kṛcchra and Atikrcchra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of upanayana again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI. 146 and Yāj III. 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati [224] quoted by the Mit, Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmana who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrcchra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit. and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmana drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmanas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmanas, Parāśara XII 75-76). Vide Yāj. III. 255 and the Mit thereon. Ksatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

224. गौडीं पैष्टीं तथा माध्वीं पीत्वा विप्रः समाचरेत्। तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चान्द्रायणमनुक्रमात्॥ बृहस्पति q. by मिता. on या III. 254, अपरार्क p. 1073, परा. मा II part 2 p. 84, मद. पा p. 821, प्राय. सा. p. 42 The मिता comments यत्तु वौधायनीयं त्रैमासिकमतया सुरापाने कृच्छ्रान्द्वादशं चरित्वा पुनरुपनयनमिति, यच्च चार्म्म 'सुरां पीत्वा द्विजो हत्वा कृमं हत्वा द्विजन्मनः। सयोगं पतितैर्गत्वा द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥' इति, यदपि बाहस्पत्यं 'गौडीं...क्रमात्॥' इति तत्त्रितयमप्यनन्यौषधसाध्यव्याध्युपशमार्थं पाने वेदितव्यं प्रायश्चित्तस्यात्पत्वात्।

paiṣṭī variety. The Mit (on Yāj III. 243) holds that since Manu XI. 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking surā the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakaraṇa p 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut II. 1 ('before upanayana a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking surā. The Pr. V (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāśa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.[225] As Bṛhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking surā which is a mahāpātaka Jātūkarnya[226] (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose upanayana has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three kṛcchras as an expiation for him. Aṅgiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastamba-smṛti III. 7, Laghu-Hārīta 34-35, Bṛhad-yama III. 1-2 also provide that a *pratinidhi* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gṛ. (I 22 22-26)[227] prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the Sāvitrī is Ṛgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual Gāyatrī (tatsavitur-varenyam, Ṛg. III. 62,10)

225. अत्रानुपनीतब्राह्मणकुमारानृद्दब्राह्मणकुमारिकयो. सुरापाने दोषाभाव सुरा पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतरुस्तत्र तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ इति मद्यवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थिति. । न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य जात्युपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय वि pp 104-105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहात्पिबेद्यदि । तस्य कृच्छ्रत्रयं कुर्यान्माता भ्राता तथा-पिता ॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. by परा मा. II part 2 p 80.

227 अधोपेतपूर्वस्य । कृताकृतं केशवपनं मेधाजननं च । अनिरुक्तं परिदानम् । कालश्च । तत्सवितुर्वृणीमहे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. गृ I. 22 22-26, q by सद्. पा. p 821.

Vasistha 20.18 quotes Manu XI. 151 on this point[228] and Visnu (Dh. S. 51.4-5) in prose is to the same effect. Visnu (Dh S. 51. 2-3) provides Cāndrāyana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also The smrtis provide different prāyaścittas for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding surā, for drinking water from the water vessel of a cāndāla or of a washerman or from a śūdra's house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut 17.22-26, Yāj I. 170, Manu V. 8-10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because[229] they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śankha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to brāhmanas and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śistas* (the *parisad* of respectable people). Brhaspati[230] (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a cāndrāyana is the purification Some of the sages such as Samvarta, Śankha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh[231]

228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकमुदाहरन्ति। वपनं मेखला दण्डो भैक्षचर्या व्रतानि च । एतानि तु निवर्तन्ते पुन.संस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति। वसिष्ठ 20. 18 The verse is मनु XI 151.

229. यानि चान्यानि सूत्रान्तरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणे अपेयपाने शुरुलघुप्रायश्चित्तानि तानि कामाकामकृतसकृदभ्यासापेक्षया योज्यानि ब्रह्मणामानन्त्यात्प्रतिस्मृतिषु अभक्ष्यत्वमभिधातुमशक्यमिति तत्सूत्रान्तरादेवावगन्तव्यम्। शिष्टवाक्याच्च। यथा शङ्ख । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याण्यनेकानि ब्राह्मणस्य विशेषतः। तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रूयुस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चय. ॥ q by माध. वि. p. 339. The verse is quoted by परा. मा II. part 1 p. 462.

230. अलेह्यानामपेयानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणे। रेतोमूत्रपुरीषाणां शुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणं स्मृतम्॥ बृह q by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा मा II part 1 p 367.

231. गोमांस मानुषं चैव सूनिर्दस्तात्समाहृतम्। अभक्ष्यं तद्भवेत्सर्वं श्रुत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ संवर्त 197 q by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. मा II part 1 p 367; शृगालकुक्कुट-वर्ष्णि-कव्याद-वानर-खरोष्ट्र-गजवाजि-विड्वराह-गोमानुषमांसभक्षणे चान्द्रायणम् ॥ शङ्ख-लिखित q by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा मा II part 1 p 368, vide गौ 23. 4-5, वसिष्ठ 23 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51 3-4 for similar provisions

The general rule stated by the Sāma Br. I 5 13, Manu XI. 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some prāyaścitta (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food The Chāndogya Upanisad (I. 10)[231] narrates the story of Usasti Cākrāyana, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *uchista*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*āpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahmavidyā* should not violate the injunctions of śāstra about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4 28) has an aphorism on this incident Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud Manu then refers (X 105–108) to the stories of Ajīgarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vrdhu (Brbu?) or of Visvāmitra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāndāla [232a]

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232 स हेभ्यं कुल्मापान्खादन्त विभिक्षे त होवाच नेतोऽन्ये विद्यन्ते यत्र ये म इम उपनिहिता इति। एतेषा मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै प्रदद्यौ तस्तानुपानमित्युच्छिष्ट वै मे पीत स्यादिति होवाच। न स्विदेतेष्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमान्न खादन्निति होवाच कामो म उदपानमिति। छा. उप 1. 10 2-4, सर्वान्नानुमतिश्च प्राणात्यये तद्दर्शनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III 4 28, on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes तदेतदुच्छिष्टोच्छिष्टपर्युषितभक्षण दर्शयन्त्या. श्रुतेराशयातिशयो लक्ष्यते प्राणात्ययप्रसङ्गे प्राणसन्धारणायाभक्ष्यमपि भक्षयितव्यमिति। स्वस्था. वस्थाया तु तन्न कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्युच्छिष्टपानमत्यारुणानाद्गम्यते।

232a For the legend of Ajīgarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33 1 ff) and H. of Dh vol III pp 563–64, 660, 663 In Rg. VI 45 31–33 Brbu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Visvāmitra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāndālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26–96

For eating the flesh of various birds Visnu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Visnu 51.21).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmana's gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Ap. Dh. S. I 9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Āp Dh. S. I.9 25.6–7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmana's gold of the weight of 80 *raktikās* or more (Manu VIII. 134 and Yāj I.363) was death for the offenders of all varnas, except a brāhmana offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmana murder (Manu XI. 101) or for the drinking of *surā* prepared from flour (Yāj III. 258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmana's family for the latter's lifetime (Yāj. III 258 and Mit. thereon) The Āp Dh. S. I. 9 25 8 provides the observance of the penance of Krcchra for one year (as defined in Āp Dh. S I 9 27 7–8) and quotes a verse "those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a *guru's* wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmana, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins."[232b] The digests contain numerous and varying expiations for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on Vide Pr V. pp. 117–127, Pr. Sāra p 49, Madanapārijāta pp 828–834, Smrtyarthasāra pp. 108–109, Smrtimuktāphala pp 883–885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmana) was less than 80 raktikās or if gold of any weight was stolen from a ksatriya

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232 b क्षुच्छ्रसंवत्सरं वा चरेत्। अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। स्तेयं कृत्वा सुरां पीत्वा गुरुदारं च गत्वा ब्रह्महत्यामकृत्वा चतुर्थकाला मितभोजना स्युरपोह्यवेयुः सवनानुकल्पम्। स्थानासनाभ्या विहरन्त एते त्रिभिर्वर्षैरप पापं नुदन्ते। आप. ध. सू I 9. 25. 8–10.

or any other non-brāhmaṇa, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI 162–168=Matsyapurāṇa 227. 41–47) and Viṣṇu 52. 5–13 prescribe various penances such as kṛcchra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyaṇa for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; sāntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh, subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones, subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or uncloven hoofs (horses &c), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI.164 and Viṣṇu Dh S 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI. 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII. 321, 323, Viṣṇu Dh S. 5.82)[233]

Steya (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a kṣatriya or vaiśya (*parṣadyā brāhmaṇānām*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p.231) In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmaṇa and the thief a kṣatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmaṇa thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmaṇas and kings is the best) But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Bṛhad-Viṣṇu ('vipre tu sakalam deyam,' quoted above in note 192) will apply.

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233. द्वित्रादिमात्मकदेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिदेमहरणवद्गुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम्। किं च सुवर्णाद्यूनपरिमाणहेमहरणे प्रायश्चित्तान्तरोपदेशात्तत्परिमाणस्यैव हेम्नो हरणे मरणान्तिकादि प्रायश्चित्तमिति युक्तम्। तथा चोक्तं बृहद्विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। मिता on या III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. [234] 23. 8–11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25. 1–2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14–16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13–14, Manu XI. 103–104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta (p. 837), Medhātithi [235] on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170–71, Yāj. III 231, Saṁvarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *antyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpagamana* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI. 105 and Yāj. III. 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛcchra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III. 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyaṇa for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nīvāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasaṁhitā The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varna or of the śūdra class.

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234. तप्ते लोहशयने शुक्तल्पगः शयीत। सूर्मीं वा श्लिष्येज्ज्वलन्तीम्। लिङ्गं वा सवृषणमुत्कृत्याञ्जलावाधाय दक्षिणामतीचीं व्रजेदजिह्मगा शरीरपातात्। गौ 23 8–10.

235 आचार्याणीं गत्वैवं प्रायश्चित्तमपरा मातैव । समानजातीयागमने इमानि त्रीणि प्रायश्चित्तानि कल्पन्ते। मेधातिथि on मनु XI.103.

Parāśara (X 10-11) provides three different prāyaścittas, viz. excision of the organ, three *kṛcchras* or three *cāndrāyaṇas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X. 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives The Mit on Yāj. III 259 quotes Śaṅkha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further smṛti passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance Manu XI. 178 (= Viṣnu Dh S 53. 9 = Agnipurāna 169 41), Śānti 165 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vṛṣalī*[236] (a cāndāla woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the Gāyatrī). Āp. Dh S. I 9 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmaṇa's intercourse with a śūdra woman[237]. Yāj III. 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same prāyaścitta as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent Manu XI. 175 (= Laghu-Śātātapa 155 = Agnipurāna 169 38) holds that a brāhmaṇa, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāndāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāṇḍālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly Compare Vasiṣṭha 23 41, Viṣnu Dh. S 53 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI 176 (latter half), Kātyāyana and Bṛhaspati[238] was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

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236 वृषली in मनु XI 177 is explained as चण्डाली by कुल्लूक and मिता on या III 260, which quotes a smṛti verse 'चण्डाली बन्धकी वेश्या रजःस्था या च कन्यका। ऊढा या च सगोत्रा स्याद्वृषल्यः पञ्च कीर्तिता॥' शूलपाणि understands वृषली as शूद्री, vide Pr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237 यद्येकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्ण ब्राह्मण. सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उद्वकाम्यवासी त्रिभिर्वर्षैस्तदपहन्ति पापम्॥ आप ध. सू. I. 9 27 11. शान्तिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकृष्टवर्णं' and 'स्थानासनाभ्यां विहरन् व्रती स त्रिभिर्वर्षैः शमयेदात्मपापम्॥'

238. यदुसः परदारेषु समानेषु व्रतं चरेत्। व्यभिचारात्तु भर्तुः स्त्री तदशेष समाचरेत्। बृह q by अपरार्क p 1124, प्राय वि. p 371; एवं दोषश्च शुद्धिश्च पतितानामुदाहृता। स्त्रीणामपि प्रसक्तानामेष एव विधिः स्मृतः। कात्या. q by मिता. on या. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Angiras[238a]. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo prāyaścitta she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghatasphoṭa* (described in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI. 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21. 10 provides[239] that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a śūdra, can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (mahāpātakas). Manu XI. 181, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 54 1, Yāj. III 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

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238a व्रतं चन्द्रोदितं पुंसां पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चापि कारयेन्मूढां पतितासेवनात् स्त्रियम्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by प्राय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्यगा गुरुगा च या । पतिघ्नी च विशेषेण भ्रूणघ्नीपगता च या॥ वसिष्ठ 21 10 q by the मिता on या III. 297 and अपरार्क p. 1208 on या. I. 72. The मिता attributes the verse to व्यास and explains भ्रूणघ्नि as 'प्रतिलोमजश्वर्मकारादेः'. The दीपकलिका explains as 'कुत्सित- 'प्रतिलोमज ' The प्राय. वि p. 374 attributes it to अङ्गिरस् and explains 'भ्रूणघ्नः कुत्सितो हीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vrata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association Kullūka, the Pr sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vrata* that is employed by Manu and vrata does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.[240] If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed [241] for the knowing associator ¾ths of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V (p 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmana [242] and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varna. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13 51–53, Yāj. III. 261, Baud. Dh. S II. 1. 73–74, Hārita q by Pr V. p 174 and Pr prakarana p 110 and H of Dh vol III. pp. 614–616.

Visnu Dh S (chap 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI. 55–58) and Yāj (III. 228–233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Aśvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by ¼th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240 अत्र च ब्रह्महादिषु यद्यपि कामतो मरणान्तिकमुपदिष्टं तथापि ससर्गिणस्तत्प्राप्तिर्विधीयते। स तस्यैव व्रतं कुर्यादिति व्रतस्यैवातिदेशात्। मरणस्य च व्रतशब्दवाच्यत्वाभावात्। अतोऽत्र कामकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्धम्। मिता. on या III. 261, vide also मद. पा p. 853

241. यो येन संवसेद्यावत् सोऽपि तत्समतामियात्। पादहीनं चरेत्सोऽपि तस्य तस्य व्रतस्य हि ॥ व्यास q. by the मिता on या III 261, कुल्लूक on मनु XI 181

242 अत संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे शूद्रे च न प्रायश्चित्ते विशेष। तथा निरन्तरसंवत्सरसंसर्गे यत् प्रायश्चित्तमुक्तं तस्य च संवत्सरासम्पूर्तौ भागहार कार्य। तथा च बृहस्पति। पाप्मानमेव हि संयोगे याजनाध्यापनादिना। एकत्रासनशय्याभि प्रायश्चित्तार्धमाचरेत्। मद. pp. 171–172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna [243] Br. (I. 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Visnu Dh. S. 37 35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avakīrṇin*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadha* or by *cāndrāyana* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parāka* or *Gosava*. The digests prescribe that Parāka is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, Cāndrāyana for him who is weak, Gosava for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāśa, folio 122 a).

Govadha stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the Agnipurāna (168 29-37). Several smrtis provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes[244] the same penance for *govadha* as for killing a vaiśya (Gaut. *22. 15*) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe Krcchra or Atikrcchra for six months. Manu[245] XI. 108-116, Visnu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Samvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smrtimuktāphala p. 875, prāyaścitta section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadha* Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate prāyaścittas, viz (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform Krcchra penance while sleeping in a cow-pen and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *atikrcchra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

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243 बहून्युपपत्तनीयानि कृत्वा त्रिभिरनइनन्पारायणै. पूतो भवति। सामविधानब्रा. I 5. 14.

244 गां च वैश्यवत्। गौ 22 18; धेन्वनड्वाहौश्वाकारणात्। आप. ध सू. I 9. 26 1

245. अग्निपुराण 169. 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on या. III. 262.

one bull. Śankha provides[216] that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smrtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmana or to a mere brāhmana by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra For example, Devala (q. by Pr. V. p 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmana were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śātātapa (q. by Pr V. p 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomatī-vidyā[217] and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvāmitra (Pr. V. p 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four krcchras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The *Gomatī-vidyā* as quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārijāta (p. 862) and Pr T. p 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of *guggulu* (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing, cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the *mantras* recited over them; in the *agnihotra* (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

246 गोघ्नः पञ्चगव्याहार पञ्चविंशतिरात्रमुपवसेत् सशिखं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा मावृतो गाश्चानुगच्छन् गोष्ठेशयो गा च दद्यात्। शङ्ख q by विश्वरूप on या III. 262, मिता. on या III 264, हरदत्त on गौ 22 18, अपरार्क p. 1094. The मिता and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both शङ्ख and अत्रेतत्.

247 गोमतीविद्यामाह <u>अथश्चित्तकाण्डकल्पतरौ यम</u>। गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम्। तां तु मे गदतो विप्राः शृणुध्वं सुसमाहिताः॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्य गावो गुग्गुलुगन्धिका। गावः प्रतिष्ठा भूतानां गावः स्वस्त्ययनं महत्। अन्नमेव परं गावो देवानां हविरुत्तमम्। पावनं सर्वभूतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींषि च॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमरान्दिवि। ऋषीणामग्निहोत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिका॥ पावन सर्वभूतानां गाव शरणमुत्तमम्। गाव पवित्र परम गावो मङ्गलमुत्तमम्। गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धन्याः सनातना। नमो गोभ्य श्रीमतीभ्य सौरभेयीभ्य एव च। नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः। ब्राह्मणाश्चैव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम्। एकत्र मन्त्रास्तिष्ठन्ति हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति॥ प्राय तत्त्व pp. 522–523, अपरार्क and प्रा प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वभूतानां रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च'। अपरार्क p. 1102 quotes the verses from गाव सुरभयो to पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheyī*! salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahmā. Brāhmanas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmanas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c)." The Pr. prakarana [218] (p 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Samvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for govadha, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmana engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmana who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmana possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *kapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, [219] Samvarta 137, Agnipurāna 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being branded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmanas, cows or other animals Parāśara (IX. 4 ff) and Angiras (q by Pr. T. pp 526–527) prescribe $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the prāyaścitta for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadha*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāna and Parāśara. [220]

248. यत्पुन कात्यायनेन ..पराशरादिभिर्मुनिभिरपि न्यूनाधिकप्रायश्चित्तान्युक्तानि तानि कामाकामकृत–सवनस्थ–श्रोत्रिय–षडङ्गवेदाध्यायि–ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिगुणवद्धोमधेनु–गर्भिणी–कपिलादिवधविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधगवाभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वात् प्रत्येकं विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति । प्राय प्रक p. 33.

249. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विप्रे न पातकम् । विपाके गोवृषाणां तु भेषजाद्यैक्रियासु च ॥ या. III. 284, यन्त्रणे गोचिकित्सार्थं गूढगर्भविमोचने । यदि तत्र विपत्तिः स्यान्न स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 137 q. by the मिता on या. III. 284, प्राय प्रकरण p 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा व्रतं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं साधुकल्पितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणात् । न चैतद्ग्रहणे दोष । ...तथा च पराशर । प्रमापणे प्राणभृतां प्रदद्यात् प्रतिरूपकम् । तस्यालाभे मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यब्रवीन्मनुः । प्राय तत्त्व p. 513. The verse प्रमापणे is quoted as कात्यायन's (792) by the परा मा III. p 425 and वि. र p 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br (I 7.8) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I. 1 3 2) Āp. Dh S (I 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka, hamsa, bhāsa*, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a śūdra. Gaut 22 19–22, 24–25, Manu XI. 133–137, Yāj III. 269–274, Visnu Dh. S 50.25–32, Parāśara VI. 1–15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here Some smrtis such as Samvarta 10 and Paithīnasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *āranya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithīnasi [251] The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred *rk* verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture [252] (Manu XI. 142, Yāj III. 276, Vas 19. 11–12) These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prānāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI. 199, Yāj. III. 277, Vas. 23. 31) Parāśara V 1–9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gāyatrī &c).

PARADARYA (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc to Yāj III. 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpagamana* or with cāndāla women (Manu XI. 170–172, 175, 178, Yāj III. 231–233, Vas XX. 15–17 and XXIII. 41) Āp. Dh S. I. 10 28 19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. ग्रामारण्यपशुविवेके पैठीनसि । ग्राम्यारण्यश्चतुर्दश । गौरविरजोऽश्वोऽश्वतरो गर्दभो मनुष्यश्चैते सप्त ग्राम्या पशवः । महिषवानरऋक्षसरीसृपपुरुषपूषतवृगाश्चेति सप्तारण्या पशवः । प्राय वि p 233. Even the तै स VII. 2 2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्या पशव. सप्तारण्याः'.

252. पुष्पफलोपगान्यावृक्षान् हिंस्यात्। कर्षणकारणार्थं चोपदन्यात्। वसिष्ठ 19 11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I. 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night krcchra penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II. 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmana commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut (22 29–30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmana. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI 176 and Bṛhaspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1–5 and Saṁvarta 167–172). Brhadyama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.[253]

Vrātyatā (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 19. 5–7, Āp Dh. S I. 1. 1. 22–26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5–6, Vas. XI. 71–75, Manu II. 38–39, Yāj I. 37–38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddālakavrata* (Vas. XI. 76–79, Gaut. 19 8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Visnu Dh. S. 54. 26–27=Agnipurāna 170. 8–9) prescribes a milder penance of three *krcchras* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes Uddālakavrata as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on āmiksā, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S (I. 1.1. 24–27) prescribes another penance for vrātyatā. For *vrātya* or *patitasāvitrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 96, 376–379. Haradatta as

253. संवर्त 167–168 are q. by माप. वि p 358 and परा मा. II part 1 p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254 p 132, बृहद्यम IV.48 is पातिलोम्ये महत्पाप प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः। प्रायश्चित्तं चानुलोम्येन भवत्येव चान्यथा ॥.

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without upanayana then nothing could be done for that man [253a]

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmacārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakīrnin* The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penance for avakīrnin first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa [251]. Āp Dh S. (I 9. 26. 8-9) provides [255] that such a student shall offer to Nirrti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākayajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI. 8 22) provides that the offering *is to* be *made* in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire. [256] Vas. (23 1-3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*rakṣas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirrti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhā*; to him

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253a. इदं व्याख्यात हरदत्तेन भाष्यकृता। . यस्य प्रपितामहस्य पितुरारभ्य नानुस्मर्यंत उपनयनं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तामिति। तथा च संस्कार्यस्य त्रिषुरुषेष्वसमपि ज्ञातत्वे कथमपि संस्कार्यस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति फलितम्। प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 80 a

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवकिरेदमावास्याया रात्र्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय द्विराज्यस्योपघातं जुहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्म्यवकीर्णोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा कामाभिदुग्धोऽस्म्यभिदुग्धोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहेत्यमृतं वा आज्यममृतमेवात्मन्धत्ते। तै आ II. 18.

255 गर्दभेनावकीर्णी निर्ऋतिं पाकयज्ञेन यजेत। तस्य शूद्र प्राश्नीयात्। आप ध सू I 9 26 8-9, ब्रह्मचारी चेत्स्त्रियमुपेयादरण्ये चतुष्पथे लौकिकेऽग्नौ रक्षोदेवतं गर्दभं पशुमालभेत्। नैर्ऋतं वा चरुं निर्वपेत्। तस्य जुहुयाल्कामाय स्वाहा कामकामाय स्वाहा नैर्ऋत्यै स्वाहा रक्षोदेवताभ्य स्वाहेति। वसिष्ठ 23.1-2 अवकीर्णिन् is explained by क्षीरस्वामी on अमरकोश as 'अव अन्तरे कीर्णे रतौऽस्यावकीर्णी'. The वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र VI 8 employs the word in a wider sense 'सप्तरात्रौ हीने नित्यकर्मणि अवकीर्णी भवति'. For पाकयज्ञs which are ordinarily said to be seven, vide H. of Dh vol II p 194 The आश्व. gr I 1.2-3 speaks of three and quotes Rg VIII 19.5 in support The commentator explains 'पाकयज्ञाः अल्पयज्ञा प्रशस्तयज्ञा वा' and quotes Rg VII 104 8 in support for the latter meaning The खादिरगृह्य I. 1 20 defines 'पाकयज्ञ इत्याख्या य कश्चैकाग्नौ' वृद्धगौ. VIII p. 557 speaks of five पाकयज्ञs.

256. अवकीर्णिपशुश्च तद्वदाधानस्यामावास्याकालत्वात्। जै. VI 8.22, on which शबर says 'अस्त्यवकीर्णिपशुः, ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्ऋतं पशुमालभेतेति। .तस्मादिदमपि कर्म लौकिकोऽग्निरिति।'

who follows his lust, svāhā; to Nirrti svāhā; to the deities called *Raksas*, svāhā'. Gaut 23. 17–19, Manu XI. 118–123, Baud Dh. S II. 1. 35–43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāna 169. 15–18, Pār gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh S. and Pār gr furnish elaborate details. The former states that the Paśupurodāśa may be offered to Raksas or to Yama or he may offer on the Amāvāsyā at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darvi-homa* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II 18) 'Sam mā ciñcantu marutah &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, Samvarta (171–172) prescribes the penance of krcchra for six months[257]. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The pratyavasitas are said to be of nine kinds[258] by Yama (22–23), Brhad-Yama (3–4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharnā* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed), these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndrāyana* or two *Taptakrcchras*. Vrddha-Parāśara quoted by Par. M. and Prāyaścitta-muktāvali provides that sannyāsins, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as cāndālas even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among cāndālas. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint Jñāneśvara and his brothers at Paithan in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a sannyāsin reverts to another āśrama or acts contrary to the

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257 सन्यस्य दुर्मतिं कश्चिदपत्यार्थं स्त्रियं व्रजेत्। कुर्याच्छृच्छ्रं समानं तत्षण्मासांस्तदनन्तरम्॥ संवर्त 171–172, quoted in परा मा. II part 2 p 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं व्रजेद्यदि। स कुर्याच्छृच्छ्रमश्रान्त षण्मासान्प्रत्यनन्तरम्) and प्राय सा p 123 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं चिकीर्षति) 'सत्यपि प्रायश्चित्ते लुप्तधर्माः परिव्राजका गर्हिता इत्याह वृद्धपराशर। लुप्तधर्मांस्तु चाण्डाला. परिव्राजकतापसा। तेभ्यो जातान्यपत्यानि चाण्डालैः सह वासयेत्॥ इति। प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा मा II part 2 p 11

258 जलाग्न्युद्बन्धनभ्रष्टा प्रव्रज्यानाशकच्युताः। विषप्रपतनप्रायशस्त्रघातहताश्च ये॥ नवैते प्रत्यवसिता. सर्वलोकबहिष्कृता.। चान्द्रायणेन शुध्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा॥ यम 22–23 q. by प्राय सा p 126

rules of his āśrama is called *ārūḍhapatita* also (vide Par M. II, part I p 373 quoting Hārīta).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama [259] (14, 28) provides that on touching *patita*, cāṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj III. 30 contain similar provisions The Pr. V. (pp. 495–499) discusses the question whether *spar śa* [260] (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites Āpastamba-smṛti in support that if a brāhmana and a cāndāla or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the brāhmana can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya's by Pr. Prakarana [261] p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states· 'on touching a cāndāla, pukkasa, mleccha, *bhilla*, a *pārasīka* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The Sat-trimśan-mata[262] provides 'on touching

259 पतितचण्डालसूतिकोदक्याशवस्पृष्टितत्स्पृष्टुस्पर्शने सचैलोदकस्पर्शनाच्छुध्येत् । गौ 14 28 The मिता on या III. 30 reads it as सचेलसूदको॰ and रत्नाक observes that the latter is the better reading.

260 उपस्पर्शो यद्यपि न स्पर्शशब्दस्यार्थ तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकावयविद्वारा परम्परा-स्पर्शोऽपि ग्राह्य । तथा चापस्तम्ब । एकशाखां समारूढश्चाण्डालादिर्यदा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्तत्र निवसन् स्नानेन शुचितामियात् ॥ आदिशब्दादुदक्यादीना ग्रहणम् । शाखाग्रहणमेकावयवस्यु-पलक्षणार्थं तेनैकपाषागादेरपि ग्रहणम् । प्राय. वि. p 496. The verse is आपस्तम्बस्मृति VII 14 (reads somewhat differently) It is quoted in मा प्रक p 111 also

261. तत्र याज्ञवल्क्य । चाण्डालपुक्कसम्लेच्छभिल्लपारसिकादिकान् । महापातकिनश्चैव स्पृष्ट्वा स्नायात्सचेलक. ॥ मा प्रक p 110 This verse is quoted as बृहद्याज्ञवल्क्य by अपरार्क p 923

262 षट्त्रिंशन्मतम् । बौद्धान्पाशुपताश्चैव लौकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ चैत्यवृक्षश्चितिर्यूपश्चाण्डाल सोमविक्रयी । एतान् ब्राह्मण स्पृष्ट्वा सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ मा प्रक p 110, and स्मृतिच I p. 118 (which reads पाशुपतान् जैनान् लोकायतिककापिलान्) The first verse is quoted as from the Brahmānda-purāna by the मिता. on या. III. 30 and by स्मृतिच I p 118 (reads शैवान् पाशुपतान् स्पृष्ट्वा and शूद्रान् for स्पृष्ट्वा) and the 2nd is ascribed to पराशर by अपरार्क p 923.

Bauddhas, Pāśupatas, Laukāyatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *caitya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the śrauta rite called Agnicayana), a sacrificial post, a cāṇḍāla, one who sells the soma plant, a brāhmana should enter water with the clothes on.' Samvarta [263] requires a *dvija* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *vena* (Manu X 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*nata*) and Śātātapa [264] provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *ṭhaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all varnas to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ācamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the Garuḍapurāna and (on p. 316) Parāśara for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as cāndālas in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on prāyaścitta p. 312) says that Cāndāla and Turuska (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh pp. 165–179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175–176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śātātapa, Brhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

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263 चर्मारं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नटमेव च । एतान् दृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाचामेत् प्रयतोऽपि सन् ॥ संवर्त q. by प्राय वि pp 472–473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ । निर्णेजकः शौनिकश्च ठक शैलूषकस्तथा ॥ सुरेभगस्तथा श्वा च वनिता सर्ववर्णगा । चक्री स्वजी वध्यघाती ग्राम्यशूकरकुक्कुटौ । एभिर्यदङ्गं संस्पृष्टं शिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु । तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्त शुचितामियात् ॥ शातातप q. by प्राय वि p 473 and स्मृतिच I p 119. The word ठक explained by प्राय वि as धूर्त may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug' The स्मृतिच reads नट for ठक and explains as जातिविशेष रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो डुरुड एव च । कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च स्वर्णकारश्च सौचिक (सौविदः ?) ॥ कारुको लोहकारश्च शिलाभेदी तु नापित । तक्षकस्तिलयन्त्री च सूनश्चक्री तथा स्वजी । एते षोडशधा प्रोक्ताश्चाण्डाला ग्रामवासिन । गरुडपुराण q by हेमाद्रि (on प्रा p 38 and also पराशर on p 316)

to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed

The smṛtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmaṇas as regards receiving gifts The Sāma Br. (I. 7. 1-2) prescribes that if a brāhmaṇa receives a gift from a kṣatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat somo mahiṣaścakāra' (Sāmaveda I 6. 1. 5. 10, No 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *kṛcchra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrukeṣu' (Sāmaveda I.5 2.3 1, No 457) Yāj I. 140 provides that a brāhmaṇa should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of śāstra and Manu XI. 194 (=Viṣṇu Dh. S 54.24) provides that a brāhmaṇa becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatrī three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102–103 and Yāj III. 41 allow a brāhmaṇa when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptance of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him A brāhmaṇa was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such [264a] as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

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264 a अथाविक्रेयविक्रयप्रायश्चित्तानि । शङ्खलिखितौ । न विक्रीयादविक्रेयाणि । तिलतैलदधिक्षौद्रलवणद्राक्षामद्यमांसकृतान्नलवणपुरुषदास्त्रस्त्रीरुषटस्त्र्यश्ववृषगन्धरसक्षौमकृष्णाजिनसोमोदक-नीलीविक्रयात् सद्य. पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमकामावासौ कामकृतेष्वेकं पतितं ह्यात्मानमुद्धरेत् । सवत्सर तप्तकृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । कृतवापन शुचिरपोश्नुयात् त्रिरेकाह्नवासा काष्ठमौनी वीरासनमासीत रात्रौ दिवा तिष्ठेदुक्तोग्नि. कार्यपर (त्रिकार्यपर ?) सावित्रीं सवनाङ्गा जपेत्तस्य व्रतमभ्युपगम्य कुशचीरवासा मौञ्जी मेखली दण्डी पवित्रपाणिर्हविष्य वा श्रपयेच्चरु भैक्षमटुद्य वा याचित्रकमश्नीयात् द्वादशरात्र चोपवासो ब्राह्मणतर्पण गवाह्निकमित्येव व्यवहार्यो· व्यथा पतित· शिष्टैरसभाव्य· शूद्रधर्मेति । मा· प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the Vīrāsana, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the Gāyatrī.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the smṛtis and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the Śat. Br. (III. 2 1 23–24) it appears that the mlecchas spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'helavah' for 'heṣrayaḥ'). Parāśara (IX. 36) refers to the mlecchas as the eaters of cow's flesh. The Pr. T. (p 549) quotes a smṛti[265] text to the effect that a mleccha is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the Harivaṁśa for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II p 92, 383–385, 389–392 (where verses of Devala ascribed by some like the Mit. to Āpastamba-smṛti are set out), 973–974 A few matters not dealt with there may be added here The Viṣnudharmottara[266] purāṇa (II. 73. 203–206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by mlecchas or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (varna), viz that a

265. गोमांसखादको यश्च विरुद्धं बहु भाषते। सर्वाचारविहीनश्च म्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते॥ बोधायन q. by मा तत्त्व p 549, रायमुकुट as q by माय शुक्तावली (folio 104 b) reads गो ...भक्षको यस्तु अपशब्दं च भाषते। सदाचारविहीनश्च°; सगर. स्वां प्रतिज्ञा च गुरोर्वाक्यं निशम्य च। धर्मं जघान तेषां वै देवान्यस्तं चकार ह॥ अर्धं शकानां शिरसो मुण्डं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत्। यवनानां शिरः सर्वं काम्बोजानां तथैव च॥ पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पह्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणः। नि.स्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजा. पारदाश्च विशांपते। कोलिसर्पा समाहिषा दार्वाश्चोला सकेरलाः॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृत। हरिवंश, हरिवंशपर्व 14 15–19 q by माय तत्त्व p 549.

266. म्लेच्छैर्हृतानां चोरैर्वा कान्तारे वा प्रवासिनाम्। भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविशुद्ध्यर्थं तेषां वक्ष्यामि निष्कृतिम्॥ पुन माप्य स्वदेशं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वश.। कृच्छ्रस्यार्धं ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः संस्कारमर्हति॥ पादोनान्ते क्षत्रियस्तु अर्धार्धं वैश्य एव च। पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा विशुध्यति॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73,203–206.

brāhmaṇa should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a kṣatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a śūdra becomes pure by undergoing only ¼ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift In view of the fact that Manu VIII 169, Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII 6–7, Yāj II 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *śuddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vrātyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 385–387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H of Dh vol. III. pp 934–935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Gaṇeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.[267]

Manu XI 124 (= Viṣṇu Dh S. 38 7) prescribes the penance of Sāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātibhraṃśakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally For doing any of the deeds called *saṅkarīkaraṇa* or *apātrīkaraṇa* described above, Manu XI 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyaṇa for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. श्लोक । देवयज्ञे व्रते तीर्थे सत्पात्रब्रह्मभोजने। पित्र्यश्राद्धे जडीहस्ते धन व्रजति धर्म्यताम्॥

days Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāna (170. 23–25). Visnu Dh. S. (39.2, 40.2, 41 5) prescribes somewhat different penances for sankarīkarana, apātrīkarana or malinīkaranīya deeds Vide also the Mit on Yāj III. 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Brhaspati. About miscellaneous *pātakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI. 209, Visnu Dh S 42 2, Yāj. III 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmanas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārīta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once Daksa[268] II. 73 also states that all *naimittika* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.[268a] The Pr. T. (pp 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāracintāmani [269] and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittenduśekhara (p 15) says that according to respectable people (*śistas*) the *sankalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsyā*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh S. 26 6–17 prescribes

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268 नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा। तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विलम्बयेत्॥ दक्ष II 73 q by प्रा तत्त्व p 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसागरे देवल·। कालातिरेके द्विगुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत्। द्विगुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात्॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके। संवत्सराभिशस्तस्य दुष्टस्य द्विगुणो दम.। इति मनुवचने०। प्रा. तत्त्व p 474 This is मनु VIII 374.

269. 'तस्माद्विश्रम्भात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयात्मादाद्वा अशुभं कृत्वा सद्यः शौचमारभेत्' इति हारीतेन सद्यःकरणमुक्तम्। अत्रापि 'व्यवहारचिन्तामणौ विशेष'। नाष्टम्या न चतुर्दश्यां प्रायश्चित्तपरीक्षणे। न परीक्षा विवाहश्च शनिभौमदिने तथा॥ प्रा. तत्त्व p 474. The words 'तस्मात्·· चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारीत by मद. पा. 703–704.

the method of performing Krcchra penance It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (*i e.* should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *anāryas* (śūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X.9.1–3), with the verses called Pavitravatī and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiraṇyavarṇāh sucayaḥ pāvakāh' (Tai. S V. 6 1.1–8) Then he should perform the *tarpaṇa* [270] (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namaḥ* and ending with *namah* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities) This constitutes for him the worship of Āditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen *mantras* and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Viśve Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svistakrt Then he serves dinner to brāhmaṇas The Āp. Dh. S II. 6 15.9 states [271] the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmaṇas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baud Dh S. (II. I. 95–99) prescribes that in a krcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head Manu (XI. 222–225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the mahāvyāhṛtis every day, the sinner has to practise *ahiṁsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight-forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, śūdras and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthaṇḍila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *muñja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c), should honour gods, brāhmaṇas and his elders, should always recite the Gāyatrī and sacred texts.

270 For the usual tarpaṇa, vide H. of Dh vol II. pp 689–695

271. शुचीन्मन्त्रवत सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। आप ध सू II 6. 15 9.

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yāj III. 312–13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmacarya*, kindliness, forbearance, truthfulness, *ahiṁsā* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigṛhya (V. 3–11) prescribes the procedure for all penances Yāj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of kṛcchra or cāndrāyaṇa, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas 28.11–15) and should eat balls of rice over which the Gāyatrī has been recited. Śaṅkha[272] (18.12–14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance The Madanapārijāta (pp 781–784), Pr. V. (pp 503–506), Pr. Sāra (pp 21,22 and 200–203), Pr. T. pp. 497–510, 523–524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18–21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), Prāyaścittenduśekhara (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing prāyaścittas. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c , drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform śrāddha, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform homa, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the brāhmaṇas and feed them. Parāśara (XI. 3) says that at the end of the rite of penance pañcagavya should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a śūdra. Yama (verse 63) says that brāhmaṇas should be fed on the performance of a penance and a dakṣiṇā of one golden *māṣa* should be given to each brāhmaṇa. Jābāli says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the smārta fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhṛtis*, perform śrāddha and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M II part 2 p. 195 for Jābāli's verses. The Pr Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the Mahārṇava the number of *vyāhṛti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

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272. मुण्डश्मश्रुनखधारी अधःशायी जितेन्द्रियः। श्रीशूद्रपतितानां च वर्जयेत्परिभाषणम्॥ पवित्राणि जपेच्छक्त्या जुहुयाच्चैव शक्तितः। अयं विधिः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकृच्छ्रेषु सर्वदा। शङ्ख 18 12–14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *mundana*). The Tai Br (I 5 6.1–2) states[273] 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits, therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head' The Pr Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānusa* (of men), that the āsura method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *iṣṭis* and *soma* sacrifices the daiva method is ordained, while in prāyaścittas, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e. g. the Viṣnupurāna provides [274] 'Tonsure should be carried out at Prayāga when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother, one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the Madanapārijāta and Pr M. states [275] Gaut. (27 3), Vas.[276] (24 5), Baud. Dh. S. (II.1.98–99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure Dakṣa[277] forbade tonsure, the offering of *piṇḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and all funeral rites to

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273 तेऽसुरा ऊर्ध्वं पूष्णेभ्यो नापश्यन्। ते केशानग्रेऽवपन्त अथ श्मश्रूणि अथोपपक्षौ। ततस्तेऽवाञ्च आयन् पराभवन्। यस्यैवं वपन्ति अवाङेति। अथ देवा ऊर्ध्वं पूष्णेभ्योऽपश्यन्। ते उपपक्षौ अग्रेऽवपन्त अथ श्मश्रूण्यथ केशान्। सुवर्गं लोकमायन्। तै ब्रा I. 5 6. 1–2 (about the vapana of a Cāturmāsya-yājin). वपन त्रिविध दैवमासुर मानुष चेति। आहुर निन्दितं मानुषदैवयोर्विकल्प। आधानेष्टिसोमेषु दैवस्य विहितत्वात्। प्रायश्चित्तेषु तु विशेषविध्यभावाद् विकल्प एव। मा प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयागे तीर्थयात्राया पितृमातृवियोगत.। कक्षाना वपनं कार्यं न वृथा विकचो भवेत्॥ विष्णुपुराण q by प्राय तत्त्व p 489

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च। केशानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्केशान्वापयाम्यहम्॥ इति मन्त्रमुक्त्वा कक्षोपस्थशिखावर्जं क्रमेण श्मश्रूपपक्षकेशान्तदक्सरथाद् वापयेत्। यतिविधवादीना सशिख वपनम्। ब्रह्महत्यादिष्वपि सशिख सर्वाङ्गलोम्ना च। प्राय. म p. 19.

276. कुन्द्राणा व्रतरूपाणि श्मश्रुकेशान्वापयेद्भ्रुवौक्षिलोमशिखावर्जं०। वसिष्ठ 24 4–5, कुक्षे त्रिपवणमुदकोपस्पर्शनम्। अधः शयनम्। एकवस्त्रता। केशश्मश्रुलोमनखवापनम्। एतदेव स्त्रिया. केशवपनवर्जम्। चौ ध सू II. 1. 95–99 The मिता on या III 325 reads वसिष्ठ as श्मश्रुकेशादि वापयेत् कुक्षिरोमशिखावर्जम्।, should it not be अक्षिरोम०?

277. मुण्डन पिण्डदानं च प्रेतकर्म च सर्वश। न जीवन्पितृकः कुर्याद् गयिणीपतिरेव चेति दक्षीयनिषेधस्य रागप्राप्तविषयत्वाद् विधिसृष्टे निषेधानवकाशात्। मा प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh S already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances Angiras 163, Āpastamba-smrti I. 33–34, Brhad-Yama IV.16, Vrddha-Hārīta IX 386, Parāśara IX. 54–55, Yama 54–55 provide [278] that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52–54), Śankha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290–291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmana tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *dakṣinā* would have to be double. [279] The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu [280] (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmanas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avakīrnin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III 264) further quotes *Samvarta* [281] to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M (II part 1. p 300) while describing cāndrāyana penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

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278. सर्वान्केशान् सशुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्। न स्त्रिया केशवपनं न दूरे शयनाशनम्॥ पराशर IX. 54–55.

279 केशाना रक्षणार्थाय द्विगुणं व्रतमाचरेत्। द्विगुणे व्रत आदिष्टे द्विगुणा दक्षिणा भवेत्। राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुत.। अकृत्वा वपन तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्। पराशर IX 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 14 52–54, for the half केशाना°, vide बृद्धहारीत IX 387. The मिता on या III 325, प्राय वि. p. 503, प्राय सा p. 22, मद पा. p 782 quote these verses as हारीत's in a different order and प्राय तत्त्व p 519 ascribes almost similar verses to लघुहारीत

280. विद्वद्विप्रभृपत्नीनां नेष्यते केशवापनम्। ऋते महापातकिनो गोहन्तुश्चावकीर्णिन.॥ मनु q by मिता on या. III 325, प्राय. सा pp 22–23 (as महर्षि). The प्राय. तत्त्व p 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मिता

281 पादेऽङ्गरोमवपनं द्विपादे श्मश्रुणोऽपि च। त्रिपादे तु शिखावर्जं सशिखं तु निपातने॥ सवर्त q. by मिता. on या III 264, प्राय म p 14, प्रा प्रकाश folio 31a, which remarks 'शिखावर्जमिति शिखावतामेव तेन यतिविधवादीनां सर्ववपनमेव। यतिः शूद्रश्च त्रिधा सशिख वपनं चरेदिति वचनाच्च।'

of the body (including private parts).[282] The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *saṅkalpa* is 'vapanam karisye' and not 'vapanam kārayisye' From Gaut 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyana Haradatta and others infer that *vapana* is unnecessary in krcchra penance

Baths that are subsidiary to prāyaścitta are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kuśa* grass has been dipped *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the Linga-purāna, the Bhavisyapurāna and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all prāyaścittas whether secretly or openly undergone They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p 121) from Yāj III. 312–313 Atri (verses 48–49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows. viz *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmana should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing prāyaścittas certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, Hārita[283] prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māsa* and *masūra* pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ācamana* if he speaks with women or śūdras or those who are *ucchista* Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr[284] Prakāśa when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

282. पौर्णमास्यामुपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः। केशश्मश्रूणि लोमानि कक्षोपस्थ च वापयेत्॥ q by parā. mā II. part 1 p 300

283. माषमसूरमधुपरान्नमैथुनानि प्रत्यहं वर्जयेत्। व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाचं विसृजेत्। स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टाभिभाषण आचामेत्। हारीत q. by अपरार्क p 1230, गात्राभ्यङ्ग शिरोभ्यङ्ग ताम्बूलमनुलेपनम्। व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यच्चान्यद्बलरागकृत्॥ यम q by parā. mā II part 2 p. 196

284. व्रतनिवेदनविमोचनमन्त्रौ तैत्तिरीयशाखाया अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेय तन्मे राध्यताम्, अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मे राधि इति तु व्रतसमाप्तौ॥ mā prakāśa folio 37 b. अग्ने...राध्यताम् is तै सं I 5 10,3 = वाज सं I.5 and अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं is तै. सं I 6 6.3 = वाज. सं II 28.

vratam carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas! I shall perform a *vrata*) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vratapate vratam-acārisam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.').

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāśa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24 1-11), Vas. (25 1-3), Manu XI. 248-265, Yāj. III. 301-305, Visnu Dh. S. 55 and other smrtis lay down rules about secret prāyaścittas. Where a man's [285] sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a mahāpātaka is aware of the association. Vas.[286] 25 2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parṣad*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are always intent on prānāyāmas, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI.226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and sūdras can perform penance in secret, since, though they cannot perform *homa* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mit on Yāj III.300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and *prānāyāmas*. Gaut 26 2 and Manu XI. 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

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285. हारीतोऽप्याह। अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुकमिष्यामः। रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति। प्राय सा. p 161, परा सा. II part 2 p 153, vide प्रा सार p. 161 and प्राय. चि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहिताग्नेर्विनीतस्य वृद्धस्य विदुषोऽपि वा। रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं पूर्वोक्तमितरे जनाः॥ प्राणायामैः पवित्रैश्च दानैर्होमैर्जपैस्तथा। नित्ययुक्ताः प्रमुच्यन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः॥ वसिष्ठ 25. 2-3; the first verse is q by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from चतुर्विंशतिमत (reads इतरस्य तु).

sa mandi' (Rg X.58 1–4). For one who is guilty of brāhmana murder Gaut. (24 6) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homas* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.[287] Yāj III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmana should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Visnu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prānāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Visnu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vrata* (as stated) for brāhmana murder and reciting Aghamarsana; while the thief of brāhmana's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gāyatrī ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasrasirsā' (Rg X. 90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old smrtis were terrible and involved loss of life Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed For example, Hārita[288] states 'brāhmanas who have studied dharmaśāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmana (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner) Angiras also says that the *parisad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life Śankha

287. हरदत्त on गौ 24 6 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो मुखे मृत्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहा नखान्यात्मनो मुखे मृत्योरास्ये जुहोमि स्वाहेत्येवंप्रकारा होमा..

288 यथावयो यथाकालं यथाप्राणं च ब्राह्मणे। प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणैर्धर्मपाठकैः॥ येन शुद्धिमवाप्नोति न च प्राणैर्वियुज्यते। आर्तिं वा महतीं याति न चैतद् व्रतमादिशेत्॥ हारीत q. by परा मा II. part 1 p 235, पर्यालोच्य तत्सर्वं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत्॥ सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्स्याद्यच्च प्राणान् न घातयेत्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by परा मा II part 1 p 236, मद् पा. p. 779.

declares:[289] 'a brāhmana should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body'.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnāyas*) were found and prescribed The word pratyāmnāya was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20,18 (yadyanādhyo-gnīnādadhīta kāmam-evaikām gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnāyo bhavatīti vijñāyate), 6 30 9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14 51,6 and other sūtras Samvarta[290] states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara[291] (XII 63-64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz the recital of the famous Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62 10) ten thousand times or 200 prānāyāmas, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19 16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāna[292] provides that in the absence of a cow a *niska* or half niska

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289 तस्करश्वापदाकीर्णे बहुव्यालमृगे वने। न व्रतं ब्राह्मण. कुर्यात्प्राणबाधाभयात्सदा। शरीरं धर्मसर्वस्वं रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नत। शरीरात्स्रवते धर्म पर्वतात्सलिल यथा। शङ्ख 17. 63 and 65 q. by मद. पा 728, अपरार्क p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षेज्जीवन्पापं व्यपोहति। व्रतै. कृच्छ्रैस्तथा दानैरित्याह भगवान्यमः॥). This is शङ्ख. 17 64.

290. प्राजापत्यव्रताशक्तौ धेनुं दद्यात्पयस्विनीम्। धेनोरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशय॥ सर्वत्र q by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 197, मा सार p. 203, प्राय. तत्त्व pp. 517 and 541. The मिता on या. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्मृत्यन्तर and adds another half as 'मूल्यार्धमपि निष्कं वा तदर्धं शक्त्यपेक्षया' The verse is q from मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपरार्क p 1248.

291 प्राजापत्यकृच्छ्रस्य चतुर्गव्यान्नायानाह कृच्छ्रं देव्यसुत चैव प्राणायामशतद्वयम्। पुण्यतीर्थेऽनार्द्रशिरःस्नान द्वादशसंख्यया॥ द्वियोजने तीर्थयात्रा कृच्छ्रमेकं प्रकल्पितम्॥ पराशर XII. 63-64 and परा मा II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं च यथाशक्ति देयम्। अत एव ब्रह्मपुराणे गवामभावे निष्कं स्यात्तदर्धं पादमेव वा। परा मा. II part 2 p 197, मा. सार p 203. The मिता. on या III 326 quotes it without name.

or a quarter niska may be given The Caturvimśatimata [293] provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for Prājāpatya viz recital of Gāyatrī ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmana—these four (including Prājāpatya) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *samhitā* of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmanas, Pāvakesti are equal. The Caturvimśatimata [294] stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājāpatya penance, of two cows for Sāntapana, of three cows for Parāka, Tapta-krcchra and Atikrcchra and eight for Cāndrāyana The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmanas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the *Mit* (on *Yaj. III.* 326) says that in the case [295] of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājāpatyas could be performed, each prājāpatya extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i. e 360) milch cows, if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niskas or even half or quarter thereof &c. Yāj. III 309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī or making brāhmanas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. Vas 28 18–19 (=Atri VI. 7–8) and Visnu Dh S 90 10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmanas on the Full moon of Vaiśākha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

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293 कृच्छ्रोऽयुतं च गायत्र्या उपवासस्तथैव च। धेनुप्रदान विप्राय सममेतच्चतुष्टयम्। तिलहोमसहस्रं तु वेदस्याध्यायमेव च। विप्रा द्वादश वा भोज्या· पावकेष्टिस्तथैव च। अन्यानि वा पवित्राणि समान्याहुर्मनीषिण. । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा मा II part 2 p 47 and also p 196 (with some variations), मा मयूख p 26 The मिता on या III. 326, मा सार p 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवास for उदवास . There are similar verses in the षट्त्रिंशन्मत also (vide मा सार p. 204).

294 प्राजापत्ये तु गामेकां दद्यात्सान्तपने द्वयम् । पराकतप्तातिकृच्छ्रे तिस्रस्तिस्रस्तु गास्तथा ॥ अष्टौ चान्द्रायणे देया अत्याम्नायविधौ सदा। यथा विभवसारेण दानं दद्याद्विशुद्धये। चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा मा' II part 2 p 200, अपरार्क p 1248, मा सार p 204 (first verse)

295. न च महापातकमद्युक्तनिष्कृतिक सम्भवति कस्माद्युक्तनिष्कृतिकेष्वपि प्राजापत्यादयो योजनीया· । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिकव्रते द्वादश द्वादश दिनान्येकैकं प्राजापत्य परिकल्प्य गण्यमाने प्राजापत्याना षष्टयधिकशतत्रय द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमनुष्ठेयं भवति । तदशक्तौ तावत्यो वा धेनवो दातव्या. । तदसम्भवे निष्काणां षष्टयधिकशतत्रयं दातव्यम्' । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरम् । प्राजापत्य ...मूल्यार्धमपि निष्कं वा तदर्धं शक्त्यपेक्षया । गवामभावे निष्क स्यात्तदर्धं पाद एव वा इति स्मरणात् । मिता. on या III 326.' The मा प्रकाश says 'सुवर्णचतुष्टयसमतोलितं रूप्य निष्क इत्यर्थः ' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्षापणशब्दा अन्योन्यं पर्याया भासन्ते'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the Smrtyarthasāra pp. 149, 155, Prāyaścittasāra p. 203, Pr. T. pp. 517, 541, Pr. Mayūkha p. 18 &c The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the smrtis that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform prāyaścittas for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.[295a]

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers The Pr. V. (p 199) states the price of a milch cow (*payasvinī*) was 3 purāṇas, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one purāna and that of a bull was five purānas. The Pr. T. (pp. 517–18) quotes Kātyāyana to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *paṇas* and that of a male calf one purāna, that a *pana* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varāṭakas* (*cowries*), that 16 panas were equal to one purāna (following Bhavisya and Matsya purānas), that by niska is not meant the one indicated by Manu (VIII. 137) but a dīnāraniska i. e gold weighing 32 raktikās. The Prāyaścittenduśekhara p. 7 follows Yāj I 365 and holds that niska is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarnas* or a *pala*. A raktikā weighs on an average 1·8 grains; so a copper pana of 80 raktikās would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenu* was equal to 32 panas (or two purānas) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp.120–121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers According to Vijñāneśvara four *suvarnas* are equal to a silver niska According to the Līlāvatī 20 varāṭakas are equal to a kākinī, 4 kākinīs are equal to a pana and a niṣka is equal to 256 panas.

295a There was a parallel to this method of prayāmnāya in Europe as remarked by Gibbon 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol VII. p. 187 (Smith's ed. of 1862).

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smṛtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMARṢAṆA—(The hymn Ṛg. X 190 1–3)

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmaśāstra works such as Gaut 24.11, Baud. Dh S IV. 2 19–20, Vas 26 8, Manu XI.259–260, Yāj III 301, Viṣnu Dh S. 55 7, Śankha 18 1–2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Aghamarsana hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha sacrifice The Pr. Sāra p 199 speaks of the Aghamarsana-vrata He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śankha 18 1–2 and Viṣnu Dh. S.46.1–9 prescribe the details.

ATIKṚCCHRA—Vide under Kṛcchra Manu XI. 213 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days Yāj III 319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel) The Mit, Pr Sāra (p 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj is meant for those who are unable (*aśakta*) The Sāmavidhāna Br. I.2 6–7, Gaut 26.18–19, Viṣnu Dh S 54 30, Laugāksigṛhya V.12–13, Parāśara XI.54–55, Vas 24 1–2, Baud Dh S IV 5 8 also speak of this Manu XI 208 (= Viṣnu 54 30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmana with a weapon or a cudgel Gaut 26 22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *mahāpātakas*

ATISĀNTAPANA—See under Mahā-sāntapana This is variously defined According to the Agnipurāna 171 10 and Viṣnu Dh S. 46 21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit on Yāj. III 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days. [296] The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

ARDHAKṚCCHRA—See under Kṛcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9 43–44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days [297] (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

AŚVAMEDHAVABHṚTHASNĀNA— the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Aśvamedha sacrifice. Viṣnu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Aśvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1228–1236 for a description of the Aśvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a kṣatriya could perform Aśvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI. 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhaviṣya-purāṇa) even a brāhmaṇa could participate in the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmaṇa murder if committed unintentionally. [298]

AGNEYA KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāṇa and Viṣnudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is *āgneya* Kṛcchra. [299] Vide also Pr Pr. (folio 48 b.)

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296 यदा तु षण्णां सान्तपनद्वयाणामेकैकस्य द्वयहमुपयोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम्। यथाह यमः। एतान्येव तथा पैयान्यैकैकं तु द्वयहं द्वयहम्। अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्वपाकमपि शोधयेत्॥ इति। मिता on या III 315, प्राय. सा p. 191, अपरार्क p 1234 (reads द्वयहं त्र्यहम्)

297. सायंप्रातस्तथैवैकं दिनद्वयमयाचितम्। दिनद्वयं च नाश्नीयात्कृच्छ्रार्धं तद्विधीयते॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43–44 q. by मिता. on या III. 318, प्रा. वि p 509, परा मा II part 2 p 173, प्राय. सा. p 172.

298. अश्वमेधप्रायश्चित्तं तु राज्ञ एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात्। ...अश्वमेधावभृथस्नाने विप्रस्याप्यधिकारः। तथा च कल्पतरुधृतं भविष्यपुराणम्। यदा तु गुणवान् विप्रो हन्याद्विप्रं तु निर्गुणम्। अकामतस्तदा गच्छेत्स्नानं चैवाश्वमेधिकम्। ततश्चावभृथस्नानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकोक्तं हेयम्। प्राय. तत्त्व p 544. Vide प्राय वि. p 65 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिलैर्द्वादशरात्रेण कृच्छ्रमाग्नेयमार्तिहृत्। अग्निपुराण 171. 14, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. in प्रा. प्रकाश folio 48b (reads ० ग्नेयमुच्यते)

ṚSICANDRĀYANA—According to Brhad-Visnu quoted by Pr. Prakarana p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month [300]

EKABHAKTA—According to Pr Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka.[301]

KRCCHRA—This is the general word for several penances The Sāma. Br (I 2 1) starts [302] by saying 'we shall now expound three krcchras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2–16) describes the procedure of the first Krcchra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atikrcchra (26 18–19), and then Krcchrātikrcchra (26 20). Baud. Dh. S (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Krcchra. Āp. Dh S (I.9.27.7) describes the Krcchra penance of twelve days. The Krcchra penance described by Gaut. 26 2–16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI 211), Śankha (18 3), Yāj III 319 and others. Laugāksi Gr. (5 3–11) describes Krcchra According to the Par [303] M. (II part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr, (folio 64a) the word Krcchra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p 461) states that the Krcchra described by Gaut. (26 1–5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI. 211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

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300. तथा बृहद्विष्णु । त्रींस्त्रीन् पिण्डान् समश्नीयाज्जितात्मा दृढव्रत । इत्येवमासस्य वै मासमृषिचान्द्रायणं चरन् । प्राय. प्रक p 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr V. p 520, Pr. T p 544, प्राय. सा p 196 (reads ग्रासान् for पिण्डान्)

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं चैकभक्तकम् । नक्तकृच्छ्र तु नक्तेन मासस्संवत्सराच्चरेत् । प्रा प्रकाश (folio 48 a).

302. प्रातराशान् भुक्त्वा तिस्रो रात्रीर्नाश्नीयात् । अथापर त्र्यह नक्तं भुञ्जीताथापर त्र्यह न कञ्चन याचेदथापर त्र्यहमुपवसेत् तिष्ठेदहानि रात्रावासीत क्षिप्रकाम । सान ब्रा. I 2 1–4 गौ (26. 1–6) is word for word the same except that Gaut omits the word त्रीन् in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् व्याख्यास्याम । इत्येवान् त्र्यहमनक्ताश्यवित्वाग्नी ततस्त्र्यह त्र्यहमयाचितव्रतस्त्र्यहं नाश्नाति किंचनेति कृच्छ्रद्वादशरात्रस्य विधि । आप ध. सू I. 9 27 7

303. स्मृतिशास्त्रेषु निरुपपदस्य कृच्छ्रशब्दस्य प्राजापत्य एव प्रायुर्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापत्यमिति केवलस्मरणाच्च । परा मा. II part 1. p 30

men and women that are *anāryas* (not of the three higher castes), always singing the *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing mārjana[304] (sprinkling of of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi sthā' (Rg X.9.1–3), with the mantras called 'pavitravatī' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānah suvarjanah' (Tai. Br. I 4 8 1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnāh' (in Tai. S V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpaṇa* with water with 13 *mantras* (Gaut 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i.e. after *tarpana* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāh, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śviṣtakṛt and then feeds the brāhmanas.

Kṛcchra-saṁvatsara—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which Krcchras are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Krcchrātikrcchra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 8, Vas. 24 3 define it as a krcchra where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I 2 9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins.[305] Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāna q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digests by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a krcchrātikrcchra for 24 days.[306] Vide Par.

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304. For *mārjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 317, 812 n and for *tarpana* the same vol pp. 668–9, 689–695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the rk 'punānah soma dhārayā' (Rg IX. 107.4 = Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5 = Sāmaveda No. 676).

305 अभक्षस्तृतीयः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । ..तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वस्मादेनसो मुच्यते । गौ. 26, 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽभक्ष स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्र । वसिष्ठ 24, 3.

306. चतुर्विंशतिरात्रं तु नियतात्मा जितेन्द्रिय. । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तम.॥ यम प by अपरार्क p. 1238, मद-पा. p 716, महार्णव folio 182 explains, पूर्वोक्तादशाहसाध्यातिकृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थ.।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI 208 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmana with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakarana (p 15) states that for those unable to undergo Krcchra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikrcchra two milch cows and for Krcchrātikrcchra four.

GOMŪTRA-KRCCHRA—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine. [307]

GOVRATA— Pr. Prakarana (p. 132) quoting the Mārkandeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CĀNDRĀYANA—The word is derived in this way That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyana [308] The word occurs in Pān. V. 1. 72 (pārāyana-turāyana-cāndrāyanam vartayati) From very ancient times Cāndrāyana has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya [309] (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of *yava*, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pipīlikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends). Baud Dh S. III. 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jābāli [310] there are five

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307. आ तृतेश्चारयित्वा गा गोधूमान्यवमिश्रितान्। तान् गोमयोत्थान् संगृह्य पिबेद्गोमूत्र यावकम्॥ q. by प्राय. सा p.187. This is quoted as from योगयाज्ञवल्क्य by महार्णव० folio 185a (which reads पचेत् for पिबेत्)

308. चन्द्रस्यायनमिवायनं चरण यस्मिन् कर्मणि ह्रासवृद्धिभ्या तच्चान्द्रायणम्। संज्ञाया दीर्घ । मिता on या III. 323. These very words are quoted in प्राय सार (p. 192), प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 50b) and other works The word should be चान्द्रायण, but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened

309 तवेतच्चान्द्रायणं पिपीलिकामध्य विपरीत यवमध्यम्। यौ. ध III 8. 33. 'यववत् प्रान्तयोरणीयो मध्ये च स्थवीय इति' प्राय. सा p. 192. पिपीलिकावन्मध्ये कृशिष्ठ भवतीति पिपीलिकामध्यामिति कथ्यते' मिता on या III 323.

310. पिपीलिकायवमध्यं च यतिचान्द्रायणं तथा। चान्द्रायणं तथा ज्ञेय चतुर्थं सर्वतोमुखम्॥ पञ्चम शिशुसाख्य च तुल्यपुण्यफलोदयम्। जाबालि q. by दीपकलिका on या. 325, प्राय वि p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyaṇa viz. *Yavamadhya, Pipīlikāmadhya, Yaticāndrāyaṇa, Sarvatomukha* and *Śiśucāndrāyaṇa.* These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III. 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyaṇa effects purification and cāndrāyaṇa may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.[311] Manu XI. 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyaṇa for accumulating merit. When the *vrata* of cāndrāyaṇa is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 '*vapanam vratam caret*' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that Kṛcchra, Atikṛcchra and Cāndrāyaṇa are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V 21 and XI. 215 (=Baud. Dh S. IV. 5. 16). Manu XI. 27, Yāj. III. 323, Vas. 27 21, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyaṇa (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *piṇḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (Paurnamāsī) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāvāsyā there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurnamāsī day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurnamāsī is in the middle of the period of the observance as Viṣnu Dh. S. 47.6 says. If one begins the *vrata* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd tithi of the dark half and so on On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāvāsyā he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurnamāsī he takes 15 morsels The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrnimānta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end So this is called Pipīlikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas 23.45

311. अनादिष्टेषु पापेषु शुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणेन तु। धर्मार्थं यश्चरेदेतच्चन्द्रस्यैति सलोकताम्॥ या. III 326. सवत्सरं चाप्त्वा चन्द्रमसः सलोकतामाप्नोति। गौ. 27. 18.

and Manu XI. 216. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.5–6 say: Yasyāmamāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa pipīlikā-madhyah yasya paurnamāsī sa yavamadhyah. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular paksa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly There are other descriptions of cāndrāyana Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12–15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābāla) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on amāvāsyā one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on Paurnamāsī. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several smṛti texts such as Vas 23.45 and Parāsara X 2 Therefore the Pr. Prakāśa (folio 58b) finds fault with it [311a] Cāndrāyana may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUṆA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhya* or *pipīlikā-tanu-madhya*), while the latter is of four kinds, viz. sāmānya, ṛṣi-cāndrāyana, śiśucāndrāyana and yaticāndrāyana The last two will be described later. The Sāmānya (or sarvatomukha) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by Manu XI 220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yāj III. 324 and the Mit (on Yāj. III. 324), the Madana-pārijāta and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called Cāndrāyana for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the Cāndrāyana which follows the phases of the moon. Here the Mīmānsā rule of Kundapāyinām-ayana applies. [312] From the words of Gautama

311a अत्र कल्पतरुव्याख्यानम्। एकैक ह्रासयेद् ग्रासमिति कृष्णप्रतिपदि पञ्चदशग्रासा-नारभ्य एकैकापचयेनामावास्यायामेको ग्रास। तदनन्तरं प्रतिपदि द्वौ ग्रासौ एवं वृद्धिक्रमेण चतुर्दश्या पञ्चदशग्रासा संपद्यन्ते पौर्णमास्यां चोपवास इति पिपीलिकातनुमध्यं चान्द्रायणम्। प्राय पि p 519.

312. अत्राय क्रमः। दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ग्रासान् भुञ्जीत, अथवा नक्त चतुरो दिवा चतुर इति। अथैकस्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तत्रैकराजमुपेक्ष्यापरस्मिन् षोडश। यद्वा दिन द्वयमुपोष्य तृतीयादिने द्वात्रिंशादित्यादिप्रकाराणा मध्ये शक्त्यपेक्षया भुञ्जीतेति। अत्र तिथ्यपेक्षया

(*Continued on the next page*)

27.12–15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyaṇa of 32 days (pipīlikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the pipīlikā-madhya type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it) Yāj III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3[313] prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Śaṅkha that of an undried *āmalaka* fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyaṇa is described in Gaut. 27.2–11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221–225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmaśāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6–11 are applicable to Cāndrāyaṇa also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāyasva' (Rg I. 91. 17), 'sam te payāmsi' (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad devā devaheḍanam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

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(*Continued from the last page*)

प्रायनियमो नास्ति उपक्रमस्तु शुक्लकृष्णप्रतिपदोरन्यतरत्र एव कर्तव्यः। नद पा. p. 743, यत्र तु चत्वारिंशदधिकशतद्वयप्रासानां नास्तेन यथाकथंचिद्भक्षणं तत्र चन्द्रगत्यनुविधानाचरणाभावेन चान्द्रायणशब्दः कुण्डपायिनामयने अग्निहोत्रशब्दवत्तद्धर्मप्राप्त्यर्थो गौण इति। प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 56b. Vide नद. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kuṇḍapāyināmayana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where शबर says 'कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते 'मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति। तत्रैतत्सनावियतं नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतदिति। अधुना आग्निहोत्र-शब्दश्चिन्त्यते। ..नैयमिकस्याग्निहोत्रस्य ये धर्मास्तेऽस्मिन्कर्मणि नाम्नातिदिश्येरन्।'।

313. कुकुटाण्डप्रमाणं तु ग्रासं वै परिकल्पयेत्। पराशर. X 3; vide also प्राय. म. p.21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Vāj S VIII. 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the [314] following words 'om bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, tapaḥ truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva' [315]; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration' svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following. boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KRCCHRA—See under Toyakṛcchra

TAPTAKRCCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance Manu XI 214, Vas 21 21, Viṣnu Dh. S 46 11, Baud Dh. S. IV 5.10, Saṅkha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāṇa 171 6–7, Atri verses 122–123, Parāsara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc to Manu XI. 214) Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control Yāj III 317 (= Devala 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit on Yāj. III. 317 calls this *mahātapta-kṛcchra* and also mentions a *taptakṛcchra* of two days, viz on the first day the sinner takes . . e three, viz hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakṛcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz. 'prāṇāya svāhā, apānāya svāhā' etc

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूर्भुवः स्वस्तप सत्य यश श्रीर्ध्मेधाजः स्तेजो वर्चः पुरुषो धर्म शिव इत्येतैर्नामानुमन्त्रणं प्रतिमन्त्र मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा सर्वान्। गौ 27. 8–9, some MSS omit वर्चः

of by the Mit has to be found out The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a tapta-krcchra for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-krcchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara [316] IV. 8, Atri 123–124 and Brahmapurāna (q. by Pr V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively The Brahmapurāna adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon

TULĀPURUSA KRCCHRA—Jābāli speaks [317] of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śankha (18.9–10) and Visnu Dh. S. 46 22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day Yāj. III. 322 (= Atri verses 129–130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpurusa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj III. 322). Aparārka pp. 1239–1241, Par. M II. part 2 pp 184–189, Madanapārijāta pp. 718–727, Pr. Sāra pp 179–181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpurusa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *usīra* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun.

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316. षट्पल तु पिबेदम्भस्त्रिपलं तु पय. पिबेत्। पलमेकं पिबेत्सर्पिस्तप्तकृच्छ्रं विधीयते॥ पराशर IV 8 (B S series) vol II part 1 p 26 It may be noted that the Mit on Yāj. III 317, the Pr, Sāra p 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अपा पिबेत्तु त्रिपल द्विपल तु पय पिबेत्। पलमेक पिबेत्सर्पिस्त्रिरात्रं चोष्णमाचरेत्॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रिरात्रमाचरेत्य पूरणे उष्णोदकवाप्यं पिबेदित्यर्थः'। The मद. पा. pp. 735–736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर According to Yāj I 363–64 a pala is equal to 4 or 5 suvarnas and a suvarna is equal to 80 krsnalas (guñjas) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः। पिण्याकं च यथाचाम तक्रं चोदकसक्तव। त्रिरात्रमुपवासश्च तुलापुरुष उच्यते॥ q. by मा. सार p. 178, परा मा. II. part 2 p. 183.

TOYA-KRCCHRA—This is also called Varuna-krcchra by Yama (q in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śankha (q in Pr. Sāra p. 182). Visnu Dh S. (46. 14) states [318] that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakrcchra*. Since Varuna was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the Rgveda (e. g. in Rg. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-krcchra was called Vāruna. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)[319] quotes Jābāla to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuna) he removes by the *jalakrcchra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q in Pr. Sāra p 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatrī mantra 1008 times. According to Śankha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktus* boiled in water.

DADHIKRCCHRA—This is spoken of by the Pr Prakāśa quoting from the Visnudharmottarapurāna as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.[320]

DEVAKRCCHRA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II. part 2 pp. 191–192) describes this as follows [321]: One should partake

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318 उदकसक्तुना मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 14, 'विसान्युदक-सिद्धानि मासमश्नीत संयत. । सक्तून्वा सोदकान्मासं कृच्छ्रो वारुण उच्यते ॥' शङ्ख q by बालम्भट्टी on या III 318, मा सार. pp 186–87.

319. अनश्नञ्जलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्युध. । सवत्सरकृतं पाप जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥ जाबाल q. by मा सार p 187, मा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वारुण-मन्त्राणाम्, as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्रात्रि नीत्वाप्सु सूर्यदृक्। सहस्राष्टाधिक जप्त्वा गायत्रीं जलसङ्गक ॥', vide द्वितीयेद्धि सूर्ये द्वयष्टोत्तरसहस्रगायत्रीजप कृत्वा पारण कुर्यादिति । मा सार p. 187. This is q. by मा प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is या III, 311.

320 विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दध्ना क्षीरेण तक्रेण पिण्याकाचामकैस्तथा । शाकैर्मास तु कार्याणि स्वनामानि विचक्षणै ॥ मा प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवागूं यावक शाक क्षीरं दधि घृत तथा । त्र्यहं त्र्यह तु प्राश्नीयाद्वायुभक्षस्त्र्यह परम्। मरुद्भिर्वसुभी रुद्रैरादित्यैश्चरितं व्रतम् । व्रतस्यास्य प्रभावेन विरजस्का हि तेऽभवन् ॥ कृच्छ्र देवकृत नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्। यम q. by परा मा II part 2 pp 191–192 and by मा सार pp. 183–184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भि) लौगाक्षिगृह्य VI 3 reads 'यवागू. . .शाकं पय. सर्पि. कुशोदकम्। त्र्यह ..त्र्यहम्॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवागूरुपासिततुषयव सम्पाद्या देयमाया प्रसिद्धा यावकोपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तमायः कठिन.'

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

DHANADAKṚCCHRA—See under Vāyavya-kṛcchra. According to the Viṣnudharmottara [322] (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

NITYOPAVĀSA KRCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. [323]

PAÑCAGAVYA—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 773–774. Pañcagavya is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvati' (Rg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Viṣnur' (Rg I. 22. 17), 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8), 'Śam no devīr' (Rg. X 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three Palāśa leaves or with a lotus leaf. Manu. XI. 165 (= Agnipurāna 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of pañcagavya as the penance for petty thefts Similarly, Yāj. III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 263 quotes Viṣnu to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of pañcagavya every day for one month or undergoing the penance of Parāka or Cāndrāyaṇa. [324] Though Viṣnu 54. 7 and Atri (verse 300) state that a brāhmaṇa

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322 वाजमभृतिमप्येका कनकेन समन्विताम्। भुञ्जानस्य तथा मासं कृच्छ्रं धनददैवतम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by मा प्रकाश folio 48 b.

323 सायं प्रातश्च भुञ्जानो नरो यो नान्तरा पिबेत्। षड्भिर्वर्षैरिदं प्रोक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योपवासितम्॥ मा प्रकाश p 48a.

324 गोघ्नस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासमेकं पलत्रयम्। प्रत्यहं स्यात्पराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि वा॥ विष्णु q by मिता. on या III. 263 and परा मा II part I p. 243 (which reads मासमेकं निरन्तरम्। प्राजापत्यं पराको वा)

drinking *surā* and a śūdra drinking pañcagavya both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Visnu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr M. (p 13) and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 42) allowed śūdras to take pañcagavya without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all varnas, being treated like śūdras for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

PATRAKRCCHRA—Vide Parna-kūrca below.

PARĀKA—Manu XI. 215 (= Baud. Dh S IV. 5.16), Yāj. III. 320 (= Śankha 18 5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāna 171, 10, Visnu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Br. [325] prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

PARNAKŪRCA—This is a more severe type of patra-krcchra Yāj III 316 (= Devala 83) and Śankha-Likhita [326] define Parnakrcchra as one where the leaves of palāśa, udumbara, lotus, and bilva are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kuśas* have been dipped is drunk. Thus parnakrcchra is a penance of five days The Mit. on Yāj. III. 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kuśa* water on the same day then the penance is called parnakūrca. The Par M (II part 2 p 181)[327] regards Parnakūrca as a variety of Parna-krcchra Vasistha, Jābāli and Atri (116–117) make Parna-krcchra a penance of six days by adding the leaves of Aśvattha to the five mentioned above. Visnu Dh S 46 23 mentions another variety of Parnakrcchra for seven days [328]

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325. जपहोमरत कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम्। पराक एष विख्यातः सर्वपापप्रणाशन ॥ बृह q by प्राय वि p 515.

326 शङ्खलिखितौ—पत्रबिल्वपलाशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्र । मद पा p 733, दीपकलिका on या III. 317, while अपरार्क p 1234 reads एकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्र. समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकृच्छ्र. (0 कूर्च ?) The मद पा p 734 reads पर्णकूर्च

327 तथा वसिष्ठ । पलाशोदुम्बरपलाशबिल्वाश्वत्थकुशानासुदक पीत्वा षड्रात्रेणैव शुध्यति । प्रा प्रक p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपद्मशङ्खपुष्पीवटब्रह्मसुवर्चलाना पत्रै क्वथितस्याम्भस प्रत्येक (प्रत्यह ?) पानेन पर्णकृच्छ्र. । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 23 बालम्भट्टी on या III 316 remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना सप्ताहसाध्य उक्त.', मद पा p 733 explains 'शङ्खपुष्पी लताविशेषः। ब्रह्मसुवर्चला ब्राह्मीविशेष.' ।

PARṆAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parnakūrca above.

PĀDAKṚCCHRA—According to Yāj. III. 318 (=Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it The Caturvimśatimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively

PĀDONAKṚCCHRA—This lasts for nine days [329] only instead of the 12 days of the Prājāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

PUṢPAKṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāna 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water. [330]

PRASṚTA-YĀVAKA or *PRASṚTIYĀVAKA*— Visnu Dh S chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārita (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192–194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Visnu and Baud. Prasrti means the hand with all fingers stretched out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

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329 मासं प्रातर्विनार्धं स्यात्पादोन नक्तवर्जितम्। आपस्तम्बस्मृति I. 14, q by मिता on या III. 318, प्राय सार p. 172, परा मा. II part 2 p. 173

330 यथाह मार्कण्डेय। फलैर्मासेन कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिभिः। श्रीकृच्छ्र श्रीफलै मोक्ष पद्माक्षैरपरस्तथा। मासेनामलकैरेवं श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम्। पत्रैर्मत पत्रकृच्छ्र पुष्पैस्तत्कृच्छ्र उच्यते। मूलकृच्छ्र स्मृतो मूलैस्तोयकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु॥ मिता. on या III. 316, मद पा p. 734 We should read कथित for कथितः as मद पा does, which remarks 'शरीरयात्रामात्रप्रयुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वव्रतसाधारणेतिकर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या। तानि च फलानि कानीत्याकाङ्क्षायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्र.'.

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here.[331] "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali*[332] offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuna and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *gaṇas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, śūdras, or food offered at śrāddhas by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at navaśrāddha (i e on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vrata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of brāhmanas Then Baud proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

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331 अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्गुरुमिवात्मानं मन्येतात्मार्थे प्रसृतयावक श्रपयेदुदितेषु नक्षत्रेषु। न ततोऽग्नौ जुहुयात्। न चात्र बलिकर्म। अक्षत श्रप्यमाणं क्षत चाभिमन्त्रयेत। यवोसि धान्यराजोसि वारुणो मधुसयुत । निर्णोद· सर्वपापाना पवित्रमृषिभि स्मृतम्॥ सर्व पुनथ मे यवा·॥ इति। श्रप्यमाणे रक्षा कुर्यात्। नमो रुद्राय भूताधिपतये यो शान्ता कृणुष्व पाज· प्रसितिं न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनाद्यवाकेन। ये देवा पुर सदोऽग्निनेत्रा रक्षोहण इति पञ्चभि पर्यायै । मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति द्वाभ्याम्। क्षृत च लब्ध्वाग्नीयात्प्रयत पात्रे निधिच्य। ये देवा मनो· जाता मनोयुजः सुरक्षा दक्षपितरस्ते न· पान्तु ते नोऽवन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्य स्वाहेति। आत्मनि जुहुयात् त्रिरात्र मेधार्थी षड्रात्र पीत्वा पापकृच्छ्रद्धो भवति। सप्तरात्र पीत्वा भ्रूणहनन गुरुतल्प· गमनं सुवर्णस्तैन्य सुरापानमिति च पुनाति। एकादशरात्र पीत्वा पूर्वपुरुषकृतमपि पाप निर्णुदति। अपि वा गोनिष्क्रातानां यवानामेकविंशतिरात्र पीत्वा गणान्पश्यति गणाधिपति पश्यति विद्या पश्यति विद्याधिपति पश्यतीत्याह भगवान् बौधायन.। बौ ध सू III. 6. The verses eulogising yava (यवोसि) are Baud. III 6. 5–10, Visnu Dh S 48 17–22 and Hārīta (q. in Par M. II. part, 2 p 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārīta agrees closely with Baud while Visnu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Visnu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud about mahāpātakas Visnu 48 6 prescribes Rg IX 96 6 (ब्रह्मा देवाना॰) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh II pp. 741–747

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Krnusva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Rg I. 114 8 and Tai S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānām' (Rg. IX. 96.6, Tai. S III. 4 11. 2) "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the *Ganas*, the lord of the *Ganas*, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

PRĀJĀPATYA—Vide under Krcchra above where it is shown that the word Krcchra without any qualifying epithet means Prājāpatya. Manu XI. 211, Yāj III. 319, Visnu Dh. S. 46 10, Atri 119–120, Śankha 18 3, Baud Dh. S. IV 5 6 mention the word Prājāpatya and define it. This Prājāpatya has several varieties. The first is that described by Manu XI. 211 and Vas. 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by Vas. 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each The first [333] is called Prājāpatya by 'sthānavivrddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Dandakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'ānulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अयमेव पादकृच्छ्रः यथाकथंचिद्दण्डकलितवदाचर्त्या स्वस्थानविवृद्ध्या वा, तत्राप्यानुलोम्येन प्रातिलोम्येन वा तथा वक्ष्यमाणजप्यादियुक्तं तद्रहितं वा त्रिरभ्यस्तं. प्राजापत्योऽभिधीयते। मिता on या III 319 The मद् पा p 710 explains 'तत्रार्थं पक्षमाह मनु —ऽथ प्रात' ॥ अत्रैकभक्तादीना स्वस्थान एवाभिवृद्धत्वात् स्वस्थानवृद्धि ।'

and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras) [334]

PHALAKṚCCHRA— Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkandeya quoted above (n 330). Śrīkṛcchra mentioned below will be also phalakṛcchra The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

BĀLAKṚCCHRA—See Śiśukṛcchra

BṚHAD-YĀVAKA—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahmapurāna describes it as follows:—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

BRAHMAKŪRCA—The Mit [335] on Yājñavalkya III 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of pañcagavya with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with mantras it is called Brahmakūrca. According to Śankha cow's urine is taken with the Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62 10), cowdung with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām' (Tai. Ā. X. 1), milk with 'ā pyāyasva' (Ṛg I 91.16), curds with 'dadhikrāvno' (Ṛg IV. 39. 6), ghee with 'Tejosi' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and Kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' (Vāj S. 22 1, Ait. Br. 37. 3 &c.). Jābāla [336]

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334 तस्माच्छ्रद्धं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमविधर्जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q by the मिता on या III. 319 and महार्णव folio 182 a

335. यदा पुन पूर्वेद्युरुपोष्यापरेद्यु समन्त्रकं सयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्याख्यायते । मिता on या III 314. Vide लघुशातातप 156–166 for ब्रह्मकूर्च, which is the penance for all sins where no specific penance is prescribed

336. अहोरात्रोषितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्या विशेषत । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्ब्रह्मकूर्चविधिः स्मृत ॥ जाबाल q. by मा वि p. 515, मा. प्रकाश folio 50a and प्राय म p 22

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that *Pañcagavya* and *Brahmakūrca* are synonyms. The Madanapārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Sāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.[337]

BRAHMAKRCCHRA— Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyaścitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkandeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Visnu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

MAHĀTAPTAKRCCHRA—Vide Taptakrcchra.

MAHĀSĀNTAPANA—Sāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI 212 (=Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11=Śankha 18.8=Bṛhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Visnu Dh. S. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Laugākṣigṛhya VII. 3, Yāj. III. 315 (=Devala 82=Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i e it lasts for 7 days) According to Śankha 18.9, Baud Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābāla[338] the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks [339] of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

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337. ततश्च योगीश्वराभिहित सान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्च इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । मा सार p. 189, vide also मद पा. p 729. The reference is to the verse 'उत्तमाधिगत पापं देहे तिष्ठति मानवे । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम् ।' cited as पराशर's in मा सार p 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यत्र ..देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो दहेत्सर्वं मदीयाग्निरिवेन्धनम् ॥

338. षण्णामेकैकमेतेषा त्रिरात्रमुपयोजयेत् । ऽयहं चोपवसेदन्त्यं महासान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जाबाल q. by अपरार्क p. 1234, परा मा. II. part 1 p 31.

339 ऽयहं पिबेत्तु गोमूत्रं ऽयहं चै गोमयं पिबेत् । ऽयहं दधि ऽयहं क्षीरं ऽयहं सर्पिस्ततः शुचि. ॥ महासान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् । यम q. by मिता. on या. III. 315, मा सार p 191, परा मा. II part 1 p. 31.

MAHEŚVARA KRCCHRA— Vide Hemādri (on Prāyaścitta) p. 961, which sets out a passage from Devala, that states that Brahmā prescribed it for Maheśvara on the burning of Madana In this penance in the after-noon one should carry a broken jar (kapāla) and beg at three houses of learned brāhmanas for vegetables, offer them to God and eat them and should sleep in the evening near an idol After getting up the next day he should donate a cow and drink pañcagavya

MŪLAKRCCHRA—Visnu Dh. S 46 15 [340] states that it is so called when one subsists on lotus stalks alone and the Mit. on Yāj III. 316 quotes Mārkandeya to the effect that one must subsist on mūlas (edible roots) alone

MAITRAKRCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāsa (folio [341] 53 a) mentions it Its peculiarity is that in the Sāntapana on the third day milk of a *kapilā* (tawny) cow is to be partaken of The same work notes that the Kalpataru states that this is a sāntapana in which on the first day all the six ingredients (cow's urine &c) are taken followed by two days of fasting

YAJÑAKRCCHRA—This is a penance for one day laid down by Angiras (q by Pr. Sāra p. 183, Smrti-muktāphala p 939) as follows: The sinner should bathe thrice, should be self-controlled and silent: and after the morning bath he should recite the sacred Gāyatrī 1008 times together with *om* and the Vyāhrtis at the beginning When reciting he should be in the Vīrāsana [342] posture He should drink cow's milk only once either sitting down or standing or curds of cow's milk (if he cannot secure cow's milk) or butter-milk or barley gruel mixed with cow's urine (in the absence of milk, curds or butter milk). This one-day penance called Yajña-krcchra removes all sins

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340 विसाम्यवहारेण मूलकृच्छ्र । विष्णुध सू 46 15

341 द्वितीयसान्तपने तृतीयदिने कपिलाक्षीरपाननधिकम् । एष नैत्रकृच्छ्रेपीति प्राय-श्चित्तविवेके । कल्पतरौ तु गोमूत्रादिकनेकस्मिन्नहनि द्वादशवासादिति दिनत्रयसाध्यं सान्तपन-मिति यज्ञस्वामी । मा प्रकाश folio 53a, कपिलायास्तु दुग्धाया धारोष्णं तु पयः पिबेत् । एष मैत्रकृत कृच्छ्र सर्वपापप्रणाशक । पन in प्राय. वि p 513; the words द्वितीयसान्तपने · कृच्छ्रोपीति (in मा प्रकाश) are taken from प्राय. वि p 513

342 वीरासनं निराश्रयमुपवेशनम् । तथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । उत्थितस्तु दिवा तिष्ठेदुपविष्ट-स्तथा निशि । एतद्वीरासनं नाम महापातकनाशनम् ॥ प्राय. वि pp. 197–198 The word occurs in several smrtis such as Saṅkha 18.2, Laghu-Viṣṇu III 9. The Agni-purāna (171 3–4) defines it in the same way

YATICĀNDRĀYAṆA—Manu XI 218 (= Baud Dh. S. IV. 5.20), Agnipurāṇa 171. 4, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 47. 7 define [343] it as a penance where the sinner eats only eight mouthfuls of sacrificial food only once in the noon for a month and exercises control over himself.

YATIŚĀNTAPAṆA—When the ingredients [344] of Pañcagavya are mixed together (with kuśa water) and drunk for three consecutive days it is Yati-śāntapaṇa according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 314. The Pr Prakaraṇa p. 128 adds that the three days must be followed by a fast for one day.

YĀMYA.—According to Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa quoted by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) this consists in subsisting for a month on *saktu* grains found in cowdung.

YĀVAKA—Śaṅkha [345] (18. 10–11) states that partaking of boiled yavas obtained from cowdung for a month is the Yāvaka penance for destroying all sins. The Par. M. and Pr. Prakāśa quote a prose passage from Devala, [346] according to which the penance may last for seven days, a fortnight or a month and which states that the procedure of Prājāpatya will apply to this penance.

VAJRA—Atri 164 defines [347] it as a penance, where barley grains fried in clarified butter and mixed with cow's urine are partaken of.

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343 अष्टौ ग्रासान् प्रतिदिवसं माससमग्रीयात् स यतिचान्द्रायण. । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47. 7, q as बृहद्विष्णु by प्रा. प्रकरण p 131. As to हविष्य food, vide कात्यायन 'हविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तदनु व्रीहयः स्मृताः । अभावे व्रीहियवयोर्दध्नापि पयसापि वा । तदभावे यवान्वा वा जुहुयादुदकेन वा । q. by स्मृतिच I p 163 गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 has हविष्येषु.. स्मृता. । and then adds 'माषकोद्रवगोरादि सर्वालाभे विवर्जयेत् । and गोभिल III. 114 has the verse अभावे व्रीहि०. On आश्व गृ. I 9 6 (हौम्यं च मांसवर्जम्) हरदत्त quotes 'पयो दधि यवागूश्च सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मासं तथा तैलमापश्चैव दशैव तु ।'. Vide कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 400 and नित्याचारपद्धति (p 320) for this last verse and further details about हविष्यान्न.

344. यदा श्वेतदेव मिश्रितं पञ्चगव्यं त्रिरात्रमभ्यस्यते तदा यतिसान्तपनसज्ञा लभते । एतदेव व्यहाभ्यस्तं यतिसान्तपनं स्मृतम्-इति शङ्खस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III. 314.

345 गोपुरीषाशनो भूत्वा मासं नित्यं समाहित. । व्रतं तु यावकं कुर्यात् सर्वपापापनुत्तये॥ शङ्ख. 18.10–11 q. by परा० मा. II. part 2 p 192 (reads०शीयवाभ्यासो) and प्राय. सार p 199, मद पा. p 746 (reads० रीषाद्यवाशं च)

346 देवलोऽपि । यवानामप्तु साधितानां सप्तरात्रं पक्षं मासं वा प्राशन यावकः । एतेन यावकपायसौदकानि व्याख्यातानि । q by परा. मा III. part 2 p 192 and प्रा. प्रकाश folio 49 a

347. गोमूत्रेण तु संयुक्त यावकं घृतपाचितम्। एतद्वज्रमिति प्रोक्तं भगवानत्रिरब्रवीत्॥ आत्रि 164.

VĀYAVYA-KṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāna[348] and Viṣnudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VṚDDHAKṚCCHRA—VṚDDHI-KṚCCHRA—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śankha-Likhita[349] and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days

VYĀSAKṚCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-kṛcchra,[350] for which see above p 148.

ŚIŚUKṚCCHRA—also called Bālakṛcchra by Śankha-Likhita and Pādakṛcchra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvalī (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-kṛcchra[351] It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas 23.43 (q by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud Dh. S II 1. 92. Yāj. III. 318

ŚIŚU-CĀNDRĀYANA—Manu XI. 219, Baud Dh. S IV., 5 19, Agnipurāna 171.5 state that when a brāhmana eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śiśu-cāndrāyana (cāndrāyana for boys, old men &c).

ŚĪTAKṚCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakṛcchra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold[351a] and not hot (as in Tapta-kṛcchra). Vide Viṣnu Dh S 46 12, Agni-purāna 171 7 and Mit on Yāj. III. 317 According to Viṣnu quoted by Pr Sāra (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day

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348 मास वायव्यकृच्छ्रं स्यात्पाणिपूरान्नभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14, वायव्य कृच्छ्रमुक्तं तु पाणिपूरान्नभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q by मा प्रकाश folio 48 a

349 तत्र शङ्खलिखितौ । प्रात सायमयाचितमुपवासस्त्रयह त्र्यहमिति प्राजापत्यं द्वयह द्वयहमिति वृद्धकृच्छ्र., एकैकमिति बालकृच्छ्र. । प्राय. वि. p. 511. The प्राय सार p 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350 The मा प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कापिलाया ..एष व्यासकृत· कृच्छ्रः श्वपाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लघुकृच्छ्रस्यैव शिशुकृच्छ्र इति नामान्तरम् । प्राय म p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकृच्छ्र । त्र्यह शीत पिबेत्तोय त्र्यह शीत पय पिबेत् । त्र्यहं शीतं घृतं पीत्वा वायुभक्ष परं त्र्यहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on या III. 317.

ŚRĪKRCCHRA—According to Visnu Dh. S. 46.16, Agnipurāna [352] 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj III. 316 (quoting Mārkandeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or āmalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śankha to the same effect.

SANTAPANA—Vide Mahāsāntapana and Atisāntapana above It is of five kinds, viz the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRĀYAṆA—The Agnipurāna defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyana. Visnu. Dh S. (47 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyana' [353]

SUVARṆA-KRCCHRA—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp 969–972 quoting Devala and Mārkandeyapurāna, in which a *varāha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine *rūpakas* and a rūpaka was one māsa of five *guñjas* (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmana secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarna-krcchras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMĀYANA—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744–746 (quoting Hārītadharmasūtra and Mārkandeya) and Pr Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next fort-night, the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

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352 बिल्वाभ्यवहारेण श्रीफलकृच्छ्रः पद्माक्षैर्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16; फलैर्मासं फलं कृच्छ्र बिल्वै. श्रीकृच्छ्र ईरित । पद्माक्षैः स्यादामलकै. पुष्पकृच्छ्रं तु पुष्पकै. । अग्निपु 171 12 Vide note 330 above for मार्कण्डेय.

353. यथा कथंचित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम्। मासेन भक्षयेदेतत्सुरचान्द्रायणं चरेत्॥ अग्निपु 171 5–6 या III 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेनैवोपभुञ्जीत चान्द्रायणमथापरम्॥ The Mit explains यथाकथंचित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्नेऽष्टौ ग्रासान्, अथवा नक्तादिनयोश्चतुरश्चतुरो वा, अथवैकस्मिंश्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथैकरात्रमुपोष्यापरस्मिन्पोडश वेत्यादिप्रकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्त्याद्यपेक्षया भुञ्जीत' यथाकथंचित्यदूनौना त्रिंशतीं मासेनाश्नीयात्स सामान्यचान्द्रायण.। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk Vide also Prāyaścittendu-śekhara p 12

SAUMYAKRCCRA—According to Yāj III 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed The Mit, Madanapārijāta p 717, Pr Sāra p 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jābāla (quoted by the Mit., Par M. II part 2 p 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128–129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakāśa (quoting Brahmapurāna) speaks[354] of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

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354 प्रकारान्तरेण षडह सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो ब्रह्मपुराणे। प्रथमेऽहनि नाइनीयात्सौम्य-कृच्छ्रेपि सर्वदा। गोमूत्रयावकाहार षष्ठे सक्तूंश्च तत्समान्॥ इति। प्र. प्रकाश folio 46b

CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a prāyaścitta, the Smṛtis, Purāṇas, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences Yāj. III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells Manu XII. 54 ff and Yāj. III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c Manu XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of prāyaścittas) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). Manu XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[355] echoes the words of Yāj. III. 221. The Viṣnudharmottara declares[356] that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). Viṣnu Dh. S. (44. 1–10) prescribes[357] that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of atipātakas, mahāpātakas, anupātakas, upapātakas, jāti-

355. पापकृत्याति नरक प्रायश्चित्तपराङ्मुख । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q by परा मा II. part 2 p 209

356. प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यवासिता' । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ मानुष्यमपि चासाद्य भवन्तीह तथाङ्किता. । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4–5 q. by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and प्राय वि. p. 120 (both of which read अदण्डिताः for अवासिताः of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मना नरकेष्वनुभूतदु खाना तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति । अतिपातकिनां पर्यायेण सर्वा· स्थावरयोनयः । महापातकिना च कृमियोनयः । अनुपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः । उपपातकिना जलजयोनयः । कृतजातिभ्रंशकराणा जलचरयोनय. । कृतसङ्करीकरणकर्मणां सृगयोनय. । कृतापात्रीकरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः । कृतमलिनीकरणकर्मणा मनुष्येष्वस्पृश्ययोनय. । प्रकीर्णेषु प्रकीर्णा हिंसा. क्रव्यादा भवन्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1–10.

bhramśa-kara actions, sankarikarana, apatrikarana, malinikarana and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Visnu Dh. S. 45.1 provides[358] that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins) So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven[359] There are in the Rgveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell In Rg II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Visve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāh). In Rg IV 5 5 it is said[360] that those men who are bereft of *rta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In Rg. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down[361] into bottomless darkness evil-doers, and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths Indra is implored in Rg X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In Rg. IX. 73 8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the Rgveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358 अथ नरकाभिभूतेषु खानाः तिर्यक्कुलमुत्तीर्णानां मनुष्येषु लक्षणानि भवन्ति। विष्णु धर्मसूत्र 45 1.

359 Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof A. A Macdonell, pp 167–170, 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads' by Prof. Keith pp 405–410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp cm ff, Vol. 61 pp 76–80, Vol 62 pp 150–156,

360. पापास सन्तो अनृता असत्या इदं पदमजनता गभीरम्॥ ऋ. IV 5 5.

361 इन्द्रासोमा दुष्कृतो वज्र अन्तरनारम्भणे तमसि म विध्यतम्। ऋ VII 104, 3; यो नो अरातिं समिधान आनळ् ऋ VII. 104. 11. यो अस्मां अभिदासत्यधरं गमया तमः। ऋ X. 152 4. विद्वान्त्स विश्वा भुवनाभिपश्यत्यवान्मघान् विध्यति कर्ते अव्रतान्। ऋ IX 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods But there is no mention in the Rgveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda [362] V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmana or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the *Vīrahan* [363] (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraka* (nārakāya vīrahanam). A *vīrahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1 4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed The Tai. Ā I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Visādin and Avisādin in the south-east, south-west, north west and north-east. From the Kathopanisad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama [364] (II. 5–6) The same Upanisad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upanisad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purānas. The very words at the beginning of the Katha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrāpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed The Kausitaki Br (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

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362 ये ब्राह्मण प्रत्यष्ठीवन्ये चास्मिन् क्षुल्कमीषिरे। अन्तस्ते मध्ये कुल्याया' केशान् खादन्त आसते॥ अथर्व. V 19. 3

363 अथातुर्नारक लोक निरुन्धानस्य याचिताम्। अथर्ववेद XII 4 36, वीरहा वा एष देवाना योऽग्निमुद्वासयते। तै स II. 2 5 5

364. न साम्पराय प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम्। अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुन. पुनर्वशमापद्यते मे॥ कठोप० II, 6, vide n. 94 above for कठोप० V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.[365]

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer In certain Ṛk verses there are said to be three heavens (e g Ṛg I 35 6, VIII. 5 8, VIII. 41 9, IX. 113. 9) The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuna are implored to give the worshipper immortality[366] (Ṛg I. 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X 107 2) Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Ṛg. IX. 113 10-11).[367] In Ṛg IX. 113 8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Vaivasvata, where the sun is confined (i e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow' A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven[368]. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'[369] The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Iṣṭāpūrta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Ṛg X 14 8). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Ṛg X. 154. 1-3)[370], and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs[371] The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तद्यथा ह वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्या पशूनश्नन्ति यथैभिर्भुञ्जत एवमेवामुष्मिँल्लोके पशवो मनुष्यानश्नन्त्येषमेभिर्भुञ्जते । कौषी ब्रा XI 3

366. नाकस्य पृष्टे अधि तिष्ठति श्रितो यः पृणाति स ह देवेषु गच्छति। ऋ I 125 5, उतो अस्मानमृतत्वे दधातन। ऋ V 55. 4, वृष्टिं वा राधो अमृतत्वमीमहे। ऋ V 63 2, उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदा सह ते सूर्येण। ऋ X. 107 2.

367. यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते। कामस्य यत्रा आप्तास्तत्र मामृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव । ऋ. IX. 113 11

368, अन्यव्रतममानुषमयज्वानमदेवयुम्। अव स्व सखा दुधुवीत पर्वत सुध्नाय दस्यु पर्वत॥ ऋ. VIII. 70 11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अभूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान्। किं नूनमस्मान्कृणवदराति. किमु धूर्तिरमृत मर्त्यस्य ॥ ऋ VIII. 48 3.

370. ये युध्यन्ते प्रधनेषु शूरासो ये तनूत्यजः । ये वा सहस्रदक्षिणास्ताँश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात्॥ ऋ X. 154 3

371. इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते । इदमस्य धम्यते नाळीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ ऋ. X. 135. 7.

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution [372] In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are bevies of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease[373]. Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII. 3.17).[374] The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.[375] The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5-6)[375a] The Śat. Br. (XI 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.[376] Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified There is nothing to show

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372. स नाकमभ्यारोहति यत्र शुल्को न क्रियते अबलेन बलीयसे ॥ अथर्व III 29. 3.

373 नैषा शिश्नं प्र दहति जातवेदा स्वर्गे लोके बहु स्त्रैणमेषाम्॥ घृतह्रदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना। एतास्त्वा धारा उप यन्तु सर्वा स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिन्वमाना। उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ता.॥ अथर्व IV. 34.2 and 6

374 यत्रा सुहार्दः सुकृतो मदन्ति विहाय रोगं तन्वः स्वायाः। अश्लोणा अङ्गैरहृता. स्वर्गे तत्र पश्येम पितरौ च पुत्रान्॥ अथर्व VI. 120 3. स्वर्गे लोकमभि नो नयासि सं जायया सह पुत्रैः स्याम॥ अथर्व XII 3 17.

375 किं तद्यज्ञे यजमान. कुरुते येन जीवन्सुवर्गं लोकमेतीति जीवग्रहो वा एष यददाग्नीऽ नभिपुनरस्य गृह्णाति जीवन्नेवैनं सुवर्गं लोक गमयति॥ तै सं VI. 6 9 2.

375 a 'यो वा इह यजते असुं स लोकं नक्षते ... देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि' तै. ब्रा. I.5 2.5-6

376 स ह सर्वतनूरेव यजमानोऽमुष्मिंल्लोके सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्क्रित्या यजते। शतपथ. XI.1.8 6.

that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II 37 'hato vā prāpsyasi svargam' or in the Raghuvaṃśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects In the Brhadāranyaka Up (IV 3 33) and Tai Up. (II. 8) it is[377] stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world[378] In the Kathopanisad (I 12) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kausītaki Br Up as quoted by Śankarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1 28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or[379] the earth. The Chāndogya Up in one place remarks[380] 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmana or a ksatriya or vaiśya But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a *cāṇḍāla*'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects

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377 तस्येयं पृथिवी सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात्। स एको मानुष आनन्द । ते ये शत मानुषा आनन्दा स एको मनुष्यगन्धर्वाणामानन्द । ..ते ये शत देवानामानन्दा स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्द'। तै उप. II.8.

378. स्वर्गे लोके न भय किंच नास्ति न तत्र त्व न जरया बिभेति। उभे तीर्त्वाशनायापिपासे शोकातिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके॥ कठोप I.12

379 एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्योऽधो निनीषते। कौ आ. उ III 9.

380 तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन्ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रियोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वा। अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूया योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। छान्दोग्योप V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyesti and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X 14. 2 'Yamo no gātum prathamo viveda. yatrā nah pūrve pitarah pareyuh '). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuna. In Rg. X. 14. 13–15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuna, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods'[381] In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mrtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama Rg I. 38 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.[382] Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mrtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V 18 3 13 it is said[383] 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai S. V. I. 8 2 and V 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381 सुञ्जन्तु मा शपथ्यादथो वरुण्यादुत। अथो यमस्य पड्वीशात् सर्वस्माद्देवकिल्बिषात्॥ ऋ X 97 16.

382 मा वो मृगो न यवसे जरिता भूदजोष्यः। पथा यमस्य गादुप॥ ऋ I 38.5.

383. यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्यानां यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकमेतम्। वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा सपर्यत॥ अथर्व 18.3.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai S III. 3 8 3-4 it is declared [385a] 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yami. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhis* on the Vedi it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck' In Rg X. 14. 10[385] the *pitṛs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama In the Ait Br [385a] (XII. 3) Mṛtyu is credited with having fetters (*pāśas*) and wooden maces (sthāṇu) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.[385] The Purāṇas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta For example, the Varāhapurāṇa [386a] chap 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions The Agnipurāṇa chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

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384. अग्निर्वाव यम इयं यमी कुसीदं वा एतद्यमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यदोषधीभिर्वेदिं स्तृणाति यदनुपौष्य प्रयायाद् ग्रीवबद्धमेनमनुष्मिंल्लोके नेनीयेरन्। तै सं. III 3 8 3-4.

385. अधा पितॄन्त्सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति। ऋ X 14 10

385a स सर्वान्पाशान्सर्वान् स्थाणून् मृत्योरतिमुच्य स्वस्त्येनोदमुच्यत। ऐ ब्रा XII 3

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol, IV pp 19–46 on 'Yama and the Pitṛs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawn, pitrs as 'rays of light' and saramā 'light of twilight') Vide Dr R. N. Dandekar in B C Law Presentation vol I pp 194–209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā VII 10 implies 'अहर्वावासीच्च रात्री सा यमी भ्रातरं नृत नाभृष्यत तां यदभृच्छन् यमि कामं ते भ्रातामृतेत्यब्रवीत्यब्रवीत्'

386 a. अयं वृक्षस्त्वयं तिर्यगयं नीचं व्रजेच्चर ॥ 2 अयमायोधने शत्रुं हत्वा तु निधन गतः। ब्राह्मणार्थे गवार्थे वा राज्ञार्थे निधनं गत। शक्रस्य ह्यमरावत्यां निवेदयत मा चिरम्। verses 9–10 of chap 205 of वराहपुराण; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीय स्वकर्मभि। भुंक्ते च पापकृद्दुःखं सुखं धर्माय सङ्गत ॥ यमाज्ञप्तै किङ्करैस्तु पात्यते नरकेषु च। अग्नि. 203 4–5; गृह्णाति नरकाणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम्। आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहाद्यूर्ध्वगामिन ॥ ..यम दृष्ट्वा यनोक्तेन चित्रगुप्तेन चोरितान्। प्राप्नोति नरकान्दीप्तान् धर्मी शुभपथोर्दितम् ॥ अग्नि. 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smṛtis, purāṇas and digests. The Nir. (I 11) quotes[387] a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*na* + *araka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (na + ra + ka) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II. 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word putra is offered by Manu IX 138 (=Ādiparva 229.14= Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises[388] heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *patana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varṇas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

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387. अथापि न इत्येष इत् इत्थनेन संप्रयुज्यते परिभवे नेज्जिह्मायन्त्यो नरकं पताम इति। नरकं न्यरकं नीचैर्गमनं नास्मिन्नरमणं स्थानमल्पमप्यस्तीति वा। निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हविर्भिरेके स्वरितः सचन्ते सुन्वन्त एके सवनेषु सोमान्। शचीमदन्त उत दक्षिणाभिर्ने°. This is a खिल verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on या III 217 quotes नेज्जि°. and explains 'जिह्मायन्त्य· कौटिल्येन प्रवृत्ता कामकार-प्रवृत्ता इति यावत्। अतश्चाकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्ति.'; पुत्र· पुरु त्रायते निपरणाद्वा पुत् नरकं ततस्त्रायत इति वा। निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरक। गौ 13 7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानि· पतनम् तथा परत्र चासिद्धि.। तमेके नरकम्। गौ. 21. 4–6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्वमत तु विशिष्टे देशे कु.लैकतानस्य वासो नरक इति'; vide also अपरार्क p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined[389]. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.[390] In another place Ap. Dh S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III. 1.13 makes it[391] clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Samyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III. 1.15 the *narakas*[392] are said to be seven Pānini VI. 2 38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the Kāśikā com on Pānini III. 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The Visnupurāna I. 6.41 names seven hells, Tāmisra, Andhatāmisra, Mahāraurava, Raurava, Asipatravana, Kālasūtra and Avīci and (in II. 6 2–5) names 26 *narakas*. Śankha-Likhita as quoted by the Madanapārijāta pp 694–695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called Kumbhīpāka, Raurava, Mahāraurava &c. Manu IV. 88–90, Yāj. III. 222–224, Visnu Dh. S. 43. 2–22, Agnipurāna 371. 20–22, Nārada (*prakīrnaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from Manu as follows: Tāmisra (darkness), Andhatāmisra (blinding darkness), Mahāraurava, Raurava (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Kālasūtra (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), Mahānaraka, Sañjīvana (where one is made to revive and is again killed), Mahāvīci (where one is submerged in surging waves), Tapana (as burning hot as fire), Sampratāpana (same as Kumbhīpāka, according to Pr. V. p. 15), Sanghāta (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

389. वर्णाश्रमा स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठा प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय तत शेषेण विशिष्टदेशजातिकुलरूपायु श्रुतवृत्तवित्तसुखमेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विध्वञ्सो विपरीता नश्यन्ति। गौ XI. 29–30, q by शङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1 8

390. तदनुवर्तमानो नरकाय राध्यति। आप. ध सू. I 4 12 12, हृष्टो वर्षति इसो धर्ममतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे खलु पुनर्नरकः। आप ध सू I 4 13 4, तत. परमनन्त्य फल स्वर्ग्यशब्दं श्रूयते। आप ध सू II 9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वनुभूयेतरेषामारोहावरोहौ तद्गतिदर्शनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III 1 13 शङ्कर in his भाष्य relies on Kathopanisad II. 6 and Rg. X.14.1 (both quoted above) in support

392. अपि च सप्त। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च सप्त नरका रौरवप्रमुखा दुष्कृतफलोपभोगभूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकै .। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kuḍmala (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pūtimṛttika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Ṛjīsa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Panthāḥ (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadī (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII. 75–76) again mentions the Tāmisra, Asipatravana and Kumbhīpāka narakas and Manu III. 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu. IV. 88–90). Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dīpakalikā (on Yāj. III. 222–224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna and other works. Vide Agnipurāṇa 203 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāṇa, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap 214 (verses 14–17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51–103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).[393]

Brahma-vaivarta (prakṛtikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 *narakakuṇḍas*[394] and chap. 33), Nāradapurāna, pūrvārdha 15.1–20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāna (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātālakhaṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11–27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5–6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa V 26.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇupurāṇa

393. Yāj and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Sampratāpana (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpana and adds Kumbhīpāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Marusmṛti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16) All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15–16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Saṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārijāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptodakā' (having hot water).

394. नरकाणां च कुण्डानि सन्ति नानाविधानि च। नानापुराणभेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च।...पञ्चाशीतिश्च कुण्डानि संपतन्तीं वसन्ति च। ब्रह्मवैवर्त, प्रकृतिखण्ड 29. 4–6,

V. 6.2–5, Skandapurāna I, chap. 39 and VI. 226–227. In the Mārkandeyapurāna (chap 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c. and chap 14 (verses 39–94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to For example, Śāntiparva 321 32 speaks of Vaitaranī and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23 60–82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell[s](each verse having the refrain *te vai nirayā-gāminah*) Anuśāsana 145.10–13. Svargārohanika–parva (2 16–26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūtaśālmalī (named in Svargārohanika 3 4). The Vrddha-Hārīta-smrti (IX. 167–171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmrti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahmapurāna, the Visnudharmottara[395], the Garuda-purāna and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Visnu Dh. S. (46. 23–29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, sankarikarana, who have not undergone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,[395a] for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a *yuga* and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers Vide Dr B C. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111–113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Sanghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

395. खड्गशूलनिपातैश्च भिद्यन्ते पापकारिणः । नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लक्षकोटिशतेषु च स्वकर्मोपार्जितैर्दोषैः पीड्यन्ते यमकिङ्करैः । ब्रह्मपुराण 215 82–83 . अष्टाविंशतिकोट्यस्तु यातनानां नरकाणि वै । महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे स्युर्नरकाब्धिषु ॥ आचन्द्रतारकं यावत्पी ड्यन्ते विविधैर्वधैः । अतिपातकिनश्चान्ये निरयाणैकविंशतिषु । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर प्र. in स्मृतिषु (मा) p 859, गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) chap 3 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वर्तन्ते ह्यरुणाद्रज ।.

395a For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H of Dh vol. III pp. 890–891.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S B.E. vol. 45 pp 93–97) and Sūtrakrtānga I. 5 (S B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279–286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (Pātimokkha), for which see S. B E vol. XIII. pp 1–69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (Prāyaścittiya) rules, vide pp. 32–55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the Mahābhārata, the Purānas and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the Rgveda and even in the Upanisads like Katha (I. 12–13 and 18 'śokātigo modate svargaloke '). Rg. X. 107.2 affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An[396] echo of this is found in Vanaparva 186.9. The Kaus Up 1 3 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of Agni, Vāyu, Varuna, Āditya, Indra, Prajāpati, Brahmā and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in Br. Up. III.6 (such as Devaloka, Indraloka, Prajāpatiloka, Brahmaloka) The Br. Up. I.5. 16 speaks of manusyaloka, pitrloka and devaloka and holds that devaloka is the best of all worlds.[397] Kaus. Up. 1. 4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śankara on Vedānta-sūtra (IV. 3 4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogāyatana*) and that Hiranyagarbha is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on Vedānta-sūtra IV. 3 10) In the Vanaparva (54. 17–19) it is stated that svarga is the place for those who die in battle How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in Vanaparva, chap. 186. 6–7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by Apsarases who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396 परं लोकं गोमदास्त्वाप्नुवन्ति दत्त्वानड्वाहं सूर्यलोकं व्रजन्ति। वासो दत्त्वा चान्द्रमसं तु लोकं दत्त्वा हिरण्यममरत्वमेति। वनपर्व 186 9.

397. त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रेणैव जयो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठ.। बृह उप. 1.5 16.

bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāna, 225. 5–6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28–29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys[398] happiness. Anuśāsana (23. 84–102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain '*te narāh svarga-gāminah*') Similarly, in Brahmapurāna 224. 9–14, 18–25 and 30–37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anuśāsana chapters 144 (verses 5–15, 19–26, 31–39) and 145 Śānti (99. 4–5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191 13, 193 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāna (276 17) it is[399] stated that he who performs Brahmāndadāna (one of the 16 *mahādānas*) reaches the world of Viṣnu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāna (225. 6–7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garuḍapurāna II. 3.86–89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purānas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

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398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्फलं दिवि। न चान्यत् क्रियते कर्म मूलच्छेदेन भुज्यते॥ सोऽत्र दोषो मम मतस्तस्यान्ते पतनं च यत्। सुखव्याक्षेपनस्कानां पतनं यच्च शूल॥ अयं खल्वो गुण· श्रेष्टः च्युताना स्वर्गतो भुवि। शुभाद्गुशययोगेन मनुष्येषूपजायते। तत्रापि स महाभागः सुखभागभिजायते। वनपर्व 261 28–29 and 33.

399 इत्थं य एतदखिलं पुरुषोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमधिगम्य महाविमानम्। निर्धूतकल्मषविशुद्धमनूपुरोरुरानन्दकृत्यदमुपैति सहाप्सरोभि॥ मत्स्यपु 276.17 q. by अपरार्क p 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smṛtis and purāṇas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmaśāstra work (viz. Visnu Dh. S. 43.32–45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born)"

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purāṇas For example, in the Garuda and Brahmāṇda purāṇas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 6. 1 also. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troups of pitṛs called *Agniṣvātta* and others.[400] The Agnipurāṇa (371 13–14) avers that the 28 groups of narakas are below the earth and even below the 7th Pātāla

We come across Vedic passages such as these 'This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajña* directly reaches Heaven' (Śat. Br. XII 5 2 8)[401], 'one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice', 'one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotiṣtoma sacrifice'. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smṛtis and purāṇas was that svarga was a *place* above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,[402] an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Br. Saṁ I. 11, stated 'Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

400 भूमेरधस्तात्ते सर्वे रौरवाद्या. प्रकीर्तिता । गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 3. 55, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपसंहारपाद chap 2 52, ततश्च नरकान् विप्र शृणोऽध सलिलस्य च । पापिनो येषु पात्यन्ते तान् शृणुष्व महामुने ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 22 6. 1. राजोवाच। नरका नाम भगवन् किं देशविशेषा अथवा बहिस्त्रिलोक्या आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । ऋषिरुवाच। अन्तराल एव त्रिजगत्यास्तु दिशि दक्षिणस्यामधस्ताद्भूमेरुपरिष्टाच्च जलाद्यदग्न्यामिश्वात्तादय पितृगणा. निवसन्ति । भागवत पुराण V 26 3–4

401 Vide H of Dh. Vol II p 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten yajñāyudhas from Tai S I 6. 8 2–3 and Śat Br I 1 1 22

स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमानोऽक्षसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति। शतपथब्रा XII 5 2 8 quoted by शबर on जै I 1 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष; 'दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्या स्वर्गकामो यजेत' q by शबर on जै II 1. 1.

402 सप्तषष्टिसहस्राण्यशीतियोजनकोट्यो भूर्यत्पृथिवीमण्डलं परस्मादगम्यं तम । तन्मध्ये हिरण्मयो मेरुश्चतुरशीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छ्रितो षोडश चाधस्तात्। त्रिगुणविस्तारायामो यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तन्मध्येनार्कचन्द्रौ ज्योतिश्चक्रं च पर्येति। पराशर q by उत्पल on बृ. सं. I. 11.

nountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and hrice as much in length and width, which is called svarga. 3ut it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent vriters were agreed on the actual existence of svarga and 1araka as *places.* It has already been shown how several :enturies before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that naraka is *not a place*, but simply means :he loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *jaina* There were others who argued in the same strain. Śabara (on Jai IV. 3. 27–28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila [403] in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidhi*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that svarga which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Sabara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* [404] imports in popular language such things (dravya) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śabara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy [405] or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: [406] that happiness which is not mixed up with

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403 फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिशब्दोऽस्ति। न त्वनन्तरत्वे। तस्मादनियमः। स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव। स हि निरतिशया प्रीतिः कर्मानुरूपा चेति न शक्येह जन्मन्यनुभवितुम्। यतोऽस्मिँल्लोके क्षणेक्षणे सुखदुःखे अनुभवन्ति। ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयप्रीत्यनुभवनायान्यथानुपपत्त्या कल्प्यते। तच्चामुतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः। दुपूटीका on जै IV.3.27–28.

404. सर्वेषामेव शब्दानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिक प्रयोगोऽनुपाय्यः। तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गशब्दो लक्ष्यते। कौशेयानि सूक्ष्माणि वासांसि स्वर्गः, चन्दनानि स्वर्गः, द्वयष्टवर्षाः स्त्रियः स्वर्ग इति। यद्यत् प्रीतिमद् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गशब्देनोच्यते। ...नन्वु स्वर्गशब्दो लोके मसिद्धो विशिष्टे देशे यस्मिन्कोष्णं न शीतं न क्षुद् न तृष्णा नारतिर्न ग्लानिः पुण्यकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र गच्छन्ति नान्ये। शबर on जै VI 1 1.

405. तत एतत्तावद्वर्ण्यन्ति। प्रीतिः स्वर्ग इति। कुतः। एवमुक्तं भवता प्रीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये स्वर्गशब्दो वर्तत इति। यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि प्रीतौ वर्तितुमर्हति। तां हि स न व्यभिचरति। व्यभिचरति पुनर्द्रव्यम्। शबर on जै VI.1.2. On जै.VI 1 1 the दुपूटीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्तवादिन) प्रीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्या, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिन) प्रीतिमद्द्रव्यम्। विशिष्टो देशो उभयोरप्यवाच्यः। किं कारणं, तस्याप्रत्यक्षत्वेन व्यवहाराभावः। तेन व्यवहाराभावात्प्रयोगाभावः।'

406. यत्र दुःखेन संभिन्नं न च ग्रस्तमनन्तरम्। अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम्॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svaḥ* (or svarga). The Prakaraṇa-pañcikā of Śālikanātha,[406a] one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmānsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the Jyotistoma' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The Śāntiparva expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'[407] The Brahmapurāna and the Viṣnupurāna speak in the same strain as Śabara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that naraka is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as svarga and naraka respectively and that svarga and naraka are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.[408]

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorical representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21–22 and 30. 23) The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 a ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादिसमाम्नायं सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादै स्तूयमानं कर्म इष्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p 102).

407. न दृष्टपूर्वं प्रत्यक्षं परलोकं विदुर्बुधाः । आगमास्त्वनतिक्रम्य श्रद्धातव्यं सुभूषता ॥ शान्ति 28 42.

408. मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापपुण्ये द्विजोत्तमाः ॥ ब्रह्मपु 22.44, विष्णुपु II.6.46. मनस परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखादिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मपु. 22 47.

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a *place* above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I. 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6 8, 20. 13–14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 257 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians[409] down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character[410].

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409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15–19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE. vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE. vol. VI p 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 165 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 205 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-christian sources... .....A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day.' On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(*Continued on the next page*)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo prāyaścitta, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.[411] These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipāka* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātātapa (I. 1–5) asserts that men guilty of grave

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(*Continued from the last page*)

self suppression at an earlier time, it is fellowship with God who is love ... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits " It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upanisadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and medieval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell.

411 प्रायश्चित्तविहीनाना महापातकिना नृणाम् । नरकान्ते भवेज्जन्म चिह्नाङ्कित-शरीरिणाम्॥ प्रतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिह्न तत्पापसूचकम्। प्रायश्चित्ते कृते याति पश्चात्तापवता पुनः॥ महापातकजं चिह्न सप्त जन्मनि जायते। उपपापोद्भव पञ्च त्रीणि पापसमुद्भवम्॥ दुष्कर्मजा नृणां रोगा यान्ति चोपक्रमै शमम्। जाप्यै सुरार्चनैर्होमैर्दानैस्तेषा शमो भवेत्॥ शातातप I 1–4. The verses 5–10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महार्णवकर्मविपाक of भान्धातृ (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक The प्राय वि p 106 remarks 'पूर्वजन्मकृतयो सुवर्णापहारसुरापानपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षीणयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कौनखं सुराप· इत्यावदन्वताम् (मनु ११ ४९)–इत्यनुमितयो· किंचित्सावशिष्टत्वादल्पमायश्चित्तमाह वसिष्ठ (20 6)।'

sins that have not undergone prāyaścitta are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform prāyaścitta. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6–10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhœa, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII. 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)–these three are mental sins (Manu XII. 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII. 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of śāstra, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII. 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāndāla and the like). Hārīta (q. by Par. M.)[412] speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54–59 and 62–68, Yāj. III. 131, 135–136, 207–208 and 213–215, Visnu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri Chap. 4 5–14, 17–44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj being concise are set out here. 'This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *samsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c.) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III 131); a man who

412. सर्वाभक्ष्यभक्षणमभोज्यभोजनमपेयपानमगम्यागमनमयाज्ययाजनमसत्प्रतिग्रहणं परद्रव्याभिगमनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति शारीराणि। पारुष्यमनृतं विवादं श्रुतिविकथश्चेति वाचिकानि। परोपतापनं पराभिद्रोह. क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि। तदेतान्यष्टादश नैरेयाणि कर्माणि...। हारीत q. by परा. मा II part 2 pp 212–213.

tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmana becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pulkasa* (one born from śūdra woman of a *niṣāda*), or a *vena* (one born of an Ambastha woman from a vaidehaka); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III 207–208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundarī* (musk-rat), the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a plava (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhā* (iguana), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *cīnī* (cricket bird). The Brahmapurāna (chap 217 verses 37–110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo Vide also Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda) 2 60–88, Agni 371 30–32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmana is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or pukkasa or mleccha, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins[413] In the Atharvaveda VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin[414]. Manu XI. 49–52, Vas. 20 44, Yāj III. 209–211, Visnu Dh. S Chap 45, Śātātapa I. 3–11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, Gautama-smrti in verse chap 20 and Gautama (in prose q by the Mit on Yāj. III. 216) or Vrddha-Gautama (according to Smrtimuktāphala

413 This belief is not confined to India In the Gospel of St John (9 1–3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool

414. आपो अग्न दिव्या ओषधय.। तास्ते यक्ष्ममेनस्यमङ्गादङ्गादनीनशन् ॥ अथर्व. VIII.7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q by Pr. M. p 9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitāksarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smrtyarthasāra pp. 99–100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209–211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmana's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tailapāyī* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasamhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I. 116),

The smrtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas 20 44 and Śankha (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj III. 209, Visnu Dh. S 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śankha, Hārīta, Gautama, Yama and the Purānas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj III. 216, the Par M. II. part 2 pp. 230–240, 242–272, Madanapārijāta pp 701–702, the Mahārnava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S (II. 1. 2. 6–7) states that a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmana murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāndāla, Paulkasa and Vaina and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs) Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the Yogasūtrā[415] II 13, viz *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c), *āyuh* (life i. e living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c) The word Karmavipāka appears to have been known to Yāj. III 131 (vipākaḥ karmanām pretya kesām cid-iha jāyate) and it occurs frequently in the Purānas (e g in Brahma-purāna 224 41, 225 43 and 59, Matsya 115 14 &c). The Pr. Sāra pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of Karmavipāka The doctrine of Karmavipāka was well known to the Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, who in his Ratnāvali refers to it[416]. The Buddhist Avadānaśatakas also refer to the doctrine of Karmavipāka. Vide also Suttanipāta (S B. E vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S B. E vol 21 p. 130 (Saddharma-pundarika). In some medical works also such as the Hāritasamhitā it is said that the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.[417]. In the Vivāgasuyam (Vipākaśrutam), which is the 11th *anga* of the Jaina-āgama and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P L Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of Manu XII[418]. 3, 9 and 54 and Yāj III. 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

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415 सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यायुर्भोगा। योगसूत्र II 13. The ब्रह्मपुराण 217 40 illustrates both *jāti* and *āyuh* viz. 'पतितं याजयित्वा तु कृमियोनौ प्रजायते। तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो द्विजा ॥'

416. Vide JRAS for 1934 p 307 at p 311 for the views of नागार्जुन on कर्मविपाक Verse 14 is हिंसया जायतेऽल्पायुर्बद्धाबाधो विहिंसया। चौर्येण भोगध्वंसनी सशत्रु परदारिकः ॥.

417. Vide Journal Asiatique (Paris) for 1934, pp 125-139 for the text of the हारीतसंहिता 'ब्रह्मघ्नो जायते पाण्डु कुष्ठी गोवधकारक। राजघ्नो राजयक्ष्मी स्यादारामघ्नोऽतिसारवान् ॥ स्वाम्यङ्गनाभिगमने मेहरोगी भवन्ति हि। गुरुजायाप्रसङ्गेन मूत्ररोगोश्मरीगद ॥ स्वकुलजाप्रसङ्गेन जायते च भगन्दर। शूली परोपतापी च पैशुन्याच्छ्वासकासिन ॥ verses 12-14 at p 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो नृणामुत्तमाधममध्यमा ॥ मनु XII, 3, शरीरजै कर्मदोषैर्याति स्थावरता नर.। मनु XII, 9.

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so[419].

The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipāka[420] is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such prāyaścittas as Prājāpatya which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mit points out that the description of the diseases (like pthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that śiṣṭas do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established

The teaching of the works on Karmavipāka, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII. 69 (almost the same as Viṣṇu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garuḍapurāna II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipāka* and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

419 मनुष्या प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा। नैवान्ये प्राणिनः केचित्सर्वे ते फलभोजिन ॥ शुभानामशुभानां च कर्मणां भुञ्जनन्दन। सञ्चय. क्रियते लोके मनुष्यैरेव केवलम् ॥ तस्मान् मनुष्यस्तु सुतो यमलोकं प्रपद्यते। नान्य प्राणी महाभाग फलयोनौ व्यवस्थितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-पुराण II, 102 4-6 q. by परा मा. II, part 2 pp. 208-209, मा. सार p. 215 (after affirming मनुष्याणामेव शुभाशुभकर्मफलोपभोग।).

420. इदानीन्तनपापिनां प्रायश्चित्तोन्मुखत्वार्थं पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका दर्शिताः। स्मृत्यर्थ-सार p 100; नन्व नार्थं विपाको विधातुं प्रतिषेद्धुं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वादवर्जनीयत्वाच्च। अत एवैतस्मिन्विधिप्रतिषेधपरे शास्त्रे तन्निरूपणमयुक्तम्। नार्थं दोषः। प्रायश्चित्तार्थवादत्वेन तदुपपत्तेः ..अत्र च प्राजापत्याद्यनुष्ठानरूपस्य प्रायश्चित्तस्य क्लेशात्मकत्वाद्गतत्व. प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति तत्र मद्यनिषिद्धये प्ररोचना कर्तव्या। परा मा. II. part 2 pp. 206-207,

Varāhapurāna (chap. 203 21 ff) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārnava-karmavipāka of Māndhātr it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz krcchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases[421]. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *mandapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākhā for *ghosa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhutis*, the Rudraikādaśini, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Visnu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yāj. I. 271–294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra[422]. It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalidāna* i e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śātātapa II. 47–48 in connection with the removal of rājayaksmā (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायौ कृच्छ्रव्याधिविपर्ययौ। तत्राथ व्याधिविपर्यय इत्यनेन व्याधिप्रतिकृतिदानं वक्ष्यत इति।.. प्रतिमा द्विप्रकारा अधिदेवता देवतात्मिका च। आतङ्को देवता तत्र तत्र पूज्याधिदेवता प्रायेण सूर्य सर्वथा रोगाणामधिदैवत-आरोग्य भास्करादिच्छेत्-इति त्ररूपा श्रुति स्मृति। तत्र व्याधिप्रतिमायामातङ्कनाम्नी देवता भवति। महार्णव folios 33b and 34a. रोगप्रतिमादाने सर्वत्र सूर्य एवाधिदेवता व्याधिदेवता च भिन्ना व्याधीना भिन्नत्वात्। अतश्च जलरोगादिषु वरुणादयो देवता भवन्तीति। *ibid* folio 44a

422. 'ओं भूर्भुव स्व कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव काश्यपसगोत्र सूर्य इहागच्छेत्यावाह्य इद तिष्ठेति रक्तपुष्पाक्षतै स्थापयेत्। ओं भूर्भुव स्व, अवन्तीसमुद्भव भरद्वाजसगोत्र भौम इहागच्छे. स्यावाह्य ..स्थापयेत्। ओं स्व मागधदेशोद्भव आत्रेयसगोत्र बुध इहागच्छे...। महार्णव, folio 157 b.

SECTION II

ANTYEṢTI (rites after death), ŚUDDHI (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kathopaniṣad we read (I. 1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs[422a] even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II. 123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāna (chap. 214 verses 34–39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here.–'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmaṇas, he who does not bear malice to anyone–these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anusāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104. 11–12, chap. 144 49–60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104. 11–12 and 14).

422a. Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11).

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318. 9-17), Devala quoted in the Moksakānda of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāna (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkandeyapurāna 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Veṅkateśvara Press ed.), Lingapurāna (pūrvārdha chap. 91) and other Purānas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhatī which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden-these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot hear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāna (19.28) and Lingapurāna 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death[423]. The Lingapurāna (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

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423. ह्रे चात्र परमेऽरिष्टे एतद्रूपं परं भवेत्। घोषं न शृणुयात्कर्णौ ज्योतिर्नेत्रे न पश्यति॥ वायुपुराण 19.27; नष्टं वा अनणं दृष्ट्वा विद्यान्मृत्युमुपस्थितम्। लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91 19).

When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth[424]. For example, the Kauśika-sūtra (80 3) prescribes[425]: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kuśas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bed-stead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmai bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud P S III 1 18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'āyusah prānam santanu'. The Gobhilasmrti III. 22 and later works like the Pitrdayitā provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp 151–152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bed-stead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz of cows,[426] land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gayā or to even hundreds of Aśvamedhas. The

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424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw Vide Prof Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. VIII pp 219–249.

425. दुर्बलीभवन्तं शालातृणेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य स्योनास्मै भवेत्यवरोहयति। मन्त्रोक्तावनुमन्त्रयते। यत्ते कृष्णेत्यन्नदीपयति। कौशिक 80 3–5. अथर्व० 18.2–19 is 'स्योनास्मै भव पृथिव्यनृक्षरा निवेशनी। यच्छास्मै शर्म सप्रथा॰॥ ऋ I 22 15 and वाज सं 36 13 are almost the same, reading स्योना पृथिवि भवानृक्षरा॰ and स्योना पृथिवि नो भवा॰ respectively; vide निरुक्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse The पितृदयिता (p 74) states यदा कण्ठस्थानगतजीवो विह्वलो देही भवति तदा बहिर्गोमयेनोपलिप्तायां भूमौ कुशान्दक्षिणाग्रानास्तीर्य तदुपरि दक्षिणशिरस स्थापयित्वा सुवर्णरजतगोभूमितिलपात्राणि वापयेत्। गोभिलस्मृति III 22 'दुर्बल स्नापयित्वा तु शुद्धचैलाभिसवृतम्। दक्षिणाशिरस भूमौ बर्हिष्मत्यां निवेशयेत्॥.'

426 दानानि च जातूकर्ण्य आह। उत्क्रान्तिर्वैतरण्यौ च दश दानानि चैव हि। प्रेतेऽपि कृत्वा तं प्रेत शवधर्मेण दाहयेत्। दश दानानि च तेनैवोक्तानि। गोभूतिलहिरण्याज्यवासोधान्यगुडानि च। रूप्यं लवणमित्याहुर्दश दानान्यनुक्रमात्॥ शुद्धिप्रकाश p 152, for a similar verse about ten dānas vide गरुडपु. (प्रेतखण्ड) 4 4. An Inscription of Vikramāditya, a chieftain under the Kalachuri king Sankama (published in E I vol XIX pp 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on the occasion of the prāyaścitta in honour of his deceased father.

saṅkalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible [427] (this cow being called *utkrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called Vaitaraṇī with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The Antyestipaddhati and the Śuddhi-prakāśa (pp. 152–153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The Antyesti-paddhati, the Antyakarmadīpaka and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform Vratodyāpana, sarvaprāyaścitta and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of those vratas to the end. The Vratodyāpana for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished vratas. The A. K. D. (pp. 3–4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Gaṇeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual sankalpa (see note [428]), he should honour a brāhmana

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427 आसन्नमृत्युना देया गौः सवत्सा तु पूर्ववत्। तदभावे तु गौरेव नरकोत्तरणाय वै। तदा यदि न शक्नोति दातुं वैतरणीं तु गाम्। शक्नोऽप्योऽरुकू तदा दत्त्वा दत्वाच्छेदो मृतस्य च॥ व्यास. q. by क्षुद्धितत्त्व p 300, क्षुद्धिप्रकाश p 153, अ. क. दी. p 7. पूर्ववत् means हेमाद्रिकारादिना. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेत०) 4 6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तद्वै दर्भाद्वैतरणीं च गाम्। कृष्णसनीं सकृष्णाङ्गी सा वै वैतरणी स्मृता॥' The idea was that at the door of यम there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail, vide स्कन्दपु VI 226 32–33 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'मृत्युकाले प्रयच्छन्ति ये धेनुं ब्राह्मणाय वै॥ तस्या. पुच्छं समाश्रित्य ते तरन्ति च तां नृप॥'. The श्राद्धरत्न of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two *mantras* at the time of donating the वैतरणी cow, one of which is उत्तमे वर्षति शीते वा मारुते वाति वा भृशम्। दातारं त्रायते यस्मात्तस्माद्वैतरणी स्मृता॥.

428. अद्य पृथिव्या जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे आर्यावर्तैकदेशे विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपरार्धे...अमुकतिथौ अमुकगोत्रः...अमुकशर्माहं ममात्मन. (मम पित्रादेः)

(*Continued on the next page*)

already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmana should pronounce the words "May all vratas be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of *udyāpana* (accomplishment of vrata)". In the sarvaprāyaścitta the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing *adhyātma* (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1½ years or makes a declaration and performs the prāyaścitta, after the days of impurity.

The sarvaprāyaścitta was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink *pañcagavya*, honour a brāhmana with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note [429]) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmana or in lieu of it, of some money. After sarvaprāyaścitta come the ten *dānas* stated above. In the dānas the Kāmastuti [430] as studied by the followers of each veda was to be recited. The Garudapurāna (II. 4. 7–9) further prescribes other dānas called mahā-dānas viz, of sesame, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called padadānas such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The Garudapurāna (II 4 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes sannyāsa according to the rules laid

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(*Continued from the last page*)

अतग्रहणदिवसादारभ्य अद्य यावत्फलाभिलाषादिगृहीतानां निष्कामतया गृहीतानां च अमुकामुकव्रतानामकृतोद्यापनदोषपरिहारार्थं श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्ततत्तद्व्रतजन्यसाङ्गफलसाप्त्यर्थं विष्ण्वादीनां तत्तद्देवानां प्रीतये इदं सुवर्णमग्निदैवतं (तदभावे इदं रजतं चन्द्रदैवतं) अमुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय दास्ये ओं तत्सत् न मम इति सङ्कल्प्य etc. अ क ही p 4 -

429 देशकालौ संकीर्त्य मम (मत्पित्रादेर्वा) ज्ञाताज्ञातकामाकामसकृदसकृत्कृतकायिकवाचिकमानसिकसांसर्गिकसृष्टास्पृष्टभुक्ताभुक्तपीतापीतसकलपातकानुपातकोपपातकलघुपातकसङ्करीकरणमलिनीकरणापात्रीकरणजातिभ्रंशकरमकीर्णकादिनानाविधपातकानां निरासेन देहावसानकाले देहशुद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमिमा सर्वमायश्चित्तप्रत्यान्नायभूतां यथाशक्त्यलंकृतां सवत्सां गां रुद्रदेवतामुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे ओं तत्सत् न मम। अ. क ही p 5 अन्त्योदिप of नारायण has also the words ज्ञाताज्ञात पातकानां निरासार्थं.

430. क इदं कस्मा अदात्काम कामायादात्। कामो दाता काम प्रतिग्रहीता। कामसमुद्रमाविवेश। कामेन त्वा प्रतिगृह्णामि कामैतत्ते। अथर्ववेद III. 29.7, तै ब्रा II. 2 5.9 (where this Kāmastuti is explained) and Tai Ā III. 10. This कामस्तुति occurs in many ceremonies (such as marriage, adoption etc.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1069, and आश्व. श्रौ. V. 13,15 (which reads कामं समुद्रमाविश) and आप श्रौ 14,11.2.

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matih sā gatih'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitr-medhasūtra (I. 1–8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmana friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmans* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one sāman) The Ṛgvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' [431] (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhitāgni* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhrgurvai vāruniḥ'). The A. K. D. (p 18) says [432] that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Visnu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Visnu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyana, the Upanisads like Īśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

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431. त्रातारमिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले सदा पठेत्। जप्त्वा चैव परं स्थानममृतत्वाय कल्पते। ऋग्विधान q in शुद्धिप्रकाश p 154 The अन्येदिपद्धति of नारायणभट्ट (Nir. edition, *pothi* size p. 163 b) reads नानानामिति · स्थानममृतत्वं स गच्छतीति ऋग्विधानवचनात्॥ The Rgvidhāna edited by Jagadish Shastri reads (III.19–20) नानानामिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले जपेत्सकृत्। नानान is the first verse of Rg IX 112. It is likely that the editor of शुद्धिप्रकाश misreads नानानामिति as त्रातारमिति, since त्रातारम् is not a sūkta (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432 जपेऽसमर्थश्चेद् हृत्पद्मे चतुर्भुजं शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधरं पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकौस्तुभवनमालाधरं रमणीयरूपं विष्णुं त्रिशूलडमरुधरं चन्द्रचूडं त्रिनेत्रं गङ्गाधरं शिवं वा भावयन् सहस्रनामगीताभागवतभारतरामायणेशावास्याद्युपनिषद· पावमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथासम्भवं शृणुयात्। अ. क डी p 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनाम vide अनुशासनपर्व 149 14–120 and अनुशासन 17.31–153 for 1008 names of शिव, vide also शान्तिपर्व 285.74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upanisads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāndilya-vidyā, III. 14. 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'[433] The Praśna Up. III. 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me, there is no doubt about this' (8. 5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it"

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purānas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tīrtha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Śuddhitattva[434] (p 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāna to this effect 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *saṃsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

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433. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीताथ खलु क्रतुमय. पुरुषो यथाक्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेत प्रेत्य भवति स क्रतु कुर्वीत। छा उप III. 14 1. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम्। य. प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र सशय॥ य य वापि स्मरन्भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम्। त तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावित॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5-6, vide शाङ्करभाष्य on ब्रे सू I 2 1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on ब्रे. सू IV. 1 12 for quoting the छा. उप and भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम्। गङ्गाया च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्या जले स्थले। जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तथा (स्कन्दे)। तीराद्व्यूतिमात्रं तु परित क्षेत्रमुच्यते। अत्र दान जपो होमो गङ्गाया नात्र संशय। अत्रस्थास्त्रिदिव यान्ति ये मृता न पुनर्भवा। शुद्धितत्त्व pp 299, 300, शुद्धिप्रकाश p 155, गव्यूति is equal to two क्रोश.

Vārānasī (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the 'Skanda-purāna and it is further said in the same Purāna that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself, those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Puṇyāratnākara [435] it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Viṣnu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krosa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuntha (world of Viṣnu) Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasī* (Basil) plants or with Tulasī leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *mokṣa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *nakṣatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)' [436]. This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyaṇa* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upanisads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5–6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcis*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

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435. पूजारत्नाकरे। शालग्रामशिला यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः। तत्सन्निधौ त्यजेत् प्राणान् याति विष्णोः परं पदम्॥ लिङ्गपुराणे। शालग्रामसमीपे तु क्रोशमात्रं समन्ततः। कीकटेपि मृतो याति वैकुण्ठभवनं नरः॥ वैष्णवामृते व्यासः। तुलसीकानने जन्तोर्यदि मृत्युर्भवेत् क्वचित्। स निर्भर्त्स्य नरं पापी लीलयैव हरिं विशेत्॥ प्रयाणकाले यस्यास्ये दीयते तुलसीदलम्। निर्वाणं याति पक्षीन्द्र पापकोटियुतोपि सः॥ शुद्धितत्त्व p. 299, शुद्धिप्रकाश p 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the Rgveda (III 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The शुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकोऽपि (even a worm) for कीकटेपि, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपन्ने तूत्तरां काष्ठां सूर्ये यो निधनं व्रजेत्। नक्षत्रे च मुहूर्ते च पुण्ये राजन्स पुण्यकृत्॥ शान्तिपर्व 298.23 q. by the मोक्षकाण्ड of कल्पतरु p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, yes, *they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10.1–2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vidyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrājakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called Devayāna, while (V. 10. 3–7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI. 2. 15–16) contains similar passages about Devaloka, Pitrloka and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upanisad passages, puts the matter succinctly (*in* 8 23–25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3 4–6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitrs (i e. they are *ātivāhikas* and *abhimānidevatās*). Śankara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (ataścāyanepi daksine) explains that the waiting for the day of Uttarāyana on the part of Bhisma (narrated in the Mahābhārata) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcirādi', that one who has realized Brahma, even if he dies in dakṣiṇāyana, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (viz.

teaching Brahma), that Bhīsma waited for the beginning of *uttarāyaṇa* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti refers to the path (devayāna)[437] that leads to Devaloka (in III. 193–194, where it reads 'mānasah' for 'amānavah' of the Ch. Up.) and the Pitryāna (in III. 195–196). In spite of the interpretations of the Vedāntasūtra (and of Śankara) the popular belief that death in Uttarāyana is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S.(II.7. 21) remarks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best[438].' The G. P. S. (II. 7.1–2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following *sūtras* provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

FUNERAL RITES (antyesti) are a *saṃskāra*. Antyesti is one of the 16 (or more) saṃskāras of a twice-born person

437. The words 'devayāna' and 'pitryāna' are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg. there are frequent references to them. In Rg III. *58 5* the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (eha yātam pathibhirdevayānaih). Rg. VII 38 8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, go by the devayāna paths' (trptā yātam pathibhir-devayānaih). In Rg-VII *76.2* (addressed to Usas) the sage Vasistha exclaims that he has seen the Devayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (pra me panthā devayānā adrśran). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X 51.5, sugān pathah krnuhi devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānah) Rg. X 98 11 describes Agni as knowing the *devayāna* paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place Aulāna (son of Śantanu) in heaven among the gods (vidvān patha rtuśo devayānān-apyaulānam divi devesu dhehi). In Rg. X *18.1* it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (param mrtyo anu parehi panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt). In Rg X 2.7 Agni is said to know the pitryāna path (panthāmanu pra vidvān pitryānam). In the Tai. Br II 6 3 5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; I have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (dve srutī aśrnavam pitrnām aham devānām-uta martyānām). The Śat Br. I 9.3 2 remarks 'this is the path called Devayāna or Pitryāna.' In the Br. Up. I.5.16 it is said 'there are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods'.

438 उदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे दिवा ऋत्वन्ते श्रेयो मरणमित्युपदिशन्ति॥ गौ पि. सू. II 7 21 (ed by Dr. Shamsastri, Mysore).

performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II. 16, Yāj. I. 10, Jātūkarnya[439]. These samskāras were formerly performed for women also (Āśv gr I. 15.12, I. 16 6, I. 17–11, Manu II. 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for sūdras also (Manu X. 127, Yāj I. 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baud. P. S. III. 1.4 states that there are two samskāras of every human being and they are like a debt i e. they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz the saṁskāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasamskāra). Funeral rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an āhitāgni (one who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or one who had only kindled the smārta fire, or one who had neither the śrauta fires nor the smārta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (*parivrājaka*), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The srauta and gṛhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purānas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākhā, though certain things are common to all [439a] Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purānas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.

439. निषेकादिश्मशानान्तो मन्त्रैर्यस्योदितो विधि । तस्य शास्त्रेऽधिकारोऽस्मिञ्ज्ञेयो नान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥ मनु II. 16. ब्रह्मक्षत्रियविट्शूद्रा वर्णास्त्वाद्यास्त्रयो द्विजा । निषेकाद्याश्मशानान्तास्तेषां वै मन्त्रतः क्रियाः ॥ या I 10, आधानपुंससीमन्तजातनामान्नचौलकाः । मौञ्जी व्रतानि गोदानं समावर्तविवाहकाः ॥ अन्त्यं चैतानि कर्माणि प्रोच्यन्ते षोडशैव तु ॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. in संस्कारप्रकाश p 135 and अन्त्यकर्मदीपक p 1

439 a. प्रतिशाखं भिन्नेष्वन्त्यकर्मसु साधारणं किंचिदुच्यते । निर्णय p 569.

Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Grhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the Rg. (X. 14–18)[440]. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Saṁhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the Ṛgveda hymns without accents.[441]

X. 14. 1 (O! sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pitrs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do meritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights[442]. 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

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440. The work of Bertram S Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such, as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p 67), condemning burial at night (p 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp 99–100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir X 20. 'Pareyivāṁsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravataḥ' is rather uncertain. The Tai Ā. VI 1.1, Sat. Śr. 28 1 20, Baud. P. S. (L.2), Vaik. Śr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuvāṁsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto[443]. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitṛs) called *kavya*, Yama with the Angirases and Brhaspati with the Ṛkvans become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitṛs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitṛs) are delighted by *svadhā*[444]. 4. O! Yama! Being of one mind with the pitṛs called Angirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Angirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself. I invoke Vivasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice[445] 6. The Angirases, the Navagvas,[446] the Atharvans, the Bhrgus are our pitṛs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we *be in their gracious favour also*! 7. Hasten, hasten[447] by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443 It is quite possible to understand 'eva jajñānāḥ' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jajñānāḥ' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A V 18 3.13 यो मसार प्रथमो मर्त्यानां य मेयाय प्रथमो लोकमेतम्। The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat Vide Vendîdad, Farʿard II 1. p 11. (SBE. vol. IV)

444. Kāvyas, Angirases and Rkvans are different classes of Pitṛs In Rg VII 10 4 the Rkvans (singers) are associated with Brhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viṣnu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation svāhā is uttered when making an offering to Gods and svadhā when making an offering to pitṛs

445. 'Niṣadya' is really a *gerund* and not a finite verb We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Aṅgiras group

446 Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Aṅgirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Rg III 29.5, IV 51 4, V 29 12, X 62.6. The late Mr Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp 162–169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atiṭhigva' (Rg. I 53 8, I 30 7, II 14 7, IV 26 3, VIII 68.17), 'abhiṭyugvan' (Rg VI 45 15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII 70.7). This verse is explained in Nir XI 19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man For the meaning and history of the word Iṣṭāpūrta, vide H of Dh. vol II. pp. 843–845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuna rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitṛs, with Yama and with your *iṣṭāpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new) [448] body! 9 (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery), the pitṛs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitṛs who will recognize [449] you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitṛ-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun! [450] 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama.[451] Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the worship of gods, [452] so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us.

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448 This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitṛloka.

449. 'Suvidatrāṅ'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyāṇavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutṛpa' according to Sāyaṇa and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a+su+tṛpa', while Sāyaṇa takes it as 'asu+tṛpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no devesvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44 5.

16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-āyuh) to the six wide expanses [453]. Tristubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma—loving [454] pitrs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitrs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *rta* (the rule of right)! May those pitrs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitrs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed [455]), also (those pitrs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitrs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stride of Visnu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitrs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here. [456] 4. O pitṛs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection, we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)! [457] 5. May the Soma-loving pitrs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

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453 This is rather a very obscure stanza The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg II 22 1; VIII 92,21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done The six are mentioned in Śat Br I.5 1.22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night The six wide ones are referred to in Rg VI 47 3. The conception is rather vague The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Brhatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X 15. 1 This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitrs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (8th tithi) of Astakā-śrāddha, vide Āśv. gr. II. 4 6.

455 X 15. 2. 'Purvāsah' and 'uparāsah' may simply mean 'ancient and modern' 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth'

456. X. 15 3. 'Napātam' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo napāt' (Rg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI.48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoḥ' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as शमनं च द्रोगाणां यावनं च भयानाम् and रपः in अरपः as meaning पाप.

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitrs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitrs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking[458] 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitrs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitrs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitrs called Agnisvātta[459], that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitṛs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word svadhā)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitṛs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

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458 X. 15. 8.—अनूहिरे is perfect of either वह् with अनु or of ऊह् with अनु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasistha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitrs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X, 15 11. अग्निष्वात्त = अग्नि + स्वात्त (from स्वद्) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared. 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)!

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) his skin or his body, O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods[460]! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4 O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat,[461] carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.[462] 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmanas do the same[463].

460 X. 16. 2. The words अनुनीतिमेता have in view the words अनुनीतिमेतां यथावद्दा तन्वं कल्पयस्व in X 15 14 above.

461. X 16. 4 अजो भाग'—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body Vide note 486 below and Rg. X 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X 16 5. For the meaning of शेषस्, compare Rg. VII 4.7 (न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातमस्ति).

463. X 16 6—For सोम ..आविवेश, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा' शतपथब्रा V. 4.2 3 and 'स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणाना भक्ष ' ऐ. ब्रा.' 35 3 In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a slaughtered animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i e. against fire flames) of Agni (i e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitṛs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight[464]. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitṛs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice[465]). 11. May that fire which carries the *havya*[466] offerings offer them to the pitṛs that prosper according to *ṛta*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitṛs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitṛs) bring here the pitṛs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītikā (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

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464 X 16. 8. *This mantra* is repeated as invocation when the *prauītā* water is carried forward in the cup As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased āhitāgni and burnt But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyād* fire was employed for pitryajña It is possible to hold that *kravyād* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466 X 16.11 Sāyana explains on the assumption that the word is kavyavāhana in this, while the Saṃhitā and the padapātha have kravyavāhana. The Vāj S. 19 65 and Tai S. II. 6 12 5 read 'havyavāhanah'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitṛs but also in the rites for gods.

X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3-6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvastr and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yamī from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10-11. Verses[467] 7-9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41-43 and are employed by the Kauśika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68 1-2 and 18 3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūsan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūsan) hand you over to these pitrs and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūsan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitr place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell 5. Pūsan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūsan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6 Pūsan exists (stands) in the fore-front of the paths (leading to the world of pitrs), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)[468] that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity Rg VI. 61 and VII 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X 18.2 This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain[469] (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)[470]. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvaṣṭr of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live![471] 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,[472] and well adorned. 8 O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

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469. X 18 4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāśa, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6.9 in the śāntikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6. 10 अन्तर्वेद्यूदीचीं दधतां पर्वतेनेत्यश्मानमुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कृत्वा...यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्तीत्यनात्मानीक्षेत। अनात्म here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 यथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gṛ. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्वञ्चोऽनात्मा अधोनिवीताः मवृत्तशिखा ज्येष्ठप्रथमाः कनिष्ठजघन्याः'. The वै. पि सू. I. 21.4 remarks 'अथैनाननुपूर्वं कल्पयति यथाहान्यनुपूर्वं भवन्तीति or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18 6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox spread to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gṛ. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्यानडुहं चर्नास्तीर्य...वस्त्रिऋनात्मानारोहयेदारोहतायुर्जरसं वृणाना इति.'

472. X 18 7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*satī* or sahamaraṇa or anugamana) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneḥ' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Aparārka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *satī* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617–619 and pp. 625–635.

who is now lifeless; come! You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately[473] 9. (I) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength[474]. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death.[475] 11 O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).[476] 12 Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

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473. X. 18 8 This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X.14 The last quarter is rather difficult to construe In the Tai Ā VI 1 there is a similar verse 'इय नारी पतिलोक वृणाना निपद्यत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतम्। विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजा द्रविणं चेह धेहि'॥ The Tai Ā. VI 1 also has the verse उदीर्ष्व नार्यभि० and as printed reads 'सम्बभूव', but सायण explains आभिमुख्येन सम्यक् प्राप्तुहि (i. e he explains सम्बभूथ) The बौ पि सू I 8.1–2 reads सचभूव and says about Rg X 18 8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्यामुपसवेशयति। इयं नारी . धेहीति। ता प्रतिहितः सव्ये पाणावभिपाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बभूवेति।

474. X 18 9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI.7. Here it may be equal to अस्मभ्यं or अस्मासु This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 8 above In Śān Sr I6 13 13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpinī (verses) 'उदीर्ष्व नार्युदीर्ष्वातः पतिवत्युदीर्ष्वातो विश्वावसोऽहमन्वतीत्युत्थापिन्य' The com remarks 'आभिर्होत्रादयो महिषीमुत्थापयन्ति'. उदीर्ष्वात पतिवती is Rg X 85 21, उदीर्ष्वातो विश्वावसो is Rg X 85.22 and अहमन्वती is Rg X 53 8 These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse Compare H of Dh. vol II. p 1235. The तै आ VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'सुवर्ण हस्तादादाना०, धनुर्हस्तादा०, मणिं हस्तादादाना' and बौ पि सू I 8 3–5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य सुवर्णेन हस्तौ निमृजते स्वर्णं हस्ता० इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्हस्ता० इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475 X 18 10 Vide the passage from Āśv Sr 5 where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a *dīksita* The Āśv gr 4 5 5 employs this as a *mantra* to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead The बृहद्देवता (VII 17–18) says that X 18 10–13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones

476 'X 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv gr 4.5 6 for recital at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred ones ;

pillars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May these homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May they become here for all days the shelter [477] for him (the departed represented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for your sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm! May the pitṛs support (make steady) this post! [478] May Yama provide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods) have placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like the feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop) my speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle. [479]

It should be noted that the word 'pitr-yajña' actually occurs in Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered that the hymns Rg. X. 15–18 refer to rites immediately on the death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites performed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths. The anxiety (in X. 15–18) seems to be to make the ancient pitrs (styled Barhisadaḥ and Agnisvāttāḥ in Rg. X. 15. 3–4, 11) favourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis* (sacrifical food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient pitṛs (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the food offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is entirely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 (which refer to the pitṛyajña performed in Sākamedha). As a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do occur in Rg. X. 57. 3–5 and are employed in the piṇḍa-pitṛyajña. There is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitṛyajña in Rg. X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the piṇḍapitṛyajña. It is quite possible that both referring as they do to different matters were coeval.

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477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with particles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described as posts.

478. X 18 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed as a support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obscure and various interpretations have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins The translation is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context much better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the speaker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may become loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he wants to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead. The Bṛhaddevatā (VII. 18–19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतीचीने यथाहानि अपह्नुत्येतराणि तु । अहःसु पितरो वधूरित्याशास्तेऽन्त्ययाशिषः' ॥

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitāgni* are described in the *śrauta* and *gṛhya* sūtras. The Āśv. Śr. S. VI. 10 describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dīkṣā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a sattra dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dīkṣita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,[480] place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or sattra sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with prsadājya (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks (the two *araṇis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the śāstras, the singing of the stotras and the samstavas (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *hum* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the tirtha, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the hotr priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the adhvaryu to the north, and the sāma priests to the west of the adhvaryu (and the brahmā priest to the south). Then the sāma priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauh prśnirakramīt' When the singing is finished the hotr walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

480. तीर्थ means the path to the sacrificial ground between the चात्वाल and उत्कर (vide H. of Dh vol. II p 984) For स्तोत्रिय that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Ṛg X 14. 7–8, 10–11, X. 16. 1–6, X. 17. 3–6, X. 18. 10–13, X. 154. 1–5. They should finish with Ṛg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tīrtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.[481]

The Śānkhāyana Śr. S. (IV. 14–15) deals at great length with the death of an *āhitāgni* and the rites that follow. Kāt. Śr.

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481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहत्यावभृथे मेतालङ्कारान् कुर्वन्ति । केशश्मश्रुलोमनखानि वापयन्ति। नलदेनाछलिम्पन्ति। नलदमालां प्रतिमुञ्चन्ति। निर्पुरीषमेके कृत्वा घृतदाज्य पूरयन्ति। अहतस्य वासस पाशत. पादमात्रमवच्छिद्य भोर्णुवन्ति प्रत्यग्दक्षेनावि पादम् । अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वीरन् अग्नीनस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्वेदि दहेयुः।...प्रत्येत्याह· समापयेयुः। प्रातरग्न्यासमनभिहिङ्कृतानि शस्त्राण्युवचनाभिष्टवनसंस्तवानि । पुरा ग्रहग्रहणात् तीर्थेन निष्क्रम्य त्रिः प्रसव्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति। पश्चाद्धोता। उत्तरोध्वर्युः। तस्य पश्चाच्छन्दोगा.। आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीदित्युपाशु स्तुते। स्तुते होता प्रसव्यमायतनं परिव्रजन्स्तोत्रियमनुद्रवेदपशुवन्। यामीश्च। प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभि. पूर्व्येभिरिति पञ्चाना तृतीयामुद्धरेत्। मैनमग्ने विदहो माभिशोचं इति पद्। यूपा त्वेतभ्यावयतु प्र विद्वानिति चतस्र उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतानिति चतस्र. सोम एकेभ्यः। उरुणसा उदुम्बलावेति च समाप्य सञ्चित्य तीर्थेन प्रपाद्य यथासनमासादयेयु'। आश्व. श्रौ 10.

The Śat. Br. (XII, 5 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure' आयं गौः पृश्निरक्रमीत्—is the first verse of the hymn Rg. X. 189. 1–3 which are also S V. No. 630–632 (Āranyakānda) and 1376–78 (Uttarārcika). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्वराज्य ऋचः. It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV.4 6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv Sr. above and employs some more verses (from Ṛg X. 14–18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv Sr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitryā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitarah-somavantaḥ, Soma pitrmān, Pitaraḥ barhiṣadah, Pitaraḥ Agniṣvāttāḥ, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz Rg. X. 15. 1, IX.96 11, X 15.5, Rg I 91.1, I 91 12. VIII. 48 13, X. 15.4, X 15 3. X. 15,2; X. 15.11, X 15 13, X. 15.14; X. 14.4–5, X. 14 1. Rg. X, 16 12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmidhenīs in that rite, X. 14 5 is Yājyā and X 14.4 and X 14.1 are anuvākyās, Rg. X. 15 9, IV 11 3, I 96.1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Rg. X. 16 11, X. 15.12 are two Samyājyās in Vasaṭkāra. The editor of the Prayogaratna explains that Nalada means 'Uśīra' (i e Wālā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladas*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7. 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13–16), Śān. Śr. 4. 14 4–5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S (1 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandī*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat Śr. 28 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10–14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (baddhvā daśenāngusthau-pādayoh pānyośca, G. P. S. I. 12) and that the *āsandī* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kauśikasūtra (80. 3. 3–45) refers to numerous stanzas from A V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36, 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49–50, 58; 18. 1. 41–43; 7. 68 1–2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2 4–18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1–15 &c. Compare SBE vol. XI p. XLI for Budhist practics.

The Āśv. gr.[482] (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhitāgni*, while the Āśv. Śr. S. quoted

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482. It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gr. IV. 1–2 differs in different editions considerably The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Sr XXI. 3,15–26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here. 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the vata, pippala, tilvaka, haridru, sphūrjaka, bibhīdaka and other trees that have an evil name (such as śleśmātaka and kovidāra) The Śat. Br. XIII 8.1.16 names all these trees that are to be avoided The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 25 7 16–17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon The Kāt Śr. S.

(*Continued on the next page*)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhitāgni* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gr. remarks 'when an *āhitāgni* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāma*[483] and one *vitasti* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (śmaśāna) should[484] be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gr. II. 7.5 about vāstu-parīkṣā). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *prṣadājya* used

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(*Continued from the last page*)

21 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of palāśa, śamī, varana and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*śanku*). Sān. Śr. (IV. 14, 6-9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a palāśa branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *sphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. व्याम is defined as 'व्यामो बाह्वोः सकरयोस्ततयोस्तिर्यगन्तरम्' अमरकोश. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. इमशान has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. नारायण remarks on आश्व. गृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित आकाशं इमशानं) 'इमशानग्रहणेनात्र इमशानद्वयं गृह्यते । ..दहनदेशश्च इमशानं सञ्चित्य यत्रास्थीनि निधीयन्ते तच्च इमशानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वतआकाशं भवेत्'. The शतपथब्रा. XIII 8.1.1 derives इमशान in two ways as being a form of शवाक्ष or इमशाक्ष in the words अथास्मै कल्याणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै इमशान कुर्वन्ति । . इमशा उ हैव नाम पितृणामत्तारस्ते हामुष्मिँल्लोकेऽकृतइमशानस्य साधुकृत्यामुपदग्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतद्वासं करोति तस्माच्छ्मशानं इमशानं ह वै तच्छ्मशानमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम्। अथर्व० 18 4 44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.

(in the rites) for *pitṛs*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn[485] by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow[486] or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their yajñopavītas brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *śamī* twig with the verse 'apeta vīta vi ca sarpatātaḥ' (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the Āhavanīya fire, to the north-west the Gārhapatya fire and to the south-west the Dakṣiṇa fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *barhis* (kuśas) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the Gārhapatya fire and turning its head towards the Āhavanīya fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5-6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अनुस्तरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'प्रेतमनुस्तर्यते या स्त्री पशुः सानुस्तरणी'. The कात्यायनश्रौत (25.7.34-37) 'अनुस्तरणी चेत्पश्याकर्णमाहत्य हस्तयोर्धृक्वौ। अङ्गैरङ्गानीति जातूकर्ण्यः। न वास्ति सन्देहात्। वपया सुख-मवच्छाद्याग्निभिरादीपयति। आहुतिं जुहोति पुत्रो भ्रातान्योवा ब्राह्मणोऽसात्त्वमधिजातोऽसि स्वर्दयं जायता पुन. असौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेति। The mantra अस्मात्त्व.. लोकाय स्वाहा is वाज सं 35 22 Vide शतपथ ब्रा XII. 5 2 15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt Sr. The com of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25 7 34 explains धृक्वौ as कुक्षिगोलकौ Vide also Baud. P. S I 4 1 and I 9-10, Sat. Sr 28.2 3-13, Kauś 81.20-27 The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A V 18 3 3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two vṛkkas are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A V. XVIII 2 11) which is Rg. X 14 10

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher varnas) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) a kṣatriya. The wife's brother-in-law[487] (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrṣva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Ṛg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a śūdra (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādādadāno' (Ṛg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a śūdra (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.[488] He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called Juhū, in the left hand the spoon Upabhṛt, on his right side the Sphya (wooden sword), on his left side the Agnihotrahavanī (the ladle with which the Agnihotra offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the dhruvā (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the *kapālas*), the pressing stones (used for pressing out Soma juice in a soma sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (*sruva*), on the ears the two Prāśitra-haranas,[489] if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the sūtras refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide Kauśikasūtra 80. 44-45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीमुपसंवेशयति। उदीर्ष्वेत्युत्थापयति' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1-2. Sat Sr. (28. 2. 14-16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another brāhmana makes her get up with the verse 'udīrṣva nārī'. The same sūtra (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII 5. 2. 6 and some of the sūtras (such as Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 19, Sān. Śr. IV. 14. 16-35, Sat Śr. 28. 2. 23-50, Kauśika 81. 1-19, Baud P. S I. 8-9) and smṛtis like Gobhila (III 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse The G. P S. II. 7 12 says that it is the adhvaryu who deposits the kapālas on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the Prāśitraharana, vide H. of Dh vol II. p 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of purodāśa is kept for the brahmā priest). For the Samyā (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh vol. II. p. 1112 n. 2487.

it into two; on the belly the *pātrī* (in which the oblations ar collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *idā* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the śamyā· on the thighs the two aranis (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (śūrpa) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Pṛṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware [490].

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmana but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.[491] Taking out the omentum (*vapā*) of the Anustaranī she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agner varma' (Rg. X. 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (vrkkau) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Sat Br. XII. 5. 2, Sat Sr. 28. 2 23–50, Kāt Sr 25 7 21–33, Kaus. 81 1–19, Baud. P. S. I. 8 11–I. 9 7, Śān Śr. IV 14. 18–36. For example, the Śāñ Śr. (IV. 16 21–31) prescribes that the Agnihotrahavanī is placed on the thront and the two aranīs on the private parts, while Āśv. gr. places the agnihotrahavanī on the left side and the śamyā on private parts Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the āhitāgni with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (āhitāgnim-agnibhir dahanti yajñapātraiśca) on Jai IV 1 9, VI, 6 34, XI 3.34 Those words occur also in Baud P. S. III 1.9 Jai XI 3 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratipattikarman* (the final disposal) of the yajñapātras.

491. अथास्य सप्तसु प्राणायतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यशकलान्प्रत्यस्यति ज्योतिर्गौऽमृतं हिरण्य ज्योतिरेवास्मिंस्तदमृतं दधाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाग्नीश्चितिं चित्वा कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरलोम प्राचीनग्रीवं प्रस्तीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य ध्रुवं घृतेन पूर्णां दक्षिणे पाणावादधाति सव्य उपभृतमुरसि ध्रुवा मुखेऽग्निहोत्रहवणीं नासिकयोः स्रुचौ कर्णयो प्राशित्रहरणे शीर्ष्णमसं प्रणीताप्रणयन पार्श्वयो· शूर्पे उदरे पात्री समवत्तधानी पृषदाज्यवतीं शिश्नस्थान्ते शम्यामाण्डयो· रन्ते वृषारावन्वक्षुलूखल च मुसलं चान्तरेणोरू अन्यानि यज्ञपात्राणि दक्षिणे पार्णौ रपयम्। स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमान· । यथा विन्मदामोयमतीयादेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गो लोको जितो भवति तमन्वत्येति। शतपथब्रा. XII. 5 2 6–8 The गौ. पि. सू I 2.31, Sat Sr. 28.2 23–4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others) A comparatively later smrti like that of Parāśara mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (*V.* 19–22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Ṛg X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.[492] Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Prañitā water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Ṛg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣina fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumati svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N.! To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vāj S. 35. 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4. 2–5) states what one has to understand if the Āhavanīya or Gārhapatya or Dakṣina fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Ṛg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Śr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jīvāḥ' (Ṛg. X, 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāt Śr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇī animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarnya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat Br. XII 5. 9–12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gr IV 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Baud P S I. 10. 2) The Śāṅ. Śr. (IV 14. 14–15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣina fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Ṛg. X 14 10–11)

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last When they have come to the houses they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vāj. S 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies[493].

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other grhya sūtras A few interesting points may be noted here The Sat Br XIII. 8. 4. 11, Pār. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the srauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *āhitāgni* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta[494] or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary[495] fire Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāndāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre.[496] The Pitrdayitā states that the mantra 'asmāt tvam &c' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

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493 अपामार्गैरपसृजते । . यत्रोदकं भवति तत्नान्ति सुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्त्वित्यञ्जलिनाप उपाचाति । स्नात्वाहतानि वासांसि परिधायानडुह पुच्छमन्वारभ्यायन्त्याग्नेयौ यानग्नानग्निमुखा एवं तत्पितृलोकाज्जीवलोकमभ्यायन्ति । . उद्वयं तमसस्परीति । एतासूचं जपन्तो यन्ति ..। तेभ्य आगतेभ्य आञ्जनाभ्यञ्जने प्रयच्छन्त्येष ए मानुषेलङ्कारस्तेनैव तं मृत्युमन्तर्दधते । शत. ब्रा. XIII. 8.4 4–7. सुमित्रिया is वाज. स 35 12 and उद्वयं is वाज. सं. 35.14 (= ऋ. I 50 10)

494, अथानग्निचितः । एतदेव भूमिजोपणमेतत्सर्वोनं कर्म यदन्यदग्निकर्मणः । शतपथब्रा. XIII 8.4,11

495 आहिताग्निर्यथान्यायं दग्धव्यस्त्रिभिरग्निभिः । अनाहिताग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो जनः॥ वृद्धया q. by मिता. on या III 2, अपरार्क p 873 This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23 67

496. लौकिकाग्निश्च चण्डालादिव्यतिरिक्ता ग्राह्य । चण्डालाग्निरमेध्याग्नि सूतिकाग्निश्च कार्हिचित् । पतिताग्निश्चिताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिता ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मिता. on या. III, 2, अपरार्क p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286.

who had not kept sacred fires.[497] The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2–7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yāj. III 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa nah śośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Rg. I. 97 1, A.V. IV. 33 1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapiṇḍas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendva* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikse' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhijātosi...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.[498] The Sat Śr 28 1 38 provides that the family members

497 अनग्नेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्पात्रन्यासन्यतिरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यता दग्धव्यः । अस्मात्त्र ..मन्त्रस्त्वस्मिन्नपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p 78

498. अथ कर्तोदकुम्भमादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भैरुद्धं शिरसि निधाय सूतं पर्येति । तमश्मना परशुना वाधस्तात्किंचित्प्रहरति । तां धारामनुमन्त्रयेत इमा आपो मधुमत्योस्मिंस्ते लोक उपदुत्यन्तामक्षीयमाणा. स्वधा नम इति । ..तिष्ठन्नेवोदकुम्भं पृष्ठतो विसृजेत् । ..तस्मात्त्वमपि-जातोसि त्वदयं जायता पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेत्यसौ शब्देन प्रेतस्य नाम संकीर्त्तयन्तेन गृहीत्वा शरीरेणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गौ. पि. सू. I. 3.1–13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa nah śośucadagham' (Rg. I. 97 1. Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1). It further provides (28. 1 37–46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūsā tvetah' (Rg. X. 17 3., Tai Ā VI. 10 1), 'āyur viśvāyur' (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā VI. 10. 2). The Varāhapurāna prescribes that a Paurānic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.[499]

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garudapurāna II. 4. 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyestipaddhati of Nārāyanabhatta which is generally followed by Ṛgvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tilaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of Jatāmāmsī and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs prānāyāma without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Sankalpa* (as in note 500),[500] he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10), he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a śamī branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then. he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mrtyu, lord of &c' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाप्यजानता। मृत्युकालवशं प्राप्य नरं पञ्चत्वमागतम्॥ धर्माधर्मसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमावृतम्। दहेय सर्वगात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स गच्छतु॥ एवमुक्त्वा ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणम्। ज्वलमानं तथा वह्निं शिरःस्थाने प्रदीपयेत्। चतुर्वर्णेषु संस्कार एवं भवति पुत्रक॥ वराहपुराण q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 170 and by शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 115. These verses occur with variations in वराहपुराण chap 187,106-108.

500 अद्येत्यादि देशकालौ स्मृत्वामुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणोस्मन्मित्रादेः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वविमोक्षार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य प्राचीनावीती भूमिं प्रार्थयेत्। अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति folio 165 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pitṛs, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapataye pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udīrsva' (Ṛg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parisamūhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *paristarana* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and paryuksana (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz proksanī, sruva, camasa and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the camasa with Ṛg. X. 16. 8 (imam-agne &c) He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. agnaye svāhā, agnaya idam na mama). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or prṣadājya) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares apūpas (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *prsadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz Ṛg X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Ṛg X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Ṛg. X 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Ṛg. X. 16 9 (kravyādam-agnim) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Ṛg. X. 14. 7–8, Ṛg. X. 14. 10–11, Ṛg. X. 16. 1–6, X. 17. 3–6. X. 18. 10–13, X. 154. 1–5, X. 14. 12 While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the

burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras The jar is struck thrice All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first The performer recites Rg X. 18 3 (ime jīvā &c). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the uttariya for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāsas*). Some sūtras, smṛtis, commentaries and other works lay down many other rules here The Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of Daśaratha his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varnas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varnas and a śūdra should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varnas carry the dead body of a śūdra, and that the impurity in the case of a śūdra carrying a dead *dvijāti* or a *dvijāti* carrying a śūdra's body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide Viṣnu Dh S 19 1–4, Gaut. Dh. S. 14 29, Manu 5 104, Yāj III 26, Parāśara III 43–45. A brahmacārin was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide Vas 23. 7, Manu 5. 91, Yāj III 15, Laghu-Hārīta 92–93, Brahmapurāṇa (q by Par. M. I. 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34–35. If a *brahmacārin* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13–14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform ācamana, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house It being the duty of *sapiṇḍas*[501] to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III. 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1 2, p. 277, Hārīta q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a brāhmaṇa who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III. 39–41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a brāhmaṇa, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing prāṇāyāma, while Manu (5. 101–102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapiṇḍa* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hāralatā p. 121 quotes the Ādipurāṇa that if a kṣatriya or vaiśya cremates the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa or of a kṣatriya who has lost everything or of a poor vaiśya, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the Mitākṣarā stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man[502] carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

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501 विहितं तु सपिण्डाना प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम्। तेषां करोति यः कश्चित्तस्याविकर्म न विद्यते॥ देवल q. by परा मा I 2 p. 277, विहितं हि सपिण्डस्य प्रेतनिर्हरणादिकम्। दोषः स्यादसपिण्डस्य तत्राना धक्रियां विना॥ हारीत q by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था। यः स्नेहादिना शवनिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयमन्नमश्नाति तद्गृहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव शुद्धिः। यस्तु केवलं तद्गृहे वसति न तुन्नदन्नमश्नाति तस्य त्रिरात्रम्। यः पुनर्निर्हरणमात्रं करोति न तद्गृहे वसति न च तदन्नमश्नाति तस्यैकाह इति। एतज्जातीयविषयम्। विजातीयविषये पुनर्यज्जातीयं प्रेतं निर्हरति तज्जातिप्रयुक्तमाशौचं कार्यम्। यथाह गौतम. (१४.२१) ... विप्रस्य शूद्रनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शूद्रस्य तु विप्रनिर्हरणे दशरात्रं नित्यैवं शववदाशौचं कार्यमित्यर्थः। मिता. on या. III 14.

the same caste as the dead person But if a brāhmana carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmana is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmana's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāna prescribes that if a brāhmana carries the dead body of a brāhmana for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Visnupurāna says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed Hārīta [503] prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5 92 and Vrddha-Hārīta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya and a brāhmana was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village It was provided by Yama and the Garudapurāna II 4 56-57 [504] that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varnas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta* The Hāralatā (p 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmanas only (for a brāhmana's body). The smrtis and purānas provide that the corpse [505] should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न ग्रामाभिमुखं प्रेतं हरेयुरिति। मिता on या. III. मद. 2, पा p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हरता यदि वर्त्मनि ग्राम. स्यात्तदा तन्मध्ये न गन्तव्यमित्यर्थ ।'.

504. यस्यानयति शूद्रोऽग्निं तृणं काष्ठं हवींषि च। प्रेतत्व च सदा तस्य स चा.र्मेण लिप्यते ॥ यम q. by मिता. on या III. 2, अपरार्क p 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मन्यते लोप धर्मोस्ति) which last takes स ..लिप्यते as referring to the brāhmana who is cremated, तृणकाष्ठतिलाज्यादि स्वयं निरयु. सतादय ॥ शूद्रानीते. कृत कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम्। गरुड०.

505 चन्दनोक्षितसर्वाङ्गं सुमनोभिर्विभूषितम्। .निर्हरेयु सुतादय. ॥ आमपात्रेऽन्नमादाय प्रेतनिर्हरणं सरम्। एकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धस्यार्धमर्धपथ्युत्सृजेद्भुवि ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 23-25 q by अपरार्क p 873, प्रचेता। स्नान प्रेतस्य पुत्राद्यैर्वस्त्राद्यै पूजन तत । नग्नदेहं दहेत्तेन किंचि. देयं परित्यजेत्॥ किंचिद्दत्तं यदा लोके देयत्वेन प्रसिद्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तत्स्थेम्यश्चण्डालादिभ्य' । अपरार्क p 871, मिता. on या III. 2 also quotes प्रचेतस्.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāndālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāna (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments.[506]

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (anga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smrti text provides[507] 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskaraksetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *tīrthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yajñopavīta, gopīcandana,* garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.[508] Other smrtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.[509] Āp Dh. S. I. 3. 10. 6

506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'ततं चैवावनद्धं च घनं सुषिरमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows : 'ततं वीणादिकं वाद्यमानद्धं मुरजादिकम्। वंशादिकं तु सुषिरं कांस्यतालादिकं घनम्॥'

507. गङ्गाया भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ। आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्मृतम्॥ q by मिता. on या III 17, परा. मा I 2. p. 296, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 161; माध तत्त्व p 493 (from स्मृतिसमुच्चय) भास्करक्षेत्र is प्रयाग

508. रात्रौ दग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम्। वपनं नेष्यते रात्रौ अस्तगौ वपनक्रिया॥ संग्रह q in शुद्धिप्र p 161

509 अलुप्तकेशो यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र केशान् प्रवापयेत्। द्वितीयेऽह्नि तृतीयेऽह्नि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा। यावच्छ्राद्धं प्रदीयेत तावदित्यपरं मतम्। बौधायन q by परा मा I. 2, p 2. वापनं दशमेऽहनि कार्यम्। तदाह देवल। दशमेऽहनि संप्राप्ते स्नानं ग्रामाद् बहिर्भवेत्। तत्र त्याज्यानि वासांसि केशश्मश्रुनखानि च।; this verse is q. by the मिता on या III. 17; the नद् पा. p 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'प्रथमादिदिनेषु कृतक्षौरस्यापि शुद्ध्यर्थं दशमदिनेऽपि वपनं कर्तव्यम्।'

provides[510] *vapana* for all sapindas that are younger than the deceased The Madanapārijāta holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Śuddhiprakāsa (p 162) following the Mit on Yāj. III 17 states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva* A.I R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garudapurāna (II. 4. 67–69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadāna*) to the deceased by his *sapiṇḍas* and *samānodakas* Āśv gr. quoted above (p 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr 28 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th,[511] Gaut Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapiṇḍas* to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 75 *añjalis* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *añjali* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Viṣnu Dh S. 19. 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paiṭhīnasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874)

510. अङ्गभाविना च परिवापनम्। आप ध सू I. 3.10 6 For explanation of this sūtra, vide मिता on या III 17.

511. केशान् प्रकीर्य पांसूनोप्यैकवाससो दक्षिणामुखा सकृदुन्मज्ज्योत्तीर्य सर्व आचान्त्य वास. पीडयित्वोपविशन्त्येवं त्रिस्तत्प्रत्ययं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिश्रमुदक त्रिरुत्सिच्याहरहरञ्जलिनैकोत्तरद्वृद्धिरेकादशाहात्। सत्याषाढश्रौत 28 2 72 The यौ पि. सू I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तशर्मन्, एतत्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय देवदत्तशर्मणे प्रेतायैतत्तिलोदकं ददामि' (हरदत्त) or 'देवदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्र प्रेतस्तृप्यतु' (मिता. on या III. 5.). Vide गोभिलस्मृति III 36–37 also, q by अपरार्क p 874 and परा मा I. 2 p 267.

prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.[512] The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariśiṣta, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākhā. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣta 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose The Garuḍapurāna (Pretakhanda chap. 5 verses 22–23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 *añjalis*. Some smṛtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmana, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varna. Yama (verses 92–94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitṛs but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika[513] it is stated that six pindas were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pūtheya* śrāddha because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p 463). According to some of the digests

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512. दिनेदिनेऽञ्जलीन् पूर्णान् मदद्यात्प्रेतकारणात्। तावद्वृद्धिश्च कर्तव्या यावत्पिण्डः समाप्यते॥ मचेतस् q. by मिता on या III. 3; 'यावदाशौचं तावत्प्रेतस्योदकं पिण्डं च ददुः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.13 If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100, if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis

513. अत्र च आद्योत्तरं पिण्डदानमुक्तं देवयाज्ञिकोदाहृतायां स्मृतौ। मृतस्योत्क्रान्तिसमपात्यद् पिण्डान् क्रमशो दिशेत्। मृतस्थाने तथा द्वारे चत्वरे तार्क्ष्य कारणात्। विश्रामे काष्ठचयने तथा व्रजपथे च षट्। q. by बुद्धिमकाश p. 158. Vide गरुडपुराण II. 4 48 for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindas undergo shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmana of good family after remembering Visnu for the benefit of the departed Vide Smrti-muktāphala (on śr) pp. 595–596, Sm C (on Āśauca p. 176).

The smrtis and purānas (like Kūrma, uttarārdha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass There are two views on this point. According to Yāj. III. 16 a *pinda* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Pinda-pitr-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder), while according to Visnu 19. 13 one *pinda* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted The pinda was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone [514] While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, pinda was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindas of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could[515] offer it. Even when pindas were to be offered for three days or *āśauca* lasted only for 3 days the pindas were prescribed to be ten by Śātātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows· three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Daksa [516] distributed them as follows· one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 pindas were to be offered according to the varna of the deceased In the case cited above from A I R. 1945 Patna p 211 at p 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514 भूमौ माल्यं पिण्डं पानीयमुपले वा दद्युः। शङ्ख q. by मिता. on या. III 16.

515. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डा मातृसपिण्डाः शिष्याश्च वा दद्युः। तदभावे ऋत्विगाचार्यौ। शौ. प्र. सू 15.13–14.

516 प्रथमेऽह्नि तत्पिण्ड द्वितीये चतुरस्तथा। तृतीये पञ्च दे दद्यादेव पिण्डविधिः स्मृतः॥ ब्रह्म q. by अपरार्क p. 888.

pindas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one pinda is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the Grhya-pariśista[517] and Garudapurāna. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapinda. The Matsyapurāna states[518] that pindas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days Ŗsyaśrnga quoted by Aparārka (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a pinda is offered The Garudapurāna (pretakhanda chap. 5. 33–36) says the same.

Just as sapindas of the same gotra and *samānodakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his ācārya on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on their death (Pār. gr. III. 10, Śankha-Likhita, Yāj.[519] III, 4) Pāraskara (III. 10) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapindas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform udakakriyā', where-upon

517. असगोत्रः सगोत्रो वा यदि स्त्री यदि वा पुमान्। प्रथमेऽहनि यो दद्यात्स दशाहं समापयेत्॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by मिता on या. I, 255 and III 16, अपरार्क p 887, स्मृ. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लघ्वाश्वलायन 20.6 and गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 5 19–20.

518. प्रेताय पिण्डदानं तु द्वादशाहं समाचरेत्। पाथेयं तस्य तत्प्रोक्तं यतः प्रीतिकरं महत्॥ यस्मात् प्रेतपुरं प्रेतो द्वादशाहेन नीयते। गृहपुत्रकलत्रं च द्वादशाहं प्रपश्यति। मत्स्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 889. These two verses are the same as पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड 10.5–6.

519. 'उदकक्रियां कामं श्वशुरमातुलयोः शिष्ये सहाध्यायिनि राजनि च'। शङ्खलिखित q by दीपकलिका on या III. 4.

the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request),' if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.[520] The G. P. S. (I, 4. 4–6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent[521] persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no āśauca observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four āśramas, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89–90) is to the same effect. Gaut Dh. S.[522] 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

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520 संयुक्त मैथुनं वोदकं याचेरन्नुदकं करिष्यामह इति। कुरुध्व मा चैव पुनरित्यशतवर्षे प्रेते। कुरुध्वमित्येवेतरस्मिन्। पारस्करगृह्य III 10, which are included in the procedure of udakadāna even by such a late writer as Govindānanda (S. K. p. 122) and explained by शुद्धिप्रकाश pp 199–200, अप· प्रतिपद्यन्ते। अत्र राजपुरुष· सगोत्रमिथुनो (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्टकिनीं शाखामादाय मावतरतेति वारयेत् न पुनरवतरिष्यान इति प्रतिब्रूयुः। गौ पि सू I 4 3–6.

521 क्लीबाया नोदकं कुर्युः स्तेना व्रात्या विधर्मिणः। गर्भभर्तृद्रुहश्चैव सुराप्यश्चैव योषित. ॥ वृद्धमनु q. by कल्पतरु (शुद्धि) p.89, शुद्धिप्रकाश p 203. The word क्लीबाया: probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj II. 140 For *vrātya* vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 96, 386

522 प्रायानाशकशस्त्राग्निविषोदकोद्बन्धनप्रपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। गौ 14 11; क्रोधात्प्रायं विषं वह्निः शस्त्रमुद्बन्धनं जलम्। गिरिवृक्षप्रपात च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमा·। ब्रह्मदण्डहता ये च ये चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः। महापातकिनो ये च च पतितास्ते प्रकीर्तिता.। पतितानां न दाह. स्यान्न च स्यादस्थिसञ्चय.। न चाश्रुपातः पिण्डो वा कार्या आद्धक्रिया न च ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हरदत्त on गौ 14 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902–903, quoting many more verses; similar rules are laid down by Aṅgirasasmṛti VII. 1. p 539 (Jiv.), संवर्त verses 178–179; Atri 216–217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23, verses 60–63) q. by हारलता p. 204, शुद्धिम p. 59.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no āśauca, no offering of water or pinda. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāna that those who die of a brāhmana's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Angiras (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was āśauca for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaik. Sm S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap 127 (the body was carried in a *śibikā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it), of Drona in Strīparva, chap 23.38–42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīsma in Anuśāsana 169 10–19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19–25; of killed warriers in general in Strīparva, chap. 26. 28–43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāsikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā, chap 76 verses 16–20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śibikās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13–14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his śrauta fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kāt. Śr. 25.8–9, Baud. P. S. III 8, Gobhilasmrti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37.

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ait Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works[523] provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in[524] number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāna (q. by Suddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P S and Gaut. P S. as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śān. Śr. IV 15.19-31,[525] Kāt. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III 8, G. P. S. II 1.6-14 Gobhila-smṛti III.48, Hārīta q by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garudapurāna II. 4. 134-154 and II.40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of palāśa leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śān. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The ऐ ब्रा reads यदि शरीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्णशर. षष्टिश्लोणि च शतान्याहरय तेषा पुरुषरूपकमिव कृत्वा तस्मिंस्तामावृतं कुर्युरथैनाञ्छरीरैराहृते संस्पर्शोद्वासयेयुरध्यर्धशतं कामे सविधनी द्विपञ्चाशे च विंशे चोरू द्विपञ्चविंशे शेषं तु शिरस्युपदध्यात् सा तत्र भापश्चित्तिः।

524. शरीरनाशे त्रीणि षष्टिशतानि पलाशदन्ताना कृष्णाजिने पूर्ववत्। काल्या श्रौ 25. 8 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुरुषविध्यादि पूर्ववत् द्राहान्तम्। तेषामेव सञ्चयनं पितृमेधश्च तैरेवेति।'

525. चत्वारिंशच्छिरसि। ग्रीवाया दश। अंसान्वसयोर्बाह्वो· शतम्। उरसि त्रिंशत्। जठरे विंशतिः। षड्वृषणयोः। शिश्ने चत्वारि। ऊर्वो शतम्। त्रिंशज्जानुजङ्घाष्टीवतो। पादाङ्गुलीषु विंशति'। एव त्रीणि षष्टिशतानि भवन्ति। पुरुषाकृति कृत्वोर्णासूत्रै· परिवेष्टय यवचूर्णैः श्लिष्टय सर्पिषाभ्यज्याग्निभिः संस्कुर्वन्ति। शा श्रौ. सू IV. 15. 20-31 Each stalk of Palāśa has three leaves, ऊर्णासूत्रs will represent the muscles and यवचूर्णलेप will represent flesh It will be seen that as enumerated in Sān S. the palāśa stalks are exactly 360 The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.58 refers to it as 'देहाभावात्पलाशैस्तु कृत्वा प्रतिकृतिं पुन.।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. Jātūkarnya (q. by Aparārka p. 545) and Bhavisyapurāna (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'ākrtidahana'). Bṛhaspati advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākrtidahana* (Śuddhipr. p 187). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187 quotes several verses from the Brahmapurāna that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāśa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated Śrauta fires and āśauca for three days has to be observed, while the āśauca for burning the effigy of an āhitāgni was ten days.

It is further provided in Sat Śr. 29. 4. 41, Baud P. S. (III. 7. 4) and Garudapurāna II. 4. 169–70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *saṃskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again śrauta fires. Some sūtras provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his śrauta fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālīs* (cooking pots [526]). Manu (V. 167–168) provides that if the *savarṇa* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (śrauta and smārta) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate śrauta or smārta fires again. To the same effect are Yāj. I. 89, Baud. P S. II. 4, 6, Gobhila-smrti III. 5, Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra VII. 2, Vrddha-Hārīta XI. 213, Laghu-Āśv. 20 59. [527] Viśvarūpa on Yāj. 1. 87 quotes a Kāṭhaka-śruti to

526. दुच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निभिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वान्यामानीय तत. पुनरादधीत। शां श्रौ IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in Sat. Br. XII. 5 2 3 'इत्थमेव कुर्यात्। तिस्र एव स्थालीरेटवै ब्रूयात्तासु गोमयानि च शुम्बलानि वावधाय नाना त्रिष्वग्निषु प्रवृञ्च्यात्ते ये तत. सन्तापादग्नयो जायेरंस्तैरेनं दहेयुः।' शुम्बल means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्माद्यावत्य. पत्न्यः सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्थेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम्। तथा च काठके श्रुतौ 'शवाग्नयो वा एते भवन्ति ये पत्न्यां प्रमीतायां धार्यन्ते' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तस्मात् पत्नीमग्निभिर्दहेत्' इति विस्पष्टो विशेषविधिः। विश्वरूप on या I. 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmana āhitāgni had a wife of the ksatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V 167 (where 'savarnām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarna wife alone, there would be the fault of *vākyabheda*. Some of the smrtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did Vide Gobhilasmrti III,[528] 9–10, Vrddha–Hārīta XI. 214 If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*aranis*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the āhitāgni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*nirmanthya*) kindled by attrition of the *aranis* Vide Baud P. S II. 4 6–8, Kāt Śr. 29 4 34–35, and Trikānda-mandana II. 121.[528a] When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhijātosi' quoted above was not to be recited (vide Gobhilasmrti III. 52) It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhilasmrti III. 53) Kratu (q. by

528 मृतायामपि भार्यायां वैदिकाग्नि न हि त्यजेत्। उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समाचरेत्॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णीं सीतां पत्नीं यज्ञस्विनीम्। ईजे यज्ञैर्बहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरीश्वरैः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 9–10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p 114 as विष्णु's It is also quoted by गृहस्थरत्नाकर p 110 अपरार्क does not accept the interpretation that the verse मृतायां etc allows the householder to have an image of his deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice The words 'उपाधिनापि' according to Aparārka mean that he may marry a woman not of the same varna Both verses are q by शुद्धिप्रकाश (pp. 164–165) which summarises various views on this point

528a तयोर्यं पूर्वो म्रियेत तस्याग्निरेतया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेध.। य. पश्चात्तस्यौपासनेन। औपासनेऽविद्यमाने निर्मन्थ्येन पितृमेध.। बौ. पि सू. II 4 6–8, compare सत्या. श्रौ. 29 4 34; 'पत्नी चेद्विधवा भूत्वा ममीयेत कदाचन। तदा श्रौताग्निशून्यत्वान्निर्मन्थ्येनैव दह्यते॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 121.

Śuddhiprakāśa p. 166) [528b] and Baud P. S. III. 1. 9–13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmacārin and yati were to be cremated with uttapana (or kapālaja) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff If an āhitāgnī became *patita* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his śrauta fires were to be cast into water and *smārta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a smrti q by Par. M. I. 2. p. 226, Parāśara V. 10–11, Vaik Smārta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire

Manu V. 68, Yāj III. 1, Parāśara III 14, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 27–28, Brahmapurāna quoted by Par M. I 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Pāraskara-gr. [528c] III. 10, Yāj III. 1, Manu V. 68–69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case The relatives may all follow the body or not

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528b निगुर विधवा चैव कपालस्याग्निना दहेत्। ब्रह्मचारियती चैव दहेदुत्तपनाग्निना॥ तुषाग्निना च दग्धव्य कन्यका बाल एव च। अग्निवर्ण कपालं तु कृत्वा तत्र विनिक्षिपेत्। कारीषादि ततो वस्तु जात. स तु कपालज ॥ क्रतु q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश p 166 The उत्तपनाग्नि is explained as दर्भाग्रेर्दग्धं तु मज्जालय पुनर्दर्भैस्तु संयुत । पुनर्दर्भै तृतीयेग्निरेष उत्तपन स्मृत.॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by शुद्धिप्रकाश 166, अथाहिताग्नि . यज्ञपात्रैश्च । गृहस्थौपासनेन । ब्रह्मचारिणं कपालसन्तपनाग्निना॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरान् । एव स्त्रियम्। वौ पि चू. III. 1 9–13.

528c. अथोदककर्माह्विवर्षे प्रेते मात्रापित्रोराशौचं शौचमेवेतरेषामेकरात्र त्रिरात्रं वा शरीरसदग्धा निखनन्ति। ..नात्रोदककर्म। पारस्करगृह्य III. 10, ऊनद्विवार्षिकं प्रेत घृताक्त निखनेद्भुवि। यमगाथा गायमानो यमसूक्तमनुस्मरन्। यम q by मिता॰ on या. III.1. यमगाथा. are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparnam' (Rg X. 123 6 acc to दीपकालिका), or तै. आ. VI 5. 3 अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत्। वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्यमः॥, or पोस्य कौष्ठ्य जगत. and the two following verses from तै आ. VI. 5.2 (acc. to अपरार्क p. 871) and स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड p 201)

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūktā (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakaraṇa*. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz it may be buried or cremated after nāmakaraṇa or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the sapiṇḍa relatives should follow the dead body If a child is two years old or more at death and upanayana has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.[528d] The Vaik. Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl After Upanayana the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an āhitāgni so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvamabhijātosi' was not to be recited) The Baud[529] P. S. (II 3.10-11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *caula* (tonsure) and there is no *pitṛmedha* for those whose upanayana had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyāhṛtis* The Mit. on Yāj. III 2 summarises the rules as follows: Before Nāmakaraṇa there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after Nāmakaraṇa up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial, from the third year up to upanayana there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras), if Cūḍā ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After Upanayana the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an āhitāgni.

528d. तूष्णीमेवोदकं कुर्याच्चूष्णीं संस्कारमेव च। सर्वेषां कृतचूडानामन्यत्रापीच्छया स्त्रियः॥ लौगाक्षि q. by मित. on या III 1

529. न प्राक् चौलात्मृतानां दहनं विद्यते। नाद्युपनीतानां कन्यानां वा पितृमेधः। जो पै. सू. II. 3. 10-11. सायण on तै आ III 21 explains 'आहिताग्नित्वे सति यो ब्रह्मतत्त्वं जानाति तस्य दहनादिसंस्कारो ब्रह्ममेधः। आहिताग्नेर्यो दहनादिसंस्कारः सोऽपि पितृमेधः।'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmacārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kuṭīcaka kind and quotes a [530] verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The [531] Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrājaka*.[532] One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhṛtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven vyāhṛtis each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai S.I.1.3.1) 'O Viṣnu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the parivrājaka (breaking it into three parts) with the mantra 'Viṣnu took strides over this' (Ṛg. I.22.17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

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530 कुटीचकं तु प्रदहेत्पूरयेच्च बहूदकम्। हंसो जले तु निक्षेप्य. परहंस प्रपूरयेत्॥ q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh vol II. pp. 338–342.

531 अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः। पृथिव्या 'अक्षिभ्यामोषधीभ्याम्' इति शरीरं निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगान्माता मातरमप्यगात्। भूयास्म पुत्रैः पशुभिर्यो नो द्वेष्टि स मिद्यताम्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधायाथ होतारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति व्याहृतिभिर्देवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्नि. समिध्यते' इत्यशेषसंस्कारोऽश्वमेधफलम्। तत्रोदाहरन्ति। शृगालश्च वायसा. खादन्ति चेद्दोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुः. तस्मादविशङ्कां वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायन.। यौ पि. सू. III 11. अग्निना अग्निः is Rg I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.46 3). The mantra भूमिर्भूमिः occurs in यौ पि. सू. I. 4.9 also,

532. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः। ग्रामात्प्राचीमुदीचीं वा गत्वा ब्रह्मवृक्षस्याधस्तान्नदीतीरे वा शुचौ देशे वा दण्डप्रमाण देवयजन व्याहृतिभिः खात्वा त्रि सप्तव्याहृतिभिः प्रोक्ष्य दर्भास्संस्तीर्यालंकृत्य शव निदधाति श्वभ्रे विष्णो हव्य रक्षस्वेति। इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति। यदस्य पारे रजस इति सव्यहस्ते शिक्यम्। येन देवा' पवित्रेणेति मुखे जलपवित्रम्। सावित्र्या उदरे ब्रह्मभाजनम्। भूमिर्भूम्नेति शुद्धे कमण्डलुम्। चित्तिः सुगेति दशहोत्रिभिरनुमन्त्रयते। नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमनुष्ठितत्वात्। सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च। न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नाशौचं नोदकक्रिया॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gr Sesasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'शुद्धे कमण्डलु चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगादिति'. The verse सर्वसङ्ग occurs in Baud gr Sesasūtra IV 17. 17–18. According to the Baud Dh. S. II. 10 11 the paraphernalia of a yati is: पात्रं शिक्यं जलपवित्रं कमण्डलुं पात्रमिति

hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV 2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gāyatrī stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vāj S III. 35, Tai S. I.5 6 4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittiḥ sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā, Maitrāyaṇī S I 9 1 which are called 'caturhotārah') [533] The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before No cremation should be done, no *āśauca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthasāra adds that no *ekoddiṣṭa* śrāddha nor sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed for an ascetic, but only *pārvaṇa* on the 11th day, that a kuṭīcaka should be cremated, the bahūdaka should be buried, *haṃsa* should be thrown into water and *paramahaṃsa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp 634-635) quotes the Smṛtyarthasāra and then adds a few details from Bṛhat-Śaunaka, viz that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Puruṣasūkta (Rg X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai S I 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I 22. 17), then pierce the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvah-svah', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws) The Dharmasindhu (p 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no yati except kuṭīcaka should be cremated. In modern times a sannyāsin is always buried and not cremated, since kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka kinds of yati are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahaṃsa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

533. Vide H of Dh. vol. II. p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the Daśahotārah and their relation to *caturhotṛs*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle *śrauta* or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol II pp. 933–934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an āhitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was āhitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smrti quoted by the Mit and the Smrti-candrikā (I p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'āpo hi sthā' Ṛg. X. 9. 1–9, verses addressed to Varuna) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and pañcagavya and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide Garudapurāna II. 4. 171 ff and Nirnayasindhu p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud P. S. III. 9, Nirnayasindhu p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed[534] by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively Vide Vendidad, Fargard III (S B E Vol. 4 pp 31–32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S B E Vol IV part 1 Intro p XLV).

caves,[535] or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say[536]. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30 14 (mā nu bhumigrho bhuvat) and 18 2 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: O Agni! bring all those *pitrs* here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (pitrs whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)[536a]. In the word 'anagnidagdhāh' occurring in Rg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya[537] Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura* who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhiksā* (perfumes and flowers?), with raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras is referred to. In Rg. VII 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuna!

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535 In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberini. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Puckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham)

536. Vullhamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible

536 a. ये निखाता ये परोप्ता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिता । सर्वांस्तानग्न आ वह पितॄन्हविषे अत्तवे ॥ अथर्व० 18 2 34.

537 तस्मादप्येवाद्दानमश्रद्दधानमयजमानमाहुरासुरो बतेदमुराणां हि रूपमेतत् परेतरप शरीरे भिक्षाया गमनेनात्मसंस्करणमि मौरकुर्वन्तेन यद्वै तत्प्रेत्य तेऽभिवदन्ती यन्त्र । छा. उप VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (śmaśāna) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the Śat Br. and other sources In A. V. XVIII 2 25 it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as Matthew 22. 23–33, Mark 12. 18–27 and Luke 20. 37–38, John 5. 19–31 and 6. 32–56) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg.* v. *Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.[538] It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 29 and Vaik. Śr. 31.23[539] prescribe that if an āhitāgni died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the Rāmāyana it is several times said that the body of Daśaratha was placed for several

538 (1884) 12 Q. B. D p 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. आहिताग्निमजने प्रमीतं तैलद्रोण्यामवधाय शकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मन्थ्येन वा वृक्षात् कृष्णाजिनेऽस्थीनि निधायाहरेत् वाससा संवेष्ट्य दीर्घवंशे मन्थ्यानधो निवधाना. प्रयता मृन्मयभाजना आहरन्ति। सत्या श्रौ 29 4. 29; almost the same words occur in वैखानसश्रौत 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhyā 66. 14–16, 76.4). In the Visnupurāna [540] it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the Ṛgveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the Ṛgveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I. p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya [541] Nandangarh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāralatā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāna to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptrakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees. [541a]

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arahats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusinārā, that the Mallas took perfumes,

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540. निमेरपि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरं तैलगन्धादिभिरुपस्क्रियमाणं नैव क्लेदादिकं दोषमवाप सद्यो मृतमिव तस्थौ। विष्णुपुराण IV. 5. 7.

541 Vide T Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp 227–232 for the excavations at Lauriya, also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India, Prof V G Childe in 'Man' for 1945 p 13 ff for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap' VII on 'Last rites'

541a. मगा भूमौ निखन्यन्ते दरदाश्च मृतान् सदा। आसव (जय?) पूर्णे गच्छन्ति लुप्तकाश्च स्वबान्धवम्॥ आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 126 which explains 'दरदस्तु धर्मस्तु घनच्छायवृक्षे मञ्चादितमदेशे वर्षमेकमवलम्ब्य स्थापनम्। ततो गृहान्तरमुत्थितस्य दाहः'.

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the śāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29–32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmanas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesāli and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmana Dona (Drona) built a mound over the jar (kumbha) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual[542], though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gṛ.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655–671 and 881–913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumangalavilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B C.) and in which 700 articles were

(*Continued on the next page*)

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III. 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2[543]). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22–53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *daityas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i. e Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how śrāddha confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer śrāddha and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings[544]. Yāj III. 8–11 (=Garuḍapurāṇa II. 4. 81–84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

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(*Continued from the last page*)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78–80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *tope* (Pāli 'thūpa'), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. शोकमुत्सृज्य कल्याणीभिर्वाग्भिः सात्त्विकाभिः कथाभिः पुराणैः सुकृतिभिः कृत्वा धौतमुखा व्रजन्ति। गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र I. 4. 2.

544. It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 48–49 and 51–53 are the same or almost the same as Bhagavadgītā II. 27, 28, 13, 23–25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenusahasreṣu &c.) is the same as Śāntiparva 181. 16, 187.27 and 323.16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 78. 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20.41 is the same as Śānti 175. 15 and 322. 73. The कल्पतरु (शुद्धि pp. 91–97) quotes याज्ञ. (III. 7.11), विष्णु 20.22–53 and गीता II. 13, 28.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhilasmrti III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you' Gobhila then quotes Yāj. III. 8–10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata [544a] viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyana and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhrtarāstra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 292–93, the Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 205–206 and several other works quote the verses of Visnu, Yāj. and Gobhila.

The Garudapurāna here (II. 4. 91–100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativratā*, and states that a brāhmana woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that ksatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of *satī* is common to all women even including chāndāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Satī*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *nimba* tree, perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According [545] to Śankha the relatives should touch the tendrils of Dūrvā, fire and a bull, should offer a *pinda* to the departed at

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544a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ता समुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च जीवितम् ॥ This is शान्तिपर्व 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citrasālā edition).

545. दूर्वामालमग्निं वृषभं चालभ्य गृहद्वारे प्रेताय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पश्चात्प्रविशेयुः । शङ्ख q. by मिता on या. III. 13, परा मा. I 2 p. 293.

the door of the house and then enter it. Baijavāpa[546] q by Śuddhitattva prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *śamī*, the stone (*aśmā*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals: food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yāj III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nimba* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śāṅ. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17–27, Baud. P. S. I. 12.10. Kauśikasūtra 82.33–35 and 42–47, Pār. gr. III. 10. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4–10, Gaut Dh. 14.35–36 Manu V. 73, Yas. 4.14–15, Yāj III. 16–17, Viṣṇu Dh S 19.14–17, Saṁvarta 38–43, Śaṅkha 15.25, Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 1–5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *sapiṇḍa* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days.[547] The Śāṅ. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17–24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालभन्ते शमी पापं शमयतीति अश्मान्नश्मेव स्थिरो भूयासमिति अग्निमग्निर्नः शर्म यच्छत्विति ज्योतिष अन्तरा गामनड्वाहमुपसृजन्त आलभते वा आलभ्य दक्षिणे काष्ठमलवणमेकरात्रं हविष्यं भोक्ष्यन्त एकरात्रं व क्रमेणैवमनड्वान् । वैजवाप quoted in कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p 109), शुद्धितत्त्व p 319, the शुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III p 580 (which reads आलभ्य वान्यगेहादेकाः).

547. अथः शव्या हविष्यमक्षता भूमौ च कर्तनं वैतानाग्निसंस्कारं त्रिरात्रं नवरात्रं वा, वासःप्रक्षालनादिवर्जनानि । शां. श्रौ IV. 15.10, मातरि पितर्यन्वार्यं वृत्ते त्रिरात्रमक्षारलवणं भोजनमधःशयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं क्रियाः पतिते द्वादशाहं संवत्सरे यावद् ग्रहणं द्वादशरात्रार्धं परकुर्वेवमधोदकान्तिकेषु त्रिरात्रं यावज्जीवं प्रेतपत्नी । यो पि चू I 12.10 ; न स्नात्वाप्रयतो धीरान् । नित्यानि निवर्तेरन्नैतानवर्जम् । शालाग्नौ चैके । अन्य एतानि कुर्युः । यार चू III. 10 (ascribed to पैठीनसि in निता on या III. 17): अमत्र हविष्यानि कुर्वन्ति न भुञ्जते । द नं मनियहो होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते । cited as महा in अपरार्क p 892, परा. मा I 2. p 211 Aparārka and others explain that the cessation of homa refers to smārta and not to *śrauta* homa. The last verse is ascribed to दक्ष by निता on या III. 17, where it adds the half verse सूतके तु कुलस्यान्नदोषं मनुरब्रवीत् । The विष्णुपुराण III. 13 18 reads मृतकप्रेतसंस्कारानि कुर्वन्त्यार्ष. निवर्तने ४. .

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary [548] salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III. 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14–15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III 17 and Pār. III. 10 [549] provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śikya*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj III. 17, Paithīnasi, Manu V. 84, Par. gr. III 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrnamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mit. [550] on Yāj. III. 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāyajñas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmana should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III 10 'anya etāni kuryuh) expressly lays down Only *nitya* and *naimittika* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotrins

548. For the different explanations of 'ksāra-lavana' vide H of Dh vol II. p. 304 n 723.

549 प्रेतात्र स्नाहीत्युदकं स्थाप्यं पिब चेदमिति क्षीरम्। पार गृ III. 10.

550 सूतके कर्मणा त्याग सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सन्ध्याया विनिवृत्तिः श्रूयते तथाञ्जलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात्। सूतके सावित्र्या चाञ्जलिं प्रक्षिप्य प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं ध्यायन्नमस्कुर्यादिति पैठीनसिस्मरणात्। मिता on या III. 17. सूतके कर्मणां त्यागः is गोभिलस्मृति III. 60. Vide विष्णुपुराण III. 13 18 'दानं प्रतिग्रहो होम. स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'

perform their śrauta *nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another (Vide Yāj. III. 17, Manu V 84). Although there is a text of Gobhilasmrti (*III 60*) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paithīnasi the Mit says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smrtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that sandhyā mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the prānāyāma mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Visnu Dh. S. 22 6 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaik Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a brāhmana is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Samvarta [551] (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five Mahāyajñas nor of Veda study. The Nityācāra-paddhati p 544 states that even in āśauca the thousand names of Visnu may be recited.

Asthisañcayana or *Sañcayana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smrti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12–18, Sat Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gr. IV. 5 1–18, Gaut P. S I. 5, Visnu Dh. S. 19. 10–12, Baud P. S I. 14, Kausika-sūtra 82. 29–32, Vaik. Smārta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87–88, Samvarta 38, Gobhila-smrti III. 54–59 (q. by Hāralatā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: [552] 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Samvarta (verse 38) and Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 5 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons The Vāmanapurāna (14 97–98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु न कुर्यान्मृत्युजन्मनोः । वृत्ताहानु परं सम्यग्विप्रोऽधीयीत धर्मवित् ॥ संवर्त 43.

552. अपरेद्युस्तृतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां समम्या वास्थीनि संचिनोति । सत्या. श्रौ 28. 3.1. अथ सञ्चयनं स्युष्टे द्विरात्रं त्रिरात्रं चतूरात्र पञ्चरात्रं वा । गौ. पि सू. I 5 1. प्रथमेह्नि चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वास्थिसञ्चयम्। ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनात्तेषामङ्गस्पर्शो विधीयते ॥ वामनपुराण 114. 97–98.

that the four varṇas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. S. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *naksatras* (i. e. except on the two Āsāḍhas, two Phalgunīs and two Bhādrapadās). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣnupurāna III. 13 14, Kūrmapurāna (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number [553] not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a śamī branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śītike' (Ṛg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Ṛg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Ṛg X. 18. 11) After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Ṛg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Ṛg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit) Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer śrāddha to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The हारलता (p 184) explains अयुजो मिथुनाः प्रवयसः (in आश्व. गृ.) as 'मिथुनं पुरुषद्वयं बहुवचनात् त्रयो मिथुनाः षट् पुरुषा इत्यर्थः. पञ्च वा मिथुना दश पुरुषाः प्रवयस. मकृदवयस ?. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortege* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the Hāralatā only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223–307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kauśikasūtra (82. 29–32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpanī verses and carried with the verses called Harinis (i e. A V. 18 2 11–18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18. 2. 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee'). [554]

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Bṛhatī fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttiṣṭhata' (Tai Ā VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śamī* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyesti-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gr quoted above. It says. the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा ते मनो यत्ते अक्षमिति सञ्चिनोति पच्छ । प्रथम शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे समोप्य सर्वसुरभिचूर्णैरवकीर्योत्थापनीभिरुत्थाप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेयु. । मा त्वा वृक्ष इति वृक्षमूले निदधाति । कौशिकसूत्र 82 29–32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield They should be read as पच्छ प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc For the उत्थापनी verses see n. 474 The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2. 11–18 and are the same as Rg X. 14 10–12 and X. 154, 1–5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his gotra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śamī branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śītike' (Rg X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances They also winnow the ashes with a *śūrpa* and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13 Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyana, Kamalākara's grandfather).

The Visnudharmasūtra (19.11–12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purāṇas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyana prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river [554a] or cast them into the sea. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatrī and the other mantras usually repeated over

554 a. The स्मृतिच (आशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point तत्र शाण्डिल्यः। द्वारवत्यां सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्यां च पुष्करे। अस्थीनि विसृजेद्यस्य स मृतो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात्। शङ्खलिखितौ। गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केदारे पुष्करोत्तमे। अस्थीनि विधिवत् त्यक्त्वा गयायां पिण्डदो भवेत्। पितॄनुद्धरणात्मुच्येत तौ नित्यं मोक्षगामिनौ। इति। योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः। गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कावेर्यां वा शतद्रुतौ। सरस्वत्यां विशेषेण ह्यस्थीनि विसृजेत्सुतः॥

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma śuddham &c' (Rg VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22 16. Rg VIII. 95.7-9,[555] Rg VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126 1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamānī verses), Rg. X 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hiraṇya śrāddha* for the deceased, offer *piṇḍa* to him and perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhas*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udīratām' (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ācamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirnayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *asthisañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat Sr. 28 4, Śān Śr 4 6 (called *paridhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *Śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3 3) and Visnu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the Śānti rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('daśarātre saucam krtvā śāntih'). It is described by Āśv. gr as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rg X 16 9) Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Rg VIII 95 7-9 the word 'śuddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of *śamī* flowers, with fuel of śamī wood, with two pieces of śamī wood for kindling fire[556] and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of kuśa grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the araṇis) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Rg X. 16.9 latter half)'. Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'[557] (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they place a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1–4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B E vol. 29) The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his śrauta fires (vide Āśv. gr. IV. 4) and smārta fire (if any) and on his death the śāntikarma is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com on Sat Sr 28. 4, 1 states that it is the adhvaryu priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557 Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10

away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Rg. X 53 8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (āpo hi sthā, Rg X. 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Rg. X. 155 5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmurred the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Rg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmanas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmanas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Sat Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Rg. X. 18.7=Tai. Ā. VI. 1 8 2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yathā tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10 2)[558], that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning)

Interesting information is furnished by the Śat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kāt Śr[559] It is said in Śat. Br that

558 The mantra is very significant, यथा त्वमुद्निनत्सि ओषधे पृथिव्या अधि। एवमिम उद्निन्दन्तु कीर्त्या यशसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन॥ तै आ VI. 10. 2

559. अथैकेषा कुम्भान्त निधानमनाहिताग्ने स्त्रियाश्च निवपनान्त इवियाजिन पुन र्दहनान्तं सोमयाजिनश्चयनान्तमग्निचित इति। सत्या श्रौ 28 4, 28, almost the same words occur in बौ पि. सू II 3 2 This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajñas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut 8 20), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

(*Continued on the next page*)

the grave[560] or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased ; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single naksatra (i. e. containing a single star such as Citrā and Pusya, and not dual such as Punarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Krttikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Śat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south; but the Śat. Br. disapproves of both the views and prescribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southernly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open space lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place

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(*Continued from the last page*)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14

560. अथास्मै श्मशानं कुर्वन्ति । तद्वै न क्षिप्रं कुर्यात् । नेन्नवमवं करवाणीति चिर एव कुर्यादथैव तत्तिर. करोति यत्र समा नाद्रु च न स्मरेयुः ..यद्यद्रुस्मरेयु । अयुग्मेषु संवत्सरेषु कुर्यात् । एकनक्षत्रे . अमावास्यायाम् ।. शरदि कुर्यात् ।...माघे वा मा नोऽधि भूदिति निदाघे वा नि नोऽध धीयाता इति । चतु स्रक्ति । तस्माद्या दैव्य. प्रजाश्चतुःस्रक्तीनि ताः श्मशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ या आसुर्य. प्राच्यास्त्वथत्वे परिमण्डलानि ।.. अथातो भूमिजोषणस्य । उदीचीनप्रवणे करोति । दक्षिणाप्रवणे कुर्यादित्याहु ।...यस्यैव समस्य सतः दक्षिणत. पुरस्ताद्वाप एत्य संस्थायो प्रह्वस्य एतां दिशमभिनिष्पद्याक्षय्या अपोऽपिपद्यैरस्तत्कुर्यात् ।...कम्वति कुर्यात् कं मेऽ सदित्यथो शंवति शं मेऽसदिति नाधिपथं कुर्पाज्ञाकाशे नेदाविरर्धं करवाणीति ।...आदित्यज्योतिष-मेवैन करोति । न तास्मिन् कुर्यात् । यस्येत्थादनूत्काश. स्यात् । चित्रं पश्चात्स्यात् ।...यदि चित्रं न स्यादाप. पश्चाद्दोत्तरतो वा स्यु । ..ऊपरे करोति । समूले .. । न भूमिपाशामभिविद्धयात् । न शर नाश्मगन्धा नाश्वाण्डा न पृश्निपर्णी नाश्वत्थस्यान्तिके कुर्याच्च विभीतकस्य न तिल्वकस्य न स्फूर्जकस्य न हरिद्रोर्न न्यग्रोधस्य ये चान्ये पायनामान . । अग्निविधयाग्निचितः श्मशानं करोति ।.. तद्वै न महत्कुर्यात् । नेन्महद्दधे करवाणीति ।...पुरुषमात्रं त्वेव कुर्यात् ...पश्चाद्वरीयः... उत्तरतो वर्षीय. । तद्विधायापसलविच्छद्याभिः स्पन्द्याभिः पर्यूहनेति ..। शतपथब्रा XIII 8. 1; compare कौशिक 83. 5-7 for similar derivations of माव, निदाघ &c

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśā plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyaṇḍā, or Pṛśniparṇī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhītaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like śleśmātaka or kovidāra) For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat [561] Br The Sat. Śr. 29. 1.2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha or of the summer months (Jyestha and Āsādha)

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8 2–4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vāj S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode He throws out the branch to the south side He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

561 The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 28–29) states 'dikṣrakti puruṣamātram mimīte uttarataḥ pṛthu paścācca)'.

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).[562] Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 ' May Vāyu purify ' along the north side towards the west; with ' May Savitr purify ' along the west side towards the south; with ' Agni's lustre ' along the south side towards the east, with ' Sūrya's brilliance ' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows He then unfastens the team of oxen To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S 35 4); for long life he thereby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it He does so with Vāj S. 35. 5–6. He then says to some one ' Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8–9. Now thirteen unmarked[563] bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

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562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat Br Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यन्तु पणयोऽसम्ना देवपीयव' ।', सविता ते शरीरेभ्य पृथिव्याँल्लोकमिच्छतु । तस्मै युज्यन्तामुस्रियाः ॥ वाज सं 35 2. वायु पुनातु सविता पुनात्वग्नेर्भ्राजसा सूर्यस्य वर्चसा । विमुच्यन्तामुस्रियाः ॥ वाज स 35, 3

563 The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H of Dh. Vol II. p 1248) The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped Here it is the fathers to be honoured Throughout Śat. Br. XIII 8 2–3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pitṛs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H of Dh vol II p 1249) It is hence that the Sat Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varnas and for women are symbolic Kṣatriyas, brāhmanas and vaiśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Puruṣa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt Sr (21 4 13–14) gives an option in the case of a kṣatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the ches or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk), three are placed in front (representing the head), three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option) Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large For a kṣatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaiśya up to the thighs, for a śūdra up to the knee, or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring) Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with Avakā plants in order that there may be moisture (*kṣa* or joy) for him and with *darbha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a palāśa one in front, a śamī one on the north corner, a *vaṛana* one behind and a vṛtra[564] peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with Vāj S 35 10 (= Rg. X. 53 8) They cleanse themselves with Apāmārga[565] plants with Vāj S 35 11; they thereby wipe away sin They bathe at any place where there is water. With Vāj S . 35 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him[566] Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564 The meaning of Vṛtra-Śanku cannot be stated Kāt Śr 2 1 3 31 reads ट्रेहशङ्कु for वृत्रशङ्कु and the Com explains वृत्रशङ्कु as पाषाणशङ्कु

565 अपाघमप किल्बिषमप कृत्यामपो रिप । अपामार्ग त्वमस्मदप दुष्वप्न्यं सुव ॥ वाज सं 35 11.

566 सुमित्रिया न आप ओषधय सन्तु दुर्मित्रियास्तस्मै सन्तु योऽस्मान्द्वेष्टि य व वयं द्विष्म ॥ वाज सं 35 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vāj. S. 35.14 (ud vayam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *tarana* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni Āyuṣmat. Vāj. S. 35. 16 serves [567] as a *puronuvākyā* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vāj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana*.[568] In the case of him who has not performed Agnicayana, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vāj. S. 35. 15 (imam [569] jivebhyaḥ). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29. 1 3 ff. and Baud. P. S. I. 17–20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29. 1. 3–12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13–32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *paksas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*) The building of a mound with clods (*lostaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows .— The members of the deceased's house

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567. अग्न आयूंषि पवस आ सुवोर्जमिष च न । आरे बाधस्व दुच्छुनाम् ॥ वाज. सं. 35 16.

568. आयुष्मानग्ने हविषा वृधानो घृतप्रतीको घृतयोनिरेधि । घृतं पीत्वा मधु चारु गव्यं पितेव पुत्रमभिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा ॥ वाज सं 35 17.

569 इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामि मैषां नु गादपरो अर्थमेतम् । शतं जीवन्तु शरदः पुरूचीरन्तर्मृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेन ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmabandhu* (a brāhmana only in name) sits down for a dialogue He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvānare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6. 1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26–29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmanas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,[570] that lutes (vīnā) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nāḍika, tūna, panava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavana* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, half a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.[571] If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570 Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85 10–11 'कस्ये सृजाना इति त्रि प्रसव्य प्रकीर्णकेश्य. परियन्ति दक्षिणानूरूनाघ्नाना । एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च ।', कस्ये सृजाना is अथर्ववेद 18. 3. 17

571. On एकरात्राय वदामीति तृतीये (सत्या औ 29. 1 19.) the वैजयन्ती remarks 'एतच्च वचनमात्रम् । न तु तेन सह वासः कार्य एवमेतेनाह'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1 5–6) says [572] that the site of the mound *(śmaśānāyatana)* is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. [573] Sat Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prādeśa* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *vitasti* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks The Baud P S.I. 18 gives different [574] measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east, if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kauśikasūtra [575] (85 4–10) gives certain options viz. the mandapa on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 prakramas on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of prakramas) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

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572. अपराह्णे श्मशानायतनं विमिमीते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वत । पद पुरस्ताद्दित्येके। सत्या. श्रौ 29 1. 5–6, the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं समचतुरस्रं लोष्टचितेरायतनं भवति। प्रक्रमो द्विपदक्षिपदो वेत्युक्तं शुल्वेषु'

573. श्मशानस्य मात्रा द्व्यङ्गुलं त्र्यङ्गुलं चतुरङ्गुलं प्रादेशो वितस्तिर्जानुदघ्नमूरुदघ्नं रिक्नद्घ्नं वैषोत्तमा मात्रा श्मशानस्य। सत्या. श्रौ. 29 1 70. The com says 'इदानीमूर्ध्वप्रमाणमुच्यते । तत्र द्व्यङ्गुलादीनामष्टानामन्यतममूर्ध्वप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्योपरीष्टकाश्चेतव्याः ।'.

574 तस्य मात्रा यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं यदि नाभिदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं यदि जानुदघ्नं पश्चात्पुरस्ताद्गुल्फदघ्नं &c. । वी पि सू I 18 6, Dr Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I 15 p 21) 'यदि ग्रीवदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदि नाभिदघ्नं पुरस्ताज्जानुदघ्नं पश्चाद्यदिजानुदघ्न पुरस्ताद्गुल्फदघ्न पश्चात्'.

575 एकादशभिर्दैवदक्षिणाम्। अयुग्मभानानि परिमण्डलानि चतुरस्राणि वा शौनकिनाम्। तथाहि दृश्यन्ते । यावान्पुरुष ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावानन्विचितः । कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7–10.

quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭacit*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),[576] Baud. P. S. (I. 19.4–7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII. 3.52. 49 50, 51 and Tai. Ā. VI.7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (sthūnā). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a vedic *custom* which is mentioned by the srautasūtras. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *praśna* what is called *pitṛmedha* while in praśna 29 it describes the *brahmamedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4–18 and it is stated[577] (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20. 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārāḥ' are spoken of as *brahma* (in Tai. Br. III. 12.5) and that the procedure of Brahmamedha is to be employed only for an *ācārya* or a *śrotriya* and for no one else. The Vaijayantī by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that prasnas 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from Bharadvāja. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dhanya* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

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576. विधृतिलोष्टान् प्रतिदिशमनन्वीक्षमाण उपदधात्यैते स्तन्वोमीत्यैते अनिनम्त्रं त्रिः-मिश्राभिर्धानाभिस्त्रि प्रदक्षिणं परिक्रित्येणीर्धाना इति। सत्या. श्रौ. 29 1. 53, on which the Com says अत्रापि पूर्वस्यां दिशि पारम्भः।; अथ क्षेत्रविदुर्ग्नौ चतुरो लोष्टानुपदधात्यैते स्तन्वोमि.. निनोत्विति पुरस्तादुपदधाति।. उच्छ्रयमाना पृथिवी हि निहिते मर्त्ये तिर्यङ् उप हि अयन्ताम्।. .स्तन्वेति दक्षिणत.। बौ पि सू

577. On 29.3.2 (एवं ब्रह्ममेध इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. श्रौ. the वैजयन्ती explains 'अत्र सहेतुकोऽधिकारः। यस्माद् ब्रह्मसंज्ञको मेध इति विग्रहः। ब्रह्मशब्देन मेधसहचरेण स्तूयते देशस्तुतिः। चतुर्होतृसंज्ञको दहनकल्प इत्यर्थः'. On 'तान् परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या श्रौ 29.3.20, the वैजयन्ती says 'तांश्चतुर्होतॄन्। परब्रह्मशब्दः सारभूतमन्त्रवाची। ब्रह्म वै चतुर्होतार इति।'

modern times. In the Baud.[578] P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt Śr.[579] 21. 3. 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhuvana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (lasti i e. yasti) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E I. Vol. 16 pp. 23–25). In a long passage of the Brahmapurāna quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885–886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a puskaraka tree should be planted there or an edūka (a structure) should be built over it.[580]

The Sat Śr 28. 4 28 and Baud P S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

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578 एकाहं धुवयुक्तीण्यहानि धुवयु· पञ्चसप्तनवैकादशाहान्यर्धमासं धुवयुरनुग्मा रात्रीरर्धमासान् मासादूर्ध्वं संवत्सर वा संपाद्य संधुवयुरिति । अथान्तरेण ग्रामं च श्मशानं चागारं वा विमित वा कारितं भवति। बो पि. सू I 17. 1 and 3, compare सत्या. श्रौ noted above p. 252.

579. यावन्तो धुविष्यन्त· स्युस्तावत. कुम्भानादाय छत्राणि चापारिमितानि। कात्या. श्रौ. 21, 3. 6 On this the com says 'अग्रे अमात्यानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति। उपवाजनं धवनम्'

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तद्भस्म नीत्वा तोये विनिक्षिपेत् । तत· संमार्जने भूमे· कर्तव्यं गोमयाम्भोभि: । ..भूमेराच्छादनार्थं तु वृक्ष. पुष्करकोऽथवा । एडूको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वबन्धुभि· ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 886, the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Commentary on त्रिंशश्लोकी (verse 28 p. 253) which explains पुष्करक: as पुष्करिणी and reads पद्मक· for एडूक and explains it as चत्वर·.

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat Br It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Visnudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Satī* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*antyakarmādhikārin*) are the same as those entitled to offer *śrāddha*. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled For example, Gautama (Dh.S 15 13-14) states 'On failure of sons the sapindas (e g. brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e g maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya (veda teacher).' Śankha says[581] 'The offering of pinda and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i e absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother' The Visnupurāna[582] provides' 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (pinda)' The Mārkandeya-purāna provides (30. 19-21, chap 27. 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānoda-kas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites, a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites per-formed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

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581. पितु. पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकक्रिया। पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्याद्दुहितृभावे तु सोदर' ॥ शङ्ख q by स्मृतिच. II p 335, निर्णयसिन्धु III p 380

582 पुत्र. पौत्र प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्तति। सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि क्रियार्हा नृप जायते ॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्तति । मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन सबद्धा ये जलेन च। कुलद्वयेपि चोत्सन्ने स्त्रीभि कार्या क्रिया नृप। सङ्घातान्तर्गतैर्वापि कार्या प्रेतस्य च क्रिया। उत्सन्न-बन्धुरिक्थाना कारयेदवनीपति। विष्णुपुराण III 13 31-33 q by अपरार्क p 433, स्मृतिच II p. 336, परा मा I. 2 p 461, शुद्धितत्त्व p 383. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varnas'[583] There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh. vol III pp. 734–743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer pindas held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and śrāddha. Visnu[584] Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer pinda to him.' Yāj. II. 127 says the same thing about the *Kṣetraja* son (ubhayorapyasau rikthī pinda-dātā ca dharmataḥ).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first adhikārī for offering pinda; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapiṇḍa*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *piṇḍa*. The father is not competent to perform śrāddha rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. Parents may offer pinda to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of śrāddhādhikārins, according to the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh

583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदराः । मातुः सपिण्डा ये च स्युर्ये वा मातुः सहोदराः ॥ कुर्युरेन विधिं सम्यगुभयस्य सुतासुत । कुर्युर्नोतामहाश्चैवं दौहित्रकुलनप्तारस्तथा । सर्वाभावे स्त्रियः कुर्युः स्वभर्तृणाममन्त्रकम् । तदभावे च नृपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुटुम्बिना। तज्जातीयैर्नरैः सम्यग्दाहाद्याः सकला क्रियाः । सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां बान्धवो नृपतिर्यतः। मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30 19–24 (B I. ed) q by स्मृतिच्च II. p 336, परा. मा I 2 p 463 (reads कारयेत्तस्य रिक्थत). These verses (पुत्राभावे ..नृपतिर्यत) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220 76–80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म० (नृपतिः कारयेत्कुटुम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense

584. मृतस्य रिक्थग्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौर्ध्वदेहिकं दशाहान्तं कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः। यश्चार्थहरः स पिण्डदायी स्मृत इति । व्यवहारमयूख p 145.

vol. III p. 739. The Nirnayasindhu[585] says that in the Kali age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yāj. II. 128–132) and the order of śrāddhādhikārins is given by it as follows: aurasa son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the adhikārin; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the adhikārin (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to sapiṇḍīkaraṇa are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not sapiṇḍīkaraṇa and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, anumāsika, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his upanayana performed and there be a son whose upanayana is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable adhikārin, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu[586]. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of Upanayana except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic *mantras* the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585 औरसाभावे पौत्र तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादय इति क्रेयम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p 381, which relies on Manu IX 137 (=Vas 17 5 and Visnu 15 46) and Yāj. I. 78 This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्र· पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्र । अन्ये तु औरसाभावे पौत्र. तदभावे प्रपौत्र· प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तक इत्याहु'

586. अनुपेतोऽपि कुर्वीत मन्त्रवत् पैतृमेधिकम्। यद्यसौ कृतचूड. स्याद्यदि स्याच्चिरवत्सरः ॥ सुमन्तु q. by परा. मा I 2 p 465, निर्णयसिन्धु p 382, मद पा. p 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darsaśrāddha* and *mahālaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other śrāddhas but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanita* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or he be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for śrāddha, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on dharmaśāstra like the Nirnayasindhu [587] and Dharmasindhu (bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhvadehikādikam kāryam) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the Mārkandeya-purāna and the Brahmapurāna did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper adhikārin after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an adhikārin; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be adhikārin; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a sagotra is to be preferred as an adhikārin to one of a different gotra. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

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587 असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्याग्निदानं समन्त्रकम्। कर्तव्यमितरत्सर्वं कारयेदन्यमेव हि॥ कात्यायन q. by नद. पा pp 402-403, which remarks 'यदा स्वयमपनीत पुत्र संस्कर्ता पत्नी वा तदाग्निदानमेव समन्त्रकं कार्यम्।' This is opposed to the view of the निर्णयसिन्धु, धर्मसिन्धु and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapindas;[588] then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapindas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapindas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitr-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the mātr-bandhus such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmana (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmana the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmana) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the Dharmasindhu (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father, then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other adhikārī If a brahmacārin dies, his monthly, yearly and other śrāddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahmacārin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and ācārya and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another adhikārin is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahmacārin

588. The word *sapinda* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relation ship through males only, a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmacārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe *āśauca* for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe āśauca only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo prāyaścitta and perform *upanayana* again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the Lingapurāna (quoted in Śrāddhaprakāśa pp. 361–371), the Mārkandeya-purāna, the Pitrdayitā (p 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (antyesti).[589] This will be dealt with briefly later on under śrāddha Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of ghatasphota (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387–388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20 2 and Manu XI. 182–183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and śrāddha and were also to observe āśauca for him.[590]

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the Visnupurāna (III. 13. 34–39) wherein the rites (*kriyāh*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called pūrva, the śrāddhas performed monthly and *sapindīkarana* and ekoddista are called madhyama rites and those that are performed after sapindikarana, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitr* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.[591] The pūrva and

589 अन्त्येष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा शास्त्रतश्चौर्ध्वदेहिकम्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed).

590. तस्य विद्यागुरून्योनिसम्बन्धाश्च संनिपात्य सर्वाण्युदकादीनि प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्युः। गौ ध सू 20 2.

591. पूर्वा क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तरा क्रियाः। त्रिप्रकाराः क्रिया ह्येतास्तासां भेदं शृणुष्व मे॥ आद्याहाद् द्वादशाहाच्च मध्ये याः स्यु क्रिया मता। पूर्वास्ता मध्यमा मासि मास्येकोद्दिष्टसंज्ञिताः॥ प्रेते पितृत्वमापन्ने सपिण्डीकरणादृते। क्रियन्ते या. क्रियाः पित्र्याः प्रोच्यन्ते ता नृपोत्तरा॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डेश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा। तत्सङ्घातान्तगतैश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा॥ पूर्वा· क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्रायैरेव चोत्तरा। दौहित्रैर्वा नरश्रेष्ठ कार्यास्तत्तत्तनयैस्तथा॥ मृताहनि च कर्तव्याः क्षीणामप्युत्तरा क्रिया. । प्रतिसंवत्सरं राजन्कोद्दिष्टविधानतः॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34–39, q. by अपरार्क pp 433–434, स्मृतिच० II, p 336, परा. मा I. 2 p 464, मद. पा. pp 478–79, निर्णयसिन्धु p 387. The printed विष्णुपुराण reads आदाद्यार्घायुधादिस्पर्शान्तास्तु या· क्रियाः । It has been provided in विष्णुपुराण III 13 21 that after the brāhmanas are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four varnas and then they become pure.

madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapindas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called uttara are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an ekoddista śrāddha may be performed for them. There is also another classification of śrāddhas viz. Navaśrāddha (those rites up to ten days after death), Navamiśra (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), Purāna (those performed after a year).[591a]

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large pinda (called pūraka-pinḍa) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (prācīnāvītī) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the pinda, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of Bhṛngarāja (called *mākā* in Marathi) and Tulasī also. The verse 'anādinidhano' was to be repeated[592]. The performer throws the pinda in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D pp. 43–50 and Antyesti-paddhati of Nārāyana for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the Āśvalāyana-gṛhyapariśista[593] III. 6 speaks of five śrāddhas called 'nava-

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591 a. नवश्राद्धं दशाहानि नवमिश्रं तु षड्ऋतून्। अत ऊर्ध्वं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं श्राद्धमुच्यते॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by अपरार्क p 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 395. अपरार्क (p. 521) says: एकोद्दिष्टमुक्तं तच्च त्रिविधम्। नवं मिश्रं पुराणं च। तत्रैकादशाहान्तं नवम्॥ तदूर्ध्वमा संवत्सरान्मिश्रम्। तत उत्तरं पुराणम्। The printed आश्व गृ परि. III 9 (B. I edition) reads अथैकोद्दिष्टं तत् त्रेधा भवति नवं मिश्रं पुराणं चेत्यन्तर्दशाहे नवं मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्दश्यादौ पुराणानि। The स्मृतिच. on आश्वो च p 175 quotes प्रजापति 'नवश्राद्धं दशाहान्तं मिश्रं संवत्सरावधि। एकादशाहमारभ्य कुर्यात्प्रेतत्वमुक्तये॥'

592. अनादिनिधनो देव शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः। अक्षय्य पुण्डरीकाक्षः प्रेतमोक्षप्रदो भव॥ quoted by अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विषमदिनेष्वामेन कुर्यात्प्रेतमभिसन्धाय ब्राह्मणसुदङ्मुखमुपवेश्य तस्मिंस्तूष्णीं तिलानवकीर्य काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तासुष्मिन्नहनि एतदार्द्रमासुपतिष्ठतामिति तदह सम्बन्धेनोत्सृज्य पिण्डं चामन्त्र्योक्तवन्मदाय स्नायादेष विधिरन्तर्दशाहकर्माणि। आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट III. 6. The नवश्राद्ध्स are एकोद्दिष्ट and several details which occur in other श्राद्ध्s are omitted here and the word पितृ is not to be employed, but only the word प्रेत. The गरुडपुराण (II. 29 35–37) enumerates eighteen details that were to be omitted in प्रेतश्राद्ध्s Vide बुद्धिमयूख pp 215, 221; 'तथाचाङ्गिराः। प्रथमेद्धि तृतीयेद्धि पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा। नवमेकादशे चैव तन्नवश्राद्धमुच्यते॥' q. by मद. पा p. 618, the मिता on या I 252 (without name) and भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंश p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Visamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garuḍapurāna (Pretakhanda 34. 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p 464, Nirnayasindhu p 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214–216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Aṅgiras and Vasistha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud Pitrmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmana. Others do not approve of this They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmana or in front of a figure of a brāhmaṇa made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garudapurāna (II. 5. 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Vrddha–Vasistha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garuḍapurāna, Pretakhanda (chap. 34. 27–28, 44, 48) states that by the pindas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two pindas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Srstikhanda 10. 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *sankalpa* and offers a pinḍa with the words 'May this pinḍa wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the pinḍa to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinda together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N, of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinda with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere pinda to others Then water is offered over the pinda and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinda placed to the west[594]. Then the *aśman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

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594 In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinda food There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinda then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinda food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 80 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinda offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires The Suddhikaumudī refers to this offering to crows as a usage स्थाचारात् काकबलिदानम् । पिण्डशेषमन्नं पात्रे क्षिप्त्वा अमुकगोत्रस्य प्रेतस्यानुऋणभूतो द्विशेषनिवृत्तये यमद्वारावस्थितवायसाय एष बलिर्न मे इत्युच्चैरुक्त्वा कृताञ्जलि —काक त्व यमदूतोसि गृहाण बलिमुत्तमम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं स्वमाप्यायितुमर्हसि ॥ काकाय काकरूपाय वायसाय महात्मने । तुभ्य बलिं प्रयच्छामि प्रेतस्य तृप्तिहेतवे ॥ इति पठेत् । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 135.

Some of the Purānas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika*[594a] body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and ākāśa) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the piṇḍas that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the piṇḍas offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapiṇḍīkarana* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word 'ātivāhika' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (ātivāhikās-tal-lingāt). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upanisads speak of the soul as going by the path of *arcis*, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. *arcis*, *ahah* &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prāyaścitta-viveka (pp. 13–14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no pinda was offered or the sixteen śrāddhas (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

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594 a. तत्क्षणादेव गृह्णाति शरीरमातिवाहिकम्। ऊर्ध्वं व्रजन्ति भूतानि त्रीण्यस्मात्तस्य विग्रहात्॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव। केवलं तन्मनुष्याणां नान्येषां प्राणिनां क्वचित्॥ प्रेतपिण्डैस्ततो दत्तैर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव। भोगदेहमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादेव न संशयः। प्रेतपिण्डा न दीयन्ते यस्य तस्य विमोक्षणम्। इमशानाग्निकेभ्यो देवेभ्य आकल्पं नैव विद्यते॥ तत्रास्य यातना घोराः शीतवातातपोद्भवाः। ततः सपिण्डीकरणे चान्यदेहः स कृते नरः। पूर्णे संवत्सरे देहमतोन्यं प्रतिपद्यते॥ तत. स नरके याति स्वर्गे वा स्वेन कर्मणा। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by आद्य वि. pp. 13–14, and शुद्धितत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains त्रीणि भूतानि as 'पृथिव्यप्तेजांसि' and thus differs *from* रघुनन्दन. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड chap. 10 79. ff) says the same. 'उत्क्रामन्ते.. ज्ञानचक्षुषः॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीयं वदन्ति हि। ...पुत्रादिभि कृताश्चेत्सु. पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः। पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चैवतां व्रजेत्। पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्यादाद्यजोहेति यातनाम्॥ ' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्तं) is गीता 15 10. The ब्रह्मपुराण states विहाय सुनहत्कृत्स्नं शरीर पाञ्चभौतिकम्॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मजम्।.. स्वशरीरं समुत्सृज्य वायुभूतस्तु गच्छति। chap 214 29–30 and 51: निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही त्यजति वै वपुः॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः। अग्निपुराण 230. 2–3. गृह्णाति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम्। आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहाद्ध्वंगामिनः॥ जलं मही च पञ्चत्वमायान्तः पुरुष' स्मृत.। आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमदूता नयन्ति तम्॥ अग्नि. 371. 9–10. The मार्कण्डेय (10 63–64) says 'बाध्यग्रसारी तद्रूपं देहमन्यं प्रपद्यते। तत्कर्मज यातनार्थं न मातापितृसम्भवम्॥.'

tion of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.[595] The Brahmapurāna calls the body 'yātanīya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāna calls it 'yātāniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *vāyu* and *tejas* The Padmapurāna (*II. 67. 98*) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtile body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation The subtile body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mārk 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purānas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4-5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I. 8. 5 1-2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmanas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣnu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣinā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmanas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

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595. यस्यैतानि न दीयन्ते प्रेतश्राद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं ध्रुवं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि ॥ यम q. by श्रा क्रि. कौ p. 362 and तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on प्रा. वि p. 14. Almost the same verse is लिखितस्मृति V. 16 and गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड 34. 131.

CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Śuddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āśauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āśauca, however, is the most important subject under śuddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'śuddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda'[596] The Smrtis employ the word śuddhi in relation to purification after āśauca. For example, Manu V. 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretaśuddhi) and purification of things (dravyasuddhi). Manu V. 83 (= Daksa VI. 7) avers that a brāhmana becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a ksatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smrti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound śuddhi on birth and death.' Yaj. III. 14, 25 also employ the word śuddhi. Therefore āśauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word *āśauca* is formed from śuci (pure) according to Pān. V. 1. 131[596a] and Pān. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle *na* (a). In some smrtis such as that of Devala the form 'āśucya' also is found (see Hāralatā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala[596b]). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āśauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1-8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

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596 वेदचोदितकर्मार्हता शुद्धिः। शु. कौ p. 1.

596a इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात्। पा. V. 1 131 (अण् अशुनर्तते)—शुचेर्भाव. कर्म वा शौचम्। न शौचमशौचम्। This is one way of explaining the word We may also explain न शुचि अशुचि, अशुचेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम्। (पा VII 3, 30).

596 b. जनने मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमनुधावति। देवल q. by हारलता p 2. आशुच्यं दशरात्र तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदु। देवल q. by शुद्धिप्र. p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vardhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āśauca.[597] The Padmapurāna II. 66. 73–74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III 1 defines[598] āśauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) pinda, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions The Mit adds that āśauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased) This definition of the Mit appears to be an echo of the Garuda-purāna (pretakhanda) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Sangraha. Haradatta[599] on Gautama 14. 1 states that āśauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhattācārya,[600] appears to have defined 'śuddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smrti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapandita, commentator of Ṣaḍaśīti (pp. 2–3) Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III. 18) emphasizes that āśauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

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597 नाघाहानि वर्धयेयुरिति ह स्माह कौपीतकि । शां श्रौ. IV. 15 11. The com. says 'अघशब्देनात्र मरणमुच्यते । येऽह्न सपिण्डमरणं सङ्गतं तान्यघाहानि मरणादारभ्य कराग्रादीनि यानि व्रतैर्व्यौतान्युक्तानि तानि न वर्धयेयु. नाभ्यधिकानि कुर्युः । कर्मानधिकार-व्रतैर्न व्याप्नुयुः ।'.

598. आशौचशब्देन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोद्य. पिण्डोदकदानादिविधि· अध्ययनादि-पर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूत पुरुषगत· कश्चनातिशय कथ्यते न पुन कर्मानधिकारमात्रम्। मिता on या. III, 1. अपनोद्यं त्विदं कालादिभिराशु निषेधकृत्। पिण्डाध्ययनदानादे पुगतोति-शयो हि तत्॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 5 9), निमित्त पिण्डदानादे पुरुषस्थमशुद्धिकृत्। कालस्नानाप-नोद्य यत्तदाशौचमितीर्यते॥ संग्रह q by स्मृतिषु (आशौच) p 477

599 किं पुनरिदमाशौचलक्षणम्। कर्मण्यनधिकारोऽभोज्यान्नताऽस्पृश्यता दानादिष्वना-धिकारिता। हरदत्त on गौ 14. 1.

600 शुद्धिशब्दार्थस्तु पापक्षय शुद्धिर्धर्मयोग्यत्वमेव वा इति भट्टाचार्योक्तो द्रष्टव्य । पापक्षय. सपिण्डादौ जनने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्धादापद्यमानस्य पापविशेषस्य क्षय । धर्मयोग्यत्वं दानादिधर्मानुष्ठानार्हत्वम्। एवं शुद्धिशब्दार्थो मतभेदेन द्विधा विवृतो भट्टाचार्यैः। स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 2) स्मृतिषु p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The Smṛtimuktāphala follows this. Rudradhara in his Śuddhiviveka (D. C ms. No. 309 of 1887–91 folio 1) says that śuddhi is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while aśuddhi is an attribute opposed to śuddhi and arises on the occasion of the birth of a sapinda or the like.[601]

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth[602] (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śāvāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maraṇāśauca*). *Śāva* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word sūtaka occurs in the[603] Ait. Br. (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an āhitāgni partook of food from the house of him who was affected by sūtaka, then the prāyaścitta was to offer a *puroḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Ṭantumat. Tantu means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that sūtaka is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the smṛtis in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhilasmṛti III. 60 and 63;[604] (3) impurity on death alone (as in Dakṣa VI. 1 and Gobhilasmṛti III. 48)[605]. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word 'sūtaka' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Ṣaḍaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

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601. शुद्धिस्तावदखिलधर्माधिकारापादको धर्मविशेषः। अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविशेष एव। स च सपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तक। शुद्धिविवेक of रुद्रधर.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं स्पृश्यत्वलक्षणं च। स्मृतिसु (p 477).

603. तदाहुर्य आहिताग्निर्यदि सूतकान्नं प्राश्नीयात्का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति। सोऽग्नये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपेत्तस्य याज्यानुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वन्रजसो भानुमन्विह्याक्षान्हो नप्तायनोत सोम्या इति। आहुतिं जुहुयादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति। ऐ ब्रा. 32. 8 तन्तुं तन्वन् is Rg. X. 53 6 and अक्षान्हा is Rg X 53. 7.

604. सूतके कर्मणा त्याग. सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते। होम. श्रौतस्तु कर्तव्य. शुल्काच्चेनापि वा फलैः॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलता p 6, शु. कौ, and श्राद्धम. p. 83.

605. सूतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम्। यावज्जीवं तृतीयं तु यथावदशुपूर्वजः॥ दक्ष. VI. 1. अस्थ्नामलाभे पार्णानि शकलान्युक्तयाहृता। भर्जयेदस्थिसख्यानि ततः प्रभृति सूतकम्॥ गोभिल III. 48, The 4th pāda of the latter is q by हारलता p. 2,

few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says: 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)'[605].

The literature on Śuddhi (including āśauca) is very extensive. Apart from the sūtras, smṛtis and Purāṇas there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The smṛtis contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of medieval times that the Mit on Yāj III. 22 after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasiṣṭha and Aṅgiras on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four varṇas refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages[607]. The Madana-pārijāta (p 392) agrees with the Mit and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different smṛtis approach the same problem. Atri 83, Parāśara III. 5 and Dakṣa VI. 6 provide that a brāhmaṇa who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various options viz 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Bṛhaspati[607a] (q.

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606. अस्य च कुलस्यापित्वे कारणमाह हारीत.। प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्चाशौचं जीवे बुद्धियोगेन कुलस्य भवति। इति। जायमानत्रियमाणयो सम्बन्धिनां सन्तोषदासन्तीपदाण्या बुद्धिक्षययोगाद्वा कुलस्याप्याशौचं भवतीत्यर्थ। शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on पडशीति p 4 The स्मृतिच (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "सम्बन्धरूपाशौच सपिण्डसपिण्डानां न भवति कारणाभावादित्याशङ्क्याह हारीत' 'प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्चाशौच जाते बुद्धियोगेन केनेति मीमांसन्ते नाम्यच्छिन्नकालानालुप्तेदमृषस्वाच्च कुलस्याशौच भवति' इति।."

607. इत्येवमनेकोच्चावचाशौचकल्पा दर्शिता। तेषां लोके समाचाराभावात्मानीव व्यवस्थाधर्मप्रदर्शनस्योपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते। मिता on या III 22. लोकसमाचारादनादरणीयनिति केचन। अथवा देशाचारतो व्यवस्था। उत गुणवद्गुणवद्विषये यथाक्रम न्यूनाधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाह.। किंवा आपद्नापद्भेदेन व्यवस्था। नद या p 392

607 a त्रिरात्रेण विशुध्यते षोडशिवेदसनन्वित। पञ्चाहेनाग्निहोत्रस्तु दशाहाद ब्राह्मणव्रतः॥ बृहस्पति q. by कल्प० (शुद्धि) p 4, हारलता p 5 and शु कौ p.7 अङ्गिरस् defines ब्राह्मणव्रत as 'गर्भाधानादिसंस्कारैरुपेतश्च नियमव्रत.। नाध्यापयति नाधीते विप्रशेषो ब्राह्मणव्रत स्मृ.

by Hāralatā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmana who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmana by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu [608] (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kalivarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 941–42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying dicta thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Daksa VI 7, Yāj III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Sankha (15. 2–3), Matsyapurāna (18. 2–3), Brahmapurāna 220. 63, Visnu Dh. S 22. 1–4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III.22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1–4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27–30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varnas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmanas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Angiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varnas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.[609] Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 18

608. On न वर्धयेदघाहानि (मनु. V 84) कुल्लूक comments: यस्य तु वृत्तस्वाध्यायापेक्षया पूर्वमर्वाक्संचयनादस्थनाम्-इत्याद्याशौचसङ्कोच उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासितव्ये इति बुद्ध्या नाशौचदिनानि दशाहादिरूपतया वर्धयेत्संकुचिताशौचदिनेष्वपि।.

609. अङ्गिरास्त्वाह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके मृतके तथा। दशाहाच्छुद्धिरेतेषामिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत्॥ मिता. on या. III. 22.

provides that a *sapiṇḍa* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smṛtis and is disapproved of by people.[610] Some of the rules mentioned by Vijñāneśvara (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirnayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D.[611]).

The Mit. on Yāj III. 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe āśauca for ten days and not all sapiṇḍas and that their āśauca entails untouchability for them. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijñāneśvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smṛtyarthasāra also did not accept Vijñāneśvara's view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying dicta of the smṛtis, Purāṇas[612] and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under āśauca. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The Aśaucāṣṭaka attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

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610 यत्पुनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम्-चतुर्थे दशरात्रं स्यात्पञ्चमे षष्ठे च षष्ठेऽहोरात्रं सप्तमे त्वहरेव तु॥ इति तद्विगीतत्वाज्जादरणीयम्। यद्यप्यविगीतं तथापि मधुपर्काङ्गपश्वालम्भनवल्लोकविद्विष्टत्वाच्छास्त्रीयम्। अस्वर्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु-इति मन्वस्मरणात्। मिता. on या III. 18. अस्वर्यं० is the latter half of या I 156

611. यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं-ऊनद्विवर्षे उभयो क्षुतकं मातुरेव हीति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तः गर्भस्थे मृते मातुर्दशाह जात उभयो. कृते नास्ति सोदराणां च इति पैठीनसोक्तश्च पित्रो सोदराणां च दशाहमस्पृश्यत्वमिति तन्नेदानीं प्रचरति। अत एव स्मृत्यर्थसारे तथोक्तम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517 The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 80) states 'अज्ञपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दशाहाशौचं पक्षोऽनादृतः'।

612. Several among the Purāṇas devote considerable space to āśauca. For example, the Kūrma (Uttarārdha Chap 23), Liṅgapurāṇa (Purvārdha, Chapter 89. 77-92), Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa Chap. 5), Agnipurāṇa (Chapters 157-158), Vāmana (14. 96-102) do so In the Garudapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 5) several verses are taken from Yājñavalkya, Manu and other smṛtis.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāsya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *sragdharā* verses. The Aśaucadaśaka or Daśaślokī attributed to Vijñāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṁvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879–80) and *saṁvat* 1579 (D. C. No 196 of 1884–87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Vijñāneśvara-yogīndra. The ten Śārdūlavikrīdita verses of the Āśaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāralatā of Aniruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āśaucakānda of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Triṁśacchlokī with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandāśrama press and contains 30 Sragdharā verses on āśauca. The Ṣaḍasīti (86 verses in the Anustubh metre) of Kauśikāditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapandita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudi of Govindānanda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233–412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nīlakantha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āśauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmanas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a sūtikā (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Daksa (VI. 2–3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life[613] Daksa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit till he is reduced to ashes), Daksa (VI. 8–10) says. 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts-all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*nitya* or *naimittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i e. only when he is cremated).[614] These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i e it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure)

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Śunah-śepa narrated in the Ait Br (chapter 33 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice)' The same

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613. सद्य शौचं तथैकाहस्त्र्यहश्चतुरहस्तथा। पक्षदशाहादशाहाश्च पक्षो मासस्तथैव च ॥ मरणान्तं तथा चान्यद् दश पक्षास्तु सूतके। दक्ष VI 2–3, referred to by विश्वरूप on या III. 30 and q. by कल्प० (on शुद्धि) p 5, अपरार्क p. 894, परा मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्नात्वा चाप्यहुत्वा च ह्यदत्त्वा ये तु भुञ्जते। एवंविधाना सर्वेषा यावज्जीव हि सूतकम्॥ व्याधितस्य कदर्यस्य ऋणग्रस्तस्य सर्वदा। क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य स्त्रीजितस्य विशेषत। श्वेतनासक्तचित्तस्य पराधीनस्य नित्यश। श्रद्धात्यागविहीनस्य भस्मान्तं सूतक भवेत्॥ दक्ष VI 8–10 q by विश्वरूप on या III. 30, कल्प० (on शुद्धि) p 15, हारलता p 14, अपरार्क p. 895 The last verse of षडशीति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above The कूर्म (उत्त.) 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च। पथेष्टाचरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम्॥' q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.' [615]

Abortion in the first four months [616] of pregnancy is called *srāva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasava* (according to Parāśara III. 16, Sadaśīti verse 9). When there is *srāva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i. e. 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srāva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapindas have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-pārijāta p. 380–381 and others) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapindas for all varnas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas as laid down in Yāj. (III. 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āśauca for three days and sagotras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15–16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āśaucadaśaka. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapindas [617] when they take a bath after the *prasava* are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananāśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.[618] Dh. S. I. 5 125–128. Although a woman

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615 अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माऽनेनेति। स होवाच यदा वै पशुर्निर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेध्यो भवति। ऐ ब्रा 33 2; तस्माद्वत्सं जातं दशरात्रीर्न दुहन्ति। तै. ब्रा. II 1.1.3.

616 आचतुर्थान्नवेत्स्रावः पातः पञ्चमषष्ठयोः। अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् दशाहं सूतकं भवेत्॥ स्रावे मातुस्त्रिरात्रं स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम्॥ पाते मातुर्यथामासं पित्रादीनां दिनत्रयम्॥ मरीचि q by मिता on या III 20, हरदत्त on गौ 14.15, स्मृतिच्च (आशौच) p 4. The first is पराशर III 16 and is quoted as such in शुद्धिप्र. p 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh vol. II pp. 452–455 for the meaning of sapinda and samānodaka (H of Dh. vol III. pp 752–753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्दशाहमाशौचम्। मातुरित्येके। तत्परिहरणात्। पितुरित्यपरे शुक्रमाधान्यात्। अयोनिजा अपि पुत्रा सूयन्ते मातापित्रोरेव तु संसर्गसामान्यात्। गौ. ध. सू I. 5. 125–128 q. by स्मृतिच्च (आशौच) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.[619] Women of all varnas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.[620] Devala states that there is no āśauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.[621] If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āśauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āśauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āśauca on birth they are not untouchable (Ṣaḍaśīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*ahaḥ*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āśauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day[622] and night). When counting the days of āśauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhitāgni*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhitāgni*[623] (Āśauca-daśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārdha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āśauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

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619. यथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं तु विधीयते। माता शुध्येद्दशाहेन स्नानात्तु स्पर्शनं पितुः। माता शुध्येद्दशाहेनेत्येतच्च सव्यवहारयोग्यतामात्रम्। अहताथेषु पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। सूतिका पुत्रवती विंशतिरात्रेण कर्माणि कारयेत्। मासेन स्त्रीजननीम्। इति। मिता. on या III 19.

620. सूतिका सर्ववर्णानां दशाहेन विशुध्यति। ऋतौ तु न पृथक् शौचं सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः। प्रचेतस् q by हारलता p. 20, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on verse 6 स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. नाशौचं प्रसवस्यास्ति व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि। देवल q. by कुल्लूक on मनु V. 76; रघुनाथ in his com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'नाशुद्धिः प्रसवाशौचे व्यतीतेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622 अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। मिता. on या. III. 18

623. इदं चाशौचमाहिताग्नेरुपरमे संस्कारदिवसप्रभृति कर्तव्यम्। अनाहिताग्नेस्तु मरणदिवसप्रभृति। मिता on या III 20. दाहाहादाहिताग्नौ मरणदिवसतोऽन्यत्र कुर्यादहशाहम्। त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 11 (second पाद). दाहाद्यशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामग्नेरोवेणाम्। सपिण्डानां च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75–76 and the Brahmapurāna. Pāraskara (III. 10) provides:[624] 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āśauca) has expired they should observe āśauca for one night or three nights.' Manu (V. 75–76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāna states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āśauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views perferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smrti passages. Āśauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10. 29–30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśauca* and become purified by the end of the āśauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāna q. by S. K. p 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapiṇḍas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āśauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āśaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the sapindas had to observe āśauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 5), but the parents had āsauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the sapindas became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the sapiṇḍas including the father have to observe āśauca for three days and samānodakas become purified by a bath alone After upanayana all sapiṇḍas have to observe āśauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14 1, Manu V. 59, Āsaucadaśaka 2) and all samānodakas for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

624 मोदितश्चेत्प्रेयात् श्रवणमभृति कृतोदकाः कालशेषनासीरन्नतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा। पारस्करगृह्य III, 10.

after three and before marriage or 16 years the āśauca is three days for all sapindas. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a śūdra) it is the āśauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before *vāgdāna* (betrothal) the parents have āśauca for three days and the sapindas (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after vāgdāna and before marriage the sapindas of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āśauca for three days. In the case of women and śūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Śūdra was unmarried) the period of āśauca for all sapindas is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āśauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āśauca for a *paksini*[625] (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, Visnu-dharmasūtra (22. 32-34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āśauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively.[626] A married woman has to observe āśauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (Yāj. III. 21 latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āśauca for a paksini. If a brother whose upanayana has been performed dies at his married sister's house or vice *versa*, āśauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

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625. Gaut Dh S. 14 17 (श्रुत्वा चोर्ध्वं दशम्या पक्षिणीम्), Manu IV 97 and V 81 employ the word पक्षिणी हरदत्त explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यगता रात्रि पक्षिणी रात्रिद्वयमध्यगतमहर्वा'. The अमरकोश gives only the first meaning 'आगामिवर्तमाना-हर्युक्तायां निशि पक्षिणी' The शुद्धिप्रकाश p 36 remarks 'द्वावहावेकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणी-त्यभिधीयते—इति भट्टनारायणधृतवचनात्। पक्षतुल्यौ त्रिवसौ पार्श्वयोः रत इति पक्षिणी रात्रिरिति।'.

626 स्त्रीणां विवाहः संस्कार। संस्कृतासु स्त्रीषु नाशौचं भवति पितृपक्षे। तत्सवसमरणे चेत्पितृपक्षे स्यातां तदैकरात्रं त्रिरात्रं च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 32-34.

then the āśauca is for a paksinī and if the death occurs in another village then there is āśauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āśauca for a paksinī. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āśauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āśauca for a paksinī If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āśauca for three days The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āśauca for three days, but only for a paksinī if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āśauca for a paksinī. Some works do not prescribe āśauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose *upanayana* had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āśauca for three days and for paksinī if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āśauca In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āśauca for any relative other than the parents (*i e.* on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āśauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āśauca for three days, but only for paksinī if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āśauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āśauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āśauca is for one day i

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo āśauca for a paksinī; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the āśauca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 135 as bhinnagotra sapindas) of[627] the three kinds, the āśauca is for a paksinī, provided the bandhu is *upanīta* but if he died before upanayana then āśauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the āsauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ātmabandhus* have to observe āśauca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is āśauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his pitrbandhus and mātrbandhus have to observe no āśauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe āśauca for three days (the Vyavahāramayūkha differs from this) and the sapindas for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe āśauca for three days and for one day for the sapindas of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the sapindas of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe āśauca for one day and

627 The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Sātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given आत्मपितृष्वसुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृष्वसु सुताः। आत्ममातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवा ॥ पितु पितृष्वसु पुत्रा पितुर्मातृष्वसुः सुता। पितृर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया पितृबान्धवा। मातु पितृष्वसु पुत्रा मातुर्मातृष्वसु सुता। मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवा ॥ q by the मिता. on या. II. 135, व्यव नि. p 455, परा मा III p 528, मद पा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp 754-762.

vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āśauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's *ācārya*[628] dies, the pupil has to observe āśauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14. 26, 52, Manu V. 80). On the death of the *ācārya's* wife or son the āśauca is for one day.[629] On the death of a *guru* (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āśauca is three days and paksini if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other *aṅgas* (subsidiary lores) of the Veda, the āśauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, *rtvik* (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful Vide Gaut. 14. 19–20 (which prescribe one day's āśauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āśauca on the death of the ācārya and rtvik who were not sapiṇḍas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a *yati* (ascetic) dies,[630] all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a yati and brahmacārin have to observe no āśauca Manu V. 82, Yāj III. 25, Visnu 22.45, Sankha 15. 15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āśauca up till

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628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II. 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. Rtvik is defined by Manu II. 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the *pākayajñas* and the solemn sacrifices like Agnistoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुलश्वशुरश्वशुर्यसहाध्यायिशिष्येष्वतीतेष्वेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. श्वशुर्य means wife's brother. Manu (V. 80–81) prescribes three days' āśauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630 वानप्रस्थे यतौ चोपरमति कुलजे पण्ढके चाहव. स्यात् । त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी 5th verse, 3rd pād. Vide मनु V. 91 (= Visnu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.[631]

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in āśauca Āp Dh. S. 1 3 9 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village The Smrti-muktāphala (p 541) quotes[632] several smrtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmanas. The Dharmasindhu (p 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirnayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmana's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,[633] a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmana's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein

Atika antāśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule[634] is

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631 प्रेते राजनि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थित । मनु V 82 सज्योति॰ is explained by the मिता॰ as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिराशौचम्। अग्नि चेद्यावत्सूर्यदर्शन रात्रौ चेद्यावन्नक्षत्रदर्शनमित्यर्थ ।'. या. III 25 (निवासराजनि प्रेते तदह शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the Mit in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the शुद्धिप्र p. 36 holds that the āśauca for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects

632 स्मृत्यन्तरे। ग्रामस्थे शवचण्डाले शूद्राद्यशुचिसंनिधौ॥ नाध्येतव्य न भोक्तव्य न होतव्यं कदाचन॥ इति। ..स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शित । चतु शताधिकैर्विप्रै सम्पूर्णे ग्राममध्यके। विशेष संभवस्यागि जपहोमार्चनं प्रति। अन्त शवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत्। स्मृतिसु (आशौच) p. 541

633 शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनु । श्वशूद्रपतिताश्चान्त्या मृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे। शोच तत्र प्रवक्ष्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा। दशरात्राच्छुनि सूते मासाच्छूद्रे भवेच्छुचि । द्वाभ्या तु पतिते गेहमन्त्ये मासचतुष्टयात्। अत्यन्त्ये वर्जयेद्देहमित्येव मनुरब्रवीत्। अन्त्यो म्लेच्छ । अत्यन्त्य श्वपाक इति वाचस्पति । निर्णयसिन्धु III p 528, these verses are quoted by शुद्धिप्र. p 100 also

634 देशान्तरगत' श्रुत्वा कुल्याना मरणोद्भवौ। यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तावदेवाशुचिर्भवेत्॥ शङ्ख 15.11. The स्मृतिच॰ (आशौच) p 47 reads 'कल्याण मरण तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 157 12-13 which reads देशान्तरस्थ श्रुत्वा तु, प्रोषितश्चेत्समेयाच्छ्रवणमभृति कालशेषमासीरन्नतीतश्चेदेकरात्रं त्रिरात्र वा। पार यू III 10.

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapindas, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapindas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj III. 21 (latter half), Śankha 15.11, Pār. gr III. 10 Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapinda). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smrti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapinda comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinda or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrne dattvodakam śuciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapindas on birth[635]. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharmasindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śankha 15.12, Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārdha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smrtis Vrddha-Vasistha lays down 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a paksini if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जन्मन्यतिक्रान्ताशौचं सपिण्डाना नास्तीति गम्यते। पितुस्तु निर्देशेऽपि जनने स्नानमस्त्येव श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मनि सपिण्डाना-मतिक्रान्ताशौच नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्देशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्दशम्' इत्येवावक्ष्यत्। न चोक्तम्। मिता. on या III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the *Mit.* says [636] that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes Paithīnasi and another smṛti for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atikrāntāśauca* apply only to a deceased person whose upanayana had been performed. The Dharmasindhu (p 433) remarks that there is no atikrāntāśauca as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose upanayana had not been performed or as regards the periods of paksini and three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different gotra. Similarly, there is no atikrāntāśauca with reference to the āśauca for three days prescribed in the case of samānodakas; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *atikrāntāśauca* apply only to āśauca on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe āśauca for ten days The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe āśauca for three days. On the news of the death of a sapinda living in the same country coming to a sapinda's ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of āśauca is three days, paksini up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of Mādhava and others. Vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 49–51 for various views.

The Mit. on Yāj. III. 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a sapinda staying in the

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636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठ । मासत्रये त्रिरात्र स्यात्पण्मासे पक्षिणी तथा। अहस्तु नवमादूर्ध्वं स्नानेन शुध्यति॥ इति । एतच्च मातापितृव्यतिरिक्तविषयम्।.. सवत्सरादूर्ध्वमपि प्रेतकार्यमाशौचदानादिकं कार्यं न पुनः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थ । मिता on या. III. 21 (latter half) The परा. मा. I 2 p. 232 quotes a similar verse of देवल 'आ त्रिपक्षात् त्रिरात्र स्यात्पण्मासात् पक्षिणी तत । परमेकाहमा वर्षादूर्ध्वं स्नातो विशुध्यति॥ इति। The षडशीति (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. *The verse मासत्रये* occurs in Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti 20 86

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes[637] a smrti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *sagotra* sapindas in the case of abortion.' The Sadaśīti (35) has a similar verse[638] The Mit. quotes two verses of Brhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means[639] 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara*. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas*, while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas*.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (viz. a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 yojanas would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara* The Sm. C and Ṣadaśīti 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The Śuddhiviveka[640] holds that a distance of 60 yojanas constituted deśāntara by itself, but even within sixty

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637. यत्तु नद्यादिव्यवहितं देशान्तरे मृतस्तत्सापिण्डानां दशाहादूर्ध्वं मासत्रयादर्वागपि सद्यः शौचम्। देशान्तरमृतं श्रुत्वा क्लीबे वैखानसे यतौ। सूते स्नानेन शुध्यन्ति गर्भस्रावे च गोत्रिण ॥ इति। मिता on या III. 21.

638 ज्ञातिमृत्यौ यदाशौचं दशाहात्तु बहिः श्रुतौ। एकदेश इदं प्रोक्तं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे शुचि ॥ षडशीति 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणं च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम्। महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः। भाषो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टियोजनमायतम्। चत्वारिंशद्वदन्त्यन्ये त्रिंशदन्ये तथैव च॥ इति। मिता on या. III 21. The first verse is ascribed to बृद्धमनु by अपरार्क p 905, स्मृतिच (आशौच) p 52 and to बृहन्मनु by शुद्धिप्र. p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p 53 adds one more verse and शुद्धिप्र p 51 and the com on षडशीति 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहन्मनु viz देशनामनदीभेदो निकटे यत्र वै भवेत्। तेन देशान्तरं प्रोक्तं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता यत्र न श्रूयतेऽथवा।; लघ्वाश्वलायन 20 87 is पर्वतश्च (स्य?) महानद्या व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि। त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन शुध्यति॥

640 एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था। शुद्धिविवेके तु षष्टियोजनान्तरत्वं तद्व्यन्तरेषि भाषाभेदगिरिमहानदीव्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षेणोक्तम्। रघुनाथ on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 6 p 29.

yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to deśāntara. The Smrtyarthasāra[641] avers that deśāntara is differently described in the Smrtis, Purānas and the works on tīrthas For yojana, vide H of Dh. vol. III n 185 pp. 145–146

The Dharmasindhu (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of palāśa leaves were burnt, still the āśauca is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an āhitāgni, the āśauca is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any āśauca for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other sapindas (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the Grhya kārikas, the Smrtyarthasāra (p 94), Dharmasindhu (p. 435) and other works that if a man[642] went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three cāndrāyanas or thirty krcchras, prepare an effigy of the man with kuśas (or with palāsa leaves), should burn it and then observe āśauca and perform śrāddhas &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by Medhātithi on Manu V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of āśauca and the persons affected by it in several ways (1) There is a distinction between āśauca on birth and āśauca on death; (2) As to āśauca on death numerous distinctions arise viz (a) when there is abortion (garbhasrāva or garbhapāta, as in Śankha 15 4, Brhat-Parāśara VI p 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

641 देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृत स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p 90.

642 देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीवद्वार्तानाकर्णने विशेषो गृह्यकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीवद्वार्ती पुन पुनः। इतस्तत समन्विच्छेत्पर्यालोच्य गतागतै॥ तस्यामश्रूयमाणाया वय काल-विशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्कस्य विंशत्यब्दोर्ध्वत क्रिया॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशाब्दात्तु मध्यमे वयसि स्मृता॥ चान्द्रायणत्रय कृत्वा त्रिंशत्कृच्छ्राणि वा सुतै। कुशै. प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्ध्वाशौचादिका क्रिया॥ कार्या इति शेष। रघुनाथ's com on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yāj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūḍā or three years (Viṣṇu 22. 29, Yāj. III. 23); (d) after cūḍā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67), (e) after upanayana (Yaj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āśauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of *śrauta* rites and whether the brāhmana subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested[643] (Parāśara III 5, Śankha 15 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāna 158. 10-11), (g) the duration of āśauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yāj III. 22 &c); (h) the duration of āśauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapinda or a samānodaka (Gaut 14 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89), (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20.87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āśauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āśauca are to be calculated For example, if a man died at 1 A M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āśauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.[643a] One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

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643 शिलोञ्छायाचितैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुध्येद् द्विजोत्तम.। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2 p. 216 For शिलोञ्छवृत्ति vide मनु X 112 and या I. 128.

643 a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रि त्रिभागां कृत्वा मध्यमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं तृतीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशौचम्। यद्वार्धरात्रात् प्राक् पूर्वदिनं परत. परदिनम्। अत्र देशाचारादिना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and काश्यप 'अर्धरात्रादस्ताच्चेत्सूतके मृतके तथा। पूर्वमेव दिनं ग्राह्यमूर्ध्वं चेद्दुत्तरेऽहनि॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागां तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासरे.। उत्तरांश' परादिनं जातेषु च मृतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by स्मृतिच. (आशौच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. *The Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide Madanapārijāta pp. 394–395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the smrtis about the periods of āśauca for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varnas (i e when there are anuloma marriages). For example, Daksa VI. 12 says that if a brāhmana has married wives of the four varnas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day Visnu Dh. S (22. 22–24) provides that when a ksatriya has sapindas of the vaiśya or śūdra varna the āśauca on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a vaiśya has a śūdra as sapinda then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varnas have sapindas of higher varnas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varna sapindas ceases. Laghu-Hārīta 84 (= Āpastambasmiti IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other smrtis and purānas like the Kūrma (Uttarārdha 23. 30–36) mention differing views quoted in Hāralatā pp 54–60, Smr M. pp. 495–496 The Madanapārijāta remarks (pp 425–426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the Mit on Yāj.[644] III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of āśauca, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature Others like the Smrti-muktāphala[645] p. 495 aver, relying on Manu (X 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like śūdras and have to observe the āśauca prescribed for sūdras The Hāralatā (p 12) quotes Ādipurāna to the effect that varnasankaras (i.e *pratilomas*)

644 प्रतिलोमानां स्वाशौचाभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना.—इति मनुस्मरणात्। केवलं सूतौ प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं सूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गवत् शौचं भवत्येव। मिता on या III 22 प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः is गौ 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीना शूद्रेष्वन्तर्भावाच्चेषा शूद्रवदाशौचम्। स्मृतिषु (आशौच) p. 495.

should follow the śūdras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The Smṛtyartha-sāra (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform prāyaścitta, but if they do not perform prāyaścitta then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p 215) how it was the duty of sapiṇḍas to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmaṇa was highly eulogised (Parāśara III. 39–40). But, as Manu V 101–102 provide, if a brāhmaṇa carried through affection the dead body of one[646] who was not his sapiṇḍa, as if he were a bandhu or carried (the dead body) of his mother's bandhus (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe aśauca for three days). Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23. 37) and Viṣṇu 22. 7–9 also. Gautama (14. 21–25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and Haradatta remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by sapiṇḍas, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called nirhārāśauca, the word 'nirhāra'[647] including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. Sapiṇḍas who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.[648]

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646. असपिण्डं द्विजं प्रेत विप्रो निर्हृत्य बन्धुवत्। अहित्वा च सहोषित्वा दशरात्रेण शुध्यति। कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23.37), नाशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमश्नीयात्। ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे य सकृदेवान्नमश्नाति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम्। आशौचापगमे प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.7–9.

647. निर्हारशब्दार्थः. स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः। प्रेतस्य वास सुगन्धधूपणाद्यैरलंक्रिया। यहन दहनं चेति निर्हारार्थो निरुच्यते। इति। q. by स्मृतिसु (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा सूतकान्नभोजनमपि न कार्यम्। उभयत्र दशाहानि कुलस्यान्नं न भुज्यते- इति यमस्मरणात्। उभयत्र जननमरणयोः कुलस्य सूतकयुक्तस्य सम्बन्ध्यन्नमसकुल्यैर्न भोक्तव्यम्। सकुल्याना पुनर्ने दोषः। सूतके तु कुलस्यान्नमदोषं मनुरब्रवीत्- इति तेनैवोक्तत्वात्। मिता on या. III 17. कल्पतरु (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपरार्क ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र० to मनु. Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmaṇa should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmaṇa, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III.43–46 and Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23 45) provide a rising scale of the days of āśauca if a brāhmaṇa follows the corpse of a kṣatriya (āśauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āśauca for two days and six prāṇāyāmas), a śūdra (āśauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇāyāmas [649] and drinking of ghee) Vide Trimśac-chloki verse 13.

If a brāhmaṇa who is not a sapiṇḍa of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a kṣatriya or vaiśya, but āśauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones, when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āśauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūrmapurāṇa (Uttarārdha 23 46–47), Agnipurāṇa 158 47–48, Par M 12 pp 283–285, Smr M (āśauca) p. 543 and Āśāucadaśaka verse 9 (for *mṛhāra*, following a funeral procession and weeping)

Persons [650] undergoing an āśauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āśauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Sāntapana)

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āśauca for one day But if she lived with one lower in varṇa than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āśauca at all (Yāj III 6) Similarly, one had to observe one day's āśauca on the death of sons that were not *aurasa* (such as kṣetraja) Vide Yāj III.25 and Viṣṇu 22 42–43

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

649 एकाहाद्भस्त्रिये शुद्धिर्वैश्ये च स्याद् द्व्यहेन तु। शूद्रे दिनत्रय प्रोक्त प्राणायामशतं पुन ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23 45) q in शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिप्र. p 63

650. आशौचिनामन्योन्यसंस्पर्शे निषेधति शंखः। ज्ञाताज्ञाते सकृत्स्पृष्टे भुक्ते च त्रिरात्रिभिः। अन्याशौचवतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजन्मनाम्॥ आशौचेष्वन्यदाशौचं स्पृष्टेष्वेवं च कामतः। चरेत् सान्तपनं कृच्छ्रं ज्ञाताप्यत्यमकामतः॥ स्मृतिमु (आशौच) p 502.

āśauca. While a marriage[651] rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like Jyotistoma) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or brāhmaṇas and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a smṛti text[652] quoted by the Mit. says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice āśauca on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the āśauca) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to Angiras,[653] Paiṭhīnasi (q by Sm. C.) and Viṣṇu Dh. S., when once a sacrifice (like a Somayāga), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening āśauca does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards upanayana and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by Laghu-Viṣṇu as follows[654] in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of vratas and *japa* when the saṅkalpa (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the Nāndīśrāddha is performed, and in the case of a śrāddha when the food meant for the brāhmaṇas has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing āśauca[655] on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

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651. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु ह्यन्तरा सूतसूतके। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं दीयमानं न दुष्यति॥ पराशर III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to क्रतु by the मिता. on या. III. 29.

652 विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिष्वन्तरा सूतसूतके। शेषमन्नं परैर्देयं दातृभोक्तॄंश्च न स्पृशेत्॥ q. by मिता. on या III. 29 and परा मा I. 2. p 262. हारलता (pp. 105–106) quotes a very similar verse from आदिपुराण 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकमपि चान्तरा। शेष ..स्पृशेत्'.

653. Vide स्मृतिच (आशौच p 70) for the verses of अङ्गिरस् and पैठीनसि. न देवप्रतिष्ठाविवाहयो पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविप्लवे आपद्यपि च कष्टायाम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 53–55 q. by मिता on या III. 29 (with variants)

654 व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु श्राद्धे होमार्चने जपे। प्रारब्धे सूतकं न स्यादनारब्धे तु सूतकम्॥ प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे सङ्कल्पो व्रतजापयो। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया॥ लघुविष्णु q by शुद्धिप्रकाश p 94, मद या p 423. The स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 17 begins प्रारम्भाद्ध्वमाशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses प्रारम्भो वरणं ..परिक्रिया and adds 'निमन्त्रणं या श्राद्धे तु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृति।.'

655. फलानि पुष्पं शाकं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च। तक्रं दधि घृतं तैलमौषधं क्षीरमेव च। आशौचिनां गृहाद्ग्राह्य शुष्काऽन्नं चैव नित्यशः। कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 23 66 q. in हारलता p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāna enumerates such articles They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, lājas). Marīci (q. by Mit on Yāj III. 17) and Trimśac-chlokī verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smrtis and commentators lay down rules about the āśauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āśauca. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasmrti verse 6, Brhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucasannipāta or *āśaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another āśauca coming to a person already observing one āśauca) [656] The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āśauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āśauca and then begin the period of the second āśauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āśauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āśauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āśauca supervenes in the last night of the first āśauca then purification results in two days after the first āśauca ends and if the second āśauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āśauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud Dh. S. I. 5. 123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14 5-6 Manu V. 79, Yāj. III. 20, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 35-38, Śankha 15. 10, Parāśara III. 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated The first rule is that in a conflict between āśauca on death and āśauca on birth, that on death is stronger [657] The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनामेकाशौचित्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम्। धर्मसिन्धु p 436.

657. अचाना यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत॥ देवल q by शुद्धिकरण p 31, स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p 57, शुद्धिप्र p 74, and as from कूर्मपुराण by परा मा I 2. p 265; सूतकाद् द्विगुणं शावं शावाद् द्विगुणमार्तवम्। आर्तवाद् द्विगुणा सूति सूतेश्च शवदाहक ॥ लघ्वाश्व (Jiv. vol I p 10) chap V, अङ्गिरस् according to हरदत्त on गौ. 14 5, वृद्धगार्ग्य according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539. शावाशौचे समुत्पन्ने

(*Continued on the next page*)

2nd rule is that if both āśaucas are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āśauca[658] only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mitāksarā, of the Gaudas and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāsa pp 74-82, Nirnayasindhu 536-540). Following the Nirnayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āśauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āśauca there is purification from both (Visnu 22.35, Śankha 15 70); (3) If both āśaucas are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śankha 15.10, Ṣadaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āśauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āśaucas arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Sadaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the firt āśauca is one arising from birth and an āśauca due to deaths intervenes, the āśauca on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āśauca due to birth), whether the āśauca for death is of lesser duration than the āśauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

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(*Continued from the last page*)

सूतकं तु यदा भवेत्। शावेन शुध्यते सूतिर्न सूति. शावशोधनी॥ लघुहारीत verse 80, यद्-त्रिदात्मत according to हरदत्त on गौ 14 5 and परा मा. I. 2 p. 264, यदि स्यात्सूतके सूतिर्मरणे वा सूतिमेवेत्। शेषेणैव भवेच्छुद्धिरहः शेषे त्रिरात्रकम्। मरणोत्पत्तियोगे तु मरणेन समाप्यते। कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23 18-19) q by शुद्धिप्र. p 74 (reads द्विरात्रकम्); सूतके मृतकं चेत्स्यान्मृतके त्वथ सूतकम्। तत्राधिकृत्य मृतकं शौचं कुर्याच्च सूतकम्॥ अङ्गिरस् q by परा मा I 2 p 264, मद् पा p 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158 64.

658. समानं लघ्वशौचं तु प्रथमेन समाप्येत्। असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मराजवचो यथा॥ अग्निपुराण 157. 11-12. This echoes शङ्ख (q. by हारलता p. 65) 'समानाशौचं प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads शङ्ख as समानाशौचसम्पाते प्रथमेन ... and explains असमानं as दीर्घकालाशौचम्. The reading समानं खलु शौचं तु printed in शुद्धिकल्प. p. 31 makes no sense.

duration (Ṣaḍaśīti 18); (10, 11) If the [659] first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āśauca on death (Ṣaḍaśīti 21); (12) If the first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Ṣaḍaśīti 21)

The Dharmasindhu (p 436) generally follows the Nirnayasindhu but remarks: 'Āsauca on death cannot be done away with by āśauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āśauca on death of the extent of paksinī cannot get rid of āśauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āśauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of three days' duration' These are the views of many writers A certain writer says that āsauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of lesser extent

The Mit on Yāj. III. 20 (*first half*) states an exception to the above rules about āsauca-sannipāta When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āśauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of [660] the āsauca for father's death Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āśauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āśauca has to observe āsauca for the mother for one paksinī in addition It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz that purification follows at the end of the āśauca for the mother

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659 जातके नैव मृतकं क्षयं याति न संशय । बृहद्यम IV 20, जातके मृतक या स्यात् तके सूतकं तथा । सूतके मृतके शुद्धिर्मृते शुद्धिस्तु सूतके ॥ लघुहारीत 58

660 तथा सजातीयान्त पातित्वेपि दाश्रय क्वचिदूर्ध्वदेशेन शुद्धेरभाव स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शित. । मातर्यग्रे प्रमीतायामशौचौ त्रिंयते पिता । पितु शेषेण शुद्धि स्यान्मातु कुर्यात्तु पक्षिणीम् ॥ मिता on या III 20 The verse is ascribed to शातु by अपरार्क p 903, परा मा I 2 p 267, शुद्धिप्रकाश p 76 Verses 24-25 of the पद्धति contain the same idea, नद. पा. p 438 ascribes it to अङ्गिरस्

If, while an āśauca on death is being undergone, an āśauca on birth arises, the father of the child born is able to perform the rites of Jātakarma and the like, because he is to be deemed to be purified for the nonce, according to Prajāpati.[661]

The Sadaśīti (verse 22) provides[662] that the rule about purification on the expiry of the first āśauca in the case of succeeding āśaucas on birth or death has three exceptions, viz. a woman who is delivered of a child, the person who actually cremates the body (of the deceased) and the sons of the deceased; that is, a *sūtikā* has to observe the proper period of untouchability and one who cremates a dead body has to observe āśauca for ten days, though the delivery or cremation takes place in the midst of an āśauca on death.

SADYAḤ—ŚAUCA (purification on the same day). It has already been seen (p 274) that Dakṣa (VI 2) speaks of ten kinds of impurity on birth or death, the first two of which are *sadyaḥ-śauca and ekāha* Ekāha means day and night together (vide note 622 above) The ordinary meaning of 'sadyaḥ' is 'at once, immediately.' But when Yāj III. 29, Parāśara III 10, Atri 97 and other smṛtis employ the word 'sadyaḥ-śauca' what is meant is that there is no āśauca for a whole day or three days or ten days, but only up to the taking of a bath or up to the end of the day or the end of the night on which the event occurs Pāṇini[663] mentions 'sadyaḥ' and thirteen other words in one sūtra as *nipātas* (irregularly formed). From Yāj. III. 23 (ādantajanmanaḥ sadya ācūḍānnaiśikī smṛtā) it impliedly follows that *sadyaḥ* has the meaning of 'a part of a day or a part of the night' (as the case may be) and 'naiśikī' means a whole day and night (as note 622 shows). The Śuddhitattva

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661. प्रेतक्रिया पुत्र. सूतकसंनिपातेऽपि न निवर्तत इति तेनोक्तम् (शातातपेन)। तथा शावाशौचयोः सन्निपातेऽपि प्रेतकृत्यं कार्यम्। तुल्यन्यायत्वात्। तथा जातकर्मादिकमपि पुत्रजन्मनिमित्तमाशौचान्तरसन्निपातेऽपि कार्यमेव। तथाह प्रजापतिः। आशौचे तु समुत्पन्ने पुत्रजन्म यदा भवेत्। कर्तुस्तात्कालिकी शुद्धिः पूर्वाशौचेन शुध्यति। निता on या III. 20, मद या p. 439.

662 पूर्वेणैव या शुद्धिः सूतिना मृतिना तथा। सूतिकामग्निदं हित्वा प्रेतस्य च सुतानपि॥ षडशीति 22; this is made clear by the verses of देवल and शातातप quoted by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on षडशीति 'सूतिकानां भवेच्छुद्धिः कालेनैव रजः क्षये। नाशौचान्तरपातेन सूतके मृतकेऽपि च। सपिण्डानां तु य. काश्चिद्दहेत वा। तस्याशौचं दशाहं तु नाभ्याशौचेन शुध्यति॥'

663 सद्य:परुत्परारैषम. परेद्यव्यद्यपूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्यु: या V. 3,22. 'समानस्य सभावो यस् चाहनि' is वार्तिक on the सूत्र. The महाभाष्य explains 'समानेऽहनि सद्य'

(pp. 340–341) explains [664] 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support The Śuddhiprakāśa (p 92) explains that 'sadyahśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āsauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom piṇḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala [665] (āsaucakāṇḍa) p 481 says that 'sadyaḥsauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath' That piṇḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyahśauca' is stated by the Ādipurāna [666] According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p 73) 'sadyahsauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āśauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c (Yāj III. 28), (2) āśauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76)

The rules about āśauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz certain *persons* are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āśauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain *articles* can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āśauca, no asauca is to be observed *for certain deceased* persons owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons *express texts* say that no āsauca need be observed for them These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣnupurāna III. 13 7 it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging Vide also Gaut 14 11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāna 14.99.

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664 अत्र सद्य पदमहोरात्रार्धपरम्। द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाहिक स्मृत । द्वावहोरात्रेकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात्। द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुस्त्रिसन्ध्यैकाह उच्यते । दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति नन्यवर्धमानपूतवचनाच्च। सद्य एकाहिनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकाहेनेति स्मृतिसारे। एकस्मात् सद्य इति शुद्धिप्रकाशे दर्शनाच्चेति। तद्यार्ध दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च। एतदेव क्वचित् सद्योति पदेन व्यपदिश्यते। शुद्धितत्त्व pp 340–341. शुद्धिप्रकाश p 93 states that the verse द्वे सन्ध्ये सद्यः occurs in the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665 सद्य शौचं नाम स्नानान्तमवम्। सद्य शौचे तु तावत्स्यादाहश्चं संनिधनरद तु। यावत्स्नान न कुर्वन्ति सचैलं वान्धवा यहि ॥ इत्यङ्गिर स्मरणात्। स्मृतिषु p 481

666 दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एवं क्रमेण तु। सद्यःशौचेपि दातव्या सर्वेषि युगपत्तया॥ आदिपुराण q. by हारलता p. 165 The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण by रघुनाथ on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 28 p. 249 It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 पुराणs was therefore called आदिपुराण.

Yāj. (III. 28–29) prescribes that there is sadyaḥśauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapinda) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone *dīkṣā* for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somayāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in prāyaścittas like cāndrāyana or the vows of *snātakas*, for brahmacārins (when performing the duties of their *āśrama*), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyaḥśauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43–44) says that there is sadyaḥśauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmanas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śaṅkhalikhita say the same 'Rāja dharmāyatanam sarvesām tasmādanavaruddhaḥ pretaprasavadosaiḥ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,[667] those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of aśauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahma (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyaḥśauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilasmrti[668]

667. न राज्ञामधदोषोस्ति व्रतिना न च सत्रिणाम्। ऐन्द्रं स्थानमुपासीना ब्रह्मभूता हि ते सदा॥ राज्ञो माहात्म्यके स्थाने सद्य शौचं विधीयते। प्रजानां परिरक्षार्थमासन्नं चात्र कारणम्॥ मनु V. 93–94. The first verse is the same as Vasistha 19.48 (Furher's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into नाघदोषोस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a ksatriya, brāhmana or śūdra) free from aśauca The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47–52) restricts the absence of aśauca by saying 'kings are free from aśauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न व्रतिनां व्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारूणां स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तद्विक्लवया।'

668 न स्पर्शेत्सूतके कर्म ब्रह्मचारी स्वक क्वचित्। न दीक्षणात्परं यज्ञे न कृच्छ्रादि तपश्चरन्॥ पितर्यपि मृते नैषां दोषो भवति कर्हिचित्। गोभिलस्मृति III. 64–65 q. by हारलता p. 107, अपरार्क p 919, शुद्धिकल्प. p 64.

(III. 64–65, often quoted as Chandogaparisista of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūtaka, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dīksā, one who is practising penance should not give up krcchra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)' The Kūrmapurāna[669] provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97–98, Linga-purāna, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yāj III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work.[670] Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21–22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Visnu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyāya, ācārya and guru) He did not incur āśauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and pinda to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āśauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyaścitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āśauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Visnu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42–44) says generally[671] that on the death of child-

669. नैष्ठिकाना व्रतस्थाना यतीना ब्रह्मचारिणाम्। नाशौचं कीर्तितं सद्भि. पतिते च तथा सुते॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23 61 q by hāralatā p. 114, parā mā I 2 p. 254. देवल has almost the same verse, नैष्ठिकाना ..शौच सूतके प्रोक्त शावे चापि तथैव च॥ q. by parā. mā I. 2 p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543 A similar verse occurs in लिङ्ग-पुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap 89 77.

670 सत्रिणां व्रतिना सत्रे व्रते च शुद्धिर्न कर्ममात्रे संव्यवहारे वा।.. ब्रह्मविद्याति.। एतेषां च त्रयाणमाश्रमिणा सर्वत्र शुद्धि.। विशेषे प्रमाणाभावात्। मिता on या. III 28.

671. बालदेशान्तरितमव्रजितासपिण्डाना सद्यःशौचम्। राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधात्। ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायनिवृत्त्यर्थम्। गौ 14 42–44 पराशर III. 10 and वामनपुराण 14.99–100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapindas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyahśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmana also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.[672] The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a dīksita had to bathe on the death of a sapinda, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c, but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20–21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and *śrotriyas* are declared to be sadyahśauca, as also one observing a *vrata* (cāndrāyana &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmana who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it' The Ādipurāna[673] gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

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672 शिल्पिनः कारुका वैद्या दासीदासाश्च नापिता । राजान श्रोत्रियाश्चैव सद्य:शौचाः प्रकीर्तिता. ॥ सत्रतः सत्रपूतश्च आहिताग्निश्च यो द्विजः । राज्ञश्च सूतकं नास्ति यस्य चेच्छति पार्थिवः ॥ पराशर III.20–21,

673 तथा चादिपुराणे। शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्या' कर्म यत्साधयन्त्यलम्। तत्कर्म नान्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धा स्वकर्मणि। सूपकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरेन्द्रिह। तदन्यो नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स सूपकृत्॥ चिकित्सको यत्कुरुते तदन्येन न शक्यते। तस्माच्चिकित्सक. स्पर्शे शुद्धो भवति नित्यश॥ दास्यो दासाश्च यत्किंचित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया। तदन्यो न क्षम. कर्तुं तस्मात्ते शुचय सदा॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वमेऽप्यन्यस्य तत्कथम्। एवं सति नृपः शुद्धः संस्पर्शे सूतसूतके॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगमनादिकम्। तत्तस्ति यस्मादन्यस्य तस्मात्ते शुचय स्मृता॥ q. by परा मा I 2. pp 255–256 Three of these from सूपकारेण are quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by हारलता p 110, as from आदिपुराण by शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 289–90 and all from सूपकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिप्र p 95, the verse चिकित्सको० is q. by मिता. on या III. 27.

It has [674] to be noted that the absence of āśauca in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, śrāddhas and gifts This is clear from the words of the Viṣnudharmasūtra [675] 22. 48–52. The Trimśacchloki (verse 18) [676] gives a long list of such peculiar activities The Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārdha 23 57–64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the Hāralatā (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp 238–240) that Pār gr. III 10 (nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam), Manu V. 84, Yāj III. 17 (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo āśauca on death should not stop rites to be performed with śrauta fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were *āśaucin*.

The Dharmasindhu (p 552) emphasizes that this exception to āśauca should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing āśauca. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of āśauca.

The fourth class of cases where rules of āśauca do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. Gaut. (14. 11) [677] and Śankha-Likhita provide that there is sadyahśauca for those who kill themselves (i. e. commit suicide) by starting on the great journey (to the Himālaya), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

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674. अयं चाशौचाभावस्तत्तदसाधारणकर्मण्यसृष्टयत्वप्रतिषेधरूपो बोध्य, न तु सर्वेषु दानश्राद्धादिधर्मकृत्येष्वाशौचाभाव। शुद्धिप्र p 95.

675. (आशौच) न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि। न व्रतिना व्रते। न सत्रिणा सत्रे। न कारिणां कारुकर्मणि। न राजाज्ञाकारिणा तदिच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 48–52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिव्रतिनृपनृपदीक्षितस्त्रिकृत्स्वदेशश्रेशापत्स्वध्वनेकश्रुतिपठनभिषङ्नाक्षशिल्पानुराणाम्। संभारध्वेषु दानोपनयनयजनश्राद्धयुद्धप्रतिष्ठाचूडातीर्थार्थयात्राजपपरिणयनाद्युत्सवेष्वेतदर्थे॥ त्रिशच्छोकी 18. नृपवत् means नृपसेवक.

677. For गौ 14 11 vide note 522 above, प्रायाग्निविषोदकोद्बन्धनप्रपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। अथ शस्त्रानाशकाग्निरज्जु-भूयु-जल-विषमापणेष्वेवमेव। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by हारलता p. 113; भूम्वाग्निपाशकाम्भोभिर्मृतानामात्मघातिनाम्। पतितान च नाशौचं विद्युच्चन्द्रहताश्च ये॥ अग्निपुराण 157.32. Vide वामनपुराण 14 99–100

Yāj. III. 6 provides [678] that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular *āśrama*, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89–90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāna also prescribes [679] that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *patitas*, nor *antyesti* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no pinda and no śrāddha should be performed for them. It is provided by Angiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from cāndālas (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a brāhmana, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and pinda are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and pinda) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Angiras [680] himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāna by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 56–57, Nirnayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Angiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or śrāddha to *patitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo prāyaścitta (viz. two Taptakrcchras).

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678. For या. III 6 read p 222 above अपरार्क reads 'पाषण्डानाश्रिता' and explains 'पाषण्डान्बौद्धादीनाश्रिता तद्दीक्षायां मविदा', while the मिता० reads पाखण्डश्चनाश्रिता: and makes two different classes

679. पतितानां न दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2–4) states 'आत्मनस्त्यागिना नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रिया। तेषामपि तथा नाङ्गे तोयेऽस्थ्नां पतनं स्मृतम्। तेषां दत्तं जलं चार्कं गगने तत्प्रलीयते। अनुग्रहेण महता प्रेतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणबलिः कार्यस्तेनाऽनुग्रहमश्नुते॥'

680. यादे कश्चित्प्रमादेन म्रियेताम्भसुदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचं विधातव्यं कर्तव्या चोदकक्रिया॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by मिता. on या III 6 A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol I p 540), chap. VII.

If an *āhitāgni* were killed by cāndālas in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by śūdras without proper mantras and Gobhilasmrti (III. 49–51) provides for the disposal of his srauta fires and sacrificial implements Though suicide was generally condemned, the smrtis (such as Atri 218–219) and Purānas allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at Prayāga Vide H of Dh vol. II pp 926–928 for detailed treatment of this topic If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the śāstra then there was no blemish and āsauca had to be observed and water and śrāddha had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on Mahāprasthāna and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the Kali age. Vide H of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958–959

The Mit on Yāj. III. 6 quotes Vrddha-Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the śāstras, Nārāyanabali should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of śrāddha may be performed thereafter. The Mit.[681] on Yāj. III. 6) relying on Visnupurāna describes the Nārāyanabali as follows On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped Visnu and Yama, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhas* with ends turned towards the south ten pindas laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased[682] who should be looked upon as having the form of Visnu and having uttered the name and gotra of the deceased; he should honour the pindas with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of pindas, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681 एवं नारायणबलि प्रेतस्य शुद्ध्यापादनद्वारेण श्राद्धादिसंपदानत्वे योग्यतां जनयतीति और्ध्वदेहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव। अत एव षट्त्रिंशन्मतेऽपि और्ध्वदेहिकस्याग्यतज्ञा दृश्यते। गोब्राह्मणहताना च पतिताना तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात्सर्वमेवौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ इति। एवं संवत्सराद्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कृत्वौर्ध्वदेहिकं कार्यम्। मिता on या III. 6 The same provisions are recommended by परा मा. I 2 pp 226–227, स्मृतिमु p 489 Vide गरुड, प्रेतखण्ड, 40 15-65 for नारायणबलि

682. The सङ्कल्प will be अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकस्य दुर्मरणात्मघातजदोषनाशार्थमौर्ध्वदेहिकसंपदानत्वयोग्यतासिद्ध्यर्थं नारायणबलिं करिष्य इति सकल्प्य। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 559.

wife or to others Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, should observe a fast, should worship Visnu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmanas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmanas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekoddista* śrāddha, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhana* (drawing lines) up to *avanejana* (anointing) by the procedure of Pinda-pitryajña He should offer four pindas to (images of) Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Visnu and then offer the 5th pinda Then having gratified the brāhmanas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmanas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmanas that have *pavitras* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyanabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Hāralatā[683] (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Visnu extending the performance of Nārāyanabali to those killed by cows and brāhmanas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.[684]

The Antyestipaddhati of Nārāyanabhatta describes (on folio 187) Nārāyanabali rite at greater length than in the Mitāksarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five kalaśas (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Apo hi sthā'

683 आत्मघातिन इत्यभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्यैवेदं विधानं न तु महापातक्यादौ नामिति दर्शयति। विष्णु.। गोब्राह्मणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्यात् सर्वमेवौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदिपुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु दास्या पत्तोयदाननारायणबलिदानयो. प्रथमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p 212. A long passage is quoted *from* आदिपुराण in हारलता pp 203-205, the last verses of which are. क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे क्वचित्। देशधर्ममप्रमाणत्वात् गयाकूपेषु वप्नुभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा श्राद्धं हरिहरं स्मरन्।

684. Nārāyanabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

(Rg. X 9. 1–3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Puruṣa-sūkta (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 121 1–10, Rg. I. 43. 1 (= Tai. Ā. X. 17), Rg X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyaṇa with the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg X. 90). Ten pindas[685] are to be offered on *darbhas* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten pindas are cast in a river, there is *tarpaṇa* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Puruṣa-sūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the Mitāksarā, there is no homa nor bali, both of which are described in the Āntyeṣṭipaddhati and the Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 85–86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the Mit. Bṛhatparāśara (V. pp. 175–176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the Mit. from the Viṣṇupurāna. The Nirṇaya-sindhu first describes Nārāyaṇabali as gathered from Hemādri and the Garuḍapurāna (III. 4. 113–119) It then describes Nārāyaṇabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day (along with Pārvaṇaśrāddha), following the procedure laid down by Baudhāyana. It then describes another form of Nārāyaṇabali based on Śaunaka which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by cāṇḍālas, [686] snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The Vṛddha-Hāritasmṛti (IX. 123–143) describes another method of Nārāyaṇabali for devotees of Viṣṇu.

The Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyaṇabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahāpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

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685. अर्चितदेवसमीपे अमुकगोत्रायामुकशर्मणे प्रेताय विष्णुरूपिणेऽयं विष्णु – इति मधुघृताक्तांस्तिलमिश्रान्दश पिण्डान् विष्णुरूपिण प्रेतमनुस्मरन् प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य दक्षिणाग्रेषु दर्भेषु दक्षिणामुखोऽपसव्येन दत्त्वा। ततः पुरुषसूक्तेन प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उक्त्वा अमुकं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति षोडशवार तर्पयेत्मन्त्रचम्। अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति

686. चाण्डालाद्वुदकात्सर्पाद्ब्राह्मणाद्वैद्युतादपि। दंष्ट्रिभ्यश्च पशुभ्यश्च मरणं पापकर्मिणाम्॥ कौ गृ शेषसूत्र III. 21. The same is q. by अपरार्क p 877 as यम's, as स्मृत्यन्तर by श्राद्धम. p. 56 and without name by the मिता. on या. III. 6.

Baudhāyana-gṛhya-śesasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8–10) provides[687] that (the sapiṇḍas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmaṇas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only 'sadyahśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state[688] that (the sapiṇḍas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmaṇas and of one who was killed in the fashion of ksatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śātātapa[689] that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapiṇḍas are not to offer water or piṇḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridaṇḍin* or *ekadaṇḍin*, *haṁsas* or *paramahaṁsas*. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own śrāddha while alive his sapiṇḍas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca[690] for one killed in battle, but at least

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687. गोब्राह्मणहतानामन्वक्षम्। राजकोधाच्च। युद्धे। गौ. 14 8–10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्ष्यते मृत्यक्ष्यते शवस्तावत्संस्कारान्ते स्नात्वा शुध्येरन्निति', while the मिता on या III 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिनां चान्वक्षमनुगतमक्षमन्वक्षं सद्य शौचमित्यर्थः'. The मिताक्षरा takes the corresponding passage of Yāj III 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmanas'. The मिता० reads राजकोधाच्चायुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read अयुद्धे but would read आयुद्धे.

688 डिम्बाहवे हतानां च विद्युता पार्थिवेन च। गोब्राह्मणस्य चैवार्थे यस्य चेच्छति पार्थिव॥ मनु V. 95 डिम्बाहव is explained by कुल्लूक and हारलता (p 111) as 'नृपतिरहितं युद्धं,' while हरदत्त takes डिम्ब to mean जनसंमर्द and अपरार्क p 916 explains डिम्बाहव as अशस्त्रकलह and शुद्धिकल्पतरु as अशस्त्रकलहः संमर्दो वा (p 46).

689. एकोद्दिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्क्रियाम्। न कुर्यात्पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मीभूताय भिक्षवे॥ शातातप स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p 171 ascribes this to वसिष्ठ.

690. युद्धमृतेष्वाशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यते न त्वेवं ब्राह्मणेषु शिष्टाचार इति। धर्मसिन्धु p 449.

among brāhmanas (i. e. as to brāhmanas killed in battle) th usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. āśauca is observed).

Parāśara (III. 12–13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the amāvāsyā should be accepted as the day of his death and water, pinda and śrāddha should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I. 2 p. 237 adds that āśauca also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārita says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a śrāddha or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th tithi of the following dark half (Śuddhikaumudī p. 17)

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of āśauca the usages of a country must be observed. The Hāralatā (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the Ādipurāna where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (deśa-dharmapramānatvāt). The Śuddhitattva p. 275 quotes[691] a verse of Marīci 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śauca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the Vāmanapurāna to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Daksa[692] (VI. 15) states that all rules about āśauca apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) āśauca.

Visnu (19. 18–19) provides[693] that at the end of the period of āśauca one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śānti* (propitiatory rite)

691 तथा च मरीचिः। येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृश। तत्र तत्तावन्मन्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृश ॥ कल्पतरु in शुद्धिविवेक (D C. ms No 309 of 1887–91, folio 77 b), शु. कौ p 360, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 275, "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देशाचाराश्रित कुलधर्मसमन्वित स्वगोत्रधर्मं न हि सत्यजेच्च" शुद्धितत्त्व p. 276.

692 स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वं सूतकं परिकीर्तितम्। आपद्ग्रस्तस्य सर्वस्य सूतकेऽपि न सूतकम् ॥ दक्ष VI 15.

693. ग्रामाद्विनिष्क्रम्याशौचान्ते कृतशमश्रुकर्माणस्तिलकल्कै सर्षपकल्कैर्वा स्नाता. परिवर्तितवाससो गृहं प्रविशेयु । तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनं कुर्युः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.18–19

and honour brāhmaṇas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155–164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapiṇḍas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrvā*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmaṇas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'svasti'. If a brāhmaṇa cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāralatā and others say that without śānti water āśauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā naścitra,' 'kastvā satyo,' 'abhī sū naḥ' (No. 682–684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('svasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'roam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauḥ śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Ṛgvedins should employ for śānti Ṛg. X. 9. 4, VII, 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as dakṣiṇā should be donated to a brāhmaṇa, then the Vaitaraṇī cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śān Śr.) and smṛtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āśauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śrauta fires had to undergo only one day's āśauca (Parāśara III. 5, Dakṣa VI. 6). But ultimately a fiat period of ten days of āśauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapiṇḍas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āśauca were not felt to be very irksome It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharmaśāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āśauca Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmaśāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smṛtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the Āśauca-daśaka with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards *āśauca* on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smṛtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.[693a]

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

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693 a. Vide appendix.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1–4 and IX 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus 12 2–5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors If one may surmise one can say this it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death At all events smṛti writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of sapindas the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the Taj. S. and have been already dealt with in H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 802–805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *śuddhi* apart from *āśauca*. Śuddhi of a *dravya* means the[694] removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and Aparārka p 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. द्रव्यस्य दोषापगमः शुद्धि.। तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धि. शरीरशुद्धिर्बाह्यद्रव्यशुद्धिश्च। अपरार्के pp 252–253, तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेष.। शुद्धिस्तु संस्कारविशेषोत्पादिता तन्निवृत्ति.। हेमाद्रि (on श्राद्ध p 787).

above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on śuddhi and being pure (śuci). There are Vedic[695] passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotistoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas*. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotra* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an agnihotrahavanī and was to be poured upon the ashes near the Āhavanīya fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Śauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmaguṇas*) mentioned by Gaut 8 24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāna 52. 8–10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that śauca is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati[696] (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that śauca is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *śauca* into two varieties viz *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp 651–52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I. 5. 3–4), Hārita, Daksa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372. (17–18) is the same as Daksa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200. 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II. 66. 86–87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Lingapurāna 8. 34–36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara* śauca is superior to *bāhya śauca* (verse 31) remarks[697] that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695 अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोम । तत्र श्रूयते दशापवित्रेण ग्रहं समार्ष्टि इति। तत्रैषोर्थ समधिगत· सर्वे ग्रहा समार्जितव्या इति। इदमिदानीं सन्दिह्यते किं चमसा अपि समार्ष्टव्या उत नेति। शबर on जै III. 1 16

696 अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिन्दितै । स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥ बृहस्पति (q by अपरार्क p 164). अत्रि verse 35 (reads आचारेषु व्यवस्थानं)

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्त शौचविवर्जित· । शैवला ह्यपका मत्स्या· सत्त्वा मत्स्योपजीविन ॥ सदावगाह्य सलिले विशुद्धा किं द्विजोत्तमा । तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौच सदा कार्यं विधानत ॥ आत्मज्ञानाम्भसि स्नात्वा सकृदालिप्य भावत:। सुरैरप्यसदा शुद्धा शौचेनेव यकीर्तितम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8 34–36, भावशुद्धि परं शौचं ·प्रमाण सर्वकर्मसु। अन्यथालिङ्गते कान्ता भावेन दुहितान्यथा ..अन्यथैव सुत: पुत्रं भार्यापत्यन्यथा पतिम्॥ पद्म (भूमिखण्ड 66 86–87)

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V. 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Visnu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikāndamandana (prakīrnaka 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmānda III. 14. 60 (śucikāmā hi devā vai), and Yogasūtra II. 32 (for śauca as one of the five niyamas).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648–668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.[698]

In śrauta rites (such as Agnistoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or dīksā), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1136) Śātātapa q by Sm. C. I p. 120, Śuddhiprakāśa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as cāndālas).

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698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Ap Śr. II 12 provides[699] that *Pavitresti* should be performed by him who is desirous of *śuddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *iṣṭis*, viz Vaiśvānarī (to Agni Vaiśvānara), Vrātapati (to Agni Vratapati) and the Pavitresti one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyaśuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Āp Dh. S (II 6. 15 17–20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *saṃskāra* of *annaprāśana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. Manu V. 127–133, Yāj I. 186, 191–193, Viṣnu Dh. S 23. 47–52, Baud. Dh I. 5 56–57, 64, 65, Śaṅkha 16 12–16, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35 19–21 state that the following are always pure.—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a brāhmaṇa as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brahmacārin* though walking from house to house on the road), the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance), meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, cāṇḍālas, and carnivorous birds, rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder–these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. Yāj I. 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. Baudhāyana[700] quoted by Aparārka p. 276 provides that

699 शुद्धिकामो वा। तस्येष्टाभियज्ञगाथा गीयते। वैश्वानरीं मातपति पवित्रेष्टिं तथैव च। क्रतावृतौ प्रयुञ्जानो पुनाति दशपौरुषम्॥ इति। आश्व श्रौ II 12

700. मुखवर्जं तु गौर्मेध्या माजारश्वबकक्रमे (? श्वाजक्रमे) शुचि। औशनस q. by अपरार्क p. 276, almost the same words occur in शङ्ख 16 14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Bṛhaspati[701] and Yama (q. by Aparārka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmanas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses[702] on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read[703] 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśara (X. 41) states:[704] 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as *camasas* in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturviṁśatimata[705] that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to caṇḍālas become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Bṛhaspati provides:[706] 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

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701. बृहस्पति । पादौ शुची ब्राह्मणानामजाश्वस्य मुखं शुचि । गवां पृष्ठानि मेध्यानि सर्वगात्राणि चोदितान् ॥ यम । पृष्ठतो गोर्गजः स्कन्धे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचित्तया । गोः पुरीषं च मूत्रं च सर्वं मेध्यमिति स्थितिः ॥ पृष्ठशब्दोऽत्र मुख्यव्यतिरिक्तविषयः । अपरार्के p 276.

702. आकराहृतवस्तूनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन । आकराः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा सुराकरम् ॥ भृष्टा भृष्टयवाश्चैव तथैव चणकाः स्मृताः । खर्जूरं चैव कर्पूरमन्यद् भृष्टतरं शुचि ॥ अत्रि 240–241. आकराः . .करम् occurs in कौ. ध सू I. 5 58. The शु कौ. (p. 258) after quoting शङ्ख 16 13 (शुद्धं नदीगतं तोयं सर्वं एव तथाकराः) explains. सर्वं एवाकरा धान्यादिनिष्पत्तिस्थानानि तथा अक्षलाजादिनिष्पत्तिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः ।.

703. मक्षिका सन्ततिर्धारा भूमिस्तोयं हुताशनः । मार्जारश्चैव दर्वी च नकुलश्च सदा शुचि ॥ अत्रि V, 13. विश्वरूप on या I. 195 quotes it without name as मक्षिका विप्रुषो नार्यो भूमि . दर्वी च मातरश्च etc. मार्जारश्च...मातरश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43. शुद्धिकौमुदी p 357 explains: सन्ततिः शिष्टुः यज्ञवर्षाभ्यन्तरवस्कः धारा तु पतन्ती ।.

704. आकाशं वायुरग्निश्च मेध्यं भूमिगतं जलम् । न दुष्यन्ति दर्भाश्च यज्ञेषु चमसा यथा ॥ पराशर X. 41.

705. आमं मांसं घृतं क्षौद्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवाः । अन्यभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्क्रान्ताः शुचयः स्मृताः ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा. मा. II 1 p 115 याज्ञ. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading म्लेच्छभाण्ड°. शु. कौ. p 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706 द्राक्षेक्षु यन्त्राकरकाष्ठहस्ता गोदोहनी यन्त्रविनिःसृतानि । बालैश्च स्त्रीभिरशुद्धिमद्भिः सत्सङ्गदानि शुचीनि तानि ॥ बृहस्पति q by शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint One's[707] own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śankha 16.15 is to the same effect

Śankha[708] states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śankha-Likhita[709] declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yāj. I. 184, Visnu Dh. S 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V 126 (= Visnu 23. 39), Yāj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed[710]. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

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707. आत्मशय्या च वस्त्रं च जायापत्यं कमण्डलु । आत्मन शुचीन्येतानि परेषान्तु शुचीनि तु ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति II 4, बौधायन I 5 61 (reads शय्यासनं वस्त्र). अपरार्क p 257 quotes it as बौधायन's

708. मलं सयोगजं तज्ज्ञं यस्य येनोपहन्यते । तस्य तच्छोधनं प्रोक्तं सामान्यं द्रव्यशुद्धिकृत् ॥ शङ्ख q. by अपरार्क p. 256, दीपकालिका on या I. 191. मद पा p 451 reads मलसंयोगजम्

709. सर्वेषामाप्यो मृदरिष्टकेङ्गुदबिल्वतण्डुलसर्षपकल्कक्षारगोमूत्रगोमयादीनि शौचद्रव्याणि संहतानां प्रोक्षणमित्येके । शङ्खलिखितौ q by चतुर्वर्ग० vol. III part 1 p 517.

710. लेपगन्धापकर्षणं शौचमनेद्याकस्य । तदद्भि पूर्वं मृदा च । गौ प ध I 45-46. Almost the same words occur in वसिष्ठ III.48, यावल्लेपस्यनैद्यात्स्याद्गन्धो लेपस्य तत्कृत. । तावन्मृद्वारि चादेय सर्वासु द्रव्यशुद्धिषु ॥ मनु V. 126=विष्णु 23.39

Gaut. Dh. S. (I. 28–33) briefly deals [710a] with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas (III. 49–53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 5. 17. 10–13) [711] provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yāj. (III. 31–34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Aśvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as krcchra), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *śuddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, water in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras *(japa)* is the means of purifica-

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710 a द्रव्यशुद्धि परिमार्जनप्रदाहतक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तैजसमार्तिकदारवतान्तवानाम्। तैजसवदुपलमणिशङ्खमुक्तानाम्। दारुवदस्थिभूम्यो। आवपनं च भूमे.। चैलवद्रज्जुविदलचर्मणाम्। उत्सर्गो वात्यन्तोपहतानाम्। गौ 1 28–33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शारीरैर्मलैः सुराभिर्मद्यैर्वा यदुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम्।'

711. अनाग्नीते मृण्मये भोक्तव्यम्। आग्नीतं चेदभिदग्धे। परिमृष्टं लोहं प्रयतम् निर्लिखितं दारुमयम्। यथागमं यज्ञे। आप ध. सू. I. 5 17. 9–13 हरदत्त explains, 'आग्नीतं क्वचित्कार्ये पाकादावुपयुक्तम्. अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भैरुद्भि. प्रक्षालिता सोमपात्राणि मार्जालीये प्रक्षालितानि आज्यपात्राण्युष्णेन वारिणा।'.

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107–109 (= Viṣṇu 22.90–92) contain almost the same idea in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana [712] by the Mit. (on Yāj I 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Smṛtyarthasāra p 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5 66 provides [713] that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified) Baud. Dh.

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712. देशं कालं तथात्मानं द्रव्यं द्रव्यप्रयोजनम्। उपपत्तिमवस्थां च ज्ञात्वा शौचं प्रकल्पयेत्॥ बौधायन q also by विश्वरूप on या. I 195 and मेधातिथि on मनु V 115. बौधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5 55 reads देशं ..वस्थां च विज्ञाय शौचञ्च कुशलो धर्मेषु समाचरेत्। The verse is लघुहारीत 55 which reads कालं देशं The मिता reads तथा मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified)

713. भूमेस्तु संमार्जनमोक्षणोपलेपनावस्तरणोल्लेखनैर्यथास्वं दोषविशेषानवस्थाप्य बौ. ध. सू. I. 5 66 वसिष्ठ III. 56 is almost the same

S in another place states:[714] when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing Land is purified by means of four viz, being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasistha III 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz time) Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz. sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Visnu Dh S. 23 57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu Yāj. I. 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and kāla (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to[715] the Vāmanapurāna the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Devala quoted by the Mit and Aparārka on Yāj. I 188 gives a more elaborate treatment According to him polluted ground (*bhūmi*) is of three kinds, viz *amedhyā* (impure), *dusṭā* (soiled), and *malinā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by cāndālas or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*.[716] That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *dustā* (soiled) and it becomes *malinā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

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714 घनाया भूमेरुपघात उपलेपनम्। सुषिराया. कर्षणम्। क्लिन्नाया मेध्यमाहृत्य प्रच्छादनम्। चतुर्भि शुध्यते भूमिर्गोभिराक्रमणात्खननाद् दहनादभिवर्षणात्। पञ्चमाच्चोपलेपनात्पष्ठात्कालात्। कौ. ध सू I 6.17-21 quoted and explained by शु कौ p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विशुध्यते खातदाहमार्जनगोक्रमैः। लेपाद्धुलेखनात्सेकाद्देशमसंमार्जनार्चनात् ॥ वामनपुराण 14 68.

716. यत्र प्रसूयते नारी म्रियते दह्यतेपि वा। चण्डालाध्युषितं यत्र यत्र विष्ठादिसंहति ॥ एवं कश्मलभूयिष्ठा भूरमेध्या प्रकीर्तिता। श्वसूकरखरोष्ट्रादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां व्रजेत्। अङ्गार-तुषकेशास्थिभस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत्। मिता on या I 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रारिष्टादिसङ्गतिः in the first verse and धूम for तुष. शु कौ. p. 101 reads प्रसूते गर्भिणी यत्र म्रियते यत्र मानुष। ..यत्र वा दह्यते शवः॥ विण्मूत्रोपहतं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दृश्यते। एवं कश्मल०. The definitions of दुष्टा and मलिना as quoted from देवल by शु कौ. p 101 and शुद्धिम. p 99 are different.

Devala[717] prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or candālas dwell) or by four (i e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of amedhyā); ground that is dustā is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 73–74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with pañcagavya, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than brāhmanas in the inmost shrine (garbhagrha) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar* v. *Dharmakarta Subramania* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar* v. *Ganapati* (37 Bom. L R 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of brāhmanas and a Lingayat entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not brāhmanas was proved and that the Lingayat gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the Nirnayasindhu (III.

717. दहनं खननं भूमेरवलेपनवापने। पर्जन्यवर्षण चेति शौचं पञ्चविध स्मृतम्॥ पञ्चधा वा चतुर्धा वा भूमेरेभ्या विशुध्यति। द्विधा त्रिधा वा दुष्टा तु शुध्यते मलिनैकधा॥ देवल q by शु. कौ p. 101 which explains वापनं as मृदन्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārdha pp. 351–52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of cāṇḍālas or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a brāhmaṇa [718] If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,–in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, cāṇḍālas, *patita* people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The Viṣnu-dharmasūtra (23. 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substance of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by śūdras or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyāhavācana* should be performed, an even number of brāhmaṇas should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective *mantras*, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

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718. अथ पुन प्रतिष्ठा । ज्ञानधिकृत्य हरशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यसंस्पर्शदूषिता वह्निनाथवा । अपुण्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विप्रक्षतजदूषिता ॥ संस्कार्येति शेषः । पदार्धादर्शे ब्राह्मे । खण्डिते स्फुटिते दग्धे भ्रष्टे नानविवर्जिते । यागहीने पशुस्पृष्टे पतिते दुष्टभूमिषु । अन्यमन्त्रार्चिते चैव पतितस्पर्शदूषिते । दशस्वेतेषु नो चक्रु. संनिधानं दिवौकस.॥ याग. पूजा पशु. गर्दभादिः ।... सिद्धान्तशेखरे । चौरचण्डालपतितश्वोदक्यास्पर्शने सति । शवाद्यपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठां पुनराचरेत्॥ ..शुद्धिविवेके विष्णु.। द्रव्यवत्कृतशौचानां देवतार्चानां भूयः प्र.तिष्ठापनेन शुद्धिरिति । अर्चाः प्रतिमा' । तद्द्रव्यस्य ताम्रादेरुक्तशौचं कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठा कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्बोधायनसूत्रे । पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याशुद्धिपूर्वकमेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं द्विमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे शूद्ररजस्वलाद्यु-पस्पर्शने पूर्वोक्ते काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा युग्मान् ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निशायां जलाधिवासं कृत्वा श्वोभूते कलशपूर्णेन पञ्चगव्येन तत्तन्मन्त्रै. स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलशं शुद्धोदकेनापूर्य तस्मिन्नवरत्नानि प्रक्षिप्य तं कलशं तत्तद्वायड्याष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवार वाभिमन्त्र्य तेनोदकेन देवं स्नापयेत्तत· शुद्धोदकेन स्नापयेदष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवार वा पुरुषसूक्तेन मूलमन्त्रेण च। ततः पुण्याणि दत्त्वा यथासम्भवमर्चयित्वा शुद्धोदनं निवेदयेदिति । शुद्धिपूर्वं तु विच्छेदे पूर्वोक्तां प्रतिष्ठां पुन कुर्यात्। निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वार्ध pp 351–52 The passage from पूर्वप्रतिष्ठितस्याशुद्धिः to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and additions) from बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र II.19 (Mysore Un. ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1008 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and the *mūlamantra* 1008, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e g Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Sallat v. Bella* 28 Bom. L R 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-āpaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi') Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as '*śucayaḥ pāvakāḥ*' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vāj S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.[719] In Vāj S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'[720] The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage[721] wherein it is said "whatever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yāj. I. 182–183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31–32)[722] lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitṛs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ācamana* (or touch water).

According to Yāj I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a caṇḍāla died in a brāhmana's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

719 इदमापः प्रवहतावद्यं च मलं च यत्। यच्चाभिदुद्रोहानृतं यच्च शेपे अभीरुणम्। आपो मा तस्मादेनसः. पवमानश्च मुञ्चतु। वाज. सं VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु। वाज. सं IV 2.

721. तथा चाम्नाय। वायवै देवेभ्योऽपाक्रामत्... तस्माद्यद्यन्मीमांस्यं स्यात्तत्तद्भिः स्पृशेत् शुच्येव भवति। विश्वरूप on या. I. 191.

722. पितृयानरहोद्रवण आत्मालम्भेऽधनेक्षणे। अधोवायुसमुत्सर्गे महासेऽनृतभाषणे॥ मार्जारनकुलस्पर्शे आकुष्टे क्रोधसम्भवे। निमित्तेष्वेषु सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्नपः स्पृशेत्॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 31–32, quoted by कृत्यरत्नाकर p 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Samvarta[723] that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kuśas* are put in by brāhmaṇas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatrī mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marīci prescribes[724] that if a caṇḍāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmaṇa's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smṛtis and digests about the purification of water. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says[725] in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure But the Baud. Dh. S I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yāj. I. 192, Śaṅkha 16. 12–13, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śaṅkha says[726] the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states[727] that water brought in clean vessels is

723. संवर्तः। गृहशुद्धिं प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्त श्वशवदूषणे। प्रोत्सृज्य मृन्मय भाण्डं सिञ्चमल तथैव च ॥ गृहादपास्य तत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलिप्याथ छागेनाघ्रापयेद् हुध.। ब्राह्मणैर्मन्त्रपूतैश्च हिरण्यकुशवारिणा। सर्वमभ्युक्षयेद्वेश्म ततः शुध्यत्यसंशयम् ॥ अपरार्क p. 265, शुद्धिप्र pp. 100–101, शुद्धिकौ. pp. 303–304.

724. गृहेष्वजातिसंघेषु शुद्धिः स्याद्गुपलेपनात्। संवासो यदि जायेत दाहतापै-र्विनिर्दिशेत्॥ मरीचि q. by अपरार्क p. 266, शुद्धिप्र p 101, शु को p. 303 (reads दाहलेपैः).

725 भूमिगतास्वप्स्वाचम्य भयतो भवति। आप. ध सू I 5.15.2.

726 भूमिष्ठमुदकं शुद्धं शुचि तोयं शिलागतम्। वर्णगन्धरसैर्दुष्टैर्वर्जितं यदि तद्भवेत्॥ शङ्ख 16 12-13 q. by शु. को. p. 297, शु. प्र p. 102.

727. उद्धृताश्चापि शुध्यन्ति शुद्धे पात्रैः सहृद्धृता। एकरात्रोषिता आपस्त्याज्या. शुद्धा अपि स्वयम्॥ देवल q by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I. 192.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There[728] is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with candālas and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari* v. *Bhimrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Brhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs)[729]. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting pañcagavya in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII. 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (=Viṣnu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like candālas), dogs and crows and buildings (like *mathas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

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728. अशौच्यानि तडागानि नदीविषमेसरांसि च । चण्डालाद्यशुचिस्पर्शे तीर्थतः परिवर्जयेत् । अशौच्याणामपां नास्ति मशुतानां च दूषणम् । देवल q by अपरार्क p 272 शु प p 102 (reads कश्मलाशुचियुक्तानि) and explains कश्मलं as शवादि and अशुचि as विण्मूत्रम्

729. मृतपञ्चनखात्कूपादल्पतोपहतात्तथा। अप. समुद्धरेत्सर्वाः शेषं यत्नेन शोधयेत् ॥ वह्निप्रज्वालनं कृत्वा कूपे पक्वेष्टकाचिते । पञ्चगव्यं क्षिपेत् पश्चान्नवतोयसमुद्भवे ॥ बृहस्पति q by अपरार्क p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Uśanas by शु. कौ. p. 298 and reads शास्त्रेण (शास्त्रविधिना) for यत्नेन. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states[730] that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure[731] for ten days. Similarly Yogiyājñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no prāyaścitta is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.[732]

Visnu Dh S 23. 46 provides[733] that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides[734] that even the water at a *prapā* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

730 रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि नाव. पन्थास्तृणानि च। मरुतार्केण शुध्यन्ति पक्वेष्टकाचितानि च॥ पराशर VII. 34. दीपकलिका on या. I. 197 and शु कौ p 304 quote it but read स्पर्शनाच्च प्रशुध्यन्ति पक्वे० and the latter explains 'स्पर्शनादन्त्यजातीनामित्यर्थ.' विश्वरूप does not comment on या. I 197 saying that it is superfluous, for the verse रथ्याकर्दमतोयानि &c. is clear. Vide वामनपुराण 14. 73.

731. अजा गावो महिष्यश्च ब्राह्मणी च प्रसूतिका। दशरात्रेण शुध्यन्ति भूमिष्ठ च नवोदकम्॥ यम q. by शु कौ. p. 297, while अपरार्क p. 293 ascribes it to मनु.

732. अन्त्यैरपि कृते कूपे सेतौ वाप्यादिके तथा। तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मायश्चित्तं न विद्यते॥ शातातप q. by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I 192. शुद्धिप्रकाश p 106 remarks 'इति त्वत्यन्तापद्विषयमिति शूलपाणि..'

733. जलाशयेष्वल्पेषु स्थावरेषु महीतले। कूपवत्कथिता शुद्धिर्महत्सु च न दूषणम्। सोमसूर्यांशुपातेन मारुतस्पर्शनेन च। गवा मूत्रपुरीषेण शुध्यन्त्याप इति स्मृतम्॥ विष्णु q. by अपरार्क p. 273 The first is विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23,46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. प्रपास्वरण्ये चटगं च कूपे द्रोण्यां जलं कोशगतास्तथाप'। कृतेपि शूद्रात्तदपेयमाहुरापद्गतः कांक्षितवत् पिबेत्तु॥ यम q. by अपरार्क p. 273 and शु प्र p 104 (which reads 'भूमिगता' पिबेत्तु). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 2. शु प्र. p. 103 quotes शङ्खलिखित to the same effect

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34–35 and I. 6. 37–41, Vasistha III. 58 and 61–63, Manu V. 111–114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Visnu 23..2, 7, 23–24, Śankha 16. 3–4, Smrtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasistha (III. 58, 61–63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Lingapurāna (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāna (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhātithi on Manu V. 114

quotes a verse [735] which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātātapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol II part 1 p 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34–50, I. 6. 33–42, Yāj. I. 182–183, Visnu 23. 2–5, Śankha 16. 1–5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yāj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117–118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātraśuddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India. "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them, if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735 गवाघ्रातानि कांस्यानि शूद्रोच्छिष्टानि यानि च। शुध्यन्ति दशभिः क्षारैः श्वकाकोपहतानि च॥ q. by मेधा on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या I. 190 This is लघुशातातप 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by शु कौ p 307 and to शातातप by शु. प्र. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words शूद्रोच्छिष्टानि and श्वकाकोपहतानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24–25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirts such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Visnu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala [736] and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire [737] (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire. [738]

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51–52) [739] remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

736 काष्ठाना तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्मृन्मयानां तु पात्राणां दहनाच्छुद्धिरिष्यते॥ देवल q. by शुद्धिप्र. p. 118. Vide मनु V. 115 for the same rule about wooden vessels

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32–33 about unclean vessels of wood and earthenware and their purification.

738 मद्यैर्मूत्रै पुरीषैर्वा श्लेष्मपूयाश्रुशोणितै.। संस्पृष्टं नैव शुध्येत पुनःपाकेन मृन्मयम्॥ वसिष्ठ III. 59=मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेधातिथि does not comment on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source

739. वचनाद्यज्ञे चमसपात्राणाम्। न सोमेनाच्छिद्या भवन्तीति श्रुति.। बौ. ध. सू. I. 5. 51–52 Vide H of Dh vol. II p 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchiṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116–117, Yāj. I. 183–185, Visnu Dh S. 23. 8–11, Saṅkha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2–3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu (V. 116–117) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with darbhas or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *carusthālī* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *sruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and sruva (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yāj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Visnu 23.35 provides[740] that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *drona* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred Gāyatrī verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 44–48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāka*

740. असिद्धस्यान्नस्य यावन्मात्रमुपहतं तन्मात्रं परित्यज्य शेषस्य कण्डनप्रक्षालने कुर्यात्। द्रोणाधिक सिद्धमन्नमुपहत च दुष्यति। तस्योपहतमात्रमपास्य गायत्र्याभिमन्त्रित सुवर्णाम्भः प्रक्षिपेद् पशतस्य च मदृशंयेदृग्रेश्च। विष्णु० 23 11. The छाद्धिकौ p 317 reads 'सूर्यस्य दर्शयेदृग्रेश्च'

p avamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4 8). Gaut. 17. 9–10 provide[741] that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64–65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5 16. 24–29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI. 71–74) puts the matter[742] thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brāhmaṇa, but purification should be resorted to if it is a drona or āḍhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

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741. नित्यमभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपन्नम् । रजस्वलाकृष्णशकुनिपदोपहतम् । गौ. 17 8–10.

742 काकश्वानावलीढं तु गवाघ्रातं खरेण वा । स्वल्पमन्नं त्यजेद्विप्रः शुद्धिर्द्रोणाढके भवेत्॥ अन्नस्योद्धृत्य तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत्। सुवर्णोदकमभ्युक्ष्य हुताशेनैव तापयेत्। हुताशेनेन संस्पृष्टं सुवर्णसलिलेन च। विप्राणां ब्रह्मघोषेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणात्॥ पराशर VI 71–74, q. by शुद्धिमयूख pp. 128–129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतिर्भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmaṇas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāśa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a drona in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an ādhaka [743].

Manu V. 115 [744] says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śaṅkha provides [745] that purification is brought about by mere proksana in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I. 28–30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a *dhoti*), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; *trasara* is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120–121, Yāj I 186–187 and Viṣnu (23. 19–22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Viṣnu 23. 6 says [746] that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śaṅkha [747] quoted by Viśva-

743. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called *drona* and *ādhaka*. According to most writers four *ādhakas* are equal to a *drona*.

744. द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां शुद्धिरुत्पवनं स्मृतम्। प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम्॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'प्रादेशप्रमाणकुशपत्रद्वयाभ्यामुत्पवनेन शुद्धिः।', while the शुद्धिप्र p. 133 remarks उत्पवनं वस्त्रान्तरितपात्रप्रक्षेपेण कीटाद्यपनयनमित्युक्तम्'

745. निर्यासाना गुडानां च लवणाना तथैव च। कुसुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च ऊर्णाकार्पासयोस्तथा। प्रोक्षणात्काथिता शुद्धिरित्याह भगवान्यम॥ शङ्ख 16. 11–12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वस्त्रस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं विरज्येत तच्छिन्द्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.6.

747. चेलानामुत्स्वेदन प्रक्षालन तन्मात्रच्छेदो वा। शङ्ख. q. by विश्वरूप on या. I. 182.

rūpa on Yāj. I.182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣana*.

The smṛtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu. V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120–121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Visnu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 315–316 and 652–653 (about ācamana), 656–668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on āśauca has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 594, vol. III. pp. 647–649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmana &c.), a caṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28–30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Angiras verse 152, Āp. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15–16, Yāj III. 30). Baud. Dh S I. 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a cāndāla one should

undergo a bath [748] Parāśara also has a similar verse.[749] It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh vol. II. pp 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āśauca. But this is not correct The explanation of the Suddhi-kaumudī and Śuddhiprakāśa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananāśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āśauca on birth and death.[750]

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

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748. देवविक्रयिणं सूपं पतितं चितिमेव च। स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलमाचरेत्स्नानं श्वान चण्डालमेव च॥ कौ. ध. सू. I. 5.140.

749. चैत्यवृक्षश्चितिर्यूपश्चाण्डालः सोमविक्रयी। एतास्तु ब्राह्मण स्पृष्ट्वा सचैलो जलमाविशेत्॥ पराशर q by शु कौ p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यवृक्षो ग्राममध्ये देवभूतवृक्षः, यूपोन्त्येष्टिकर्मयूपश्चितिसंनिधानात्'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां सङ्ग्रामे देशविप्लवे। मरग्रामदाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति। बृहस्पति q. by शु कौ p 323, शु म p 130. शु कौ. explains 'स्पृष्ट अस्पृष्टि अस्पृश्यो येन स तथा' and शु म remarks अस्पृष्टिरस्पृश्यं स्पृष्टमस्पृष्टिर्येनेति च बहुव्रीहिः। तेन तीर्थादौ अस्पृश्यस्पर्शने नाचमनस्नानादि॥. The स्मृतिच I pp 121-122 quotes this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संस्पृष्टिर्यात्रायां कलहादिषु। ग्रामसूपमे चैव स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते॥ and 'देवयात्राविवाहेषु चक्षेषु मृतेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते॥' from शातातप and यद्यङ्गिरस्मत respectively and explains ग्रामे ग्राम्यजनादौ।.....एतच्च वाक्यत्रय यत्राहमनेन स्पृष्ट इति ज्ञानं नास्ति तद्विषयमिति केचित्। अस्पृश्यचाण्डालादिस्पर्शविषयमित्यन्ये।.

(as stated in the Chāndogyopanisad VII. 26.2 'āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhih' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāna defines śrāddha as follows: 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmanas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitrs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha[751]. The Mit on Yāj I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The Kalpataru on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitrs* and its acceptance by brāhmanas'. The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the Mit. but in a more involved manner. Yāj. I. 268 (= Agnipurāna 163. 40–41) states that the *pitrs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

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751. देशे काले च पात्रे च श्रद्धया विधिना च यत्। पितृनुद्दिश्य विप्रेभ्यो दत्तं श्राद्धमुदाहृतम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by श्रा प्र p 3 and 6, श्रा क ल p. 3, परा मा I. 2. p. 299; श्राद्धं नामादनीयस्य तत्तथानीयस्य वा द्रव्यस्य प्रेतोद्देशेन श्रद्धया त्याग। मिताक्षरा on या I 217; एतेन पितृनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्त श्राद्धस्वरूपं प्रधानम्। कल्पतरु (श्राद्ध) p. 4, कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्यनुपादेयं सन्यासिनामात्मश्राद्धे देवश्राद्धे सनकादिश्राद्धे चाप्यासे। श्रा क्रि कौ pp 3–4, अत्र कल्पतरुकार पितृनुद्दिश्य द्रव्यपातो ब्राह्मण स्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि श्राद्धमित्याह तदयुक्तम्। पितृभक्ति of श्रीदत्त (folio 21a) The दीपकालिका on या I 218 accepts कल्पतरु; श्राद्धं नाम वेदबोधितपात्रालम्भनपूर्वक-प्रमीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको द्रव्यत्यागविशेष। श्राद्धविवेक p. 1, अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचन-पर्यालोचनया प्रमीतमात्रोद्देश्यकात्यागविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्याधिकरणप्रतिपत्त्यङ्गकस्य श्राद्ध-पदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। श्रा प्र p. 4 The श्राद्धविवेक states that द्रव्यत्याग is enjoined by the words of the Veda (वेदबोधित) and the thing abandoned is handed over to a deserving brāhmana (पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक). प्रतिपत्ति in श्रा प्र means the final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e g. in Darśa-pūrnamāsa we have the sentence सह शाखया प्रस्तर प्रहरति Here शाखाप्रहरण is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jai. IV 2. 10–13) and not अर्थकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhitāgni with his sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्रs are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respsctively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitr* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,[752] śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *pinḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmanas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *karma*, *punarjanma* (re-incarnation) and *karma-vipāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gītā 2 22)[753] the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yāj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mārk. 29. 38, Matsya-purāna 19. 11–12, Agnipurāna 163. 41–42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitrs*) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāna (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmana (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3–9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitrs* the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणतर्पणम्। श्राद्धशब्दाभिधेयं स्यादेकस्मिंस्त्रीपचारिक.॥ q. by श्राद्धसार p 30 हरदत्त on आप. ध सू II. 7. 16. 2 says the same thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृभक्ति (folio 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न श्राद्धं किं तु श्राद्धाङ्गं पिण्ड-विरहेपि नित्यश्राद्धदर्शनात्।'.

753. अयमात्मेदं शरीरं निहत्याविद्यां गमयित्वान्यन्नवतरं कल्याणतरं रूपं कुरुते पित्र्यं वा गान्धर्वं वा दैवं वा प्राजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वान्येषां वा भूतानाम्। बृह- उ IV.4 4; तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही॥ गीता 2.22.

father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a *daitya* (an *asura*) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5–9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkandeyapurāna by the Śrāddhakalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa [754] on Yāj. I, 265 (p. 171 of Tri. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on *śāstra* and so when śāstra says that *pitṛs* are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify pitṛs wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (*nāstika*) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapandita [755] (about 1600 A. D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and the rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

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754. 'कथं हि स्वकर्मानुसारादनेकविधयोनिगतपितृतृप्त्युपपत्ति.। शास्त्रप्रमाणकत्वाद्दस्यार्थस्याद्योद्यमेतत्।...एते देवा वस्वादय प्रीता. प्रीणयन्ति यत्रतत्रस्थान् मनुष्याणां पितॄन् श्राद्धान्नरसानुप्रदानेनेत्यर्थ.। सर्वप्राणिगतत्वाच्चैषा सर्ववस्थितपितृतर्पणसामर्थ्यमविरुद्धम्।' विश्वरूप on या I 265 p. 171.

755. अथ ये नास्तिका सूताना पित्रादीना प्रातिस्विकशुभाशुभकर्मवशेन स्वर्गनरकादिषु तत्तद्योनिषु वा गताना श्राद्धकरणमनर्थकमाहुस्तन्निराकरण तावत् क्रियते। किं विध्यभावाद्वा श्राद्धकरणमनर्थकमुत फलाभावाद्वा पित्रादीनां तृप्त्यसिद्धे। न तावदाद्य. तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन श्राद्धं कुर्यादित्यादिविधिदर्शनात्। न द्वितीय। आयु. प्रजा धनं विद्या स्वर्गं मोक्ष सुखानि च—इत्यादिफलश्रवणात्। न तृतीयः। न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादय एव श्राद्धकर्मणि संप्रदानभूता पित्रादिशब्दैरुच्यन्ते किं त्वधिष्ठातृवस्वादिदेवतासहिता एव। यथा देवदत्तादिशब्देन शरीरमात्रं नाप्यात्ममात्रं किन्तु शरीरविशिष्टाः प्राणिन एवोच्यन्ते। एवमधिष्ठातृदेवतासहिता एव देवदत्तादय. पित्रादिशब्दैरुच्यन्ते। अतश्चाधिष्ठातृदेवता वस्वादय. पुत्रादिभिर्देत्तेनान्नपानादिना तृप्ताः सन्तस्तानपि देवदत्तादीस्तर्पयन्ति कर्तृंश्च पुत्रादिफलेन योजयन्ति। यथा माता गर्भपोषणायान्यदत्तेन दोहदान्नपानादिना स्वयमुपभुक्तेन तृप्ता सती स्वजठरगतमपत्य तर्पयति दोहदान्नमदर्पयिनश्च प्रत्युपकारफलेन संयोजयति तद्वद्वसुरुद्रादित्या. पितर. पितृपितामहप्रपितामहशब्दवाच्या न केवलं देवदत्तादय एव। तदेते श्राद्धदेवता. श्राद्धकर्मणि समदानभूता. श्राद्धेन तर्पिताः सन्तो मनुष्याणां पितॄंस्तर्पयन्तीति। *श्राद्धकल्पलता* pp 3–4. The passage from न ह्यत्र देवदत्तादयः up to the end is taken almost verbatim from the Mit. on Yāj. I 268. The श्राद्धतत्त्व p 191 remarks 'वसुरुद्रादितिसुताः—इति एतद्वचनं तु तदाकारत्वेन भावनापरमिति श्राद्धविवेकादय.।'.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pitṛs* and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words pitṛ, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pitṛ* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pitṛs* denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grand-father are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses[756] from the

756. अन्नप्रकिरणं यत्तु मनुष्यैः क्रियते भुवि। तेन तृप्तिमुपायान्ति ये पिशाचत्वमागताः॥ यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोत्थं भूमौ पतति पुत्रक। तेन ये तरवस्तासास्तेषां तृप्तिः प्रजायते॥ यास्तु गन्धाम्बुकणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले। ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः॥ उच्छृतेष्वथ पिण्डेषु याश्चान्नकणिका भुवि। ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः॥ ये बान्धवाः (चादन्ता.?) कुले बालाः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः। विपन्नास्तेऽन्नविकिरसंमार्जनजलाशिनः॥ भुक्त्वा चाचामतां जलं यच्च जलं यच्चाङ्गिशोधने। ब्राह्मणानां तथैवान्ये तेन तृप्तिं प्रयान्ति वै॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 8-13, स्कन्द VII I. 205 23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220.89-95,

(*Continued on the next page*)

Mārkandeyapurāṇa many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said[757] that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitṛs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kalpalatā relying on passages of the Mārkandeyapurāṇa is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkandeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141. 74–75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitṛs* cannot bestow

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(*Continued from the last page*)

quoted by स्मृतिच. (श्रा p 333.), श्राद्धसार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from ब्रह्मपुराण), श्रा क. ल p 5; नामगोत्रं पितॄणा तु मापकं हव्यकव्ययोः। नामगोत्रकालदेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा देशा) भवान्तरगतानपि॥ प्राणिनः प्रीणयन्त्येते तदाहारत्वमागतान्। देवो यदि पिता जातः क्षुधकर्मानुयोगत। तस्याऽन्नममृतं भूत्वा दिव्यत्वेऽप्युपतिष्ठति। वैरत्वे भोगरूपेण पशुत्वे च तृणं भवेत्। श्राद्धान्न वायुरूपेण सर्पत्वेऽप्युपतिष्ठति। पानं भवति यक्षत्वे राक्षसत्वे तथामिषम्। दनुजत्वे तथा माया (मांसं?) प्रेतत्वे रुधिरोदकम्। मनुष्यत्वेऽन्नरूपाणि नानाभोगरसं भवेत्॥ मत्स्य 19.4–9 (with changes in the order of verses) q as from मार्कण्डेय by स्मृतिच (श्रा. p.448), श्रा क ल pp. 5–6, निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य) Vide पद्म (सृष्टि 10. 38–43) for same verses with variations The गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 10. 4–7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and गरुड (प्रेत० 10.12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तदाहारत्वमागतान्. The स्मृतिच. (श्रा. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते पात्रमित्यादयः आदेशा इदमन्नादिकमुष्मै भवत्विति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29. 27–28 are similar.

757. यथा गोषु प्रनष्टासु वत्सो विन्दति मातरम्। तथा श्राद्धेषु हृद्यान्तो (दत्तान्नं?) मन्त्रः प्रापयते तु तम्॥ मत्स्य 141. 76, वायु 56. 85 and 83. 119–120, ब्रह्माण्ड, अनुषङ्गपाद 218. 90–91, उपोद्घातपाद 20. 12–13, q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा p. 448) which reads गोष्वनष्टासु and आदेशमुदितं), श्रा. क ल. p. 5

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmavipāka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitṛs in the Ṛgveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee.' Viṣnu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a pinda for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III. 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c and Yāj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitṛs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitṛs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the Ṛgvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitṛs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitṛs are mentioned [758] in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitṛs move about in the form of birds. The Aṅgirasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyu-purāṇa [759] it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात्। वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते। बौ. ध. सू. II.8.14; न च पश्येत काकादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत्। तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्ति बुभुत्सवः॥ औशनस (Jiv. I. p. 531), न चात्र श्येनकाकादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिषेधयेत्। तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्तीति वैदिकम्॥ देवल q. by कल्पतरु on श्राद्ध p. 17.

759. श्राद्धकाले तु सततं वायुभूताः पितामहाः। आविशन्ति द्विजान् दृष्ट्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीमि ते॥ वन्यैस्तैः मदानैस्तैर्मद्यपेयैस्तथैव च। गोभिरश्वैस्तथा ग्रामै. पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान्। भवन्ति पितरः प्रीताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु॥ तस्मादत्नेन विधिवत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान्। वायुपुराण 75.13–15 (= वायु. उत्तरार्ध 13.13–15, Venk. ed); ब्राह्मणास्ते समायान्ति पितरो ह्यन्तरिक्षगाः। वायुभूताश्च तिष्ठन्ति भुक्त्वा यान्ति परां गतिम्। औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmanas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmanas are honoured with clothes, *foods, gifts, eatables, liquids,* cows, horses and villages, *pitrs* become pleased. Manu III. 189 and the Aṅśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that *pitrs* enter the invited brāhmanas. The Matsyapurāna (18. 5–7) enjoins: pindas should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death), the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Viṣnudharmasūtra [760] (20. 34–36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitrs* the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'svadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāna [761] states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitarah*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitr*' means 'father', but the word 'pitarah' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

760 पितृलोकगतश्चान्नं श्राद्धे भुक्ते स्वधासमम्। पितृलोकगतस्यापि तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रयच्छत॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने तिर्यग्योनौ तथैव च। मानुष्ये च तथामोति श्राद्धं दत्तं स्वबान्धवैः। प्रेतस्य श्राद्धकर्तुश्च पुष्टिः श्राद्धे कृते ध्रुवम्। तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्थकम्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34–36 Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49–51 (Venk. ed) for similar verses

761. शृणुध्वं मुनिशार्दूला श्राद्धकल्पं सुविस्तरात्। यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. l. येन) चैर्द्रव्यैस्तद्ददाम्यहम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.[762] For this second meaning, vide Rg. X 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191–92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39.[762a] 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Rg. X. 15 1 the *pitrs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15 2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitrs* are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15 13). The *pitṛs* are divided into several groups such as Aṅgirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bhrgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Rg. X. 14. 5–6), the Angirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Angirasas (Rg. X. 14. 3–5). In Rg. I.[763] 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitarah*), the Angirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitṛs* called Angiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva[764] both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62 4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages[765] as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22. 2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Rg I. 62 4). Angirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62. 5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2. 15). The *pitrs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as pitrs of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B E. vol 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*, also S. B. E. vol 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना न. पूर्वे पितर. पदज्ञा स्वर्विदो अभि गा अद्रिमुष्णन्॥ ऋ X. 97 39.

763 येना न. पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अङ्गिरसो गा अविन्दन्॥ ऋ I. 62.2

764. नवग्वास' सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अभ्यर्चन्त्यर्कैः। ऋ. V. 39 12, ये अग्ने. परि जज्ञिरे विरूपासो दिवस्परि। नवग्वो नु दशग्वो अङ्गिरस्तमः सचा देवेषु मंहते॥ ऋ X 62.6.

765 अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने। ऋ IV. 42 8; तद्व न. पूर्वे पितरो नवग्वा. सप्त विप्रासो अभि वाजयन्तः। ऋ VI. 22 2.

particularly of Yama (Rg VII. 76. 4, X. 14 10, X. 15. 8-10) [766] The *pitrs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg X. 15.5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitrs* (Rg X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitrs* (Rg. X 16. 1-2, 5=A. V. 18. 2. 10, Rg X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Mārk. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, pitrs and human beings Vide also Brahmāndapurāna, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitaraḥ punaḥ anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14.1 and 8, X. 15.14, X.16 5), and with pitrs. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitrs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Visnu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states. [767] The Atharvaveda states [768] 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Rg. I. 35. 6 [769] it is said there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the pitrs' (Rg X. 107. 1). In the Tai Br. I. 3. 10. 5 [770]

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766 त इद्देवाना सधमाद् आसन्नृतावान कवय. पूर्व्यास.। गूळ्ह ज्योतिः पितरो अन्वविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुषासम्॥ ऋ VII. 76 4, अथा पितॄन् सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ ऋ. X. 14,10=अथर्व 18.2 11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहु। तस्मान् माध्यमिकान् पितॄन् मन्यन्ते। निरुक्त XI.18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulliamy's 'Immortal man,' chap V pp 140-143

768. ये न पितु· पितरो ये पितामहा य आविविशुरुर्वन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षियन्ति पृथिवीमुत द्यां तेभ्य. पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम॥ अथर्ववेद 18 2 49.

769 तिस्रो द्याव सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थाँ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट्। ऋ. I 35 6.

770 तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितर। तै. ब्रा. I. 3 10 5, अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोक· पुत्रेणैव जय्यो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यया देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विद्या प्रशंसन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5.16.

it is said that the pitrs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *bhūloka* and *antarikṣa* comes the *pitṛloka*. In the Br. Up. I. 5.16 three worlds of men, pitrs and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135. 1–7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitrs In a few other places Yama is no doubt called rājan and praised in the same breath with Varuna (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159–160 above and notes 381–386.

There is another division of pitrs viz. *pitarah somavantah*,[771] *pitarah barhiṣadah*, *pitarah agniṣvāttāh* The latter two are named in Rg X. 15 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows.—"those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitarah somavantah;* those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and puroḍāśa) and secured a world are *pitarah barhiṣadah*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are '*pitarah* agniṣvāttāh;' these are the only ones that are *pitarah*." The Tai.[772] Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāthaka Samhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitrs*. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitṛs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitrs*. For example, the Nandipurāna q. by Hemādri states: the *pitṛs* of brāhmanas are called 'agniṣvātta', those of ksatriyas 'barhisadah', those of vaiśyas 'kāvyas', those of śūdras 'sukālin' and those of mlecchas and untouchables are called 'vyāma'.[773] Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः। ते पितर. सोमवन्तोऽथ ये दक्षेन पक्केन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो नान्यतरञ्चन यानग्निरेव दहन्त्स्वदयति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः। एत उ ते ये पितर.। शतपथब्रा II 6 1 7

772. पितॄन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्ञान. । . पितॄनग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्ञानो गृहमेधिन.। ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ता । अग्निं कव्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितॄणामग्नि । तस्मादा तृतीयात्पुरुषात्सामानि गृह्णन्ति। एतावन्तो ह्रीज्यन्ते। तै. ब्रा I 6.9.5 वायुपुराण (30.6–7) echoes this 'अग्निष्वात्ता' स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः। यज्वानस्तेषु ये ह्यासन् पितर. सोमपीथिन.। स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नय.'.

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः। राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विशां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्याम म्लेच्छान्त्यजातिषु। q. by अप. प. p 11 from हेमाद्रि, compare मनु III. 197.

(III. 193–198) mentions several classes of *pitṛs*, connects pitṛs called Somapās, Havirbhujah Ājyapās and Sukālins with the four varnas and in III. 199 states that the pitṛs of brāhmanas are designated as Anagnidagdha, Agnidagdha, Kāvya, Barhisad, Agnisvātta and Saumya Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitṛs* Vide Matsyapurāna 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15–18 for their definitions. In Śātātapasmrti (VI. 5–6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitṛs* are mentioned viz. pindabhājah (three), lepabhājah (three), Nāndīmukhas (three) and Aśrumukhas (three). This is a classification of pitṛs from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73 60, Brahmānda (Upodghāta 9 53), Padma V. 9 2–3, Visnudharmottara I. 138 2–3 and other Purānas the classes of pitṛs are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skandapurāna (VI. 216. 9–10) speaks of nine groups of pitṛs, being Agnisvāttāh, Barhisadah, Ājyapāh, Somapāh, Rasmipāh, Upahūtāh, those called 'āyantunah', Śrāddhabhujah, Nāndīmukhāh. In this list old and new elements are mixed up The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III 201) states that from the sages the pitṛs sprang, from the pitṛs sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the pitṛs This is really a mere eulogy of pitṛs (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitṛs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcajanāh' occurring in Rg. X. 774 53. 4

774. पञ्च जना मम होत्रं जुषध्वम्। गन्धर्वाः पितरो देव असुरा रक्षासीत्येके। चत्वारो वर्णा निषाद. पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः। निरुक्त III. 8. The ऐ. ब्रा. 13.7 has 'तत्पञ्च जनाना सुवर्गं देवमनुष्याणा गन्धर्वाप्सरसा सर्पाणा च पितृणां च' The real meaning of पञ्चजना is the same as that of पञ्चकृष्टय. (in Rg X 60 4), पञ्च क्षितीर्मानुषी (Rg VII 79.1), पञ्च चर्षणी. (Rg. V. 86 2) and we have यत् पाञ्चजन्यया विशा in Rg VIII. 63 7. पञ्चजनाः means विशः, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five classes. By the time of the Ait. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजना was probably forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11–13) explains that the expression पञ्चजनाः occurring in Br. Up. IV 4 17 refers to Prāna, Caksuh (eye), ear, food and mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up IV. 4 18). Śankarācārya in his *bhāsya* on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजन in Rg. VIII 63 7 means *prajā* (people).

(pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, pitṛs, devas, sarpas and *rākṣasas*. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, *pitṛs* and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the Pitṛs. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, *pitṛs* the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the pitṛ-yajña is performed in the afternoon (Śān Br.).[775] The Śat Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the pitṛs wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the Amāvāsyā), your *svadhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. [776] I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between pitṛs who are of the nature and position of gods and pitṛs that are more or less like human beings.

The Kauśika-sūtra (1. 9–23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for pitṛs. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for pitṛs it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the pitṛs is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the *pitṛs* is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for *pitṛs*, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of *pitṛs*; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vasaṭ', while they are made to pitṛs with 'svadhā' and

775. अथ यदपराह्णे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितर । शा. ब्रा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितॄन् प्रीतान् मन्वप्या पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते । तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिर्निदधाति । पद् वै सम्पद्यन्ते । षड् वा ऋतव. । ऋतवः खलु वै देवा. पितरः । ऋतूनेव देवान् पितॄन् च प्रीणाति । तान् प्रीतान्मन्वप्या. पितरोऽनुप्रपिपते । तै ब्रा. I. 3, 10 4 (com explains अनुप्रपिपते as प्रीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the वायुपुराण 30, 4 'मध्वादय षड् व त इस्तान् पितन्परिचक्षते । ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥ '

'namaskāra'; the darbhas employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhas used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II. 2. also mentions some of these in one place [777]. The Rgveda itself (in X. 14. 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitrs*. The Śat Br. (II. 1, 3. 4 and II. 1. 4. 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and pitrs are placed in separate classes, still the *pitrs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg X. 15 8 shows, the pitrs drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68 11 it is said that the *pitrs* adorned the sky with naksatras (naksatrebhih pitaro dyām-apimsan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The pitrs are said to have found out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg VII. 76. 4). Here the *pitrs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The pitrs are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14. 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the pitrs are sought. In Rg X. 15. 1 and 5 the protection of pitrs is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg X. 15. 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg X. 15. 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg X. 15. 11 and A. V. 18 3 14[778] seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons. A. V. 14 2 73 says 'May the *pitrs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'[779] In the Vāj S. II 33 occurs the well-known mantra 'Oh pitrs' deposit (in this wife) an

777. मागधवर्गाण्युदग्गपवर्गाणि वा माध्यम. प्रदक्षिण यज्ञोपवीती दैवानि दर्भाणि हरति। दक्षिणाग्रमसक्थं प्राचीनावीती पित्र्याणि। बौ श्रौ II 2.

778 परा यात पितर आ च यातवं वो वहो मघवा समस्तु। इत्था कृण्वते मह्यं भद्रं रयिं च न सर्ववीरं दधात। अथर्ववेद 18. 3 14

779. ये पितरो वधूदर्शं इमं वहतुमागमन्। ते अस्यै वर्षं सख्यं प्रजामूर्जं दधातु। अथर्व 14. 2 73.

780 आधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करस्रजम्। यथेह पुरुषोऽसत्। ह गार्ह में II 7 The खादिरगृह्य III 5 30 provides 'मध्यमे पित्र्ये पुरुषान्तरे आधत्तेति ...' गोभिलगृह्य IV 3 27 and also कौशिकसूत्र 89 6 The तैत्तिरीय श्रौ II 7 13 reads ... आधत्तेदाधत्त पितरो गर्भं कुमारं पुष्करस्रजम्। यथायमरपा असत्'. The Āśvin are called पुष्करस्रजौ and so in पुष्करस्रजं the idea is that the son may be long-lived and ... यथेह ...असत् may be explained as 'येन प्रकारेन इह स्त्रियां पुत्रो दीर्घजीवी भवेत्' भोजदेवविरचिता भूयात् तथा गर्भमाधत्त।' आश्वलायनगृह्य of शाङ्खायन says आधत्तेति मध्यमेऽह्नि पत्नी आधत्ते पुष्करस्रजम्

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śrāddha eats the middle one out of the three pindas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitṛs is altogether wanting.[780a] For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient *pitrs* who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasisthas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like *pitṛs* and like sages.' Here pitrs and rsis are separate groups and Vasisthas are compared to both.[780b]

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitāmah* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II 4. 2. 19[781] mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

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780 a Compare Vullıamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24–25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b देवाः सौम्याश्च काव्याश्च अयज्वानो ह्ययोनिजा'। देवास्ते पितरः सर्वे देवास्तान्वादयन्युत ॥ मनुष्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽन्ये लौकिकाः स्मृताः। पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामह.॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 28.70–71; अङ्गिराश्च क्रतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महाऋषि । एते कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वरा. स्मृताः। एते च पितरो राजन्नेष आद्धविधिः परः । प्रेतास्तु पिण्ड-सम्बन्धान्मुच्यन्ते तेन कर्मणा ॥ अनु 92 21–22 This last shows that ancient sages like अंगिरस्, क्रतु and कश्यप are पितृs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while pindas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स ददाति। असावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्वित्थु हैके आहुस्तदु तथा न ब्रूयात् स्वय वै तेषा सह येषा सह तस्माद् ब्रूयादसावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतत्ते इति पितामहायासावेतत्त इति प्रपितामहाय। तद्यदितः पराग्ददाति सकृदु ह्येव पराञ्च पितरः। शतपथ II 8.4 2. The तै सं. I 8 5 1 is: सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं षट्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धाना. पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिवान्याये द्रुग्धे मन्थम्। एतत् ते तत ये च त्वामनु एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामनु अत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्। Again in तै. सं III 2.5 5 occurs the passage 'एतत्ते तत...मन्दध्वम्'. This is carried on to later times as in अनु० 92 15 'सोमायेति च वक्तव्यं तथा पितृमतेति च'. Vide also अथर्व० 18. 4. 71–77 'अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम । सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नम । पितृभ्य सोमवद्भ्य. स्वधा नम. । यमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः। एतत्ते प्रतत्तामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु। एतत्ते ततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामनु। एतत्ते तत स्वधा।' In Rg IX 11 2 3 कारुरहं ततो भिषक्, तत means 'father'. नपात् (=पौत्र) and प्रणपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Rg. VIII. 17.13.

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share' (Vāj. S II. 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III. 221) and Viṣnudharmasūtra (21. 3, 75. 4) prescribe the invocation of pitṛs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāna [782] prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmanas that he would call the pitṛs to the rites and that when the brāhmanas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitṛs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāna (56 65-66) Brahmānda and Anu. distinguish between pitṛs who are above and pitṛs who are *laukika*, viz father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70. 34 for pitṛs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purānas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitṛs. For example, the Vāyupurāna 56. 18 speaks of three classes of pitṛs viz 'kāvyāh, barhisadah and agnisvāttāh', while the same Purāna, chap. 73, Varāha 13. 16 ff, Padma (Srsti 9. 2-4) and Brahmānda III. 10 1 speak of the origin of pitṛs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūrta*). The Śātātapa-smṛti (6. 5-6) speaks of 12 pitṛs viz. pindabhājah, lepabhājah, nāndīmukhāh and aśrumukhāh. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ब्रह्मपुराणे। पितॄनावाहयामीति स्वयमुक्त्वा समाहित। आवाहयस्वेति परैरुक्तस्त्वावाहयेच्छुचि॥ पितरो दिव्याः वसुरुद्रादित्याः मानुषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः। आ. प्र p. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C) to the most modern among medieval Dharmaśāstra works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S gives the following interesting information:[783] "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitarah*) are the deities but the brāhmanas (that are fed) are in the place of the *āhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brāhmanas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmāndapurāna (Upodghātapāda 9, 15. and 10. 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Visnupurāna III. 1 30, Vāyu 44. 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 22 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345.[784] 14–21 and the Visnu-dharmottara I.139 14–16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Visnu and that Visnu should be regarded as dwelling in the three pindas offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the Rgveda (VIII. 63. 1, VIII 30. 3.). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Pindapitr-yajña[785] (performed on the *amāvāsyā* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिँल्लोके पुरा बभुवु:। अथ देवा कर्मभिर्दिव जग्मुरहीयन्त मनुष्या:। तेषा ये तथा कर्माण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चास्मिँल्लोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनु. श्राद्धशब्दं कर्म शंसाच्च। प्रजानि श्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्त्वाहवनीयार्थे। आप ध सू II 7 16. 1-3

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेवात्र विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संश्रित। शान्ति 345 21, q by श्रा प्र p. 11.

785 That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a श्राद्ध is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV 4. 1-2 'अन्वष्टक्यस्थालीपाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो व्याख्यात.। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरदन्वाहार्यम्।.' Vide श्रा प्र p. 4 for the same For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 1085–1090, for महापितृयज्ञ *ibid*. pp. 1101–1103.

Āhitāgni), the Mahāpitryajña (performed in the Cāturmāsya called Sākamedha) and the rites called Astakās were known to the early Vedic literature. The word śrāddha occurs in the Kathopanisad (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of brāhmanas or at the time of śrāddha tends to secure immortality.'[786] The other early occurrences of the word śrāddha known to me are confined to the sūtra literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitrs* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitrs*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitrs* increased, the generic term 'śrāddha' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on śrāddha may be set out here. The Baud.[787] Dh S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The *Harivamśa*[788] says 'the world derives support from śrāddha and Yoga (i. e. Moksa) springs from it.' Sumantu[789] quoted in the Smrticandrikā (śrāddha p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than śrāddha.' The Visnupurāna (III. 14. 1–4) avers that if a man performs śrāddha with faith he thereby propitiates Brahmā, Indra, Rudra and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of pitrs and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. Yāj. I. 270[790] promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitrs* has already been quoted above (p. 337). Yama has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the Visnudharmottara[791] quoted by the Śrāddhasāra (p. 6) and Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp 11–12) that the *pinda* offered to the

786. य इमं परमं गुह्यं श्रावयेद् ब्रह्मसंसदि। प्रयतः श्राद्धकाले वा तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ कठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमायुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं यशस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8 1

788. श्राद्धे प्रतिष्ठितो लोक श्राद्धे योगः प्रवर्तते॥ हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. श्राद्धात्परतरं नान्यच्छ्रेयस्करमुदाहृतम्। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा) p. 333.

790. आयुः पुत्रान् यशः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं श्रियः। पशून् सौख्यं धनं धान्यं प्राप्नुयात्पितृपूजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा. p. 333), श्राद्धसार p. 5. Similar verses are या I. 270 (= Mārkandeyapurāna 32.38) and शङ्ख 14 33.

791. पूजितैस्तैर्भवेद्विष्णुः चतुरात्मा तथाऽव्ययः। पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः। पैतामहश्च निर्दिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः। पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रद्युम्नश्चापराजितः। आत्मा-निरुद्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्वपणे बुधैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20–22, q. by श्राद्धसार p. 6 and श्राद्धम. pp. 11–12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Sankarsana, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the pindas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Visnu should be looked upon as staying in the three pindas. In the Kūrmapurāna it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsyā* the pitrs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pitrs of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śraddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahmapurāna and the definition [792] given by Marīci and Bṛhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śraddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmanas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāna VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śraddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śraddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. [793] X. 151. 1-5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII. 32. 14, VIII. 1. 31, IX. 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śraddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

792. प्रेतं पितॄंश्च निर्दिश्य भोज्यं यत्रियमात्मनः। श्रद्धया दीयते यत्र तच्छ्राद्धं परिकीर्तितम्॥ मरीचि quoted from the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, श्रा. म p 7, संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनाढ्यं च पयोमधुघृतान्वितम्। श्रद्धया दीयते यस्माच्छ्राद्धं तेन निगद्यते॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152, अपरार्क p. 501, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 176), श्रा. म. p. 3, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्त्यस्य.

793. श्रद्धयाग्निः समिध्यते श्रद्धया हूयते हविः। श्रद्धां भगस्य मूर्धनि वचसो वेदयामसि॥ ऋ X. 151. 1

prathamāya manyave). In the Tai S VII 4. 1 1 *it is*[794] said "Bṛhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Rg. I. 103. 5. *Śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nighantu (III. 10) as meaning '*satya*'. In the Vāj. S. 19 77 we are told that Prajāpati put Śraddhā in truth and aśraddhā in falsehood, while in Vāj. S. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by śraddhā.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śrāddhin' and 'śrāddhika' in V. 2 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śrāddha dinner' The word 'śrāddha' may be derived from śraddhā according to Pāṇ. V. 1. 109[795]. Śraddhā is variously defined In the *bhāṣya* on Yogasūtra I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind[796] (or mental approval). Devala defines śraddhā: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called śraddhā, one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts'[797]. The Śrāddhasūtra[798] of Kātyāyana prescribes 'one endowed with śraddhā should offer śrāddha even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide Manu III. 275 which emphasizes śraddhā for the gratification of pitṛs The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (29, 27) emphasizes[799] the relation of śrāddha to śraddhā and states that what is offered at śrāddhas becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the *pitṛs* who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that śrāddha offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the pitṛs that are born as cāṇḍālas, pukkasas and similar very low grades of people.

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794. बृहस्पतिरकामयत श्रन्मे देवा दधीरन् मच्छेय पुरोधामिति। तै. सं VII. 4. 1. 1.

795 प्रयोजनम्। पा. V. 1 109, तदस्येत्येव। सि कौ; श्रद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अस्य इति श्राद्धम्

796. श्रद्धा चेतस. संप्रसाद । सा हि जननीव कल्याणी योगिनं पाति । योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 20.

797 प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा श्रद्धेत्युदाहृता। नास्ति ह्यश्रद्दधानस्य धर्महेतुपे प्रयोजनम्॥ देवल q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p 16 and श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 189.

798 श्रद्धान्वितः श्राद्ध कुर्वीत शाकेनापि। श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799 श्रद्धया परया दत्तं पितृणां नामगोत्रत । यदाहारास्तु ते जातास्तदाहारत्वमेति तत्॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27, अन्यायोपार्जितैर्वित्तैर्यैश्च्छाद्ध क्रियते नरे । तृप्यन्ते तेन चाण्डाल पुक्कसाद्यासु योनिषु॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII 1. 205 22

It has already been stated above (pp. 349-350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gṛ. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gṛ. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1. Viṣṇupurāna III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitṛ-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II. (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *saṁskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states [800] 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.[801] I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very auspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the Ekāṣṭakā is said to have the year (Saṁvatsara) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides [802] 'Men about to take dīkṣā (consecration) for a *Saṁvatsarasattra* should undergo dīkṣā on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called Ekāṣṭakā is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32-37) explains that Ekāṣṭakā is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp Gṛ. (quoted by Haradatta

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800. अष्टकायाङ्खां सम्भरति । प्राजापत्यमेतदहर्यदष्टका प्राजापत्यमेतत्कर्म यदङ्खा प्राजापत्य एव तदहन् प्राजापत्यं कर्म करोति । शतपथ० VI 2.2.23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गाच्च मन्त्रो वेदे दृश्यन्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्तीत्येवमादयः। शबर on जै. I. 3 2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति गां धेनुमिवायतीम् । संवत्सरस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली॥ and he adds 'अष्टकायै सुरायते स्वाहा'. In the A. V. III. 10.2 the readings are धेनाः for जनाः and धेनुमुपायतीम्.

802. संवत्सराय दीक्षिष्यमाणा एकाष्टकायां दीक्षेरन्येषा वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकाष्टका। तै सं. VII 4 8 1.

on Gaut. 8 19') says [803] the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is in Jyeṣṭhā constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in Jyeṣṭhā would be called Ekāṣṭakā [804] The Hir. Gr. (II.15.9) also says that Ekāṣṭakā is called the wife of the year [805]

According to the Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 1 the Aṣṭakā days (and rites) were four, viz the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguna). Most of the Gṛhya-sūtras viz Mānava Gr. II. 8, Śān. Gr III. 12 1, Khādira Gr. III. 3 27, Kāṭhaka Gr. 61.1, Kauṣītaki Gr. III. 15. 1 and Pār. Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three Aṣṭakā rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa (called āgrahāyaṇī) i e. in the dark halves of Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa (or Taiṣa) and Māgha. The Gobhila Gr. III 10. 48 mentions that the Aṣṭakās are four according to Kauṭsa and in all flesh is to be offered, but that Gautama, Audgāhamānī and Vārkakhaṇḍi prescribe only three and Gobhila follows these latter. The Baud. Gr II. 11. 1 provides that the three Aṣṭakā homas are performed in the months of Taiṣa, Māgha and Phālguna. Āśv. Gr II. 4. 2 refers to an option that Aṣṭakā rites were performed only on one Aṣṭamī (and not on three or four). The Baud. Gr. provides that [806] the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of Māgha or even in one day (i e 8th of the dark half of Māgha). The Hir. Gr (II 14 2)

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803 यो माघ्या. पौर्णमास्या उपरिष्टाद् ध्यष्टका तस्यामष्टमी ज्येष्ठया संपद्यते तामेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते। आप. गृ. VIII 21 10. अष्टका व्याख्यास्याम। माध्या. पौर्णमास्या योऽपरपक्षस्तस्याष्टमीमेकाष्टकेत्याचक्षते। हिर गृ II. 14 1-2 Both अनाकुला and तात्पर्यदर्शन explain ध्यष्टका as कृष्णपक्ष.

804 According to a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VII 3. 45 the word Aṣṭakā is formed from 'aṣṭan.' वार्तिक 9 on पाणिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अष्टन् we get Aṣṭakā as meaning a rite in which the pitṛs are the deities and Aṣṭikā in any other sense (such as अष्टिका खारी)

805 The Full Moon night of Māgha is said to be the mouth of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The Aṣṭakā day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

806 अथाष्टकाहोम। तैषे माघपरपक्षस्याष्टम्यां क्रियेत। एवं माघे एवं फाल्गुने यदि विहृतः। यद्यु वै समेत्य उपरिष्टान्माघ्या पौर्णमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामष्टम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि वाष्टम्यामेव। बौ गृ II 11.1-4.

describes only one Astakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāstakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyesthā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gṛ. II. 14 and 15 the one Aṣṭakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pitṛs*) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Astakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kāthaka Gr (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2. 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Aṣṭakās the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpas* (cakes), while the Pār. Gr. III. 3 and Khādira Gr III. 3. 29–30 put *apūpas* for the first Aṣṭakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāṣṭakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādira Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7–10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18–22, Kauśika 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11. 51–61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śārnga and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Veda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Astakā I offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Aṣṭakā day in some such manner as the above [807]

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kāthakagrhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Astakā' is

807. अथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमजं वा लभते। आरण्येन वा मांसेन यथोपपन्नेन। खड्गमृगमहिषमेषवराहपृषतशशरोहितशार्ङ्गैतित्तिरिकपोतकपिञ्जलवाध्रीणसानामक्षय्यं तिलमधुसंसृष्टम्। तथा मत्स्यस्य शतबलेः (?) क्षीरोदनेन वा। क्षुद्रोदनेन वा। यद्वा भवत्यामैर्वा मूलफलैर्वा मन्त्रानमात्रम्। हिरण्येन वा मन्त्रानमात्रम्। अपि वा गोग्रासमाहरेत्। अपि वानूच्याय उदकुम्भानाहरेत्। अपि वा श्राद्धमन्त्रानधीयीत। अपि वारण्येनैना कक्षमुपोषेद्वेषा मेऽष्टकेति। न खेवानष्टक. स्यात्। बौ. गृ. II 11. 51-61; अष्टकायामष्टकाहोमाञ्जुहुयात्। तस्या हवींषि धाना. करम्भः शष्कुल्य' पुरोडाश उदौदनः क्षीरौदनस्तिलौदनो यथोपपादियेयुः। कौशिकसूत्र 168 1–2. For वार्ध्रीणस, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitṛs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the Astakās. The Āśv Gr. (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3–5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitṛs* and on the 9th also, but Āśv. II. 4. 12 refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz *Viśve-devāḥ* (all the gods), Agni, Sūrya, Prajāpati, Rātrī (night), Nakṣatras (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitṛs*, Paśus (cattle). The Gobhila Gr III. 10 1 starts [808] by saying that Night is the *devatā* of Astakā, but adds that there are other views about the devatā being Agni, the *Pitṛs*, Prajāpati, Ṛtus (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of Astakā comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting brāhmanas for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called Anvastakya or Anvaṣṭakā When the Aṣṭakās were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each Astakā When the Aṣṭakā rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in Māgha, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the Grhyasūtras, such as those of Āsvalāyana, Kauśika, Gobhila, Hiranyakeśin and Baudhāyana describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of Aṣṭakās One of the shortest being that contained in Āp. Gr. (VIII 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample [808a]. After defining Ekāstakā (in VIII. 21 10) Āp. proceeds: 'He (the performer of the Āstakā rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a purodāśa) After the actions up to the

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808. अष्टका रात्रिदेवता। पुष्टिकर्मा। आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा प्राजापत्यर्तुदेवता वैश्वदेवीति देवताविचाराः। गोभिलगृह्य III. 10.1–3.

808 a या माध्वा ...त्याचक्षते। तस्या सायमौपकार्यम्। अपूपं चतु शरावं श्रपयति। अष्टाकपाल इत्येके । पार्वणवदाज्यभागान्तेऽग्नौकरणोत्तरयापूपाञ्जुहोति । सिद्ध शेषेणमधु कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपहरति। श्वोभूते दर्भेण गामुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टामुपाकरोमीति। तूष्णीं पञ्चाज्याहुतीर्हुत्वा तस्यै वपा अपपित्वोपस्तीर्णाभिधारिता मध्यमेनान्तमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोत्तरया जुहोति। मांसौदनमुत्तराभि । पिष्टान्नमुत्तरया। आज्याहुतीश्चतस्रा । त्विष्टकृत्यभृति सनानमापिण्डनिधानात् । अन्वष्टकायामेवैके पिण्डनिधानमुपदिशन्ति। अथैतदपरं दृष्ट्वा एवाञ्जलिना जुहोति यथापूपम्। अत एव यथार्थं मांसं शिष्ट्वा श्वोभूतेऽन्वष्टका। तस्या मासिश्राद्धेन कल्पो व्याख्यातः। आप. श्रौ. VIII. 21.10–VIII. 22.12

'Ājyabhāgas' [809] have been performed in the same way as at the Amāvāsyā and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse [810] The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the brāhmanas [811]. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbha* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five [812] oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i e. Āp M. P. II. 20. 28) [813] He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from Āp. M. P II. 20. 29–35). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (Āp. M P. II. 21. 1 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca'), [814] Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2–9). The rites from Svistakṛt [815] down to the placing of the *pindas* are the same as at the monthly śrāddha (described in Āp. Gr. VIII 21. 1–9). Some teachers prescribe that the *piṇḍas* are to be offered the day after the Astakā (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the Astakā rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For Ājyabhāgas, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The Āp. Gṛ S. here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called Āpastamba-mantra-pātha (edited by Dr Winternitz) The verse meant here is Āp M. P. (II. 20. 27), quoted above in *n* 801 (Yām janāḥ &c)

811. The words 'siddhah śesaḥ' are explained by the Anākulā (of Haradatta) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812 As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to Prajāpati.

813. Āp. M. P II. 20 28 is the *mantra* 'vaha vapām' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O Jātavedas), which is Vāj S. 35. 20 and is prescribed for this rite in Āśv. Gṛ. II. 4.13, Śāṅ. Gṛ. III 13 3 and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra 'Ukthyaścātirātraśca' occurs also in Sāṅ Gr III. 14. 2

815 For 'Svistakṛt' vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 208 and 125?

(the Astakā day) the Anvastakā rite Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvastakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Grhyasūtras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhila IV 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣnudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Grhya-sūtras state that the Anvastakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādira Gr III. 5. 1 'navamīm daśamīm vānvastakyam)'. Further, it may be stated that though most Grhyasūtras call the rite Anvastakya still it is also called Anvastakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣnudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Aṣtakā and Anvastakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhila Gr. IV. 4., Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Astakā or Anvastakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāthaka Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers[816] that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindikaraṇa), Paśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Astakā. The Pinda-pitryajña could be offered on amāvāsyā only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedic fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became āhitāgni. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgnis* and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsyā on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsyā remained and in the sūtras and smrtis all the details were mentioned under māsiśrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smrtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsiśrāddha came to be called the *prakrti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikrtis*

816 देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 66 1 says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वश्राद्धानि The वौ गृ III 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाहकृतिर्मासिक तद्धरस्ताद् व्याख्यातम्'

or variations of the māsiśrāddha. Most of the details of the piṇḍapitryajña were required in māsiśrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, *gandha*, dīpa) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvastakya[817] is described in the Āśv. Gr. (II. 5. 2–15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,[818] having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Piṇḍapitryajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pitṛs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the pitṛs; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prausthapada (*i. e.* Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvastakā) to the pitṛs every month, observing uneven[819] numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmaṇas) or to any un-even number of brāhmaṇas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions[820]

817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रस्कन्द on खादिरगृह्य III. 5. as 'अष्टकामद्य क्रियते इत्यन्वष्टक्यं कर्म एतच्च प्रत्यष्टकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 65 1 as 'अष्टकाया अनु पश्चाद्भवमन्वष्टक्यमित्यन्वर्थिकेयं संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति। एतच्च केचिदष्टकाया अङ्गं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सदृशं विकारभूतं कर्मान्तरम्।'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv Gṛ. II. 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmaṇas or on uneven *tithis*.

820. 'Vṛddhi' or "Ābhyudayika" (referring to prosperity or good luck) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the pitṛs in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nāndīmukha Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide H. of Dh vol II p 844 n. 1992 and Yāj I. 250, Śāṅ. Gṛ IV 4 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvastakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Astakās and if only one Astakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvarsa [821] in Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyana, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.[822] The other view is that it is a rite like the Astakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Maghā *naksatra*. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29. p 103 on Śān. Gr. III. 13 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvarsa or Maghāvarsa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the *Maghā naksatra*)'. The Visnu Dh. S 76 1 [823] mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Astakās, the three Anvastakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Maghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta*. In Visnu Dh. S. (78. 52–53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised Manu III. 273 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Maghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas XI 40 (in the rainy season and on Maghā), Yāj I 26 and Varāhapurāna.[824] In the

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821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्त· वर्षः वर्षर्तु.) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षे मघा or वर्षासु मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजदन्त (पा II 2 31). हरदत्त on आश्व गृ explains 'मघासु वर्षासंयोगाद् माघ्या-वर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याम्' and then quotes या I 261.

822. In the गृह्याग्निसागर of नारायणभट्ट आर्डे it is stated 'अथाष्टकाविकृतिभूत माघ्यावर्षश्राद्धं तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु त्रिष्वह.सु अष्टकाकर्मवत् सर्वं कुर्यादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षाख्यं श्राद्धम्।' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS) Vide Cat No 680 p. 215.

823 अमावास्यास्तिस्रोष्टकास्तिस्रोन्वष्टका माघी प्रौष्ठपद्यूर्ध्वं कृष्णत्रयोदशी व्रीहियवपाकौ च। विष्णुध सू 76 1 माघी is to be connected with कृष्णत्रयोदशी.

824 यद्ददाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते। तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः॥ या I. 261, गायन्ति चैतत्पितरः कदा नु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमघासु भूय । वर्षासितान्ते शुभतीर्थ-तोयैर्यास्याम तृप्तिं तनयाविदत्तैः॥ वराहपुराण 13.47, correct grammar requires यास्याम-स्तृप्तिम्

Hir. Gr. II. 13. 3–4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be Mādhyāvarsa [825] and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār. [826] Gr. (III. 3) the name (as printed) is madhyāvarsa which is said to be a 4th Astakā in which only vegetables are offered. Aparārka (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvarsa.' In the Bhavisyapurāna [827] (Brahma-parva), chap. 183. 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapads is a precursor of the Mahālayaśrāddha of later times.

If Āśvalāyana's view, viz. that there are four Astakās in *Hemanta* and *Śiśira*, were followed and if the Māghyāvarsa-śrāddha were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada as Nārāyana holds, then there would be five Astakās in all. Bhaṭṭoji in his Caturvimśatimatasangraha says so.[828]

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from Āp. Gr. and Āśv. Gṛ. with the procedure described in the other Grhyasūtras. It should be noted that several of the sūtras often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813–814).

It must be said that the Astakā śrāddhas gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā was the model śrāddha (*prakṛti*) of

825. मातृदत्त on हिरण्य. गृ. explains 'माध्यावर्षः भौष्ठपदो मासस्तत्र भवम्' i. e. he derives the name from मध्य and वर्ष (year), the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with चैत्र).

826. मध्यावर्षे च तुरीया शाकाष्टका। पार. गृ. III. 3 (last sūtra) in the Gujarathi Press edition.

827. तिस्रोऽष्टकास्तु कर्तव्या मध्यावर्ता (मध्यावर्षा?) चतुर्थिका। शाकपायसपूपैस्तु मासेन तु चतुर्थिका॥ भविष्यपु. (I. 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपदबहुलाष्टम्यप्यष्टका बोध्या। तथा च पद्मपुराणे—अग्निष्वात्तपितृकन्याया वसुनाम्ना पित्रा शसायाः पुनरग्नृगृहीतायाः भाद्रपदापरपक्षाष्टकाकालेनोत्पत्तिर्दर्शिता। भौष्ठपदाष्टका भूयः पितृलोके भविष्यति। आयुरारोग्यदा नित्यं सर्वकामफलप्रदा॥ इति। तदेवं पञ्चाष्टका हेमाद्रयाद्विग्रन्थे स्थिता। तत्रापि श्राद्धं नित्यम्। भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड) chap. 9. 28–29 are: भौष्ठपद्यष्टका भूयः...स्वर्गकामफलप्रदा. हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताष्टकाचतुष्टयव्यतिरिक्तापि भाद्रपदापरपक्षेऽष्टका। तस्याश्चेतिहासपूर्वकमुत्पत्तिः प्रशंसा चोच्यते पद्मपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from the पद्म of which भौष्ठपद्यष्टका० is the last.

which the Astakās and other śrāddhas were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the Gobhilagṛhya (IV. 4. 3 ff) another śrāddha called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the Pindapitṛyajña on the same day. The Śān. Gṛ. IV. 1. 13 appears also to describe the monthly śrāddha as distinct from the Pindapitṛyajña. Manu (III.122–23) states: 'After performing the *Pitṛyajña* (i. e. pindapitṛyajña) a brāhmana who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the amāvāsyā day the funeral sacrifice Pindānvāhāryaka.[829] The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes Anvāhārya and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an āhitāgni) was to perform the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* in the śrauta fires and also perform the same day another śrāddha after the pindapitṛyajña, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on amāvāsyā a śrāddha in the gṛhya fire, which was called pindānvāhāryaka or simply anvāhārya and also were to offer pindapitṛyajña in smārta fire (vide Sat. Śrauta II. 7. 64 'gṛhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most Agnihotrins (at least in the Deccan) do not perform Pindapitṛyajña at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the Pindānvāhāryaka śrāddha. It is further to be noted that in smārta yajñas no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead māsa grain and there are *āhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in śrauta sacrifices also, but only *piṣṭa-paśu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on śrāddha is enormous in extent. From the Vedic Samhitās several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with śrāddha have been dealt with in more or less detail. The Purānas contain thousands of verses on śrāddha. An

829. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 122 explains. 'पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्रियतेऽन्वष्टीयते तत् 'पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञनारायण explains 'पिण्डेभ्योल्पिकां मात्रामन्वाहृत्य 'ब्राह्मणा अत्र श्राद्धे भोज्यन्ते इति पिण्डान्वाहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पद्मपुराण, सृष्टि 9.88-89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निर्वर्त्य तर्पणान्त्य तु यौगिमान्। पिण्डोन्वाहार्यकं कृत्वा श्राद्धकाले क्षये तदा॥ (कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमिन्दुक्षये तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराण 16. 43 यस्मादकीर्तुता मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजातय'। अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात्तश्राद्धसंज्ञये॥. The पद्मपुराण (सृष्टि 9. 119) further says 'एतदग्निमतां प्रोक्तमन्वाहार्यं च पार्वणम्।'. The कल्पतरु (on श्राद्ध p 10) explains मनु III. 122: पितृयज्ञोत्र पिण्डपितृयज्ञः। पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं पिण्डानामनु पश्चादाह्रियते क्रियते यद्दर्शश्राद्धं तसथा॥'.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmana texts, then in the comparatively older Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, then in such early smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj., then in some representative Purāṇas, then in the early commentaries of Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, and then in the medieval digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the *śākhā* and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the Purāṇas the differences in detail in the several śākhās have been adverted to.[829a] Apart from the smṛtis and passages of the Mahābhārata (such as Anuśāsana chap. 87–92) and commentaries on the Sūtras, on Manu, Yāj. and other smṛtis, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: Kalpataru on śrāddha; the Ḥāralatā and Pitṛdayitā of Aniruddha; the Smṛtyarthasāra; the Smṛticandrikā; the Caturvargacintāmani (section on śrāddha) of Ḥemādri (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara; the Madanapārijāta; the Śrāddhasāra (a part of Nrsimhaprasāda); Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda; the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana; the Śrāddhasaukhya (part of Ṭodarānanda); the Śrāddhakalpalatā of Vināyaka *alias* Nandapandita; the Nirnayasindhu; the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nīlakantha; the Śrāddhaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya); the Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākarabhatta; the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha); the Dharmasindhu; the Bālambhaṭṭī, a commentary on the Mitāksarā. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like parivitti, vṛsalīpati increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

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829 a. The स्कन्दपुराण (नागरखण्ड chap. 215. 24–25) says: दृश्यन्ते बहवो भेदा द्विजानां श्राद्धकर्मणि। श्राद्धरूप बहवो भेदा. शाखाभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः ॥.

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādhikārin*) This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III. p 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256–261 (notes 581–588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Viṣṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *piṇḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer piṇḍas to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13–21 it is narrated[830] that emperor Māndhātṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled Dasyus in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform Pitṛyajñas (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmanas also. The Vāyupurāna (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to *Pitṛs*. The general rule is stated by the Gobhilasmṛti[831] that the husband should not offer piṇḍa to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nimi who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmasaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Ṣaṭtriṁśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Bṛhatparāśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhaśātātapa (q by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapiṇḍīkaraṇa) to be performed by any one for any

830 यवनाः किराता गान्धाराश्चीना शबरबर्बराः । शकास्तुषाराः कङ्काश्च पह्लवाश्चाम्रमद्रकाः ॥...कथं धनीश्वरिष्यन्ति सर्वे विषयवासिनः। नहिधैश्च कर्म स्याच्याः सर्वे चैव दस्युजीविनः॥...नात्रापित्रोर्हि शुश्रूषा कर्तव्या सर्वदस्युभिः।...पितृयज्ञास्तथा कूपाः प्रपाश्च शयनानि च। दानानि च यथाकालं द्विजेभ्यो विधुजेत्सदा॥ ..पाकयज्ञा महार्हाश्च दातव्या. सर्वदस्युभिः। शान्तिपर्व 65. 13–21; on this the शूद्रकमलाकर (p. 55) remarks 'इति म्लेच्छादीनां श्राद्धविधानं तदपि सजातीयभोजनद्रव्यदानादिपरम्'।

831. न चोपाया. पतिर्दद्यादपुत्राया अपि क्वचित्। न पुत्रस्य पिता चैव नानुजस्य तथाग्रजः॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 70 and also II. 104, but see बृहत्पराशर V (p. 153) 'श्राद्धं पत्न्यापि कार्यं स्यादपुत्रायास्तु चोदितं। तस्यापि हि तथा कार्यमेककर्तृ हि तयोर्यतः॥ भ्रातुर्ज्येष्ठस्य कुर्वीत कार्यं ज्येष्ठोऽनुजस्य च। देवहीनं तु तत् कुर्यादिति धर्मविदो विदुः॥. अपरार्क p. 538 quotes पित्रा श्राद्धं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कथंचन from पद्मलिङ्गात्मत

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized [832] that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to brāhmanas) every year (after his father's death) and who offers pindas (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a śūdra and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 19, Gaut. II. 4–5, Vas. II. 6, Visnu Dh. S. 28. 40, Manu II. 172).[833] But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his upanayana may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. Medhātithi on Manu II. 172 explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by upanayana, can offer water to his father, perform the navaśrāddhas (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such mantras as 'śundhantām pitaraḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *grhya* fire of his own he can not perform such śrāddhas as the *pārvana*. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56) provides that boys whose upanayana has not been performed, women and śūdras should get śrāddhas performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without mantras but only mention the name and gotra of the deceased or with the two mantras 'devebhyo namaḥ' and 'pitṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform śrāddha.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, Tai. Br. I. 6. 9 (which will be quoted later on) show that śrāddha was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113–115) states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadāya sapiṇḍas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

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832 जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् प्रत्यब्दं भूरिभोजनात्। गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभि. पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥ quoted by त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 319.

833. नाभिव्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधानिनयनादृते। शूद्रेण हि समस्तावद्यावद्वेदे न जायते॥ मनु II. 172; on this मेधातिथि says: स्वधाशब्देन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमिहोच्यते। अथवा पित्र्यं कर्म स्वधाशब्देनोच्यते। तच्चिनीयते त्यज्यते प्राप्यते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधानिनयन. शुन्धन्तां पितर इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वाऽन्यमन्त्रो नोच्चारयितव्य.। अनुपनीतेनोदकदाननवश्राद्धादि पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते। पार्वणश्राद्धादौ त्वग्निमत्त्वाभावादनधिकार.। पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं तद्दृश्यते।'. In the वैखानसश्रौत 9.10 we read 'उदकुम्भमादाय यजमान. शुन्धन्तां पितरः-इति त्रिः प्रसव्यं वेदिमपः परिषिञ्चन् पर्येति।'.

offers pindas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that sakulyas are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyādas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased [834]. Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 = Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly [835] affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. Yāj. also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when Manu (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the Dāyabhāga (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the pārvana-śrāddha and equally benefit the ancestors by the pindas they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of śrāddha and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of pinda) [836]. On Yāj. II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the Mit. adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

834. अपि च मपितामहः पितामहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्या भ्रातरः सवर्णाया· पुत्र· पौत्र· प्रपौत्र एतानविभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते। विभक्तदायादान् सकुल्यानाचक्षते। सप्तस्वङ्गजेषु तत्प्रसूती ह्यर्थो भवति। बौ. ध सू I.5,113-115, quoted by दायभाग XI.37 and explained in 38 and by दायतत्त्व p. 189. The text printed in the आनन्दाश्रम collection of स्मृतिs is slightly different

835. पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते। अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रध्नस्याभोति विष्टपम्॥ मनु IX. 137. बौ. ध. सूत्र II. 9 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरोहति.

836. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यन्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकारकत्वस्याविशेषात्। अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थत्यागानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं वचनं कथञ्चिदपि लभ्येतापि प्रपौत्रस्य.तु न पृथग्वचनमस्ति। तस्मादुपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्याप्यधिकार इति पुत्रपदमुपलक्षणम्। दायभाग XI. 34-36.'

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati [837] where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yāj. II. 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II. 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *prapautra* under II. 50 if the Mit. did not include the prapautra in the word putra. Again on Yāj. II. 51 ('putrahīnasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *prapautra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and putra includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yāj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yāj. II. 135–136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word putra has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the Vyavahāramayūkha, the Vīramitrodaya, the Dattakamīmānsā interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. ऋणमात्मीयवत्पित्र्यं देयं पुत्रैर्विभावितम्। पैतामहं समं देयमदेयं तत्सुतस्य तु॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणात्। ; समं यावद् गृहीतं तावदेव देयं न वृद्धिः तत्सुतस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयमगृहीतधनस्य। मिता. on या. II. 50, पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रादयो यदि रिक्थं गृह्णन्ति तदा ऋणं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम्। पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम्। मिता. on या. II. 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the riktha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as aptratibandha dāya. Baud. Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śankha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ [838] only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word putra sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śankha-Likhita and Purānas like the Visnu-purāna III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of putra on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word 'putra', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer śrāddha (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शङ्खलिखितयमाः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । जातं पुत्रं प्रशंसन्ति पिण्डलं शुकला इव ॥ प्रपितामहग्रहणात् पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् । तदुक्तेन प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तस्य श्राद्धदानेन प्रपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् तुल्यौ दायाधिकारौ । दायभाग III. 18 and कल्पतरु p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते सुतं जातं शकुन्ता इव पिण्डलम् ॥ वसिष्ठ XI. 39, वसिष्ठ XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पतरु p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II. 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *svadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitryajña*. Manu III. 70 defines *pitryajña* as *tarpaṇa* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III. 82 provides that an householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsyā (vide Gaut. 15. 1–2).[838a] By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsyā is of two kinds, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsyā, or on Astakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Krttikā or Rohinī by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including pitṛ-yajña are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a. अथ श्राद्धम्। अमावास्याया पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। गौ. 15. 1–2. दृष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहूस्तथा। तत्र साग्निकै सिनीवाल्यां श्राद्धं कार्यमितरै कुह्याम्। तथा च व्यास.। दृष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली कार्या विप्रैस्तु साग्निकैः। नष्टचन्द्रा कुहूः कार्या शूद्रैर्विप्रैरनग्निकैः॥ अपरार्क p. 417, स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p 344) The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 216 83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे रश्मिसहस्रममलम् स्थितः। तस्मिन्वसति येनेन्दुरमावास्या तत स्मृता' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसेतामस्मे तु यस्या चन्द्रदिवाकरौ। एका पञ्चदशी रात्रिममावास्या तत स्मृता॥' अमा means सह or एकत्र.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4–7) provides certain times for the performance of śrāddha viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that śrāddha may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy brāhmanas are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as Gayā) a śrāddha may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20 23) says the same thing. The Agnipurāna 115. 8 says that at Gayā a śrāddha may be performed on any day (na kālādi Gayātīrthe dadyāt pindāmśca nityaśaḥ). Manu (III. 276–278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th[838b] are recommended for śrāddha, that one performing a śrāddha on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even naksatras (i. e. on Bharanī, Rohinī &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c) and on uneven constellations (Krttikā, Mrgaśiras &c) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

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838 b. About the 14th of the dark half या I 264 says 'अतिपत्सर्पभूतिघ्नैका वर्जयित्वा चतुर्दशीम्। शस्त्रेण तु हता ये वै तेभ्यस्तत्र प्रदीयते॥, compare मनु III.276, and मरीचि states विषशस्त्रश्वापदादितिर्यग्ब्राह्मणघातिनाम्। चतुर्दश्या क्रिया कार्या अन्येषा तु विगर्हिता॥ q by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 367, श्राद्धतत्त्व p 191. ब्राह्मणघातिना here means ब्राह्मणकृतघातेऽप्यस्तीति. This only means that śrāddha should not be performed for anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or brāhmanas or in battle But a śrāddha may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282) that an āhitāgni should not perform a śrāddha except on *darśa*, from which it follows that only others (who had no śrauta fires) could offer śrāddha on any day of the dark half. Vide स्कन्दपुराण VI. 204, 24–27 and VI 219 19–21 for the proposition that śrāddha should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark half of Bhādrapada for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Anuśāsanaparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III. 276. Yāj. (I. 217–218), the Kūrma (II 20. 2–8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāna 13. 33–35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭakā days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *ayanas* (the *two* days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmaṇa, the equinoctial points (visuvat, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatīpāta[838c], Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha–these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkan-

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838c. अपरार्क p.426 quotes बृद्धमनु for defining व्यतीपात 'श्रवणाश्विधनिष्ठाद्या-नागदैवतमस्तके। यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते॥'. Vide अग्निपु 209. 13 for the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day either in Sravana nakṣatra or in Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter of Āśleṣā, that is a conjunction called व्यतीपात, some explain मस्तक as meaning मृगशिरोनक्षत्र. Bāṇa mentions Vyatīpāta in his हर्षचरित व्यतीपात is also defined in another way with reference to Rāśis. पञ्चाननस्थौ गुरुभूमिपुत्रौ मेषे रवि. स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे। पाशाभिधाना करमेन युक्ता तिथिर्व्यतीपात इतीह योग॥ q, by आ. क. ल. pp. 18–19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Mesa (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion, then the conjunction is called व्यतीपात गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs when the moon is in Maghā naksatra and the sun is in Hasta and the tithi is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वरूप on या. II 218 quotes· यदि स्याच्चन्द्रमाः पित्र्ये करे चैव दिवाकर. । वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुञ्जरस्य तु॥. अपरार्क quotes a काठकश्रुति 'एतद्धि देवपितृणां चायनं यद्धस्तिच्छाया)'. Both the मिता. and अपरार्क p. 427 have a similar verse The कल्पतरु (श्रा)p. 9 and कृत्यरत्नाकर p.319 quote ब्रह्मपुराण 'योगो मघात्रयोदश्यां कुञ्जरच्छायसंश्रित.। भवेन्मघायां संस्थे च शशिन्यर्के करे स्थिते॥.' The सौरपुराण (51.31–32) puts it as 'श्राद्धपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्विन्दुः करे रवि.' The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 220 42–44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The अग्निपु (165 3–4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways Some take गजच्छाया literally and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The Vanaparva 200 121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्पs. अपरार्क p 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about श्राद्ध performed in the rainy season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya[838d] (chap. 28. 22–23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the naksatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Spaṛśa Kāla*[839] (i e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vrddha-Vasistha. The Brahmapurāna (220. 51–54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāna VII. 1. 30–32, Visnupurāna III. 14. 4–6, Padma (srsti 9. 128–129). Acc. to Visnu Dh. S. 76. 1–2, Amāvāsyā, the three Astakās and the three Anvastakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā, Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nitya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Visnu Dh. S. (77.1–7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solsticial days, Vyatīpāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions gives infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārdha 16. 6–8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatīpāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on Sankrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several naksatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8–22, Anuśāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10–19, Yāj I 262–263, Brahmapurāna 220. 15–21, Visnu Dh. S. 78. 36–50, Kūrmapurāna (II. 20. 17–22), Brahmānda III. 17. 10–22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here:—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. श्राद्धार्हद्रव्यसंभारो तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने। जन्मर्क्षग्रहपीडासु श्राद्धं कुर्वीत यत्नतः॥ मार्कण्डेय 28,22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any *tithi* of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a tithi when the moon is in the *naksatra* on which he was born or in Pūrvā-bhādrapadā or in Uttarābhādrapadā or Krttikā, Ārdrā, Āślesā or Mūla or in a *naksatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ग्रहणसुपराग.। तत्रापि स्पर्शकालो ग्राह्य। त्रिदशाः स्पर्शसमये तृप्यन्ति पितरस्तथा। मनुष्या मध्यकाले तु मोक्षकाले तु राक्षसाः॥ इति वृद्धवसिष्ठस्मरणात्। भट्टोजि on चतु सं. p. 124, स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p. 342 quotes the verse.

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the naksatra of birth and the preceding and the following naksatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Visnu Dh. S. 77. 1–6 are *naimittika* and those performed on certain *tithis* and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (nitya) actions is samskāraka (i e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i e. it is 'vividisā-janaka' as indicated by the Gītā 9. 27). Jaimini (VI. 3. 1–7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agnihotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8–10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a kāmya rite at all.[839a]

The Visnudharmasūtra (78. 1–7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiva), Friday and Saturday respec-

839 a. This position is stated by the परा भा. I part 1 p. 176: 'यदा कृत्स्नाङ्गानुष्ठानशक्तिस्तदैव काम्यमनुष्ठेयम्'. The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4–8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्ध. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as यथाशक्तिन्याय and सर्वाङ्गोपसंहारन्याय.

tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The Kūrma (II. 20, 16–17) also expatiates on the rewards for śrāddhas on the several days of the week.

The Visnu-Dharmasūtra (78. 8–15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of śrāddhas on the 28 naksatras from Krttikā to Bharanī (including Abhijit which is placed after Uttarāsādhā and before Śravana). Yāj I. 265–268, Vāyu chap. 82, Mārkandeya-purāna 30. 8–16, Kūrma (II. 20 9–15), Brahmapurāna 220. 33–42, Brahmānda (Upodghātapāda 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement For example, Visnu Dh S. and Yāj. agree that śrāddha performed on Krttikā, Rohinī, Aśvinī and Bharanī yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while Visnu says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing śrāddha on the Pusya, Āślesā and Maghā naksatras respectively, Yāj. provides that a śrāddha on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The Anuśāsanaparva 89 and Vāyupurāna 82 set out the rewards of srāddhas on the several naksatras from Krttikā as declared by Yama to Śaśabindu.

It is stated in the Agnipurāna [840] that śrāddhas performed at a holy place and on days that are called Yugādi and Manvādi yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pitrs*) The Visnupurāna [841], Matsyapurāna (17. 4–5), Padma V. 9. 130–131, Varāhapurāna and Prajāpati-smrti verse 22 and Skanda VII. 1. 205 33–34 state that the third tithi of Vaiśākha (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of Kārtika, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada and 15th tithi of the dark half of Māgha are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Krta*).

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840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ श्राद्धं दत्तमथाक्षयम्। अग्निपुराण 117.61, युगादिषु च कर्तव्य मन्वन्तरादिकेऽपि च॥ बृहत्पराशर 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य तु या तृतीया नवम्यसौ कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे। नभस्यमासस्य तमिस्रपक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च माघे॥ एता युगाद्याः कथिता. पुराणैरनन्तपुण्यास्तिथयश्चतस्रः। विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12–13 q by स्मृतिच I. pp. 58–59, कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 542, मद् पा p. 538. अपरार्क (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and पद्म place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद Vide अग्निपु 209. 14–15 for some different dates for युगादि The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order. शुक्लतृतीया वैशाखे मेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके नवमी शुक्ला माघे दर्शश्च पूर्णिमा। एता युगादय. प्रोक्ता दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः॥ The वराहपुराण (13 40–41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. मजापतिस्मृति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

Matsya 17. 6–8, Agnipurāna 117. 61–64 and 209. 16–18, Saurapurāna 51. 33–36, Padmapurāna (Srsti 9. 132–135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows: 9th of the bright half of Āśvina, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsyā of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pausa, 10th of bright half of Āsādha and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana, the Full Moon of Āṣādha, Kārtika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyestha. The Matsyapurāna list is quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 58, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 543, Par. M. I. 1. p. 156 and I. 2 p. 311, and the Madanapārijāta p. 540. The orders in the Skandapurāna VII. 1. 205. 36–39 and the Smrtyarthasāra (p. 9) are slightly different. In the Skandapurāna (Nāgarakhanda) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II.[842] 7. 17. 23–25, Manu III. 280, Visnu Dh. S. 77. 8–9, Kūrma (II. 16. 3–4), Brahmānda III. 14. 3, Bhavisya I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the *pindas* on the *darbhas*. Visnu Dh. S. declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the Kūrmapurāna threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmana who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby.[843]

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842 न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्वीत। आरब्धे चाभोजनमा समापनात्। अन्यत्र राहुदर्शनात्। आप ध सू II. 7. 17 23–25; नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात्। सर्वस्वेनापि कर्तव्य क्षिप्रं वै राहुदर्शने॥ उपरागे न कुर्याद्यः पङ्के गौरिव सीदति॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

843 यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तुर्दोषो दातुरनुवप'। मिता on याज्ञ I 217–218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparārka p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhna* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (*III. 278*). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhna' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti [844] text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitṛs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhna.' A third view is that aparāhna is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely [845] on Śat. Br. II. 2. 3 9. The five parts are called *prātaḥ, saṅgava, madhyandina* (or madhyāhna), *aparāhna* and *sāyāhna* (or sāyam or astagamana). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3 Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156–157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen muhūrtas). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th muhūrta from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond Rauhina muhūrta and that five muhūrtas (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.[846] The word kutapa has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight[847] meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वाह्णो वै देवाना मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितॄणाम्। तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति। शतपथब्रा II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यस्त्वेव सर्व ऋतव. । यदैवोदेत्यथ वसन्तो यद्रा संगवोऽथ ग्रीष्मो यद्रा मध्यन्दिनोथ वर्षा यदापराह्णोऽथ शरद् यदैवास्तमेत्यथ हेमन्तस्तस्माद्ध मध्यन्दिन एवाधीत तर्हि ह्येषोऽस्य लोकस्य नेदिष्ठं भवति। शतपथ II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच (श्रा p 363)

846. आरम्भं कुतपे कुर्याद्रौहिणं तु न लङ्घयेत्। एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तान्तः श्राद्धकाल उदाहृत ॥ मुहूर्तास्तत्र विज्ञेया दश पञ्च च सर्वदा। तत्राष्टमो मुहूर्तो य स कालः कुतप' स्मृत ॥ प्रजापति verses 158–159. Compare पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11.91–92) and स्कन्द VII 1 205 6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्तs are quoted in दीक्षितानन्द (on श्रा. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of वराहमिहिर (VI. 2–4) m. in my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala,' JBBRAS vol., 24–25 p. 21.

847 मध्याह्न' खड्गपात्रं च तथा नेपालकम्बल'। रूप्यं दर्भास्तिला गावो दौहित्रश्चाष्टम स्मृत ॥ पापं कुत्सितमित्याहुस्तस्य सन्तापकारिणि । अष्टावेते यतस्तस्य कुतपा इति विश्रुता ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII 1. 205. 8–9, पद्म VI. 131.76–78, q. by स्मृतिच, (श्रा. p. 433 as स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as पैठीनसि's) लघुशातातप (verse 108) speaks of खड्गपात्र as दौहित्र and is quoted by अपरार्क (p 474) लघुशातातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day (out of 15) and is quoted by श्रा. कि कौ p 317 अपरार्क p 474 quotes a smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपत्यं दुहितुश्चैव खड्गपात्रं तथैव च। घृतं च फ-पिलाया गोर्दौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम् ॥'.

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Astakā and Anvastakā śrāddhas), while Vrddhiśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhātithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smrti text on this [848] The Trikāndamandana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials. [848a]

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III 206–207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yāj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śankha says: [849] 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others' The Kūrmapurāna states[850] 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides [851] 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitrs* in spots

848. पूर्वाह्णे दैविक कार्यमपराह्णे तु पैतृकम्। एकोद्दिष्टं तु मध्याह्ने मातर्वृद्धिनिमित्तकम्॥ मेधातिथि on मनु III. 245. The दीपकालिका on या. I. 226 quotes this verse as from वायुपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्णे मातृक etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यदाप्तवर्यं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते। गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्य गौणोप्यत्रेदृशो भवेत्॥ स्वकालादुत्तरो गौण कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मण॥ मुख्यकालमुपाश्रित्य गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम्। न मुख्यद्रव्यलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 150, 157, 162.

849. गोगजाश्वादिपृष्ठेषु कृत्रिमायां तथा भुवि। न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धमेतेषु पात्रेष्वासु च भूमिषु॥ शङ्ख q. by परा मा I. 2 p 303, श्रा म. p. 140, स्मृतिच (श्रा p. 385).

850. अटव्य. पर्वता पुण्यास्तीर्थान्यायतनानि च। सर्वाण्यस्वामिकान्याहुर्न क्षेत्रेषु परिग्रह.॥ कूर्म II. 22 17 अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 116), and श्रा म p 148 quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः। परकीयप्रदेशेषु पितृणां निर्वपेत्तु यः। तद्भूमिस्वामिपितृभि श्राद्धकर्म विहन्यते॥ तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देयानि पुण्येष्वायतनेषु च। नदीतीरेषु तीर्थेषु स्वभूमौ प्रयत्नतः। उपद्वारनिकुञ्जेषु तथा पर्वतसानुषु॥ q. by अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 115), compare कूर्म II 22 16

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pitṛs of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops' The Viṣnudharma-sūtra chap 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other *tīrthas*, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed)' Śaṅkha (14 27–29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gayā, in Prabhāsa, Puṣkara, Prayāga, in the Naimiṣa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payoṣnī, on Amarakaṇṭaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kuruksetra, Bhṛgutuṅga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Veṇī, on Ṛṣikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāna (220. 5–7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puṣkara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāna, chap 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Sr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the tīrthas in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on *tīrthas*).

The Viṣnudharmasūtra[852] (chap 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varṇas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that The Vāyupurāna provides[853] that the country of Triśaṅku which is

852 न म्लेच्छविषये श्राद्धं कुर्यात्। न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम्। परानिपातेऽपि पीत्वा ब्रह्मस्वम्यमुपगच्छतीति। चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते। स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्तत पर.। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84 1–4

853. त्रिशङ्कोर्वर्जयेद्देशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम्। उत्तरेण महानद्या दक्षिणेन तु कीकटम्॥ देशस्त्रैशङ्कवो नाम श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्जित.। कारस्करा कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोरुत्तरमेव च। प्रणष्टाश्रमवर्णाश्च देशा वर्ज्या. प्रयत्नत। वायुपुराण 78. 21–23. ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14 31–33, quoted by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 162), and श्राद्धप्र. p 147 and अपरार्क p. 472 (as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 141. 2–4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadī and to the south of Kīkata (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha, similarly the countries called Kāraskara, Kalinga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varnas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāna (220. 8–10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāta country, Kalinga, Konkana, Krimi (Krivi?), Daśārna, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Tangana, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karaṭoyā.

The Mārkandeyapurāna [854] prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25–28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāndālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmana who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāndāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmana who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmana woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manu (III. 239–242) states: 'a cāndāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmanas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

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854 वर्ज्या जन्तुमती रूक्षा क्षिति. क्षुता तथाग्निना। अनिष्टदृष्टशब्दोग्रा दुर्गन्धा श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by श्राद्धम p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmaṇas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127.13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Viṣnu-dharmasūtra (82. 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 22. 34–35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *patita*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇḍeya 32 20–24, Vāyu 78. 26–40, Viṣnupurāṇa III. 16. 12–14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91 43–44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skandapurāṇa VI 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *patita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369) Another classification is that into Ekoddista and Pārvaṇa[855]. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brhas-

855 Vide H of Dh vol. III p 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणमुदाहृतम्। क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थिति.॥ भविष्यपुराण I. 183 15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 192, श्रा वि. of रुद्रधर, श्रा. कि कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पर्वाणि अन्वष्टका माघीपौर्णमास्यादि') The परा. मा. I. 2 p 199 says पुरुषत्रयमुद्दिश्य यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्। एकपुरुषोद्देशेन यत्क्रियते तदेकोद्दिष्टम्. Venk. ed. of भविष्य reads दर्शे वा क्रियते यत्तु।.

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vrddhi and Pārvana[855]. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretaśrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Gosthi-śrāddha enumerated in other smrtis are included in Pārvana. The Kūrmapurāna (II. 20. 26) similarly speaks of the five srāddhas as enumerated by Manu[857]. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahaḥ-śrāddha, pārvana, vrddhiśrāddha, ekoddista and sapindīkarana. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 82 (= Śankha 13 16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra[858] quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vrddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapiṇḍana (sapiṇḍī-karana), pārvana, gosthiśrāddha, śuddhiśrāddha, karmānga, daivika, yātrāśrāddha, pustiśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhavisyapurāna by the same works. Sapiṇḍana and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Gosthī-śrāddha[859] is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्राद्धं तथैव च। पार्वणं चेति मनुना श्राद्धं पञ्चविध स्मृतम्॥ बृहस्पति q. by श्रा. वि. of रुद्रधर p 1

857. कर्मारम्भेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यादभ्युदये पुन। पुत्रजन्मादिषु श्राद्धं पार्वणं पर्वसु स्मृतम्॥ अहन्यहनि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुन.। एकोद्दिष्टादि विज्ञेय द्विधा श्राद्धं तु पार्वणम्। एतत् पञ्चविधं श्राद्ध मनुना परिकीर्तितम्। कूर्म. II 20.24-26 आश्वलायन q. by श्राद्धकलिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्दिष्टं च पार्वणम्। (folio 1)

858. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिश्राद्ध सपिण्डनम्। पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां शुद्ध्यर्थमष्टमम्॥ कर्माङ्गं नवम प्रोक्त दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम्। यात्रास्वेकादशं प्रोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादश स्मृतम्॥ विश्वामित्र q by कल्पतरु p 6, स्मृतिच्च (श्रा. p. 334), मद. पा p. 475, श्रा. क. ल p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 374 The कूर्मपुराण also (II. 20 26-27) mentions यात्राश्राद्ध, शुद्धिश्राद्ध and दैविकश्राद्ध This enumeration occurs in भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1.205. 41-42 The कल्पतरु refers to two verses of the ब्रह्मपुराण for explaining यात्राश्राद्ध which are quoted at length in श्रा कि कौ p. 267 and श्रा. प्र. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्या यत्क्रियते श्राद्धं गोष्ठीश्राद्धं तदुच्यते। बहूना विदुषा संपत्सुखार्थं पितृतुप्तये। भविष्यपु q by कल्पतरु p 7, मद. पा p 476, श्रा क. ल p 7. The कल्पतरु explains गोष्ठी चात्र श्राद्धकर्तृसमुदाय.। संपत्सुखार्थं श्राद्धसामग्रीसम्पदा यत्सुखं तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषा केनचिन्निमित्तेन युगपच्छ्राद्धे कर्तव्य उपस्थिते पृथक्पाकाग्नयस्सम्पत्तौ सम्भूय श्राद्धसामग्रीसंपादनेन.यच्छ्राद्धं क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीश्राद्धमिति शङ्खधर.।' (p. 7) The पण्णवति-श्राद्धप्रयोग of रघुनाथ gives another explanation 'श्राद्धस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणाया तज्जनितोत्साहेन यत् क्रियते श्राद्धम्।'.

comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of pitrs The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmanas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a prāyaścitta) That śrāddha is called 'karmānga' which is performed at the time of the *Garbhādhāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at simantonnayana, pumsavana (it is like Vrddhiśrāddha). That is called daivika śrāddha which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like nityaśrāddha and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi* or the like with sacrificial food) When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmanas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is yātrā-śrāddha. That is called pustiśrāddha which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicine for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these [860] twelve the principal ones are *pārvana, ekoddista, vrddhi* and *sapindana*. There are works called San-navati-śrāddha such as those of Śivabhatta, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse [861] quoted in the note. They are · 12 śrāddhas on

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860. गोष्ठ्या यत्क्रियते श्राद्धं गोष्ठीश्राद्ध तदुच्यते। बहूना विदुषा सम्यक्सुखार्थं पितृतृप्तये ॥ क्रियते शुद्धये यत्तु ब्राह्मणाना तु भोजनम्। शुद्ध्यर्थमिति तत्प्रोक्तं वैनतेय मनीषिभि· ॥ निषेककाले सीमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा। ज्ञेयं पुंसवने चैव श्राद्ध कर्माङ्गमेव च॥ देवानुद्दिश्य यच्छ्राद्धं तत्तु दैविकमुच्यते। हविष्येण विशिष्टेन सतम्यादिषु यत्नत ॥ गच्छन्देशान्तरं यच्च श्राद्धं कुर्यात्तु सर्पिषा। यात्रार्थमिति तत्प्रोक्तं भवेशे च न संशय ॥ शरीरोपचये श्राद्धमर्थोपचय एव वा। पुष्ट्यर्थमेतद्विज्ञेयमौपचायिकमुच्यते ॥ भविष्यपु. I. 183 15-19, q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 334, श्रा क. ल. p 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p 374. There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text (Venk ed) presents different readings, such as गोग्यश्च क्रियते श्राद्धं and क्रियते देवमुद्दिश्य सतम्यादिषु यत्नत These 12 श्राद्धs are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205 43-50 also. On दैविकश्राद्ध the टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 4 b) remarks 'अत्र यद्यपि प्रकृतं श्राद्धमसम्भवि देवोद्देश्यकत्वेन विधानात् तथापि श्रद्धया कार्यं श्राद्धमिति योगसामान्यात् श्राद्धपदाभिधेयतावत्त्वं बोद्धव्यम्।'

861. अमा युगमन्वन्तरधृतिपातमहालया। आन्वष्टक्य च पूर्वेद्यु· षण्णवत्य प्रकीर्तिता। verse 5 of षण्णवतिश्राद्ध of शिवभट्ट (Ms in Bhadkamkar collection)

(*Continued on the next page*)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhrti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatīpāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvastakā days (according to Āśv. as noted on pp 359–360), the four Aṣṭakā days and the four days (i e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Astakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year[862] (viz. in Hemanta, Grīsma and Varsā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82–83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmanas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmanas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

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(*Continued from the last page*)

The महालयs are 16 as stated by शाट्यायनि and देवल q. by परा मा. I. 2 p 319 and by स्मृ सु. (श्राद्ध) p 745, नभस्यस्यापरे पक्षे तिथिषोडशकं तु यत्। कन्यास्थार्कान्वितं चेत् स्यात्स कालः श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ (शा); अहःषोडशकं यत्तु शुक्लप्रतिपदा सह। चन्द्रक्षयविशेषेण सापि दर्शात्मिका स्मृता॥ (देवल). Generally there are 13 वैधृतियोगs and 13 vyatīpāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each. There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The शतपथब्रा (VI. 4. 2. 10) speaks of 12 अष्टकाs 'द्वादश पौर्णमास्यो द्वादशाष्टका द्वादशामावास्याः'.

862. एतेन विधिना श्राद्धं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत्। त्रिश्चतुर्वा यथाश्राद्धं मासे मासे दिने दिने। देवल q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 497 which explains: एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना प्रतिसंवत्सरमेकवारं विशिष्टेऽह्नि प्रतिसंवत्सरं त्रिवारं वा कल्पतरु p. 22 (श्राद्ध) quotes the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmanas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmanas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 37–38, 135–138. It may be noted that the grhyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smrtis and purānas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gr [862a] IV. 7. 2, Śān. Gr. IV. 1. 2. Āp. Gr VIII. 21. 2, Ap. Dh. S. II. 7. 17 4, Hir. Gr II. 10. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 10. 5–6 and II 8. 2–3, Gaut. 15. 9 provide that the *brāhmanas* to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh S states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Rg I. 90. 6–8, Vāj. S 13 27–29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9 3), he who has studied the Trisuparna, one who is a Trināciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Aśvamedha, Purusamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitrmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

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862 a ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसपन्नानेकैन वा । आश्व. गृ IV. 7, 2. ब्राह्मणान् शुचीन् मन्त्रवत समङ्गानयुज आमन्त्रयते । योनिगोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नार्धापेक्षो भोजयेत् । हिर गृ II 10 2. त्रिमधुस्त्रिसुपर्णपञ्चाग्निनाचिकेतश्चतुर्मेध. पञ्चाग्नियंष्टसामिको वेदाध्याय-दूचानशुत्र श्रोत्रिय इत्येते श्राद्धे भुज्जाना. पङ्क्तिपावना भवन्ति । आप ध II. 7. 17–22. त्रिसुपर्ण is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतु मामू (तै. आ X 48–50) or to the verse चतुः-शिखण्डा युवति सुपेशा in तै ब्रा I. 2 1. 27 or Rg. X 114. 3–5. त्रिणाचिकेत' is explained in different ways viz (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopanisad I. 1. 16–18 The word 'Trināciketah' occurs in Katha Up I. 1. 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रि कृत्वा नाचिकेतोऽग्निश्चितो येन स. त्रिणाचिकेतास्तद्विज्ञानस्त-दध्ययनस्तदनुष्ठानवान् वा । Tai Br (III. 11. 7–8) describes the नाचिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas The five fires are Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya, Daksināgni, Āvasathya (or anupāsana) and Sabbya Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p 679 Vide *ibid*. II. p 767 note 1838a for explanations of पङ्क्तिपावन, उपेष्टसामिक and the other words explained above देवल defines श्रोत्रिय as 'एका शाखा सकल्पा वा षड्भिरङ्गैरधीत्य वा । षट्कर्मनिरतो विप्र श्रोत्रियो नाम धर्मवित्॥' q. by आ म p 59. Pānini (V. 2.84) derives श्रोत्रिय as श्रोत्रियश्छन्दोधीते षट्कर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनप्रतिग्रहदानानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *Śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.2, Manu III. 185–186, Yāj I. 219, Varāhapurāna 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *paṅktipāvana*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25–31), Kūrmapurāṇa II. 21. 1–14, Matsya 16 7–13, Brahmapurāna 220. 101–104, Vāyu 79. 56–59 and 83. 52–55, Skanda VI. 217. 21–25 give long lists of *paṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gṛ. II. 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 7, Kūrma (II. 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138–139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmana whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III. 144 (= Kūrma II. 21–22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135–137 and 145–147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the Ṛgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śākhā thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārīta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66–67) describes the qualifications of those who are pāṅkteya brāhmanas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śaṅkha-Likhita[863] give a long list of pānkteya (fit to be associated with in a *paṅkti* i. e. row of diners) brāhmanas, viz he who knows the Veda and the Vedāngas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *angas*; one who knows Sānkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a trināciketa, trimadhu, trisuparṇaka and one that has studied Jyesthasāman; one who has studied Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Upanisads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Visnu Dh. S 83, Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śātātapa verses 99-100, Aṅśanasasmrti (Jiv. vol. I. pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi[864] on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned brāhmana who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmana who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy brāhmana (among brāhmanas studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 133) declares that *paṅktipāvana* brāhmanas are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184-186) gives examples of panktipāvana brāhmanas viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Trināciketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *paṅktipāvana*.

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a brāhmana who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

863. शङ्खलिखितावपि। अथ पाङ्क्तेयाः। वेदवेदाङ्गवित् पञ्चाग्निरनूचान साङ्गत्र्यवगोपनिषद्धर्मशास्त्रविच्छ्रोत्रिय. त्रिणाचिकेत त्रिमधु त्रिसुपर्णको ज्येष्ठसामग. । साङ्गत्र्यवगोपनिषद्धर्मशास्त्राध्यायी वेदपरः सदाग्निको मातापितृशुश्रूषुर्धर्मशास्त्ररतिं । इति । q by कल्प० (p 68), आ. म. p.67.

864. श्रोत्रियो विद्वान् साधुचरण. प्रख्याताभिजन श्रोत्रियापत्यसम्बन्धी भोजनीय. । परिशिष्टं सर्वमर्थवादार्थम्॥ मेधा on मनु III 147.

132–146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmaṇa then the next best course[865] ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21. 20), Varāhapurāṇa 14. 3, Matsya 16. 10–11, Visnupurāṇa III. 15. 2–4 (anukalpesvanantarān). But Manu is careful[866] to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.[867] expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapiṇḍa to be fed.[868] Gaut 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmaṇas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'If a brāhmaṇa dines at a pārvaṇa śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapiṇḍana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

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865. मुख्याभावे यौगुष्ठीयते प्रतिनिधिन्यायेन गौऽनुकल्प उच्यते। मेधा. on मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'मुख्य· स्यात्प्रथमः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽधमः'

866. प्रभुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते। न साम्परायिकं तस्य दुर्मतिर्विद्यते फलम्॥ मनु XI. 30 (= शान्तिपर्व 165.17) q. in तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स न जानीति फलं तस्य परत्रेति विचारितम्॥

867. गुणहान्यां तु परेषां सम्बन्धिनः सोदर्योऽपि भोजयितव्यः। एतेनान्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः। आप. ध. सू. II 7.17.5–6

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्याशयेत्। बौ ध. II. 8 5. The श्रा. क. ल p. 40 explains एवंविधं as गुणवन्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyana for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at sīmantonnayana, in a navaśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirnayasindhu III. pp. 467–468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāna (189. 12–13) provides that if a brāhmana dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a rāksasa and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grandfather. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmanas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.[868a]

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Visnu Dh. S states that yogins [869] are particularly *pankti-pāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitrs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmana yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāna 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmanas. The Mārkandeya-purāna provides 'a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha since the pitrs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmanas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitrs (29. 32–34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāna, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2–3),[870] winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6)

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868 a. तुल्यगुणेषु वयोवृद्धः श्रेयान् द्रव्यकृशश्चेप्सन्। आप ध. II 7 17.10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिन.। अत्र पितृगीता गाथा भवति। अपि स स्यात्कुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम्। विप्रं श्राद्धे प्रयत्नेन येन तृप्यामहे वयम्॥ विष्णुध सू. 83 19–20.

870 The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 9 70 is गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च। ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योग एव विशिष्यते॥, योगिनश्च सदा श्राद्धे भोजनीया विपश्चिता। योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तान् पूजयेत्सदा॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29, ब्राह्मणानां सहस्रेभ्यो योगी स्वाशासने यदि। यजमानं च भोक्तृंश्च नौरिवाम्भसि तारयेत्॥ वायुपुराण 76 28, मार्कण्डेय 29 30. These and other verses occur in ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 112–115. मार्कण्डेय 29.29–30 are ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 110–112 q. by हेमाद्रि p 411 and आ. म. p 72–73. The important पितृगाथाs are 'कदा नः सन्तताबन्ध्याः कस्यचिद्भविता सुतः॥ यो योगिभुक्तशेषान्नो भुवि पिण्डं प्रदास्यति। गयायामथवा पिण्डं खड्गमांसं तथा हवि.। कालशाकं तिलाज्यं च तृप्तये कुशरं च न.॥' ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 113–115 and मार्कण्डेय 29, 33–34.

The Matsyapurāna (16. 11–12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *paṅktipāvanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma* —where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.' [871] Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmanas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II. 118 who says 'a brāhmana [872] knowing only the sacred Gāyatrī but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāna VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmanas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmāṇḍa (Upodghāta, chap 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmaṇa about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmanas. But if faults in a brāhmana are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5–6). The same Purāna (Upodghāta 15. 24–26) arranges the orders of preference as follows· first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmana who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agnipurāna [873] as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

871 यश्च व्याकुरुते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽध्वरम्॥ सामस्वरविधिज्ञश्च पङ्क्तिपावनपावन.। सामगो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मवित्॥ यत्रैते भुञ्जते श्राद्धे तदेव परनार्थवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16 11–13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसारोऽपि वर विप्रः सुयन्त्रित । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वाशी सर्वविक्रयी॥ मनु II. 118=बृद्धगौतम p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे। किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः। कृमयः किं न जायन्ते कुक्षुमेषु सुगन्धिषु॥ जातूकर्ण्योऽपि। अपि विद्याकुलैर्युक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान्। अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु ब्राह्मणेनापि नार्चयेत्॥ हेमाद्रि pp 443–444, श्रा. प्र p 74.

family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmanas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pitṛs assuming an aerial form enter brāhmaṇas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmāndapurāṇa (Upodghātapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Visnu Dh.[874] S. 82.1–2, provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmana (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmana be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vāyupurāṇa[875] appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmanas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides[876] that in rites meant for gods a ksatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmanas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vrddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāṇa[877] lay down that a brāhmana's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmana (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत। प्रयत्नात्पित्र्ये परीक्षेत। विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1–2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा देये तु मानवः। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम्। वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p 511 (reads दैवे तु).

876 ब्राह्मणान्न परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित्। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु ज्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम्॥ अनुशासन 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p 511.

877. परीक्षाप्रकारस्तु वृद्धमनुमत्स्यपुराणयोर्दर्शितः। शीलं संवसनाज्ज्ञेयं शौचं संव्यवहारतः। प्रज्ञा संकथनाज्ज्ञेया त्रिभिः पात्रं परीक्ष्यते। हेमाद्रि p. 513, आ. प्र. p. 102.

The Nrsimhapurāna [878] forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmaṇas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *atithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purāṇas where scrutiny into a brāhmaṇa's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāna quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmaṇa) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitṛs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhaviṣyapurāna (q. by Bālambhaṭṭī) states 'it is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmaṇas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *atithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālambhaṭṭī on ācāra p. 494) [878a].

Brāhmaṇas were declared to be *apāṅkteya* [879] (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmaṇa diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmaṇas who should not be invited and brāhmaṇas that are *apāṅkteya* or *paṅktidūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sagotra brāhmaṇa even

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878 न परीक्षेत चारित्र्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा। न शीलं न च देशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि॥ मन्येत विष्णुमेवैनं साक्षान्नारायणं हरिम्। अतिथिं समनुप्राप्तं विचिकित्सेत्क थंचित्॥ हरिंहपुराण q by आ म p 102; अविज्ञातं द्विजं श्राद्धे न परीक्षेत पण्डितः। सिद्धा हि विप्ररूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम्। तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेत्कृताञ्जलिः॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विप्रपरीक्षानिषेधकानि तानि श्राद्धेतरदानपराणि नित्यश्राद्धपराणि वा तीर्थश्राद्धपराणि अतिथिपूजापराणि वा। बालम्भट्टी on आचार, p. 494

879. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्तेय (derived from पङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्क्तेयाः पङ्क्तिं नार्हन्ति। भवार्थे ढक् कर्तव्यः। अनर्हत्वमेव पङ्क्तावभवनमनेन प्रतीयते। अन्यैर्ब्राह्मणैः सह भोजनं नार्हन्ति। अत एव पङ्क्तिदूषका उच्यन्ते। तैः सहोपविष्टा अन्येऽपि दूषिता भवन्ति। पा. IV.I.20 is श्रीभ्यो ढक्.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap.[880] Dh. S. states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmaṇa who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmaṇa who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. S. XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16–19, Manu III. 150–166, Yāj. I. 222–224, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 82. 3–29, Atri (verses 345–359 and 385–388), Bṛhad-Yama III. 34–38, Bṛhat-Parāśara pp. 149–150, Vṛddha-Gautama pp. 580–581, the Vāyu-purāṇa 83.61–70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6–11, Matsyapurāṇa 16.14–17, Kūrma (II. 21. 23–47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58–72, VI. 217.11–20, Varāhapurāṇa 14.4–6, Brahmapurāṇa 220. 127–135, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Upodghāta 15.39–44 and 19.30–41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26–30, Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 15.5–8), Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 28.11–18), Saurapurāṇa (19.7–9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmaṇa that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

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880. श्वित्री क्लिविदिः परतल्पगाभ्यासुधीयसुवः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यामित्येते श्राद्धे भुञ्जानाः पङ्क्तिदूषका भवन्ति। आप. ध सू. II. 7.17 21 As the son of a śūdra male from a brāhmaṇa woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and therefore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words शूद्रो...ब्राह्मण्याम् as meaning 'born of a brāhmaṇa male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a śūdra woman, then a brāhmaṇa woman and procreating a son on that śūdra wife and then on the brāhmaṇa wife.' This latter (as the son of a शूद्रसम ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्क्तेय'; शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यां असमवर्णदारपरिग्रहे ब्राह्मण्यां पुत्रमुत्पाद्य शूद्रायामुत्पादितपुत्र इति कपर्दी' कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 90), हरदत्त follows कपर्दी हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first and explains 'यो विशुद्धजातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्या शूद्रात् शूद्रसमानाद् ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smārta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of brāhmanas or of Veda, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a śūdra female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a śūdra. (39) one who instructs śūdra pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patitas* either through the Veda (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the Veda) from his own son, (62) an epilectic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the Veda, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from śūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)[881]. Manu III. 167 says that a brāhmana who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmaṇas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

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881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III, 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here निराकृतिः is explained in two ways viz (1) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'उन्मादः श्वित्रदोषो राजयक्ष्मा श्वासो नखुनेहो भगन्दरो महोदरमश्मरीत्यष्टौ पापरोगाः', q by अपरार्क p. 451, स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 401. वृषली is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII 1. 205 77-80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead अग्रेदिधिषूपति :—When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्रेदिधिषू while the latter is called दिधिषू. देवल says 'ज्येष्ठायां यद्यनूढायां कन्यायामुह्यतेऽनुजा। सा चाग्रेदिधिषूर्ज्ञेया पूर्वा च दिधिषूर्मता॥' q. by अपरार्क p 451, मिता on या III. 265. अग्रेदिधिषूपति is taken by मेधातिथि as equal to two words viz. अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषूपति. The latter means, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' पुनर्भूर्दिधिषूरूढा द्वित्तस्या दिधिषूः पतिः। स तु द्विजोग्रेदिधिषू सैव यस्य कुटुम्बिनी॥ अमरकोश q. by हरदत्त on गौ 15 15. मनु. III 173 explains दिधिषूपति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्मृति said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p 485 gives another meaning of अग्रेदिधिषू 'जीवत्स्वाम्रातुर्भार्यायामनुरक्तोग्रेदिधिषूः'. वसिष्ठ I. 18 includes both अग्रेदिधिषू and दिधिषूपति among those who are called एनस्विन Even the तै ब्रा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्रेदिधिषु as a sinner and आप ध च (II. 5. 12. 22) mentions both.

manas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170–182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmanas results in the loss of the gratification of pitrs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāna [882] forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pañcarātra and Pāśupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Viṣnupurāna (III. 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhṛtha in an Aśvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāna provides (III. 18 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāna [883] provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are *nagna* (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nagnādaḥ*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmaṇas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

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882. क्षुद्रश्रावकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः। कापालिकाः पाशुपता' पाषण्डा ये च बह्विधाः॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध) 21. 32 q by हेमाद्रि p 476 and 365, क्षुद्रश्रावकनिर्ग्रन्थशाक्ताजीवककापिलाद। ये धर्मानुवर्तन्ते ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 14 38-39 q. by हेमाद्रि p 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु 78.30-31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम्। परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः॥...वृथा जटी वृथा मुण्डी वृथा नग्नश्च यो द्विज.। वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31. q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p 520 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14 35-41) has these verses अपरार्क. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.[884] For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Triśaṅku, Karavīra, Āndhra, Cīna, Draviḍa and Koṅkaṇa should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following: 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāṭhiawar), Gurjara, Ābhīra, Koṅkaṇa, Draviḍa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 39–41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa[885] and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress: "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa[886] similarly says that an *atithi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26. 30) provides that one should not ask such an *atithi* about his *gotra* or *caraṇa* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430–433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

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884. कृतघ्नाश्चास्तिकाश्चैव म्लेच्छदेशनिवासिनः । त्रिशङ्कुचरवीराख्यचीनद्रविड[1]। वर्जयेद्विद्विजः सर्वान् श्राद्धकाले विशेषतः । मत्स्य 16 16–17 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 505, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p 94).

885. योगिनो विविधै रूपैर्नराणामुपकारिणः । भ्रमन्ति पृथिवीमेतानविज्ञातस्वरूपिणः ॥ तस्मादभ्यर्चयेत् प्राज्ञं श्राद्धकालेऽतिथिं बुधः । श्राद्धक्रियाफलं हन्ति द्विजेन्द्राभ्यर्चितो हि सः ॥ वराह 14. 18–19, विष्णुपुराण 15 23–24; compare वायुपुराण 79 7–8 (सिद्धा हि विप्ररूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम्। तस्मादतिथिमायान्तमभिगच्छेद् कृताञ्जलिः).

886. अचिन्त्योऽभ्यागतो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते ॥ अतिथिं तं विजानीयात् न पूर्वमागतः ॥ भविष्य. I. 184. 9–10 q. by हेमाद्रि p 427; न पृच्छेद्गोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं चापि पण्डितः। शोभनाशोभनाकारं तं मन्येत प्रजापतिम् ॥ अचिन्त्य हि स्थितो यस्मात्तस्मादतिथिरुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30–31.

Visnudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74–75) Purānas that gods, *siddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmana *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how śrāddhas are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749–756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakānda, pp. 380–385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of śrāddha belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmanas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmana that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmanas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed[887] in all (religious) acts brāhmanas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no smrti, Itihāsa, Purāna, Grhyasūtra nor Kalpasūtra contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmanas of the performer's own śākhā. He further says that in such texts as 'trināciketastrimadhuh' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmanas that have studied different śākhās and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same śākhā as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other śākhās, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different śākhās but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same śākhā of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.[888] As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध सू II. 6. 15 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवत अधीतवेदान्। सर्वकृत्येषु श्रौतेषु गार्ह्येषु स्मार्तेषु च कर्मसु दैवेषु पित्र्येषु मानुषेषु च भोजयेत्।'.

888 अत्र केचिद्यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशाखीयमातिथ्यत्वं मन्यमाना. स्वशाखीयमेव श्रोत्रियत्वादिगुणविशिष्टं श्राद्धे नियोजयन्ति। तदसत्। स्मृतीतिहास-

(*Continued on the next page*)

noted that the author of the Bālambhatti recommends that 'Mahārāstra brāhmanas should not invite brāhmanas of other castes (of brāhmanas) and particularly the Konkanastha brāhmanas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas Dh. S. provides [889] that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūrmapurāna states [890] 'that man whose offer-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

पुराणगृह्यकल्पसूत्रेषु क्वचिदपि स्वशाखीयनियमाश्रवणात् । प्रत्युत स्मृत्यादिषु त्रिणाचिकेतस्त्रिमधुस्त्रिसुपर्णो ज्येष्ठसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशाखीयानां नानावेदाध्यायिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च .. किं च कन्यायामेव तावदेकशाखाध्यायिनियम कुतोऽवगतो यद्बलेन हविष्यपि साध्यते । ... आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशाखाध्यायिनामप्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परमनवगीयमानाः सर्वतो विवाहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्पराणामेकशाखाध्यायिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते ।.. अतो न कन्यादाने नापि हविर्दाने स्वशाखीयद्विजनियम इति सिद्धम् । हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) pp. 380-381. The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur as a verse of गर्ग 'नैकगोत्रे हविर्देद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा हवि. । अभावे ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रांस्तु भोजयेत् ।' q by श्रा प्र p. 75. हेमाद्रि p 450 reads it as नैक. .द्यात्समानप्रवरे तथा । न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा हवि ।', श्रा. क ल p 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे ..न भोजयेत् also The निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on मनु III 145-146. एवमपि महाराष्ट्रैर्विजातीया न ग्राह्यास्तत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादय· सर्वथा न ग्राह्या इति श्राद्धदीपकालिकादिषु ग्रामणिकनिबन्धेष्वित्ते सर्वशिष्टसमतम् ।...वर्ज्याश्च द्विविधा दोषवन्त सजातीया· गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां दोषवन्त । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिशस्तत्वादिबलबद्दोषरहितो दुष्टोऽपि ग्राह्य । विजातीयस्तु गुणवानपि तत्त्वादेव त्याज्य किमुत दोषवान् ।... केवलं चिन्तयेज्जातिं.. । कन्यादानादिसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविरित्युक्तेस्तेन तेषि सर्वथा हेया एवेति दिक् । बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889 पूर्वेद्युर्ब्राह्मणान् संनिपात्य यतीन् गृहस्थान्साधून्वा परिणतवयसोऽविकर्मस्थान् श्रोत्रियान शिष्यानन्तेवासिन. । वसिष्ठ XI 17, q by हेमाद्रि p 379 who explains 'यतय. प्रव्रजिता. तदसम्भवे गृहस्थान्'. The टोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 37b) arranges the persons to be invited at a श्राद्ध in the following order: तदयं संक्षेपः । आदौ त्रिदण्ड्यतित्तदलाभे वानप्रस्थस्तदलाभे ब्रह्मचारी तदलाभे गृहस्थस्तत्रापि पङ्क्तिपावनादय उत्कृष्टास्तदलाभे यो ह्यसम्बद्धः सत्कर्मा च तदलाभे तत्सम्बद्धा अपि तदलाभे सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।.

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याश्नाति यतिर्हविः । फलं वेदान्तवित्तस्य (वेदविदा तस्य ? सहस्रादतिरिच्यते ॥ तस्माद्यत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्धव्यकव्येषु अलाभाद्वेतरान्द्विजान् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21. 17-18) q, by श्रा. प्र. p. 73, हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2nd) verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other brāhmaṇas). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in Varāhapurāna 14. 50, Skanda (VI. 217. 7 ff) and Vāyupurāna[891] chap. 71. 65–73, chap. 76. 28 &c. Bṛhaspati provides[892] a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a śrāddha more than one brāhmaṇa, then he should feed one who has studied the Sāmaveda, since in him all the three viz. Ṛks, the Yajus and Sāmans co-exist, that the father is pleased by Ṛks (i. e. by the feeding of a brāhmaṇa who has studied the Ṛgveda), the grand-father by Yajus, the great-grand-father by a Sāman and a *chandoga* (a chanter of the whole of Sāmaveda) is superior. A verse of Śātātapa is[893] quoted to the effect that if a student of the Atharvaveda is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the smṛtis were very strict in laying down the qualifications of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha. Auśanasa (chap. 4) asserts: 'that brāhmaṇa[894] is called *durbrāhmaṇa* and should never be invited at a śrāddha in whose family Veda study and Vedī (i. e. the performance of Śrauta sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

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891. गृहस्थानां सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च। ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योगी स्वैको विशिष्यते॥ वायुपुराण 71 69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, श्रा प्र p. 73, it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 9 70. यतिस्तु सर्वविद्यानां सर्वेषामप्यशुभक्षयात्। इतिहासपञ्चमाच् वेदान् यः पठेत द्विजोत्तम॥ अनन्तरं यते. सोऽयं नियोक्तव्यो विजानता। त्रिवेदोऽनन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः। एकवेदस्तत. पश्चाच्छयाध्यायी तत. परम्। वायुपुराण 79 53–55 q by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed वायु reads सर्वेषामन्य उत्तमे; almost the same verses occur in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 15 24–26).

892 यद्येकं भोजयेच्छ्राद्धे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत्। ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र हु विद्यते॥ ऋचा हु तृप्यति पिता यजुषा हु पितामह. । पितु. पितामह. साम्ना छन्दोगो ह्यधिकस्ततः॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p 385, स्मृतिसु p 765, कल्पतरु on श्राद्ध p 58.

893 भोजयेद्यद्यथर्वाणं दैवे पैत्र्ये च कर्मणि। अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुति॥ शातातप q by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिसु. p 765, कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 59

894 यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिपुरुषम्। स वै दुर्ब्राह्मणो ज्ञेयः श्राद्धादौ न कदाचन॥ औशनसस्मृति (Jiv I p. 524), जै सू. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः), q by अपरार्क p. 286 and p 449 and हेमाद्रि p 357, as यम's Vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I 134–135 for similar definitions.

author[895] further says that six persons are merely *brahmabandhus* (i. e. brāhmaṇas by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a śūdra or a king as a servant, who has a śūdra woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the Mahābhāsya[896] it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from brāhmaṇa parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a brāhmaṇa and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere brāhmaṇa by caste (but not a real brāhmaṇa). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if brāhmaṇas that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious naksatra or *tithi* or day or muhūrta and other auspicious matters, eat (śrāddha) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a śrāddha brāhmaṇas altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15 15–18) contains long lists[897] of over 50 kinds of brāhmaṇas that were not to be invited at a śrāddha dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*durvāla*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a śrāddha (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e at least before 600 B C) are. a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

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895. शूद्रप्रेष्यो भृतो राज्ञा वृषली ग्रामयाजकः। वधबन्धोपजीवी च पञ्चैते ब्रह्मबन्धव ॥ औशनस (Jiv. I.) p. 525, q. by अपरार्क p. 449. ब्रह्मबन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a ब्राह्मण in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896 तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम्। तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः॥ महाभाष्य on पाणिनि II. 2 6 (ed by Kielhorn, vol I. p 411) This appears to be a quotation. अनुशासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः....ब्राह्मण्यकारणम्। त्रिभिर्गुणैः समुदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः॥ In the महाभाष्य on पा IV. 1. 44, vol II. p 220 ब्राह्मणग्रन्थ is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च। एतच्छिल विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्यस्य लक्षणम्॥; 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहान् मुहूर्तान्मङ्गलानि च। न निर्दिशन्ति ये विप्रास्तैर्मुक्तं ह्यक्षयं भवेत्॥' यम q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p 390), कल्पतरु (श्रा p 62) नियमेषु तपःशब्दः। आप ध. सू. I. 2 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p 347 quotes a similar verse from बौधायन.

897. कुण्डाशि सोमविक्रय्यगारदाहि-गारदावकीर्णि-गणप्रेष्यागम्यागामि-हिंस्र-परिवित्ति-परिवेत्तृ पर्याहित पर्याधातृ त्यक्तात्म-दुर्वाल-कुनखि-श्यावदन्त-श्वित्रि-पौनर्भव-कितवाजप-राजप्रेष्य-भ्रातिरूपिक शूद्रापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वाणिक्-शिल्पोपजीवि-ज्यावादित्रतालवृत्य-गीतशीलान्।... दुर्वालादीन् श्राद्ध एवैके। अकृतान्नश्राद्धे चैवम्। गौ. 15 18, 31-32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a hyphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse [898] as follows: If a brāhmana knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmanas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III. 189 and the Padmapurāna) persists that the *pitṛs* enter into and hover round the invited brāhmanas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitṛs*.[899] The Garudapurāna states that Yama allows the departed souls and the pitṛs to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 19-21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāna [900] provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S prescribes [901] that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

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898. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्मन्त्रविद्युक्त शारीरै. पङ्क्तिदूषणैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः प्राह पाङ्क्तपावन एव सः॥ वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III. 168. The verse is also आवे 350-51 and लघुशङ्ख 22

899. निमन्त्रितांश्च पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनांश्च पार्श्वते॥ पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-86) Vide note 759 above. श्राद्धकाले यमः प्रेतान् पितॄंश्चापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मानुष्ये निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप॥ गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड chap X. 28-29.

900 वराहपुराणे। दन्तकाष्ठं च विसृजेद् ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्। q by कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 104), श्रा. प्र. p. 112.

901 आरम्भे चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध सू II 7.17 24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmana and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmana who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhavisyapurāna [902] provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmanas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmanas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states [903] that at the Pārvana—śrāddha (performed on a *parvan* day i. e. on Amāvāsyā), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekoddista or *Kāmya*, the larger the number of brāhmanas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmana at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmana except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmanas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Sān. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kausitaki Gr III. 14. 1–2 prescribe that one should [904] invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires [905] 'He shall feed an uneven number

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902. पितृदेवमनुष्याणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा। नोत्तरीयं विना कार्यं कृतं स्याच्छिल्फलं यतः॥ भविष्य I 185 23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्पन्नानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृतपच्छौचाचमनान्नाङ्गवदुखान् पितृवदुपवेश्यैकैकमेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ त्रींस्त्रीन्वा वृद्धौ फलभूयस्त्वं न त्वेवैक सर्वेषाम्। कोममनाद्ये। आश्व गृ सू IV. 7. 2–3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण 'पितृवदिति वचनं ममैते पितर इति मनसा ध्यायन्नुपवेशयेदित्येवमर्थमित्येके।' अन्ये तु पितुर्वृद्ध पितामहाय वृद्धतरं प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतममित्येवं यथावय उपवेशनार्थमिति। 'The words नत्वेवैकं सर्वेषाम् in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked, आद्य may refer to पार्वण which is mentioned first by आश्व. गृ सू; or अनाद्य means अभोजन and so refers to आमश्राद्ध or हिरण्यश्राद्ध; or अनाद्ये means दुर्भिक्षे The words एकैकमेकस्य ... त्रींस्त्रीन्वा contradict आश्व गृ II. 5 11–12 'नवावरान् भोजयेत्' अयुजो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। ब्राह्मणान्वेदविदुषोऽयुग्मान् त्रयवरार्ध्यान् पितृवदुपवेश्यायुग्मानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिषु निनयेत्। कौपीतकिगृ. III. 14 1–2.

905 अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात्।...नवावरान् भोजयेदद्युज। यथोत्साहं वा। श्रोत्रियान्वाग्रूपवय शीलसम्पन्नान्। ..एके पितृवत्। गौ ध. सू 15 2, 7–9, 11. हरदत्त explains 'एके मन्यन्ते पित्राद्यनुरूपं दानमिति। यथा पित्रे तरुणा पितामहाय वृद्धा, प्रपितामहाय वृद्धतरा इति' गौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतपथ-ब्रा. II. 4 2.7–8 about offering food to pitrs on *amāvāsyā*.

of brāhmanas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitrs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitrs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 29), Yāj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13-14, Visnupurāna III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padmapurāna (Srsti 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmanas should be fed for gods and three for the pitrs. When only one brāhmana could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30-31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmana would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *viśve devāh* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śankha [906] 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmana or can secure one only, then that brāhmana is meant for the rite in honour of pitrs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārdha 22 28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

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906. भोजयेदथवाप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पङ्क्तिपावनम्। दैवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्वह्नौ तु तत्क्षिपेत्॥ शङ्ख 14.10. The आ क. ल. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पात्रं प्रकल्प्य दैवे निवेद्य तमेकं विप्रं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुञ्जीत' हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अन्नस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं संहृत्य दैवतायतने वैश्वदेविकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र परिवेष्य तत्रत्यासने च विप्रान् देवानावाह्य तान् पुरोवर्तिन इवानुध्याय ..विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमन्नं स्वाहा ओं तत्सदिति उक्त्वा' &c The translation in S. B E. vol. 14 of दैवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong

choice of) meritorious brāhmanas; therefore one should not desire a large company'[907] The Kūrmapurāna (uttarārdha 22.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smrtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Brhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves[908] of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purāṇas such as the Vāyu[908a] and Visnu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess[909] (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāna appears to inculcate profuse

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907 सत्क्रियां देशकालौ च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः। पञ्चैतान् विस्तरो हन्ति तस्मान्नेहेत विस्तरम्॥ मनु III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि प्रयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्व दानाद्यदृष्टार्थत्व च, तत्रार्जकस्य तु मृतत्वाद्भने भोग्यत्वाभावेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव हिद्दम्। अत एव बृहस्पतिः। समुत्पन्नाद्धनादर्धं तदर्धं स्थापयेत्पृथक्। मासषाण्मासिके श्राद्धे पार्वणे च प्रयत्नतः॥ दायभाग XI.13. आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र II. 6.13 3 is तदभावे आचार्य आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी हृत्वा तदर्थेषु धर्मकृत्येषु वोपयोजयेत्॥; हरदत्त explains 'वाशब्दात् स्वयं वोपयुञ्जीत'.

908 a. वित्तशाठ्यं न कुर्वीत गयाश्राद्धे सदा नरः। वित्तशाठ्यं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफलभाग्भवेत्॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāna by the स्मृतिच. (श्राद्ध) p. 388, which adds 'अतो वित्तानुसारेण शारीरबलानुसारेण च गयायां श्राद्धं कार्यम्'.

909. सविलं नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छक्त्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ गोभूहिरण्यवासांसि भक्ष्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यविष्ठं विप्राणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ वित्तशाठ्येन रहित. पितृभ्यः प्रीतिमाहरन्। पद्मपुराण, भूमिखण्ड 9 179-181.

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāna [910] (82. 26–28) further says that the brāhmanas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitrs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmanas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmanas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha, thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of *Moksa*. The Skandapurāna goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmanas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmanas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāngas. The Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhalīsetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Aksayya Vata in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmanas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāna. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmanas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāna [911] it is said that two verses were sung by the pitrs viz 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer pindas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmanas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala prc-

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910. अमानुषतया विप्रा (अमानुषा गयाविप्रा?) ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिता । तेषु तुष्टेषु सन्तुष्टा. पितृभि. सह देवता ॥ न विचार्यं कुलं शील विद्यां च तप एव च । पूजितैस्तैस्तु राजेन्द्र मुक्ति प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ तत प्रवर्तयेच्छ्राद्धं यथाशक्तिबलाबलम्। कामान्स लभते दिव्यान्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति॥ वायु 82. 26–28. The first two verses are quoted from another (unnamed) पुराण by स्मृतिच (श्रा) pp 388–389, 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टा श्राद्धार्हा एव नागरा । बलीवर्दसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते । किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विप्रैर्वेदवेदाङ्गपारगै. ।' स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222. 23.

911. अपि धन्य. कुले जायादस्माकं मतिमान् नरः। अकुर्वन् वित्तशाठ्यं य' पिण्डान्नो निर्वपिष्यति॥ रत्नवस्त्रमहीयानं सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु। विभवे सति विप्रेभ्य' अस्माद्दित्वेय दास्यति॥ वराहपुराण 13 50–51, विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 22–23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वसु).

vides that on the days of *śrauta* sacrifices, of the celebration of charitable acts, of śrāddhas on the anniversary of death or on amāvāsyā, on lucky occasions (*vṛddhi*), on Aṣṭakā days, one should never give a frugal or poor dinner to[911a] the worthy brāhmaṇas invited for dinner.

If no brāhmaṇa is available, then the Śrāddhaviveka, Śrāddhatattva and other digests say that effigies of brāhmaṇas made with seven or nine darbhas (except in the case of a performer following the Sāmaveda who is not restricted as to the number of darbhas) should be got ready and śrāddha should be performed and afterwards the fee and other materials may be given later on to other brāhmaṇas[912].

Rules were laid from very ancient times about the method of inviting brāhmaṇas. The Āp. Dh. S. states[912a] that the performer should make a *request* to the brāhmaṇas on the previous day, that on the day of the śrāddha he should request a second time (saying 'today is the śrāddha day') and then he should address them a third time (with the words 'food is ready, come'). Haradatta on the first of the three sūtras explains that the request should be 'tomorrow there is a śrāddha, you should do me the favour of being in the place of the Āhavanīya fire' i. e. you should partake of the food that will be prepared. Manu III. 187 also says that the invitation should be on the previous day or on the day of the śrāddha

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911 a. इष्ट्वाऽपूर्वेद्युरहेत् दर्भेष्वेवाऽन्वहं च। पात्रेष्वप्येषु दातेषु हेयं नैव कुतोऽन्यत्॥ देखिए q. by स्मृत्यर्थ. (आ) p. 410.

912. ब्राह्मणान्पर्वो कुशलपक्षाह्मणे श्राद्धकर्म श्राद्धदिवसे।...ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रणं कृत्वा दर्भमयाद् द्विजान्। श्राद्धे कृत्वा विधानेन पश्चाद्विप्रेषु दापयेत्। इति श्राद्धप्रयोगसमुच्चयकारधृतवचनाच्च। श्राद्धतत्त्व p 194 and again at p 199 'पूर्वं ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रणं पश्चाद्यजमानेन दर्भमयब्राह्मणेभ्यो दानम्'. The three पक्ष are देव पितृ and मातामह.

912 a पूर्वेद्युर्निमन्त्रयेत्। अपरेद्युर्द्वितीयम्। तृतीयमाभन्त्रणम्। आप ध सू II 7 17. 11-13: हरदत्त explains 'अ. श्राद्धं भविता तत्र भवानाहवनीयार्थे भवान्। कर्मण्य इति।'. The exact procedure would be पूर्वेद्युर्निमन्त्र्य ब्राह्मणगृहं गत्वा दर्भमयानिमन्त्रयेत् पात्रिणां दक्षिणाजानुमण्डलं भूमौ संस्पृशन्नुपविष्टस्तिलोदकाभ्यां दक्षिणहस्तेन स्पृशन् श्रो म विश्वेदेवा इमं तत्र विश्वेदेवस्थाने आहवनीयार्थे भवद्भिः. इत्या स्वीकर्तव्यः प्रसीदत।' पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय (on आद्ध) fol° 55a. For पैतृकब्राह्मणनिमन्त्रण the 3 Utterance will be पार्वणवत्तत्र दक्षिणाजानुस्थ नाचीनावीती उदङ्मुखं ब्राह्मणं &c

itself. The Matsyapurāna[913] and Padma (Srsti-khanda 9.85–88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmanas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmana to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pitrs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmanas.' The Brhan-nāradiya-purāna states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smrti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmanas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaih &c.'[914] The Skandapurāna VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmana as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vrata*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmanas representing pitrs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvīta* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yajñopavīta* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas were to be invited first or the brāhmanas for pitrs were to be invited first

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913. पूर्वेद्युरपरेद्युर्वा विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत्। निमन्त्रिताह्नि पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुभूता हि गच्छन्ति तथासीनाह्युपासते॥ दक्षिणं जानुमालभ्य त्वं मया हि निमन्त्रितः। एवं निमन्त्र्य नियमं श्रावयेत्पितृबान्धवान्॥ अक्रोधनै शौचपरैः सतत ब्रह्मचारिभि। भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च श्राद्धकारिणा॥ मत्स्य 16. 17–20, *q* by श्रा क्रि कौ. p. 81, श्राद्धतत्त्व p 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवच्चानुगच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जानुं (but reads श्रावयेत् पैतृकान् सुधः) and स्मृतिश्च (श्रा) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85–88) has the same verses with some slight variations. *Vide* हेमाद्रि (on श्रा) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथामुदीरयन्। सायमामन्त्रयेद्विप्रान् श्राद्धे दैवे च कर्मणि॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smrti is much later than the Matsyapurāna or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनै is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधना शौचपरा. सतत ब्रह्मचारिण.' नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 20) puts the request as 'श्राद्धे क्षणस्तु कर्तव्यः प्रसादश्चेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit on Yāj I 225.

there is a conflict among smrtis and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1154–1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the daiva brāhmana should be invited first (daivādyantam tad-iheta). Yama quoted by several digests [915] says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day brāhmanas with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the śrāddha in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the brāhmanas should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. Śrāddhakriyākaumudī p. 81, Śrāddhatattva p 194 and Nirnayasindhu III. p. 804) say that the verse 'sarvāyāsa &c' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of śrāddha and the verse 'akrodhanaih' when the invitation is given on the morning of the śrāddha day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the Mit. on Yāj I. 225 the words are 'śrāddhe ksanah kriyatām.' Vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words 'nimantrana' and 'āmantrana' are used as synonyms. In the Śrāddhasūtra [916] of Kātyāyana the word 'āmantrana' is used. But Pānini [917] (III. 3 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the Mahābhāsya explains that invitation is called 'nimantrana' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called 'āmantrana.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as Kātyāyana who employ āmantrana use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

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915. प्रार्थयेत प्रदोषान्ते भुक्त्वान्नं शयितान् द्विजान्॥ सर्वायासविनिर्मुक्तैः कामक्रोधविवर्जितैः। भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं नः श्वोभूते श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ ते त तथेत्यविघ्नेन याति चेद्रजनी सुखम्। यथाश्रुतं प्रतीक्षेरन् श्राद्धकालमतन्द्रिताः॥ यम q. by श्रा क्रि कौ p 80, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 194, मद पा 564 (from अत्रि)

916. अपरपक्षे श्राद्धं कुर्वीतोर्ध्वं वा चतुर्थ्या यदहः सम्पद्यते तदहर्ब्राह्मणानामन्त्र्य पूर्वेद्युर्वा। श्राद्धसूत्र I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसम्प्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ्। पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II p. 165) यस्मियोगत कर्तव्य तस्मिन्नन्त्रणम्। किं पुनस्तत्। हव्यं कव्य वा। ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं भुज्यतामित्युक्तेऽधर्म. प्रत्याख्याह्। आमन्त्रणे कानचार ॥ The श्रा क्रि कौ p. 82, दोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 51) and श्राद्धतत्त्व p 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* [918] or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a kṣatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 15. 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.[919]

Uśanas [919a] provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāṇa and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III. 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana [920] prescribes that a brāh-

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918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्यान्नं क्षत्रियायैर्निमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामास्मिन् राष्ट्रे राजन्य इषव्यः शूरो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वोढाऽनड्वानाशुः सप्तिः पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रथेष्ठाः सभेयो युवाऽस्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलिन्यो न ओषधयः पच्यन्तां योगक्षेमो न कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. ब्रा. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained), वाज सं. 22 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ p 1159).

919 a तत्रोशना.। गोमयेनोदकेश्च भूमिमार्जनं भाण्डशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्मीति ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्मृतिच (आह्न) p. 409, आ. प्र p. 108, हेमाद्रि on आ. p. 51; वस्त्रशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्मीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विप्रान् निमन्त्रयेत्। वराहपुराण q by स्मृतिच. (आ) p. 403, आ क्रि. कौ. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 1150, आह्नतत्त्व p 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आदिशब्दश्च प्रकारवचनः। तेन आह्नीपयोगिसम्भारसंपादनभाण्डमेलनशोधनादि गृह्यते'.

920. अनिन्द्येनामन्त्रितो नापक्रामेदामन्त्रितो वान्यदृक्षं न प्रतिगृह्णीयात्। आह्नसूत्र of कात्यायन (I) q. by आह्नतत्त्व p 189 (as गौभिल).

mana who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III 190 and Kūrmapurāṇa provide that if a brāhmaṇa after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śāstra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog [921] (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smṛtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmaṇas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut prescribes [922] that the brāhmaṇa who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (*i. e.* shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitṛs* stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas XI. 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmaṇa and as regards wives of all *varṇas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of pitṛs and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (*i. e.* chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāṇa [923] prescribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

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921. आमन्त्रितो ब्राह्मणो वै यो न्यायेनेह कुरुते क्षणम्। स याति नरकं घोरं शूकरत्वं प्रयाति च॥ कूर्म, उत्तरार्ध 22 7 q by आ. म p 110.

922 सद्यः श्राद्धी शूद्रातरगमनत्वपुरीषे मासं नयति पितॄन्। तस्मात्तदहर्भोक्तुं न व्रजेत्। गौ. 15. 23-24; on श्राद्धी हरदत्त explains "श्राद्धभोजनेन भुक्तमिति, अत्र इनिठनौ". This is पा V. 2. 85 'अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः'. This explains the two forms श्राद्धिन् and श्राद्धिक

923. पुनर्भोजनमध्वानं यानमासनमैथुनम्। आह्निकं च त्रयं भूयश्चैव सर्वमतद्विवर्जयेत्॥ स्वाध्यायं कलहं चैव दिवास्वप्नं च सर्वदा। भारुप 16 27-28 q. by आ. कि. गौ. p. 95 (which reads यूतमायासं) These verses are also पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 69. 2–4. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1006–7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra[924] of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmaṇas sip water (i. e. perform *ācamana* after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmaṇas invited should observe the same rules Aušanasa (Jiv. vol I. pp. 526–527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāṇa (220. 106–108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31–33) and Anuśāsana 125.24 have identical verses[925] and Vāyu 79. 60–61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śaṅkha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmaṇas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), *tāmbūla*, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 12–13) and Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 94–95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmbūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

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924. तदह. शुचिरक्रोधनोऽत्वरितोऽप्रमत्त. सत्यवादी स्याद्ब्रह्मचैमैथुनश्रमस्वाध्यायगन्धर्जयेदाव्राहनादि वाग्यत ओपस्पर्शनादामन्त्रिताश्चैवम्। श्राद्धसूत्र I of कात्यायन. पुनर्भोजनमध्वानं भाराध्ययनमैथुनम्। दानं प्रतिग्रह होमं श्राद्धभुक्त्वष्ट वर्जयेत् ॥ लघुशङ्ख 29, q. by मिता on या I. 249 (without name), compare, कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

925. श्राद्ध दत्त्वा च भुक्त्वा च पुरुषो य स्त्रिय व्रजेत्। पितरस्तस्य तं मास तस्मिन्रेतसि शेरते। अनुशासनपर्व 125 24 Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28 32–33 and in अनुशासन 90 12–13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या I 79 says 'एव गच्छन् ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति। अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचर्यं श्राद्धादौ चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचर्यस्खलनदोषोऽस्ति'.

mana invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalikā folio 4b and 5a and Pitr-bhakti on śrāddha [926]).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Ap. Dh. [927] S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māsas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pitrs are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III. 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Ap. Dh. S. Yāj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*haviṣya*) should be served. Manu III. 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *haviṣ* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*haviṣ*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. [928] Other smṛtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 130 ff. The Mārkandeya (29. 14–15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Śm. C. on

926. निमन्त्रितः श्राद्धकर्ता च पुनर्भोजने श्रमं हिंसां स्त्रीं प्रमादं भारोद्वहनं दूरगमनं कलहं शस्त्रग्रहणं च वर्जयेत्। शुचिः सत्यवादी क्षमी ब्रह्मचारी च स्यात्। पितृभक्ति of अपरार्क.

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाषा व्रीहियवा आपो मूलफलानि। स्नेहवति स्नेहाक्षे पितॄणां प्रीतिर्द्रव्यैर्यावंतं च कालम्। तथा धर्माहृतेन द्रव्येण तीर्थमतिपन्नेन। आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 22–24.

928. चरुभैक्षसक्तुकणयावकशाकपयोदधिघृतमूलफलोदकानि हवींष्युत्तरोत्तरं प्रशस्तानि। गौ 27.11. On आश्व गृ I. 9 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'पयो दधि यवागूश्च सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः। सोमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि वशैव तु॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāna emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmanas.[929] Manu III. 235 (=Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.[929a] Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III, 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhas*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmanas.

The Mārkandeya-purāna says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmavaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmāka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pitrs and food prepared from these should be offered to pitrs. The Mārkandeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āraṇya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nīvāra, māsa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

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929. शरीरद्रव्यदाराभूमनोमन्त्रद्विजन्मनाम्। शुद्धिः सप्तसु विज्ञेया श्राद्धकाले विशेषतः॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 205. 17.

929 a. त्रीणि श्राद्धे पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिलाः। त्रीणि चात्र प्रशंसन्ति शौचमक्रोधमत्वराम्॥ मनु. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI. 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purānas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15 52, भविष्य I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads श्राद्धे त्रीणि.. दौहित्रं and सत्यमक्रोधमत्वरा It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205 14 ff) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn on the nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smrti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'ब्राह्मणः कम्बलो गावः सूर्योऽग्नेस्तिथिरेव च। तिला दर्भाश्च कालश्च नवैते कुतपाः स्मृताः॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप

paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The Mārkaṇḍeya [930] mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śrāddha food. The Brahma-purāṇa 220. 154-155, Vāyu 82. 3, Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 16. 5-6, Viṣnu, Dh. S, [931] Brahmāṇḍa II. 7. 143-152 and III 14. contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāṇa (80. 42-48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk.[932]

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the Matsya-purāṇa and Padma (Sṛstikhaṇḍa, chap. 9 62-66)[933] declare that masūra, linseed, niṣpāva, rājamāṣa, kusumbhika, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapittha, madhūka and linseed are forbidden Viṣnu Dh S. 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called rājamāṣa, masūra, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The Sat-trimśanmata [934] forbids the use in śrāddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except sesamum, *mudga* and *māṣa*.

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930. राजश्यामाकइक्षागाकौ तद्वच्चैव मक्षासिका। नीवारा पौष्करा श्चैव वन्यानि पितृतृप्तये॥ यवव्रीहिसगोधूमतिलमुद्गा ससर्षपा। प्रियङ्गव. कोद्रवाश्च निष्पावाश्चातिशोभनाः। वर्ज्या मर्कटका. श्राद्धे राजमाषास्तथाणव। विप्लविका मसूराश्च श्राद्धकर्मणि गर्हिता॥ मार्कण्डेय 29,9-11 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. pp 542-43) and explained as मक्षान्तिकाः मध्यदेशे प्रसिद्धो धान्यविशेष. पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावा. वल्ला' The last are called वाल *in modern Marathi*

931. तिलैर्व्रीहियवैर्माषैरद्भिर्मूलफलैः शाकै श्यामाकैः प्रियङ्गुभिर्नीवारैर्मुद्गैर्गोधूमैश्च मासं प्रीयन्ते। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80 1

932. द्वेष्याणि संप्रवक्ष्यामि श्राद्धे वर्ज्यानि यानि तु॥ मसूरराजनिष्पावराजमाषकुसुम्भिकाः। कोद्रवोदारचणका कपित्थ मधुकातसी॥ मत्स्य 15 36-38 q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा) pp. 548-549 and श्रा म p. 40, पद्मपुराण (V. 9.64-67) q by हेमाद्रि p 548 has almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मधुक as ज्येष्ठीमधु and reads कोद्रेबोद्दालवरक-कपित्थ. in मत्स्य. वरक is वरी in Marathi.

933 राजमाषमसूरपर्णुषितकृतलवणानि च। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79, 18; राजमाषान्मसूरांश्च कोद्रवान् कोरदूषकान्। लोहितान् वृक्षनिर्यासान्च श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्जयेत्॥ शङ्ख 14 21 q by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 548, who explains कोरदूषक. वनकोद्रव.

934 षट्त्रिंशन्मते। कृष्णधान्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धकर्मणि। न वर्जयेत्तिलांश्चैव मुद्गान्माषास्तथैव च। q by हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) p. 544, श्रा. प्र. p. 38, 'हविष्यं श्राद्ध-हविर्योग्यं व्रीहिशालियवगोधूममुद्गमाषसुन्यञ्जकालशाकमहाशल्कैलाशुण्ठीमरीचहिङ्गुगुडशर्करा-कर्पूरसैन्धवसाम्भरपनसनालिकेरकदलीबदरगव्यपयोदधिघृतपायसमधुमासप्रभृति स्मृत्यन्तर-प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। हविष्यसित्यनेनैवार्थोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरप्रसिद्धस्य कोद्रवमसूरचणककु-लित्थपुलाकनिष्पावराजमाषकूष्माण्डवार्ताकबृहतीद्वयीपोदकीवशाशुरुविष्पलीवच्चाशतपुष्पीपर-विडलवणमाहिषचामरक्षीरदधिघृतपायसादीना निवृत्तिः। मिता on या. I, 240

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 782–783. A few words are added here. Manu III. 271 and Yāj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pitṛs are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma[935] 220 169, Mārkandeya 32 17–19, Viṣṇupurāna III.16.11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camarī or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkandeyapurāna[935] (29.15–17), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣnupurāna (III 16 10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāna (220.156–158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bilva*, pomegranate, cocoanut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śankha 14 22–23 also. Vāyu (78 11–15) states[936a] that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

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935 माहिषं चामरं मार्गमाविकैकशफोद्भवम्। त्रैणमौष्ट्रमाविकं च (°द्रमजावीकं?) दधि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220.169 q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 573.

935. दुर्गन्धि फेनिलं चाम्भ तथैवाल्पतरोदकम्॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौस्तृप्तिं नक्तं यच्चाप्युपाहृतम्। यच्च सर्वार्थमुत्सृष्टं यच्चाभोज्यनिषानजम्॥ तद्वर्ज्यं सलिल तात सदैव पितृकर्मणि॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 15–17 Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14. 26)

936 a. लशुनं गृञ्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं पिण्डमूलकम्। करम्भाद्यानि चान्यानि हीनानि रसगन्धत॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च निर्यासा लवणान्यौषराणि च। श्राद्धकर्मणि वर्ज्यानि याश्च नार्या रजस्वला॥ वायु 78 12 and 15 q in हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 555) and स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p 416. The स्मृतिच (श्रा p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Suśruta for ten varieties of पलाण्डु.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and sa gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. Th Viṣnudharmasūtra[937] (79.17) contains a long list of fruits bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyāna states[938] that Rāma when an exile in the Daṇḍakā forest gratified his pitṛs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smṛtis and purānas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52–53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43–47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Viṣnudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafœtida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (79. 5–6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śankha (14. 15–16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p 684). Vāyu (75. 33–35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍi, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kurantaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāna (220. 162–165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasī, tagara, ketakī and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasī* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

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937. पिप्पली-शुकुण्वक-भूस्तृण-शिग्रु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्चल-कूष्माण्ड-अलाबु-वार्ताकु-पालङ्क्या-उपोदकी-तण्डुलीयक-कुहुम्भ-पिण्डालुक-महिषीक्षीराणि वर्जयेत्। विष्णु-धर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इङ्गुदैर्बदरैर्बिल्वै रामस्तर्पयते पितॄन्। यद्वत्तं पुरुषो भुङ्क्ते तद्वत्तस्तस्य देवताः॥ रामायण, अयोध्या 103 30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p 561, मेधातिथि on मनु V. 7, स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p 416. स्कन्द (नागरखण्ड) 220. 49 is 'यद्वत्तं पुरुषोऽश्नाति तद्वत्तस्तस्य देवता.'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasī is based[938a].

Kuśas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 for general remarks on kuśas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas[939]. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apām vā esa osadhīnām raso yad-darbhāḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98)[939a] provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16–17) states 'the *barhis* consists of kuśa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Daksa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (*divided into eight parts*) is the proper time for collecting *fuelsticks, flowers* and *kuśas*. The Gobhilasmṛti (I. 20–21) says[940] that the *darbhas* used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pitṛs must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

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938 a. उपोदकी—तुलसी—कृष्णातसी-शिग्रुर्महासर्षप-पत्रशाक-कृष्णसर्षप-पूतिगन्ध-शाकानि कूष्माण्डपोलकाद्याश्च (वर्ज्यानि)। स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 53; स्मृत्यर्थसारे तु तुलस्यपि वर्ज्यंयुक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्त्यं प्रसिद्धस्मृतिसमुच्चयेषु तुलसीनिषेधस्यादर्शनात् । स्मृतिच (आ) p 435. The डोढरानन्द (आद्धसौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थान्तरे तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकविषयः प्रेतश्राद्धविषयश्च । तत्र तुलसीवर्ज्यं भृङ्गराजादि ग्राह्यम्। (folio 47 b.).

939. The शतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about *darbha* and derives the word from दृम् 'आपश्च ह्येता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीभत्समाना आपो धन्व दृमन्त्य उदायंस्ते दर्भा अभवन् यद्दृमन्त्य उदायंस्तस्माद्दर्भाः। ता हैताः शुद्धा मेध्या आपो वृत्राभिप्रक्षरिता यद्दर्भास्तेनौषधय उभयेनैवैनमेतदवेन भीणाति। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रपूता हरिद्वर्णाः मातर्विप्रसमुद्भूताः। गोकर्णमात्रा दर्भाः स्युः पवित्राः पुण्यभूमिजाः॥ प्रजापति 98. The उत्पाटनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्चिना सहोत्पन्न परमेष्ठिन् निसर्गज॥ नुद पापानि सर्वाणि भव स्वस्तिकरो मम॥ q. by. स्मृतिच. I. p. 107, अपरार्क p 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया दर्भाः पीतकाः पाकयज्ञिकाः। समूलाः पितृदेवत्या. कक्षमात्रा वैश्वदेविका॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 q. by स्मृतिच I. p. 109, अपरार्क p. 458, आ. कि कौ. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना इत्यर्थः); हरिता वै सपिञ्जूला शुद्धाः स्निग्धा समाहिताः। रत्निमात्रा. प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृता॥ गोभिलस्मृति I 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 11. 74–75, quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by अपरार्क p. 458, which explains 'बद्धमुष्टेः करो रत्नि, संस्कृता परामृष्टा..' Vide वायुपुराण 75.38–39 for a similar verse

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitrtirtha* are pure. The Padmapurāna (Srstikhanda 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Visnu and the Visnudharmottara I. 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Visnu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa [941] (Pretakhanda 2.21–22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Visnu in the middle and Saṅkara at the end and that brāhmanas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasī leaf—these do not become *nirmālya* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila [942] that those *darbhaś* which are spread on the ground for placing pindas on them or that are used in *tarpana* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Visnu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāna VII (Prabhāsakhanda) part 1.206.17 says that straight darbhas are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pitṛs. The Skanda VII. 1 205.16 provides that the top of darbhas is for divine rites, while darbha with the root and tip is meant for *paitrka* rites. This is based on the Sat. Br II 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigrhya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud Dh. S II. 8 8 provides that when the invited brāhmanas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विना मन्त्रा कुशा वह्निस्तुलसी च खगेश्वर। नैते निर्माल्यतां यान्ति क्रियमाणा. पुनः पुन. ॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. पिण्डार्थं ये स्तृता दर्भा स्तरणार्थं (दर्भास्तर्पणार्थे?) तथैव च। धृतैः कृते च विण्मूत्रे त्यागस्तेषां विधीयते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 22, q. by अपरार्क p 458, हेमाद्रि p 640, श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks[943] of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jartilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the pitṛs than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to jartilas and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nāradapurāna (pūrvārdha 28 36)[944] provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmanas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahatā' (may the asuras and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vāj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāna (II. 22. 18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣnupurāna (III. 16.14) prescribes that by tilas scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garudapurāna[945] (Pretakhanda 2. 16) makes Śrīkṛsna say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *daityas* run away on account of tilas.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmanas and pindas), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana[946] provides that the arghya water

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943. शुक्ल. कृष्ण. कृष्णतरश्चतुर्थो जातिलास्तिल। उत्तरोत्तरतः श्राद्धे पितॄणा तृप्तिकारका॥ प्रजापति 99. जातिलs are wild tilas The तै सं V. 4.3.2 has this passage 'जातिलयवागवा वा जुहयादूवीधुकयवागवा न ग्राम्यान् पशून् हिनस्ति नारण्यानथो खल्वाहुर्नाहुतिर्वै जातिलाश्च गवीधुकाश्चेत्यजक्षीरेण जुहोति'. शबर appears to quote काठकसंहिता 6 3 also The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X 8 7 is that the passage about जातिलs is an अर्थवाद for praising पयोहोम The स्मृतिच. (श्राद्ध) p. 433 says जातिलास्तु तिला प्रोक्ता. कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यव्रतेनाभिधानात्

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता असुरा रक्षासि वेदिषदः। वाज सं II 29.

945 श्रीकृष्ण उवाच। मम स्वेदसमुद्भूतास्तिलास्तादर्थं पवित्रका.। असुरा दानवा दैत्या विद्रवन्ति तिलैस्तथा॥ गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड) 2 16; तिलोद्वर्ती तिलस्नायी तिलहोता तिलभक्षः। तिलभक्षी तिलावापी षट्तिली नावसीदति॥ q. by कृत्यरत्नाकर p 540.

946 यज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तर्हितेषु एकैकास्मिन्नप आसिञ्चति शन्नो देवीरिति।... सौवर्णराजतौदुम्बरब्रह्ममणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु वैकैकरयैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु। श्राद्धसूत्र (of कात्यायन) II

should be taken in camasas (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as palāśa, aśvattha, udumbara) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 14–15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The Mārkandeya (31.65) and Vāyu (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) pitrs milked *svadhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by pitrs and brings delight to them. Yāj. I. 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The Vāyu (74. 1–2), Matsya (17. 19–22), Brahmānda (Upodghāta 11. 1–2) and Padma (Srstikhanda 9. 147–150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for pitrs; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to pitrs in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arghya*, for pinda and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. Atri (q by Sm. C. II. p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and pitrs, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by Visnu Dh. S. 79.22 and 24). The Padma provides[947] that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of Śiva, it is a great favourite with pitrs. Prajāpati (111) provides that the three pindas should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the brāhmanas should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvali* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also Matsya

947. पात्रं वनस्पतिमयं तथा पर्णमयं शुभ ॥ राजतं वा प्रकुर्वीत तथा सागरसम्भवम्। सौवर्णं राजतं पात्रं पितृणां पात्रमिष्यते। ...वार्यपि श्रद्धया दत्तमक्षय्यायोपकल्पते। अर्घार्थं पितृपिण्डेषु पितृणां राजतं स्मृतम्।...शिवनेत्रोद्भवं यस्मादतस्तत्पितृवल्लभम्। पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 147–151). तथार्घ्यपिण्डभोज्यादौ पितृणां राजतं मतम्। शिवनेत्रो...वल्लभम्। अमङ्गल्यं तयत्नेन देवकार्येषु वर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य 17. 22–23.

17. 19–20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden[947a] by some. Brāhmanas should not take *ācamana* from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. Ācamana should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Sr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Visnu Dh S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phalgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Visnu Dh. S 79. 11 provides that for unguents (*anulepana*) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmanas, sandal-wood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padmaka* may be used. The Brahmapurāna (220. 165–166) mentions kustha, jaṭā-māṁsī, nutmeg, uśīra, mustā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413–14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāna [948] states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāna also (220. 182–184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsuraa* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *māṣa*

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947 a यच्चाङ्गिरसोक्तम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कदलीपत्रम्' इति कदलीपत्रमत्र भोजनमिति पात्रतया मांसं निषिध्यते। स्मृतिच (आ) p 434. Others said that there is an option as to कदलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लघ्वाश्वलायन 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद् 21. 35–40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अश्वत्थ, उदुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काश्मर्य, खदिर, प्लक्ष, न्यग्रोध, बिल्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अन्नं सदधिक्षीरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम्। मासं प्रीणाति वै सर्वान् पितॄनित्याह केशव ॥ यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसंमिश्रं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम्। दत्तमक्षयमित्याहुः पितरः पूर्वदेवताः ॥ मत्स्य 17. 30–36, the first being q by स्मृतिच (आ) p. 431,

beans. The Aušanasa[949]—smrti pronounces the threat that the brāhmana, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māsa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Śm. C. quotes a smrti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māsa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II. pp 772–782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The Āp. Dh. S. prescribes[950] that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesamum oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides[951] that the pitrs are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pitrs extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pitrs extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmanas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

949 यो नाश्नाति द्विजो मांस नियुक्त पितृकर्मणि। स प्रेत्य पशुतां याति सप्तजन्मेकविंशतिम्॥ औशनसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv.-I.).

950. नैयमिकं तु श्राद्ध स्नेहवदेव दद्यात्, सर्पिर्मासामिति प्रथम. कल्प। अभावे तैल शाकमिति। आप ध सू II. 8. 19. 13–15.

951. संवत्सरं गव्येन प्रीति। भूयासमतो माहिषेण। एतेन ग्राम्यारण्याना पशूना मांसं मेध्य व्याख्यातम्। खड्गोपरतरणे खड्गमांसेनानन्त्यं कालम्। तथा शतबलेर्मत्स्यस्य मांसेन वार्ध्राणसस्य च। आप. ध सू II 7.16 25—II 7.17.3. वार्ध्राणस or वार्ध्रीणस is explained as a red-coloured goat that is *tripiba* (whose ears are so long that they touch the water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीणं यूथस्याग्रचर तथा। रक्तवर्ण तु राजेन्द्र छागं वार्ध्राणसं विदु॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 141. 48 q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा p. 431) The Mit On या I. 260 and मेधातिथि on मनु III. 271 quote a slightly different verse त्रिपिबमिन्द्रियक्षीण श्वेतं वृद्धमजापतिम्। वार्ध्राणस तु तं प्राहुर्याज्ञिका श्राद्धकर्मणि॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबत. कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जल सपृशन्ति स त्रिभि पिबतीति त्रिपिब.'. अपरार्क p. 552 cites this verse as a निगम. हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first अपरार्क p 553 quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्राणस is a white-feathered bird with red head, and dark throat 'कृष्णग्रीवो रक्तशिराः श्वेतपक्षो विहङ्गम। स वै वार्ध्राणस मोक्ष इत्येषा नैगमी श्रुतिः॥' Several forms are met with in printed works viz वार्ध्राणस or वार्ध्राणस or वार्ध्रीणस The दीपकलिका gives the two explanations of वार्ध्रीनस (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhrīnasa*. Vas. XI. 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitṛs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the Visnudharmottarapurāna (I. 140. 49–50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell Manu V. 35 and Kūrma II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmanas at a śrāddha The Kūrmapurāna II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmana who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. Manu III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nīvāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarly required not to partake of flesh; but Vasistha insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267–272, Yāj. I. 258–260, Visnu Dh. S. 80 1 ff, Anuśāsanaparva chap. 88, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyan (kandikās. 7–8), Kūrmapurāna II. 20. 40–42, 29. 2–8, Vāyu 83. 3–9, Matsya 17. 31–35, Visnupurāna III. 16.1–3, Padmapurāna (Srsti 9. 158–164), Brahmapurāna 220 23–29, Visnudharmottara I 141.42–47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at śrāddha. The verses of Yāj being the shortest in all these works are given below. Yāj.[952] states; Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (pāthīna), of (red coloured) deer, of ram, of a bird (such as a *tittiri*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called Mahāśalka, o

952. हविष्यान्नेन वै मासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्। मात्स्यहारिणकौरभ्रशाकुनच्छागपार्षतैः। ऐणरौरवबाराहशाशैर्मासैर्यथाक्रमम्। मासवृद्ध्याभितृप्यन्ति दत्तैरिह पितामहाः। खड्गामिषं महाशल्कं मधु सुन्यक्तमेव वा। लौहामिषं महाशाकं मांसं वार्ध्रीणसस्य च॥ यद्ददाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते। या I 258–261. महाशाकं is explained as कालशाकं by the मिता क्षरा, while the स्मृतिच (श्रा p. 431) frankly admits that it does not know what कालशाक is. 'कालशाक कीदृशमिति न विद्मः॥'

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nīvāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of Mahāśāka (i. e. Kālaśāka), and the flesh of Vārdhrīnasa—these secure inexhaustible fruit There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, Manu III. 267 and 271, Kātyāyana (in śrāddhasūtra 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, māsa & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nīvāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of Vārdhrīṇasa produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). Visnu Dh. S. 80.10 and Manu III. 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven month respectively. Hemādri (on śrāddha p 590)[953] is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the pitrs according to the kind of flesh offered. Pulastya quoted by the Mit and Aparārka p. 555 provides that a brāhmana should generally or mainly offer at a śrāddha hermit's food, a ksatriya or a vaiśya should offer flesh, a śūdra should offer honey and all varnas may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.[954] Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a śrāddha dinner was to be a brāhmana alone and so it follows that brāhmanas invited to a śrāddha by a ksatriya or vaiśya had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the Mitāksarā and the Kalpataru written about 1100–1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the Kali age flesh-eating at śrāddha is totally prohibited at least for brāhmanas. It has been shown already (H. of Dh. vol III. pp. 775–776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the Rgveda and the Brāhmanas there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heart-felt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इह सर्वत्र भौत्यतिशयो विवक्षित.। न तु यथाश्रुत एव काल । तथा सति द्वादशवर्षपर्यन्तं पितॄणां तृप्तत्वात् श्राद्धाकरणे प्राप्ते सति न 'प्रतिवर्षं यत्नात्कार्यम्' इत्येतद्वचन विरुध्यत इति हरिहरादय.। हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 590)

954. अत्र यद्यपि मुन्यन्नमांसमध्वादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन श्राद्धे योग्यानि दर्शितानि तथापि पुलस्त्योक्ता व्यवस्थादरणीया। मुन्यन्नं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययो.। मधुप्रदानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्। मिता on या I 260, तथा च श्राद्धप्रकरणे बृहन्नारदीये यथाचारं प्रदेयं तु मधुमांसादिकं तथा—इति। तथा मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे इति कलिवर्ज्यनियमाभिधाय देशाचाराः परिग्राह्यास्तद्देशीयजैर्नरै. । अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेय. सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृत. ॥—इति तत्रैवाग्यत्राभिहितत्वात् । पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय on श्राद्ध (folio 416) quoting नारदीयपुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27–44 and V. 46–47) and Vasistha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778–780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitṛbhyaśca paśūpākaranakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945–946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmanas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmana offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Brhannāradīya purāna that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Prthvīcandrodaya.

Manu (V.11–18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purānas such as the Visnu (III. 4.24–30) and the Varāha (13.53–58) mercifully provide in identical[955] verses that instead of entertaining brāhmanas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *daksinā* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmana with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitrs; may the pitrs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तितः।...सर्वाभावे वनं गत्वा कक्षमूलमदर्शकः। सूर्यादिलोकपालानामिदमुच्चै: पठिष्यति॥ न मेऽस्ति वित्तं न धनं न चान्यच्छ्राद्धस्य योग्यं स्वपितॄन्नतोऽस्मि। तृप्यन्तु भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ भुजौ ततौ वर्त्मनि मारुतस्य॥ वराहपुराण 13. 57–58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29–30, q by मद. पा pp. 515–16 from विष्णु and by निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 467 from both This passage explains the origin and the present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणें बृहत्पराशर (chap. 5 p 152) has similar provisions. The पृथ्वी० (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मासमित्यत्र वर्ज्यं शाकमिति वराहपुराणीयः पाठ'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं मासं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text was tampered with in modern times.

It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha[955a] which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other śrāddhas[956] (even including the *Aṣṭakās*). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of śrāddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own *sūtra* as to the use of the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavīta or prācīnāvīta way and as to the number of *āhutis*[957].

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The Tai. S. (I. 8 5. 1–2) deals[958] with the Mahāpitṛyajña per-

955 a. Terms already explained such as '*Pārvaṇa*' and '*Ekoddiṣṭa*' are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words Śrāddha on amāvāsyā is obligatory (*nityā*) as laid down by Gaut 15 1 q. in note 935 above while the *śrāddhas* performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are *kāmya*.

956. The अनाकुला of हरदत्त on आप. गृ 21.1 states 'पुनरपि पाकयज्ञानन्तरं पुरुषत्रयसंमदानकं वाङ्नामानक्कादीनां प्रकृतिभूतं नास्तिक्यंशकं पित्र्यं कर्मोपदिश्यते.'

957. तथा च कात्यायनः। स्वाहा स्वधा नमः सम्यगपसव्यं तथैव च। आहुतीना तु या संख्या सादगम्या स्वसूत्रत Il q. by नद्. पा p. 392, स्मृतिच. (आ p 458). हेमाद्रि (आ p 356) says 'एते देवादिविधयो महीयेषु कल्पसूत्रग्रन्थेष्वुक्तास्ते तदीया एवेति व्यवस्थया बोद्धव्या'।

958. सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं एकपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्तेभ्योऽभिन्यार्यै दुग्धे मन्थमेतत्ते त्त पे च त्वामन्वेतत्ते पितामह मपितामह पे च त्वामन्वत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वं सुसंहृतं त्वा वयं मघवन्निन्द्रियानिहे। प्र यूयं पूर्णवन्धुरः स्थात्रो यात्ति वर्हा अहु। योजा न्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षन्नमीमदन्त ह्यव प्रिया अधूषत। अस्तोषत स्वभानवो विप्रा नविष्ठया मती। योजा न्विन्द्र ते हरी। अक्षन् पितरोऽमीमदन्त पितरोऽमीतृपन्त पितरोऽमीमृजन्त पितरः। परेत पितरः सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्व्यैः। अधा पितॄन् सुविदत्राँ अपीत यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ तै. सं I.8 5. 1–2. सायण explains अभिन्यार्या दुग्धवत्सा धेनुः। क्षीरे पर्याप्टे मन्थिन्य निश्रीकृतं द्रव्यं मन्थ। सायण quotes तै ब्रा I. 6 8 'अभिन्यार्यै दुग्धे भवति सा हि पितृदेवत्यं दुहे' and explains 'सूता· पुरुषाः पितरो भवन्ति। अभिन्या च वृषवत्सेति सजातीयत्वाच्च तेषां प्रीतिः'. The milk of an अभिन्या cow is kept in a vessel in which are put half-ground barley grains, then the milk is stirred once or thrice with a piece of sugarcane to which a string is tied. This preparation is called मन्थ Vide मैत्रायणीसंहिता I 10 17 (चतुर्थे मन्थस्तेन पितृयज्ञोऽभिन्याया गोर्दुग्धे स्यात्.. इक्षुशलाकयोपनद्यति) and आप. श्रौ 8.14 14. The Tai Br. (I. 6. 8–9) expounds the above Tai. S passage in its own way. The two verses सुसंहृतं and अक्षन्नमीमदन्त are वाज. सं III. 52 and 51 and are the same as तै. सं. I. 10 3. तै ब्रा. II. 6 16 brings together the mantras employed in पिण्डपितृयज्ञ as याज्या, पुरोनुवाक्या or सामिधेनी verses.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Cāturmāsyas: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitrs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitrs Barhisadah (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pitrs called Agnisvātta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitrs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitarah*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitrs have eaten, the pitrs have rejoiced, the pitrs have been glad, the pitrs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitrs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pitrs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.[959] Br. I. 2 10 the Pindapitryajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called pindapitryajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi),

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959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेद्यु क्रियते।...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह।...अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह। य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं प्रीणाति। तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिर्निदधाति षट्सम्पद्यन्ते। षड् वा ऋतव। ऋतूनेव प्रीणाति।...ऋतवः खलु वै देवा. पितरः।... सकृदाच्छिन्नं बर्हिर्भवति। सकृदिव हि पितरः। त्रिर्निदधाति। तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः। तानेव प्रीणाति। पराङावर्तते। ह्रीका हि पितर.। ओष्मणो व्यावृत्त उपास्ते। उष्मभागा हि पितरः।... अवभ्रेयमेव तत्रैव प्राशितं नेवाप्राशितम्। वीरं वै पितर. प्रयन्तो हरन्ति। वीरं वा ददति। दक्षां छिनत्ति। हरणभागा हि पितर.। पितृनेव निरवदयते। उत्तर आयुषि लोम छिन्दीत। पितृणामेतर्हि नेदीय.। नमस्करोति। नमस्कारो हि पितृणाम्। नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरः शुष्माय। नमो वः पितरो जीवाय। नमो व. पितरः स्वधायै। नमो वः पितरो मन्यवे। नमो वः पितरो घोराय। पितरो नमो वः।. एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः। देवानां वा इतरे यज्ञाः। तै ब्रा I. 3. 10. 1–10. The words नमो व पितरो रसाय *to* पितरो घोराय occur in वाज. सं. II. 32 and मै स I, 10. 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज सं. reads शोषाय for शुष्माय It may be noted that though the तै. ब्रा. speaks of three āhutis it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम.। Vide note 781 above. On 'देवा. पितरः' सायण says 'द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च। पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः। मृताः सन्तो भोगार्थलोकं प्राप्ता मनुष्यात्मकाः।'. On वीरं...ददति, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये पुत्रं मारयन्ति साकल्ये पुत्रं प्रयच्छन्ति। अत्र वैकल्यस्य दुष्परिहरत्वेन पुत्रप्रत्याम्नायत्वेन वक्राग्रमीषत्सूत्रं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्यात्।'.

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitrs, *svadhā*! Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, svadhā! Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitrs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pindas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitrs.....The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitrs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pindas) The pitṛs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pindas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the piṇḍas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitṛs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the piṇḍas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitrs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśā*) At that time he is nearer to the pitrs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitrs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life, adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*, adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (piṇḍapitryajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods" In the Tai Br. I 4 10 the Pitryajña performed in *sākameḍha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Ṛtus* (seasons) are pitrs and they offered pitryajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the *Ṛtus* are to be identified with pitrs and obeisance is to be made to them.[960]

960 तस्मात्साकमेधैर्यजमान. इष्ट्वावस्तरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तद्भ्रूवस्पति। 2...अथर्तवः पितर. प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्त। त एतं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्नृतव.। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते एतमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्नृतव.। ऋतूनामेव साङ्ग्यमुपैति। तै ब्रा. I 4 10.8 The word पितृयज्ञ here and in तै सं III. 2 2 3, मै. सं. I.10 17 (यद्वेष पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवास्य पितरोऽभीष्टा प्रीता भवन्ति) means a sacrifice

(*Continued on the next page*)

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitryajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters —When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month ..... He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣina fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣina fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire ..... Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma .. He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), svāhā!', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, svāhā!' (Vāj S. II 29). He then puts the pot-ladle (mekṣaṇa) on the fire, that being in lieu of the Svistakṛt. Thereafter he draws (with the *sphya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣina fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever Asuras roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj S. II 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

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offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Ṛg X. 16. 10 the word पितृयज्ञ means the same thing But as the verse that immediately follows (Ṛg. X. 16 11) mentions pitṛs in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of पितृयज्ञ being well known was used in a secondary sense in Ṛg. X. 16.10.

(*naming*) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots ..... He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:— for the gods they offer thus for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus With 'N. N., this for thee!' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee!' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share!' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pindas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

pindas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire.[960a]

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvaṇa-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Daksina fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavāhana and to Soma Pitrmat, drawing a line or

960 a अथैनं (प्रजापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्योपासीदंस्तानब्रवीन्मासि मासि वोऽन्न स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्चन्द्रमा वो ज्योतिरिति। शतपथ II. 4. 2 2... मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यदैवैष न पुरस्तान्न पश्चाद्दृष्टस्तेऽथैभ्यो ददाति...(7)।...स वा अपराह्णे ददाति पूर्वाह्णो वै देवाना मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्ण पितृणां तस्मादपराह्णे ददाति। स जघनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीती भूत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति। स तत एवोपोत्थायोत्तरेणाग्नाहार्यपचनं दक्षिणा तिष्ठन्नवहन्ति सकृत् फलीकरोति सकृद्धु ह्येव पराञ्च पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत् फलीकरोति। (9) तं अपयति तस्मिन्नधिश्रित आज्यं प्रत्यानयति...। (10) स उद्धास्याग्नौ द्वे आहुती जुहोति देवेभ्य.।.. अथैतत्पितृयज्ञेनैवाचरति्. .स देवैः मनूतोऽथैतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति। ... (11) स वाग्नये सोमाय च जुहोति ..। (12) स जुहोति। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षणमभ्यादधाति तस्त्विष्टकृद्धाजनमथ दक्षिणेनान्वाहार्यपचन सकृद्धुलिखति तद्वेदिभाजनम्...। (13) अथ परस्ताद्धुल्लुकं निदधाति। स यदनिधायोल्लुकमथैतत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादसुररक्षसानि हैषामेतद्विमथ्नीरन्..। (14) स निदधाति। ये रूपाणि प्रतिमुञ्चमाना असुराः सन्तः स्वधया चरान्ति। परापुरो निपुरो ये भरन्त्यग्नेष्टाँल्लोकात्प्रणुदात्यस्मादिति।...। (15) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्ष्वेत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाक्षिण्यंतेऽभिपिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (16) अथ सकृदग्निच्छिन्नान्युपमूलं छिनानि भवन्ति अग्रमिव वै देवाना मध्यमिव मनुष्याणा मूलमिव पितृणां तस्मादुपमूलं छिनाने भवन्ति. । (17) तानि दक्षिणोपस्तृणाति। तत्र ददाति स वा इति ददातीतीव वै देवेभ्यो जुह्वत्युद्धरन्ति मनुष्येभ्योऽथैवं पितृणां तस्मादिति ददाति। (18) स ददाति। असावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्वित्थ हैक आहुस्तदु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वं वै तेषा सह तेषा सह। तस्मादु ब्रूयादसावेतत्त इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावेतत्त इति पितामहायासावेतत्त इति प्रपितामहाय...। (19) तत्र जपति। अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति यथाभागमश्नीतेत्येवैतदाह। (20) अथ पराङ् पर्यावर्तते। तिर इव वै पितरो मनुष्येभ्यस्तिर इवैतदञ्चति स वा आतमितोरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्ह्यसुरिति स वै मुहूर्तमेवासित्वा। (21) अथोपपक्षौ जपति। अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमावृषायिषतेति यथाभागमावृषायिषुरित्येवैतदाह। (22) अथोदपात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिक्ष्वेत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति पितामहमसाववनेनिक्ष्वेति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जक्षुरेऽभिपिञ्चेदेवं तत्। (23) अथ नीविमुद्धृत्य नमस्करोति। पितृदेवत्या वै नीविस्तस्मान्नीविमुद्धृत्य नमस्करोति...षट्कृत्वा नमस्करोति षड्वा ऋतव ऋतवः पितर ...गृह्णाः पितरो दत्तेति गृह्णाणां ह पितर ईशते। एषो एतस्याशीः कर्मणोऽश्नाजिघ्रति मत्यवधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदग्निच्छिन्नान्यभ्यादधाति पुनरुल्लुकमपि मृजति। (24).

furrow to the south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),[961] darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three pindas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the pindas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (pratyavanejana), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Śr. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c) throwing three threads on each pinda with the mantra 'etadvah' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the pindas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S II. 34)[962].

The other *saṁhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29-34[963] are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on kātyā śrau sū IV. 1. 10 says 'अपसव्यं यथा स्यात् हस्तस्य सव्यप्रदेशाद्दक्षिणप्रदेशेनोदकनिनयनं यथा स्यात्तथाङ्गुष्ठप्रदेशिन्योरन्तरालेनावनेजयति अवानिक्ताञ् शुचीन् करोति पिण्डदानाय। असाविति सम्बुद्ध्यन्तगोत्रनामादेशपूर्वक, अमुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरमुकशर्मन्नवनेनिक्ष्व'. Some other sūtra-Āāras provide अमुकगोत्र for अमुकसगोत्र

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the pinda is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitṛtīrtha* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger) This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or adhvaryu) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *daśā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage It will have been noticed that the Sat. Br. in dealing with Piṇḍapitṛyajña employs Vāj. S II. 29 (except 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṁsi vediṣadaḥ'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा। अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः॥ ये रूपाणि॥...मग्दुदात्यस्मात्॥ अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं...तृपायिषत॥ नमो व पितरो रसाय.. नमो वः पितरो मन्यवे नमो व पितरः पितरो नमो वो गृहान्न पितरो दत्त सतो

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employed in the Pindapitryajña in Sākamedha[964]. Similarly, in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā[965] I. 10.3. 10–21 these are mantras for the pitryajña employed in Sākamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III 52 and M. S. I. 10, 3. 17–20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53–55. M. S. I. 10. 3. 13–14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II. 32 and Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvaṇaśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gṛ. IV. 7–8[966]. It is stated by the Anākulā on Āp. gṛ. 21.1 that the

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वः पितरो देष्मैतद्वः पितरो वास आधत्त॥ आधत्त.. सत्॥ ऊर्जं वहन्तीरमृतं घृतं पयः कीलालं परिस्रुतम्। स्वधा स्थ तर्पयत मे पितॄन्॥ वाज सं. II 29–34 The verse ये रूपाणि and the mantras अत्र . तृपायिषत are quoted above in n. 960a from the शतपथब्रा For नमो व. पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्त ..सत् n 780. Both the commentators, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara, of Vāj S., hold that rasa, śoṣa and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (madhu etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of ऋतुs in śrāddha in this way. The कात्या. श्रौ सू (V. 9 24–25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II. 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances Vide Hemādri (Śr pp. 1459–60) who quotes the Vāj S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br and explains them.

964 अक्षन्नमीमदन्त...ते हरी॥ सुसन्दृशं ..ते हरी॥ मनो न्वाह्वामहे नाराशंसेन स्तोमेन। पितॄणां च मन्मभि॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः क्रत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे। ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददातु दैव्यो जनः। जीवं व्रातं सचेमहि॥ वाज सं III. 51–55. वाज. सं. III. 51–52 are the same as Rg I. 82 2–3.

965. मै सं I 10.3 13–14 are as follows. अमीमदन्त पितरो नमो व पितर इषे, नमो व पितर ऊर्जे, नमो व पितरः शुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रसाय, नमो वः पितरो यज्जीव तस्मै, नमो व. पितरो यद्धोरं तस्मै, स्वधा व. पितरो नमो नमो वः पितर.। एषा युष्माकं पितर इमा अस्माक जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम। Compare also अथर्ववेद 18.4. 81–85.

966. अथात पार्वणे श्राद्धे काम्य आभ्युदयिक एकोद्दिष्टे वा। ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशील... सर्वेषाम्। काममनाचे। पिण्डैर्व्याख्यातम्। अप. प्रदाय। दर्भान् द्विगुणशुद्धानासनं प्रदाय। अपः प्रदाय। तैजसाश्ममयमृण्मयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकत्रयेषु वा दर्भान्तर्हितेष्वप आसिच्य शन्नो देवीरभिष्टय इत्यनुमन्त्रितासु तिलानावपति तिलोऽसि सोमदेवत्यो गोसवे देवनिर्मितः। प्रत्नवद्भिः प्रत्तः स्वधया पितॄन्मौँल्लोकान् प्रीणयाहि नः स्वधा नम् इति प्रसव्येन। इतर पाण्यङ्गुष्ठान्तरेणोपवीतित्वाद् दक्षिणेन वा सव्योपगृहीतेन पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति। अप्पूर्वम्। ताः प्रतिगृह्यिष्यन्त्सकृत्सकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति। प्रष्टा अनुमन्त्रयेत या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी सम्भवन्त्युर्या अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थिवीर्या। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आपः शंस्योना भवन्त्विति। संस्रवान्समवनीय ताभिरद्भिः युक्तकामो सुखमनक्ति। नोच्छेत्स्यधर्मं पात्रं पितृणामर्घ्यपातितम्। आवृतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत्॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमाल्यधूपदीपाच्छादनानां प्रदानम्। उच्छ्रित्य घृताक्तमन्नमनुज्ञापयत्यग्नौ करिष्ये करवै करवाणीति प्रत्यभ्यनुज्ञा क्रियतां कुरुष्व कुर्विति। अथाग्नौ जुहोति यथोक्त पुरस्तात्। अभ्यनुज्ञायां पाणिष्वेव वा। अग्निमुखा वै देवा. पाणिमुखा. पितर इति हि ब्राह्मणम्। यदि पाणिष्वाचान्तेष्वन्यदन्नमनुदिशन्ति अन्नमस्ते। सूदं दत्तभुक्तकामिति। तृप्ताञ्ज्ञात्वा मधुमती श्रावयेदक्षन्नमीमदन्तेति च। सम्पन्नमिति पृष्ट्वा यद्यदन्नमुपभुक्तं तत्तत्स्थालीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थमुद्धृत्य क्षेमं निवेदयेत्।

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monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Aṣṭakā and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows: Now then at a Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmaṇas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken *ācamana*), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmaṇas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers), or he may invite only one brāhmaṇa except at the first śrāddha [967]. By the exposition of the Piṇḍapitṛyajña the rules for the pārvaṇa-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with *darbha* blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Rg X. 9.4) [968] the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the *mantra* "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava [969]

(Continued from the last page)

अभिमतेऽद्धमते वा शुक्तवत्स्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डान्निदध्यात् । आचान्तेष्वेके । प्रकीर्याजमुपवीयों स्वधोच्यतामिति विसृजेत् । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आश्व गृ सू IV 7-8. For the second and third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपञ्चौचान्-मद्य IV. 76 states आर्द्रपादस्तु भुञ्जीत, which is almost the same as अनुशासनपर्व 104 61-62. The first half of the verse या दिव्या आपः occurs in तै. ब्रा II. 7. 15. 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads प्रलम्भि पृक्त and मीणाहि (folio 78), and explains अद्भिः पृक्त. जलेन मिश्रितः पितॄन् लोकान् पितृपितामहान्-वृन् प्रलं चिरकालं स्वधया स्वधोच्चारणेन प्रीणाहि प्रीतान् कुरु This yields a good sense Different editions of the आश्व. सू number the sūtras differently. Here the Nirn edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n 903 above for the several meanings of 'anādye'.

968. The verse is शं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । शंयोरभि स्रवन्तु नः ॥ ऋ. X 9.4. This मन्त्र is recited only once

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh vol II. p 1213 n 2644. The mantra about sesamum is repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! svadhā! Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left[970]. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb[971] (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the Arghya water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the arghya for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the arghya for thee, after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

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970. The rules about Pindapitryajña have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6 Nārāyaṇa notes (on Āśv gr. IV 7 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pitrs and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha It is therefore possible that feeding daiva brāhmanas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224–28 and Vas XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmanas spread from the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana to the other sutras and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in Kandikā 2) prescribes that the viśve devāh should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śṛnutemam' which are respectively Vāj S. VII. 34 and XXXIII 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II 41. 13 and VI 52 7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52 13, Tai S II 4 14 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S as Dr. Caland seems to have thought It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai S It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a rk (and not a mantra or yajus). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971 The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called पितृतीर्थ and water is offered by that part of the hand for the pitrs; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 316 note 652. नारायण explains इतरपाण्यङ्गुष्ठा॰ in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति दक्षिणेन वा सव्येन वा तस्मिन्नंसे यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावीती भवति ततोऽन्यस्मिन्नंसे स्थिते उपवीती भवति। अत्र सूपवीतित्वात्प्राचीनावीतित्वसिद्ध्यर्थं सव्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन दातव्यमित्यर्थः। अथवा सव्यपाणे. शिष्टगर्हितत्वाद्दक्षिणं पाणिं सव्येन पाणिना गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेनैव पाणिनोपवीत्येवार्घं प्रयच्छेत् ॥. The कल्पतरु. (on श्रा. p. 148) explains: मसव्येन वामेन हस्तेन। तत्रापि न केवलं वामेनैव अपि तु इतर पाण्यङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण इतरस्य दक्षिणस्य पाणेः अंगुष्ठान्तरेण पितृतीर्थेन। तेनैतदुक्तं भवति। वामहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं भूत्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन पितृतीर्थं संस्पृश्य यथा ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु जलं पतति तथा देयमिति।. अर्घ्य is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc to gods or venerable persons.

manas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmana or group of brāhmanas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmana) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice-may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding *arghya* water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Śaunaka say'[972]. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmanas).[973] Having taken some food (from the Sthālīpāka prepared for Pindapitryajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmanas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmanas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before[974] or (if the brāhmanas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmanas; since the Brāhmana text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

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972. 'He should not remove etc' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'तृतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्यापिधानमिच्छन्ति। अन्ये तु तत्रोत्तरार्धे सप्तमी। अर्घ्यपतितं प्रथमं पात्रं न्यञ्चिलं कुर्यात् तच्च नोद्धरेदा समाप्तेरिति व्याचख्युः" आश्व. गृ IV. 8 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. गृ IV, 7. 10 that from अर्घ्यदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनावीती (i. e wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm)

974 यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् The reference is to आश्व श्रौ सू II. 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनावीतीध्ममुपसमाधाय मेक्षणेनादायावदानसम्पदा जुहोति। सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति.' The word अथ in आश्व. गृ IV. 8, 4 indicates that all the items of the पिण्डपितृयज्ञ upto होम (i. e excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmanas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. श्रौ. सू II. 6.13 allows an option viz the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of मन्त्रs will be अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

manas[975], then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmanas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmanas)[976] brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmanas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Rg. I. 90.[977] 6-8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmanas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmanas together with the sthālīpāka food in order[978] to make lumps (pindas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmanas. After the brāhmanas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps[979] (pindas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (piṇḍas are put down) after the brāhmanas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder[980] he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmanas) bid adieu to the brāhmanas saying 'utter Om!

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975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmana only. सुष्टं is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as प्रभूतम्.

976 On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks. अर्थद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते। तत्राद्यौ कृत्वा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमन्यदक्षमनुदिशति ददात्येकोऽर्थः। यदि पाणिहोमः कृतस्तदाचान्तेषु अन्यदन्नं ददातीत्यपरः।

977. Rgveda I. 90 6-8 (मधुवाता ऋतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times

978 On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहेति नाम्नापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते।.. तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन भुक्तशेषेण च पिण्डनिपरणं भवति। यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नास्ति तत्र भुक्तशेषेणैव केवलेन निपरणं भवति।'. In some श्राद्ध such as काम्यश्राद्ध, आमुदयिक, अष्टमीश्राद्ध and एकोद्दिष्ट there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आश्वलायन appears to differ from मनु III. 253, 260.

980 The word 'उपवीय' shows that till then the performer was प्राचीनावीती.

Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!'). 980a

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several grhyasūtras of the Ṛgveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneya śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādira) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kauśika sūtra) A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3–4)[981] states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *āhutis* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1–7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitṛs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitre' (Āp. M. P. II. 19 8–13). Thus the agnaukaraṇa in Āp consists of two parts viz. āhutis of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumān' (Āp M. P. II. 19. 14–16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the piṇḍas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east, (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadghā &c.,' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The Āp. gr. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: भुक्तवतोऽन्नव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य द्वैधं दक्षिणाग्रान् दर्भान् संस्तीर्य तेषूत्तरैरपो दत्त्वोत्तरैर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिण्डान् दत्त्वा पूर्ववदुत्तरैरपो दत्त्वोत्तरैरुपस्थायोत्तरयोदपात्रेण त्रिः प्रसव्यं परिषिच्य न्युब्ज्य पात्राण्युत्तरं यज्ञुरनवानं ब्रूयुरा॰ वर्यमावर्तयित्वा प्रोक्ष्य पात्राणि द्वन्द्वमन्युदाहृत्य सर्वतः समवदायोत्तरेण यज्ञुषा शेषस्य प्राशा॰ वराद्यं प्राश्नीयात्।. The mantras referred to here occur in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittirīya śākhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10–13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gṛ. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19–20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1–3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Pinda-pitryajña 'pindapitryajña-vad-upacārah' (first sūtra of the 2nd kandikā) Some details which it contains (and Yāj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divyā' (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), 'prthivī te pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatrī and the Madhumatī verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatrī (once or thrice), the five Rākṣoghnī verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1–5, Vāj. S. XIII. 9–13, Tai. S. I 2. 14. 1–2), Puruṣasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1–13 = Vāj. S. 17. 33–34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4 1–4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhāvācana* (Yāj. I 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yāj I. 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmanas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pitṛs be kind (lit not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr Caland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150–152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol III p 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śākhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Manu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208–265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 226–249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmanas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*[982] in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmanas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *daiva* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvana) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmanas should be seated in a pure (cowdunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *daiva* (part of pārvana-śrāddha when Viśve-devāh are to be invoked) two brāhmanas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmaṇas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the pitṛs or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *daiva* and in *pitrya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously[983]. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmanas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāh) and having given kusa blades for a seat[984] (towards their right side on the seat already

982 For the meaning of *pavitra* see H of Dh vol II p 657 notes 1553–54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhas* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mit. supplies that the invited brāhmanas also should have a *pavitra* The गोभिलस्मृति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अपरार्क pp 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मिता remarks यदा तु द्वावेव ब्राह्मणौ लब्धौ तदा तु वैश्वदेवे पात्रं प्रकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुञ्ज्यात्। यथाह वसिष्ठ । Vide p. 403 above for Vas. 11. 30–31 which the मिता quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says. तथा मातामहश्राद्धं वैश्वदेवसमन्वितम्। कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्र वा वैश्वदेविकम्॥ तन्त्र means उभयोद्देशेन सकृदनुष्ठानम् or as शबर on जै. XI 1 1 explains 'यत् सकृत् हूतं बहूनामुपकरोति तत् तन्त्र यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृत प्रदीप '. Yāj I 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmanas. तन्त्रं वा–If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs for मातामहत्रय . or only two ब्राह्मणs may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणs for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both

984. For विष्टर (in या I 229), a seat made with 25 darbhas, vide H. of of Dh. vol. II p. 543 n. 1259. The मिता says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smārta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वेदेवा. viz. 'आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबला। ये यत्र विहिता. श्राद्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII 1, 217. 32–33 and गरुडपुराण I 218.7. On p. 478 अपरार्क attributes this स्मार्तमन्त्र to बृहस्पति and to the ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 481. The

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occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmanas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O! all the gods come!' (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34) Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmanas representing Viśve-devāh) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmanas) the *arghya*[985] water with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the Vaiśva-deva brāhmana or brāhmanas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp[986] and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder[987] and

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कल्पतरु (on श्रा pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा. p. 1226) quotes it from the ब्रह्मपुराण, while the मद p. 574 quotes it as बृहस्पति's. The मिता notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being यज्ञोपवीती and having his right side towards the brāhmanas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना प्रदक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसव्यं ततः कृत्वा पितृणाममदक्षिणम्' इति पित्र्ये विशेषस्मरणात्।" अपसव्यं तत. कृत्वा—is या. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा pp 1257–58) explains 'प्रदक्षिणादन्यदप्रदक्षिणम्। प्रदक्षिणं नामाभिमुखप्रुरुषवामाङ्गोपलक्षितं प्रदेशं प्रति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वाभिमुखोपविष्टदैविकपङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यद्विजादारभ्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजापवर्गना'

985. 'Arghya water'—The मिता. states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनिक्षिपेत्.' The arghya is to be offered to each ब्राह्मण separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III 74 'अर्घेऽक्षय्योदके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने। तन्त्रस्य तु निवृत्तिः स्यात्स्वधावाचन एव च॥' The printed मिता reads the मन्त्र as यवोसि धान्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *samhitās*. Similarly, the मिता reads the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आप: पयसा' for अर्घ्य, which is probably Rg. VII. 49 2 with the order of words changed. अपरार्क (p 479) states that if there are two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मणs then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting यवs and at each अर्घ्य. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा p. 1229) defines: 'अर्घ्यो नामार्हणीयान. पुरत. संमाननार्थः प्रशस्तद्रव्यप्रक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः शङ्खेनोक्तः। घृतेन दीपो दातव्यस्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः। वसामेदोभवं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत्॥' मिता. on या. I. 231. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the verse घृतेन (I. 141 12).

987. या. I. 232—अपसव्यं ततः. The Mit quotes बृद्धशातातप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उदङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितृणां दक्षिणामुखः। प्रदद्यात् पार्वणे सर्वं देवपूर्वं विधानतः॥'. 'Double-folded kuśas'—compare Āsv.

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācīnāvīti*) the performer should offer to the pitrs (i. e. to the three brāhmanas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (i e on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *unstara*), he should then invoke[988] the pitrs after taking the permission of the brāhmanas with the rk 'uśantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu nah pitarah) 'may the pitrs come to us' (Vāj. S 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmanas) with the mantra 'Apahatā' (Vāj S II. 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pitrs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the *arghya* water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmanas in one vessel (the pitr vessel), them turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होमे भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामृजवो दर्भाः पितृणा द्विगुणास्तथा॥' In offering each of the things in daiva or *pitrya* rite in śrāddha water must be given before and after. The मिता says that here the method called काण्डानुसमय (and not पदार्थानुसमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jai. V. 2 1–15. Vide H of Dh vol II. pp. 739–740 In this case if there are three brāhmanas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third This is काण्डानुसमय If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थानुसमय. काण्ड means पदार्थवर्ग. हेमाद्रि (on श्रा pp. 759–766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two He states that पदार्थानुसमय is the rule but काण्डानुसमय also has to be followed in certain cases I or example, on p 764 he says 'चरणप्रक्षालनाचमनमद्दानासनोपवेशनानि पदार्थानुसमयेन। आसनक्षणावाहनार्घगन्धपुष्पधूपदीपाच्छादनानां पदार्थानां कृत्स्न काण्डे वैश्वदेविकेषु द्विजेष्वपवर्ज्य पैतृकेष्वारभ्भणीयम्' and relies on या I. 229–234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण are first finished and those relating to पैतृकब्राह्मण are then taken up i e. there is काण्डानुसमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पैतृकब्राह्मण. Vide हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह्य (या. I 233). The मिता. remarks "अथ पितॄन् पितामहान् प्रपितामहांनावाहयिष्य इति ब्राह्मणान् पृष्ट्वा आवाहयेति तैरनुज्ञात उशन्तस्त्वा निधीमहि इत्यनयर्चा पित्रादीनावाह्य 'आयन्तु नः पितरः' इत्यादिना मन्त्रेणोपतिष्ठेत". It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the श्राद्धसूत्र of काश्य—'सर्वेषु प्रश्नेषु पङ्क्तिमुख्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा (2nd कण्डिका of श्राद्धसूत्र).'

down[989] on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitṛs.'[990] Then, being about to perform '*agnaukaraṇa*' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmaṇas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *mekṣaṇa*[991] according to the

989. The मिता remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the *pavitras* covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'पितरयं ते गन्धः' etc.

990 पूर्ववत्—The मिता very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for पैठ्यब्राह्मण: 'राजतादिषु पात्रेषु त्रिष्वप्युन्मकुशनिर्मितकूर्चान्तर्हितेषु 'इं नो देवी.' इति मन्त्रेणाप क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोसि सोमदेवत्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलान् गन्धपुष्पाणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वधार्घ्यं'—इति ब्राह्मणाना पुरतोऽर्घपात्राणि स्थापयित्वा या दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्। Vide आश्व गृ in note 966 above for इं नो देवी, तिलोसि, या दिव्याः The मन्त्र is 'अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) The बहुचगृह्यपरिशिष्ट, अपरार्क (p 484) and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पाद्य, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc Therefore the अर्घ्य will be offered in the form 'अमुकगोत्र पितरमुकशर्मंस्तेतस्तेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on श्राद्धसूत्र) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयs the last words are एष ते ऽर्घः

991 मेक्षण is a rod of Aśvattha wood one *aratni* long having at one end a square board four *angulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज सं II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नम.) Acc to Baud. Dh S II. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz to सोमाय पितृपीताय, यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते, अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते Acc. to मद् पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyanīyas The ब्रह्मपुराण q. by मद्. पा. (p 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmānda (upodghāta, 11.93–94) If the performer is आहिताग्नि and has observed सर्वाधान method he offeres into दक्षिणाग्नि; if he is not आहिताग्नि or has followed अर्धाधान method he offers into gṛhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śrauta or gṛhya fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmaṇa. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one saṁhitā and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 1085–1090 and मनु III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pitṛya brāhmaṇas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmaṇas acc. to the मद्. पा. 585 and स्मृतिच (आ. p. 462), both of which quote गोभिल II 120 'पित्र्ये यः पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान्। हुत्वा मन्त्रवदन्येषां तूष्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत्॥'. हलायुध holds that, since या. (I. 237 हुतशेष प्रदद्यात्तु भाजनेषु समाहित.) employs the word भाजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for दैवब्राह्मण The सौरपुराण (19.22) says. अग्नेरभावाद्विप्रस्य पाणौ होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा श्रद्धयान्वित॥

procedure laid down for Piṇḍapitryajña. He, being intent (only on performing śrāddha correctly), should serve the food that remains after (making the two offerings mentioned above) in plates (except earthen one) that he may be able to secure, and particularly silver oness (plates are meant for feeding pitrya brāhmanas). After serving the food in the plates, he should invoke over the plates the mantra 'the earth is thy[992] support', he should take hold of the thumb of the brāhmanas and put it on the food (served in the plates) with the mantra[993] 'idam Visnur' ('Visnu strode over this' Rg. I. 22. 17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai S. I. 2. 13. 1). The performer should then mutter the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III 62. 10, Vāj. S. III. 35, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) together with 'Om' and the 'Vyāhrtis' and the three verses beginning with 'Madhu vātā' (Rg. I. 90. 6–8, Vāj. S. 13. 27–29, Tai. S IV. 2 9. 3), he should say 'partake (of the food) as you please' and the brāhmanas also should eat the food silently. He should serve without anger or bustle food fit for being offered as *havis* (in a śrāddha) and liked by the brāhmanas till they are satiated (so that some food is left in their plates) and should repeat (while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating) sacred texts and the texts for *Japa* (Gāyatrī &c. already referred to in Yāj I. 239 above). The sacred texts to be repeated according to the Mit on Yāj. I. 240 are the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1–16), the Pāvamānī verses (i. e. verses like 'svādisthayā madisthayā' from the 9th mandala of the Rgveda as stated by Medhātithi on Manu III. 86 and Haradatta on Gautama (19. 12). Manu III. 232 mentions other works for recitation such as the dharmaśāstras, *ākhyānas*, itihāsa (Mahābhārata), purānas and khilas (like Śrīsūkta and Vidyāsūkta). There is great divergence of views about the sacred texts to be recited by the performer in a low voice, while the brāhmanas are engaged in partaking the food

992. yā I. 238. The मन्त्र meant is, पृथिवी ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्त्वा मुखे जुहोमि ब्राह्मणाना त्वा प्राणापानयोर्जुहोम्यक्षितमसि मैषा क्षेष्टा अमुत्रामुष्मिँल्लोके। आप. म. पा. II. 20 1. The मन्त्र is addressed to the remainder of the food used for अग्नौकरण. पात्र means support. As stated in n. 783, in श्राद्ध the आहवनीय is the ब्राह्मण invited for dinner. About अङ्गुष्ठ, यम q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा p 183) says: अङ्गुष्ठमात्रो भगवान् विष्णुः पर्यटते महीम्। राक्षसाना वधार्थाय को मेऽद्य प्रहरिष्यति॥ तस्माच्छ्राद्धेषु सर्वेषु त्वङ्गुष्ठग्रहणं स्मृतम्। These are quoted also by अपरार्क p. 494, स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 462 and by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1378.

993. यम q. by अपरार्क p. 494 says 'विष्णो हव्यं च कव्यं च त्र्यायुरक्षेति च क्रमात्.' The मिता quotes it as मनु's and says that in the पित्र्य rite the performer being प्राचीनावीतिन् should say 'विष्णो कव्यं रक्ष.'

cooked for śrāddha Vide note 1005 below. It may be that the *japa* of sacred texts is to be done by the performer wearing the sacred thread in the *upavīta* way as stated by Hemādri p. 1070 and the Madana-pārijāta p. 599, but the Śrāddhatattva (p. 231) is opposed to this and relies on Manu III. 279. Certain verses from the Purānas also are to be recited such as the verses from the Varāhapurāna (14. 26-31) and Visnupurāna (III. 15. 31-36, which are identical with the preceding) quoted by the Kalpataru on śrāddha (p. 197), Aparārka (p. 502) and Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 109), the first and last of which are quoted in the note below [994]. The Garuḍapurāna (Ācārakhanda 218.20 ff.) prescribes that while the brāhmanas are eating one may recite a eulogy of *pitṛs* such as the 'saptavyādha' verses [994a]. Then, after holding the food in his hands, the performer should ask the brāhmanas 'are you satisfied' (and after they reply that they are satisfied) he should tell them that there is food still left (and ask them what to do with it) and after taking their per-

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994. The first and last verses are: पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। मम तृप्तिं प्रयान्त्वद्य विप्रदेहेषु संस्थिताः ॥...यज्ञेश्वरो हव्यसमस्तकव्यभोक्ताध्यात्मा हरिरीश्वरोऽत्र। तत्संनिधानादपयान्तु सद्यो रक्षांस्यशेषाण्यसुराश्च सर्वे ॥.

994 a. The सप्तव्याध verses from the हरिवंश (I. 24. 20-21) and गरुडपुराण are. सप्तव्याधा दशार्णेषु मृगाः कालञ्जरे गिरौ। चक्रवाकाः शरद्वीपे हंसाः सरसि मानसे ॥ तेभिजाताः कुरुक्षेत्रे ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः। प्रस्थिता दूरमध्वानं यूयं किमवसीदथ ॥. On these the श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 231) says 'अपहृतगुरुगवींमांसकृतश्राद्धमहत्त्वप्रकाशकपितृगाथात्वेन सप्तव्याधा इति च पठ्यते'. These very verses occur in the अग्निपुराण chap. 117. 56-57. The story is very clearly set out in हरिवंश 1, chapters 21-24 and the Matsyapurāna chap 20-21. Seven pupils of Garga guarding their guru's cow thought of eating that cow as they were famished. But the youngest said 'let us make use of the cow's flesh in śrāddha, so that we may be saved from sin'. Two of the brothers became daiva brāhmanas, three became pitr-brāhmanas, one became the giver and the 7th became a guest. They told the guru that the cow was eaten by a tiger They passed through several births first as seven hunters, then deer in Kālañjara hill and so on Śrāddha ultimately saved them. The same story is narrated in Padma V. 10.49-125, and V. 47.282-304 (in which last the disciples are said to have been those of वसिष्ठ) After becoming hamsas three of them became kings (a king and two ministers, acc. to मत्स्य) and cared not for the other world. The four others knew the path to moksa, sent word to the three with these verses saying that they four had started on the long road to the other world (प्रस्थिता ..ध्वानं) and asking the other three not to be immersed in the mire of worldliness (यूयं...दथ). The story also occurs in the शिवपुराण (उमासंहिता chap. 41.24 ff). It is interesting to note that in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S. B. E vol. 45 p 56) the echoes of this story of the brothers are heard for illustrating the influence of *karman*,

mission[995] (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmaṇas for pitṛs) the remaining food on (*darbhas* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the *mantra* 'ye agnidagdhāḥ', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with sesamum mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the piṇḍas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmaṇas) according to the procedure of the piṇḍapitṛyajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the Viśvedevāḥ to offering piṇḍas). Then he should give water to the brāhmaṇas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmaṇas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmaṇas say '*svasti*', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmaṇas *dakṣiṇā* (fee or presents)[996] according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmaṇas "may I request you to repeat the word '*svadhā*'" and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitṛs and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmaṇas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmaṇas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the Viśvedevāḥ be pleased' and when the brāhmaṇas have responded with 'let the Viśve-devāḥ be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

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995 तदन्नं विकिरेन्भूमौ दद्याच्चाग्रे. सकृत् सकृत्। या I. 241 The मिता comments: तदन्नं पितृस्थानब्राह्मणस्य पुरस्ताद्दर्भोपरिसन्निधौ दक्षिणाग्रदर्भान्तरितायां भूमौ तिलोदकप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धा' इत्यनया ऋचा निक्षिप्य पुनस्तिलोदकं प्रक्षिपेत्। तदनन्तरं ब्राह्मणस्तेषु पण्डपार्थे सकृत्सकृदपो दद्यात्। ये अग्निदग्धा—this is Rg. X, 15 14 translated above (p 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground The Mit. speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *ṛk*, so it should be taken to be Rg X. 15. 14; but later works like the आह्निकतत्त्व (pp 231-32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide तै. ब्रा III 1. 1. 7 for pitṛs that were अग्निदग्ध and that were *not* so in another connection.

996. या. I. 244 दत्त्वा तु दक्षिणां शक्त्या—देवल prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यब्राह्मण first and then to the वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण 'दक्षिणां पितृविप्रेभ्यो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो द्वयोः' q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p 483). मत्स्य 17 50-52, वायु 75. 14-15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing:[997] 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitṛs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts'[998]. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmaṇas,[999] having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Vāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 7 8.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmaṇas representing the pitṛs start first,[1000] (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāḥ). The vessel in which the drops of *arghya* water from the hands of the brāhmaṇas had been collected before should be turned face upwards[1001] and then the brāhmaṇas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmaṇas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

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997 दातारो नो—या I 246 This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 117), मत्स्य 16 49-50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.30, मत्स्य 16 50-51, पद्म (सृष्टि 9 118) add another verse to या I 246 viz. अन्नं च नो बहु भवेदतिथींश्च लभेमहि। याचितारश्च नः सन्तु मा च याचिष्म कंचन ॥.

999 इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा प्रिया वाच—या I 247. अपरार्क p 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफलं जन्म भवत्पादाभिवन्दनात्। अद्य मे वंशजाः सर्वे गतास्तेनुग्रहाद् दिवम् ॥ अत्र शाकादिपानेन क्लेशिता ये मयेदृशाः। तत्क्लेशजातं चित्तेन विस्मृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या°I 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III 15 48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 which say 'वैश्वदेवनिवेशाना चरमं हस्तधावनम्। विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यत. स्थिता ॥'. The मिता adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17 59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे इति जपन् कुशाग्रेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination त्वा in कृत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmaṇas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmaṇas start. Compare Jai IV.3.37 for क्त्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संस्रव has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmaṇas when arghya water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the arghya vessels. श्रीदत्त in his पितृभक्ति (D C Ms 153 of 1892-95) says 'संस्रवपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तस्रुतजलपरमिति निबन्धाः। कर्कभाष्ये तु अर्घपात्रस्थशेषीभूतजलं संस्रवपदमित्युक्तम्। युक्तं चैतत्। शेषे प्रतिपत्तेरपेक्षितत्वात्।' folio 25b.

house after) the brāhmanas representing the pitrs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmanas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day [1002].

Many of the Purānas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsyā*; for example, Matsya 17. 12-60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225-259), Visnupurāna III. 15. 13-49, Mārkandeya 28 37-60, Kūrma (II. 22. 20-62), Padma (sṛstikhanda) 9. 140-186), Brahmānda (Upodghātapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224. 3-51, *Visnudharmottara* I. 140. 6-44. The Agnipurāna chap. 163 verses 2-42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227-270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr and Yāj. Similarly the Garudapurāna contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229-239 with Garuda I. 99. 11-19. The Purānas closely follow the Grhyasūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāna 14 51, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purānas (iyam sarvapurānesu sāmānyā paitrikī kriyā). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (srsti 9. 140-186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśve-devāh (i e. the brāhmana or brāhmanas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of *darbhas* The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. Theyo should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41 13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41. 13-14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted [1003] below). After decking the brāhmanas with sandalwood paste and flowers

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1002 या I. 249. मिता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā I 249 the performer and the brāhmanas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

1003. यवोऽसि धान्यराजस्तु वारुणो मधुमिश्रितः। निर्णुद सर्वपापानो पवित्रमूर्वि- संस्तुतम्॥ पद्म (सृष्टि) 9.144 कौ. घ सू III. 6 5 is almost identical The मिता. on या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोसि धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the same. अपरार्क p 479 speaks of 'यवोसि' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse[1004] 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *pavitras* on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9 4), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147–152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmaṇas. He should then request brāhmaṇas with the words 'I shall invite the pitṛs' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the pitṛs with the two verses 'uśantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16.12) and 'ā yantu' (Vāj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmaṇas (representing the pitṛs) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the pitṛs'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157–165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitṛs). While the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns[1005] referring to

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1004. मिता. on या I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. गृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आप पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gr. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse एको मुनिस्ताम्रकराग्रहस्तो ह्याम्रेषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तृप्ता एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11 77), वायु 111. 37, अग्नि 115. 40, compare महाभाष्य 'आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः।' vol. I p 14.

1005 The verses of the पद्म (सृष्टि 9. 165–169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपरार्क p 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 65–68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पैतृक (Rg X. 15 1–13) मन्त्रs, पुरुषसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Śāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1075, is वाज सं. 36.10 ff which begins इं नो वात. पवताम्; The मधुब्राह्मण is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां भूताना मधु) and छान्दोग्य III 1 (beginning with असौ वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलब्राह्मण is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III, p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on श्रा) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलब्राह्मणम्.

(*Continued on the next page*)

the Fathers, all the Purānas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Visnu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pāvamānī verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyestha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrāhmana, the Mandala Brāhmana and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmanas and the performer, and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pitrs. After the brāhmanas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread[1005] it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmanas and should say[1007] 'May those persons in our

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(*Continued from the last page*)

These verses of the पद्मपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्यपुराण also (17.37-39). The राक्षोघ्नमन्त्रs are five verses (Rg IV. 4 1-5=Vā. S. XIII. 9-13=Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (श्रा pp. 1069-1073) first sets out the texts mentioned by मनु, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराणs, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp 1073-1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्ववर्णिकमन्नाद्य · विकिरन्भुवि in पद्म (सृष्टि 9 170) is the same as Manu III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21

1007 अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धा कुले मम। भूमौ दत्तेन तृप्यन्तु तृप्ता यान्तु परां गतिम्॥ येषा न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्न चान्यामेत्र न तथान्नमस्ति। तनृप्तयेऽन्न भुवि दत्तमेतत्प्रयान्तु योगाय यतो यतस्तत्॥ असस्कृतप्रमीतानां त्यागिना कुलयोषिताम्। उच्छिष्टभागधेयाना दर्भेषु विकिरान्नम्॥ पद्म. (सृष्टि 9 171-173) These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42-44 which presents some various and better readings (viz प्रयान्तु लोकेषु सुखाय तद्वत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयोषिताम्), यौ यू सू II 10.42 (येऽग्निदग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वदग्धा . गतिम्॥) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृत० is मनु III 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81 22, and Skandapurāna VI. 218 10-11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपरार्क p 505 reads 'ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा जीवा जाता कुले मम। भूमौ ..गतिम्॥' Halāyudha in his com on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra holds that अदग्ध is the proper reading and अनग्निदग्धा is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāna (folio 26b) त्यागिना कुलयोषिता in मनु III 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pindas, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words रसशोषजीवस्वधावीरमन्यु named in वाज स. II. 32 'नमो व. पितरो रसाय ..पितरो मन्यवे' Vide श्राद्धतत्त्व pp. 241-242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go'! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the samskāras (*caula, upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmanas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmana, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pindas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Piṇḍapitṛyajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pindas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pindas). He should perambulate the pindas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pindas. When the brāhmanas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmanas and flowers and *aksatas* and then *aksayyodaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmanas) of cows,[1008] land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmanas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmanas to say

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1008. पद्म (सृष्टि 9 180) ११ गोभूहिरण्यवासांसि भव्यानि शयनानि च। दद्याद्यद्विष्ट विप्राणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥. There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for gifts of land in śrāddhas An inscription of Karnadeva, son of Gāngeyadeva of the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a brāhmana on the occasion of the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha of Gāngeyadeva at Prayāga. Vide I A vol. 16 pp. 204–207 for the grant of a village by the Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *samvat* 1107 (1050–51 A D.) on the anniversary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhosle, prince of Akkalkot, to a learned brāhmana of thirty *bighas* of land on the 10th day of his father's death (Bhārata-itthāsa-samśodhana-mandala, vol. 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramavāsikaparva 14 3–4 युधिष्ठिर is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to ब्राह्मण्स in श्राद्ध for भीष्म, द्रोण, दुर्योधन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmaṇas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east They are 'May the pitṛs be kind (not dreadful) to us'; the brāhmaṇas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase!'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true!'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the piṇḍas and request the brāhmaṇas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmaṇas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmaṇas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva, balihoma*[1009] &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vāje vāje' (Ṛg. VII. 38 8, *Vāj* S. IX. 18, *Tai.* S I 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmaṇas with the tip of kusas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *balihoma*. Then after Vaiśvadeva he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmaṇas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāṇa follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāṇa follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the Viṣṇudharmottara I.140 appears to rely on the Āp gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19–20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp M. P. II. 19.1, I. 140. 29–30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14–16, I. 140. 35 to Āp M P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI 224 3–51) closely follows Āśv. gr and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several gṛhyasūtras, the smṛtis and the purāṇas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the gṛhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (*upasaṃhāra*) of

1009. पद्म, भूमिखण्ड 9. 185–186 are the same as मनु III. 265. 246 and Matsya 17. 56–57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smrtis though not included in the kalpa or grhya sūtra of his own Śākhā. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748–759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*krama*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Visnudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'[1010] The smrtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no *kalpa* or *grhya* sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several grhyasūtras and smrtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8–33 which is called 'śākhāntarādhikarananyāya' or 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.[1011] It is established in this sūtra that the *prayojana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smrtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smrtis (vide notes 787–790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pārvana* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

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1010. यः स्वसूत्रमतिक्रम्य परसूत्रेण वर्तते। अप्रमाणमृषिं कृत्वा सोऽन्यधर्मेण युज्यते॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127. 148–149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्याविशेषात्। जै II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना+आख्या+अविशेषात्), on this शबर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं मत्यभिजानीमः। रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यदेवतम्। पुरुषप्रयत्नस्तादृश एव चोद्यते। नामधेयं चाविशिष्टम्। तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्विति प्रत्ययः।'. The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति माधान्यात् फलसंयोगग्रहणम्।...चोदनेति सर्वधात्वर्थभावनाविषयो विधिः।'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय. मेधा. on मनु XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्व सं ते पयांसि-इति स्मृत्यन्तरोक्तो विधिरपेक्षितव्यः। एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वस्मृतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः।'.

viz. *kuśas*, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhi*) is the same and the name (*Pārvaṇaśrāddha*, Ekoddista śrāddha &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of these various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smṛtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varnas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smṛtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smṛtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smṛtis the *krama* and *kāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5–7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841–848).[1012] The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ācamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the vedi. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the śruti passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the vedi should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever in detail is not in conflict with one's own śākhā or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own grhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's śākhā (or sūtra) but is contained in another śākhā and is not in conflict with one's own śākhā, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन्। जै. I. 3. 7 On this śābar observes: आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतिना कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणान्युदाहरणानि। किमेतानि श्रुतिविरुद्धानि न कर्तव्यानि उताविरुद्धानि कार्याणि चेत्पश्यसि तैरप्युष्टीयमानैर्वेदिके किंचिन्न कुप्यति तस्मादविरुद्धानीति। नैतदेवम्। शाखपरिच्छिन्नं हि क्रमं बाधेरन्। कथम्। वेदं कृत्वा वेदिं कुर्वीतेतीमां श्रुतिमुपरुन्ध्यादन्तरा वेदं वेदिं चाक्रष्टीयमानमाचमनादि'. This pūrvapakṣa is refuted later on.

āgnihotra and the like'.[1013] The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Sangraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's grhya-sūtra, but where one's grhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.[1014] It appears that even the ancient grhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyāya e. g. Āśv. gr. (q. in n 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the Ṛgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smṛtis and purānas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāna[1015] provides that the performer should before noontime is past bring to his house the invited brāhmanas

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1013. अविरुद्धानि तु परशाखाम्नातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्युपसंहृत्य कर्मानुष्ठेयम्। तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे। यच्चाम्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविरोधि यत्। विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा॥ इति। हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 759 This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads परोक्तमविरोधि and ० होत्रादिकर्मवत्). अपरार्क p 8 and स्मृतिच. I p 5 quote this verse as कात्यायन's and also another of his 'बह्वल्पं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम्। तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वं कृतो भवेत्॥'. हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 756 quotes this last verse as वैजपायन's Both verses (बह्वल्पं० and यच्चाम्नातं०) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्यायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच (I p 5) adds another half verse of कात्यायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यत्रोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्' In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धान्त (i e. one's सूत्र) अग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by श्राद्धसौख्य (दोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows. 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोग्निहोत्रविधि क्रियते'

1014 यान्यत्र कालभेदेन कर्माणि मुनयो जगुः। स्वगृह्योक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु युज्यते॥ न गृह्यादिस्मृतिर्येषां श्राद्धादावुपलभ्यते। कर्तुर्महन्ति ते कृत्स्नं यस्य कस्य मुनेर्मतम्॥ संग्रह q by हेमाद्रि (आ. p 1484) The श्रा कि. कौ p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकाङ्क्षितं परशाखोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकाङ्क्षितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव। पुराणोक्तं तु आकांक्षितमनाकाङ्क्षितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वैरेवानुष्ठेयम्। तत्रापि स्वशाखोक्ताविरोधिना कार्यमिति।' The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Sān Sr. S IV 4. 10–15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाप्यधिको वापि यः स्वशाखोदितो विधि। तेन सन्तनुयाद्यज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्॥'

1015 ततो निवृत्ते मध्याह्ने भुक्तवोननखान् द्विजान्। अवगम्य (अभिगम्य?) यथामार्गं प्रयच्छेद्वन्तधावनम्। आसध्वमिति सङ्कल्पजासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक्। तैलमभ्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम्। कूर्मे (उत्तरार्ध 22 20–21) In B I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 1167 from देवल and कूर्म and by कल्पतरु (आ p. 117) from देवल.

who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāna has added several details that were not provided for by the Āśv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yāj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purānas such as the Varāha 14. 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmanas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvaṇa-śrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmanas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purānas that two *maṇḍalas* should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmanas. For example, the Nāradapurāna states[1016] 'the mandala for a brāhmana performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The *maṇḍalas* should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two mandalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern mandala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with aksata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern mandala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmana or brāhmanas that represent the *Viśvedevāh* should be honoured in the northern mandala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmanas representing the pitrs should be then honoured in the southern mandala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

1016 श्राद्धार्थं समनुज्ञात· कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्र ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वर्तुलं ज्ञेयं शूद्रस्याभ्युक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 32-33); सौरपुराण (19. 13-14) has almost the same verse as चतुरस्रं etc. Vide अपरार्क p 475 for मण्डलs.

no devīr' Rg. X. 9. 4).[1017] After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and to the pitrya brāhmaṇas as noted below (in n.1017). After the pādya water is offered the brāhmaṇas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ācamana*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179–190) and purāṇas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevās and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas They say: [1018] "in śrāddha performed in an *iṣṭi* the *Viśvedevas* are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nāndīmukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Locana, in naimittika śrāddha Kāla and Kāma and in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha Purūravas and Ārdrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*āsana*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit on Yāj I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

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1017. ॐ नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा पुरूरवार्द्रवसञ्ज्ञका विश्वेदेवा इदं वः पाद्यमिति दद्यात्। एवं पित्र्यौ ब्राह्मणपादयोरपि शन्नो देवीति मन्त्रान्ते पितरस्त्वकगोत्रासुकशर्मन् वसुरूप इदं ते पाद्यमिति दद्यात्। मद. पा p. 567.

1018. क्रतुर्दक्षो वसु सत्यः काल कामस्तथैव च। धुरिश्चारोचनश्चैव तथा चैव पुरूरवा:। आर्द्रवश्च दशैते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिता। बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p 478, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 142), स्मृतिच (श्रा pp 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to be kept separate and not compounded. 'इष्टिश्राद्धे क्रतुर्दक्ष सत्यो नान्दीमुखे वसु' नैमित्तिके कालकामौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ॥ पुरूरवा आर्द्रवश्च पार्वणे समुदाहृतौ। वृद्ध q. by अपरार्क p. 478, श्रा. म p 23, मद् पा (p 573-574) which explains 'इष्टिश्राद्धमाधानादौ क्रियमाण ... । नैमित्तिके सपिण्डीकरणे। कामनयानुष्ठेयगयामहालयादि श्राद्धे काम्यम्। इष्टिश्राद्ध is the कर्माङ्गश्राद्ध, 9th among the 12 श्राद्धs quoted above from विश्वामित्र (in n 858) The श्रा. म p. 23 notes the different readings of some of the names such as पुरूरवस् and आर्द्रव, some saying the first is पुरूरव and the second is मार्द्रव The printed आद्धतत्त्व p 199 has मार्द्रव and so has दोडरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 57 a) श्राद्धतत्त्व explains इष्टिश्राद्ध as इच्छाश्राद्ध and नैमित्तिक as एकोद्दिष्ट. The श्रा कि कौ (p 56) reads पुरोरवा' and मार्द्रवः' कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 142) reads मार्द्रवश्च दशैते तु The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III. 3. 30–31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेवा somewhat differently. It reads 'पुरूरवो मार्द्रवसो रोचमानश्च' The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born to विश्वा, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tapas* on a Himālaya peak Brahmā gave them the boon they wanted (आद्धेरमाऊ भवेद्देशो क्षेत्र न क्षालितो वर.) and the pitrs agreed. The pitrs said (verse 13) 'अग्रे दत्त्वा तु युष्माकमस्माकं दास्यते तत। विसर्जनमथास्माकं पूर्वं पश्चात्तु दैवतम्॥.' This legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas at a श्राद्ध.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvana-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Rg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāh śrunuta' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitrya* brāhmanas facing the north (Yāj I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmanas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmanas at the end of the śrāddha.[1019] It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmanas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhabatu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: '*purūravā-mādravaso viśvesām devānām pārvana-śrāddham kuśamayabrāhmane karisye iti prcchet.*'

In the Vāyupurāṇa[1020] it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering pindas; on repeating it the pitrs come quickly to the śrāddha and rāksasas run away and that the mantra saves the pitrs in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to pitrs and to the great *Yogins*, to svadhā, to svāhā'. The Sm C (on śrāddha

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1019. उच्छिष्टावलिसहस्तक्षालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषा श्राद्धीयपदार्थानां वैश्वदेविकपूर्वकत्वात् । हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p 1196 This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम्। विसर्जन च निर्दिष्ट तेषु रक्षा यत. स्थिता ॥ '

1020. मन्त्रे वक्ष्याम्यह तस्मादमृतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम्। देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च। नम स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्युत। आद्यावसाने श्राद्धस्य त्रिरावर्त जपेत्सदा। पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव जपेदेतत्समाहितः। पितर. क्षिप्रमायान्ति राक्षसा. प्रद्रवन्ति च। पितृंस्तत्त्रिषु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत ॥ वायुपुराण 74 15–18. These verses are स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 114–116, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17–18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140. 68–72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in गरुडपुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218 6. कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purānas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः' हेमाद्रि (on श्राद्ध pp 1079 and 1208) calls it ससार्चिस् and notes that it occurs in seven purānas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्युत is for followers of सामवेद अत्र सम्बन्धनामगोत्रशब्दानां नानाक्रमदर्शनाद्विकल्पः। स ऐच्छिकः शाखाभेदेन वा व्यवस्थित. । श्रा प्र. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmaṇas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmaṇas This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāna 220. 143, Brahmānda (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140 68–70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Aśvamedha

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Brhaspati,[1021] some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Bṛhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or pindas, in offering ablutions of water on pindas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa) and *akṣayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pitṛs, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmanas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikara*, in offering pindas and at the end of the śrāddha [1022]

1021 आसने चार्घ्यदाने च पिण्डदानेऽवनेजने। सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हमनुकीर्तयेत्॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि (on श्रा p 1257). The word आसन is only illustrative and is meant to include आवाहन and other विश्व items. अक्षय्यासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयावाहने तथा। अन्नदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः सम्बुद्धयः स्मृता॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं ब्रूयात् नामगोत्रं ततैव च। पश्चाद्रूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एष सनातन॥ श्राद्धकालिका folios 6b and 7a, श्राद्धसंग्रह q by स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse अक्षय्यासन० is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28. 38) also. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p 50) quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्मृति. The formula may be 'ओं अमुकगोत्राणाममुकशर्मणामस्मत्पितृणां सपत्नीकानां वसुरूपाणामिदमासनम्'; then in place of पितृणां पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of वसुरूपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्यरूपाणां will have to be respectively employed The words may also be employed in the singular as the स्मृतिच. (श्रा p 449) says 'एतासु च षष्ठ्यादिविभक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनबहुवचनयोर्विकल्प एव स्मृतिपुराणगृह्यादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां क्वचिदेकवचनान्तया क्वचिद्बहुवचनान्तया च प्रयोगदर्शनात्।'.

1022. स्मृत्यन्तरे। आद्यारम्भेऽवसाने च पादशौचे द्विजार्चने। विकिरे पिण्डदाने च षट्सु चाचमन चरेत्॥ q by पृथ्वीचन्द्र (on श्रा) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)[1023] of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmaṇas or the pitṛs'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the purāṇas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddiśya dāsyati', the Mahārṇavaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmaṇas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pitaraḥ amīmadanta pitaraḥ*) and such formulas as '*pitar-etat te arghyam*' or '*etadvaḥ pitaro vāsaḥ*,' hold that the real recipients intended were the pitṛs, but, as the pitṛs had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandlewood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmaṇas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pitṛs.[1023a] Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447–449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30–31 for a discussion of these two view-points. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmaṇas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmaṇas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmaṇas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pitṛs there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254–56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukaraṇa*. As regards the former (viz. the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232–233), the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tvā' (Rg. X 16. 12, Vāj. S 19 70, Tai S II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'ā yantu naḥ' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣnudharma-sūtra[1024] (73. 10–12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदान, vide पा. I. 4 32 'कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III 14. 22–23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmaṇas for our benefit'.

1024. ततो ब्राह्मणाऽनुज्ञातः पितॄनावाहयेत्। अपचन्त्वसुरा इति द्वाभ्यां तिलैर्यातुधानानां विसर्जनं कृत्वा। एत पितरः सवीरेतानग्न आ मे यन्त्वेतद्वः पितर इत्यावाहनं कृत्वा ...। विष्णु.

(*Continued on the next page*)

permission from the brāhmanas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes!', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1260–1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnaukarana* mentioned in Yāj. I. 236–237. The Mit points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvana-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitryajña he offers homa in the Daksināgni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. grhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the Visnudharmottara-purāna.[1025] But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the ardhādhāna[1026] method, then he has to offer pārvana homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only aupāsana fire has to offer *homa* in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the grhya fire offers it in the brāhmana's hand only. The Mit. relies on Manu III. 212 and on two verses from a grhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in daksina fire in the case of Anvastakya śrāddha, the śrāddha on the day previous to Astakā, the śrāddha

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(*Continued from the last page*)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10–12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय-श्राद्ध-प्रयोग that is set out Compare काठकगृह्य 63. 2–4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनावाहयिष्यामीत्युक्त्वा। अपयन्त्वसुरा इति द्वाभ्यां तिलै. सर्वतोऽवकीर्य। एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यन्त्वन्तर्धे पर्वतैरिति जपित्वा। ये मामका. पितर एतद्वः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति तिसृभि. कल्पितान्नमभिमृशति।.' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140. 9–10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अन्तर्धे पर्वते.—is आप. म पा II 19. 4.

1025 यथाह मार्कण्डेय.। आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयाद्दक्षिणाग्नौ समाहितः। अनाहिताग्निस्त्वौपसदे अरण्यभावे द्विजेऽपि वा॥ मिता on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'तदेतदाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेय.' (श्रा p 1330).

1026 For सर्वाधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः आद्याङ्गमग्नौकरणहोमो लौकिकाग्नौ न युक्त. किंतु दक्षिणाग्नावेव स च दर्शे एव भवति। अतो दर्शेन विना नाग्नेयोत्रिणः श्राद्धम्। टोडरानन्द (on श्राद्ध folio 24a). न दर्शेन विना श्राद्धमाहिताग्नेर्द्विजन्मनः॥ मनु III. 282, which कुल्लूक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजस्य नामावास्याव्यतिरेकेण कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यादौ श्राद्धं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvana-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of *kāmya*, ābhyudayika, Ekoddista and Astakā śrāddhas, *homa* only on the pitrya brāhmana's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the *pitrya* brāhmana's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328–1344), Bālambhatti (on ācāra p. 518). The Todarānanda (śrāddha-saukhya) following Manu III. 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvana-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on amāvāsyā).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of āhutis to be offered in *agnaukarana*, the deities to whom the homa was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 12–13 the āhutis were only[1027] two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word svāhā was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br I 3. 10. 2–3[1028] the āhutis were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namah' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana[1029] says "whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namah', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the yajñopavīta form or prācīnāvīta form and what was to be the number of āhutis—all these have to be understood from one's own sūtra." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmanas persists in the sūtras, smrtis, purānas and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gr S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen āhutis, seven with food and

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1027. स जुहोति। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यग्नौ मेक्षण-मभ्याधाति तत्स्विष्टकृद्भाजनम्। शतपथब्रा. II. 4. 2. 13 The words अग्नये... पितृमते स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II. 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह। ... अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह य एव पितृणामग्निस्तं प्रीणाति। तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति। तै. ब्रा. I 3 10. 2–3, on which सायण explains 'झाखान्तरगतेन यमाधाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-माहुतिमभिमेत्य त्रित्वं विदधाति' Vide अथर्व. 18 4. 71–74 also. आप श्रौ. (I 8, 3–4 and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति दक्षिणाग्नौ जुहोति। यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाम्। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाम्। न यमाय जुहोतीत्येके।'

1029. स्वाहा स्वधानमः संन्यमपसव्यं तथैव च। आहुतीनां तु यो संख्या सोवगम्या स्वसूत्रतः॥ कात्यायन q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āsv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śankha-Likhita,[1030] Kāthaka-gṛhya, Nārada-purāna (pūrvārdha 28. 48) and Mārkandeya-purāna. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purānas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,[1031] Śān. Śrauta IV. 3 and gṛhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣnu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhapurāna[1032] (14. 21–22), Brahmānda-purāna (Upodghātapāda 11. 93–94), Viṣnudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Aṅgiras;' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the *āhuti* to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).[1033]

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmanas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. C (p. 465–470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367–1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116–123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmanas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

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1030 धूपगन्धमाल्यैरलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्सघृतमन्नमश्नुवाप्य दर्भेर्दक्षिणाग्रैरग्निं परिस्तीर्य जुहुयादग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेति। शङ्खलिखितौ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1354), मद् पा p 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा। अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमोऽग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा। काठकगृह्य 63. 89, उपासनाग्निमाधाय स्वगृह्योक्तविधानतः। सोमाय च पितृमते स्वधा नम इतीरयेद्॥ अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इतीह वा। स्वाहान्तेनापि वा प्राज्ञो जुहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत्॥ नारद (पूर्वार्ध 28. 48–49).

1031. अन्नस्यैव तिस्र आहुतीर्जुहोति। सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नमः स्वाहा। यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम. स्वाहा। अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्विष्टकृते स्वधा नमः स्वाहेति। तच्छेषेणान्नमभिधार्यान्नस्यैता एव तिस्रो जुहुयात्। बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8–12 It should be noted that बौ employs both स्वधा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा यमायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहेति। शाङ्खायनश्रौत IV. 4 1.

1032. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः। सोमाय वै पितृमते दातव्या तदनन्तरम्॥ वैवस्वताय चैवान्या तृतीया दीयते हुति.॥ वराहपु. 14 21–22, सोमायादौ पितृमते कव्यवाहनाय चाग्नये। यमाय चैवाङ्गिरसे हुत्वा प्रयतमानसः। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19–20; मार्कण्डेय (28.47–48) prescribes the आहुतिs as अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा, यमाय वैवस्वते स्वाहा।.

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमायोत्तरतस्तथा। एतयोरन्तरे नित्यं जुहुयाद्वै विचक्षणे॥ q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 169).

of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or smārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmaṇas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmaṇas.[1033] The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāna say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇa and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukaraṇa was effected should be kept aside for making piṇḍas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuḍa). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III. 224–229, 231–233, 236–238) contains several rules[1034a] 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmaṇas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmaṇas without (the containing vessel being held in) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

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1034. पिण्डे यः पाङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान् । हुत्वा मन्त्रवदन्येषां तूष्णीं पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् । गोभिल II. 120 q by स्मृतिच. II p. 462.

1034 a. मनु III. 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S II. 8. 22 and Vas XI. 25. मनु III 224 is पाणिभ्यां तूपसंगृह्य स्वयमन्नस्य वर्धितम् । विमान्तिके पितृन्ध्यायञ् शनकैरुपनिक्षिपेत्॥. अन्नस्य is to be taken as अन्नेन and पितॄन् is to be understood after वर्धितम्. The श्राद्धतत्त्व (p. 229) explains: 'पाकस्थालया आकृष्य मधुसंभोजनपात्रे न देयं किन्तु स्थाल्यादिकं पाणिभ्यां पात्रसमीपे भूमौ संस्थाप्य पश्चादुभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां पात्रान्तरिताभ्यां श्राद्धे परिवेशयत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17. 28 'उभाभ्यामपि हस्ताभ्यामादृत्य परिवेशयेत्'. ब्रह्मोद्याश्च—मनु III. 231. ब्रह्मोद्यs are such riddles, questions and answers as are found in Tai. S. VII. 4 18, वाज स ञ23. 9-12 (क. स्विदेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23. 45–62; Ait Br. (अथ ब्रह्मोद्यं वदन्त्यग्निर्गृहपतिरिति हैक आहु. ॥) Or ब्रह्मोद्य may mean, as explained by मेधा० (ब्रह्मणि वेदे या उद्यन्ते कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्या कथाः may mean 'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' (the cause of the world), as Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81. 19 is हविर्गुणाश्च ब्राह्मणा ह्युदाहृता पृष्टाः. This is like Manu III 236. मनु III. 237 is the same as वसिष्ठ XI 32, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 81. 20, Aṅgiras verse 133, Bṛhad-Yama III. 27, Laghu-Śātātapa 103, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be recited by the performer (being upavītin) while the brāhmaṇas are dining, vide above p 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपसव्येन कर्तव्यं सर्वं श्राद्धं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजपं कृत्वा विप्राणां च विसर्जनम्'' q. by श्राद्धम of पृथ्वीच folio 101a.

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmanas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying ' this is sweet, this is sour ' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmanas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitrs. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmanas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmanas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmanas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmanas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmana (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c)or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers).' As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmanas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are : The Prajāpati-smrti (verses 57–62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodice, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmaṇas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas and then in those of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas (Viṣṇu Dh S. 73 13–14), but once the brāhmaṇas have begun to eat there is no such precedence, whatever each brāhmaṇa may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmaṇas (including pitrya) wears his sacred thread in the upavīta form Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured[1035] drinks (as Śaṅkha XIV.13 and Skandapurāṇa say) As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *laḍḍus* No salt was to be directly served (Viṣṇu Dh S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided[1036] "The food that remains after *agnaukaraṇa* should be served in the plates of the *pitrya* brāhmaṇas and the performer should touch

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1035. उष्णमन्न द्विजातिभ्यः श्रद्धया विनिवेदयेत्॥ अन्यत्र फलपुष्पेभ्य. पानकेभ्यश्च पण्डित.॥ हस्ते दत्त्वा तु वै स्नेहाँल्लवणव्यञ्जनानि च। आयसेन च पात्रेण तद्वै रक्षांसि भुञ्जते॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII 206 37-39; शङ्ख (14 12–13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also कूर्म II. 22. 64, शक्तितः प्रकर्षेद् गुणसस्कारविधिरन्नस्य। गौ. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृयज्ञवद्धुत्वा हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमालभ्य जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृते अमृत जुहोमि स्वाहेति वैष्णव्यर्चा चक्षुषा वाङ्मनसेऽवघ्राप्यहता इति तिलान् प्रकीर्योष्णं स्विष्टमन्नं यथाशक्त्या वा। कात्या० श्राद्धसूत्र 3 quoted and explained by हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p 1374. The वैष्णवी rk is 'इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे' (ऋ I. 22.17) and वैष्णवी *yajus* is 'विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्व' (तै सं. I. I. 3. 1. वाज सं. I. 4), अपहता:—is वाज. सं. II. 29.

each plate for those brāhmanas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmana's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (-right) thumb of the *pitrya* brāhmana in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the rk or yajus addressed to Visnu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rāksasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmanas)". Yāj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15–16). The Kālikā-purāna prescribes[1037] that the thumb of the brāhmana should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Visnu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmana in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food.[1038] Vasistha provides that the brāhmanas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śankha-Likhita provide[1039] that brāhmanas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

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1037. भूत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजाना तु आवर्त्याज्यमधुप्लुते। पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हव्यकव्ये च रक्षयेत्॥ विष्णुर्ह्यङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चान्नस्य रक्षिता। कालिकापुराण q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1378) अथैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनानुदिशति-असृग्मा उपतिष्ठतु—इति। बौ पितृमेधसूत्र II. 9 19 (Mysore ed)

1038 तस्माद्दक्षिण (न्य?) हस्तेन कुर्याद्दक्षसुपागतम्। भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालभ्य तिष्ठेतोच्छेषणे शुभे (०तोच्छेषणाद् द्विज ?)॥ वसिष्ठ 11 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदैवान्नसुपागत भवति तत प्रभृत्योच्छेषणात् भुक्तशिष्टान्नस्य भाजनाद्वहि.-करणपर्यन्त वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य तिष्ठेत्। कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तव्यापारसमये तु दक्षिणहस्तेन भाजन समालभ्य वर्तेतेति तात्पर्यार्थ' श्रा प्र. p 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039 शङ्खलिखितौ। ब्राह्मणा अन्नगुणं दोषं नाभिवदेयुर्नानृतं ब्रूयुरन्योन्यं न प्रशंसेयुरन्नपानं न प्रभूतमिति ब्रूयुरन्यत्र हस्तसज्ञाया। q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p 1019, श्रा प्र p 118, which says पात्रे प्रभूतमन्नमस्ति अन्यत्र परिवेष्यमिति भोक्तृभिर्न वक्तव्यं किंतु हस्तसङ्केतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थ'।

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmana's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyanīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāna setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāna says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vah pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32. Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tejosi śukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvno' (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vāj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. 1. 5. 11. 4). Ap Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmanas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāna and some other works provide that the brāhmanas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (*i. e.* be kind) to us.' The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmanas reply after each one of the prayers[1040] 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmanas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away Vas. (XI. 21–22) and the Kūrmapurāna provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17 56 and Padma, Srstikhanda 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmanas are dismissed and depart.

1040. तत स्वधावाचनिक विश्वेदेवेषु चोदकम् ॥ दत्त्वाशी प्रतिगृह्णीयाद् द्विजेभ्य· प्राङ्मुखो शुध: । अघोरा· पितर: सन्तु सन्त्वित्युक्त· पुनर्द्विजै ॥ गोत्र तथा वर्धता नस्तथेत्युक्तश्च तै: पुन: । दातारो नोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवमुदीरयेत् ॥ एता सत्याशिष· सन्त्वित्युक्तश्च तै पुन । स्वस्तिवाचनिक कुर्यात्पिण्डाञ्छ्रुत्य भक्तित. ॥ मत्स्य 17 52–55 q by हेमाद्रि (आ. p 1482), स्मृतिच (श्रा) p 482, कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 220). Compare आप औ. I. 10. 4 गृहान् पितरो दत्त सदो वा पितरो देवम । Yāj. I 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185 28

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)[1041] therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmanas have gone away (vide Yāj I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Brhaspati[1042] that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmanas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātūkarnya[1043] and the Skandapurāna say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste Manu III. 258 provides that, after the brāhmanas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pitrs for certain blessings contained in Manu III. 259 which are the same as Yāj I 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Visnu Dh. S 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49–50. The Āp. gr. 209 (q. in note 981), Āp Dh. S II 7. 17. 16, Manu III. 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yājusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gr and Āp. Dh. S. provide[1044] that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmanas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmavaivarta-purāna by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

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1041. श्राद्धे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिष्टान्या दिनक्षयात् । श्रद्योतन्ते हि सुधाधारास्ताः पिबन्त्यकृतोदका ॥ वसिष्ठ XI 21, नोद्वासयेत्तदुच्छिष्टं यावच्चास्तमितो रविः । कूर्मपुराण II 22 85 कल्पतरु (श्रा p 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिष्टानीति भूमिष्टोच्छिष्ट-विषयम्। उच्छिष्टं न प्रमृज्यात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिष्टपात्रविषयम् ।'.

1042. भाजनेषु च तिष्ठत्सु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति ये द्विजाः। तद्दत्तमसुरैर्भुक्तं निराशैः पितृभिर्गते ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा p. 482), हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1485)

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं शिष्योऽथवा सुतः। न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजात्या कथंचन ॥ जातूकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (श्रा p 482), हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p. 1486, न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नान्येनैव च केनचित्। श्राद्धे पिण्ड च पात्र च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत् ॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (श्राद्ध) p 1486.

1044 सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य शासावरार्ध्यं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम्। आप ध सू II 7 17.16. यथोक्त refers to आप गृ 20 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि मे आत्मामृतत्वाय । आप म पा. II 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. आ X 33.

Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1519–1521) for the discussion. Hemādri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of pindas. The brāhmanas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.[1045] The brāhmanas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.[1046]

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pindas were to be made. According to Śān. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,[1047] Śankha 14. 11, Manu III. 260–261, Yāj. I 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmanas have finished eating their dinner. The pindas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from[1048] the plates in which the brāhmanas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pindas were to be offered before the brāhmanas sip water (perform *ācamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12–13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kandikā 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmanas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ācamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śān. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pindas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmanas or after agnaukarana and then the brāhmanas were to partake of the dinner The

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1045. आद्धावसाने कर्तव्या द्विजैरन्नगुणस्तुति । वृद्धवसिष्ठ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1019).

1046. तदाहोशना. । भोजन तु न निःशेषं कुर्यात्प्राज्ञ कथंचन । अन्यत्र दध्नः क्षीराद्वा क्षौद्रात्सक्तुभ्य एव च ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1026) Acc to मनु III 245–46, विष्णु 81. 22–23, मत्स्य 17. 56–57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मणs and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतस्योच्छिष्टसमस्रक्षतप्रमीतानां भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' हलायुध on कात्यायनs श्राद्धसूत्र (folio 30a) Vide n 1007 above for मनु III 245.

1047. अभिमतेनुमते वा भुक्तवत्स्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डान्निदधात् । आचान्तेष्वेके । आश्व गृ. IV. 8. 12–13.

1048 सतिलेन ततोऽन्नेन पिण्डान्दर्भे सदैव तु । पित्रुद्दिश्य दर्भेषु दद्याद्दक्षिणसक्थिनो मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28 55 अरत्नि is the hand from the wrist to the small finger.

Brahmāndapurāna [1049] emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Brhaspati. The Visnu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pindas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmanas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer[1050] should, after the brāhmanas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pindas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smrti) and the Madanapārijāta (p 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākhā [1051] Hemādri adds that those in whose grhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pindadāna should follow the view that pindas are to be offered after the brāhmanas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.[1052] The pindas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinda. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pindas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmanas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchistasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *āhitāgni* the pindas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pindas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmanas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pindas should be offered at a distance of three *aratnis* from where the brāhmanas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before pindadāna and that it is to be performed after

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1049 पूजनं चैव विप्राणा पूर्वमेवेह नित्यश ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलो नेत्युवाच बृहस्पति. । पूर्वं निवेदयेत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विप्राश्च भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घात 12 24-26. These verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (श्रा p. 221). The सौरपुराण 19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्वपणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्चैव भोजयेत्। केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्मतं द्विजा. ॥'

1050. भुक्तवतोऽनुमन्त्रय शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं दर्भस्तृतिं चावाय दक्षिणपूर्वमवान्तर-देशं गत्वा दक्षिणाग्रान्दर्भान् संस्तीर्य तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गास्त्रिस्तृदकाञ्जलिं निनयति मार्जयन्तां पितरः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तां पितामहाः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तां प्रपितामहाः सोम्यास इति। असावनेनिक्ष्वासावनेनिक्ष्वेति वा। तेष्ववाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिडान्ददाति। हिरण्य. गृ. II. 12. 2-3. For आप. गृ. vide n 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृति. । मुनिभिर्भिन्नकालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्स्मृतम्। तत् स्वशाखामतं यत्र तत्र कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्व-गृह्याद्यनुमतेः। '

1052 येषां तु गृह्यादौ पिण्डदानकालो नोक्तस्तेषा सौकर्यादाचान्तेष्वित्येव पक्षो ग्राह्य इति बहवः। श्रा. प्र p. 247.

pindadāna in Sāmvatsarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom pindas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsya. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvana-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Visnu Dh S. 73 13-14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvana The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmanas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I. 3. 10, II. 6. 16, Vāj. Ś. 19 36-37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitrs and three paternal ancestors It may be noted, however, that in Vāj S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmanas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvana-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide[1053] Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāsyakāra did not speak of Mātāmahaśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana[1054] speaks of three pindas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

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1053. तस्या पिण्डान् निर्वपणीयात्परावीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामन्वान्वित्रे । आश्व श्रौ. II 6, 15 on which नारायण explains 'निवपणं पिण्डेयेव तीर्थेन । पाणेरुत्तानत्वमञ्जलिवद्व पित्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा कुर्यात् तदा परावीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बुद्धयन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि गृह्णीयात्।', तस्या refers to त्रेस्रायां

1054. सर्वमन्नमेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु त्रींस्त्रीन् पिण्डानवनेज्य वध्यादाचान्ते-त्विप्येके । ... वाच्यतामित्यनुज्ञात. पितुभ्यः पितामहेभ्य. प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्यः प्रमाता-महेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेऽवतेति विसृज्य आ मा वाजस्यप्रवक्ष्यत्येनुव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् । कात्यायनस्य श्राद्धसूत्र III The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजस्य प्रसवो जगम्यादेने द्यावापृथिवी विश्वरूपे । आ मा गन्तां पितरा मातरा च मा सोमो अमृतत्वेन गम्यात् । वाज. सं 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilasmṛti provides[1055] that six pindas should be offered except in the Anvastakāśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya[1056] prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Visnupurāna,[1057] the Brahmāndapurāna and the Varāhapurāna say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes[1058] that one should offer pindas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's grhyasūtra. The Varāhapurāna (14 40-41) says that *pitrya* brāhmanas should be dismissed first and then the daiva brāhmanas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate pindas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (14 37). Some held the view that the offering of pindas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*[1059] (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Brhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

1055. कर्पूसमन्वितं भुक्त्वा तथाद्यश्राद्धषोडशम् । प्रत्याब्दिकं तु शेषेषु पिण्डाः स्युः षडिति स्थिति ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्पूसमन्वितं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III p 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by श्रा क्रि. कौ. p 93 as अष्टकाश्राद्ध

1056. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्य विशेषान्नरकं व्रजेत् ॥ धौम्य q by श्रा. प्र p 14, स्मृतिच. (श्रा p 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर, the स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p 93 quotes it from योगियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057 पृथक्तयो. केचिदाहु श्राद्धस्य करणं नृप । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वदन्त्यन्ये महर्षय ॥ विष्णुपुराण III 15 17, पृथङ्मातामहानां तु केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानानुपूर्व्येण साङ्कुशान् प्रदिशेन्नाम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद) 11, 61. The verse पृथक्तयो.० is also वराहपुराण 14 12.

1058. सर्वरमात्मकृतादन्नात् पिण्डान् मधुतिलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्गृह्य-विधानत. ॥ बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच. (श्रा p. 479), हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p. 1428. It may be noted that या (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059 Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 647 and 657 (for पुत्रिकापुत्र).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in pārvaṇa-śrāddha.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitāmahī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the sūtra period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II. 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly śrāddha performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II. 11.34 not only associates in the Aṣṭakā śrāddha the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.[1060] has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of pindas and the commentator explains that darbhas are placed between the two sets. The Kauśika sūtra (88 12) also provides for the offering of pindas to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the pindas for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II. 5. 4–5), while speaking of the Anvastakya rite, refers to pindas to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra IV. 7 (after describing the Pinda-pitryajña in IV. 5–6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly śrāddha is that in the latter pindas are offered to the wives of the pitṛs[1061]. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom pindas were to be offered was made by taking over from Anvastakya ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The Aṣṭakā rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of pindas to women ancestors were borrowed from the Anvastakya

1060. मार्जयन्तां मम पितरो मार्जयन्तां मम पितामहा मार्जयन्तां मम प्रपितामहा॰ ॥ मार्जयन्तां मम मातरो मार्जयन्तां मम पितामह्यो मार्जयन्तां मम प्रपितामह्य । आप. म पा. II. 19. 2–7.

1061. अथ श्राद्धं मासि मासि मासपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेऽन्यज्जन्मर्क्षे ब्राह्मणनिमन्त्रणादि सर्वमटकावत्। तथाज्यचरू हुत्वार्क्षं पिण्डार्थं पात्रे समवदाय ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा नमो व॰ पितरो रसायेति पिण्डं प्रथमं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयतृतीयौ पितामहप्रपितामहाभ्याम्। पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः। वैखानसशास्त्र IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all sūtras just as Aṣṭakā śrāddha does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the smṛtis emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. Śātātapa states[1062]: 'In what is offered to the pitṛs after Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, the mother is a participant everywhere. A śrāddha may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhi-śrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by Bṛhaspati that the mother partakes of the śrāddha food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother[1063]. The Kalpataru[1064] and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the pitṛs, while Hemādri and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the devatās of pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 97–104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitāmahī* and the co-wife of the *prapitāmahī* would be included in

1062. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्पितॄन्प्रतीयते। सर्वत्राऽऽभहरा माता इति धर्मेषु निश्चयः॥ अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयायां च क्षयेऽहनि। मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह॥ शातातप q by आ प्र. p. 9, स्मृतिच (आ) p. 369 as स्मृत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह श्राद्धं माता भुङ्क्ते स्वधामयम्। पितान्ही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपितामही॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच (आ.), p. 369, हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 99, आ-प्र p. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवत्वनिति कल्पत्वप्रभृतयः। हेमाद्रिप्रभृतयो दक्षिणात्यास्तु... एकस्यामेव आद्धव्यक्तौ पितॄन् तद्योषितश्च देवतात्वेनोद्दिश्येति विधीयते। आ-प्र pp. 9–10. The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकपितृकश्राद्धेऽपि स्त्रीत्वेन पितुरेव देवतात्वं भवेन्न तु विशेषणीभूतायाः पत्न्याः—इति।' डोढरानन्द (आद्धतत्त्व) *folio* 3a. The आद्धतत्व p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तश्रुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकनिर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापस्तम्बसूत्रे देवता इति बहुवचननिर्देशात्, न योषिद्भ्य इत्यादिवचनाच्च पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकेन पत्नीनिरपेक्षेण च देवतात्वम्।'. Vide n. 783 for the आप. ध सू passage. न योषिद्भ्य—is apparently गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्भ्यः पृथग्दद्याद्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमूर्तिपिण्डनाताच्च तृप्तिरासां यतः स्मृता॥'. The कल्पतरु (आद्धकाण्ड p 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकस्य देवतात्वं तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। मत्स्यु न योषिद्भ्यः पृथदृद्याद्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमूर्तिपिण्डनाताम्यास्तृप्तिरासां यतः स्मृता॥ इति शातातपवचने मर्तृसम्बन्धि पिण्डभागस्यैव पत्नीतृप्तिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाद् विपरीतमेव प्रमाणमस्ति। कल्पतरु, आ. p. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayaśrāddha or a śrāddha at Gayā.[1065]

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the pindas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The pinda[1066] is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the pinda is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Ap. M. P. II. 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvām-anu)[1067] In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 3 6 and Khādiragrhya the formula is still longer 'This pinda is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest.[1068] To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja[1069] gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

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1065. तदेवमेतल्लिम्पूर्द्धं यद्वहुपत्नीकपित्रादिदेवत्यमावास्यादिसाधारणकालिकश्राद्धप्रयोगे अस्मत्पितर्यंशवत्तशर्मन् वासिष्ठगोत्रामुकाशुकनामिकाभिर्पासिष्ठगोत्राभि. पत्नीभिः सहैतत्तुभ्यमन्नमित्यादिभिः स्त्रीपुसोद्देशोपलक्षितैर्वाक्यैरनुष्ठानं कर्तव्यमिति। This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. हेमाद्रि replies 'अत्र सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते। तत्र तावन्नुरुत्वे पार्वणे जननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीना न सहोद्देशः कार्यः। नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामहपत्नीनां नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रपितामहपत्नीनाम्। हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p 100 हेमाद्रि adds (p 102) 'यदा तु नानापितृतृप्तिकामनया विशिष्टे महालयादिकालविशेषे गयादितीर्थविशेषे वा श्राद्धं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रवतीनामपुत्राणां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि श्राद्धं कुर्यात्।'

1066. अर्धदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये। गोत्रनामसम्बन्धनामानि यथापरमितिपादयेत्॥ पारस्कर q. by अपरार्क p. 506, हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p. 1434), श्रा. प्र. p. 258 which explains 'सङ्कल्पे अन्नदाने'. The form of the address will be 'अमुकगोत्रास्मत्पितरमुकशर्मन् एतत्तेऽन्नं (or एष ते पिण्डः) स्वधा नम इदममुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रे अमुकशर्मणे न ममेति' हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते ततासौ ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते पितामहासौ ये च त्वामनु, एतत्ते प्रपितामह ये च त्वामनु। आप. म पा. II. 20. 13.—Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and n. 1053 for आश्व. श्रौ passage.

1068. असावत्रनेनिक्ष्व ये चात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति। गोभिलगृह्य III. 3. 6 and खादिरगृह्य III. 5. 17. The ज्ञेतरानन्द (श्राद्धसौख्य folio 77a) gives the formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकशर्मंस्त्वत्तेऽन्नं स्वधेति यजुर्वेदिनामुत्सर्गवाक्यम्। अमुकसगोत्र पितरमुकवेदशर्मंस्त्वत्तेऽन्नं ये चात्र त्वामनु यांश्च त्वमनु तस्मै ते स्वधेति छन्दोगानाम्।; compare श्राद्धवरर p. 237 and श्रा. प्रि. की. p. 70 for similar formulas

1069. यांश्च त्वमन्नाप्नोसि ये च त्वामनु। भारद्वाजगृह्य II. 12.

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being[1070] that when the son offers a pinda to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinda to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya[1071] that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinda with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd pinda with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part.' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinda should be offered to the father with the expression 'prthivī', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaur darvī'. The Viṣnu Dh. S (73 17–19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'prthivī darviraksitā', 'antariksam darviraksitā,' dyaur-darviraksitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III. 194 says (following Āśv. Śr and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kaśyapa.[1072]

Certain matters pertaining to pindas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

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1070. तदेतदमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्वाणः पुत्रादिः ये च त्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां प्रमीतानां सहेत्याह तेषां पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदानं करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विन्द्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीषद्भ्य इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षसद्भ्य इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिविषद्भ्य इति तृतीयं निधाय जपति अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति । गोभिलगृह्य IV. 3. 10–11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and श्रा प्र 260. Compare तै. सं I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्ते तत ... प्रपितामह ये च त्वामन्वत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्' and वाज सं II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्'. The आश्व श्रौ. सू II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वांस्ततपितामहप्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्राज्ञानेऽप्याह व्याघ्रपाद.—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्राज्ञानं कश्यपगोत्रग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृति. । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 481), vide श्रा प्र p. 260 for a similar provision. The शूद्रकमलाकर p 49 says, यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य इति शतपथश्रुतेः ... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि श्राद्ध एव तत् । 'सर्वाः प्रजाः काश्यप्य.'—These words occur in शतपथब्राह्मण VII 5. 1. 5.

size of the pindas. Marīci (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the pinḍa should be of the size of undried *āmalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddista, in navaśrāddhas the pinḍa should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāna says that pindas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.[1073] Angiras (q. by Sm. C p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the pindas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *āmalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra[1074] it is said that the pinḍa for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three pindas), that the pinḍa for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the pindas were to be made. If pindas were offered before *agnaukarana* they were to be made from the boiled rice (caru) prepared for agnaukarana. If made after *agnaukaraṇa*, the pindas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after agnaukarana) mixed with sesamum (vide Yāj I. 242). If pinḍas were to be offered after the brāhmanas took their dinner, the pindas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmanas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for agnaukarana as stated in Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.[1075] The pindas were to be placed according to the Matsya[1076] on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāna and Bhavisyapurāna that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmanas were to eat and thereon *darbhas*

1073. द्विहायनस्य वत्सस्य विशन्त्यास्यं यथासुखम्। तथा कुर्यात्प्रमाणेन पिण्डान् व्यासेन भावितम्॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्मृतिच (श्रा. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (श्रा.) p. 1429 as व्यास's.

1074. द्रव्यौदूरयोदूतेषु पिण्डान्निवपति पितुर्नाम्नाऽऽवेतत्ते ये चात्र स्थास्तान् तानमे तेभ्यश्च स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितामहस्य नाम्ना स्थवीयांस मध्यमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्थविष्ठं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नामनी गृह्णन् मूलवेशे लेपं निर्माष्टि। मैत्रायणीयसूत्र q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा) p. 1430, श्रा प्र. p. 257.

1075. तूष्णं रम इत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमन्नमेऽग्नौकरणोदूरयोरिडासमीपे दर्भेषु त्रीन्त्रीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यात्। श्राद्धसूत्र of कात्या III.

1076. उपलिप्ते महीपृष्ठे गोशकृन्मूत्रवारिणा। निधाय दर्भान् विधिवद्दक्षिणाग्रान्प्रयत्नतः। सर्ववर्णेन चान्नेन पिण्डांस्तु पितृयज्ञवत्। मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45-46.

were to be placed and then piṇḍas. The Vāyupurāna provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz.[1077] 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, rākṣasas, yakṣas, piśācas (goblins), *guhyakas* and yātudhānas' and the mantra 'struck down (are the asuras and rākṣasas sitting on the Vedi)'. In Āp. Śr. I. 10.2, Manu III 217, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73.17–19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahārṇavaprakāśa (q by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440–42) and Śr. P pp. 266–267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitṛs in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj S II. 32)[1078] and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three piṇḍas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with '*rasa*', '*śoṣa*' and four other words (in Vāj. S II. 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the namaskāras to the pitṛs. In the Śaunakātharvanaśrāddha-kalpa, the piṇḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grandfather, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitāmahaprabhṛtīn vā'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदमेध्यवद्भवेद्धताश्च सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया। रक्षांसि यक्षाश्च पिशाचसङ्घा हता मया यातुधानाश्च सर्वे॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण सुसंयतात्मा वेदीं च सर्वां सकुशोल्लिखेच्च॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 214, 216, श्रा प्र p. 251. This is cited as from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 478 (which reads °सुसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेद्दिक्षु तथा विदिक्षु). The verses are वायुपुराण 75 45–46 and are mentioned as from वायुपुराण in श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 235 Both अपरार्क and श्रा. प्र. add the vedic mantra 'अपहताः' (वाज सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत्तु पितरं च पृथिवीति च। पितामहाय त्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च दापयेत्॥ प्रपितामहाय च ततस्तृतीयं तु निवेदयेत्॥ द्यौर्दवीरिति मन्त्रेण श्रुतिरेषा सनातनी॥ यम q by कल्पतरु (श्रा p 203), हेमाद्रि (श्रा p 1440). उच्छिष्टसन्निधौ दक्षिणाग्रेषु दर्भेषु पृथिवी दवीरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निदध्यात्। अन्तरिक्षं दवीरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं पितामहाय। द्यौर्दवीरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17–19 आचम्योदक् परावृत्य त्रिरायम्य शनैरसून्। पङ्क्तूंश्च नमस्कुर्यात् पितॄनेव च मन्त्रवित्॥ मनु III. 217. The मन्त्र is पृथिवी दवीरक्षिता तृप्तिः स्वधानुपदस्तां पृथिवी दवीमक्षितां तृप्तिं स्वधामनुपदस्तामग्नेरिव पृथिवीमुपजीवासौ ये चात्र त्वामन्वेषा ते स्वधा. In the other two mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and द्यौः for पृथिवी, वायुः and सूर्यः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकगृह्य (63 14) provides 'पृथिवी दवीरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8–10) also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three piṇḍas (viz पृथिवी दवीरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दवीरक्षिता, द्यौ दवीरक्षिता). Compare काठकसंहिता IX. 23.

About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the pindas several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three pindas for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262–263) provides that the *dharmapatnī* (i. e. a wife of the same varna and married before any other wife) should eat the middle pinda with the mantra 'ādhatta pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Visnudharmottara I. 171 8, 220. 149, Padma (srstikhanda 9.121) and other purānas. As regards pindas in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14–17) says that the other two pindas (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmana who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31–34) provides that the pindas should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmana or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260–261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52–53, and Padma[1079] mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāna[1080] (190 121) says that the performer may eat the first pinda himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125.25.26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle pinda should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Brhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079 पिण्डांश्च गोजविप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्वग्नौ जलेपि वा। वप्रान्ते वाथ विकिरेदापोभिरथ वाहयेत्॥ पद्म (सृष्टि 9 120), अपरार्क p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विप्रान्ते and वयोभिरथ वाशयेत्। (p. 1504) That birds should be allowed to eat the pindas is natural since it was believed as stated above (p 339) that the pitrs wander about in the form of birds Vide कूर्म II 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080 भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देयं तु मध्यमम्। तृतीयमुदके दद्याद्श्राद्धे एवं विधिः स्मृतः॥ वराहपुराण 190 121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle pinḍa (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr p 224). The Visnudharmottara (I. 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tīrtha*, the pindas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anuśāsanaparva 125. 38–40 and some of the purānas such as Vāyu (76 32–34) and Brahma (220 150–152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of pindas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving pindas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmānda (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31–35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows In this connection it should be noted that pindas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86–89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of pindas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any sankrānti, no pindas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekādaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Krttikā naksatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,[1081] hold that feeding of brāhmanas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III. 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmana in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmana There is a maxim[1082] of the Pūrvamīmāmsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*anga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no pinḍadāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yugādi days.[1083]

1081. पुष्कलं फलमामोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि त्वङ्गमित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लूक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The न्याय is फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् mentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29–38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनद्वितये श्राद्धं विषुवद्द्वितये तथा । युगादिषु च सर्वासु पिण्डनिर्वपणाद्दते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेष । स्मृतिच (श्रा.) p 369, vide हेमाद्रि (श्रा) pp 334–336.

Others like Karka hold the view that pindadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of pindas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Visnudharmasūtra (78. 52-53, and 85. 65-66) and in several Purānas such as the Varāha (13.50), Visnu (III. 14.22-23), Brahma (220.31-32), Visnudharmottara (I 145.3-4) the pitrs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them pindas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good śūdra the feeding of brāhmanas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmanas and the offering of pindas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smrti, after stating[1083] the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmana feeding nor pindadāna as in Daiva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauna*). Vide Hemādri (śraddha) pp. 157-160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of pindas is principal, among the followers of the Rgveda the feeding of brāhmanas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also[1085] a gift (dāna) Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardi and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana pindadāna and agnaukarana) are principal. Vide Samskāra-ratnamālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāna says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i. e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-father of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

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1084 प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिण.। यथादौ पिण्डमाचं तु दीयमान-निदर्शनात्॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्व वदन्त्यन्ये महर्षय.। ब्राह्मणाना परीक्षाया महायज्ञे प्रदर्शनात्। आमश्राद्धविधानस्य विना पिण्डै. क्रियाविधिः। तदालभ्याप्यनध्यायविधानश्रवणादपि॥ विद्वन्मतमुपादाय ममाप्येतद्धृदि स्थितम्। प्राधान्यमुभयोर्यस्मात्तस्मादेष समुच्चय.॥ गोभिल-स्मृति III. 160-163.

1085. धर्मप्रदीपेपि। यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बह्वृचानां द्विजार्चनम्। श्राद्धशब्दाभिधेयं स्याद्रुभयं सामवेदिनाम्॥ तत्र पितॄन्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्यादित्युभयप्रयोगदर्शनाद्यागदानोभया-त्मकम्। निर्णयसिन्धु III. उत्तरार्ध p. 372.

the hand of the performer of śrāddha); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the pinda; the offerer of the pinda is the 7th; thus *sapinda* relationship extends to seven generations[1086]. The Mārkandeya-purāṇa states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers pindas).[1087] The Brahmapurāna (220. 84–86) has similar verses. Manu provided[1088] that the performer should place three pindas on *darbhas* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the darbhas (on which the pindas were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called 'lepabhāgin' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the Visnu Dh. S. 73.22, Varāhapurāna 14.36, Garudapurāna (Ācārakānda 218 24), Kūrma II. 22.52. Medhātithi on Manu III. 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the darbhas on which the first pinda was placed. A special rule was provided by Devala quoted in Śrāddhakalpalatā (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mleccha* (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no śrāddha should be offered and when offering the three pindas in place of the father the name of Visnu should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Vaiśvadeva* should be performed before starting the śrāddha ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pitrs deserve pre-eminence over those for the

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1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्या. पिण्डभागिन.। पिण्डदः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्ड्यं सप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18 29. These very verses occur in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 10. 34–35), which reads सपिण्डाः सप्त पूरुषा. They are quoted from मत्स्यपुराण by अपरार्क p 507. मत्स्य 16 38 is तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्यालेपभागिनाम्।.

1087 लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात्। प्रभृत्युक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तम.। इत्येवं मुनिभिः प्रोक्त. सम्बन्ध सप्तपौरुष.। मार्कण्डेय 28. 4–5 q by दायभाग XI 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death) The printed दायभाग reads पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये

1088. न्युप्य पिण्डांस्ततस्तास्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्यालेपभागिनाम्॥ मनु III. 216. The latter half occurs in मत्स्य 16.38.

gods[1089]. Manu (III. 265) states[1090] that after the brāhmanas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāna[1091] 17 61, the Varāhapurāna (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266. 101–102, Devala, Kārsnājini and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058–1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions In the case of an *āhitāgni* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukarana* or after the *vikira* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *samskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmanas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Paithīnasi[1092] that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śraddha without first offering the food to the brāhmanas invited for śrādda dinner i e, Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

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1089. देवकार्याद्द द्विजातीना पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते। मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 10. 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090 ततो गृह्यबलिं कुर्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थित॰ ॥ मनु III 265. मेधातिथि remarks 'ततो गृह्यबलिं निष्पन्ने श्राद्धकर्मण्यनन्तरं वैश्वदेवहोमान्वाहिकातिथ्यादिभोजन कर्तव्यम्। बलिशब्दस्य प्रदर्शनार्थत्वात्।'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ पर्युक्ष्याग्निं समन्त्रवत्। वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत नित्यक बलिमेव च ॥ मत्स्य 17. 61, निवर्तेतान्यद्भुज्ञात आहारान्तमद्भवजेत्। ततस्तु वैश्वदेवाख्या कुर्यान्नित्यक्रिया तत ॥ वराह 14. 43, पितृपाकात् समुद्धृत्य वैश्वदेव तु होमयेत्। देवल q by हलायुध in his com. on कात्यायन's श्राद्धसूत्र (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ occurs in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 190) also.

1092. पितृणामनिवेद्य तस्मादन्नाद्वैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम्। तथा च पैठीनसि। पितृपाकात्समुद्धृत्य वैश्वदेव करोति य.। आहुर तद्भवेच्छ्राद्ध पितृणा नोपतिष्ठते ॥ स्मृतिच. (श्रा) p. 410, दोडरानन्द (folio 75b).

for the former. The Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 459) states that as most smṛtis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Smṛtiratnāvali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvaṇa* śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāḥ in Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāḥ But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāḥ came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p 457 note 1018). The Purāṇas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse 'āgacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyaḥ pitṛbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that all rites described in the different śākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another śākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own śākhā or sūtra (vide pp 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmaṇas are invited for pārvaṇa-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* brāhmaṇa is not available the śrāddha is called apātraka-pārvaṇaśrāddha (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* pārvaṇa-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (at the end of kandikā III) that the brāhmanas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmanas with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śistas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138–146) the 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In medieval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Sāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Ṛgvedins follow the procedure of pārvana-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pitrbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Sāmavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Laksmīpati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Maithilas (Maithila-sāmpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka for Chandogas and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaisnava brāhmanas follow special treatises on *Pūrva* and *Apara kriyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārita Venkatācārya or Tolappar and Smārta brāhmanas follow the Smrtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the sankalpa and at the end It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvanaśrāddha rite as performed by Ṛgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha[1093] rite for Ṛgvedins in

1093 The darśaśrāddha differs only very slightly from the above The summary here is taken from the 'Ṛgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirnayasāgara Press in Bombay in Pothi size, folios 98–108 (ed of 1936, *śake* 1858).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āśv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the smrtis and purānas). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kuśas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pavitra* on the finger next to the small finger with Rg. IX. 83 1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with kuśas, and ties three kuśa blades with tilas on the left of the *dhoti* worn by him. Then he performs prānāyāma and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)[1094] to perform (the Sāmvatsarika) śrāddha after referring to the time and place and together with agnaukarana, pindadāna &c The invited brāhmanas reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gange' (Rg X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuna is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Rg X. 97,15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranyarūpah' (Rg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes prācīnāvītī)[1095] and puts sesamum grains in the water

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1094 The सङ्कल्प will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये परार्धे..भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देशे शालिवाहनशके अमुकनाम संवत्सरे गोदावर्या दक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा)... अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे . पुरूरवार्द्रवसंज्ञकानां विश्वेषा देवाना अस्मत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकशर्मणा अमुकसगोत्राणा वसुरुद्रादित्यस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयोर्थं मोक्षार्थं मम पितृणा प्रतिसावत्सरिकश्राद्धं सदैव सपिण्डं साग्नौकरण पार्वणेन विधिना अक्षेन हविषा सद्य. करिष्ये. The performer becomes प्राचीनावीती when repeating the words अस्मत्पितृ ..स्वरूपाणा and reverts to उपवीत form when saying एतेषा etc. Among the Mādhvas the सङ्कल्प contains the words 'पित्रन्तर्यामिणो विश्वेदेवान्तर्यामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण वासुदेव-चतुर्मूर्त्यात्मक-श्राद्धस्वामि-श्रीमध्वजनार्दनस्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।.'

1095. The terms प्राचीनावीतिन्, यज्ञोपवीतिन् or उपवीतिन्, सव्यं and अपसव्यं occur almost at every step in the श्राद्धप्रयोग. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *prayoga* set out hereafter. Gobhila gr. I. 2 2–3, Khādiragr I. 1. 4–6 and Manu II. 63 define yajñopavītin or upavītin as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and prācīnāvītin as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder Savya means left. Acc to लाट्यायन I 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be 'savyam' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is अपसव्यम्

(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhṛngarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Puruṣa-sūkta [1096] (Rg. X. 90), Rg X 128 1–9, IX 58 1–4, Rg X. 126. 1–8, Rg. IV. 40 5, Rg. VII. 89 5, the sacred Gāyatrī with *om* and the three Vyāhṛtis, Rg. VII 56. 12, Rg VIII. 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7–9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitrah pavitro vā' [1097] (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣnu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure'. The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradakṣinā) the brāhmaṇas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmaṇas and a Vedic passage from Tai Ā. II. 15 [1098] 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmaṇa who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmaṇas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these *devatās*.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmaṇas) twice he should be prācīnāvītī, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaih' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmaṇas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhikāra* to perform the sāmvatsarikaśrāddha of my pitṛs this day.' The brāhmaṇas should reply 'let there be this adhikāra for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītin* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered' The brāhmaṇas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmaṇas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmaṇa and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ārdrava in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmaṇa in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāṇa (ācāralāṇḍa) chap. 216 1–2

1098. यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात्। नाश्नील कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति। तै. आ. II. 15 (at end).

same way (if two brāhmanas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the prācīnāvīta way should touch the left knee of the brāhmana (*pitrya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha.' The brāhmana should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmana replies 'I shall do so' Then he should make mandalas [1099] for the daiva and pitrya brāhmanas. Then *savyam.* The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasavyam.* He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of sesamum grains.' Then *savyam.* He offers welcome to the *daiva* brāhmanas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādya* for you, O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! Bhūr-bhuvah-svah to the (daiva) brāhmana'; the response is 'supādyam'. He should wash the feet of (the *daiva*) brāhmana or brāhmanas with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Rg X. 9.4, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasavya* way and offers welcome to the pitrya brāhmana or brāhmanas representing the three male ancestors [1100] and offers to give *pādya* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyam'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devīr' as in the case of *daiva* brāhmanas.

Then the performer casts away the *pavitra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two pavitras. Then *savyam.* He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the daiva brāhmanas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāsmahe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasavyam.* He addresses similar words to pitrya brāhmanas who respond in a similar way. Then *savyam.* He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For mandalas vide above pp 456-457.

1100. The पाद्य would be offered in the words 'पित, अमुकशर्मन् अमुकगोत्र वसुरूप ब्रह्मणे भूर्भुव. स्व, इदं ते पाद्यम्'. In the case of the पितामह and प्रपितामह the words रुद्ररूप and आदित्यरूप would respectively be substituted for वसुरूप. We have to construe as ब्रह्मणे ते पाद्यम् (अस्तु) and भूर्भुव. स्व. as the mantra accompanying the पाद्य.

shall perform the Pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha of my pitṛs that has been begun'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devīr' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Ṛg. X. 9.4, Ṛg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākṣasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Ṛg. X. 87.1 There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Viṣṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmaṇas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Ṛg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26–28 and with the three Vyāhṛtis and the Gāyatri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgāḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmaṇas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pitṛs in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (*rite*) proceeds'. The brāhmaṇas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhṛtis (Bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) 'this is the seat for the brāhmaṇa representing the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava'. The brāhmaṇa replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second daiva brāhmaṇa. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmaṇa's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being daiva brāhmaṇa in the Pratisāṁvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (daiva) brāhmaṇas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmaṇa) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatrī mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūrcas [1101] with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two *arghya* vessels for daiva brāhmanas with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājo vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upacāras be completed by means of yavas; the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmanas are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanne'. He says 'svāhā, these are arghya waters'. The response is 'let there be arghya waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmana and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ardrava to be present in you' They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Rg II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each *daiva* brāhmana. He says, 'I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra 'viśve devāh śrnutemām' (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmanas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmanas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the *arghya* vessels; he says 'O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! this is arghya water for you; svāhā, adoration'. They respond 'let there be arghya'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā āpaḥ' (vide Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this arghya has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmana. Then he offers fragrant [1102] substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words 'O Viśve devāh, called Purūrava and Ārdrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

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1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four angulas in length and having a knot two angulas from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्ग्रथितं चतुरङ्गुलाग्रं द्व्यङ्गुलग्रन्थि हस्तमात्रं मोक्षणकूर्चम्। वैखानसस्मार्त-सूत्र I. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmanas with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'सुरूरवार्द्रवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी वो गन्धा स्वाहा नमः। सुगन्धाः। सुरू..विश्वेदेवा यथा भागश एष वो दीपः स्वाहा नमः सुदीपः' and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsāḥ' (Ṛg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmanas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyuta by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmanas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitrs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvah svah to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmanas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmanas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmanas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tilosi somadevatyaḥ' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namah' the words 'svadhā namah' are employed, and instead of *tulasi* leaf bhrngarāja leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kuśas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmana and the verse repeated is 'uśantas tvā' (Ṛg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmana and he should honour the pitrs by repeating one mantra 'ā yantu nah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*[1103] water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the samsravas[1104] in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water if he desires a son. The brāhmanas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अयो दत्त्वा पात्रोपरिस्थदर्भान् विमृष्टे दत्त्वा अस्मत्पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी०। पितरे इदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम। अस्तु दत्तम्। सव्यम्। पितामहेद तेऽर्घ्यम्। अस्त्वर्घ्यम्। अपसव्यम्। या दिव्या०। पितामहायेदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम। and so on for प्रपितामह.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *saṁsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitrs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasī* and bhṛngarāja leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, gopīcandana, sacred chord, betelnut, kuśas for pavitra are offered to the pitrs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitṛbhyaḥ' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smṛtyā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmaṇas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitrya brāhmaṇas with the mantra 'piśaṅga-bhṛiṣṭim' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the *daiva* brāhmaṇas he draws lines with the mantras 'rakṣā no' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurāṇic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Viṣṇu protects the worlds. Just as Viṣṇu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmaṇas is done, beginning with the pitrya brāhmaṇa first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukaraṇa* with your permission in the hand[1105] of the (pitrya) brāhmaṇa.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitṛs, this for Agni, the carrier of kavya' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for avadānas[1106]

1105 If there are three brāhmaṇas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the *hands* of the brāhmaṇas'. The Nirnayasindhu (III. Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukaraṇa* in the hand of the daiva brāhmaṇa.

1106 As laid down in Āśv. gr I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मs are उपस्तरणं द्विरिश्रोवदानं हविरवदानयोश्च मत्यभिधारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitṛs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitṛs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni Kavyavāhana and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'samsthā-japa' and occurs in Āśv. Śr. I. 11.15) 'Om ca me.. te namah'. Obeisance to Agni. *Svaṣṭi*. Then he prays 'O Kavyavāhana! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divah' (Rg VI 7. 1) Then the brāhmaṇas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter Triśuparṇa,[1107] the hymns to *anna* (Rg. I. 187. 1–11 and several others) and other hymns Then certain pauranic verses should be repeated, viz 'Devatābhyah' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz Kuruksetra, Gayā, Gangā Prabhāsa and Puskara', the two verses[1108] 'saptavyādhā' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitṛs and the other two praying to Viṣnu and Śiva for favours. Then *savyam*. Then he sprinkles water (proksana) on the food with the Gāyatrī mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel[1108a], the heaven is the lid I sacrifice thee in the brāhmaṇa's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the Prāna (breath) and Apāna (breath) of learned brāhmaṇas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'ato devā' (Rg. I. 22. 16) and 'O Viṣṇu, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

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1107. For Triśuparṇa, vide p. 364 note 862a. The अनसूक्त are Rg I. 187. 1–11, IV. 31. 1–3 and several others which the brāhmaṇas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. सप्तव्याधा has been stated above on p 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmana turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devās called Purūrava and Ārdrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmana serves as *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmana diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Akṣayyavata (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava till this brāhmana is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat.* May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Visnupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Visnu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Rg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmanas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pitrya brāhmana) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivī te pātram ..loke' (vide p 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Visnu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (*pitrya*) brāhmana in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the *pitrya* brāhmana) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmana is in place of the *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmana is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Akṣayyavaṭa (at Gayā), svadhā to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmana is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat.* May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmana replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Rg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food

intended for the pitrs please them'. Then *savyam*.[1109] Then *naivedya* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpanam' (Gītā 4. 24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both natures viz. those of *pitrs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpanamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Viṣnu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-kṣetra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kāśī Viśveśvara! adoration to Viṣnu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then *savyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumatī* verses beginning with 'madhu vātā' (Ṛg. I 90. 6-8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The brāhmaṇas respond 'sumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of Viṣnu (eko Viṣnur &c.) 'there is one great Being viz. Viṣnu &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May Janārdana Viṣnu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brāhmaṇas at the pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpaṇam-astu*. Then having given water to the brāhmaṇas for *apośana*[1109a] (then *savyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra[1110] 'fixing myself in faith and in Prāṇa I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāṇa'. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality' and then 'svāhā to Brahma'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gāyatrī verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śraddhā (Ṛg.

1109. The printed text is पितृभ्यः सङ्कल्पितः प्रीयताम् This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is पितॄन् सङ्कल्पितमन्न प्रीणयतु or पितर. सङ्कल्पितेन (अन्नेन) प्रीयन्ताम्.

1109a. 'Apośana' literally means 'taking or drinking water' It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amṛtopastaraṇamasi' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amṛtāpidhānamasi'. Vide Tai Ā. X. 32, Āp, M. P. II.10.3-4, Āśv. gr I.24.12, Yāj. I.31 and 106.

1110 The mantras are श्रद्धायां प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि शिवो मावेशाप्रदाहाय। प्राणाय स्वाहा। श्रद्धायामपाने निविष्टो॰ and so on प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि म आत्मामृतत्वाय—is आपु म पा II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to अमृतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X 34.

X. 151. 1-5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rāksoghna [1111] as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90 6-8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Rg. I.82.2 [1111a] and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*' Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāh! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmanas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha *pindapradāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmana diners'. The performer says [1112] 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmanas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृणुध्वं पाजः (Rg IV. 4. 1-15) is called रक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are वाज सं. 13. 9-13 All fifteen verses occur in तै सं I. 2. 14. 1-6. So also are Rg. X 87 (beginning with रक्षोहणं वाजिनमाजिघर्मि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपतं रक्ष उब्जतं), Rg. X 118, Rg X. 162.

1111 a अक्षन्नमीमदन्त ह्यव प्रिया अधूषत...हरी॥ This is ऋ. I 82.2, वाज. सं. III 51, तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112 Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9 186).

Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasavyam*. He repeats the mantra [1113] 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says [1114] 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the pinda for thee [1115], svāhā! This pinda occupying the position of a pinda offered at Gayā is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) *not* mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the pinda offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters '*Tat sat*.' 'May whatever is offered in Gayā at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of [1116] the darbhas on which the pindas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered [1117] once over the pindas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

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1113. He draws *with the roots of* darbhas *as many lines* (*as* the number *of* pindas offered, 3 or 5) repeating this mantra at each line (*Vāj.* S. II 29).

1114 This is taken from आश्व श्रौ. सू II 6 14-15 'मेक्षणेनानुप्रहृत्य प्राचीनावीती लेखां त्रिरुदकेनोपनयेत् शुन्धन्तां पितरः . प्रपितामहा इति। तस्या पिण्डान् निपृणीयात् पराचीनपाणिः. पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामन्वत्रीति।' Compare आप. श्र प्र II 20. 4-7 मार्जयन्तां मम पितरो etc q. in note 1060 above; vide n 1053 for पराचीनपाणिः.

1115. With the food that remains after अन्वाहार्यकरण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee pindas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the पितृतीर्थ. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेपभाज. vide n. 1086 above.

1117. *Vide n. 960a for* अत्र पितरो मादयध्वं ..यथाभाग् and अमीमदन्त पितरो... यीपत The words in the text are taken from आश्व श्रौ सू II 6 16-21 on पिण्डपितृयज्ञ 'निपृतानुमन्त्रयेतात्र पितरो मादयध्वं यथाभागमिति। सव्यापसव्यावृत्तावर्त्य यथाप्रक्रमणमासित्वाभिपर्यावृत्यामीमद...यीपतेति। 'चरोः' प्राणभक्षं भक्षयेत्।'.

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pindas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pindas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the pindas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pindas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium'. He should put on the pindas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,[1118] the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this'. Then *savyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to the pindas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers to the pitrs present in the pindas *pādya*, *arghya*, water for ācamana, bath, *gandha*, flowers, bhrngarāja leaf, incense, lamp and *naivedya* of apūpa (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), tāmbūla and daksinā, using the word 'svadhā' after each of them. Then he should worship[1119] them with the mantra 'Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, for śusma, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā to you, O pitrs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pitrs! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here'! He then recites the verses[1120] Rg. X. 57. 3-5. Having thus worshipped them he then (*apasavyam*) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pindas with the mantra[1121] 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

1118 Vide आश्व श्रौ सू II 7 6 'वासो दद्याद् दशामूर्णास्तुकां वा पञ्चाशद्वर्षताया ऊर्ध्वं स्वं लोम एतद्वः पितरो वासो मा नोतोन्यत् पितरो युग्वमिति' The text translated is based on this, when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place on the pinda the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इषे नमो व. पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्त. स्याम—This passage is taken *verbatim* from आश्व श्रौ सू II. 7. 7.

1120 मनो न्वा हुवामह इति तिसृभि·। आश्व श्रौ सू II 7. 8. आप श्रौ सू I. 10. 5 calls them मनस्वती verses, as the word मन. occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare तै सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितर सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्वे ।' The 2nd half is different. The आश्व श्रौ सू II. 7 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pindas which represent the Fathers for the time being.

drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son'[1122].

Then *savyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikira*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam* He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pitrya* brāhmanas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *saṃskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this pinda made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a pinda given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the pitrya brāhmanas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantaḥ' (Rg IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiva* brāhmanas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmanas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the daiva brāhmanas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pitrya* brāhmanas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the pindas be good,' to which the *pitrya* brāhmanas respond 'may

1122. वीरं मे दत्त पितर.—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle pinda is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra आधत्त पितरो गर्भम्. Vide note 780 for that mantra The आश्व श्रौ सू. II 7. 12-13 says 'वीरं मे दत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मध्यमम्। पत्नी प्राशयेदाधत्त. . सादिति'.

it be so.' Then raising the *pranītā* [1122a] vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha to pitr, pitāmaha and prapitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitrya* brāhmanas reply 'so be it.' Then *savyam*. The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the daiva brāhmaṇas and silver to pitrya brāhmanas and the performer says 'may the daksinās (fees) given to the brāhmanas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā*!' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he says 'May (the brāhmanas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word svadhā.' They reply 'let there be svadhā.' Then he should place over the pindas sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that svadhā be accomplished.' They reply 'may svadhā be accomplished.' Then *savyam*. Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the Viśvedevāḥ be pleased.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he requests 'May you declare that the pitrs led by the Vasus be pleased'. They reply 'may the pitrs be pleased.' *Savyam*. He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the sankalpa' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the sankalpa'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the pitrs'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the pindas he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the Padmapurāna on p 452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmanas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the pindas'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad Visnoh' (Rg. I. 22.20), 'Tad viprāso' (Rg. I 22.21) and two more verses and then a Paurānic verse enumerating the seven holy cities of Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā and Dvārakā. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the pindas are'. They reply 'these (peace &c) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122 a. For प्रणीतापात्र vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates in which the brāhmanas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8). Then *savyam*. Then he says 'O pitrs, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'svādusamsadah' (Rg. VI. 75 9), 'brāhmanāsah pitarah' (Rg. VI 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grandfathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *moksa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gayā! May the pitrs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmanas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun, the brāhmanas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasistha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmanas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasisthāsah pitrvad' and 'devān vasistho' (Rg X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namah') viz 'idam pitrbhyo namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitrs (in the words 'namo vah pitaro &c'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitryā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse, for it is better not to finish Pitryajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the *pitryajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse."[1123] The conclusion is

1123. The words in the प्रयोग (p 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्येति नमस्कारवतीमन्तत शंसति तस्मादन्तत. पितृभ्यो नमस्क्रियते। तदाहुर्व्याहावं पिण्या. शंसेदेत् अव्याहावं ३ इति। व्याहावमेव शंसेदसंस्थितं वै पितृयज्ञस्य साव्वसंस्थित वा एष पितृयज्ञ संस्था-पयति यो व्याहावं शंसति तस्माद् व्याहावमेव शंसत्व्यम्।' The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to शंसत्व्यम् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khanda (end). The khanda (13) starts with the question whether the

(*Continued on the next page*)

one should repeat each verse with āhāva separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmanas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or śrāddha rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmanas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Visnu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmanas! may this śrāddha, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha of the pitrs This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat*. May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vasat te' (Rg. VII. 99 7) and then says 'adoration to Visnu (Visnave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering pindas is stated by Brhaspati and Vrddha-Parāśara as follows: If the pitrs are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of pitrs they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmanas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.[1123a]

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha as

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verse 'devānām patnīr' (Rg V. 46 6) or the rk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the आग्नेमाचतशस्त्र in तृतीयसवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीs should be recited first by the होतृ. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg X 14 4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Rg. X 15 1-3) *should* be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg X. 14. 3 'Mātalī kavyair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Rg X. 15. 2 (इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्य) is recited last in which the word नम. occurs. आहाव means the mantra ज्ञोंरेसावोश्म्. The figure 3 is a sign of the प्लुत accent. The sign of प्लुत shows deliberation आहु —we have to understand ब्रह्मवादिन as the subject Then comes the question whether the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not The conclusion is that the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this प्रयोग The only reason appears to be that the ऐ ब्रा. passage has something to say about पितृs and hence as this is a प्रयोग for पितृs it is introduced here

1123 a. पिण्डदानफलमाह बृहस्पतिः । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्था. पितृस्था द्विजतर्पणे. । नरकस्थाश्च तृप्यन्ति पिण्डैर्दत्तैस्त्रिभिर्भुवि ॥ वृद्धपराशरोपि । ये देवलोक पितृलोकमासु प्राप्तास्तथैवं नरकं नरा ये । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजभोजनेन तृप्यन्तु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते प्रदत्तै. ॥ q in पृथ्वीचन्द्र folio 110 b.

practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. Ā. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmana's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurānic are the same. The blessings (āśīrvādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākhā in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kandikās of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvanaśrāddhā-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmanasarvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmaśāstra that the procedure of pārvanaśrāddha *followed by Mādhyandinas* at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below[1124].

1124. दैवपूर्वं श्राद्धं पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुपचारः. पित्र्ये। द्विगुणास्तु दर्भाः पवित्रपाणिर्दक्षिणाप्रदासीनः सर्वत्र। प्रश्नेषु पङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यं पृच्छति सर्वान्वा। आसनेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य विश्वान् देवानावाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञातो विश्वे देवास आगतेत्यनयावाह्याववीर्य विश्वेदेवाः शृणुतेममिति जपित्वा पितृनावाहयिष्य इति पृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञात उशन्तस्त्वेत्यनयावाह्यावकीर्य आयन्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तर्हितेष्वेकैकस्मिन्नप आसिञ्चति ह्रो नो देवीरिति। एकैकस्मिन्नेव तिलानावपति तिलोसि सोमदेवत्यो गोसवे देवनिर्मितः। प्रत्नमद्भिः पृक्तः स्वधया पितॄँल्लोकान् प्रीणाहि नः स्वाहेति। सौवर्णराजतौदुम्बरस्रक्षडङ्गमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु वैकैकस्यैकैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु या दिव्या आप पयसा सम्बभूवुर्वा अन्तरिक्षा उत वा पार्थवीर्यीः। हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आप शिवाः शं स्योनाः सुहवा भवन्त्विति। असावेष तेऽर्घ इति। मधमे पात्रे संस्रवान्समवनीय पितृभ्यः स्थानमसीति न्युब्जं पात्रं निदधाति। अत्र गन्धपुष्पदीपवाससां च प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य घृताक्तमन्नं पृच्छत्यग्नौ करिष्य इति। कुरुष्वेत्यनुज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञवदुहुत्वा हुतशेष दत्त्वा पात्रनाल्रप्य जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृते अमृतं जुहोमि स्वाहेति। दैवण्यर्चा यजुषा वाङ्गुष्ठमक्षेऽवगाह्यापहता इति तिलान्प्रकीर्य उच्छं रिक्षेमलं दधाच्चक्रुषा वा। अन्नवन्तं जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्वां गायत्रीं सप्रणवां सकृत्त्रिर्वा राक्षोघ्नीं. पित्र्यमन्त्रान् पुरुषसूक्तमतिरथमन्यानि च पवित्राणि। तृप्ताञ्ज्ञात्वाऽन्नं प्रकीर्य सकृत्सकृदपो दत्त्वा पूर्ववद्वायत्रीं जपित्वा मधुमतीर्मधुमन्तीं मन्थिति च। तृप्ताः स्थेति पृच्छति। तृप्ता. स्मेत्यनुज्ञात शेषमन्नमनुज्ञाप्य सर्वमन्नमेकतोद्धृत्यो

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"The pārvana-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Pindapitryajña[1124a]. In the rites for the pitrs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as *pitrya* rites) wears a *pavitra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmana in daiva rites and to the best pitrya brāhmana in pitrya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all) Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmanas occupy them), he puts the question 'shall I invoke the Visvedevas (to the daiva brāhmana)'. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmanas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra[1125] 'Viśve devāsa āgata' (Vāj. S. 7. 34 'Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass'). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmanas), mutters a mantra 'Viśvedevāḥ srunutemam' (Vāj. S. 33. 53, 'Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine'). After this *japa* he asks (the pitrya brāhmanas) 'I shall invoke the pitrs'. When permitted (by the pitrya brāhmanas) in the words 'do invoke', he invokes them with the mantra 'usantas tvā' (Vāj. S. 19. 70, 'O Agni! we longing for our fathers place you down' &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

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च्छिष्टसमीपे दर्भेषु त्रीन्त्रीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यादाचान्तेष्वित्येके । आचान्तेषूदकं पुष्पाण्यक्षताक्षण्योदकं च दद्यात् । अघोरा पितर. सन्तु सन्त्वित्युक्ते गोत्रं नो वर्धता वर्धतामित्युक्ते-दातारो नोभिवर्धन्ता वेदा. सन्ततिरेव च । श्रद्धा च नो मा व्यगमद्बहु देयं च नोस्त्वित्यक्षिप. प्रतिगृह्य स्वधावाचनीयान्सपवित्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य स्वधा वाचयिष्ये इति पृच्छति । वाच्यतामित्यनुज्ञातः पितृभ्य. पितामहेभ्य. प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातामहेभ्य. प्रमातामहेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यता-मिति । अस्तु स्वधेत्युच्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेभ्यो निविशेत्यूजमिति । उक्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथा-शक्ति दक्षिणा दद्याद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विश्वे देवा. प्रीयन्तामिति दैवे वाचयित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति विसृज्या मा वाजस्येत्यनुव्रज्य प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डपि ... चार —so the result is: अपराह्णः काल·, श्राद्धकर्तुः प्राचीनावीतिता, दक्षिणाभिमुखता, वामजानुनिपात·, पितृतीर्थं, अप्रादक्षिण्य, दक्षिणापवर्गता, दर्भाणां दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादय. पैतृका. धर्मा From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मणोपचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तुरुदङ्मुखता, दक्षिणजानुनिपात·, दैवतीर्थं, प्रादक्षिण्य, उदगपवर्गता, प्राग्रता चेत्यादयो दैविकधर्मा . There are of course a few exceptions to the first part, such as दक्षिणादान, स्तोत्रजप and विप्रविसर्जन.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmanas) and mutters the mantra 'ā yantu naḥ pitarah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitrs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila[1126] &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā[1127] āpah &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels[1128] for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitrs'. Then (at this stage) *gandha*[1129] (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karana*'. Being permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do so', he offers into (grhya) fire oblations[1130] as in Pinda-

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1126. तिलोसि This mantra occurs in आश्व. गृ. सू. quoted in note 966 above हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यवs are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषो यवयारातीः' (वाज. सं 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अपहता असुरा रक्षांसि वेदिषदः (वाज. सं 2.29). Vide या. I. 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128 There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels, drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व explains 'तत्र च पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति बृहस्पतिः। आवृतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः श्राद्धदेवता'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां द्वन्द्वनिर्देशान्मिलितानामेव तन्त्रेण पित्रादिकमुद्दिश्य उत्सर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रs in अग्नौकरण are 'ओं अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा'.

pitryajña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmaṇas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making piṇḍas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmaṇas in the food with a ṛk (Ṛg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam rakṣasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before daiva brāhmaṇas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā rakṣāṅsi vedisadah' (Vāj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmaṇas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following [1131], viz. the sacred Gāyatrī once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhṛtis, the verses called Rākṣoghnī (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitṛs (Ṛg. X. 15. 1–13 beginning with 'udīratām-avara ut parāsah)', Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–16), Apratiratha hymn (Ṛg. X. 103. 1–13) beginning with 'āśuḥ śiśānaḥ') and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmaṇas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmaṇas, he should give to each brāhmaṇa water once (for *apośana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatrī, the (three) Madhumatī verses (Ṛg. I. 90 6–8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make piṇḍas from it); he offers (two sets of three piṇḍas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where [1132] the brāhmaṇas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the piṇḍas for ablution [1133]. Some authors say that piṇḍas are to

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1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for japa are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्छिष्टसमीपे-गदाधर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामग्रतोऽन्नं प्रकिरेदिति कर्काचार्याः। पङ्क्तिमूर्ध्न्यस्योत्तरदिग्भागे अरत्निमात्रे विकिरं दद्यादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोद्धृत्य is grammatically irregular; it should be एकत उद्धृत्य. The पिण्ड are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सपत्नीक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives The formula would be, अमुकगोत्र

(*Continued on the next page*)

be offered after the brāhmanas perform *ācamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ācamana* he gives to the brāhmanas water, flowers, *akṣatas* and *akṣayyodaka*[1134]. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitrs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmanas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads kuśas called *svadhāvācanīya*[1134a] together with pavitras (on the ground near the pindas or, on the pindas themselves according to Devayājñika and others); he asks (all the brāhmanas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May svadhā be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitrs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-great-grandfather'. When the brāhmanas reply 'May there be svadhā' he sprinkles water over the svadhāvācanīya darbhas with the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmanas dakṣinā according to his ability. He should make the daiva brāhmanas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmanas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmanas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

(*Continued from the last page*)

अस्मत्पितरमुकशर्मन् सपत्नीक वसुरूप एतत्ते ऽर्घ्यं स्वधा । इदममुकगोत्रायास्मत्पित्रेऽमुकशर्मणे सपत्नीकाय वसुरूपाय न मम The same formula with appropriate changes is to be employed for पितामह, प्रपितामह, मातामह etc. Some writers proposed that nine pindas may be offered, three to पितृवर्ग, three to मातृवर्ग and three to मातामहवर्ग हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for मातृवर्ग should be drawn to the west of the one for पितृवर्ग and another line to the west of the one for मातृवर्ग for मातामहवर्ग and पिण्डs should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षय्योदक, गदाधर explains 'अक्षय्योदकशब्देन दत्ताक्षपानादेरानन्त्यप्रार्थनसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते।' तच्च पितृब्राह्मणेभ्य एवेति कर्कः। सर्वेभ्यो दयादिति स्मृत्यर्थसारे ।.'

1134-a. सपवित्रान् कुशानास्तीर्य-कर्क and गदाधर explain 'सपवित्रान्साग्रानित्यर्थः'.

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvaṇa-śrāddha based on the Brāhmaṇasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva the following details are added after the piṇḍas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmaṇas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pitṛs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pitṛs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens [1135] the side of his *dhoti* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i. e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra [1136] 'Namo vaḥ pitaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II. 32). He smells [1137] the piṇḍas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S II. 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvaṇa śrāddha among Hiraṇyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āśv. Gṛ. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Saṃskāraratnamālā of Gopīnātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña) to be performed on amāvāsyā, viz. *māsi-śrāddha* and *māsika-śrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiraṇyakeśin and the second by the Gṛhyasūtra. Gopīnātha further says that māsikaśrāddha is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Gṛhyasūtra and māsiśrāddha is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmaśāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāṃvatsarika-śrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is māsi-śrāddha (p. 988) and that māsika-śrāddha may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one darśa day in a year and that māsi-śrāddha follows immediately after Piṇḍapitṛyajña as

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1135. About नीवीविस्रसन, vide शतपथ ब्रा॰ in n. 960a. बृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्य says 'दक्षिणे कर्णविवरे तु तिलैः सह कुशत्रयम्।'

1136 नमो वः पितरो रसाय-vide note 963 above. रघुनन्दन (यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...मन्त्रेण he offers obeisance to the pitṛs identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vaḥ pitaraḥ' (Vāj S. 2 32) he offers namaskāra to the pitṛs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pitṛs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo gṛhān naḥ pitaro dattā' Vāj. S 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अनाजिघ्रेच्च तान् पिण्डान् and note 960 towards the end

laid down by Manu (III. 122) and māsikaśrāddha may be performed after māsi-śrāddha. In modern times no one performs māsiśrāddha or māsika-śrāddha strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. Śrāddha is supposed to be performed by feeding a brāhmana and giving him a daksinā of a few *annas*. The Śrāddhatattva (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting Matsya and Bhavisya, that, if a person is unable to perform a pārvanaśrāddha every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of Kanyā, Kumbha and Vrsabha and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of Kanyā.

The two meanings of sapinda given by the Mit. and the Dāyabhāga have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 452–458 and pp. 472–477. The Dāyabhāga propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of śrāddhas and the offering of pindas was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The Mit. said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the Mit. whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yāj. II. 51) and to offer śrāddha and pinda to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 734–745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the pindas when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer pindas[1138]. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajani Kanto* 35 C. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer pindas or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the Dāyabhāga not on offering pinda but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the Dāyabhāga. But in certain later cases such as *Akshayachandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āśv.[1139] Śr. S (II. 6. 16-23) first sets out the views of Gānagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gānagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors pindas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that pinḍas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that pinḍas should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grand-father if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āśv. replies; one cannot offer pinḍas to three ancestors[1140] beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer pindas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three pindas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The Kātyāyana śr.[1141] sūtra provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै च एषां प्रेता. स्युरिति गाणगारि. प्रत्यक्षपित्तरानर्चयेत् तदर्थत्वात्। सर्वेभ्य एव निपृणीयादिति तौल्वलिः क्रियागुणत्वात् । अपि जीवन्त एव आ त्रिभ्यः प्रेतेभ्य एव निपृणीयादिति गौतम· क्रिया ह्यर्थकारिता । उपायविशेषो जीवमृतानाम् । न परेभ्योऽनधिकारात्।" न प्रत्यक्षम्। न जीवेभ्यो निपृणीयात्। न जीवान्तर्हितेभ्यः। जुहुयाज्जीवेभ्यः। सर्वहुतं सर्वजीविन ॥ आश्व. श्रौ II. 6. 16-23.

1140 One can offer pindas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer pinḍa to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. प्रेतेभ्यो ददाति। जीवत्पितृकोपि । जीवान्तर्हितेपि । जीवपितृकस्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा। न व्यवेते जातूकर्ण्यो न जीवन्तमतिददातीति । कात्या श्रौ. सू IV. 1. 23-27. Vide also शाङ्खायन श्रौ. सू. IV. 4. 12-15 for similar rules.

that pindas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no piṇḍadāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of pinda-pitryajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha); that Jātūkarnya prescribes that no piṇḍadāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer pindas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' Manu (III. 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer pindas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmaṇa and offer piṇḍas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a piṇḍa only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e only two pindas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmaṇa invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer piṇḍas to father, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the Purāṇas such as Skanda VI 225.24-25, Agni 117.58-59 deal with this matter. Gobhilasmṛti (II. 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.[1142] Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the Mit. on Yāj. I. 254, Kalpataru (śr. pp 240 ff), Śr. K. K. pp. 552-556 and Nirṇayasindhu (III. pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The Kalpataru (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive, (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer pindas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers pindas; (Manu. III, 220, Viṣṇu Dh. S 75.1); (2) he should simply offer homa into fire as stated in Āśv. Śr. S. quoted above, (3) he should not engage in the rite of pindapitryajña or pārvaṇaśrāddha at all (Gobhila-smṛti II. 93). The Nirnaya-sindhu says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the Kali age and

1142. सपितृकृत्येषु अधिकारो न विद्यते। न जीवन्तमतिक्रम्य किंचिद् वधादिति श्रुतिः॥ गोभिलस्मृति II. 93, q. by अ. कि. को p 552. Compare कात्या श्रौ सू q. in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvaṇaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers piṇḍas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with piṇḍadāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha, dhūpa, dīpa*) and offer piṇḍas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer piṇḍas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer piṇḍas to the same three ancestors. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. extends the procedure about 'jīvatpitṛka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).[1142a] Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāṇa 117.60 'evam mātṛādikasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhilasmṛti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.[1143] If a person cannot secure several brāhmaṇas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvaṇa-śrāddha in which six piṇḍas are to be offered with a single brāhmaṇa, provided he is *paṅkti-pāvana*[1144] (sanctifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *naivedya* should be offered in place of the dinner

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1142 a मातामहानामप्येवं श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोहेण यथान्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75.8. मन्त्रोहेण—This is to be understood as follows: "'शुन्धन्तां पितरः' इत्यादौ शुन्धन्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदक्षेपेण । शेषाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जित आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जित कुर्यादित्यर्थः ।" पृथ्वीच्च *folio* 222 a.

1143. चरितार्था श्रुतिः कार्या यस्मादप्यनुकल्पतः ।' अत्रैव देयं यथाशक्ति श्राद्धकाले समागते ॥ कात्यायन q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिलस्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different

1144. भोजयेदथवाप्येक ब्राह्मण पङ्क्तिपावनम्। दैवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्य पश्चाद्वह्नौ तु तत्क्षिपेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14 10; हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तस्य तु निर्वपेत्.

to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śankha 14.10. If even a single brāhmana cannot be had for a pārvanaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmana students (*batu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvanaśrāddha.[1145]

When one cannot secure a brāhmana nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).[1146] This is stated by the Skandapurāna VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāna 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanapārijāta (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvanaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Hārīta says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika and sāmvatsarika śrāddhas.[1147] Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for śūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmanas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides[1148] that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*[1149]

1145. निधाय वा दर्भबटूनासनेषु समाहित'। मैषाक्षमेषसंयुक्त विधान मतिपादयेत्॥ देवल q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा. p 1526), श्रा कि कौ. p 89 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निधायाथ दर्भचयम्)

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत यस्य भार्या रजस्वला॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206 52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (श्रा. p. 492), आपद्यन्नौ तीर्थे च प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि। आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत भार्यारजसि सकमे॥ काल्या. q. by निर्णयसिन्धु III p 462, मद पा p. 480, कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाकसमर्थाग्निरहितः। न पुनरनग्निरनाहिताग्नि.।'.

1147. श्राद्धविघ्ने द्विजातीनामाश्राद्धं प्रकीर्तितम्। अमावास्यादि नियतं माससवत्सराद्वते॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 468, स्मृतिच (श्रा. p 492), श्रा. कि. कौ p. 26 (लघुहारीत)

1148. आमं ददद्धि कौन्तेय तद्वानं द्विगुणं भवेत्। त्रिगुण चतुर्गुणं वापि न त्वेकगुणमर्पयेत्। व्यास q by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p 1528).

1149 आवाहने स्वधाकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने। अन्यकर्मण्यनूह्याः स्युरामश्राद्धे विधि स्मृत॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1529), स्मृतिच (श्रा. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि and explains "स्वधाकारे 'नमो वः पितर इदे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे इप इतिपदस्थाने आमद्रव्यायेत्यूहः।"

svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmaṇas had to be changed e. g in āvāhana the verse employed is 'uśantastvā' (Vāj. S. 19 70) which ends with the words 'havise attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*') the words 'havise svīkartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, ekoddiṣṭa in the noon, the pārvaṇaśrāddha in the afternoon and vṛddhiśrāddha in the first part of the day (divided into five).[1149a]

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (śrāddha with money) When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmaṇas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In āmaśrāddha twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in hemaśrāddha four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p 425, n. 955).

1149 a आमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्णे एकोद्दिष्टं तु मध्यतः। पार्वणं चापराह्णे तु मातृवृद्धि-निमित्तकम्॥ हारीत and शातातप q. in अपरार्क p. 468, पृथ्वीच. folio 124a.

CHAPTER X

EKODDIṢTA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha[1150] The word Ekoddiṣṭa means 'that in which only one deceased person[1151] is intended (to be invoked or benefited)'. The Pārvaṇa-śrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddiṣṭa. In Śān gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 4), and Yāj. I. 251–252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.[1152] In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pavitra* and only one piṇḍa is offered, there is no *āvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-karaṇa*, there are no brāhmaṇas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svadiṭam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmaṇas reply with 'susvadiṭam') (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person), when the brāhmaṇas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣnu-purāṇa (III 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28 8–11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śān gr. (IV. 2. 7),[1153]

1150. अथेत्यनेनैकोद्दिष्टस्य पार्वणानन्तर्याभिधानं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतित्वं सूचयति। श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 244.

1151. एक उद्दिष्टो यस्मिन् श्राद्धे तदेकोद्दिष्टमिति कर्मनामधेयम्। मिता on या I 251, elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरुषोद्देशेन यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरुषोद्देशेन क्रियमाणमेकोद्दिष्टम्'। मिता. on या I. 217. हलायुध (folio 32 b) on श्राद्धसूत्र says 'एकोत्र संप्रदानत्वेनोद्दिष्ट इति।'.

1152. अथैकोद्दिष्टेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिश्रावण न पूर्वं निमन्त्रणं न दैवं न भूप न दीप न स्वधा न नमस्कारो नाचापूपम्। बौ. गृ. सू. III. 12. 6.

1153. अथैकोद्दिष्टम्। एकोऽर्घ एकं पवित्रमेक. पिण्डो नावाहन नाग्नौकरण नात्र विश्वे-देवाः स्वदितमिति तृप्तिप्रश्नः सुस्वदितमितीतरे ब्रूयुरुपतिष्ठतामित्यक्षय्यस्थानेऽभिरम्यतामिति विसर्गोऽभिरताः स्म इतीतरे। श्राद्धसूत्र 4 (कात्यायनीय) Almost the same words occur in कौषीतकिगृह्य 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदिश्राद्धतत्त्व (Jiv. II, p. 495) explains 'एक एकदलरूप पवित्रम्'.

Manu III. 257, Mārkandeya (28. 11), Yāj. I. 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindīkarana śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Visnudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g instead of 'atra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'atra pitarmādayasva' (O father![1154] regale thyself here). In Ekoddista such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindīkarana is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-grhyapariśista).[1155]

As seen above (p 262, note 591a) Ekoddista śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāna Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra[1156] that Ekoddista-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddista) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāni' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p 262 note 593. The Skandapurāna VI (Nāgarakhanda) 205. 1–4 and Garudapurāna (pretakhanda 5. 67–69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवन्मन्त्रानूहेतैकोद्दिष्टे। विष्णुध सू 21. 2 On this the दीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोहः कार्य ".

1155. ये च त्वामनु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते। पितृशब्द न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत्। कल्पतरु (श्रा) p 246.

1156. तत्र व्याघ्रः। एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम्। प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैवमेकोद्दिष्ट मृताहनि॥ कात्यायन.। श्राद्धमग्निमत. कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि। ध्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत प्रतीताहनि सर्वदा॥ अपरार्क p. 521 This last is गोभिलस्मृति III. 66 which reads प्रत्याब्दिक प्रकुर्वीत.

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśāca*.[1157] There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including sapiṇḍīkaraṇa among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. Gobhilasmṛti III. 67 enumerates[1158] the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the tithi of death and sapiṇḍīkaraṇa are the sixteen śrāddhas. The Garudapurāṇa[1159] refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the Padmapurāṇa[1160] enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death) The Kalpataru p. 25 and Brahmapurāna q. by Aparārka (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the tithi of death[1161]). Laugākṣi and

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1157. यस्यैतानि न दीयन्ते प्रेतश्राद्धानि षोडश। पिशाचत्वं ध्रुवं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि॥ यम q by आ कि. कौ. p 362 The same verse occurs in गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 5. 50–51), लिखितस्मृति 16 (reads यस्यैतानि न कुर्वन्ति एकोद्दिष्टानि), लघुशङ्ख 13 (with variations), पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्देह यथाशक्त्या च श्रद्धया) The verse is quoted by the मिता on या० I. 254 (reading न दत्तानि and प्रेतत्वं सुस्थिरं तस्य) प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्नूणां वर्ष प्रकीर्तता। क्षुत्तृष्णे प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेता भृशनन्दन॥ मार्कण्डेयः q by मिता. on या. I. 253

1158. द्वादश प्रतिमास्थानि आद्यषाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद्वै श्राद्धषोडशम्॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 67. The word आद्य has been explained by या I 256 as मृतेऽहनि प्रकर्तव्यं प्रतिमासं तु वत्सरम्। प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैवमाद्यमेकादशेऽहनि॥ on which the मिता: says 'आद्यं सर्वकोद्दिष्टप्रकृतिभूतमेकोद्दिष्टमेकादशेऽहनि'. गरुड (प्रेत० 5 51) says: एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तितम्। But अपरार्क p. 543 explains आद्य differently 'आद्यशब्देन नवश्राद्धान्युच्यन्ते'. षाण्मासिके is explained by गोभिलस्मृति III 68 as एकाहेन तु षण्मासा यदा स्युरपि वा त्रिभि। न्यूनोः संवत्सराच्चैव स्यातां षाण्मासिके तथा॥ q by अपरार्क p 522, आ कि. कौ. p 338 and explained as 'एकेनाह्ना त्रिभिर्वा अहोभिर्यदा षण्मासा न्यूनाः स्यु संवत्सरश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनोस्ति तदा षाण्मासिके श्राद्धे कार्ये इत्यर्थ'.

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च षण्मासे मासिकेऽब्दिके। तृतीयां षोडशीमेता वदन्ति मतभेदतः गरुड (प्रेतखण्ड 5.49–50); the other two groups are at chap 35. 33–36 and in 37.

1160 चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च षण्मासे चाब्दिके तथा। द्वादश प्रतिमास्थानि श्राद्धान्येतानि षोडश। पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. ब्रह्मपुराणे। तृणां तु त्यक्तदेहानां श्राद्धाः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पञ्चमे चैव नवमैकादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्मासैः श्राद्धा द्वादशसंख्यया। q. by अपरार्क p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddista śrāddhas sapindana should be performed.[1162] The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākhā or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas. One view espoused by Śankha and Paithīnasi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāna and Visnudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddista) was to be performed on the expiry of āśauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas[1163] that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadandi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddista nor Sapindīkarana should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śātātapa provides[1164] that no Ekoddista, no water, no pinda and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvana-śrāddha should be performed. Pracetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj I. 256 states that no ekoddista is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapindīkarana, but only pārvana on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāna (Kailāsa-samhitā) chapters 22 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitr' and 'svadhā namah' are

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1162. श्राद्धानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डनम्। लौगाक्षि q by मिता on या. I 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 168, ascribed to वायुपुराण by अपरार्क p. 532, सपिण्डीकरणादर्वाक् कुर्याच्छ्राद्धानि षोडश। एकोद्दिष्टविधानेन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु॥ q. by अपरार्क p 522.

1163. एकोद्दिष्टं न कुर्वीत यतीनां चैव सर्वदा। अहन्येकादशे मासे पार्वणं तु विधीयते॥ सपिण्डीकरणं तेषां न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः। त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव प्रेतत्वं नैव जायते॥ उशनस् q by मिता on या I. 255, परा मा I 2 p. 458, श्रा क्रि कौ pp. 444–445.

1164. एकोद्दिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्क्रियाम्। न कुर्याद्वार्षिकादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्मृताः॥ शातातप q. by मद पा p. 627, श्रा क्रि कौ. p. 445, अपरार्क p 538 (reads पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूताय भिक्षवे).

omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *japa* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmaṇas. As stated in the Brahmapurāṇa, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called ekoddiṣṭa. It follows that the rites called navaśrāddhas offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and piṇḍa are offered (and not in the house), vide Sm. C. (āśauca p. 176). In the *navamiśra* śrāddha mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit) that in times of difficulty, Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa or **Sapiṇḍana** is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pitṛs to whom piṇḍas are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc to the Kauṣītaki gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The Bhāradvāja[1165] gr (III 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The Baud. Pitṛmedhasūtra II. 12.1 mentions five times for sapiṇḍīkaraṇa viz one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The Garuḍapurāṇa (Pretakhaṇḍa 6 53-54) states the time of Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about sapiṇḍīkaraṇa (which is an ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha). Aparārka (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āhitāgni* viz 12th day, some day between the end of *āśauca* and the first amāvāsyā (after death) or the first amāvāsyā after āśauca ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The Madanapārijāta quotes a verse of Vyāsa that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशेऽनि। भारद्वाजगृह्य III 17.1; आनन्त्यात्कुलधर्माणां पुंसा चैवायुष क्षयात्। अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो प्रशस्यते॥ व्यास q. by मद् पा p. 631, श्रा कि. कौ p. 350 (ascribes to व्याघ्र), पृथ्वीच folio 237 a (ascribes to व्याघ्र), भट्टोजि p. 176 of चतुर्विंशति°, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 301.

commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Viṣnu Dh S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindīkarana (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapindīkarana was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of ekoddista śrāddhas. Bhattoji says[1166] that when sapindīkarana is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindīkarana, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Viṣnu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindīkarana is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmana for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *naraśrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapiṇḍīkarana must be performed by one alone[1167] (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir[1168].

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindīkarana is described in numerous works such as the Śān. gr. V. 9, Kauṣītaki gr. IV. 2, Baud Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kandikā 5), Yāj. I. 253–254, Viṣnupurāna III. 13.27 ff, Viṣnu Dh. S 21. 12–33, Padma (Sṛṣtikhanda 10. 22–33), Mārkandeya-purāna 28. 12–18, Garuda-purāna I. 220, Viṣnudharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57–58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here.[1169] As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्वं प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं क्रियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश श्राद्धानि प्रागेव कृतानि-श्राद्धानि षोडशादत्वा न कुर्याच्च सपिण्डनम्—इति वृद्धवसिष्ठोक्तेः, तथापि स्वस्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्यावर्तनीयानि। भट्टोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p 171

1167. नवश्राद्धं सपिण्डत्वं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश। एकेनैव हि कार्याणि संविभक्तधनेष्वपि॥ उशनस् q. by अपरार्क p. 524, मिता. on या. I. 255 (without name). This verse is गरुडपुराण, प्रेत० 34. 128–129.

1168. अर्वाक् सवत्सरात्सर्वे कुर्युः श्राद्धं समेत्य वै। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु कुर्युः श्राद्धं पृथक् पृथक्॥ प्रचेतस् q. by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169 The सङ्कल्प in सपिण्डन will be somewhat as follows. अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणः प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वनिवृत्त्या पितृलोकप्राप्त्यर्थमसुकगोत्रै. अमुकशर्मभिर्वसुरुद्रादित्यस्वरूपै. प्रेतपितृपितामहप्रपितामहै. सह सपिण्डीकरण मृताहाद् द्वादशेऽह्नि पार्वणेकोद्दिष्टविधिना करिष्ये।.

Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmanas the previous day, there is agnaukarana, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmanas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *svadhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandal-wood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors, two daiva brāhmanas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmanas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the preta with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors' When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras[1169a] 'ye samānā' (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46) Arghya is offered to the brāhmana representing the preta with the water that remains in the preta vessel, arghya is offered to the three *pitrya brāhmanas from the three pitrya* vessels. Four *pindas should be prepared, one for the preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the pretapinda with the pindas for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the pretapinda into three parts and puts each third into each of the three pindas with the same two *mantras* (Vāj. S 19. 45-46). The Garudapurāna (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the pretapinda is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the pindas for pitāmaha and prapitāmaha only.

1169a. The two mantras are. ये समाना समनस्क पितरो यमराज्ये। तेषा लोक स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम्॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीवेषु मामका। तेषां श्रीर्मयि कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समा.॥ वाज. स. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38 23-24 भारद्वाज-गृह्य III 17 sets out the following formula for तिलप्रदान 'ये समाना ये सजाता इति द्वाभ्यामसौ पितृभिः पितामहेभि प्रपितामहेभि सहैतत्ते तिलोदकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलो वुकमदानम्।' In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरशुकगोत्रा-शुकशर्मन् एत' पितामहेभि. and प्रपितामहेभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapindikarana partakes of the character of both ekoddista and pārvana, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapindīkarana rite is completed by the giving of daksinā to the brāhmanas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a pitr. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a pitr means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.[1170] The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapindikarana performed for him The result of sapindana is that the[1171] great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapindana is performed drops out from the list of pitrs entitled to pinda and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the pitrs and entitled to participate in the pindas offered at a pārvanaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garudapurāna I. 220. 2 the sapindīkarana-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the preta vessel into the pitr vessels are different For example, the Visnu Dh. S. 21. 14 says[1172] the mantras are 'Samsrjatu tvā prthivī' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samānī va ākutiḥ' (Rg. X. 191. 4), while the

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1170. प्रेतत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितात्यन्तदु.खाद्भवावस्था। यथाह मार्कण्डेय । प्रेतलोके तु वसतिर्नृणां वर्ष प्रकीर्तिता। क्षुत्तृष्णे प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेतां भृगुनन्दन॥ इति। पितृत्वप्राप्तिश्च वस्वादिश्राद्धदेवतासम्बन्धः । मिता on या I. 254. या I. 255–256 presuppose this idea

1171. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पितुर्यः प्रपितामह । क्षतलेपभुजो याति प्रक्षयपितृपिण्डकः॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1; ततः प्रभृति वै प्रेत. पितृसामान्यमाप्नुयात्। विन्दते पितृलोकं च तत. आर्द्धं प्रवर्तते॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1640), श्रा क्रि कौ p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभि सह पार्वणश्राद्धभोक्तृत्वमित्यर्थः। तेन पञ्चदश-श्राद्धाना प्रेतत्वपरीहार. फलं सपिण्डनस्य तु प्रेतत्वपरीहार पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्वणभोक्तृत्वं च फलत्रयमिति।' Vide also स्मृतिच on आशौच (Mysore University ed.) p 158 quoting प्रचेतस् and विष्णु.

1172. संवत्सरान्ते प्रेताय तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्प्रपितामहाय च ब्राह्मणान् देवपूर्वान् भोजयेत्। अत्राशौकरणमाग्रहनं पार्थं च कुर्यात्। संसृजतु त्वा पृथिवी समानी व इति प्रेतपात्र्यपार्त्रं पितृपात्र्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p. 1640). The mantra is संसृजतु त्वा पृथिवी वायुरग्नि प्रजापति.। संसृजध्वं पूर्वेभि. पितृभिः सह॥ The काठकगृह्य 66 7 prescribes that when parts of pretapinda are mixed up with पितृपिण्ड, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākūtāni' and 'sam vo manāmsi' (काठकसंहिता 10. 38-39) are recited.

Grhya-pariśista [1173] of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6–8) and the three fine verses at the end of the Ṛgveda beginning with 'sangacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2–4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkandeya (28. 17–18) provide that Ekoddista and Sapindīkarana śrāddhas are performed for women also (but, not pārvana nor ābhyudayika). About the Sapindīkarana of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. *If* a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapindana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilasmrti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapindana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband [1174] or afterwards (as a *Satī*) then her son should perform her sapindana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapindana for her. If she was married in the *āsura form* or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapindana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brāhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapindana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapindana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit on Yāj I. 253–254 and Sm. C. (*on śśauca p 169*) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives [1175]

The Nirnayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapindana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

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1173. प्रेतपिण्डं त्रिधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु त्रिष्वादधाति मधु वाता इति तिसृभिः सङ्कच्छध्वमिति द्वाभ्यामनुमन्त्र्य शेषं पार्वणवत्कुर्यात्। आश्व. गृ. परि 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते। प्रतिसंवत्सरं कार्यमेकोद्दिष्टं नरैः स्त्रिया॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which रुद्रधर (श्राद्धविवेक p 113) says: अत्र पुत्राभाव इत्युपलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति द्रष्टव्यम्।

1175. स्वेन भर्त्रा समं श्राद्धं माता भुक्ते सुधामयम्। पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव प्रपितामही॥ बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच. (श्रा.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामय and तथैव प्रपितामही) and श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 428, मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदितम्। गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 428, पितुः पितामहे यद्वत् पूर्णे संवत्सरे मृते। मातुर्मातामहे तद्वदेषा कार्या सपिण्डता॥ उशनस् q by मिता. on या. I. 253–254 The गरुड (प्रेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहैः। सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तात्पर्यं मतं मम॥.' Therefore the मिता. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विरुद्धानि वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते।'.

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and pinda is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely necessary ceremonies as sīmantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89–90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapiṇḍīkarana are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smrtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958–9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āśauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vrddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyanabali should be resorted to after a year and *then śrāddha* may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyanabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāna, Nāgarakhanda 219. 19–21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Ābhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvana, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddista (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13–15, Śāṅ. gr. IV. 4, Gobhila gr. IV. 3. 35–37, Kausītaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2–5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kandikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūrta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmaṇas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that *yavas* (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of *pārvaṇa* (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. pariśiṣṭa II. 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitṛdayitā pp. 62–71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the Viśve-devas are called Satya and Vasu, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmaṇas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the *prācīnāvīta* form), all actions are to be done from left to right (*pradakṣiṇam* and not *prasavyam*); the word svadhā is not to be used; yava grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains, he invites them with the words 'find time to attend Nāndīśrāddha'. The brāhmaṇas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about yavas is 'yavosi' (vide note 966)[1176] he requests 'I shall invoke the pitṛs called Nāndīmukha'.[1177] When permitted by the brāhmaṇas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the Nāndīmukha pitṛs be pleased'; he offers arghya only once with the words 'O Nāndīmukha pitṛs! this is the arghya for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmaṇa, the two mantras being 'to Agni, the bearer of *havya*! svāhā' and 'to Soma accompanied by the pitṛs! svāhā'. While the

1176. The mantra here repeated is 'यवोसि . मत्तः मुष्टया (in place of स्वधया) नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन् ..नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'.

1177. The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows: ओम्, अद्यामुकगोत्राणां मातृपितामहीप्रपितामहीनामसुकासुकासुकदेवीनां नान्दीमुखीनां तथासुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानाममुकामुकामुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानां तथासुकगोत्राणां मातामहप्रमातामहवृद्धप्रमातामहानाममुकासुकासुकशर्मणां नान्दीमुखानामसुकगोत्रस्य कर्तव्यासुककर्मनिमित्तकमाभ्युदयिकश्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। श्राद्धविवेक of चण्डेश्वर p. 149. For देवीनां it is usual to put वृद्धानां.

brāhmanas are eating the dinner, the Rāksoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitrs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1–13); when he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1–5) beginning with 'upāsmai gāyatā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6–8) and at the end he makes the brāhmanas hear the mantra 'the pitrs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāndīmukha pitrs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvana) 'aksayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmanas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmanas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmanas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two pindas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmanas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *prsadājya* [1178] (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The pindas are offered to the mātrs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer pindas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gr. parisista II. 19). The Pitrdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātrśrāddha is to be performed in Ābhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Sāmaveda. It is possible that the śraddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvastakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gr. quoted below will indicate.[1178a]

The words Nāndīśrāddha and Vrddhiśrāddha are synonymous When Yāj I. 250 says[1179] that the Nāndīmukha pitrs should be worshipped with pindas when there is *vrddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāndīśrāddha and Vrddhi-

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1178 पृषदाज्य is defined in आश्व गृ. IV. 1. 17 as 'दधन्यत्र सर्पिरानयन्त्येतत्पित्र्य पृषदाज्यम्'.

1178 a अपरेद्युरन्वष्टक्यम्।...पिण्डपितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। हुत्वा मधुमन्थवर्जं पितृभ्यो दद्यात्। क्षीरश्च सुरा चाचाममित्यधिकम्। आश्व. गृ II. 5 1, 3–5.

1179. एवं प्रदक्षिणावृत्तो वृद्धौ नान्दीमुखान् पितॄन्। यजेत दधिकर्कन्धूमिश्रान् पिण्डान्यवैः क्रिया.॥ या. I. 250.

śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yāj. I. 250 quoting Śātātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. *mātr-śrāddha, pitṛśrāddha* and *mātāmahaśrāddha.*[1180] On the other hand the Bhavisya-purāna I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz Mātṛ-śrāddha and Nāndīmukha-pitṛ-śrāddha. Ābhyudayika-śrāddha and Vrddhiśrāddha are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāna,[1181] though it may be said that Ābhyudayika śrāddha is wider in import than Vrddhiśrāddha, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Visnupurāna III. 13. 2–7, Mārkandeya 28. 4–7, Padmapurāna (srsti 9. 194–199), Bhavisyapurāna I. 185. 5–13, the Visnudharmottara I. 142. 13–18 describe briefly the procedure of Nāndiśrāddha and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are[1182]: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of Cūdākarma, at Simantonnayana, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of pitrs called Nāndimukha. The Mārkandeya-purāna 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas, but the Padmapurāna (sṛstikhanda 9.195) says that in this Vrddhiśrāddha the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the mātāmahas and then the Viśve-devas Hemādri (śr. p. 107) quotes two verses from the Brahmapurāna to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *aśrumukha* pitrs, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called Nāndīmukha pitrs.[1183] The Kalpataru (on śrāddha p 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the devatās for Nāndiśrāddha in his case would be the three

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1180. यद्यपि पितृन्यजेतेति सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि श्राद्धत्रयं क्रमश्च स्मृत्यन्तरादवगन्तव्यः। यथाह शातातपः। मातृ श्राद्धं तु पूर्वं स्यात्पितृणां तदनन्तरम्। ततो मातामहानां च वृद्धौ श्राद्धत्रयं स्मृतम्॥ मिता on या. I 250, कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 271

1181 तृतीयमाभ्युदयिकं वृद्धिश्राद्धं तदुच्यते। पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेशे नववेश्मनि। नामकर्मणि बालानां चूडाकर्मादिके तथा। सीमन्तोन्नयने चैव पुत्रादिमुखदर्शने। नान्दीमुखं पितृगणं पूजयेत् प्रयतो गृही। पितृपूजाविधिः प्रोक्तो वृद्धावेष समासतः। विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 5–7, quoted by अपरार्क p. 515 (except the last half)

1183. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। त्रयो ह्याश्रुमुखा ह्येते पितर समकीर्तिता॥ तेभ्यः पूर्वे त्रयो ये तु ते तु नान्दीमुखा इति॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (श्रा p 107), कल्पतरु (श्रा.) p. 270, मद् पा p. 633. नान्दी means समृद्धि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (श्रा) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavisya-purāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer piṇḍas in Vrddhiśrāddha [1183a].

The word 'mātarah' has two meanings. Gobhilasmrti [1184] prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātrs together with Ganeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātrs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī (I. 11–12).[1185] In the Mārkandeya-purāna (88.11–20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz Brahmāṇī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217–218 for the Mātrs and their worship.[1186] Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhiśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātrs (Brahmāṇī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nāndīmukha pitrs and then to the mātāmahas together with their wives The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Vīramitrodaya) quotes Vrddha-Vasistha to the effect that in the Mātṛśrāddha (as part of Vrddhi-śrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmanas be not available then for the groups of mātrs and of mātāmahīs four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner [1186a] and honoured.

The *Pratisāmatsarika* or *Pratyābdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilasmrti III. 66). It is

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1183a पिण्डनिर्वपणं कुर्याच्च वा कुर्याद्विचक्षण । वृद्धिश्राद्धे महाबाहो कुलधर्मा-नवेक्ष्य तु ॥ भविष्यपुराण; on this the प्रथ्वीच० folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाग्नौ-करणादीनामपि निषेध । तथा। अग्नौकरणमर्घं चावाहनं चावनेजनम्। पिण्डश्राद्धे प्रकुर्वीत पिण्डहीने निवर्तते॥'.

1184. कर्मादिषु तु सर्वेषु मातरः सगणाधिपाः। पूजनीया. प्रयत्नेन पूजिता. पूजयन्ति ता ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 13, q by कल्पतरु (श्रा. p 272).

1185. ब्रह्माण्याद्यास्तथा सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । वृद्धादौ पूजयित्वा तु पश्चान्नान्दी-मुखान् पितॄन् ॥ मातृपूर्वान् पितॄन्पूज्य ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः केचिद्युग्मा भोज्या द्विजातय ॥ q by अपरार्क p 517.

1186 The worsbip of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses; have been discovered in the earliest deposits of pre-historic cultures Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S K Dikshit (Poona).

1186a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालाभे पतिपुत्रान्विताश्चतस्रश्चतस्र सुवासिन्यो भोजनीया इत्युक्तं वृद्धवसिष्ठेन। मातृश्राद्धे तु विप्राणामलाभे पूजयेदपि । पतिपुत्रान्विता भक्त्या योषितोऽष्टौ सुदान्विता. ॥ श्राद्धप्रकाश p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pūrvana*.[1186b] The Bhavisya-purāna and Skanda state that the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tāmisra and then is born as a pig in a town.[1187] In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Brhaspati, the Skandapurāna, Padma and Bhavisyapurāna lay down certain rules, viz[1188] (1) if the *tithi* is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśirsa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsyā of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitrya rites is lunar and the words '*dina, ahah, vāsara*' in connection with pitrya rites mean '*tithi*' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyābdika* śrāddha in an intercalary month (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahālayaśrāddha Some of the Purānas deal with this. The Padmapurāna (Srsti-khanda) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*paksa*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āsādha, one should perform a srāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

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1186 b. एतच्च मृताहपार्वणं मातापित्रोरेव। तथा च हेमाद्रिधृतकात्यायनवचन 'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्वणम्। पितृव्यभ्रातृमातृणामेकोद्दिष्टं सदैव तु॥ मातृपदं सपत्नीमातृपरम्।' श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव श्राद्धानां श्रेष्ठं सांवत्सरं स्मृतम्। क्रियते यत्खगश्रेष्ठ मृतेऽहनि बुधैः सह॥ स याति नरकं घोरं तामिस्रं नाम नामत। ततो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे सूकर खग॥ भविष्य. I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII 1. 205. 43.

1188. मृताहस्य यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कथंचन। मार्गशीर्षेऽथवा माघे श्राद्धं तद्दिवसे स्मृतम्॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं मासज्ञानमथैव च। अमायामेव तन्मासं श्राद्धं सांवत्सरं भवेत्॥ पद्म (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183, 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205 52 for similar rules बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 545 has similar verses and adds 'विनमासौ न विज्ञातौ मरणस्य यदा सुत। मध्यमादिनमासौ तु ग्राह्यौ पूर्वोक्तया विशा॥'

best of daksinās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpion (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.'[1189] The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āsādha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pitrs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in daksināyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pitrs i. e. for the Mahālaya The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (*ālaya*) as it were of the *maha* (i. e. festival day) for pitrs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in *Kanyā* the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a srāddha to the pitrs. The Skandapurāna[1190] also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āsādha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pitrs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhavisyapurāna to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

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1189. आषाढीमवधिं कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चम.। तत्र श्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा॥ कन्यागते सवितरि यान्यहानि तु षोडश। क्रतुभिस्तानि तुल्यानि समाप्तवरदक्षिणै.॥ ...अमावात् कृष्णपक्षादौ तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति॥ अतो वृश्चिकमायाते निराशाः पितरो गताः। पुन· स्वभवनं यान्ति शापं दत्त्वा सुदारुणम्॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 47. 225-228). The first verse आषाढी० occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातूकर्ण्य by श्रा. क्रि कौ p. 283 and अपरार्क p 423, which reads the third पाद as श्राद्धकालः स विज्ञेयः The verse कन्यागते० is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by श्रा क्रि कौ p 285 (which reads तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽब्रवीत्) and to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपरार्क p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगौतम by श्रा क ल p 99. यान्यहानि तु षोडश—These words are explained in two ways. 'कदाचित् पक्षवृद्धौ षोडशदिनात्मकोऽपि नभस्यस्यापर पक्ष श्राद्धकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुमुक्तम्। यद्वा अमावास्याया अनन्तरभूताया प्रतिपत्तिथ्या अपि संग्रहणार्थं 'तिथिषोडशक.' इत्युक्तम्। प्रतिपदोपि क्षीणचन्द्रत्वे सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात्। स्मृतिच (श्रा p. 365). There is also a third way viz including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते० and कल्पतरु (श्रा. p. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड

1190 आषाट्या पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे। मृताहनि पुनर्यो वै श्राद्धं दास्यति मानवः॥ तस्य संवत्सर यावच्चृप्ता. स्यु पितरो ध्रुवम्। स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by श्राद्धकल्पलता p 98.

Mahālaya (*i. e.* in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āśvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.[1191] The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vrddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsyā or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsyā of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsyā or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpion.[1192] Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purānas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.[1193]

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkandeyapurāṇa, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.[1194] The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapindīkaraṇa) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Sankalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *āvāhana, arghya, homa* and *piṇḍadāna.*[1195] The Madanapārijāta (pp 609–610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'sankalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna, vikira* and there is no āvāhana, no *agnaukarana* and no pindadāna even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmaṇa or brāhmaṇas

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1191. येयं दीपान्विता राजन् ख्याता पञ्चदशी भुवि। तस्यां दद्यात्तु चेद्दत्तं पितृणां तु महालये॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (on आ p 17) and आ कि की p 291, स्मृतिषु (आ p 747 ascribes to सुमन्तु)

1192. तदेवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्ष पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमद्यम्यादिदर्शान्त-दशम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनियमेनैकं वा दिनं महालयश्राद्धकाल। स्मृतिषु (आ p 747)

1193 श्राद्धान्यनेकशः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै नृणां। फलप्रदानि सर्वाणि तेषामाद्यो महालयः॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कन्यागते सवितरि दिनानि वृश पञ्च च। पार्वणेनैव विधिना तत्र श्राद्धं विधीयते॥ मार्कण्डेयपु. q. by स्मृतिषु (आ p. 745).

1195 सपिण्डीकरणवर्ज्यं सर्वश्राद्धेषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्भवे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्यम्। सङ्कल्पविधानं मामावाहनार्घ्यहोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वणोक्त यथासम्भवं भवति। स्मृत्यर्थसार p 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhurī and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.[1196] Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharanī naksatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābharanī and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matsyapurāna q. by Śr. K. L p 99) The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a sannyāsin and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvaṇa method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Visnu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyanāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of yatis. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*malamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āsvina[1197]. A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living It may be performed with or without pindadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmaha-śrāddha is based only on the usage of śistas (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamīśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II. p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध

1197 गर्भस्थोऽपि च दौहित्रो अश्वयुक्प्रतिपद्दिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirnayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country [1198]. According to the Mārkandeyapurāna in this śrāddha not only a brāhmana but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yāj and the Padmapurāna that daksinā, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāna (VI. 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by daksinā. Śrāddha without daksinā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without daksinā. The Rāmāyana shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmanas. [1199] The Āśramavāsikaparva (14 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmanas in honour of Bhīsma, Drona, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varnas were treated to profuse food and drink The Vāyupurāna (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below.[1200] The Śantiparva (chap 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पूर्वमृतश्राद्धं न कार्यमिति केचिदाहु पठन्ति च श्राद्धं नवम्या कुर्यात्सन्मृते भर्तरि लुप्यते-इति तदेतन्निर्मूलत्वान्मूर्खमतारणमात्रम्। श्राद्धदीपकलिकाया त्राह्मे-पितृमातृकुलोत्पन्ना या कास्मिन्मृता स्त्रिय । श्राद्धार्हा मातरो ज्ञेया श्राद्ध तत्र प्रदीयते॥ इति। अत्र देशाचाराद् व्यवस्था। निर्णयसिन्धु II p 154

1199 ताते दशाहेऽतिगते कृतशौचो नृपात्मज। द्वादशेऽहनि संप्राप्ते श्राद्धकर्माण्य कारयत्॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ रत्नं धनमन्नं च गुरुकलम्। वास्तिक बहुशुक्लं च गाश्चापि शतशस्तदा। दासीदास च यानं च वेश्मानि सुमहान्ति च। ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ पुत्रो राज्ञस्तस्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम्। रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77, 1-3 (M. L. J edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्ववर्णा-न्महामते। अन्नपानरसौघेण श्रावयामास पार्थिव ॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 14. 12

1200 अन्नदो लभते तिग्मः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च। अन्नदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किंचन। अन्नाद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशय.॥ जीवदानात्पर दानं न किंचिदिव विद्यते। अन्नेजीवति चैलोक्यमखिलंचैव हि तत्फलम्। अन्ने लोका प्रतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम्। अन्नं प्रजापतिः साक्षात्तेन सर्वमिदं ततम्॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54-57.

states that while Yudhisthira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapās*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states. 'when the brāhmanas have sipped water after dinner, daksinā is to be given' and Bṛhaspati prescribes 'Daksinā should be given to all the brāhmanas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied, one who is well-off should do this specially.'[1201] The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2–5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmanas, gold, cows, bed-steads, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Brhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmana invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.[1201a] The Anuśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 34. 69–89), Padma (srstikhanda 10. 12), the Matsyapurāna highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmana and his wife. The Matsyapurāna states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmana couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.[1202] The Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 34. 73–82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

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1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । मद्यादक्षिणां तेषा सर्वेषामनुरूपत. । गोभूहिरण्यवासोभिस्तुष्टिमुक्तवतां यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्य समर्थेन विशेषत.' q. by पृथ्वीच folio 112b; यद्यद्विष्टतमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देयं तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91, वामनपुराण 14 106.

1201 a वस्त्रालङ्कारशय्यादि पितुर्यद्वाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समभ्यर्च्य श्राद्धभोक्त्रे तदर्पयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्य म p 129, श्रा. क ल. p 213.

1202. सूतकान्ताद् द्वितीयेऽह्नि शय्यां दद्याद्विलक्षणाम् । काञ्चनं पुरुषं तद्वत्फलवस्त्रसमन्विताम् । सम्पूज्य द्विजदाम्पत्यं नानाभरणभूषणैः । वृषोत्सर्गं च कुर्वीत देया च कपिला शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12–14 q. by श्रा क. ल. p 213, श्राद्धरत्न p. 199.

verses of the Bhavisya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhavisya-purāna quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirnaya-sindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz 'just as the bed-stead of Krsna is never devoid of Laksmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'[1203] Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmanas (that are not generally learned) that accept this gift The Padmapurāna condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says 'when a brāhmana accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāna (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'[1204]

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the ksetraja,[1205] the putrikā-putra and dattaka were most important All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was: to whom were they to offer pindas ? The Madanapārijāta (pp 607–608) quotes a passage from the Hārīta-dharmasūtra[1206] and explains it. Hārīta says. 'seed *does not grow without a field* Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

1203 मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कृष्णशयन शून्यं सागरजातया। शय्या ममाप्यशून्यास्तु तथा जन्मनि जन्मनि॥ यस्मादशून्यं शयनं केशवस्य शिवस्य च। शय्या जन्मनि॥ नि सि III p. 597. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 34 81) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. गृहीताया तु शय्यायां पुन संस्कारमर्हति। वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र गर्हिता॥ ग्रहीतारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिन॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 10 17–18)

1205. The ksetraja son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* (a brother or other agnate) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *niyoga*, the procreator being called *bījin* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *ksetrin*. The putrikāputra is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX 127). (2) A daughter herself may be made a son (Vas 17. 16). A dattaka is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water (Manu IX. 168). Vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp. 647–650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारीत। नाक्षेत्रे बीजं रोहति। उभयदर्शनादुभयोरपत्यमिति। तेषामुत्पाद-यितुः प्रथम. प्रवरो भवति। द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निर्वपेत्। अथवैकपिण्डे द्वावनुकीर्तयेत्। द्वितीये पुत्र-स्तृतीये पौत्रो लेपिनश्च त्रीनन्वाचक्षाण आ सप्तमादित्येके। मद पा pp 607–608 and कल्पतरु (on श्रा pp. 241–242).

(and then the ksetrin). He (the son) may offer two pindas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pinḍa (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pinda. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pinda (i. e. the pinda for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pinḍa (viz. the pinḍa for paternal great-grandfather).' Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105 say about the putrikāputra[1207] that he presents the first pinda to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father's father. This appears to be one order in which pindas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pindas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śān. Śr. S. provides[1208] that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (*bījin* and *ksetrin*) with reference to the same pinda. Even Yāj. says 'The son procreated according to the rules of *niyoga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pinda to both.'[1209] The Mit. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another's wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the ksetrin alone and not of the bījin. As the ksetraja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the dattaka offers pinḍas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

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1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्ड निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकासुतः। द्वितीयं तु पितुस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः॥ गोभिलस्मृति II 105. कुलूक appears to be wrong in explaining पितु. पितु. in मनु IX. 140 as 'तृतीयं मातु. पितामहाय दद्यात्।'. मनु IX. 132 is 'दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिक्थमपुत्रस्य पितुर्हरेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च॥'. Here दौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208 असावेतत्ते ये च त्वामन्वायिति पिण्डान् यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितृभेदे। शाङ्खायनश्रौ सू. IV. 3 10-11 q by कल्पतरु p 241 (on श्रा.). The आप. श्रौ I 9. 7 says 'यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वावुपलक्षयेत्।'.

1209. अपुत्रेण परक्षेत्रे नियोगोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिक्थी पिण्डदाता च धर्मत॥ या II. 127; यदा तु नियुक्तः पुत्रवान् केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिन.। स च न नियमेन बीजिनो रिक्थहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मिता.

follows: [1210] 'If these (*i. e.* those who are bījin) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *niyoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer pindas to them up to three ancestors; if both (the bījin and ksetrin or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer pinda to both, in one and the same śrāddha they should repeat (the names of) the two ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same pinda for both up to the third ancestor.' The Baud. Dh. S. [1211] quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the pinda (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each pinda; three pindas will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from Hārīta that some authorities allowed two separate pindas for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. Manu IX. 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father, the pinda follows the gotra and wealth; the *svadhā* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in H. of Dh. vol III pp 690–697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the gotra of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and āśauca and that the Nirnayasindhu, [1212] the Dharma-sindhu and the Dattaka-candrikā declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the śrāddha of his natural father,

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1210. अथ यद्येषा स्वभार्यास्वपत्यं न स्यादुभयेषु हरेयु. पिण्डं चैम्यस्त्रियुरुषं दद्युरथ यद्युभयोर्न स्यादुभाभ्या दद्युरेकस्मिन्श्राद्धे पृथगुद्दिश्यैकपिण्डे द्वावनुकीर्तयेत् प्रतिग्रहीतार चोत्पादयितारं च तृतीयात्पुरुषात् । q by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 241) with variations The same passage is cited as from कात्यायन by the व्य. म p. 115 (my edition), and from कात्यायन and लौगाक्षि (quoted in प्रवरमञ्जरी) by नि सि. III p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। द्विपितुः पिण्डदानं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी। त्रयश्च पिण्डाः षण्णां स्युरेवं कुर्वन्न मुह्यति ॥ इति। बौ ध सू II 2. 22–23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात्स तत्सत्त्वे। गोत्ररिक्थे जनयितुर्न भजेद्दत्रिमः सुत'। गोत्ररिक्थाहृग. पिण्डो व्यपैति ददत. स्वधा॥ इति मनूक्तेः । इद जनकस्य पुत्रसत्त्वविषयम्। नि सि III p. 389, दत्तकस्तु जनकपितृ पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितु श्राद्धं कुर्याद् धनं च गृह्णीयात्। धर्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vrsotsarga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gr. III. 11, the Kausītaki gr. III 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III. 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Visnu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1–20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitrs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitrs as follows:[1213] 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Visnudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here;[1214] "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina In this rite he must first examine the bull The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

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1213. एतेष्वा बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोपि गयां व्रजेत् । यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिस्मृति verse 21, लघुशङ्ख 10, मत्स्यपुराण 22 6, ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 32–33, वायुपुराण 83 11–12, पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 19 11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144 3. The meaning is 'बहूनां पुत्राणां मध्ये एकेनापि गयाश्राद्धकरणे पितृमुक्तिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नागरखण्ड, chap. 216 114–117 The first half occurs in अनुशासनपर्व 88 14 and the whole verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third *pāda* as 'गौरीं वाप्युद्वहेत्कन्यां'). Compare कूर्म० II. 20. 30–31.

1214 अथ वृषोत्सर्गः। कार्तिक्यामाश्वयुज्यां वा। तत्रादावेव वृषभं परीक्षेत। जीवद्वत्सायाः पयस्विन्या पुत्रम्। सर्वलक्षणोपेतम्। नीलम्। लोहितं वा। सुखपुच्छपादशृङ्गखुरम् । यूथस्याच्छादकम्। ततो गवा मध्ये सुसमिद्धमग्निं परिस्तीर्य पौष्णं चरुं पयसा अपचित्वा पूषा गा अन्वेतु न इह रतिरिति च हुत्वा वृषभस्य स्कारस्त्वङ्नयेत्। एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे चक्रेणापरस्मिन् पार्श्वे शूलेन । अङ्कितं च हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः शं नो देवीरिति च स्नापयेत्। स्नातमलङ्कृतं स्नातालङ्कृताभिश्चतसृभिर्वत्सतरीभिः सार्धमानीय रुद्रान् पुरुषसूक्तं कूष्माण्डीश्च जपेत् । पिता वत्सानामिति वृषभस्य दक्षिणे कर्णे पठेत्। इम च। वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः। वृणोमि तमहं भक्त्या स मे रक्षतु सर्वतः॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो वदामि तेन क्रीडन्तीश्चरत प्रियेण। मा हास्महि प्रजया मा तनूभिर्मा रधाम द्विषते सोम राजन्। वृषं वत्सतरीयुक्तमैशान्यां कारयेद्दिशि। दोतुर्वस्त्रयुगं दद्यात्सुवर्णं कास्यमेव च॥ अयस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसोप्सितम्। भोजनं बहुसर्पिष्कं ब्राह्मणांश्चात्र भोजयेत् ॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषभो यस्मिन् विचरत्यथ जलाशये। जलाशयं तत्सकलं पितॄंस्तस्योपतिष्ठति ॥ शृङ्गेणोल्लिखते भूमिं यत्र क्वचन दर्पितः। पितॄणामक्षयान्नं तत्प्रभूतमुपतिष्ठति॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1–20. The काठकगृह्य (59.3) reads 'इह रतिरिति हुत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which इह रतिरिति is the 2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in तै सं III. 3.9.1 (reads परि वो ददामि). The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147 12 and the verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured [1215] or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūsan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūsan follow our cows' (Rg. VI. 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank [1216] with a trident Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Rg. X. 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and mutter the Rudras (Tai S. IV 5. 1-11), the Purusasūkta (Rg 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūsmāndis (Vāj S. XX. 14-16, Tai Ā. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra [1217] 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma [1218] is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

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1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined The मत्स्यपु 207 38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I, 146 56 define 'चरणानि मुखं पुच्छं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः। लाक्षारससवर्णश्च तं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्॥'. In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146 42-55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given The आ क ल. p. 214 quotes शौनक as 'लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन मुखे पुच्छे च पाण्डुरः। श्वेत. खुरविषाणाभ्या स नीलो वृष उच्यते॥' This is ascribed to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (रेवाखण्ड) by आ प्र and शु प्र p. 226.

1216 The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलेन दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे चक्रेण निर्दहेत्। I. 147.6; while the भविष्योत्तर q by शु प्र p 227 says 'ततो वामे त्रिशूलं च दक्षिणे चक्रमालिखेत्'

1217. The श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर (p 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सानां पतिरघ्न्यानामथो पिता महता गर्गराणाम्। वत्सो जरायु प्रतिधुक् पीयूष आमिक्षा घृतं तद्वदस्य रेत॥' It is a corrupt reading of तै. स. III. 3, 9. 2 (which reads पतिरग्नेः यानां and आमिक्षा मस्तु घृतमस्य रेत).

1218. The holy *dharma* .... four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost; vide मनु I 81 (= शान्तिपर्व 232 37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to नारद I. 11 (SBE vol 30 p 7) where व्यवहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh. vol III. pp 259-262 for explanation

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotr (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmanas (at least). That[1219] pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes."[1220] In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitrs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitrs (chap. 125. 73–74).

In the Garudapurāna it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *preta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāna further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose.[1221] In the Bhavisyapurāna the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirnayasindhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several medieval digests such as the Pitrdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69–77), Nirnayasindhu (III. pp. 595–596), Śuddhiprakāśa

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1219. 'That pool' etc. The वायुपुराण (83. 45–48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'वृषोत्सृष्टा पुनात्येव वृशतीं-तान्दशावरान् ...शृङ्गै' खुरैर्वा यद्द भूमिमुल्लिखत्यनिशं वृष। मधुकुल्याः पितॄंस्तस्य अक्षयास्ता भवन्ति वै ॥' 45, 48.

1220. The वृषोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I 147. 1–19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

1221. एकादशाहे प्रेतस्य यस्योत्सृज्येत नो वृषः। प्रेतत्वं सुस्थिरं तस्य दत्तैः श्राद्धशतैरपि॥ ...एकादशेह्नि संप्राप्ते वृषालाभो भवेद्यदि। दर्भैः पिष्टैस्तु संपाद्य त वृषं मोचयेद्बुध ॥ गरुडपुराण II. 5.40, 44–45. बृहस्पति q. by श्रा. क. ल. p. 214 and यद्दत्रिंशन्मत q. by शु प्र p 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संग्रह by the श्रा. क ल

pp. 225–230, Antyestipaddhati of Nārāyanabhatta present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.[1221a]

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. grhyaśesasūtra III. 19, the Lingapurāna (II 45. 8–90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp 363–364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277–279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704–1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361–371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jīvat-śrāddha* or Jīva-śrāddha, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmanas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and daksinā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called चन्दनधेनुदान in which he quotes two verses of देवल from the रत्नाकर as follows जीवद्भर्त्री तु या नारी म्रियते पुत्रिणी यदि । सवत्सामङ्किता धेनुमाचार्याय प्रदापयेत् ॥ पतिपुत्रवती नारी म्रियते चाग्रतस्तयो । वृषं नैवोत्सृजेत्पुत्र पिता यावच्च जीवति ॥. Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M M Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛti Mss.) pp 405–406 No 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general[1222] procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhas*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puronuvākyā[1222a] (invitatory prayer) 'catvāri śṛngā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājyā (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4) The Puronuvākyā and Yājyā of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur varenyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S, I. 5 6 4) and 'yojayitrī sūnṛtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puronuvākyā and Yājyā are respectively 'ye catvārah' (Tai. S V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve srutī' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puronuvākyā and Yājyā of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg I. 189 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraścī' (Br. Up. VI. 3 1).[1223]. Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Purusasūkta of 18 verses (Vāj. S. 31. 1–18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmana who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prānas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of homa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 207–211.

1222 a The पुरोनुवाक्या (or simply अनुवाक्या) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुर पूर्वं यागादेवतामनुकूलयितु या ऋगुच्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या). Yājyā is the offering prayer It is preceded by ये यजामहे and followed by vasat (pronounced as वौ३ षट्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol, II. pp. 1058–1060. The yājyā is recited while standing, but the Puronuvākyā is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्री सूनृतानां appears to be an adaptation of चोदयित्री सूनृतानां (Rg. I. 3.11).

1223. The verse is. या तिरश्ची निपद्यते (से?) अहं विधरणी इति। ता त्वा घृतस्य धारया यजे संराधनीमहम्॥ बृह. उ. VI. 3.1,

he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of Purusasūkta and with pañcagavya and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with sesamum grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to brāhmanas for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water, and pinda with the words 'pinda to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world, *svadhā namah*.' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs ekoddista. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a śūdra having burnt one's body (i. e effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own śrāddha every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's śrāddha while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except Sapindana. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent'."

It may be noted that the Baud. grhyaśesasūtra III. 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of Kanva and one of Visnu are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of Baud. grhyaśesasūtra III. 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361–363. But the Śrāddhaprakāśa also quotes a long passage from the Lingapurāna and explains it (pp. 363–368). The procedure in the Lingapurāna, however, materially differs from that of Baudhāyana. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The Śrāddhamayūkha also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In Jīvat-śrāddha the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty kuśas and is to be burnt by another with the mantra 'kravyādam-agnim' (Rg. X. 16, 9). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his grhya fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a Ms. of Jīvatśrāddha ascribed to Śaunaka in the Bhadkamkar Collection.

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of *deceased* ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jivat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmana, preferably a kapilā cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āśauca Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitaraṇī referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmana. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below[1224]. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then daksinā (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmana says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)[1225] according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsana-parva (57. 28–29) eulogises the gift of a kapilā cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsanaparva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapilā cow is the best of all cows.

The Purānas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tīrthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55–58, Vāyupurāna 83. 16–42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on *tīrthas*.

1224. ओम् अद्याशौचान्ते द्वितीयेह्नि अमुकगोत्रस्य पितुरमुकप्रेतस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तिकामः इमां कपिला गां हेमशृङ्गीं रौप्यखुरां वस्त्रयुगच्छन्नां कांस्योपदोहां मुक्तालाङ्गलभूषितां सवत्सां रुद्रदैवत्यामसुकगोत्रायासुकशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं संप्रददे। श्राद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p. 77.

1225. For कामस्तुति, vide p. 184, n 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimluca (Kāthaka Sam. 38. 14),[1226] Samsarpa or Amhasaspati (Vāj S. 7.30 and 22.31), Malamāsa, Adhimāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rgveda (Rg. I. 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmana[1227]. The Purānas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Purusottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Visnu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Grhyapariśista.[1228] 'the month called Malimluca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitrs.' But *exceptions* to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārita provides[1229] that all śrāddhas that come after Sapindana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down[1230] that such ceremonies as jātakarma, annaprāśana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Maghā and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, *gifts*, *japa* and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smrtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhrgu[1231] that the sāmvatsarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

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1226. मलिम्लुचो नामासि त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्रस्य शर्मासि। काठकसं. 38. 10 (161-162); संसर्पोऽस्यंहस्पत्याय खेत्याहास्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् प्रीणाति। तै. सं. VI, 5 3.4.

1227. तं (सौमं) त्रयोदशान्मासादक्रीणंस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशी मासो नानुविद्यते न वै सोमविक्रय्यनुविद्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी। ऐ. ब्रा III, 1 (com त्रयोदशमासो नानुविद्यते शुभकर्माङ्गकूलो नार्हति).

1228 मलिम्लुचेस्तु मासो वै मलिनः पापसम्भवः। गर्हितः पितृदेवेभ्य. सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत्। गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q. by आ. कि. कौ p 38

1229. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यस्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत्। दृष्टं वाप्यथवा पूर्तं तच्च कुर्यान्मलिम्लुचे॥ हारीत. q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 374), आ. कि. कौ. p 323, श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 252 (as लघुहारीत).

1230. जातकर्मान्नयकर्माणि नवश्राद्धं तथैव च। मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश। चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नानं श्राद्धं दानं तथा जप.। कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि नित्यं नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ व्यास q. by श्राद्धतत्त्व p. 283, स्मृतिच (आ. p 373 ascribes to यम).

1231 मलमासे मृतानां तु श्राद्धं यत्मतिवत्सरम्। मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं नान्येषां तु कर्हिचित्॥ भृगु q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375). The नि. सि III. p 474 says 'मलमासमृतानां तु यदा स एवाधिकः स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमन्यथा शुद्ध एव'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the tithi for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vrddha-Vasistha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.[1232]

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamāsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the *tithi* is spread over two days or if there is a *kṣaya* of the *tithi* will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the Pṛthvī-candrodaya deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'[1232a] When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Ṛsyaśrnga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Ṛsyaśrnga provides[1233]

1232. आद्धीयाहनि संप्राप्ते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि। मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्वीत आद्धमेवं न मुह्यति॥ वृद्धवसिष्ठ q by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375), नि. सि. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्नहनि क्रमेण मृतानां मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्रा आद्धं कर्तव्यम्। तदाह ऋष्यशृङ्गः। कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यादौ द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः। तृतीयस्य तत. कुर्यात्संनिपाते स्वयं क्रमः।...भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा। सम्बन्धासत्तिमालोच्य तत्क्रमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत्॥ पृथ्वीच folio 265 a; जाबालि.। पित्रोस्तु मरणं चेत्स्यादेकदैव यदा तदा। पितुर्दाहादिकं कृत्वा पश्चान्मातुः समाचरेत्॥ *ibid* folio 266 a.

1233. देये पितृणां श्राद्धे तु आशौचं जायते यदि। आशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः श्राद्धं प्रदीयते॥ एकोद्दिष्टे तु संप्राप्ते यदि विघ्नः प्रजायते। मासेऽन्यस्मिंस्तिथौ तस्यां श्राद्धं कुर्यात्प्रयत्नत॥ ऋष्यशृङ्ग q. by अपरार्क p. 561, श्रा क्रि कौ. p 480, मद. पा. 618. स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्दिष्टे तु is गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड 45,9),

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pitṛs, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same *tithi*'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas fails owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsyā or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsyā.[1234] The Padmapurāna (Pātālakhaṇḍa 101. 68–70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer āmaśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmaṇa at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one[1235] should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapiṇḍana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prāyaścittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including *sāṃvatsarika* are set out Hārīta says: one partaking of food at Navaśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyaṇa, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a *pratyābdika* śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

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1234. मासिकाब्दे तु संप्राप्ते स्वल्पा मृतमृतके। वदन्ति शुद्धौ तत्कार्यं दर्शे वापि पित्र्यकृत्॥ यद्यनिश्चितस्तु by अपरार्क p. 561; मासिकान्युदकुम्भानि आद्धानि प्रथमेषु च। प्रतिसंवत्सरं आद्धं दूनानन्तरे विदुः॥.. एकादश्यां कृष्णपक्षे कर्मार्थं शुभमिच्छता। तत्र स्यन्निष्फले हेतावन्यां क्रियते तु तदा पक्षे (पातालखण्ड 101. 65 and 71)

1235. अथ शुद्धआद्धं दिवोदासीये। सपिण्डीकरणाद्ध्वं यावदब्दत्रयं भवेत्। तावदेव न भोक्तव्यं क्वचेद्दानि कदाचन॥. प्रथमेऽहनि मन्त्रा च द्वितीये मांसभक्षणम्। तृतीये रुधिरं भोक्तं आद्धं शुद्धं चतुर्थकेनिति आद्धकारिकोक्तेः। नि सि III p 475, चान्द्रायण स्यात् आद्धे भोजापत्यं तु निश्चिके। एकार्दं तु दुगणेतु प्रायश्चित्तं विधीयते॥ इतिच p 12 पंक्ति 11 I. p 423; see आद्धविवेक of रुद्रधर p 113, आ. कि कौ. p. 345 for similar rules from other स्मृतिः; पद्म V. 10. 19 says 'नवआद्धे न भोक्तव्यं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत्'.

placed before brāhmanas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms [1236] that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmana should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85–86 (= Padma V. 19. 236–237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz the Ṛgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the pitṛs. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Piṇḍa-pitryajña performed every month on amāvāsyā, the Mahāpitṛ-yajña performed in the Śākamedha and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmanas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the pañca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via media* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

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1236. प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोऽपि प्रसङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत् । प्रतिग्रहेण ह्यस्याशु ब्राह्मं तेज: प्रशाम्यति ॥ मनु IV 186, vide पद्म IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse राजन् प्रतिग्रहो घोरो मध्वास्वादो विषोपम । तद् ज्ञायमान कस्मात्त्व कुरुषेऽस्मल्लोभनम् ॥ दशघ्नासमश्वक्रीं... तेन तुल्यस्ततो राजा घोरस्तस्य प्रतिग्रह.॥ पद्म V 19 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III. 125–126), the Kūrmapurāna II. 22. 27, Padmapurāna V. 9. 98[1237] that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmanas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz. a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pitrs*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer pindas to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *pindas* and water (with sesame) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from Brahmā up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

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1237. द्वौ दैवे पितृकृत्ये त्रीनेकैकमुभयत्र वा। भोजयेदप्रश्नरोपोह्य न कुर्याद्विस्तर बुधः॥ पद्म V. 9. 98 जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो य. पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी। तै सं VI. 3 10 5; ऋणमस्मिन् संनयत्यमृतत्व च गच्छति। पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्येज्जीवतो मुखम् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1 This subject has been dealt with already in H of Dh. vol III. pp. 414–416 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśrāddha ये केचित्प्रेतरूपेण वर्तन्ते पितरो मम। ते सर्वे तृप्तिमायान्तु सक्तुभिस्तिलमिश्रितै ॥ आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्त यत्किंचित्सचराचरम्। मया दत्तेन तोयेन तृप्तिमायान्तु सर्वदा॥ वायुपुराण 110. 63–64 Compare also a similar invocation in वायु. 110 21–22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāta.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

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* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties[1237] of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbinī or Rummindei), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sārnāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāna* (Kusinārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S B. E vol. XI. p 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says [1238] somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred[1239]

1237. Vide S B E vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties The pilgrimage is called *Hāj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hājī*

1238 Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. VII (ed of 1862) p 188.

1239 Tagore in his 'Sādhanā' (p 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(*Continued on the next page*)

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Rāmeśvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tīrthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to tīrthas The Visnu Dh. S. provides [1240] that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahimsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

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(*Continued from the last page*)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind ' There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now) If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there

1240. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयम । अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया। आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम्। अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 15–17 Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 80 1–4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मs such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थानुसरण and H. of Dh vol II p 11 *notes 28–30* for quotations about सामान्यधर्मs from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other sources

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmaṇas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tīrthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tīrthas harshly.

The word tīrtha occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda and other Vedic saṃhitās. In several passages of the Ṛgveda tīrtha appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Ṛg. I. 169 6 'tīrthe nāryah paumsyāni tasthuh', Ṛg I. 173 11 'tīrthe nācchā tātṛsānam-oko', Ṛg IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indrah sutīrthābhayam ca.' In some places tīrtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Ṛg VIII. 47. 11' 'sutīrtham-arvato yathānu no nesathā sugam &c.', Ṛg. I. 46. 8 'aritram vām divas-pṛthu tīrthe sindhūnām rathah'. In Ṛg. X 31 3 'tīrthe na dasmam-upa yantyūmāh', tīrtha probably means 'a holy place'. On Ṛg VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstvā adhi tugvani' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and *tugvan* means 'tīrtha' (either a ford or a holy spot) In the Tai. S. VI 1. 1. 1-2 [1241] it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tīrtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prowl about tīrthas (ye tīrthāni pracaranto srkāvanto *nisanginah*) in Tai S IV. 5.11.1-2 and Vāj S. 16. 61 (reads 'srkāhastā'). In the Śāṅkhāyana Br. [1242] it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable *tīrthas* (of the sea)'. Tīrtha also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvāla' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vihāra*).[1242a] Vide H of Dh vol II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tīrthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अप्सु स्नाति साक्षादेव दीक्षातपसी अवरुन्धे तीर्थं स्नाति। तै. सं VI. 1.1.1-2 Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14-16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage

1242. समुद्रो वा एष सर्वेहरो यदहोरात्रे तस्य एते अगाधे तीर्थे यत्सन्ध्ये तथा अगाधार्ण्यां तीर्थार्ण्यां समुद्रमतीयात्ताद्वत् तत्। शां. ब्रा. II 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरेण चात्वालोत्करा उपनिष्क्रामन्ति तद्धि यज्ञस्य तीर्थमायानं नाम। शां. ब्रा 1 8 9

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tīrtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagrāma near it).[1243] Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tīrthas are tīrthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadī and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāna[1244] says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tīrtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the Ṛgveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers[1245] are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In Ṛg VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devīr-iha māmavantu). In Ṛg. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punānāh). Ṛg. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30[1246] are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāh). In the Atharvaveda[1247] (I. 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

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1243. यथा शरीरस्योद्देशाः केचिन्मेध्यतमाः स्मृता. । तथा पृथिव्या उद्देशाः केचित् पुण्यतमा स्मृता ॥ प्रभावादद्भुताद्भूमे सलिलस्य च तेजसा। परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता॥ पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237 25-27, स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 43-44, नारदीय-पुराण II 62. 46-47 These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ pp 7-8 (ascribes them to महाभारत) and by तीर्थप्र p 10 Similar verses occur in अनुशासनपर्व 108 16-18 'शरीरस्य यथोद्देशा शुचय परिकीर्तिता । तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च ।...परिग्रहाच्च साधूना पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा । अतीव पुण्यभागास्ते सलिलस्य च तेजसा ॥'.

1244. श्रुत्या पुरुषयात्रा हि तीर्थयात्रानुषङ्गत । सङ्गि. समाश्रितो भूप भूमिभागस्तथोच्यते॥ स्कन्द I 2. 13 10, यद्धि पूर्वतमै सद्भि सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये। तद्धि पुण्यतमं लोके सन्तस्तीर्थं प्रचक्षते॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by पृथ्वीच० folio 135 b

1245 Vide H of Dh vol II. p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the Ṛg

1246 इदमाप. प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मयि। यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उतानृतम् ॥ ऋ X 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णा शुचय पावका यासु जात सविता यास्वग्नि.। या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आप शं स्योना भवन्तु॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8 [1250]. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Drsadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame nadītame devitame Sarasvati). Rg. I. 3. 11–12 praise [1251] Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the Rgvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the Rgveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the Rgveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śutudrī (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brāhmanas it disappeared in the sands It is now generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī. [1252] There were three *sattras* called Sārasvata, viz the first in honour of Mitra and Varuna, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman The *dīksā* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground [1253]. Vide Tāndya Br.

1250. इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत्सानु गिरीणा तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः। अमश्वरति रोरुवत् ॥ ऋ VI. 61 8 The निरुक्त II. 23 remarks 'तत्र सरस्वती इत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवताच्च निगमा भवन्ति' and explains Rg VI 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251 चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11–12. For this last, vide निरुक्त XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्य सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सस्रोतसः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशेऽभवत्सरित्॥ वाज सं. 34. 11.

1253 सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते। ..इषद्वत्या अप्यपेऽपोनप्त्रीय चरुं निरूप्याथातियन्ति। चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् क्षुद्र. भ्रात्रव्यः तावद्दितः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसंमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोक यन्ति। ... यदा क्षुद्रं भ्रात्रव्यमागच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्। . कारपचवं प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25 10 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II 17 defines ब्रह्मावर्त as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and इषद्वती and (II 21) मध्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

(*Continued on the next page*)

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinaśana and Plaksa Prāsravana (which was the source of the Sarasvatī) was the proper locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī an *iṣṭi* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein boiled rice (*caru*) was the offering. From the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared up to Plaksa-Prāsravana the distance was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights When the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plaksa Prāsravana they should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and undergo the Avabhrtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava (and not in the Sarasvatī even if it had water) For details, vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in 10. 19. 1) a spot called Parīnah in Kuruksetra where the Vedic fires were to be kindled, the Āśv. Ś. S 12 6 1-28 which adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from the Vinaśana one day is to be spent by the sacrificers, the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the isti at the confluence of the Drsadvatī and Sarasvatī is to be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. S 23. 12-13 (which gives more details than any one of the other three sūtras) In the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a sattra on the Sarasvatī and Kavasa who was sitting amongst them was driven out by them as not a brāhmana but the son of a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he would die of thirst, but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt* with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā *brahmane*') called 'Aponaptrīya' and Sarasvatī came rushing towards the place where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

ains, which is to the east of विनशन and west of Prayāga For the mention of विनशन in the Baud. Dh. S , Vanaparva and Śalyaparva, vide H of Dh vol. II p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of *Vāyupurāna*' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all faiths in India. This is quite wrong The Brāhmana and Śrautasūtra passages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparatively small part of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites there were known in the Brāhmana period at least a thousand years before Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

forward came to be called [1254] 'Parisaraka'. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvatī was dry. Devala [1255] mentions several places as Sārasvata tīrthas. The Ṛgveda [1256] VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the Ṛgveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra 'O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)' Rg I 122 3 [1257]; O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army' Rg. I. 132. 6. In Rg. VI. 49. 14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately 'May the god Ahibudhnya, may Parvata and may Savitr bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers'. In Rg III. 33 1 the two great rivers Vipāś (modern Beas) and Śutudrī are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word 'Parvata' is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda [1258] speaks of a salve (āñjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himālaya mountain 'May that salve which comes off the Himālaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches'. The Hir. Gr. I. 3 11.5 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

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1254. ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत। ऐ ब्रा 8 1, माध्यमाः सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत तद्धापि कवषो मध्ये निषसाद। तं हेम उपोद्वदास्या वै त्वं पुत्रोऽसि न वयं त्वया सह भक्षयिष्याम इति। स ह क्रुद्धः प्रद्रवत्सरस्वतीमेतेन सूक्तेन तुष्टाव तं हैयमान्वियाय। शां. ब्रा. XII. 3. It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in कुरुक्षेत्र mentions a famous tīrtha called Saraka which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three *crores* of tīrthas (verses 75–76) This सरक appears to be the same as the परिसरक tīrtha of सरस्वती.

1255. प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं वृद्धकन्याकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौवेरं वैजयन्तं पृथूदकं नैमिशं विनशनं वशोद्भेदं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि। देवल q by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 250.

1256 उपह्वरे गिरीणां सङ्गथे च नदीनाम्। धिया विप्रो अजायत॥ ऋ. VIII. 6. 28 =वाज सं 26. 15 (which reads सङ्गमे)

1257 शिशीतमिन्द्रापर्वता युवं नस्तन्नो विश्वे वरिवस्यन्तु देवाः॥ ऋ. I. 122. 3 (सायण explains पर्वतः पर्ववान् वृष्ट्यादिपूरणवान् पर्जन्यः); युवं तमिन्द्रापर्वता पुरोयुधा यो नः पृतन्यादप तंतमिद्धतं वज्रेण तंतमिद्धतम्। ऋ. I. 132 6 (सायण explains पर्वत पर्ववान्मेघः। तदभिमानी देव.), तक्षोऽहिर्वज्र्यो अद्भिरर्कैस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्सविता चनो धात्। ऋ VI. 49. 14.

1258. यदाञ्जनं त्रैककुदं जातं हिमवतस्परि। यातूंश्च सर्वाञ्जम्भयत्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्यः॥ अथर्व० IV. 9.9. vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.

refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud Dh S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra [1259] stating that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (rsis), cowpens and temples of the gods' The Vāyupurāna [1260] and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāna (Bhūmikhanda 39. 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tīrtha on rivers is known it should be called Visnutīrtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatātmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I. 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmānda (II. 16. 20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

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1259 सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वा नद्यस्तीर्थान्यृषिनिवासा गोष्ठपरिस्कन्दा इति देशाः। गौ 19, 14 = वसिष्ठ 22 12 = बौ ध सू III. 10 12 (which reads ऋषिनिकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिष्कन्दा इति॰)

1260. सर्वे पुण्य हिमवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वत । समुद्रगा. समुद्राश्च सर्वे पुण्या. समन्तत ॥ वायुपुराण 77. 117, सर्वत्र हिमवान् पुण्यो गङ्गा · नतः। नद्य. समुद्रगा. पुण्याः समुद्रश्च विशेषत ॥ कूर्म II 37 49-50, 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागर सरिता पति'॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) chap 58 19; सर्वे प्रस्रवणा पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या शिलोच्चया । नद्य पुण्या सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेषत ॥ शङ्ख 8 14 (reads सरांसि च शिलोच्चया) q by तीर्थप्रकाश p 14, सर्वा. समुद्रगा पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या, नगोत्तमा । सर्वमायतनं पुण्य सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रमा ॥ श्लोक q by तीर्थकल्प॰ p 250, पद्म IV. 93 46 has almost the same words (reads वराश्रमा) The great mountains (called कुलपर्वतs) generally enumerated are. महेन्द्रो मलय सह्य· शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वत । विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वता ॥ कूर्म I. 47 23-24, वामन 13. 14-15, वायु I 85, मत्स्य 113 10-12. ब्रह्म 18 16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says 'तत्रापि दैवतकविन्ध्यसह्यकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपारियात्रा सप्त कुलाचला ।' The नीलमतपुराण 57 reads 'महेन्द्रो॰ ऋक्षवानपि। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वता ॥' The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II 16 39) and वायु (45 108) observe about rivers falling into the sea तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्य सर्वा गङ्गा सङ्गता । विश्वस्य मातर सर्वा जगत्पापहरा स्मृता ॥ In some Purāṇas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy at certain times For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प॰ (on तीर्थ) p 242 states 'कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकाया महामुने॥ पौषे तु नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सन्निहिता शुभा। फाल्गुने वरणा ख्याता चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती॥ वैशाखे तु महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सरिद्वरा। ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आषाढे तापिका नदी। श्रावणे सिन्धुनामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी। आश्विने सरयूश्चैव भूय पुण्या तु नर्मदा॥ गोदावरी महापुण्या चन्द्रे राहुसमन्विते॥, 'एवमादिष्वन्यान्येषु तीर्थेषु सरिद्वरासु सर्वेष्वपि स्वभावेषु पुलिनेषु प्रस्रवणेषु पर्वतेषु निकुञ्जेषु वनेषूपवनेषु गोमयलिप्तेषु मनोज्ञेषु। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Carell, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rg X. 146 a large forest [1261] (Aranyānī) is invoked as a deity. The Vāmanapurāna mentions [1262] seven forests in Kuruksetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakīvana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punyaśitavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smrtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva [1263] a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

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1261. अरण्यान्यरण्यान्यसौ या प्रेव नश्यसि। कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि न त्वा भीरिव विन्दतीः॥ ऋ. X 146 1. The निरुक्त 9. 30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'हिमारण्ययोर्महत्त्वे' on पा IV. 1. 49 holds that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of महत्त्व

1262. शृणु सप्त वनानीह कुरुक्षेत्रस्य मध्यत । येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि च॥ काम्यक च वनं पुण्यं०। वामनपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263 ऋषिभि. क्रतव प्रोक्ता देवेभ्यिव यथाक्रमम्। फलं चैव यथातथ्यं प्रेत्य चेह च सर्वश ॥ न ते शक्या दरिद्रेण यज्ञा भातु महीपते । बहूपक्रणा यज्ञा नानासम्भारविस्तरा.॥ प्राप्यन्ते पार्थिवैरेते समृद्धैर्वा नरै क्वचित् । नार्थन्यूनैर्नावगणैरेकात्मभिरसाधनै.॥ यो दरिद्रैरपि विधि शक्यः प्राप्तु नरेश्वर। तुल्यो यज्ञफलै पुण्यैस्तं निबोध सुधां वर॥ ऋषीणां परमं गुह्यमिदं भरतसत्तम । तीर्थाभिगमन पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13–17, q by तीर्थकल्पतरु p 37, तीर्थप्र p 12 (which explains अवगणै. तक्षादिसहायरहितै., यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्माभिः, पत्नीरहितैः, असंहतैः ऋत्विगादिसङ्घातरहितै ।. The अनुशासनपर्व (107 2–4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या ..शक्यः प्राप्तुं सदा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap 112. 12–15) has these verses (except the half verse नार्थन्यूनै. साधनैः and पद्मपुराण, आदिखण्ड 11. 14–17, 49. 12–15. vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4–5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82, 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108. 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says [1264] 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (*Kāśikhanda* 6.3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

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1264. यस्य हस्तौ च पादौ च मनश्चैव सुसंयतम्। विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते॥ प्रतिग्रहादुपावृत्त सन्तुष्टो येन केनचित्। अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते॥ अकल्कको निरारम्भो लघ्वाहारो जितेन्द्रियः। विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्य. स तीर्थफलमश्नुते॥ अक्रोधनश्च राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो दृढव्रतः। आत्मोपमश्च भूतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते॥ वनपर्व 82 9-12 q. by the तीर्थकल्पतरु pp. 4-5, तीर्थप्र p. 13 (only 9 and 12) 'हस्तयोः संयम· परपीडावीर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयो. सयम· अगम्यदेशगमनपरताडनादिनिवृत्त्या। मनस. सयमः कुत्सितसङ्कल्पादिनिवृत्त्या। विद्या अत्र तत्तत्तीर्थगुणज्ञानम्, तप. तीर्थवासादि, कीर्ति· सच्चरितत्वेन प्रसिद्धि.' तीर्थप्र. p. 13. 'अकल्कक: दम्भरहितः, निरारम्भोऽधार्जनादिव्यापाररहितः' तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses of the वनपर्व occur in पद्म, आदिखण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 48-51, वायु 110. 4-5 are the same as the first two, the verse यस्य हस्तौ च is शङ्खस्मृति 8. 15, ब्रह्म 25 2, अग्नि 109 1-2, the स्कन्द (I 2.2 5-6) says that Angiras sang the gāthā यस्य... संयतम्। निर्विकारा क्रियाः सर्वा स · इच्छते

words (108.9).[1264a] The Vāyupurāna states[1265] 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tīrthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāna (I. 1. 31. 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, manaḥ-śuddhi). The Padmapurāna (IV. 80. 9) remarks· sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣnudharmottarapurāna[1266] puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tīrtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas.' Some of the Purānas (such as Skandapurāna, Kāśikhanda 6, Padma, Uttarakhanda, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhauma*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tīrthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (brahmacarya), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tīrthas and the highest tīrtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all *tīrthas* and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

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1264 a नोदकक्लिन्नगात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः सबाह्याभ्यन्तरः शुचिः॥ अनुशासन 108 9.

1265. तीर्थान्यनुसरन् धीरः श्रद्दधानो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विशुध्येत किं पुनः शुभकर्मकृत्॥ अश्रद्दधानाः पापात्मानो नास्तिका स्थितसंशयाः। हेतुदृष्टा च पञ्चैते न तीर्थफलभागिन ॥ वायु 77. 125 and 127 q by तीर्थकल्प० pp. 5–6, ती. चि. p 4 (which explains पापात्मा बहुपापग्रस्तस्तस्य पापशमन तीर्थं भवति न तु यथोक्तफलम्) These verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56 52–53.

1266 पापानां पापशमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मात्तीर्थपरो भवेत्॥ सर्वेषामेव वर्णाना सर्वाश्रमनिवासिनाम्। तीर्थं फलप्रदं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्या विचारणा॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 7 and 9.

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tirthas, if the mind is not pure [1267] The Brahmapurāna (25.4–6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surā* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tirthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kuruksetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāna has a fine[1267a] *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāna (II. 39. 56–61) extends the meaning and scope of tirthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the Aśvattha exists, a place where Purāna is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tirthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāna states [1268] that Vāyu declared that there are 35 millions of tirthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāna 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Lingas. The Brahmapurāna says that the number of tirthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

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1267. सत्यं तीर्थं क्षमा तीर्थं ..तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विशुद्धिर्मनसः पुनः। .जायन्ते च म्रियन्ते च जलेष्वेव जलौकसः। न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमविशुद्धमनोमलाः॥ दानमिज्या तपः शौचं तीर्थसेवा श्रुतं तथा। सर्वाण्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मलः॥ स्कन्द, काशीः 6. 28–45, पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11–28, compare मत्स्य 22 80 (सत्यं तीर्थं दया तीर्थः).

1267 a आत्मा नदी संयमतोयपूर्णा सत्यावहा शीलतटा दयोर्मिः। तत्राभिषेकं कुरु पाण्डुपुत्र न वारिणा शुध्यति चान्तरात्मा॥ वामनपुराण 43. 25

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरब्रवीत्। दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवीं स्मृता॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110 7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53–54, and पद्म IV. 89. 16–17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद is तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी); वराह 159 6–7 षष्टिकोटिसहस्राणि षष्टिकोटिशतानि च। तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नभस्तले। गणितानि सनस्तानि वायुना जगदायुषा॥, तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये। तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गायां सिंहगे गुरौ॥ ब्रह्मपु. 175 83; तस्माच्छृणुष्वं वक्ष्यामि तीर्थान्यायतनानि च। विस्तरेण न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25 7–8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva [1269] remarks that Naimisa is the (best) tīrtha on the earth and Puskara in the ærial region, while Kuruksetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tīrthas are present in Puskara (chap 82.21) New tīrthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tīrtha priests led them to prepare numerous māhātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. Most of the writers of digests on tīrthas follow a process of selection. The Tīrthakalpataru of Laksmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110–1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārānasī and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tīrthas as Puskara, Prthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nrsimhaprasāda (Tīrthasāra) mostly deals with tīrthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Pundarīka (modern Pandharpur), Godāvarī, Krsnā-venyā, Narmadā. The Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyanabhatta devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tīrthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purānas, Māhātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tīrtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tīrtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tīrtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tīrtha, nor need he perform any *yajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that [1270] even gods and sages secured

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1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम्। त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विशिष्यते॥ वनपर्व 83 202, q. by तीर्थम p 19 and तीर्थकल्पतरु p 178; नीलकण्ठ explains: नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सप्ततिसपत्तिसार्वभौमादिपदप्राप्तिहेतुरित्यर्थ, अन्तरिक्षे सूर्यचन्द्रादिमार्गे नक्षत्रादिचक्रेषु पुष्कर मापयतीत्यर्थ। The same verse occurs in मत्स्य 109.3, पद्म (आदिखण्ड 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270 पुष्करेषु महाभाग देवाः सर्षिगणा पुरा। सिद्धिं समभिसंप्राप्ता पुण्येन महतान्विता॥ तत्राभिषेकं य. कुर्यात्पितृदेवार्चने रत । अश्वमेधादवाप्नोति फलं प्राहुर्मनीषिण ॥ वनपर्व 82. 26-27; नास्मात्परतर तीर्थं लोकेऽस्मिन्परिपठ्यते। पद्म (5th खण्ड, 27 78).

perfection at Puskara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitrs secures rewards ten times of what the performance of Aśvamedha might give. About this very tīrtha viz. Puskara, the Padmapurāna says that there is no holier tīrtha in this world. The Vanaparva (83. 145) in its eulogy of Prthūdaka asserts that Kuruksetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kuruksetra and that Prthūdaka is holier than all other tīrthas The Matsyapurāna puts the[1271] comparative holiness of several tīrthas thus 'the waters of the Sarasvatī purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of Yamunā in seven days, those of the Ganges at once, while the water of the Narmadā purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of Vārānasī the Kūrma-purāna states 'there is no place higher than Vārānasī nor will there be one' (I. 31 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in Kāśī till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of brāhmana murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.[1272] The Lingapurāna says the same thing. The Vāmana-purāna remarks[1273] that *mukti* (release from *samsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by śrāddha at Gayā, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in Kuruksetra and that those who die in Kuruksetra never come down (to the earth) Mere residence in Kāśī was so much lauded that the Matsya (181 23), the Agni (112. 3) and other Purānas say that after repairing to Kāśī one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

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1271. त्रिभि. सारस्वत तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यामुनम्। सद्य पुनाति गाङ्गेयं दर्शनादेव नार्मदम्॥ पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13. 7, मत्स्य० 186.11. The अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणि (Mysore ed.) I. 1.130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभि स्नानै पञ्चभिर्यमुनाजहत्। जाह्नवी स्नानमात्रेण दर्शनेनैव नर्मदा'॥

1272. आ देहपतनाद्यावत्तत्क्षेत्रं यो न मुञ्चति। न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृत च निवर्तते। प्राप्य विश्वेश्वरं देवं न स भूयोऽभिजायते। मत्स्य 182 16–17, q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतश्च that is explained as संसारबन्ध) and तीर्थचि p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य लिङ्गपुराण I. 92 63 is विषयासक्तचित्तोपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रेमृत. सोपि संसारे न पुनर्भवेत्। कामं ह्यत्र मृतो देवि जन्तुर्मोक्षाय कल्पते॥ लिङ्ग० I. 92 94. The verse आ देहपतनात् occurs in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 25. 67.

1273 ब्रह्मज्ञान गयाश्राद्ध गोग्रहे मरणं ध्रुवम्। वास कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरुक्ता चतुर्विधा॥ ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। कुरुक्षेत्रमुताना च पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ वामन-पुराण 33.8 and 16; the first occurs in वायु० 105 16, अग्नि 115. 5-6.

one may not be induced to visit another tīrtha) [1274] and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāna classifies tīrthas into four divisions [1275] viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārsa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyana and mānusa (created by kings like Ambarīsa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Himālayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Tungabhadrā, Venikā, Tāpī, Payosnī, Bhāgīrathī, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Visokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puskara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tīrthapr. p 18). The Brahmapurāna (175. 31–32) assigns daiva, āsurā, ārsa and mānusa tīrthas respectively to the Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purānas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tīrthayātrā. The Vanaparva [1276] provides that brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puskara all that sin vanishes [1277] Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tīrthayātrā. The Matsyapurāna [1278] goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

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1274. अश्मना चरणौ हत्वा वसेत्काशी न हि त्यजेत्। अग्नि 112.3; अविमुक्त यदा गच्छेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात्। अश्मना चरणौ भित्वा तत्रैव निधनं व्रजेत्॥ मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्प० p. 16. अश्मना चरणौ हत्वा वाराणस्या वसेन्नरः। कूर्म I 31 35 q by तीर्थप्र p 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गे मर्त्ये रसातले। दैवानि मुनिशार्दूल आसुराण्यारुषाणि च। मानुषाणि विलोकेषु विख्यातानि सुरादिभिः। ..ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवैर्देवैर्निर्मितं दैवमुच्यते। ब्रह्मपुराण 70 16–19 q by तीर्थप्रकाश p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मपुराण 70 33–35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थs) आरुष stands for आर्ष. Vide ब्रह्म 70 33–40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थs

1276. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसत्तम। न वै योनौ प्रजायन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे महात्मन। वनपर्व 82 30–31 q by तीर्थप्र p 19 (which reads न वियोनिं व्रजन्त्येते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body')

1277. जन्ममृत्यृति यत्पापं स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा। पुष्करे स्नातमात्रस्य सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति॥ वनपर्व 82 33–34 q. by तीर्थप्र p 23.

1278 नानावर्णा विवर्णाश्च चण्डाला ये जुगुप्सिता'। किल्बिषैः पूर्णदेहाश्च प्रकुष्टैः पातकैस्तथा। भेषज परम तेषामविमुक्तं विदुर्बुधा.। मत्स्यपुराण 184. 66–67, कूर्मपु. I. 31. 42–43 q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p 26, तीर्थप्र. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि p. 140.

(Vārānasī) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāna:[1279] persons of all the four *āśramas* (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyāsins*) by bathing in the tīrtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varnas and women, when they bathe in tīrthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāna that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage The Padmapurāna (Bhūmikhanda chap. 59–60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Krkala who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām vinā yo dharmaḥ sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59. 33). The Tīrthacintāmani and Tīrthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāna) which glorifies Vārānasī (called Avimukta there) as follows[1280] 'brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons of mixed castes (varnasankara), women, *mlecchas* and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell' As regards[1281] *women* and śūdras, a smrti verse provided '*Japa, tapas*, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (sannyāsin), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

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1279. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा। कुलानि तारयेत्स्नात सप्त सप्त च सप्त च॥ ब्राह्मणा. क्षत्रिया वैश्या· स्त्रिया शूद्राश्च तत्परा। तीर्थस्नाता भक्तियुता पश्यन्ति परम पदम्॥ वामनपुराण 36 78–79.

1280. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्करा। स्त्रियो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णापापयोनय॥ कीटा पिपीलिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये मृगपक्षिण। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते धरानने।...शिवे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवा। नाविमुक्ते मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी। कूर्म I 31. 32–34, मत्स्यपुराण 181. 19–21 q. by तीर्थचि p. 346, तीर्थम p. 139 (which quotes from कूर्मपुराण and adds नाविमुक्ते मृत कश्चिन्नरक याति किल्बिषी। ईश्वरानुगृहीता हि सर्वे यान्ति परा गतिम्। नाविमुक्ते मृत· कश्चिन्नरक याति किल्बिषी। कूर्म I. 31 31–34 q by तीर्थचि p. 346, तीर्थम p 139 The same verses occur in पद्म I 33. 18–21

1281. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा प्रव्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम्। देवताराधन चेति स्त्रीशूद्रपतना नि षट्॥ q. by तीर्थम p 21, ascribed to मनु by भट्टोजि in त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसंग्रह p 2.

śūdras.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a śūdra in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a śūdra to wait upon learned brāhmanas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). Kātyāyana[1282] as quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tīrthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's śrāddha for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram* v. *Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal* v. *Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat* v. *Tulsiram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).[1283] It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability[1284] when bathing in holy waters.

1282 नारी खल्वनुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा। विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्व-देहिकम्॥ कात्या q. by व्य. म ; p. 113, this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्ग० on व्रत I. p. 327 as from आदित्यपुराण and और्ध्वदेहिकं is explained as व्रतानि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari* v. *Bajrangi* 13 C. W N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh* v. *Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmanas In *Dinanath* v. *Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmanas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversioners after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां संग्रामे देशविप्लवे। नगरग्रामदाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यति॥ बृह q by कल्पतरु on शुद्धि p 169, स्मृतिच. I p 122 This is variously explained, The तीर्थप्र. p 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाह इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्यधिकरणकास्पृश्यस्पर्शो न दोषायेत्यभिधानात्। स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न दुष्यतीति वचनं पक्वान्नशुद्धौ कल्पतरुकृता लिखितं तीर्थे पक्वान्नस्पर्शे न दोष इति। अत एव पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रादौ तथैव शिष्टाचार इति।'. Vide above note 750 for the same quotation The शुद्धिप्र. p. 130 explains तीर्थादौ अस्पृश्य-स्पर्शने नाचमनस्नानादि

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purānas adopted two propositions: viz the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tīrtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śāntiparva [1285] in the dialogue between Tulādhāra and Jājali (a brāhmana proud of his *tapas*) asserts that purodāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Himālaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tīrtha and advises Jājali not to be a guest (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tīrthas) to several countries. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi and Tīrthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahmapurāna that a brāhmana should wander about tīrthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *iṣṭis* and *yajñas*, and that all the tīrthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*. [1286] The Kūrmapurāna [1287] has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties[1287] resorts to tīrthas does not reap the fruits of

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1285 पुरोडाशो हि सर्वेषां पशूनां मेध्य उच्यते। सर्वा नद्यः सरस्वत्य सर्वे पुण्याः शिलोच्चयाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मैव मा स्म देशातिथिर्भव। एतानीदृशकान् धर्मानाचरन्हि जाजले। कारणैर्धर्ममन्विच्छन् स लोकानाप्नुते शुभान्। शान्तिपर्व 263. 40-42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'यत्रैवात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वाणि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थ ।'.

1286. यज्ञाधिकारेऽप्यथवा निवृत्ते विभक्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत।...यस्यैतियज्ञेष्वधिकारितास्ति वर गृहं गृहधर्माश्च सर्वे। एवं गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थे गति. पूर्वतरैर्निषिद्धा। सर्वाणि तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्रतुल्यानि नैवेति वय वदाम। ब्रह्मपुराण q by तीर्थकल्पतरु p 9, तीर्थचि pp. 5-6 and तीर्थप्र p. 19. Vide नारदीय (उत्तर) 62 22 for the first verse.

1287. य. स्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य तीर्थसेवा करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके परत्र च॥ प्रायश्चित्ती च विधुरस्तथा यायावरो गृही। मकुर्यात्तीर्थसेवा यथान्यत्राहृतो जनः॥ सहाग्निर्वा सपत्नीको गच्छेत्तीर्थानि यत्नत.। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तां गतिमाप्नुयात्॥ ऋणानि त्रीण्यपाकुर्याकुर्वन्वा तीर्थसेवनम्। विधाय वृत्तिं पुत्राणा भार्यां तेषु निधाय च॥ कूर्म II. 44. 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara*[1288] type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmaśāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the Viṣnu Dh. S, that[1289] no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings The Rājataraṅgiṇī (VI 254-255 and VII. 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddhas at Gayā.[1290] It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095-1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bāhuloda, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).[1290a] Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavīndrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

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1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, śālīna and yāyāvara. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 641-642 and notes 1501-1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide. H of Dh. vol II. pp. 270 and 425

1289. ब्रह्मचारिवानप्रस्थभिक्षुगर्विणीतीर्थाध्वसारिणां नाविकः शौल्किकः शुल्कमादद्दानश्च। तच्च तेषां दद्यात्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132-133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणा यः श्राद्धशुल्कोच्छेत्ता गयान्तरे। सोऽप्येरमन्तकः शूरः परिहासपुराश्रय.॥ बद्ध्वा महाशिलां कण्ठे वितस्ताम्भसि पातित.। राजत VI. 254-55.

The valiant एरमन्तक of परिहासपुर who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vitastā (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290*a*. Vide Bom G. vol. I part 1 p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmani (tr. by Tawney p 84)

and conferred upon the great scholar [1291] the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavīndrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavīndra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.[1292] In a remarkable copper-plate Inscription in Sanskrit [1293] and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha *śake* 1200 (1279 A. D) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *niskas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Karnāṭaka, from the countries of Telingana, Tulu, Tirhut, Gauda and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turuskas (Moslem kings).[1293]

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāna about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāna provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Ganeśa, the gods, the pitrs and honour good brāhmanas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.[1294] The digests

1291. Vide I A vol 41 (1912) p 7 at p 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jeha n.

1292. येन श्रीसाहिजाहाँ नरपतितिलकः स्वस्य वश्य कृतोऽभूत्कि चावश्य प्रपञ्च पुनरपि विहितः शाहिदाराशकोहः । काशीतीर्थप्रयागप्रतिजनितकरग्राहमोक्षैकहेतुः सोयं श्रीमान्कवीन्द्रो जयति कविगुरुस्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदय p. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to गजेन्द्रमोक्ष in the words 'ग्राहमोक्ष'.

1293 Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol 15 No 298 pp. 71-73 (containing transliterated text) and p 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-ksetravāsi-galu *Turahkarige* ... Kula karnāṭigaru Telugaru .Tuḷu-Maleylaru. .Tirabhukti-garu...Gavudigaru' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turuskadanda' occurring in certain Gāhadvāla Inscriptions such as those in E I IX at p 305, E I XIII p 295, E. I. XIV p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers

1294. यो यः कश्चित्तीर्थयात्रा तु गच्छेत्सुसंयतः स च पूर्व राहे स्वे। कृतोपवास. शुचिर्-यमवत् सम्पूजयेद्गणेशानमो गणेशम्॥ देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणाश्चैव साधून् धीमान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च। प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थ-कल्प° p. 9, तीर्थचि p 6 (explains सुसंयत इति पूर्वदिने कृतैकभक्तादिनियम.), तीर्थप्र.

(Continued on next page)

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmanas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saṅkalpa*) to go on pilgrimage The Vāyupurāna [1295] and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpaṭī* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhattoji (p 5) states that according to some the apparel of kārpatika is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tīrthas also. The Tīr. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tīrtha, when the pilgrim is in a tīrtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāna [1296] and Skandapurāna appear to make it obligatory. The Tīrtha-Kalpataru does not [1297] refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tīrtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

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(*Continued from the last page*)

p. 23 (which states 'सुसयतः पूर्वदिने कृतैकभक्तादिनियम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादियुक्त इति तु युक्तम्॥'). In *Dnanath* v *Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāna is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 24–25). The स्कन्दपु (काशीखण्ड 6. 56–57) and पद्म have similar verses तीर्थयात्रा चिकीर्षुं प्राग्विधायोपोषणं गृहे। गणेशं च पितॄन् विप्रान् साधून् शक्त्या प्रपूज्य च। कृतपारणको हृष्टो गच्छेत्तियमधूक् पुन । आगत्याभ्यर्च्य च पितॄन् यथोक्तफलभाग्भवेत्॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36–38 ब्रह्म 76. 18–19 provide नान्दीमुखश्राद्ध, देहशुद्धि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celebate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्चेद्वया गन्तुं श्राद्धं कृत्वा विधानत. । विधाय कार्पटीवेषं कृत्वा ग्रामं प्रदक्षिणम्। ततो ग्रामान्तर गत्वा श्राद्धशेषस्य भोजनम्। वायुपु 110 2–3, q. by तीर्थचि p 7, तीर्थप्र p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पटीवेषः ताम्रमुद्राताम्रकङ्कणकापायवस्त्रधारणम्') The तीर्थचि remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this kārpatika apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha

1296. तीर्थोपवास कर्तव्य शिरसो मुण्डनं तथा। शिरोगतानि पापानि यान्ति मुण्डनतो यत । पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासश्च फलविशेषार्थ । तीर्थमभिगम्य व्रतोपवासनियमयुक्तस्त्र्यहमवगाहमानस्त्रिरात्रमुषित्वा सर्वपापै. प्रमुच्यते स्वस्तिमांश्च भवतीति देवलवचनात्। तीर्थकल्प० p 11,

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Cāturmāsyas and Agnistoma.[1298] The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*samāvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.[1299] Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing prāyaścitta for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr Pr. both quote a verse of Visnu [1300] from the Smrtisamuccaya, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The Mit. on Yāj. III. 17 quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskaraksetra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'satsu' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse [1301] which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tīrthas except at Kuruksetra, Viśālā (Ujjayinī or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a snātaka, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

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1298. Vide Sat. Br II 6. 3 14 ff. (S. B E. vol. 12 pp 448).

1299. Pāraskara gr. II 6. 17, Khādira gr. III. 1. 2. 23, Sāṅ. gr. III. 1. 1-2 (S. B E. vol. 29. p 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādira gr. is 'prāśya vāpayet śikhāvarjam kesasmaśrulomanakhāni '

1300. मनुष्याणां हि पापानि तीर्थानि प्रतिगच्छताम्। केशमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं चरेत्॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड 19. 21; उपवासदिने क्षुण्डनमपि। प्रयागे तीर्थयात्राया पितृमातृवियोगत. । कचाना वपनं कुर्याद्बुधा न विकचो भवेत्॥ इति स्मृतिसमुच्चयधृत-विष्णुलिखितवचनात्। तीर्थचि p. 7, तीर्थप्र p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62 28. The मिता. on या III. 17 quotes the following verse गङ्गाया भास्कर-क्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्गुरोर्मृतौ॥ आधानकाले सोमे च वपन सप्तसु स्मृतम्॥. भास्करक्षेत्र is प्रयाग acc. to some and कोणार्क acc to others It is not correct to translate 'ādhāne' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्या०) आधान by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधान गर्भाधान is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधान itself भास्करक्षेत्र is really कोणार्क and not प्रयाग, which latter is called प्रजापतिक्षेत्र in मत्स्य 104 5 and 111. 14.

1301. क्षुण्डन चोपवासश्च सर्वतीर्थेष्वयं विधिः । वर्जयित्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं विशालां विरजां गयाम्॥ वायु. 105. 25 q by तीर्थचि p 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण), तीर्थप्र p 50 (ascribes to देवल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थप्र. (p 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्प० 'यद्यपि कल्पतरुकारेण तीर्थे क्षुण्डन नोक्त न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दर्शित तथापि क्षुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिगृहीतत्वात्तत्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थचि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गंगावाक्या० second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गया गङ्गा विशालां विरजां तथा॥ and is said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालम्भट्टी on या III. 17 explains विरजं as दक्षिणदेशस्थं लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यपुराणे ' The first half is अग्नि 115 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are cut. Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 386–387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other smṛtis like Āpastamba in verse (I. 33–34), Angiras verse 163, Yama 54–55, Parāśara q. by the Mitāksarā on Yāj. III. 263–264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nārī*). Par. M.[1302] II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārīkumārīnām' and holds that nārī means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the smṛti passages occur in the section on prāyaścitta still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics[1303] and śūdras all hair are to be cut. The Tīrthaprakāśa finds fault with Vācaspatimiśra for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The Tīr. K. (p 10) appears to hold that honouring the pitṛs at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *ksaura* and *mundana*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while ksaura means only shaving the head. Therefore the Nāradīya says that all sages did not prohibit ksaura even at Gayā but only mundana is forbidden there[1303a] and there is no mundana on the Ganges anywhere except at Prayāga The Tīrthendusekhara (p 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only kāmya (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that śistas do not resort to these two at many tīrthas.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराशरेण विशेषोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान्केशान्समुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्॥ मिता on या III. 263–264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत्॥ इत्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे श्रुतस्याकाङ्क्षातौल्येनात्राप्यन्वयात्। प्रयागादावपि तासा द्व्यङ्गुलकेशाग्रकर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थप्र pp 50–51.

1303. यति शूद्रश्च विधवा सशिखं वपनं चरेत्। इति दाक्षिणात्याः। वाचस्पतिमिश्रास्तु-वर्जयित्वा गया गङ्गां विशाला विरजा तथा-इति पठित्वा गङ्गाया न मुण्डनमिति मलपन्ति। तत्र साधीयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरिग्रहात्। तीर्थप्र p. 51.

1303 a गयादावपि देवेशि श्मश्रूणां वपनं विना। न क्षौरं मुनिभि. सर्वैर्निषिद्धं चेति कीर्तितम्॥ सश्मश्रुकेशवपनं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्बुधा.। न क्षौरं मुण्डनं शुभ्र कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभि.॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 54–55, प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गायां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62.52.

The Purānas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The Matsya (106. 4–6) states that [1304] if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pitṛs do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the Kalpataru (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the Tīr. C. (p. 8) and Tīr. Pr. (p. 45) quote a verse [1305] which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadha* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The Padma-purāna (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The Tīr. Pr. p. 34 quotes a verse from the Kūrmapurāna that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the Viṣnupurāna [1306] quoted by both Tīr C and Tīr. Pr. (pp. 34–35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The Visnudharmottara takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

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1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रार्थी यः प्रयाति नरः क्वचित्। बलीवर्दसमारूढः शृणु तस्यापि यत्फलम्॥ नरके वसते घोरे गवां क्रोधो हि दारुणः। सलिलं न च गृह्णन्ति पितरस्तस्य देहिनः॥ ऐश्वर्यलाभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः। निष्फलं तस्य तत्सर्वं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4–5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचि p 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्यलाभमाहात्म्यात् is better) and तीर्थप्र pp. 33–34 The verse ऐश्वर्यलाभमाहात्म्यात् is q. by गाय तत्त्व p 492. The कूर्म (I. 37 4–5) has the verse ऐश्वर्यलोभमोहाद्वा। ... वर्जयेत् The गङ्गाभक्ति° p 13 reads ऐश्वर्यमदमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीयवचनस्य प्रयागयात्राप्रकरणस्थत्वात् ऐश्वर्यमदशून्यस्यैव प्रयागगमनेपि दोषाभावः।'

1305. गोयाने गोवधः प्रोक्तो हययाने तु निष्फलम्। नरयाने तदर्धं स्यात् पद्भ्यां तत्र चतुर्गुणम्॥ q. by गङ्गाभक्ति° p. 13, तीर्थचि. and तीर्थप्र, 'उपानद्भ्यां चतुर्थांश गोयाने गोवधादिकम्' पद्म° IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी राज्यटवीषु च। शरीरत्राणकामो वै सोपानत्कः सदा व्रजेत्॥ इति विष्णुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्प्रतिपक्षसदाशब्दस्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उपानत्परिधानमावश्यकमिति। तीर्थचि. pp. 8–9. This verse is विष्णु III 12. 38, नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 35 is almost the same, तीर्थाद्यसरणं पद्भ्यां तपः परमिहोच्यते॥ तदेव कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 11–12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tīr. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gangāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhalī-setu (pp. 1–3) has a long discussion about the *saṅkalpa*[1307] (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *saṅkalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a saṅkalpa about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a sankalpa about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a sankalpa about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a saṅkalpa about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a sankalpa about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tīrthaprakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhalisetu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a sankalpa in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tīrtha-yātrāmaham karisye). The Tīrthaprakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purānas. Atri (50–51) provides[1308] 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

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1307. The saṅkalpa may take the form ओं अद्य प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्यफलसनफलप्राप्तिकामोऽमुकतीर्थयात्रामहं करिष्ये।

1308. प्रतिकृतिं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत स ॥ मातरं पितरं वापि भ्रातरं सुहृदं गुरुम्। यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत द्वादशांशफलं लभेत् । अत्रि 50–51. The first verse is quoted as पैठीनसि's by तीर्थकल्प p. 11 and by तीर्थचि pp 13–14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशी 6. 64), the 2nd is q. by प्राय तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि The गङ्गावाक्यावली (p 59) reads लभेच्च सं. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paithīnasi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tīrtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru) [1309] reaps only half the merit. The Viṣnudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmaśālās*, *tanks*, and *annasattras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public The Prabhāsa khanda remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.' [1310]

The Prāyaścittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmāndapurāna some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), ācamana (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmālya* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. 190. 1-3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tīrtha, praising another tīrtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the *tīrtha*.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purāṇas provide [1311] that

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1309. पैठीनसिः। षोडशांशं स लभते य. परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्धं तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, भाग. तत्त्व. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेतनादिना प्रसङ्गेन उद्देश्यान्तरप्रसङ्गेन), तीर्थप्र p. 36 (प्रसङ्गेत्र गुरुसेवाध्ययनवाणिज्यादिरेव विहिताविहितरूप) This is found in स्कन्द (काशी० chap. 6.63). The first half is पद्म VI. 237 43

1310. यश्चान्यं कारयेत् शक्त्या तीर्थयात्रां तथेश्वरः। स्वकीयद्रव्ययानाभ्यां तस्य पुण्यं चतुर्गुणम्॥ प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थप्र. p. 36; तीर्थे प्राप्यानुपङ्गेण स्नानं तीर्थे समाचरेत्। स्नानजं फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु॥ शङ्ख 8 12 q. by स्मृतिच I. p. 132 and कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मपु. VI. 237. 41-42, vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन। अन्नार्थिनमनुप्राप्तं भोज्यं तं मन्त्रवद्विदुः॥ पद्म V 29.212 and देवीपुराण q by तीर्थकल्प० p 10; ब्राह्मणाश्च परीक्षेत श्राद्धे क्षेत्रनिवासिनः। सुमहान्परिवादोऽस्य ब्राह्मणाना परीक्षणे॥ स्कन्द० (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 130 b; न परीक्ष्यो द्विजस्तीर्थेऽन्नार्थी भोज्य एव च। सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं च चरुणा पायसेन वा। स्कन्द० (काशी० 6, 56-57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmanas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tīrtha (p. 10), the Tīr. C. (p. 10) and the Tīr. Pr. (p 73). The last work remarks that brāhmanas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāna goes[1312] so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmana born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmana who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāna have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāna[1313] that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmanas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmanas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitrs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmanas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from samsāra). In Vāyu 106 73-84 and Agni 114. 33-39 and Garuda it is narrated that, after Gayāsura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Visnu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmanas 55 villages and Gayātīrtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmanas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavrksa and other gifts. The Agnipurāna [1314] (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmanas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tīrtha

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1312. चतुर्वेदं परित्यज्य माथुरं पूजयेत्सदा। मथुराया ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नरा.। ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञा. पश्यन्ति तान् हि। वराह 165. 57-58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात्। तानेव भोजयेद्विप्रान् ब्रह्मणा ये प्रकल्पिता.। अमानुषतया विभ्रा ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिता । वायु 82 25-27.

1314 स्थिता यदि गयायां ते शास्तस्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा। विद्याविवर्जिता यूय तृष्णायुक्ता भविष्यथ॥ अग्नि 114. 36-37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmaṇas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāṇa possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmaṇas (Gayāls or Gayāwals as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayāl brāhmaṇas occurs in the Śaktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)[1315].

The result of this teaching of the Purāṇas was that the brāhmaṇas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwals resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwals and outside priests and cases of Gayāwals have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,[1315a] then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwal brāhmaṇas. The Gayāwal himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedīs) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Akṣaya-vaṭa and the Gayāwal puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwals have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwal is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gūdī* or *gaddī*) to another Gayāwal, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwal making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwal claims to have succeeded to four *gūdīs* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwals have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI. p. 211 at p. 219 'श्रीबल्लालसेनदेवप्रदत्त गयाल-ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकक्षेत्रपाटकाभिधानशासनविनिमयेन'.

1315 a. The गरुडपुराण says: वाराणस्यां कृतश्राद्धस्तीर्थे शोणनदे तथा। पुनः पुना महानद्यां श्राद्धं स्वर्गं पितॄन्नयेत्॥ q. in पृथ्वीच. folio 141 a.

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal* v. *Kanhaya Lal* the Privy [1316] Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal* v. *Baldeo Lal* [1317] the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a goodwill is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser* [1318] v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the śrāddha ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal* [1319] v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tīrthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas

1316. 22 Cal 609 at pp. 615-618 (P. C) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tīrthas, sub-tīrthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82–156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35–54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tīrthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purānas, the Brahmapurāna devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tīrthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khandas, the Varāhapurāna devotes about 3182 verses to tīrthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathurā) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tīrthas deserve mention. The Tīrthaviveeana-kānda of the Kalpataru of Laksmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Caturvarga-[1320] cintāmani of Hemādri (1260–1270 A D) contained a section on tīrthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered), the Tīrthacintāmani of Vācaspati (1450–1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series, the Tīrthasāra, part of Nrsimhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyanabhatta (about 1550–1580 A. D.) printed by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; Tīrthasaukhya, a part of Todarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.), Tīrthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1520–1570 A D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smrtitattva), Tīrthaprakāśa by Mitramiśra about 1610–1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series), the Tristhalīsetusāra-sangraha of Bhattoji (about 1625); Tristhalīsetusārasangraha of Nāgeśa, the Tīrthendusekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tīrthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol 1. p. 554, of which the Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhatta composed at the order of Anūpasimha is probably the largest work on tīrthas (ms no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

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1320. Vide H of Dh. vol 1 p 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tīrtha when he commenced the Pariśesa-khanda. It may be noted that the त्रिस्थलीसेतु and the तीर्थप्रकाश had the work of Hemādri on tīrtha before them. For examples, the त्रिस्थलीसेतु p 53 'तथा च हेमाद्रयादिधर्मादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि, p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रीयशरीरोत्सर्गविधेरवगन्तव्यः.'; the तीर्थप्रकाश pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 *refer to* हेमाद्रि's quotations from the स्कन्दपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, जाबालोपनिषद् and कूर्मपुराण respectively, which unmistakably refer to *tīrthas* and p 478 speaks of तीर्थहेमाद्रि.

dual tīrthas such as the Gangā-vākyāvali[1321] (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400–1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśīmrtimoksa-vicāra of Sureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatībhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Purusottama-ksetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tīrtha prescribed by the purānas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tīrtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *sankalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Ganeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Ganeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,[1322] then perform a pārvana-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own grhyasūtra, honour three brāhmanas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krosa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

1321. The last verse of the Gangāvākyāvalī is कियज्जिवन्धमालोक्य श्रीविद्यापतिसूरिणा। गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणैर्विमलीकृता॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithila scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devi's own In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is निवन्धान् सम्यगालोक्य...सूरिणा। दानवाक्यावली देव्या....कृता॥ (D. C ms. No 216 of 1881-82.

1322 For the sixteen and five *upacāras*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 729-730. The ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), ब्रह्मखण्ड, chap. 26 90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आसनं वसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम्। पुष्पं चन्दनधूपं च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम्॥ गन्धं माल्यं च शय्यां च लालितां सुविलक्षणाम्। जलमङ्गं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च। गन्धाक्षतल्पताम्बूलं विना द्रव्याणि द्वादश। पाद्यार्घ्यजलनैवेद्यपुष्पाण्येतानि पञ्च च॥.

in his own house (in the case of other tīrthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tīrtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tīrtha*. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food The Kalpataru (on tīrtha p 11) and the Tīrtha-cintāmani (p 14) quote Dəvala for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tīrtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tīrthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tīrthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadīstuti* hymn (Rg X. 75 5–6). In Rg[1323] VI 45 31 we have the word 'Gāngyah' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 and Ait Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Dausanti on the Gangā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 an ancient *gāthā* is quoted 'At Nādapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana 26. 26–103) and the Purānas (such as Nāradīya, Uttarārdha, chap 38–45 and 51. 1–48, Padma V. 60. 1–127, Agni chap 110, Matsya chap. 180–185, Padma, Ādikhanda. chap 33–37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāna, Kāsīkhanda, chap 29 (verses 17–168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects-rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

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1323 अधि वृष्नु. पणीना वर्पिष्ठे मूर्धन्नस्थात्। उरु. कक्षो न गाङ्ग्य.॥ ऋ. VI. 45 31 The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Ganeśvara (1350 A D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvāsadevī, queen of king Padmasiṃha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅginī of Gaṇapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88–97, some of which may be translated here[1324]. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Tretā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30–31) asserts 'those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *punya* (religious merit) Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

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1324. कुरुक्षेत्रसमा गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता। विशेषो वै कनखले प्रयागे परमं महत्॥ यश्चकार्पशतं कृत्वा कृतं गङ्गाम्बसेचनम्। सर्वं तत्तस्य गङ्गाप्भो दहत्यग्निरिवेन्धनम्॥ 88, सर्वं कृतयुगे पुण्यं त्रेतायां पुष्करं स्मृतम्। द्वापरेपि कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलियुगे स्मृता॥ ..पुनाति कीर्तिता पापं दृष्टा भद्रं प्रयच्छति। अवगाढा च पीता च पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम्॥ यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गाया: सृजते जलम्। तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ 94.. न गङ्गासदृशं तीर्थं न देवः केशवात्परः।... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्तपोवनम्। सिद्धिक्षेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीरसमाश्रितम्॥ वनपर्व 85 88–97=पद्म I 39.81–90. नारदीय. (उत्तर) 39. 46 is कुरुक्षेत्र .. गाहिता। हरिद्वारे प्रयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे फलाधिका॥. The नारदीयपु (उत्तर) 38. 20 is कृते तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां .कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते॥. The कूर्म I 27 37 has कृते तु नैमिषं तीर्थं, The same verse is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.'[1325]

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Krsna says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavī). The Manusmrti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kuruksetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmrti.[1326] Some of the Purānas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandākinī), on the earth (as Gangā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavatī). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Visnupurāna[1327] and other Purānas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Visnu. In some Purānas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalinī, Hlādinī, Pāvanī), three to the west (Sītā, Caksus and Sindhu) and Bhāgirathī (vide Matsya 121. 38–41, Brahmānda II. 18 39–41, Padma I 3. 65–66). The Kūrmapurāna (I 46.30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sītā, Alakanandā, Sucaksu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarsa and falls into the sea with seven mouths[1328] In the Brahmapurāna (73. 68–69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Visnu and as established in the matted hair of Maheśvara (Śiva).

The Visnupurāna eulogises[1329] the Ganges as follows: The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

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1325 स्नाताना श्रुचिभिस्तोयैः गाङ्गेयैः प्रयतात्मनाम्। व्युष्टिर्भवति या पुंसां न सा क्रतुशतैरपि॥ अनुशासन 26 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39 30-31 and also 40. 64.

1326. यमो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तवैष हृदि स्थितः। तेन चेदविवादस्ते मा गङ्गां मा कुरून्गम.॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वामपादाम्बुजाङ्गुष्ठनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम्। विष्णोर्बिभर्ति या भक्त्या शिरसाहर्निशं ध्रुव॥ विष्णुपु II. 8 109, q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p 161 (reads शिव.), नदी सा वैष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसमुद्भवा। पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवालकनन्दा च दक्षिणादेत्य भारतम्। प्रयाति सागरं भित्त्वा सप्तभेदा द्विजोत्तमा॥ कूर्म I 46.31.

1329. श्रुताभिलषिता दृष्टा स्पृष्टा पीतावगाहिता। या पावयति भूतानि कीर्तिता च दिने दिने॥ गङ्गा गङ्गेति यैर्नाम योजनाना शतेष्वपि। स्थितैरुच्चारितं हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रयार्जितम्॥ विष्णुपु II. 8 120-121 q by गङ्गावा p. 110, तीर्थचि p. 202, गङ्गाभक्ति० p 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI 21.8 and 23 12, ब्रह्म 175. 82 as गङ्गा ..यो ब्रूयाद्योजनानां शतैरपि। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति; while पद्म I. 31.77 reads ०शतैरपि। नरो न नरकं याति किं तया सदृश भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed' The Bhavisyapurāna[1330] has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gangā and also by remembering it.'[1331] The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuda and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz at Gangādvāra (Haridvāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again The Nāradīyapurāna, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4).[1332] The Kūrmapurāna represents that the Ganges[1333] is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges The Padmapurāna asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and *moksa*'? A similar verse occurs in the Nāradīya-purāna 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight *angas*, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

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1330. दर्शनात्स्पर्शनात्पानात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात्। स्मरणादेव गङ्गाया सद्य पापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ भविष्यपु q by तीर्थचि p. 198, गङ्गावा p. 12, गङ्गाभ० p. 9. The first half is अनुशासन 26.64, अग्निपु. 110 6, गच्छस्तिष्ठन् जपन्ध्यायन् शृण्वन् जाग्रत् स्वपन् वदन्। य स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात्॥ स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड) पूर्वार्ध 27 37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र सुलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा। गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवा॥ मत्स्य 106 54, कूर्म I 37 34, गरुड (पूर्व०) 81. 1-2, पद्म V 60 120. The नारदीय (उत्तर 40. 26-27) reads सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका। गङ्गाद्वारे ·सङ्गमे॥ एषु स्नाता दिवं...भवाः॥.

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गाया योऽभिपद्यते। मृतस्तु लभते स्वर्गं नरकं च न पश्यति॥ मत्स्य 107 4, q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations, compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333 तिस्र कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थाना वायुरब्रवीत्। दिवि भूम्यन्तरिक्षे च तानि सर्वाणि जाह्नवी स्मृता॥ कूर्म I. 39 8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads तानि ते भवि जाह्नवि).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these'[1334]. Two verses of the Matsya-purāna[1335] deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāśikhanda that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts

In the Varāhapurāna (chap. 82) the name 'Gangā' is derived as 'gām gatā' (that has gone to the earth). The Padmapurāna (Srstikhanda 60. 64–65) specifies the *mūlamantra* about the Ganges as follows. 'Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viśvarūpinyai nārāyanyai namo namah'.

The Padmapurāna (srsti 60 35) holds that Viṣnu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Visnu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a cāndāla or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds, but the Ganges does not forsake such persons[1336].

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purānas. The Nāradīya[1337] states. the region

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1334. किं यज्ञैर्बहुवित्ताढ्यै किं तपोभि सुदुष्करै । स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदा गङ्गा सुखसौभाग्यपूजिता॥ पद्म V 60 39; किमष्टाङ्गेन योगेन किं तपोभिः किमध्वरै । वास एव हि गङ्गाया सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38 38, q in तीर्थचि p 194 (reads गङ्गायां ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and ग्राय तत्त्व p 498. The first verse किं यज्ञै is quoted as from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचि p 195 (last pāda is सुखसेव्या यतः स्थिता)

1335. योजनाना सहस्रेषु गङ्गाया. स्मरणाद्भर । अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा तु लभते परमां गतिम्॥ कीर्तनान्मुच्यते पापाद् दृष्ट्वा भद्राणि पश्यति। अवगाह्य च पीत्वा तु पुनात्यासप्तमं कुलम्॥ मत्स्य 104 14–15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थ) p 160, vide also मत्स्य. 108 25–26 Compare वनपर्व 87 93 (पुनाति कीर्तिताः) quoted in n 1324, सर्व एव शुभ कालः सर्वो देशस्तथा शुभ । सर्वो जनो दानपात्रं श्रीमतीजाह्नवीतटे॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336 जारजं पतितं दुष्टमन्त्यजं गुरुघातिनम् । सर्वद्रोहेण संयुक्तं सर्वपातकसंयुतम् ॥ त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्रा प्रियं पत्न्य सुहृद्गणा । अन्ये च बान्धवा सर्वे गङ्गा तान्न परित्यजेत्॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 60 25–26).

1337. तीरादूर्ध्वप्रतिमात्रं हु परित क्षेत्रमुच्यते। तीर त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न चेष्यते ॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णा क्षेत्रसीमा तदह्वयात् । नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119–120 The first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचि p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं क्रोशद्वयं क्षेत्रम्' The half verse एक० is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 267,

(*Continued on the next page*)

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the kṣetra limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the kṣetra are of the extent of one yojana between both the banks' i. e. the kṣetra extends for two krośas from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and tīrthas are without an owner, these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The Brahmapurāna[1338] says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four hastas, God Nārāyana is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the garbha (the inner circle) of the Gangāksetra, the tīra and the kṣetra. *'Garbha'* extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of Bhādrapada; beyond that is the *tīra* (bank), which extends upto *150 hastas* from garbha and kṣetra extends up to two krośas from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the digests contain several alternate forms of the *sankalpa* to be made at the time of Gangā-snāna. For example, the Prāyaścittatattva (pp. 497–498) contains a very elaborate sankalpa. A simple one is quoted below from the Gangāvākyāvalī.[1339] The mode of bathing prescribed in the

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(*Continued from the last page*)

गङ्गावा. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two krośas There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the Amarakośa a *gavyūti* is equal to two krośas 'गव्यूति. स्त्री क्रोशयुगम्'. According to the वायु 8 105–107 and 101. 122–126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II 7 96–101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुल्स = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुल्स = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and नाली), 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनु॰ = योजन, acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37–40, 4 हस्तs = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or नालिका), 2000 धनु = क्रोश, 4 क्रोशs = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 n. 185.

1338 प्रवाहमवधिं कृत्वा यावद्धस्तचतुष्टयम्। अत्र नारायण स्वामी नान्यः स्वामी कदाचन॥ न तत्र प्रतिगृह्णीयात्प्राणै कण्ठगतैरपि॥ भाद्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम्। तावद्भूमि विजानीयात्तद्दूर तीरमुच्यते। नारद (उत्तर) 43 116–118 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्त्व p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र॰ from दानधर्म) and by गगावा p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड). नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तशतं यावद्भूमेस्तीरं तत परम्॥. The digests read भाद्रकृष्ण॰ for भाद्रशुक्ल॰.

1339. अद्यामुके मासि अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ सद्य.पापप्रणाशपूर्वक सर्वपुण्यप्राप्तिकामो गङ्गाया स्नानमह करिष्ये। गङ्गावा. p 141. Vide तीर्थचि. pp. 205–207 for several alternative सङ्कल्पs before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāna 102 is common to people of all varnas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāna, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gangāvākyāvalī (pp. 148–152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyanāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyana). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Visnu, you are a devotee of Visnu, you worship Visnu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandinī (the joy-giving) and also Nalinī and there are other names of yours viz. Daksā, Prthvī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amrtā, Śivā, Vidyādharī, Suprasāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Ksemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradāyinī.[1339a] One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Visnu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Krsna with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

1339 a. Verses 1–8 of मत्स्य० chap 102 are q. by the स्मृतिच. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिच I p 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17–19) has the same holy names of the Gangas that the Matsya (102. 6–8) mentions For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585,

prosperity; everything is centered in you; a bow to you, that are virtuous and the source of all worlds'. Having thus bathed and having sipped water (*ācamana*) according to the procedure prescribed, he should get out of the Ganges and should put on two white and pure garments. Then he should perform *tarpana*[1340] for the satisfaction of the three worlds. (He should say) 'This water is being offered by me for satiating gods, yakṣas, nāgas, gandharvas, apsarases, asuras, cruel snakes, eagles, trees, jackals, birds, creatures that sustain themselves on air and water or that move in the sky, all beings that are without support and those that are devoted to the dictates of *dharma*'. The person (performing tarpana) should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form (when satiating gods) and then wear it in the

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1340 *Tarpana* (satiating with the offering of water) is of two kinds viz principal (*pradhāna*) and subsidiary (*anga*). The first has to be performed every day by a twice-born person (who has finished his studies) for the gods, sages and pitrs in that order The 2nd is performed as an *anga* of snāna. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्य त्रिविध स्नानमुच्यते। तर्पण तु भवेत्तस्याङ्गरूपेण प्रकीर्तितम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by गंगाभक्ति० p 162 तर्पण is an anga of bath as well as of *brahma yajña* Tarpana has been described at great length in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 668–669 and pp 689–695. Therefore it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks on tarpana here. A few matters that deserve attention are mentioned One rule is that one has to perform tarpana according to the provisions of his own recension of the Veda The persons to whom water is to be offered and the manner in which it is to be offered are set out on p 692 of vol II of H of Dh Another rule is that tarpana has to be done (even if the day is not auspicious) at a tīrtha, in Gayā, in pitrpakṣa (i e the dark half of Bhādrapada) with water mixed with sesame 'तीर्थे तिथिमवेक्षे (तिथिविक्षेपे?) च गयाया मेतपक्षके। निषिद्धेपि दिने कुर्यात्तर्पण तिलमिश्रितम्॥'. A widow also has to perform tarpana for her husband and his relatives at a sacred place. An ascetic (*sannyāsin*) has not to do it. A person whose father is living has not to perform tarpana, but acc. to Viṣnupurāna he offers three handfuls to gods, three to the sages and one to Prajāpati (in the form 'devās-trpyantām') Another rule is the one makes an offering in śrāddha or into fire with one hand only (the right hand) but in tarpana water is poured into the stream in which one is bathing or on land with both hands. 'श्राद्धे हवनकाले च पाणिनैकेन दीयते। तर्पणे तूभय कुर्यादेष एव विधि. स्मृत.॥' नारदीयपुराण (उत्तर) 57, 62–63. If a man is not able to perform the elaborate tarpana described in vol II. he should repeat the mantras from वायुपुराण 110 21–22 set out here and offer three añjalis of water mixed with sesame and kuśas, आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्त देवर्षिपितृमानवा। तृप्यन्तु पितरः सर्वे मातृमातामहादय॥ अतीतकुलकोटीना सप्तद्वीपनिवासिनाम्। आ ब्रह्मभुवनाल्लोकादिदमस्तु तिलोदकम्॥.

nivīta[1341] form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahmā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, Pañcaśikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasistha, Bhrgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devarṣis*, and *brahmarsis*,[1342] and *rṣis* with water and *akṣatas*. Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste pitrs called Agniṣvātta[1343], Saumya, Havismat, Ūsmapa, Sukālin, Barhisad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Parameśthin, Vrkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his pitrs. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and aksatas (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee! that are Visnu in another form, that art the face of Visnu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world. Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341 निवीत मनुष्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणामुपवीतं देवानाम्। तै सं. II. 5. 11. 1. For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, *vide H.* of Dh. vol II pp 287–288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61 88–90 for definitions and enumeration of ब्रह्मर्षि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr I. 7 and Devala q by अपरार्क pp. 442–443 for ऋषि and other terms

1343. For Agniṣvātta and other names of classes of pitrs, vide above pp. 343–344 and Brahmānda III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun), be well disposed to me. A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refulgence)'. Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brāhmana, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Visnu (or to his own house, according to another reading).[1344]

It may be noted that the verses of the Matsyapurāna (102. 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pātāla-khanda 89. 12-42) and Srsti-khanda, chap. 20. 145-176.

The Sm. C. and Raghunandana in his Prāyaścittatattva (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges[1345] 'O Ganges, daughter of Jahnu! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Visnu, that are far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgīrathī! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers! O goddess that art the best among rivers! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins"

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Visnu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ashes or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse[1346] (with slight variations) about casting

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1344. धर्मराज to चित्र are the names of यम and for चित्रगुप्त vide p 160 above and वराहपुराण chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्भूते गङ्गे त्रिपथगामिनि। धर्मद्रवेति विख्याते पापं मे हर जाह्नवि॥ भक्त्या भक्तिसम्पन्ने (न्ने?) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि। अमृतेनाम्बुना देवि भागीरथि पुनीहि माम्॥ स्मृतिच्च. I. 131, प्राय तत्त्व p. 502, त्व देव सरिता नाथ त्वं देवि सरिता वरे। उभयो सङ्गमे स्नात्वा मुञ्चामि दुरितानि वै॥ *ibid*. पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60. 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. यावदस्थि मनुष्यस्य गङ्गायाः स्पृशते जलम्। तावत्स पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ वनपर्व 85.94 = पद्म I. 39 87, अनुशासन 26 32 १s यावदस्थीनि गङ्गाया तिष्ठन्ति हि शरीरिणः। तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि.. महीयते॥ = मत्स्य 106.52, कूर्म I 37.32 (reads पुरुषस्य तु।), नारद (उत्तर) 43.109 यावन्त्यस्थीनि गङ्गायां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै। तावद्वर्ष महीयते। and नारद (उत्तर) 62.51 १s यावन्ति नखलोमानि गङ्गातोये पतन्ति वै॥ तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15 163 'केशास्थिनखदग्धाश्च भस्मापि नृपसत्तम। नयन्ति विष्णुसदनं स्पृष्टा गाङ्गेन वारिणा॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The Agnipurāṇa observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The Tīr. C and Tīr. Pr. quote two verses and a half from the Brahmapurāna [1347] which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the Nirnayasindhu. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Visnu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (daksinā) to a brāhmana; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide Skanda, Kāśī-khanda 30. 42–46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king Sagara's sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by Bhagīratha. Vide Vanaparva chap. 107–109, Visnupurāna II. 8–10 for the story. The Nāradiya makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the Kāśīkhanda that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another tīrtha or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell.[1347a] The Kāsīkhanda further provides that there is special and

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1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगवेन सिक्त्वा हिरण्यमध्वाज्यतिलेन योज्यम् । ततस्तु मृत्पिण्डघटे निधाय पश्यन् दिशं प्रेतगणोपगूढाम्॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय वदन् प्रविश्य जलं स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेच्च । स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा ददद्यादथ दक्षिणां तु॥ एवं कृते प्रेतपुरस्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्यात्तु महेन्द्रतुल्या । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265–266 and तीर्थप्र. p 374. The गङ्गावा p. 272 quotes these as from ब्रह्माण्ड (with slight variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहितो विष्णु स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेत् ।). These verses are नारद (उत्तर chap. 43. 113–115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्यत्प्रशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये । गङ्गां न बहु-मन्यन्ते ते वै पतन्ति नरकागमिन.॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 27. 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsnāna on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a saṅkrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.[1348]

TRISTHALĪ

The three great tīrthas of Prayāga, Kāsī and Gayā are referred to as Tristhalī and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalīsetu (a bridge to the Tristhalī) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places [1348a] alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1–72, Kāśī pp. 72–316 and Gayā pp. 316–379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tīrthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila [1349] verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

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1348 दर्शे शतगुणं पुण्यं संक्रान्तौ च सहस्रकम्। चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे लक्षं व्यतीपाते त्वनन्तकम् । .. सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रविवारे रवेर्ग्रहः । तच्चूडामणिपर्वाख्यं तत्र स्नानम-संख्यकम्॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 27. 129–131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थली।

1349. सितासिते सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राप्लुतासो दिवमुत्पतन्ति। ये वै तन्वं विसृजन्ति धीरास्ते जनासो अमृतत्वं भजन्ते॥. The त्रिस्थली० p 3 says it is a supplementary śruti text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tir. C p 47 quotes it as a verse of the Ṛgveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even without correct metaphysical knowledge Vide रघुवंश 13 58 'तत्त्वावबोधेन विनापि भूयस्तनुत्यजां नास्ति शरीरबन्धः' q. by तीर्थम् p 313. The स्कन्द says' श्रुतिभिः परिपठ्यते सितासिते सरिद्वरे। तत्राप्लुताङ्गा ह्यमृतं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम्। काशी. 7. 54 q by त्रिस्थली० p 11. Vide also काशीखण्ड 7.46 for a similar verse *The verse* no doubt has a vedic ring about it The त्रिस्थली० p 4 notices another reading The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Jumnā are dark Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the two rivers. Vide रघुवंश 13 54–57.

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāna referes to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 85. 69–97, 87. 18–20, Anuśāsana 25. 36–38)[1350] and in many purānas such as the Matsya (chapters 103–112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36–39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40–49), Skanda, Kāśi-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45–65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyana does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tīrtharāja (the prince among tīrthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśī 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27–35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tīrtharājo jayati prayāgah) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kuruksetra in the north (uttaravedī) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya[1351], Kūrma and other Purānas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāna[1352] proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tīrtharāja; it is dear to Keśava The same is known as Triveni.

1350. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि तिस्रः कोट्यस्तथापराः । समागच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ माघमासं प्रयागे तु नियत संशितव्रत. । स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् । अनुशासन 25. 36–38.

1351. दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनादपि । मृत्तिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् प्रमुच्यते ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6–7) reads स्तवनाद्दस्य तीर्थस्य°; वनपर्व 85.80 reads 'गमनात्तस्य...दपि। मृत्युकालभयाच्चापि नरः ..च्यते'

1352 एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ कूर्म I. 36 20 मत्स्य (104 5 and 111. 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127–128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्र.

The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tīrtha or kṣetra, as in Matsya (111·14 prajāpater-idam kṣetram prayāgam-iti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tīrtharāja, it takes the masculine gender.

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vanaparva[1353] appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root 'yaj' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga'. In the Skanda[1354] purāna also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The Matsyapurāna[1355] appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tīrthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The Brahmapurāna[1356] affirms "It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in Tīrtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief".

We must distinguish between Prayāga-mandala, Prayāga and Veṇī or Triveṇī, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya[1357] states that the sphere of Prayāga is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an Aśvamedha at every step. This has been explained by the Tristhalisetu (p. 15) as follows: Regarding Brahmayūpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half yojana long all round, that would be the

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1353. गङ्गायमुनयोर्वीर सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम्॥ यत्रायजत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः। प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद्धरतसत्तम॥ वनपर्व 87. 18-19, तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूजयेद् बुधः। पूज्यते तीर्थराजस्तु सत्यमेव युधिष्ठिर॥ मत्स्य 109 15

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयागेभ्य प्रयागमिति गीयते। दृष्टा प्रकृष्टयागेभ्य पुष्टेभ्यो दक्षिणादिभि। प्रयागमिति तत्ताम कृत हरिहरादिभिः॥ q in त्रिस्थली० p 13. The first half: स्कन्द, काशी० 7 49, so प्रयाग means प्रकृष्टो यागो यत्र

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्य प्रभवत्यधिक विभो। मत्स्य 110 11

1356 प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोसौ प्राधान्याद्राजशब्दवान्। ब्रह्मपुराण q in त्रिस्थली० p. 1.

1357. पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्ण प्रयागस्य तु मण्डलम्। प्रविष्टमात्रे तत्रैव पदे पदे मत्स्य. 108 9-10, 111. 8, पद्म I 45 8 The कूर्मपुराण has पञ्चयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्रह्मणा परमेष्ठिना। प्रयागं प्रथितं तीर्थं यस्य माहात्म्यमीरितम्॥ II 35.4.

Prayāgamandala of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva,[1358] the Matsyapurāna (104 5 and 106. 30) and others. 'Prayāga extends from Pratisthāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Aśvatara and the nāga Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakūpa, which is the same as Pratisthāna. This is explained by the Tristhalīsetu as follows. the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratisthāna [1359]; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Aśvatara, the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-mandala. According to the Matsyapurāna as quoted by the Kalpataru on tīrtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātate' (106 27) [1360] The printed text of Padma I. 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-daksine tate) Venī-ksetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratisthāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kundas and the Ganges flows in their midst' It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purānas to the sub-tīrthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Venī i. e the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g in Vanaparva 85 81 and 85 and Matsya 104 16-17. [1361]

1358 आ प्रयागं प्रतिष्ठानाद्यत्पुरा वासुकेर्ह्रदात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहुमूलक॰॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। मत्स्य 104 5, पद्म I. 39. 69-70, 41 4-5 are similar वनपर्व 85 76-77 are. प्रयागं सप्रतिष्ठान कम्बलाश्वतरावुभौ। तीर्थं भोगवती चैव वेदिरेषा प्रजापते॰। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिमन्तो युधिष्ठिर। अग्नि 111 5 has the verse प्रयागं...प्रजापते. (reads वेदी भोक्ता)

1359 पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत। कूपं चैत्र तु सासुद्रं प्रतिष्ठान च विश्रुतम्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. माघ सितासिते विप्र राजसूयै॰ समो भवेत्। धनुर्विंशतिविस्तीर्णं सितनीलाम्बुसङ्गमे॥ इति पाद्मोमोक्ते॰। त्रिस्थली॰ p. 75. सितासित (white and dark) means Venī. Vide n. 1337 above for धनु being equal to four hastas and 96 angulas

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85 73, त्रीणि चाप्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। मत्स्य 110 4 and अग्नि 111.12, पद्म I. 39. 67, I 49. 4; while मत्स्य. 104 13, कूर्म (I. 36 28-29) read पञ्च कुण्डानि

The Vanaparva [1362] and some of the Purāṇas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāṇa says that Viṣnu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāṇa [1363] (111. 4-10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣnu and Maheśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratisthāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣnu stays there as Veṇī-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vaṭa (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (*maṇḍala*) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāṇa, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pitṛs and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāṇa highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapilā* cow properly decked (105. 16-22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāṇa (Ādi 42 17-24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the *ārṣa* form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8-9). The Matsya (105. 13-14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*puṇya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmāṇḍa [1364] assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्य पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागं जघनस्थानमुपस्थमुपयो विदु.॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पद्म I 39. 69 and I. 43 19, अग्नि 111 4, कूर्म I. 37. 12, मत्स्य 106. 19 The idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the earth.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः।...उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठानाच्चतुरा ब्रह्म तिष्ठति। वेणीमाधवरूपी तु भगवांस्तत्र तिष्ठति॥ माहेश्वरो वटो भूत्वा तिष्ठते परमेश्वरः। ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वा. सिद्धाश्च परमर्षय.। रक्षन्ति मण्डलं नित्यं पापकर्मनिवारणात्। मत्स्य. 111. 4-10, Vide कूर्म I. 36 23-26, पद्म, आदिखण्ड 41. 6-10 for similar verses.

1364. कुरुक्षेत्रे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे। गङ्गायां पुष्करे सेतौ गङ्गाद्वारे च नैमिषे। यद्दानं दीयते शक्त्या तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ ब्रह्माण्ड q. in त्रिस्थली० p 24.

Kuruksetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puskara, at Setubandha, at Gangādvāra and in Naimisa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva [1365] it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*, [1366] the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāna passage (probably Brahmapurāna) that the three parts of *om* (a u m) respectively are Sarasvātī, Yamunā and Gangā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Saṅkarsana Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Matsya, Kūrma (I. 36-39), Padma (Ādi chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purānas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tīrtha), the earliest extant digest on tīrthas, quotes only the Matsya (104. 1–13 and 16–20, 105. 1–22, 106. 1–48, 107. 2–21, 108. 3–5, 8–17 and 23–34, 109. 10–12, 110. 1–11, 111. 8–11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanaparva chap. 85. 79–87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purānas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga It is stated by the Gangāvākyāvalī (p. 298) and the Tīr Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as śistas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most [1366a] writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer pindas at Gayā, make gifts in Kuruksetra and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि सत्कृता। तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत॥ वनपर्व 85 82 = 83 77 of the cr. ed which reads तत्र दत्तं सूक्ष्ममपि

1366 ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम्। तदेव त्रेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-प्रदायिनी॥ अकार शारदा प्रोक्ता प्रद्युम्नस्तत्र जायते। उकारो यमुना प्रोक्तानिरुद्ध-स्तज्जलात्मक। मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्कर्षणो हरिः। एवं त्रिवेणी विख्याता वेदबीजं प्रकीर्तिता॥ q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्गयायां पिण्डपातनम्। दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तनुं त्यजेत्॥ किं गयापिण्डदानेन काश्यां वा मरणेन किम्। किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपनेन यदि॥ q. by गङ्गावा॰ p. 298, तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली॰ p. 17, तीर्थप्र p. 335. These two verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103–104

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gayā or death in Kāśī, or gifts at Kuruksetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga?". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra*[1367] to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhalī-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tīr. C (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Triveṇī*, that even[1367a] boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalisetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists,[1368]

1367. रात्रिसत्रन्याय occurs in जै. IV. 3 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'प्रतितिष्ठन्ति च एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति' Here in the पञ्चविंश रात्रिसत्र is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai IV 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether प्रतिष्ठा (stable position) which occurs in the above arthavāda passage should be held to be the reward of रात्रिसत्र. The reply is that here the reward is प्रतिष्ठा and not स्वर्ग i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about rātrisattra, the *arthavāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward In the two verses, there is a vidhi in the words प्रयागे वपनं कुर्यात् and the second verse is an अर्थवाद. The question is what reward is promised in it If रात्रिसत्रन्याय applies, then मुण्डन secures all the fruits of गयापिण्डदान, कुरुक्षेत्रदान and काशीतनुत्याग If it does not apply then the only fruit is पापाभाव

1367a. अद्युपनीतानामपि प्रयागे वपन कार्यम्। यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा बालान्स्नापयेत्याययेत्तथा। यथात्मना तथा सर्वं दानं भिक्षेषु दापयेत्॥ इति सत्यपुराणवचने तृतीयपादस्य . मुण्डनादिविधायकत्वात्। त्रिस्थली० pp 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा० is मत्स्य 106.6.

1368. सोप्रदायिकास्तु...तस्मात्समूलमेव केशवपनमिह स्त्रीणामिति। अत्रापि नोक्तकेशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमादिमङ्गलद्रव्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तदनुज्ञाता वापयेत्। ता च वेणीमूलौ निधाय यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रूप्यमयीं वा वेणीं मुक्तामयालादिं च निधाय-वेण्यां वेणीमद्यनेन सर्वं पाप प्रणश्यतु। जन्मान्तरेष्वपि सदा सौभाग्य मम वर्धताम्। इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्षिपेत्॥ त्रिस्थली० p 22, प्रयागे स्त्रीणामपि मुण्डनं न तु वक्ष्यमाणवचनाग्यां केशानां द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदमात्रम्॥ प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *kartana* and not *vapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver venī and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (Venī) of the Ganges and Jumnā after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the Venī' may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tīrtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of śistas. Vide above pp 122–124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradīya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prāyascittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *venī* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Venī* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.[1369]

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumnā or at the foot of the Aksaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.[1370] This matter has already been

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1369. ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम्। तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-प्रदायिनी॥ स एव तीर्थराजोयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गम·। त्रिस्थली॰ p. 8.

1370. प्रयाग ..विभो॥ श्रवणात्तस्य ..प्रमुच्यते ॥ तत्राभिषेकं य कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संशित-व्रत·। पुण्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयो·॥ एषा यजन ..महद्भवति भारत॥ न वेद... प्रयागगमणं प्रति॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापरा.। येषां सांनिध्यमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुरु-नन्दन। चातुर्वेद्यं च यत्पुण्यं सत्यवादिषु चैव यत्। स्नात एव तदाप्नोति गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे॥ वनपर्व 85 79–85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिस्थली-सेतु observes (p 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु वचनेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषत उपादानं तथापि तदन्तर्गततत्तत्तीर्थस्नानफलस्य वाक्यान्तरैरुक्तत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानासम्भवाद्दे-शमुपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः'. The same verses occur in पद्म (आदि 39 72–78) स्कन्द (काशी॰ chap 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णो. परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः। एतद्यत्पठ्यते वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुन. पुन.॥ इयं वेणी हि नि श्रेणी ब्रह्मणो वर्म यास्यतः।', तद्विष्णोः..... सूरय.।—ऋ I 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 924–928 and vol. III. pp. 939, 948–949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmaśāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H of Dh vol II. page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 10 28 15–17) mentions the view of Hārita which condemns suicide even as prāyaścitta for committing a mahāpātaka (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as prāyaścitta for mahāpātakas (vide Manu XI. 73, 90–91, 103–104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the smrtis, epics and purānas. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of mahāpātakas (viz. brāhmana murder, drinking of *surā*, theft of brāhmana's gold and incest), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 924–925 for smrti and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI. 31, Yāj. III. 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the Himālaya or by jumping from the branches of the Vata tree at Prayāga (Aparārka p 877 quoting Adi-purāna and Atri-smrti verses 218–219 q. by Medhātithi on Manu V. 88 and Mit. on Yāj III. 6) (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a Vedāntin[1371] and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in Himālaya. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers Gangā and Yamunā, at the Vata there and at some other tīrthas (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumarana*. As to *Satī*, the Nāradiya (pūrvārdha 7. 52–53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरमुत्सृजेत्तत्र विधिपूर्वमनाशके। अध्रुवं जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तगो द्विज ॥ अभ्यर्च्य देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य मुनीस्तथा। तत सिद्धो दिवं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं सनातनम् ॥ अनुशासन 25. 63–64, तत्र refers to हिमालय as the context shows

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purānas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vata) secured moksa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *purusārathas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kālidāsa held the view that, though *moksa* or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sānkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred sangama led to moksa even without 'tattvajñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925–927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśah-karnadeva, Candella Dhangadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tuṅgabhadrā have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāna 107. 9–10 (=Padma, Ādi-khanḍa 44 3) which states[1372] 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.'[1373] The Rājatarangiṇī VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (prāyopaveśa).

1372 गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये कर्षाग्निं यस्तु साधयेत्। अहीनाङ्गो ह्यरोगश्च पञ्चेन्द्रियसमन्वितः। यावन्ति रोमकूपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिन ॥ तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते॥ मत्स्य 107 9, कूर्म I 38. 3–4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीषाग्निं तु धारयेत्), पद्म I 44. 9 (reads पञ्चाग्नि यस्तु) कर्षाग्नि is short for करीषाग्नि for metrical reasons कूर्म I, 38.3 reads 'करीषाग्नि च साधयेत्' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200, the Ahsad Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने। अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्न स सुष्पपूजितः॥ p 203 (of the text). धने means धने सत्यपि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya and other purānas.

1373. The Ain-i-Akbari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein, (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the *Gangāsāgara-sangama*, enumerate one's sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man, (5) cut his throat at Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumnā.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated[1374] as follows. 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda[1375] are Vāj. S. 40 3 (=Īśāvāsyopanisad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness, those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uttararāmacarita, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmana X. 2. 6. 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world' By 'the words of the people' are meant smrti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14, 12, Vas[1375a] 23. 14-15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Visnu Dh S 22, 56 (ātmatyāginaḥ patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājaḥ)

1374. न वेदवचनात्तात न लोकवचनादपि। मतिरुत्क्रमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति॥ वनपर्व 85.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63 129, पद्म (आदि 39.76 reads न देव°), अग्नि 111 8 (reads मतिरुत्क्रमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति) मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न देववचना॰॰ प्रयागगमनं प्रति) and पद्म, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागगमनं प्रति. The कूर्मपुराण I. 37.14 is न मातृवचनात्तात न...दपि। मति ॰प्रयागगमन प्रति॥, पद्म, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव गुरुवादत॰। मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्यादविमुक्तगति प्रति॥. This entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the people (dissuading him from going).

1375. असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृता। तास्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जना॥ वाज सं 40.3, The ईशावास्योप reads असूर्या (sunless). Vide for आत्महन् the sūtra of वसिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा शत वर्षाणि जीवति स हैवैतद्-मृतमामोति...तस्माद्ध न पुरायुष स्वकामी प्रेयादलोक्य हैत उ वा लोका॰। शतपथब्रा. X 2 6. 7 q by मेधातिथि on मनु V 88 (आत्मनस्त्यागिना चैव निवर्तेतोदकक्रिया) and VI. 32. The printed text of मेधातिथि and कुल्लूक reads स्व॰कामी (desiring heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मत्याग्यभिशस्तो भवति सपिण्डानां प्रेतकर्मच्छेद्। काष्ठजललोह-प्राषाणशस्त्रविषरज्ज्वग्निर्य आत्मानमवसादयति स आत्महा भवति॥ वसिष्ठ 23. 14-15

There is no doubt that some of the smṛtis, the Mahābhārata[1376] itself and some purānas do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few purāna passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the Kūrma state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the Gangā and Yamunā. Whoever dies in the Gangā whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.[1377] The Kūrma is quite clear 'Moksa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in Benares moksa can be secured in a single birth' (1. 32. 22) The Padma[1378] is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the Ganges secures on death heaven and *moksa*'. A verse of the Skanda asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The Kūrma (I. 38 3–12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

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1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The Mahābhārata has a *parva* called Mahāprāsthānika in which it is narrated (chap 1. 24) that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers, queen Draupadī and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the Himālaya and that they fell down dead one after another, Draupadī being the first and Bhīma the last.

1377. या गतिर्योगयुक्तस्य संन्यस्तस्य मनीषिण. । सा गतिस्त्यजत. प्राणान् गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स मृतो जायते स्वर्गे नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 60,56 as या गति.. सन्यस्थस्य मनीषिण । सा गङ्गायां तु शरीरिण ॥' नारद (उत्तर) 43 97 is the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गाया च मृतो मर्त्यः स्वर्गं मोक्षं च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सृष्टि 60 65 q by त्रिस्थली० p. 47. यथा कथञ्चित्तीर्थेऽस्मिन् प्राणत्यागं करोति यः । तस्यात्मघातदोषो न प्रभुर्यादीप्सितानपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 22.76. The कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from वायुपुराण 'यो वाहिताग्निप्रवरो वीराध्यानं (०ध्वानं?) गतोपि वा । समाधाय मनः पूर्वं मन्त्रमुच्चारयेच्छनैः ॥ त्वमग्ने रुद्रस्त्वं सुधामहोदधिस्त्वं सर्वं मारुताः क्षिप्रमीरिये । त्व वातैर्याभिसगरी यस्त्वं ग्रथियमायीरूप पातयन् माम् ॥ The mantra as printed makes no sense The editor should have separated the words properly even if the mss were unsatisfactory It appeare to be Ṛg. II. 1. 6 (= Tai. S. I 3. 14. 1) त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवस्त्वं शर्धो मारुतं पृक्ष ईशिषे । त्वं वातैररुणैर्यासि शंगयस्त्वं पूषा विधत· पासि दु त्मना ॥.

the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang (about 629–645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol. I. pp. 232–234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110–1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258–265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva[1379] speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar) The Brahmapurāna[1380] calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kṣetra. The Lingapurāna[1381] says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises[1382] a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kāverī (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 939, 958–59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted[1383]. Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sitāsite' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम्। पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैव स्वो मरणं लपेत्॥ गीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मना॥ वनपर्व 83 146, 147 q. by तीर्थकल्प p. 180 (reads श्रुतं मे सर्व°).

1380. तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरैः कार्यः सम्यङ्मोक्षाभिकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25, vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and 177 16–17.

1381. श्रीशैले सन्त्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो दग्धकिल्बिषः। मुच्यते नात्र सन्देहो ह्यविमुक्ते यथा शुभम्॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध 92 168–169).

1382. अग्निप्रवेशं यः कुर्याच्चश्च कुर्यादनाशनम्। अनिवर्तिका गतिस्तस्य यथा मे शङ्करोऽब्रवीत्॥ पद्म., आदि. 16 14–15

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 65 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmanas but only to the other three varnas.[1384]

Both the Gangāvākyāvalī (pp. 304–310) and the Tīr. C (pp. 47–52) hold that all varnas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tīr. Pr holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346–355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmana should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varnas may do so. The Tristhalisetu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47–55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of *moksa* or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that this suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden[1384a] to brāhmanas as some think (since Agni 111 8 reads 'na vedavacanād *vipra*'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health[1385] may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga.[1386] It is refreshing to find Nārāyanabhatta, perhaps

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1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैश्या अन्त्यजाश्च तथाधमाः। एते त्यजेयु. प्राणान्वै वर्जयित्वा द्विजं नृप। पतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा वाल्महा भवेत्। q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रियs and वैश्यs are allowed to kill themselves though they are *dvijas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि. से. सा. स p 33

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्रेरादित्यादिपुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि। वृद्धः शौचस्मृतेर्लुप्तः—इत्याद्युपक्रम्य गच्छेन्महापथं वापि तुषारगिरिमादरात्। प्रयागवटशाखायां देहत्यागं करोति वा॥ स्वय देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः। उत्तमान्प्राप्नुयाल्लोकान्नात्मघाती भवेत्क्वचित्॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु। नराणामथ नारीणां सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वदा॥ त्रिस्थली॰ p 53

1385 तस्मादातुरादेरनातुरादेश्च सर्वस्याधिकार। किं तु वृद्धौ पितरौ तरुणी भार्या पोष्यमपत्यं च विहाय नाधिकारः। एव स्त्रिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्यायाः भर्त्राननुज्ञाताया वा नाधिकार इत्यादि ज्ञेयम्। त्रिस्थली॰ p. 55

1386 काश्यादिमरणान्मुक्तिरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी। तज्जन्यादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्ते। ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात्। 'अत्र हि जन्तो. ..रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे' इति श्रुतेश्च। यत्तु काश्यां देहावसाने रुद्रोपदेशश्रुतेरस्तु ज्ञानापेक्षा न तु सर्वत्र। प्रयागमरणादौ विनैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमपवर्गोदयात्। .. तदसत् विना ज्ञानं मिथ्याज्ञाननिवृत्तेरसम्भवात्। तीर्थप्र.

(*Continued on the next page*)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.[1387] Nārāyanabhatta probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II. p 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

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(Continued from the last page)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविमुक्तं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र क्वचन गच्छति तदेव मन्येत तदविमुक्तमेव। इदं वै कुरुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणेषूत्क्रममाणेषु रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म व्याचष्टे येनासावमृतीभूत्वा मोक्षीभवति।'. In the Bhau Daji collection of mss at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविमुक्तनिरुक्तिसार (cat. No 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same In this work कुरुक्षेत्र occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुत्सितं रावयतीति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनाशनमित्यर्थः.' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तिस्थानम्

1387. काम्यमत्यत्र मरणम्। अत्र तु सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of प्रयागमरण in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवचना॰ from the पद्मपुराण while the गङ्गावा quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि॰ borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyāpati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I A. vol VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C Basu while describing a newly found ms of a work called व्याहिभक्तितरङ्गिणी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतानिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति Vide H. of Dh. vol. I pp. 739–740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff, I. H. Q vol. XX (1944) pp. 211 ff for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh vol. I. pp. 404–405 for the date of वाचस्पति

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of pinḍa if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a saṅkalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Viṣṇu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āśauca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.[1388]

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvajñāna* and by suicide at a tīrtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *saṁsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himālaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purāṇas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e.g. Matsya 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāṇa itself (182. 22–25) which[1389] says: At the time of death, when the vital

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1388 बृद्ध॰ शौचस्तूतूर्ध्वम् प्रत्याख्यातामिषक्रियः। आत्मानं घातयेद्यस्तु भुक्त्वान्यज्ञनादिभिः। तस्य त्रिरात्रमाशौचं द्वितीये त्वस्थिसञ्चयम्। तृतीये तूदकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे श्राद्धमाचरेत्॥ अत्रि 218–219 q by मेधा॰ on मनु V. 89 कल्प॰ (on आशौच p. 87) quotes these slightly differently and remarks वैधे तु देहत्यागे बृद्धः. .माशौच कर्तव्या चोदकक्रिया इति वचनाद्धवत्येवोदकादिक्रिया.

1389 The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी॰ has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182 22–25) says viz Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तव. क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तनुत्यजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ chap. 32, verses 115–116. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चतासु पुरीषु प्रियभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी॰ 8 3 (अगस्त्य tells लोपामुद्रा). The मत्स्य॰ verses are· अन्तकाले मनुष्याणा छिद्यमानेषु मर्मसु। वायुना प्रेर्यमाणाना स्मृतिर्नैवोपजायते॥ अविमुक्ते क्षान्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः प्रेर्यमाणाना कर्णजापं प्रयच्छति। मणिकर्ण्यां त्यजन्देहं गतिमिष्टा व्रजेन्नर. । ईश्वरप्रेरितो याति ब्रह्मणामक्षतात्मभि.॥ 182 22–25 The words अन्तकाले .. जायते refer to the general rule The verses अविमुक्ते॰ state the special case of death in Avimukta The त्रिस्थली॰ p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्ते क्षान्तकाले

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārānasī) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Manikarnikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśīkhanda it is expressly stated that moksa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśī &c). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāna passages is that moksa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśiksetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J W McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen Thsang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahimsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases [1390].

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśīmrti-moksa-vicāra of Sureśvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalīsetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tirthaprakāsa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārānasī or Prayāga would lead to moksa Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views Their arguments are briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabdha* (that has begun to

1390. Vide I A. vol II. p 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnakaranda of which the following one may be noted. उपसर्गे दुर्भिक्षे जरासि रुजायां च निष्प्रतीकारे। धर्माय तनुविमोचनमाहु सल्लेखनामार्या ॥.

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kriyamāna* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gītā[1391] declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *moksa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (sañcita) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra The Matsyapurāna says:[1392] those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kalpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at[1393] Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to moksa In rare passages it is expressly stated that *moksa* cannot[1394] be immediately secured

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1391 यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति। छा उप IV. 14 3, भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशया। क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे॥ मुण्डकोपनिषद् II 2 8, यथैधासि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात्कुरुतेऽर्जुन। ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुरुते तथा॥ भगवद्गीता॥ IV 37

1392 अग्निप्रवेशं ये कुर्युरविमुक्ते विधानतः। प्रविशन्ति मुखं ते मे नि सन्दिग्ध वरानने॥ कुर्वन्त्यनशनं ये तु मद्भक्ता कृतनिश्चया। न तेषा पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि॥ मत्स्य 183 77-78 q by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p 21

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावाद्विश्वेश्वरास्यगुरूपदिष्टतारकादेवात्मज्ञानोत्पत्ति। तदुक्तं काशीखण्डे। ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारक प्रान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्। त्रिस्थली॰ p 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32 115-116 Similar statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21. 98 विपक्षानां च जन्तूनां यत्र विश्वेश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्णे जाप्यं प्रकुरुते कर्मनिर्मूलनक्षमम्॥ and काशीखण्ड 61 117-118, 64 98. The गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड, 6 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्तत काशी महादेवो दयानिधिः। मृतानां यत्र जन्तूनां कर्णे जपति तारकम्॥'.

1394. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चैतासु पुरीषु प्रियभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी 8 2 (अगस्त्य to लोपामुद्रा) तारक प्रणव तारयतीति तार स्वार्थे कप्रत्यय। संसारसागरादुत्तारकं तारकं च तद् ब्रह्म इति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते। काशीमृतिमोक्षविचार p 3

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Sureśvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I. 1.8 *Om-iti* brahma) and the Gītā (8. 13 Om-ityekākṣaram brahma). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatāpanīya Upaniṣad and[1395] the Padmapurāṇa the mantra is 'śrī-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tīrthas that fall under Prayāga The most important of them is the famous Vaṭa (banyan tree) called Akṣaya-Vaṭa (the imperishable Vaṭa). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vaṭa and in the Saṅgama he goes to the city of Viṣnu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vaṭa. The Kūrma[1396] says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vaṭa, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tīrthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described: (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85 77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratiṣṭhāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37. 22, Padma, Ādi. 43, 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratiṣṭhāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvaṭa (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37. 28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Haṃsaprapatana to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37, 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32, (5) Koṭitīrtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavatī, the Vedī of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106.46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśīpulina, suicide at which

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1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्त। सुमूर्षोर्दक्षिणे कर्णे यस्य कस्यापि वा स्वयम्। उपदेक्ष्यसि मन्मन्त्रं स मुक्तो भविता शिव॥ एवे तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकस्त्रिरावृत्तो रामशब्द एव तारकतयोक्त। सुमूर्षोर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तरधोदकनिवासिनः। अहं दिशामि ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम्। श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते॥ त्रिस्थली° p. 291.

1396. वटमूलं समाश्रित्य यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्। स्वर्गलोकानतिक्रम्य रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति॥ कूर्म. I. 37.8-9 *q.* by तीर्थचि° *p.* 48. The same is पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43,11 (reads सर्वलोकान्).

led to [1397] various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42,[1398] Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rnapramocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I. 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111 14); (11) Agnitīrtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108 27, Kūrma I. 39.4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Viraja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka [1399] to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I. 39. 5).

The Purānas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāna (105. 8-12) asserts:[1400] A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

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1397 उर्वशीपुलिने पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्राणान् शृणु तस्यापि यत्फलम्॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि षष्टिवर्षशतानि च। सेव्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप॥ उर्वशीं तु सदा पश्येत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तम। पूज्यते सततं पुत्र ऋषिगन्धर्वकिन्नरै॥ ततः स्वर्गात् परिभ्रष्टः क्षीणकर्मा दिवश्च्युतः। उर्वशीसदृशानां तु कन्यानां लभते शतम्॥ सप्तधे नारीसहस्राणां बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत्। दशग्रामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति भूमिपः॥ काञ्चनिपुरुषशब्देन सुतोसौ प्रतिबुध्यते। भुक्त्वा तु विपुलान्भोगास्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः॥ शुक्लाम्बरधरो नित्यं नियतः संयतेन्द्रियः। एकं कालं तु भुञ्जानो मासं भूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ सुवर्णालङ्कृतानां तु नारीणां लभते शतम्। पृथिव्यामासमुद्रायां महाभूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो दाता भवति नित्यशः। भुक्त्वा तु विपुलान्भोगास्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः॥ मत्स्य. 106 34-42 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 34-42 with some variations The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37, 26-27 and all occur नारदीय (उ) 63. 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvaśīpulina are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of kingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399 In मत्स्य. 108 29 we read तीर्थं निरञ्जनं नाम यत्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading पश्चिमे धर्मराजस्य तीर्थं त्वनरकं स्मृतम्। कूर्म I. 395.; the अग्नि 111 14 mentions a तीर्थ called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थं तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tirthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोथवा गृहे। प्रयागं स्मरमाणोपि यस्तु प्राणान् परित्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति वदन्ति ऋषिपुङ्गवाः। सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही यत्र हिरण्मयी। ऋषयो सुनय सिद्धास्तत्र लोके स गच्छति॥ स्त्रीसहस्रावृते रम्ये मन्दाकिन्यास्तटे शुभे। मोदते ऋषिभिः सार्धं सुकृतेनेह कर्मणा। ततः स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत्। मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 q. by गङ्गावा॰ p. 310; verses from स्त्रीसहस्रा॰ are quoted from कूर्म by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 25.

trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages, when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tīrthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (chap 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha The Kalpataru (on tīrtha), the Gangāvākyāvalī, Tīr. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devīpurāṇa, the gist of which is as follows Śrāddha should be performed at tīrthas, but there is no offering of *arghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pitṛs are deemed to be always present at tīrthas, as the Kāsīkhaṇḍa says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmaṇa into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmaṇas being satiated, nor *vikira*[1401] If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer piṇḍas made from barley meal or may offer *saṃyāva* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery[1402] It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pitṛs. Some of the works such as the Tristhalīsetusārasaṅgraha of Bhaṭṭoji provide that after performing a pārvaṇaśrāddha at a tīrtha and after making offerings of piṇḍas to one's ancestors one should offer a single piṇḍa to one's other relatives with the following mantra 'Here I offer piṇḍa to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

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1401 अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुष्ठनिवेशनम्। तृप्तिप्रश्न च विकिरं तीर्थश्राद्धे विवर्जयेत्॥ q by त्रि से सा स p 18, देवाश्च पितरो यस्माद्दृश्यायां सर्वदा स्थिता। आवाहनं विसर्गं (?र्गश्च?) तेषा तत्र ततो न हि॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9, तीर्थे श्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत पक्वान्नेन विशेषत.। आमान्नेन हिरण्येन कन्दमूलफलैरपि॥ सुमन्तु q in त्रि से सा स p. 20

1402 सक्तुभि पिण्डदान तु सयावै. पायसेन तु। कर्तव्यमृषिभिर्दृष्ट पिण्याकेन गुडेन च। श्राद्धं तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्घ्यावाहनवर्जितम्। स्वच्छाक्षयशुभकालानां नैव दृष्टित्त च यत्। श्राद्ध तत्रैथिक मोक्ष पितृणा प्रीतिकारकम्। कालेवाप्यथवाऽकाले तीर्थे श्राद्धं तथा नरै। मासैरेव सदा कार्यं कर्तव्य पितृतर्पणम्। पिण्डदान च तच्छस्त पितृणामतिवल्लभम्। विलम्बो नैव कर्तव्यो न च विघ्नं समाचरेत्। पद्मपुराण V 29 212-218, q by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कल्प० on तीर्थ p. 10, तीर्थचि. pp 10-11, गङ्गावा. p 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 58-60 for some of the verses and नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 41-42 for last two verses

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the pinda (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (pinda) reach inexhaustively'! (Vāyu 110. 51–52). After this he should offer another pinda for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54–55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a sankalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single pinda with the mantra (in Vāyu 110 23–24) 'I offer this pinda to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāna, Nāradīya (uttara) 63. 19–20 and 36–38 and others highly praise bathing at the *sangama* in the month of Māgha [1403]. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namah' (Tri. S. p 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Purānas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows. [1404] There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p 33. The various views are the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptamī and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha, the first three days of Māgha, the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.

1403. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिकोट्यस्तथापरा । समागच्छन्ति माघ्यां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ॥ अनुशासन 25 36–37, षष्टिस्तीर्थसहस्राणि षष्टिस्तीर्थशतानि च । माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गा-यमुनसङ्गमे॥ कूर्म I 38 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same

1404 यत्र कोटिप्रदानाद्यत् त्र्यहं स्नानस्य तत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनीषिण.॥ अग्नि 111 10–11, यत्र शतसहस्रस्य सम्यग्दत्तस्य यत्फलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु त्र्यहं स्नातस्य तत्फलम्॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38 2

CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśi does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purānas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banares during the last hundred years.[1405] It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras The Śatapatha Br. quotes [1406] a Gāthā which states that Satānika, son of Satrājit, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśis, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhrtarāstra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopatha Br. we have [1407] the combination Kāśi-Kośalāh. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Eween (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the *Hindus*' by M A. Sherring with a learned Introduction by Dr. F. E Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs, 'Benares, the sacred city' by E B Havell (1905) with many fine illustrations, 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs

1406. तदेतद्गाथयाभिगीतम्। शतानीक. समन्तासु मेध्य साव्राजितो हयम्। आदत्त यज्ञं काशीना भरत सत्वतामिवेति। शतपथब्रा XIII 5 4 21.

1407 त्रिचारी ह वै काक्षन्धि. कबन्धस्याथर्वणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी मीमासकोऽनूचान आस। स ह स्वेनातिमानेन मानुष वित्तं नेयाय। तं मातोवाच। त एवैतदृक्षमवोचस्त इममेषु कुरुपञ्चाले· ष्वङ्गमगधेषु काशीकोशल्येषु ..उदीच्येष्वलमदन्ति। गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 2 9.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I. p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmana period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varanāvatī. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kausītaki[1408] Up. (IV. 1) there is the story of the proud Bālāki Gārgya going to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahma* to the latter. In Pānini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gana* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-ithau'). Under Pānini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśīyah.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the rsi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Pratardana Kāśirāja. In *tarpana*, the Hir. Gr. (II. 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśīśvara along with Visnu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg I. 130 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purānas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāsya on Vārtika 4 on Pān. IV. 1. 54 (vol II. p 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśi-Kosalīyāh.' The Mahābhāsya (vol. II. p 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.[1409] From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pān IV. 1. 176 (striyām-avanti-kunti-kurubhyaś-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvantīn-udayana—), but Avantī or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayinī (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhyā...Avantikā'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārānasī in the kingdom of Kāśi (Legge's tr. p 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārānasī was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāsya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. इसबालाकिर्हान्दूवानो गार्ग्य आस सहोवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्यं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति। बृह. उप. II 1.1.

1409. इह समाने आयामे विस्तारे पटस्यान्यार्घो भवति काशीकरथाच्यो माथुरस्य। महा भाष्य, vol II. p. 413 (on Pān. V. 3,35).

the name of the country) In the Anusāsana-parva (chap 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis [1409a] and was harassed and killed by the Vītahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājos bhyasicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārānasī thickly populated with men of all varnas on the northern bank of the Gomatī. This legend shows that Kāśī was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārānasī was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the Udyogaparva also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāsis.[1410]

The Harivaṁśa (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārānasī [1411] It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aila. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Grtsamada From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāsayah. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāsa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadraśrenya, who first was Lord of Vārānasī. Then Śiva sent his *gana* Nikumbha to destroy Vārānasī which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Siva resided there It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadrasrenya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama Alarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśis, again established Vārānasī This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārānasī had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The Vāyupurāna (chap. 92) and the Brahmapurāna (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Alarka and the vicissitudes of Vārānasī

1409 a. काशिष्वपि नृपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । हर्यश्व इति विख्यातो बभूव जयतां वरः ॥ अनुशासन 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यो महीपाल. काशीनामीश्वर. प्रभु.। दिवोदास इति ख्यातो भैमसेनिर्नराधिपः ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्त्वथ काशीशो दिवोदासोऽभ्यषिच्यत।.. वाराणसीं महातेजा निर्ममे शक्रशासनात् ॥ विमक्षत्रियसम्बाधा वैश्यशूद्रसमाकुलाम्। नैकद्रव्योच्चयवतीं समृद्धविपणापणाम्। गङ्गाया उत्तरे कूले वप्रान्ते राजसत्तम। गोमत्या दक्षिणे कूले शक्रस्येवामरावतीम्। अनुशासन 30. 15-18.

In the Mahābhāsya Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārānasī is alongside of Gangā and on Pān. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārānasī Jitvarī.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagrha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. B. E. vol. XI p 99 and Mahāsudassanasutta, ibid. p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E, vol. XI. p. 153 and vol. XIII p 90, Mahāvagga, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmadatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmadatta kings several centuries before Christ. The Matsyapurāna 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmadattas and 100 Kāśis and Kuśas[1412] But the very fact that Brahmadattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśis largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvīra died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśi and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (ibid, p. 266). Aśvaghosa appears to identify Vārānasī with Kāśi when he says in his Buddhacarita 'Having entered Vārāṇasī, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'[1413] The Buddhacarita further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vanārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. शतमेक धार्तराष्ट्रा ह्यशीतिर्जनमेजयाः। शतं वै ब्रह्मदत्ताना वीराणां कुरवः शतम्। ततः शतं च पञ्चालाः शतं काशिकुशादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72-73.

1413. वाराणसी प्रविश्याथ भासा सम्भासयञ्जिनः। चकार काशीदेशीयान् कौतुकाकान्तचेतसः॥ बुद्धचरित 15 101.

169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Vārānasī and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāna 45. 110 *Kāśi-kośalāh* figure among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Visnupurāna we have the story of Paundraka Vāsudeva who challenged Krsna and asked the latter to surrender his *Cakra* and other symbols He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Paundraka and Kāśīrāja attacked Krsna who killed Paundraka and cut off Kāśīrāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śankara and secured from him a Krtyā (ogress) which entered Vārānasī. Krsna's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Vārānasī together with its king, his servants and citizens In this account from the Visnupurāna (V 34) the names Kāśī, Vārānasī and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāna, chap 207 and is briefly referred to in Śabhāparva, chap. 14 18–20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purānas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions [1414] have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upanisadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purānas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purānas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A S Altekar's 'History of Benares,' pp 2–7. The Nāradīya (uttara, chap. 29) states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-ksetra, is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nāradīyapurāna it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz, that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legends contained in the purānas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurāṇic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purānas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purānas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages For example, the Visnupurāṇa V. 30. 65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Krsna. Was Krsna a non-Aryan god originally? Ganeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Visnu. The sage Bhrgu curses Visnu, Gautama curses Indra, Māndavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, Brahmānda II. 27. 21–25).

In several purānas Kāśī or Vārānasī has been lauded and described at great length. Vide Matsya 180–185 (411 verses), Kūrma 1.31–35 (verses 226), Lingapurāna (pūrvabhāga, chap. 92, verses 190), Padma (Ādikhanda 33–37, verses 170), Agni 112, Skanda, Kāśikhanda, chap 6 ff, Nāradīya (uttara, chap. 48–51). The Kāśīkhanda alone has about 15000 verses[1415] on Banaras and its sub-tīrthas. In the Padmapurāna the sages are said to have asked Bhrgu five questions, viz what is the greatness of Kāsī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the Skandapurāna,

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1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherring's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr Wilson for holding that the greater part of the Kāśīkhanda is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznivide invader Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. 1 p. 22) 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences ..have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places ' The Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārānasī

(*Continued on the next page*)

Kāśīkhanda[1416] (chap. 26.2-5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Avimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Avimukta, how it became the way to *mokṣa*, how the pool of Manikarnikā became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārānasī, Kāśī, Rudrāvāsa, how it came to be Ānanda-kānana (the forest of bliss) and then Avimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārānasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states that Śankara first called it Ānandakānana and then Avimukta.[1417]

(*Continued from the last page*)

from the Skandapurāna and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāna, Lingapurāna and other Purāṇas The Kalpataru of Lakshmi-dhara was composed about 1110 A D. (vide Prof Aiyangar's Introduction to Tirthakānda pp XVIII-XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A D. there existed a Skandapurāna, part of which contained a eulogium of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśikhanda of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp 36-37 of the Kalpataru on Tirtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur verbatim in the Lingapurāna, chap. 92. 120-142 (with the addition of some half verses) Similarly, on p 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Linga. 92 87-89 On p 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Gopreksesvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Lingapurāna by Tri S. p 171. Some of the Purāṇas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53. 42-43) But the Skanda printed at the Venkateśvara press contains several thousand verses more It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśikhanda which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p 160 for chap 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp 157 and 200 for chap 61 etc

1416. किं माहात्म्यं कथं वेद्य सेव्या कैश्च द्विजोत्तम। परिमाण च तस्या. किं केनोपायेन लभ्यते॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 72, अविमुक्तमिद क्षेत्र कदारभ्य भुवस्तले। परा प्रथितिमापन्न मोक्षदं चाभवत्कथम्॥ कथमेषा त्रिलोकीड्या गीयते मणिकर्णिका। तत्रासीत्किं पुरा स्वामिन् यदा नामरनिम्नगा॥ वाराणसीति काशीति रुद्रावास इति प्रभो। अवाप नामधेयानि कथमेतानि सा पुरी। आनन्दकानन रम्यमविमुक्तमनन्तरम्। महाश्मशानमिति च कथं ख्यात दिशिख्वज॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26 2-5.

1417. अस्यानन्दवन नाम पुराकारि पिनाकिना। क्षेत्रस्यानन्दहेतुत्वादविमुक्तमनन्तरम् स्कन्द, काशी० 26 34 q by त्रिस्थली० p 89 (reads निरन्तर)

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purānas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāna [1418] says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāna (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārānasī is derived in several Purānas from the names of two streams Varanā [1419] (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāna (Kāśī-khanda) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purānas are Vārānasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopanisad [1420] the words Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varanā and Nāsī. Varanā is so called because it

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1418. काशतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तदनाख्येयमीश्वर । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो॥ स्कन्द, काशी० *26 67 q by* त्रिस्थली० p *88*, प्रापयामास तां गङ्गां वैलीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशनाद्यत्र काशीति प्रथिता पुरी। स्कन्द, काशी० 30 5, काशी ब्रह्मेति विख्यातं तद्विवर्तो जगद्भ्रम । अविमुक्त तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिन. ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 88.

1419 वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी पुरी । पद्म, आदि 33 49, कूर्म I 31 63 (reads ह्यस्या), वरणाऽसी नदी यावत्तावच्छुक्लनदी (शुष्कनदी?) हु वै। मत्स्य *183 62*; असिश्च वरणा यत्र क्षेत्ररक्षाकृतौ कृते । वाराणसीति विख्याता तदारभ्य महामते। असेश्च वरणायाश्च सङ्गम प्राप्य काशिका। स्कन्द, काशी० 30 69-70, वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयो । अग्नि. 112 6 *नासी appears to be a misreading for* चासी *In* काशीखण्ड 30 18 there is a pun on the word असि (a sword, *the river*) 'असिं महासिरूपा च प्राप्य सन्मतिखण्डनीम् ।'; दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वासिं वरणा सुराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्षनिक्षेपरक्षानिर्वृतिमाययु ॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चाद्दिग्भागे तं देहलिविनायकम्। काशीखण्ड 30 20-21, वरुणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि हे नद्यौ सुरवल्लभे। अन्तरालं तयो. क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) न विद्यते क्वचित्। पद्म V 14 191 वध्या means हत्या. The वामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3 *28 ff*) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लेष quite in the style of Bāna 'तारागणे कुलीनत्व मेघे वृत्तच्युतिर्विभो' (v 38).

1420 अथ हैनमत्रि. पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यम्। च एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति। सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः। सोऽविमुक्त उपास्य । च एषोऽनन्तोऽव्यक्त आत्मा सोऽविमूक्ते प्रतिष्ठित इति। सोऽविमुक्त कस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति। वरणायां नास्यां च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति। का वै वरणा का च नासीति। सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्दोषान्वारयतीति वरणा भवति। सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्पापान्नाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति। कतमच्चास्य स्थान भवतीति। भ्रुवोर्घ्राणस्य च य. सन्धि स एष द्योर्लोकस्य परस्य च सन्धिर्भवतीति। जाबालोप० 2nd para.

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāsī destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked, what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsanā (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varanā and Nāsī are the names (and not Varanā and Asi). The Vāmanapurāna employs the form Asi (15.50-53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purānas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort) [1421] In the Lingapurāna another derivation is suggested [1422] "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśikhanda (39.74) states that originally the *kṣetra* was called Anandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there

Vārānasī is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Ānandavana or Ānandakānana. [1423] It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *saṃsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarnikā *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने प्रलयकालेपि न तत्क्षेत्र कदाचन। विमुक्तं हि शिवाभ्यां यदविमुक्तं ततो विदु॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26.27 q by त्रिस्थली० p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45-46 विमुक्तं न मया यस्मान्मोदयते वा कदाचन। मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादविमुक्तमिति स्मृतम्॥, almost the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48 24 vide मत्स्य. 180 54 and 181.15, अग्नि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I 92. 104

1422. अविशब्देन पापस्तु वेदोक्त कथ्यते द्विजै। तेन मुक्त मया तुष्टमविमुक्तमतोऽर्च्यते॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92 143

1423. यथा प्रियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वसुन्दरि। तथा प्रियतर क्षेत्रमे मदानन्दविवर्धनम्॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111; अविमुक्तं पर क्षेत्र जन्तूना मुक्तिद सदा। मयैव सतत पीठा विद्धि स्मरणान्तिके॥ लिङ्ग I. 91 76.

The Skanda says.[1424] 'sma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāna[1425] makes Śiva say: 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārānasī as Śmaśāna. The Kāsikhanda states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārānasī and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purānas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārānasī is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south,[1426] the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Vināyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāna[1427] states: 'that ksetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārānasī extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśīksetra which according to the Padmapurāna[1428] comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-linga

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1424. इमशब्देन शव प्रोक्त. शानं शयनमुच्यते। निर्वर्चान्ति इमशानार्थं मुने शब्दार्थकोविदा। महाभूतान्यपि च भूतानि प्रलये समुपस्थिते। शेरतेत्र शवा भूत्वा इमशानं तु ततो महत्। स्कन्द, काशी 30 103-4; वाराणसीति काशीति रुद्रावास इति द्विज। महाश्मशानमित्येवं प्रोक्तमानन्दकाननम्। ibid 30 111.

1425. इमशाननेतद्विख्यातमविमुक्तमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूत्वा जगदिदं संहराम्यत्र सुन्दरि॥ पद्म. I. 33 14, परं गुह्य समाख्यातं इमशानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184 5, इमशाननिति विख्यातमविमुक्तं शिवालयम्। मत्स्य. 184.19, क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव इमशानाना तथैव च। मत्स्य 184.26, vide also मत्स्य 182 6, महाश्मशानमासाद्य यदि दैवाद्विपद्यते। पुनः इमशानशयनं न कापि लभते पुमान्। काशीखण्ड 31.130.

1426 दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्नद्यौ वरणासिश्च पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाशपाणिर्गणेश्वरः॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p. 100, तीर्थप्र p. 175.

1427. द्वियोजनमर्धं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्मृतम्। वाराणसी तदीया च यावच्छुष्कनदी (शुष्कनदी?) तु वै। एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तारः प्रोक्तो देवेन धीमता॥ मत्स्य 184 50-52

1428. मध्यमेश्वरमारभ्य यावद्देहलिविघ्नपम्। सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्विद्वान् भ्रामयेन्मण्डलाकृति। तत्र या जायते रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रमुत्तमम्। काशीति पण्डितैर्दास्तत्र मुक्तिः प्रतिष्ठिता॥ काश्यां तु परमं क्षेत्रं विशेषफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मानं निगदामि वः॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड q. by त्रिस्थली॰ p 100, तीर्थप्र. p 175

with the shrine of Dehali-Ganeśa. The Matsyapurāna (in chap. 183.61–62) makes it two yojanas in extent Agni 112 6 also does the same But that is only approximate The actual distance covered by a yojana varied Vide H. of Dh vol III pp. 145–146 n. 185 Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (i e. 800 *hastas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara.[1429] There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśikhanda Avimukta[1429a] is said to be five *krośas* in extent But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost[1430] circle in the holy Kāśīksetra is defined as that between Gokarnesvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmeśvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Lingapurāna[1431] says 'this ksetra is declared to be four *krośas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradīyapurāna[1432] puts the extent thus '(The ksetra) extends over two *yojanas* and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south, god Sambhu declared the extent of the ksetra between the rivers Varunā and Asi (which latter is) a dried-up stream' In the Padmapurāna[1433]

1429. विश्वेश्वराच्चतुर्दिक्षु धनुःशतयुगोन्मितम्। अविमुक्ताभिधं क्षेत्रं मुक्तिस्तत्र न संशय। पद्म, पातालखण्ड 9 by त्रिस्थली० p. 101, तीर्थप्र p 175. A धनुः is equal to four हस्तs Vide note 1337 above

1429 a अविमुक्तं महाक्षेत्रं पञ्चक्रोशपरीमितम्। ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदेकं हि क्षेत्रं विश्वेश्वराभिधम्॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31

1430 गोकर्णेशं पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च गङ्गामध्यमुत्तरे भारभूत। ब्रह्मेशानो दक्षिणे संप्रदिष्टस्तु प्रोक्त भवन विश्वभर्तुः। पद्म, पातालखण्ड 9 by त्रिस्थली० p 101, काशीखण्ड (74 45–46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णीशो ब्रह्मेशो दक्षिणे स्थित। पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्णं भारभूतस्त्वथोत्तरे॥ इत्येतदुत्तम क्षेत्रमविमुक्त महाफलम्।'

1431 चतुःक्रोशं चतुर्दिक्षु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्। योजन तिद्धि चार्वाङ्मृत्युकालेऽमृतप्रदम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध, 92 99–100 तीर्थचि. p 340 and त्रिस्थली० p 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द

1432 द्वियोजनमथार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमत स्थितम्। अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः स्थितम्॥ वरुणासी नदी यावदसि० ह्रस्वकनदी ह्रस्व। एष क्षेत्रस्य विस्तार प्रोक्तो देवेन शम्भुना॥ नारदीय (उत्तर chap 48 18–19).

1433. पञ्चक्रोशप्रमाणेन क्षेत्रं दत्तं मया तव। क्षेत्रमध्याद्यदा गङ्गा गमिष्यति सरिद्वरा। तेन सा महती पुण्या पुरी रुद्र भविष्यति। पुण्या चोदङ्मुखी गङ्गा यत्र माची सरस्वती। उदङ्मुखी योजने द्वे गच्छन्ती जाह्नवी नदी॥ पद्म (सृष्टिखण्ड 14. 194–196.

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a ksetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gangā, will flow through this ksetra, the city will be great and holy, the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option,[1434] (or, as the Tīr. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārānasī was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vināyaka to the west and the river Varanā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varanā and Asi. Vide Beal's B R. W. W (vol II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārānasī literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes.[1435] a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmana-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *moksa*. The Matsyapurāna [1436] contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras "Vārānasī is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of moksa for all beings. Moksa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection, this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins [1437] that a man may have

1434. अत्र लैङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्तिवासमध्यमेश्वरयोश्चतुर्दिक्षु योजनमितमविमुक्तम्। पाद्मे तु विश्वेश्वरात्सर्वतो धनुःशतद्वयमितम्। तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः। त्रिस्थली० p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्तं समासाद्य तीर्थसेवी कुरूद्वह। दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्यया॥ प्राणानुत्सृज्य तत्रैव मोक्षं प्राप्नोति मानवः॥ वनपर्व 84 79-80.

1436. इदं गुह्यतमं क्षेत्रं सदा वाराणसी मम। सर्वेषामेव भूतानां हेतुर्मोक्षस्य सर्वदा॥ मत्स्य 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्प० p 12 (reads जन्तूना for भूतानाम्) This is the same as लिङ्ग, पूर्वार्ध 92. 38, प्रयागे च भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मत्परिग्रहात्। प्रयागादपि तीर्थान्यादिदमेव महत् स्मृतम्॥ मत्स्य 180. 56-57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प p. 13 with some additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यत्रपायासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92.48.

1437. जन्मान्तरसहस्रेण यत्पापं पूर्वसञ्चितम्। अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम्। ...ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्कराः। कृमिम्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते कृणु प्रिये। चन्द्रार्धमौलिनः सर्वे ललाटाक्षा वृषध्वजाः। शिवे मम पुरे देवि मोदन्ते तत्र मानवाः॥ मत्स्य 181 17-21=पद्म I 33 17-20, q. by तीर्थकल्पः p. 15. The verse ब्राह्मणाः० occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर 48 51-52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta, brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,[1438] even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of *saṃsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest mokṣa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner [1439] or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta Other women,[1440] that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world mokṣa [1441] cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and mokṣa are both secured. For planets,[1442] lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever [1443] evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

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1438 विषयासक्तचित्तोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रे मृतः सोऽपि ससारं न पुनर्विशेत्॥ . जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु युञ्जन् योगमवाप्नुयात्। तस्मिन्नेव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति॥ मत्स्य. 180. 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—*refer to* Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92 63 and 66 and काशीखण्ड 86. 122 is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापो यदि शठो यदि वाऽधार्मिको नरः। मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ह्यविमुक्तं व्रजेद्यदि॥ मत्स्य 183. 11, q. by तीर्थकल्प p 18 पद्म (I. 33. 38) has the first half and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समासाद्य पुनाति सकलं कुलम्।

1440. अन्या याः कामचारिण्यः स्त्रियो भोगपरायणाः। कालेन निधनं प्राप्ता गच्छन्ति परमां गतिम्॥ मत्स्य 184. 36.

1441. न हि योगादृते मोक्षः प्राप्यते भुवि मानवैः। अविमुक्ते निवसता योगो मोक्षश्च सिध्यति॥ मत्स्य 185. 15–16 q by तीर्थकल्प° p. 17.

1442. ग्रहनक्षत्रतारणां कालेन पतनाद्भयम्। अविमुक्ते मृतानां तु पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ मत्स्य 185. 61 = काशीखण्ड 64.96 (reads कालेन पतन ध्रुवम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा। यत्किंचिदशुभं कर्म कृतं चैव कुबुद्धिना॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविश्यैव तत्सर्वं भस्मसाद्भवेत्॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 33–34; वरं काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि शुभायतिः। नान्यत्रत्यो दीक्षितोऽपि स हि मुक्तेरभाजनम्॥ काशी° 85,15.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a dīkṣita, because he will not be a recipient of *mukti*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārānasī and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhanda says that Asi is the Iḍā nādī, Varaṇā is the Piṅgalā nādī, Avimukta is susumnā and Vārānasī is all the three.[1444] The Liṅgapurāna, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varaṇā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the Piṅgalā, Idā and Susumnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purāṇas[1445] that at every step in the Kāśīksetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *liṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhanda names 64 liṅgas in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the tīrthas that are specifically named. Hiouen Thsang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II p. 222) Alauddin Khilzi boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

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1444 सहोवाचेति जाबालिराकर्णेऽसिरिडा मता। वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तस्त्वविमुक्तकम्॥ सा सुषुम्णा परा नाडी त्रयं वाराणसी त्वसौ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 5 25, compare नारदीय (उत्तर) 47 22-23; पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुष्का सरिच्च सा ज्ञेया लोलार्कौ यत्र तिष्ठति॥ इडानाम्नी च या नाडी सा सौम्या संप्रकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम सा ज्ञेया केशवो यत्र संस्थित॥ आग्यां नद्यै तु या नाडी सुषुम्ना सा प्रकीर्तिता॥ मत्स्योदरी च सा ज्ञेया विष्णुः तत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥ लिङ्गपुराण पू. by तीर्थाचि p. 341, त्रिस्थली० pp. 78-79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूयांसि काश्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंशेन समान्यपि॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 59 118, तिलान्तरापि नो काश्यां भूमिर्लिङ्गं विना क्वचित्। काशीखण्ड 10. 103

of Rājā Todarmal[1446]. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII, p 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmanas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship On the 15th Rabiu-l-ākhir (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658–1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring[1447] pp 41–42).

Visveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n 1429 a) It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri S p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years The *linga* was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altekar pp. 47–48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānahīrāvalī-prakāśa of Divākarabhatta, a daughter's son of Nīlakantha, who was the grandson of Nārāyanabhatta

1447 Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless.

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water[1448]. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devī Ahalyābāi* Holkar (Altekar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanatkumāra-samhitā in support[1449] What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *liṅgas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyanabhatta meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati [1449a] holds that Avimukteśvara linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhalī-setu (p 296) and Tīr. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skandapurāna (Kāsī. 10. 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *lingas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas[1450] (Pañcatīrthī). According to the Matsyapurāna the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,[1450a]

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किंचिदपनीयतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुरुषैरथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कस्मिन्श्रित्पूजादि कार्यम्। ..यद्यपि म्लेच्छादिदुष्टराजवशात्तस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्ग कदाचित्स्यात् तदापि यदक्षिणानमस्काराद्या. स्थानधर्मा भवन्त्येव। तावतैव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धि। स्नापनादयस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णय। त्रिस्थली० p 208, vide also तीर्थप्रकाश p. 219 (which states that there is no śāstric authority for this, but only usage of śistas).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गेऽस्पृश्यस्पर्शानिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति प्रत्यहं तेनैव पूजया तत्किरणात्। तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसहितायां)। ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नात्वा समाराधयति स्वयंव। अस्पृश्यसंस्पर्शविशोधनाय कलौ नराणा कृपया हिताय॥

1449 a अविमुक्तक्षमशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविमुक्तेश्वरं लिङ्ग विश्वनाथनाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम्। तीर्थचि p. 360

1450 The Pañcatīrthī has received the highest judicial notice in *Maharani Hemanta Kumari* v. *Gauri Shankar* 68 I A 53 at p 57.

1450 *a* Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī, vide Kāśikhanda 10 83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāmśca pranamya ca punah punah) and 46 45-46, where the shrines of the twelve *Arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated as लोलार्क, उत्तरार्क, साम्बादित्य &c.

Keśava, Bindumādhava and Manikarnikā.[1451] In modern times the five essential tīrthas called Pañcatīrthī are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha *ghāt*, Manikarnikā, the Pañcagangā *ghāt* and the confluence of the river Varaṇā (called Bārnā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśīkhaṇḍa.[1452] The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśīkhaṇḍa [1453] furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himālaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāt has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākāṭaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten Aśvamedha sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāt [1454] at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.–350 A. D p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

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1451. तीर्थाना पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने। दशाश्वमेध लोलार्कः केशवो बिन्दुमाधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा प्रोच्यते मणिकर्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थवर्यैश्च वर्ण्यते त्रिविमुक्तकम्॥ मत्स्य० 185. 68–69.

1452. प्रथमं चासिसम्भेदं तीर्थाना प्रवरं परम्। ततो दशाश्वमेधाख्य सर्वतीर्थनिषेवितम्। ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसन्निधौ। तत. पञ्चनद पुण्य स्नानमात्रादवाप्नुयात्। एतेषां पञ्चतीर्थाना चतुर्णामपि सत्तम। पञ्चम मणिकर्ण्याख्यं मनोवचनबुद्धिदम्। पञ्चतीर्थी नरः स्नात्वा न देहं पाञ्चभौतिकम्। गृह्णाति जातुचित्काद्या पञ्चास्यो जायते। काशी० 106 110 and 114 q. by त्रिस्थली० p 261, which explains 'यदि देहग्रहणं तदा पञ्चास्यः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिबन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भाव.'

1453 तस्यार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिदर्शने। अतो लौलार्क इत्याख्या काश्यां जाता विवस्वतः॥ लोलार्केस्त्वसिसम्भेदे दक्षिणस्या दिशि स्थित॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 46. 48–49. The shrine of लोलार्क is referred to in E. I. vol. V. p. 117 of Vikrama era 1208 (1151 A.D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanoj.

1454. 'अंसभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नानानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य...। E. I. vol. III, p. 258 (Dudia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245 (Siwani plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśīkhanda 52. 83 ff and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśīkhanda says that formerly the tīrtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap 52. 66–68). The Manikarnikā (also called Mukti-kṣetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and[1455] is the most holy among all the Banaras tīrthas. The Kāśīkhanda gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51–63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145–146): Viṣnu dug with his discus a puskariṇī, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Manikarnikā. The word is[1456] derived in two ways in the Kāśīkhanda. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnikā) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Manikarnikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i e. about 160 feet (Kāśīkhanda 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Manikarnikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Manikarnikā[1457]. Near the Manikarnikā pool is the temple of Tārakeśvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

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1455. तत्र तावत्सकलतीर्थवरिष्ठाया· श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महिमा। त्रिस्थली· p. 142; तत्रापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456 मुक्ताकुण्डलपातेन तवाद्रितनयाप्रिय। तीर्थानां परमं तीर्थं मुक्तिक्षेत्रमिहास्तु वै॥ काशी· 26. 66, q in त्रिस्थली· p 146; ससारिचिन्तामणिरत्र यस्मात्तं तारकं सज्जन· कर्णिकायाम्। शिवोभिधत्ते सहसान्तकाले तद्वीयतेसौ मणिकर्णिकेति॥ मुक्तिलक्ष्मीमहापीठ· मणिस्तच्चरणाब्जयोः। कर्णिकेयं तत प्राहुर्यी जना मणिकर्णिकाम्॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79–80 q. by त्रिस्थली· p 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means श्रेष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिश्चासौ कर्णिका च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among मुक्तिक्षेत्रs and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षलक्ष्मी

1457. तथा चैवं मन्त्र। ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नम· । ओम्। इति; तथा चैवं मन्त्र.। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके मणवालिके नम.। इति। त्रिस्थली p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61. 97

the dying man brought to the sacred pool[1457a] (vide Kāśikhanda 7.78, 25. 72–73 and 32. 115–116). The Pañcagangā *ghāt* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz the Kiranā,[1458] Dhūtapāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible) This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradīyapurāna and the Kāśikhanda (59. 118–133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz. Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Krta and the following Yugas respectively The Kāśikhanda in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiranā (59. 108–113) and Dhūtapāpā (59 101–106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārānasī and the end of the *ghāts* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the ghāts have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoj (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D), being devotees of Visnu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāt*. Vide J. R A S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājñī Prthvisrīkā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *samvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), E I 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Ādikeśava-ghatta[1459] at the confluence of the rivers Gangā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तव. क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तनुत्यज. ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञान तदेवाह काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। विशामि तारक मान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्क्षणात्॥ काशीखण्ड 32 115–116, vide also काशीखण्ड 86 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59–62

1458 किरणा धूतपापा च पुण्यतोया सरस्वती। गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्य प्रकीर्तिता:॥ अत. पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम्। तत्राप्लुतो न गृह्णीयादेहिता पाञ्चभौतिकीम्॥ अस्मिन्पञ्चनदीनां तु सङ्गमेऽघौघभेदने। स्नानमात्रान्नरो याति भित्त्वा ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपम्॥ .. कृते धर्ममद नाम त्रेतायां धूतपापकम्। द्वापरे बिन्दुतीर्थं च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम्॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51. 15–18 and 35–36 and काशीखण्ड 59. 115–117 (reads देह ना पाञ्चभौतिकम्) and 136.

1459 देवश्रीमदादिकेशवदक्षिणमूर्तौ ... अद्याक्षततृतीयायां युगादिपर्वणि .. आदिकेशवघट्टे स्नात्वा...वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय. पितृपिण्डप्रदौ निर्वप्य उपरि लिखितग्रामा.... गोकर्णकुशभूतकरतलोदकपूर्वं- प्रदत्ता:। E I 14 p. 197 at p. 198 For अक्षयतृतीया as one of the four युगादितिथिs vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Kesava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड 10 82 (आदिकेशवमुख्याश्च केशवा- श्चरितोद्य च) Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Ādikesava-ghāt, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varaṇā bestowed on 500 brāhmaṇas 30 villages on the Akṣayya-tṛtīyā of *saṁvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāts and sacred spots also For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff (21 copperplates of Gāhaḍvālas, of which H in *saṁvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapāla-mocana-ghaṭṭa at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north, grant L p 114 of *saṁvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghaṭṭa of god Vedeśvara in Avimuktakṣetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛttivāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṁvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṁvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A D. after a bath at Koṭitīrtha on Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti). The Kāśī-khaṇḍa promises Varuṇa-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāts on the sacred rivers [1460].

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tīrthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road Taking Maṇikarṇikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa (as in chap 26, verses 80 and 114, chap 55 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows:—The pilgrim starts from the Maṇikarṇikā-ghāt and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asi with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāṇḍava about six miles from Maṇikarṇikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacaṇḍī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śivapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapiladhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pitṛs On the 6th day he walks from Kapila-dhārā to Varaṇāsaṅgama and thence to Maṇikarṇikā, a dis-tance of six miles It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapiladhārā to Maṇikarṇikā. The pil-grim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Sākṣi-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

1460. यद्दानपुण्यतर्पिन्यादेर्बन्धयन्ति शिलादिभि. । तोयार्थिसुखसिद्ध्यर्थं ये नरास्तेत्र भोगिनः॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tīrthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpī may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśīkhanda, chap. 33. The Tri. S (pp. 148–150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-linga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kuṇḍa* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-linga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tīrtha would be superior to all tīrthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tīrtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpī. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37–65) of the Kāśīkhanda there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśīkhanda, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Ganeśa The Tri. S. (pp. 198–199) names 56 Ganeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśīkhanda, chap 57 59–115 (*sat-pañcāsad-Gaja-mukhān-etān-yah samsmarisyati*). In Kāśīkhanda (57. 33) the name Dhundhi applied to Ganeśa is derived from the root 'dhudhi' in the sense of 'searching' (anvesane dhudhir-ayam prathitosti dhātuh). Compare the Marathi verb dhundane.

The Tri S. discusses at some length (pp. 98–100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśī the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyanabhatta puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purānas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17–45) and Kāśī-khanda, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below [1461] when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīksetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhanda 96. 12–80 and 119–180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāsī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārānasī being a great tīrtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pindas should be made.[1462] The construction of *mathas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.[1463]

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt[1464] situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *samvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmana named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghatta in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tīrtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāna, chap. 183. 84–103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhanda 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāna, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67–100, in Padma,[1464a] Ādikhanda, chap. 34–37,

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1461 तीर्थं चातीर्थतां यातु नगरं शापयाम्यहम्॥ मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषी विद्या मा भूत्त्रिपौरुष धनम्। मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषं सख्यं व्यासो वाराणसीं शपन्॥ अविमुक्ते निवसतां जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम्। विघ्नं सृजामि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते॥ मत्स्य 185. 21–23, q. by कल्प० on तीर्थ (p 28) The verse मा भूत्० is काशीखण्ड 96 125.

1462. मनुष्यै पिण्डदानादि कार्यमत्रागतै. सदा। पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव सुपुत्रै. कार्यमादरात्। सुपुत्रास्ते पितृणां तु भवन्ति सुखदायका.। q. by त्रिस्थली p 129.

1463. मठानपि तपस्विभ्यः कारयित्वात्र योऽर्पयेत्। जीवनोपायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि सर्वफलाश्रयः॥ q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 133.

1464. Dr Altekar (pp 28–29) notes that at present a *ghāt* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāt, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocaneśvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32 3–29 about Omkāra and other Lingas are the same as Padma I 34 1–25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I 34. 2–16 are the same as Padma I 37. 1–19 (with a few additions)

Kūrma I. 32. 1–12 and I. 35. 1–15 (tīrthas) and in the Kāśī-khanda, chap. 10. 86–97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous lingas and tīrthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhanda, chap 73. 32–36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264–265) mentions 14 of these as Mahālingas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Krttivāsas, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmeśa, Vīreśvara, Kāmeśa, Viśvakarmeśvara, Manikarnīśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśī-khanda 73 39 that *yātrās* of these main lingas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards In Kāśīkhanda 73. 45–48 there is another series of fourteen great lingas different from those in chap 73. 32–36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśīkhanda 73. 60–62.[1464b] Twelve out of these are specified as lingas in Lingapurāna I. 92.67–107. In Kāśikhanda chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tīrthas of Banaras In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśīkhanda 36 principal lingas are referred to (14 Omkārādi, 8 Dakṣeśvarādi and 14 Śaileśādi). From considerations of space the other lingas and tīrthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Manikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara.[1465]

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhanda, Padmapurāna and Brahmavaivarta states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.[1466] He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśāca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

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1464 b शैलेश सङ्गमेशश्च स्वर्लीनो मध्यमेश्वर·। हिरण्यगर्भ ईशानो गोप्रेक्षो वृषभध्वज·। उपशान्तशिवो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च। मुक्तेशो व्याघ्रलिङ्गं च जम्बुकेश चतुर्दशम्। मुने चतुर्दशैतानि महाल्यायतनानि वै॥ काशी० 73. 60–63 q by त्रिस्थली० p 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्य प्रतिवासरम्। एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विश्वेशितुः परा॥ काश्या लिङ्गान्यनेकानि काश्या तीर्थान्यनेकशः। तथापि सेव्यो विश्वेशः स्नातव्या मणिकर्णिका॥ काशीखण्ड 100 101 q in त्रिस्थली० p. 266

1466 अन्यत्र विहितं पाप नश्येत्काशीनिरीक्षणात्॥ काश्या कृतानां पापाना दारुणेयं तु यातना॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115, Vide also काशी० 75.22 'काश्या तु यत्कृत पाप तत्पैशाचपदप्रदम्'.

moksa. Those who being residents of Kāśī commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśī or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśī die there will be punished by Kālabhairava Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśī) first undergo torments inflicted by the *ganas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśī and secure release (from samsāra) at the end.

It is remarkable that the Kāśīkhanda[1467] states that a little to the north of Kāśī, Visnu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmaksetra and that there Visnu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Sārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśī at all.[1467a]

The Kāśīkhanda remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century[1467b].

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I. p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

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1467. किंचित्काश्यामुदीच्यां च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा। स्वस्थित्यै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमितीरितम्॥ ततस्तु सौगतं रूपं शिश्राय श्रीपति. स्वयम्॥ ch. 58 71-72.

1467 a. अष्टौ मासा विहारस्य यतीना संयतात्मनाम्। एकत्र चतुरो मासान् मासौ वा निवसेत्पुन.। अविमुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते। मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतस्य वै॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 28 'एकरात्रस्थितिर्ग्रामे पञ्चरात्रस्थितिः पुरे'.

1467 b श्रद्धावतां स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गे महत्यपि। नोपायान्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणोदकम्॥ ये व्याधयोऽपि दुःसाध्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः। श्रद्धयेशोदकस्पर्शात्ते नश्यन्त्येव नान्यथा॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83.

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to Ain. A. vol. II. p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to Kāśīkhanda, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (vidyānām sadanam Kāśī). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and I. A. vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras

CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāwals* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp 1–11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāvals;' Indian Antiquary, vol X pp. 339–340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341–347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣinamānasa' near the Viṣnupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol. 16 pp 63 ff Inscription of Yakṣapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimadhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89–111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Ṛg. III. 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyāḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise' Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tīrthas pp 163–174, Tīrtha-cintāmani of Vācaspati pp. 268–328, Tristhalisetu of Nārāyana-bhaṭṭa pp. 316–379, Tīrthaprakāsa pp. 384–452, Tīrthendu-śekhara pp. 54–59, Tristhalisetu-sāra-sangraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 36–38.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the Tristhalī-setu and in modern times is the Gayā-māhātmya that occurs at the end of the Vāyupurāna (chapters 105–112 of the Ānandāśrama ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. Rajendralal Mitra assigned the Gayā-māhātmya to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. O'Malley was inclined to hold that the legend of Gayāsura was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the Gayāwals profess the Vaisnava faith established by Madhvācārya[1468] and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of Hari Narasimhapura; vide J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The Gayāwals are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. O'Malley himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of Gayāwals were 1484, that in Buchanan Hamilton's time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a Gayāwal counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure Gayāwals) and 153 females. Gayā is a place sacred to Viṣnu and if the Gayāwals had to turn in medieval times for support to some great ācārya they would naturally choose to align themselves with the Vaisnava ācārya Madhva rather than with Śankara. Dr. Barua, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds 'that the Gayā-māhātmya is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I, p. 64 of 'Gayā and Buddha Gayā'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of Gayā that appears in the Vanaparva and compares it with the fuller account in the Gayāmāhātmya and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The Gayā proper as known to the Epic (the Mahābhārata) is essentially a place sacred to Yama Dharmarāja, Brahmā and Śivaśūlin, and Viṣnu and Vaisnavism has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

1468 There is conflict about the dates of Madhvācārya's birth and death. The Uttarādi-matha records give śake 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śake 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in Madhva's महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय viz. that he was born in गतकलि 4300. In a paper published in the Journal of the Annamalai University, vol III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.–1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivaliṅga and Vṛsabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the Ṛgveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the Ṛgveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In Ṛg X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvi jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of Ṛgvedic hymns. In the Ṛg. the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kaśyapa. Even in the Vedic Saṃhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide Ṛg VII 99.4, VII. 104.24–25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta[1469] while explaining 'idam Viṣnur-vi cakrame tredhā nidadhe padaṃ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣnu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śākapūni, Viṣnu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohana, on Viṣnupada and on Gayaśiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāna* are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII–XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāna* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429–400 B. C [1470] Gayaśiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469 त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम्। पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणिः। समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि-इति और्णवाभः। निरुक्त 12 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of

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11, 95. 9), in the Visnudharma-sūtra 85.4 (in the form Gayā-śirsa), Vāmanapurāna (22,20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I. 2. 13.21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I. 21. 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāsisa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāśirsa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S B E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagrha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghosa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairanjanā river (S. B. E vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII. 87-88) and p. 193 (chap XVII. 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B E vol. 49 part 1 p 192) speaks of Dharmāṭavī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāna* Visnupada occurs in the Visnudharmasūtra 85 40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurnavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Visnu's foot could be seen [1471]. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol I p. 69(English tr). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāśiras, Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p 19 says 'Gayāśiras is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāśiras is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barua (vol. I p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayaśira or Gayāśira (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c '. Both are, however, agreed that Gayaśiras is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B E vol. XIII p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham's view that गयासीस is the ब्रह्मयोनि hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a king called Candra at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads तेनायं प्रणिधाय भूमिपतिना ... भाह्वविष्णुपदे गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वज: स्थापित: (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपद But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयशिरस् near it. Hence विष्णुपद and गयशिरस् being taken together point out to Gayā The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Visnupada and Gayaśiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohana' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohana means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds) [1472] I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Visnu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Visnupada and Gaya-śiras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82–103 and 95. 9–29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nāradīyapurāna (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayaśiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutīrtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya's replies to Bhīsma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puskara (verses 20–40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikāśrama, Agastyasarah, Mahākāla, Kotitīrtha, Bhadravata (Sthānutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kuruksetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82–103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1–81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1–81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Visnu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. II 68 19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाशा is mentioned.

1472. Dr Barua regards गीतनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol I p. 246). But this appears to be wrong It is an adjective of उद्यन्त (पर्वतं) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called गीतनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and गयशिरस् were situated

about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimisa, Sākambharī, Gangādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā[1473] It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tirtha. For this reason some tirthas are described twice in the Vana-parva. For example Naimisa is very highly praised in chap. 84. 59–64 and again in chap. 87. 6–7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82–103 and 87.8–12. We cannot at all presume

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1473 The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here. ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव समुद्धरेत्॥ तत्राक्षयवटो नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः। तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्यक्षयमुच्यते॥ महानद्यामुपस्पृश्य तर्पयेद् पितृदेवता। अक्षयान्प्राप्नुयात् लोकान् कुलं चैव समुद्धरेत्॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मारण्योपशोभितम्। ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातामेव शर्वरीम्॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सरसि यूपश्रेष्ठः समुच्छ्रितः। यूपं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजपेयफलं लभेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र प्रेतकं लोकविश्रुतम्। एकरात्रोषितो राजन् प्रयच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाम्॥ सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा सोमलोकं व्रजेद् ध्रुवम्। तत्र चिह्नं महद्राजन्नद्यापि सुमहद् दृश्यम्। कपिलाया सवत्साया श्वरन्त्या पर्वते कृतम्। सवत्सापदानि स्म दृश्यन्तेद्यापि भारत॥ तेनूपस्पृश्य राजेन्द्र पदेषु नृपसत्तम। यत्किंचिदशुभं कर्म तत्प्रणश्यति भारत॥ ततो गृध्रवटं गच्छेत्स्थान देवस्य धीमतः। स्नायीत भस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य वृषध्वजम्॥ ब्राह्मणेन भवेच्चीर्णं व्रतं द्वादशवार्षिकम्। इतरेषा तु वर्णानां सर्वपाप प्रणश्यति॥ उद्यन्तं च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं गीतनादितम्। सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र दृश्यते भरतर्षभ॥ तत्र सन्ध्यामुपासीत ब्राह्मणः संशितव्रतः। तेन ह्यास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्षिकी॥ योनिद्वारं च तत्रैव विश्रुतं भरतर्षभ। तत्राभिगम्य मुच्येत पुरुषो योनिसङ्कटात्॥ कृष्णशुक्लाङ्गभौ पक्षौ गयायां यो वसेन्नर। पुनात्यासप्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संशय॥ एतच्छ्रुत्वा...नृपमुत्सृजेत्॥ ततः फल्गुं व्रजेद्राजन् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं व्रजेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र धर्मप्रस्थं समाहितः। तत्र धर्मो महाराज नित्यमास्ते युधिष्ठिर॥ तत्र कूपोदकं कृत्वा तेन स्नातः शुचिस्तथा। पितॄन्देवांस्तु सन्तर्प्य मुक्तपापो दिवं व्रजेत्॥ पतङ्गस्याश्रमस्तत्र महर्षेर्भावितात्मनः। तं प्रविश्याश्रमं श्रीमच्छ्रमशोकविनाशनम्॥ गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः। धर्मं तत्राभिसंस्पृश्य वाजिमेधमवाप्नुयात्॥ ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्। तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्र ब्रह्माणं पुरुषर्षभम्॥ राजसूयाश्वमेधाभ्यां फलं विन्दति मानवः। ततो राजगृहं गच्छेत् तीर्थसेवी नराधिप॥ वनपर्व 84. 82–104. These verses are q. in the तीर्थचि. pp. 275–277 (except three), त्रिस्थलीसेतु pp 321–323. It may be noted that the Padmapurāna, Ādikhanda, chap 38 (verses 2–19) contains verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84, 82–99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any doubt that one borrows from the other Good grounds have been advanced by Mr M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tirthayātrā in the Āranyakaparvan and the Padmapurāna' in the Kane Festschrift pp 530–537 Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof F. W Thomas pp. 19–28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāna' has shown that chapters 80–83 of the Vanaparva are taken over by the author of the Padmapurāna in chapters 10. 5 to chapter 39,120.

from the manner in which tīrthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82–103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anuśāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82–103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Aśmaprstha (the same as Pretaśilā), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmana murder in Krauñcapadī'.[1474] These three, Aśmaprstha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadī, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nāradīya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nāradīya (uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Munda-prstha was so called) Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anuśāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāṇa chap. 114–116 and the Vāyupurāna chapters 105–112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purānas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Visnu furnished by Aurnavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purānas such as Padma (Ādikhanda 38. 2–21), Garuda I chapters 82–86, and the Nāradīya (uttara chap. 44–47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitram padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitryāstu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāna (in Ādikhanda 38. 13) reads 'Sāvitram padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitram padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Visnu (Savitṛ). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474 अश्मपृष्ठे गयाया च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपद्यां च ब्रह्महत्यां विशुध्यते ॥ अनुशासन 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे प्रेतशिलाया एकां ब्रह्महत्यां व्यपोह्य निरविन्दे सुखगन्धहीने द्वितीयां ब्रह्महत्या निरस्य क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदादीनामुपलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्या सकृदया गत एव विशुध्यते पूतो भवति',

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatrā-bhi-samspṛśya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399–413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87) It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmana families (vide Beal's B R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol 16 p. 63 ff. The verse[1475] set out below may be translated as follows That wise (prince Yaksapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he *dug up the famous Uttaramānasa* lake and established a sattra (charity house for food) near the Akṣaya (vaṭa)'. This inscription of the reign of Nayapāla was

1475. मौनादित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमलार्काद्यर्चिनानारूपणाहिमोनेश्वरकल्पनाथविनायकादिदेवता-यानां कृती । स मासादमचीकरद् दिविषदा केदारदेशस्य च स्थानस्थोत्तरमानसस्य खनन सत्रं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (*Narendra*) यक्षपाल son of विश्वादित्य edited in I A. 16 at p 65. Kielhorn translates 'the wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven called Maunaditya ..He likewise had the famous Uttaramānasa tank dug and established a sattra (hall of charity) to last forever'. Dr. Kielhorn is wrong in his translation 'to last forever.' Dr. Barua reads मनामाई as one word and connects that one word with दिविषदां (vol I p 63). One fails to understand how दिविषदा (genitive plural) is to be construed with मनामाई which according to Dr Barua's construction is only part of a compound word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānasa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānasa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayā-māhātmya which speaks of Uttarmānasa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for *the first time* at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The *tank* can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttarmānasa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāna 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tīrtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānasa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105–112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāna, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anusāsanaparva, Padma I 38, the Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 44–47 Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām akṣayam śrāddham japahomatapāmsi ca' Vāyu 108 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tīrtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29–30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37–38. So also Vāyu 82. 31–33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51–53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20–24) several sub-tīrthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakuṇḍa, Prabhāsa, Pretaparvata, Uttaramānasa, Udīcī, Kanakhala, Dakṣinamānasa, Dharmāranya, Gadādhara, Matanga; so also chap 77. 97–108 mention Grdhrakūta, hermitage of Bharata, Matangapada, Munda-prstha and Uttaramānasa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā [1476]

1476 Vide H. of Dh vol. 1. p, 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā. The verses ब्रह्मज्ञान ..चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या...द्विनश्यति (वायु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110 63–64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45 64–66, Vāyu 110. 63–64 are the same as Nāradiya (uttara) 45.64–66, Vāyu 108.13–16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर. 45. 2–4. Vāyu 110 4–5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9–10.. गरुडपुराण (I

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(about 1150–1225 A. D.) on Śrāddha and Āsauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayā-māhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāndavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomatī river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gaya and a holy pool called Brahmasaras; then comes a famous verse[1477] 'one should desire to have many sons if even

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85. 2–22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110. 34–60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nāradīya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on आशौच has towards the end a section on गयाश्राद्धविधि, several verses of which occur in वायु A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p 194) though ascribed to आदिपुराण are almost the same as वायु 110 2-3; the verses गोमत्वार ..बभूव (in स्मृतिच on आशौच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु 111. 35 and 37, स्मृतिच० p 197 the verse मक्षरे वर्तमाने तु is the same as वायु 105.48 and स्मृतिच. p 199 the verse या सा वैतरणी नाम is वायु 105 44

The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayā-māhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest) He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmahātmya in a century or two Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmahātmya by Vacaspati may be indicated here On pp. 285–286 the तीर्थचि. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105, वायु 110. 2–3 are quoted as from वायु० in तीर्थचि p. 7, on pp. 280–283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108. 13–23, 28–30; on pp 284–285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु० 110 9–15 and 19–20, 56–59, तीर्थचि. pp. 288–293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110. 17, 21–24, 30–32, 34–55, तीर्थचि pp. 298–301 quote वायु. 111. 1–22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय on आद्ध and त्रिस्थलीसेतु quote about 300 verses from गयामाहात्म्य and the त्रिस्थली० (pp. 356–359 &c) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गयामाहात्म्य given by his predecessors But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length

1477. एतस्मा बहव. पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत्। यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत्॥ महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गयशिरो वृष। यत्राक्षयी कृतं दत्तं पितॄणामक्षयं भवेत्॥

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one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nīla* bull' (the pitrs may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahānadī) Phalgu, the hill Gayaśiras, the Aksayya Vata, where food offered to pitrs becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Aksayavata (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,[1477a] performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18–19). Vas. (XI. 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pitrs become (really) *putrin* (having a son) on account of such a son The Visnudharmasūtra, chapter 85,[1478] mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayāśīrsa, Aksayavata, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Matangavāpī, Visnupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pitrs. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smrti (55–58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pitrs, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpana* of pitrs in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Visnu) at Gayā and to Gayāśīrsā. Śankha (14 27–28) refers[1479] to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

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यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षय्यं भवति प्रभो। सा च पुण्यजला तत्र फल्गुनामा महानदी॥ वनपर्व 87. 10–12; राजर्षिणा पुण्यकृता गयेनानुपमद्युते। नगो गयशिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥ .. ऋषियज्ञेन महता यत्राक्षयवटो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यत्र वै फलम्॥ वनपर्व 95. 9–14. The verse एतच्चा॰ occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22. 6, वायु. 105. 10, कूर्म II. 35. 12, पद्म. I. 38. 17 and V 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5–6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyana I. 32 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478 कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तु' स्याद् यो न दद्याज्जलाञ्जलीन्। नदीषु बहुतोयासु शीतलासु विशेषतः॥ अपि जायेत सोऽस्माक कुले कश्चिन्नरोत्तम। गयाशीर्षे वटे श्राद्धं यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः॥ एतच्चा ..स्मृजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65–67. The verse अपि जायेत॰ is quoted in कल्पतरु on तीर्थ p. 173.

1479 It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddh' gayā' vol. I p 66) read तीर्थे वामरकण्टके in Sankha and thought that Vāmarakantaka was a holy place (instead separating as चा अमरकण्टके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smrti speaks[1480] of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosesoever name a pinda is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneslf or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *saṃsāra*). The Kūrmapurāna remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his pitrs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāna (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as pitrtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'estavyā bahavah putrāh'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāna, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him[1481], that *pitrs* hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the *pitrs* from hell[1482]. At Gayā a man should offer *piṇḍas* to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmana-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A pinda offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*[1483]. Moksa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kuruksetra and śrāddha at

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1480. गयाशिरे तु यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धं पिण्डं तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं यान्ति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयुः॥ आत्मनो वा परस्यापि गयाकूपे यतस्ततः। यच्छ्राद्धं पातयेत्पिण्डं त नयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12-13, compare अग्नि 115. 46-47 शमीपत्र-प्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरे। नरकस्थाः... माप्नुयु ः॥.

1481. वायु 105 7-8, अग्नि 114. 41 'गयेपि चाकरोद्यागं बह्वन्न बहुदक्षिणम्। गयाप्तुरी तेन नाम्ना'. Both are quoted by त्रिस्थली॰ pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्राः' (वायु 105.10) q in n. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिस्थली॰ p. 319 which defines what makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् ... त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽन्यजो वापि गयाभूमौ यदा यदा। यच्छ्राद्धं पातयेत्पिण्डं तन्नयेद् ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्। नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनमिष्यते। वायु. 105.14-15) the half verse यच्छ्राद्धं ...शाश्वतम् is अग्नि 116.29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary[1484]. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmanas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitrs are gratified. Tonsure[1485] and fast are to be observed at all tīrthas except in Kuruksetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic[1486] (sannyāsin) should not offer pindas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Vișnupada The (whole) Gayāksetra is five *krośas* in extent and Gayāśiras is one krośa and all the tīrthas of the three worlds are centered in these two[1487]. At Gayā one may offer (to pitrs) pindas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jaggery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing[1488] a seat for the pindas, the offering of pindas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmanas); but there is no invocation of pitrs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals) Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tīrtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

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1484 ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोग्रहे मरणं तथा। वासः पुसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेषा चतुर्विधा॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं .. यदि पुत्रो गयां व्रजेत्॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्ड दद्याद्विचक्षण.। वायु 105. 16–18, compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डाश्च नित्यश । अग्नि. 115.8. ब्रह्मज्ञानं. .चतुर्विधा॥—is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.20 Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3–4 and 5–6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1485. मुण्डन चोपवासश्च .. विरजा गयाम्॥ वायु 105 25, q in n 1301 above where various readings also are noted.

1486 दण्डं मदर्शयेद्भिक्षुर्गया गत्वा न पिण्डदः। दण्डं न्यस्य विष्णुपदे पितृभिः सह मुच्यते॥ वायु 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by ती. प्र p 390.

1487. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाशिर.। तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि सन्ति वै। 105.29–30 and 106. 65 q by विस्थली० p 335, ती प्र p 391; अग्नि 115. 42 has the half verse पञ्चक्रोश० and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44.16. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas as five krośas in extent.

1488. पिण्डासन पिण्डदान पुनः प्रत्यवनेजनम्। दक्षिणा चान्नसङ्कल्पस्तीर्थश्राद्धेष्वयं विधिः॥ नावाहन न दिग्बन्धो न दोषो दृष्टिसम्भवः।.. अन्यत्रावाहिता. काले पितरो यान्त्यभीप्सितं। तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि॥ 105. 37–39. The verses नावाहनं ... दृष्टिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधि· are repeated in वायु 110. 28–29.

avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitaraṇī has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Akṣayavaṭa and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmaṇas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.[1459]

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 yojanas in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Viṣnu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Viṣnu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Viṣnu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Viṣnu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ṛtviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immoveable on the śilā. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Viṣnu and requested him to make the body and śilā stable. Viṣnu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the śilā it still moved. Then Viṣnu sat on the śilā in three forms viz Janārdana, Puṇḍarīka and Ādi-Gadādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pitāmaha, Phalgvīśa, Kedāra and Kanakeśvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmi (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Maṅgalā), Gāyatrī

1459. गयायां न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र तीर्थं न विद्यते। वायु. 105. 46 = अग्नि. 116.28.

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gadā (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called Ādigadādhara.[1490] Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Viṣnu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Viṣnu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the śilā! Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tīrthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five krośas in extent and in Gayāśiras which is one krośa and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c)! Those to whom śrāddha with piṇḍas is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like brāhmaṇa-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the brāhmaṇas Gayā (with its extent of five krośas), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the brāhmaṇas, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in Dharmāraṇya and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the brāhmaṇas bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the *śilā*[1491] that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called Dharmavratā Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marīci, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. Dharmavratā asked him to request her father Dharma. Marīci approached Dharma who

1490. वायु 105 60 mentions why Viṣnu is called आदिगदाधर 'आद्यया गदया भीतो यस्माद्दैत्य स्थिरीकृत । स्थित इत्येव हरिणा तस्मादादिगदाधर ॥' q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 338 In वायु 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the Śilā is briefly narrated in the Agnipurāṇa also (chap 114. 8-22), often using the very words that occur in the Vāyupurāṇa.

gave her in marriage to Marīci, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marīci being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marīci awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marīci but said 'Mahādeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapas* and Marīci also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Viṣṇu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marīci being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tīrthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tīrthas on the śilā and offer piṇḍas and śrāddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the Mss In the Ānandāśrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed Aśvamedha and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Viṣṇu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitṛs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the silā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called Muṇḍaprstha (lit. the back of the head) which gave Brahmaloka to pitṛs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called Prabhāsa, of Rāmatīrtha near the place where the great river (Phalgu) and Prabhāsa hill meet, the hermitage of Bharata, of Matangapada, of the *bali* to be offered to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the dogs of Yama, viz. Śyāma and Śabala, of the Udyantaka hill near the left of Śilā, of Agastya-kuṇḍa, and numerous other holy places such as Grdhrakūta hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūta.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaisnava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15–16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purānas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāna (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Visnu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāna (I. 16. 59–60 and 91–92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nrsimha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Visnu and entered Vaisnavītanu; while Vāmanapurāna (chap. 7–8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyana In Pali works (e. g. Anguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197–204) he is called Pahārāda and *asurinda* (asurendra). Vide Anguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Visnu, vide Brahmapurāna, chap. 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāna, son of Bali and the fight of Bāna helped by Śiva with Krsna, vide Brahma chap. 205–206 and Visnupurāna V. 33. 37–38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gayā' pp. 14-18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua critisizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40–41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gaya[1492] or Namuci or Vrtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikrama and the interpretation of Aurnavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

[1492] It is not clear whence Dr Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gaya is represented as a demon like Vrtra. In the Rg. at least Gaya is not a demon like Vrtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pitrtīrtha* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadālola became a destroyer of all sins. There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *daityas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛsna and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣnu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114 26-27 and Nāradīya (uttara) 47. 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because[1492a] he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the śilā on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍaprstha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Akṣayavaṭa, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣnupada, Rudrapada, Brahmapada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.[1493] The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492a Vide note 1490

1493. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are; फल्गु often called महानदी (अग्नि. 115, 25), घृतकुल्या, मधुकुल्या (these two, वायु 109, 17), मधुस्रवा (106. 75), अग्निधारा (from उद्यन्त hill, 108. 59), कपिला (108. 58), वैतरणी (105. 44 and 109, 17), देविका (112. 30), आकाशगङ्गा (अग्नि. 116 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are; गयाशिरः (109,36, अग्नि. 115 26 and 44), सुप्तपृष्ठ (108, 12, 109. 14), प्रभास (108. 13 and 16, 109. 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84,93, वायु 108. 59, 109. 15), भस्मकूट (109. 15), अरण्यक (109. 15), नागकूट (111 22, अग्नि 115. 25), गृध्रकूट (109. 15), प्रेतकूट (109. 15),

(*Continued on the next page*)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Visnu and went to Visnuloka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Visnu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the śilā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.'[1494] Visnu said 'be it so' and Visnu stood on Gayāśiras in the Ādigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Pundarīkāksa. Śiva also praised Visnu (Vāyu 109. 43–50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43–45) What is meant is Visnu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyakta in Visnupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhalīsetu p. 365, pratimāsvarūpī vyaktah).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpana* and śrāddha according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and āvāhana (invoking) In the after-

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(*Continued from the last page*)

आदिपाल (109 15), कौञ्चपाद (109 16), रामशिला, प्रेतशिला (110 15, 108 67), नग (108 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय II 47 54) The principal bathing places are. फल्गुतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि 115 25–26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108 16–18), शिलातीर्थ (108 2), गदालोल (111 75–76, अग्नि 115. 69), वैतरणी (105 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110 8), उत्तरमानस (111 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111 6 and 8), रुक्मिणीकुण्ड, प्रेतकुण्ड, नि क्षारा (नि.क्षीरा) पुष्करिणी (108.84), मतङ्गवापी (111. 24). The sacred sites are पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ठ, लोहदण्डक (all four, in 109 16), गोप्रचार (111. 35–37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मयूप (अग्नि 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are, अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105 45, 111 79–81, अग्नि 115. 70–73), आम्र near गोप्रचार (111 35–37), गृध्रकूटवट (108. 63), महाबोधितरु (111 26–27, अग्नि 115 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको सुनि. कुम्भकुशाग्रहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं ददानः। आम्रश्च सिक्तः पितरश्च तृप्ता एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा॥' वायु. 111 37, अग्नि. 115 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 11 77 There are several other तीर्थs, such as फल्गुवीडा, फल्गुचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are. वायु. 111. 46–58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally अग्नि. 115. 48–53 mentions at least 13. The पदs mentioned by वायु. are विष्णु, रुद्र, ब्रह्म, काश्यप, दक्षिणाग्नि, गार्हपत्य, आहवनीय, सभ्य, आवसथ्य, शक्र, अगस्त्य, कौञ्च, मातङ्ग, सूर्य, कार्तिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of काश्यप, विष्णु, रुद्र and ब्रह्मा नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद and ब्रह्मपद are superior, but ब्रह्मपद is superior to all.

1494. Verses 2–3 and 4–5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1261 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretaśilā, take a bath in the Brahmakunda, offer tarpana to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapindas on the Pretaśilā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10–12) and offer pindas to his ancestors. In Astakās, in Vrddhiśrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.[1495] To the sapindas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinda made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21–22). The pindas to be offered at Gayāśiras may be in size as[1496] big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śamī leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pindas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and, to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30–55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616–617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tirthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the Phalgu water, performs tarpana and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretaśilā (which is a part of the Śilā as stated in Vāyu 108 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pindas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अष्टकासु च वृद्धौ च गयाया च मृतेहनि। मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्यादन्यत्र पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 q in. तीर्थप्र. p 389 (reads अन्वष्टकासु), तीर्थचि. p. 298.

1496. मुष्टिमात्रप्रमाणं च आर्द्रामलकमात्रकम्। शमीपत्रप्रमाणं वा पिण्डं दद्या-दयाशिरे ॥ उद्धरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि शतमुद्धरेत्॥ पितुर्मातुः स्वभार्याया भगिन्या दुहितुस्तथा। पितृष्वसुर्मातृष्वसुः सप्त गोत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ वायु 110 25–26. The त्रिस्थली p 327 explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातामहगोत्रम्। भार्यागोत्रं श्वशुरगोत्रम्। भगिनीदुहितृपितृष्वस्-भातृस्त्रसॄणां गोत्राणि यत्कुले सा दत्तास्तदीयानि। एतेषामेव गोत्राणामेकोत्तरं शतं कुल लक्षणया तत्स्थाः पुरुषा. ॥.'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *preta*. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17–22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pinda there the persons for whom this is done become *pitṛs* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on pretaśilā). On a hill on the south of Pretaśilā one should offer a *bali* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śabala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata[1497] (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakunda and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pindas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścaiva' (Vāyu 110. 23–24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pindas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmat-kule mṛtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34–55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59–60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of pindas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata[1498].

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pañcatīrthī rites[1499] (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pindas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21–24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitṛs*. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Daksinamānasa, viz. Udīcītīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Daksinamānasa

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1497. On प्रेतपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the त्रिस्थली॰ p. 355 remarks 'प्रेतपर्वतो गयावाय्व्यादिशे गयातो गव्यूत्यधिकदूरस्थ.। ब्रह्मकुण्डे प्रेतपर्वतमूल ईशानभागे।'.

1498. सर्वस्थानेषु चैवं स्यात्पिण्डदान तु नारद। प्रेतपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात्॥ वायु. 110 61.

1499. The five तीर्थs are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and फल्गु. The त्रिस्थली॰ says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e there are not five baths on this day. Phalgutīrtha is the same as Gayāśiras and is defined in वायु 111. 22 'नागकूटादुभ्रकूटाद्यूपादुत्तरमानसात्। एतत्त्रयाशिरः प्रोक्तं फल्गुतीर्थं तदुच्यते॥. The अग्नेयु. (115. 25–26) differs 'नागो॰ जनार्दनात्कूपाद्गदाद्योत्तरमानसात्। एत ... च्यते॥. गरुड. I. 83 4 is 'नागाज्जना॰ ... तदुच्यते॥ The त्रिस्थली॰ p. 359 reads शुण्डपृष्ठानगाधस्तात्फल्गुतीर्थमनुत्तमम्।

(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutīrtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tīrthas. The pilgrim performs tarpana and śrāddha with piṇḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukti* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (muktir-bhavati kartṛnām pitṛnām śrāddhatah sadā, Vāyu 110. 13). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.[1500] By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmrta* after bowing[1500a] to Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Visnu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāranya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Matangavāpī (which is situated in Dharmāranya), then he should perform *tarpana*, śrāddha and *pinḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatīrtha and also in the space between Brahmatīrtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharmeśvara.[1501] He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34–37 and Nāradīya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tīrthas. On the third day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with pindas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his pitrs.[1502] He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

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1500. गङ्गापादोदकं विष्णोः फल्गुर्गादिगदाधरः। स्वय हि द्रवरूपेण तस्मादूह्याधिक विदुः॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a. Pañcāmrta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद (उत्तर) 43 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चायां तु विशिष्यते'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol I p 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmeśvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Srstikhanda 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for pindadāna viz Puskarāranya, Naimisāranya and Dharmāranya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27–29) addressed to महाबोधितरु do not occur in त्रिस्थली० p 361, which gives two other verses instead viz चलहृदलाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा चलविष्णवे। बोधितत्त्वाय यज्ञाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः॥ एकादशोसि रुद्राणां वसूनामष्टमस्तथा। नारायणोसि देवाना वृक्षराजोसि पिप्पल॥. The त्रिस्थली० remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitṛs attain *moksa*. Here follows the verse ('eko munih' &c.) quoted above (n 1493). Then a *balt* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a bali to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111 30–40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34–40 and Nāradiya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāśiras which is near Phalgutīrtha. Gayāśiras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgutīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāsiras) becomes inexhaustible.[1503] Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Visnupada. By performing a śrāddha with pinḍas on Visnupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣnu. Then Vāyu 111. 47–56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmapada and 14 other padas expressly named by it.[1504] 'For whomsoever by name a pilgrim offers a piṇḍa on Gayāśiras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *moksa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadālola.[1505] By performing śrāddha with pindas at Gadālola he takes his pitrs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Aksayavata he should perform a śrāddha

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1503. क्रौञ्चपादात्फल्गुतीर्थं यावत्साक्षाद्दयाशिर.। वायु. 111. 44 क्रौञ्चपाद is the hill मुण्डपृष्ठ as stated in वायु. 108. 75 'क्रौञ्चरूपेण हि मुनिर्मुण्डपृष्ठे तपोऽकरोत्। तस्य पादाङ्कितो यस्मात्क्रौञ्चपादस्ततः स्मृतः॥'

1504. The त्रिस्थली॰ p 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāśiras apart from the śrāddhas on Visnupada and the other padas गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येषां नाम्ना तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं यान्ति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षमाप्नुयु॥ वायु 111 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half Gayāśiras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it हेत्यसुरस्य यच्छीर्षं गदया तद् द्विधा कृतम्। ततः प्रक्षालिता यस्मात्तीर्थं तच्च विश्रुतम्। गदालोलमिति ख्यातं सर्वेषामुत्तमोत्तमम्। वायु 111, 75 गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmanas established by Brahmā with offerings and food When they are gratified gods together with pitrs become gratified.[1506] Then the pilgrim should bow to the Aksayavata and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitāmaha. Agni 115. 69–73 and Nāradīya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhalisetu (p 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tirthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pretaśilā is to be the first and that at the Aksayavata is to be performed at the end,[1507] and that although there is variation between the order in which tīrthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāna, the Agnipurāna and other purānas, yet as the Vāyupurāna is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tirthas in any order[1508] except Pretaśilā and Aksayavata. Gayāyātrā, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāna, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmanas to favour and the other that Gayāpurī be named after him and who then went to Visnuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśāla (verses 7–15) who being sonless performed pindadāna on Gayāśirsa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16–20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.[1509] Then verses 20–60 mention several other tirthas of Gayā such as Gāyatrītīrtha, Prāci-sarasvatītīrtha, Viśālā, Lelihāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये युष्मान्पूजयिष्यन्ति गयायामागता नराः। हव्यकव्यैर्धनैः श्राद्धैस्तेषां कुलशतं व्रजेत्। नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाय स्वर्गलोकात्परा गतिम्।' अग्नि. 114. 39–40.

1507. संसारवृक्षशस्त्रायाशेषपापक्षयाय च। अक्षयवटायादात्रे च नमोक्षयवटाय वै॥ कलौ माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद्वदाधरः। लिङ्गरूपोऽभवत्तं च वन्दे श्रीमपितामहम्॥ वायु 111. 83–84; श्राद्धं वटतले कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम्। एकस्मिन् भोजिते विप्रे कोटिर्भवति भोजिता। किं पुनर्बहुभिर्विप्रैः पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्।... वटं वटेश्वरं नत्वा पूजयेत् प्रपितामहम्। अग्नि. 115. 71–73.

1508. क्रमतोऽक्रमतो वापि गयायात्रा महाफला। अग्नि. 115 74 q by त्रिस्थलीसेतु p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 54–63, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 26–50, गरुड 1 84. 34–43, and the first about Ling विशाल in वराहपुराण 7.12 ff.

hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha, Ākāśagangā, Vaitaranī and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and piṇḍadāna at them) viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gāyatrī (tīrtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāśiras.[1509a]

The Agnipurāna (chap 116. 1–34) has a long list of tīrthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhalīsetu pp. 376–378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tīrthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Vishnupada and Aksayavata, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and piṇḍas to ancestors have to be offered. The Vishnupada temple is built over the footprint of Vishnu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu The old town of Gayā was built round Vishnupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Vishnu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else There are 45 *vedis* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer piṇḍas in the Gayākṣetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Thsang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a गयागजो गयादित्यो गायत्री च गदाधरः । गया गयाशिरश्चैव षड् गया मुक्तिदायिकाः ॥ वायु 112. 60 q. by तीर्थचि p 328 (reads षड्गयं मुक्तिदायकं), त्रिस्थली p 372 This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39–40 गयागज—probably refers to the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The Gayāśirsa[1510] is a set of rocky hills such as Gayāśirsa, Mundaprstha, Prabhāsa, Grdhrakūta, Nāgakūta, ranging over one krośa (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p 666) that the rites at the Akṣayavata are the last in the pilgrimage to Gayā. The Gayāwal priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful or successful), declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called Dhāmin who alone (and not the ordinary Gayāwals) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at Pretaśilā, Rāmaśilā, Rāmakunda, Brahmakunda and Kākabali, that are situated on or about the two hills Rāmaśilā and Pretaśilā (vide Bengal District Gazetteers, vol 12 for Gayā p. 66) They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular Gayāwals.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom śrāddha is to be offered at Gayā. In the Vāyu and other Purāṇas it is frequently said that he who performs śrāddha at Gayā becomes free from the debt due to the pitṛs[1511] or that what is offered to the pitṛs at Gayā, Dharmaprstha, Brahmasaras, or on the Gayāśirsa and under the imperishable Vata tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word 'pitṛ' is used. Therefore it follows that śrāddha is to be offered in Gayā to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to Gautama,[1512] the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered śrāddha. The difference arises with

1510. Gayāśiras and Gayā were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and Anguttara Nikāya (*text*) vol IV. p 302 'एक समयं भगवा गयायां विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. आद्धकृद्यो गयाक्षेत्रे पितृणामनृणो हि सः। वायु 105. 30; vide also वायु 108. 60 and 90. 109. 41; 'गयायां धर्मपृष्ठे च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयाशीर्षे वटे चैव पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्॥' नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 54, गरुड I. 83 42-43. This last is ascribed to बृहस्पति by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. पितरो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा अपि। अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषाक्षरक वर्जेत्॥ इति गौतमोक्ते। त्रिस्थली p. 349, quoted also in स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāna proposes an option (115 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve devatās in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.[1513] According to the Smṛtyarthasāra[1514] and Hemādri the Anvastakā-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the devatās of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.[1515] The Tri. S ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle The Prajāpati-smṛti (183–184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 devatās in a srāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretaśilā-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.[1516]

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83. 18

1513 ततश्चान्वष्टकादित्रये स्त्रीणा श्राद्ध पृथगेव। गयामहालयादौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम्। अपरार्क p 432, गरुड I 84. 24 is 'श्राद्धं तु नवदैवत्यं कुर्याद्द्वादशदैवतम्। अन्वष्टकासु वृद्धौ च गयाया मृतवासरे॥.'

1514. तत्र मातृश्राद्धं पृथक् प्रशस्तम्। मातामहानां सपत्नीकमेव। स्मृत्यर्थसार pp 59–60, vide त्रिस्थली० p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515 अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गरूपतया षड्देवत्यमेवेत्याहुः।...अत्र सर्वत्र मूलवचनानि देशाचारतश्च व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधाविवोक्तम्। त्रिस्थली० p 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the गौड view.

1516 ओम्। अद्यामुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-प्रपितामहीनामसुकासुकदेवीनाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातामह-प्रमातामह-वृद्धप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, अमुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-वृद्धप्रमातामहीनामसुकासुकदेवीना मेतत्वत्विसुक्तिकामः मेताशिलाया श्राद्धमहं करिष्ये। तीर्थचि. p. 287 These twelve are specified in गरुडपुराण I. 84 45–47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmanas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmanas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyanabhatta[1517] did not accept this for all śrāddhas t Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Aksayavata, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Aksayavata to the worship of Gayā brāhmanas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhākarana' laid down in Jai. III. 1 26-27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer pinda to oneself but without sesame.[1518] The Tri S. (p 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a pinda to himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhasmakūta[1519] and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a pinda to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārin* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a pinda[1520] to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosesoever name a pinda is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma* It is desired that anyone may offer a pinda to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal'

There are several works, printed and in mss, that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tirtha-yātrā-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

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1517. गयायां तु निर्गुणा अपि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोज्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः। वयं तु ब्रह्मप्रकल्पितान् विप्रान्भोजयेत्पूजयेदथ इत्यक्षयवटप्रकरणे पुन. श्रवणाच्चानुधीकरणोपसंहारन्यायेनाक्षयवटश्राद्धनियमो न गयाश्राद्धमात्रे। एवं च शिष्टाचारोप्यनुगृहीत इति। त्रिस्थली० p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महाक्षेत्रे गयायां तु तिलैर्विना। पिण्डनिर्वपणं कुर्यात्तथा चान्यत्र गोव्रजा.॥ वायु. 83. 34 q by त्रिस्थली० p 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली, vide also वायु. 105. 12 and अग्नि 115 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वैम्य सर्वैर्वै कुलतारकैः। आत्मनस्तु तथा देयो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता॥'

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकूटे तस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डदः। आत्मनोप्यथवान्येषा सन्येनापि तिलैर्विना॥ जीवतां दधिसंमिश्रं सर्वे ते विष्णुलोकगाः॥ वायु. 108. 85; vide गरुडपुराण 'जनार्दनस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्स्वक नरः। एव पिण्डो मया दत्तो तव एतेजनार्दन। परलोकस्ततो मह्यमक्षय्यमुपतिष्ठताम्॥', compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62-65 for very similar verses.

1520. आत्मजोप्यन्यजो वापि गयाभूमौ यदा तदा। यस्माना पातयेत्पिण्डे ते नयेद्ब्रह्म शाश्वतम्॥ नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनमिष्यते। येन केनापि कस्मैचित्स याति परमां गतिम्॥ वायु 105. 14-15. Vide also वायु. 83. 38.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhava (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891–95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C No 245 of 1887–91). The procedure in the Tīrthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāṇa passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tīrthacintāmaṇi closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa[1521] for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe Then he should perform *tarpaṇa*[1522] to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above) Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om! adyetyādi Gayātīrthaprāpti-nimittaka-śrāddhamaham karisye'. Then he should perform a *pārvaṇa-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485–505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only piṇḍas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform srāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110 10–12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāśvatīm), contemplate on his pitṛs, perform prāṇāyāma, sprinkle water on the materials for srāddha after remembering Puṇḍarīkāksa (Viṣnu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of srāddha up to the payment of dakṣinā to brāhmaṇas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10–12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādya* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

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1521 ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलप्राप्तिकाम फल्गुतीर्थे स्नानमहं करिष्ये । This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचि p 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 2

1522 रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of tarpaṇa for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मत्पिता अमुकदेवशर्मा तृप्यतामिदं तीर्थोदकं तस्मै स्वधा पितरं मीणयानीति सामग. । यजुर्वेदोक्तम् । ओं अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मंस्तृप्यस्वैतत्ते तीर्थोदकं स्वधा पितरं मीणयानि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचि. p. 286 also.

(Vāyu 110. 20–21 'ā brahma.. tilodakam' with *om* prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a pinda to his father of *pāyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśarman, esa te piṇḍah svadhā'. In this way he should offer pinda to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110 10–12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an añjali of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110. 22–23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatisthatām' with om prefixed [1522a]) and should offer one pinda made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Ṣoḍaśīkarma*, which is as follows. Nineteen spots for pindas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 30–32 'asmat-kule mṛtā... tilodakaih'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of sodaśī on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame and offer pindas beginning from the first spot, each pinda being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110. 34–55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110. 46 'anekayātanā-samsthāh ye nītā o', and treating 52–53 as one mantra and 54–55 as one mantra)[1522b]. He should offer 19 pindas

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1522 a. It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tīr. C. (pp 290–292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110 51–53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the śrāddhasodaśī should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaimini X. 5 14 states 'अपूर्वासु तु सङ्ख्यासु विकल्प स्यात्सर्वसामर्थ्यत्वात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51–55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāna, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghunandana explains that although there are nineteen pindas still this is called śrāddhasoḍaśī as a technical term.[1523] It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyaḥ'. So this is 'Puṁ-soḍaśī.' There is a 'strī-soḍaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the Vāyupurāna itself.[1524] Otherwise there is no difference between the two (pumsodaśī and strīsodaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pindas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.[1525] Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ācamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (Vāyu 110. 59–60 'sāksinaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmi Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pindas on Pretaśilā, by making a saṅkalpa (like the one in note 1516 saying 'pindadānam' for śrāddham'). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in Vāyu (110. 10–12 and 110. 59–60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pindas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pindas, the offering of pindas, re-sprinkling

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1523. ऊनविंशतौ षोडशत्वं पारिभाषिकं पञ्चाम्रवत्। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतैश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीलिङ्गानां समुद्ध च। पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां मात्रादिकाक्रमात्। वायु. 110 56 q. in त्रिस्थली० p 356 स्त्रीषोडश्या तु—अस्मत्कुले मृता ये चेत्यावाहनमन्त्रादारभ्य मित्राणि सख्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलिङ्गभूहनीयम्, अन्यत्तु पुंषोडशीवत् सर्वम्। तिथिचि p 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च गतिर्येषां न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीषोडशी the मन्त्र will be अस्मत्कुले मृता याश्च गतिर्यासां न विद्यते। तासामुद्धरणार्थाय इम पिण्डं ददाम्यहम्॥. त्रिस्थली० p. 357 refers to this स्त्रीषोडशी

1525. ओम्। ये च वो येचास्मास्वासन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मास्वासन् ते चावाद्यन्तां तार्श्चावाद्यन्ताम्। तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवत्यस्तृप्यत गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः। स्वधा पितृभ्योऽमृत्तं दुहाना आपो देवीरभयास्तृप्यन्तु। तृप्यत तृप्यत तृप्यतेति। तीर्थचि. p 293, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 10–11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretaśilā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmatīrtha [1526] (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a sankalpa (as given in the foot-note) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntarasatam' (Vāyu 108 18). He should then perform *tarpana* and perform śrāddha or (if unable to offer śrāddha) offer only pindas according to the procedure of his own grhyasūtra. He should offer as done in the Pretaśilā śrāddha twelve pindas to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible pinda and the sodaśi-pindas If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a sankalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108.20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, śrāddha and pindadāna his pitrs become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108. 21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108. 22) Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretaśilā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108. 30) and offer a bali made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharmarāja?); salutation' This offering of bali is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of tarpana and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakunda [1527] situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretaparvata, that is at the distance of a gavyūti from Gayā and that (Brahmakunda) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526 ओम्। अद्येत्यादि साम्रजन्मान्तरशतकृतदुष्कृतविलयकामोऽस्मिन्रामतीर्थे स्नानमह करिष्ये। तीर्थचि p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp 11-12 The mantra 'जन्मान्तर०' (वायु. 108. 18) is quoted by both.

1527 The सङ्कल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डस्नान is ओं अद्येत्यादि पित्रादीनां पुनरावृत्तिरहित ब्रह्मलोकमासिकाम प्रेतपर्वते श्राद्धमह करिष्ये। तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Asvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110 63 q both by Tīr. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110.64).[1528]

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthī described above (pp. 663–666). The pilgrim bathes[1529] in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2–3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20–21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kusas* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one pinda of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, honey, curds and water Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111 5). Then he repairs to Daksinamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udīcī tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Daksinamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111 9–10) and then performs salutation and worship to Daksinārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpana and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111.21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpana Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmrta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmrta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthī.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthī have been mentioned above It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāna cited by Raghu-

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1528 It may be stated once for all that there is a saṅkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpana, that śrāddha is performed as on *Prctaśilā with all details beginning from* invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out

1529 The सङ्कल्प is ओं अमुकगोत्रे ... पापक्षयपूर्वक-स्वर्गलोकादिसंसिद्धिपितृमुक्तिफल उत्तरमानसे स्नानमहं करिष्ये

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Matangavāpī, the pilgrim should go to Matangeśa to the north of Matangavāpī and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramānam devatāh santu &c). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (āmram brahma-sarodbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmane &c.). The bali to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarājadharmarājau &c.). The bali to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vāruna-vāyavya &c). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Visnupada and worship Visnu with five upacāras[1530] with the mantra 'Idam Visnur-vi cakrame' (Rg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedī of Visnupada he should perform the śrāddhasodaśī (described above pp 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anrnosham-rnatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several padas and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadālola-tīrtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Aksayavata is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (ekārnave &c) as the mantras for bowing to the Aksayavata Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tīrthas, such as Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitaranī (situated to the east of the Devanadī which is near Bhasmakūta) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsau Vaitaranī nāma &c). After referring to several other tīrthas such as Gopracāra, Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāndusīlā (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadī[1531] (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Śilā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of गया the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110 6), but it refers to फल्गु On वायु 110. 6 (ततो गयाप्रवेशे च पूर्वतोस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोयं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the त्रिस्थली० p. 352 observes 'महानदीति फल्गवा एव नामधेयम्। तोय समुत्पाद्येति ह्युक्तनदीस्वाद्दाछुकाखननेन तोयमुत्पाद्य॥'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpana and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāśvamedha, Matangapada, Makha-kunda (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūta. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūta the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a pinda mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86-90,[1532] 'eṣa piṇḍo mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātṛsoḍaśī (which do not occur in Vāyu-purāna and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayāksetra, Gayā and Gayāśiras or Gayāśīrsa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradīya all assert that Gayāksetra is five krośas[1533] (in extent) and Gayā-śiras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāna is concerned the Gayāksetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśilā to Mahābodhi tree as shown above Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Mundaprstha[1534]. Gayāśiras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīsa (Pāli for Gayāśīrsa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Anguttaranikāya, text vol IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

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1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāna, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाशिरः। वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 16

1534. मुण्डपृष्ठाच्च पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे। सार्धं क्रोशद्वयं मानं गयेति परिकीर्तितम्॥ वायुपुराण q by त्रिस्थली० p 342 The printed वायु (105. 28-29 'मुण्ड कुर्याच्च पूर्वस्मिन्') appears to have a corrupt reading

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.[1535] They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvāra), Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayinī), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñcī that is mentioned. Badarīnātha, Jagannātha Purī, Rāmesvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāna viz. Somanātha[1536] in Saurāṣtra, Mallikārjuna on Śrīśaila hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākāla (in Ujjayinī), Parameśvara in Omkāra-kṣetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhīmāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhīmā river) in Dākinī, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakesvara on the banks of the Gautamī i. e Godāvarī (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmi, Nāgesa in Dārukāvana, Rāmeśvara in Setubandha and Ghṛsneśa in[1537] Śivālaya (i. e the modern shrine at the village of Ellura,

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1535. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची ह्यवन्तिका। एता पुण्यतमा प्रोक्ता पुरीणामुत्तमोत्तमा॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40 91; काशी कान्ती च नायाख्या त्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि। मथुरावन्तिका चैता सप्त पुर्योत्र मोक्षदा॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6. 68; काञ्च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्ययोध्या च पञ्चमी। मायापुरी च मथुरा पुर्यः सप्त विमुक्तिदाः॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7. अयोध्या ..वन्तिका। पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका॥ गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 38 5-6. In the स्कन्द, नागरखण्ड 47. 4 कान्ती occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in Brahmānda III 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumāradhārā and Puskarinī If the reading कान्ती is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G. identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior

1536 पृथिव्या यानि लिङ्गानि तेषा संख्या न विद्यते। सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम्। उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोङ्कारे परमेश्वरम्॥ केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम्। वाराणस्या च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे॥ वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारुकावने। सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं घुष्मेशं (घृष्णेशं?) च शिवालये। द्वादशैतानि नामानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत्। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत्। शिवपुराण IV 1. 18, 21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraliग्राम near Satara), दारुकावन (Dey, pp. 53-54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV I. 34 42). The बृहन्नारदीयपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I 6 51 has 'काशीविश्वेश्वरं लिङ्गं ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदुच्यते। तद् दृष्ट्वा परमं ज्योतिरामोति मनुजोत्तम॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X, pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set out from morning Stotra.

1537 For Ghṛsneśvara or Gṛstaneśvara at the village Ellura, vide A. S. W. I. vol III pp. 82-83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not the Ghṛsneśvara linga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāna (Kotidrudra-samhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14–33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāna I (Kedārakhanda) chap. 7 verses 30–35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tīrthas each of Visnu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* [1537a].

1537 a. अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः। बदरिका-सालग्राम-पुरुषोत्तम-द्वारका-बिल्वाचल-अनन्त-सिंह-श्रीरङ्गाः। अष्टौ शैवाः। अविमुक्त-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेयमुना (?)-शिवसरस्वती-मध्य-शार्दूल गजक्षेत्राः। शाक्ता अष्टौ च औड्डीण-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कौलु-श्रीशैल-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः। एते महाक्षेत्रा. सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च। चार्वस्पत्यसूत्र III 119–126.

CHAPTER XV

KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKṢETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the Ṛgveda X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kuruśravaṇa, son of Trasadasyu.[1538] The Atharva-veda mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife [1539] In the times of the Brāhmaṇas Kuruksetra had become a very holy land. The Śat. Br. (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kuruksetra and at first excluded the two Aśvins from any share in it (S. B. E vol. 26 p. 275). The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (II. 1. 4., devā vai sattramāsata Kuruksetre) and the Tai. Br. (V. 1. 1., devā vai sattram-āsata tesām Kuruksetram vedir-āsīt) also say that the Gods performed *a sattra* in Kuruksetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmaṇa period held *yajñas* to be the dharma *par excellence*, as stated in Ṛg. X. 90. 16 (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan). Kuruksetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmaṇa period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called dharmakṣetra and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be dharma (*yajña, tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed sattras in Kuruksetra. The same Brāhmaṇa mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipiya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B, E. vol. 44 p. 269). The Tai. Br. (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pañcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśira*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the Ait. Br. are far more instructive. The legend about Kavasa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The Ait. Br. (8. 1 or II 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the Ait. Br. tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (Ficus India) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

1538 कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजान आसदस्यवम्। मंहिष्ठं वाघतामृषि॥ ऋ X. 33. 4. कुरुश्रवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539. कुलायन् कृण्वन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया। अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

ksetra.[1540] Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vaśa-Uśīnaras (38. 3 = VIII. 14). The Tai Ā. narrates [1541] that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kuruksetra was their altar (for the sattra). The southern side of that Vedi (i. e. Kuruksetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūrghna, the hinder part was Parīnah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāndava, Tūrghna and Parīnah were border parts of Kuruksetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kuruksetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII 6, Lātyāyana X. 15 ff and Kātyāyana [1542] 24 6 5 ff closely follow Tāndya and other Brāhmanas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Sārasvata sattras were performed such as Plaksa Prasravana where Sarasvatī starts, the Vaitandhava-hrada of Sarasvatī, the tract called Parīnah in Kuruksetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplaksāvaharana.

In the Chāndogya Upanisad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Usasti Cākrāyana who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhyagrāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that [1543] Devāpi and Śantanu mentioned in Rgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of Rstisena, a king of Kuru. Pānini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of '*apatya*', the second in the sense of 'king.'[1544]

1540. तत्रैताश्वमसान्युल्लंसते न्यग्रोधा अभवन् न्युब्जा इति हाग्येनानेतर्ह्याचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधाना तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाता । ऐ ब्रा. 35.4 = VII 30.

1541. देवा वै सत्रमासत । तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्ध आसीद् । तूर्घ्नमुत्तरार्ध । परीणज्जघनार्ध । मरव उत्कर । तै. आ. V. 1 1. Is तूर्घ्न an older form of सुघ्न? सुघ्न, modern Sugh on the old Jumnā, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542 Vide कात्या श्रौ. 'शम्यामासे शम्यामासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण। दृषद्वत्यप्ययेऽपोनप्त्रियश्चरु । अग्नये कामायेष्टि क्षत्रे प्राज्ञवणे। अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां कारपचवं प्रति। अपर त्यर्णे नेतन्धवेऽग्निमिन्धीत। कुरुक्षेत्रे परिणहि स्थलेऽन्याधेयमन्वारम्भणीयान्तं भवति। एत्य च दृषद्वतीतीरेण। अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यमुनां त्रिरुक्षावहरणं प्रति।' 24,6 5-7, 10,33-34, 38-39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X 15.1, X 17. 12, X. 18.13, X 19.1, 4-5, 8-9 कात्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV 6 34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते। देवापिश्चार्ष्टिषेणः शन्तनुश्च कौरव्यौ भ्रातरौ बभूवतुः। निरुक्त II 10.

1544 कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्य.। पा. IV, 1. 151 and 172,

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kuruksetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Drsadvatī was included in Kuruksetra and [1545] that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kuruksetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāna, Kurujāngala is [1546] the country between the Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, while Manu (II. 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, states that Brahmarsideśa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kuruksetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kuruksetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmanas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kuruksetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vinaśana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kuruksetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar)[1547] of Brahmā, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta-in some passages) when Paraśurāma made five pools of the blood of ksatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pitrs and lastly it came to be called Kuruksetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarana[1548], ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krośas* all round. Kuruksetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

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1545. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च। ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे॥ वनपर्व 83 3. The same verse is वनपर्व 83 204-205.

1546 सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योरन्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम्। वामन 22.47, सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चाला: शूरसेनका:॥ एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्तादनन्तरः॥ मनु II. 17 and 19. The extent of countries varied from age to age. पञ्चाल was divided into North and South. At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcāla was Kanoj. Śūrasena is the country of which Mathurā was the capital. अनन्तर may mean 'slightly less than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योः occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64 6.

1547. आद्यैषा ब्रह्मणो वेदिस्ततो रामह्रदः स्मृता। कृष्णा च यतः कृष्टं कुरुक्षेत्रं ततः स्मृतम्॥ वामन 22 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five vedis of Brahmā viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तरा), प्रयाग (मध्यमा), गयाशिरः (पूर्वा), विरजा (दक्षिणा), पुष्कर (प्रतीची). Vide वामन 22.20 and पद्म IV. 17.7 for the form दृषन्तपञ्चक

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजमीढ-ऋक्ष-संवरण-कुरु, about whom it says 'य इदं धर्मक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रं चकार' (IV 19 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmakṣetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit[1549]. The war between Kurus and Pāṇḍavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmaksetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāngala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II. 20. 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthānvisvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kuruksetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kuruksetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāna)[1550]. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purānas[1551] about the limits of Kuruksetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yaksa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Paraśurāma)—this is Kuruksetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedi of Brahmā. The result is that Kuruksetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vinaśana, Sannihatī (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kuruksetra, vide Cunningham's A S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp 86-106 where he notes that Kuruksetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kuruksetra was the centre of

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1549. यावदेतन्मया कृष्टं धर्मक्षेत्रं तदस्तु व । स्नातानां च मृतानां च महापुण्यफलं त्विह। वामनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी प्रजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना। कुरोर्वै यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः॥ वनपर्व 129. 22, समाजगाम च पुनर्ब्रह्मणो वेदिमुत्तराम्। समन्तपञ्चकं नाम धर्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्॥ आसमन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः॥ वामनपु 22 15-16. The नारदीय (उत्तर chap. 64 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं दधासत्यक्षमोद्भवम्। स्यमन्तपञ्चकं तावत्कुरुक्षेत्रमुदाहृतम्॥.'

1551. तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं रामह्रदानां च मचक्रुकस्य। एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, शल्यपर्व 53. 24 पद्म. I, 27 92 (reads तरण्डकारण्डकयोः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत). वनपर्व 83 9-15 and 200 show that मचक्रुक was a यक्ष appointed as one of the द्वारपाल of कुरुक्षेत्र by God Vișnu Should we not separate the first word as तरन्तुक and अरन्तुक? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap 65. 24) we have रन्तुक as a sub-Tirtha under कुरुक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थप्रकाश pp 464-465 for explanation of this verse. A G p 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तद्रन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्यदन्तरं and remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jaksha* (यक्ष) at the north-east corner of the circuit of Kuruksetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumnā and later on Videha (or Mithilā) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kuruksetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kuruksetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kuruksetra, and I shall reside in Kuruksetra' is freed from sins[1552]. 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kuruksetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal'[1553] Even the Ganges is compared to Kuruksetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Gangā'). The Nāradiya avers[1554] that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kuruksetra there is no falling on the earth again (i e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tirthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kuruksetra, they do not at all tally with the tirthas mentioned in the Brāhmanas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vinaśana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kuruksetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tirthas in Kuruksetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83. 85, Vāmana 49. 38-41, Nāradiya, uttara 65 95) on

1552. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभिष्टुतम् । पापेभ्यो विप्रमुच्यन्ते तदृताः सर्वजन्तवः ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं गमिष्यामि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् । य एवं सतत ब्रूयात् सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 1-2 The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुरुक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83 6) 'कुत्सितं रौतीति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् त्रायते इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं ब्रह्मोपलब्धिस्थानत्वात् ब्रह्मसदनम्'. 'सम्यक् अन्तो येषु क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रामकृतरुधिरोदहदा, तेषां पञ्चकं समन्तपञ्चकम्' Vide ती म p 463.

1553. नातःपरतरं पुण्यं भूतेः स्थानं भविष्यति । ... पांसवोपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना समुदीरिता । अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणं नयन्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ शल्य 53. 17, 22 q. in कल्प० (on तीर्थ) p 178. The verse पांसवोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83 3.

1554. ग्रहनक्षत्रतारागा कालेन पतनाद्भयम् । कुरुक्षेत्रमृतानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत् ॥ नारदीय II 64 23-24, वामन 33. 16 (last pāda is पतनं नैव विद्यते)

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G (pp. 334–335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāna (22. 50–55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratīrtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāna 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Krsna took up the discus for attacking Bhīsma. Vyāsasthalī[1555] (named in Vanaparva 84 96, Nāradīya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90–91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthipura (Padma, Ādi 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujasaghāt where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II. p. 219 states that Cakratīrtha is the same as Asthipura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kuruksetra. Prthūdaka on ths Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142–149. 'They say[1556] that Kuruksetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kuruksetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tīrthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tīrtha that is better than Prthūdaka'. The Śalyaparva[1557] remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death) The Vāmanapurāna (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahmayonitīrtha. Prthūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I. p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *samvat* 276 (of the Harsa Era) i e. 882–883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

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1555. सरस्वत्या विनशनं प्लक्षप्रस्रवणं शुभम् । व्यासतीर्थमिति ख्यातं त्रैलोक्यस्य नमोत्तमः ॥ कूर्म II 37. 29, vide ब्रह्माण्ड III 13 69 for a similar verse.

1556 पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रात्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च पृथूदकम् ॥ पृथूदकात्तीर्थतम नान्यत्तीर्थं कुरूद्वह ॥ वनपर्व 83 147, शान्तिपर्व 152 11 (first verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q. by कल्प० (on तीर्थ) pp 180–181. The वामनपुराण 22 44 says 'तस्यैव मध्ये बहुपुण्ययुक्तं पृथूदकं पापहरं शिवं च। पुण्या नदी प्राहसुखतां प्रयाता जलौघयुक्तस्य सुता जलाढ्या ॥ '

1557 सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् ॥ पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैने श्वो मरणं तपेत् । शल्यपर्व 39 33–34, वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is read as नैतस्य मरण भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Visnu in his Yajñavarāha *avatāra* built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāna (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārdha 65. 4–7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kuruksetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sītāvana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90–91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puskara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanāksī (in the Naimisa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20–21), Manoramā (in Auddālaka's yajña in Uttarakosala, verses 22–25), Surenu (in Rsabhadvīpa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26–27), Oghavatī (called by Vasistha in Kuruksetra, verses 27–28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himālaya). In the Vāmanapurāna 34. 6–8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitaranī, Āpagā, Gangā-Mandākinī, Madhusravā, Ambunadī, Kausikī, Drsadvatī and Hiranvatī.

Kuruksetra was also called Sannihatī or Sannihatyā. Vide those words in the list of tīrthas. The Vāmanapurāna (32. 3–4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plaksa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6–22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkandeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Pātan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p. 283).[1557a]

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B C. appears

1557a. Vide A. S. R of India, vol 14 pp 97–106 for an exhaustive list of tīrthas in Kuruksetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the Anguttaranikāya (I. 167, ekam samayam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvane) and Majjhima (II. 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles[1558] (Hari-Krsna?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmānsā-sūtra.[1559] Though Pānini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the Varanādi-gana (Pān. IV. 2. 82). Pānini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vrsni clans of Yādavas to which Krsna belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III. 1. 138 and vārtika 'gavi ca vindeh sañjñāyām'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāsya of Patañjali who[1560] in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kamsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kamsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the Mahābhāsya on Vārtika 2 on Pānini II. 4.7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the Uttarādhyayanasūtra speaks of Mathurā as Śauryapura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The Ādiparva (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

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1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Saurasenoi tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Krsnapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. स्याद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत्। जै I. 3 21 on which शबर says यतो दृश्यते मथुरामाभिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायां वसन् मथुरायां निर्गतश्च The तन्त्रवार्तिक (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न ह्येको देवदत्तो युगपत्सुघ्ने च भवति मथुरायां च। महाभाष्य vol I. pp. 18, 19 and 244, सप्तम्यर्थेऽपि वै वतिर्भवति तद्यथा। मथुरायामिव मथुरावत्। पाटलिपुत्र इव पाटलिपुत्रवत्। महाभाष्य vol I. p. 192 (on पा I. 2. 1) and vol. III p. 299 (on पा VII. 2 62, वार्तिक 3). Vide note 1409 above where माथुर cloth is said to be inferior to काशिक cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāsya' JBBRAS vol 27 pp. 39–42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति। .. केचित्कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः। महाभाष्य vol II. p. 36 on पा. III 1. 26 and वार्तिक 15, प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम्। जघान कंसं किल वासुदेव। महाभाष्य (vol, II. p. 119 on पा. III. 2. 111).

in those days. When Hamsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Krsna says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41–45). Ultimately Krsna is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā[1561] (Sabhāparva, 14. 49–50 and 67). The Brahmapurāna, on the other hand, states that the Vrsnis and Andhakas on the advice of Krsna left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8–15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyana (Uttara-kānda 70. 6–9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghata-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV. pp. 79–89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāndyas in the south) and the story of Kamsa and Vāsudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. In the Raghuvamśa XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Thsang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśokarāja, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 20 *sanghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. CXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 538 and plate V (No. 5–10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.[1562] The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kalinga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धभयात्तदा। मथुरां सम्परित्यज्य गता द्वारवतीं पुरीम्॥ सभा 14. 67; ततो वृष्ण्यन्धकाः कृष्णं पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम्। समेता मन्त्रयामासुर्वनस्य भयात्तदा। श्रुत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोचयन्। विहाय मथुरां रम्यां मानयन्तः पितामहम्। कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सव॥ ब्रह्म 14 54–56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21–30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāna rulers as Kaniska, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rājātirāja Kanikkha' in *saṁvat* 8 (E I. vol. 17. p. 10) [1563]; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniska in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in *saṁvat* 33 (E I. vol. 8 pp. 181–182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śondāsa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194–210) There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarna by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailālaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Visnu-purāna VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāna was composed. The Vāyupurāna [1564] informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayāga, Sāketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Māhurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmanas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Thsang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāna furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūsa in the city of Mathurā [1565]. Mathurā has been

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1563 The generally accepted date for Kaniska is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol 23 (1937) pp. 113–117 (by Dr. A Banerji-Sastri).

1564. नव नागास्तु (नागास्तु?) भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं चम्पावतीं नृपाः। मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्त वै। अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा। एताञ् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः॥ वायु 99. 382–83, Br. III. 74 194 Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150–350 A. D.) pp 3–15 for the Nāga dynasty.

1565. अभूत्पूर्मथुरा काचिद्रामोक्तो भरतोवधीत्। कोटित्रयं च शैलूषपुत्राणां निशितैः शरैः॥ शैलूषं हसगन्धर्वं सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम्। अग्नि 11. 8–9 शैलूष also means an

(*Continued on the next page*)

the centre of Krsna worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāna devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tirthas (chap. 152–178). The Brhan-nāradiya, chapters 79–80, Bhāgavata X and Visnu-purāna V–VI devote much space to Krsna, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vrndāvana, Govardhana and Krsna's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhanda 29. 46–47) says 'Yamunā gives moksa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Visnu'. In the Varāhapurāna (152. 8, 11) Visnu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous ksetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Māthuraka is a name extremely dear to Visnu'. The Harivamśa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.[1566]

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 20 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst[1567]. The Varāhapurāna and the Nāradiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79–80 mention numerous tirthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6–10) and Nāradiya (uttarārdha 79. 10–18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tāla, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

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(*Continued from the last page*)

actor Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nātyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nātyaśāstra chap. 17. 47 (G.O.S.) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of of Sanskrit Poetics' p 40 (1951).

1566. तस्मान्माथुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तवल्लभम्। पद्म. IV. 69. 12, मध्यदेशस्य ककुदं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम्। शृङ्गं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं प्रभूतधनधान्यवत्॥ हरिवंश, विष्णुपर्व 57. 2-3.

1567. विंशतियोजनाना तु माथुरं परिमण्डलम्। तन्मध्ये मथुरा नाम पुरी सर्वोत्तमोत्तमा॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20–21.

Khādira, Mahāvana, Lohajangha, Bilva, Bhāndīra and Vrndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purānas but only by later works. Vrndāvana [1568] was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Visnupurāna V. 6. 28–40, Nāradīya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Krsna's adventures and love-making The Padma IV. 69 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vrndāvana as Devī Dāksāyanī.[1569] In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvamśa VI, while describing Susena of the Nīpa family, king of Śūrasena, Vrndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana [1570] hill, which Krsna lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Visnupurāna V. 11. 15–25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāna (164 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vrndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14 18) says that the very ancient king Prthu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vamśa and the Purānas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Harivamśa (Visnuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Tālavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvamsa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

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1568 The पद्म (पाताल 75 8–14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपीs and कालिन्दी. The गोपस्त्रय. are योगिनीs, कालिन्दी is सुषुम्ना, कृष्ण is सर्वव्यापक and so on

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vrndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vrndāvana described in the Purānas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vrndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vrndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river But the references he gives for this last statement viz Visnupurāna 5 18 33 and Bhāgavatapurāna X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradīya (II. 80 6–7) appears to say that Vrndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनो गिरिः। तत्किं वृन्दावनात्पुण्यमरण्यं भुवि विद्यते॥ कलिकल्मषभीतानां विषयासक्तचेतसाम्। नान्यद् वृन्दावनात्सेव्यमस्ति लोकेष्वपि त्रिषु॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104–105.

Krsna was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vrndāvana out of fear of what Kamsa might do. The great Vaisnavite saint Caitanya visited Vrndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmrta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanyacandrodaya, both by Kavikarnapūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vrndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmins* of Vrndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83–122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vrndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p. 161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.[1571]

The Sabhāparva (319. 23–25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 yojanas before Krsna and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna*. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vrndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birthplace of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Purusottamatirtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Asir i-Ālamgirī' is translated to the effect that "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Dehra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I. pp. 81–167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol II. pp. 99–144, R. D Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409–412.

There are four most important tīrthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratīrtha), Jagannātha (or Śankha-kṣetra), Konārka (or Padma-kṣetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadākṣetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purānas, Purushottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41–70, about 1600 verses), in the Brhannāradīya (uttarārdha chap. 52–61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tīrtha-cintāmani of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Purusottama-tīrtha (pp. 53–175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Purusottama, Raghunandana's Purusottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāna) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 561–594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110–1120 A. D.) does not describe Purusottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakānda, though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like Lohārgala, Stutasvāmin and Kokāmukha.

Raghunandana in his Purusottama-tattva quotes a verse[1572] (which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alakṣmī*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharva-veda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana's inter-

1572. तथा 'आदौ यदारु प्लवते सिन्धोः पारे अपूरुषम्। तदालभस्व दुर्हणो तेन याहि परं स्थलम्।' अस्य व्याख्या सायणभाष्ये। आदौ विप्रकृष्टदेशे वर्तमानं . अपूरुषं निर्मानुषरहितत्वेन तदालभस्व दुर्हणो हे होत. ।अथर्ववेदेपि। आदौ सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपूरुषम्। तदा ...स्थलम्। अत्रापि तथैवार्थ.। मध्ये तीरे। पुरुषोत्तमतत्त्व (Jiv vol, II p 563). The first verse is really Rg. X 155 3 आदो .अपूरुषम्। तदा रभस्व दुर्हणो तेन गच्छ परस्तरम्॥' सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to पुरुषोत्तम in the words यदारु दारुमय पुरुषोत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं . हे दुर्हणो दुःखेन हननीय केनापि हन्तुमशक्य हे स्तोतः आरभस्व अवलम्बस्व उपास्स्वेत्यर्थ ». सायण mentions a predecessor's interpretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (alakṣmī) and asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is natural and suits the context very well I could not trace the verse in the Atharvaveda

pretation, Raghunandana connects this Rgveda verse with Purusottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāna. In Bharatavarsa there is a country called Ondra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-mandala[1573] (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Purusottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Purusottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avanti (Ujjayini) in Mālava (modern Mālvā). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purānas and Dharmaśāstras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayini with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the ksetra of Vāsudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Purusottama or[1574] Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple (prāsāda) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brāhmanas (who were really Visnu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Visnu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Krsna, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Visnu further conferred the boon that the pool called

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1573. Virajākṣetra extends a little beyond Jājpur on the river Vaitarani in Orissa. On 'Kaliṅga, Odra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I, pp. 42-58.

1574 उत्तमः पुरुषो यस्मात्तस्मात्स पुरुषोत्तमः॥ ब्रह्म 45.52; अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे तने पुण्ये विख्याते पुरुषोत्तमे। इन्द्रनीलमयीं श्रेष्ठां प्रतिमां सार्वकामिकीं॥ 45.71; इन्द्रनीलमयो विष्णुर्यत्राऽऽस्ते वालुकावृतः। अन्तर्धानगतं मत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरं व्रजेत्॥ ब्रह्म 58.3.

Indradyumna (where the king bathed at the end of his Aśvamedha) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to Indraloka, and that whoever offered piṇḍas on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.[1575] The Skandapurāna contains a Puruṣottamamāhātmya in a sub-section called Utkala-khaṇḍa in its section Vaisnava-khanda, where the story of Indradyumna is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place Purusottama was called Nīlācala in very ancient times, that Kṛsna worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the Maitrāyanī Upanisad[1576] an Indradyumna is named among a host of cakravartins. The Kūrmapurāna (II. 35. 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to Purusottama (tīrtham Nārāyanasyānyat-nāmnā tu Purusottamam). Rajendralal Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the Purusottama-ksetra, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the Vaisnava period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that Purī was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

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1575. Vide Hunter's Orissa vol. I. pp. 89–94 for a somewhat different account based on Kapilasamhitā, the most important points of which are that Viṣnu shows to Indradyumna as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, while the image of Subhadrā had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by Rajendralal Mitra in 'Antiquities of Orissa' II. pp 122–123. The story of इन्द्रद्युम्न occurs in नारदीयपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 52 41–93, 53–57, 58. 1–21, 60–61. नारदीय agrees very closely with the Brahmapurāṇa and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽन्ये महाधनुर्धराश्चक्रवर्तिनः केचित् सुद्युम्नसूरिद्युम्नेन्द्रद्युम्नकुवलयाश्वयौवनाश्वबभ्रुश्वाश्वपतिशशिबिन्दुहरिश्चन्द्राम्बरीषननक्षुसर्यातिययातिनरण्योक्षसेनादयः। मैत्रायणीय. I. 4.

of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Aśoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I. pp. 84–100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I. p. 131–132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II. pp. 122–126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' pp. 510–511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Triśūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāna gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Purusottama-kṣetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.[1576a] The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (*bhoga-mandira*), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the *nata* mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *cakra*[1577] and a flag. The

1576 a. शैवभागवतानां च वादार्थप्रतिषेधकृत्। अस्मिन्क्षेत्रवरे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे॥ दिवस्पायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत्। मतिष्टेय तथा तत्र तव स्थाने च शङ्करम्॥ ततो ज्ञास्यन्ति लोकेऽस्मिन्नेकमूर्ती हरीश्वरौ। प्रत्युवाच जगन्नाथ स पुमस्तं महाह्रदम्॥... नाचगोरन्तरं किञ्चिदेकभावौ द्विधा कृतौ॥ यो ब्रह्म. स त्वय विष्णुर्यो विष्णुः स महेश्वरः। ब्रह्मपुराण 56. 64–66 and 69–70.

1577. The *cakra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahmapurāna itself 'यात्रा करोति कृष्णस्य श्रद्धया यः समाहित। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोकं व्रजेन्नरः॥ चक्रं दृष्ट्वा हरेर्दूरात् प्रासादोपरि संस्थितम्। सहसा मुच्यते पापान्नरो भक्त्या प्रणम्य तत्॥ chap. 51 70–71 = नारदीय (उ) 55. 10–11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nīlagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called simha-dvāra (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste[1578] is observed Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Purī priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical śrāddhas among Vaisnavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high[1578a] festivals at Purī. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol I. pp. 131–134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āsādha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuda as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest, the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578 Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp 135–136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called द्वादशयात्रामयोगप्रमाण on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जगन्नाथ (vide No. 2429 in MM Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp. 133–34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. p 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalātendu Kesarī (623–677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkandeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II. p. 112). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Puri' (J. A. S B., vol. 67 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328–331) quotes two verses from the Gangavaṁśa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gangeśvara alias Codaganga built the great temple of Purusottama[1579]. As Codaganga's coronation took place in śake 999 (i e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *prāsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085–1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Purusottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209–215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādalā-pāñji* attributes the construction of Purusottama Jagannātha not to Codaganga but to his great-grandson -Ananga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Purusottama in a temple at Vārānasī-Kataka (modern Cuttack)

1579. प्रासाद पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपति को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्थाद्यपरैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गङ्गेश्वरः ॥. These verses establish that the shrine of Purusottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Codaganga did not care to build a befitting temple It appears that Codaganga built only the minor sanctum and the Jagannmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I. p. 251).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol III pp 312–315). These Ganga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekāmra), Konārka and Purī, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II. pp. 109–110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100–102) note that Ananga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śake* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D).[1580]

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol I p 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tīrthas,[1581] viz. the pool of Mārkandeya, the Vata tree (identified with Krsna), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkandeya is narrated in Brahmapurāna, chapters 52–56 and in Nrsimha-purāna 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56. 72–73 Visnu asks Mārkandeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkandeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāna provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkandeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3–4), then he should perform *tarpana*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkandeyeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamantra[1582] viz. 'Om namah Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurānic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkandeya's pool and visit to the temple of Siva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it

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1580 'शकाब्दे रन्ध्रशुभ्रांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके । प्रासादं कारयामासानङ्गभीमेन धीमता ॥. Vide Mitra's work vol. II p 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R D. Banerji vol I. p. 248 for the date of Codaganga's accession taken from his own inscription of śake 1003 (1081 A. D)

1581 मार्कण्डेयं वटं कृष्ण रौहिणेयं महोदधिम् । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतीर्थीविधिः स्मृत. ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582 मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अघोरेण च भो विप्रा प्रणिपत्य प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण । त्राहि मा त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म 57. 7–8 = नारदीय (उ) 55 18–19. The ती चि p 88 states, that the अघोरमन्त्र is 'ओं अघोरेभ्यो घोरेभ्यो घोरतरेभ्यः, सर्वेभ्य. सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेऽस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra [1583] noted below. It may be noted that the Brahmapurāna 157 17 expressly states that the Vata is Visnu Himself in that form (nygrodhākrtikam Visnum pranipatya). The Vata is also styled Kalpavrksa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuda standing in front of Krsna and then worship Krsna, Sankarsana and Subhadrā with mantras. The mantras for Sankarsana are verses 22–23 of Brahmapurāna chap. 57 and that for Subhadrā is chap. 57. 58 [1584] The mantra to be used in the worship of Krsna is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyanāya). Brahmapurāna chap. 57 verses 42–51 specify the various rewards of seeing Krsna with devotion and wind up by promising moksa [1585] A bath in the sea at Purī is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tīr. C. pp. 126–128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694–95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpana* for gods, sages and *pitrs* and offer pindas to his ancestors (chap 63. 2–5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the poet Gangādhara (E. I. vol. II. p. 330) of *śake* 1059 i e. (1137–38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Purusottama [1586]

The Brahmapurāna chap 66 speaks of the Gundicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *mandapa* where reside (temporarily) Krsna, Sankarsana and Subhadrā. The Tīr. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157–159), calls it Gundikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

1583. ओं नमोऽव्यक्तरूपाय महाप्रलयकारिणे। महद्वटसोपविष्टाय न्यग्रोधाय नमोस्तु ते॥ अमरस्त्वं सदा कल्पे हरेश्चायतनं वट। न्यग्रोध हर मे पाप कल्पवृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते॥ ब्रह्म. 57 13–14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24–25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वगे देवि नमस्ते शुभसौख्यदे। त्रातिं मां पद्मपत्राक्षि कात्यायनि नमोस्तु ते॥ ब्रह्म. 57.58 = नारदीय (उ) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्मनोविभ्रमकारकैः। ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थसाधक॥ ब्रह्म 60 24 = नारदीय (उ) 56. 35. किं चात्र बहूनोक्तेन माहात्म्ये तस्य भो द्विजाः। दृष्ट्वा कृष्णं नरो भक्त्या मोक्षं प्राप्नोति दुर्लभम्॥ ब्रह्म 57. 51 = नारद (उ) 55. 57.

1586. गत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं (भग)वयो हृद्यं प्रतिष्ठापदं पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रब्रह्मानेहसि। सर्वस्वं विततार तर्पितपितृस्तोमः करोल्लासितैस्तोयैर्यं पिण्डितस्य पर्वणि त्रिशोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणम्॥ verse 12 of E. I II at p. 334.

candrodaya[1587] it is styled Gundicā at the very beginning. It appears that Gundicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *gundi*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II. pp. 138–139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāna[1588] 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-ksetra after mounting up the Vata tree or do so between the Vata and the ocean reach without doubt moksa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures moksa. Therefore men desiring moksa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāna winds up by saying 'it is thrice[1589] true that that ksetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

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1587. सूत्रधारः। भगवतः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य गुण्डिचायात्राया ... गजपतिना प्रतापरुद्रेणाविष्टोरिम।... सोयं नीलगिरीश्वर- सविभवो यात्रा च सा गुण्डिचा। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I. (B I. series) The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of the Yātrā should be गुण्डि and चा and वा may have been easily confused by the copyists of mss The नारदीय (उ.) chap 61 40 ff quotes the whole of ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads गुण्डिचा The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'सप्ताहं सरसस्तीरे तव राजन् भविष्यति। गुडिवा (गुण्डिचा?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलप्रदा॥ ये मां तत्रार्चयिष्यन्ति श्रद्धया मण्डपे स्थितम्। सङ्कर्षणं सुभद्रा च विधिवत्सुसमाहिता ॥... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित् फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166. 8-9 and 12 Some writers such as Nilāmbaradāsa in his 'Deul-tola' state that Gundicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen (Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p 161). I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे। कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य मुक्तास्ते नात्र संशय.॥ वटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम्। ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशय.॥ पथि श्मशाने गृहमण्डपे वा रथ्याप्रदेशेष्वपि यत्र कुत्र। इच्छानिच्छाऽपि तत्र देहं सत्यज्य मोक्षं लभते मनुष्यः॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः। देहत्यागो नरै. कार्यो सम्यङ्मोक्षाभिकाङ्क्षिभि.॥ ब्रह्म 177. 16, 17, 24, 25 The first three are quoted by वी. चि p 175.

1589 सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत्। पुरुषाख्यं सकृद् दृष्ट्वा सागराम्भसमाप्लुतम्। ब्रह्मविद्यां सकृज्ज्ञात्वा गर्भवासो न विद्यते। ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52. 25-26) quoted in वी. चि p. 56 which reads सागराम्भ.सकृन्नृतम् and remarks 'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागराम्भसि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्याबोधस्य च प्रत्येक गर्भवासाभावः फलमित्यर्थः.'

tīrtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Purusottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaisnava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Purī in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudradeva, ruler of Orissa (1497–1540 A. D.). In the drama Caitanyacandrodaya of Kavikarnapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.[1590] This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Visnu as a deity in Purī and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarnapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sārvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'dārubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).[1591] The Caitanyacaritāmrta (a poem) of Kavikarnapūra in cantos 14–18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Purī and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतःपरं चेत्स न वीक्षते मां न धारयिष्ये पत जीवन च। चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 5th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवन्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यतत्त्वमविशिष्टमेव तथाप्यस्ति कश्चिद्भेद। असौ दारुब्रह्म भवान् नरब्रह्म॥' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyestha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Krsna.[1592]

NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII 9 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pātava Cākra and sthapati (a chief) and whom the Srñjayas expelled (SBE vol. 44 p. 269)[1593]. Revā is another name for Narmadā[1594] and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā A *vārtika* on Pān. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Mahismat (as the name of a country) from 'Mahisa'. This is generally identified with Māhismatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C) The Raghuvaṁśa VI. 43 speaks of Māhismatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186–194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40–42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhanda (chap 13–23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon[1594a]. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādikhanḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kanṭaka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agnipurāna (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand The Nāradīya (uttarārdha chap 77)

1592 मुनीनां वेदशब्देन मन्त्रशब्दैस्तथापरै.। नानास्तोत्रवैः पुण्यैः सामशब्दोपबृंहितैः। श्यामैर्वेश्याजनैश्चैव कुचभारावनामिभिः। पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च माल्यदामावनामिभि ॥... चामरै रत्नदण्डैश्च वीज्येते रामकेशवौ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसमु ह पाटवं चाक्र स्थपतिं सुञ्जया अपरुरुधु.। शतपथब्रा XII. 9. 3 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका। अमरकोश.

1594 a It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198–205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāṇa, chapter 186–189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.

says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tīrthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kantaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27–28).[1595] The Vanaparva (in chap 188 103 and chap. 222.24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godāvarī and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89. 1–3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country[1596], that it is endowed with *priyaṅgu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānīra fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare[1597] that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Viṣnu-dharmasūtra (85.8) in enumerating a list of tīrthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said[1598] to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakantaka that is said to be the abode of God Maheśvara and his spouse (Matsya 188 91). The Vāyupurāna declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pitṛs and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible[1599]. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

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1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V 19 18 enumerates them separately (तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वामनपुराण (13. 25 and 29–30) states that the Revā springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदेतानीह वायुना। दिवि भुव्यन्तरिक्षे च रेवाया तानि सन्ति च। नारदीय (उ) 77, 27–28, vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagarī (7. 6) As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनखले गङ्गा कुरुक्षेत्रे सरस्वती। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा॥ त्रिभि सारस्वतं तोयं सप्ताहेन तु यामुनम्। ग्रामे वा यदि वारण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा॥ मत्स्य 186 10–11 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13.6–7 = कूर्म II. 40 7–8 Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्ध 77. 30–31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरिता श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्विनि सृता। तारयेत्सर्वभूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च॥ मत्स्य 190. 17 = कूर्म II. 40. 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17. 13).

1599. पितृणा दुहिता पुण्या नर्मदा सरिता वरा। तत्र श्राद्धानि दत्तानि अक्षयाणि भवन्त्युत॥ वायु 77 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas[1600]. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tīrtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakantaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalinga.[1601]

The Viṣnupurāna provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning! salutation to Narmadā at night! O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents'[1602] he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tīrthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakantaka) does not return (to this samsāra).[1603]

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484-85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III. at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35-39), Erandī (Matsya 191. 42-43, Padma I. 18. 44), Ikṣu-nādī (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāverī (Matsya 189. 12-13,[1604] Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां शतं साग्रं श्रूयते सरिदुत्तमा। विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमायता॥ कूर्म II 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24-25 The अग्नि also (113. 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कलिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके। पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा॥ कूर्म II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः प्रातर्नमदायै नमो निशि। नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यः कुर्यात्तस्मिंस्तीर्थे नराधिप। गर्भवासे तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते पुमान्। मत्स्य. 194. 29-30, परित्यजति यः प्राणान् पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके। वर्षकोटिशतं साग्रं रुद्रलोके महीयते॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53-54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāverī (Bom G vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra

Many sub-tīrthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Maheśvara-tīrtha (i. e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bānāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I. 15 2 ff), Śukla-tīrtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarṣi* Cānakya [1605] attained perfection there), Bhrgutīrtha (at the very [1606] sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *saṃsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tīrtha (where the Narmadā [1607] falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakantaka is a tīrtha that dispels all sins including brāhmana-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismatī is to be identified with Omkāra Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B C.), one of which was sent to *Mahisamandala*. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahisamandala and Māhismatī' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425–447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahisamandala and Māhismatī. Māhismatī was well-known to the Mahābhasya, [1608] from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhismatī the next morning. Kālidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI 43). Māhismatī is mentioned as being on

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1605. शुक्लतीर्थं महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम्। चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षि सिद्धिं तत्र समागत.॥ मत्स्य 192. 14 = पद्म. I 19. 13–14 (reads चाणिक्यो). शुक्लतीर्थ is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षि probably means here राज ऋषि and not राजा चासौ ऋषिश्च.

1606 उपासते भृगोस्तीर्थं तुटो यत्र महेश्वर'। दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य सद्य पापात्प्रमुच्यते।.. तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः॥ मत्स्य 193 49–50, 52.

1607 ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिसङ्गमम्॥ जामदग्न्यमिति ख्यात सिद्धो यत्र जनार्दनः॥ मत्स्य 194. 34–35.

1608. चित्रीकरणे माप्यर्थे कृदन्ताण्णिजु वक्तव्यः।... उज्जयिन्या प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सम्भावयते सूर्यमुद्गमयतीति। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 10 (चित्रीकरणे मायि) on पा. III. 1 26. चित्रीकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhismatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23–24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92. 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvarī has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bāvarī, who was a purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvarī and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Sankhyāyā nadī-godāvarī-bhyām ca' on Pān. V. 4 75, expressly mentions Godāvarī and has in view 'Saptagodāvara'. The two Epics and Purānas contain numerous references to it. The Vanaparva[1609] mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The Aranyakānda of the Rāmāyana (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pañcavatī' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvarī and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the Brahmapurāna that the Godāvarī and the subsidiary tīrthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70–175. The Tīrthasāra (a part of Nrsimhaprasāda) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116–118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the Brahmapurāna, which fact shows that the chapters on Gautamī in the present Brahmapurāna were part of the Brahmapurāna at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in J.B.B.R.A.S for 1917 p 27–28. The Brahmapurāna generally refers to the Godāvarī as Gautamī.[1610] It is stated by the Brahmapurāna that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called Gautamī and to its north Bhāgīrathī. The Godāvarī is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

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1609. यस्यामाख्यायते पुण्या दिक्षि गोदावरी नदी। बहुशाखा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा॥ वनपर्व 88 2. इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमूलफलोदकः। देशो बहुमृग. श्रीमान् पञ्चवट्यभिविश्रुत। ... गोदावर्या. समीपे च मैथिली तत्र रंस्यते॥ रामायण III 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते। उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य भागीरथ्यभिधीयते। ब्रह्म 78. 77 q. in तीर्थसार p. 45

tīrthas on it.[1611] Dandakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mukti* and the country embraced by the Gautamī is specially the holiest[1612] A verse occurring in several purānas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvarī and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.[1613] Brahmapurāna (chapters 74–76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Siva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Ganeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nāradapurāna (uttarārdha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gangā to his hermitage, that he sowed śāli grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37–44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavī to Dandaka and the river became Godāvarī. The Kūrma (II. 20. 29–35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvarī is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahmapurāna that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautamī or Śiva who is full of compassion.[1614] The Brahmapurāna describes about a hundred tīrthas on the Godāvarī, such as Tryambaka (79. 6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1–3), Janasthāna (88. 1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsangama

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1611. विप्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटी च योजनाना शतद्वये। तीर्थानि मुनिशार्दूल सम्भविष्यन्ति गौतम। ब्रह्म० 77. 8–9.

1612 धर्मबीजं मुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते। विशेषाद्गौतमीश्लिष्टो देश. पुण्यतमोऽभवत्॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सह्यस्यानन्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी। पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमादनः। मत्स्य 114.37–38 = वायु 45. 112–113 (reads सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्धे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = मार्कण्डेय 54. 34–35 = ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16.43 (सह्यस्य चोत्तरान्तेषु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्). ब्रह्म 27 43–44 read सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः।.

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय इयमेव प्रकीर्तितम्। गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी शिवो वा करुणाकरः॥ ब्रह्म. 124, 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura[1615] (106. 55), Vañjarāsangama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavaṭī and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Goraksitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.[1616] This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāsya[1617] speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyupurāna (45.130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍulenā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544–639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59–96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503–512) and 16 in Pañcavaṭī and one the left bank of the Godāvarī (pp. 512 ff). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750–1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the the Rāmji temple in Pañcavaṭī and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvarī near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyana in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sītā-gumphā (Sītā cave) in Pañcavaṭī close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

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1615. शिवशक्त्योर्मतस्तस्मिन्निवासोऽभूत्सनातन । अतो वदन्ति मुनयो निवासपुरमित्यदः । प्रवराया पुरा देवाः सुगीतास्ते वरान् वहु. ॥ ब्रह्म. 106 53–54. निवासपुर *is* Newasa on the Pravarā which falls into the Godāvarī at the sacred place called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commentary on the Gitā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut stūpa (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरखितय थभो दानं वसुकस भारियाय' (No 87).

1617 नासिक्यं नगरमिति सङ्घाशादिषु पाठः करिष्यते। महाभाष्य vol III p. 42 on पा VI 1. 63. सङ्घाश occurs as one among many ganas in पा IV. 2. 80. नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because the nose of Sūrpanakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there.

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sītā-gumphā is the temple of Kālā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kuṇḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526 The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakunda near the left bank of the Godāvarī where it takes its first bend to the south For the Kālārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol 16 pp 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavamī is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Uṣavadāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).[1618] As regards Pañcavaṭī the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa III. 13. 13 Pañcavaṭī is styled a *deśa* (country). Janasthāna was in Daṇḍakāraṇya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradīya-purāṇa II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3[1619] and Pañcavaṭī was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukti* there through the favour of the Godāvarī.[1620]

A bath in the Godāvarī when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

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1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No 20 is नासिकेकनं धंभिकेहि दानं (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 590, E I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 is सादवाहनकुले कन्हे राजिने नासिकेकेन समणेन महामातेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramaṇa, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of King Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family' Vide Bom. G, vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāṇḍulenā caves dating from at least 100 B C. राज्ञ क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उषवदातेन ... भरुकच्छे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगे च चतुःशालायामतिथिगृह-प्रदेश...पिण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णसुपे शोर्पारगे च चरकपर्षदः ... द्वादशाब्दात्तिरेमुग्र-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम् (Ins. No 10 in Bom G, vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol 16 p 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (राम.) धनुः खड्गं च संगृह्य द्वणकारण्यमागत. ॥ जनस्थाने पञ्चवट्यां निवसतो गोदावरीतटे। अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो बहवस्तत्र कर्मणा ॥ मुक्तिं प्राप्तुमहाभागा गौतम्याश्च समादन । ततः प्रभृति तत्तीर्थं जनस्थानेति विश्रुतम् ॥ जनकानां यज्ञमदो जनस्थान मतीतिरम् चतुर्योजनविस्तीर्ण स्मरणात् सर्वपापहृत् ॥ ब्रह्म. 88. 22-24.

meritorious.[1621] The Brahmapurāna says that three crores and a half of tīrthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gangā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgīrathī (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvarī when Jupiter is in the Zodical sign Leo.[1622] It is stated in the Varāhapurāna that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvarī in *simhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpana* (and śrāddha) to his pitṛs the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *simhastha* year.

KĀÑCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñcī is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Thsang who stayed in Kāñcī about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcīpura and that Kāñcī had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. p. 230). Hiouen Thsang informs us that Kāñcī was 30 *li* (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 228–229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñcī-puraka (resident of Kāñcīpura) in the Mahābhāsya on Vārtika 26 to Pān. IV. 2 104 (Kielhorn, vol II. p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śiva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. 1. p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

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1621 अत्र सिंहस्थे गुरौ गोदावरीस्नानं कन्यागते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम् । गोदावर्यां यात्रिकाणां मुण्डनोपवासावावश्यकौ न तु तत्तीरवासिनाम् ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p 7.

1622 तिस्र. कोट्यौर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गाया सिंहगे गुरौ ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगाहनम् । सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहयुक्ते बृहस्पतौ ॥ ब्रह्म० 175 83–84, vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38–39; सिंहस्थे च गुरौ तत्र यो गच्छति समाहित । स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र पितॄंस्तर्पयते तथा ॥ स्वर्गं गच्छन्ति पितरो निरये पतिता यदि । स्वर्गस्था. पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशय ॥ वराह 71 45–46.

Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Visnugopa, king of Kāñcī (Kāñceyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Maṇimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñcī where Manimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Manimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñcī and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñcī' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purānas about Kāñcī. The Brahmānda asserts.[1623] 'The two cities of Kāśī and Kāñcī are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñcī is a famous Vaisnava *kṣetra* but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III. 124) that Kāñcī is a Sākta-kṣetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII. 38. 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrnā. The Vāmana-purāna[1624] observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñcī the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthalī is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñcī is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Visnu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rājasimha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.[1625] There is an old Jaina temple also.

PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

1623 नेत्रद्वयं महेशस्य काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम्। विख्यातं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसांनिध्य-कारकम्॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 19. 15.

1624. पुष्पेषु जाती नगरेषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाश्रमिणां गृहस्थः। कुशस्थली श्रेष्ठतमा पुरेषु देशेषु सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः॥ वामन. 12. 50. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī

1625 W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p 491 remarks that the pillars are only 540 when counted

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415–482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Vithobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.[1626] The Padmapurāna (Uttara-khaṇḍa 176. 56–58) mentions the image of Vitthala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhīmarathī which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāna. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhīmā river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Vithobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417–424) the main temple of Vithobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Vithobā is the temple of Rakhumāī, the consort of Vithobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Viṭhobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay).[1627] Except the Badves all

1626 Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣnavism, Saivism' pp. 87–89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve* v. *Baji Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhārīs* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharam Bhimaji Benare and others* versus *Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649–651) which provided for the creation of a Vithobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Vithobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhāris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris*[1628] (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricārakas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the pujāri washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *haridās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *divtes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āsādha and Kārtika and on the *Dasarā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess Rakhumāī has only one set of priests known as *Utpāts*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427–430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of Vithobā which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of Vithobā in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of Vitthal or Vithobā in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *akambo* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *cakra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others* v *Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the Benaris (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaisnava temple in India has an image of Visnu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā ..... Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Vithobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Vithobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Puṇḍlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Pundlik, a great devotee of Vitthal, spent his last days and died. Pundlik was probably a brāhmana from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Viṭhobā came to visit him. Vithobā and Puṇḍlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Pundalika varade Hari Vitthal'[1629]. The Bom. G. vol 20 (pp. 432–434) describes the temple of Puṇḍlik and narrates the traditional story about him

1629. The writer in Bom G. vol 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकवरदे हरि विठ्ठल as 'O' Pundalika, grant us a boon, Hari Vithal!". This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकवरदा हरि विठ्ठल' (which is the correct one) In my opinion हरि विठ्ठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकवरदा (for °वरद) and the whole cry means 'O Hari Vithal' that didst grant a boon to Pundalika'. Mr A K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhanga* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरमहाराजांची गाथा (ed by Śrī Vināyakbuwā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रखुमादेवीवरु तो। पुण्डलीकवरद तो मे बाई॥' (p 48) and another of Kānhopātrā (from 'Śrī-santa-gāthā' edited by Śrī Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, śake 1831) 'अगा पुण्डलीकवरदा। अगा विष्णु तूं गोविंदा॥' (p. 142)

Pages 434–468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Visnupada, Trimbakeśvara, Candrabhāgā, Janābai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Vithobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Vithobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭṭhal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established[1630] But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Bendigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śake* 1171 (1249 A. D), in which Pandharpur is called Paundarikaksetra on the Bhīmarathī (at p. 74) and Vithobā is called Visnu and which records the grant of a village in Venugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmanas by a minister of Yādava king Krsna (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Visnu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Visnu or Vitthala. Dr. R. G Bhandarkar in 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115-6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śake* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍurangapura 'on account of which crowds and Vitthala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Vithobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *sopā* beyond the *mandapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śake* 1159 (1237 A. D) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Vitthaladeva who resides in a great village called Pandarage situated on the Bhīmarathī river and who

1630. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771–778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saletore on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's monograph in Marāthi on 'श्रीविठ्ठल आणि पंढरपूर'), and Dr. Krishna's Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197–210

made the heart of sage (*muni*) Puṇḍarīka expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419–420 and pp. 4–6 of Mr Khare's monograph (on medieval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197–210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāstrakūta king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍaranga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmana named Jayad-vittha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāstrakūta king Śarvarasa (i. e. Amoghavarsa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A D. (*ibid.* p 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pandarage and was also called Pāṇḍarangapallī. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Vitthala, but the donee's name Jayad-vittha contains the part Vittha which is most probably an early form of Vitthala.

In a work called 'Vitthalabhūsana' [1631] by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tīrtha which are quoted below [1632]. Briefly they state an excellent tīrtha ex-

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1631. This was printed in *śake* 1808 (1886–87 A D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Pundlik's story, vide Bom. G vol. 20 p. 433.

1632 तीर्थहेमाद्रौ—भैम्याश्चैव तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम्। अस्ति क्षेत्रं दैवतं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम्। पौण्डरीकमिति ख्यात तत्तीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः। पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ते मूर्तिमान् देवतोत्तम। पुष्करात्त्रिगुण पुण्यं केदारात् पङ्गुण भवेत्। वाराणस्या दशगुणमनन्तं श्रीगिरेरपि। षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि दिव्यदैवतदर्शनात्। तत्फलं लभते मर्त्य सकृदेव हि तत्फलम्। अष्टाविंशतिमे कल्पे द्वापरान्ते च पण्मुख। पुण्डरीक इति ख्यातस्तपस्तेपे सुदारुणम्। भक्त्या पित्रोश्च शुश्रूषां कुर्वन्मुनिवर सदा। तस्यैवं कुर्वत पूजा पित्रोरहरह. प्रिये। परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजनमन - प्रियः। गोवर्धनगिरौ रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विभु । गोयष्टिं धारयन्यत्नाच्छत्रोज्ज्वलितकङ्कणम्। नानारत्नप्रभोद्भासि-शिक्यमौलिविराजित.। अतीव सुन्दर सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहाङ्गदः। दिग्वा-साश्चातिसौम्येन शुद्धसूत्रेण वेष्टितः। त्रिवृतेनाद्भुकालेन कटिबन्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजित । कटिमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्वै त्रिवृद्वल्या च संयुत.। तत्रैव कूर्मपुराणे। पुण्डरीके महातीर्थं ब्राह्मणैरुप-सेवितम्। तत्राभिगम्य युक्तात्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत्॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession In the T S p 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāna , on p 9 of T S. verses भैम्याश्चैव ..तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāna, as also verses अष्टा-विंशतिमे ...संयुत occur on pp 12–13 of the Tirthasāra with a few variant read-ings such as वेत्रोद्वेल्लितकङ्कण (which is a very good variant, for छत्रो.. कङ्कणम् and शक्तिमौलिविराजित for शिक्य० and दिव्यवस्त्रीति सौम्येन for दिग्वासाश्चातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Laksmanaśāstri of Wai 'अन्त.सूत्रेण वेष्टित' कटिबन्धेन राजित.' and शुक्लकाशिक्यनद्धाभ्यामूरुभ्यां चारु-शोभित: are the readings. In a ms of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms

(*Continued on the next page*)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhaimī and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paundarīka-kṣetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pāṇḍuraṅga worshipped by the whole kṣetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puṣkara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārāṇasī respectively. Pundarīka practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella[1633] (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuta*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintilating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāṇa and Kūrmapurāṇa. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāṇa, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Puṇḍarīka (Marāthī 'Puṇḍlīk') also was so known then and that the image of Vithobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaiṣṇava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

(*Continued from the last page*)

reads अन्तःसूत्रेण for गुह्यसूत्रेण, त्रिवृद्वलीकृतेनेशः कटिबन्धेन राजितः and शुद्धःनाशित्रय-नद्धाभ्यामूरुभ्या चातिशोभितः. त्रिवृतेनाऽकालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted that गुह्यसूत्रेण or अन्तःसूत्रेण is mentioned separately from कटिबन्धेन and therefore गुह्यसूत्र or अन्तःसूत्र was something different from कटिबन्ध (waist-band). Probably the original reading was द्विन्वासाश्चातिसूक्ष्मेण गुह्यसूत्रेण for दिग्वासाश्चातिसौम्येन, where सौम्य conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silver shade under which the image of Vithobā stood (Bom. G vol. 20 p 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhāchārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56–59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16–25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marathi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzulkhan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Vithobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.[1634] We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

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1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the *temple* of Vithobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhari temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāthi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्वरङ्ग' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śake 1667 i e 1745 A D) of one Chāngā Mudheśa (who died in śake 1427 i e 1505 A.D.) written by his descendant Shamji Gosāvi Vañjarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chānga Mudheśa) The Marāthi verses are: वेदरीचा राजा वामणी पातशहा। ब्राह्मणासी बहु छळियेलें॥ हिंदुधर्म जितुके तितके वर्जियेले॥ राऊळ विध्वसिलें पढरीचे॥ केलीसे मशीद महाद्वार मोडून। सातमास पूर्ण झाले यासी॥ मूर्ती सिंहासनाहूनि आच्छादिली। सुख हो देविली बहुयानी॥ verses 52–55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap 7) that Chāngadeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built Similarly, in शिवचरित्रसाहित्य part I p 68 (published by the Bhārata-itihāsa-samśodhaka-mandala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śake (i e 1659–60 A D.) in Marāthi which states that Shivaji killed Afzalakhan who had removed the image of Vitthal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr G H Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.

scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukuṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the pujāris and common people regard it as a Śivaliṅga and the rim as the rope of the *sīkya* that is carried on the back (by cowherds) The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders The present image has *aṅgadas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the Skanda-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri) The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the Skandapurāṇa also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in Sk. also we have 'trivṛtenānukāṭena kaṭibaddhena or kaṭibandhena rājitaḥ'). The present image [1633] does not clearly show that a *dhoti* was worn (and therefore one reading of the Skanda says that it is 'digvāsāḥ') but the Skanda adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the Skanda-purāṇa (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by Tukārām and others (p 92 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up For example, Tukārām states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1633. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsāḥ*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoti* and vais band and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a Bodhisattva (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a dhoti and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The Viṣṇu image from Mathurā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in Journal of U. P Historical Society, vol. 18 pp 101–134 shows similar characteristics

p. 22 'Bailā soḷā hajāra' &c.). But Tukārām does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *śikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Gosavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇḍuranga, Paṇḍhari, Vitthal, Vitthalanātha and Viṭhobā.

Visnu assumes in Prakrit the forms Vinhu, Vinnu, Venhu, Vetha and others. In Canarese Visnu becomes Bitti, Bittiga, Vitta &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bīthal' or 'Biṭhalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Vitthala (p 35) and Viṭṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Visnu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya, author of Vitthala-rn-mantrasāra-bhāsya, derives the word Vitthala as (*Vit*+*tha*+*la*)[1636].

As regards the name of the ksetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Pandarage, of which Pāṇḍuranga is a sanskritized form. When Puṇḍlik, the devotee of Vitthal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Puṇḍarīkapura (as in Kūrma) and Pāuṇḍarīkapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above

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1636 'विद् वेदने ज्ञानं तेन ठाः शून्याः वान् लाति स्वीकरोति'. Vide विठ्ठलऋङ्मन्त्र-सारभाष्य, D. C. ms. No 100 of 1869-70 dated śake 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkarīs* (lit those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkarīs* are of two sorts viz those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āsādha-śukla and Kārtika-śukla). This cult of vārkarīs has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness A brāhmaṇa vārkarī falls at the feet of a śūdra vārkarī. There are certain observances binding on all vārkarīs (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The vārkarī carries a rosary of Tulasī (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured patākā (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Vithobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāthi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukārām speak of Vithobā as Bauddhāvatāra they have Viṣṇu in mind,[1637] whose 9th avatāra was Buddha according to the Purāṇas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *tīrthas*.

1637. One of एकनाथ's अभंग is 'नववा कैसे स्थिररूप। तया नाम बौद्धरूप॥ सन्त तया द्वारी। तिष्ठताति निरन्तरी। पुण्डलीकासाठीं उभा। धन्य धन्य विठ्ठलशोभा॥' in एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अभंगाची गाथा (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No 1048, 'बौद्धचअवतार माझिया अद्वैता। सौन्यमुखें निंदा घरियेली॥' No. 4160 of the तुकारामबावांच्या अभंगाची गाथा p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 720–723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tīrthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tīrthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tīrthas have only rarely been referred to Many of the Purānas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dvīpas* and *varsas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varsa such as Harivarsa, Ramyakavarsa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmalidvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 26 verses 8–83) contains a string of over 520 tīrthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīsmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases Similarly, the Garuda (I. 81. 1–31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tīrtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tīrthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tīrtha has numerous sub-tīrthas as in the Varāha-purāna under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāna under Gautamī, in Vāyu-purāna under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance Besides, several tīrthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purānas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tīrthas Moreover, a number of tīrthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vide under Agnitīrtha, Kotitīrtha, Cakratīrtha, Varāhatīrtha, Somatīrtha) I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Dey's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratīrtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tīrthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('lodhrapadmaka-sandesu devadāruvanesu ca' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'). On p. 73 he says Bharatavarsa was first called Haimavata-varsa, but the passage of the Liṅgapurāṇa (I. 49. 7) on which he relies (idam haimavatam varsam Bhāratam nāma viśrutam) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarsa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (I. 47. 23 Himādrer-dakṣinam varsam Bharatāya nyavedayat) expressly states that Bhāratāvarsa is to the south of Himālaya. In Śalya 44. 52 Sarasvatī is called Haimavatī, but that does not mean that Haimavatī was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purāṇas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tīrtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of *tīrthas* presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tīrthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nīlamata-purāṇa, the Rāja-taraṅginī and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Buhler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the Rāja-taraṅginī and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhaṇa's work). All the names of tīrthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the Mahābhārata references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvans*, but in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa Roman figures I to VII are employed for the Bāla, Ayodhyā, Araṇya, Kiṣkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara kāṇḍas respectively. For the Rāmāyaṇa I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among Purāṇas the Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Vāyu and Padma have been relied upon and as to the rest of the Mahāpurāṇas the Veṅkateśvara Press editions have been used (except in the case of the Nrasiṃhapurāṇa of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, of which the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the bare text have been referred to). The Skandapurāṇa has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that purāṇa, though I have very carefully gone into the Kāśīkhaṇḍa and some other khaṇḍas. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the Skanda and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the Skanda viz Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara, Prabhāsa are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha.

I have made endeavours to locate the tīrthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tīrthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhaṇa) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen Thsang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tīrthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on. I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Dr. B. C. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Māhātmyas of tīrthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāṇa Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purāṇas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purāṇas in general and of the five Purāṇas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Viṣṇupurāṇa 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit *food* for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'ikṣu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Asoka trees, as the preceding word 'drākṣāvana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalaprabhava (not 'prabhavā' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandāśrama ed.) but is only an adjective of the word Śona that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Pārā rises from Ṛśyavān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Pāriyātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pārāvārātata sacred to

Matā'. This makes no sense. Pārāvāratata would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that Devī is styled or worshipped as Pārā on the bank of the Pārā river (Pārā Pārātate matā). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purānas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tīrthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purānas promise one or more of the following rewards viz, the same merit as the performance of Aśvamedha or Vājapeya or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of Brahmā, Visnu or Śiva, the destruction of the gravest sins such as brāhmana murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tīrthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purānas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tīrthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purānas among themselves and from the Mahābhārata.

Abbreviations employed in this list alone

AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhtlingk, 1847).

Ādi—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata

Ag —Agnipurāna.

A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).

A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).

Ain. A—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873–1894).

Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).

Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.

A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

B.—Brahmapurāna.

Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.

Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāna.

Bhav.—Bhavisyapurāna.

Bhī —Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Bom G —Bombay Gazetteer volumes.

Br.—Brahmāndapurāna.

Br. S —Bṛhatsamhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dwivedi.

BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāna.

C. I. I. —Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I. Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions.

Dey —Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).

G.—Garudapurāna.

Go.—Godāvarī river

h.—hill

HC.—Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvyamālā ed.)

I. G. I —Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.

J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.

K.—Kūrmapurāna.

Kal.—Kālikāpurāna.

K. R.—Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BBRAS Journal for 1877)

l.—lake

L.—Lingapurāna

m.—Mountain

M.—Matsyapurāna

Mb.—Mahābhārata

Mbh.—Mahābhāsya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).

Mār —Mārkandeya-purāna

N.—Brhan-nāradīya or Nāradīya-purāna.

NM.—Nīlamata-purāna ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.

Nr —Nrsimha or Narasimha-purāna.

P.—Padma-purāna.

Pargiter —Translation of Mārkandeya-purāna with notes.

Ptolemy—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927)

r.—River.

R.—Rājatarangini (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).

Rām —Rāmāyana.

S.—Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata.

Śal.—Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.

SK.—Skandapurāna

SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.

T. K.—Kalpataru on tīrthas (G. O. S.)

T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitramiśra, part of Vīramitrodaya

T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nrsimhaprasāda (Sarasvatībhavan series, Benares).

U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata

V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va —Vāyupurāna
Vām.—Vāmanapurāna.
Var —Varāhapurāna.
VD —Viṣnudharmottara-purāna
V. Dh. S.—Viṣnudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).
Vi —Visnupurāna
Vik —Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of Bilhaṇa (ed. by Bühler)
V. S.—Vārānasī.
Wilson—Translation of Visnupurāna, edited by Dr. Hall (1864–1877)

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

A

Abjaka—(under Go.) B 129 137 (it is the heart of Godāvarī)

Acalā—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10 256 (near Anantahrada and Kārkotahrada)

Acaleśvara—L I. 92. 165

Acchodā—(r. rising from Acchodaka lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47 6, Br II 18. 6 and III. 13. 80

Acchodaka—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14 3 and 121. 7, Br III 13. 77

Aciravatī—(r falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) It is Raptī in Oudh on which Śrāvastī was situated Var. 214. 47

Acyutasthala—Vām 34. 47. Vide under Yugandhara.

Ādarśa—*held to be same as Vinaśana* by many scholars Vide under 'Vinaśana' The Kāśikā on Pān. IV. 2 124 (Janapadatadavadhyoś-ca) appears to hold Ādarśa as a Janapada and Br S 14. 25 does the same

Ādipāla—(a h. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Mundaprstha), 109 15

Adititīrtha—(under Gangā) N II, 40. 90

Ādityasya āśrama—V 83 184, P I. 27 70

Adityatīrtha—A (on Sarasvatī) Sal 49 17, Devala q by T K p 250, B (on r Sābhramatī) P VI 167 1 (near confluence with sea)

Ādityāyatana—(under Narmadā) M 191 77, K II 41 37-38, P. I 18 5 and 72.

Ādityeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 5

Agastyapada—(under Gayā)—Ag 110 3, Vā 111 53

Agastyasaras—V 82 44 It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRAS vol 19 pp 558-559 (New series)

Agastyāśrama—Vide Dey p 2 for eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all) A (on r Durjayā) V 96 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya), B V. Dh S 85. 22, P I 12 4, V 19. 198 (near Puskara); C (near Prayāga) V 87. 20, D (near Gokarna) V 88. 18, E (near Janasthāna and Pañcavatī about five yojanas from Sutīkṣṇāśrama) Rām III. 11 38-42, Raghu XIII 36 There is an ancient *shrine of Agastya about one mile* from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravarā river, F (near the sea in Pāndya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88 13, 118 4, 130 6—one of the five Nāritīrthas), Rām. IV. 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh X 79. 167

Agastyatīrtha—(in Pāndya country) V 88 13

Agastyavata—Ādi 215 2

Agastyeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191 5, B (liṅga in VS) I q by T K p 116

Aghoreśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 60

Agnidhārā—(under Gayā) V 84 146, Ag 116 31.

Agnikunda—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 51 22, Var. q by T. K p 215.

Agniprabha—(under Gayā) Var. 145 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

Agnipura—Anu 25 43 Dey p 2 says it is Māhismatī. Vide Raghuvaṁśa VI. 42

Agnisaras—A (under Kolāmukha) Var 140 34-36, B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 52

Agnisatyapada—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7

Agniśiras—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5-7

Agnīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 66, 71

Agnitīrtha—A (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108 27, P. I 45 27; B (under VS) K I. 35 7, P. I 37 7; C (under Go) B 98 1; D (on Sarasvatī) Śal 47. 13-14, P I. 27 27, E (on north bank of Sābhramatī) P VI. 134. 1; F (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 63

Ahah—V. 83. 100

Ahalyāhrada—(near Gautama's āśrama) V 84 109, P I 38 26

Ahalyātīrtha—A (under Godāvarī), B 87 1, B (under Narmadā) P I 18 84, M 191 90-92, K II 41. 43

Ailāpatra—A dikpāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāśmīra. NM1118 (modern Ailapatur)

Airāvatī—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A I p 190, Rāvī in the Punjab?) A r. on the border of Madradeśa rising in the Himālaya. M 115 18-19, 116 1 and 6 and Devala q by T. K p 249 Dey p 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116 1) Haimavatī as a proper name, since in M 116 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of Himavat'

Ajabila—(under m Śrīparvata) L I. 92 153

Ajatuṅga—Vā 77. 48 (śrāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)

Ajeśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I 92 136

Ajiravatī—a r. referred to in Pān VI 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravatī above

Ākāśa—(under VS) K I 35 3, P I 37 3

Ākāśagangā—A (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag 116 5; B (on m Sahya) Nr 66 35 (sub-tīrtha of Āmalaka)

Ākāśaliṅga—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 51

Akrūra—(under Mathurā) Var 155 4-5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vṛndāvana)

Akṣavāla—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutahar Pargana in Kāśmīra) R I 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs) NM has the name Akṣipāla

Aksayyakarana Vata—(in Prayāga). Vide p 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Thsang's reference to it. V 87 11, P VI. 25 7-8 (Viṣnu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*)

Aksayyavata—A (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣnupada) V. 84 83, 95. 14, Vā 105 45, 109 16, 111. 79-82 (Viṣnu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water), Ag. 115 70, P I 38 2, B (under Go to the north of Vindhya) B. 161 66-67, C (on Narmadā) BV, III chap 33, 30-32 (where Pulastya performed *tapas*).

Alābutīrtha—(under Viraja) B. 42. 6.

Alakanandā—Ādi 170 22 (Gangā is so called among gods) Acc to Vā 41 18, K I. 46 31, Vi II. 2 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādi 170 19 speaks of the seven mouths. N. (II. 66. 4 ff) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhagīratha's chariot Bh. IV 6 24 and V 17 5. The Bhāgīrathī is joined by Alakanandā at Devaprayāga and the combined stream is then called Gangā N. II. 67. 72-73 say that Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarikā-

śrama. According to I. G. I vol XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgīrathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Viṣnuprayāga Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp 2 and 140.

Aleśvara—see Brahmeśvara

Alitīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II. 42. 37.

Āmalaka—A (under Stutasvāmin in U. P.) Var 148. 67 ff, B (between Brahmagiri and Vedagiri peaks of the Sahya m.) TS p. 78.

Āmalakagrāma—(on m Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff q. by T. K p. 254. Dey p 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmraparnī

Amarakahrada—(under VS) L. q by T K. P. 53.

Amarakantaka—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces) Vide p. 705-6 above Vā (77. 10-11 and 15-16), V. Dh S 85.6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three *puras* of Bāna burnt by Śiva fell on this m K II 40 36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)

Amarakeśvara—Linga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53

Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21-30 quoting SK. It is a Śivakṣetra, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas and is so called because sins are crushed here (āmarrdeyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmardakam matam). On p 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparśa and Nāgeśvara It is said to be a liṅga on p. 22. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77-78 for a description of the temple of Nāganātha and plates CXIII-CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Nāganātha (Anndha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhanī in the Hydarabad State.

Amareśa—A (on Narmadā) M. 186 2, B (linga in VS) L. I 92 37

Amareśvara—A (on m. Nisadha) Vām. q. by T. K p 236; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Amaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in linga-shaped ice-block This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmira Ain A. vol. II p 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)

Ambājanma (to east of Sarala) V. 83. 81 (it is Nāradatīrtha)

Ambarīśeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 118

Ambikātīrtha—L I. 92. 166

Ambikāvana—(on r Sarasvati) Bh Ā. 34 1-2

Amlu—(a very holy r in Kuruksetra) Vām. 34. 7

Amohaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P I 18 96-99 (Tapeśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)

Āmrātakeśvara—(under VS) M. 22 51, 181 28, Ag. 112 3

Amśumati—(r). Rg VIII. 96 13-15 (on which stayed an *asura* called Kṛsna) According to Brhad-devatā (VI 110) it was in the Kuru country, Rām. II 55 6 (near Yamunā)

Ānanda—Vide under Nanditata.

Ānandapura—(under VS) K I 35 15, P. I. 37. 18

Ananta—a Vaiṣṇava-kṣetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III 120, Br. III. 13. 58.

Anantabhavana or Anantahrada—HC X. 253,256 (now called Anantanāga, about one krośa from Mārtaṇḍa.

vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra

Anantanāga—(not far from Punyodā). NM 1401-2 It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtānda plateau in Kāśmīra SM p 178

Anantaśayana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110 8, VI. 280 19

Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var 155. 1

Anaraka—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām. 41 22-24, B (under Narmadā) M. 193 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; C (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dharmatājatīrtha—K I. 39 5, P I 27 56

Anarakeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 113

Anāśaka—Var 215 89

Anasūyā-linga—(north of Gopreksa, under VS) L q by T K p 42

Andha—(a *nada*) Bh V 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII 11 16 (andhaśonau mahānadau), Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gangā in Bhagalpur

Andhakeśa—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 65

Andhona—(under Narmadā). P I. 18, 110-113

Angabhūta—(a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22 51

Angārakunda (under VS) L q by T K p 56

Angāravāhika—M. 22 35

Angāreśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T. K pp 55 and 98, B (under Narmadā) M 190 9, P I. 17.6

Angārakeśvara—A (under Gayā) Ag 116 29, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 6

Angārcśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)

Angirasatīrtha (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I 18 50

Angiraseśa (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 117

Anitabhā (r) Rg V 53 9

Añjalikāśrama—Anu 25 52

Añjana (a m near Brahmagiri, under Go) B 84 2 Vide under Paiśācatīrtha, Br S 14 5 says Añjana is m in the east

Añjasī—(r) Rg I 104 4

Ankola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M 191 118—122 Probably modern town of Ankleśvar in Broach District A G p 322 identifies Akrūreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp 11-12

Ankuśeśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194 1

Annakūta (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Annakūta)

Antakeśvara (under VS) L q by T K. p 75

Antarvedi (holy land between Gangā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1 17. 274-275 (where brahmahatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)

Antaśilā (r rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45 103

Antikeśvara (under VS) N II 49 6-9

Anūpā (r rising from Rkṣavat m) Br. II 16.28

Anyatah-plakṣa-name of a lotus lake in Kuruksetra (Śat Br. in SBE, vol 44 p 70)

Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kuruksetra—V. 83. 68, Vām 34 7, P. I. 36 1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānusa), NM 158 Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A G. p 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadī, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot Cunningham (ASR of India, vol XIV pp 88-89) says that Āpagā or Oghavatī is a branch of the Chitang.

Apām-prapatana—Anu 25 28

Aparanandā—(near Hemakūta) Ādi. 215 7, 110 1, Anu 166 28 Dey (p 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā

Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) B 130.1

Āpayā—(a r, probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Drsadvatī) Rg III. 23 4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Aughavatī (JRAS vol, 15 p. 362 n. 5)

Apsaras-kunda—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164 19

Apsareśa—(under Narmadā) M. 194 16, P. I 21 16, h II 42.24

Apsaroyugasaṅgama—(under Go) B. 147.1

Arantuka—a dvārapāla, V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).

Aravinda—(a h. under Gayā) Vā. 109. 15, N II. 47.83 (reads Aravindavara)

Arbuda—(m Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V 82 55-56 (there was Vasiṣṭha's āśrama), M. 22 38, P I 24.4, N II. 60 27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jainas, the other four being Satruñjaya, Sameṭ, Śikhara, Girnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa Vide E I vol IX p 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I vol 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *samvat* 1116

Arbudasarasvatī—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22.38

Ārcīkaparvata—V 125 16 (where Cyavana and Sukanyā dwelt)

Ardhacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.

Ardhakūla—founded by Darbhin near Sarasvaty-aruṇā-saṅgama V. 83. 153-157

Arghyatīrtha—G. 1. 81 7

Aristakunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 30 (where Ariṣṭa was slain)

Ārjikīyā—(r) Rg. X 75 5 Nir IX. 26 states that the river was called Vipāś (modern Beas) and Vipāś was originally Urumjirā

Arjuna—(a tirtha sacred to pitṛs) M. 22. 43.

Arjunīyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p 249, Prof. K. V. R. Aiyangar (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bāhudā, but the passage from Devala (on T K. p 249) shows that Arjunīyā and Bāhudā are separately enumerated

Arkakṣetra—same as Konārka

Arkasthala-kunda (under Mathurā) Var. 157 11, 160 20

Ārṣabha—see under Ṛṣabha

Ārṣṭiṣeṇāśrama—Anu 25. 55

Aruṇā-sarasvatīsaṅgama—three miles to the north-east of Pṛthūdaka-P. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30-31 and 42, Vām. 40.43

Aruṇa—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47 17-18, Br II 18 18

Aruṇā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Dṛsadvatī near Pṛthūdaka) Śal 43 30-35. Sarasvatī joined itself to Aruṇā to cleanse the rākṣasas of sins and Indra of brāhmaṇa murder, B, (a branch of the Kauśikī) V 84 156, vide Journal of A S of Bengal, vol 17 pp 646-649 on the seven Kosis in Nepal of which the Aruṇā is the most important, C (under Go) B 89 1, P VI 176 59. Vide Bom G vol XVI p. 468 for Aruṇā stream.

Aruṇā-varuṇā-saṅgama—(under Gautamī) B 89 1 and P VI 176 59

Arundhatī-vata—V 84 41, P I 32 6

Aruṇīśa—(under VS) L q by T K p 60

Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (punyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vindhya mountains Vide H of Dh vol II. pp 11-16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times

Āsādha—linga (under VS) L q by T K p 93

Āsādhītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 30

Āśālinga—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92 148

Asi—(r under Banaras) also called Suskanadī. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

Asiknī—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg VIII. 20 25, X 75 5 Nirukta IX 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured, later it was called Candrabhāgā This was the Acesines of the Greeks. Vide Bh V 19. 18

Asikunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 163 13, Var chap 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikunda

Asita—(a m in the west) V 89. 11–12 (on this m Cyavana and Kaksasena had their āśramas).

Asitā—(r where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha. Vā 77 39, Br III 13 39

Asitagiri—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br III 13 39

Aśmanvatī—(r) Rg. X 53 8 The Āśv gr (I. 8 2–3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down Dey p 13 says that it is the river Oxus He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view

Aśmaprstha—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Pretaśilā). Anu 25 42

Asokatīrtha—(near Sūrpāraka) V. 88 13

Astamana—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191

Astavakra—(four miles from Haridvāra) Anu 25 41 Vide Dey p 12

Asthipura—(under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27 62 It is to the west of Thāneśvara and south of Aujasa-ghāt Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bhārata war were collected and cremated Vide A. S R. vol. 14 pp 86-106 and A G p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Thsang was shown bones of very large size

Āsurisvara—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 67

Aśvamedha—(under Prayāga) Ag. 111. 14

Aśvaśiras—(in the story of Nala) V 79. 21

Aśvatīrtha—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V 95 3 Anu 4 17, Vi IV 7 15 (where sage Rcīka gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhi for the latter's daughter Satyavatī), Kālikā 85 51–57; B (under Narmadā) M 194 3, P. I 21 3, C (on Go) B 89. 43 (where the two Aśvins were born)

Aśvatthatīrtha—K. II. 35 38—where Nārāyana resides in the form of Hayaśiras (location is not clear)

Aśvinī—Anu 25 21 (on the Devikā river)

Aśvinos-tīrtha—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 17, P I 26 15 (same words as in V)

Aśvīśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 52

Atavītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 30

Atibala—(Mahābaleśvara in Satara District) P VI 113.29

Ātmatīrtha—(under Go) B 117 1

Ātreyatīrtha—(on north bank of Go) B 140 1

Atri's āśrama—(after Citra' ūta) Rām II. 117.5

Atrīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K p 43

Attahāsa—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā 23 191, B (a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22.68, C (a linga in VS) L q by T. K p 47

Auddālakatīrtha—V 84 161

Audyānakatīrtha—P. I. 38 68

Aujasa—(under Kuruksetra) V. Dh S. 85 52, Vām 22 51 and 57 51

Aupamanyava—(under VS) L q. by T K p 97

Ausaja—A—V Dh S. 85 52 (Sūrpāraka, acc to com Vaijayantī) Jolly (SBE, vol 7 p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Auśija; B (a boundary of Samantapañcaka) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)

Auśanasa—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83 135, M 22 31, Śal 39 4 and 16–22, P. I 27. 24–26, Vām. 39 1 and 14 (where Uśanas got sidhhi and became planet Venus), 42 24

Auśiraparvata—Vā 77.29

Avadhūta—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 93

Avakīrna—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām 39 24–35 (story of Bala Dālbhya who begged of Dhrtarāstra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhrtarāstra's country an *āhuti* in Prthūdaka), Śal. 41 1, P. I 27 41–45 (where it is Darbhin who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)

Avanti—A (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pān IV. 1.176 ('striyām—*avanti*-kunti-kurubhyaś-ca)', Raghuvaṃśa VI. 32; S 31. 10 (Vindānuvindāvāvantyau), Udyoga 166 6 (same words as in S), B Avantī (river starting from m Pāriyātra) Vā 45 98, M 114.24, Br II 16 29, C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B 43 24, Ag 109. 24 (Avantī paramam tīrtham), N. II 78 35–36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvatī, Kuśasthalī, Kanakaśṛngā, Padmāvatī, Kumudvatī, Ujjayinī) Vide also L I 92. 7–8 and B 194.19 (Sāndīpani, teacher of Krsna, dwelt in Avantipura) The Meghadūta (I 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā, Kāśikhanda 7 92 'pāpād-avantī sā viśvam-avantītu nigadyate | yuge śnyanāmnī kalāvujjayanīti ca||). Vide under Mahākāla

Avatodā—(r) Bh. V. 19 18

Avighnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 114.25

Avimukta—(same as Kāśī) V 84. 79–80, Vi. V 34.30 and 43. Vide pp. 618–642 above

Avimukteśvara—(linga in VS) L. I. 92 6 and 105, N. II 49. 53–55 (where cocks are honoured)

Ayodhyā— (in Fyzabad District in U P) on the Ghāgrā One of the seven holy cities (vide p 678n above) It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there Atharvaveda X 2. 31 and Tai. A. 1 27 2 (aṣṭācakrā navadvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā | tasyām hiranyayah kośah svargo loko Jyotiṣāvrtah||), V 60. 24–25 and 70 2 (capital of king Rtuparna and of Rāma), Br IV 40. 91, Ag 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśanī) According to Rām. I. 5. 5–7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it, Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājanapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV p 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣina Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghuvaṃśa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI 71 and IX 1) Vide also Vā 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P VI. 208. 46–47 (for Dakṣina Kośalā and Uttara Kośalā). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā Vide T P p 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa Dr B C Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha R. Society, vol I pp 423–443

Ayogasiddhi—(under VS) L q by T K p 98

Ayonisangama—(under Narmadā) P I 18. 58

B

Babhrutīrtha—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I 2. 13. 107

Badarī—(a holy place on Gandhamādana where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyana) V 90 25–32, 141 23, 177 8, Śānti 127 2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29 41 (Nārāyanā-

śrama), M 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2 1–7 (there is no *piṅgā* in Daksināyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called Viśālā. Vide I G I. vol. VI pp 179-180 for description The temple of Badrīnāth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.

Badarikā—A Vām. 2 42–43; B. (near Mahendra m), P I 39 13, V 85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat) Vide E I. vol. 25 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp 25, 29)

Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrīnāth in Garhwal, U P) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T K pp 215–216); Parāśarasmrti I. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama, M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuna practised *tapas* here, Vi. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādana and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyana), Br. III 25 67 (same as in Vi), N II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tīrthas), N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river), Bh. VII 11.6, B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P VI. 212 1 and 43

Badarīvana—P. I 27. 66

Badarīpācana-tīrtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasistha had his āśrama here).

Bagalā—(a Devisthāna). Vide under Vaidyanātha.

Bāhudā—(a river near Sarasvatī). Anu. 165, 27, P. I 32 31, N. II. 60 30, B. 27 26, M 114 22 and Vā 45 95 (say it rises in Himavat) V. 84. 67 and 87, 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification and Pargiter (pp. 291–292 note), Vā 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhudā Amarakośa gives Saitavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhudā and Ksīrasvāmin comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).

Bahulavana—(under Mathura) Var. 157 8

Bahunetra—(a tīrtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodaśī) M 191 14

Bāhyā—(r rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.

Bakulāsaṅgama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27

Bakulavana (or Bahulao)—(5th *vana* out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36 Vide p 690 above

Balabhadralinga—(under VS) L q by T. K p 46.

Balākā—Anu 25 19 (kanyākūpa upaspṛśya Balākāyām krtodakah)

Bālakeśvara—(under VS) L. q, by T K. p. 43

Balākeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191 19

Bālapa or Bālapendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145 1, 24 and 37 (a Ravīksetra)

Baleśvara—(under Srīparvata) L. I. 92 148

Balikunda—(under VS) L. q by T K. p 76

Bānagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144 63 (Rāvana exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)

Bānatīrtha—A (under Go) B.123. 214, B (under Narmadā) K II 41. 9–10

Bāṇeśvara-linga (under VS) SK, Kāśīkhanda 33. 139, L. q. by T K p 48

Bañjulā—(probably same as Vāñjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Bañjulā from Rksa), Br. II 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B from Mahendra)

Bārhaspatya-tīrtha—(under Go) B. 122. 101

Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Ganges) Vi II 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām 51.52, B (the river on which Haribara is situated) Nr. 65. 18

Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 52

Bhadrakāleśvara—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22. 74

Bhadrakālī—Acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 she dwells on Vindhya

Bhadrakālīhrada—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87

Bhadrakarnahrada—Ag 109. 17

Bhadrakarneśvara—(a fit place for śrāddha) V. 84. 39, K II. 20. 35, SK VII. 1 Arbuda-khanda—chap. 8, 1–2 (linga on a pool of that name on Arbuda m.)

Bhadratīrtha—A (under Narmadā) P. I 18. 54; B (under Go.) B. 165 1, M 22. 50

Bhadratuṅga—V. 82. 80

Bhadravana—(6th out of 12 vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153 37, 161 7

Bhadravata—V. 82 50, P I. 12 10, Var. 51 2 (on the north side of the Himālaya) and 98 6

Bhadrāvatī—(one of the four original streams of the Ganges, the other three being Sītā, Alakanandā and Sucaksuh) Br. III. 56. 52

Bhadreśvara—A (on north bank of Narmadā) M 22 25, K II. 41. 4, B (under VS) L. I. 92 136, L q. by T. K. pp 52, 68

Bhagavat-padī—The Ganges Bh V. 17 1-9

Bhāgīrathī—M 121 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from Bindusaras and which following Bhagīratha's chariot reached the sea)

Bhairava—(a tīrtha) M 22 31

Bhaireveśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 137

Bhāndahrada (under Mathurā)—Var. 157. 10

Bhāndīra—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 43 (the 11th out of 12 vanas), 156. 3 vide p 691 above

Bhāndīraka Vata—(near Vrndāvana) Bh X. 18 22, X. 19 13

Bhaṅgatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191.52

Bhānutīrtha—(under Go.) B. 138 1, 168.1

Bhārabhūteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 93

Bhārabhūti—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 18, K. II. 42. 25, P I 21.18

Bharadvājāśrama-Rām II 54. 9-10, VI 127. 1 and 17, V 102 5-6. Vide Citrakūṭagiri. For a discussion of the real site of this āśrama, vide Journal, Ganganath Jha R. Institute, vol. III pp. 189-204 and 433-474 (Shri R. M Shastri)

Bharadvājatīrtha—(see Agastyatīrtha) Ādi 216.4

Bharatasya-āśrama—A (under Gayā) Br III. 13.105, M. 13 46 (Devī is here called Laksmī-Anganā), Vā 77. 98, 108. 35, and 112 24, B (under Kauśikī) K. II 37.38, P I. 38 48

Bharateśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 66

Bhārgaveśa—(under Narmadā) M 192.1, P. I. 19.1

Bhartṛsthāna—V 85. 60, P. I. 39.56 (where god Mahāsena is 'nityasannihita)'. Same words in both V and P

Bhārundavana—(in the country of Matsya) Rām. II. 71.5

Bharukaccha—(modern Broach) S 51 10 (the inhabitants of Barukaccha brought as presents to the Pāndavas horses from Gāndhāra i. e. the country about Peshawar). Ptolemy and the Periplus call it Barygaza. It was called Bhrgupura and Bhrgu-kaccha also (the latter in SK, Kāśikhanda 6.25). A Valabhi copperplate of Dharasena IV in Valabhi samvat 330 (648-9 A. D.) was issued from a camp at Bharukaccha. There is a Suppāraka Jātaka, No 463 where Bharukaccha is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by Cowell)

Bhasmagātraka—L. I 92.137

Bhasmakūṭādrī—(under Gayā) Vā 109. 15

Bhāskaraksetra—(Konārka) Mit on Yāj. III 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskaraksetre &c' (q. on p. 574 above), T. C. p 16 and Prāyaścittatattva (p 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskaraksetra, while T.S. p 20 says it is Konādītya or Konārka. This is the correct view M 111. 13 and K I 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpatiksetra' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p 32 simply follows Prāyaścittatattva

Bhāvatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 153 1

Bhedādevī—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabror, west of Śrīnagara, in Kāśmīra, NM 1522

Bhedagiri—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186–187

Bhillatīrtha—(on south bank of Go.) B 169 1

Bhīmā—(r.)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m and tributary of Kṛsnā) Devala q by T K p 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāśankara, one of the twelve Jyotir-lingas and it falls into the Krsnā river 16 miles north of Raichur

Bhīmādevī—(modern village Brān in Phāk *Pargana* on east shore of Dal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II 135, HC. 4. 47

Bhīmarathī—same as Bhīmā. M. 22 45, 114.29, B 27 35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrtivarma II in *śake* 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p 200 at p. 204)

Bhīmasvāmin—Rock in Kāśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Ganeśa, SM. p. 148

Bhīmatīrtha—Ag. 109.12

Bhīmāyāh sthānam—V. 82. 84. Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-i-Bahai, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshawar

Bhīmeśvara—(tīrtha sacred to Pitrs under Narmadā) M. 22, 46 and 75, 191. 5, K II 41 20 and II 44 15, P I 18 5

Bhīsmacandika—(under VS) M 183. 62

Bhīsmeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 66

Bhogavatī or Vāsukitīrtha—A (under Prayāga) It is called the altar of Prajāpati, V 85 77 (tīrtham Bhogavatī caiva vedir-eṣā Prajāpateh), M 106.46 and 110 8, Ag. 111 5, N II. 63 95, B capital of Kakustha of the Iksvāku race, Kal. 50 4

Bhrgu—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I 2.3. 2–6

Bhrgukaccha—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha, Bh VIII. 18 2

Bhrgukunda—(under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148.48

Bhṛgutīrtha—(under Narmadā) M 193. 23–60, K II 42. 1–6, P I 20 23–57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginīs, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur, V 99 34–35 (at this place Paraśurāma regained his energy taken away by Rāma)

Bhrgutunga—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhrgu practised penance) A—Vā 23 148 and 77 82, V 84 50, 90. 23, 130. 191, B V.Dh.S 85 16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22 31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakantaka acc to Nanda Pandita and acc. to others in the Himālaya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gandak) Var 146 45–46, D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK, Kāśikhanda 6 25, E (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām 81 33

Brhaspatikunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 55

Bhrngiśvara-linga—(under VS) SK. Kāśikhanda 33. 129 and L. q by T, K p 84

Bhūmicandeśvara—(under VS) Ag. 112.4

Bhūmitīrtha—Ag. 109 12

Bhūtālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 158. 1 (where r Candanā becomes prācī) Vām 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain

Bhūteśvara—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148, HC 4.85 This is included in Nandiksetra Bhūteśa Śiva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks Ain. A. vol II, p. 364 refers to it, B (under VS) K I. 35.10, P I. 37 13, C (under Mathurā) Var. 169.19

Bhuvaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 56

Bilapatha—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15–17. Vide under Nīlakunda

Bilvācala—A Vaisnava-ksetra acc. to Bār. S III. 120

Bilvaka—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh S. 85.52, M. 22 70, K. II 20. 33, Anu 25 13, N II 40.79

Bilvapatraka—P. VI. 129.11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Śiva)

Bilvāvana—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var 153.42

Binduka—V Dh S. 85 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)

Bindumādhava—(in VS) M. 185 68, SK IV. 33. 148, N. II 29 61, P VI. 131. 48

Bindusaras—A (on Maināka m. near Badarī) V. 145 44, Bhī. 6 43–46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121 26 and 31–32 (where Bhagīratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyana practised *tapas*), Bh III. 21–33 and 39–44 (description), B (under VS) Śiva bathed in it and the *kapāla* of Brahmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocanatīrtha) N. II 29. 59-60, C (under Ekāmraka) B 41. 52–54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith), D (in Kaśmīra) it is a *dikpāla* in the east of the country, according to NM 1116–1117.

Bindutīrtha—same as Pañcanada, which *see*

Bodhitaru—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P VI. 117 30 *Vide* under Mahābodhitaru At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B C) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; *vide* 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3 The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A D, but restored about 620 A.D. by king Pūrnavarman Vide A. G pp, 453–459 for Bodh Gayā and p 459 for Bodhitaru.

Brahmagiri—A (m. from which Godāvarī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25–26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176 58, B (*the highest peak of* Sahya and as a tīrtha under Krsnavenyā) T S p 78

Brahmahrada—Bh. X. 28. 16–17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br III. 13, 52

Brahmaksetra—(Kuruksetra) V 83 4 6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5

Brahmakunda—A (under Badarī) Var 141 4–6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himālaya), C (under Gayā) Vā 110.8

Brahmakūpa—(under Gayā) Vā 111 25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37

Brahmanadī—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX, 16. 23

Brāhmanakundikā—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501

Brahmanas-tīrtha—V. 83, 113, P. I. 27.2 (Brahmanah sthānam), P, I. 38. 20

Brāhmanī—(probably the Bāmani, that falls into the Chambal) V 84. 58

Brāhmanikā—(near Naimisa forest) P. I. 32.22

Brahmānusvara—(under Kuruksetra) P 1. 26 67

Brahmapada—(under Gomukramana) Var. 147 36

Brahmaputra—same as Lauhitya, which see

Brahmāranya—(under Gayā) P. I 38 5

Brahmasaras—A (near Thanesar) Vā. 77 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22 55–60 and 49. 38–39. This lake is known by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasaras &c; B (under Gayā) V. 84 85 (dharmāranyopaśobhita) and 95 11, Anu 25. 58, Ag 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30, . C (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 37–39, D (under Sānandūra) Var. 150 20

Brahmaśiras—(under Gayā) K II. 37. 38, N II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)

Brahmasthāna—V 83. 71, 85. 35, P I. 27. 2

Brahmasthūnā—P. I 39 33

Brahmatāreśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K, p 88

Brahmatīrtha—A (under VS) K I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I 37. 9–12 (Viṣnu established it in the name of Brahmā), B (under Gayā) P. I 38. 69, N II 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36, C (under Go) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III 13 56, D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78 19

Brahmatunga—Ag 109 12, P. I 24 28

Brahmatundahrada or Brahmatungahrada—Br. III. 13.73, Vā. 77.71–73 (śrāddha, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)

Brahmavallī-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 137.1

Brahmavāluḳā—V. 82. 106, P. I 25 13

Brahmāvarta—A (holy land between Sarasvatī and Dṛsadvatī) Manu II 17, Kal. 49 71 The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nir ed) shows that Kuruksetra was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a holy tīrtha, V 83 53–54, 84 43, M 22. 69, Ag. 109 17; B (under Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I 17. 5

Brahmayoni—A (on Sarasvatī)—same as Pṛthūdaka, Vam 39 20 and 23, B (under Gayā) V. 83.140 and 84 95, P,I 27 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108.83 (brahmayonim praviśyātha nirgacched yastu mānavaḥ | param brahma sa yātīha vimukto yonisaṅkatāt). Vide AG p 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above.

Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31–33, Ag 115.39

Brahmeśvaraliṅga—A (under Śrīparvata) K. II. 41 18, L I 92 159–160 (also called Aleśvara); B (under VS) L. q by T. K p. 115

Brahmodara—Vām 36. 7–8

Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāgmatī) Var 215 102

Brahmodbheda—Var. 215 91

Brahmodumbara—V. 83.71

Brhadvana—(near Gokula where Nandagopa kept his cattle) Bh. X 5. 26, X 7. 33

Budbudā—(r rising in the Himālaya) Br II. 16 25–26

Budheśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K pp. 55, 97

C

Caitraka—M 110 2

Caitraratha—(a *vana*) Vā. 47.6 (on the banks of the Acchodā river), Br II. 18. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkaṭā, M. 13 28

Cakra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh X 78.19

Cakradhara—(Viṣnusthāna in Kāśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Tskdar or Chāḳdhar) R I 38. It is a tīrtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bījbror (ancient Vijayeśvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayeśa-Śiva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratīrtha (7 61) and also Cakradhara (7 64)

Cakrasthita—(under Mathurā) Var. 169.3

Cakrasvāmin—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 38 (cakrāṅkitaśilās-tatra dṛśyante)

Cakratīrtha—A (under Saṅkaratīrtha) Var. 137. 19, B (under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 22, C (under Setu) SK. III Brahmakhanda, chap 3-5; D (in Kāśmīra) also called Cakradhara (which see), E (on Go.) B. 86 1, 109. 1, 134. 1 (6 miles from Tryambaka)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one tīrtha; F (under Mathurā) Var. 162.43, G (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42 5, 57.89, 81.3; vide A. G. p. 336 and under Asthipura; H (under Dvārakā) TP. pp. 536-537, Var. 159 58

Cakravāla—(a tīrtha sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22 42

Cakrāvarta—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 36-38 (a deep lake)

Cakreśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 52

Caksus—(r from Himālaya, a branch of Gaṅgā) M 121.23, Vā 47 21 and 39, Br. II. 16.20, Bh V 17.5. Dey p 43 holds that Caksus is the river Oxus or Amu Daria and relies on Matsya 120-121 (of Ānandāśrama edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that Dey on p. 13 also holds that Aśmanvatī is the river Oxus

Caksus—tīrtha (on south bank of Go.) B. 170.1

Camasa or Camasodbheda—A (where Sarasvatī appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82 112, 130. 5 (esa vai Camasodbhedo yatra dṛśyā Sarasvatī), P I. 25 18; B (under Prabhāsa) Sal. 35. 87, V 88.20

Camatkārapura—(same as Ānandapura in modern Ahmedabad District) SK. VI. chap 1-13

Campā—A (city on the Bhāgīrathī four miles to west of Bhagalpur and one of the six great cities of the times of the Buddha) V. 84.163, 85.14, 308.26, P. I. 38.70; M. 48. 91 (originally it was called Mālinī but later was called Campā after king Campa) According to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta the six great cities are Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Benares (SBE vol. XI. p. 99 and p. 247), Vām. 84.12 mentions Cāmpeya brāhmanas Campā is in the Varanādi-gana (Pān. IV. 2. 82), B (river sacred to pitṛs) M. 22.41, P V. 11. 35 (between Anga and Magadha, acc to Dey p 43) It was the capital of Lomapāda and of Karna

Campakāranya—(modern Champaran in Bihar) V 84.133, P I. 38.49 Vālmīki's hermitage was near Sangrampur in the Champaran District

Campakatīrtha—(where Gaṅgā flows to the north) N, II. 40. 86

Campakavana—(under Gayā) Vā. 37. 16-22

Cañcalā—(r. rising from m Rsyavat) M. 114. 26

Candavegā—(r. sacred to pitṛs) M. 22 28

Candavegāsambheda—M. 22, 28, K. II. 44, 16, P. VI 131. 67

Candeśa—(under Śābhramatī) P. VI. 162 1

Candikeśvara—L. I. 92. 166, Vām. 51.50

Candrabhāgā—(A) the river rises in the Himālayas in two streams, one is called Candrā (which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of Bāra Lācha at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called Bhāgā rises on the north-west slopes of the pass The two join at Tandi and the united stream is known as Candrabhāgā or Chenab. The five rivers of the Panjab are: Vitastā (Jhelum, the Hydaspes of the Greeks), Vipāśā (Beas, Hypasis of Greeks), Satadru (Sutlaj), Candrabhāgā and Irāvatī. In 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol 35 p 171) Candrabhāgā is one of the ten great rivers

of India V.Dh S 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12.44. Vide Asiknī, B (under Narmadā) M.191 64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61, C (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70.44; D (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149.1; E (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Krsnā)

Candramas-tīrtha—(on Ārcīkaparvata) V. 125 17

Candrapāda—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18–19

Candrapura—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM, 1138 and 1156–7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)

Candratīrtha—A (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37.23; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K I. 35.11; C (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K II. 42 15, Br. III 13. 28

Candravasā—(r.) Bh V. 19.18

Candravatī—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)

Candreśvara—A (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdheśvara, on Sābhramatī) P VI 149 1, B (under VS) L q. by T. K p 49

Candrikā—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22 63

Carmākhya—(under VS) K I 35.4

Carmanvatī—(r modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of Etawah town) Ādi 138 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmanvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67 5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I 24 3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva), the word Carmanvatī occurs in Pān. VIII. 2 12

Carmakoṭa—M 22 42

Catuhsamudra—(a *kūpa* under VS) L q. by T K p 89

Catuhsāmudrika—(a *kūpa* under Mathurā) Var. 158. 41

Catuhsrota—(under Badarī) Var 141. 17

Caturmukha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42 28

Caturtheśvara—(under VS) N II 49 65

Caturvedeśvara—(under VS) SK, Kāśikhanda 33 130

Chāgalānda—(a very fit place for śrāddha) M. 13 43 (where Devī is called Pracandā), 22 72

Chāgaleśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 119

Chāyāksetra—(sacred to Lalitā) Br IV. 44 100 (town park of Mahālaksmīpura is so called)

Chinnapāpaksetra—(on Go) P VI. 174 15

Ciccikatīrtha—(under Go) B 164 1

Cidambara—(see under Mīnāksī) Devībhāgavata VII 38. 11. It is famous for its great Śiva temple and contains the 'air *linga*' i e no linga is actually visible but a curtain is hung before a wall and when visitors enter the curtain is withdrawn and the wall is exhibited The temple has a hall of more than 1000 monolithic pillars

Cintāngadeśvara—(under VS) P I. 37. 14

Cīramocanatīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) R. I. 149–150 (mentions the Kanakavāhinī, Nandīśa and this tīrtha together) It is the confluence of the Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind, NM 1538–1545 (so called because the seven sages left their bark garments here and then went to heaven), SM p. 211

Citābhūmi—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar in Santhal *pargana* containing the temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) Śivapurāṇa I 38, 55, Vide Dey p. 50

Citraguptesvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p. 102

Citrakūta—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansi-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 58, Rām. II. 54. 28–29 and 93 8 (ten krośas from Bhāradvājāśrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pitrtīrtha), II 56. 10–12, M.22 65 and Anu I.25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35–36 (near Mandākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvaṃśa XIII 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmagiri.

Citrakūtā-(r. rising from Rksaparvata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Mandākinī and this r are both mentioned as rising from Rksavat)

Citrāṅgadatīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām 46 39 (Citrāṅgadeśvara-liṅga)

Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1

Citreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T p. 97

Citropalā (r.) B. 46 4–5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahānadī)

Citrotpalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9. 34, M 114. 25 (rising from Rksavat), B. 27. 31–32 (rising from Rksapāda)

Cyavanaśyāśrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73 In Rg I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins, Śat. Br. 1 5.1–16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272–276 he married Sukanyā, king Saryāta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool), B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19–22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sukanyā and the Aśvins V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleyas devoured one hundred *munis* here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bhrgu and the Bhrgus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā

Cyavaneśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 66

D

Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83.186, P.I. 27.73–74 (where Sārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Siddhirāt)

Dadhīceśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 43

Dadhikarneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 94

Dākinī—(Bhīmāśaṅkara) see note 1536

Dakṣaprayāga—N II 40 96–97

Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām 46 2 (to the south of Sthāṇuvaṭa), Vām 34 20 (Dakṣāśrama and Dakṣeśvara)

Dakṣeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 75

Dakṣiṇa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvarī in B. 77 9–10, 78 77, B Kāverī (in Nr 66 7), C Narmadā in SK, Revākhaṇḍa 4. 24; D Tuṅgabhadrā (in Vik. 4.62)

Dakṣiṇa-Gokarṇa—Var. 216. 22–23

Dakṣiṇa-Mānasa—(a tank under Gayā) N II. 45 74, Ag. 115. 17

Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X 79 15

Dakṣiṇa-pañcanada—V Dh. S 85 51 (the com. Vaijayantī says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Veṇā, Tuṅgā, Bhadrā and Koṇā)

Dakṣinaprayāga (known as Mokṣavenī in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣinaprayāgam tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāsaṅgatā | snānāt tatrākṣayam punyam Prayāga iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvākyāvalī p 296, which is itself quoted by T P. p. 355. Dey p 52 says that it is Triveṇī on the north of Hughly in Bengal.

Dakṣiṇa-sindhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V 82 53, P I 24. 2, Meghadūta I 30

Dālbhyāśrama (hermitage of Baka Dālbhya, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were in the company of Sugrīva and his hosts P VI 46. 14–15

Damin (masculine noun) V 82. 71–75

Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmira, which is the upper hamlet of village

Khunamoh (Khonamusa), the birth-place of poet Bilhana. Vide SM p. 166.

Damstrāṅkura (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 68-70.

Danda—V 85. 15.

Dandaka (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than Dandakāraṇya) Rām. II. 9 12 (diśām-āsthāya Kaikeyī dakṣi-nām Daṇḍakān prati).

Dandakāraṇya or Daṇḍakavana—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var 71. 10 (where Gautama performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautamī is in Dandaka), 123. 117-120 (Gautamī was five yojanas from the beginning of D), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śal 39. 9-10 (Janas-thāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84 12 (refers to Dandakāraṇya brāhmaṇas) and 43, P V 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣtra' in JBBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p 242. Dandakāraṇya probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvarī or to Kṛṣṇā Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in Hasta naksatra kills the chief of Daṇḍakāraṇya

Dandakhāta (under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 90

Dandīśvara (under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 90.

Dardura or Durdura (Nilgiri Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var 214. 52, Raghuvaṃśa IV. 51 (near river Tāmraparṇī), Br S. 14. 11.

Dāruvana—K. II. 39. 66, same as Devadāruvana, which see

Darvīsaṅkramana—V 84 45, P. I 32. 9.

Daśakanyātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. 1. 21. 14.

Daśārṇā—(r. rising in m. Rkṣa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K II 37. 35-36, Vā. 45 99, 77. 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārtikas 7 and 8 on Pān VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III p. 69). Daśārṇa is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (Daśārṇā) having ten waters' The Vārtikas are 'pra-vat-satara-kambalavasaṇāṇām carne' and 'rnadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that the capital of the Daśārṇa country was Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravatī (Betwa river) was near it It is the Dosaron of Ptolemy (p. 71) Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāṣādhā destroys Daśārnas.

Daśāśvamedhika or-medhaka or-medha—A (a tīrtha on the Gaṅgā) V 83.14, 85 87, Vā 77.45, Br III. 13. 45, K II 37 26, M .185 68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M 106 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N. II. 47. 30, D (under Narmadā) M. 193. 21, K II 41. 104, P. I. 20 20, vide Bom G. vol II. p. 348 for its sanctity, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23, F (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26 12; G (under Go) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L q by T. K. p 116.

Dattātreya-liṅga—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 113.

Daurvāsika—(under VS) K I 35. 11

Devadāruvana—A (in the Himālayas near Badrināth) Anu 25 27, K. II. 37 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 66, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Pusti here); B (Aundha in the Nizam's dominions) P. VI 129 27, C (near Vijayeśvara in Kāśmīra) HC. 10 3

Devāgama—(under Go) B. 160 1

Devagiri—(a hill under Mathurā) Var 164. 27, Bh V 19 16

Devahrada—A (under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 71, Anu 25 44. B (under Kṛṣṇa-Veṇā) V. 85. 37

Devahradā—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146

Devakūta—(sacred m) V. 84. 141, P. I 38 57.

Devaleśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 92

Devaparvata—(probably Aravalī hills) Devala q by T K p. 250

Devapatha—V. 85 45. P. I 39 42

Devaprabha—(under Gaṇḍakī) Var. 145. 59

Devaprayāga—in Tehrī State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā), vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p) 214

Devāranya—(a forest on r. Lauhitya) Vā. 47. 11 (devārāṇyam iśokam iti tasya tīre)

Devaśāla—(Viṣṇu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr 65. 15 q. by T. K. p. 252

Devatīrtha—A (on north bank of Go) B. 127 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191. 24, 193. 81, K. II 42 16, P I. 18 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161. 1

Devesa—(under VS) P. I. 37. 9

Deveśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 65

Devikā—A (r rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82 102–107, 222. 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27 27, Vā. 45. 95; Anu 166 19, Vām. 81. 5; The Vi. IV 24 69 says that Vrātyas, Mlecchas and śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvikorvī, Candrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvikorvī' means, as Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā, B (r. that joins Gaṇḍakī) Var. 144. 83, 112–13 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvācca tapasyatām 1 nityamārthā samudbhūtā Gāṇḍakyā miśritā śubhā), Var. 214 48; C (under Gayā) Vā 112 30, 77 41 (Vrsakūpa for śrāddha on), Br III. 13 41. Anu 25. 21 and 165. 19, K II 37 25, P I 25 9–14, N. II 47, 27, Vi II 15 6, Vām 78. 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not clear what river is meant. NM 152–153 say that it is holy like Iṛāvatī, is identified with Umā and located in Madra i e. between Rāvī and Chenab Pāṇ (VII.3 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh thereon gives the illustration, 'Dāvikāḥ śālayaḥ' (paddy grown on the banks of the Devikā is so called). Pāṇini probably mentions some river in the Panjab. Dey p 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called Devikā or Devā. Vām 84. 12 refers to Devikātīrtha brāhmaṇas. SK VII Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278 66–67 speak of Mūlasthāna (modern Multan) as situated on the Devikā, P I. 25 9–14 (5 yojanas long and ½ yojana wide). In Vi. II 15 6 the city called Vīranagara is said to be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Pulastya Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Anu 165. 19 and 21 they two are separately named. Br. S. 11 35 says that a certain malignant Ketu would strike down even Devikā in the north. Pargiter (tr of Mār, p. 492) identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Punjab, Dr. V. S. Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U P. H. S. vol. 16 pp 21–22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P H.S vol 17 part 2 p. 78 supports Pargiter With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha

Devikātata—(Devī is called Nandinī here) M 13. 38

Devīpīthas—eight are enumerated in Kālikāpurāṇa 64. 89–91

Devikūta—Kal. 18 41, where the feet of Satī's corpse fell

Deviṣṭhāna—Devī-Bhāgavata VII 38 5–30 (enumerate numerous Deviṣṭhānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptaśṛṅga). The Matsya (13.26–54) enumerates 108 Deviṣṭhānas

Dhanadeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p 70

Dhanuhpāta—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 33.

Dhanvatīrūpā—(r rising in Pāriyātra m) M 114 24.

Dhānyatīrtha—(under Gomatī) B 120 1

Dhārā—(r.) P I 28. 26, M. 22. 38

Dharaṇītīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) M 22. 70.

Dhārāpatanaka-tīrtha (under Mathurā) Var. 154 8

Dhārātīrtha—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6

Dharmahrada—(under VS) N. II 51 14

Dharmanada—same as Pañcanada, which see.

Dharmaprastha—(under Gayā) V. 84 99

Dharmaprṣtha—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P V 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54–55 and 78, K II 37. 38

Dharmarājatīrtha—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M 108 27, P I 45 27

Dharmāranya—(under Gayā) V. 82 46, Anu 166 28–29, Vā 111 23, Vām. 84 12 (brāhmanas of Dharmāraṇya), Ag 115 34, N. II 45 100, vide Dr Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I. pp. 16–17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature Rām I 32. 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; vide p 661 about Gayā, B (near Mahākāla) P I 12. 6–8, Br. S. 14 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain

Dharmaśāstreśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33. 133

Dharmaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā. chap 107 and Ag 114. 8–28 Vide above pp 657–58 for the story

Dharmatīrtha—(under VS) P. I 37. 4, Ag 109 16, K I 35 10, P VI 135 17

Dharmāvatī—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P VI. 135. 16

Dharmeśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K p 53; B (under Gayā) N II 45 103, Vā 111. 26

Dharmodbhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44–46

Dhautapāpa—vide Pāpapraṇāśana

Dhautapāpā—(r. rising in Himālaya) M 114. 22

Dhautapāpeśvara—linga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156

Dhavaleśvara—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)

Dhenuka—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87–89, P. I. 38. 7–10, N II. 44. 68

Dhenukāranya—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32

Dhenuvaṭa—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40–43

Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38 31

Dhūmāvatī—V 84. 22, P. I. 28 23 (Dhūmavantī)

Dhundhi-Vināyaka—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of 'Dhundhi'); for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above

Dhūtapāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhautapura—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9–10; B (at Gokarṇa) Br. III. 13 20 (Rudra practised *tapas* here); C (under Gayā) Ag 116. 12, N II. 47. 35 D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148 58 (less than five krośas from Stutasvāmin), T K. p. 223. AG. p 401 says that Dhopāpapura is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

Gumtī)-18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G I. vol. XXII. p. 50

Dhūtapāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 80, Br. II. 16. 26

Dhūtavāhinī—(r. rising in Rsyavanta m) M. 114. 26

Diṇḍipuṇyakara—(fit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M 22. 77

Dīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M 191 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsa-tīrtha-tapovana)

Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhrgu-tīrtha) V.99. 69 (where Bhrgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Paraśu-rāma performed most severe penance)

Dīrghasattra—V. 82 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16

Dīrgha-Viṣṇu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63

Divākara—liṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K, p. 65

Divaukah—puskariṇī V. 84. 118, P. I 38. 35

Droṇa—(m. in Bhāratavarṣa) M. 121, 13, Bh V 19 16, P. VI. 8 45-46

Droṇaśarmapada—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Dronadharma)

Droṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 66,

Droṇī—(r) M. 22. 37 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible).

Drumakṣetra—L I. 92 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra)

Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31

Dhruvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180 1

Drsadvatī (r.). Vide p. 682 above In Rg. III 23.4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it *devanadī*), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 19. 18. It is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the Chittang (Cambridge History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name Cunningham's identification of it with Rākshi river 17 miles to the south of Thāṇesar has much to recommend it (A. S of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).

Drumacaṇḍeśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L I 92. 136

Dugdheśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148 1 (to the south of Khadga-dhara). Vide Bom. G vol IV p. 6

Durdhareśvara—(on Sābhramatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.

Durgā—(acc. to Bār S. III 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).

Durgā—sābhramatīsaṅgama—P. VI. 169. 1.

Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā 45 103, Br. II. 16. 33.

Durgātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15, B (under Go) B. 132. 8.

Dvādaśāditya-kuṇḍa (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24

Dvaita-vana—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvaita lake named after king Dvaitavana of the Matsyas), V. 11. 68, 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37 27 (visited by Balarāma on Sarasvatī), Vām 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sāmnihatya pool)

Dvārakā—A-the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities Vide p 678 It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other The ancient Dvāralā was situated near Kodinar. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Singāvra

three miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Okhamandala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518–520 for Kodinar and p 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Krsna (with Raivataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāsandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide Sabhāparva 14. 49–55. The Var. (149. 7–8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad Vide p 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54–56) says that the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthalī and built up Dvārakā: Vi V. 23. 13–15. B 196 13–15 say that Krsna begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Krsna passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by Mausala-parva 6.23–24 and 7. 41–42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38 9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Krsna's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmiṇī's palace). It is called the capital of Ānarta (Udyoga 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthalī (Sabhā 14. 50) Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B. 7.29–32 and Ag 273. 12 (Kuśasthalī being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The *Harivaṃśa* II (Viṣṇuparva) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā Some ancient Jain works like the Uttarādhyayanasūtra (SBE. vol. 45 p.115) mention Dvārakā and Raivataka park (Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102,239. The Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkle (4. 52)'; "Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of *mukti*. Man secures mukti by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomatī near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97–98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha chap. 103) has a hyperbolical description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called Dvārakā-pattalaka compiled by Bīnābāyī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B O. R I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms is dated *saṁvat* 1574 (1518 A. D). It summarises the Dvārakāmāhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Gaṇeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th *tithi*, then visits Cakratīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṅgā, then Saṅkhoddhāra, then bathes in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakānātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā:

B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha) P. VI. 202 4 and 62

Dvārakā—Kṛṣnatīrtha—M. 22 39

Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā It contained the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas The Kāśikhaṇḍa (7. 104-105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varṇas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a Dvārakā-māhātmya stated to be taken from the Skānda-purāṇa (D C. Ms. No. 49 of 82-83, copied in *saṁvat* 1529 i. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśī and Avantī are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said that the end that the city is called Dvāravatī because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barake of the Periplus (Ptolemy pp. 187-188.)

Dvidevakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr 65 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣnu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193 80, P I 18 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekādhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI 136. 12

Ekahaṁsa—V 83. 20

Ekāmraka—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack) This is Rudra-tīrtha Ekāmraka is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhuvaneśvara. It was also called Kṛttivāsa B (chap 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T C pp 176-180 It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight sub-tīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34 6 and 41 10-93) Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I p 231-241 and Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kalaśa*. In the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription (edited by Dr L. D Barnett) in E I, XIII p 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Ganga king Anaṅga-Bhīma and widow of Haihaya prince Paramardin, built a temple of Viṣnu at Ekāmra In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkala, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake *Bindusaras* (mentioned in B 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between śake 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here. Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, Purusottamatattva (Jiv. I. p 573) where Raghunandana quotes several verses of B chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapurāṇa in five aṁśas (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138-140 No 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhuvaneśvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapilasaṁhitā, Ekāmrapurāṇa, Śivapurāṇa and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol IV. pp. 136-137 No 1560 for analysis of contents

Ekavīrā—(under Go) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A G. p 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verāval in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 690 (768–769 A.D) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī (E. I. XIII p. 275), vide also E. I. vol. XXV p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of śake 663 i.e. 741–42 A D)

Erandīnarmadāsaṅgama—M. 194. 32, K.II. 41. 85 and II. 42.31, P.I. 18 41

Erandītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Urī or Or) M. 191. 42, 193 65, P. I. 18 41.

G

Gabhastiśa—(under VS) SK. VI 33. 154

Gabhīraka—(a l. under Mandāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākunda—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145. 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109. 11-13, 111 75–76, Ag. 115 69, see above p. 665

Gajāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohanaparva 5 34

Gajakarṇa—(one of many pitrtīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gajakṣetra—a Śivakṣetra acc. to Bār S. III 122

Gajaśaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā 36 24

Gajasāhvaya or Nāgasāhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V 35 8, 19, 30–32, Vām 78. 8, Bh I. 4 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita āhvayo nāma yasya), Bṛ S 14. 4 calls it 'Gajāhvaya.'

Gaješvara—(under Śrīśaila) L I 92 156

Gālava—Vide Pāpapranāśana

Gālaveśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 98

Galihkā—(r, same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76 2 (where the śālagrāma stones are found), VI 129 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r that joins Vitastā below Vijayeśvara) HC X. 192, ŚM. p 170. Stein in note on R VIII 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśokā river before it falls into Vitastā, B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I 40, Br. S 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrikā r It falls into the Siprā

Gaṇapatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramatī on a hill called Viṣnu) P VI. 129. 26, VI 163.1.

Gaṇatīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133, 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Ganges at Sonepur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188) Ādi 170 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V 222. 22 (Gaṇḍasāhvayā is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī), P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20. 12 (it has pebbles marked with *cakra*). The river is said to have sprung from the perspiration on Viṣnu's cheek in Var 144–106, Br II. 16. 26. Viṣnu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Śālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35–58) Gandakī, Devikā and a r. from Pulastyāśrama make Triveṇī (Var 144. 84) It is known in Nepāla as Śālagrāmī and in U P. as Nārāyaṇī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekāmraka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Śivapurāna says it rises in the Vindhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p 98; B (a small tributary of Siprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gaṅgā—Vide pp. 588–596 above

Gangādvāra—(the same as Haridvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142 9–10, Anu 25 13, K I 15, 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Vīrabhadra), H. 20 33 (as one of the

best places for śrāddha), V. Dh S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26 103. It is a Śaivakṣetra acc to Bār. S III 129, M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpurī separately in the same verse)

Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br III. 13. 76

Gandhamādana—(m. on which Badrīnāth is situated) Nr. 65 10 q by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇāśrama), M. 13 26

Gandharvakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var 163. 13

Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K p. 247

Gandharvatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Sal. 37. 10 (near Gargaśrotah on Sarasvatī)

Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P p. 357

Gaṅgā-Gomatī-saṅgama—T P. p. 358

Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83 201, Anu 25. 34

Gaṅgā-Kauśikī-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357–358

Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457

Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I 20. 16 (near Ganeśvara)

Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V Dh S 85.28, M. 22 11 (*it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'*), P. I 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355–356 (*for Māhātmya*)

Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84. 38, P. I. 32. 3

Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357

Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 20

Gaṅgāvarana-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 45

Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 35

Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 46; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14

Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I 32 29, Ag 109. 18

Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Sal. 37.14

Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82

Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50

Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176 6

Gāruda—(under Go) B 90 1

Garudakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 67

Gaurī—(r.) Bhī 9. 25. It is probably the Gouraios of the Greek writers. *Vide Ptolemy p. 111*

Gauriśa—(sacred to Lalitā) Br. IV. 44. 98

Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84 151, M 22.76 (*fit place for śrāddha*), B (a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1448–1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising *tapas*)

Gaurītīrtha—(under VS) M. 22 31, K I 35. 3, P I. 37. 3

Gautama—(on Mandara m) P. VI *129 8*

Gautamanāga—(in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S M p 178

Gautamāśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P VI. 176 58–59

Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108–110

Gautameśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 22 68, 193. 60, K II. 42. 6–8, P. I 20. 58, B (under VS) L q by T. K p 115

Gautamī—(=Godāvarī). *Vide pp. 707–711*

Gavāṁ-bhavana—P I. 26 46

Gayā—A—see pp 643–679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57–58

Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag 115 53

Gayāniskramana—Nr q by T. K. P. 252 (Viṣnu's *guhya* name is Hari there).

Gayāśiras—(hill named after *ṛṣyaśṛṅga* Gaya) V. 95 9, 87 11, Vā 105 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vā 22 20

(it is the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Ag. 115. 25-26 (it is called Phalgutīrtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol I p 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p 646 note 1470 above.

Gayāśīrsa—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S 85.4, Buddha went to Gayasīsa near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus, vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S B E. vol XIII p 134) Vide pp 646 and 668 above

Gayātīrtha—(under VS) P I. 37 5

Gāyatrīsthāna—V, 85. 28

Gāyatrīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 70.

Gāyatrītīrtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112. 21.

Ghantābharanaka—(under Mathurā) Var 154 15

Ghaṇṭākarnahrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p 86

Ghanteśvara—M. 22. 70

Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P II 39 43, M 22. 35 and P V 11 29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadau tau Sona-Ghargharau') Vide TP p 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrampur. Vide I. G I vol 12 pp 302-303.

Ghateśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 159 3

Ghatotkaca—(under VS) K I 35 8, P. I. 37. 8.

Ghṛtakulyā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105 74, 112 30

Girikarnikā—M 22 39 (Dey p 65 identifies it with Sabarmati).

Girikuñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)

Girikūṭa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75.

Girinagara—(modern Junāgad in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp 65-66) on it. The *pādukās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreya are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgad Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A D) mentions it in the very first line (E.I. vol VIII, p. 36 at p 42) Vide under Vastrāpatha

Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva, called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times It is about 62 miles from Patna Dey has a very long note on it (pp 66-69), S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vaihāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Ṛsigiri) Vide under Rājagṛha Rām. I 32 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

Gobhileśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 94

Gocarmeśvara—(under Śriparvata) L. I 92 152

Godāvarī—Vide pp 707-711

Godhana—(m) Br II 16 22

Gograha—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42 6

Gokāmuka—(m) Bh V 19. 16.

Gokarna—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā *Tāluk*ā of North Kanara District) V. 85.24, 88. 15, 277. 55, Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśupateh sthānam darśanādeva muktidam), Vā 77 19, M. 22. 38, K. II 35. 29-32, Br. III 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (liṅga set up by Rāvana), Br III. 57-58 and N. II. 74 (narrate story of its

being flooded by the sea and of people going to Paraśurāma for succour). Vide Epi. C. vol. VII Shikarpur No 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's tributary is styled 'lord of Gokarnapura' The Lingapurāna speaks of two Gokarnas (I. 92. 134-135), Kūrma II. 35 31 mentions Uttara-Gokarna and the Varāhapurāna (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarna, B (on Sarasvatī) Var. 170.11, C (under Mathurā) Var 171-173; D(under VS) L. q, by T. K p 113.M. 13 30 says that Devī is styled Bhadrakarnikā at Gokarna

Gokarnahrada—V. 88. 15-16

Gokarneśvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var 215 118

Gokula—(a mahāranya) Vide Vraja P IV. 69 18, Bh II 7 31

Gomaṇḍaleśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)

Gomanta—(a hill) A—M. 13 28 (Satī is called Gomatī on Gomanta), B (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavīrapura, Krauñcapura and near river Venā) Harivaṃśa (Viṣnuparva 39. 11 and 19-20), C (hill near Dvārakā where Krsna and the Vrsnis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāsandha's attacks) S 14 54, V 88 15-17, N II 60 27. Pargiter's identifications (p 289 note) are unsatisfactory

Gomatī—(r) A. In Rg. VIII 24 30 and X. 75 6, it is invoked between Kubhā and Krumu (in X. 75 6), hence it is probably modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus, B (a river near Sarasvatī) V 87. 7, P I. 32 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 83. 2, C (near Dvārakā), SK, VII. 4 4 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI 176. 35-36, D (the Gumti in Oudh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br II. 16. 25, Rām. II 49. 11

Gomatī-gangā-sangama—P I. 32. 42, Bh V 19, 18, Ag 109. 19.

Gopādri—(m. in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Srīnagara near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157, R I 341 (mentions Gopādri which is modern Gopkār on the Dal lake), vide K. R 17

Gonisksamana—(also Gosthalaka) Var. 147 3-4 and 52

Gopiśvara—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 18 (where Krsna sported with *gopīs*)

Gopracāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag 116 6

Gopratāra—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V 84 70-71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām 83.8, N II 75 71, Raghuvaṃśa XV 101

Gopreksa—(under VS) L q by T K. p 42, P. I 37. 16, N. II. 50 43 (Gopreksaka)

Gopreksaka—(linga under VS) L. I, 92. 67-68

Gopreksesvara—(under VS) Sk q. by T K p 131

Goraksaka—Var 215 93

Gorathagiri—(in Magadhaksetra) S. 20. 30

Gotirtha—A(in Naimisa forest) V 95.3; B (under Prayāga) M 110.1, C(under VS) K I 35 13, D (under Narmadā) M 193 3 P I 20 3, E (under Sābhramatī) P VI. 156 1

Govardhana—A (a hill near Mathurā) M 22 52, K I. 14 18 (where Prthu practised austerities), P IV. 69. 39, Var 163 18, 164 1 and 22-23, Vi V. 11 16 Vide p 691 above, B (a town under Gautamī established by Rāma) B. 91. 1, Br II 16 44 Inscription of Usavadāta near Nasik mentions Govardhana several times (Bom. G vol 16 p.569). Vide p. 710 above.

Govindatīrtha—(under Go) B 122. 100, P. I 38 50 (appears to be near Campakāranya)

Grdhrakūta—A (a hill under Gayā) Vā 77 97, 108. 61, 111 22, Ag 116 12, N II 45 95 and 47. 78, B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Śuddhā, where Paraśurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394–5

Grdhravana—K II 37. 38

Grdhra-vata—A (on the Grdhrakūta hill of Gayā) V 84 91, Ag 116 12, P. I 38. 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II 44. 72, Vā. 108 63; the tree does not now exist, B (under Sūkarakṣetra where a Grdhra became a man) Var 137 56

Grdhreśvara-linga—(under Gayā on Grdhrakūta) Ag 116. 11, N, II 47 78

Guheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 102

Gurukulyatīrtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Hamsadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464

Hamsakunda—(under Dvārakā) Var. 149 46

Hamsapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81 10

Hamsaprapatana—(under Prayāga) V. 85 87, M 106 32 (to the east of Gangā and north of Pratisthāna), K I. 37 24, P I 39 80, Ag 111 10

Hamsatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Ag 116. 30, N II 47 30, B (under Narmadā) M 193. 72, C (under Śālagrāma to its east) Var 144. 152–155 (explain why so called). Vide Yaksatīrtha

Hanūmat-tīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B 129. 1

Hārakunda—(near Hārapura) L I 92. 164

Haramukuta—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM 1320, 1322, 1231, peak of the Himālaya on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttaramānasa Vide H C IV. 87–88 and Vik. 18 55 Al (vol 1 p 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises Vide Stein's note on R. III 448.

Haramunda—(a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gangādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Saharanpur District in U. P and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp 501 and 678) P. IV 17 66, VI 21.1, VI 22 18, VI 135.37 (Māndavya practised penance here) See Beal's BRWW vol I p. 197, where Hiouen Thsang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gangā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gangādvāra Both SK IV and P IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e 1030 A D.). Probably Gangādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al (vol. I p 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gangādvāra

Harihara-kṣetra—A (on Tungabhadrā) Nr 65 18 (q. by T. K p 253), P VI 176. 46 and VI. 183 3, Var. 144 145 (also called Devāta). it is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State, B (the junction of the Gandakī with the Ganges at Sonepur, where Gajendramoksa took place) Var 144. 116–133 Vām. 85. 4–76 places the story of Gajendramoksa on mountain Trikūta

Harikeśeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 113

Harikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)

Hariścandra—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181 28, Ag. 112.3, B (on south bank of Go.) B 104 86 and 88

Hariścandra—(a m) Devala q. by T K. 250

Hariścandreśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117

Hariparvata—(hill in Śrīnagara)—same as Sārikāparvata or Pradyumnapītha K. R p 17, Vik 18. 15

Hārīta-tīrtha—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasisthatīrtha)

Hārītakivana—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678, and n. 1536 above

Haritesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K 120.

Hariyūpīyā—(a r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kuruksetra.

Harodbheda—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25

Harṣapathā—(Śacī at Kaśyapa's prayer became H. in Kāśmīra) N M 309

Hastatīrtha—(v. l. Hamsatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)

Hāstinapura or Hastināpura—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastin, great-grandson of Bharata Dauṣyanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi Ādi 95. 34, Rām II. 68. 13 (Hāstinapura), Vi IV. 21 8, Bh IX 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nicaknu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauśāmbī his capital Pān. VI 2. 101 (na Hāstinaphalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāstinapura The Mbh (vol. I p 380 on Pān. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gangam Hāstinapuram'.

Hastipādeśvara—(a Sivalinga to the east of Sthānuvata) Vām 46 29

Hastipāleśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. 76

Hātaka—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67

Hātakeśvara—Vām. 63.78 (on Saptagodāvara)

Hayamukha—(under Mathurā) Var. 160,23

Hayaśiras—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III 13.46, Vā. 77.46

Hayatīrtha—M. 22 69

Hemakūta—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br II 14.48 and 15 15 (Himavat and Hemakūta distinguished)

Hetukeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 92

Himālaya—see Himavat

Himavat—In Rg. X. 121 4 and A V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantah) But in A. V V, 4 2 and 8, VI. 24,1 the singular is employed. In Kenopanisad III. 25 Umā Haimavatī is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pān. IV. 4 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II, 37 46-49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varsaparvata of Bharatavarsa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulaparvatas'. M 117-118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25 Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarsa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār 54.59)

Himavat—aranya-Devīpurāna q by T. K. 244

Hiranvatī—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34 8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64 11 and 19,90,32, Anu 166 25, Udyoga 152, 7 (in Kuru

kṣetra, where Pāṇḍavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bhī 9.25

Hiraṇyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Śona). Vide A.I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore Arrian (A. I. p 186) regards Erannaboas and Sonos as distinct It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it

Hiraṇyabindu—(on m Kālañjara) V. 87 21, Anu. 25.10

Hiraṇyadvīpa—(under Narmadā) M. 193 68, P. I 20 66

Hiraṇyagarbha—(a liṅga under VS) K. I 35.13, L I 92 76, P. I. 37. 16, L q, by T K. p 48

Hiraṇyakaśipuliṅga—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 43

Hiraṇyākṣa—M 22 52 (most efficacious about *dānas* here)

Hiraṇyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 47

Hiraṇyāsangama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI 135.1

Hiraṇyavāha—same as Sona and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G p 452)

Hiraṇyavatī—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kusinārā) SBE, vol. XI. p. 85 It is the same as the Gandakī. Vide A. G p 453

Hlādinī—(r) Rām II 71 2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Śatadrū)

Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I 35 11

Hṛṣīkeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var 146 63–64 (Viṣnu is deemed to stay there)

I

Ikṣu—A (r from Himavat) Vā 45. 96 Dey, p 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Aśmanvatī (p. 13) and Caksus (p 43) with Oxus Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49

Ikṣumatī–A(r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pān IV. 2. 85–86 (nadyāṁ matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pāṇini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādi-gana) Rām II 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstinapura, then Kuruksetra and then Iksumatī), M 22 17 (favourite of the pitrs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11 13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country) Vi II. 13, 53–54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvīra came and asked what is most beneficial in this *saṁsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh V. 10. 1

Ikṣu—Narmadāsaṅgama–M 191. 49, K. II 41.28, P. I. 18. 47

Ikṣudā—(r rising in m. Mahendra) M 114 31, Vā 45. 106 (reads Iksulā)

Ilāspada—P I 26 73

Ilātīrtha—(under Go) B 108. 1

Ilvalapura—(same as Manimatīpurī) V. 96 4

Indirā—(r) Vā 108 79

Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 36

Indradyumnasaras—A (under Purusottama, vide pp 694–95, 700 above) B 51 29–30, B V 199 9–11, Ādi 119 50 (beyond even Gandhamādana, where Pāndu practised *tapas*)

Indradyumneśvara—liṅga of Mahākāla, SK I 2. 13. 209

Indragrāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P VI 144 1

Indrakīla—(m. beyond Gandhamādana) V 37. 41–42, M 22 53 (sacred to pitrs), NM 1443, Bh, V 19. 16

Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var 141. 10–13

Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27 68

Indranadī—(r.) Vā 43. 26

Indrānītīrtha—N. II. 40 93

Indraprastha—(the modern village of Indarpat in Delhi District on the Yamunā, Old Delhi) Ādi 217. 27, Mausala 7. 72, Vi, V 38.34 (Yādava Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Krsna passed away), P VI 196. 5, 60, 75–76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāndavavana), Bh X 58 1, XI 30 48, XI 31 25 Indraprastha is only one of five prasthas, the others being Sonepat, Pānipat, Pilpat and Bāghpat

Indratīrtha—(under Go) B 96 1

Indratoyā—(r. on Gandhamādana) Anu 25 11

Indreśvara—A (under Śrīparvata) L I. 92.152; B (under VS) L q. by T. K 71

Irāvatī—(modern Rāvī river in Panjab called Hydroates by Greek writers) Nir IX. 26 notes that the river Parusnī invoked in Rg X 75. 5, was also called Irāvatī, VDh.S 85. 49, M 22 19 (fit for śrāddha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79 7,81.1, NM 149 (Irāvatī tathā punyā sarvakalmasanāśinī) The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol I p 382 on Pān. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīrāvatīko deśah, trīrāvatīko deśah'. Vide under Candrabhāgā.

Irāvatī—nadvalā-sangama-Vām 79 51

Īśānādhyusita—V 84 8

Īśāna-linga—(under VS) L I. 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105

Īśāna-śikhara—(under Kedāra) Devīpurāna q by T, K p. 230

Īśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I 20. 69

J

Jagannātha—see under Purusottama

Jāhnavī—(name of Gangā) Vā. 91. 54–58 (story of sage Jahnu), N II 41. 35–36 (Jahnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br III. 56. 48 (Jahnu let it off from his belly), III, 66. 28.

Jahnuhrada—N. II. 40. 90

Jaigīsavyaguhā—(under VS) L. I, 92. 53

Jaigīsavyeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 91

Jāla—a Śāktakṣetra, acc. to Bār. S. III, 124

Jalabindu—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 16

Jālandhara—A (hill) M 13 46 (Devī was called Viśvamukhī on it), 22 64 (hill sacred to pitrs), according to Kal chap 18 51 Devī is called Candī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Śiva carried her corpse, B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā 104. 80 (Jālandhara pītha seen on the chest of Vedapurusa personified), one of the pīthas of Lalitā is probably Jālandhara, P VI 4 19–20, Br. IV, 44, 95 (Jālandhra) Vide A. G. pp 136–139

Jāleśvara—A (a Śivatīrtha, one of the eight *sthānas*) M 181, 28 and 30, K II 40 35, B (under Narmadā) M 186 15 and 38 (*a hrada* named Jaleśvara), K II. 40 22, P. I 14. 3. Its *utpatti* in M 187, C (Jaleśvara near Śālagrāma) Var 144. 139–140

Jalpīśa—T P pp 602–603 quoting Kālikāpurāna

Jāmadagnya-tīrtha—A (where the Narmadā falls into the sea) M 194 34–35, P I 21 34–35 (calls it Jamadagnitīrtha), B M 22 57–58 (on Godāvarī, very efficacious for śrāddha).

Jambīra—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K p 190

Jambukeśvara—(under VS) K I 35 4, P I. 37.4, L I. 92.107, N. II. 50.67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Śiva)

Jambulā—(r rising from Rksapāda) Vā 45 100

Jambūmārga—A (an āyatana) Devala q. by T. K. 250, Vi II. 13 33 (on the Ganges), Devala q by T. K. p. 250

separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālañjara as āyatanas, B (near Kuruksetra) V 82 41–42, 89. 13 (on Asita m), Anu 25 51, 166 24, M.22 21, Br. III 13 38, C (near Puṣkara) P. I, 12 1–2, Ag 109.9, Vā 77 38.

Jambūnadī—(rising from Candraprabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br *II. 18 68-69*, Bb. V. 16 19

Janakakūpa—(under Gayā) P I 38 28, V 84 111

Janakeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K. 119

Janasthāna—Vide p 710 above V 147 33, V. 277 42, Sal 39 9 (in Dandakāranya), Vā *88 194*, B *88 1* (four yojanas in extent), Rām VI 126 37-39, III 21 20, III 30 5–6

Janeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 13. 11 (sacred to pitrs)

Janmeśvara—M 22 42

Japyeśvara—(or Jāpyeśvara) K. II 43 17–42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three crores of Rudra), Ag 112 4 (under VS)

Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 115

Jatākunda—(under Sānandūra) Var. *150 47* (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea)

Jātismarahrada—A (near Krsna-Venā) V 85 38, B (uncertain location) V 84. 128, P I *38 45*

Jayanta—M 22. 73, Vām *51* 51

Jayantikā—Br IV 44. 97 (one of the 50 pīthas sacred to Lalitā)

Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of king Jayāpīda, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravatī in imitation of Śrīkrsna's Dvāravatī) R IV 501–511, K R pp. 13–16, SM pp 197–198 (marked by the present village Andarkot)

Jayātīrtha—M 22 49

Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I 220, Vik 18 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravarapura) Zevan is mentioned in Ain A (vol II p. 358 as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred Taksakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large limpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A G. pp 101–102 for the situation of Jayavana, under Taksakanāga which is near Zevan

Jayinī—P I 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)

Jeṣthila—(near Campakāranya) V 84. 134

Jñānatīrtha—(under VS) K I 35.6, P. I 37 6

Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it), see p. 638 above

Jvālāmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. *VII. 38 6*

Jvālāsaras—(on Amarakantaka m) Br. III 13 12

Jvāleśvara—(near Amarakantaka) M 188 80 and *94–95*, P I, 15 69, 77, 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here) It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited

Jyestheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I 113, NM 1323–24. This was a form of Śiva in a temple which was built by king Gopāditya of Kāśmīra Stein in note on R I 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyestheśvara R I 124 says that Jalauka, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyestheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra

Jyesthapuskara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P V 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)

Jyesthasthāna—(near Kotitīrtha) V 85 62

Jyotīrathā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śona) V 85. 8, P. I 39 8

Jyotismatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūta) Vā. 47. 63, M 121 65, Br II 18. 66

Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71

K

Kacalinga—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 112.

Kadalīnadī—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52

Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var 149. 52 (where Vrsnis became purified)

Kadambakhanda—(a kunda under Mathurā) Var 164. 26

Kadambeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92. 161 (a linga established by Skanda)

Kādravatī—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā 77 82

Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā) Br. IV 44.97

Kailāsaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br IV. 44 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitādevī), vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasarovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp 82-83 Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Karnāli is a moot point

Kākahrada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br III 13 85

Kākaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4

Kakubha—(a m.) Bh V 19. 16

Kakudmatī—(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District) Vide under Krsnā and TS p 79. The Koyanā falls into Krsnā near Karad in Satara

Kālabhairava—(under VS) L. I 92. 132

Kālakavana—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I. p 475 (on Pān. II 4. 10) and vol III p 174 (on Pān VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J U. P H. S, vol. 14 part 1, p 15 says that it was part of Sāketa

Kālakeśava—(under VS) K. I 35. 7

Kālakoṭṭ—(in Naimisa forest) V, 95 3, Br S 14. 4

Kālañjara or Kālinjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87, 21, Vā 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nilakantha on it), Kālañjara was the capital of the Chandellas, vide E I vol I p 217, E I vol. IV p 153. For Kālañjaramandala, vide E I. vol. 19 p 18 (plate dated *saṃvat* 893) Ain A. vol II. p 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill It contains many temples and an idol is there called Kāla Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks' Vide I. G. I. vol VI p. 349; B (as an *āyatana*) Devala q. by T K p 250, C (under VS) K II. 36 11-38 (story of *rājarṣi* Śveta who constantly muttered Śatarudriya), P. I. 37. 15, D (shrine of Śiva under Go) B 146, 1 and 43 (also called Vāyāta), E (said to be source of Narmadā called Kalinjarī and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālikā-khanda q. by T. S p 98, F (under Mathurā) Var. 176 18 (printed as Kālinjara); G R VII, 1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant)

Kālañjaravana—M 181 27 (Kālinjara, a Śiva-tirtha) q. by T. K. p 241

Kalāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Krtayuga-pravartaka when Kalyuga will end), Bh X 87. 7.

Kalāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK, I. 2 6. 33-34

Kalāpavana—P I 28.3

Kalaśākhya-tīrtha—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87

Kālasarpis—(a mahātīrtha of Kāśyapa) K. II 37 34, Vā 77. 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br III. 13, 98

Kalaśeśvara (under VS) L. q. by T K, p 99, P I, 37. 7

Kālatīrtha—A (in Kośalā) V, 85 11-12, P I. 39 11 (both have same words), B (under VS) K. I 35 2

Kalavinka—Anu 25 43

Kālavimala—(one of five tīrthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4 83

Kāleśa—(under Gayā) Ag 116 23

Kāleśvara—A (under VS) L. I 92, 136, L. q. by T. K pp 45, 72, B (under Narmadā) M 191. 85 In Br. IV 44. 97 it is one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā.

Kālihrada—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145 45

Kāli—A (r flows through Saharanpur District in U P) M. 22 20, Vām 57. 79, this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur, vide I G I vol. XXII p 102; B r. called Kāli Sind which falls into the Chambal

Kālikā—(r sacred to *pitrs*) M. 22.36

Kālikā-sangama—V. 84 156, P I 38 63 (same words in both), Ag 109 20

Kālikāśikhara—Devīpurāna q. by T K. p. 244

Kālikāśrama—Anu 25 24 (on Vipāśā) NM 148

Kālindī—(see under Yamunā) P I. 29 1

kāliyahrada—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K p. 192, T. P p 515

Kallolakeśvara—(under Narmadā) K. II 41. 88

Kalmāṣī—(Yamunā) S 78. 16

kālodaka (lake)—A VDh S. 85 35 (acc. to Vaijayantī com.), Anu 25.60, B (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukuta at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233

Kālodakā—(r. in Kāśmīrā) Anu 25. 60, NM 1545

Kalpagrāma—(under Mathurā) Var. 166 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P there), probably modern Kālpī

Kāma—a Śāktakṣetra, acc to the Bār. S III. 124.

Kāmadhenupada—(under Gayā) Vā 112 56

Kāmagiri—(m.) Br IV 39. 105, Bh. V, 19 16, Devī-Bh VIII 11 11.

Kāmākhya—A (a Rudratīrtha on Devikā river) V 82. 105, P. I 25.12 (same words in both); B (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabhairavī on the beautiful Nīlācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 15, Kal. 64 2 (explains the name and the whole chap is māhātmya) This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp 599-601. Vide Shri B Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhya in 'Siddhabhāratī' part II pp. 44 ff In Kal 18 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there

Kāmakosthaka (Kāmakoṭi)—Pīṭha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmākṣi Br IV. 5 6-10, IV. 40 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44,94 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā), Bh X 79. 14 (Kāmakosnīm purīm Kāñcīm)

Kāmākṣā—(in Ahicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV 12 54-60

Kāmākṣī—(in the east) N II 69 (for māhātmya)

Kamalākṣa—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M 13 34

Kamalālaya—M 13 32 (here Devī is called Kāmalā)

Kāmatīrtha—(under south bank of Narmadā) K II. 41 55, G. I 81. 9,

Kambalāśvatarau Nāgau—A (under Prayāga) M 106 27, 110. 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (i. e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052

Kambalāśvatarākṣa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 102

Kambotikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P, I. 18, 60

Kambutīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P, VI. 136. 1

Kāmeśvara-linga—(under VS) Sk IV 33, 122

kāmeśvarīpitha—(Kal. 84 describes the yātrā)

kāmika—(where Gandakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84-85

Kāmodāpura—(on the Ganges) N. II, 68 (contains Kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean viz Ramā, Vārunī, Kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣnu accepted three and Vārunī was taken away by the asuras, chap 68 18, it is 10 yojanas above Gangādvāra

kampanā (r.)—V. 84 115-116, Bhī 9. 25

Kāmyaka—āśrama (of the Pāndavas) V. 146.6

kāmyaka-saras—S 52. 20

Kāmyakavana—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V 36 41 (where Pāndavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām 41. 30-31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas

Kanādeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K 92

Kanakā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108 80

Kanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189

kanakanandā—(a river to the north of Munda-prṣṭha at Gayā) N II. 44 62, Vā 77 105 (Kanakanandī), h II. 37 41-43 (reads Brahma-prṣṭha)

Kanakavāhinī (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankanai flowing past Buthśer i. e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1545, R. I. 149-150 (flows into river Sind). See SM, p 211 NM (1539-42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS

Kanakeśvera—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 104

Kanakhala—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V 84 30, Anu 25.13, V Dh S 85 14, K II 37 10-11, SK I 1 2 11 (where Rudra destroyed Daksayajña), Vā 83 21, Vām. 4.57, vide T. P, p. 377, B (under Gayā between Uttara and Daksina Mānasa) Vā 111 7, Ag. 115 23, N. II 46 46, C (under Narmadā) M 183 69, P I. 20 67 (where Garuda practised *tapas*), D (under Mathurā) Var 152 40-49 (where a barber Kāmpilya in Pāñcāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmana)

kāñcanākṣī—(r. near Naimisa forest) Vām 83 2

Kāñci or Kāñcīpurī—vide pp 711-712 above A-one of the seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devīsthāna called Annapūrnā P VI. 110.5, Devī-Bh. VII 38 8, Br IV, 5 6-10 and IV, 39 15, Bh X 79 14, Vā 104 76, P IV 17.67, Bār S III 124 (a Śākta-ksetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of kāñcī appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G Coedes, vol I p. 8 'adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navoditavivasvatā i kāñcipura-nrpa .(rest lost); B (under Narmadā, P. I 17.8

Kāntīpurī—vide p 678 note 1535 above. It may be noted that the text of the Ain A had Kāntī. Vide Ain A vol. III p 305 n 4, SK IV. 7. 100-102, Māheśvara Khanda, sub section kedāra, 27 33 (the linga Allālanātha therein) Kāntipurī in the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāravaśivas. Jayaswal in 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) p 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

'Navanāgāh Padmāvatyām Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām . bhoksyanti'. The Venk ed. of Vi omits the words 'Kāntipuryām Mathurāyām' and Dr Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p 217 notes that one of his best mss does the same Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13 94–95.

Kanvāśrama—A (on the river Mālinī in the Saharanpur District) V 82 45, 88. 11, VDh S 85 30, Ag 109 10 In the Śākuntala Act I Kanvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālinī, in Śat. Br 13 5 4 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nādapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nādapit was the name of Kanva's *āśrama*, B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Kotā in Rajputana Vide Dey p. 89

Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh X 79. 17 (Kanyākhyām Durgādevīm dadarśa sah), see under Kumārī

Kanyāhrada–Anu 25.53

Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lalitā) Br IV 44. 94, V 87 17 (where Viśvāmitra drank *soma* with Indra), M 13 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i e Kanoj), Anu 4.17, P V 35 (Rāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālinadī which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI 129 9 The Mbh (vol II p 233 on Pān IV 1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī Rām I. 32 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kuśanābha, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā The A C p 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura are synonyms (verses 973–74). Vide under Mahodaya and A G pp 376–382; Ptolemy mentions it (p 134) as Kanagora and Kanogiza.

Kanyākūpa—Anu 25 19

Kanyā—samvedya—V. 84 136, P. I. 38. 52

Kanyāśrama—V. 83 189, P. I. 12 5, 27 75, 39 35.

Kanyātīrtha—A (near the sea) V. 83. 112, 85 23, K II. 44 9, P. I. 39 21, B (under Narmadā) M 193 76, K II 42 21, C (in Naimisa forest) V 95. 3, P. I 27 1

Kapālamocanatīrtha—A (in VS) V. 83 137, SK IV. 33 116, N II 29. 38–60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal 39, 8, M. 183 84–103, Vām 3. 48–51, Var. 97 24–26, P V 14. 185–189, K I 35 15 (same story in these five purānas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Auśanasa) Vām. 39.5–14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal 39 9–22 (same story of Rahodara), vide ASR of India vol. XIV pp 75–76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description, C (under Avantī) N II 78.6, D (in Kāśmīra, modern Degām in Supiyan *pargana*) R VII 266 (and Stein's n), HC X 249, XIV 111, E (in Māyāpura i. e Haridvāra) P VI 129 28

Kapāleśvara (under VS) L q. by T K. 58

Kapardīśvara (one of the guhya lingas in VS) K I. 32.12, I 33 4–11 and 28–49, P I. 35 1

Kapateśvara (on the southern side of the Kāśmīra valley close to modern Kothera) R I 32, HC XIV 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202, 1329–1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178–179, Ain A vol II p 358 says 'in the valley of Kotihar

is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears'

Kāpila (under VS) K I. 35 9

Kapilā—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā 108.57–58, Ag 116 5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186. 40, 190.10, K. II 40 24, P I. 13 35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwani in Central India

Kapiladhārā—Vām. 84 24 Dey p 4 (under Amarakantaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakantaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāna

Kāpiladvīpa—(Ananta is Viṣnu's *guhya* name there) Nr 65 7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam kapilam dvīpe')

Kapilahrada (under VS) V 84 78, N II. 50 46, P I 32 41, L I. 92 69–70. N. II. 66 35 mentions under Haridvāra a tīrtha of that name

Kapilanāgarāja—V 84 32, P. I 28.32 (same verse in both)

Kapilāsaṅgama—A (with Narmadā) M. 186 40, P. II 18 1, VI 242, 42, B (under Go.) B 141 1 and 28–29

Kapilatīrtha—A (under Viraja in Orissa) B 42 6, B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193. 4, K II 41. 93–100, P I 17 7, V 83. 47, T. S p. 100, C (on the south bank of Go) B 155 1–2 (also called Āṅgirasa, Āditya and Saimbhikeya).

Kapilātīrtha—(under Kapateśvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 113

Kapilāvata—(near Nāgatīrtha and Kanakhala) V 84 31, P. I. 28. 31

Kapileśaliṅga—(under VS) SK IV 33, 158

Kapileśvara-liṅga—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II. 85 26

kapiśā—(r. in Utkala i. e Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.

Kāpiśī—(r.) Pān. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.

Kāpota—(under Go) B 80. 5 and 92

Kāpotakatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 155. 1 (here the r. turns to the east).

Kapoteśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92 156

Karahāṭaka—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Kṛsnā and the Koyanā) S 31. 70, Vik 8 2 It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p 131 for a donation of the guild of Karahāṭaka, pp 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karahākata Coins of the *Ksatrapas* ruling up to 300 A D. were found at Karad Vide Bom G. vol I part 1 p 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛsnarāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768 A.D.) in E I. vol XIII p. 275

Kārandhama (on the south sea) Ādi 216 3

Karañjatīrtha (under Narmadā) M. 190 11

Kārantuka (under Kuruksetra) Vām 22 60. Vide p. 683 above

Kārapacava (on the Yamunā) Pañcaviṃśa Br. 25 10.23, Āśv Śr XII 6, Kātyāyana Śr S. 24.6 10

Karapāda (shrine of Śiva) Vam q by TK p. 235

Kārapavana (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54 12 and 15

Karatoyā (r flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85 3, S. 9 22, Anu. 25 12 The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānīrā are synonyms Acc to Mār 54 25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā 45 100 says it rises in Ṛksapāda In Sm, C I. p. 132 the

mantra in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)

Kāravatī (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III 13 92

Karavīra—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīre* Mahālakṣmīh) = P. V. 17 205, M 22 76, Anu 25 44, P VI 108 3, E I vol III p 207, 210, a grant of Śīlāditya Vyayādītya of *śake* 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimha II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A D (E I vol XII p 303, 306) Vide I A vol 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name, B (capital of Brahmāvarta on Drsadvatī) Kālikāpurāna 49.71, NM 147, C (city in Sahya near Gomanta hill) Harivamśa (Viṣnuparva) 39 50–64

Karavīraka-tīrtha—A (under VS) L. q by T K p 70, B (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126 48–51

Kardamāla—A (under Gayā) M 22 77, Ag 116 13, N II 60 24, B (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165 7 and 10

Kardamāśrama—(near Bindusaras) Bh III. 21. 35–37

Kardamila—V 135 1 (where Bharata was crowned).

Karkandha—Vām 51 52

karkotakeśvara—(under Narmadā) M 191 36

Karmāvarohana—(under Mathurā) Var q by TK p 190

Karmeśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92 152

Karnahrada—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatīsangama) P I 32 4

Karnaprayāga—Vide under Alakanandā and U. P Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p 172

kartikeya—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M 13 45, B (under Go) B 81, 1, G I 81, 9

kārtikeya-kunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 61

Kārtikeyapada—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19, 111. 54

Kāśī—Vide pp. 618–642 above It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p 182) notes that Kāśī Varānasī, Vārānasī and Śivapurī are synonyms (verse 974)

Kāśmīra-mandala—The ancient name seems to have been Kaśmīra. The Mbh (vol II p. 119) on Pān III. 2 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsi Devadatta Kaśmīrān gamisyāmah) Kaśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kaśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmira also Later works also like H. C 14 45 employ the form Kaśmīra, the Vik (18 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292–93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (kam vāri Hariṇā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apākrtam | Kaśmīrākhyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhavisyati ||) Ptolemy speaks of it as Kaspeiria and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitastā), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvatī) Vide Ptolemy pp 108–109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmīra as holy (130 10) Ain. A. (vol II p. 354 notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground Vide also V 82. 90, S 27 17, Anu 25. 8 According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvi' I G I vol. XV p 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G I vol XV p 74) Stein (SM p 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

' by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hiouen Thsang (Beal's B R W W vol 1. p 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about $5\frac{1}{7}$ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry' The words of Hiouen Thsang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kashmīr was originally a lake (called Satīsaras) 6 yojanas long and 3 yojanas wide and later became Satīdeśa (NM 64–66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Himālayas is like the *sīmanta* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45) The legend runs that Viṣnu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣnu when Garuda began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīdeśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105–107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīdeśa (NM 110). The residence of *Nīla* is the famous fountain near the village of Vernāg in the Shahabad *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111–123 and Vām. 81 30–33) Nīla approached the sage Kaśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣnu asked Anantanāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R I 25) Then Viṣnu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men Satī became the river Vitastā Vide Kūrma II. 43 4 Nāga in Kashmīr means the tutelary deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130–31) and R (I 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tīrtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity In Ain A (vol II p 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣnu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I 72) and NM (313–314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes, these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'

Kaśyapapada—(under Gayā) Vā 109. 18, 111 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpiḥ) Vā 77 87, Br. III 13 98, B (under Śābhramatī) P VI. 157 1

Kaśyapeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 75

Katheśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63–64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 120

Kaubera—one of the Sārasvatatīrthas, Devala q by T K p 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal 47 25 (where Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumāratīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunata—Vām 51 53

Kaundinyasaras—(Kramasāra is so K called in Kāśmīra) NM 1481–1483

Kauśāmbi—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumnā), Rām I 32. 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā, T K p. 246 The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol III pp 50, 134 on Pān. VI. 1 31 and VI 2 130) Vide AG pp 391–398 and under Hastināpura A. C (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country Vide 'Early History of Kauśāmbī' by Nagendranath Ghosh The Kauśāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I I vol 1 p 159) mentions the mahāmātras of this city In JRAS for 1898 pp 503–519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kauśāmbī. Vide E. I vol XI p 141 on different views about the location of Kauśāmbī

Kauśikahrada—(on r Kauśikī) V 84 142—143, P I 38 58 (where Viśvāmitra obtained the highest *siddhi*)

Kauśikī—A (r from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215 7, V 84 132, M 22 63, 114 22, Rām I. 34. 7–9, Bh IX 15. 5–12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gādhi, became r Kauśikī), Vām 54 22–24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair), 78 5, 90 2, Vā 45 94, 91 85–88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmitra (Ādi 71 30–32),
B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108 81 (Kauśikī brahmadā jyesthā) Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kauśikī and not the name of another river as Prof Dikshitar (Purāna Index, vol. II, p 507) thinks

Kauśikī—Kokā-saṅgama—Var 140 75–78

Kauśikī-mahā-hrada—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109

Kauśikī—sangama (with Drsadvatī) P. I. 26 89, Vām 34. 18 This seems to be another Kauśikī apart from the two mentioned above

Kauśikī-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 40

Kauśikyāruṇā—saṅgama—V. 84 156, P I 38 63

Kaustubheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K 60

Kāverī—A (r in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85 22, Anu 166 20, Vā 45 104, 77. 28, M. 22 64, K. II 37 16–19, P. I. 39 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvrdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāverī is Dakṣina-Gaṅgā), there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X 102 ff, pp 160 ff of Prof Dikshitar's translation), B (a r rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śukla-tīrtha) M 189 12–14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16 6–11 (Kubera got *yakṣādhipatya* here), Ag. 113 3

Kāverīsaṅgama—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113 3 and vide under B above.

Kāyaśodhana—V 83 42–43

Kāyāvarohana—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23 221–222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M 22.30, K. II 44 7–8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Maheśvara were promulgated here). E. I. vol XXI pp. 1–7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i e 380 A D shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A D, B (a Śivatīrtha in Benares) M. 181 26. In M 13 48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohaṇa)

Kedāra—A (one of the eight Śivatīrthas in Benares) V. 87. 25, M 181 29, K I. 35. 12 and II 20. 34 (a very fit place for śrāddha), Ag. 112 5, L. I. 92. 7 and 134, B (in Tehri Gadhval and called Kedāranātha) VDh S 85. 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level, there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tungnātha, Rudranātha, Madhyameśvara and Kalpeśvara Vide U. P Gazetteer, vol 36 p 173 (for Garhwal), C (in Kāśmīra) HC 8. 69 (one krośa below Vijayeśvara), D (under Gayā) N. II 46. 46, E (of Kapisthala) P I. 26 69.

Keśava—A (in Benares) M. 185 68, B (under Mathurā) Var 163. 63

Kesinītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I 21 40

Keśitīrtha—(under Ganges) TP p 515

Ketakīvana—Vide under Vaidyanātha.

Ketumālā—(r. in the west) V. 89 15

Khadgadhārātīrtha or Khadgadhāreśvara—P VI 147. 1 and 67. Vide Bom G vol. IV p. 6 for description

Khadgapucchanāga—(in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 251 (about 1½ krośa above Vijayeśvaraksetra, now called Khanbal in Anantanāg *pargana*)

Khadgatīrtha—A (under Sābhramatī) P VI 140 1, B (under Go.) B 139 1 (on the northern bank)

Khadiravana—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 39 (7th *vana* out of 12)

Khandatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 137 12 (also called Vrsatīrtha)

Khāndava (vana)—boundary of Kuruksetra in Tai Ā V 1. 1. Vide above p. 681. The name occurs in Tāndya Brāhmana 25. 3 6, Ādi 223-225, Bh I 15 8, X 58 25-27, X 71. 45-46, P. VI. 200 5

Khāndavaprastha—(a city) Ādi 61 35, 221. 15, Bh X 73. 32 (where Krsna, Bhīma and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāsandha)

Khatvāngeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K 56

Khonamusa—(in Kāśmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhana and famous for saffron cultivation Vik I 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamukha), SM p 166 (modern Khunamoh, which has two hamlets).

Kilikileśa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 31.

Kimdatta—kūpa—V 83 98

Kimśukavana—Vā 38 27-32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)

Kimśuluka—name of a m acc to Pān. VI. 3 117 (vanagiryoh saṁjñāyām kotara-kimśulukādīnām) The Kāśikā mentions five forests (including Kotaravana) and six *giris* (including Kimśuluka), which cannot be identified with certainty.

Kimyajña—P. I 26 74.

Kindāna—P I. 26 74, V 83. 79

Kinkinīkāśrama—Anu 25 23

Kiranā—(r.) Vām. 84. 5 Vide p 636

Kiraneśvara-linga—(under VS) SK IV 33. 155

Kiskindhā—(about two miles from lake Pampā to the north-east) V 280 16, Rām IV 9 5, IV. 14 1 &c Mbh. (vol III. p 96) on Pān VI 1 157 mentions 'Kiskindhā-guhā' The word occurs in the Sindhvādi gana (Pān IV. 3. 93) It is identified with modern Vijayanagar and Anegundi Vide I G I vol. XIII p 235 Br S 14 10 calls Kiskindhā a country in south-east.

Kiskindhaguhā—Vā 54, 116 (probably the same as Kiskindhā)

Kiskindhaparvata—M 13 46 (Devī is called Tārā on that m.)

Kokā—(r.) Var 214 45, B 219 20

Kokāmukha—(or Varāhaksetra, on the Triveni above Nāthapura in Purnea District) V 84 158, Anu. 25 52, Var. 122 (is Kokāmukha-māhātmya), 123 2, 140 10-13 (q by T. K pp 213-214), B 219 8-10 (gods asked a damsel '*Kāsi bhadre prabhuh Ko vā bhavatyāh*'), K. I. 31 47, II. 35 36

(it is a Viṣṇutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140.60-84) says that the kṣetra is five yojanas in extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation Vide E I vol. 15 pp. 138-139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kokāmukhasvāmin, and Dr B. C. Law Presentation Volume I pp 189-191, I H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56

Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37 16, P V 11. 10

Kolāhala—(a m.) Vā. 45 90, 106. 45, Br. II 16 21, Mār. 54 12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmayoni hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646. 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śuktimatī

Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (asti Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇāpathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of *śake* 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Ksullakāpura, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209-210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa I of *śake* 793 (871 A. D) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E I vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālaksmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.

Kolla—a Sāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124

Kollagiri—Ag. 110 21, Bh. V. 19. 16

Konārka or Konāditya—(in Odra i. e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Konākona appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238-1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*maṇḍapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol I p. 288 and 'Sungod of Konārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in *Modern Review* for 1945 pp 67-72 The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9. 11, 47, 65 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p 70)

Kośalā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI 205 13, 207. 35-36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kosalā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I vol. IX p. 271.

Kotarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Aniruddha for whom Kṛṣna fought with Bāṇāsura)

Kotarā-vana—named by Pān. VI. 3 117 and VIII 4 4 Vide under Kiṃśuluka and Pān VIII. 4. 4 for the names of five *vanas*.

Koṭikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I.18.36

Koṭīśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T.K. 54. B (under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 157, C(under Pañcanada) Vām 34.29, is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp 303-4 and Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 229-231

Kottīrtha—A (near Prthūdaka) Vām. 51 53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartṛsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M 106 44, D (under Mathurā) Var 152. 62, 154. 29, E (under Narmadā) M. 191 7, K II 41. 34, P I 13 33 and 18 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go) B 148. 1, G (near Gaṅgādvāra) V. 82 49, V. 84. 77, N II 66 29, H (under Gayā) Ag 116 6, I (in Pañcanada) P I 26. 14, Vām 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tīrthas) J (in Kāśmīra near Bāramūla, modern Kotīsar) K R. p. 12

Kotivata—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147 40

Kramasāra—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣnupada also) NM 1481-82

Kratutīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 21 9

Krauñcapāda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tapas* on it), N II 46 52, Ag 116 7

Krauñcapadī—Anu. 25. 42

Krauñcaparvata—(part of Kailāsa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 31. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarśane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgirau), Rām IV 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Skanda), Sal 17 51½ and 46 83-84.

Krauñcāranya—(three krośas from Janasthāna) Rām III 69. 5-8

Kriyā (r rising from Ṛkṣavat) Br. II. 16. 29

Kṛkalāsatīrtha—(also called Nrgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543. Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70, Rām (VII. 53) narrates how king Nrga became a chameleon.

Krmicandeśvara—(one of the eight *Śivasthānas* in Banaras) M. 181. 29

Krośodaka—Var. 215. 87-88

Kṛpā—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38

Kṛpāṭīrtha—(on hill Mundapṛstha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460

Kṛṣṇā—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābaleśvara) B 77 5, P. VI. 113 25, Vām. 13 30, B Vām 78. 7, 90. 2 (Viṣnu as Hayaśīrṣa on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛṣṇā is rarely mentioned as Kṛṣṇā, but generally as Kṛṣṇa-Venyā or-Venā It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvarī and the Kāverī In the Mahābaleśvara *mahātmya* (JBBRAS vol. X. at p. 16 five rivers called Gangā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābaleśvara viz. Kṛṣṇā, Venī, Kaḷudmatī (Koynā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bānkot) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).

Kṛṣna gaṅgā—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3

Kṛṣnagaṅgodbhavatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 176 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *māhātmya*).

Kṛṣnagiri—(m.) Vā 45 91, Br II. 16, 22

Kṛṣnatīrtha—(near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 9

Kṛṣna-Venā—Bhī. 9, 16, M 22, 45, Ag. 118. 7, B 27. 35, Vā 45. 104, occurs in Emperor Khāravela's inscription in E, I, vol XX at p. 77 as Kanhabemnā) The Anu 166. 22 mentions Venyā and Kṛṣna-Venā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāṣtrakūṭa Govind II dated *śake* 692 (769 A D.) the confluence of Kṛṣnaverṇā and Musī is referred to (E I vol. VI. 205).

Kṛṣṇā-Venyā—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108, 27 (confluence of Kṛṣnā and Venyā), VI. 113 3 and 25 (Kṛṣnā is the body of Kṛṣṇa), Sm. C I p 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛṣnā-Venyā Vide, *TS pp.* 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that Kṛsna-Venyā is the best of all such rivers. Māhuli about four miles from Satara is at the confluence of Kṛsnā and Yennā (which stands for Venyā).

Kṛsna-Venī—(same as above two) M. 114. 29, Rām V 41. 9 In T S. pp. 67–83 there is a *māhātmya* of Kṛsnaveni from SK.

Kṛtamāla—(r. rising in Malaya) Vā 45 105, B 27 36, M 114 30, Br. III. 35 17, Bh VIII 24 12, X 79. 16, XI 5. 39, Vi II 3. 13. Dey p. 104 says that it is the river Vaiga on which Madurā is situated. See under Payasvini. The Bhāgavata says Manu practised penance on this river and helped the fish (avatāra) to grow

Kṛtaśauca—M. 13.45, 179.87, Vām. 90. 5 (has an image of Nrsimha), P VI. 280 18

Kṛttikāngāraka—Anu. 25. 22

Kṛttikāśrama—Anu 25. 25

Kṛttikātīrtha—(under Go.) B 82 1

Kṛttivāsa—(under VS) L q. by T. K p. 40

Kṛttivāseśvarāliṅga—(in VS) K I. 32. 12 (verses 16–18 explain why it is so called), P. I 34 10, N. II 49. 6–9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in Tretā yuga)

Krumu—(r.) Rg. V 53 9 and X. 75 6. It is generally held to be modern Kurram that falls into the Indus on its western side near Isakhel. Vide Dey p 105 for other views

Kṣamā—(r. rising from Rsyavat) M. 114. 25

Kṣemeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K 117

Kṣiprā—(r. rising in Vindhya m.) M. 114 27, Vām, 83 18–19 Some printed works write it as Śiprā (Vāyu 45. 98) or Siprā The printed Matsya says that Kṣiprā rises from Vindhya, while in 114.24 it mentions Śiprā as rising from Pāriyātra m. The printed Brahma (chap. 27) mentions Siprā twice, one rising from Pāriyātra (verse 29) and the other rising from Vindhya (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name The Brahmānda II 16 29 and 32 (Kṣiprā in both places) is just like the Brahma

Kṣīravatī—(r) V 84 68 (reached after Sarasvatī and Bāhudā)

Kṣīrikā—(where there is Nīlakantha) Vām q by T, K p. 238

Kṣudhātīrtha—(under Go) B 85 1

Kuberatunga—(a fit place for śrāddha) Vā 77 78, K II. 37. 31, Br III 13 80

Kubhā—(probably modern Kabul river) Rg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is the Kophes of Ptolemy and Kophen of Arrian (A I. p 179) The Kabul river joins the Indus at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock. Pāṇ. V 1. 77 (Uttarapathenāhṛtam ca) mentions Uttarapatha (the road in the north that crossed the Sindhu near Attock)

Kubjaka—N. II. 60 25, G, I 81. 10 (Kubjake Śrīdharo Hariḥ)

Kubjāmraka—(it had a hermitage of Raibhya near Gangādvāra) V 84. 40, M. 22. 66, P I, 32 5. VDh. S 85.15, K, II. 20 33, G. I. 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for śrāddha Var 125. 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with Māyātīrtha (i. e Haridvāra) Var. 126 contains a māhātmya of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in T.K pp. 206–208 without a single word by way of comment Chap. 126. 10–12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage Raibhya as informed by God and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

location. Var. 179. 26–31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukara-tīrtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var 140.60–64 explain how the holy place Hṛsīkeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.

Kubjāsaṅgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92 32

Kubjāśrama—(a Viṣnusthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33–35.

Kubjāvana—P I. 39.34

Kubjikāpīṭha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kālikā 64. 53–54 and 71–72

Kudmalā—(a r.) M 22. 46 (*śrāddha* performed here is very efficacious)

Kuhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br II. 16. 25, Vām 57. 80, B 27. 26; In M 121. 46 the word 'Kuhūn occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurasas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river,

Kukkuteśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K 98

Kulampuna—V 83. 104, P I 26 97

Kuleśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177, 55

Kuliśī—(r) Rg. I. 104. 4

Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K p. 247

Kumāra—P I. 38 61

Kumāra—dhātā—V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pitāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 23, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmitīrtha), Br. III. 13. 94–95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)

umāra—kośalā-tīrtha—Vā. 77 37

Kumārakoṭī—V. 82. 117, P I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13

Kumāratīrtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K p. 252

Kumāreśvaraliṅga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām. 46. 23

Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komarei, V. 88 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryah' in the Pāndya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III 13. 28. Br. II 16 11 and M 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bhāratavarsa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 35 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.

Kumārila—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmira) Vām 81 11

Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77 47

Kumbhakarnāśrama—V. 84. 157, P I. 38 64 (same verse in both)

Kumbhakona — (modern Kumbhakonam) in Tanjore District) SK. III. Brahmakhanda 52. 101

Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varanā) L.q. by T.K p. 45

Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126, 25–26

Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45, 102, B 27. 33

Kundaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12, B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92. 149

Kundavana—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32

Kundeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 68

Kundina—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T K p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)

Kundiprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148

Kundoda—(a hill near Kāśi) V. 87. 25–26

Kuñjatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9

Kuraṅga—Anu. 25. 12

Kurujāṅgala—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77. 93, Vām. 22. 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37. 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86 20. Vide p. 688 above

Kurujāṅgalāranya—Devīpurāna q by T K. p 244

Kuruksetra—Vide pp 681–686 above. The Kuruksetra-māhātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p 332

Kuśaplavana—V. 85. 36

Kuśastamba—Anu. 25. 28 q. by T.K. p. 246

Kuśasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16

Kuśasthalī—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88 1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Krsna founded this city), Br. III 61 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above, B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśa son of Rāma began to rule) Rām VII 107. 17, Vā 88 199; C (same as Kuśāvatī former name of Kusinārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāna) SBE vol XI. p 248 note

Kuśatarpana—(under Go) B 161. 1 (also called Pranītāsaṅgama)

Kuśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K. II 41 33

Kuśāvarta—A(near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh S. 85.11, B. 80 2 M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol 16 p. 651, B (near Haridvāra) Anu. 25 13, N II 40 79, Bh. III. 20. 4

Kuśāvatī—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśa ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahāsudassana sutta (SBE XI. p 248) it is stated that Kusinārā was the city of king Mahāsudassana under the name Kusāvatī

Kuśeśaya—(v. l. Kuśeśvara) M. 22 76

Kuśikasyāśrama—(on r Kauśikī) V. 84. 131–132

Kuśivaṭa—Nr. q. by T.K p. 252

Kūṣmāndeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K p 103

Kusumeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112–117 and 125

Kūṭaka—(m) Bh V. 6.7 (Kutaka), V. 19 16 (Kūtaka)

Kūṭaśaila—(m.) Vā 45. 92, Br. II. 16 23 (probably the same as Kūtaka above)

L

Laksmanācala—N. II. 75. 74

Laksmanatīrtha—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahmakhanda 52. 106–7 (tonsure of the head only at this tīrtha). The tīrtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāverī IGI vol 16. p. 131

Laksaneśvara—(under VS) N. II. 49.64

Laksmītīrtha—(under Go.) B 137.1

Lalitā—(in VS) N. II. 49 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96, M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.

Lalitaka—(tīrtha of Santanu) V 84 34, P I. 28 34, N II. 66.37

Lāṅgala-tīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18 51

Lāṅgali-linga—(under VS) L q by TK p 105

Lāṅgalinī—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Laṅgulinī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235 The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāngulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X. p. 217

Lapetikā—(r) V. 85. 15

Lauhitya—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85. 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemaśṛnga mountain), Anu 25.46, P.I, 39 2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V 52 54, Kāhkāpurāṇa 86. 26-34. From Raghuvaṃśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for *māhātmya* The form Lauhitya occurs in Yaśodharman's inscription (about 532-33, A. D.), vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p 142 at p. 146

Laukika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13

Lavaṇā—r. flowing close by the city of Padmāvatī situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu Vide Mālatīmādhava, Act IX. verse 2

Lavarnakatīrtha—(on Sarasvatī) P I, 26 48

Lāvidhikā—(near Campā) P I. 38 71

Liṅgasāra—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51

Liṅgi-Janārdana—(under Narmadā) K II. 41. 61.

Lohadanda—M. 22 65, Vām 90 29 (Viṣnu as Hṛsīkeśa here) Śrāddha is most efficacious here.

Lohajaṅghavana—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41

Lohakūta—N, II. 60. 24

Lohārgala—(a Viṣnusthāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mlecchа kings support or resort to it), 144 10, 151. 1-83 (verses 7-8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavāta in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala), Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five yojanas in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably Lohāghāt in Kumaon

Lohita—(same as Śona) Anu. 166. 21; in Br, II. 16-27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.

Lohita-Gaṅgaka—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34

Lokapāla—(under Badarī) Var 141. 28-31

Lokapāleśvara—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p 105

Lokoddhāra—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26 41 (same verse in both)

Lolārka—(under VS) M. 185 68 (one of the five principal tīrthas in Banaras), K. I 35, 14, P. I 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15 58-59, Vide p. 634 above

Lonārakunda—(in Viṣnu-Gayā) P. VI, 176. 41. Lonār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Lonāsura whom Viṣnu vanquished It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration. Ain A. vol. II. describes it (pp 230-231) and states that brāhmanas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples in Berar of the medieval temples is that at Lonār known as the temple of Daitya-sūdana. It is a Vaiṣnava shrine. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CIII-CV.

M

Madavāvartanāga—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) HC. X. 252.

Mādhavatīrtha—(on Śrīśaila) P. VI, 129 12

Mādhavavana M. 13, 37 (Devī is called Sugandhā here)

Madhūdakā—(r.) Vām. 57. 80

Madhukaiṭabha-liṅga—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43

Madhūkavana—(between Agastyāśrama and Pañcavaṭī) Rām, III. 13.23

Madhukulyā—(r. under Gayā). Vā 106 75, 112. 30.

Madhumatī—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Śāṇḍilya), Vik 18. 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India), vide Mālatīmādhava, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.

Madhunandinī—(r.) Vām. 81. 16

Madhupura—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27. 38

Madhupurī—same as Mathurā; Bh VII. 14 31, Vi I 12. 2-4

Madhurā—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasena country) Br. III. 49.6, Vi I. 12. 4 Vide pp 687-690 above and Rām. VII 70,5, B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, called Dakṣina-Madhurā). Vide 'Manimekhalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof Dikshitar's translation of the Śilappadikāram pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannaki

Madhurātīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 18

Madhusravā—(r.)-A (under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112 307 34, N. II. 47. 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34 7, 39. 36-38, V 83. 150 (both read Madhusrava)

Madhuvana—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K II 36 9, Var. 153. 30, Vām 83.31, 90 14, Bh IV. 8. 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX 11. 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana) Growse in 'Mathura' identifies it with Maholi five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 54); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kurukṣetra) Vām 34. 5

Madhuvatī—(a Devisthāna) P. I. 26 88

Madhvatīrtha—G Uttarakhanda, Brahmakāṇḍa 26 46-47. This is rather suspicious

Madhuvilā—(r.) same as Samaṅgā. V. 135.1

Madhyama-Puskara—(see Puskara), P V. 19. 38, Vām. 22 19.

Madhyameśvara-liṅga—A (under VS) K. I. 32. 12, K I. 34. 1-2, L. I 92. 91, 135, P I 34 10 (one of the five main liṅgas in Banaras), B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 151

Madhyandinīyaka-tīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 177 46 (to the west of Vaikuntha tīrtha)

Madothata—P VI. 129 9 (9th among 108 tīrthas of Jambudvīpa)

Madrā—(r rising in Vindhya) Vā 45. 102

Madravā—(a hill) Br III 13. 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṇḍavā below

Māgadhāranya—K. II 37. 9, Vām. 11 7, 84 35

Mahābala—A (Mahableshwar in Satara District) P VI 113 29 Vide JBBRAS. vol X. pp 1-18, for Mahābaleśvara māhātmya, B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarṇa Vide Gokarna plates of Kadamba king Kāmadeva in *śake* 1177 (1236 A D.) in E I vol. 27 p 157

Mahābhairava—(one of eight Śivatīrthas) M. 181 29, K II. 44 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250

Mahābodhitaru—(the pippala tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115. 37, M. 22. 33, N. II 45. 103, Vā 111. 26, verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P VI 117. 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya

and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I. p 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111. 27–29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II. pp 2–9 for the vicissitudes of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A. D.

Mahā-Gaṅgā—Anu. 25. 22 q. by T.K. p. 246, VDh S 85.23 (com. says it is Alakanandā).

Mahāgaurī—(r. from Vindhya) M 114. 28, Vā 45.103

Mahāhrada—(near Badrīnāth) K II. 37. 39, Anu 25. 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245–246

Mahākāla—A (Śiva in Ujjayinī, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) V. 82. 49, M 13. 41, 22 24, 179. 5 (fight of Śiva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avanti), B 43. 66, SK IV. 1. 91, B (a liṅga in VS) L. I 92 137

Mahākālavana—(in Avanti territory) M. 179. 5

Mahākāśī—Vām. q by T. K. p. 239

Mahākūta—(a hill fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77 57, Br. III. 13. 58. *It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Badāmī known even now by the name of Mahākūta. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātāpi and Ilvala.* Vide I. A. vol X. pp 102–103 for an inscription of about 696–734 A.D. here

Mahālakṣmeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69

Mahālaya—V. 85 91 (dānam dadyāt Mahālaye), VDh. S. 85. 18, M. 181. 25, K II. 20 33 (very fit for śrāddha), II. 37 1–4 (where Pāśupatas worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11. 17, Br. III. 13. 82–84, Vām. 90. 22, P. I. 37. 16

Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 63

Mahālaya-liṅga—(under VS) I. 92. 134

Mahāliṅga—(sacred to pitṛs) M. 13 33, 22. 34 (Devī is called Kapilā here and śrāddha here is most efficacious)

Mahāmuṇḍā—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 56

Mahāmuṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 56

Mahānāda—M. 22. 53 (dāna is most efficacious here)

Mahānadī—A (r. starting from Vindhya, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal) Br. 46 4–5, K. II. 35. 25, Br II 16. 28 says it rises in Pāriyātra; B (r under Gayā, probably Phalgu) P. I 38 4, Vā 108. 16–17, 110. 6, Ag 115.25, V 84, C (in Dravida) Bh XI 5. 40

Mahānala—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116 1

Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Māldā District). Vide I G.I. vol XX pp 413–414 (under Purnea)

Mahāpadmanāga—(a lake in Kāśmīra) NM 1120–1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width) It is same as Ullola and modern Vollur lake. Vide R IV. 591 for one story, NM 1123–1159 for the story of the wicked Sadaṅgulanāga and K. R. pp 9–10 for both

Mahāpāśupateśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Mahāpura—(a tīrtha) Anu 25 26

Mahārudra—M. 22. 34

Mahāśāla—M 22.34, P V 11 27

Mahāśālanadī—M 22 42

Mahāsaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246

Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 160, 22, one of five *sthalas*, the other four

being Arkasthala, Virasthala, Kuśasthala and Punyasthala.

Mahāśrama—V 84 53, P I 32 17

Mahāśona—same as Śona—S. 20 27

Mahatkunda—(under VS) L by T.K. p 70

Mahatī (r from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, Vā 45 97

Mahāvana—(the 8th *vana* out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja Var 153 40, 161 8 Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here

Mahātīrtha—K.II 37.12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛṣīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati)

Mahāvenā—P V. 11. 27

Mahendra—(a m range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī 9 11, Udyoga 11. 12, M 22 44, P. I. 39. 14 (inhabited by Paraśurāma), V. 85 16, Bh V. 19 16, Vām. 13 14–15, 83 10–11, K.I.47 23–24. A Śāktakṣetra according to Bār S.III 124 In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV, 67.37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Lankā. Raghuvaṃśa (IV.39–40) shows that Kaliṅga country had some portion of Mahendra in it Pargiter (p 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvarī and Mahānadī and hills in Berar I do not agree. Rām, IV 41.19–21 speak of Mahendra after Pāṇḍyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X 79.11–12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvarī, Venā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I vol III at p 7)

Māheśvarapura—(where Vṛṣadhvaja i e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129–130.

Māheśvara—(modern town in the Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M 188. 2, P. I. 15.2. L G I. Vol 17 p 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhismatī

Maheśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34

Maheśvarakunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151, 67

Maheśvarapada—P I. 38 36, V 84.119

Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādi-gaṇa (Pāṇ IV. 2 97); B (a r rising in Gwalior state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 2 3 23, I 2 13.43–45 and 125–127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54 19 (rising from Pāriyātrā). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p 103) and Mais of Periplus

Mahīsāgarasaṅgama—SK. I 2 3. 26

Māhītīrtha—Vām. 84 36

Māhismatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Maheśvara Māndhātā island is attached to Nemad District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19 23–24, 166. 4, Anu 2, 6, P. II. 92 32, VI 115 4, Bh. IX 15, 22 (Sahastārjuna imprisoned Rāvana); the Mbh (vol II. p. 35, Ujjayinyāh prasthito Māhismatyām sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pāṇ III. 1 26, in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Patiṭṭhāna of Aṭaka and then to Māhissatī, vide 'Mahismandala and Māhismatī' by Dr Fleet in JRAS for 1910 pp 425-447 and Barwani plate of king Subandhu in E I. vol.XIX.p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhiṣmatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).

Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

grīva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *samvat* 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E I. vol. V p 208 at p. 211 It was also called Kuśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāstrakūta Indra III is said to have devastated Mahodaya, but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra *Bhojadeva dated samvat* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E I. vol 19 at p 17)

Maināka—(m near Badarī) A. V 139. 17, V 145. 44, Anu 25 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, B (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; C (m near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p 29 (of T K) hold that it is the Sewalik range Vide Pargiter pp 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Maināka, that are slightly different from those stated here.

Maitreyī-linga (under VS) L q. by T K p. 47

Makrunā (r rising from Rksa) Vā 45.101.

Mālā (a river) S 20 28

Malada—(*in Kāśmīra*) P I. 25 4

Malandarā—(r) M. 22 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)

Malaprabhārinī or Malāpahārini—(r. rising from Sahya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) modern Malaprabhā, SK q by T S.pp 80 and 101. Vide Bom G vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p 12 for legend The famous village of Ayyāvole or Aivalli or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badāmi Vide I A vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A D Paraśurāma is said to have washed his blood stained axe in the Malaprabhā here Vide Bom G. vol. 23 p. 545

Malāpahā—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparnā on its bank where there is 'Śrīmallinga *Mahesvara*'.

Mālārka—(shrine of the Sun under Sōbhramati) P. VI 141 1 and 142 1

Malaya—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V 252 43, 313 32, Bhī 9 11, K I 47 23 (the sea could be seen from its top), Vā 45 88, B 27 19. Raghu (IV 45 51) shows that Malaya was on the shore where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon, and also on Tāmraparnī It is the mountain of the Pāṇḍya country (Raghuvaṁśa IV 45-51) Agastya had his hermitage on it

Malayaja—P. VI. 129 12 (one of the numerous tīrthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided)

Malayārjunaka—tīrtha (under Mathurā beyond Yamunā) Var. 157 1.

Mālini—(r on which was situated Kaṇvāśramma) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72 10 According to Hiouen Thsang it was on this river that the District of Madāwar in west Rohilkhand was situated Vide A G pp. 317-350

Mallava—(on western bank of Ganga) P. V 5 74 (where Śatrughna himself)

Mallikābhye—(a preta) P IV 17 60

Mallikārjunaka—(under Śrīparvata) I I 92. 155

Mallikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I 18 6

Mālyavat—(The Anegundi hill on Tungabhadrā) Rām. III 70 31, IV. 27. 14 (on north of it in a deep cave on Prasravana Rāma dwelt for four months in the rainy season), V 250 26, 252 1 (not far from Kiṣkindhā)

Mālyavati—(r. near Citrakūṭa) Rām II 56 38

Mānasa—A (lake in Himalayas called between Kailāsa on the west and Gurla Māndhātā on the east) V. 130 12 P. II 18 15 and IV. 121

16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises), Vām 78.3, 90 1 (where Viṣnu appeared in the Matsya form), vide under Kailāsa Sven Hedin in vol. III of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailas and Gurla Māndhātā, it is turquoise set between diamonds' The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level, B (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 29, C (to the west of Mathurā) Var 154. 25, D (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M 107.2, E (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasbal) Vik 18 55, K R. p 9, F (under Narmadā) M 194 8, P I 21 8; G (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣina-mānasa) Vā 111 2, 6, 8, 22

Mandagā—(r rising from Śuktimat) M 114. 32, Vā 45. 107

Mandākinī—A (near mountain Citrakūta and rising from Ṛkṣavat) V. 85 58, Anu 25 29, Rām. II 93. 8 and III 5 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag 109 23, Br. II 16 30, M 114 25, B (a subtīrtha under VS.) L q by T.K p 86, C (r springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M 121 4, Br II. 18 1 D (near Kiṣkindhā) Rām IV 1. 95

Mandaleśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 66

Mandara—(m.) Vi II 2 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51 19, V 139 5, 142 2, 163 4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33, Udyoga 11 12, L I 92 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N II 60 22, Vām 51 74 (from Pṛthūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas), M 184 18 13. 28 (Devī is styled Kāmacārinī on m. Mandara), Bh VII 3 2 and VII. 7 2 (Hiranyakaśipu here)

Mandāra—Var. 143 1-51 (Mandāramāhātmya) Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas It puts forth flowers only on dvādaśī and caturdaśī (verse 13) T.K (pp 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var 143 without any comment. A. G p 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.

Mandavā—Vā 77. 56 (a hill very fit for śrāddha)

Mandavāhinī—(r. from Suktimat m.) M 114. 32, Vā 45. 107.

Māndavya—(a tīrtha where Devī is styled Māndavyā) M 13. 42

Māndavyeśa—(under VS) L. q by T K. p 119

Mandodaritīrtha—M 22 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)

Mangalā—(a Devīsthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38 24

Maṅgala-prastha—(hill) Bh. V. 19 16

Maṅgalā-saṅgama—(under Go) B 122 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govinda)

Mangaleśvara—(under Narmadā) P II 92. 33

Manikarnī or Manikarnikā—(under VS) M 182 24, 185 69, N II 40 87 and 49 44, P VI 23 44, vide p 635 above

Manikarnīśvara—(under VS) N II 49 45, L q by T K p 103

Manikunda—(under Stutasvāmin) Var 148 52

Mānikyeśvara—(in Kāśmīra) P VI 176 80-82

Manimat or Manimanta—(near r Devikā) V 82 101, P I 25 8 (same words in both), Vām 81 14

Manimati—(r) M. 22.39 (vary efficacious for śrāddha), Br S 14. 20 says Manimat is a m

Manimatihrada—Vām 90 7 (Śiva was called Śambhu here)

Manimatipurī—(the same as Vātāpi.

purī and Durjayā) V 96. 1 and 99 30-31.

Manināga—V. 84. 106, P. I 38 24 (same verse in both)

Manipūragiri—(under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 63 ff.

Mañjulā—(a r.) Bhī 9 34

Mānkunikā—(near Malaya) Vām 83 16

Mankutī—(r. from Rksavat) Br. II. 16. 31

Manohara—(under Narmadā) M. 194 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21 7 (the same verse in all three)

Manojava—P. I. 26. 87, V 83. 93 (same verse in both)

Mantreśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137

Manujeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 104

Manulinga—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 114

Mānusa—(under Kurukṣetra) P I 26. 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56

Manyutīrtha—(under Go) B. 162. 1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhiṣmatī and Prabhāsa)

Mārīceśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 71

Mārjāra—(under Go) B. 84 19

Mārkandeya-hrada—A (under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 67, B (near Purusottamatīrtha) B. 56. 73, 57 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśī specially destroys all sins), N. II 55. 20-22

Mārkandeyatīrtha—A (on the Gomatī-Gangāsangama) V. 84 81, P. I. 32 41-42. Prof. Aiyangar's note on p. 291 of T.K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayū and Gangā is not correct, B (under Go) B 145.1

Mārkandeyeśvara—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155, B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 11, C (under Purusottama) N. II. 55. 18-19

Markatītīrtha—(in Tripurī i e. modern Tevar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T. S. p 101

Mārtānda (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Martan or Matan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad. Its popular name is '*Bavan*' (Bhavana) It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra. The temple originally built by king Lalitāditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kamala about a mile from the temple. Vide R IV.192, NM 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein's translation of R vol. I p. 141 and II. pp 465-466 Ain A (vol. II pp 358-359) describes Matan. The tīrtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra

Mārtandapādamūla (under Gayā) Brahmapurāna q by T.K p 166

Marudgana—Anu 25. 38

Marudvṛdhā—A (r) *Rg X. 75 5 The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in Rg X 75 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Maruwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp 93-96), Bh. V. 19. 18; B Kāveri is called Marudvṛdhā in P VI. 224. 1 and 19*

Marusthala (under Purusottama) N. II 60. 22

Mārutālaya (under Narmadā) M. 191. 86, K. II 41. 41 (to the west of Mātrtīrtha), P I. 18.81 (same verse)

Māseśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I 18 77

Mātaliśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 76

Mātangaksetra—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśikī)

Matangapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, Vā 108 25

Matangasya āśrama—A (under Gayā) V 84. 101, Ag 115 34, B (in VS) V. 87.25

Mataṅgasya Kedāra—V 88 17, P I 39 15 (same verse in both)

Matanga-vāpī—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111 23-24, Ag 115 34, N II. 45 100, VDh S 85 38, B (in Kośalā) Vā 77 36, C (on Kailāsa) Br III 13. 36

Mataṅgeśa—(under Gayā) Ag 115. 35

Mataṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 87

Mātharavana—(near Payoṣṇī) V 88.10, Vā 77 33, Br III 13 33

Mathurā—Vide pp 682-692 above and A G pp 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana

Mātr—Śal. chap 46 enumerates numerous Mātrs

Mātṛgṛha—(where śrāddha yields *ānantya*) M 22 76

Mātṛtīrtha—A (under Kurukṣetra) V 83. 58, P. I 26 54, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 40, C (under Go) B 112 1

Matsyanadī—(holy r.) M 22 49

Matsyaśilā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 79-83

Matsyodapāna—Nr q by T K p. 251

Matsyodarī—(near Omkāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q by T K pp. 58-59, SK. IV 33 120 and IV 73 155. The Tri S, p 140 remarks 'matsyāhāram Kāśī-kṣetram udare yasyā iti vyutpattyā Gaṅgaiva Matsyodārī-sāṃjñā'

Māyāpurī—(same as Gangādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā 104 75, G I 81 7, SK IV 7 114 (kecid-ūcur-Haridvāram mokṣadvāram tataḥ pare | Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyāhuḥ kecin-Māyāpuram punaḥ ||) Māyā occurs in the Nadyādigana (Pān. IV. 2 97) It is one of the seven holy cities of India Vide p 678 above and p 762 under Kanakhala. Hiouen Thsang mentions it as Moyulo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A G. pp. 351-354

Māyātīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka and on the Ganges) Var. 125. 101, 126. 33

Medhātithi—(a holy river) V 222 23

Medhāvana—P I 39 52 (place for śrāddha)

Medhāvika—V. 85 55

Meghakara—M. 22 40, P V 11 34

Meghanāda—(under Narmadā) P II. 92 31

Meghankara—(a town on r Pranītā) P VI. 181. 5

Megharāva—(under Narmadā) P, I. 17. 4

Mehatnu—(r.) Rg X 75 6 (a tributary of the Krumu, which see)

Mekala—(a range of hills in C. P) Narmadā is called Mekalakanyakā (daughter of Mekala)

Mekalā—P V 11 34 (is it a river?)

Mekalā—is a country or people in Rām IV. 41.9, Bṛ. S. 14. 7 and 16.2

Mekhalā—(a tīrtha in Meghaṅkara town) P VI 181 16, M 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghankara)

Merukūṭa—Nr 65 q by T K. p. 253

Meruvara—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35

Mīnākṣī—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī-Bh. VII. 38 11

Mirikāvana—(near Mekala regions) Br. III 70. 32

Miśraka—(under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26, 85-86 (Vyāsa mixed all tīrthas here), V. 83. 91-92 It is possible that the Miśrakavana occurring in the Kotarādi-gana (Pān VI. 3 117) refers to this

Mitrapada (a tīrtha on the Ganges) M 22. 11

Mitravana (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK Prabhāsakhanda I. 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravana, Mundīra and Sāmbāditya)

Mitrāvaruna (under VS) L q. by T.K. p. 47

Mitrāvarunayor—āśrama (on r Yamunā near Kārapavana) Sal. 54 14–15

Modāgiri (m) S. 30. 21

Mokṣaheśvara (under VS) L q. by T K p. 112.

Mokṣarāja—(under Mathurā) Var 164 35

Mokṣatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152 61 (to the south of Rsitīrtha). T. S p 101 quotes three verses from Revākhanda about it

Mokṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p 48

Mrgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) PI 26 94, V 83. 101 (it is on the Ganges)

Mrgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II 18 71

Mṛgaśṛngodaka—(on r Vāgmatī) Var 215 64

Mrtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42 6

Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 158. 28

Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K 114

Mukti-ksetra—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145 105

Muktimat—(a m) Br. III 70 32 Is it a misreading for Śuktimat?

Muktisthānas—26 sthānas such as Prayāga, Naimiśa, Kuruksetra, Gāngādvāra, Kānti, Tryambaka, Saptagodāvara are named in SK, Kāśikhanda 6 21–25

Mukutā—(r. from Rsyavanta) M 114. 26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped here as Satyavādinī)

Mūlasthāna—(modern Multan)—ancient capital of the Mallas A G pp. 220–224 and 230–236. It was known under various names such as Kāśyapapura, Sāmbapura, Prahlādapura, Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I 298)

Mūlatāpī—(river Tāpī is so called, from its source at Multāi, which is a corruption of Mūlatāpī) M 22 33 (Mūlatāpī Payosni ca). Multai is a village in Betul District, C. P and contains a sacred tank which is popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpī. In the printed Padma V 11 25 the words 'Śūlatāpī Payosni' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpī Payosni'. Vide I. G. I vol. 18 p 21 for Multai

Mūli—(r. rising from Mahendra) M. 114. 31

Mundaprstha—A (a hill situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river at Gayā) K II 37 39–10, N. II 45. 96, Ag 115 22 and 43–44, Vā 77 102–103, 108. 12 and 111 15. Br, III. 13 110–111 (Mahādeva practised severe tapas here). It is no other than the hill on which there is Visnupada, the very centre of Gayāyātrā. On this hill, according to the legend of Gayāsura, the back of the giant's head rested Vide pp 656, 665 above; B (a hill in Kāśmīra) NM 1247–1254

Mundeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K p 116

Mūjavat—A(a m) In Rg X, 34. 1 soma plant is called Maujavata and the Nir. IX 8 explains that Mūjavat is a mountain on which soma grows In A V. the form Mujavat occurs and *takman* (evil spirit of disease) is asked to go to Mūjavat and to Bāhlikas beyond it. In A. V 22 5 the form is Mūjavantah It appears to be some mountain to the north west of India

Muñjavat—(m. in Himālayan range) Aśvamedhika parva 8. 1 (where Siva practises penance), Br II. 18 20–21 (where Siva resides and from which rise Śailoda lake and Śaivala river), Var. 213 13 (to the north of Mandara)

Muñjavata—(on the Ganges which is a Śivasthāna) V. 85 67, P I. 39 61 (same verse in both)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 25

N

Nābhi—(under Gayā) N II 47 82

Nadantikā—V Dh S 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha)

Nādeśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T K p 127, B (probably same as Bindusaras) N I 16 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nadīśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 108 28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgakūta—(included under Gayāśiras) Vā, 111 22, N. II. 45 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183 36

Nāgasāhvaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77 271, M 50 78, Nr 65 11 q by T K p. 252 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Viṣnu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasāhvaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M 22 33, K I 35 7, P I 28 33, B (under Go,) B 111. 1; C (under Tripuskara) P V. 26. 51, D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14, E (location uncertain) V 84. 33

Nāgeśvara—(a *tapovana* on Narmadā) M 191 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82 112, Ag 109. 13

Nahuṣeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 115

Naimisa or Naimiśa—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomatī, 45 miles from Lucknow In hāthaka Sambitā X. 6 we have 'Naimisyā vai sattram-āsata'; while in Pañcavimśa Br 25. 6, 4 occurs Naimisīya and Kausītaki Br 26 5 has Naimisiyānām' and 28 4 also In the great Epic and Purānas it is mentioned very often, vide V 84 59–64 (all tīrthas on the earth are centred in Naimisa), V 87. 5–7 (on Gomatī in east), M 109 3 (most holy on the earth), K. II 20 34, K II. 43 1–16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 2 8, Br. I 2 8 (bo'h derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakrasya yatra nemir-aśīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and śr 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3–10 (fine description), Vāyu (I 14–15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimiśāranya was in Kuruksetra on the Drsadvatī But Vā 2,9 and Br I. 2 9 say that it was on the Gomatī. It is possible that Gomatī is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasistha and Viśvāmitra flourished, Kalmāsapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. Vi. III. 14 18 states that by a bath in Gangā, Yamunā, Naimiśa-gomatī and other rivers and by honouring pitrs one destroys all sins B—Br S XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimisa,

Naimisa—kuñja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83 109, P I 26 102

Nairrteśvara—(under VS) L q, by T.K. p 117

Nakulagana—(under Kuruksetra) Vām. 46 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakulīśa (often written as Nakulīśa) Vide E I vol XXI pp 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i e 380 A. D) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāśupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A D; compare Vāyu 23 22–25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohana as his siddhiksetra

Nākuleśatīrtha—(Lakulīśatīrtha?) M 22 77, Vām 7. 26 (Nākuleśvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).

Nakulī—(r. rising from lake Viṣnupada) Br II. 18. 68

Nakulīśa—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 107

Nakulīśvara—K II 44. 12

Nalakūbareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103

Nalinī—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām I. 43. 13, B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101

Nandā—V 87 27. Vā. 77 79. Ādi 215. 7, V 110 1 (near Hemakūta), Anu. 166. 28, Bh VII 14. 32, Var. 214. 47 Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh IV. 6.24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kailāsa and Saugandhikavana Bh. (IV 6 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhika-vana

Nandanā—(r. rising in Ṛkṣavat m.) M. 144 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candanā*, which seems to be a misreading)

Nandanavana—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T K p 187

Nandāsarasvatī—the r Sarasvatī came to be so called Vide P, V 18 4-56

Nandāvarī—(r) Devala q. by T K p. 249 mentions after Kauśikī. Prof Aiyangar (TK p 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U P east of the Kosī river

Nandigrāma—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II 115 22, VII 62 13, Bh IX 10 36 It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.

Nandiguhā—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p 193

Nandikṣetra—(in Kāśmīra) R I 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandin being born as son of Śilāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramukha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake

Nandikeśa—(under Narmadā) M 191 6

Nandikunda—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramatī rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13

Nandikūta—(v l Nandikunda) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T K p 248

Nandinī—(r)—V 84 155, P I 38 62

Nandinī-sangama—(under Go.) B 128.1 and 73-74

Nandiparvata—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4 30 and 32 (near Haramukuta-Gaṅgā)

Nandiśa—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramukuta down to Bhūteśvara) R I 124

Nandiśeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K, p 57

Nandītata—(under Go) B 152.1 and 40 (also called Ānanda)

Nanditīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191 37, K. II 41 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)

Nāradakunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 37

Nāradatīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II 41. 16-17, P I 18. 23 (same verse in both)

Nāradeśvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5, B (under VS) L. q by T K p. 53

Naraka—V 83. 168 (some mss. read Anaraka and some 'Naraka')

Naraka—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36, 20 1-2

Nārasimha—(under Gayā) N II 46 46

Narasimhāśrama—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520

Nārasimhatīrtha—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1, B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

Nārāyanasaras—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh VI 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāna II 2 13. 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-saṅgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteshwar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyana. Vide Bom. G vol V pp. 245-248

Nārāyanāśrama—(near Badarī) V 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naranārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarītyabhivisrutam), Bh. VII 14 32, IX 3.36 (Badaryākhyam gato rājā Nara-nārāyanāśramam), X. 87 4-7

Nārāyanasthāna—V. 84 122, P I. 38. 39

Nārāyanatīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 37.5, B—B 167 1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go)

Nārītīrthāni—(in the Dravida country on the sea) V 118. 4, Ādi. 217 17 (dakṣine sāgarānūpe pañca tīrthāni santi vai) Vide Pañcāpsaras

Narmadā—Vide pp 703-707 above

Narmadā—Erandī-saṅgama T P. p 383

Narmadāprabhava—TP p. 383, P. I 39 9; V 85. 9 reads 'Soṇasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede'

Narmadeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18. 69

Narmadeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 194 2

Nāsikya—(modern Nasik) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130

Naubandhana—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63

Naubandhanasaras—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Visnupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27

Nepāla—(modern Nepal) Var 215 38, Vā 104 79, Devī—Bh. VII 38 11 (Guhyakālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp 450-452; Br IV 44 93 (one of the fifty pīthas), Br. S. 4 22 The country is named in Allahabad Ins of Samudragupta (C. I I III p 14)

Nigamodbhodhaka—(one *gavyūti* to the west of Prayāga) P VI 196 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha) Dey p 140 says that it is Nigambod Ghāt in old Delhi on the Yamunā

Nihśīrā—(a lotus pool on Krauñca-pada in Gayā) Vā 108 84, N II. 44. 64, 47 35, Ag 116 8 (reads Niścirā)

Nihśīrā saṅgama—N II 47. 35

Nīlācala—A (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nīlaparvata, B (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Satī stands)

Nilagangā—(under Go, and rising in Nīlaparvata) B 80 4

Nīlakanthaliṅga—(under VS) L. q by T K p 118

'Nīlakanthatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 168 1

Nīlakunda—A (a pitrtīrtha) M 22 22, B Nilakunda, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra NM 1500, HC 12 17

Nīlanāga—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R I 28, HC. 12 17, SM p 182. It is to the south of Bring in Shahabad *pargana*, popularly known as Vērnāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. Ain A vol II. p. 361 describes Vērnāg as the source of Bihat (Vitastā) and remarks (p 363) 'Nilanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'

Nīlaparvata—A (near Haridvāra) Anu 25 13 'Gaṅgādvāre Kuśāvarte Bilvake Nīlaparvate | tathā Kanakhale snātvā dhūtapāpmā divam vrajet' L. q by T K p.245, VDhS 85 13

M. 22. 70, Bh V. 19. 16, K. II 20 33, Devī-Bh. VII 38 (Deviṣṭhāna Nīlāmbā), B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P IV 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q, by T. P. p 562

Nilatīrtha—Vām q. by T K p. 238

Nīlavana—Rām II 55.-8 (one krośa from Citrakūṭa)

Nilotpalā—(r. rising from Rkṣa m) Vā. 45 100

Nimbārkatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī) P VI. 151 1 and 14 (near Pippalādatīrtha)

Nimnabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1

Nīrajeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 6

Nirañjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads Nirūjaka)

Nirañjanā—a river which has Mohanā as tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā, it is famed in Buddhist works They are Magon and Errhenysis of Arrian (Ptolemy p. 97)

Niravindaparvata—Anu. 25. 42

Nirjareśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 103

Nirvindhyā—(river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal) B 27 33, M. 114 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28 Acc to Bh. IV. 1. 17–19, Vi. II. 3 11, the river starts from m. Rkṣa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it, Mār chap. 113 narrates the story of Vidūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhyā and Vatsaprī, son of Bhalandana

Nirvirā—(r.) V 84 138–139 (it had Vasiṣṭhāśrama on its bank)

Nisadha—(m) V.188, 112, Al. (vol. II p. 142) says that near the mountain Nisadha is the lake Viṣnupada whence comes the river Sarasvatī Therefore Nisadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range. Vide also Vāyu 47. 64

Nisadhā—(r rising in Vindhya) Br. II. 16. 32 Vā 45. 102

Niśākaraliṅga—(under VS) L q by T.K p 65

Niścirā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvirā. M 114. 22 reads 'niścalā'

Nispaleśa—K II 41 8

Nisthāsangama— (where there was Vasiṣthāśrama) P I 38 56

Nisthāvāsa—P, I. 38. 54

Nisthivī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16.26

Nivāsaliṅga—(under VS) L q by T K p. 89

Nūpā—(r. rising from Pāriyātra m) Br II 16. 28, Mār 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpī')

O

Oghavatī—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and *dāna* very efficacious here), Vām, 46 50, 57 83, 58. 115, Prthūdaka (modern Pehoa) was situated on it From Śal 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvatī. Vide Dey p 142 for different views about identification

Ojasa—(under Kurukṣetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām, 41 6, 90 17

Omkāra—A (one of five *guhya* liṅgas in VS) K I 32 1–11, L. I 92 137, P I 34.1–4, B (Omkāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI 131. 67, SK. I 1. 17. 209 In the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in samvat 1120 (1063 A.D) in E I. vol. 25 p 173 it is said that Omkāra dwells in Māndhātṛpura on the confluence of Narmadā and

Kāverī. Vide above under Māhismatī

Oṁkāreśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33 118

P

Padmāvatī—Śal. 46. 9 (one of the Mātṛs), the city is called Narwar. Vide A G p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *samvat* 1058 (1001–2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava (E.I vol. I. p 147 at p 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, king of Niṣadha

Paiśācatīrtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 84 1–2 and 18 (also called Ārjuna). B.150 1 speaks of a Paiśācatīrtha on the *north* bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tīrthas.

Paitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4–5, K. II. 42 18

Pālamañjara—(near Śūrpāraka) Br. III 13 37

Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrāddha here most efficacious), Br III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamañjara)

Palāśaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90 16 (Palāśakesu punyeṣu)

Palāśinī—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar) Vide under Raivataka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E I. vol. VIII p 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins of 457 A D. (C I I III. at p. 64); B (r Paddair which falls into the sea near Kalingapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Sahtimat), Vā. 45. 107

Pāleśvara—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 134. 2 (where image of Candī is established)

Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadrā) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām 90. 16

Pampā—(v. l. Japā or Jayā) P. I 26. 20–21 (said to be the door of Kurukṣetra)

Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Ṛśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III 72, 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh VII. 14. 31, X 79 12 (saptagodāvarīm Venām Pampām Bhīmarathīm tatah)

Pampātīrtha—M 22 50, Bh VII 14 31

Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 62

Pañcagangā—The five rivers called Gangā are Bhāgīrathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pināki nī (Pennar) and Kāverī, But in Drona 54 23 (Pañcagaṅgāsu sā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant

Pañcakeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 65

Pañcālakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 65

Pañcakunda—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K p 226, B (under Lohārgala) Var 151. 43 (where five *dhārās* from *himakūta* fall)

Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V 82. 83, Mausala 7 45, Vā 77.56, K II 44. 1–2, L I. 43. 47–48 (near Japyeśvara), Vām 34.26, P I. 24 31 The Mbh. (vol. II. p 239 on Pān. IV. 1 88) derives Pāñcanadah (Pañcanade bhavah) from Pañcanadam The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipāś, Parusṇī, Asikni and Vitastā and in modern times they are called Sutlej, Bias, Rāvī, Chenab and Jhelum The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot Br S. XI 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhaniṣṭhā kills the king of Pañcanada and Br. S 14.21 states it is a country in the west Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhum nadam Pañcanadam Devikātha

Sarasvatī) For Pañcanada as a country, vide Sabhāparva 32 11

Pañcanadatīrtha—(under the Ganges) Pr. III 13 57, N II. 51. 16-36 Vide p 626 and note 1458 above

Pañcanadī—(near Kolhapur) P VI 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).

Pañcanadīśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 96.

Pañcapiṇḍa—(under Dvārakā) Var 149 36-40 (where a man of good deeds gets lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer) T.K p 326 reads Pañcakuṇḍa.

Pañcaprayāga—Dey p 146 mentions (1) Devaprayāga (confluence of Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā), (2) Karnaprayāga (Alakanandā and Pindara), (3) Rudraprayāga (Mandākinī and Mandākinī) 18 miles from Śrīnagar, capital of Tehri, (4) Nandaprayāga (Alakanandā and Nandā), (5) Viṣṇuprayāga near Joshimatha (Alakanandā and Viṣṇugaṅgā).

Pañcāpsaras tīrtha—(on the southern sea) BV X 79 18 (Śridhara-svāmī, commentator of Bhāgavata) says that this tīrtha is in Bhāgavata which is Anantapura in the Madras State Ādi (216 1-4) names them as Agastyatīrtha, Saubhadra, Paulomi, Kāraṇdhama and Bhāradvāja Trey were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Apsarases who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, Kaumārikā section, chap 1 is Pañcāpsarāḥ samuddharaṇa (by Arjuna)

Pañcārṇakṣetra—(to north of Stutasvāmin) Var 148 45

Pañcasaras—A (a pool under Lohārgala) Var 151 34, B (a pool under Dvārakā) Var 149 23

Pañcaśikha—(under Badarī) Var 141, 14-16

Pañcaśikhīśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 67

Pañcaśira—(under Badarī) Var. 141 39-44

Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45

Pañcatapa (a Śivatīrtha where piṇḍadāna gives inexhaustible results) K II 44 5-6

Pañcatīrtha—(in Kañcī) Br. IV. 40 59-61.

Pañcatīrthakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 37.

Pañcavaṭa—(under Gayā) Vā 77. 99

Pañcavaṭa—(under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41 11, P I 27 50 (probably same as Pañcavaṭī in V. 83 162)

Pañcavaṭī—A (in the north) V. 83 162, B (on the Go) Rām III 13 13 (calls it 'deśa'), III 13. 19 (two yojanas from Agastya-āśrama), N II 75. 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709-710 above

Pañcayakṣā—(location uncertain) V 84. 10

Pañcāyatana—(five tīrthas on the Narmadā) M. 191 5-6

Pāṇḍārakavana—(very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77 37

Pāṇḍaveśvarakā—(under Narmadā) P I. 18 58, M. 191 61-62

Pāṇḍukūpa—Br. III 13 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha

Pāṇḍupura—Vide Puṇḍarīkapura

Pāṇḍura—Vā. 45 91 (a minor m.)

Pāṇḍuśabya—(one of the *guhya-kṣetras* of Viṣṇu) Nr. 65 9 q. by T.K p. 251

Pāṇḍuviśālātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77. 99, Vā. 112 44-48 (read Pāṇḍuśilā), T.K p 168 quoting Vā. reads Pāṇḍuviśalyā

Pāṇibhyāta—P I 26. 84, V. 83 89 (-bhāta)

Pankajavana—(under Gayā) N II 44 58, Vā. 112 43 (Pāṇḍuśilā was in this vana)

Pāpamokṣa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 8, N. II. 47. 79

Pāpapramocana—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140, 51-54

Pāpapraṇāśana—A (on Yamunā) P I 31 15; B (under Go.) B 92 1 and 48–49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')

Pāpasūdanatīrtha—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R I 32, H. C. 14 36 Kapateśvara; Sankarsana Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same Śiva is worshipped as Kapateśvara at the sacred spring

Pārā—A (Viśvāmitra gave that name to Kauśikī) Ādi 71. 30–32; B (r rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā 45 98, M 13 44 and 114 24, Mār 54. 20 Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some Mss read Pārā In M 13 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā Vide Mālatī-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S 14 10

Parihāsapura—(modern Páraspor in Kashmīr) built by the great king Lalitāditya R IV 194–195 refer to silver and gold images of Viṣnu

Pārāśaryeśvaralinga—(under VS) L q by T K p 59

Pāriplava—(under Sarasvatī) V. 83 12, P I 26 10 (same verse as in V), Vām 34. 17

Pāriyātra—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śiprā are said to rise from it Vide K. I 47 24, Bh V 19.16, Vā 45 88 and 98, B 27 29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No 2 of Gotamīputa Śātakarni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākrit) as विन्ध्यऋक्षवत्पारियात्रसह्याकण्हगिरि—मच-सिरिटनमलय-महेन्द्र . पर्वतपते , Bom G vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nāsik Ins No 10 (Bom G. vol 16 p 569) and in Mahābhāsya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol. I p 475 on Pān II 4.10) and also in Baud Dh S I 1 27

Parjanyeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p, 115

Parnāśā (or Varnāśā)—A (r Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkiṃcid anu Parnāśām prāk Sindhorapi Saubala l etan mama dhanam &c) Parnāśa would mean 'the hope of foliage) Vā. 45. 97, Var 214 48, M. 114, 23, S.9 21, B a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch The first is mentioned as Bārnāsā in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G Vol 16 p 569 and p 633), in Ins No 14. at Nasik it is spelt as Banāsā (Bom G Vol 16 p 577) and also in Karle cave Inscription No 13 in E. I vol VII at p 57. Vide for this river Bom. G vol. V p 283

Parusnī—A (modern Rāvī in Punjab) Rg V 52 9, VII. 88 8–9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII 74 15, X 75 5 Nir IX. 26 states that Irāvatī was called Parusnī, B (a tributary of the Go) B 144 1 and 23

Parusnī-saṅgama—(under Go) B 144 1

Parvatākhya—(under VS) K I. 35 8, P I 37 8 (same verse in both)

Parvateśvara—(under VS) M 183 62

Pārvatikā—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22 56 It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal

Pāśā—(r rising from Pāriyātra in) Br II 16 28 Is it a misreading for Pārā?

Pāśānatīrthā—(r) Devala q by T.K. p 249

Pāśinī—(r. rising from Śuktimanta) M 114 32

Pāśupatatīrtha—M 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)

Paśupateśvara—(under VS) L I 92 135

Paśupatiśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 93

Pātalā—(very sacred to pitrs) M 22.33

Pātandhama—(m) Vā. 45. 91

Patatritīrtha—(under Go.) B 166. 1

Pathīśvara—(in Kāśmīra beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398

Patreśvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17. 1

Paulastyatīrtha—(under Go) B 97. 1

Pauloma—(vide Pañcāpsarastīrtha) Ādi, 216. 3

Paundarīka—(a Vishuksetra, seems to be Pandharpur from context) P VI 280. 18-19 (Kṛtasauce haret pāpam Paundarike ca Dandake i Māthure Venkatādrau ca)

Paundra—(Devadāruvane Paundram) P VI 129 27

Paundravardhana—Vā 104. 79 (sacred pītha), Br. IV. 44. 93

Pauska—(in Kāśmīra-mandala) P VI. 129. 27

Pavanasya—hrada V. 83. 105

Pāvanī—(r.) The Ghaggar in Kurukṣetra (Ambala District) Rām. I. 43. 13. Vide Dey p. 155

Payasvinī—(r) Bh. V. 19 18, XI. 5. 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vāsudeva).

Payodā—(r.) Br. II 18. 70, Vā 47 67 (rising from lake Payoda).

Payosnī—(r rising from Rksa or from Vindhya) Wilson says that it is (vol. II. p 144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces. V. 85. 40, V. 88 4, 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gaṅgā and is the river of king Nrga), 121 16, Vi. II. 3. 11. Tāpī and Payosnī are separately mentioned in most Purāṇas e. g. Vi. II 3 11, M 114. 27, B 27 33, Vā 45 102, Vām. 13. 28, N II 60. 29, Bh. X 79. 20, P. IV. 14. 12 and IV. 16. 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it) Vide under Mūlatāpī V 121. 16 shows that after Payosnī the Pāṇḍavas came to Vaidūrya-parvata and Narmadā Hunter in I G I, vol XX p 412 holds that Payosnī is the modern Purnā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI. 29 says (Parvatabhedi pavitram ..Harimiva...vahati payah paśyata Payosnī)

Payosnīsangama—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M. 22. 33

Phalakīvana—(under Kurukṣetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V. 83. 86

Phalgu—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūnpūn Vide District Gazetteer of Gayā p. 8. Ag 115. 27 derives it from *phala* and *go* (yasmin phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalam mahī i Dṛtiramyādikam yasmāt Phalgutīrtham na phalguvat). Vā 111 16 says it is superior to Gangā since the latter is only water from the foot of Vishnu while the former is Adi-Gadādhara himself Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n

Phālguna—Bh. VII. 14, 31, X. 79. 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)

Phālgunaka—(to the south of Mathurā) Var 157 32

Phālguneśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 105

Phenā—(r. falls into Go) B 129. 7

Phenā-sangama—(with Go) B. 129 1, 7-8

Pindāraka—(in Khambhalia Mahal of Kathiawar) V. 82 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88. 21, M. 13 48, 22 69, Anu 25 57, Vi. V. 37. 6, Bh. XI. 1 11 (Krsna's son Sāmba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var 144 10 (as Vishnusthāna), P I. 24 14-15 Dey

p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā Vide Bom G. vol VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar

Piṅgāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 55

Piṅgātīrtha—V 82. 57 (Piṅgatīrtha), P. I. 24 6 (same verse in both)

Piṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 32, K II. 41 21, P I 18 32 (same verse in last two)

Pippalā—(r. rising from Rkṣavat) Br. II. 16 30

Pippalādatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī near Dugdheśvara) P VI 150. 1

Pippalatīrtha—(under Go. near Cakratīrtha) B 110 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)

Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) M. 190 13, P. I 17, 10

Pippalī—(r rising from Rsyavat) M. 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā

Piśāceśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p. 114

Piśācamocana-kunda—(under VS) K I 33 2 and 13–14, P. I. 35 2 ff (almost same verses in both)

Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) P VI. 250 62–63

Piśācikā—(r. rising in Rkṣavat) Br. II 13. 30

Pitāmahasaras—same as Puskara—A V. 89 16, B Śal. 42 30 (the source of Sarasvatī), V 84 149

Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 4, P I 21 4

Pīṭhas—fifty are enumerated in Br IV 44. 93–100 such as Nepāla, Ekavīrā, Ekāmra

Plakṣā—(r) Vām q by T K. p 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kuṇḍina and then to Śūrpāraka)

Plakṣaprasravana or praśra— (the source of Sarasvatī) Śal 54 11, K II 37 29, Br III 13 69, Vā 77 67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)

Plakṣatīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kurukṣetra where Purūravas found Urvaśī) Vā 91 32

Plakṣāvataraṇa—V. 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); V. 129. 13–14 (Yamunātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), K II. 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), Mār 21.29–30 (in Himavat)

Prabhāsa—A (in Saurāṣtra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas, broken by Mahmud of Gaznī) also called Somanāthapaṭṭana, SK. VII 1. 2. 44–53 (several origins of the name suggested), V. 82 58, 130. 7, V. 88, 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, Ādi 218. 2–8, Śal. 35 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), K II. 35.15–17, N. II. 70,1–95 (māhātmya), G. I 4 81, Vām. 84 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it) It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavadāta's Inscription at Nāsik (Bom. G vol. 16 p. 669 and in Cintra praśasti of Sārangadeva dated *saṁvat* 1343 (1287 A D.). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [E I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdhara's praśasti of *saṁvat* 1273 (1216 A D.)]; B (on the Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 78, SK.VII 1 11–14; C (a hill near Gayā) Vā 108. 16, 109. 14, Ag 116. 15; D (under VS) K. I. 35 16, P I. 37. 15, E (under Dvārakā) Mausala 8. 9, Var. 149. 29–33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), SK. VII. 1 chap. 35–36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), Bh. XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak-Sarasvatī there i. e S. flowing westwards, while in Kurukṣetra it is prācī). Usavadāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmanas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Punyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣna left his mortal coil Vide 'The life and

times of Sultan Mahmud of Gazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp 209–214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmud (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219–224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117–119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the liṅga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dīnārs of those days (= about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14. 111, G (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II 67. 57–58

Prāci-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) A-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 40 20–23; B (under Gayā) Vā. 112 23

Pradyumnagiri or—pīṭha (same as Hariparvata in Śrīnagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vā. 18 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R p 17

Pradyumnatīrtha—N II. 40. 96 Dey p. 158 says that it is Paḍḍuā in the District of Hugbly in Bengal

Prahasiteśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K p. 89

Prahlādeśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 48

Prajāmukha—(Viṣṇu to be worshipped as Vāsudeva here) Vām 90 28

Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga; vide p 599 note 1358

Prājāpatya—(under VS) K I 35⁴, PI 37.⁴ (same verse in both)

Pranītā—(r. falling into Godāvarī) B 161. 1, P VI 181. 5 (on the bank of Go there was a town called Meghaṅkara); same as Pranabitā

Prāntakapāniya—(near Pañcanada) Vam. 215 109

Prāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandāra) Vam. 143 17

Prasravaṇa-giri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49 31; B (on the Tuṅgabhadrā) Rām IV. 27. 3–4 (a cave of which Rāma resided for some months)

Pratīcī—(a great r.) Pn. XI 5 40 (persons dwelling on its are devotees of Vāsudeva)

Pratiṣṭhāna—A (near Prayāga) VS 5, 114, 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 30 (on the north bank of Yamunā), M 12 15, 102.10 (on the eastern side of the Ganges), Mār. 108 15 (given to Aila Purūravas at Vasiṣṭha's request) Vi. IV. 1. 15, B 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42 B (modern Paithan on the left bank of the Go) B 112. 23, Vam. 165. 1, P VI, 172.20, VI. 176. 2 and 6 (refers to sporting Mahārāṣṭra women at) The Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar Inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a performer Mitadeva of Paiṭhāṇa; A. S. W. I IV. 87

Vide A G pp 553–554 for Pratisthāna being the capital of Mahārāṣṭra in Hiouen Thsang's times Ptolemy mentions it as Baithana and the Periplus as 'Plithāna'. In the 13th edict of Aśoka at Shahabazgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Boja-Pitinikesu', which last word probably stands for Pratiṣṭhānakas (C I. I vol I p 47)

Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvarī) B 103 46–54 (on which is situated Nivāsapura, modern Nevāse or Nevāsā). It joins Godāvarī at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom G. vol 17 p 6

Pravarapura—see under Śrīnagara 1., III 335–349

Pravarā-saṅgama—(with Go) B 105 1 Vide Bom G vol XVII p 742 for Toka and Pravarāsaṅgam, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvarī, 7 miles north-east of Nevāsa

Prayāga—A (modern Allahabad Dist pp 595–617 abbr and A G pp 388–391 quoting Hiouen Thsang), B (the confluence of the Ja-

and Vitastā i e. Zhelum) NM 394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gangā and Vitastā Yamunā)

Prayāgeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 45

Pretakunda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 68-69, Ag 116 15 It is now known as Brahmayoni at the foot of the Pretaśilā hill

Pretakūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109 15

Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83 20

Pretaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 110 15, 108 15 It is a peak 580 feet in height situated 5 miles north-west of Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer p 235.

Pṛthiveśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 111

Priyamelaka—(pre eminent for śrāddha) M. 22 53

Priyavrateśvara-linga—(in VS) SK. IV 33 159

Pṛthivītīrtha—P I 26 11 (near Pārnplava)

Pṛthūdaka—(on south bank of Sarasvatī, modern Pehoa) Vide p 685 above It was called Brahmayoni in Vām 39. 16-17 and 23 Vide A G pp 336-337

Pṛthutuṅga—N II 60 25

Pulahāśrama—Bh VII 14. 30, X 79 10 (near Gomatī and Gandakī and same as Śālagrāma)

Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source of Gaṇḍakī river) Var 144. 113, Bh. V. 8 30 (near Śālagrāma)

Pulastyeśvara—(under VS) L by T K. p. 116

Punahpunā—(r under Gayā, modern Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 108 73, N. II. 47 75

Punarāvartanandā—(r) Anu. 25 45

Puṇḍarika—A (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126 57, P I 26 78, B (near Kurukṣetra) Vām. 81. 7-8

Puṇḍarikā—(r rising from a lake called Pavoda) Br II, 18 69-70

Puṇḍarikakṣetra—(modern Pandharpur) T S pp 7-21

Puṇḍarikamahātīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III 13. 56, Vā. 77. 55

Puṇḍarikapura—M. 22 77, N II 73 45

Punyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of the five sthalas) Var 160 21

Purāneśvara—(in VS) SK IV 33 132

Pūrṇa—A (r in Berar), it falls into the Tāpī on its left bank Vide Ain A vol II p 224, Changdev is a village near this confluence and a great tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy), B Pūrnā in Surat District falls into the sea (Bom. G vol II, p 26), C Pūrnā which falls into the Godāvarī in Parbhanī District Vide I. G I vol. XII. p 297. Is it the same as the Pūrnātīrtha in B 105 22?

Pūrnamukha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 40-41

Pūrnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 122 1

Puru—(m) V 90. 22 (where Purūravas went)

Purūravasatīrtha—(under Go) B. 101. 1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)

Purusottama—(Jagannātha or Purī in Orissa) B chapters 42, 48, 68, 177, 178; M 13. 35, K II. 35. 27, N. II. chapters 52-61 (māhātmya). Vide pp. 692-703 above

Pūrvāmukha—(a variant reading for Pūrnamukha in Var 126 40)

Puskara—(town, lake and place of pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer). One of the few temples of god Brahmā exists here. There are three kundas called Jyestha, Madhyama and Kanistha (N. II. 71 12, P V. 28 53). Usavadāta's Nasik Ins No. 10 mentions gifts made by him at three pools (Puskaresu). Vide Bom G vol. 16 p 570. Vā. 77. 40, K II 20 31 and VDHS 85 1-3 state that śrāddha at Pus-

kara yields inexhaustible results This is one (western) of the five Vedis of Brahmā (P V. 15 150), Vām. 22. 19. Br. III 34. 11 and Vām 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puskara and Br III. 35. 39 says that Kanistha Puskara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puskara, and Jyestha Puskara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puskara It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V 19. 37) P V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puskara from the lotus (puskara) that Brahmā cast here. Br (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Paraśurāma practised *tapas* here along with his disciple Akṛtavrana for 100 years The T. K. pp 182–185 quote verses 20–39 of Vanaparva chap 82 and twelve verses from P V. 27 relating to Puskara Al. (vol. II p 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship' The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb There are several sub-tīrthas under it (V. 82) Puskara is in the Varanādigana (Pān. IV. 2. 82). B (Puskara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m) Ādi. 221 15, Śal. 38. 13–15; C HC 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tīrthas at Kapateśvara), D (one of the five *dhārās* at Badarikāśrama) N II 67. 57–58

Puskarāranya—P V 18-217, S 32 8 (Prācī Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br S. XI. 35

Puskarāvatī—a r probably known to Pān (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśikā mentions it and also several others)

Puskarinī—A (under Narmadā) M 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10–11, P. I 17 12, B (under Gayā) Ag 116. 13

Puspabhadrā—(r on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98. 5, Bh. XII 8 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q by T K p. 253

Puspabhadrā (r) Bh. XII 9. 10

Puspagiri—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavarṣa) Vā 45 92, Br. II. 16 22. Vide I. G. I vol. 23 pp. 114–115 for this

Puspajā—(r rising from Malaya) M 114. 30, Vā 45 105 (reads Puspajāti, which means the same thing)

Puspadanteśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 117

Puspasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157 17 (a Śivaksetra)

Puspavahā—(r.) Bh XII. 9 30 (near Himālaya)

Puspavatī—(r) V 85 12, P I 39 12 (same verse in both)

Putratīrtha—(under Go) B 124 1 and 137

R

Rādhākunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 34

Rāghaveśvara—M. 22 60 (śrāddha renders inexhaustible results).

Raivataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi 218 8 (near Prabhāsa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vrsnyandhakas), S 14 50, Var 149 66 (q by T., K. p 227), SK VII 2 1 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M 22 74 Raivataka i e present Girnar is very sacred to the Jainas (vide Uttarādhyayanasūtra, SBE, vol 45 p 115) But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer Pargiter (p 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Raivataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad In the Junagadh Inscription of Skandagupta of 136–138 Gupta era

i e 455–458 A D the river Palāśinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C I I vol III at p 64) is opposite to Vataka

Rājagrha—A (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha) V 84 104, Vā 108 73 (punyam Rājagrham vanam), Ag 109 20, N, II 47 74, P I 38 22, vide A G pp 467–468 and I G I vol. XXI p 72 for the five hills surrounding it, it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name, B (in the Punjab) P I 28 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)

Rājakhadga—(on Sābhramatī) P VI 131. 116 and 134

Rājāvāsa—(Viṣnu shrine established by Paraśurāma in Kāśmīra) NM 1384, 1447

Rajeśvara—(under Srīparvata) L I. 92 156

Rāmādhivāsa—(śrāddha and *dāna* most efficacious here) M 22. 53

Rāmagiryāśrama—G I 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmagiri is Rāmṭek, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C P and two miles from Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana)

Rāmagrha—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 10

Rāmahrada—(five lakes on the north of Thaneswar) V. 83. 26–40, Anu 25 47, Bh X, 84 53, P. I. 26. 23–37 (where Paraśurāma filled five lakes with the blood of ksatriyas killed by him and his pitṛs transformed them into tīrthas at his request), NM. 1387–99 (it is Brahmasaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised *tapas* after washing his bloodstained hands), Bh X. 84 53 Also called Cakra-tīrtha (vide p 742 above)

Rāmajanma—(to the east of Saraka) P I 26 76

Rāmalinga—(under VS) L q by T K p 113

Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 14–18 (one krośa in extent)

Rāmatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Vā 108 16–18, M 22 70 (anantam śrāddhadānayoh), Ag 116 13, B (in Śūrpāraka) V 85. 43, Sal 49 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣinā to Kaśyapa in Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices) Vide Usavadāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmatīrtha in Śorpāraga in Bom G vol 16 p 570, C (under the Ganges) N II 40.85, D (on Gomatī) V 84. 73–74, P I 32 37, E (under Go) B 123 1, F (under Mahendra) P I 39 14

Rambhālinga—(under VS) L q. by T K p 105

Rambheśvara-linga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 46 39

Rāmeśvara—A (one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K II. 30. 23 (bath at R saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G I 81. 9. Vide T Sp 47 which quotes passages from Vi, K, and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India Vide I G. I vol XXI pp 173–175 for a brief description of the great temple; B (under Srīparvata) L. I 92 149 (established by Viṣnu himself).

Ratneśvara-linga—(under VS) SK IV. 33 165

Rantuka—(one boundary of Kuruksetra) Vām 22. 51 and 33. 2 Vide p 683 n 1551 above

Rantukāśrama—(on Sarasvatī) Vām 42. 5

Rasā—(a river) Rg. V. 53 9, X 75 6. It is difficult to identify it It appears to have fallen into the Indus But from Rg X 108 1 (katham Rasāyā atarah payāmsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasā, it

appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E Thomas in JRAS vol 15 p 361 (n s.)

Rathacaitraka—(a tīrtha) P VI 129 9

Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādigana (Pān VI I 157) The Mbh. (vol III p 96) mentions 'Rathaspā nadī' In Mb (Vanaparva 170 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomatī on the other Rathākhyā r is mentioned in Br. S 16 15 Vide Ādi 170. 20.

Rāvaneśvaratīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191 26, B (under VS) L. q by T. K p 98

Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P I 18 19

Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh VII 38 5 (probably at Paraśurāma, in the Ratnagiri District)

Rénukāstaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5

Renukātīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47.. Dey (p 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State,

Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Devīpurāna q by T.K p. 230

Revā—(Narmadā) Vide pp. 703–707 above

Revanteśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 96

Revatī-sangama—(under Go) B 121 1 and 22

Rkṣa or Rkṣavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarsa) Vā 45 99–101 and 95 31, M 114 17, B. 27. 32, Var. 85 (prose) Rivers like Śona, Narmadā, Mahānadī are said to rise from it Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Śona. Rkṣavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol 16 p 550 as ऋिक्षवत i e. ऋक्ष्य-ऋक्षवत्) It is the Oxenthon of Ptolemy (p 76). Wilson (vol II. p 128) holds that Rkṣa is the mountain of Gondawana There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rkṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār 54 24–25.

Rnamocana or Rnapramocana—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām. 41 6. Vide A S R. of India, vol XIV p 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanatīrtha on the Sarasvatī), B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddha gives inexhaustible results), 107 20, C (under Go.) B 99. 1; D (a sub-tīrtha under Āmalakagrāma) Nr 66 28 q. by T. K p 255, E (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117

Rnamoksa—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 79, Ag 116 8

Rnāntakūpa P I 26 92

Rnatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29

Rodhasvatī—(r) Bh. V 19 18

Rohitaka (m) Ś 32. 4

Rsabha—(m in Pāndya country) V. 55. 21, Bh V 19 16, X. 79 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā

Rsabhā—(r rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27

Rsabhadvīpa—V 84. 160, P I. 38 67

Rsabhatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35 3, P. I. 37. 3, B (in Kośalā i e. Dakṣina-Kośalā), vide the Guñji Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M M Prof Mirashi in E I vol. 27. p 48 where it is recorded that at Rsabhatīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an *amātya* of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmaṇās Prof. Mirashi points out that Guñji is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Sakti

in the Chhatisgarh Division of C P, that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kunda (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñji inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñji Inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Rsabhatirtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyayajña Vide V 85, 10, P I 39. 10

Rsabhañjanakatīrtha or Usātīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191

Rṣikā—(r. from m Śuktimat) Vā 45 107

Rsikanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194.14

Rsikulyā—(r) V 84 49, P I. 32. 12, M 114 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m) Vā 45. 106 reads 'Rtukulyā It is the river of Ganjam, acc to A G p 516. The famous Jaugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river

Rsisaṅgheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 54

Rsisattra—(under Go) B 173 1

Rsyamūka or Ṛśyamūke—(m) Rām III 72 12, III 75 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh V. 19 16, V. 280 9, V 147 30 (on which Sugrīva resided), 279 44 (near Pampā lake) Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague

Rsitirtha—A (under Narmadā) M 191 22 and 193 13 (sage Trnabindu became free from curse here), K. II 41 15, P. I 18. 22, B (under Mathurā) Var 152 60

Rsyaśṛngeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 115

Rṣyavanta or Rsya—(m) M. 114 26, Vā 45 101, B 27 32

Rucikeśvaraka—L 1 92 167

Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 41

Rudrakanyā—(under Narmadā) P I 20 76

Rudrakara—(under Kuruksetra) Vām 46 11

Rudrakarna—(under VS) M. 181 25

Rudrakarnahrada—(under VS) P I 37 15

Rudrakoti—A (under Kuruksetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P I. 25 25-30, K II 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages), B (under VS) M 181. 25, C (under Narmadā) P I 13 12, V. 17 103, M 186 16-17

Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L q by T K. p 63, Devala q by T K p 250

Rudramahālayatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139 1

Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā 111. 64-67, Ag 115 48, B (under Kuruksetra) P I 26 94

Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I G. I vol XXI p. 338)

Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V 84.37

Rudravāsa—(under VS) L q by T.K. p 62

Rukminīkunda or Rukmikunda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 57, Ag. 116 5

Rūpadhārā—(Viṣnu's form on Irāvatī) Vām 90 5

Rurukhanda—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145 105, chap 146 explains why it is so called.

S

Śabarītīrtha—(on Go) P. VI. 269. 277-78

Śābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay) The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śvabhravatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI p 344.

Vide P. VI 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tīrthas of the river are described at great length. Verses 2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz Śābhramatī, Setikā (Śvetakā), Bakulā, Hiranmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Vetravatī (modern Vātrak) and Bhadramukhī

Śābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama — P. VI. 166. 1

Śaciśvara-liṅga—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 105

Sadaṅgula—(*Sthāna* of a *nāga* in Kāśmīra) NM 1133-1140

Sadānīrā—(r.) Śat. Br I. 4 1.17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyana explains Sadānīrā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct S 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gandakī and Sarayū, while B (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pāriyātra m Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Rksa range. Pargiter (Mār chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī The Amarakośa regards Sadānīrā and Karatoyā as synonyms

Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 51

Sāhasrakatīrtha—V. 83. 158, P I. 27. 46 (same words in both)

Sahasrākṣa—M 22. 52 (*dāna* most efficacious here)

Sahasrakunda—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q by T.S p. 59

Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarsa) B 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag 109. 21

Sahyāmalaka—Vide Āmalaka

Sahyāranya—Devīpurāna q by T. K p. 244

Śaileśvara—(under VS) L I 92. 86, Var. 216 23, N. II. 50. 57, SK IV. 33. 135

Śaileśvarāśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84

Sailoda—(lake at the foot of m Aruna) Vā. 47. 20, Br II. 18 21-23

Śailodā—(r. which springs from Śailoda lake) Vā 47. 21, Br. II 18 22. Vide Dey p. 172 for identification

Saindhavāraṇya—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V 125 13, Vām. q by T.K p 239. V 89 15 speaks of S. as being in the west

Śākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh S. 85 21, in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vigraharāja dated Vikrama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Śākambharī is mentioned (E. I vol. II, p 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I XXII pp 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rājputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Hardvāra to Kedāra) V 84 13, P. I 28. 14-16 (a Devīsthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)

Sāketa—(same as Ayodhyā) It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br III 54. 54. The Mbh (vol. I. p. 281 on Pān. I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketa' and vol II. p 119 (on Pān. III 2. 111) 'arunad-Yavanah Sāketam' (the Yavana besieged Sākota) The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāta (SBE. vol. X part 2 p. 138) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A D) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hiouen Thsang as Visākha Vide A.G. pp 401-407 The Raghuvamśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV 38) treats Sāketa and Ayodhyā

as synonyms) The Kāśikā on Pāṇ V 1 116 cites 'Pāṭaliputravat Sāketa parikhā' This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C (p 182) notes that Sāketa, Kośalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)

Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokāmukha) Var 140 65

Śakrasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 33

Śakratīrtha—A (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 22 73, K II. 41 11–12, P I 24 29, B (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 81

Śakrāvarta—V 84 29, P I 25 29

Śakreśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 75

Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gandakī river) V. 84 123–128, Vi II 1 24, II 13 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahādevī in Śālagrāma), 22 62, P I. 38 41, Var 144 3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakra*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣnu'; v 145 says it is also called 'Devāta', that it is twelve yojanas in extent (v 159) The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣnu are found in the bed of the Gandakī towards its source It was also called Pulahāśrama (Vi II 1 29) T K (pp. 219–221) quotes verses of Var. and V 84 123–128

Śālgrāma—(same as above) K II. 35 37, Nr 64 22–26 (Puṇḍarīka came to this Mahākṣetra)

Śālagrāmagiri—Var 144. 13 and 29

Śālakaṭaṅkateśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 48

Śāliśūrya—V 83 107, P I 26 100 (a tīrtha probably established by Śālihotra)

Śālūkinī—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83.13. The Mbh (vol I p 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pāṇ II. 4 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)

Śālvikinī—(probably the same as above) P. I 26 11

Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22 42, P. V. 11. 35 Dey p 200 identifies with Sāmalji in Mahī kāntha Agency.

Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39–40, V. 135 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be. Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it

Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1–5 (five pools of kṣatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44 52, 53. 1–2 (the northern Vedī of Brahmā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III 47 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682–83 above Vām. 22 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51–55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a yojana all round, but Vām 22 16 says it is five yojanas)

Samasrotaḥ—(under Mandāra) Var 143 24–26

Sāmbapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara), B (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav, Brahma 140 3 It is modern Multan

Śambhalagrāma—B 213 164 (Kalkin Viṣnuyaśas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269 10–12 (speaks of Śambhalagrāma), G I. 81 6, Bh XII 2 18 Vā 98 104–109, M 144 51, Br II 31 76, Vi IV. 24 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalkin or Pramati (but all don't mention Śambhalagrāma). The I. G I vol XXII p 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U P, many

ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.

Sammūrtika—(a tīrtha in VS) P I 37 6

Sampīthaka—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37

Samsāramocana—(śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M 22 67

Sāmudraka—(near Brahmāvarta) V 84. 41

Samudrakūpa—(under Prayāga) M 106 30

Sāmudratīrtha—(under Go.) B. 172 1–20, about ten verses of which are q by T.S pp. 63–64 (though with variant readings)

Samudreśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 105

Samvartaka—(under VS) K I 35 6

Samvartavāpī—V. 85 31, P I 39 29 (same verse in both)

Samvarteśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 99

Samvidyatīrtha—V 85 1, P I. 39 1

Samyamana—(under Mathurā) Var 153 3

Sanaiścareśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 67

Sanaka—Yama q by T K p 248

Sanakeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 67

Sanandeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 67

Sānandūra—Var 150 5 ff Its exact location cannot be stated It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣnu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on Dey does not notice it

Sanatkumāreśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 67

Sandhyā—A (r in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R I 33 and Stein's note Vide Triṣandhyā, B (river Sindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S 9. 23, P. I. 39. 1, C (another r., location uncertain) V. 84 52, P. I 32 16

Sandhyāvata—(under Prayāga) M 106 43

Śāṇḍilī—(r in Kāśmīra) NM 1445

Śāṇḍilī—Madhumatī—saṅgama—NM 1446

Śāṇḍilyeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 68

Sangamana—(under Dvārakā) Var 149 41

Saṅgamanagara—(under Dvārakā) Var q by T K p 226

Saṅgameśvara—A (under VS) N II. 50 63–64, B (at confluence of Sābhramatī and Hastimatī) P VI 138, I, C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 191 74, K. II 41. 36, P I 18 53; D (at confluence of Gangā and Varuṇā) L I 92 88

Śaṅkha-hrada—(under Go.) B 156 1

Śaṅkha-likhiteśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 93

Śaṅkhaprabha—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145. 48

Śaṅkhatīrtha—A (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 87, B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42. 17 (Śaṅkhī—), C (under Āmalaka-grāma) Nr 66 23

Śaṅkhinītīrtha—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 51

Saṅkhoddhāra—(an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI 30 6 (Kṛṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M 13. 48, 22 69 (śrāddha is *ananta* here) It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaiṣnavas Vide I G I vol 8 p. 18

Śaṅkukarna—(under VS) M. 181 27, K. I 31. 48, P I 24. 18

Śaṅkukarneśvara—(a liṅga on the southern boundary of VS) K I 33 48, L I 92. 135, N. II 48 19–20

Saṅkunikā—Vām q. by T K p 236

Sannihitā—(a tract more extensive than Kuruksetra, but including it) Br III 13. 68 (pumsām Sannihitāyām tu Kuruksetre viśesatah | arcayitvā pitrms-tatra sa putrastvanrno bhavet) TP. p 466 reads 'Sannihata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannihata, Sannihatyā, Sānnihatya and Sannihatā

Sannihatī—(another name of Kuruksetra, according to several works) V 83. 190-195 (Nilakantha explains that Sannihatī is another name of Kuruksetra) Verse 195 derives as 'tīrtha-sannihanād-eva Sannihatyeti viśrutā' i e all tīrthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā, P.I 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām 41 9 and 45 29, Ag 109 15 (employs the word Sannihitī 'Sarasvatyām Sannihityām snānaird-brahmalokabhāk')

Sannihatya-saras — (in Kuruksetra) Vām 47. 56, 48 23, 49 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvaitavana)

Sannīti—(in Kuruksetra) NM 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannihatī above)

Sānteśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 66

Saptacarutīrtha—see 'Vadavā'

Saptadhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 136 16 (same as Saptasārasvata)

Saptaganga—V 84 29, Anu 25 16, P I. 28-29 (same verse as in V) The seven Gangās are Gangā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparnī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā Acc to NM, 720 the seven Gangās are Bhāgīrathī, Pāvanī, Hrādinī, Hlādinī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vanksu.

Saptagodāvara—V 85. 44, Vā 77. 19, M 22 78, Bh X 79. 12, P I 39, 41, IV 108. 39, Br III 13 19, SK. IV. 6 23 See Khairha plate of king Lasahkarna in Kalacuri year 823 (i e 1071-2 A D) in E. I vol. XII p. 205 ff where in verse 23 the seven streams are named, in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasistha R VIII 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br III 13 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśesatah)

Saptakotiśvara—T P p 557 quoting SK. VII

Saptapuskarinī—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p 160. It is also called 'Stanakunda' in HC IV 45. Ain A (vol II p. 361) refers to it 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'

Saptārsa—V. Dh S 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it) Dr Jolly identifies it with Sātārā.

Saptarsikunda (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-linga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 91

Saptasāmudraka-kūpa (under Mathurā) Var. 157 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kuruksetra) where sage Mankanaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V 83. 115, Śal. 38 4-31 (where seven names, for which p 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned). K II 35 44-76 (story of Mankanaka), P I 27. 4 ff (follows V 83), Vām 38 22-23 (story of Mankanaka), N II. 65 101-102 (seven rivers are named)

Saptavatī—(r) Bh V 19 18

Sarabhaṅgakuṇḍa (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 49

Sarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85 42 and 90 9, Rām. III 5.3, P. I 39. 39, Raghuvaṁśa XIII 145 (near Sutīkṣṇāśrama)

Sarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66. 34

Sāradātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M 22 74, R. I. 37 Foremost among tīrthas of Kāśmīra is modern Sardi on the right bank of river Kisangaṅgā. In front of the temple sacred Madhumatī falls into Kisangaṅgā Vide SM. p. 206 Ain A. (vol II. pp 365–66) says that the temple of Śāradā dedicated to Durgā is on the bank of the Padmatī river which comes from Dardu country and that on every 8th day of the bright half of a month it begins to shake

Saraka — (under Kuruksetra) V. 83 75–76, P I 26 76, N II 65 62–63 Vide p 684 above

Sarastamba — (near Devadāruvana), Anu 25, 28

Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious here) M 22 63, B (under VS) K I 35 12, P I 37. 15

Sārasvata—liṅga (under VS) SK IV. 33 134

Sārasvatatīrtha — Śal 50 (story of Asita Devala and Jaigīṣavya), 51 (birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī, who taught the Vedas to sages in a drought for twelve years)

Sarasvatī—(modern Sarsuti) A—The river starts from Brahmasaras, acc to Śalya 51 19, from Badarikāśrama acc. to Vām. 2 42–43 and from Plakṣa tree acc. to Vām 32 3–4, P. V 18 159–160 (say that Sarasvatī was asked to cast the Vāḍava fire into the sea in the west) This is probably an allusion to volcanic action whereby Sarasvatī disappeared Vām. 3 8 says that as Śaṅkara guilty of Brahmahatyā plunged into it, it disappeared, while elsewhere (e g in V. 130 3–4) it is said that it disappeared through fear of the touch of śūdras, Niṣādas and Ābhīras and Anu. (155 25–27) states that Sarasvatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse by Utathya and became dry and unholy. After disappearing it becomes visible at Camasodbheda, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda The Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra was called prāci Sarasvatī (P V 18. 181–182). See Dey pp. 180–181 for several Sarasvatīs V 130 1–2 state that those who die on the Sarasvatī go to heaven and this was the blessing conferred by Dakṣa when he performed a sacrifice there Vide Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893 pp 49–76, B—There is another holy river of the same name rising in the south-west end of Aravalī hills and flowing south-west through the districts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and Baroda and past the ancient cities of Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling into the lesser Runn of Cutch Vide under Prabhāsa

Sarasvatī-Aruṇā-saṅgama—V 83 151, K II. 30. 22, Śal. 43 31 and chap. 44

Sarasvatipatana—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 20.

Sarasvatī-sāgara saṅgama—V 82. 60, P I 24 9, Vām 84, 29

Sarāvatī—(Probably Rāpti in Oudh) Bhī 9 20, Pāṇ VI 3 120 (Śarādīnāṁ ca) knew the river Śarāvatī, Kṣīrasvāmin (in com. on Amara 'Śarāvatyāstu yoṣvadheḥ') quotes a verse 'prāgudañcan vibhajate hamsaḥ kṣīrodake yathā | viduṣāṁ śabdasiddhyarthaṁ sā naḥ pātu Śarāvatī ||.' Dr. Agrawala in (J.U.P H.R S. vol. 16 p 15 surmises that it is the Ghaggbar flowing through Ambala District I have grave doubts about

this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Śarāvatī, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Śarāvatī is probably the river Śarāvatī which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvaṃśa (XV. 97) Śarāvatī is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma

Sarayū—(r) Rg IV. 30 18, V. 33. 9, X 64 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together), In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Śarayū or Sarayū (M 22. 19, Vā 45 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvaṃśa 15 95 and 100). M. 121 16-17 and Br II. 18 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām II. 49. 15) Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45 94, M 114. 21) According to Pān VI. 4 174 (Dāṇḍināyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sārava (Kāśikā says 'Sarayvām bhavam sāravam udakam') In the Cullavagga (SBE vol XX p 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol 35 p 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T P pp 500, 501 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣnu and is joined by Ghargara It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p 99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara

Sārdūla—a Śaivakṣetra, according to Bar S III 122.

Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II 42 23.

Sarkarāvartā—(r) Bh. V 19. 18

Sarvahrada—V 85 39 (uncertain location)

Sarvatīrtha—P. II 92 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puṣkara, Sarvatīrtha and Vārāṇasī) are the four tīrthas that remove all sins including *brahmahatyā*,

Sarvatīrtheśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33. 134.

Sarvātmaka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126. 37

Sarvāyudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56

Śaśāṅkeśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p. 97

Śaśayāna—(under Sarasvatī) V 82 114-116, P I 25 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Śaśapāna'),

Śaṣṭihrada—Anu 25 36

Śatadru—(Sutlej) same as Śutudrī which see, Ādi 177 8-9 (derivation given), M 22 12, Bh V. 19.18 The Amarakośa gives Śutudrī and Śatadru as synonyms.

Śatakumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10. P I 28 11 (same verse in both)

Śatarudrā—M. 22 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible)

Śatasahasraka—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 27, 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84. 74 (Śatasāhasraka)

Śatasṛṅga—(m) Devala q. by T.K p. 250.

Śātātapeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 92

Śatikatīrtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 41 3

Satyavatī—(became river Kauśikī) Vā 91 88

Saubhadra—Ādi. 216, 3 (one of the five Nāritīrthas on the southern sea)

Saukarava—(as printed in Var 137 7 of the Veṅkateśvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under Śūkaratīrtha

Śaurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Sūrpāraka

Saugandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kailāsa)

Saugandhikavana—V 84. 4, P I. 28. 5-6 (same verse in both)

Saumitrisaṅgama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53

Saunakeśvara-kunda—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 122

Savarnīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 60

Sāvitrapada—(under Gayā) V. 84 93. Vide p. 619 above

Sāvitrī—(a boundary between modern Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts). P VI 113 28

Sāvitrīśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 70

Savitritirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6, K II 12. 19, P I. 21 6

Śesatirtha—(under Go.) B 115. 1

Setu—the supposed bridge (called Adam's Bridge) between Rāmeśvara and Ceylon said to have been built by Rāma with the assistance of Sugriva and his monkey hosts, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 15 (Sāmudrasetu), G. I. 81. 8, N. II 76 (contains setu-māhātmya). Adam's Peak in Ceylon has a famous foot-print which is venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Moslems alike Vide T. P. pp. 557-560 for māhātmya

Setubandha—same as above Vide T S pp. 1-4 and Tirthaprakāśa pp. 557-560, Rām. VI 22. 45-53, VI 126. 15 (etat-tu drśyate tirtham sāgarasya mahātmanah) Setubandha iti khyātam &c), P. V. 35, 62 (says that Setu was built in three days), SK III Brahmakhanda, chapters 1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsidiary tirthas and Setuyātrākrama. Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setubandha as an expiation.

Siddhakeśvara—(one of the eight tirthas under Virajatirtha) B. 42, 6

Siddhapada—(a ksetra on Sarasvatī) Bh. III. 33. 31

Siddhapura—(64 miles to north of Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devī is called Mātā here), what Gayā is for Pitrs, Siddhapura is for the mother. It is on the Sarasvatī river

Siddhatirtha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1

Siddhavana—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here most efficacious)

Siddhavata—A (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 7, B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92, 153

Siddheśvara—(linga on south bank of Narmadā) Vām. 46 34, P II. 20 34.

Siddheśvara—A (under VS.) M. 32, 43 and 181. 25 q. by T.K. pp. 88, 117 and p. 241, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18 100, C (on the south bank of Go) B 128 1

Siddhiguha—(under VS) L q by T.K. p. 88

Śikhitirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 82, P I. 20. 78

Śilātirtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2

Śilākeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 46

Simha—a Vaisnava-ksetra acc. to Bār S III 120. Probably the same as Simhāchalam temple of Nrsimhāvatāra of Visnu about 6 miles north-west of Vizagapattam Vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p 375

Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek Sinthos) Rg. II 15. 6 (he made the Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53. 9, VIII 20 25 (the medicine that is in Sindhu, in Asikni and the seas), X 75 6 The seven Sindhus (i. e. Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvatī) are mentioned in Rg. II. 12,12, IV. 28. 1, VIII, 24, 27, A. V, VI. 3 1, Drona 101 28 (Sindhusasthāh samudragāh), R I 57 (Stein's note), NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gangā and Vitastā is Yamunā). Vide for description I G I vol, I pp. 29-31. It rises in Tibet north of Kailāsa. Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows,

vide Pān IV 3. 93. On Pān IV 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśikā gives the example 'Dāradī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat) Some mss. of Kāśikā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādigana Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Ins , B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27 28 It is the same as Kālisindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālatīmādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3) Padmāvatī, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu

Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P I 32 10 (same verse in both)

Sindhusāgara—Nr 65. 13 q by T K p 252

Sindhusāgarasangama—V. 82 68, Vā 77. 56, P I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)

Sindhūttama—(a lake) V. 82. 79

Sipḥā—(r) Ṛg I 104 3 (in which the , two wives of Kuyava met death)

Siprā—(r from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22. 24, 114 24, Vā 45. 98 Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of rsis or the scenes of miraculous incidents, the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Visnu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods Vide Ain A vol II p 196 for this

Sitā—(a branch of Gangā) Vā 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5

Sitatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var 179. 28

Sītavana—(under Kurukṣetra?) P I. 26 55

Śivadhāra—M 22 49

Śivahrada—Br III. 13. 52

Śivakāñcī—(at Conjeeveram in South India) P VI. 204 30

Sivanadī—Nr 65 23 q. by T.K. p 253

Sivasarasvatī—a Saivakṣetra acc to Bār S III. 122

Śivodbheda — (where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V 82 112, P I. 25 19

Skandatīrtha — (under Narmadā) P I. 18. 49, M 191. 50

Skandeśvara—(in VS) SK IV. 33 125, L q by T.K, p 68

Slesmātakavana — (on Himavat) Var. 214 24–26, 215. 12–13 and 115 Dey p. 188 says that it is Uttara Gokarna two miles to north-east of Paśupatinātha in Nepāl. For two Gokarnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above

Smaśāna—Avimukta, which see, M 184 19

Smaśānastambha—(under VS) L. q by T K p 54.

Snānakunda—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 18–20

Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13–14 It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R I 123–26 and II. 169 and SM p 164 Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūteśvara NM mentions it in connection with Bhūteśa and Kanakavāhinī and the distance from Bhūteśvara to Śrīnagara is about 32 miles

Somakunda—(under Gayā) Ag 116.4

Somanātha—A (in Saurāstra near Verawal) Ag 109 10 (Somanātham Prabhāsakam), P. VI, 176. 37, vide A G p 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 23 A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī-samudraśca Somah somagrahas-tathā | darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāh pañca durlabhāh)

Somapada—V 84. 119.

Somapāna—M 22 62

Somāśrama—V 84 157

Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V 83 114, M 109 2, B (under Narmadā) M. 191. 30, P I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K II. 41 47, C (under VS) K. I. 35 7, P I. 37 7 (same verse in both), D (under Go) B 105 1, 119 1, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154 18, F (under Kokāmukha) Var 140. 26-28, G (under Viraja) B 42. 6, H (under Sūkara) Var 137 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*, I (under Sābhramatī) P VI 154 1

Someśa—(under VS) K I 35. 9

Someśvara—A (removes all diseases) M 22 29, K, II 35. 20, B (under Śālagrāma) Var. 144. 16-29

Sona—(a *nada*, also called Hiranyavāha, rising in m. Rksa in Gondwana according to the Purānas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45 99, Br II 16 29 It is the Soa of Ptolemy (p 99) and Sonas of Arrian It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakantaka hill Vide AG pp 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges

Śona-Jyotīrathyā-sangama—V 85 8, P. I 39 8, V. Dh S 85 33 (reads Śona-Jyotisāsangama, while the com Vaijayantī notes the v. l. Śona-Jyotīrathā)

Sonaprabheda—(prabhava?) V 85 9, P. I 39 9

Śonitapura—(capital of Bānāsura, where Aniruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Usā) B 206. 1, Harivamśa, Visnuparva 121. 92-93 Dey p 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Śonitapura of Bānāsura In the Harivamśa it is said that Śonitapura was 11000 yojanas from Dvārakā, BV (Krsnajanmakhanda, Uttarārdha, 114 847) mentions Śonitapura as capital of Bānāsura. A C. (p. 182) states it was also called Kotivarsa (v 977)

Śrāvasti—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāpti in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā. Rām VII 107 4-7, Vā 88 200 and A G. p 409, but some mss of Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) state that Śrāvastī was the capital of Lava Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Śrāvastī with Saheth-Maheth and the Saheth Maheth plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sahet-Mahet with Śrāvastī and holds that Śrāvastī was near Nepalganj in Nepalese territory. B 7 53 says that it was called after Śrāvasta of Iksvāku race.

Śrīksetra—Jagannātha Purī

Śrīkunda—V 82 86 (now called Laksmīkunda, in VS) L. q by T K p 62

Śrīkuñja—(under Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 19, V. 83 108

Śrīmādaka—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117

Śrīmukhī—(guhā) L. q by T K. p. 60 (under VS).

Śrīnagara—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R I 104 states that Aśoka built Śrīnagarī with 96 lakhs of houses Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G p 93) located Śrīnagarī of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhana's Purānādhisthāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrīnagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takhta-i-Sulaiman Pravarasena I erected the shrine of Pravaresvara

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century Hiouen Thsang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura) Vide Beal's B R W W vol, I pp 96, 148 and 158 and A G. pp. 95-96 Ain A (vol. II p 355) states that Koh-i-Sulaiman is to the east of Śrînagara Al (vol I p. 207) notes that Addisthan (adhisthâna the capital of Kâśmîra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum For the Dal lake close to Śrînagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide. I. G I. vol XI. pp 124-125, B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandâ (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Śrngâtakeśvara—(under Śrîparvata) L. I. 92 155

Śrngatîrtha—(under Narmadâ) P I 21. 31.

Śrngaverapura—(or Śrngibera) V. 85 65, P. I 39. 61 (same verse in V and P), Râm II 113 22, VI 126 49, Ag. 109. 23 Here Râma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyâ into exile It is modern Sringraur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayâga.

Śrpâ—(r rising from Vindhya) Br II. 16 32.

Śrîparnî—(*dâna* most efficacious here) M 22 49

Śrîparvata or Śrîśaila—A (hill situated in Karnal District on the south side of the Krsnâ river 50 miles from krsnâ station). There are numerous lingas here including the famous Mallikârjuna (in L I 92 155), one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, many are named in L I, 92 147-166 Vide V 85. 18-20 (Mahâdeva with Umâ is there), Vâ 77 28, M 13 31 (Devî is called Mâdhavî here), 181 28 (one of the eight main Śivasthânas), 188. 79 (one tripura of Bânâsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P I. 15 68-69 (same story as in M 188), Agni 113 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Laksmî practised penance here). Pargiter (p 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag, K II 20 35 (Śrâddha most efficacious here), II. 37 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I 39 17, VI 20, 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance) It is a Śâktaksetra acc. to Bâr. S. III 124. The Mâlatî-mâdhava mentions it several times Vide E I XX p 9, E I IV p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Visnukundin Vikramendravarman). In the Nâgârjunikonda Inscription F of about 3rd century A, D edited by Dr Vogel, Śrîparvata is mentioned (E I. vol XX p 1 at p 23), B (a linga in VS) Ag 112 4, C (under Narmadâ) Ag 113. 3

Śrîpatitîrtha—(śrâddha here leads to highest goal) M 22. 74.

Śrîranga—(modern Śrîrangam, an island between Kâverî about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22 44 (śrâddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh X 79 14, P VI. 280. 19, Bâr S III 120 (a Vaisnava-ksetra) It is mentioned in the Śilappadikâram chap X (tr by Prof Dikshitar p 163) Râmânuja, the founder of the Visistâdvaita philosophy died here. Vide I G I vol XXIII pp 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Visnu (called Ranganâthasvâmin here).

Śrîtîrtha—(under VS) V 83 46, K I 35 8, P I. 37, 8

Stambhatîrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K II 41 51, P I 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadâ) A Stambhatîrtha is mentioned in T S p 101 Vide I, A vol 54 p. 47

Stambhākhyatīrtha——(near Mahīsāgara-sangama) SK. I. 2 3 27. Probably same as above.

Stambheśvara—SK. I. 2 3 40

Stanakunda—V. 84. 152, Var 215. 97 (Stanakunde Umāyās-tu)

Sthaleśvara—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181 27

Sthāneśvara—(a liṅga in VS) L. I. 92. 136

Sthāneśvara—(modern Thaneswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devī is called Bhavānī here). Vide A G pp. 329–332 It was sacked by Mahmud of Gazni in 1014 A D. In Harsacarita Bāṇa mentions Sthāṇviśvara country.

Sthānutīrtha—(under Sarasvatī where Vasiṣtha had his āśrama) Śal 42 4 (Vasiṣtha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand liṅgas), 49. 6–7 (it is on the lake called Sānnihatya). Vām chapters 47–49 deal with the māhātmya of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.

Strītīrtha—(under Narmadā) M 194 31.

Stutasvāmin—(a Vaiṣnuksetra on Manipūragiri) Var. 148, 8–81. T K pp 222–224 quote about twenty verses from Var 148 without a word of comment Verses 75–76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asita and Devala) Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.

Subhadrā-sindhu-sangama P VI. 129 25.

Subhūmika—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal 37 23 (visited by Balarāma)

Sucakra—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 57. 89

Śuddheśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 122

Sudina—V. 83 100

Sugandha—(under Svarṇa) I I 32 1.

Sugandhā—V. 84 10, V. Dh S 2 16 (according to com it is a river near Sangandhika m). P. I 28. 1 (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse

Sugrīveśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 51

Śūkaratīrtha—(Soron on the west bank of the Ganges between Bareli and Mathurā (according to A G. pp 364–365) Vide I G I. vol 23 pp. 88–89. Var. chapters 137–139; T K pp 209–212 quote 37 verses from Var 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II 40 31 and 60 22 (Acyuta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI 124. 6–7 (the extent is four yojanas) Some texts read Śūkaratīrtha

Śukasya—āśrama V. 85 42, P. I 39 39 (same verse in both)

Śukeśvara—(on north Gokarna) Var 173. 9

Śuklatīrtha—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north-east of Broach) K. II. 41 67–82, M 192. 14, SK I 2.3 5 Vide p 706 above for Cānakya's association with it also I. G I vol. 23 p. 128 and Bom G vol XI. pp. 568–569 for legend of Cānakya's connection, P I 19 2–35 (about Cānakya rajas having obtained siddhi here)

Śukratīrtha—(on north bank of Indus B. 95 1, M. 22. 29

Śukreśvara—(under VS) K I 35. 15, L I. 92 93, N II 50 65

Śuktimat—(one of the seven main mountains of India, being a portion of the Vindhya) K I 47. 39, Va 45 88 and 107, Br. II 60 37, B V. 19. 16 Vide Dr P C Law on 'Mountains and rivers of India' in Department of Letters (Cal Univ), vol 28 pp 20 21 for different identifications It is [illegible]

known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts Vide Dr Ray Chaudhari's 'Studies' etc pp 113–120 for discussion and Dr. B C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20–21 for different identifications

Suktimatī—(r obstructed by m Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhī 9 35. Vide Dey p 196 for different identifications. B 27 32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rksa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya

Sukumārī—(r rising from Śuktimat m) Vā 45 107

Śūlabheda—(under Narmadā) M 191 3, K II. 44 12–14, P I. 18 3

Śūlaghāta—(in Kāśmīra) Vide under Nīlakunda

Śūleśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 52

Sumantu-linga—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 97

Sunandā—(r.) Bh VIII 1 8

Sundarikā—(r.) P I 32. 21 It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a *Pāli* couplet (SBE. vol X, part 2, p. 74)

Sundarikābrada—Anu. 25 21

Sundarikātīrtha—V 84 57, Anu 25 21 (after Devikā), Var 215 104

Śundika—(tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM 1459

Sunīla—(under VS) P. I 37. 3

Suparnā—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100.1

Supārśva—P. VI 129. 16

Suprayogā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār 54. 26, Vā 45 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sahya (Br II 16 35) Some identify it with the Pennar Vide E I vol. 27 p. 273

Surabhivana—(in the Himālaya on river Śilodā) Br II 18 23

Surabhikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36

Surasā—(r) Vi II 3 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br II. 16 29 (rising from Rksavat), Bh. V 19 18

Sureśvarī-ksetra—(present village of Iśabar in Kāśmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V 37, NM. 1532, S M p 161 The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gangā

Śūrpārakatīrtha—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V 85 43 (resorted to by Paraśurāma), 88 12 (in it was the Vedi of Jamadagni), 118 8–10, Śānti 49 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Paraśurāma), Anu 25 50, Harivamśa, Visnuparva 39 29–31 (in Aparānta Śūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *isus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Paraśurāma), Br III. 58 17-18 and 32–33 (the strip taken by Paraśurāma from the sea is 400 yojanas from north to south), Bh X 79 20, B 27. 58 (Śūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries) It is mentioned as 'Śorpāraga' in Nasik Inscription No 10 q- in Bom G vol 16 on p 569 The Nānāghāt Ins No 9 (A S W I vol V. p 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sopārayaka There is a Suppāraka-jātaka (No 463, vol IV p 86 ed by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Śūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this A G (pp 497–499 and 561–562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvīra and not Śūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Abiria (i e Ābhīras) of Ptolemy (p 140) Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff for discussion and JBBRAS vol 15 p 273 for a long note on Śūrpāraka.

Sūryatīrtha—A (under VS) V. 83 48, K. I 35 7, P I. 37 7, B (under Mathurā) Var 152.50,156. 12 (where Bali, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun)

Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75 6. Keith does not know which tributary of of the Indus it was.

Suskanadī—(under VS)—same as Asi, M 183 62, L q by T. K p 118

Suskeśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 118.

Susomā—(r) Rg. VIII 64 11. In Rg X. 75 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX 26 takes it to be Sindhu, Bh V 19. 18, Stein in Dr R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgveda') says (on p. 26) that Susomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindī District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range

Susumnā—A (r under Gayā) N II 47 36, B (under VS) L. q by T K p. 35 (same as Matsyodarī)

Sutīkṣnāśrama—Rām III 7, Raghuvaṁśa XIII 41 (at some distance from Agastyāśrama)

Sutīrthaka—V 83 56

Sutudrī—(same as Sutlej in the Punjab, the Śatadru of classical Sanskrit works) Rg III. 33. 1, X 75 5. It is the Greek Hupanis or Huphasis (A I p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course

Suvarna—V 84 18, Ag 109. 16, P. I. 28 19 (where Visnu sought for the favour of Rudra)

Suvarnākṣa—(under VS) M 181 25, K. II 35 19

Suvarṇarekhā (holy river near Raivataka) SK VII 2 1 1-3 (probably same as the next) There is a river of same name in Bengal Vide I G I vol XXIII p 114

Suvarnasikatā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A D, E I. VIII p 36 at p 42) now called Sonrekhā in Kathiawad

Suvarṇatilaka—(under Narmadā) P I 18, 46

Suvāstu—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII 19 37 (*Suvāstvā adhi tugvani*) The Nir. IV 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvan' means 'tirtha'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I p 191) Pān IV 2. 77 (Suvāstyādibhyosin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstvādi-gana'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt Vide E I vol II p 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt

Suvratasya—āśrama (on Drsadvatī) V 90. 12-13

Svacchoda—(lake) *Vide* Acchoda

Svacchodā—(r) Br II 18 6 (rising from lake Svacchoda on m Candraprabha)

Svāmitīrtha—M. 22 63, K II 37 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Tiruttani on the M and S. M Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata

Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 15

Svargadvāra—A (under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I 35 4, P I 37 4, C (under Gayā) Ag 116 4 (the word here is 'Svargadvārī'), D (under Purusottama) N II 56 31

Svargamārgahrada—Anu q. by T. K. p 248

Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 85. 41

Svargatīrtha—Anu 25. 33

Svargeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K. p. 48

Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I 92.78, SK IV 33 123 (explains why it is so called)

Svarnabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25 9, M 194 15

Svarnalomāpanayana—P I 26 58

Svarnarekhā—(r in Vastrāpathaksetra i e, modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK VII 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2 10. 209

Svarnavedi (r)—Vā 77 95, K. II 37.37

Svastipura—(near Gangāhrada and Gangālūpa) V 83 174

Svatantreśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6

Svayambhūrtīrtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Machipur *pargana*) R. I. 34, HC 14 80 Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil śrāddha offerings placed by pilgrims.

Śvāvillomāpaha—V 83 61

Śvetā—(r that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI 133. 19–20

Śvetādri—(m) P VI 280 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called)

Śvetadvīpa—G I 81 7, K I. 1 49, I. 49 40–47, Vām 25 16 and 60 56, Śānti 336 8 ff, 337 27 ff In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Ksīrodadhi

Śvetamādhava—N II 55 3

Śvetatīrtha—(under Go) B 94. I

Śvetavāvarī—(r) Rg VIII 26 18

Śveteśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 99

Śvetī—(r, tributary of Indus on the west) Rg X 75 6 Lit. it would mean the white one It is difficult to identify it with Suvāstu

Śvetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 133 15

Syandika—(r Sai, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomatī) Rām. II. 49 12

Śyāmāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 30

Śyenī—(r rising in Rksaparvata) M. 114. 25 Dey p 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T

Taijasa—(to the west of Kuruksetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P I. 27 52–53.

Taksaśilā—(modern Taxilā) Svargārohana-parva 5 34, Vā 88 189–90, Br III 63. 190–91 (established by Taksa son of Dāśarathi Bharata as his capital in Gandhāra), in the Jātakas Takkasilā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-Jātaka, Fausboll's ed vol I. p 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118–121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards Ptolemy calls it Taxila It is mentioned in the Dhauli first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C I I vol. I p 93) and the word occurs in Pāṇ. IV 3 93 Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp 104–113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works

Taksaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 82. 90. R I 220, P I. 25 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Taksaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p 166, K R p 5

Tālakarneśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K. p. 72.

Tālatīrtha—(under VS) P I. 37 2

Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var 157. 35

Tamasā—A(r , modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām I 2. 3, II 45 32, Raghuvaṃśa IX 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmīki's āśrama) Vide C I I. vol III. p 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D 512–13; B (r rising from Rkṣa), M 114. 25, Vā 45. 100; C (r falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18.12

Tāmraparṇī—(r in Pāṇḍya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27.36, M 114 30, Vā 45 105 and 77. 24–27, V. 88. 14, Rām IV. 41. 17–18, K II 37. 21–22, Br III 13 24, Bh X 79 16 and XI 5 39 The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I, p. 62) and Tambapannī of Aśoka's Girnar Inscription II, it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well , E I XX at p 23 (Nāgārjunikonda Ins), Br III 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvaṃśa IV 49–50 show that pearls were found there

Tāmraprabha—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T K. p. 191

Tāmrāruna—V 85 154

Tāmravatī—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23

Tandulikāśrama—(near Puṣkara and Jambūmārga) V 82 43, Ag. 109. 9, P.I. 12 3

Tāpaseśvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41 66, P I. 18 96

Tapastīrtha—(under Go) B 126 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattratīrtha)

Tapatī—(r) M 22.32–33 (Tapatī seems to be Tāpī here as distinguished from Mūlatāpī) In Ādiparva chapters 171–173 Tapatī is a daughter of the Sun whom king Saṃvaraṇa married and had a son Kuru from her, Mār. 105 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river)

Tāpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 104

Tāpī—(r. rising from Vindhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapatī) M 114 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45 102, Ag. 109 22 Tāpī is mentioned in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G vol. 16 p 569). Vide under Payoṣṇī above and TP pp 544–547 (for māhātmya and sub-tīrthas)

Tāpikā—same as Tāpī Devīpurāṇa q. by T. K p. 242

Tāpī-samudra—saṅgama—T P p 547

Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128 1, B (in Vaṅga country) V 84. 115, P I 38. 31. 'Tato vanam' is a misreading in Vanaparva

Tārakeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 104 Tārakeśvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I.G.I. vol. 23 p 249

Taraṇḍa or Tarantuka—(a dvārapāla of Kurukṣetra) V 83. 15, P I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taraṇḍa), Vām 22.60. Vide p 683 note 1551 above.

Timi—(to the right of Śaṅkukarneśvara) P I. 24. 20–23

Tirthakoṭi—V 84 121, P.I. 36 38 (same verse in both)

Tosalaka—(the *guhya* name of Viṣṇu is Garuḍadhvaja here) Nr q by T.K p 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p 230) and the Tosali in Aśoka's Dhauli Inscriptions (C I I. pp 92 and 97) and the Nāgārjunikonda Inscription (E. I. vol XX. at p 23)? Tosali (modern Dhauli in the Puri District) was the chief city of northern Kaliṅga in the days of the Mauryas

Toyā—(r rising in Vindhya) M. 114 [illegible], Vā 45 103

Trayyambaka tīrtha—A (under Go and sacred to Pitṛs) M 22 47, K II 35 18, B (under Narmadā) P. I 18 112

Trastāvatāra—(an *āyatana*) Devala q. by T K p 250

Tribhāgā—(r rising from Mahendra' M 114 31, Vā 45 104

Tridaśajyoti—(under Narmadā) M 194 11

Tridivā—A (r rising from Himavat) Br II 16 26; B (r rising from Mahendra) M 114. 31, Vā 45, 106, B 27 37, C (r. rising from Rksavat) Br II 16 31

Tridivābalā—(r from Mahendra m) Br II. 16. 37. Probably Tridiva and Balā

Triganga—V 84, 29, Anu 25 16, P. I. 28 29

Trigarteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.

Tribalikāgrāma — (where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S 85 24 (com Vaijayantī says it is Śālagrāma)

Trijaleśvara-linga—(where Gandakī and Devikā join) Var 144 83

Trikakud—(m part of Himavat) A V IV 9. 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Maitrāyanī Samhitā III 6 3, Śat Br III 1. 3 12 (all these mention Traikakuda or Traikakubha āñjana), Pān. V 4 147 (trikakutparvate) teaches that Trikakud is the *name* of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīni kakudāni kakudākārāni śrngāni asya) Vide Br. III. 13 58 where it is Trikakudagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā 77. 57-63.

Trikoti—(a r in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87 At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikoti. It joins Vitastā

Trikūta—(m) Vām 85. 4, (son of Sumeru), Nr. 65. 21, P VI 129 16. In Bh. VIII 2. 1 Trikūta m. appears to be mythical From Raghuvamśa IV 58-59 it follows that Trikūta was in Aparānta Dey p 205 specifies three hills as Trikūta. Kālidāsa's Trikūta appears to be the Tirahnu or Triraśmi hill at Nasik Vide Bom. G vol 16 p 633 and E I vol 25 p. 225 at p 232 (copper-plate Ins discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A D mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūtavisaya') The Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman (about 510-560 A D.) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikūta and Malaya' (E I vol. 27 p 312 at p 315)

Trilinga—country which has three famous lingas viz Kālahastin, Śrīśaila, Drāksārāma

Trilocana-linga—(in VS) SK IV. 33, 120, K I 35 14-15, P, I 37. 17

Tripadi(Tirupati)—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station It is the same as Venkatagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Venkateśvara or Bālāji

Triplaksa—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III. 13 69

Tripura—A (a very fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 43, B (capital of Bānāsura) P. I chapters 14-15, Karnaparva 33 17 ff and 34 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal, Ganganath Jha R I vol VIII pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyāya.

Tripurāntaka—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92 150.

Tripureśvara (modern village Tripbar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R V 46, HC 13 200. Some identify it with Jyesthesvara

Tripurī—(on the Narmadā) T S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabbalpur It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśahkarnadeva in 1122 A.D, E I vol II p 1 at p 3 and E. I XIX p 75 (for extent of Mahākosala) M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21 60 and Br S. 14 9 mention Traipura country as situated

on the back of Vindhya Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-visaya occurs in Betul plates of Sanksobha as situated in Dabhālā country Vide R D Banerji's 'Haihayas of Tripurī' p 137

Tripuskara—Vide Puskara

Trisāmā—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, Vi II 3. 13, Bh V. 19 18 (does not mention source)

Trisandhyā or Trisandhyam) A-M 22. 46 (sacred to pitrs), B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāśmīra tīrthas It is modern Sundabrār in Bring *pargana*, NM 1471, R I 33, SM p 181

Tristhāna—(probably same as Vārānasī) Anu 25. 16

Trisikhara—(m) Vā. 42 28, M. 183 2.

Trisūlagangā—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 84 (confluence of Gandakī and Krsnā)

Trisūlakhāta—V. 84. 11. It is probably the same as the Kāśmīra tīrtha Śūlaghāta

Trisūlapāta—(under Sarasvatī) *P I* 28 12. Probably the same as above

Tritakūpa-a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X 78 19 (after Prthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Brhaspati. Vide Nir IV. 6

Trivenī—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144 86-87, vide p 602 above, B (confluence of three rivers, viz Gandakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144 83 and 112-115 It was here that Gajendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile), Var 144. 116-134

Trivistapa—P. I 26 79 (where there is Vaitaranī river)

Trnabindusaras—(in Kāmyakavana) V 258. 13.

Trnabinduvana—Nr. q by T K. p. 252.

Tryambakeśvara—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvarī) N. II. 73. 1-152 (is the māhātmya), SK. IV 6 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.

Tulajāpura—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII. 38. 6

Tungā—(r. that falls into the Krsnā) Nr 66 7 (reading differs) q. by T K p. 254 (Tungā ca daksine Gangā Kāverī ca viśesatah)

Tungabhadrā—(The two rivers Tungā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tungabhadrā near Kudli in Mysore State The river falls into the Krsnā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M 22 45, Nr. 66 6 q by T K p 254, Bh V. 19. 18, M 114 29, B 27 35, Vā 45 104 (last three say that it rises in Sahya) From E I vol. XII at p 294 and Vik. IV 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tungabhadrā in 1068 A D.

Tungakūta—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 29-30.

Tungāranya—V 85 46-54, P. I 39 43 (where Sārasvata instructed sages)

Tungavenā—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V 222 25

Tungeśvara—(in VS) L I 92. 7

Turāsanga—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M 191 29

Tvāstreśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 96

U

Udabhānda—was the residence of Sāhi kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra, vide R.V. 152-155, VI 175. It is the Wayhand of Alberuni and Ohind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock)

Udapāna—V. 84 110, P I 38. 27

Udayanta—(m near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI 2 11 11

Uddālakeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 59

Uddiyāna—Kāl 18 42 (where the two thighs of Satī's corpse fell)

Udicītīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā 111 6 Vide p 663 above

Udyantaparvata—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Silā) V 84 93, Vā 108 43–44[1] N II 47 51, P.I 38 13. Vide p 647 note 1472 above

Ugra—(under VS) P. I 37. 15, also called Kedāra

Ugreśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 70

Ujjānaka—(where Skanda and Vasistha secured peace of mind) V. 130 17, Anu 25 55 It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka

Ujjayanta (Girnar in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V 88. 21–24, Vā. 45, 92 and 77. 52, Vām 13 18, SK. VII 2 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vastrāpathaksetra) Vide A. G. p. 325.

Ujjayinī—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43 24 (called Avantī), 44 16 (capital of Mālava) Vide under Avantī and Māhismatī above Ujeni is mentioned in the Dhauli first separate Rock edict (C I. I vol. I p. 93) of Aśoka The Mbh (vol II p 35 on Vārtika 10 on Pān. III 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākāla, one of the twelve Jyotir-lingas and is situated on the Śiprā river Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuvamśa VI 32–35 A G. (pp 489–90) gives the boundaries of the kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century A C (p 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puspakarandinī as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puspakarandakajirnodyāna' is mentioned in the Mrcchakatika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene Vide Ptolemy pp 154–155 Vide J. A O S vol. 66 for 1946 p 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I A vol III p 153 for inscription of Śravana Belgola about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S B E vol X part 2 p 188 (Suttanipāta)

Umābaka—(under Narmadā) K II 41 57

Umākunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 64

Umātunga—K II 37 32–33, Vā. 77 81–82 (best place for śrāddha, japa, homa)

Umāvana—(where Śankara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā 41. 36 Dey p.211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon A C p 182 says it is also called Devikota

Upajalā—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130 21

Upamanyuliṅga—(under VS) L q. by T K 97

Upaśāntaśiva—(under VS) P I 37 17, L. I.92 107

Upavenā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V 222 24

Urjanta—(in Aparānta) Br III 13. 53 (here are Yogeśvarālaya and Vasisthāśrama)

Ūrjayat— m in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Inscription (in E I VIII p 36 at p 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45

Urvaśīkunda—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51–64, N II. 67 65

Urvaśīlinga—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 66

Urvaśīpulina—(under Prayāga) M. 22 66 and 106 34–35, Anu 25 46 Vide p 615 note 1399 above

Urvaśīśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 72

Urvaśītīrtha—A (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M 106. 34, P I 38. 64, B (under Go) B 171 1

Usnatīrtha—M 13 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)

Usnīgaṅga (a tīrtha for bathing) V. 135 7

Utkocaka-tīrtha—V 183 2

Utpalāvana—V 87 15 (in Pāñcāla country), Anu. 25, 34 Dey p 213 says that it is Bithur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U P

Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II 60. 25, Vanaparva q. by T. K p 244

Utpalāvatī—(r rising from m Malaya) Vā 45 105, M. 114 30

Utpalinī—(r. in Naimisa forest) Ādi. 215 6

Utpātaka—Anu 25. 41

Uttameśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 102

Uttara—(under VS) K. I 35 14, P I. 37 17

Uttara-Ganga — (Gangabal in Lar *pargana* of Kāśmīra) HC IV 54. It is also called Haramukuta-gangā and Mānasottaragangā

Uttaragokarna—Var. 216 22, K II 35. 31

Uttarajāhnavī—H C XII 49 When the Vitastā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.

Uttaramānasa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25 60, NM 1118 (the guardian *nāga* of the north of Kāśmīra). The Gangabal lake is popularly so called See Stein's note on R. III 448 and H. C IV. 87, B (near Gayā) Vā 77, 108, 111. 2, V Dh S 85 36, Śānti 152 13, M 121, 69, K II. 37, 44, R 115. 10 Vide pp 650-651 above

V

Vadavā—(also called Saptacaru) V.82. 92-99,222 24,V.Dh S85 37. The com. Vaijayantī says that it is some tirtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west Dey p. 220 identifies with Bāku on the west coast of the Caspian sea

Vadhūsarā—(r. on bathing in which Paraśurāma recovered his *tejas* taken away by Rāma) V 99 68

Vāgīśvarī—(under Go.) B 135. 26

Vāgmatī—(r. Bāgmati of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var 215, 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgīrathī)

Vāgmatī—Manivatī sangama—Var 215. 106 and 110

Vāhā—Vām 57. 78

Vāhinī—Bhī. 9 34

Vaidarbhā—M. 22 64, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Daksinasaravatī sā vahati Vidarbhā nadī yatra). Probably the same as Varadā

Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89 6, 121. 16 and 19 (to which Pāndavas came after crossing Payosnī). Pān IV 3 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati' Mbh. (vol II p 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vālavāya as Vidūra. Probably it is the Sātpudā range which has Beryl mines Vide Pargiter pp 287 (n), 365 (n). It may be the Oroudian mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80-81)

Vaidyanātha—A-M 13 41, 22 24, P V 17 205 (same words as in M 13 41), B (under VS) L q by T K pp 84, 114, C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI 160 1, D (Devī is called Bagalā here) Devī-Bh VII 38 14, E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 Jyotirlingas, at Deogbar in Santhal Pargana Vide I. G I. vol XI p 244 for the great temple of Vaidyanātha, which is the oldest of the 22 Śiva temples at Deogarh

Vaihāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Girivraja) S 21 2

Vaihāyasī—(r) Bh V 19 18

Vaijayanta-(a Sārasvata-tīrtha) Devala q. by T K p 250

Vaikuntha-kārana—(under Mandāra) Var. 143 21-23

Vaikunthatīrtha—A (under Gayā) M 22. 75, N II 47. 75, B (under Mathurā) Var. 163 1–4 and 10–12

Vaimānika—Anu 25 23.

Vaināyakatīrtha—M. 22 32, G I. 81 8.

Vairā—(r) M. 22 64

Vairocaneśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140

Vaiśākha—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92. 156 (established by Viśākha i e Skanda)

Vaiśravaneśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 148

Vaiśvānara-kunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 58

Vaitaranī—A (r in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V 85 6, 114 4, Vā 77 95, K II. 37 37, P I 39 6, Ag 116 7, M 114. 27, B 27 33, Jājpur (i e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I G I vol VI p 223) Sometimes Utkala and Kaliṅga are held to be separate as in B 47 7 and Raghuvaṁśa IV 38 Utkala is said to be derived from Utkaliṅga (what is outside Kaliṅga), B (in Gayā) Vā 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag 116. 7, C (in Phalakīvana) Vām 36. 43–44, P. I 26. 79, D (a well in VS) L q by T. K p 63.

Vaivasvatatīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var. 137 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), Anu 25 39

Vaivasvateśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 104.

Vajrabhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī)

Vajreśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 104

Vālakhilyeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 66

Vāliśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 51.

Vālmikeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p 66

Vālmīki—āśrama (on the Ganges) Rām VII 47 15–77 Vide under Sthānutīrtha and Tamasā.

Vāmana or Vāmanaka—(under Kurukṣetra) V 84 130, V 83. 103, Ag. 109 20, P. I 26 96 (Vāmanaka), I 38 47, B (under Gayā) N. II, 46 46, C (under Sābhramatī) P, VI 153 2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A vol 54 (at end) p 41 where it is said that Vanthalī about 8 miles south-west of Junāgad is the Vāmanatīrtha of the Mahābhārata

Vāmaneśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 18 26

Vaṁśadharā—(r rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, Mār 54. 29 (reads Vaṁśakarā) and Var 85 (prose) reads Vaṁśavarā Pargiter (p 305*n*) says that it is the modern Bansdharā on which Kaliṅgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indravarman (E I vol XXV p 194) issued from Kaliṅganagara

Vaṁśagulma—(on confluence of Narmadā and Sona) V 85 9

Vaṁśamūlaka—P I. 26 38

Vaṁśodbheda—M 24. 25

Vānaraka—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.

Vandanā—(r) Bhī 9 18

Vāṇī-saṅgama—(under Go.) B 135 1 and 23

Vañjarā—(r. on south bank of Go) B 159 45 It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvarī in Nander District

Vañjarāsaṅgama—(under Go) B 159 1

Vañjulā—A (r. rising from Sahya and falling into Go) M. 114. 29, Vā 45 103, Vām 57 76, B (r. rising in Mahendra) B. 27 37

Vanksu—(modern Oxus) Sabhā 51, 20 (*rāsabhas* were brought as presents)

Varadā—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām IV 41 9, Ag 109 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Vīrapuruṣam tad-

etad Varadātatanāmakam Mahārāstram) See under Varadāsaṅgama

Varadāna—V. 82 63-64, P I 24 12 (both contain story about Durvāsas conferring a boon on Viṣnu)

Varadā-saṅgama—V. 85. 35, P. I 39 32

Varāhamūlakṣetra or Varāhakṣetra—(modern Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra) It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to Ādivarāha, R VI. 186, H C XII. 43, K R pp, 11-12 and SM pp 201-202

Varāhaparvata —(probably Bārāmūla in Kāśmīra) V Dh S 85 7

Varāha-sthānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣnu are Kokāmukha, Badarī and Lohārgala) Var. 140 4-5

Varāhatīrtha—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām 34 32, P I 26 15, B (under VS) P I. 37 6, K I 35.5, C (under Mathurā) Var 166 23 (there were four golden images of Varāha, Nārāyana, Vāmana, Rāghava), D (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1559, E (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34, F (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165. 10, G (on Narmadā) M. 193 74, K II. 42 14, P. I 20 71, H (on Payosnī) V 88. 7 and 9 (king Nrga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers), K II. 20 32, Vām. 90 4, I (under Go) B 79 6.

Varāheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 98.

Varaṇā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M 22 31, 183 62. Vide pp. 625-626 above, L I 92 87 calls it Varuṇā.

Vārāṇasī—Vide pp. 618-642 Though Kāśī and Vārāṇasī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp 624-626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Vārāṇasī on the western.

Varaṇāvatī—(r) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.

Vāraneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18 29

Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an *āyatana* of Vināyaka Gāngeya) NM 1161

Vāridhāra—(m) Bh V. 19. 16

Varnāśā—(r Banas in Rajputana rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Chambal) Br II 16. 28, see under Parnāśā

Varnu—(r.)Pān IV 2 103 (varnau vuk) Kāśikā explains that the country on Varnu was also called Varnu. This appears to be modern Bannu Varnu occurs in Suvāstvādi-gana. (IV. 2. 77)

Vārtraghnī—(r rising in Pāriyātra and falling into the sea) P VI. 131 56, 68, VI 164, 1 and 71, Mār 57 19, Vā 45. 97 reads Vrtraghnī and B. 27 28 Vātaghnī.

Varunasrotasa—(m) V 88 10

Varuṇā—(r tributary of the Go) P. VI 176 59

Vārunatīrtha—V. 83 164, 88. 13 (in Pāndya country), Bār Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).

Varuneśa—A (under VS) L q. by T K p 66, B (under Narmadā) M 191 6

Vāruneśvara—A (under VS) L. q by T K p. 103, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18 6

Vāsiṣtha-kunda—(under Lohārgala) Vār 151 40 There is a Vasiṣtha-kunda on the Alakanandā at Devaprayāga. Vide I G I vol XI. p 274.

Vasiṣṭhāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal 42 41

Vasiṣṭhāśrama—A (near Jyeṣṭheśvara in Kāśmīra) R I 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I pp 23-21), NM 1323, B (on mount Arbuda (which see) V 102 3; C (on Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102 3 (narrates that in Vasiṣṭhāśrama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmaṇas

and 9 *tāpasas* The location is uncertain.

Vasisthatīrtha—M 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).

Vasisthesa—(under VS) L q by T K p 47

Vāsisthī—V 84 48, P I 32 12 (same verse in both, but P reads Vāsistham)

Vasordhārā—V 82. 76, P I 24 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā)

Vastrāpathaksetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK VII 2 2 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivataka-ksetra is so called), VII 2 11 16 (it is four yojanas in extent) The holy river therein is Suvarnarekhā (which see)

Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42 6

Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p. 48

Vāsukitīrtha—A (under VS) P. I 39 79, L q. by T K. p. 48, B (under Prayāga) V 85 86 (also called Bhogavatī)

Vāsuprada—M 22 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal)

Vasutuñga—(Jagatpati is the *guhya* appellation of Visnu here) Nr. q by T. K p 251

Vata—A (in Prayāga) M 104 10, 111. 10, B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S 85 5

Vātanadī—M 22. 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).

Vateśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 191. 27, K II 41 19, P I 18 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag 109 20, B (under Gayā) Ag 115 73, P. I, 38 46, N II 47 59, C (under Prayāga) M 22 9, D (under Purusottama) N II. 56 28

Vāteśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. pp. 66

Vāteśvarapura P I. 38.46

Vātika—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1459

Vātodakā (r. in Pāndya country) Bh IV 28. 35

Vatsakrīḍanaka—(under Mathurā) Var 156 1

Vāyavyatīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 75

Vāyutīrtha—A (under VS) K. I 35. 5, P I 37 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag 116 5

Vedadhāra—(under Badarī) Var 141 20

Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a subtīrtha under Krsna-Venyā) TS p 78

Vedaśiras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M 22 71

Vedasmrti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu 165 25, M. 114, 23, Vā 45 97, Br II 16 27. Dey p 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Sindh, Br S 16.32 mentions it

Vedaśruti—(r after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II 49. 10

Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, Br II. 16 27, B 27. 29, Anu 165 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified There is a river called Vedāvatī or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tungabhadrā Vide I G I vol XIII p. 5.

Vedeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 44.

Vedītīrtha—(v l. Devītīrtha) P I. 26 92.

Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI 237. 9. Vide E I vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakotī pītha The form Vaigai appears in the Silappadikāram (Prof Dikshitar's tr p 270)

Venā—A (r rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M 114 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C P. and falls into Godāvari. B-r, rising from Sahya m.

near Mahabaleshwar The Pengangā falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p 22, vol XIII. p 229, vol XX. p 102 and the united stream of the Wainganga and Wardhā is known as Prāṇahitā which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī Vide I G I vol. 24 p 349, Bhī 9 20, 28, V, 85 32, 88 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X 79 12, Venā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇaveṇā or—Veṇyā or—Veṇī as in M 114. 29 Rājaśekhara in Kāvyamīmāṃsā p. 94 mentions 'Veṇā' and 'Kṛṣṇāveṇā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Pargiter p 303n for the various forms of this name.

Veṇāsaṅgama—V 85 34, P I 39 32

Veṇī—A (confluence of Gangā and Yamunā) Vide above p 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karnadeva in Kalacuri year 793 (i.e 1042 A D) in E I vol. II p 297 at p 310 (Veṇyām snātvā Trilocanam samabhyarcya), Kamauli plate of Jayacandra in E I IV. at p 123 (dated samvat 1330 i e, 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sahya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛṣṇā) TS p 78

Venkata—(m in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 26 deals with Veṅkatagiri-māhātmya), Bh. V. 19 16, X. 79. 13 (in Dravida), R. VI 280 19, SK III Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52 102; SK. I Vaisnavakhaṇḍa is Veṅkaṭācalamāhātmya The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala

Venumatī—(śrāddha thereon most efficacious) M 22 20

Veṇyā—(r rising from m. Sahya and falling into the Kṛṣṇā) Vām. 13 30, Anu. 165 22 (Godāvarī ca Veṇyā ca Kṛṣṇaveṇā tathāpi ca), Bh V. 19 18, P. VI. 113 25 (Mahādeva became Veṇyā)

Vetasikā—(r) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasī-Vetravatī-saṅgama)

Vetravatī—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 22 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Ṛkṣavat), K II. 20 35, Meghadūta (I. 24) says that Vidiśā (modern Bhilsā), the capital of Daśārṇa, was situated on Vetravatī; B (a tributary of the Sābhramatī) P. VI 130 and 133 4-5 In 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E. vol 35 p 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravatī is one This must be different from the above two

Vibhāṇḍeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 115

Vidarbhā-saṅgama—(under Go) B. 121 1 and 23, acc to AC p 152 Vidarbhā is the name of Kuṇḍinapura (r. 979)

Vidhīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 116

Vidiśā—A (r rising from Pāriyātra m) B 27 29, Br II 16 28, Mār. 54. 20 Vide Vetravati above, B—A city mentioned in Raghuvaṃśa 15 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Śatrughna, Śatrughātin and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidiśā), Meghadūta I. 24 states that Vidiśā was the capital of the Daśārṇa country In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidiśā river and later on Puṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidiśastha (i e Vaidiśa would mean a city on the Vidiśā). Vide Vaṇera plates of Kalacchuri Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i e about 609 A D) issued from 'Vaidiśa-vāsakāt vijaya

skandhāvārāt' (E. I vol XII at p 30

Vidyādhara—(under Gandakī and Śālagrāma) Var. 145 62

Vidyādhareśvara—(under VS) K I 35 11, P I. 37 14

Vidvara—(m) Devala q by T K p 250 Is it Vidūra ?

Vidyātīrtha—(same as Sandhyā) V 84. 52, P I 32 16

Vidyeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 49

Vihangeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 21. 1'

Vihāratīrtha—(of Madana, under Sarasvatī) Vām 42 10

Vijayeśvara—(modern Vijabror in pargana Vular in Kāśmīra) HC X. 191–195 (HC calls it mahākṣetra). Ain A. vol. II. p 356 refers to this. Vitastā is to its east and north, Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavatī to the south

Vijaya—(a linga) M 22 73, K. II 35.21

Vijaya-liṅga—(under VS) L q by T.K p. 112

Vijayeśa—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1210, R. I, 38, SM p 173, one of the most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It is less than two miles above Cakradhara

Vijayeśvara—A (in Kāśmīra) R I 105 and 113, B (under VS) L q by T.K p 76

Vijvareśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 43

Vikīrnatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 133. 7

Vimala—V 82. 87 (where silver and golden-coloured fish were found), P. I 24 35 (same verse in both)

Vimalā—(a city) P. IV 17 67 (destroys sins of numerous murders, just as Avantī and Kāñcī do)

Vimala—(a famous spring near Mārtānda temple in Kāśmīra), Vide Mārtānda p 780 above

Vimalāśoka—V. 84 69–70, P I. 32 33 (almost same verse in both)

Vimaleśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 56

Vimaleśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 190 14, 194 38–39, 22 8, K. II. 41 5 and II. 42 36, P I. 17. 11, B (under Sarasvatī) Vām 34. 15, P. VI 131 50

Vimocana—V 83 161, P. I 27 49

Vinaśana—(where Sarasvatī disappears in the great desert in Ambala and Sirhind in Punjab) It was known from Brāhmana period, vide pp 682 and 684 above and V 82 111, 130. 3–4 Śal. 37, 1 (śūdrābhīrān prati dvesāt yatra *nastā* Sarasvatī), K II 37 29, Br III 13. 69 Manu II. 21 mentions it as the eastern boundry of Madhyadeśa Devala q by T.K. p 250 speaks of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas Mbh (vol. I p. 475 on Pān II 4 10 and vol III p, 174 on Pān VI 3 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as eastern boundary of Āryāvarta The Kāśikā on Pān IV. 2 124 speaks of Ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at p 52) the exact position of Vinaśana is unknown, but Oldham surmises that it was not far from Sirsa.

Vināyakakunda—(under VS) L q by T K. p 53

Vināyakeśvara—(under VS) SK. IV 33. 126

Vindhya—one of the seven great mountain ranges of Bharatavarsa) V 313. 2, Bhī 9 11, Vā 77 34, M. 13 39, Bh V. 19. 16 It is the Ouindion of Ptolemy (p 77)

Vindhyavāsinī—(a Devīsthāna) M 13 39, Devī—Bh VII 38. 8

Vipāś—(modern Beas river in Punjab and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek writers) Rg III 33. 113, IV 30 11 The Nir IX. 26 explaining Rg X 75 5 states that Vipāś was originally called Urugñjirā, and then Ārjīkīyā and that when Vasistha threw him-

self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder Pāṇ. (IV. 2 74 'udak ca Vipāśaḥ') mentions Vipāś in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi. 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130, 8-9 (Viṛāśā here), Anu. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68 19, Vām 79.6, N II 60. 30

Vipratīrtha—(under Go) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyaṇa)

Vīrabhadreśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 87.

Viraja—A (country round Jājpur in Orissa) V 85 6; B (acc to Tīrthenduśekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Buldana District in Berar; C (on Sahya m. near Godāvarī and Bhīmā) B 161. 3,

Virajā—(r. in Orissa) K II 35. 25-26, Vām. q by T. K. p 235

Virajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oḍradeśa) B 28. 1-2

Virajatīrtha—(on Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B 42 1 (Viraje Virajā mātā brahmaṇī sampratiṣṭhitā), Vām. 22 19 (the southern *vedī* of Brahmā), Br III. 13 57. Vide T. P. pp 598-599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jājpur in Orissa

Virajādri—(under Gayā) Vā 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)

Vīrapatnī—(r) Rg. I. 104.4

Vīrapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bhṛgulinga

Vīrāśrama—V. 84 145 (where Kārtikeya resides)

Virasthala—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 14, 160 20

Virūpākṣa—A (Hampī) P V. 17. 103, SK., Brahmakhaṇḍa 52. 102; B (under VS) L q by T. K p 102

Viśākhayūpa—(near Kurukṣetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Vām. 81 9, Nr. 65 14 (Viṣṇu's *guhya* name is Viśveśa here)

Viśālā—A—same as Ujjayinī; Meghadūta I 30, vide under Avantī and Ujjayinī. A C says 'Ujjayinī syād—Viśālāvantī Puṣpakaraṇḍinī'; B (*aśrama* near Badarī) V 90.25, 139. 11, Anu 25 44, Bh. V 4.5, XI. 29. 47, C (under Gayā) Vām. 81 26-32 (a river), Ag 115 54, P. I 38 33

Viśālākhyavana—Mār. 106 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)

Viśālākṣī—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 115

Viśalyā—A (r) V. 84 14, B (under Narmadā) M. 186 43 and 46-48 (also called Viśalyakaraṇī), K II 40 27, P. I 13 39, Br III 13 12

Viṣaprastha—(*hill*) V 95 3 (near Gomatī probably)

Viṣṇucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvārakā) Var 149. 80 q. by T K. p 227

Viṣṇudhārā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 17

Viṣṇu-Gayā—P VI 176 41 (where there is Lonārakuṇḍa)

Viṣṇukāñcī—P VI *204 30*

Viṣṇupada—A (under Kurukṣetra) V. 83. 103, 130 8, NM 1238, B (lake on Niṣadha mountain) Br. II. 18 67, Vā 47 64, C (under Gayā) vide pp 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 also e and R D Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S B. vol. V pp 60-61 for Viṣṇupāda temple Inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign; D (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 42

Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gangā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17 1 Amarakośa mentions it as a synonym of Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā Viṣṇupadī Jahnu-tanayā)

Viṣṇusaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Gorikṣramaṇa) Var. 147 43

Viṣṇutīrtha—A (under Kokāmukha) Var 140 71-74; B (under Narmadā)

M 191. 99, K. II. 41 52 (it is Yodhīpuram Visnusthānam), P I 18. 94 (known as Yodhanīpura), C (under Go) B 136 1 and 41 (also called Maudgalya)

Visnutīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI 129 5-36

Viśokā—(r in Kāśmīra) modern Veśan NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC XII 35 NM. 307 says that Laksmī at the request of sage Kaśyapa became Viśokā, NM 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror, NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaundinī rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā

Viśrāntitīrtha—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167 1 ff, P VI 209 5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kamsa was killed by Krsna), B (a different ksetra from the above in Madhuvana, where Visnu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5

Viśvā—(r) Bh V. 19. 18

Viśvakarmeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K p 55

Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129, 8

Viśvāmitranadī—V. 89 9, Bhī. 9 26 (has Viśvāmitrā as a river)

Viśvāmitra—mahānada (in Punjab) NM 151

Viśvāmitrāśrama—Rām. I 26. 34

Viśvāmitratīrtha—A V 83. 139, B (under Go) B 93 4 and 27 (where Rāma honoured Viśvāmitra), P I 27. 28

Viśvamukha—(tīrtha on Jālandhara) Vide under Jālandhara p 758 and P. VI 129 26

Viśvapada—(a pitrtīrtha) M 22 35

Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I 37 2

Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)

Viśvavatī—same as Viśokā HC. X 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayeśvara)

Viśvedeveśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 87.

Viśveśvara—(one of five lingas in VS) K I 32 12 and II. 41.59, P. I. 34. 10, N II 51 4, vide pp 632-33 above, B (in Girikarna) P.VI. 129 10.

Viśvāvasveśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p. 116

Vitamsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E vol 35 p 171) Dey p 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason

Vitaṅkā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P II 92 33

Vitastā—(r in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Rg X 75 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Taksakanāga, V. 82 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Taksakanāga), 130, 20, K II 44 4, Vām 90 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i e 12 angulas and Satī came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). R V 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of king Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (9th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol II pp 329-336 and the note of Mr J C Chatterji challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)

Vitastā-Gambhīrā-sangama—SM. pp 101, 110

Vitastā-madhumatī-sangama—NM 1442

Vitastā-sindhu-sangama—(exceptional sanctity) R IV. 391, V 82 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga

Yamunāsangama—Var. 174 deals with its power.

Yamunātīrtha—Śal. 49. 11–16 (where Varuna performed Rājasūya), M. 108 23–24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6

Yamuneśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66; B (under Mathurā) Var 154 12

Yantreśvarā—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190 1.

Yaṣṭi—(under Gayā) N. II. 47 82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jethian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā

Yavatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88

Yāyātatīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām 39. 36, B (under VS) Śal. 41 32, P I 37.9

Yayātipatana—V 82 48, P I. 12. 8 (same words in both)

Yayātipura—(modern Jājpur) on the Vaitaraṇī river in Orissa, A G. p. 512. In E I. vol XI p 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jājpur.

Yayātiśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K. p 115.

Yogitīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var q. by T. K p. 210

Yonidvāra—(on the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94–95, P. I 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44 76–77

Yugandhara—A—a country or people acc. to Pāṇ IV. 2. 130 and the Kāsikā mentions it as one of Śālvāvayavas, B (a m) acc to Kāśikā on Pāṇ III 2 46. Vām 34 47 'Yugandhare dadhi prāsya usitvā cācyutasthale | tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātvā saputrā vastum-icchasi' Br S. 32 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TĪRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tīrthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from saṃsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or Travellers' Guides The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himālaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himālaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinchinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please

§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117–118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmanas) Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13–21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antalikita (Antialkidas) named Heliodora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 2nd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBBRAS vol. 23 p 104). Usavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I vol. VIII at p. 85) as a *śaka*, but made very extensive donations to brāhmanas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Usavadāta (Ṛsabhadatta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Ksaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūnas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowsons' 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II. pp. 162–163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59–65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्णुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषा स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धौतं शुभ्रं वास परिधाय (स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलक कृत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादिद्रव्येण तिलक कृत्वा) शिष्टसभा प्रार्थयेत्। सर्वे धर्मविवेकज्ञा ज्ञानशीलसमन्विता। विधिनाऽ परावर्त्य सद्याद्यः स्यां मनीषिभिः। इति। अथ शिष्टाः परावर्तिष्णोः (परावर्तिष्णूनां वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अत्यल्प-अल्प-गुरूणामन्यतमं प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चित्य 'ओं तथा। अमुकमायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनविधिना भवान् संगृहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयु। परावर्तिष्णवे नूतनं वासश्च दद्यु। स च तत्परिदध्यात्। तत परावर्तिष्णुरासने पूर्वाभिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानायम्य 'इह पृथिव्यां जम्बूद्वीपे भरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नर्मदाया उत्तरत) अमुकग्रामे अद्य अमुकनामसंवत्सरे अमुकमासे अमुकपक्षे अमुकतिथौ अमुकवासरे अमुकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मे परावर्तिष्णुरहं क्षिप्टैरुपदिष्टं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्। सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणत. परावर्तिष्णुमुपवेश्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणि. प्राणानायम्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत्। 'ओं गणाना त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तमम्। ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मणस्पत आ न शृण्वन्नूतिभि सीद सादनम्॥' इति प्रार्थयेत्। 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नम। निर्विघ्नं कुरु' इति नमेत्। ततो देशकालौ सकीर्त्य 'इह पृथिव्या... नक्षत्रे अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो. परावर्तनविधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात्। 'अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मण. पुण्याह भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत्। शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयु। आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयु। आचार्य 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मण ऋद्धिं भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। शिष्टा. 'ओं कर्म ऋध्यताम्' इति प्रतिब्रूयु। तत. शिष्टान्सत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विसर्जयेत्। तत आचार्यो गोमयालिप्ते शुद्धे स्थले शुद्धमृदा चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमात्रं समचतुरस्रं चतुरङ्गुलोच्चं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा अग्युक्ष्य तत्र, ओं भूर्भुव स्व. प्रवेशकनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वाग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयेत्। प्रोक्षितेन्धनानि निक्षिप्य धमन्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्ने वैश्वानर शाण्डिल्यगोत्र मेषध्वज मम सप्तखो वरदो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत्। अग्निं परिसमुह्य परिस्तीर्य पर्युक्ष्य प्रादेशमात्र पञ्चदशसिध्म प्रादेशमात्रं बर्हिश्च संनह्याग्नेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात्। तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमिं प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बर्हिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यस्थालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णा निदधाति। दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वीमग्नौ निष्टप्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्भाग्रैर्दर्वीबिलं संमार्ष्टि दर्भमूलैश्च दर्वीमूलम्। पुनर्निष्टप्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बर्हिषि निदधाति। समार्गदर्भानग्नौ प्रहरेत्। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेध्मं संस्थाप्य दर्व्याज्येन मूलमध्याग्रेष्वभिधार्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अय त इध्म आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेध्यस्व वर्धस्व चेन्धि वर्धय चास्मान्प्रजया पशुभिर्ब्रह्मवर्चसेनान्नाद्येन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणाग्नावभ्याधाय 'जातवेदसेऽग्नय इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत्। दर्व्याज्यमादाय स्थण्डिलस्य वायव्यकोणमारभ्याग्नेयकोणपर्यन्तमखण्डधारयाऽग्नौ जुहोति। पुनर्दर्व्याज्यमादाय नैर्ऋतकोणमारभ्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव जुहोति। तूष्णीमेताचाघारहोमौ। पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्नावुत्तरभागे जुहोति। अग्नय इद न ममेति त्याग। पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्नौ दक्षिणभागे जुहोति। 'सोमायेद न मम' इति त्याग। अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्णुराचार्यस्य दक्षिणत. प्रह्व कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते। 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम्। हिन्दुरसानि' इति। आचार्य 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात्। तत आचार्य. अग्न्यग्नि कृताञ्जलौ तिष्ठति प्रविविक्षौ (अथवा कृताञ्जलिषु प्रविविक्षुषु) दर्व्या आज्येन चतुर्भिर्मन्त्रैश्चतस्र प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति। 'ओं भू. स्वाहा। अग्नय इदं न मम। ओं भुव स्वाहा। वायव इद न मम। ओं स्व स्वाहा। सूर्यायेदं न मम। ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा। प्रजापतय इदं न मम।। अथासीन प्रविविक्षु अग्नौ समिधमाधाय प्रदीताया तस्या दर्व्या आज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीर्जुहोति। ओं उद्वयं तमसस्परि पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम्। देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमगन्म ज्योतिरुत्तमं स्वाहा। सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम॥ ओं उद्यन्नद्य मित्रमह आरोहन्नुत्तरा दिवम्। हृद्रोगं मम सूर्य हरिमाणं च नाशय स्वाहा। सूर्यायेदं न मम। ओं असतो मा सद्गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इद न मम। ओं तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इद न मम। ओं मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमय स्वाहा। परमात्मन इदं न मम इति।

अथाचार्य. प्रविविक्षु स्वदक्षिणत उपवेश्य होमशेषं समापयेत्। ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यद्वा न्यूनमिहाकरम्। अग्निष्टत् स्विष्टकृद्विद्यात् सर्वं स्विष्ट सुहुतं करोतु मे॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुहुतहुते सर्वहुत आहुतीना कामाना समर्धयित्रे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं जुहोति। 'अग्नये

स्विष्टकृत इदं न मम' इति त्याग.। इध्मबन्धनरज्जुमग्नावभ्याधाय सस्राव जुहोति। 'ओं विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहा' इति। 'विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदं न मम' इति त्यागः।

तत आचार्यः प्रविविक्षुणा (अथवा प्रविविक्षुभिः) सह कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन्नपति। 'ओं च मे स्वरश्च मे यज्ञेन च ते नमश्च। यत्ते न्यून तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्त तस्मै ते नम। श्रद्धां मेधां यशः प्रज्ञां विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रिय बलम्। आयुष्यं तेज आरोग्य देहि मे हव्यवाहन।' इति।

ततो होमावशिष्टं गोघृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविविक्षवे (अथवा प्रविविक्षुभ्यः प्रत्येक) दद्यात्। प्रविविक्षुश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्नीयात्। ततः स्थण्डिलस्थां विभूतिमाचार्यः प्रविविक्षुश्च ललाटे धारयेताम्।

तत आचार्यस्तिष्ठन् दर्व्या तीर्थोदकं गृहीत्वा 'ओम्' इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रविविक्षुशिरसि 'ओं आप उन्दन्तु जीवसे दीर्घायुत्वाय वर्चसे' 'ओं' इति मन्त्राभ्यां सकृत् मोक्षेत्।

तत. शिष्टै. प्रविविक्षोर्व्यवहारिकं किंचिन्नाम कार्यम्। तत प्रविविक्षुहस्ते भगवद्गीतापुस्तक दत्त्वा साधारणधर्म', दैवासुरसम्पत्तिः, अध्यात्म चोपदेष्टव्यानि। तत प्रविविक्षुः कृताञ्जलिस्तिष्ठन् वदेत्। 'भवद्भिरनुगृहीतोऽहं धर्मे मनो निधाय प्रवर्तिष्ये। ओं ओं ओं।' ततो भगवन्त सूर्यं दृष्ट्वा नमस्कृत्य प्रार्थयेत्। 'ओं सा मा सत्योक्तिः परिपातु विश्वतो द्यावा च यत्र ततनन्नहानि च। विश्वमन्यन्निविशते यदेजति विश्वाहापो विश्वाहोदेति सूर्यः॥' इति।

तत आचार्योऽग्ने. पश्चात् प्रविविक्षुणा (प्रविविक्षुभि वा) सहोपविश्य 'अनेन विधिना सर्वोद्धारक. श्रीसूर्यनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमाप्तिं सोदक ब्रूयात्। 'ओं तत्सत्' इत्युक्त्वा हिराचामेत्। तत. सर्वेभ्य' प्रसादं दत्त्वा सभा विसर्जयेत्।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharmanirnayamandala, Lonavla The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the Aryasamaj gives (on pp. 221–222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body.

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above at pp 191–201.

Note 441. ऋ १० १४. यरैयिवासं प्रवतो महीरनु बहुभ्य. पन्थामनुपस्पशानम्। वैवस्वतं सङ्गमनं जनानां यम राजानं हविषा दुवस्य॥ १ यमो नो गातु प्रथमो विवेद नेषा गव्यूतिरपभर्तवा उ। यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितर. परेयुरेना जज्ञानाः पथ्या३ अनु स्वा॥ २ मातली कव्यैर्यमो अङ्गिरोभिर्बृहस्पतिर्ऋक्वभिर्वावृधान। याश्च देवा वावृधुर्ये च देवान्त्स्वाहान्ये स्वधयान्ये मदन्ति॥ ३ इम यम प्रस्तरमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संविदान। आ त्वा मन्त्राः कविशस्ता वहन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभिर्यम वैरूपैरिह मादयस्व। विवस्वन्तं हुवे य पिता तेऽस्मिन्यज्ञे बर्हिष्या निषद्य॥ ५ अङ्गिरसो न पितरो नवग्वा अथर्वाणो भृगव सोम्यास.। तेषा वयं सुमतौ यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सौमनसे स्याम॥ ६ प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभिः पूर्व्येभिर्यत्रा न. पूर्वे पितरः परेयु.। उभा राजाना स्वधया मदन्ता यम पश्यासि वरुण च देवम्॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभि स यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन्। हित्वायावद्य पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः॥ ८ अपेत वीत वि च सर्पतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरो लोकमक्रन्। अहोभिरद्भिरक्तुभिर्व्यक्तं यमो ददात्यवसानमस्मै॥ ९ अति द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा। अथा पितॄन्सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति॥ १० यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ। ताभ्यामेनं परि देहि राजन्त्स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीव च धेहि॥ ११ उरूणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बलौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनाँ अनु। तावस्मभ्यं दृशये सूर्याय पुनर्दातामसुमद्येह भद्रम्॥ १२ यमाय सोमं सुनुत यमाय जुहुता हवि यमं ह यज्ञो गच्छत्यग्निदूतो अरंकृत.॥ १३ यमाय घृतवद्धविर्जुहोत प्र च तिष्ठत। स नो देवेष्वा यमद्दीर्घमायु प्रजीवसे॥ १४ यमाय मधुमत्तम राज्ञे हव्यं जुहोतन। इदं नम ऋषिभ्य पूर्वजेभ्य पूर्वेभ्य. पथिकृद्भ्यश्च॥ १५ त्रिकद्रुकेभिः पतति षळुर्वीरकामिदृहत्। त्रिष्टुब्गायत्री छन्दासि सर्वा ता यम आहिता॥ १६

ऋग्वेद १०. १५. उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः। असुं य ईयुरवृका ऋतज्ञास्ते नोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेषु ॥ १ इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्य ये पूर्वासो य उपरास ईयुः। ये पार्थिवे रजस्या निषत्ता ये वा नूनं सुवृजनासु विक्षु ॥ २ आहं पितॄन्त्सुविदत्राँ अवित्सि नपातं च विक्रमणं च विष्णोः। बर्हिषदो ये स्वधया सुतस्य भजन्त पित्वस्त इहागमिष्टा ॥ ३ बर्हिषद्पितर ऊत्य१र्वागिमा वो हव्या चकृमा जुषध्वम्। त आ गतावसा शंतमेनाथा नः शं योररपो दधात ॥ ४ उपहूताः पितरः सोम्यासो बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु। त आ गमन्तु त इह श्रुवन्त्वधि ब्रुवन्तु तेऽवन्त्वस्मान् ॥ ५ आच्या जानु दक्षिणतो निषद्येमं यज्ञमभिगृणीत विश्वे। मा हिंसिष्ट पितर केनचिन्नो यद्व आगः पुरुषता कराम ॥ ६ आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रयिं धत्त दाशुषे मर्त्याय। पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य वस्वः प्र यच्छत त इहोर्जं दधात ॥ ७ ये नः पूर्वे पितर सोम्यासोऽनूहिरे सोमपीथं वसिष्ठा। तेभिर्यमः संरराणो हवींष्युशन्नुशद्भिः प्रतिकाममत्तु ॥ ८ ये तातृषुर्देवत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदः स्तोमतष्टासो अर्कैः। आग्ने याहि सुविदत्रेभिरर्वाङ् सत्यैः कव्ये पितृभिर्घर्मसद्भिः ॥ ९ ये सत्यासो हविरदो हविष्पा इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं दधाना। आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः परैः पूर्वैः पितृभिर्घर्मसद्भिः ॥ १० अग्निष्वात्ता पितर एह गच्छत सद सद सदत सुप्रणीतयः। अत्ता हवींषि प्रयतानि बर्हिष्यथा रयिं सर्ववीरं दधातन ॥ ११ त्वमग्न ईळितो जातवेदोऽवाड्ढव्यानि सुरभीणि कृत्वा। प्रादाः पितृभ्य स्वधया तेऽक्षन्नद्धि त्वं देव प्रयता हवींषि ॥ १२ ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह याश्च विद्म याँ उ च न प्रविद्म। त्वं वेत्थ यति ते जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञं सुकृतं जुषस्व ॥ १३ ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिव स्वधया मादयन्ते। तेभिः स्वराळसुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्वं कल्पयस्व ॥ १४

ऋ. १०. १५. मैनमग्ने वि दहो माभि शोचो मास्य त्वचं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरम्। यदा शृतं कृणवो जातवेदोऽथेमेनं प्रहिणुतात्पितृभ्य ॥ १ शृतं यदा करसि जातवेदोऽथेमेनं परि दत्तात्पितृभ्यः। यदा गच्छात्यसुनीतिमेतामथा देवानां वशनीर्भवाति ॥ २ सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा। अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः ॥ ३ अजो भागस्तपसा तं तपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपतु तं ते अर्चिः। यास्ते शिवास्तन्वो जातवेदस्ताभिर्वहैनं सुकृतामु लोकम् ॥ ४ अव सृज पुनरग्ने पितृभ्यो यस्त आहुतश्चरति स्वधाभिः। आयुर्वसान उप वेतु शेषः स गच्छतां तन्वा जातवेदः ॥ ५ यत्ते कृष्ण शकुन आतुतोद पिपील. सर्प उत वा श्वापदः। अग्निष्टद्विश्वादगदं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश ॥ ६ अग्नेर्वर्म परि गोभिर्व्ययस्व सं प्रोर्णुष्व पीवसा मेदसा च। नेत्त्वा धृष्णुर्हरसा जर्हृषाणो दधृग्विधक्ष्यन् पर्यङ्ङयाते ॥ ७ इममग्ने चमसं मा वि जिह्वर. मियो देवानामुत सोम्यानाम्। एष यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन्देवा अमृता मादयन्ते ॥ ८ क्रव्यादमग्निं प्र हिणोमि दूरं यमराज्ञो गच्छतु रिप्रवाह। इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा देवेभ्यो हव्यं वहतु प्रजानन् ॥ ९ यो अग्निं क्रव्यात्प्रविवेश वो गृहमिमं पश्यञ्जितर जातवेदसम्। तं हरामि पितृयज्ञाय देवं स धर्मभिन्वात्परमे सधस्थे ॥ १० यो अग्निः क्रव्यवाहनः पितॄन्यक्षदृतावृधः। प्रेदु हव्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥ ११ उशन्तस्त्वा नि धीमह्युशन्तः समिधीमहि। उशन्नुशत आ वह पितॄन्हविषे अत्तवे ॥ १२ य त्वमग्ने समदहस्तमु निर्वापया पुनः। कियाम्बत्र रोहतु पाकदूर्वा व्यल्कशा ॥ १३ शीतिके शीतिकावति ह्लादिके ह्लादिकावति। मण्डूकपा३र्णि सुसं गम इमं स्व१र्णिं हर्षय १४

ऋ. १०. १७ त्वष्टा दुहित्रे वहतुं कृणोतीतीदं विश्वं भुवनं समेति। यमस्य माता पर्युह्यमाना महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश ॥ १ अपागूहन्नमृतां मर्त्येभ्य कृत्वी सवर्णामदधुर्विवस्वते। उताश्विनावभरद्यत्तदासीदजहाद्द्वा मिथुना सरण्यूः ॥ २ पूषा त्वेतश्च्यावयतु प्र विद्वाननष्टपशुर्भुवनस्य गोपाः। स त्वैतेभ्य. परि ददत्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्देवेभ्य. सुविदत्रियेभ्यः ॥ ३ आयुर्विश्वायुः परि पासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पातु प्रपथे पुरस्तात्। यत्रासते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता दधातु ॥ ४ पूषेमा आशा अनु वेद सर्वाः सो अस्माँ अभयतमेन नेषत्। स्वस्तिदा आघृणिः सर्ववीरोऽप्रयुच्छन्पुर एतु प्रजानन् ॥ ५ प्रपथे पथामजनिष्ट पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः। उभे अभि प्रियतमे सधस्थे आ च परा च चरति प्रजानन् ॥ ६ सरस्वतीं देवयन्तो हवन्ते सरस्वतीमध्वरे तायमाने। सरस्वती सुकृतो अह्वयन्त सरस्वती दाशुषे वार्यं दात् ॥ ७ सरस्वति या सरथं ययाथ स्वधाभिर्देवि पितृभिर्मदन्ती। आसद्यास्मिन् बर्हिषि मादयस्वानमीवा इष आ धेह्यस्मे ॥ ८ सरस्वती यां पितरो हवन्ते दक्षिणा यज्ञमभिनक्षमाणाः। सहस्रार्घमिळो अत्र भागं रायस्पोषं

यजमानेषु धेहि ॥ २ आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतप्वः पुनन्तु । विश्वं हि रिप्रं प्रवहन्ति देवीरुदिदाभ्यः शुचिरा पूत एमि ॥ ३० द्रप्सश्चस्कन्द प्रथमाँ अनु द्यूनिमं च योनिमनु यश्च पूर्वः । समानं योनिमनु संचरन्तं द्रप्सं जुहोम्यनु सप्त होत्राः ॥ ३१ यस्ते द्रप्सः स्कन्दति यस्ते अंशुर्बाहुच्युतो धिषणाया उपस्थात् । अध्वर्योर्वा परि वा च. पवित्रात्ते जुहोमि मनसा वषट्कृतम् ॥ ३२ यस्ते द्रप्सः स्कन्दो यस्ते अंशुरवश्च य पर. सुचा । अयं देवो बृहस्पतिः सं तं सिञ्चतु राधसे ॥ ३३ पयस्वतीरोषधय. पयस्वन्मामकं वच. । अपां पयस्वदित्पयस्तेन मा सह शुन्धत ॥ ३४

ऋ. १०. १८ परं मृत्यो अनु परेहि पन्थां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते ब्रवीमि मा न. प्रजां रीरिषो मोत वीरान् ॥ १ मृत्यो. परं मृत्योऽ

शुद्धिः पूर्वसमासितः सदृशयोर्योगेऽग्निदं सूतिकां
हित्वैवं मृतजन्मनोर्भृतवशाद्भूर्वल्पयोर्दीर्घतः ।
अल्पात्पञ्चदिनाधिकाद्दशदिनीं गच्छेद्वदशाहागमः
पूर्वस्यात्यदिने यदि द्विदिवसाच्छुध्येत्प्रभाते ऽयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पन्ने त्रिदिनं मृतेऽप्युपनयाद्ऊर्ध्वं समानोदके
पुत्रे चैवमनौरसेऽन्यपितृजे प्रेते तथा सोदरे ।
मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृश्वशुरतत्पत्न्यार्त्विगाचार्यतद्—
भार्या-तत्सुतयाज्यशिष्यगृहसमासेषु वा ज्ञातिषु ॥ ६

पित्रोस्तत्सहजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वन्योन्यतः पक्षिणी
स्यादेकाध्ययनेऽपि सा गुरुसुहृद्भ्रूपुत्रसूर्येष्वहः ।
स्पृष्ट्वास्थि त्रिदिनं दिनं तु विरसेऽलुप्ता स्रवाचामकौ
शिष्ट भोक्तरधेन्नशुद्ध्यवधिक मोहाद्दिनं चापदि ॥ ७

सद्यः स्यादुपकारदासभिषजां कृत्येष्वमात्यस्य वा
कष्टापत्सु च पूर्वसम्भृतमखोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।
कृच्छ्रादिष्वथ गृहाश्रमेषु वसतां प्रेते यतौ निन्दिते
गोभायादिभिरिच्छता च मरणे तत्रापि वैधे ऽयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे मृतवन्मृताऽरहिते त्रीण्यन्यवासे दिन
सज्योतिस्तु बहिर्भृतौ द्विमुणितं धर्मे सचैलाप्लवः ।
रोदे स्नानमनस्थि वाचमनक हीनेषु राज्याक्षरौ
शूद्रे तु त्रिदिनं निशाप्यनुगतौ बहून्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिर्विशि निशा. त्रिंशच्च शूद्रे क्रमाद्—
विप्राद्द्वित्रिचतुर्गुणा वयसि सच्छूद्रे तु पञ्चाक्षुरे ।
प्रत्ताक्रीसुतशिष्यदासभृतका भ्रात्रादिवद् बान्धवे
हीने स्वं लघु वा तदीयमधिके शूद्रे. समा. सङ्करः ॥ १०

The text of the आशौचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879-80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A D.), No. 196 of 1884-1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A D.) and No 85 of 1895-1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Harihara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर In the first ms the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.

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OF
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hastas) in all directions from the shrine of Viśveśvara 628, āyatanas, fourteen named 640, belief that dying in Banaras freed one from samsāra, led the old and decrepit to crowd in K. and persons about to die were removed to the banks of the Ganges 626, called Jitvarī by traders 621, construction and endowment of *mathas* at K. highly eulogised 639, conclusions drawn from the stories in the Epic and Purāṇas that Banaras was once a centre of non-Aryan worship criticized 622-623; Daśāśvamedhaghāt famed for centuries 634-635, derivation and significance of the name Kāśī 625; eulogies of greatness and uniqueness of K cover thousands of verses 629, famed for the qualities of its cloth in the second century B. C. 619, first called Ānandakānana and then Avimukta 624; five questions about K. asked by sages to Bhrgu in the Padmapurāna 623; for devotees of Śiva there is no other remedy even in great calamities or incurable diseases than touching the water of the feet of the image of God 641, Ganeśas are 56 at K. 638; ghāts in Banaras for at least a thousand years 634-637, hardly any other city in the world can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras 618; hyperbolic descriptions of the results of bathing and dying in Kāśī in the Purāṇas 629-630, in the times of Buddha, Banaras was a great and famous city like Rājagrha, Śāketa, Śrāvasti 621, individual tīrthas in K. described 632-640; it is said that mere residence in K till death not only frees a man from such sins as brāhmana-murder, but also frees him from the cycle of births and deaths 566, is called Ānandakānana because it gives joy to Śiva 626, Jābālopanisad gives an esoteric meaning to Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī 625-626; Jain works like the Kalpasūtra say that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras 621, Jñānavāpī, origin and importance of 638; Kapālamocanaghāt at K. is ancient 639; Kāśīkhanda, a part of Skandapurāna, devotes 15000 verses to Banaras and subtīrthas 623, known under five names from ancient times viz. Vārānasī, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmasāna or Mahāśmasāna 624; lauded and described at great length in several Purāṇas 623; lingas and tīrthas at K. mentioned in some purāṇas are numerous 639-40; Lolārka is one of the twelve shrines of the Sun in K 633n, 634; Manikarnikā pool is the most holy among tīrthas at K. 635, mantras recited when contemplating Manikarnikā 633, Mlecchas, insects, birds, beasts, worms after death in K. find happiness 630, by identifying Asi and Varanā with Idā and other nādīs mystic flavour is imparted to those names 631; name Avimukta, derived and explained in two ways 626, name Śmasāna or Mahāśmasāna due to various causes 626-627, name Vārānasī is derived from the two rivers Varanā (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city 625, name was spelt as Benares up to recent times, but now it is spelt as Banaras 618, Nāradīyapurāna says that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Śaiva-ksetra 622n, Nārāyanabhatta says that in the case of Viśveśvaralinga there is no blemish due to the touch of the untouchable 633, one should not commit the slightest sin in K. as punishment is relatively far heavier 638, Pañcagangā-ghāt, so called because five rivers, Kiranā

Dhūtapāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet there 636, Pañcakrośī pilgrimage by road is held the most meritorious of all and is described in detail 637, Pañcatīrthī (five essential tīrthas) named and described 633–634, present temple of Viśvanātha was built by Ahalyabai Holkar 633, questions about Banaras asked in the Skandapurāna 624; residents of K must repair to the river every day, take a bath in Manikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara 640, rules of conduct (particularly moral) for those who dwell in K 638–639, results of sins committed outside K but sinner dying in K, and of sins committed in K by one who dies outside K 640–41, several images of Keśava existed at K. 636n, śrāddha should be performed at K 639, stotra of Durgā called Vajrapañjara 638, sub-tīrthas at K. are numerous 638, temple of Bhairavanātha, supposed to be *kotwal* of K., who wields a thick stone cudgel 638, temple of Durgā at K very popular and much frequented 638, temple of Sākṣi-Vināyaka 637, temple of Tārakeśvara near Manikarnikā 635, temple of Viśvanātha re-established by Nārāyanabhatta about 1585 A. D. was desecrated by Aurangzeb 631–32, there are about 1500 temples in K built during the last 225 years, 632, there is in Kāśī a holy place at every step and there is not even as much space as a sesamum grain which has not a *linga* 631, there were one hundred temples in K. in Hiouen Thsang's time and in one of them there was a copper image of Mahādeva about 100 feet high 631, though cremation of corpses is continually going on, yet Banaras, owing to the Ganges, is held purest 626, though Kāśī, Vārānasī and Avimukta are generally used as synonyms, sometimes a distinction is made in their extent 627–629, traditions of great learning associated with K as vouched for by Kāśīkhanda, Alberuni and Ain-i-Akbari 641–642, Vācaspati held that Avimukteśvara-liṅga is the same as Viśvanātha, but the Skandapurāna treats them as distinct 633, Vanaparva states that by visiting Avimukta and by a bath there pilgrim becomes free from the sin of brāhmana murder and by dying there secures mokṣa 629, Vārānasī was burnt by Nikumbha, a gana of Śiva and was re-established by Divodāsa 620, Visnu is said by Kāśīkhanda to have assigned a place called Dharmakṣetra to the north of Kāśī and stayed there in the form of Buddha 641, Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal temple in it and every resident is required every day to take a bath in the Gangā and visit Viśveśvara 692, was burnt by Krsna with his *cakra* in pursuit of a *krtyā* 622, was the capital of Brahmadatta kings according to the Jātakas and Purāṇas 621, was the capital of the Kāśis 619, was the name of a country long before the Śat Br. was composed 619, yātrās of great liṅgas should be celebrated every month from the first *tithi* onwards 640

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to be most holy devatīrthas by Brahmapurāna 567, some digests state that a pilgrim has to wear the *kārpaṭī* dress at all tīrthas when he is actually travelling, while others say that he has to do so only at Gayā 573, some purānas say that some virtues may be called mental tīrthas and purity of mind is the highest tīrtha 563, some say that tonsure and fast are necessary at all tīrthas except at Kurukṣetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā 574; śrāddha has to be performed at most famous tīrthas, but from the procedure of śrāddha are omitted arghya, āvāhana, entering the thumb of the invited brāhmana in the food served, the question about being satiated and vikira 616, śrāddha may be performed at any time after a pilgrim reaches the tīrtha 616, śrāddha at tīrthas consists, if the whole procedure cannot be followed, in offering pindas of barley meal or rice cooked in milk, cake of sesame or jaggery and one should offer a single pinda to all relatives after pārvanaśrāddha and another pinda for servants, slaves, cattle, trees etc, 616-617, tended to foster the idea of the fundamental unity of India and Indian culture 553, tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers and shrines 553; three grounds on which tīrthas are said to be holy 554–555, tonsure and fast are not obligatory but only kāmya according to kalpataru but otherwise according to others 573–575, t, sacrifices and various gifts are the means of cleansing the mind 563, t yields full fruit only if performed bare-footed 576, t yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas 563, use of bullock-cart condemned in Matsyapurāna as leading to hell and of other conveyances (not drawn by bulls) as fruitless, but Kūrma recommends to those who are unable to walk conveyances drawn by mules, horses or men 576, use of a conveyance is according to Kalpataru condemned only in pilgrimage to Prayāga 576, use of a vessel allowed 577, view that the institution of t was first started by Buddhists and Jains is wrong 558; was deemed very early to be a way of redemption of sins for men and women 569, was favoured by writers on Dharmaśāstra by prescribing that no money was to be demanded by a ferryman or a toll officer from a pilgrim, from a pregnant woman, from a vedic student, forest hermit or ascetic, but this was not followed even by Hindu kings 571, whether tonsure at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is obligatory 573, who are eligible for or have adhikāra for t 567–571, widows, ascetics and śūdras have to cut all hair on pilgrimage 575, women could not undertake t without husband's permission 569, works on, repel by their over-statements and exaggerations, when they state that pilgrimage to a particular tīrtha will yield all one's desires in this world and the next, that even gods secured perfection at Puskara, that Prthūdaka is the holiest of tīrthas etc. 565–566

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA PANDURANG VAMAN KANE,

M. A., LL. M., D. Litt. (All.), M. P.

SENIOR ADVOCATE, SUPREME COURT OF INDIA, AND ADVOCATE, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY, FELLOW OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, AUTHOR OF 'HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS' ETC.

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(VRATAS, UTSAVAS AND KĀLA ETC.)

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Publisher's Note

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has great pleasure in publishing the first part of the fifth and last volume of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane's monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* This part comprises two sections The first section deals at length with many important vratas and utsavas such as Krsnajanmāstamī, Durgotsava, Diwāli, Sankrānti. Mahāśivarātrī, Holikā, and also includes brief notices of about 1100 vratas, pūjās and utsavas with references, the second section deals with Kāla (Time), and its philosophic conceptions from Vedic times downwards; Indian Astronomy and Astrology and the theories of Western scholars about them; naksatras and astrology based on them; *muhūrtas* and their employment in religious rites; the Zodiacal signs; planets and week-days, principles laid down in Indian astrological works, calendar, eras and intercalary month; Yuga, Manvantara and Kalpa; Yoga and Karana; and reform of our calendar.

The second part of this volume will treat of such topics as śāntis-Vedic and post-Vedic; Purānas and their influence on Dharmaśāstra, society and Buddhism; Tantras and Dharmaśāstra'; Pūrvamīmāmsā and other darśanas in relation to Dharmaśāstra, cosmology; the theory of *punarjanma*; the essential characteristics of our culture through the ages, and future trends.

All prefatory matter, including list of abbreviations, brief synopsis of the contents, list of works consulted, etc., as also General Index for the whole volume, will be given in the second part, which we hope to publish before long.

R. N. DANDEKAR
Honorary Secretary.

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SECTION I

VRATAS (Religious Vows) and UTSAVAS (Religious Festivals)

CHAPTER I

VRATA IN THE RGVEDA

Vrata is one of many Sanskrit words, the use and history of which extend over several thousand years The derivation and semantic development of the word vrata have been the subject of great controversies. These questions have been dealt with by me at some length in the JBBRAS, vol 29 (1954) pp. 1–28. I shall here summarise the discussion contained therein.

In the great St. Petersburg Dictionary the word vrata is derived from the root 'vr' (to choose) and the important senses of the word given in that Dictionary are: (1) will, command, law, prescribed order; (2) subservience, obedience, service; (3) domain; (4) order, regulated succession, realm; (5) calling, office, customary activity, carrying on, custom; (6) religious duty, worship, obligation; (7) any undertaking, religious or ascetic performance or observance, vow, sacred work; (8) vow in general, fixed purpose; (9) other specialized senses Max Muller derived it from *vr* 'to protect' and held that it meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, then what is settled or determined, law, ordinance and then 'sway or power'. Whitney, in a note on this word in the Proceedings published in J. A O. S. vol. XI pp. 29–31, after setting out the treatment of the word in the St Petersburg Dictionary, brushed aside Max Muller's etymology as unsatisfactory and as possessing little plausibility and declared that he did not accept the derivation of the word from *vr* 'to choose', that 'vr' did not signify willing or command, but only choice or preference, though he admitted that there is a relationship between 'choose' and 'command'. He objected that '*ta*' as an affix (except in the formation of past passive participles) was very rare and that the only analogous word he could think of would be 'marta' from 'mr' to die. He preferred to derive the word from 'vrt' 'to proceed' and, though he admitted that the form vrata from 'vrt' with affix *a* would be exceptional, he thought that the words 'vraja' and 'trada' supported the derivation and put forward the ground that the word 'vrata' occurs

frequently in the Rgveda with verbs of motion such as '*car*', '*saśc*' or '*sac*'.

Prof. V. M Apte contributed a long article on vrata to the 3rd volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona (pp. 407–488) Prof Apte agreed with Whitney in deriving the word vrata from 'vṛt', boldly asserted that the derivation of the word from 'vṛ' to choose or 'vṛ' to guard or enclose is impossible (p 410), that there *is not a single vrata passage* in the Rgveda which favours the meaning 'will, command, obedience or fixed purpose', that 'vṛt' not only means 'to proceed' (as Whitney holds) but also 'to turn, to turn oneself, turn round, revolve, move on' and that therefore 'vrata' means not only procedure, course of action, conduct, but also 'circular movement' and then 'route or circular path' (pp. 411–412).

My own view is that both Whitney and Prof Apte are wrong in deriving the word *vrata* from 'vṛt'. I further hold that passages in which 'vṛt' occurs with *upasargas* such as *abhi*, *ā*, *ni*, *pari*, *pra* or *vi*, would not be helpful in determining the *original meaning of* 'vṛt' by itself, since *upasargas often* totally change the meaning of the root[1], that it is doubtful whether the root 'vṛt' standing by itself means in the Rgveda 'to proceed' (as Whitney thought) and I deny that 'vṛt' occurring by itself without *upasargas* in the Rgveda ever means 'to turn round, move on' (as Prof Apte asserts) In my opinion the root 'vṛt' by itself (and not used in a causal or frequentative sense) means simply 'to be, to remain, to abide' Occurrences of the root 'vṛt' without any upasarga before or after it are few in the Rgveda. Some typical examples may be given 'When, O Indra, thou didst strike down the wiles of Svarbhānu (the demon Rāhu) that remained below the sky[2]' (Rg V 40. 6), 'the wheel does not affect (jolt) your chariot (O Aśvins!) that is followed by songs one after another and that remains possessed of food' (Rg VIII. 5. 34); 'they (the dice) remain downwards (lie down on the board or ground) but they throb or strike above (i. e they shake or terrify the hearts of gamblers), though they have no hands yet they defeat those that are endowed with hands' (Rg X. 34 9). Vide also Rg X. 27 19, X 107 11 for other verses where 'vṛt'

1. उपसर्गेण धात्वर्थो बलादन्यत्र नीयते। नीहाराहारसंहारमतिहारमहारवत्॥

2. स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन्। ऋ V 40 6; एवं वामहगायसं य इषा वर्तते सह। न चक्रमभि बाधते॥ ऋ VIII 5, 34, नीचा वर्तन्त उपरि स्फुरन्त्यहस्तासो हस्तवन्त सहन्ते। ऋ. X. 34. 9.

occurs without an *upasarga* and means 'to remain or abide'. Even with an upasarga like 'sam' *vṛt* means simply 'to be or to abide' and not 'revolve or turn' or 'move on'. Vide Rg. VI. 41. 2, X. 90. 14, X. 121. 1 and 7, X. 129 4, in which 'sam-vartatām' or 'samavartata' simply means 'let it remain' or 'it was or existed'. Simply because 'vṛt' with '*abhi*' means 'to turn towards or attack' (as in Rg. IV. 43 5 or V. 31. 5) or with '*ni*' means 'come down or return' (as in Rg X. 19. 1, 3, 5, X. 95. 17) or with '*pari*' means 'roam over or round' (as in Rg. I. 164. 11 and IV. 36 1), or with '*pra*' means 'to proceed' (as in Rg. V. 30. 8 or X. 89. 12), or with *vi* means 'roll or revolve' (as in Rg I. 185. 1, V. 30. 8, V. 53 7, VI 9. 1) it does not at all follow that the original sense of 'vṛt' is, as Prof Apte asserts (p. 411 end), 'to revolve or roll on'. Besides, the last two senses are somewhat contradictory.

Prof. Apte complains that scholars were content as to *vrata* with the meanings 'law, statute, command, sacrifice, vow, fixed purpose, duty' and did not take enough notice of the important part that the sense of 'route or circular path' plays in the Ṛgveda. He opines that the divine vratas often mentioned in the Ṛgveda rather mean 'the heavenly routes, the divine rounds, the periodical movements round the sky closely adhered to by the gods themselves' rather than 'holy laws' laid down by a particular deity. Adopting a suggestion of Tilak in 'Orion' (p. 154) that the path of ṛta sometimes mentioned in the Ṛgveda is the broad belt of the Zodiac which the luminaries never transgress, Prof. Apte sets out to prove that the word 'ṛta' in the Ṛgveda primarily means the belt of the Zodiac (vide his paper in the Silver Jubilee volume of the Annals of the B O. R I., pp 55–56). This theory has failed to appeal to eminent Vedic scholars In my humble way I endeavoured to show in the 4th vol of the H. of Dh. (pp 2-5) that 'ṛta' has three senses in the Ṛgveda, one of which is 'the course of nature or the regular general order in the cosmos'. 'The path by which the group of Ādityas reaches ṛta' in Ṛg. I. 41. 4[3] or the statement in Ṛg I. 164 11 'the wheel of ṛta, that has twelve spokes (12 constellations or months), continually goes round the sky without being worn out' are only illustrations of the first meaning of ṛta But this meaning of ṛta by itself sheds hardly any light on the meaning of vrata Ṛta and vrata are

3. सुगः पन्था अनृक्षर आदित्यास ऋतं यते। ऋ. I. 41. 4, द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य। ऋ. I. 164. 11.

not synonyms and it is difficult to see how, conceding for argument that 'rta' is the belt of the Zodiac, vrata means, as Prof. Apte obviously thinks, the same thing Ṛta is an Indo-European word but so far as I know 'vrata' is not even shown to be Indo-Iranian, much less Indo-European

Prof. Apte advances the theory that there are two parallel phases of the semantic evolution of the word 'vrata' viz a 'divine phase' and a 'human' phase I feel no hesitation in denying the existence of any such distinction in the meaning of the word 'vrata' Prof Apte arranges (pp 414–415) the so-called divine phase of the meaning of vrata into six groups, viz. (I) turning round, passage, procedure, physical activity, (II) circular path, settled or beaten route, (III) sphere or region of movement or influence, (IV) routine, laws of movement; periodic appearance or visit, customary activity, recurring march, (V) victorious advance or strength, (VI) ordinance, law, rule or code of conduct. In the so-called 'human phase' of semantic development he sets out four groups of senses, viz (1) physical activity (as distinguished from mental), duty, profession; (II) the sum total of those peculiar ethical and religious duties and practices which made up the culture pattern of the Aryans; (III) the specific social and religious duties of the three classes of Aryan society; (IV) devotion to duty in general on the part of men and women.

I have summarised Prof Apte's long list of meanings in ten groups The very fact that Prof Apte had to marshall over sixty English equivalents for the meaning of the word 'vrata', which occurs in the Ṛgveda only about 220 times by itself or in combination with other words is enough to make scholars suspicious about the correctness of the entire scheme Though he had the hardihood to assert in one place (p 410)[4] that no passage in the Ṛgveda favours the meaning 'will or command' he admits (on pp. 476–477) that in three passages (Ṛg II. 38 7, X. 10 5, X. 33 9) the meaning of vrata as 'ordinances laid down by a divinity for devotees or human beings' is quite acceptable to him and further that in about 25 passages (which come under groups II to IV of the so-called human phase of Prof. Apte) vrata either means 'ethical or religious code of practices of the three classes of Aryans' or 'beneficent sway or devotion'

4 Hereafter up to note 23 wherever only pages are mentioned and no work, the reference is to the pages of the 3rd vol. of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute

I shall now state my own views on the derivation and the meanings of the word vrata in the Ṛgveda. I derive the word from the root 'vṛ' (to choose). From this root comes the word 'vara' (bridegroom who is chosen from among several men by a maiden or her guardian), which occurs in Ṛg IX. 101. 14 and X. 85. 8 and 9. Choosing involves willing or volition on the part of the person choosing. Hence 'vṛ' also means 'to will'. Therefore, when the word vrata is derived from 'vṛ' with the suffix 'ta', the meaning of vrata can be 'what is willed' or simply 'will'. The will of a person in power or authority is a command or law unto others Devotees believe that gods have laid down certain commands to be followed by themselves as well as by all beings. Thus comes the sense of 'law or ordinance'. A command of a superior imposes and implies a corresponding duty to obey. When commands are obeyed or duties are performed in the same way for long, they become the patterns of obligations i. e. customs or practices When persons believe or feel that they must perform certain acts as ordained by gods, then arises the sense of religious worship or duty. If a man imposes upon himself certain restrictions as to his behaviour or food to win the favour of gods that becomes a sacred vow or religious observance. Thus the several meanings of the word 'vrata', which I derive from the root 'vṛ', are command or law, obedience or duty, religious or moral practices, religious worship or observance, sacred or solemn vow or undertaking, then any vow or pattern of conduct. It should not be supposed that these several meanings followed one another in a time sequence Two or more meanings might have been simultaneously in vogue such as 'ordinance, duty or obedience'. These meanings of vrata set out by me are quite sufficient for the interpretation of almost all Ṛgveda passages in which the word occurs.

When Whitney derived the word 'vrata' from 'vṛt' with affix 'a', he could cite only two words 'vraja' and 'trada' as parallel. But it is quite possible to argue that 'vraja' is not analogous to vrata (if derived from 'vṛt'). *Vraja* (cowpen) occurs in the Ṛgveda in II. 38. 8, IV. 1. 15, IV. 16. 6, V. 6. 7, V. 33 10, can very well be derived from 'vraj' to go and Pāṇini III. 3 119 appears to derive[5] it from 'vraj' in the sense of 'karaṇa' or adhikaraṇa. The root 'vraj' occurs in the Ṛgveda[6] If *vraja* is derived from

5. गोचरसञ्चरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च । पा. III. 3 119 on which सि. कौ. explains 'घान्ता निपात्यन्ते'.

6. आपश्चिदस्मा अरमन्त देवीः पृथग् व्रजन्तीः पति षीमशुजन् ॥ ऋ III. 56. 4.

the root 'vraj', it is not on all fours with vrata derived from 'vṛt'. Whitney probably derived 'vraja' from 'vṛj'. But the meaning of 'vraja' (cowpen) can hardly arise from the root 'vṛj' (to give up, abandon). The word 'trada' occurs only once in the Ṛgveda (VIII. 45 28)[7] and is applied to Indra It is difficult to say from what root, if any, it is derived. Whitney probably derived it from 'trd' to injure or pierce. The word 'trdilāh' (crushing) is applied to the stones (grāvānah) which crush *soma* stalks[8] (Ṛg. X. 94 11) Whitney says he knows only one word 'marta' derived from 'mṛ' (to die) with the affix 'ta' which is analogous to vrata if the latter be derived from 'vṛ' But Whitney failed to notice other words with the affix 'ta' (not past passive participles) such as 'karta' (deep hole, cavern) (in Ṛg. I. 121. 13, II 29 6, IX. 73. 8 and 9) and 'garta' (cavity or seat in a war chariot) (in Ṛg. II. 33 11, V. 62. 5 and 8, VI. 20 9, VII. 64. 4), vāta (wind) from 'vā' (Ṛg. V 31. 10, X 168. 1 &c.), dhūrta and several others.

Prof Apte cites the word *vartani* (which means 'way' in Ṛg I. 23 9, V 61 9, VII 8 16, VIII. 23. 19, VIII 63 8) as analogous to vrata (from vṛt) But that word lends very little help. In 'vartani' there is *guna* (vṛt becomes vart), besides vartani cannot be derived from 'vṛt' meaning 'turn round or revolve' (which Prof Apte gives as the original meaning), but from the meaning 'to abide' or at the most 'to proceed' and further 'vartani' has practically only one meaning in the Ṛgveda, while vrata has to be paraphrased by sixty different words in English by Prof Apte

Prof Apte following Whitney relies on the fact (p 409) that vrata is frequently employed in the Ṛgveda with verbs of motion such as *anu-i, anu-car, anu-gā, anu-vṛt.* But these roots take on another meaning (viz 'to follow or observe') owing to the presence of 'anu' and in almost all the passages where the forms of these roots with *anu* occur there is no indication whatever of physical motion, but only that of 'obeying or observing' Besides, the root 'car' itself is not used in the sense of physical motion in several passages of the Ṛgveda, but in the sense of 'performing' and

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7 त्वर्णि वो जनानां व्रत वाजस्य गोमतः। समानसु प्र शंसिषम्॥ ऋ VIII. 45. 28, गोमतः। वाजस्य व्रत would mean '(Indra) who is the injurer of prec,' which would be absurd. Indra sets free cows imprisoned by Vṛtra.

8. तृविला अतृविलासो अद्रयोऽश्मना अक्षुधिता असृत्यव.। ऋ. X. 94. 11.

'observing'. Vide[9] Rg. I. 52. 6, III. 54.2, VI. 9.6, VII. 89. 5. Moreover, in words like *brahmacārī* (Rg X. 109.5) and *vratacārinah* (Rg VII. 103.1) the meaning of a physical motion, if it was the original one at all, is totally absent and the meaning 'performing' or 'observing' is the only one possible. Some occurrences of the roots 'saśc' and 'sac' in which the meaning of physical motion is inapplicable but the meaning 'resort to, accept or be united to' appears to be intended are found in Rg. II 1 13, VII. 28. 4 (for forms of '*saśc*') and IV. 12. 2., VII. 85. 5, VIII. 4 9, IX. 95. 4 (for forms of 'sac').

It is now necessary to examine the contention of Prof. Apte that *vrata* means in the Rgveda the tracks or routes that the various luminaries trace in the heavens Vratas are spoken of not only in relation to Agni, Indra, Mitra, Soma, Usas, Savitr and Adityas but also in relation to Varuna (in Rg I. 25.1, III. 54.18, V. 69 4, VII 83.9), Brhaspati (in II 23.6), Indra and Brahmanaspati (II. 24. 12), Aditi (I.144.12, VII 87 9), Parjanya (V. 83. 5) and Aśvins (I 183 3) Conceding for a moment that by some stretch of imagination or some linguistic acrobatics one can speak of the vratas of Agni, Adityas, Mitra, Indra, Savitr and Usas as referring to the tracks of luminaries in the heavens, the mid regions and on the earth, one should like to know whether Aditi, Aśvins, Varuna, Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati are luminaries and what tracks they were supposed to trace in the heavens or elsewhere. Scholars are not agreed as to the meaning of Aditi or as to the physical or celestial phenomena Varuna or the Aśvins were supposed to represent. Aditi is a riddle, being identified with the heaven and the mid regions and also spoken of as the father, mother or the son or as the mother of Daksa and also his daughter; vide Rg. I. 89. 10, II 27.1, X 72. 4–5 and Nirukta XI 23 as to Aditi and Rg. II 1 11 where Agni is identified with Aditi Long before the times of the Nirukta there was difference on the question of the nature of Asvins, some identifying them with Heaven and Earth, or day and night, or the Sun and the Moon or two meritorious kings (Nirukta XII 1), while some Western scholars hold them to be the Morning and the Evening star or Castor and Pollux The endeavour of interpreters of the Rgveda should be to assign such

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9. पर्शी घृणा चरति तित्विषे शवोऽपो वृत्वी रजसो बुध्नमाशयत्। ऋ. I 52 6, महि महे दिवे अर्चा पृथिव्यै कामो म इच्छञ्चरति प्रजानन्। ऋ. III. 54. 2; वि मे मनश्चरति दूरआधीः किंस्विद्वक्ष्यामि किमु नू मनिष्ये। ऋ. VI. 9 6.

a derivation and meaning to the word vrata as would be appropriate in all cases where the word vrata is brought in relation to some gods. In my opinion the only meanings that can be well construed with all passages in which the vratas of the several gods mentioned above are referred to is 'commands or ordinances, religious or moral practices or worship or vows' One does not understand what Prof. Apte means when he remarks at (p. 442) in a tone of ridicule that observing or obeying the 'ordinances or religious worship of gods' is a soft job and looking after the paths or the tracks of luminaries is a strenuous one If anything, the reverse of this should be true

The word 'samrāj' appears to be applied to a human king in Rg[10] VII. 58 4 'the sovereign, protected by you, O Maruts! kills the enemy', and in Rg. X. 85 46 the newly married girl has the blessing 'be you a queen' (samrājñī). Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Agni, Viśve-devāh and Ādityas are called kings (*rājan*) and emperors (samrāj) in Rg. II. 41. 6, III 10 1, III. 54 10, V. 85 1, VII. 38. 4, VIII 27 22, X. 63. 5. Varuna (who is praised in about 12 hymns) is called *samrāj* oftener than even Indra praised in about 200 hymns What is more natural than to suppose that the gods called kings and emperors were believed to have laid down commands or ordinances to be obeyed by all. Though Rgvedic sages extol several gods they had already arrived at the conception that there was only one Supreme Being that was addressed under different names such as Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni and assumed several forms (Rg I 164. 46, VI. 47 18, X. 121. 1, X 129. 1–2) Vratas are spoken of as *dhruva* (immutably fixed) as in II. 5 4, III 56 1, V. 69 4 and as *adabdha* (unharmed, unassailable) as in I. 24 10, II. 9 1, III 54 18, VII. 66. 6 and *daivya* (divine) as in Rg I 70 1, I 92 12, VII 75 3. One must carefully remember these facts when ascertaining the exact meaning of *vrata* mentioned in connection with almost all the prominent gods of the Rgveda It is often stated in the Rgveda that the vratas of the god whom the sage for the moment praises are not violated by other gods Some striking examples[11]

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10. शुष्मोत. सम्राळुत क्षत्रं म तदृचो अस्तु धूतयो देष्णम्। ऋ VII. 58 4,

11. न यस्येन्द्रो वरुणो न मित्रो व्रतमर्यमा न मिनन्ति धव्रं । नारातयस्तमिद्दधस्ति द्रुवे देव सवितार नमोभि.॥ ऋ II. 38 9: न ता मिनन्ति मायिनो न धीरा व्रता देवाना प्रथमा ध्रुवाणि। न रोदसी अद्रुहा वेद्याभिर्न पर्वता निनमे तस्थिवास ॥ ऋ. III 56. 1, अस्तम्नाद् द्यामसुरो विश्ववेदा अमिमीत वरिमाण पृथिव्याः। आसीदद्विश्वा भुवनानि सम्राड् विश्वेचानि

(*Continued on next page*)

may, be given here: Rg. III. 7. 7 'the gods observe the vratas of gods' (devā devānām-anu hi vratā guḥ); II. 38 9 'I invoke for my welfare with salutations god Savitr whose vrata is not violated by Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, or Rudra or by the (god's) enemies'; III. 56. 1 'the primeval and immutably fixed vratas are not destroyed by the wily (demons), nor by the wise (sages), nor by the well-disposed Heaven and Earth and the firmly fixed mountains are not there for being bent down'; VIII. 42. 1 'the all-knowing and powerful (Varuna) made Heaven firm, he measured (created) the expanse of the earth; the great king sits over (rules) all the worlds; all these are the vratas of Varuna'. Vide also Rg. I. 101. 3, II. 24. 12, II 38. 2, III. 30. 4, V. 69. 4.

The above mentioned passages clearly show that the Vedic sages believed that not only did the several gods observe or carry out the immutably fixed ordinances laid down by themselves or by any one of them but that even wily demons had to observe them and that waters or rivers flow as ordained by gods We have to take into account along with these beliefs that the Rgveda often adverts to the fact that human beings also break (or violate) the *vratas* of gods, are liable to be punished therefor and pray to the gods to pity them and to withhold the punishment. For example,[12] Rg I. 25. 1–2 'Whatever ordinance (vrata) of thine, O Varuna! we may break day to day as people (subjects) do (i. e. break the king's law) do not reduce us to death &c.'; X. 25. 3 'O Soma! if I transgress your perfect (lit well-baked) vratas, then in thy exhilaration (at our sacrifices) take pity on us as a father does towards his son'. Vide also VII. 89. 5, VIII. 48 9.

(*Continued from last page*)

वरुणस्य व्रतानि॥ VIII. 42 1, the word vrata occurs five times in II 38 (verses 2, 3, 6, 7, 9) and should be construed according to the general rules of interpretation in the same sense in all verses of the same hymn at least Prof. Apte admits (on p 476) that the meaning 'ordinances' would be appropriate in Rg. II. 38. 7 (नकिरस्य तानि व्रता देवस्य सवितुर्मिनन्ति) and accepts that meaning in that verse, but on II. 38. 9 (p. 468) his obsession about the original meaning being 'tracks' leads him to say "that in that verse the word vrata means 'Savitr's fixed movements in the heavens."

12. यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतं मिनीमसि द्यविद्यवि। मा नो वधाय हत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः। ऋ. I 25 1–2, उत व्रतानि सोम ते मार्ड मिनामि पाक्या। अधा पितेव सूनवे वि वो मदे सुळा नो अभि चिह्वधाह्विवक्षसे॥ X 25. 3. At the end of all verses in X. 21 and X. 25 and in X. 24. 1–3 the word विवक्षसे occurs and is explained as महान् भवसि by सायण. But this is unsatisfactory. वि वो मदे and विवक्षसे appear to be refrains with some recondite meaning.

It would have been noticed that in some of the passages quoted above (in note 11) on vrata, verbal forms of the root 'mi' or 'mī' occur For the correct understanding of these passages the exact meaning of the root 'mī' is very important The Nighantu (II 19) includes 'mināti' among verbs meaning 'vadha' (killing or harming) In the Dhātupātha the meaning of the root 'mī' is himsā' (killing, annihilating, breaking) Vide Pāṇini VII 3 81 (mīnāter-nigame) The forms of 'mi' or 'mī' with or without the preposition 'ā' or 'pra' occur more than 50 times in the Ṛgveda and often in connection with *vrata* Whitney felt that the occurrences of the forms of 'mi' or 'mī' presented some difficulty about his theory of the derivation of vrata and its meanings, but Prof. Apte, who derived his inspiration from Whitney, feels no such misgivings as Whitney felt, holds, relying on his own interpretation of Ṛg I 124 3, that 'mi' or 'mī' is a verb of *motion* and has the primary sense of 'miss, deviate, wander or stray from' (p 411) Over a dozen verses at least will clearly show that Prof. Apte has been led astray by his preconceived theory about vrata meaning 'tracks of luminaries' and that 'mi' or 'mī' cannot at all be construed in the sense of 'miss' or 'deviate' in the Ṛgveda Ṛg I. 71. 10 'old age destroys me as (the dark or clouded) sky destroys (distinctness of) forms' (nabho na rūpam jarimā mināti'); I. 124 2[13] '(the dawn) which does not violate divine laws but destroys the spans of human life', I. 179. 1 (Lopāmudrā says to Agastya) 'old age destroys the beauty of limbs' (mināti sriyam jarimā tanūnām); VII 84 4 (Varuna) who is an Āditya, who destroys the false ones and who, the valiant one, imparts immeasurable wealth'. Vide also Ṛg I 92 11, I. 117 3, III. 32 8, IV. 30 23, V 7. 4, V 82. 2 for other examples where forms of 'mi' or 'mī' occur It is unnecessary to adduce more examples about 'mi'. It is impossible, if Prof Apte is to be followed, that old age misses or deviates from beauty or that Aśvins miss or deviate from the wiles of the demon or that Varuna misses falsehood (or false men) Prof Apte relies (p 411)

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13. अमिनती दैव्यानि व्रतानि प्र मिनती मनुष्या युगानि। ऋ I 124. 2, प्र च आदित्यो अद्रुहा मिनात्यमिना ध्रुवो दयते वसूनि। VII 84 4 One may compare with I 124 2, मर्तस्य देवी जरयन्त्यायु in ऋ. I 92. 10 The contrast between अमिनती दैव्यानि व्रतानि and प्रमिनती मनुष्या युगानि is most striking and places the sense of 'mi' in a clear light and beyond dispute.

on Rg. I. 124. 3.[14] as decisively establishing that originally 'mi' was a verb of motion. In the first place, one verse cannot demolish what many verses quoted above convey. Besides, there is nothing in Rg. I. 124. 3 that establishes what Prof. Apte thinks it does That verse says 'Here this daughter of heaven wearing a garment of light is seen in the east (by us) simultaneously; she (Dawn) well follows the path of rta (cosmic order), she like (a woman) knowing well does not annihilate the several quarters'.

The sense of 'command or law' is quite appropriate in more than half the Rgvedic passages in which the word vrata occurs. In some passages the sense of 'religious practices or modes of sacred worship' is suitable. For example, Rg. X. 65. 11 says '(the Viśve-devas) that are good donors make the sun rise in heaven and spread about the Ārya vratas over the earth'. Vide also Rg. VI. 14. 3.

There are several places in the Rgveda in which the words 'avrata' (11 times), 'apavrata' (in Rg. I. 51. 9, V. 42. 9, V. 40. 6), 'anyavrata' (in V. 20. 2, VIII. 70. 11, X. 22. 8) occur and in almost all of which *vrata* must be taken to mean 'mode of worship or ethical and religious practices of the Vedic worshippers'. Prof. Apte has to admit this (pp. 479, 483). It will not do to ignore these passages in finding out the derivation and meanings of the word vrata or to clap them in a separate group (as Prof. Apte does on p. 413) and distinguish them from other passages supposed to indicate the divine phase. There is nothing to show that Vedic sages distinguished between divine vratas and other vratas meant to be followed by Heaven and Earth, rivers, mountains and human beings. Some of these passages in which the word 'avrata' occurs strongly militate against the theory of Prof Apte. For example,[15] in Rg. I. 101. 2 Indra is

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14. एषा दिवो दुहिता प्रत्यदर्शि ज्योतिर्वसाना समना पुरस्तात्। ऋतस्य पन्थामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न दिशो मिनाति॥ ऋ I. 124. 3. The meaning of the last quarter is that Usas always rises in the east and that she does not annihilate the separateness of the four quarters by sometimes rising in a direction other than the east. In this the dawn simply follows the law laid down for her in the order of nature (rtasya panthām). The idea about the confusion of quarters is well expressed in Rg V. 40. 5 Vide also X. 32 7.

15. Rg I. 101. 2 is यो ध्यसे जाहुषाणेन मन्युना यः शम्बर यो अहन् पिप्रुमव्रतम्; while I. 101. 3 is यस्य द्यावापृथिवी पौंस्यं महद् यस्य व्रते वरुणो यस्य सूर्यः। यस्येन्द्रस्य सिन्धवः सश्चति व्रत &c.

said to have killed Pipru who was *avrata* and in the very next verse it is said that Varuna and Sūrya abide in the vrata of Indra and the rivers also accept his vrata. Therefore, vrata in this hymn must mean something akin to the meaning of vrata in *avrata* and not akin to 'tracks of luminaries'. Compare IX. 73. 5 and 8 where avrata occurs with 'rakṣati vratam' in IX.73.3 (both being verses about Soma).

There are seven passages in the Rgveda where the word 'vivrata' occurs. In six of them 'vivrata' is applied to the horses of Indra. According to Prof. Apte, the only natural meaning is 'moving or wandering along diverse paths' (p. 419). But this is arguing in a circle. They can be explained if vrata is taken to mean 'ordinance, duty or practice', when applied to horses 'vivrata' may be held to mean no more than this that two horses are yoked on two sides of the chariot and obey the various orders indicated through the pulling of the reins. The 7th passage X. 55. 3 in which 'vivrata' occurs as an adjective of 'jyotiḥ' is difficult to construe and Prof. Apte has not succeeded in satisfactorily explaining it.

In several passages of the Rgveda phrases like 'tava vrate' occur. Whitney (p. 409) stated that the phrase should rather mean 'in thy established or approved course, following thy lead or example', than 'under thy control or protection' or 'in thy service' as some scholars hold. Prof. Apte thinks that the translation of 'tava vrate' as 'abiding in thy ordinance' (by Macdonell) misses the point and avers that the proper meaning is 'dominion, authority, region or sphere'. Some of the passages containing the words 'tava vrate' are Rg. VI. 54. 9, IX. 102. 5, X. 36. 13, X. 57. 6. In my opinion 'tava vrate' means 'while we abide by your ordinances'. In X. 36. 13 the first half[16] is a relative clause without a verb and we have to supply a form of the root 'as' (to be) or of 'bhū'. In some verses such a form of 'as' does occur with the words as in Rg. I. 124. 15[17]. Therefore wherever the words 'tava vrate' occur, we should generally understand that the meaning is 'while abiding by your ordinances'. This is further supported by the fact that there are passages where the word 'vrata' and other words

16 ये सविदु सख्यस्य तिरे मित्रस्य व्रते वरुणस्य देवाः। ते सौभग धीरयद्दोमदमो दधान द्रविण चित्रमस्मे ॥ ऋ. ३. 36. 13.

17 अधा वयमादित्य व्रते तवानागसो अदितये स्याम। ऋ. I. 24.15, यज. स. 12.12, अथर्व VII. 52 (88). 3.

like 'sumati' in the locative are used with the forms of the root 'as' to be or of verbs meaning to abide or dwell Vide Rg. I. 83 3 ('vrate te kṣeti', 'abides in thy vrata'), II 27. 13 ('ya ādityānām bhavati praṇītau', 'who is within or under the lead of Ādityas); X. 14. 6[18] 'may we be in the good will of them (the *pitṛs*) that deserve to have sacrifices offered to them and also in their beneficent grace'. Vide also Rg III 1. 21 and III 59 4, VI 47. 13, X. 131. 7 (tasya vayam sumatau ..syāma)

There are eight passages in the Ṛgveda in which the word 'śucivrata' occurs and is always applied to some god or gods In three passages VIII. 43. 16, VIII. 44 21, X. 118 1 'śucivrata' is an attribute of Agni and Prof Apte renders it as '(Agni) with a blazing trail, track or sphere' (p 421) He says 'śuci' is derived from 'śuc' (to shine or flame up), that the word 'śuci' can only mean 'brilliant or flaming', that the meaning 'pure' is purely figurative and secondary and is found only in about *six* or *seven* out of a total of over a *hundred* or more in the Ṛgveda when it is an epithet of '*manīṣā, stoma, matī* or *gīrah*'. These remarks are mis-statements; 'śuci' in the sense of 'pure' is not so rare as Prof. Apte tries to make out (6 or 7 times out of 100). In one verse alone addressed to the Maruts (Rg. VII. 56. 12) the word[19] 'śuci' occurs six times and should ordinarily be taken only in one sense in those six and can only mean 'pure', since 'śuci' is there applied to offerings (havya) and sacrifice In VIII. 44. 21 Agni is styled 'śucir-viprah' and 'śucih' and 'kavih'. The word 'śuci' occurs in that verse four times out of which 'śuci' as applied to 'vipra' and 'kavi' can only mean 'pure or holy'. Vide II 27 13, where the *yajamāna* (sacrificer) is called 'śuci', I 142. 9 where the three goddesses Bhāratī, Ilā and Sarasvatī are said to be 'śuci'. Conceding for argument that the root 'śuc' originally meant 'to shine or blaze', the distinction of two meanings (primary and secondary) in 'śuci' had disappeared long before the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed, as Rg. VII. 56. 12 and other verses establish Vide Rg. III. 62. 5 (where Bṛhaspati is called śuci), I 181 2 (where the horses of the Aśvins are styled 'śuci'), II 33. 13 (where the herbs or drugs of Maruts are spoken of as śuci), VII 49. 2 and 3 where waters are called 'śuci' and

18. तेषां वयं सुमतौ यज्ञियानामपि भद्रे सौमनसे स्याम । ऋ. X 14. 6.

19 शुची वो हव्या मरुत. शुचीना शुचिं हिनोम्यध्वरं शुचिभ्य. । ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आयञ्छुचिजन्मान. शुचय. पावका ॥ ऋ. VII. 56. 12 The word शुचि thrice applied to the Maruts may mean 'pure' or 'brilliant.' अग्निः शुचिव्रततमः शुचिर्विप्रः शुचिः कविः । शुची रोचत आहुत. ॥ VIII. 44. 21.

VII 89. 3 (where Varuna is addressed as 'śuci') In the above passages the word śuci in at least a dozen cases is clearly used in the sense of 'pure', is applied to offerings, sacrifices, drugs, horses, waters or rivers and is not restricted to *manīsā*, *stoma*, *matı* and *gırah* as Prof Apte wrongly asserts Prof Apte minimises the number of times that 'śuci' means 'pure', and observes a discreet silence about its being an attribute of the physical objects mentioned above Therefore, there is no difficulty in holding 'śucivrata' as applied to gods meaning 'whose ordinances are pure or holy' In I 15 11 and I. 182 1 the word 'sucivrata' is an attribute of the Aśvins, in III 62 17 and VI 16 24 of Mitra and Varuna and in VI 70 2 of Heaven and Earth. Besides, we have the analogous word 'sucikranda' (the loud laud addressed to whom is pure) applied to Brhaspati in VII. 97 5.

The word 'mahivrata' occurs five times and is applied to Soma (IX. 97 7, IX 100. 9), to Agni (I 45. 3, X. 115. 3) and to Varuna (VI 68 9) and the word 'mahāmahıvrata' to Soma (IX. 48 2). In all these cases the meaning 'whose commands or laws are great or many' would be quite appropriate The word 'mahi' by itself occurs in over 110 passages in the Rgveda, in all of which 'mahi' stands for 'mahat' and qualifies words like 'sravas' (food or fame), ksatra ('prowess' as in I. 54 8 and 11), namah, śarma (in I. 93 8), dātra ('gift', as in I. 116 6), enas (in II 12. 10), karma (II. 22 1), Mahıtvana (in II 23 4), varūtha, dravina (III. 1 22), raksas (IV 3 14) Prof Apte (p 475) quite unnecessarily suggests three separate meanings of 'mahivrata', the first of which is 'of great dominion', 'of great tracks', 'of great exploits' and expands that meaning by interpolating the words 'mighty or resplendent sway or sphere'. 'Mahi' hardly ever means 'resplendent' by itself

The word 'priyavrata' occurs only once in the Rgveda (in X. 150 3), is applied to gods and means 'to whom the ordinances laid down by them are dear' Prof Apte (p 472) criticizes people who explain the word as 'whose laws we love'; but he names no one who does so Similarly, the word 'puruvrata' occurs once only in Rg IX 3 10, is applied to Soma and means 'whose ordinances are many'. Both these words do not at all help Prof. Apte in his interpretation and are rather against his pet theory (of tracks of luminaries &c)

The word 'dhunivrata' occurs twice (in Rg V 58 2 and V. 87 1) and is applied to Marut or the band of Maruts Prof Apte (p. 435

section 47) takes 'dhuni' as an adjective, and as meaning 'roaring, storming' and translates 'dhunivrata' as 'whose paths are characterised by roaring or raging'. The word 'dhuni' occurs about ten times in the Rgveda and when an adjective means 'one that shakes his enemies or clouds' or is a noun meaning 'river' (as in II. 15. 5). Dhuni is also the name of a *demon* (in Rg. VI. 18. 8, VII. 19. 4, X. 113. 9). In I. 174. 9, V. 34 5 and 8, VI. 20. 12 'dhuni' is an attribute of Indra and in I. 79. 1 of Agni The Nirukta (V. 12) while explaining Rg. X. 89. 5 (in which both Soma and Indra are praised) explains 'dhuni' as derived from 'dhū' to shake Therefore 'dhunivrata' should mean 'whose ordinances are such as make others (breakers) tremble'.

It is not necessary to examine separately each of the verses in which the word 'vrata' occurs and Prof Apte's interpretations thereof. The preceding discussion is sufficient to show what vrata means in almost all passages in the Rgveda In his zeal to buttress up his theory, Prof. Apte commits mistakes in the construction and translation of some verses On p. 420 (section 29) he renders Rg. VIII. 94. 2[20] as 'she (Prśni) in whose lap all the gods maintain their vratas, the Sun and the Moon also, in order that they may be seen', explains that the Sun and the Moon are seen only when they keep their vratas and concludes that vratas must mean tracks followed by the Sun. Prof. Apte takes 'sūryāmāsā' as the subject of 'Dhārayante' along with 'Viśve-devāh', but 'Sūryāmāsā' is in the objective case in relation to 'drśe', the proper translation being 'in the lap of whom (i. e. of Prśni, the mother of Maruts), all the gods uphold their laws in order that (people) may see the Sun and the Moon'. What is meant is that the Sun and the Moon rise at the proper times because the gods uphold their ordinances If we compare VIII. 94.2 with I 23.21 (=X.9.7), I. 50.1, I. 52.8, X. 57 4, X. 60 5 it would be clear that my translation is the only correct one and if that be so no question of 'tracks of light' will arise.

Misinterpretations of words like 'ksitīh' in III. 3. 9 as meaning dwellings (rather it means "the common mass of people" as in III. 14. 4, VI. 65. 1, VII. 65. 2, VII. 75. 4, VII 79. 1

20. यस्या देवा उपस्थे व्रता विश्वे धारयन्ते। सूर्यामासा दृशे कम्॥ VIII. 94. 2. Compare आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरूथं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्यं दृशे॥ I. 23. 21 (=X. 9 7), दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् in I. 50. 1, दिवीव सूर्यं दृशे in X 60 5. In all these cases सूर्यं is the object of दृशे and in VIII. 94. 2 the dual सूर्यामासा is used with दृशे.

&c) and of 'śrusṭim' (on p 450) are passed over here On VI. 70 5 Prof. Apte remarks (p 420, Sec 17) that to take 'vrata' in 'madhuvrata' applied to the deities Heaven and Earth as meaning 'law, duty or will' is almost absurd One fails to see why it would be absurd to hold, when heaven and earth are spoken of as 'dropping[21] *madhu*' (*madhuścutā*) and 'yielding madhu' (madhudughe), that the Vedic poet thinks that the laws of Heaven and Earth as deities are sweet (and not harsh).

We have next to turn to the word 'dhrtavrata' which occurs eighteen times in the Ṛgveda Out of these Varuna is certainly called dhrtavrata in seven passages viz in I. 25 8 and 10, I 44. 14, I. 141 9, II 1. 4,[22] VIII 27 3 and X 66 5 Both Mitra and Varuna are styled 'dhrtavrata' in I 15 6, VIII 25 2 and 8 (and also 'ksatriyā' in verse 8), Indra and Varuna are said to be dhrtavrata in VI. 68 10, Indra alone in VI 19. 5 and VIII 97 11, the Ādityas in II 29. 1, Viśvedevāh in X 66. 8 (and also 'ksatriyāh'), Agni in VIII. 44 25 and Savitr in IV. 53 4 Prof. Apte (p 430 para 37) avers that Varuna is pre-eminently called dhrtavrata (this is not quite accurate as more than half the passages in which the word 'dhrtavrata' occurs refer to gods other than Varuna), because he maintains intact the paths he has excavated for the luminaries or he sees that the fixed laws of the movements of luminaries are properly observed Unless one has made up one's mind that vrata signifies tracks of luminaries or their fixed movements, these 'dhrtavrata' passages are of no help in settling the original meanings of vrata They can all be well construed by taking 'dhrtavrata' in the sense of 'one who upholds or supports his ordinances' Supposing that Prof Apte is right in thinking that the epithet pre-eminently applies to Varuna it is quite arguable that what is mainly aimed at in calling Varuna 'dhrtavrata' is the high moral level Varuna is held by the Ṛgvedic sages to maintain by punishing sinners, by looking into the truth and falsehood of men (VII 49 3 'satyānrte avapaśyan janānām'), by the fact that he is styled 'ksatriya', 'rājan' and 'samrāj' (who exacts obedience to his laws) as shown above Therefore, the view that *vrata* means ordinances in connection with Varuna is far more appropriate than the theory about his seeing that the luminaries follow their tracks In this connection the word 'dhrtavrata'[23] in I 25 6

21. मधु नो द्यावापृथिवी मिमिक्षता मधुश्चुता मधुदुघे मधुव्रते। ऋ VI 70. 5

22 त्वमग्ने राजा वरुणो धृतव्रतस्त्व मित्रो भवसि दस्म ईड्य । ऋ II. 1 4.

23. तविद्त्समानमाशाते वेनन्ता न प्र युच्छतः। धृतव्रताय दाशुषे॥ ऋ. I. 25. 6.

becomes very important. Almost all scholars hold that that verse means '(Mitra and Varuna) fond of the donor who observes the laws of religious worship partake of the same offering (made by the donor) and they are not heedless about it (or do not miss it)'. Scholars hold that in this verse the word 'dhrtavrata' applies to a human worshipper and not to a god as in all other passages. Prof. Apte (p 430 para 37) explains that the words 'dhrtavratāya dāśuse', mean 'donor who makes a gift to (Varuna) that is dhrtavrata.' This construction is objectionable for several reasons There are two deities referred to in the principal sentence (the verb is 'āśāte), while dhrtavratāya, being singular, can only be construed with one deity. Prof. Apte further relies on VIII. 94. 2 of which he gives an interpretation which as shown above is wrong. Constructions parallel to 'dhrtavratāya dāśuse' and containing an adjective of the word 'dāśuse' are found in other Rgveda passages. For example, in I 142 1 we have[24] 'O Agni! spread the ancient thread (i. e. sacrifice) for the worshipper who has extracted Soma juice'. Here the words 'sutasomāya dāśuse' do not mean 'to the worshipper who gives offerings to the god who extracts soma'. Similarly, in VIII. 5. 6 the words 'sudevāya dāśuse' mean 'to or for the worshipper (or donor) who worships god' (or for donor to whom gods are beneficent). These several considerations make it highly probable that 'dhrtavratāya' is an attribute of a human being in I. 25. 6 and not necessarily of Varuna. If that be so, vrata in 'dhrtavrata' must mean 'ordinances or mode of religious worship' and not 'tracks of luminaries'. We have the word 'dhrtadaksa' (who upholds strength i. e. who is strong or constant) applied to a priest in X. 41. 3. It is worthy of note that the Śatapatha Br in explaining[25] 'nisasāda dhrtavrato Varunah' in Rg. I. 25. 10 (= Vāj. S. X. 27) remarks that the king and a brāhmana deeply learned in the Veda are both 'dhrtavrata'. It is probable that even in the times of the Rgveda people had come to assign the same meaning to the word 'dhrtavrata' that the Śat. Br. ascribes to it. Conceding for argument that dhrtavratāya in I. 25. 6 refers to Varuna, that does not at all solve the problem of the derivation and meaning of vrata. The word 'vratanīh' occurs only once in Rgveda X.

24. समिद्धो अग्न आ वह देवाँ अद्य यतस्रुचे। तन्तु तनुष्व पूर्व्यं सुतसोमाय दाशुषे ॥ I. 142. 1, सा सुदेवाय दाशुषे सुमेधामवितारिणीम्। धृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ VIII 5. 6

25 निषसाद धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा ..एष च श्रोत्रियश्चैतौ द्वौ महव्येषु धृतव्रतौ। शतपथ V. 4. 4.5, द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः। गौ. ध सू VIII. 1.

65. 6 and probably means '(the cow) that is the carrier of vrata' i e. of the milk on which a sacrificer has to subsist In T. S. VI. 2. 5 2-3 it is said that milk is the Brāhmana's vrata On p 442 Prof Apte refers to Sūrya being called 'vratapā' very aptly. Vratapa occurs nine times in the Rgveda, but the Sun is called 'vratapā' only once in I. 83. 5. Vratapā means nothing more than vratapati, which word occurs in T S I 6 6 3[26], I 6 7. 2 and Vāj. S I 5 and is applied to Agni In these passages 'vrata' means a religious vow such as that of a Vedic student who undertakes to study Veda after Upanayana There is no reason why the word 'vratapā' in the Rgveda should not be deemed to have been used in the sense in which 'vratapati' is employed in the T S and Vāj S Similarly, in Rg VII 103 1[27] it is said that the frogs lying silent for a year (in crevices), like brāhmanas observing a vrata, send forth their croaking inspired by the rains Here 'vrata' has the meaning 'a sacred vow or observance' which is the sense in which the word is used in mediæval times and is so used even upto this day.

There is one more word viz vrsavrata, which is analogous to 'dhrtavrata' and which remains to be considered That word occurs only twice (i e in Rg. IX. 62 11[28] and IX. 64 1) and is an attribute of Soma Prof Apte (p. 485, section 48) tries to fit this word in his scheme by referring to the description of Soma as bellowing like a bull, as a bull among cows and as brandishing and sharpening his horns One must not forget the twofold character of Soma as a very pre-eminent deity (the whole of Rg IX. is a glorification of Soma) and as a beverage produced from the twigs and tendrils of the Soma plant and that these two characters become mixed up. In the process of producing Soma beverage, four sounding holes called uparavas are employed[29] (vide H of Dh. vol II. pp 1154-55

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26 ब्राह्मणो व्रतभृद् व्रतमुपैष्यन् ब्रयाद्ग्ने व्रतपते व्रत चरिष्यामीत्यग्निर्वै देवानां व्रतपति । तै स I 6 7 2. अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मे राधि। तै स I 6 6 3.

27. संवत्सर शशयाना ब्राह्मणा व्रतचारिण । वाच पर्जन्यजिन्विता म मण्डूका अवादिषु॥ ऋ. VII. 103. 1 Vide निरुक्त IX. 6 which explains this verse. Persons engaged in solemn sacrifices like the Sāmvatsarikasattras had to observe certain strict rules such as not speaking with non-Āryans, subsisting on milk &c Vide तै ब्रा III. 3 4 (य संवत्सर व्रत चरति), शतपथब्राह्मण XI 5 1. 1 and आश्व. श्रौ सू XII 8 1, 3, 7, 29, (or Uttarasatka VI).

28 त्व पूषा वृषण पचमानो अशस्तिप। फट्कृण्वन्ति दाशुषेऽ IX 62 11, पूषा सोम धृतो अस्ति पूषा देव वृषण्यः। पूषा धर्माणि दधिषेऽ IX 64. 1.

29 Vide com on कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र VIII. 4 26 for the uparavas.

for 'uparavas'): This is described as the bellowing of Soma, when Soma is called a vrsa (bull) or vrsabha. Most of the great Vedic gods (Indra, Agni, Soma and others), their chariots, their weapons and even the exhilaration on drinking Soma are spoken of as bulls[30] When Soma twigs are being pressed with stones (grāvan) the tendrils of Soma look like horns All these descriptions about bellowing &c. apply strictly to the soma plant and are poetically transferred to the deity Soma. Prof. Apte translates 'vrsavrata' as 'whose behaviour or deportment is like that of a bull' On the other theory also we can easily explain the word as meaning '(Soma) whose ordinances are powerful like a bull'. Vrsavrata is an attribute of god Soma and cannot be easily construed with god Soma, if vrata primarily means some physical activity and its implications are rather against Prof. Apte's theory.

The result of this long discussion is that Prof. Apte's theory of the derivation of vrata from the root 'vrt' and his long scheme of meanings is not proved and that the derivation from the root 'vr' expressly stated by Yāska at least twenty-five centuries ago and accepted by most scholars has not been at all shaken. Prof Apte probably did not anticipate that the meaning he assigned to 'vrt' would be challenged, but I dispute that meaning also.

There are three passages of the Ṛgveda in which the words 'vrttam na cakram' (like a round wheel) occur, viz I. 155 6 (addressed to Visnu), IV. 31 4, V. 36. 3 (both addressed to Indra). Prof. Apte did not mention them and they have no bearing on the derivation of vrata At the most those might have been relied upon for the meaning of the root 'vrt'. In this discussion we have restricted ourselves to verbal forms or present participles and omitted past passive participles which sometimes depart very much from the root-meaning as in the case of 'krta' in Ṛgveda X. 43. 5 (krtam na śvaghnī vi cinoti devane). 'Vrtta' cannot mean revolving even if vrt meant 'to revolve', it is *vartamāna* that might have that meaning if 'vrt' originally meant 'to revolve' Besides, Ṛg I 155 6 is obscure. It probably refers to the belt of the zodiac that goes round the sky.

It is necessary to clarify the meanings and mutual relations of the three words *rta*, *vrata* and *dharman*. The meanings (three)

30 Only one verse need be quoted to illustrate the above Ṛg. II, 16 6 is वृषा ते वज्र उत ते वृषा रथो वृषणा हरी वृषभाण्यायुधा। वृष्णो मदस्य त्वमीशिष इन्द्र सोमस्य वृषभस्य तृप्णुहि॥

of 'rta' have been specified in H of Dh vol IV pp 2–5 and the meanings of vrata have been discussed in what precedes (vide pp 5–8) In the Rgveda the word is *dharman* and not *dharma*. For a brief discussion of *dharman* vide H of Dh vol I p 1 In the Rgveda sometimes dharman is masculine and often an adjective, meaning 'upholder or sustainer' as in Rg I. 187 1, X. 92 2 In X. 21 3 (tve dharmāna āsate) the word is masculine In other cases it is obviously in the neuter gender as in I. 22 18 (ato dharmāni dhārayan), V 26 6, IX 64 1. In these passages the meaning seems to be 'religious rites or sacrifices', thus approaching vrata in one of its senses In I 164 43 and 50 (= X. 90 16) sacrifices are said to be the primeval dharmans Vide also 'prathamā dharmā' in Rg III 17 1 and 'sanatā dharmāni' in Rg III 3 1 In some cases this sense of dharman would not do, as in IV 53 3, V. 63. 7. where the meaning seems to be 'fixed principles or rules of conduct'. In some cases dharman appears to mean almost the same thing as 'vrata'. For example, in VII 89. 5[31] the sage says 'when we destroy (or violate) your *dharmans* through heedlessness (or infatuation), do not harm us, O Varuna, on account of that sin', which is just the same as Rg I 25 1, where we have 'vratam' for dharmāni In VI. 70 1[32] it is said 'heaven and earth, never decaying and endowed with plenty of seed, are held firmly apart by the *dharman* of Varuna'. In VIII 42 1 (cited above) making the Heaven firmly fixed is described as one of the vratas of Varuna

Though in this way in some passages even of the Rgveda the senses of 'vrata' and 'dharman' appear to have coalesced, there are verses where *all the three words or two of the three* occur It may be noted that even in what are regarded by Western scholars to be later portions of the Atharvaveda (e g. 18. 2 7, 14 1. 51) the word is dharman All three words occur in Rg V. 63. 7[33] 'O wise Mitra and Varuna! You naturally (or according to your fixed rule of conduct) guard your ordinances with the wonderful power of an *asura*; you rule over (or shine over) the whole world according to the principle of cosmic order, you establish in the heaven the Sun that is (like) a brilliant

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31. अनिभ्यो यत्त्व धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिष । ऋ VII 89. 5.

32 द्यावाभूमी जनयन्त्व धर्मन्ना दिवारिभे अक्षरे भूरिरेतसा । ऋ VI 70 1

33 धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रत रक्षेथे असुरस्य मायया । ऋतेन विश्वं भुवनं वि राजथ: सूर्यं आ धत्थो दिवि चित्र्यं रथम् । ऋ. V, 63 7.

chariot'. Vrata and dharman occur in V. 72. 2 and VI. 70. 3[34]; rta and vrata occur in I. 65 2, II. 27. 8, III. 4 7, X. 65. 8. Speaking generally, 'rta' is the cosmic order that has been there from the most ancient times Vrata means the laws or ordinances supposed to be laid down by all gods or by individual gods. Dharman meant religious rites or sacrifices or fixed principles Gradually the conception 'rta' became faint and receded into the background and 'satya' took its place. Dharman became an all-embracing conception and vrata came to be restricted to sacred vows and rules of conduct to be observed by a person as a member of a community or as an individual

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34. प्र प्रजाभिर्जायते धर्मणस्परि युनोः सिक्ता विपुरूपाणि सव्रता ॥ VI. 70 3.

CHAPTER II

VRATA in Vedic Literature, Sūtras and Smṛtis; definition and importance of Vratas.

After dealing with the etymology and semantic development of the word 'vrata' from the passages of the Ṛgveda in which the word occurs, it is now time to turn to the other Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas for finding out how that word is dealt with in them Some of the Ṛgvedic verses occur in other Vedic Saṃhitās In several such passages vrata appears to mean 'divine ordinances' or 'ethical patterns of conduct'. For example, the verse[35] Ṛg I. 22 19 'Mark the deeds of Viṣṇu, the helpful friend of Indra, whereby he watches over his ordinances' occurs also in T S I. 3 6 2, Atharva VII. 26 6, Vāj S VI. 4; Ṛg VIII. 11 1[36] 'O Agni! thou art a God that protects ordinances among (gods and) men, thou art to be praised in sacrifices' is also found in Atharva 19 59 1, Vāj S IV 16, T. S. I. 1 14 4-5 and I 2 3 1; Ṛg. I. 24. 15 is found in Vāj S. XII 12 and Atharva VII. 83 (88) 3 and XVIII. 4 69; Ṛg X. 191. 3 is almost the same as Atharva[37] VI. 64 2, the latter substituting the word 'vratam' for 'manaḥ' in the former and thereby indicating that 'vrata' means 'resolve to undertake a religious observance'; Ṛg VII. 103 1, in which frogs that lie down silent for a year and begin to croak at the advent of the rains are compared to brāhmaṇas observing a religious vow, occurs in the Atharvaveda IV. 15 13; Ṛg X. 12 5 is the same as Atharva XVIII. 1 33; Ṛg X. 24 is almost the same as Atharva XIX. 59 2; Ṛg I. 84. 12 is equal to Atharva XX. 109 3, in all of which the words *vratam* and *vratāni* occur. Agni is frequently called 'vratapāḥ' in the Ṛgveda (V. 2. 8, VI 8 2, VIII. 11 1, X. 32 6) and also Sūrya is so called (Ṛg I. 83 5) In the other Saṃhitās Agni is styled 'vratapā' as well as 'vratapati' (protector or lord of vratas) Atharva XX. 25. 5 (Sūryo vratapā) is the same as Ṛg I. 83. 5, Atharva XIX. 59 1 (tvam-Agne vratapā asi) is same as

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35 विष्णो कर्माणि पश्यत यतो व्रतानि पस्पशे । इन्द्रस्य युज्य सखा ॥ ऋ I 22 19.

36. त्वमग्ने व्रतपा अस्नि देव आ मर्त्येष्वा । त्वं यज्ञेष्वीड्य । ऋ VIII 11 1 The पदपाठ reads देव ; but it is possible to read the word as देवे (meaning देवेषु)

37. समानो मन्त्र. समिति समानी समानं व्रतं सह चित्तमेषाम् । अथर्व VI. 64. 2.

Rg VIII. 11. 1; Vāj S I. 5.[38] says 'O Agni, lord of vratas! I shall undertake a religious observance (or obligation). May I be able to carry it out, may that (undertaking) of mine succeed; here do I approach truth from untruth'. The T. S I. 3 4. 3 also styles Agni 'vratapati'. Here and there Vedic Saṁhitās other than the Rgveda do employ the word 'vrata' in the sense of 'ordinances of a god or of gods' as in T. S. IV. 3 11. 1, 2, 3 or Atharva VII. 40 (41) 1, VII. 68 (70). 1 ('Sarasvati vratesu te'). But in many places in all the Saṁhitās (other than the Rgveda) and in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads generally the ordinary senses of vrata are two, viz (1) religious observance or vow, or restrictions as to food and behaviour when one has undertaken a religious vow, or (2) the special food, that is prescribed for sustenance when a person is engaged in a religious rite or undertaking, such as cow's milk, *yavāgū* (barley gruel) or the mixture of hot milk and curds (called *āmikṣā*) Both meanings of vrata are given by Yāska in his Nirukta[39] A few passages from the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas are cited below to illustrate both meanings. For the first meaning, vide the following: T. S II. 5. 5. 6 'this[40] is his vrata (vow); he should not speak what is untrue, should not eat flesh, should not approach a woman (for sexual intercourse), nor should his apparel be washed with water impregnated with cleansing salt; for, all these things the gods do not do'; T S. V 7. 6. 1[41] 'birds are indeed fire; when one who has performed Agnicayana eats the (flesh of) birds, he would be eating fire and would meet with disaster (or distress); (therefore) he should observe this vrata (not to eat bird's flesh) for a year,

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38. व्रतमुपैष्यन् ब्रूयादग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामीति। तै. सं I 6. 7. 2, अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यताम्। इदमहमनृतात्सत्यमुपैमि। वाज. सं. I. 5; अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिषं तदशकं तन्मेऽराधीदमहं य एवास्मि सोऽस्मि। वाज सं. II. 28, अग्ने व्रतपते त्व व्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि। तै, सं I 3 4 3; व्रतेन त्व व्रतपते समक्तो विश्वाहा सुमना दीदिहीह। अथर्व VII 74 (78). 4, vide शतपथ I 1. 1. 2 which quotes वाज सं I. 5 and II. 28.

39 व्रतमिति कर्मनाम निवृत्तिकर्म वारयतीति सत.। इदमपीतरद्व्रतमेतस्मादेव वृणोतीति सत । अन्नमपि व्रतमुच्यते। यदावृणोति शरीरम्। निरुक्त II. 14.

40. तस्यैतद् व्रतम्। नानृतं वदेन्न मांसमश्नीयान्न स्त्रियमुपेयान्नास्य पल्यूलनेन वासः पल्यूलयेयुरेतद्धि देवा. सर्वं न कुर्वन्ति। तै. सं II 5. 5. 6

41. यदो ह्याग्निर्यदग्निचित् पक्षिणोऽश्नीयात् तमेवाग्निमभ्याधार्तिमृच्छेत् संवत्सरं व्रतं चरेत्संवत्सरं हि व्रतं नाति। तै सं. V. 7. 6. 1.

for vrata does not extend beyond a year'. The Śāṅkhāyana[42] Br VI 6 prescribes 'He has to observe the vrata, viz that he should not see the rising sun nor the setting sun'. The Tai Ā. I. 26 6 states 'this is the vrata for him (for him who has performed Ārunaketuka-cayana), viz he should not run while it is raining, should not urinate or void ordure in water, should not spit, should not bathe naked, should not step over lotus leaves or gold, should not eat (the flesh) of a tortoise'

The Brhadāranyakopanisad (I 5 21–23) remarks "now begins the consideration about vrata, Prajāpati indeed created the organs, which when created, vied with each other, speech stood fast (by the view) 'I shall only speak' (and do nothing else)' ..Therefore one should perform only one vrata, viz one should only breathe in and should emit breath, for fear that otherwise (*if one were to engage in the activities of the other organs*) wicked Death may seize him ".[43] It is stated in the Tai. Up III 7–10 'one should not speak ill of food, that is the vrata. ...one should not shun food, that is the vrata . one should prepare much food ..one should not refuse residence to a man whatever (when he comes as a stranger seeking shelter), that is the vrata; therefore one should secure plenty of food by some method or other.'[44] In the Chāndogyopanisad (adhyāya II, khandas 13–21) the words 'tad vratam' occur several times in relation to the injunctions *when* one is engaged in the *upāsanā* of several *Sāmans* not to complain about the hot sun, raining cloud, seasons, *lokas* (worlds), domestic animals, brāhmanas and the injunction not to eat marrow for a year (or not to eat it at all)

A few passages from the Vedic Literature may be cited for the second meaning of vrata (food for sustenance &c) men-

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42. तस्य व्रतमुदन्तमेवैव नेक्षेतास्त यन्त चेति। शा श्रा VI 6 जै IV. 1. 3 refers to this text and Śabara remarks that these are प्रजापतिव्रतम्, that they are पुरुषार्थ and not क्रत्वर्थ and that this text lays down a restriction that one should make a resolve not to see the rising or setting sun. आप ध सू I 11 31. 20 (उद्यन्तमस्त यन्त चादित्य दर्शने वर्जयेत्), मनु 4 37, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XII 10–12 make this and other rules applicable to all स्नातकस

43 अथातो व्रतमीमासा। प्रजापतिर्ह कर्माणि ससृजे तानि सृष्टान्यन्योन्येनास्पर्धन्त वदिष्यान्येवाहमिति वाग्द्रभे। .. तस्मादेकमेव व्रतं चरेत्प्राण्याद्वैवापान्याच्च नेन्मा पाप्मा मृत्युराप्नुवदिति। बृह उप I 5. 21–23. This passage is the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र III. 3 43.

44. अन्नं न निन्द्यात्। तद् व्रतम्। . अन्नं बहु कुर्वीत तद्व्रतम्। . न कंचन वसतौ प्रत्याचक्षीत। तद् व्रतम्। तस्माद्यया कया च विधया बह्वन्नं प्राप्नुयात्। तै उ. III. (भृगुवल्ली). 7–10

tioned above. The T. S. (VI. 2 5. 1.) remarks[45] 'he (dīksita) observes the vrata taking the milk from one udder, then from two udders, then from three, then from four; this is called *ksurapavi* (razor-edge) vrata; barley gruel is the vrata of a ksatriya (when dīksita), āmiksā (hot milk and curds mixed) of a vaiśya' The Śatapatha Br. provides[46] that a dīksita (one who has undergone the consecration ceremony for a vedic sacrifice) should subsist on milk. In another place the Śatapatha says 'for him he heats *vrata*' (i e. the food or milk). The Ait Br. also provides[47] that the dīksita first takes (the milk) from four udders as vrata on the Upasad days, then from three &c Vide T Ā. II 8[48] 'milk is the vrata of a brāhmana (sacrificer); *yavāgū* of a ksatriya and āmiksā of a vaiśya

It appears that in the times of the Brāhmanas the word 'vrata' had come to have two secondary senses derived from the sense of 'religious observance or obligation'; viz 'a proper course or pattern of conduct for a person', and 'an upavāsa' i e. the sacrificer's staying at night near Gārhapatya fire or fasting. As illustrative of the first may be cited a passage that occurs towards the end of the Ait. Br viz 'this is the *vrata* for him (for the king who has performed what is called 'brahmanah parimarah') that he should not sit down before his enemy sits down (but should do so after), if he thinks (from information received) that his enemy is standing the king should also stand up; he should not lie down before his enemy (does so); if the king thinks that (the enemy) has sat down he may then himself sit down, he should never sleep before his enemy sleeps; if he thinks that the enemy is awake he should himself keep awake;

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45 अथैकं स्तनं व्रतमुपैत्यथ द्वावथ त्रीनथ चतुर एतद्वै क्षुरपवि नाम व्रतं...पवाग् राजन्यस्य व्रतं . आमिक्षा वैश्यस्य पयो ब्राह्मणस्य ... तै. स VI. 2 3 1-3 क्षुरपवि occurs in अथर्व XII. 5 20 and 55

46 अथात पयोव्रततायै। पयोव्रतो दीक्षित. स्यात्। शतपथ IX. 5 1. 1; अथास्मै व्रतं अपयति . . अथास्मै व्रतं प्रयच्छति। शतपथ III 2 2. 10 and 16.

47 चतुरोऽग्रे स्तनान्व्रतमुपैत्युपसत्सु त्रीन् स्तनान् व्रतमुपैति ... । ऐ. आ. I. 25. 4. For उपसद् vide H. of Dh vol II pp. 1151-52. On the first day of upasad in the evening the milk of all four udders is to be used by the sacrificer, of three on the 2nd day in the morning, of two in the evening of 2nd day and of one udder on 3rd day morning

48. पयो ब्राह्मणस्य व्रतं पवाग् राजन्यस्यामिक्षा वैश्यस्य। तै. आ. II. 8 This passage is the subject matter of Jaimini IV 3 8-9 and VI 8 28. The sentence preceding पयो व्रतं &c is 'न मांसमश्नीयाच्च स्त्रियमुपेयाच्चोपर्यासीत क्षुधमस्तेजस्कामस्तात्।' Compare तै सं. VI. 2 5. 2-3.

even if the enemy has his head as hard as a stone (or has a stone helmet on his head), he (the king who performs the *parimara*) quickly overthrows him' [49]

The other secondary meaning of *vrata* seems to be *upavāsa* (i e Yajamāna's passing the night in the Darśa-isti and the Pūrnamāsa-isti near the Gārhapatya and other fires, or reducing his intake of food or fasting) "that he performs *upavāsa* in Darśa and Pūrnamāsa istis is so because the gods do not partake of the offering made by one who has not undergone *vrata*, therefore he undergoes upavāsa with the thought 'the gods may partake of my offering'" (*Ait Br.* VII II)[50]

Coming to the Śrautasūtras,[51] the two principal meanings of vrata mentioned above often figure in them For example, the Āp. Śr S IV 2 5–7, IV. 16 11, V 7 6 and 16, V 8. 1, V. 25. 2–20, IX 3 15, XI 1. 7 and IX. 18 9, Āśv Śr S II 2 7, III. 13. 1–2, Śān Śr. S II 3 26 may be referred to for the first meaning and Āp Śr S X 12 4, X. 17 6, XI 15 3 and 6 for the second (viz. food or milk &c) The Grhyasūtras and Dharmasūtras also present the same meaning of vrata For sample, the Āsv. Gr III. 10 5–7 states· these are the vratas for him, viz he should not bathe at night, nor bathe naked, nor run while it is raining

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49 तस्य व्रतम्। न द्विषत पूर्वं उपविशेद्यदि तिष्ठन्त मन्येत तिष्ठेतैव न द्विषत पूर्वं संविशेद्यद्यासीन मन्येतासीतैव न द्विषत पूर्व प्रस्वप्याद्यदि जाग्रत मन्येत जाग्रियादेवापि ह यद्यस्याश्ममूर्धा द्विषन्भवति क्षिप्र हैवैन स्तृणुते। ऐ ब्रा VIII 28

50 तदाहुर्यद्दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अव्रतस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्युत मे देवा हविरश्नीयुरिति। ऐ ब्रा VII 11 (or 32 9) The श्रा ब्रा III 1 has the same words The तै सं I 6 7 3 appears to refer to both these significances of upavāsa 'उपास्मिन्द्धो वक्ष्यमाणे देवता वसन्ति य एवं विद्वानग्निमुपस्तृणाति.. यद्वनाश्वाद्युपवसेत्पितृदेवत्य स्यात्।' सायण explains on ऐ ब्रा 'गार्हपत्यादिसमीपे यो वासः स उपवास। यद्वा देवा अस्यापि यज्ञे समीपे वसन्तीत्येतदीयोद्यानसद्भाव उपवास। यद्वा ब्राम्याशनपरित्याग उपवास.। तत्परित्यज्यारण्याद्यानरूपं नियम स्वीकुर्यात्।' अनाश्वान् is m nom sing of अनाश्वस् (one who has not eaten, one who is fasting)

51. A few of these passages may be set out here दक्षिणेनाहवनीयमवस्थाय व्रतमुपैष्यन्त्सुम्र मनसा ध्यायति। अथ जपत्यग्ने व्रतं चरिष्यामीति ब्राह्मण.। वायो व्रतपत आदित्य व्रतपते व्रतानां व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामीति राजन्यवैश्यौ। आप श्रौ IV. 3 1–2: अथ व्रत चरति न मासमश्नाति न स्त्रियमुपैति नास्यार्ग्नि गृहाङ्हरन्ति नान्यत आहरन्ति। योस्याग्निमाधास्यन् स्यात् स एतां रात्रिं व्रत चरति न मासमश्नाति न स्त्रियमुपैति। आप श्रौ V 7. 6 and 16, अत ऊर्ध्वमाहिताग्निर्व्रतचार्यां होमात्। आश्व श्रौ II 2 7, आहिताग्निर्व्रते नाभिष्ट्वा पशुना मासमश्नीयादग्निष्टाग्रयणेन नवानामोषधीनां फलानि। शा श्रौ II 3 26 As to the second meaning of व्रत (food, milk &c) vide आप श्रौ X 17. 6 गार्हपत्ये दीक्षितस्य व्रत अपयति दक्षिणाग्नौ पत्न्या.।, अत्रैकस्तन व्रत यजमानाय प्रयच्छति आप श्रौ XI 15. 6

&c.; the Pār. Gr. II 8 says that the *snātaka* has to follow for three days after *samāvartana* certain observances such as not eating flesh, not using earthen vessels for drinking water, not seeing women, śūdras, corpses and crows, not speaking with śūdras, not urinating nor voiding ordure nor spitting in front of the sun, or he should simply speak the truth (instead of observing the other requirements of this passage). Gautama (VIII. 15), Śānkhāyana-grhya (II 11–12), Gobhila-grhya (III 1. 26–31) and others mention certain *vratas* (now obsolete) which every Vedic student was to undergo. Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp 370–373 for descriptions of these. The Āp Dh. S. II 1. 1. 1 ff' specifies[52] the observances to be followed by the husband and wife from the day of their marriage such as eating only twice in the day, not eating to satiety, fasting on *parvan* days Similarly, the Āp. Dh S. (I. 11. 30 6, I 11 31) sets out the observances for *snātakas* (atha snātaka-vratāni) Pāninı has a special sūtra 'vrate' (III. 2. 80) for explaining the formation of words from *vrata* with the affix *in* (ninı) preceded by a substantive such as 'sthandilaśāyin' and 'aśrāddha-bhojı' (one who has taken the vow of not partaking of śrāddha food) Pānini (III. 1. 21)[53] also teaches the formation of a denominative verb from vrata in the sense of 'doing' (*vratayati vratam karoti*). It is the Kāśikā that adds a *vārtika* (absent in the Mahābhāsya) that the verb so derived expresses both the eating of food and the eschewing of it.

As prāyaścittas (expiations) involved the observance of several strict rules they came to be called vratas in Manu (XI. 117, 170, 176, 181), Yājñavalkya (III. 251, 252, 254, 258), Śankha (17. 6, 22, 42, 61, 62) and other smrtis. In the Mahābhārata the word *vrata* is mainly used in the sense of a religious undertaking or vow in which one has to observe certain restrictions about food or one's general behaviour. Vide Vanaparva 296 3, Udyoga 39. 71–72, Śānti 35 39, Anuśāsana 103 34. It was also applied in the epic to a course or pattern of conduct or behaviour not necessarily religious. For example, in the Sabhāparva 58 16 Yudhisthira says that it has been his constant vow that he would not refuse dice-play when he was challenged to it[54] Apart from

52 पाणिग्रहणादधि गृहमेधिनोर्व्रतम्। कालगोर्भोजनम्। अतृप्तिश्चाक्षस्य। पर्वसु चोभपोषणवास:। आप ध सू II. 1. 1–4.

53. मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच्। पा III. 1. 21, व्रताद्भोजन-तन्निवृत्तौ च। पयो व्रतयति वृषलार्थं व्रतयति। काशिका

54. आहूतोहं न निवर्ते कदाचित्तदाहितं शाश्वतं वै व्रतं मे। सभापर्व 58. 16.

the secondary applications of the word vrata, its principal meaning from at least the first centuries of the Christian era onwards has been that of a religious undertaking or vow, observed on a certain tithi, week day, month or other period, for securing some desired object by the worship of a deity, usually accompanied by restrictions as to food and behaviour This is the sense in which the word *vrata* will be used in this section Vratas may be expiatory (*i e* they will be prāyaścittas) or obligatory (such as the vratas of a brahmacārin or snātaka or householder) or they may be voluntary and self-imposed for securing some specific end Expiatory vratas have already been dealt with in the 4th volume of the H of Dh under Prāyaścittas The vratas of a brahmacārin, of snātaka and of the householder have been treated of in volume II of the H of Dh. Vratas or vows that are more or less self-imposed will be discussed in this section of the 5th volume

Vows are found in all religions The Old Testament and the New Testament both bear witness to the sacredness of vows, vide Isaiah 19. 21, Job 22 27, Psalms 22 25, Acts 21 23 The Jainas have five great vows and the Buddhists have the pañca-śīlas.

A great deal of discussion is found in the mediæval digests on a comprehensive definition of vrata Śabara[55] on Jai. VI 2. 20 arrives at the conclusion that by vrata is meant a mental activity, which is a resolve in the form "I shall not do this" and gives as an illustration the sentence 'one should not see the rising or setting sun'. Medhātithi on Manu IV. 13 seems to accept this The Agnipurāna[56] provides 'a restrictive rule declared by the śāstras is called vrata, which is also regarded as *tapas*; restraint of senses and other rules are but special incidents of vrata, vrata is called *tapas* because it causes hardship to the performer (of the vrata) and it is also called *niyama* since therein one has to restrain the several organs of sense'. Manu II. 3

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55. तस्य व्रतमिति प्रकृत्य प्रजापतिव्रतानि समाम्नातानि । व्रतमिति च मानसं कर्मोच्यते हृदं न करिष्यामीति य सङ्कल्प । कतमत् तद् व्रतम् । नोद्यन्नमादित्यमीक्षेतेति । यथा तद्वीक्षणं न भवति तथा मानसो व्यापार कर्तव्य । तस्य पालनम् । शबर on जै VI 2 20, मानस सङ्कल्पो व्रतमुच्यते । शास्त्रविहितमिद मया कर्तव्यमिद वा न कर्तव्यमित्येवम् । मेधा० on मनु IV. 13 (व्रतानीमानि धारयेत्)

56. शास्त्रोदितो हि नियमो व्रत तच्च तपो मतम् । नियमास्तु विशेषास्तु व्रतस्यैव दमादय ॥ व्रत हि कर्तुसन्तापात्तप इत्यभिधीयते । इन्द्रियग्रामनियमात्तेषामभिधीयते ॥ अग्निपुराण 175 2-3. The first verse is also गरुडपुराण I 128 1.

declares[57] 'resolve is the root of desires, of sacrifices, of vratas and the characteristics called *yamas*—all are known to spring from resolve' But every *sankalpa* entertained by any person whatever is not and cannot be called vrata It may be noted that the Amarakośa holds[58] that the words 'niyama' and 'vrata' are synonyms and that the latter consists of fast and the like that produce merit (*punya*), while the Āp. Dh S I 2, 57 remarks that the word *tapas* is applied to the rules of conduct prescribed for a brahmacārin ('niyamesu tapahśabdah') The Mitākṣarā[59] on Yāj I. 129 appears to indicate that vrata is a mental resolve to do something or refrain from doing something, both being enjoined as duties It is therefore that Śridatta (probably taking his cue from Śabara and the Mit) in his Samaya-pradīpa defines vrata as 'a definite resolve relating to a certain matter held as obligatory' and proceeds to lay down that it may be positive (being in the form 'I must do it') or negative ('I must not do this') He further holds that a resolve[60] made with the addition of a condition not enjoined by śāstras is not a vrata: e g. if a man were to declare that he would observe a fast if his father would not forbid it and that otherwise he would not, this would not be a vrata and that, since *sankalpa* is the principal matter in a vrata, if a man of weak intellect or an ignorant man observes a fast without sankalpa, it would be simply so

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57. सङ्कल्पमूल कामो वै यज्ञा. सङ्कल्पसम्भवा. । व्रतानि यमधर्माश्च सर्वे सङ्कल्पजा. स्मृता. ॥ मनु II 3 या III 312-313 mention ten *yamas* (ब्रह्मचर्य, दया, अहिंसा, दम &c) and ten niyamas (such as स्नान, मौन, उपवास, शौच &c.), while the योगसूत्र mentions only five यम (अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहाः यमा.) and five नियम (शौचसन्तोषतप स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमा) मनु IV. 204 and Atri verse 47 provide that one must observe yamas always (i e they are paramount duties), while niyamas are not so The वायुपुराण (16 17-19) enumerates a large number of नियम (and includes अहिंसा, अस्तेय and ब्रह्मचर्य under them) The एकादशीतत्त्व after quoting मनु II. 3 explains 'अनेन कर्मणा इदमिष्टं फलं साध्यते इत्येवंविषया बुद्धि. सङ्कल्पस्तदनन्तरमिष्टसाधनतया अवगते तस्मिन् इच्छा जायते ततस्तदर्थं प्रयत्नं कुर्वीत इत्येवं यज्ञा सङ्कल्पसम्भवा ।'.

58. नियमो व्रतमस्त्री तच्चोपवासादि पुण्यकम् । अमरकोश.

59 एव श्रौतस्मार्तानि कर्माण्यभिधायेदानीं गृहस्थस्य स्नानाद्दारभ्य ब्राह्मणस्याहरय-कर्तव्यानि विधिप्रतिषेधात्मकानि मानससङ्कल्परूपाणि स्नातकव्रतान्याह । न स्वाध्याय० । मिता on या. I. 129

60 स्वकर्तव्यविषयो नियत सङ्कल्पो व्रतम्। स च द्विविधो भावविषयोऽभावविषयश्च। तथा इदं मया कर्तव्यमेव, इदं मया न कर्तव्यमेवेति। समयमदीप folio 2 b, एवं च पिता मां न निषेधयिष्यति तदोपवासं करिष्ये नो चेन्नेत्याद्युपाधिसङ्कल्पो न व्रतम्। तद्वा स्याद्यदि शास्त्रीय एवोपाधिः स्यात्। एवं च सङ्कल्पस्य प्रधानत्वात् दुर्बलानां सङ्कल्पमकृत्वैवोपवासाद्याचरणं क्लेशमात्रमिति। समयमदीप folio 3 b

much physical hardship but no vrata. The Kṛtyaratnākara[61] mentions several definitions of vrata given by its predecessors, one of which by Deveśvara was that 'a vrata is that which is included in the vratakāṇḍa' This last is a desperate effort at definition and leaves the inquirer hardly wiser than before That sankalpa is closely connected with vrata cannot be gainsaid and follows from a verse of Laghu-Viṣnu[62] 'the choosing of *ṛtviks* is the starting point of a sacrifice, *sankalpa* that of *vrata* and of a *japa* of mantras (in honour of a deity)'. Śūlapāni defined vrata on almost the same lines as Śrīdatta Lakṣmīdhara in his Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata does not define vrata but begins his treatment of vrata with vrataprasaṃsā. Prof K V Rangaswami Aiyangar in his Introduction to the Vratakāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru remarks (p XXIII) 'Raghunandana in his Vrata-tattva also avoids any attempt to define vrata' Prof Aiyangar did not notice that Raghunandana discusses the question of the definition of vrata in his Ekādaśītattva (Jiv vol II p 7) and therefore he did not repeat the definition in the Vratatattva Raghunandana mentions[63] the definitions of vrata given by Nārāyana and Śrīdatta, does not agree that vrata is a sankalpa but holds that vrata means various rites about which a resolve is made and also that vrata is a *niyama* (a restrictive rule) enjoined by the śāstra, characterised by *upavāsa* and the like and not every niyama such as 'ṛtukālābhigāmī syāt' (Yāj I 79, Manu III. 45) The Vrataprakāśa (a part of Vīramitrodaya) defines vrata as 'a special sankalpa concerning what is well known to the learned as vrata,' just as *mantras* are those that are well-known among the learned as mantras[64] The Dharmasindhu (p 9) defines vrata as a kind

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61 देवेश्वरधर्माधिकारिणस्तु व्रतकाण्डपरिपठितत्वमेव व्रतमित्यूचिरे। कृ र p 633 The व्रतार्क (folio 1) appears to have held the same view

62 प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे सङ्कल्पो व्रतजापयो। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ श्राद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया॥ लघुविष्णु q by मद् पा p 423, स्मृत्यर्थसार p 17, व्रतकालविवेक p 9

63 दीर्घकालाङ्गपालनीयतत्तद्विहितकर्तव्यताकलापसहितनियतसङ्कल्पविषयो व्रतमिति व्रतलक्षणम्। व्रतकालविवेक (in) I H Q vol. 17 No. 4, p 6, दीर्घकालाङ्गपालनीयसङ्कल्पो व्रतमिति नारायणोपाध्यायानां स्वरस। एकादशीतत्त्व (p 7) of रघुनन्दन, न सङ्कल्पो व्रत किंतु सङ्कल्पविषयतत्तत्कर्मैव व्रतमिति। एकादशीतत्त्व p 7, शास्त्रविहितो नियमो व्रतमिति तच्च उपवासादिलक्षणमित्यर्थ। तथापि तन्मात्रं व्रतमिति न वाच्यम्' क्रतुकालाभिगामी स्यादित्यादावतिव्याप्ते। एकादशीतत्त्व p 8

64 तत्र व्रतं नाम अभियुक्तव्रतप्रसिद्धिविषय सङ्कल्पविशेष। अभियुक्तमन्त्रप्रसिद्धिविषयमन्त्रवत्। व्रतमकाश folio 9a, the अहल्याकामधेनु appears to borrow this 'व्रत नामाभियुक्तप्रसिद्धविषयमन्त्रवत्' (folio 75 b).

of religious rite consisting of *pūjā* and the like. Although at the root of every vrata and as an urge for it, there must be a sankalpa it appears to me that Raghunandana and the Dharmasindhu properly represent the popular meaning of vrata A vrata comprehends several items such as snāna (bath), the morning prayer (prātah-sandhyā), *sankalpa*, *homa*, *pūjā* of the deity or deities in whose honour or for securing whose favour the vrata is undertaken, upavāsa, feeding of brāhmanas, maidens or married women or the poor and helpless (according to the nature of the vrata), gifts (of cows, money, apparel, sweetmeats &c) and the observance of certain rules of conduct during the period of the vrata. Some of these matters will be dealt with in detail later on, but a few may be disposed off here. Some writers relying on Śātātapa said that before a vrata was undertaken a Vrddhi-śrāddha must be performed[65] The Agnipurāna (175 12) states[66] that one who undertakes a vrata must always take a bath (every day), should subsist on a limited quantity of food, should worship and honour his *guru*, gods and brāhmanas and should eschew ksāra, ksaudra, lavana, honey and meat. Devala states[67] 'without partaking of food (the previous night), after bathing and concentrating one's mind, one should, after invoking the Sun and other deities to be present, commence a vrata in the morning'. The general tendency of medieval writers to go on adding details to what was originally brief is seen at work here also The Vratakālaviveka says that before sankalpa, there

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65. व्रताद्यारम्भे वृद्धिश्राद्धं कार्यं तदाह शातातप । नान्दिमुखं तु पितृव्यं श्राद्धकर्म किंचित्समारभेत् । व्रतार्क folio 6 b, यदाह देवल । व्रतोपवासनियमैः शरीरोत्तापनं तप । व्रतशब्दोऽत्र स्नानदानजपहोमपूजोपवासादिपर । एतेन व्रतखण्डमतिपाद्याना धर्माणामपि साधारण-त्वं सूचितम् । हेमाद्रि (व्रतखण्ड) I. p 6

66. नित्यस्नायी मिताहारो गुरुदेवद्विजार्चक । क्षारं क्षौद्रं च लवणं मधुमांसानि वर्जयेत् ॥ अग्नि 175 12 (q by निर्णयसिन्धु p 26 with the remark that the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय quotes it). There is no agreement about the meaning of ksāra and lavana. Vide H. of Dh vol II. 304 note 723 for the several meanings and अग्निपु. 175 13-14, *madhu* and *ksaudra* are often used as synonyms Here ksaudra may be taken as honey collected from bee-hives and madhu as not so collected

67. अभुक्त्वा प्रातराहारं स्नात्वाचम्य समाहित । सूर्यादिदेवताभ्यश्च निवेद्य व्रतमाचरेत् ॥ देवल q. by व क्रि कौ. p 65, नि सि p 24, व्रततत्त्व p 151, व्रतकालविवेक p. 7 which explains 'अत्र प्रातर्व्रतमाचरेदित्यन्वय ' and quotes वराहपुराण in support 'प्रात सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वान्नपवासव्रतादिषु । नापराह्णे न मध्याह्ने पित्र्यकालौ हि तौ स्मृतौ ॥ . 'सङ्कल्पस्य पूर्वं नारायणस्मरण-नमस्कारौ विहितौ । यथा योगियाज्ञवल्क्य । ध्यायेन्नारायणं नित्य स्नानादिषु च कर्मसु । &c This is बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य VII 33 'ध्यायेन्नारायणं देव नित्यं स्नानादिकर्मसु ।'

should be remembrance of Nārāyana and namaskāra to him, as laid down by Yogiyājñavalkya There is difference of opinion about the worship of Ganeśa[68] The Vratakālaviveka quotes the Padmapurāna for the order in which the several deities are to be worshipped and honoured after *sankalpa* and refutes the idea that the worship of Ganesa should always precede the worship of other deities. Though the general rule is that[69] the *sankalpa* of a vrata is to be made in the morning, still there are some passages to the contrary. For example, the Bhavisyapurāna[70] (Uttara 11 6-8) provides that on the evening of Āsādha Full Moon one should declare a resolve as follows 'from tomorrow for one month in Śrāvana, I shall take a bath, observe *brahmacarya*, take one meal only after evening, sleep on the ground, will be compassionate to all living beings'.

There is a difference between *homa* and *pūjā* A homa with Vedic mantras, according to ancient authorities, cannot be performed by women and sūdras Though theoretically the three varnas were entitled to perform homa with Vedic mantras some learned brāhmanas held the view that in the *Kaliyuga* no proper ksatriyas and vaisyas existed[71] Even as to Śūdra[72] some writers like Kamalākarabhatta went so far that a śūdra could not read and study even purānas but should only listen to their

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68 तदनन्तरमादित्यादिदेवता पूजनमाह पद्मपुराणम्। आदित्य गणनाथ च देवीं रुद्रं यथाक्रमम्। नारायणं विष्णुमथोमयन्ते च कुलदेवता। केचित्तु आदौ गणेशपूजनं वर्णयन्ति। तत्र।-क्रमविधायकपद्मपुराणवचनविरोधात्। व्रतकालविवेक p 8 The व्रततत्त्व (p 152) quotes the verse आदित्य &c and remarks that गणेशपूजन comes first where the worship of the sun is not concerned

69. तस्माद्रुपपन्ना आचारेण च तिथिव्रतादौ मातरेव व्रतग्रहणम्। यत्र तु विशिष्टे तद्बाधकावतारस्तत्र व्यज्यतेपि, यथा मायश्चित्तव्रते व्रतं निशामुखे ग्राह्य यहिस्तारकदर्शनात्—इत्येकभक्तानन्तर रात्रौ सङ्कल्पविधानम्। कृ र pp 55-56

70 आषाढपूर्णिमाया तु सन्ध्याकाले व्यवस्थिते। सङ्कल्पयेन्नासमेक श्रावणे त्व प्रभृत्यहम्। स्नानं करिष्ये नियता ब्रह्मचर्ये स्थिता सती। भोक्ष्यामि नक्त भूशय्या करिष्ये प्राणिना दयाम्। इति सङ्कल्प्य पुरुषो नारी वा ब्राह्मणान्तिके। प्राप्याज्ञा तत प्रात. सर्वसामग्रिसंयुत। भविष्य (उत्तर 11 6-8)

71. Vide the discussion in the H of Dh vol II pp 380-382 about the existence of ksatriyas and vaisyas in modern times

72 अत्र केचित्। वैदिकमन्त्रो विप्रस्य, पौराणस्तु शूद्रे पठनीय पाझोक्तेरित्याहु। गौडा अप्येवम्। तत्र। 'नाश्येतव्यमिद शास्त्रं वृषलस्य तु सनिधौ' इति कौर्मे पुराणनिषेधेन वेदस्य दूरापास्तत्वात्। अध्येतव्यं ब्राह्मणेनैव वैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च। श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाश्येतव्यं कदाचन। तस्माच्छूद्रविना विप्र न श्रोतव्यं कदाचनेति तत्रैव पुराणाधिकारे भविष्योक्तेश्च। नि मि p 392 The भविष्य passage is in ब्राह्मपर्व 1 71-72 'श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाश्येतव्य कथचन॥'

recital by brāhmanas. The result was that most people performed only *pūjā* and not homa in Agni. According to most writers the homa was to be performed in honour of that deity for whose favour the vrata was performed. According to Vardhamāna and a few others the homa in a vrata may be in honour of the deity of the vrata or may be a vyāhrtihoma[73] It is stated by the Agnipurāna[74] that there is *japa*, homa and also gifts at the end of all vratas in general and the Visnudharmottara observes that those who perform upavāsavrata should inaudibly mutter the mantras of that deity, should meditate on that deity, should listen to stories about that deity, should worship the image of that deity, should take the names of that deity and listen to others singing the names Pūrvamīmāmsā writers made a distinction between *homa, yāga* and *dāna*. Śabara[75] on Jai. IV. 2. 28 puts the distinction in a nutshell by saying that 'giving up what belongs to one is common to all the three, but *yāga* means simply giving up something intending it for a deity and accompanying it with a mantra; in *homa* there is in addition the throwing of a thing in fire; dāna consists in abandoning a thing that belongs to one and creating the ownership of another in that thing.' In another place (on Jai IX. 1. 6), Śabara refers to the argument that yāga is nothing but the worship of a deity (api ca yāgo nāma devatāpūjā).

Manu II. 176 and Yāj. I. 99, 100, 102 show that *Devapūjā* is different from[76] *homa* and was performed after the latter according to Marīci and Hārīta quoted in the Smrticandrikā, Smrti-muktā-

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73. Vide H. of Dh vol. II. pp. 207–211 for the description of a model homa and the order of the several parts in a homa. The four oblations with the Vyāhrtis would be भूः स्वाहा, भुवः स्वाहा, स्वः स्वाहा, भूर्भुवः स्वः स्वाहा with ओम् prefixed to each.

74 जपो होमश्च सामान्यव्रतान्ते दानमेव च। अग्निषु 175 60; विष्णुधर्मे। तज्जप्यजपनं ध्यानं तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। तदर्चनं च तज्जामकीर्तनश्रवणादय. । उपवासकृतामेते गुणाः प्रोक्ता मनीषिभि ॥ नि सि p 24; व्र का वि p 11 quotes a similar verse from देवीपुराण 'तद्ध्यानं तज्जपश्चैव तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम्। उपवासकृता... मनीषिभि. ' ॥

75. तदुक्ते श्रवणाज्जुहोतिरासेचनाधिकः । जै IV. 2 28, on which शबर *remarks*: यजतिददातिजुहोतिषु सर्वेषूत्सर्ग समान । तत्र यजतिर्देवतामुद्दिश्योत्सर्गमात्रं, जुहोतिरासेचनाधिक , ददातिरुत्सर्गपूर्वक परस्वत्वेन सम्बन्ध इत्येष एषां विशेष इति । , *vide* शबर on जै. VII 1 5 ' एष च यजि. यद्द्रव्यं देवतामुद्दिश्य मन्त्रेण त्यज्यते । '.

76. तत्र हारीत' । कुर्वीत देवतापूजा जपयज्ञादनन्तरम्। स्थण्डिले प्रतिमायां वा जलेऽग्नौ हृदयेऽपि वा ॥ मरीचिरपि । विधाय देवतापूजा मातर्होमादनन्तरम् । स्थण्डिले प्रतिमायां वा वह्नौ वा हृदयेपि वा ॥ स्मृतिच. I. p. 198, स्मृतिमु. (आह्निक) p. 383.

phala and other digests Certain matters connected with devapūjā such as the questions whether images of gods were worshipped in the times of the Ṛgveda and the Saṃhitās, whether the worship of images arose spontaneously among the Vedic Aryans or whether it was derived from some other race or sectarians or from śūdras and Dravidian tribes, have already been dealt with at some length in H of Dh vol II pp 705–712 Similarly, descriptions of devapūjā and the several items and stages in the procedure of devapūjā have been set out in H of Dh. vol. II pp 726–735 A few matters either not set out there at all or briefly set out may be spoken of here It should be noted that ordinarily there are 16 upacāras[77] (items of showing honour) in the procedure of devapūjā, but they may be increased to 36 or 38 or reduced to 14, 12, 10 or 5 and there is no complete unanimity on the question of the names of the 16 upacāras and their order. The Brahmavaivartapurāna sets out what the sixteen, twelve and five upacāras are The Vratārka quotes verses enumerating 38, 16, 10 or 5 upacāras. If a person is unable to offer even five upacāras then he should offer two, viz sandalwood paste and flowers and if he cannot do even that, then he may offer only devotion. So says the Kālikāpurāna quoted in Varsakriyā-kaumudī p 157. From Śabara's *bhāṣya* on Jai. V. 1. 4 it follows that long before his day (not later than 4th century A. D.) the order (*krama*) of the upacāras had been settled[78] Mediæval works like the Vratārka (folio 23 b ff) and V. K K pp 200–201

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77 For 38 उपचारs vide व्रतराज p 44. 36 उपचारs are enumerated in एकादशीतत्त्व p. 58 quoting from आह्निकचिन्तामणि They are not set out here for reasons of space The 16 उपचारs quoted from प्रपञ्चसार by व कि. कौ. p 156 and ए. त. p. 59 are आसनं स्वागतं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम्। मधुपर्काचमस्नान-वस्त्राभरणानि च। गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपनैवेद्यवन्दनम्। प्रणोजयेदर्चनायामुपचारांश्च षोडश। अर्घ्यपाद्याचमनकमधुपर्काचमा अपि। गन्धादयो निवेद्यान्ता उपचारा दश क्रमात्। गन्धादयो निवेद्यान्ता पूजा पञ्चोपचारिकी। उपचारैर्यथाशक्ति देवतामन्वहं यजेत्। The व कि कौ (p 157) proceeds 'अत्यन्ताशक्तावुपचारद्वयेनापि पूजामाह कालिकापुराणे। .. अभावे गन्धपुष्पाभ्यां तदभावे च भक्तित '. The व कि कौ p 156 notes that there is slight difference in the order in which some upacāras are offered 'अत्र अर्घ्यानन्तर पाद्यमाचमनीय चोक्तम्। शारदातिलकादिषु पाद्याचमनीयानन्तरमर्घ्यमुक्तम्। कालिकापुराणे पाद्यार्घ्याचमनीयक्रम उक्त '. Vide ब्रह्मवैवर्त (ब्रह्मखण्ड) chap 26.90–92 for उपचारs

78. यथा श्वाद्यर्थेधूपदिश्यमानेषु काश्चिद् ब्रूयात्—देवाय धूपो देव पुष्पाण्यवकरित-व्यानि, चन्दनोत्तुलेप्तव्य उपहारोऽस्मा उपहर्तव्य, पूर्व कृते देवस्तुप्यतीति। तमत्र प्रतिब्रते। नैतदेवं न प्रथमं धूपो दातव्य प्रथमं पुष्पाण्यवकरितव्यानीति। शाबर on जै. V 1. 4.

(quoting Nrsimhapurāna 62 8–14) prescribe for all vratas in general the recital of each of the sixteen verses of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90) with each of the sixteen upacāras in order (viz. āvāhana, āsana, pādya, arghya, ācamanīyaka, snāna, vastra, yajñopavīta, anulepana (or gandha), puspa, dhūpa, dīpa, naivedya, tāmbūla, daksinā, pradaksinā), while some works associate with each of these one or more Paurānika mantras also It should not be supposed that these upacāras (particularly puspa, gandha, dhūpa, dīpa and naivedya) were absent in the Vedic age and came into prominence at a very late stage by being borrowed from non-Aryan people. The Aśvins are described as wearing wreaths of blue lotuses (puskarasrajā) in Rg X. 184. 2 and Atharva III. 22. 4; the Maruts also are spoken of as wearing wreaths (Rg. V 53. 4). In numerous passages the Rgveda refers to the casting of offerings (*havya*) mixed with clarified butter in Agni (e g. Rg. III 59 1 and 5)[79] The gods are even asked to *eat* apūpa, purodāśa, dhānā, milk, curds, honey &c. in Rg. III 53 8, III 52 1–7, IV. 32. 16, VIII. 91. 2, in Atharva XVIII 4. 16–26. The underlying conception in these passages is the same as that involved in offering *naivedya* to an image. In the Śatapatha Br[80] the word *upacāra* appears to have been used in the sense of 'honour' or 'mode of showing honour' In the Tai. Ā X. 40[81] occurs a mantra called 'Medhā-janana' which was recited in the ear of a child in the *jātakarma* 'may god Savitr, goddess Sarasvatī and the gods Aśvins wearing wreaths of blue lotuses produce in you intelligence'. There is evidence that long before the time of the grhyasūtras several of the sixteen upacāras were well-known. The Nighantu (III. 14) enumerates 44 verbs that have the sense of 'worship' among which 'pūjayati' is

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79. मित्रो जनान्यातयति ... मित्राय हव्यं घृतवज्जुहोत ॥ ऋ III, 59 1; अपूपमद्धि सगणो मरुद्भि: सोमं पिब वृत्रहा शूर विद्वान् ॥ ऋ III 52 7, पुरोळाशं च नो वसो जोषयासे गिरश्च न । ऋ III 22.3, ताँ ऊ ष्वस्य सवनस्य पीतये आ वो वाजा ऋभवो वेदयामसि ॥ ऋ. IV 36. 2. This last is a precursor of the idea of नैवेद्य, which word should be derived from निवेद्य (what is presented or offered) on the analogy of words like चातुर्वर्ण्य and त्रैलोक्य (from त्रि+लोक). The कुलार्णवतन्त्र (*ullāsa* 17 80) derives it in this way 'निवेदनाद्भवेत्तृप्तिर्नैवेद्यं तदुदाहृतम्'.

80. अवस्तादिव हि श्रेयस उपचार । शतपथ I. 1. 1 11 'from below as it were (i. e from a lower level) honour is to be shown to one who is superior'.

81. कर्णयोरुपनिधाय मेधाजननं जपति। मेधा ते देवः सविता मेधां देवी सरस्वती। मेधां ते अश्विना देवावाधत्तां पुष्करस्रजाविति। आश्व. गृ. I. 15. 2. This *mantra* is Tai. Ā. X 40. 1.

included The Nirukta in explaining the word 'supāniḥ' occurring in Rg III. 33 6 states that the word 'pāni' is[82] derived from 'pan' to offer pūjā and supports this derivation by saying that people worship gods by joining together their hands It is clear that the Nighantu treated 'pūjayati' as a verb occurring in the Vedas and that folding the hands (i e namaskāra) was a item of worship long before the Nirukta While explaining the word 'saparyan' occurring in Rg III. 31 1 the Nirukta offers 'pūjayan' as a synonym. From Pāṇini[83] V 3 99 and the Mahābhāsya thereon it is clearly seen that in the days of the former images of gods were made for sale and also for worship Patañjali expressly says that the rule applies to images which were worshipped and which gave livelihood to the *Pujaris* of those images and not to images made for sale Vide also Mahābhāsya on Pāṇini I 1 25. The Āsv Gr[84] provides that when *madhuparka* is to be offered to a rtvik, an ācārya, a bridegroom, a king or a snātaka or a relative (like father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncle), a seat, water for washing the feet, arghya water, water for ācamana, honey mixture, a cow are to be announced to the guest three times in each case In another place, the same sūtra[85] speaks of the presentation of sandal-wood paste, flowers, incense, lamp and garment to the brāhmanas invited at a srāddha In these two passages alone nine of the 16 *upacāras* are mentioned. The word pūjā took on a secondary meaning, viz (honour without use of gandha, puspa &c) even in the times of Dharmasūtrās (vide Āp Dh S I. 4 14 9, 'nityā ca pūjā yathopadesam') Yāj (I 229 ff) mentions in srāddha *āvāhana, arghya, gandha, mālya, dhūpa, dipa* &c When the worship of images became common, the

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82 पाणिः पणायन्तेऽर्चतिकर्मणः। अथाप्यस्य पाणी देवाद्द्रजयन्ति। निरुक्त III 26, it may be noted that the Nighantu III 5 enumerates ten verbs meaning 'paricaryā' (waiting upon) one of which is सपर्यति, while 44 verbs of which पूजयति is one are separately enumerated as meaning 'अर्चति'

83. जीविकार्थे चापण्ये। पा V 3 99. संघैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चा प्रकल्पिताः। भोक्तारो न स्यात्। यास्येन संघेन पूजार्थास्तास्तु भविष्यन्ति। महाभाष्य The Mauryas greedy of gold or wealth manufactured images of Siva, Skanda for sale, those images would be called 'Śiva, Skanda &c' but those that were set up for worship and became the means of livelihood to *pujaris* (priests) were called 'Śiva,' 'Skanda' &c On पा I 1 25 the महाभाष्य says 'कारपचकञ्च पूजार्थम्'

84 निहत्य पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयं मधुपर्कं गोरित्येतया त्रिरावृत्यैकैक वेदयते। आश्व गृ. I 24, 7. Note the word वेदयते here.

85 एतेनैवाग्नये मन्त्रवते पशवेऽग्नीषोमाभ्यामालभनान्तं प्रदानम्। आश्व गृ IV 8.1.

upacāras that had been offered for showing honour and worship to worthy men were by a natural analogy employed in it In my view the theory that pūjā and the upacāras were borrowed from the Dravidians or some non-Aryan people cannot be held to be proved, is quite speculative and that 'pūjā' of images of gods was an indigenous development. Medieval writers were careful to point out that there was no essential difference between yāga (vedic or other sacrifice) and pūjā, as in both there was the giving of some substance intending it for a deity. Prof J Charpentier contributed a paper on 'the meaning and etymology of pūjā' to the Indian Antiquary vol 56 pp 93–99 and pp 130 ff I demur to his conclusions He points out that 'pu' in Tamil means 'flower', that the word pūjā is derived from Dravidian 'pūcu', 'pūsu' to paint or daub' (p. 133) and asks the question why red colour is used in the worship of Gods; he himself answers it by suggesting that it was a substitute for blood There is no reason whatever for assuming that pūjā was derived from 'pu' and not from 'puspa' (flower) which was known to the Rgveda (II. 13 7 'puspinīh' and X 97 3 'puspavatīh'). There is no sound reason to assume that 'pūcu' (to paint) existed thousands of years ago in Dravidian languages and was not a more recent acquisition, when the word pūjā can be traced a thousand years before any existing literary work in any Dravidian language.[86]

Some works on vratas treat at great length the several upacāras, particularly flowers that should be offered to the various images worshipped, the consequences of offering those flowers, the various kinds of fragrant substances (*gandha*) to be offered or the incense to be burnt, the nature of the foods &c. Vide for example, Hemādri (on vrata) vol. I. pp. 49–51, Krtyaratnākara pp. 70–71, 77–79, Varsakriyākaumudī pp 156–181. For reasons of space it is not possible to treat of these matters here. Besides, H. of Dh vol II. (pp 731–734) deals at some length with the unguents, the flowers, the lamps, the naivedya to be offered in the ordinary *devapūjā*. A few matters not mentioned there are set out here for the sake of completeness of treatment The Sm. C. I. p. 201 quotes the Padmapurāna[87] to the effect that sandal-wood is holy among unguents (gandha), *agaru* (Agalochum)

86 तत्र पूजा नाम देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागात्मकत्वाद्याग एव। पूजामकाङ्क्ष। p. 1, following Sabara quoted above on p. 33 note 75.

87. पद्मपुराणेपि। गन्धेष्वप्यक्षचन्दनं पुण्यं चन्दनादगरुवरः। कृष्णागरुस्तत. श्रेष्ठः कुङ्कुमं तु ततो वरम्॥ स्मृतिच I p. 201

is better than sandalwood, dark *agaru* is still better and saffron is preferable to dark *agaru*. Hemādri (on vrata vol I pp 43–44) quotes passages from several purāṇas defining[88] *catuḥsama* as tvak i e cinnamon, patraka (cassia leaf), lavanga i e cloves, and saffron (or two parts of musk, four of sandalwood, three of saffron and one of camphor) and sarvagandha as saffron, sandalwood, *uśīra* (fragrant roots of a plant), *mustā*, lāmajja (root of fragrant grass), camphor and the three perfumed things viz *tvak*, cardamom and *patraka* and Yaksakardama as camphor, *agaru*, musk, sandalwood and *kakkola*. The Agnipurāna (chap. 202 1) first states that Hari is pleased by the offerings of flowers, perfumes, incense, lamps and *naivedya* and then specifies the flowers that are fit for offering to the deities and that are unfit (verses 2–15). The Kalpataru on vrata (pp 180–181) quotes the Bhavisyapurāna (Brāhmaparva 197 1–11) for stating the consequences of using various flowers in worship, viz worship with mālatī flowers leads the worshipper in the presence of god, worship with *karavīra* flowers confers health and incomparable prosperity, by the flowers of Mallikā the worshipper becomes endowed with all pleasures, with pundarīka (lotuses) he secures bliss and lasting wealth, with flowers of the fragrant *kubjaka* he secures highest prosperity, with lotuses (white and blue) he secures spotless fame, with various *mukurakas* (Jasminium zambac) he is freed from disease, worship with Mandāra flowers destroys all kinds of leprosy, and with bilva flowers he obtains wealth, with *arka* flowers the Lord Sun confers blessings, with a garland of *bakula* flowers the worshipper has a beautiful daughter, the Sun worshipped with Kiṃśuka flowers does away with trouble, with Agastya flowers the deity gives success and worship with lotuses gives a beautiful wife, with vanamālā the worshipper becomes free from tiredness, the worshipper of the Sun with Aśoka flowers makes no mistakes, and the Sun worshipped with *japā* (china rose) flowers frees the worshipper from trouble. About dhūpa (incense burnt in worship) a good deal is said in the digests. The Kalpataru

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88 लिङ्गपुराणे। आज्यं क्षीरं मधु तथा मधुरत्रयमुच्यते। त्वक् पत्रकालवङ्गानि केशरं च चतुःसमम्॥ गरुडपुराणे। कस्तूरिकाया द्वौ भागौ चत्वारश्चन्दनस्य च। कुङ्कुमस्य त्रयश्चैकः शाशिनः स्याच्चतुःसमम्॥ वृद्धगर्ग। कुङ्कुमं चन्दनोशीरं मुस्ता लामज्जकेसरम्। कर्पूरं त्रिसुगन्धं च सर्वगन्धः प्रकीर्तितः। त्वगेलापत्रकैस्तुल्यैस्त्रिसुगन्धः प्रकीर्तितः॥ गरुडपुराणे। कर्पूरमगुरुश्चैव कस्तूरी चन्दनं तथा। कक्कोलं च भवेदेभिः पञ्चभिर्यक्षकर्दमः॥ हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol I. pp 43–44, व्रतराज p. 16. त्वच् is cinnamon and पत्रक is *Laurus cassia*, लवङ्ग clove

(on vrata pp. 182–183)[89] observes as follows: The Sun comes near (i. e favours) a worshipper who burns sandalwood and confers desired objects when one burns *agaru* as dhūpa; one who desires health should burn *guggulu*; the Sun is always pleased by the use of pindāṅga (i e. *silhaka*) and confers health, wealth and the highest bliss; a man secures blessedness by using *kundaka* (the exudation of *sallakī*) as dhūpa and trade becomes fruitful by using śrīvāsaka (*sarala*) as dhūpa and one gets wealth by burning rasa (myrrh) and sarjarasa (resin of the śāl tree) Bāna in the Kādambarī (pūrvārdha, para 56) refers to the practice of burning *guggulu* in the temple of Candikā Kalpataru (on vrata pp 6–7), Hemādri (on vrata) vol I pp 50–51, Krtyaratnākara p 78 quote several verses from the Bhavisyapurāna defining dhūpas called 'amrta', 'ananta', yaksānga, mahānga The Bhavisyapurāna[90] remarks· the *jātī* is the best among flowers, kundaka is the best dhūpa, saffron is best among fragrant substances, sandalwood among unguents; ghee is best for lighting lamps and *modaka* sweets among naivedya foods It may be noted that the burning of guggulu and other substances had a practical end in view, viz. the destruction of fleas and bees [91]

It is no doubt true that in most vratas brāhmanas are to be fed, but one should not run away with the idea that the blind, the poor and the helpless were altogether forgotten. In the case of many vratas it is expressly provided that food should be given to the blind, the poor and the helpless. In describing the Aviyogavrata, both the Kalpataru (on vrata p. 75) and Hemādri quote a long passage from the Kālikāpurāna in which it is provided that on the day of the vrata tasteful and well-flavoured food and drink without stint should be distributed to the helpless, the blind and

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89. अगुरुं चन्दनं मुस्ता सिल्हकं वृपणं तथा। समभागं तु कर्तव्यं धूपोऽयममृताह्वयः॥ श्रीखण्डं ग्रन्थिसहितमगुरुं सिल्हकं तथा। मुस्ता तथेन्दुं भूतेश शर्करां च दहेत् क्रमात्। इत्येषोऽनन्तधूपश्च कथितो देवसत्तम॥ भविष्य q by कल्पतरु (on व्रत p 6), हे (on व्रत vol. I. p 50).

90 पुष्पाणां प्रवरा जाती धूपानां कुन्दको वर । गन्धाना कुङ्कुमं श्रेष्ठं लेपानां चन्दनं वरम्॥ दीपदाने घृतं श्रेष्ठं मोदकाश्च निवेदने। भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मपर्व 198. 19 q by कल्पतरु on व्रत p 183).

91. विफलार्जुनपुष्पाणि भल्लातकशिरीषकम्। लाक्षा सर्जरसश्चैव विडङ्गश्चैव गुग्गुलुः। एतैर्धूपो मक्षिकाणां मशकानां विनाशनः॥ गरुडपुराण I. 177. 88–89.

the deaf.[92] Vide also Kalpataru (on vrata) p 390 (on Harivrata), p. 391 (on Pātravrata), p 397 (Mahāvrata), Hemādri and Kṛtyaratnākara p 481 on Śivarātrivrata, Kṛtyaratnākara p 461 (on Mitrasaptamī). The Bhavisya (Uttara, 22 33–34)[93] recommends that one observing a vrata should provide food for the blind, the distressed and the helpless according to his means. As in the case[94] of śrāddhas, particularly at Gayā, the Purāṇas often enjoin lavish expenditure on vratas and condemn stinginess or spending less on them than one is able to spend. Vide Matsya 100 36 The Bhavisyottara[95] on Ubhayadvādaśīvrata states 'the performer of Ubhayadvādaśīvrata being solely devoted to Kṛsna should not be tricky (spend less) in spending wealth'. In respect of Aviyogavrata the Kālikā-purāna provides 'the performer free from trickiness about wealth should give an equivalent to the brāhmanas or the couple if he is unable (to give pearls and precious stones)'. Vide also Padma VI. 39. 21, Matsya 62. 34, 93 109, 95 32, 98. 12.

There are certain virtues that the person undergoing a vrata has to cultivate. The Agnipurāna speaks[96] of ten virtues that

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92. दीनान्धबधिरादीनां तद्दिने वानिवारितम्। कल्पयेदन्नपान च सुसृष्टं कृच्यमात्मनः॥ हेमाद्रि (व्रत I 443), कृत्य र p 455, 'प्रणम्य भोजयेद्भक्त्या व्रतिनश्च द्विजै सह। कल्पयेन्नोजन श्रेष्ठं सर्वेष्वेव तपस्विषु॥ दीनान्धकृपणानां च सर्वेषामनिवारितम्। दे (on व्रत) II. p 382 (पात्रव्रत) from नरसिंहपुराण, कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्रत) p 391 from कालिकापुराण, कृ. र p 455

93. प्रभाते स्नापनं कृत्वा तन्नक्ताना च भोजनम्। दीनान्धकृपणानां च यथाशक्त्या च दक्षिणाम्॥ हेमाद्रि (व्रत) vol, II p 859 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर), दीनान्धदु खितानां च तद्दिने वानिवारितम्। कल्पयेदन्नदानं चालोच्यञ्शक्तिमात्मन॥ भविष्य (उत्तर 22. 33).

94 Vide H. of Dh. vol IV. p 404 notes 908a and 909 for the emphasis on lavish expenditure on śrāddhas in general and particularly on śrāddhas at Gayā कर्तव्या शक्तितो देया विप्रेभ्यो दक्षिणानघ। न वित्तशाठ्य कुर्वीत भक्त्या तुष्यति केशवः॥ मत्स्य 100. 36

95 उभयद्वादशीयोगाच्छ्रद्दधानो नरोत्तम। वित्तशाठ्यं न कुर्वीत कृष्णैकगतमानस॥ भविष्योत्तर q by दे (व्रत) I 1021, एतत्सर्वं सायुक्तमाचार्याय निवेदयेत्। व्रतिना ब्राह्मणानां वा मिथुनानामथापि वा। अशक्तो निष्क्रय दद्याद्वित्तशाठ्यविवर्जित। कालिकापुराण q. by दे (on अवियोगतृतीयाव्रत) I p 443, मत्स्य 95. 32 'न वित्तशाठ्यं कुर्वीत कुर्वन् दोषात्पतत्यध। धनवान् वित्तशाठ्येन य. करोति भजागरम्। तेनात्मा हारितो मूढ कितवेन दुरात्मना॥; पद्म VI 39. 21, सर्वपापहरा देवि सौभाग्यारोग्यवर्धिनीम्। न चैना वित्तशाठ्येन कदाचिदपि लङ्घयेत्। नरो वा यदि वा नारी वित्तशाठ्यात्पतत्यध। मत्स्य 62. 34 (on अनन्ततृतीयाव्रत)

96 क्षमा सत्यं दया दानं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रह। देवपूजाग्निहवनं सन्तोषोऽस्तेयमेव च। सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्म सामान्यो दशधा स्मृत। अग्नि 175. 10–11 (reads °ग्निहरण) These verses are quoted as from भविष्यपुराण by कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्रत) p. 5, समयमयूख folio

(*Continued on next page*)

must be cultivated as common to all vratas viz. 'forbearance, truthfulness, compassion, charity, purity (of body and mind), curbing the organs of sense, worship of deities (or images), offerings into fire, contentment, not depriving another of his property. This ten-fold dharma is declared as common to all vratas' Devala prescribes: '*brahmacarya* (celibacy), purity, truthfulness and giving up of flesh-eating—these four are the highest (virtues) in vratas. Brahmacarya is lost by looking at (stranger) women, touching them and engaging in talk with them, but not by sexual intercourse with one's wife during the allowed days after her monthly illness' The Nāradīyapurāna remarks[97] 'brahmacarya is prescribed for being observed in all vratas and it is declared that generally sacrificial food is eaten'. *Haviṣyānna* is variously defined Manu[98] says 'the food proper for hermits (such as *nīvāra*), milk, juice of soma plant, flesh that has not become putrid, and aksāralavana (natural salt)—these are declared to be (fit) sacrificial food by nature'. Though flesh was offered in śrāddhas in the times of the several early smṛtis such as that of Yāj flesh must be excluded from the list of proper foods in the case of vratas owing to the express provisions contained in Devala-smṛti (cited above) and others. Vide H of Dh vol. IV. p. 149 n. 343 for *haviṣya* food. The Kṛtyaratnākara[99] quotes a long passage from the Samayapradīpa on what food should be partaken in vratas viz. 'first come yavas (barley), on failure of them *vrīhi* (rice), on failure of this, other food except māsa (black beans), *kodrava*, gram, *masūra* (a kind of pulse), *cīna* and kapittha'. There are somewhat conflicting passages in the several Purānas about the foods that are acceptable or

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(*Continued from last page*)

4 a, हेमाद्रि (व्रत) I. p. 330, कृ र p. 416, कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन p 454 The लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 84. 22 is क्षमा निग्रह: । सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्मः सामान्यो ब्रह्मपूजनम् ॥; देवल: । ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा शौचं सत्यमामिषवर्जनम् । व्रतेष्वेतानि चत्वारि वरिष्ठानीति निश्चय: ॥ स्त्रीणां हि वीक्षणात्स्पर्शात्तासां: सङ्कथनादपि । विध्यन्दते ब्रह्मचर्यं न दृष्टेष्वृतुसंक्रमात् ॥ q by अपरार्क p. 199, नि सि p 27, अपरार्क explains 'स्त्रीणा परस्त्रीणा वीक्षणात् ताभिरन्यस्त्रीभिरेव सङ्कथनात् संयोगप्रलापाच्च । दृष्टेषु वीक्षणात्स्पर्शात्संकथनात् तद् ब्रह्मचर्यं न नश्यति । संक्रमणं सन्तानोत्पादनार्थं सम्भोग: ।'.

97. व्रतेष्वेतेषु सर्वेषु ब्रह्मचर्यं विधीयते । भोजने हु हविष्यान्नं सामान्यत उदाहृतम् ॥ नारदीयपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 110. 48

98. श्रुत्यक्तानि पयः सोमो मांसं यच्चाद्रुपस्कृतम् । अक्षारलवणं चैव प्रकृत्या हविरुच्यते ॥ मनु. III. 257 (कुल्लूक explains अद्रुपस्कृतं पूतिगन्धादिरहितं मांसम्).

99. समयप्रदीपे । प्रथमं यवास्तदभावे व्रीहयस्तदलाभे माषकोद्रवचणककसर्षपमसूरचीनकपित्थवर्जमन्यदृष्यं सैन्धवं मानससम्भवं लवणं तत्तु सांभरीति प्रसिद्धम् । कृ. र. p. 400.

should be rejected For example, the Agnipurāna[100] (in 175. 12) first states that kṣāra, lavaṇa, honey and flesh should be eschewed in vrata, then (in 175 13–14) includes among kṣāra all cereals in pods except sesame and *mudga*, and among corn wheat and kodravas and several others are included in kṣāra group (i e they are to be eschewed in vrata) and proceeds (175 14–15) 'rice, sastika (corn that ripens in sixty days from the date of sowing), mudga, kalāya (peas), sesame and yava, śyāmāka (millet), nivāra (wild rice grains), wheat and others are beneficial (i e allowed) in vratas, while one should give up (in vrata) kūsmānda (pumpkin gourd), alābu (bottle gourd), vārtāka (egg plant), pālankī (a kind of vegetable) and pūtikā. The Padmapurāna[101] provides that one who is observing naktavrata must observe six things, viz havisya meals, bath, truthfulness, small quantity of food, worship of Agni and sleeping on the ground (not on a cot) The Bhujabala[102] says all should avoid while observing vrata the use of bell metal (vessel), flesh, *masūra*, gram, kodrava, vegetables, honey and the food cooked in another's house Hārīta lays[103] down what should be avoided on the day of vrata: one should avoid on the fast day talk with one guilty of heavy sins, heterodox sectarians and atheists and speaking what is untrue and obscene. The Śāntiparva says 'one engaged in vrata should not converse with women, śūdras and *patita*'. The Brhadyogi-Yājñavalkyasmrti[104] observes· one

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100. अग्निपुराण 175 12–17 are stated by the नि सि p. 26 to have been quoted in the पुरुषोत्तमदेव, the verses (14–17) व्रीहिषष्टिकमुद्राश्च हितमीरितम् are quoted from the अग्निपुराण by हे (व्रत) I. p 332.

101. हविष्यभोजन स्नानं सत्यमाहारलाघवम् । अग्निकार्यमथ शय्या नक्तभोजी षडाचरेत् ॥ पद्मपु q by हे (व्रत) I p 333, which explains 'अग्निकार्यमत्र महाव्याहृतिमन्त्रैराज्यहोम ' The verse is quoted from देवीपुराण by व क्रि कौ p. 66.

102 कांस्यं मांस मसूर च चणकं कोद्रवं तथा । शाक मधु परान्नं च व्रते सर्वौ विवर्जयेत् ॥ भुजबल (D C. transcript p 331) The same verse is quoted from गरुडपुराण by व क्रि कौ p. 62 (reads पराच्च च वर्जेद्विपक्वसञ्च स्त्रियम्)

103 व्रतदिने वर्ज्यान्याह हारीत । पतितपाषण्डिनास्तिकसम्भाषाहृताश्रुलीलाद्विकलुप-वासदिने वर्जयेत् । व्र का वि p 10, स्त्रीशूद्र पतितं चापि नाभिभाषेद् व्रतान्वित· । शान्तिपर्व 35 39.

104 स्त्रीशूद्रपतितांश्चैव पाषण्डिनं रजस्वलाम् । जपकाले न भाषेत व्रतहोमादिकेषु च ॥ यदि चाज्यमलोप. स्याज्जपादिषु कथचन । व्याहरेद्वैष्णव मन्त्रं स्मरेद्वा विष्णुमव्ययम् ॥ बृहद्योगिया VII 147–148 The first is quoted in पी नि (आह्निक) p 315. बृहस्पति (collected by Aiyangar) has a similar verse 'शूद्र . रासभं च रजस्वलाम् । .. स्नानहोमादिकेषु च ॥' बृहद्योगिया VII. 148 is q by स्मृतिच I p. 150, परा मा I p 306, पी नि. (आह्निक) p. 316, कृ र p. 49.

should not talk at the time of japa or vrata or homa and the like to women, śūdras, *patita*, sectarians, a woman in her monthly illness; if there be a failure in the restraint of speech (with these) in japa and the rest, he should recite a mantra addressed to Visnu or remember Visnu who is imperishable

The Purānas extol, as in the case of pilgrimages, the performance of vratas to the skies Certain vratas like those to be undergone by a Vedic student had ceased to be in vogue and vratas associated with Vedic sacrifices also had become rare in the centuries before the Christian era. In the grhya and dharma sūtras and in ancient smrtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya what were called vratas in the Purānas did not occupy any very prominent position. During the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism and Jainism were influential rivals of the ancient sacrificial system. In order to wean away common people from those two schisms it is very probable that learned followers of the Vedic system hit upon the glorification of vratas and promised heaven and otherworldly and spiritual rewards to those who performed vratas that were comparatively easy and within reach of all instead of sacrifices and also adopted some of the practices of common folks as vratas, e g kukkuti-markati-vrata in Bhavisyottara 46. 1–43, Sītalā-vrata (Vratārka folio 111 b–113 b, N. S. p 123). The Brahma-purāna[105] says 'the reward that is secured by the worship of the Sun for a single day cannot be secured by hundreds of Vedic sacrifices or by brāhmanas to whom the fees stated in the texts are paid' The Padmapurāna[106] extols Jayantīvrata by saying that in the body of the man who performs it all holy places and deities reside The Garudapurāna[107] quoted by Hemādri states that the Kāñcanapurīvrata described by it is more purifying than even the Ganges, Kuruksetra, Kāśī and Puskara. The Bhavisya-purāna (Uttara 7 1) provides that a man crosses easily the deep ocean of hells by means of the boat of vratas, *upavāsas*

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105. एकाहेनापि यज्ञानोः पूजायाः प्राप्यते फलम्। यथोक्तदक्षिणैर्विप्रैर्न तत्क्रतुशतैरपि॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 29. 61.

106. तस्य सर्वाणि तीर्थानि देहे तिष्ठन्ति वेवता। करोति यो नरो भक्त्या जयन्तीं कृष्ण-वल्लभाम्॥ पद्म III 4. 27, यदेतत्ते समाख्यातं गम्भीरं नरकार्णवम्। व्रतोपवासनियमक्लेशो-पार्जैर्वृते सुखम्॥ भविष्य (उत्तर 7 1).

107. न गङ्गा न कुरुक्षेत्रं न काशी न च पुष्करम्। पावनानि महाभागे यथेदं व्रतमुत्तमम्॥ गरुड० 9 by हे (on व्रत) II p. 869.

and *niyamas*. In the Mahābhārata[108] (and the Padmapurāna VI 53 4–6) it is stated that the Vedic rites and rites prescribed by Manu cannot be performed in Kaliyuga and that therefore it declares to Yudhisthira something that would be an easy remedy, requiring little wealth and causing little trouble but securing great rewards and that would be the essence of Purānas, viz one should not eat on the Ekādaśī of both fortnights; he who does not eat food on Ekādaśī does not go to hell. About the Ubhayadvādaśīvrata described in the Bhavisyapurāna it is said that Prabhāsa,[109] Gayā, Puskara, Vārānasī, Prayāga or holy places to the east or west thereof, or to the north are not superior or equal to the Kārtika vrata. The Anuśāsana-parva[110] proclaims that there is no higher *tapas* than upavāsa (fasting) or even equal to it and that poor men can secure the rewards of sacrifices by resorting to the upavāsa described. Hemādri quotes two verses on Arkavrata from the Bhavisyapurāna stating that if a man observes for a year *nakta* on the 6th and 7th tithis in each fortnight he obtains the merit secured by those who perform the Vedic sacrifices called *sattras* or who observe the vow of speaking the truth.

In the Varāhapurāna the question[111] asked is 'how can a poor man reach God' and the reply is that he can do so by *vratas*

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108 श्रुतास्ते मानवा धर्मा वैदिकाश्च श्रुता मया। कलौ युगे न शक्यन्ते ते वै कर्तुं नराधिप॥ सुखोपायमल्पधनमल्पक्लेश महाफलम्। पुराणानां च सर्वेषां सारभूतं वदामि ते॥ एकादश्या न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। एकादश्या न भुञ्जन्ति न ते यान्ति यमालयम्। पद्म IV 53. 4 ff, these are quoted from महाभारत by हेमाद्रि (व्रत I. p 1089)

109 प्रभास नाधिक पार्थ न गया न च पुष्करम्। वाराणसी न वा तद्वत् प्रयागमथवापि च। तीर्थानि च तत पूर्व पश्चिमानि जनेश्वर। सर्वाण्येव नृपश्रेष्ठ उदीचीदिग्भवानि च। न समानि महाबाहो व्रतान्ते कार्तिकस्य च। हे (व्रत) I p 1021 quoting भविष्योत्तर

110 नास्ति वेदात्परं शास्त्र नास्ति मातृसमो गुरु। न धर्मात्परमो लाभो तपो नानशनात्परम्॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्य परं नास्ति पावनं दिवि चेह च। उपवासैस्तथा तुल्यं तप कर्म न विद्यते॥ उपोष्य विविधदेवाश्चिदिव मतिंयेदिरे। ऋषयश्च परा सिद्धिमुपवासैरवाप्तवन्॥ अनुशासन 106. 65–67 The first verse is quoted by हेमाद्रि (व्रत) I. p 317 from the महाभारत and the 2nd from Padmapurāna. The two mss. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (on व्रत) pp. 1–2 appear to have had these verses. दरिद्रैर्मनुजै पार्थ प्राप्त यज्ञफल यथा। उपवासानिमान् कृत्वा गच्छेच्च परमा गतिम्॥ अनुशासन 107. 41–42.

111 अधनेन कथं देव प्राप्यते तद्वदस्व मे। वित्तेन च विना दानं दातुं विप्र न शक्यते॥ अत्यायासेन (अनायासेन?) लभ्येत येन देव सनातन। तन्मे विशेषतो ब्रूहि सर्ववर्णे कृते भवेत्। वराहपुराण 39. 17–18, the reply is contained in वराह 39. 23–24 'आराधयामास विभुं देवं नारायणं विभुम्। उपवासैर्व्रतैर्दैवि नियमैश्च पृथग्विधै। कालेन महता तस्या भक्तो गरुडध्वज॥'; अन्नमयस्तु ये विप्रास्तेषा श्रेयो विधीयते। व्रतोपवासनियमैर्नानादानैस्तथा नृप। देवादयो भवन्त्येव प्रीतास्तेषा न संशय। विशेषादुपवासेन तिथौ किल महीपते। भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16. 12–14.

and fasts The Lingapurāṇa (pūrvārdha 83 4) provides that one who for a year observes *nakta* (eating only once in the evening) and worship of Śiva on the 14th and 8th tithis in each paksa (fortnight) secures the reward of all sacrifices and reaches the highest goal The Bhavisya asserts that brāhmanas who have no sacred fires (śrauta or smārta) benefit in this way that gods become pleased with them by (the observance of) vratas, fasts, restrictive rules of conduct and various kinds of gifts, particularly by a fast on special tithis.

The keynote struck by the Matsya, Brahma and other Purānas is how to secure great rewards with little effort The Brahma-purāna remarks that by merely taking in Kaliyuga the name of Keśava a man obtains the same rewards that one got in *krta-yuga* by deep meditation, in Tretā by performing sacrifices and in Dvāpara by worship (of images) The Matsya says: The great sages do not commend sacrifices which involve killing (of animals); those whose wealth is *tapas* became firmly placed in heaven by making gifts, according to their means, of particles of grains (collected from fields &c), roots, fruits, vegetables and water vessels and that *tapas* is superior for (several) reasons to sacrifices The Padmapurāna reaches the peak of exaggeration when it says 'no one except Hari will be able to recount the merit of him who offers a lamp on the day of Hari in Kārtika with devotion' or 'Visnuvrata is the highest, a hundred solemn Vedic sacrifices are not equal to it'. The Skandapurāna[112] (quoted by Hemādri on vrata vol. I. pp. 318–321) contains a long eulogy of vrata, one verse of which may be cited here 'Gods attained their position through restrictive observances (vratas); they shine forth as stars by virtue of the vratas (they performed)'.

There were certain differences between Vedic sacrifices and vratas The promised reward of most sacrifices was heaven, while Purānas promised that most vratas would confer tangible benefits in this very life. Further, vratas could be performed by all, including śūdras, maidens, married women, widows, even prostitutes

There were vratas for the *brahmacārin* (called Veda-vratas) and for the snātaka These have been already dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 370–374 and pp 412–415 respectively. That

112. देवत्वं देवताः प्राप्ता नियमाद्भियमान्विते। तारारूपा ज्वलन्त्येते नियमात्तु तपोधने॥ स्कन्द पु. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p. 320, ब्र. प्र follo 9 a.

vratas (in the medieval sense) existed even in the first centuries before and after the Christian era follows from the Āp Dh S and from the dramas of Kālidāsa, from the Mrcchakatika and the Ratnāvali The Āp Dh S II. 8 18 prescribes a vrata for one year which is equal in its merit to brahmacārivrata for 48 years and Āp Dh S II. 8 18–19 to Āp Dh S II. 8 20 prescribe two modes of a vrata to be begun on Tisya (Pusya) naksatra to be observed by a person desirous of prosperity Vide S B E vol II. pp 145–148 Hemādri (vrata II p 628 quotes Āp Dh S II. 8. 20 3–9), explains the sūtras and calls this Āpastambokta Pusyavrata

In the Śākuntala (Act II) the dowager queen (mother of Dusyanta) sends a message that on the 4th day from the date of the message her fast (vrata) would end[113] The Vikramorvasiya (III) *appears to refer to a vrata called in later times* Rohinīcandraśayana-vrata (vide Hemādri vol. II. pp 599–600) It may be noted that in the above works royal ladies are described as observing vratas In the Raghuvamsa Kālidāsa alludes to an Āsidhāra-vrata (XIII. 67) The Mrcchakatika (Act I) speaks of an upavāsa (a vrata) called Abhirūpapati which appears to have been somewhat like the Bhartrprāptivrata described by Hemādri (vol I. pp 1199–1200) The Ratnāvali (Act I at end) describes Madanamahotsava which reminds us of the same described in Hemādri (vol II pp 21–24) It appears, however, that the number of vratas in the first centuries of the Christian era was not very large Gradually, however, the number of vratas increased by leaps and bounds and their total number, as seen from the list furnished at the end of this section, would be in the region of one thousand One of the earliest digests on *tithis* and astrological matters in relation to Dharmaśāstra is the Rājamārtanda of king Bhoja (1st half of 11th century A D) It mentions only a few vratas (about 24) The next important extant work is the Krtyakalpataru of Laksmīdhara (1st half of 12th century A D) who mentions in the vratakānda about 175 A comparatively later work viz the Vratakālaviveka of Śūlapāni (1375–1430 A D), which discusses the rules about the proper times for observing vratas, mentions only 11 vratas Hemādri's is the largest published work on vratas, containing as it does

113 आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे प्रत्युत्तपारणो मे उपवासो भविष्यति &c । शाकुन्तल II before the verse कृत्यगोभिलदेशत्वात्; 'आदिष्टोस्मि सनियमया काशिराजदुह्या व्रत-सम्पादनार्थं मया . पूर्वं याचितो महाराज । मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठे सुदर्शनश्चन्द्रस्तत्र सन्निहितेन देवेन प्रतिपालयितुमिच्छामि यावद्रोहिणीसंयोग इति । विक्रमोर्वशीय III

about 2200 printed pages in the B I. edition It deals with about 700 vratas. This shows that towards the end of the thirteenth century, when foreign invaders had seized the larger part of India and were ruthlessly razing temples to the ground and converting by force and fraud thousands to their faith, the men of the day, both learned and ignorant, were expending vast intellectual labour and huge sums of money on vratas, pilgrimages and śrāddhas, blissfully ignorant of and blind to the political and religious dangers that engulfed them all.

The vratakośa edited by M M Gopinath Kaviraja (in the Sarasvatībhavana series in 1929) lists 1622 vratas, but that list is unduly swollen and inflated for various reasons.[114] For example, the Astakā-śrāddhas and Anvastakā-śrāddhas are included and have nine numbers assigned to them There are twelve numbers assigned to Anantavrata because it is performed for twelve months from Mārgaśīrsa, but Hemādri (on vrata vol. II. pp. 667–671) treats it as one vrata. Upavāsavrata is given four numbers, the only reference given being Hemādri (vrata) II. p. 509 (only 1½ lines from Matsya). Hemādri (vrata II. pp. 748–52, 757 and so on) describes *Ekabhakta* twelve times in each month from Caitra to Phālguna and then on II. p 863 refers to him who performs Ekabhaktavrata for one year. The Vratakośa gives 13 separate numbers (2 for Ekabhakta and 11 for Ekabhukta, for this latter form there being no authority of Hemādri who calls all the 13 Ekabhaktavrata) Grahaśānti is given five numbers. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. If properly sifted the number would be much smaller than 1000.

When a person undertakes a vrata he must see to it that he finishes it; for dire consequences are laid down for him who gives it up 'through heedlessness. Chāgaleya declares[115] 'when

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114. It has to be remembered that several different vratas are mentioned under the same name, also that different names are given to the same vrata and that some śāntis, utsavas and snānas also are described in works on vratas

115. गृहीतव्रताकरणे छागलेयः। यो गृहीत्वा व्रतं मोहात्त्यजेत्कामनयोहितः। जीवन्मवति चाण्डाली मृतः श्वा चैव जायते॥ मद. पा p 784, व्र का वि p 9, व्रतरत्न p. 153 (quoting from प्राय. विवेक), नि. सि. p 26 (quoting from मदनरत्न and reading पूर्वं व्रतं गृहीत्वा यो न चेरत्). कल्पतरु (on व्रत) p 4 has पूर्वं व्रतं गृहीत्वा च नाचरेत् &c क्रोधात्प्रमादाच्छोभाद्वा व्रतभङ्गो भवेद्यदि। दिनत्रयं न भुञ्जीत कुण्डनं शिरसोथ वा॥ अग्निपु. 175. 40–41 q. by पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय acc to नि सि. p 26. The verse occurs in

(*Continued on next page*)

a person, having first undertaken a vrata, does not carry it out, being led away by some desire, he while alive becomes (i e. is to be treated as) a cāndāla and after death becomes a dog'. In such a case where through greed, infatuation or inadvertence a man is guilty of breaking his vrata, he has to undergo three days' fast and also shave his head and then begin the vrata (the remainder acc to Nirnayasindhu, the whole of it acc to Śūlapāni). The Varāhapurāna states 'that man who undertakes a vrata on ekādaśī day but does not, owing to foolishness, finish it, reaches a very evil state'.

Death in the midst of a vrata did not deprive the performer of the merit for which he began it Angiras[116] provides 'if a person that has begun some religious act for some benefit dies before the rite is finished, he secures the merit that is the reward (of that act) after his death, Manu so declared'.

No one should undertake a vrata in the midst of *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death) But it is provided by the Visnudharmasūtra[117] (22 49) that āśauca does not affect the king in doing his royal duties, nor those undergoing a vrata in the carrying out of the vrata Similarly, Laghu-Visnu observes in the case of vratas, sacrifices, marriages, in śrāddha, homa, worship (of an image), in *japa*, impurity does not affect after they are begun, but it affects before they are begun (i e is an obstacle to beginning these after impurity) Yāj. III 28-29 are similar verses It is laid down in the śāstras[118] that danger (to the

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(*Continued from last page*)

गरुडपुराण I 128.19. 'प्रायश्चित्तान्यनादृत्यातिक्रान्तव्रताद्व्रात नास्तीति गम्यते यत्तु-प्रायश्चित्त तत्कृत्वा पुनरेव व्रती भवेदिति वचनात्, यच्चातिक्रान्तमपि व्रत कार्यमेवेति शूलपाणि, तन्मध्ये लोपे व्रतशेषसत्त्वे ज्ञेयम्।' नि सि p 26, व्रततत्त्व (pp 152-153) has these verses (with slight variations) व्र का वि p 9 has these verses from साम्बपुराण, reads लोभान्मोहात्प्रमादाद्वा, उपवासत्रयं कुर्यात् कुर्याद्वा केशमुण्डनम् and explains 'वाशब्द' समुच्चये तेन मुण्डन च कुर्यात्' यो गृहीत्वा व्रत मोहादेकादशीदिने नरः। न समापयते तस्य गतिः पापीयसी भवेत्॥ वराह० q by ए. त p 2.

116 यो यदर्थं चरेद्धर्ममसमाप्य मृतो यदि। स तत्पुण्यफल प्रेत्य प्राप्नोति मनुरब्रवीत्॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by व्र का वि p. 9, व्रततत्त्व p. 152, ए त p 11

117 न राज्ञा राजकर्माणि न व्रतिना व्रते न सत्रिणा सत्रे। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 49, सूतके सूतके कार्यं प्रारब्ध पूजनोज्झितम्। अग्निषु 175 42, व्रतयज्ञविवाहेषु आद्धे होमार्चने जपे। प्रारब्धे सूतक न स्यादन्यारब्धे तु सूतकम्॥ लघुविष्णु q by भद्र पा p 423, व्रततत्त्व p. 152

118 सर्वभूतभयं व्याधि प्रमादो गुरुशासनम्। अव्रतज्ञानि पञ्चन्ते सकृदेतानि शास्त्रत॥ q by कल्पतरु on व्रत p 5, हे (on व्रत) vol. I p 334, व्र का वि p. 9, ए त pp 8-9 (from हेमाद्रि)

observer of vrata) from all beings, disease, forgetfulness, the command of one's *guru* do not break a vrata provided these occur only once (during the period of the particular vrata). It is provided by the Matsya-purāna, Agni and Satyavrata[119] that in the case of women that have commenced a vrata of long duration there is no stoppage of the vrata if they have monthly illness in the midst of the vrata or they become pregnant or are delivered of a child and that they should get the rites performed by another as long as they are impure, but physical acts (such as fasting) may be done by them. There are certain other matters that do not affect the observance of a vrata, viz (drinking)[120] water, (partaking of) roots, fruits and milk and sacrificial offering, the desire (or command) of a brāhmana, the order of one's guru and medicine. Hemādri remarks that the drinking of milk and the rest that follow do not affect vrata if the performer is a woman, a child or one who is in extreme pain. A person observing vrata[121] should eschew all this, viz anointing the body or the head with oil, chewing tāmbūla, applying sandalwood paste and whatever else would increase physical strength or passion.

What actions do not detract from the observance of upavāsa will be discussed later.

A few words about homa may be said here. Women could not offer homa with mantras (Manu IX. 18). Homa could be performed for them through a priest. When no particular substance is specified the *āhuti* (offering) into fire is to be of

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119. यत्तु सत्यव्रत—प्रारब्धदीर्घतपसां नारीणा यद्रजो भवेत्। न तत्रापि व्रतस्य स्यादुपरोधः कथंचनेति—तत्प्रतिनिधिना कारयेदित्यंतत्परम्। तदुक्तं मदनरत्ने मात्स्ये—अन्तरा तु रजोयोगे पूजामन्येन कारयेदिति। नि सि p. 29, गर्भिणी सूतिका नक्तं कुमारी च रजस्वला। पञ्चाऽशुद्धा तदान्येन कारयेत् क्रियते सदा॥ मत्स्यपुराण q. by व्र का वि. p. 10, व्रततत्त्व p. 152; अग्नि (175. 39-40) has the same verse but reads कारयेत क्रियाः सदा. The printed मत्स्य 62. 34 reads गर्भिणी. कुमारी वाथ रोगिणी। पञ्चाशुद्धा ... कारयेत्पता स्वयम्॥ The गरुडपुराण I. 128. 18 is प्रारब्धतपसा स्त्रीणा रजो ..कायिकं स्वयमेव वा॥. व्र. का वि explains अशुद्धा पूजादिकं कारयेत्। कायिकमुपवासादिकं सदा क्षुद्भया अक्षुद्भया वा स्वयं क्रियते।

120. अष्टौ ताम्यव्रतघ्नानि आपो मूलं फलं पयः। हविर्ब्राह्मणकाम्या च गुरोर्वचनमौषधम्॥ उद्योगपर्व 39. 71-72, अग्नेयु 175 43, स्कन्द (acc. to हे व्रत I p. 333) and विष्णुरहस्य (acc. to हे व्रतखण्ड II. p 771). 'पय-पानादीनामव्रतघ्नत्वं स्त्रीबालास्वन्तपीडितव्रतविषयम्' हे (व्रत) I. p. 333, व्र का वि p. 10 ascribes it to बौधायन.

121 गात्राभ्यङ्गं शिरोभ्यङ्गं ताम्बूलं चाञ्जनेपनम्। व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यच्चान्यद्बलरागकृत्॥ q by हे (on व्रत) vol. I. p 1009, व्र का. वि p 10 (from the निताक्षरा).

clarified butter (Karmapradīpa of Gobhila I 113) [122] The number of āhutis may be 108, 28 or 8 or as many as are expressly specified The Samayapradīpa (folio 4 b) has a long discussion about the fire in which *homa* is to be made One who is an āhitāgni (who has established the sacred Vedic fires) should employ the fire established by him when he was married, as laid down by Yāj (I 97) According to some, the rule of Yāj. applies only to grhya rites that are laid down in the Grhyasūtras and that even an āhitāgni should employ ordinary fire for his vratas. One who has no *smārta* fire should also perform vrata homas in ordinary fire by himself or through a priest

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122 होमो ग्रहादिपूजाया शतमष्टाधिकं भवेत्। अष्टाविंशतिरष्टौ वा यथाभाति विधीयते॥ देवीपुराण q. by वर्धमान (acc to नि सि p 25).

CHAPTER III

Persons entitled to engage in Vratas, objects desired by means of Vratas, classifications of Vratas and literature on Vratas, times for Vratas

One important matter is that of vratādhikārinah (persons entitled to engage in a vrata). Persons of all castes including śūdras are entitled to perform vratas. Devala states:[123] 'there is no doubt that (men of) all *varnas* are released from sins by observing vratas, fasts and restrictive rules of behaviour and by mortification (lit heating) of the body.' Women are also entitled to perform vratas In fact the purānas and digests prescribe several vratas for women alone. Manu, Visnu Dh S and several purānas provide that a woman cannot perform a separate sacrifice, a separate vrata or a separate fast by herself, she is honoured in heaven by waiting upon her husband.[124] Visnu Dh. S. (25 16)[125] further provides that a woman who observes a vrata in which a fast enters while her husband is alive deprives her husband of his life and herself goes to hell. Whatever act of benefit in the other world a woman does without the consent of her father, husband or son yields no fruit to her[126] The medieval digests interpreted these verses as meaning that before performing a vrata, a maiden has to secure the consent of her father, a married woman of her husband and a widow of her son and that with the consent of the persons specified a woman

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123. व्रतोपवासनियमैः शरीरोत्तापनैस्तथा। वर्णाः सर्वेऽपि शुध्यन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः॥ देवल q. by हे (व्रत) I. p 326, व्रतार्क folio 4a

124 नास्ति स्त्रीणां पृथग्यज्ञो न व्रतं नाप्युपोषणम्। पतिं शुश्रूषते येन तेन स्वर्गे महीयते॥ मनु V. 155, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25 15 The मार्कण्डेयपुराण reads the 2nd half as 'भर्तुः शुश्रूषयैवैता लोकानिष्टान् व्रजन्ति हि' and आदित्यपुराण as 'पतिं शुश्रूषते या तु तेन स्वर्गे महीयते॥'. Vide हे (on व्रत) I p 326 and व्र का वि p. 11.

125 पत्यौ जीवति या योषिदुपवासं व्रतं चरेत्। आयुः सा हरते भर्तुर्नरकं चैव गच्छति॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 25 16 व्रतार्क folio 5 quotes it and explains 'इति विष्णुवचनं भर्त्रनुज्ञापरम्।'. अङ्गिरस् (v.40) is almost the same

126. नारी ह्यल्पनमुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा। विफलं तद्भवेत्तस्या यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम्॥ आदित्यपुराण q by हे (on व्रत) I p. 327, नि सि p 22, च्य म p 113 (ascribes to कात्यायन); हेमाद्रि explains 'पित्रेति कन्यात्वे भर्त्रेति सौभाग्यवशायां सुतेति वैधव्यवशायाम्'

could perform an independent vrata for herself The digests are supported in this view by the sūtra of Śankha-Likhita[127] that it is the rule for women that they should practise vratas, fasts, restrictive observances and worship (or sacrifices) with the consent of their husbands The Lingapurāna[128] provides with the bidding (i e permission) of their husbands, women should perform *japa*, gifts, *tapas* and all else Opinion was divided whether a woman could get *homa* performed through another About the incapacity of women for mantras,[129] vide Manu II. 66, IX. 18 and Yāj I. 13 The Vyavahāramayūkha following Parāśara held that a śūdra could get the homa in adoption[130] performed through a brāhmana and that the same rules apply to women and śūdras and therefore a woman could get a homa required in vrata performed through a brāhmana Rudradhara (author of Śuddhiviveka) and Vācaspati held that a woman and a śūdra have no right to perform homa with Vedic mantras The Nirnayasindhu[131] supports the Vyavahāramayūkha on the question of homa in a vrata to be observed by a woman But it appears that Nīlakantha, author of the Vyavahāramayūkha, was of a different opinion when composing the Prāyaścittamayūkha[132] Vide H. of Dh vol IV p 78 note 186 on this point It is provided in the Matsya that a woman who is pregnant or is recently delivered of a child should only observe *nakta* instead of a fast and a

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127. व्रते स्थिता पत्नी जीवत्यपि भर्तुरज्ञया व्रतादिपरा—कामं भर्तुरज्ञया व्रतोपवासनियमेज्यादीनामारम्भः स्त्रीधर्म—इति शङ्खलिखितस्मरणात्। स्मृतिच II p 291, समयप्रदीप folio 5 b and च क्रि कौ p 67 (read नियमेज्यादीनामभ्यास)

128 नियोगादेव तत्कार्यं भर्त्रा द्विजसत्तमा। जप दानं तप सर्वमस्वतन्त्रा यतः स्त्रियः। लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 84. 16

129. नास्ति स्त्रीणा क्रिया मन्त्रैरिति धर्मे व्यवस्थिते। मनु IX 18

130. समन्त्रकहोमस्तु तेन (शूद्रेण) विप्रद्वारा कार्य। उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नानजपादिकम्। विभे सम्पादितं यस्य सम्पूर्णं तस्य तत्फलम्—इति पराशरोक्तेः। स्मार्तहरिनाथाद्यप्येवमेव। उपवासो व्रतं० is पराशर VI 63–64 The नि सि (pp 29–30) holds that in पराशर there is no question of employing a brāhmana as an agent or substitute, but all that Parāśara means is that a religious action when carried out by brāhmanas yields the fullest rewards

131. यद्यपि मेधातिथिना भार्यात्वबद्दृष्टरूपं दत्तकत्वं होमसाध्यमुक्तं स्त्रियाश्च होमासम्भवस्तथापि व्रतादिवद्विप्रद्वारा होमादि कारयेदिति हरिनाथाद्वय सम्बन्धतस्त्वेप्येवम्। नि सि. III पूर्वार्ध p 249

132 स्त्रीणा शालाग्निहोम एव न भवति तस्यैव प्रकृतत्वात्। लौकिकेऽग्नौ भवत्येव। स च विप्रद्वारेति केचित्। उपवासो व्रत . तत्फलमिति पराशरोक्ते। तच . एतेन यन्महार्णवमदनरत्नयो स्त्रीशूद्रादेर्विप्रद्वारा समन्त्रको जपहोमौ भवत इति परास्तम्॥ माध म p 13 (ed. by Gharpure).

maiden or other female who is impure (in monthly illness or otherwise) should get her vrata performed through another, but, whether pure or impure, she may perform bodily acts (such as a fast) by herself (vide Tithitattva pp 121–122)

If a person is unable owing to disease or accident or the like to perform a vrata personally he could get it performed through a *pratinidhi* (a representative) Certain rules were laid down about this It is stated in the Satyāsādhaśrautasūtra[133] 'there is no pratinidhi (representative or substitute) in the case of the owner (the *Yajamāna*), the wife, the son, the (proper) place and time (for an act), the fire, the deity (to be invoked such as Agni, Indra), a rite and a text (to be prescribed for being employed in a rite)'. All religious acts are arranged in three classes, viz. *nitya* (obligatory), naimittika (to be performed when a certain *nimitta* or occasion arises or event happens) and kāmya (performed out of a desire to secure some object). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp 60–61 note 150 for further details The Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana[134] has the following rules about *pratinidhi* in these three kinds of acts 'No pratinidhi (substitute) is allowed in the case of kāmya rites, a substitute is allowable in the case of nitya and naimittika rites; some recognized a substitute even in a kāmya rite after it is once begun; there is no substitute for a mantra or the deity or the fire (Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya or Dakṣināgni), a *kriyā* (such as *prayāja*) or *īśvara* (the svāmin or *yajamāna*); some say that a substitute is not allowed in the case of (a prescribed) place or time An *agnihotrin* can substitute, (if his wife is dead &c) an image of her made of gold or kuśas but a woman cannot proceed with a rite putting forward some

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133. न स्वामित्वस्य भार्यायाः पुत्रस्य देशस्य कालस्याग्नेर्देवताया: कर्मणः शब्दस्य च प्रतिनिधिर्विद्यते। सत्याषाढश्रौत III 1. Compare आप श्रौ. 24 4. 1 and जै VI. 3. 18–21 for similar rules, particularly VI. 3 18 and 21 'न देवताशिष्टशब्दक्रियमन्यार्थसंयोगात्। तथा स्वामिनः फलसमवायात् फलस्य कर्मयोगित्वात्'.

134. काम्ये प्रतिनिधिर्नास्ति नित्ये नैमित्तिके हि सः। काम्येष्वप्युपक्रमादूर्ध्वमन्ये प्रतिनिधिं विदुः॥ न स्यात् प्रतिनिधिर्मन्त्रे देवेऽग्नौ कर्मणीश्वरे। न च प्रतिनिधिर्देशकालयोरित्यथापरे॥ सौवर्णीं कुशपत्नीं वा पत्न्यभावेऽग्निहोत्रिणः। .. यद्यंशुः प्रतिनिधिं कृत्वा पत्नी नैवं समाचरेत्॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II. 2–3 and 8. गोभिलस्मृति III. 10 states that when Rāma performed solemn sacrifices he had by his side the golden image of Sītā. Vide Aparārka pp 114–115 and Sm C I p 167 for discussion whether an image of gold or kuśas can be a proper substitute for absent or dead wife नि. सि. p. 30 and व्रतराज p. 13 quote the above verses of त्रिकाण्डमण्डन somewhat differently. The first verse is quoted by तिथितत्त्व p. 71 (reads last pāda as 'केचिदिच्छन्ति सप्तमाः)'.

substitute or effigy in place of the husband.' If a person is unable, after undertaking a vrata, to carry it out, he should get it done by a representative. Such representatives are: son, wife, brother, husband, a sister, a pupil, purohita (for dakṣinā) and a friend. Paiṭhīnasi[135] states that a wife might carry on the vrata undertaken by the husband and the husband may do so for the wife, if both are unable a stranger may carry it out, in this way there is no break of vrata. Kātyāyana[136] says:—one who observes a fast for the sake of his father or mother, brother, husband and particularly for his guru secures one hundred-fold merit, if a person observes a fast on Ekādaśī in place of his maternal grand-father and the like they and their representative each obtain the full fruit thereof. These rules about pratinidhi apply to men of all *varnas*[137]

It is somewhat remarkable that the Vratārka *quotes from* Hemādri[138] a passage of the Devīpurāna to the effect that even mlecchas were authorized to perform vratas, if they had faith in them. In the Śāntiparva (65 13–25) Indra is made to say to king Māndhātā that even Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Cīnas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Śakas, Andhras and several others should serve their parents, they could perform rites laid down in the Veda, they could make offerings to their (deceased parents), may dig wells (for the use of all people) and may make gifts to brāhmaṇas. The Bhavisya-purāṇa[139] states that the Haihayas, Tālajanghas, Turks, Yavanas and Śakas desiring to reach the status of brāhmaṇas observed fasts on the first tithi (*pratipad*)

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135 प्रतिनिधयश्च निर्णयामृते पैठीनसिः। भार्या पत्युर्व्रतं कुर्याद्भार्यायाश्च पतिर्व्रतम्। असामर्थ्ये परस्ताभ्या व्रतभङ्गो न जायते॥ नि सि p 29, का नि p. 262 quotes पैठीनसि

136 कात्यायनः। पितृ-भ्रातृ-भ्रातृ-पतिगुर्वर्थं च विशेषतः। उपवासं प्रकुर्वाणः पुण्यं शतगुणं लभेत्। मातामहादीन्सद्विश्च एकादश्याद्युपोषणे। कृते ते हु फलं त्रिधा समग्रं समवाप्नुयुः॥ का नि pp 262–263, नि सि I p. 29. असामर्थ्ये शरीरस्य व्रते च सदुपस्थिते। कारयेद्भर्मपत्नीं वा पुत्रं वा विनयान्वितम्। भगिनीं भ्रातरं शिष्यं ब्राह्मणं दक्षिणादिभिः। पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृस्वसृगुर्वादिषूद्यतः। अष्टवार्षमुपोष्यापि स्वयं च फलमाप्नुयात्॥ वराहपुराण q by व कि को p. 58, हेमाद्रि (on व्रत) vol. I p 1004.

137 इदं च सर्ववर्णसाधारणमविशेषात्। नि सि p 29

138 क्वचिन्म्लेच्छानामप्यधिकारो हेमाद्रौ देवीपुराणे। स्नातैः प्रहृष्टितैर्हृष्टैर्ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्नृपैः। वैश्यैः शूद्रैर्भक्तियुक्तैर्म्लेच्छैरन्यैश्च मानवैः। श्रीमिश्च कुरुशार्दूल तद्विधानमिदं शृणु॥ व्रतार्क folio 4 a and b

139 हैहयैस्तालजङ्घैश्च तुरुष्कैर्यवनैः शकैः। उपोषिता ह्यहान्येव ब्राह्मणत्वमभीप्सुभिः। इत्येषा परमा पुण्या शिवा पापहरा तथा। भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16 61–62.

Another remarkable matter is that the Mahābhārata provides that brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas should not engage in a continuous fast for more than three days and that vaiśyas and śūdras can observe a continuous fast for two days only and a fast for three days is not laid down for these two classes by those who know *dharma*. Devala also has a similar provision.[140]

The bulk of the vratas practised in medieval and modern times are kāmya i e. performed for the purpose of securing some object in this world or sometimes the next world or both. Most of the vratas are really secular though under the garb of religion and, though certain disciplines (such as fast, worship and celibacy, truthfulness) have to be observed, breathe a frankly materialistic attitude; they are meant to appeal to the ordinary human cravings that rule the whole world. The desired objects are legion and it is impossible to set them out in detail Some idea about them may however be conveyed. The Agnipurāṇa mentions *dharma* (puṇya), progeny, wealth beauty or good fortune, virtues, fame, learning, long life, wealth, purity, enjoyment of pleasures, heaven and mokṣa (release from the round of births and deaths) as the objects to be sought by the observance of vratas. The Kalpataru[141] on vrata says that vrata is the highest means of securing the several *lokas* (such as Brahmaloka, Śivaloka, Vaikuṇṭha) and the enjoyment of pleasures and triumph; that in Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages respectively kings Sujaya, Rāma, Dhanañjaya and Vikrama became lords of the whole world by means of vratas, that Śaṅkara declared to Hari in various treatises that *vrata* is the one (supreme) observance for man, that though many observances are laid down in each *yuga* they do not come up even to

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140. अह्नक्षत्रे त्रिरात्रं तु विहितं कुरुनन्दन। चतुर्थभक्तक्षपणं वैश्ये शूद्रे विधीयते। त्रिरात्रं न तु धर्मज्ञैर्विहितं धर्मदर्शिभि॥ अनुशासनपर्व 106. 11 and 13. वैश्या. शूद्राश्च ये मोहादुपवासं प्रकुर्वते। त्रिरात्रं पञ्चरात्रं वा तयोः पुष्टिर्न विद्यते॥ देवल q by व त्रि को p 67 which remarks. पुष्टिः फलम्। एतेन काम्यस्यैव निषेधः। This verse of देवल is almost the same as अनुशासन 106 12 which reads ' ० प्रचक्षिरे। त्रिरात्रं वा द्विरात्रं वा तयोर्न्दुष्टि० ' ब्र प folio 9 b reads पुष्टिः (which means फले).

141. कीर्तिसन्ततिविद्यादि-सौभाग्यारोग्यवृद्धये। नैर्मल्यशुक्तिमुक्त्यर्थं कुर्वे व्रतपते व्रतम्॥ धर्मं देहि धनं देहि सौभाग्यं शुभसन्ततिम्। कीर्तिं विद्यां देहि त्वायु· स्वर्गं मोक्षं च देहि मे॥ अग्नि० 175 44 and 57 व्रतमेव परं लोकसाधनं भोगसाधनम्। व्रतेनैव जयो यस्मात्तस्मात्सर्वो व्रतं चरेत्॥ ... एको धर्मो मनुष्याणां व्रतमेव महात्मना। मोक्षो नानाविधैस्तन्त्रैः शङ्करेण हरिं प्रति॥ सन्ति यद्यपि भूयांसो लोके धर्मा युगे युगे। तथापि व्रतधर्मस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम्॥ देवता दितिसुताश्च सिद्धा गन्धर्वकिन्नराः। ऋषयश्च परां सिद्धिमुपवासैरवाप्नुवन्॥ कल्पतरु (on व्रत) pp. 1-2, हे on व्रत I. p. 318 (for last verse).

the 16th part of the observance of vratas, that the virtuous daughter of Vikrama named Vasundharā, residing in the country of Daśārna, attained *mokṣa* through vratas and that gods, sages, *siddhas* and others attained highest perfection by means of upavāsas (fasts).

Classification of vratas: As the vratas to be treated of in this section are almost all self-imposed or voluntary, they may be divided into three classes. The Padmapurāṇa[142] observes: 'ahiṃsā (abstaining from causing injury), truthfulness, not depriving a person of his property by wrongfully taking it, *brahmacarya* (continence), freedom from crookedness or hypocrisy—those are mental vratas that lead to the satisfaction (or favour) of Hari; eating once only in the day, *nakta* (eating only once after sunset), fast (for the whole day), not begging (i. e. subsisting on food that one gets without asking for it)—this is physical vrata for human beings; study of the Veda, recounting (the name of) Viṣṇu, speaking the truth, freedom from backbiting these are vratas of speech.

Another classification can be based on the time for which a vrata may last, i. e. only for a day or a fortnight (pakṣa), a month, season, *ayana* (time of the stay of the Sun in the northern or southern hemisphere), year, or years. A vrata may be for one year or for more years than one or for a person's lifetime. In speaking of vratas performed in a certain month, the question of an intercalary month will have to be considered and will be dealt with in the next section on Kāla etc. Similarly, the matter of tithis occupies a very large place in works on dharmaśāstra and will have to be discussed The subject of Kāla and muhūrta will be dealt with in the next section. Though tithis properly pertain to that section, they will be dealt with here, since tithis are the most important topic in relation to the various observances that are to be performed throughout a year as their basis. The largest number of vratas are tithi-vratas. It is therefore that Hemādri begins his treatment of individual vratas with tithi-vratas (from part I, p. 335 to part II p 519) and passes on

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142 अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यमकल्कता। एतानि मानसान्याहुर्व्रतानि हरितुष्टये॥ एवमुक्तं तथा नक्तमुपवासमयाचितम्। इत्येवं कायिकं हंसो व्रतमुक्तं नरेश्वर॥ वेदस्याध्ययनं विष्णोः कीर्तनं सत्यभाषणम्। अपैशुन्यमिदं राजन् वाचिकं व्रतमुच्यते॥ पद्म IV. 84. 42-44, वराह 37 4-6 (with slight variation). हेमाद्रि (on व्रत) I. p. 321 quotes the first two verses from वराहपुराण and reads अकल्मषं for अकल्कता and उपवासादिकं च यत् in the 2nd verse. अकल्कता is explained as अकुटिलता by the मिता. on या III. 312 and as दम्भरहितता by अपरार्क.

in order to vāravratas (part II pp. 520–592), naksatravratas (part II pp. 593–706), Yogavratas (part II pp. 707–717), Karanavratas (part II pp. 718–726), Sankrāntivratas (part II pp. 727–743), māsavratas (part II pp 800–857), rtuvratas (part II pp. 858–861), samvatsaravratas (part II pp 862–867), prakīrnaka (miscellaneous) vratas (part II pp. 867–1002). The Krtyakalpataru (on vrata) on the other hand begins with vāravratas (pp. 8–34), then deals with tithivratas (pp. 35–398), naksatravratas (pp. 399–417), māsavratas (pp. 418–430), sankrāntivratas (pp. 431–434), samvatsaravratas (pp. 434–451) and prakīrnavratas (pp 452–459). Most of the works on vrata[142a] after dealing with some general matters begin their treatment of vratas with tithivratas. The Samayapradīpa has a different mode of treatment, viz. that it begins with Ganeśavratas (i e. vratas in which Ganeśa is the deity), then with vratas in which the Sun is the deity, then Śivavratas, Visnuvratas and so on. Some vratas are performed not only on a certain tithi, but also require the existence of a certain month or weekday or naksatra or all of these Another classification may be based on the persons competent to perform vratas; most vratas are meant for all men and women; some like Haritālikā and Vatasāvitrī are meant for women alone, some are to be performed by men alone; while there are others to be performed only by kings or ksatriyas or by vaiśyas.

There is an immense literature on vratas. There is no topic of Dharmaśāstra except probably that of tīrthayātrā and of śrāddha on which the Purānas wax so eloquent as on vrata. Some of the Purānas contain thousands of verses on vrata For example, the Brāhmaparva of the Bhavisyapurāna (in chapters 16–216) contains over 7500 verses and the Uttarakhanda of the same Purāna over five thousand verses on vratas; the Matsyapurāna (chapters 54–92 and 95–101) has about 1230 verses on vrata (most of which occur in the Padmapurāna V chap. 20 ff), the Varāhapurāna (chap 39–65) spends about 700 verses and the Visnudharmottara about 1600 verses on vratas. On a modest calculation the Purānas contain about twenty-five thousand verses at least on vratas. It is difficult to draw a strict line between vratas and utsavas, what are called utsavas have also an element of religious rites and conversely many vratas have some element of being a festival. In this work I have included

142 a. अथ संवत्सरकृत्ये निरूपणीये प्रायशः कर्माधिकरणतया विहितानां तिथीनां प्राधान्यात्। यथम तावत्तिथिस्वरूपनिरूपणपूर्वक कर्मोपयुक्तभागा निरूप्यन्ते। क. कि. कौ. p. 2.

several observances which some people may regard as purely utsavas and not vratas at all.

The topic of vratas is rather inextricably mixed up with discussions on Kāla and tithi The nibandhas (commentaries and digests) on vratas are numerous In this section I shall mention works that deal with vratas alone or with vratas in relation to *tithis*, but not works on kāla in general and muhūrta This is rather an arbitrary arrangement and it is possible that there would be some repetition and overlapping A verse in the Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana names seven predecessors that had expounded kāla in relation to religious rites, viz Jitendriya, Śankhadhara, Andhūka, Sambhrama, Harivamśa and Yogloka. Some of these writers must have been earlier than the first half of the 11th century A D as in the Malamāsatattva Raghunandana states that Andhūkabhatta mentions in his work how in *śake* 955 (1033–34 A. D.) there was on Amāvāsyā Tulāsankrānti and the Vrścikasankrānti on the pratipad and again on Amāvāsyā Dhanus-sankrānti This establishes that Andhūkabhatta wrote his works about 1035 A D. But the works of all those seven writers on kāla have not yet been discovered. Two other works ascribed to king Bhoja of Dhārā[143] dealt among other matters with kāla and vratas (in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century) One of them, the Rājamārtanda, is available in Mss and, besides expounding the astrological significance of tithis, week days, naksatras, Yogas, deals (in verses 1136–1292 and 1327–1405) with several vratas and the proper times for them viz. Ekādaśī, Saptamyarkavrata, Agastyārghyadāna, Śravanadvādaśī, Rohinyastamī, Haritālī-caturthī, Durgotsava, Kaujāgara, Pretacaturdaśī, Sukharātri, Bhrātr-dvitīyā, Dīpadāna, Kārtikasnāna, Māghasnāna, Maghāsaptamī, Bhismāstamī, Pusyadvādasī, Aśokāstamī, Caitrāvalī, Sāvitrīvrata, Pāsānacaturthī, Aranyasasthī, Daśaharā, Sankrānti. The Rājamārtanda has not so far as I know yet been published, though hundreds of the largest Ms are quoted in the medieval digests It is at present the earliest extant work of a nibandha form treating of vratas. Another work dealing with vratas and ascribed to Bhoja is the one cited as Bhūpāla-samuccaya or Bhūpāla-krtyasamuccaya, or Krtyasamuccaya on *vratas*, *dānas* &c This

143. Vide my paper on 'King Bhoja and his works on Dharmaśāstra and Astrology' in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol. XXIII pp. 94–127, where I deal with the Rājamārtanda on pp. 108–118 and with Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya on pp. 124–126.

last work has not yet been unearthed and is found quoted in such medieval digests as the Krtyaratnākara

Apart from the Vedic Literature, sūtras, epics, Purānas and Rājamārtaṇḍa, I mainly rely in this section on vratas on the following works (those that I consulted in ms form being expressly indicated and the works being arranged in chronological order as far as possible): Krtyakalpataru (portion on vratas) of Laksmīdhara; Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana; Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmani (on vrata); Samayapradīpa of Śrīdatta (ms); Krtyaratnākara of Candeśvara; Kālādarśa of Ādityasūri (ms), Kālanirnaya or Kāla-mādhava and Kālanirnayakārikā; Tithiviveka, Vratakālaviveka and Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāni; Nirnayāmrta of Allādanātha; Varsakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda; Kālasāra of Gadādhara; the Tithitattva, Ekādaśītattva, Janmāstamītattva, Durgārcanapaddhati, Krtyatattva and Vratatattva of Raghunandana, Vratapraksāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) of Mitramiśra (ms. from Anūpa Sanskrit Library) and Samayaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya), Samayamayūkha or Kālamayūkha of Nīlakantha; Vratārka of Śankarabhatta (ms); Tithyarka of Divākara; Daśanirnaya[144] of Hārīta Venkatanātha; Vratodyāpana-kaumudī of Śankarabhatta Ghāre; Vratarāja of Viśvanātha; Purusārthacintāmani of Vīsnubhatta; Ahalyā-kāmadhenu (ms in Scindia Oriental Institute, 1767–1771 A.D), Dharmasindhu of Kāśīnātha Of these the most important for vratas are Krtyakalpataru (from which even Hemādri, and Krtyaratnākara borrow many passages), Hemādri on vrata, Kālanirnaya of Mādhava, Krtyaratnākara, Varsakriyākaumudī, the works of Raghunandana and the Nirnaya-sindhu. Works like Vratārka and Vratarāja, though exhaustive, borrow *verbatim* long passages from Hemādri and others The treatment of vratas in several of the above-mentioned works is often uneven; for example, the Varsakriyākaumudī disposes of the observances of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd tithis in two pages (28–30), while it devotes twenty-two pages to Ekādaśī (pp 42–64).

It must be emphasized here that this section is concerned with the vratas described or mentioned in *works* on *Dharmaśāstra*. Even so the number of vratas is extremely large. No attempt is made here to include all *vratas* observed by women or by

144. This was edited in 1902 *samvat* in Grantha characters at Mysore. The ten निर्णय are on श्रीकृष्णजयन्ती, कृत्तिकादीपोत्सव, उपाकर्म, प्रवर, समानप्रवर, विवाहकन्या, स्थालीपाक, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य, उत्सव, एकादशी.

primitive tribes or by the illiterate people all over India or contained in works written in the several regional languages such as Bengali, Hindi or Marathi The inclusion of such observances would entail an enormous amount of labour, would expand the work to huge proportions and would be beyond the proper scope of the History of Dharmaśāstra Further, to tabulate all the vratas and festivals of all common people and to study the folk life of villagers, forest-dwellers and mountain inhabitants in the States of the continent of India would be beyond the capacity of a single worker and would require the co-operative effort of a large team of workers spread over years When done, that work would be a monumental one on the social anthropology of India In this connection I may mention Prof B. K. Sarkar's work 'Folk element in Hindu culture' and the paper on 'a study of vrata rites in Bengal' contributed by Mr S. R Das[145] to 'Man in India' (1952) vol. 32, pp 207–245. Some writers have already published works dealing with the observances of common people such as Mrs Stevenson's 'Rites of the twice-born', Underhill's 'Hindu religious year', B A. Gupte's 'Hindu holidays and ceremonials', R. C Mukerji's 'Ancient Indian fasts and feasts', Mr. Rigvedi's Marathi work on 'History of Aryan festivals' (ed of 1924) In these books (except in the last and rarely in Underhill's) texts from Dharmaśāstra are generally conspicuous by their absence.

Times for beginning Vratas· Apart from the vratas that have to be performed on certain fixed tithis or times, elaborate provisions are made that vratas in general and several other religious rites are to be begun only at certain auspicious times or in certain astrological conditions A few of these are set out

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145. It should not, however, be supposed that I agree with all the propositions in the above two, for example, the meaning which Mr. S R. Das assigns to Laksmī in Rg X 71. 2 (viz. beauty) is not acceptable to me. I hold that 'Laksmī' there also is the opposite of *alaksmī* as the word 'bhadrā' applied to Laksmī suggests and as in Rg. X. 155 1 the idea of alaksmī is clearly conveyed. I do not subscribe to the view that the idea of a malignant spirit was unknown to the poets of Rgveda times and that they had to go to the aboriginal people for that idea. Note the verses अजा सखाय· सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषा लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥ ऋ X 71 2, अराय्यि काणे विकटे गिरिं गच्छ सदान्वे । शिरिम्बिठस्य सत्वभिस्तेभिष्ट्वा चातयामसि ॥ ऋ X. 155 1. The निरुक्त (VI 30) explains this verse at length and states that *Bhāradvāja destroyed* Alaksmī and the Brhad-devatā (VIII. 60) says that *Rg* X. 71 removes Alaksmī.

here by way of sample. Gārgya[146] says 'when Jupiter and Venus have set (i. e. are not observable owing to their being near the Sun in the sky) or when they are in the stage of being called *bāla* and *vrddha* and in an intercalary month one should not begin a vrata nor perform its *udyāpana* (the rite of closing a vrata).' The childhood of Jupiter and Venus is a certain period after they set and senility (*vrddhatvá* or *vārdhaka*) is a certain period preceding their setting There is no unanimity on the length of these periods and the periods differ in different countries and also depend on whether there is a season of distress or difficulty, but Varāhamihira[147] states the longest provided should be accepted. The Rājamārtanda has several verses on this, one of which may be set out here: Venus[148] is *bāla* for ten days when it rises in the west, but is *bāla* for three days after rising in the east; Venus is vrddha for one paksa (15 days) when it rises in the east, but is *vrddha* for five days before it sets in the west. Gārgya observes:[149] Venus and Jupiter are (held to be bāla) in the Vindhyas whether in the east or west for ten days, but for seven days in the country of Avanti (of which Ujjayini was capital), in the country of Vanga (Bengal) and among Hūnas (they are bāla) respectively for six and five days. It is further provided in the[150] Devīpurāna that one should not undertake any religious act when Jupiter or Venus is in the sign of the Lion. Similarly, Lalla[151] remarks that all (religious) actions are

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146. अस्तगे च गुरौ शुक्रे बाले वृद्धे मलिम्लुचे। उद्यापनमुपारम्भं व्रतानां नैव कारयेत्॥ गार्ग्य q. by हेमाद्रि (व्रत) vol I p 245, नि सि p. 23 (मदनरत्ने गार्ग्यः), व्रतराज p. 2, compare 'रविणा संयुते जीवे सिंहसंस्थे गुरौ तथा। अस्तगते तथा शुक्रे बाले वृद्धे तथैव च॥ व्रतं यानं विवाहं च विद्यां पार्थिवदर्शनम्। .. सर्वथा नैव कुर्याच्च करणे मरणं भवेत्॥ q. by कालविवेक p. 135, रविणासन्निरन्येषा ग्रहाणामस्त उच्यते। ततोर्वाग्वार्धकं विद्याद्बुधैर्बालत्वं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त q. by हे. (on व्रत) vol I. p. 246, नि सि p. 16.

147. बहवो दर्शिताः काला ये बाल्ये वार्धकेऽपि च। ग्राह्यास्तत्राधिकाः शेषा देशभेदाद्दुःखापहाः॥ वराहमिहिर q. by हे. (व्रत vol. I. p. 246), नि सि p 16.

148 बालो दशाहान्युदितः परेण पूर्वेण बालो दिवसत्रयं च। वृद्धस्तु पूर्वेण स पक्षमेकं पश्चात्पुनः पञ्च दिनानि शुक्रः॥ राजमार्तण्ड (verse 1071, folio 67 b) This is ascribed to वसिष्ठ in भुजबल pp 272-273 verse 1230.

149. शुक्रो गुरुः प्राक्तु च पराक्तु च बालो विन्ध्ये दशावन्तिषु सप्तरात्रम्। वङ्गेषु हूणेषु च षट् च पञ्च शैवे च देशे त्रिदिनं वदन्ति॥ गार्ग्य q. by हे (व्रत I p. 246), नि सि p. 16 (as occurring in मदनरत्न)

150. सिंहस्थं च गुरुं शुक्रं सर्वारम्भेषु वर्जयेत्। देवीपुराण quoted by व्रतार्क folio 2 b.

151. शुक्रक्षेत्रगतो भानुर्भानुक्षेत्रगतो गुरुः। शुक्रादित्यः स विज्ञेयः सर्वकर्मसु गर्हितः॥ लल्ल q. by स म

condemned when done in what is called Gurvāditya (that is when the sun is in the house of Jupiter viz sign of Pisces and when Jupiter is in the house of the Sun, viz Lion) The Vratarāja remarks that one is to avoid Jupiter in the Lion sign for religious acts only to the north of the Narmadā and elsewhere only in Simhāmśa (i. e the first quarter of the naksatra Pūrvā-phalgunī). The Ratnamālā[152] provides that Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious (confer success) in all (religious) acts, but on Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday only such actions succeed as are expressly prescribed for performance on those days. Bhujabala remarks that Tuesday is unfavourable for all auspicious acts but that it is commended for agriculture, study (of the Sāmaveda) and for battles [153]

The philosophical discussions on Time and on its division into year, *ayana* (the Sun's apparent motion in the two regions of the celestial sphere), *ṛtus* (seasons), māsa (month), paksa (half month,) week, days &c will be taken up in the next section. But the exact determination of the question as to the day on which a *tithivrata* is to be performed when the *tithi* spreads over two days occupies a very large space in works on dharmaśāstra

The word *tithi* by itself does not occur in the Rgveda and the other Vedic Samhitās But the idea must have been there even in the Rgveda Amāvāsyā is explained in later works as being of two kinds, viz. Sinīvālī (day on which amāvāsyā is mixed with the 14th tithi) and Kuhū (when amāvāsyā is mixed with the first tithi of the next fortnight) Similarly, Paurnamāsī is of two kinds, Anumati (mixed with the 14th tithi) and Rākā (mixed with the *Pratipad* of the next paksa) In the Rgveda Sinīvālī is[154] raised to the position of a divinity, is described as the sister of the gods, offerings are made to her and she is implored to bestow progeny on the worshippers The Br. Up VI. 4 21 implores Sinīvālī and the Aśvins to implant an

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152 सोमसौम्यगुरुशुक्रवासरा सर्वकर्मसु भवन्ति सिद्धिदा । भानुभौमशनिवासरेषु च प्रोक्तमेव खलु कर्म सिध्यति ॥ रत्नमाला III 15 quoted by नि. सि p 23, व्रतराज p 4, भुजबल (p 10) quotes from भीमपराक्रम a similar verse, भृगुजीवेन्दुजेन्दूनां वारा सर्वत्र सिद्धिदा । सूर्यसौरवारास्तु शस्ता स्तोकेषु कर्मसु ॥

153. कुजदिनमनिष्टं स्यात् सर्वमङ्गलकर्मणि। कृष्यध्ययनयुद्धेषु प्रशस्तो भूमिनन्दन ॥ भुजबल p 209.

154. सिनीवालि पृथुष्टुके या देवानामसि स्वसा । जुषस्व हव्यमाहुतं प्रजां देवि दिदिड्ढि न ॥ या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः सुषूमा बहुसूवरी । तस्यै विश्पत्न्यै हविः सिनीवाल्यै जुहोतन ॥ ऋ II 32. 6-7 : अथर्व VII. 46 1-2. The first is also वाज सं 34. 10

embryo in the wife. Rākā also[155] is similarly treated in the Rgveda (II. 32. 4-5 = Atharva VII. 48. 1-2). Rg X 59. 6 and X. 167. 3 treat Anumati as a deity, prayers are offered to her to enable the worshippers to see the Sun going up and to bestow happiness and she is spoken of in the same breath with Soma, Varuna and Brhaspati. The Vāj. S. prays[156] 'May Anumati approve to-day of our sacrifice'. It should be noted that the Nirukta (XI. 29) holds[157] a discussion on Anumati and Rākā, viz. the Nairuktas (etymologists) say that Anumati and Rākā are goddesses (wives of gods), while the Yājñikas hold that they are two kinds of Paurnamāsī; it is known (in Śruti) that the first Paurnamāsī is Anumati and the later is Rākā Similarly, the Nirukta holds a discussion on Sinīvālī and Kuhū (XI. 31) The Atharvaveda (VI. 11. 3) mentions Prajāpati, Anumati and Sinīvālī together. The word Kuhū occurs in the Atharvaveda and is applied to a deity that is invoked to come to the sacrifice and to bestow on the worshipper wealth and a heroic son. In the Tai S I. 8 8. 1 and Śat. Br. IX. 5. 1. 38 mention is made of these four, viz of Anumati, Rākā, Sīnīvālī and Kuhū, as recipients of *caru* (oblation of boiled rice) How these names were coined in the distant past is an insoluble riddle Anumati can be derived from root *man*, but why the tithi of the Full Moon mixed with the 14th tithi was so called is more than anyone can say. Kuhū may be plausibly derived from *kuha* 'where' (as in Rg. I 24 10, X 40 2) as the day when the moon is invisible and when primitive people asked in wonder the question 'where does the moon go'. But Rākā and Sinīvālī defy attempts at any plausible etymology. Eminent philologists, instead of

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155. राकामहं सुहवा सुष्टुती हवे शृणोतु नः सुभगा बोधतु त्मना। सीव्यत्वपः सूच्याच्छिद्यमानया ददातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम्॥ ऋ II. 32. 4 q by निरुक्त XI. 31, कुहूं देवीं सुकृतं विश्रुतापसमस्मिन्यज्ञे सुहवा जोहवीमि। सा नो रयिं विश्ववारं नि यच्छाद् ददातु वीरं शतदायमुक्थ्यम्॥ अथर्व VII 47. 1. The first half occurs in मैत्रायणीसंहिता IV. 12. 6 (reads कुहूमहं and सुहवा) and the निरुक्त XI. 33 quotes the whole of the मैत्रायणी verse.

156 अनु नोऽद्यानुमतिर्यज्ञं देवेषु मन्यताम्। वाज सं 34. 9, अन्विदनुमते त्वं मन्यासै शं च नस्कृधि। इषं तोकाय नो दृधः प्र ण आयूंषि तारिषः। काठकसंहिता 13. 16, quoted and explained by the निरुक्त (XI 30).

157 अनुमतिः राका इति देवपत्न्यौ इति नैरुक्ताः पौर्णमास्यौ इति याज्ञिकाः। या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी सा अनुमतिः, या उत्तरा सा राका इति विज्ञायते। अनुमतिः अनुमननात्। निरुक्त XI. 29. It may be noted that the words या पूर्वा. राका occur in the मैत्रायणीसंहिता IV. 3. 5 and in the ऐ आ 32 9 which latter is quoted in note 165

admitting ignorance, are not wanting, who following the traditions of the very ancient etymologist Yāska (who says in Nirukta II 1 '*na tveva na nirbrūyāt*), suggest that the word Sinīvālī is made up by combining the Babylonian-Akkadian word 'sin' (meaning moon) with Dravidian 'vel' (white light)[158] 'Amāvāsyā' (New Moon) is addressed as a deity by itself in Atharva[159] VII. 79 (84) 1–4, the first of which calls upon Amāvāsyā to come to the sacrifice and bestow wealth and a valiant son and the second of which hints at the derivation of the word from 'amā' (meaning 'together' or 'home') and '*vas*' (to dwell) The Śat. Br [160] remarks "this king Soma i e the moon is the food of the gods; when he (the moon) is not seen on this night either in the east or in the west, he comes to this world (i. e. the earth) and enters the waters and the herbs here, he is the wealth of the gods and their food; when he dwells on this night together (with waters and herbs) it (that night) therefore is called 'Amāvāsyā'. The Ait. Br. (40 5) states that on amāvāsyā the moon enters the sun. The Āp Dh S also echoes this idea that on the Amāvāsyā night the Sun and the Moon dwell together (are near each other) So amāvāsyā is so called either because the moon was supposed to dwell together with waters and herbs on the earth that night or because the Moon dwells in the Sun on that night Darśa has the same sense as amāvāsyā and means 'the day on which the moon is seen by the sun alone (and by no one else)' Vide H of Dh vol II p 1009 and note 2274 Names are sometimes given by contraries e. g a fool is called a wise man or a brave person may be called 'timid'. Amāvāsyā may have been called darśa because the moon is not

158 Vide 'Bhāratakaumudī' (in honour of Prof R K Mukerji) part I p. 208 for this etymology put forward by Dr. S K Chatterji Such etymologies are based on certain assumptions for which there is absolutely no evidence whatever, such as the word 'Vel' being used by the Dravidians thousands of years ago, that the vedic Indians were aware of both words 'Sin' (moon) and 'Vel' used by different peoples and could weld them together thousands of years ago and had no word of their own to denote what is meant by Sinīvālī.

159. अहमेवास्म्यमावास्याे मा मा वसन्ति सुकृतो मयीमे। मयि देवा उभये साध्याश्चेन्द्रज्येष्ठा समगच्छन्त सर्वे॥ अथर्व VII. 79 (84) 2.

160 एष वै सोमो राजा देवानामन्नं यच्चन्द्रमा स यत्रैतां रात्रिं न पुरस्ताद् न पश्चाद् दृदृशे तदिम लोकमागच्छति स इदेवापश्चौषधीश्च प्रविशति स वै देवाना वस्वन्नं सोषा तथदेव एता रात्रिमिहामा वसति तस्मादमावास्या नाम। शतपथ I 6 4 5 Vide also VI, 2, 2 16. आभित्य तामामावास्या पश्यतः सुसमागतौ। अन्योन्यं सूर्यचन्द्रौ तौ यदा तद्दर्शे उच्यते॥ मत्स्य quoted by K N p 311.

seen that day (but would be visible the next day) Another tithi that is famous in the Vedic Literature is Astakā[161] (8th tithi after the full moon in any month, but particularly in Māgha) on which offerings were made to the pitrs (departed ancestors) Even in very remote times people could have easily marked the four main phases of the moon, viz Full Moon, half moon (8th day thereafter when half of the moon's orb shines), Moon's total absence and 8th day thereafter; and after noting these phases it must not have been very difficult to make close calculations about the periods intervening between the Full moon and the half moon, the New moon and half moon. As a matter of fact the Tai. Br[162] expressly says that the moon is worn away on the 15th and becomes full on the 15th i e. before the Tai. Br. it was well-known that there were 30 lunar days (tithis) in a lunar month. It is stated in the Śat Br[163] 'the joints of Prajāpati, while he was engaged in creating beings, became loose (or collapsed); the samvatsara is indeed Prajāpati and the joints of it (of samvatsara) are the two junctions of day and night, Paurnamāsi, Amāvāsyā and the beginnings (first days) of the seasons'. The words Paurnamāsī and Amāvāsyā occur very frequently in the Atharvaveda, the Tai. S and other Vedic texts, though the two words do not occur in the Rgveda The Atharvaveda says[164] that Paurnamāsī was the first among days and nights and was worthy of sacrifice The Ait. Br.[165] has an interesting passage: "they

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161 For Astakā, vide H. of Dh , vol IV pp. 353–357.

162. चन्द्रमा वै पञ्चदशः। एष हि पञ्चदश्यामपक्षीयते। पञ्चदश्यामापूर्यते। तै. ब्रा. I. 5. 10 5.

163. प्रजापतेर्ह वै प्रजाः सस्रुजानस्य पर्वाणि विसस्रंसुः। स वै संवत्सर एव प्रजापतिस्तस्यैतानि पर्वाण्यहोरात्रयो· सन्धी पौर्णमासी चामावास्या चर्तुदुखानि। शतपथ I 6. 3. 35

164. पौर्णमासी प्रथमा यज्ञियासीद्रात्रीणामतिशर्वरेषु। अथर्व VII 80 4.

165 तदाहुर्यद्दर्शपूर्णमासयोरुपवसति न ह वा अद्यतस्य देवा हविरश्नन्ति तस्माद्वुपवसत्युत मे देवा अइनीयुरिति। पूर्वा पौर्णमासीमुपवसेदिति पैङ्ग्यमुत्तरामिति कौषीतकं या पूर्वा पौर्णमासी सानुमतिर्योत्तरा सा राका। या पूर्वामावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूः। यां पर्यस्तमियादभ्युदियादिति सा तिथि। ऐ. ब्रा 32 9. It may be remembered that Sāyana notes that this section (khanda) and the next are not recited by some and are not therefore explained by them The last sentence probably means that that is the tithi (on which a specific religious act is to be performed) with reference to which the sun sets or with reference to which it rises i e these words embody in a somewhat obscure form the same idea to which Devala gives expression in the following two verses: यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य अस्तं याति दिवाकर। सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानजपादिषु॥ यां तिथिं समनुप्राप्य उदयं याति भास्करः। सा तिथिः सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु॥ quoted by अपरार्क p 214.

(*Continued on next page*)

(wise men) say that when a sacrificer dwells near his sacrificial fire, that is due to his thought that the gods will partake of his offerings, since they do not eat the offering of a sacrificer who does not abide by certain observances'. The opinion of the sage Paingi is that the sacrificer should stay near his sacrificial fires (or fast) on the previous Paurnamāsī (*i. e.* Paurnamāsī mixed with 14th), while the opinion of Kausītaki is that he should do so on the later one (*i. e.* the Paurnamāsī mixed with *pratipad*). The previous Paurnamāsī is called Anumati, the later one is called Rākā, while the previous Amāvāsyā is called Sinīvālī and the later one is called Kuhū That is the tithi (on which a religious rite should be performed), it is the one, being associated with which the sun sets and the sun rises." This passage shows that differences of opinion had arisen long before the time of the Ait Br as to on what day a particular rite associated with a certain fixed tithi was to be performed when the tithi was spread over two days. There are references in Tai S. and the Brāhmana literature which show that in those ancient days the duration of tithis and therefore the actual position of the moon could not sometimes be very accurately determined beforehand. A man about to perform an isti on New Moon (*darśesti*) does certain acts that are done on the day previous to amāvāsyā such as using the sour curds from last night's milking for coagulating the sacrificial food (i. e milk), separating the calves from the cows in the afternoon with a *palāśa* twig; and taking some husked rice, he thinks, owing to cloudy weather or through miscalculation, that the moon would not be seen in the sky the next morning, does not actually set apart a few handfuls of husked rice (meant as *nirvāpa* for the gods) or sets them apart, then the next day the moon is seen in the sky (*i. e* the next day is really 14th tithi instead of amāvāsyā) It is then prescribed that he has to perform an expiatory rite called Abhyuditesti Vide Tai S. II 5. 5. 1–2 and Śat Br. XI 1. 4 1–2 quoted[165] below.

(*Continued from last page*)

In ध क्रि कौ p. 15 and ब्र का वि p 233 the second half of both verses is the same viz सा तिथि ... स्नानदानव्रतादिषु The स्मृतिच II p 351 reverses the order and reads यां तिथिं ... उदय याति भास्करः । सा स्नानदानजपादिषु and या तिथिं ... अस्तं याति विभाकरः । ... ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु ॥ As observed by ध क्रि कौ Devala means that in स्नान, दान and व्रत the tithi at sunrise is to be preferred.

166. यस्य हविर्निरुप्तं पुरस्ताच्चन्द्रमा अभ्युदेति नेक्षा तण्डुलान् विभजेत् &c । तै सं II. 5 5 1–2, तद्वैके दृष्टोपवसन्ति श्वो नोदितेत्यभ्रस्य वा हेतोरनिर्ज्ञाय वाधोतोपवसन्त्यथेहुतान्युदेति स यद्यगृहीतं हविरभ्युदियात् अज्ञातमेव तदेवैव व्रतचर्या यत् पूर्णेऽर्धुदेत्यर्धं वाधि

(*Continued on next page*)

The word tithi does not occur in the Saṁhitās, but it occurs in the Ait Br cited above and in the grhya and dharma sūtras.

The Gobhilagrhyasūtra[167] when prescribing a day for the setting up of sacred fires mentions the coincidence of an auspicious *tithi* and *naksatra* and in another place refers to the worship of the lord of the tithi and of the naksatra and of the tithi itself. The Kausītaki-grhya (I. 25) speaks of offerings to the tithi on which a child was born and prescribes that the dedication of ponds, wells and tanks was to be made in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious tithi (V. 2).

The Nirukta[168] while deriving the word *atithi* applied to Agni in Rg V. 4. 5 gives two explanations, one of which is 'one who approaches the houses of others on special *tithis*'. Pānini furnishes no sūtra relating to the word *tithi*, but it is possible to argue that the affix *titha* which he mentions in explaining words like 'bahutitha'[169] was a relic of the word tithi. Patañjali expressly mentioned Paurnamāsī tithi. Vide 'India Antiqua', the volume of studies presented to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel pp. 109–112 for Prof Edgerton's paper on affix 'titha'. From the above discussion it would be clear that the ideas and divergences of views about the proper tithis for certain religious acts existed in the Vedic times (at least before Ait Br.) three thousand years

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हविरातञ्चनं तत्कुर्वन्ति प्रतिमुञ्चन्ति यत्तांस्तान् पुनरपाकुर्वन्ति तानपराह्णे पर्णशाखयापाकरोति। तद्यथैवाद्य प्रज्ञातमात्मानमावास्यं हविरेवमेव तद्यद्यु व्रतचर्यां वा नोदाहरिष्यन् गृहीतं वा हविरभ्युदियादितरथो तर्हि कुर्यात् &c। शतपथ ब्रा. XI 1 4. 1–2. These passages form the subject of पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र VI 5 12–15. Vide my notes to व्यवहारमयूख pp 277–279. The निर्वाप in the New Moon and Full Moon rites is of four *muṣṭis* (handfuls) of rice or yavas.

167. तथा तिथिनक्षत्रपर्वसमवाये। गोभिलगृह्य I. 1. 13, अथ जुहोति प्रजापतये तिथये नक्षत्राय देवतायाः इति। दैवतमिष्ट्वा तिथिं नक्षत्रं च यजेत। गोभिलगृह्य II 8. 12 and 20

168 अतिथिः अभ्यतितः गृहान् भवति। अभ्येति तिथिषु परकुलानि इति वा॥ निरुक्त IV 5 Here अ in अतिथि is supposed to stand for the root अद् (or इ?). Compare मनु III. 112 about अतिथि The word तिथि is derived from 'tan' to spread by many mediæval writers तन्यन्ते कलया यस्मात्तस्मात्तिथयः स्मृताः। सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि q by माधव p 98, यु चि p 32. The कालमाधव says: तनोति विस्तारयति वर्धमाना क्षीयमाणा वा चन्द्रकलामेकां यः कालविशेषः सा तिथिः, यद्वा यथोक्तकलया तन्यते इति तिथिः। (p 98).

169. बह्वगणगणसङ्ख्यस्य तिथुक्। पा. V 2. 52

ago and that the word *tithi* itself must be held to have been in use about 800 B. C, if not earlier still[170]

Tithi is defined as the time or period required by the moon to gain twelve degrees on the sun As the Sūryasiddhānta states 'tithi is the lunar day in which the moon leaving the sun (at the last moment of Amāvāsyā), traverses twelve degrees (*bhāgas*) towards the east every day.'[171] The moon's motion is irregular and therefore the moon traverses twelve degrees sometimes in 60 ghatikās, sometimes in more (up to about 65) and sometimes in less ghatikās up to about 54 The result is that one unit day may be co-terminous with one tithi, but often a unit day has two tithis i e in the morning it may be the 6th tithi, but in the afternoon, evening and night it may be the 7th It is possible that in a single civil day (from sunrise to sunrise) there may be three tithis e g. on Monday morning there may be only two ghatikās left of the 6th tithi, then the 7th tithi may be only 56 ghatikās in duration and then the 8th may follow for the last two ghatikās of that unit day Conversely, a single tithi may touch three days For example, the last two ghatikās of Monday may be the first two ghatikās of the 6th tithi, then the 60 ghatikās of Tuesday may be occupied by the 6th tithi and two more ghatikās (the last) of the 6th tithi may spread on to Wednesday morning A unit day which spreads over three tithis is declared by the Rājamārtanda to be very holy[172] (or auspicious), while on the other hand a tithi touching three days is said to be inauspicious for marriage, for marching on an invasion, for an auspicious religious act or an act meant to

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170. पूर्णमासादण्। वार्तिक 2 (on पा IV 2, 35) on which महाभाष्य says 'पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्य'। पूर्णमासी वर्ततेऽस्मिन् काले पौर्णमासी तिथि'। It appears from this that both कात्यायन and पतञ्जलि are speaking of पूर्णिमान्त months.

171 अर्कांद्विनि सूत' प्राचीं यद्यात्यहरह' शशी। भागैर्द्वादशभिस्तत् स्यात्तिथिश्चान्द्रमसं दिनम्॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त q by व क्रि की p 2, तिथितत्त्व p 2, while कालमाधव (p. 100) quotes सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि as अर्को शशी। तच्चान्द्रमानमशैस्तु ज्ञेया द्वादशभिस्तिथि॥ त्रिंशांशश्च तथा राशेर्भोग इत्यभिधीयते। आदित्याद्विमकृष्टस्तु भागद्वादशक यदा। चन्द्रमा' स्यात्तदा राम तिथिरित्यभिधीयते॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 72 11–12 q by कालमाधव p 101, तिथितत्त्व p 2, द्व क्रि p. 32.

172. वसिष्ठ। एकस्मिन्सावने त्वह्नि तिथीना त्रितय यदा। तदा दिनक्षय' प्रोक्तस्तत्र साह्नि फलम्॥ ति त p 119, व्यहस्पृग्दिवसश्चैव महापुण्यतम स्मृत। तिथित्रयस्य तस्यापि व्यहस्पृक् स उदाहृत॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verse 1431 q by छद्धिकौ p 214, अरुणोदय आख्या स्याद् द्वादशी सकलं दिनम्। अन्ते त्रयोदशी यातस्त्रिस्पृशा सा हरे. प्रिया॥ हे on काल p 261 (quoting ब्रह्मवैवर्त)

advance prosperity.[173] If a tithi begins immediately before sunrise or its beginning coincides with sunrise and ends after the following sunrise the name of the tithi (as pratipad, dvitiyā or so on as the case may be) is coupled with both divasas (civil days) involved, so that two tithis of the same denomination appear one after another This is called vrddhi of the particular tithi. If a tithi begins sometime after sunrise on one morning and ends before sunrise on the following day it cannot be coupled with any day and is therefore deleted or omitted in the pañcānga (almanac) and there is *tithi-ksaya*. As a tithi is normally shorter than the civil day ksaya occurs more frequently than *vrddhi*.

From the words of the Gobhilagrhya quoted above it follows that long before the days of that work the several tithis were deemed to have certain deities as their lords (or presiding deities) Among the earliest extant enumerations about *tithipatis* (lords of tithis) is that in the Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira (chap. 98. 1–2) which sets them[174] out as follows (the tithis and their lords being mentioned in order):–1st Brahmā, 2nd Brahmā, 3rd Hari, 4th Yama, 5th the moon, 6th Kārtikeya, 7th Indra, 8th Vasus, 9th Nāgas, 10th Dharma, 11th Śiva, 12th Savitr, 13th Madana, 14th Kali, 15th Viśvedevas and of Amāvāsyā the pitrs. He further says that one should do on those tithis the acts that are appropriate to the lords of those tithis It appears that other writers differed somewhat from Varāhamihira, e. g the Ratnamālā sets[175] out the lords of tithis according to the Purānas as follows.–1st Agni, 2nd Brahmā, 3rd Girijā, 4th Ganeśa, 5th Nāga, 6th Viśākha (Skanda), 7th the Sun, 8th Śiva, 9th Durgā, 10th Yama, 11th Visnu, 12th Hari, 13th Madana, 14th Śiva, 15th the Moon. The Skandapurāna (I. 1. 33. 78–82)

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173. विवाहयात्राशुभपुष्टिकर्म सर्वं न कार्यं त्रिदिनस्पृशीह। शुद्धिदीपिका q by शुद्धिकौ p. 212

174. कमलजविधातृहरियमशशाङ्कपद्मवक्त्रशक्रवसुसुजगाः। धर्मेशसवितृमन्मथकलयौ विश्वे च तिथिपतयः॥ पितरोऽमावास्यायां सौम्यासद्दशाश्च सें. क्रिया· कार्याः॥ बृहत्सं. 98. 1–2 (99. 1–2 in Kern's ed.).

175 वह्निर्विरिञ्चिर्गिरिजा गणेशः फणी विशाखो दिननाथसूनुः। दुर्गान्तको विष्णुहरिस्मराश्च शर्वः शशी चेति पुराणदृष्टाः॥ रत्नमाला II q by निर्णयामृत p 30, हे. (on व्रत) II p 235 quotes from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 83 22–24 'अग्नि-ब्रह्माब्धिकेभास्य-नाग-स्कन्द-विरोचनाः। शिव-दुर्गा-यमेन्द्राश्च विष्णु-काम-शिवेन्दुकाः॥ पितरश्चेत्यमी प्रोक्ता मुनिभिस्तिथिदेवताः।; हे. (on काल) p 646 quotes from पितामह the lords of तिथिs somewhat differently as धनद, श्री, भवानी, गणेश, नाग, गुह, भास्कर, दुर्गा, मातरः, वासुकि, ऋषि, चक्रपाणि, कामदेव, शिव, धातृ respectively of 1st to 15th, अमावास्या being पितृs.

states what tithis are specially dear to what gods such as 8th and 14th to Śiva, 4th to Ganeśa, 9th to Candikā The Garuda (I 137 16–19) and Nārada-purāna (I 56 133–135) specify what deities are to be worshipped on the tithis from the first to 15th

Varāhamihira divides tithis into five[176] groups, viz Nandā, Bhadrā, Vijayā or Jayā, Riktā and Pūrnā and states that on those tithis the acts that are appropriate or suited to the lords of the tithis should be done and become crowned with success and the fruits of actions done on these five classes of tithis yield results similar to their names The same applies to *karanas* and *muhūrtas* The result is Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th, 11th; Bhadrās are 2nd, 7th, 12th; Vijayās 3rd, 8th, 13th, Riktās are 4th, 9th and 14th; Pūrnās are 5th, 10th, 15th. This is also brought out in the Atharvana Jyotisa, which also prescribes what should be done or not done on the tithis from the 1st to the 15th and provides that certain combinations of tithis and certain weekdays yield success and all rewards, viz Nandā tithi on Friday, Bhadrā on Wednesday, Jayā on Tuesday, Riktā on Saturday, and Pūrnā on Thursday.

The Tithitattva (pp 27–28) quotes a long passage specifying the loss a man suffers by eating fifteen specified things from the 1st to the 15th tithi respectively. The Nirnayasindhu (p 32) quotes verses from Muhūrta-dīpikā and Bhūpāla[177] (i e Bhoja) which specify the edibles and certain actions that are respectively to be given up on the tithis from the first to the 15th and on amāvāsyā On the other hand, Bhavisyapurāna (Brāhmaparva 16. 18–20) quoted by the Kalpataru on vrata p 35 specially recommends the eating of certain things on each of the 15 tithis from *pratipad* (the first) viz milk, flowers (on 2nd), anything

176. नन्दा भद्रा विजया रिक्ता पूर्णा च तास्त्रिविधा । यत्कार्यं नक्षत्रे तद्दैवत्यासु तिथिषु तत्कार्यम् ॥ करणमुहूर्तेष्वपि तत् सिद्धिकरं देवतासदृशम् ॥ बृहत्संहिता 98 2–3, नन्दा भद्रा विजयाख्याथ रिक्ता । पूर्णाश्चैता फलमेवं विदध्यु ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा (of वराह०) III 1 रत्नमाला (II 7–9) enumerates the actions that should be done on the five kinds of तिथिs (नन्दा, भद्रा &c) शत्रुवधाग्निविषभयोगाद्यनिष्टकर्म चतुर्थ्यादिरिक्तातिथिषु कार्यम् । निर्णयामृत p 44, नन्दा चूर्णी सोमसुते च भद्रां भौमे जया सूर्यसुते च रिक्ताम् । पूर्णा गुरौ पञ्चसु पञ्च एते जयावहा सर्वफलप्रदाश्च ॥ आथर्वणज्योतिष (तिथिमकरण, 12th verse).

177 भूपाल । कूष्माण्डं बृहती क्षारं मूलकं पनस फलम् । धात्री शिर कपालान्त्रं नख-चर्मातिलानि च । क्षुरकर्मोङ्गनासेवा प्रतिपत्प्रभृति त्यजेत् ॥ नि सि p 32. धात्री means आमलक, शिर =नारिकेल, कपाल=अलाबु, अन्त्रं=पटोलकम्, नखं शिग्मी, चर्म=मसूरिका The तिथितत्त्व (pp 27–28) details the results of what follows from eating the forbidden fruits &c on the respective tithis specified.

except salt (on 3rd), sesame, milk, fruits, vegetables (on 7th and 8th), flour, food uncooked by fire, ghee (on 11th), pāyasa (rice boiled in milk), cow's urine, *yavas*, water in which *kuśas* have been dipped. The Vāmanapurāna[178] (14. 48–51) prescribes what actions should not be done on the groups of tithis called Nandā &c., on certain week days and on certain naksatras.

The method of reckoning time by tithis is a very early one and is indigenous to India Though Western scholars have from time to time put forward various theories about the so-called Greek influence on Indian astronomy and astrology and about the Indian Naksatra system being borrowed from the Chinese (Biot) or from the Babylonians (Weber) or from the Arabs (Sedillot), no western scholar has had the courage, so far as I know, of alleging that the system of tithis is not indigenous but is borrowed from some non-Indian source. The theories about Greek influence will be briefly dealt with in the next section.

Vedic (and Smrti) injunctions are of two kinds, (1) those that urge a person to do a thing such as 'one should fast on Ekādaśī in both paksas', (2) those that dissuade a person from doing something as in 'one should not eat food on Ekādaśī'. Tithis are thus an *anga* of the two kinds of injunctions. According to Garga,[179] tithi, naksatra and vāra (week day) are a means of *punya* (merit) and *pāpa* (demerit, sin) by being subsidiary to the principal rite prescribed, but they are not able to produce the above result independently[180]

Tithi is of two kinds,[181] *pūrnā* (complete or full) and *sakhandā*. When a single tithi covers the whole day from sun-

178 नन्दासु नाम्यङ्गमुपाहरेच्च क्षौरं च रिक्तासु जयासु मांसम् । पूर्णासु यौषित्परिवर्जनीया भद्रासु सर्वाणि समारभेत ॥ नाभ्यङ्गमर्के न च भूमिशुद्धे क्षौरं च शुक्रेऽथ कुजे च मांसम् । बुधे च योषा न समाचरेत शेषेषु सर्वाणि सदैव कुर्यात् ॥ चित्रासु हस्ते श्रवणे च तैलं क्षौरं विशाखाभतिषसु वर्ज्यम् । मूले मृगे भाद्रपदासु मांसं यौषिन्मघाकृत्तिकासोत्तरासु । वामनपुराण 14 48–51, q. by शुद्धितत्त्व p 343 and कृ र p 548.

179. तिथिनक्षत्रवारादि साधनं पुण्यपापयोः । प्रधानगुणभावेन स्वातन्त्र्येण न ते क्षमाः ॥ गर्ग q. by तिथितत्त्व p. 4 (which explains प्रधानस्य विधेयकर्मणो गुणभावेनाङ्गत्वेन), शु चि p 53.

180 तदुक्तं निर्णयासूते । काले हि कर्म चोद्यते न कर्माणि काल इति । अतश्च विध्यङ्गत्वेन तिथयो निर्णेतव्याः । तनोति विस्तारयति चन्द्रकला यः कालविशेषः. सा तिथिः । यथोक्तकलया तन्यत इति वा तिथिः । तिथ्यर्क p 3, which quotes from का नि the passage तनोति .. तिथिः cited in this note, the words काले हि ..कालः occur in मद् पा p. 184 also

181. Some works do not make this elaborate division of tithi found in Dharmasindhu The Nirnayasindhu speaks of only śuddhā and viddhā, so the Tithyarka also speaks of only two सम्पूर्णा and खण्डा संपूर्णोक्ता स्कन्दपुराणे—मतिपत्प्रभृतयः सर्वा उदयादोदयाद्यदि । सम्पूर्णा इति विख्याता हरिवासरवर्जिताः ॥ इति स्मृतिच. II. p 357, तिथ्यर्क p. 3.

rise for sixty nādikās (or ghatikās) the tithi is pūrnā, i e. the tithi begins exactly at sunrise and ends with the next sunrise and is exactly 60 ghatikās in extent. All others than this are sakhanda, these latter again are of two kinds suddhā and viddhā (pierced by or intermixed with another).[182] A śuddhā tithi is one that extends from sunrise to sunset or (in the case of some tithis like śivarātri) up till midnight; other sakhanda tithis are called *viddhā*. *Vedha* is of two kinds, morning vedha and evening vedha; the former generally occurs when after six ghatikās from sunrise a tithi touches or gets merged with the next tithi, while the latter (evening vedha) generally occurs when a tithi touches another tithi six ghatikās before sunset In the case of certain tithis the period prescribed may exceed six ghatikās

When the tithi in question is 60 ghatikās in extent and begins with sunrise (i e when it is pūrnā) there is no difficulty at all When a tithi is śuddhā in the sense given by the Dharmasindhu then also there is generally no difficulty. Some general rules have to be kept in mind. Śruti says[183] 'forenoon is for the gods, midday for men and afternoon for pitrs'. Manu (IV. 152) says one should carry out morning duties, decorating the body, bath, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes and worship of gods in forenoon alone'. Therefore all religious acts prescribed for being performed by day on certain tithis for gods must be begun in the morning even if the tithi is mixed with another on that day, but all vratas to be performed in the evening or night have to be performed on the tithi existing in the evening or night even[184] though it may be mixed up (viddhā) with another tithi Another matter to be noted is that in both halves of the month all tithis may affect the previous tithi and following tithi by three muhūrtas (i e six nādis or ghatikās)[185] Some tithis produce *vedha* by a larger number of

182. आदित्योदयवेलाया आरभ्य घटिनाडिका । तिथिस्तु सा हि शुद्धा स्यात्सार्वतिथ्यो ह्यय विधि ॥ इति कालमाधवीयधृतनारदीयात् । सा हि शुद्धा सैव शुद्धा नान्येत्यर्थ । ति त pp 87–88, सूर्यास्तमनपर्यन्तं यस्मिन् वारे तु या तिथि । विद्यते सा त्वखण्डा स्यात्कलूना चेत् खण्ड-संज्ञिता ॥ नारदीय I 56. 154

183 पूर्वाह्नो वै देवाना मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्न पितृणाम् । शतपथ II 4. 2 8.

184. अह्न तु तिथय पुण्याः कर्माहुष्ठानतो दिवा । नक्तादिव्रतयोगे तु रात्रियोगो विशिष्यते ॥ जाबालि q by व कि कौ p 5, तिथितत्त्व p 5

185 पक्षद्वयेऽपि तिथयस्तिथिं पूर्वां तथोत्तराम् । त्रिभिर्मुहूर्तैर्विध्यन्ति सामान्योऽय विधि. स्मृत ॥ वैठीनसि q. in नि सि p 17, नागो द्वादशनाडीभिर्विद्धेऽपश्चवशभिस्तथा । भूतोदादश-नाडीभिर्दूषयत्युत्तरा तिथिम् ॥ स्कन्दपुराण q. by नि सि p 18. In the system of expressing numerals by words नाग, विधु, भूत represent five, ten and fourteen respectively The verse नागो . तिथिम् is राजमार्तण्ड folio 70 a, verse 1130 (in ABOR I. vol. 36 p. 309)

ghatikās e. g. the 5th makes sasthī affected by twelve nādīs, 10th makes 11th viddhā by 15 nādīs, &c. Viddhā tithis are in some cases fit for performing religious acts, sometimes they are not. All rites[186] of the śrauta or smārta type, vrata, dāna and every other act enjoined by the Veda do not yield proper reward as long as there is no determination of the tithi proper for it. That tithi which covers up the time (such as morning), noon, whole day &c. at which a religious act is prescribed to be done is the proper one for[187] that act. The first principle to[188] remember is that Kāla (the time prescribed for a rite) is not a mere detail, but it is a *nimitta* (an occasion) on the happening of which a rite is to be performed and that therefore what is done at some time other than the prescribed one is practically as good as not done. There is a text of the Tai. S. II. 2. 5. 4 which indicates this principle about Kāla It says 'that man is cut off from the heavenly world, who desiring to perform the darśa-pūrnamāsa rites transgresses the time of full Moon or New Moon'. Hemādri[189] strongly emphasizes the performance of rites

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186. श्रौतं स्मार्तं व्रतं दानं यच्चान्यत्कर्म वैदिकम् । अनिर्णीतासु तिथिषु न किंचित्फलति द्विज ॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29. 2).

187. कर्मणो यस्य यः कालस्तत्कालव्यापिनी तिथिः । तया कर्माणि कुर्वीत ह्रासवृद्धी न कारणम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q. by नि सि. p. 18, धर्मसिन्धु p 8; यदा तिथिरेकस्मिन्दिनेऽहोरात्रयोगिनी अपरस्मिंश्च अहर्मात्रयोगिनी रात्रिमात्रयोगिनी वा तदोपवासादावहोरात्रसाध्ये उभयोगिन्येव ग्राह्या नान्यतरमात्रयोगिनी कर्मकालव्यापित्वात् । द्विवा रात्रौ व्रतं यत्र एकमेव तिथौ स्मृतम् । तस्यामुदययोगिन्यामाचरेत्तु व्रतं बुधैः । इति विशेषवचनाच्च । का. त वि. p. 10. This last verse is q. from पद्मपुराण by तिथिविवेक (P. O. vol. VII p 92) and the व. क्रि. कौ. p. 14 quotes it from वायुपुराण. वृद्धयाज्ञ० quoted in का. नि. p. 141 has कर्मणो यस्य ... न कारणम् ॥ गार्ग्य also has a similar verse.

188. Vide जैमिनि VI. 2. 23–26 for the proposition that all religious acts such as agnihotra must be performed at the time prescribed. शबर on जै. VI. 2. 25 remarks 'न कालो गुणः । निमित्तं ह्येतदिष्युक्तम् । तस्माद्धन्येषु कालेष्वविहितत्वात्कृतमप्यकृतं स्यात् ।'. The तै. सं. passage which is employed as an indication (liṅga) is अथ वा एष सुवर्गाल्लोकाच्छिद्यते यो दर्शपूर्णमासयाजी सन्नमावास्यां वा पौर्णमासीं वातिपाद्यति । II. 2. 5 4. Vide मद. पा p. 184.

189. गणितज्ञापिते कालः काले तिष्ठन्ति देवताः । वरं स्वेकाहुतिः काले नाकाले लक्षकोटिका ॥ लौगाक्षि q by हे. (on काल p 923). हेमाद्रि then proceeds (on काल p. 924) 'यत्तु मुख्यकालातिक्रमे नित्यनैमित्तिकानां गौणकालेऽनुष्ठानं तत् क्वचित् शिष्टगर्हापरिहार-मन-पेरितोपाधौ क्वचिद्बहुकल्पत्वेन कालान्तरविधिरित्यनवद्यम् । उपदिष्टकालातिक्रमे चाधिकाराभावादेव मुख्यद्रव्यलोभान्मुख्यकालातिक्रमो न कार्यः ... तदेवमेतत्सिद्धं वचनमन्तरेण गौणकालग्रहणं न कार्यं सति तु वचने गौणस्य तस्मात्परस्यापि ग्रहणं कार्यमिति ।. Vide मद. पा. pp. 184 and 186 for similar views.

on the proper time and states that a gaunakāla is resorted to for escaping from the censure of *śistas* or for the solace of one's mind or because there is no other alternative If a tithi can be had on two days and at the required time or if it does not exist on both days at the time required or it extends only up to a part of the time for which it is required, then the decision is arrived at, as a general rule, by what is called 'yugmavākya' to be cited below [190] Suppose, for example, that a vrata is to be performed at noon on a certain tithi, then that tithi may exist at noon on two days or suppose that the tithi begins one or two ghatikās after noon and ends on the next day one or two ghatikās before noon, then the decision as to which tithi (whether *pūrva-viddhā* or *para-viddhā*) is proper for the act would have to be decided as a general rule by the *Yugmavākya* The *Yugmavākya* may be translated as follows. 'The pairs (or combinations) of the following tithis lead to great reward, viz. of the 2nd and 3rd tithis, of the 4th and 5th, of the 6th and 7th, of the 8th and 9th, of the 11th and 12th, of the 14th with pūrnimā (Full moon tithi) and of Amāvāsyā with the 1st the reverse (i e combinations or pairs of other tithis) results in great loss, such combinations destroy all former (accumulated) merit' In these verses there are seven pairs and they are mutually applicable The question may be asked. on what tithi a vrata prescribed for the 2nd tithi should be performed if the 2nd is combined with the first on one day (that is, it is *pūrvaviddhā*) and is also combined with the 3rd on the next day (i e it is *paraviddhā*) The reply is as a general rule the day on which the 2nd is combined with the 3rd tithi should be the proper one for the dvitīyāvrata and not the day on which 2nd tithi is combined with the first Similarly, in the case of a vrata to be performed on trtīyā, if the 3rd tithi occurs on one civil day combined with the 2nd and on the next day it is combined with the 4th, then the proper day as a general rule for a trtīyā-vrata is the one on which the 2nd and 3rd tithis are in combination and not the other day on which the 3rd and 4th tithis combine The result of this passage is that combinations of 1st and 2nd tithi, of the 3rd and 4th, of 5th and 6th, of 7th and 8th, of the 9th and 10th, of the 10th and 11th, of 12th and

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190 यदा त्वेका तिथिर्द्विनद्वये कर्मयोग्या विहितकाले लभ्यते न वा लभ्यते तदा यदा कर्मानुष्ठानमिति संशये युग्मवचनादेव व्यवस्थामाह गृह्यपरिशिष्टम् । व किं कौ p 3, मध्याह्न-व्याप्तिनी द्विनद्वये कर्मकाले व्याप्तौ, अव्याप्तौ, तदैकदेशव्याप्तौ वा युग्मवाक्यादिना पूर्वविद्धाया परविद्धाया वा तिथेर्ग्राह्यत्वम् । धर्मसिन्धु p 8.

13th, of 13th and 14th, of Pūrnimā with the first and of Amāvāsyā with 14th are generally excluded as improper.[191]

It may be stated here that the rules laid down in the above verses (of yugmavākya) are riddled with exceptions. Some say that these rules apply only to tithis of the bright half and not to those of the dark half. But many works such as Aparārka (p. 216), Kālanirnaya (p 172), Vratakālaviveka (P. O. vol. VII, p 87), Nirnayasindhu (p 18) hold that the passage applies to tithis of the dark half also, since the express mention of Amāvāsyā in combination with *pratipad* is an indication in that direction It would be noticed that the *yugmavākya* (even though held to be applicable to the dark half) does not refer to the first tithi of the dark half, the 10th and 13th tithis of both halves Their combinations with the preceding or following tithis will be governed by express texts where available and by other considerations in other cases, such as the verse 'in the bright half that tithi should be preferred which exists at the time the sun rises and, in the dark half, that tithi should be preferred which exists when the sun sets'[192] Another important rule is that where there are express texts prescribing a particular combination of *viddhā tithis* as more appropriate for a vrata or other

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191 युग्माद्यियुगसूनानां पण्मुन्योर्वसुरन्ध्रयो । रुद्रेण द्वादशी युक्ता चतुर्दश्या च पूर्णिमा ॥ प्रतिपद्यप्यमावास्या तिथ्योर्युग्मं महाफलम् । एतद् व्यस्तं महादोषं हन्ति पुण्यं पुरा कृतम् ॥. These are quoted by हे. (on काल p 67). In the system of expressing numerals by words युग्म, अद्रि, युग, भूत, मुनि, वसु, रन्ध्र and रुद्र stand respectively for 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11 These verses are ascribed to different sources in the mediæval digests. The स्मृतिच. II p 350 and Aparārka (pp 214, 216), नि. सि p 18 call it *nigama* (vedic text); while कालविवेक p 475, ब्र. का. वि. (p 214), व. क्रि कौ. (p 3) ascribe it to गृह्यपरिशिष्ट and तिथिनत्त्व p 3 calls it both निगम and गृह्यपरिशिष्ट. These verses are अग्निपुराण 175 36–37 and गरुड I. 128 16–17. The कालादर्श (folio 9 a) ascribes the verses to पैठीनसि. They are the same as राजमार्तण्ड folio 69 b and 70 a, verses 1123–24 (ABORI vol. 36 p 309) The समयप्रदीप (folio 7 b) explains these verses at great length and remarks 'अयं च युग्मादितिथिविधिरहोरात्रसाध्योपवासादिकर्मणि तिथिद्वैधे सति सर्वत्र बोद्धव्यः। देवपूजादावपि दिनद्वये विहितपूर्वाह्णादिनातिथिलाभे सति। यदा त्वेकस्मिन्नेव दिवसे विहितकाललाभः तदा तत्रैव कर्म न तु व्यस्तनिन्दाश्रवणात्तत्रापि युग्मादर. ।'. The कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन discusses these verses at great length (pp 475–502) and concludes 'यत्तु विष्णुधर्मोत्तरवचनं—सा तिथिस्तद्दहोरात्रं यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः। तया कर्माणि कुर्वीत ह्रासवृद्धौ न कारणम् ॥—तदशुग्मतिथिविषयमेव । .. तस्मादुभयदिने प्रातौ कुत्र क्रिया इति सन्देहे युग्मतिथिषु युग्मवचनं, अयुग्मासु तु वृद्धिह्रासादिवचनम् ।' pp 501–502.

192. तथा च मार्कण्डेय. । शुक्लपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामभ्युदितो रविः । कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामस्तमितो रविः ॥ q. by हे. (on काल) p 93, का. नि. p. 231, का. वि. p. 501 (where it is said that संभ्रमभट्ट had quoted it).

religious rite, that express rule prevails and not the rule derived from this yugmavākya[193] For example, it is laid down in the very place (where the yugmavākya occurs) that the 6th tithi, 8th tithi, amāvāsyā and the 13th of the dark half are to be preferred (for religious rites) when in combination with the following tithis (*i e. 7th, 9th, 1st of bright half and 14th of dark half respectively*) and others (than those mentioned in the first half such as the 7th, 9th) are to be preferred when combined with those preceding them.[194] The application of special considerations may be further illustrated by the following The same tithi may be preferred if *pūrvaviddhā* in one vrata and as paraviddhā in other cases owing to the difference in the deities of the vratas. For example, Skandasasthī is preferred as pūrvaviddhā, but Mandārasasthī is preferred as paraviddhā (because the deity is Mandāra and not Skanda) Sometimes, although the devatā is the same, it will have to be pūrvaviddhā and sometimes paraviddhā as in the Vināyaka-vrata which requires mid-day as the proper time. If the 4th exists at midday and then is mixed up with 5th, but did not exist at midday the previous day, then 4th mixed with 5th will be preferred, but if mixed with the 3rd before noon and not mixed with 5th at time of midday, 4th mixed with third will be preferred Sometimes it depends on the fact whether it is bright or dark fortnight Śukla pratipad will be preferred if pūrvaviddhā, but krsna pratipad will be preferred as uttaraviddhā The rites for *pitrs* are not governed by yugma-vākya The grhya-parisista provides that the pitrs attend on that tithi which exists at the time when the sun sets; that tithi and afternoon are assigned for the pitrs by Brahmā himself[195] Sometimes even a combination not approved by yugmavākya has to be accepted for the performance of a rite e. g when astamī with Rohinī naksatra exists (in Krsnajanma-vrata) the fast should be observed on that Astamī, though it may be combined with 7th tithi (and not on 9th as yugmavākya

193. युगाद्या वर्षवृद्धिश्च सप्तमी पार्वतीप्रिया। रोहिणर्क्षयुतेक्षन्ते न तत्र तिथियुग्मता॥ देवी-पुराण q. by व क्रि कौ 249, V R. 248 This verse expressly says that in the case of Yugādi tithis, of the tithi of birth and 7th tithi which is related to Durgā, the tithi at sunrise is to be preferred whether it be mixed with a tithi mentioned in the Yugmavākya or not

194 तथा युग्मवचनम्। षष्ठचष्टम्यष्यमावास्या कृष्णपक्षे त्रयोदशी। एता परयुता ग्राह्या परा पूर्वयुतास्तथा॥ का वि p. 476, व क्रि कौ p 4.

195 यत्रास्तं सविता याति पितरस्तत्रोपासते। तिथिं तेन्योऽपराह्णे दि स्वय दत्त. स्वयम्भुवा॥ गृह्यपरिशिष्ट q by व क्रि कौ p. 16, त्र का. वि p. 86, तिथिविवेक p 232

requires).[196] Sometimes, even though a tithi be pūrnā, it is passed over in favour of a viddhā one.[197] Suppose there is Ekādaśī in the bright half from sunrise to sunrise on a certain day and there is Ekādaśī on the next day for two ghatikās, then there is Dvādaśī for 59 ghatikās in extent; thus trayodaśī commences the day after just one ghatikā *after sunrise*. According to this verse of Pracetas there is to be no upavāsa on the Ekādaśī, though it is pūrnā, but the fast will be observed on Dvādaśī, and the *pāranā* in order to be celebrated on dvādaśī will have to be during the first ghatikā of the third day from ekādaśī or earlier. But if the Dvādaśī in this case be only for 55 ghatikās, trayodaśī will begin three ghatikās before sunrise; if *pāranā* be done at sunrise it will be on the 13th and not on the 12th. In this latter case, according to Pracetas, the Upavāsa will have to be on the pūrnā Ekādaśī in order that the pāranā may be on 12th. It has to be further remembered that the positive prescription about celebrating a vrata or the like on the fixed tithi is governed by the yugmavākya, but the rules forbidding the partaking of oil, meat or the like on the fixed tithi apply for the whole of that day[198] and that tithi, whether it is 65 ghatikās and extends over three days or is only 55 ghatikās and extends over two days only. For explaining the words 'ekādaśyām nirāhārah' from Varāha-purāna (39. 32) the Ekādaśī-tattva (pp. 3–4) states that one is to fast not merely for the time that the Ekādaśī lasts on a week-day but for the whole of the week day on which Ekādaśī falls and it applies the reasoning contained in Jai VI. 2 19–20 (called *Kalañjādhikarana*). If the vrata is such that some items in it are to be done by day and some at night, then that vrata must be observed on that tithi which exists by day as well as at night and in such a case

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196 वचनात्तु क्वचिद् व्यस्ततिथेरपि ग्रहणम्। यथा भविष्ये। कार्या विद्धापि सप्तम्या रोहिणीसहिताष्टमी। तत्रोपवासं कुर्वीत तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ तिथिभान्ते च पारणमिति प्रकरणाद् रोहिण्यष्टम्युपवासविषयम्। ब्र का. वि p 89, व क्रि कौ. p 10.

197 वचनात्तु क्वचित् पूर्णाया अपि तिथेः परित्यागः। यथा प्रचेता। पूर्णाप्येकादशी त्याज्या वर्धते द्वितयं यदि। द्वादश्या पारणालाभे पूर्णैव परिगृह्यते॥ ब्र. का वि p. 90, व क्रि. कौ. p. 13.

198. तदाह कालमाधवीये वृद्धगार्ग्यः। निमित्तं कालमादाय वृत्तिर्विधिनिषेधयोः। विधिः पूज्यतिथौ तत्र निषेधः कालमात्रके। तिथीनां पूजयता नाम कर्माङ्गत्वानतो मता। निषेधस्तु निवृत्त्यात्मा कालमात्रमपेक्षते॥ तिथितत्त्व p. 6, ब्र. का वि p 234, व क्रि कौ p. 14 (first verse only and ascribes to गृह्यपरिशिष्ट), का. त वि p. 4. तिथितत्त्व explains 'वृत्तिः पालनम्। कर्माङ्गत्वानतः कर्माङ्गत्वे।' (p. 6). These verses are quoted from गार्ग्य in कालनिर्णय p 103.

the yugmavākya has no application Vide p 72 and note 184 above. In certain cases where the vrata has several items extending over the whole day or a large part of it, the tithi at the time of sunrise even if it be only for a ghaṭikā is declared by some texts to be *sakalā* (pūrnā) for purposes of both gifts and vratas.[199]

The Kālādarśa propounds the strange[200] theory based on Gobhila's words that the shortening and lengthening of the tithis is due to the piety and sinfulness of men and divides tithis into *kharva* (of proper extent, 60 ghatikās), *darpa* (more extensive than 60 ghatikās) and *himsrā* or *himsā* (of lesser extent than 60 ghatikās) The Rājamārtanda has the same[201] division and remarks that when the tithi is either *kharva* or *darpa* (and they are viddhā) then a rite is to be done on the later tithi (the proper tithi joined to the next one) and in the case of the shorter tithi (if it is viddhā) one should prefer the former (i. e the day on which the proper tithi is joined to an earlier one)[202] The Varsa-

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199. यत्र सार्धसप्तघटीरपि कर्म न समाप्यते तत्र कृत्स्नो दिवसोऽप्यग्रहणज्ञायते । अत एव देवल । या तिथि समग्रग्राप्य उदय याति भास्कर । सा तिथि सकला ज्ञेया स्नानदानजपादिषु ॥ इति । व्यासोपि । उदयत्रैव सविता या तिथि प्रतिपद्यते । सा तिथि सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययन-कर्मसु ॥ व्रतोपवासनियमे घटिंकाना यदा भवेत् । सा तिथि सकला ज्ञेया पित्र्यर्थे चापरह्णिकी ॥ इति । का नि p 142. का वि p 473 reads in the first verse स्नानदानव्रतादिषु का वि. p 473 and p. 485 quote the last two verses but ascribe them to बौधायन and भविष्य *This is one of the cases where a tithi though khandā according to strict astronomical rule is to be regarded as full (or sakalā) for Dharmaśāstra purposes*

200 भ्रान्तो वृद्धिर्तिथीना स्याद्धर्माधर्मतो नृणाम् । तदुक्त गोभिलेन । खर्वो दर्पस्तथा हिंसत्रिविधं तिथिलक्षणम् । धर्माधर्मनशादेव तिथिरेधा विवर्धते । इति । कालादर्श folio 5 a पु चि. p 33 ascribes खर्वो &c to गर्ग The verse खर्वो दर्प &c is ascribed to Uśanas by का नि p. 144 and व क्रि कौ pp 21–22, हे (on काल) p 91 quotes खर्वं ... पूर्वकालिकी from भविष्यपुराण and ascribes to पितामह the verse खर्वो लक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ पूज्यौ हिंसा पूर्वत्र पूजयेत् ॥ हे (on काल) p 109 says 'व्रतविषये युग्मवाक्यमेव प्रवर्तते न खर्वदर्पवाक्यम्' and ascribes to व्यास the verse खर्वो लक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ • कालिकी

201. खर्वदर्पौ परौ कार्यौ हिंसां पूर्वत्र पूजयेत् ॥ राजमार्तंड folio 70a, verse 1132 (ABORI. vol 36 p. 310).

202 खर्वो दर्पस्तथा हिंसा त्रिविध तिथिलक्षणम् । खर्वदर्पौ परौ कार्यौ हिंसा स्यात्पूर्व-कालिकी ॥ q from बौधायन by कालविवेक p 500, which explains • खर्वं समता यत. प्रसृति पूर्वदिने प्रारब्धा परदिने च तावत्येव समाप्ति । दर्पो वृद्धिः परदिनेऽधिककालेन समाप्ति । हिंसा क्षय परदिने न्यूनकालेन समाप्ति ।. Vide व क्रि कौ p 22 for the verse and explanation कालनिर्णय p 102 reads 'खर्वो • लक्षणम् । धर्माधर्मवशादेव तिथिरेधा विवर्धिता ॥' and ascribes it to गर्ग.

kriyā-kaumudī ascribes a similar verse to Uśanas and remarks that it is opposed to the dicta of many such sages as Devala and must be restricted only to Darśaśrāddha forming as it does a syntactical whole with certain verses of the Chandogapariśista (which it quotes).

A general rule is stated in some works that when the full moon which is in the lunar mansion that gives the name to a month is in conjunction with Jupiter that tithi has the word *mahā* prefixed to it. For example, the Paurnimā of Kārtika would be called Mahākārtikī if the Moon and Jupiter are both in the Krttikās (Pleiades) on that tithi. The Rājamārtanda and Bhavisyapurāna provide that a bath on the Mahācaitrī and (on the remaining eleven paurnimās with prefix *mahā*) in certain holy places yields great rewards, viz bath at Prayāga on Mahāmāghī, on Mahāphālgunī in the Naimisa forest, on Mahācaitrī at Śālagrāma, on Mahāvaiśākhī at Mahādvāra, on Mahājyaisthī at Purusottama, on Mahāsādhī at Kanakhala, on Mahāśrāvanī at Kedāra, on Mahābhādrī at Badarī, on Mahāśvinī at Kubjāmra, on Mahākārtikī at Puskara, on Mahāmārgaśīrsī at Kānyakubja, on Mahāpausī at Ayodhyā [203]

There are long lists of actions forbidden on certain tithis. A few passages may be cited here. Devala [204] says 'on the 15th, the 14th and particularly on the 8th one should avoid oil, meat, sexual intercourse and the use of a razor.' The Nāradīya provides

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203. माससंज्ञे यदा ऋक्षे चन्द्रः सम्पूर्णमण्डलः। गुरुणा याति संयोगं सा तिथिर्महती स्मृता॥ कालविवेक p 347 (quotes from भारत) and शङ्खगीता q. by च. क्रि. कौ. p. 77. This verse is quoted by ति त p 133 from राजमार्तण्ड (folio 81 a, verse 1388). महामाघी प्रयागे तु नैमिषे फाल्गुनी तथा। शालग्रामे महाचैत्री एताः पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः। महाद्वारे च वैशाखी ज्यैष्ठी तु पुरुषोत्तमे। आषाढी वै कनखले केदारे श्रावणी तथा। महाभाद्री बदर्यां तु कुब्जाम्रे च महाश्विनी। पुष्करे कार्तिकी कन्याकुब्जे मार्गी सदा स्मृता। अयोध्यायां महापौषी एताः स्युः सुमहाफलाः। स्नानं होतेषु कर्तव्यं मानवैः पुण्यकांक्षिभिः॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verses 1389–1392 (vide ABORI. vol 36 p 334). These verses are quoted from the भविष्यपुराण by च. क्रि. कौ. p. 80 where गङ्गाम्बाने is read for महाद्वारे, कुब्जाम्रे for कुब्जायाम्. हे. (on काल) p. 642 quotes these verses.

204 पञ्चदश्यां चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां च विशेषतः। तैलं मांसं स्त्रियं चैव क्षुरकर्म च वर्जयेत्॥ केवल q by कृ र p. 547, च. क्रि. कौ. p. 86. Vide विष्णुपुराण III. 11 118–119 for similar provisions and वृद्धशातातप verses 57–58 (q. by कृ. र. p. 546).

that one should give up oil on the 6th tithi, meat on 8th, use of razor on the 14th and sexual intercourse on the full moon and amāvāsyā (I 156.140–141) Certain vegetables, fruits and articles such as sesame are to be eschewed on certain tithis; vide p 70 above and note 177.

CHAPTER IV

Individual vratas; Caitra Pratipad, Rāmanavamī, Akṣayya-tṛtīyā, Paraśūrāmajayantī, Daśaharā, Sāvitrī-vrata.

The Mahābhārata[205] prescribes how to set about a vrata. 'Taking in one's hand a copper vessel full of water and turning one's face to the north one should undertake the *upavāsa*, or whatever else he resolves in his mind to undertake as a vrata.' Devala[206] also says 'without taking food (the previous night), after taking a bath and having performed *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water) and after having declared before the Sun and other *devatās* (his intent) a person should perform a vrata'. The Varāhapurāna[207] sets out the formula of *saṅkalpa* 'after passing the 11th tithi without any food, I shall partake of food the next day, O lotus-eyed one (Viṣnu), O Acyuta, be thou my refuge'. The sankalpa is to be generally made in the case of a fast[208] or vrata in the morning; the first fifth part of a day comprising three ghaṭikās is called morning. Even when a tithi does not

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205. गृहीत्वौदुम्बरं पात्रं वारिपूर्णमुदङ्मुखः। उपवासं तु गृह्णीयाद्वा सङ्कल्पयेद्बुध॥ देवतास्तस्य तुष्यन्ति कामिक तस्य सिध्यति। अन्यथा तु वृथा मर्त्याः क्लिश्यन्ति स्वल्पबुद्धयः॥ शान्तिपर्व q. by कालविवेक p 456 and the first verse by कल्पतरु (on व्रत p 4), कृ र. p 54, व क्रि कौ p 61. यद्वा .बुध is variously explained The कृ र states 'तत्र कल्पतरु। यद्वा अन्यत्रोक्तादिकम्। पारिजातस्तु यद्वेत्यनेन सङ्कल्पमात्रमपि कर्तव्यमित्याह।'. कालविवेक reads 'यदा सङ्कल्पयेद्बुधः' In the अनुशासनपर्व 126 20 the verse is प्रगृह्यौदु.ं तोयपूर्णं उदङ्मुखः। उप. यद्वा सङ्कल्पयेद् व्रतम्॥. ति. त. p 110 quotes from वराहपुराण 'गृहीत्वा .यद्वा वार्यैव धारयेत्॥'.

206. देवलः। अभुक्त्वा प्रातराहारं स्नात्वाचम्य समाहितः। सूर्याय देवताभ्यश्च निवेद्य व्रतमाचरेत्। q. by कल्प० (on व्रत p. 4), स. प्र (fol.o 1 b), कृ र p 54

207. एकादश्यां निराहारो भूत्वा चैव परेऽहनि। भोक्ष्येहं पुण्डरीकाक्ष शरणं मे भवाच्युत॥ इत्युच्चार्य ततो विद्वान् पुष्पाञ्जलिमथार्पयेत्। वराहपुराण 39 32 q by कालनिर्णय 268 (from विष्णु), व क्रि कौ pp. 60-61, ति-त p. 110 Vide नारदीय I 23. 15 for a very similar verse.

208. प्रातरेव सङ्कल्पः कार्यः। तदानी ज्योति॰शास्त्रप्रतिपदभावेपि स्मृत्युक्तप्रतिपदः सत्त्वात्। नवरात्रमदीप p 33, अपराह्णव्याप्तिप्रतिपत्तिरूप्यादिषु चिकीर्षितस्यापि व्रतस्य प्रारम्भः प्रातरेव कार्यः। प्रातः सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वान्नक्तोपवासव्रतादिकम् — इति माधवीयवचनात्। स्मृतिकौ. (on तिथि) p 12; अतः प्रात॰काले तत्तत्तिथ्यलाभे तिथ्यन्तरेऽप्युपवाससङ्कल्पः। अहोरात्राभोजनरूपस्य तस्य प्रातरारम्भार्हत्वात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 3.

begin in the morning (but begins in the afternoon) the sankalpa has to be made in the morning provided a vrata is to be performed on that tithi though it be viddhā. If no sankalpa is made the person secures very little benefit from the vrata[209] and half the merit is lost.

It is now time to turn to individual vratas on the several tithis. First comes the pratipad-vrata.

It will be shown in the next section how in ancient and medieval times the month in which the year began was different at different times and in different countries We shall begin with the pratipad of the month of Caitra, shall take the month as ending with amāvāsyā (*amānta*) and set out from Caitra the important vratas and festivals in each month and the tithis therein, and the rest will be entered in the list of vratas appended to this section on vratas.

In those parts of India (such as the Deccan) where the year begins with Caitra, the first tithi is observed with some pomp and religious ceremony. Most of the medieval digests such as Kalpataru (Naiyatakāla pp 377–382), Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp 360–365), Krtyaratnākara (pp. 103–110), Vratarāja (pp 49–53) quote from the Brahmapurāna the rites of the beginning of the year on the first tithi of Caitra bright half That Purāna[210] states that Brahmā created the world on the first day of the bright half of Caitra at sunrise, and started the reckoning of time On that tithi a mahāśānti (propitiatory rite) destroying all untoward occurrences and sins should be offered and first Brahmā should be worshipped with the well-known *upacāras* and then the other gods with mantras preceded by *om* and the word *namah* (*om namo Brahmane tubhyam*), to all divisions of time from the minutest to yugas and to daughters of Daksa and lastly to Visnu, then honour brāhmanas with food and fees, give presents to relatives and servants, homa should be offered to Agni called Yavistha, special food should be prepared and a great festival should be celebrated. The Bhavisyapurāna says

209 सङ्कल्पाकरणे फलहानिमाह भविष्यपुराणे। सङ्कल्पेन विना राजन् यत्किञ्चित्कुरुते नरः। फलं चाल्पाल्पकं तस्य धर्मस्यार्धक्षयो भवेत्॥ कृत्यतत्त्व p. 424

210 चैत्रे मासि जगद् ब्रह्मा ससर्ज प्रथमेऽहनि। शुक्लपक्षे समग्रं तु तदा सूर्योदये सति॥ प्रवर्तयामास तथा कालस्य गणनामपि। तत्र कार्या महाशान्ति सर्वकल्मषनाशिनी। सर्वोत्पात-प्रशमिनी कलिदुःस्वप्ननाशिनी॥ &c. कल्पतरु (नैयत० p 377), हे (व्रत I. p. 360), कृ र. p. 103.

that since it was declared by Brahmā to be the best among tithis and thus placed in the first place it is called Pratipad. On Caitra pratipad there is worship of the lord of the year, viz. the lord of the week-day[211] on which pratipad falls, arches and banners should be raised by each householder, one should anoint one's body with oil and have a bath, one should eat leaves of the *nimba* tree (that are bitter) and should hear from the reciter of the calendar the name of the year (śaka or saṁvat), its lord and the deities that would be the ministers for the year, the governing deities of all corns and fluids &c. Even in these days priests go about in the Deccan to the houses of their patrons and read from the *pañcāṅga* (almanac) the details about the lord of the year &c set out above, people raise a pole with silk cloth at top covered with a silver or brass pot, offer worship to the pole with sandalwood paste, flowers &c. and eat *nimba* leaves. This latter is done even in Saurāṣtra, though the people employ *saṁvat* reckoning.

The rule is that the pratipad to be celebrated is that which exists at the time of sunrise. If pratipad exists at sunrise on two days, then the earlier of the two is to be chosen or if there be no pratipad at sunrise on any day then the one which is pūrva-viddhā should be chosen. For example, if there is amāvāsyā for four ghatikās after sunrise, then there is pratipad for 56 ghatikās and one ghatikā more on the next day, then the pratipad though affected by amāvāsyā will have to be chosen for the beginning of the year and not the pratipad intermixed with second tithi the next day. If Caitra be an intercalary month then[212] the opinion of many writers is that the pratipad of the intercalary month should be held to be the beginning of the year. The Samayamayūkha holds that when Caitra is an intercalary month the year and spring commence with it, but the ceremonial bath with oil and listening to the recital of the śaka year should

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211. चैत्रशुक्लप्रतिपदि यो वारः स वृषः स्मृतः। नारदीयपुराण I. 56. 1; तिथीनां प्रवरा यस्माद् ब्रह्मणा सहुदाहृता। प्रतिपादिवा पदे पूर्वे प्रतिपत्तेन कथ्यते॥ भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 16. 44 q. by हे. (व्रत I. p. 336), व. क्रि. कौ. p. 28.

212. चैत्रस्य मलमासत्वे तैलाभ्यङ्ग-शकाश्रवणादि शुद्ध एव कार्यम्। यद्यपि वत्सरवसन्तयोः प्रवृत्तिर्जाता तथापि तत्प्रयुक्तकृत्यम्—षण्ण्या तु दिवसैर्मासः कथितो बादरायणैः। पूर्वमर्घं परित्यज्य कर्तव्या उत्तरे क्रिया—इति वचनाद्युक्तकृत्योत्तर एव कार्यम्। स. म. p. 13. The ह. चि. p. 57 combats this view. The व क्रि. कौ p. 227 reads पूर्वमर्घं परित्यज्य उत्तरार्धं प्रशस्यते।; the verse षण्ण्या तु० occurs in राजमार्तण्ड and is q. by का. वि. p. 139 as from ज्योति.शास्त्र.

be done in the pure month. The[213] Dharmasindhu makes a difference by saying that the ceremonial bath with oil should be taken on the occasion of the commencement of the new year and repeating the name of the new year should be done on the first day of the intercalary month, but the raising of the pole, eating of nimba leaves, listening to the recital of the almanac should be done in the pure month. In popular belief caitra-śuddhapratipad is one of the 3½ most important muhūrtas (auspicious days) of the year. The Sāmrājya-laksmīpīthikā (pp 128–133) gives a very elaborate description of the great festival on caitra-śuddha first performed by a king or a chieftain or a zamindar owning several villages.

The next important tithi in Caitra is the 9th in the bright half on which is observed the Rāmanavamīvrata and the celebration of the birth of Rāma, 7th *avatāra* of Visnu. The principal works on which reliance is placed in Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp 941–946), V. K. K (pp 523–529), Tithitattva (pp 59–62), Nirnayasindhu (pp 83–86) and other digests are the Agastya-samhitā and Rāmārcanacandrikā of Anandavanayati, pupil of Mukundavanayati. It is somewhat remarkable that the Krtyakalpataru on vrata does not deal with this. The Rāma cult appears to have become popular later than the Krsna cult. Though the Amarakosa gives Visnu, Nārāyana, Krsna, Vāsudeva, Devakīnandana and Dāmodara as synonyms, it does not mention Rāma (Dāsarathi), but mentions Rāma only as a synonym of Haladhara. Here only a brief treatment of Rāmanavamī can be attempted. The Rāmārcanacandrikā and Vratārka (folio 173a) expressly provide that all persons including even cāndālas can observe Rāmanavamīvrata (they have *adhikāra*).

It is stated in the Agastyasamhitā[214] that Rāma was born at noon on the 9th of the bright half of Caitra, when Punarvasu asterism was occupied by the Moon and both the Moon and

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213. चैत्रस्य मलमासत्वे वत्सरारम्भनिमित्तक तैलाभ्यङ्गसङ्कल्पादौ चूतनवत्सरनामकीर्तनाद्यारम्भं च मलमासमतिपद्येव कुर्यात्। प्रतिपद्गृह ध्वजारोपण निम्बपत्राशनं वत्सरादिफलश्रवण नवरात्रारम्भो नवरात्रोत्सवादि निमित्ताभ्यङ्गादिश्च शुद्धमासप्रतिपदि कार्यं। वत्सरारम्भनिमित्तकोपि तैलाभ्यङ्गः शुद्धप्रतिपद्येवेति मयूख उक्तम्। धर्मसिन्धु p 38.

214. चैत्रे नवम्या मार्कपत्रे दिवा पुण्ये पुनर्वसौ। उदये गुरुगौराङ्गी स्त्रीऽरत्ये ब्रह्मपञ्चके। मेषे पूषणि सम्प्राप्ते लग्ने कर्कटकाह्वये। आविरासीत्स कलया कौशल्यायां परः पुमान्। हे. (on व्रत I p 941 quoting अगस्त्यसंहिता) These astrological details about the birth of Rāma are in line with those in some editions of the Rāmāyana (except those of Gorresio and some others). Vide my paper on this in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. I pp 1–5.

Jupiter were in conjunction and when five planets were in their *ucca* (exaltation), when the zodiacal sign rising on the eastern horizon was Karkataka (Cancer), and when the Sun was in the sign of Mesa (Aries) The Kālanirnaya of Mādhava (pp 229–230) lays down the following. When navamī is spread over two days, then, if there is navamī at noon only on the earlier of the two days, the vrata should be performed on that day. If there is navamī at noon on both days, or if there is no navamī at noon on any day, then the vrata should be performed on navamī mixed with daśamī (and not on navamī mixed with astamī).[215] If the 9th tithi is conjoined to Punarvasu asterism that day, that tithi is most holy. Even when there is conjunction of astamī, navamī and Punarvasu, still the vrata should be on the next day (i. e. on navamī with daśamī) There are further minute rules and differences on this which are passed over here.

It is stated that the Rāmanavamīvrata is *nitya* (obligatory) for all, while others say that it is obligatory only for devotees of Rāma and kāmya (optional) for those that desire special rewards (such as removal of sin, *mukti* or release from *samsāra*). The Agastya-samhitā[216] remarks 'This (vrata) is a course prescribed for all and it is the sole means of worldly happiness and *mukti*. Even a person who is impure or very sinful, having performed this best of vratas, is honoured by all and he becomes as if he were Rāma himself. That wretched man who eats food on Rāmanavamī suffers torments in the terrible hells called Kumbhīpāka. If a man fasts on a single Rāmanavamī all his objects are fulfilled and he is released from all sins'. The Agastyasamhitā further prescribes 'on that day (on which Rāma was born) vrata in the form of a fast should always be performed and on that day the devotee intent on Rāma worship should keep awake at night, sitting on the ground'. The use of the word 'sadā' (always) shows that the vrata is obligatory. Others say that the texts promise such rewards as removal of sin and therefore it is

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215. नवमी चाष्टमीविद्धा त्याज्या विष्णुपरायणैः । उपोष्यं नवम्या च दशम्यां चैव पारणम् ॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q. by व. क्रि. कौ. 525, ति त. 60, नि सि 83, व्र का. नि. p. 16 (ascribes to आपस्तम्ब), समयमयूख p. 53

216 सर्वेषामप्ययं धर्मो मुक्तिमुक्त्येकसाधनम् । अशुचिर्वापि पापिष्ठः कृत्वैवं व्रतमुत्तमम् । पूज्यः स्यात् सर्वभूतानां यथा रामस्तथैव सः । यस्तु रामनवम्यां तु मुक्तके स च नराधमः । कुम्भीपाकेषु घोरेषु पच्यते नात्र संशयः । .. एकामपि नरो भक्त्या श्रीरामनवमीं मुने । उपोष्य कृतकृत्यः स्यात्सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q by हे. (व्रत vol. I 942), नि. सि. p 84, तस्मिन् दिने तु कर्तव्यमुपवासव्रतं सदा । तत्र जागरणं कुर्याद्रघुनाथपरे मुनि ॥ अगस्त्यसंहिता q. by हे. (व्रत I. p. 941), स्मृतिमु. (on काल p. 836).

kāmya. The conclusion of many works (like the Nirṇayasindhu and the Tithitattva) is that this vrata is both *kāmya* and *nitya* according to the Mīmāmsā maxim of 'samyogaprthaktva'[217] (Jai IV 3. 5–7) In the section on 'Agnihotra' the Veda says 'he makes an offering of curds in the fire'; there is another sentence in the same, viz 'one who desires bodily vigour should make an offering of curds in the fire'. The meaning is that curds being separately mentioned in two different sentences which are both independent, homa with *dadhi* is both *nitya* and *kāmya*.

The procedure of Rāmanavamīvrata as set out in H. V I. pp 941–946 N. S pp 83–86, T T. pp 59–62, K. T. V. pp, 96–98, Vratarāja pp 319–329, Vratārka (folios 172–182), may be briefly described as follows.—The devotee should take a bath on the 8th tithi in the bright half of Caitra, perform his *sandhyā* prayer and should invite a brāhmana learned in the Veda and sāstras and devoted to Rāma worship and knowing the procedure of Rāma mantras, should honour him and make a request 'I shall make a gift of the image of Rāma'. Then he should give oil to the brāhmana for anointing his body, make him bathe, make him wear white garments and flowers, should offer him a dinner containing *sāttvika* food and should himself partake of the same food and constantly think of Rāma On that day he and the *ācārya* honoured by him should go without food at night, should listen to the stories of Rāma the whole day and should himself sleep and make the ācārya sleep on the ground (not on a cot) The next morning he should get up, bathe, perform his *sandhyā*, should construct a brilliant mandapa with four doors and decked with arches, banners and flowers The eastern door should be decked with conch, wheel and (an image of) Garuda, bow and arrows, the western one with mace, sword and armlets and the north with lotuses, *svastika* signs and blue stones and prepare a raised altar four cubits (in the mandapa) and should provide holy songs, music and dance therein. He should have benedictions from brāhmanas Then

217. एकस्य उभयत्रे संयोगपृथक्त्वम्। शेष इति चेत्। नार्थपृथक्त्वात्। जै IV 3 '5–7. 'अग्निहोत्रे श्रूयते दध्ना जुहोतीति। पुनश्च दध्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुह्वुयादिति। तस्माद्यदेव नैमित्तिकं तदेव नित्यार्थमिति।' शबर; तस्मात्पृथक्तूसंयोगाद्उभयार्थं दधि स्यात्। शास्त्रदीपिका: एकोस्योभयार्थत्वे संयोगस्य संयुज्यते शाब्दयेन बोध्यतेऽनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या वाक्यस्य पृथक्त्वं नानात्वं कारणं तदिहाप्यस्तीति दधिखादिरादिकल्पभयार्थम्। मयूखमालिका on शास्त्रदीपिका Another example of the application of the संयोगपृथक्त्वन्याय is Agnihotra. We have two Vedic passages 'अग्निहोत्रं जुह्वुयात् स्वर्गकाम.' and 'यावज्जीवमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति',

he should make a *saṅkalpa* 'On the Rāmanavamī I shall observe a fast for the whole day and being intent on worshipping Rāma shall make a golden image of Rāma and shall donate it for pleasing Rāma' and then say 'may Rāma remove my numerous heavy sins'. The image of Rāma should be placed on a pedestal, have two hands and Jānakī should be seated on the left thigh of (Rāma) image, which should be bathed with *pañcāmṛta*,[218] then *mūlamantra*[219] should be recited and the usual *nyāsas* should be made. The festival or pūjā is performed in the noon. Then at night he should keep awake and listen to the divine stories about Rāma and be surrounded by devotees of Rāma, should sing hymns about Rāma. Then the next morning he should bathe, perform sandhyā, should worship the image of Rāma with sixteen upacāras employing the 16 verses of Rg. X. 90 and with Paurāṇika verses, also perform the worship of the several limbs of the image (Śrī-Rāmabhadrāya namaḥ pādau pūjayāmi and so on), offer homa on the altar or in a *kuṇḍa* with the *mūlamantra* and then in the ordinary fire offer 108 oblations of clarified butter or *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk with sugar), then he should honour the ācārya with gifts of ear-rings, finger rings, flowers, clothes &c. and should recite the following mantra 'O Rāma! I shall today donate this golden image of yours decked with ornaments and clothes for securing your favour; may Rāma favour me'. He should give dakṣinā (fee) to the ācārya and to other brāhmaṇas gold, cow, a pair of clothes, corn, according to his ability and then have dinner along with the brāhmaṇas. By doing so he becomes free from even mortal sins like brāhmaṇa-murder. There is no need to say more The man who performs this vrata has *mukti* in his hand (as it were) and he acquires the same merit that one secures by the dāna called Tulāpuruṣa[220] in

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218. Images of gods are bathed with पञ्चामृत i. e milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar.

219. Nyāsa is mystical sanctification of the several limbs of the body with Vedic mantras (such as the 16 verses of Rgveda X 90) or other mantras. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp 319-320, 739 and 900 The Mūlamantra is either of six letters, viz. श्रीरामरामरामेति or of thirteen letters, viz. श्रीरामजयरामजयजयरामेति In these days the priest sometimes repeats Rg. X 3. 3 as the Vedic mūlamantra 'भद्रो भद्रया सचमान आगात् स्वसारं जारो अभ्येति पश्चात्। सुप्रकेतैर्द्युभिरग्निर्वितिष्ठन् रुशद्भिर्वर्णैरभि रामनस्थात्॥'. Here the word राम occurs, though in a different sense. सायण explains 'रामं कृष्णं शार्वरं तम.'.

220. For the Mahādāna called Tulāpuruṣa, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 870.

Kurukṣetra on a solar eclipse Hemādri is comparatively brief, but the Tithitattva (pp 61–62), Nirnayasindhu (p 85), Vratārka add further details from Agastyasamhitā They say that images of Bharata and Śatrughna (by the side of Rāma image) and of Lakṣmana with a bow in his hand and of Daśaratha (to the right) and of Kausalyā should also be made and worshipped with appropriate Paurānika mantras (the one for Kausalyā is quoted in the note)[221] The Rāmārcanacandrikā adds further details about the worship of ten and five *āvaraṇas* to which even the Nirnayasindhu refers by name alone.

Rāmanavamī is not to be celebrated in the intercalary Caitra month (malamāsa). The same rule applies to Janmāṣṭamī and other vratas

In modern times not many people observe a fast on Rāmanavamī and hardly one performs homa or donates images, but the birth of Rāma is celebrated in Rāma temples by many at noon with great ceremony. A *Haridāsa* treats a gathering of men and women assembled in the temple to a *kīrtan* with music and bhajan on the birth of Rāma. At the end there is distribution of sweets or 'Sunthavadā' (dried ginger with sugar or jaggery) in the Deccan. In some places such as Nasik, Tirupati, Ayodhyā and Rāmeśvara this festival is performed with great pomp and thousands of people attend at these holy places There is no holy name other than that of Rāma so constantly on Hindu lips even in these days

The important tithi in Vaiśākha is the third of the bright half. It is called Akṣayya-tṛtīyā The earliest reference to it is probably in the Viṣnu-dharmasūtra where it is said that one should fast on this tithi, worship Vāsudeva with whole grains of rice, should offer them into fire and donate them; thereby one becomes purified from all sins, whatever a man donates on that day becomes inexhaustible. The Matsyapurāna (chap 65, verses 1–7), Nāradīya I 112 10 ff treat of this The former states that whatever is donated or sacrificed or muttered on this tithi becomes inexhaustible (in reward), that a fast thereon yields inexhaustible results, that if this tṛtīyā has Kṛttikā asterism

221. कौसल्यामन्त्रस्तु। रामस्य जननी चासि रामरूपमिदं जगत्। अतस्त्वां पूजयिष्यामि लोकमातर्नमोऽस्तु ते॥ नमो दशरथायेति पूजयेत्पितरं ततः। अत्र दशावरणपञ्चावरणादिपूजा अन्यत्र ज्ञेया। नि सि. p 85, ति त p 61, कृ त 464 (has कौसल्यामन्त्र).

then it is specially commended. The Bhavisyottara-purāna[222] (chap 30 1–19) deals at some length with it. It says: 'this tithi is one of the Yugādi tithis because the Krta age began on it; whatever is done on it, such as bath, gifts, muttering of sacred texts (*japa*), offerings into fire, Veda study, satiating deceased ancestors (with water)—all that becomes inexhaustible'. It provides that gifts of jars of water and of umbrellas and of footwear should be made (to brāhmanas) on this day and that what is sacrificed or donated on this day never comes to an end and therefore this tithi is called aksaya (inexhaustible) by the sages V. Dh also refers to it[223] The Lar plates of Govindacandra of Kanauj recite that the king after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of the Aksayya-trtiyā festival on Monday in *samvat* 1202 (i e 15th April 1146 A. D) made the grant of a village to one Śrīdhara Thakkura (E I vol. VII p 98). The third is to be taken for these religious rites when it exists in the forenoon, but if it exists in the forenoon on two days the one that exists on the later day should be chosen for vrata. Vide Hemādri on Kāla p 618 and on vrata vol. I. pp 500–502, Vratarāja pp 93–96, Sm K. p. 109 for further details. It is provided in the Purānas that śrāddha performed on the tithis called *Yugādi* gives inexhaustible gratification to the pitrs. But no pindas (rice-balls) are to be offered in Yugādi-śrāddha. Aksayyatrtiyā is one of the 3½ days popularly believed to be most auspicious in the year (it is itself ½).

On the third of Vaiśākha bright half is celebrated 'Parasurāmajayantī'.[224] It is to be celebrated in the first *prahara*

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222 स्नानं दानं जपो होम. स्वाध्यायः पितृतर्पणम्। यदस्यां क्रियते किंचिद् सर्वं स्यात्तदिहाक्षयम्। आद्यो कृतयुगस्येयं युगादिस्तेन कथ्यते। अस्यां तिथौ क्षयमुपैति हुतं न दत्तं तेनाक्षया च मुनिभिः कथिता तृतीया॥ भविष्योत्तर 30. 2–3 and 19. Vide H of Dh vol IV p 374 and note 841 for Yugādi-tithis and कृ र pp. 541–542 for divergence of views about Yugādis in the Purānas A late work, the युक्तपार्थचिन्तामणि, resolves the contradiction as follows: अत्र कस्मिंश्चित्कल्पे माधस्य पौर्णमास्या कलियुगमवृत्ति. कस्मिंश्चिदमावास्यायामिति कल्पभेदेन व्यवस्था। (p. 87). The निर्णयामृत p. 36 gives the same explanation.

223 वैशाखशुक्लतृतीयायामुपोषितोऽक्षतैर्वासुदेवमभ्यर्च्य सानेव हुत्वा दत्त्वा च सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति। यच्च तस्मिन्नहनि प्रयच्छति तदक्षय्यमामोति। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 90. 16–17.

224. The story of Paraśurāma and his several exploits such as the destruction of ksatriyas twenty-one times, donating the earth to Kaśyapa, loss of his prowess when he met Rāma, residence on Mahendra mountain and making the Western ocean recede occur frequently in the Mahābhārata

(Continued on next page)

(watch) of the night ('sūryāstottaram trimuhūrtah pradosah' Dharmasindhu p 9) It is stated in the Skanda[225] and Bhavisya purānas that Visnu was born from Renukā on the third of the bright half of Vaiśākha when the naksatra was Punarvasu and in the first watch of the night and when six planets were *ucca* (in exaltation) and Rāhu was in the zodiacal sign Mithuna (Gemini) The image of Parasurāma is to be worshipped and *arghya* is to be offered to it with the mantra quoted below[226] If the third tithi is suddhā (i e not mixed with another tithi) the vrata (i e fast) is to be performed that day, but if on two days there is third tithi in the evening first watch even partially, then the later one is to be the day of the fast, otherwise (if the third is *viddhā*, but does not extend up to the first watch of the night) the fast should be observed on the first of the two days There are some temples erected in honour of Paraśurāma, particularly in the Konkana such as the one near Chiplun in which Paraśurāma-jayantī is celebrated with great ceremony Vide N S p. 95, Sm. K p 112, P. C 89 for further details H V I p 117 gives directions as to the image or painting of Parasurāma But Paraśurāma-jayantī is not observed in several parts of India (such as Saurāstra), though observed in South India

In the month of Jyestha there is a vrata called Daśaharā on the 10th tithi of the bright half The Brahmapurāna (63 15) states that the 10th of Jyestha bright half is called Daśaharā, because it destroys ten sins[227] Ten sins (divided into three

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(Continued from last page)

e g in आदिपर्व 2 3 ff, 130 62, सभा 14 2, वन 116 14, 117 9, उद्योग 178 62, द्रोण 70, कर्ण 42 3–9, शल्य 49 7–10 The Puranas also devote much space to legends about him. Vide ब्रह्म 213 113–123, वायु 91 67–86, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 21–47 and 57–58 (for saving गोकर्ण and शूर्पारक), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 35 ff Some of these legends must be over 2000 years old The रघुवंश (VI 42, XI 64–91) refers to some of the Paraśurāma legends

225 तदुक्तं भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां स्कान्दभविष्ययो । वैशाखस्य सिते पक्षे तृतीयायां पुनर्वसौ । निशायाः प्रथमे यामे रामाख्य समये हरिः । स्वोच्चगै षड्ग्रहैर्युक्ते मिथुने राहुसंस्थिते । रेणुकायास्तु यो गर्भादवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ॥ इति । नि सि p. 95.

226 जमदग्निसुतो वीर क्षत्रियान्तकरः प्रभो । गृहाणार्घ्यं मया दत्तं कृपया परमेश्वर ॥ इति । धर्मसिन्धु p. 46.

227 शुक्लपक्षस्य दशमी ज्येष्ठे मासि हि[यो]त्तमा । हरते दशपापानि तस्माद्दशहरा स्मृता ॥ ब्रह्मपु 63 15 (mentioned in connection with पुरुषोत्तमतीर्थ), ज्येष्ठे शुक्लदशम्यां तु भवेद् भौमदिनं यदि । ज्ञेया दशहरा सा तु सर्वपापहरा तिथिः ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81a, verse 1400 (vide ABORI, vol 36 p 336) This verse is quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by व क्रि कौ. p. 280

classes, of the body, of speech and of the mind) are enumerated in Manu XII 5–7 [228] The Rājamārtanda (verses 1397–1405) speaks of this vrata The N. S. (p 98) and some other digests put forward another basis, viz [229] Jyestha śu 10 on Tuesday (acc to Varāha) or Wednesday (acc to Skanda), on Hasta-naksatra, Vyatīpāta, Gara (*karana*), Ānanda-yoga, the moon and sun being in Virgo and Taurus respectively—when all these concur or when most of them concur, a person should bathe in the Ganges and then become free from all sins. Wednesday and Hasta constitute Ānandayoga It was supposed that the Ganges came to the earth on this tithi, on Tuesday and on Hasta asterism and therefore originally it appears to have been a vrata of a bath in the Ganges at Daśāśvamedha, of worship and gifts. Then it was extended to a bath in any big river and offering of *arghya*, sesame and water Vide Kāśīkhanda, Tristhalī-setu, K T. 431, Vratarāja pp 352–355, P. C pp 144–145 for further details. At present in towns and villages on the big rivers such as Krsnā, Godāvarī, Narmadā and the Ganges, a festival of the Ganges is celebrated At such places as Banaras, Prayāga, Haridvāra, Nasik the utsava is celebrated on a large scale If there be an intercalary Jyestha, this vrata was to be performed in that month.

On the Full moon day of Jyestha women whose husbands are living perform even now in many parts of India the Sāvitrī-vrata or Vatasāvitrīvrata The story of Sāvitrī whose memory has been cherished for ages by all Indian women as an ideal of a *pativratā*, of wifely devotion to the husband unto death (and even thereafter) is very popular and is described at great length in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva chap. 293–299) and in the Purānas (such as in Matsya, chap 208–214, Skandapurāna, Prabhāsakhanda chap 166, Visnudharmottara, II chap 36–41). It

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228. Vide H of Dh vol. IV. p 173 for the ten sins from Manu The Rājamārtanda has the same three verses (1401–1403). Vide ABORI, vol. 36 p. 336 for the three.

229 वाराहेपि। दशमी शुक्लपक्षे तु ज्येष्ठे मासि कुजेऽहनि। अवतीर्णा यतः स्वर्गाद्धस्तर्क्षे च सरिद्वरा। हरते दशपापानि तस्माद्दशहरा स्मृतेति। ... तथा स्कान्दे। या कांचित्सारितं प्राप्य दद्यादर्घ्यं तिलोदकम्। मुच्यते दशभि पापैः स महापातकोपमै॥ नि सि p 98 Vide त्रिस्थलीसेतु and तिथितत्त्व pp 62–64 The स म p. 56 quotes 'दशमीशुक्ल दशहरा हृता' from स्कन्द.

is narrated[230] that she married Satyavat whose death at the end of one year was predicted by the sage Nārada and that three days before the time indicated by Nārada she undertook a fast, accompanied her husband into the forest where he had gone to collect firewood, flowers and fruits as his blind father had lost his kingdom and that she had an argument with Yama the God of Death, who became so pleased with her that he gave her several boons and ultimately her husband that had died as predicted was restored to life The Bhavisyapurāna account of the story of Sāvitrī is cited at great length in Krtyaratnākara (pp. 264–278). Hemādri (on vrata II pp 258–272) sets out a vrata called Brahma-Sāvitrīvrata from Bhavisyottara which contains the story of Sāvitrī as in the Mahābhārata and Matsya and also (vol. II pp 272–279) a Vatasāvitrīvrata from Skanda. But the first was performed for three days from the 13th tithi to Full Moon in *Bhādrapada* month and not in Jyestha, while the 2nd was to be performed on Jyestha Full Moon by a woman whose husband was living or even by a sonless widow. This last is called Mahā-sāvitrīvrata by the Vratakālaviveka (p 20 of I H Q vol 17 No. 4 supplement).

The Nirnayasindhu refers to the vrata in Bhādrapada mentioned by Hemādri and remarks[231] that it was not in vogue in its day The Vrataprakāśa describes (folios 169–170) the Brahmasāvitrīvrata

But the Vatasāvitrīvrata that is now in vogue must also have been performed long before the 10th century A D The Agnipurāna (194 5–8) briefly describes[232] a vrata that in

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230 चतुर्थेऽहनि मर्तव्य तथा सत्यवता द्विजा. । -वसुरेणाभ्यनुज्ञाता तदा राजसुतापि सा । चक्रे त्रिरात्रं धर्मज्ञा प्राप्ते तस्मिंस्तदा दिने । दात्तपुष्पफलाहारी सत्यवान्तु ययौ वनम् । मत्स्य 208 17–18, सावित्र्यपि जगन्नाथ यथावृत्तमनिन्दिता । व्रत समापयामास तस्यामेव तदा निशि । मत्स्य 214 14–15 The वनपर्व 296. 3 has चतुर्थेऽहनि मर्तव्यमिति सञ्चिन्त्य भाविनी । व्रतं त्रिरात्रमुद्दिश्य दिवारात्र स्थिताभवत् ॥

231 एतच्चामावास्यायामप्युक्त निर्णयासृते भविष्ये । अमाया च तथा ज्येष्ठे वटमूले महासती । त्रिरात्रोपोषिता नारी विधिनानेन पूजयेत् । हेमाद्रिसमयोद्घोषादिषु भाद्रपद-पूर्णिमायामुक्त तत्तु नेदानीं प्रचरति । नि सि p 100

232 पञ्चदश्या व्रती ज्येष्ठे वटमूले महासतीम् । त्रिरात्रोपोषिता नारी समधान्यै प्रपूजयेत् । अक्षै कण्ठसूत्रैश्च रजन्या कुङ्कुमादिभि । वटावलम्बन कृत्वा सत्यवीतै प्रभातके । नम सावित्र्यै सत्यवते नैवेद्य चार्पयेद् द्विजे । वेश्म गत्वा द्विजान्भोज्य स्वय भुक्त्वा विसर्जयेत् । सावित्री प्रीयता देवी सौभाग्यादिकमाप्नुयात् ॥ अग्निपु 194. 5–8

essentials is the same as the modern Vatasāvitrīvrata The Rājamārtanda says 'on the 14th[233] of the bright half of Jyestha women full of faith perform the Sāvitrīvrata for being free from widowhood'. This is followed by people in the Deccan The Nirnayāmrta following the Bhavisya held that this vrata was to be performed on Amāvāsyā, while the Krtyatattva (p 430), and T. T. p 121 say that Sāvitrīvrata is to be observed on dark 14th after the Full Moon of Jyestha.

If the Paurnimā is spread over two days, then the vrata is to be performed on Caturdaśī (14th tithi) mixed up with Paurnimā The three days for which the vrata is to last may have to be begun on the 12th or 13th But if caturdaśī is of the extent of 18 ghatikās and then Paurnimā supervenes, then caturdaśī is to be given up (K N. p 301).

The worship of the Vata tree comes in probably because Satyavat when the moment of death approached took shelter under the shade of the Vata tree and supported himself by a branch of it and spoke in a choked voice to Sāvitrī that he had pain in the head[234] The procedure of this vrata as set out in the Vratārka (folios 312–320) and other late medieval works is briefly as follows:—The woman should make a sankalpa in the form 'I shall perform Sāvitrīvrata for securing long life and health to my husband and my sons and for securing freedom from widowhood in this and subsequent lives' She should then sprinkle water at the root of the Vata tree and surround it with cotton threads and should perform its worship with the *upacāras* and then offer worship to Sāvitrī (with image or mentally) from her feet upwards and pray to her to bestow on her beauty, good name, prosperity, and freedom from widowhood. Then she should worship Yama and Nārada and give presents (*vāyana*) to the priest and break her fast next day In Bengal the mode of performing Sāvitrī-vrata is different from the above In Bengal there is no Vatasāvitrīvrata, but there is Sāvitrīcaturdaśī on the 14th of the dark half of Jyestha to secure blessed wifehood in later lives. It is continued for 14 years

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233 ज्येष्ठे सितचतुर्दश्यां सावित्रीव्रतमुत्तमम्। अवैधव्याय कुर्वन्ति स्त्रिय. श्रद्धासमन्विता ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 81 a, verse 1394 q. by कृ र p 192, व क्रि. कौ p 260, तिथितत्त्व p. 121 (quotes राज॰ with variations). Vide ABORI. vol 36 p. 335 for this verse

234. वटशाखामवष्टभ्य सत्यवान्वाह मद्वचः। सावित्रि पश्य शिरसि वेदना मा प्रबाधते। भविष्योत्तर q. by हे. (on व्रत vol II, p 265).

If a woman was unable to fast for three days, she was allowed to have *nakta* on the 13th, to eat on the 14th whatever came to her without her asking for it and fast on the 15th [235]

In JAOS vol 21 part 2 pp 53–66 Allen has compared the Sāvitrīvrata as described in the Mahābhārata and the purānas and in Hemādri and Vratārka

I have not generally tried to speculate about the remote origins, if any, of even the most important vratas But some scholars endowed with a lively imagination and imbued with the theories underlying Frazer's 'Golden Bough' have tried their hands at the origins of some vratas The late Mr B A Gupte endeavoured to explain 'the symbolism of the Sāvitrīvrata' in I A vol 35 (for 1906) pp 116–119 He bases his article on the forty figures that his wife drew with sandalwood paste in celebrating the Sāvitrī-vrata He holds that the story of Sāvitrī is based on a Nature Myth and that the first impression produced on him by the pictures drawn by his wife is that it is a marriage scene What mainly vitiates all his imaginative explanations is that the Sāvitrī-vrata is not mentioned anywhere in any work that can be said to be even two thousand years old and that he thinks his wife's figures or pictures represent the general way of celebrating that vrata in the whole of India throughout the centuries The Sāvitrīvrata is observed throughout India, but I have not been able to find that women all over India depict the scene as was done by Mr Gupte's wife (who probably was a well-educated lady and had an artistic training in some big city and turned her skill to lend charm and picturesqueness to that vrata, by adding her own artistic ideas to those of millions of uneducated simple women in small towns and villages)

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235 चिरात्रं नियम कुर्याद्भुपवासस्य शक्तित । अशक्ता चेत्त्रयोदश्या नक्त कुर्याच्चितेन्द्रिया। अयाचितं चतुर्दश्या पौणमास्यामुपोषणम्। भविष्योत्तर q by हे (on व्रत vol II p 269) For ब्रह्मसावित्रीव्रत, vide हे II 269–272 in which Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahmā, was to be worshipped as Vedamātā and as holding a lute and book in her hands.

CHAPTER V

EKĀDAŚĪ

The most important tithi in the month of Āsādha is Ekādaśī. A voluminous literature has grown round Ekādaśī in the Purānas and medieval digests There are separate treatises on Ekādaśī written by medieval writers, such as the Ekādaśī-viveka of Śūlapāni and the Ekādaśītattva of Raghunandana Besides, such medieval digests as Kālaviveka (pp 425–451), Hemādri on Kāla pp. 145–288, Kālanirnaya of Mādhava (pp. 233–275), Vratarāja pp 361–475, Kāla-tattvavivecana (pp 98–172) devote hundreds of pages to discussions on Ekādaśī. Endeavour would be made to write about most of the numerous matters relating to Ekādaśī, but everything would have to be compressed in as small a space as possible

If one were to examine the numerous passages of the Purānas and the like one would notice that some simply prohibit the partaking of food (on Ekādaśī), while others lay down the observance of Ekādaśīvrata. A few specimens of the first kind may be cited. The Nāradīya states[235] "all sins whatever and sins equal to brāhmana-murder take resort to food on the day of Hari; one who partakes of food on Ekādaśī incurs those sins; the Purānas again and again loudly proclaim 'one should not eat food, one should not eat food, when the day of Hari comes'." In this case the observance of Ekādasī consists in simply not eating for the whole day anything that is cooked Those passages which contain the word *vaja* are not to be looked upon as merely prohibiting (the eating of food) but are to be construed as prescribing something positive as in the case of Prajāpatīvrata 'one should not see the rising sun', which is interpreted by

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235 यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च। अन्नमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति संप्राप्ते हरिवासरे॥ तानि पापान्यवाप्नोति भुञ्जानो हरिवासरे। एतीह पुराणानि भूयो भूयो वरानने। न भोक्तव्यं न भोक्तव्य समाप्ते हरिवासरे॥ नारदीय q. by हे (काल) p 153, का नि p 235. Vide नारदीयपुराण (Uttara) 24 4 and 23 24 for almost the same words and compare ब्रह्मवैवर्त, कृष्णजन्मखण्ड, chap 26. 23 'सत्यं सर्वाणि पापानि ब्रह्महत्यादिकानि च। सन्त्येवौदनमाश्रित्य श्रीकृष्णव्रतवासरे॥' एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 16) ascribes the verse एतीह० to मत्स्य The verse 'यानि कानि.. हरिवासरे' is नारदीय पूर्वार्ध 23. 8 (reads तानि विम हरेर्दिने) q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. 995.

Jaimini IV. 1. 3–6 and VI 2 20 Vide n 42 above. For example, it is said by the Matsya and Bhavisya 'When a man fasts on the 11th and partakes of food on the 12th, whether in the bright or dark half, that is a great vrata in honour of Visnu' Those passages that contain the word 'upavāsa' and those that prescribe rewards (of observing ekādaśī) must be construed as laying down the observance of a vrata and not as merely prohibiting anything Those passages also which condemn eating food on ekādaśī may be construed as merely intended to commend the vrata and not to contain a prohibition, following the Mīmāmsā[237] maxim 'condemnation is not indulged in (merely) for the sake of condemnation of that which is condemned, but for the purpose of commending the performance of the opposite of what is censured' The passages that lay down a vrata are again two-fold, viz those that make the observance of Ekādaśī obligatory (*nitya*)[238] and those that lay down the observance for securing some desired object (*kāmya*) Nārada lays down an obligatory rule 'men who are devoted to Visnu and who look upon Visnu as their highest goal should always fast on ekādaśī in each *paksa* (fortnight)' A passage laying down a kāmya-vidhi about Ekādaśī is contained in[239] Kātyāyana 'a person who looks on Visnu as highest goal and who desires to cross the ocean of *samsāra* or to secure prosperity, offspring, heaven, *moksa* or whatever else, should not partake of food on ekādaśī in both fortnights' The result is that ekādaśī is both nitya and kāmya and the maxim of *samyoga-prthaktva* cited above (p. 86) under Rāmanavamī applies Ekādaśīvrata on the ekādaśīs of both fortnights is *nitya* only for persons other than householders, the vrata is obligatory for householders (grhastha) only on the ekādasī of the bright half, but not on the ekādasī of the dark half, since Devala says 'one should not eat (cooked) food on ekādasī in both *paksas* (fortnights); this is the rule of conduct for forest hermits and ascetics, but a householder should

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237 The न्याय is . नहि निन्दा निन्द्य निन्दितु प्रवृत्ता अपि तु विधेय स्तोतुम् (vide तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै I 2. 7, p 115). शबर is more explicit नहि निन्दा निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते । किं तर्हि । निन्दितादितरत् प्रशंसितुम् । तत्र न निन्दितस्य प्रतिषेधो गण्यते किं त्वितरस्य विधि । शबरभाष्य on जै II. 4 21

238 तत्र नारद: । नित्य भक्तिसमायुक्तैर्नरैर्विष्णुपरायणै । पक्षे पक्षे तु कर्तव्यमेकादश्युपोषणम् ॥ अत्रोपोषण नित्यं कर्तव्यमित्यन्वय । हे (काल) p 159, नि सि 37

239. संसारसागरोत्तारमिच्छद्भिर्विष्णुपरायण । ऐश्वर्यं सन्ततिं स्वर्गं मुक्तिं वा यदिच्छति। एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। कात्यायन q. by हे (काल) p. 162, का. नि p. 236, पु. त. 28.

always observe only the Ekādaśī of the bright half'.[240] There are conflicting texts on this subject. The Padma says[241] 'a householder should observe a fast on only the dark ekādaśīs between Śayanī (Āsādha śu. 11) and Bodhinī (Kārtika śu 11) and on no other ekādaśī of the dark half'. There is a precept of Nārada[242] 'a householder having a son should not observe a fast on a Saṅkrānti day, on the day of ekādaśī in the dark half and on eclipses of the sun and the moon'. The best construction of these passages appears to be that a fast only on the ekādaśī of the bright half is obligatory for a householder, but he may observe (Kāmyavrata) a fast on the ekādaśīs occurring in the dark half between Śayanī and Bodhinī, but if he has a son he should not observe a fast even on those ekādaśīs that occur between Śayanī and Bodhinī A widow[243] is to be treated on the same level as a *yati* and a woman whose husband is living should fast only on the ekādaśī of the bright half It has to be further noted that these restrictions[244] do not apply to professed devotees of Viṣnu (technically called Vaiṣnava) To them the verse quoted in note 238 above applies and they have to observe a fast on all ekādaśīs. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I p. 999) held the view that all persons have *adhikāra* for fasting on ekādaśīs in both pakṣas.

On pp. 43–45 above the exaggerated importance attached to vratas in general has already been dealt with Upavāsa as a *prāyaścitta* (expiation for sins) has been described in vol IV.

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240 एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि । वनस्थयतिधर्मोर्थं शुक्लामेव सदा गृही ॥ देवल q by नि सि 36, समयप्रकाश p 62, का वि p 426 (from स्मृतिमीमांसा), हे. (काल) p. 150, ए. त p. 36 (ascribes to गोभिल); ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 26 38 'शुक्लामेव तु कुर्वन्ति गृहिणो वैष्णवेतरा । न कृष्णालङ्घने दोषस्तेषां वेदेषु नारद ॥ '

241 शयनीयोधिनीमध्ये या कृष्णैकादशी भवेत् । सैवैषोण्या गृहस्थेन नान्या कृष्णा कदाचन ॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 26. 39 q by का नि. p. 259, नि सि p 36, समयप्रकाश p. 63 (all say from पद्म)

242. संक्रान्त्यामुपवासं च कृष्णैकादशिवासरे । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे चैव न कुर्यात्पुत्रवान् गृही ॥ नारद q. by हे (on काल) p. 183, नि सि 36, समयप्रकाश 63, व क्रि कौ p, 46. ए त (p. 37) quotes a verse from ब्रह्मपुराण to the same effect.

243. एतच्च विधवया पक्षद्वयेपि कार्यम् । ... एवं च सधवाया गृहस्थधर्मशुक्लायामेवाधिकारः । समयप्रकाश p 65, भविष्योत्तरेपि । एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि । ब्रह्मचारी च नारी च शुक्लामेव सदा गृही ॥ इति ।; नारी विधवा तस्या एव यतिधर्मत्वात् । का नि p 257.

244. वस्तुतस्तु वैष्णवाना सधुत्राणा गृहस्थानामपि सर्वाः कृष्णा नित्या हलायुध-हेमाद्रिभृततत्त्वसागरवचनात् । तद्यथा । यथा शुक्ला तथा कृष्णा यथा कृष्णा तथेतरा । तुल्ये ते मन्यते परमु स वै वैष्णव उच्यते । ए त. p. 38. हे (on काल p. 181) quotes this verse from तत्त्वसागर.

pp. 52–54 Extremely exaggerated praise of the efficacy of fasting on Ekādaśī has been indulged in by many Purāṇas and digests In the Nārada-purāṇa there is a long passage on the greatness (māhātmya) of Ekādaśī (quoted in Hemādri on Kāla p 146 and Kālanirṇaya pp 273–274) A few of the verses may be cited here; 'by the fire arising from (the observance of) ekādaśī, fuel in the form of sins committed in hundreds of past lives is reduced to ashes Thousands of Aśvamedha sacrifices and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices do not reach even up to the 16th part (of the merit) of the fast on ekādaśī This ekādaśī bestows heaven and *mokṣa*, confers a kingdom and sons (on a man) and a good spouse and the health of the body The Ganges, Gayā, Kāśī, Puskara, Kuruksetra, the Narmadā, the Devikā, the Yamunā, the Candrabhāgā are none of them equal to the day of Harī' Similar verses occur in the Padmapurāṇa[245] The Anuśāsanaparva[246] pronounces on Upavāsa an exaggerated eulogy The Padma[247] declares 'on hearing the word ekādaśī, the messengers of Yama become afraid, having fasted on ekādaśī which is the best among all vratas, one should keep awake (in the night) for propitiating Visnu and should sumptuously decorate (the temple or *mandapa* of) Visnu The man who worships Harī with basil leaves secures by each single leaf the reward of a crore of sacrifices'[248] The Varāhapurāṇa (chap 30) declares that Brahmā gave Ekādaśī to Kubera (the lord of wealth) and that to the person who controls himself, who is pure and eats only what is not cooked by fire, Kubera, being pleased, gives everything The Padma narrates the story of a woman, who was always quarrelsome and who thought of her lover, was therefore censured by her husband and beaten, and who in anger went without food and died at night and who on account of her fast[249] (not under-

245 अश्वमेधसहस्राणि राजसूयशतानि च। एकादश्युपवासस्य कला नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥ स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदा ह्येषा हरिरारोग्यदायिनी। सुकलत्रप्रदा ह्येषा जीवपुत्रप्रदायिनी॥ न गङ्गा न गया भूप न काशी न च पुष्करम्। न चापि वैष्णवं क्षेत्रं तुल्यं हरिदिनेन च॥ यमुना चन्द्रभागा न तुल्या हरिदिनेन तु। अनायासेन येनात्र प्राप्यते वैष्णवं पदम्॥ पद्म (आदिखण्ड 31 157, 160, 161, 162)

246 मासोपवासी वर्षैस्तु दशभि स्वर्गमुत्तमम्। महर्षित्वमथासाद्य सशरीरगतिर्भवेत्। ... दिव गत्वा शरीरेण स्वेन राजन्यथामर। अनुशासन 107 136, 137, 139

247 श्रुत्वा चैकादशीनाम यमदूताश्च शङ्किता॥ व्रतानां चैव सर्वेषां श्रेष्ठा चैकादशी शुभा। उपोष्य जागृयाद्विष्णो कुर्याच्च मण्डनं महत्॥ तुलसीदलैस्तु यो मर्त्यो हरिपूजां करोति वै। दलेनैकेन लभते कोटियज्ञफलं द्विज॥ पद्म, ब्रह्मखण्ड, 15 2–4

248 तस्यामन्नमपक्वाशी यो भवेन्नियतः शुचिः। तस्यापि धनदो देवस्तुष्टः सर्वं प्रयच्छति॥ वराह 30 6, q. by का. वि 451 (reads वित्तं प्रयच्छति)

249 निराहारकृताद्वै च निर्मला सा बभूव ह। पद्म, ब्रह्मखण्ड, 13 53

taken cheerfully and willingly, but out of anger) became pure. The Garudapurāna declares:[250] (if one places) on one side (in one pan) the gift of the whole world and on the other side (in another pan) the day of Hari, this ekādaśī is more holy and superior The ekādaśī in Āsāḍha śukla is called mahā-ekādaśī and also Śayanī.

General rules about those who have the adhikāra to undertake vratas have already been dealt with above. But some rules meant specially for the observers of ekādaśī will be set out here. Nārada[250a] provides 'A human being who is more than eight years old and is less than eighty years in age incurs sin if he eats food on ekādaśī through foolishness.' Kātyāyana has a similar verse These two establish that every human being of whatever caste or *āśrama* can observe ekādaśī provided he fulfils the conditions as to age laid down in the verses.

Knowing the weakness of human beings, sages relaxed the rule of an absolute fast on ekādaśī. The Nāradapurāna[251] says 'roots, fruits, milk and water may be partaken of (on ekādaśī) by great sages, but no sages have said that on ekādaśī cooked food may be taken' The Vāyupurāna[252] provided 'partaking of haviṣya food at night, food other than boiled rice, fruits, sesame, milk, water, ghee, pañca-gavya, air—each succeeding one is here (i. e in ekādaśī) more commendable (than each preceding one)'. Baudhāyana[253] declares that those who are unable to observe a

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250 एकतः पृथिवीदानमेकतो हरिवासरः। ततोप्येका महापुण्या इयमेकादशी वरा॥ गरुड I 127 12

250 a. अत्र नारद। अष्टाब्दादधिको मर्त्यो ह्यपूर्णाशीतिहायन। भुंक्ते यो मानवो मोहादेकादश्या स पापकृत्॥ इति, कात्यायनोपि। अष्टवर्षाधिको मर्त्यो ह्यशीतिन्यूनवत्सर। एकादश्यामुपवसेद् पक्षयोरुभयोरपि॥ का नि p 257, ए त p. 35. In हे (on काल) p 172 and समयप्रकाश p 61 नारद is quoted differently 'अष्टवर्षाधिको मर्त्यो ह्यशीतिर्न च पूर्यते। यो भुङ्क्ते मासके राज्ञे विष्णोरहनि पापकृत्। स मे वध्यश्च दण्ड्यश्च निर्वास्यो देशत स मे।'

251 मूलं फलं पयस्तोयमुपभोज्यं मुनीश्वरैः। न त्वत्र भोजनं क्वचिदेकादश्या महर्षितम्। नारदपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 24. 7-8)

252 नक्तं हविष्यान्नमनोदनं वा फलं तिलाः क्षीरमथाम्बु चाज्यम्। यत्पञ्चगव्यं यदि वा च वायु प्रकल्पनञ्चोत्तरमुत्तर च॥ वायुपुराण q by का. नि. p 261, का वि p 431, ध कि कौ p 57 (ascribes to वराहपुराण), धर्मसिन्धु p 16 वायुपुराण indicates 'an absolute fast' (not drinking even water) One may resort to one of the several options contained in this verse according to one's physical ability.

253. उपवासे त्वशक्तानामशीतिरूर्ध्वजीविनाम्। एकभक्तादिकं कार्यमाह बौधायनो मुनिः॥ q. by हे (on काल p 176), का. नि. p. 261,

complete fast (on ekādaśī) or who are over 80 years of age should resort to *ekabhakta* and the other (alternatives). The Matsya provides[254] that those who are unable to fast (on ekādaśī) should prefer to take food by the nakta method and if a person is ill, he should make his son and others to undertake the fast (on his behalf). Who can act as *pratinidhis* in the case of a vrata has already been described above (pp 53–54)

It is said by Mārkandeya[255] that one may observe the methods of ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita, complete fast and *dāna*, but should not deprive oneself of the benefits of the observance of dvādasī (with ekādaśī) Here certain alternatives are allowed in place of an absolute fast and they have to be explained. But before doing so, attention has to be drawn to the rule propounded by Manu[256] viz if a person, being master of (i e. quite able to carry out) the main provisions for a rite, resorts to alternatives provided (by texts) he would not, foolish as he is, secure the otherworldly rewards (of that rite) Therefore, ekabhakta, nakta and ayācita are to be employed only if one is unable to observe a strict fast Ekabhakta means eating only once a day after the middle of the day Madhyāhna means the 3rd part of the day divided into five parts (i e from the 13th ghatī after sunrise up to the 18th of a day of 30 ghatīs) Hemādri (on kāla p 109) holds that madhyāhna is the middle part of the day divided into three parts and according to him the proper time for ekabhakta is the time immediately after midday, since the Skanda employs the words 'after the middle of the day is passed' (dinārdhasamayestīte),[257] while the gauna-kāla is up to

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254 उपवासेष्वशक्तानां नक्तं भोजनमिष्यते। असामर्थ्ये शरीरस्य पुत्रादीन्कारयेद् व्रतम्॥ मत्स्य q by व. क्रि कौ p. 69

255 एकभक्तेन नक्तेन तथैवायाचितेन च। उपवासेन दानेन न निर्हारादिको भवेत्॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण q by हे on काल p 176, हे on व्रत p 1010, का नि p 261, का वि p 430 (reads उपवासेन भैक्षेण), the गरुडपुराण I 136 2-3 has एकभक्तेन ... । उपवासेन भैक्ष्येण नैवाहारादिको भवेत्॥

256 अशु प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽङ्गकल्पेन वर्तते। न साम्परायिक तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम्॥ मनु XI 30=शान्तिपर्व 165 17 Manu XI. 28 has the same rule in other words

257. दिनार्धसमयेऽतीते भुज्यते नियमेन यत्। एकभक्तमिति प्रोक्तमतस्तत्स्याद्विवैव हि॥ स्कन्द q by हे (on काल) p 108, निर्णयामृत p 14, ए त p 92, पु चि p 43. देवल has the same verse except that the last quarter is ऊन ग्रासत्रयेण तु The word नियमेन refers to the observance of celibacy and the like Acc to a well known verse अष्टौ ग्रासा मुने ह्यार्द्धाशत् गृहस्थस्यापरिमित ब्रह्मचारिण॥ (q by आप ध सू II 4 9–13), the person observing एकभक्त should not eat more than 32 or 28 morsels even if he is a householder अत पूर्वोक्तवचनपर्यालोचनया दिनार्धादुपरितनो मध्याह्नो मुख्य काल, तद्वदेवमस्तमनावधिर्गौण 'दिनार्धसमयेऽतीते' इति वचनात्, दिवैवेत्यभिधानाच्च। हे. (on काल p. 109)

sunset Works like the Nirnayāmrta, Smrtikaustubha (pp. 9–10) approve of the division into five parts, and hold that ekabhakta means taking food at sometime between the 13th and 18th ghatī of the day (of 30 ghatīs)[258] When ekabhakta is merely an alternative to strict upavāsa on ekādaśī, food must be taken on the tithi on which the fast would have been observed if the performer were able to undergo it. The same[259] rule applies to *nakta* as a substitute for upavāsa.

Ekabhakta is also a vrata independently performed (without reference to ekādaśī) The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 106 verses 17–30) declares the rewards secured by observing ekabhakta in each month from Mārgaśīrsa to Kārtika and Anuśāsanaparva (chap 107. 13–126) dilates upon the fruits of observing ekabhakta on each of the thirty days of a month The Krtyakalpataru on vrata (pp 457–468) sets out practically the whole of Anuśāsanaparva chap 107 (which the editor appears not to have noticed) and Hemādri on vrata vol II. pp. 930–931 does the same The Krtyakalpataru (on vrata pp. 419–421), the Krtyaratnākara (pp 406–7 and later on) and Hemādri on vrata (vol II pp 748–798) quote Anuśāsana 106. 17–30 about ekabhakta in different months at different places.

Nakta—Two verses about nakta occurring in the Linga, Nārada[260] and other purānas are: alms collected by begging are superior to fasting, food obtained without requesting anyone for it (i e *ayācita*) is superior to alms, nakta is superior to ayācita, therefore one should subsist by nakta method; eating havisya food, bath, truthfulness, small intake of food, offering oblations

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258 अत्र मध्याह्नो नाम पञ्चधा विभक्तस्याह्नस्तृतीयो भाग.। ... एवं त्रयोदशीं घटिकामारभ्याद्यां घटिकां यावत् पञ्चघटिकात्मको मध्याह्नः, तत्राप्युत्तरस्मिन् घटिकात्रये एकभक्तं कर्तव्यम्। निर्णयामृत pp 14–15; the धु चि. p 43 says. अत्र दिनार्धस्योपरि सार्धमुहूर्तपरिमितः काल·

259 एवं नक्तव्रतस्य शुक्लेन प्राशुक्तवाग्युपुराणवचने नक्तमिति हविष्यान्नादिभोजनस्य कालपरं न तु नक्तव्रतपरं तथात्वे उत्तरोत्तरशुक्लव्रतोपदेशमस्तावे तदनन्तरं केवलं हविष्यान्नोपदेशानुपपत्तेः। प त p 93.

260 उपवासात्परं भैक्ष्यं भैक्ष्यात्परमयाचितम्। अयाचितात् परं नक्तं तस्मान्नक्तेन वर्तयेत्॥ हविष्यभोजनं स्नानं सत्यमाहारवर्जनम्। अग्निकार्यमथ श्रव्या नक्तभोजी सदाचरेत्॥ लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 83. 10. 12–13), नारदपुराण (उत्तर) 43. 11–12, reads वर्तं for परं and नक्ताशी पद् समाचरेत् q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु on व्रत p 3 (quotes from भविष्य and reads षडाचरेत्); हे (on व्रत I p. 333) quotes हविष्य० from पद्म and स्मृतिकौ p 11 quotes from गरुडपुराण अग्निकार्यं means 'offering oblations of ghee into fire with the महाव्याहृतिs ; Vide H. of Dh vol II p 301 note 713 for महाव्याहृतिs

the other is of the nature of a vrata. As regards the first all persons including householders having a son have *adhikāra* to observe it even in the dark half; but as regards the second (*upavāsa* of the nature of vrata) householders that have progeny should not observe it on the ekādaśīs of the dark half, they should not make a sankalpa, they should simply give up cooked food but should observe the *niyamas* of celibacy and the like As to ekādaśīs of the dark half between the Śayanī and Bodhinī even householders with sons have the right to perform the vrata Similarly, those who desire to secure absorption into Viṣnu, long life and sons may perform a kāmyavrata on ekādaśīs of both *pakṣas* Vaiṣnava householders should always fast even on ekādaśīs of the dark half The ekādaśīvrata is obligatory on all including devotees of Śiva, Viṣnu and the Sun. Upavāsa in the nature of vrata is again of two kinds, *nitya* and *kāmya* These are briefly the rules laid down in the Nirnayasindhu and Dharmasindhu (p 16) The main difference between mere upavāsa and upavāsavrata is that in the former there is no sankalpa that the person is undertaking an upavāsavrata and he simply abstains from taking food because the śāstra says that on ekādaśī one should not eat cooked food, while in the latter there is sankalpa and there are also several other matters to be observed.

It would now be proper to give a comparatively early but brief description of ekādaśīvrata The Nāradapurāṇa (Pūrvārdha chap 23 verses 12 ff) describes the procedure as follows —on the 10th *tithi* the man who has to observe the vrata should after getting up brush his teeth, take a bath, bathe a Viṣnu image in *pañcāmṛta* and offer worship (of several *upacāras*) to it On the 11th, after bathing, he should bathe the image with pañcāmṛta and worship Viṣnu with sandalwood paste, flowers and the like

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(*Continued from last page*)

... व्रतरूपस्तु ब्रह्मवैवर्ते। प्राप्ते हरिदिने सम्यग्विधाय नियमं निशि। दशम्यामुपवासस्य प्रकुर्याद् वैष्णव व्रतम्॥ इति। इद च शिवभक्तादिभिरपि कार्यं—वैष्णवो वाथ शैवो वा कुर्याद्वैकादशी-व्रतम्—इति शिवधर्मोक्तेः। वैष्णवो वाथ शैवो वा सौरोप्येतत्समाचरेत्॥ इति सौरपुराणाच्च। नि सि p 35. Vide also हे. (on काल) pp 172-173 for almost the same words कूर्म and सूकर do not here mean tortoise and boar, but they are certain bulbous roots respectively called in Marathi कणगर and कोन The verse न शङ्खेन० is quoted from कूर्म and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर by हे. (व्रत) I p 993 It occurs in नारद. (उत्तर, chap 24. 3-4 and 25. 12).

and repeat the mantra[269] 'after remaining without food on the ekādaśī I shall, O lotus-eyed one, on the next day partake of cooked food; be you, O Acyuta, my refuge'. He should take no food, should curb his senses, should lie down in front of the Viṣnu image, keep awake engaged in songs, music and dances relating to Viṣnu and listen to stories about Viṣnu contained in the Purānas On the 12th tithi, he should after a bath for himself, bathe the image with milk and then address the following prayer[270] 'O Keśava! May you by reason of this vrata favour (me) who am blinded by the darkness of ignorance, may you turn your benignant face (towards me) and bestow on me the sight of knowledge'. Then he should feed brāhmanas and give them daksinā (gifts or fees) according to his ability After that he should perform his daily five sacrifices (brahmayajña, pitrtarpana, vaiśvadeva, bali and atithi-pūjana) and should himself take his meal along with his relatives and should observe restraint of speech when eating While engaged in the upavāsa-vrata, a person should never look at cāndālas, persons guilty of grave sins, atheists, those that have violated the rules of proper conduct, those who engage in vituperations or back-biting; he should not speak with the husband of a vrsali, with one who acts as a priest for those who are unfit for performing sacrifices, with one who worships images in temples for money, with one who subsists by practising the profession of singing or medicine (for money), with one who is a bard or one who is opposed to gods and brāhmanas or those who are fond of eating at others' houses and adulterers One who is engaged in upavāsa-vrata should be pure (in body and mind), should control himself and should be intent on doing good to all For the meaning of vrsali, vide H of Dh vol. IV. p. 104 note 236 and p 394 note 881. Manu III. 152 provides that physicians and priests doing worship in temples for money are unfit to be invited at śrāddha.

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269 एकादश्यां निराहारः स्थित्वा चाहं परेऽहनि। भोक्ष्येऽहं पुण्डरीकाक्ष शरणं मे भवाच्युत॥ नारद (पू 23. 15) q by हे. (on व्रत) I. p 1000 (reads तारणं मे); the same verse occurs in वराह 39 32 (reads भूत्वा चैवापरे) and is quoted from वराह° by का. वि p 456, व. क्रि. कौ p. 60; का. नि. p. 268 quotes it from विष्णु (probably meaning वराह) and adds 'इत्युच्चार्य ततो विद्वान् पुष्पाञ्जलिमथार्पयेत्' हे. (on काल) p. 196 quotes the verse from देवल and reads 'गतिर्भव ममाच्युत'.

270 अज्ञानतिमिरान्धस्य व्रतेनानेन केशव। प्रसीद सुमुखो भूत्वा ज्ञानदृष्टिप्रदो भव नारद (पू 23 20) q. by धर्मसिन्धु p 20, हे. (व्रत) vol I. p. 1007 It is possible that the original words were प्रसादसुमुखो भूत्वा. The का नि. p 269 quotes an almost identical mantra from कात्यायन 'अज्ञान... केशव। प्रसादसुमुखो नाथ... भव॥'

It will be noticed that the main matters in the vrata are upavāsa, worship of Viṣṇu image, *jāgara*[271] at night with songs and music, pāraṇā on 12th and certain restrictions about looking at some persons or speaking to them and restraint of the senses The Brahma-vaivarta (IV 26 1–93) also contains the procedure of ekādaśī-vrata It will be noticed[272] that in the procedure of ekādaśī there is no *homa*, though in some other vratas there is a homa

Accretions gathered round this simple procedure It was laid down early enough that one engaged in upavāsavrata should miss four meals in three days, i e he should eat only once on the 10th in the noon, fast[273] both times on 11th and on the 12th he should miss one meal The general rule is that the sankalpa for vratas is to be made in the morning, but as regards ekādaśī-vrata exceptions have been made in the digests. For example, it is said that the sankalpa[274] about *niyamas* is to be made on the night of the 10th tithi *If* ekādaśī is mixed up with 10th, then sankalpa about fast is to be made at night,[275] if daśamī

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271 हे (on व्रत) I pp 984–85, 1007, ए त p 58 lay great emphasis on जागर One or two verses may be quoted here. 'ब्रह्मपुराणे। एकादश्यां नरो यस्तु कुरुते जागरं नरः। गीतैर्नृत्यैस्तथा वाद्यैः प्रेक्षणीयै पृथग्विधै ॥ स याति वैष्णवं लोकं च गत्वा न निवर्तते ॥' हे (व्रत) I p 984, सपूज्य विधिवद्राज्ञो कृत्वा चैव प्रजागरम्। कथाद्या गीतिका विष्णोर्गायन् विष्णुपरायण। याति विष्णो पदं स्थान नरो नास्त्यत्र संशय। q by हे (व्रत) p 1007, ए. त p 58 The परशुरामप्रताप (folio 83 b) quotes a passage from the Skanda that states that there are 26 items in *Jāgara* गीत वाद्य च नृत्य च पुराणपठन तथा। धूप दीपं च नैवेद्य पुष्पगन्धाङ्गलेपनै। फलमर्घ्य च नैवेद्य दानमिन्द्रिय-सयम। सत्यान्वितं विनिद्र च सुदायुक्तं क्रियान्वितम्। सास्वर्यं चैवासत्साह (सास्वर्यं चैव सोत्साहं?) पाषाल्स्यादिवर्जितम्। प्रदक्षिणासमायुक्त नमस्कारपुर सरम्। भीताजनसमायुक्त-मतिहृष्टेन चेतसा। यामे यामे महाभागे कुर्याद्रात्रिक हरेत् (हरे)। षड्विंशगुणसंयुक्तमेकादश्या तु जागरम्। य करोति नरो भक्त्या न पुनर्जायते भुवि ॥

272 अत एव एकादशीव्रतादिषु होमानाचरण सन्ध्यामौनव्रतादौ च। व्रतमयूख (folio 10 b).

273. सायमाद्यन्तयोरह्नो साय प्रातश्च भक्षयेत्। उपवासफल प्रेप्सुर्जह्यान्नक्तचतुष्टयम्॥ का नि p 264 (ascribes to अङ्गिरस्), व त p 29 (ascribes to महाभारत and reads प्रेप्सोर्वर्ज्य), का वि p 498 (has the first half and reads the 2nd as सन्ध्योपवासे कुर्वीत नैव भक्तचतुष्टयम्) All these works say that the word 'sāyam' is not to be taken literally but is only indicative and what is really intended is the giving up of four meals in three days

274 तदनन्तर दशम्या रात्रौ नियमग्रहण कुर्यात्। तदुक्त ब्रह्मवैवर्ते। प्राप्ते हरिदिने सम्यग्विधाय नियम निशि। दशम्यामुपवासस्य प्रकुर्याद्विष्णव व्रतम्॥ इति। का नि p 267.

275 विद्धैकादश्युपवासे रात्रौ सङ्कल्प.। तथा च नारदीये। विद्धोपवासे सकल दिन स्थित्वा समाहित। रात्रौ सम्पूजयेद् विष्णुं सङ्कल्पं च तदाचरेत्॥ इति। मध्यरात्रादुपरि दशमीयुक्ता चेदेकादशी तस्या मध्याह्नस्योपरि सङ्कल्प। तथा च स्मृति। दशम्या सङ्गवेयेन मध्यरात्रात्परेण तु। वर्जयेच्चतुरो यामान् सङ्कल्पार्चनयो सदा॥ इति। का नि p 268, vide हे (on काल) p 197 for the verse दशम्या०, it reads the first verse as 'विद्धोप-वास्यो (सो?)ऽनश्नस्तु . . तदा चरेत्॥'

extends beyond midnight and the ekādaśī becomes mixed with it, sankalpa is to be made the next day after noon Hemādri (on vrata vol I. p 1006) and Kālanirnaya (p 268) provide that the image of Vishnu should be worshipped in a *maṇḍapa* decorated charmingly with flowers of various kinds It is provided in the Skanda[276] that when a person breaks his fast on the 12th he should partake of the *naivedya* mixed with Tulasī (basil) leaves, since that destroys (the sins of) crores of murders

Numerous medieval digests set out the procedure of ekādaśī-vrata It is impossible for reasons of space to refer to them For the sake of comparison with the Nāradapurāna procedure, I shall set out the procedure of Ekādaśīvrata from the Dharmasindhu (p. 19), almost the latest authoritative work on Dharmaśāstra.

Now (is set out) the procedure of (ekādaśī) vrata On the day previous to the fast, the person, after performing all his daily duties in the morning, should make a *saṅkalpa* in the form 'beginning from the 10th *tithi*, O god Keśava, lord of gods, I shall perform for three days your vrata; make it free from obstacles'. Then at midday (of 10th) he should eat by the ekabhakta method The restrictions to be observed about ekabhakta are: he should avoid taking food in a vessel of bell metal, avoid flesh, *masūra* pulse, sleeping by day, over-eating, drinking too much water, eating food again (after the midday meal), sexual intercourse, telling falsehood, honey, gram, *kodrava*, vegetables, the food belonging to others, gambling, oil, sesame cakes, *tāmbūla* (betel leaves and nut &c), if he has to cleanse his teeth after ekabhakta he should do so with twigs At night he should sleep on a bed spread on the ground. In the morning of ekādaśī he should cleanse his teeth with the leaves of a tree and not with twigs. After performing bath and other daily duties, he should put on his finger a *pavitra* (loop) made of *darbha* grass, turn his face to the north, take a copper vessel full of water and make a *saṅkalpa* as follows. 'after remaining without food on the ekādaśī I shall, O lotus-eyed one, on the next day partake of cooked food, O Acyuta, be you my refuge'. Or he may offer a handful of flowers to Hari with this mantra. In the case of him who is unable to observe a total fast, necessary changes may be made in the sentence of *saṅkalpa* according to

276 एतच्च पारणं तुलसीमिश्रं कुर्यादित्याह। स्कन्दपुराणे। कृत्वा चैवोपवासं तु योऽश्नाति द्वादशीदिने। नैवेद्यं तुलसीमिश्रं हत्याकोटिविनाशनम्॥ इति। हे. (व्रत) I. p. 1008, का नि p. 273.

his ability viz 'on ekādaśī I shall subsist on water or milk or on fruits or I shall take food at the time of nakta'. Śaivas should make the *sankalpa* with Rudra Gāyatrī;[277] Sun-worshippers should make the sankalpa with the usual Gāyatrī (Rg. III 62 10 'tatsavitur' &c) or by taking the name of the Sun. This sankalpa should be made by smārtas on the night of the ekādaśī tithi, if there is 10th tithi after sunrise (mixed up with ekādaśī), if 10th tithi exists beyond midnight on daśamī day all (whether smārtas or vaiṣnavas) should make the sankalpa after midday He should drink the water used for sankalpa On making the sankalpa he should pronounce over it thrice the mantra of eight syllables (such as 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya') Then after erecting a *maṇḍapa* decorated with flowers (garlands &c) he should offer worship to Hari (image) according to prescribed rules in that *maṇḍapa* with flowers, fragrant substances, incense, best *naivedya*, with various divine hymns of praise, charming songs and music, with straight prostrations on the ground like a staff, with best announcements with the word 'jaya' and at night he should keep awake.

The cult of ekādaśī went on growing apace, so much so that for the 24 ekādaśīs of the twelve months of the lunar year and for the two ekādaśīs of the intercalary month separate names were invented It is not possible to say with certainty when these names were given, but some of them must be about two thousand years old

The twenty-four names beginning with *caitra* śukla ekādaśī and ending with phālguna dark half ekādaśī are given in the note below[278] There is some divergence about the names, but

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277 The रुद्रगायत्री is तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे महादेवाय धीमहि। तन्नो रुद्र प्रचोदयात्॥ मै स II. 9

278 The 24 names from चैत्रशुक्ल 11 in order are कामदा, वरूथिनी, मोहिनी, अपरा, निर्जला, योगिनी, शयनी, कामिका or कामदा, पुत्रदा, अजा, परिवर्तिनी, इन्दिरा, पाशाङ्कुशा, रमा, प्रबोधिनी (or बोधिनी), उत्पत्ति, मोक्षदा, सफला, पुत्रदा, षट्तिला, जया, विजया, आमलकी (or आमर्दकी), पापमोचनी The पद्मपुराण (VI. chapters 41–65) contains over a thousand verses on these and the legends connected with them The Ahalyākāmadhenu (Ms in Scindia Oriental Institute at Ujjain) is probably the largest work on vratas having 1206 folios therein It deals with these names on folios 696 to 799 As regards the two ekādaśīs in an intercalary month, Padma VI 64 and 65 say that कमला and कामदा are the names of dark and bright half एकादशीस, while the अहल्याकामधेनु (folios 807–

(*Continued on next page*)

for want of space no notice is taken of it here. One cause of divergence appears to be that in some Purānas the month is pūrnimānta, while in others the month is amānta and what is Bhādrakrsna in Pūrnimānta reckoning is Śrāvana-krsna in Amānta reckoning.

The ekādaśī on Jyestha bright half is called *nirjalā* because the vrata consists in not using or drinking water except at the time of bathing or at *ācamana*. It is described by Hemādri (on vrata vol I. pp 1089–1091) who quotes the Mahābhārata for it and by N S pp. 99–100. In the summer month of Jyestha it must have been a great trial to go without water for a day and therefore it was specially commended. Visnu was supposed to sleep for four months from Āsādha bright ekādaśī at night and to rise from his sleep on Kārtika bright ekādaśī by day and hence these two ekādaśīs are respectively called Sayanī (connected with the śayana i. e sleeping of Visnu) and Prabhodhinī[279] or Prabodhanī (connected with the *prabodha* i e. awakening of Visnu). What the legend of Visnu's sleeping from Āsādha śukla eleven for four months was really meant to illustrate or symbolize it is difficult to say As these four months were the months of the rainy season in many parts of India all movements from one place to another distant place came almost to a stand-still in ancient times; so probably mythology became busy and suggested that Visnu himself gave up all activity It is possible that this legend of four months' sleep may have some connection with the state of things when the ancestors of the Vedic Āryans lived in northern latitudes, when for four months the sun was either not seen or emitted only faint light This legend from whatever cause it may have arisen is worked up in various ways. It was said that Visnu not only slept on his snake couch but he also turned in his sleep from one side to the other (as human beings do) on Bhādrapada sukla eleven And therefore that ekādaśī in Bhādrapada was called Parivartinī This matter was still further elaborated and it was asserted that

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813) gives the names as कैवल्यदा and स्वर्गदा for कृष्ण and शुक्ल एकादशी 'वत्सरेऽधिकमासस्य चैत्रमेकादशी सिता। मलघ्नी स्वर्गदा नाम सर्वपापहरा परा।' अ का पे (folio 809 a), 'तस्याधिकस्य मासस्य कृष्णा चैकादशी शुभा। कैवल्यदेति विख्याता लोकहेति पराख्यया॥ अ का पे (folio 811 a). Both are said to be taken from भविष्योत्तर

279. Vide Varāha, chap. 211, for प्रबोधनीद्वादशीमाहात्म्य.

all the great gods and goddesses went to sleep like Viṣnu on different dates, as stated in the Rājamārtaṇḍa quoted below [280] Then, further differences arose, some works saying Viṣnu went to sleep on the 11th, some that Viṣnu slept on 12th, while a third set said that Viṣnu slept on the 15th of Āṣāḍha bright half The Vanaparva (203 12) declares that Viṣnu sleeps on the hoods of Śesa Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta refers to both the sleeping of Viṣnu on his snake couch and his rising from it (sāpānto me bhujagasayanād utthite śārngapānau) Most scholars hold that Kālidāsa flourished between 350–450 A D In the Gangadhar Stone Inscription of Viśvavarman in the Kṛta year 480 there is a clear reference to the rising from sleep of Viṣnu in Kārtika (vide Gupta Inscriptions ed by Fleet No 17 at pp 72, 75, 79) Kṛta is held to be the same as Vikrama year by most scholars So the legend about Viṣnu's *śayana* on a snake bed and getting up from it may be about 2000 years old, if not more

The question as to the tithi on which the gods (and particularly Viṣnu) went to sleep very much exercised the minds of the authors of Purāṇas and of the digests For example, the Vāmanapurāṇa (16 6–16) contains verses [281] some of which may

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280. यथा राजमार्तण्डे। द्विधा स्वपिति नो विष्णुर्निशि न प्रतिबुध्यते। द्वादश्यामेव कर्तव्य पादयोगो न कारणम्॥ तथा तत्रैव प्रतिपदादिपञ्चदशतिथिषु क्रमेण देवाना शयनाभिधाने विष्णोर्द्वादश्या शयनमुक्तम्। यथा। यद्धि स्कन्दपुरन्दरौ गणपतिर्लक्ष्मीर्यमो भास्करो वायु पर्वतकन्यका पशुमती तोयाधिप केशव। ब्रह्मा चैव महेश्वरो धनपति सर्वेऽप्यमी शेरते उत्तिष्ठन्त्यधुना क्रमेण विबुधा स्वे स्वे दिने पूजिता॥ व क्रि कौ pp 285–286 The original ms of राजमार्तण्ड (D C. No 342 of 1879–1880) has some variant readings The 2nd half of the first verse quoted is 'द्वादशी ऋक्षसयोगात् पादयोगो न कारणम्' and in the 2nd verse the ms reads श्रीधर्मराड् भास्करो देव पर्वत० and ब्रह्मा वायुशिवादय प्रतिपदारम्भे तिथौ शेरते चोत्तिष्ठ० The reference to पादयोगो० arises in this way The भविष्य says that Viṣnu sleeps in the first quarter of अनुराधा, turns on another side in the middle of Śravana nakṣatra and wakes up in the last quarter of Revatī मैत्राद्यपादे स्वपितीह विष्णुर्वैष्णव्यमध्ये परिवर्तते च। पौष्णावसाने च सुरारिहन्ता विबुध्यते मासचतुष्टयेन। भविष्य q by हे on काल p. 897 (ascribes to नारदीय), का वि p 175, व क्रि कौ p 285, तिथितत्त्व p 112 This is राजमार्तण्ड verse 1175 (folio 72a) Vide ABORI vol 36 p 314 The राजमार्तण्ड says that this restriction as to the quarters of नक्षत्रs need not be observed. The two verses quoted above in the beginning of this note are राजमार्तण्ड 1179 (folio 72a), 1175. The भुजबलनिबन्ध also has the verse यद्धि० (1532)

281. तथा वामनपुराणेऽपि। एकादश्या जगत्स्वामिशयन परिकल्पयेत्। घोषाहिभोगपर्यङ्के कृत्वा सम्पूज्य केशवम्। अनुज्ञा ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च द्वादश्या प्रयत क्षुचि। लब्ध्वा पीताम्बरधर स्वस्थि निद्रा समापयेत्। &c All verses of वामन 16. 6–16 are q by कृ र pp. 206–207, while some of them are quoted by व क्रि कौ p. 286, कृत्यतत्त्व 436 The printed वामन reads 'स्वामी शयन परिकल्पते' and 'पीताम्बरधर स्वस्थो निद्रा समाचरेत्' These would change the sense a good deal.

be summarised here; 'a person should arrange a couch in the form of the hoods of the snake Śesa for the lord of the world (Visnu) on the 11th tithi of Āsādha and offer worship; he should, being himself pure, seek on the 12th permission from brāhmanas invited, and should bring to sleep the Lord that wears yellow clothes' Then the purāna proceeds to narrate how Kāma (God of Love) sleeps on 13th of Āsādha on a bed of *kadamba* flowers, the *Yaksas* on 14th, Śiva on the 15th (i e Pūrnimā) on a bed of tiger-skin, then Brahmā, Visvakarmā, Pārvatī, Ganesa, Yama, Skanda, the Sun, Kātyāyanī, Laksmī, Lord of snakes, Sādhyas respectively go to sleep on the tithis of the dark half from 1st to 11th The K V (p 225) and Hemādri (on Kāla pp 888–889) quote certain verses according to which Kubera, Laksmī, Bhavānī, Ganeśa, Soma, Guha, Bhāskara, Durgā, the Mātrs, Vāsuki, sages, Visnu, Kāma, Śiva are the lords of tithis from 1st to 14th for pavitrāropana (i. e giving the sacred upavita to the gods) and for śayana.

One important rule has to be remembered,[282] viz whatever *naksatra* or whatever *tithi* has a certain deity as its lord, the sleeping, turning from one side to another and the rest (i e getting up &c) take place on that tithi or naksatra Some celebrate the *śayana* of a god relying on the tithi, others rely on the naksatra. But the trouble is that one tithi has several lords, according to various authorities For example, pratipad has three lords, Agni, Brahmā and Kubera (Garuda I 116 3–8) For reasons of space it is not possible to refer to the texts on which different tithis are assigned for the śayana of Visnu. The Samayamayūkha (p 79), K T. V p 172 and Vrataprakāśa[283] (part of Viramitrodaya) espouse the view of Āsādha eleventh (of bright half) relying on the Brahmapurāna Many digests favour the 12th as the tithi of śayana and prabodha of Visnu relying on the several verses in the Varāha, Visnu-dharmottara and other Purānas Vide Kālaviveka p 175 (ff), V K K 286–288, Krtyatattva p 436, K R p. 209. In an

282 तदुक्तं मत्स्यपुराणे। यस्य यस्य तु देवस्य यन्नक्षत्रं तिथिश्च या। तस्य देवस्य तस्मिंस्तु शयनावर्तनादिकम्॥ केचित्तिथिवशेन केचिन्नक्षत्रवशेन सर्वेषां शयनादिकमाचरन्ति। हे (on काल) p 904 The verse is q by का वि p. 225 (ascribes to पद्मपुराण), स म p 58

283 एकादश्यां तु शुक्लायामाषाढे भगवान्हरिः। शुचङ्कशयने शेते यदा क्षीरार्णवान्तरे। तदा तत्प्रतिमा कार्या सर्वलक्षणसंयुता। .. एकादश्यां तु शुक्लायां कार्तिके मासि केशवम्। प्रसुप्तं बोधयेद्भक्त्या श्रद्धाभक्तिसमन्वितः। व क्रि. कौ p. 287, कृ र 224, व्रतप्रकाश (ms.) remarks (folio 104 b) 'अत्र ब्रह्मपुराणबलादेकादश्यामेव शयनप्रबोधौ'.

inscription referred to in I A vol 25 p 290 we have the words 'punyā utthānadvādaśī' (the holy 12th tithi on which Viṣnu gets up from his couch), the inscription being dated in *śake* 1462 (1540 A. D) In some works Āṣāḍha Full moon is advocated for the śayana of Viṣnu [284] Vide K R p. 208, K V p 188, Kṛtyatattva p 436 These works provide how śayana and prabodha are to be celebrated On the śayanī day, the devotee prepares a couch in the evening with a piece of cloth or with flowers, worships Viṣnu (image) at night, repeats the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' and then puts Viṣnu to sleep and repeats two verses, one of which is quoted below [285] On the day of prabodha the image of Viṣnu is given an elaborate bath and a full worship is done and several mantras from Varāha-purāṇa are recited and a Vedic verse (idam viṣnur, Ṛg I 22. 17) also is recited

Persons having *adhikāra* for ekādaśī-vrata may be divided into two classes, viz Vaiṣnavas and Smārtas The word vaiṣnava is defined in some of the Purāṇas [286] such as the Padma III 1. 21–32, IV 10 65–66, VI 252 74, VI 69, Viṣnu III 7. 20–33, III 8. 9–19, the Bhāgavata and in some of the digests A Vaiṣnava is really one who has received dīkṣā (initiation) according to the Vaiṣnava *āgamas* of the Vaikhānasa, Pañcarātra and other schools The Skanda defines a Vaiṣnava· that man is a Vaiṣnava who does not forsake (fast on) ekādaśī, whether he

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284. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेय । आषाढशुक्लपक्षान्ते भगवान्मधुसूदन· । भोगिभोगासनो माया योगनिद्रान्तमानयन् । शेतेसौ चतुरो मासान्यावन्द्रवति कार्तिकी ॥ . तथा यम । क्षीराब्धौ शेषपर्यङ्के आषाढ वा सविशेद्धरि । निद्रा त्यजति कार्तिक्या तयोस्त पूजयेत्सदा ॥ अथ च कल्पोऽन्य एव वैकल्पिकः । का वि p 188, व्रतप्रकाश (folio 104 b) says श्रीदत्तादयस्तु आषाढशुक्लैकादशीमारभ्य पौर्णमासीपर्यन्त विष्णोर्निद्रायदण·रूप·शयन·समय·

285 सुप्ते त्वयि जगन्नाथे जगत्सुप्त भवेदिदम् । प्रबुद्धे त्वयि बुध्येत जगत्सर्वं चराचरम् । इत्यनेन पूजयेत् । कृत्यतत्त्व pp 436–437 Vide धर्मसिन्धु p 53 for शयनोत्सव and pp 111–112 for प्रबोधोत्सव and नि सि p. 102 and p 205 respectively for the same two उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ गोविन्द त्यज निद्रा जगत्पते । त्वया चोत्थीयमानेन उत्थित भुवनत्रयम् ॥ is the last mantra q by K. T p. 454, N. S p 205.

286 येषा मुखे हरेर्नाम हृदि विष्णु· सनातन । उदरे विष्णुनैवेद्य स श्वपाकोऽपि वैष्णव ॥ पद्म IV 10 66, द्विविध वैष्णव प्रोक्त बाह्यमाभ्यन्तर तथा । शङ्खचक्रादिभिर्बाह्यमाभ्यन्तर धीतरागता ॥ पद्म VI 252. 74, वैखानस-पञ्चरात्रादि-वैष्णवागमोक्तदीक्षा यासौ वैष्णव· । अत एव स्कन्दपुराणे वैष्णवस्वरूपमभिहितम् । परामापदमापन्नो हर्षं वा समुपस्थिते । नैकादशीं त्यजेद्यस्तु यस्य दीक्षास्ति वैष्णवी ॥ समात्मा सर्वजीवेषु निजाचारादविच्युत· । विष्णर्पितास्त्रिलाचार स वै वैष्णव उच्यते ॥ इति । का नि. p 244, विष्णुरेव वि चरयैषा देवता वैष्णव स्मृत । quoted by Prof. De in his work 'Vaiṣnava faith &c.' p. 365, विष्णुपुराणेपि । न चलति निजवर्णधर्मतो य. सममतिरासमुद्दहद्विपक्षपक्षे । न हरति न च हन्ति काञ्चिदुच्चै· सितमनस तमवेहि विष्णुभक्तम् ॥ इति । का नि p. 244. This is विष्णुपुराण III 7. 20

be reduced to the direct misery or whether great bliss might have come to him, who has been given the dīkṣā of a Vaiṣnava, who behaves equally towards all living beings, who does not swerve from the duties of his class (varna), who is equal to his own friends of his class (varna), who is equal to his own friends or his enemies, who, being high (in principles), does not deprive anyone (of his possessions) or does not injure anyone, and whose mind is pure. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaisnava faith and movement' pp 364–366 and p. 413 where the author gives an analysis of the characteristics of the Vaisnava devotee drawn from the Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhatta (for followers of Caitanya).

Though the Purānas give these definitions, some of which are very general and may apply even to persons not popularly called Vaisnavas, still in all parts of India and by all *śiṣṭas* it is admitted that those are Vaisnavas who are traditionally[287] known by that appellation. The question on what tithi upavāsa should be practised when ekādaśī is mixed up with the tenth tithi and twelfth has to be often answered in different ways according as the person who is to observe the fast is a Vaisnava or a Smārta. The answer depends on the rules about *vedha* which are rather complicated. It is not possible within the space at my disposal to go into details. Those who want to make a deep study of this matter may consult Hemādri on Kāla pp. 206–288, Kālanirnaya pp. 233–256, Tithitattva pp 104–108, Samayaprakāśa pp. 66–74, Nirnayasindhu pp 37–44, Smṛtimuktāphala (on Kāla) pp. 839–844), Dharmasindhu (pp. 16–19).

Ekādaśī, like all other tithis, is of two kinds, viz sampūrnā and viddhā or khandā The general definition[288] of the sampūrnā tithi is that when a tithi has the extent of 60 ghatikās commencing from the time of sunrise it is called sampūrnā To this ekādaśī was stated by the Skandapurāna[289] to be an exception In the case of Ekādaśī the Garudapurāna[290] and Bhavisya

287. यद्यपि पित्रादेरागमदीक्षाया तन्मात्रस्यैव वैष्णवत्वं न तु पुत्रादेस्तथापि स्वपारम्पर्यप्रसिद्धमेव वैष्णवत्वं स्मार्तत्व च मन्यन्ते वृद्धाः। नि सि. p 40.

288. आदित्योदयवेलायामारभ्य पष्टिनाडिका। या तिथिः सा तु सम्पूर्णा कथिता पूर्वसूरिभिः॥ नारदीयपुराण q. by हे (on काल p. 206), का. त वि. p. 3, ए त 41 (2nd half is different)

289. प्रतिपत्प्रभृतयः सर्वा उदयादुदयाद्रवेः। सम्पूर्णा इति विख्याता हरिवासरवर्जिताः॥ स्कन्द q by हे (on काल) p 206, ए त p 41.

290. गारुडपुराणे शिवरहस्ये च्योक्तम्। उदयात्प्राग्यदा विप्रा मुहूर्तद्वयसंयुता। सम्पूर्णैकादशी नाम तत्रैवोपवसेद् गृही॥ भविष्यपुराणे। आदित्योदयवेलायाः प्राक् मुहूर्तद्वयान्विता। एकादशी तु संपूर्णा विद्धान्या परिकीर्तिता॥ q by हे (on काल) p. 206, ए. त p. 41.

lay down that ekādaśī is sampūrṇā only when it exists also two muhūrtas (i. e 4 ghaṭikās) before sunrise of the day on which it exists for the whole civil day.

The Nārada and other purāṇas condemn fast on ekādaśī mixed with daśamī Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap 29. 39–40) says 'the sixth tithi mixed with the 5th, the seventh mixed with the 9th and ekādaśī mixed with daśamī—a fast should never be observed on these; all should accept (for fast) ekādaśī free from daśamī; daśamī joined to ekādaśī destroys spiritual merit acquired in three past lives'. This aversion to daśamī was probably due to the fact that daśamī finds no place in the famous *yugmavākya* and the pair that is commended is that of ekādaśī and dvādaśī (and not of ekādaśī and daśamī) One well-known verse is. Gāndhārī observed a fast on ekādaśī mixed with daśamī; her one hundred sons (the Kauravas) perished (in the Bhārata war); therefore one should give up that kind of ekādaśī for a fast [291] The Nāradapurāṇa (pūrvārdha, chap. 29) devotes 15 verses to the discussion of Ekādaśī and Dvādaśī

In the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa quoted at great length by Hemādri on Kāla (pp 255–259) four kinds of *vedhas* of ekādaśī by daśamī (viz. arunodaya-vedha, atrivedha, mahāvedha and Yoga) are mentioned, but they are passed over here In the case of Vaiṣṇavas, if daśamī extends on a civil day beyond 56 *ghaṭikās* from sunrise, then ekādaśī follows and continues for the whole of the next civil day, there is then what is called Arunodayavedha and Vaiṣṇavas cannot observe a fast on such an ekādaśī which is preceded by Arunodayavedha The same result follows if daśamī extends up to 3, 2 or one ghaṭikā before sunrise or daśamī *persists* till the exact time when the sun rises and then ekādaśī starts (when there is what is called sūryodaya-vedha) A Vaiṣṇava in deciding on what tithi to fast is affected by both arunodayavedha and sūryodayavedha i e even if ekādaśī exists for full 60 ghaṭīs after sunrise on a civil day when daśamī precedes it by four ghaṭīs, or by three, two or one ghaṭī or when daśamī exists for one moment at sunrise and then ekādaśī follows at once, still the Vaiṣṇava cannot observe a fast on the ekādaśī of 60 ghaṭīs but only on the next i e the 12th. If dvādaśī touches three civil days, then the fast for Vaiṣṇavas

291. दशम्येकादशीविद्धा गान्धार्या सनुपोषिता। तस्या पुत्रशतं नष्टं तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत्॥ गरुड I 125 2, q by कृ र p 635 (who regards this as merely a निन्दाद्वारा), राजमार्तण्ड folio 71, verse 1154 (vide ABORI vol, 36 p 312).

is on the day which is wholly covered by dvādaśī and the pāranā is on the next day when dvādaśī ends. In any cases other than those specified above ekādaśī is the fast day and dvādaśī is the pāranā day. Nāradapurāna (pūrvārdha, chap 29 verse 45) prescribes that if there are two ekādaśīs, whether in the bright half or dark half, a householder should fast on the earlier of the two and ascetics (yatis) on the later. Sannyāsins and widows are governed by the rules for Vaisnavas Smārtas (all those who are not Vaisnavas) are not affected by the doctrine of *aruṇodayavedha* but only by *sūryodayavedha* i e. if there is daśamī before sunrise and an ekādaśī follows from sunrise, smārtas have to observe a fast on the ekādaśī. There are many texts that are apparently in conflict, but the Kālanirnaya (pp 251–256) and Nirnayasindhu (pp. 37–44) introduce order by showing that some texts refer to Vaisnavas alone, some to Smārtas alone and some to both. The Ekādaśītattva (p. 55) brings together many of the conclusions about the fast tithi and the pāranātithi.

There are cases where the texts sometimes allow fast on ekādaśī even though mixed with daśamī. This occurs when dvādaśī does not exist even for a short time on the 13th tithi. But this is allowable only to Smārtas and not to Vaisnavas. Certain restrictions as to food and physical and mental activities had to be observed from the time sankalpa was made to the final ceremonies (*pāranā*) in ekādaśīvrata.[292] It may be noted that even when a person is in mourning he has to observe ekādaśīvrata[293] Certain observances were laid down as common to all vratas (including ekādaśī) viz. forbearance, truthfulness, compassion, charity, purity, restraint of senses, worship of god, homa, contentment and not misappropriating another's wealth.[294] There were separate rules to be observed on daśamī, ekādaśī and dvādaśī (10th tithi to 12th). They are somewhat overlapping. The observances prescribed for daśamī are: vegetables, flesh, masūra pulse, eating again (after ekabhakta), sexual intercourse,

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292 एव दशमीमारभ्य पारणान्त सर्वं नियममुक्त्वा व्रतं निर्वर्तयेत्। हे (on व्रत I. p. 1008)

293. अथास्य व्रतस्य सूतकादावपि कर्तव्यतोच्यते। तत्र विष्णुरहस्ये। परमापदमापन्ने हर्षे वा समुपस्थिते। सूतके सूतके चैव न त्याज्यं द्वादशीव्रतम्॥ इति। हे. (on काल) p. 192.

294 क्षमा सत्य दया दान शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। देवपूजाग्निहवनं सन्तोषः स्तेयवर्जनम्। सर्वव्रतेष्वयं धर्मः सामान्यो दशधा स्मृतः। भविष्य q. by कृत्यकल्प (on व्रत) p 5, प कि कौ p 66, का वि p 454, हे. on व्रत I p. 1008 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, with variations), compare लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 84. 22. This verse is गरुडपुराण I 128. 8-9.

dice-play, drinking much water—a devotee of Viṣnu should avoid these.[295] The Matsyapurāna[296] provides: (vessels of) bell-metal, flesh, wine, honey, oil, telling an untruth, physical exercise, journey, sleeping by day, earning (wealth), oil-cakes, *masūra* pulse—one should omit these twelve (on daśamī).

The restrictions on the day of fast are many, but a few are stated here. Hārīta lays[297] down: one should on a day of fasting avoid speaking with persons guilty of grave sins, heretical persons, atheists and the like and also falsehood, gambling and the like. The Kūrmapurāna provides: on the day of vrata one should not touch nor speak nor look at persons that are *antyajas* (untouchables) and have to live outside the village, a woman recently delivered, one guilty of grave sins and a woman in her monthly illness. Devala provides.[298] A fast perishes (i. e all rewards of observing it are lost) by sleep in the day, by play with dice and by sexual intercourse; but in case of great pain (or danger) a fast is not affected by drinking water (frequently). The Rājamārtaṇḍa lays down: a man fasting on an Ekādaśī should not be guilty of telling a lie, gambling, sleeping by day and sexual intercourse. Hemādri (on vrata vol. I p. 331) quoting Matsya forbids a bath with oil on ekādaśī. A fast is vitiated by drinking water often, by eating *tāmbūla*, by sleep in day time and by sexual intercourse. When Vyāsa[299] says that flowers,

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295. शाकं मांसं मसूराञ्च पुनर्भोजनमैथुने। द्यूतमत्यम्बुपानं च दशम्यां वैष्णवस्त्यजेत्। q by हे (on काल p. 193), का नि p. 265, प त. p 56 (reads मांसं, probably a Bengali copyist's mistake)

296. मत्स्यपुराणे। कांस्यं मांसं सुरा क्षौद्रं तैलं वितथभाषणम्। व्यायामं च प्रवासं च दिवास्वापं तथार्जनम्। तिलपिण्डं मसूरं च द्वादशैतानि सन्त्यजेत्। हे on काल p 193, व कि कौ pp. 63–64, द्. त p. 56 (reads अञ्जनं collyrium for अर्जनम्, which reading is better), हे (on व्रत) I. p. 1008 (reads अक्षनं), these are गरुड I 136 3–4

297. हारीत। पतित-पाखण्डि-नास्तिकादिसम्भाषणाद्यूतादिकक्षुपवासदिने वर्जनीयम्। इति। q. by हे. (on व्रत) I. p 1008, का नि p 265 (reads अनृताश्लीलादिकक्षुपवासादिषु), अविद्यामान्त्यजान् सूतिं पतितं च रजस्वलाम्। न स्पृशेज्जाभिभाषेत नेक्षेत व्रतवासरे॥ कूर्म q. by का नि. p. 265.

298 उपवासो विनश्येत दिवास्वप्नाक्षमैथुनै। अन्यथे जलपानेन नोपवास प्रदुष्यति॥ देवल q by कृत्यकल्प० (व्रत p 4), कृ र p. 57, का वि p. 452 Vide गरुड I. 128 7–8 असत्यभाषणं द्यूतं दिवास्वप्नं च मैथुनम्। एकादश्यां न कुर्वीत उपवासपरो नर। राजमार्तण्ड verse 1167 (folio 71 b), vide ABORI vol 36 p 313 for it, this occurs in का वि p 452.

299. यत्तु व्यासवचन—पुष्पालङ्कारवस्त्राणि गन्धधूपानुलेपनम्। उपवासे न दुष्येत वृन्ताधावनमञ्जनम्॥ (गरुड I 128. 67) तत्पुण्यके स्त्रीविषयमिति। हे on काल p. 201 वृद्धशातातप (q. by कृत्यकल्प० on व्रत p. 5 and हे on व्रत vol I. p. 331) reads the verse as गन्धालङ्कारवस्त्राणि पुष्पमालाञ्च०

ornaments, (rich) clothes, fragrant substances, incense, sandal-wood paste, brushing the teeth and collyrium (in the eyes) would not vitiate a fast, he is referring to the fast observed by women whose husbands are alive.

On the 12th the person has to offer worship to Viṣṇu and has to avoid sleeping by day, the food belonging to another person, eating again after the midday meal (on 12th), sexual intercourse, honey, bell-metal vessel, meat, oil.[300] The passage in the note below is practically the same as the one cited from Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa by Hemādri (on Kāla p 203) as containing the restrictions about dvādaśī.

The result of the insistence by Vaiṣṇavas on observing a fast on ekādaśī mixed with dvādaśī was often this that in order to be able to observe pāraṇā on dvādaśī before it ended, they had to get up very early before dawn, take their bath and compress all their morning and midday duties into a short period before sunrise. In modern times many orthodox Vaiṣṇavas do this and rely on the authority of the Nārada[301] and Skanda purāṇas quoted below. A smṛti[302] text goes so far as to prescribe 'on seeing that dvādaśī exists only for half a *kalā* after *niśītha*, a (Vaiṣṇava) person should perform all acts proper to be performed up till midday following, because Śaṅkara has so ordered'. *Kalā* as a measure of time has been variously defined Matsya (142 4) and Vāyu (100 217–218) say that 30 kalās are equal to a *muhūrta* (i. e two ghatikās); on the other hand, the Amarakośa holds that 360 kalās constitute a muhūrta and the Kālanirṇaya

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300. बृहस्पतिरपि। दिवानिद्रा परान्नं च पुनर्भोजनमैथुने। क्षौद्रं कांस्यामिषं तैलं द्वादश्यामष्ट वर्जयेत्॥ हे. (on काल) p 203.

301 तदुक्तं नारदीये। अल्पायामथ विप्रेन्द्र द्वादश्यामरुणोदये। स्नानार्चनक्रियाः कार्या दानहोमादिसंयुताः। एतस्मात्कारणाद्विप्रैः मत्यूपे स्नानमाचरेत्। पितृतर्पणसंयुक्तं स्वल्पां दृष्ट्वा च द्वादशीम्॥ स्कन्दपुराणेपि। यदा भवेद्दवीवाल्पा द्वादशी पारणादिने। उप काले हृयं कुर्यात् प्रातर्मध्याह्निकं तदा॥ का. नि p 242, हे (on काल) pp. 280–281.

302. कलार्धा द्वादशी दृष्ट्वा निशीथादूर्ध्वमेव हि। आमध्याह्नाः क्रियाः सर्वाः कर्तव्याः शम्भुशासनात्॥ स्मृति quotes by ति. त. p 111. It explains निशीथादूर्ध्वं as 'सार्धमहरत्रयस्योपरि' i e after 3½ praharas of the night. But निशीथ ordinarily means अर्धरात्र and therefore निशीथादूर्ध्वम् would mean any time after midnight निशीथ is also explained as 'महानिशि द्वे घटिके रात्रेर्मध्यमयामयोः'. महानिशा is defined as the two praharas of the night (excluding the 1st and 4th or last) Vide हे. on काल p 708, का वि 343, नि सि 130 for several definitions of महानिशा कल्पतरु (नैयत० p. 370) says that महानिशा is the period of eight ghaṭikās after the first half prahara of night. 'घटिकाया अशीत्यधिकशततमो भागः कला।' का नि p. 216, quoting अमरकोश 'अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला। तास्तु त्रिंशल्लक्षणास्ते तु मुहूर्तो द्वादशात्मियाम्॥'.

accepts this last. As the astronomers themselves were at variance as to the length of a tithi in question, a plain straightforward rule was proposed that the fast in case of doubt should be observed on dvādaśī and the pāraṇā should be observed on the 13th.[303] The rank and file of Vaiṣṇavas are very exclusive and bigoted and treat with some contempt everything connected with Śiva and some of them eat sumptuous food on Śivarātri, instead of observing a fast Many of the smārtas generally observe a fast both on the Ekādaśī and the Śivarātri (particularly the Mahāśivarātri i. e on Māgha dark 14th). There have been great wrangles and hatreds among Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas The Brahmapurāna expressly[304] states that in the holy Purusottamakṣetra a temple of Śiva was erected in order to put a stop to the wranglings between Śaivas and Bhāgavatas (devotees of Viṣnu) The higher Hindu thought including even the Purāna excursions in philosophy always held that there[305] is only one God, that the one *Brahma* that is all Intelligence, that is incapable of being thoroughly comprehended, that is without parts and without body, is imagined to have different visible forms for securing the purposes of devotees and that deities deemed to have visible forms are imagined as male or female or as portions (of the one *brahma*). The Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas emphasize that God is one and that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣnu.[306] Vide Vanaparva 39 76–77,

303 बहुवाक्यविरोधेन सन्देहो जायते यदा। द्वादशी तु तदा ग्राह्या त्रयोदश्यां तु पारणम्॥ बहुवाक्यविरोधेन ब्राह्मणेषु विवादिषु। एकादशीं परित्यज्य द्वादशीं सदुपोषयेत्॥ हे on काल pp. 210–211. The first verse is quoted from गरुडपुराण by व कि. कौ p. 43

304. शैवभागवतानां च वादार्थमतिषेधकम्। अस्मिन्क्षेत्रवरे पुण्ये निर्मले पुरुषोत्तमे। शिवस्यायतनं देव कारोमि परमं महत्। ब्रह्मपुराण 56. 64–65

305. चिन्मयस्यापरिमेयस्य निष्कलस्याशरीरिणः। उपासकानां कार्यार्थं ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना॥ जमदग्नि q. by ए स p 58 which explains रूपकल्पना as 'रूपस्थानां देवतानां मूर्त्यर्थशादिकल्पना।' The सिद्धान्तबिन्दु of मधुसूदनसरस्वती quotes this verse (without name) after introducing it with the words 'एव चैकस्यैव चतुर्हेतु-चतुर्मुख-पञ्चमुखाद्याः पुमाकारा श्रीभारतीभवान्याद्याश्च स्त्र्याकारा। अन्ये च मत्स्यकूर्मादयोऽनन्तावतारा लीलयैवाविर्भवन्ति भक्तानुग्रहार्थमित्यवधेयम्।' pp 91–92 on 8th verse of the ब्रह्मस्तुति (Govt. Oriental Series, Poona).

306. शिवाय विष्णुरूपाय विष्णवे शिवरूपिणे। वक्षयज्ञविनाशाय हरिरुद्राय वै नमः॥ वन० 39 76–77, यस्त्वा वेत्ति स मा वेत्ति यस्त्वामद्ध स मामद्ध। नावयोरन्तरं किंचिन्मा वे चूह्व्रह्वित्त्यथा॥ शान्ति 343 131, ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवाद्याभिः कल्पनाभिरुदीरितः। ब्रह्म 192 51 and विष्णुपुराण V 18 50, ब्रह्मा विष्णु शिवश्चेति एक एव त्रिधोच्यते। एकस्य बहुधा व्यक्तिर्गुणकर्मविभेदतः। लोकानामुपकारार्थमाकृतिश्चित्रय भवेत्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 130 10–11, यो भेदं कुरुतेऽमाक त्रयाणां द्विजसत्तम। स पापकारी दुष्टात्मा दुर्गतिं समवाप्नुयात्॥ वराह 70 27; स्वमूर्तिभेदे स्थित एक ईशः। नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 2 32

Brahmapurāna 130 10–11, 192 51–53, Vāmana 67. 27–28, Varāha 70. 27, Viṣnupurāna V. 18. 50, Brahmānda III. 43. 47–51, Nāradīya I. 2. 32. Some purānas[307] put forward the notion that health is secured from (the worship of God as) the Sun, wealth from Agni, (true) knowledge from Śankara, and *mokṣa* from Viṣnu.

Some of the purānas (such as Brahmavaivarta) specially mention eight kinds of dvādaśīs viz. Unmīlanī, Vañjulī, Trisprśā, Paksavardhinī, Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpanāśinī. Vide Hemādri on Kāla pp. 260–263, H. (on vrata) vol. I. p 1214, N. S. 43, Sm. K 250–254. Detailed descriptions of these are passed over here. Jayā,[308] Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpanāśinī are dvādaśīs respectively having Punarvasu, Śravana, Rohinī, Puṣya naksatras. Trisprśā is[309] dvādaśī which spreads over three days i. e. it exists before sunrise on a certain day, then on the whole of the next day from sunrise and for some time (however short) after the latter. On these fast should be observed by those desirous of destruction of sins and attainment of *mokṣa*.

It would not be out of place to bring together in one place the different items that constitute Ekādaśīvrata.

On the 10th the performer has a meal at midday (ekabhakta), then he cleans his teeth (not with a twig) but with leaves or by rinsing the mouth twelve times with water. Then on the night of 10th he gives up his evening meal and begins to observe the restrictions indicated above (pp.115–116). Then on the 11th after getting up he cleanses the body as well as the mind and makes a *saṅkalpa* in the morning as described above (pp 105–106) The sankalpa has to be made at night or in the noon if ekādaśī is viddhā Then he recites thrice the mantra of eight syllables (*om namo Nārāyanāya*) on the water in the copper vessel in his hands and drinks water therefrom. On the 11th he prepares a

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307. आरोग्यं भास्करादिच्छेद्धनमिच्छेद्धुताशनात्। ज्ञानं च शङ्करादिच्छेन्मुक्तिमिच्छेज्जनार्दनात्॥ मत्स्यपुराण 68 45 q by ए त p 58; the same verse is quoted from भविष्य by हे (on व्रत) vol I. p. 767 (reads गतिं for मुक्तिं); कृत्यकल्प० (on शान्ति) reads 'ईश्वराज्ज्ञानमिच्छेत्तु (folio 24a)' It occurs in भविष्योत्तर 52. 39 also.

308. The नि. सि. p. 48 associates naksatras with these that are different from those mentioned by Hemādri (on vrata) vol. I p, 1214 It says 'पुष्यर्क्षयुता जया श्रवणयुता विजया पुनर्वसुयुता जयन्ती रोहिणीयुता पापनाशिनी' Vide का वि p 455 quoting वराह for yet different naksatras for the same

309. अरुणोदय आद्या स्याद् द्वादशी सकलं दिनम्। अन्ते त्रयोदशी प्रातस्त्रिस्पृशा सा हरेः प्रिया॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त q. by हे. on काल p. 261.

maṇḍapa of flowers, worships the Viṣṇu image therein and offers the several *upacāras*. He fasts that day. He recites hymns of praise to Viṣṇu and falls prostrate on the ground in salutation. He then keeps awake at night On the 12th he takes a bath in the morning, offers worship to Hari and dedicates his fast to the God, recites the mantra (Ajñānatimirāndhasya' &c cited above p. 105) and performs the pāraṇā. Thus is the general outline of *kāmya* ekādaśīvrata. In the case of the obligatory fast, the performer should abstain from food the whole day and also keep the several restrictions to be observed on ekādaśī (as described above such as not drinking water more than once, not sleeping by day &c) The rules for the followers of Caitanya about ekādaśī as summarised from the Haribhaktivilāsa by Prof S. K De in 'Vaisnava faith and Movement' on pp 371–375 do not differ much from those stated above.

A vrata comes to an end by a rite called udyāpana (carrying out) or pāraṇa or pāraṇā The word pāraṇa or pāraṇā is derived by some from the root 'pāra' meaning[310] 'to finish an action or rite'. The word occurs in the drama Śakuntalā referred to above on p 46 and in Raghuvaṃśa II 70 'prātar-yathoktavrata-pāraṇānte'. Vide for pāraṇā also Raghuvaṃśa II 39 and 55 According to the Kūrma-purāṇa, one should fast on the ekādaśī and pāraṇā is to be on the 12th but pāraṇā should not be done on 13th tithi, since that would destroy (the merit) of twelve dvādaśīs[311] In spite of this, pāraṇā on the 13th[312] tithi had to be allowed under certain circumstances e g if ekādaśī is mixed with daśamī on a prior day and with dvādaśī on the next day, then the fast is to be on dvādaśī but if no dvādaśī at all exists on the day after fast, then pāraṇā may be on the 13th tithi The Viṣnudharmottara[313]

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310. पारतीरकर्मसमाप्तौ—इत्यस्माद्धातोर्निष्पन्नः पारणशब्दः। यद्यप्यसौ समाप्तिमात्रमभिदधाति तथाप्युपवाससमाप्तावेव लोकशास्त्रयो प्रयोगात्पङ्क्त्यादिशब्दवद्योगरूढो द्रष्टव्य। तथा च योगरूढत्वोपवासस्य चरमाङ्गभोजनमभिधत्ते। का नि p 225, अत्र केचिदाहु पारणमत्र व्रतस्य समाप्तिर्न तु भोजनं तस्य पुरुषधर्मत्वात्। तथा च पारतीरकर्मसमाप्तावित्यस्य धातो रूपं पारणमिति। हे (on काल p. 127), compare व क्रि कौ p 62

311. तत्र कूर्मपुराणे। एकादश्यामुपोष्यैवं द्वादश्या पारणं स्मृतम्। त्रयोदश्या न तत् कुर्याद् द्वादशद्वादशीक्षयात्॥ हे (on काल) p. 280

312. यदा कलयापि द्वादशी नास्ति तदा त्रयोदश्यामपि पारणं कुर्यात्। का नि p 273, यदा तु पूर्वदिने दशम्या उत्तरदिने द्वादश्या युतैकादशी तदोत्तरामुपोष्य द्वादश्या पारण कुर्यात् पूरदिने द्वादश्यनिर्गमे त्रयोदश्यामपीति। ए त p. 55.

313 पारणान्तं व्रतं ज्ञेय व्रतान्ते विधिभोजनम्। असमाप्ते व्रते पूर्वं नैव कुर्याद् व्रतान्तरम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q by का नि p 463, हे (on काल) p 294, का नि p 226 (ascribes to आदित्यपुराण)

prescribes 'a vrata ends with pāranā and at the end of a vrata, brāhmanas are to be fed; before one vrata is finished one should not commence another'. The general rule is that in all vratas[314] the pāranā is in the morning. One should perform the udyāpana as laid down in the texts providing for the vrata concerned; a vrata becomes fruitless if the udyāpana be not performed. If no form of udyāpana is prescribed by the texts, the performer should perform a rite in consonance with the[315] vrata He should make gifts in proportion to his wealth when no form of udyāpana is mentioned in the texts on a vrata. For making the vrata complete he should donate cows and gold. If none of these can be given and nothing can be done as laid down in the texts, the words of a brāhmana alone are sufficient to complete a vrata; but if a man receives the blessed words of brāhmanas without giving a daksinā (though able), he goes to hell!

A difficulty may arise owing to the rules that no fresh vrata is to be undertaken till one (prior) vrata is finished and that vrata includes its pāranā. Suppose, a man has undertaken years ago to observe two vratas, then he may have to observe a fast on ekādasī and also on dvādasī owing to another vrata already undertaken Pāranā involves *bhojana* (taking food). But this is impossible if one has to undergo two fasts successively The remedy is that at the end of the first vrata the performer (who has to undergo two fasts) should sip water. The Veda says that when a man partakes of water it is neither eating nor non-eating.[316]

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314 देवलः। उपवासेषु सर्वेषु पूर्वाह्णे पारणं भवेत्। अन्यथा तु फलस्यार्धं धर्मस्नेवोपसर्पति॥ का त वि p 22, का नि p 226 (first half)

315. Vide नि सि p. 25 quoting पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय for these propositions about उद्यापन

316. अग्निः पारणं कृत्वा द्वितीयोपवासस्य प्रक्रमयितुं शक्यत्वात्। तादृशं तु पारणमशितानशितोभयात्मकम्। .. एतच्च द्वयात्मकत्वं दर्शपूर्णमासप्रकरणे याजमानब्राह्मणे श्रूयते। 'यद्पोऽश्नाति तस्नेवाशितं नेवानशित न क्षोधुको भवति &c. का. नि p 276. क्षोधुक means 'hungry' The passage 'यद्पो... भवति' occurs in तै. सं I. 6 7 4.

CHAPTER VI

CĀTURMĀSYA

On Āsādha-śukla ekādaśī or dvādaśī or paurnimā [317] or on the day when the Sun enters the Zodiacal sign Cancer, cāturmāsya-vrata is to be observed. Whenever it may be begun it is to be finished on Kārtika-śukla 12. The performer should observe a a fast that day, worship Viṣnu (image) and pray as follows: (Garuḍapurāna I 121 2–3) 'O God! I have undertaken this vrata in your presence; may it succeed without obstacles if you become favourable to me, after I undertake this vrata if I die when it is half-finished, may it become completely fulfilled through your favour'! The vrata may be begun even when Jupiter or Venus has become invisible and the like The performer has to give up some edible during the four months, viz vegetables in Śrāvana, curds in Bhādrapada, milk in Āśvina and pulses in Kārtika According to some authorities, he has to give up some or all vegetables for all the four months. The performer is asked to give up many other things also such as sleeping on a cot, meat, honey &c When the vrata is finished, he invites brāhmanas, announces to them what restrictions he had undertaken, feeds them, gives them daksinā, and recites the prayer 'O Lord! this vrata was undertaken by me in order to please you, O Janārdana! may it become complete through your favour, whatever defect there may be!' This vrata is even now observed, particularly by women The Krtyatattva (p 435), Vratārka, Vrataprakāśa (folio 105a) and other medieval digests quote long passages from the Matsya, Bhavisyottara (I. 6–9) and other purānas about the results of giving up certain things in the Cāturmāsyavrata A few passages are set out for sample. 'a man secures a sweet voice by giving up jaggery, has charming limbs by giving up oil, by giving up ghee he secures beauty, by giving up fruits he becomes intelligent and has many sons, by giving up vegetables and leaves he secures well-cooked

317. चातुर्मासिकव्रतग्रहणे कालचतुष्टयम्। आषाढी पौर्णमासी शुक्ला एकादशी द्वादशी कर्कटसंक्रान्तिश्च। का वि p 332, हे. (on व्रत) II p 806, तिथितत्त्व p 111 (quoting वराह); गरुड I 121 1 mentions एकादशी and आषाढी पौर्णमासी for चातुर्मास्यव्रत.

dishes, by giving up curds and milk he goes to the world of cows'.[318]

In the Vedic period there were sacrifices called Cāturmāsyas (seasonal sacrifices) that were performed on the Full Moon days of Phālguna (or Caitra), of Āsādha and Kārtika and were respectively called Vaiśvadeva, Varunapraghāsa and Sākamedha (the fourth called Śunāsīrīya need not detain us). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1091–1106. It was expressly stated by Āpastamba Śrauta VIII. 4. 13 that Vaiśvadeva (*parvan* of Cāturmāsya) was to be offered in vasanta and Varunapraghāsa in the rainy season. It may be noted that the sacrificer in these seasonal sacrifices had to keep certain observances such as sleeping on the ground,[319] avoiding meat, honey, salt, sexual intercourse and bodily decorations, which closely resemble the restrictions laid on the person observing Ekādaśīvrata. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti[320] (I. 125) makes it obligatory on a person of means to offer a Soma sacrifice every year, a paśubandha in each *ayana*, the Āgrayanesti (performed when new crops are ready) and the *cāturmāsyas*. The cāturmāsyas meant here are the Vedic ones mentioned above and not the Paurānika vratas of cāturmāsya.

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti employs the word vrata in the sense of prāyaścitta in III. 251, 252, 254, 266, 269, 282, 298, 300, in the sense of 'brahmacarya' in III. 15, and in the sense of the food to be subsisted upon in III. 289, but hardly ever in the sense of a rite to be observed on a tithi or week day or naksatra as in the purānas This at least indicates that the vratas mentioned in the purānas had not attained prominence in the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, which, in spite of its containing over 1000 verses, hardly ever refers to any vrata in the sense of the purānas.

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318 चतुरो वार्षिकान् मासान्देवस्योत्थापनावधि। मधुस्वरो भवेन्नित्यं नरो गुडविवर्जनात्। तैलस्य वर्जनादेव सुन्दराङ्गः प्रजायते। कटुतैलपरित्यागात् शत्रुनाशमवाप्नुयात्। ताम्बूलवर्जनाद्भोगी एककण्ठः प्रजायते। घृतत्यागाच्छुलावण्यं सर्वं स्त्रिग्धं वपुर्भवेत्। फलत्यागाच्च मतिमान् बहुपुत्रः प्रजायते। शाकपत्राशनत्यागात् पक्वान्नादो नरो भवेत्। ... दधिदुग्धपरित्यागाद्गोलोकं लभते नरः। व्रतप्रकाश folio 105a quoting भविष्योत्तर; कृत्यतत्त्व p 435 quotes almost the same verses from मत्स्य, नि. सि. p. 106 quotes similar verses from हेमाद्रि.

319. पौर्णमासेनेष्ट्वा चातुर्मास्यव्रतान्युपेयात्। केशश्मश्रुणि वापयीत। इमश्रूणि वापयीत। अधः शयीत। मधुमांसलवणस्त्र्यवलेखनानि वर्जयेत्। आश्व. श्रौ सू II 16. 22–27; तस्य पर्वस्वन्तरालव्रतानि। न मांसमश्नाति। न स्त्रियमुपैति। जले वा जायाम्। गोपर्यासते। जुह्वते-वाचयति। भाङ्क्ते। आश्व श्रौ सू VIII. 4 4–10

320 प्रतिसंवत्सरं सोमः पशुः प्रत्ययनं तथा। कर्तव्याग्रयणेष्टिश्च चातुर्मास्यानि चैव हि॥ याज्ञ. I. 125.

CHAPTER VII

Vratas called Nāgapañcamī, Manasāpūjā, Rakṣābandhana, Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī

In the month of Śrāvana there are several important vratas, one of which is Nāgapañcamī on the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana The Nāgapañcamī is observed in different ways in all parts of India Some hold that, instead of Akṣayyatṛtīyā, Nāgapañcamī is the one half auspicious day out of 3½ most auspicious days in the year. The Bhavisyapurāna, Brāhmaparva (chapter 32 verses 1–39), expatiates on Nāgapañcamī Krtyakalpataru (on vrata) pp 87–90 and Hemādri (on vrata vol. I pp 557–560) quote several verses from the Bhavisyapurāna Briefly, the Bhavisya[321] says when men on the 5th bathe with milk the nāgas called Vāsuki, Taksaka, Kāliya, Manibhadra, Airāvata, Dhrtarāstra, Karkotaka and Dhanañjaya, these give *abhaya* (freedom from danger) to their families A legend is told (in Bhavisya I. 32) that Kadrū, mother of nāgas, laid a bet with her sister Vinatā about the colour of the tail of Indra's horse called Uccaih-śravas, Kadrū asserting that the tail was black though the horse was white and Vinatā saying that the body and tail were white and when the nāgas refused to practise the deceit whereby they were to become the dark hair in the horse's tail, Kadrū cursed them that fire would burn them (in the *sarpasattra* of Janamejaya) Persons should make golden, silver or clay images of nāgas, should worship them with Karavira and Jāti flowers and incense etc, feed brāhmanas with ghee, *pāyasa* etc. and should bathe nāgas with milk The result would be that nāgas would bestow on the worshippers safety (from snake-bite) The Bhavisyottarapurāna (chap 36) contains another method On Śrāvana 5th (bright half) a person should draw on both sides

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321 वासुकिस्तक्षकश्चैव कालियो मणिभद्रक। ऐरावतो धृतराष्ट्र कर्कोटिकधनञ्जयौ। एतेऽभय प्रयच्छन्ति प्राणिना प्राणजीविनाम्। भविष्योत्तर 32 2–3 (with slight variations) q by का वि p 413. In other purānas twelve nāgas are named e g कृत्यतत्त्व p. 437 and तिथितत्त्व p 33 quote from गरुड 'अनन्त वासुकिं शङ्ख पद्म कम्बलमेव च। तथा कर्कोटकं नागं धृतराष्ट्रं च शङ्खकम्। कालिय तक्षकं चापि पिङ्गल मणिभद्रकम्। यजेत्तान-सिताक्षागाद् वृद्धश्रुको दिवं व्रजेत्॥'. भविष्योत्तर 36 48–49 and Bhavisya I 32. 50–51 also set out twelve names of Nāgas, each one being the object of worship in each of the twelve months of the year.

of his door with cowdung figures of serpents which should be worshipped with curds, dūrvā tendrils, kuśas and sandalwood paste, flowers and presents of food They would have no danger from snakes. Vide Hemādri on Kāla p. 621, K V p. 413, K R p. 234 In Saurāstra Nāgapañcamī is observed in Śrāvana dark half.

It appears that in Bengal and south India (but not in Mahārāstra) there is worship of Manasādevī in one's own courtyard on a branch of the snuhī plant on the 5th of Śrāvana dark half. The Rājamārtanda has four verses, one of which is quoted below. Samayapradīpa and Krtyaratnākara refer to the worship of Manasādevī. The Tithitattva[322] (p. 33) contains the *dhyāna* of Manasādevī taken from Padmapurāna. First, there is a sankalpa[323] about the worship of Manasādevī in order to get rid of the danger from snake-bite, then one offers *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya* and then Ananta and other *nāgas* are offered worship, the principal item being naivedya of milk and ghee. Nimba leaves are placed inside the house and the performer eats them and also makes brāhmanas eat them The Brahmavaivartapurāna (II) devotes two chapters (45–46) to the birth of Manasādevī, her *pūjā* and stotra (praise) &c. Dr Sukumar Sen has edited in the B I series Vipradāsa's 'Manasāvijaya'

In the Deccan on Śrāvana bright half 5th figures of snakes are drawn with red sandalwood paste on wooden boards, or clay images of snakes coloured yellow or black are purchased and worshipped and given milk and snake charmers go about with snakes of all sorts, to which people offer milk and some money is paid to the snake charmers

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322. सुते जनार्दने कृष्णपञ्चम्यां भवनाङ्गणे। पूजयेन्मनसां देवीं स्नुहीविटपसंस्थिताम् पिष्टुमर्दस्य पत्राणि स्थापयेद्भवनोदरे। स्वयं चापि तदश्नीयाद् ब्राह्मणाश्चापि भोजयेत्॥ मनसा देवीं विषहरी स्नुही सिञ्जुवृक्षः। तिथितत्त्व pp 33–34, कृत्यतत्त्व p 537, का. वि p 414. स्नुही is a plant from the bark of which oozes a sticky substance. Its botanical name is *Euforbia nerifolia*, according to Prof. Golokendranath Bhattacharya of Berhampore Krsnanath College in West Bengal. वामनशयनानन्तरमसिततिथि· पञ्चमी या तु। उत्थानं मनसाया मिथुनस्थौ कर्कटे वापि॥ राजमार्तण्ड, folio 72b verse 1191 (vide ABORI vol. 36 p 316) समयप्रदीप (folio 36a) adds 'अत्र तिक्तकटुकषायमधुराणां क्रमेण भक्षणमाचरन्ति'

323. The सङ्कल्प is अद्य श्रावणे मासि कृष्णे पक्षे पञ्चम्यां तिथौ अमुकगोत्र· श्री-अमुकदेवशर्मा सर्पभयाभावकामो मनसा-देवीपूजामहं करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य स्नुहीवृक्षं पूजयेत्तदभावे घटे जले वा। कृत्यतत्त्व p. 437

If pañcamī is mixed with the 4th and 6th tithis, that mixed with the 6th is to be preferred. The Vratakālaviveka[324] speaks of Manasāvrata on Jyestha-śukla 10th with Hasta-naksatra or without it and remarks that when this vrata is performed Manasā goddess protects a man from the danger of poisonous snakes

How and when serpent worship arose in India is a difficult problem The Ṛgveda contains no reference to snake worship On the contrary the Vedic god Indra is said to be the killer of *ahi* (a serpent) in Ṛg. II. 30. 1, II. 19. 3 and the slaughter of *ahi* is frequently mentioned as in Ṛg. I. 165. 6, III. 47 4. That *ahi* meant a serpent with a hood is clear from Ṛg. VI. 75 14 (ahiriva bhogaih paryeti bāhum). In Br. Up IV. 4. 7 and Praśna IV. 5 there are references to the cast-off slough of serpents (mentioned as 'pādodara' whose feet are inside its body) and in Ṛg IX. 86 44 (ahir na jūrnāmati sarpati tvacam) also. But in many passages of the Ṛgveda (such as I. 32 11) *ahi* appears to have a metaphorical sense and refers to a demon like Vrtra that prevented waters from flowing down. In the Tai. S IV. 2. 8. 3. and Vāj S. (XIII. 6–8) there are three verses that contain salutations to serpents. In the Atharvaveda (VIII. 14. 13–15) there is a reference to serpents some of which like Taksaka and Dhrtarāstra are named The Kāthaka S V. 6 enumerates the pitrs, sarpas, gandharvas, waters and herbs as pañcajana, and the Ait Br. XIII. 7 asserts that gods, men, gandharvas, apsarases, snakes and pitrs were pañcajana. This cannot be the meaning of 'pañcajanāh' in Ṛg. X. 53 4. The above passages show that sarpas had come to be a clan like gandharvas in late vedic times

In the Āśv. gr II. 1 1–15, the Pāraskara-grhya II. 14 and other grhya sūtras a rite called 'sarpabali' (offering to serpents) was performed on the Full Moon day of Śrāvana Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp 821–823 for a description The nāgas figure frequently in the Mahābhārata Vide Ādi. chap. 35 enumerating the names of many nāgas beginning with Śesa and chap 123. 71, Udyoga 103 9–16 (naming numerous nāgas) Arjuna while engaged in his twelve years' vow of brahmacarya came to

324. यथा कृत्यकामधेनुधृतो व्यासः। ज्येष्ठशुक्लदशम्यां तु हस्तर्क्षे ब्रह्मरूपिणी॥ कश्यपान्मनसा देवी जातेति मनसा स्मृता। तस्मात्सा पूजयेत्तत्र वर्षे वर्षे विधानतः। अनन्तवासुकिशेषनागांश्च नरो नियमतत्परः॥ .. हस्तनक्षत्रशुक्लदशम्यां पूजयेदित्येको विधिः। केवलदशम्यामपीत्यपरश्च। व्रतकालविवेक (in I H. Q vol. 17 No. 4 supplement p 16)

the country of the Nāgas (probably a tribe that had nāga as their emblem) and took as his wife Ulūpī, a Nāga princess who was smitten by love. Babhruvāhana, son of Citrāngadā, fought with Arjuna who had come to Manipura for protecting the Aśvamedha horse, was killed by Babhruvāhana and restored to life with the help of a Sañjīvana jewel (Āśvamedhikaparva chap. 79–81). Serpents came to be associated with both Visnu and Śiva. Visnu is said to sleep on the hoods of Śesa-nāga (Vanaparva 203. 12 and 272. 38–39) and Śiva wears serpents on his body like yajñopavīta (Anuśāsana 14. 55).[325] In the Bhagavadgītā X. 28–29 Lord Krsna identifies himself with Vāsuki among serpents and Ananta among nāgas What difference is made between 'sarpa' and 'nāga' is not clear. Probably 'sarpa' means all creeping things, while nāga means 'the cobra'. The Purānas are full of stories about nāgas Vide J. Ph. Vogel's painstaking work (Indian Serpent Lore, 1926) based on the Mahābhārata, the Purānas and the Rājatarangini. It appears that serpent worship arose gradually from the fear of serpents that must have taken a heavy toll of life, particularly at the beginning of the rainy season. Even in these days about 10000 people die of snake-bite every year in India, while persons killed by all wild animals are hardly 3000 Why the tithi was changed from Full Moon (for Sarpabali in the grhya sūtras) to the 5th of the bright half is not clear. It may be due to the slight change in the time of the onset of rains owing to the precession of the equinoxes. Vide Fergusson's 'Tree and Serpent worship' pp. 1–75 and Plate XV which reproduces the sculptures on the eastern gateway of Sanchi, where occurs the figure of five-headed Nāga. Stone images of serpents under sacred trees like *pippala* are common in the Dravida country and a few temples dedicated to nāgas exist such as the one at Battis Shirālen in Satara District and at Bhom-parānden in Hyderabad.

On the Full Moon of Śrāvana there is in the afternoon a ceremony called Raksābandhana (tying the protective amulet). It is described by Hemādri on vrata, vol. II. pp. 190–195, N. S. p 121, P.C. 284–285, Vratārka (folio 335a–336a) One should at sunrise on Full Moon of Śrāvana and after offering tarpana to gods, sages and pitrs, get prepared a protective packet (or amulet) containing whole rice grains and mustard and deco-

325. नागयज्ञोपवीती च नागचर्मोत्तरच्छदः। अनुशासन 14 55. Rudra is so described. सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः स्वप्नुकामस्त्वतीन्द्रियः। फटासहस्रविकटं शेषं पर्यङ्कभाजनम्॥ वनपर्व 272. 38.

rated with gold (thread) and strung together with variously coloured threads and have such an amulet tied In the case of a king, a jar should be placed on a square raised in the palace and the king should occupy his seat together with his ministers, he should be surrounded by courtesans and music and benedictory words should go forth; gods, brāhmanas and arms should be first honoured, then the royal[326] priest should tie the amulet to the accompaniment of the mantra. 'I tie on you that whereby Bali, the very powerful king of demons, was bound; O protective (amulet), don't slip off, don't slip off' All including śūdras and other human beings should get the amulet tied after honouring priests according to ability When this is done, a man lives on happily for a year. Hemādri quotes Bhavisyottara for the story that Indrāni tied on the right hand of Indra a protective amulet whereby he was enabled to vanquish the *asuras* This tying should not be done when paurnimā is mixed up with either 14th or the following pratipad It may, in order to avoid these two, be done even at night

This ceremony of tying an amulet on the right wrist is still in vogue and priests go about tying these amulets and receive some fee for doing so Mukerji (p 81) is unduly harsh on the poor brāhmanas when he says that it is a day of blackmail by the priests Women in Gujarat and some other places tie silken amulets round the wrists of their brothers and give and receive presents

On the Full Moon day of Śrāvana it is usual on the sea coast of western India (particularly in Konkan and Malabar) not only for Hindus, but also for Moslems and Parsis of the merchant class to go to the sea and offer flowers and a cocoanut to the sea. The sea becomes less rough and the violence of the monsoon winds abates after the Full Moon of Śrāvana and the cocoanut is offered to the sea god (Varuna) in order that he may make sea voyage for vessels of merchandise safe

In Śrāvana on the 8th of the dark half is celebrated the Krsnajanmāstami or Janmāstami vrata and festival, which is probably the most important vrata and utsava celebrated throughout the whole of India

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326. देवद्विजातिशस्ता क्षुक्षीरवर्णैः समर्चयेत् प्रथमम् । ततस्तु पुरोधा वृपते रक्षा बध्नीत मन्त्रेण॥ येन बद्धो बली राजा दानवेन्द्रो महाबल । तेन त्वामभिबध्नामि रक्षे मा चल मा चल॥ भविष्योत्तर 137 19-20 q by हे on व्रत vol II p. 195 (with some variations which are probably copyist's mistakes).

In some Purāṇa passages it is declared that Janmāstamī is celebrated on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada. The explanation is that in those passages the months are Pūrnimānta and the dark half is in these months the first paksa.[327] The Padma (III 13), Matsya 56, Agni 183 contain numerous verses on the greatness (māhātmya) of Kṛṣnajanmāstamī.

It would not be out of place to say a few words about Krsna and about the antiquity of Krsna worship. There is a reference in the Chāndogya-upanisad (III. 17. 6) to Krsna Devakīputra receiving instruction from Ghora Āngirasa. There was a Vedic poet named Krsna who calls upon the Aśvins to listen to his invocation in Ṛg. VIII. 85. 3 and the Anukramanī assigns Ṛg. VIII. 86–87 to Krsna Āngirasa. Jain tradition regards Krsna as contemporaneous with Nemi, the 22nd Tīrthankara, and from the account of the 63 great men of Jain pre-history about one third are shown as associated with Krsna. The life of Krsna as gathered from the Mahābhārata is a composite one. In some passages he is depicted as a Yādava prince, the staunchest friend of the Pāndavas[328] (and particularly of Arjuna), as a great warrior, statesman and philosopher. In other passages he is identified with the Supreme Lord of the worlds and as Visnu Himself (Śānti 47. 28, Drona 146. 67–68, Karna 87. 74, Vanaparva 49. 20, Bhīsma 21. 13–15). There are most sublime praises of Krsna put in the mouths of Yudhisthira (Drona 149. 16–33), Draupadī (Vanaparva 263. 8–16) and Bhīsma when about to die (Anuśāsana 167. 37–45). We have further information about him from the Harivaṁśa, the Visnupurāna, Vāyu (98. 100–102), the Bhāgavata and Brahmavaivarta that deal with Krsna's romantic career among cowherds, which is wanting in the Mahābhārata.

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327. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। रोहिणीसहिता कृष्णा मासि भाद्रपदेऽष्टमी। समग्यामर्धरात्राधः कलयापि यदा भवेत्॥ तत्र जातो जगन्नाथः कौस्तुभी हरिरीश्वर। तमेवोपवसेत्कालं कुर्यात्तत्रैव जागरम्॥ इति। इयमष्टमी कृष्णपक्षादिमासविवक्षया भाद्रपदे भवति। सैवाष्टमी शुक्लपक्षादिमासविवक्षया श्रावणे भवति। का नि. p. 216; भाद्रपदनभःपदयोर्न विरुद्धार्थता तत्कालस्यैकश्रुतिमूलतया गौणचान्द्रेण भाद्रता मुख्यचान्द्रेण श्रावणतेति। तिथितत्त्व p. 41, vide समयप्रकाश p 47 also

328. न हि दारा न मित्राणि ज्ञातयो न च बान्धवा। कश्चिदन्यः प्रियतरः कुन्तीपुत्रात्समार्जुनात्। ... यस्तं द्वेष्टि स मां द्वेष्टि यस्तं चानु स मामनु॥ द्रोण 79. 26–27 and 33. Vide Udyoga 91. 28 यस्तान् द्वेष्टि स मा द्वेष्टि यस्ताननु स मामनु। ऐकात्म्यं मां गतं विद्धि पाण्डवैर्धर्मचारिभिः॥.

It appears from Pāṇini (IV. 3 98)[329] that there were people in his day described as Vāsudevaka and Arjunaka that were devoted to Vāsudeva and Arjuna Patañjali in his Mahābhāsya mentions several persons and incidents connected with Krsna. On Vārtika 6 to Pān. III. 1. 26 the Mahābhāsya gives two examples 'Kamsam ghātayati' (meaning 'he tells the story of the slaughter of Kamsa') and 'Balim bhandhayati' (meaning 'he narrates the story of the imprisonment of Bali') In Vārtika 2 to Pān. III. 1. 138 the word 'Govinda' is derived (from go + vinda). On Vārtika 2 to Pān III 2 111 Patañjali gives the example 'Jaghāna Kamsam kila Vāsudevah' (Vāsudeva, they say, killed Kamsa) and implies that the incident occurred long ago which the speaker could not have seen but was popularly known[330] This is a quarter of an Upendravajrā or Upajāti verse. Patañjali names Satyabhāmā with its shortened form Bhāmā (Kielhorn, vol. I. p 111), the words 'Vāsudevavargyah' and 'Akrūravargyah' occur (on Vārtika 11 on Pān. IV. 2 104) On Pān. IV. 1 114 (rsyandhaka-vrsni-kurubhyaś-ca) under vārtika 7 Patañjali mentions Ugrasena as a scion of the Andhakas and Vāsudeva and Bāladeva of the Vrsnis Patañjali quotes half of an Anustubh verse 'Saṅkarsana-dvitīyasya balam Krsnasya vardhatām' (Kielhorn's ed. vol. I. p 426). Patañjali is regarded by most modern scholars as having flourished in the 2nd century B C. (about 150 B. C) Therefore it follows that some poetic work or works that referred to incidents of Krsna's career (such as Kamsavadha) had been composed some centuries before the Christian era. Vide I A. vol. III pp 14–16 for allusions to Krsna in the Mahābhāsya and I. A vol. XIV pp 326 ff, for verse quotations in the Mahābhāsya collected by Kielhorn. In the Ādiparva (chap 1. 256)[331] and in Sabhā 33. 10–11 Krsna is identified with Vāsudeva and is said to be the Highest Brahma

329. वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्। पा IV 3 98 on which the महाभाष्य remarks 'अथवा नैष क्षत्रियाख्या संज्ञैषा तत्रभवत '. वासुदेव भक्ति (भक्त्य) यस्य स वासुदेवक' It may be noted that the compound word वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्या occurs in शांतिपर्व 4.31.

330 The passage about the killing of Kamsa is interesting. इदं तर्हि कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते कंसे चिरनद्धे च बलौ' (महाभाष्य ed. by Kielhorn, vol. II. p. 36). This shows that in the time of the महाभाष्य the killing of Kamsa (by Krsna) was supposed to have taken place in hoary antiquity. Patañjali states further on that Kamsavadha was represented dramatically, that pictures were painted about it and lastly that works had been composed narrating that event.

331. भगवान्वासुदेवश्च कीर्त्यतेऽत्र सनातन । स हि सत्यमृतं चैव पवित्रं पुण्यमेव च । शाश्वतं ब्रह्म परमं । आदि chap. I, 256.

and the source of the universe. The Ghosundi inscription of 2nd or 1st century B C. mentions the hall of worship of Sankarsana and Vāsudeva (E I 16 pp. 25–27, E. I. 22 p. 198, I. A. vol. 61 p. 203) addressed as 'Bhagavat' and 'sarveśvara'. Nanaghat cave inscriptions of about 200 B. C mention both (A. S. W. I. vol. V pp. 60–74). The Besnagar column (Garuda-dhvaja) Vaisnava inscription[332] where the *Bhāgavata* Heliodorus, son of Diya, hailing from Taksaśilā and Yavana ambassador of king Antalikita (Antalkidas) to king Bhāgabhadra mentions Vāsudeva as '*devadeva*'. The preceding items of evidence indicate that the worship of Vāsudeva was prevalent in northern and central India from at least 500 B. C.. if not earlier. Vide R G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c.' pp. 1–45 for the various phases of the Kṛsna cult and its antiquity.

It is rather surprising that the passages quoted in the medieval works on Krsnajanmāstamī are mostly borrowed from the Bhavisya, Bhavisyottara, Skanda, Visnudharmottara, Nāradīya and Brahmavaivarta purānas, but hardly ever from the Bhāgavata-purāna which is the Veda of the Vaisnavas of later medieval and modern times. The description of Krsna's birth in the Bhāgavata is vague and commonplace. All that[333] is said there is that the time when Krsna was born was endowed with all good characteristics and was very charming, that the quarters looked very clear and the sky was lit up by bright stars, that the wind that blew was very pleasing to the skin and laden with fine fragrance and that when Janārdana was born of Devakī it was midnight and darkness had enveloped everything.

In the Bhavisyottara (44. 1–69) Krsna himself is represented as narrating to Yudhisthira the incidents of Janmāstamī-vrata: 'I was born of Vasudeva and Devakī on the 8th of Bhādrapada dark half at midnight when the Sun was in Lion (Leo), when the

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332. For Besnagara Inscription, vide JRAS 1909 pp. 1053–56, 1087–1092, and JBBRAS vol. 23 pp. 104–106.

333 अथ सर्वगुणोपेत. कालः परमशोभन.। यर्होवाजनजन्मर्क्षं शान्तर्क्षग्रहतारकम् ॥ दिशः प्रसेदुर्गगनं निर्मलोडुगणोदयम्। ...ववौ वायु सुखस्पर्श. पुण्यगन्धवह शुचि । ... निशीथे तम उद्भूते जायमाने जनार्दने । देवक्या देवरूपिण्या विष्णु सर्वगुहाशय.॥ भागवत X 3. 1–2, 4, 8 अजनजन्मर्क्ष is rather unusual; न विद्यते जन. जन्म यस्य स अजनः (प्रजापति, who is also called आत्मभू or स्वयंभू) and अजनजन्मर्क्ष seems to be taken to mean whose जन्मनक्षत्र is रोहिणी of which प्रजापति (अजन) is the presiding deity. Verses 2 and 4 appear to echo the words of रघुवंश III 14 'दिशः प्रसेदुर्मरुतो ववु. सुखाः'.

Moon was in the sign of the Bull (Taurus) and there was Rohiṇī naksatra' (verses 74–75), when on the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana there is Rohiṇī-naksatra, the tithi is called Jayantī, if a man observes a fast on that tithi, that destroys his sins committed in childhood, youth, old age and many previous lives' The result is that if there be no Rohiṇī naksatra on Śrāvana dark half 8th, it is simply Janmāstamī, but when Rohiṇī is joined to dark 8th of Śrāvana it is Jayantī. The Rājamārtanda has two verses on this.[334]

The important question is whether the Janmāstamī-vrata and Jayantī-vrata are really only one vrata or whether they are two separate vratas The Kālanirnaya,[335] after a long discussion in which Mīmāmsā principles contained in Jai II. 2 23 and IV. 1. 22–24 are relied upon, arrives at the conclusion that the two are separate vratas on the grounds that the two names are different (viz Janmāstamī-vrata and Jayantīvrata), their occasions (*nimitta*) are different (the first depends only on dark Astamī, while the latter exists only if there is Rohiṇī on 8th of dark half of Śrāvana) and their characteristics are different in that in Janmāstamīvrata śāstra requires only a fast, while in Jayantīvrata the śāstra requires a fast and also gifts and the like. Besides, Janmāstamīvrata is obligatory (*nitya*), since the texts only speak of the incurring of sin if it be not performed, while Jayantīvrata is both *nitya* and *kāmya* in that the śāstras connect it with special rewards in addition to the incurring of sin by its non-observance Further, the two are separately

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334 रोहिण्यृक्ष यदा कृष्णे पक्षेऽष्टम्या द्विजोत्तम। जयन्ती नाम सा मोक्ता सर्वपापहरा तिथि । यद् बाल्ये यच्च कौमारे यौवने वार्धके तथा। बह्वजन्मकृत पापं हन्ति सोपोषिता तिथि। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q by हे (on काल p 129) and हे. (on व्रत vol. I. p 911) माजापत्यैतु संयुक्ता अष्टमी तु यदा भवेत्। श्रावणे बहुले सा तु सर्वपापप्रणाशिनी। जय पुण्य च कुरुते जयन्ती तेन सा स्मृता ॥ स्कन्द०, q by हे on काल p 130, ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 8 52 to जय पुण्य च कुरुते जयन्ती तेन सत्स्मृता। अष्टमी कृष्णपक्षस्य रोहिणी ऋक्षसंयुता। भवेत्सोऽपदे मासि जयन्ती नाम सा स्मृता। जयन्त्यामुपवास तु कृत्वा भक्त्यार्चयेद्धरिम्। तस्य जन्मशतोद्भूत पापं नाशयतेऽच्युत.॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 74b verses 1231–32 (vide ABORI vol. 30 at p. 320) These are quoted as from भविष्य by व क्रि कौ p. 299

335. केवलेनोपवासेन तस्मिन्ह जन्मदिने मम। शतजन्मकृतात्पापान्मुच्यते नात्र संशय.॥ इति। भविष्योत्तर 55 20, तस्माज्जन्माष्टमीव्रतस्योपवासमात्र स्वरूपम्। यदि शिष्टास्तत्रापि जागरणहानादिकमनुतिष्ठन्ति, अनुतिष्ठन्तु नाम। अविरुद्धै पुण्यविशेषै व्रतस्योपोद्बलनसम्भवात्। क्षत्रेण तु प्रापितमुपवासमात्रम्। जयन्तीव्रतस्य तु दानादिसहित उपवास स्वरूपम्। तद्विधायकेषु शास्त्रेषु तथाभिधानात्। तथा च वह्निपुराणे। तुष्टचर्थं देवकीसूनोर्जयन्तीसंज्ञकं व्रतम्। कर्तव्यं वित्तमानेन भक्त्या भक्तजनैरपि॥ का नि p. 209, जयन्तीनिर्णय quotes the first half

mentioned in the same verses.[336] Hemādri, Madanaratna, the Nirnayasindhu (p. 126) and several works hold the view that the two are different. But the N. S notes[337] that in its day people observed only Janmāstamī-vrata and not Jayantī-vrata. On the other hand the Jayantīnirnaya (p. 25) states that people generally celebrate Jayantī only (and not Janmāstamī). This variance is probably due to the fact that the two works (N. S. and J. N.) belong to the north and south of India. The Samayamayūkha[338] and Purusārthacintāmani (p. 117) very severely criticize the views of Mādhava set out above from the Kālanirnaya, one of the principal arguments in these last being that the Mīmāmsā rules relied upon by Mādhava apply to rites, but Jayantī is the name of a tithi i. e the 8th of dark half when conjoined to Rohinī. The Jayantīnirnaya of Hārīta Venkaṭanātha holds that the two are different and that both are nitya as well as kāmya (pp. 4–5 and p. 30). It further points out (p 19) that in Janmāstamīvrata tithi is the principal matter while in Jayantī it is the naksatra (Rohinī) that is principal.

Two discordant notes are struck by the Varāha-purāna and by the Harivamśa The former says[339] that Krsna was born on 12th of Āsādha bright half. According to the Harivamśa q by Hemādri and Jīmūtavāhana, the naksatra was Abhijit when Krsna was born and the muhūrta was *vijaya*[340]. It is quite

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336. निर्देशभेदश्च सूयुवाक्ये दृश्यते। जन्माष्टमी जयन्ती च शिवरात्रिस्तथैव च। पूर्वविद्धैव कर्तव्या तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ इति। का नि. p 212.

337. वयं तु सत्यं व्रतभेद.। लोकास्तु जन्माष्टमीमेवाद्यतिष्ठन्ति नहि-श्रावणे वा नभस्ये वा रोहिणीसहिताष्टमी। यदा कृष्णा जनैर्लब्धा सा जयन्तीति कीर्तिता। श्रावणे न भवेद्योगो नभस्ये तु भवेद् ध्रुवम्—इति माधवीये वसिष्ठसंहितोक्तापि भाद्रे जयन्ती केनापि क्रियते॥ नि. सि. p. 126, तस्मादेतद् व्रतं नित्यं काम्यं चेति सिद्धम्। हे (on काल p. 144).

338. कर्मनामधेयभेदे हि स्यात्कर्मभेद'। न ह्यत्र जयन्तीशब्दः कर्मनाम किं तु रोहिणीसहिताया अष्टम्या.। स म p. 51.

339. किन्त्वाषाढे शुक्लपक्षे या नारी सह भर्तृणा। उपोष्यति मनुष्येषु तस्या गर्भे भवाम्यहम्॥ ...एतां च द्वादशीं गत्वा वसुदेवो महायशाः। पुत्रं लेभे स कृष्णाख्यं महतीं च श्रियं तथा॥ वराह 46. 12 and 14.

340. अभिजिन्नाम नक्षत्रं जयन्ती नाम शर्वरी। मुहूर्तो विजयो नाम यत्र जातो जनार्दन.। सोपवासो हरे पूजां यत्र कृत्वा न सीदति। ब्रह्माण्ड q by हे (on काल p. 135), का. वि. p. 494. का वि. recommends that अभिजित् is to be taken in its root meaning (from जि to conquer) 'रोहिणीशर्वरीमुहूर्त एव भगवत' कृष्णरूपावतारस्य सकलत्रैलोक्यविजयिन कारणभावात् तेऽपि जयत्यर्थयोगाद्भिजिज्जयन्तीविजयनामानो भवन्ति' The verse अभिजि...जनार्दन. is हरिवंश II (विष्णुपर्व) 4. 16–17. An earlier verse (13–14) says तुल्यकालं च गर्भिण्यौ यशोदा देवकी तथा। देवक्यजनयद्विष्णुं यशोदा तां तु द्वारिकाम्। मुहूर्तेऽभिजिति माद्रे सार्धरात्रे विभूषिते। It will be noted that no month is mentioned in this passage. The verse अभिजिन्नाम० occurs in वायु 96. 201 also.

possible that these two represent some older traditions about the date of the birth of Krsna

Another important point very much canvassed in the medieval digests is about the exact tithi and time when the Janmāstamīvrata is to be celebrated The K. N (pp 215–224), Krtyatattva pp 438–444, Tithitattva pp. 47–51, Samaya-mayūkha p. 50–51, N. S pp. 128–130 and several other digests state certain conclusions about this

It is clear from almost all Purānas and other works on Janmāstamī that the principal time for the celebration of the birth of Krsna is the midnight [341] of the 8th of Śrāvana dark half (Bhādrapada dark, if the month is Pūrnimānta). This tithi is of two kinds viz (1) without Rohinī naksatra and (2) with Rohinī naksatra. In each of these two, the Kālanirnaya of Mādhava (pp 218–224), the Nirnayasindhu (pp 128–130), the Dharmasindhu (pp 64–67) and other digests set out several possible alternative combinations The Nirnayāmrta (pp 56–58) mentions as many as 18 kinds, eight of the *śuddhā* tithi, 8 of the *viddhā* tithi and two more, one being the one where Rohinī-naksatra is there at midnight and the other being Navamī joined to Rohinī and having either Wednesday or Monday. A discussion of these would be somewhat complicated and hardly otherwise than of academical interest to modern readers. Therefore, all these alternatives are not set out here. Instead, the brief conclusions put forth by the Tithitattva are given [342] by way of sample. These are: If Jayantī (Astamī with Rohinī) exists only a single day, the fast must be observed on that very day; if it spreads over two days, then the fast is on the later of the two; if there is no Jayantī, then the fast is to be observed on Astamī joined with Rohinī, if two days have Astamī joined to Rohinī, then fast is on the later of the two; if there is no Rohinī naksatra then fast is to be observed on the Astamī that exists at midnight or if astamī exists on two days at midnight or if it be not existent at midnight then on the later day.

341. अर्धरात्रस्य मुख्यकालत्वमुक्तं वसिष्ठसहितायाम्। अष्टमी रोहिणीयुक्ता निशार्धे दृश्यते यदि। मुख्यकाल इति रूपातस्तत्र जातो हरि स्वयम्॥ इति। का. नि p 215, पूजा च मध्यरात्रे। कृष्णाष्टम्या तु रोहिण्यामर्धरात्रेऽर्चन हरे। इति भारुडात्। तिथितत्त्व p 42, अष्टमी कर्षसयुक्ता राज्यर्धे यदि दृश्यते। स एव मुख्यकालश्च तत्र जात. स्वयं हरि.॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV 8 51. क्ष means प्रजापति, who is the lord of रोहिणी.

342 यत्रैकदिने जयन्तीलाभस्तत्रैवोपवास, उभयदिने चेत्तदा परदिने। जयन्त्यलाभे च रोहिणीयुक्ताष्टम्याम्। उभयदिने 'रोहिणीयुक्ताष्टमीलाभे परदिने। रोहिण्यलाभे तु निशीथ-सम्बन्धिन्यामष्टम्याम्। उभयदिने निशीथसम्बन्धे तत्सम्बन्धे वा परदिने। तिथितत्त्व p 54

If Jayantī fast occurs on Wednesday or Monday there are far greater results and such a fast is superior to crores of other vratas and the man who observes a fast on Jayantī conjoined to Wednesday or Monday would not be born again.[343]

The main items in Janmāstamīvrata are fast, worship of Krsna, jāgara (keeping awake at night, listening to and repeating hymns of praise and stories about Krsna's exploits), pāranā.

The medieval digests such as Tithitattva (pp. 42–47), the Samayamayūkha (pp. 52–57), Kālatattvavivecana (pp. 52–56), Vratarāja (pp 274–277), Dharmasindhu (pp 68–69) contain a lengthy procedure of Janmāstamīvrata based principally on Bhavisyottara chap. 55. A brief summary from the first two works (which agree in the main in most respects) is set out below.

On the day of the fast in the morning the devotee should invoke the presence of the Sun, Moon, Yama, Time, the two twilights, the (five) elements, Day and Night, Wind, the lord of the quarters, the earth, the sky, the denizens of aerial regions and gods.[344] He should hold in his hand a copper vessel filled with water, some fruits, flowers and whole rice-grains, refer to the month &c. and make a sankalpa 'I shall perform the Krsnāstamī-vrata, for securing a certain reward or for the removal of my sins'. He then repeats four mantras addressed to Vāsudeva, one of which is quoted below.[345] After repeating the mantras he should discharge the water in the vessel. He should construct a delivery hall for Devakī having auspicious jars full of water and mango leaves, garlands of flowers, fragrant with burnt *aguru* and

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343 तत्र जयन्तीभेदेनोपवासद्विये यदि सोमवारो बुधवासरो वा भवति तदा फलाधिक्यं भवति। ... विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेपि। अष्टमी बुधवारेण रोहिणी सहिता यदा। भवेत्तु मुनिशार्दूल कि कृतैर्व्रतकोटिभि.। का नि. pp. 224–225, बुधसोमसमायुक्ता जयन्ती यदि लभ्यते। न कुर्याद्गर्भवासं च तत्र कृत्वा व्रतं व्रती। ब्रह्मवैवर्त IV. 8 61–62, अष्टमी बुधवारे च सोमे चैव द्विजोत्तम। रोहिणीऋक्षसंयुक्ता कुलकोटिविमुक्तिदा॥ .. अष्टमी बुधवारेण कि कृतैर्व्रतकोटिभिः। पद्म III. 13. 3 and 61 Krsna belonged to the Somavamśa and Budha is deemed in legend and astrology to be the son of the Moon. Vide हरिवंश I 25 43–45 for the legend. It is probably due to this that Wednesday and Monday are deemed to heighten the importance of Janmāstamī

344. सूर्य. सोमो यम. काल. सन्ध्ये भूताम्बरः क्षपा। पवनो दिक्पतिर्भूमिराकाशं खचरामराः। ब्राह्मं शासनमास्थाय कल्पध्वमिह सन्निधिम्। q by स म. p 52 (reads खचरा नरा.), ति. त. p. 45.

345. आजन्ममरणं यावद्यन्मया दुष्कृतं कृतम्। तत्क्षणाश्च गोविन्द प्रसीद पुरुषोत्तम॥ q. in स. म. p. 52, ति. त. p. 42, धर्मसिन्धु p. 68

decked with auspicious things and Sasthī-devī. Round about the room or the walls (of the room) he should paint gods and gandharvas with folded hands, Vasudeva with a drawn sword, Devakī, Nanda, Yaśodā, gopīs, Kaṃsa's guards, the river Yamunā and the snake Kāliya therein and other incidents of Gokula as far as he could. He should place in the delivery hall a bed surrounded by screens He should take a bath with sesame in the noon in the water of a river or the like and at midnight make the saṅkalpa, 'I shall perform the worship of Kṛṣṇa with his attendants', he should make an image of Kṛṣṇa of gold or silver &c., touch the cheeks of the image and vitalize the image (prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā) with mantras He should contemplate upon Devakī (with a mantra) and on Śrīkṛṣṇa lying as an infant on the bed and offer worship to Lakṣmī, to Vasudeva and Devaki, Nanda and Yaśodā, Baladeva and Caṇḍikā with appropriate mantras for bath, for incense, naivedya &c.; he then briefly performs symbolically the ceremonies of Jātakarma, cutting the navel chord, Sasthīpūjā and nāmakaraṇa. Then at time of moonrise (at or a little after midnight) he should offer *arghya* on an altar or to (image of) the moon with Rohiṇī with water from a conch mixed with flowers, kuśas and sandalwood paste with a mantra, should bow to the moon and prostrate[346] himself with several verses containing the different names of Vāsudeva and at the end address prayers to him. Then he should keep awake the whole night in listening to the hymns of praise to Kṛṣṇa, to the stories in the Purāṇas and in songs, music and dances. Next day after performing all usual acts to be performed in the morning and again offering worship to the image of God Kṛṣṇa, he should feed brāhmaṇas and donate to them gold, cow, clothes with the words 'May Kṛṣṇa be pleased with me'. He should then repeat the mantra[347] 'salutation to him who is Brahma, who is Vāsudeva of blessed birth and beneficent to cows and brāhmaṇas and whom Devakī gave birth

346. One of the Mantras at the time of falling prostrate is शरणं तु प्रपद्येऽहं सर्वकामार्थसिद्धये। प्रणमामि सदा देव वासुदेवं जगत्पतिम्॥ स म. p. 54 and ति. त p. 45 Two of the प्रार्थनामन्त्रs are. त्राहि मां सर्वदुःखघ्न रोगशोकार्णवाद्धरे। दुर्गतोद्धारणे विष्णो ये स्मरन्ति सकृत् सकृत्। सोऽहं देवातिदुर्वृत्तस्त्राहि मां शोकसागरात्। पुण्डरीकाक्ष निर्मग्नोऽहं मायाविज्ञानसागरे। *ibid*

347. यं देवं देवकी देवी पसुदेवादजीजनत्। भौमस्य ब्रह्मणो गुप्तये तस्मै ब्रह्मात्मने नमः। सुजन्मानसुदेवाय गोब्राह्मणहिताय च। शान्तिरस्तु शिवं चास्तु इत्युक्त्वा तु विसर्जयेत्॥ भविष्योत्तर 55 60-61, quoted by स्मृ. म. p. 55, ति त 43 (which explains भौमस्य as पृथिवीसम्बन्धिन.). The first verse is quoted from भगव by व क्रि. कौ. p. 313.

from Vasudeva for the protection of Vedas spread over the earth. Let there be peace! Let there be bliss! He should then take out the image of Krsna, donate it to a brāhmana and bring the vrata to a close after performing pāranā.

The procedure in the Dharmasindhu (pp. 68-69) is more elaborate than the above, though no essential difference exists. It makes use of Vedic mantras (from Rg. X. 90. 1-16) along with Paurānika mantras, while in the Samaya-mayūkha and Tithitattva no Vedic mantra is expressly mentioned. As regards *jāgara* the Dharmasindhu provides that the stories[348] about Krsna may be made striking by reciting poems composed in regional languages, that Vedic hymns may have at their end Paurānika stories recited, that visual representations (such as dances) may be resorted to, that this is a procedure meant for the three higher varnas, but in the case of śūdras it is not proper to follow the same procedure; they should omit Vedic hymns but may engage in music and Paurānika recitations.

One question often raised in some of the medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra is: what is the principal matter in Janmāstamī-vrata. Some held that both fast (upavāsa) and worship (pūjā) are principal and they rely on a Bhavisyapurāna[349] passage 'when at midnight on the 8th of the dark half there is Rohini, worship of Krsna destroys sins committed in three lives; a man observing a fast then and performing worship of Hari does not sink'. The Samayamayūkha, after an elaborate discussion in which Mīmāmsā doctrines such as those in Jai. I. 4. 1-3 are employed, arrives at the conclusion that the fast is only an auxiliary (*anga*), while worship (pūjā) is the principal thing. On the other hand the Tithitattva[350] relying on the verse of the

348. तथा च वैदिकसूक्तकरणकस्तुतिविशिष्टः पौराणेतिहासमिश्रितो गीतवृत्त्यनुगतदेशभाषाकाव्यप्रबन्धकथाकरणको जागरो विप्रादिवर्णत्रयस्य विधीयते। शूद्रादीनामेतादृशजागरस्य विधातुमयोग्यत्वात्। पश्चनान्तरेण तु सूक्तादिरहित-गीतादिविशिष्टो वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारणो विधीयते। धर्मसिन्धु pp. 70-71. The word 'अयोग्यत्वात्' is used because in those days śūdras were not entitled to study and recite Vedic Mantras

349. अर्धरात्रे तु रोहिण्यां यदा कृष्णाष्टमी भवेत्। तस्यामभ्यर्चनं शौरेर्हन्ति पापं त्रिजन्मजम्॥ सोपवासो हरे पूजा कृत्वा तत्र न सीदति। भविष्य q. by स. म. p 46, by हे. on काल p. 131 (quoting from भविष्य and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर).

350 अत्र पूजोपवासयो प्रधानत्वेनाकाङ्क्षाविरहाद्वनन्वये अन्यतरस्य गुणत्वमवश्यं वाच्यम्। एवं च पूजैवाङ्गमुपवासस्तु प्रधानम्—उपवासस्य नियममित्युपक्रमे श्रवणात् तत्रैव विध्यन्वयात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 44 The भविष्योत्तर (55. 19) opens the description of the vrata with the verse 'पार्थ तद्विवसे प्राप्ते वृन्तधावनपूर्वकम्। उपवासस्य नियमं गृह्णीयाद् भक्तिभावित.॥' q. by ति. त. on p. 42, व. क्रि कौ p 309.

Bhavisya opening the description of the vrata 'On that day one should accept the restrictions of upavāsa' and also Mīmāmsā doctrines holds that *upavāsa* is the principal matter and pūjā is an *anga* (auxiliary matter). The *Jayantinirnaya* contained in the *Daśanirnayi* of Hārita Venkatanātha discusses at length the two (pp. 3 ff). This subject need not be pursued much further.

It has already been stated above that every vrata requires a pārana as the last item, that pārana takes place the day after the day of the fast and that it is generally performed in the morning. There are certain special rules about the pārana of Janmāstamī fast and Jayantī fast. A few dicta of the purānas may be first noted. The Brahmavaivarta[351] states 'one should never perform pārana while astamī tithi is running or Rohinī naksatra is still there on the Astamī; (if one does so) one destroys what he has done previously and the fruits acquired by the fast. A tithi destroys eight-fold, while a naksatra does so fourfold; therefore one should perform the pārana (of Janmāstamī) at the end of the tithi and naksatra'. The Nāradapurāna[352] remarks 'when a fast has to be observed on the conjunction of a tithi and naksatra, pārana should not be done until at least one of the two has ended; when a vrata falls on a conjunction (of tithi and naksatra), pārana should be done only when one of the two is separated (i e. ends)'. The Vahni-purāna provides 'pārana is commended at the end of the naksatra or at the end of the tithi'. Both the Tithitattva and the Krtyatattva[353] arrive on interpreting these and other verses at the following conclusions. 'Pārana is to be observed on the day after the fast, but after the end of the tithi (astamī) and the naksatra (Rohinī), but when one of

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351 तिथिर्वा नक्षत्रस्य वा क्षेपकाले पारण ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रतिषिध्यते। अष्टम्यामथ रोहिण्यां न कुर्यात्पारणं क्वचित्। हन्यात्पुराकृत कर्म उपवासार्जितं फलम्॥ तिथिरष्टगुण हन्ति नक्षत्र च चतुर्गुणम्। तस्मात्रयत्नत कुर्यात्तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ इति। का नि p 226, हे. (on काल) p 137 quotes these verses and seems to hold a different view They are q by ति. त. p 51 and are interpreted as noted below. न means नक्षत्र.

352. तिथिनक्षत्रसयोगे उपवासो यदा भवेत्। पारण तु न कर्तव्यं यावत्तैकस्य संक्षयः॥ सायोगिके व्रते प्राप्ते यत्रैकोऽपि वियुज्यते। तत्रैव पारण कुर्यादेवं वेदविदो विदु॥ नारद q. by का. नि p. 227, ति त. p 52, केवलतिथ्यन्ते भान्ते वा जयन्तीप्रकरण एव वह्नि पुराणे पारणविधानात्। भान्ते कुर्यात्तिथेर्वापि शस्त भारत पारणम्॥ इति। हे (on काल p 137)

353 उपवासपरदिने तिथिनक्षत्रयोरवसाने पारणं, यदा तु महानिशाया पूर्वेनैकतरस्यावसानम्, अन्यतरस्य महानिशाया तदूनन्तर्रं वा तदेकतरावसाने पारणम्। यदा महानिशाया. द्वयस्थितिस्तदोत्सवान्ते प्रात पारणं कुर्यात्। तिथितत्त्व p 54, कृत्यतत्त्व p 441, धर्मसिन्धु p. 67 (for sumilar rules). महानिशा is variously defined. Vide p. 117, note 302 above.

the two ends before *mahānišā* and the other during mahāniśā or after it, pārana should be observed at the end of one of the two; when both exist during the period of mahāniśā then one should perform pārana in the morning at the end of the festival'. At the end of the pārana the performer repeats the mantra 'salutations to Govinda, who is Being, who is the ruler of (all) beings, who is the lord of (all) beings and who is the source of all beings'.[354] The above statement shows that in certain cases the pārana of Janmāstamīvrata may be at night,[355] particularly for vaisnavas who perform the vrata as a duty and not for any reward.

There is a difference of meaning between udyāpana and pārana. Some vratas like Ekādaśī and Janmāstamī are performed throughout a man's life; in such cases there is only pārana after the fast on every occasion that a fast is observed. If a man undertakes a vrata only once and finishes it, then the concluding rites of the vrata are called *udyāpana*.

Besides the items mentioned above, it is the practice, particularly of boys and common people in Mahārāstra, to hang up pots full of curds and buttermilk on the day after the birth of Krsna is celebrated, to play underneath the pot, sing songs and then pierce the pot and get drenched by curds and buttermilk running out from the holes made. This is probably due to the legends associated with Krsna's boyhood among cowherds. The Bhāgavata[356] expressly says that the cowherds sprinkled each other on Krsna's birth with curds, milk, ghee, and smeared each other with these. This is called 'Gopālakālā in Mahārāstra. But this is not observed in other parts of India such as Saurāstra. Surprisingly enough the Krsnajanmāstamī festival does not, like the Rāmanavamī festival, figure in the Krtyakalpataru on vrata. One cannot account for this omission.

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354. पारणानन्तरं तु—ओं भूताय भूतेश्वराय भूतपतये भूतसम्भवाय गोविन्दाय नमो नमः—इत्यनेन व्रतं समापयेत्—इति। कृ त pp 441–442

355. अतः फलाभिसन्धिविरहे रात्रावपि पारणमविरुद्धमेव। तथानन्ताख्यसंहितायां—भक्तानां वैष्णवानां च शुद्धानां नियतात्मनाम्। विहिता सात्वताभिज्ञै रात्रावेव तु पारणा॥ जयन्तीनिर्णय pp. 35–36

356 गोकुलस्थजनमलीलादिश्रवणोत्तरं वैष्णवैः परस्परं दध्यादिभिः सेचनं कार्यम्। दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभिः आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्त इत्यादि भागवतवचनेन तथा विधिकल्पनात्। अपहृत्सनोऽधुना महाराष्ट्रदेशे गोपालकालेति व्यवह्रियत इति मे भाति। धर्मसिन्धु p 71. The verse of the भागवत (X 5. 14) is: गोपाः परस्परं हृष्टा दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभिः। आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्तो नवनीतैश्च चिक्षिपुः॥.

But in the Naiyatakāla section[357] of the same work, a brief procedure of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī (which is word for word the same in the Kṛtyaratnākara) different from the one specified above from the Tithitattva and other works, is set out It is as follows: On the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada was born in Kaliyuga in the 28th (kalpa?), Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, for removing the burden (of the earth) and the reduction of kṣatriyas. He (his image) should therefore be worshipped on that day, as also (of) Devakī and Yaśodā with sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, various fruits and foods and dishes prepared from barley and wheat together with cow's milk At night the devotee should keep awake with songs and dances Then on the 9th about the time of *arunodaya* (4 ghaṭikās before sunrise) women dressed in red clothes and decked with garlands of flowers should carry the images of these (Kṛṣṇa, Devakī and Yaśodā) to a holy river bank or to a charming and unfrequented lake, wherein they should themselves take their bath and also bathe the images; then returning home they should eat a meal of barley together with jaggery, honey, ghee and black pepper.

Before closing this account of Janmāṣṭamī reference must be made to a paper read in 1867 before the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften by the renowned German scholar, Prof. A Weber. The subject of the paper was 'An investigation into the origin of the festival of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī' and the paper was divided into four parts; the first dealt with the sources (an English translation of it by E. Rehatsek was published in Indian Antiquary vol. VI. pp. 161–180 and pp. 281–301), the 2nd dealt with ritual, the 3rd part was the most important and was concerned with a novel theory, viz the ritual of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī festival was something transferred from outside of India, that the description in the ritual of Kṛṣṇa's image as suckling at the mother's (Devakī's) breast was the keystone of the theory of this ritual as of foreign origin and that it was suggested by pictorial representations of the Madonna with a suckling child (Christ)

357. अथ भाद्रपदे मासि कृष्णाष्टम्या कलौ युगे। अष्टाविंशतितमे जातः कृष्णोऽसौ देवकीसुतः ॥ .. तस्मात्तत्र सदुज्यो पक्षोढा देवकी तथा। गन्धमाल्यैस्तथा धूपैर्यवगोधूमसम्भवैः। सगीतसैर्भक्ष्यभोज्यैः फलैश्च विविधैरपि। रात्रौ जागरः कार्यो नृत्यगीतसमाकुलः। अरुणोदयवेलायां नवम्यां च ततः स्त्रियः। रक्तवस्त्रावृता सर्वा पुष्पमाल्यैरलंकृताः। नद्यन्ति प्रतिमा होषां नानाविभवसम्भवाः। नदीतीरं हृदं रम्यं विविक्तं वा महत्तरं। तत्र स्नानं प्रकुर्वन्ति स्नापयन्ति च तास्ततः। पुनः प्रविश्य च गृहं पचनं भुञ्जते च ताः। गुडलिप्तविकारैश्च मध्वाज्यमरिचैः सह। कृत्यकल्प० (नैयतकाल) pp 395–396, कृ. र p 257 (ascribes to ब्रह्मपुराण) The कृ र. (p 258) remarks 'श्रीधरस्तामाम्यायिकारभेदेन कृष्णादिपूजनं तत्र सङ्गोचकविरहात्। ... इयं चाष्टमी रोहिणीनक्षत्रमनपेक्ष्यैव फलमहा बोद्धव्या रोहिणीयोगाश्रुतेः।'.

&c. An English translation of this part appeared in Indian Antiquary, vol. III. pp. 21–25 and pp. 47–52. This paper, though it is a monument of learning and patient industry (for that period when very few Sanskrit books had been printed), gave rise to severe criticism owing to its fantastic and perverse conclusion about Krsnajanmāstamī ritual being borrowed from Christian representations of Christ and his mother Mary. In I. A. vol. III. p. 300 Growse attacked it very severely. In spite of all criticisms the tenacious German scholar stuck to his guns and launched an attack against his critics, particularly against Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in I. A. vol IX. pp. 226–229. As hardly any Sanskrit scholar in these days would espouse the theory put forward by Weber, I do not think that I should waste much time over a refutation thereof. Most European scholars, nurtured on the vaunted intellectual eminence of the ancient Greeks and on the intolerant attitude of christianity towards other faiths, when they became acquainted with things Indian and studied Sanskrit, were obsessed (though not very obviously expressed) by two notions, viz. much in India that resembled what prevailed in the West must have been borrowed from the West and further, that Indians, who had allowed themselves to be invaded by outsiders and governed by foreigners for centuries, must not have been good at anything. These two notions gave rise to many untenable theories such as the following: the Rāmāyana was borrowed from Homer's Iliad, the art of writing was unknown to Pānini, the Brāhmī script was based on Phoenician or Aramaic script, that the Gītā was based on the Bible, that the very ancient Indian naksatra system was borrowed either from the Chinese, the Babylonians or Arabs. Most of such theories were the result of little knowledge and the non-recognition of certain common sense rules and have now been consigned to the limbo of deserved oblivion. The common sense rule is that when a thing or a state of things has existed for centuries in a certain country or among a certain people, the burden of proving that it was borrowed by that country or people from outside is very heavy on those who assert such borrowing; mere similarities can never be held to amount to any evidence of borrowing at all; scholars should be very chary of confidently asserting borrowing and should put forward their conclusions very cautiously. It would not be irrelevant to point out the main circumstances on which Weber, often a champion of lost causes, relied for his theory.

The first is that in the ritual of Krsnāstamī contained in some digests (that said that they borrowed the passage from *Bhavisyottara*) the image of Krsna was to be shown [358] as suckling at the breast of Devakī, that this is a unique direction, that in the Rāmanavamī festival which is similar to Janmāstamī the image of Rāma is not required to be suckling at the breast of Kausalyā, that this detail was copied from the representation of the *Madonna Lactans*. Weber relied (vide I. A. vol. III p. 51) on one De Bossi who said that pictures of infant Christ at the breast existed in 2nd century A. D. Weber brushed aside the testimony of other scholars that the Madonna with the child was a subject little known to the early christian centuries and the opinion of other scholars that the representations of the Madonna Lactans are extremely rare in Byzantine and Russian art (I A. vol III p 48) and almost always of very late date. Weber makes a mountain of a molehill. The image of Rāma is also described as lying on the lap of the mother Kausalyā.[359] Further, all purānas do not provide that the image of Krsna was to be suckling at the breast Hemādri, in describing the Jayantīvrata from the Purānas, shows that the image was to be on the lap of the mother Devakī.[360] Was the Hindu imagination so poor that when they could describe the image of Rāma or Krsna as lying on the mother's lap they could not also imagine that it could be shown as suckling at the breast and had to run to the West to copy that detail from representations of the Madonna and the child thousands of miles away?

The 2nd point made much of by Weber was that Nārada is represented as having brought from Śveta-dvīpa (white land) the doctrine of salvation by faith. Weber holds that Śvetadvīpa was Alexandria, while Lassen holds that it was Parthia If we read the description of Śvetadvīpa in the Śāntiparva (chapters

358 तत्रश्च 'मां चापि बालकं सुप्तं पर्यङ्के स्तनपायिनम्। श्रीवत्सपदा'पूर्णाङ्गं नीलोत्पलदलच्छविम्॥' इति भविष्योत्तरीयवचनात् दृष्ट्वा। तिथितत्त्व p 46, the half verse मां... पायिनम् occurs in नि सि p 131, धर्मसिन्धु p. 68 says 'पर्यङ्के प्रसुप्तदेवकया स्तनं पिबन्तीं श्रीकृष्णप्रतिमां निधाय', The व क्रि कौ p 308 quoting from भविष्योत्तर reads मां चापि बालकं सुप्तं प्रसुप्ता स्तनपायिनम्', This verse is भविष्योत्तर 55 30

359. मातुरङ्कगतं रामनिम्ननीलसमप्रभम्। पञ्चामृतस्नानपूर्वं संपूज्य विधिवत्तत। नि सि. p 85.

360. ये त्वां पुत्रादिभिर्देवीं पूजयिष्यन्ति मानवाः। विनऽरिमन्मां महाभागास्तेषां पर्यङ्कशयितम्॥ इदं. (on व्रत vol. I p. 813)

336–339) and in such Purānas[361] as Vāmana (chap. 25.16 and 60. 56) and Kūrma (I. 49) it would be clear that Śvetadvīpa was an imaginary or mythical place where everything was white, where Visnu and the gods dwelt and that it had no earthly existence at least in the minds of the authors who wrote the above works.

The third important point according to Weber was that certain incidents in Krsna's life such as Kāliya-mardana are similar to those in Christianity. Weber himself says that victory over Kāliya is a travesty of the christian tradition of the serpent. It appears to me that there is nothing common between the two except the word serpent.

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361. शाकद्वीपं समावृत्य क्षीरोदः सागरः स्थितः। श्वेतद्वीपं च तन्मध्ये नारायणपरायणाः। तत्र पुण्या जनपदा नानाश्चर्यसमन्विताः। श्वेतास्तत्र नरा नित्यं जायन्ते विष्णुतत्पराः। नाधयो व्याधयस्तत्र जरामृत्युभयं न च। .. नारायणसमाः सर्वे नारायणपरायणाः। ... ध्यायन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म वासुदेवं सनातनम्। एकान्तिनो निरालम्बा महाभागवताः परे। पश्यन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म महाभागवताः परे। सर्वे चतुर्भुजाकाराः शङ्खचक्रगदाधराः। कूर्म I. 49. 40–47.

CHAPTER VIII

Vratas of Haritālikā, Gaṇeśacaturthī, Ṛṣipañcamī, Anantacaturdaśī.

On the 3rd tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada occurs the Haritālikāvrata for women alone. This vrata is not found in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata or in Hemādri. It is described only in the later medieval digests like the Nirnayasindhu (p. 133), Vratārka (folios 44 b–49 b), Vratarāja (pp. 103–110) and Ahalyākāmadhenu (folios 282–295). It may, however, be noted that the Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (first half of 11th century A.D.) devotes four verses to Haritālicaturthī on Bhādrapada 4th of bright half and says it is dear to Pārvatī (two of them are quoted below in note).[362] It is very much in vogue among Mahārāstra women. The following is a brief description. The woman should take an oil and myrobalan paste bath and wear fine silken clothes. After referring to the tithi &c the woman should make saṅkalpa as noted below.[363] She should bow to Umā and Śiva; she should offer worship to Umā by means of the 16 upacāras with appropriate mantras such as āvāhana (invoking to be present), āsana (seat), pādya, arghya &c. After offering flowers the performer should carry out worship of the limbs of Umā from the feet in the form 'bow to Umā, I worship her feet' to the head. Then she should offer incense, lamp, naivedya, *ācamanīya*, fragrant substances like camphor and sandalwood for rubbing on the hands, betelnut, *tāmbūla*, dakṣiṇā, ornaments, *nīrājana* (waving of a lamp). She should then offer worship to the several names of Umā (such as Gaurī, Pārvatī &c.) and the several names of Śiva (such as Hara, Mahādeva, Śambhu &c.) and present a handful of flowers, and go round (pradakṣiṇā) the images of Umā and Maheśvara, make with an appropriate mantra in each

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362. हस्तचित्रानलर्क्षे तु हरौ सूर्ये चतुर्थिका। हरितालीति तिथिः पुण्या पार्वतीप्रीतिदा सदा॥ स्वाङ्गने स्वातिगे वापि चतुर्थी हरितालिका। भाद्रे मासि सिते पक्षे तिथीनामुत्तमा स्मृता॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 75 b, verses 1257–1258, vide ABORI vol. 36 p 323

363 मम समस्तपापक्षयपूर्वकसप्तजन्मराज्यावाप्तिसौभाग्याद्यभिवृद्धये उमामहेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं हरितालिकाव्रतमहं करिष्ये। तत्राङ्गो गणपतिपूजनं करिष्ये। व्रतराज p. 103.

from Vasudeva for the protection of Vedas spread over the earth. Let there be peace! Let there be bliss! He should then take out the image of Krsna, donate it to a brāhmana and bring the vrata to a close after performing pāranā.

The procedure in the Dharmasindhu (pp. 68–69) is more elaborate than the above, though no essential difference exists. It makes use of Vedic mantras (from Rg. X. 90. 1–16) along with Paurānika mantras, while in the Samaya-mayūkha and Tithitattva no Vedic mantra is expressly mentioned. As regards *jāgara* the Dharmasindhu provides that the stories[348] about Krsna may be made striking by reciting poems composed in regional languages, that Vedic hymns may have at their end Paurānika stories recited, that visual representations (such as dances) may be resorted to, that this is a procedure meant for the three higher varnas, but in the case of śūdras it is not proper to follow the same procedure; they should omit Vedic hymns but may engage in music and Paurānika recitations.

One question often raised in some of the medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra is: what is the principal matter in Janmāstamī-vrata. Some held that both fast (upavāsa) and worship (pūjā) are principal and they rely on a Bhavisyapurāna[349] passage 'when at midnight on the 8th of the dark half there is Rohini, worship of Krsna destroys sins committed in three lives; a man observing a fast then and performing worship of Hari does not sink'. The Samayamayūkha, after an elaborate discussion in which Mīmāmsā doctrines such as those in Jai. I. 4. 1–3 are employed, arrives at the conclusion that the fast is only an auxiliary (*anga*), while worship (pūjā) is the principal thing. On the other hand the Tithitattva[350] relying on the verse of the

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348. तथा च वैदिकसूक्तकरणकस्तुतिविशिष्टः पौराणेतिहासांमिश्रितो गीतनृत्ययुत-देशभाषाकाव्यप्रसङ्गकथाकरणको जागरो विप्रादिवर्णत्रयस्य विधीयते। शूद्रादीनामेतादृश-जागरस्य विधातुमयोग्यत्वात्। वचनान्तरेण तु सूक्तादिरहित-गीतादिविशिष्टो वर्णचतुष्टय-साधारणो विधीयते। धर्मसिन्धु pp. 70–71. The word 'अयोग्यत्वात्' is used because in those days śūdras were not entitled to study and recite Vedic Mantras

349. अर्धरात्रे तु रोहिण्यां यदा कृष्णाष्टमी भवेत्। तस्यामभ्यर्चनं शौरेर्हन्ति पापं त्रिजन्मजम्॥ सोपवासो हरेः पूजां कृत्वा तत्र न सीदति। भविष्य q. by स. म. p 46, by हे on काल p. 131 (quoting from भविष्य and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर).

350 अत्र पूजोपवासयोः प्रधानत्वेनाकाङ्क्षाविरहाद्वनन्यपे अन्यतरस्य गुणत्वमवश्यं वाच्यम्। एवं च पूजैवाङ्गमुपवासस्तु प्रधानम्—उपवासस्य नियममित्युपक्रमे श्रवणात् तत्रैव विश्रान्त्यन्वयात्। तिथितत्त्व p. 44 The भविष्योत्तर (55. 19) opens the description of the vrata with the verse 'पार्थ तद्दिवसे प्राप्ते भुक्तधावनपूर्वकम्। उपवासस्य नियमं गृहीयाद् भक्तिभावितः॥' q. by ति. त. on p. 42, व क्रि. कौ p. 309.

Bhavisya opening the description of the vrata 'On that day one should accept the restrictions of upavāsa' and also Mīmāmsā doctrines holds that *upavāsa* is the principal matter and pūjā is an *anga* (auxiliary matter) The Jayantinirnaya contained in the Daśanirnayī of Hārita Venkatanātha discusses at length the two (pp. 3 ff) This subject need not be pursued much further.

It has already been stated above that every vrata requires a pārana as the last item, that pārana takes place the day after the day of the fast and that it is generally performed in the morning. There are certain special rules about the pārana of Janmāstamī fast and Jayantī fast. A few dicta of the purānas may be first noted The Brahmavaivarta[351] states 'one should never perform pārana while astamī tithi is running or Rohinī naksatra is still there on the Astamī; (if one does so) one destroys what he has done previously and the fruits acquired by the fast. A tithi destroys eight-fold, while a naksatra does so fourfold; therefore one should perform the pārana (of Janmāstamī) at the end of the tithi and naksatra'. The Nāradapurāna[352] remarks 'when a fast has to be observed on the conjunction of a tithi and naksatra, pārana should not be done until at least one of the two has ended; when a vrata falls on a conjunction (of tithi and naksatra), pārana should be done only when one of the two is separated (*i e. ends*)'. The Vahni-purāna provides 'pārana is commended at the end of the naksatra or at the end of the tithi'. Both the Tithitattva and the Krtyatattva[353] arrive on interpreting these and other verses at the following conclusions 'Pārana is to be observed on the day after the fast, but after the end of the tithi (astamī) and the naksatra (Rohinī); but when one of

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351 तिथेर्वा नक्षत्रस्य वा शेषकाले पारण ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रतिषिध्यते। अष्टम्यामथ रोहिण्यां न कुर्यात्पारणं क्वचित्। हन्यात्पुराकृत कर्म उपवासार्जितं फलम्॥ तिथिरष्टगुण हन्ति नक्षत्रं च चतुर्गुणम्। तस्मात्प्रयत्नत कुर्यात्तिथिभान्ते च पारणम्॥ इति। का नि p. 226, हे. (on काल) p. 137 quotes these verses and seems to hold a different view They are q by ति. त p 51 and are interpreted as noted below. भ means नक्षत्र

352. तिथिनक्षत्रसंयोगे उपवासो यदा भवेत्। पारण तु न कर्तव्य यावत्तैकस्य संक्षयः॥ संयोगिके ह्रते प्राप्ते पञ्चैकोऽपि विलुप्यते। तत्रैव पारणं कुर्यादिवं वेदविदो विदु॥ नारद q. by का. नि p. 227, ति त. p 52, केवलतिथ्यन्ते भान्ते वा जयन्तीप्रकरण एव वह्नि पुराणे पारणविधानात्। भान्ते कुर्यात्तिथेर्वापि शास्त्र भारत पारणम्॥ इति। हे (on काल p 137)

353 उपवासपरदिने तिथिनक्षत्रयोरवसाने पारणं, यदा तु महानिशाया पूर्वमेकतरस्यावसानम्, अन्यतरस्य महानिशायां तदूनन्तरं वा तदेकतरावसाने पारणम्। यदा महानिशाया. मुभयस्थितिस्तदोत्तरान्ते मात पारणं कुर्यात्। तिथितत्त्व p 54, कृत्यतत्त्व p 441, धर्मसिन्धु p. 67 (for similar rules). महानिशा is variously defined Vide p. 117, *note* 302 above.

the two ends before *mahāniśā* and the other during mahāniśā or after it, pārana should be observed at the end of one of the two; when both exist during the period of mahāniśā then one should perform pārana in the morning at the end of the festival'. At the end of the pārana the performer repeats the mantra 'salutations to Govinda, who is Being, who is the ruler of (all) beings, who is the lord of (all) beings and who is the source of all beings'.[354] The above statement shows that in certain cases the pārana of Janmāstamīvrata may be at night,[355] particularly for vaisnavas who perform the vrata as a duty and not for any reward.

There is a difference of meaning between udyāpana and pārana. Some vratas like Ekādaśī and Janmāstamī are performed throughout a man's life; in such cases there is only pārana after the fast on every occasion that a fast is observed. If a man undertakes a vrata only once and finishes it, then the concluding rites of the vrata are called *udyāpana.*

Besides the items mentioned above, it is the practice, particularly of boys and common people in Mahārāstra, to hang up pots full of curds and buttermilk on the day after the birth of Krsna is celebrated, to play underneath the pot, sing songs and then pierce the pot and get drenched by curds and buttermilk running out from the holes made. This is probably due to the legends associated with Krsna's boyhood among cowherds The Bhāgavata[356] expressly says that the cowherds sprinkled each other on Krsna's birth with curds, milk, ghee, and smeared each other with these. This is called 'Gopālakālā in Mahārāstra. But this is not observed in other parts of India such as Saurāstra. Surprisingly enough the Krsnajanmāstamī festival does not, like the Rāmanavamī festival, figure in the Krtyakalpataru on vrata. One cannot account for this omission.

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354. पारणानन्तरं च—ओ भूताय भूतेश्वराय भूतपतये भूतसम्भवाय गोविन्दाय नमो नमः—इत्यनेन व्रतं समापयेत्—इति। कृ. त. pp 441–442

355 अत· फलाभिसन्धिविरहे रात्रावपि पारणमविरुद्धमेव। तथानन्ताख्यसंहितायां भक्तानां वैष्णवानां च क्षुद्वानां नियतात्मनाम्। विहिता सात्वताभिज्ञै रात्रावेव तु पारणा॥ जयन्तीनिर्णय pp. 35–36.

356 गोकुलस्थजन्मलीलादिश्रवणोत्तरं वैष्णवैः परस्परं दध्यादिभिः सेचनं कार्यम्। दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभि· आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्त इत्यादि भागवतवचनेन तथा विधिकल्पनात्। अयमुत्सवोऽधुना महाराष्ट्रदेशे गोपालकालेति व्यवह्रियत इति मे भाति। धर्मसिन्धु p 71. The verse of the भागवत (X 5 14) is: गोपाः परस्परं हृष्टा दधिक्षीरघृताम्बुभिः। आसिञ्चन्तो विलिम्पन्तो नवनीतैश्च चिक्षिपुः॥

But *in the Naiyatakāla section*[357] of the same work, a brief procedure of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī (which is word for word the same in the Kṛtyaratnākara) different from the one specified above from the Tithitattva and other works, is set out. It is as follows: On the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada was born in Kaliyuga in the 28th (kalpa?), Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, for removing the burden (of the earth) and the reduction of kṣatriyas. He (his image) should therefore be worshipped on that day, as also (of) Devakī and Yaśodā with sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, various fruits and foods and dishes prepared from barley and wheat together with cow's milk. At night the devotee should keep awake with songs and dances. Then on the 9th about the time of *arunodaya* (4 ghaṭikās before sunrise) women dressed in red clothes and decked with garlands of flowers should carry the images of these (Kṛṣṇa, Devakī and Yaśodā) to a holy river bank or to a charming and unfrequented lake, wherein they should themselves take their bath and also bathe the images; then returning home they should eat a meal of barley together with jaggery, honey, ghee and black pepper.

Before closing this account of Janmāṣṭamī reference must be made to a paper read in 1867 before the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften by the renowned German scholar, Prof A Weber. The subject of the paper was 'An investigation into the origin of the festival of Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī' and the paper was divided into four parts, the first dealt with the sources (an English translation of it by E. Rehatsek was published in Indian Antiquary vol VI. pp. 161–180 and pp. 281–301), the 2nd dealt with ritual, the 3rd part was the most important and was concerned with a novel theory, viz the ritual of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī festival was something transferred from outside of India, that the description in the ritual of Kṛṣṇa's image as suckling at the mother's (Devakī's) breast was the keystone of the theory of this ritual as of foreign origin and that it was suggested by pictorial representations of the Madonna with a suckling child (Christ)

357. अथ भाद्रपदे मासि कृष्णाष्टम्या कलौ युगे। अष्टाविंशतिमे जात कृष्णोऽसौ देवकीसुतः॥ ... तस्मात्तत्र सपूज्यो पक्षोदा देवकी तथा। गन्धमाल्यैस्तथा धूपैर्नवभोजनसम्भवैः। सगीतैर्नृत्यभोज्यैः फलैश्च विविधैरपि। रात्रौ प्रजागरः कार्यो वृत्यगीतसमाकुलः। अरुणोदयवेलाया नद्यम्या च तताः स्त्रियः। रक्तवस्त्रावृता सर्वाः पुष्पमाल्यैरलकृताः। नयन्ति प्रतिमा होदा नानाविभवसम्भवाः। नदीतीरं ह्रदं रम्यं विविक्तं वा महत्सरः। तत्र स्नान प्रकुर्वन्ति स्नापयन्ति च तास्ततः। पुनः प्रविश्य च गृहं पचान्नं भुञ्जते च ताः। युक्तमिश्रविकारैश्च मध्याह्नयमरिक्थैः सह। कृत्यकल्प० (नैयतकाल) pp 395–396, कृ. र. p 257 (ascribes to ब्रह्मपुराण) The कृ र (p 258) remarks 'स्त्रीशूससामान्याधिकारमेवेदं कृष्णादिपूजनं तत्र सङ्कोचकविरहात्। ... इयं चाष्टमी रोहिणीनक्षत्रमननेवैव फलप्रदा नोच्चया रोहिणीयोगाभावे।'.

&c. An English translation of this part appeared in Indian Antiquary, vol. III. pp 21–25 and pp. 47–52. This paper, though it is a monument of learning and patient industry (for that period when very few Sanskrit books had been printed), gave rise to severe criticism owing to its fantastic and perverse conclusion about Krsnajanmāṣṭamī ritual being borrowed from Christian representations of Christ and his mother Mary. In I. A. vol. III p 300 Growse attacked it very severely. In spite of all criticisms the tenacious German scholar stuck to his guns and launched an attack against his critics, particularly against Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, in I. A. vol IX. pp 226–229. As hardly any Sanskrit scholar in these days would espouse the theory put forward by Weber, I do not think that I should waste much time over a refutation thereof Most European scholars, nurtured on the vaunted intellectual eminence of the ancient Greeks and on the intolerant attitude of christianity towards other faiths, when they became acquainted with things Indian and studied Sanskrit, were obsessed (though not very obviously expressed) by two notions, viz. much in India that resembled what prevailed in the West must have been borrowed from the West and further, that Indians, who had allowed themselves to be invaded by outsiders and governed by foreigners for centuries, must not have been good at anything. These two notions gave rise to many untenable theories such as the following: the Rāmāyana was borrowed from Homer's Iliad, the art of writing was unknown to Pāṇini, the Brāhmī script was based on Phoenician or Aramaic script, that the Gītā was based on the Bible, that the very ancient Indian naksatra system was borrowed either from the Chinese, the Babylonians or Arabs Most of such theories were the result of little knowledge and the non-recognition of certain common sense rules and have now been consigned to the limbo of deserved oblivion. The common sense rule is that when a thing or a state of things has existed for centuries in a certain country or among a certain people, the burden of proving that it was borrowed by that country or people from outside is very heavy on those who assert such borrowing; mere similarities can never be held to amount to any evidence of borrowing at all; scholars should be very chary of confidently asserting borrowing and should put forward their conclusions very cautiously. It would not be irrelevant to point out the main circumstances on which Weber, often a champion of lost causes, relied for his theory.

The first is that in the ritual of Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī contained in some digests (that said that they borrowed the passage from Bhaviṣyottara) the image of Kṛṣṇa was to be shown [358] as suckling at the breast of Devakī, that this is a unique direction, that in the Rāmanavamī festival which is similar to Janmāṣṭamī the image of Rāma is not required to be suckling at the breast of Kausalyā, that this detail was copied from the representation of the *Madonna Lactans*. Weber relied (vide I. A. vol. III p. 51) on one De Bossi who said that pictures of infant Christ at the breast existed in 2nd century A. D. Weber brushed aside the testimony of other scholars that the Madonna with the child was a subject little known to the early christian centuries and the opinion of other scholars that the representations of the Madonna Lactans are extremely rare in Byzantine and Russian art (I. A. vol. III p. 48) and almost always of very late date. Weber makes a mountain of a molehill. The image of Rāma is also described as lying on the lap of the mother Kausalyā.[359] Further, all purāṇas do not provide that the image of Kṛṣṇa was to be suckling at the breast. Hemādri, in describing the Jayantīvrata from the Purāṇas, shows that the image was to be on the lap of the mother Devakī.[360] Was the Hindu imagination so poor that when they could describe the image of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa as lying on the mother's lap they could not also imagine that it could be shown as suckling at the breast and had to run to the West to copy that detail from representations of the Madonna and the child thousands of miles away?

The 2nd point made much of by Weber was that Nārada is represented as having brought from Śveta-dvīpa (*white land*) the doctrine of salvation by faith. Weber holds that Śvetadvīpa was Alexandria, while Lassen holds that it was Parthia. If we read the description of Śvetadvīpa in the Śāntiparva (chapters

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358 ततश्च 'मा चापि बालकं सुप्तं पर्यङ्के स्तनपायिनम्। श्रीवत्सवक्षःपूर्णाङ्गं नीलोत्पलदलच्छविम्॥' इति भविष्योत्तरीयवचनं फलम्। तिथितत्त्व p. 46; the half verse मा ... पायिनम् occurs in नि सि p. 131, धर्मसिन्धु p. 68 says 'पर्यङ्के सुप्तदेवक्या स्तनं पिबन्तीं श्रीकृष्णमातरं निधाय'. The व कि को p. 308 quoting from भविष्योत्तर reads मां चापि बालकं सुप्तं मद्गता स्तनपायिनम्.' This verse is भविष्योत्तर 55. 30.

359 मातुरङ्कगतं रामनिद्रानीलसमप्रभम्। पश्चात्सूतस्नानपूर्वं संपूज्य विधिवत्ततः। नि सि p. 85.

360 ये त्वां पुष्पादिभिर्देवीं पूजयिष्यन्ति मानवाः। विनेऽस्मिन्मां महाभागास्तेषां तत्रैव व्यवस्थितम्॥ हे. (on व्रत vol. I p. 813)

336–339) and in such Purānas[361] as Vāmana (chap. 25.16 and 60. 56) and Kūrma (I. 49) it would be clear that Śvetadvīpa was an imaginary or mythical place where everything was white, where Visnu and the gods dwelt and that it had no earthly existence at least in the minds of the authors who wrote the above works.

The third important point according to Weber was that certain incidents in Krsna's life such as Kāliya-mardana are similar to those in Christianity. Weber himself says that victory over Kāliya is a travesty of the christian tradition of the serpent. It appears to me that there is nothing common between the two except the word serpent

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361. शाकद्वीपं समावृत्य क्षीरोद: सागर: स्थित:। श्वेतद्वीपं च तन्मध्ये नारायणपरायणा:। तत्र श्रुत्वा जनपदा नानाश्चर्यसमन्विता:। श्वेतास्तत्र नरा नित्यं जायन्ते विष्णुतत्परा:। नाधयो व्याधयस्तत्र जरामृत्युभयं न च। .. नारायणसमा: सर्वे नारायणपरायणा:। ...ध्यायन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म वासुदेवं सनातनम्। एकान्तिनो निरालम्बा महाभागवता: परे। पश्यन्ति तत्परं ब्रह्म महाभागवता: परे। सर्वे चतुर्भुजाकारा: शङ्खचक्रगदाधरा:। कूर्म I. 49. 40–47.

CHAPTER VIII

Vratas of Haritālikā, Gaṇeśacaturthī, Ṛṣipañcamī, Anantacaturdaśī.

On the 3rd tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada occurs the Haritālikāvrata for women alone. This vrata is not found in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata or in Hemādri It is described only in the later medieval digests like the Nirnayasindhu (p 133), Vratārka (folios 44 b–49 b), Vratarāja (pp. 103–110) and Ahalyākāmadhenu (folios 282–295). It may, however, be noted that the Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (first half of 11th century A D.) devotes four verses to Haritālicaturthi on Bhādrapada 4th of bright half and says it is dear to Pārvati (two of them are quoted below in note)[362] It is very much in vogue among Mahārāstra women. The following is a brief description The woman should take an oil and myrobalan paste bath and wear fine silken clothes. After referring to the tithi &c the woman should make sankalpa as noted below.[363] She should bow to Umā and Śiva; she should offer worship to Umā by means of the 16 upacāras with appropriate mantras such as āvāhana (invoking to be present), āsana (seat), pādya, arghya &c. After offering flowers the performer should carry out worship of the limbs of Umā from the feet in the form 'bow to Umā, I worship her feet' to the head Then she should offer incense, lamp, naivedya, *ācamaniya*, fragrant substances like camphor and sandalwood for rubbing on the hands, betelnut, *tāmbūla*, daksinā, ornaments, *nīrājana* (waving of a lamp). She should then offer worship to the several names of Umā (such as Gaurī, Pārvati &c) and the several names of Śiva (such as Hara, Mahādeva, Śambhu &c.) and present a handful of flowers, and go round (pradaksinā) the images of Umā and Maheśvara, make with an appropriate mantra in each

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362. हस्तचित्रानलर्क्षं तु हरौ सूर्ये चतुर्थिका। हरितालीं तिथिं पुण्या पार्वतीप्रीतिदा सदा॥ त्वाष्ट्रभे स्वातिभे वापि चतुर्थी हरितालिका। भाद्रे मासि सिते पक्षे तिथीनामुत्तमा स्मृता॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 75 b, verses 1257–1258, vide ABORI vol. 36 p 323

363 ॐ समस्तपापक्षयपूर्वकसकलन्मराज्यासाखण्डितसौभाग्यादिवृद्धये उमामहेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं हरितालिकाव्रतमहं करिष्ये। तत्राङ्गौ गणपतिपूजनं करिष्ये। व्रतराज p. 103

case an obeisance[364] and a prayer and donate presents placed in vessels of wickerwork together with auspicious substances.

This vrata is not prevalent in Bengal nor in Gujarat.

It is provided by Mādhava that[365] if the third is mixed up with the 2nd tithi and the 4th tithi, the vrata is to be performed on the later day, provided the third tithi exists at least for a muhūrta (two ghatikās) and then 4th tithi follows.

In modern times women purchase coloured clay images of Pārvatī, of Śivalinga and a friend of Pārvatī and worship them.

It is difficult to say why the vrata is called Haritālikā. The Vrataraja[366] (p. 108) says it is vrataraja (the prince among vratas) and was so called because Pārvatī was taken away (from home) by her friends.

The Vrataraja contains a story said to have been narrated by Śiva himself to Pārvatī about the vrata by performing which she secured him as her husband and also the position of being half of Śiva's body. The Varāhapurāna (chap. 22) contains a long narrative about the marriage of Gaurī with Śiva.

On the 4th of the bright half of Bhādrapada is observed the festival of Ganeśacaturthī in many parts of India (though not in Bengal or Gujarat). According to the Samayamayūkha,[367] Ganeśacaturthī is also called Varadacaturthī. The proper time for the performance is mid-day, as said by Brhaspati[368] quoted in the Kālanirnaya. When Caturthī-tithi is mixed up with the

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364. The नमस्कारमन्त्र is 'अन्यथा शरण नास्ति त्वमेव शरणं मम। तस्मात्कारुण्यभावेन क्षमस्व परमेश्वरि॥'. The प्रार्थनामन्त्र is 'पुत्रान् देहि धनं देहि सौभाग्यं देहि सुव्रते। अन्यांश्च सर्वकामांश्च देहि देवि नमोस्तु ते॥' (Give me sons, wealth, blessed wifehood and all other desires &c). The वायनमन्त्र is 'सौभाग्यारोग्यकामाय सर्वसम्पत्समृद्धये। गौरीगौरीशतुष्ट्यर्थं वायनं ते ददाम्यहम्॥' (I make this present for pleasing Gaurī and Śiva in order that I may secure happy wifehood, health, the abundance of all kinds of wealth &c).

365. मुहूर्तमात्रसत्त्वेपि दिने गौरीव्रतं परे। का नि. कारिका; शिष्टास्तु मुहूर्तमात्रसद्भावमाश्रित्य गौरीव्रतं परेद्युरेवानुतिष्ठन्ति। अतो गौरीव्रतं परेद्युरेवानुष्ठेयम्। का नि p. 176.

366. आलिभिर्हरिता यस्मात्तस्माच्सा हरितालिका। व्रतराज p. 108. It is possible to suggest that the image of Pārvatī was coloured yellow by means of हरिताल (orpiment) and so it was called हरितालिका.

367. गणेशचतुर्थी वरदचतुर्थीत्युच्यते। स म p. 39.

368. तदाह बृहस्पतिः। चतुर्थी गणनाथस्य मातुर्विद्धा प्रशस्यते। मध्याह्नव्यापिनी चेत् स्यात् परतश्चेत्परेऽहनि॥ इति। का नि. p. 181, नि. सि 133.

ever knows this story about the clearance of Krsna from a false charge would not be liable to have a false charge made against him by any one The *Tithitattva*[376] provides that if a man inadvertently sees the moon on the night of the 4th in Bhādra (sukla) he should repeat the verse of the nurse quoted above over some water, drink it and should listen to the story of the Syamantaka jewel

When Ganeśa is worshipped on Bhādra 4th of bright half, that tithi is called, according to Bhavisya, Śivā, when Ganeśa is honoured on Māgha-śukla 4 it is called Śāntā, and when on the 4th of the bright half the weekday is Tuesday that caturthi is called Sukhā. The three[377] are respectively described in Hemādri (vrata) vol. I pp. 512–513, pp 513–514 and pp 515–519.

In modern times the worship of Ganeśa lasts for one day and a half, for two days, 5 days, 7 days or till Anantacaturdaśi (14th of bright half of Bhādra), according to the usages of the people, their inclinations and their tastes The image is then immersed in a well, tank or in the sea in a great procession. In certain parts of the Deccan and among common people it is customary to perform Gauripūjā on 7th and 8th of Bhādrapada-śukla and immerse Gauri (represented by a sheaf of plants) and Ganeśa image on the same day and at the same time on 9th.

Ganeśa is the most popular god in these days and it is the practice to invoke him at the beginning of every important undertaking or rite He is the God of wisdom, the presiding deity of literature, the bestower of success and the destroyer of obstacles

About the antiquity of Ganeśa worship and of images of Ganeśa a good deal has been said in *H. of Dh* vol II. pp 213–216 and 725 A few matters not mentioned there may be set out here The Brahmavaivarta-purāna has a section called Ganeśa-khanda (in 46 chapters), wherein several legends about Ganesa are dwelt upon. The Ganapatyatharvaśirsa[378], imitating the

376 सिंहः प्रसेन .. स्यमन्तक । अनेन मन्त्रेणाभिमन्त्रितं जलं पेयमाचारात् स्यमन्तकोपाख्यानं च श्रोतव्यम् । तिथितत्त्व p 32.

377. दिवा शान्ता सुरा राजन् चतुर्थी त्रिविधा मता । भाद्रपदे शुक्ला शिवा लोकेशपूजिता । तस्या ज्ञानं तथा दानमुपवासो जयस्तथा । क्रियमाणं शतगुणं प्रमादाद्दन्तिनो यथा । भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 31 1 and 6–10 for शान्ता and सुरा, q by हे (on व्रत vol I. pp 512–513)

378. ओं नमस्ते गणपतये । त्वमेव प्रत्यक्षं तत्त्वमसि । त्वमेव केवलं कर्तासि । त्वमेव केवलं धर्तासि । त्व ... हर्तासि । त्वमेव सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्मासि । त्वं साक्षादात्मासि नित्यम् । The opening words of गणपत्यथर्वशीर्षं (Ānand ed.)

style of such ancient Upanisads as the Taittirīya, Brhadāranyaka and Chāndogya, identifies Ganapati with the Highest Brahma. The Ahalyākāmadhenu quotes passages from Bhavisyottara-purāna on Ganeśacaturthī In I. A. vol 35 p. 60 an archaeological and mystic explanation is offered about the mouse being the conveyance of Ganeśa and his elephant head, which is fantastic and hardly convincing. Several legends are told about Ganeśa, his elephant head, his single tusk Vide Mukerji p 9 One of the most fantastic is the one in the Varāhapurāna (chap 23) where it is said that from the laugh of Śiva sprang a very handsome boy whom Pārvatī looked at with admiring eyes when Śiva's jealousy was roused and he cursed the boy to be elephant-headed and pot-bellied and then be relented and made him the chief of all Vināyakas.

The Krtykalpataru (on vrata) pp. 84–87 quotes a passage from the Narasimha-purāna[379] (chap 26. 2–20) about Ganeśacaturthī-vrata, which also occurs among several vratas about Ganeśa set out in Hemādri (on vrata vol. I pp 510–512) It differs considerably from the celebration of Ganeśacaturthī described above. A few important points are stated here Ganeśa is described as having one, two or four tusks and as having four arms. It is further stated that Ganeśa causes obstacles (*vighna*) if not worshipped at the beginning of every undertaking. Ganeśa assumed the form of an elephant for effecting the purposes of gods and thereby frightened all *dānavas*.

On the 5th tithi of the bright half of Bhādrapada occurs the Rsipañcamī-vrata. It was meant for men of all varnas but is now mostly practised by women. Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp 568–572) describes the vrata at length quoting from the Brahmānda-purāna. One should, after bathing in a river or the like and after performing his daily duties, repair to his *agnihotra* shed, should bathe with Pañcāmrta the images of the seven sages and, anointing them with sandalwood paste and camphor, worship them with flowers, fragrant substances, incense, lamp, white clothes and yajñopavītas and sumptuous naivedya and offer

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379. एकदन्तं द्विदन्तं च चतुर्दन्तं चतुर्भुजम्। व्यक्षं त्रिशूलहस्तं च रक्तनेत्रं वरप्रदम्॥ ...अनर्चितो विघ्नकरः सर्वकार्येषु यो नृणाम्। ...त्वया पुराणे सर्वेषां देवानां कार्यसिद्धये। गजरूपं समास्थाय त्रासिताः सर्वदानवाः॥ नरसिंहपु 26. 6, 8, 13 q by कृत्यकल्प (व्रत pp. 85–86), हे. (व्रत) vol. I. pp 511–512.

them arghya[380] with the mantra noted below. One should, when engaged in this vrata, subsist on vegetables alone and observe celibacy. The result is freedom from all sins and from troubles of three kinds[381] and the increase of one's good fortune. If a woman performs this vrata she enjoys happiness, becomes endowed with good bodily form, beauty and sons and grandsons

Later mediæval digests like the Vratārka (folio 90), Vratarāja (pp. 200–206) add details and a story from Bhavisyottara narrated to Yudhisthira by Krsna. The sin of Brahmahatyā (brāhmana-murder), of which Indra became guilty by killing Vrtra, son of Tvastr, was distributed in four places viz in Agni (the first flames mixed with smoke), rivers (turbid in the rains), mountains (on which trees exuding sticky gum grow) and among women (in their monthly illness). Therefore this vrata should be performed particularly by women for getting rid of the sin of contact during their monthly illness

The sankalpa is given below[381a] Another detail is that the seven sages together with Arundhatī are to be worshipped It is further provided that one should subsist on vegetables[382] or *nīvāras* or śyāmāka grains or bulbous roots or fruits and should not eat anything produced by ploughing the land Even in these days those who perform this vrata do not eat corn produced by employing oxen. In modern times if men perform the vrata the priest invokes for them seven sages with Vedic mantras viz. Rg. IX 114. 2 (for Kasyapa), Rg V. 78. 4 (for Atri), Rg. VI 25 9

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380. अर्घ्यमन्त्र· । कश्यपोत्रिर्भरद्वाजो विश्वामित्रोथ गौतम । जमदग्निर्वसिष्ठश्च सप्तैते ऋषय. स्मृताः । गृह्णन्त्वर्घ्यं मया दत्तं तुष्टा भवत मे सदा । q. by हे (on व्रत, vol I p 571), स्मृतिकौ. 217, व्रतराज p 200. The बृहत्संहिता of वराह (13 5–6) recounts the seven sages (beginning from the east) as मरीचि, वसिष्ठ, अङ्गिरस्, अत्रि, पुलस्य, पुलह, क्रतु and 13.6 says साध्वी अरुन्धती is near वसिष्ठ

381 The three दुःखs are आध्यात्मिक, आधिदैविक and आधिभौतिक. 'आध्यात्मिकादि त्रैतेय ज्ञात्वा तापत्रयं बुध· । उत्पन्नज्ञानवैराग्यः प्राप्नोत्यात्यन्तिक सुखम् ॥' विष्णुपुराण VI, 5 1 आध्यात्मिक troubles are physical (diseases &c) and mental (sorrow, jealousy &c), आधिभौतिक (caused by birds, beasts, men, goblins &c.), आधिदैविक troubles are those caused by snowfall, wind, rain &c

381 a मया ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वा रजस्वलावस्थाया कृतसंपर्कजनितदोषपरिहारार्थसप्तर्षिपञ्चमीव्रत करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य अरुन्धतीसहितान् सप्तऋषीन् पूजयेत् । व्रतार्क folio 89a.

382 शाकाहारस्तु कर्तव्यो नीवारै श्यामकैस्तथा । कन्दैर्वापि फलैर्मूलैर्हलकृष्ट न भक्षयेत् । भविष्योत्तर q by व्रतराज p 203 Vide व्रतार्क folio 92 b that has the verse शाकाहारस्तु कर्तव्य· श्यामाकाहार एव वा । नीवारैर्वापि कर्तव्यं कृष्टपच्यं न भक्षयेत् ॥ कृष्टपच्यं means 'ripening after ploughing' Vide पाणिनि III. 1. 114 for it (कृष्टे स्वयमेव पच्यन्ते कृष्टपच्याः । सि. कौ).

(for Bharadvāja), Ṛg. X. 167. 4 (for Viśvāmitra), Ṛg. I. 78. 1 (for Gotama), Ṛg. III. 62. 18 (for Jamadagni), Ṛg VII. 33. 11 (for Vasistha). The mantra for Arundhatī is quoted below[383] In this vrata the number seven is important. The vrata is to be performed for seven years, there are to be seven jars, seven brāhmanas were to be invited to whom finally the images (made of gold or silver) of the seven sages were to be donated If all the images were placed in one *kalaśa*, then the jar with the images was to be donated to one brāhmana and the others were to be given kalaśas with clothes and daksinā.

If pañcamī is mixed up with the 4th tithi and the 6th tithi, one must perform the Ṛsipañcamī vrata on the 5th mixed with the 4th (pūrvaviddhā) and not on 5th mixed with 6th, in accordance with the *Yugmavākya* quoted above (n 191) Besides, Hārīta expressly[384] prohibits the acceptance of the 5th mixed with the 6th in the words (5th tithi mixed with the 4th should be accepted and not the 5th joined to the 6th, both in the bright and dark halves and in rites for the gods and *pitrs*). But there is the most important rule laid down by Hārīta himself that in all vratas comprising worship the tithi to be selected is the one that covers mid-day.[385] Supposing that the 5th tithi does not cover mid-day when joined with 4th, but covers mid-day when joined with 6th, the latter (paraviddhā) would have to be chosen. Hemādrī would hold this latter view, while Mādhava holds that everywhere 5th which is pūrvaviddhā is to be accepted. Hence there is divergence of view among the great writers.

It appears that originally the Ṛsipañcamī-vrata was meant for the removal of sins for all, but later on it came to be specially provided for women; but it is not observed in Saurāstra

On the 14th of the bright half of Bhādrapada is celebrated the Anantacaturdaśī-vrata. It does not appear in the Krtyakalpataru (on vrata).

It consists chiefly in the worship of Hari as Ananta and in wearing on the the right hand in the case of men and on the left

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383. अत्रेर्यथाह्नसूया स्याद्वसिष्ठस्याप्यरुन्धती। कौशिकस्य यथा सती तथा त्वमपि भर्तरि॥ This is the मन्त्र for the आवाहन of अरुन्धती

384 हारीतेन परविद्धायाः प्रतिषिद्धत्वात्। चतुर्थीसंयुता कार्या पञ्चमी परया न तु। दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च शुक्लपक्षे तथाऽसिते॥ इति। का नि p. 186.

385. सा (ऋषिपञ्चमी) मध्याह्नव्यापिनी ग्राह्या। पूजाव्रतेषु . . तिथिः- इति माधवीये हारीतोक्तेः। दिनद्वये तत्त्वे हेमाद्रिमते परा। . माधवमते पूर्वा, सर्वत्र पञ्चमी पूर्वेत्युक्तेः। युग्मवाक्याविर्णयस्तु युक्तः। ऋषिपञ्चमी षष्ठीयुतैवेति दिवोदासः। नि सि p 134, का नि (p. 132) has the verse 'पूजाव्रतेषु सर्वेषु मध्याह्नव्यापिनी तिथिः।'.

in the case of women a holy strap of thread dyed with saffron made of cotton or silk twisted into fourteen knots. It is an individual pūjā and not a festival of a socio-religious character. The Agnipurāna (chap. 192, verses 7–10) gives a brief description as follows. On the 14th of the bright half one should worship the image of Ananta (Hari) which is made of darbha grass placed in a vessel for water (a jar) He should get ready flour of a *prastha* of paddy and make cakes from that, half of which should be donated to a brāhmana and the remaining half he should use for himself One should perform this vrata on the bank of a river and listen to stories about Hari and (pray to Hari) as follows.[386] O Vāsudeva! save (people) sunk in the great and endless ocean of *samsāra* and make them apply themselves to the contemplation of the form of Ananta, salutation to thee that hast numerous forms! Having worshipped (Hari) with this mantra and having tied on one's arm or round one's neck a string of threads over which a mantra has been uttered, the person who performs the Anantavrata becomes happy If Hari is Ananta, then fourteen knots may be deemed to symbolize the fourteen worlds created by Hari

Hemādri (on vrata vol. II pp 26–36) has an elaborate description of Anantavrata together with the story of Kaundinya and his wife Śīlā told by Krsna to Yudhisthira. Krsna states that Ananta is one of his forms and identifies himself with Kāla (Time) that is called Ananta. Ananta should be worshipped with the *upacāras* of sandalwood paste, incense, flowers, naivedya

In front of (the image of) Ananta should be placed a *doraka* dyed with saffron and having fourteen knots The mantra (quoted in note) should be recited and the doraka should be tied on one's arm, one should then dine with an easy mind after contemplating on Nārāyana as Ananta In the story it is narrated how because the husband Kaundinya from youthful rashness and pride cut the Ananta thread tied round his wife's hand he lost everything, then repented and was taken into favour by Ananta The V K. K. (pp 324–339) describes at great length the procedure of Anantapūjā together with stories taken

386 अनन्तसंसारमहासमुद्रे मग्नान्समभ्युद्धर वासुदेव। अनन्तरूपे विनियोजयस्व अनन्तरूपाय नमो नमस्ते॥ अग्नि 192 9, quoted as पूजादोरकमन्त्र by कृ र p 294 and ति त p 123, which remarks 'पूजादोरकबन्धनमन्त्रस्तु रत्नाकरे। अनन्त०' It is not clear from the अग्निपुराण what month is intended The verses immediately preceding refer to कार्तिक

from the Bhavisyottara, and the Tithitattva also (p. 123) quotes portions from the Bhavisyottara The Kālanirnaya (p. 279) expressly states that the Anantavrata is described in the Bhavisyottara and discusses a few verses therefrom. The Vratārka (folio 277a–285a) describes this vrata at great length. Briefly it is this: first sankalpa, then making a *sarvato-bhadra maṇḍala* and placing a jar thereon, on which is placed a *nāga* with seven hoods made of darbhas and in front of it a *doraka* with 14 knots, worshipping the doraka on the jar with 16 upacāras with the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90) and Paurānika mantras; 14 devatās of the knots from Visnu to Vasus are invoked, then there is worship of the limbs from the feet upwards in such mantras as 'Anantāya namah pādau pūjayāmi,' then a handful of flowers with the mantras of Visnu, prayer to Ananta, tying the doraka with a mantra, casting away the old doraka after offering it worship. Salt is forbidden in this vrata. It was[387] believed that if this vrata was performed for fourteen years, one reached the world of Visnu.

There is a variance in the views of eminent writers about the exact time and the tithi for the vrata when 14th is mixed with other tithis (13th or Paurnimā). Mādhava[388] holds that mid-day is not the *karmakāla* in this vrata, but that tithi which exists at sunrise for three *muhūrtas* is the most suitable one for Ananta-vrata. The Nirnayasindhu holds[389] that Madhava was mistaken because he relied for his decision on a general rule that the principal tithi to be accepted is the one that covers mid-day, that the Anantavrata is not mentioned in other purānas and also in other digests and that the passages of the Bhavisya and Skanda quoted by others are baseless and unauthoritative.

There are even in these days many persons who engage in the Anantacaturdaśī-vrata, but their numbers are rapidly diminishing.

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387. कृत्वानन्तव्रतं सम्यग्नवपर्णि पञ्च च। भुक्त्वा सर्वमनन्तेन यथोक्तं पाण्डुनन्दन॥ अन्ते च मरणं प्राप्य गतोऽनन्तपुरे द्विजः। हे. (on व्रत vol. II. p. 35),

388. यत्तु भाद्रपदशुक्ल-चतुर्दश्यामनन्तव्रतं भविष्योत्तरेऽभिहितं तत्र पूर्वविद्धा परविद्धा वा मध्याह्नव्यापिनी ग्राह्येति केचिदाहुः। ..अतो न मध्याह्न· कर्मकाल.। तथा सति दैवे औदयिकी ग्राह्या-इति वचनेन युग्मशास्त्रादिभिश्चोदयव्यापिनी ग्राह्या। सा च त्रिमुहूर्तेति मुख्यः कल्प.। द्विमुहूर्तेत्यप्रकल्प.। का नि. p 279.

389. तत्र तु... पूर्वा परा वा मध्याह्नव्यापिन्येव मुख्या। माधवस्तु सामान्यवाक्यात्निर्णयं कुर्वन् भ्रान्त एव। अनन्तव्रतस्य पुराणान्तरेष्वभावात्निबन्धान्तरेष्वभावाच्च वचनं निर्मूलमेवेति। नि. सि. p. 142.

CHAPTER IX

Navarātra or Durgotsava

From the 1st of Āśvina bright half to the 9th is celebrated the Durgāpūjā festival, otherwise called Navarātra, observed all over India in some form or other. Some of the works[390] provide that Durgotsava must be celebrated in both Śarad (Āśvina-śukla) and Vasanta (in Caitra-śukla). But it is the Durgotsava[391] of Āśvina that is celebrated in a grand style, particularly in Bengal, Bihar and Kāmarūpa

If a person is unable to celebrate the festival[392] for nine days, he should do so for three days beginning from the 7th tithi of Āśvina-śukla In fact, the Tithitattva[393] puts forward several alternative periods for Durgāpūjā as follows: (1) from the 9th tithi of the preceding dark half of Pūrnimānta Āśvina to the 9th tithi of Aśvina-śukla; (2) from the first tithi of Āśvina śukla to 9th; (3) from the 6th to the 9th; (4) from the 7th to the 9th; (5) from the Mahāstamī to the 9th, (6) only on the Mahāstamī; (7) only on the Mahānavamī. Most of these alternatives find support in the Kālikā and other Purānas

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390. शरद्वसन्तयोस्तुल्य एव दुर्गोत्सव· कार्यः। निर्णयामृत p. 56, स म p. 15.

391. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी। मार्कण्डेयपु 89.11 q. by नि सि. p. 80, स म p 15 वार्षिकी means वर्षारम्भसम्बन्धिनी In the तिथितत्त्व (pp 64–65) रघुनन्दन interprets वार्षिकी as an adjective of महापूजा meaning yearly, but नागोजिभट्ट in his com on सप्तशती (मार्कण्डेय 89.11) explains वर्षशब्दो वर्षादौ लाक्षणिक, तेन चैत्रशुक्लप्रतिपदमारभ्य क्रियमाणा इत्यर्थ (folio 50a of the ms. in the Bombay University Library described in Prof Devasthali's Cat No 1358).

392. आश्विने मासि शुक्ले तु कर्तव्यं नवरात्रकम्। प्रतिपदादिक्रमेणैव यावच्च नवमी भवेत्॥ त्रिरात्रं वापि कर्तव्यं सप्तम्यादि यथाक्रमम्॥ इति। धौम्य q. by हे on व्रत vol. I. pp 907–908, by तु चि p 60, का त वि p 271

393 एवं च तत्रैव वक्ष्यमाणतत्तद्वचनात् कृष्णनवम्यादि-प्रतिपदादि-षष्ठ्यादि-सप्तम्यादि-महाष्टम्यादि-केवलमहाष्टमी-केवलमहानवमी-पूजारूपाः कल्पा उन्नेया। ति त p 67; नवरात्रव्रतेऽशक्तस्त्रिरात्रं चैकरात्रकम्। व्रतं चरति यो भक्तस्तस्मै दास्यामि वाञ्छितम्॥ नि सि. p. 173, quoting 'गोविन्दार्णवे देवीपुराणे'। As to महाष्टमी and महानवमी, the कालिका-पुराण says 'आश्विनस्य तु शुक्लस्य भवेद्या अष्टमी तिथि। महाष्टमीति सा प्रोक्ता देव्या. प्रीतिकरी परा॥ ततो तु नवमी या स्यात्सा महानवमी स्मृता॥ chap. 62. 2–3, vide also देवीपुराण q. by हे (on व्रत vol. I p. 900) कन्याया कृष्णपक्षस्य पूजयित्वार्द्रभे विधौ। नवम्या बोधयेद्देवीं गीतवाद्यनि·स्वनै॥ कालिका 62 17, q by का वि p 511 (from भगवतीपुराण), कृ र p. 362 This supports the first alternative, केवलाष्टमीकेवल-नवमीकल्पावाह कालिकापुराणम्। यस्त्वेकस्यामथाष्टम्यां नवम्यां वाथ साधकः। पूजयेद्वरदा देवीं सर्वकामफलप्रदाम्॥ इति। ति. त p 88

There is a voluminous literature on Durgotsava. Every digest on vratas, tithis and pūjā devotes considerable space to this subject. Moreover, there are special treatises on Durgotsava or Navarātra, such as the Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāni, the Durgāpūjā-prayogatattva (published by the Sanskrit Sāhity Parishad, 1924) of which the Durgārcanapaddhati of Raghunandana (published by Jīvananda, vol. II) is a part, Durgābhaktitaranginī of Vidyāpati,[394] the Navarātra-pradīpa of Vināyaka *alias* Nanda-pandita, the Durgotsavapaddhati by Udayasimha (2nd half of 15th century A. D.).[395] Besides these, the Mārkandeyapurāna (chapters 78–90 in Venk. Press ed. and 81–93 in Banerji's) contains what is called Devīmāhātmya[396] (or Saptaśatī or Candī) in which are described the appearance of Devī from the accumulated *tejas* of Visnu, Śankara, Agni and other gods, her getting different weapons from the several gods such as the trident from Śiva, discus from Visnu, Vajra from Indra, her victory over and slaughter of the

394. For the opening lines of this work, vide I. A. vol 14 p 192; it was published at Darbhanga in 1900 A. D. in Devanāgarī script. Reference is made to the pages of this edition in the following.

395. Vide I. H Q vol 21. pp. 227–231 for remarks on this work.

396. Modern scholars generally hold that the Devīmāhātmya, of which the oldest known ms is dated in 998 A. D (as stated in Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature, English Translation, 1927, p. 565 note 2) was later inserted in the Mārkandeyapurāna Though the Devīmāhātmya is called Saptaśatī (collection of 700 verses), the total number of verses therein is only about 573 to 590 in different mss and editions The Venk, press edition in chap. 78–90 has 589 and K. M. Banerjea's in chap. 81–93 has 573. Nāgojibhatta in his com. on सप्तशती remarks (folio 55b) 'अष्टसप्तयुक्तराणां श्लोकानां शतपञ्चकम्। प्रोक्त सप्तशतीस्तोत्रं तत्सप्तशतसंख्यया॥'. The number 700 is made up by looking upon words like उवाच as मन्त्रs and half verses as full verses and so on. The 13 chapters are divided into three parts, chap. I being प्रथमचरित, chap 2–4 being मध्यमचरित and 5–13 being उत्तमचरित The 77 or 78 verses of the 1st chapter (प्रथमचरित) are made into 104 mantras viz. उवाचमन्त्राः 14, अर्धमन्त्राः 24, श्लोकमन्त्राः 66. The सप्तशती is treated as if it were a Vedic hymn or verse with ऋषि, metres, प्रधानदेवता, and विनियोग (for जप) 'अस्य श्रीसप्तशतीमन्त्रस्य मार्कण्डेय-ब्रह्मेन्द्र-वासुदेव-रुद्रा ऋषयः। गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुप् छन्दांसि। मधुकैटभमर्दिनी—महिषासुरसेनामहिषासुरमर्दिनी — धूम्रलोचनचण्डमुण्डरक्तबीजशुम्भनिशुम्भमर्दिन्यः प्रधानदेवताः। Besides, some verses are described as कवच (armour), others as अर्गल (bolt for fastening) and still others as कीलक (pin, the inner syllables of a mantra); पठित्वा कवचं चादौ अर्गलं कीलक तथा। जपेत्सप्तशतीं चण्डीं क्रम एष शिवोदितः॥' These three (कवच, अर्गल and कीलक) are outside the देवीमाहात्म्य. The महिषासुरवध in वराहपुराण chap. 95 is to some extent different from the description in the other Purānas It appears to be the earliest Paurāṇika version of the slaughter of Mahisāsura.

great demon Mahiṣāsura, and of the demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, Śumbha and Niśumbha The Kālikāpurāna, the Brhan-nandikeśvara-purāna[397] and the Devīpurāna also devote considerable space to Durgā and her pūjā I have used, though not much, the English work on Durgā-pūjā by Pratapachandra Ghosh published so far back as 1871. My endeavour will be to give as briefly as possible an account of all the salient features of this great religious worship and festival from the Sanskrit texts themselves.

This pūjā is nitya as well as kāmya;[398] it is the first because the Kālikāpurāna (63 12–13) prescribes that whoever, through laziness, hypocrisy, hatred or stupidity, does not celebrate the great festival of Durgā has all his desires frustrated by the angry Devī, it is also kāmya because rewards are promised when one celebrates Durgotsava 'all should always perform the worship of Devī in order to secure incomparable eminence which confers the puruṣārthas, viz Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa' and 'one should worship Bhavānī for pleasing her, for happiness in that year, for the destruction of evil spirits and goblins and for delight' (Tithitattva p. 65) The original purposes and objects of this festival were high and noble as stated in the Devīpurāna[399] "This is a great and holy vrata conferring great *siddhis*, vanquishing all enemies, conferring benefits on all people, especially in great floods; this should be performed by brāhmaṇas for solemn sacrifices and by kṣatriyas for the protection of the people, by vaiśyas for cattle wealth, by śūdras desirous of sons and happiness, by women for blessed wifehood and by rich men who hanker for more wealth; this was performed by Śaṅkara and others". But in course of time, the objects were brought down to the ordinary level as stated in the Devīmāhātmya[400] 'by listening

397. I could not secure a copy of the Nandikeśvarapurāna The Devīpurāna was published in the Vaṅgavāsī series in Calcutta in śaka 1832 (2nd ed)

398. नारदीये त्वाहत्यैव नित्यकाम्यता मतिपादिता। यावज्जीवं नरः स्त्री वा नवरात्रं महाव्रतम्। कुर्वते चण्डिकामीत्यै मुक्तिं मुक्तिं च विन्दति॥ यावज्जीवश्रवणाकरणश्रवणाच्च नित्यकाम्यता। नवरात्रप्रदीप p 36.

399. महासिद्धिप्रदं धन्यं सर्वशत्रुनिबर्हणम्। सर्वलोकोपकारार्थं विशेषादतिवृष्टिषु। कृत्यर्थं (क्षत्रियैः) ब्राह्मणाद्यैश्च क्षत्रियैर्भूमिपालने। गोधनार्थं विशां वत्स शूद्रैः पुत्रसुखार्थिभिः। सौभाग्यार्थं स्त्रिया कार्यं नाढ्यैश्च धनकाङ्क्षिभिः। महाव्रतं महापुण्यं शङ्करादिभिरुद्धृतम्। देवीपुराण q by हे on व्रत vol. I p 901, कृ र p. 359, दु भ त p. 16, ति त. p. 67.

400. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी। तस्यां ममैतन्माहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा भक्तिसमन्वितः। सर्वबाधाविनिर्मुक्तो धनधान्यसमन्वितः। मनुष्यो मत्प्रसादेन भविष्यति न संशयः॥ मार्कण्डेय chap 89, 11–12.

with devotion to my greatness in the great annual pūjā performed in autumn, a man becomes free from all troubles and becomes endowed with wealth and agricultural produce by my favour'. The exaggerated importance of this Durgā-pūjā will be clear from one verse of the Bhavisya 'rites like Agnihotra, solemn sacrifices described in the Vedas and completed with daksinā are not equal even to one hundred-thousandth part of the worship of Candikā.'[401]

This Durgāpūjā is very cosmopolitan in character It could be performed not only by persons belonging to the four varnas, but even by those who were outside the pale of the caste system Durgā-pūjā has a congregational character and is not purely religious, but has also a social element in it (such as inviting friends and treating them &c). The Bhavisyapurāna[402] says 'Devī should be worshipped (in her shrine) on Vindhya mountain, in all places, cities, houses, villages and forests by brāhmanas, ksatriyas, kings, vaisyas, śūdras, who are full of devotion, who have taken a bath and who are cheerful and jolly, by *mlecchas* and other men (such as pratilomas) and by women'. In another place the Bhavisya states[403] 'Durgā is worshipped by various groups of mlecchas, by all *dasyus* (thievish tribes or outcaste Hindus), by people from Anga, Vanga and Kalinga, by kinnaras, Barbaras (non-Aryans) and Śakas'. Later medieval writers were careful to point out that mlecchas had no *adhikāra* to perform *japa* or *homa* or *pūjā* with mantras through a brāhmana as śūdras had, but they could only mentally resolve to offer in honour of Devī animals as offerings and wine[404] also and do so.

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401. अग्निहोत्रादिकर्माणि वेदयज्ञाः सदक्षिणाः। चण्डिकार्चार्चनस्यैते लक्षांशेनापि नो समाः॥ भविष्य q. by पूजाप्रकाश p. 309.

402. एवं च विन्ध्यवासिन्यां नवरात्रोपवासतः। ...पूजनीया जनैर्देवी स्थाने स्थाने पुरे पुरे। गृहे गृहे भक्तिपरैर्ग्रामे ग्रामे वने वने। स्नातैः प्रमुदितैर्हृष्टैर्ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्नृपैः। ...वैश्यैः शूद्रैर्भक्तियुक्तैर्म्लेच्छैश्चैरन्यैश्च मानवैः। स्त्रीभिश्च कुरुशार्दूल तद्विधानमिदं शृणु॥ भविष्य q by हे. on व्रत I. p 910, ति. त. p. 68, नि. सि p. 164, स्मृतिकौ p 201, का त वि p. 267.

403. एवं नानाम्लेच्छगणैः पूज्यते सर्वदस्युभिः। अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गैश्च किंनरैर्बर्बरैः शकैः॥ भविष्योत्तर q. by कृ. र. p 357, नि. सि p 114, ति त p. 68, कृत्यकल्प० (नैयतकालिक) p. 410.

404. अतो म्लेच्छादीनां न शूद्रवद् ब्राह्मणद्वारापि जपे होमे समन्त्रकपूजायां वाधिकारः किंतु तैस्तत्तदुपचाराणां सुरासुपहारसहितानां पश्वादिबलेश्च मनसोत्सर्गमात्रं देवीमुद्दिश्य विधेयमिति सिद्धम्। स्मृतिकौ. p. 291.

It is stated in the Skanda and Bhavisya[405] purāṇas that the worship of Caṇḍikā in autumn (Āśvina) is of a threefold character; viz sāttvikī, rājasī and tāmasī, the sāttvikī worship is effected by *japa*, by-offering *naivedya* in which there is no meat; and japa consists in reciting the texts of the purāṇas in which the greatness of Devī is described; rājasī worship is effected by offering a *bali* and with naivedya which contains flesh; that is tāmasī worship which is effected by the offerings of wine and meat and from which *japa is* absent and which is without mantras, this last is approved among Kirātas (i e. forest tribes and the like) Raghunandana adds[406] in his Prāyaścittatattva that the offering of wine in Durgāpūjā relates to ages other than the Kali age (i e other than the present age).

It has been stated above (pp 110–111, n 280) that the principal gods are deemed to go to sleep for four months on different tithis from the *pratipad* (1st) of Āsādha-śukla to the 15th. Therein Durgā is said to go to sleep on the 8th of the bright half of Āsādha. Therefore, in Āśvina she would be asleep. Hence the texts provide for the rousing (*bodhana*) of Devī from sleep As usual there are conflicting views The Tithitattva[407] notices the views of some that if the Devī is to be worshipped as having 18 arms she was to be roused on the 9th of the dark half preceding Āśvina bright half, but that if she was to be worshipped as possessing ten arms then the *bodhana* was to be on the 6th (of the bright half of Āśvina) Raghunandana does not accept this and holds that the *bodhana* of Devī with ten arms was to be either on the 9th (of the preceding dark half) or on the 6th (of the bright half of Āśvina). If the performer begins on the 9th of the dark half the saṅkalpa will be as noted below.[408] He may, however, begin on the first

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405 ' स्कान्दभविष्यपुराणयोः। शारदी चण्डिकापूजा त्रिविधा परिकीर्तिते। सात्त्विकी राजसी चैव तामसी चेति ता शृणु। सात्त्विकी जपयज्ञाद्यैर्नैवेद्यैश्च निरामिषैः। माहात्म्य भगवत्याश्च पुराणादिषु कीर्तितम्। पाठस्तस्य जपः प्रोक्तः पठेद्देवीमना मिये। राजसी बलिदानेन नैवेद्यैः सामिषैस्तथा। सुरामांसादिभिर्देव्यै जपयज्ञैर्विना तु या। विना मन्त्रैस्तामसी स्यात्किरातानां च समता॥ iti ta p 68, kā ta vi pp 269–270

406. एवं च दुर्गापूजादौ यन्मद्यदानमुक्तं तत्कलीतरपरम्। prāyaścittatattva p 520 (Jiv. vol I)

407. अथ कालिकापुराणे। नवम्या बोधनमाद्यदशभुजायाः, षष्ठ्या बोधनं दशभुजाया विद्वेष्वाभिधानाच्चैवेति वदन्ति तज्ज्ञाः। ..तस्माद्दशभुजाया नवम्या षष्ठ्या वा बोधनमिति। iti ta p. 71.

408 अद्याश्विने मासि कृष्णपक्षे नवम्यां तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् मत्यादम्, अमुकगोत्रः श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा अतुलविभूतिकामः सवत्सरसुखप्राप्तिकामो दुर्गाप्रीतिकामो वा वार्षिकशरत्कालीन-दुर्गामहापूजामहं करिष्ये। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 660.

tithi of Āśvina bright half and then the bodhana will be on the 6th of the bright half. If he begins on the pratipad the sankalpa will be as noted below.[409] Then he should recite Rg. VII. 16. 11 'God[410] Dravinodas specially desires your ladle filled (with offering); may you pour out (Soma) or fill (the vessel with Soma); the god then immediately comes down'. Then he should establish a *ghata** (a jar with a peculiar shape, the central portion bulging out, the neck narrow and the brim being broad and open), fill it with water, place twigs of mango and other sacred trees thereon and worship Durgā with the 16 or 5 upacāras. Then he should offer materials such as sandal-wood paste, myrobalan for purifying the hair and also a comb.[411] On the 2nd tithi he should offer a silken ribbon for keeping the hair in position, on the third alaktaka (red lac) dye for reddening the feet, vermilion for putting it on the head, a mirror for observing the face; on the 4th tithi he should offer *madhuparka* (to the goddess), a silver piece having the shape of a *tilaka* (for the forehead) and collyrium as decoration for the eyes; on the 5th tithi he should offer sandalwood paste, unguents and ornaments according to his means.

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409 अद्याश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे प्रतिपदि तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् प्रत्यहम् अमुकगोत्रोऽमुकदेवशर्मा स्कन्दवत्पालनासंख्यातपुत्रदारधनर्द्धिमदैहिकपरमभोगलाभपूर्वकअमुक-देवभवनकामो दुर्गाप्रीतिकामो वा वार्षिकशरत्कालीन-श्रीदुर्गामहापूजामहं करिष्ये । दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p. 663 This follows from भविष्यपुराण q by दु. भ त. p. 21 'अनेन विधिना यस्तु देवीं पूजयते नरः। स्कन्दवत्पालयेच्चैव तु देवी सर्वापदि स्थितम्॥ पुत्रदार-धनर्द्धीनां संख्या तस्य न विद्यते। भुक्त्वेह परमान्भोगान् प्रेत्य देवगणो भवेत्॥.'

410. देवो वो द्रविणोदाः पूर्णां विवष्ट्यासिचम्। उद्वा सिञ्चध्वमुप वा पृणध्वमादिद्वो देव ओहते॥ ऋ. VII. 16.11 Vide निरुक्त VIII 1-3 for a discussion about द्रविणोदस्, whether he is Indra or Agni No vedic mantra could be recited according to Dharmaśāstra works by a śūdra, who was simply to utter 'namah' (salutation) after contemplating on the deity (here Durgā); vide गौ X 60 'अज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः' and या I. 121 'नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्च यज्ञान्न हापयेत्'.

* God may be worshipped without an image by means of the *ghata* alone

411. केशसंस्काराभ्यणि प्रवद्यात्प्रतिपद्दिने। षष्ठ्योलान् (दोरान्।) द्वितीयायां केश-संयमहेतवे॥ दर्पणं च तृतीयायां सिन्दूरालक्तकं तथा। मधुपर्कं चतुर्थ्यां तु तिलकं नेत्रमण्डनम्। पञ्चम्यामङ्गरागं च शक्त्यालङ्करणानि च। षष्ठ्यां चित्तरतोर्बोधं सायं सन्ध्यासु कारयेत्॥ सप्तम्यां मातरानीय गृहमध्ये प्रपूजयेत्। उपोषणमथाष्टम्या &c ... भविष्य q by दु भ. त. p 20. The कालिकापुराण summarises the acts to be performed from the 4th tithi to the 9th as follows:—शुक्लपक्षे चतुर्थ्यां तु देवीकेशविमोचनम्। मातरेव तु पञ्चम्यां ज्ञापयेत्तु शुभैर्जलैः। सप्तम्या पत्रिकापूजा अष्टम्या चाप्युपोषणम्। पूजा जागरणं चैव नवम्यां विधिवद्बलिः॥ 62. 18-20

If he starts Durgāpūjā-utsava from the 6th tithi either conjoint with Jyesthā-naksatra or without it he should go in the morning near a *bilva* tree, should utter the sankalpa noted below,[412] repeat Rg VII 16 11, establish a *ghata*, should worship the *bilva* tree as Durgā If he has already started the utsava on *pratipad*, then he should go near a bilva tree in the evening conjoint with Jyesthā or without it (and even if sasthī has expired before evening, then in the evening without sasthī) and rouse Devī with the mantra[413] 'for the destruction of Rāvana and in order to favour Rāma, Brahmā, O goddess, in former times roused you at an unusual time; therefore, I also awaken you in the evening of the 6th tithi of Āśvina.' After thus awakening Devī he should invite the bilva tree with the words 'O bilva tree! born on the top of Śrīśaila and the abode of Laksmī, I have to take you; come, you are to be worshipped as Durgā.' Then he should, after taking each of the substances mentioned below and accompanying each with a mantra, place them on the bilva tree and make it an auspicious dwelling place for Durgā. The substances for making a holy[414] residence for Devī are; earth or clay, sandalwood paste, pebbles, coriander, dūrvā grass, flowers, fruits, curds, ghee, *svastika*, vermilion, conch-shell, collyrium, rocanā (yellow pigment), mustard seeds,

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412 ओं अद्य आश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे षष्ठ्यां तिथावारभ्य शुक्लदशमीं यावत् अत्यल्पम्, अमुकगोत्र· ... (as in note 409 above) वार्षिक-शरत्कालीन-दुर्गापूजामहं करिष्ये। दुर्गार्चन· p. 663.

413 अस्मिन्नवरात्रे षष्ठ्यां बिल्वशाखादिमन्त्रणं कार्यम्। तथा लिङ्गपुराणे। ये रावणस्य वधार्थाय रामस्यानुग्रहाय च। अकाले ब्रह्मणा बोधो देव्यास्त्वयि कृत· पुरा। अहमप्याश्विने षष्ठ्यां सायाह्ने बोधयाम्यत। श्रीशैलशिखरे जात श्रीफल श्रीनिकेतन। नेतव्योऽसि मया गच्छ पूज्यो दुर्गास्वरूपत·। हे on व्रत vol I pp 906-907, दु भ. त pp 69-70 The दुर्गार्चनपद्धति (p 664) has the passage from 'ये स्वरूपत·' but adds before the verse 'श्रीशैलशिखरे' one verse viz मेरुमन्दरकैलासहिमवच्छिखरे गिरौ। जातः श्रीफलवृक्ष त्वमम्बिकाया· सदा प्रियः॥' The कालिकापु refers to the legend that Devī brought about the war between Rāma and Rāvana for seven days and that Rāvana was killed on the 9th tithi of Āśvina-śukla (chap 62.28) Vide दु भ त pp 19-20 for a passage from कालिका similar to the one from लिङ्गपुराण

414 ततो मह्यां गृहीत्वा तत्तन्मन्त्रं गायत्रीं वा पठित्वा अनया मह्या अमुष्या भगवत्या दुर्गादेव्याः शुभाधिवासनमस्तु-इत्यादिना बिल्ववृक्षेऽधिवासयेत्। तत्र द्रव्याणि। मही गन्ध· शिला धान्यं दूर्वा पुष्प फल दधि। घृतं स्वस्तिक-सिन्दूरं शङ्खकज्जलरोचना। सिद्धार्थ· काञ्चनं रूप्य ताम्रं च्चामरदर्पणम्। दीप. प्रशस्तिपात्र च विज्ञेयमधिवासने। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p 664. Svastika is explained by Mr Ghosh in his note on p XLVI 'It is made of dough of rice It is moulded by brāhmana ladies and painted yellow It is supposed to represent the generative principle of the deity. It is shaped, like a triangle'

gold, silver, copper, whisk, mirror, lamp, *praśastipātra* (a broad-plate). Then he should repair to the *pandal* erected for Durgā-pūjā, perform *ācamana*, should bind together with Aparājitā creeper twigs or leaves of nine plants[415] so as to form one bundle or sheaf, viz. plantain, pomegranate, coriander, turmeric, Arum Indicum, Arum colocacia, bilva, aśoka and jayantī. Each of these substances is accompanied by an appropriate separate mantra.

He should offer worship to the bundle of nine plants and to the image (of Durgā) and make the Devī abide in the bilva tree with sandalwood (and other substances mentioned above). The rousing (bodhana) of the Devī and the invitation to the bilva tree are separate and are done with separate mantras (Tithitattva pp. 75–76). The two may be done at the same time if 6th tithi exists in the evening; but if it does not exist in the evening then *bodhana* may be done on the 6th and invitation on the 7th or bodhana may be done in the morning and invitation in the evening. The clay image of Durgā together with the twig of bilva is to be entered in the house and worshipped. The details of the complicated discussion are not set out here.

Then follow acts to be done on the 7th tithi. On the 7th tithi conjoint with mūla-naksatra or without it the performer after taking a bath approaches a bilva tree, worships it, folds his hands and says 'O blessed bilva tree! you are always dear to Śankara; after taking from you a branch I shall perform Durgā worship; O Lord! you should not feel pain due to the cutting of a branch; O bilva! prince among trees, salutation to you!' After saying this he should cut off from the bilva tree a branch other than one in the south-west or north-west and endowed with a couple of fruits (or without fruit) with the mantra noted below.[416] Then he should take the branch, come to the place of worship (the mandapa or the like) and place it on a pītha (a seat). Then taking white mustard grains he

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415 कदली दाडिमी धान्यं हरिद्रा माणकं कचुः। बिल्वोऽशोको जयन्ती च विज्ञेया नवपत्रिकाः। ति त p 77 and दुर्गार्चन० p 664: रम्भा कदली हरिद्रा च जयन्ती बिल्व-दाडिमौ। अशोको मानदूर्वाश्च धान्यादि नवपत्रिकाः। नि. सि. p. 173 quoting कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव; the same is quoted from भविष्य by व. क्रि कौ. p 372 (reads रम्भा कच्ची... मानकश्चैव); दु. भ त p. 31 'कदली दाडिमी धान्यं हरिद्रामानकचुकाः। बिल्वोऽशोको जयन्ती च विज्ञेया नव पत्रिकाः॥'

416. ओं छिन्धि छिन्धि फट् फट् हुं फट् स्वाहा—इत्यनेन छेदयेत्। दुर्गार्चन० p. 665, व. क्रि कौ. p. 401.

throws them with two mantras and effects the driving away of goblins, evil spirits, rākṣasas, Vināyakas that cause obstacles, takes up an offering of boiled rice and *māṣa* pulse and requests Kālī who is surrounded by goblins to accept that *bali* for protection against the evil spirits and prays her to confer upon himself all his objects in return for the offering of the *bali*. He then establishes the bundle of (the leaves and twigs) of nine plants tied together with Aparājitā creeper and the bilva branch. He worships the latter with 'salutation to the bilva branch' and honours Cāmuṇḍā *on the bilva* branch and the clay image with the words 'this is pādya (water for washing the feet), salutation to Cāmuṇḍā' and addresses the bilva branch with the mantra quoted in n. 413 above. Then he utters the mantra 'O Cāmuṇḍā'! move, move, make others move, enter my house quickly and go to the place of worship, *svāhā*'. Then he establishes the *ghaṭa*, worships the nine plants and five devatās, establishes the image on a seat and the bundle of nine plants to its right to the accompaniment of songs and instrumental music and places the bilva branch in a copper vessel near the (image of) Devī and performs the prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā[417] (vivifying or endowing with life) of the image of the Devī and of Gaṇeśa and other deities in the manner provided in the Durgārcanapaddhati (*p* 666) and Tithitattva (*pp.* 77–78). Then he should, after taking in his hand husked rice-grains and flowers, contemplate upon the form of Devī Then the Durgārcanapaddhati (*pp.* 666–667) quotes a long but finely worded passage from the Matsya, the corresponding passage from the Kālikāpurāṇa may be briefly rendered as follows [418]

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417. The तिथितत्त्व on प्राणप्रतिष्ठा is quoted in the नि सि p 338 रघुनन्दन in his देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व (*pp.* 506–507) describes at length प्राणप्रतिष्ठा of gods in images, basing himself on the 23rd पटल of शारदातिलक Vide my notes (p. 112) to the edition of the व्यवहारमयूख where a long passage from शारदातिलक is quoted.

418 जलजूट-समायुक्तामर्धेन्दुकृतशेखराम् । लोचनत्रयसंयुक्ता पद्मेन्दुसदृशाननाम् ॥ तप्तकाञ्चनवर्णाभा सुप्रतिष्ठा शुलोचनाम् । नवयौवनसम्पन्ना सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् । सुचारुदर्शना तद्विणा पीनोन्नतपयोधराम् । त्रिभङ्गस्थानसंस्थाना महिषासुरमर्दिनीम् । वृताला (सृणाला ?)यतसंस्पर्शवज्रशक्तिसमन्विताम् । त्रिशूलं दक्षिणे देयं खड्गं चक्रं क्रमादधः । तीक्ष्णधारं तथा शक्तिं वामहस्तेषु संकृताम् । खेटकं पूर्णचापं च पाशं चाङ्कुश-मूर्ध्वतः । घण्टां च परशुं चापि वामेऽध प्रतियोजयेत् । अधस्ताद् महिषं तद्वच्छिरस्कं प्रदर्शयेत् । शिरश्छेदोद्भवं तद्वद् दानवं खड्गपाणिनम् । हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नं निर्यदन्त-र्विधूषितम् । रक्तरक्तीकृताङ्गं च रक्तविस्फुरितेक्षणम् । वेष्टितं नागपाशेन भृकुटीकुटिलाननम् । सपाशवामहस्तेन धृतकेशं च दुर्गया । वमद्रुधिरवक्त्रं च देव्या सिंहं प्रदर्शयेत् । देव्यास्तु दक्षिण पार्श्वे सर्वं सिंहोपरि स्थितम् । किंचिदूर्ध्वं (धूर्वं ?) तथा वाममङ्गुष्ठं महिषोपरि । कालिकापु°

(*Continued on next page*)

Devī possesses a mass of hair, her head ornament is the crescent of the moon, she has three eyes, her face resembles a lotus and (full) moon, her complexion is like molten gold, she is well formed and has charming eyes, she is endowed with blooming youth, decked with all kinds of ornaments, has charming teeth, looks keen and has full and upraised breasts, her posture is such that she is bent at three places, she has crushed the demon Mahisa, she has ten arms long and soft like lotus stalks, she holds a trident in the right hand and a sword and discus below that (trident) in order, a sharp arrow and śakti (missile) in the group of her arms, a shield, a fully bent bow, a noose, a goad (held in order) from above and a bell and axe should be held in the left hand from below; under her one should show a headless buffalo from which rises a demon with a sword in his hand, who is pierced in the region of the heart by the trident (of Devī), who (demon) possesses teeth set awry, whose body is dyed red with blood, whose eyes are bloodshot and distended, who is encircled by a noose of snakes, whose face is rendered fearful by his curved eyebrows, whose hair is seized by Durgā with the left hand holding a noose, whose mouth emits blood; one should exhibit Devī's lion; the right foot of Devī (should be shown) as resting evenly on the lion's back and her left foot toe (resting) a little higher on the demon.

Then the performer should put a flower on his head, take flowers and rice grains in his hand and make an invocation (āvāhana) with two mantras to Durgā to be present in the bilva branch and establish her with the prayer to bestow long life, health and prosperity. He offers to the Devī the several upacāras of āsana, pādya, arghya &c. Then he should go near the sheaf of nine plants and repeat the mantra "O blessed Durgā! come, enter into the (sheaf of) plants; this is your place in the mortal world; I throw myself on your mercy"! So saying he should worship Devī in the *ghata* (jar) with ten or five upacāras

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(*Continued from last page*)

61, 11-20. The मत्स्यपुराण (260. 56-66) has almost the same verses (with a few variations) that are quoted by दु. भ. त pp 4-5 and 75-76, त कि. कौ pp 413-414, दुर्गार्चन॰ pp. 666-67, and by का. त वि. p. 285. For सीदर्णा, मत्स्य reads तद्वत् and दुर्गार्चनप॰ reads देवीम्; मत्स्य and का त वि. read शार्ङ्गि वामतोपि निवोधत; मत्स्य and दुर्गा॰ read निर्यदन्त्रविभूषितम् for तिर्यन्दन्त॰ त्रिभङ्ग—probably refers to त्रिवलि which was held to be a sign of beauty among women or it means that the figure of Devī should be shown as bent in three parts of the body दु. भ त (pp 5-6) quotes कालिकापुराण also for description of भद्रकाली with 16 arms. On p. 6 (दु. भ. त.) भद्रकाली is described as त्रिवलीमध्यभूषिता.

or with flowers and sandalwood paste with separate mantras for each of the nine plants (mentioned in note 415) in the form 'Hrīm, om, kadalīsthāyai brahmānyai namah' and so on (Durgārcanapaddhati[419] p. 669). Then he should worship Durgā with pādya and other upacāras[420] and offer a kid or the like as an offering. The kid or he-buffalo should be dark and should be at least five years old.[421]

Much has been written about the sacrifice of animals in Durgāpūjā Only a few points can be dealt with here. The Kālikā-purāna enumerates the following animals as fit for sacrifice in honour of Durgā and Bhairava[422] 'birds, tortoises, crocodiles, fish, deer of nine kinds, buffalo, *gavaya* (Gayal), bull, goat, *mongoose*, boar, rhinoceros, black antelope, śarabha (a fabulous animal), lion, tiger, a human being and blood from one's own (i. e. the performer's) body; but the females of the species specified above were not to be offered as *bali* and the person who did so would go to hell. This was probably a concession to placate Devī who might have a soft corner for a bali

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419. The procedure in the Durgārcana-paddhati is very elaborate; for reasons of space I have not reproduced the whole, but have mentioned only the salient features.

420. The sixteen upacāras in the worship of Durgā are slightly different from the usual upacāras noted above. (p. 34 note 77). षोडशोपचाराणाह कालिकापुराणे। आसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यं च ततो ह्याचमनीयकम्। मधुपर्कं स्नानजलं वस्त्रं भूषणचन्दने। धूपं दीपञ्च नैवेद्यमनमतःपरम्। नैवेद्याचमनीये तु प्रदक्षिणनमस्कृतिः। एते षोडश निर्दिष्टा उपचाराम्बिकार्चने। व क्रि कौ p 383 The कालिकापुराण (chapters 72 and 73) contains a long dissertation on the 16 upacāras There are special provisions about the fragrant substances, incense etc to be used in the worship of Devī. देवीपुराणे। धूपं तिलाश्च होमार्थं मद्यश्चैवानुलेपने। चन्दनागुरुकर्पूरं नखं धूपे वरं मतम्॥ कालिकापुराणे। कृष्णागुरुः सकर्पूरं सहितो मलयोद्भवैः। कुङ्कुमागुरुकस्तूरीचन्द्रभागैः समीकृतैः। गन्धः प्रीतिप्रदो देव्या दुर्गाया सह शम्भुना॥' दु भ त. p 11; सर्वेषामेव धूपानां दुर्गापा गुग्गुलु प्रिय॥ घृतयुक्तो विशेषेण सप्तत प्रीतिवर्धन॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by दु भ त. p 13, the दु भ त (p 95–99) describes at length the various kinds of naivedya to be offered to Durgā.

421. पञ्चाब्दं लक्षणोपेतं गन्धधूपन्नगर्चितम्। विधिवत् कालि कालीति जप्त्वा खड्गेन घातयेत्॥ देवीपुराण q by दु. भ त p, 54

422. पक्षिण कच्छपा ग्राह्या (ग्राह्य?) मत्स्या नवविधा मृगा। महिषो गवयो गौर-श्छागो वभ्रुश्च शूकर। खड्गश्च कृष्णसारश्च गोधिका शरभो हरि। शार्दूलश्च नरश्चैव स्वगात्रकधिरं तथा। चण्डिकाभैरवादीनां बलयः परिकीर्तिताः। पशूनां पक्षिणां वापि नराणा च विशेषतः। स्त्रियं न दद्यात्तु बलिं दत्त्वा नरकमाप्नुयात्। कालिकापु० 71 3–5, 95–96, q. by दु. भ. त p. 53; व क्रि कौ pp 394–395 reads पञ्चविधा), vide दु भ त. p 52 for a verse similar to the first and explanation of 'नवविधा मृगा.' as 'कृष्णसारकभभृतयः'.

of her own sex. The bali should have no defect and should not be one whose tail or ears were cut off Though the above list of victims that may be offered is long, usually only goats and he-buffaloes were sacrificed It is said [423] 'the Devī that resides on Vindhya is not so well pleased with the offerings of flowers, incense, and unguents and of other animals as she is pleased with offerings of rams and he-buffaloes'. The Varsa-kriyā-kaumudi[424] quotes "one should never offer to the great Devī a horse or elephant; if a brāhmana offers a lion, a tiger or a human being (as *bali*) he would go to hell and even in this world he would have a short life and would be devoid of happiness and prosperity; if (a brāhmana) offers his own blood, he would be guilty of suicide. If a brāhmana offered wine he would lose his status as a brāhmana. When wine is laid down as a necessary offering he should offer cocoanut water in a vessel of bell-metal or honey in a copper vessel." But there were texts that contradict this For example, it is said in the Kālikāpurāna 'goat, he-buffalo, human being are declared to be bali, mahābali and atibali, respectively.' [425] It has to be remembered that though an animal is killed still what is offered to the Devī is generally blood and the head of the victim. The Kālikāpurāna[426] says 'blood purified by the recitation of mantras over it and the head (of a victim) are said to be nectar; in the worship (of Devī) the adept worshipper

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423. न तथा बलिदानेन पुष्पधूपविलेपनै । यथा सन्तुष्यते मेषैर्महिषैर्विन्ध्यवासिनी । q. by हे on व्रत vol. 1 p 909.

424. न कदाचिन्महादेव्यै प्रदद्याद्धयहस्तिनौ । सिंहव्याघ्रनरान् दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणी नरकं व्रजेत् । इहापि स्यात् स हीनायु क्षुखसौभाग्यवर्जितः । स्वगात्रकधिरं दत्त्वा आत्मवध्यामवाप्नुयात् ॥ मद्यं दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणस्तु ब्राह्मण्यादेव हीयते । न कृष्णसारं वितरेद्बलिं तु क्षत्रियादय । कालिकापु० 71 46-51 q. by व क्रि कौ , p 397. The latter adds before 'न कृष्णसारं' the verse 'अवश्यं विहितं यत्र तत्र तत्र द्विजः पुनः । नारिकेलजलं कांस्ये ताम्रे वा विद्धजेन्मधु ॥' which is कालिका 71.112-113.

425. कालिकापुराणे । अजश्च महिषश्चैव नरश्चैव यथाक्रमात् । बलिर्महाबलिश्चातिबलिश्चेति प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ हु भ. त. p 53.

426. शोणितं मन्त्रपूतं च शीर्षं पीयूषमुच्यते । तस्माच्च पूजने दद्याद्बलेः शीर्षं च लोहितम् । भोज्ये होमे च मांसानि निशुम्भीपाद्दिचक्षण. । पूजासु नाम मांसानि दद्याद्वै साधकः क्वचित् । ऋते तु लोहितं शीर्षमसृतं तत्तु जायते ॥ कालिकापुराण 71.20-22 q. by ति त p.82, which remarks 'मधुसैन्धवयुक्तं कृत्वा (लोहितं) दद्यात्' and 'अत्र पशुघातपूर्वकरक्तशीर्षयोर्बलित्वम्' and quotes the राजमार्तण्ड verse in support viz. 'मूलेन प्रतिपूजयेद्भगवतीं चण्डीं मन्त्रमाकृतिमष्टम्यामुपवाससंयतधिया कृत्वा नवम्यां बलिम् । नागापाशुकमज्जमासरुधिरैर्भक्त्या समाराधयेन् नक्तार्च अवर्ण लिखें च दशमीं संप्राप्य संप्रेषयेत् ॥, vide ABORI vol. 36 p 327. This last verse is q by का वि p 515 as कात्यायनीयश्लोक, by ति त. p 86 (from राजमार्तण्ड), हु. भ. त. p. 22 (from कात्यायनः), हु, भ. त p. 53 quotes the verse 'शोणितं .. शीर्षं च लोहितम्'

should offer flesh rarely (if at all) except blood and the head, which (two) become nectar" The Kālikāpurāna further states that Śivā (Durgā) partakes of the head as well as the flesh of the victim, that one should offer in pūjā the blood and head of the victim, but the wise (devotee) should employ flesh in edibles and in *homa*. The Durgārcanapaddhati (pp 669–671) prescribes an elaborate ritual about killing the *bali* and offering its blood and head and the rites and mantras slightly differ according as the bali is a goat, a buffalo or the performer's own blood The[427] *bali* is made to face the east, the sādhaka (devotee) faces the north and repeats certain mantras one of which is Vāj. S. 23. 17 'Agni was the animal to be sacrificed. They sacrificed with him, he conquered this world (the earth) on which Agni exists; that will be your world, you will conquer that world, drink this water. Vāyu (wind God) was the animal &c; the Sun was the animal &c.' Another mantra is Manu V. 39 (=Viṣnudharmasūtra 51. 61=Kālikā 71.39) viz. 'animals were created by Brahmā himself for serving the purpose of sacrifice, for the well-being of sacrifice and of all; therefore killing (an animal) in a sacrifice is no killing (does not cause the sin or blame of ordinary killing)'. He should place on the head of the bali a flower with a mantra; then he sprinkles water with kusas over the bali and then worships the sword with the mantra 'you are the tongue of Caṇḍikā and you accomplish heaven (for the worshipper); Hrīm, Śrīm, O sword!'. The performer contemplates on the sword as described in Tithitattva (p. 81) and Durgārcanapaddhati (p 670), honours it with sandalwood paste and the rest and repeats eight names of the sword, bows to it, takes it up with the words 'Ām, Hrīm, Phaṭ' and with one stroke cuts off the victim facing the east (while the performer faces the north) or facing the north (while the performer faces the east) Then he collects blood in a vessel of clay or other material, places it before the Devī and offers it with the words 'this is the blood of the goat; Om, O Jayantī!' and says 'Aim, Hrīm, Śrīm, O Kauśikī! May she be pleased by the blood.' Then he offers the head of the bali (goat or the like) placing on the head a lamp with a flaming wick He then takes blood from the sword (with

427. यथा स्वयमुत्तराभिमुख. स्नातं पूर्वाभिमुखं बलिं कृत्वा–ओं अस्त्राय फट् इत्यवलोक्य 'ओं, अग्नि. पशुरासीत् तेनायजन्त स एतं लोकमजयपश्स्मिन्नग्नि स ते लोको भविष्यति तं जेष्यसि पिबैता अप. । वायु. पशुरासी...पस्मिन्वायु स ते... अप. । सूर्य पशुरासीत्तेनायजन्त पस्मिन्सूर्यः ..अप. । इति कुशोदकैः संप्रोक्ष्य ओं छागपशवे नम इति गन्धादिभिरभ्यर्च्य । दुर्गार्चन॰ p 669. The मन्त्र is वाज. सं. 23 17 and is explained in शतपथ XIII.2 7.13 ff.

which the animal's neck was cut) and makes a *tilaka* mark with it on his forehead with two mantras. It was supposed that the tilaka of blood would make all persons amenable to the person who had that blood mark on the forehead as the mantra quoted below expresses. 'When the *bali* is a buffalo, the mantras repeated over a goat are omitted and two others are substituted viz. 'as you hate a horse and as you carry Candikā, so kill my enemies and bring happiness, O buffalo; you are the vehicle of Yama, you possess excellent form, you who are deathless; bestow on me long life, wealth, fame, a bow to you who are a buffalo'. The fruit of offering buffalo's blood to Devī was deemed to be her gratification and favour for a hundred years. Then he performs japa of a mantra (quoted in note)[428] and also certain verses of laudation and asks for certain benefits (Durgārcana, p. 672).[429]

The Kālikāpurāna in a long passage[430] provides gradually rising periods of times for which Durgā becomes gratified by the offering of the blood of various animals. A few might be cited here: Durgā secures satisfaction for one month by the (offering of the) blood of fishes and tortoises, and for two months by (the blood of) crocodiles; by the blood of the black antelope and of the boar Devī is pleased for twelve years and by the blood of buffalo and rhinoceros for a hundred years; by the blood of the lion, the śarabha and from the performer's body Devī is gratified for a thousand years and by a human being as a *bali* for a thousand years." There was a revulsion of feeling against blood sacrifices in some hearts and so even the Kālikā provides[431] that the offerings of kūsmānda (pumpkin-gourd) and sugarcane stalks, intoxicants and *āsavas* (spirits distilled from molasses, flowers or herbs) are like (animal) victims and gratification

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428. Vide दुर्गार्चन० p. 671 'इत्युक्त्वा खड्गस्थरुधिरमादाय—ओं पं पं स्पृशामि पादेन पं पं पश्यामि चक्षुषा। स त्व मे वश्यतां यातु यदि शत्रुसमो भवेत्॥ ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं नित्यक्लिन्ने मदद्रवे स्वाहा इति सर्ववश्यमन्त्रेण स्वीयललाटे तिलकं कुर्यात्।, दु भ त. p 56 cites: राजा वा राजपुत्रो वा स्त्रियो वा यक्षराक्षसाः। सर्वे तस्य वशं यान्ति भूतग्रामश्चतुर्विधः॥ तत ओं जयन्तीति मन्त्रं यथाशक्ति जप्त्वा ओं गुह्यातिगुह्यगोप्त्री त्वं गृहाणास्मत्कृतं जपम्। सिद्धिर्भवतु मे देवि त्वत्प्रसादात् त्वयि स्थिते॥ इति जपं समर्पयेत्।

429. यथा वाहं भवान् द्वेष्टि यथा वहसि चण्डिकाम्। तथा मम रिपून् हिंस शुभं वह तुलाण्डक॥ यमस्य वाहनं त्वं तु वरूपधुराव्यय। आयुर्वित्तं यशो देहि कासराय नमोऽस्तु ते॥ कालिका 71 57-58 q. by च क्रि कौ p. 443, दुर्गार्चन० p. 671.

430. Vide कालिकापुराण 71 6-18, च क्रि. कौ pp 395-6, ति. त. p. 83 for the periods.

431. कूष्माण्डमिक्षुदण्डं च मद्यमासवमेव च। एते बलिसमा. प्रोक्तास्तृप्तौ छागसमाः सदा॥ कालिका 71. 23-24 q. by दु भ त. p. 55.

(to the Devī) is the same as by the offering of a goat. But even in these days castes deemed higher, even including brāhmaṇas, offer goats and rarely buffaloes to Durgā, if that is the custom of the caste or family. I understand that many families of learned brāhmaṇas such as the Bhaṭṭācāryas of Bhaṭpara in West Bengal sacrifice fruits and vegetables in lieu of animals The Ahalyākāma-dhenu[432] says that some Vaiṣṇavas regard the night when victims are killed as horrible and do not eat food or even drink water on that night and that among brāhmaṇa castes the offering (bali) should be in the form of kūṣmāṇḍa and the like or flour images of animals or simple ghee should be offered As to other castes also it has been declared that Kūṣmāṇḍa, bilva fruit, sugarcane stalks may be cut into pieces.

The convenient belief from very ancient times has been that a victim offered in sacrifice to gods and pitṛs went to heaven. Ṛg I. 162 21[433] (= Vāj S 23. 16) and Manu V. 42 say so. Hemādri quotes verses saying that all the animals such as the buffalo that are employed for (gratifying) Devī go to heaven and those that kill them incur no sin.[434]

The foregoing is somewhat of a digression, as the *bali* is generally to be sacrificed on the 9th and as the rites of even of the 8th have not yet been described On the Mahāṣṭamī conjoined to Pūrvāṣāḍhā-naksatra or without it, the devotee after taking a bath and sipping water, should face the east or north, sit on a seat of *darbhas*, perform purification of himself and the body which is made up of five elements by repeating separately the mystic letters 'yam, ram, lam, vam' in the manner set out on p 673 of Durgārcanapaddhati, then he performs *prāṇāyāma*, and then *nyāsa* on the several parts of the body from the heart and head to the feet He sprinkles over himself and the materials of worship water contained in a vessel of conch-shell

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432 यज्ञ-छागैश्च महिषै कूष्माण्डैरपि भावत । कृत्वा पिष्टमयैर्वापि बलिमा ता समर्पयेत् । नारिकेलैर्बीजपूरैर्जम्बीरैर्नम्बुजातिभि । महाफलैरपर्येद्य न वन्ध्या ता निशा नयेत् ॥ इत्युक्त्वा . तत्र नारिकेलै पिष्टमयैरित्यादिवचनानि केवलब्राह्मणादि-वैष्णवविषये च । तथा अवन्ध्या ता निशा नयेदित्यतोपि ब्राह्मणजातिषु कूष्माण्डादिना बलिर्नेष इति । तदुक्तं गौरीकल्पे बहुरूपादिषु । ब्राह्मणस्य बलिर्यत्र तत्रार्थं विहित क्रम । कृत्वा घृतमय सिंहं नरं व्याघ्रं च महिषम् । अज वा बलिदानार्थं योजयेत्तीव्रये क्षुभम् ॥ अ का folio 543b and 544a The दुर्गार्चन० (p 671) also says 'कूष्माण्डेक्षुफालै दद्यात्'

433 म वा उ एतन्निगच्छसे न रिष्यसि देवाँ इदेषि पथिभिः सुगेभि । ऋ I. 162. 21 = वाज स 23 16 This is addressed to the horse sacrificed in अश्वमेध

434 तस्यै ये क्षुपयुञ्जन्ते प्राणिनो महिषादय । सर्वे ते स्वर्गति यान्ति हता पाप न विद्यते ॥ हे on व्रत vol. I. p. 909.

and the like and over which he mutters eight times the mantra 'Hrīm, Om Durgāyai namaḥ', he contemplates on Durgā as described on p. 163 and note 418 above, places a flower on his head, mentally offers *upacāras* (to Devī), again contemplates on Devī's form and then offers the upacāras from *āsana* (seat) to pranāma (as indicated in note 420 above) with appropriate brief mantras. Then he offers worship to several goddesses to the right side, front side and left side of Devī with brief mantras and to the Mātṛs[435] (64 are enumerated in Durgārcanao. pp. 676–677, or 32, or 16 or 8) according to one's ability with five upacāras or with sandalwood paste and flowers and to the eight mātṛs Brahmāni &c Then there is *aṅgapūjā* (worship of Devī's limbs) from heart and head to the feet. Then worship is offered to her weapons such as trident, sword, discus, sharp arrow, shield, fully strung bow, the noose, goad, bell; and then her lion-seat is honoured and also armour, whisk, umbrella, flag and flag-staff, drum, conch Separate mantras are recited in connection with the pūjā of each of these, as laid down in Durgārcanapaddhati pp. 678–681, in the Nirnayasindhu pp. 179–181 (which quotes them from Viṣnudharmottara) and other works. They are all passed over here for saving space Then he goes near the sheaf of nine plants and worships it with five upacāras or with sandalwood paste and flowers offered to each separately. Then he makes an offering of *māṣa* pulse and boiled rice.

On the day on which there is Mahāstamīpūjā the performer observes a fast But a householder[436] who has a son should not observe a fast on the Mahāstamī. He should follow one of the alternatives specified above in note 252 (naktam havisyānnam &c). Whatever procedure about food he may follow, he, keeping himself pure and observing the rules of conduct for vrata, should worship Devī; he should offer worship on the Mahāṣṭamī and on the 9th with *balis*; he should take leave (of Devī) on the 10th with

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435. The mātṛs are eight, ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, इन्द्राणी, चामुण्डा, महालक्ष्मी Vide दुर्गार्चन० p 677. हे भ. त p 46 gives the names somewhat differently. This whole procedure of the 8th tithi is very lengthy and tiresome to read It has been very much shortened in the above

436. उपवासं महाष्टम्या पुत्रवान् समाचरेत्। यथा तथैव पूतात्मा व्रती देवीं मधूजयेत्। पूजयित्वा महाष्टम्या नवम्यां बलिमिस्तथा। विसर्जयेद् दशम्यां तु श्रवणे शारदोत्सवैः। अन्त्यपादो दिवा भागे श्रवणस्य यदा भवेत्। तदा संमेलणं देव्या दशम्यां कारयेद् बुधः। कालिका 63. 16–19, q. by हे. भ. त pp 37–38 (first two verses). ति. त. p 88, व. क्रि कौ. 379. हे भ. त. p 32 quotes ब्रह्मपुराण 'तत्राष्टम्यां भद्रकाली दक्षयज्ञविनाशिनी। मार्कण्डेय। महाघोरा योगिनीकोटिभिः सह। अतोऽर्थं पूजनीया सा तस्मिन्काले मानवैः।',

Śrāvaṇa-naksatra after performing the Śābara festival. When the last quarter of Śravaṇa (naksatra) is running then he should give a send-off to Devī on the 10th tithi. The Tithitattva[437] positively asserts that a fast is to be observed on the same day on which Mahāstamī-pūjā is performed

On this 8th tithi the performer has to honour maidens, feed them and brāhmaṇas also. He may honour a maiden or maidens from the first to the 9th tithi, but he must do so at least on 8th. The Devīpurāṇa[438] says "Durgā is not so much gratified by *homa*, gifts and *japa* as she is gratified (becomes favourable) by honouring maidens." And he has to give them dakṣiṇā also. Hemādri (on vrata vol I. 903–906) quotes a long passage from the Skanda-purāṇa on this subject Skanda provides that the performer should feed maidens from the first tithi of Navarātra on a rising scale, viz one maiden on the first tithi, two on the 2nd and so on up to nine on the 9th If he feeds nine virgins every day (of the Navarātra) he secures land; if he feeds double the number on each succeeding day he gets prosperity. He should not honour a maiden who is one year old (or less), for, such a girl has not developed at that age liking for fruits, flowers and sandal-wood paste. Therefore, he should honour maidens who are from two to ten years old, and not those that are beyond ten years The Devīpurāṇa provides that if no virgin is available, one may honour even a married girl who has had no menstruation[439] The Skanda provides that maidens from two years to ten should be honoured under the following names respectively, viz. Kumārikā (two years old), Trimūrti (three years old), Kalyāṇī, Rohiṇī, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā, Subhadrā The Skanda provides special pūjā mantras for each of the nine kinds of maidens and different rewards are provided for honouring each of the nine classes. These are passed over here. The general *āvāhanamantra* for all in the morning after the performer has

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437. एवं च यस्मिन् दिने महाष्टमीपूजा तस्मिन्दिन एवोपवासः। न तु सन्धिपूजादिने। ... यथा तथैव ... पूजयेत्—इत्युत्तरार्धेन पुत्रवत एव उपवासेतरहविष्यादिना पूजात्मनः पूजाविधानात्। ति त p. 88 For यथा तथैव ...पूजयेत्, vide note 436 ,

438. न तथा तुष्यति शिवा होमदानजपादिना। कुमारीपूजनेनाद्य यथा देवी प्रसीदति॥ देवीपुराण q. by स म p. 22, व क्रि कौ. p. 447 (reads कुमारीभोजनेन), पूजामकाण्ड p. 328, हे भ. त p. 51.

439. यथोक्तकालाभे तु देवीपुराणे। विवाहानन्तरं कन्यां कन्यात्वमुपजायते। तावत्तां पूजयेत् कन्यां यावत्पुष्पं न दृश्यते॥ स म. p. 24

taken a ceremonial bath with oil is noted below.[440] In this way he is to honour virgins with bodice, clothes, sandalwood paste, flowers and *aksatas*, with different kinds of edibles and dishes and feed them with *pāyasa* (rice boiled in milk and sugar). One should not honour a maiden that has a limb more or less, that suffers from leprosy, or that has varicose veins or has a broken head or has limbs from which blood or pus oozes or has ulcers, that is blind from birth, is squint-eyed or blind of one eye or is ugly or has little hair or much hair or is diseased or is born of a slave woman. A man should honour a brāhmana maiden in all acts, a ksatriya maiden for victory, one belonging to untouchable castes in acts of terrible nature. After the maidens are fed, brāhmanas also should be fed (Durgārcana. pp. 681),

The Tithitattva (pp. 69–72), Nirnayasindhu and other works provide that in the Navarātra the performer should hear the recitation of the Vedas (Vedapārāyana) and that beginning with the first tithi up to the 9th he should himself mutter Candīpātha (recitation of Devīmāhātmya) or engage a person to do so, reciting it once on the first, twice on 2nd tithi and so on up to nine times on 9th tithi. The Devīpurāna provides for pūjā, japa and homa and the mantras therefore by saying that the worship of Devī is to be performed by casting into the fire sesame and with curds, milk and ghee. The Devī-mantra is either what is called the Jayantīmantra[441] (quoted in note) or the mantra of nine syllables (quoted in the note). The Dvaitanirnaya-siddhāntasangraha states that the mantra is either one that a man's *guru* has taught him, or the Vedic verse 'Jātavedase sunavāma' (Rg. I. 99.1) or one with nine letters or the one 'namo devyai mahādevyai' or the slokas in the Saptasati.[442] The Tithitattva quotes (pp. 69–71) a long passage

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440. मन्त्राक्षरमयीं लक्ष्मीं मातृणां रूपधारिणीम्। नवदुर्गात्मिकां साक्षात् कन्यामावाहयाम्यहम्॥ हे. on व्रत vol I p 904, नि. सि. p 168, स. म. p. 22.

441. पूजाजपहोममन्त्रस्तु देवीपुराणे। पूजयेच्चिलहोमैस्तु दधिक्षीरघृतादिभिः। कुर्यादेव्यास्तु मन्त्रेण—इत्यभिधाय, जयन्ती मङ्गला काली भद्रकाली कपालिनी। दुर्गा शिवा क्षमा धात्री स्वाहा स्वधा नमोऽस्तु ते॥ अनेनैव तु मन्त्रेण जपहोमौ तु कारयेत्। तिथितत्त्व p. 93; vide तु भ त p 9 for the same मन्त्र; सा (पूजा) च जयन्तीमन्त्रेण स्वाक्षरेण वा कार्या। तदुक्तं दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां देवीपुराणे। कुर्याद्देव्यास्तु मन्त्रेण पूजा क्षीरघृतादिभिरित्युक्त्वा—जयन्ती ... तु कारयेत्। इति। ओं दुर्गे दुर्गे रक्षिणि स्वाहेति नवाक्षरः। नि सि. p. 167; vide तु भ त p 9 for this reference. Vide कालिका 63. 38-39 'पूजयेच्छ्रुतिवृद्धचर्चयेता एवाष्टयोगिनी॥ जयन्तीं मङ्गलां कालीं भद्रकालीं कपालिनीम्। दुर्गां शिवां क्षमां धात्रीं बलेष्वग्रे पूजयेत्॥'.

442. स्वमन्त्रो गुरूपदिष्टो जातवेदस इति वा नवाक्षरो वा, नमो देव्यै महादेव्यै—इत्यादि वा, अथवा सप्तशतीश्लोकैर्वेति पञ्च पक्षा वैकल्पिकाः। हे. नि. सि. सं. p 7.

from the Vārāhī-tantra about the result of reciting Devīmāhātmya several times. A few verses are cited for sample. "When some great danger threatens, one should recite (Devīmāhātmya) seven times; if repeated twelve times one secures fulfilment of one's desires and the destruction of enmity; if repeated 14 times, an enemy would be subdued and a woman would be brought under one's control; repeating a hundred times results in increase of one's kingdom, if repeated a thousand times Laksmi comes to a man of her own accord As Asvamedha is the prince among sacrifices, as Hari (is superior) among gods, so the laud called Saptaśatī is the highest among all lauds[443]" The Tithitattva further provides that one should recite[444] before the reading of the 'prathamacarita' the rsi (sage), the metre &c. of it and also when repeating the *Madhyamacarita* and the *Uttaracarita* Very great importance was attached in ancient and medieval times to the recitation of mantras and even modern men brought up in English schools, colleges and Universities often implicitly believe in their efficacy, even if one may not understand their meaning. The qualities of the sounds of mantras or of parts of mantras (such as 'hrīm') and their potentialities, the various devices employed when using them are deemed of far greater importance than the meaning. The Gītā (X 25) itself puts Japa-yajña as the highest among yajñas such as those of *dravya* (materials or money), tapoyajña (Gītā IV 28). Mantras are supposed to have a tremendous effect on the sub-conscious mind and it may perhaps be so if one concentrates one's mind thereon to the exclusion of all else. A person could himself recite the Saptaśatī or engage a person to read it to him who was called *pāthaka* or *vācaka* as in T. T. p. 72, Durgārcana p 661 Some very orthodox writers went so far as to lay down that a śūdra could only listen to the Mahābhārata or Saptaśatī but could not read it himself. Raghunandana[445] like Kamalākara appears to have held this view. One

443. यथाश्वमेधः क्रतुराट् देवानां च यथा हरिः। स्तवानामपि सर्वेषां तथा सप्तशतीस्तवः। अथवा बहुनोक्तेन किमेतेन वरानने। चण्ड्याः शतावृत्तपाठात् सर्वाः सिध्यन्ति सिद्धयः॥ q. by ति. त p. 70

444. तत्रच मार्कण्डेयपुराणीयदेवीमाहात्म्यपाठस्यादौ ऋषिच्छन्दादिकं पठेत्। तद्यथा- प्रथमचरितस्य ब्रह्मा ऋषिर्महाकाली देवता गायत्री छन्दः, नन्दा शक्तिः, रक्तदन्तिका बीजमग्निस्तत्त्वं महाकालीप्रीत्यर्थे जपे विनियोगः। मध्यमचरितस्य विष्णुर्ऋषिर्महालक्ष्मीर्देवता अनुष्टुप् छन्दः शाकम्भरी शक्तिर्दुर्गा बीजं सूर्यस्तत्त्वं महालक्ष्मीप्रीत्यर्थे जपे विनियोगः। उत्तरचरितस्य रुद्र ऋषिः सरस्वती देवता उष्णिक्छन्दो भीमा शक्तिर्ब्राह्मरी बीजं वायुस्तत्त्वं सरस्वतीप्रीत्यर्थं जपे विनियोगः। ति. त p. 72 For प्रथमचरित &c vide note 396 above.

445. अत्राविशेषात्सर्वेषामेवाधिकारः, द्विजानां पाठश्रवणयोः शूद्रस्य श्रवणेऽधिकारः। ति. त. p. 70; vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 155–156 for the views of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and others on this point.

should stop reading at the end of a chapter and not in its middle; but if for some reason one had to stop in the middle of a chapter, when one again commenced reading or reciting Saptaśatī, one should not proceed from where one left off in the middle of a chapter, but begin with the first verse of the chapter half read or recited. Provision was made that the reader engaged for reading Saptaśatī should be handsomely requited for his labour by gifts of gold, silver, cows with bell-metal pails for milking. Mr Ghosh notes (p. 39) that besides the reader of Devīmāhātmya a separate priest is selected to repeat the mūlamantra a hundred thousand times and is called *Jāpaka*. The Nirnayasindhu (pp 185–186) gives elaborate descriptions of Śatacaṇḍī-pātha and Sahasracaṇḍī. In the first, ten well-conducted brāhmanas including the *ācārya* are chosen. They are to recite together Saptaśatī once on the 1st day, twice on the 2nd, thrice on the 3rd and four times on the 4th; in this way Saptaśatī would be repeated one hundred times. In Sahasracaṇḍī one hundred brāhmanas are to be chosen and they are to repeat Saptaśatī for four days as in Śatacaṇḍī-pātha A thousand brāhmanas are to be fed and one hundred cows are to be donated. The Nirnayasindhu notes that these two are not included in the great digests but there is popular usage to this effect.

After each pūjā prescribed for the day, the family members, their friends and guests sit together and partake of the *prasāda* (which in the houses of the well-to-do comprises select delicacies). Formerly, the persons sitting together would have sometimes numbered hundreds, but in the days of rationing and control, this would not happen. Mukerji (p. 124) notes that guests made offerings to the goddess (usually cash which belongs to the owner and not to the priest.)

After the pūjā, homa is performed as indicated above; offerings are to be made in fire called 'Balada'[446] with the word 'svāhā' at the end to the accompaniment of a mantra preceded by 'om'. The Durgārcana-paddhati notes (p. 681) that after the special rites on the Mahāṣṭamī described above (viz. pūjā, honouring maidens, homa &c.) are finished the rest of the tithi should be spent by the devotee in dance, songs[447] and music

446 Vide ति. त p. 99 for the names of the fires employed in religious rites; 'एवं च दुर्गापूजाङ्गत्व पौष्टिककर्मत्वात् तदङ्गहोमे बलदनामाग्निरिति।' ति त p. 99.

447. नटनर्तकसङ्घैश्च नेदयाभिश्चैव भैरव। वृत्यगीतैः समुद्विग्नो जागरं कारयेन्निशि॥ कालिका 61. 88.

(jāgara) It appears that in the Devī and Kālikā purāṇas it is provided that even on the 8th at midnight an animal such as a goat or he-buffalo should be sacrificed and that on the 9th tithi many *balis* were to be sacrificed. 'When the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā (Virgin or Virgo) and in the month of Īśa (Āśvina) one should offer pūjā on the 9th tithi of the bright half; one should observe a fast (on that tithi) and at midnight should begin pūjā of Devī with great expenditure and paraphernalia when the naksatra is Mūla or Purvāsādhā; an animal should be killed and a he-buffalo and a goat should be sacrificed'.[448]

A short period of time, viz. the last *ghatikā*[449] of Mahāstamī and the first ghatikā of navamī, was called 'sandhi'. During that period of two ghatikās a pūjā of Devī together with Yoginīs is to be performed which is deemed to be the holiest pūjā (Ghosh p. 120) This pūjā is to be performed like the pūjā on Mahāstamī, but the bali is to be offered at and after the Mahānavamī begins[450] and not during the last ghatikā of Mahāstamī.

Now the rites of the Mahānavamī have to be described. On the 9th tithi conjoined to Uttarāsādhā naksatra or without it, pūjā is to be performed on the lines of the one of Mahāstamī. This day's pūjā is[451] only a repetition of that on the 8th, the

448. कन्यासंस्थे रवावीशे शुक्लाष्टम्यां प्रपूजयेत्। सोपवासो निशार्धे तु महाबिभवविस्तरैः। पूजा समारभेद्देव्या रक्षार्थं वारिभेऽपि वा। पशोर्घात. प्रकर्तव्यो गवलाजवधस्तथा॥ देवीपुराण q. by कृ त. p. 35, दु भ त p 34, व क्रि कौ p. 373, ति. त pp. 85-86, अष्टम्यां कार्धरेवैव महामांसैः सुगन्धिभिः। पूजयेद्बहुजातीयैर्बलिभोजनपै शिवाम्॥ कालिका 63 14-15, q. by ति. त p 86.

449. अष्टमीनवमीसन्धौ तृतीया खलु कथ्यते। तत्र पूज्या त्वहं मुख्या योगिनीगणसंयुता। कालिकापुराण q by ति त p. 86; अष्टम्याः शेषदण्डश्च नवम्याः पूर्व एव च। अत्र या क्रियते पूजा विज्ञेया सा महाफला॥ q by ति त p. 86 from कामरूपीयनिबन्ध. The योगिनीs are said to the eight (viz उग्रचण्डा and others named in कालिका 61.21), or sixty-four or a crore in कालिका 62. 50-51 'उग्रचण्डादिकाः पूज्यास्तथाष्टौ योगिनीः शुभाः। योगिन्यश्च चतुःषष्टिस्तथा वै कोटियोगिनी. । नवदुर्गास्तथा पूज्या देव्या संनिहिताः शुभाः॥', vide दु भ त. p 39 for these verses Vide Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XIII pp. 132-136 for a temple of 64 Yoginīs at Khajuraho and Orissa Historical Research Journal, vol. II. pp. 23-40 for another temple of 64 yoginīs at Hirapur about three miles to the east of Bhubaneswar

450. अथ सन्धिपूजा। तत्र महाष्टमीशेषदण्ड-महानवमीप्रथमदण्डात्मको यः कालस्तत्र महाष्टमीपूजावत् यथालाभं पूजा कुर्यात्। महानवमीक्षण एव छागादिबलिदानं न तु महाष्टमीक्षणे। दुर्गार्चनपद्धति p 681

451. पुनः पूजा तथाष्टम्यां विशेषेण समाचरेत्। जागरं च स्वयं कुर्याद् बलिदानं महानिशि। प्रभूतबलिदानं तु नवम्यां विधिवच्चरेत्। ध्यायेद्दशभुजा -देवीं दुर्गामन्त्रेण पूजयेत्। विसर्जनं दशम्यां तु कुर्याद्वै साधकोत्तमः। कालिका 62. 8-10, vide also कालिका 61 26-28 'नवम्यां बलिदानानि प्रभूतानि समाचरेत्। सन्ध्यायां च बलिं कुर्यात्सिजगाद्यार्चनान्वितम्. एवं कृते तु कल्याणैर्युक्तो नित्यं प्रमोदते। पुत्रपौत्रससृद्धस्तु धनधान्यससृद्धिभिः।'

only difference being that a larger number of balis (goats etc.) may be sacrificed on it than on the 8th tithi. A bali is to be offered as it is obligatory to do so on the 9th[452] Then the worshipper should perform homa, if able to do so. If he be unable to perform homa on both days, he should perform it on Mahāstamī. The offerings in the fire are to be 108. If a person cannot perform a homa in person he should choose a brāhmana to do it, while a śūdra must always get the homa performed through a brāhmana Lamps should be waved before the Devī (nīrājana)[452a] from her head down to her feet Daksinā (fee) to the priest for the whole of the autumnal pūjā is to be given on the 9th tithi and Raghunandana expressly[453] says that the Durgā-bhaktitaranginī is wrong in saying that daksinā is to be paid after taking leave (*visarjana*) of Devī. The sankalpa at the time of giving daksinā is given in the note.[454] If no daksinā be paid, the whole rite becomes fruitless Then he should pray that 'all defects in the pūjā may be remedied, that whatever he has offered with a devout heart, whether leaves or flowers, fruits or water, whatever naivedya he has offered, may be graciously accepted by Devī and that if any mistake has occurred by his missing some letter or *mantra* Devī should forgive all that' He should wash the feet of a brāhmana maiden and give her sumptuous dinner and ask her to place with her hand on his head *aksatas* and devoutly follow her a few steps. He should feed brāhmanas It is the practice in many families to embrace each other and sing the praise of Durgā while drums are beaten. Then in a large procession they visit the houses of such relatives and neighbours as have performed the pūjā. Then the united

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452. नवम्यां बलेरावश्यकत्वाद् बलिर्दातव्यः । ति. त. p. 87.

452 a. This नीराजन is mentioned in कालिका॰ 'शरत्काले महाष्टम्यां दुर्गायाः परिपूजनम् । नीराजनं दशम्यां तु कुर्याद्वै बलवृद्धये ॥' 88 9.

453 शारद्याः पूजाया नवम्यामेव दक्षिणा देया । व्यक्तं मत्स्यसूक्ते । नवम्यां पूर्ववत्पूजां कर्तव्या भूतिमिच्छता । दक्षिणां वस्त्रयुग्मं च आचार्याय निवेदयेत् । न तु देवीविसर्जनानन्तरं दक्षिणेति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं युक्तम् । ति त p 101, दु. भ त. (p. 126) says : अद्याश्विनशुक्लदशम्यां तिथौ कृतैतच्छरत्कालीनदुर्गापूजाप्रतिष्ठार्थमेककर्मणितहिरण्यमग्निदैवतं यथानामगोत्राय ब्राह्मणाय दक्षिणां दातुमहं सङ्कल्पे । इति दक्षिणां दद्यात् ।

454. ओम् । अद्य आश्विने मासि शुक्ले पक्षे महानवम्यां तिथौ अमुकगोत्रः श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा कृतैतद्दार्पिकशरत्कालीनदुर्गामहापूजाकर्मणः प्रतिष्ठार्थं दक्षिणामिदं काञ्चनं तन्मूल्यं वा विष्णुदैवतं अमुकगोत्राय अमुकदेवशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं ददे । दुर्गार्चन॰ p 682, दक्षिणारहिते सर्वे व्यर्थं स्यान्नात्र संशयः । दु. भ. त. p 10

procession visits other houses and the parties return the visits to each other by turns and wish happiness and good luck to each other and offer sweets Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 439–444) quotes a long passage from the Devī-purāna about the worship of Devī on 9th of Āsv śu

On the 10th tithi after bathing and sipping water he should offer worship with sixteen upacāras or with as many as possible, should praise Devī with these words 'Om Durgām Śivām' &c. (on p 672 of Durgārcanapaddhati), should prostrate himself before her and make request to Devī with the mantra 'Mahisaghni mahāmāye &c' (*ibid* p. 672) and with the verse quoted [454a] below take a flower and cast it on the image with the words 'forgive'. Then after repeating two verses he should raise the image (of Devī), the bilva twig and the sheaf of nine plants from their places and keep them in another place and wave lamps made of [454b] flour before them He should go near the water of a river with dance, song, music, Vedic recitations and auspicious sports and pastimes and immerse the image in a tank or in a river after the prayer [454c] 'O Durgā, mother of the world, go to your place in order to come back after the lapse of a year.' Then he should perform the *śābarotsava* This last means that actions usually associated with the śabaras (i e aboriginal tribes like the Bhils &c) should be indulged in (to express ecstacy of the Durgāpūjā) on the 10th tithi after the immersion

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454 a सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाधिके। शरण्ये त्र्यम्बके गौरि नारायणि नमोस्तु ते। मार्कण्डेय 88 9 q. by दुर्गार्चन० p. 682, in देवीभागवत VII. 30 66 नारायणी is said to be a पीठ on सुपार्श्व

454 b तथा सत्याः। ... अन्तपादो (दे?) दिवा भागे श्रवणा च यदा भवेत्। तदा समेषणं देव्या ब्रह्मण्यां शाबरोत्सवः। शाबरवर्ण इव पर्णाद्याकृतकर्दमादिलिप्तशरीरो नानाविधासम्यङ्मद्यबलिमांसत्यगीतवाद्यादिपरो भूत्वा इति शाबरोत्सवपदार्थः। का वि p 514 The दु भ. त. p. 21, व. क्रि. कौ p. 377 quote the verse as from कालिकापुराण but the latter reads शारदोत्सवैः probably because it could not make out what शाबरोत्सव meant or did not like the idea, but the former explains 'शाबरोत्सवैः शबरोचितदेवभाषाकर्दमाद्यलेपनादिभिः।'

454 c. दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी (p. 126) quotes देवीपुराण as follows 'दुर्गे देवि जगन्मातः स्वस्थानं गच्छ पूजिते। संवत्सरे व्यतीते तु पुनरागमनाय वै। इमां पूजां मया देवि यथाशक्त्योपपादिताम्। रक्षार्थं त्वं समादाय व्रज स्वस्थानमुत्तमम्।' इति जले प्रवाहयेत्। नि सि. p, 189. The same occur in दुर्गार्चन० p. 683. In the famous Victoria Museum in Calcutta, there is a painting of the *visarjana* of Durgā in a boat made by Thomas Daniel in 1780 A. D,

of the image of Devī.[455] The Kālaviveka quotes Satya to the effect that leave is taken of Devī on the last *pāda* of Śravana-naksatra in the day and śābarotsava is celebrated on the 10th, and explains that what is meant is that like men of the Śabara tribe, people wear leaves of trees, their bodies are besmeared with mire, they make incoherent prancing movements and are engaged in dances, songs and music. The Kālikāpurāna dwells on this at great length. It says: "the *visarjana* (sending away) of Devī should be made with festivals in the manner of śabaras, viz. people may make merry to their heart's content by throwing dust and mud, with auspicious sports and revelry, with indulgence in words and songs referring to male and female organs and with words expressive of the sexual act. The Devī becomes angry with him who does not abuse another and whom others do not abuse and pronounces on him a terrible curse." This provision that every one, how highsoever, was to join in the śābarotsava was probably made for emphasizing that before the Devī the highest and the lowest were of equal status and every one must join in the frolics on the 10th tithi to show that all men were equal at least one day in the year. After the immersion friends visit friends and partake of sweets. It appears that this last practice is now not in vogue.

A few words must be said with reference to certain relevant matters. How Devī was to be contemplated upon can be seen from p 163, note 418 above. That shows that only the image of Devī with the lion and the demon Mahiṣāsura was to be constructed. In the Mārk. purāna[456] it is stated that Devī strode over the great demon's throat, struck him with her trident and with her heavy sword cut off his head and made him fall down on the ground. But in modern times the image of Devī is placed in a structure of wickerwork and there are images of Laksmī and Ganeśa on

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455 विसर्जने ब्रह्मण्यां तु कुर्याद्वे शाबरोत्सवैः। धूलिकर्दमविक्षेपैः क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः। भगलिङ्गाभिधानैश्च भगलिङ्गप्रशंसकैः। भगलिङ्गक्रियाशब्दैः क्रीडयेयुरलं जनाः। परैर्नाक्षिप्यते यस्तु य. परं नाक्षिपत्यपि। क्रुद्धा भगवती तस्य शापं दद्यात्सुदारुणम्॥ कालिकापुराण q. by दु. भ स. pp. 21–22, by ति. त p. 75 (except last one verse and a half), व क्रि कौ. pp. 377–378 (except the first half), कु र. p. 362 (does not mention source), का वि p 514, which remarks 'क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः'—इत्यस्यायमेवार्थः (शाबरोत्सवः). क्रीडाकौतुकमङ्गलैः occurs in कालिका 62.20 and 43. Vide कालिका 62.31 for शाबरोत्सवैः.

456 एवमुक्त्वा समुत्पत्य साऽऽरूढा तं महासुरम्। पादेनाक्रम्य कण्ठे च शूलेनैनमताडयत्। ... तया महासिना देव्या शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः॥ मार्क० 80. 38 and 40.

the *right side and of Sarasvatī and Kārtikeya on the left*[457]. Raghunandana does not make much of these additional deities, though he speaks of the prāṇapratiṣṭhā of Gaṇeśa and others. On p. 146 of 'Cave temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess reference is made to a tableau at Mahavalli-puram of the strife between Mahiṣāsura and Devī (with eight arms), which the learned authors assign to the period 650–700 A.D. The image may be made of gold or silver, clay, metal, stone or there may only be a picture of Devī. For Durgāpūjā it is not absolutely necessary that there should be an image. Devī may be worshipped[458] in a *liṅga*, on an altar or in a book, in her pādukās (wooden or stone feet), in image, in a picture or a trident or sword or in water. Some of the purāṇas like Garuḍa and Bhaviṣya[459] state that on the 7th or 8th tithi nine wooden houses or only one with four corners may be constructed, that in the midst of it a platform or altar of four cubits in length and breadth should be made on which a throne of silk, woollen cloth and deer-skin should be prepared, whereon Durgā (image) made of gold, silver, clay or wood was to be established having four or ten arms, possessing a complexion like heated gold, three eyes and the moon as a head ornament.

There is no unanimity about the arms of Devī. The Varāha-purāṇa (95. 41) speaks of 20 arms of Devī and mentions the twenty weapons she carries (95. 42–43). In the Devībhāgavata V. 8. 44 she is said to have 18 arms. Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 923–924) quotes verses in which Devī is said to have eight arms and ten arms respectively. Vidyāpati[460] quotes passages for

457. The कालीविलासतन्त्र (edited by Arthur Avalon, 1917) 19th पटल has 'वामे च कार्तिको देवो दक्षे गणपतिस्तथा।' verse 6. On p. 666 of दुर्गार्चनपद्धति (Jiv II) रघुनन्दन merely says 'एवमन्येषां गणेशादीनाम्।'

458. लिङ्गस्था पूजयेद्देवीं पुस्तकस्थां तथैव च। स्थण्डिलस्था महामायां पादुकामतिमाहु च। चित्रे च लिखिते खड्गे जलस्थां चापि पूजयेत्। कालिका 60 31–32 q. by का. वि p 513, ति. त p 78, व. क्रि कौ p 372. नि सि p 174

459. अत्र विशेषो निर्णयासृते भविष्ये। सप्तम्या नवगेहानि दारुजानि नवानि च। एकं वा वित्तभावेन कारयेच्छुभसमाहित। दुर्गागृह प्रकर्तव्यं चतुरस्रं सुशोभनम्। तन्मध्ये वेदिका कुर्यात् चातुर्हस्तां समां शुभाम्। तस्या सिंहासनं कौर्यं कम्बलाजिनसंयुतम्। तत्र दुर्गां प्रतिष्ठाप्य सर्वलक्षणसंयुताम्। सुवैश्वातुभी रत्नैरलंकृतां विभूषिताम्। ततहाटकवर्णाभां त्रिनेत्रां शशिशेखराम्। नि सि p 173. अष्टम्या नव गेहानि दारुजान्येकमेव वा। तस्मिन्देवीं प्रकर्तव्या हैमीं वा राजतापि वा। शूले खड्गे पुस्तके वा पटे वा मण्डले यजेत्। गरुडपुराण I 133 8–9, compare दु भ त p. 5 'देवीपुराणे। अष्टम्या 'शुभाभि च। एक वा वित्तभावेन कारयेच्छुरसत्तम॥'.

460. मत्स्यपुराणे। कात्यायन्या. प्रवक्ष्यामि मूर्तिं दशभुजा तथा। दु भ त p. 4; ब्रह्मपुराणे। एव चाष्टभुजा देवी महिला सर्वमङ्गला। दु. भ त. p 7, नीलोत्पलदलश्यामा चतुर्बाहुसमन्विता। खड्गपूर्णं चन्द्रहासं च बिभ्रती दक्षिणे करे। वामे चर्म च पाशं च ऊर्ध्वाधोभावतः पुनः। ...एषा काली समाख्याता चामुण्डेति च कथ्यते। दु. भ. त pp 6–7.

both ten arms and eight arms. It appears that different numbers of arms were associated with different forms and names of Devī. For example, Vidyāpati in describing the form of Kālī or Cāmundā speaks of her as having four arms. In the Virāṭaparva (chap. 6) where Yudhisthira praises Durgā, she is described (in verse 8) as having four arms.

There are varying views about the word 'navarātra'. Some hold that navarātra means 'nine days and nights'; it signifies only the time for a vrata (i. e. it is a guṇavidhi), not the name of a rite (*karma*), while others contend that navarātra is the name of a rite or vrata, which may last for eight days (if there is *tithikṣaya*) or ten days (if there is vrddhi of a tithi from the first tithi to the 9th). The first view is held by works like the Kālatattvavivecana (pp. 270–272), while the 2nd is held by the Nirnayasindhu[461] (p. 165), the Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (p. 61) and others. As the discussion is scholastic and hardly of any practical importance it is passed over here.

The principal matters in Navarātra or Durgāpūja, though it may be spread over three days (from 7th tithi) or nine days (from 1st to 9th), are four as laid down by the Liṅgapurāṇa viz. *snapana*[462] (bathing the image), pūjā, the offering of a victim (bali) and homa. For want of space snāpana has not been dwelt upon in the above. The Durgārcanapaddhati (p. 674), the Vratarāja (p. 340) and other digests state at length how the image of Durgā may be bathed with scented water, with milk, curds, ghee, *pañcagavya* of a *kapilā* cow, sugarcane juice and what rewards are reaped by particular kinds of baths. One example is given here for a sample.[463] The man who even for

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461. वृद्धौ समाप्तिरष्टम्यां ह्रासेऽमामतिपच्छिदि। प्रारम्भो नवचण्डयास्तु नवरात्रमतीर्थवत्॥ देवीपुराण q. by नि सि p 165, का त वि. p 272.

462. ततश्च वार्षिकशरत्कालीनदुर्गापूजा एकवचनान्तनिर्देशात्तत्कल्पोक्त-नानाविधस्नाद्यात्मकैव प्रतीयते। शारदीया महापूजा चतुःकर्ममयी शुभा। तां तिथित्रयमासाद्य शुर्यात्प्रकृत्या विधानतः। इति लिङ्गपुराणीये चतुःकर्ममयीत्यनेन चतुरवयवकत्वेनाभिधानात् स्नपन-पूजनबलिदानहोमरूपा। ति त p. 65, का त. वि p. 270. तिथित्रयं refers to the alternative of दुर्गापूजा for three days from 7th. देवीं तु स्नापयेत्साज्ञः क्षीरसर्पिर्जलादिभिः। दु. भ त p 18.

463. एकादेपि च यो दुर्गां पञ्चगव्येन चण्डिकाम्। स्नापयेन्नृपशार्दूल स गच्छेद्विष्णुसन्निधौ॥ तच्च चण्डीगायत्र्या। सा च। नारायण्यै च विद्महे चण्डिकायै च धीमहि। तन्नश्चण्डी प्रचोदयात्। इतराज p. 340. The दुर्गार्चन० p. 674 mentions this 'जलमादाय इदं जातीयं जलम्। ओम्। नारायण्यै···चोदयात्। जयन्तीत्याद्युच्चार्य ह्रीं ओं दुर्गायै नमः – इति स्नापयेत्।'. This चण्डीगायत्री imitates the famous गायत्रीमन्त्र 'तत्सवितु' &c. Rg. III. 62.10.

a day bathes Caṇḍikā with pañcagavya to the accompaniment of Caṇḍīgāyatrī goes near Viṣṇu If the image is made of some material (like clay) that cannot bear a water bath, the bright sword placed near Devī's image may be bathed or a mirror, as stated by the Kālikāpurāṇa The other three out of the four principal items in Durgāpūjā have been dealt with above. Out of the four, pūjā is the most important and a fast is only an *aṅga* (ancillary matter).

Then the question arises as to when pūjā is to be performed. Here there are varying views. The Samaya-mayūkha[464] (p. 14) quoting Devī-purāṇa appears to hold that the pūjā should be in the morning, while the Nirṇayasindhu (p 165) holds that it should be at night It appears from the Devī-purāṇa and Kālikā-purāṇa that pūjā in the morning, mid-day and at night is intended[465] 'When the sun is in sign Virgo, the devotee should follow the method of *ayācita* or *nakta* or take food only once or subsist only on water beginning from the *navamikā tithi* of the bright half, should bathe in the morning, should rise superior to the opposites (of heat and cold, happiness and pain &c) and should worship (Śiva and) Śivā three times a day.' The Kāla-tattvaviveçana[466] resolves this conflict by saying that morning and midday *pūjās* are brief, the principal and elaborate pūjā is at night only. There is some confusion caused by the texts laying down the nakṣatras, tithis or both on which the different items in the Durgāpūjā were to be performed The Kālaviveka quotes Vyāsa as follows: 'one should awaken Devī on Ārdrā-nakṣatra, make her enter (the devotee's house) on Mūla, and

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464. शरत्काले महापूजा क्रियते या च वार्षिकी । सा कार्योदयगामिन्यां न तिथेस्तत्र पुण्यता । देवीपुराण q. by स म p. 15, का त वि p. 277 (from नन्दिकेश्वरपुराण it appears), तच्च पूजनं रात्रौ कार्यम् । आश्विने मासि मेषान्ते महिषासुरमर्दिनीम् । निशाया पूजयेद्भक्त्या सोपचारादिक क्रमात् । इति देवीपुराणात् । नि. सि p 165. This verse is q by का त वि p. 279

465. कन्यासंस्थे रवौ यत्स शुक्लारम्भ नन्दिकाम् । अयाचितवाशी नक्ताशी एकाशी स्यप वाग्यतः । (? वाग्भवद्) । मातर्भाग्यी जितद्वन्द्वस्त्रिकाल शिवपूजक । कालिका 62 6 q. by व क्रि कौ p 365. दु भ त 16, स म p. 16. (reads वाग्भवद्), नि सि 164. (reads वाग्भवः), कृ र. p. 359 (reads त्यक्त गौमद्). The reading वाग्भवः adopted by दु भ त would mean वाग्यतः. These are quoted as from देवीपुराण by का वि. 513 (reads एकाशी चाप्यनोदन), by स. म , नि सि नन्दिका is here मतिपद् acc. to मैथिल writers, 6th acc. to गौड writers (says नि सि p. 164) Tithis first, sixth eleventh are called Nandā or Nandikā , vide p. 70 note 176 above

466 यद्यपि च देवीपुराणे कालत्रये पूजनमुक्तं—त्रिकालं पूजयेद्देवीं जपस्तोत्रपरायण.—इति तथापि मातर्मध्याह्नयोः संक्षेपपूजनाङ्गं विस्तरपूजन तु प्रधानभूत रात्रावेवेति ध्रुवम्यम् । का. त. वि. p. 280.

having worshipped her on Uttarāsādhā should take leave of her on Śravana'.[467] Most digests refer only to the tithis. For example, we saw above (p. 159 note 411) that on the 7th tithi the bilva branch is to be brought to the house, on the 8th fast, pūjā and *jāgara* are to be observed, the *bali* is offered on 9th, and on the 10th *nīrājana* and discharging the Devī take place. Some texts combine the tithi and naksatra for the several parts of Durgāpūjā. For example, the Rājamārtanda verse (q in n. 426 above) says 'one should, after propitiating with faith (Devī) by the head, flesh and blood of several kinds of animals, take leave of her on Śravana-naksatra and 10th tithi'. The Devīpurāna provides[468] 'The bilva tree should be addressed with a mantra on 6th tithi joined to Jyesthā, (the sheaf of) plants should be brought into the house on the 7th joined to Mūla, fast, pūjā and *homa* take place on the 8th joined to Pūrvāsādhā, on the 9th joined to Uttarāsādhā one should worship Durgā with animal sacrifices and after prostrating oneself before her leave should be taken of her on 10th tithi joined to Śravana'. It often happened that the tithi and naksatra provided for an item did not tally and some rules were evolved. The first rule is: if both tithi and naksatra as provided tallied then that led to very good results, as said in the Lingapurāna 'even if there be no Mūla-naksatra, one should enter the bilva branch in the house on the seventh; the same rule applies to other tithis, but if the naksatras exist on the tithis specified there is increase of the results or

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467 आह व्यासः। आर्द्रायां बोधयेद्देवीं मूलेन तु प्रवेशयेत्। उत्तरेणार्चनं कृत्वा श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्। का वि. p. 511, व. क्रि कौ p 375 (ascribes to नन्दिकेश्वरपुराण and reads पूर्वोत्तराम्यां संपूज्य). The कालीविलासतन्त्र (30. 6) has 'आर्द्रायां बोधयेद्देवीं मूलेनैव प्रवेशयेत्। पूर्वोत्तराम्यां सम्पूज्य श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्॥'. The बोधन on आर्द्रा refers to the 9th tithi of the dark half preceding the navarātra, Mūla refers to the 7th tithi when the *bilva* twig was to be brought to the house, Uttarāsādhā and Śravana would correspond to the 9th and 10 tithis respectively.

468. ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रयुक्तायां षष्ठ्यां बिल्वाभिमन्त्रणम्। सप्तम्यां मूलयुक्तायां पत्रिकायाः प्रवेशनम्। पूर्वाषाढयुताष्टम्यां पूजाहोमाद्युपोषणम्। उत्तरेण नवम्यां तु बलिभिः पूजयेच्छिवाम्। श्रवणेन दशम्यां तु प्रणिपत्य विसर्जयेत्। देवीपुराण q. by का. त वि. pp 268 and 273, व क्रि. कौ. p. 267 (first verse), स्. म p 23 (first half); दु. भ. त. p. 22 quotes राजमार्तण्ड 'सप्तम्यां मूलयोगे प्रथमपदगते पत्रिका पूजनीया। अष्टम्यां रात्रियोगे कृतनियमविधौ पञ्चकर्म प्रविष्टम्। नानाजीवाभिघाते तिथिरपि नवमी रौद्रदृष्टिः प्रविष्टा सा पत्री वैष्णवान्ते कृतविहितविधिः प्रेषयेत्तां दशम्याम्॥' पत्री is, देवीं. 'पत्रीविसर्जनं रात्रौ प्रवेशं वा करोति यः। तस्य राष्ट्रविनाशः स्याद्राजा च विकलो भवेत्॥ दु. भ. त. 24.

rewards.' The *second rule* was that *tithi* was superior[469] and therefore *even if the nakṣatra did not exist on the tithi specified, one should follow the tithi laid down for the several items in Durgāpūjā. Devala* and Lalla[470] laid this down.

One question on which there is difference of view is about the tithi on which Navarātra is to be begun when pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā or dvitīyā. There are very lengthy discussions in the Nirnayasindhu, Kālatattvavivecana, Puruṣārtha-cintāmani and other works. Some quote passages from the Devī and other purāṇas condemning the beginning of navarātra on pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā. Devī is made[471] to say 'in my worship *pratipad* which is joined to amāvāsyā should not be accepted; pratipad existing only for a muhūrta (two ghatikās) at sunrise and then joined to the 2nd tithi should be accepted (for commencing Navarātra festival)'. On the other hand there[471a] are texts like the following: if one were to accept for the (beginning of the) worship of Caṇḍikā pratipad joined to part of 2nd *tithi* through ignorance or through another's advice, that leads to the death of that person's son. The Samayamayūkha says that both classes of texts are baseless or if they are authoritative they leave the matter undecided as they are opposed to each other. The decision has to be arrived at in a different manner. 'If pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā but does not exist the next day, then it must be accepted for starting Navarātra as there is no other alternative. Therefore, even a pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā has to be accepted in such a case in spite of texts to the contrary. If pratipad starts with sunrise and spreads over the next day for less than three muhūrtas,

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469. दु भ त p. 23 says 'तत्र क्वचित्तिथिकल्पः क्वचिन्नक्षत्रकल्पः, सति सम्भवे योग एवादरणीयः फलाधिक्यार्थः। केवलतिथिनक्षत्रयोस्तु तिथिरादरणीया न नक्षत्रं तिथेः प्राधान्यात्। यदाह ज्योतिःशास्त्रे गर्गः। तिथिः शरीरं...विनेन्दुना नैव च कर्मसिद्धिः। ... केवलोप्याह। तिथिनक्षत्रयोर्योगे द्वयोरेवानुपालनम्। योगाभावे तिथिर्ग्राह्या देव्याः पूजनकर्मणि॥ एवं प्रतिवर्षकर्तव्यत्वाद्वार्द्धदिननक्षत्रालाभेपि पूजा कार्या नक्षत्रयोगस्तु फलातिशयाय। तथा च लिङ्गपुराणम्। मूलाभावेपि सप्तम्या केवलायां प्रवेशयेत्। तथा तिथ्यन्तरेष्वपूर्वेषु तु फलोदयः॥ ति त p. 74, व. कि. कौ. p. 368, का. त. वि. p. 374.

470. लल 'तिथिः शरीरं तिथिरेव कारणं तिथिः प्रमाणं तिथिरेव साधनम्' q. by नि. सि p. 163. Vide n. 469 above.

471 देवीपुराणे दामरतन्त्रे च देवीवाक्यं। अमायुक्ता न कर्तव्या प्रतिपत्पूजने मम। मुहूर्तमात्रा कर्तव्या द्वितीयाविगुणान्विता। नि. सि. p. 162, दु वि p. 62, द्वै नि. सिं सं. p. 2.

471a द्वितीया केवलमुक्ता प्रतिपद्यण्डिकार्चने। मोहाद्यथोपदेशाद्वा कृतं पुत्रविनाशकृत्। q. by स. म p. 15.

then the full pratipad has to be accepted for beginning navarātra. If at first there is amāvāsyā for one muhūrta, then pratipad follows and then spreads over the next day up to less than three muhūrtas, then this latter, that is, pratipad mixed with dvitīyā has to be accepted as the beginning. For want of space all possible alternatives are not dealt with here.

One important matter was not stressed above. On the first day of Navarātra one has to establish a *kalaśa* or *ghata*. A full kalaśa has been a symbol of holiness and prosperity from early Vedic times (compare Ṛg. III. 32.15 'āpūrno asya kalaśaḥ'). This is a rite which is performed in the Deccan, Gujarat and Saurāstra even though the elaborate Durgāpūjā of Bengal finds no place there. The procedure given in Durgābhaktitaraṅginī p 3. Nirṇayasindhu (p. 767), Vratarāja (pp. 62–66), Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi (pp. 66–67) and other works is elaborate. Ghatasthāpana is spoken of in Durgārcanapaddhati (p. 663) and has to be performed by day and not at night. One should make[472] an altar with holy clay and sow *yava* and wheat grains thereon with Ṛg. X. 97. 22, and establish a jar there of gold, silver, copper or clay with Ṛg. IX. 17. 4, fill the jar with water with Ṛg. X. 75. 5 (imam me Gange &c.), and cast in the jar sandalwood paste, *sarvauṣadhi*,[473] dūrvā grass, leaves of five trees (mango &c.), clay from seven places, fruit, five jewels and gold with appropriate mantras, surround it with a piece of cloth with Ṛg. III. 8. 4, place a pūrṇa-pātra (a cup filled with rice grains) on the jar and worship Varuṇa thereon, contemplate on Durgā (as described in note 418) and invoke Durgā to come and be present in the jar along with all groups of gods and offer the upacāras from *pādya* onwards, fold his hands, offer a prayer and boiled rice with *māṣa* pulse or a kūṣmāṇḍa &c. In the Deccan the main items in the Navarātra are the establishment of ghata, offering a garland of flowers on every tithi up to the 9th, a strict

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472. भविष्यपुराणे। कलशांस्तु समादाय हेमगर्भसमन्वितान्। यवक्षालिक्षतावेस्तु वस्त्रालङ्कारभूषितान्। आजिघ्रेति च मन्त्रेण कलशांस्तात्रिवेशयेत्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। चतुरः कलशान्यस्तु दधात्रेवगृहे नरः। चतुःसप्तवलयां स तु भुंक्ते बहुन्धराम्। हु भ त. p 3 'आजिघ्र कलशं' is a मन्त्र in वाज. सं. VIII. 42, तै सं VII 1. 6.6.

473. अपरार्के pp. 64–65, on या I. 277 gives two lists of सर्वौषधिs सुरा मांसी वचा कुष्ठं शैलेयं रजनीद्वयम्। सतीचम्पकमुस्तं च सर्वौषधिगणः स्मृतः॥ तथा च वसिष्ठः। वालुका शङ्खयुक्ती च कुष्ठं चैव वचा तथा। नागकेसरचूर्णं च सर्वौषधिगणो भृगौ॥. It explains some of these हे on व्रत vol. I p. 49 gives a somewhat different list 'कुष्ठं मांसी हरिद्रे द्वे सुरा शैलेयचन्दनम्। वचा चम्पकमुस्ते च सर्वौषध्यो दश स्मृताः॥

code of conduct (such as not shaving oneself) to be observed by the performer. If on the pratipad day on which the jar is to be established there is citrā-naksatra [474] and the astrological conjunction called Vaidhrti, it is to be done at the end of these, but if these two exist the whole of the day, then the rite should be performed in the latter part of these two. The S. M held that these texts were baseless According to Ghosh (p. 76), in Bengal nine jars are established in a figure (*sarvatobhadra*) filled with coloured powders at prescribed places and these are decorated with nine differently coloured flags. But in some parts of India only one ghata is established.

Hemādri (on Vrata, vol. I. p 906) quotes Devīpurāna for honouring horses.[475] The Durgāpūjā was meant for all. Kings and such men as kept horses were advised to honour horses in Navarātra from the 2nd tithi in conjunction with Svāti-naksatra up to 9th tithi The Durgābhaktitarangini devotes several pages to this nīrājana of horses from Śālihotra, Bhoja, Varāhamihira and other authorities (pp. 56–63 and 67–69). Kings were advised to perform Lohābhisārika rite about horses from Āśvinśukla first to Mahānavamī (H V. I. 910–916, N. S. 178, R. N. P. 414–416). For Lohābhihārika or Nīrājana rite, vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 230 notes 309–311 and p. 910 note 1773. Although the Krtyakalpataru (on vrata) does not speak of Durgotsava on the lines stated above, the Naiyatakālika section of that work (pp. 408–410) quotes a long passage from the Bhavisyapurāna [476] which states that Mahisa was killed by Candikā and therefore she should be worshipped on *navami*, all varnas should worship her, kings should fast on it and gifts should be made; the Devī is pleased by the offering of the

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474. त्वाष्ट्रदैवधृतियुक्ता चेत् प्रतिपच्चाण्डिकार्चने । तयोरन्ते प्रकर्तव्य कलशारोपणं शुद्ध ॥ स्मृति q by द्वे नि सि सं p. 3. त्वष्टृ is the देवता of चित्रानक्षत्र. आश्विनस्य सिते पक्षे योगे वैधृतिचित्रयोः । पूर्वमर्धं परित्यज्य कर्तव्या चोत्तरे क्रिया ॥ स्मृति q *ibid* p 4.

475 अत्र चाश्वस्य पूजनमुक्तं देवीपुराणे । अश्वयुक्शुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथियोगे शुभे दिने । पूर्वशुद्धौ अथवा नाम प्रथम श्रियमावहत् ॥ तस्मात्सोऽश्वो नरैरत्र पूज्योसौ श्रद्धया सह । पूजनीयाश्च तुरगा नवमी यावदेव हि ॥ हे. (व्रत) I p 906, नि. सि p. 169, कृ भ त p. 29 quotes ब्रह्मपुराण 'अश्वयुक्शुक्लपक्षे तु स्वातियोगे शुभोभने । पूर्वशुद्धौ अथवा नाम प्रथमं सूर्यमावहत् ॥ तस्मात्साश्वैर्नरैस्तत्र पूज्योसौ श्रद्धया सदा ॥'.

476. भविष्यपुराणे । शुभनक्षत्रयोगाच्च । नवम्यां श्रीसमायुक्ता देवै. सर्वैः सुपूजिता । जघान महिष दुष्टमवध्यं देवताद्विभि । लब्ध्वाभिषेकं वरदा शुक्ले चाश्वयुजस्य तत् । तस्मात्सा तत्र संपूज्या नवम्यां चण्डिका बुधैः ॥ नैयतकालिक-कल्प० pp 408–409 The whole of the passage in the कृत्यकल्प० (नैय०) also occurs in कृ र pp. 356–357.

devotee's own blood and flesh and of he-buffaloes, goats and rams. It specifies the periods for which gratification is felt by the Devī by the offering of various *balis* and avers that all *dasyus* and various mleccha tribes, the Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Kinnaras, Barbaras and Śakas worship her.

The Kṛtyakalpataru on Vrata does contain a vrata called Durgāstamīvrata derived from the Devīpurāna (pp. 225–233), but it has nothing to do with the exploits of Durgā.

Hemādri also (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 856–862) contains the same vrata with a few variations. That vrata is entirely different from the Durgotsava described in the Kālikāpurāṇa. In the first place there is no reference in it to the killing of Mahiṣāsura. In the next place, that vrata is described as beginning from the 8th of Śrāvaṇa-śukla and going on for one year in each succeeding month on the 8th of the bright half. Feeding virgins and brāhmaṇas is mentioned in it also, but in each month the food offered to Devī and to the virgins is generally different.

About the antiquity of the worship of Durgā, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 738–739. A few matters that were not and that could not be mentioned there are noted here. Ambikā is said to be the sister of Śiva in Tai.[477] S., but in the times of the Tai. Ār. X. 18 Śiva is said to be the husband of Ambikā or Umā. In the Vanaparva chap. 6 (where there is a long laud of Durgā[478] by Yudhiṣṭhira), she is described as the daughter of Yaśodā and Nanda and as the sister of Vāsudeva, is addressed as Kālī, Mahākālī and Durgā, in verses 10–11 the weapons carried by her in her hands are mentioned and in verse 15 she is said to have destroyed Mahiṣāsura. When Arjuna (in Bhīṣma 23) offers a Durgāstotra at the bidding of Kṛṣṇa, he gives her several names, among which are Kumārī, Kālī, Kapālī, Kapilā, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Caṇḍī, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī, Umā. But as the dates of these passages in the Mahābhārata are far from certain no chronological conclusion can be stated. Literary works and

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477 आच्छुत्ते यन्न पच्छुत्तं छुपस्सैव ते यन्न भागः सह स्वस्राम्बिकया सं छुपस्व । तै सं. I. 8, 6. 1, (सायण explains भगिनीवद्धिवकारिण्या); vide तै. ब्रा. I 6. 10. 4 यापद्वा अस्याम्बिका स्वसा तया वा एष हिनस्ति. तै. आ. X. 18 is 'नमो हिरण्यबाहवे हिरण्यपतयेऽम्बिकापतय उमापतये नमो नमः ।'

478 दुर्गात्तारयसे दुर्गे तत् त्वं दुर्गा स्मृता जनैः । विराट 6, 20. Pāṇini (IV. 1 49) mentions Bhavānī the wife of Bhava (i e Rudra) Why अम्बिका is called कौशिकी is stated in मार्कण्डेय chap. 82. 43 'शरीरकोशाद्यत्तस्याः पार्वत्या निःसृताम्बिका कौशिकीति समस्तेषु ततो लोकेषु गीयते ॥'

coins supply some *firm data about the antiquity of the Durgā cult. In the Raghuvaṃśa chap II a lion is said to have been appointed a guard to protect a devadāru (pine) tree planted by Pārvatī. Pārvatī is called Gaurī in Raghu. II 26 and in Kumārasambhava VII. 95 and Bhavānī in Kumārao (VII. 84), Caṇḍī in Meghadūta (I. 33). Similarly, in the Kumārasambhava the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva is mentioned.*[479] *The mātṛs are referred to in the same work (VII 30, 38) and also Kālī with skulls as ornaments (ibid VII. 39) In the Mālatī-mādhava (Act V) the offering of human victims to Cāmuṇḍā in the city of Padmāvatī is mentioned. In the Mṛcchakaṭika VI. 27 the legend of the killing of Śumbha and Niśumbha by Durgā occurs. If we hold that Kālidāsa flourished between 350–450 A D., the above evidence makes it quite probable that the worship of Durgā may go back some centuries before 300 A. D The evidence of coins lends support to this conclusion. A siṃhavāhinī goddess is seen on the reverse of the coins of Candragupta I of the Gupta*[480] *dynasty (about 305–325 A.D). On a coin of the late Kusāna king Kaneshko the reverse shows the figure of a goddess with a lunar crescent seated full face on a lion crouching left and the godddess appears to have a noose and sceptre*[481] *The lion as vehicle and the noose indicate that the goddess should be Durgā and not Lakṣmī. This would take us to the first or 2nd century A. D.*

Why two Navarātras were recognized (in Caitra and Āśvina) is a matter of conjecture. *It is possible that these two pūjās arose from the fact that spring crops and autumn crops became ready at these two times* The worship of Durgā was very much influenced by Śākta doctrines and practices. Ghosh in his work on 'Durgāpūjā' (p XVI ff) tries to establish that the Vedic idea of Dawn (Uṣas) spreading over the sky was changed by the Purāṇas and Tantras into the terrific goddess Durgā I am not prepared to accept this explanation at all, as the links between the Vedic goddess Dawn and the terrible goddess of the Kālikā-purāṇa are altogether wanting and as there is a gap of many centuries between the disappearance of Uṣas from the ancient pantheon and popular worship and the emergence of Durgā. There may be some astrological connec-

479. तथा हु तस्यार्धहारीरभाजा पश्चात्कृता. स्निग्धजनाश्रियोपि। कुमारसम्भव VII 28.

480. Vide 'Gupta gold coins of the Bayana Hoard' by Dr A. S. Altekar pp. XLIV–V and Allan's catalogue of Gupta coins LXXXIII.

481 Vide J A. S B. for 1933 (Numismatic Supplement) pp. 7–8.

tion between Durgā (Virgo) riding a lion (Leo). But this also cannot be clearly made out.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly vol. 21 (pp 227–231) Mr. N. G. Banerjee refers to the Durgotsava-paddhati of Udayasimha which begins with the Mahānavamī and a sankalpa for victory and ends with the description of horses marching on *daśamī* to victory and avers that this work indicates that Durgāpūjā was originally a military rite and was later on transformed into a religious festival. He relies upon the description in the Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 24–25) how the advent of Sarad (autumn) season impelled Raghu to march on an invasion and to perform the *śānti* rite for horses called Aśvanīrājana and also on the Brhatsamhitā. chap. 44 (Kern's ed.) where occurs an elaborate description of the nīrājana of horses, elephants and fighters on the 8th, 12th, or 15th of the bright half of Āśvina or Kārtika. There are serious objections against accepting this theory. It is not unknown that unconnected celebrations may be joined together on the same tithi or tithis. For example, in many parts of North India the Rāmalīlā festival for ten days is associated with Navarātra days. But Navarātra and Rāmalīlā are independent of each other and in some parts even of North India, only one or the other is popular and celebrated and not both. There is nothing improbable in there being two occasions for nīrājana, one in Durgotsava and another on the occasion of a king's march on an invasion Besides, a work of the 15th century can hardly be relied upon as evidence for explaining the origin of a festival that was in vogue for about a thousand years at least before that work. Moreover, if it was the usage to celebrate the marching on an invasion in Āśvina with nīrājana (lustration), that rite might have been borrowed from that in Durgotsava by analogy instead of the utsava having adopted the military usage. The Kālikā-purāna which describes at length Durgotsava also speaks of the nīrājana in Āśvina-śukla on the 8th and the worship of a noble handsome horse for seven days with sandalwood paste, flowers &c and requires the observation of the horse's movements for drawing prognostications (chap 88. 15–75). There is nothing to show that the details of Durgotsava described in the Kālikā and other purānas did not exist in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A. D. when Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira flourished and mentioned the lustration of horses. The theory of Mr N. G. Banerjee appears to be unwarranted by the evidence so far available and cannot be accepted.

CHAPTER X

Vijayādaśamī and Divāli

The 10th tithi of Āśvina-śukla is called Vijayā-daśamī. It is elaborately described in Hemādri (on vrata, vol. I. pp. 970–973), Nirnayasindhu (pp 69–70), Purusārtha-cintāmani (pp. 145–148), Vratarāja (pp 359–361) and Kālatattva-vivecana (pp. 309–312), Dharmasindhu (p 96) As Daśamī (10th tithi) is not mentioned in the *Yugmavākya* the Kālanirnaya relies on a verse that in the bright half that tithi which exists at sunrise should be accepted for performance of rites and in the dark half the one that exists at sunset [482] Hemādri proposed (on vrata vol. I. p 973) two simple rules (when 10th is *viddhā*) that that tithi on which Śravana-naksatra exists should be accepted and in all other cases 10th mixed with 9th be accepted. But the other digests introduce many other considerations and complicated rules follow. A few of them are given below If the 10th tithi is mixed up with 9th and 11th, the day on which it is mixed with 9th should be accepted provided there is no Śravana-naksatra on the next. The Skanda says: Aparājitā-devī should be worshipped by men on the 10th towards the north-east and in the afternoon, when the 10th is mixed with 9th. Aparājitā should be worshipped on that day for welfare and victory. Another verse[482a] is 'A person should offer worship on the 10th tithi in Āśvina bright half and should not perform the worship of Aparājitā on Ekādaśī' It must be remembered that the proper time for Vijayā-daśamī rites is aparāhna (afternoon) and *pradosa*[482b] is gaunakāla (secondary time). If 10th extends over aparāhna on two days, the first (i. e 10th mixed with 9th) should be accepted. If the 10th exists at pradosa time (but not at aparāhna) on two days, then the later (viz. 10th mixed with 11th) should be accepted; Śravana is not decisive just as Rohini in

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482. तथा च मार्कण्डेय । शुक्लपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामभ्युदितो रवि । कृष्णपक्षे तिथिर्ग्राह्या यस्यामस्तमितो रवि- । इति । ' तत्पूर्वोत्तरविद्धयोर्दशम्योः पक्षभेदेन व्यवस्था द्रष्टव्या । का. नि pp 231–233.

482 a आश्विने शुक्लपक्षे तु दशम्यां पूजयेत्सदा' । एकादश्यां न कुर्वीत पूजनं चापराजितम् ॥ हे. (on व्रत vol I p 973) quoting पुराणसङ्ग्रह, नि. सि p 189

482 b. सूर्यास्तोत्तरं त्रिमुहूर्तं प्रदोष. । धर्मसिन्धु p. 9.

Janmāstamī is not. If on both days the tenth tithi does not exist at the time of aparāhna then the first (10th mixed with 9th) is to be accepted; but in this case if on the 2nd day Śravana-naksatra exists at the time of aparāhna then the latter (10th mixed with 11th) is to be accepted. These are the conclusions of N. S. The P. C. (p. 148) disputes the last proposition. Hemādri and following him Nirnayasindhu (p. 189) quote Kaśyapa[483] to the following effect: 'if daśamī exists for some time at sunrise and if there is then ekādaśī for the rest of that day and there is Śravana-naksatra at aparāhna on that day, that tithi is called Vijayā; since Rāma started on his invasion (against Rāvana) on Śravana-naksatra, men should celebrate the crossing of the limits of their village on that day and naksatra'. The Nirnayasindhu and other works quote a verse[484] 'That time (on 10th tithi in Āśvina) which is slightly later than evening twilight and when the stars have just begun to appear is to be known as Vijaya and tends to the success of all undertakings.' Bhrgu says 'the[485] 11th muhūrta (on a day of 15 muhūrtas) is called Vijaya; all desirous of victory should march out at that time.' These verses explain why this tithi is called Vijayā-daśamī. These two verses show that the time called Vijaya is of two kinds.

The Vijayādaśamī is one of the three most auspicious days in the year (the other two being Caitra-śukla first tithi and Kārtika-śukla 1st). Therefore in India children begin to learn the alphabet on this day (i. e. perform Sarasvatīpūjana), people start new undertakings on this day, even when the moon and the like are not astrologically favourable[486] and if the

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483. तदुक्तं कश्यपेन। उदये दशमी किंचित्सम्पूर्णैकादशी यदि। श्रवणर्क्षं यदा काले सा तिथिर्विजयाभिधा। श्रवणर्क्षे तु पूर्णायां काकुत्स्थः प्रस्थितो यतः। उल्लङ्घयेयुः सीमानं तद्विनर्क्षे ततो नराः॥ हे (on व्रत) vol. I p 973, नि. सि. p 189 The 5th, 10th and 15th tithis are called पूर्णा, vide note 176 above.

484. रत्नकोशे च नारदः। ईषत्सन्ध्यामतिक्रान्तः किंचिदुद्भिन्नतारकः। विजयो नाम कालोऽयं सर्वकार्यार्थसिद्धये। नि सि. p. 189, स म p 69, चिन्तामणावपि। आश्विनस्य सिते पक्षे दशम्या तारकोदये। स कालो विजयो ज्ञेयः सर्वकार्यार्थसिद्धये॥ स. म. p. 69.

485 एकादशो मुहूर्तोऽपि विजयः परिकीर्तितः। तस्मिन् सर्वैर्विधातव्या यात्रा विजयकाङ्क्षिभिः॥ भृगु q. by स. म. p. 69. The 11th मुहूर्त would ordinarily be 21st and 22nd घटिकाs from sunrise

486. अन्यान्यपि कर्माणि भासनिरपेक्षाण्यत्र चन्द्राद्याद्यकूल्याभावेऽप्यनुष्ठेयानि। मासविशेषविहितानि तु चूडाकर्म-विष्ण्वादिदेवतामतिष्ठादीनि न कुर्यात्। धर्मसिन्धु p. 96-97; इषमासि सिता दशमी विजया शुभकर्मसु सिद्धिकरी कथिता। श्रवणर्क्षयुता सुतरां शुभदा रुपतेस्तु गते जयसन्धिकरी॥ मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि॥ XI. 74.

king marches against his foes on this tithi when there is Śravana-naksatra it is very auspicious and brings to him victory and peace.

On this day the principal acts are the worship of Aparājitā, the worship of Śamī, Sīmollanghana (crossing the boundary of one's village), returning home and having a lamp waved before oneself by the women in the house, wearing new clothes and ornaments and in the case of a king, nīrājana of the horses, elephants, soldiers and marching out.

Dasarā or Vijayādaśamī is a great day for people of all castes, but it is specially a day for the ksatriyas, the nobles and kings.

The procedure of the worship of Aparājitā (invincible) Devī is briefly as follows (from Dharmasindhu p 96) In the afternoon one should go to the north-east of one's village, smear the earth (with cowdung) on a pure spot, should draw with sandalwood paste or the like a figure with eight segments, should make a *sankalpa* as in the note and should invoke Aparājitā in the midst of that figure with the words 'salutations to Aparājitā' and also invoke Jayā and Vijayā to the right and left of Aparājitā respectively with the words 'salutation to Kriyāśaktī' and 'salutation to Umā' respectively. He should then offer worship with sixteen upacāras to Aparājitā, Jayā and Vijayā with the mantras 'Aparājitāyai namah, Jayāyai namah, Vijayāyai namah' and offer the prayer 'O Devī! accepting this pūjā which I have offered to you according to my ability, for my protection may you go to your own place'. In the case of the king he should pray for victory in the words 'May Aparājitā wearing a striking necklace and resplendent golden girdle and fond of doing good bestow victory on me' and then he should take leave of her in the words 'O Devi! &c'. Then all people should go out of the village to Śamī (Mimosa Suma) tree growing in the north-east, offer worship to it People may perform the crossing of the boundary of the village before or after the worship of Śamī. Some provide that the images of Rāma and Sītā should be worshipped on Vijayādaśamī, since Rāma conquered Lankā on this day (A K. folio 218[a]).[487]

487. 'मम सकुटुम्बस्य क्षेमसिद्ध्यर्थमपराजिताप्रूजनं करिष्ये-इति सङ्कल्प्य' धर्मसिन्धु p. 96. In the case of a king the सङ्कल्प should be 'मम सकुटुम्बस्य यात्राया विजयसिद्ध्यर्थमपराः'. The मु चि (pp. 145–147) gives a more elaborate procedure for the king. The word सीमोल्लङ्घन has assumed the form शिलंगण in Marathi.

In the case of the king the procedure described by Hemādri (on vrata vol. I. pp. 970–71) is as follows: the king coming out of his palace should be preceded by his *purohita* and after performing the rites on starting for a journey should march towards the east; after reaching the end of the capital he should perform Vāstupūjā (worship of a site) and worship the guardians of the quarters and the devatās (in temples) he may meet on the road. He should then offer worship to Śamī tree with Paurānika mantra [488] 'I take refuge with the blessed and auspicious Śamī tree, that removes all inauspicious things and evil acts and the effects of bad dreams'; then he (the king) should take first towards the east and towards other directions the Visnu steps. After making an effigy of his enemy or merely bringing him before his mind he (the king) should pierce him in the heart with an arrow [489] with a golden shaft The purohita recites verses about the victory of the king in the quarters; the king should honour worthy brāhmanas, the astrologer and purohita and should arrange sports of elephants, horses and foot-soldiers. He should then enter his palace to the accompaniment of auspicious shouts like 'Jaya' and lights should be waved before him by courtezans. The king who performs every year this auspicious ceremony secures long life, health, prosperity and victory; he suffers from no ailments physical or mental nor defeat and obtains unblemished wealth and victory in the world. If a king [490] starts on an invasion without celebrating Vijayādaśamī he would secure no victory for a year in his kingdom. The Tithi-tattva quotes Rājamārtanda [491] to the effect that if for any reason the king cannot march out in person on Vijayādaśamī he should send out his umbrella or favourite weapon for a victorious march. The Nirnayasindhu, Dharmasindhu and other

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488. अमङ्गलानां शमनीं शमनीं दुष्कृतस्य च । दु.स्वप्ननाशिनीं धन्यां प्रपद्येहं शमीं शुभाम् । हे (on व्रत) vol. I p 971, नि सि p. 190 The धर्मसिन्धु (p. 96), पु चि p 145 read दु.स्वप्नशमनीम् For the Visnu steps, vide H. of Dh vol. II p 1083 and note 2425

489 Compare बृहत्संहिता 44 21 'शान्तिं राष्ट्रविवृद्धये कृत्वा भूयोऽभिचारिकैर्मन्त्रैः । मृन्मयमरिं विभिन्द्याच्छूलेनोरःस्थले विम ॥'

490. दशमीं यः समुल्लङ्घ्य प्रस्थानं कुरुते नृपः । तस्य संवत्सरं राज्ये न क्वापि विजयो भवेत् । इति । स्कन्द q. by हे. (on व्रत) vol. I, p. 973, नि त p 103

491 अशक्तौ स्वङ्गादियात्रामाह राजमार्तण्डः । कार्यवशात् स्वयमगमे मूभर्तुः केचिदाहुराचार्याः । छत्रायुधाद्यन्यतमं वैजयिकं निर्गमे कुर्यात् । नि त. p. 103.

late medieval works add some verses about Śamī and other details[492] 'Śamī destroys sin, Śamī has reddish thorns, it held (concealed) the arrows of Arjuna and it appealed lovingly to Rāma, O Śamī worshipped by Rāma! May you remove obstacles on the march that I am to undertake according to my convenience and ease'. If a Śamī tree is not available, then the aśmantaka tree[493] should be worshipped with a mantra (given in note below). Taking up a little wet clay from the root of the Śamī tree together with *akṣatas* one should bring it to one's house to the accompaniment of songs and loud instrumental music; then the person should wear new apparel and ornaments along with his relatives and lights should be waved before him as an auspicious rite by chaste young women.[494]

In modern times on Vijayādaśamī there is śamīpūjā in many parts of India. But śamī is a rare tree In Mahārāstra and Konkana, twigs of a tree called Āptā are brought from the forest and arranged in the form of a bush near a temple and in the afternoon the people of a town or village engage in a sort of mock scramble for taking away twigs of Āptā and distribute the leaves among their neighbours, friends and relatives saying 'take this gold'. In Saurāstra and in several other places there is no such distribution of leaves. The Dharmasindhu notes that common people (in Mahārāstra) cut off twigs of śamī and take them to their houses but that this has no śāstra basis[495] In some places a he-buffalo or a goat was formerly sacrificed on this day In the former princely States of India such as Baroda and Mysore

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492 तथा भविष्ये। शमी शमयते पाप शमी लोहितकण्टका। धारिण्यर्जुनबाणाना रामस्य प्रियवादिनी। करिष्यमाणयात्राया यथाकालं सुखं मया। तत्र निर्विघ्नकर्त्री त्व भव श्रीरामपूजिते। इति। नि सि p. 190, सु चि p 147, ध सि p 96 In विराटपर्व chap 5 it is stated that when the Pāṇḍavas resolved to remain *incognito* for a year in the capital of Virāṭa they concealed their arms (such as the famous Gāṇḍiva bow and swords) on a big, śamī tree growing on a hill near a cemetery 'अथान्वशासत्कुलं कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिर। आरुरोहेमा शमीं वीर धनूंष्येतानि निक्षिप॥' विराट 5 28 It is also supposed that Rāma started on his invasion of Laṅkā on the tenth tithi when there was Śravaṇa nakṣatra

493. अश्मन्तक महावृक्ष महादोषनिवारण। इष्टाना दर्शन देहि शत्रूणा च विनाशनम्। इति प्रार्थयेत्। धर्मसिन्धु p 96, सु चि p 147.

494. गृहीत्वा साक्षतामार्द्रां शमीमूलगता मृदम्। गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषैरानयेत्स्वगृहं प्रति। ततो भूषणवस्त्रादि धारयेत्स्वजनै. सह। नीराज्यमान. पुण्याभिर्युवतीभि सुमङ्गलम्। नि सि p 190, सु चि 147, धर्मसिन्धु 96.

495. भाकृता शमीशाखाश्छित्वानयन्ति तच्छिर्मूलम्। धर्मसिन्धु 46.

durbars were held on Vijayādaśamī (or Dasarā, as it is called) and grand processions with richly caparisoned elephants and prancing horses were taken out on the streets of the capital. The kings in ancient and medieval times performed the Nīrājana ceremony of horses and elephants, soldiers and the king himself. Kālidāsa mentions that when *śarad* came Raghu performed the śānti rite called vājinīrājana (Raghuvaṁśa IV. 24–25). In his Brhatsamhitā (chap. 44. ed. by Kern) Varāha describes at length lustration rites for horses, elephants and men The Nirnayasindhu sets out the mantras at the time of nīrājana of the army 'O goddess, ruling over gods! may my army divided into four sections (elephants, chariots, horsemen and foot-soldiers) attain to the position of having no enemy left in this world and may victory come to me everywhere through your favour.' The Tithitattva provides that the king after performing nīrājana for vigour to his army should see the fine *khañjana* bird in the vicinity of water or cowpens and address it with the mantra[496] 'O khañjarītabird! you have come to the earth, you have a blue and auspicious neck and you bestow all desires; salutation to you!' The Tithitattva then (p. 103) descants upon the conclusions about the future to be drawn from the several places where the khañjarīta (wagtail) is seen and from the directions in which it is seen. The Brhatsamhitā has a chapter (45) on the auguries to be drawn from the sight of the khañjana bird, almost the whole of which is quoted by the Kṛtyaratnākara (pp 366–373) and a few verses of which are quoted by Varsakriyākaumudī pp 450–51. In Manu V. 14 and Yāj I. 174 among the birds whose flesh is forbidden for eating is khañjarīta (probably because it was such a valuable bird for prognostications).

In some parts of Northern India Rāmalīlā celebrations go on for ten days and culminate on the 10th of Āśvina in the burning of a tall hollow paper and wickerwork structure concealing crackers representing Rāvana and his hosts.

There are several other local customs and usages such as worship of weapons of war and implements of one's trade or avocation associated with Dasarā or Vijayādaśamī which are passed over here for reasons of space.

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496. कृत्वा नीराजनं राजा बलवृद्ध्यै यथाबलम्। शोभनं खञ्जनं पश्येज्जलगोष्ठसंनिधौ। नीलग्रीव शुभग्रीव सर्वकामफलप्रद। पृथिव्यामवतीर्णोसि खञ्जरीट नमोस्तु ते। ति. त. p. 103, नि सि 190 (first verse), व. क्रि. कौ. p 450 (quotes from संवत्सरप्रदीप the verse कृत्वा etc.)

There are many conjectures about the origin of the Dasarā festival. Some, relying on the usages of some parts of India to offer to gods ears of new corn, of hanging on the doors of the house the ears of green or unripe paddy and of putting in the turban young sprouts of wheat and the like, hold that it is more or less an agricultural festival. Others hold that as, about *Dasarā* monsoon rains stop, swollen rivers abate and crops are near being garnered, it is the most suitable time for marching on an expedition and that therefore the origin is due to military exigencies. I incline to the latter view. In ancient countries other than India, there was a fixed season when kings went to battle. For example, we read in II Samuel chap. 11 1 'And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle, that, David sent Joab'. The cult of Śamī is very ancient. Two logs of wood (*aranis*) from an Aśvattha tree growing inside a Śamī were employed in producing fire by attrition for Vedic sacrifices. Fire symbolizes vigour and valour and logs of Śamī are helpful in producing fire and śamī wood is very hard. In the Atharvaveda (VII. 11 1) we have the words 'the Aśvattha tree rides Śamī'. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 1 16 refers to Agni being produced from Aśvattha that is 'Śamīgarbha' and Tai. Br. I. 2 1. 7 connects Śamī with śānti (the removal of adverse signs). In the Tai. Ā. (VI 9. 2.) we read 'O Śamī! remove from us (destroy) sins and enmities' (śamī śamayāsmad-aghā dveṣāṃsi). It had some affinity with Navarātra also, as the latter celebrates the military exploit of Devī against Mahiṣāsura, and was therefore celebrated immediately after Navarātra. The word 'Dasarā' is derived from 'daśa' meaning 10 and 'ahan' (a day).

Dīvālī: This festival of lights, illuminations and fireworks is the most joyful of all festivals and is most widely observed throughout India. Observances, however, differ in detail and number from age to age and from province to province. It is not a single festival in honour of a single god or goddess as the Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī or the Navarātra is. It is spread over four or five days and contains several independent items. The days of Dīpāvalī properly so called are three. It is called Dīpāvalī (row of lamps) in many works, but also Dīpālikā (in colophon to chap. 140 of Bhaviṣyottarā). When emphasis is laid only on one item in this festival of several days it is also designated Sukharātrī in Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 1346-1348, vide *ABORI* vol. 36

p 329) and in Kālaviveka (pp. 232, 403-4), Yaksarātri[497] in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, Sukhasuptikā (in Vrataprakāśa, folio 204 and Hemādri on Vrata vol. II. pp. 348–349). In a scholarly paper contributed to the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Institute (vol. III. pp. 205-216) Prof. P. K. Gode traces the antiquity of this festival. The Bhavisyottara contains a charming verse with a *double entendre*[498] 'May this auspicious day of lights remove your sins like Rāmāyana in which the thunder of clouds is stopped (or in which Meghanāda i. e. Indrajit, son of Rāvana, is described as killed), in which the tips of wicks are burning (or in which Rāvaṇa became infuriated) and in which young women find delight (or with which Rāma is pleased). Some works like the N. S. and Kālatattvavivecana (p. 315) hold that the three days viz. 14th, amāvāsyā and Kārtika first, constitute the Kaumudī festival.[499]

Taken all in all Dīpāvalī spreads over about five days. The whole festival comprises five principal items spread over five days, viz. worship of wealth, the celebration of Visnu's victory over Narakāsura, worship of Laksmī, victory of Visnu over Bali and dice-play and the exchange of brotherly and sisterly affection. There are illuminations and the discharge of crackers on almost all the five days from the 13th of the dark half of Āśvina This last is called in Gujarat and Saurāṣtra 'Dhanteras'. Before and on this day houses are painted and decorated, the courtyards of houses are cleaned, and metal vessels are polished and illuminations begin. The Padmapurāna VI. 124. 4 refers to illuminations on the 13th of the dark half of Kārtika (by the pūrnimānta reckoning). Skanda quoted by Nirnayāmrta provides for lighting lamps at the advent of night on Kārtika dark

497. यक्षरात्रि along with कौमुदीजागर and others is included among sports (क्रीडाः) that are to be engaged in by several people The commentary जयमङ्गला on वात्स्यायन (I. 4.42) calls it सुखरात्रि and explains 'तत्र मायको लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा'. The कृत्यतत्त्व (p 451) and का. त. वि (p 319) quote a verse; अमावास्या यदा रात्रौ दिवाभागे चतुर्दशी। पूजनीया तदा लक्ष्मीर्विज्ञेया सुखरात्रिका॥ इति वचनात्. Here लक्ष्मीपूजन on अमावास्या is called सुखरात्रिका

498 उपशमितमेघनादं प्रज्वलितदशाननं रमितरामम्। रामायणमिव सुभगं दीपदिनं हरतु वो दुरितम्॥ भविष्योत्तर 140. 71. The first half contains three phrases applicable both to दीपदिन and रामायण उपशमिताः मेघानां नादाः यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन), उपशमितः मेघनादः यस्मिन् (with रामायण); प्रज्वलितानि दशानां दीपवर्तीनां आननानि अग्राणि यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन), प्रज्वलितः दशाननः रावणः यस्मिन् (with रामायण); रमिताः रामाः युवतयः यस्मिन् (with दीपदिन); रमितः रामः येन (with रामायण)

499. इषासितचतुर्दश्यामिन्दुक्षयतिथावपि। ऊर्जादौ स्वातिसंयुक्ते तदा दीपावली भवेत्। कुर्यात्तल्लक्षमेतच्च दीपोत्सवदिनत्रयम्। नारदसंहिता q. by नि. सि. p. 197, का. त. वि p. 315, व्रतराज p. 563,

13th outside the house in honour of Yama in order to avoid accidental death[500]

The Bhavisyottara contains a lengthy description of the four days of the Divālī festival from the 14th. I shall take that chapter as basis and add, where necessary, other passages from other texts

On the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina[501] (or of Kārtika in the pūrnimānta reckoning) persons afraid of Hell should take an oil bath at the time of daybreak, should whirl over their heads the twigs of Apāmārga tree together with clods of ploughed land and the thorns (of the twigs) The mantra to be repeated is noted below[502] Then the purāna provides for tarpana (satiation with *anjalis* of water &c mixed with sesame) to Yama and mentions seven names of Yama.[503] Then the purāna provides that a lamp should be lit for Naraka (i. e. for the avoidance of Naraka) and that in the evening illumination with charming lamps should be provided in the temples of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva and others, in *mathas* (monasteries), in rooms for implements, on *caityas* (mounds on which sacred trees grow), in assembly halls, on rivers, and ramparts, in parks, wells, principal roads and in the women's apartments, in shrines of siddhas, Arhats (Jaina saints), Buddha, Cāmundā, Bhairava, in isolated stables for horses and elephants (verses 15–17) Other texts provide that on this day

500 कार्तिकस्यासिते पक्षे त्रयोदश्या निशामुखे। यमदीप बहिर्दद्यादपमृत्युर्विनश्यति। मन्वन्तु-मृत्युना पाशदण्डाभ्यां कालेन श्यामया सह। त्रयोदश्यां दीपदानात्सूर्यज. प्रीयता मनेति। स्कन्द q in नि सि p 196 from निर्णयामृत These verses occur in पद्म VI 124. 4–5 with some variations का त वि p 323 quotes these two,

501 कार्तिके कृष्णपक्षे च चतुर्दश्या दिनोदये। अवश्यमेव कर्तव्य स्नान नरकभीरुभि॥ भविष्योत्तर 140 7, नि सि (p 196) reads चतुर्दश्यामिनोदये and explains 'इन्. चन्द्रः' पद्म VI. 124 6 reads विधूदये for दिनोदये व क्रि कौ p 459 quotes it from लिङ्गपुराण

502. हर पापमपामार्ग भ्राम्यमाण' पुन पुन। आपद किल्बिष चापि ममाशेषहर सर्वदा। अपामार्ग नमस्तेस्तु शरीर मम शोधय। भविष्योत्तर 140 9 अपामार्ग (literally, that washes away or removes) is a plant called Achyranthis Aspera (in Marathi आघाडा) used in incantations, medicine etc. It is frequently mentioned in अथर्ववेद IV 17,6–8, IV. 18 7–8, VII. 65. 1–2, vide also वाज सं. 35 11 अपामपमप किल्बिषमप. क्षुत्याममो रप.। अपामार्ग त्वमस्मदप दुष्वप्न्य सुव॥

503 The names are differently quoted by मद. पा 296 from बृहन्मनु as यमाय धर्मराजाय मृत्यवे चान्तकाय च। वैवस्वताय कालाय सर्वभूतक्षयाय च। औदुम्बराय दध्नाय नीलाय परमेष्ठिने। वृकोदराय चित्राय चित्रगुप्ताय वै नम॥, These are quoted by व. क्रि. कौ. p 459, नि. सि. p. 199 These are पद्म VI 124 13–14. It may be noted that these are 14 names of यम corresponding to the tithi being 14th. The verse यमाय " क्षयाय च is भविष्य 140 10. The verses mentioning 14 names of यम are quoted by हे (on व्रत vol II p. 352).

in the midst of the bath one should whirl over one's body twigs and leaves of apāmārga or of gourd or of prapunnāta (called Tāklā in Marathi) for the removal of hell and that one should light a lamp with four wicks in memory of Narakāsura. It was believed[504] that Laksmī came to dwell in oil and the Ganges came to all waters on the 14th in Dīpāvalī and he who would take an oil bath on this morning would not see the world of Yama. In modern times, people in the Deccan after their bath on 14th crush under their foot a bitter fruit called Kārīt, which probably represents Narakāsura. The oil bath was to be taken about the time of arunodaya, but if for some reason it could not be done then it may be taken even after sunrise.[505] The Dharmasindhu says that even *yatis* (ascetics) should undergo the oil bath on this day. It appears probable that originally the 14th was called Narakacaturdaśī because Yama was to be propitiated for fear of Hell. Later on the legend about the killing by Krsna of Narakāsura, king of Prāgjyotisa city (Kāmarūpa), said to have been born of the Earth when it came in contact with the Varāha incarnation of Visnu, was pressed into service. People now-adays remember only Narakāsura on this day and hardly any one performs Yamatarpana.[506] The depredations of Narakāsura are narrated in the Visnupurāna V. 29 and in the Bhāgavata X. (uttarārdha) chap. 59. He deprived Aditi, the mother of gods, of her ear ornaments, Varuna of his umbrella, Mandara of a peak called Maniparvata and kidnapped 16100 girls of gods, siddhas and kings and imprisoned them in his palace.[507] Krsna killed him and if Purāna descriptions are to be treated as historical Krsna's actions were prompted by great pity

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504. तैले लक्ष्मीर्जले गङ्गा दीपावल्याश्चतुर्दशीम्। प्रातःस्नानं तु यः कुर्याद्यमलोकं न पश्यति॥ पद्म VI 124 q. by नि सि p. 127, by कृ चि pp 242–243 (from ब्रह्मपुराण); तैले ··· दीपावलितिथौ वसेत्। अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थमभ्यङ्गस्नानमाचरेत्॥ नारदसंहिता q by का त वि p. 315.

505 अरुणोदयकालस्यैव मुख्यत्वप्रतिपादनात्। केनचिन्निमित्तेनारुणोदयकालेऽतिक्रान्ते सूर्योदयोत्तरमप्यभ्यङ्गः कर्तव्यः। कृ चि. p 241, vide धर्मसिन्धु p. 104 for the same.

506 The यमतर्पण is to be in the form 'यमाय नमः यमं तर्पयामि' and then turning to the south one offers three *añjalis* of water mixed with sesame with the sacred cord in the *savya* or *apasavya* form according as the person's father is living or is dead.

507 कन्याश्च कृष्णो जग्राह नरकस्य परिग्रहान्।...एकस्मिन्नेव गोविन्दः काले तासां महागृहे। जग्राह विधिवत्पाणीन् पृथग्गेहेषु धर्मतः। षोडशस्त्रीसहस्राणि हतमेकं ततोऽधिकम्। तावन्ति चक्रे रूपाणि भगवान् मधुसूदनः॥ विष्णुपुराण V. 29 15–18 The भागवत X. 59, 33 states that the women were 16000.

and he raised the status of these unfortunate women by marrying them all.

The Tithitattva notes that there is a usage of eating fourteen kinds of vegetables on this day in order to correspond with the 14th tithi, enumerates them from Nirnayāmṛta and recommends that this should be followed.[508]

Several works such as the Varsakriyā-kaumudī and the Dharmasindhu prescribe that[509] on the evenings of the 14th of the dark half and amāvāsyā of Āśvina men with firebrands in their hands should show the way to their pitṛs (deceased ancestors) with the mantra 'May those men in my family who were cremated and those who had no cremation performed for them and those that were burnt only by resplendent fire (without religious rites?), reach the highest state (or goal); may those (pitṛs) who, leaving the world of Yama, came for the *Mahālaya śrāddhas* (in the dark half of Bhādrapada or Āśvina acc to pūrnimānta reckoning) find their way by the brilliant light (of the firebrands) and reach (their own worlds)

The medieval texts prescribe on 14th of Āśvina[510] dark half the performance of the following acts, viz oil bath, tarpana of Yama, lighting lamp for Naraka, illuminations at night, holding firebrands, worship of Śiva, worship of Mahārātri, taking food at night only Out of these only three (viz oil bath, lighting a lamp for Naraka and night illumination) are now-adays generally performed and the rest are omitted. After the bath people put on new clothes and ornaments and take a repast of sweets and the like and in the noon there is a sumptous feast There is a good deal of discussion in the Nirnayasindhu (p. 197), P. C (p. 241), Dharmasindhu (p 104) about the time when oil bath is to be taken, if the 14th is mixed up with the 13th and amāvāsyā That is passed over here

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508. अत्राचाराच्चतुर्दशशाकभक्षणं च कर्तव्यम् । अत्र निर्णयामृतभृतम् । ओल केतुकपालूकं " कृष्णे च भूते तिथौ ॥ तिथितत्त्व p 124 and कृत्यतत्त्व pp 450–451

509. तुलासंस्थे सहस्रांशौ मघोपे भूतदर्शयो । उल्कादस्ता नरा कुर्युः पितृणां मार्गदर्शनम् ॥ उल्कादानमन्त्रो । अग्निदग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यदग्धा कुले मम । उज्ज्वलज्योतिषा दग्धास्ते यान्तु परमां गतिम् ॥ यमलोकं परित्यज्य आगता ये महालये । उज्ज्वलज्योतिषा वर्त्म प्रपश्यन्तो व्रजन्तु ते ॥ ध कि. को p. 470–471, ध सि 104–105, नु चि p. 253, स म p. 117 (first verse only); भूत means 14th tithi here.

510. चतुर्दश्यामभ्यङ्गस्नानयमतर्पणदीपदान-मघोषदीपदानोल्कादान-शिवपूजा-महारात्रिपूजा-नक्तभोजनानि विहितानि । नु चि. p. 243

Narakacaturdaśī is also called Bhūtacaturdaśī in Krtyatattva (p. 450).

On all the three days, viz. 14th of dark half of Āśvina, amāvāsyā, and the first of Kārtika-śukla an oil bath in the morning is prescribed for him who desires wealth and prosperity.

Āśvina amāvāsyā is a very important day. One should take an oil bath in the morning[511] and perform the worship of Laksmī for the removal of *alaksmī* (bad luck, penury) Some texts add that the barks of five trees[512] should be boiled in water for the bath and the person should have lights waved before him by women. The Bhavisyottara (in chap 140, verses 14–29) describes the celebrations on amāvāsyā at some length. Briefly it comes to this. In the morning one should take (an oil) bath, worship gods and pitrs and perform the pārvana śrāddha with curds, milk, ghee and feed brāhmanas with various edibles. Then in the afternoon the king should proclaim in his capital 'today is the sovereignty of Bali; O people! enjoy yourselves'. People also in their houses should make merry with dance and music, should offer tāmbūla to each other and anoint their bodies with saffron powder, dress themselves in silken robes and wear gold and jewels, young women move about in groups wearing brilliant clothes, the houses should be full of rows of lamps, handsome maidens should cast rice grains about and the waving of lamps (nīrājana) should be resorted to which confers victory. Towards midnight the king should move about in the capital on foot to see the fun and charm of the festival and then return to his palace. When midnight is past and people's eyes are heavy with approaching sleep, the women in the city should create great noise by beating winnowing baskets and drums and should drive out *alakṣmī* (ill luck) from the courtyards of their houses. Hemādri (on vrata vol. II. pp. 348–349) quotes from Bhavisya certain additional items: 'no one except children or ailing persons should take a meal by day, one should worship Laksmī in the evening and should illuminate with treelike rows of lights shrines of gods, squares where four roads meet, cemeteries, rivers, mountains, houses, bottoms of trees, cowpens, caves. They should decorate shops where merchandise is bought and sold with white cloth and flowers, then feed

511 इये शुक्ले च दर्शे च कार्तिकमथने दिने। मानवो मङ्गलस्नायी नैव लक्ष्म्या विमुच्यते। नारदसंहिता q. by मु. चि p 241, नि. सि p 199 has the first half.

512 The five trees are अश्वत्थ, उदुम्बर, प्लक्ष, आम्र, वट.

brāhmaṇas and hungry persons in places surrounded by lamps and take dinner dressed in white garments and decked with ornaments. The Nīlamata-purāṇa calls this amāvāsyā night 'Sukh-suptikā' and describes it (verses 505–510) in the same way as Hemādri's quotation does[513] In Bengal Kālī is worshipped on this day, who it is said is both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī In modern times this is a day specially for merchants and traders. On this day they worship their books of account, invite friends, customers and other traders and give them tāmbūla and some sweets. Old accounts are closed and new ones opened. There is a popular legend that Brahmā gave to brāhmaṇas *rakṣābandhana* (Śrāvaṇa Full Moon day) as their festival, *Dasarā* to kṣatriyas, Divālī to traders and Holikā to Śūdras The night of the worship of Lakṣmī[514] is called Sukharātri, since Lakṣmī gives up her sleep on the amāvāsyā when the sun is in Libra (or Balance) and it is provided in some works that at the dawn of Sukharātri when the house is illuminated by lamps one should honour one's relatives with words of complimentary queries and worship Lakṣmī, that removes the taint of ill luck, with auspicious flowers, sandal-wood paste, curds, yellow pigment and fruits The Kṛtyatattva quotes a verse "when there is 14th tithi in a portion of the day and there is amāvāsyā on the night of that day Lakṣmī should be worshipped and (that night) should be known as Sukharātrikā" and then gives an elaborate procedure of the worship of Lakṣmī. Some works such as the Varṣakriyā-kaumudī, Kṛtyatattva (p 452) and Dharmasindhu (p 107)

513. तथा पक्षे व्यतीते तु कर्तव्या सुप्तसुप्तिका। पञ्चदश्यां यथा विद्म तथा मे गदतः शृणु। तस्यां दिवा न भोक्तव्यं बालातुरजनं विना। सूर्ये त्वस्तमनुप्राप्ते पूजयित्वा करीषिणीम्। दीपवृक्षा स्ततो देया देवतायतनेषु च। 'दीपमालापरिक्षिप्ते प्रदेशे तदनन्तरम्। स्वलङ्कृतैश्च भोक्तव्यं द्विजैश्च नववाससा। सुहृद्भिर्बान्धवैः सार्धं बन्धुभिश्चाप्तयायिभिः॥ नीलमतपुराण 505–510 page 42. करीषिणी appears to mean here image of लक्ष्मी made with dried cowdung cakes. Vide the मन्त्र used in the worship of लक्ष्मी viz गन्धद्वारां दुराधर्षां नित्यपुष्टां करीषिणीम्। ईश्वरीं सर्वभूतानां तामिहोपह्वये श्रियम्॥ q by व क्रि कौ p 476 The व क्रि कौ p. 468 quotes a passage from the ब्रह्मपुराण which is similar to the one cited above from Bhavisya by Hemādri and explains कूटागार as the room where the ploughshare and other implements are kept.

514 Vide Gupte's 'Hindu holidays and ceremonies' pp. 35–36 and Underhill p. 63. आह माण्डव्य। अमावास्यां तुलादित्ये लक्ष्मीर्निद्रां विमुञ्चति। तस्मिन् शुक्रे सदा विष्णुस्तुलायामथ वृश्चिके 'अथ देवोत्थापनपक्षपूर्वभूतेषानागतस्या नियमेन लक्ष्मीप्रबोधकात्। नैव सुप्तरात्रिरित्युच्यते। अत्र विहितं ज्योति शास्त्रे। सुप्तरात्रेश्च काले नवीपोन्मालिताले। शुद्धौ कुसुमैर्गन्धैर्दधिगोरोचनाफलैः। बन्धुभिर्बन्धुजनबन्धुभ्यश्च वाच्चा कुशलपार्चयेत्। पूजयेच्च तथा लक्ष्मीम् लक्ष्मीमलनाशिनीम्। का वि. pp 403–404. The verse 'अमावास्यां' is q. by व क्रि कौ. p 468 and two halves from the two verses सुप्तरात्रे' &c. on p. 469 from भविष्य.

provides that on this Sukharātri not only Laksmī but also Kubera[515] is to be worshipped.

The first of Kārtika-śukla is regarded as one of the three most auspicious days of the year. The Dharmasindhu [516] remarks that though the three days from the 14th tithi are designated Dīpāvalī yet that day which has Svāti-naksatra is most commended. It may be stated that Balipratipadā is often conjoined to Svāti-naksatra. On this day also an oil bath is obligatory. The most important item on this tithi is the worship of Bali. The Bhavisyottara (140. 47–73) describes this worship of Bali as follows: The king should at night draw the figure of Bali having two arms on a circle made on the ground with five coloured powders; the image should have all ornaments and should have Vindhyāvali (Bali's queen) near him, should be surrounded by asuras like Kūsmānda, Bāna, Mura and others, should wear a crown and ear ornaments; the king should himself offer worship in the midst of his palace together with his brothers and ministers with several kinds of lotuses and offer sandalwood paste, incense and *naivedya* of food including wine and meat and employ the following mantra[517] 'salutation to you, O king Bali, son of Virocana, enemy of gods and the future Indra, accept this worship.' Having thus worshipped he should keep awake at night by arranging for dramatic spectacles presented by actors based on stories about ksatriyas. Ordinary people also should establish inside their houses on a couch the image of king Bali made with white rice grains and worship it with flowers and fruits. Whatever gifts,[518] large or small, are made

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515. भविष्ये। सुखरात्र्यां प्रदोषे हि कुबेरं पूजयन्ति हि। ध. क्रि. कौ. p. 469, 'सुख ··· पूजयन्ति ये' इति रुद्रवचनात् कुबेरमपि पाद्यादिभिः पूजयेत्। कृत्यतत्त्व p. 452.

516 चतुर्दश्यादिदिनत्रयेपि दीपावलिसंज्ञके यत्र यत्राद्विस्वातिनक्षत्रयोगस्तस्य तस्य माहात्म्यातिशयः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 106.

517. The मन्त्र is 'बलिराज नमस्तुभ्यं विरोचनसुत प्रभो। भविष्येन्द्र सुराराते पूजेयं प्रतिगृह्यताम्। भविष्योत्तर 140.54, पद्म VI. 134.53. In the पद्म the मन्त्र is 'बलिराज··· दैत्यदानवपूजित। इन्द्रशत्रोऽमरारते विष्णुसाखिन्यदो भव॥' as q. by कृत्यतत्त्व p 453, नि सि 201. In the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 126. 25 it is said that Bali would be Indra in the Sāvarņi-manvantara (8th out of 14).

518. बलिमुद्दिश्य दीयन्ते दानानि कुरुनन्दन। यानि तान्यक्षयाण्याहुर्मयैवं संप्रदर्शितम्॥ महाफल्गुना तिथिरियं बलिराज्यप्रवर्धिनी। स्नानं दानं हुतगुणं कार्तिकेऽस्यां तिथौ भवेत्। भविष्योत्तर 140.57 (first verse). The first is quoted by नि. सि p. 201 and the 2nd by कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453, हे त p 27. हे. on काल p. 616 quotes from ब्रह्मपुराण a similar verse 'महाफल्गुना ··· राज्यप्रवर्तिनी। ब्राह्मणो हि मिथा नित्यं बालेयी परिकीर्तिता'. भविष्य I. 18,21 has the verse महाफल्गुना तिथिरियं etc..

on this day become inexhaustible and bring delight to Viṣṇu. The Kṛtyatattva (p 453) provides that three añjalis of flowers should be offered to Bali The Bhaviṣyottara adds 'this tithi increases the dominion of Bali; baths and gifts made on this tithi in Kārtika yield a hundredfold reward'

If the pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā or dvitiyā, the worship of Bali, the proper time of which is night, should be performed on pratipad mixed with amāvāsyā, since Hemādri quotes from Padma 'Śivarātri and Bali's day should be observed on the day when the tithi is mixed with the preceding tithi' and on account of the yugma-vākya Mādhava also is of the same [519] opinion

Bali was the son of Virocana and grandson of Prahlāda, a great devotee of Viṣṇu. *In the Vanaparva (28 2) Bali asks his* grandfather Prahlāda the question 'which is better, *kṣamā* (forbearance) *or tejas*' (vigorous action) In the Śāntiparva 225 13 it is said that Bali felt jealous of brāhmaṇas The story of Bali who had become very powerful and made gods lose their *tejas* is narrated in Brahmapurāṇa 73, Kūrma I. 17, Vāmana chap 77 and 92, Matsya chap 245–246 and Bhaviṣyottara 140 Bali began an Aśvamedha Viṣṇu assumed the form of a dwarf brāhmaṇa student and begged for land that would be measured by his three steps Though warned by Śukra that the dwarf was really Viṣṇu, Bali promised to give land equal to three steps Then the dwarf grew larger and larger and covered heaven and earth in two steps When Vāmana asked Bali where to plant the third step Bali told him to plant it on his back and thus Bali was thrust into the nether regions. Viṣṇu being [520] pleased with

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519. यथोक्तोपवासयद्वस्युत्सवोपि पूर्वविद्धायामेव कर्तव्यः। स चोत्सवो ब्रह्मपुराणे वामनपुराणे भविष्योत्तरपुराणे च प्रपञ्चितः। अत्र मातःकाले द्यूतादिकं ब्रह्मपुराणे दर्शितम्। तस्माद् द्यूतं प्रकर्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः। इति। यद्यपि मातरमावास्या वर्तते न तु प्रतिपत्, तथापि पूर्वोक्तसङ्कल्पन्यायेन प्रतिपद्. साकल्यमनाश्रित्य द्यूतादिकं मातरेव कार्यम्। का ति p. 126. The reference in the words पूर्वोक्त is to p. 123 (का ति.) where Mādhavācārya quotes a text that सङ्कल्प for a fast or vrata must be made in the morning though just at the time of सङ्कल्प the tithi may be amāvāsyā while the vrata is for pratipad, which follows some time after, and quotes केचित् in support 'या तिथिं समनुप्राप्य अस्तं याति दिवाकरः। तिथिः सा सकला ज्ञेया दानाध्ययनकर्मसु॥' इति। अत्र दानाध्ययनौपवासादि-निखिलदैवोपलक्षणार्थत्वविवक्षया कर्मसु इति बहुवचनं निर्दिष्टम्।' का ति p 123

520 स तु प्राह्लादिर्बलिः प्रीतः सम्मनसेप्सितम्। प्रसातलपतिर्यं च भावि चेन्द्रपदं पुनः। ब्रह्मपुराण 73 54–55, सुतलं नाम पातालं त्वमासाद्य मनोरमम्। वसाद्य समादेशं यथाव्यरिपालयन्॥ मत्स्य 246. 75

Bali's adherence to his plighted word conferred on Bali the overlordship of *pātāla* and the position of the future Indra. This story is an ancient one. The Mahābhāsya[521] on Pānini III I. 26 states that when a person recites the story of Bali's imprisonment (in *pātāla* by Visnu) or represents it on the stage people use such phraseology as 'Balim bandhayati' (he imprisons Bali), though Bali was imprisoned a long time ago. This makes it certain that the story was embodied in dramas and poems more than two thousand years ago.

The Balipratipadā appears to be called Vīrapratipadā[522] in the Vāmana-purāna. It is also called Dyūtapratipad (Krtyatattva p. 452) The purānas[523] say that on that day Śiva was defeated in dice-play by Pārvatī, that Śankara became sad, while Gaurī remained happy. Therefore, on this day in the morning men should resort to gambling. Whoever succeeded on this day in gambling would find that the whole year thereafter was beneficial to him but if he suffered defeat in gambling that day he would lose his wealth that year. In Ellora cave No. 21 Śankara and Pārvatī are shown as playing with dice; vide plate 38 in 'Ellora' by Balasaheb Pant-Pratinidhi of Aundh. In many parts of India people engage on this day in gambling and fortunes are often lost or made on this day. Even in a comparatively small country like Nepal gambling stakes soared up to three million rupees in 1955 on the Balipratipad day.

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521. On वार्तिक 6 of पा. III 1 26 the महाभाष्य says 'कंसवधमाचष्टे कंसं घातयति बलिबन्धमाचष्टे बलिं बन्धयति', then on वार्तिक 15, the महाभाष्य says 'इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता'. Vide note 330 for this sentence. 'अत्रापि युक्ता। कथम्। ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति।' शोभनिकाः means actors in a dramatic representation.

522 वामनपुराणे बलिं प्रति त्रिविक्रम उवाच। वीरप्रतिपदा नाम तव भावी महोत्सवः। तत्र त्वां नरशार्दूल ततो हृष्टाः स्वलङ्कृताः। पुष्पधूपप्रदानेन अर्चयिष्यन्ति तत्त्वतः। q by हे on काल p. 617, कृ र. p. 412, का. त. वि p 321 (with slight variations), ति त p 27. The printed वामन (chap 92 56–57) reads 'दीपप्रदाननामासौ तव भावी महोत्सवः।' पुष्पदीपप्रदानेन' etc It is likely that the true reading is वीर प्रतिपद् आप्य as in का. त. वि. p 321 (वीर being addressed to बलि).

523. ब्रह्मपुराणे। कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु प्रथमेऽह्नि सत्यवान्। जितश्च शङ्करस्तत्र जयं लेभे च पार्वती। ततोऽहं शङ्करो दुःखी गौरी नित्यसुखोषिता। तस्माद् द्यूतं प्रकर्तव्यं प्रभाते तत्र मानवैः। तस्मिन् द्यूते जयो यस्य तस्य संवत्सरं शुभम्। पराजयो विरुद्धश्च लाभनाशकरो भवेत्। q. by हे (on काल p. 616), कृ र. p. 411–12, ति सि p. 202 (from हेमाद्रि), ति त. p 27. vide स्कन्द I. 1. 34 for dice play between शिव and पार्वती.

On this day also there should be illuminations. It is said 'by lighting[521] lamps during (the day of) Bali's domination Laksmī becomes stable; this is called Dīpāvalī because there is waving of lights in this festival. Having reached (the day of) Bali's domination how will lamps be burning in the houses of those who do not observe the festival of the rows of lamps?'

The Dharmasindhu furnishes[525] a long list of the observances on this *pratipad* day according to the several purānas and digests, viz. worship of Bali, illuminations, holiday for and worship of cows and bulls, worship of Govardhana, the tying of Mārgapālī (lit protectress of the road), wearing new clothes, dice-play, waving of lights before men by women (whose husbands are alive), and tying up an auspicious garland. In modern times only three out of these, viz worship of Bali, illuminations and gambling are observed and the rest are hardly observed anywhere Therefore only brief references will be made to the rest Cows, calves and bulls are to be worshipped with two mantras (quoted in note) and decorated and cows are not to be milked and bulls are not to be made to carry burdens this day. This is to be done in the morning of Kārtika pratipad. If it be mixed up with[526] the 2nd it should not be done on that day as that would lead to the death of one's sons, wife and loss of wealth, but this should be observed when pratipad is mixed with amāvāsyā. Devala prescribes this and remarks that by the worship of cows three prosper, viz people, cows and the king As regards Govardhana-pūjā, those who are in the vicinity of Govar-

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524 बलिराज्ये दीपदानात्सदा लक्ष्मी स्थिरा भवेत्। दीपैर्नीराजनादत्र तेषा दीपावली स्मृता। बलिराज्यं समासाद्य यैर्न दीपावली कृता। तेषा गृहे कथं दीपा मज्जलिष्यन्ति केशव॥ धर्मसिन्धु p 106, q चि pp 243-244 बलिराज्य extends over three days from the 14th पुरा वामनरूपेण मार्थयित्वा धरामिमाम्। ददावतिथिरिन्द्राय बलिं पातालवासिनम्। कृत्वा दैत्यपतेर्दत्तमहोरात्रत्रयं नृप। q by का त वि p 315 The printed भविष्योत्तर (140 1-2) reads 'इन्द्राय दत्तवान् राज्य ... दैत्यपतेर्वासमहोरात्रं युनर्नृप॥'.

525. अस्यां प्रतिपदि बलिपूजा दीपोत्सवो गोक्रीडन गोवर्धनपूजा मार्गपालीबन्धनं वष्टिकर्षणं नववस्त्रादिधारणाद्युत्सवो द्यूतं नारीकर्तृक नीराजनं मङ्गलमालिका चेत्येवमादीनि कृत्यानि। धर्मसिन्धु p. 106. लक्ष्मीर्या लोकपालाना धेनुरूपेण संस्थिता। घृतं वहति यज्ञार्थं मम पाप व्यपोहतु॥ अग्रत सन्तु मे गावो गावो मे सन्तु पृष्ठत। गावो मे हृदये सन्तु गवा मध्ये वसाम्यहम्॥ पद्म VI. 124. 31-33 q by धर्मसिन्धु p 107, नि. सि. p 202 For praise of cows and gomati-vidyā, vide H of Dh. IV p 108 and Agnipurāna 292. 14-20, and Visnudharmottara II chap. 42.

526. प्रतिपद्दर्शसंयोगे क्रीडनं तु गवां मतम्। परविद्धेषु च कुर्याद्युग्रदारधनक्षय॥ या कुहूः प्रतिपन्मिश्रा तत्र गा पूजयेन्नृप। पूजने श्रीर्गृहे वर्धन्ते प्रजा गावो महीपति॥ इति देवलवचनात्। का. त वि 321, नि सि p. 20 (taking 2nd verse from निर्णयामृत).

dhana (a hill near Mathurā) should go to it and worship in the morning, while others not near it should prepare a Govardhana with cowdung or with heaps of cooked food or draw it in a picture and worship it along with Gopāla (Krsna) and offer all the 16 upacāras to Govardhana and Gopāla (Krsna) with mantras which pointedly refer to Krsna's giving protection to the settlement of cowherds (Gokula) against the heavy downpour of rain to the discomfiture of Indra. The sankalpa is given in the note.[527] The naivedya is to be on a grand scale. Therefore, the Smrtikaustubha (p. 174) states that Govardhana-pūjā[528] is called Annakūta (heap or hill of food) in Padmapurāna. Vide Var. 164 for Govardhana and Annakūtaparikrama The Dharmasindhu provides that a *homa* should be performed with the two verses 'ā gāvo agman' (Rg. VI. 28. 1) and 'praite vadantu' (Rg. X. 94. 1). Mukerji (pp 150–152) describes how Govardhana-pūjā is carried on in some out-of-the way rural tracts in United Provinces, though it has become altogether defunct elsewhere. Vide I. A. vol. 60 pp. 187–190 and vol. 61 pp. 1 ff and pp. 231 ff for description of the Gāyadānr festival observed in Bihar, Orissa and some other parts on Kārtika first of bright half in the afternoon in which cows gaily stamped with circular stains of red and blue on their skin and horns glistening with oil and red ochre chased a puny pig with their pointed horns and killed it.

In the afternoon of the pratipad (Kārtika-śukla) the tying of Mārgapālī takes place.[529] A rope of kuśas or kāśas (Saccharum spontaneum) should be made according to the usage of one's family and tied to a tall pole and a tree in the east; one should bow to it and offer a prayer to it with the mantra (quoted in the note 529) and all including the king and brāhmanas accompanied by cows, elephants and the like should pass by the

527. श्रीकृष्णप्रीत्यर्थं गोवर्धनपूजनगोपालपूजनात्मकं महोत्सवं करिष्ये—इति सङ्कल्प्य। धर्मसिन्धु p. 107

528. For Govardhana, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp 691 and 754. The story of Krsna having lifted up on his little finger Govardhana for seven days to protect cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra is narrated in Visnupurāna V. 11. 15–25, Varāha 164.

529. The भविष्योत्तर 140. 46–47 are—मार्गपालीं प्रवक्ष्यामीत्युक्त्वास्मेत्य पादपे। कुशकाशमयीं दिव्यां सम्भवे चक्षुभिर्वृताम्...मार्गपालीतलेनेत्थं हयागावो गजा वृषाः। राजानो राजपुत्राश्च ब्राह्मणा शूद्रजातयः। मार्गपालीं समुल्लङ्घ्य नीरुजः स्युः सुखी सदा। The same occurs in पद्म VI. 124. 44–45. मार्गपालि नमस्तेऽस्तु सर्वलोकसुखप्रदे। विधेयैः पुत्रदाराद्यै पुनरेहि व्रतस्थ मे। q by नि. सि p. 202, धर्मसिन्धु p. 105. The first half is पद्म VI. 124. 44.

way underneath the rope. In the same way a strong rope of kāśas or the like should be made and a tug of war should ensue, the rope being frequently pulled on one side by the princes and on the other by persons of lower castes. The pulling of the rope should be done in front of a temple or the palace or where four roads meet and an equal number of strong men should be selected for each side. A line should be drawn behind each side. If the persons of lower castes succeed in drawing the other side towards them then it should be held that the king will be victorious thereafter for one year.[530] The Nīrājana ceremony by women should be performed in the morning (if the pratipad is mixed with dvitīyā) and the Mangalamālikā (a series of auspicious rites or auspicious garlands) should be performed in the evening on the 2nd tithi (if pratipad exists only for a short time and is followed by dvitīyā).[531]

As shown above, the three days from Āśvina-kṛṣṇa 14th are spoken of as days of *Kaumudīmahotsava*.[532] The Bhaviṣyottara and Padma derive the word Kaumudī from 'ku' (earth) and the root 'mud' to be delighted, the meaning being 'in which people find delight on the earth among themselves' and then another etymology is suggested, viz kumudas (white water lilies) are offered to Bali in this festival.

In the Vedic period and for some centuries thereafter certain rites were performed in the month of Āśvina or in Śarad such as the Āśvayujī and Āgrayaṇa or Navaśasyeṣṭi. The first is one of the seven pākayajñas mentioned by Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 19). The first was performed on the Full Moon day of Āśvina. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 827 for a description of Āśvayujī and pp. 827–29 for Āgrayaṇa. But it is not possible to trace the Divālī festival to these rites. How the Divālī rites first arose cannot be stated with any approach to

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530 कृष्णकाशमयीं कुर्याद्वृद्धिका क्षुद्रदो नवाम्। तामेकतो राजसुता हीनवर्णास्तथान्यतः। गृहीत्वा कर्षयेयुस्तां यथासारं सुदुर्बलाः। जयेऽत्र हीनजातीना जयो राज्ञस्तु वत्सरम्। आदित्यपुराण q. by नि. सि. p. 202, vide व्रतराज p. 74 which furnishes more details.

531. कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे तु विधानाद्वितयं हि तत्। नारीनीराजनं प्रात सायं मङ्गलमालिका॥ अथ चेत्प्रतिपत्स्वल्पा नारीनीराजनं भवेत्। द्वितीयाया तदा कुर्यात् सायं मङ्गलमालिकाम्। भविष्यपुराण q. by हे. (*on* काल p. 615), नि. सि. p. 202, का. त. वि. p. 322. (first verse)

532. कृष्णशब्देन मही ज्ञेया तद्दी दर्भे तत परम्। धातुसैर्नैगमज्ञैश्च तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता॥ कौ भोदन्ते जना यस्यां नानाभावैः परस्परम्। हृष्टास्तुष्टा सुखायत्तास्तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता। कुमुदानि बलेर्यस्मादीयन्तेऽस्या मुधिष्ठिर। अर्थार्थं पार्थ भूतौ च तेनैषा कौमुदी स्मृता॥ भविष्योत्तर 140. 61–64. पद्मे VI, 124. 61–64.

plausibility. In the Anuśāsana parva it is said that the donor of lamps shines in the heavens like a row of lights (dīpapradah svarga-loke dīpamāleva rājate, 98 51). Some writers regard these as a reference to the Divāli. But it is not so clear as to place the matter beyond doubt In I. A. vol. 32 pp. 237–239 Mr. B A Gupte contributed a paper on 'Divali folklore'. He refers to the several legends and characteristics connected with the Divālī, viz. the killing of Narakāsura, depriving Bali of his empire, the crowning of Rāma and Vikrama in these days of Divālī and illuminations and says that the origin must be sought in the movement of the earth round the sun, the change of season, the end of the rice crop and the manuring of soil for the second crop. The connection he traces is rather remote and somewhat fantastic and I am afraid that his theory of origins will appeal to very few in these days.

On the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika occurs a very fine festival called Bhrātrdvitīyā or Yamadvitīyā. The Bhavisya states:[533] 'on the 2nd tithi of Kārtika bright half Yama was treated by Yamunā to a dinner in her house; therefore this tithi became declared in the world as Yamadvitīyā; wise men should not take mid-day meal in their own houses but they should take food from the hands of the sister through affection, as doing so increases one's welfare or prosperity. Gifts should be made to sisters; all sisters should be honoured with golden ornaments, clothes, reception and meals; but if there be no sister, one should honour a woman whom he regards as sister (uncle's or aunt's daughter or a friend's sister).' The digests add further details. One should[534] do worship to Yama and Yamunā and to Citragupta, and brothers and sisters should offer *arghya* (water in token of respectful reception) to Yama. The procedure is briefly this. In the morning the sister should invite the brother, make him

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533. कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षस्य द्वितीयाया युधिष्ठिर। यमो यमुनया पूर्वं भोजितः स्वगृहे स्वयम्। ... ततो यमद्वितीयेयं भोक्ता लोके युधिष्ठिर। अस्यां निजगृहे पार्थ न भोक्तव्यमतो बुधैः। स्नेहेन भगिनीहस्ताद्भोक्तव्यं पुष्टिवर्धनम्। दानानि च प्रदेयानि भगिनीभ्यो विधानतः। स्वर्णालङ्कारवस्त्राद्यैः पूजासत्कारभोजनैः। सर्वा भगिन्यः सम्पूज्या अभावे प्रतिपत्तिगाः। भविष्योत्तर 14. 18–23. Almost the same verses occur in पद्म VI. 124. 88–93 and in स्कन्द acc to नि. p. 82.

534 यमं च यमुनां चैव चित्रगुप्तं च पूजयेत्। अर्घ्यश्चात्र प्रदातव्यो यमाय सहजद्वयैः॥ q by हे. (on व्रत vol. I. pp 384–385), का. वि. p. 405, कृ. र. 413, व क्रि कौ. pp. 477–478, ति. त. p. 29, नि. सि. p 203, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453. All these contain almost the same verses with some variations. ति त. p 29 quotes some of these from महाभारत.

take at mid-day a bath with scented water and unguents rubbed on his body; she along with the brother should worship Yama and Yamunā with arghya and offer handfuls of flowers. The arghya mantra is[535] 'Come, come, O Yama, son of the Sun; you that carry in your hand a noose; accept this worship offered on Bhrātṛdvitīyā and also arghya; salutation to you!' Then two more mantras may be addressed.[536] 'O Dharmarāja, salutation to you, the elder brother of Yamunā; O son of the Sun, protect me along with your servants; salutation to you. Salutation to you, O Yamunā, sister of Yama and honoured by people, always confer on me favours, O daughter of the Sun, salutation to you!' After this she serves food to her brother with the verse 'Brother! I was born after you; partake of this pure food for pleasing Yama, particularly Yamunā'. If the sister be older than the brother she should say 'I was born before you'. Then after the brother finishes his meal she should deck him with sandalwood paste and then herself partake of the food. Some works like the Vratarāja (pp. 78–91) present a far more elaborate procedure, which is passed over here but two matters provided for by it may be mentioned. The first is that a person before going to his sister's house should mutter ten names of Yama (quoted in note[537]). The second is that the sister is to worship images of Yama and of eight mythological personages (Mārkandeya, Bali and others) supposed to be immortal for the increase of her brother's life[538] In modern times hardly any religious ceremony is performed except that residents of places near or on the banks of the Yamunā river (Jumna) bathe in the Jumna and there is a *mela* on the river on this day. The only thing generally done is the brother's visiting his sister, dining at her house, light being waved before him and his making some presents to the sister.

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535. अर्घ्यमन्त्रस्तु। एह्येहि मार्तण्डज पाशहस्त यमान्तकालोकधरामरेश। भ्रातृद्वितीया-कृतदेवपूजा गृहाण चार्घ्यं भगवन्नमस्ते॥ कृत्यतत्त्व p. 453, नि सि 203.

536 धर्मराज नमस्तेऽस्तु नमस्ते यमुनाग्रज। पाहि मां किङ्करैः सार्धं सूर्यपुत्र नमोऽस्तु ते॥ यमस्वसर्नमस्तेऽस्तु यमुने लोकपूजिते। वरदा भव मे नित्य सूर्यपुत्रि नमोऽस्तु ते॥ q. by व कि. कौ p. 478. कृत्यतत्त्व 453

537. यमो निहन्ता पितृधर्मराजो वैवस्वतो दण्डधरश्च काल.। भूताधिपो दृक्कृताद्धसारी कृतान्त एतद्दशनामभिर्जपेत्। व्रतराज pp. 79–80

538 भ्रातुरायुष्यवृद्ध्यर्थं भगिनीभिर्यमस्य वै। पूजनीया· प्रयत्नेन मतिमाश्च विधानत। मार्कण्डेयो बलिर्व्यासो हनूमांश्च विभीषण.। कृपो द्रौणिः परशुराम एतेऽष्टौ चिरजीविन। मार्कण्डेय महाभाग सप्तकल्पान्तजीवन। चिरजीवी यथा त्वं हि तथा मे भ्रातरं कुरु॥ व्रतराज p. 81.

This festival of Bhrātṛdvitīyā is really an independent one, but it was probably tacked on to the three festive days of Divālī in order to lengthen out the days of fun and joy. Sisters, when after their marriage they leave their brother's home, may not meet for years and further the sister may have become rich and the brother a poor man or *vice versa*. Our ancient writers evinced a keen appreciation of the bonds of disinterested affection between brothers and sisters and set apart a day in the year for their meeting to enable them to go over their sweet memories of childhood and to re-live for a day at least their early life which had gone forever. A religious tinge was added to the festival by recalling the two mythical personalities of Yama and Yamī, that figure in the famous Yama–Yamī hymn (Ṛg. X. 10). I should like to digress a little and strongly protest against the conclusion drawn by certain Western Sanskrit scholars that the hymn is an indication of the prevalence of the usage of the marriage of a brother and a sister among ancient Aryans. The hymn is a purely imaginative effort 'which bodies forth the forms of things unknown', as in the case of Ṛg. X. 119 where the poet imagines what Indra must have felt when treated to huge portions of Soma beverage. In Ṛg. X. 10.10[539] the sage makes it clear that in *future* ages something like what was delineated in his fantasy might occur (namely, sisters might do unsisterly acts). Macdonell in his 'Vedic Mythology' (pp. 172–173) indulges in some facile assumptions. Yama may be an Indo-Iranian divinity, but Yamī does not occur in the Avesta at all, as he himself admits, but only in later Parsi writings. Therefore, what is stated in these later writings should not be foisted upon the sages of the Ṛgveda. He supposes that the sage in Ṛg. X. 10 indulges in propaganda for exonerating Yama from incest. Propaganda is well-known to Western countries in the 19th and 20th centuries A D The Ṛgveda nowhere states that the human race was produced from Yama and Yamī. There is no warrant for saying that Yamī is Indo-Iranian and consequently the myth of the human race being born from a brother and sister is not Indo-Iranian Pargiter in AIHT (p. 70) follows the ball set rolling by Macdonell and others and boldly asserts that, when the Vāyu (in 93.12) says that Nahuṣa had six sons born of pitṛkanyā, Virajā, the word pitṛkanyā means 'sister' and Nahusa married his 'sister or half sister'

539. आ घा ता गच्छानुत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन्नजामि। ऋ. X. 10 10. 'Those later ages might come when sisters might do what is not sister-like.'

and that union between brother and sister was not unknown as Ṛgveda X. 10 about Yama and Yamī shows. One suspects the motives of a writer like Pargiter who held high judicial office in India, when he does not explain why 'pitṛkanyā' was used and not 'svasṛ', when he pays no heed to the fact that in many places in Vāyu (72. 5, 73. 1–2, 26, 36, 40, 45, 77 74) Menā, Acchodā, Pīvarī, Gauh, Yaśodā, Virajā herself, Narmadā and Gandhakālī are spoken of as 'pitṛnām mānasī kanyā', that Vāyu (72), Matsya (13. 2–9) and other Purānas speak of seven groups of pitṛs and set out how from the mind-born daughters of pitṛs several scions were born Virajā (described as pitṛkanyā in Vāyu 93 12 which Pargiter naively renders as father's daughter i e. sister) is spoken of in the same Purāna (Vāyu 73. 45) as the 'mind-born daughter' of these (i. e of Pitṛs) in the plural and not as 'of the father'. Writers like Pargiter sometimes create more riddles by their so-called research than they can be said to have solved.

The Padma asserts that those who please their married sisters with presents of clothes and the like are not subject to any quarrel for a year, nor to danger from enemies Both Bhavisyottara and Padma state 'He who eats a meal prepared by his sister's hand on the day on which king Yama was served in this world a meal by Yamunā through affection secures wealth and the best of foods'.

In Vedic times and in early smṛtis like those of Manu (II. 11) and Yāj. (I 53) it was difficult for a brotherless maiden to get married (vide H of Dh vol II p 435) But from this it is a far cry to say that the Bhrātṛdvitīyā owes its origin to this idea or practice.

CHAPTER XI

Makarasaṅkrānti and Mahāśivarātri

Makara-Saṅkrānti. This is a very important religious observance and festival. About 70 years ago (in the author's boyhood) it occurred on the 12th or 13th January according to the several Indian almanacs then current, but now it falls, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, on the 13th or the 14th of January in the month of Pausa. Sankrānti means 'the (apparent) passage of the sun from one rāśi (sign of the Zodiac) to the next following' and hence the rāśi in which the Sun enters is designated as the Sankrānti of that name [540] When the Sun leaves the rāśi called Dhanus and enters the Makara-rāśi that is called Makarasankrānti The rāśis are twelve and the Sankrānti names with their western equivalents are given in the note. [541] There are only twelve sankrāntis even if there be an intercalary month in some year. Everyone of the twelve sankrāntis was regarded as a holy day. The Matsya-purāna (chap 98) deals with the completion of Sankrānti-vrata. Briefly, it provides that on the day previous a person, whether male or female, should take food only once in the noon and on the Sankrānti day should brush his teeth and then take a bath with water mixed with sesame.[542] The person should offer to a self-restrained brāhmana householder three vessels containing edibles together with a cow intending them to be for Yama, Rudra and Dharma and repeat four verses one of which is as follows: "As I do not make any difference between Śiva, Visnu, the Sun and Brahmā, may Śankara (Śiva) who pervades

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540 खेः संक्रमणं राशौ संक्रान्तिरिति कथ्यते। स्नानदानतपःश्राद्धहोमादिषु महाफला॥ नागरखण्ड q by हे on काल p, 410, मेषादिषु द्वादशराशिषु क्रमेण सञ्चरतः सूर्यस्य पूर्वस्माद्राशेरुत्तरराशौ संक्रमणं प्रवेशः संक्रान्तिः। अतस्तद्राशिनामपुरःसरं सा संक्रान्तिरर्थ-पद्धिरुपते। का नि. p. 331.

541 मेष (Aries, Ram), वृषभ (Taurus, Bull), मिथुन (Gemini, Twins), कर्कट (Cancer, Crab), सिंह (Leo, Lion), कन्या (Virgo, Virgin), तुला (Libra, Balance), वृश्चिक (Scorpio, Scorpion), धनुः (Sagittarius, Archer), मकर (Capricornus, Goat), कुम्भ (Aquarius, water-carrier), मीन (Pisces, Fishes). More details will be given in the next section.

542 The whole of chap 98 of मत्स्य is quoted in कृत्यकल्पतरु (on व्रत pp. 432–435).

the Universe be always a bestower of welfare on me!'.[543] The person should make, if able, further gifts of ornaments, a bedstead and golden jars (two) to the brāhmana; but, if poor, should offer only fruits to the brāhmana. Then he should take his meal but without oil and should feed others according to his ability. Women also should perform this vrata. Great merit was attached to a bath in the Ganges on a sankrānti, on an eclipse and on New and Full moon, as such a man reached the world of Brahmā.[544] A bath with ordinary water (not heated) was obligatory (*nitya*) on every sankrānti, since the Devipurāna declared:[545] "the man who would not take a bath on the holy day of Sankrānti would be for seven lives diseased and poor; whatever offerings are made to gods and pitrs by men on sankrānti are returned to them by the Sun again in several future lives".

It may be stated that in ancient texts the entrance of the Sun alone in a rāśi is not regarded as holy time, but the entrance of all planets in a naksatra or rāśi was deemed to be a holy time.[546] Hemādri (on Kāla p. 437) and the Kālanirnaya (p. 345) quote three verses[547] specifying the holy times (*punya-kāla*) of the passage of the Sun and planets as follows: in the case of the Sun the punya-kāla is 16 ghatikās before and after the moment of the Sankrānti; for the moon it is one ghatī and thirteen *palas* on both sides, for Mars four ghatikās and one pala, for Mercury three ghatikās and 14 palas, for Jupiter[548] four

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543 यथा मेरुं न पश्यामि शिवविष्ण्वर्कपद्मजान्। तथा ममास्तु विश्वात्मा शङ्कर: शङ्करः सदा॥ मत्स्य 98. 17. The 2nd word शङ्कर means हरं कल्याणं करोति

544. संक्रान्त्यां पक्षयोरन्ते ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययो। गङ्गास्नातो नर: कामाद् ब्रह्मण: सदृशं व्रजेत्॥ भविष्य q. by ध क्रि कौ p 514.

545. रविसंक्रमणे पुण्ये न स्नायाद्यस्तु मानव। सप्तजन्मन्यसौ रोगी निर्धनश्चोपजायते। संक्रान्तौ यानि दत्तानि हव्यकव्यानि मानवै:। तानि नित्यं ददात्यर्कः पुनर्जन्मनि जन्मनि॥ देवीपुराण q. by का वि. p 380, का नि p. 333 (ascribes to ज्ञातातप), ध क्रि कौ. (pp. 214, 212) quotes the first verse from राजमार्तण्ड Both verses occur in रा. मा folio 81 b verses 1406–7, vide Annals of BORI, vol. XXXVI, p 336.

546. न केवलमादित्यस्यैव संक्रमणे पुण्यकाल: किं तु सर्वेषामपि ग्रहाणां नक्षत्रराशि-संक्रमे पुण्यकालो भवति। का. नि p. 345.

547. हे. on काल p 437 quotes the verses from जैमिनि, while का नि quotes from simply ज्योति:शास्त्र

548. There is a unique grant on Jupiter's entrance into Vrsabha (Taurus) in the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla in Vikrama year 1167 (11th February 1111 A D.) in E. I. VII. p. 93. There are many grants

(*Continued on next page*)

ghatikās and 37 palas, for Venus four ghatikās and one pala, for Saturn 82 ghatikās and 7 palas.

Though the planets also have sankrāntis, later writers hold that the word *saṅkrānti* by itself means only Ravi-sankrānti, as stated by the Smrti-kaustubha p. 531.[549]

The twelve Sankrāntis in the year are grouped into four classes, viz. there are two *ayana* sankrāntis (that is Makara-sankrānti from which *udagayana* starts and Karkata-sankrānti from which Daksināyana starts), two Visuva sankrāntis (that is, Mesa and Tulā sankrāntis when the day and night are equal in length), the four sankrāntis called Sadaśīti or Ṣadasīti-mukha (i. e. Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus and Mīna) and Visnupadī or Visnupada (that is, Vrsabha, Simha, Vrścika and Kumbha)[550]

Sankrānti gradually came to be deified and the Devīpurāna identified it with Durgā herself. The Devīpurāna says 'Devī is

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(*Continued from last page*)

made on the Sun's saṅkrāntis. For example, vide E. I vol. VII. p. 85 (Kahla plate of Kalacuri Sodhadeva, grant being made on 24th December 1077 A. D.), E. I. XII p. 142 (Nilgunda plates of western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI in 1087 A. D.), both on उत्तरायणसंक्रान्ति, E. I. XIV p 324 (grant of village in honour of Buddha on Visuva saṅkrānti to a brāhmaṇa by Mahīpāla I king of Bengal).

549 सर्वग्रहाणां राश्यन्तरसङ्क्रमणवाचिनोपि सङ्क्रान्तिशब्दस्य-सङ्क्रान्तेः पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयतः कलाः-इत्यादि शास्त्रे रविसंक्रमणमात्रपरत्वम्। स्मृतिकौ p. 531. 'संक्रान्ते. .कालाः' is a verse of जाबाल (q. by कृ. र p. 614, व. क्रि. कौ. p 95, from ब्रह्मवैवर्त).

550 पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका III. 23-24 (p. 9) defines these 'मेषतुलादौ विषुवत् षडशीतिमुखं तुलादिभागेषु। षडशीतिमुखेषु रवे· पितृदिवसा षेऽवशेषाः स्युः॥ षडशीतिमुखं कन्याचतुर्दशोऽष्टादशो च मिथुनस्य। मीनस्य द्वाविंशो षड्विंशो कार्मुकस्यांशो॥'. तुला आदिर्यस्याः सा तुलादि कन्या। द्वादशैव भवन्त्येषां द्विज नामानि मे शृणु। एकं विष्णुपदं नाम षडशीतिमुखं तथा॥ विषुवं च तृतीय च अन्ये हे दक्षिणोत्तरे। कुम्भालिगोहरिषु विष्णुपदं वदन्ति क्रीचापमीनमिथुने षडशीतिवक्त्रम्। अर्कस्य सौम्ययमनं शशिधान्नि याम्यसुखे द्वये विषुवति व्यजनौलिनोः स्यात्॥ ब्रह्मवैवर्त q. by हे. on काल p. 407. Some words require explanation. अलि = वृश्चिक, गो = वृषभ, हरि = सिंह, क्री = कन्या, चाप = धनुः, शशिधान्नि = शशिगृहे = कर्कटके, सौम्ययमनं = उत्तरायणं, याम्य = दक्षिणायन (यम is the lord of the south), द्वय = मकर, अज = मेष, तौली (one holding a balance) = तुला. Similar verses are quoted by हे. (on काल p 408) from वसिष्ठ, which are quoted as from वृद्धवसिष्ठ by का नि. p. 332 Some of these verses of वसिष्ठ are the same as in अग्निपुराण as quoted by व. क्रि कौ p. 204. The राजमार्तंड (Annals BORI, vol. XXXVI, p 338 verse 275) defines षडशीति and विष्णुपदी. For mention of Sadasītimukha-saṅkrānti in an epigraphic record, vide Canarese Ins of Devagiri Yādava king Mahādeva in śaka 1185 (= Sunday 27th May 1263 A. D) in I. A. vol. 25 p. 346.

all-pervading on account of the division into very small and large parts in the form of year, *ayana*, season, month, fortnight, day and the like. Devī bestows rewards in accordance with the divisions into meritorious and sinful (actions).[551] Even one act done at that time (of Saṅkrānti) yields results multiplied crores of times. From dharma (righteous acts) increase life, kingdom, progeny, happiness and the like, from *adharma* (unrighteous conduct) spring diseases, sorrows and the like; whatever is donated and whatever japa is performed near (i.e. at the time of) Viṣuva (Meṣa and Tulā) saṅkrāntis and at the *ayana* (Makara and Karkaṭa saṅkrāntis) becomes inexhaustible; the same holds good about Viṣṇupada and Ṣaḍaśīti-mukha'.

The exact moment of time when the sun leaves one rāśi and enters the next following rāśi is impossible of being marked by the eyes of flesh (ordinary human eyes). Therefore thirty ghaṭikās before and after the moment of Saṅkrānti are said to be the time.[552]

In order to convey how infinitesimally small is the time of the Sun's entrance into a rāśi after leaving another the Devī-purāṇa has[553] the following: "thirtieth part of the time taken by the throb of the eye of a man sitting happily at ease is called 'tatpara'; one hundredth part of 'tatpara' is called 'truṭi'; one hundredth part of 'truti' is the (duration of) time of the sun's

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551. अनायनकृतुमानपक्षाहादिक्रमेण तु। स्थूलसूक्ष्मविभागेन देवी सर्वगता विभो।... पुण्यपापविभागेन फलं देवी प्रयच्छति। एकस्मिन् क्षुते तस्मिन्कोटिकोटिगुणं भवेत्। धर्माद्विवर्धते आयू राज्यं पुत्रसुखादयः। अधर्मादु व्याधिशोकादि विषुवायनसंक्रमे। विषुवेषु च यज्जप्तं दत्तं भवति चाक्षयम्। एवं विष्णुपदे चैव षडशीतिमुखेषु च॥ देवीपुराण q by हे. (on काल pp. 418–419), कृ र. pp. 614–615. कृत्यकल्प (नैयत) quotes all verses from पुण्यपापविभागेन on p. 361 and the first verse on p. 362.

552. तदाह देवलः। नेत्रोन्मिषनिमेषाभ्यां मानुषो हुर्दशः पिंडितेक्षणैः। तद्योगादुच्यते त्रिंशत्कालाख्यः परिविद्वद्भिः॥ इति। देशाभ्यवधानाद्व्यवस्तत्रिंशद्भागो पूर्वोत्तरराश्योर्मध्ये यत् पूर्वराशिं परित्यज्य चरता कालेनोत्तरराशिं प्रविशति न लेशो योगदृष्टि विना लोकदृष्टया दुर्लक्ष्यः। अतोऽस्मिन्ने सूक्ष्मसंक्रान्तिकालान्तर्भवात् संक्रान्तिमध्यन्विनो पूर्वापरकालौ ग्रहीतव्यौ। का वि. p. 333; हे. (on काल p. 417) attributes this verse to वसिष्ठ and explains त्रिंशत्कालाख्यः in two ways 'अथवा त्रिंशत्कालाख्य ऊर्ध्वं च त्रिंशत्कालाख्य पुण्यकालः। पक्षा त्रिंशत्कालाख्यः पूर्वं पञ्चदशः पश्चात्पञ्चदशेति ज्ञेयम्'।

553. लक्ष्ये नरे सुखासीने यावत्स्पन्दति लोचनम्। तस्य त्रिंशत्तमो भागस्तत्पर इति कीर्तितः। तत्पराच्छततमो भागस्त्रुटिरित्यभिधीयते। त्रुटे सहस्रभागो यः स कालो लवसंज्ञकः॥ देवीपुराण q by कृत्यकल्प (नैयत) p. 365, हे (on काल) p. 416, का वि p. 332, कृ. कि. कौ. p. 205 व्रतकालविवेक (J. H. Q. vol. 17 No. 4 Supplement p. 23) quotes त्रुटेः...सहस्रकेन and remarks: इत्युक्तसंक्रान्तिकालस्यातिसूक्ष्मत्वेन कर्मानर्हतया सहस्रान्तिपदस्य लक्षणया तत्परत्वात्।

passage (from one rāśi into another). As it is not possible to perform on such an infinitesimally small point of time the rites prescribed for performance on saṅkrānti, one has to accept periods of time near this moment as the proper time. The first rule is that the nearer[554] the ghatikās are to the time of actual entrance the holier they are. Therefore it is laid down that in saṅkrāntis the puṇyatama-kāla (holiest time) is sevenfold[555] viz. three, four, five, seven, eight, nine or twelve ghatikās; during those periods real merit is accumulated. If one cannot perform the prescribed rites within these limits thirty ghatikās are permitted as the highest limit in the texts for the *puṇyakāla* (holy time) for all saṅkrāntis except Sadaśīti (in which the maximum puṇyakāla is 60 ghatikās) and Viṣṇupadī (where it is 16 ghatikās before and after).[556]

Each of these twelve saṅkrāntis in the year is seven-fold (i. e. has seven different names) according as it occurs on a particular week day or in conjunction with certain classes of nakṣatras. The seven names[557] are: Mandā, Mandākinī, Dhvāṅkṣī, Ghorā, Mahodarī, Rākṣasī, and Miśritā. A saṅkrānti (such as Meṣa or Karka or Makara) is called Ghorā if it occurs on Sunday, Dhvāṅkṣī on Monday, Mahodarī on Tuesday, Mandākinī on Wednesday, Mandā on Thursday, Miśritā on Friday and Rākṣasī on Saturday. Again, a saṅkrānti (like Meṣa or Karka and so on) is called respectively Mandā, Mandākinī, Dhvāṅkṣī Ghorā, Mahodarī, Rākṣasī, Miśritā according as it commences respectively on nakṣatras called dhruva, mṛdu, kṣipra, ugra,

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554. या या सन्निहिता नाड्यस्तास्ता- पुण्यतमाः स्मृताः। ज्ञातातप q. by हे. on काल p. 420. का नि p 334 (ascribes to देवल), ति त p. 144 (ascribes to देवल), स म. p. 137 (ज्ञातातप).

555 त्रिचतुःपञ्चसप्ताष्टनवद्वादश एव च क्रमेण घटिका होतास्तत्पुण्य पारमार्थिकम्॥ देवीपुराण q. by हे on काल p. 409, कृ. र. p 613, का. नि p. 341 (reads द्विचतुः०), व. क्रि कौ p 208; तत्पुण्य means तस्मिन् पुण्यं and पारमार्थिक means 'undoubtedly' or सुकर्म फलं as कृत्यकल्प० explains in नैयतकाल p. 360.

556. केनापि निमित्तेन संनिहितघटिकास्वल्पज्ञानात्सम्भवे त्रिंशद्घटिकाः परमावधिरित्येवमाश्यज्ञायन्ते। षडशीतिषु ततोपि द्वीर्घमवधिमाह वृद्धवसिष्ठः। षडशीत्यामतीतायां षष्टिरुक्तास्तु नाडिकाः। इति। विष्णुपद्यां मकरस्थकालं स एवाह। पुण्यायां विष्णुपद्यां च प्राक् पश्चादपि षोडश। इति। का नि p. 334.

557. सप्तधा सा तु विज्ञेया एकैकैव यथा शृणु। मन्दा मन्दाकिनी ध्वाङ्क्षी घोरा चैव महोदरी। राक्षसी मिश्रिता मोक्षा संक्रान्तिः सप्तधा पृथ। सूर्ये घोरा विधौ ध्वांक्षी भौमवारे महोदरी। बुधे मन्दाकिनी नाम मन्दा सुरपुरोहिते। मिश्रिता शुक्रवारे स्याद्राक्षसी च शनैश्चरे। देवीपुराण q by हे. (on काल) p 408–409, का नि pp 340–341 (only the first 1½ verses), स म. p 137; कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) p. 360 quotes the first 1½ verses.

cara, krūra, miśrita Vide note below[558] for the naksatras falling under these 7 groups It is further provided that the ghatikās from two (or three) to twelve said to be the holiest times (in note 555 above) are to be taken as respectively referring to the seven kinds of sankrānti i e two or three *ghatikās* is the holiest time in Mandā sankrānti, four ghatikās in Mandākini sankrānti and so on. It is laid down that Mandā sankrānti is beneficial to brāhmanas, Mandākini to ksatriyas, Dhvānksi to vaisyas, Ghorā to sūdras, Mahodari to thieves, Rāksasi brings success to vendors of liquor and Miśritā increases the (profit of the) avocations of Cāndālas, Pukkasas, of those whose business is of a terrible nature and of all craftsmen (vide Hemādri on Kāla pp 409–410 and Varsakriyā-kaumudi p 210 quoting Devīpurāna).

There is some conflict on the question of the general rule about the extent of *punyakāla* on a sankrānti. Śātātapa,[559] Jābāla and Marici prescribe the sixteen ghatikās before and after the moment of Sankrānti as the punyakāla for the performance of the religious acts prescribed on Sankrānti On the other hand, the Devīpurāna[560] and Vasistha lay down fifteen ghatikās each before and after sankrānti as the punyakāla This conflict is removed in various ways. One is to hold that the Devīpurāna is not restrictive but what it means is only this that lesser limits are meant to indicate that greater merit results by

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558. The 27 or 28 नक्षत्रs are arranged in 7 groups as follows.—ध्रुव (or स्थिर)–उत्तराफल्गुनी, उत्तराषाढा, उत्तराभाद्रपदा, रोहिणी, मृदु–अनुराधा, चित्रा, रेवती, मृगशीर्ष, क्षिप्र (or लघु)–हस्त, अश्विनी, पुष्य, अभिजित्, उग्र–पूर्वाफल्गुनी, पूर्वाषाढा, पूर्वाभाद्रपदा, भरणी, मघा; चर–पुनर्वसु, श्रवण, धनिष्ठा, स्वाति, शतभिषक्, क्रूर (or तीक्ष्ण)–मूल, ज्येष्ठा, आर्द्रा, आश्लेषा, मिश्रित (or मृदुतीक्ष्ण or साधारण)–कृत्तिका, विशाखा Vide बृहत्संहिता 98. 6–11 (Kern's ed) for these lists and कृत्यकल्प (नैयत०) p. 361, हे on काल p 409, का. वि. p 341–342, स. म p 137; बृहत्संहिता 98.9 and कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) do not mention अभिजित् among लघु group

559 शातातप । अर्वाक् षोडश विज्ञेया नाड्य पश्चाच्च षोडश । कालः पुण्योऽर्कसंक्रान्तेर्मुहूर्त्तैः परिकीर्तित ॥ जाबाल० । सक्रान्तौ पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयत कला । मरीचि । नाड्य. षोडश पूर्वेण संक्रान्तेरपरेण या । राहोर्दर्शनमात्रेण पुण्यकाल प्रकीर्तित ॥ कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) pp. 361–362, 365, हे (on काल p 417), का वि p 382 (ascribes the last verse to वैष्णव), व कि कौ p 207 (omits the last verse)

560 अतीतानागतो भोगो नाड्य पञ्चदश स्मृता । देवीपुराण q. by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) p 360, हे (on काल) p. 418, स म p 137. भोग is explained by हे. as 'संक्रान्ती निमित्ते विहितस्य स्नानदानादेर्नित्यस्य वाध्ययनादे पालनं भोग.' observance of bath and gifts prescribed for being done on the occasion of Sankrānti and not engaging in Vedic study which is forbidden. कृत्यकल्प० explains भोग: as व्याप्ति.

their observance. Another explanation was to hold that the limit of 16 ghatikās applied to saṅkrāntis called Viṣnupadī.

A saṅkrānti may take place by day or at night. If Saṅkrānti occurs by day that whole day is puṇyakāla. If Saṅkrānti occurs by night, lengthy and complicated discussions occur in Hemādri, Mādhava and others. One rule evolved is that in ten saṅkrāntis excluding Makara and Karkaṭa saṅkrāntis the puṇyakāla is by day when those saṅkrāntis occur by night.

Several exceptions are engrafted on the general rule about 15 or 16 ghatikās before and after a saṅkrānti being the puṇyakāla. Therefore, several works like the Tithitattva (pp. 144–145) and Dharmasindhu (pp 2–3) give brief final conclusions on this topic. I summarize[560a] the conclusions of the latter work. On the Sun's passage in Meṣa and Tulā the puṇyakāla is fifteen ghatikās before and after S (some say ten ghatikās); in Vṛsabha, Simha, Vṛścika, Kumbha S, P is sixteen gh. before S; in Mithuna S, Kanyā, Dhanus and Mīna S, P is 16 gh. after S; in Karkaṭa S, P is thirty gh. after S; in Makara S, P is forty gh. after S. If Saṅkrānti occurs by day when a period of two ghatikās or less only remains before the close of the day then in the case of Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus, Mīna and also Makara saṅkrāntis P is before S for the gh. specified above against each; if S occurs in the morning at a period of two gh. or less from sunrise then in Vṛsabha, Simha, Vṛścika, Kumbha and also Karkaṭa S, P is after S for the period specified above. If S occurs at night but before midnight, P is latter half of the daytime before the S; if S occurs at midnight or later than midnight but in the night, P is on two days viz the latter half of the daytime before S and the first half of the day after S; this applies to all S except Makara and Karkaṭa. When Uttarāyaṇa begins in Makara in the night P is the day after S and if S begins in Karkaṭa at night P is the day prior; if Makara S occurs at evening twilight (i. e. during three ghatikās after sunset) then P is on the previous day; if Karka S occurs in morning twilight (i. e. during three gh. before sunrise) then P is on the day following the S.

This discussion about the puṇyakāla is necessary because a bath is to be taken and gifts are to be made during that time in order to secure the full merit thereof The general rule is that a

560 a. In this summary S. stands for Saṅkrānti or Saṅkrāntis, gh. for ghatikās, P. for puṇyakāla.

bath is not to be taken and a gift is not to be made at night. Parāśara[561] says 'a bath by day purified by the rays of the Sun is commended; bathing at night is not commended except on seeing an eclipse'. The Viṣnudharmasūtra says the same. But several exceptions were recognized The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[562] provides 'one should not take a bath at night and particularly should not make a gift at night, but a bath and a gift may be made at night on proper occasions A gift at night is commended in an eclipse, marriage, saṅkrānti, pilgrimage, on death, on the birth of a child and at (before sitting down for) hearing *itihāsa* (Mahābhārata)' Gobhila[563] provides 'people may bathe and make gifts at night in eclipses, saṅkrāntis, marriage, in distress (or death) and on the birth of a child and in vratas undertaken for a desired object' A bath is therefore obligatory on every saṅkrānti and particularly in Makara-saṅkrānti. There are special recommendations about gifts in Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 414–419) which are taken by him from Viśvāmitra and which are borrowed by Nirnayasindhu (pp. 4–5), Samaya-mayūkha (pp 143–144) and others and which are as follows. gift of ram on Meṣa, of cows on Vṛṣabha, of clothes, food and drinks on Mithuna, of ghṛtadhenu[564] on Karkaṭa, of a conveyance with some gold on Simha, of clothes and cows on Kanyā, of different kinds of grains and seeds on Tulā, on Vṛścika of clothes and houses, on Dhanus of clothes and conveyances, on Makara

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561 दिवाकरकरैः पूतं दिवा स्नानं प्रशस्यते। अप्रशस्तं निशि स्नानं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात्॥ पराशर XII 20 q by स्मृतिच I. p 120 which remarks, राहुदर्शनं ग्रहण-सङ्क्रान्त्यादिपि पदर्शनार्थम्। न रात्रौ राहुदर्शनवर्जम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 64 6

562. रात्रौ स्नानं न कुर्वीत दानं चैव विशेषतः। नैमित्तिकं च कुर्वीत स्नानं दानं च रात्रिषु॥ ग्रहणोद्वाहसंक्रान्तियात्रातिप्रसवेषु च। अन्यत्रे चेतिहासस्य रात्रौ दानं प्रशस्यते॥ भविष्यपुराण q by हे on काल p 433, का नि p. 339, which adds one more verse 'यज्ञे विवाहे यात्रायां तथा पुस्तकवाचने। दानान्येतानि शस्तानि रात्रौ देवालये तथा॥'

563. गोभिल। राहुदर्शनसंक्रान्तिविवाहात्ययवृद्धिषु। स्नानदानादिकं कुर्युर्नैधि काम्यव्रतेषु च॥ हे. on काल p. 433, नि सि p 7, thus is ascribed to देवल in स्मृतिच I p 120, कृ र pp 616, 625, व क्रि कौ pp 93, 210, it is strange that का नि (p. 339) ascribes it to याज्ञवल्क्य, but it is not found in the printed याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति; probably का नि had in view a very similar verse of योगयाज्ञवल्क्य 'ग्रहणोद्वाहसंक्रान्तियात्रातिप्रसवेषु च। स्नानं नैमित्तिकं ज्ञेयं रात्रावपि तदिष्यते॥' q by स्मृतिच I. p 120

564. For 'ghṛtadhenu', vide H of Dh vol. II p. 880. As regards gift on Simha there are various readings; N S. reads 'gift of chatra' (umbrella), while S M. reads 'gift of pātra' (vessel). For 'tiladhenu' vide H of Dh. vol. II p. 880.

of wood and fire, on Kumbha of cows, water and grass, on Mīna of fresh flowers Special gifts are required to be made on Makarasaṅkrānti. The Skanda[565] says 'He who donates *tila-dhenu* on Uttarāyana (i. e. Makarasaṅkrānti) secures all objects and obtains the highest happiness.' The Viṣṇudharmottara provides 'the gift of garments on Uttarāyana yields great reward (merit). A man becomes free from diseases by donating sesame and a draught bull'. The Śivarahasya declares that Śiva after he performed the Gosava sacrifice created sesame on Makara-saṅkrānti for the gratification of all men and provides 'men should bathe in water in which sesame are mixed and one should rub one's body with sesame; *tarpaṇa* of gods and pitṛs should be made with water in which sesame have been put; sesame should be given to brāhmaṇas on Uttarāyana saṅkrānti; one should eat sesame and perform *homa* with them; those who perform homa with sesame and honour brāhmaṇas shine in the heaven (as stars) like those who donate a thousand cows; auspicious lamps fed with oil of sesame should be lighted in Śiva temples and a brāhmaṇa should worship God (Śiva) with grains of rice and sesame'. The Kālikā-purāṇa (q. by Hemādri on Kāla p. 413 and Kṛtyakalpaa, Naiyata, pp. 366-67) provides: 'one should place on the top of (the linga emblem of) God (Śiva) the five jewels viz gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl; but if a man has none of these he may place in Uttarāyaṇa on the top of the linga gold one[566] *karṣa* or half karsa in weight; he should worship with plenty of ghee prepared from cow's milk and should donate ghee and a blanket after washing and pressing it; he should give condiments and a dinner to brāhmaṇas and ascetics and honour them with dakṣiṇā'.

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565. स्कान्दे। येह्ं तिलमयीं राजन् ददाद्यश्चोत्तरायणे। सर्वान् कामानवाप्नोति विन्दते परम सुखम्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे। उत्तरे त्वयने विप्रा वस्त्रदानं महाफलम्। तिलपूर्णमनड्वाहं दत्त्वा रोगैः प्रमुच्यते। शिवरहस्ये। पुरा मकरसंक्रान्तौ शङ्करो गोसवे कृते। तिलानुत्पादयामास घृतये सर्वदेहिनाम्। तस्माच्चस्यां तिलै- स्नानं कार्यं चोद्वर्तनं जुचैः। देवतानां पितॄणां च सोदकैस्तर्पणं तिलैः। तिला देयाश्च विप्रेभ्य सर्वदेवोत्तरायणे। तिलांश्च भक्षयेत्पुण्यान् होतव्याश्च तथा तिलाः। तस्यां तिथौ तिलैर्हुत्वा चेऽर्चयन्ति द्विजोत्तमान्। त्रिदिवे ते विराजन्ते गोसहस्रमदायिनः। तिलतैलेन दीपाश्च देया शिवगृहे शुभाः। सतिलैस्तण्डुलैर्देयं पूजयेद्विधिवद् द्विजः। हे. on काल pp. 415-416 q by नि. सि. p. 218. गोसहस्र was one of the 16 Mahādānas. Vide H of Dh. vol II. pp. 869 and 874 With त्रिदिवे ते विराजन्ते, compare ऋ. X, 107. 2 'उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदा सह ते सूर्येण'.

566 Karṣa is a weight of gold or silver equal to 16 māṣas=80 raktikās i. e. about 176 grains.

greet each other by giving articles from simple sesame and jaggery to artistic sugared preparations of sesame coloured with saffron and go about saying 'take these sesame and jaggery and speak sweet words' (in Marathi)

The importance of *tilas* (sesame) is brought out in the following: A person[572] who uses sesame in six ways does not sink (is not unsuccessful or unlucky) i. e. who rubs his body with sesame, who bathes with sesame, who is pure and always offers water mixed with sesame (to his deceased ancestors), and who offers sesame into fire, who makes a gift of sesame and who eats sesame.

Gifts are made in these days on Makarasankrānti, but mostly by women. They honour priests by donating vessels (of clay, copper or brass) containing several things such as betelnuts and coins and also invite their women friends and distribute among them earthen vessels containing red powder, pieces of turmeric, betelnut and also separately several other things such as sugarcane stalks In south India there is a festival called Pongal[573] which corresponds with the Makarasankrānti observed in Northern and Western India, Pongal being the first day of the Tamil year. This South Indian festival lasts for three days.

According to the modern astronomical calculations, the winter solstice occurs on 21st December and on that day commences the Sun's apparent march towards the north. But in India people who follow the almanacs based on the ancient methods and data think that the Sun's march towards the north takes place on the 14th of January. They are thus about twenty three days behind the correct Makarasankrānti owing to the precession of the equinoxes. This fact was recognised even in the medieval Dharmaśāstra works For example, Hemādri[574]

572 तिलोद्वर्ती तिलस्नायी शुचिर्नित्य तिलोदकी। होता दाता च भोक्ता च षट्तिली नावसीदति॥ शातातप q. by का. वि p 344, कृ र p. 540 (without name), व क्रि कौ. p. 560 (reads तिलपायी तिलपद्.। तिलहोता तिलभोक्ता).

573. The word 'Pongal' is derived from a Tamil word meaning 'Is it boiling or is it being cooked?'

574. अयनाङ्कानुल्येन कालेनैव स्फुटं भवेत्। सृगकर्कादिगे सूर्ये यान्योदृगयने सति। तदा संक्रान्तिकाला. स्फुटसा विषुवदादय॥ अयमर्थ। यावद्भिरहोरात्रैरयनच्युतिर्भवति तावता सूर्यस्य भोग्यकालेन भाविना विष्णुपदादिकाना च्युतिर्भवति तत्सख्य द्वादशभिरहोरात्रैरयनच्युतिर्भवति। तत्र भाविन्या. संक्रान्तेर्द्वादशभिर्दिनैरर्वाङ् पुण्यकालो भवति तस्मिन् सक्रान्तिनिमित्त दानादि

(Continued on next page)

says that twelve days before the (popular) day of a sankrānti, the real punyakāla occurs and therefore gifts and the like prescribed on the occasion of sankrānti should also be performed on the day twelve days prior to the popular sankrānti day.

The origin of the observances of Makarasankrānti cannot be very ancient. The Sun's apparent northward march for six months has been mentioned in Brāhmana and Upanisad texts at least a thousand years before Christ For example, the Śatapatha[575] Br. states 'That half moon which increases represents the gods and that which decreases represents the fathers. The day represents the gods and the night represents the fathers. And further, the forenoon represents the gods and the afternoon the fathers ...Now when he (the sun) moves northwards then he is among the gods, then he guards the gods; and when he moves southwards then he is among the fathers, then he guards the fathers.' The Chāndogya-Upanisad[576] contains a reference to the Sun's passage to the north during six months in the words 'from light to day, from day to the bright half of the month, from the bright half of the month to the six months during which the sun goes towards the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the Sun &c.' But here the word *udag-ayana* is not expressly employed The word 'ayana' occurs in the Ṛgveda III 33. 7 (āyannāpo ayanam-icchamānāh) 'the waters seeking a passage went rushing.' Here 'ayana' has the etymological sense of 'passage' or 'place' But in the grhyasūtras the word 'udagayana' in the sense of the sun's northward passage occurs. The

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(*Continued from last page*)

कर्तव्यमिति। हे. on काल pp 436–437. From नि सि p. 5 it appears that Aparārka also said in his comment on Yāj I 217 after quoting Visnudharmasūtra 77. 1–2 that the difference between the real Makarasankrānti day and popular Makarasankrānti day was twelve days But those words as quoted by N. S. from Aparārka are not found in the printed Aparārka at p. 426 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

575 य एवापूर्यतेऽर्धमास· स देवा पीऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रि पितर· पुनरह्नः पूर्वाह्णो देवा अपराह्ण· पितर । .. स यत्रोदगावर्तते देवेषु तर्हि भवति देवांस्तर्ह्यभि गोपायति। यत्र दक्षिणावर्तते पितृषु तर्हि भवति . । स यत्रोदगावर्तते तर्ह्यग्नी आदधीत। शतपथ II. 1. 3 1, 3 and 4. The कौषीतकि-ब्राह्मण 19. 3 also has a striking passage 'स षण्मासानुदावृत्य तिष्ठते दक्षिणावर्त्यर्त्वृपेमे वसन्ति वैदुषतीयेनाह्ना यद्दयमाणा.'.

576 अर्चिषोऽहरह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षमापूर्यमाणपक्षाद्यान्षड्दुदङ्केति मासास्तान् मासेभ्यः संवत्सरं संवत्सरादादित्यं ... । छा. उ. IV. 15. 5 and V. 10 1–2.

Āśvalāyana-grhya[577] prescribes the auspicious times for certain domestic rites as follows: 'in the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half of a month and on an auspicious naksatra, *caula* (child's tonsure), *upanayana*, *godāna* and marriage may be celebrated; according to some teachers a marriage may be celebrated at all times (not necessarily in northward passage of the sun &c.)'. But here no rāśi name appears In Jaimini VI. 8. 23 it is provided that rites for gods are to be performed in the northward passage of the Sun, some day in the bright half of the month and on an auspicious day. As a matter of fact, none of the ancient Śrauta, Grhya or Dharmasūtras mentions any rāśis or prescribes any auspicious or inauspicious times concerned with rāśis but only times in relation to naksatras Some people try to interpret the words '*susthe indau*' (when the moon is well placed i. e auspicious) in Yāj. I 80 as referring to rāśis, but they forget or ignore the fact that the earliest extant commentator of Yājñavalkya, Viśvarūpa, explains those words as referring to naksatras and not to rāśis. The subject about the introduction of rāśis will be briefly discussed in the next section on Kāla and Muhūrta. As udagayana had already been regarded for many centuries as an auspicious period, naturally Makarasankrānti from which the northward passage of the Sun starts became a very sacred day, when the rāśi system was introduced. Why so much importance was attached to sesame on this Makarasankrānti day it is difficult to say Probably in view of the cold prevailing at the time of the beginning of uttarāyana an oily substance like sesame easily available and of great food value was selected. In any case the observances and festival of Makarasankrānti do not appear to be much older than the beginning of the Christian era

In modern pañcāngas, Makarasankrānti, being deemed to be a deity, several curious matters are added, viz. sankrānti rides on some *vāhana* (principal vehicle or draught animal such as an elephant) and an upavāhana (as ancillary vehicle), she wears a garment either dark, white or red or of some other colour, she is supposed to carry a weapon (such as a bow or javelin),

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577. उदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहा । सार्वकालमेके विवाहम् । आश्व गृ I 4 1-2. The कौषीतकिगृह्य I. 5. is almost the same 'उदगयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे कुमार्यै पाणिं गृह्णीयाद्या लक्षणसम्पन्ना स्यात्।' उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाह.पुण्याहेषु दैवानि स्तुतिरूपाण्यार्थवर्शनात्। जै. VI. 8. 23 The आप. गृ I. 1 2 is almost the same 'उदगयनपूर्वपक्षाह.पुण्याहेषु कार्याणि'.

she applies a *tilaka* of some substance (like *lac*, gorocanā), she is either young, middle-aged or old, her posture (sitting, standing &c.) is mentioned, the flower she holds, the food she eats, the ornament she wears—these are mentioned, her two names (out of the seven mentioned above on p. 215 note 557 based on the week day and the naksatra on which sankrānti takes place) are specified, she is supposed to come from one direction (east or the like), to proceed to another (such as the west &c.) and to cast a glance at a third direction; then her bodily form is described such as drooping lips, long nose, with nine arms (or the like). And the prognostications are as follows: whatever things Sankrānti accepts, their prices rise or they are destroyed and whatever she glances at is ruined; happy are the people in the direction from which she comes and unhappy are those in the direction she goes.

Mahāśivarātri: The 14th tithi of the dark half of a month is called Śivarātri, but the 14th of the dark half in Māgha (or in Phālguna according to the pūrnimānta reckoning) is the Śivarātri *par excellence* and is often designated Mahāśivarātri.

The Garudapurāna I. 124, Skanda I. 1. 33, Padma VI. 240, Agni 193 contain the Māhātmya of the Śivarātri on the 14th of the dark half of Māgha. Though some details differ, in all these the main outlines are the same.

All these praise Śivarātri-vrata highly. When after [578] observing a fast on that day, Śiva is worshipped with *bilva* leaves and *jāgara* for the whole night is observed, Śiva saves the man from hell and bestows enjoyment of happiness and moksa and the man becomes like Śiva himself. Gifts, sacrifices, austerities, pilgrimages and observances of vratas are not equal to even one ten-millionth part of Śivarātri.

The story that illustrates this extremely exaggerated praise of Śivarātri in the Garudapurāna seems to be the older of the three and therefore it is briefly set out here. There was a king of *nisādas* named Sundarasenaka on Mount Abu, who went out

578. माघफाल्गुनयोर्मध्ये कृष्णा या तु चतुर्दशी। तस्यां जागरणाद्भुम्र. पूजितो भुक्तिमुक्तिद ॥ उपोषिते पूजित. सक्षरकात्तारयेत्तथा। गरुड I 124 2-3, माघफा ... चतुर्दशी। शिवरात्रीति विज्ञेया सर्वपापापहारिणी। कृतोपवासा ये तस्या शिवमर्चन्ति जाग्रत । बिल्वपत्रैश्चतुर्यामं ते यान्ति शिवतुल्यताम् ॥ ... माघफा ... चतुर्दशी। शिवरात्रिरिति ख्याता सर्वयज्ञोत्तमोत्तमा ॥ दानयज्ञतपस्तीर्थव्रतकर्माणि यानि च। शिवरात्रिव्रतस्यापि कोट्यंशेन समानि न॥ पद्म VI. 124 3-4 and 28-29.

to a forest for hunting with his dog. He bagged no animal and being oppressed by hunger and thirst he remained awake the whole night on the bank of a tank in a thicket of trees. Underneath a bilva tree there was a Śivalinga and in an effort to keep his body at ease he threw down leaves of the bilva tree which fell on the top of the linga without his knowing it In order to put down dust he (took water from the tank and) splashed it so that it fell on the linga and one of his arrows fell down from his hands on the linga through inadvertence which he took from the linga by falling on his knees before the linga In this way he unconsciously bathed the linga, touched it, worshipped it (with bilva leaves) and kept awake the whole night. In the morning he came back to his house and partook of food given by his wife. When he died in course of time he was seized by the myrmidons of Yama, when Śiva's attendants fought with them and liberated him and he became a sinless attendant of Śiva together with his dog In this way he collected merit without knowing it; if a person does with[579] full knowledge (what the niṣāda did without knowing) the merit is inexhaustible. The Agnipurāṇa expressly mentions the hunter Sundarasenaka[580]. The whole chapter of Garuda is quoted in the Varsakriyā-kaumudī pp. 512–513. The story in the Skanda is more elaborate. There it is a wicked *Kirāta* named Canda who killed fish by catching them in his nets and killed also many animals and birds. He had a wife who matched him in his cruelty. Thus passed many years One day he ascended a bilva tree taking water in a quiver desirous of killing a wild boar and passed the whole night without sleep keeping a watch and cast down many bilva leaves which fell on a linga at the bottom of the bilva tree. He also rinsed his mouth with water from the quiver, that fell on the linga. In this way he worshipped Śiva in all ways, viz he bathed (*snapana*) the linga with water, he worshipped linga with numberless bilva leaves and he kept awake the whole night and was without food that day. He alighted from the tree and began, after reaching the tank, to catch fish. Because he did not return home that night, his wife went without food and water and passed that night in anxiety. In the morning she came to that forest with some food for her husband and seeing her husband on the other side of a river, she placed the food on the river bank and began to

579. एवमज्ञानत पुण्यं ज्ञानात्पुण्यमथाधिकम्। गरुड I 124 11

580. सुकृतं. मासवान्पुण्यं यापी सुन्दरसेनक.॥ अग्नि 193. 6

cross the river. They both bathed in the river, but before the kirāta could reach the food a dog came there and ate all the food. When the wife wanted to kill the dog the kirāta whose heart was softened persuaded his wife to desist from killing the dog. By that time it was noon (on amāvāsyā) and Śiva's attendants came there to take both the husband and wife as he had worshipped (though unknowingly) the linga and as both had fasted on 14th. The kirāta and his wife reached Śivaloka. The Padmapurāna (VI. 240. 32 ff) weaves, as the Skanda does, its story round a niṣāda.

There is a conflict of views about what the chief thing is in Śivarātri is. The Tithitattva holds that a fast is the principal thing in Śivarātri and relies on the words of Śaṅkara. 'On that tithi (Śivarātri) I am not so pleased with bath (of the linga) nor with clothes (offered to the linga) nor with incense nor by worship nor with the offering of flowers as I am pleased by a fast'.[581] On the other hand, Hemādri and Mādhava hold that Śivarātri means fast, worship and *jāgarana*[582] and all the three are apprehended as principal and quote passages from the Skandapurāna and Nāgarakhanda in support.[583] 'That man who observes a fast on Śivarātri for twelve years and who keeps awake (in dance and music) before me the whole night would reach heaven. That man, who worships Śiva and performs jāgara on the 14th, would not thereafter taste milk at mother's breast (i. e. would not be born again); the niṣāda, unknowingly worshipping a self-existent linga, observing a fast and jāgara, became free from sin and attained the position of the attendant of Śiva'.

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581. अस्यामुपवासः प्रधानम्। न स्नानेन न वस्त्रेण न धूपेन न चार्चया। तुष्यामि न तथा पुष्पैर्यथा तत्रोपवासतः॥ इति शङ्करोक्तेः। ति. त. p. 125.

582 उक्ताधिकारिणोऽनुष्ठेयं व्रतस्वरूपं त्रिविधम्, उपवासो जागरणं पूजा च। ... वैश्वानरविद्योपासनन्यायेन समुदाय एवानुष्ठेयः। का. नि. pp. 290–291. Vide हे. on काल p. 302 'वस्तुतस्तु त्रयाणामेव प्राधान्यनित्यत्वमेव पक्षः.' and पु चि p 253. वैश्वानरविद्या occurs in छान्दोग्य IV. 11–23, which forms the basis of वेदान्तसूत्र I. 2. 24–32

583. तथा च स्कन्दपुराणम्। एवं द्वादश वर्षाणि शिवरात्रिमुपोषकः। यो मां जागरयते रात्रि मनुजः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात्। शिवं च पूजयित्वा यो जागर्ति च चतुर्दशीम्। मातुः पयोधरस्तं न पिबेत् स कदाचन॥ नागरखण्डे। स्वयम्भूलिङ्गमभ्यर्च्य सोपवासः सजागरः। अजानन्नपि निष्पापो निषादो गणतां गतः॥ हे (on काल) pp. 309–310 The verse 'शिवं च ... कदाचन' is q. by का. नि p. 289, स. म. p. 101.

In the Kālanirnaya[584] there is a lengthy discussion on the question whether the word 'Śivarātri' is used in a conventional sense (viz. a particular tithi) or in an etymological sense (every night on which some observance relating to Śiva is performed), or a metaphorical sense (viz a vrata, though the word expresses a tithi) or a *yogarūḍha* sense i. e. etymological *cum* conventional like the word *paṅkaja* (a lotus) The conclusion established is that the word Śivarātri is yogarūḍha like the word pankaja (lotus), which does spring from mud (so far the sense is etymological) but which is confined to only one thing viz lotus (so far there is rūdhi or convention) and does not apply to a frog.

Śivarātrivrata is both *nitya* (obligatory) and *kāmya* (optional). It is nitya because there are passages which lay down that sin follows if a man does not perform it[585]; 'the being that does not worship with devotion Rudra who is the lord of three worlds wanders through thousands of future lives' Besides, there are verses which lay down that the vrata should be performed every[586] year: 'O great goddess! a man and a chaste woman should every year worship Mahādeva with devotion on Śivarātri'. This vrata is optional because the texts provide the rewards of performing this vrata For example, vide p 85 above and p. 86 above for the maxim of *saṃyoga-pṛthaktva*.

This vrata according to the Īśānasaṃhitā[587] can be performed by all human beings 'The Śivarātrivrata destroys all

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584. तत्रेदं चिन्त्यते। किमयं शिवरात्रिशब्दो रूढः, किं वा यौगिकः, उत लाक्षणिकः, अथवा योगरूढ इति। किं तावत्प्राप्तम्। रूढ इति। कुत। तिथिविशेषे शिवरात्रिशब्दस्य संज्ञारूपेण स्मरणात्। का नि p 280; अथ सिद्धान्तं ब्रूम। योगरूढ एवायं शिवरात्रिशब्दः।... यथा पङ्कजशब्दे पङ्काज्जायते इति योगं स्वीकृत्य भेकादिव्यतिप्रसङ्गो रूढिस्वीकारेण निवार्यते तद्वदत्रापि योगरूढताया न कोप्यतिप्रसङ्गः। का नि p 287 शिवरात्रि is taken as a बहुव्रीहि 'शिवस्य रात्रिर्यस्मिन् व्रते' इति बहुव्रीहिसमासेन प्रकृत शब्दो रूढ्या व्रतविशेषे नियम्यते। का नि p. 288,

585. न पूजयति भक्त्येश यद्भं त्रिभुवनेश्वरम्। जन्मार्जन्मसहस्रेषु भ्रमते नात्र संशयः। स्कन्द q. by का नि p 288.

586 वर्षे वर्षे महादेवि नरो नारी पतिव्रता। शिवरात्रौ महादेवं काम भक्त्या समूजयेत्॥ स्कन्द q. by का नि p. 288, ति त. p. 125 (from पद्म).

587. नित्यकाम्यरूपस्यास्य व्रतस्य सर्वाधिकारित्वमीशानसंहितायामुक्तम्। शिवरात्रिव्रतं नाम सर्वपापप्रणाशनम्। आचण्डालमनुष्याणां मुक्तिभुक्तिप्रदायकम्॥ का नि p. 290, नि सि. p. 225, स. म. p. 101, शैवो वा वैष्णवो वापि यो वा स्यादन्त्यपूजकः। सर्वं पूजाफलं हन्ति शिवरात्रिव्यतिक्रमः॥ from ईश्वरसंहिता q. by हेमाद्रिआचार्य; vide ति. त. p. 125, कृत्यतत्त्व p. 461

sins and confers enjoyment of happiness and moksa (final liberation) on all human beings including cāndālas'.

The Īśānasamhitā provides: a devotee of Visnu or Śiva or of another god, if he gives up Śivarātri, destroys all the fruits of his worship (of the deity to whom he is devoted). Everyone[588] who performs this vrata has to observe certain restrictions, viz. non-injury, truthfulness, freedom from anger, celibacy, compassion, forbearance and he has to be calm in mind, devoid of fits of passion and has to perform austerities and he should be free from malice; knowledge of this vrata should be imparted to such a one provided he follows his preceptor; if one imparts it otherwise, one goes to hell.

The proper time for this vrata is night, since, as stated in the Skanda[589] 'goblins, the Śaktis and Śiva (who wields the trident) move about at night and therefore these are to be worshipped at that time on caturdaśī.' The Skanda[590] provides 'A fast should be observed on that caturdaśī of the dark half that is joined to niśītha (i. e. that exists at that time); that tithi is the best and leads to companionship with Śiva'. Hemādri quotes Nāgarakhanda[591] as follows: on the 14th of the dark half of Māgha I shall go in the Kaliyuga on the surface of the earth at night and not by day. I shall undoubtedly transfer myself to all lingas, whether movable or permanently fixed, for the removal of the sins committed in the (preceding) year; therefore the man who offers worship to me at night with these mantras will be free from sin'. In the Īśānasamhitā it is said 'The first God (Śiva) appeared in the form of Śivalinga, whose refulgence was equal to that of a crore of suns, on the 14th of Māgha dark half. The tithi to be accepted for the Śivarātri

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588. अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधो ब्रह्मचर्यं क्षमा। शान्तात्मा क्रोधहीनश्च तपस्वी ह्यनसूयकः॥ तस्मै देयमिदं देवि गुरुपादानुगो यदि। अन्यथा यो ददातीदं स तदा नरकं व्रजेत्॥ का. नि. p. 290

589 अत एव शिवरात्रिव्रतस्य रात्रिप्राधान्यमुक्तं स्कन्दपुराणे॥ निशि भ्रमन्ति भूतानि शक्तयः शूलभृद्यतः। अतस्तस्यां चतुर्दश्यां सत्यां तत्पूजनं भवेत्। हे on काल p 304, vide का. नि. 298.

590. निशीथसयुता या तु कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशी। उपोष्या सा तिथिः श्रेष्ठा शिवसायुज्यकारिणी॥ स्कन्द I. 1. 33. 82. Vide note 302 for निशीथ and महानिशा.

591. माघमासस्य कृष्णाया चतुर्दश्यां सुरेश्वर। अहं यास्यामि भूपृष्ठे रात्रौ नैव दिवा कलौ॥ लिङ्गेषु च समस्तेषु चलेषु स्थावरेषु च। संक्रमिष्याम्यसंदिग्धं वर्षपापविशुद्धये॥ तस्माद्रात्रौ हि मे पूजां यः करिष्यति मानवः। मन्त्रैरेतैः सुरश्रेष्ठ विपाप्मा स भविष्यति॥ नागरखण्ड q. by हे. (on काल p. 304).

vrata should be one that covers that time. A man should perform this vrata on that tithi when the 14th covers the time before and after midnight.'[592] Hemādri also quotes a verse like this 'The 14th tithi called Śivarātri that covers *pradosa* should be accepted (for vrata); one should observe a fast on that tithi since there has to be a jāgara (in that vrata) at night.'[593]

Owing to the above somewhat conflicting dicta there is a great deal of discussion on the proper day and time for the vrata in Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 298–308), Kālanirnaya (pp. 297 ff), Tithitattva (pp 125–126), Nirnayasindhu (pp. 222–224), Purusārthacintāmani (pp 248–253) and other works Some works like the Nirnayāmrta[594] put emphasis on the word *pradosa* (in note 593) above, while others emphasize the word *nisitha* and ardharātra. The conclusions drawn by Mādhava (the prince of nirnayakāras) are stated here If caturdaśī covers both pradosa and niśītha, then the vrata should be observed on that day. If caturdaśī spreads over two days (i e. it is mixed with 13th and also with amāvāsyā) and 14th exists at the time of niśītha on both days, or if it does not so exist on any of the two days, then covering pradosa is the determining factor; where 14th covers pradosa on two days or does not cover pradosa on any of the two days, then existing at niśītha is the determining factor; if caturdaśī having extended over two days covers only one out of the two (pradosa and niśītha) on each day then conjunction with Jayā (i. e. 13th tithi) is the decisive factor.[595]

A brief description of how Śivarātrivrata was performed in ancient times may be gathered from Garudapurāna I. 124 11–23 After honouring Śiva on the 13th tithi the man who is to undertake the vrata should resolve to observe certain restrictions He should declare 'O God I shall keep awake the whole night on the

592. माघे कृष्णचतुर्दश्यामाविदेनो महानिशि। शिवलिङ्गतयोद्भूतः कोटिसूर्यसमप्रभ.। तत्कालव्यापिनी ग्राह्या शिवरात्रिव्रते तिथि। अर्धरात्रात्पुराश्चैव सा चतुर्दशी। व्याप्ता यत्रोपवसेत्तस्यां तस्यां कुर्याद् व्रतं नर.। ईशानसंहिता q by तिथितत्त्व p 125, नि. सि. p 322.

593. प्रदोषव्यापिनी ग्राह्या शिवरात्रिचतुर्दशी। रात्रौ जागरणं यस्माद् तस्मात्तां समुपोषयेत्॥ हे on काल 307 Vide व. क्रि. कौ. p. 74 for explanation of this verse. For प्रदोष, vide note 261 above

594. निर्णयामृते सर्वोपि शिवरात्रि. प्रदोषव्यापिन्येव, अर्धरात्रव्यापिन्यां कैश्चित्कल्पभेदेन प्रदोषस्यावकाशोक्तश्च। नि सि p. 233.

595. द्विनक्षपैके निशीथव्याप्तौ तद्व्याप्तौ च प्रदोषव्याप्तिर्नियामिका। तथा द्विनक्षपैके प्रदोषव्याप्तौ तद्व्याप्तौ च निशीथव्याप्तिर्नियामिका। एकैकस्मिन् दिने एकैकव्याप्तौ अर्धरात्रेणो नियामक.। का. नि. p. 297.

14th tithi. I shall make according to my ability worship, gifts, austerities and *homa*. O Śambhu! on 14th I shall take no food and shall take food on the next day. Oh Lord! be thou my refuge for securing enjoyment of happiness and mokṣa' The person observing the vrata should approach a teacher and should bathe (the linga) with *pañcagavya* and with pañcāmṛta. He should repeat the mantra 'Om namaḥ Śivāya' He should worship Śiva with the upacāras beginning with sandalwood paste and he should offer into fire sesame, grains of rice and boiled rice mixed with ghee. After this homa he should offer *pūrṇāhuti* (an offering made with a full ladle) and listen to music and good stories (about Śiva). He should again offer offerings at midnight, in the 3rd quarter of the night and in the 4th quarter. Having inaudibly repeated the mūlamantra (*om namaḥ Śivāya*) he should pray to Śiva about daybreak to forgive his sins with the words 'O God! I have worshipped in this vrata without obstacles through your favour; O Lord of the worlds! O Śiva! pardon me. Whatever merit I have won this day and whatever has been offered by me to Śiva I have finished this vrata to-day through your favour; O bountiful one! be pleased with me, and go to your abode; there is no doubt that I have become pure by merely seeing you.' He should feed persons who are devoted to contemplating (on Śiva) and should give to them garments, umbrellas and the like; 'O Lord of Gods! lord of all things! that bestoweth favour on people; may my lord be gratified by what I have given with faith.' Having thus prayed for forgiveness, the person undertaking this vrata may carry it on for twelve years. After obtaining fame, wealth, sons and kingdom he may repair to the city of Śiva; he should perform jāgara (on 14th) in all the 12 months of the year; the man undertaking the vrata after feeding twelve brāhmaṇas and donating lamps may secure heaven.

The Tithitattva (p. 127) adds some details which are interesting The linga is to be bathed with milk in the first watch of the night, with curds in the 2nd, with ghee in the 3rd and with honey in the 4th. The mantras in the four watches are respectively 'hrīm, Īśānāya namaḥ,' 'hrīm Aghorāya namaḥ,' 'hrīm Vāmadevāya namaḥ' and 'hrīm Sadyojātāya namaḥ.' The mantra at the time of offering arghya is also different in each of the four watches. It is further provided that there should be songs and dances in the first watch of the

night. The Varsakriyākaumudī (p. 513) provides that in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th watches also the person undergoing vrata has to perform worship, arghya, japa and listening to stories (about Śiva), to offer hymns of praise and make prostrations and at day-break he should pray for forgiveness with arghya water. If Māgha-krsna 14th falls on a Sunday or Tuesday, that is most commendable for this vrata.[596]

Later medieval digests such as the Tithitattva (pp. 126 ff), the Kālatattvavivecana (pp 197–203), Purusārthacintāmani (pp. 255–258), Dharmasindhu (p 127) provide an elaborate description of the procedure of Śivarātri vrata. The K T V. remarks[597] that the procedure of Śivarātri-vrata is different in the several purānas. For comparison with the one in the Garuda quoted above a summary of it from the Dharmasindhu is given here. On the 13th tithi the performer should take only one meal in the noon, on the 14th after finishing his usual morning duties and rites, he should make a sankalpa in the morning with a mantra 'I shall perform this Śivarātrivrata that yields great rewards; O Lord of the world! may it be without obstacles through your favour. On the 14th I shall be without food and shall take my meal on the next day for enjoyment of pleasures and *moksa*, O Lord! be you my refuge.' If the performer be a brāhmana, he should recite the two *rk* verses[598] 'rātrim prapadye' and cast water In the evening (of 14th) he should take a bath with black sesame, should apply the *tripundra* mark[599] with ashes to his forehead and also hold a rosary of *rudrāksa* (berry of Elaeocarpus Ganitrus), should go to a temple of Śiva at the beginning of night, should wash his feet, should take *ācamana* (should sip water) and should make a sankalpa 'I shall perform the pūjā of the first watch on Śivarātri'; if he intends to perform separate pūjās on all the four watches or if he wants to perform a pūjā only once he should say 'I shall perform the worship of Śiva on Śivarātri for securing the favour of Śiva' Then he should repeat the sage (Vāmadeva)

596. माघकृष्णचतुर्दश्या रविवारो भवेद्यदि। भौमो वापि भवेद्देवि कर्तव्यं व्रतमुत्तमम्। स्कन्द q. by गु चि pp. 252–253, का नि p. 299, स म p 104.

597. शिवरात्रिव्रताख्यानमकारश्च यद्यपि पुराणभेदेन नानाविधोस्ति तथापि शिवरहस्य-संवादी सक्षिप्तस्तावत्प्रदर्श्यते। का त वि p 167.

598 The मन्त्रs are verses 3 and 4 of the रात्रीसूक्त, which is a खिलसूक्त after ऋग्वेद X. 127, viz. रात्री भ्यद्ये जनीo and सवेशिनी संयमनीo

599 *Tripundra*—is triple sectarian mark consisting of three lines on the forehead.

of the Śiva mantra of five letters (*Śivāya namaḥ*), the metre (Anustup), the Devatā (Sadāśiva) and it is to be employed for *nyāsa*, *pūjā* and *japa*. Then he should bow to the sage, metre and Sadāśiva and perform *nyāsa* on the several parts of the body from the heart with appropriate mystic letters and mantras (such as 'om namas-tat-purusāya namah hrdaye' to the last '*om yam astrāya phat*'); then he should worship the jar (*kalaśa*) and contemplate on Śiva as portrayed[600] in the verse quoted below. He should then establish a linga by performing the *prāṇa-pratisthā* and touch it and should invoke[601] Śiva with four mantras and pray Śiva to be present in the linga till the end of the pūjā. Then he should offer an *añjali* of flowers. If the linga is already permanently fixed or if the linga, though not fixed, has already been established with the necessary saṁskāras, he should omit the details from prānapratisthā to *āvāhana*. Then he should perform the remaining upacāras (out of 16) from *āsana* to the last. As regards snāna it is provided that the linga is to be bathed with pañcāmrta (vide note 218), with the *mūlamantra* (Śivāya namah) and the mantras 'āpyāyasva' (Rg I. 91. 16 ff) and should wash it with pure water with the three verses 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X. 9. 1–3). Then he should perform *abhiseka* (bathing of the deity) with water made fragrant with sandalwood, saffron and camphor to the accompaniment of the Rudra mantras[602] recited once or repeated eleven times and of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90). At the end of snāna (of the linga) the performer should give *ācamana* water (to the linga) and perform tarpana with water mixed with aksatas for Śiva with eight names (Bhava[603] &c.) and the wives of these eight. After flowers the performer should offer 1008 or 108

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600 ध्यायेन्नित्यं महेशं रजतगिरिनिभं चारुचन्द्रावतंसं रत्नाकल्पोज्ज्वलाङ्गं परशुमृग-वराभीतिहस्तं प्रसन्नम् । पद्मासीनं समन्तात्स्तुतममरगणैर्व्याघ्रकृत्तिं वसानं विश्वाद्यं विश्ववन्द्यं निखिलभयहरं पञ्चवक्त्रं त्रिनेत्रम् ॥ q by धर्मसिन्धु p. 127.

601. ओं भूः पुरुष साम्बसदाशिवमावाहयामि, ओं भुवः पुरुषं ··· यामि. ओं स्वः पुरुषं ... यामि, ओं भूर्भुव स्वः ... यामि । धर्मसिन्धु p. 127.

602 Rudra means the eleven *anuvākas* of the Tai. S, IV. 5. 1–11 beginning with 'namas-te Rudra Manyave'.

603. The eight names are Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra, Bhīma, Mahādeva. The form will be 'om Bhavam devam tarpayāmi' &c. And as to the wives, 'Bhavasya devasya patnīm tarpayāmi'. For eight names of Rudra almost identical with these, vide Śāṅkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa VI. 2–9.

who and the family of the buck ultimately became transformed into the Mrgaśīrsa naksatra with the star of the hunter (Sirius) behind.[609]

For detailed treatment of Śivarātrivrata in the medieval digests, H. V. II. 71–122, V. R R 72–77, T. T. 124–133, SmK. 481–512, P. C. 248–281, G. K. 158–167 may be consulted.

There are other Śivarātrivratas as in H. V. II. 71–87 (which are different from the one described in Skanda I. 1. 33), or in H.V. II. 87–92, or in H. V. II 114–122, or in H V. II. 122–130 (from Bhav. U.). These are all passed over for want of space.

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609. एतच्छ्रुत्वा तु वचन लुब्धकोथ मृगस्तथा। विमानानि समारुह्य नाक्षत्रं पदमागत.। हरिणीह्यमन्वेनं पृष्ठतो मृगमेव च। तारात्रितयसंयुक्तं मृगशीर्षे तदुच्यते। बालकाद्विगुणं चास्ये तृतीया पृष्ठतो मृगी। पृष्ठतस्तत्र संप्राप्तो मृगशीर्षस्य सन्निधौ। मृगराड् दृश्यतेऽद्यापि नक्षत्रं व्योमयमुत्तमम्। लिङ्गपुराण q. by व्रतराज p 585. I could not trace this passage in the Venkateśvara press edition of the Linga-purāna.

CHAPTER XII

Holikā and Grahaṇa (eclipse)

Holikā. Holi or Holikā is a festival of unmixed gaiety and frolics throughout India, though all parts do not observe it in the same way. One element, viz bonfire, is present almost everywhere except in Bengal. Swinging of Krsna image on Phālguna Full Moon is done in Bengal, but it is not observed in several other parts of India The number of days during which this festival is observed also varies from province to province. Another item which is common to many parts of India is the sprinkling of friends with coloured water from bamboo or metal syringes or with red powder and this merriment is indulged in even now by persons in high places. In the Konkan men dressed as women accompanied by several persons go about with songs (often obscene) and music and dance. The only religious element is the worship of Krsna in Bengal and in some provinces where bonfires are made a priest is engaged to perform pūjā before the bonfire, people go round the fire throwing cocoanuts in the burning wood and grass, taking them out half-burnt and distributing the singed kernel among the people present as *prasāda.* In some parts people produce sounds by beating their mouths with the backs of their hands. It is not possible nor necessary to set out in this notice all the varying details of this festival throughout the whole of India.

This festival is very ancient. Originally the form of the word was Holākā and from references in the bhāsya of Śabara on the Pūrvamīmāmsā-sūtra (I. 3. 15–23)[610] it appears that it was in ancient times a usage very prevalent in the eastern parts of Bhārata. But Jaimini and Śabara appear to hold that

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610. अनुमानव्यवस्थानात्तत्संयुक्तं प्रमाणं स्यात्। अपि वा सर्वधर्मः स्यात्तन्न्यायत्वाद्विधानस्य। जै. I 3 15–16, on these śabar puts forth the pūrvapaksa and reply as follows: तस्माद् होलाकावयः प्राच्यैरेव कर्तव्याः आह्वीनैङ्कादयो दाक्षिणात्यैरेव उद्वपभेषज्ञादय उदीच्यैरेव।...अपि वेति पक्षव्यावृत्तिः। एवं जातीयक. सर्वधर्मः स्यात्। Vide H. of Dh vol III, pp 851–853 and note 1648. The जैमिनीयन्यायमालाविस्तर on this explains 'वसन्तोत्सवो होलाका.' This topic is called होलाकाधिकरण because the first example in Sabara's bhāsya refers to the practice of Holākā.

Holākā should be observed by all Āryas. In the Kāthakagṛhya 73 1 there[611] is the *sūtra* 'Rākā Holāke' which is explained by the commentator Devapāla as follows 'Holā is a special rite performed for the *saubhāgya* of women and in that rite Rākā (Full Moon) is the deity'. Other commentators interpret it differently. Among the twenty *krīḍas* found in the whole of Bhārata and also restricted to certain provinces only and mentioned by Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra[612] (1 4 42) is Holākā which is explained by the commentary Jayamangalā as comprising the sprinkling of each other by people on Phālguna Full Moon with coloured water discharged from a horn or the like and throwing perfumed powder Hemādri on Kāla (p. 106) quotes a verse from Brhadyama[613] in which Holikā-pūrnimā is called 'Hutāśanī' (as in modern times). Hemādri further quotes a verse from Lingapurāna[614] "the Phālguna Full-moon day is said to be known as 'Phālgunikā', as full of boyish pranks and tending to the prosperity of people" and another verse from Varāhapurāna where it is qualified as 'patavāsavilāsinī' (i. e containing pranks with powder) Hemādri (on vrata, II. 184–190) quotes a long passage from the Bhav. U (chap. 132 1–51) in which Yudhisthira is represented as asking Krsna why in each village and town a festival is held on Phā Full moon, why boys become boisterous in each house and kindle Holākā, what god is worshipped therein, who introduced the festival and what is done therein and why it is called 'Adāda.' Krsna tells him a legend about king Raghu whom the citizens approached with the complaint that a certain rāksasī (ogress)

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611. राका होलाके। काठकगृह्य 73 1 on which देवपाल comments 'होला कर्म-विशेष. सौभाग्याय स्त्रीणा मातरस्तूयते। तत्र होलाके राका देवता। यास्ते राके सुमतय इत्यादि' (Dr. Caland's ed.)

612 यक्षरात्रि कौमुदीजागर, वसन्तक... मदनोत्सव होलाका वात्साद्य माहिमान्यो देश्याश्च क्रीडा जनेभ्यो विशिष्टमाचरेयुरिति सम्भूय क्रीडा। कामसूत्र I. 4.42, on which जयमङ्गला comments 'होलाका फाल्गुनपौर्णिमाया शृङ्गकाद् सुक्तेन किंशुकादिकुसुम-रागाम्भसा परस्परोक्षण मिथः पटवासमक्षेपश्च'.

613. बृहद्यम। आश्वयुजे धुर्वनवमी पूर्वा चैव हुताशनी। पूर्वविद्धा तु कर्तव्या शिवरात्रि-वेलोर्विनयम्॥ .. हुताशनी होलिका-पूर्णिमा। हे. on काल p. 106

614. लिङ्गपुराणे। फाल्गुने पौर्णमासी च सदा बालविकासिनी। ज्ञेया फाल्गुनिका सा च ज्ञेया लोकविभूतये॥ वाराहपुराणे। फाल्गुने पौर्णमास्यां तु पटवासविलासिनी। ज्ञेया सा फाल्गुनी लोके कार्या लोकसमृद्धये॥ हे on काल p 642, the first is q by का वि p. 352 (explains बालबालनविलासिन्यामित्यर्थः)

called Ḍhondhā troubled boys by day and night. The king consulted his *purohita* who told him that she was a rāksasī, daughter of Mālin, who got from Śiva a boon that she would not be liable to be killed by gods or men nor suffer from arms nor from cold, heat or rain. The priest further told the king that Śiva said that she would be in danger from boys going about crazily The priest added that on Phālguna 15th season of cold vanishes and summer starts, that people may laugh and enjoy themselves, that boys with bits of wood in their hands may go out of houses in great glee, collect a heap of wood and grass, set it on fire with Rāksoghna mantras, clap their hands, go round the fire thrice, laugh, sing and utter obscene words in the popular language and by that noise and loud peals of laughter on the part of boys and by the homa[615] the ogress would die. When the king got all this done, the rāksasī expired and the day came to be called 'Adādā' and Holikā. Then it is further stated that on the next day which is the first tithi of the month of Caitra (on the pūrnimānta reckoning) people should salute the ashes of the bonfire with the mantra quoted below,[616] then worship of Kāma should be made on a square in the house yard in the midst of which square a seat should be arranged and in front a jar covered with leaves containing aksatas and smeared with white sandalwood paste should be placed The image of Kāma should have sandalwood paste applied to it by a beautiful woman and thereafter the priest should make the performer partake of mango blossoms mixed with sandalwood paste. Then donations should be made to learned brāhmanas, bards &c according to one's ability with the words 'May the God of Love be pleased with me' The purāna winds up with the verse 'When the season of frost ends on the 15th of the bright half and the time of spring approaches in the morning, that man who partakes of mango blossoms with sandalwood paste lives in happiness.'

Instead of the gay and saturnalia-like practices prevalent in many parts of India about Holikā, Bengal celebrates it by the Dolayātrā. Śūlapāni composed thereon a short work called

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615 सर्वदुष्टदमो होमः सर्वरोगोपशान्तिद । क्रियतेऽस्या द्विजै पार्थ तेन सा होलिका मता ॥ भविष्योत्तर 132 31 q by हे. on व्रत at p. 187 This derives होलिका from होम

616 वन्दितासि सुरेन्द्रेण ब्रह्मणा शङ्करेण च । अतस्त्वं पाहि नो देवि विभूते भूतिदा भव ॥ हे on व्रत p. 188, पु चि p. 81.

Dolayātrā-viveka[617] The festival should be carried on for five or three days. Before the Full moon of Phālguna, on the 14th at the beginning of night an utsava in honour of Agni is to be celebrated to the east of the *mandapa* Then an image of Govinda is to be made, it is established in a structure with 16 pillars on a *vedikā* (raised platform) and it is to be bathed with pañcāmrta and various items of worship are to be offered and seven times the swing on which the image is placed has to be rocked to and fro. Fire kindled on the first day is to be preserved till the days of the festival end. At the end the swing is to be rocked 21 times It is narrated that king Indradyumna started this swing festival in Vrndāvana. By means of this utsava a man becomes free from all sins Then Śūlapāni discusses at some length the exact tithi, *prahara* and naksatra on which the Dolayātrā is to be performed. Briefly, the conclusion is that Dolayātrā must be performed when the Full Moon tithi is running, whether there is Uttarā-phalgunī-naksatra or not[618]

The Kālatattvavivecana very succinctly puts down the characteristics of Holikotsava as set forth in the Bhavisyottara[619] The Nirnayasindhu (227), Smrti-kaustubha (516–519), Purusārtha-cintāmani (308–319) and other late medieval works discourse on this festival, but for reasons of space their discussions are not set out here.

As Holākā is mentioned by Jaimini and the Kāthakagrhya, it follows that it prevailed at least some centuries before Christ. The Kāmasūtra and Bhavisyottara connect it with spring and it was performed at the end of the year (on pūrnimānta reckoning). Therefore, the bonfire represents the expiry of the season of frost and cold and heralds the warmth and love-making of spring. The ribald songs, dance and music are further accretions due to the joy felt on the advent of spring. The sprinkling of coloured

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617. It is edited by Shri Sureshchandra Banerji in the volume of papers presented to the author at pp. 56–62

618 शूलपाणि quotes a verse of भुजबलनिबन्ध (on p. 61): उत्थाने मधुसूदनस्य शयने चाक्षण्डलस्योत्सवे कन्दर्पस्य रितप्रियोत्सवविधावन्येषु पर्वस्वपि। नक्षत्रेण समन्विता यदि तिथिर्दैवाक्ष संलभ्यते सम्पूज्यैव तिथिस्तदैव मुनयः प्राहुर्हुलीन्मादयः॥

619. यच्च फाल्गुनपौर्णमास्यां प्रदोषे शुष्ककाष्ठकरीषसञ्चयस्य राक्षोऽनैर्मन्त्रैरग्निना दीपनं किलकिलाताल्शब्दपूर्वकं तस्याग्नेस्त्रिः परिभ्रमण नि शङ्कनानाविधभगलिङ्गनामकीर्तनानि हास्यगानादि बालाना परस्पर वाहखड्गयुद्धादीत्येवंरूपस्तदुत्तरभागेपादि च—तन्निशायां धूलिदा भव॥—इति भन्त्रेण मात.कृत्यानन्तर होलिकाविभूतिवन्दनमित्येव-रूपस्तिथिद्वयसाधारण्यो होलिकोत्सवो भविष्योत्तरेऽभिहितस्तत्र पौर्णमासी पूर्वविद्धैव ग्राह्या शुक्लवाक्यात्॥ का. त वि p. 327.

water and powder is an additional item in the celebration of the delights of spring. In some provinces this sprinkling is done on the very day of the Holikā, while in the Deccan it is indulged in on the 5th day (popularly called Ranga-pañcamī) after Holikā bonfire. Though the Holikā festival is composite in several parts of India and is celebrated on more days than one, in origin it is no more than a spring festival. In some parts mud is [620] thrown by people at each other on the day after bonfire. That is probably an extension of the idea of applying ashes of the bonfire to one's forehead and the body on the day after it. The usage in some parts of creating noise by striking the back of one's hand against one's mouth accompanied by an obscene reference to sex is a further perversion due to welcoming the advent of spring which is traditionally the season of love-making. Mr. Gupte in 'Hindu holidays and ceremonies' tries hard to show that the Holikā festival was 'imported from Egypt or Greece' (p. 92). This theory is very fantastic and does not deserve to be taken seriously. He had not read, it appears, the ancient works mentioned above and is not himself sure whether the origin is to be found in Egypt or in Greece.

Grahaṇa (eclipse, solar and lunar). Great importance was attached from very ancient times to eclipses. An extensive literature has accumulated on this subject. Vide among others Hemādri on Kāla 379–394, Kālaviveka 521–543, Kṛtyaratnākara 625–631, Kālanirnaya 346–358, Varsakriyākaumudī 90–117, Tithitattva 150–163, Kṛtyatattva 432–434, Nirnayasindhu 61–76, SmK 69–80, Dharmasindhu 32–35, Gadādharapaddhati (Kālasāra) 588–599. A total eclipse of the Sun is referred to even in the Ṛgveda V 40.5, 6, 8 'O Sun! when Svarbhānu, the son of an asura, struck you with darkness. O Indra! when you struck down the wiles of Svarbhānu that existed below the heaven, Atri secured the Sun which had been concealed by darkness that deviated from the usual rule (or law) by means of the highest (or 4th) prayer' &c.[621] It is stated in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa

620. पर्वकृत्यदीपक on p. 301 quotes the following verses 'प्रभाते विमले जाते कार्ष्ण्यं भस्म च कारयेत्। सर्वाङ्गे च ललाटे च क्रीडितव्यं पिशाचवत्। सिन्दूरैः कुङ्कुमेनैव धूलिभिर्धूसरो भवेत्। गीतं वाद्यं च नृत्यं च कुर्याद्भक्ष्योपसर्पणम्। ब्राह्मणैः क्षत्रियैर्वैश्यैः शूद्रैश्चान्यैश्च जातिभिः। एकीभूय प्रकर्तव्या क्रीडा या फाल्गुने सदा। बालकैः सह गन्तव्यं फाल्गुन्यां च युधिष्ठिर॥'

621 यत्त्वा सूर्य स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुर॰। ... स्वर्भानोरध यदिन्द्र माया अवो दिवो वर्तमाना अवाहन्। गूळ्हं सूर्यं तमसापव्रतेन तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणाविन्ददत्रिः॥ आग्नो ब्रह्मा युयुजानः

(*Continued on next page*)

(24 3) that the Atris performed the Saptadaśa-stoma three days before Visuvat and thereby smote the demon Svarbhānu that had pierced the sun with darkness i e the solar eclipse (in Rg. V. 40 5 ff.) took place three days before the autumnal Visuvat (equinox)

It appears from the Brhat-samhitā that the real cause of eclipses was known to Indian astronomers several centuries before Varāhamihira (1st half of 6th century A. D.) who remarks[622] 'In a lunar eclipse the moon enters into the shadow of the earth and in a solar eclipse the moon enters the Sun (i e. comes between the sun and the earth), that this cause of eclipses was found by (former) ācāryas who had a divine insight, that Rāhu is not the cause (of eclipses), this is the true state that the śāstra (of astronomy) declares (or this is the real intent of śāstra)'. In spite of this correct theory of eclipses, common people and even learned men (not astronomers) then believed and do believe up to the present day that Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and regard an eclipse as a special occasion for bath, gifts, *japa*, śrāddha and the like Varāhamihira makes an effort[623] to square Śruti, Smrti, popular belief and real astronomical doctrine by the remark that there was an Asura on whom a boon was conferred by Brahmā 'You will be gratified by a portion of the gifts and offerings made on an eclipse', that Asura remains present to receive his portion and that therefore it is metaphorically (poetically) said that he is Rāhu Rationalism and popular traditions and superstition cannot go together. Some difference was made between an eclipse of the Sun and

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(Continued from last page)

सपर्यन् कीरिणा देवाञ्जमसोपशिक्षन् । अत्रि सूर्यस्य दिवि चक्षुराधात् स्वर्भानोरप माया अघुक्षत् ॥ ऋ V 40 5,6,8 It is difficult to say what the words तुरीयेण ब्रह्मणा exactly mean, the 4th verse (तुरीय ब्रह्म) from the 5th appears to say that Atri prepared to extract Soma, offered worship with a hymn of praise and prostrated himself before the gods and that thereby Atri restored the eye of the Heavens viz the orb of the sun to its usual splendour and (with the favour of Indra and Varuna) dispelled the wiles of Svarbhānu. It is probable that Atri and his family assured the common people that the sun would in a short time appear in all his glory. 'स्वर्भानुर्ह्यासुर आदित्य तमसाविध्यत्तस्यात्रयस्तमोपजिघासन्त एतं सप्तदशस्तोम व्यह पुरस्ताद्विषुवत् उपायंस्तस्य परस्तात्तमोपजघ्नुः ।' शाङ्खायन-ब्राह्मण 24 3.

622 भूच्छाया स्वग्रहणे भास्करमर्कग्रहे भविशतीन्दु' । . कृत्युपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यै । राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तं शास्त्रसद्भाव ॥ बृहत्सं V 8 and 13

623 योऽसावसुरो राहुस्तस्य वरो ब्रह्मणाऽयमाज्ञप्त । आप्यायनमुपरागे दत्त्वाहुताशेन ते भविता ॥ तस्मिन् काले सान्निध्यमस्य तेनोपचर्यते राहु' । बृहत्सं V 14-15.

that of the moon. Vyāsa says: [624] 'an eclipse of the moon is one hundred thousand times (more meritorious than an ordinary day) and an eclipse of the Sun ten times more so than the preceding and if the waters of the Ganges are near (for a bath) then a moon eclipse is one crore of times (more meritorious) and a sun's eclipse is ten times more so than the preceding'.

The first duty of a person on seeing an eclipse is to bathe. It is said 'on[625] seeing Rāhu (i e. eclipse) men of all *varṇas* become impure They should first bathe and then do their usual duties and should give up food already cooked (before the eclipse)'. Peculiar sanctity was deemed to attach to the time of grahaṇa. If a man[626] does not take a bath at the time of eclipse, at the passage (of the sun) from one *rāśi* to another, there is no doubt that he would suffer from leprosy for seven future lives and sorrow would be his lot' He should take a bath in cold water and in as holy a place as possible. The holiest bath is the one in the Ganges or Godāvarī or at Prayāga, then in any one[627] of the big rivers such as the six rivers connected with Himavat mountain and the six south of the Vindhya mentioned in the Brahmapurāṇa, then in any other water, since at the time of eclipse all water becomes holy like Ganges water. A bath with hot water was allowed only to children, old men and persons that were ill. One had[628] to take a bath when the

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624. व्यासः। इन्दोर्लक्षगुणं प्रोक्तं रवेर्दशगुणं स्मृतम्। गङ्गातोये तु सम्प्राप्ते इन्दोः कोटी रवेर्दश॥ हे (on काल) 384, का. वि. 521, नि. सि. 64.

625. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतकं राहुदर्शने। स्नात्वा कर्माणि कुर्वीत सूतकन्तं विवर्जयेत्॥ षट्त्रिंशन्मत q by का वि. 533; हे (on काल) p. 390 reads सर्वेषा ... राहुसूतके। सचैलं तु भवेत्स्नानं सूतकान्तं च वर्जयेत्॥ अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा। अहोरात्रोषितः स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते॥ विष्णु q by हे (on काल) 383, व क्रि. कौ 91 (ascribes to शातातप), का वि 388 (ascribes to आपस्तम्ब)

626. ग्रहणे सक्रमे चैव न स्नायाद्यस्तु मानव। सप्तजन्मसु कुष्ठी स्याद् दुःखभागी न संशयः॥ स म 130; चन्द्रे वा यदि वा सूर्ये दृष्टे राहौ महाग्रहे। अक्षयं कथितं पुण्यं तत्रार्के तु विशेषतः॥ मार्कण्डेयपु० q. by हे (on काल) p 384.

627. सर्वं गङ्गासमं तोयं सर्वे व्याससमा द्विजाः। सर्वं मेरुसमं दानं ग्रहणे सूर्यचन्द्रयोः॥ शुद्धितत्त्व p 348, व क्रि कौ 111, का नि 348, स म 130 (from व्यास). गोदावरी भीमरथी तुङ्गभद्रा च वेणिका। तापी पयोष्णी विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे तु प्रकीर्तिताः॥ भागीरथी नर्मदा यमुना च सरस्वती। विशोका च वितस्ता च हिमवत्पर्वताश्रिताः॥ एता नद्यः पुण्यतमा देवतीर्थान्युदाहृताः। ब्रह्मपुराण 70 33-35.

628. ग्रस्यमाने भवेत्स्नानं ग्रस्ते होमो विधीयते। मुच्यमाने भवेद्दानं मुक्ते स्नानं विधीयते॥ शुद्धितत्त्व p 347 verse 1513, q. by K N 353, हे on काल 390, ग्रहस्पर्शकाले स्नानं मध्ये होमः सुरार्चनं श्राद्धं च। मुच्यमाने दानं मुक्ते स्नानमिति क्रमः। ... एवं जपहोमतर्पणमार्जनविप्रभोजनात्मकपञ्चप्रकारं सुरेश्वरणम्' तर्पणाद्यसम्भवे तत्तत्संख्याचतुर्गुणो जप एव कार्यः। ध सि. 32-35.

eclipse began, to perform homa, worship of gods and śrāddha while the eclipse was in progress, to make gifts when the eclipse was about to end, and to take a bath again when the sun or moon became free from eclipse. Even a person who is impure owing to a birth or death has to take a bath on an eclipse but he is not to make a gift or to perform śrāddha (according to Gauda writers), but the Madanaratna and the Nirnayasindhu refute this view and hold that in an eclipse even one who is in āśauca can take a bath, perform śrāddha and purascarana[629] In the purāṇas and medieval digests some distinction as regards merit or holiness was made between eclipses in certain months and baths in certain rivers or holy places The Kālanirnaya (p 350) especially commends the Godāvarī for a bath in a lunar eclipse and one in the Narmadā for a solar eclipse. The Kṛtyakalpataru (Naiyatakāla), Hemādri on Kala and the Kālaviveka quote[630] a long passage from the Devīpurāṇa, some verses of which may be rendered here' 'an eclipse in Kārtika is the highest (in merit) at the confluence of the Gangā and Yamunā, in Mārgaśīrsa on Devikā, in Pausa Narmadā is holy, in Māgha Sannihitā is holy' &c. On the occasion of the partial eclipse of the sun on 20th June 1955 about four hundred thousand people took a bath at Kurukṣetra and Sanyahet (Sannihitā of ancient times)

The general rule is that one should not take a bath, make a gift or perform a śrāddha at night. Āpastamba[631] says 'let him avoid a bath at night'. Manu says 'one should not perform a śrāddha at night, she (night) is declared to be a rākṣasī (a demon) and also at both twilights and when the sun has just risen'. But eclipses were an exception as regards bath, gift and śrāddha. Yājñavalkya enumerates[632] eclipses among the proper times for śrāddha

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629 तत्र जननमरणाशौचिभानापि स्नानं कर्तव्यं दानं श्राद्धं च न कर्तव्यम्। कृ त p. 433, अत्राशौचसत्त्वेपि स्नानश्राद्धादि कार्यमेव। सूतके मृतके चैव न दोषो राहुदर्शने। तावदेव भवेच्छुद्धिर्यावन्मुक्तिर्न दृश्यते॥ इति माधवीये वृद्धवसिष्ठोक्ते। ... इयं च शुद्धिरविशेषान्नक्र-दीक्षापुरश्चरणादिसर्वस्मार्तकर्मनिषेधा। मदनरत्नेप्येवम्। नि. सि 66

630 कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायमुनसङ्गमे। मार्गे तु ग्रहणं मोक्षं देविकायां मनोरमे॥ पौषे तु नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सन्निहिता शुभा। देवीपुराण q by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत) 370-71, हे (on काल) 385-86, का वि 524 Vide H of Dh vol. IV p 560 n. 1260 for the passage from देवीपुराण.

631. सन्निधावमज्जनमप्सु वर्जयेत्। अस्तमिते च स्नानम्। आप ध सू I 11. 32. 8, रात्रौ श्राद्धं न कुर्वीत राक्षसी कीर्तिता हि सा। सन्ध्ययोरुभयोश्चैव सूर्ये चैवाविरोधिते॥ मनु III. 280

632. व्यतीपातो गजच्छाया ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययो। श्राद्धं प्रति रविर्ज्ञेते श्राद्धकाला प्रकीर्तिताः॥ याज्ञ. I 218.

It is stated by Śātātapa[633] that gifts, baths, *tapas* and śrāddha at the time of eclipses yield inexhaustible (rewards or merit); the night is a rāksasī elsewhere (at times other than those of eclipses); therefore one should avoid it (in other matters). A passage is quoted from the Mahābhārata[634] 'on *ayana* and *Viṣuva* days and on the occasion of the eclipses of the sun and the moon, one should make a gift of land together with daksinā to a deserving brāhmana'. Yājñavalkya succinctly observes 'not by learning alone nor by *tapas* alone (does one become a deserving person); that is declared a deserving person (*pātra*) in whom these two (*vidyā* and *tapas*) and actions (appropriate to these) are found' Numerous inscriptions published so far bear witness to the fact that over the whole of India ancient and medieval kings and well-to-do people carried out to the letter this recommendation of making gifts of land on eclipses. Some inscriptions are mentioned here by way of illustration Vide for gifts on solar eclipses the following: I A. VI. pp.72–75 (in śake 534 expired) the grant of a village to a brāhmana of Tagara by the great king Satyāśraya Pulikeśī II on Bhādrapada amāvāsyā; E. I. Vol III. pp. 1–7 the Pattadakal pillar inscription of Western Cālukya Kīrtivarman II recording a grant of fields on a total eclipse of the sun in Śrāvana (Fleet calculates that it was 25th June 754 A. D), E. I. Vol. III. pp 103–110 Paithan Plates of Rāstrakūta Govindarāja (III) recording the grant of a village after the king bathed in the Godāvarī on a total solar eclipse in Vaiśākha of śaka year 716 (4th May 794 A. D.); E. I. VII. pp 202–208 Sirur inscription of the time of Rāstrakūtā Amoghavarsa I on a solar eclipse in Jyestha, of śaka year 788 (expired) on a Sunday (16th June 866 A. D.); E. I. IX. pp 98–102 grant of a village by Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya I on a solar eclipse in Śrāvana in his 6th regnal year (Monday, 13th July 660 A. D. acc. to Kielhorn), E I. Vol. XIV. pp. 156–163 the Naihati grant of the Bengal king Ballālasena of a village as a daksinā on the gift of a golden horse on the occasion of a solar eclipse by the king's mother. As to lunar eclipses vide J B B R A S vol. 20 pp. 131 ff Nausārī plate of the Gujarat Rāstrakūta king Karka I in *śake*

633. शातातप.। स्नानं दानं तपः आद्धमनन्तं राहुदर्शने। आसुरी रात्रिरन्यत्र तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत्॥ हे. (on काल) p. 387, का वि. 527 (ascribes to यम), स्मृतिकौ 71 (शातातप)

634. महाभारते। अयने विषुवे चैव ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। पात्रभूताय विप्राय भूमिं दद्यात्सदक्षिणाम्॥ का. नि. p. 354. स्मृतिकौ. 72

738 Māgha pūrnimā, E. I vol. I p. 338 Pātnā Inscription of the time of Yādava Singhana in sake 1128 (rather 1129), 9th August (1209 A. D.) Śrāvanapūrnimā for endowing a college (matha) to teach Bhāskarācārya's astronomical works; I A vol 8 p. 96 grant of a village to 31 brāhmanas on Full Moon day of Mahāmāgha (Somagrahane) in the first half of 7th century A. D by Pulikeśī, E. I vol XIX p 41, E I vol XX p 725 (of Vikrama 1108), C I I IV. No 13, 25, 31 for grants on solar eclipses and No 21 on lunar eclipse Even now poor people create a pandemonium in towns and cities clamouring for clothes and cash.

As regards śrāddha, it is often difficult to perform it at the time of an eclipse for two reasons Most eclipses are partial and the time is short Besides, there is a prohibition to eat food during an eclipse A prājāpatya expiation is prescribed for partaking of food during an eclipse[635] It is therefore provided in some smrtis and digests that the śrāddha performed should be the āmaśrāddha or hemaśrāddha[636] Though the person performing śrāddha in an eclipse is deemed to reap great merit, the person partaking of śrāddha dinner is liable to undergo an expiation and is generally looked down upon. The Mitāksarā on Yāj I 217–218 quotes the first quarter of a verse 'one should not eat during a solar or lunar eclipse'[637] Therefore a good brāhmana cannot be easily secured and the performance of śrāddha with details is well-nigh impossible, even though Śātātapa and others state that it is obligatory' 'on seeing Rāhu (i. e an eclipse) one should perform a śrāddha even at the cost of all his wealth; one who does not perform śrāddha then sinks like a cow in mud' The order of the several acts on an eclipse is 'first bath in Ganges or other water, prāna-

635. चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे भुक्त्वा प्राजापत्येन शुध्यति। पद्मिंशन्मत q by हे on काल p 382.

636 सर्वस्वेनापि कर्तव्य श्राद्धं वै राहुदर्शने। अकुर्वाणस्तु तत् श्राद्ध पङ्के गौरिव सीदति॥ शातातप q by का वि 526, कृ र 625, ति. त p 154, नि सिं p. 65 (reads 'नास्तिक्यात्पङ्के'), शातातप। आपद्यनशौ तीर्थे च चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा। आमश्राद्ध द्विजो दद्या-च्छूद्रो दद्यात्तदैव हि॥ इति। क्वचिच्चूत्तरार्धमेव पठ्यते। आमश्राद्धं मधुघीव हेमश्राद्ध-मथापि वा। हे. on काल p. 387. Vide H of Dh vol. IV pp 514–515

637 "यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तुर्दोष; दातुरभ्युदय।" मिता on याज्ञ I, 217–218 The verse is चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे नाद्यादद्यात्तन्नाना-न्तु शुक्तयो। अहुक्तयोरस्तंगतयोरह्ना भुक्त्वा परेऽहनि॥ q by का. वि 537 (ascribes to मद्य), हे. (on काल) p 379 ascribes the same (with slight variations) to भत्स्यपुराण

yāma, tarpana, japa of Gāyatrī, homa in fire with sesame with the vyāhṛtis and the mantras for the planets as in Yāj. I. 300–301, then āmaśrāddha, gifts of gold, food, cows and land.

In these days most people except very sophisticated ones still take a bath on eclipses and make some gifts also, but do not proceed further in the matter of eclipses. An eclipse is the best time for japa and for dīkṣā (initiation) and perfection in the mantras peculiar to various deities: 'one[638] should engage in japa and the like while an eclipse of the sun or moon is in progress; one should not bathe nor eat food during that time, but when the sun and the moon are free from eclipse one should bathe and partake of food one may engage in the japa of the Gāyatrī mantra (Rg. III. 62 10) and it is laid down that if one does not engage in japa on an eclipse one becomes sinful For dīkṣā as to mantras seven days from eclipse are allowed Solar eclipse is the best time for dīkṣā.

The Puṇyakāla (the holy period) in the case of eclipses lasts only as long as the eclipse is visible to the eye. Jābāli says[639] 'In the case of saṅkrānti the puṇyakāla is 16 kalās on both sides thereof, but in the case of a lunar or solar eclipse it lasts only so long as the eclipse is visible'. This leads on to a question that is very much discussed in the several medieval works and on which there is great divergence of views. Much emphasis is laid on the words 'yāvad-darśana-go-carah' and 'rāhudarśane' occurring in several verses (quoted in the notes, 633, 639 &c.) The Kṛtyakalpataru (Naiyatakāla) argues that in those passages 'darśana' (being visible) is declared to be the cause or occasion of the several acts (snāna, dāna &c.) to be performed in an eclipse, that an eclipse is an occasion only when it is known that it has occurred, and that knowledge must be derived from the eye and that

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638 सूर्येन्दोर्ग्रहणं यावत्तावत्कुर्याज्जपादिकम्। न स्नायात्र च भुञ्जीत स्नात्वा भुञ्जीत शुक्तयो ॥ शिवरहस्य q by हे (on काल p 389) Vide ति त p. 156 for the सङ्कल्प 'अद्येत्यादि राहुग्रस्ते निशाचरे अमुकगोत्र. श्रीअमुकदेवशर्मा अमुकदेवताया अमुकमन्त्रसिद्धिकामो ग्रासाद्विमुक्तिपर्यन्तं तज्जपमहं करिष्य इत्यभिलप्य तावत्कालं जपेत्। ततः स्नात पूजयेत्। सूर्यग्रहणे तु राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे इति विशेषः।'. स्वस्वेष्टदेवतामन्त्रजप कुर्यात्समयस्नत·। यथाशक्ति जपेद्देवी गायत्रीं प्रयत· सदा। चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे तु मालिन्यमजपाद् भवेत्॥ स्मृतिकौ 75 (from कूर्म). ग्रहणादि सप्तदिनपर्यन्तं रामगोपालाद्यागमदीक्षोक्ता शिवार्चनचन्द्रिकाया ज्ञानार्णवे। मन्त्राद्यारम्भणं कुर्याद् ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। ग्रहणाद्वापि देवेशि कालः सप्तदिनावधि॥ इति। 'अत्र सूर्यग्रहणमेव शुरुयम्। नि सि 67

639 सक्रान्तौ पुण्यकालस्तु षोडशोभयत· कालाः। चन्द्रसूर्योपरागे तु यावद्दर्शनगोचर.॥ जाबालि q by कृत्यकल्प० (नैयत०) 368, हे. (on काल) 388, कृ र. 625, स्मृतिकौ 69.

therefore when the sun or moon is screened *from* view by clouds one need not enter upon a bath and the like prescribed *in the* case of an eclipse[610] Hemādri *on Kāla quotes this* view and criticizes it in several ways He first relies on Manu IV. 37 that prescribes that one should never see the sun when it is *rising or setting or when it is eclipsed or is reflected in water or when it is in mid-sky If* actual seeing were *necessary*, that is an impossible condition as Manu has *prohibited it* and the result would be that *one* need not bathe when an eclipse is really on He further says that śiṣṭas do observe bath &c even if they do not actually see the eclipse Therefore, he proposes that punyakāla *exists so long as* the *eclipse is* deduced to last from the śāstra (*of astronomy*) The Kṛtyaratnākara[611] (pp. 625–26) discusses the *question, remarks* that snāna and the *other* prescribed actions *should* be performed *during* that period *in* which the eclipse *can* be seen It was argued by some that an eclipse by itself (and not seeing it) is the occasion on which bath, gift &c, must be observed; to this the Kālaviveka[612] gave the reply that, *if* mere existence of an eclipse were an occasion for bath, then the unacceptable conclusion would be that even if the moon were to be eclipsed (in some other *country*) *according to* astronomical *calculations* a person in a different country would have to undergo a bath by day for a lunar eclipse in a distant land. The Smṛtikaustubha and Samayaprakāśa[613] *therefore* lay down that what is meant by 'darśana-gocarah' *is that* when one knows *from the* astronomical science that the eclipse is capable of being seen with the eye in a particular country one should at the respective times perform bath and the like (even though one may not actually see it). The Samvatsara-pradīpa is quite explicit 'that is said to be an eclipse which *can be observed* by the eye; one

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640 आपाति । संभाव्ये दर्शनगोचर ॥ इति । चन्द्रसूर्योपरागस्य निमित्तत्व-प्रतिपादनात् ज्ञानस्यैव च निमित्तत्वात् ज्ञानमात्रे प्राप्ते 'यावद्दर्शनगोचर ' इति 'राहुदर्शने' इति वचनाच्च चाक्षुषज्ञानविषयत्वमेव निमित्तता । चाक्षुषज्ञाने दर्शनपदस्य रूढ्यत्वात् । तेन न ग्रहणादिच्छेत् ज्ञानादि कर्तव्यम् । कृत्यकल्प० (ग्रहण०) 368.

641. यावद्दर्शनयोग्य उपरागो वर्तते तावद्दर्शनानन्तर स्नानादि क्रिया । कृ र P 526

642. भक्तामात्रेण निमित्तत्वे दिवा चन्द्रग्रहणस्य रात्रौ सूर्यग्रहणस्य निमित्तत्वापत्ते । का. वि 529.

643 चाक्षुषविषयवचनो दर्शनगोचरशब्दस्योपनायादिका मनालद्वीपस्थिति लक्षणया ब्रूते । स्मृतिकौ. 70, अन्यत्र देशे चाक्षुषत्वयोग्यग्रहण शास्त्रतो ज्ञात्वा तत्तत्काले स्नानं कुर्यात् । समयप्रकाश 126, तथा च संवत्सरप्रदीपे । चक्षुषा दर्शन राहोर्यत्तद् ग्रहण-मुच्यते । तत्र कर्माणि कुर्वीत गणनामात्रतो न तु ॥ q by ति त. 155.

should perform religious acts on such an eclipse, but not on mere calculation.'

If a solar eclipse occurs on a Sunday and a lunar one on Monday, such a conjunction was called Cūdāmani and it was laid down that a Cūdamani eclipse yields one crore of times as much merit as an eclipse on other week days[644]

Some held that on the day previous to an eclipse one should observe a fast; but Hemādri provided that a fast was to be observed on the day of the eclipse[645] A householder however who had a son living was not to observe a fast as laid down in a text.[646]

About partaking of food before, during and after an eclipse elaborate rules were laid down from comparatively early times. The Viṣnudharmasūtra[647] provides· 'one must not eat during an eclipse of the moon or sun; he should eat, after having previously taken a bath, when the eclipse is at an end; if the sun or moon have set before the eclipse was over he must bathe and on the next day he may eat again after having seen the sun rise'. This is elaborated in two verses quoted in several works: 'One should not take food before a solar eclipse and also in the evening of the day of a lunar eclipse; and one should not eat when the eclipse is in progress; but when the sun or moon is free from eclipse one may, after a bath, partake of food; when the moon is free from eclipse one may take food (even at night thereafter) provided it is not *mahānisā*, when the sun or moon sets before being free from eclipse, one should see them rising the next day, bathe and then partake of food'.

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644. सूर्यग्रहः सूर्यवारे सोमे सोमग्रहस्तथा। चूडामणिरयं योगस्तत्रानन्तफलं स्मृतम्। वारेष्वन्येषु यत्पुण्य ग्रहणे चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। तत्पुण्यं कोटिगुणितं ग्रासे चूडामणौ स्मृतम्॥ का वि 523 (*from* स्मृतिसमुच्चय), का नि. 351, ति. त. 154, स्मृतिकौ 70 (*from* व्यास)

645 आदित्यग्रहणे राम ग्रहणे च निशाभृताम् (त· ?)। उपवासादवाप्नोति सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्॥ हे on व्रत II 917 (from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर)

646 तथा च जैमिनिः। आदित्येहनि संक्रान्तौ ग्रहणे सूर्यचन्द्रयोः। पारणं चोपवासं च न कुर्यात् सुतवान् गृही॥ हे. (on काल) p 382, व. क्रि कौ p. 102

647 चन्द्रार्कोपरागे नाश्नीयादविमुक्तयोरस्तंगतयोर्हण्ढा स्नात्वा परेऽहनि॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 68. 1–3, q. by हे on काल 396, का वि. 537, कृ र 626, व क्रि कौ. p 102 quotes a verse of देवल to the same effect, नाद्यात्सूर्यग्रहात्पूर्वमह्नि सार्धं शशिग्रहात्। ग्रहकाले च नाश्नीयात्स्नात्वाश्नीयाच्च मुक्तयो॥ मुक्ते शशिनि भुञ्जीत यदि स्यान्न महानिशा। स्नात्वा दृष्ट्वापरेऽह्नचवाद् अस्तास्तमितयोस्तयो॥ q by कृत्यकल्प· (नैयत·) 309–310, का वि 537 (ascribes to भोजदेव), हे (on काल) 380 (ascribes to विष्णुस्नातपौ), कृ र 626–27, व. क्रि कौ. 104 (says that these were ascribed to कूर्मपुराण in कामधेनु) The first verse occurs in भुजबल p. 346. The two verses are कूर्मपुराण, उत्तरार्ध 19. 15–16.

It was further prescribed that not only was one not to eat during an eclipse, but in the case of a lunar eclipse one was not to eat for three *praharas* (9 hours or 22½ ghatikās) before the eclipse started and for four *praharas* before a solar eclipse starts, but this does not apply to children, old men and women.[648] This period of three or four praharas before an eclipse was called and even now is called 'vedha'. The *Kṛtyatattva* (p. 434) collects together in one place all the above propositions about taking food. Although these rules are not generally observed in these days by people in cities and by educated people, in the author's boyhood they were strictly observed by almost all adults educated or illiterate.

Certain astrological results were deemed to follow from eclipses. One or two are cited here for illustration. The Viṣnudharmottara[649] states that if in one and the same month there is first an eclipse of the moon and then of the sun, that occurrence would tend to create disputes between brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, but if the opposite was the case, then there would be prosperity. The same purāṇa says that persons born on the nakṣatra on which there is an eclipse of the sun or moon suffer troubles unless they perform śānti rites (to avert the evil results). Hemādri (on Kāla pp 392–93) quotes several verses from Garga about the prognostications derived from eclipses of the sun and moon when they are in certain nakṣatras. Atri provides:[650] 'When the moon and the sun are eclipsed in the nakṣatra of a man's birth, that forebodes disease, long journeys, death and great danger from the king (of the country)'.

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648 बृहद्गौतमः॥ सूर्यग्रहे तु नाश्नीयात् पूर्वं यामचतुष्टयम्। चन्द्रग्रहे तु यामास्तीन् बालवृद्धातुरैर्विना॥ हे (on काल) p 381, स्मृतिकौ p. 76.

649 एकस्मिन्यदि मासे स्याद् ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययोः। ब्रह्मक्षत्रविरोधाय विपरीते विपर्ययः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 85 56. 'यद्यदाभगतौ राहुर्दृश्यते चन्द्रभास्करौ। तज्जातानां भवेत्पीडा ये नरा. क्षान्तिवर्जिताः॥ *ibid* I. 85 33–34.

650. आह चात्रिः। यस्य स्वजन्मनक्षत्रे ग्रस्येते शशिभास्करौ। रुग्मृत्यि प्रवासं वृत्तिं च राजतश्चैव महद्भयम्॥ का वि 543.

CHAPTER XIII

List of Abbreviations used in the following List of Vratas

AK = Ahalyākāmadhenu (ms).
BB = Bhujabalanibandha of Bhoja (ms).
BHP = Bhāgavatapurāna.
BHAV = Bhavisyapurāna.
BHAVU = Bhavisyottarapurāna
BR = Brahmānda-purāna.
BRAH = Brahmapurāna.
BRV = Brahmavaivarta.
Br S. = Brhat-samhitā of Varāhamihira.
DE = Devīpurāna.
DNS = Dvaitanirnaya-siddhānta-sangraha.
DS = Dharmasindhu.
DT = Durgotsavatattva.
DV = Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāni.
ET = Ekādaśītattva.
GAR = Garudapurāna.
GK = Gadādharapaddhati (Kālasāra portion)
HK = Hemādri's Caturvarga-cintāmani on Kāla.
HV = Hemādri's Vratakhanḍa vol. I and II.
KAL = Kālikāpurāna
KKN = Naiyatkālika Kānda of Krtyakalpataru.
KKV = Vratakānda of Krtyakalpataru.
KN = Kālanirnaya of Mādhava.
KNK = Kālanirnaya-kārikā.
KR = Krtyaratnākara.
KSS = Krtyasāra-samuccaya.
KT = Krtyatattva of Raghunandana.
KTV = Kālatattva-vivecana
KŪR = Kūrmapurāna.
KV = Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana
LIN = Lingapurāna.
MAR = Mārkanḍeya-purāna

MAT = Matsyapurāna
MB = Mahābhārata.
M Bh. = Mahābhāsya.
NA = Nirnayāmrta.
Nār = Nāradapurāna.
NM = Nīlamatapurāna
Nrs = Nrsimha-purāna
NS = Nirnayasindhu
Pad = Padmapurāna
PC = Purusārtha-cintāmani.
RM = Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (ms)
RNP = Rājanītiprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya).
SM = Samayamayūkha.
SMK or SmK = Smrtikaustubha (on Tithi and Samvatsara)
SP = Samayaprakāśa, part of Vīramitrodaya.
SPR or SPr = Samayapradīpa of Śrīdatta (ms)
TT = Tithitattva.
TV = Tithiviveka of Śūlapāni.
Vā = Vāmanapurāna
Var = Varāhapurāna.
Vāyu = Vāyupurāna.
V. Dh. = Visnu-dharmasūtra.
Vi. Dh = Visnudharmottara-purāna.
Vis = Visnupurāna.
VK = Vrata-kośa
VKD = Varsakrtya-dīpaka
VKK = Varsakriyā-kaumudī
VKR = Varsakrtya of Rudradhara
VKV = Vratakālaviveka
VP = Vrataprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) ms
VR = Vratarāja.
VRK = Vratodyāpana-kaumudī.
VT = Vratatattva.

LIST OF VRATAS AND UTSAVAS

The following list of vratas and *utsavas* does not claim to be thoroughly exhaustive But it is far more exhaustive and informative than any similar list so far prepared in English by any one or contained in any work in English. The line of demarcation between vratas and utsavas is very thin. Many vratas contain an element of festivities and many utsavas have more or less a religious element also and were religious in the beginning though later on they became secular, like the Olympic games of Greece. It may be pointed out that in the Asiatic Researches, vol III, Sir William Jones published a list of Hindu festival days based on the Tithitattva (pp 257–293) and Prof. Kielhorn also inserted a list of festival days based mainly on the Dharmasindhu in I. A vol 26 pp 177–187. Both these are meagre The Indian Ephemeris (vol. I part 1 pp. 55–69) has a long descriptive list and a brief but accurate account of Indian festivals in relation to tithis and *vice versa*. Yet it is not as exhaustive as this list will be and it refers hardly to any authoritative texts. Very recently in the Report (1953) of the Calendar Reform Committee presided over by the late Dr M. N Saha there is a list of lunar festivals (from Caitra onward) and solar festivals and of some important tithis (pp 101–108) and an alphabeticed list of festivals (pp 111–115), which is exhaustive but its great defect is that no texts are cited or referred to and hardly any details are given except month, paksa and tithi. There are a few works on vratas written in Bengali and other regional languages of India, but I could not include most of them in this volume as I do not know most of those languages, though I have referred to some of them. Apart from vratas and utsavas certain matters and technical terms that occur frequently in works on vratas have been included. The list is arranged in the Sanskrit alphabetical order, though everything is transliterated into the English alphabet for the convenience of printing For saving space abbreviations have been very largely employed and a list of the most important abbreviations is given in the preceding pages. As regards each vrata the time when it begins, whether it is a tithivrata or vāravrata, samvatsara-vrata or a naksatravrata or a prakīrnaka vrata is generally indicated (except where from its very title or description its nature is clear), the deity to be worshipped is pointed

out where possible or necessary, some details are added in certain cases, and some of the works in which it is described are mentioned The rewards promised are not generally set out, as most of them are included in the rewards mentioned on p 55–56 above, and as they are often too numerous to specify and also for reasons of space. Similarly, tithis that are Yugādi or Yugāntya or Manvādi or Kalpādi have not all been noted as they are too many but they are enumerated in one place under the words Yugādi &c I have made great efforts to trace the Paurāṇic quotations to their sources, but I regret that I have not been quite successful owing to several causes such as the vast extent of Purāṇas, owing to several recensions of the same purāṇa and owing to my inadvertence or sheer weariness One feels that tracing a verse to its origin is often as difficult as finding a pin in a haystack. The author or authors of Purāṇas often wrote like modern advertisers of medicines, toilet articles &c Most of the vratas are said to have been declared by divinities like Śiva to Pārvatī, by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, by great sages like Mārkaṇḍeya, Nārada, Dhaumya, Yājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭha and it is often added that the Vrata is a great secret not narrated or known even to gods and goddesses e g. Śivarātrivrata (in HV II. 88).

It may not be out of place to point out here what should be done about the numerous vratas and utsavas, described so far and to be mentioned in the long list that follows. Many of the vratas and utsavas once observed have already gone out of vogue owing to various causes. But it would not do to recommend the abolition of all vratas and utsavas even in the latter half of the 20th century. Some seasonal vratas and festivals should be kept up as in the case of Divālī and Holikā, but they should be shorn of extravagances like gambling on Balipratipadā or the obscenities and dirt-throwing indulged in by some people in Holikā. Other vratas and utsavas like the Rāmanavamī, Vijayādaśamī, Kṛṣṇa-janmāṣṭamī should also be celebrated in order to remind the present generation of the great heroes and *avatāras* of the past and the supreme values they exemplified in their lives and a few new ones such as the Jayantīs of Shivaji, Guru-Govindsingh, Tagore, Tilak and Gandhi may be added. Besides, such vratas as Vaṭa-sāvitrī and Haritālikā may still be emphasized for observance by women and lastly such nice observances redolent of disinterested regard and affection as Rakṣābandhana and Bhrātṛdvitīyā deserve to be preserved.

It should be remembered that several vratas depend conjointly upon month, tithi and naksatra together It is difficult to classify such vratas and my classification may in some cases appear to be arbitrary. For saving space the details mentioned above will not generally be conveyed in regular sentences, but in catch-words only The figures after the abbreviated name of a work represent pages and Roman figures refer to volumes or parts; and double Arabic figures with a dot between represent chapter and verses respectively. As most vratas are tithivratas, the word tithi is not mentioned where the vrata has reference to a tithi alone and to no other particular (such as month or week-day &c.). The word vrata has been generally omitted after the names, except where I felt that doubt or confusion is likely to be caused The word 'purāna' is not added to the names of purānas such as Agni, Vāmana &c Except in the case of purānas references to medieval digests and commentaries are generally arranged in chronological order The following abbreviations are used for months and half months: Cai. = Caitra, Vai. = Vaiśākha, Jy. = Jyestha, Ās. = Āsādha, Śr. = Śrāvana, Bh. =Bhādrapada, Āśv.=Āśvina, K.=Kārtika, Mārg. = Mārgaśīrsa, P. = Pausa, M. = Māgha, Phā. = Phālguna; Śu.or śu.= Śukla, Kr. or kr.= Krsna (paksa)

Aksayācaturthī—Caturthī with Tuesday yields special rewards for vratas like upavāsa GK 72

Aksayaphalāvāpti—Vai. śu. 3; tithi; Visnupūjā HV I. 499 (special merit if Krttikā occurs on that tithi), NS 92–94.

Aksayyatrtīyā—Vide p. 88–89 above.

Aksayyanavamī—K. Śu. 9; tithi; a *daitya* called Kūsmānda was killed by Visnu this day. VR 347. Vide *yugādi*.

Akhandadvādaśī—(1) Ās śu 11 (beginning); (fast on that day) and on 12th Visnupūjā; tithi-vrata for one year; what is incomplete in rites becomes complete; KKV 344–347 and HV I 1103–1105; (2) Mārg śu 12; removes *vaikalya* in yajña, upavāsa and vrata; HV·I. 1117–1124 (from Vi. Dh.), Vā 17 11–25, Agni (chap. 190); Gar. I 118, Bhav U. 79.

Agastyadarśana-pūjane (seeing the star Agastya when the Sun is in the middle of Zodiacal sign Virgo and worship at night) N. M. pp. 76–77 verses 934–939.

Agastyārghyadāna—(offering arghya to Agastya, Canopus, a star of the first magnitude) Mat chap 61 for Agastyotpatti; Gar. I. 119. 1–6; KV. 290–292. (Agastya rises and sets at

different times in different countries); Agni 206. 1-2 (arghya to be offered three days and 20 ghaṭikās before Sun enters Virgo); vide RM (verses 1206-1228 in ABORI. vol. 36 pp 317-320), KKN 448-451, HV II 893-904, KR 294-299, VKK 340-343, RM (verses 1219-20) quote Rg I. 179 6 as mantra for arghya by *dvijas* and for others the mantra 'kāśa-puṣpapratīkāśa vahnimārutasambhava | Mitrāvarunayoh putra Kumbhayone namostu te' cited in Mat 61 50, Gar I. 119 5 SPr (folio 40 b) remarks that there are two modes, one based on Brah (where arghya is main thing), the other based on Mat (where worship is main), KSS 12 provides *arghyadāna* for three days from Bh śu 13; vide TT 146 and KT 443 For belief that the rise of Agastya made turbid waters clear, vide Raghu IV. 21.

Agni—fires kindled in several religious rites are addressed by different names, e g kitchen fire is Pāvaka, that in Garbhā-dhāna is Māruta, vide TT 99 quoting Grhyasangraha (I 2-12)

Agnivrata—Phā Kr 4 (fast); one year; Vāsudevapūjā, Vi. Dh. III. 143. 1-7 q. by HV I. 506 (a caturmūrtivrata).

Aghoracaturdaśī—Bh Kr. 14 (fast that day), Śiva; vide GK 157, VKK 315, TT 122, KT 443.

Aṅgāraka-caturthī—4th tithi on a Tuesday; eight times or four times or for life; pūjā of Mars; mantra is 'Agnirmūrdhā' (Rg VIII 44 16) and for sūdras only to remember Mars Mat 72. 1-45 (17 of which q by KKV 77-79, HV I. 508-509), Pad V 24 20-63, Bhav U. 31. 1-62, VKK 32-33, VR 188-191, KKV (80-81) and HV I. 518-519 (quote from Bhav), the latter calling it Sukhavrata The dhyāna in A. K. (folio 354^a) is 'Avanti-samuttham sumesāsanastham dharānandanam raktavastram samīde'

Aṅgāraka-caturdaśī—GK 610, if there be 4th tithi or 14th on a Tuesday that yields more results than a hundred sun eclipses

Aṅgirā-vrata—dark 10th, one year, worship of ten gods named, Vi Dh III 177 1-3

Acalāsaptamī—M śu 7; worship of the sun, ekabhakta on 6th, on 7th upavāsa, at end of night on 7th standing water to be stirred after placing a lamp on one's head, HV I. 643-648 (from Bhav U.) where Krsna tells Yudhisthira the story of a penitent prostitute Indumatī who performed it, Vratārka

folio 120^{b}-122^{a}, VR. 253-255, NA. 53 (says it is also called Jayantī); Bhāskaradhyāna on this day.

Acyutavrata—P. Kr 1; tithi; Acyutapūjā and homa with sesame and ghee with 'Om namo Vāsudevāya'; thirty brāhmaṇas with their wives to be fed; AK. folio 230.

Ativijayaikādaśī—on śukla Ekādaśī with Punarvasu-naksatra, for a year (gift of a *prastha* of sesame); Hari; HV. I. 1147 (from Vi Dh.)

Adāridrya-sasthī—On sasthī (either fast or ekabhakta &c.); for one year; Bhāskarapūjā; HV I. 626-627 (quotes four verses of Skanda); the performer omits oil and salt and feeds brāhmaṇa on rice boiled with milk and sugar; no one in family is born poor or becomes poor.

Adhimāsa—(intercalary month); its *nirnaya* and *krtya*; HK 26-66, KV 113-168, NS 9-15, SmK 520-529, PC 12-31, VKK 231-236, KR 536-539.

Aduhkha-navamī—for all, but specially for women; Bh. śu. 9; Pārvatī; VR 332-337 (from Skanda). In Bengal women perform this for *avaidhavya*.

Anaghāstamī—Mārg. dark 8; tithi; worship of Anagha and Anaghī image made with darbhas to be identified with Vāsudeva and Laksmī with 'ato devā' (Rg. I. 22 16) or namaskāra by śūdras; Bhav U. 58. 1 ff (q by HV I. 813-14 and AK folio 547^{b}).

Anangatrayodaśī—(1) Mārg. śu. 13; tithi; one year; Śambhu-pūjā and bath with pañcāmrta; every month Ananga (identified with Śambhu) to be worshipped under a different name (such as Smara in Māgha) and with different flowers and *naivedya*; HV II. 1-8 (from Bhav U), KN 278, GK 153; pūrvaviddhā to be taken; occurs in Gar. I. 117; (2) Cai. or Bh. śu. 13; tithi; once or every month in a year; worship of picture of Kāma on cloth under twelve different names; HV II. 8-9 (from Kālottara), PC 223, NS 88.

Anangadānavrata—Sunday with Hasta, Pusya or Punarvasu; for Veśyās; worship of Visnu and Kāma (God of love); thirteen months; Veśyā to offer herself to a brāhmaṇa on Sunday who repeats mantra 'ka idam kasmā adāt Kāmah &c.'. Vide Atharva III. 29. 7, Tai Br. II. 2. 5. 5-6, Āp. Śr. V. 13 for Kāmastuti; Mat chap. 70=Pad. V. 23. 74-146 (with some additions); KKV 27-31 (calls it Veśyādityāngadāna-

vrata), HV II. 544–548 (from Pad.); KR 605–608 (from Mat.)

Anaṅga-pavitrāropana—Śr. śu. 13; HV II. 442, PC 238.

Anantacaturdaśī—See above pp 151–153.

Anantatṛtīyā—Śu 3 of Bh., Vai or Mārg., one year; worship of Gaurī with different flowers each month; Mat. 62 1–39 = Pad. V. 22. 61–104, Bhav U 26 1–41, KKV 60–66 (quotes Mat.), HV I. 422–426 (from Pad.), KR 265–270.

Anantadvādaśī—Bh śu 12; tithi; for one year; Hari-pūjā Vi Dh. III. 219. 1–5, HV I. 1200–1201 (from Viṣnurahasya).

Anantapañcamī—Phā. śu 5; tithi; no deity mentioned, HV I. 564 (from Skanda, Prabhāsakhaṇḍa).

Anantaphalasaptamī—Bh śu. 7; tithi; one year; worship of Sun; HV I 741 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva 110. 1–8), KKV 148–149.

Anantaratṛtīyā-vrata—vide Ānantarya-vrata below

Anantavrata—(1) Begin on Mārg on that day that has Mṛgaśīrṣa-naksatra; one year; in each month different naksatra (in P Puṣya, in M. Maghā and so on); Viṣnupūjā; HV. II. pp. 667–671 (from Vi Dh. I. 173. 1–30) It is *putrada*. (2) Vi. Dh. III. 150. 1–5; Another variety from 2nd tithi, one year; worship of Ananta (as Viṣnu); a caturmūrtivrata.

Anandā-navamī—Phā śu 9, tithi; one year; Devīpūjā; KKV 299–301 (calls it Ānandā), HV I. 948–950.

Anarāṇya-vrata—begins Mārg śu 1; ṛtuvrata; for two seasons, hemanta and śiśira: Keśavapūjā; 108 times japa of 'Om namaḥ Keśavāya'; dvādasī has special rites, HV II. pp 839–42 (from Viṣnu-rahasya).

Annakūtotsava—See Govardhana-pūjā. Vide Var. 164 and SMK 374.

Anodanāsaptamī—Begin with fast on Cai. śu. 6 and worship Sun on 7th; tithi; HV I. 702–705 (from Bhav), KKV 205–208, KR 121–123. *Odana* comprises bhakṣya, bhojya and lehya (to be licked), but water is not *odana* and may be drunk that day.

Annadāna-māhātmya—See 'Sadāvarta'.

Aparājita-saptamī—Bh. śu. 7; tithi; one year; Sun worship; KKV 132–135, HV I. 667–668 (from Bhav, Brāhma 98. 1–19), PC 104; Bh. śu 7 is called Aparājitā. Begin ekabhakta on 4th, have nakta on 5th, fast on 6th and pāranā on 7th.

Aparājita-daśamī—Āśv śu. 1–10; specially for a king; tithi; once a year; Devīpūjā; HV I. pp. 968–973 (quoting Gopatha Br., Skanda and others); KR 365–366 (says it is based on śistācāra); PC 145–146, SMK 352; HV and SMK say that Rāma started on invasion this day when there was Śravana-naksatra.

Aparādha-śata-vrata—Begin from Mārg. 12th, amāvāsyā or 8th of bright or dark half; one year; Hari worship; 100 aparādhas enumerated in Bhav U. 146. 6–21; all these sins are destroyed by this vrata. Thirty-two *aparādhas* are enumerated in Var. 117.

Apāpasaṅkrānti-vrata—begins on a sankrānti; a year; Sun is devatā; white sesame to be offered; HV II. 739–740.

Abhirūpapati-vrata—A fast is so called, whereby is secured a husband that is learned or handsome; m. in the drama Mrcchakatika I (prelude) and Cārudatta p. 4 (TSS. 1914).

Abhīstatrtīyā—begins Mārg. śu. 3; tithi; Gaurī worshipped; Skanda, Kāśī-khanda 83. 1–18.

Abhīstasaptamī—7th tithi of any month; worship of the oceans, continents (dvīpa), pātālas and the earth; HV I. 791 (from Vi. Dh. only one verse).

Amāvāsyā—*derivation* of, HK 311–315; HK 643–644, KV 343–44, TT 163, bhāsya on Gobhila-grhya I. 5. 5, PC 314–345; VKK 9–10 quote passages from MB and Purānas stating that Amāvāsyā falling on Monday, Tuesday or Thursday is specially holy, so also if it occurs on certain naksatras such as Anurādhā, Viśākhā, Svāti; HV II. 246–257. Vide KN 309 ff for several derivations of the word and legends connected therewith from the Brāhmanas and Purānas. Amāvāsyā mixed with 1st tithi to be preferred to one mixed with 14th except in Sāvitrīvrata Vide Vratārka folios 334^a–356^b for amāvāsyā-vratas.

Amāvāsyā-krtya—Vide SMK 281, KSS 21–23, VKK 81–82.

Amāvāsyā-nirnaya—KR 622–624, Dh. S 23, KN 301–307.

Amāvāsyāpayovrata—subsisting on milk alone on each amāvāsyā; tithi; one year; Visnupūjā; HV II. 254 (from Pad.).

Amāvāsyāvrata—(1) HV II. 257 (from Kūr); offering something to a brāhmana intending it for Śankara; (2) HV II. 257

(one verse from Kūr.). honouring three brāhmaṇas intending to please Brahmā

Amāvāsyā-vratāni—HV II. 246–257, TT 162 ff, Vratārka (folios 344a–356b)

Amuktābharaṇa-saptamī—Bh. śu. 7, worship of Śaṅkara and Umā; HV I. pp 632–638, SMK 222–228 (almost same passages as in HV). Vide Nār. I. 116 32–33.

Ambuvācī—the time in solar Āṣāḍha when the Sun is in the first quarter of Ārdrā-nakṣatra; VKK 283 quoting RM (catvārim-śat-liptā &c.), KT 434 (three days and 20 *ghaṭis* from the week day on which the Sun enters sign of Gemini, during which no sowing of seeds, nor Vedic study to be done) Mother earth and rivers are deemed unclean during these days in Bengal (in Jy. or Āṣ. Kṛ. 10 to 13th). Vide HK 701, 703

Ayanavratas—Ayana depends on the motion (apparent) of the Sun. There are two Ayanas Dakṣiṇāyana begins when the Sun enters Zodiacal sign Karkataka (*Cancer*). KNK 14 says: 'Dakṣiṇa and Uttara ayanas respectively are appropriate to fierce and quiet rites and its com (Vivaraṇa) provides that images of the Mātṛs, Bhairava, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Durgā are to be established in Dakṣiṇāyana KR 218, HK 16, SM 173, SP 13.

Ayācitavrata—subsisting on food not obtained by begging from another. KN 138–139, NA 19, KTV 214–218, PC 49.

Araṇya-dvādasī—begun by bath on morning of Mārg. su 11 or in K., M., Cai or Śr; tithi; for one year; Govinda deity; sumptuous feast on 12th in a forest to 12 *dvijas*, *yatis* or householders and their wives; HV I. 1091–1094 (from Bhav U.); some mss read 'Aparā-dvādasī.'

Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī—Jy. śu. 6; RM verse 1396 states that women with fans and arrows (v. l. 'with fans alone in one hand') wander in forests GK p 83 says it is same as Skandaṣaṣṭhī; tithi-vrata; Vindhyavāsinī and Skanda worshipped; KR 165 (quotes RM), VKK 279, K. T. 430–431; observers subsist on lotus stalks, bulbous roots and fruits hoping for the health of their children.

Arūndhanāṣṭamī—Vide VK, No 470.

Aruṇodaya—The last half quarter (*prahara*) of night HK 259, 272; KN 241 (quoting Skanda and Nāradīya) says 'four ghaṭikās before sunrise'

Arundhatīvrata—for women only; for freedom from widowhood, for sons &c.; fast for three nights; 3rd tithi in the beginning of Vasanta (spring); worship of Arundhatī; HV II. 312–315, VR 89–93.

Arkavrata—eating at night alone on 6th and 7th (*v. l* 7th & 8th) in both fortnights; tithivrata; for a year; Arka (Sun) worshipped; KKV 387, HV II. 509.

Arkasaptamī—tithi; for two years; deity Sun; one is to drink from a cup made of the leaves of *arka* plant; HV I 788–789 (from Brah.). Vide Pad. V. 75. 86–106 which state that vrata to be begun in Uttarāyana on a Sunday in śukla pakṣa; on 5th *ekabhakta*, on 6th nakta, on 7th fast and on 8th pāranā

Arkasamputasaptamī—Begin on Phā. śu. 7; tithi; for a year; Sun worshipped; Bhav. I. 210. 2–81 (q. by KKV 191–198, HV I. 690–696).

Arkāṣṭamī—On Sunday on 8th śu; worship of Umā and Śiva in whose eye the Sun rests; HV I. 835–837.

Arghya—See H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 318, 543. Later medieval digests made it elaborate. VKK 142 says 'arghya for all deities consists of sandalwood paste, flowers, whole grains of *yava*, tips of kuśa grass, sesame, mustard and dūrvā.' Vide HV I. 48, KR 296, VR 16 (for eight ingredients of).

Ardhaśrāvaṇika-vrata—begin on 1st of Śr. śu.; one month; worship of Pārvatī called Ardhaśrāvaṇī; worshipper to observe *ekabhakta* or *nakta* for one month; at end to offer dinner to maidens and brāhmaṇas; HV II. 753–754 (from Br.), VP (folios 106–107).

Ardhodaya-vrata—This is a vrata of rare occurrence and is said to be equal in holiness to a crore of Sun eclipses Later medieval digests (e. g. TT 187, KSS 30, NS 211, SmK. 442–445, P. C. 316) quote a verse from Mahābhārata 'when in the month of Pausa or Māgha there is amāvāsyā with Śravaṇa-naksatra and Vyatīpāta-yoga, that is called Ardhodaya and Vratārka (folios 348^a–350^b) states that according to Prayāga-setu of Bhatta Nārāyaṇa it takes place in Pausa when amānta reckoning is used and in Māgha when Pūrnimānta reckoning is used. HV (II. pp. 246–252) quotes from Skanda and adds Sunday to the above requirements and BB (pp. 364–365) adds that the Sun must be in Makara (Capricorn). The TT 187, Vratārka folio 348^a and

PC 316 read a half verse 'this yoga is commended only if it occurs by day and not so if at night' KSS 30 provides that if one out of the several requirements (*Pausa or Māgha Amāvāsyā, Vyatīpāta, Sravana-naksatra, Sunday*) is absent, it becomes Mahodaya-parva In *Ardhodaya a bath at Prayāga in the morning is most meritorious, but it is provided that all rivers become like the Ganges at Ardhodaya.* The devatās of the vrata are three viz Brahmā, Visnu and Maheśvara and they are worshipped in the same order; *offerings* (of ghee) are made in fire with Paurānika mantras, and also with three Vedic mantras viz '*Prajāpate*' (*Rg. X. 121. 10*) for Brahmā, '*Idam Visnur*' (*Rg. I 22. 17*) for *Visnu*, '*Tryambakam yajāmahe*' (*Rg VII. 59. 12*) for Maheśvara. At the end gifts of cow or money are made. In I. A. vol 25 p. 345 there is mention of Ardhodaya in śake 1352, Pausa, which corresponds to 14th January (Sunday) 1431 A. D. The reference to the distribution of all his wealth by Emperor Harsavardhana at Prayāga once in five years made by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang (vide 7 I. A. 196 at p 198) is not to Ardhodaya at all, as some suppose. If Beal's B R. W. W. vol. I. pp. 214 and 233 be carefully read this will be clear.

Alaksmīnāśaka-snāna—On full moon of P. when there is Pusya naksatra, persons should bathe after anointing their bodies with white mustard and drive off *alaksmī* (*misfortune or poverty*) and worship images of Nārāyana, Indra, Moon, Brhaspati and Pusya by bathing them with water in which sarvausadhis are put and with homa. Vide SMK 344-345, PC 307, GK 178.

Alavanatrtiyā—On śu 3 of any month, specially of Vai, Bh. or M.; women alone to perform; fast on 2nd and food on 3rd without salt; Gaurī worshipped; it may be for life; KKV 48-51, HV I. 474-477, S. Pr folio 32*a*. Vide Bhav., Brāhma-parva 21. 1-22 for this.

Avatāras—Tithis of the appearance of (they are called Jayantis), cited in NS 81-82 and KSS 13 as follows: Matsya-Cai. śu. 3; Kūrma-Vai. pūrnimā; Varāha-Bh. śu 3, Narasimha-Vai śu. 14; Vāmana-Bh. śu. 12, Paraśurāma-Vai. śu 3, Rāma Cai. śu. 9; Balarāma-Bh śu 2; Krsna-Śr kr 8; Buddha-Jy. śu. 2. Some works say Kalkin is yet to appear while others give Śr śu 6 as Kalkijayanti. Some works differ as to the tithis e. g. some say Matsya appeared on Cai. śu. 5 (and

not 3). Vide Śrī B. Bhattacharya's paper on 'the ten avatāras and their birth dates' in volume of studies presented to Dr. F. W. Thomas pp. 31–33 quoted from Śakti-sangamatantra I. See under Vaiśākha. The Eran Inscription of Toramāna refers to Varāhāvatāra (Gupta Inscriptions p 159). Var. 48. 20–22 (q. by both KKV 333 and HV. I 1039) state which avatāra out of the well-known ten (including Buddha and Kalkin as separate) is worshipped for what object.

Avamadina—a week day on which two tithis end is so called. NS 153 quoting Ratnamālā ("Yatraikah sprśate tithidvayāvasānam vāras-ced-avamadinam taduktam-āryaih"). This is to be avoided when beginning a vrata for the first time, as there is ksaya of a tithi here.

Avighnavināyaka or Avighnavrata—(1) begin on Phā. 4th; tithi; four months; Ganeśa worshipped. HV I 524–525, KKV 82–83, both quoting from Varāha 59. 1–10; (2) 4th tithi on both fortnights; three years; Ganeśa deity; NA 43 (from Bhav U).

Aviyogadvādaśī—Bh. śu. 12; tithi; worship of Śiva and Gaurī, Brahmā and Sāvitrī, Visnu and Laksmī, the sun and his consort Niksubhā. HV I 1177–1180.

Aviyogavrata or Aviyogatrtiyā—For women; begin on Mārg. śu. 2 with partaking rice boiled in milk and sugar on 3rd; worship of Gaurī and Śambhu; for a year; worship of images of both made from rice flour under different names in each of twelve months with different flowers; KKV 70–75, HV I 439–444, KR 452–455. Vide Bhav U. 22 for this.

Avaidhavyaśuklaikādaśī—Cai. śu. 11; HV I. 1151 (only one verse from Vi. Dh).

Avyaṅgasaptamī—Śr. śu. 7; tithi; to be performed every year; 'AVYAŃGA' to be offered to the sun; 'Avyanga' is explained in KKV 150 as a hollow strip made of fine white cotton thread, resembling a serpent's slough, 122 finger-breadths long (the best), or 120 (middling) or 108 (the shortest) It seems to have been like the *Kusti* worn by modern Parsis. Vide Bhav. (Brāhma-parva) 111. 1–8 q. by KKV 149–151 and HV I 741–743, also V. P (folio 116, which mentions the story of Sāmba in Bhav.). The printed Bhav. uses the word 'abhyanga'. In Bhav (Brāhma) 142. 1–29 we have the legend of Avyangotpatti. In verse

18 occurs the word 'sārasanah' which reminds one of 'Saracen'. Vide Nār. I. 116. 29–31 for AVYAṄGĀKHYA-VRATA, the 7th tithi being destroyer of sins if it is conjoined to Hasta-naksatra. Avyanga appars to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the Avestan 'Aivyanghana' (meaning 'girdle'). In the 16 ślokas addressed to the prince Jadi Rānā by the Parsis emigrating to India occurs this 'who put on the waist a woollen *kushti* which is fastened on the *sadra* (garment), each end of which is like the mouth of a serpent, which is tied into knots at equal distances' (vide M. M Murzban's 'Parsis in India' vol. I at p 93) It seems probable that this particular form of Sun-worship was imported from Iran or was borrowed from Parsi practices. The Br. S. (59 19) states that the priests of Savitr should be Magas i. e Maga or Śākadvīpiya brāhmanas for whom vide I A vol. VIII. 328 and Weber's edition of Magavyakti of Krishnadas Mishra.

Aśūnyaśayanavrata or Aśūnyaśayanadvitīyā—on dark 2nd tithi of four months from Śr; tithi; Laksmi and Hari worshipped; occurs in Vi Dh I. 145. 6–20 and III. 132 1–12, Vā. 16. 16–29, Āgni 177. 3–12, Bhav. I. 20. 4–28, KKV 41–44 (q. from Bhav U) and 44–46 (from Mat. 71 2–20=Pād. V. 24, 1–19). The Matsya contains a somewhat different mode; HV I 366–371 (from Bhav.) and 371–377 (from Bhav U); KR 225–228 (quotes Bhav I. 20 4–28). This vrata secured *avaidhavya* to women and *aviyoga* (absence of the loss of wife) to men. Vide S Pr (folio 22b) and SmK 146–148 One of the mantras that occur in both KKV 43 and HV I. 373 is 'Laksmyā na śūnyam varada yathā te śayanam sadā | śayyā mamāpyaśūnyāstu tathātra Madhusūdana' ||. KR (p 228) remarks that when it is said that the vrata begins in Śr. Kr, the month is *pūrnimānta* according to the usage. Mentioned in 'Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of Nizam's Dominions' by Dr. Srinivasachar No 50 pp 140–142 of *śake* 1198 Māgha śu. 10 (1276 A. D.) where Kuppāmbikā wife of a Kākatiya General is said to have performed it.

Aśūnyavrata—on dark 2nd tithi of four months from Śr., in which *arghya* with curds, whole grains of rice and fruits are offered to the moon; if the second tithi is mixed with (viddhā) the third tithi on a certain day the vrata should be performed on that day; P C 83.

Aśokakalikābhakṣana—Vide Aśokāṣṭamī.

Aśokatrirātra—For three nights from the 13th tithi of Jy., Bh. or Mārg. śu; for one year; Aśoka tree of silver to be worshipped and image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī on first day, of Umā and Maheśvara on 2nd and of Lakṣmī and Nārāyana on third and then images donated; this vrata removes sins and diseases and confers long life, fame, wealth and prosperity on sons and grandsons; HV II 279–283, VP (folio 102b), Vratārka folio 261b-264; mostly for women, but men desirous of prosperity of sons may also perform it.

Aśokadvādaśī—same as Viśokadvādaśī. Begin in Āśv.; for a year; on 10th take light meal, on 11th fast and on 12th pāraṇā; worship of Keśava; results are health, beauty and freedom from sorrow; Mat. 81. 1–28, 82. 26–30 quoted in KKV 360–363; HV I. 1075–1078 (quotes almost same verses from Pad)

Aśokapūrṇimā—On Phā. pūrnimā; tithi; for a year; the earth is to be called Aśokā in first four months and also in the next four months; worship of Earth and arghya to the Moon; in the first 4 months worship earth as Dharaṇī, in the next four as Medinī and in last four as Vasundharā. Keśava is to be worshipped at the end of each group of 4 months; Agni 194. 1, HV II. 162–164.

Aśokapratipad—Āśv. śu. 1; tithi; worship of Aśoka tree or its golden or silver image or its picture; only for women; HV I. 351–52 (from Bhav U. chap. 9).

Aśokasasthī—Vide VK No 52.

Aśoka-saṅkrānti—Vratārka folio 388b–389a; to be performed on ayanasankrānti or Visuvasankrānti when there is Vyatīpāta, ekabhakta; Sun to be worshipped; gifts of sesame.

Aśokāṣṭamī—(1) Cai. śu. 8 and if there be Wednesday and Punarvasu-naksatra then special merit; worship of Durgā with Aśoka flowers, one should drink water mixed with eight Aśoka buds, worship of Aśoka tree with the mantra 'tvām-aśoka harābhīstam madhumāsa-samudbhavam | pibāmi śokasantapto mām-aśokam sadā kuru'. KV 422 (quotes mantra from Linga), HK 626 (from Visnu), HV I 862–63 (from Linga) and 875–76 (from Ādityapurāna but no mantra); KR 126–127; R M (1379–80) has the mantra 'tvām-aśoka harābhīsta' and the verse 'Aśoka-kalikāś-cāstau' and BB 1734–35, both of which verses are Gar. I

133. 1-2; PC 109; SMK 94. Vide JRAS for 1900 pp. 545, 791 and for 1901 p 127 for some remarks. (2) KV 422, KR. 126, KT 463 and other digests state that all tīrthas and rivers come to the Brahmaputrā on Cai śu 8 and a bath in it on that day yields the same rewards as Vājapeya, when it falls on Wednesday and on Punarvasu.

Aśokāṣṭamī—Worship of Umā NM p. 74 (verses 905-907) states that Aśoka plant is Devī herself.

Aśvatthavrata—Vratārka (folio 406b-408a) from Adbhutasāgara following Ātharvanaśākhā; worship of Aśvattha in case of evil portents, invasions, epidemics, diseases like leprosy.

Aśvalīkṣā—When the moon is in Svāti in Āśv. śu., worship Uccaiḥ-śravas and one's own horses may be honoured if there be 9th tithi; Śānti rites and threads coloured in four colours to be tied round horses' necks; NM p 77 verses 943-947.

Aśvapūjā—On Āśv. śu. 1 to 9; see below under Āśvina

Asvavrata—a Saṃvatsaravrata, Indra is the deity; Mat 101. 71 q. by KKV 443, HV II. 911 (quotes same 1½ verses from Pad).

Aṣṭamīvratas—There are about 30 Aṣṭamī-vratas, which will be entered at the proper places. General rule is that in the bright half Aṣṭamī mixed with Navamī is to be preferred and in dark half aṣṭamī mixed with saptamī is preferred. Vide TT 40, DS 15. For Aṣṭamīvratas vide HV I. 811-886, KN 194-228, KKV 225-272, VR 256-319, VKK 38-40, PC 109-139. There are a few exceptions to above two rules, some of which may be noted at the proper places

Asidhārāvrata—begin on Ās śu. 15; five days or ten days after Ās. 15, K.15 or for 4 months from Ās., or one year or 12 years, one has to sleep on bare ground, to bathe outside house, eat food only in the night, to remain celibate even though sleeping in wife's embrace, curb anger and be devoted to *japa* and *homa* to Hari Different rewards acc to length of time, the greatest being that after twelve years of this vrata the observer may secure the rulership of the world and on death become one with Janārdana Vi Dh. III. 218 1-25 q by HV II. 825-827. The word means the vrata is as sharp or difficult as treading on the edge of a sword. The Raghuvaṃśa 13. 67 in referring to Bharata's abstention from enjoying regal splendour out of regard for the exiled Rāma calls it *ugra* 'iyantī varsāni tayā sahogram-abhyasyatīva vratam-āsidhāram'.

Ahan—a day. There are several views about the divisions of the day, viz. into two, three, four, five, eight, or fifteen parts. The two are pūrvāhna and aparāhna (as in Manu III 278); for three vide notes 257–258 above Four parts described by Gobhila (q by KN p. 110) are pūrvāhna (for 1½ *prahara*), madhyāhna for one prahara, aparāhna up to the end of the 3rd prahara and thereafter sāyāhna till end of day. For names of five divisions vide H of Dh. vol IV p 376 In Rg V. 76. 3 (utāyātam saṅgave prātarahno) three of the five parts of a day viz *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava* and *madhyandina* are expressly mentioned. Eight divisions of the day are mentioned by Kautilya (I. 19), Daksa (chap 2) and Kātyāyana. Kālidāsa in Vikramorvāśīya II 1 (sasthe bhāge) appears to know this. There are fifteen muhūrtas of the day and fifteen of the night Vide Brhadyogayātrā VI 2–4 for 15 muhūrtas. As the day and night become long or short at different places (except on the equator) each of the muhūrtas will vary in length to some extent even in the same place in different seasons of the year. Similarly, pūrvāhna or prātahkāla will be of 7½ muhūrtas if day is divided only in two parts, if into five parts pūrvāhna or prātaḥ will comprise only three muhūrtas. The KN (p. 112) remarks that the division into five parts being observed in many Vedic and Smrti texts as the principal division, that division, is the one resorted to in the śāstric passages about positive and negative injunctions. Vide HK 325–329, VKK 18–19, KTV 6, 367.

Ahiṁsāvrata—not to eat flesh for a year and then donate a cow and a golden deer; samvatsaravrata; KKV 444, HV II. 865 (quoting Pad = Mat 101 35)

Ahirbradhnasnāna—HV II pp 654–655 (from Vi. Dh) On a day on which there is Pūrvābhādrapadā-naksatra performer to bathe in water from two jars in which are put udumbara leaves, pañcagavya, water with kuśas, sandalwood paste &c; worship of Ahirbradhna, the Sun, Varuna, the moon, Rudra, and Visnu. Ahirbudhnya was the presiding deity of Uttarābhādrapadā acc to Br. S 97. 5, Bhav U. q by HV II p. 596, KR 560 Vide H. of Dh II p 247, note 563 for the devatās of all naksatras This secured thousands of cows and highest prosperity. Ahirbudhnya is the correct and ancient form In about ten passages of the Rgveda 'Ahirbudhnyah' appears to be some deity (probably Agni),

vide. Rg I. 186 5, II. 31 6, V 41, 16, VI 49 14, VI. 50. 14; VII 34. 17, VII. 35 13, VII 38. 5, &c and Nir X. 44

Ākāśadīpa—Lighting lamps fed with *ghee* or oil in K intending them for some deity or in a temple or where four roads meet. Aparārka 370–372 (for dīpadāna), Manu IV. 29, RM 1351–57 (vide BORI vol. 36 p. 330), NS 195.

Āgneyavrata—once on any 9th tithi; worship Vindhyavāsinī with flowers &c (five *upacāras*), HV I 958–59 (quoting Bhav U.)

Ājñāsankrānti—A Sankrāntivrata; begin on a holy sankrānti day; Sun deity; at end gift of golden image of Sun with Aruna, chariot and seven horses; reward unquestioned sway everywhere; HV II 738 (quoting Skanda)

Ājyakambala-vidhi—One of the 14 yātrās of Bhuvaneśvarī; when Sun enters Makara-rāśi; GK 191.

Ādityavāra—has various names (12 in all) when conjoined with certain tithis, naksatras and months, it is *Nanda* in M. su. 6, when *nakta* and anointing Sun image with ghee and offering flowers of Agasti tree and white sandalwood paste and *guggulu-dhūpa* and naivedya of apūpa; HV II 522–23, KKV 10–12; it is Bhadra when Bh. śu. has Sunday, one may observe nakta or fast on that day, offer in the noon mālatī flowers, white *candana* paste, vijaya incense; HV II 523–24, KKV 12–13; in the same way Saumya (Sunday with Rohinī naksatra); Kāmada (Sunday on Mārg. su. 6); Jaya (Sunday in Daksināyana); Jayanta (Sunday in Uttarāyana); Vijaya (Sunday on su 7 with Rohinī); Putrada (Sunday with Rohinī or Hasta, fast and śrāddha with pindas), Ādityābhimukha (Sunday on Māgha dark 7, ekabhakta, japa of Mahāśvetā mantra from morning till sunset); Hrdaya (Sunday with sankrānti when observance of nakta, facing the Sun in a Sun temple and japa of Ādityahrdaya mantra 108 times); Rogaha (Sunday on Pūrvāphalgunī, worship with arka flowers collected in a bowl of arka leaves); Mahāsvetāpriya (Sunday and solar eclipse, fast, japa of Mahāśvetā), Mahāśvetā mantra is 'hrīm hrīm sa iti' (vide HV II 521) For the last ten, vide KKV 12–23, HV II. 524–528 (with variations in both works)

Ādityamandala-vidhi—On a circle made with red sandalwood paste or saffron, place pastry made with white wheat or barley flour mixed with jaggery and ghee (from cow milk)

and worship of, Sun thereon with red flowers; HV I 753–754 (quoting Bhav U 44. 1–9) AK (folio 462b ff).

Ādityavāra-naktavrata—observe ekabhakta on Sunday, nakta on following Sunday or on Sunday with Hasta naksatra; Vāravrata; Sun deity; one year; Mat 97 2–19 q by KKV 31–34, HV II 538–541, KR 608–610.

Ādityavāravrata—from Mārg ; worship of the Sun; for one year; each month different name of Sun taken and different fruits offered such as Mitra and cocoanut in Mārg , in P. Visnu and fruit *bījapūra* and so on Vratārka, folios 375b–377a It removes all diseases including leprosy.

Ādityavāravratāni—HV II. 520–577, KKV 8 ff, Vratārka folios 3754b–3794b.

Ādityavrata—(1) for men and specially for women; begin on Āśv. Sunday; for one year; Sun deity; Vratārka (folio 378a) narrates from Skanda how Sāmba was cursed by Krsna to become a leper and was cured of leprosy by this vrata; (2) Sunday and 14th tithi and Revatī, or Sunday, 8th tithī and Maghā; worship of Śiva; sesame to be eaten; HV II. 589.

Ādityaśayana—On 7th tithi with Sunday and Hasta-naksatra or when there is Sankrānti of the Sun on 7th with Sunday; worship of the images of Umā and Śiva (the Sun is non-different from Śiva); salutations to Sun identifying his various limbs from the feet with naksatras from Hasta onwards; gift of splendid bed with five coverlets and pillows and of a cow; Mat 55. 2–33 q by KKV 404–408 and Pad. V. 24 64–96 (q by HV II 680–684).

Ādityaśāntivrata—Sunday with Hasta; worship of Sun image with fuel sticks of *arka* plant (108 or 28 in number); homa of sticks with honey and ghee or curds and ghee; 7 times; HV II. 537–38 (from Bhav.)

Ādityahrdayavidhi—Ādityahrdaya is a mantra to be repeated 108 times in a Sun temple on Sunday when there is sankrānti and observe nakta; HV II. 526 (from Bhav.) In the Rāmāyana (Yuddhakānda 107) Agastya comes to Rāma and advises him to mutter a sublime praise of the Sun (called Ādityahrdaya) in verse to secure victory in the final stage of the battle with Rāvanā; KKV (19–20) mentions this but holds that if there is sankrānti on a Sunday, the latter is called Hrdaya or Ādityahrdaya.

Ādityābhimukhavidhi—Vide KKV 18–19, HV II. pp 525–26, KR 491–495 (last two quoting from Bhav); after morning bath one should stand with face towards the sun till sunset, repeat reclining against a pillar the Mahāśvetī and worship the sun with *gandha*, flowers &c; to give dakṣinā and then take his meal

Ānantaiyamvata—begin on Mārg su 3; nakta on 2nd and fast on 3rd of each fortnight; for a year; Umā worshipped under different names on each 3rd, the *naivedya* is different and the performer is to subsist on different foods for nakta, specially recommended to women; it is so called because it prevents *antara* (separation) from one's sons, friends and relatives HV I 405–413

Ānandanavami—begin on Phā su 9; for one year; ekabhakta on 5th, nakta on 6th, ayācita on 7th, fast on 8th and 9th, worship of Devī, year divided into three parts; flowers, naivedya, the name of Devī &c. differ in each period of four months; KKV 299–301, HV I. 948–950 (reads 'anandā').

Ānandapañcamī—5th tithi is dear to Nāgas; worship of nāgas (images) by bathing them with milk; they bestow freedom from fear; HV I pp 557–560; for names of nāgas vide under *Nāgapañcamī* p 124 and note 321.

Ānandavrata—For four months from Cai distribute water without being requested for it; at end of vrata, gift of a jar filled with water, along with food, clothes, vessel full of sesame and gold; KKV 443, HV I pp 742–43 (from Mat), VKK 520, KR 85, Mat 101. 31–32.

Ānandasaphalasaptamī—On Bh śu 7, for one year; fast; Bhav. (I. 110. 1–8), KKV 148–149, HV I. 741 In some mss written as 'Anantaphala'

Āndolaka-mahotsava—in Vasanta; Bhav U. 133 24

Āndolanavrata—on Cai śu 3, worship of Pārvatī and Śiva (images) and swinging them in a *dolā*, HV II. 745–748, SmK 90–91, PC 85; HV prescribes Rg. X. 81. 3 (Viśvataś-caksur-uta) as the mantra.

Āmardakīvrata—On 12th śu of any month, specially of Phā.; Āmardakī = Dhātrī (myrobalan); one year; 12th with various naksatras is given various names e g Vijayā (with Śravana), Jayantī (with Rohinī), Pāpanaśanī (with Puṣya); fast on this last is equal to one thousand Ekādaśīs; one

should perform *jāgara* (keeping awake) in Viṣṇu worship under Āmardakī tree; story of birth of Āmardaka tree; HV I 1214–1222.

Āmalakyekādaśī—On Phā śu 11; worship of Hari at the root of *āmalaka* tree, in which he and Lakṣmī are deemed to reside; Pad VI 47. 33 ff. and HV I 1155–56 (from Skanda, Prabhāsakhanda), SMK 516 SmK (364–366) gives an elaborate description of the worship of Dāmodara and Rādhā under the Āmalakī tree on K. pūrnimā or any day in K.

Āmrapuṣpabhakṣana—Cai. Śu. I; eating the blossom of mango trees as part of Madana worship; SMK 519, VVK 516–517.

Āyudhavrata—(1) for four months from Śr; worship of conch, wheel, mace and lotus (identified with Vāsudeva, Saṅkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha); Vi. Dh III. 148. 1–6 q. by HV II 831; (2) Vi Dh. III. 155. 1–7.

Āyurvrata—(1) Applying sandalwood paste to Śambhu and Keśava; for one year; at end gift of cow with jar of water; KKV 442 (12th among saṣṭivratas); (2) on Full Moon day; worship of Lakṣmī and Viṣnu; fast and gifts to brāhmaṇas and to young married ladies; HV II. 227–229 (from Gar).

Āyuḥsaṅkrāntivrata—On Saṅkrānti day; worship of the Sun; gifts of bell-metal vessel, milk, ghee and gold; udyāpana as in Dhānyasaṅkrānti, HV II 737, Vratārka (folio 389).

Āraṇyakaṣaṣṭhī—Vide Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī above.

Ārogyadvitīyā—begin on P. śu 2; for a year on each śu. 2; worship of moon's crescent; on Mārg śu 2 after worship of crescent gifts of two garments, gold and a jar of liquid; HV I. 389–91 quoting Vi. Dh. II 58; result is health and prosperity.

Ārogyapratipad—begin on first tithi at the end of a year; one year; worship of printed image of Sun on every pratipad; reward same as above HV I. 341–42 (quoting Vi. Dh), Vratārka (folio 28), VR 53

Ārogyavrata—(1) from *pratipad* after Bh. Full Moon up to Āśv. Full Moon; worship of Aniruddha by day with lotuses and jāti flowers; homa, fast of three days before end; secures health, beauty, prosperity; Vi Dh. III 205. 1–7 (q by HV II 761); (2) It is a daśamīvrata; fast on 9th and worship of Lakṣmī and Hari on 10th; HV I 963–965 (from Gar).

Ārogyasaptamī—On M śu. 7; fast on each saptamī for one year; worship of Sun, Var. 62. 1-5, q by KKV 223-224 and HV I 747; TT. 36, KT 460; secures health and wealth.

Ārdrādarśana or Ārdrābhiṣeka—on full moon of Mārg, people flock for darsana of Naṭarāja (the dancing Śiva) and at Chidambaram in south India a great festival is held for this

Ārdrānandakarī-tṛtīyā—begin on Śu 3 when it has either Uttarāṣāḍhā naksatra, Pūrvāṣāḍhā or Abhijit or Hasta or Mūla; for one year divided into three periods, worship of Bhavānī and Śiva; salutations to the feet and other limbs of Devī up to her mukuta, Mat. 64. 1-28 (same as Pad. q by HV I. 471-474), KKV 51-55, BhavU. 27.

Ālekhyasaptapañcamī—Bh. śu 5; tithi-vrata, Nāgas drawn with coloured powders and worshipped, result-no danger from snakes; Bhav. (Brāhmaparva 37. 1-3) q by KKV 94-95, HV I. 567, S Pr. folio 26a.

Āśādaśamī—begin on any śu 10th tithi; period 6 months, a year, two years; draw in one's own court figures of the ten quarters to be worshipped; all one's desires are fulfilled (*āśā* means 'directions' and also 'hope' or 'desire'), HV I. 977-981, VR 356-7; if *muddhā*, perform on that day when *daśamī* exists in the forenoon

Āsūdityā-vrata—Begin on a Sunday in Āśv., for one year; worship of Sun with 12 different names; HV II. 533-37 (from Skanda), Vratārka folio 379b; Sāmba became free from leprosy by means of this

Āśrama-vrata—begin on Cai Śu 4; for a year divided into three periods of four months; Vāsudeva, Saṅkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha to be worshipped one after another in each period. Vi. Dh III. 142 1-7 q by HV I 505, VP (folio 59)

Āśunakṛtya—Vide KR 301-397, VKK 343-458, NS 144-192, SMK 287-373, KT 444-447. This month has numerous observances and festivals. The important ones will be separately entered in the list. A few lesser ones are noted here. V. Dh (90. 24-25) provides that by donating ghee everyday in this month, a man pleases Aśvins and becomes handsome and by feeding brāhmaṇas with cow's milk (and its products) he secures a kingdom. On śu 1 there is mother's father's śrāddha by a grandson whose father is alive (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 533); on that day also begins

Navarātra; on śu 4 worship of Satī (Pārvatī who threw herself in a lake on that date) with arghya, flowers &c. and honour is to be paid to chaste women, mother, sister and other women whose husbands are alive (KKN 404, KR 348), on śu. 5 nāgas made of kuśa grass and Indrānī are to be worshipped (NA 47, KR 348), in bright half on a tithi with an auspicious naksatra and muhūrta going to field having ripe crops with music and dance, one should offer homa and should eat the new corn with curds as also new grapes (KKN 405, KR 303); in Śukla paksa when there is naksatra Svāti Uccaihśravas (Sun's horse) first carried the Sun and hence he and one's horses should be honoured by an owner of horses (KKN 407, KR 347); in śu. paksa on Mūla one should invite Sarasvatī, establish her on Pūrvāsādhā in books, offer oblations to her on Uttarāsādhā and take leave of her on Śravana and one should not read, teach or write during these days (NS 171, SmK 352, PC 73). In Tamil lands Sarasvatī-pūjā in books on Āśv. śu. 9; Tulāmāsa (Āśv.) is sacred for bath in Kāverī river; and on Amāvāsyā there is a special bath in Kāverī river.

Āsādha-krtya—KR 196–218, KT 434–437, VKK 283–292, NS 101–109; SMK 137–148. Some of the smaller observances of Āsādha are mentioned here. Ekabhakta vrata for whole month (SMK 137, KR 196); gift of sandals, umbrella, salt and myrobalans (v l. 'new kambala') to a brāhmana for securing favour of Vāmana (avatāra) on the first or on some convenient day of Āsādha; on śu. 2. if there is Pusya naksatra, Rathotsava of Krsna, Balarāma and Subhadrā (TT 29, NS 101, SMK 137); on śu 7 (fast on 6th and) worship of Sun called Vivasvat who appeared on Pūrvāsādhā that day (KKN 390, SmK 138); on 8th image of Devī that killed Mahisāsura should be bathed with turmeric water and camphor and sandalwood paste, and feast to brāhmanas and maidens full of sweet dishes and tasty liquids and lamps lighted; NA 56, SmK 138; as to 9th see under Ubhaya-navamī, on tenth Varalaksmīvrata (very important in Tamil country) and worship on a *kalaśa*, as to 11th and 12th vide under these words; Full Moon is very holy and gifts must be made (Rāmāyana q by KR 214); if there be Uttarāsādhā naksatra on Pūrnimā worship of ten Viśve-devas (KKN 393, KR 213 and H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 457); gift of food on Pūrnimā gives inexhaustible merit (V. Dh.); on Pūrnimā

ascetics to shave and perform Vyāsapūjā (NS 109, SMK 144–146); on dark 8 Vināyakapūjā (KKN 390, KR 198); Ar. K. 8 is Manvādi tithi.

Indravrata—55th of the 60 saṃvatsara-vratas m. in KKV 451 (one verse which is Mat. 101. 89 and is quoted from Pad. by HV II. 883) One has to honour a householder and his wife three times a day and give a cow at end of the year.

Indradhvajotthānotsava—(festival of the raising of Indra's banner). On Bh. su. 8 the pole for the banner was to be brought or made of sugarcane and was to be worshipped with attendant ceities and was to be taken down and cast in deep water. It was raised on Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā or Uttarāṣāḍhā nakṣatra and taken down on Bharaṇī at night. It is elaborately described in Varāha's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, *chap* 43, Kālikāpurāṇa (90), RM verses 1260–1292 (vide BORI. vol. 36 pp. 323–327), HV II 401–419, TT. 115–117, VKK 322–323, KV 294–299, KR 292–293. It was recommended for observance by king. It is mentioned in Buddhacarita (SBE 49 part I. p 113), Raghuvaṃśa IV 3, Mṛcchakaṭika X. 7, in the 1st book of Maṇimekhalai and 5th of Śilappadhikāram, and in an inscription published in E. I. XII. 320 (dated in 461 of Mālava era i. e 404–5 A. D.). It is described in Kālikāpurāṇa 90, in Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp 184–190 (from Devīpurāṇa), in RNP pp 421–423, and is mentioned in Nāgānanda I. Vide H. of Dh. *II pp 825–826 for description*. RNP (pp 430–433) quotes several Paurāṇika āśīrvāda mantras and prārthanāmantras from the Viṣṇudharmottara.

Indravrata—47th of the 60 Saṃvatsara-vratas described in KKV p 449. One has to sleep in the open in the rainy season, and make a gift of a milch cow. It is Mat. 101. 69.

Indrapaurṇamāsī—HV II. 196 (one verse from BhavU) Fast on Bh. Full Moon and honouring thirty householders with their wives with ornaments; secures *mokṣa*. Vide GK 176.

Iṣṭajāgaraṇī—VI. Dh. III. 200. 1–5: begin in Cai. and in K.; worship Hari with Ṛg. X. 90 1–16 and the 16 upacāras and at end gift of a cow.

Īśā-vrata—Fast on śu. 14 and on Full Moon day when it is a Thursday: worship of Liṅga with Viṣṇu to the left and Khakholka (the Sun) to the right; five years; gift of one cow at end of 1st year, of 2 at end of 2nd, of 3 at end of 3rd, of

4 at the end of 4th and five at the end of 5th; KKV 383–385, HV II. 179–180 (from Kālikā).

Īśvaraganagaurīvrata—18 days from Cai Kr. 1 to Cai. śu. 3; this is meant only for women whose husbands are alive; worship of Gaurī and Śiva; well-known in Mālava (Mālwa); AK folio 237.

Īśvara-vrata—On dark 14th; worship of Śiva; HV II. 148 (from Bhav., 4½ verses).

Ugra-naksatras—are the three Pūrvās (Pūrvāsādhā, Pūrvābhādrapadā, Purvāphalgunī), Maghā and Bharanī. Vide under Naksatra and Br. S. 97. 8.

Uttamabhartrprāpti—on 12th of śu. of Vasanta; Visnu is deity; Var. 54 1–19.

Uttarāyana—Gifts are recommended at the beginning of each *ayana* (vide Śātātapa in KV 536 and VKK 292) and gifts made at the beginning of an *ayana* yield a crorefold of merit, while a gift on Amāvāsyā gives only 100 times (RM q. by KV. 381, VKK 214). Vide I. A. vol. 20 pp. 104–106 for a grant of Eastern Cālukya king Mango-yuvarāja on the occasion of Uttarāyana-sankrānti.

Utthāpanaikādaśī—on K. śu. 11; GK 188, KSS 42 (has three mantras for Visnūtthāpana).

Utpattyekādaśī—Vide VK No 694.

Utsarjana—Vide H. of Dh. vol. II 815–818, NS 120–121, SmK 164–167.

Utsavas—Numerous utsavas are mentioned in the Purānas and works on vrata. Some of these such as Holikā, Durgotsava have already been described at some length above. A few more will be briefly dealt with at appropriate places in the list The word 'utsava' occurs in Rg. I. 100 8 and I. 102 1 and is derived from the root *sū* in the sense of 'urging or inspiring' by Sāyana. Vide 'India Antiqua' (a volume presented to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel) pp 146–153 where Prof. Gonda derives it from root 'su' (rather unconvincingly)

Udakasaptamī—drinking only a handful of water on 7th tithi gives happiness; KKV 184, HV I. 726 (from Bhav).

Udasevikā—same as Bhūtamātr-utsava. This utsava followed immediately after the Indradhvaja was taken down (i. e. it took place on Bh. śu. 13). It somewhat resembled the wild

and mystic Roman Bacchanalia In HV II 359–365, KKN 413–421 and KR 387–395 this festival is described at length from the Skanda The origin is traced to Bhairava and a girl called Udasevikā (whose body was smeared with mud) sprung from the mind of Śiva and Pārvatī respectively. They became husband and wife All people become on this day vociferous about sexual matters Men and women go out like crazy persons, ride asses, bulls and dogs, smear themselves with ashes and mud, even men 100 years old act like boys, become void of shame, utter obscene songs, dress like cowherds, *dombas*, barbers and also went about naked. It is remarkable that Skanda averred that gods and *pitrs* did not accept the offerings of a man who did not take part in this festival and remained aloof. There was difference of views about the time when the utsava was to be celebrated. Vide HV II p. 368, and VP (folios 91–92), which place it in Jy. kr. 1 to 15 (by pūrnimānta reckoning)

Uddālakavrata—Vide Vas. Dh. S XI. 76–77; it was prescribed for one who was patitasāvitrika. See H. of Dh. vol II pp. 376–377. In HV II p. 932 (from Brah.), it is described as subsisting on āmiksā and boiled milk for two months each, eight days on curds, three days on ghee and total fast for one day.

Udyāpana—Vide pp. 120–21 above It is said in KTV 95 that in some vratas like Krsnajanmāstamī to be observed throughout one's life there is no udyāpana.

Unmīlanīvrata—Ekādaśī mixed with dvādaśī. Vide p 119 above; Pad. VI. 37–29 ff. and SmK 250–2.

Upacāras—(items in worship of images) Vide pp 34–37 above.

Upavāsavrata—See under Ekādaśī pp 97–100, vide Vi Dh. I. 59. 3–5 for rewards of fast on week-days from Monday, *ibid* I. 59. 6–15 for fasts on naksatras and I. 59 15–20 for fasts on tithis from 1 to 15 No upavāsa beyond a month was allowed. Vide S Pr folio 300, HV II 776–783.

Upākarma—Vide H of Dh. vol. II. pp 807–815.

Upāngalalitā—Āśv. śu. 5: tithi; Lalitādevī (i.e. Pārvatī); prevalent in the Deccan; story of brāhmana Gautama from Broach, KTV 218 (ff); SmK 343–352, PC 99, VR 206–219 (from Skanda).

Ubhayadvādasī—Begin on Mārg. Kr 12, then P. śu. 12 and so on for one year on all 24 dvādasīs; tithi; the 24 forms of

Visnu viz. Keśava, Nārāyana and others are to be worshipped; HV I. 1013–1021.

Ubhayanavamī—Begin on P. śu 9; one year; Cāmundā worship; each month different material for making image of Devī and different name; buffalo flesh offered on some days and performer to observe nakta and feed maidens on each navamī. KKV 274–282, HV I. 921–928, KR 203–4, 445–446, 517 (all from Bhav.), VP. folio 66a

Ubhayasaptamī—begin on śu. 7; tithi, one year in each paksa; Sun deity, KKV 159–160, HV I 748–753 (both from Bhav. I. 165. 1–45); (2) begin on M śu 7; for one year; every month a different name of the Sun to be worshipped; Bhav, U. 47. 1–25.

Ubhayaikādaśī—Begin on 11th in Märg.; tithi; one year (in each paksa); Visnu; different names (such as Keśava, Nārāyana) in dark half and other names of Krsna in śu. paksa Vratārka folios 233b–237a. It notes that among Gurjaras it is called 'Ubhayā' simply.

Umācaturthī—M. śu. 4; tithi; Umā; KKN 437–438, SPr (folio 47b), KR 503; Men and specially women should worship with *kunda* flowers and should observe fast.

Umāmaheśvaravrata—(1) Begin on Bh pūrnimā; sankalpa on 14th; tithi; worship of golden or silver images of Umā and Śiva; Vratārka folios 336a–343b (from Śivarahasya); well-known in Karnātaka; (2) begin on pūrnimā, amāvāsyā, 14th or 8th tithi; one year; Umā and Śiva to be worshipped; *nakta* with *havisyānna* on those tithis; HV II 395 (from Śivadharma); (3) on 8th and 14th tithis; one is to fast for one year on those two tithis; HV II. 396 (from Śivadharmottara; (4) begin on first tithi of Märg.; tithi; one year; same deities; Linga, purvārdha 84 23–72; (5) Begin on Märg. śu. 3; tithi; one year; same deities as above; Bhav U 23 1–28, Linga, pūrvardha 84; (6) HV. II. 691–693 (from Devipurāna), KKV 414–416.

Umādhipūjā—Cai. śu. 2; tithi; worship of Umā, Śiva and Agni; SmK 8, PO 83

Ulkānavamī—9th tithi of Āśv. śu.; tithi; one year; worship of Mahisāsuramardinī with mantra 'Mahisaghni Mahāmāye' HV I. 895 (from Bhav U.). Another variety is; HV I. 897–9 and VP folio 187a (from Saurapurāna);

mantra is the same as in first variety. The vrata is so called because the man appears to his enemies like ulkā (fire-brand) and the woman performer to her co-wives just like ulkā.

Usahkāla—The period of five ghatis before sunrise, or 55 ghatis after the preceding sunrise is so called 'Pañca-pañca usahkālah saptapañcārunodayah | astapañca bhavet prātah śesah sūryodayo matah ||' KSS 52 (from Devībhāgavata).

Rtuvratas—HV II. 858–861; mentions five seasonal vratas which are entered at the proper places in this list; vide also VKK 237–240, SmK pp. 548–552.

Rsipañcamī—Vide pp. 149–151 above.

Ekānangāpūjā—on K. śu. 4th, 8th, 9th or 14th; on the last women worship Ekānangā under a tree bearing fruit and ask a hawk or other bird to carry to Bhagavatī the excellent morsel of food that they offer and on this day the wife takes her food first and serves it to her husband afterwards, KR 413–414 (from Brah)

Aiśvaryatrtiyā—on 3rd tithi worship Brahmā, Visnu or Śiva and the three worlds with mantras addressed to them separately; secures great prosperity; HV I. 498 (from Vi. Dh.).

Kajjalī—Bh Kr 3 (by pūrnimānta reckoning); tithi; Visnu-pūjā; NS 123, AK (folio 274a, says it is on Śr. Kr. 3) NS says it is well-known in Madhyadeśa

Katadānotsava—This festival was performed on Bh. śu 11 and 12 or 15 when Visnu was supposed to change the side on which he slept for two months; HV II 813, SmK 153.

Kadalīvrata—on 14th of Bh. śu., tithi; plantain plant to be worshipped for health, beauty, progeny &c, HV II 132–133 (from Bhav U) Vratārka says that among Gurjaras it is performed on the Full moon of K, M or Vai. and all upacāras are offered with Paurānic mantras and Udyāpana is performed on the same tithis in those months or in any sacred month. If no kadali available, worship golden image (folio 292a–296a). Vide also AK (folio 611a).

Kapardīśvara-Vināyakavrata—4th tithi of Śr śu; tithi; worship of Ganeśa; Vratārka folios 78b–84a (from Skanda), VR 160–168; both refer to Vikramārkapura and say Vikramāditya performed it.

Kapilāsasthī-vrata—on Bh. Kr. (by amānta reckoning) or Āśvina kr by (pūrnimānta) 6th, conjoined to Tuesday, Vyatīpāta-yoga, Rohinī-naksatra acc to HV I 578 (Prosthapadāsite pakse sasthī Bhaumena samyutā | Vyatīpātena Rohinyā sā sasthī kapilā smrtā ||). If in addition to the above the Sun is in Hasta naksatra then the results are greater still; worship of Bhāskara; gift of a kapilā cow. HV I 577-78 (from Skanda), NS 152, PC 102, VR 221-231. Some works refer it to Āśv.; but when Bh is mentioned it must be taken to be *amānta* as the concurrence of Rohinī is possible on that supposition alone The conjunction of so many items is rare, generally found once in 60 years. For reference to Kapilāsasthī, vide I A vol 25 p 345 where a Canarese inscription of Vijayanagar king Krsnarāya (in Bh Kr. 6 of *śake* 1435 corresponding to Tuesday, 20-9-1513) refers to it

Kamalasasthī—Mārg śu 5-7; tithi; one year; Brahmā is devatā; begin niyamas on 5th, fast on 6th and gift of lotus made of gold and sugar to a brāhmana; on 7th morning honouring brāhmana and feeding him ksīra; 12 different names of Brahmā in 12 months; Bhav U. 39.

Kamalasaptamī—begin on Cai śu. 7; tithi; one year; Divākara (Sun) is devatā; Mat 78. 1-11 (q. by KKV 217-219) = Pad. V. 21. 281-290 (HV I 640-641 quotes these and a few more as from Pad.), KR 119-121. Vide also Bhav U. 50. 1-11; VP (folio 61b) quotes from Pad. the verse 'Bhāskarāya vidmahe saptāśvāya dhīmahi | tan me bhānuh pracodayāt ||' in imitation of the famous Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62. 10).

Karakacaturthī—for women only; on K Kr. 4; tithi; worship of picture of Gaurī accompanied by Śiva, Ganeśa and Skanda drawn under a vata tree with all upacāras; gift of ten karakas (vessels) to brāhmanas and arghya to Moon after moonrise. NS 196, Vratārka folio 84a-86a, VR 172 ff (mentions month as Āśv. by amānta reckoning), SmK. 367 (quoting Vā), PC 95 (which says it is same as Daśaratha-caturthī).

Karakāstamī—8th of K. Kr.; worship of Gaurī at night, gift of nine jars filled with scented water and surrounded with garlands; he should take food after feeding nine maidens; AK folio 547a (remarks it is well-known in Mahārāstra).

Karanavidhi—The karanas will be described in the next section. Vide Br. S. chap 99, Vi. Dh I 83 24 ff, HV II 718–726 (quoting Brahmānda and other purānas), SmK 564–565.

Karavīrapratipad-vrata—on 1st of Jy. śu; tithi; worship of Karavīra plant growing in a temple garden; HV I 353 (from Bhav U 10), SmK 117. The mantra is 'ā krsnena' (Rg. I. 35. 2). It is observed in Tamil country but on Vai śu. 1.

Karmvrata—miscellaneous vrata (prakīrnaka), Brahmā devatā; KKV 449 (quoting Mat 101 72), HV II. 911 (from Pad., same verses); a fast and gift of golden chariot with two elephants

Kalaśa—a jar or jars are used as auspicious in marriage, establishment of an idol, marching on an expedition, coronation &c, up to 108 may be employed; their circumference should be from 15 to 50 finger-breadths, height 16 *angulas*, base 12 angulas and mouth 8 angulas HV (I 608) derives the word ('Kalām kalām grhītvā ca devānām Visvakarmanā | nirmitoyath surair yasmāt-kalaśastena ucyate ||); vide HV I 65–66 for kalaśotpatti and its measurements A pūrna kalaśa is mentioned in Rg III. 32 15.

Kalkidvādaśī—12th of Bh śu; tithi; Kalkin devatā, Var 48. 1–24, some of which are q by KKV 332–333 and HV I. 1033–39. Vide 'avatāras' above.

Kalpavrksa-vrata—Samvatsarvrata; one of the sastivratas in Mat 101, q by KKV 446; HV II 910–911 (quotes from Pad. same verses).

Kalpādi—seven tithis are mentioned as the beginnings of Kalpas in Mat viz. Vai śu. 3, Phā Kr. 3, Cai. śu 5, Cai Kr 5 (or amāvasyā?), M śu 13, K śu 7, Mārg śu 9 Vide HK 670–1. NS 82, SmK 5–6 and H of Dh. IV 374. They are śrāddha tithis Hemādri mentions 30 tithis as Kalpādi from Nāgarakhanda The Mat (chap 290 3–11) names thirty Kalpas somewhat different from those in the Nāgarakhanda.

Kalpānta—See Vi Dh I. 77 for description.

Kalyānasaptami—begin on śu 7th tithi on a Sunday. That tithi is called Kalyānini or Vijayā; one year, Sun worship, in 13th month gift of 13 cows Mat 74. 5–20 (q by KKV 208–211) and Bhav U. 48. 1–16, HV I. 638–640 (quotes almost same verses from Pad. Śrsti-khanda 21. 216–235).

Kāñcanagaurī—Bh. śu. 3; tithi; Gaurīpūjā; NA 39, GK 72.

Kāñcanapurīvrata—A miscellaneous vrata (prakīrnaka); on Śu 3, Kr. 11, Pūrnimā, Amāvāsyā, 8th tithi or Sankrānti; gift of golden purī (town) with walls of gold, silver or lead, pillars of gold, silver &c; in most of the manufactured town, images of Visnu and Laksmī; HV II. 868–876 (from Gar), Bhav U. 147; practised by Gaurī and Śiva, Rāma and Sītā, Damayantī and Nala, Krsna and Pāndavas. Confers everything and frees from all sins

Kātyāyanīvrata—Bhāgavata X. 22. 1–7. The story is that maidens in Nandavraja worshipped in Mārgaśīrsa the image of Kātyāyanī for a month for securing Krsna as husband.

Kāntāradīpadānavidhi—lighting eight lamps on a post of sacrificial tree for one month from Āśv. Pūrnimā to K. Pūrnimā, or on three nights (Āśv pūrnimā, Āśv. amāvāsyā and K. pūrnimā) or only on K. pūrnimā, acc. to one's ability; deities Dharma, Rudra, Dāmodara; KKN 452–456 (from Mat.), KR 382–386 (quoting some verses from Brah.); KR 382–386; '*kāntāro durgamam vartma*' KR 386. This rite was principally meant for the benefit of *pretas* (disembodied spirits) and pitrs (manes).

Kāntivrata—(1) K. śu. 2; tithi; for a year; worship of Balarāma and Keśava and of the crescent of the moon; homa with sesame for 4 months from K. and with ghee for four months from Āsādha; at end of year gift of a silver image of Moon to a brāhmana; KKV 47–48 (from Var. 57. 1–18); HV I. 378–379 (from Var); (2) in Vai.; Samvatsaravrata; giving up in whole of Vai. salt and flowers, KKV 445.

Kāmatrayodaśī—on 13th; tithi; worship of Kāma (god of love); HV II 25 (from Bhav.), VKK 70.

Kāmatrivrata—worship of several goddesses such as Umā, Medhā, Bhadrakālī, Kātyāyanī, Anasūyā, Varuna-patnī; result is accomplishment of desired objects; HV I 575–576 (from Vi. Dh.)

Kāmadavidhi—worship of Sun on the Sunday that occurs on Mārg śu 6 with Karavīra flowers smeared with red sandal-wood paste, KKV 14

Kāmadāsaptamī—7th of Phā śu.; tithi; for a year; worship of Sūrya (sun); in each group of four months from Phā. worship with different flowers, different *dhūpa* and different

naivedya; KKV 169–172, HV I. 728–731 (both quote from Bhav. I. 105. 1–29).

Kāmadevapūjā—on Cai śu. 12; tithi; worship of Love-god drawn on a piece of cloth with various flowers and keeping in front of the picture a jar of cool water covered with flowers; wives are to be honoured by the husbands on this day; KKN 384

Kāmadevavrata—begin on Vai śu. 13, tithi; for one year; worship of Kāmadeva; Vi. Dh. III. 183 q by HV II. 18, VP (folio 86a).

Kāmadhenuvrata—for five days from K Kr 11; tithi; Śrī and Viṣṇu devatā; lighting lamps at night in the house, cowpen, *caityas*, temples of gods, roads, cemeteries, tanks, dice play at night with wife and relatives; fast on Ekādaśī and bathing Viṣṇu image with cow's milk or ghee, for four days; giving of a *dāna* called Kāmadhenu, HV II. 344–348 (from Vahnipurāṇa) This serves also as a prāyaścitta for all sins, Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 874–875 for description of Kāmadhenu *dāna*.

Kāmadevatrayodaśī—(or Madana-trayodaśī) Cai śu. 13; tithi; worship of Damana plant as identical with Madana; GK 152–153 (quoting Bhav) and KT 465; vide Ananga-trayodaśī.

Kāmadevadvādaśī—begin on Mārg śu. 12; on each 12th thereafter for one year; worship of Kāmadeva, SmK 114 (quoting Vi Dh. I. 158).

Kāmamahotsava—on 14th of Cai śu.; tithi; establishment of Madana and Rati on the night of 13th in a park and worship on 14th; the festival is to be celebrated with obscene words, with songs and music; next morning play with mud for a *prahara* (three hours); VKK 529–532 which quotes two verses (on p 530) from RM This is also called 'Caitrāvalī' and 'Madanabhañjī' in Śaivāgama. Vide KV 190 'Caitravihita- Aśokāstami- Madanatrayodaśī – Caitrāvalī- Madanabhañjikā–Caturdaśī-prabhṛtīn' and RM. (folio 81a verses 1381–1384 ABORI 36 p 333–34), KR 137–138.

Kāmavrata—(1) for women alone, KKV 421–424, HV II. 821–824 (both quote from Bhav), begin in K.; Māsavrata; one year; worship of Sun; Hemādri calls it strī-putra-kāmāvāptivrata; (2) begin on 13th of P śu, observe nakta on each 13th and in Cai. donate a golden Aśoka tree and sugarcane stalks ten finger-breadths in length with the words

'May Pradyumna be pleased'; KKV 440, HV II. 25(quoting Pad); (3) on 7th tithi of any month; tithi; worship of Suvarcalā, the Sun's wife; secures all desired objects; HV I. 790 (quoting Vi. Dh. one verse only); (4) begin on 5th of P. śu ; tithi; worship of Visnu in the form of Kārtikeya ; nakta on 5th, on 6th only one fruit to be eaten; on 7th pāranā; one year; gift of golden image of Kārtikeya and two garments to a brāhmana; in this very life all the desires of the performer are fulfilled. Var. 61. 1–12 q by KKV 98-99 and HV I. 615–616. HV calls it 'Kāmaṣasthī'.

Kāmaṣaṣṭhī—Vide the immediately preceding vrata (4).

Kāmāvāptivrata—on Kr. 14; tithi; worship of Mahākāla (Śiva); secures desired objects. HV II. 155 (one verse from Vi. Dh.)

Kāmikāvrata—Mārg Kr 2; tithi; golden or silver image with cakra (discus) to be worshipped and donated. AK (folio 251a).

Kārtika—For vratas in K., vide HV II 769–784, KR 397–442, VKK 453–481, NS 192–208, KSS 20–26, SmK 358–427, GK 24–32 It is said to be a very holy month, holier than all tīrthas and all solemn sacrifices. For its *māhātmya*, vide Skanda, Vaisnavakhanda. chap. 9, Nār. (uttarārdha) chap. 22, Pad. VI. 92.

Kārtikasnānavrata—For the whole month of K. a person, taking bath early morning outside the house in a river, being engaged in *japa* of Gāyatrī and partaking only once in the day of sacrificial (havisya) food, becomes free from all sins committed in the year; V. Dh 89. 1–4 q. by KKV 418, HV II. 762 Vide also RM folio 80a, 1358–1362 (vide ABORI 36 pp 330–31). Pad. VI. 91 and 119. 12–13, KV 324, NS 192–194, SmK 358, GK 27–29.

Among the many things to be given up in K is flesh. S Pr. (folio 46) and KR (397–399) quote MB to the effect that giving up flesh-eating in Kārtika (particularly in the bright half) is equal to the performance of severe austerities (*tapas*) for a hundred years and that great ancient kings like Yayāti, Rāma and Nala did not eat flesh in K. and therefore went to heaven Nār. (uttarārdha) 22 58 avers that a man becomes a cāndāla by eating flesh in K. Vide under Bakapañcaka

Lighting lamps and making illuminations in K. in the temples of Śiva, Candī, the Sun and other gods is highly

eulogised. Vide Pad. III. 3. 13 ff, HV II 763–768, KR 403–404, KV 326, SmK. 358–59; worship of Keśava with flowers called muni (i. e. Agastya) for the whole month of K. excluding other flowers secures reward of Aśvamedha, TT. 147.

Kārtika śu. 1 Vide above under Divālī for the rites on this tithi; on śu 2 worship of Yama (NS 203, PC 83, SmK (377) and Bhrātrdvitīyā (vide pp. 207–208 above), on śu. 3 worship of Satīdevī (AK folio 295–296); śu 4 Nāgacaturthī (GK 81); śu. 6 is called Mahāsasthī on which there is Vahnimahotsava (SmK 378, PC 102), special importance if it falls on Tuesday, śu. 8 worship of Bhagavatī (KKN 424–425, KR 413); śu 9 is yugādi tithi (śrāddha without pindas may be performed) and Bhagavatī-pūjā (KKN 424–25, KR 413); śu. 10 partake of curds and eat only in the evening (KV 425, KR 420); śu. 11 is Bodhanī or Prabodhinī or utthāna-Ekādaśī when Viṣnu rises from sleep (KKN 392, NS 205); this is specially sacred to Śrī-Vaiṣnavas; on this tithi there is the marriage of Tulasī to Viṣnu (SmK 366, 378, VR 384–86), vide also Bhīsma-pañcaka vrata, there is Tulasīvivāha in Tamil and some other lands on 12th tithi; some observe Bodhana also on the 12th (KR 426), vide under Yogeśvara-dvādaśī; there is worship of Varāha avatāra (Var. 123. 8–11 q. by KKN 426) on this tithi; śu 13, vide Lingārcanavrata; śu. 14. on this there is Vaikuntha-caturdaśī, which see, on K. 14 the Brah. says that the mistress of the house in former ages took a tasty morsel of food, offered it to a hawk, and asked it to take it to Durgā and that she in the present age is to eat first on this day and then the husband has to offer honour to his wife (KKN 425 quoting Brah. and KR 413–14); Kārtika Pūrnimā was called Mahā-Kārtikī, if the Moon and Jupiter on that tithi are both in the Krttikā (Pleiades) naksatra or there is Rohinī naksatra on it; KKN 372, VKK 481, SmK 406, HV II. 181 (quotes Bhav U) to the effect that if in addition to the above the pūrnimā falls on a Monday it is a very holy day, which occurs rarely (idṛśī bahubhir varsair bahupunyena labhyate). In the Sunao plates of Sangama-simha (in 292 of the Kalacūri era i. e. 541 A. D.) there is mention of a grant to several brāhmanas of Bharukaccha (modern Broach) made on this day (E. I. X. p. 72), also C I. I Vol IV Nos 9, 11, 16, 17, 30 (five grants made on Kārtikī Pūrnimā), vide HK 641, KR 430–431, NS 207 (for Mahākārtikī); on K. Full Moon also some celebrate Tulasī-vivāha (vide SmK 366); on K Pūrnimā the Rathayātrā of Brahmā was celebrated (Pad. V. 17. 217–253), on the Full moon

Bhav. prescribes the letting loose of a bull (SmK 390–406); on this pūrnimā was celebrated Tripurotsava in the evening when illuminations were made with lamps in temples (NS 207, SmK 427); K. Kr. 4 vide Karaka-caturthī; K. Kr. 8 see Karakāstamī; K. Kr. 12 worship of cows (HV I. 1180–1190, NS 196, SmK 367–368); on kṛ. 13 offering a lighted lamp to Yama outside the house, Kr. 14 and amāvāsyā (by the pūrnimānta reckoning) vide under Narakacaturdaśī and Laksmī-pūjana above pp. 198–200 and KKV 423–424 On K amāvāsyā one who had not performed or could not perform pārvana-śrāddha in pitr-paksa (Bh. dark fortnight) could perform it on K. amāvāsyā.

Kārtikavrata—HV II. 762–763 (from Vahni-purāna), offer food full of ghee and honey to gods, pitrs and men; worship of Hari and lighting lamps there remove sins and the performer goes to heaven.

Kārtiki—pūrnimāvrata—K. śu. 15; tithi; the full Moon tithis in Vai., K., M. were highly honoured, and one should not allow them to pass without bath and donations; bath at holy places on those days is commended and gifts also according to monetary ability. The pre-eminent tīrtha on K. Full Moon is Puskara, in Vai. Ujjayinī and in M. Vārānasī. Gifts were to be made on these days not only to brāhmanas, but also to one's sister, sister's son, father's sister's son, maternal uncle and to poor relatives In the Rāmāyana Bharata took a *śapatha* (oath) before Kausalyā "if my elder brother went to the forest with my consent, may the Full Moon tithis of Vai, K, M, honoured even by gods, pass in my case without gifts"; HV II. 137–171 (quoting Bhav U) contains (on p. 170) this oath of Bharata. This verse about Full Moon of Vai. &c. does not occur in several editions of the Rāmāyana though several other verses ending in 'Yasyāryonumate gatah' occur in Ayodhyākānda 75.

Kārtikeya-vrata—6th tithi; Kārtikeya is devatā; HV I. 605–606 (from Bhav.), Vratakāla-viveka p 24.

Kārtikeya-sasthī—on Märg. śu. 6; tithi; worship of golden, silver, clay or wooden image of Kārtikeya; HV I. 596–600 (from Bhav U. 42 1–29).

Kālabhairavāstamī—Märg. kr. 8; tithi; Kālabhairava is deity; VK 316–317, VKD 106.

Kālarātrivrata—on Āśv. śū. 8; *paksa* vrata; for all varnas but not for those beyond the pale of caste system; fast for 7 or

3 days or one day according to physical ability; first pūjā of Ganeśa, Mātṛs, Skanda and Śiva and then homa which was to be in a kunda by a brāhmaṇa who had taken initiation as a Śaiva or by persons belonging to *avyaṅga* (Maga brāhmaṇas or Parsi ?) families; eight maidens to be fed and eight brāhmaṇas to be invited, HV II 326-332 (from Kālikāpurāṇa).

Kālāṣṭamīvrata—on Bh kṛ 8 with Mṛgaśiras nakṣatra; tithi-vrata, one year; Vā 16 30-66 q by KKV 258-263 and by HV I 849-853, KN 196; Śiva is supposed to stay in liṅgas on this day unaccompanied by bull or Ganeśa The performer bathes with different things, offers different flowers and employs different names of Śaṅkara in each month.

Kālīvrata—The same as Kālarātrivrata above. So called in KKV 263-269 The editor of KKV (G. O. S) did not notice that this was identical with the vrata in HV II. 326-332.

Kimicchakavrata—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 122 8, 17, 20 (Veṅk. ed). It consists in asking an *atithi* what he wants and in offering what he wants. There is the story of Avikṣit, son of Karaṇdhama, whose mother had undertaken this vrata and who had made a promise to his mother to carry out her vrata. He proclaimed 'śṛṇvantu mṛtbinaḥ sarve pratijñātam mayā tadā | kimicchatha dadāmyeṣa kriyamāṇe kimicchake' || (Mārk. 122.20)

Kīrtivrata—Saṃvatsaravrata; the performer salutes Aśvattha tree, the Sun and the Ganges, stays in one place restraining his senses, eats only once in the noon, he does so for one year; at end of vrata honours a brāhmaṇa and his wife with gifts of three cows and a golden tree It yields fame and land to performer. KKV 442, HV II. 863-864 (from Pad.). The verses are also Mat 101.23-24. It is the 13th Saṣṭivrata.

Kiṃsaṅkrāntivrata—on the day of a saṅkrānti, the disk of the Sun to be drawn on ground, an image of the Sun to be placed in the midst of the figure and worshipped, for one year, HV II. 738-739 (from Skanda) Reward is great fame, long life, kingdom and health.

Kukkuṭī-maṇḍakavrata—on Bh. śu 7, tithi; for one year on each saptamī, whether of bright or dark half; on 8th dinner to brāhmaṇas consisting of sesame cake and rice and jaggery, worship of Śiva with Ambikā drawn in a circle, described

at length in Bhav U. 36. 1-43; TT 37 (calls it Kukkuṭi-vrata), the performer has to wear for life a *doraka* (band of threads with filigree of gold or silver) on his arm, the story of a queen and the wife of her husband's purohita who became a markaṭi (the monkey) and kukkuṭi (hen) because they forgot to wear the doraka is narrated by Kṛsna to Yudhiṣṭhira; VKK 319 (quoting Bhav.), GK 85.

Kundachaturthī—on M. śu. 4; tithi, Devīpūjā; gift of flowers of kunda plant, vegetables, salt, sugar made from jaggery, jīraka &c. to maidens, fast on 4th; KKV 283-284, HV I. 525-526 (from Devīpurāna), S Pr 27b, VP (folio 284b). It is also called Gaurīcaturthī; chief matter is fast on 4th and the gifts only confer *saubhāgya*.

Kuberavrata—on 3rd tithi; worship of Kubera; HV I. 478-479 (from Bhav.), KN 176.

Kumārasasthī—begin on Cai. śu. 6; tithi, for one year; worship of clay image of Skanda with twelve arms; HV I. 588-590 (from Kālottara), VP (folio 61a).

Kumārīpūjā—in Navarātra. Vide pp. 170-171 above and SM 22.

Kumbhaparva—It occurs once in twelve years. The Sun and Moon should be in Makara rāśi, Jupiter in Taurus (Vṛsabha), there is amāvāsyā; this is called Kumbhayoga. Bath at Prayāga on this yoga is deemed to be more meritorious than a thousand Aśvamedhas, a hundred Vājapeyas and a lakh of pradakṣiṇās round the earth. Bath at Prayāga and the large concourse of *sādhus* are the two predominant objects of those who gather there in thousands and sometimes millions. It is in three parts, first is Makarasankrānti, the 2nd (the chief one and called Pūrnakumbha) is *amāvāsyā* and 3rd is Vasantapañcamī. In 1954 A. D. the three dates were 14th January, 3rd February and 7th February. Some hold that the three days are Makarasankrānti, Pausa Pūrnimā and Amāvāsyā. There are other Kumbha-yogas viz at Haridvāra when Jupiter is in Kumbharāśi and Sun enters Mesa, at Nasik when Jupiter is in Simha and Sun and Moon in Karkata, at Ujjain when Sun is in Tulā and Jupiter in Vṛścika.

Kumbhkāvrata—on K. śu. 11; tithi; Viṣnu deity; HV I. 1105-8, VP (folio 211); both quote Skanda.

Kūrmadvādaśī—on P. śu. 12; tithi; Nārāyana; KKV 317-319, HV I. 1026-27 (quoting 9 verses from Var., chap. 40), KR

482–484. On a copper vessel full of ghee the image of tortoise with *mandara* mountain is to be placed and donated.

Kūsmānda-dasamī—on Āśv. śu 10 up to the 4th tithi following; tithi; worship of Śiva, Daśaratha, Laksmī with kūsmānda flowers; *arghya* to Moon, GK pp 125-126 (from Sāmbapurāna)

Krcchravrata—On Mārg. Śu 4; tithi; four years, Ganesa deity; HV I 501–504 (from Skanda), in the first year he subsists by ekabhakta on 4th, in the 2nd by nakta, on 3rd by ayācita way and in 4th he fasts on 4th tithi

Krcchravratāni—several krcchras, such as Somāyana, Taptakrcchra, krcchrātikrcchra, Sāntapana (that are really prāyaścittas) are described as vratas by HV II. 931 ff, vide also HV II 769–71 for these Śūdra had no *adhikāra* for these. Some of the other krcchras are described here; Paitāmaha krcchra from K kr 7 (on four days partake only of water, milk, curds and ghee respectively), on 11th fast and worship Hari; Vaisnava-krcchra consists in partaking of *munyanna* (such as nīvāras) for three days, yāvaka for three days and fast for three days

Krttikāvrata—begin on Mahā-kārtikī as defined above or on any K. Full Moon; bath in some holy place like Kuruksetra, Prayāga, Puskara, Naimisa, Mūlasthāna, Gokarna or in any city or village; six krttikā images made of gold, silver, jewels, butter, flour and decked with sandalwood paste and alaktaka dye, saffron &c and worshipped with *Jātī* flowers and to be donated to brāhmanas HV II. 191–193 (from Bhav U)

Krttikāsnāna—fast on Bharanī-naksatra, on Krttikā *snapana* of performer and his wife by purohita with water from jars of gold or clay filled with all plants and holy water; worship of Agni, Skanda, Moon, sword, Varuna, HV II 597–598 (from Vi. Dh)

Krsnacaturdasī—(1) on Phā kr. 14; tithi, Śiva is devatā, 14 names of Śiva to be repeated, for 14 years, HV II. 65–71 (from Kālottara), (2) for women alone, fast on kr 14, tithi, Śiva, for one year, HV II. 154, (3) on 14th of M Kr, worship of Śiva with bilva leaves, HV. II. 156 (from Saurapurāna. (4) on 14 of Kr burning guggulu before Śiva image, HV 156 (from Saura)

Krsnajanmāstamī—Vide pp 128–140 above.

Kṛṣnadolotsava—on 11th of Cai. śu. 11, tithi; the image of Krsna (with that of Laksmī) to be placed in a swing, worshipped with *damanaka* leaves and jāgara at night; SMK 101.

Krsnadvādaśī—on 12th of Ās kr.; tithi; fast on 12th and worship of Vāsudeva; HV I. 1036–37 (quoting Var. 46. 1–7 and calling it Vāsudeva-dvādaśī), KKV 329–331. Vide Var. 46. 1–15.

Kṛsnavrata—on 11th; tithi; Krsna; KKV 447 (quoting Mat. 101. 58), HV I. 1161 (quoting same verse from Pad.).

Kṛṣnasasthī—(1) Mārg. kr. 6; tithi; one year; Sun worship with a different name in each month; KKV 101–103, HV I 624–626 (from Bhav U), KR 447–448 (from Bhav.), (2) on each 6th of both paksas for one year, nakta on it and arghya to Kārtikeya; Bhav. Brāhmaparva, 39. 1–13 and Agni 181. 2

Kṛsnāstamīvrata—(1) on Mārg. kr. 8; tithi, one year; Śiva deity; KKV 241–245, HV I. 823–826 (both from Devīpurāna); different names of Śiva in each month and different food to be eaten in each month; (2) begin on Mārg. kr. 8; tithi, one year, Śiva deity, Bhav U. 57. 1–22 q. by KKV 245–248, HV I 816–817; (3) Śivapūjā from Mārg. to K. under twelve different names, KKV 248–250 quoting Mat. 56. 1–117, KR 450–452 (from (Bhav.), VR 317–319 (from Ādityapurāna); (4) for a year from Bh Kr. 8 to Śr; Śiva is deity, KKV 250–252, HV I 821–823 (both from Bhav.); (5) on Jy kr 8, tithi; Śiva worshipped; KKV 252–254, HV I 840–841 (calls it Tindukāstamī); (6) begin Cai. kṛ. 8; tithi, one year, Krsna deity, HV I. 819–821 (from Vi. Dh) for progeny; (7) begin on 8th of dark half of Āśv or M or Cai or Śr.; deity is Mangalā Devī, ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita and upavāsa from 8th to 11th and following days in the same rotation. KKV 233–235, japa of 17 names of Devī to be performed

Kṛṣnaikādaśī—on Phā kṛ 11, tithi; Candī devatā; HV I. 150, Vratārka (folios 232–33)

Kedāragaurīvrata—on K. amāvāsyā, tithi; worship of Gaurī and Kedāra, AK (folios 1062b–1067b) AK says it is well-known among dāksinātyas; AK quotes a story from Padma.

Kokilāvrata—Mostly for women. On the Full moon of Ās. in the evening a sankalpa, for one month after Āsādha Full Moon (in pūrnimānta reckoning), worship of Gaurī in the form of Kokilā image made of gold or sesame cake; nakta for one month; at end of one month gift of image placed in a copper vessel with precious stones for eyes and with feet and beak of silver, HV II. 755–57 (quoting Bhav. U. chap. 11), NS 108–109. The Vratārka (folios 329–334) notes that in Gurjara country this vrata is performed in the intercalary Āsādha by usage but there is no sāstra authority. It is said that Gaurī was cursed to be kokilā by Śiva after he destroyed Daksa's sacrifice. A golden image of female cuckoo with feet of silver and pearls for eyes is worshipped with 16 upacāras It is performed for saubhāgya and prosperity In Tamil calendars it is shown on Jy. (Mithuna) 14

Kotihoma—Mat (93 5–6) says that the Navagrahahoma is called Ayutahoma since the āhutis therein number ten thousand, another variety being Laksahoma and a third being Kotihoma. Navagraha-makha is a śānti for averting evil omens or planetary influences Mat 93 describes all the three Vide Nrsimha-purāna 35, Br S 45 6 (which prescribes Kotihoma against *divya* utpātas) and Harsacarita V. where it is referred to as being performed when Prabhākaravardhana was on his death-bed.

Koṭiśarīvrata—on Bh śu 3 tithi; for four years, fast on that day; one lakh of rice-grains or sesame should be cast into milk and with the thick paste image of Devī (Pārvatī) to be made and worshipped, result no poverty, eight sons, eminent husband; also called Laksesvarī; HV I. 459–461 (from Skanda), Vratārka (folios 52b–53b), VP (folio 124)

Kojāgara or Kaumudī-mahotsava—on Āśv Pūrnimā; tithi; worship of Laksmī and Indra riding Airāvata, lighting of lamps fed with ghee or sesame oil on a large scale (one lakh to 100) at night on the capital roads, in temples, parks and private houses; dice play; bath next morning and worship of Indra, sumptuous dinner to brāhmanas; Linga-purāna states that beneficent Laksmī moves about at midnight in the world saying 'who is awake' and people should drink the water in the cocoanut fruit and play with numerals (i e dice marked with numerals), KV 403, VKK 453–54

(both quote same two verses from Linga), TT 135–137, KT 445–447, NS 191, PC 302–303; words 'ko jāgarti' try to explain the name Kojāgara. This is also called Kaumudī (Skanda q. by Vratārka) and Kojāgara is probably an abbreviation of Kaumudī-jāgara For Kaumudī-mahotsava vide Krtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp. 182–183 (from Skanda) and RNP p 419–421.

Kaumudī-vrata—Begin on Āśv. Śu. 11 with a fast and jāgara; on 12 th worship of Vāsudeva with various kinds of lotuses, Yātrotsava on 13th by Vaisnavas, fast on 14th and on pūrnimā worship of Vāsudeva and japa of mantra 'om namo Vāsudevāya'; HV II 760, KV 223, SmK 355, Agni chap. 207. HV says that this may be continued till the awakening of Visnu in K.

Kautuka—Nine things are so called, viz Dūrvā, barley sprouts, *vālaka*, mango leaves, two kinds of haridrā (turmeric), mustard, peacock feathers, serpent's slough; they are to be tied on kankana in marriage &c. HV I. 49, VR 16. The Raghuvamśa VIII. 1 mentions vivāhakautuka.

Kramapūjā—KR 141–144 (quoting Devī-purāna) deals with worship of Durgā in months from Cai. on particular tithis and naksatras and the rewards thereof.

Ksīradhārāvrata—on the 1st and 5th tithis of two months one should subsist only on milk, secures the reward of Aśvamedha; Lin. 83. 6.

Ksīrapratipad—on 1st of Vai. or K.; tithi; one year; Brahmā deity; performer to offer milk according to ability with words 'May Brahmā be pleased with me', HV I. 336–338, KKV 36–38; japa of several holy texts such as those in Vasistha-dharmasūtra 28. 10–15, Śankhasmrti chap. V.

Ksemavrata—worship of Yaksas and rāksasas on 14th, tithi; HV II. 154 (one verse only from Vi. Dh.).

Khañjanadarśana—(seeing the Khañjana bird). See above p. 193.

Khadgadhārā-vrata—See Āsidhārā-vrata p. 266 and Vi. Dh. III. 218. 23–25.

Gangāsaptamī—on Vai. śu. 7; worship of Ganges; SmK 112 (quoting Brah.), VR 237. Sage Jahnu angrily drank Ganges and then let it off through his right ear on this day.

Gajacchāyā—A combination of Āśv. kṛ 13, of Maghā-naksatra, sun in Hasta. Vide H. of Dh vol IV p 371 n It is a time for śrāddha. Vide Yāj I 218 and Manu III. 274 Śātātapa (q by HK 386) says when there is a solar eclipse, that is also Gajacchāyā and śrāddha at that time becomes inexhaustible.

Gajanīrājanādhi—(waving lamps before elephants) On Āśv. Full Moon tithi in the afternoon, HV II. 226–227 (from Gopatha Brāhmana)

Gajapūjādhi—On Full Moon of Ās : by those who desire prosperity or wealth HV II 222–225.

Gaṇagaurīvrata—on Cai. su 3, tithi, worship of Gaurī to be performed particularly by women whose husbands are alive; Some call it Girī-Gaurīvrata; AK (folio 257), well-known in Madhyadeśa.

Gaṇapaticaturthī—on 4th tithi; for two months, no food by day for performer on that day and he feeds brāhmanas on sesame food and himself eats it at night; HV I 519–520 (two verses from Bhav.)

Gaṇeśacaturthī—Vide pp 145–149 above.

Gaṇeśacaturthīvrata—Begin Bh śu 4; tithi, for one year; worship of Ganeśa; KKV 84–87, HV I. 510–512 (both quote Narasimhapurāna 26. 2–20); (2) HV I. 510 (from Bhav) on 4th; worship of Ganeśa; procedure like Vaiśvānarapratipad-vrata.

Gandhavrata—begin on Full Moon day; for one year, fast on Full Moon day, at the end of year an image covered with all fragrant substances to be offered to a brāhmana HV II. 241.

Gandhāṣṭaka—mixture of eight fragrant substances slightly varying according to the deities (such as Śakti, Viṣnu, Śiva, Ganeśa) to whom they are to be offered. The eight for Śakti worship are sandalwood, agallochum, camphor, saffron, *rocanā*, Jatāmānsī (valerian), cora and kapi (last two are some kinds of grass), AK (folio 98a)

Galatilādhārata—pouring a stream of water on the image of Śiva in summer from jars full of holy water, secures Brahmapada; HV II. 861 (only one verse)

Gāyatrīvrata—on śu 14th; worship of Sun; japa of Gāyatrī (Rg. III. 62. 10) for 100, 1000, 10000 times; removes

various diseases, HV II. 62-63 (quoting Gar) Vide H of Dh. vol II pp 303-304 for eulogy of Gāyatrī and its sacredness.

Gaurītanayāvrata—begin on Bh or Vai. or Mārg. śu. 3; one year; worship of Gaurī or Lalitā; different flowers and different names of Gaurī in each of 12 months; Mat. 62, Pad. V. 22. 61-104, q. by HV I. 422-426 (from Pad).

Guḍatṛtīyā—on Bh śu. 3, tithi; Pārvatī offerings of cakes (pūpa) with guda (jaggery) or pāyasa, HV I. 497-98 (from Bhav.), VP (folio 125 a)

Gundīcā-yātrā—Vide H of Dh vol. IV. pp 700-701. On Ās śu. 2 with or without Pusya-naksatra, GK 186.

Gunāvāptivrata—begin on Phā. śu 1; for one year, Śiva; on four days worship of images of Āditya, Agni, Varuna and the moon (as forms of Śiva) in order, the first two being the fierce forms and the last two the mild forms of Śiva and snāna (bath) on these days with different substances; also homa on four days with wheat, sesame, corn and barley; to subsist on milk; Vi. Dh. III. 137. 1-13 (quoted by HV II. 499-500).

Guruvrata—Begin on a Thursday with Anurādhā naksatra; worship of golden image of planet Jupiter in a golden vessel, seven naktas observed; HV II. 579 (quoting 4½ verses from Bhav. U.).

Guhyakadvādaśī—on 12th, one should fast on it and worship Guhyakas (Yaksas) with aksatas and ground sesame and donate gold to a brāhmana; removes all sins, HV I. 1204 (from Bhav. U.)

Gurvastamīvrata—Bh śu 8 with Thursday, worship of golden or silver images of *Guru* (planet Jupiter), HV I. 882-886 (from Bhav.)

Gṛhapañcamī—on 5th, worship of Brahmā and gift of grinding stones, mortar, stone, winnowing basket and cooking pot (as the 5th home gear) and a jar of water, HV I 574, KR 98 (provides seven, by adding a *cullī* (oven) and containing jar of water.)

Gṛhadevī-pūjā—vide NM p. 79 verses 961-62. Offerings at the beginning of the year in one's own house and not on a tree.

Go-upacāra—A cow is honoured on the tithis called Yugādi and Yugāntya, Ṣaḍaśīti-mukha, Uttarāyana, Daksināyana,

(*first day of*) two Viṣuva days (of equal day and night), all saṅkrāntis, pūrnimā, the 14th, 5th and 9th in every month, eclipses of Sun and Moon; KR 433–434, SmK 275–276.

Gotra-vratavrata—(1) Begin on Āśv. kr 13; for three days, Govinda deity; in a cowpen or a cottage prepare a *vedi* on which in a *maṇḍala* the image of Kṛṣṇa to be placed with four queens on right and four on left; homa on 4th day; arghya and pūjā to cows; HV II. 288–293 (from Skanda). This conduces to increase of progeny. (2) begin on Bh. su. 12 or K. śu 13; fast for three days; worship of Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa and Kāma-dhenu, for *saubhāgya* and wealth; HV II. 293–303, VP (folios 158–160), (3) begin on Bh. su 13; three days; worship of Kāma-dhenu and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa HV II. 303–308 (from Bhav. U.), V P (folio 161)

Godhūma—production of—on 9th tithi in Kṛta-yuga by Janārdana (Viṣṇu), Durgā, Kubera, Varuṇa and Vanaspati; these five to be worshipped with food made from wheat, KR 285 (from Brah.) and 286 (from Vi Dh).

Gopadatrī-vrata or *Gaspadatī-vrata*—Begin on Bh. śu. 3 or 4 or in K.; worship of cows and of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa for three days; vrata to be accepted at sunrise and fast on that day, anointing horns and tails of cows with curds and ghee; one should eat uncooked food and abstain from oil and salt, HV II. 323–326 (from Bhav. U 19. 1–16), Hemādri quotes the verse 'Mātā rudrāṇām' (Ṛg. VIII. 101. 15).

Gopadmavrata—Begin on Full Moon of Ās or 8th, 11th or 12th of Ās. and carry on for 4 months till that tithi of K. on which it was begun in Ās It is meant for all but mostly for young married women; draw figure of cow's foot in the house or cowpen or in temple of Viṣṇu or Śiva or near Tulasī plant; 33 figures to be drawn every day; five years; Viṣṇu is devatā; then udyāpana; gift of cow at end, SmK. 418–424, VR 604–608.

Gopapūjā—Smk 386

Gopālanavamī—on 9th; bath in a river falling into the sea; worship of Kṛṣṇa, HV I. 939–941 (from Gar.), Smk 418. 423.

Gopāṣṭamī—on 8th of K. śu., worship of cows, NA 77 (from Kūrma).

Gopūjā—mantras of, in HV I, 593–594, II. 324.

Gomayādisaptamī—on 7th of Cai. śu.; tithi one year; the Sun; worship of sun under different names in each month; the performer subsists on Gomaya (cow-dung), Yāvaka or fallen leaves or on milk &c; KKV 135–136, HV I. 724–25 (quoting Bhav. Brāhmaparva 209. 1–14).

Goyugmavrata—on Rohinī or Mrgaśīrsa naksatra; a young bull and a cow are decorated and donated after worship of Śiva and Umā; KKV 410, HV II. 694–695 (both quote 4½ verses from Devīpurāna). The performer never loses his wife or son.

Goratnavrata—KKV 410–411, HV II. 694–95 (both quote same two verses). HV splits the two verses in two vratas, Goyugma and Goratna, but also says that it may be that the verse (yo vā ratnasamāyuktam) is an alternative method of Goyugma-vrata.

Govatsadvādaśī—(1) on 12th of K. kr.; one year; Hari; different names of Hari in each month; performed for securing a son; K. kr. 12 is called Govatsa (acc. to VKD); HV I. 1083–1084 (from Bhav.), VKD 278–279; (2) another variety in HV I. 1180–1190 (from Bhav. U.).

Govardhanapūjā—Vide p. 205 above and Harivamśa II. 17.

Govindadvādaśī—on 12th of Phā. śu.; one year; every month on the 12th feed cows and subsist on food mixed with milk, curds or ghee in an earthen vessel and avoid *ksāra* and *lavana;* HV I. 1096–97 (from Visnurahasya); KV 468 (adds that there should be Pusya-naksatra on 12th), GK 607 (from Gar.), VKK 514, TT 117.

Govindaprabodha—on 11th of K. śu.; in some the 12th is said to be the tithi; HV II. 814–817 for Paurānika mantras and 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17).

Govindaśayanavrata—on 11th of Ās śu.; image of Visnu placed on a bed; some *niyamas* observed for four months; cāturmāsya vratas begin on this; after this for four months all auspicious rites such as upanayana, marriage, Cūdā, first entrance into a house are stopped Vide pp. 109–112 above and HV II. 801–813.

Gospadatrirātra—Vide Gopadatrirātra above.

Gosthāṣṭamī—K śu 8, worship of cows, giving grass to them, going round them and following them; TT 55 (quoting a verse from Bhīma-parākrama), VKK 478-479, GK 115.

Gaurīganeśacaturthī—on any 4th tithi worship of Gaurī and Ganeśa, secures saubhāgya and success GK 73 (from Linga).

Gaurīcaturthī—on 4th of M śu. Gaurī to be worshipped by all, specially by women, with kunda flowers, learned brāhmaṇas, women and widows to be honoured HV I. 531 (from Brah), KN 184, VR 175

Gaurītapovrata—for women only, on Mārg amāvāsyā; Mahādeva to be worshipped at midday in a Śiva temple and Pārvatī also, for 16 years; then *udyāpana* on Mārg pūrnimā, Vratārka (folios 344a-346a), also called Mahāvrata

Gaurī-tṛtīyā-vrata—on 3rd of Cai śu, Bh. śu. or M. śu, worship of Gaurī and Śiva, her eight names are Pārvatī, Lalitā, Gaurī, Gāyatrī, Śaṅkarī, Śivā, Umā, Satī. SM 36, PC 85; observed in Deccan but not in North India

Gaurīnivāha—on 3rd, 4th or 5th of Cai, images of Gaurī and Śiva to be made of gold, silver or sapphire for the rich or of sandal-wood, arka plant or aśoka or madhūka and marriage of them to be performed, KR 108-110 (from Devī-purāṇa).

Gaurīvrata—(1) for four months from Ās, one should not partake of milk, curds, ghee and sugarcane juice and should donate vessels full of these with the words 'May Gaurī be pleased with me', KR 219, (2) Another variety in KR 85 (from Mat), KKV 440, (3) for women alone, on 3rd of *su and kr. from* Cai.; for one year, different names of Gaurī (in all 24) on each 3rd; different foods also, HV I. 450-452, Mat 101-8, VP (folios 56b ff), (4) for women on 3rd, Bhav I. 21 1 ff: they should give up salt and fast on that day; specially holy in Vai, Bh, M, for life, D S. 13, (5) on 4th of Jyestha, worship of Umā, as she was born on that day, PC 91 (from Brah.)

Grahayāga—Vide Navagrahayāga in the section on Śānti below; HV II 590-592 where it collects together the different conjunctions of planets with reference to tithis and naksatras and provides for *yāgas* in honour of the planets and gods, whereby at small expense great merit may be collected. One example may be given: when the 6th tithi occurs on a

Sunday and in conjunction with Pusya naksatra then Skandayāga should be performed, which leads to the fulfilment of all desires. About a dozen yāgas are mentioned in HV. Vide SmK 455–479 for three kinds of Grahayajñas that are different from those in HV II. 590–592.

Ghatasthāpanavidhi—Vide above pp. 183–184 under Durgāpūjā and VR 62–67.

Ghṛtakambala—on 14th of M. śu. fast and on 15th a thick blanket-like plaster of ghee on Śivalinga up to the Vedikā and then gift of fine pairs of dark bulls Result – the performer lives in Śivaloka for numberless years; HV II. 239–240, Vratārka (folio 390b). It is also a śānti, where performer is wrapped with cloth and is sprinkled with ghee. Vide Atharvana-pariśista XXXIII pp. 204–212 and RNP pp. 459–464.

Ghṛtabhājana-vrata—On Full Moon day: Śivalingapūjā; dinner to brāhmanas with ghee and honey, gift of one *prastha* (= ¼ of an ādhaka) of sesame and two prasthas of husked rice HV II. 240–241.

Ghṛtasnāpana-vidhi—on Visuva day, on eclipse or on holy days, in Pausa; Śiva; continuous stream of ghee on Śivalinga the whole day and night; *jāgara* with songs and dance; HV I. 911–12.

Ghṛtāvekṣanavidhi—Prakīrnaka (miscellaneous). HV II. 192–93 (from Gopathabrāhmana). It is a *śānti* for king's victory, Vide Atharvana-pariśista No. VIII.

Ghoṭakapañcamī—On Āśv. kr. 5; tithi; it is prescribed for kings; it is a śānti for the increase (or good health) of horses, GK 50 (from Devīpurāna)

Cakṣurvrata—Same as Netravrata; 2nd tithi of Cai. śu; worship of Āśvins (divine physicians popularly identified with Sun and Moon) for one year or 12 years, performer to subsist on that date on curds and ghee, performer has good eyes and if performed for 12 years he becomes a king; VI. Dh. III. 130. 1–7 q. by HV I. 392–393.

Caṇḍikāvrata—on 8th and 9th tithis of both fortnights; tithi; one year; worship of Caṇḍikā; no food to be eaten; KKV 388, HV II. 510 (from Bhav. U.)

Caṇḍīpātha—Vide under Durgotsava above pp. 171–173

Caturthī-vratas—vide KKV 77–87, HV I. 501–536, KN 177–186, VKK 30–34, PC 91–95, VR 120–191. Except in Ganeśa-caturthī, Gaurī 4th, Nāga 4th, Kunda 4th and Bahulā 4th, the tithi mixed with 5th is to be accepted; about 25 vratas on caturthī. Yama says if the 4th tithi occurs on Saturday with Bharanī-naksatra, bath and gifts yield inexhaustible merit (HK 620), Agni 179 mentions a few. Caturthī is of three kinds, viz. Śivā, Śāntā and Sukhā. Vide Bhav I. 31. 1–10; they are respectively on śu. of Bh., M. and 4th with a Tuesday; vide HV I. 514, VKK 31.

Caturdaśyūgarana-vrata—on K. śu. 14, tithi; for five or twelve years; worship of Śiva by bathing linga with ghee and the like from a number of *kalaśas* up to one hundred and with other upacāras and jāgara; performer enjoys divine pleasures and secures moksa; HV II. 149–151 (from Kālikā).

Caturdaśīvratas—Vide Agni 192, KKV 370–378, HV II. 27–159, KN 278–280, VKK 76–77, PC 231–251. The digests speak individually of about thirty Caturdaśī vratas. KKV speaks of one only viz. Śiva-caturdaśī.

Catur daśyastamī—on 14th and 8th of both fortnights; only eating by nakta method; for one year, Śivapūjā, Lin 83, 4 and HV II. 158–159 (from Bhav U.).

Caturmūrtivratas—Vi Dh. III chap 137–151 contain fifteen of these, some of which are described in HV I 505 ff.

Caturyugavrata—On first four days of Cai and of the following months worship of the four yugas, Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Tisya (Kali); one year, subsist on milk alone. HV II. 503–504 quoting some verses from Vi. Dh. III. 144.1–7.

Catus-sama—vide p. 38 n 88 above.

Candradarśana-nisedha—See under Ganeśa-caturthī pp. 147–148 above.

Candr anaksatra-vrata—on Cai. pūrnimā with Monday; vāra-vrata; worship of Moon; on 7th day from beginning placing a silver image of Moon in vessel of bell metal, homa in name of Moon with ghee and sesame with 28 or 108 fuel sticks of *palāśa*; HV II 557–58 (from Bhav. U.).

Candr arohinīśayana—Vide Rohinī-candra-śayana; HV II 175-179 (from Pad.).

Candravrata—(1) on amāvāsyā; for one year; worship of images of Sun and Moon on two lotuses; HV II p 256 (Vi. Dh. III. 191. 1-5); (2) begin from Märg. pūrnimā; for one year, fast on each pūrnimā; worship of Moon: HV II. 236 (from Vi. Dh. III. 194 1-2); (3) on Pūrnimā; for 15 years; *nakta-bhojana* on that day; gets the reward of 1000 Aśvamedhas and one hundred Rājasūyas; HV II. 244-245 (from Var), (4) performance of cāndrāyana and the gift of golden image of Moon, HV II. 884 (one verse from Pad. = Mat. 101. 75), KKV 450 (from Mat).

Candrasasthī—on 6th of Bh. kr; same as Kapilāsasthī according to some; fast on it, NA 50, NS 153. Acc. to AK folio 411a it is wrong to identify it with Kapilāsasthī.

Candrārghyadāna—when there is Rohinī in conjunction with the Moon's crescent on the 1st tithi specially of K. offering of *arghya* to the Moon yields great reward; GK 602 (from Agni).

Campakacaturdasī—14th of śu., when the Sun is in the sign Vrsabha (Taurus or Bull); worship of Śiva; KR 192, quoting RM (folio 81a, v. 1393 ABORL vol. 36 p. 335).

Campakadvādasī—on Jy. śu 12; tithi; worship of Govinda with Campaka flowers; GK 147.

Campāsasthī—6th tithi on Bh. śu.; 6th when joined to Vaidhrti-yoga, Tuesday and Viśākhā-naksatra is called Campā; fast on it, Sun deity; HV I. 590-596, NS 209, SmK 221-22, VR 233-236 (provides another date in Märg. śu. 6th with Sunday and Vaidhrtiyoga). SmK 430 and AK (folio 425 b) give both dates and add that according to Madanaratna it occurs on Märg. śu. 6, Sunday, when the moon is in Śatabhisak naksatra. It occurs once in about thirty years with Vaidhrti, Tuesday and Viśākhā and the digests provide that one should see Viśveśvara on this or at least some Śivalinga. NS (p. 209) says that Märg. śu. 6th is known as Campāsasthī in Mahārāstra.

Cāndrāyanavrata—begin on pūrnimā; for a month; *tarpana, homa* every day, HV II. 787-789 (from Brah). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 134-138 for cāndrāyana as prāyaścitta

Citrabhānupadadrayavrata—Ayanavrata from the beginning to end of Uttarāyana, worship of Sun; Bhav., Brāhmaparva 107. 7-25, KKV 431-432.

Cāturmāsya-vrata—Vide above pp 122–123 and SM 150–152; various *niyamas* (restrictions on conduct and food) are undertaken such as giving up the use of oil and pungent substances, tāmbūla, of jaggery &c, giving up flesh, honey (or intoxicants). Vide HV II 800–861 (there are some vratas here that are not exactly vratas of Cāturmāsya in the popular sense).

Cāndrāyaṇa-vrata—begin on Mārg śu. 1 with Mūlanakṣatra, nyāsa of the nakṣatras on the various limbs of the moon image; Anuśāsana 110.

Citrabhānuvrata—on 7th of śu; tithi; worship of Sūn with red fragrant flowers, with streams of ghee &c; reward of health HV I, 787 (Bhav.).

Cūḍāmaṇi—Vide p. 249 and note 644 above.

Caitra—for kṛtyas in, vide KR 83–144, KT 462–474, NS 81–90; special vratas are separately noted. Caitra śu. 1—vide pp. 82–84 above for beginning of year, Navarātra beginning pp. 154, 186 above; worship of Damanaka plant (HK 617); śu. 1 is *kalpādi* (SmK 87); *Jaladāna* for four months (KR 85); touching a *śvapaca* (a cāṇḍāla) and then bath (KKN 423, S Pr. folio 50a from Pad.), on śu 2, worship of Umā, Śiva and Agni; śu. 3 is Manvādi–tithi and Matsya–jayantī (NS 80–81), śu. 4, worship of Gaṇeśa with *Laḍḍukas* (PC 91); śu. 5 worship of Lakṣmī (KR 127, SmK 92) and *nāgas* (SmK 93), su. 6, see Skanda-sasthī, śu 7, worship of Sun with damanaka (SmK 94), śu 8 Bhavānī–yātrā (SmK 94) and bath in Brahmaputrā river (KR 126), śu. 9 Bhadrakālī-pūjā (KR 127), śu. 10 Dharmarājapūjā with damanaka (Smk 101), śu 11 Dolotsava of Kṛṣṇa and worship of sages with damanaka (KS 86, SmK 101); women worship Rukmiṇī, wife of Kṛṣṇa, and throw *pañcagavya* in all directions in the evening; KR 129 (from Brah.), śu. 12, Damanakotsava (SmK 101–103), su. 13 worship of Love god made with Campaka flowers or sandalwood paste (HK 637, KV 469); śu. 14 Nṛsiṃhadolotsava, worship of Ekavīrā and Bhairava and of Śiva with damanaka (SmK 104), Pūrṇimā-Manvādi and Hanumaj-jayantī and Vaiśākhasnānārambha (SmK 106); kṛ. 13 Vāruṇīyoga (KT 463, NS 89, SmK 107): If Cai kṛ 13 falls on Saturday and has Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra it is called Mahāvāruṇī; NS 89, KSS 2–3.

Caitrāvalī—See p 282 under Kāmamahotsava.

Caitrī-pūrnimā—vide Cintra praśasti of Sārangadhara (20-1-1287, A. D.) in E. I. (Vol. I. p. 271 at p. 279) for provision for the pavitra to be made by merchants.

Chandodevapūjā—on the Ekādaśī after Phā. Full Moon, i. e. Cai. kr. by pūrnimānta reckoning; women (not men) were to worship the deity called Chandodeva with flesh of aquatic animals, with tasty edibles and fragrant saffron &c.; NM p. 55 verses 670-674.

Janmatithi-kṛtya—one should worship after bath every year on the tithi of birth Guru, gods, Agni, brāhmanas, parents and Prajāpati and the naksatra of birth; he should honour also Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanūmat, Bibhīsana, Krpa, Paraśurāma, Mārkandeya (all deemed *cirajīvinah*) and pray to Mārkandeya 'Mārakandeya mahābhāga saptakalpāntajīvana | cirajīvī yathā tvam bho bhavisyāmi tathā mune ||', one should eat sweet food, avoid flesh, be celibate that day and drink water mixed with sesame. KKN 447, SPr folio 50 b, KR 540-41 (quoting Brah.), VKK 553-564, TT 20-26, SM 175.

Janmāstamī—Vide Krsnajanmāstamī pp. 128-143 above.

Jaya—term applied to Itihāsa, Purānas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana &c. Vide KR 30 (quoting Bhav.), TT 71, SmK 300. These are called Jaya because by following their teachings a man rises superior to *samsāra* (jayaty-anena samsāram, as TT says on p. 71).

Jayadāsaptamī—Jayā or Vijayā is śu. 7 on a Sunday; Sun to be worshipped with flowers and various fruits; fast, nakta or ekabhakta or ayācita that day; HV I. 717-720 (from Bhav. U).

Jayantavidhi—on Uttarāyana Sunday; worship of Sun; KKV 16-17, HV II. 525 (from Bhav. U). Hemādri reads 'Jayanta uttararkse ādityagana', while KKV reads 'Jayantetyuttare jñeyo ayane gaṇa-'.

Jayādvādasī—Phā. śu. 12th with Pusya naksatra is so called; gifts and *tapas* on it yield merit crores of times; KKV 349, HV I. 1146 (from Adityapurāna).

Jayantavrata—worship of Jayanta, son of Indra, makes one happy; HV I. 792 (from Vi. Dh only a half verse).

Jayantī—Vide p. 132 above and under 'Avatāras' in this list.

Jayantīdhvādasi—When on śu. 12 there is Rohiṇī naksatra, GK 143.

Jayantīvrata—(1) Vide Krsnajanmāstamī vrata; (2) on M. śu. 7; one year; Sun; months arranged in four groups, in each of which different flowers, unguents, *dhūpa* and naivedya are employed. HV I 664–667 (from Bhav), KR 505–508.

Jayantīsaptamī—Same as Jayantīvrata (2).

Jayantyastamī—on P. 8th with Bharaṇī naksatra, bath, gift, japa, homa, tarpaṇa, this yields a crore of times of merit, HK 627, PC 138–139.

Jayapurnamāsī—on each Full Moon for a year; worship of the Moon drawn along with naksatras; HV II. 160–162 (from Bhav. U).

Jayavidhi—on Daksināyana Sunday; Vāravrata, fast, nakta, ekabhakta on this day yields merit a hundred times more, KKV 16, HV II 525 (from Bhav.)

Jayavrata—HV II. 155 quotes one verse from Vi. Dh. that worship of five gandharvas gives victory.

Jayātithi—3rd, 8th and 13th are so called; NA 39 (quoting Ratnamālā) says undertakings useful in battle and in giving strength become successful on these

Jayāpañcami—HV I. 543–546 (from Bhav. U). Visnu worshipped; no details about tithi or month.

Jayāpūrnatīvrata—begin on Ās. śu. 13 and finish on 3rd tithi; worship of Umā and Maheśvara; 20 years, no salt to be used for first five years; for five years subsist on rice but no product of sugarcane juice to be eaten; well-known among Gurjaras; Vratārka, folios 251–253.

Jayāvāpti—After Āśv. Full Moon from 1st tithi up to K. Full Moon and particularly the three days ending with K. Full Moon; worship of Visnu; obtains success in legal actions, gambling, disputes, love affairs; HV II. 768, VP folio 196, both quoting Vi. Dh. III. 213 (1–5); Purāna reads 'dadyād-uksānam' for 'dadyād-bhaksanam' of HV.

Jayāsaptamī—(1) when on śu. 7 there is a naksatra with five stars (i. e. Rohiṇī, Āsleṣā, Maghā and Hasta), worship of Sun; for one year; the months being arranged in three groups with different flowers, dhūpa, naivedya in each group; KKV

124–127, HV I. 660–663 (from Bhav.); (2) śu. 7 with Sunday; fast; Sun; VKK 35.

Jayaikādaśī—Vide VK No. 910 p. 205.

Jalakrcchra-vrata—on K. kr. 14; a krcchra-vrata; worship of Visnu and fast on that day while remaining in water; reward is Visnuloka; HV II. 769 (from Visnurahasya).

Jalaśayanavrata—said to have been performed by Kuppāmbikā, wife of a Kākatīya general. Vide No. 50. pp. 140–142 dated śake 1198 Māgha śu. 10 (1276 A. D.) in 'Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of Nizam's dominions'. It is probable that this vrata is the same as the Jalakrcchra.

Jāgrad-Gaurīpañcamī—on 5th of Śr. śu.; keep awake at night for fear of snakes; Gaurī is deity; GK 78.

Jātitrirātra-vrata—three days from 13th of Jy. śu.; ekabhakta on 12th and fast for three days from 13th; worship of images of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva and their consorts with flowers, fruits; homa of yavas mixed with sesame and rice; Anasūyā performed it and so three gods were born as her sons; HV II. 320–22 (from Bhav. U.); VP folio 99.

Jāmadagnyadvādaśī—on 12 of Vai. śu.; tithi; worship of golden image of Visnu in the form of Jāmadagnya (i. e. Paraśurāma,); the mantra is 'prīyatām madhusūdano Jāmadagnyarūpī'; king Vīrasena got Nala by this vrata; Var. 44. 1–21 of which about 17 verses q. by KKV. 325–327 and HV. I. 1032–34.

Jitāstamī—Vide VK No. 469 p. 111.

Jīvat-putrikāstamī—on 8th of Āśv. kr.; worship of Jīmūtavāhana, son of king Śālivāhana, by women for securing sons and *saubhāgya* (blessed wifehood); KSS 19 (from Bhav.).

Jīvantikāvrata—on amāvāsyā of K. worship of Jīvantikādevī drawn on a wall with saffron, chiefly by women; AK folio 1062.

Jñānāvāptivrata—for one month after Cai. pūrnimā; every day worship of Nrsimha and *homa* with mustard every day and dinner consisting of honey, ghee and sugar to brāhmanas; fast for three days before Vai. pūrnimā and on Full moon gifts of gold; this increases intelligence; HV II. 749–50 (from Vi. Dh.).

Jyestha-kṛtya—Vide HV II. 750–51, KR 179–195, VKK 259–283, NS 98–101, SmK 117–137, PC 6, GK 23. Jy śu. 1-Karavīra-pratipad-vrata (see p 280), beginning of Daśaharā-snāna (AK folio 153 a); śu 3 Rambhāvrata (which see), śu 4 worship of Umā by women for *saubhāgya* (KKN 389–90, KR 185), śu. 8 worship of Śuklādevī (KKN 390, KR 186, KN 198), śu. 9–worship of Umā, fast that day or nakta, dinner to maiden); śu 10–Ganges came down to earth on Tuesday and when Sun in Hasta (SmK 119–120), vide Daśaharā pp 90–91 above, on pūrnimā if on Jyesthā-naksatra gift of umbrella and sandals to a brāhmana (V Dh 90. 14), for Jy Pūrnimā-vrata see Pad V. 7. 10–28, called Mahājyesthī if there is Jyesthā-naksatra and also Jupiter and the Sun is in Rohinī (HK 641, KV 348–49, VKK 78, NS 161); Jy pūrnimā is Manvādi, worship of Vedas on Full Moon as they appeared in the world on this day (KKN 390, KR 192), vide Vatasāvitrīvrata pp 91–94 above: Kr. 8 worship of Śiva (NA 56); kr. 14 worship of Revatī with dark flowers (KKN 389, KR 184); on amāvāsyā some observe Vatasāvitrī (KKS 6) and circumambulate the Vata tree.

Jyesthāvrata—(1) on Bh. śu. 8 if it is in conjunction with Jyesthā naksatra; naksatravrata; worship of Jyesthā (identified with Laksmī and Umā) for removal of *alaksmī* (poverty or ill-luck); also called Nīlajyesthā if there is Sunday in addition to above, HV II. 630–638, NS 135–136, Smk 230–231, PC 132–134, VR 292–296, (2) on the tithi in Bh. śu. when there is Jyesthā naksatra, every year for 12 years or for life, worship of image of Jyesthā-devī and jāgara, HV II. 638–640 (by a woman whose children are dead or who has only one child and by a poor man) from Bhav. U.

Dhundhirāja-pūjā—on M śu. 4, the performer should offer naivedya of sesame *laddus* to Ganeśa and should himself eat them and homa with sesame and ghee, vide Skanda, Kāśikhanda 57 33 for derivation of the word Ḍhuṇḍhi and PC 95, vide Tila-caturthī.

Tapas—This word is applied to such expiatory rites as Krcchra and cāndrāyana and also to restrictive rules of conduct for brahma-cārins and others Vide Āp Dh S I 2. 5. 1 (niyamesu tapaś-śabdah) Manu XI 233–244, V Dh 95, Vi Dh. III. 266 contain long eulogies of *tapas* Devala (in KR 16)

defines *tapas* as mortification (lit. heating and burning) of the body by vratas, fasts and restrictive rules The Anuśāsanaparva 103. 3 says that there is no higher *tapas* than fasting Vide H. of Dh. vol IV pp. 42–43 for further details.

Tapaścaranavrata—begin on 7th of Märg. Kr.; tithi; for a year; Sun; HV I. 630–632 (from Bhav. U.)

Tapovrata—on 7th of M.; tithi; performer to wear only a short garment at night and to donate a cow; HV I. 788 (one verse from Pad).

Taptamudrādhārana—Making on the body on the 11th of Ās. śu. or K. śu. marks of conch, discus (which are held by Viṣnu) with heated copper or the like by Vaisnavas of Mādhva and other sects SM (pp. 86–87) says the practice is without textual authority; but NS 107–108, DS 55 say that one's family custom should be followed.

Tāmbūla-sankrānti—for women only; for one year; performer makes brāhmanas eat tāmbūla every day and at end of year donates golden lotus and all utensils for tāmbūla to a brāhmana and his wife and gives a sumptuous dinner; secures *saubhāgya* and lives happily with husband and sons, &c.; HV II. 740–41 (from Skanda); Vratārka folio 388a and b.

Tārakādvādaśī—begin on Märg. śu. 12th for a year; the Sun and stars; in each month brāhmanas to be fed on different kinds of foods; arghya to stars, removes all sins; story of a king who killed a *tāpasa* by mistaking him for a deer and who became in twelve births a different animal; HV I. 1084–1089 (from Bhav. U.).

Tārātrirātravrata—on 14th of M. kr ; tithi; Hari and stars to be worshipped. KR 496–497 (from Brah).

Tālanavamī—on 9th of Bh śu; worship of Durgā; VKK 320.

Trithyugalavrata—on the two astamis and two caturdaśis of a month, on amāvāsyā and paurnamāsī, the two saptamis and two dvādaśis of each month one should not eat at all; for one year; HV II 397 (from Yamasmrti); KKV 387 (from Atri) is slightly different.

Trindukāstamī—8th kṛ. from Jy.; one year; worship of Hari with lotuses for 4 months from Jy., with dhatūrā flowers from

Āśv to P.; with śatapatras (day lotuses) from M to Vai.; HV I. 840–41 (from Bhav.)

Tilakavrata—on 1st of Cai śu., tithi; one year; worship of Samvatsara drawn with perfumed powder; the performer has to apply on his forehead a *tilaka* with white sandalwood paste; HV I 348–350 (from Bhav U 8. 1–25), SP 11, VR 54–56, PC 9.

Tilacaturthī—on M. śu. 4; this is same as Kundacaturthi, NS 219, DS 124, VKD 110–111 and 287 (it is the same as Dhundirājacaturthi), nakta vrata, worship of Ḍhundirāja with naivedya of sesame *laddus*.

Tiladāhīvrata—on P kr. 11th; tithi; Visnu deity, fast on that day and homa to be performed with dried cowdung mixed with sesame collected on Pusya-naksatra; gives beauty, fulfils all objects; HV I. 1131–35 (from Skanda).

Tiladvādaśī—(1) on 12th tithi of kr after Full Moon of M. when joined with Śravana-naksatra; bath with sesame, homa with sesame, naivedya of sesame with sweets, lamps fed with sesame oil, giving water mixed with sesame and gifts of sesame to brāhmanas; Vāsudeva worshipped with Rg. I 22. 20 and Purusasūkta (Rg X 90) or with two mantras of 12 syllables; HV I 1149–50 (quoting Vi Dh. I. 163 1–13), KV 466–7 (quotes the verse 'tilodvartī sattilī pāpanāśanī); (2) on M. kr. 12 when joined to Ās. or Mūlanaksatra, tithi; Krsna; KKN 436, HK 635–36, HV I 1108–10 (from Vi Dh.), KR 496

Tisyavrata—begin on Tisya (Pusya) naksatra in bright half and Udagayana; for one year every month on each Tisya, fast on the first Tisya only; Vaiśravana (Kubera) to be worshipped, for pusti (prosperity), Āp Dh S. II 8. 20. 3–9.

Tīvravrata—to stay in Kāśī after shattering one's feet, so that one cannot go elsewhere. HV II. 917

Turagasaptamī—on Cai śu. 7; tithi; fast and worship of the Sun, Aruna, Nikumbha, Yama, Yamunā, Saturn, and Sun's queen Chāyā, seven metres, Dhātā, Aryamā and other deities, gift of horse at end of vrata; HV I. 777–778 (from Vi Dh.)

Turāyana—From Anuśāsana 103 34 it appears that Bhagiratha performed it for 30 years Pānini V. I. 72 has 'Pārāyana-turāyana-cāndrāyanam vartayati'; SK. explains Turāyana as some Yajña. Āp. Śr. S. II. 14 dilates on Turāya-

nesti and Manu VI. 10 refers to it as a vedic isti along with Cāturmāsya and Āgrayana.

Tulasītrı̄ ātra—begin on K. śu. 9; vrata for three days, thereafter worship of Visnu and Laksmī in a garden of Tulasī plants; Pad. VI 26. Tulasīmāhātmya – vide Pad., Pātālākhanda, 94 4–11.

Tulasī-laksa-pūjā—offering in worship one hundred thousand tulasī leaves; in K. or M. every day one thousand Tulasī leaves to be offered; Udyāpana in Vai, M. or K.; SmK 408, VKD 404–408; even bilva leaves, dūrvā grass, campaka flowers are so offered.

Tulasī-vivāha—on K. śu. 12; on 9th performer prepares golden image of Hari and Tulasī and worships for three days and then marries them; he secures the punya of kanyādāna; NS 204, VR 347–352, SmK 366. In the courtyard of every Hindu house, there is a *vrndāı̄ana* (a raised structure of bricks or stone on which Tulasī plant grows and women worship tulasī every evening with water, lamp, &c Vrndā, wife of Jālandhara, became Tulasī. Padma VI. (chap. 3–19) contains a lengthy story (of about 1050 verses) about Jālandhara and Vrndā.

Tusṭiprāptivı̄ ata—on 3rd tithi of Śr. Kr. (by pūrnimānta reckoning) with Śravana naksatra; worship of Govinda with mantras beginning with *om* and ending with *namah*; highest satisfaction is reward; HV I. 499 (from Vi. Dh.)

Trtīyā-vratas—Agni 178, HV I. 394–500 (about 30 are named), KKV 48–77 (only 8), KK 172–176, KR 153–157, VKK 29–30, TT 30–31, VR 82–120, PC 85; if the 3rd is mixed with 2nd and 4th tithi the rule is that in the case of all vratas except Rambhāvrata 3rd mixed with 4th is to be accepted (KN 174, TT 30–31, PC 84–85.)

Tejahsankrānti-vrata—on each Sankrānti day; for a year; Sun worshipped; HV II. 734–35.

Trayodaśapadārthavarjana-saptamī—begin vrata after the end of Uttarāyana on a Sunday in the bright half of a month with 7th and a naksatra with masculine name (viz Hasta, Pusya, Mrgasīrsa, Punarvasu, Mūla, Śravana (but vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 219 n. 512 for different views); one year; worship of Sun; omitting thirteen things such as vrīhi, yava, wheat, sesame, māsa, mudga &c. and subsisting on

mere grain and the like (except the 13); HV I. 756 (from Bhav. U. 45. 1-5).

Trayodaśī-vratas—Agni 191, HV II. 1-25 (about 14), KKV 369 (only one), KN 277, KV 469, VKK 70, SM 95-96, PC 222-31.

Trayodaśī-vrata—on 13th of any month; performer to place a lump of cow's butter as big as a kapittha fruit in a vessel of gold, silver, copper or clay and make with flowers or akṣatas and prepare a lotus thereon with heaps of flowers and invoke Viṣnu and Lakṣmī thereon and divide the lump of butter in two parts and pronounce separate mantras over the two parts and give the parts to wife, first the portion over which Viṣnu was invoked and then the other; result birth of many sons; HV II. 19-21 (from Var.), on Caī śu. 13 worship of image of Kāmadeva with Ratī drawn on a jar, or white cloth and decked with Aśoka flowers and worship with damanaka; KV 469 (quoting Devīpurāna)

Tri(ga)saptamī—begin on Phā. śu. 7; one year, worship of the Sun under the name Helī (Greek 'Helios' the Sun), in Phā to Jy. Sun to be worshipped as Haṃsa, in Āṣ to Āśv. as Mārtaṇḍa, and in K. to M. as Bhāskara; secures lordship of the earth and enjoys overlordship over earth, the pleasures of Indraloka and residence in Sūryaloka (these are three *gatis*); Bhav., Brāhmaparva 104 2-24 q by KKV 141-145, HV I. 736-38, KR 524-526), the 2nd verse is 'japan helīti devasya nāma bhaktyā punaḥ punaḥ.'

Tritayapradāna-saptamī—on 7th of M. śu. with Hasta naksatra; tithi vrata acc. to KKV and māsavrata acc. to HV; one year; Sun; performer to make gifts each month of ghee, paddy, yava, gold and eight other things respectively and subsist on corn (of different kinds) and partake respectively every month of cow's urine, water and ten other things; he secures three, viz. birth in a good family, health and wealth; KKV 151-153, HV I 744-45 (both quoting Bhav Brāhma 112 10-16), KR 458-460. HV calls it Nayanapradasaptamī.

Tridinasprk—where one tithi touches three week days, it is so called. HK 677, NS 154

Tripurasūdana-vrata—on Sunday with Uttarā naksatra: worship of Sun image to be bathed with ghee, milk, sugarcane juice and application of saffron as unguent; HV II. 525 (from Bhav. U.).

Tripurotsava—on the evening of Full Moon of K ; lamps should be lighted in temple of Śiva; NS 207, SmK 427.

Trimadhura—Honey, ghee and sugar are so called. Vi Dh. III. 127. 10 and III 136. 2–3, HV I. 43 and II. 750.

Trimūrtivrata—on Jy. śu. 3; tithi; three years; worship of Viṣnu as Vāyu, Moon, Sun , Vi. Dh III. 136.

Trirātravrata—performed by Sāvitrī. Vide Vanaparva 296. 3 ff. Vide pp. 92–94 above.

Trilocana-yātrā—(1) on 3rd of Vai. śu ; worship of Śivalinga; SM. 36 (quoting Kāśīkhanda), (2) visiting on 13th at pradosa Kāmeśa in Kāśī, particularly on Saturday, bath in Kāmakuṇḍa, PC 230.

Trisugandha—is formed by *tvak* (cinnamon), cardamom and patraka in equal quantities; HV I. 44.

Trispṛśā—one of the 8 kinds of Dvādaśīs when Ekādaśī exists for a short time at *arunodaya*, then follows dvādaśī and towards the end of that day before the next morning there is trayodaśī, that is trispṛśā (HK 261). Vide Pad. VI. 35.

Trivikrama-trirātravrata—begin on 9th of Märg. śu ; every month two trirātravratas; in four years and two intercalary months i. e in all 50 months one hundred trirātras would be finished; Vāsudeva to be worshipped; ekabhakta on 8th and thereafter fast for three days and nights; end of vrata in K.; HV II. 318–320.

Trivikramatṛtīyā—(1) begin on 3rd of śu. of any month; three years or 12 years; worship of Trivikrama and Lakṣmī; homa with mantra Ṛg I 22 20, or 'Trivikramāya namaḥ' for women and śūdras; HV I 453–54 (from Vi. Dh. III. 133. 1–13); (2) begin on 3rd of Jy. śu; fast on 2nd and on morning of 3rd worship of Agni and of Sun in evening and then nakta on that day and of Viṣnu's three steps; for one year, HV I 455–456 (from Vi Dh. III 134 1–12); (3) begin on Jy. śu. 3; one year, worship of the earth, mid regions and heaven in each period of three months; Vi. Dh. III. 135.

Trivikramavrata—from K. for three months or for three years; worship of Vāsudeva; performer becomes free from sins; HV II. 854–855 (from Vi. Dh) = KKV 429–430.

Trivṛt—milk, curds and ghee in equal parts are so called (vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra III. 10).

Trisama—cloves and *cinnamon* bark and *patraka* are so called HV I. 43.

Tryahah-sprk—Vi. Dh I 60 14; when three tithis are touched in one day and night that day is so called and is very sacred. Vide p. 68 above and note 172.

Tryambaka or Tryambaka-vrata—on 14th of each month taking food in nakta way and at end of year donating a cow, one reaches Śiva-pada, HV II. 147 (one verse from Pad)=KKV 449. The verse is Mat. 101. 67.

Dattātreya-janma—on Märg. paurnamāsī; Atri's wife Anasūyā called him Datta (because god gave himself up to him as son) and as he was Atri's son he is called Dattātreya; NS 210, SmK 430, VKD 107–108; Dattabhakti is prevalent mostly in Mahārāstra and places associated with Datta viz. Audumbara, Gānagāpura, Narsobā-wādi are in Mahārāstra; Dattātreya conferred boons on Kārtavīrya (Vanaparva 115, 12, Brah 13 160–185, Mat 43. 15–16), was an avatāra of Visnu and propounded Yoga to Alarka (Brah. 213 106–112, Mārkandeya 16 14 ff, Br. III. 8. 84); he resided in valleys of Sahya, was called Avadhūta, was given to wine and liked female company; Pad II 103. 110–112 and Mārkandeya 16. 132–34. From Tamil calendars it appears that Dattātreya-jayantī is celebrated in Tamil land also.

Dadhivrata—on 12th of Śr. śu., NS 111; one has to give up curds on this day.

Dadhisaṅkrāntivrata—begin on Uttarāyana-sankrānti and carry on at each Sankrānti for one year, worship of image of Nārāyana with Laksmī by bathing it with curds, the mantra being either Rg I. 22. 20 or 'om namo Nārāyanāya', VKK 218–222.

Damanakapūjā—on 13th of Cai śu worship of Kāma, as damanaka plant is Madana himself, TT 120–121, VKK 529–531.

Damanabhañjī—14th of Cai. śu is so-called, pūjā of Kāma with all parts (roots, trunk and foliage) of damanaka plant (Artimisia Indika); KV 469, VKK 531. Vide E I. vol 23 p 186 for the erection of a shrine to Vindhyeśvara Śiva on Damanakacaturdaśī in samvat 1294 (Thursday, 12th March 1237).

Damanakamahotsava—on 14th of Cai. śu; tithi, pūjā of Visnu with Damanaka; SmK 101–103; Pad. VI. 86. 14, 'tatpuru-

sāya vidmahe Kāmadevāya dhīmahi | tannoऽnangah pracodayāt ||' is Kāmagāyatrī).

Damanakotsava—on 14th of Cai. śu worship of damanaka plant in a garden, invocation of Śiva (who is Time himself) at the root of Aśoka tree; see Īśānagurudevapaddhati, 22nd patala (T. S. S.) which gives a long story how the fire from Śiva's 3rd eye appeared as Bhairava, how Śiva called him Damanaka, but Pārvatī cursed him to be a plant on the earth and Śiva gave him a boon that if people offered worship to him alone with Vasanta and Madana they would secure all their objects The Ananga-gāyatrī to be recited in this is 'om klīm Manmathāya vidmahe Kāmadevāya dhīmahi | tan-no gandharvah pracodayāt ||'; HV II. 453–55, VP (folio 72b), Skanda I. 2 9. 23, PC 237.

Damanakāropana—From 1st tithi to 15th of Cai.; worship of different deities with the damanaka plant in order from 1st to 15th viz Umā, Śiva and Agni on 1st, on 2nd Brahmā, on 3rd Devī and Śankara, from 4th to 15th respectively Ganeśa, Nāgas, Skanda, Bhāskara, Mātrs, Mahisamardinī, Dharma, Rsis, Visnu, Kāma, Śiva, Indra with Śacī, HV II. 453–55, KR 31–95, SM 84–86.

Daśamīvratas—Vide HV I. 963–983, KN 230–233, PC 142–148, VR 352–361. Hemādri describes eleven, while KKV 309 only one viz. Sārvabhaumavrata.

Daśaratha caturthī—on 4th of K. kr.; image of king Daśaratha placed in an earthen vessel and Durgā to be worshipped; PC 94–95 (says it is also called Karaka-caturthī), NS 196.

Daśaratha lalitā-vrata—on 10th of Āśv śu.; tithi; ten days; pūjā of golden image of Lalitā-devī with silver images of Moon and Rohinī in front of Devī and image of Śiva to the right and of Ganeśa to the left; Daśaratha and Kausalyā performed it; different flowers on each of ten days, HV II. 570–574 (from Skanda).

Daśaharā—see pp. 90–91 above.

Daśāditya vrata—on 10th of śu with Sunday; pūjā of Bhāskara (Sun) in the form of a *doraka* with ten knots; removes *durdaśā* (distress, ill-luck) caused by ten acts; worship of image of *Durdaśā* in ten forms and of Laksmī in ten forms; HV II. 549–552 (from Br.)

Daśāphalavrata—on 8th of Śr kr (amānta reckoning), for ten years; Gopālakrsna is devatā; thread with 10 strands to be placed before Krsna image, which thread was to be tied on one's hand; worship with ten Tulasī leaves the names of Hari; 10 *purīs* to each of 10 brāhmanas; Vratārka (folios 129a–132a from Bhavisyottara), VR 265–269.

Daśāvatāradāna—Vide under 'Avatāra-dāna' above pp 262–63.

Daśāvatāravrata—(1) begin on 12th of Märg. Śu, Visnu appeared as Matsya that day; on every śu 12th up to Bh. worship of Visnu in the ten avatāras in each month in order; HV I. 1158–1161 (from Visnupurāna), (2) begin on Bh śu 10, on same tithi and month for every year for ten years; each year different food to be offered (e g apūpa in first year, ghrtapūraka in 2nd and so on), ten parts of food prepared for god, ten to brāhmana and ten for himself; ten costly images of avatāras including Bhārgava, Rāma, Krsna, Bauddha and Kalkin; VR 358–359 (from Bhav.), SmK 239.

Dastoddharana-pañcamī or nāgadasto—on 5th of Bh. śu., for relative (such as son, brother, daughter) of one dying from snake bite was to be performed, worship of golden, silver, wooden or clay image of snake having five hoods with fragrant flowers, incense &c; in each month different Nāga out of twelve to be named, reward that man dying from snake-bite was freed from lower regions where he was supposed to go and to have become a non-poisonous snake, and went to heaven; KKV 90–93, HV I. 560–562 (from Bhav. I. 32 41–58), KR 273–275 For the names of twelve nāgas, vide p 124 note 321 above Garuda I. 129 describes this

Dāna—gifts Vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 837–888 for detailed treatment After that volume was published two more extensive digests on dāna have been published viz the Krtyakalpataru (dāna-kānda in 1941) and the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena composed in śake 1019 (1169 A. D) in the B I series (ed. by Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya) in three parts) What dānas are to be made on the several naksatras from Krttikā to Bharanī are described in Anuśāsana 64 which the Dānasāgara pp 628–638 and KR (549–555) quote. KR 95–102 sets out the rewards of dānas on the several tithis The Vī Dh. III. 317 also speaks of the results of dānas on seasons, months, week-days and naksatras.

Dānāphalavrata—from the last day of Āśv. śu. up to 7th of M. śu.; worship of Nārāyana; for five years; in each year gift of rice, wheat, salt, sesame, māsas measuring five *prasthas* in the order specified; Vratārka (folios 362b–365a, from Skanda).

Dāmpatyāstamī—on 8th of K. kr.; tithi; for one year divided into four periods; worship of Umā and Maheśvara images made with darbhas; the flowers, naivedya, dhūpa and the names of the deities differ in each month; at end of the year a brāhmana and his wife to be treated to a dinner, garments dyed red, two golden cows as dakṣinā to be donated; gets son, learning, goes to Śivaloka and even moksa if desired. KKV 254–258, HV I. 841–844 (from Bhav.).

Dāridryaharasasthī—on 6th of all months for a year; worship of Guha (Skanda); AK (folio 429–430) from Skanda-purāna.

Dinaksaya—where on one and the same week-day two tithis end there is dinaksaya; HK p. 676 (quoting Pad.), while KN 260 (quoting Vasistha) remarks where on one and the same civil day three tithis are touched there is dinaksaya, on which a fast is forbidden, though it is said that gifts and the like made thereon yield a thousand-fold reward.

Divākaravrata—begin on a Sunday with Hasta naksatra; this to be on seven Sundays; vāravrata; Sun to be worshipped in a lotus with twelve petals drawn on the ground and twelve Ādityas are to be assigned separately to each of 12 petals in order viz. Sūrya, Divākara, Vivasvat, Bhaga, Varuna, Indra, Āditya, Savitr, Arka, Mārtanda, Ravi, Bhāskara, and Vedic and other mantras to be repeated; KKV 23–25, HV II. 523–533 (from Bhav.)

Dīpadānavrata—To light lamps fed with ghee or sesame oil at every punyakāla (such as) Sankrānti, eclipse, ekādaśī and particularly for one month from Āśvina paurnamāsī to K. paurnamāsī with Vedic mantras (like Ṛg. VIII. 11. 7, Vāj. S. 26. 6 and 33. 92) in temples, rivers, wells, trees, cowpens, roads, where four roads meet, in houses; yields great merit. Vide Anuśāsana 98. 45–54, Agni 200, Aparārka pp. 370–372, HV II. 476–482 (from Bhav. U), KR 403–405 and Dānasāgara pp 458–462.

Dīpalaksana—Br. S. (83. 1–2) deals with the prognostications from the flames of lamps.

Dīpavrata—Begin on Ekādaśī of Mārg śu.; worship of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa with bath of Pañcāmṛta and Vedic mantras and salutations; lamp to be lighted before images of the two; Pad. VI. 31. 1–122.

Dīpapratiṣṭhāvrata—M. in Br. III. 47–61 as declared by Viṣṇu and performed by the earth.

Dīpānvitāmāvāsyā—KT 451, same as the amāvāsyā in Dīpāvalī.

Dīptivrata—Every evening for a year; performer avoids use of oil and donates at end of year lamps, golden disc and trident and a pair of garments; becomes brilliant here and goes to Rudraloka; it is a samvatsaravrata; KKV 445 = HV II. 866 (from Pad.)

Dugdhavrata—on 12th tithi of Bh omitting milk altogether, NS 141 discusses several views whether pāyasa or curds should be taken though milk was to be avoided, vide VKD 77, SmK 254.

Durgandha-durbhāgyanāśana-trayodaśī—on Jy. śu. 13; worship of three trees, viz. white mandāra or *arka* plant, red karavīra and nimba, that are favourites of the Sun; every year; removes bad odours of the body and ill-luck; HV II. 14–16.

Durgānavamī—begin on 9th of Āśv., for a year; the flowers, the incense, *naivedya* and the name of the goddess are different in each group of four months from Āśv.; Durgā (also called Maṅgalyā and Caṇḍikā), HV I. 937–939 (from Bhav.), (2) another variety on any 9th; HV I. 956–957, from (Bhav.), VKK 41; (3) on all 9th tithis, as on that day Bhadrakālī was made mistress over all Yoginīs; PC 140.

Durgāpūjā—Vide pp 154–187 above.

Durgāvrata—begin on 8th of Śr. śu.; one year, different names of Devī employed in the twelve months; performer covers himself with mud from different places in 12 months; the naivedya is different (including flesh of deer and goat on Āśv. 8), HV I 856–862; KR 238–244 (both quote Devīpurāṇa), same in KKV 225–233 (but called Durgāṣṭamī).

Durgāṣṭamī—Vide the preceding entry.

Durgotsava—Vide above pp 154–187 and TT 64–103.

Dūrvā—8th of Bh. śu. is so called; NA 61, SM 56–57.

Dūrvāgaṇapativrata—(1) on 4th of Śr. or K. śu for two years or three, worship of Gaṇeśa image with red flowers and with

leaves of bilva, apāmārga, śamī, dūrvā and tulasī and other upacāras; mantra containing ten names of Ganapati; HV I 520–523, VR 127–129 (from Saurapurāna, where Śiva tells Skanda that Pārvatī performed it!!); (2) begin on any 4th śu. falling on Sunday; for six months; śistas practise it from Śr. śu. 4 to M. śu. 4; worship of Ganapati; VR 141–143 (from Skanda), Vratārka (folios 66–67); (3) worship of Ganapati for 21 days from Śr. śu. 5 to Śr. kr. 10 with 16 upacāras and 21 kinds of leaves such as dūrvā, bilva, apāmārga &c.; VR 129–141.

Dūrvāvrātravrata—for women; begin on Bh. śu 13; three days up to Full Moon; fast on all three days; worship of image of Umā and Maheśvara, Dharma, Sāvitrī placed among dūrvās; jāgara with dance and music; recital of Sāvitrī's story; homa on 1st with sesame, ghee, and fuel sticks; confers happiness, wealth and sons; HV II. 315–318 (from Pad.); dūrvā is said to have sprung from Visnu's hair and some drops of *amrta* fell on it.

Dūrvāstamī—(1) fast on 7th of Bh. śu; worship of Śankara on 8th with *gandha*, puspa, dhūpa &c. and specially with dūrvā and śamī; HV I. 873–875, KKV 239–241 (both from Bhav.), HK 107 (not to be performed after Agastya becomes visible or when Sun is in Kanyā-rāśi; VKV 15, PC 120; (2) In this variety, Dūrvā alone is worshipped as if it were a deity with flowers, fruits, &c. and two mantras one of which is 'O Dūrvā! you are immortal, honoured by gods and *asuras*, give me *saubhāgya*, progeny and all happiness'; dinner to brāhmanas, relatives and friends of ground sesame and preparations of wheat flour; this is specially obligatory on women and one should not perform it, if Jyesthā or Mūla naksatra occurs on 8th of Bh. śu. nor when the Sun is in the sign of Virgo (Kanyā) nor when Agastya has risen; Bhav. U. 56, PC 127–129, SmK 228–230.

Drdhavrata—giving up application of sandalwood paste in Cai.; gift of a conch shell full of unguents and two garments; Mat 101. 44 q. by KKV 445, KR 183; same verses in Pad. V. 20. 91–92.

Devamūrtivrata—From 1st of Cai. śu.; worship of four images, viz. of Śiva, Agni, Virūpāksa and Vāyu, on four days in order in every month for a year and homa with curds, sesame, yavas and ghee; this is a Caturmūrtivrata; HV II. 504–505 (from Vi. Dh.).

Devayātrotsava—Vide NM pp. 83–84 verses 1013–1017. In the temples of gods the Yātrotsava should be performed on certain tithis viz. on 4th in Vināyaka temple, on 6th in Skanda's, on 7th in Sun's, on 9th in Durgā's, on 5th in Lakṣmī's, on 8th or 14th in Śiva's, on 5th, 12th or Full moon in temples of all Nāgas, and on śukla 15th in temples of all gods; the RNP pp 416–419 (quoting Brah.) provides for this for six months every year from Vaiśākha in the temples of gods, viz on 1st for Brahmā, on 2nd for gods, on 3rd for Ganges and so on.

Devavrata—(1) When on 14th tithi there is conjunction of Maghā-naksatra and Jupiter one should fast on it and worship Maheśvara; increases life, wealth and fame; HV II. 64 (from Kālottara); (2) Nakta for eight days, gift of a cow, golden discus and trident and two garments with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased'; Samvatsara vrata; removes even grave sins; HV II. 862 (from Pad); (3) worship of Ṛgveda (gotra Ātreya and presiding deity Moon), of Yajur-veda (gotra Kāśyapa and deity Rudra who is terrific), of Sāmaveda (gotra Bhāradvāja, deity Indra); then their physiognomy is described and also of Atharvaveda; HV II. 915–16 (from Devīpurāna). Is it Vedavrata?

Devaśayanotthāna-mahotsava or vidhi—HV II. 800–817; vide above pp. 109–110 for the days on which Viṣnu is supposed to sleep and to rise.

Devīpūjā—on Āśv. śu 9; every year; RNP 439–44 (from Devī-purāna). Vide pp. 160 ff. above.

Devīvrata—(1) in K; performer to subsist on milk and take vegetables alone at night; worship of Devī (Durgā); homa with sesame; japa of the mantra 'Jayantī Mangalā Kālī Bhadrakālī Kapālinī | Durgā Kṣamā Śivā Dhātrī Sva dhā Svāhā namostu te ||'; reward freedom from all sins, diseases and fears; HV II 775–776 (from Devīpurāna); (2) Miscell-aneous vrata (prakīrnaka); worship of images of Gaurī and Śambhu, Janārdana and Lakṣmī, the Sun with his queen; gifts of dhūpa, bell and lamp after honouring with white flowers; gives a divine body; HV II 884 (from Bhav. U); (3) on 15th (i. e. pūrnimā) of any month; person su baisting on milk alone and then donating a cow goes to the world of Lakṣmī; HV II. 239 (from Pad.), KKV 447–448 (quoting what is Mat. 101. 59).

Devyāndolana—on Cai śu. 3; worship of image of Umā and Śankara with saffron and the like and specially with *damana* plant; swinging the images in a swing and jāgara; PC 85.

Devyāh-rathayātrā—on 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th or 3rd tithis or on days of Śiva and Ganeśa, king to prepare a structure of bricks or stones and establish Devī image there; he should prepare a chariot decorated with golden threads and ivory staves, bells &c. and place the Devī therein and then take the image back to his residence in a procession of men and women; the city, streets, houses and gates should be decorated and illuminated; reward happiness, glory, prosperity and sons; HV II. 420–424 (from Devīpurāna).

Dolayātrā—Vide p. 240 above under Holikā; TT 140, PC 308, GK 179.

Dolāyātrā—same as above; GK 189–190.

Dolotsava—This was celebrated on different dates for different deities. Vide Pad. (IV. 80. 45–50) which says that in Kaliyuga Dolotsava on Phā 14th at the 8th *prahara* or at the conjunction of pūrnimā and 1st is prescribed for three or five days and on seeing once Kṛsna facing the south in a swing people become free from the load of sins; Pad. VI. 85 contains eulogy and procedure of the Dolotsava of Visnu. On Cai. śu. 3 was Dolotsava of Gaurī (PC 85, VR 84) and of Rāma (SM 35); Dolotsava of Krsna on Cai śu 11 (Pad. VI. 85) and the mantra repeated as Gāyatrī was 'Om dolārūdhāya vidmahe Mādhavāya ca dhīmahi | tan-no devah pracodayāt || *ibid.* verse 5). At Mathurā–Vrndāvana, Ayodhyā, Dvārakā, Dākor and a few other places the Dolotsava of Krsna is still celebrated

Dauhitrapratipad—Āśv. śu 1; VR 61. This is a śrāddha. Vide H of Dh., vol. IV p. 533.

Dyūtapratipad—on K. śu. 1; vide above 'Balipratipad' under 'Divāli'.

Drāksābhaksana—(partaking of first grapes). In Āśv.; KR (p 303–304) quotes Brah. that when the ocean was churned by gods a beautiful woman rose up from the milky ocean and she became transformed into a charming creeper and the gods said 'who is this? we shall gladly see her' (hanta draksyāmahe vayam) and gave the creeper the name 'drākṣā' (popular etymology); worship of the plant when

grapes are ripe with flowers, incense, food &c and then two boys and two old men to be honoured and then singing and dancing.

Dvādaśamāsa kṣavrata—begin vrata on the Full Moon of K. when it falls on kṛttikā; worship of Narasimha, gift of sandalwood and *tagara* flowers to a brāhmaṇa; on Mārg. Full Moon with Mṛgaśiras-naksatra worship of Rāma; on P Full Moon with Puṣya worship of Balarāma; on Māghī and Maghā Varāha to be worshipped On Phālgunī and Phālgunīs (naksatras) Nara and Nārāyaṇa and so on up to Śrāvaṇa Full Moon; Vi. Dh III. 214 1-26.

Dvādaśa-saptamīvratas—begin on Cai śu. 7; for twelve months on each 7th tithi of śu worship of the Sun under a different name; with the six letter mantra 'om namaḥ sūryāya'; freedom from various diseases (like leprosy, dropsy, dysentery) and secures health; HV I. 792-804 (from Āditya-purāṇa).

Dvādaśāditya-vrata—begin on 12th of Mārg. śu.; worship of 12 Ādityas (Dhātā, Mitra, Aryaman, Pūṣan, Śakra, Varuṇa, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭr, Vivasvat, Savitr and Viṣnu); at end gift of gold; reaches world of Savitr, HV I. 1173, AK (folio 851), both quoting Vi. Dh. III. 182. 1-3, which call it Kāmadevavrata.

Dvādaśāhayajña-phalāvāpti-tṛtiyā—on each 3rd tithi (of śu.?) for one year, worship of the 12 semi-divine beings called *Sādhyas* (names mentioned), HV I. 498 (from Vi. Dh. III. 181); (2) Anuśāsana 109 provides for fast beginning from 12th of Mārg. (śu ?), worship of Viṣnu under different names, viz Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava &c.; the performer secures the same reward as an Aśvamedha, Vājapeya and other solemn vedic sacrifices confer.

Dvādaśāhasaptamī—begin on 7th of M. śu, for one year; fast on 7th and Sun to be worshipped under different names on each 7th, Varuṇa in M., Tapana in Phā., Vedāmśu in Cai, in Vai. Dhātr and so on; brāhmaṇas to be fed on following 8th, on 7th of dark half also fast &c.; HV I. 720-724 (from Bhav.).

Dvādaśīvratas—For reward of fast on Dvādaśīs of śu *pakṣa* from Mārg; vide Vi Dh. I. 159. 1-21 and on kṛ. Dvādaśī vide Vi. Dh. I. 160. There are about 50 Dvādaśī vratas. Vide KKV 310-369 (describes 26 dvādaśīvratas), HV I. 1162-

1222; HK 289–298, KN 275–277, TT 114–117, SM 92–95, PC 213–222, VR 475–495. The Var., chapters 39–49 deal with ten dvādaśīs named after ten avatāras from Matsya to Kalkin and also Padmanābha-dvādaśī. Most of these would be dealt with under their proper names. Agni 188 mentions many Dvādaśīvratas. Eight kinds of Dvādaśīs from Brahmavaivarta have been mentioned by HK 260–263; vide p. 119 above. The rewards of making gifts on dvādaśīs of the twelve months in conjunction with certain naksatras are treated in HK 634–637, KR 129–131. Dvādaśī mixed with ekādaśī is to be preferred acc. to Yugmavākya (KN 275).

Dvādaśīvrata—begin from Märg. śu.; one year or for life; fast on 11th and worship of Vāsudeva on 12th with the upacāras from flowers &c; if performed for one year, one becomes purified from sins; if for life he reaches Śvetadvīpa; if he performs vrata on dvādaśīs both in śu. and kr. he secures heaven, and if for life he goes to Visnuloka. V. Dh. 49. 1–8, q. by KKV 310; Anuśāsana chap. 109 dwells on worship of Visnu on dvādaśīs from Märg.

Dvitīyāvratas—Vide Agni 177. 1–20, KKV 40–48, HV I. 366–393, KN 169–172, TT 29–30, PC 82–84, VR 78–81. The KKV describes only three viz. Puspadvitīyā, Aśūnyaśayana (two varieties), Kāntivrata, while HV speaks of eleven. NA speaks of only two viz. Aśūnyaśayana and Yamadvitīyā and remarks that no vrata on the 2nd tithis of other months is well-known. These will be found in their places in this list. The four dvitīyās of Śr., Bh, Aśv. and K. are respectively called Kalusā, Nirmalā, Pretasañcārā and Yamī. The general rule is that the second tithi of śu mixed with third is to be preferred as the Yugmavākya indicates; KTV 30.

Dvidalavrata—in K.; avoid taking any kind of *dvidala dhānya* such as *tūr*, rājikā, māsa, mudga, masūra, gram, kulittha; NS 104–105.

Dvitīyābhadrāvrata—This is a vrata on the Karana called Visti; begin on Märg śu. 4; for a year; worship of Bhadrā-devī and repeat the mantra 'Bhadre bhadrāya bhadram hi carisye vratam-eva te | Nirvighnam kuru me devi kārya-siddhim ca bhāvaya ||'; honour a brāhmana; he should not partake of food while Bhadrā *karana* is on; at the end an iron or stone or wooden or painted image of Bhadrā should

be established and worshipped; the reward is that the man's undertakings even when begun in Bhadrā succeed. HV II. 724–726 (from Bhav. U.), PC 52 Bhadrā or Viṣṭi is looked upon in most cases as a horror and inauspicious, vide SmK 565–566.

Dvyāṣāḍha—Viṣnu is deemed to sleep on Ās. ś. 11; if two amāvāsyās end during the period when the Sun is in the sign of Mithuna, then there are two Āsadha (lunar) months, there is an adhimāsa and Viṣnu goes to sleep only after the 2nd amāvāsyā (i. e. in Karkata or Śr.); KV 169–173, NS 192, Sm 83.

Dvīpavrata—begin on Cai śu. and for seven days in each month, one should worship in order the seven dvīpas viz Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puskara for one year; one should sleep on the ground (not on a cot) and donate at the year's end silver, fruits, reaches heaven; HV II. 465–466 (from Vi. Dh).

Dhanatrayodaśī–13th of Āśv. kr Vide p. 195 above under 'Divālī'.

Dhanadapūjā—(worship of Kubera) on the *pradosa* of Āśv. pūrnimā, TT 136–137.

Dhanadavrata—begin on 11th of Märg. śu. with nakta; for one year; Kubera; vrata yields wealth; KKV 310, HV I. 1161–1162 (both quote Var.)

Dhanavrata—begin on Phā śu 13th with a fast; one year; worship of Kubera (called Mahārāja) with the upacāras from gandha, puspa &c; at end of year gift of gold to brāhmana; Vi Dh. III 184. 1–3 q by HV II 18–19 (but called Nandavrata).

Dhanasankrānti-vrata—begin on a day of Sankrānti; Sankrānti-vrata; one year; Sun as deity, every month a jar full of water with a gold piece inside to be donated with the words 'May the Sun be pleased'; at end gift of golden lotus and a cow, the performer is endowed with health, wealth and long life for numerous lives, HV II 736–737 (from Skanda).

Dhanāvāptivrata—(1) begin on 1st tithi after Śr. pūrnimā, for a month; worship of Viṣnu and Sankarsana with blue lotuses, ghee, naivedya of best food, fast for three days before Bh. Pūrnimā, gift of cow at end of vrata; HV II 759 (from Vi. Dh. III. 210 1–5); (2) worship of Vaiśravana (Kubera) for a year; reward plentiful wealth; HV 155 (from Vi Dh.);

(3) begin on Cai. śu. 1; worship of images of Viṣnu, the Earth, the sky and Brahmā respectively on 1st tithi to 4th; for one year; secures wealth, beauty, happiness; HV II. 501–502 (from Vi. Dh. III. 139. 1–5). This is a Caturmūrti-vrata.

Dhanyavrata or Dhanyapratipad-vrata—Mārg. śu. 1; nakta on that day and worship of Viṣnu image (identified with Agni) on night; homa in a kunda placed before it; then partake of Yāvaka and food with ghee; the same in dark half also; for eight months from Cai.; at end of vrata a golden image of Agni donated; even an unlucky man becomes blessed with happiness, wealth and food and free from sin; KKV 38–40 (calls it Dhanyapratipad), HV I. 355–56, both quoting Var. 56. 1–16.

Dharanīvrata—begin fast on K. śu. 11; worship of image of Nārāyana; place before the image four jars with some jewels inside and covered with copper vessels containing gold and sesame, which (jars) are to be deemed as the four oceans; the golden image is to be established in their midst; jāgara that night; five brāhmanas were to be invited on the next morning, dinner and daksinā to them; this vrata was performed by Prajāpati, by many famous kings and by the Earth itself and it is so called for that reason; HV I. 1041–44 (from Var. 50. 1–29), KR 426–430 (calls it Yogiśvara-dvādaśī).

Dharāvrata—for the whole of Uttarāyana subsist on milk; make a gift of golden image of the earth over 20 *palas* in weight; Rudra devatā; goes to Rudraloka; Mat 101. 52 q by KKV 446, HV II. 906 (same verses from Pad); KKV says it is a samvatsaravrata, while HV puts it under miscellaneous.

Dharmaghata-dāna—From Cai. śu 1 for four months one desirous of storing merit should make every day gift to a brāhmana of a jar covered with a piece of cloth containing cool, pure water; PC 57–58; SmK 89–90.

Dharmaprāpti-vrata—begin on 1st tithi after Ās. Full Moon; worship of Viṣnu in the form of Dharma; for a month; fast for three days including the Full Moon day at end of month and gift of gold; Vi Dh III. 209. 1–3.

Dharmarājapūjā—Worship of Dharma with damanaka. Vide Damanakapūjāvidhi above and SmK 101.

Dharmavrata—begin on 10th of Märg. śu ; fast on that day and worship of Dharma; *homa* with ghee, even in dark half; for one year; at end *gift of a milch cow*; vrata confers health, long life, fame and destroys sins, HV I. 967-968 quoting Vi. Dh. III 178. 1-8.

Dharmasasthi—on Āśv kr. 6; worship of Dharmarāja; AK 419a.

Dharmāvāptivrata—begin on first tithi after Äs *Full Moon*; for one month; worship of Hari in the form of Dharma; it secures all objects; HV II. 758 (from Vi Dh).

Dhātrīvrata—bath on Ekādaśi in both fortnights with Dhātrī (Āmalaka) fruit; Pad V 58. 1-11. Dhātrī fruit is dear to Vāsudeva; by eating it man becomes free from all sins.

Dhānya—(grāmya i e. cultivated in a village)—Dhānyas are said to be ten in Br. Up Vi 3 13 and 17 or 18 in later works.

Dhānyasaṅkrānti-vrata—begin on *ayana* day or *visuva* day; for a year; draw a lotus of eight petals with saffron; on each petal worship Sun from the east onwards under eight different names; he should donate one *prastha* of corn to a brāhmaṇa (hence called Dhānyasaṅkrānti), every month this to be repeated; HV II. 730-32 (from Skanda).

Dhānyasaptaka—Seven kinds of corn are, yava, wheat, dhānya (coriander), sesame, kangu (Panic seed), śyāmāka and cīnaka (Panicum Miliaceum); HV I. 48 (from Sat-trimśan-mata); KR 70 (*notes that some read* 'devadhānya' in place of 'cīnaka)' Gobhilasmrti 3 107 names the seven somewhat differently; Visnupurāna I 6 21-22, Vāyu 8 150-152 and Mārkandeya 46. 67-69 (Venk. ed.) name 17 dhānyas and VR p 17 names 18.

Dhānyasaptamī—on śu 7 worship the Sun, follow nakta method and donate seven dhānyas, household utensils and salt; he saves himself and seven ancestors, HV I. 787-788 (from Bhav.).

Dhāmaḷrrātra-vrata—HV II. 322 quoting Pad, *the same as* Dhāmavrata below.

Dhāmavrata—on the Full Moon of Phā. one should donate a fine house after fast for three days; he reaches the world of the Sun, Mat. 101 79 q by KKV 450-51, HV II 322 *The Sun* is the deity here; dhāman means a 'house'. Vide Gar. I. 137. 3.

Dhāranapārana-vratodyāpana—begin on 11th in Cāturmāsya or in the first month thereof or in the last month; upavāsa (dhārana) in one month and pārana (bhojana) in the next; worship of images of Laksmī and Nārāyana placed on a jar full of water at night with pañcāmrta, flowers, Tulasī leaves, japa of mantra 'om namo Nārāyanāya' 108 times; arghya; *homa* of boiled sesame and rice with Rg. X. 112. 9 and of boiled rice and ghee with Rg X. 155. 1; SmK 414–416, Vratārka 365a–366b.

Dhārāvrata—From beginning of Cai. while drinking water one should let fall a stream of water (in the mouth?); for one year; at end donate a new water vessel. This vrata removes all despondency, provides charm and blessedness; HV II. 853 (from Bhav. U).

Dhūpa—incense (the burning of which is one of the upacāras); HV (I 50–51) quotes from Bhav. the names of several mixtures of incense such as Amrta, Ananta, Yaksadhūpa, Vijayadhūpa, Prājūpatya, while it speaks also of a dhūpa of ten parts KKV 13 gives the eight ingredients of a dhūpa called Vijaya Bhav. I. 68. 28–29 state that Vijaya is the best of dhūpas, jātī the best of flowers, saffron the best of scents, red sandalwood paste is the best of unguents, *modaka* the best of sweetmeats. These are quoted by KKV 182–183. Vide Gar. I 177. 88–89 for dhūpa destroying flies and fleas; KR 77–78, Sm C. I 203 and II. 435 for description of dhūpas. Kādambarī of Bāna (first part, para 52) mentions that in the temple of Candikā dhūpa consisting of plentiful *guggulu* was being burnt

Dhūlivandana—bowing before the ashes the morning after the Holikā bonfire; PC 81, SmK 518 and p. 241 above.

Dhrtivrata—bathing image (or linga) of Śiva with pañcāmrta (curds, milk, ghee, honey and sugarcane or its juice) every day for a year; at end of year gift of a cow with pañcāmrta and of conch-shell; samvatsaravrata; Śiva deity; reaches the place of Śankara; Mat. 101. 33–34 q. by KKV 444, HV II. 865 (from Visnupurāna) which makes a change in reading viz. bathing of the image of (Visnu or Śiva).

Dhenuvrata—gift with lot of gold of a cow that is on the point of being delivered of a calf; the performer who subsists only on milk that day reaches the highest world and is not born again. Mat. 101. 49 q. by KKV 446.

Dhvajanavamī—P. śu. 9; this tithi is called Śambarī (Śābarī?); worship of Caṇḍikā, who rides a lion, and is a kumārī, with banners, mālatī flowers and other upacāras and sacrifice of animals; the king should raise a banner in a temple of Devī, should feed maidens, should observe a fast or eka-bhakta; HV I. 891-894 (from Bhav. U.).

Dhvajavrata—Garuḍa (eagle), Tāla tree (from which intoxicating liquor is made, Balarāma being fond of wine is called Tālāṅka in Amarakośa), Makara (a mythical animal like crocodile), and deer are the banners respectively of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; the colours of their garments and flags are respectively yellow, blue, white and red, in Cai., Vai., Jy., and Ās. every day in each month worship respectively of Garuḍa &c. with appropriately coloured garments, flowers, at end of four months brāhmaṇas to be honoured and appropriately coloured garments to be donated; three turns of four months in the same way; different worlds are reached acc to the length of time, if performed for twelve years the performer attains *sāyujya* with Viṣṇu; this is a Caturmūrtivrata in Vi Dh. III. 146. 1-14 and HV II. pp 829-831.

Naktacaturthī—begin on Mārg. śu. 4; Vināyaka deity; performer to subsist on nakta food and pāraṇa with food mixed with *sesame*; one year, HV I. 522-536 (from Skanda).

Naktavrata—This is a *divārātrivrata* and therefore has to be performed on a tithi that covers both day and night (NA 16-17). For the meaning of *nakta* vide pp. 101-102 above. It consists in eating nothing by day and taking food only at night Naktavrata may extend over a month, or four months or a year Vide KR pp. 222, 255, 301-303, 406, 445, 477, 491-492 for Naktavrata on the months from Śr. to M; Liṅga (I. 83. 3-54) for naktavrata for one year. Vide also Nār. II. 43. 11-23.

Nakṣatratithi-vāra-graha-yoga-vratāni—HV II. 588-590 (from Kālottara) deals summarily with certain (about 16) special pūjās to be performed on the conjunction of certain nakṣatras with certain tithis and week-days. A few examples are given here. when on a Sunday there is 14th tithi and Revatī nakṣatra or when Aṣṭamī and Maghā-nakṣatra are joined, one should worship Śiva and partake of sesame food and this is Ādityavrata that yields health to the performer

and his sons and relatives. When there is conjunction of Rohinī and the Moon on 14th tithi, or of Astamī and the Moon, that is Candravrata in which Śiva may be worshipped and *naivedya* of milk and curds be offered and one may subsist on milk and secure fame, health and prosperity. When Revatī, Thursday and 14th tithi or Astamī and Pusya are joined, that is Guruvrata, on which one should subsist on the milk of a *kapilā* cow mixed with the fluid extracted from Brāhmī plants; the person becomes master of speech. The Visnudharmasūtra (chap. 90. 1–15) deals with what is to be done when the Full Moon days of Mārg. to K. are in conjunction with the naksatra which gives the name to the month and the rewards of the observances thereon; vide Dānasāgara pp. 622–626, where V. Dh. is quoted and explained.

Naksatrapurusasamata—begin in Cai; worship of the image of Vāsudeva; several naksatras such as Mūla, Rohinī, Aśvinī are to be honoured in connection with the feet, the legs, the knees respectively (and so on with the naksatras and limbs specified). The ten avatāras and their limbs are to be respectively associated with Āślesā, Jyesthā, Śravana, Pusya, Svātī and so on; at end of vrata golden image of Hari placed in a jar filled with jaggery is to be donated to a worthy brāhmana as also bed-stead and its gear; he should pray for the continuous life of his wife and on all the days should partake of food without oil and salt. Mat. 54. 3–30 q. by KKV 400–404, HV II. 699–703, KR 87–91; vide Br. S. chap. 104.

Naksatra-pūjā-vidhi—worship of gods as lords of naksatras with the fruits reaped, such as of Aśvins, Yama, Agni (as lords of Aśvinī, Bharanī, Krttikā in order), that leads respectively to long life, freedom from accidental death, prosperity: Vā. 80. 1–39, HV II 594–597 (from Bhav.) = KR 557–560. These relate the lords of naksatras to the flowers or substances with which they are to be worshipped and the rewards thereof Vide H. of Dh vol II p 247 n. 563 for the lords of Naksatras in Vedic times and Vi. Dh. I 83. 13–21.

Naksatravisese padārthavisesa-nisedhah—(prohibition of doing certain things on certain naksatras). A few examples may be given here. VKK 87–88, TT 28 quote a verse 'one should give up the use of sesame oil on the naksatras Citrā, Hasta,

and Śravana, shaving on Viśākhā and Abhijit, flesh on Mūla, Mrgaśiras and Bhādrapadā, sexual intercourse on Maghā, Krttikā and Uttarā'. This is Vā. 14. 50–51 (with some variations).

Naksatravidhi-vrata—begin on Mrgaśiras; worship of Pārvatī, identifying her feet with Mūla, her lap with Rohinī, Aśvinī with her knees and so on with other limbs; on each naksatra he fasts and at end of that naksatra there is pāranā; he offers different food to the brāhmanas on each naksatra; the flowers and naivedya offered to the deity are different on each naksatra; the reward is beauty and *saubhāgya*; KKV 411–414, HV II. 696–698 (from Devīpurāna).

Naksatravratāni—Agni 196, KKV 399–417, HV II. 593–706. KKV deals with only ten, while HV speaks of 33 Vratas connected with the naksatras from Aśvinī onwards are set out in HV. HK 126–128 and KN 327–328, NA 18 deal with question as to what should be done when a fast is to be observed in a vrata which is concerned with both tithi and naksatra. The rule is that the naksatra for fast must be existing at the time of sunset or at the time when there is a conjunction of the Moon with midnight (i. e. there is the required naksatra at midnight). The first of these two is the principal matter, the 2nd is only *next best* (anukalpa). Vide Vi. Dh. I. 60. 26–27 for this rule q. by KN 327, HK 126, VKK 8.

Naksatrahomavidhi—HV (II. 684–688) quotes Garga in prose for the procedure of offering worship and *homa* to 27 naksatras from Aśvinī to Revatī detailing how many days an illness or danger will last, the deity to be worshipped, the flowers, naivedya, dhūpa, the tree of which fuel sticks are to be offered to Agni, the pūjā mantra, the main material to be offered into fire. One illustrative example is given here. In the case of Rohinī, eight days, Prajāpati is devatā, the naivedya is rice boiled in milk, lotus flowers, dhūpa is the one extracted from the Sarala tree (a kind of pine), the pūjā mantra is 'namo brahmane' (Tai Ār. II. 13, quoted in H. of Dh. II. p. 703 n 681); all *dhānyas* may be offered in fire. The āhutis are to be 108; the reward is ārogya (health).

Naksatrārthavrata—same as Naksatravidhi-vrata above.

Nadītrirātravrata—When a river is full of flood in Ās, a person should collect the water in a dark jar, take it home, then next morning he should bathe in the river and worship the jar, observe fast for three days or one or only ekabhakta, keep a lamp continuously burning, take the name of the river and Varuna, offer arghya, fruits, naivedya &c. and pray to Govinda; this vrata for three years; then donate cow etc.; he secures progeny and saubhāgya Pad. VI. 71.

Nadīvrata—(1) begin on Cāi. śu; for seven days he should subsist in the nakta method and worship the seven rivers Hrādinī (or Nalinī, v. l.), Hlādinī, Pāvanī, Sītā, Iksu, Sindhu, Bhāgīrathī; this to be continued for seven days in every month for a year; offer milk in water and make gifts of water pots filled with milk; at end of year donate to brāhmanas one *pala* of silver in Phā.; HV. II. 462 quoting Vi. Dh. III. 163 1-7; vide Mat 121 40-41, Vāyu 47. 38-39 for the seven streams of the Ganges; (2) HV I. 792 (quoting one verse from Vi Dh.); by worshipping Sarasvatī one secures seven kinds of knowledge.

Nadīsnāna—for the effects of baths in holy rivers, vide H of Dh. IV p. 560, under Daśaharā above pp. 90-91 and TT 62-64. PC 144-145, GK 609.

Nandavrata—Vi. Dh, III. 184. 1-3 q. by HV II. pp. 18-19. Same as Dhanavrata above p. 320.

Nandā—(tithis) 1st, 6th and 11th tithis are so called.

Nandādinidhi—Sunday has twelve names viz. Nanda, Bhadra &c.; the Sunday that falls on 6th of M. śu. is called Nanda; observe nakta that day and bathe Sun image in ghee and offer Agasti flowers; feast to brāhmana with wheat *apūpa*; KKV 10-12, HV II. 522-23 (both quote Bhav.).

Nandādivrataviidhi—worship of Sun always on a Sunday; one should on the day of solar eclipse fast and mutter Mahāśvetā mantra and then give a dinner to brāhmanas; the reward of bath, gifts and japa on the day of solar eclipse is endless; HV II. 527-28 (from Bhav. U.) = KKV 21-23.

Nandānavamīvrata—the 9th of Bh. kr. 9 (acc to KKV) and śu. 9 (acc to HV) is called Nandā. Worship of Durgā for a year in three periods; ekabhakta on 7th, fast on 8th and worship of Śiva with Jāti and Kadamba flowers and Durgā's image to be placed on dūrvās; *Jāgara* and various dramatic

representations and japa 108 times of Nandā mantra (om Nandāyai namah); on morning of 9th worship of Candikā and dinner to maidens; KKV 303–305, HV II. 952–954 (from Bhav).

Nandāpadadvaya-vrata—worship of golden *pādukās* of Durgā with mango leaves, dūrvā, akṣatās, bilva leaves, for a month; gift of *pādukās* to a devotee of Devī or to maidens, he becomes free from all sins; KKV 429, HV II 885–86 (from Pad).

Nandāvrata—begin in Śr. on 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th or pūrnimā; for one year; performer to subsist by nakta method; worship of Devī with different flowers and naivedya under twelve different names in the twelve months; *japa* of mantra ('om Nande Nandini sarvārthasādhini namah') 100 or 1000 times; performer is freed from sins and becomes a king; KKV 424–429, HV II. 832–836 (from Devīpurāna), KR 288–293.

Nandāsaptamī—Begin on 7th of Märg. śu.; tithivrata; for a year; worship of Sun in three periods of 4 months with different flowers, naivedya, dhūpa and names, ekabhakta on 5th, nakta on 6th and fast on seventh; KKV 136–137, HV I. 669–671 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva, 100. 1–16).

Nandānīnavamīvrata—on 9th of Märg śu; tithi; worship of Durgā; one year divided into two parts, fast for three days; in each period of six months different flowers, different names; performer goes to heaven and returns as a powerful king; KKV 302–303. Vide Tritayapradānasaptami above p. 308.

Narakacaturdaśi—Vide above p. 196–198

Narakapūrnimā—begin on every Full Moon or on Full moon of Märg., one year; he should fast that day and worship Visnu and repeat his name or he should repeat in order the twelve names Keśava to Dāmodara in the twelve months from Märg; should donate every month water jar with dakṣinā and sandals, umbrella and a pair of garments or, if unable, at the end of the year; he secures happiness and remembers Hari's name at time of death and goes to heaven; HV II. 166–167 (from Vi. Dh).

Narasimhacaturdaśi—on 14th of Vai. śu, tithi, if there be Svāti naksatra, Saturday, Siddhi Yoga and Vanija-karana the reward is a crore of times; Narasimha (avatāra) is deity;

HV II. 41–49 (from Narasiṁhapurāna); PC 237–238 (It is called Nrsimhajayantī by SM 98, PC and others); SmK 114. If it is mixed with 13th or 15th, the day on which 14th exists at sunset should be accepted; VKD (pp. 145–152) gives a long procedure of pūjā; it occurs in Tamil Pañcāngas also. Nrsimha appeared on Vai. śu 14 in the evening when there was Svātīnaksatra.

Narasimhatrayodaśī—on Thursday falling on 13th tithi; one should bathe and worship Narasimha in the afternoon and fast on that day; KKV 369, HV II. 14 (from Narasiṁhapurāna).

Narasiṁhadvādaśī—on 12th of Phā. kr.; fast on that day and worship of Narasimha image; a jar covered with white cloth is to be established and on it a golden or wooden or bamboo image was to be placed; gift of the image to a brāhmana on that day; HV I. 1029–30 (quoting Var. 42. 1–7 and 14–16). The printed Var. provides that the vrata is to be performed in śukla-paksa, whereas in HV I. 1029 the krsnapaksa is mentioned.

Narasimhāstamī or *Narasiṁhavrata*—King or prince or a person desirous of destroying enemy should perform this; on 8th tithi he should make a lotus figure of eight leaves with rice-grains or flowers and place an image of Narasimha thereon and worship it and also worship Śrīvrksa (Bilva or Aśvattha?); HV I. 876–880 (from Gar.).

Navanaksatraśānti—a propitiatory rite and worship of nine naksatras; the naksatra of a man's birth is called *Janana*-naksatra, the 4th, 10th, 16th, 20th, 23rd are respectively called Mānasa, Karma, Sānghātika, Samudaya and Vaināśika; an ordinary man has to consider these six naksatras, while a king has to consider three more, viz. the naksatra of coronation, the naksatra that rules over his country and the naksatra of his varna; if these naksatras are affected by evil influences of planets &c. evil results follow in the matters denoted by these six or nine, e. g. if *janana*-naksatra is affected he may lose his life and wealth, if the coronation naksatra is affected the king may lose his kingdom; appropriate rites and worship may avert or lessen evil effects e. g. in case of janana-naksatra he should bathe with water in which kuśas are dipped and in which the dung and urine of a white bull and white cow's milk are mixed;

cribes the ceremony; song and music were employed and Vedic texts loudly recited and Brahmā, Ananta (snake), guardians of quarters were worshipped.

Nāgacaturthī—on K. śu. 4; PC 95.

Nāgadastoddharanavrata—same as Dastoddharanavrata p. 312 above.

Nāgapañcamī—Vide pp 124 ff above.

Nāgapūjā—(worship of snakes) on Mārg. śu. 5; SmK 429 (says : it is well-known among dāksinātyas).

Nāgamaitrīpañcamī—one should give up (*kaṭu* pungent or bitter) and sour things and should bathe Nāga images with milk; he thus makes friends with nāgas Pad V. 26. 56–57 q. by KKV 96, HV I. 566 (same verses from Bhav.).

Nāgavrata—(1) on 4th of K. śu.; fast on this; worship of Śesa, Śankhapāla and other *nāgas* with flowers, sandalwood paste and satiating them with milk in the morning and noon; result-snakes do not harm him; HV. I. 530 (from Kūrma), KN 184–185, PC 95; (2) worship of Nāga image on 5th tithi on lotus leaves with mantras, flowers &c. and streams of ghee, milk, curds, honey, *homa*; freedom from poison and secures son, wife and prosperity; HV I. 572 (from Bhav.).

Nāmatṛtiyā—begin on Mārg. śu 3; tithivrata; one year; every month worship of Gaurī with one of twelve names, viz. Gaurī, Kālī, Umā, Bhadrā, Durgā, Kānti, Sarasvatī, Mangalā, Vaisnavī, Laksmī, Śivā, Nārāyanī; he would go to heaven; or worship the Ardhanārīśvara form of Maheśvara; he would suffer no separation from his wife; or worship an image of Harihara with one name each month out of the twelve from Keśava to Dāmodara; HV I 477–478 (from Bhav.), KKV 55–56.

Nāmadvādaśī—begin on Mārg. śu 12; fast on that day; tithivrata; he should take one of the twelve names of Visnu, viz. Nārāyana in Mārg and P., Mādhava in M and so on up to Dāmodara in K.; donate at year's end a cow with calf, sandals, garments &c to twelve brāhmanas; goes to Visnuloka, HV I. 1097–1101, KKV 347 (in prose and less elaborate).

Nāmanavamī—begin on Āśv śu 9; for a year, worship of Durgā under different names, different flowers in each month; Brāhmana maidens to be feasted; at end, gift of cow and

sumptuous dinner to brāhmaṇa devotees of Durgā: becomes free from all sins, reaches Durgā-loka, KKV 283–298, HV I. 928–933 (from Bhav.).

Nāmasaptamī—(1) on 7th tithi a devotee should contemplate on the Sun and observe certain restrictions viz, not touching oil, not wearing dark-blue garment, no bath with āmalaka fruit, nor quarrel with any one, not to drink wine, not to speak with a cāṇḍāla, nor with a woman in her monthly illness, not to gamble, not to shed tears, nor to eat *kanda*, *mūla*, fruits, flowers and leaves; (2) from Cai. śu. 7: worship sun for a year under different names in each month (such as Dhātā, Aryaman, Mitra in Cai., Vai., Jy.); feed on each 7th Bhojakas (Magas) with ghee and donate red clothes, in KKV 121–123, HV I. 726–728; KR 124–126 (all from Bhav., Brāhmaṇaparva 65. 1–7 and 19–34).

Nāralī or Nāralīpūrnimā—on Śrāvaṇa śu 15. Vide above p. 128.

Nāsatyapūjācakṣur-vrata—Vide 'Netravrata'.

Nikumbhapūjā—(1) on Cai. śu. 14 fast and on pūrnimā worship of Hari; Nikumbha goes out to fight with *piśācas*; a clay or grass effigy should be made and worship should be offered to piśācas in the noon in each house with flowers, naivedya &c. and with drums and lutes; worship again at moonrise; and then dismiss; the performer should observe a great festival with song and music and the din of people; people should play with a serpent made of grass surrounded by sticks and it should be cut up into pieces after three or four days and pieces kept for one year; HV II. 241–242 (from Āditya-purāṇa), NM (p 64 verses 731–790) calls this 'Caitrapiśāca-varṇanam'; (2) on Āśv. pūrnimā; people (except women, children or old men) should not take food by day and keep Agni near the house door and worship it and so also Full Moon, Rudra and Umā, Skanda, Nandiśvara, Revanta; worship of Nikumbha with sesame, ricegrains and *māsas*, brāhmaṇas to be fed at night and people should take food (but no meat); music, dance and songs that night; next day they should take easy and in the morning after that they should besmear themselves with mud and play like *piśācas* without feeling shame, smear their friends with mud and employ lascivious words and prattle obscene words; in the afternoon they should bathe; if a person does not indulge in this *saturnalia* he is

affected by piśācas; KKN 411–413, KR 375–378 (both quote Brah.); (3) on Cai. kr. 14; worship of Śambhu and Nikumbha who is accompanied by piśācas; on that night people to protect their children from piśācas and to see the dance of *veśyās*; KKN 446, KR 534–536.

Niksubhārkacatustayavrata—Niskubhā is wife of the Sun; fast on kr. 7th; tithivrata; for a year; worship of image of Sun and his wife, woman observer would go to Sūryaloka and secures a king as husband, male also goes to Sun's world; a reader of Mahābhārata should be engaged for a year and honoured at the end with gift of the golden image of Sun and Niksubhā and with ornaments (for reader's wife) and garments &c.; KKV 156–159, HV I. 676–679 (from Bhav.).

Niksubhārkasaptamī—begin on 6th or 7th tithi or on Saṅkrānti or on Sunday; one year; golden or silver or wooden image of Sun and Niksubhā (Sun's wife) to be bathed with ghee &c.; fast and homa; dinner to devotees of Sun and Bhojakas; reward is that performer secures all desired objects, goes to Sūryaloka and various other worlds; KKV 153–156, HV I, 674–676 (from Bhav. Brāhmaparva 166); AK (folio 457a–459b) notes that there are several varieties of this vrata; (1) from Saurasamhitā; for one year from M. śu. 7; (2) from Bhav.; (3) from M. kr. 7; (4) from Bhavisyottara.

Nimbasaptamī—begin on 7th tithi of Vai. śu.; for one year; worship of Sun; draw a figure of lotus and Sun called Khakholka to be established thereon; the Mūlamantra is 'om Khakholkāya namah'; twelve Ādityas, Jaya, Vijaya, Śesa, Vāsuki, Vināyaka, Mahāśveta and queen Suvarcalā to be placed in front of Sun image and also several other deities; eating of nimba leaves on 7th and sleeping before Sun image; on 8th again worship Sun; performer freed from all diseases; KKV 198–203, HV I. 697–701 (from Bhav.), NA 52.

Nirjalaikādasī—on Jy. śu. 11; fast from morning of one day to next day morning; no water to be drunk the whole day except what one may take in for obligatory *ācamana* (such as in sandhyā adoration); next day donate jar full of water and sugar and some gold and break the fast; reaps reward of twelve dvādasīs and reaches Viṣnuloka; HV I. 1089–91 (from M. B.); SmK 122–123, and p. 109 above.

Niṣiddha—Forbidden matters and actions on certain months, tithis, week-days, Saṅkrāntis and vratas are numberless. KV (*pp* 333-345) sets out a very long list, but ultimately (*on p* 345) has to say 'Actions forbidden by those who know the Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas at several times and occasions are innumerable, how can I, a single man, speak about all of them unless I live a thousand years; therefore I have said what I understood from a few texts in authoritative works and contained in digests; others will write about the rest'

Nīrājana-dvādaśi—*on* K. śu 12; to be performed at beginning of night when Viṣnu rises from sleep, waving lamps before image of Viṣnu and several deities such as Sun, Śiva, Gaurī, one's parents, cows, horses, elephants, the king should also worship all symbols of royalty collected in the court of his palace; a chaste woman or a handsome veśyā should wave lamps thrice over the king's head, thus is a great śānti (propitiatory rite) and drives diseases and brings in plenty, it was first introduced by king Ajapāla and should be performed every year, HV I. 1190-1194 (from Bhav. U.)

Nīrājanānavamī—on kr 9th tithi (of Āśv.?), worship of Durgā and of arms at night, next day at sunrise this nirājana-śānti be performed, *NM* (*p* 76 verses 931-933)

Nīrājanavidhi—From K. kr. 12 to K. śu. 1 (by pūrṇimānta reckoning); performed in the case of a king, the king to erect to the north-east of the capital a large pavilion with banners &c and three toraṇas (arched gates), worship of deities and homa; the rites begin when the Sun passes from Citrā-nakṣatra to Svātī and continue till Sun is in Svātī; jars full of water and decked with leaves and threads of five colours; to the west of toraṇa elephants were to be bathed to the accompaniment of mantras and horses also, and food to be offered to elephant by the *purohita*; if elephant joyfully accepted it, it foretold victory; if he rejected it great danger foreboded; various forebodings from other actions of the elephant; worship of arms and royal symbols such as umbrella and banner, till Sun is in Svātī, horses and elephants should be honoured; no harsh words to be addressed to them nor should they be beaten, the pavilion to be guarded by armed men and the astrologer, purohita and the chief veterinary doctor and elephant

doctor should always be in the pavilion; on the day when the sun leaves Svāti and enters Viśākhā, horses and elephants to be decked and on them, on sword, umbrella, drum &c. mantras to be recited; the king to ride his horse first and then mount his elephant and should come out from under the torana and accompanied by his army and citizens march to the palace, honour the people and take leave of them, this rite is a śānti and should be performed by kings for prosperity and welfare of horses and elephants; HV II. 675-680 (from Vi Dh. II 159) Vide H of Dh vol. III. pp. 230-231 for further details gathered from Kautilya, Br. S chap 44, Agni 268 16-31 and other sources and also RM (folio 79a and verses 1333-1335 in ABORI vol 36 p. 328), KR 333-336, SmK 334-341 Nīrājana is a śānti; vide RNP pp 433-437 (quoting Visnudharmottara).

Nilajyesthā—on 8th of Śr. when there is Sunday and Jyestha naksatra; sun deity; here the weekday is the most important thing, next comes naksatra; KN 198 (quoting Skanda).

Nīlavrsa-dāna—on Full Moon in K. or Āśv. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp 539-542 for the letting loose of a nīla bull; Anuśāsanaparva 125. 73-74, V. Dh. 85. 67, Mat 207. 40, Vāyu 83. 11-12, Vi. Dh. I. 144. 3 and 1. 146. 58, PC 305 ff, SmK 405-406.

Nilavrata—eating only by nakta method on every other day for a year; samvatsaravrata; at end donate a golden blue lotus with a vessel full of sugar and a bull; performer reaches the world of Visnu; Mat. 101. 5 q by KKV 440 (3rd sastivrata), HV II 865 (same verses from Pad. V. 20. 47-48). Mat. calls it Lilāvrata.

Nrsimha-jayantī—Vide Narasimha-caturdaśī above and GK 155.

Nṛsimha-dvādaśī—Same as Narasimha-dvādaśī.

Nrsimhavrata—on śu. 8th, KN 196; vide Narasimhāstamī above.

Netravrata—on 2nd tithi of Cai. śu; same as Caksur-vrata above.

Paksa—the two halves of a month, respectively called śukla and krsna and also pūrva and apara The general rule is that the śukla paksa is recommended for rites in honour of gods and rites for prosperity; while the dark half is recommended for rites for deceased ancestors and for magic rites meant for a malevolent purpose. VKK 236-237 (quoting Manu

III. 278-9), SM 145, PC 31-32. Further details will be added in the next section on 'Kāla'.

Paksavardhinī-ekādaśī—when pūrnimā or amāvāsyā extends over the following pratipad, it is paksavardhinī; similarly 11th tithi is so called when it extends over (on to 12th tithi); worship of golden Visnu image; *Jāgara* with dance and music; Pad. VI. 38.

Paksasandhivrata—(lit. vrata on the joint between two paksas); (1) subsisting by ekabhakta method on *pratipad*, for one year; at end of year donate a *kapilā* cow; reaches world of Vaiśvānara; HV I. 355-57; Mat 101. 82 calls it Śikhivrata and VKK 29 quotes Mat.; (2) eating food served on bare earth on 1st tithi; reaps reward of Trirātra sacrifice; HV I. 357 (from Pad.).

Pañcaghata-pūrnimā—worship of image of pūrnimā-devī; on five Full Moon days follow ekabhakta; at end donate five jars respectively filled with *milk*, *curds*, *ghee*, honey and white sugar; he secures all desired objects; HV II. 195-96 (quoting Bhav. U.).

Pañcapindikā-gaurīvrata—on Bh. śu. 3; fast on that day; at advent of night four images of Gaurī to be made of wet clay and an additional one with five lumps of clay; at each *prahara* worship of the images with a mantra, dhūpa, camphor, lamp fed with ghee, flowers and naivedya and arghya; in the following three *praharas* different mantras, dhūpa, naivedya, flowers &c; next morning honour a brāhmana and his wife; and the four images of Gaurī are carried on the back of a she-elephant or a mare, cast into a river, tank or well; HV I. 485-497 (from Pad Nāgara-khanda).

Pañcabhangadala—the leaves of the five trees, mango, aśvattha, vata, plaksa and udumbara (Krtyakalpataru on Śānti, folio 7a).

Pañcamahāpāpanāśanadvādaśī—In the beginning of Śr.; on 12th and on Full Moon of Śr one should perform worship of twelve forms of Krsna (such as Jagannātha, Devakīsuta) and on amāvāsyā offer a meal of sesame, *mudga*, jaggery and rice; five *ratnas* (see below) to be donated; one becomes free from the results of five grave sins, as Indra, Ahalyā, Soma and Bali became free; HV I. 1201-1202 from (Bhav.).

Pañcamahābhūta-vrata—begin on Cai. śu. 5; fast and worship of Hari in the form of the five *bhūtas* viz. the earth, water, fire, wind and *ākāśa*; one year; at year's end gifts of garments; HV I. 552–553 (from Vi. Dh. III. 152. 1–11).

Pañcamīvrata—on Märg. śu. 5th at sunrise undertake the restrictions about vrata; an image of Laksmī made of gold, silver, brass, copper or wood prepared or Laksmī be painted on strip of cloth; worship with flowers &c. from feet to head of Laksmī, honour women (whose husbands are alive) with flowers, saffron and sweet dishes; donate a *prastha* of rice and vessel full of ghee with 'may the heart of Śrī be pleased;' for a year with different names of Laksmī in each month; donate the image to brāhmana; Bhav. U. 37. 38–58.

Pañcamīvratas—KKV 87–97 (7 vratas), HV I. 537–576 (28 vratas), KN 186–188, TT 32–34, PC 95–100, VR 192–220. The fifth mixed with 4th tithi is to be preferred for all pañcamī upavāsas and vratas except Nāgapañcamī and Skanda-upavāsa; KN 188, NA. 44–45, PC 96.

Pañcamūrtivratas—begin on 5th tithi of Cai. śu.; fast on that day and worship of conch, discus, mace, lotus and the earth drawn in a circle with sandalwood paste; homa; for a year on 5th every month; five garments of different colours to be donated at year's end; same reward as Rājasūya; HV II. 466–67 (from Vi. Dh. III. 155. 1–7).

Pañcaratnas—acc. to KKN 366, HK 413 and KR 493 (all quoting Kālikā) the five jewels are gold, diamond (*hīraka*), sapphire, *Padmarāga* (ruby), and pearl; while HV I. 47 quoting Ādityapurāna says they are gold, silver, pearl, coral and rājāvarta (Lapis Lazuli).

Pañca-lāṅgala-vrata—mentioned in the plate of Śilāhāra king Gandarāditya (dated *śake* 1032, 1110 A. D.) made on Moon eclipse in Vaiśākha; JBBRAS vol. 13. p 33. Mat. chap. 283 describes it at length; on a holy tithi or eclipse or yugādi tithi gift of land along with five ploughs made of hard wood and five golden ploughs and ten bulls-all these are to be donated.

Patravrata—Samvatsaravrata, for a year a woman should give every day betel leaf with betel-nut and lime to a woman or a man; at year's end gift of a golden or silver betel leaf and

lime of pearls; she never has ill-luck or evil mouth odour, HV II. 864 (from Bhav. U.)

Patrikāpūjā—Vide above under Durgāpūjā p. 161.

Padadvayavrata—Vide Nandāpadadvayavrata above p. 328

Padārthavrata—begin on 10th of Mārg śu; fast on that day and worship of the ten quarters and guardians; one year; at end donate a cow; secures desired object; HV I 967 (from Vi. Dh.).

Padmakayoga—(1) if Sunday falls on 6th tithi mixed with 7th, it is Padmakayoga equal to one thousand solar eclipses; PC 105, VR 249; (2) when the Sun is in Viśākhā-naksatra and the Moon is in Krttikā, that is Padmakayoga; HK 679 (from Śankha), KV 390 (from Pad. and Visnupurāna), KR 430, SmK 400; KV explains that Sun must be in third pāda of Viśākhā and Moon in first pāda of Krttikā.

Padmanābhadvādaśī—on 12th of Āśv. śu; a jar should be established in which a golden image of Padmanābha (Visnu) should be cast; worship of that image with sandalwood paste, flowers &c; donate next day to brāhmana; KKV 333-335, HV I. 1039-41; KR 373-375 (all quote Var. 49. 1-8 and a few more verses).

Payovrata—(1) subsisting on milk alone for a dīksita. Vide Śatapatha Br. IX. 5. 1. 1; (2) on each amāvāsyā subsist on milk; for one year, at year's end perform śrāddha and donate five cows, garments and jars of water, HV II. 254 (from Pad.); (3) from Phā śu. 1 to 12 subsist on milk for pleasing Govinda; SmK 513-514 quoting Bhāgavata VIII. 16 22-62.

Paraśurāmajayantī—Vide under Aksayya-trtīyā above pp. 88-89 and PC 89.

Paraśurāmīyāstamī—on Ās. śu. 8; one of the 14 yātrās at Purusottama-ksetra, GK 193.

Parvatāstamī-vrata—worship on 9th the mountains Himavat, Hemakūta, Nisadha, Nīla, Śveta, Srngavat, Meru, Mālyavat, Gandhamādana and also the *varsas* of Kimpurusa, Uttara-kuru, fast on 9th from Cai śu, for a year; gift of silver at year's end; Vi. Dh. III 174 1-7.

Parvanakdavrata—observe nakta method on each 15th of a month for one year; miscellaneous vrata; Śiva deity; at

year's end give dinner to Śiva devotees with the words 'May the Lord be pleased'; reaches Śiva-loka and never again becomes a human being; HV II. pp 905–6 (from Bhav.). For *parvan*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 737 n. 1425.

Parvabhūbhājana-vrata—one should take his food served on bare earth on parva days; Śiva deity; reaps the fruit of Atirātra-sacrifice; HV II. 906 (one verse from Pad.).

Pallavas—the five auspicious pallavas are those of mango, aśvattha, vata, plaksa and udumbara, acc. to Durgābhakti-tarangini p 27, HV I. 47 (quoting Bhav.) says they are also called 'pañcabhangāḥ'.

Pavanavrata—(one of the Sastivratas) on 8th of M. one should wear wet garments whole day and donate a cow; goes to heaven for a kalpa and then becomes a king. KKV 450 (from Mat. 101. 78). Māgha is a very cold month.

Pavitrāropana-vrata—(investing the image of a deity with a sacred cord), HV II 440–453, HK 881–890; Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati, 21st patala, SM 81–90, PC 235–239 deal at great length with this. Pavitrāropana is supposed to make good all defects and mistakes committed in all pūjās and he who does not perform this every year does not secure what he desires and meets with obstacles; the putting on of *pavitra* in the case of the several gods is done on different tithis. In the case of Vāsudeva it may be done on the 12th of Śr. śu. when the Sun is in Karkataka (Crab sign) or on the 12th when the Sun is in Simha (Leo) or Kanyā (Virgo) but not when Sun is in Tulā (Libra or Balance). The several tithis for Pavitrāropana in the case of gods are: 1st for Kubera, 2nd–three gods, 3rd Bhavānī, 4th ganeśa, 5th Moon, 6th Kārtikeya, 7th Sun, 8th Durgā, 9th Mātrs, 10th Vāsuki, 11th sages, 12th Visnu, 13th Kāmadeva, 14th Śiva, 15th (pūrnimā) Brahmā; vide HV II p. 442 and PC p. 238. If one puts on a pavitra on Śiva every day, it may be made of the leaves of certain trees or flowers or kuśas but the fixed yearly pavitra for Śiva is on the 8th or 14th of any of the paksas of Ās. (the best), Śr. (middling), Bh. (lowest), but only those who desire moksa should do this in dark fortnight, others only in bright one The pavitra may be made of gold, silver, copper or silk, of lotus threads or with kuśas or cotton; the threads should be spun and cut by brāhmana maidens (best), or ksatriya or vaiśya maidens

(middling), or by śūdra ones (lowest). The pavitra should have from 100 knots (best) up to eight. Pavitra means Yajñopavīta and is applied to any string or garland like it put on images of gods. In Mahārāstra it is called 'Pomvatem'.

Pātālavrata—begin on Cai. kr. 1; for a year; worship of seven Pātālas (nether regions) in order one after another; taking food by nakta method; at end of year light lamps in brāhmaṇa houses and donate white garments; HV II 506–507 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 158. 1–7)

Pātravrata—M. śu 11 and 15, fast on 11th; on 15th place in a pure spot a golden vessel full of ghee on which a pair of new garments is put; *jāgara* with *music* and *song*; take the vessel to a Viṣṇu temple in the morning; bathe Viṣṇu image with milk &c., worship the image, offer the vessel and utter 'may Viṣṇu be pleased', offer substantial naivedya, return home and gratify the *ācārya*; sumptuous dinner to ācārya, the blind and poor; KKV 390–91, HV II. 381–82 (from Narasiṃhapurāṇa).

Pādodakasnāna—fast on Uttarāsādhā-naksatra, bathe the feet of the image of Hari on Śravaṇa-naksatra and prepare four jars of gold, silver, copper or clay; similarly bathe the feet of the images of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, repeat mantras over the four jars filled with water from a well, a spring, a tank, a river and bathe with it; removes ill-luck, all obstacles, diseases and gives fame and progeny; HV II. 650–653 (from Vi Dh).

Pāpanāśinī-dvādaśī—When śu. 12th has Puṣya-naksatra, it is very holy and is so called; GK 143.

Pāpanāśinī-saptamī—when śu. 7th falls on the Hasta naksatra, that is a very holy saptamī; worship the Sun on that day; performer is freed from all sins and goes to Devaloka; KKV 145–146, HV I. 740–41 quoting Bhav., Brāhmaparva 106. 4–14. This *yoga* occurs in Śr. dark half (says HV.).

Pāpanāśinyekādaśī—in Phā. when ekādaśī has Puṣya naksatra and Jupiter and when Sun is in Kumbha or Mīna or when ekādaśī is conjoined with Puṣya-naksatra, that tithi is pāpanāśinī; GK 607 (quoting Vāyu and Var.).

Pāpamocana-vrata—one who stays under a Bilva tree for twelve days without food is freed from the sin of *bhrūnahatyā*

Śiva deity; HV II. 396 (from Saurapurāna). For bhrūnahatyā, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 148, n. 334 and vol III. p. 612 n. 1161.

Pāranā or *Pārana*—Vide above pp. 120–121.

Pālicaturdaśī-vrata—on 14th tithi of Bh. śu.; tithi; Varuna is the deity; draw picture of Varuna in a mandala; all varnas and women may offer arghya, worship with fruits, flowers, all corns, curds &c. in the noon, performer becomes free from all sins and secures prosperity; HV II. 130–132 (from Bhav. U.).

Pāśā—is 12th tithi; VKK 242, SmK 114.

Pāśupatavrata—(1) Begin on Cai., make a small *linga* and bathe it with sandalwood water; make a golden lotus and place the linga thereon and worship with bilva leaves; lotus flowers (white, red, blue) and other upacāras, this Śivalinga-vrata to be observed in all months from Cai., but in months from Vai. lingas may be respectively made of diamond, emerald, pearl, sapphire, ruby, gomeda (a gem brought from the Himālaya and Indus), coral (in K. and Mārg.), Sūryakānta (Sun-stone), crystal; at end of year gift of a cow and the letting loose of a bull; or it may be performed only for a month, if performer poor; many verses (pp. 202–211 in HV) ending with 'sa me pāpam vyapohatu' or 'vyapohantu malam mama' or 'Devī pāpamāśu vyapohatu' (may he or she remove my sin), addressed to several forms of Śiva, Skanda and others; HV II. 197–212 (from Linga); (2) on Cai. Full Moon; on preceding 13th honour a worthy ācārya, make a sankalpa about Pāśupatavrata for life, 12 years, 6, 3 or one year or for one month or 12 days; *homa* with ghee and fuel sticks; fast on 14th; on 15th homa; then apply holy ashes to body with six mantras "Agniriti bhasma" &c (Atharvaśiras Up. 5); HV II. 212–222 (from Vāyu-saṁhitā), (3) on 12th of kr. the performer subsists by *ekabhakta* method, on 13th by *ayācita* method, on 14th by *nakta* and on amāvāsyā fast, gift of golden bull on 1st tithi after amāvāsyā; HV II. 455–457 (from Vahnipurāna).

Pāśānacaturdaśī—on śu 14 when the Sun is in Scorpion (Zodiacal sign); Gaurī to be propitiated by taking as food after evening lumps of flour resembling stones; KV 470, VKK 483, TT 124 (from Bhav.).

Pithorī Amāvāśyā—Śr. kṛ. 30.

Pitṛvrata—(1) on each amāvāsyā for a year; performer subsists on milk alone, performs at end of year śrāddha and donates five cows or garments with jars full of water; saves 100 ancestors and goes to Viṣnuloka; KKV 443 (16th Sastivrata from Mat. 101. 29–30), (2) from Cai kr. pratipad; for seven days worship of seven groups of pitṛs called Agniṣvātta, Barhisadah &c; for a year or 12 years; HV II. 505–506 (from Vi Dh III. 157 1–7, which is a Saptamūrtivrata); (3) Vi. Dh. III. 189. 1–5; (4) from Cai. kr. 15, fast and śrāddha of seven groups of pitṛs, for a year, HV II. 255 from Viṣnupurāna); (5) on amāvāsyā offering to pitṛs of sesame and water in which kuśas are dipped and fast for performer; HV II. 253 (from Var.); (6) worship of pitṛs with pindas; *homa* with streams of ghee and fuel-sticks and curds, milk, food &c.; pitṛs confer progeny, wealth, long life &c, HV II. 254 (from Bhav.)

Pipīlaka-dvādaśī—on Vai. śu. 12; image of Keśava should be bathed in cold water and worship with upacāras of *gandha*, flowers &c.; gift of four jars filled with water in the first year, of eight jars in the 2nd, of 12 jars in the 3rd year and of 16 jars in the 4th; dakṣinā of gold; so named after a brāhmana called Pipīlaka; VKV 19–20, VKK 252–258, TT 114.

Piśācacaturdaśī—on Cai kr. 14th; worship of Śankara and *utsava* at night; Nikumbha worships Śankara on that day, therefore Nikumbha should be honoured and bali (offering) should be made to piśācas in cowpens, rivers, roads, peaks &c; NM 55–56, verses 674–681.

Piśāca-mocana—(1) on Mārg. śu. 14, bath near Kapardiśvara in Kāśi and worship; distribution of food there; every year; performer becomes free from liability to become a piśāca, PC 247–48. (2) SmK 108; on bathing in the Ganges and giving dinner to brāhmanas on Cai. śu. 14th, when it falls on Tuesday, person is freed from being a piśāca.

Piṣṭāśanavrata—on every 9th tithi to subsist only on flour; begin on Mahānavamī; for nine years, Gaurī deity; secures all desires; TT 59, VKK 40–41.

Puṇḍarīkayajñaprāpti—worship Varuna, lord of waters, on 12th; he secures fruit of Puṇḍarīka sacrifice; HV I. 1204 (only one verse). Vanaparva 30. 117 shows it was a great yajña

like Aśvamedha and Rājasūya. Vide Āśvalāyana Śrauta-sūtra (uttarasatka IV. 4) for Puṇḍarīkayāga.

Puṇyakavrata—described in Harivaṁśa II. 77–79, Brahmavaivarta III chap. 3 and 4; begin on M. śu. 13; for one year: worship of Hari.

Putrakāmavrata—(1) on Bh. pūrnimā; a sonless man should after performing putresti sacrifice in his house enter a cavern where Rudra is supposed to have dwelt, should offer *homa* to Rudra, Pārvatī, Nandī and worship and observe fast; feed his helpers and then himself and his wife, and circumambulate the cave and make his wife listen to divine legends (about Rudra), should make his wife subsist for three days on rice and milk; even a barren wife may then get a son; he should then prepare a golden, silver or iron image of Śiva, about a prādeśa in length (the distance between the thumb and forefinger fully stretched), worship it, heat it in fire, place it in vessel and perform *abhiseka* over it with a *prastha* of milk and make his wife drink that milk; KKV 374–376 (from Brah.), HV II. 171–72 (same verses from Pad.); (2) on Jy. paurnamāsī, tithivrata; a jar filled with white rice grains, covered with white cloth, marked with white sandalwood paste and with gold inside should be established; on it a copper vessel with jaggery should be placed; on the vessel image of Brahmā and Sāvitrī should be placed and worshipped with *gandha* &c.; next morning donate the jar to a brāhmana, brāhmanas should be fed and he himself may take food but without salt, this should be done every month for a year; in the 13th month donate *ghrtadhenu* with bedstead and golden and silver images of Brahmā and Sāvitrī respectively; homa with white sesame and repeat names of Brahmā; the performer (man or woman) becomes free from sins, secures excellent sons; KKV 376–378 (calls it Putrakāmyavrata), HV II. 173–74 (same verses from Padma), KR 193–195 (from Pad.). For ghrtadhenu, vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 880.

Putradavidhi—Sunday when it falls on Rohinī or Hasta naksatra is called Putrada; fast on that day; worship of the Sun with flowers &c.; performer to sleep in front of Sun's image; he should mutter Mahāśvetā mantra (*Hrīm Krīm sah*); next day he should offer arghya with karavīra flowers and red *candana* to the Sun and to Sunday and perform *pārvana* śrāddha and should eat the middle pinḍa (out of

three); KKV 15–16, HV II 524 (calls it Purā-putrada-vidhi). In HV it is not so elaborate as in KKV.

Putraprāptivrata—(a) on 6th of Vai. śu worship of Skanda after fast on 5th; tithi, for a year; Skanda has four forms (or names) viz. Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Guha; one desirous of son, wealth or health secures his desire; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh.), (2) on Śr. Pūrnimā; tithi; Śāṅkarī (Durgā) is devatā; one desirous of sons, learning, kingdom, fame should perform this; manufacture a sword or *pādukās* or image of Devī of gold or silver and on an auspicious naksatra place it on a vedī (altar) on which barley shoots have grown and homa has been performed; various fruits and flowers be offered to her; Vidyāmantra set out in HV II. 232; HV II. 230–233 (from Devīpurāna).

Putravrata—(1) same as 'Putra-kāmavrata' (1); HV II. 171–72; (2) after bath in the morning twilight, touch a *pippala* tree and donate a vessel full of sesame, destroys all sins; HV II. 883 (from Bhav. U.)

Putrasaptamī—(1) on 7th of M. śu. and kr.; worship of the Sun on both saptamis after fast on 6th and homa; one year; secures son, wealth, fame and health; KKV 166–67, HV I. 738–739 (both quote Ādityapurāna), VR 255, (2) on Bh. śu. and kr. 7; *sankalpa* on 6th and fast on 7th; worship of Visnu with mantras containing name of Visnu; on 8th worship of Visnu with Gopāla mantras and homa with sesame; one year, at year's end donate a pair of dark cows; secures son and freedom from all sins; KKV 224–225, HV I. 724–25 (same verses from Var. 63 1–7).

Putrīyavrata—on 8th tithi of kr. after Bh. Full Moon, fast on that day; bathe image of Govinda in one *prastha* of ghee, then with honey, curds, milk one after another and bathe it with water mixed with *sarvausadhi*, then apply to the image unguents such as sandalwood paste, saffron, camphor; worship image with flowers and other *upacāras*; homa with Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90); then one who wants a son or a daughter should make a meal of fruits denoted by words in the masculine or feminine gender respectively; for one year; performer secures all objects, HV I. 844–45 (from Vi. Dh. II. 55. 1–12).

Putrīya-saptami—on 7th of Märg. śu., worship of Sun, he should subsist on *havisya* food that day; on next day worship Sun

with upacāras from *gandha* and follow nakta that day, for one year; HV I. 789–90 (from Vi. Dh.). Putrīya means 'that confers a son'.

Putrīyānantavrata—begin in Mārg.; for a year in each month on the naksatra which gives a name to the month, the performer should fast and worship Visnu, specially his twelve limbs one after another in twelve months e. g. left knee in Mārg., left side of waist in P. and so on; in each group of four months flowers of different colours and bath with cow urine, milk and curds in the three periods of four months from Mārg.; japa of the name of Ananta in all months and same name in homa, at end dinner and daksinā to brāhmana; he secures his desire such as for son, wealth, means of subsistence &c., Vi. Dh. I. 173.

Putrotpattivrata—This is a naksatra vrata; bath in Yamunā on each Śravana-naksatra for a year, this confers a son as Parāśara, son of Śakti and grandson of Vasistha, got; KKV 409 (from Brah.), HV II. 649–50 (same verses from Ādityapurāna).

Puraścarana-saptamī—on M. śu. 7, when there is Sunday and the Sun is in Makara (Capricorn); worship of Sun's image with red flowers, arghya and *gandha* &c.; drinking of pañcagavya; for one year; in each month, flowers, dhūpa and naivedya different; he becomes free from the effects of all sins; HV I. 805–810 (from Skanda, Nāgarakhanda). Puraścarana contains five elements, viz. japa, worship and homa, tarpana (satiating with water), abhiseka (sprinkling or pouring water) and honouring brāhmanas, vide Smk 74.

Punānaśravanavandhi—HV II. 997–1002.

Purusottamayātrā—The twelve *yātrās* of Purusottama at Jagannāthapurī are described in GK pp. 183–190, viz. Snāna, Gundicā, Hariśayana, Daksināyana, Pārśvaparivartana, Utthāpanaikādaśī, Prāvaranotsava, Pusyābhiseka, Uttarāyana, Dolāyātrā, Damanakacaturdaśī, Aksayyatrtiyā.

Pulika-bandhana—Puskara fair on K śu. 15; KSS 7.

Puspadvitīyā—Begin on 2nd tithi of K śu; tithivrata; for a year; Aśvins are deity; one should subsist on flowers fit for divine worship on each 2nd śu. tithi, at end donate flowers made of gold and a cow; performer enjoys happiness with

wife and sons; KKV 40-41, HV I. 381-82 (both quote Bhav. I. 19. 81-89).

Puspāṣṭamī—on 8th of Śr. śu.; tithivrata; Śiva deity; for a year; in each month different flowers, different naivedya and different names of Śiva, KKV 235-238, HV I. 837-839 (both from Bhav).

Pusyavrata—It is a naksatravrata; in the northern passage of the Sun in a bright fortnight a person desiring prosperity should fast at least one night and should cook a *sthālīpāka* (dish of barley or rice cooked in milk) and worship Kubera (the god of riches) and should give a dinner to a brāhmana from the remnants of the boiled food mixed with clarified butter and should induce the brāhmana to pronounce a benediction 'May there be prosperity'; this should be repeated every day till the next coming of the pusya-naksatra; he should feed two, three and four brāhmanas on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th coming of Pusya; this increase (in the number of brāhmanas to be fed in each month) should be carried on for a year; the performer should fast on the first Pusya and not on every recurring Pusya; the result is that the performer is endowed with great prosperity. Āp. Dh S. II. 8. 20. 3-9 and sūtras 10-22 lay down certain restrictive rules of conduct. This is q. and explained by KKV 399-400, HV II. 628.

Pusyasnāna—is a śānti described in HV II. 600-628, Br. S 47. 1-87, Kālikāpurāna 89. The Ratnamālā (VI. 70) says 'As the lion is the most powerful among quadrupeds, so is Pusya most powerful of all naksatras and all undertakings begun on it succeed even though the moon be unfavourable.

Pusyadvādaśī—When Pusya naksatra occurs on Dvādaśī, the moon and Jupiter are in conjunction and the Sun is in the sign of Kumbha (Aquarius), one should offer worship to Brahmā, Hari and Śiva or Vāsudeva alone RM verses 1375-1377, folio 80b (vide ABORI vol. 36 p 333 for these).

Pusyābhiṣeka—is one of the twelve yātrās of Purusottama performed every year when in P. the Full Moon tithi has Pusya naksatra, GK 189.

Pusyārkadvādaśī—when the Sun is in Pusya-naksatra on a dvādaśī, worship Janārdana, this removes all sins, even if Pusya-naksatra is not there on 12th tithi, the procedure should be followed; fast on 11th and donate a vessel *full*

of ghee on 12th; KKV 351, HV I. 1176–77, S. Pr. folio 22a (all quote Devīpurāna).

Pūrṇāhuti—to be offered standing (and never sitting) with the mantra 'Mūrdhānam divo' (Rg. VI. 701, V. S. 7.24, Tai. S. I 4. 13. 1). Vide TT 100 and Kṛtyakalpataru (on Śāntika, folio 8a).

Pūjā—vide above pp. 34–36 for the upacāras; in most vratas five upacāras are enjoined viz gandha, puspa, dhūpa, dīpa and naivedya. There are many rules about certain flowers &c. not being employed in the worship of certain gods and goddesses such as no dūrvā in worship of Durgā, no bilva leaves for the Sun. In mahābhiseka water should be poured with a conch except in the worship of Śiva and Sūrya. For general pūjāvidhi common to all vratas, vide VR 47–49.

Pūrnimāvrata—(1) all pūrnimās should be honoured with flowers, sandalwood paste, dhūpa &c. and the house-wife should take a meal only at night; if unable to observe the vrata on all pūrnimās, it should be done at least on K. śu. 15th; Umā to be worshipped, HV II 243 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) on Śr. Full Moon one should fast, control senses and go through a hundred prānāyāmas; one becomes free from all sins, HV II. 244, (3) on K. Full Moon a woman should draw on the house or park wall Umā and Śiva, worship of these two with *gandha* &c. and offer particularly sugarcane or products of sugarcane juice, she should eat in nakta way without sesame oil; she would enjoy *saubhāgya*; HV II. 244 (from Visnudharma). 'Pūrnimā' is derived by Ksīrasvāmin as 'pūranam pūrnih, pūrnim mimīte pūrnimā.' Vide HK 311 quoting Mat and Br. for derivation.

Pūrnimāvratas—Vide under Paurnamāsīvratas

Pūrvāhna—Vide p. 267 under 'ahan' for what should be done oñ it and Manu IV. 152, Anuśāsana 104. 23 (almost same as Manu), Visnupurāna III. 11. 22.

Pṛthivīvrata—worship of Earth as goddess; HV. I. 574 (only one verse).

Paurandaravrata—on 5th a person should make the figure of an elephant from sesame cake, deck it with gold and also a rider with a goad, cover elephant with red garments and rest its tusk on a copper vessel or kunda and donate it to a brāhmaṇa and his wife with garlands and ornaments, ear-

rings and unsullied garments; the person would long dwell in Indraloka; HV 567-568 (from Bhav. U)

Paurnapratipad-vrata—begin on Cai śu 1st tithi, tithi-vrata; the performer standing in holy water should contemplate on Visnu, should offer worship with *gandha* and the rest and recite Purusasūkta (Rg X. 90 1-16), for a year on both *paksas*; HV I. 344 (from Vi Dh. III. 128. 1-7).

Paurnamāsī—Many grants on the Full Moon days of M., K., Jy, and Ās; vide E I vol VII, Appendix Nos 26-28, 30, 32, 33, 36 from *śake* 608 to 635 (686 to 723 A D.). The word 'paurnamāsī' is derived as 'pūrno māh ('mās' means 'moon') pūrnamāh, tatra bhavā paurnamāsī (tithih)' or 'pūrno māso vartate asyām-iti paurnamāsī'; HV II. 160 says 'pūrnamāso bhaved yasyām pūrnamāsī tatah smrtā' (quoting Bhav. U.) Vide above p 66 (pūrnamāsad-an &c.). When the Moon and Jupiter are seen together (in the same naksatra) on a Full Moon day, that Paurnamāsī is called great (Mahā), gifts and fasts on such a paurnamāsī yield inexhaustible merit (V. Dh. 49. 9-10 q by KR pp. 430-431 and KKN 373); vide KV 346-347, HK 640, VKK 77 and Vi Dh I. 60. 21 for a similar verse. Such a paurnamāsī is called mahā-caitrī, mahā-kārtikī, mahā-pausī &c Vide Cintra praśasti of Sārangadeva (of 20-1-1287 A D) for provision made for festival of Caitra full Moon and Bhādrapada Full Moon, in E I. vol. I p. 271 at p. 279 When Paurnamāsī or Amāvāsyā is *viddhā* the tithi mixed with 1st tithi is to be accepted except in case of Vatasāvitrī; KN 300-301, KTV 59-61, PC 281.

Paurnamāsī-kriya—Vide KN 300-307, VKK 77-81, TT 133, SM 104-116, SmK 270-71.

Paurnamāsī-vratas—Vide Agni 194, KKV 374-385 (only five), HV II. 160-245 (about 38), SmK 432-439, PC 311-314, VR 587-645. Some unimportant matters about Full Moon tithi are mentioned here. On Ās pūrnimā, ascetics (*yatis*) are to shave their heads and not to shave during *cāturmāsya*, they are to stay in one place for four or two months from Āsādhī and perform Vyāsapūjā (PC 284), on Śr. pūrnimā *Upākarma*, on Bh. Full Moon śrāddha to be performed for *Nāndīmukha* pitrs, on M pūrnimā donate sesame, in Phā. theft of firewood allowed to boys from śu 5th to 15th and fire is to be set to such wood on 15th (PC 309), V. Dh. (90.

3–5) provides that if on Full Moon of P. there is Pusya-naksatra and a man bathes Vāsudeva image in ghee and himself applies white mustard paste to his body and bathes with water mixed with *sarvausadhi* and fragrant things and worships the image with mantras of Visnu, Indra and Brhaspati he prospers (q by KR 484).

Pausavratas—KR 474–486, VKK 487–490, NS 211–12, SmK 432–439; some matters are briefly mentioned here Stream of clarified butter in P. on Śiva (linga) from a vessel with song, dance and instrumental music and with illuminations makes the performer free from all sins and takes him to Śivaloka (KR 478), on P. śu. 8th with Wednesday, bath, japa, homa, feeding brāhmanas in worship of Śiva yields merit thousands of times (NS 211); fast on P. 9th of both *paksas* and worship of Durgā thrice in the day, nakta for whole month and bathing Durgā image in ghee, feeding eight maidens and worship of Durgā image made of flour, lead a man to Durgā-loka (KR 477 from Bhav.).

Paustika—Br S. 2 enumerates among the qualifications of the sāmvatsara (astrologer) that he should be well-versed in the śāntika and paustike rites. The difference between the two is: Paustika rites are homa and the like performed for longevity, while Śāntika rites are homa and the like performed for averting threatened evil influence of planets and danger foreboded by unusual occurrences like comets, meteor showers &c; NA 48. KKN 254 states that Śānti means the removal of worldly calamities by means of acts in accordance with Dharma (or Dharmaśāstra).

Prakirnaka—(miscellaneous) vratas—Vide KKV 452–468, H V II, 868–1002, KR 540–593, KN 326–358, VKK 533–564 Most of these will be dealt with separately.

Prakrtipurusa-vrata—on Cai. śu 1 fast, on 2nd worship of Agni with Purusasūkta (Rg X. 90) with *gandha* &c; Purusa and Prakrti are identical with Agni and Soma and the same are Vāsudeva and Laksmī, worship Laksmī with Śrīsūkta, gifts of gold, silver and copper, performer to subsist on milk and ghee; for a year, secures all desires and the road to *moksa*; HV I. pp. 391–92 (from Vi. Dh. III. 129. 1–6).

Prajāpativrata—in the Śānkhāyana Br VI. 6 it is said 'he should not see the Sun rising or setting'. These rules are called Prajāpativrata by Śabara on Jai IV. I. 3 and he

declares that they are 'purusārtha' and not 'kratvartha'. (2) In the Praśnopanisad I. 13 and 15 it is said 'day is the prāna and the night the food of Prajāpati and those who have sexual intercourse by day attack prāna while those that have it by night are observing brahmacarya, that those who observe the Prajāpati-vrata produce children (a son and a daughter).' In Praśna I 15 Prajāpativrata means indulging in sexual intercourse only at night; this meaning is different from that given by Śabara.

Pratipad-vratas—Agni 176 (only two vratas), KKV 35-40, HV I 335-365, KN 140-149, PC 56-81, VR 49-78, HK 614 (quoting Bhav.) say the 1st tithis of Cai., K. and Āśv are the holiest (also HV II. 350). If Pratipad is *viddhā* all dānas should be performed on 1st mixed with 2nd (KN 140).

Pratimāvrata—begin on 14th of K. śu; tithi, for one year, Umā and Śiva deities; images should be made of rice flour; hundreds of lighted lamps, saffron to be applied to the images, dhūpa to be *guggulu*; 108 offerings of milk and ghee; HV II. 57-58 (from Kālottara)

Prathamāstamī—This is the first of the 14 yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara; on Märg. kr. 8, for increase of the life of the first child, Ganeśa and Varuna are worshipped and then bowing to Bhuvaneśvara; GK 115-116, 191.

Pradīptanavamī—on 9th of Āśv. śu., tithivrata, for a year, worship Devī with mantra of 16 syllables (om mahā-bhagavatyai Mahisāsuramardinyai hum phat) and worship Śiva by offering in fire a lump of guggulu, one should take on that day as much food as can be eaten while a grass fire-brand, only one cubit in length held between the thumb and forefinger being lighted, does not go out; HV I. 899-900 (from Devīpurāna)

Pradoṣa—Vide p. 102 above on Nakta

Pradosavrata—in the first quarter of the night of 13th tithi, he who sees (image of) Śiva with an offering (or present) becomes free from all sins. HV II. 19 (from Bhav, one verse).

Prapūdāna—begin on Cai. Śu. 1, distribute to all for four months water, pitrs become satiated, PC 57, SmK 89 (quoting Aparārka).

Prabodha—rising of Visnu and other gods from sleep in K. Vide pp. 109-111 above.

Prabhā-vrata—one who fasts for a half month and then donates two Kapilā cows goes to Brahmaloka and is honoured by gods, Mat. 101. 54 q. by KKV 447, HV II. 884–85 (from Pad.). This is 33rd Sastivrata in KKV.

Prātah-snāna—(bath in early morning) BB (p 350 verse 1530) and RM (verse 1361, ABORI vol. 36 p. 33) state that one should always bathe early morning when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance), Makara (Capricorn) and Mesa (Ram). This is quoted by KR 149 from RM and by VKK 240 (from Bhav.); V. Dh. 64. 8 directs that one who undertakes prātah-snāna must bathe when he sees eastern quarter suffused with the rays of Aruna.

Prājāpatyavrata—one who at the end of Krochra penance donates a cow and feeds brāhmanas acc. to ability goes to the place of Śankara; Mat. 101 66 q. by KKV 448, HV II. 883 (from Pad.) This is 44th Sastivrata in KKV.

Prāptivrata—one who follows ekabhakta way for a year and then donates a jar full of water and food goes to Sivaloka for the period of a *Kalpa*, Mat. 101. 55 q. by KKV 447 (34th Sastivrata); HV II. 866 (from Pad.).

Prāvaranasasthī—on Mārg śu. 6, one should offer to gods and brāhmanas some thing (such as a blanket) as protection against cold, GK 84.

Prāvaranotsava—one of the twelve yātrās of Purusottama on Mārg. śu. 6; GK 189.

Pritivrata—one who omits taking oil bath for four months from Āsādha and then donates food with condiments goes to Visnuloka; Mat 101. 6 q. by KKV 40.

Pretacaturdasī—on 14 of K. kr, the vrata is begun to be performed at night; if in addition there is Tuesday and Citrā naksatra, the merit is far greater; Śiva is deity; if 14th is viddhā, the day on which 14th exists at night is to be preferred; fast on 14th and worship of Śiva and dinner to devotees of Śiva and gifts; by bath in Ganges on this tithi, one becomes free from all sins, one should whirl over one's head a twig of apāmārga plant and engage in tarpana of Yama uttering his names (14 in all), one should light rows of lamps on a river, in temples of Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva, houses where four roads meet; the performer reaches Śivaloka together with 21 generations of his family; on this tithi

firebrands are lighted for persons of the family that died by wounds from arms and for others on amāvāsyā, the performer listens to the story called Pretopākhyāna (of five *pretas* which a brāhmaṇa met in a desert) set out from Saṃvatsarapradīpa (in VKK 461–467) which was narrated by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira about the actions by which a man is reduced to the condition of a *preta* (a disembodied spirit, a ghost), and the actions which relieve him from that condition; the performer should also partake of 14 vegetables that are enumerated in Kṛtyacintāmaṇi set out in Introduction (p. XIII) to Vivāda-cintāmaṇi (G. O. S); RM 1338–1345, ABORI vol 36 pp. 328–329, VKK 459–467 (which quotes on p. 460 two verses viz. 1343–1344 from RM), KT 474, SM 100, SmK 371, PC 242–243, TT p 124 and KT 45, set out the fourteen vegetables This was probably named Pretacaturdaśī because Pretopākhyāna was to be recited on it.

Phalārtiyā—begin on 3rd tithi of śu; for one year, Devī (Durgā) is deity; for all, but mostly for women; donate fruits, while performer gives up fruits and follows nakta method and mostly partakes of wheat and several kinds of pulse (such as gram, *mudga*, māsa, &c.), result no lack of wealth and foodgrains and no ill-luck, HV I. 500 (from Pad. Prabhāsakhaṇḍa)

Phalatyāga-vrata—Begin in Mārg. śu. on 3rd, 8th, 12th, or 14th tithi for a year, Śiva deity; performer to avoid taking all fruits a year except 18 dhānyas, should prepare golden image of Rudra with his bull and of Dharmarāja; should make golden replicas of 16 kinds of fruits (such as kūṣmāṇḍa, mango, badara, banana), 16 silver ones of other smaller ones (such as āmalaka, udumbara, cardamom), 16 copper ones of other fruits (such as tamarind, inguda); should place on a heap of *dhānya* two jars full of water covered with cloth and prepare a bed-stead, all these together with a cow should be donated to a brāhmaṇa and his wife at year's end, if unable to give all he may donate only the metal fruits, the jars and golden images of Śiva and Dharma, performer remains in Rudraloka for thousands of yugas, Mat. 96. 1–25 (q. by HV II. 906–909, KKV 436–439)

Phalavrata—(1) give up partaking of big fruits (like jack fruit and kūṣmāṇḍa) for four months from Ās and donate in K. same fruits made of gold with a pair of cows, Sun

deity; performer is honoured in the world of Sun; Mat 101. 62 (one of the Saptivratas) q. by KKV 448, HV II. 818 (from Pad., one half verse being different from Mat.), (2) KN 140 quotes Brah (2½ verses); on Bh. śu. 1 the performer observing silence should cook three kinds of fruits (16 in each group) and offer them to god and donate to a brāhmana.

Phalasasthīvrata—begin observing niyamas on 5th of Mārg. śu.; on 6th prepare a golden lotus and one golden fruit, on 6th at midday he should place the lotus and fruit with sugar on a vessel of clay or copper and offer worship with flowers &c. and observe fast; on 7th all these should be donated with the words 'May the Sun be pleased with me'; he should give up one fruit till the next 5th of dark half, this should be repeated for a year (viz. gift of golden lotus and fruit and giving up one fruit till kr. 5th); in each month on 7th one of twelve names of the Sun to be repeated; performer is freed from all sins and is honoured in Sun's world; HV I. 602–604 (from Bhav. U. 39. 1–12).

Phalasaṅkrāntivrata—on a sankrānti day worship after bath the Sun with flowers &c. and donate to a brāhmana a vessel filled with sugar and eight fruits; then worship a golden image of the Sun placed on a jar with flowers &c.; HV II. 736 (from Skanda).

Phalasaptamī—(1) on Bh. śu. 7th fast and worship of the Sun; on 8th morning worship the Sun and donate to brāhmanas dates, cocoanut fruits and *mātuluṅga* fruits and say 'May the sun be pleased', performer to eat (on 8th) one small fruit with the mantra 'May all my desires be fulfilled' and he may eat only fruits to his heart's content but nothing else; this to be done for a year; the vrata endows performer with sons and grandsons; KKV 204–205, HV I. 701–702 (both quote Bhav. I. 215. 24–27), (2) on Bh. śu. 4th, 5th and 6th the performer should respectively observe ayācita, ekabhakta and fast, worship Sun with gandha &c. and should sleep at night in front of the altar on which sun image is placed; on 7th after sun worship offer naivedya of fruits, feed brāhmanas and eat food himself; if unable to procure fruits he should cook flour of rice or wheat mixed with ghee and jaggery and nutmeg bark and nāgakesara as naivedya; this to be carried on for a year; at end he may,

if able, donate golden fruits, a cow with calf, a field, a mansion, clothes, copper vessel and coral; if poor feed brāhmaṇas on fruits and powdered sesame and donate silver fruits; performer is freed from poverty and hardship and goes to world of Sun; KKV 117-121, HV I. 731-734 (from Bhav. I. 64. 36-61; (3) on Mārg śu. 5 observe niyamas, on 6th fast, donate a golden lotus and a fruit with sugar with 'may the Sun be pleased with me'; on 7th feed brāhmaṇas on meal with milk; he should give one kind of fruit from this day to kr. 5th, do this for a year using different names of Sun in each month; at year's end honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife with clothes, jar, sugar, golden lotus and fruit, performer becomes free from sins and goes to sūryaloka, Mat. 76. 1-13 q in KKV 213-214 (without name), HV I 743-44 (from Pad. V. 21. 249-262)

Phalāhāraḥ priyavrata—Vi. Dh III. 149. 1-10 (This is a caturmūrtivrata); begin fast for three days on Viṣuva day in Vasanta and worship Vāsudeva; for three months Vāsudevapūjā every day; then for three months subsist on fruits; then in śarad Viṣuva fast for three months, and Pradyumna worship; subsist on yāvaka, at end of year gifts to brāhmaṇas; goes to Viṣṇuloka

Phālguna-kṛtya—HV II. 797-799, KR 515-531; VKK 506-517; NS 222-229, SmK 513-519.

It may be noted that generally all the grand annual festivals in big and small temples in South India are celebrated in Phālguna.

A few minor matters are noted here; On Phā. śu. 8 worship of Lakṣmī and Sītā with gandha &c. (KKN 441-443, KR 527, quoting Brah.) On Phā pūrnimā if there be Phalgunī-nakṣatra one should donate a bedstead with good coverlets and thereby one secures a beautiful wife that brings a fortune (V. Dh. 90.), as Aryaman was born of Aditi and Kaśyapa and the Moon from Atri and Anasūyā on Phā pūrnimā, both the Sun and Moon should be worshipped at moonrise and songs, dance and music should be indulged in, KR 530, quoting Brah. and KKN 443; on this pūrnimā a temple festival is held in South India called Uttira.

Phālgunaśravanadvādaśī—when Dvādaśī has śravana-nakṣatra, fast and worship Hari; NM p. 53, verses 626-627.

Bakapañcaka—The five days from K. śu. 11 when Viṣnu rises from sleep up to K. pūrnimā are so called and it is stated that even a crane would not eat a fish in these days; therefore men should abstain from meat-eating during these days; KV 338, KR 425, VKK 479, KT 454.

Bakulāmāvāsyā—on P. amāvāsyā, the pitṛs are to be satiated with bakula flowers and milk boiled with rice grains and sugar; GK 446.

Balipratipad—vide pp 201–204 above The Junagad Inscription of Skanda-gupta refers to Viṣnu's bringing back Laksmi for Indra from Bali (vide Gupta Inscriptions pp 59,62).

Balipratipad-rathayātrā-vrata—on K. śu. 1; fast on preceding amāvāsyā, Agni and Brahmā are the deities; on a ratha (car) Agni should be worshipped, the ratha should be drawn by learned brāhmanas at the instance of a brāhmana performer and should be taken round the town; to the right side of Brahmā image of Sāvitrī; car should be stopped at different places and waving of lights should be done; all those who take part in this yātrā, who draw the car, who light lamps, who look at it with devotion—all reach the highest place; K. śu 1 is Balipratipad and so this rathayātrā is so called; HV I. 345–347 (from Bhav.)

Bastatrirātra-vrata—In Cai offer to the sun for three days three white lotuses on each day and observe nakta every day for three days; donate five milk-yielding she-goats with some gold to a brāhmana; this removes all diseases and the performer is not born again; HV II 323 (from Bhav. U.).

Bahulā—Bh. kr. 4 is so called in Central India; cows to be honoured and one should partake of cooked yavas; NS 123, VKD 67.

Bālavrata—giving a bull and kūsmānda, gold and garment; Pad, III. 5 14 and 31–32; man or woman that killed a child in a former life or did not save a child though able becomes childless and should donate a kūsmānḍa with garments and a bull with gold.

Bālenduvrata or *Bālendudvitīyā-vrata*—on Cai. śu. 2; bath in evening in a river, draw a figure to represent the moon's crescent, worship it with white flowers and *naivedya* of best food and products of sugarcane juice; after worship performer himself to eat food; he should give up food fried in oil; one

year; he secures blessedness and goes to heaven; HV I. 380–82 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 131. 1–7), SmK 90.

Bilvatrirātravrata—on Jy. pūrnimā with Jyesthā-naksatra one should bathe with water mixed with mustard seeds, then sprinkle water on bilva tree and worship it with *gandha* &c.; for one year one should subsist by ekabhakta way; at year's end one should approach bilva tree with bamboo vessel full of sand or full of barley, rice, sesame &c and worship images of Umā and Maheśvara with flowers &c., address bilva tree with a mantra praying for absence of widowhood and for wealth, health, sons &c; homa with a thousand bilva leaves, make a bilva tree of silver with golden fruits, *jāgara* for three days from 13th to pūrnimā with fast; bath next morning and honouring the ācārya with garments, ornaments &c and feeding 16, 8 or 4 householders with their wives; by this vrata Umā, Laksmī, Śacī, Sāvitrī and Sītā respectively secured as husbands Śiva, Krsna, Indra, Brahmā and Rāma; HV II. 308–312 (from Skanda), SmK 123–124 (simply copies HV).

Bilvarotaka-vrata—see Rotakavrata.

Bilvalaksavrata—a man or a woman may begin in Śr, Vai., M. or K. and burn every day three thousand bilva wicks (wicks of cotton thread spun by the woman herself and dipped in ghee or sesame oil) placed in a copper vessel in honour of Śiva in a temple or on the Ganges or in cowpen or near a brāhmana; a *lakh* or crore of wicks may be prepared; all may be burnt in a single day if possible; *Udyāpana* on a pūrnimā; VKD 398–403.

Bilvaśākhāpūjā—on Āśv śu. 7; SM 23 and VR 248; vide p. 160 under Durgotsava

Buddhajanmamahotsava—on Vai śu when the Moon is in Pusya-naksatra an image should be established with texts uttered by Śākya and the temple should be white-washed; for three days *naivedya* and gifts to poor people, NM pp 66–67, verses 809–816. It should be noted that in NM also Buddha is declared to be an avatāra of Visnu in Kaliyuga. Buddha's Parinirvāna took place in Kārtika according Sarvāstivādins and in Vaiśākha according to Ceylonese tradition. Vide Bajaur casket inscription of Menander's reign in E I. vol. 24 p. 6.

Buddhadvādaśi—in Śr. śu 12; tithi; worship of golden image of Buddha with *gandha* &c; donate it to a brāhmana; Śuddhodana did this vrata and so Visnu himself was born to him as Buddha; KKV 331–332, HV I. 1037–1038 (as a Dharanī-vrata from Var.), KR 247–248. The printed Var. (47.1–24) which contains only the first half verse occurring in KKV and HV narrates the story of Nrga In Var. 55. 37 reference is made to avatāras from Nrsimha to Rāma and it proceeds 'namostu te Buddha Kalkin varesa'. Vide Buddhapūrnimā Vai. śu. 15 and Br. S. 57. 44 for directions as to image of Buddha.

Budhavrata—When planet Budha (Mercury) comes to Viśākhā naksatra one should observe for seven days nakta way; a golden image of Budha should be placed in a bell metal vessel with white garlands and *gandha* &c. and donated to a brāhmana; Budha sharpens intellect and conveys real knowledge; HV II. 578 (from Bhav. U.)

Budhāstamī—Begin when there is Wednesday on śu. 8; follow ekabhakta way and donate on eight astamīs respectively eight jars full of water with a gold piece inside and with different edibles at each astamī; then at end donate a golden image of Budha; HV I. 866–873 (from Bhav. U. 54. 1–59); stories of Aila Purūravas and of Mithi and his daughter Urmilā were to be heard at the time of each astamī. VKK (39–40) quotes three verses from RM on this vrata which are also quoted in Vratatattva p. 151. VR (256–265) deals with this vrata and its udyāpana.

Buddhyavāpti—begin on the day after Cai. pūrnimā; one month; worship of Nrsimha; homa with mustard every day; dinner to brāhmanas containing *trimadhura* and gift of gold on Vai. pūrnimā; Vi. Dh. III. 206. 1–5.

Bṛhattapo-vrata—begin on Mārg. śu 1 called Brhattapā; Śiva deity; for one year or 16 years; destroys sin even of brāhmana murder; HK 105–106, PC 80; vide Bhav. U. 12 for detaīls.

Bṛhad-gaurīvrata—on Bh. kr. 3 (amānta reckoning) to be performed when moon rises; only for women; a plant called Dorli or Ringanī (in Marathi) should be brought together with its roots, water should be sprinkled over it when placed on an altar of sand; on seeing the moon rise the woman performer should bathe, should worship Varuna in a jar and

then Gaurī with various *upacāras*; a thread should be put round one's neck in the name of Gaurī; five years, VR 111–114 (from Bhav. U.), Vratārka folio 53 b–56 a (from Bhavisyottara. Both say it is well-known in Karnāṭaka.

Brahmakūrcavrata—(1) on K. kr. 14; fast and drink pañcagavya, the five ingredients of which (urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee) are to be taken from cows of different colours, on next day worship gods and brāhmaṇas and then take food; all sins destroyed, HV II. 147 (from Bhav. U.); (2) fast on 14th and drink on pūrnima pañcagavya and then subsist on *havisya* food; for a year every month; HV II. 238 (from Vi Dh); (3) the same as No 2 but twice every month on amāvāsyā and pūrnima; HV II. 937 (from Brah.).

Brahmagāyatrī-candrarohinī-vrata—KKV 417, HV II 694 (from Pad.). No details.

Brahmadvādaśī—begin from P. śu. 12 when there is Jyesthānaksatra; tithi; Visnu deity; for one year every month worship Visnu and observe fast on that day; in each month gift of different things such as ghee, rice and barley. Vi. Dh. III. 320. 1–6.

Brahmaputrasnāna—bath in the Brahmaputrā river (also called Lauhitya) on Cai śu. 8, removes all sins, as, on that day all holy rivers and the sea are supposed to be present in that river. VKK 522 (quoting Kālikā and Bhav U. 77 58–59.)

Brahmavrata—(1) on any auspicious day, it is prakīrnaka; make a golden image of the *brahmāṇḍa* (universe); for three days one should donate sesame; worship Agnī and make a gift of the image and sesame to a householder and his wife; performer reaches the world of Brahmā and is not born again; KKV 445–446 (27th Sastivrata) = HV II. 886 (from Pad.) Mat. 101. 46–48 has the same verses; (2) on 2nd honour Vedic student (*brahmacārin*) with a dinner; make an image of Brahmā and place it on a lotus leaf and offer worship with *gandha* &c; homa with ghee and fuel-sticks; HV I 377 (from Bhav.).

Brahma-sāvitrī-vrata—on Bh. śu. 13th one should make a resolve to observe fast for three days; if unable, observe nakta on 13th, *ayācita* on 14th and fast on Paurnamāsī; worship golden, silver or clay images of Brahmā and Sāvitrī; *jāgara* and *utsava* at night on pūrnimā; donate next morning

images with dakṣinā of gold; HV II 258–272 (from Bhav U.); it is just like the Vatasāvitrīvrata except the date and the story of Sāvitrī is set out at length here in HV.

Brahmāvāptī—begin on 10th of śu. in any month; tithivrata; fast on it and worship of ten gods (named) called Aṅgirasaḥ; for a year; HV I. 966 (from Vi. Dh.).

Brāhmaṇyāprāptī—begin on 1st to 4th tithis of Cai. śu; worship in order of tithis images of four gods, Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kubera who are four forms of Vāsudeva with *gandha* &c; homa; the garments to be offered on the four days should be red, yellow, dark and white; one year; performer secures heaven till end of world; HV II. 500–501 (from Vi Dh). It is a *caturmūrti* vrata

Brāhmaṇyāvāptī—on Jy. paurnamāsī give dinner to brāhmaṇa and his wife and donate garments and honour them with gandha &c; performer secures birth in brāhmaṇa-varṇa for seven lives; HV II. 245 (from Prabhāsakhaṇḍa); KR 278–279.

Brāhmīpratipad-lābha-vrata—begin on Cai. śu 1; fast thereon; make a lotus of eight petals with coloured powders; on pericarp worship image of Brahmā; on the four main quarters from the east place the Ṛgveda and the other Vedas; on the four intermediate points from south-east place the Aṅgas, Dharma-śāstras, Purāṇas and Nyāyavistara; he should worship these on 1st tithi of every month for a year and donate at end a cow; performer would be learned in Veda and if he performs for 12 years he would reach Brahmaloka; Vi Dh. III. 126. 1–12 of which verses 6–12 are q. by HV I. p 343. The arrangement of works reminds one of Yāj. I. 3.

Bhadrakālīnavamī—fast on Cai. śu 9 and worship Bhadrakālī with flowers &c, or on all 9th tithis of all months Bhadrakālī may be worshipped; NM 63, verses 762–63.

Bhadrakālīpūjā—prescribed in RNP p. 438 for a king; the same as Bhadrakālīvrata (2).

Bhadrakālīvrata—(1) begin on 9th of K. śu; fast on that day; Bhadrakālī (or Bhavānī) deity; worship her every month on 9th for a year, at year's end donate two garments to a brāhmaṇa; performer obtains what he desires such as freedom from disease, sons, fame; HV I. 960 (from Vi. Dh.

III. 175. 1–5); (2) *on 9th of Āśv. śu*; draw Bhadrakālī on the wall of a mansion or on a piece of cloth; worship her and her weapons and shield; observe fast on 9th and worship Bhadrakālī; one secures great prosperity and success, HV I. 960–62 (*from Vi Dh.* II. 158. 1–3), KR 350, VR 337–338. *Vide* Brah. 181. 46–53 *for* Bhadrakālī and offerings of wine and meat to her.

Bhadracatuṣṭayavrata—there are four Bhadras viz. three months (called Tripuskara *or* Tripuspa) from 2nd of Phā. śu., three months (called Tri-puspaka) from 2nd of Jy. śu, three months from Bh śu. (called Trirāma) and three from 1st of Mārg. śu (called Viṣnupada), on first tithi he should eat by nakta way, on 2nd he should after bath offer tarpana to gods, pitṛs and human beings and should not laugh nor talk till the moon rises and repeat the names Kṛsna, Acyuta, Ananta, Hṛsikeśa on the four tithis respectively from 2nd to 5th; in evening offer arghya to moon, take his meal on bare ground or on a stone; for one year for all varnas and women also; the performer secures fame, success and remembers his former births (*jātismara*), HV II. 383–392 (from Bhav. U. 13. 1–100).

Bhadravidhi—Sunday if on Bh. śu. 6th is called Bhadra; observe nakta on that tithi or fast; mālatī flowers to be offered and white sandal-wood, Vijaya-dhūpa, and pāyasa as *naivedya* in worship of the Sun at noon; it is a vāravrata, then dakṣinā to brāhmaṇa, performer goes to Bhānu-loka; KKV 12–13, HV II. 523–524 (calls it Bhadrāvidhi from Bhav.), KR 278.

Bhadrāvrata—on 3rd of K. śu. a person should subsist by *nakta* method after taking in cow urine and yāvaka (food prepared from barley), this should be continued for a year every month, at end donate a cow; he will dwell in world of Gaurī for a *kalpa*; HV I. 483 (from Pad.), KN 330.

Bhadrāṣṭami—GK 116.

Bhadrāsaptamī—when on 7th śu. there is Hasta-naksatra, that tithi becomes Bhadrā; tithivrata; Sun deity, a person should follow from 4th to 7th tithis respectively ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita and fast; one should bathe the image with ghee, milk and sugarcane juice and offer *upacāras* and arrange near image various precious stones in the several directions; the performer goes to Sun's world and then to

the world of Brahmā; KKV 138–141, HV I. 671–673 (from Bhav.), HK 625, PC 105.

Bhadropavāsavrata—the same as Bhadra-catuṣṭayavrata

Bhartṛdvādaśīvrata—on Cai. śu. 12; fast on 11th and worship of Viṣṇu on 12; every month different name of Viṣṇu out of 12 from Keśava to Dāmodara to be taken; one year; KR 131–134 (from Var.), KKV 339–340.

Bhartṛprāpti-vrata—Nārada told this to a bevy of Apsarases who desired Nārāyaṇa should be their husband; on 12th of Vasanta śu; fast thereon and worship of Hari and Lakṣmī; silver images of both and *nyāsa* of the god of love under different names on the several limbs of the image; next day gift of the images to brāhmaṇa. HV I. 1198–1200 (from Bhav.).

Bhavānīyātrā—on Cai. śu. 8; 108 pradakṣiṇās; *jāgara*; next day worship of Bhavānī; SmK 94, PC 109, VKD 43.

Bhavānīvrata—(1) on 3rd a person should apply unguents in Pārvatī temple to the image of Pārvatī; for a year; at end donate a cow; HV I. 483 (from Pad.); (2) when for a year a man (or woman) observes a fast on each paurṇamāsī and amāvāsyā and at year's end donates an image of Pārvatī with all fragrant things, he secures the world of Bhavānī; HV II. 397 (from Lin.); (3) nakta in temple of Pārvatī on 3rd; for a year; at end gift of cow; KKV 450 (from Mat. 101. 77). Mat reads 'vitānakam' (canopy).

Bhāgyarkṣadvādaśī—on 12th tithi with Pūrvāphalgunī-nakṣatra a man should worship image of Harihara, half of the image represents Hara (Śiva) and the other half Hari; the result is same even if the tithi is dvādaśī or saptamī and nakṣatra may be Pūrvāphalgunī, Revatī or Dhaniṣṭhā; he secures sons, kingdom &c.; KKV 352–354, HV I. 1175–76 (from Devīpurāṇa); Pūrvāphalgunī is called Bhāgya, as Bhaga is its presiding deity; 'ṛkṣa' means 'nakṣatra'.

Bhādrapada-kṛtya—NM 71, verses 868–874 (about śu. only), KR 254–301, VKK 298–343, NS 123–144, KT 438–444, SmK 201–287, GK 24.

Bhānuvrata—begin on 7th tithi: subsist by nakta that day; Sun deity; for one year; at end donate cow and gold; goes to sūryaloka; KKV 448 (quoting Mat. 101. 60), HV I. 786 (same verse from Pad.).

Bhānusaptamī—when 7th tithi falls on a Sunday it is so called; GK 610.

Bhārabhūteśvara-yātrā—on Ās. pūrnimā; worship of Bhārabhūteśvara in Kāśī; PC 284.

Bhāskarapūjā—It is said that the sun should be worshipped as a form of Visnu and that the sun is the right eye of Visnu, that the sun should be worshipped in a mandala resembling a chariot wheel and that the flowers offered to a sun image and later removed should not be worn by a person on his own body; TT 36, PC 104; Br. S. (57. 31-57) gives directions as to how the images of certain gods were to be made and verses 46-48 describe the image of Sūrya, one characteristic being that the body from the feet to chest should not be shown but covered with a jacket.

Bhāskaraprīyā-saptamī—when the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another on śu. 7, then it is called mahājayā, is very dear to the Sun and bath, gifts, *tapas*, homa, worship of gods and pitrs performed on that tithi yield merit a crore of times; KV 416, VKK 35 (from Bhav.), TT 145 (from Brah.).

Bhāskaravrata—fast on 6th (of kr. ?) and on 7th śrāddha with the words 'may the Sun be pleased'; tithivrata, Sun deity; performer freed from diseases and goes to heaven; HV I. 788 (from Bhav.).

Bhīmadvādaśī—(1) It was first imparted to Bhīma, one of the Pāndavas, by Vāsudeva and came to be known by his name; this was formerly called Kalyāninī. It is elaborately described in Mat. 69. 19-65 (which also occur in Pad. V. 23), most of which are q by KKV 354-359 (from Mat) and HV I. 1044-1049 (from Pad.); on 10th of M śu bath with ghee applied to the body and worship of Visnu with the words (namo Nārāyanāya), the various limbs of Visnu being honoured with different names (Krsna, Dāmodara &c), worship of Garuda, of Śiva, Ganeśa; total fast on 11th; on 12th bathe in a river and raise mandapa in front of house, hang a jar full of water from a *toraṇa* with a small hole at the bottom and take the drops on one's hand the whole night; *homa* through four priests learned in Rgveda, Rudra-japa by four Yajurvedins and *sāmans* to be sung by Sāmavedins; these twelve priests to be honoured with rings, garments &c., on next tithi donate 13 cows;

after priests go he should say 'May Keśava be pleased, and Viṣṇu is the heart of Śiva and Śiva is the heart of Viṣṇu'; should listen to *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*; vide Gar. I. 127 for this, (2) on M. śu. 12; this was imparted by Pulastya to Bhīma, king of Vidarbha and father of Damayantī wife of Nala: arrangements as in the preceding; performer freed from all sins; this vrata is superior to Vājapeya and Atirātra &c. HV. 1049–1056 (from Bhav. U.).

Bhīmavrata—one who having fasted for a month donates at end a fine cow reaches the world of Viṣṇu; Mat. 101. 51 q by KKV 446, HV II. 884 (from Pad).

Bhīmaikādaśī—M. śu. 11th joined with Puṣya or without it is very sacred and dear to Viṣṇu. Dhaumya describes to Bhīma in Pad. VI 239 28 ff.

Bhīṣmapañcaka—For five days from 11th tithi of K. śu.; performer bathes three times applying pañcāmṛta, pañcagavya and water mixed with sandalwood paste; *tarpana* of pitṛs with yava, rice and sesame; 108 times repeat the mantra 'om namo Vāsudevāyā' at worship and when performing homa offer sesame, yava and rice mixed with ghee with mantra of six letters 'om namo Viṣṇave'; this procedure to be followed for five days, on the 1st to 5th day the feet, knees, navel, shoulders and head of Hari should respectively be worshipped with lotuses, bilva leaves, bhṛṅgāraka, (on 4th day) *bāṇa, bilva* and Jayā, Mālatī; on 11th to 14th he should respectively partake of cow-dung, cow urine, milk and curds for purifying the body; then on 5th day performer to feast brāhmaṇas and give gifts; the performer's sins are all wiped out; HV II. 336–341 (from Nār. and Bhav. U, the first saying that Bhīṣma learnt it from Kṛṣṇa, while the latter makes Kṛṣṇa declare that he learnt it from Bhīṣma when the veteran hero was lying on his bed of arrows); Bhav. U. allows the performer to eat vegetables and the food of ascetics KV 324 cites the last verse occurring in HV II. 34 from Bhav. U. Later medieval works like NS 204, SM 158–159, SmK 386 add (from Pad.) that *arghya* and water should be offered to Bhīṣma by men of all varṇas and the tarpaṇa mantra is note-worthy 'Vaiyāghra-padya-gotrāya Sāṅkṛtyapravarāya ca। Gaṅgā-putrāya Bhīṣmāya pradāsyeham tilodakam ॥ aputrāya dadāmyetat salilam Bhīṣmavarmaṇe।'. These occur in BB p. 364 verses 1714–15 and the verse 'Vaiyāghra' occurs in RM (vide ABORI

vol. 36 p. 332) and in HK 628 By doing this a man becomes free from sins Vide Agni 205 1-9, Gar I. 123. 3-11, Pad. VI. 125 29-82 that contain a very elaborate description of this vrata.

Bhismāstamī—on M. śu. 8; offer water and śrāddha every year to Bhisma who died a bachelor, he who does so becomes free from sins committed in one year and secures progeny; HK 628-29, VKK 503, TT 58, NS 221, SM 61 One whose father is alive also can offer water to Bhisma (*SM 61*). *This tithi is probably based on Anuśāsanaparva 167. 28 (Māghoyam samanuprāpto .. tribhāgaśesah paksoyam śukio bhavitumarhati*). With great respect to Prof. P. C SenGupta I must say that his interpretation of 'samanuprāpta' as 'samanupravista' is quite wrong and unwarranted and it is not possible to accept his conclusion that Bhisma died on 8th of dark half of Māgha and not on 8th of bright half. Vide his paper in JASB vol. XX No. 1 (Letters) pp 39-41 (1954). The Bhujabalambandha p 364 has two verses, which are quoted in TT, NS and other works 'अष्टम्यां तु माघस्य दद्याद् भीष्माय यो जलम्। संवत्सरकृतं पापं तत्क्षणादेव नश्यति ॥ वैयाघ्रपद्यगोत्राय सांकृतिप्रवराय च। अपुत्राय ददाम्येतत्सलिलं भीष्मवर्मणे ॥'. Even brāhmanas were called upon to offer water to the noble ksatriya warrior Bhisma.

Bhuvaneśvara-yātrās—The fourteen *yātrās* of Bhuvaneśvara are enumerated and described (such as Prathamāstamī, Prāvārasasthī, Pusyasnāna, Ājyakambala) in GK 190-194.

Bhūtacaturdaśī—Same as Pretacaturdaśī pp 351-52 above; vide KT 450-451.

Bhūtamahotsava—The same as Udasevikā pp 275-76 above; HV II. 359-365 (*from* Skanda).

Bhūtamātrutsava—From 1st to pūrnimā of Jy , HV II. 365-370. Same as Udasevikā. The Sarasvatīkanthābharana of Bhoja (V. 94) on Poetics mentions it among *krīdās* Bhrātrbhāndā, Bhūtamātā and Udasevikā are three names of one utsava (HV II. 367).

Bhūbhājanavrata—It is a sāmvatsara vrata; the man who for one year takes his food on bare ground (not in a plate or on a leaf like that of plantain) after presenting it to pitrs becomes sole ruler of earth, HV II. 687 (from Pad.)

Bhūmivrata—on śu. 14th; worship of Sun acc. to procedure of Lingavrata and fast in honour of Śiva; offer saffron,

flowers, pāyasa with ghee and gifts of land to a devotee of Śiva; performer secures position of king; this vrata should be performed by a king; HV II. 63–64 (from Kālottara).

Bhṛguvrata—begin on Mārg kr. 12; tithi; worship of twelve gods called Bhṛgus to whom *yajña* is offered (names set out are somewhat peculiar and unusual), for one year (on each kr. 12); at end donate a cow; Vi. Dh. III. 180. 1–5 q. by HV I. 1172.

Bhaimī-ekādaśī—when on M. śu. 11 there is Moon in Mṛgaśīrsa-naksatra, one should observe fast and on 12th the performer should be *ṣaṭtilī* i e. he should bathe with water mixed with sesame, rub sesame paste on his body, offer sesame in fire, drink water mixed with sesame, make gift of sesame and eat them; if a person fasts on this ekādaśī called 'Bhīma-tithi' he reaches Visnuloka; Ekādaśītattva p. 101, TT 113–114, VKK 504.

Bhairavajayanti—K. kr. 8 is known as Kālāstamī; fast on that tithi and jāgara; worship of Bhairava for four praharas of the night and jāgara in listening to and narrating legends about Śiva; the performer becomes free from sins and becomes a good devotee of Śiva, this is obligatory on persons dwelling in Kāśī; SM 60–61, SMK 427–429, PC 138.

Bhogasaṅkrāntivrata—on Sankrānti day call together women and give them saffron, lampblack collyrium, vermilion, flowers, scents, *tāmbūla* and camphor, fruits and also to their husbands; feed them and present pair of garments; on each sankrānti for one year, at end worship the Sun and donate a cow to brāhmana who has a wife; performer secures happiness; HV II. 733 (from Skanda).

Bhogāvāptivrata—worship Hari for three days from the 1st tithi after Jy. pūrnimā and donate a bedstead; performer enjoys pleasures and goes to heaven; Vi. Dh. III. 212. 1–3 q. by HV II. 752.

Bhaumavāravrata—Mars is the son of the Earth and fine in appearance; on each Tuesday one should donate a copper vessel filled with jaggery for one year; at end donate a cow; performer secures beauty and wealth; HV II. 567.

Bhaumavrata—(1) when Tuesday has Svāti-naksatra a man should eat by nakta way; this is to be repeated seven times; he should place in a copper vessel golden image of Mars covered

with red cloth and saffron used as unguent; offer flowers and naivedya and donate to a brāhmana householder with a mantra 'though you are *Kujanmā* still the wise call you *Mangala*'. There is a pun on Kujanmā that has two senses (1) 'born on an inauspicious day', (2) 'born of the earth'. As Mars is red in appearance, copper, red cloth and saffron are used to match his colour; HV II. 567 (from Bhav. U.); (2) worship Mars on Tuesday; repeat in the morning the several names of Mars (21 in all, such as Mangala, Kuja, Lohita, favouring Sāmavedins, Yama); draw a triangular figure with a hole in the middle and draw three names (Ara, Vakra, Kuja) with saffron and red sandalwood paste on each angle; Mars was born in Ujjayinī in a Bhāradvāja family and rides a ram, if a man performs this vrata throughout life he becomes prosperous, has sons and grandsons and reaches the world of the planets; HV II. 568-574 (from Pad.); VKD 443-451 has a far more elaborate procedure of Bhaumavāra-vratapūjā

Bhrātrdvitīyā—on K. śu 2; it is also called Yamadvitīyā because in ancient times Yamunā treated her brother Yama to a dinner on this day; some works like KT 453, Vratārka, VR 98-101 combine the two viz. worship of Yama and dining at one's sister's house. Vide pp 209-210 above for the latter.

Mangala—Acc. to Ātharvanaparisista q by HV II. 626 brāhmana, cow, fire, land, mustard, clarified butter, śamī, grains of rice and barley are eight auspicious things Dronaparva 127. 14 speaks of eight mangalas; Drona 82, 20-22 contains a much longer list. Vā 14 36-37 enumerate several things as auspicious which should be touched when going out of one's house viz. dūrvā, clarified butter, curds, jar full of water, cow with calf, bull, gold, clay, cowdung, svastika, aksata grains, oil, honey, brāhmana maidens, white flowers, śamī, fire, Sun's disc, sandalwood and aśvattha tree (q by Sm C. I. p. 168) Vide Parāśara XII 47, Visnudharmottara II. 163. 18 ff. for other lists of mangala objects.

Mangala-candikāpūjā—VKK (552-558) gives an elaborate procedure; Mangalacandikā is called Lalitakāntā; the mantra (i.e Lalitā-gāyatrī) for her worship is Nārāyanyai vidmahe tvām Candikāyai tu dhīmahi | tan-no Lalitakānteti tatah paścāt pracodayāt ||); worship on 8th and 9th tithis; she may be worshipped on a piece of cloth or as an

image or on a jar; whoever worships her on Tuesday secures desired objects. Vide TT 41 also.

Maṅgalacandī—on Tuesday; worship of Caṇḍī who was first worshipped by Śiva, then by Mars, by king Maṅgala and by beautiful women on Tuesday and then by all men desiring good fortune; Brahmavaivarta, Prakṛti-khaṇḍa 44. 1–41 (specially 32, 37–38).

Maṅgalavrata—begin on kr. 8th of Āśv., M., Cai., or Śr. and carry it on till next śu. 8th; on 8th ekabhakta, dinner to maidens and devotees of Devī, nakta on 9th, ayācita on 10th, fast on 11th; repeat this; every day gifts, homa, japa, pūjā and dinner to maidens; sacrificing a *paśu*; jāgara with dance and drama; japa of 18 names of her; HV II. 332–335 (from Devī-purāṇa).

Maṅgalāgaurīvrata—on all Tuesdays in Śr. by married girls for five years after marriage; prevalent in Mahārāstra; the worshipping women take noon dinner silently; 16 kinds of flowers; 16 suvāsinīs are required; *nīrājana* of Devī with 16 lamps; *jāgara*; Gaurī is deity; prayer to Maṅgalā for freedom from widowhood, for sons and for fulfilment af all desires; leave is taken of Gaurī next mornning; VR 787–795 (from Bhav.)

Maṅgalāstaka—The eight substances to be distributed to women when invited in a vrata like Saubhāgyasundarī are saffron, salt, jaggery, cocoanut, tāmbūla leaf, dūrvā, vermillion, collyrium; VR p. 119.

Maṅgalyasaptamī or Maṅgalya-vrata—on 7th; on square mandala Hari and Lakṣmī should be invoked and worshipped with flowers &c, four vessels of clay, copper, silver and gold should be got ready and four clay jars covered with cloth and full of salt, sesame, turmeric powder; eight young chaste women whose husbands are alive and who have sons should be honoured and given dakṣinā and in their presence performer should pray to Hari for 'mangalya' (auspicious life); then the women should be dismissed; on the 8th again worship Hari and *pārana* with honouring eight young women and feeding brāhmaṇas; every one, male or female, prince or peasant, secures his desired objects; HV I. 768–770 (from Gar.).

Matsyajayantī—on Cai. śu 5; image of Viṣnu in the Fish *avatāra* to be worshipped; AK folio 360 b. It is also called *Hayapañcamī*.

Matsya-māṁsa-bhakṣaṇa-niṣedha—Vide above under Kārtika and Bakapañcaka and TT 146, GK 32

Matsyadvādaśī—on Mārg śu. 10 take up the niyamas, on 11th fast, on 12th he should bring some clay with a mantra, present it to Āditya, apply it to his body and bathe; tithi vrata; worship Nārāyaṇa; four jars filled with water and flowers and covered over with plates of sesame to be looked on as four oceans; make a golden image of Viṣṇu as Fish and offer worship, *jāgara*; donate the four jars to brāhmaṇas; even grave sins are destroyed; KKV 311–317, HV I. 1022–26 (both from Var chap. 39. 26–77), KR 462–466 (same verses from Brah.)

Mathurā-pradakṣiṇā—(circumambulating Mathurā, one of the seven holy cities of Bhārata)—on K. śu. 9; SmK 378 (from Var.).

Madanacaturdaśī—also called Madanabhañji—on Cai śu. 14; tithi; worship of Madana (god of love) with songs and music and utterance of lascivious words for pleasing him. KT 466, TT 133.

Madanatrayodaśī—vide Anangatrayodaśī and Kāmadevatrayodaśī above pp 257, 282. KR 137 quotes Brah that on all 13th tithis Kāma should be worshipped by people.

Madanadvādaśī—on Cai śu. 12; tithivrāta; draw on a copper plate full of jaggery and edibles and gold placed on a jar containing water with white rice grains and fruits, the figure of Kāma and Ratī his wife, place food in front of them and sing songs and love music; bathe image of Hari calling it Kāma and worship it; donate the jar next morning and feed brāhmaṇas and performer should take food without salt and utter after giving dakṣiṇā the mantra 'May god Janārdana in the form of Kāma who is the joy in the hearts of all be pleased', fast on 13th tithi and worship Viṣṇu and sleep on bare ground after eating a single fruit on 12th; go on for a year; at end donate a cow and garments and perform homa with white sesame; performer becomes free from sins, gets sons and prosperity and becomes one with Hari; KKV 367–368, HV I. 1194–98 (from Mat.), KR 135–136.

Madanapūjā—Vide Anangatrayodaśī p. 257 above.

Madanabhañji—Same as Damanabhañji p. 310 above.

Madanamahotsava—on Cai. śu. 13; tithivrata; worship image or painting of God of love at mid-day with the mantra 'namaḥ Kāmāya devāya devadevāya mūrtaye | Brahma-Viṣnu-sureśānām manaḥ-kṣobha-karāya vai ||'; sweet edibles to be placed before the figure of Kāma; donate a pair of cows; wife should worship her husband thinking 'this (husband) is Kāma'; at night *jāgara* and dance festivals, illuminations and theatricals; this to be repeated every year; the performer becomes free from sorrow and disease and secures welfare, fame and wealth; HV II. 21–24 (from Bhav. U. which contains the story of the burning of Mṛdana by Śiva and his re-birth on this tithi.).

Madanotsava—is called Suvasantaka in Kāmasūtra I. 4. 42.

Madhusravā—Śr śu. 3, NS 111, VR 96 (both say it is well-known in Gurjaradeśa).

Madhuśrāvaṇī—KSS p. 10. Śr. śu. 3 is so called.

Madhusūdanapūjā—on Vai. śu 12, worship of Viṣnu; performer secures the fruit of Agniṣtoma and goes to Moon's world; SmK 114.

Madhuratraya—(three things called 'Madhura') —Vide Trimadhura (p. 309); VR 16 says that ghee, milk and honey are called 'Madhuratraya'.

Madhūkavrata—on Phā. śu. 3; fast by women on that day and next day worship of Gaurī on Madhūka tree and prayer to her to confer *saubhāgya*, sons, freedom from widowhood; honour brāhmaṇa women whose husbands are alive with flowers, fragrant substances, garments and edibles; confers health, beauty; HV I. 413–415 (from Bhav. U.). The printed Bhav. U. (16. 1–16) calls it Madhūkatṛtīyā, places it on 3rd of dark half of Phā. and is somewhat different in details, though some verses are identical with those in HV. Madhūka is a tree from the blossoms and seeds of which an intoxicating drink is distilled.

Manasāvrata—on Jy. śu 9 with Hasta naksatra or on even 10th without Hasta; Manasādevī is to be worshipped on a twig of *snūhī* plant; vide above p. 125 for worship of Manasā in Śr. (KR 233 and KT 437) HK 621 (quotes Bhav.) says that Manasā is to be worshipped on Āś kṛ. 5. Vide A. C. Sen's 'Bengali Language and Literature' pp. 257–276 for story of Manasādevī and Manasā-mangala, Manasā being worshipped on 11th tithi of dark half of Śrāvaṇa.

Manoratha(tṛtīyā—on Cai. śu. 3rd; worship of Gaurī as possessing twenty arms; for one year; the performer has to use the twigs of certain trees only (like jambū, apāmārga, khadira) for brushing the teeth, to employ certain unguents only or *yakṣakardma*, certain flowers (such as Mallikā, Karavīra, Ketakī) and the naivedya also as specified; at end he donates a bedstead with pillows, mirror &c to the ācārya; four boys and twelve maidens are to be honoured and fed; a person secures whatever object he longs for, Skanda, Kāśīkhanda 30. 1–73 q. by VR 84–88.

Manorathadvādaśī—fast on Phā śu. 11, then on 12th worship Hari, homa to Hari and then prayer 'May Vāsudeva yield my desires'; one year divided into three periods of four months; in each period different flowers, different kinds of incenses, different naivedya; dakṣinā to be given every month; at end golden image of Viṣnu to be donated, twelve brāhmaṇas to be feasted, twelve jars to be given, HV I, 1072–1075 (from Pad.).

Manorathadvitīyā—on śu 2nd; worship of Vāsudeva by day, arghya to Moon's crescent and partaking of food by nakta method before the moon sets; VKK 14, TT 29

Manorathapūrnimā—begin on K. pūrnimā, for a year on each pūrnimā worship the rising Moon and subsist by *nakta* way, the Moon should be worshipped on a circle made of salt (from a mine or lake); in K the Full Moon must be in conjunction with Krttikā and Rohinī; in Mārg with Mrgaśiras and Ārdrā and so on (but in Phā, Śr. and Bh the Moon to be in conjunction with one or more of three); honour women whose husbands are living, at end of year donate seats coloured with kusumbha (safflower), performer secures beauty, blessedness, wealth and goes to heaven; HV II. 233–235 (from Vi Dh).

Manorathasaṅkrānti—on each Saṅkrānti day for a year donate a jar full of water with jaggery and garments to a householder; the Sun is deity; the performer secures his desired objects, becomes free from sins and goes to Sūryaloka; HV II. 731 (from Skanda)

Manthānasasthī—on Bh. śu 6; vide VK No. 397.

Mandārasasthī—on 6th of M. śu, on 5th the performer takes a light meal; on 6th he fasts and makes a prayer to the Mandāra tree; next day he should apply saffron to Mandāra

(the coral tree) and prepare a lotus of eight petals on a copper vessel with dark sesame, and worship the sun with Mandāra flowers in the eight directions from the east under different names and worship Hari in the pericarp; for a year in each month on 7th śu. same procedure; at end donate a jar on which a golden image is placed; HV I. 606–608 (from Bhav U. 40. 1–15). Mandāra is one of the five trees of paradise, the others being Pārijātaka, Santāna, Kalpavrksa and Haricandana

Mandārasaptamī—on 7th of M. śu; on 5th light meal, on 6th fast; on night eat Mandāra flowers; next day make brāhmanas partake of eight Mandāra flowers; Sun deity; the rest as in the preceding vrata; HV I 650–652 (from Pad. V. 21. 292–306), KKV 219–221; Mat. 79. 1–15 are the same as Pad

Manvādi—there are fourteen Manvantaras; the four Yugas make one Mahāyuga of 4320000 years; one thousand Mahāyugas are equal to a *kalpa* which is a day of Brahmā and the night of Brahmā is also of the same duration. As there are 14 Manvantaras in a Kalpa, each Manvantara is a little over 71 Mahāyugas; Visnupurāna III. 2. 50–51, Mat. 144. 102–3, 145. 1, Brah chap 5; Nār. (I. 56. 149–152) sets out the tithis on which each Manvantara started and that are therefore called Manvādi-tithis; these tithis are sacred and śrāddhas are to be offered on them. Vide H of Dh. vol. IV. p. 375 for the Manvādi tithis and Vi Dh. I. chap. 176–189 for names and descriptions of the 14 Manvantaras.

Maricasaptamī—on Cai śu. 7 worship the Sun, feed brāhmanas and make them partake of 100 maricas (pepper) with the mantra 'om khakholkāya svāhā'; the performer has not to undergo separation from those dear to him; Rāma and Sītā, Nala and Damayantī performed this vrata; HV I. 696 (from Bhav. I. 214 40–47.)

Marud-vrata—on Cai śu. 7; fast on 6th, worship of seasons on 7th; performer should arrange seven rows, each row to have seven mandalas drawn with sandalwood paste; in the first row he should put down seven names from Ekajyotih to Saptajyotih; different names in each of the seven rows; 49 lamps to be lighted; *homa* of ghee and feeding of brāhmanas for one year; at end gift of new garment and cow; this vrata gives health, wealth, sons, learning and heaven; HV

I 775-777 from Vi. Dh (III 166 1-22) The Maruts are said to be seven or seven times seven Vide Ṛg V 52 17 (sapta me sapta śākina), Tai S II. 2 11. 1 (saptagaṇā vai marutah).

Mulamāsakṛtya—for actions to be done in intercalary month and forbidden therein, vide 'adhimāsa' and the next section on Kāla &c

Malladvādasī—on Mārg śu 12, on the banks of Yamunā Krsna sported at the foot of Bhāndīravaṭa on Govardhana hill in the midst of cowherds (who were wrestlers) and *Gopis*, the wrestlers worshipped him with flowers, with milk, curds and edibles; for one year on each 12th, the mantra is 'may Krsna be pleased with me'; this was also called *Aranyadvādaśī* since cowherds and wrestlers gave edibles to each other in a forest; reward is health, strength, prosperity and Visnuloka; HV I. 1115-1117 from Bhav. U.

Mallārimahotsava—on Mārg. śu 6; the wife of Mallāri is Mhālasā (probably a corrupt form of Madālasā), in worship of Mallāri the principal ingredient is turmeric powder, which is called *Bhaṇḍārā* in Mahārāṣṭra, the worship is either on each Sunday or Saturday or on each 6th. the procedure of the worship is taken from Brahmānda, Mallāri-māhātmya of Ksetrakhanda, AK folio 421.

Mahattamavrata—on Bh. śu 1, tithi, worship of golden or silver image of Śiva with three eyes, matted hair and five faces by placing it on a jar; bathing it with pañcāmrta, offering flowers &c.; performer to observe silence; 16 fruits to be offered at end gift of cow, performer secures long life, kingdom &c, SmK p 201 (quoting Skanda from Madanaratna), NA calls it Maunvrata, but that is wrong

Mahākārtiki—See p. 284 under Kārtika Vide I. A. vol. III. 305 and vol. VI. 363 (inscription of the 12th year of Calukya king Mangalesvara in *Saka* 500, 578 A D.) that mention that the king made a Mahānga dhūpa described in KKV 172, HV I 730 (quoting Bhav I. 105) and to be employed in Kāmadā saptamī, *Mahādāna* to brāhmanas on Mahākārtika-paurnamāsi

Mahācaturthī—Bh. su. 4 falling on a Sunday or Tuesday is so called; by worshipping Ganeśa on it, man secures his desires, SmK 210.

Mahācaitrī—Cai. Pūrnimā with Jupiter in conjunction with Moon and Citrā-naksatra, PC 313, GK 599.

Mahājayāsaptamī—When the Sun enters a Zodiacal sign on śu. 7th that tithi is called Mahājayāsaptamī, bath, japa, homa, worship of gods and Manes yield rewards a crore of times, if the image of the sun is bathed on that tithi with ghee or milk, the man goes to Sūryaloka, if a man fasts on it he goes to heaven; KKV 135-136 = HV I. 669 (from Bhav. I. 199. 1-7) KKV is, as often, silent about the source HK 414 quotes all these from Brah., TT 145 does the same.

Mahājyaisthī—If Jy Pūrnimā has Jyesthā-naksatra and the Moon and Jupiter are in conjunction and the Sun is in Rohinī it is so called and *dāna*, japa &c. yield great reward; PC 313, GK 600.

Mahātapovratāni—numerous little actions are dealt with under this head in several works on vratas. They are not separately entered in this list. Vide KKV 453-469, HV II. 917-931, KR 540 ff, VKK 533 ff.

Mahātrtīyā—on 3rd tithi in M. or Cai.; Gaurī is deity: one should offer *guḍadhenu* and himself abstain from eating jaggery: it causes great happiness and leads to Gaurī-loka; HV I. 484 (from Pad.). For a detailed description of Guḍadhenu, vide Mat 82 and H. of Dh. vol. II. 880.

Mahādvādaśī—the 12th tithi of Bh. śu. with Śravana-naksatra is so called; fast on it and worship of Visnu leads to great rewards; KR 286-287. Vide Vi. Dh I. 161. 1-8 in one verse of which it is stated that if Bh. śu. 12 falls on a Wednesday and has Śravana naksatra, it is 'atyanta-mahatī' (greater than great) Vi. Dh. I. 162 (1-71) dilates upon the *māhātmya* of Śravana-dvādaśī. Besides this there are eight very holy dvādaśīs for which see p. 119 above.

Mahānandānavamī—9th of M. śu is called Mahānandā; tithi-vrata, for a year, Durgā is deity; year divided into three periods of four months; in each period flowers, *dhūpa*, naivedya and the names of the goddess are different; performer secures all desires and Brahma-loka; KKV 306-307, HV I. 955-56 (from Bhav.).

Mahānavamī—(1) This is the same as Durgapūjā-utsava, for which see pp 174-175 above and Krtya-kalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp. 191-195 and RNP pp. 439-444 (both quoting

Devīpurāṇa), HV I. 903–920, NS 161–185, KR 349–364, (2) begin on 9th of Āśv śu or K śu. or Mārg śu., tithi-vrata, Durgā deity; for one year; flowers, dhūpa, material for bath different in several months, dinner to maidens; performer goes to Deviloka, KKV 296–299, HV I. 937–939 (calls it Durgānavamī and quotes Bhav.), PC 134, HK p 107 quotes Skanda, Prabhāsakhanda, that Mahānavamī is 8th tithi in Āśv śu with Mūlanakṣatra or the same tithi with Mūla when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā (Virgo) and Gar. I chap 133 3–18 and chap 134, Kālikāpurāṇa (chap 62) speaks of Mahānavamī and pūjā thereof; and also Gar I 133 3–18 and chap 134, E I p 260 mentions a grant by Pulakeśi Mahārāja of 300 nivartanas of land on Kārtika-Mahānavamī on Thursday.

Mahaniśā—Vide p 117 n. 302 above for the meaning

Mahāpaurṇamāsīvrata—on all paurnamāsis with the prefix Mahā; worship Hari for a year; even a small gift on it yields great reward; HV II. 196–197 (from Bhav.)

Mahāpauṣī—GK 600. Vide explanation of Mahākārtikī under Kārtika.

Mahāphaladvādaśī—On P. kr. 11th with Viśākhā-nakṣatra; Viṣnu deity; for a year, use certain things for purification of the body in the several months and donate on *dvādaśī* each month one out of the several things in order, such as ghee, sesame, rice; on death reaches Viṣnuloka, HV I. 1095–96 (from Viṣnurahasya).

Mahāphalavrata—for a *pakṣa*, four months or a year; the performer has to subsist on certain things only from the first to the 15th tithi in the following order, milk, flowers, all food except salt, sesame, milk, flowers, vegetables, bilva fruit, flour, uncooked food, fast, ghee, milk boiled with rice grains and sugar, *yavas*, cow's urine and water in which kuśas are dipped. On all these days a certain procedure has to be followed, on day previous to vrata three times bath, fast, japa of Vedic hymns and of Gāyatrī &c; various rewards promised and ultimately he goes to Sūrya-loka, HV II. 393–394 (from Bhav.)

Mahāphala-saptamī—When on Sunday there is 7th tithi and Revatī-nakṣatra worship Durgā with Aśoka buds and eat the latter; PC 105.

Mahāphālgunī—Vide rule under Kārtika about prefixing 'Mahā'; GK 599, PC 314.

Mahābhadrāstamī—P. śu '8 when falling on Wednesday is called Mahābhadrā and is very holy; Śiva deity; SmK 438, GK 605–606, PC 138.

Mahābhādrī—Vide under Kārtika for rule about 'Mahā'.

Mahāmāghī—When the Sun is in Śravana naksatra and the Moon in Maghā it is called Mahāmāghī, acc to R. M. 1366 (vide ABORI. vol. 36 p 331 for three verses on Māghīsnāna) and it adds that in Māgha waters exclaim when the Sun is just risen 'what great sinner, whether a drinker of *surā* or murderer of a brāhmana, shall we purify'. This verse is q by VKK 490 from Bhav and by SmK 439 (from Pad), PC (313–314) says that when Saturn is in Mesa (Ram), the Moon and Jupiter in Simha (Lion) and the Sun is in Śravana-naksatra then it is Mahāmāghī. Vide NS 221 for other views. This verse emphasizes the importance of Māghasnāna at Prayāga and other holy rivers and in holy tanks in early morning for the removal of sins. Vide H. of Dh vol IV p 617 for Māghasnāna In Tamil country 'Makha' is an annual temple festival and Mahāmakha occurs once in twelve years, when a great *melā* is held at Kumbhakonam for a bath in a tank there called mahāmagha tank, the melā being comparable to the Kumbhamelā at Prayāga. This festival is popularly known as 'Mamangam' and takes place when the Full Moon is in Maghānaksatra and Jupiter is in Maghā or in the sign of Lion. It fell on 25th February in 1955 according to south Indian Almanacs It is reported that about a million people took a bath this year in eight to ten hours from 2 A. M. in the Mahāmakham tank at Kumbhakonam from which muddy water was pumped out and in which fresh water from the Kāverī river was made to flow.

It is surprising that hardly any medieval digest refers either to the Mahāmakham festival or the Kumbhamelā The great emperor Harsa used to hold once every five years a great melā at Prayāga on the great sandy plain to the west of the *sangam* on the site where the Kumbhamelā is held in modern times and distributed the accumulations in his treasury.

Mahāmārgasīrsī—Vide above under Kārtika for prefixing 'Mahā'.

Mahārājavrata—When 14th tithi (of su. or kr) falls on Ārdrā-naksatra or when it is joined to Pūrvābhādrapadā and Uttarābhādrapadā or both, that tithi gives pleasure to Śiva; sankalpa on preceding 13th, on 14th bath one after another with sesame, cow's urine and dung, clay, pañcagavya and then with pure water; then *japa* 1000 times of Śivasankalpa mantra ('Yaj-jāgrato dūram', Śivasankalpo-panisad, 8) for three varnas and 'om namah Śivāya' for śūdras; bath of images of Śiva and Umā with pañcāmrta, pañcagavya, sugarcane juice and applying to the images unguents like musk, saffron &c, rows of lamps; *homa* with thousands of bilva leaves while repeating Śivasankalpa or the mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Rg VIII. 59 12, T. S. I. 8 6 2), arghya to Śiva with mantras (set out), jāgara whole night; gift of five or two cows or one, after partaking of pañcagavya the performer should dine in silence; all obstacles are removed and he reaches highest goal; HV II. 1039–1047 (from Skanda)

Mahālakṣmīpūjā—There are varying views about this vrata. KSS p. 19 and A. K (folio 535b–539b) say—begin on Bh. śu 8 and finish on Aś kr. 8 (by Pūrnimānta reckoning) and that it is to last for 16 days, on each of which Mahālaksmi was to be worshipped and stories about her were to be listened to Vide N S pp 153–154, where a similar period is prescribed but it is said that one should, if beginning this vrata for the first time, avoid four *dosas*, viz there should not be avamadina, the tithi should not be tryahasprk, should not be mixed with 9th tithi, nor should the Sun be in the half of Hasta naksatra In Mahārāstra the pūjā of Mahālaksmi is performed on Aś śu 8th by young married women at noon and at night all married women join in worship and hold big empty jars in their hands, breathe into them and bend their bodies in various ways, P C (pp 129-132) has a long discussion on this. According to it, this vrata is for both men and women.

Mahālaksmīvrata—begin on Bh śu. 8 before the Sun passes into Kanyā sign (Virgo) the worship of Mahālaksmi and finish it on 8th tithi (following) while the Sun is in the first half of Kanyā (i e in 16 days), begin if possible when the Moon is in Jyesthā-naksatra; for 16 years, for men and women number 16 is predominant here as to flowers and fruits &c; the performer should wear on his right hand a

doraka with 16 threads and 16 knots; Laksmī never leaves the performer for three lives, he secures long life, health &c.; HV II. 495–499, NS 153–154, SmK 231–239, PC 129–132, VR 300–315.

Mahālaya—latter half (dark half) of Bh. is so calld and pārvana śrāddha is to be performed on all or one of these tithis; TT 166, VKD 80; vide H. of Dh. IV p. 532.

Mahāvaiśākhī—Vide under Kārtika for rule about 'Mahā' being prefixed to a tithi. The Khanapur plate of Mādhavavarman records the grant of villages in Satara District on Mahāvaiśākhī; vide E I. vol 27 p. 312 (Prof. Mirashi infers that it was between 510–560 A.D.).

Mahāvrata—(1) In M. or Cai. a person may donate *guḍadhenu* and should subsist only on jaggery on 3rd tithi; he reaches *goloka*; Mat. 101. 53 q by KKV 446 (32nd Sastivrata), KR 118; for *Gudadhenu* vide Mat. 82 and H. of Dh. II. 880; (2) begin with fast on 14th or 8th śu., when in conjunction with Śravana-naksatra; tithivrata, Śiva deity; to be performed by kings; HV I. 864–865 (from Kālottara); (3) on K. amāvāsyā or pūrnimā a person should take up niyamas, eat by *nakta* way pāyasa with ghee, use sandalwood and sugarcane juice; on following *pratipad* he should fast and invite eight or sixteen Śaiva brāhmanas (for dinner); Śiva deity, should bathe Śiva image with pañcagavya, ghee, honey and other things and lastly with warm water; offer naivedya, donate to ācārya and brāhmanas with their wives gold, garments &c ; this vrata to be performed for 16 years with some different arrangements of nakta and upavāsas on different tithis acc. to the year, it confers long life, beauty, saubhāgya on male or female performer; HV II. 377–391 (from Kālikā-purāna); (4) fast on each paurnamāsī and worship Hari as *sakala* Brahma and on amāvāsyā as *niskala* (partless) Brahma; for one year; all sins are destroyed and he reaches heaven, if performed for 12 years, reaches Visnuloka; Vi. Dh III. 198 1–7, q by HV II. 461, 'Sakala' means 'sāvayava' (with parts) i. e. in an anthropomorphic form (such as Visnu with four arms), while 'niskala' Brahma would be without parts as described in Mundakopanisad II 2 9; (5) on 8th or 14th tithi in both fortnights observe nakta way and worship Śiva; one year; reaches the highest goal, HV II. 398 (from Lin.).

Mahāśvetāpriyavidhi—on a Sunday if there is a solar eclipse, one should worship Mahāśvetā (and the Sun) after observing ekabhakta or nakta or fast; he reaches the highest place; KKV 21-23, HV II. 527-528 Mahāśvetā is the mantra 'Hrīm Hrīm sah' (KKV 9 and HV II 521)

Mahāsasthī—When on K śu 6 the Sun is in Vṛścika (Scorpion) and there is Tuesday that is called Mahāsasthī, a person should fast the previous day, worship Agni on 6th and celebrate *mahotsava* of Agni and feed brāhmanas; all sins are destroyed, SmK 378, PC 102.

Mahāstami—Āśv śu. 8 in Navarātra is so called, vide VKK p. 428 ff, NS 178, SM 59.

Mahāsaptamī—on M. śu. 5 ekabhakta, on 6th nakta and on 7th fast; worship Sun with Karavīra flowers and red sandalwood paste; for one year divided into three groups of four months from Māgha; in each group flowers of different colours, different naivedya, different *dhūpa*; at end gift of a chariot, HV I. 659-660 (from Bhav I. 51. 1-16).

Mahiṣaghnīpūjā—on Ās śu 8; tithi; Durgā deity, bathe the image of Durgā that killed Mahiṣāsura with water mixed with turmeric powder, apply sandalwood paste and camphor, feed maidens and brāhmanas and give dakṣinā, illuminations, all one's desires are fulfilled, PC 109-110, SmK 138.

Mahendra-kṛcchra—from K śu 6 subsisting on milk alone and worship of Dāmodara; HV II. 769-770.

Maheśvaravrata—(1) begin on Phā śu 14, fast on that day and worship of Śiva; at end of vrata donate a cow, if carried on for a year he gets the fruit of Paundarika sacrifice, if he performs for a year this vrata on the two caturdaśis of every month, he secures all desires; HV II 152, (2) one should offer to Dakṣinā-mūrti every day for a year pāyasa and ghee, at end a fast, *jāgara*, gift of land, cow and bedstead, performer attains the position of Nandin (the Bull of Śiva); HV I 867 (from Skanda) Dakṣināmūrti is a form of Śiva and there is a Dakṣinā-mūrtistotra ascribed to Śankarācārya in 19 verses

Maheśvarāṣṭamī—begin from Mārg. śu. 8.; worship Śiva in Linga form or image or on lotus and bathe it with ghee and milk; give cow at end, if done for a year he secures the same rewards as an Aśvamedha and goes to Śivaloka; HV I. 747-748 (from Vi Dh.)

Mahotsava vrata – on 14th of Cai. śu every year worship Śiva by bathing image with milk &c. and applying unguents, offering damanaka, bilva leaves; wave before image lighted lamps made of rice flour; *naivedya* of various edibles; drums to be beaten, rathayātrā of Śiva, performer should say 'may Śiva be pleased' and observe nakta; HV II. 148–149 (from Skanda).

Mahodadhi-amāvāsyā—by bathing anywhere in the sea on Mārg. amāvāsyā mixed with 14th one reaps rewards of Aśvamedha; GK 603.

Mākarī-saptamī—7th tithi, while sun is in the Makara-rāśi; VKK 500–501, VK p. 203, No. 902.

Māgha-kṛtya—KR 487–514, VKK 490–514, NS 213–221, SmK 439–513, GK 37–41 There are several important vratas in Māgha such as Tilacaturthī, Rathasaptamī, Bhīsmāstamī which would be separately mentioned in this list. A few small matters may be briefly disposed off here. M. śu 4 is called Umācaturthī because Gaurī is to be worshipped by men and specially by women with Kunda and other flowers, with offerings of jaggery, salt, *yāvaka* and one should honour women who are not widows, brāhmanas and cows (KKN 437–38, KR 503); on M kṛ 12th Yama produced sesame and Daśaratha brought them to the earth and sowed them and Visnu was made lord of sesame by the gods, hence one should fast on that day and worship Hari with sesame, offer homa with sesame, donate them and eat them (V. Dh. 90 19, KKN 435–6, KR 495–96); on M. amāvāsyā, if it is present on Monday morning, men and particularly women in Tamil country circumbulate the *aśvattha* tree and make gifts

Māghasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; one should bathe at *arunodaya* in a river or other running water after placing on his head seven leaves of the *badara* tree and seven of the *arka* plant, then offer arghya to the Sun with water mixed with seven *badara* fruit, *arka* leaves, rice, sesame, dūrvā, *akṣatas* and sandalwood, bow to Saptamī as Devī, then to the Sun. Some held that this snāna and Māghasnāna were not separate, while others held that the two were quite separate; KR 509, VKK 499–502, KT 459, RM (ABORI vol 36 p 332, three verses).

Māghasnāna—bath in Māgha in the Ganges or in any other fine stream in the early morning is highly eulogised from

early times The best time is dawn when the naksatras are still visible, next best is the time when stars are visible but the Sun is not actually risen and the inferior time is after the Sun rises The beginning for the month's bathing should be made on the 11th of P śu or on P. pūrnimā (according to the pūrnimānta reckoning) and the vrata (for one month) is to be finished on the 12th of M. śu or pūrnimā; some bring it in line with the *Saura* reckoning by providing that bath when the Sun is in Makara (Capricorn) in Māgha in the morning leads sinners to heaven (VKK 491 quoting Pad), all men and women are entitled to engage in it. The most meritorious Māghasnāna is at the confluence of the Gangā and Yamunā. Vide for details, Pad VI (in which about 2800 verses are devoted from chap 219 to 250 to the māhātmya of Māghasnāna), HV II 789–794, VKK 490–91, RM 1368 (ABORI vol 36 p. 332), NS 213–216, SmK 439–441 and H of Dh vol IV 617; Pad VI. 237 49–59 and KT 455–57 describe the procedure of the gifts and *niyamas* V Dh 90 last verse eulogises morning bath in M and Phā Vide I. A. vol XI p. 88 on 'Māghamelā'.

Mātrvrata—(1) on 8th, tithi; Mātrs (mother goddesses) are the deity, one should fast on this day and ask their pardon with devotion; they bestow welfare and health, HV I. 876 (from Vai.), (2) on Āśv. 9th a king and members of all castes should worship the Mātrs (many enumerated) and attain success; a woman whose children don't live or who has a single child is blessed with progeny, HV I 951–52.

Mārgapāli-bandhana—on K śu. 1, vide p 205 above.

Mārgaśīrsakrtya—Vide KR 442–474, VKK 482–487, NS 209–211, SmK 427–432 The whole of the month is held sacred in the Tamil country and *bhajan* parties go round the whole morning, the Gītā (X 35) avers that Märg. is the best among months and identifies it with Lord Krsna Some of the less important matters may be noted here In Krtayuga the gods began the year on the first tithi of Märg and the sage Kāśyapa created the beautiful Kāsmīra country, therefore celebration should be held on it (KR 452); Märg śu 12– a person should fast on the 12th tithi on each dvādaśi for a year from Märg to K and should on each dvādaśī dwell on one of the twelve names of Visnu from Keśava to Dāmodara and offer worship; he becomes *jātismara* (one

who recollects actions of previous lives) and reaches that place from which there is no return to this mortal world (Anuśāsana, chap. 109, Br. S. 104. 14–16); on Mārg pūrnimā the Moon should be specially worshipped as the Moon was sprinkled with nectar on that day, cows should be given salt, one's mother, sister, daughter and female relatives in one's family should be honoured with a pair of new garments, a festival with dance and songs should be held, those who drink wine should taste fresh wine that day; KKN 432–33, KR 471–72 For Dattātreyajayantī on Mārg Full Moon, vide above p. 310.

Mārtandasaptamī—begin on P śu. 7; fast on that day, worship of the Sun and muttering the word 'Mārtanda'; performer to partake for purifying himself of cow's urine or dung or curds or milk; on next day worship of the Sun under the name 'Ravi'; in this way for a year he should proceed for two days each month and give grass and the like for feeding a cow one day; he reaches the world of the Sun; Bhav. I. 109. 1–13 q by HV I 754–55, KKN 147–148.

Māsavrata—during the 12 months from Mārg. to K. the performer should respectively donate the following; salt, ghee, sesame, seven dhānyas, coloured or charming garments, wheat, jar full of water, sandalwood paste with camphor, butter, umbrella, *laḍḍukas* enriched with sugar or jaggery, lamps, at end of year donate a cow and worship Durgā, Brahmā, the Sun, or Visnu, HV II. 853–54 (from Devīpurāna), KR 442–443.

Māsavratāni—Vide Agni 198, KKV 418–432, HV II 744–799, Dānasāgara 589–621.

Māsopavāsavratas—This is the greatest among all vratas. This is a very ancient vrata Inscriptions in Nāneghāt mention that queen Nāyanika (Nāganikā) in the 2nd century B C had performed it, vide ASWI. vol. V p 60. This is described by Agni (204 1–18), Gar. (I. 122. 1–7), Pad VI 121 15–54. Agni being the briefest is summarised here The performer should have performed all Vaisnava vratas (such as dvādāśī), take the permission of his *guru*; considering his own strength should begin on 11th of Āśv. śu. and make a *sankalpa* to carry it on for 30 days; a forest hermit or a *yati* or a widow should enter upon it (but not a householder); he should offer worship to Visnu thrice in the day with flowers &c.; should sing hymns of praise of Visnu and

contemplate on Viṣṇu, should avoid all idle talk, give up desire for wealth, should not touch any one who does not observe *niyamas*, he should stay in a temple for 30 days; on the 12th after 30 days he should feed brāhmaṇas, give them dakṣiṇā and perform *pāraṇa* by inviting thirteen brāhmaṇas, donate pairs of garments, *āsana* (seat), vessels, umbrella, pair of sandals, worship golden image of Viṣṇu on a bed and his own image should be given garments &c., donate the bedstead to his guru, the spot where the performer stays becomes holy; he takes himself and members of his family to Viṣṇuloka; if the performer faints during the vrata, he should be made to drink milk, clarified butter and fruit juice, the partaking of these with the consent of brāhmaṇas does not nullify the vrata; vide HV II. 776–783 (from Viṣṇurahasya).

Māsakṣapaurṇamāsī-vrata—Begin on K. su 15th, performer to subsist by *nakta* way, on a circle made with salt and pasted with sandalwood paste, he should worship the Moon along with ten nakṣatras i. e in K when combined with Kṛttikā and Rohiṇī, in Mārg with Mṛgaśiras and Ārdrā and so on up to Āśv., women whose husbands are alive should be honoured by giving them jaggery, rich food, ghee, milk &c ; then he should himself eat *haviṣya* food, at end he should donate garment coloured with gold; Vi Dh. III. 192 1–15, NM p 47 (verses 573–579).

Mitrasaptamī—the 7th of Mārg. śu. is so called, tithivrata, Mitra (Sun) deity , on 6th image of Mitra should be bathed in the way in which Viṣṇu is bathed on K. śu. 11th; fast on 7th (fruits may be eaten), jāgara at night, worship of Sun with various flowers, edibles of flour, feed brāhmaṇas, the poor and helpless, on 8th distribute money among dancers and actors; NM pp 46–47 (verses 564–569), KR 460–461, KKN 432, VKK 483, PC 104

Muktābharanavrata—on Bh śu 7th; tithivrata, Śiva and Umā deities; place a doraka (string of threads) before Śiva image; worship Śiva with 16 upacāras from āvāhana, the seat is to be of gold studded with pearls and precious stones, after upacāras tie the doraka on the wrist; donate 1100 mandakas (Marathi 'mānde') and vestakas (Marathi 'jilebi'); secures long-lived sons; NS 134, VR 241–247.

Muktidvāra-saptamī—When 7th tithi has Hasta nakṣatra on it or Puṣya nakṣatra, this vrata should be undertaken; he

should brush his teeth with a twig of Arka plant with 'salutation to Arka'; offer homa; draw in his courtyard swept with cowdung with red sandalwood paste a lotus with 16 petals on each of which he should assign several deities from the eastern one onwards, then engage in the upacāras from āvāhana onwards; he should fast on that day, he should partake only one of the six *rasas* (sweet, salt, sour, pungent, astringent, and bitter) for two months in rotation for one year; in the 13th month there is to be pārana and he should donate a *kapilā* cow; this leads on to *mokṣa*, HV II. 780-86.

Mukhavrata—giving up *tāmbūla* (mukhavāsa) for a year, at year's end donate a cow; he becomes lord of Yakṣas; HV II. 865 (from Pad)

Mūlagaurīvrata—on Cai. śu 3; bath with sesame and water; worship of Śiva and Gaurī with golden fruits and from feet to head; different flowers to be offered in the twelve months, different substances to be drunk or eaten by performer in the twelve months and different names of Gaurī also, he should give up one fruit; donate at end bedstead, a golden bull and cow, Śiva married Gaurī on Cai. śu 3; Agni 178. 1-20

Mrgaśīrṣavrata—on Śrāvana kr. 1 Śiva pierced the three mouths of the *yajña* that had assumed the form of a deer by an arrow with three prongs; the performer should prepare a clay Mrgaśīrṣa in the form of the deer and should worship it with different kinds of *naivedya* of vegetables and of flour mixed with linseed HV I 358-59, SmK 146

Meghapālītṛtīyā—On Āśv. śu 3 men and women should worship the creeper called Meghapālī, that has leaves like betelnut plant and that grows in gardens, hills and rural paths, with fruits of various kinds and the sprouts of seven *dhānyas*; destroys all sins, particularly of traders with false weights and measures; HV I 416-417 (from Bhav. U. 17. 1-14).

Maunavrata—(1) after Śrāvana ends (acc to *pūrnimānta* reckoning) from Bh. 1st for 16 days; performer should take Dūrvā tendrils made into 16 knots and place on the right hand (on left hand of women); on 16th day silence to be observed in bringing water, grinding wheat, preparing *naivedya* therefrom and at time of eating; worship of Śiva by bathing image or *linga* with water, milk, curds, ghee and

honey, sugar; then offer flowers &c and say 'May Śiva be pleased'; bestows progeny and all desires; HV II. 482-492, NA 26-27; (2) to be practised for 8, 6 or 3 months or for one month, for half a month or for 12, 6 or 3 days or one day; the vow of silence is said to be capable of securing all objects ('maunam sarvārthasādhakam' p 880); the performer should not even make the sound 'hum' while eating, he should give up *hiṃsā* in thought, word and deed; when the vrata ends he should make a linga of sandalwood and offer worship to it with *gandha* and other upacāras and offer golden bell and bell-metal bells in different directions of the temple; offer rich food to devotees of Śiva and brāhmanas; placing on his head a copper vessel in which the linga is deposited he should silently go by the public road to Śiva temple and place the linga to the right of the temple image and worship it again and again; the performer reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 879-883 (from Śivadharma).

Yakṣakardama—(an unguent dear to *yakṣas*) is constituted by five fragrant substances; vide p 38, note 88 above.

Yajñasaptamī—on śu. 7th when there is an eclipse and specially when there is saṅkrānti, the performer should eat once *havṛsya* food, bow to Varuna, should lie down on a bed of *darbha* grass on the ground, in the morning next day he should in the beginning as well as at the end sacrifice to Varuna. An elaborate procedure is prescribed; on M. 7th the sacrifice is addressed to Varuna, on Phā 7th to Sūrya, on Cai. 7th to Aṃśumālin (a name of the Sun) and so on under different names of the Sun till Pausa, at end of a year a golden chariot to which seven horses are yoked and in the midst of which a golden image of the Sun is placed and is surrounded by twelve brāhmanas representing the twelve names of the Sun in the twelve months is to be honoured and present of the chariot and a cow to be given to ācārya; a poor man should make a copper chariot; the performer becomes a king of wide regions, KKV 107-112, HV I. 757-760 (from Bhav I. 50. 1-42). HV explains that Varuna means the Sun here

Yamacaturthī—Worship Yama on 4th tithi falling on Saturday and Bharani naksatra; frees from sins of seven lives; HV I 523-24, PC 95 (from Kūrma). Yama is the lord of Bharani-naksatra.

Yamatarpana—offering *añjalis* (handfuls) of water mixed with sesame thrice to each of the names of Yama (such as Yama, Dharmarāja, Antaka); sin committed in one year is destroyed at once.

Yamadīpadāna—on 13th of K. kr., lighting lamps outside the house at night-fall; this prevents accidental death; PC 231, SmK 368.

Yamadvitīyā—Vide above pp. 207–208.

Yamadvitīyāyātrā—one of the 14 Yātrās of Bhuvaneśvara; GK 193.

Yamavrata—(1) He who fasts on 5th, 6th, 8th or 14th of śu. and gives dinner to brāhmanas becomes free from disease and secures handsome form; KKV 389 = HV II. 377 (from MB.); (2) fasting on 14th tithi of kr. one may give seven añjalis of water mixed with sesame to each of the names of Yama (viz. Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla and Sarvabhūtaksaya); one is freed from all sins; HV II. 151 (from Kūrma); (3) bath on 14th of dark half of K, and *tarpana* to Yama; offer añjalis of water to Yama's names (given under 2) with the addition of a few more (such as Citra, Citragupta) and donate a vessel full of sesame and gold to a brāhmana; the performer would not have to lament over death; HV II. 151; (4) If king Yama is worshipped on 10th tithi, that removes all diseases; HV I. 982 (from Bhav.); (5) when the 4th tithi falls on Saturday and is joined to Bharanī-naksatra, donate a he-buffalo and gold for securing Yama's favour, AK folio 357 (from Kūrma).

Yamūdarśana-trayodaśī—on 13th of Mārg. when it falls on an auspicious weekday (except Sunday and Tuesday) in the forenoon thirteen brāhmanas were to be invited, and given sesame oil to rub their bodies with and bathed with warm water and treated to a sumptuous dinner; this should be done for a year every month; performer never sees the face of Yama; HV II. 9–14 (from Bhav. U.), AK folio 864.

Yamunāsnāna—tarpana—with three handfuls of water mixed with sesame *tarpana* of Yama under different names standing in the waters of the Yamunā; GK 601.

Yātrā (*festive procession or festival*)—Vide under Dolayātrā and Rathayātrā. Yātrās of gods were famous from ancient times.

The Mahāviracarita of Bhavabhūti was brought on the stage on the occasion of the Yātrā of Kālapriyanātha. Vide 'Yātrātattva' ascribed to Raghunandana, published in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat series (in Bengali script) which describes the twelve festivals of Visnu. The Anarghaghava of Murāri was presented on the stage in the yātrā of Purusottama (Act. I prastāvanā) Vide Karamdāndā Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta in Gupta samat 117 (436 A D) for reference to Devadroni (image procession) of Mahādeva Prthvīśvara in E I vol. X p. 70. Vide Krtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) pp 178–181 (from Brahmapurāna) on Devayātrā-vidhi which was to be celebrated every year in the six months from Vaiśākha and on the tithis from 1st to 15th different gods such as Brahmā (lords of the tithis) were to be worshipped, RNP pp. 416–419.

Yugāditithis—Vide H of Dh. vol IV p 374 note 841 and Nār I. 56 147–148, HK 649–655, TT 187, NS 94–95, PC 86–89. Visnupurāna III. 14. 12–13 are borrowed by BB p 42.

Yugādivrata—The four yugas Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali started respectively on Vai śu 3, K. śu. 9, Bh. kr. 13 and M. amāvāsyā, fast, gifts, *tapas*, japa and homa on these produces results a crore of times more than ordinarily; on Vai. śu. 3 worship Nārāyana and Laksmī and donate *lavanadhenu*; on K śu 9th worship Śiva and Umā and *tiladhenu* be donated; on Bh. kr. 13 honour the *pitrs*; on M amāvāsyā worship Brahmā with Gāyatrī and donate *navanīta-dhenu*; all one's sins in thought, word and deed are rendered nugatory, HV II. 514–517 (from Bhav U)

Yugānitya-śrāddha—is to be performed on these days, the four yugas respectively end on the following, Krta in the sun's passage in sign Simha (Lion), Tretā ends in Vrścika sankrānti, Dvāpara ends in Vrsa sankrānti and Kaliyuga in Kumbha-sankrānti. HK 656, KR 542–543, KKN 372.

Yugāvatāravrata—on Bh kr. 13th when Dvāpara-yuga began, one shoud apply cow's urine, cow dung, dūrvā and clay to his body and bathe in a deep sheet of water or a tank; he had as if performed śrāddha at Gayā, he should bathe an image of Visnu with ghee, milk and pure water, he goes to the world of Visnu; HV II 518–519 (from Bhav.) Some say that Tretāyuga began on that day.

Yogavrata—The Yogas like Viskambha, Vyatīpāta will be described in the next section on Kāla, vide HV II. 707–717, SmK 563–564, PC 52.

Yogeśvaravrata or *Yogeśvaradvādaśī*—on K. śu. 11 fast; four jars full of water having *ratnas* inside and marked with white sandalwood paste and having round them white cloth should be covered with copper vessels full of sesame and gold, they being deemed to be four oceans; in the midst of that vessel an image of Hari (who is Yogeśvara) should be placed and worshipped, *jāgara*; next day the four jars should be donated to four brāhmanas and the golden image to a 5th brāhmana and they should be fed and daksinā be paid; this is called also Dharaṇīvrata; he is freed from sins and goes to the world of Visnu; KKV 336–339 = HV I. 1041–44 (from Var. 50. 4–29), KR 427–430.

Raktasaptamī—on Mārg. kr. 7; tithi; worship of Sun with red lotuses or of an image of Sun with white flowers and red sandalwood paste and with round cake of pulse (*vataka*, Marathi *vaḍā*) and krsara (dish of rice, peas and spices) and donate at end a pair of red garments; Vi Dh. III. 170. 1–3.

Raksāpañcamī—on Bh. Kr. 5; draw figures of snakes with dark colours and worship; snakes are pleased and then there is no fear to his descendants; GK 78–79.

Raksābandhana—on Śr. paurnamāsī; vide pp. 127–128 above.

Rañgapañcamī—on Ph. kr. 5. See above p 241.

Ratantī-caturdaśī—on M kr. 14; tithi; Yama; one should bathe while it is *arunodaya* and offer *tarpana* to Yama under fourteen names (m. in KT 450); VKK 497, KT 457, GK 157–158, vide Pretacaturdaśī above pp. 351–52.

Ratnasasthī—m in Mrcchakatika Act III. and in Cārudatta Act III. p. 65 (attributed to Bhāsa) where we have the words 'nanu sasthīm-upvasāmi'. But it is difficult to say whether it is Ratnasasthī or any other.

Ratnāni—(jewels or precious things)—for five *ratnas* vide under 'pañcaratnas' p. 337 above. VR 15 (quoting Vi. Dh) mentions nine viz pearls, gold, vaidūrya (cat's eye gem), padmarāga (ruby), pusparāga (topaz), gomeda (gem brought from Himālaya), sapphire, gārutmata (emerald) and coral.

Rathanavamī—on 9th tithi of Āśv. śu. (acc to KKV) or kr. (acc. to HV); tithi; Durgā; fast on that day and worship of Durgā; on a car decked with mirrors, *chowries*, clothes, umbrella, garlands from flagstaffs place a golden image of Durgā seated on a buffalo; the car to be drawn over the public road and taken to a temple of Durgā, illuminations; *jāgara* with dance and drama; next morning the image is to be bathed and the car to be presented to Devī, rewards of presenting a fine bedstead, a bull, a cow about to deliver; KKV 294–298 = HV I 946–948 (from Bhav.).

Rathayātrā—(car procession of a deity)—HV II 420–424 (quoting Devīpurāna) describes the Rathayātrā of Durgā accompanied by crowds of men and women; KR (259–264) describes the same from a different source, Bhav. (I 18. 3–17) deals with the Rathayātrā of Brahmā which is quoted by KR 438–439 and Pūjāprakāśa 293–307; the twelve rathayātrās of Purusottama and fourteen of Bhuvaneśvara are respectively described in GK pp 183–190 and 190–194; HV II. 424–440 (quoting Bhav.) describe at length the *rathayātrotsava* of the Sun and state (p 425) that the latter is equal to Indradhvajotsava and that both the festivals are carried on every year in several countries for averting evil (*śāntihetoḥ*), for the happiness and health of the people and that it should be begun on Mārg. śu. Vide Var. 177 55–56 for Rathayātrā of Sāmbapuradeva in Mathurā In Bhav. U. 134. 40–71 there is a description as to how a car is to be made, how procession is to be arranged and how images are to be placed on the car.

Rathasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; tithi; Sun is deity; on night of 6th *sankalpa* and submitting to *niyamas*, on 7th fast; performer to prepare a golden or silver car with horses and charioteer; to recite a hymn to the Sun, and at midday he should place that car in a *mandapa* surrounded by (or made of) cloth, worship the car with saffron, flowers &c. and place in the car an image (golden or otherwise) of the Sun; worship the Sun together with the car and charioteer and address mantras to the Sun and in his prayer state the desired object; jāgara at night with songs and music, and performer should not close his eyes that night; after bath the next morning he should make gifts, donate the car to the *guru*; HV I. 652–658 (quoting Bhav. U.) Here Krsna tells Yudhisthira the story of king Yaśodharma of Kāmbhoja

country that had in his old age a son suffering from all diseases who became free from all diseases and a *cakravartin* (emperor) by performing this vrata. KV 101 and HK 624 quote Mat to the effect that as on this tithi in the beginning of Manvantara Sun secured a chariot this tithi is called Rathasaptamī. The same quotation from Mat. in HK 624 shows that it was also called Mahāsaptamī Vide TT 39, PC 104–105, VR 249–253. Vide I. A. vol XI. at p 112 the Sāmangad plate of Rāstrakūta king Dantidurga dated *śake* 675 (753–54 A. D.) where the phrase 'Māghamāsa-rathasaptamīm' occurs. For Rathasaptamī-māhātmya, vide Bhav. I. 50

Rathānkasaptamī—on 6th of M. śu fast and worship of Sun with *gandha*, flowers &c.; sleep before sun image that day; on 7th worship the Sun and give brāhmaṇas a sumptuous meal; carry this on in all months and at end of year have car procession of the Sun. HV I. 656 (from Bhav.); HV I. pp. 657–658 dilate upon a variation of the above procedure. This is called Rathasaptamī by KKV 114–117 and also in Bhav. I. 59. 1–26.

Rathāṅgasaptamī—on M. śu. 5th, 6th and 7th observe respectively ekabhakta, nakta, and fast; some hold that fast on 6th and pāranā on 7th; this is called Mahāsaptamī (for which see above) by HV I. 659–660 and the printed Bhav. (I. 51. 1–16) also calls it so.

Rathotsava—on 2nd of Ās. śu.; when it is joined to Puṣya, car festival of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā, the utsava should be performed even if there is no Puṣya naksatra: TT 29, NS 107, SmK 137.

Rambhātṛtīyā—(1) on Jy. śu. 3rd, one was to sit facing the east in the midst of five fires viz Gārhapatya, Dakṣināgni, Sabhya and Āhavanīya and the Sun above; face Brahmā and Devī identified with Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāmāyā, Sarasvatī, homa in all directions by brāhmaṇas; worship of Devī and eight substances called Saubhāgyāstaka be placed before Devī; in the evening Rudrāṇī should be addressed with prayer for a charming home; then performer (*male or female*) should honour a householder and his wife and naivedya placed in śūrpa (winnowing basket) should be presented to women whose husbands are alive: HV I. 426–430 (from Bhav. U. 18. 1–36), KN 176, TT 30–31; this vrata is meant mostly for women; (2) This was so called because

Rambhā formerly performed it for blessed womanhood; on Mārg. śu. 3rd; tithi; Pārvatī deity, for a year, every month Devī to be worshipped under a different name (e. g Pārvatī in Mārg., Girijā in P. &c.) and different gifts to be made, different substances to be eaten; HV I pp 430–435 (from Bhav. U 24. 1–36); Gar. I 120 also describes this vrata. If 3rd is mixed with 2nd and 4th tithis, this vrata has to be performed on 3rd mixed with 2nd (KN 174), vide under 'Tṛtīyāvratas' above p 307.

Rambhātṛtīyā vrata—begin on Jy. śu. 13th, tithi; for three days; first after bath a woman should pour plenty of water at the root of plantain plant and surround it with threads, make a silver image of the plant with golden fruit and worship it, observe nakta on 13th, *ayācita* on 14th and fast on 15th, water the same plant for a year, worship also Umā and Śiva and Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī; homa with 13, 14, 15 āhutis respectively on the three days from 13th; this vrata confers sons, beauty, freedom from widowhood &c.; HV II. 283–288 (from Skanda), VKK 11; *Rambhā* also means 'kadalī' (plantain plant) and hence the name.

Ravivāra vrata—nakta or fast on Sunday, japa of Ādityahṛdaya or Mahāśvetā mantra; they secure their desires; Vāravrata; Sun deity; SmK 556–557, VKD (423–436) gives a very elaborate procedure.

Ravivrata—(1) worship of the Sun thrice a day in M.; secures merit (*puṇya*) of six months in one month; HV II. 796; (2) begin on Sunday in M and worship Sun on every Sunday for a year and subsist on certain specified things in order or abstain from partaking of certain things; VKK 37–38.

Ravisasthī—fast on 6th and worship Sun on 7th, performer secures wealth and freedom from disease; KN 190 (from Liṅga).

Rasakalyāṇinī—begin on M śu. 3; tithi, Durgā deity; bathe image of Durgā with honey and sandalwood paste and worship the right side of the image first and then left side; salute her limbs from feet to her crown, associating each with a different name, worship Devī with a different name (out of 12, such as Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī) respectively in 12 months from M.; from M. to K. each month the performer should abstain from one out of 12 things in order

viz. salt, jaggery, tavarāja (milk ?), honey, pānaka (spicy beverage), jīraka, milk, curds, ghee, marjikā (Rasālā or Śikharini), *dhānyaka* (coriander), sugar; at end of each month donate a vessel full of the thing left off in that month and one of the edibles specified; at end of year donate a golden image of Gaurī (as big as the thumb) studded with *ratnas*; reward is freedom from sins and sorrow and disease; KKV 66–69, HV II. 461–465 (from Pad V. 22. 105–135), KR 499–503 (same verses from Mat. 63. 1–29). *Rasālā* was prepared from curds and was somewhat like 'śrīkhanda' of modern Mahārāstra (from the quotations in KR 501).

Rākhī-pūrnmā—on Śr. śu. 15. See above pp. 127–128 on raksā-bandhana.

Rāghavadvādaśī—on Jy. śu. 12th; golden images of Rāma and Laksmana to be worshipped; worship of limbs from feet to head with different names in each case (e. g. om namas-Trivikramāyeti katim); a jar filled with ghee to be donated in the morning after worship of Rāma and Laksmana; performer dwells in heaven for ages, his sins being destroyed and if he has no desires, he secures *moksa*; KKV 127–129, HV I. 1034–35, KR 190–191 (all quote Var. 45 1–10).

Rājarājeśvaravrata—fast on 8th tithi when it has Svātī naksatra and falls on Wednesday, worship of Śiva with many edibles full of sweet-meats as naivedya; donate before image of Śiva to the ācārya neck ornament, crown, girdle, ear-ring, two finger rings, an elephant or horse; performer attains the position of Kubera for countless years; HV I 864 (from Kālottara), Rājarāja means Kubera, the friend of Śiva and Rājarājeśvara may mean Śiva or Kubera who is himself lord (of *Yaksas*).

Rājñīsnāpana—on Cai. kr 8; the land of Kāśmīra is deemed to be *rajasvalā* for three days from Cai. kr. 5th; it is washed by women (whose husbands are living) in each home with flowers and sandalwood paste and then by brāhmanas with water in which *sarvausadhis* are put; then people should listen to music of lutes; the earth is the queen of the Sun; therefore this vrata is so called; KR 532–533 (from Brah.), NM p 54 (verses 651–660) puts it down for Phā. kr. 5th to 8th (probably the *amānta* reckoning).

Rājyadvādaśī-vrata—on Mārg. śu. 10 make *sankalpa*; on 11th fast and worship Visnu; homa with best food, the mantra

being ('tad-Viṣnoḥ paramam' Rg. I. 22, 20) for dvijas and for śūdras the mantra of twelve syllables ('om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'); jāgara, song and dance; this should be done for a year; on all dvādaśis silence should be completely observed; the same procedure to be followed on dvādaśis of dark half except that worship of god is to be done after wearing red garments, lamps to be fed with oil (and not ghee); this vrata would make the performer a king in a mountain valley; in three years a Mandaleśvara (provincial governor) and in 12 years a king, HV I. 1060-1063 (from Vi Dh)

Rājyavrata—on Jy. śu. 3 one should worship the three viz Vāyu, the Sun and the Moon, in early morning worship Vāyu on a pure spot, at midday worship Sun in fire and at sunset worship Moon in water, for one year; he secures heaven; if performed for three years, performer stays in heaven for five thousand years, if performed for twelve years, then he goes to heaven for a lakh of years; HV I, 457-479 (from Vi. Dh.).

Rājyāptidaśamī—begin on K. śu. 10; worship of Keśava in the form of the ten Viśve-devas (viz. Kratu, Dakṣa &c.) in mandalas or images (of gold or silver); at end (of year) donate gold; he secures the world of Viṣnu and then becomes a king or best of brāhmaṇas, HV I. 965-66 (from Vi Dh.). For the names of the ten Viśve-devas, vide H. of Dh. vol IV p. 457 note 1018.

Rādhāṣṭamī—on Bh 8 in both fortnights; Rādhā was born on Bh. śu. 7; worship of Rādhā on 8th destroys many grave sins, Pad. III 4. 43, III. 7. 21-23.

Rāmacandradolotsava—on Cai. śu. 3; the image of Rāmacandra should be put in a swing on this day and rocked for a month; those who see the image being swung become free from a thousand sins, SmK 91.

Rāmanavamī or *Rāmajayantī*—Vide pp 84-88 above.

Rāmanāmalekhana-vrata—this should be begun on Rāmanavamī or at any time. Rāma's name should be written a lakh of times or a crore of times, even a single letter of Rāmanāma destroys mahāpātaka (ekaikam-akṣaram puṃsām mahāpātaka-nāśanam); worship of Rāmanāma with 16 upacāras; VR 330-332. Magic virtue came to be attached to Rāmanāma and 108 names and one thousand names of Rāma came to be coined.

Rāśivrata—to be performed on each paurnamāsī in months from Kārtika, on K. pūrnimā one should observe nakta way and donate a golden ram; on Mārg. pūrnimā he should see the king and donate a pair (of bulls ?) and at the end donate a female slave; this vrata destroys the evil influence of planets, fulfills all desires and leads to Somaloka; HV II. 238–239 (from Bhav.).

Rukmiṇyaṣṭamī—on Mārg kr. 8th; in the first year the performer (a woman) should prepare a house of clay with one door in which she should cast all household gear, paddy, ghee and should make toy images of Krsna, Rukminī, Balarāma and his wife, Pradyumna and his wife, Aniruddha and Usā, Devakī and Vasudeva; worship these images and at sunrise offer *arghya* to the moon; next morning donate that house to a maiden, in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years performer should construct additional wings and donate them to maidens; in the 5th year a house with five doors and in 6th year a house with six doors should be donated to a maiden; in 7th year a house be built with seven doors and white-washed, containing bedstead, sandals, mirror, mortar and pestle, vessels &c. and one should worship golden images of Krsna, Rukminī and Pradyumna with fast and jāgara and next morning donate the last house and a cow to a brāhmana and his wife; after this vrata a male performer would know no sorrow and a woman would know no grief for a son; HV I. 853–855 (from Skanda).

Rudralakṣavarti-vrata—offering a lakh of lamps with cotton wicks dipped in ghee from cow's milk before a Śivalinga; before the vrata is begun linga is to be worshipped with 16 upacāras; vrata is to be begun in K. or M., Vai. or Śr. and finished in the same months; the performer gets wealth, sons and whatever he or she desires; SmK 411–414.

Rudravrata—(1) on Jy. 8th and 14th tithis of both *paksas* (i. e. in all 4 days) one should perform *tapas* with five fires and donate on the 4th day in the evening golden cow; Rudra deity; HV II. 394 (from Pad.), KKV 450 (reads 'on 6th and 13th'), this is Mat. 101. 76. For five fires, vide H. of Dh vol. II. p 679; (2) one should subsist by ekabhakta method for a year and donate at end a golden bull and tiladhenu, it is a *samatsara-vrata*, Śankara deity; this destroys sins and sorrow and performer reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 866 (from

Pad.) = KKV 439; this is Mat 101. 4; (3) begin from K. su. 3rd; subsist for one year on cow urine and *yāvaka* by nakta way, samvatsara vrata; Gaurī and Rudra deities; at year's end donate a cow, stays in Gaurī-loka for a Kalpa; KKV 445 (two verses which are Mat. 101. 42–43)

Rūpanavamī—begin on Mārg. 9th; tithivrata, Caṇḍikā deity, the performer should observe a fast or nakta or ekabhakta on 9th, make a trident of flour and a silver lotus with a golden pericarp and present them to Durgā, who destroys all sins; in P. and the following months different artificial animals are prepared and placed in different vessels and presented (such as a golden elephant with four tusks placed in a golden vessel, golden ram in a golden vessel) to Svāhā; he stays in Candraloka for numberless years and then becomes a handsome king, KKV 288–294 = HV I. 933–937 (from Bhav.). Rūpa means 'manufactured article or figure resembling an animal.' The deities mentioned are either forms of Durgā or of Mātṛs.

Rūpasaṅkrānti—on the day of Saṅkrānti the performer takes oil bath, places in a golden vessel ghee along with some gold and presents it to a brāhmaṇa, observes *ekabhakta* that day, a saṅkrāntivrata; reward is the same as a thousand Aśvamedhas and beauty, youth, long life, health and wealth, heaven, HV II. 734 (from Skanda)

Rūpasattra—on 8th of the dark half after Phā. pūrṇimā when joined with Mūla naksatra one should begin the vrata, worship naksatra, its lord, Varuṇa and the Moon and Viṣnu; homa, honour guru, next day fast, he should worship Keśava and assign to the several limbs of Keśava from the feet upwards to the head and hair thereon different naksatras, the sattra is finished at the end of Cai. śu.; at end of vrata worship Viṣnu with flowers, *dhūpa* &c, homa with mantra (Ṛg. I. 22. 20), gift to guru, dinner to brāhmaṇas, goes to heaven and when he returns becomes a king &c, HV II. 671–675 (from Vi. Dh), vide Br. S 104. 6–13 for same vrata on Cai. kṛ 8, with fast and worship of Nārāyaṇa and nakṣatra.

Rūpāvāpti—(1) by worshipping the ten Viśve-devas on 5th tithi one reaches heaven; HV I. 574–75 (from Vi Dh.), for ten Viśvedevas, vide H of Dh vol. IV p 457 note 1018; (2) This is a Māsavrata, from the 1st tithi after Phā pūrṇimā

up to Cai. pūrnimā; one should worship the image of Keśava reclining on the hoods of Śesa, subsist by ekabhakta way, sleep on the ground (not on a cot); fast for three days and then perform worship on Cai. pūrnimā and donate silver and a pair of garments; this confers beauty (rūpa); HV II. 744 (from Vi. Dh. III. 202. 1–5).

Rogamukti—by worshipping the attendants of Skanda, Rudra and Yama one secures freedom from disease; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh.),

Rogahavidhi—when on Sunday there is Pūrvāphalgunī-naksatra worship Sun image; the performer becomes free from diseases and reaches sūryaloka; at night worship the sun with flowers of arka plant, eat arka flowers and *pāyasa*, lies at night on the ground; becomes free from all diseases and goes to sūryaloka; this is a vāravrata; sun deity; KKV 20–21, HV II. 525–527 (from Bhav. U.), KR 600–601.

Roca—name of several vratas such as Māsopavāsa, Brāhmaroca, Kālaroca; to be begun on Cai. śu. 1 and continued for a month or a year; Vi Dh. (III. 222–223) describes them; chap 224 dilates upon the uncertain character of women, but winds up 'women are the root of evils and also the means of securing *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*; one should not trust them, but they should be guarded like a gem' (verses 25–26).

Rotaka—begin on first Monday in Śr. śu.; for 3½ months; fast on 14th of K. and worship with bilva leaves; five rotakas (wheat bread or cake toasted on an iron or earthen dish) to be made, one for naivedya, two for brāhmana and two for performer, worship of Śiva, perform for five years, on finishing vrata two rotakas of gold or siver to be donated; Vratārka, folios 30b–32b. Also called Bilvarotaka-vrata.

Rohinīcandra-śayana—Mat. 57 describes it at great length (verses 1–28) and Pad (IV. 24. 101–130) has also almost the same verses, here Visnu is worshipped under the names of the moon; when on a pūrnimā there is Monday or on pūrnimā there is Rohinī-naksatra, one should bathe with pañcagavya and mustard and should recite 108 *times* the mantra 'āpyāyasva' (Rg. I. 91 16 addressed to Soma) and a śūdra should say 'bow to Soma, bow to Visnu'; he should worship Visnu with flowers and fruits and recite the names of Soma and address Rohinī, dear wife of Soma; he should

drink cow's urine, take food but no flesh, take 28 morsels and offer various flowers to the moon; this should be done for a year, at end donate a bedstead and golden images of Rohiṇī and the moon; should pray 'O Kṛṣṇa! just as Rohiṇī does not go away, leaving you that are Soma, so let me not be separated from prosperity', this confers beauty, health, long life and performer reaches candraloka; KKV 378–382 (quoting Mat), HV II. 175–179 (same verses from Pad V. 24 101–130); KKV and HV call it candrarohiṇī-śayana. Bhav. U. (206 1–30) also describes it just like Mat.

Rohiṇīdvādaśī—on 11th of Śr. kṛ. people (male or female) prepare a mandala with cowdung near a tank or the like and draw a picture of the Moon and Rohiṇī and worship them, offer *naivedya* and give it to a brāhmaṇa, then enter reservoir of water and contemplate upon Candra and Rohiṇī and while still in water eat one hundred pellets of powdered māṣa and five *modakas* with ghee, then coming out give dinner and clothes to a brāhmaṇa; this should be done every year; HV I. 1113–14 (from Bhav. U.).

Rohiṇīvrata—A nakṣatravrata; one should establish a copper or golden image of Rohiṇī decked with five *ratnas* and worship it with two garments, flowers, fruits and naivedya; performer to subsist by nakta way that day, next day donate image to a learned brāhmaṇa householder. Rohiṇī is the nakṣatra of birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa; HV II. 598–99 (from Skanda).

Rohiṇīsnāna—a nakṣatravrata; performer and his priest to fast on Kṛttikā and on Rohiṇī the performer is to be bathed with five jars of water while standing on a heap of rice decked with sprigs of trees exuding milky juice, white flowers, *priyaṅgu* and sandalwood paste; he should worship Viṣṇu, Moon, Varuṇa, Rohiṇī and Prajāpati, homa to all these deities with ghee and all seeds, he should wear a precious stone set in a horn in three parts made of clay, horse's hair and its hoof; secures sons, prosperity and fame; HV II. 599–600 (from Vi. Dh.)

Rohiṇyaṣṭamī—the 8th of Bh. kṛ. when joined to Rohiṇī naksatra is called Jayantī, when 8th tithi extends at least a *kalā* before and after midnight that is the most holy time on which Lord Hari himself was born, fast on Jayantī

and worship of Hari destroy the performer's sins for a hundred past lives; this Rohinīvrata is superior to a hundred Ekādaśīvratas; RM 1231–1255 (ABORI vol. 36 pp. 320–322), KR 258, VKK 298–304.

Raudravināyakayāga—When on Thursday there is ekādaśī and Puṣya-naksatra or when Saturday occurs on ekādaśī with Rohinī, this yāga should be performed and it yields sons and blessedness; HV. II. 591.

Laksanamaskāravrata-sankalpa—on 11th of Ās. śu. to offer one hundred thousand namaskāras to Viṣnu; to be finished on K. pūrnimā; worship of image of Viṣnu by the hymn 'ato devā' (Rg I. 22. 16–21), SmK 407–408.

Laksapradaksināvrata (one hundred thousand circumambulations)—begin on the start of cāturmāsya and finish on K. pūrnimā; Viṣnu deity; SmK 406–407.

Laksavartivrata—begin in K., Vai., M., the best month being Vai. and finish in three months on a pūrnimā; every day waving lights before Viṣnu and Laksmī, Brahmā and Sāvitrī, Śiva and Umā with a thousand wicks, SmK 410-411, Vratārka, folios 399–403b (from Vāyu).

Laksahoma—is a śānti, for which see the section on śānti; Nrsimhapurāna, chap. 35, SmK 475–479.

Laksanārdrāvrata—When on Bh kr. 8th there is Ārdrā-naksatra, begin this; worship of golden image of Umā and Śiva by bathing it with pañcāmrta, then with gandha, flowers etc., with mantras mentioning several names of both; arghya, dhūpa, naivedya with 32 edibles of wheat flour marked with figures of fish &c. containing five rasas (curds, milk, ghee, honey and sugar) and *modakas*, donate the golden images and edibles to a learned brāhmana; secures removal of sins, charm, wealth, long life, fame; HV I. 826–829 (from Mat.).

Laksesvarī-vrata—same as *Kotiśvarī vrata* above.

Laksmīpūjana—in *Divālī*—Vide pp 199–200 above and VKK 472–476, TT 186–87, NS 200.

Laksmīnārāyanavrata—on Phā. Pūrnimā; tithi, worship of Nārāyana and Laksmi, for one year, divided into three periods of four months each on every pūrnimā, in four months from Ās. employ the name Śrīdhara and Śrī and in 4 months from K. the name Keśava and Bhūti; at night

offer arghya to Moon on each 15th; different substance in each period for purification of the body viz. pañcagavya, water with kuśas, water heated with Sun's rays; HV II. 664-666 (from Vi Dh.).

Lakṣmīpadavrata—It is one of the Kṛcchravratas in HV II. 769-771; on K. kṛ. 7th tithi to 10th one should subsist respectively on milk, bilva leaves, lotuses, and morsels of lotus fibres and on 11th fast; worship Keśava on these days, secures Viṣnuloka; HV II. 770.

Lakṣmīvrata—(1) on every 5th tithi observe fast and worship Lakṣmī; one year; at end donate a golden lotus and a cow; he secures wealth in each life and reaches Viṣnuloka; HV I. 568 (from Yamapurāṇa), KR 118 (2) on Cai. su. 3 subsist on ghee and boiled rice, on 4th bathe outside the house in a tank having lotuses and worship Lakṣmī in a lotus and offer on 5th lotus with the hymn to Śrī; on 5th bathe the same and donate gold; one year; Vi. Dh. III. 154. 1-15.

Lalitakāntīdevī-vrata—the same as Maṅgala-caṇḍikā above. TT p. 41 quotes Kālikāpurāṇa to the effect that Maṅgala-caṇḍikā is called Lalitakāntādevī, that has two arms, is fair, is seated on a red lotus and so on.

Lalitāvrata—on M. śu 3rd; bath in a river at midday with sesame and *āmalaka*, worship Devī with flowers &c; a copper vessel containing water, a piece of gold and akṣatas should be placed before a brāhmaṇa who should sprinkle water from it on the performer with a mantra; the woman performer should donate the gold and drink water in which *kuśas* are dipped and pass night sleeping on the ground and contemplate Devī, on 2nd day honour brāhmaṇas and a woman whose husband is alive; this vrata is for a year, in each month of which twelve different names of Devī were to be employed in worship (such as Īśānī in 1st, Lalitā in 8th and Gaurī in 12th!) and in the 12 months she fasts on śu. 3rd and subsists on one of twelve things in order, viz water made holy with kuśas, milk, ghee &c; at end honour brāhmaṇa and his wife; she secures sons, beauty, health and freedom from widowhood; HV I. 418-421 (from Bhav. U.). Agni (178. 1-2) speaks of Lalitā-tṛtīyā and remarks that on Cai. śu. 3 Gaurī was married by Śiva. Mat 60. 14-15 say the same and Mat. 60. 11 says that Satī is called

Lalitā because she is supreme in all worlds and excels them in beauty. At the end of Brahmānda-purāna there is a section of 44 chapters on the Lalitā cult.

Lalitāsasthī—mostly for women; on Bh. śu. 6 collect sand of a river in a new bamboo vessel, make five balls of that sand and worship Lalitādevī thereon with 28 or 108 flowers of various kinds and fruits and naivedya of several edibles; *jāgara* on that night with female friends without closing the eyes on 7th give all naivedya to a brāhmana and feed maidens and five or ten brāhmana house-wives and dismiss them with the words 'May Lalitā be pleased with me'; HV I. 617–620 (from Bhav. U 41. 1–18), VR 220–21 (remarks that it is well-known in Gurjaradeśa).

Lalitāsaptamī—m. in VKV 13 (Saptamī mixed with Sasthī to be preferred).

Lavanadāna—on Mārg. pūrnimā when it has Mrgaśiras-naksatra, donate at moonrise to a brāhmana one prastha of ground salt in a vessel with a golden centre; secures beauty and *saubhāgya*; V. Dh. 90. 1–2 q. by SmK 430 and PC 306.

Lavanasankrāntivrata—on day of sankrānti after bath draw with saffron paste a lotus with eight petals and pericarp, worship of the picture of Sun, place in front of it a vessel full of salt and jaggery and donate the vessel; this to be carried on for a year; at end make a golden image of Sun and donate it with the vessel of salt &c. and cow; this is a sankrāntivrata; HV II. 732–33 (from Skanda)

Lāvanyagaurīvrata—on Cai. śu. 5; observed by Tamil people as shown in the pañcānga (almanac).

Lāvanyavrata—From the 1st tithi after K. pūrnimā, worship picture of Pradyumna on a piece of cloth or as an image, observe nakta way; when Mārg. begins observe three days' fast, worship Pradyumna, offer homa in fire with ghee; dinner to brāhmanas with salt prominent; donate a prastha of powdered salt, two garments, gold, bell-metal vessel; for a month; this is a māsa-vrata; confers beauty and heaven; HV. II. 785 (from Vi. Dh. III. 203 1–7)

Lāvanyāvāptivrata—HV II. 785 calls it so; same as above.

Linga vratas—in all these begin from K. śu. 14, worship Śiva; subsist by nakta way; make a linga with flour of rice grains as high as a *ratni* (distance from elbow to end of closed

fast): cast over Linga a *prastha* of sesame; on Märg. śu 14 smear linga with saffron paste, in this way every month for a year different substance for smearing, different dhūpa, naivedya &c; even one guilty of grave sins reaches Rudraloka; HV II. 50-56 (from Kālottara) A linga may be made with holy ashes, dry cowdung balls, from sand or crystal, the best being from clay on the mountains whence Narmadā flows

Liṅgāṣṭaśatanāmavrata—on K. śu 13 with Saturday; one hundred names of Śiva to be repeated, bath of linga with pañcāmṛta and worship of Śiva in the form of linga at the time of *pradoṣa*; Skanda (I. 17. 59-91) describes this; verses 75-89 set out the one hundred names.

Līlāvrata—Same as Nīlavrata above p. 335.

Lokavrata—Begin from Cai. śu. and subsist for seven days therefrom respectively on cow's urine, cow's dung, milk, curds, ghee and water in which kuśas are dipped and fast (on 7th); homa of sesame accompanied by mahā-vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ &c); at end of year donate garment, bell-metal, cows; he becomes an emperor; HV II. 463 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 162. 1-7).

Lohābhisārikakṛtya—also written as Lohābhīhārika or Lauhābhisārika—From Āśv. śu. 1st to 8th tithi a king desirous of conquest should perform this rite; NS 178-179, SmK 332-336, RNP 444-446, Sm 28-32, PC 59, 70-72 A golden, silver or clay image of Durgā is to be worshipped, so also the weapons and symbols of royalty with mantras, there is a legend that there was a demon named Loha who was shattered into pieces by the gods and all the iron and steel in the world is produced from his limbs Lohābhisāra means putting forth or brandishing iron or steel weapons ('Lohābhihārostrabhṛtām rājñām nīrājano vidhiḥ' Amarakośa). When a king started on an invasion the ceremony of sprinkling sacred water on him or waving lights before him was performed and that was called Lohābhisārika-karma In Udyogaparva 160. 93 we read 'Lohābhisāro nirvṛttaḥ' &c. Nīlakaṇṭha explains that it comprises waving of lights before weapons and invoking deities.

Lohityasnāna—(bath in waters of Brahmaputrā river). *Vide* under 'Brahmaputrasnāna' 358 above.

Vañjulīvrata—Vañjulī is one of the eight great dvādaśīs enumerated above on p. 119; Vañjulī is dvādaśī that exists the whole of one civil day (from sunrise to sunrise) and extends over the next day, so that it is possible to fast on dvādaśī and perform pāraṇā not on the next tithi but on dvādaśī itself; worship of golden image of Nārāyaṇa, in merit it is superior to thousands of Rājasūya sacrifices; NS 48, SmK 252–253.

Vatasāvitrīvrata—Vide above pp. 91–94.

Vatsarādhipapūjā—(worship of the lord of the year). The week-day on which the year begins in Cai. determines the lord of the year; vide p. 83 above and SmK 87, PC 56.

Vatsadvādaśī—K. kr. 12th is so called, deck a cow (with calf) with sandalwood paste and honour it with garlands, with arghya in a copper vessel at its feet and with naivedya of circular cakes made of *māsa*; on that day he should abstain from food cooked with oil or in a cooking pan and from cow's milk, ghee, curds and buttermilk: SM 91–92.

Vaḥ acaturthī—begin on Mārg. śu. 4th; tithivrata; every month worship Gaṇeśa and observe ekabhakta on that day but without kṣāra and lavaṇa; continue for 4 years, but with *nakta* in 2nd year, *ayācita* in 3rd and fast in 4th; HV I. 530–31 (from Skanda), KR 504 (in M.), KV 190 (in M.), VKK 498.

Varadacaturthī—on M. śu. 4th; tithivrata; worship of Varada (i. e. Vināyaka) on 4th and on 5th worship with *kunda* flowers, S. Pr. (folio 47 b), while KR 504 and VKK 498 say that Varacaturthī is confined to 4th and worship on 5th with kunda flowers is Śrīpañcamī and that 'vara' means 'Vināyaka'.

Vaḥ adācaturthī—on M. śu. 4th, tithi; Gaurī deity; specially for women; GK 77, HV I 531 has Gaurī-caturthi (from Brah.) which appears to be the same. NS 133 says Bh. śu. 4 is Varadacaturthī, while PC 95 says that Mārg. śu. 4th is so called.

Varanavamī—on each 9th tithi subsist for nine years on flour; tithi; Devī is deity; all desires fulfilled; if performer subsists on food not cooked on fire for life on each navamī he reaps here and in next world endless rewards, KKV 296 = HV I. 937 (from Bhav.), latter calling it 'Varavrata'.

Varalakṣmīvrata—on Śr. Pūrnimā, when Venus shines in the east; erect a mandapa to the north-east of one's house, establish a *kalaśa* therein, on which Varalaksmi should be invoked and worshipped to the accompaniment of Śrīsūkta, vide pp. 147–149 of the transcript of Sāmrājyalaksmipīthikā (transcript No 43 of 1925–26 in B O. R I. Poona).

Varavrata—(1) Vide 'Varanavami' above; (2) one fasting for seven days and donating a jar of ghee to a brāhmana reaches Brahmaloka, Saṁvatsara-vrata; Brahmā deity, KKV 449 (Mat 101 68 calling it Ghrta-vrata), HV II 886 (from Pad.).

Varāṭikāsaptamī—on any 7th tithi; a person should subsist on only such food as he can purchase with three varāṭikās (*cowries*), whether it is proper for him to eat it or not, Sun deity, reward not stated; KKV 184, HV I. 726 (from Bhav.).

Varāhadvādasī—on M. śu 12: tithivrata: Varāha form of Visnu is deity, sankalpa and worship on 11th, golden image of Varāha to be placed on a jar in which pieces of gold, silver or copper and all seed had been cast and worship thereof and jāgara in *mandapa* of flowers; next morning donate the image to a learned and well-conducted brāhmana; reward is *saubhāgya*, wealth, beauty, honour and sons in this very life; KKV 319–321, HV I. 1027–29 (both quoting Var 41. 1–10), GK pp. 151–152.

Varunavrata—If a man standing a whole night in water donates a cow the next morning, he secures Varuna-loka; KKV 450 (52nd Sastivrata), HV II. 905 (from Pad.), the verse is Mat 101 74); (2) Vi Dh. (III 195. 1–3) is somewhat different, worship of Varuna from the beginning of Bh. to the Full Moon thereof, at end donate jaladhenu together with umbrella, sandals and two garments The word jaladhenu occurs in Anuśāsana 71. 41 and in Mat. 53. 13; vide H of Dh vol. II. p. 880.

Vasavrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata extending over four months from Cai śu.; in Cai, Vai., Jy, Ās., the performer observes a fast and worships Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha and donates respectively materials useful for sacrifice by a brāhmana, war materials to a ksatriya, merchandise to a vaiśya and materials for manual work to a śūdra, performer secures Indraloka; HV II. 828 (from Vi. Dh.).

Vardhāpanavidhi—(procedure of birthday ceremony and festival). In the case of a child this was done every month on the tithi of birth and in the case of a king it was done every year; sixteen goddesses (such as Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī, Rudrāṇī, Pārvatī) should be drawn with indigo or saffron with the Sun in the middle of a circle, Vedic verses should be loudly recited and a festival held with loud music and the goddesses should be worshipped after bathing the child and 16 vessels of wicker-work filled with rich materials, edibles, flowers, fruits &c should be donated in honour of each of the sixteen goddesses and gifts should be made to brāhmanas and women whose husbands are alive with the prayer 'May the goddesses Kumudā and others confer on my child health, happiness and increase his life'. The parents may then have dinner along with their relatives; in the case of a king an offering (*havis*) was made to Indra and the *Lokapālas* and Vedic verses such as Ṛg. VI. 47. 11, X. 161. 4 were recited; HV II. 889-892 (from Ātharvana-gopathabrāhmana and Skanda).

Vaisavrata—begin on 9th of Cai. śu; tithivrata; worship of the great mountains Himavat, Hemakūta, Śṛngavat, Meru, Mālyavat, Gandhamādana; fast on that day; at end gift of a silver model of Jambudvīpa, secures all desires and heaven; HV I. 959 (from Vi. Dh) Himavat, Hemakūta and others are styled varsaparvatas in Brah. 18 16, Mat. 113 10-12, Vāyu 1.85.

Vallabhotsava—festival in honour of the great Vaisnava teacher Vallabha said to have been born in 1497 A. D., who wrote many works, emphatically taught a non-ascetic view of religion and rested his doctrines on the Bhāgavata. It is held on Cai. kr. 11.

Vasantapañcamī—on 5th tithi of M śu.; tithivrata; worship of Visnu; VR 220.

Vasantotsava—(festival of spring). There is a poetic and detailed description of the advent of spring in Vā. 6 10-21; the Mālavikāgnimitra and Ratnāvalī were both brought on the stage in Vasantotsava as expressly stated in the *prastāvanā* to both; the third Act of the former drama shows that in this festival presents of red Aśoka flowers were sent to one's dear ones and wives in high families used to be seated on a swing with their husbands. NS 229 puts

it on Cai. kr. 1 (by pūrnimānta reckoning), while PC 100 places it on M. śu 5 (following NA) The first Act of a drama Pārijātamañjarī-nātikā is called Vasantotsava in Caitra-parva; vide E. I. vol. VIII pp 96 ff where two Acts of the drama by Madana, upādhyāya of Arjunavarman of Dhārā, are published from a stone.

Vasundharādevīvrata—m. in Aśvaghosa-nandimukha-avadānam. Vide JRAS vol VIII (new series) pp 13-14

Vasuvrata—(1) worship of the eight Vasus that are really forms of Vāsudeva on the 8th tithi with fast from Cai. śu. drawn in a circle or as images; at end donate a cow; secures wealth and crops and Vasuloka The eight Vasus are Dhara, Dhruva, Soma, Āpah, Anila, Anala, Pratyūsa and Prabhāsa Vide Anuśāsana 150 16-17, Mat 5. 21, Brahmānda III. 3 21 for these. HV I. 848-49 (from Vi. Dh); (2) gift of a cow together with plenty of gold when it is about to be delivered and subsisting on milk alone that day; performer reaches the highest goal and is not born again; HV II. 885 (from Pad.) For the high importance of the gift of a cow in that condition (and called 'ubhayatomukhī') vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 879

Vastatrirātra—see 'Bastatrirātra' above p. 355.

Vahnivrata—(1) by worship of Agni one secures the reward of Agnistoma; HV I. 791 from Vi. Dh.; (2) begin on Amāvāsyā of Cai ; tithivrata; worship of Agni and homa with sesame on every amāvāsyā for a year, at end donate gold; HV II. 255-256; this is Vi. Dh III. 190. 1-3, but HV quotes same verses from Visnupurāna

Vāṇijyalābhavrata—fast on Mūla naksatra and on Pūrvāsādhā; the performer with face to east is to be bathed with water from four fresh jars in which conch-shell, pearl, roots of reed plants and gold are cast and then he is to worship Visnu, Varuna and the moon in his court-yard; homa with ghee in honour of these deities, gifts of blue garments; sandalwood, wine, white flowers; by this the trader secures success and does not fail in sea voyage and agriculture; HV II. 648-649 (from Vi. Dh.)

Vāmanajayantī—on Bh śu. 12th; Vāmana (avatāra of Visnu) is said to have been born at mid-day on this tithi when there was Śravana-naksatra; fast on this day; removes all sins; GK pp. 147-148, Vratārka folio 244a to 247a (from Bhav.

U.). Vide Bhāgavata VIII. chapters 17–23. In chap. 18. 5–6 it is said that Vāmana appeared in month of Śr. on 12th tithi when the naksatra was Śravana, the *muhūrta* was Abhijit and this tithi is called *Vijayādvādaśī*. Vide HV I. pp. 1138–1145 (from Bhavisyottara) much of which is quoted by Vratārka.

Vāmanadvādaśī—On Cai. 12; tithivrata; Visnu deity; fast on that day; worship of the limbs from the feet to the head connecting each with a different name (such as 'Vāmanāyeti vai pādam'); establish a golden image of Vāmana in a jar with white *yajñopavīta*, umbrella, sandals, rosary near it and donate them next morning with the words 'May Visnu in the form of a dwarf be pleased' after taking the twelve names (Keśava, Nārāyana &c.) with the months respectively from Märg., result-sonless man has a son, one desiring wealth gets wealth; Var. 43. 1–16 q. by KKV 323–325 and HV I. 1030–1032, VKK 320–21, NS 140–141, SmK 249–250; some authorities say that Vāmana appeared on 11th; others say that was on 12th. Vide NS. 140 for these views.

Vāyuvrata—(1) by worship of Vāyu, performer secures the highest goal; HV I. 791 (half a verse); (2) begin on 14th tithi of Jy. śu.; tithivrata; Vāyu deity; for a year; fast on each śu. 14th, at end of vrata gift of two garments; HV II. 152 (from Vi. Dh. III. 185. 1–3)

Vāravratas—Agni chap. 195, KKV 8–34, Dānasāgara pp. 568–570, HV II. 520–592, HK 517–521, KR 593–610, SmK 549–588. Some works like Vratārka deal with vratas on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday alone.

Vāralaksmīvrata—on a Friday nearest to Śr. pūrnimā or on 14th of Śr. śu.; vāravrata; Laksmi deity; Vratārka 358b–362b, from Bhav. U.

Vāruvrata—a māsavrata; Brahmā seems to be the deity; one should subsist in *ayācita* way in the four months of Cai., Jy., Ās and M. or P.; at end of vrata donate a pitcher covered with garments, food, vessel containing sesame and gold; he reaches Brahmaloka; HV II 857 (from Pad.).

Vārunī—The 13th of Cai. kr. if it falls on Śatabhisak naksatra (of which Varuna is the presiding deity) is called Vārunī and is equal to a crore of solar eclipses; if in

addition it falls on Saturday it is called Mahā-vāruṇī; if in addition to all these there is a śubha-yoga, then it is mahā-mahā-Vāruṇī; VKK 518-519, KT 463, SmK 107, GK 611 (from Skanda), KTV 189-190

Vāsudevaṅgādaśī—on Ās śu. 12; tithi, Vāsudeva is deity; worship of the limbs of Vāsudeva from feet to head with different names of Vāsudeva and his *vyūhas*; a golden image of Vāsudeva to be worshipped which is to be placed in a water jar, covered with two garments and donated; it is worthy of note that this vrata is said to have been imparted by Nārada to Vasudeva and Devakī; the performer gets a son or kingdom if he has lost it and his sins are destroyed; HV I. 1036-37 (several verses are the same as in Var. 46).

Vighna-vināyaka-vrata—For four months from Phā; AK folio 356.

Vijaya—(1) on 10th of Āśv. śu a little after sunset when the stars are just appearing, being most auspicious time for accomplishing all objects; SmK 353; (2) it is also the name of the 11th muhūrta of the day divided into 15 muhūrtas; SmK 353.

Vijaya-dhūpa—described in HV II. 51 (from Bhav. I. 68 3-4).

Vijayaikādaśī—(1) *Saṅkalpa* on 11th; fast on dvādaśī on which there is Śravaṇa-naksatra; a golden image of Viṣṇu clad in yellow robes to be made and to be worshipped with *arghya*; *jāgaraṇa* at night; next day at sunrise donate image; dvādaśī with Śravaṇa when the Sun is in Lion and the Moon in Śravaṇa is not possible except in Bh., HV I. 1136-38 (from Agni), KR 287-288; (2) same in HV I. 1138-1140; (3) Phā su. 11th or 12th if joined to Puṣya-naksatra is called Vijaya; (4) Bh. su. or kṛ 11th or 12th if joined to Wednesday and Śravaṇa-naksatra is called Vijaya. vrata in su. leads to heaven and in kṛ. to destruction of sins; Viṣṇu deity; HV I. 1152-1155 (from Brahmavaivarta). Some of these occur in KKV 348-50 (from Ādityapurāṇa)

Vijayavidhi—a vāravrata; on Sunday falling on su. 7 with Prājāpatya (Rohiṇī) naksatra; Sun deity; KKV 17-18.

Vijayavrata—worship of (image) of Airāvata (Indra's elephant) with a strap in his mouth and Uccaiḥśravas (horse of Indra), secures victory; HV I. 576 (from Vi. Dh.).

Vijayā—the name is given to several tithis e. g. śu. 7 falling on Sunday is so called (Bhav. U. 43 2, VKK 9, HK 625, PC 105); vide also entry Vijayavidhi; the Garuda (I 136. 1–2) notes that dvādaśī or ekādaśī joined to Śravana-naksatra is so called; KKV 349, KR 287–291. Vijayā-saptamī occurs in E. I. III. 53–56 and I. A vol. 25 p. 345, Torkhede grant of Rāstrakūta king Govinda, dated in *śake* 735 current (813 AD) Pausa. VKK 36 states that if Vijayā-saptamī has the Sun in Hasta it is called 'mahā-mahā'; śu. Ekādaśī when it has Punarvasu naksatra is called Vijayā; HK 633 quoting Vi. Dh.

Vijayāsaptamī—(1) on 7th of śu with Sunday; tithi-vrata; Sun deity; KKV 127–129 = HV I. 663–64 (both quote a few verses from Bhav. U. 43 1–30); (2) on M. śu 7th; tithi; Sun deity; fast on that day and repeating one thousand names of the Sun (set out in HV I. pp. 707–716); for a year; reward-freedom from diseases and sins; HV I. 705–717; (3) Garuda (I. 130. 7–8) notices another variety of this vrata performed on seven saptamis by fasting and foregoing wheat, māsa, yava, sastika, bell-metal vessel, food ground on stones, honey, sexual intercourse, meat, wine, oil bath, collyrium and sesame.

Vijayāyajñasaptamī—on M. śu. 7; tithi; Sun deity; for one year, different name of the Sun being employed in each month; 12 brāhmanas to be honoured; at end donate a golden image of the Sun with a golden car and charioteer to the *ācārya*; HV I. 757–760 (from Bhav.)

Vitastāpūjā—At the end of Bh. from the 10th of śu. for seven days one should see, bathe in, drink water of, worship and contemplate on the river *Vitastā* (Hydaspes of the Greeks, modern Jhelum), that is an incarnation of Satī (Pārvatī); special worship at confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu; festival in honour of the river wherein actors and dancers should be honoured; KR 286 (quoting Brah)

Vidyāpratipad-vrata—on the first tithi of a month, person desiring learning and wealth should worship images of Visnu and Laksmī on a square figure made with husked rice grains with full blown lotuses (1000 or less in number) and with milk or *pāyasa*, and of Sarasvatī placed by their side, and of the Moon and honour his *guru* and fast that day and on 2nd worship Visnu, offer gold to his ācārya and then dine, HV I. 338–340 (from Garuda).

Vidyāvāptivrata—from 1st tithi of M. after P. pūrnimā for one month, worship of Hayagrīva with sesame, homa with sesame and fast for first three days; this is māsavrata; performer becomes learned, HV II. 796-97 (from Vi. Dh. III. 207. 1-5).

Vidyāvrata—on 2nd tithi of a month, draw square figure with white rice grains and in its midst a figure of a lotus with eight petals on the pericarp of which draw Laksmī with lotus in her hand and the latter's eight *śaktis* (such as Sarasvatī, Ratī, Maitrī, Vidyā), these to be placed on the petals; salutations to these latter in the form 'om Sarasvatyai namaḥ', draw several deities (named) as lords of four quarters and four intermediate quarters; place four (Vyāsa, Kratu, Manu, Daksa) as gurus and Vasistha and others on the maṇḍala, worship all these with various flowers, repeat Śrīsūkta (one of the Khilasūktas beginning with 'Hiranyavarnām harinīm'), the Purusasūkta (Ṛg X. 90) and hymns to Visnu; donate a cow and a bull and a jar of water to the priests and also five vessels filled with fried rice, sesame and (by a woman performer) turmeric powder, gold to a house-holder and food to the hungry; the pupil should pray to the ācārya to impart learning and the ācārya should impart it in the presence of images; HV I. 386-389 (from Gar.)

Vidhāna-dvādaśa-saptamī—Observance of vrata on the 7th tithi in the twelve months from Cai. described at length; they are also given separate names such as Marica-saptamī, Phala-saptamī, Anodanā-saptamī; in all these Sun is deity; mantra is 'om namah Sūryāya', HV I. 792-804 (from Āditya-purāna)

Vidhānasaptamī—tithi vrata; Sun deity; a man should begin on M. śu. 7 and subsist on one of the twelve things alone in order on the 7th tithis of the twelve months from M viz the tips of arka flower, pure cowdung, *marica*, water, fruit, *mūla* (radish), nakta way, fast, ekabhakta, milk, taking in air, ghee; KV 419, VKK 37-38, TT 36-37, KT 459-460, VKK 38 distinguishes this from Ravivrata (which is to be observed on Sunday beginning from the first Sunday in M.).

Vināyakacaturthī—(1) Vide Ganeśa-caturthī above pp 145-149. (2) on each 4th tithi the performer donates sesame food and himself partakes of sesame and water at night; for two

years; KKV 79 (quoting Bhav. I 22. 1-2), HV I. 519-520 (quotes same verses and calls it Ganapati-caturthī).

Vināyakavrata—begin on Phā. śu. 4; tithi, Ganeśa deity; four months, on every śu. 4 the performer observes nakta, makes homa with sesame, donates sesame, at end in the 5th month donates a golden image of Ganeśa with four copper vessels filled with *pāyasa* and a 5th one with sesame; freedom from all obstacles; Bhav U. 33. 1-13.

Vināyakasnapana-caturthī—in Bhav. U. 32. 1-30 (reproducing several verses of Yāj. I. 271-294). This is really a Śānti and not a vrata and may be dealt with under the section on Śānti.

Vibhūti-dvādaśī—on 10th of śu. in K., Vai., Märg., Phā. or Ās., performer should undertake the niyamas (restrictions) of this vrata; fast on 11th and worship Janārdana (image); he should offer worship to the several limbs from the feet (of Viṣnu) to the head in such forms as 'vibhūtide namaḥ pādau vikośāyeti jānunī'; he should place in front of Viṣnu image a golden fish in a jar of water; jāgara with stories (about Viṣnu) and donate next morning the golden image and jar with prayer 'just as Viṣnu is never bereft of his great manifestations, may you free me from the mire of all the sorrows of *saṃsāra*', he should donate every month the image of each of ten *avatāras* of Viṣnu and of Dattātreya and Vyāsa, together with a blue lotus on dvādaśī; after finishing twelve dvādaśīs he should donate to the guru or ācārya a lavaṇācala, a bedstead with all appurtenances, a cow, a village (by kingly performer) or a field (the village chief) and to other brāhmaṇas cows and garments; this procedure may be followed for three years, he becomes free from sins, saves a hundred *pitṛs* &c; KKV 364-367, HV I. 1057-1060; both quote from Mat. 100. 1-37 (some verses are different), which are also found in Pad. V. 20. 4-42. For the gift called Lavaṇācala, vide H. of Dh. II. p. 882, Mat 84. 1-9.

Virūpākṣavrata—begin on 14th of P. śu, worship of Śiva for one year; at end donate all materials to a brāhmaṇa and donate a camel, becomes free from fear of *rākṣasas*, from diseases and secures all objects; HV II. 153 (from Vi. Dh. III. 186 1-3).

Viśokadvādasī—sankalpa on 10th night of Āsv. su. 'I shall fast on 11th, worship Keśava and shall partake of food the next day (on 12th)'; worship of Keśava from feet to head; a mandala should be made and thereon a four-cornered altar; place on altar a winnowing basket in which an image of Laksmī called Viśokā (that frees from sarrow) is kept and the prayer 'May Viśokā destroy sorrow, confer wealth and all success', on all nights worshipper to drink water in which darbhas are dipped; dance and song all night, honour pairs of brāhmanas; this procedure every month, at end donate bedstead and *guḍadhenu* and the śūrpa (basket) together with Laksmī image; KKV 350–364, HV I. 1075–1078 (from Pad V 21 22–80.); Mat 81 describes this and 82 describes Gudadhenu which is only a subsidiary part (*anga*) in this vrata Vide H of Dh vol II. pp 880–81 for *guḍadhenu*.

Viśokasasthī—on M śu 5th bath with black sesame and partake food made up of rice and sesame; then on 6th make a golden lotus and worship it as Sun with red karavīra flowers and two red garments and pray for freedom from sorrow (*śoka*); should drink cow's urine and then sleep; on 7th donations to guru and brāhmanas and partake of food without oil and salt, observe silence and listen to Purāna works; this should be done in both fortnights for one year; at end on M. śu. 7th donate a jar containing a golden lotus, a furnished bedstead and a kapilā cow; HV I. 600-602 (from Bhav. U. 38. 1–7); KKV (211–212) gives these very verses as Viśokasaptamī

Viśokasankrānti—When on an Ayana day or Visuva day there is Vyatīpātayoga the performer should bathe in water mixed with *tilas* and observe ekabhakta; he should bathe a golden image of the Sun with pañcagavya and offer *gandha* and flowers, clothe it in two red garments and place it in a copper vessel and worship the Sun (image) from feet to head with different names of Sun, and offer arghya; one year; at end worship Sun, offer homa with mantras addressed to the Sun, donate twelve kapilā cows or one cow if poor; secures long life, health and prosperity; this is a sankrānti vrata; HV II. 742–743 (from Skanda)

Viśokasaptamī—HV I. 746–47 quotes from Bhav. thirteen verses on this which are the same as Mat 75 1–12 (=Pad. V. 21. 235–248) and which are the same as the verses under Viśokasasthī.

Viśvarūpavrata—on śu. 8th or 14th when it falls on Saturday and Revatī naksatra: Śiva is deity; the linga should be bathed in mahāsnāna, camphor as unguent, white lotuses and many ornaments to be placed on linga, burn camphor as incense, naivedya of pāyasa and ghee; gift to ācārya of a horse or elephant; performer gets whatever he desires (son, kingdom, pleasures &c.), hence vrata is called Viśvarūpa (lit. having all forms); drink at night water mixed with kuśas and observe jāgara; HV I. 865–866 (from Kālottara).

Viśvavrata—(1) Ekabhakta on 10th of every month; tithivrata for a year, at end donate ten cows and golden or silver images of the ten directions with a trough full of sesame; performer becomes an emperor and all his sins are destroyed, KKV. 451, HV I. 983 (from Pad.); Mat. 101. 83 mentions this; (2) Viśvedevas to be worshipped on ekādaśī; images of them to be placed on lotus petals; tithivrata; Viśvedevas deity, offer stream of ghee and fuel sticks, curds, milk, honey; HV I. 1148 (from Bhav.) This vrata is like Vaiśvānara-pratipad.

Viśvedeva-daśamī-pūjā—from K. śu. 10, tithi; ten Viśvedevas enumerated in Vi. Dh. III. 176. 1 that are manifestations of Keśava are deity; worship them in mandalas or as images; one year; at end donate gold; reaches Viśvedevaloka. Vi. Dh III. 176. 1–5.

Vistivrata or *Vistibhadrā*—The *karanas* will be described in the section on Kāla They are of two classes, *cara* (moveable) and *sthira* (fixed). The first are seven of which Visti is one. Vide Br S. 99. 1. Visti is half of a tithi. The works on astrology raised it to the status of an ill-formed malignant demoness Visti comprised 30 ghatikās which were distributed unevenly in her mouth, throat, heart, navel, waist and tail (respectively 5, 1, 11, 4, 6, 3 ghatikās); HV II. 719–724 (from Bhav. U), KN 330, SmK 565–566 describe her as the daughter of the Sun and sister of Saturn, she has the mouth of an ass, three feet &c Visti was generally destructive and was to be avoided for any auspicious undertaking, but it was a favourable time for destroying enemies or poisoning them (Br. S 99 4); fast on the day that has Visti; but if Visti occurs at night then ekabhakta may be resorted to on two days; worship gods and pitrs and then image of Visti made of *darbhas* with flowers &c., naivedya is of *krśara*

(dish of rice and peas and spices, *Marathi khicadī*); gift of dark garment, dark cow and dark blanket Vṛṣṭi and Bhadrā mean the same thing Vide HV II 719–724, KN 330, SmK 565–566.

Viṣṇu—Vi. Dh III 123 lays down what names of Viṣṇu should be taken on certain occasions, such as crossing a river (when one is to remember Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha), or when the planets or nakṣatras are unfavourable or when one is in danger from robbers and tigers &c (remember name Nṛsiṃha); Vi Dh. III. 124 sets out the names of Viṣṇu to be uttered in months from Cai, or on weekdays, nakṣatras, tithis; chap. 125 deals with the names to be taken when visiting certain holy places, countries &c.

Viṣṇutrimūrtivrata—Viṣṇu has three forms or manifestations viz. Vāyu, the Moon and the Sun; these protect all the three worlds; they are also inside the bodies of men as *vāta, pitta* (bile) and *kapha* (phlegm); in this way Viṣṇu has three palpable forms; worship Him on Jy. śu 3 observing a fast; in early morning worship Vāyu, offer at midday homa in Agni with yavas and sesame, at sunset worship the Moon in water; for a year (on each 3rd of śu.); worshipper reaches heaven; if he performs for three years, he is in heaven for 5000 years; Vi. Dh. III. 136. 1–26

Viṣṇutrirātravrata—on K. śu 9th; make a golden image of Hari and of Tulasī and worship for three days and celebrate marriage of Tulasī with Hari, NS 204.

Viṣṇudevakīvrata—begin on 1st tithi of K.; for a year; bathe with pañcagavya and partake of it; worship of Vāsudeva with bāna flowers, sandalwood paste and sumptuous naivedya; resolve to abstain for a month from harming any living being (even animal), from telling an untruth, from theft, flesh and honey; engage in constant thought on Viṣṇu, no reviling of śāstra, sacrifice or *devatās*; partake of naivedya with silence every day; same procedure in Mārg, P and M. and other months except that flowers, incense and naivedya are different; HV II. 636–638 (from Vi Dh). It is worthy of note that this vrata was imparted to Devakī, mother of Kṛṣṇa, who wanted a good son and she was asked to worship Vāsudeva who is no other than her own son.

Viṣṇupañcaka—the last five days of K. are so called, worship Hari and Rādhā during those five days with five upacāras

viz gandha &c ; all sins being destroyed he goes to Visnuloka; various ways of service are described viz worship on 11th, drinking cow's urine on 12th, milk on 13th, curds on 14th, worship Keśava on 15th and drink pañcagavya in evening, or worship Hari with Tulasī leaves, Pad. III. 23. 1–33.

Viṣnupada or *Viṣnupadī*—name of the four zodiacal signs of Vrsabha, Simha, Vrścika and Kumbha; vide KN 332 and under Sankrānti above p. 213.

Viṣnupadavrata—begin on Pūrvāsādhā-naksatra in Āsādha; worship the three steps of Visnu placed in milk or ghee; performer to subsist on sacrificial food (*havisya*) at night alone, in Srāvana on Uttarāsādhā worship of Govinda and Visnu's three steps, gift and food being different; in Bh. on Pūrvāsādhā, in Phā. on Pūrvāphalgunī and in Cai. on Uttaraphalgunī similar worship; performer secures health, prosperity and goes to Visnuloka; HV II. 665–667 (from Vi. Dh.).

Viṣnuprabodha—Rising of Visnu from sleep in K. Vide pp. 109–110 above and HK 903–4, KR 421–425.

Viṣnuprāptivrata—fast on dvādaśī, arghya to the Sun with the words 'Namo Nārāyanāya'; worship of Visnu image with white flowers with the mantra 'O, best among gods! O support of earth! having accepted with a gracious mind these flowers may the Lord Visnu be pleased with me'; he should subsist on śyāmāka (millet) or corn that ripens in sixty days from sowing with condiments, rice or barley or *nīvāra* (wild rice); then pārana; performer reaches Visnuloka; KKV 343–344, HV I. 1203–4 (from Bhav.).

Viṣnulakṣavartivrata—cleanse cotton of dust and pieces of grass &c. on an auspicious tithi and *lagna* and spin threads therefrom four finger-breadths in length and five such threads would make a wick; one hundred thousand of such wicks immersed in ghee placed in a vessel of silver or bell-metal should be kindled before Visnu image; the proper time for kindling is either K., M., or Vai, the last being the best; every day a thousand or two thousand lighted wicks should be waved before Visnu; finish the vrata on pūrnimā of one of the above three months; then *udyāpana*; nowadays this is done in the Deccan by women only; VKD 383–398.

Viṣṇuvrata—(1) worship of Viṣnu image drawn on a lotus; this vrata has the same procedure as Vaiśvānaravrata; HV I 1177 (from Bhav.); (2) fast on twelve dvādaśīs (in a year) and gift of cow, calf and gold; performer secures highest goal; HV I. 1202 (from Pad.), VKK 70, (3) begin on 2nd tithi of P. śu.; for a year divided into two periods of six months each; the performer bathes on the four days from 2nd tithi with water respectively mixed with mustard, sesame, *vacā* (plant with aromatic root) and *sarvauṣadhis*; the names to be worshipped on those four days are respectively Kṛṣṇa, Acyuta, Hṛṣīkeśa and Keśava; arghya to be offered to the crescent of the moon on the four tithis respectively as Śaśin, Candra, Śaśāṅka and Niśāpati; performer to eat once at night while moonlight lasts; dakṣinā to be given on 5th, this was performed by ancient kings (Dilīpa, Dusyanta), sages (Marīci, Cyavana) and high-born ladies (Devakī, Sāvitrī, Subhadrā); result-removal of sins and securing desired objects, Agni 177. 15–20, HV II. 458–460 (from Vi. Dh.); (4) early morning bath for four months from Ās, gift on K. pūrnimā of a cow and dinner to brāhmaṇas; reaches Viṣnuloka, KKV 444 (quoting Mat. 101 37), KR 219; (5) on Cai. śu 4th observe fast and worship the several groups of four forms in which Hari appears, viz Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Haya and Haṃsa, or as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Viṣnu, the first two being Sādhyas and the latter two siddhas; perform for twelve years; he finds the way to *mokṣa* and becomes equal to the Highest, Vi. Dh. III. 151. 1–8

Viṣnuśankaravrata—This is to follow the procedure of Umāmaheśvaravrata (p 277 above). It is to be performed in Bh. or Āsv. on Mṛgaśiras, Ārdrā, Pūrvāphalgunī, Anurādhā or Jyesthā; the only differences are that garments for Viṣnu image should be yellow, the dakṣinās for Viṣnu and Śaṅkara were respectively to be gold and pearls; HV II. 593–594 (calls it Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa-vrata), KR 282–283 (both quote Devīpurāṇa).

Viṣnuśayanotsava—The festival on the sleeping of Viṣnu either on the 11th or 12th of Ās śu.; NS 102; vide above pp. 109–110 for Viṣnuśayana. This is not to be performed in intercalary month.

Viṣnuśrnkhala-yoga—when dvādaśī is mixed up with ekādaśī and dvādaśī has also Śravaṇa-nakṣatra on it, it is called

Viṣnuśṛnkhala; by fasting thereon one's sins are wiped out and one secures *sāyujya* (absorption) into Viṣnu; HV 295, KV 464, PC 216-219.

Vīrapratipadā—same as Balipratipadā above p. 201-203.

Vīravrata—on 9th tithi a person should observe ekabhakta, treat to dinner maidens and donate a golden jar, two garments and gold; for a year (on each 9th dinner to maidens), in each life he becomes handsome and is not subdued by enemies and reaches Śiva's capital, the deity appears to be Śiva or Umā or both; Mat. 101. 27-28 q. by KKV 443, HV I. 958 (from Pad), VKK 41.

Vīrāsana—a posture required in all Krcchras; HV I. 322 (quoting Gar.) and II. 932 and also in Aghamarsanavrata (Śankhasmṛti 18. 2) It removes all sins. Vide H. of Dh. IV. p 148 note 342. For another meaning (in Yoga system), vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 957 note 2127a.

Vṛksotsavavidhi—Great importance was attached to the planting of trees Mat 59 (verses 1-20 same as Pad. V. 24. 192-211) contains the procedure of tree festival. It is briefly as follows:-trees in a garden should be sprinkled with *sarvausadhi* water, decked with fragrant powder and flowers and cloth should be wound round them; the trees should be pierced with a golden needle (imitating karnavedha) and collyrium applied to them with a golden pencil; on the platforms of trees seven or eight golden fruits should be placed, jars containing pieces of gold should be established under the trees homa to be offered to Indra, Lokapālas and Vanaspati; a milch cow covered with white cloth decked with gold ornaments and having horns tipped with gold should be let loose from the midst of trees; the performer (owner of the trees) should honour all priests with gifts of cows, golden chains, rings, clothes &c. and feed brāhmanas with a dinner full of milk for four days; *homa* with yavas, black sesame and mustard and *palāśa* fuel sticks and festival on 4th day; performer reaps all desires Mat 154 512 states that a son is equal to ten deep reservoirs of water and a tree planted is equal to ten sons It is said by Var. (172 36-37) that just as a good son saves his family, so a tree laden with flowers and fruits saves its owner from falling into hell, and that one who plants five mango trees does not go to Hell; Vi Dh. (*III. 297. 13*) remarks about trees ' a single tree nurtured by

a man performs what a son would do in that it gratifies gods with its flowers, travellers with its shade, men with its fruits; there is no fall in hell for the planter of a tree.'

Vṛntāka-tyāga-vidhi—it involves the abstention from eating vṛntāka (fruit of egg-plant) for a life-time or a year or six or three months; fast on Bharaṇī or Maghā naksatra for one night, invoke the presence of Yama, Kāla, Citragupta, Mṛtyu and Prajāpati on an altar and worship with *gandha* &c; homa with sesame and ghee with svāhā to Yama, Nīla, Nīlakantha, Yamarāja, Citragupta, Vaivasvata, 108 *āhutis*, gift of a vṛntāka made of gold, dark cow and bull, finger rings, ear-rings, umbrella, sandals, a pair of dark garments and dark blanket, dinner to brāhmaṇas who pronounce blessings; he who gives up vṛntāka for life goes to Viṣṇu-loka; one who performs this for a year or a month even does not see the city of Yama, it is a *prakīrnaka* vrata, HV II 909-910 (from Bhav U.).

Vṛndāvanadvādaśī—on K śu. 12 observed in Tamil lands.

Vṛsabhavrata—(1) fast on 7th śu., on 8th gift of a bull covered with two white garments and decked with ornaments (bell &c); tithivrata, Śiva deity, the performer reaches Śivaloka and thereafter becomes king, HV I. 882 (from Bhav U); (2) worship of bulls on Jy. Amāvāsyā, manufacture wooden bulls the previous day and establish them in one's own house and worship with *gandha* &c, prayer to bulls calling them Dharma. Dharma is often spoken of as vṛsa as in Manu VIII. 16 (= Śāntiparva 90 15.

Vṛsaṇa'a—(1) the same as Viṣṇuvrata (2) above; KKV 448 quoting Mat 101. 64, (3) on K pūrṇimā let loose a bull and observe nakta, tithi; Śiva deity, performer reaches Śivaloka, HV II. 242 (from Pad one verse)

Vṛsotsarga—(letting loose a bull) on pūrṇimā of Cai or K once in three years on Revatī naksatra, bull to be three years old and accompanied by four or eight cows three years old; KR 432-433 (from Brah.) The most frequent letting loose of a bull takes place on the 11th day after the death of a person For treatment thereof, vide H of Dh. IV pp 539-542 The same subject is treated at length in HV II. 983-997, SmK 390-405.

Vedavrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata; from Cai one should worship Ṛgveda and should subsist by nakta way and listen

to its recitation and on last day of Jy. donate two garments, gold, cow, bell-metal vessel full of ghee; in Ās, Śr, Bh. he should observe Yajurveda vrata, in Āśv, K. and Mārg. Sāmaveda vrata and in P., M, Phā. for all vedas; this is really worship of Vāsudeva who is the soul of the Vedas; perform for twelve years; becomes free from all trouble and goes to Visnuloka; HV II. 827–28 (from Vi. Dh. III. 141. 1–7).

Veśyāvrata—HV II. pp. 541–548 (quoting Bhav. U.) deals with this vrata and contains the startling story narrated by Krsna to Yudhisthira that the former cursed his 16000 wives, when he noticed their erotic emotion roused by the charms of his son Sāmba, that after his death *dasyus* would kidnap them and the story of a prior curse pronounced by sage Nārada on Apsarases who proudly did not bow to him that they would have Nārāyana as their husband but that ultimately they would be kidnapped by robbers and become Veśyās (prostitutes). The long and short of this story is that they were advised to follow the profession in palaces and temples, that they should not love any male who has no wealth, but that they should have as their sole object wealth, whether the man who approached them was handsome or ugly. It is further stated that they should make gifts of cows, fields, gold to brāhmanas, should bathe with *sarvausadhi* water when on a Sunday there is Hasta, Pusya or Punarvasu naksatra and offer worship to Kāmadeva from the feet to the head, that they should worship Cupid as Visnu, honour a brāhmana learned in the Veda with gift of a *prastha* of husked rice grains and render their person to him on Sunday as above for a year and in the 13th month make a gift of bedstead, gold chain and an image of Kāmadeva, this is the vrata for all Veśyās, this is vāravrata; Ananga (god of love) is devatā, KKV (27–31) has this vrata and calls it Veśyādityavārānangadāna-vrata

Vaikunthacaturdaśī—(1) K. śu. 14 is called Vaikuntha; if worship of Visnu is to be done it should take place at night; NS 206; (2) on K śu. 14 in the cyclic year Hemalamba at the time of Arunodaya and on Brāhma *muhūrta* Lord Viśveśvara himself is said to have bathed in Manikarnikā at Banaras, performed Pāśupatavrata and together with Umā worshipped Viśveśvara and established Viśveśvara; NS 206, SmK 388–389, PC 246–247.

Vaitaranīvrata—Marg. kr 11th tithi is called Vaitaranī; one should undertake *niyamas* (restrictions) for this vrata on that tithi, at night he should worship a dark cow from its front foot to its tail; apply sandalwood paste to its body, wash its feet and horns with water scented with sandalwood paste and worship its limbs with Paurāṇika *mantras*; since one crosses the Vaitaranī river of the nether world by means of a cow, so this ekādaśī on which cow is honoured is so called; this vrata is for one year in three periods of four months, in which naivedya of boiled rice, of cooked barley and of pāyasa is offered respectively in 4 months from Mārg, in four months from Cai and in 4 months from Śr., one third of each naivedya is to be given to the cow, to the priest and to the performer, at end of one year gift of bedstead and a golden cow to the priest and one *drona* of iron; HV I. 1110–1112 (from Bhav. U.), Vratārka 230a–231b (notes that it is well-known in Gurjara-deśa). Pad. (VI. 68. 28 ff) describes this but says that Mārg. kr. 12th is Vaitaranī.

Vaināyaka-vrata—on every 4th tithi practise nakta for a year; at end of year donate an elephant; tithivrata; Ganeśa deity; leads to Śivaloka; Mat. 101. 61 quoted (with variations) by KKV 448 and HV I. 532 (from Pad).

Vaiśākha-kṛtya—Vide HV II. 748–750, KR 145–179, VKK 240–259, KT 423–430, NS 90–97, SmK 108–117, GK 15–23. Some of the vratas in Vaiśākha, such as Akṣayyatṛtīyā have been separately mentioned. Other small matters are briefly dealt with here. In this month morning bath, particularly in holy rivers, is specially commended along with baths when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance) or Makara (Capricorn). Vide RM (ABORI vol. 36 p 331 'Tulāmakara' &c), KR 149 (quoting 'Tulāmakaramesesu prātaḥsnānam vidhiyate), KV 423–424, SmK 106, 108 The *prātaḥsnāna* may be begun on Caitra Full Moon or on the ekādaśī or Full Moon of Vaiśākha (NS 90); for *māhātmya* of Vaiśākha-snāna, vide Pad. IV. 85. 41–70 saying that early morning bath in Vai. is equal to Aśvamedha; on śu 7 the worship of the Ganges, as it was let off on this *tithi* from his right ear by Jahnu who drank it up in anger (KKN 387, Pad. IV. 85 41–42, NS 95, SmK 112); on Vai. śu. 7 Buddha was born and his image should be worshipped for three days from that tithi, especially when it has Puṣya

naksatra (KKN 388, KR 160). On śu. 8 worship of Durgā called Aparājitā after bathing image with water containing camphor and Jatāmāṁsī and the performer himself should bathe with the juice of mangoes (NA 56, SmK 113); on Vai. pūrnimā, white and dark sesame were produced by Brahmā, therefore one should bathe with water mixed with them, offer in fire sesame, donate sesame and *madhu* (honey) and vessels full of sesame (KKN 388, HV II. 167–171, KR 163–164, SmK 115–116, NS 97); vide V. Dh. 90. 10 for a similar provision. The Vaiśākha-pūjā of Buddha was started in Ceylon under Duttha-gāmanī (about 100–77 B. C.); vide 'Buddhism in Ceylon' by Walpola Rāhula (Colombo; 1956) p. 80.

Vaiśvānara-vrata—(1) On 1st tithi worship Agni and offer into fire ghee and all kinds of corn; Agni the lord of 1st should be drawn in the midst of a lotus; the main mantras would be 'Om Agnaye namah' in worship and 'om Agnaye svāhā' (in *homa*) with grains anointed with ghee and then with a stream of ghee, fuel sticks &c ; HV I. 354–355 (from Bhav.); (2) to donate fuel sticks to a brāhmana in the four seasons beginning from the rainy season and at end to donate *ghṛta-dhenu* is Vaiśvānaravrata destroying all sins; this is *ṛtu-vrata*; Mat. 101. 57 ą by KKV 447, HV II. 360 (from Pad.).

Vaisnavavrata—In this a person takes an early morning bath every day for four months from Āṣ.; at end feeds a brāhmana and donates a cow and a jar of ghee; *māsavrata*; Visnu deity; HV II. 818 (from Pad.)

Vyatīpātavrata—Vyatīpāta is one of the 27 Yogas (Viskambha, Prīti &c) enumerated in Bhujabala p. 37 verses 136–138. It is variously defined. Vide H. of Dh II. p. 852 note 2010 for one definition and VKK 242 for another. More will be said under Kāla.

For Vyatīpātavratas, vide HV II. 708–717, Vratārka folios 391a–395a On Vyatīpāta day one should bathe with pañcagavya in a great river; a golden figure of Vyatīpāta with 18 arms should be placed on a golden lotus and should be worshipped with *gandha* &c ; fast on that day; one year, on the 13th Vyatīpāta *udyāpana*; hundred *āhutis* of ghee, milk and sesame with fuel sticks of trees that exude milky juice with the words 'Vyatīpātāya svāhā'. Vyatīpāta is said to be the son of the Sun and Moon Vide I. A. vol. 23 p. 117

No 27 Inscription dated *saka* 1199 (1277 A D.), where there is a mention of 'Vyatīpāta-punya' (language is Canarese). Vide I. A. 20 pp 292–293 for several meanings of Vyatīpāta.

Vyūsapūjā—on Āṣ pūrnimā; particularly by ascetics (sannyāsins); SmK 144–145, PC 284 In Tamil country it is done on Jy su 15 (Mithuna)

Vyāhṛtivrata—beginning from Cai. su 1st, one should, after a bath outside the house (in a river &c), respectively drink and observe on the seven days cow's urine, cow's dung, milk, curds, clarified butter, water with kuśas dipped therein and fast; every day homa of sesame to the accompaniment of the Mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ, satya); every month this be done for a year; at end donate dakṣinā, unused garment, gold, bell-metal vessel, milch cow; the performer becomes an emperor; Vi. Dh. III. 162 1–7. For Vyāhṛtis and Mahāvyāhṛtis, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. 301 note 713.

Vyomavrata—the sky should be made with white sandalwood paste of the length of thumb joint and placed before the Sun; worship of the Sun with Karavīra flowers, to the east, south, west and north of the figure of sky apply saffron, *aguru*, white sandalwood and *caturḥsama* respectively and red sandalwood in the middle; the mantra is 'Khakholkāya namaḥ'; Sun deity, HV II. 904–5 (from Bhav.)

Vyomaṣaṣṭhī—worship of the Sun in the sky (and not of an image) and also of the sky (*vyoma*), offering to the Sun of ghee and honey contained in a vessel of the capacity of a *prastha*, one prastha of sesame and three prasthas of rice grains; worship of the Sun in the evening of the tithi, reaches Sūryaloka; HV I. 616–17 (from Bhav).

Vratarājatṛtīyāvrata—on su 3rd tithi draw on two pieces of cloth figures of *Umā and Śiva* with *rocanā*, camphor and indigo and worship them with necklaces of gold and jewels and utter two (Paurāṇika) mantras separately addressed to them; homa; this vrata leads to non-separation from husband, son, brother &c, particularly for women; HV I. 484–85 (from Devīpurāna)

Vratasaṣṭhī—Mat 101 and Pad. V 20. 43–144 set out 60 vratas (almost in identical words) all of which find place in KKV pp 439–451.

Śakradhvajamahotsava—Same as Indradhvajotthānotsava above p 274. Vide Vi Dh II 154–157 for detailed description. Sarasvatīkanthābharana of Bhoja (on Poetics) V. 95 mentions Śakrārcā festival.

Śakravrata—(1) from Āśv. śu. 5; HV I. 1204; (2) on Āśv. pūrnimā fast and worship Indra, his wife Śacī, Airāvana, Vajra (thunderbolt), Mātulinga (Mātali?) with gandha &c., for a year; at end donate gold; reaches Indra-loka; HV II. 237 (from Vi Dh. III. 196. 1–3); (3) one should eat food in the open; for a year; at end donate a cow; reaches Śakraloka; HV II. 866 (from Pad.).

Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa-vrata—same as Viṣnu-Śankara-vrata above p. 414, KKV 416–17, HV II. 693–94 (from Devīpurāna).

Śankarārkavrata—on 8th falling on Sunday; worship of the Sun who is the right eye of Śankara; in the half moon figure a circular spot be made by applying saffron and red sandal-wood paste and in the circular spot place a ruby fixed in gold; this would be eye (Sun) of Śankara; tithivrata; Arka (Sun) as Śankara's eye is deity; KKV 271–72, HV I. 831–32 (from Kālikā). If no ruby available use gold.

Śankarācārya-jayantī—on Cai śu. 5 in Southern India, but on Vai. śu. 10 in Mahārāstra.

Śatabhisāsnāna—on Dhanisthā-naksatra fast for both performer and his priest; performer seated on Bhadrāsana was to be bathed with water from one hundred jars filled with conches and pearls and after bath, he, wearing unused garment, should worship Keśava, Varuna, Candra, Śatabhisak naksatra (the presiding deity of which is Varuna) with gandha &c.; donate to ācārya liquids, cow, jar and gold and daksinā to other brāhmanas; he should wear a jewel surrounded by three coverings of śamī and śālmali (silk-cotton) leaves and tips of bamboo; all diseases vanish; naksatra-vrata; Viṣnu, Varuna deities; HV II. 653–54 (from Vi. Dh.).

Śatrunāsana-vrata—worship Vāsudeva with saffron, white flowers, *guggulu dhūpa*, lamp fed with ghee, red garment; homa; naksatravrata; this destroys enemies, HV II. 597 (from Vi Dh.).

Śatrupradosavrata—on śu. 13th tithi if falling on Saturday in the months from K.; for one year; for progeny; worship of Śiva

and taking food after sunset; SmK 40–41, PC 225–229, Vratārka, folios 265a–269b.

Śanivāravrata—on each Saturday in Śrāvana bathe an iron image of Saturn with pañcāmṛta, offer flowers, fruits &c. and recite the names of Saturn as 'Konastha, Pingala, Babhru, Kṛsna, Raudra, Antaka, Yama, Sauri (son of the Sun), Śanaiscara, Manda (reference to slow motion of Saturn); naivedya on the four Saturdays of Śrāvana are rice and māsa pulse boiled together, pāyasa, *ambilī* (gruel prepared with rice flour and butter-milk) and *pūrikā* (wheat cake); SmK 555–56 (contains a *stotra* of Śanaiscara from Skanda)

Śanivrata—on Saturday take an oil-bath and donate oil to a brāhmana; worship Saturn with dark flowers; for one year; at end donate the iron image of Saturn placed in iron or clay jar filled with oil and accompanied with a pair of dark garments; the mantra for a brāhmana performer is 'śan no devīrabhistaye'-Rg X. 9.4 and for others several Paurānika mantras in praise of Śani (called also Kona, probably from a Greek word); this averts all trouble caused by Saturn; HV II. 580–586 (from Bhav. U.), SmK 555.

Śamīpūjana—worship of Śamī tree. Vide Vijayā-daśamī above pp. 188–194 and SmK 355.

Śambhuvrata—person that burns in fire two thousand palas of ghee from buffalo milk for a year reaches the position of Nandī; samvatsaravrata; Śiva deity; HV II 866–67 (from Pad.)

Śayana—sleeping of Visnu and other gods and goddesses Vide above pp 109–111 and HK 897–915, KV 265–273.

Śayyādāna—gift of bedstead, This is required in several vratas as in Māsopavāsavrata, Śarkarā-saptamī. Vide SmK 417–418.

Śarkarāsaptamī—on Cai. śu. 7th tithi morning bath with water mixed with white sesame; draw on an altar a lotus and pericarp with saffron and offer on it *dhūpa* and flowers with words 'namah Savitre', place a jar containing a gold piece covered with a plate containing sugar and offer worship with Paurānika mantra; drink pañcagavya and lie on the ground near the jar and recite inaudibly Saura hymn (Rg. I. 50); on 8th donate all the above materials and feed

brāhmanas with sugar, ghee and pāyasa and himself partake of food without salt and oil; every month this procedure for a year; at year's end donate a furnished bedstead with sugar and gold, a cow and a house (if possible) and a golden lotus made with one to 1000 *niṣkas*; when Sun drank *amṛta* some drops fell down from which sprang rice, *mudga* and sugarcane (from which sugar is produced); tithivrata; Sun deity; this vrata removes sorrow and confers sons, long life and health; Mat. 77. 1–17 q. in KKV 214–217, HV I. 642–43 (from Pad. V. 21. 263–279), KR 157–159 (from Mat.), Bhav. U. 49. 1-18 has almost the same verses as Mat.

Śāka—(vegetable) is said to be of ten forms viz. 'roots, leaves, sprouts, blossom, fruits, stalks, corn that has germinated, bark, flower and mushroom; HV I 47, NS 105 (both quoting Kṣīrasvāmī on Amarakośa), VR 17.

Śākasaptamī—begin on K. śu. 7th; every month for one year divided into three periods of four months; on 5th ekabhakta, on 6th nakta and fast on 7th; offer to brāhmanas food with well spiced vegetables and should himself eat at night; tithivrata; Sun deity; in each period of four months different flowers (Agasti, fragrant flowers, Karavīra), unguents (saffron, white sandalwood, red sandalwood), dhūpas (Aparājita, aguru, *guggulu*), naivedyas (pāyasa, jaggery cake, boiled rice-grains); dinner to brāhmanas at year's end and listening to Purānas read by a reader; Bhav. I. 47. 47–72, q. by KKV 103–107, HV 760–763, KR 417–419.

Śānta-caturthī—4th tithi of M. śu is called Śāntā; fast on it and worship Ganeśa; tithivrata; Ganeśa; homa, naivedya of boiled rice full of ghee and jaggery and salt; bath, gifts, offerings made on this yield a thousand times more reward than ordinarily; HV I. 513–514 (from Bhav. I. 31. 6–10).

Śānti-pañcamī—on 5th tithi of Bh. draw with black and other powders figures of snakes and worship with *gandha* &c., and on 5th tithi of Āśv make figures of snakes with darbhas and worship them and also Indrānī; snakes are pleased with performer: the mantra is 'Kurukulle hum phat svāhā'; KKV 95 (only the one on 5th of Āśv.), HV I. 563–64 (from Bhav, I. 37. 1–3 and I. 38. 1–5).

Śāntivrata—(1) on 3rd tithi prepare an altar and make a maṇḍala thereon with white rice grains and invoke

Narasimha and establish an image showing all the features of that *avatāra* and decked with numerous flowers of various kinds and bilva fruit and sesame &c., worship image with various upacāras, dance, songs and music; place in front of image a jar full of water and eight other jars in eight directions, elaborate procedure of homa with sesame, ghee &c. and also *tarpana* and *japa*. This vrata removes all distress, diseases and all sins; HV I. 465–471 (from Gar); (2) begin on 5th of K. śu., give up sour things for a year and worship at night image of Hari sleeping on Śesa and with one foot on lap of Laksmī; worship limbs from feet to head associating each limb with one of the eight *nāgas* (Ananta &c mentioned on p. 124 above) and bathe *nāgas* (images) with milk, homa with sesame and milk, at end donate golden snake, cow, and gold, this vrata makes for freedom from danger of snake bite; KV 96–97 and HV I. 556–557 (both quote from Var. 60 1–8).

Śāmbharāyanīvrata—a naksatravrata; Acyuta deity; for seven years, twelve naksatras viz Krttikā, Mrgaśiras, Pusya and so on give names to the twelve months of the year, viz. Kārtika, Mārgaśīrsa, Pausa &c.; begin in K. and the naivedya for four months from K. is krśara (Marathi *Khicaḍi*), Samyāva in four months from Phā ; and pāyasa in four months from Ās.; brāhmanas are to be fed with the same food that is offered as naivedya, a silver image of the brāhmanī women Śāmbharāyanī (who was asked by Brhaspati about Indra's predecessors was to be established); Krsna tells the story of this venerable woman; HV II. 659–665 from Bhav U.)

Śukhavrata—on 1st tithi in both *pakṣas* in each month subsist by ekabhakta way; for one year; at end donate a *kapilā* cow; reaches Vaiśvānaraloka; Agni 176 6–7, VKK 29 (quotes same from Mat. 101. 92, which calls it Śivavrata as printed).

Śūlavrata—m. in Mundakopanisad III. 2 10 and Vas Dh. 26. 12. Śankarācārya explains that it consists of carrying fire on the head.

Śītāvrata—on 4th tithi a person should eat in ekabhakta way and donate once to a house owner and distribute among seven houses salt, coriander, jiraka, marica, asafoetida, dry ginger and turmeric with manahśilā; this confers prosperity, HV I. 531–32 (from Bhav. U.), KR 97–98.

Śivakṛṣṇāṣṭamī—on 8th of Mārg. kr.; tithivrata; Śiva deity; worship of Śivalinga on every 8th tithi for one year; every month different name of Śiva, different substance to be eaten up to K; reward-freedom from all sins. Bhav. U. 75. 1–30 q. by V P folios 141b–143a.

Śivacatuṛdaśīvrata—on Mārg. śu. 13th (by amānta reckoning) observe ekabhakta and pray to Śiva; fast on 14th; worship Śankara and Umā with white lotuses, gandha &c and from feet upwards; the same to be done on kr 14th also and on all 14th tithis: from Mārg for 12 months the salutation to Śankara is under a different name; he has to drink in each month one of 12 substances viz cow's urine, cow dung, milk, curds, ghee &c and also offer in each month different kinds of flowers, Mandāra, Mālatī &c.; for a year or twelve years in K; at end of year he has to let loose a nīla bull, donate a bedstead with a jar to a learned and well-conducted brāhmana; reward same as that of a thousand Aśvamedhas and all, even grave, sins are destroyed; Mat 95 5–38, q. by KKV 370–374 and HV II. 58–61, KR 466–471, NS 226; for *nīlavṛṣa* vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 540 note 1215.

Śivanaktavrata—(1) observe nakta on kr. 8th and 14th; secures pleasures in this world and reaches Śivaloka; KKV 386, HV II. 398 (from Bhav), (2) nakta on each parva for a year, and worship of Śiva for a year; KKV 386 For *parvan*, vide H. of Dh vol. III. p 737 note 1425; (3) on 8th, 9th, 13th and 14th, performer takes only ekabhakta, food being served on the ground; for a year; KKV 386–387.

Śivanakṣatra-puruṣavrata—When there is Hasta naksatra on Phā śu., then this vrata may be resolved upon by one unable to fast; this is a naksatravrata, Śiva deity; worship of limbs of Śiva from feet to head with different names of Śiva in connection with Hasta (on which vrata begins) and the other 26 naksatras; subsist by nakta method but without oil and salt and make gifts on each nakta day of a *prastha* of rice grains with a vessel full of ghee; in pāranā donate golden images of Śiva and Umā and a bedstead with all appurtenances· HV II. 703–706 (from Vi. Dh.)

Śivayogayuktaśivarātrivrata—on M. kr. 14th with Śivayoga; tithivrata; Śiva deity; story of king who in a former life

was a merchant with thieving propensity; HV II. 87-92 (*from* Skanda).

Śivaikhavrata—ekabhakta in Hemanta (Märg. and P.) and M.; at end of M. make a chariot decked with variegated cloth and having four white bulls yoked; place in chariot a *linga* made with the flour of an ādhaka of rice; drive chariot at night on the public road and bring to a Śiva temple, *jāgara* with illuminations and theatricals; next morning dinner to Śiva devotees and to the blind, poor and distressed; this is *vratavrata*; present the chariot to Śiva; HV II. 859-60 (from Vi Dh.)

Śivarātrivrata—Vide above under Mahāśivarātri

Śivalingavrata—apply white sandalwood paste to linga, worship with white full-blown lotuses and bow to it, a small linga of the size of the thumb be placed in white lotus filaments near Dakṣināmūrti and worship it with bilva leaves, offer other upacāras of dhūpa &c; performer is freed from all sins and reaches Śivaloka; HV II. 887-889 (from Śivadharmottara).

Śivavrata—(1) For four months from Ās. pūrnimā give up paring of nails and egg-fruit; donate on K pūrnimā a golden jar filled with ghee and honey, Mat 101 11-12 q. by KKV 440-441; (2) *from* Märg. to K worship Śiva, offer before Śiva and donate in each month in order the following things made of flour, viz *horse, elephant, chariot*, herd of eleven bulls, a moon-lit. (or camphor) house with slaves and slave girls and household gear, seven plates full of paddy, two hundred fruits and *guggulu*, a mandala with offerings consisting of various edibles and pictures, a vehicle made of flowers, guggulu dhūpa and pine and bilva seeds and ghee and aguru burnt throughout Bh. month, vessel made of *arka* leaves filled with milk and *ghee* (*for* entire month of Āśv.), a vessel filled with sugarcane juice and covered with cloth, at end of year treat Śiva devotees to food and drink and donate gold and clothes, HV II 819-821 (from Kālottara); (3) on 14th or 8th of both paksas or on pūrnimā from month of P. to Märg special worship to be offered viz. as *naivedya* a *prastha* of yāvaka, candid sugar with milk and ghee, an image of kapilā cow made of barley flour of the height of one *vitasti* with a bull and feed eleven brāhmanas, flour rhinoceros in M., ruddy goose in Phā.,

Śiva image of flour in Cai., and so on different articles made of flour in the other months; one year; HV II 398–400 (from Kālottara); (4) on 8th and 14th of both *paksas* fast and worship of Śiva in afternoon; japa and homa; honour guru; drink three *culukas* (hollowed hand) of pañcagavya; the next day subsist on *hamsya* food; observe for whole of life; three male ancestors dwell in Śivaloka; HV II. 343 (from Kālottara); (5) begin on P and subsist by nakta way on wheat, rice and milk only; on 8th of both *paksas* fast and sleep on the ground and bathe Rudra with ghee and on pūrnimā; this be carried on for a year up to Mārg. with different food in each month and different offering to Rudra, Lingapurāna 83 13–54; (6) from one *ayana* to another (i. e. for six months) give flowers and ghee; at end donate flowers and feed brāhmana with pāyasa and ghee and donate ghrtadhenu; confers wealth and health; KR 219 (from Agni); (7) give up paring of nails from Ās pūrnimā to K. pūrnimā and at end donate a jar of honey and ghee with gold, performer goes to Rudraloka, KR 219–220, VKK 292.

Śivayatesu pūjā—VR (pp. 57–61) gives the procedure of worship in all pūjās of Śiva.

Śivaśaktimahotsava-vrata—a great festival when astamī and navamī tithis are mixed up may be held in honour of Śiva and Śakti or in Śivaksetra such as Kāśī or Śrīśaila; KN 197.

Śivācaturthī—Bh śu 4th tithi is called Śivā; bath, gifts, fast and japa on that day yield a hundredfold reward; tithivrata; Ganeśa deity; HV I 512–513 (from Bhav. I. 31. 1–5).

Śivopāsanavrata—on 8th and 14th tithis of both *paksas*, one should take no food and should worship Śiva; for one year; he reaps the same merit as the performer of *sattra* does; KKV 385–386, HV II. 397 (calls it Śaivopavāsavrata). For Sattra, vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 1239.

Śivapavitravrata—on Ās. pūrnimā worship of Śiva, giving sacred thread to Śiva and dinner to Śiva devotees, again on K. pūrnimā worship Śiva, give to ascetics garments and daksinā; HV II. 843 (from Śivadharmottara).

Śītalāvrata—on Śr. kr. 7th establish one jar and on it worship golden image of Śītalā and feed seven maidens eight or less

years old; confers freedom from widowhood, removal of poverty, happiness of sons &c; Vratārka folio 111–113, AK folios 438b–440b. Some perform it on Śr. śu. 7. It is for women alone. The naivedya is food mixed with ghee and curds.

Śītalāṣṭamī—on Cai. kr 8th; worship of Śītalā (popularly deemed to be goddess of small-pox) for relief against smallpox; offer to Śītalā eight lamps fed with ghee day and night and sprinkle cow's milk and cold water made fragrant with *uśīra* (fragrant roots of a plant); donate an ass, broom, and winnowing basket separately; KT 462, AK folio 558a–561a; ass is the vāhana of Śītalā, she is represented as naked, has a broom and jar in her hands and a winnowing basket on her head Vide Forbes Rasmala, vol II pp. 322–325 about Śītalādevī and A. C. Sen's 'Bengali language and Literature' for Śītalā-mangala (poems in honour of Śītalā) pp. 365–367.

Śītalāsaptamī—on 7th of Śr. kr., VR 237–241.

Śīlavrata—(1) same as Śivavrata (No 6); KKV 444–45 (quoting Mat. 101. 38–39; (2) on 3rd eat food not cooked on or in fire; (probably) for a year; tithivrata; Śiva deity; at end donate cow; the performer is not born again, KKV 449 = HV I. 484 (from Pad.); Mat. 101. 70 calls it Śreyovrata; Śīlavrata, acc to Mat. 101. 38, is different

Śīlāvāptivrata—worship for a month after Āgrahāyaṇī pūrṇimā (i. e. Mārg pūrṇimā) of Varāha (incarnation of Viṣnu); bathe the image of Varāha with ghee and offer ghee in Agni, make ghee as naivedya and donate ghṛta; on P. pūrṇimā and two days prior to it observe fast and honour a brāhmaṇa with gift of a vessel full of ghee and gold, performer secures *śīla* (character, moral conduct); Vi. Dh. III. 208. 1–5 q. by HV II. 786–787.

Śukravrata—When Friday and *Jyeṣṭhā-naksatra* coincide, one should observe nakta, when 7th such Friday is reached, one should place in a silver or bell-metal vessel golden image of Venus and worship it with white garments and sandalwood paste; place before image *pāyasa* and ghee and donate these and image with a prayer that Venus may remove all evil planetary influence and confer health and long life; vāravrata; Venus deity; HV II. 579–80 (from Bhav. U.); vide also Agni 195. 5.

Śuddhavrata—on last five days at the end of Śarad or on ekādaśīs in the twelve months, tithivrata; Hari deity; when ocean was churned five cows rose; from them sprang five holy things, viz. cowdung, rocanā (yellow pigment), milk, urine, curds and ghee, from cowdung was produced bilva tree named śrīvṛkṣa as Lakṣmī dwells on it; from gorocanā arose all auspicious desires, guggulu from cow-urine, all strength in the world from cow's milk, all auspicious things from curds, all splendour from ghee; therefore bathe Hari with milk, curds and ghee and worship with guggulu, lamps &c and Agasti flowers; performer reaches Viṣnuloka and even his pitṛs who might be in hell go to heaven; he should donate a cow and the gifts called jaladhenu, ghṛtadhenu, madhudhenu; he is freed from all sins; HV I. 1156-58 (from Vahnipurāṇa).

Śukladvādasī—same as Śubhadvādaśī immediately below.

Śubhadvādaśī—begin on 1st of Mārg. śu., observe ekabhakta from 1st to 9th tithi, on 10th after bath worship Keśava at mid-day; on 12th of both pakṣas donate sesame and gold in four months from Mārg.; in 4 months from Cai. donate vessels full of groats and gold; similarly worship Govinda in Śrāvaṇa and following three months; on 12th of K. he should prepare a golden model of the earth with seven *pātālas* and mountains and place it before (image of) Hari; worship Hari; *jāgaraṇa*; next morning donate to each of 21 brāhmaṇas a cow, a bull, a pair of garments, ring, golden wristlet and ear-ornament, a village (for a royal performer) and on kṛ. 12 a silver model of the earth and donate it; performer secures all prosperity and Viṣnuloka; KKV 340-343, HV I. 1101-1103 (quoting about twentyone verses from Var. 55. 1-59).

Śubhasaptamī—on 7th of Āśv. śu. worship kapilā cow and donate a *prastha* of sesame contained in a copper vessel and a golden bull with garments, flowers and jaggery with the words 'may Aryaman be pleased'; tithivrata, Aryaman deity; for a year do the same every month, Mat 80. 1-14 q. by KKV 221-223, HV I. 648-650 (from Pad. V. 21. 307-321); same verses in Bhav U 51. 1-14.

Śūlapradānavrata—fast on each amāvāsyā for a year; tithivrata; at year's end offer to Śiva a pike made of flour and a golden or silver lotus and place it on one's head and donate these; he should observe the rules of *ahiṃsā*, celibacy, sleeping on ground &c.; HV II. 252-53 (from Śivadharma).

Śailavrata—(1) worship of the mountain the performer desires, becomes happy; HV I 796 (from Vi. Dh); (2) for seven days from Cai. śu. 1 worship every day the seven *kulaparvatas* viz Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāriyātra; homa with yavas; subsist on barley food, for a year; at end donate *twenty prasthas* of yava; the performer king conquers enemies and rules over the earth, HV I 463-64 (quoting Vi Dh III. 161 1-7) For seven mountains, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p 560, note 1260.

Śaivanakṣatravrata—begin when Hasta-naksatra occurs in Phā. śu.; subsist by nakta method but avoid oil and salt; worship Śiva associating each of his limbs from feet to head separately with the naksatras from Hasta in the form 'Śivāyeti ca Hastena pādau sampūjayed-vibhoḥ'; donate on all nakta days a *prastha* of rice grains with a vessel of ghee; on pāraṇā donate images of Śiva and Umā, a bedstead fully furnished, a cow; naksatravrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 703-706 (from Vi. Dh).

Śaivamahāvrata—(1) Begin from P. 8th, subsist in nakta way throughout but on 8th of both *pakṣas* fast; worship Śiva thrice in the day, offer homa, sleep on ground; on P. pūrnimā offer Mahāpūjā with ghee &c; offer dinner to eight brāhmanas and present a pair of cows and a kapila bull; in M. and the following months he is to subsist by nakta on different kinds of food in each month up to Mārg; māsavrata; HV II. 843-848. (2) in K subsist by nakta way; at end of month offer oilcake with jaggery and ghee; fast on 8th and 14th, in the months from Mārg different objects connected with Śiva are to be presented to the image of Śiva; māsavrata, Śiva deity; HV II. 848-853 (from Śivadharma).

Śaivopavāsavrata—no food to be taken for a year, on 8th and 14th of both fortnights of a month; Śiva deity; HV II. 397 (from Bhav.).

Saṃyamavrata—sankalpa on Āśv. śu. 7, on 8th fast, on 9th eat flour and worship Durgā and give dinner to brāhmanas, this procedure to be followed for one year, tithivrata; Durgā deity; at end dinner to maidens and present them with clothes &c and pray 'may Devī be pleased with me', one without learning becomes learned, a timid person becomes valorous, one that had lost a kingdom regains it. Var. 64. 1-6 q. by KKV 273, HV I. 957-58, KR 364-365.

Śyāmāmahotsava—vide p. 317 above under 'Drākṣā-bhakṣaṇa'; HV II. 915 (from Ādityapurāṇa), KR 303–304.

Śyenagṛāsanavidhi—on 4th, 8th, 9th, or 14th of K. śu.; for women; in Kṛta age women gave a morsel to a hawk with the request to carry it to Devī; but now no such thing is done but women take food before their husbands on one of these days and husbands dine afterwards; HV II. 641–43 (from Ādityapurāṇa).

Śrāddhavrata—apply sandalwood paste to Śiva image in the presence of Keśava image and donate jaladhenu and ghṛtadhenu; performer is freed from all sins and goes to Śivaloka; samvatasaravrata; Śiva deity; HV II. 863 (from Pad).

Śravanadvādaśī—(1) in Bh. śu. 12 with śravaṇa-nakṣatra; fast on 11th; donate on 12th an earthen vessel full of boiled rice and curds washed clean with water from the confluence (of Gangā and Yamunā); KKV 348 (from Vā.); (2) fast on dvādaśī with śravaṇa-nakṣatra and worship of Janārdana; it is in its reward equal to twelve dvādaśīs; if śravaṇa-dvādaśī falls on Wednesday, it is regarded as extremely great; tithivrata; Viṣṇu deity; HV I. 1162–1171 (from Vi Dh I 161. 1–8); Agni devotes fifteen verses to it. Most digests deal with it at length; vide HK 289–298, KV 459–464, NS 137–140, SmK 240–249 (elaborate procedure). Vide Pad. VI. 70 for this, its māhātmya and story. Vide Gar I chap. 136 also for this vrata.

Śrāvaṇa-kṛtya—KKN 395–397, KR 218–254, VKK 292, KT 437–438, NS 109–122, SmK 148–200, PC 215–22.

There are several important vratas in Śrāvaṇa such as Nāgapañcamī, Aśūnyaśayanavrata, Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, which have already been described or have been included separately in this list. A few small matters are briefly mentioned here. A notion prevailed that all rivers except those that fall directly into the sea are *rajasvalā* ('muddy' or with a pun 'in monthly course') when the Sun is in the middle of the signs of Cancer and Lion and therefore one was not to bathe in them for holiness and that streams that are not 1008 *dhanus* in length are not to be called 'nadīs' (rivers) but they are merely holes or canals (gartā). Vide Gobhilasmṛti I. 141–142 (Māsadvayam Śrāvaṇādi &c), NS 109–110; vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. 590 note 1337 for the length of *dhanus* (as 4 hastas). In Śr. the several deities had on different

tithis the *pavitrāropanavrata* (for which vide pp 339-340 above); on Mondays in Śr. one should either fast or take only one meal at night (SmK 139); on 9th of both fortnights worship Durgā under the name of Kaumārī (KR 244, SmK 200); on Śr. kr 1 all Vaidika brāhmaṇas have to engage in japa of Gāyatrī for 1008 times in Tamil lands as their almanac shows Śrāvaṇa amāvāsyā is called *kuśotpāṭinī* as kuśas are gathered then (KR 316, SmK 252). On this amāvāsyā childless women or women whose children die in infancy perform a vrata for getting a child viz they observe fast, establish eight *kalaśas* (jars) for images of Brahmāṇī and other Mother Goddesses

Śrāvaṇakūṇḍa—on 8th and 14th of Mārg. śu., after bath at mid-day performer should invite several maidens or one maiden (if he be poor) or chaste brāhmaṇa sagotra women and one learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇa, wash the latter's feet and give *arghya* and honour with gandha &c. and a sumptuous dinner, he should place twelve water vessels covered with threads and garlands before the maidens and should place one vessel on his own head and contemplate on Keśava and pray that he may be freed from all his debts to *pitṛs*, gods and men; the women should reply 'so be it', tithivrata; deities are goddesses called Śrāvaṇyaḥ who report to Brahmā whatever good or evil a man utters, HV II 134-139 (from Bhav. U.).

Śrīpañcamī—(1) on 5th of Mārg śu. one should make a golden, silver, copper, wooden or clay image of Lakṣmī or draw her figure on a piece of cloth and worship it with flowers and offer worship to the limbs from feet to head, chaste married women should be honoured with saffron and flowers and dinner and salutations; donate a *prastha* of rice grains with a vessel full of ghee with the words 'may Lakṣmī be pleased with me', this should be carried on for a year taking a different name of Lakṣmī in each month, at end worship Lakṣmī image in a maṇḍapa and donate it and a cow and pray to Śrī to give him success, result-prosperity for 21 generations, HV I. 537-543 (from Bhav. U. chap 37 1-58 with some variations). (2) Another vrata for success to be begun on śu. 5th with Śravaṇa-nakṣatra or with Uttarāphalgunī and Monday, on 4th ekabhakta, next day worship of bilva tree, under which eight *kalaśas* to be arranged in eight directions, holy

water, ratnas, *dūrvā*, white lotuses &c. should be cast in those kalaśas; Laksmī to be worshipped and prayed to; invoke Nārāyana in the middle kalaśa and worship Nārāyana image · for one year or as long as success is not effected, HV I. 546–552 (from Gar.); (3) on M. śu. 5, worship Laksmī in jar full of water or on Śālagrāma stone since she came to this world at Visnu's command on that day, Bhujabala-nibandha (p. 363 Ms) says that worship was with kunda flowers; KT 457, 458; PC 98 says Laksmī was to be worshipped on M. śu. 5, while SmK 479 provides that Kāma and Rati (Cupid's wife) were to be worshipped and a great festival (called Vasantotsava was to be held, (4) on Cai. śu. 5 Laksmī was to be worshipped; the performer throughout his life is endowed with prosperity; NM p. 62 verses 766-768, SmK 92.

Śrīprāptivrata—(1) HV I. 575 (quoting one verse from Vi. Dh.) says he who worships Laksmī (image) placed in a lotus with flowers reaps the reward of a yajña; (2) begin on the 1st tithi after Vai. pūrnimā, worship of Nārāyana and Laksmī every day for a month with flowers, fruits &c.; homa with whole rice grains and bilva (fruit); feed brāhmanas with milk and its products; fast for three days in Jyestha; donate gold and two garments; HV II. 751 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 211. 1–5).

Śrīvrkṣa-navamī—on Bh. śu. 9 worship bilva tree seven times when the Sun has just risen with sesame, food made with flour, wheat and flowers &c., pray to the tree and bow to it; performer to eat that day on bare ground food not cooked by fire (such as curds, fruits &c) without oil and salt; tithivrata; Bilva as the residence of Laksmī is deity; result is freedom from pain and obtaining of wealth; HV I. 887–888 (quoting Bhav. U. 60 1–10).

Śrīvrata—(1) by worshipping Laksmī on Cai. śu. 5th tithi only once one obtains all results that could be obtained in a year; HV I 575 (one verse from Vi. Dh.), (2) on Cai. śu 3rd tithi subsist on boiled rice and ghee and sleep on the ground that night; on 4th bathe outside the house (in a river &c.); on 5th worship of Laksmī on lotus whether natural or artificial and with lamp fed with ghee; homa in fire with Śrīsūkta of lotus and its petals and bilva leaves; dinner to brāhmanas with plenty of milk and ghee; eat *havisya* food;

for a year; secures strength, beauty and health; HV II. 466–468 (from Vi. Dh. III. 154 1–15)

Sat-tilā-dvādasī—on Phā kr. 12th when there is Śravana-naksatra worship gods with sesame, perform homa with sesame, light lamps with sesame oil in temples, donate sesame, offer water mixed with sesame to pitrs and eat sesame, Visnu is said to have observed fast on this tithi and offered sesame and pindas to his ancestors, KR 519.

Sat-tilī—one who fasts on 11th of M su when the Moon is in Mrgaśiras naksatra and performs on 12th the six actions relating to sesame becomes free from sins; VKK 505, TT 113–114, GK 151 The six actions are· rubbing sesame on body, bath in water with sesame, homa with sesame, gift of sesame, offering to pitrs water mixed with sesame and eating sesame, compare KR 519.

Sadaksara-mantra—Mahāsvetā mantra has six letters (HV II. 521); another is 'Khakholkāya namah ' KKV 9.

Sanmūla-vrata—Begin worship of six seasons on su. 6 of Cai. Rtuvrata; seasons deities, the six rtus are to be honoured respectively with fruits and flowers, astringent things (in Grisma), sweet ones in (rains), food and salt in Śarad, bitter and sour (in Hemanta), pungent things in (Śisira); on each su. 6th he fasts or subsists by nakta way and omits five rasas (taking only one appropriate to that season); for one year; HV II. 858–859 (from Vi Dh III. 156. 1–7)

Sastivratas—Sixty vratas occur in Mat 101. 1–83 (q by KKV 439–451) All these are said to have been narrated by Rudra to his spouse

Sasthīdevī—BRV II (chap 43 3–72) says that Sasthi, Mangala-candi and Manasā are portions of Prakrti, that Sasthi is the presiding goddess over children, that she is called Devasenā among Mātrs, she is wife of Skanda, protects children and gives them long life and narrates a story about worship of that goddess on the 6th day after birth in the lying-in chamber On the worship of Sūtikā-sasthi, vide KT 471–475, where Bhoja in quoted on p 473

Sasthvra'a—(1) fast on 5th tithi; worship of the Sun on 6th or 7th; performer gets the same fruit as Aśvamedha; HV I. 627 (from Brah); (2) on 6th tithi of su. when it falls on Tuesday; perform vrata on different months; reaps inexhaustible merit; HV I. 627–628 (from Vi Dh.)

Sasthīvratas—Bhav I. 39–46, Bhav. U chap 38–42, KKV 98–103 (only three), HV I 577–629 (twenty-one vratas), HK 622–624, KN 189–192, TT 34–35, SM 42–43, PC 100–103, VR 220–236.

When the sixth is mixed up with 5th or 7th the general rule is that in the case of vratas and fasts sixth mixed with the 7th is to be chosen except in the case of Skandasasthī where sixth mixed with 5th is to be preferred (KN 190, NA 48, SM 42, PC 100–101), the sixth tithi is dear to Kārtikeya (or Skanda) who was born on it and became the commander-in-chief of the gods on it; Bhav. I. 39. 1–13, HK 622 (quoting Brah.), KKN 382–383

One or two special matters may be noted. Skanda is the lord of 6th tithi and is to be worshipped on every 6th tithi with fragrant flowers, lamps, garments, crows as toys, bell, *chowries* and mirror, Kārtikeya is specially to be always worshipped by kings with campaka flowers and no other god (KR 276); 6th of Mārg śu is called Mahāsasthī (HK 623–624). Vide Nār I. 45. 1–51 for Ṣasthīvrata in the twelve months of the year.

Samvatsaravrata—begin on 5th of Cai. śu. in the year called Samvatsara and go on for five days Agni, the Sun, Soma, Prajāpati and Maheśvara are identified with the five years of a Yuga viz. Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Istāpūrta (Idāvatsara?), Anuvatsara and Udvatsara; they should be established in a maṇḍala each in order with blue, white, red, white-yellow and dark flowers; worship and homa with sesame, rice, barley, ghee, white mustard respectively; for five days *nakta*; at end donate five suvarnas, this is a pañcamūrtivrata; HV II 419–420 (from Vi Dh.). The names of the five years that constitute a yuga are variously named in vedic literature; vide Atharva VI. 55 3, Tai S V. 5. 7. 2–3, Tai. Br. I 4. 10. 1.

Saṁvatsaravratas—Vi. Dh I. 82. 8–20 (gives the names of the sixty years, Prabhava, Vibhava &c.), KKV 435–451, HV II. 862–867.

Saṁatsarārambhavidhi—HV I. 360–365. Vide above under Caitra-pratipad pp. 82–84

Sankastacaturthī—on Śr kr. 4th on moonrise (i e. about eight ghatikās after sunset) worship Ganeśa image, establish a

jar, 16 upacāras to be offered, *modakas* (1008, 108, 28 or 8) to be prepared, fast the whole day or no food to be taken till moon-rise, for life or 21 years or one year; gift to ācārya, dinner to 21 brāhmanas, SmK 171–177, VR 130–137, VKD 68, D S 74, the vrata may be observed throughout life or for 21 years; it is narrated that even Śiva did it when he wanted to vanquish demon Tāraka

Saṅkastahara-ganapativrata—on M kr. 4; tithivrata at moonrise; Ganeśa deity; VR (176–188) sets out a very elaborate procedure, in which Ṛg X 63 3, IV. 50. 6, the Purusasūkta (Ṛg. X 90), Nār and numerous Paurānika mantras are relied upon and 16 upacāras offered, Ganeśa is worshipped with 21 names and the same number of *dūrvā* tendrils, leaves of plants (such as *Bhṛngarāja*, *bilva*, badarī, dhattūra, śamī and flowers (red), there is also worship with 108 names of Ganapati; at end five *modakas* to be offered to the priest and dakṣinā; it is said that Vyāsa narrated this vrata to Yudhisthira. Sankasta appears to mean distress or calamity. 'Kasta' means 'kleśa' and the prefixing of 'sam' makes it a little more emphatic.

Saṅkrāntivratas—Vide HV 727–743 (16 in all), HK 407–438, KR 613–621, KN 331–346, VKK 204–231, SmK 531–545, VR 729–738, PC 357–366.

Saṅkrāntisnāna—Vide under Saṅkrānti above pp. 211–12 for bath on a saṅkrānti and HV II 728–730 (from Devīpurāna for results of bathing on the twelve saṅkrāntis with certain substances put in water for bath.

Saṅghātaka-vrata—to be begun on K śu. 1st, ekabhakta on that day, fast on 2nd tithi and also on 3rd; *pārana* on 4th, tithivrata, Śiva deity; worship in this way for 7½ months if performed only in each bright half, or 3½ months if in both paksas which make up 7, two golden images of a male and female to be placed on bedstead and bathed with pañcāmṛta &c, *jāgara*, sleeping on ground, gift of images to *ācārya*; the woman performer never suffers separation from husband or son, Pārvatī secured Śiva as husband by this vrata, HV II. 370–375 (from Var).

Satkulāvāptivrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 1st; worship of Viṣnu with three flowers of three different colours, three unguents; offering of *trimadhura*, three lamps, homa with yava and

sesame; donate three metals (gold, silver, copper); Vi. Dh III. 201. 1–5.

Satya-nārāyanavrata—very popular in Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra: described in Bhavisya (Pratisargaparva) chap. 24–29; M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri in cat. of mss in the Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta, vol. V. preface p. LXV says that the worship of Satyanārāyana (ms. No. 3370) has a Mahomedan origin. It was originally (and even now in many places) called 'Satyapīrer pūjā'. It occurs in the Revākhanda of the Skandapurāna (Vangavāsi ed) but does not occur in the Venk. Press edition. Vide also JBORS vol. XVI. at p. 328 where the same scholar says that the Mahomedan custom of offering 'Sirni' to Satyapīr was adopted by Bengal Hindus as worship of Satyanārāyana. This is a vrata very popular among lower middle-class people and women. Vide I. A. vol. 3 pp. 83–85 for stories current in Bengal about this vrata. It is said that Nārada was told about this vrata by Visnu himself. On any day a man worships Satyanārāyana and offers naivedya of 1½ quantity (such as 1½ *ser* or *maund*) of plantains, ghee, milk and wheat flour (or rice flour), jaggery or sugar; all these to be mixed up for naivedya; performer should listen to the stories and partake of the *prasāda*; jāgara with songs, music, dance; then people go to their houses; this yields all desired objects; stories about a brāhmaṇa who performed this vrata every month, of a vendor of wood, of a trader named Sādhu with a ship full of merchandise and costly things and his daughter Kalāvatī. In these stories Satyanārāyana is represented as very jealous and vindictive. The stories are said to have been taken from Skandapurāna, Revā-khaṇḍa.

Sadūnata—otherwise called 'annadānamāhātmya'. HV II. 469–475 quoting Bhav. U. wherein Krsna narrates to Yudhisthira the importance of giving food to others and refers to the words of Rāma to Laksmana that they suffered exile in a forest because of not feeding brāhmaṇas, that king Śveta suffered pangs of hunger even when in heaven and was told by Brahmā that his plight was due to his not having fed hungry persons. The word literally means 'vrata (i e. giving food) always'. In modern times it is often pronounced and written as 'Sadāvarta' or 'Sadābarta' or 'Sadāvarat', vide *Muraryi* v. *Nenbai* I. L. R 17. Bom. 351 for a bequest of rents for establishing a 'sadāvarat'. HV II.

471 quotes a verse saying that 'food is the very life of beings, it is their vigour, strength and happiness and therefore the donor of food is declared to be the giver of every thing'. The importance of giving food is stressed in the exordium 'atithidevo bhava' in Tai Up. I 11. 2; vide also Atharva IX 6 ff and Kathopanisad I. 1. 7.

Santānadvādaśī-vrata—tithivrata; he gives his or another's daughter in marriage on K Full Moon, observes a fast on the confluence of rivers, reaches a happy goal HV II. 238 (from Bhav. U.).

Santānāṣṭamī—on Cai kr. 8; tithivrata; Krsna and Devakī to be worshipped; fast; for a year; at end of each period of four months on kr. 8 bathe image of Krsna with ghee and donate ghee; HV I. 846–47 (quoting ten verses out of Vi. Dh. III. 217. 1–11)

Sandhyā (twilight)—is the period of three *ghaṭikās* (72 minutes) before sunrise and after sunset and it was provided that one should not engage in four actions in that period, viz eating, sexual intercourse, sleep, Vedic study; HK 694–97, PC 46; Utpala on Brhaj-jātaka VII 1 quotes Varāha that it is the time after half the sun's disc has gone down till appearance of stars and morning twilight is from the east having light till half the sun's disc appears.

Saptadvīpa-vrata—begin on Cai. śu. 1st and worship for seven days in order the seven *dvīpas* (continents), viz. Jambū, Śāka (of the Śakas), Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puskara; *homa* with ghee and donate seven dhānyas; observe nakta and sleep on the ground; one year; donate a figure of dvīpas made of silver; goes to heaven till end of Kalpa; Vi Dh. III. 159. 1–7.

Saptamī-nirṇaya—If 7th is mixed with 6th and 8th tithis a vrata for 7th tithi is to be performed on that day where 7th is mixed with 6th, but if for any reason 7th mixed with 6th cannot be accepted, the 7th mixed with 8th may be accepted, KN 193–194, TT 35–36, PC 103–104.

Saptamīlokavrata—worship seven *lokas* on 7th tithi; one would secure great intellect and unequalled position. HV I. 793 (one verse from Vi. Dh.)

Saptamī-vratas—Mat. chap. 74–80 = Pad V. 21. 215–321, Bhav. U. 43–53, Nār. I. 116. 1–72, KKV 103–225 (sets out more vratas of 7th tithi than of any other tithi, 44 in all), HV I.

632–810 (about 62 vratas), VKK 35–38, TT 36–40, VR 231–255 For eulogy of the worship of Saptamī, vide Vi. Dh. III. 169. 1–7.

Saptamīsnapana—Mat (68 1–42) describes this at length; HV (I. 763–768) quotes from Bhav. U. almost the same verses as those in Mat It is said to be an antidote against disease, ill-luck or distress or the death of infants It should be performed in the 7th month after a child is born to a woman who lost an infant child or on a 7th tithi in śu, but tithi of the birth should be avoided; offer to the Sun and Rudra and the Mātṛs specially oblations of rice with milk, repeat hymn to the Sun (Rg. I. 50) and offer homa to Rudra with Rg I. 43; the fuel sticks are to be of arka and palāśa and 108 āhutis of *yava*, dark sesame, and ghee; four jars in four corner directions and a fifth in their midst; and various things (five *ratnas*, *sarvauṣadhis*, clay from several places named) were to be cast in all jars; seven married women should sprinkle water over the woman whose child died and invoke the Sun, Moon and the gods to save the child that is born; golden image of Yama to be donated to ācārya (priest), worship of the Sun and the kapilā cow; performer to eat remnants of food offered to gods.

Saptamūrti-vratas—Vide Vi. Dh. III. 157–166.

Saptarṣi-vrata—(1) worship of seven sages makes one reach them and confers sagehood; HV I 791 (from Vi Dh.); (2) begin from Cai. śu. and for 7 days therefrom worship each of the seven sages viz Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣtha, with fruits, flowers and cow's milk, subsist in nakta way on those days; homa with sesame and with Mahāvyāhṛtis, for one year; at end donate a black deer hide to an Agnihotrin; performer secures the way to moksa; HV II. 508 (from Vi. Dh. III. 165. 1–7)

Saptavāra-vratas—(vratas of the seven week-days), KKV 25-27, HV II. 520–592, KR 593–604.

Saptamyarka-vrata—RM (verses 1172–73; vide ABORI vol. 36. p 314).

Saptasaptamīkalpa—to be undertaken on a Sunday in bright half after the Sun starts on his (apparent) northward passage and on a nakṣatra with male name; he should observe celibacy and subsist in nakta way on all the seven saptamīs

called Arkasamputa, Marica, Nimba, Phala, Anodanā, Vijayā, Kāmikī; observe ekabhakta on 5th and avoid sexual intercourse on 6th and give up honey and meat on that tithi; after writing the seven names on leaves he should cast them in an unused jar and should ask a child (who does not know the meanings of the seven names) to take out one and he observes that particular 7th accordingly; for a year; performer gets all his desired objects and reaches Sūryaloka, KKV 189–191, HV I. 687–689 quoting verses (from Bhav I. 208 2–32) Male naksatras have been stated above

Saptasāgara-vrata or *saptasamudra-vrata*—begin from Cai śu. 1st; worship Suprabhā, Kāñcanāksā, Viśālā, Mānasodbhavā, Meghanādā, Suvenu and Vimalodakā for seven days in order; homa in their names of curds add dinner full of curds to brāhmanas, and himself partake at night of boiled rice and ghee; for a year, donate seven garments to a brāhmana at a holy place, this is also called Sārasvatavrata; HV II. 507 (from Vi. Dh) The above seven appear to be the names or branches of river Sarasvatī and therefore Sārasvata appears to be the proper name and not 'Saptasāgaravrata'. Vide Vi. Dh. III. 164 1–7 for these seven rivers and this vrata being called Sārasvata

Saptasundarala-vrata—worship of Pārvatī under seven names, viz. Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī, Bhavānī, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā; dinner for seven days for seven maidens (about 8 years old); every day one of the 7 names to be used in the form 'may goddess Kumudā be pleased' and so on for six days; on the 7th all seven to be invoked and honoured with gandha &c and tāmbūla, vermilion and cocoanut, after worship a mirror should be presented before each of the seven; this secures beauty, *saubhāgya* and destroys sins, HV II 886–87 (from Bhav. U.).

Samudra-vrata—begin from Cai. su 1st, every day for seven days, worship with salt, milk, ghee, whey, wine mixed with water, sugarcane juice and sweet curds, performer to eat at night *havisya* food; homa with ghee, for a year; at end donate a milch cow; king becomes supreme on the whole earth; one secures also health, wealth and heaven. HV II. 464–65 (from Vi. Dh III. 160 1–7) The oceans are sometimes said to be seven, as in Vāyu 49. 123, Kūrma I 45. 4,

water, ratnas, *dūrvā*, white lotuses &c. should be cast in those kalaśas; Laksmī to be worshipped and prayed to; invoke Nārāyana in the middle kalaśa and worship Nārāyana image for one year or as long as success is not effected, HV I. 546–552 (from Gar.); (3) on M. śu. 5, worship Laksmī in jar full of water or on Śālagrāma stone since she came to this world at Visnu's command on that day; Bhujabala-nibandha (p. 363 Ms) says that worship was with kunda flowers; KT 457, 458; PC 98 says Laksmī was to be worshipped on M śu 5, while SmK 479 provides that Kāma and Rati (Cupid's wife) were to be worshipped and a great festival (called Vasantotsava was to be held; (4) on Cai śu. 5 Laksmī was to be worshipped; the performer throughout his life is endowed with prosperity; NM p. 62 verses 766-768, SmK 92.

Śrīprāptivrata—(1) HV I. 575 (quoting one verse from Vi. Dh.) says he who worships Laksmī (image) placed in a lotus with flowers reaps the reward of a yajña; (2) begin on the 1st tithi after Vai. pūrnimā; worship of Nārāyana and Laksmī every day for a month with flowers, fruits &c.; homa with whole rice grains and bilva (fruit); feed brāhmanas with milk and its products; fast for three days in Jyestha; donate gold and two garments; HV II. 751 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 211. 1–5).

Śrīvrkṣa-navamī—on Bh. śu. 9 worship bilva tree seven times when the Sun has just risen with sesame, food made with flour, wheat and flowers &c; pray to the tree and bow to it; performer to eat that day on bare ground food not cooked by fire (such as curds, fruits &c) without oil and salt; tithivrata; Bilva as the residence of Laksmī is deity; result is freedom from pain and obtaining of wealth; HV I. 887–888 (quoting Bhav. U. 60 1–10).

Śrīvrata—(1) by worshipping Laksmī on Cai. śu. 5th tithi only once one obtains all results that could be obtained in a year; HV I. 575 (one verse from Vi. Dh.), (2) on Cai. śu. 3rd tithi subsist on boiled rice and ghee and sleep on the ground that night, on 4th bathe outside the house (in a river &c.); on 5th worship of Laksmī on lotus whether natural or artificial and with lamp fed with ghee; homa in fire with Śrīsūkta of lotus and its petals and bilva leaves; dinner to brāhmanas with plenty of milk and ghee; eat *havisya* food;

for a year; secures strength, beauty and health; HV II. 466–468 (from Vi Dh. III. 154. 1–15.)

Ṣaṭ-tilā-dvādaśī—on Phā. kr. 12th when there is Śravana-naksatra worship gods with sesame, perform homa with sesame, light lamps with sesame oil in temples, donate sesame, offer water mixed with sesame to pitrs and eat sesame; Visnu is said to have observed fast on this tithi and offered sesame and pindas to his ancestors, KR 519.

Ṣaṭ-tilī—one who fasts on 11th of M śu when the Moon is in Mrgaśiras naksatra and performs on 12th the six actions relating to sesame becomes free from sins, VKK 505, TT 113–114, GK 151. The six actions are· rubbing sesame on body, bath in water with sesame, homa with sesame, gift of sesame, offering to pitrs water mixed with sesame and eating sesame; compare KR 519.

Ṣaḍaksara-mantra—Mahāśvetā mantra has six letters (HV II. 521); another is 'Khakholkāya namah' KKV 9.

Sanmūrtivrata—Begin worship of six seasons on śu 6 of Cai; Ṛtuvrata, seasons deities: the six rtus are to be honoured respectively with fruits and flowers, astringent things (in Grīsma), sweet ones in (rains), food and salt in Śarad, bitter and sour (in Hemanta), pungent things in (Śiśira); on each śu. 6th he fasts or subsists by nakta way and omits five rasas (taking only one appropriate to that season); for one year; HV II 858–859 (from Vi. Dh. III. 156 1–7)

Sastivratas—Sixty vratas occur in Mat 101. 1–83 (q by KKV 439–451). All these are said to have been narrated by Rudra to his spouse

Sasthīdevī—BRV II (chap. 43 3–72) says that Sasthī, Mangala-candī and Manasā are portions of Prakrti, that Sasthī is the presiding goddess over children, that she is called Devasenā among Mātrs, she is wife of Skanda, protects children and gives them long life and narrates a story about worship of that goddess on the 6th day after birth in the lying-in chamber On the worship of Sūtikā-sasthī, vide KT 471–475, where Bhoja in quoted on p 473

Sastivrata—(1) fast on 5th tithi, worship of the Sun on 6th or 7th; performer gets the same fruit as Aśvamedha; HV I. 627 (from Brah.), (2) on 6th tithi of śu when it falls on Tuesday; perform vrata on different months, reaps inexhaustible merit, HV I. 627–628 (from Vi. Dh.)

Ṣaṣṭhīvratas—Bhav. I. 39–46, Bhav. U. chap. 38–42, KKV 98–103 (only three), HV I. 577–629 (twenty-one vratas), HK 622–624, KN 189–192, TT 34–35, SM 42–43, PC 100–103, VR 220–236.

When the sixth is mixed up with 5th or 7th the general rule is that in the case of vratas and fasts sixth mixed with the 7th is to be chosen except in the case of Skandasasthī where sixth mixed with 5th is to be preferred (KN 190, NA 48, SM 42, PC 100–101); the sixth tithi is dear to Kārtikeya (or Skanda) who was born on it and became the commander-in-chief of the gods on it; Bhav. I 39. 1–13, HK 622 (quoting Brah.), KKN 382–383

One or two special matters may be noted. Skanda is the lord of 6th tithi and is to be worshipped on every 6th tithi with fragrant flowers, lamps, garments, crows as toys, bell, *chowries* and mirror, Kārtikeya is specially to be always worshipped by kings with campaka flowers and no other god (KR 276), 6th of Mārg. śu. is called Mahāsaṣṭhī (HK 623–624). Vide Nār I. 45. 1–51 for Saṣṭhīvrata in the twelve months of the year.

Saṃvatsaravrata—begin on 5th of Cai. śu. in the year called Samvatsara and go on for five days. Agni, the Sun, Soma, Prajāpati and Maheśvara are identified with the five years of a Yuga viz. Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Istāpūrta (Idāvatsara?), Anuvatsara and Udvatsara; they should be established in a mandala each in order with blue, white, red, white-yellow and dark flowers; worship and homa with sesame, rice, barley, ghee, white mustard respectively; for five days *nakta*, at end donate five suvarnas, this is a pañcamūrtivrata; HV II. 419–420 (from Vi. Dh.). The names of the five years that constitute a yuga are variously named in vedic literature; vide Atharva VI. 55.3, Tai. S V. 5. 7. 2–3, Tai. Br. I. 4. 10. 1.

Saṃvatsaravratas—Vi. Dh. I. 82. 8–20 (gives the names of the sixty years, Prabhava, Vibhava &c), KKV 435–451, HV II. 862–867.

Saṃvatsarārambhavidhi—HV I. 360–365. Vide above under Caitra-pratipad pp. 82–84.

Saṅkastacaturthī—on Śr kr. 4th on moonrise (i. e. about eight *ghatikās* after sunset) worship Ganeśa image, establish a

jar, 16 upacāras to be offered, *modakas* (1008, 108, 28 or 8) to be prepared; fast the whole day or no food to be taken till moon-rise, for life or 21 years or one year, gift to ācārya, dinner to 21 brāhmaṇas, SmK 171–177, VR 120–127, VKD 68, D. S 74, the vrata may be observed throughout life or for 21 years, it is narrated that even Śiva did it when he wanted to vanquish demon Tāraka

Saṅkaṣṭahara-gaṇapativrata—on M. kṛ 4, tithivrata at moonrise; Gaṇeśa deity, VR (176–188) sets out a very elaborate procedure, in which Rg. X. 63. 3, IV. 50 6, the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90), Nār. and numerous Paurāṇika mantras are relied upon and 16 upacāras offered, Gaṇeśa is worshipped with 21 names and the same number of *dūrvā* tendrils, leaves of plants (such as *Bhṛngarāja*, *bilva*, badarī, dhattūra, śamī and flowers (red), there is also worship with 108 names of Gaṇapati; at end five *modakas* to be offered to the priest and dakṣiṇā, it is said that Vyāsa narrated this vrata to Yudhiṣṭhira. Saṅkaṣṭa appears to mean distress or calamity. 'Kaṣṭa' means 'kleśa' and the prefixing of 'sam' makes it a little more emphatic.

Saṅkrāntivratas—Vide HV 727–743 (16 in all), HK 407–438, KR 613–621, KN 331–346, VKK 204–231, SmK 531–545, VR 729–738, PC 357–366.

Saṅkrāntisnāna—Vide under Saṅkrānti above pp. 211–12 for bath on a saṅkrānti and HV II. 728–730 (from Devīpurāṇa for results of bathing on the twelve saṅkrāntis with certain substances put in water for bath.

Saṅghāṭaka-vrata—to be begun on K. śu. 1st; ekabhakta on that day, fast on 2nd tithi and also on 3rd, *pāraṇā* on 4th, tithivrata, Śiva deity; worship in this way for 7½ months if performed only in each bright half, or 3½ months if in both pakṣas which make up 7, two golden images of a male and female to be placed on bedstead and bathed with pañcāmṛta &c, *jāgara*, sleeping on ground; gift of images to *ācārya*, the woman performer never suffers separation from husband or son, Pārvatī secured Śiva as husband by this vrata; HV II. 370–375 (from Var.).

Satkulāvāptivrata—begin on Mārg. śu. 1st; worship of Viṣṇu with three flowers of three different colours, three unguents; offering of *trimadhura*, three lamps, homa with yava and

sesame; donate three metals (gold, silver, copper); Vi. Dh III. 201. 1–5.

Satya-nārāyanavrata—very popular in Bengal and Mahārāstra: described in Bhavisya (Pratisargaparva) chap. 24–29; M. M Hara Prasad Shastri in cat of mss in the Asiatic Society's Library, Calcutta, vol. V. preface p. LXV says that the worship of Satyanārāyana (ms. No. 3370) has a Mahomedan origin. It was originally (and even now in many places) called 'Satyapīrer pūjā'. It occurs in the Revā-khanda of the Skandapurāna (Vangavāsī ed) but does not occur in the Venk. Press edition. Vide also JBORS vol. XVI at p. 328 where the same scholar says that the Mahomedan custom of offering 'Sirni' to Satyapīr was adopted by Bengal Hindus as worship of Satyanārāyana. This is a vrata very popular among lower middle-class people and women Vide I. A. vol. 3 pp. 83–85 for stories current in Bengal about this vrata. It is said that Nārada was told about this vrata by Visnu himself. On any day a man worships Satyanārāyana and offers naivedya of 1½ quantity (such as 1½ *ser* or *maund*) of plantains, ghee, milk and wheat flour (or rice flour), jaggery or sugar; all these to be mixed up for naivedya; performer should listen to the stories and partake of the *prasāda*; jāgara with songs, music, dance; then people go to their houses; this yields all desired objects; stories about a brāhmana who performed this vrata every month, of a vendor of wood, of a trader named Sādhu with a ship full of merchandise and costly things and his daughter Kalāvatī. In these stories Satyanārāyana is represented as very jealous and vindictive The stories are said to have been taken from Skandapurāna, Revā-khanda.

Sadānata—otherwise called 'annadānamāhātmya'. HV II, 469–475 quoting Bhav. U. wherein Krsna narrates to Yudhisthira the importance of giving food to others and refers to the words of Rāma to Laksmana that they suffered exile in a forest because of not feeding brāhmanas, that king Śveta suffered pangs of hunger even when in heaven and was told by Brahmā that his plight was due to his not having fed hungry persons. The word literally means 'vrata (i. e. giving food) always'. In modern times it is often pronounced and written as 'Sadāvarta' or 'Sadābarta' or 'Sadāvarat'; vide *Muarji* v. *Nenbai* I. L. R 17. Bom. 351 for a bequest of rents for establishing a 'sadāvarat'. HV II,

471 quotes a verse saying that 'food is the very life of beings, it is their vigour, strength and happiness and therefore the donor of food is declared to be the giver of everything' The importance of giving food is stressed in the exordium 'atithidevo bhava' in Tai. Up I. 11. 2, vide also Atharva IX 6 ff and Kathopanisad I. 1 7

Santānadavrata—tithivrata; he gives his or another's daughter in marriage on K Full Moon, observes a fast on the confluence of rivers, reaches a happy goal HV II 238 (from Bhav. U.).

Santānāstamī—on Cai. kr 8, tithivrata; Krsna and Devakī to be worshipped; fast, for a year, at end of each period of four months on kr 8 bathe image of Krsna with ghee and donate ghee; HV I. 846–47 (quoting ten verses out of Vi. Dh. III. 217. 1–11).

Sandhyā (twilight)—is the period of three *ghaṭikās* (72 minutes) before sunrise and after sunset and it was provided that one should not engage in four actions in that period, viz eating, sexual intercourse, sleep, Vedic study; HK 694–97, PC 46; Utpala on Brhaj-jātaka VII 1 quotes Varāha that it is the time after half the sun's disc has gone down till appearance of stars and morning twilight is from the east having light till half the sun's disc appears.

Saptadvīpavrata—begin on Cai. śu. 1st and worship for seven days in order the seven *dvīpas* (continents), viz. Jambū, Śāka (of the Śakas), Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda and Puskara; *homa* with ghee and donate seven dhānyas, observe nakta and sleep on the ground, one year, donate a figure of dvīpas made of silver; goes to heaven till end of Kalpa; Vi Dh III. 159. 1–7

Saptamī-mrnaya—If 7th is mixed with 6th and 8th tithis a vrata for 7th tithi is to be performed on that day where 7th is mixed with 6th, but if for any reason 7th mixed with 6th cannot be accepted, the 7th mixed with 8th may be accepted; KN 192–194, TT 35–36, PC 103–104.

Saptamīlokavrata—worship seven *lokas* on 7th tithi; one would secure great intellect and unequalled position. HV I. 792 (one verse from Vi Dh)

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632–810 (about 62 vratas), VKK 35–38, TT 36–40, VR 231–255. For eulogy of the worship of Saptamī, vide Vi Dh. III. 169. 1–7.

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Saptamūrti-vratas—Vide Vi. Dh. III. 157–166.

Saptarṣi-vrata—(1) worship of seven sages makes one reach them and confers sagehood; HV 1 791 (from Vi. Dh.); (2) begin from Cai śu and for 7 days therefrom worship each of the seven sages viz Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasistha, with fruits, flowers and cow's milk, subsist in nakta way on those days; homa with sesame and with Mahāvyāhṛtis, for one year; at end donate a black deer hide to an Agnihotrin; performer secures the way to moksa, HV II. 508 (from Vi. Dh. III 165. 1–7)

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Saptamyarka-vrata—RM (verses 1172–73; vide ABORI vol. 36. p 314).

Saptasuptamīkalpa—to be undertaken on a Sunday in bright half after the Sun starts on his (apparent) northward passage and on a naksatra with male name; he should observe celibacy and subsist in nakta way on all the seven saptamis

called Arkasamputa, Marica, Nimba, Phala, Anodanā, Vijayā, Kāmikī; observe ekabhakta on 5th and avoid sexual intercourse on 6th and give up honey and meat on that tithi, after writing the seven names on leaves he should cast them in an unused jar and should ask a child (who does not know the meanings of the seven names) to take out one and he observes that particular 7th accordingly; for a year, performer gets all his desired objects and reaches Sūryaloka, KKV 189–191, HV I. 687–689 quoting verses (from Bhav. I. 208. 2–32) Male naksatras have been stated above.

Saptasāgara-vrata or *saptasamudra-vrata*—begin from Cai. śu. 1st; worship Suprabhā, Kāñcanāksā, Viśālā, Mānasodbhavā, Meghanādā, Suvenu and Vimalodakā for seven days in order; homa in their names of curds add dinner full of curds to brāhmanas, and himself partake at night of boiled rice and ghee; for a year, donate seven garments to a brāhmana at a holy place, this is also called Sārasvatavrata; HV II. 507 (from Vi. Dh.). The above seven appear to be the names or branches of river Sarasvatī and therefore Sārasvata appears to be the proper name and not 'Saptasāgaravrata'. Vide Vi. Dh III 164 1–7 for these seven rivers and this vrata being called Sārasvata.

Saptasundarīkalā-vrata—worship of Pārvatī under seven names, viz. Kumudā, Mādhavī, Gaurī, Bhavānī, Pārvatī, Umā, Ambikā; dinner for seven days for seven maidens (about 8 years old); every day one of the 7 names to be used in the form 'may goddess Kumudā be pleased' and so on for six days; on the 7th all seven to be invoked and honoured with gandha &c and tāmbūla, vermillion and cocoanut; after worship a mirror should be presented before each of the seven; this secures beauty, *saubhāgya* and destroys sins; HV II. 886–87 (from Bhav. U).

Samudra-vrata—begin from Cai. śu 1st, every day for seven days; worship with salt, milk, ghee, whey, wine mixed with water, sugarcane juice and sweet curds; performer to eat at night *havisya* food; homa with ghee, for a year, at end donate a milch cow, king becomes supreme on the whole earth, one secures also health, wealth and heaven HV II. 464–65 (from Vi. Dh. III. 160. 1–7). The oceans are sometimes said to be seven, as in Vāyu 49. 123, Kūrma I 45. 4,

viz. of salt, sugarcane juice, wine, milk, ghee, curds and fresh water.

Samudra-snāna—one should bathe in the sea on *parvan* days such as Full Moon and Amāvāsyā, but not on Tuesday or Friday, one should honour the sea and Aśvattha tree, but not touch them; however on Saturday Aśvattha may be touched; there is no restriction as to time in taking a bath at Setu (Rāmeśvara), D. S. 36.

Sampad-gaurī-vrata—on M. śu. 1st (mentioned in Tamil calendars) for all married women and maidens in Kumbhamāsa.

Sampad-vrata—on 5th tithi worship Laksmī and observe fast; for one year; at year's end donate a golden jar with gold in it; performer becomes rich in each birth and goes to Visnu-loka; this is a sasti-vrata; KKV 441–42 (same as Mat. 101 19–20), VKK 34 (quoting Mat.).

Samputasaptamī—Vide Arkasamputasaptamī above p. 261.

Sampūrna-vrata—This vrata renders perfect every vrata that is rendered defective by some mistake or obstacle or Vighna-vināyakas; one should prepare a golden or silver image of the god worshipped in a vrata that is incomplete; one month from the day on which the craftsman prepares the image a brāhmana should bathe it with milk, curds, ghee, fluids and water and worship with flowers &c and offer *arghya* in the name of that deity from a jar full of water in which sandalwood paste is cast, and pray that the vrata which was broken may become perfect and make the offering with 'svāhā'; the officiating priest should say 'your (broken) vrata has become perfect'. The purāna adds 'gods consent to what brāhmanas say, brāhmanas have all the gods in them; their word would not come out to be untrue'; HV. II. 876–879 (from Bhav U).

Sampūrṇa-dvādaśī—on 12th of P. kr; worship of Acyuta (Krsna); not to speak with atheists and the like; two periods of six months each; in the first six months from P. worship as Pundarīkāksa, then as Mādhava, as Viśvarūpa (in Phā.), Purusottama (in Cai.), Acyuta (in Vai.) and as Jaya (in Jy.); sesame to be employed at bath and dinner in the first six months and in the six months from Āsādha pañcagavya; worship in the second half from Ās. with same names as in the first half year; performer to observe fast on ekādaśī and to observe nakta or ekabhakta way on 12th; at year's end

donate a cow, garment, gold, corn, food, seat and bedstead with the words 'May Keśava be pleased'; the performer secures all desired objects and so this vrata is called 'samprāpti' (attainment); HV I. 1094–95 (from Vi. Dh.)

Sambhoga-vrata—fast on the two first tithis and the two 5th tithis; one should concentrate his mind on the Sun, give up love and enjoyment though lying alongside his wife; he would be deemed to have performed great *tapas* for thousands of years; KKV 388, HV II 394 (from Bhav.)

Sarasvatīpūjā-vidhi—in Āśv. śu. invoke Sarasvatī on Mūla-naksatra, worship her every day and take leave of her on Sravana (which is the 4th naksatra from Mūla), in all four days generally from Āśv. śu 7th to 10th; VR 248–249, VKD 93 and 268–269, both provide that during these days one should not study nor teach nor write a book.

Sarasvatīsthāpana—on 9th tithi of Āśv. śu, Sarasvatī is established on books VKD 92–93 and 268–269. In Tamil lands special Sarasvatīpūjā is done by bringing together books and mss used by elders and youngsters, and girls and married women bring together their music books and Vīnā, all of which are worshipped as Sarasvatī Among craftsmen and manual labourers on this 9th tithi āyudhapūjā (worship of the tools of their trade) is done.

Saridvrata—worship the river one desires, one reaps merit; HV I. 790 (from Vi Dh.), which groups it under Saptamī-vratas.

Sarpapañcamī—one should observe *payovrata* on 5th tithi and donate a golden snake to a brāhmana, one would have no danger from snakes; HV I. 567 (from Bhav.).

Sarpabali—Vide SmK 170–171 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 821–824.

Sarpavisāpaha-pañcamī—on 5th of Śr śu., one should draw on both sides (of a door) with cowdung the figures of snakes, worship them with wheat, milk and fried grains, with curds and dūrvā tendrils and flowers &c., snakes become pleased and he has no fear from snakes up to his 7th descendant, HV I. 564–565 (from Skanda, Prabhāsa-khanda) KKV 94 mentions a 'Sarpābhayapañcamī' and cites three verses from Bhav. (I. 32. 62–64) two of which occur in HV I. 564 along with others.

Sarvakāmāvrata—(1) on M. kr. 14th tithi worship the group of pitṛs, the performer reaps the fruit of a *yajña*; HV II. 155 (from Vi. Dh); (2) on Mārg. 11th fast and worship the Moon and also eleven deities such as Mars, Sun, Nirṛti (goddess of death and calamity), the lord of rivers (Varuna), Agni, Rudra, Mṛtyu, Durgā; for one year, at year's end donate a cow, he reaches Rudraloka; HV I. 1151 (from Vi. Dh).

Sarvakāmāvāptivrata—This has twelve series from K.; fast on Kṛttikā falling on K. pūrnimā and worship Narasimha with *gandha*, flowers &c. for a year; at year's end donate a white cow with a white calf and silver; he would be free from enemies; from Mārg onwards to Āśv., one has to fast on the naksatra after which the pūrnimās are named and worship Krsna and his forms and *avatāras* under different names (such as Ananta in Mārg., Baladeva in P., Varāha in M. and so on); the gifts made at year's end are different; these yield all desires, remove sins and lead to heaven; HV II. 655-659 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sarvagandha—(lit. all fragrant substances) They are variously enumerated HV I. 44 gives two prescriptions, viz. (a) camphor, sandalwood, musk and saffron in equal proportions are sarvagandha, or (b) vide p. 38 and note 88 above.

Sarvaphalatyāga—begin on 3rd, 8th, 12th or 14th of Mārg. śu. or of other months; dinner of *pāyasa* to brāhmanas; he should give up one out of 18 dhānyas and all fruits and bulbous roots for a year except when medicines are required to be taken; he should get made golden images of Rudra with his bull and of Dharmarāja (Yama); he should make golden, silver and copper sixteen figures, each group representing big fruits (like jack fruit &c.), smaller fruits (like *udumbara*, cocoanut) and bulbous roots (like sūrana-kanda); place two jars full of water on a heap of grains, a bedstead should be got ready; all these to be donated with a cow to a householder brāhmana; he should pray 'may I reap inexhaustible rewards'; Mat. 96. 1-25.

Sarvamaṅgala-trayodaśī—every month on śu. 13th one should subsist by ekabhakta or nakta or observe a fast and worship three viz Krsna, Balabhadra and Mangalā (Durgā) goddess known as 'Ankāvankā'; one overcomes all difficulties by remembering these three or worshipping the images of these

three and offering flowers, meat and wine; HV II. 16–17 (*from Bhav. U.*). Krsna is represented as telling Yudhisthira that when his *guru* Sāndīpani asked him to restore to life his dead son as the *daksinā* for the learning imparted to him, he contemplated on the goddess and restored life to the dead son.

Sarva-vrata—worship Śiva on the 13th *tithi of śu falling on* Saturday and fast thereon, man becomes free from grave sins (like brāhmana-murder), HV II. 24.

Sarvāpti-vrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata, for a year divided into three periods of 4 months, Visnu has *four forms*, *bala* (strength), knowledge, *aiśvarya* (supremacy) and *śakti* (energy), Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Rudra and Aniruddha are *the four faces in the east, south*, west and north representing the four forms of strength, knowledge &c., in the four months from Cai performer should worship the forms east to north and the gifts respectively made to a brāhmana are things useful for domestic purposes in Cai, of warlike materials in Vai, of materials useful for yoking (i. e. agriculture) in Jy. and materials useful in sacrifices in Ās; the same procedure in the other two periods of four months from Śr. and Mārg.; he secures heaven and Indraloka and *Sālokya* with Krsna; HV II. 502–503 (from VI. Dh. III. 140. 1–13).

Sarvāptisaptamī—on 7th of M. kr.; worship intently the Sun; for a year, two divisions of the year; in the first six months sesame are to be used at bath and dinner and the names with which the Sun is to be invoked in the 6 months from M. are Mārtanda, Arka, Citrabhānu, Vibhāvasu, Bhaga and Hamsa; in the 2nd period of 6 months pañcagavya is to be used at bath and meals; performer to eat at night but exclude oil and salt; he secures all desired objects; KKV 168–169, HV I. 735–36 (from Bhav. I. 108 1–12).

Sarvausadhi—(all herbs)–They are, Murā, Māmsī, vacā, kustha, śailaja, two Haridrās, śunthī (dry ginger), campaka and mustā, Agni 177. 17, Madanaratna (on Śānti, folio 3a), Krtyakalpaa (on śāntika folio 7 b), VKK 212 (ten), P. C. 307 and VR 16 also enumerate ten but slightly differently. Vide p 183, note 473.

Sarsapasaptami—tithi-vrata; sun deity; on seven saptamī tithis the performer sitting facing the Sun should place *pañcagavya*

or other liquids on his palm and one, two up to seven mustard grains in order on first saptamī, 2nd saptamī up to seventh saptamī, should look at it, bring to his mind some desired object and drink at once without allowing the teeth to touch with a mantra addressed to the mustard; homa and japa; secures sons, wealth and desires; HV I 686–87; Bhav. (I. 68. 29–42) describes it; KKV 187–188.

Sasyotsava—(festival of ready crops)—to be performed in śu. on an auspicious tithi, naksatra and muhūrta by going to the field with songs and music, making a fire and homa therein, carrying some ripe corn and offering it to gods and pitrs to the recitation of Vedic mantras; the performer partakes of the ripe corn mixed with curds and should celebrate a festival. HV II. 914 (from Brah.)

Sahasrabhojanavrdhi—(Procedure of giving dinner to one thousand brāhmanas) SmK pp. 454–455 quoting Baudhāyanasūtra. It should be done in one's own house or in a temple; homa with cooked food and subsidiary *āhutis* with clarified butter in twelve names Keśava, Nārāyana &c.; various gifts.

Sāgaravrata—This is a Caturmūrtivrata, māsavrata, for four months from Śr.; worship of four jars filled with water as symbols of the four oceans, that are Hari with his four forms (God Vāsudeva, Sankarsana &c.); bath in a river on all days in those months, homa every day; on last day of K. honour brāhmanas and donate sesame oil; reaches heaven; HV II. 829 (from Vi. Dh III. 145. 1–6).

Sādhanadasamīvrata—performed on the 10th tithi in śu. as well as in kr.; it is an *anga* (subsidiary observance) of Ekādaśī; AK folio 640.

Sādhyavrata—on Mārg. śu. 12th, tithivrata; Sādhyas deities; for a year; Sādhyas are a group of twelve semi-divine beings; HV I. 1173 (quoting Vi. Dh. III. 181. 1–3). Vi. Dh. names the twelve.

Sāmavrata—It is a samvatsaravrata; bathe images of Śiva and Keśava in a circle made with cowdung for a year; at end donate a golden jar with *tiladhenu* to a brāhmana who sings *sāmans*; KKV 442–43 (from Mat. 101. 25–26), HV II. 864 (almost same verses from Pad).

Sārasvatavrata—(1) This is a Samvatsaravrata described in Mat. 66. 3–18 quoted by KKV 435–36, HV I. 553–55; begin in śu.

on a tithi which has one's favourite deity as the lord or on 5th, on a Sunday or any other auspicious week day; silence to be observed at both twilights and while taking one's meal; worship of Sarasvatī and honour to *suvāsinīs* (women whose husbands are living), the same verses occur in Pad. V 22. 178–194 and Bhav. U. 35. 3–19. (2) observe silence at twilight every day for a year, at end of year donate a jar full of ghee, two garments, sesame and a bell, goes to the Sārasvata world, KKV 441, HV II. 862 (quoting Pad.); this occurs in Mat. 101. 17–18, (3) begin from Cai śu. 1, go on for seven days worshipping Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣī, Viśālā, the Mānasa lake, Trināḍā, Suvenu, Vimalodakā (all branches or names of Sarasvatī river); every day homa with curds, dinner mixed with curds to brāhmaṇas; he should take only one meal at night of boiled rice with ghee; for one year; at the end i e in kr. of Phā he should donate (from one to) seven garments in order during last seven days; Vi. Dh. III. 164. 1–7.

Sārvabhaumavrata—begin on 10th tithi of K. śu., observe nakta that day with curds and cooked food and offer worship to the ten quarters with holy food; honour brāhmaṇas with flowers of various colours and with edibles, for a year, the king who performs this becomes victorious and an emperor; KKV 309, HV I. 992–993 (both quoting Var. 65. 1–6), KR 420, Vi. Dh. III. 164. 1–7.

Sāvitrīvrata—Vide above pp. 91–94.

Simhastha-guru—When Jupiter enters the sign Simha (Lion or Leo) there is no marching against an enemy, no marriage, no upanayana, no occupying a house (for the first time), no establishment of the images of gods and generally no performance of other auspicious acts; vide Malamāsatattva p. 328 quoting two verses from Bhīmaparākrama which are BB (p. 274) and Śuddhi-kaumudī p. 222. It is believed that all sacred places come to the river Godāvarī when Jupiter is in the sign Lion and therefore one should bathe in the Godāvarī when Jupiter is in Leo (which is for about one year). There are diverse views about celebrating marriage and upanayana in *Simhastha-Guru*; some hold that marriage and other auspicious rites are prohibited only when Jupiter is in Maghā-nakṣatra (i. e. first 13¼ degrees of Leo). Others hold that in the countries between the Ganges and Godāvarī marriage and upanayana

are prohibited through all the days when the Jupiter is in Leo; but other rites may be performed except when Jupiter is in Maghā, still others hold that there is no bar of Simhastha-Guru during the time when the Sun is in Mesa (sign Aries or Ram). Vide SmK pp. 557–559 for discussion of these views. It is popularly believed that the jar of nectar that rose from the ocean was placed by the gods first at Haridvāra, then at Prayāga, then at Ujjain and then at Trimbakeśvāra near Nasik.

Sitasaptamī—on 7th tithi of Mārg. śu. observe fast and worship with lotuses and white flowers the Sun or his image, at end donate white garments; HV I. 778–779 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sitāsaptamī—one of the 14 *yātrās* at Bhuvaneśvara, on M. śu. 7; GK 191.

Siddha—Friday, 1st tithi, 6th, 11th and 13th and the naksatras, Pūrvā Phalgunī (of which Bhaga is the presiding deity), Uttarāsāḍhā, Hasta, Śravana and Revatī are so called; all auspicious rites should be performed on these; NA 30.

Siddhārthakādisaptamī—on M. or Mārg. śu. 7 or if one is ill then on any 7th tithi of any month; brushing the teeth half a *prahara* (about four ghatikās) before sunrise with the twigs of certain trees, each of which is represented as securing some object (e. g Madhūka gives sons, Arjuna makes fortune firm, Nimba confers prosperity, Aśvattha gives fame &c.); prognostications from the way in which the used brush falls when thrown away; seven saptamis to be observed, first with mustard grains, 2nd with *arka* buds, 3rd to 7th respectively with marica, nimba, six fruits, with food excluding boiled rice; japa, homa and worship of the Sun, sleeping before Sun image and recitation (japa) of Gāyatrī (Rg III. 62. 10); divination from several dreams when sleeping before Sun image; the different rewards of worshipping the Sun with various flowers (e. g. fame with lotuses, removal of all leprosy with mandāra, success with Agastya flowers &c.), dinner and gifts to brāhmanas of coloured garments, scents, flowers, *hamsya* food, cow; KKV 172–180, HV I. 679–685 (both from Bhav. I. 193. 2–21, 194. 1–25) and KKV quotes also from Bhav. 197. 1–10.

Siddhivināyakavrata—on śu 4th tithi worship Ganeśa or when a devout impulse takes hold of a man; bath with water

mixed with sesame; worship of golden or silver image of Ganeśa; bathe image with pañcāmṛta and offer *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and naivedya with the names Gaṇādhyakṣa, Vināyaka, Umāsuta, Rudrapriya, Vighnanāśana; twenty-one dūrvā tendrils to be offered and 21 *modakas* to be placed before image, one to Ganeśa, ten to the priest and ten to be eaten by the performer; leads to success (*siddhi*) in learning, wealth, war; HV I. 525–529 (from Skanda), SmK 210–216, PC 95, VR 143–151 Vide above p 147 for story about Syamantaka jewel.

Sins (ten)—Vide pp 90–91 above under *Daśaharā* and KR 188 (quoting Bhav.).

Śītalāsaṣṭhī—on M. śu. 6 in Bengal, Śītalāsaptamī in Gujarat on Śrāvaṇa kr. 8; Śītalāstamī in North India on Phā. kr 8.

Sītāpūjā—(1) Sītā means 'cultivated land' as in Kautilya set out in H of Dh. vol. III. p 147 n 186. KR 518 (quoting Brah.) says the earth was measured on Phā. kr 8th by the sons of Dakṣa urged by Nārada; therefore gods and pitṛs desire śrāddha on that day with *apūpas*; (2) worship of Sītā, wife of Rāma, who was born on Phā śu 8, KR 526–528 and 518; vide above p. 354 under Phālgunakṛtya.

Śimollaṅghana—Vide under Vijayādaśamī p 190 note 487 and TT 103, PC 145–148.

Sukalatāprāptivrata—for maidens, women with husbands living and widows; nakṣatravrata; Nārāyaṇa deity, a maiden should worship Jagannātha on three *nakṣatras*, viz. Uttarā, Uttarāṣāḍhā and Uttarā-bhādrapadā and should recite the name (Mādhava), should offer *Priyaṅgu* and red flowers and use saffron as unguent, homa with honey and clarified butter with the words 'salutation to Mādhava'; she secures a fine husband. HV II. 628–630 (from Vi. Dh.); Śiva informs Pārvatī about this vrata

Sukulatrirātravrata—begin in Mārg on a day which is Tryahaspṛk, fast for three days, worship of Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) with white, yellow and red flowers, three unguents and incense consisting of gugguḷu, kuṭuka (? kaṭuka) and resin (*Pinus Longifolio*); offer *trimadhura*, light three lamps, homa with barley, sesame and mustard, donate *triloha* (i. e. gold, silver and copper), HV II. 322–323 quoting Vi Dh. Vide pp 309, 310 for trimadhura and Tryahaspṛk.

Sukṛta-tṛtīyā-vrata—on Śr śu. 3 with Hasta-naksatra; tithivrata: worship of Nārāyana and Laksmī; for three years: Mantras are 'Visnor nu kam' (Ṛg I. 154. 1) and 'Saktumiva' (Ṛg. X. 71. 2); VR 101–103 (Krsna tells his proud sister Subhadrā to perform it).

Sukṛtadvādaśī—tithivrata; Viṣnu deity; fast on Phā śu. 11 and worship of Visnu on 12th; repeat day and night on 11th the words 'namo Nārāyanāya'; performer should give up anger, jealousy, greed, deceit, &c; should revolve in mind the idea that *samsāra* is worthless; the same on 12th also; repeat every month for a year, at end worship golden image of Harī and donate it with a cow, reward is that the performer does not see Hell; HV I. 1079–1081 (from Vi Dh.)

Sukharātrī or *Sukharātrikā*—Laksmīpūjana day (Āśv. amāvāsyā) in Divalī is called Sukharātrikā; vide S. Pr folio 41b, KT 431, VKK 467–469, KV 403–4 and pp 194–95 above.

Sukhavrata—(1) fast on kr. 7th and nakta on kr 8th; leads to happiness in this world and heaven; HV II. 509 (from Bhav only one verse), KKV 387 (changes the tithis to 6th and 7th); (2) on 14th worship of gods; the rest is not clear; HV II. 155 (from Vi Dh.); (3) by worshipping sages on 8th tithi one secures happiness; HV I. 628 (from Vi. Dh. half verse); (4) when on śu. 4 there is Tuesday, observe nakta; to be observed on four caturthīs; worship of Mars, who is supposed to be the son of Umā; place clay on one's head, apply it to whole body and then bathe; touch dūrvā, aśvattha, śamī and cow; homa to Mars with 108 *āhutis*, place image of Mars in vessel of gold or silver or copper or of *sarala* wood or of pine or sandalwood and worship, HV I 514–519 (from Bhav), PC 95; (5) a sastivrata in Mat 101. 73 (one verse only q. by KKV 450); not clear.

Sukhasuptikā—Same as Sukharātrī; HV II, 348–349 (from Ādityapurāna); KKN 421–422.

Sukhācaturthī—when the 4th tithi in śu. falls on a Tuesday it is called Sukhacaturthī or Sukhadācaturthī. Vide HV I. 514 (quoting Bhav I 31. 16), KR 271, VKK 31 (quoting the same verse from Devīpurāna).

Sugatidṛtīyādaśī—begin on Phā. śu. 11th; tithivrata, Krsna deity, fast on that day, worship of Krsna and reciting the

name 'Kṛṣṇa' 108 times, for one year divided into three periods of four months each; in 4 months from Phā. he should recite the name Kṛṣṇa and cast three streams of water on the feet (of the image) of Kṛṣṇa, in 2nd period from Ās. to Āśv. the name to be repeated is Keśava, so that at the time of death he remembers god Keśava; in the third period he should recite the name 'Viṣṇu'; secures divine pleasures and Viṣṇuloka; HV I. 1081–1083 (from Vi. Dh. III. 215. 4–22).

Sugatipausamāsīkalpa (paurnamāsī?)—on Phā. śu. 15th tithi, tithivrata, Viṣnu deity, performer to subsist by nakta way giving up oil and salt, for one year divided into three periods of four months; worship of Keśava accompanied by Lakṣmī; on that day he is not to speak with heretics, atheists, those guilty of grave sins and cāṇḍālas, Hari and Lakṣmī are to be looked upon as the moon and night. Vide Vi. Dh III. 216. 1–17.

Sugativrata—(1) by the worship of lord of gods one secures the best position (or world), HV I. 792 (from Vi. Dh. only a half verse); (2) one should partake food by nakta method on all 8th tithis for a year and at end donate a cow and one reaches position of Indra; tithivrata; Indra deity; HV I 881 (from Pad.); this is Mat. 101 56; AK folio 561 b (calls it Sugatyaṣṭamī).

Sujanmadvādaśī—begin on 12th of P. śu. when it falls on Jyeṣṭhā-nakṣatra; tithivrata, Viṣnu deity, worship Viṣnu every month for a year with fast thereon, donate each month of the year in order ghee, rice, barley, gold, boiled *yavas*, water, grain boiled, umbrella, *pāyasa*, sugarcane juice, sandalwood, garments and should in order partake of one of the twelve things, viz cow's urine, water, ghee, uncooked vegetables, dūrvā, curds, rice, barley, sesame, water heated by the Sun's rays, water in which darbhas are dipped, milk; he becomes free from disease, talented and happy and is born in a family endowed with wealth and corn and knowing no sorrow, HV I 1174–75 (from Vi. Dh.).

Sujanmāvāptivrata—This is a saṅkrāntivrata, begin from the day when the Sun enters sign Meṣa (Ram) and go on through all the twelve saṅkrāntis in the year with fast on each day of the saṅkrānti, and respectively worship the images of the Sun, of Bhārgava Rāma (Paraśurāma), Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Varāha (incarnation), Narasiṃha, Rāma Dāśarathi,

Rāma (Balarāma), Matsya (incarnation of Visnu); these may also be painted on a piece of cloth for worship; *homa* with appropriate name on each sankrānti; for a year; at end gift of *jaladhenu* with umbrella and sandals and in each month of gold and two garments; worship at night with *dīpamālā* (rows of lights), reward—the performer is not born among lower animals or Mlecchas; HV II. 727–728 (from Vi. Dh.), PC 12; note that worship in Tulā and the following two signs is not mentioned by HV. But in Vi. Dh III. 199 it is said that Vāmana, Trivikrama and Aśvaśiras (Hayaśiras) are to be worshipped when the sun respectively enters Tulā (Balance), Vrścika (Scorpion) and Dhanus (Archer)

Sudarśanasasthī—A king or ksatriya was to perform this, fast on 6th after drawing a mandala with a lotus on the nave of a wheel, establish Sudarśana (discus of Visnu) on the pericarp and the weapons of *lokapālas* on the petals and the performer's own arms in front and worship with red sandal-wood paste, mustard, red lotus, red garments &c and offer *naivedya* of food mixed with jaggery and of cakes and fruits and address mantras to Sudarśana for destroying one's enemies, for success in war and for protection of his army; worship of Visnu's bow (Sārnga), mace &c and of Garuda (Visnu's vehicle); king to be placed on throne and a young woman to wave lights before him; the same procedure when an evil omen arises or on the naksatra of one's birth; HV I. 620–624 (from Garuda-purāna).

Sudeśajanmāvāpti—practically same as Sujanmāvāptivrata, Vi. Dh. III. 199. 1–10.

Sunāmadvādaśī—begin on 12th tithi of Mārg. śu.; ekabhakta on 10th; fast on 11th and worship Sun first and then Visnu; tithivrata; Visnu deity; performer to be pure in thought, word and deed; place a new jar full of water in which sapphire, pearls and precious stones are cast and covered with cloth and worship Keśava's golden image therein; the same procedure to be repeated on the *dvādaśīs* of P., M., and the following months with different names of Visnu such as Nārāyana, Mādhava and so on; for a year, donate the twelve jars with images therein to brāhmanas and twelve cows, garments or (if poor) one cow and a vessel with some gold, HV I. 1063–1072 (from Vahnipurāna); Agni 188. 11 refers to Nāmadvādaśī.

Supūpadā ūdasī—in P. kr. 12th if it has Pusya naksatra; on 11th fast and on 12th worship a golden or silver image of Hari cast in a full jar over which a vessel full of *tilas* is placed; the *naivedya* is to be food mixed with sesame; offering of sesame in fire with mantras from Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90); Vaisnava śrāddha after homa; jāgara on that night; donate jar and image, reward is freedom from ugliness; HV I. 1205-1213 (Śiva imparts this to Umā and states how Satyabhāmā benefited from it), Vratārka, *folio* 247a (says it is practised among Gurjaras)

Suvrata—From Cai su 8th worship the eight Vasus (named) that are forms of Vāsudeva with gandha, flowers &c; for a year; at end donate a cow; secures all objects and goes to Vasuloka, Vi Dh III 172. 1-7.

Sūryanaktavrata—This is a *vāravrata*; Sun deity; one should always practise nakta on Sunday, ekabhakta when Sunday has Hasta naksatra and from that day nakta on every Sunday; draw a lotus with twelve petals on sunset with red sandalwood paste and make a *nyāsa* in eight directions from the east with different names (such as Sūrya, Divākara); *nyāsa* of sun's horses to the east of pericarp; arghya with the first verses of Rg and Sāmaveda and the first four words of Tai. S, for one year, performer is freed from diseases, has progeny, wealth and goes to Sūryaloka, HV. II. 538-541 (from Mat.).

Sūryapūjāpraśamsā—vide Vi. Dh III 171 1-7 that narrate what rewards are secured by worshipping the Sun on all 7th tithis for a year or by observing nakta on Sunday for a year or by worshipping the Sun always at sunrise Verses 8-14 of Bhav. I. 68 specify the flowers that are desirable in the worship of Sūrya and what rewards follow by offering them.

Sūryarathayātrā-māhātmya—Bhav I 58. The car procession of the Sun takes place in M. If no procession is held every year then it should be held in the 12th year from the time when it was last held, it should not be held after short breaks in the continuity; a śūdra was not to climb upon the car of the Sun The *pūrnimās* of Ās., K., and M are the holiest times for this yātrā. It may also be held on the 6th or 7th tithi falling on a Sunday.

Sūryavrata—(1) fast on 6th tithi and worship of the Sun on 7th with the words 'may Bhāskara be pleased'; becomes free

from all diseases, KKV 388-389; (2) bath at dawn in M. and honouring a householder and his wife with flowers, garments, ornaments and dinner; attains *saubhāgya* and health, HV II. 794 (from Pad.), KKV 444 (which is Mat. 101. 36-37); (3) Begin in Āśv. if there is 14th tithi in śu. and Sunday, tithivrata, Śiva deity; special bath for Śivalinga, *rocanā* being applied to it as unguent and worship with red flowers, naivedya of milk and ghee of *kapilā* cow; gift to a brāhmana devotee of Śiva; the former should have dinner mixed with saffron; reward-sons are born to him; HV II. 64-65 (from Kālottara), (4) on Sunday the performer shaves himself and worships the Sun with cakes mixed with jaggery and salt and observes nakta that day: all desires are fulfilled and he goes to Sūryaloka; HV I. 779-780 (from Vi. Dh.), (5) fast on Cai. śu 6th and on 7th tithi worship the Sun; an altar be made with whitish clay and a lotus with eight petals be drawn thereon with coloured powders, place Sun's image on the pericarp and draw in the eight quarters from the eastern petal certain demigods, goddesses and sages, two each being assigned to the six seasons from spring; homa with 108 *āhutis* of ghee to the Sun, and eight to each of the others, for one year; at end gift of a cow and some gold, he goes to Sūryaloka; if performed for twelve years the performer secures *sāyujya*, HV I. 770-774 (from Vi Dh III. 167. 11-15, 168. 1-30; (6) begin in Mārg. on a Sunday (?) and proceed for 12 months; draw a lotus with twelve petals with pericarp on a copper vessel with red sandalwood paste and worship the Sun thereon; in the several months the names of the god worshipped (such as Mitra in Mārg., Visnu in P., Varuna in M. &c.), the *naivedya* and the special article to be eaten by the performer are different; it destroys sins and secures all desired objects, HV II. 552-557 (from Sauradharma); This is a vāravrata, (7) nakta throughout month of P. and fast on both 7th tithis; worship of Sun and of Agni thrice a day in the month of P.; KR 475-76 (from Bhav.)

Sūryasasthī—begin ekabhakta in Bh. śu from 1 to 5th and on 6th fast and worship of Sun's image; for a year; in each month different name of Āditya; at end elaborate *udyāpana* is described; HV I. 608-615 (from Bhav. U.), NS 134.

Sūryāstamī—Vide Arkāstami p. 261 above.

Somavatī-amāvāsyā—Amāvāsyā on Monday is very holy; vide KV 492 (from Bhav.); HK 643, VKK 9; on this day persons (specially women in the Deccan) go to a aśvattha tree, worship Viṣnu and circumambulate the tree 108 times; Vratārka folios 350b–356, DS. 23, the former remarking that this is not mentioned in the great religious digests (nibandhas) but is based upon usage

Somavāravratas—HV II. 557–566 (only two), Vratārka folio 379b–382b, SmK 149, VKD 437–443. General rule is; begin on the first Monday of Śr., Vai, K, or Mārg; worship of Śiva and total fast or nakta on that day; VKD gives an elaborate procedure of Somavāravrata and its udyāpana The Mondays in Śr. are regarded specially holy even now.

Somavrata—(1) when the 8th in any paksa falls on a Monday one should worship Siva, the right side of the idol representing Śiva and left side Hari and the Moon, bathe the *linga* with pañcāmrta, apply sandalwood and camphor to right side and to the left saffron, *aguru*, *uśīra*, *nīrājana* with 25 lights of the God and the Devī; dinner to brāhmanas with their wives; for a year or five years, KKV 269–271, HV I. 829–831 (from Kālikā); (2) on Vai. pūrnimā fill a copper vessel with water, put image of Śankara therein and cover it with cloth and worship with *gandha* and flowers and donate with the words 'may Mahādeva, lord of the world, who assumes the form of the Moon, be pleased with me'; KKV 353, HV II 174–175, KR 166–167 (all quoting Bhav.), (3) on śu. 2nd tithi one should donate vessel containing salt to a brāhmana; for a year, at end donate a cow; goes to Śivaloka; KKV 451 (59th Sastivrata from Mat 101. 81), HV I. 389 (from Pad.); (4) when 8th tithi falls on Rohinī naksatra, perform this; bathe Śiva with pañcāmrta and apply camphor or sandalwood paste to the *linga* or image and worship with white flowers; offer naivedya of jar of milk mixed with white ground sugar; *jāgara*; yields long life, fame etc; HV I. 863 (from Kālottara); (5) fast on M. śu. 14th and on 15th apply (to the *linga*) a blanket of ghee from top to the *vedī*; donate a pair of dark cows; *jāgara* with songs and dance; HV II. 239–240 (from Bhav.), (6) on the first Monday in Mārg. śu, or Cai or on any Monday when an intense impulse to worship arises; worship Śiva with white flowers (like Mālatī, Kunda &c.), apply

sandalwood paste (to image or linga), offer naivedya; homa; rewards of performance of nakta on Monday in the months from Mārg. described, HV II. 558–566 (from Skanda); (7) on each Monday eight brāhmanas to be treated to dinner for a year; at end a silver image of Śiva to be made and donated; worship of Śiva and Umā with mantra 'tatpurusāya vidmahe' (Maitrā. S. II. 9 1, Tai. Ār. X. 46); Pad. IV 108. 82–90.

Somāyana-vrata—for a month; consists in subsisting on the milk of all four udders of a cow for seven days; for seven days on milk of three udders, then seven days more on milk of one udder and fast for the next three days; destroys all sins. Mārkandeya q by Mit. on Yāj III. 324

Somāstamīvrata—tithivrata; Śiva and Umā are deities, on 9th tithi with Monday worship of Śiva and Umā at night; bathing image with pañcagavya; worship Śiva under the names Vāmadeva and others; apply sandalwood paste and camphor to the right side of image and saffron and Turuska (*olibanum*) to the left, place sapphire on Devī's head and pearl on Śiva's head and worship with white and red flowers; homa of sesame with the name Sadyojāta; HV I. 833–835 (from Skanda) Bhav. U. 59 describes this vrata almost in the same words (1–23); Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta, Aghora, Tatpūrusa, Īsāna are the five faces (or forms) of Śiva. Vide Tai Ār. X. 43–47.

Saukhyavrata—on 8th or 11th or 14th of M. observe ekabhakta and donate white garments, sandals, blanket, umbrella, water and a cup to one who is in want of these; HV II. 440 (from Bhav.)

Saugandhyavrata—this is a rtuvrata; Śiva and Keśava deities; give up use of flowers in Hemanta and Śiśira and of three kinds of *patras* (fragrant substances) on Phā pūrnimā and donate some gold with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased'; HV II 860.

Saubhāgyatrtīyāvrata—(1) on 3rd tithi of Phā śu. observe nakta and worship Hari with Laksmī or Rudra with Umā (as both are declared in śāstras and purānas to be the same); homa with honey and ghee and sesame; for a year divided into three periods, in months from Phā. to Jy, performer should eat food made from wheat without salt or ghee (or oil) on bare

ground, in months from K. to M. he should eat cooked barley food, on M. śu. 3 he should make golden images of Rudra and Gaurī or of Hari and Śrī and donate these with six vessels containing honey, ghee, sesame oil, jaggery, salt, cow's milk; he becomes fortunate and handsome for seven births, Var. 58. 1-19 q. in KKV 75-77, HV I 479-80, KR 523-524.

Saubhāgyavrata—(1) on K pūrnimā worship the Moon's image on the pericarp of a lotus drawn with 16 petals, on the filaments of the lotus worship 28 naksatras (including Abhijit) and on the leaves worship the tithis and their lords (set out by name); at end of vrata donate two garments, fast or nakta on this day, confers blessedness, beauty, sexual pleasures; HV II 235-36 (from Vi Dh.); (2) give up use of salt on 3rd tithi of Phā and of following months for a year; at end donate a bedstead and house with all paraphernalia and honour a brāhmana and his wife with the words 'May Pārvatī be pleased', he becomes a denizen of Gaurīloka, tithivrata, Gaurī deity; KKV 441 (which is Mat 101. 15-16), HV I. 483 (from Gar.), VKK 29-30 (reads 'śayanam' for 'lavanam') Agni (178 24-25) has almost the same verses, (3) worshipper of the Moon on 5th tithi secures long life, wealth and fame, HV I. 574 (from Vi Dh)

Saubhāgyaśayana-vrata—on Cai śu 3rd tithi worship Gaurī and Śiva images (as Gaurī was married on that day) after bathing the images with pañcagavya and scented water; salutations to the limbs of Devī and Śiva from feet to head and hair, place in front of the images Saubhāgyāstaka, next morning the golden images to be donated, on each 3rd this procedure for a year, different substance to be partaken of and different mantra to be repeated in each month from Cai. and different names of Devī also, special flowers employed in each month, performer to give up eating one fruit for a year; at end donate a bedstead with paraphernalia and golden cow and bull; secures *saubhāgya*, health, beauty, long life; Mat 60 1-49; KKV 56-60 (quotes only Mat 60 14-48), HV I. 444-449 (quotes Mat 60. 1-48), KR 113-118 (quotes Mat. 60. 1-49). The same verses occur in Pad. V. 24. 222-278 and also in Bhav. U 25 1-42.

Saubhāgyasankrānti—This is a sankrāntivrata; on the Ayana or Visuva day having Vyatipāta or on a sankrānti day one

should follow ekabhakta, worship the sun and donate two garments and saubhāgyāstaka to a brāhmana and his wife, for one year; dinner to brāhmanas and donate lavana-parvata, golden lotus and golden sun image; HV II. 735–36 (from Skanda); for gift of substances called parvatadānas, vide H of Dh. vol. II. 882

Saubhāgyasundarī—on the 3rd tithi of Mārg. or M. kr.; tithi-vrata; Umā deity; fast that day, for a year; in each month different name of Umā is used; flowers, fruits and naivedya to be offered are different and also the substance to be eaten by the performer, Vratārka folios 56a–60b, VR 114–120 (quoting Bhav. U.). It is to be performed on 3rd mixed with 4th (and not on 3rd mixed with 2nd).

Saubhāgyāvāptivrata—This is a māsavrata, Krsna deity; begin on the Ist tithi after Māgha pūrnimā (by pūrnimānta reckoning); worship image of Krsna or his picture on a strip of cloth; performer to bathe with water scented with *priyangu* (panic seed or Italian millet), offer *caru* (boiled rice) mixed with priyangu and homa with the same; for a month; on Phā pūrnimā after three days' fast donate two garments dyed with saffron, a vessel full of honey &c; this confers *saubhāgya* and beauty; HV II. 799 (from Vi. Dh. III. 204 1–5).

Saubhāgyāstaka—Mat (60. 8–9) provides that eight things are so called, viz sugarcane, mercury, nispāva (wheat preparation in which milk and ghee are used), *ajājī* (cumin seed), dhānyaka (coriander), curds from cow's milk, safflower and salt. This is quoted by HV I. 48–49, KR 115, VR 16 (with variant and corrupt readings). KR reads 'tavarājah' (white ground sugar) and VR reads 'tarurājah' (palmyra); Pad V. 24. 251 enumerates somewhat differently, reads 'tarurāja, kusuma (v. l. kustumburu) and jīraka' (*pancum miliaceum*); vide Bhav U 25. 9 also for the eight things.

Saumyavidhi—When Sunday has Rohini naksatra, it is called Saumya; bath, gifts, japa, homa, tarpana of pitrs and gods on this day become inexhaustible; observe nakta and worship the sun on this day with red lotuses, red sandal-wood paste, *sugandha dhūpa* and pāyasa (as naivedya); performer is freed from sins, KKV 13–14, HV II. 524.

Saumyavrata—Give up flowers in Hemanta and Śiśira seasons and on Phā. pūrnimā donate three flowers of gold in the

afternoon with the words 'May Śiva and Keśava be pleased', Mat. 101. 13–14 (quoted in KKV 441).

Sauratrivikrama-vrata—This is a māsavrata; Sun deity, for three months or three years; in month of K. worship Jagannātha or the Sun and observe ekabhakta and donate the second meal to a brāhmaṇa; same procedure in Mārg. and P. and Sun to be worshipped as Vibhākara and Divākara; sins committed in youth and middle age and even grave sins are destroyed, it is called 'Trivikrama' because the three names (of the sun) relieve a man in *three months or three years*; HV II. 856 (from Bhav. U.).

Sauranakta-vrata—This is a vāravrata; Sun deity; to be performed on Sunday with Hasta naksatra; honour brāhmaṇas on it, performer is freed from diseases, HV II. 521 (from Nrsimhapurāṇa).

Saurāvrata—This is Mat 101. 63 (a saptivrata) which occurs in KKV 448, HV I. 787 (from Pad.); fast on 7th tithi; Sun deity; for one year; at end donate a golden lotus, cows along with some gold and a jar full of food; leads to Sūryaloka.

Skandasasthī—6th tithi in Ās. śu is so called; worship Kumāra (Kārtikeya) on it after observing a fast the previous day; NA 49, PC 101, SmK 138. NA adds that on seeing (the idol of) Kārtikeya in Dakṣināpatha on Bh. śu 6 one becomes free from even grave sins like brāhmaṇa murder, vide also KR 275–277. In Tamil lands Skandasasthī is important, is shown in the calendar as in (solar) Vṛścika-māsa (K śu. 6) and celebrated in temples and also in some houses, HK 622, KR 119 quote some verses from Brah. saying that Skanda was produced from Agni on amāvāsyā and appeared on Cai. Su 6, was made Commander-in-Chief of gods and vanquished demon Tāraka, hence he was to be worshipped with lamps, garments, decoration, cooks (as a plaything) &c., or he may be worshipped on all su. 6th tithis by those that desire health for their children. Vide TT 35 (saying that 6th of Cai. is called Skandasasthī), SmK 93.

Skandasasthīvrata—on K. śu. 6 subsist on fruits, turning to the south give arghya to Kārtikeya and offer curds, ghee, water and flowers and a mantra, the performer should take his meal at night from food placed on the bare earth, he secures success, prosperity, long life, health, and lost kingdom; one

should not partake of oil on 6th (either in śu. or kr.); Bhav. I. 39. 1–13 q by KK V 99–101, HV I. 604–605, KR 415–416. Vide under 'Ṣaṣṭhīvratas' for proposition that Skandasaṣṭhī mixed with fifth is to be preferred. GK (83–84) speaks of Skandasasthī on Cai kr.

Strīputrakāmāvāpīvrata—this is a māsavrata; Sun deity; the woman passing K. by ekabhakta and observing the rules of conduct such as *ahiṁsā*, who offers to the sun *naivedya* of boiled rice mixed with jaggery and fasts on 6th or 7th tithi, in both fortnights, reaches sūryaloka and when she returns to the world she secures a king or other desired person as husband; special rules about the months from Mārg; HV II. 821–824 (from Bhav.), KR 406.

Snapanasaptamīvrata—for a woman whose child or children die in infancy; Bhav. U. 52. 1–40.

Snuhī-vṛtape manasā-pūjā—on Śr. kr. 5th worship Manasā-devī that removes (danger of) snake poison on a twig of Snuhī plant in one's court-yard; TT 33. Vide above p. 125.

Snehavrata—This is a māsavrata; God (Viṣnu?) deity; person should give up oil bath for four months from Āṣ, he should subsist on pāyasa and ghee; at end he should donate a jar full of sesame oil; this secures people's affection (*sneha*); HV II. 818 (from Pad)

Syamantaka (*jewel*)—story in Harivaṁśa I. 38; vide pp. 147–148 above under Gaṇeśacaturthī. The verse 'simhaḥ Prasenamavadhīt' is Harivaṁśa I. 38 36.

Svarnagaurīvrata—on Bh. śu 3; tithivrata, Gaurī deity; for women only; Gaurī is worshipped with the 16 upacāras; prayer to Devī to bestow sons, health, saubhāgya; on *udyāpana* 16 wickerwork vessels are filled with sixteen edibles and covered with cloth and donated to brāhmaṇa householders and their wives; Vratārka 41a–44b, VR 96–97 (notes that it is prevalent in Karnātaka country and is based on usage).

Svastikavrata—from Ās 11th or 15th for 4 months; for both men and women; said to be well-known in Karnātaka; draw svastikas in five colours (blue &c.), and they are to be presented to Viṣnu; worship of Viṣnu in temple or on land; Vratārka folios 356b–358 from Bhav. U (questions its authoritativeness)

Haṁsavrata—bathe with recitation of Puruṣasūkta, tarpaṇa and japa with same; worship Janārdana called Haṁsa in

midst of a picture of a lotus having eight petals with flowers &c. to the accompaniment of Ṛg X 90, then homa, donate a cow, for a year, he secures all desires, Vī Dh. III. 225. 1-9.

Hanūmat-jayantī—on Cai. śu. 15.

Hayapañcamī or *Hayapūjāvrata*—on Cai. 5th Uccaiḥśravas (Indra's horse) rose from the ocean and so he should be worshipped along with gandharvas (such as Citraratha, Citrasena) who are its bandhus with songs, sweetmeats, *polikas* (Marathi, *poḷī*), curds, jaggery, milk, rice flour, reward-strength, long life, health non-defeat in battle, HV I. 573 (quoting Śāṅkhotra), SmK 92 This is also called Matsyajayantī; AK folio 360b.

Harakālīvrata—on M su 3; tithivrata; Devī is deity; for women, performer should pass the whole night contemplating Umā on green barley sprouts, next day bath and worship of Devī and then dinner, in each of 12 months different names of Devī to be taken and 12 different substances to be partaken of; at year's end honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife; reward—freedom from disease, no widowhood for seven births, son, beauty &c; Śaṅkara asks Pārvatī what vrata she performed to secure the position of sharing half his body.

Haratṛtīyā-vrata—on M. śu. 3; tithivrata, Umā and Maheśvara deity; in a maṇḍapa draw a lotus with eight leaves; in eight directions *nyāsa* of the eight names of Umā viz. Gaurī, Lalitā, Umā, Svadhā, Vāmadevī &c.; place Umā-Maheśvara in the middle, worship with gandha and flowers; place a jar filled with rice grains; homa with four āhutis of ghee and one hundred of sesame, in each of the eight *praharas* perform bath and homa; next day honour a brāhmaṇa and his wife; this to be followed for four years; then udyāpana; golden image of Umā and Maheśvara to be donated to ācārya; gives *saubhāgya* and health; HV I. 480-482.

Haratrivīratva-vrata—one fasting for three days at the root of a *bilva* tree and reciting a lakh of times the name of Hara destroys the sin even of bhrūṇahatyā; HV II. 312 (from Saurapurāṇa). Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 148n and vol. III. p. 612 note 1161 for explanations of bhrūṇa.

Haravrata—on 8th tithi draw an image of lotus leaf and worship Hara and perform homa with streams of ghee and fuel-sticks; HV I. 881 (from Bhav.).

Harikālivrata—on 3rd tithi of Bh. śu. worship of Kālī on the sprouts of seven dhānyas sown in a winnowing basket, it is carried at night by women whose husbands are alive to a reservoir of water and discharged therein; HV I. 435–439 (from Bhav. U. 20 1–28). The story is that Kālī was daughter of Daksa, was given in marriage to Mahādeva and was dark in complexion Once in an assembly of gods Mahādeva called her as dark as collyrium She was angered, left her complexion on a grassy plot and threw herself into fire. She was born again as Gaurī and became Mahādeva's wife The dark complexion laid aside by Kālī became Kātyāyanī, who helped gods in their undertakings The gods bestowed on her the boon that those men or women who would worship Kālī existing in green grass would have happiness, long life and *saubhāgya*. The printed HV labels it Harikālī, but no question about Hari (meaning Visnu) arises here. Hari here probably simply means 'tawny' (i.e. Kālī who was once brown or tawny and not fair).

Harikrīḍāśayana or Harikrīḍāyana—on K. or Vai. 12th; tithivrata, Hari deity; place in a copper vessel filled with honey a golden image of Nrsimha with four arms, with rubies for arms, coral for nails and other precious stones on the chest, ears, eyes and head, and fill the vessel with water; worship and *jāgara*; the performer has no danger in a forest or battle, secures wealth and long life; KKV 392–393, HV II. 376–377 (from Nrsimhapurāna).

Haritālikāvrata—Vide above pp. 144–45.

Harimakta—see NS 21.

Harititthi—is 12th, acc. to SmK 29.

Hariprabodhotsava—celebrating the supposed awakening of Visnu in K. Vide pp. 109–111 above.

Harivāsara—The day of Hari. There is a divergence of views on this point, VKK 14 holds that Ekādaśī is really the day of Hari and not dvādaśī. Gar. I. 127. 12 and Nāradapurāna II. 24. 6 and 9 call Ekādaśī Harivāsara; KSS 43 quotes Mat. to the effect that if Ās. śu. 12th falls on Wednesday and has Anurādhā naksatra and if Bh. śu. 12 falls on Wednes-

day and has Śravana naksatra and if K. śu 12 falls on Wednesday and has Revatī naksatra, these are called Harivāsara. SmK 29 holds that Dvādaśī is Harititthi

Harivrata—(1) a person should practise ekabhakta on Pūrnimā and Amāvāsyā; he does not go to Hell; on those tithis he should worship Hari with 'punyāhavācana' and words like 'jaya'· he should feed one brāhmana, bow to him and feed other brāhmanas and the blind, helpless and distressed persons; HV II. 373 (from Narasimhapurāna), KKV 389–390, for punyāhavācana, vide H of Dh vol II p. 216; (2) a person who gives up food on 12th tithi goes to heaven; HV I. 1172 (from Var).

Harisayana—the sleeping of Visnu in Ās.; vide above pp 109–111.

Halasasthī—Bh. kr. 6 is so called, NS 123

Havisya—sacrificial substances that can be partaken of on certain vratas; KR 400, TT 109, NS 106 and H of Dh. vol. IV. p 149 note 334.

Hastagaurīvrata—on Bh śu 3; told by Krsna to Kunti for recovering a kingdom endowed with wealth and grain. Vratārka, folios 50b–52b, AK 280b; contemplation of Gaurī, Hara and Heramba (Ganeśa) for 13 years and udyāpana in 14th year.

Himapūjā—worship the Moon, the left eye of Visnu on Pūrnimā with flowers, *naivedya* of milk, give salt to cows, honour one's mother, sister and daughter with new red garments; if one is near Himālaya, then one should offer to pitrs ice mixed with honey, sesame and ghee and where there is no ice he should repeat the words 'ice, ice' and should feed brāhmanas with māsa food full of ghee, festival with songs and dance should be held and Śyāmā-devī worshipped, fresh wine should be drunk by those used to drinking, KR 471–72 (from Brah.)

Hrdayavidhi—Vide KKV 19–20, HV II. 526, vide above p. 268 under 'Ādityavāra'

Homavidhi—For procedure of *homa* in the Grhyasūtras, vide H. of Dh vol. II, pp. 207–210 and for homa in medieval times, vide HV I. 309–310.

Holikā—Vide above pp. 327–341.

SECTION II

KĀLA, MUHŪRTA, the influence of Astrology on DHARMAŚĀSTRA and CALENDAR

CHAPTER XIV

Conception of Kāla

Among the first of the great problems of philosophy is that of the nature of Space (*dik*) and Time (*kāla*).

The questions that arise are: Are Space and Time ultimately real? Is the world we apprehend spaceless and timeless or has the universe a beginning in time; are Space and Time themselves things or real, attributes or relations of things. Great divergence of views has prevailed on these problems from ancient times to this day. It is therefore advisable to indicate briefly the speculations on Time contained principally in Sanskrit works.

The word Kāla occurs only once in the Rgveda[651] 'as a gambler collects the *krta* (highest stake) at the (proper) time' (Rg. X. 42. 9, 'Krtam yac śvaghnī vicinoti kāle'). The Atharvaveda contains two hymns (XIX. 53 1-10 and XIX. 54. 1-5) embodying a most sublime conception of Kāla. A few striking verses[652] are translated here. 'Kāla (Time) carries (as) a horse with seven reins, thousand-eyed, ageless, endowed with

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651 Compare कृतं न श्वघ्नी विचिनोति देवने। ऋ X 43 5 (= अथर्व. XX. 17 5) with ऋ. X 42 9 (= अथर्व VII 50 6 and XX 89,9 कृतमिव श्वघ्नी विचिनोति काले); vide also 'श्वघ्नीव यो जिगीवाँल्लक्षमादत्' ऋ II 12 4, Rg. X 43 5 is explained by Chān. Up IV 1 4 'यथा कृताय विजितायाधरेया संयन्ति' (as the lower throws of dice all go to the highest throw, to the winner'.

652. कालो अश्वो वहति सप्तरश्मिः सहस्राक्षो अजरो भूरिरेताः। तमा रोहन्ति कवयो विपश्चितस्तस्य चक्रा भुवनानि विश्वा॥ स एव सं भुवनान्याभरत् स एव सं भुवनानि पर्येत्। पिता सन्नभवत्पुत्र एषां तस्माद्वै नान्यत्परमस्ति तेजः॥ काले मनः काले प्राणः काले नाम समाहितम्। कालेन सर्वा नन्दन्त्यागतेन प्रजा इमाः॥ कालः प्रजा असृजत कालो अग्रे प्रजापतिम्। स्वयम्भूः कश्यपः कालात्तपः कालादजायत॥ अथर्व XIX. 53 1, 4, 7, 10, कालो ह भूतं भव्यं च पुत्रो अजनयत्पुरा। कालादृचः समभवन्यजुः कालादजायत॥ इमं च लोकं परमं च लोकं पुण्यांश्च लोकान् विधृतीश्च पुण्याः। सर्वाँल्लोकानभिजित्य ब्रह्मणा कालः स ईयते परमो नु देवः॥ अथर्व. XIX. 54 5. कश्यप is styled a ऋषि in ऋ IX. 114.2 and is in later mythology the husband of अदिति who is called mother, father and son in ऋ, I 89.10; so probably कश्यप here is the same as प्रजापति In अथर्व. VIII. 5 14 कश्यप is said to have created the amulet jewel 'कश्यपस्त्वानसृजत कश्यपस्त्वा समैरयत्'. विधृति probably means here 'boundaries separating the worlds'.

plentiful seed (power); the wise poets mount him (as one mounts a chariot); all worlds are his wheels (53 1); he (Kāla) himself brought together the worlds and he himself went round (all) worlds together, being the father, he became the son of them (worlds); there is indeed no other brilliance that is higher (or beyond) him (53 4); in Time is mind, in Time is breath, in Time is placed name, all these beings are glad by time when it arrives (53. 7), Time created beings, in the beginning Kāla (created) Prajāpati, the self-existent Kaśyapa sprang from Kāla and (so did) *tapas* spring from Kāla (53. 10); Kāla, the son, created past and the future, from Time arose the ṛk (verses) and the *yajus* (sacrificial formulas) were born from time (54. 3), this world and the highest world, holy worlds and holy *vidhṛtis* having completely conquered these worlds by the *brahman* Time goes on (abides) as the highest god' (54 5).

From these passages it appears that the word Kāla was used even in very early Vedic times in two senses, viz time in general (as in modern Sanskrit and modern Indian languages) and Time as identical with the Supreme Being or the source of creation. This latter sense, it will be shown a little later on, is also emphasized in many Sanskrit works (including the Purāṇas).

In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa the word Kāla is often used in the sense of 'time' or 'proper time'[653] e g. 'he (Rudra angry because he was excluded from a share in offerings) flew up towards the north at the time when *suvastakṛt* offering was to be made' (I. 7. 3. 3); Prajāpati (when cattle approached him) said 'whenever you may get anything at the (proper) time or at an improper time you may eat it' (II. 4 2 4)

A few passages from some of the Upaniṣads regarded as ancient by most scholars may be cited here; the Chān. Up. II.[654] 31. 1 (while speaking of Vāmadevya Sāman and its parts) uses the word Kāla as equal to 'end' or 'finish' The Br[655] Up I. 2.4

653 स आयततयोत्तस्त उपोत्थेदे य एष स्विष्टकृत् कालः। शत ब्रा I 7 3 3; यदैव यूप कदा च लभाम्यै यदि काले यज्ञनाकालेऽथैवाइनाधेति॥ II. 4. 2 4.

654 कालं गच्छति तस्मिधन पार गच्छति तस्मिधनमेतद्ब्राह्मदेभ्य निधुने मोतम्। छा. उप II. 13 1.

655. सोऽकामयत द्वितीयो म आत्मा जायेतेति न मुरा ततः सवत्सर आस तमेतावन्तं कालमबिभ । यावान्त्सवत्सर'। तमेतावत कालस्य परस्तादसृजत। बृह उप I. 2 4, नैन मुरा कालात् प्राणो जहाति। ''' नैन मुरा कालान्मृत्युरागच्छति। बृह II 1 20 and 21, नो एव स्वय नास्य प्रजा मुरा कालात्समोहमेति। '''नो एव स्वय नास्य प्रजा मुरा कालात्समीयते। कौषी उप. IV. 12 and 13.

says "He desired 'would that a second self of me were produced' ... He bore him for a time as long as a year; after that long time he brought him forth". In the dialogue between Gārgya and king Ajātaśatru in the same Upaniṣad Gārgya put forward several objects which he reverenced (*upāsana*) as *brahma* when the king replied as to those cases in these words '*Prāna* (breath) does not leave him before the time' and 'death does not come to him before time'. Here the word 'Kāla' is used in the sense of 'proper or appointed time'. In the passage of the Kauṣītaki Br. that corresponds to Br Up II. 1 10 and 12 the words are 'neither he himself nor his progeny pass into unconsciousness before the time' and 'neither he nor his progeny dies before the time'. In some passages of the Śvetāśvatara Up. some thinkers are stated to have put forward Kāla as the cause or source of creation e g. 'what is the cause?[656] Is it Brahma? Whence are we born? Whereby do we live? On what are we established (or where are we going?) .. Time or inherent nature or necessity or chance or elements or *yoni* (prakṛti) or the person, it is to be considered (whether one of these is cause)'; 'Some sages discourse upon inherent nature (as the cause) while other deluded persons speak of Time (as the cause).' Here Kāla is represented as the cause of creation, which is the 2nd meaning of the word Kāla set out from the Atharvaveda. In another passage[657] of the same Up. Kāla is said to have been generated by Him who is intelligent and omniscient The first meaning of Kāla (time in general) is also found in Śvetāśvatara Up. 'He (God) is the beginning, the efficient cause of (all) combinations, He is beyond the three times and is also without parts'. The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad avers that Omkāra is beyond the threefold time viz. past, present and future.

The Maitrī Upaniṣad[658] has a long but somewhat rambling disquisition on time (VI. 14–16). It first says "Then it has been

656. किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुतः स्म जाता जीवाम केन क्व च संप्रतिष्ठाः। काल स्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम्। श्वे उप I 1–2, स्वभावमेके कवयो वदन्ति कालं तथान्ये परिमुह्यमानाः। श्वे उप VI 1 The बृहत्संहिता of वराह appears to refer to this last when it says (in I. 7) 'कालं कारणमेके स्वभावमपरे परे जगुः कर्म'

657. येनाश्रुतं श्रुतमित्यमतं मतमविज्ञातं विज्ञातमिदं हि सर्वं स ज्ञः कालकारो गुणी सर्वविद्य। श्वे उप. VI. 2, आदिः स संयोगनिमित्तहेतुः परस्त्रिकालादकालोपि दृष्टः। श्वे उप VI. 5, compare माण्डूक्योप० 'भूतं भवद्भविष्यमिति सर्वमोङ्कार एव। यच्चान्यत्त्रिकालातीतं तदप्योङ्कार एव ॥.

658. अथान्यत्राप्युक्तं-अर्कं वा अस्य सर्वस्य योनिः कालश्चास्य सूर्यो योनिः कालस्य। ... एवं ह्याह। कालात्प्रवन्ति भूतानि कालाद् वृद्धिं प्रयान्ति च। काले चास्तं नियच्छन्ति कालो

(*Continued on next page*)

said elsewhere 'Food is indeed the source of this whole world, and time of food; the Sun is the source of time' Then a little later on it proceeds "Thus one has said 'From Time flow beings, from Time they reach growth, and in Time they come to disappear; Time is a form (i. e has definite shape or limits) and is (also) formless" Then it propounds 'There are indeed two forms of *brahma*, Time and Timeless. That which is prior to the Sun is Timeless (form of Brahma) and it is without parts. But that which begins with the Sun is Time that has parts, year is the form of the Time that has parts All these beings are produced from the year, through the year these beings when born grow, and they disappear in the year Therefore the year is Prajāpati, is time, is food, is Brahma nest (or abode) and is Atman And it has been said 'Time cooks (ripens or digests) all beings in the Great Self, that man knows the (real import of) Veda who knows that in which Time is cooked". Here the Maitri Up speaks of Time in its two senses, contains the germ of the later conception of the experience of Time as due to the actions or movements of the Sun, and refers to Time in the same terms in which the Tai. Up (III 1) speaks of *brahma* It is unnecessary to set out passages from other Upaniṣads such as the Mahānārāyana (XI 14 aham-eva kālo nāham kālasya) where Kāla is identified with God (Nārāyana)[659]

The Mahābhārata recurs to the theme of Kāla time and again In the Ādiparva it is said 'Kāla creates beings and Kāla destroys people, Kāla extinguishes Kāla that is engaged in destroying people; Kāla brings about good or evil states (or things); Kāla reduces all people and again sends them forth; Kāla is (the only one) awake when all are asleep (i e dead or

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मूर्तिरमूर्तिमान्॥ द्वे वाव ब्रह्मणो रूपे कालश्चाकालश्चाथ यः प्रागादित्यात्सोऽकालोऽकलोऽथ य आदित्याथ स कालः सकल सकलश्च वा एतद्वै यत्संवत्सरः संवत्सरात्प्रत्यिमा प्रजा प्रजायन्ते संवत्सरेणेद वै जाता निवर्धन्ते संवत्सरे प्रत्यस्त यन्ति तस्मात्संवत्सरो वै प्रजापति कालोऽन्न ब्रह्मनीलमाला चेत्येव ह्याह। काल पचति भूतानि सर्वाण्येव नहात्मनि। यस्मिंस्तु पच्यते कालो यत्तं वेद स वेदवित्॥ मैत्री VI 14-15 With कालात्प्रवन्ति etc and सवत्सरात्प्रत्यिमा etc compare 'यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसविशन्ति॥ तद्विजिज्ञासस्व तद् ब्रह्मेति।' तै उप III 1

659. काल सृजति भूतानि काल सहरते प्रजाः। सहरन्त प्रजा काल कालः शमयते पुन॥ कालो हि कुरुते भावान् सर्वलोके शुभाशुभान्॥ काल संक्षिपते सर्वा. प्रजा विसृजते पुन॥ काल सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रम.। आदिपर्व I 248-250, काल पचति भूतानि काल संहरते प्रजाः। कालः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कालो हि दुरतिक्रमः॥ द्रोणपर्व 2 24 The words कालो ... क्रमः occur in शान्ति 221, 41 and गरुड I 108 7.

liberated), for Kāla is invincible'. The Strīparva has the following 'Kāla cooks all beings and Kāla destroys people; Kāla is invincible'. The Śāntiparva[660] in chapters 224 and 227 contains a long disquisition on the formidable influence of Kāla on all including gods like Indra In the Śāntiparva it is asserted 'beyond the mind is the Great Intelligence and beyond the latter, is the Great Time; beyond Time is the adorable Visnu to whom belongs the whole world'. In another place the Śāntiparva, after detailing nineteen *gunas* the last being *dvandva-yoga* (pairs of opposites such as pleasure and pain), remarks that the 20th *guna* beyond the nineteenth is Kāla and that one should know these twenty to be the source and end of all beings. The Aśvamedhika-parva describes (chap. 45) the wheel of Time in an elaborate metaphorical way (verses 1-9) and remarks that the man who well knows the action of Kāla and its sublation is never deluded and reaches the highest goal In Vanaparva Krsna is identified with Brahma, Rudra, the Sun, the Moon, Dharma, Yama, Kāla &c. Vide for further references Śāntiparva 25. 5 ff, 224-225.

In the Bhagavadgītā the word kāla is used in the sense of 'time in general or proper time' in several passages (such as IV. 2, VIII 7 and 27, VIII. 23, XVII. 20) and Kāla is identified with Krsna as Supreme Lord in one of his super-eminent manifestations in X. 30 and 33 (I am Kāla among those that seize and I am Kāla that is imperishable) and XI. 32 (I am Kāla, that has increased (in strength) and that brings about the destruction of the worlds)

Pānini employs the word kāla in his sūtras many times, but in the sense of time in general or the divisions of time or proper time Patañjali on Pānini III. 3. 167 (Kālasamayavelāsu tumun) quotes a half verse about Kāla, which is the same as the one quoted above from the Mahābhārata (in note 659) and which appears to have been cited by Patañjali as a well-known verse. In another place Patañjali while explaining Vārtika 2 on Pānini (II. 2. 5) states a very important theory about Kāla,

660 मनसो महती बुद्धिर्बुद्धे. कालो महान् स्मृत । कालात् स भगवान् विष्णुर्यस्य सर्वमिद जगत्॥ शान्तिपर्व 206 13 (= cr ed 199 11); ऊर्ध्वं चैकोनविंशत्या कालो नामापरो गुण. । इतीमं विद्धि विंशत्या भूतानां प्रभवाप्ययम् । शान्ति० 320. 108-109, स वै नारायणो भूत्वा हरिरासी परन्तप । ब्रह्मा सोमश्च सूर्यश्च धर्मो धाता यमोऽनल । वायुर्वैश्रवणो रुद्र. कालः खं पृथिवी दिश । वनपर्व 12 21-22, काल्र कलयतामहम् । गीता X 30 (here the word काल is derived from the root कल् 10th conj. to compute, to grasp)

He says [661] "People speak of that as Kāla whereby the increases (or growths) and decreases in solid bodies are observed and the same (time) is called day and night when conjoined with some activity. What is that activity? (the reply is). the motion of the Sun When that (motion of the Sun) is repeated again and again there is a month and a year' This means that Kāla does not exist except as a convenient name or word for the manner of measuring change or becoming in what we observe by comparing one series of changes with another

In the Manusmṛti the Supreme [662] Lord is said to have created time and its divisions (I 24 Kālam kālavibhaktiṁśca) and to have, after He produced the universe, disappeared in himself again and again, squeezing one period of time by means of another period (I. 51).

Coming to the philosophical systems, it may be noted that the Sāṅkhya system does not include Kāla as a separate *tattva* in its twenty-five tattvas But Kāla was not altogether forgotten in that system. The Sāṅkhyakārikā [663] states that the *karanas* are thirteen, three being *ābhyantara* (internal i. e. inside the body) and ten being *bāhya*, the latter are concerned with the present, while the former are concerned with the three times (past, present and future)

The Vaiśeṣika-sūtra treats [664] Kāla as included in the nine dravyas (substances, I. 5) and states that the indications of the

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661. येन मूर्तीनामुपचयापचयाश्च लक्ष्यन्ते त कालमाहु । तस्यैव हि क्रियाविक्रियया शुक्लस्याहरिति च भवति रात्रिरिति च । क्रया क्रियया । आदित्यगत्या । तयैवासकृदावृत्तया मास-इति भवति संवत्सर इति च । महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पाणिनि II. 2 5 'काला. परिमाणिना' (Kielhorn's ed vol I p 409).

662 आत्मन्यन्तर्दधे भूयः काल कालेन पीडयन् ॥ मनु० I 51. The idea is that creation is destroyed by the time of pralaya, as Kullūka says 'सृष्टिकालं प्रलयकालेन नाशयन् '

663 अन्त करण त्रिविध दशधा बाह्य त्रयस्य विषयारव्यम् । साम्प्रतकाल बाह्य त्रिकाल-माभ्यन्तर करणम् ॥ सारव्यकारिका 133. The सारव्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति explains 'अन्त-करण त्रिविध बुद्धिरहङ्कारो मन इति । शरीराभ्यन्तरवर्तित्वादन्त-करणम् । 'तत्र बुद्धीन्द्रि-याण्यालोचनेन कर्मेन्द्रियाणि तु यथास्वं व्यापारेण ।' (Nirn. ed 1940) p 372.

664 द्रव्य is one of the seven (in ancient times six) पदार्थs. पदार्थ means any object that can be named and is known and not merely things that are physically apprehended अपरस्मिन्नपरं युगपच्चिर क्षिप्रमिति कालाङ्गानि । द्रव्यत्व-नित्यत्वे वायुना व्याख्याते तत्त्वभावेन । नित्येष्वभावाद्नित्येषु भावाख्यारणे कालाख्येति । वैशे-षिकसूत्र II 2 6-9. प्रशस्तपाद् comments in his भाष्य as follows . 'काल· परापरव्यति-करयौगपद्यायौगपद्यचिरक्षिप्रमित्ययलिङ्गम् ।' p. 26 and 'कालस्तयो (परत्वापरत्वयोः)

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existence of Kāla are the apprehensions of a thing as posterior or prior, the apprehension of simultaneity of certain things, the apprehension of a thing as lasting long or as being momentary, that it is *nitya*, one and the (efficient) cause of all things that are created. Praśastapāda gives the instance of an old man and a young man being seen by a person in one place and direction or in different directions, who apprehends after looking at a young man that another man called old differs from a young man as regards a grown-up moustache or beard, wrinkles on the body and baldness and so apprehends that the old man is remote from the young man and therefore apprehends him as beyond (*para*) while he thinks of the young man as near, posterior and so *apara*.

There were certain philosophers who held that Time is either past or future and denied that there is present time (vartamāna). The Nyāyasūtra refutes this view and holds that time is either past, present or future (II. 1. 39–43) From Patañjali's [665] Mahābhāsya it appears that even in his day there were philosophers that held that there was no time called present and that those people quoted certain verses in support.

The Nyāyamañjarī [666] of Jayantabhatta (K. S. S. 1936) has a long discussion on Kāla It first sets out the views of those who deny the very existence of Kāla as a separate entity. These latter say that Kāla is not perceptible like a jar &c and that

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कथम् । वर्तमानकालयोरनियतदिग्देशसयुक्तयोर्युवस्थविरयो स्थूलश्मश्रुकार्कश्यवलिपलितादिसान्निध्ये सत्येकस्य द्रष्टुर्युवानमवधिं कृत्वा स्थविरे विपक्षकृता बुद्धिरुत्पद्यते । ततस्तामपेक्ष्य परेण कालभदेशेन सयोगात् परत्वस्योत्पत्तिः ॥' pp. 77–78 The न्यायवार्तिक on न्यायसूत्र II. 1. 36 (p. 255) remarks 'यथैकस्मिन् पुरुषे अनेकसम्बन्धमेवाश्रुविधायिन्यभिज्ञे पिता पुत्रो भ्रातेति प्रत्यया भवन्ति तद्वदेक. कालः कार्यकारणविशेषापेक्षः परापरादिप्रत्ययहेतुरिति । एवमुपपादितः काल' ।'

665 अपर आह नास्ति वर्तमान' काल इति। अपि चात्र श्लोकाञ्जदाहरन्ति। "अपर आह। अस्ति वर्तमानः काल इति। आदित्यगतिक्रीपलभ्यते। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 (सन्ति च कालविभागाः। on पा III. 2 123 वर्तमाने लट्).

666 अत्र चोद्यन्ति। काले सति त्रैकाल्य चिन्त्यम् । स एव तु कुरूपपादः, तद्भावे कस्य वर्तमानादिविभागो निरूप्यते । न तावद् गृह्यते काल. प्रत्यक्षेण घटादिवत् । चिरक्षिप्रादिबोधोपि कार्यमात्रावलम्बनः ॥ ' यदि खेको विभुर्नित्यः कालो द्रव्यात्मनो मतः। अतीतवर्तमानादिभेदव्यवहृति' कुत ॥ एवमादिषु सति, प्रत्यक्षगम्यतामेव कोचित्कालस्य मन्यते । विशेषणतया कार्यप्रत्यये प्रतिभासनात् ॥ क्रमेण युगपच्चिप्रचिरात्कृतमितीदृशः । प्रत्यया नावकल्पन्ते कार्यमात्रावलम्बना ॥ अनुमेय एव कालः । अप्रत्यक्षत्वमात्रेण न च कालस्य नास्तिता । युक्ता पृथिव्यघोभागचन्द्रमः परभागवत् ॥ तस्मादस्ति युगपदादिव्यवहारहेतुः कालः । तस्मादेकोप्ययं कालः क्रियाभेदाद् विभिद्यते ॥ न्यायमञ्जरी (K. S S., 1936) pp. 123–127.

the ideas of quickness or slowness depend merely on the observed effects. The same theorists raise the further objection that if Kāla is a *dravya* (substance) that is all-pervading and permanent, as the Vaiśesikas assert, then how is it that Kāla is spoken of as past, present and future. To these objections some reply: Kāla is directly perceived, since it appears to the mind as distinguishing the various perceptions of effects, that the several experiences such as 'these matters happened simultaneously, this happened after long, this happened quickly' cannot be perfectly explained if one denies the existence of Kāla and holds that these experiences depend solely on the perceived objects or actions Others hold that Kāla is really inferred and not directly perceived They argue merely because Kāla is not directly perceived it does not follow that it does not exist; to infer that Kāla exists is proper as it is proper to infer that the other side of the moon exists though we see only that face of the moon that is below the earth; therefore Kāla exists as a separate entity to which is due the common experience of simultaneity, quickness or slowness &c. The differing observations about persons being young or old cannot be well explained without admitting the existence of Kāla, which like *ākāśa* is one, all-pervading and permanent. To the objection how, if Kāla is one, all pervading and *nitya*, it is spoken of as having three divisions, the reply is: in reality there are no divisions in Kāla, but divisions are imagined in Kāla on account of the *upādhi* (a limiting or restrictive adjunct) viz. *kriyā* (activity). When we speak of a man as cooking rice in the present (*odanam pacati*), that is due to the distinguishing nature of the result (boiled rice) which is brought about by several activities (*kriyās*) beginning with the placing of the cooking pot on the fire up to its being taken down on the ground. Then we use the word 'present'. But when we bear in mind the series of activities that produced the boiled rice we use the expression 'he cooked' (in the past tense) for the activities that have ended. In this way we speak of time also as past on account of the distinguishing characteristic of the activities that have ended

It may be noted that Raghunātha on 'Padārtha-nirūpana' (a work of Navyanyāya school) held the view that Space, Time and God are all one and the same thing and not separate substances [667]

667. Vide Prof Ingalls' 'Materials for the study of Navyanyāya' (Harvard) p. 38 n. 36.

In the Yogasūtrabhāsya on III. 51 there is a brief but very interesting and abstruse disquisition on Kāla The sūtra runs[667a] 'by constraint (*samyama*) upon moments (ksana) and their sequence (or succession) (arises) knowledge due to discrimination'. The bhāsya explains. just as an atom is substance or matter (*dravya*) reaching the limit of minuteness, so a *ksana* (moment) is time that reaches the highest limit of minuteness, or a ksana (moment) is time taken by an atom in leaving the position in space it occupies or the time taken in reaching the next point in space; *krama* (sequence) is the non-cessation of the flow of moments; moments and their succession do not form a collection (or combination) of actual (or perceptible) things. Muhūrta (30th part of day and night), day and night and others are combinations made by the mind (or by mental conceptions). This time, though devoid of being a real thing by itself, is indeed only a creation of mental conceptions and results from knowledge derived from words (alone) and appears as if it were an actual object to ordinary people whose doctrines are divergent (or confused) But ksana (moment) falling among (i a. being mixed up with) real perceptible things appears (to the human mind) as dependent on or constituting sequence (or succession). *Krama* (sequence) is of the nature of uninterrupted succession. This sequence is called Kāla by Yogins who know (the real nature of) time. For, two ksanas cannot exist together (simultaneouly) It is impossible that there should be a sequence of two moments that exist simultaneously. When a later moment comes after an earlier one without interruption, that is called *krama* In the present there is only one moment and there are no earlier and later moments in the present Therefore there can be no combination of two moments (in reality). But those moments that have passed away and those that are yet to come are to be interpreted or described as

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667a क्षणतत्क्रमयोः संयमाद्विवेकजं ज्ञानम्। योगसूत्र III.52; भाष्य on this is. यथा अपकर्षपर्यन्तं द्रव्यं परमाणुरेवं परमापकर्षपर्यन्त कालः क्षणो यावता वा समयेन चलित परमाणुः पूर्वदेशं जह्यादुत्तरदेशमुपसपद्येत स कालः क्षण तत्समवाहाविच्छेदस्तु क्रम. क्षणतत्क्रमयोर्नास्ति वस्तुसमाहार इति। बुद्धिसमाहारो मुहूर्ताहोरात्रादयः। स खल्वयं कालो वस्तुशून्योऽपि बुद्धिनिर्माणः शब्दज्ञानानुपाती लौकिकाना व्युत्थितदर्शनाना वस्तुस्वरूप इवावभासते। क्षणस्तु वस्तुपतित क्रमावलम्बी। क्रमश्च क्षणानन्तर्यात्मा तं कालविद काल इत्याचक्षते योगिनः। न च द्वौ क्षणौ सह भवत। क्रमश्च न द्वयो. सहभुवोरसम्भवात् पूर्वस्मादुत्तरस्य भाविनो यदानन्तर्यं क्षणस्य स क्रम। तस्माद्वर्तमान एवैकः क्षण न पूर्वोत्तरक्षणा सन्तीति तत्समाहारः। ये तु भूतभाविन क्षणास्ते परिणामान्विता व्याख्येयास्तेनैकेन क्षणेन कृत्स्नो लोक परिणाममनुभवति तत्क्षणोपारूढा खल्वमी सर्वे धर्मास्तयो क्षणतत्क्रमयो सयमात् तयो साक्षात्करणं ततश्च विवेकजं ज्ञानं प्रादुर्भवति॥ विवेक in the सूत्र means प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेक

connected with the (constant) flux of changes (in the world Therefore the whole world experiences change in each sing moment So all these (external) aspects of the world are d pendent on one moment (in the present).

This disquisition shows that the Yogasūtra and its bhāsy held that time was not a *dravya* and not a tangible reality, bu that it was merely a word, a mental concept inseparable from the perception or experience of physical objects as a characteristic (viśesana or upādhi), that it attaches itself to the changing realities, that we measure it according to the movements of or changes in things and that it was not merely like a hare's horn.

I have confined myself to Sanskrit works and particularly to works of the Vedic school type[668] Buddhist and Jaina thinkers had to say a good deal on Kāla For example, the Pramāna[669]-vārtika-bhāsya or Vārtikālankāra of Prajñākaragupta (about 700 A D.) combats the view of the Vaiśesikasūtra and Praśastapāda (quoted above) and holds that there is no separate entity like Kāla, that it is not possible to have the ideas of distant time and near time if Kāla be without beginning and be endless, that the ideas of being distant or near or quick are not distinct from the activities about which they are predicated This Buddhist view practically amounts to saying that time is not a thing, but only an idea, only a subjective condition of human sensorial experiences and intuitions and is non-existent in itself, apart from the subject On the other hand Jaina[670] writers hold that there are six *padārthas* viz jiva, dharma, adharma, ākāśa, *pudgala* and kāla i. e Time has separate existence

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668 It is surprising that in the two volumes of 'the History of philosophy, Eastern and Western,' published under the auspices of the Govt of India (London, 1952), and compiled by an Editorial Board presided over by such a world-famous philosopher as Dr S Radhakrishnan, not a word is said about the conception of Time in the Vedic Literature and in the Vaiśesika and other systems and only a meagre account is given of the Buddhist and Jain ideas on the subject (vol I pp 159, 175–76 and p 144)

669. अनादिनिधनात्कालात्कथ क्षिप्रादिबुद्धय. । चिरक्षिप्रादिबुद्धीना ग्राह्य कालो यदीष्यते ॥ verse 35, चिराद्दूरेपि नैवासौ क्रियातो व्यतिरेकिण. । चिर कृतमितीत्थं हि क्रियारूपमवेक्षत ॥ 40, pp. 476-497 of प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य ed by Rāhula Sānkrtyāyana (1953).

670 अजीवकाया धर्माधर्माकाशपुद्गला । जीवाश्च । कालश्च । सोऽनन्तसमय' । तत्त्वार्थसूत्र of उमास्वाति ed with वृत्ति of श्रुतसागरसूरि (1949, Benares) in the Jñānapītha Jain-granthamālā.

Some of the Purāṇas contain disquisitions on Kāla. The nature of Time is described in the Kūrmapurāṇa as follows: This adorable[671] Kāla is without beginning and without end, it is ageless and immortal, it is a great Lord because it is all-embracing, it is independent and is the self of all, there may be many Brahmās, Rudras and Nārāyaṇas and other gods. It is declared that the divine Lord is one and is omniscient and is Kāla; they (the gods) are created by Kāla, which again swallows (or makes them disappear), the gods Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa and Īśa (Śiva) are said to undergo *prākṛta* disappearance by the power of Kāla and also spring again therefrom as highest Brahma, the elements, Vāsudeva and Śaṅkara Therefore the whole world has its soul in Kāla He alone is the highest Lord' The Viṣṇudharmottara[672] has a similar long disquisition on Kāla the gist of a few verses of which may be set out here 'Kāla is without beginning and without end, it is Rudra that seizes all (or it is Saṅkarṣaṇa); it is called Kāla because it carries off or drives all beings. Kāla is great and the highest Lord, because it is beginningless and endless; it is more subtile than the winking of one's eye, very much more subtile than the subtilest. Its subtileness cannot be understood even by Yogins When a thousand lotus leaves are pierced by a needle ignorant people think that the piercing of all leaves is at the same time, but really the leaves are pierced at separate units of time. This is the subtileness of Kāla. But though Kāla is very very subtile, it is also great and measurement of it can be computed because of the motions of planets' The Vāyu and Kūrma both say 'Time creates beings and again destroys them; all are under the rule of Time, while Time is not under the dominance of

671. अनादिरेष भगवान् कालोऽनन्तोऽजरोऽमर' । सर्वगत्वात् स्वतन्त्रत्वात् सर्वात्मत्वान्महेश्वर । ब्रह्माणो बहवो रुद्रा ह्यन्ये नारायणादय.। एको हि भगवानीश. काल कविरिति स्मृत.। कालेनैव च सृज्यन्ते स एव ग्रसते पुन । ब्रह्मनारायणेशाना जयाणां प्राकृतो लयः। प्रोच्यते कालयोगेन पुनरेव च सम्भवः। परं ब्रह्म च भूतानि वासुदेवोऽपि शङ्कर.। तस्मात् कालात्मकं विश्वं स एव परमेश्वर । q by है on काल p 6 from कूर्मपुराण These are कूर्म I chap. 5 but the order of verses is different For प्राकृतलय vide विष्णुपुराण I. 2.25

672. अनादिर्निधन कालो रुद्रः सङ्कर्षण. स्मृत । कलनात् सर्वभूताना स कालः परिकीर्तित । अनादिर्निधनत्वेन स महान् परमेश्वर । निमेषादपि सूक्ष्मत्वात् सूक्ष्मात्सूक्ष्मतरो ह्यति । तस्य सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मस्य कालस्य परमेष्ठिनः । दुर्विभाव्या महाभाग योगिनामपि सूक्ष्मता । पद्मपत्रसहस्रं तु सूच्या वै भिद्यते पदा । समकालं तु तद्भिन्नमबुधा मन्यते जन.। कालक्रमेण तद्भिन्नं सा तस्य द्विज सूक्ष्मता । तस्य सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मस्य तथापि महती द्विजा.। मानसंख्या बुधैर्ज्ञेया ग्रहगत्यनुसारत ॥ q by है. on काल pp 6-7 from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 72 1-7, काल. सृजति भूतानि काल. संहरते प्रजा । सर्वे कालस्य वशगा न काल. कस्यचिद्वशे ॥ कूर्म II 3. 16, वायु 32. 29-30 (reads पुनः संहरति क्रमात्).

any one' The Viṣṇupurāṇa[673] holds that Brahma which is one, unborn, permanent, ageless appears in the form of Kāla, which is without beginning or end The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[674] also regards Kāla as inferred in regard to its minuteness and its grossness is all-pervading, and holds that it is supposed to have units from the subtlest (atom) to the highest

Among astronomical works the Sūryasiddhānta states[675] 'Kāla is the destroyer of worlds; another (kind of time) is of the nature of calculation; Kāla is of two kinds, gross and subtile, which are also called *mūrta* (physically apprehensible) and *amūrta* (not so apprehended); (the divisions of) time called prāṇa (respiration) and the like are mūrta, while *truti* and the like are *amūrta*' The Caraka-saṃhitā[676] includes Kāla among nine dravyas and holds that it is *acetana* (non-sentient) Thus it agrees with the Vaiśeṣika view. In the Suśrutasaṃhitā it is declared 'Kāla is indeed self-existent, without beginning, middle or end; the poverty or richness of substances that have (one or more of the six) flavours (rasas) and the life and death of human beings are dependent on Kāla It is called Kāla because it does not remain sticking to even the smallest division or because it heaps together (beings by leading beings to death) or drives them together. Of that adorable Kāla which assumes the character of year, the divine Sun produces by his special movements the divisions called twinkling of the eye, kāsthā &c.

673. तद् ब्रह्म परमं नित्यमजमक्षयमव्ययम्। 'तदेव सर्वमेवैतद् व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपवत्। तथा पुरुषरूपेण कालरूपेण च स्थितम्॥ परस्य ब्रह्मणो रूपं पुरुष प्रथम द्विज। व्यक्ताव्यक्ते तथैवान्ये रूपे कालस्तथापरम्॥' अनादिर्भगवान्कालो नान्तोऽस्य द्विज विद्यते। विष्णुपुराण I 2. 13–15, 26.

674 एवं कालोऽप्यनुमित सौक्ष्म्ये स्थौल्ये च सत्तम। सस्थानभुक्त्या भगवानव्यक्तो व्यक्तभुग्विभु। स काल परमाणुर्वै यो भुङ्क्ते परमाणुताम्। ततोऽविशेषभुग्यस्तु स काल. परमो महान्। अणुर्द्वौ परमाणू स्यात्तत्सरेणुत्रय. स्मृत। जालार्करश्म्यवगत खमेवाद्यपतत्खगात्। त्रसरेणु-त्रिकं भुङ्क्ते य काल स त्रुटि स्मृत.। शतभागस्तु वेध स्यात्तैस्त्रिभिस्तु लव स्मृत.। निमेषाखिलयो ज्ञेय आम्नातस्ते त्रय क्षण। भागवत III 11 3–7

675 लोकानामन्तकृत्काल कालोऽन्य कलनात्मक। स द्विधा स्थूलसूक्ष्मत्वान्मूर्तश्चामूर्त उच्यते॥ प्राणादि. कथितो मूर्तस्त्रुट्याद्योऽमूर्तसंज्ञक.। षड्भि प्राणैर्विनाडी स्यात् तत्षष्टया नाडिका स्मृता। नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्र प्रकीर्तितम्॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त I. 10–11.

676. खादीन्यात्मा मन. कालो दिशश्च द्रव्यसङ्ग्रह। चरक, सूत्रस्थान I. 480, कालो हि नाम स्वयमूर्तनादिमध्यनिधन.। अत्र रसव्यापत्तस्पत्ती जीवितमरणे च मनुष्याणामायत्ते। स सूक्ष्मा-मपि कलां न लीयत इति काल सङ्कलयति कालयति वा भूतानीति काल। तस्य संवत्सरात्मनो भगवानादित्यो गतिविशेषेणाक्षिनिमेषकाष्ठाकलाक्षणपूर्वाह्णापराह्णप्रक्षमासर्तुमयनसवत्सरयुगमभिभागं करोति। तत्र लघ्वक्षरोच्चारणमात्रोऽक्षिनिमेष। पञ्चदशाक्षिनिमेषा काष्ठा त्रिंशत्काष्ठा कला त्रिंशत्कलो मुहूर्त. कलादशभागश्च त्रिंशन्मुहूर्तमहोरात्रं पञ्चदशाहोरात्राणि पक्ष. शुश्रुत II. 6–5.

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Similarly, philosophical grammarians like Bhartrhari[677] (author of the Vākyapadīya) holds that Kāla is a substance (dravya), all-pervading and permanent apart from activities, that it is the efficient cause of all created things, that it is divided into years, seasons &c. on account of the different activities, just as the same man may be called a carpenter or a blacksmith &c. (on account of his different activities). For reasons of space it is not advisable to pursue the subject of the nature of time from other Sanskrit works of medieval and modern times. For those who desire to make a further study of this subject I would recommend the 'Kālasiddhānta-darśini' composed and published by Shri Haranchandra Bhattācārya of Calcutta in 1941, which exhaustively deals with the philosophical conceptions about Kāla held by different sects, schools and Sanskrit writers.

There is a great temptation to compare Indian ancient and medieval conceptions about Time arrived at more than a thousand years ago with similar or corresponding conceptions on the same subject in modern Western philosophical works such as Kant's 'Critique of pure reason', Prof S. Alexander's 'Space, Time and Deity' (1927, London, two volumes), 'Time and Western Man' by Wyndham Lewis (London, 1927), Pierre Burgelin's 'L' Homme et Le Temps' (1945), Bergson's 'Time and Freewill', S. G. F. Brandon's 'Time and Mankind' (1953). But as this volume has already grown to large proportions, comparisons with Western philosophical views have to be given up.

From very ancient times minute divisions of time have been mentioned. The Vāj. S. states[678] 'that all winkings of the eye (and similar units of time) were produced from the (supreme) Person that is brilliant (like lightning)'. This half verse occurs in the Mahānārāyana Upanisad also. It is stated in the Br. Up.[679] that under the dominion of this imperishable *brahma* the Sun and the Moon are held apart, as also *nimeṣas*, *muhūrtas*, days, and nights, half months, months, seasons, and years stand apart

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677. व्यापारव्यतिरेकेण कालमेके प्रचक्षते। नित्यमेकं विभु क्रमं परिमाणं क्रियावत्॥ उत्पत्तौ च स्थितौ चैव विनाशे चापि तद्वताम्। निमित्तं कालमेवाहुर्विभक्तेनात्मना स्थितम्॥ क्रियाभेदाश्रयैकस्मिंस्तदाधारत्वा प्रवर्तते। क्रियाभेदाश्रयैकस्मिन्नुत्वाधारत्वोपजायते॥ वाक्यपदीयं, प्रकीर्णककाण्ड, कालसमुद्देश, verses 1, 3, 32.

678. सर्वे निमेषा जज्ञिरे विद्युत पुरुषादधि। वाज. सं 32. 2, महानारायण-उप. I. 8.

679. एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृतौ तिष्ठतः। "एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि निमेषा मुहूर्ता अहोरात्राण्यर्धमासा मासा ऋतवः संवत्सरा इति विधृतास्तिष्ठन्ति। बृह उप. III 8 9.

The Mahānārāyana Upanisad' (I. 8-9) mentions as units of time 'Nimesas, Kalā, muhūrta, kāsthā, ahorātra, half months, months, rtus, year' Manu I. 64 provides that 18 nimesas are equal to kāsthā, 30 kāsthās to kalā, 30 kalās to muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas are equal to one day and night Early and very exhaustive enumeration of the several units of time from subtlest to the highest are contained in Brhat-samhitā of Varāha and in the bhāsya of Praśastapāda on Vaisesikasūtra[680] viz 'Kāla is the cause of the popular usage about the units being *kṣana*, *lava*, *nimesas*, *kāsthā*, *kalā*, muhūrta, yāma (prahara or $\frac{1}{8}$th of a day), ahorātra (day and night), ardhamāsa (half month), māsa (month), rtu (season), ayana, samvatsara (year), yuga, manvantara, kalpa, pralaya and mahāpralaya. The Purānas also dilate upon the units of time from nimesa to pralaya or kalpa. Vide Brahma 231. 6-12, Kūrma I. 5 6-14, Padma V 3. 4-20, Vāyu 57 6-35. Nimesa (lit. winking of the eye) is defined by the Vāyu and Visnudharmottara as the time required for pronouncing a short letter and the latter adds that a smaller unit than it cannot be (physically) apprehended. There is great divergence of views about the number and names of the minute units of time and their mutual relations. A few examples alone can be cited. Manu (I. 64) furnishes the following table: 18 nimesas=kāsthā, 30 kāsthās = kalā, 30 kalās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra (day and night). The Arthaśāstra[681] of Kautilya provides. 2 trutas (i?) = lava, 2 lavas = nimesa, five nimesas = kāsthā, 30 kāsthās = kalā, 40 kalās = nādikā, 2 nādikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra Some of the purānas contain the same[682] verse on the names and relations of small units of time viz

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680 (स काल) क्षणलवनिमेष-काष्ठा-कला-मुहूर्तयामाहोरात्रार्धमास-मासर्तूयनसंवत्सर-युग कल्प-मन्वन्तर-प्रलय-महाप्रलय-व्यवहारहेतु। प्रशस्तपादभाष्य on वैशेषिकसूत्र II. 2. 6 p. 27 (Kashi S series, 1923), तत्र ब्रह्मणिते पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहेषु पञ्चसंवत्सरेषु सिद्धान्तेषु युगवर्षायनर्तुमासपक्षाहोरात्रयाममुहूर्त-नाडीप्राणत्रुट्यादिकल्प कालस्य क्षेत्रस्य च वेत्ता॥ बृह सं II. p. 22, निमेषकालतुल्य हि विद्यात्तत्त्वक्षरं च यत्। वायु 57.6., लघ्वक्षरसमा मात्रा निमेषः परिकीर्तित। अत सूक्ष्मतर कालो नोपलभ्यो भूयूत्तम॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 73. 1 q by हे (on काल) p 7.

681 कालमानमत ऊर्ध्वम्। त्रुटो लवो निमेष· काष्ठा कला नाडिका मुहूर्त· पूर्वापरभागौ दिवसो रात्रिः पक्षो मास ऋतुरयनं सवत्सरो युगमिति कालाः। द्वौ त्रुटी लव। द्वौ लवौ निमेष। पञ्च निमेषाः काष्ठा। त्रिंशत्काष्ठा कला। चत्वारिंशत्कला· नाडिका। ·· द्विनाडिका मुहूर्त। पञ्चदशमुहूर्तौ दिवसो रात्रिश्च चैत्रे मास्यश्वयुजे मासे च भवत·। अर्थशास्त्र II chap. 20 (41 from beginning), pp 107-108 (of Shamashastri's edition).

682 काष्ठा निमेषा दश पञ्च चैव त्रिंशच्च काष्ठा गणयेत्कलास्ता·। त्रिंशत्कलाश्चैव भवेन्मुहूर्तस्तत्रिंशता राज्यहनी समेते॥ वायु 50. 169=वायु 57. 7 = मत्स्य 142 4, विष्णुपुराण II. 8. 59, ब्रह्माण्ड II 29 6, शान्तिपर्व 232 12

15 nimesas = kāsthā, 30 kāsthās = kalā, 40 kalās = nādikā, 2 nādikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = day and night together It should be noticed that here the relation of nimesas to kāsthā is different from that in Manu and Kautilya The Arthaśāstra[683] of Kautilya does not stand alone in speaking of *truta* (१ t) as the smallest unit of time. The Sūryasiddhānta (quoted above) provides that truti is the smallest unit of time, that it is *amūrta* (not apprehended physically), that the prāna is the first *mūrta* (physically apprehended) unit of time, that 6 prānas are equal to a vināḍī, that 60 vināḍīs are equal to a nādikā, 60 nādīs are equal to an ahorātra Utpala[684] on Br. S. quotes verses from Pauliśa-siddhānta and Brāhmasphuta-siddhānta to the effect that six prānas are equal to a vināḍikā, 60 vināḍikās are equal to a nādikā or ghatikā and 60 ghatikās are equal to a day (i. e. ahorātra) A smṛti quoted in the Tithitattva states that two trutis make a lava, 2 lavas make a nimesa, so that truti is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$th of nimesa. Hemādri on Kāla (p. 7) quotes a verse that truti is equal to two nimesas and 10 trutis are equal to prāna. The Amarakośa follows Manu as to eighteen nimesas being equal to kāsthā, but it introduces a unit called *ksana* between kalā and muhūrta, so that its scheme is: 18 nimesas = kāsthā, 30 kāsthās = kalā, 30 kalās = ksana, 12 ksanas = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra The Bhāgavata-purāna (III. 11. 3–10) puts forward a far more elaborate scheme: two atoms (of Time) = anu, 3 anus = trasarenu, 3 trasarenus = truti, 100 trutis = vedha, 3 vedhas = lava, 3 lavas = nimeṣa, 3 nimesas = ksana, 5 ksanas = kāsthā, 15 kāsthās = laghu, 15 laghus = nādikā, 2 nādikās = muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas = ahorātra. In the Atharvana-jyotisa the table is. 12 nimesas=lava, 30 lavas=kalā, 30 kalās = truti, 30 trutis = muhūrta. This agrees with none. Further units of time from ahorātra to *pralaya* will be dwelt upon a little later.

Before proceeding further clarification is required on certain points At least several centuries before Christ Jyotisa had attained the position of being one of the six *angas* (auxiliary

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683 द्वौ निमेषौ त्रुटिर्ज्ञेया प्राणो दशत्रुटि. स्मृत ॥ विनाडिका तु षट् प्राणास्ताः षष्टिर्नाडिका मता ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 73. 2–3 q by हे. (on काल) p. 7.

684 तथा च पौलिशे। षट्प्राणास्तु विनाडी तत्षष्ट्या नाडिका दिनं षष्ट्या। एतास्तां त्रिंशन्मासस्तैर्द्वादशभिरब्द· ॥ उत्पल on बृह सं II. p. 24 भागवत (III 11 5) remarks that त्रसरेणु is visible (while परमाणु and अणु are not) and is the speck that is seen floating in the air when a pencil of the sun's rays comes through a window (जालार्करश्म्यवगत. खमेवानुपपतगात्).

studies) of the Veda The Mundakopanisad[685] states that the *aparā vidyā* (inferior exoteric knowledge) comprises Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda, Śikṣā (Phonetics), Kalpa (ritual texts), Vyākaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (Etymology), Chandas (metrics) and Jyotiṣa (astronomy and mathematics). The Āpastamba-dharmasūtra enumerates the same six aṅgas of the Veda In the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā[686] the science of the movements of heavenly bodies is said to be the eye of the Veda. The Jyotiṣa which is Vedāṅga (of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda) was concerned with purely astronomical matters. In the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa[687] it is remarked ·' the Vedas arose for the purpose of (use in) sacrifices; sacrifices are enjoined according to the order of times; therefore he who knows Jyotiṣa which is the science laying down the (proper) times knows sacrifices. Just as a tuft of hair stands on the head of peacocks or a jewel (in the heads) of cobras, so *gaṇita* (astronomical calculations) stand at the head of all the sciences that are (spoken of as) Vedāṅgas'. This shows that the words Jyotiṣa and *gaṇita* are used as synonyms in the Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa The Vṛddha-vāsiṣṭhasiddhānta (Benares S. Series) says 'this śāstra is indeed the eye of the Veda, therefore, among the *aṅgas* (limbs, subsidiary lores of Veda) it has got pre-eminence; a man endowed with all other limbs and therefore appearing to be perfect is worth nothing, if he is devoid of eyes' Gradually, however, Jyotiṣa came to include three distinct branches (skandhas) viz the determination of the motions of planets by means of calculations which was called Tantra, the second called *horā* that deals with horoscopes and (was also called *jātaka*) and the third called Śākhā which was an extensive branch and included many topics of divination which are summarised

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685 द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति ' परा चैवापरा च। तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेद शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति। अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते। मुण्डकोप I 1. 4-5, षडङ्गो वेदः। छन्दःकल्पो व्याकरण ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शिक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति। आप ध. सू II 4 8 11 छन्द कल्प means कल्पसूत्राणि and छन्दोविचिति means the science of metres.

686 छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ पठ्यते। ज्योतिषामयनं चक्षुर्निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते। शिक्षा घ्राणं तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्। तस्मात्साङ्गमधीत्यैव ब्रह्मलोके महीयते॥ शिक्षा verses 41-42.

687. वेदा हि यज्ञार्थमभिप्रवृत्ताः कालानुपूर्व्या विहिताश्च यज्ञाः। तस्मादिदं कालविधानशास्त्रं यो ज्योतिषं वेद स वेद यज्ञम्। यथा शिखा मयूराणा नागाना मणयो यथा। तद्वद्वेदाङ्गशास्त्राणा गणितं मूर्धनि स्थितम्॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (of यजुर्वेद) verses 3,4. = verses 35, 36 of (ऋग्वेद-ज्योतिषवेदाङ्ग) in Pandit Siddheswara Dwivedi's ed (1906, Prabhākarī Press)

in Br. S. chap. II. A work embodying complete presentation of the three branches was called *samhitā* [688] and he who well knew the three branches, viz Ganita, Horā and Śākhā was called, as Garga says, 'Samhitāpāraga' (master of saṁhitā). Varāhamihira [689] himself tells us in the Bṛhaj-jātaka, that, for the benefit of astrologers, he compiled a comprehensive work on Jyotisa in its three branches The word Samhitā appears to have been used in two senses, the first [690] (a wider sense) referring to a complete presentation of Ganita, Horā and Śākhā, while the second (a narrower sense) refers only to the Śākhā part Why the third branch was called śākhā is not satisfactorily explained anywhere. It was so called probably because it had to deal with numerous circumstances, such as the fruits of the simple and retrograde movements of planets; the movements of Agastya (Canopus) and *saptarṣis* (Ursa Major), the conjunctions and oppositions of planets, haloes, meteors. earthquakes, lore about the movements and cries of birds, *nīrājana*, removal of the evil effects of *utpātas*. In this sense samhitā was what is called *natural* astrology. Horā again had three sub-sections, viz. *jātaka or janma* (judicial astrology, predictions from the situations of the zodiacal signs and planets at a person's birth), Yātrā or Yātrika (Brhaj-jātaka 28.4–5) that dealt with prognostications on starting on a journey or on a king's marching

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688. ज्योतिःशास्त्रमनेकभेदविषमं स्कन्धत्रयाधिष्ठितं तत्कास्न्योपनयस्य नाम मुनिभिः संकीर्त्यते संहिता। स्कन्धेऽस्मिन् गणितेन या ग्रहगतिस्तन्त्राभिधानस्त्रसौ होरान्याऽङ्गविनिश्चयश्च कथित· स्कन्धस्तृतीयोऽपरः॥ बृह. सं. I. 9; गणितं जातकं शाखां यो वेत्ति द्विजपुङ्गवः। त्रि-स्कन्धज्ञो विनिर्दिष्टः संहितापारगश्च सः॥ गर्ग q by उत्पल on बृह. सं I 9, वेदस्य चक्षुः किल शास्त्रमेतद्यधानताङ्गेषु ततोधिजातं। अङ्गैर्युतोन्यै. परिपूर्णमूर्तिर्व्यङ्गविहीन· पुरुषो न किंचित्॥ बृद्धवासिष्ठसंहिता I. 8, vide सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि of भास्कर (I) for a similar verse.

689. विवाहकालः करणं ग्रहाणां गोलं पृथक् तद्विपुला च शाखा। स्कन्धैस्त्रिभिर्ज्योतिष-संग्रहोऽयं मया कृतो वैधविदा हिताय॥ बृहज्जातक 28.6. विवाहकाल refers to his work called विवाहपटल, करण to the पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका and शाखा to his बृहत्संहिता. पटल means section or chapter of a work (as in the ऋक्प्रातिशाख्य or आप घ· सूत्र). यत्काम्यकालस्तमयोदयाद्यास्तारायहाणां करणे मयोक्ता·। होरागतं वित्तरजाश्च जन्म यात्राविवाहैः सह पूर्वमुक्तम्॥ बृह सं. I. 10.

690. Vide (n. 688) the verse ज्योतिः शास्त्र· etc, for the second sense, vide the qualifications of the Sāṁvatsara (the king's astrologer in बृहत्संहिता chap. II prose), one of which was 'who had mastered the works on the computations of planetary movements, Samhitā and Horā' (ग्रहगणितसंहिताहोराग्रन्थार्थवेत्ता) and also chap. II verse 21 'यस्तु सम्यग्विजानाति होरागणितसंहिता·'। अन्यच्चर्य. स नरेन्द्रेण स्त्रीकर्तव्यो जयैषिणा॥.

against an enemy derived from the tithi, naksatra, the week-day, the muhūrta, the moon's position, dreams, throbbing of limbs, the cries of birds, and *vivāha* i. e examining the horoscopes of the parties to a marriage (called Vivāhakāla or Vivāhapatala).

The usual practice of the Grhyasūtras and Dharmaśāstra works was to take their astronomical requirements and knowledge from astronomers. The Gobhila-grhyasūtra[691] provides 'the work on this point is separate; one should study it or should obtain information about (the exact time of) the *parvan* (New moon and Full moon) from those who know it' The astronomical knowledge of ancient and medieval India has been a subject riddled with acute controversies Somewhat reluctantly I have come to the conclusion that discussions about the theories and practice of astronomy in ancient and medieval India should be omitted from the History of Dharmaśāstra An adequate treatment of ancient and medieval Indian astronomy and discussion of the theories advanced by Western scholars (some of them quite unwarranted) would require a large volume by itself. Here and there I may have to refer to pure astronomical matters for certain purposes. But the two other branches of Jyotisa, viz Horā (astrology) and Śākhā have exerted a vast influence on Dharmaśāstra and will have to be discussed within limits. Though Dharmaśāstra writers took their astronomy from astronomers, they did not hold that astronomers had the last word, but they rather held that if there was some conflict or contradiction between strict astronomical theory and Dharmaśāstra, the latter was to prevail An example may be cited for illustrating this: Suppose that a man has resolved to undertake 'ekabhakta-vrata' on 7th tithi The sankalpa for a vrata is as a general rule to be made in the morning. Suppose that 7th is mixed with 6th and 8th tithis and that 7th commences about 10 A M. on a certain week-day, then according to Yugmavākya (vide p 75 note 191 above) 7th mixed with 6th is to be preferred for the vrata and the sankalpa would have to be repeated in the morning when according to correct astronomical calculation the tithi might be only the 6th at that time Devala declares that a tithi is, for the purposes of religious bath, gifts and vratas, to be regarded as covering the whole day if the Sun sets during the

691 पृथगेवैतस्य ज्ञानस्याध्यायो भवति, अधीयीत वा सद्विद्वद्भ्यो वा पर्व आगमयेत। गोभिलगृह्य I 5 13 अध्यायो ग्रन्थः ज्योतिःशास्त्रस्य., हे on काल p. 378 quotes गोभिलगृह्य

period[692] of that tithi. Vide Krtyaratnākara p. 299 and Smṛti-kaustubha (on tithi p. 12) for other examples.

About Astronomy and Astrology as developed in India Western scholars such as Weber, Whitney, Thibaut have propounded many sweeping and unwarranted theories based on flimsy data. ' Here and there I may have to refer to them. But I must say in one place how and why their conclusions are often unacceptable In the first place, they do not attach due importance to the fact that a vast literature in Sanskrit has perished beyond recovery (as it is admitted was the case in Greece after Ptolemy composed his Almagest)[693] and what we now have is a mere fraction of what once existed. In the second place, they forget or ignore that much of the literature that survives is religious and not intended to be a historical and full treatment of any topic i. e. most of the references to astronomical matters found in the Vedas and Brāhmanas are not made of set purpose but are incidental or casual. They hardly seem to be aware of the rule of caution and common sense that in ancient literature what is expressly stated may be used for drawing inferences, but the non-mention of certain matters cannot necessarily be a valid reason for arriving at the conclusion of non-existence, unless the subject matter was such that if something connected with it existed it should ordinarily have been mentioned. Further, and most important of all, mere similarities in institutions, usages and other matters should not be regarded as evidence of borrowing by one people from another people. Human mind is the same everywhere, its environment and the needs of human beings are often the same and no people, ancient or modern, can be regarded as having had the monopoly of great intellectual powers. Most of those who wrote on Indian literature and subjects in the 19th century were nurtured on the literature of the Greeks and Romans and on the vaunted superiority of the ancient Greeks in Philosophy, Mathematics, arts and other matters and of Egypt. But as ancient cuneiform tablets in Babylonia and the Middle East countries came to be deciphered, things began to be seen in

692. एकभक्तादीनां सङ्कल्पस्तु-प्रातः सङ्कल्पयेद्विद्वान्नुपवासव्रतादिकम्-इति वचनात् प्रातः-काले ज्योति.शास्त्रप्रसिद्धग्राह्यतिथिसत्त्वाभावेऽपि, या तिथिं समनुप्राप्येत्यादिसाकल्यमतिपादक-वचनापादितातिथिसत्त्वमादाय प्रातःकाल एव कर्तव्य । धु चि p 53. अत -अग्राह्ये भास्करे कर्म्या सन्निभागैस्त्रिभिर्दिनै. -इत्यादिवाक्य ज्योति शास्त्रीयममनादेयं धर्मशास्त्रस्य ततो बलवत्त्वात् ब्रह्म-पुराणार्थपरत्वेनैव नेतव्यं यथायथम्। कृ र p 299.

693. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' (1951) p 56.

proper perspective. Modern scholars have, it is refreshing to note, outgrown the stage when all arts were traced to Greek (see 'Sumerians' by Sir Leonard Woolley, 1928 p. 193, Glanville in 'Legacy of Egypt' p. 160 for the debt the Greeks owed to Egypt). Sir Thomas Heath was obliged to admit that the debt of the Greeks to the Babylonians was much greater than had been imagined.[694] Sarton in 'a History of Science' (London, 1953) has to say that it is childish to assume that science began in Greek (Preface p. IX). It has been found that the Greeks were inferior to the Babylonians in several respects, that their vaunted geometric lore was not as great intellectually as supposed, that out of 200 propositions in Euclid's twelve books only about a dozen are necessary as a preparation for modern mathematics and that the Greeks much developed geometry because they could not easily employ ordinary arithmetical methods owing to their dependence on the abacus.[695] It was further found that the sexagesimal system of degrees, minutes and seconds used by Ptolemy was of Babylonian origin and according to Herodotus (II. 109) the Greeks derived two kinds of Sun-dials and the division of the day into 12 parts from the Babylonians.[696] At present such nations as England, France, Germany, U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. are the foremost nations in Science, Technology and Industry but they clung for about 1400 years to the Almagest of Ptolemy as their astronomical Bible, were ignorant of the decimal place value system and the use of a sign for zero till the so-called 'Arabic numerals' (borrowed from India) were

694. Vide 'Greek Astronomy' (1932) by Sir Thomas L. Heath Intro. p LIV In 'Children of the Sun' by W J. Perry (first published in 1923) on p. 428 (chap. 26) the author, after discussing the possible origin of the archaic civilization of North America, China and India, had the hardihood to say that no good reason could be found for believing that it developed in any of those areas ... and that it is in Egypt that the archaic civilization came into being, though he generously concedes that every element was not necessarily invented by the Egyptians, but he holds that it took shape in Egypt and was propagated thence.

695 Vide Prof. L Hogben in his paper on 'Mathematics in Antiquity' in 'Antiquity' vol 9, pp 193–194 and Cajori's 'History of Elementary Mathematics' (London, 1896) p 39 for the difficulties of using the abacus for division.

696 See Heath, *ibid* Intro p XVII, about the sexagesimal system, sun-dials and twelve parts of the day, Cajori in 'History of Elementary Mathematics' pp 28, 84 about Greece borrowing Babylonian sexagesimal system and Sarton in JAOS, vol. 75 No 3 at p. 168.

introduced into Europe.[697] The intolerance of ignorant and bigoted priests in Europe went so far as to condemn Galileo, one of the greatest intellects in mechanics and astronomy, to perpetual imprisonment at the age of 70 for no greater offence than holding fast to the Copernican theory. Hardly any parallel to such an attempt to suppress honest difference of opinion as regards heavenly bodies can be found in any non-European country claiming to have a civilization

There are controversies about the relation of astronomy and astrology. The marvellous spectacle of the sky at night containing thousands of stars of different brightness all apparently in motion round the earth, the Sun's annual northward and southward passage in the sky, Full Moon and its disappearance for one day and its phases, eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, comets and falling stars—all these must have struck even the most primitive men with wonder and also with fear and forebodings. In course of time arose astronomy and astrology. In ancient times both words had the same meaning. The Cambridge Ancient History (1925, vol. III. pp. 238–239) holds that the whole science of astronomy is due to astrology. On the other hand Prof. Neugebauer and Mr Peter Doig see no evidence for this theory.[698] In my humble opinion if we restrict ourselves to existing literatures of different peoples and eschew mere conjectures and speculation, both astronomy and astrology are equally ancient and must have acted and reacted on one another in very ancient times In the following pages some evidence will be given from Vedic literature of the simultaneous cultivation in India of both astronomy and astrology (particularly natural). To a modern scientist, the lucubrations of astrologers in their available works appear to be sheer nonsense. But the fundamental principle assumed by astrology that heavenly bodies

697. Vide 'Arabic thought and its place in world History' by De Lacy O Leary (London, 1922) pp. 108–109 for an Indian bringing to Baghdad a treatise on Arithmetic and Astronomy and for the introduction of Indian numerals and their being passed on as Arabic numerals, also 'a history of Elementary Mathematics' by Dr. Cajori (pp 11–13) for the discovery of the principle of position by the Hindus, the invention and adoption of the zero and for the introduction of the Hindu notation in Europe in the 12th century by the Arabs. Vide Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol IX p. 119 for the statement that '*Sindhind*' (i. e Siddhānta) was translated into Arabic in the reign of Mansur (*754–775* A D.)

698. Vide 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' (1951) p 161 by Prof. Neugebauer and 'Concise history of Astronomy' by Mr. Peter Doig (London, 1950) p. 2

exert predictable influence on terrestrial things and persons is not different from the principles of astronomy or meteorology whereby one can predict tides, eclipses, storms, torrential rains, and the like which affect the world and human beings.

Whether the stars and planets exert some influence on earthly things is not the real question. Probably they do, but the really important question is whether astrological works and astrologers have discovered correct methods and reached correct knowledge about the influence of planets on the human mind and on the day-today activities of human beings

The astronomical and astrological literature in Sanskrit falls into three slightly overlapping periods. The first period is that of the Vedic Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas from the mists of antiquity to about 800 B. C. The second is represented by the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, the Śrauta, Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya, Garga and Jain works like the Sūryaprajñapti and ended about the 3rd century A. D The third period begins at the commencement of the Christian era and is represented by the works called Siddhānta and gave rise to the works of Āryabhaṭa (born 476 A. D.), of Varāhamihira (about 475 to 550 A. D.), Brahmagupta (born in 598 A. D.) and so on Those who want to make a deep study of the History of Hindu Astronomy should carefully read the work in Marathi written by Shankar Balkrishna Dixit in 1896 (2nd edition in 1931 by his son). Even Thibaut who is generally chary of praising any Indian achievement in astronomy was constrained to observe that Dikshit's work is the richest source of Indian astronomical material and that his treatment from Brahmagupta onwards is particularly detailed (Grundriss, p. 3) Dikshit held that the scientific system of Indian astronomy is essentially independent and rests on Indian observations. In my humble opinion this view is far sounder than the view that the scientific astronomy of India was derived from or was greatly influenced by Greek astronomy. I have decided (as stated above p. 480) not to enter into detailed discussions about astronomical matters. Therefore, I shall rest content with mentioning some of the important works and contributions that should be studied by those desirous of intimate knowledge of the History of Indian Astronomy. Davis on 'Astronomical computations of the Hindus' in Asiatic Researches, vol. III. pp 209-277; Bentley's 'Historical view of Hindu Astronomy' in Asiatic Researches, vol. VI. pp. 537-588; Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays (1837) vol. II.

pp. 321–373 (on Hindu and Arabic divisions of the Zodiac), pp. 374–416 (on equinoxes), pp. 417–450 (on Hindu Algebra); Warren's 'Kāla-sankalita (deals with South Indian astronomical calculations and calendars); 'Indian Metrology' by J. B. Jervis; Kern's Introduction to his edition of the Brhat-samhitā; the Sūryasiddhānta translated by Burgess and Whitney and with notes by Whitney and a reply by Burgess in JAOS. vol. VI pp. 141–498 and Whitney's criticism of the views of Biot, Weber and Max Müller in JAOS vol. VIII pp. 1–94; the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira edited by Dr G. Thibaut and Pandit Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhakar Dvivedi with text (from two Mss.) and amended text with Sanskrit Commentary by the Pandit and translation by Thibaut (1889, reprint in 1930 by Motilal Banarsidas); Prof. Weber's 'Uber den Vedakalendar, Namens Jyotisham' (Berlin, 1862), Max Muller's Introduction to the 4th volume (of his four volume edition of the Rgveda) particularly pp. XXXVIII–LXVI; notes of Burgess on Hindu Astronomy in JRAS for 1893 pp. 717–761; B. G. Tilak's 'Orion' and 'Arctic Home in the Vedas'; Thibaut on the Babylonian origin of the lunar Zodiac of the Hindus, Arabs and Chinese in JASB (1894, Part I pp. 744–63, refutes the theory of that origin); S B. Dikshit's 'History of Indian Astronomy' (in Marathi), Thibaut on 'Indian Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics' in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research (referred to in this book as Grundriss), Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. Sachau; I. A. vol. XXIII pp. 154–159 (Jacobi on date of Rgveda), pp. 238–249 (Bühler on Jacobi and Tilak's Orion), I. A. vol. 24 pp. 85–100 (Thibaut on the antiquity of the Vedic civilization); Memoir No 18 of the Archaeological Survey of India on Hindu Astronomy by G. R. Kaye (1924); Indian Historical Quarterly, vol IV for 1928 pp 68–77, Indian Historical Quarterly vol. V pp. 479–512 on 'Scope and development of Ganita'; C. O. S. Menon's 'Ancient Astronomy and Cosmogony' (1931); 'History of Hindu Mathematics' by B. Datta and A. N. Singh; Dr K. L. Daftari's 'Bhāratiya-jyotih-śāstra-nirīksana' (Nagpur, 1929) in Marathi; Prof. P. C. Sen-Gupta's paper 'Āryabhata, the father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy' (in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVIII pp. 1–56, a scholarly piece of work); Dr Mrs. Bina Chatterjee's paper on 'motion of the Sun, Moon, and five planets as found in Ptolemy and Hindu Astronomical works' (a learned, systematic and balanced piece of work), in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Science, part I vol. XV, 1949 pp. 41–89.

CHAPTER XV

Units of Kāla

We shall now turn to the units of time from *yuga* backwards to muhūrta, leaving aside *Manvantara*, *Kalpa* and *Pralaya* for the moment

The word 'yuga' occurs at least 33 times in the Rgveda and appears to have been used in several senses Vide H of Dh vol. III. p 886–890. Two senses stand out as prominent, viz a short period or a very long period For the first sense we may cite Rg. I. 158. 6 ('Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, became old in the 10th Yuga, he became brahmā high priest and leader of the waters flowing to their goal' [699] Here yuga cannot mean a period of more than ten years and probably means a period of five years; in Rg III. 26.3 we read 'like a neighing horse by its mother, Vaiśvānara (Agni) is kindled by the Kusikas in each yuga', vide Rg III 55.18 [700] In the Vedāngajyotisa [701] (verses 1 and 5) yuga is said to comprise five years There is nothing to prevent us from taking this sense in the two passages cited from the Rgveda. In Rg III. 55. 18 it is possible to recognize a recondite reference to five year units of time each divided into six seasons In the Rgveda *saṁvatsara* means a year in several passages such as I. 110. 4, I. 140 2, I. 161 13, I 164 44, VII 103 1, 7, 9, X. 190 2. In Rg X. 87. 17 we have the derivative form 'Samvatsarīna' [702] from samvatsara 'O Agni that observest what men do! May the demon possessing magic devices not partake of the cow's milk that springs after a year'. In Rg X. 62 2 we have

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699. दीर्घतमा मामतेयो जुजुर्वान्दशमे युगे । अपामर्थं यतीनां ब्रह्मा भवति सारथि ॥ ऋ I 158 6, अश्वो न क्रन्दञ्जनिभिः समिध्यते वैश्वानर कुशिकेभिर्युगे युगे । ऋ III. 26 3; सायण explains 'युगेयुगे' as प्रतिदिनम्' Vide बृहद्देवता IV 24ff for the story of दीर्घतमस्.

700 वीरस्य हु स्वश्व्यं अनासः प्र हु वोचाम विदुरस्य देवाः । योळ्हूळा युक्ता पञ्चपञ्चा वहन्ति महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ॥ ऋ III 55 18. Here वीरस्य refers to Indra and the 2nd half means 'groups of five years bring him in six ways' *i e groups of five years* (युग) each divided into six seasons

701. पञ्चसंवत्सरमयं युगाध्यक्षं प्रजापतिम् । दिनर्क्षकृत्योतिषं, verse 1. माघशुक्लप्रपन्नस्य पौषकृष्णसमापिन । युगस्य पञ्चवर्षस्य कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते ॥ *ibid* verse 5

702 सवत्सरीण पय उद्गियायास्तस्य भाशीद्यातुधानो नृचक्षः । ऋ X 87 17 (=अथर्ववेद VIII. 3 17). Probably there is *double entendre* here, one meaning being 'May no magician prevent us from having all cows' milk that would be ours for a year (after the cow is calved)', the other is 'may not a demon

(*Continued on next page*)

the word *parivatsara* 'those ancestors that shattered Vala by righteousness and forced out the wealth consisting of cows' and in Rg. VII. 103. 8 the word 'parivatsarīṇa'. Samvatsara and Parivatsara are two of the five names bestowed on the five years of a yuga in the other samhitās. Just as the word yuga was used in several senses even in the Rgveda it is quite possible that the words 'samvatsara' and 'parivatsara' meant simply year and also successive years of a cycle of five years. In the Tai. S. (V 5 7. 1–3) *namaskāra* (salutation) is offered to Rudra with Samvatsara, to his bow towards the right with Parivatsara, to his bow behind with Idāvatsara, to the bow towards the north with Iduvatsara and to the bow above with Vatsara. The Vāj. S. (27. 45) names these five separately with Idāvatsara in place of Iduvatsara; similarly, in Atharva VI 55.3 salutation is offered to Idāvatsara, Parivatsara and Samvatsara. In Tai. Br. (I 4. 10. 1[703]) Agni, Aditya, Candramas and Vāyu are identified with Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idāvatsara and Anuvatsara and it should be noticed that the four names of years are brought in close relation to the four cāturmāsyas, viz Vaiśvadeva, Varuna-praghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāsīrīya. Thus even in the Samhitās names (generally five) are mentioned in a certain fixed order. There is no reason why this should be so unless they formed a fixed series in a cycle. Thibaut in his Grundriss (p. 9) hammers on the fact that sometimes only two or three or four out of the five are mentioned and argues (rather obstinately) that knowledge of the five year yuga cannot be assumed for the Vedic times. It should be noted that Kautilya speaks of the yuga of five samvatsaras and of the insertion of two intercalary months, one at the end of 2½ years and the other at the end of five years.[704]

(Continued from last page)

hold up the water that falls down after a year'. उक्षिया means a cow and may also mean a cloud Vide ऋ. III 55 13 where a cloud is referred to as cow or its udder पाणिनि (V 1. 91–92) has two sūtras to explain सवत्सरीण and परिवत्सरीण 'वत्सरान्ताच्छश्छन्दसि। संपरिपूर्वात्ख च।'

703. अग्निर्वै संवत्सर। आदित्य. परिवत्सर'। चन्द्रमा इदावत्सर। वायु. पुनरनुवत्सर'। यद्वैश्वदेवेन यजते। अग्निमेव तत्संवत्सरमाप्नोति। तस्माद्वैश्वदेवेन यजमानः संवत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याहुरीत। यद्वरुणप्रघासैर्यजते। आदित्यमेव तत्परिवत्सरमाप्नोति। ...यत्साकमेधैर्यजते चन्द्रमसमेव तदिदावत्सरमाप्नोति। . यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तद्वज्ञवयते। अथवा अस्य वायुश्वानुवत्सरश्चाग्नीतामुच्छिष्येते। यच्छुनासीरीयेण यजते वायुमेव तदनुवत्सरमाप्नोति। तै. ब्रा I. 4.10.1–3.

704. पंचसंवत्सरो युगमिति। .. एवमर्धतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम्। ग्रीष्मे जनयतः पूर्वे पश्चाद्वाप्ये च पार्श्वमम्॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. chap. 20 (वेशकालमान) p. 109.

The Mahābhārata knows of the yuga of five years[705] (in Sabhāparva 11. 38). The Pitāmahasiddhānta,[706] which is not extant now, stated, according to the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira, that yuga means five years of the Sun and the Moon and that an intercalary month was added after thirty months.

The next question is: what was the extent of the year in the Vedic age. Some Ṛk. verses may be cited in this connection. 'The wheel[707] of *ṛta* has twelve spokes, it revolves round the heavens; it does never wear out. O Agni! in this (wheel) seven hundred and twenty sons in pairs abide. Some say that the father (Sun) who sends down water has five feet and twelve forms and remains endowed with fulness in the distant half (part) of heavens while others say that he (the Sun), the all-seeing, is placed in a lower (place) that has seven wheels and six spokes, all the worlds abide in the revolving wheel with five spokes, one wheel and twelve rims (of the wheel) and three naves—who is there that knew these (thoroughly); in that (wheel i. e. year) are placed together three hundred and sixty very unstable nails' (*Rg* I 164. 11–13 and 48). In these passages the sage poses a riddle or puzzle in very metaphorical and mystic language about a year divided into three, five or six seasons, twelve months, 360 days and 720 days and nights (when calculated separately). It is possible to hold that the wheel of *ṛta* means the zodiacal belt

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705. क्षणा लवा मुहूर्ताश्च दिवारात्रिस्तथैव च। अर्धमासाश्च मासाश्च ऋतव षट् च भारत॥ सवत्सरः पञ्चयुगमहोरात्रश्चहर्निश । सभा 11 37–38

706. रविशशिनोर्यत्र युगं वर्षाणि पितामहोपदिष्टानि। अधिमासैश्शद्भिर्मासैरेभ्यो द्विषष्ट्या तु॥ पञ्चसि XII. I Acc. to वराह, the पैतामहसिद्धान्त employed *śaka* 2 (80 A D.) as its epoch i. e a new yuga began with śaka year 2 (elapsed) It is therefore probable that it was composed about 80 A D

707 द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य। आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्त शतानि विंशतिश्च तस्थुः॥ पञ्चपाद पितरं द्वादशाकृतिं दिव आहुः परे अर्धे पुरीषिणम्। अथेमे अन्य उपरे विचक्षणं सप्तचक्रे षळर आहुरर्पितम्॥ पञ्चारे चक्रे परिवर्तमाने तस्मिन्ना तस्थुर्भुवनानि विश्वा। ... द्वादश प्रधयश्चक्रमेक त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत। तस्मिन्त्साकं त्रिशता न शङ्कवोऽर्पिताः षष्टिर्न चलाचलासः॥ ऋ I. 164 11, 12, 13, 48 The whole hymn Rg I 164 is full of riddles. In Rg. I. 164. 2 it is said that seven horses are yoked to a chariot (the Sun) that has only one wheel but three naves The wheel means the year, three naves would be three seasons, summer, rains, winter. The wheel is also said in verses 12 and 13 to have six spokes or five spokes, the twelve spokes or rims of wheel (pradhi) represent months. Vide निरुक्त IV. 27 for explanations of these verses, compare आदिपर्व 3 60 for a verse similar to Rg. I. 164 11–13.

divided into twelve parts (dvādaśāra). But it is a very difficult matter to keep in view the twelve divisions correctly. In Rg. I. 164. 15 it is said ' They say that the 7th of those that are born together is born of one; there are only six twin sages born of the gods '. Here there is a reference to seasons, six of which have two months each, the 7th has only one (viz. 13th or intercalary month) and that the 13th month is not fit for religious rites. The Atharvaveda V. 35. 4 [708] also states that samvatsara has twelve spokes and the months have 30 spokes This explains Rg. I. 164. 11–13 and 48. In the Brāhmanas also the year is said to have 360 days and 720 days and nights together; Śatapatha IX. I. 1. 43, Ait. Br. VII. 7 also say the [709] same. We have also to recognize that the Vedic samhitās and Brāhmanas speak of a 13th month that was intercalated. About Varuna the Rgveda says [710] ' He knows the twelve months with their progeny (the days) and also the month that is added.' The Tai. S. (IV. 6. 7. 1–2) refers to a year of twelve months and also of 13 months. The Kausitaki Br 19. 2 speaks of the 13th month. The Tai. S. (I. 14. 4, VI. 5. 3 4) expressly mentions the 13th month called ' Samsarpa or Amhaspatya '. It is called Amhasaspati in Vāj. S. (VII. 30 and XXII. 31) and Samsarpa in Maitrāyani S. III. 12. 13. The Kausitaki Brāhmana connects the 13th month with the Śunāsīriya sacrifice. [711] The Maitrāyani Samhitā (I. 10. 8) draws a distinction between a rtuyāji and caturmāsya-yāji, the former being one who offers sacrifice thinking ' now Vasanta has started, rainy season has started, *śarad* has started while the

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708. यस्मान्मासा निर्मिताविंशदराः संवत्सरो यस्मादिमितो द्वादशारः । अथर्व V. 35. 4.

709. त्रीणि च शतानि षष्टिश्चाक्ष्यानि यज्ञकामस्य । त्रीणि वै शतानि षष्टिश्च संवत्सरस्याहानि । तावान्संवत्सरः संवत्सर प्रजापतिः प्रजापतिर्यज्ञ.। . स च वै शतानि विंशतिश्च संवत्सरस्याहोरात्राः । ऐ. ब्रा VII 7, तदाहु. कथमस्यैतच्छतरुद्रियं संवत्सरमग्निमामोति कथं संवत्सरेणाग्निना सम्पद्यत इति । षष्टिश्च ह वै त्रीणि च शतान्येतच्छतरुद्रियमथ त्रिंशदथ पञ्चविंशत् । तसो यानि षष्टिश्च त्रीणि च शतानि तावन्ति संवत्सरस्याहानि तत्संवत्सरस्याहान्याप्नोति। अथ यानि त्रिंशत् त्रिंशन्मासस्य रात्रयस्तन्मासस्य रात्रीरामोति तदुभयानि सवत्सरस्याहोरात्राण्याप्नोति। अथ यानि पंचविंशत्स त्रयोदशो मासः स आत्मा त्रिंशदात्मा प्रतिष्ठा द्वे माणा द्वे शिर एव पञ्चविंशदेतावान्वै संवत्सर· । शतपथ IX. 1 1 43 Here the additional month is said to have been of 35days. This was probably another way of adjusting the Sāvana year of 360 days to the solar year of 365 days and about a quarter more. In six such years about 6 days for each year appear to have been calculated and added as a 13th month of 35 days.

710. वेद मासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः । वेदा य उपजायते ॥ ऋ. I. 25. 8

711. त्रयोदशं वा एत मासमाप्नोति यच्छुनासीर्येण यजत एतावान्वै संवत्सरो यदेष त्रयोदशो मासस्तदवैव सर्व. संवत्सर आप्तो भवति ॥ कौ ब्रा. V. 8.

Cāturmāsya-yāji is one who offers sacrifice in view of the 13th month'.[711a] How and when the month was inserted in the Rgveda times or the times of the Tai S is not clear What is clear is that one whole month was added Therefore, Thibaut overstates the case when he asserts emphatically (Grundriss p 7) that all Vedic texts agree that the year was exclusively of 360 days. A year in which one month was added (*i e of 390 days*) was also well-known to the Rgvedic Indians. Therefore, in order to explain the facts we have here probably to postulate two calendars, one a purely sacrificial (or religious) of 360 days (12 months of 30 days) probably inherited by the Vedic Indians from their ancestors about whom we know next to nothing, and another calendar where a month was added in order to bring the year in line with visible astronomical data. It is known that the ancient Egyptians[712] had an official calendar of 360 days (12 months of 30 days each) plus five days added at end i. e of 365 days only and no intercalary day was inserted in a year. The result was that the opening day of this calendar would shift back through the solar year until a whole cycle of that year had been completed in 1456 or 1506 years This calendar called sliding calendar was in use for about 3000 years in Egypt from proto-dynastic period until the Roman period. There was also another calendar against which this sliding calendar moved. A year of 360 days (divided into 12 months of 30 days each) was not peculiar to ancient Vedic India nor to ancient Egypt, but played an important role also in Mesopotamia, which had a strictly lunar calendar The co-existence of months of various

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711a ऋतुयाजी वा अन्यश्चातुर्मास्ययाज्यश्च, यो वसन्तोदृष्यादृङ्मुख्यस्वर्तुरिति यजते स ऋतुयाज्यथ यत्रयोदशं मास सम्पादयति त्रयोदश मासमभियजते स चातुर्मास्ययाजी॥ मैत्रायणी-संहिता *I.10 8* Vide a very informing paper in Acta Orientalia, vol IV (1926) pp 124-133 on 'the 13th month in ancient Hindu chronology' by B Faddegon of Amsterdam, in which the learned writer tries to explain Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā I 10. 8 and certain passages from the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra and the Nidānasūtra which appear to have puzzled Weber and Thibaut

712. Vide 'Origins of Egyptian calendar' in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol 1, p 396-398 (by Prof Neugebauer); 'the Legacy of Egypt' by S R K Glanville (Oxford, 1942) pp 2-5, 'Origin of ancient Egyptian calendar' by H E Winlock in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 83 (1940) pp 447-463, particularly 460-463, 'Burden of Egypt' by J A Wilson (Chicago) p 30, 'Calendars of ancient Egypt' by R A Parker (Chicago, 1953), where p 56 says that from about 2500 B. C. Egyptians had three calendars all of which continued to be in use to the very end of pagan Egypt.

lengths for later times is vouchsafed by the Arthaśāstra p 108 (Sham Shastri's ed of 1919). A year of 360 days was in later times in India called a *Sāvana* one (from 'savana' meaning extracting of soma juice in a sacrifice) and a month was added after about 30 months to bring the lunar year (of 354 days) in line with the solar year.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmana (II. 1. 3. 2)[713] the Sun's apparent passage for six months in the north and for six months in the south is referred to, though the word *ayana* is not employed in this passage. The word 'ayana' occurs in the sense of 'motion or path' in the Ṛgveda (āyan-n-āpo ayanam-icchamānāh, Rg. III. 33. 7) *Uttarāyana* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* in later literature mean no more than the sun's (apparent) motion or path in the northern celestial sphere and in the southern sphere respectively. The Sun's movement in the north for six months and in the south for six months is mentioned in Br. Up VI. 2. 15-16 also. Thibaut (Grundriss p 10 para 6) cites Kausitaki Br. 19. 3 as stating that the Sun stands still after it has gone for six months towards the south in order to turn again to the north and then observes that no one has a right to assume, from this statement in the Kausitaki[714] Br. that for six months the Sun goes north or south, that the halves of the year are to be understood. What Thibaut is driving at is not clear to me We have in this passage six months passages of the Sun in the north and also in the south. A year has ordinarily only twelve months Therefore it must be assumed that halves of a year are meant. Thibaut does not explain what part of the year these six months in the north and south correspond to. Thibaut is probably swayed by the fact that in the Śatapatha and elsewhere Vasanta, Grīsma and Varṣā are lumped together as the seasons (rtus) for the gods but Uttarāyana does not exactly correspond with these three rtus. That may be so, but the rule or maxim is that names are given on the basis of what is principal or eminent (*prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti*). Vasanta and Grīsma are important parts

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713 स पत्रोदगावर्तते देवेषु तर्हि भवति। ...यत्र दक्षिणावर्तते पितृषु तर्हि भवति। शतपथ II. 3. 2 3.

714. स वै माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसथ्युदङ्ङावर्त्स्यन्नुपैमे वसन्ति। ... स एष्णासाङ्-दङ्ङिच्चा तिष्ठते। दक्षिणावर्त्स्यन्नुपैमे वसन्ति वैषुवतीयेनाह्ना। कौषीतकि ब्रा० 19 3. This shows that the winter solstice, when the sun is farthest from the equator and appears to pause or rest before turning towards the north, occurred on the amavāsyā of Māgha.

of Uttarāyaṇa; *therefore*, by association with these two and for the sake of symmetry *varsā* is also held to be a *ṛtu* for the gods.

As regards the seasons, there are varying statements In Rg. I 15 the word 'ṛtunā' occurs several times, but once we have 'ṛtūn' also 'O Indra' drink Soma according to the seasons from the wealth (i e the richly filled vessel) of the brāhmaṇa' Rg. II. 36 and 37 are styled Ṛtavya hymns The Rgveda itself names five seasons, viz. Vasanta (X 161 4, X. 90. 6), Grīsma (X. 90. 6), Prāvṛs (VII. 103. 3 and 9), Śarad (over 25 times, as in II. 12, 11, VII. 66 11, X. 161. 4), Hemanta (X. 161. 4), but the Rg. does not expressly mention Śiśura Three seasons are metaphorically meant in Rg I 164. 48 and six in Rg I. 164. 15. The Atharvaveda[714a] (VI. 55. 2) mentions all the six, but not in the usual order. The Ait Br. says that the year has five ṛtus[715] by putting together Hemanta and Śiśira. The Maitrāyaṇi Sam. in I. 7. 3 speaks of Saṃvatsara as having five ṛtus and again as having six ṛtus and the Śat Br. (II 1.3.16) says that saṃvatsara comprises six ṛtus. In Śatapatha XII. 8.2.33 the ṛtus are said to be three viz Grīsma, Varsā and Hemanta and in the very next passage they are said to be six. There is mention of seven ṛtus in Atharvaveda VI. 61 2 But one should not be puzzled by this. The 7th ṛtu is probably meant to represent the 13th intercalary month as it is expressly mentioned in Atharva. (V. 6 4). Thibaut surprisingly asserts that the lists of the names of the seasons are only priestly inventions and the Vedic texts exhibit no practical use for them (Grundriss p. 11). Thibaut appears to be obsessed with the influence of priests and offers no good reasons why the names should be regarded as inventions and not as correctly registering what was current in the then society In Tai S[716] IV 4 11.1 the six ṛtus with two months for each are mentioned. Vasanta is mentioned as the first of ṛtus (mukham vā etad-ṛtūnām yad-vasantaḥ) in Tai. Br I. 1.2.6. The Śatapatha[717] provides that Vasanta, Grīsma

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714 a ग्रीष्मो हेमन्त. शिशिरो वसन्त शरद्वर्षा' स्विते नो दधात । अथर्व. VI 55 2

715 षड्वर्तव. संवत्सरस्य हेमन्तशिशिरयो समानेन । ऐ ब्रा. I. 1., often quoted as षड्वर्तव. "समासेन

716. मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू शुक्रश्च शुचिश्च ग्रैष्मावृतू नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृतू इषश्चोर्जश्च शारदावृतू सहश्च सहस्यश्च हैमन्तिकावृतू तपश्च तपस्यश्च शैशिरावृतू । तै. सं. IV. 4.11.1. Pāṇini (IV. 3. 18–21) appears to have this passage in view.

717. वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा' । ते देवा ऋतव. । शरद्धेमन्त शिशिरास्ते पितरो य एवापूर्यतेऽर्धमासः स देवा योऽपक्षीयते स पितरोऽहरेव देवा रात्रि पितरः पुनरह्न पूर्वाह्णो देवा अपराह्णो पितरः । ते वा एत ऋतव. । "'ब्राह्मणो वसन्त आदधीत । शतपथ II. 1.3.1–5

and Varsā are the seasons of gods, Śarad, Hemanta and Śiśira are seasons of the pitṛs; similarly the bright half of a month, the day and the forenoon of a day are the times for gods and the dark half of a month, the night, the afternoon of a day are the times for pitṛs and it winds up with the prescription that a brāhmaṇa should consecrate the sacred fires in Vasanta, a kṣatriya in Grīsma and a vaiśya in Śarad [718] At least as early as the edicts of Aśoka the words 'varsa' (which etymologically means 'rains') and 'saṃvatsara' are both used in the same sense viz. a year in the Brahmagiri inscription (vide C. I. I. I. p. 175).

There are Western scholars that deny the knowledge of the planets to the Vedic Indians. But Thibaut (Grundriss p. 6) and Kaye (p. 33) both concede that it is inconceivable that the Vedic Indians did not observe and distinguish at least the larger planets in early times, but they contend that the Vedic passages cited as proving knowledge of the planets on the part of Vedic Indians cannot be accepted as evidence of the record of observations about planets and that the mere mention of the number seven or five (about Ādityas in Ṛg. X. 72. 8-9 or oxen) cannot be relied upon. Both Thibaut and Kaye approach these problems with a peculiar mentality. Their criticism is mainly destructive and has a flavour of special pleading against things and ideas Indian. They hardly ever propose their own explanations of the disputed passages and when they rarely do they do not show how their explanations are more satisfactory than the ones they criticize One typical case may be cited here. Almost all scholars agree that Kṛttikās are the same as Pleiades; but Kaye (Archaeological survey memoir No 18 p. 24 and I. A. vol. 50, p. 45) appears to doubt this, yet he has not the goodness to say positively what other cluster Kṛttikās stand for and why. The principal reason for the paucity of references to planets probably

718. Vide Prof. Renou's article on 'Vedic ṛtus' in 'Indian Culture,' vol 15 pp. 21-26, where he endeavours to establish that ṛtu in the Ṛgveda has no restricted sense but means simply time or suitable time for sacrifice or sometimes 'rule or usage', and that 'ṛtunā' or 'ṛtubhiḥ' in the Ṛg means 'according to the division or distribution.' I demur to this conclusion. In some passages the meaning of ṛtu would have to be 'season', for example in Ṛg I 49,3 'O fair Usas!' winged birds, two-footed (beings) and four-footed (animals) go forth according the several seasons from the ends of the sky for thee (to meet thee)' (यदश्चित्ते पतत्रिणो द्विपच्चतुष्पदर्जुनि। उषः प्रारन्नृतूँरनु दिवो अन्तेभ्यस्परि॥). Similarly, in Ṛg I 95, 3 'ऋतून्' would have no connection with distribution or division.

is that the cult of the worship of planets that we find well developed in Yāj I. 295–308 had not yet arisen in Vedic times. At least Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) appears to be clearly meant in two Vedic verses. 'Bṛhaspati,[719] first appearing in the highest heaven of the great Luminary (the Sun), destroyed darkness &c,' 'Bṛhaspati, when first appearing, rose in front of Tiṣya (Puṣya) constellation'. 'The seven[720] priests guard the dear and fixed seat of the bird (Agni) along with the five adhvaryus; oxen, going eat, ageless, delight in the east, the gods follow the ordinances of gods' (Rg III. 7.7). Here the (five) oxen are taken to be the five planets. Similarly, 'He (Indra) filled heaven and earth and the mid-region; he superintends in various ways the five gods, the 49 gods (Maruts) at the proper seasons together with the thirty-four lights similar to his own but each according to the different ordinances governing each'[721] (Rg. X. 55. 3), 'these five oxen that stand in the midst of the great heaven' (Rg I. 105. 10) Vena[722] may be taken to be the brilliant Venus in Rg. X.

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719. बृहस्पति: प्रथम जायमानो महो ज्योतिष: परमे व्योमन्। सप्तास्यस्तुविजातो रवेण वि सप्तरश्मिरधमत्तमांसि ॥ ऋ IV. 50.4 = अथर्व 20 88.4. बृहस्पति. प्रथमं जायमानस्तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभिसम्बभूव। श्रेष्ठो देवानां पुतनासु जिष्णु दिशोऽनु सर्वा अभयं नो अस्तु ॥ तै ब्रा III 1 1.5 तिष्य is the same as पुष्य and its presiding deity is बृहस्पति in तै ब्रा. III. 1.1 5, even in such later works as गोभिलगृह्य III. 3.14 तैषी means पौषी (पौर्णमासी). तिष्य occurs in Rg. V 54 13 (Treasure that does not fail as तिष्य does not form the heavens) and X 64 8 'we invoke the three times seven flowing rivers, the great waters, Kṛṣṇā, Tiṣya and Rudra' सायण paraphrases the first as आदित्य and the second as नक्षत्र Vide Fleet's interpretation of Rg. V 54 13 in JRAS for 1911 at page 516 which differs

720. अध्वर्युभि: पञ्चभि: सप्त विप्रा प्रिय रक्षन्ते निहित पद वे:। भाजी मदन्त्युक्षणो अनुव्रता देवा देवानामनु हि व्रता गु ॥ ऋ III. 7 7. The expression सप्त विप्रा. occurs frequently in the ऋ, vide III. 31.5, IV 2 15, VI 22 2.

721. आ रोदसी अपृणाद्रोत मध्यं पञ्च देवाँ ऋतुश: सप्तसप्त। चतुस्त्रिंशता पुरुधा वि चष्टे सरूपेण ज्योतिषा विव्रतेन ॥ ऋ X. 55 3. The verse is rather enigmatic It is in praise of Indra. The five gods are the planets that do not appear all at once but according to their respective seasons (ऋतुश:). The 34 lights are the Sun, Moon, the five planets and 27 naksatras. Ludwig and Oldenberg accept this interpretation No other satisfactory explanation of 34 has been given by any one.

722. अप्सरा गारुधपत्निभिर्याणा योषा बिभर्ति परमे व्योमन्। चरत्रियस्य योनिषु प्रिय: सन्त्सीदत्पक्षे हिरण्यये स वेन: ॥ ऋ. X. 123 5. In the first verse of this hymn Vena is described as ज्योतिर्जरायु: i e surrounded by a sack of light as a foetus is surrounded by a sack and as pushing (towards earth) the waters that are in the bosom of the variegated one. Vena is called Gandharva situated high in the heaven. Gandharva appears to have meant 'any bright heavenly body'.

(Continued on next page)

123. 1 and 5 the latter of which may be translated as follows: 'The young lady (Usas or lightning), approaching with a smile her lover, bears in the highest heaven Vena, the dear one, and she moves about, in the places of the dear (Vena) and sits down with him on a golden wing (a cloud)'. This would be a fine description of Venus rising in the east at dawn.

About months a good deal would have to be said later on. The word is either 'mās' or 'māsa'. We have 'mās' in Rg. I. 25. 8, IV 18. 4, X 52. 3 'He (Agni) appears every day and every month' and we have 'māsa' in Rg. III. 31. 9, V. 78. 9 (may the boy lying in the womb of his mother for ten months come out alive &c.), X. 184. 3. 'Mās' (the measurer) also means the Moon, as in Rg. VIII. 94. 2, X 12.7 ('sūrye jyotir-adadhur-māsyaktūn,' the gods placed light in the Sun and darkness in the Moon), X. 64. 3, X. 68. 10, X 92. 12, X. 93. 5. The words 'mās' (moon) and 'māsa' (month) are Indo-European, as variants of the same occur in many languages of the so-called Aryan family of languages.

Naksatras have been a matter of serious discussions in numerous works. The word 'Naksatra' has in all three senses (1) star in general; (2) 27 equal parts of the zodiac; (3) asterism in the zodiacal belt (which may each consist of one or more stars). In my opinion the first and the 3rd are the most frequent meanings of the word in the Vedic samhitās. It may be that the zodiacal belt was divided into 27 equal parts called naksatras, but the easier, more natural and probably the earlier way was to mark some conspicuous star groups like Krttikās, Mrgaśiras and to refer to them as naksatras. The word 'naksatra' occurs frequently in the Rgveda and the other Samhitās and Brāhmanas; 'the naksatras like thieves go away along with

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(*Continued from last page*)

For example, in वाज सं. IX 7 'वातो वा मनो वा गन्धर्वा सप्तविंशति. । ते अश्वेऽध्वमयुञ्जन्नेऽस्मिन्नध्वमादधु. ॥' the गन्धर्वs and the 27 (नक्षत्रs) are separately mentioned. In वाज सं. 18 40 we have 'सुपुष्ण. सूर्यरश्मिश्चन्द्रमा गन्धर्वस्तस्य नक्षत्राण्यप्सरसो भेकुरयो नाम' which is explained in शतपथ IX 4.1 9. In अथर्व II 2 5 the Apsarases are called 'wives'of Gandharvas.' In तै स III. 4. 7. 1-3ff गन्धर्व is metaphorically identified with पर्जन्य, यज्ञ, मृत्यु, काम and so on and अप्सरस are identified with दक्षिणा, विश्व, मजा, आपि respectively and so on. It is therefore rather difficult to say what गन्धर्व primarily meant in the early Vedic age, but when वेन is called गन्धर्व and उषस् is called अप्सरस् in ऋ X. 123,5 it would not be altogether wrong to hold that the morning star Venus is called गन्धर्व वेन and उषस् is called अप्सरस्.

nights (to make room) *for the Sun that sees the world*'[723] (Rg. I. 50. 2), 'May the earth, the heaven, the waters, the Sun along with the naksatras and the wide sky listen to us' (Rg. III. 54. 19); 'he (Varuna) *urges on in two ways* the big and high heaven (the Sun) and naksatras and also spreads the earth' (Rg. VII. 86. 1); 'when he (the Sun) comes up, naksatras are not seen in the heavens, no one knows truly (how *this happens*)' Rg. X. 111. 7, 'The Ādityas are strong through Soma, the earth is great *through* Soma and *then* Soma is placed in the lap of these naksatras' (Rg. X 85 2) In some passages like Rg. VII. 81. 2 and X. 88. 13, it is *difficult to say what* 'naksatram' *stands for.* Naksatra in most of the above passages means a star in general But in Rg. X. 85 2 and in X. 68 11 (the pitrs adorned the heavens with naksatras)[723a] naksatra appears to mean the 27 well-known *asterisms.* So also when the Śatapatha contrasts the Krttikās (*that do not swerve from the east*) with other naksatras (that do swerve), naksatra should be taken to mean asterisms in the Zodiacal belt, the 27 (or 28) constellations in the Zodiacal belt in which the moon appears to move. Another word is 'str' (that is an Indo-European word), which always occurs in the instrumental plural in the Rgveda (as in I 68. 5, I. 87. 1, I 166. 11, II. 2 5, II. 34 2, IV. 7. 3, VI. 49. 3 and 12) and is often connected with decking the sky. The word 'rksa' in the sense of 'star' occurs in Rg[724] I. 24. 10 'these rksas that are established high up (in the sky) are seen at night, but where did they go by day'. This refers to the constellation of the seven sages (Ursa Major). In the Atharvaveda VI. 40 1, the constellation of the seven sages is expressly mentioned: "May Heaven and Earth confer on us freedom from danger here, may the Sun and the Moon do the same for us; may the wide mid regions confer on us freedom from danger and may there be *abhaya* for us on account of the oblation offered to the Seven Sages" The Śatapatha states that the seven sages were formerly called 'rksāh' (*note* 727 below) In Rg V. 56 3, VIII. 24. 27, VIII, 68 15 the word *rksa* means either 'bear' or something else It has been pointed out above p 494 that in Rg. X.55.3 there is a reference to twenty-seven

723 अप त्ये तायवो यथा नक्षत्रा यन्त्यक्तुभिः। सूराय विश्वचक्षसे॥ ऋ. I. 50. 2.

723a. Compare अभिद्यव न कृशनेभिरश्व नक्षत्रेभिः पितरो द्यामपिंशन्॥ ऋ X. 68 11 with ऋ I 68. 5 विपेश नाकं स्तृभिः कृशन appears to mean 'pearl or mother of pearl'.

724. अमी ये ऋक्षा निहितास उच्चा नक्तं ददृश्रे कुहचिद् दिवेषु॥ ऋ I. 24. 10, compare उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावतो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण। ऋ. I. 107 2.

naksatras.[725] Apart from that the Ṛgveda mentions the naksatras Tisya (as above) and Aghā and Arjunī[726] (in Ṛg. X. 85. 13) which two latter correspond to Maghā and Phalgunīs according to the Atharvaveda. It is possible to hold either that Aghā and Maghā were names for the same naksatra in Ṛgvedic times or that Aghā was changed to Maghā by the time of the Tai S. and the Atharvaveda hymns. If the latter alternative be accepted the change in the names of the two naksatras (Aghā and Arjunī) could not have taken place in a short time, but would require at least a hundred years between the time of Ṛg. X.85 on the one hand and Tai. S. and Atharva 19.7 on the other. This would strongly militate against Max Muller's assignment of two hundred years to the Samhitās which are purely hypothetical and the minimum dates (vide Intro p XV to the 4th volume of his 4 volume ed of the Ṛgveda) Apart from Aghā and Arjunī which it is agreed are two of the 27 naksatras, it is probable that the Ṛgveda refers to Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu, Satabhisak and one or two more by name. The Naksatras are 27 or 28 (adding Abhijit after Uttarā-

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725. For a myth about the disappearance of Abhijit from the list of naksatras, vide Vanaparva 230 2–11. There it is said that Abhijit, the younger sister of Rohinī, coveted the position of eldership and went to a forest for practising *tapas*. Skanda was approached by the wives of sages, says Mārkandeya, and he said that he would consult Brahmā Then Brahmā arranged that time began with Dhanisthā and the Krttikās went to the heavens This has been interpreted by modern writers on ancient Indian Astronomy to mean that the vernal equinox happened to be in the Krttikās before the time of Yudhisthira and that Abhijit was accepted as one of the naksatras Vide] of Ganganatha Jha R. I. vol XIII at pp. 82–84 (by Prof. T. Bhattāchārya). With the greatest respect for the learned writer, I cannot accept all this. Discussion of his theory has to be given up for reasons of space

726. सूर्याया वहतु प्रागात्सविता यमवासृजत्। अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्यो॰ पर्युह्यते॥ ऋ. X. 85. 13 = अथर्व XIV. 1 13 (सूर्याया .. सृजत्। अघासु हन्यन्ते गावः फल्गुनीषु व्युह्यते।). Rg. X. 85 is a marriage hymn, referring to the myth of the marriage of Sūryā, daughter of Savitr, to Soma. In this verse reference is made to the sending of presents (chiefly of cows, it seems) on A hā i e Maghā naksatra and the taking away of the bride after marriage on Arjunī (i. e. Pūrvā or Uttarā Phalgunī) the next day or after one day more. The शतपथ (II 1 2. 10–11) asserts that Phalgunyah is the recondite name of Arjunyah हन्यन्ते in Rg X. 85. 13 does not mean 'are killed' but 'are beaten' or 'driven' (from the house of Sūryā's father to the house of the bridegroom). The Marathi equivalent 'हाण' means 'to beat or drive' Vide आप श्रौ. I, 3. 1–2 'अघाभिर्गावो गृह्यन्ते। फल्गुनीभ्यां व्युह्यते।; रोहिणी मृगशिर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि। बौ. गृ I. 1. 20.

sādhā and before Śravana in ancient authorities) In the Vedic literature, Vedāngajyotiṣa and even in Yājñavalkya-smṛti they are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Apabharaṇī (or Bharaṇī) while in works from the 3rd or 4th century A. D. and in modern times they are enumerated from Aśvinī to Revatī.

It is time now to set out in a list the names of nakṣatras, deities governing them, their gender and the number of stars in each. There is some divergence of views as regards the names and the deities, which will also be pointed out in the appended table: complete lists occur in Tai. S IV. 4.10. 1-3, Tai Br. I. 5 and III. 1, Atharvaveda XIX. 7. 2-5, Kāthaka Saṃhitā 39 13, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā II. 13 20 and Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa. For European equivalents of the Indian nakṣatras, vide Colebrooke in Asiatic Researches vol. IX chart opposite p 322, Dikshit's Marathi work (2nd ed. p 459) and Burgess in J. R A. S for 1893 p. 756. It is not unlikely that there is a veiled reference to Revatī, Punarvasū and Puṣya naksatras in Rg X. 119. 1-3[728], and Rg X. 86.22 appears to refer[729], as Tilak says in 'Orion' p 166 ff., to the Mṛgasiras naksatra; 'Vṛṣākapi 'O Indra ' when you dashing upwards came to the house, where was that Mṛga guilty of a good deal of sin, to whom did that Mṛga, that confounds people, go? Indra is superior to all'. From Rg I. 161 11 and 13 and IV. 33.7, Atharvaveda IV. 11.11 it appears that the dog-star (Sirius) is referred to, and that twelve days were added at the end of the year during which the Rbhus slept or took rest or enjoyed the hospitality of the Sun.[730] In Rg I. 124.9 'satam te

727. अमयं द्यावापृथिवी इहास्तु नोऽभयं नोस्तु नक्तिता च. कृणोतु । अमयं नोऽस्त्वन्तरिक्षं सर्वाश्च दीक्षाश्च हविषाभयं नोऽस्तु ॥ अथर्ववेद VI 40 1 ; कृत्तिकाणां ह वा एता अग्ने पत्न्य आतु सर्वान्हु ह रूप वै पुरस्तात् इत्याचक्षते । शतपथ II 1 2 4. एता refers to कृत्तिका

728 निर्वर्तध्वं नाहु गावाल्लाल्यिवक्ष रेवती. । अग्रीषोमा पुनर्वसू अग्ने धारयतं रयिम् ॥ पुनरेता नि वर्तन्तालल्यिं पुष्यन्तु गोपती । इहैवाग्ने नि धारयेह विश्वतु चा रयिं ॥ ऋ. X. 19. 1 and 3 (addressed to cows or rain waters). Both Grassmann and Geldner hold that पुनर्वसू refers to the constellation so called

729. वृषाकपे प्रश्निमाजायतन । क्रत्वस्य पुत्रवो वृत्र कनगडनयोपनो विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥ ऋग्वेद X 86 22 It has to be supposed that this is addressed by some one else (Indrāṇī probably). निरुक्त XIII 3. explains this verse Prajāpati guilty of the sin of incest is said to have jumped up as a deer in the sky pursued by Rudra. Vide तै ब्रा XIII 10 "स विद्ध ऊर्ध्व उदप्लवतेनैनं वृग इत्याचक्षते य उ एव वृगव्याधः स उ एव रु । या रोहित्ता रोहिणी ।"

730 सुपुर्वासं ऋभवस्तद्वृक्षतागोह्य क इदं नो अबूबुधत् । श्वानं वत्सो मोचयितारमब्रवी स्तवतः इदनवा अरुरुधः ॥ ऋ I. 161. 13 ; द्वादश वृष्णो अरुणस्य सत्यादिद्ये दत्तमृभव सस्तन. । ऋ IV. 33. 7. The first may be translated as follows: 'O Ṛbhus!

(*Continued on next page*)

rājan bhisajah sahasram' it is possible to see a reference to the Śatabhisak naksatra of which Varuna is said be the devatā in the Tai. Br. III. 1, especially as in the following verse (ami ya rksā nihitāsa uccā) there is a special reference to the Great Bear or to naksatras in general.

Some remarks on the naksatras in general and on individual naksatras would not be out of place. In the Ātharvana Naksatrakalpa (the first of the Atharvaparisistas edited by Bolling and Negelein) in chapter 4 verses 1–8 the devatās (deities) of the naksatras are given and chap. 2 states the number of stars in each naksatra In some Purānas also such as the Visnudharmottara (I 83. 13–21) the presiding deities of naksatras are set out. In the Brhat-samhitā Varāhamihira (chap. 97. 4–5) specifies the deities of the naksatras from Aśvinī to Revatī (including Abhijit) as noted below. The Brhat-samhitā (96 1–3), the Ātharvana-naksatra-kalpa (I. 2) and the Visnudharmottara (I. 88 4–7) specify the number of single stars in each naksatra (which are from one to six), those having six stars being Krttikā, Āślesā and Maghā Vide JASB. vol 62 part 1 p. 14 where Hoernle gives a table, from a ms. of Puskarasāri's work, of naksatras, the stars in each, the *muhūrtas*, the *gotra*, *devatā* of each. According to Hoernle the work is very old. Some notes are added on individual naksatras (mentioned in the Vedic works). Krttikā—The Tai. Br. III. 1. 4. 1 specifies the names of seven Krttikās as Ambā, Dulā &c Pānini refers to Krttikā as Bahulā (in IV. 3. 34). J C. Hickey in 'Introducing the universe' (pp 119–120) says that persons of unusually keen 731 vision under favourable atmospheric conditions can see even eleven. Mrgaśirsa—Tai Br. III. 1. 4. 3 mentions both names viz. Mrgaśirsa and Invakā. Punarvasū—In the Kāthaka and Mai S. this is masculine singular; Pānini states (I. 2. 61) that in the Veda the word 'Punarvasu' is employed optionally in the singular (i. e.

(*Continued from last page*)

after having slept you asked this 'O Agohya (the Sun who cannot be concealed by any one)! who is here that awakened us? The goat (the Sun) replied that the dog was the awakener at the end of year and that this was announced that day.' Tilak in 'Orion' (pp. 168 ff) explains at great length the meaning of these verses Though one may not agree with everything that he says, his main contentions seem to be probable.

731. मृगशीर्षमिति नक्षत्रमूर्तिसमूहनाम। इन्वका इति मूर्तिविशेषाणां नाम। सायण on तै. ब्रा. III.1.4 3, छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम्। पा. I.2 61. The काशिका has 'पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रमित्यिदेवता। पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता।' पुष्यसिध्यौ नक्षत्रे। पा III 1.116. The काशिका explains पुष्यन्त्यस्मिन्नर्था इति पुष्यः। सिध्यन्त्यस्मिन्निति सिध्यः।. फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे। पा. I. 2. 60, काशिका explains कदा पूर्वेफल्गुन्यौ कदा पूर्वा फल्गुन्यः, कदा पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे कदा पूर्वा प्रोष्ठपदाः। आश्वे यम-दहन-कमलज-शशि-चूलभृत्-अदिति-जीव-फाणि-पितरः। पोनि-अर्यम-दिनकृत्-त्वष्टृ-पवन-शक्रोग्नि-मित्राश्च ॥ शक्रो निर्ऋतिस्तोयं विश्वे ब्रह्मा हरिर्वसुवरुणः। अजपादोऽहिर्बुध्न्य. पूषा चेतीश्वरा भानाम् ॥ बृहत्सं. 97. 4–5. पोनि stands for भग the presiding deity of पूर्वाफल्गुनी (in the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष and आथर्वणनक्षत्रकल्प I. 4). The आथर्वणनक्षत्रकल्प differs from बृहत्सं. as to some of the regents of नक्षत्रs

sometimes in the dual, sometimes in the singular) Kālidāsa employs the dual Punarvasū in Raghuvaṃśa XI 36 'gām gatāviva divaḥ Punarvasū.'

Tiṣya—Pāṇini uses the word Tiṣya in I 2 63 and 3, 34 and the words Puṣya and Sidhya in the sense of 'on which undertakings prosper or succeed.'

Phalgunī—Pāṇini provides that the words Phalgunī and Prosthapadā as nakṣatras are optionally used in the dual or plural.

Niṣṭyā—Mai. S shows that this is neuter singular. Niṣṭya in Rg. VI, 75. 19, VIII 1. 13, X 133 5 appears to mean 'outsider or outcaste'.

Viśākhā—Pāṇini (I 2 62) provides that in the Veda 'Viśākhā' is sometimes used in the singular, sometimes in the dual, while in his day it was used in the dual

Anurādhā—The mantra in Tai. Br III 1 2 1 appears to use it as masculine plural

Rohiṇī—Jyesthā is called Rohiṇī in Tai S and Tai. Br (I 5) Jyesthā is styled Jyesthaghnī in Atharva VI 110 2 Vide note 753 below.

Mūla—In Tai S, Vicṛtau is used for Mūla The Atharvaveda brings together Vicṛtau and Jyesthaghnī in VI 110 2-3 and has 'Vicṛtau nāma tārake' in II 8. 1 and VI 121 3 In Rg X. 87 10 (tridhā mūlam yātudhānasya vṛśca) Mūla means 'root, foot' The word 'Mūlabarhaṇa' occurs in Atharva VI 110. 2 and Mūlabarhaṇī in Tai Br. I 5 1 4.

Abhijit—not mentioned in Tai S. and Kāṭhaka, though mentioned in Tai. Br., Atharva and Mai. S It is sometimes mentioned in later works e g. the Anuśāsanaparva (64 5-35) mentions the consequences of gifts to brāhmaṇas on 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.

Śronā—Atharva calls it Śravaṇa and Kāṭhaka speaks of it as Aśvattha. In Pāṇini IV 2 22 Aśvattha is mentioned as a nakṣatra, The word Śroṇa in Rg. I, 112 8 means 'lame or cripple'

Prosthapadā—Atharvaveda speaks of 'dvayā Prosthapadā'.

It would be noticed that some of the names of nakṣatras differ such as Invakā (in Tai Br I 5 1 and Kāṭhaka) for Mṛgaśīrṣa, Bāhū for Ārdrā (in Tai Br I. 5 1, Kāṭhaka S and Maitrāyaṇī S), Tiṣya for Puṣya, Niṣṭyā for Svātī (in Tai. Br.), Rohiṇī (in Tai. Br. I. 5 4 and Tai. S) for Jyesthā, Vicṛtau in Tai S for Mūla (in other Vedic texts), Śroṇā (in Tai S, Tai. Br. and Mai S.) and Aśvattha in Kāṭhaka S for Śravaṇa (in Atharva), Śraviṣṭhā for (medieval and modern) Dhaniṣṭhā, Apabharaṇī for Bharaṇī (in Atharva, Mai S and modern times). The deities also differ, the most striking being the change of place between Bhaga and Aryaman as presiding deities of Āsādhās in the Kāṭhaka, Vedāṅgajyotiṣa, Śāṅ gr., and Indra as deity of Citrā in Tai. S and Tvaṣṭr in Tai. Br.

List of nakṣatras in the Vedic Saṃhitās, names, deities, &c. with remarks where necessary.

No	Vedic name	Modern name	Vedic deity generally	Tai. Sam IV 4 10. 1–3	Tai. Br. I 5	Tai. Br III 1. 4–5	Atharvaveda XIX 7 2–5	Kāthaka Sam. 39 13	Maitrāyaṇī S II 13 20	Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa verses 25–26. (Rg), 36 40 (Yajurveda) sets out only deities	Gender	Number of stars
1	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Agni	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	mentions no deity for any naksatra	Kṛttikā	Kṛttikā	Agni	F.	Tai. Br. III. 1. 4.1 specifies the seven names as Ambā dulā &c.
2	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Prajāpati	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Prajāpati	F.	one
3	Mṛgaśīrṣa	Mṛgaśīrṣa	Soma	Mṛgaśīrṣa	Invakā	Mṛgaśiras or Invakā	Mṛgaśiras	Invakā (deity Maruts)	Invakā deity Maruts	Soma	N. F.	one Plural in Tai. Br. 1.5, Kāthaka, Mai.
4	Ārdrā	Ārdrā	Rudra	Ārdrā	Bāhu	Ārdrā	Ārdrā	Bāhu	Bāhu	Rudra	F.	Two in Tai. Br. I. 5 and one in Tai. S., Kāthaka and Mai (and M.)
5	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Aditi	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Punarvasū	Aditi	M. M.	two one in Kāthaka and Mai.

;ya	Pusya	Brhas-pati	Tisya	Tisya	Tisya	Pusya	Tisya	Tisya	Brhaspati	M.	one
iresā	Āślesā	Sarpāh	Āśresā	Āśresā	Āśresā	Āślesā	Āślesā	Āślesā	Sarpāh	F.	Plural
aghā	Maghā	Pitarah	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Maghā	Pitarah	F.	Plural
halgunī	Purvā (Phal-gunī)	Arya-man	Phal-gunī	Pūrvā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunī	Pūrvā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunīh (Bhaga deity)	Phal-gunīh (Bhaga deity)	Bhaga	F.	Plural; dual in Atharva, Tai. Br. I. 5 and III. 1 and singular in Tai. S.
halgunī	Uttarā Phalgunī	Bhaga	Phal-gunī	Uttarā Phal-gunī	Phal-gunī	not men-tioned	Uttarā Phal-gunīh (Arya-man	Phal-gunī (deity Arya-man)	Aryaman	F.	one; dual in Tai. Br. I. 5 and III. 1. 4. 10
Hasta	Hasta	Savitr	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Hasta	Savitr	M.	singular; dual in Kāthaka
Citrā	Citrā	Indra	Citrā	Citrā	Citrā deity Tvastr	Citrā	Citrā (Tvastr)	Citrā (Tvastr)	Tvastr	F.	one
Svāti	Svāti	Vāyu	Svāti	Nistyā (Vāyu)	Nistyā (Vāyu)	Svāti	Nistyā (Vāyu)	Nistyam (Vāyu)	Vāyu	F. N.	one in Mai

List of nakṣatras in the Vedic Saṁhitās, names, deities, &c. with remarks where necessary.

No. Vedic name	Modern name	Vedic deity generally	Tai. Sam. IV 4 10, 1–3	Tai Br. I, 5	Tai Br. III. 1 4–5	Atharva-veda XIX 7. 2–5	Kāthaka Sam. 39.13	Maitrāyaṇī S. II 13 20	Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa verses 25–26 (Rg), 36. 40 (Yajurveda) sets out only deities	Gender Number of stars
14 Viśākhā	Viśākhā	Indrāgnī	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśākhe	Viśā-kham	Viśā-kham	Indrāgnī	F. Two N singular in Kāt, Mai
15 Anūrādhā	Anu-rādhā	Mitra	Anū-rādhā	Anū-rādhā	Anū-rādhā	Anu-rādhā	Anu-rādhā	Anū-rādhā	Mitra	F Plural M. plural in Tai. Br. III 1. 5. 1.
16 Rohiṇī	Jyesthā	Indra	Rohiṇī	Rohiṇī	Jyesthā	Jyesthā	Jyesthā (Indra)	Jyesthā (Varuṇa)	Indra	F. one
17 Viçrtau	Mūla	Pitarah	Viçrtau (Pitarah)	Mūla-barhaṇī (Nirrti)	Mūla (Nirrti)	Mūlam	Mūlam (Nirrti)	Mūlam (Nirrti)		M or F two (when viçrtau) N one (Mūla) in Kāt, Tai. Br III. 1.5.3 F. one (Mūla-barhaṇī)
18 Asādhā	Pūrvā-sādhā	Āpah	Asādhā	Pūrvā-sādhā	Asādhāh	Asādhā	Asādhā	Āsādhā	Āpah	F. Plural
19 Asādhā	Uttarā-sādhā	Viśve-devāh	Asādhā	Uttarā-sādhā	Asādhāh	Uttarā	Uttarā-sādhā	Asādhā	Viśve-devāḥ	F. Plural

20 Abhijit	Abhijit (not counted)	Brahmā	not mentioned	Abhijit (deity not m.)	Abhijit (Brahmā)	Abhijit	not mentioned	Abhijit (Brahmā)	not mentioned	N. one
21 Śronā	Śravana	Viṣnu	Śronā	Śronā	Śronā	Śravana	Aśvattha	Śronā (Viṣnu)	Viṣnu	F one
22 Śravisthā	Dhaniṣṭhā	Vasavah	Śraviṣthā	Śraviṣthā	Śraviṣthā	Śraviṣtha	Śraviṣthā	Śraviṣthā	Vasavah	F Plural
23 Śatabhisak	Śatabhisak	Indra	Śatabhisak	Śatabhisak (Indra)	Śatabhisak (Varuna)	Śatabhisak	Śatabhisak (Varuna)	Śatabhisak (Indra)		M one N in Atharva, Mai.
24 Prosthapadā	Pūrvā Bhādrapadā	Aja Ekapād	Prosthapadā	Prosthapadā	Prosthapadā		Prosthapadā	Prostha pade (Ahirbudhnya	Aja Ekapād	M Plural in Tai Br. I. 5 and III. 1 F. in others
25 Prosthapadā	Uttarā Bhādrapadā	Ahirbudhnya	Prosthapadā (Ahirbudhnya)	Prosthapadā (Ahirbudhnya)	Prosthapadā (Ahirbudhnya)	Prosthapadā	Uttare Prosthapada (Ahirbudhnya)	Prosthapadā (Aja Ekapād)	Ahirbudhnya	M (or F ?) Plural
26 Revatī	Revatī	Pūsan	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Revatī	Pūsan	F one
27 Aśvayujau	Aśvinī	Aśvinau	Aśvayujau	Aśvayujau	Aśvayujau	Aśvayujau	Aśvayujau	Aśvayujau	Aśvinau	M. dual
28 Apabharanī	Bharanī	Yama	Apabharanī	Apabharanī	Bharanī	Bharanyah	Apabharanih	Bharanih	Yama	F Plural

and Kāthaka S, Pitaraḥ as deity for Mūla in Tai S. but Nirrti in almost all other texts; Indra as deity of Śatabhisak in Tai. S. and Mai. S but Varuna in Tai Br (III. 1.) and Kāthaka. Further, it was also specified whether a naksatra had only one star or had a cluster of two or three or more. Besides, the important point for consideration is; why does the Tai S. differ from the Tai. Br and Tai Br. I. 5 from Tai. Br. III. 1 in the number of naksatras, in the names and the deities also of some of them No satisfactory explanation can be given except this that the Tai. S passage is earlier by some centuries than the Tai. Br. section (III 1) or the Tai. S was composed in a country far away from the place where the Tai Br. was composed. This latter does not appear to be probable since one part of Tai. Br. (I 5) differs from another part (III. 1). The latter section speaks of a naksatra-isti in which oblations are offered to 28 naksatras (including Abhijit) and their deities (one naksatra being dealt with on each day from Krttikās) together with *puronuvākyās* (invitatory verses) and *yājyās* (oblation verses) which are different for each naksatra The first fourteen naksatras from Krttikā (up to and including Viśākhā) are called Devanaksatras and the fourteen naksatras from Anūrādhā to Apabharanī or Bharanī are called Yamanaksatras. After Viśākhā, the Tai. Br. (Naksatresti) inserts Paurnamāsī with appropriate puronuvākyā and yājyā verses and after apabharanī an offering to Amāvāsyā with a puronuvākyā (which is the verse 'Nivesanī sangamanī vasūnām' Tai S III. 5 1.1) and a yājyā (which is the verse 'yat te devā adadhur', Tai S. III. 4 1. 1). Besides, it was laid down that the sacrificer had to invoke gods in the sacrifice by a name (to be kept secret) derived from the presiding deity of the naksatra on which he was[732] born (*i. e. if*

732, नक्षत्रदेवता होता एताभिर्यज्ञकर्मणि। यजमानस्य शान्त्यर्थं शान्तिकैर्नाम नक्षत्रजं स्मृतम्॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 28 Western scholars usually ascribe the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa to about 400 B. C For example, 'L' Inde classique' edited by Prof L. Renou and others, Tome II para 1711 assigns, after saying that the date is undetermined, 400 B C as its probable date. I should like to place it not later than 8th century B C for several reasons, If the observation referred to above (p 496) about krttikās were made about 12th century B C (14th century B.C. as some scholars hold) and if 400 or 300 B.C, was accepted as the date of the Vedāngajyotiṣa, it would have to be supposed that the writer of it either did not notice (or purposely ignored) the fact that winter solstice had shifted about 11 or 12 degrees from the originally observed position This is rather difficult to believe A difference of four or five degrees may not be dwelt

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born on Kṛttikā, then some name like Agnimitra &c., if on Puṣya, Bṛhaspatimitra &c.).

If the nakṣatras (27 or 28) had been borrowed at one time *en bloc* from a foreign source the divergences in the names of the nakṣatras, in the presiding deities, and in the gender and number should ordinarily not have arisen to the extent they do But, if they were an indigenous growth then differences of opinion would naturally have been evolved in the passage of centuries The only asterisms first specialised and named in Greece and Syria were the Pleiades in Job 38. 31, Homer and Hesiod; Orion in Job 39 31, Homer and Hesiod; Arcturus in Job 9.9 and in 39.32, Homer and Hesiod, the great Bear in Homer and Hesiod, Aldebaran in Homer and Hesiod and three more including Sirius (vide 'Dawn of Astronomy' by Norman Lockyer, 1884 p. 33) This is several centuries later (if not thousands) than the early Vedic texts wherein the whole scheme of nakṣatras appears.

Further details contained in the Tai Br and Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra (28 3–4) are not set out here The Nakṣatreṣṭi in the Tai. Br (III. 1) has been competently dealt with by Prof Paul Emile Dumont in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol 98, No 3 (1954) with text, English translation and notes The nakṣatras had been closely observed and many legends arose from imaginary resemblances of star groups to certain familiar animals and also fanciful interpretations of the constellations observed in the sky. The nakṣatras were closely concerned not merely in a religious rite called Nakṣatreṣṭi, but they were of prime importance in the basic śrauta rite, viz. consecration of the sacred fires (Agnyādhāna) In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1. 2) reference is made to several nakṣatras from Kṛttikā onwards together with their presiding deities as being fit for Agnyādhāna (viz Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Pūrvā Phalgunī, Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā) The Tai Br. recommends spring, summer and śarad for Agnyādheya in the case of

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upon Besides, the facts that the Bandhāyana-śrauta-sūtra has a similar passage, that Kauṭilya follows the five year cycle and says that there is an intercalary month at the end of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and another intercalary month at the end of the cycle of five years (II 2 on p 109) and the fact that the Mahābhārata (Virāṭaparva 52 3–5) speaks of adding two intercalary months every five years rather suggest an earlier date for the Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa Vide Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' vol I part I p 448 ff for discussion on the probability of the antiquity of the वेदाङ्गज्योतिष

brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya sacrificer respectively. The Śatapatha appears to condemn setting up of sacred fires in relation to naksatra alone and recommends that Agnyādheya should be performed on the New Moon of Vaiśākha on which there is Rohinī naksatra;[732a] but these rules did not apply when a person had resolved upon performing Soma sacrifice and he should not in that case stop to consider the season or naksatra.

Very interesting information and legends are given in the Vedic texts about some of the naksatras. About the Krttikās the Śatapatha Brāhmana[733] states 'other naksatras contain one star, or two or three or four stars, but these Krttikās are many, the sacrificer reaches plenty; therefore one should set up sacred fires on the Krttikās. These (Krttikās) indeed do not swerve from the east, while all other naksatras do swerve from the eastern direction.' The recondite allusion in Rg. I. 164. 33 (atra pitā duhitur-garbham-ādhāt) and X. 61. 7 (pitā yat svām duhitaramadhiskan) are developed into a myth, a lengthy account of which is given in the Ait. Br XIII. 10 and Śatapatha I. 6. 2. 1–4 (Prajāpati approached his daughter, some say the heaven and others say it was Usas &c.) and about Rohinī, Mrga, the Mrgavyādha (Sirius) and the three stars in the belt of Orion. Prajāpati[734] is said to have had 33 daughters which he gave in marriage to king Soma, who was fond of Rohinī and on account of that suffered from Rājayaksman (Tai. S. II. 3. 5 1)

Why the naksatra lists begin with the Krttikās in the Vedic Literature and why with Aśvinī in classical Sanskrit literature can be explained only on astronomical considerations. The ver-

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732 a. तस्माज्ज नक्षत्र आदधीत।" योसौ वैशाखस्यामावास्या तस्यामादधीत सा रोहिण्या सम्पद्यते। आत्मा वै प्रजा पशवो रोहिणी। "'शतपथ XI. 1 1 3 and 7

733. एकं ह्वे त्रीणि चत्वारीति वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राण्यथैता एव भूयिष्ठा या कृत्तिकास्तद्भूमानमेवैतदुपैति। तस्मात्कृत्तिकास्वादधीत। एता ह वै प्राच्यै दिशो न च्यवन्ते सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्यै दिशश्च्यवन्ते। शतपथ II 1. 2. 2–3. It should be noted that the present tense (*cyavante*) is used here, whence it follows that this passage was composed when the position of the Krttikās on the equator was an observed fact and their declination was nil. From this S B Dikshit deduced the date 3000 B C (I A volume 24 pages 245–257). The कृत्तिकाs are said to be seven in Maitrāyanī S I 6.9 and Tai Br III 1 4 1.

734. प्रजापतेस्त्रयस्त्रिंशद् दुहितर आसन्। ता. सोमाय राज्ञेऽददात्। तासां रोहिणीमुपैत्। तै सं. II. 3 5 1. प्रजापतिर्वै सोमाय राज्ञे दुहितॄरददात्नक्षत्राणि स रोहिण्यामेवावसत्। काठकस XI. 3 The number 33 is arrived at by adding 7 कृत्तिकाs and the remaining 26 नक्षत्रs

nal equinox was in Kṛttikā about 2300 B. C Instead of admitting this as a probable date for the Vedic works, Fleet boldly asserts that the list of naksatras beginning with Kṛttikās has no basis in fact, but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology (*JRAS for 1916 p 570*). No detailed arguments are deemed necessary Fleet does not specify cogent evidence, nor does he assign reasons why priests later on changed the beginning of the list from Kṛttikā to Aśvinī, nor does he vouchsafe how the list of naksatras in the Vedic age began in fact for ordinary folk if the Kṛttikā list was a pure priestly invention Even Thibaut (in I A. vol. 24 at p. 100) had to admit that the beginning of the naksatra series with Kṛttikā instead of with Aśvinī seriously affects Max Muller's assignment of 1500 B. C. to 800 B C. to the Vedic period In the Tai. S VII 4 8 there is a discussion about the time for undergoing the dīkṣā in a Sāmvatsara-satra'.[735] It is proposed there that the dīkṣā may be performed on the Full Moon in Phalgunī because that is the beginning of the year; then an objection is raised against this and it is proposed that the dīkṣā may be taken on Full Moon in Citrā, because that was the beginning of the year. If the year began with the winter solstice in those days this reference would have to be placed at 4000 or 6000 B. C. This passage probably embodies traditions that the year began in different months in different periods of antiquity.

Great controversies have raged over the question whether the Indian naksatras are indigenous or were borrowed from some other people. The great French astronomer Biot held that Indians borrowed the naksatra system from the Chinese and Whitney followed Biot There were others who held that Indians borrowed them either from the Babylonians or the Arabs I cannot enter here into the merits of these discussions The Arabs themselves admit that they borrowed their astronomy from Indian Siddhāntas and there is hardly anything to show that they knew the complete naksatra system as early as at least 1500 B. C. Therefore, we may leave the Arabs out of account altogether (vide Thibaut in Grundriss p. 14) Great scholars are often blinded by prejudices and shut their eyes to basic facts. The Chinese system of Sieu had at first only 24 and then it became one

735 फल्गुनीपूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन् सुखं वा एतत् संवत्सरस्य यत्फल्गुनीपूर्णमासो सुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते । तस्मैकेव निर्या यत्सामेध्ये (ध्ये ?) विषूवान्संपद्यते चित्रापूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन् सुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णमासो सुखत एव संवत्सरमारभ्य दीक्षन्ते। तस्य न काचन निर्या भवति। तै. सं VII 4 8. निर्या appears to mean 'defect'.

of (it is said) 28 at about 1100 B C. (as said by Thibaut in Grundriss p. 13.) There are no clear traces in the Vedic texts that naksatras were held to be 24 during the times of those texts. We should not accept at their face value the assumptions of the antiquity of astronomy in China that are sometimes advanced (vide 'East and West', Rome, vol. VI. p. 288.) Besides, neither in Babylonia nor in China were the asterisms thoroughly integrated with the religious system. In Vedic times one was not entitled to perform solemn sacrifices unless he had already set up sacred fires on certain naksatras Further, the months (Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra &c) were named after certain naksatras and exist only in Sanskrit, not in Greek, Latin or Chinese. The deities that were deemed to preside over the naksatras from such ancient days as those of the Tai S. and Tai. Br. are almost all of them exclusively Vedic and have no counterparts in Babylonia or China. Besides, though thousands of cuneiform tablets have been found in Babylonia no one has, so far as I know, pointed to a single tablet where all the naksatras appear in an orderly series of 27 or 28, as we find in Vedic Samhitās. It is at least clear that long before the Taittirīya Samhitā the Vedic people had fixed the number of the naksatras (at 27 or 28), their names and order and their presiding deities and had made the naksatras a most integral part of their sacrificial system. Furthermore, almost all of the Indian names of naksatras are siginficant or have ancient legends connected with them. For example, Ārdrā means 'wet' and the naksatra was called Ārdrā because when the sun was in it rains set in. Punarvasu was probably so called because the grains of paddy or barley sown in the ground sprout up as new wealth after being buried; Pusya, was so called because the young sprouts grow and become nourished; Āśresā or Āślesā, because the grown-up plants of paddy or barley grow high enough to embrace each other; Maghā, because the paddy or other plants are putting forth the standing crop which is wealth in itself; Krttikā, because they (being six or seven), look like the skin of the spotted deer on which a religious student was to sit for Vedic study. In these circumstances the burden to prove borrowing of the naksatra system by Indians was very heavy on those who affirmed it. What is the evidence? There is very little evidence except prejudice and speculation The main tangible evidence they can and do rely on is that the Chinese or Babylonians had also 28 naksatras as the Indians had. But these scholars, though very learned and far-seeing in their own way, never stopped to consider how from

China and Babylon the naksatras could reasonably be supposed to have been derived by Indians more than 3500 years ago (on a most modest estimate) and allowed to be the very centre and basis of their religion of sacrifices, what were the means for the communication of the thoughts and ideas underlying the naksatra system and why one may not surmise that the real state of things was the other way about (viz the Babylonians and Chinese derived the system from the ancestors of Indians) or that all systems were derived from a common prehistoric source. Another reason for discounting the theories of Biot, Weber and Whitney may also be advanced viz the researches of Tilak in his 'Orion' (particularly pp. 61–95) and of Prof. Jacobi have at least made this clear that the Kṛttikā series is not the oldest arrangement of the naksatras known to Indians, but that the Indians had once an older arrangement, which placed Mrgaśīrsa at the vernal equinox. Those who are interested in these somewhat novel and rather barren controversies raised by Biot, Weber and others may read Weber's 'der vedischen Nachrichten von den Naksatras', two volumes, I A vol 23 pp. 154–159 (Jacobi on the 'date of the Rgveda'), pp. 238–249 (Buhler's note on Jacobi's theory and Tilak's Orion, I A. pp. 85–100 (Thibaut on 'antiquity of Vedic civilization') and pp 361–369 (Whitney), I A 48 pp. 95–97. The word 'naksatra' is derived by Yāska[736] from the root 'naks' meaning 'to go', while the Śatapatha Br. (II 1. 2. 17–18) and Tai Br. II 7 18 derive it as from *na* plus *ksatra* and Pāṇini (VI 3 75) accepts this derivation. The word 'naksatra' (m) is applied even to the Sun in Rg. VI. 67. 6. Tai. Br teaches how one is to mark the naksatra on which one has to perform a religious act, viz. he should mark about dawn and before the first rays light the sky the part of the sky where the naksatra appears and when the sun appears the naksatra would be to the west of the sun, at which time he should perform what he has to do. It is stated that sage Matsya established into eminence Yajñesu and Śatadyumna by this method (Tai. Br. I. 5. 2 1.)

Even so early as the Ait. Br.[737] Vedic Indians had arrived at the conclusion that the Sun was one and never sets. 'This Sun

736. नक्षाः स्तृभि—इति नक्षत्राणाम्। नक्षत्राणि नक्षतेर्गतिकर्मणः। नेमानि क्षत्राणि—इति च ब्राह्मणम्। निरुक्त III. 20 The first derivation is supported by तै. ब्रा. I. 5.2.10 'यो वा इह यजते अर्धं लोक्यं नक्षते तन्नक्षत्राणां नक्षत्रत्वम्'

737. स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नोदेति। त यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्तेऽह्न एव तदन्तमित्थाथात्मानं विपर्यस्यते रात्रीमेवाधस्तात्कुरुतेऽह परस्तात्। अथ यदेन प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते

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indeed never sets nor rises. When people think that he (the Sun) sets what happens is he reaches the end of the day, reverses himself, creates night below and day above When people think that he rises in the morning, that means that having reached the end of the night he reverses himself, makes day below and night above. He indeed never sets'. This is in very interesting contrast to the Jaina view in Sūryaprajñapti of two suns and two moons or the view of Heraclitus in Greece (6th century B C.) that a new sun was born and died every day (Eisler p. 42.)

In the Brāhmana period Indians had[737a] found out the day called Visuvat or Visuva (which is said to be in the middle of the sacrificial year) when the day and night were of equal length: 'As a person fastens the two wings or sloping sides of a hall (or shed) to the bamboo ridge or beam that is in the middle (of the shed), so people use the Divākirtya day for stretching across the two sides (half years)'.

I have purposely devoted some space to the subject of the astronomical knowledge of people in the Vedic age. Several European scholars that have written on the astronomical achievements of ancient and medieval India, have indulged in very disparaging and contemphuous statements about Indians

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रात्रेरेव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यतेऽहरेवास्तात्कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात्। स वा एष न कदाचन निम्लोचति। ऐ ब्रा *III*, 44 *This idea is taken up by soma Purānas also For example,* विष्णुपुराण II 8 15 says नैवास्तमनमर्कस्य नोदयः सर्वदा सतः। उदयास्तमनाख्यं हि दर्शनादर्शनं रवेः। ब्रह्मगुप्त in ब्राह्मस्फुटसि XI, 3 criticises the Jain view "भानि चतु पञ्चाशद्द्वावर्केन्दवो जिनोक्तं यत्। ध्रुवमत्यस्यावतीं भवति यतोद्वा ततस्तदसत्॥" The पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (XIII 8) also refers to this Jaina view.

737a. एकविंशमेतदहरुपयन्ति विषुवन्तं मध्ये सवत्सरस्य। ऐ ब्रा IV 18 (18 4), यथा शालायं पक्षसी मध्यमं वंशमभिसमायच्छति एवं संवत्सरस्य पक्षसी दिवाकीर्त्यमभितंतन्वन्ति मार्तिमार्च्छन्ति। तै ब्रा I 2 3 सायण explains on ऐ ब्रा 'दिवैव कीर्तनीयं मन्त्रजातं यस्मिन्विषुवत्यहनि तदहर्दिवाकीर्त्यम्।' The षाण्डवब्राह्मण (IV. 6. 3–13 and IV 7. 1) refers to विषुवत् day and provides that दिवाकीर्त्यसाम is to be sung that day since the Gods removed by Divākirtya the darkness with which Svarbhānu, the son of an Asura, had pierced the sun and that विषुवत् is the soul of the year and two wings or two sides go round it. Vide H of Dh vol II page 1240 for the arrangement of the 'Gavām-ayana', a संवत्सरसत्र and the position of the विषुवत् day It should not be forgotten that the Equinox itself is more or less an astronomical fiction and cannot be accurately observed without scientific apparatus As the sacrificial year had only 360 days and a day called विषुवत् was in the middle that would come to 361 days while the solar year is, 365¼ days nearly and therefore विषुवत् would have been a day of equal day and night only approximately.

not only in astronomy, but generally. To take only one or two instances Thibaut (Grundriss p. 3) is pleased to observe that what Indians knew before Greek influence is not much and is of a primitive character. This is how Whitney, a learned American scholar of Sanskrit, unburdens himself; 'there can be no question that, from what we know in other respects of the character and tendencies of the Hindu mind, we should not at all look to find the Hindus in possession of an astronomical science possessing so much of truth They have been from the beginning distinguished by a remarkable inaptitude and disinclination to observe, to collect facts, to record, to make inductive investigations' (J A. O S vol. VI p. 471) His coadjutor, Mr. Burgess, differed from him even in regard to astronomy (*ibid.* pp. 477–480).

One is tempted to return Whitney's compliments to Indians in the same coin by saying that for 1400 years from Ptolemy, the ancestors of Whitney and other highbrows hardly ever made any discovery of astronomical importance, stuck unthinkingly and slavishly to the Almagest and were literally in the dark about the true astronomical position during what are often called the Dark Ages of Europe Even Luther who rebelled against the authority of the Pope denounced Copernicus as a fool, charged the latter with turning upside down the science of astronomy and relied upon the Bible, which, he said, declared that Joshua commanded the Sun to stand still and not the Earth (Joshua 10. 12). This betrays the old mentality that if there is a contradiction between the words of the Bible and Nature, the believers in Scripture must correct their ideas of Nature in accordance with the Bible and not the Bible in accordance with what is found to be Nature This also reminds one of the maxim of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that there is nothing too heavy for a sacred text.

I should request all Western authors interested in Indology and dazzled by some writings of a few Greeks to ponder deeply over the following words of Sir Norman Lockyer in his 'Dawn of Astronomy' (1894) 'Anaximander told us that the earth was cylindrical in shape and every place that was then known was situated on the flat end of the cylinder, and Plato, on the ground that the cube was the most perfect geometrical figure, imagined the earth to be a cube, the part of the earth known to the Greeks being on the upper surface In these matters the vaunted Greek mind was little in advance of the predecessors

of the Vedic priests' (p. 8). If the Greeks forged ahead in one or two branches, there were several other peoples in the world that far surpassed them in other equally important matters. I would also recommend to them to read carefully what Sarton says in his Preface (p. IX) to 'A history of Science' where he charges Western writers with unpardonable omissions viz. ignoring the scientific efforts of Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries and assuming childishly that science began in Greece and secondly hiding the superstitions which surrounded eminent Greeks. Writers at least in the 19th and 20th centuries should have no reason to run down one people and praise to the skies another people, but their endeavour should be to arrive at well-documented, well-balanced, impartial and cautious judgments upon the achievements of ancient peoples of the world

The chronology of the Vedic age is far from certain. Jacobi, Dikshit, Tilak and some others would put the Vedic age back to 4000 B. C. or even earlier Winternitz puts it as far back as 2500 B. C, while Max Müller and following him many Western scholars would thrust all Vedic Literature between 1500 to 800 B. C. Even taking these latter timings the Vedic Literature shows a good deal of progress in astronomical matters which Indians could not have owed to Greece. There is no extant literature in Greece that can be placed earlier than about 900 or 800 B. C with certainty. The Homeric poems and the works of Hesiod are the oldest surviving literary writings in Greek. Homer mentions the Sun, the Moon, the morning and evening star, the Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, Great Bear, Sirius (Orion's Dog), Bootes (Arcturus) and Hesiod mentions practically the same stars as Homer; Hesiod says that spring began sixty days after winter solstice, puts down moon's period at thirty days, but does not mention equinoxes.[738] It should be noted that Vedic astronomy several centuries (if not thousands of years) earlier than Homer and Hesiod was at least as advanced as that in the two Greek authors. The very ancient peoples (besides Indians and Chinese) are the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hittites and Chaldeans. About the Egyptians, the Cambridge Ancient History (vol. II p. 218) states that there is very little trace of the application of Mathematics to Astro-

738. Vide 'Greek Astronomy' by T. L. Heath (1932) introduction XI–XII and Sir Norman Lockyer's 'Dawn of Astronomy' (1894) p. 133 for the knowledge of only a few stars exhibited in the Book of Job and by Homer and Hesiod.

nomy in Egypt and that, though the length of the solar year had been fairly accurately determined, this was done by observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius or Sothis which happened to correspond rather closely with the first rise of the Nile and involved no calculation whatsoever About Hittites and Chaldeans there is not much to be said as no one asserts that naksatras were borrowed from them Even about 800 B. C. Homer's and Hesiod's knowledge of astronomy was meagre. Even Hipparchus, regarded as the greatest astronomer of antiquity who completed his catalogue about 130 B C, had access to a continuous series of observations made in Mesopotamia reaching back to 747 B C[738a] Ptolemy wrote about 150 A. D., his Almagest is based on the observations of Hipparchus, and almost all that is known about the predecessors of Ptolemy is derived from the latter's work, as, owing to the very excellence of Ptolemy's work, all writings of his predecessors ceased to be studied and have not been recovered. The theory of Greek influence in astrology will be dealt with a little later on, but a few words may be said here about the supposed influence of Greek astronomy on the Indian Siddhāntas[739] and later works. In the

738 a. Vide Rawlinson in 'Five monarchies of the Ancient World,' vol. II. p 574, also Breasted in 'Ancient Times' p. 214 for the passing of the observations of Nabunassar and Kidinnu (who practically discovered the Precession of the Equinoxes) to the Greeks and for the Greek engineer Meton taking the length of the year from the tables of Nabu. A continuous record of dated observations began with the reign of Nabunassar (who began to rule in 747 B C), from which date the observations continued till Ptolemy's day. vide Heath's 'Greek Astronomy' p XIV and pp. 142-143. Prof. Neugebauer has recently questioned the claims of Babylonian Kidinnu to have discovered the precession of the equinoxes (in JAOS for 1950, vol. 70 pp 1-8) and Morris Jastrow (Jr.) in 'Hepatoscopy and Astrology' contributed to Proceedings of American Philosophical Society vol XLVII at p. 671 appears to have done the same before him Sarton (in JAOS vol 75 No 3 p. 169) supports Prof. Neugebauer, though he admits that some of the Babylonian observations made it easier for Hipparchus to discover precession of equinoxes.

739. पौलिशरोमकवासिष्ठसौरपैतामहास्तु सिद्धान्ताः । पञ्चम्यो द्वाभ्यां प्याख्याभ्यां लाटदेवेन ॥ पौलिशाकृत स्फुटोसौ तस्यासन्नत्वतु रोमक प्रोक्त । स्पष्टतर सावित्र. परिशेषौ दूरविभ्रष्टौ । पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका I 3-4 It is said here that पौलिश and रोमक were commented upon by लाटदेव, that the Sūryasiddhānta is most accurate, Paulisa is accurate and Romaka approaches it in accuracy and that Vāsistha and Pitāmaha are far from accurate Thibaut (in Intro. to पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका pp. XLIX-L) holds that Paulisa-siddhānta known to Utpala (about 966 A D.) was different from the one known to Varāhamihira, that both Romaka and Paulisa known to Varāha could not be placed later than 400 A. D. (Intro p. XXXIII).

first place no Indian work of the Siddhānta class admits that any Yavana knowledge was at the basis of the Indian astronomy nor do these ancient Sanskrit works on *astronomy* set out any large number of purely astronomical terms of Greek origin as Varāha does in astrology. The subjects to be dealt with in the Pañcasiddhāntikā are set out in chap. I. verses 5–7 and there is hardly any word therein that can be said to be originally Greek. *Reliance is* placed by Weber and others on the fact that two of the five Siddhāntas the characteristics of which are summarised by Varāhamihira in his *Karaṇa*[740] called Pañcasiddhāntikā are designated Romaka and Pauliśa and it is argued that this clearly suggests Greek influence. One should like to know the number of purely Greek astronomical words employed in the Siddhāntas (older than Varāha) and different from the 36 or 37 Greek words said to have been employed in Sanskrit astrology by Varāha and others Conceding for argument that Romaka stands for the Alexandrian school that does not prove Greek influence on the Siddhāntas. There is hardly any evidence to show that any medieval work or calendar in India followed or was based mainly upon the data of the Romaka[741] The length of its year is 365 days, 5 hours, 55 minutes and 12 seconds which exactly agrees with the determination of the extent of the year given by Hipparchus and accepted by Ptolemy (Thibaut in Grundriss p. 42) The rules set up by Varāha for *ahargaṇa* according to Romaka give results for the meridian of Yavanapura (and not for that of Ujjayinī). It did not occur to any Western scholar so far that the Romaka-siddhānta being in Sanskrit was most probably composed by some Greek[742] settled in India familiar with

740. Difference is made between a siddhānta work and a karaṇa. The latter is a compendious astronomical work which does not discuss astronomical theories at length (as the siddhāntas do) and furnishes a set of concise and approximately correct rules for the quick performance of the more important astronomical computations

741. Not only was the Romaka not followed, but a comparatively early writer Brahmagupta (born 598 A. D.) condemns it as beyond the pale of smṛtis: युगमन्वन्तरकल्पाः कालपरिच्छेदकाः स्मृतावुक्ताः। यस्माच्च रौमके ते स्मृतिबाह्यो रौमकस्तस्मात्। ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I. 13 quoted by S. B. Dikshit in I. A vol. 19 pp. 133–142, where Mr. Dikshit contends that the Romaka summarised in the Pañcasiddhāntikā is different from the Romaka of Śrīṣeṇa and that the former was composed before 150 A D.

742. The Pauliśa-siddhānta is supposed by Weber to have been borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus (4th century A. D.) Kern (preface

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Sanskrit as well as with the Greek or Alexandrian astronomy that preceded Ptolemy and probably even Hipparchus and that therefore Varāha gave a summary of it in his *karaṇa*, just as in his famous work on Astrology, *the Bṛhajjātaka*, he mentions the views of the Yavanas and frequently differs from them. Further Varāha is generous in his appreciation of Greek astrology[743] 'Yavanas are indeed Mlecchas and this *śāstra* is well cultivated (or established) among them; even they (the Yavanas) are honoured as if they were sages. What need it be said about a brāhmaṇa well-versed in Astrology (he will be honoured much more)'. The word 'śāstra' in this verse when read along with 'daivavid' in the 2nd half must be taken in the sense

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to Br S p 49) rebukes Weber for proceeding to this conclusion on the slender ground of the identity of name, but Kern himself feels that Paulśa was a Greek. D. E Smith in 'History of Mathematics' (ed. of 1922, vol. I p. 145) avers that Greek scholars settled in India after Alexander's time. In my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala' contributed to the J B B. R. A S vol. 30 parts 1 and 2 pp. 1–8 I refer to two extensive works on astrology in several thousands of fine Upajāti and Indravajrā verses composed by Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja, both of whom claim to be the overlords of Yavanas. The Besnagar column Vaisnava inscription on the Garudadhvaja in honour of Vāsudeva by Heliodora, a devotee of Vāsudeva and son of Diya and hailing from Takṣaśilā (Taxila) who was a Yona (Yavana) ambassador of king Antalikita (Antalkidas) to the court of king Bhāgabhadra shows how even high-placed Greeks became *devotees* of Vāsudeva, settled in India and got the inscription engraved not in Greek nor in bilingual characters, but in the Indian language and *lipi*. Vide W. W Tarn in '*Greeks in Bactria* and India' pp. 313–14, 380–81, 390–91 for Greeks knowing Indian languages, for many Greeks becoming Indianized and J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 1053–1056, 1087–1094, J. B, B R. A S vol 23 p 104 and I. H. Q vol. VIII (for 1932) p. 611 for the Besnagar Inscription.

743. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम्। ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्दैव-विद् द्विजाः॥ बृहत्संहिता II 15 (Kern) Alberuni (Sachau, vol I.p. 23) refers to this verse. In पाणिनि IV. 1 49 twelve words (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् · यवनमातुलाचार्याणानाङ्) are mentioned to most of which the affix आनी is added in the sense of 'Wife' The word यवन is an exact reproduction of the word Ionia which was originally a strip of mountainous coast in Asia Minor about 20 to 30 miles broad There is nothing to show, as Western writers are fond of saying, that Pāṇini refers to Alexander and the Greeks that came with and after him. Miletus was in the 6th century B. C. the richest city in the Greek world In Pāṇini's days यवनानी meant the wife of a yavana while in Kātyāyana's days यवनानी meant only the yavana alphabet Later on all Greeks came to be called Ionians Vide Will Durant in 'Life of Greece' (1939) p 134, Sarton in 'A History of Science' p. 162.

of 'horā-śāstra'. But Varāha nowhere pays a similar compliment to Yavanas about their proficiency in Astronomy and Mathematics This would suggest that in astronomy he did not rate them high or did not think they had anything special to impart to Indians or at least he did not base his astronomical theories on the works of Greek astronomers. He hardly ever employs any Greek words that are not already employed in his work on astrology.

Thibaut (Grundriss, p 42) holds that the name Puliśa has decidedly a non-Indian appearance. One fails to understand why these learned writers are so positive about a certain name being non-Indian. We have in Sanskrit such ancient names as Pulastya,[744] Pulaha, Paulastya (for Kubera) which contain most of the elements of the word Puliśa and are very similar to it. Even in these days Hindus bear such names as Nabobsingh. The siddhāntas are called Paitāmaha and Pauliśa because they were deemed to have been composed by Pitāmaha and Puliśa. Alberuni, Thibaut says, traces the name Puliśa to a Greek author Paulus; but Alberuni who was familiar with both Indian and Greek authors might have committed a mistake, as even such a scholar as Weber, whose vast reading and phenomenal industry are a marvel, was misled by mere similarity in name and one recalls what was said in the drama Śākuntala by the attendant of Śakuntalā's little son that the child was misled by the similarity of names. Thibaut himself admits that it cannot be proved that the Pauliśa siddhānta is related to the work of the Greek astrologer Paulus. Pauliśa-siddhānta appears to have restricted itself mostly to astronomical matters. We have seen (p 488) that the Paitāmaha-siddhānta was composed about 80 A. D. Therefore, that Siddhānta could not have borrowed anything from Ptolemy (150 A. D.). Prof. Neugebauer again has[744a] no doubt that the original impetus to scientific Hindu

744 Pulastya is quoted about a dozen times by Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D) and about three dozen times by the Smṛticandrikā (first half of 13th century A. D.) as a writer on Smṛti and Pulaha also is quoted as a Smṛti writer by the latter work. Manu I. 35 speaks of Pulastya and Pulaha as two of the ten sons of Prajāpati. Pulastya and Pulaha are two of the seven sages (in Br. S. 13, 11).

744 a. Vide 'Journal of Near Eastern Studies' vol. IV. at p 30 (Prof. Neugebauer on 'History of Ancient Astronomy'). Whitney also (Sūrya-siddhānta in J. A. O. S. vol. VI p. 474–75) suggested that it was pre-Ptolemaic astronomy that was transmitted to India and Prof. Neugebauer, relying

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astronomy came from Hellenistic astronomy, since he thinks that the use of the eccentric-epicyclic model alone is sufficient proof. But he is inclined to hold that the period of reception lies between Hipparchus and Ptolemy and hopes that a systematic study of Hindu astronomical works might reveal information about pre-Ptolemaic Greek astronomy no longer preserved in available Greek sources. It is doubtful whether that hope will ever be fulfilled. If ancient Indians were capable of analysing the elements of the Sanskrit language and raising such a system as Pāṇini's, if they could plumb the depths of the human mind and create a mental discipline like the Yoga, if they carefully noted centuries before Christ the parts of the glottis and other organs in the mouth in the production of the letters of their language and produced the Prātiśākhyas and Śikṣā works, if they could create a fable literature and invent the game of chess and make a gift of these two to the whole of mankind, if their knowledge of Algebra was of a superior order (*vide* Colebrooke's Essays, vol. II. at p. 446 and Cajori's 'a History of Elementary Mathematics' pp 93–101), if they invented the decimal place value[744b] system for numbers and propagated it and the sign for a zero to Europe through the Arabs in the 12th century A. D, there is hardly any compelling reason for saying that it would not have been possible for them to arrive at their own eccentric and epicycle system (of which Prof. Neugebauer makes so much) independently of any other people to explain the

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only on a few translated Sanskrit texts, probably repeats what Whitney suggested without any substantial evidence. Prof Neugebauer in J A O. S. vol. 70 (1950) p 7 admits that scholars are very far from a real insight into the development of Hellenistic astronomy before Ptolemy. In his review of the work on Indian studies by Professors Renou and Filliozat Prof. Neugebauer seems to hold that the discussion of Greek influence on Hindu astronomy and mathematics is of very little interest, since most of the Greek material was well known in Mesopotamia in the middle of the 2nd millenium B. C. and might have spread from Mesopotamia towards the east (vide 'Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences' for April—June 1955 at p. 170).

744 b. Mesopotamians used 60 as their basic number instead of 10 With them each position counted for 60 and not for ten 123 in our decimal place value system is equal to $1 \times 10^2 + 2 \times 10^1$ plus 3 A similar notation in Mesopotamia would give $60^2 + 2 \times 60^1$ plus $3 = 3723$ For numbers below 60 the notation was clumsy as a dividing line had to be used for the tens and integers.

supposed motions of the Sun, the Moon and the planets round the earth.

One more observation must be made here. The Vedānga-Jyotisa[745] says 'The sun and the moon start towards the north in the month of Māgha at the beginning of Śravisthā (i. e. Dhanisthā) and the Sun starts towards the south in the middle of Āśleśā in the month of Śrāvana' i e. winter solstice was in the beginning of Dhanisthā In the Brhatsamhitā Varāhamihira tells us that in his day the two *ayanas* of the Sun took place at the beginning of Karkataka and of Makara respectively, that indeed at some time in the past *Uttarāyana* began at the beginning of Dhanisthā and *dakṣināyana* commenced in the middle of Āśleśā and that therefore it was so declared in former śāstras. This shows that, between about 505 A D. when Varāha planned and probably wrote his Pañca-siddhāntikā and the observation contained in the Vedānga-Jyotisa, the commencement of Daksināyana had shifted from the middle of Āśleśā to the last quarter of Punarvasu i e in all about 23 degrees and 20 minutes. Varāhamihira makes no effort to explain this. It is therefore quite reasonable to argue that he was probably not aware of the theory of the precession of the equinoxes. Authorities are not in complete agreement as to the yearly extent of precession. Taking it at 50 2 seconds per year, the total number of years between Varāha and the date of the observation in Vedānga Jyotisa would be about 1673 and deducting 505 years (the time of Varāha's epoch for a siddhānta calculation) the observation would refer itself to about 1168 B. C. If Varāha and his predecessors had borrowed scientific astronomy directly from the Greeks, they should have been quite aware of the precession of

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745. मपद्येते अनिष्टादौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसावुदक्। सार्पार्धे दक्षिणार्कस्य माघश्रावणयोः सदा॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (of ऋग्वेद), verse 6 (and 7 of यजुर्वेदाङ्गज्योतिष); आश्लेषार्धाद् दक्षिणमुत्तरमयनं रवेर्धनिष्ठाद्यम्। चूर्नं कदाचिदासीद्येनोक्तं पूर्वशास्त्रेषु॥ सांप्रतमयनं सवितुः कर्कटकाद्यं सृगादितश्चाप्यत्। बृहत्संहिता III 1-2 सार्प means आश्लेषा, of which the presiding deity is serpents पूर्वशास्त्रेषु refers to वेदाङ्गज्योतिष and similar works. The पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (II 21 p 9) refers to this: आश्लेषार्धादासीदयनं निवृत्ति. किंत्वोष्णकिरणस्य। शुक्लमयनं तदासीत्साम्प्रतमयनं पुनर्वसुतः॥. We find in the बौ. श्रौ. सूत्र a passage almost identical with वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 7, viz माघमासे धनिष्ठाभिरुत्तरेणैति भानुमानर्धाश्लेषस्य आवणस्य दक्षिणेनोपनिवर्तत इति। (26 29) The words माघ "भानुमान् form a half अनुष्टुप् verse.

equinoxes, since precession is said to have been discovered by Hipparchus, and was adopted by Ptolemy.[745a]

This consideration has special force in view of the fact that Varāha believed that the constellation of the Saptarsis (Ursa Major) was in the Maghās at the time when Yudhisthira ruled, that that star group remains for one hundred years in each of the 27 naksatras and that therefore to complete one cycle through all naksatras the star group of Saptarsis required 2700 years.[746]

There are other serious difficulties also in holding that the Sanskrit scientific astronomical treatises were acquainted with or borrowed from Ptolemy's work. Numerous discrepancies in essential matters exist between Ptolemy's work and Hindu astronomical works such as the assignment of different dimensions to the epicycles of the planets by Ptolemy and by Hindu writers. Therefore, it is altogether improbable that the Hindu works were directly based on Ptolemy's work. Nor is there any direct evidence to show that Hindu works were based on Hipparchus or the works

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745 a Vide 'Greek Astronomy' by Heath p 611 and Prof Neugebauer in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol IV. p 24 In the Poona Orientalist vol. VIII. pp. 68–80 Mr Raja Rao endeavours to prove that ancient Pravargya legend is based on a knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes. In the first place, too much has to be taken for granted to make that thesis probable and in the 2nd place it would have to be admitted that precession, though known in the Vedic age, was forgotten before the times of Varāhamihira who is apparently not aware of it Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (in Dhruva commemoration vol III pp 155–164) tries to show that 'precession of the equinoxes' had been discovered in India in ancient times, but his arguments are far-fetched and not at all convincing

746. आसन्मघासु मुनयः शासति पृथिवीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ। षड्द्विकपञ्चद्वियुत शककाल-स्तस्य राज्ञश्च॥ एकैकस्मिन्नृक्षे शतं शत ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्॥ Several purāṇas mention that the Saptarsis were in Maghā at the time of Parikṣit and that they are in one naksatra for a hundred years Vide वायु 99 421–23, मत्स्य 273 42–44, on बृ सं 13 3–4, उत्पल quotes a verse of Vrddha Garga who is earlier by some centuries than वराहमिहिर "कालिङ्गापरसंधौ तु स्थितास्ते पितृदैवतम्। मुनयो धर्मनिरता प्रजाना पालने रता॥" पितरः are the deity of मघा In the विष्णुपुराण IV. 33. 34 it is said that at the time of king Parikṣit the Saptarsis were in Maghā naksatra In बृहत्सं 13. 2 वराह promises that he would follow the doctrines of वृद्धगर्ग about the motion of Saptarsis (Ursa Major) According to the Śalyaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 37. 14–15) Vrddha-Garga was an adept in the computation of time and in auspicious and inauspicious phenomena and a holy place on the Sarasvatī river was named Gargasrotas, which Balarāma is said to have visited Therefore, Vrddhagarga must have preceded Varāha by many centuries.

of other Greek writers. No such Greek works are now available nor are even Greek elementary manuals of astronomers available which can be said to agree with Hindu scientific works That an extensive Sanskrit literature on astronomy has perished is clear from Varāha-mihira's works and Utpala's quotations in his commentaries on the Br. S. and Brhaj-jātaka. Modern Western writers would do well to observe at least for the present a non-committal attitude instead of repeating *ad nauseum* that Hindu scientific astronomy was derived from Greeks on slender similarities between the two systems and on obscure and ill-understood passages and extracts in old astronomical works (vide E. Burgess in J. A. O S. vol. VI at p 480).

After having briefly indicated the astronomical knowledge to be gathered from Vedic works, it is now necessary to show that astrological knowledge is also found in the Vedic texts from the oldest times. The human mind is very curious to know the future and is very prone to regard certain days, times and appearances as auspicious or favourable and others as inauspicious Various means were adopted by ancient peoples to pry into the future The word astrology is now generally understood[747] to mean the predictions about what would befall an individual based on the configurations of the Sun, the moon and the planets at the time of his birth. But this was not the sense or at least the only sense in which the word was used in very ancient times. Astrology known to us from the ancient Assyrians was concerned almost wholly with the interpretation of celestial phenomena and planetary configurations and the predictions about the immediate future in relation to the country, its people, its government or king, in such matters as the crops, floods, storms, invasions or other calamities. The events in the heavens, in the sky and even on the earth were supposed to intimate the thoughts of the gods, and to convey indications about impending happenings. This may be called natural astrology. Horoscopic astrology is a later development Predictions were also derived by skilled diviners from various other happenings such as dreams, the flight and cries of birds, and the interpretation of the mysterious signs on the livers[748] of the sheep killed in sacrifices to gods in Babylon and Rome

747. Vide Frankfort's 'Cylindrical seals' p. 157, Prof. Neugebauer in E S. A p 163

748 Vide Breasted in 'Ancient Times' p. 175, Cambridge Ancient History vol. I p 409 This lore called 'Hepatoscopy' does not appear to

(*Continued on next page*)

The first thing that we notice is that even in the Ṛgveda we have frequent references to 'auspiciousness of days' (*sudinatve ahnām*) in Ṛg III. 8 5, III. 23.4, VII. 88 4, X. 70 1, ('sudinatvamahnām' in Ṛg. II. 21. 6 and 'sudinesvahnām' in Ṛg. IV. 37.1). A few of these may be translated here. 'O Indra! establish amongst us abundance of wealth, freedom from injury to our bodies, sweetness of speech and luckiness of days' (Ṛg II. 21 6); '(The sacrificial post) when planted on an auspicious day goes prospering in the sacrifice attended by many men' (Ṛg III 8 5),

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(*Continued from last page*)

have been developed in India Vide 'Hepatoscopy and Astrology in Babylonia and Assyria', a paper in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. XLVII, pp. 646–676 Divination is either voluntary or involuntary In the former marked arrows were used (apparently referred to in Ezekiel 21. 21) or birds were sent out and the directions in which they flew were noted and interpreted or such things as dipping buds or flowers in water and placing them at the feet of the images of gods in India and noting whether the flowers on the right or left side fell down first. Involuntary divination depends on all kinds of signs, phenomena and happenings that force themselves on one's attention such as aspects of the sun, the moon, planets, lightning and clouds, dreams, chirping of birds and falling of lizards on one's body and the like The Babylonian and Assyrian priests attached to temples made very extensive collections of omens and portents, but the interpretations almost exclusively concerned general welfare (viz. crops, pestilence, war, famine, plenty &c.) and if an individual was referred to it was only the king. The theory underlying hepatoscopy was that the animal offered was assimilated to the deity and the soul of the animal entered into the inner being of the god. The seat of life and of the soul was supposed to be the liver The chief parts of the liver were the right and left lower lobes Among the Romans the heart and lungs also were examined, the right representing the favourable side and left the unfavourable side. The priests did not hesitate to announce to the king unfavourable results and applied their systems consistently. Astrology represented a comparatively more scientific view of the universe The planets came to be regarded as gods even in the oldest astrological texts in which the five planets were identified with the chief gods of the Babylonian pantheon, viz Jupiter with Marduk, Venus with Ishtar, Saturn with Ninib, Mercury with Nebo and Mars with Nergal, Jupiter (=Marduk p 654) being always mentioned first. It was believed that through the planets and stars one can see gods at work. Prognostications varied according to the season or month of the year and the day The Greek astrology offered a great contrast to the Babylonian, since in the former the individual came to be all in all The Greek astronomers obtained from the Babylonians the names for the constellations of the ecliptic, which are used even now in Europe. Vide Jastrow's 'Religion of Babylon and Assyria' p 370 for identification of Marduk, Ishtar and other Babylonian gods with planets and p. 371 for the fact that Ishtar (Venus) figures most prominently among the preserved astrological texts and 'Babylonian and Assyrian Religion' by S. H. Hooke pp. 24–30.

'O Agni! I establish thee on the best place of the earth (the *uttaravedi*), the place of worship and for libation, securing luckiness of day; may you shine opulently on the (river) Drsadvatī, on the concourse of people, on the river Āpayā and on Sarasvatī (Rg III. 23.4).[749].

There are several other passages in which a wish is expressed that the days would be auspicious or lucky for sacrificers etc. Vide Rg. IV. 4 7, V. 60 5, VII. 11. 2, VII. 18. 21, I. 124.2 (May new dawns like the past ones shine for us with wealth and lucky days), X. 39 12 [749a]

It has already been seen above (note 726) that in Rgvedic times cows were driven (by way of dowry) to the bridegroom's house on Aghās (Maghās) and the bride was carried in a chariot to the bridegroom's house after the marriage on the Arjunī (or Phalgunī) naksatra In accordance with this the naksatras on which marriage should be celebrated are enumerated in the Baud. gr. as Rohinī, Mrgaśīrsa, Uttarā-Phalgunī and Svātī.

It has already been shown above (on p 506) how *Agnyādheya* (the setting up of the sacred fires) was to be performed on one of seven naksatras or in spring, summer and autumn according to the *varna* (class) of the performer (vide Kāthaka S. 8.1, Śat Br. II. 1.2, Tai Br. I. 1 2 6–7). But an exception was recognized in the case of one performing a Soma sacrifice. It was provided that whenever a man had a desire to perform a Soma sacrifice he might establish the sacred fires in any season and that would bring prosperity to him.[750].

In ancient Vedic passages no clear line of demarcation appears between what may be called natural astrology and

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749. पोषं रयीणामरिष्टिं तनूनां स्वाशानं वाचः सुदिनत्वमह्नाम् ॥ ऋ. II 21, 6; जातो जायते सुदिनत्वे अह्ना समर्य आ विदथे वर्धमानः । ऋ. III 8 5, नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दृषद्वत्या मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4.

749 a. The Greeks held the waxing moon lucky and the waning moon unlucky Hesiodic system (which is at least several centuries later than the Rgveda) furnishes the earliest evidence for lucky and unlucky days, though Hesiod admits that there was divergence of opinion on that point. Hesiod puts a special ban on the 5th day of the month, while the 7th day was sacred to Apollo in Greece and was held sacred in Babylon also Vide L. R. arnell in 'Greece and Babylon' p 294.

750 अथो खल्वु पवैवैनं यज्ञ उपननेदथादधीत । सैवास्यर्धिः । तै ब्रा. . I 1. 2. 8, सोमेन यजा इति वा अग्निनाधत्ते यस्मिन्नेव काले[ऽ]र्तां आदधीत सोमेन यक्ष्यमाण.। काठक 8 1.

individual astrology. For example, in the Tai. Br[751] it is provided that people plough their fields on Anurādhā naksatra, of which Mitra is the presiding deity. The Pāraksaragrhya prescribes in the same strain that a man should put the ploughshare (*in his field*) on an auspicious day or on Jyesthā naksatra of which Indra is the presiding deity (*and rains are in the hands of Indra*). On the other hand, the same Brāhmana[752] (Taittirlya) provides that if a man desires that his daughter should be dear to her husband he should get her married when the moon is in Nistyā (Svāti) naksatra and that if he does so his daughter becomes dear to her husband and never comes back to her father's house. The naksatras from Krttikā to Vlsākhā have been declared to be Devanaksatras and whatever rites are performed on them are declared to have been performed on a holy day (*punyāha*). Even as early as the Atharvaveda[753] it appears to have been believed that a boy born on Jyesthā or on Vicrt (i e Mūla naksatra) or on a day called tiger-like (on an evil or terrible naksatra) might himself die or bring about the death of his father or mother. The two verses may be translated as follows: '(the boy) is born on Jyesthaghnl (*i. e* Jyesthā) or on Vicrt which belongs to Yama; guard him against being uprooted, may (Agni) take him beyond all evil results in order that he may reach the long life of a hundred autumns. This valiant son was born on a tiger-like day and naksatra; may he not, while he grows, kill his father or his mother that gave him birth.'

Thus it appears that some naksatras were called *punya* (auspicious or holy) as in Tai. Br. I. 5. 2. 1 or III. 1, 2. 8, while

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751 मैत्रेण कृषन्ते। तै ब्रा. I 8. 4 2. पुण्याहे लाङ्गलयोजन ज्येष्ठया वेन्द्रदैवत्यम्। पारस्करगृह्य II. 13

752. यां कामयेत दुहितरं प्रिया स्यादिति सा निष्टक्षाया दद्यात् प्रियैव भवति नैव ह पुनरागच्छंति। तै ब्रा. I. 5. 2. This very passage is quoted in the आप कृ I 3. 3-5 (यां कामयेत - गच्छतीति ब्राह्मणवेकारो विधि.। ह्रस्वकाक्षब्दो सुगक्षिरसि निष्टक्षाशब्द स्यातो) and in भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 12.

753. ज्येष्ठघ्न्यां जातो विचृतोर्यमस्य मूलबर्हणात्परिपाह्येनम्। अत्यंन नेषद् दुरितानि विश्वा दीर्घायुत्वाय शतशारदाय॥ त्र्यायेह्रयजनिष्ट वीरो नक्षत्रजा जायमान सुवीर। स मा वधीत्पितरं वर्धमानो मा मातरं म मिनीज्जनित्रीम्॥ अथर्व० VI. 110 2-3 शतशारदाय occurs in Rg VII 101 6 and X 161 2-3 विचृतो. is loc. dual of विचृत्. Vide उद्गातां भगवती विचृतौ नाम तारके। विक्षेत्रियस्य मुञ्जतामधनं पाशमुत्तमम्॥ अथर्व० II 8 1; compare also III. 7 4 and VI 121 3. The Kauśikasūtra (46 25) prescribes अथर्व० (VI 110) as a hymn to be repeated in a Śānti rite for one born on an evil naksatra

some others (like Jyesthā, Mūla) were held to be pāpa (evil) nakṣatras.

From a passage in the [754] Br. Up. it appears that certain nakṣatras were called male "if a man desires 'May I reach greatness' he should observe milk diet for twelve days beginning in the northward passage of the Sun, in the bright half of a month and on a favourable day he offers into the fire on a male nakṣatra &c."

From the above examples it will be apparent that prognostications were based in very early Vedic times on the nakṣatras either of birth or on nakṣatras deemed auspicious or inauspicious. Puṣya appears to have been regarded as a very auspicious nakṣatra long before Pāṇini, who mentions another name of it as 'Sidhya'. But in these early times it does not appear that any rules had been arrived at about the influence of planets (except perhaps of Jupiter in Puṣya) in certain nakṣatras or about horoscopes with planets in nakṣatras or *rāśis* (signs of the zodiac) or in certain 'houses'. In those days prognostications were confined mainly to nakṣatras, days and natural phenomena and bodily marks. For example, Pāṇini I. 4. 39 ('राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः') provides a rule for a diviner considering the good or bad luck of a person. The काशिका explains 'विधिः प्रश्नः विप्रश्न। स कस्य भवति यस्य शुभाशुभं पृच्छयत। देवदत्ताय राध्यति ईक्षते वा नैमित्तिकः पृष्टः सन् देवदत्तस्य दैवं पर्यालोचयति।'. In पाणिनि IV. 3. 73 'अणृगयनादिभ्यः' it is provided that the affix अण् (and not ठक्) is applied in the sense of 'तत्र भवः' or 'तस्य व्याख्यानः' to the words in the ऋगयनगण, which contains among others the words अङ्गविद्या, उत्पात and निमित्त (i. e. नैमित्तिक and औत्पातिक would mean 'one who expounds the future consequences indicated by उत्पात i. e. earthquake &c. and निमित्त throbbing &c.). Under पाणिनि III. 2.53 the काशिका gives the examples जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः, पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा (line on the palm).

We find from certain verses of the Ṛgveda that the cries of such birds as kapiñjala were deemed even in those ancient times

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754. स यः कामयेत महत्याप्नुयामित्युदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षस्य पुण्याहे द्वादशाहमुपसद्व्रती भूत्वा "मुंसा नक्षत्रेण मन्थं संनीय जुहोति। बृह. उ. VI 3 1, compare a similar passage in छा. उ V. 2 4–9 and कौषी. उ. II 3 In later times there was some difference of opinion as to male nakṣatras. मातृदत्त on हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 1.5 says 'अश्वयुक् पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्तः शतभिषक् मोत्तरा इति पुंनामधेयानि नक्षत्राणि,' while स्मृतिच I p 17 quotes from रत्नकोश 'हस्तो मूलं श्रवण. पुनर्वसुर्मृगशिरास्तथा पुष्यः। पुंसंज्ञितेषु कार्येषु शेषाणि शुभानि विध्यानि॥'

to indicate coming events, auspicious or otherwise; [755] '(the bird) crying again and again and voicing (indicating) coming event sends forth his speech as an oarsman propels a boat; O bird! may you be auspicious to us and may no unfavourable sign reach you from any quarter; O bird! may you that are auspicious and whose cry forebodes good cry to the south of (our) houses; may no thief master us nor may any one declare that we may meet danger.' Br S, 98. 14 provides that birds indicate to a person going on a journey the evil results of actions, good or evil, done by him in former lives. The Yoga-yātrā of Varāhamihira (chap. 14) and Adbhutasāgara pp. 569-582 deal at length with *śakuna* (prognostications from the sight, flight or cries of birds and other animals). Yogayātrā (14. 2 and 26) provides that certain birds and animals when they are to the right or *southern side of a man* starting on a journey indicate auspicious results and that when a cāsa bird with something in its mouth flies to the right side of a man that is an indication of welfare.

The result of the dependence on ideas of lucky and unlucky days and naksatras was that some people began to make observations and deduce conclusions and a lore called 'naksatra-vidyā' arose When Nārada approached the great teacher Sanatkumāra for knowledge, the latter questioned him as to what he already knew and then Nārada enumerated a long list of lores (including [756] the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāna), one of which is 'naksatravidya' ('the science of naksatras' i. e. astronomy and astrology). It can be easily imagined how credulous people in ancient times as even in these days consulted those who professed to know what the stars foretold and were often deceived or felt frustrated. Hence arose even in early times a prejudice against star-gazers, astrologers and the

755 कनिक्रदज्जनुष प्रब्रुवाण इयर्ति वाचमरितेव नावम् । सुमङ्गलश्च शकुने मवासि मा त्वा काचिदभिभा विश्व्यविदत् ॥ अव क्रन्द दक्षिणतो गृहाणा सुमङ्गलो भद्रवादी शकुन्ते। मा नः स्तेन ईशत माघशंसो बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः ॥ ऋ II 42 1 and 3. The first verse is explained in the निरुक्त IX 4. The आश्व गृ III. 10 9 prescribes that one on hearing the unpleasant cries of birds should recite inaudibly the two hymns Rg. II. 42 and 43. The word अभिभा occurs only once in the ऋग्वेद, compare 'नो नो विददभिभा मो अशस्तिर्मा नो विदद् वृजिना द्वेष्या या।' अथर्व० I 20. 1, V 3 6.

756. स होवाचर्ग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं ... नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि। छा उ VII. 1. 2; also छा उ VII. 7. 1.

like. One of the earliest references to this prejudice against star-gazers in Sanskrit literature is found in the Tai Br. III. 4 4 and Vāj. S. 30. 10 and 20, where the[757] 'nakṣatradarśa' (star-gazer) is made over as a victim to *prajñāna* and tha 'ganaka' (calculator of the movements of stars and planets) is consigned to aquatic animals along with the headman of the village Among the long list of brāhmanas that should not be invited for religious rites in honour of gods or in *śrāddhas*, Manu (III 162) includes one who maintains himself by the practice of astrology (nakṣatrair-yaśca jīvati) and in (VI. 50) Manu prohibits ascetics from desiring to secure alms by foretelling the results of portents (like earth-quakes) or of bodily[758] movements (such as the throbbing of the eye or árm) or by nakṣatravidyā (astrology) or *aṅgavidyā* (palmistry) or by casuistry or by telling what the śāstra ordains on a (disputed) point. The ancient sūtras of Hārīta and of Śankhalikhita declare that a *nakṣatrajīvin* (one who lives by practising astrology) and a 'nakṣatrādeśavṛtti' (who makes his livelihood by conveying the message of nakṣatras) respectively are unfit to sit in a row with other brāhmanas (q by Krtyakalpataru on śrāddha p. 88) Similarly, Sumantu (in a prose passage q on śrāddha by Krtyakalpataru p. 91) states the same about a 'mūlyasāmvatsarika' (who practises astrology for money) The Visnudharma-sūtra (chap. 82. 7) includes those who maintain themselves by astrology (nakṣatra-jīvinah) among those who are not to be invited for śrāddha rites. Similarly, the Tevijjasutta (S. B. E vol. XI pp 196–197) and Mahāśīla in Dīghanikāya (I. p. 68) condemn for Buddhist monks maintenance by such low arts as guessing at the length of a man's life or by foretelling future events (such as eclipses, falling meteors, victory and defeat &c.) But the mere study of constellations is allowed by Buddha (in S. B E vol. XX pp. 292–294). Among obstacles to gain[759] Kautilya enumerates

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757 मज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शमाशिक्षायै मश्विनं। वाज सं 30. 10. यादसे शावल्या ग्रामण्यं गणकमभिक्रोशकम् &c । वाज सं 30 20. In the Purusamedha the star-gazer is assigned to 'prajñāna' (in order that he may collect thorough knowledge) and the ganaka to aquatic animals (like sharks or crocodiles),

758. न चोत्पातनिमित्ताभ्यां न नक्षत्राङ्गविद्यया । नाङ्गशासनवादाभ्यां भिक्षां लिप्सेत कर्हिचित् ॥ मनु VI. 50 = वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र X. 21. In the 'rgayanādigana (पा IV. 3.73) the काशिका enumerates अङ्गविद्या

759. लाभविघ्न. कामः क्रोध. साध्वस . मङ्गतिथिनक्षत्रोहि(दृ?)त्वामिति । नक्षत्रमति-पृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोतिवर्तते । अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ साधना प्राप्तवन्त्यर्थान् नरा यत्नातैरपि । अर्थैरर्था. प्रबध्यन्ते गजा. मतिगजैरिव ॥ अर्थशास्त्र, 9th अधिकरण, 4th chapter p 351 (Sham shastri's ed of 1919).

many such matters as passion of love, anger, timidity and desire to find out an auspicious tithi and naksatra' and winds up with two fine verses characteristic of the great genius that placed Candragupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha. 'The desired object (or wealth) eludes that childish man that is excessively in search of what the stars portend: for the desired object is (itself) the star that governs (success) in securing it; what will stars do? Men striving (to attain their ends) will secure their objects after hundreds of efforts; wealth is caught by wealth just as elephants are bound by other elephants (opposed to them)' From the above it is quite clear that several centuries before Christ an astrologer (who maintained himself on money acquired by the practice of astrology) was very much condemned.

What Kautilya regards as reprehensible is extreme reliance on and pursuit of naksatra astrology, but it is not to be supposed that he ignored prognostications altogether. About the king's *purohita* (priest) he lays down the following[760] 'the king should appoint as priest a person whose family and character are highly spoken of, who has well studied the Veda together with the six *angas*, the divine and other portents and the science of the government of people and who can prevent divine and human calamities by means contained in the Atharvaveda, the king should follow him as a pupil does his teacher or a son his father or a servant his master' Yāj (I. 313), who is later than Kautilya by some centuries, also lays down in almost identical words that 'the king should appoint as *purohita* one who is proficient in astrology, endowed with all requirements declared in śāstras, and is proficient in the science of government and the propitiatory and magic rites of the Atharvaveda'.

Another set of texts indicates another stage in the development of astrology based on naksatras, which seems to have been somewhat on the lines of the later horoscopic system of 'houses'. Traces of it exist though they are not very ancient. The Vaikhānasasmārta[761] sūtra (IV 14) refers to naksatras called Janma, Karma, Sānghātika, Sāmudayika and Vainā̆śika and these terms are explained in the Yogayātrā of Varāha and in the

760 पुरोहितमृद्वितेतोदितकुलशीलं पडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्यां चाभिविनीतमापदां दैवमानुषीणामथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारं कुर्वीत। तमाचार्यं शिष्य पितरं पुत्रो भृत्य स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत। अर्थशास्त्र I. 9 pp 15–16, compare याज्ञ स्मृति I 313 'पुरोहितं प्रकुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदितम्। दण्डनीत्या च कुशलमथर्वाङ्गिरसे तथा॥'

761. The date of the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra is a difficult problem, but it lies probably between 200 B C. to 200 A. D.

Visnudharmottara-purāna.[762] The Yogayātrā remarks[763] 'the naksatra on which a man is born is called *ādya* (first), the tenth from it (from *ādya*) is called *karma*, the 16th naksatra from the ādya is called 'sānghātika' (pertaining to a group or a collection of human beings), the 18th (from ādya) is called Samudāya (collection) and the 23rd (from ādya) is called Vaināśika (lit. pertaining to death or destruction), the 25th (from ādya) is called *mānasa* (pertaining to the mind), in this way all persons are concerned with six naksatras (1st, 10th, 16th, 18th, 23rd and 25th), they say that the king is concerned with nine naksatras, the three additional ones being those connected with his *jāti* (caste), his country and with the naksatra on the day of his coronation The Yogayātrā and Visnudharmottara (I. 78. 14–16) further provide 'when the naksatra of one's birth is affected by evil (star or aspect) the results are the appearance of disease, loss of money, and disputes; if the naksatra called *karma* is affected then one's undertakings do not succeed; if the Sānghātika (16th) is affected then there is treachery; when the Sāmudayika (18th) is affected there is loss of accumulated wealth; when the Vaināśika (23rd) is affected, one's desired objects perish; when Mānasa (25th) is affected, there is anxiety and unhappiness. The Nāradapurāna,[763a] after defining the above, remarks that one should not commence any auspicious act on these. When the (six) naksatras are not affected (by evil stars or aspects) a person is healthy, enjoys happiness, his body is well-nourished and he is endowed with wealth; but if the six naksatras are affected he

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762. जन्मकर्मसाङ्घातिकसाम्रदायिकवैनाशिककर्मसंस्थेषु क्रियाकालविरूढेषु ग्रहेष्वेतेष्वृक्षेष्वारभेत । एतेन नवग्रहजा दु खा व्याधय शान्ति यान्ति अन्यथा महत्तरो दोषो भवति । वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र IV 14. (ed by Caland).

763. जन्मर्क्षमाद्यं दशमं तु कर्म साङ्घातिकं षोडशमृक्षमाद्यात् । अष्टादशं स्यात् सहुदायसंज्ञं वैनाशिकं विंशतितस्तृतीयम् ॥ यत्पञ्चविंशं खलु मानसं तत् षड्भऋक्षं एवं पुरुषस्तु सर्वः । राज्ञो नवर्क्षाणि वदन्ति जाति-देशाभिषेकैः सहितानि तानि ॥ राज्ञोऽभिषेकर्क्षसुशन्ति मिश्र साधारणे द्वे सह षड्भिराद्यैः ॥ किं त्वत्र दोषाश्च गुणाश्च सर्वे प्रधानमेकं पुरुषं भजन्ते ॥ रोगाम्यागमवित्तनाशकलहा सपीडिते जन्मभे । सिद्धिं कर्म न याति कर्मणि हते भेदस्तु साङ्घातिके । द्रव्यस्योपचितस्य साम्रदायिके संपीडिते संक्षयो वैनाशे च भवन्ति कार्यविपदश्चिन्ता-सुखे मानसे ॥ निरुपद्रुतभे निरामय सुखभाक् पुष्टतनुर्धनान्वितः । षड्भुपद्रुतभो विनश्यति त्रिभिरन्यैश्च सदावनीश्वरः । योगयात्रा IX 1–3 and 10 These occur in राजमार्तण्ड folio 50a verses 780–81, 84,85. बृहद्योगयात्रा IV. 14–15 (MS. in Bhau Daji Collection) are similar to योगयात्रा IX. 1–2.

763 a. जन्मभाद्दशमं कर्म साङ्घातकं तु षोडशम् । अष्टादश सहुदय त्रयोविंशं विनाशनम् । मानसं पञ्चविंशर्क्षं नाचरेत् शुभमेषु तु । नारदीय I. 56. 358–359.

perishes and the king also (meets the same fate) if the six along with the extra three are affected When[764] the naksatra on which a king was crowned is affected by evil planets or aspects, one should predict loss of the kingdom, if the naksatra of the country is affected trouble to the country and capital is indicated and if the naksatra of the king's caste is affected then one should predict king's illness. The naksatras according to the caste of the king are as follows[765]. the three Pūrvas (Phalgunī, Purvāsādhā and Purvābhādrapadā) and Krttikā are naksatras of the king of the brāhmana class; the three Uttarās (Uttarā Phalgunī, Uttarāsādhā and Uttarābhādrapadā) and Pusya are naksatras for a king of the ksatriya caste; Revatī, Anurādhā, Maghā and Rohinī, of agricultural class; Punarvasu, Hasta, Abhijit and Aśvinī are naksatras of the *vaiśk* (trader) class. The countries governed by the naksatras are set out in chap. 14 of the Brhat-samhitā Herein Varāha differs from Ptolemy in two respects: (1) Varāha does not mention countries governed by rāśis, but countries governed by naksatras; (2) Varāha confines himself to India, while Ptolemy in his Tetrabiblos (II 3 pp. 157–159, Loeb Classical Library) deals with all countries then known. This is an important circumstance against the theory that Varāha's astrology is borrowed from Ptolemy or later Greek writers. If he had known Ptolemy's work he could have easily followed him even as to countries outside India. The whole of India is divided into nine parts, the Madhyadeśa and the regions in the eight quarters from the East to the North-east, each part being under groups of three naksatras from Krttikā onwards. Vide also Visnudharmottara I. 86. 1–9. When the group of three naksatras in each of nine divisions is affected by the Sun, Mars or Saturn, the countries falling under any of the three naksatras of the group suffer calamities The Mārkandeya-purāna (chap 58. 10–54 in B. I. edition, chap. 55 in Venkateśvara Press edition) also specifies the countries in the nine groups, but the names differ to some extent There is some divergence

764. पीडिते चाभिषेकर्क्षे राज्यभ्रंशं विनिर्दिशेत्। देशर्क्षे पीडिते पीडा वेशस्य च सुरस्य च॥ पीडिते जातिनक्षत्रे राज्ञो व्याधिं विनिर्दिशेत्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 87. 17–18.

765 The बृहत्संहिता (15. 28-30=योगयात्रा IX 5–7) specifies the naksatras of brāhmana, ksatriya, agriculturists, traders &c Two may be quoted here, पूर्वात्रयं सानलमग्रजानां राज्ञां तु पुष्येण सहोत्तराणि। सपौष्णमैत्र पितृदैवतं च मजापतेयं च कृषीबलानाम्॥ आदित्यहस्ताभिजिदाश्विनानि वणिग्जनानां भवन्ति भानि। मूलाश्विनेज्यानिल-वारुणानि भान्युग्रजाते' प्रभविष्णुताया॥; compare विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण I 87 11–14 for verses similar to those in योगयात्रा. Vide also अद्भुतसागर p 464 which quotes बृहत्संहिता verses on जन्मर्क्ष and the other नक्षत्रs

about the nomenclature also According to Parāśara and the Visnudharmottara (I. 87 7) the 4th naksatra from the naksatra of birth is called Mānasa A naksatra[766] is said to be affected (*upahata*) when the Sun or Saturn occupies it or when Mars is retrograde in it or occults it or an eclipse (of the Sun or Moon) occurs in it or a meteor strikes it or when the moon continuously affects it (by occulting or occupying its middle or goes to the southern part of it) The Visnudharmottara (I. 89. 1–13), Yogayātrā IX. 13–18, and Parāśara (quoted by the Adbhutasāgara pp 271–274) prescribe certain *śānti* rites for averting the evil effects of the above noted nine naksatras being affected.[767]

It should be noted that in the astrology depending on twelve *rāśis* and twelve *bhāvas* (places or houses) *karma* is the name given to the 10th house from the first (just as in the case of naksatra astrology) and mrtyu (i e vināśa) is the name of the 8th *bhāva*.

The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana contain numerous passages where the planets in relation to certain naksatras are stated to indicate misfortunes to people in general, to warring armies and to individuals A few examples may be cited by way of illustration. When in the sanguinary battle between Rāvana and Rāma, the former seemed to be getting the better of Rāma, the Rāmāyana states[768] 'Mercury stood covering the Rohinī naksatra which is presided over by Prajāpati and which is the favourite of the moon and thereby indicated evil fortune to people'. Similarly, it is said 'Mars stood covering the naksatra Viśākhā in the sky, which is presided over by Indra and Agni and which is the naksatra of the Kosalas'. In the Mahābhārata numerous statements are made about the position of the planets, the naksatras and tithis, which it is almost

766. रविरविसुतभोगनागतं क्षितिसुतभेदनवक्रदूषितम्। ग्रहणगतमथोल्कया हतं नियतमुपाकरणैर्हितं च यत् ॥ तदुपहतमिति प्रचक्षते प्रकृतिविपर्ययचातमेव वा ॥ योगयात्रा IX 8–9 = बृहत्संहिता 15 31–32

767 In the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa the Vidūsaka says to the king in the 4th Act 'astrologers declare that your naksatra is afflicted and (therefore) you should release all persons confined in jails'.

768 राजापत्यं च नक्षत्रं रोहिणीं शाशिनः प्रियाम्। सनाकम्य बुधस्तस्थौ प्रजानामशुभावह ॥ कौसलानां च नक्षत्रं व्यक्तमिन्द्राग्निदैवतम्। आक्रम्याङ्गारकस्तस्थौ विशाखामपि चाम्बरे ॥ रामायण, युद्धकाण्ड 103. 30 and 33. The बालकाण्ड (5 5–6) states that the country of Kosala was situated on the Sarayū and Ayodhyā was its capital रघु, the ancestor of राम, is called कोसलेश्वर in रघुवंश IV. 70, vide also रघुवंश VII. 34. Acc to बृहत्संहिता 14. 8–10, कौशल is the first country in the south-east, of which आश्लेषा, मघा and पूर्वा are presiding नक्षत्रs

impossible to reconcile. Vide H of Dh. vol III. pp 903–923 for consideration of the astronomical data in the Mahābhārata. Here we are concerned only with the beliefs about certain omens and portents. In the Bhīsma-parva we read[769] 'a white celestial body stands traversing Citrā naksatra, one sees therein specially the destruction of the Kurus; a very frightful comet stands covering Pusya-naksatra; this great *graha* will bring about terrible evil to both armies A white blazing *graha* resembling fire emitting smoke stands covering the bright Jyesthā-naksatra whose presiding deity is Indra; a cruel comet standing between Citrā and Svāti afflicts Rohinī and the Sun and the Moon'

There are several statements about Mars that are more or less irreconcilable[770] For example, the Udyogaparva says 'Mars having been retrograde in Jyesthā seeks (to reach or afflict?) Anurādhā presided over by Mitra, as if bringing death'; while Bhīsma-parva remarks 'Mars is retrogade in Maghā and Jupiter is in Śravana and Saturn afflicts the naksatra presided over by Bhaga (i. e Purvā Phalgunī). About Saturn several[771] statements are made 'a refulgent and malignant planet, Saturn, afflicts the naksatra (ruled over by Prajāpati i. e. Rohinī) and will afflict people more'; 'Saturn stands afflicting Rohinī'; 'Jupiter and Saturn are near Viśākhā'.

One very remarkable feature of the Mahābhārata passages is that while they put forward dozens of times the positions of the Sun, the Moon and planets in reference to naksatras, not a single passage gives the position of the planets in relation to *rāśis*, the signs of the Zodiac, or week-days (such as Tuesday, Sunday &c.).

The Atharvana Jyotisa furnishes a somewhat different scheme of naksatra astrology. It says,[772] the 10th naksatra from

769. श्वेतो ग्रहस्तथा चित्रा समतिक्रम्य तिष्ठति । अभार्यं हि विशेषेण कुरूणा तत्र पश्यति ॥ धूमकेतुर्महाघोरः पुष्यं चाक्रम्य तिष्ठति । सेनयोरुभयोर्घोरं करिष्यति महाग्रहः ॥ ' श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः सधूम इव पावकः । ऐन्द्रं तेजस्वि नक्षत्रं ज्येष्ठामाक्रम्य तिष्ठति ॥ रोहिणीं पीडयत्येष शनैश्चरः । सोमं च शशिभास्करौ ॥ भीष्मपर्व 3 12, 13, 16, 17

770. कृत्वा चाङ्गारको वक्रं ज्येष्ठायां मधुसूदन । अनुराधा मार्थयते नैर्ऋतं सङ्गमपत्रिव ॥ उद्योगपर्व 143 9. मघास्वङ्गारको वक्र श्रवणे च बृहस्पतिः । भगं नक्षत्रमाक्रम्य सूर्यपुत्रेण पीडयते ॥ भीष्म 3. 14.

771. प्राजापत्यं हि नक्षत्रं ग्रहस्तीक्ष्णो महाद्युतिः । शनैश्चर पीडयति पीडयन् प्राणिनोऽधिकम् ॥ उद्योगपर्व 143 8; रोहिणीं पीडयत्येष स्थितो राजन् शनैश्चरः । भीष्म 2 32; संवत्सरस्थायिनौ च ग्रहौ प्रज्वलितावुभौ । विशाखायां समीपस्थौ बृहस्पतिशनैश्चरौ ॥ भीष्म 3. 27.

772 जन्मसम्पद्विपत्क्षेम्यः (क्षिप्रत्यैम्यः ?) प्रत्वर साधकस्तथा ॥ नैधनो मित्रवर्गश्च परमो मैत्र एव तु ॥ आथर्वणज्योतिष, नक्षत्र प्रकरण, verse 4, it appears that these very names are

(*Continued on next page*)

the naksatra of a man's birth is called karma, the 19th (from janma-naksatra) is called garbhādhānaka (naksatra of conception), the 2nd, 11th and 20th constitute the group called *sampatkara* (bringing about prosperity), the 3rd, 12th and 21st (from 'janmanaksatra') constitute the group of *vipatkara* (bringing about ill-luck or distress), the 4th, 13th and 22nd are called *ksemya* (causing prosperity), the 5th, 14th and 23rd are called '*pratyara* (*pratyari*?)', 6th, 15th and 24th constitute (the group called) *sādhaka* (that accomplish), the 7th, 16th and 25th are called *naidhana* (relating to death), the 8th, 17th and 26th are *maitra* (friendly), the 9th, 18th and 27th constitute a highly friendly group These are nine groups (each made up of three naksatras from among 27 naksatras and each one in each group being separated by the number 9 from the next in the same group). These names make a further approach to the scheme of twelve *bhāvas*[773] viz. *janma* (which corresponds in name and import to *tanu* or *lagna*), *sampat* (corresponds to the 2nd bhāva called *dhana*), *karma* (is same as 10th bhāva), *naidhana* (corresponds to 8th bhāva called vināśa or mrtyu), *maitra* (corresponds to the 4th bhāva called *suhrt*), *ksemya* (corresponds to the name of the 11th bhāva called āya or lābha). The Atharvana-Jyotiṣa then provides at some length what should be done or not done on these nine groups and their constituents. The above mentioned words (vipatkara, ksemya &c.) occur also in Brhad-yogayātrā

(Continued from last page)

mentioned in स्वरोदय quoted by शुद्धिकौमुदी p.203 'जन्मसम्पद्विपत्क्षेम प्रत्यरि' साधको वधः। मैत्रं परममैत्रं च जन्मादीनि पुनः पुन ॥ प्रत्यर appears to be a misreading for प्रत्यरि the आथर्वणज्योतिष (10, 1-11) provides what should be undertaken or avoided on the नक्षत्रs called जन्म, आधान, नैधन &c The योगयात्रा II. 34 (MS in Bhau Daji Collection Bombay Asiatic Society, II. 35 in Mr. Jagadish Lal's Edition) provides that the king should get himself shaved on every fifth day but he should avoid the naksatra of birth and the third, fifth and seventh naksatra from that of birth राज्ञः कार्यं पञ्चमे पञ्चमेऽह्नि क्षौरकें वा ह्यश्च तत्पोदये वा। त्यक्त्वा तारा: सप्तपञ्चत्रिपूर्वा यात्राकाले नैव कार्यं न युद्धे ॥ योगयात्रा II 34 उत्पल comments 'सप्तमी तारा नैधनः (or ना?), पञ्चमी प्रत्यहरा (?) तृतीया विपत्करा पूर्वा प्रथमा जन्मतारा। एतास्तारास्त्यक्त्वा विहाय अन्यासु सम्पत्करक्षेमसाधकमैत्रातिमैत्रासु &c. प्रत्यहरा is probably प्रत्यरि In बृ. चि IV 12 is जन्मारव्यसम्पद्विपद् क्षेम-प्रत्यरि साधका। वधमैत्रातिमैत्रा स्युस्तारा नामसदृक्फलाः ॥

773. The twelve names of the bhāvas in a horoscope are enumerated in लघुजातक I. 15 as follows: तनु-धन-सहज-सुहृत्-सुत-रिपु-जाया-मृत्यु-धर्म-कर्मायाः। व्यय इति लग्नान्नाक्षत्रमारभ्येऽर्कं चतुर्थे॥

(*folio* 5 b, IV. 17), in Viṣnudharmottara II. 166 at end and in the Tantrika work Śāradātilaka [774].

It should be noted that the Ātharvaṇa-Jyotiṣa gives at least five names that are the same as the corresponding bhāvas in extant *Jātaka* works. It is difficult to state the date when the extant Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa might have been composed. It mentions week-days but does not enumerate the twelve zodiacal signs, it refers to the doctrine of Bhṛgu (9.1). Verses 1–4 of Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa (chapter 13) are the same as Manu III. 46–49, similarly, Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa 12. 8–9 are almost the same as Manu IV. 41–42. It is quite possible that the present text is a recast of an older work. In any case the present text of the Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa cannot be placed earlier than the 2nd or 1st century B.C. and may be a little later still. But it appears that the present Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa only collects together the ideas then current and therefore the five names (janma, sampat, naidhana, mitra and karma) could very well have been current centuries before the present Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa text. Similarly, it is difficult to assign an exact date to the Viṣnu-dharmottara-purāṇa. It is in the nature of an encyclopaedia of the then knowledge of several lores and its present text may be assigned to some period between the 4th and sixth century A. D.

From the passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (in note 754) it would be seen how auspicious times were prescribed for rites to be performed by an individual. The Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras prescribed the auspicious nakṣatras and seasons for solemn Vedic sacrifices. The *gṛhya* and *dharma* sūtras prescribed for domestic rites auspicious times, which were either the same or similar to those prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas, Br. Up. and the Kalpasūtras. A few examples may be cited here. The Āśvalāyana (I. 13. 1), Āpastamba (VI. 14. 9), Baudhāyana (I. 10. 1) and Pāraskara (I. 14) and other gṛhyasūtras provide that the rite of *Puṃsavana* (that would produce male issue) was to be performed in the third month after conception on Tiṣya (Puṣya) nakṣatra or on a day on which the moon would be in

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774 यस्मिन्नक्षत्रे पुरुषस्य जन्म तन्नक्षत्रं तस्मान्नक्षत्राच्च दशमं तत एकोनविंशज्जन्मनक्षत्रमिति विद्यात्। तत्र सम्पत्करक्षेमसाधकमैत्रातिमैत्रेषु सर्वाणि कर्माणि कुर्यात्। दशमर्क्षे च। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे II 166 at end (in prose), जन्मभे(जन्मभ?)कर्मधानीतिवितत्तु सम्पद्विपत्करक्षेमाः। प्रत्यरिसाधकवैनाशिकाश्च मित्रातिमित्रे च॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा *folio* 5*b*, IV. 17, जन्मसम्पद्विपत्क्षेम प्रत्यरि. साधको वध। मित्र परममित्र च जन्मतीनि पुन. पुन॥ शारदा॰ II 125–126

a male naksatra.[774a] The Bhāradvājagrhya expressly mentions Tisya, Hasta, Anurādhā, Uttarā Bhādrapadā as the proper naksatras for pumsavana As regards *caula* (tonsure) Āpastamba-grhya (VI 16. 3) prescribes that it should be performed in the third year after birth on Punarvasu naksatra The name of the naksatra may be noted, which literally means 'fresh wealth or new growth.' The Kauśika-sūtra mentions 'pāpanaksatra' (in 46 25) and pumnaksatra (lucky naksatra) in 35. 2. There are varying provisions about marriage. The Āp. gr says that all seasons are proper for marriage, excepting the two months of Śiśira (viz. Māgha and Phālguna) and excepting the last month (Āsāḍha) of summer, and all naksatras declared to be auspicious[775] The sūtra also quotes an ancient gāthā stating that persons for choosing a girl should be sent out on Invakās (i e Mrgaśīrsa) and then they are greeted with success As regards marriage the Gobhila-grhya provides a simple rule that it should be performed on an auspicious (*punya*) naksatra, while the Pāraskara [776] is more elaborate viz. one should take a maiden's hand in marriage in the northward passage of the sun, in the fortnight of the increasing moon, on an auspicious day and on Uttarā Phalgunī, Hasta, Citrā, Uttarāsādhā, Śravana, Dhanisthā, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Revatī, Aśvinī, Svātī, Mrgaśiras and Rohinī naksatras. The Baudhāyana-grhya [777] declares. all months are proper for marriage; some (sages) say that the months of Āsādha, Māgha and Phālguna are to be avoided; the naksatras for marriage are Rohinī, Mrgaśīrsa, Uttarā Phalgunī and Svātī; while for other auspicious rites the naksatras are

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774 a. तृतीये गर्भमासे तिष्येणोपोषिताया' " । आश्व गृ I. 13. 1, अथ पुंसवनं " मासे द्वितीये तृतीये वा यदहः पुंसा नक्षत्रेण चन्द्रमा युज्येत तदहरुपवाह्य० ' । पारस्करगृह्य I. 14: अथ पुंसवनं तृतीये मासि चतुर्थादौ वा तिष्येण वा हस्तेन वा अनुराधैर्वोत्तरैर्वा मौहूर्तैः । भारद्वाजगृह्य I 21. Vide note 754 for male naksatras.

775 सर्वे ऋतवो विवाहस्य शैशिरौ मासौ परिहाप्योत्तमं च नैदाघम् । सर्वाणि पुण्योक्तानि नक्षत्राणि । ' इन्वकाभि. प्रसृज्यन्ते ते वरा प्रतिनन्दिताः । आप गृ I. 2 12–13 and 16. The last is a gāthā quoted by the sūtrakāra as said by the commentator Haradatta. इन्वकाः are the stars resembling an arrow with which Rudra pierced the running Mrga in the heavens In the legend the arrow succeeded in piercing the Mrga.

776 पुण्ये नक्षत्रे दारान् कुर्वीत । गोभिलीयगृह्य II 1. 1 , उद्गयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे पुण्याहे कुमार्या. पाणि गृह्णीयात् त्रिषु त्रिषूत्तरादिषु स्वातौ मृगशिरसि रोहिण्या वा । पारस्करगृह्य I 4.

777. सर्वे मासा विवाहस्य । शुचितपस्तपस्यवर्जमित्येके । रोहिणी मृगशीर्षमुत्तरे फल्गुनी स्वातीति विवाहस्य नक्षत्राणि । पुनर्वसू तिष्यो हस्त. श्रोणा रेवतीत्यन्येषा भूतिकर्मणाम् । धौ. गृ. I 1. 18–22

Punarvasu, Tisya, Hasta, Śronā (Śravana) and Revati The Āśvalāyana-grhya generalises the auspicious times for several important *saṃskāras* as follows:[778] 'the rites for *caula, upanayana, godāna* and marriage are to be performed in the northward passage of the sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon and on an auspicious naksatra; some (sages) hold that marriage may be performed at all times'. Āśv further provides that the maiden after marriage was to observe silence and to begin speaking after seeing the Polestar, Arundhati and the constellation of the Seven Sages This generalisation is carried further by the Pūrvamīmāmsā-sūtra which provides[779] 'all rites in honour of the gods are to be performed in the northward passage of the sun, on a day in the bright half of the month and on an auspicious day'.

It will be seen clearly from the above discussion that an auspicious naksatra was the *sine qua non* in almost all Vedic rites and also in ordinary domestic rites in the times of the Brāhmanas and sūtras (several centuries before the Christian era), the tithi was rarely mentioned, the week-day was not mentioned nor the name of any *rāśi* (zodiacal sign) nor is there any reference to the planets Jupiter and Venus in most sūtras even when prescribing proper times for upanayana or marriage.

This requirement of finding out an auspicious day or naksatra for the celebration of a marriage or other domestic rite or for engaging in any undertaking was said in medieval Sanskrit works to be a search for an *auspicious muhūrta* It is therefore necessary to hold a discussion on the meaning and history of the word *muhūrta*

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778 उद्गयन आपूर्यमाणपक्षे कल्याणे नक्षत्रे चौलकर्मोपनयनगोदानविवाहाः। सार्वकालमेके विवाहम्। आश्व गृ I 4 1-2. गोदान is the same as Keśānta and was performed in the 16th year for a brāhmana, in 22nd year for a ksatriya and 24th year for a vaisya (Manu II. 65, Yāj. I. 36). केशान्त. शुक्लोदाकाख्यं कर्म वर्णोदाख्य षोडशे वर्षे ब्राह्मणस्य कार्यम्' मिता on या I. 36, vide H of Dh. vol II. pp. 402-405 for details.

779. उद्गयनपूर्वपक्षाह पुण्याहेषु क्रियानि स्मृतिरूपान्यार्थदर्शनात्। पूर्वमीमासासूत्र VI. 8. 23. The आप गृ I 1 1-2 begins 'अथ कर्मण्याचाराख्यानि वृत्तन्ते। उद्गयनपूर्वपक्षाहःपुण्याहेषु कार्याणि।' It would be noted that आप. गृ and पूर्वमीमासासूत्र use the same words for the auspicious times for rites

CHAPTER XVI

Muhūrta

The word 'muhūrta' occurs twice in the Rg. In the dialogue between the rivers and sage Viśvāmitra that had come to the confluence of the Sutudrī (modern Sutlaj) and the Vipāś (modern Beas) occurs the following[780] 'for the sake of my words (of your praise) that will be followed by the offering of *soma* may you, that follow the established order (of nature), stop from[781] flowing for a short while'. In another place the Rgveda says 'the opulent Indra, employing many tricks, often assumes different forms from off his own body, since he, being invoked by mantras addressed to him and upholder of the cosmic order and drinking soma at (usual and even) unusual times, comes thrice from heaven for a short time.' In both these passages 'muhūrta' means 'a short time, a few moments'. This meaning of muhūrta is found in the Śat Br. I. 8 3. 17 (tan muhūrtam dhārayitvā) and II. 3. 2. 5 (atha prātaḥ anaśitvā muhūrtam sabhāyām-āsītvāpi) and in classical Sanskrit works like the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 58).

There is another meaning of the word 'muhūrta' in Śat. Br. X. 4. 2 18 and XII 3. 2. 5 where it is said that there are fifteen muhūrtas of the day and fifteen of the night (i.e 30 in *ahorātra*) and that in a year there are 10800 muhūrtas (30 × 360[782]).

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780. एनश्चं ने वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुप मुहूर्तमेवैः। ऋ III. 33. 5. This is paraphrased in the Nirukta (II 25) as follows उपरमश्चं ने वचसे सोम्याय सोमसम्पादिने ऋतावरीः ऋतवत्यः. 'मुहूर्तम् एवै अयनै अवनैर्वा। मुहूर्त मुहु- ऋतु । ऋतुः अर्तेः गतिकर्मण । मुहु मूढ इव कालः।'. मुहूर्तं here means 'for a short time, for a moment'. The निरुक्त derives it from मुहु- and ऋतु- (time that passes quickly)

781 रूपंरूपं मघवा बोभवीति मायाः कृण्वानस्तन्वं परि स्वाम् । त्रिर्यद्दिवः परि मुहूर्तमागात्स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनृतुपा ऋतावा ॥ ऋ. III. 53 8. There are three savanas (soma pressings in the day) viz प्रात सवन, माध्यन्दिनसवन and तृतीयसवन Vide H. of Dh vol II p 981 for references to the three *savanas* in the Rgveda itself

782 स पञ्चदशाद्धो रूपाण्यपइयदाप्नवन्तन्वो मुहूर्ताँ लोकम्पृणा. पञ्चदशैव रात्रेस्तथ्यमुहुरापन्ते तस्मान्मुहूर्ता । शतपथ X 4. 2 18; दश वै सउत्राण्यष्टौ च शतानि सवत्सरस्य मुहूर्ता यावन्तो मुहूर्तास्तावन्ति पञ्चदशकृत्वः क्षिप्राणि यावन्ति क्षिप्राणि तावन्ति पञ्चदशकृत्व पतर्हीणि &c। शतपथ XII. 3. 2 5. मुहूर्तः are so called because 'they straightway save'.

Here the word *muhūrta* means 15th part of the day (i.e in a general way about two nādikās or ghaṭikās) Rg. X. 189. 3 appears[783] to contain a somewhat recondite allusion to thirty parts of the day and night 'by the rays of the sun thirty locations of the day (and night) shine forth; a laud is offered to the bird (the sun).' The fifteen names (viz citra, ketu &c.) of the muhūrtas of the day and 15 muhūrtas of the night occur in Tai Br. III.[784] 10 1. 1-3. The Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa states that two nādikās are equal to a muhūrta (verse 7 of Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa of Rg.) and that there is a difference of six muhūrtas (i.e 12 *ghaṭikās*) between the longest and shortest day[785] Manu I. 64, Kauṭilya (quoted in note 681) and several purāṇas (quoted in note 682) state that day and night are together equal to thirty muhūrtas Therefore, the second meaning of muhūrta from early Brāhmaṇa times at least was 'a period of two ghaṭikās'. The Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad speaks of muhūrtas called Yeṣṭihas[786]

It appears that some centuries before the Christian era the 15 muhūrtas of the day had received names different from those in the Tai Br. The Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra (II. 10. 26), Manu IV. 92 and Yāj. I. 115 prescribe[787] that a householder should get up from his bed in the Brāhma-muhūrta (the last half watch of the night). The Brāhmamuhūrta is mentioned in

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783 त्रिंशद्धाम वि राजति वाक्पतङ्गाय धीयते। प्रति वस्तोरह द्युभिः॥ ऋ. X. 189. 3. The same is अथर्ववेद VI 31 9 with different readings 'त्रिंशद्धामा विराजति वाक्पतङ्गो अक्षिभ्रियत्। प्रति वस्तोरहर्द्युभि॥'. सायण and Geldner take the words त्रिंशद्धाम as referring to 30 मुहूर्तs of day and night.

784 चित्रः, केतुः, प्रभाव्, आभाव्, संभाव्, ज्योतिष्मान्, तेजस्वान्, आतपन्, तपन्, अभितपन्, रोचनः, रोचमानः, शोभनः, शोभमानः, कल्याण। ते वा III. 10 1. These are 15 मुहूर्तs of the day The 15 मुहूर्तs of the night are: दाता, प्रदाता, आनन्दः, मोदः, प्रमोद, आवेशयन्, निवेशयन्, संवेशनः, संशान्त, शान्तः, आभवन्, प्रभवन्, संभवन्, संभूतः, भूतः.

785 धर्मबुद्धिरपां ग्रन्थः कृष्णपक्षस्य उद्गमनौ। दक्षिणे तौ विपर्यस्तौ षण्मुहूर्त्ययनेन तु॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष 7th of ऋग्वेदाङ्ग-ज्योः and 8th of यजुष The longest and shortest days would be 36 and 24 ghaṭikās and this would be approximately true for the extreme North-West of India about 32 degrees of north latitude and some miles north or north-west of Taxila

786. तस्य ह वा एतस्य ब्रह्मलोकस्यारो ब्रह्मः। मुहूर्ता येष्टिहाः। विजरा नदीः॥ &c. कौषीतकि उप I 3.

787. अथ ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय कालं च मातरमिहोत्रं जुहोति। गौ गृ. सू. II. 10. 25, ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते बुध्येत धर्मार्थौ चानुचिन्तयेत्। मनु IV 92, ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते चोत्थाय चिन्तयेदात्मनो हितम्। याज्ञ 1. 115, मार्कण्डेय 31. 17 (Venk. ed.). मिता. explains 'ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय पश्चिमेऽर्धप्रहरे मुहूर्त्य'.

Dronaparva (80.23). In the Raghuvaṁśa (V. 36) Kālidāsa says that Aja was born on the Brāhma muhūrta (i. e. Abhijit of which Brahmā is the presiding deity) and in the Kumārasambhava (VII. 6) he says that the female relatives of Pārvatī decked her in readiness for her marriage on Maitra muhūrta and when the Moon was in Uttarā-Phalgunī-naksatra. tithi (5th). Besides, in several places auspicious tithis, naksatras and muhūrtas are mentioned in general (e. g. Sabhā 2. 15 and 25. 4, Vana 253. 28). The Ātharvana Jyotisa (1. 6-11) names the 15 muhūrtas of the day as noted below.[788] The Muhūrtadarśana (or Vidyā-mādhavīya) gives almost the same 15 names (except Gāndharva for Viśvāvasu), inserts Śakra before Vāruna and omits Saumya and states that seven of these are auspicious viz.[789] Abhijit, Vairāja, Śveta, Sāvitra, Maitra, Bala and Vijaya. The Ādiparva (123. 6) states that Yudhisthira was born when the moon was in the naksatra presided over by Indra (i. e Jyesthā), on the 8th muhūrta called Abhijit, when the sun was on the meridian by day and on a tithi called pūrnā (here the 5th) In the Udyogaparva it is stated that a purohita was sent as a *dūta* of the Pāndavas on Pusya-yoga[790] and Jaya muhūrta (here Jaya is probably the same as Vijaya). The Manusmrti says that naming the child should be done on the 10th or 12th day (from birth) on an auspicious *tithi, muhūrta* and *naksatra*.[791] It would be proper to assume that the auspicious muhūrtas intended by Manu are the same as the seven mentioned in the Vidyāmādhavīya. The

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788. The 15 मुहूर्तs are रौद्र, श्वेत, मैत्र, सारभट, सावित्र, वैराज, विश्वावसु, अभिजित् (मध्याह्ने), रौहिण, बल, विजय, नैर्ऋत, वारुण, सौम्य, भग: आथर्वणज्योतिष 1. 6-11.

789. संज्ञाः पुराणकथिता रौद्रः श्वेतस्तथा मैत्रः। आरभट: सावित्रो वैराजश्चाथ गान्धर्वः। अभिजित्र रौहिणबली विजयाख्यो नैर्ऋतः शाक्र.। वारुणभगदैवत्याविति विज्ञेया विना मुहूर्तानाम्॥ अभिजिद्वैराजश्च श्वेत. सावित्रमैत्रबलविजयाः। शुभकार्यसिद्धिजनकाः सप्त मोक्ताः पुराणज्ञैः॥ विद्यामाधवीय chap 4 pp 277-80 उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 98.3 quotes a long prose passage from पराशर in which occur some of the names of मुहूर्तs, such as श्वेत, मैत्र, सारभट, रोहिणी (रौहिण?), आत्मसह, अभिजित्, बल, जय, गन्धर्व.

790. स भवान् पुण्ययोगेन मुहूर्तेन जयेन च। कौरवेयान्प्रयात्वाशु कौन्तेयस्यार्थसिद्धये॥ उद्योगपर्व 6 17-18.

791. नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत्। पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते॥ मनु II. 30.

Vāyupurāna enumerates the names of the 15 muhūrtas in the day somewhat differently and also of the night [792] The Matsya-purāna (in chap 22 2) refers to two muhūrtas, Abhijit and Rauhina and mentions eight muhūrtas as auspicious on which to begin the construction of a new house [793] It also speaks of Kutapa as the 8th muhūrta (22 84) and states that Kutapa and the following four muhūrtas are the home of *svadhā* (i. e. śrāddha must be begun on kutapa and completed before the 12th muhūrta ends). It would be seen from the above that the names of muhūrtas were given at least twice, first in the Tai. Br and then in the Atharvana Jyotisa and the Purānas A further stage was probably reached when their names receded into the background and practically disappeared from such works as those of Varāhamihira and only the names of the deities presiding over the 30 muhūrtas of day and night remained and the muhūrtas came to be known by the names of the deities. Though Varāhamihira refers to the muhūrtas of day and night in Brhat-samhitā 42. 12 and 98 3, he does not set out their names in that work, but in his Brhad-Yogayātrā he sets out the 30 names of the deities presiding over the muhūrtas of day and night as quoted in the note below.[794] Varāha remarks: what-

792 रौद्रः सार्प (र्पे?) स्तथा मैत्र· पित्र्य (पित्र्यो?) वासव एव च। आप्योथ वैश्वदेवश्च ब्राह्मो मध्याह्नसंज्ञितः। प्राजापत्यस्तथा ऐन्द्रस्तथेन्द्रो निर्ऋतिस्तथा। वारुणश्च तथार्यम्णो भागश्चापि (भाग्यश्चापि?) विनाश्रिता। एते दिनमुहूर्ताश्च दिवाकरनिभिर्मिता· । वायु 66 40–42 The text is corrupt and the names of devatās are used in most cases, e g. ब्राह्म is अभिजित् as ब्रह्मा is the presiding deity of अभिजित्, प्राजापत्य is probably रौहिण as प्रजापति is the presiding deity of रोहिणी Verses 43–44 of वायु 60 enumerate the names of the 15 muhūrtas of the night as आजस्तथाहिर्बुध्न्यश्च पूषा-दि यमदेवता· । आग्नेयश्चापि विज्ञेय· प्राजापत्यस्तथैव च। ब्रह्मा सौम्यस्तथादित्यो बार्हस्पत्योथ वैष्णव । सावित्रीथ तथा त्वाष्ट्रो वायव्यश्चेति संग्रह । एकरात्रिमुहूर्ता स्तु· क्रमोक्ता दश पञ्च च। But almost all these are names of presiding deities

793. स्वातौ (श्वेते?) मैत्रेऽथ माहेन्द्रे गान्धर्वाभिजिति रौहिणे। तथा वैराजसावित्रे मुहूर्ते गृहमारभेत्। मत्स्य 253 8–9.

794 शिवमुजगमित्रपित्र्यवसुजलविश्वविरिञ्चिपङ्कजभवा· । इन्द्राग्नीन्दुनिशाचरवरुणार्य-मयोनयश्चाहि ॥ कृष्णाजाहिर्बुध्न्या· पूषा दस्रान्तकाग्निधातार· । इन्द्रदितिगुरुहरिरवित्वष्ट्र-निलाख्या क्षणा रात्रौ॥ अह्न· पञ्चदशानां रात्रेश्चैवं मुहूर्ता इति संज्ञा। बृहद्योगयात्रा VI. 2 4 (Ms in the Bhau Daji Collection in the Bombay Asiatic Society) Vide also रत्नमाला VII. 1–2. These are quoted by उत्पल in his com on बृहत्संहिता 42 12 and 98 3 and in his com on योगयात्रा II. 3–5 and V 10 It should be noted that the verses about the मुहूर्तs of night in वायु (note 792) correspond to these verses of वराह The मुहूर्तमार्तण्ड II. 4 specifies the devatās of the 15 muhūrtas of the day and 15 of the night. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I pp 338–342) discusses at length how muhūrtas may be short or long and gives the dominant deities of the 15 muhūrtas of the day.

ever has been stated as proper for being done on certain naksatras, may be done on tithis presided over by the deities of those naksatras and also on *karanas* and on muhūrtas; that leads to success as the deity is the same.[795] For example, if a certain thing is recommended for being done on Ārdrā naksatra, then it may be done also on the muhūrta of Śiva (i. e. the first muhūrta of the day) as the *devata* of both (the naksatra Ārdrā and the first muhūrta) is the same (viz Rudra). The Ātharvana Jyotisa (2. 1–11) and (3 1–6) dilates upon what should be done on the 15 muhūrtas of the day. Some examples may be cited here: on Raudra may be done whatever is of a terrific nature; on Maitra should be done whatever is affectionate or friendly; on Sārabhata black magic may be resorted to against enemies; Abhijit is proper for all desired objects and gives success in all undertakings; Vijaya leads to victory if one marches on it, one may perform auspicious acts on it and *sānti* rites, on Bhaga-muhūrta one should choose a brāhmana maiden for marriage and such a one married on Bhaga does not turn out unchaste It may be noticed that Patañjali (on Vārtika one on Pānini V. 1. 80) refers to the fact of a person being engaged for a month to teach one muhūrta every day.[796]

After the vernal equinox, days become gradually longer than the night and after the autumnal equinox nights are gradually longer and longer than the day. As there are only thirty muhūrtas from one sunrise to the next sunrise it is proper to say that a muhūrta is equal to two ghatikās (i. e 48 minutes). But it is also said that there are 15 muhūrtas of the day. The longest day in India of the Vedānga-jyotisa locality was of 36 ghatikās and therefore if one insisted on the number 15 each muhūrta on that day would be $2\frac{3}{5}$ ghatikās, while as the shortest day was 24 ghatikās in length each muhūrta of that day would be only $1\frac{3}{5}$ ghatikās. This difference in length in the case of muhūrtas is noted by the Visnudharmottara (I. 73 6–8) and by the Brahmāndapurāna (I. 2. 21. 122–133). The Visnudharmottara (I. 83 67–73) sets out the names of the deities of the 30 muhūrtas. It appears that in ancient times it was understood that the longest day gained and was of 18 muhūrtas, while the short night of

795. यत्कार्यं नक्षत्रे तद्देवत्यासु तिथिषु तत्कार्यम्। करणमुहूर्तेष्वपि तद् सिद्धिकरं देवतासदृशम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 98. 3.

796. The वार्तिक is अधीष्टभृतयोर्द्वितीयानिर्देशोऽनर्थकस्तत्रावदर्शनात्। (on समधीष्टो भृतो भृतो भावी। पा V 1 80), on which पतञ्जलि explains "न ह्यसौ मासमधीष्यते। किं तर्हि। ह्यूर्वमसावधीष्टो मास तत्कर्म करोति।".

that day had only 12 muhūrtas i. e. 6 muhūrtas got attached to the day sometimes and 6 muhūrtas got attached to the night sometimes when it was longest. Patañjali[797] in his bhāsya on Vārtika 2 of Pānini II. 1. 29 mentions this This would be a matter of personal observation which need not extend beyond a few years But even here Prof. Neugebauer smells Mesopotamian influence ('Exact sciences in Antiquity' p 178). This is a characteristic example of the jaundiced eyes with which most Western writers look at things Indian. If the writer of the Vedānga Jyotisa was a native of the extreme north-west of India or had stayed there for some years he would have easily noticed the difference between the longest day and the shortest day as about twelve ghatikās, particularly as that very verse of the Vedānga-jyotisa shows that water clocks were then used. Even illiterate people in the villages of Bombay State know that the difference between the longest and shortest day in their villages is about six ghatikās (as Bombay is a little over 18 degrees, N Lat). There is nothing to show that the writer of the Vedānga-Jyotisa was not a person who was either born in the extreme north-west of India or stayed there The North-west of India was a centre of Sanskrit culture at least six centuries preceding the Christian era and Taksaśilā (Taxila) was a great University where princes came to learn (vide Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' p 8). Pānini hailed from that part, it appears, and teaches the formation of words like Saindhava, Tāksaśila and Śālāturīya as meaning a person whose ancestors lived in or who himself stayed in Sindhu or in Taksaśilā or in Śalātura (Pān. IV. 3. 89–90 and 93–94). Later writers call Pānini Śālāturīya (vide Bhāmaha VI 62–63). To suppose that a learned Indian who was writing a work on Jyotisa had to run all the way from India to Mesopotamia a thousand or more miles for finding out the difference between the longest and shortest day in his own country or for saying that the difference between the longest and shortest day in Mesopotamia being 12 ghatikās the same was the difference between them in India or for consulting works written in the Cuneiform characters for that purpose almost borders on the absurd Besides Prof Neugebauer is not quite correct. The latitude of Babylon is 32°. 40' North and even there the ratio would not be exactly as 3 to 2 Gāndhāra is 31°. 40'

797. अनन्यन्तसंयोगार्थं तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम्। षण्मुहूर्ताश्चराचराः। ते कदाचिदहर्गच्छन्ति कदाचिद्रात्रिम्। तदुच्यते। अहर्गता रात्रिगता इति। नैतदस्ति। गतग्रहणावन्येतदिसद्धम्॥ महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. II 1. 29

North Lat; one who is to the north of Gāndhāra may quite naturally say that the ratio is about 3 to 2. Vide C. R. C. Report p. 225. Further in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol 8 (pp. 6-26), Prof. Waerden points out (at p. 18) that even in Babylonia the great omen series started from the primitive ratio 2:1 and that it was only later that the more accurate value 3:2 became known.

It has been shown so far that the word 'muhūrta' had two meanings in the ancient Vedic times, viz 'for a short time' and 'a part equal to two ghaṭikās' As some muhūrtas of the day (of the duration of two ghaṭikās) were declared to be auspicious, gradually a third meaning came to be attached to this word viz. 'time that is fit for the performance of an auspicious act'[798]. It would be shown later on how the medieval Dharmaśāstra works are full of muhūrtas in this sense.

In order to thoroughly understand the requirements about muhūrta in this third sense some knowledge of the planets, the twelve *bhāvas* (houses or places in a horoscope) and the *rāśis* would be necessary. Before entering on a discussion of these latter matters reference must be made to the change that came over even the best minds of India from about the 4th century B.C. It has been seen above (p. 527) how the star-gazer and the *ganaka* had come to be condemned and how one who was a professional astrologer (for money) had been looked down upon as an unworthy brāhmana. All the same there was even about 500 or 600 B. C. a small section of people who looked upon the astrologer as all important, particularly to the king. The Gautamadharmasūtra[799] provides 'the king should choose as his *purohita* (palace priest) a brāhmana endowed with learning, good family, eloquence, handsomeness, (middle) age (neither too young nor too old), character, and who is righteous in conduct and austere, the king should perform all (religious) acts as directed by the priest; he should respect (i. e. follow and not discard) what those who have devoted

798. काल- शुभक्रियायोग्यो मुहूर्त इति कथ्यते। मुहूर्तदर्शन or विद्यामाधवीय I 20

799. ब्राह्मणं च पुरोदधीत विद्याभिजनवाग्रूपवयः शीलसम्पन्नं न्यायवृत्तं तपस्विनम्। तत्प्रसूत कर्माणि कुर्वीत। ... यानि च दैवोत्पातचिन्तका ब्रूयुस्तान्याद्रियेत। तदधीनमिव लोके योगक्षेमं मन्यन्ते। गौतमधर्मसूत्र XI 12-13, 15-16 For the various meanings of योगक्षेम, vide H of Dh vol III pp 588-589 The बृहत्संहिता II. declares that दैवचिन्तक is one who is a master of Saṃhitā (संहितास्कन्ध दैवचिन्तको भवति). It may be noted that in Italy the court astrologer was an established officer at the beginning of the 14th century A D and from Italy he found his way to the French court (vide 'Star-crossed Renaissance' by D. C. Allen, p. 51).

tendencies viz. (firstly) daiva is all powerful, (secondly) human effort is superior, (thirdly) a golden mean between the two. Vide H. of Dh vol III. pp 168–169 for discussion and for passages supporting all the three views. The first chapter of Brhadyogayātrā (20 verses) and also of the Yogayātrā (22 verses) deal with *daiva* (Luck, Fate) and *purusakāra*. In spite of this, from the king to the lowliest man, almost everyone was firmly in the grip of astrology and even now astrology has great influence over some highly educated Indians. Astrology based on horoscopes and dealing with individuals was called *horāśāstra* or *jātaka*. By the time of Varāhamihira even learned men had forgotten the origin of the word *horā*. The Brhajjātaka says[802] 'according to some the word horā is obtained from *ahoratra* by dropping the first and last syllables, that horāśāstra well manifests what the fruition of acts, good or bad, done in previous lives is going to be'. It should be noticed that the Brhajjātaka insists on two matters, viz (1) it links up the horoscopic astrology to the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* (re-incarnation to wipe out karma) and (2) the śāstra holds that the horoscope to be only a map or plan, which indicates future trends in a man's life arising from what he had done in a previous life or in previous lives. It does not here say that the planets in a man's horoscope will compel him to do this or that, but it says that the horoscope will only intimate in what directions a man's future might be evolved. These principles were repeated even by late medieval writers. For example, Raghunandana[803] in his Udvāhatattva (p 125) agrees with the Dīpikā that the planets only convey that sins were committed in former lives, but they do not themselves produce evil results and quotes the Matsyapurāna in support that 'evil actions done in former lives bear fruit in the present life in the form of diseases, distress and the death of those dear to one'. There was probably a third underlying principle viz. the stars are the temples in which the gods reside,

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802. होरेत्यहोरात्रविकल्पमेके पाश्चन्ति पूर्वापरवर्णलोपात् । कर्मार्जितं पूर्वभवे सदादि यत्तस्य पक्तिं समभिव्यनक्ति ॥ बृहज्जातक I 3, यदुपचितमन्यजन्मनि शुभाशुभं तस्य कर्मणः पक्तिम् । व्यञ्जयति शास्त्रमेतत् तमसि द्रव्याणि दीप इव ॥ लघुजातक I 3 q by उत्पल on बृहज्जातक I 3.

803. अत एव दीपिकायां–ये ग्रहा रिष्टिसूचका –द्रव्यनेन ग्रहाणां पूर्वसिद्धपापबोधकत्वमिति न तु पापजनकत्वम् । तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम् । पुरा कृतानि पापानि फलन्त्यस्मिंस्तपोधना । रोगदैर्गत्यरूपेण तथैवेष्टवधेन च । तद्विधाताय वदयामि सदा कल्याणकारकम् ।' उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 125.

as said in the Śat. Br. and Tai. Br.[804] The Babylonians[805] and Assyrians based their astrology mainly on three assumptions viz. (1) the stars are temples in which the gods reside, (2) the stars reveal to men the intentions of the gods with regard to the future; (3) human history is predetermined at a heavenly council over which Marduk presides. These, except the first, are entirely different from the principles emphasized by Varāhamihira and those who came after him The Babylonians and Greeks had no (generally believed) doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma*. Therefore, they could not make astrology serve indirectly a higher purpose, viz of inducing people to lead a life of virtue in the present. Instead of the somewhat childish and often immoral legends of ancient times the cult of planetary influence and worship seemed to many minds far more rational and convincing.

The Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇa-varman follows this and adds[806] that what is known among the people as Jātaka is called *horā* in this śāstra or the word (horā) may indeed be taken to be a synonym for 'consideration of what the destiny would be'. The word 'horā' has two other meanings in Sanskrit astrology viz *lagna* (that sign which is rising on the eastern horizon at a particular moment) and half a *rāśi* (Bṛhajjātaka I 9). Extravagant claims were made for the importance and utility of astrology and astrologers The Sārāvalī declares[807] there is no one else except astrology that would serve as a helper of men in acquiring wealth, as a boat in the sea of calamities and as a councillor when one starts on a journey or invasion Varāhamihira boasts[808] 'Even those who have resorted to a forest (i e.

804. नक्षत्रेभ्य. स्वाहेति। नक्षत्राणि वै सर्वेषा देवानामायतनम्। शतपथ XIV. 3 2 12; देवगृहा वै नक्षत्राणि। य एवं वेद गृहेष्व भवति। तै. ब्रा I 2. 5. 11. *Vide* Matsyapurāṇa 127. 14–15 for the same idea

805 Compare C. V. Maclean on 'Babylonian Astrology and its relation to the old Testament' (United Church Publishing House, Toronto) p. 10. Even Aristotle believed that stars were divine beings endowed with independent volitions; vide Lewis 'Survey of Astronomy' p. 313; J. L. Stocks on 'Time, Cause, Eternity' p. 23.

806 आधन्तवर्णलोपाद्धोराशास्त्रं भवत्यहोरात्रम् (र 1 रात्रात्)। "जातकमिति प्रसिद्धं यल्लोके तद्विह कीर्त्यते होरा। अथवा दैवविमर्शनपर्याय खल्वय शब्द ॥ सारावली II 2 and 4.

807 अर्थार्जने सहाय पुरुषाणामार्यवर्णने पोत.। यात्रासमये मन्त्री जातकमपहाय नास्यपर: ॥ सारावली II 5.

808 वन समाश्रिता येपि निर्ममा निष्परिग्रहा । अपि ते परिपृच्छन्ति ज्योतिषा गतिकोविदम् ॥ अमद्दीपा यथा रात्रिरनादित्यं यथा नभ. । तथा सावत्सरो राजा अमत्यश्च इवाभवि ॥

(Continued on next page)

who have become forest hermits), who are free from worldly attachments and are without property, ask questions of one who knows the movements of heavenly luminaries. As the night without a lamp or the sky without the sun, so a king without an astrologer (with him) wanders about (or wavers) as a blind man on a road. If there be no astronomer and astrologer, auspicious times, *tithis*, naksatras, seasons and the *ayanas* (northward and southward passages of the sun),—these would all become confused What a single astrologer knowing the country and time can effect, that even a thousand elephants or four thousand horsemen cannot accomplish.'

The Rājamārtanda provides[809] 'the *purohita* (family or palace priest), an astronomer, a councillor and an astrologer as the fourth – these must always be supported by the king even with great trouble, as in the case of women'

It has, however to be noted that Varāhamihira himself frequently gives up the principle that the horoscope is only a map showing tendencies and talks the language of certainty and of the planets causing this or that state of things. To mention one or two examples In Brhaj-jātaka[810] he says 'the sages declare that a person is born from a paramour for certain (and not from his reputed father) if in his horoscope Jupiter has no *dṛṣṭi* (aspect) either on the *lagna* or on the moon or on the sun and moon that are in conjunction (in his horoscope) or when the moon is in conjunction with the sun and with a malefic planet (Mars or Saturn)'. In VI. 11 Br J. says[811] 'the moon in conjun-

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मुहूर्ततिथिनक्षत्रसूत्रवश्चायने तथा। सर्वाण्येवाकुलानि स्युर्न स्यात्संवत्सरो यदि॥ बृहत्संहिता II 7-9 The last two verses are q by कालविवेक p 4 (without name) न तत्सहस्रं करिणां वाजिना वा चतुर्गुणम्। करोति देशकालज्ञो यदेको दैवचिन्तक॥ बृहत्संहिता II 20, which the भुजबल of भोज inserts without acknowledgement as its 2nd verse.

809. पुरोधा गणको मन्त्री दैवतश्च चतुर्थकः। एते राज्ञा सदा पोष्या. कृच्छ्रेणापि स्त्रियो यथा॥ राजमार्तण्ड verse 4.

810. न लग्नमिन्दुं च शुक्रनिरीक्षते न वा शशाङ्कं रविणा समागतम्। सपापकोऽर्केण युतोऽथवा शशी परेण जातं प्रवदन्ति निश्चयात्॥ बृहज्जातक V 6 लघुजातक IV. 4 is very similar सारावली has a similar verse 'पश्यति न गुरुः शशिनं लग्नं च दिवाकरेण सेन्दुम्। पापयुतं वा सार्कं चन्द्रं यदि जारजान. स्यात्॥'. It may be noted that उत्पल found it necessary to qualify the doctrine and statement of Varāha.

811. सुनसठमनजान्त्यलग्नरन्ध्रेष्वशुभयुतो मरणाय शीतरश्मिः। मृगसुतशशिशुक्रदेवपूज्यैर्यदि मलिभिर्न युतोऽथवेक्षितो वा॥ बृहज्जातक VI. 11. उत्पल introduces a modification

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ction with a malefic planet in the 1st, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th or 12th house (in a horoscope) causes death (of the new-born child) if it is not also in conjunction with powerful Venus, or Mercury or Jupiter or if it is not in aspect with one of those powerful three.' Again in Bṛhaj-jātaka XIV 1 it is said. If the sun is in conjunction with another planet, he produces the following results, viz with the moon a man who makes (lethal) machines or works in stones; with Mars a man addicted to evil ways; with Mercury a man who is skilful, intelligent, famous and happy, with Jupiter, a cruel man or one intent on carrying out the objects of others; with Venus a man who makes money by going on the stage (or in a ring for boxing &c.) or by the use of arms, with Saturn a man clever in metals or different kinds of (merchandise or) vessels The Sārāvalī very frequently says that such and such a position produces (janayati, utpādayati) or causes (karoti or kuryāt &c.) certain results. Vide chap. 33 48–61.

Before proceeding further I must point out that India was not singular in its firm belief in Astrology The case was the same throughout Europe and among the Greeks after Alexander the Great. It has been already seen (p. 521) how Babylonian astrologers made reports to the king about the position of the Sun, the Moon and the planets and what they portended for the country, the king and the people Vide for example, Nos 9, 15, 16, 21, 32, 33, 52, 53, 63, 66, 67, 72, 74, 76, 86, 151, 164 from 'The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon' by R Campbell Thompson (vol I and II, Luzac and Co. London, 1900). But horoscopic astrology was developed by them later In the Old Testament Isaiah (759–710 B. C) 47 1 and 5 apostrophize Babylon as the daughter of the Chaldeans and in verse 13 we read 'let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee'. In Daniel 4.7 it is said that on Nebuchadnezzar's order 'came in the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans and the soothsayers.' Vide also Daniel 1 20 and 2.2 and 27. The Chaldeans held that the five planets specially controlled men's destinies and five Babylonian deities were identified with them As Bouché-Leclercq observes (in 'L' Astrologie Grecque', p 572) 'Chaldean astrology had lived on a fund of naive ideas, it began at a time

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from Sārāvalī X. 98 that the Moon must be kṣīna (waning, i. e. from 8th of dark half to the 8th of the following fortnight) for the application of this rule.

when the heavens were deemed to be nothing but a cover of the earth, when all the stars were ranged at small distances on the vault and the planets were supposed to move in the midst of stars like shepherds inspecting their flocks. Greek science having extended the world, the influence of stars moved back at enormous distances was not a postulate of common sense' (vide note 748 above). Herodotus[812] (*II.* 82) refers to a peculiar practice of the Egyptians to regard each month and day as sacred to some deity, and says how from the day of a man's birth they determined his fortune, character and the manner of his death. But this has no reference to horoscopic Astrology. The Egyptians knew nothing about the Zodiac before the Alexandrian age There is no trace of astrology in early Greek astronomical writers and it appears that the Greeks got it from Babylon[813] after Alexander conquered Babylon, when teachers of astrology began to arrive in Greece. The Hellenistic mind was soon completely captivated by astrology. Before the advent of astrology the Greeks tried to peep into the future by oracles, interpretation of dreams and inspection of the entrails and livers of sacrificed animals, from the flight and cries of birds and from prodigies and unusual occurrences such as eclipses, comets and meteors Berossus[814], a priest of the god Bel at Babylon, dedicated to his patron Antiochus I Soter (280–261 B C.) an elaborate work on Babylonian and Chaldean history and it was he who was instrumental in spreading Babylonian astrology in Greece by first introducing it in his school at Cos, an island not far from the south-western corner of Asia Minor. From Greece astrology spread to Rome about the 2nd century B. C The signs of the Zodiac became house-hold words in Greece and Rome. Stoics like Posidonius

812. Vide Prof Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 179

813. Vide E J. Webb in 'The names of the stars' (1952) p 189 and in Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol 48 p. 66; C V Maclean in 'Babylonian astrology and its relation to the Old Testament' p. 7, in J of Near Eastern Studies vol. IV at p. 26 Prof Neugebauer averred that the Mesopotamian origin of the astrological omina cannot be doubted, but in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p 164 he appears to modify his position by saying that only the original impetus to horoscopic astrology in Greece came from Babylon and that its actual development must be considered as an important component of Hellenistic Science In the same journal at p. 15 he does not know how horoscopic astrology in Greece originated from the totally different omen type astrology of the preceding millenium.

814 Vide Cambridge Ancient History, vol. I. p. 150, Gregory in 'Nature vol. 153 at p. 515.

helped it by defending it. Cato in[815] his work on agriculture warns a farmer against consulting a Chaldean and in 139 B. C. an Edict was passed for expelling Chaldeans from Italy. Diodorus[816] Siculus (a contemporary of Augustus of Rome) describes the theory and method of the Chaldeans in casting horoscopes. Horace[817] (died in 8 B. C) in his ode to Maecenas refers to the influence of the signs Libra, Scorpion and Capricornus and of the protective power of Jove and about baleful Saturn in his horoscope. Strabo,[818] who died in 24 A D., averred (XVI. 1.6) that some Chaldeans were skilled in astronomy and the casting of horoscopes. Petronius (1st century A. D) describes in his novel Satyricon a dinner in forty pages in which a tray displayed the signs of the zodiac under each of which was placed appropriate food (vide Will Durant in "Caesar and Christ" page 298, (New York 1944). Juvenal,[819] who flourished about the close of the 1st century A. D, strongly inveighs against ladies who have great confidence in Chaldean astrology. It should not, however, be supposed that no dissenting voice was raised against astrology in Rome and medieval Europe. Cicero did not believe in astrology[820] as he said that the planets were too far away (Bouché Leclerq's work p 572). St. Augustine (354–430 A. D.) in his work 'City of God' calls astrology a delusion[821] There were some points of difference between Babylonian astrology and Greek astrology, viz Babylonian astrology originally at least was interested in the State and the royal family, while Greek astrology was interested only in the indi-

815. Vide Colson on 'Weekday' p. 66, Lewis' 'Historical Survery of the Astronomy of the Ancients' p. 298.

816. For Diodorus of Sicily (i. e. Siculus), vide Prof. Farrington in 'Science and Politics in the Ancient World' (1939) pp. 201–202.

817. Vide C. E. Bennett's English Translation of 'Odes' Book II, 17. lines 17–24.

818. See Strabo in Loeb classical Library Series, vol. VII. p. 203.

819. *Vide* Juvenal's Satires—English translation by J. D. Lewis (1873) Satire VI, p. 81.

820. E. J. Webb in 'The names of the Stars' (1952) p. 108, Thorndike's 'A History of magic and experimental Science,' vol. I. pp 272–274 for Cicero's views on astrology and Thorndike's criticisms. But Cicero appears to have condemned the Chaldean form of astrology, though he was so learned in divination that he considered it to be given by God (vide 'Star-crossed Renaissance' by Don Cameron Allen (Duke University Press, 1941) p. 47,

821. See 'De Civitate Dei' V. 5 pp. 183–184 (translated by M. Dods, 1872), Thorndike's work (mentioned in n. 820) pp. 513–521 for a statement of the objections of Augustine against astrology and criticism thereof,

vidual and Babylonian astrology was a priestly business while in Greece the astrologers were laymen. Astrology became a study of international importance in Europe and was cultivated in the Universities as a subject of real value throughout Europe by the side of astronomy. Its great vogue among even well educated people was due to its apparent scientific structure with its houses, planets, twelve signs and so forth Allen (in 'Star-crossed Renaissance' Preface p. VIII) says that everybody in the Renaissance period in the West believed to, some extent in astrology. In 'Stars above us' by Prof. E. Zinner, Tycho Brahe is quoted as saying that he prepared every year an astrological forecast for his king (p. 76). Even Copernicus, Galileo and Kepler practised astrology themselves or countenanced its practice. Bacon was prepared to say that there was no fatal necessity in the stars, but they rather incline than compel Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos reigned supreme for about 1400 years and is even now a work of great authority for those who believe in astrology. It may interest the reader to know that the great German poet, dramatist and philosopher, Goethe[822] (1749–1832), begins his Memoirs by mentioning the aspects of planets at his birth.

Two circumstances tended to weaken the influence of astrology in Europe, viz. the giving up of the geocentric theory in favour of the heliocentric theory and the vast additions to astronomical knowledge made during the last two centuries. But it should not be supposed that astrology has become defunct in the West or U. S. A. The immense strain and distress caused by the two world wars provided a powerful fillip for the spread and influence of astrology. Even in papers the circulation of which runs into millions there is a regular astrological feature every day or every week, which tells people what the stars portend for twelve groups of the world's population in the week

822. 'Memoirs of Goethe' (London, 1824, vol I) 'I was born under fortunate auspices, the Sun was in the sign of the Virgin at the utmost degree of elevation. The aspects of Jupiter and Venus were favourable to the day. Mercury testified no signs of hostility, Saturn and Mars were neutral. The Moon, however, then near the full, was an important obstacle, and the more so as the labour which attended my birth coincided with the hour of her new phase She retarded my entrance into the world until the moment had elapsed'. Vide 'Stars above us' by Prof. Zinner p. 68 for Goethe's horoscope.

or on the day mentioned.[823] What benefit the people derive from these prognostications it is difficult to understand. Often the prognostications are extremely vague and not of greater extent than three or four short cryptic sentences. There must be millions of people in each of the twelve groups (such as those born from 23rd September to October 23rd, those born from 24th October to 22nd November and so on). It is said that in U.S.A. alone there are about 25000 registered astrologers.

Those interested in astrology in general and Greek astrology in particular and those who desire to know how astrology is regarded by many modern scientific minds may read 'L' Astrologie Grecque' by A. Bouché-Leclercq' (1899, a masterly work in French on Greek Astrology) pp 570-593 (for arguments against astrology), 'The Royal Art of Astrology' by Robert Eisler (London, 1946), which contains a reasoned and sustained refutation, and Mr. J. C. Gregory's Article on 'Ancient Astrology' in Nature, vol 153 pp. 512-515 (a brief, but instructive and detached survey of astrology from Chaldean times to this day). The number of books in favour of astrology or expounding it is large and I do not propose to mention them. One book arrested my attention, viz. Louis de Wohl's 'Secret service of the sky'. On p 31 he propounds a doctrine very similar to what Varāha-mihira laid down as the scope of *horāśāstra* viz. that Astrology has nothing whatsoever to do with mere predictions, that it only indicates tendencies and that human will is free He began well, but he did not observe his own precepts. On p. 235 he predicts 'I do not believe that Mahatma Gandhi will survive the first half of 1939' This prediction turned out to be untrue and it is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi was killed on the 30th of January 1948.

The English language itself bears witness to the great influence of astrology in England, e. g. such words and expressions as 'ill-starred expedition', 'disastrous consequences', temperaments being either jovial, mercurial, or saturnine, 'moon-[824]

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823. The following may be cited as a sample Taurus (April 21–May 20)– 'You realise that a break in one relationship is probably inevitable. This week you will see your way to making it without undue loss. Harden your heart where money is concerned and don't allow friendship to interfere with business.'

824. It is believed that the moon (*luna*), when full, increased madness; hence a mad man was called lunatic Vide an article 'Lunar influence on

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struck (mad) lover'. The word influence (from *fluo* to flow) itself is due to astrological beliefs and words like 'aspect', 'conjunction', 'ascendant', 'retrograde' are all due to the language of astrology.

In support of Astrology Ptolemy (in Tetrabiblos, 1.2) puts forward certain arguments. The Sun not only affects everything on the earth by the change of season, but by its daily revolutions furnishes heat, moisture, dryness and cold in regular order. The Moon, the nearest heavenly body to the earth, causes the seas to change their tides with its own rising and setting times, and plants and animals wholly or partly wax and wane with the moon. The planets often signify hot, windy and snowy conditions of the air and affect mundane things. The changes of seasons and winds are understood even by very ignorant men and by some dumb animals. Sailors know the special signs of storms and winds that arise periodically by reason of the aspects of the sun, moon and planets. But because sometimes sailors err, no one says that there is no science of navigation. Therefore, a sufficiently observant man wise enough to know accurately the movements of the sun, moon and planets can predict whether the weather will be warmer or [825] wetter. Why can he not, with respect to an individual, perceive the general quality of his temperament from the surroundings at the time of his birth, as for example that he would be such and such in body and mind? Ptolemy then condemns impostors who do not study the science but deceive common and trusting people and fill their pockets. He further points out that the nativity alone is not the sole basis of judging a person's future, that the country of birth, the

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living things' by Prof. George Sarton in Isis vol. 30 (1939) pp. 495-507, where he examines the beliefs about the Moon's connection with lunacy, tides, menstruation, terrestrial magnetism, says that these are matters for experiment, advises scientists to keep an open mind and holds that lunar influence is unproved as to some of them.

825. A short passage from Bouché-Leclercq (p. 574) may be set out here: 'how to justify the ridiculous associations of ideas attached to the purely imaginary forms of the figures of the Zodiac and the reciprocal influence of planets on the signs and of the signs on the planets when these are (one knows this since a long time) at a great distance from the constellations and do not appear to be placed there except by the effect of perspective'?

race to which he belongs, the customs of the people among whom he is born, the way in which he is reared, the age in which he lives have also to be considered, all which will contribute materially to the proper prediction, other things being equal. In IV.10 he points out that if one looks only at the horoscope without paying attention to nationality, manners and customs and the like he may call an Ethiopian fair[825a] of complexion and having straight hair and a German a dark-skinned person and endowed with woolly hair or not knowing the peculiar customs say that an Italian whose horoscope is being examined may marry his sister (as ancient Egyptians did) or that the man may marry his mother (as only Persians did) Vide Tetrabiblos IV. 10 p. 439 (Loeb. cl Library). In I. 3 Ptolemy argues that astrology is not only possible but is beneficial, because fore-warned is fore-armed. It is a very far cry to argue from the undoubted influence of the Sun and the Moon on mundane matters, such as heat and cold, rains, storms and droughts that the particular positions and aspects of the Sun, Moon and planets at the time of birth or conception (as some hold) are throughout an individual's life (it may be for a day or a hundred years) the dominating factor (if not the sole factor as many astrologers say) governing his conduct, character, family affairs and destiny. The reasoning of Ptolemy, though very cleverly put and though with a slight scientific appearance, is rather vague and not at all cogent or convincing He distinguishes between universal or general astrology (treated of in Books I–II) which relates to whole countries, races, cities and large bodies of men and particular or genethlialogical astrology treated of in books III–IV.

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825 a. Utpala on Laghujātaka IV. 1 states similarly that one (the astrologer) should specify the form (or appearance) of a person after knowing his caste, since śvapākas (cāṇḍālas) and niṣādas are dark-skinned by caste; similarly, he should consider in what family, whether of fair persons or dark persons, the person (whose horoscope is being examined) was born or in what country, since all people from Karnāṭaka are dark, people from Videha (i. e. Mithilā, part of present Bihar State) are dark-brown and from Kashmir fair लघुजातक IV. 1 is : सर्वं रजस्तमो वा त्रिंशांशे यस्य भास्करस्वाद्वक्तुः। बलिनः सदृशी मूर्तिर्ज्ञेया वा जातिकुलदेशात्॥ जातिं बुद्ध्वा मूर्तिनिर्देशः, यतः श्वपाकनिषादा जातित एव कृष्णा भवन्ति। तेषां च एव निर्देशः॥ कस्मिन्कुलेयं जातो गौराणां कृष्णानां वा कस्मिन्देशे जात, यत कर्णाटका. सर्व एव कृष्णा. वैदेहा श्यामाः काश्मीरा गौराः। folio 15b of commentary on लघुजातक IV, 1 (Ms. in Bhadkamkar collection of the Bombay University). For śvapāka vide p. 97 of H. of Dh. vol. II and for niṣāda pp. 43, 46, 86–87 of the same.

Indian works also require the astrologer to consider the customs of the country and of the people. The Rājamārtaṇḍa[825b] says 'First the usages of people must be considered; whatever is firmly established in the several countries, that alone must be followed; the learned give up what is hateful to the people; therefore an astrologer should proceed along the people's way. A learned man should never go against the inclinations of the family (to which the person belongs) and of the country'; and then he gives examples of the astrological requirements as regards planets in the case of marriages in several countries. The general astrology about calamities or occurrences that affect all people spoken of by Ptolemy would fall under *Śākhā* or *Saṃhitā* in the narrower sense (vide notes 688 and 690) Some important and interesting conclusions of Ptolemy may be noted here.

Ptolemy speaks of beneficent and malefic planets (I. 5), of masculine and feminine planets (I.6), of diurnal and nocturnal (in Sanskrit *dinabalī* and *niśābalī*) planets (I. 7), (I. 12) masculine and feminine rāśis (signs), the aspects of the signs (I. 13) viz. opposition (180 degrees), trine (120°), quartile (90°) and sextile (60°), of the houses (*svagṛhas* in Sanskrit) of the planets. In Book II he divides the inhabited world into quarters equal in number to the triangular formations of the signs of the zodiac and after a disquisition which would be regarded by modern men as casuistical and practically unintelligible, Ptolemy sets forth a list of over seventy countries (then known), assigning to each sign some countries. For example, to Aries he assigns Britain, Gaul, Germania, Bastarnia, Syria, Palestine, Judaea and one more; to Capricorn he assigns India, Ariana, Gedrosia, Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria. The whole of America, almost the whole of Africa (except the northern part), Indonesia and Australia and the other neighbouring lands are not considered by Ptolemy at all, because these were unknown then. He remarks at the end of II. 3 that as to metropolitan cities they should be treated like individuals and their nativity is to be cast by taking the time of the foundation[826] of the city

825b लोकाचारस्तावदादौ विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या। लोकाद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति दैवज्ञोऽपि लोकमार्गेण यायात्॥ कुलस्य देशस्य च चित्तवृत्तिर्न खण्डनीया विदुषा कदाचित्॥ बृहस्पतौ गोचरशोभनस्थे विवाहमिच्छन्ति हि दक्षिणास्थाः। एवौ विशुद्धे भवतश्च गौढा न गोचरो मालवके प्रमाणम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 25 b verses 399–401. The first two also occur in the सुजशल of भोज (pp 34–35 verses 143–144).

826. An interesting Indian example is furnished by the Mirat-i-Ahmadi translated by C. N. Seddon which gives (on pp. 248–253 supplement) the

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instead of the times of birth, but where the exact time of foundation is not known then the nativity of the founder or of the king is to be taken.

A few important points of agreement and disagreement between Sanskrit astrological works and Ptolemy will be set out later on.

The literature on *muhūrta* (auspicious time for undertaking anything) is extensive. Almost all works on Kāla mentioned above such as Hemādri on Kāla, the Kāla-mādhava, Kālatattva-vivecana, Nirnayasindhu are in a way works on muhūrta, since they discuss the proper times for performing the samskāras and religious rites. Among the works the names of which begin with the word muhūrta are: Muhūrtakalpadruma (published by Nirn Press, Bombay) composed by Vitthala Dīksita in 1628 A.D.; Muhūrta-ganapati composed in 1685 A. D. by Ganapati Raval, son of Harishankar; Muhūrta-cintāmani composed at Benares in *śake* 1522 (1601 A. D.) by Rāma, son of Ananta, with a commentary called Piyūsa-dhārā composed in śake 1525 (1604 A.D.) by Govinda, son of Nilakantha elder brother of Rāma (published in 1945 by the Nirn. press); Muhūrtatattva by Ganeśa, son of Keśava (ms in Bhau Daji collection of Bombay Asiatic Society); Muhūrtadarśana (also called Vidyāmādhavīya) by Vidyāmādhava with a commentary called Muhūrta-dīpikā (about 1363 A.D.) by his son Visnu, edited by Dr. Shamsastri (published

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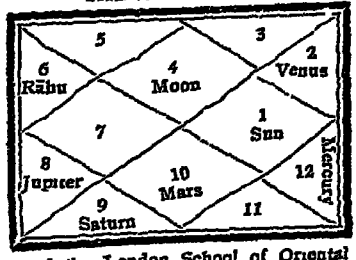
date and horoscope of the foundation of the city of Ahmedabad in *śake* 1314, *samvat* 1449, Vaiśākha śu. 5, Thursday, 15 *ghaḍs* (*ghaṭis*) and 35 *pals*.

THE HOROSCOPE



In the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies vol. 9 for 1935-37 there is a paper (pp. 125-139) on some chronological data relating to the Sassanian period in which reference is made to an Arabic book on astrology composed about 275 of the Hejira (equal to 888-889 A. D.) by a Persian astronomer and astrologer, the 2nd part of which describes a horoscope of the accession of Khosrove to the throne on a date corresponding to 18-8-531 A. D. (p. 129).

by Mysore University, 1923–1926, in three parts); Muhūrta-dīpaka by Nāgadeva (a short work in 9 folios, ms. in Bhau Daji collection); the Muhūrta-mārtanda, composed in śake 1493, Māgha (1572 A. D.), by Nārāyana, son of Ananta, of Tāpara village to the north of the temple of Śiva which is to the north of Devagiri, with his own commentary called Mārtaṇḍavallabhā (published by Nirn. Press, 1925); Muhūrtamālā by Raghunātha (ms in Bhau Daji collection); Muhūrta-muktāvali (incomplete ms. with only 45 verses in the same collection). Out of these, three works alone are now available in print viz. Muhūrta-darśana, Muhūrta-cintāmani and Muhūrta-mārtanda. The rest are mss. (in Bombay Asiatic Society's Library). In this section on muhūrtas reliance has been placed mainly on the three printed works along with the Jyotisaratnamālā of Śrīpati (about 1039 A. D.), the Rājamārtanda of Bhoja (ms in B. O. R. I., Poona) and the other works on Kāla. Among the works described as especially dealing with muhūrtas, the most elaborate are the Muhūrta-cintāmani (containing about 480 verses with a very exhaustive commentary) and the Muhūrtadarśana (with about 600 verses) and also a very elaborate commentary. It would not be possible to deal with all matters contained in these works. The Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa (containing 161 verses) follows a middle course. 'According to it the subjects dealt with in it are briefly as follows:—what positions and aspects of the planets, what *yogas*, what tithis, naksatras, months and conditions of the family and of the mind should be avoided in the case of *śubha* (auspicious) actions; the proper times for samskāras, such as *garbhādhāna*, *pumsavana*, *jātakarma*, piercing the infant's ear, *caula*, *upanayana*, the end of the period of Vedic study; topics connected with marriage (this takes up 55 verses i. e. a little over one-third of the entire work); times for kindling sacred domestic fire (grhyāgni); times for construction of a house and for first entrance into it; the proper times for starting on a journey or marching against an enemy king; auspicious and inauspicious śakunas (omens or prognostications), times for king's coronation, for wearing of rich clothes and ornaments and for agricultural operations, for sale and purchase of animals (such as cattle, horses), for bath with sesame and myrobalan, for finding lost articles, for constructing wells and tanks. times when Vedic study should be stopped (*anadhyāya*) for long or temporarily; the results of a lizard or chameleon falling on one's body; what planet is inauspicious or auspicious in which sign from the sign of one's birth; the punyakāla of

Saṅkrāntis. It may be mentioned that many of the provisions about auspicious aspects of planets, about upanayana and marriage, construction of and first entrance into a house, śakunas about the fall of lizards and chameleons were observed in the author's boyhood and are still observed by many, though there is gradually an increasing looseness of observance in these matters.

It should be noted that even as to *śakunas* Varāha-mihira puts forward the principle that it is the fruition of actions, good or evil, done in previous lives by men, that is manifested by śakunas for those who start on a journey or invasion.[827]

How people had become almost crazy with the idea of finding out a *muhūrta* for everything from shaving, wearing a new garment to such solemn matters as marriage is well illustrated by the provision of a muhūrta for a theft in the Muhūrta-muktāvali, viz the act of thieving succeeds when done on the naksatras Āśleṣā, Mṛgaśiras, Bharaṇī, Svātī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Citrā and Anurādhā, on a Saturday or a Tuesday and on a *riktā* tithi (4th, 9th and 14th).[828]

Before entering on a discussion about individual acts or rites, it is necessary, in order that the reader may understand the prescriptions about muhūrtas, to explain some simple details of *Jātaka*. To discuss in detail all the details of Jātaka works is much beyond the scope of this work and would necessitate the writing of a volume by itself. A middle course has to be followed Besides naksatras, their lords and their classifications, one has to bear in mind the rāśis, the planets and the *bhāvas* (houses or places) in a horoscope. For these reliance will be mainly placed on the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and Bṛhaj-jātaka of Varāhamihira, the Sārāvalī, Jyotiṣaratnamālā of Śrīpati, the Rājamārtaṇḍa, Jātakālaṅkara of Ganeśa (composed in śake 1535, 1613-4 A D.). The 27 or 28 naksatras and their presiding deities have already been enumerated above (pp. 499-504 and note 731). It has to be remembered that the devatā of a naksatra is often employed to indicate the naksatra or the tithi itself also Here the classification of naksatras will be first discussed. From a passage of the

827. अन्यजन्मान्तरकृतं पुंसां कर्म शुभाशुभम् । यत्तस्य शकुनः पाकं निवेदयति यच्छताम् ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 23 1.

828. सार्पेन्द्रान्तकस्वाती (सार्पेन्द्रन्तक?) धनिष्ठा शाक्रमैत्रभम् (मे?)। शनौ च भौम (मे?) रिक्तायां चौर्यकर्म प्रसिध्यति । मुहूर्तमङ्गावली verse 42 (ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society).

Brhadāranyaka Upanisad quoted above (in note 754), it is clear that the naksatras had very early (i. e. about 1000 B.C. at least) been classified as *punya* (auspicious) and *pāpa* (inauspicious) and into male and female. The Vedāngajyotisa (Yājusa) gives a classification of naksatras into *ugra* and *krūra*.[829] The naksatras are further classified in the Brhat-samhitā (chap. 97. 6-11) into dhruva (or sthira = fixed), tīksna (or dāruna), ugra (or krūra), ksipra (or laghu), mrdu (or maitra), mrdutīksna (or sādhārana or miśra), cara (or cala).[830]

The Br. S. (97. 6-11) states that on Dhruva naksatras the coronation of a king, śānti (propitiatory rite for averting impending evil or calamity), planting of trees, foundation of a city, charitable acts, sowing seeds, and other permanent acts should be done; on tīksna naksatras succeed attempts to harm, the acquisition of mantra (mystic verse or formula), raising ghosts, arrest (of a person), beating, separating (two friends or) relationships; *ugra* naksatras are to be used for success in extermination, destruction of another's *property*, cheating, arrest, poisoning, incendiarism, striking with a weapon, killing; ksipra (or laghu) naksatras are declared as leading to success in sales, in making love, in the acquisition of knowledge, decoration, arts, crafts (such as carpentry), medicines, journeys; the mrdu naksatras are beneficial in securing friends, sexual affairs, clothes, ornaments, auspicious ceremonies (marriage, *upanayana* &c.) and singing; the mrdu-tīksna (or sādhārana) naksatras produce mixed results (on which mild or fierce acts may be done); the *cara* naksatras are beneficial in doing fleeting actions The Muhūrta-mārtanda provides that wise men engage in actions similar to the names of the groups of naksatras for attaining success. It should be noticed that some works like the Jyotisaratnamālā (III. 9) and the Muhūrta-cintāmani (II. 2-8) hold that Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday are respectively dhruva, cara, ugra, miśra, laghu, mrdu, and tīksna and that actions that are appropriate for naksatras of those groups are appropriately performed on the respective week days.[831]

The Brhaj-jātaka devotes fourteen verses for the characteristics of persons born on the 27 naksatras from Aśvinī. Two

829. उग्राण्यार्द्रा च चित्रा च विशाखा श्रवणोत्तरभद्रे । क्रूराणि तु मघा स्वाती ज्येष्ठा मूलं धनस्य च ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (याजुष verse 42).

830. For classifications of nakṣatras, vide note 558 above.

831. संज्ञानुरूपमिहाचरन्ति सुधियो कार्यं हि संसिद्धये । बृ सं II. 3.

verses are translated for sample:[832] a person born on Aśvinīs is fond of ornaments, is handsome, has a prepossessing appearance, is clever (in all things) and intelligent; one born on Bharanīs is of firm resolve, truthful, free from disease, clever and free from worry; one born on Kṛttikās is a heavy eater, fond of other's wives, impatient, famous; one born on Rohiṇī is truthful, pure, of agreeable speech, of resolute intellect and is handsome. The Rājamārtaṇḍa in verses 16–40 sets out the synonyms of 27 naksatras which include the names of the lords of the naksatras and synonyms of the lords of naksatras. The Jyotisaratnamālā, Bhujabala and M. C. 2. 22–23 divide 28 naksatras (including Abhijit) into four groups[833] of seven each, called 'andhāksa' (blind), 'mandāksa' (of dim sight), 'madhyāksa' (of medium sight) and 'svaksa' (of good sight) and state that property stolen on 'andhāksa' naksatras may be recovered quickly, stolen on 'mandāksa' naksatras after effort, stolen on 'madhyāksa' (there is no recovery but) the owner may hear that it has been taken to a distant place by the thief; stolen on 'svaksa' or 'sulocana' the owner would not recover it nor even hear about its whereabouts. The Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chap. 14) has already been referred to (on p. 530) in connection with the provinces of India governed by nine groups of naksatras (three naksatras in each group) and chapter 15 of the same (1–27) sets out what substances are governed by the 27 naksatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.[834] One verse is translated as a specimen: under Kṛttikās are white flowers, those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, those who know Vedic mantras, sūtras and bhāsyas (commentaries), officers over mines (or stores), barbers, brāhmaṇas, *purohita*, astrologers, potters.

The Bṛhat-saṃhitā (104.1–5) declares what naksatras (out of 27) form part of Time looked upon as a *puruṣa* (Person). This is

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832 प्रियभूषणः सुरूप- सुभगो दक्षोऽश्विनीषु मतिमांश्च। कृतनिश्चयसत्यारुग्वद् सुचिस्तब्ध भरणीषु॥ बहुयुक्परदाररतस्तेजस्वी कृत्तिकासु विख्यातः। रोहिण्या सत्यशुचि प्रियंवदः स्थिरमति. सुरूपश्च॥ बृहज्जातक 16. 1–2 The बृहत्संहिता (chap. 160) has the same verses as बृहज्जातक 16

833. The सुजबल (pp. 253–254) arranges the 28 नक्षत्रs counting from रोहिणी into the four groups (of seven each) and calls them अन्ध, मन्दाक्ष, मध्याक्ष and सुलोचन viz रोहिणी, मृग, आर्द्रा, पुनर्वसु are अन्ध, मन्दाक्ष, मध्याक्ष, सुलोचन respectively, then पुष्य, आश्लेषा, मघा, पूर्वा are the same four अन्ध &c., and so on

834. आग्नेये सितकुसुमाहिताग्निमन्त्रज्ञसूत्रभाष्यज्ञाः। आकरिकनापितव्रिजघकारपुरोहिताब्दज्ञाः॥ बृहत्सं. 15 1.

an extension of a very old conception. The Tai Br. says: 'Prajāpati has Hasta-naksatra as his hand, Citrā as his head, Nistyā (i e Svātī) as his heart, the two stars of Visākhā as the thighs, Anurādhās as his stability (or support) This is indeed Prajāpati in the form of groups of naksatras'[835].

From the above it would be noticed that a naksatra astrology apart from the rāsi astrology had been thoroughly developed in India while Ptolemy is hardly concerned with the naksatras, but concentrates only on *rāsis*.

The twelve *rāsis* are to be found in the Zodiacal belt (or circle), each extends over $2\frac{1}{4}$ naksatras i e Mesa extends over Aśvinī, Bharanī and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Krttikā, Vrsabha extends over $\frac{3}{4}$ of Krttikā, whole of Rohinī and half of Mrgaśirsa and so on. These twelve rāsis from Mesa are identified respectively with the following limbs of the Kālapurusa[835a] viz. the head (Mesa), mouth (Vrsabha), chest, heart, stomach, waist, the abdomen (between the navel and the private parts), the private parts, the pair of thighs, the pair of knees, the two shanks, the two feet. Varāha adds that the words *rāśi*, *ksetra*, *grha*, *rksa*, *bha* and *bhavana* are used as synonyms in Jātaka The purpose of the identification of *rāsis* with the limbs of Kāla put forward by astrological works is that if a malefic planet occupies in a person's horoscope a certain rāsi, he is adversely affected in that limb of his body to which the rāśi corresponds among the limbs of Kāla, but if a beneficent planet occupies at birth a rāśi, then the person prospers as to the corresponding limb This is succintly put by the Sārāvalī (III. 5–6) The twelve rāsis with

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835 हस्त एवास्य हस्तः। चित्रा शिरः। निष्ट्या हृदयम्। ऊरू विशाखे। प्रतिष्ठा अनूराधाः। एष वै नक्षत्रिय- मजापतिः। तै ब्रा. I. 5. 2–7. पाणिनि IV. 4. 141 (नक्षत्राद् घ.) derives Vedic नक्षत्रिय from नक्षत्र

835a कालाङ्गानि वराहाननमुरो हृत्कोहवासेत्यृतोः बस्तिर्जघनमूरुजानुयुगले जङ्घे ततोऽङ्घ्रिद्वयम्। मेषादिष्वमधर्मा नवर्क्षचरणाश्चक्रस्थिता राशयो राशिक्षेत्रगृहर्क्षमानि भवनं चेंकार्यसंमत्यया. ॥ बृहज्जातक I. 4 उत्पल on this quotes similar verses from पाटराचण, a predecessor mentioned by वराहमिहिर in बृहत्संहिता 39 1. The लघुजातक I 4 mentions the same limbs and rāśi's but in a shorter compass, the वाननपुराण (chap 5 30–42) holds that Rudra assumed the form of Kāla and identifies the rāśis from Mesa onwards with the head and other limbs of Kāla and the Mārkandeyapurāna (55 75–79) assigns rāśis to the several limbs of Nārāyana. कालनरस्यावयवान्पुरुषाणां कल्पयेन्यथक्रकाले। मदसदग्रहस्तयोगान्पुष्टान्मेषादयोऽथापि॥ सारावली III. 6.

their English and Latin equivalents and their synonyms are set out below:

English	Latin	Sanskrit	Synonyms
Ram	Aries	Mesa	Aja, chāga, *krtya*
Bull	Taurus	Vrsabha	Uksan, vrsa, go, gopati, *tāvuri* (or *Tavuru*)
Twins	Gemini	Mithuna	Yugma, nryuga, *jituma*, *jutuma* or *jitma*.
Crab	Cancer	Karka	Karkin, karkata, *kulīra*
Lion	Leo	Simha	Hari, Mrgendra, *leya*
Virgin	Virgo	Kanyā	Anganā, yuvati, pramadā, kumārī, *Pāthona* (*Pāthena*?)
Balance, Scales	Libra	Tulā	Tauli, dhata, vanij, tulādhara, *jūka*
Scorpion	Scorpio	Vrścika	Ali, kita, *kaurpya* or *kaurpi*
Archer	Sagittarius	Dhanus	Cāpa, kārmuka, dhanvin, hayānga, *Taukṣika* (or *Tauksa*)
Goat	Capricornus	Makara	Mrgāsya, mrga, *Akokera*
Water-carrier	Aquarius	Kumbha	Ghata, kumbhadhara, *hrdroga*
Fishes	Pisces	Mina	Matsya, jhasa, animisa, *Ittha* (or *Celtha*?)

The words in this list that are put in italics are mentioned in a separate verse by Varāha (Brhaj-jātaka I 8)[836]

836 क्रियताद्धरिजिनुमकुलीरलेयपाथोनजूककौर्पास्थया । लौकिक आकोकेरो ब्रह्मोक्तश्चान्त्यभ चेत्थम् ॥ बृहज्जातक 1 8. The words अन्त्यभ चेत्थम् create a difficulty. Utpala takes them to mean 'and the last sign, in this way' 'Antyabha' is a pure Sanskrit word and not Greek and there is on this interpretation no Greek word corresponding to Mina (Pisces). Another commentator Gunā-

(*Continued on next page*)

It should be noted that the list of synonyms is not exhaustive; other words with the same meaning are often employed. For example, for Simha, Mrgarāja may be used or for Mīna the word *prthuroman* may be used. The words in italics are deemed by Weber and many others as borrowings from or Sanskrit adaptations of Greek words It may be admitted that most of them bear a striking resemblance to Greek names of rāśis Pāthona should be Pāthena to correspond with the Greek word. There is no reason why kulīra should be regarded as a Greek word Kern (preface to Br S. p. 29) thinks that it is a pure Sanskrit word There is no Greek word corresponding to Kulīra in Ptolemy. The word Karka or Karkin appears to mean 'white' and occurs as early as in Atharvaveda IV 38. 6-7 All that the Bṛhaj-jātāka (I 8) means is that there are other words like *kriya* used for the twelve rāśis in other works Varāhamihira frequently refers to the views of the Yavanas and sometimes differs from them. It has been shown by me in my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala' (in J of Bombay Asiatic Society, vol. 30, pp. 1–8) that there is a Sanskrit work on astrology called Yavana-jātaka of about 4000 verses composed by a king of the Yavanas called Sphujidhvaja and another Vrddhayavanajātaka also in several thousand verses by Mīnarāja who styles himself the overlord of Yavanas I cannot agree with Prof Sen-Gupta ('Ancient Indian Chronology' p 99) that words like Mesa and Vrsabha in verses like Rg I. 51. 1 (abhi tyam mesam) refer to rāśis, when he himself had to concede that he could not find the other ten in the Rg

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(*Continued from last page*)

kara says that the last rāśi is called 'cettha' (vide Subrahmanya Sastri's translation of Brhajjātaka p 8) The T S S. edition of बृहज्जातक has 'द्वयोगश्चेर्थसि क्रमशः' i e. the last rāśi is called 'irthasi'. The सुहृत्तदर्शन has इत्थसि 'संज्ञाभि क्रियलेपजूकजतुमा. कौपिः कुलीरस्तथा द्वयोगेत्थसितौक्षिकाश्च कथिता' पाथोनकस्ताक्षुक । I 9 Ptolemy employs a Greek word for Pisces (Loeb Classical Library pp. 52, 314, 328 &c.), to which 'ittha' or 'ikthasi' or 'irthasi' would correspond rather than 'cettha'. The Sārāvali (III 7) reads संज्ञास्तु जूककौपिकतौक्षाकोकेरद्वदयरोगान्त्या That shows that it had no Greek word for 'mīna' before it It may be noted that the Sārāvali expressly says that as Varāha's work is brief it (Sārāvali) took essential matters from the extensive śāstras composed by Yavanaṇarendra and others I have not been able to find the word *ittha* or a similar Sanskrit adaptation for Mīna in the Brhajjātaka Vide Indische Studien vol II pp, 254–261 and JRAS for 1893 p 747 for the Greek and Latin equivalents of the Sanskrit words for the signs of the zodiac, planets &c,

The appearance of the rāśis is briefly described by the Bṛhajjātaka[837] I. 5 and explained by Utpala as follows: (The sign Mīna i e Pisces) appears as two fishes (each facing the tail of the other), Kumbha appears as a man carrying an empty jar placed on his shoulder, the sign of Gemini is represented as a man carrying a mace and a woman holding a lute, the sign of Sagittarius is a man with a bow whose legs are like those of a horse, the sign Capricorn is a crocodile with the face of a deer, sign of Libra is a person holding scales, the sign Virgo is represented by a maiden in a boat with an ear of corn in one hand and fire in the other; the remaining signs are similar (in form) to the objects indicated by their names and all signs reside in places appropriate to their names For more detailed descriptions, vide the twelve verses quoted from Yavaneśvara by Utpala which I have quoted and translated in my paper in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society vol. 30 parts 1 and 2 pp 1–7 and which are found in the Yavana-jātaka of Sphujidhvaja (a palm-leaf ms of which exists in the Nepal Durbar Library) and in the Vṛddhayavanajātaka of Mīnarāja Those verses also name the special objects and places governed by the different rāśis Several verses of Kāśyapa are quoted by Utpala on Br. S 40 that deal with the materials or things that are under the influence of the several rāśis For example, Mesa is the lord of garments, woollens, cloth made of the hair of a young goat, of *Masūra* pulse, wheat, resin, barley, gold and plants that grow on dry land.[838] The Vāmanapurāna[838a] (chap 5 45–60) describes the appearance of the rāśis and the places and objects they reside in or dominate and the verses closely resemble the wording employed in the two Yavanajātakas of Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja Some verses are quoted below by way of illustration From Varāha's description it appears that Mesa, Vṛsabha, Karkata, Simha, Vṛścika, Makara and Mīna are figures of animals (either four-footed or

837 मत्स्यौ घटी भूमिसुतं सगदं सवीणं चापी नरोऽश्वजघनो मकरो मृगास्य । तौली ससस्यदहना खगा च कन्या त्रयोपः स्वनामसदृशा स्वचराश्च सर्वे ॥ बृहज्जातक I 5. some read खचराश्च सर्वे (all move in the sky) But this appears redundant and meaningless.

838. वस्त्राविककुत(न)पानो मसूरगोधूमराजकयवानाम् । स्थलसम्भवौषधीना कनकस्य च कीर्तितो मेष. ॥ बृहत्संहिता 40 2 If the reading be कुतुपाजा it meave 'hide drums for oil'

838a क्रीडुसयो सम रूप शय्यासनपरिग्रहम् । वीणाद्यवृद्ध मिथुनं गीतनर्तन-शिल्पिषु ॥ स्थितं क्रीडारतिर्नित्यं विहारं स्वनिकस्य तु । मिथुन नाम विख्यातं राशिर्देवात्मकः शिव ॥ कर्कि कुलीरेण सम. सलिलस्थ. प्रकीर्तित. । केदारवापीपुलिनविविक्तावनिरेव च ॥ वामन-पुराणं 5. 49–51.

insects) and the remaining five resemble human beings with special characteristics in each case These rāśi names have more or less the same meanings in Babylonia,[839] in Europe including Greece and in India But it should not be supposed that everywhere the several groups of stars were imagined to be identical with the figures of the same animals or of human beings. In China for instance, the twelve rāśis are rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog and pig (Encyclopaedia Americana, vol. 29 under the word 'zodiac' and New Funk and Wagnall's Encyclopaedia vol 36 under 'Zodiac')[839a]. It is further stated that these are still found in some parts of Asia, in Japan and also among the remains of the Aztec race in America There are many who deny that except for a few signs (like the Scorpion) there is hardly any very striking similarity between the twelve groups of constellations called Aries &c. and the natural appearance of the objects denoted by the twelve names[840] The origin of the names assigned to Zodiacal signs is unknown The zodiacal signs named Mesa, Vrsabha &. are purely imaginary, are mere subjective configurations of stars which appear to be in one plane and which appear to certain persons to possess somehow the outline of a scorpion or a lion which are, as modern astronomy tells us, situated at enormous distances (light years as they are called) from each other. The same constellation is often given different names; e g. the constellation called Great Bear was called by Thales 'the wain' (waggon drawn by horses) The twelve Zodiacal signs are clearly absent from the sacred astronomy of Egypt[841] and the Egyptians knew nothing of the Zodiac before the

839. Vide Campbell Thompson's Intro to 'Reports of the Magicians &c.' for a table of late Babylonian, Assyrian and modern English names of signs (pp XXIII–XXIV) and Expository Times, vol 30 (for 1918) pp 164–168 on 'Assyro-Babylonian astrologers and their lore' by T. G Pinches. On p.167 the latter says that Europe is indebted to the Babylonians for the names of the signs of the Zodiac except Crab and Archer and sets out the Babylonian names with their meanings and modern names (*Ram* &c.) These two tables do not agree Babylonians called Capricorn goat-fish. Bouché—Leclercq (on p 57 note 1) gives a list of the twelve Chaldean zodiacal signs, which differs from both the above.

839a Vide 'the Stars above us' by Prof. Zinner p 35 and plate III opposite p. 19 showing the Japanese animal sequence from Rat to Pig

840 Vide 'Introducing the universe' by J. C. Hickey p 123.

841 'Legacy of Egypt' (ed by Glanville) p 162, 'The names of the stars' by E. J. Webb p 96.

Alexandrian age and very few Zodiacs are older than the Roman times. Since Assyriologists began to reveal the astronomical knowledge in the valley of the Euphrates, the Babylonian origin of the Zodiac has been taken for granted by almost all scholars[842]. The dissenting voice is that of E. J. Webb in 'Names of stars'[843] who very strenuously argues against the Babylonian origin of the Zodiacal signs and holds that the Zodiac as we know it is a Greek invention and that Cleostratus who according to Pliny was concerned in forming it lived about 520 B. C. In spite of the vehemence of Webb's arguments, in my humble opinion, he is far from convincing and for the present at least the Babylonian origin of the Zodiacal signs has to be accepted. The passage of Pliny on which Webb relies is differently understood by Prof. J. K. Fotheringham.[844] The latest work of Sarton on 'History of Science' (1953) holds that the Zodiac had been distinguished by Babylonian astronomers a thousand years before Cleostratus and all that Cleostratus probably did was to divide those constellations into twelve equal lengths of the ecliptic i. e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac. A somewhat amusing argument has been advanced by Hickey[845] that the fact that there are in the sky no animals (figures) suggestive of Egypt or India such as the hippopotamus and the elephant seems to rule out those countries as sources. Is there any logical necessity that certain animals must be introduced in a system of Zodiacal signs if that system originated in a certain country that may be the home of dozens of wild and tame animals? Are all the principal animals of Mesopotamia or of Greece included in the seven animals that figure as signs, if one of the above two was the origin

842. Vide Bouché-Leclercq. p. 53 ('L' 'Astrologie Grecque'), p. XVI of the Intro. to Heath's 'Greek Astronomy'; Alexander Moret on 'The Nile and Egyptian civilization' (1927) p. 453 (where he says that the Greek Zodiac was itself derived from Babylonian astronomy).

843. Vide pp. 163–175 and p. 189 of 'Names of Stars' by E. J. Webb.

844. Vide Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. 39 pp. 164–184 and vol. 45 pp. 78–83 (both by Fotheringham), *ibid* vol. 41 (pp. 70–85) 'Cleostratus Redivivus' by E. J. Webb (who himself remarks on p. 70 that the question when and by whom our constellations were invented is never likely to find its solution) and *ibid* vol. 48 pp. 54–63 on 'Cleostratus and his work' by E. J. Webb. Vide Prof. Neugebauer in 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 67 (note) about the history of Zodiacal and planetary symbols being virtually unknown. But in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol. IV at p. 28 Prof. Neugebauer asserts that the predominant influence of Babylonian concepts on the grouping of stars into pictures must be maintained.

845. Vide 'Introducing the universe' p. 103 by J. C. Hickey.

of the present Zodiacal signs? All the seven animals in the Zodiac are found in abundance in India even now, while some of them may not be found in the present day Greece or Babylonia. At present I am only concerned to say that out of the three ancient lands, viz Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, Mesopotamia has the greatest claims to be regarded as the source of the Zodiacal signs. The case of India will be dealt with a little later on

The astrological *rāśis* are[846] variously classified as male and female, *cara* (movable) and *sthira* (fixed or lasting) and

Rāśi	Lord of	Male or Female	Cara or Sthira	dinabala or nisābala	saumya or krūra	prsthodaya or śirsodaya
Mesa	east	male	cara	n.	krūra	p.
Vrsabha	south	female	sthira	n	saumya	p.
Mithuna	west	male	dvisvabhāva	n.	krūra	ś.
Karka	north	female	cara	n.	saumya	p.
Simha	east	male	sthira	d.	krūra	ś.
Kanyā	south	female	dvisvabhāva	d.	Saumya	ś.
Tulā	west	male	cara	d.	krūra	ś.
Vrścika	north	female	sthira	d.	saumya	ś.
Dhanus	east	male	dvisvabhāva	n	krūra	p.
Makara	south	female	cara	n.	saumya	p.
Kumbha	west	male	sthira	d.	krūra	ś.
Mina	north	female	dvisvabhāva	d.	saumya	both p. and ś.

846 गोजाश्विकर्किमिथुना· समृगा निशारूया· पृष्ठोदया विमिथुना कथितास्त एव शीर्षोदया दिनबलाश्च भवन्ति शेषा लग्नं समेत्युभयत. पृथुरोमयुग्मम्॥ क्रूरः सौम्य युक्तवनिते ते चरागद्विदेहा प्रागादीशा क्रियवृषसृयुक्कर्कटा सत्रिकोणा। बृहज्जातक I 10–11 Separate चरागद्विदेहा· as चर + अग (अचल or स्थिर) + द्विदेह (= द्विस्वभाव) त्रिकोण is the 5th or 9th rāśi from a specified rāśi (Brhaj-jātaka I 11). There is another meaning of त्रिकोण (which उत्पल calls मूल-त्रिकोण) in बृहज्जातक I 14 viz, सिंह, वृषभ, मेष, कन्या, धनु, तौलि, कुम्भ are त्रिकोणs of the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn

dvisvabhāva (of both characters), as *saumya* (mild) and *krūra* (fierce or malignant), as *dinabala* (powerful by day), *niśābala* (powerful by night), as *pṛṣṭhodaya* (rising from the hind part), *śīrsodaya* (rising by their head first) or *ubhayodaya*, and as lords of the four main directions (east &c.) The above table will show at a glance these classifications, in which n. stands for niśābala, d. for dinabala, p. for pṛsthodaya and ś. for śīrsodaya.

The Brhajjātaka compresses these details in I. 10–11 and Utpala explains the purpose of some of these technical terms. Yātrā (invasion) undertaken on śīrsodaya rāśis yields the desired result but if undertaken on prsthodaya rāśis there is failure and one's army is routed. Those born on krūra signs are of cruel nature and those born on saumya signs are mild by nature, while those born on male signs are energetic and those born on female signs are mild. Those born on *cara* signs are unsteady by nature, those born on *sthira* signs are of a fixed nature and those born on dvisvabhāva signs are of mixed character. The knowledge of the signs as lords of quarters is useful in finding out the direction where a person who stole something on a particular sign could be found or the stolen article could be found. Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos I. 11 speaks of Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius as solid signs (*sthira*) and Gemini, Virgo[1] Sagittarius, Pisces as bi-corporeal (*dvidcha* or *dvisvabhāva*), and in I. 12 there is agreement with Brhajjātaka as to the masculine and feminine signs but there is disagreement as to *diurnal* (dinabala) and *nocturnal* signs (niśābala), since Ptolemy holds that Aries and other signs are alternately diurnal or nocturnal, while Varāha holds Aries and the next three and also Sagittarius and Capricornus as nocturnal and the rest diurnal. It does not appear that the Brhajjātaka knows of the commanding and obeying signs (Tetrabiblos I. 14) and of signs which behold each other or of disjunct signs (Tetrabiblos I 15 and 16) The Br. J. (I. 20) and Laghujātaka I. 6 assign the following colours to the twelve rāśis from Mesa onwards viz. red, white, green (like a parrot's body), dark-red (pink), whitish like smoke, speckled, dark, golden, yellowish, variegated, deep brown (like ichneumon), white. There is hardly anything corresponding to this in the Tetrabiblos. The rāśis are also divided into four classes viz. anthropomorphic (Mithuna, Kanyā, Tulā, Dhanus forepart, Kumbha), quadruped (Mesa, Vrsa, Simha, Dhanus latter portion, Makara forepart), aquatic (Karkata, Mina, Makara

latter part), insect (Scorpion). Vide Tetrabiblos IV. 4 pp. 389 and 391 for slightly varying enumeration

Br J. (chap 17. 1–12) sets out the characteristics of persons born when the Moon was in Mesa and the following rāśis and remarks at the end (in verse 13) that the results described will come out fully if the moon, the rāśi it occupies and the lord of that rāśi are powerful. In Br. J. I 19 it is said that two-footed rāśis (mithuna, kanyā, tulā, kumbha and forepart of dhanus) are powerful by day if they be in *kendra*; four-footed rāśis (mesa, vrsa, simha, makara forepart and dhanus latter part) are powerful at night in kendra position and the rest i. e. watery signs and insect signs (kulīra, vrścika, mīna and latter part of makara) are powerful at twilight, when in kendra position. Br. J 18. 20 provides that similar results (as in chap 17) follow if a person is born when the *lagna* at his birth is mesa or any one of the other rāśis.

Planets, their relations to the rāśis and their conjoint influence will now be briefly indicated. We saw above (pp. 493–495) that in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas express references to planets other than Jupiter are almost absent, that in some Vedic verses five planets and Venus (as Vena) appear to be referred to. Svarbhānu, the son of an asura, is said to have struck the sun with darkness (i e. caused an eclipse) in Rg V. 40. 5, 6, 8, 9. In the Chāndogya Upanisad the soul that has acquired true knowledge is said to shake off the body after casting off all evil like a horse (that casts off dust by) shaking his hair (mane and tail) or like the moon becoming free from the mouth of Rāhu.[847] The Maitrāyanī Upanisad mentions Śanī, Rāhu (ascending node) and Ketu (descending node)[848] But hardly anything is said about the astrological significance of planets in the ancient Vedic Literature In the Mahābhārata there are plenty of references to the evil influence of planets, but that is restricted to naksatras. Both Rāhu and Ketu are said in Karnaparva to rise in the sky for (i. e. portending) the destruction of the world[849] Kautilya offers the curious information that a foreknowledge of rainfall can be had from the position, the motion and the *garbhādhāna* of Jupiter, from the rising, setting and motion of Venus and from the natural and unnatural

847 अश्व इव रोमाणि विधूय पाप चन्द्र इव राहोर्मुखात्प्रमुच्य धूत्वा शरीरमकृत कृतात्मा ब्रह्मलोकमभिसम्भवामि। छान्दोग्योप VIII 13

848 शनिराहुकेतूनगरक्षोयक्षनरविहगशरभेभादयोऽधस्तादुद्यति। मैत्रायणी-उप VII. 6.

849. राहुकेतू यथाकाले उदितौ जगतः क्षये। कर्णपर्व 87-92.

aspects of the sun and that from the sun the sprouting of the seed (can be predicted), from Jupiter the formation of abundant sheaves of corn when the seeds are sown and from the (movements) of Venus rainfall (can be predicted)[850] It will be seen from the above that general or universal (not individual or horoscopic) astrology like the reports made by royal priests in Mesopotamia was prevalent in India many centuries before Christ The Brhajjātaka (II 2-3) enumerates the nine planets, Sun, Moon, Mercury, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, Rāhu and Ketu and furnishes some synonyms of all these.

Observations of planets by the Babylonians go back to 2nd millennium B C. Venus was the first to be studied Tables about Venus based on observations are found from 1921–1901[851] B C., Jupiter and Mars were also observed. Jupiter was held to be normally favourable when he shone brightly or followed the moon, while Mars was the planet of ill-luck, but, if Mars shone weakly or disappeared, its evil influence disappeared. Saturn as its name indicates ('firm standing one') was regarded mostly a planet of good luck Various favourable prognostications were made about a child, according as the planets like the Moon, Venus or Jupiter were rising or unfavourable prognostications were made if Mars was rising or if Jupiter or Venus were setting[852] Each planet received a variety of names in the astronomical texts of Babylonia The teaching that every planet has its exaltation i. e the strongest pitch of its might and influence when in a particular sign goes back to ancient Babylonia.[853] The arrangements of the order of planets differed at different times. Planet comes from a Greek word meaning 'a wanderer' and the word was applied to the planets because as compared with the stars they appeared to wander in different ways and at

850. तस्योपलक्षिर्बृहस्पते स्थानगमनगर्भाधानेभ्यः शुक्रोदयास्तनयचारेभ्य सूर्यस्य प्रकृतिविकृताश्च । सूर्याद् बीजसिद्धिः । बृहस्पतेः सस्यानां स्तम्भकरिता । शुक्राद् वृष्टिरिति ॥ अर्थशास्त्र II 24th अध्याय p. 116 (Sham shastri's ed of 1919) For गर्भाधान as to rainfall, vide बृहत्संहिता chapter 22 Aratus (270 B C) and Theophrastus (322 B C.) say that the disappearance of the constellation *corresponding* to our Pusya was reckoned by the ancients as a sure presage of rain Vide Dr. Fleet in J. R A. S for 1911 at p 516

851. Vide Heath's 'Greek Astronomy', Introduction pp XVII–XVIII, Meissner's 'Babylonien and Assyrien' (1925) vol II pp 254–256, Sarton in 'A history of Science' p. 77.

852. M. Jastrow in 'the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria' (1898) p 460.

853. Meissner, ibid, vol II p. 406.

different times[854] In modern times there are three more planets, viz. Uranus, Neptune and Pluto discovered respectively in 1781, 1846 and 1930 A. D[855] Bouché Leclercq mentions that modern astrologers asserted that Chaldeans saw Uranus and Neptune and three other planets (Juno, Vulcan and Pluto), when they had good eyes (p 573 note 2 of 'L' Astrologie Grecque).

The Br. J. (II. 2–3), Sārāvalī (IV. 10–11) and Rājamārtaṇḍa (verses 8–15) set out the various names for the sun, the moon and the other seven planets They are specified in the note[856]

854. C. V Maclean on 'Babylonian Astrology and its relation to the Old Testament' (United Church Publishing House, Toronto) p 27, Prof Neugebauer in E. S A p 162 (for arrangements of planets in cuneiform texts in Seleucid period and in Greek horoscopes). In the Seleucid period the standard arrangement was Jupiter—Venus—Mercury—Saturn—Mars. Ordinary arrangement in Greek horoscopes is Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury. For the planetary week the arrangement in Greece is said to be Saturn–Jupiter–Mars–Sun–Venus–Mercury–Moon On p 163 Prof Neugebauer thinks that Hindu arrangement of planets is obviously Greek in origin for two reasons, as it is based on the arrangement according to distance from the earth and also on a division of days into 24 hours, which is not Babylonian but Hellenistic and ultimately of Egyptian origin In this latter he can be said to be wrong, as a similar arrangement of week days can be arrived at by relying on the 60 ghaṭikā system of India. We saw above that *horā* in Indian astrology has three meanings, viz Jātaka, *lagna* and half a sign, but the very early Sanskrit astrological texts at least do not appear to employ the word horā in the sense of 'hour' or $\frac{1}{24}$th part of the whole day or $\frac{1}{12}$th part of the day Any one who asserts that the arrangement of week days is copied from the Greeks must prove two things, (1) the definite time when the Greeks hit upon the particular arrangement of planets for purposes of week-days and (2) the borrowing people had definitely not arrived at the same arrangement before the Greeks Prof Neugebauer, so far as I can see, offers hardly any evidence on any of these two matters beyond mere assertions and conjectures. It has further to be remembered that Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. p. 343) states that nobody in India uses the hours except the astrologers, for they speak of the dominants of the hours The 30 muhūrtas of *ahorātra* are much older than the Śatapatha Br. and it was easy to divide a muhūrta into two nāḍīs or ghaṭikās as the Arthaśāstra does (I 19 p. 37 'Nālikābhiraharaṣṭadhā rātrim ca vibhajet) and Purāṇas like Viṣṇu VI. 3. 6–9 do. There is hardly anything in the vast Sanskrit Literature (of ancient or medieval times) to show that common people or writers (not being astronomers or astrologers) employed the method of 24 hours of the day.

855. Vide Prof. Van Den Bergh in 'Universe in space and time' p 177 and D S. Evans in 'Frontiers of astronomy' p 41 for tables and data about planets from Mercury to Pluto as regards distance from the Sun, period of revolution, diameter, mass &c.

856. The sun : सूर्य, रवि, भानु, इन, आदित्य, सवितृ, भास्कर, अर्क, दिवाकर, तिग्मांशु, तपन, सहस्रांशु, प्रभाकर, उष्णकर, उष्णांशु, मार्तण्ड, दिनमणि, दिनकृत्, हेलि.

(*Continued on next page*)

below and the names underlined are deemed by Western writers to have been derived from Greek; but it should be noted that no Greek name for the moon occurs in these or other works and I am not convinced that Jīva is a Greek word or adaptation of a Greek word The word Jīva occurs in the Ṛgveda itself in many places (as in Ṛg. I 164 30, X 18 37) and means 'living being, an individual' and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI, 3 2 it means 'individual soul'. When Bṛhaspati came to be regarded as the most prominent of planets and was said to preside over knowledge and happiness (as in Br. J. II 1 'Jīvo jñāna-sukham') he came to be regarded as the very life of beings and was called Jīva The Sārāvalī (X. 116) says that Bṛhaspati is the life of men (Bṛhaspatir-nṛnām jīvaḥ). In Bhujabala it is said 'what will all the planets *do to* him in whose horoscope Jupiter is in *kendra* position. A herd of wild elephants is killed by a single lion.'[857] The Br. J. and Sārāvalī provide that further synonyms may be derived from popular usage.

In the following some characteristics of the planets (based on Br. J II. 5–7) are brought together, viz. the colour ruled by each, the lords of each, the direction, element, Veda and class (brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya &c) dominated by each and whether they are beneficent or malefic.

(*Continued from last page*)

2 The moon — विधु, इन्दु, चन्द्र, चन्द्रमस्, शीतांशु, सोम, मृगाङ्क, निशाकर, शीतरश्मि, निशानाथ, रोहिणीपिय, शशिन्, हिमांशु, शीतांशु, नक्षत्रपति

3 Mars — अङ्गारक, कुज, भौम, भूमिज, महीसुत, आवनेय, लोहिताङ्ग, क्षितिसुत, क्रूराक्ष, माहेय, रुधिर, वक्र, आर.

4 Mercury — बुध, ज्ञ, विद्, बोधन, विबुध, कुमार, राजपुत्र, सौम्य, चन्द्रसुत, तारापुत्र, रौहिणेय, हिमरश्मिज, हिम्न (*or* हिम्मा)

5 Jupiter — गुरु, इज्य, ईड्य, आङ्गिरस्, सुरगुरु, सुरमन्त्रिन्, सुराचार्य, बृहस्पति, वाक्पति, गिरीश, धिषण, सूरि, जीव

6 Venus — शुक्र, भृगु, भृगुसुत, सित, भार्गव, कवि, उशनस्, दैत्यमन्त्रिन्, दानवपूजित, असुरगुरु, काव्य, आस्फुजित्

7 Saturn — शनैश्चर, सौरि, सूर्यपुत्र, मन्द, असित, अर्कनन्दन, आर्कि, भास्करि, विनेशात्मज, सहस्राक्षज, पाताङ्गि, यम, शनि, छायासुत, कोण

8 Rāhu — राहु, तम., असु, असुर, स्वर्भानु, सिंहिकासुत, दानव, मुरारि, भुजङ्गम, विधुन्तुद, अमृतचौर, उपप्लव

9 Ketu — केतु, शिखिन्, ब्रह्मसुत, धूम्रवर्ण Vide Campbell Thompson's 'Reports of the magicians &c' vol II Introduction p XXIII for the Babylonian and Assyrian names for Moon (Sin), Sun (Shamash) and so on The sun is called Helu in Devīpurāṇa quoted by Hemādri on vratas vol II p. 434 and frequently in Bhaviṣyapurāṇa as in I 104 2 'सप्तम्यां शुक्लपक्षे तु फाल्गुनस्यैह मानवः। जपन्हेलीति देवस्य नाम भक्त्या पुनः पुनः॥'

857 किं कुर्वन्ति ग्रहा सर्वे यस्य केन्द्रे बृहस्पतिः। मत्तवारणसङ्घात सिंहेनैकेन हन्यते॥ भुजबल p 280 verse 1262.

planet	colour dominated by	by whom ruled	direction	element ruled by	Veda	class	beneficent or malefic
Sun	red	Fire	East			Kṣatriya	malefic
Moon	white	Water	N. W.			Vaiśya	waning Moon[858] malefic
Mars	very red	Kārtikeya	South	Fire	Sāmaveda	Kṣatriya	malefic
Mercury	green	Viṣnu	North	Earth	Atharva	Śūdra	malefic when in conjunction with malefic planets
Jupiter	yellow	Indra	N. E.	Ākāśa (ether)	Ṛgveda	Brāhmana	beneficent
Venus	variegated	Indrāṇi	S E.	Water	Yajurveda	Brāhmana	beneficent
Saturn	dark	Prajāpati	West	Air		Cāndāla	malefic
Rāhu			S. W.				

858. उत्पल on Br J II 5 explains 'कृष्णाष्टम्यर्धाच्छुक्लाष्टम्यर्धं यावत् क्षीणश्चन्द्रः । "शुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यर्धात् कृष्णपक्षाष्टम्यर्धं यावत् चन्द्रः सौम्यः । बुधः पापयुतः सोम्य एव'. Tetrabiblos I. 5 regards Jupiter, Venus and Moon as beneficent and places the Sun on the same footing as Mercury. Utpala notes that Yavaneśvara holds that Moon is never malefic and quotes two verses from him, which are found in the Nepal Durbar ms. of Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja,

In the Yogayātrā VI. 1 a distinction is made between the gods that rule the eight directions and the planets that rule them. Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirrti, Varuna, Vāyu, Yaksa (Kubera) and Śiva are the lords of the eight directions from East to North-East, while the same directions are governed by planets as in the above table.

The purpose for these classifications is explained as follows: As regards colours ruled by planets, they are useful in indicating the colour of the thing lost by or stolen from a man and the colour of the flowers with which the planets are to be worshipped, the lords of the planets are to be worshipped along with the planets in *grahapūjā*; the direction in which a king should march on an invasion is indicated by planets that rule the directions; according as beneficent or malefic planets are powerful in the horoscope, the character of the person concerned is indicated as good or bad. The Br. J. II. 7 further provides that the Moon, the Sun and Jupiter are lords of *sattva-guna*, Mercury and Venus of *rajo-guna*, Mars and saturn of *tamoguna*. Utpala points out that Varāha differs from Yavaneśvara, who regards the Sun, Mars and Jupiter as Sāttvika, the Moon and Venus as full of rajoguna, Saturn as having tamoguna and Mercury taking on the character of the planet with which it is in conjunction.[858a] Rāhu is the ascending node or the point where the orbit of the moon intersects the ecliptic in passing northwards. Br. J. (II 8–11) and Laghujātaka II 13–19 describe the form and appearance of the planets from the Sun to Saturn, giving full rein to association of ideas, imagination and to personification of them. For illustration, I translate one verse (10) 'Jupiter[859] has a large body, his hair and eyes are brownish in colour, he has eminent intellect and has a phlegmatic constitution; Venus is given to pleasures, has handsome body and pretty eyes, has wind and phlegm in his constitution and black but curling hair on his head.' Another table based on Br. J. II. 11, 12, 14 and Sārāvalī IV 15–16 about the parts of the human body

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858a अत्राचार्यस्य यवनेश्वरेण सह मतभेद । तेन मौम सात्त्विक उक्त । तथा च तद्वाक्यम् । सत्त्वाधिका भास्करभौमजीवा भृग्वात्मजो राजसिक शशी च । ज्ञनैश्चरो तामसिको बुधस्तु सयोगतोऽस्माद्भवते विशेषान् ॥ उत्पल on II 7. The verse occurs on folio 6 of यवनजातक (Nepal ms.)

859 बृहत्तनु पिङ्गलमूर्धजेक्षणो बृहस्पति श्रेष्ठमति कफात्मक । भृशु सुखी कान्तवः सुलोचन. कफानिलात्मासितवक्रमूर्धज. ॥ बृहज्जातक II. 10, compare the similar descriptions in बृहत्स 8 53.

governed by the planets,[860] about their *habitat* (*sthāna*), about the kinds of cloth they govern, about the metals, precious stones and the flavours they rule is given below.

Planet	bodily part	habitat	cloth	metals & jewels	*rasa* (flavour)
Sun	bones	temple	coarse	copper	pungent
Moon	blood	watery place	cloth fresh from loom	jewels	salt
Mars	marrow	fire-place	burnt in a part	gold	bitter
Mercury	skin	play-ground	wet	bronze	mixed (all six together)
Jupiter	fat	treasury	neither new nor much worn	silver	sweet
Venus	semen	bedroom	strong	pearl	sour
Saturn	muscles	dust-bole	tattered	iron	astringent

It was said that if Jupiter was in his own house (i. e. Dhanus or Mīna), then Jupiter also ruled over gold.[861] The object of assigning these was practical, viz the astrologer could judge of the place of birth if the planet was powerful or of the place of the thief or, if a question were put about the food which one invited to a dinner may be served with, the powerful planet would suggest the kind of food.

The Br. J. (II. 5) states that the Sun, Mars and Jupiter are masculine, the Moon and Venus feminine, while Mercury and Saturn are neuter or common (*napuṁsaka*). Here Tetrabiblos differs (I. 6), as it regards Saturn as masculine. Acc. to Br. J. II 21 the Moon, Mars and Saturn are nocturnal (powerful at night), the Sun, Jupiter and Venus are diurnal (powerful by day) and Mercury is common (both diurnal and nocturnal). The Tetrabiblos differs (I. 7) by making Venus nocturnal and Saturn diurnal

860. Vide Tetrabiblos III 12 pp 319 and 321 for parts of the human body governed by planets, which description differs from that of the Br J.

861 अर्कादि ताम्रमणिहेमयुक्तिरजतानि नौक्तिकं लोहम्। वक्तव्यं यत्नवद्भिः स्वस्थाने हेम जीवेपि॥ लघुजातक quoted by उत्पल on बृहज्जा II 12 The relation between planets and the chief metals was, it seems, based on colour similarity. The theory that different planets governed different areas and limbs of the body led to the influence of astrology on medicine.

Certain rāśis are declared to be the houses (svagṛha) of planets and certain other rāśis as their ucca (exaltation) and certain parts or degrees of the ucca are declared to be paramocca; the 7th rāśi from the ucca is said to be nica i e depressed and certain parts (or degrees) of the latter are said to be paramanīca. The Sun and the Moon have each only one rāśi as svagṛha, while the other five planets have two each The following diagram will indicate all this at a glance

Planet	Svagṛha	sign of Exaltation	sign of Depression
Sun	Simha	Mesa 10	Tulā 10
Moon	Karkata	Vrsabha 3	Vṛścika 3
Mars	Mesa and Vrscika	Makara 28	Karkata 28
Mercury	Mithuna and Kanyā	Kanyā 15	Mīna 15
Jupiter	Dhanus and Mīna	Karkata 5	Makara 5
Venus	Vrsabha and Tulā	Mīna 27	Kanyā 27
Saturn	Makara and Kumbha	Tulā 20	Mesa 20

The figures under signs of exaltation and depression are the *amsas* (degrees) respectively of *paramocca* and *paramanīca*. The explanation offered by Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja and the Vrddhayavana-jātaka of Mīnarāja is that the sign of Leo was assigned to the Sun as his house because it is the most powerful sign and Cancer (a watery sign) was assigned to the Moon, and the Sun and the Moon each gave one sign out of the remaining to the other five planets viz Kanyā, Tulā, Vrscika, Dhanus and Makara were given by the Sun to Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (arranged according to distance) and the Moon gave to the same five planets one each of the rāśis of Mithuna, Vrsabha, Mesa, Mīna and Kumbha (vide my paper on 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala' in J B B. R. A. S. vol. 30 on p. 5

for the verses of Mīnaraja and p 7 for translation) Tetrabiblos I. 17 practically gives a similar explanation about houses (svagṛhas) and I 19 agrees with Br. J I 13 about the exaltation and depression signs. Ptolemy does not give the degrees (of paramocca and paramanīca[862]).

That rāśi that is occupied by its own lord or has an aspect (dṛsti) of its lord or is occupied by Mercury or Jupiter or has an aspect with them is powerful[863] if it be not occupied by any one or more of the remaining planets or has no aspect with any one of the rest There is a further provision that Scorpion if it is in the 7th house is powerful, the human signs (Mithuna, Kanyā, Tulā, the forepart of Dhanus and Kumbha) are powerful in the *lagna*, the watery signs (Karkata, Mīna, latter half of Makara) are powerful if they occupy the 4th house and the quadrupeds (Mesa, Vṛsa, Simha, latter half of Dhanus, and the forepart of Makara) are powerful in the 10th house (Br J. I. 17.)

The natural powerfulness of planets is in the following order: Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, the Moon, the Sun, each succeeding one is more powerful than each preceding one; if the power of any two or more is equal in other respects, then one has to take into consideration this natural powerfulness for determining which is more powerful[864]

The astrological houses in a horoscope are twelve and each is expressed by various synonyms, many of which indicate what particular matters are to be judged from the state of that house. They are enumerated in Br. J. I. 15–19, Laghujātaka I 15–19, Sārāvalī III. 26–33

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862 सूर्यस्य भागे दशमे तृतीये सोमस्य जीवस्य तु पञ्चमे स्यात्। सौरस्य विंशे स्वधिसप्तके च विद्याद् भृगोः पञ्चदशे बुधस्य॥ सौमस्य विंशेऽस्तुते (परोक्षम्)। विंशाहते स्वोच्चगृहे निवेशात्। स्वोच्चात्तु जामित्रमुशन्ति नीचं विंशाहतो यत्र समानसख्यः। folio 4 of palm-leaf Nepal ms of यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज q. by उत्पल with slight variations as from यवनेश्वर on बृहज्जा 1 13 Vide सारावली III 35–36 for उच्च, परमोच्च, नीच and परमनीच

863. अधिपयुतो दृष्टो वा बुधजीवयुतेक्षितश्च यो राशिः। स भवति बलवान् यदि शुक्रो दृष्टोपि वा क्षैर्वे॥ लघुजातक I 14, vide also बृहज्जातक I 19

864 मन्दार-सौम्य-वाग्पति-सितचन्द्रार्का यथोत्तर बलिन। नैसर्गिकबलमेतद् बल-साम्येऽस्मादधिकाचिन्ता॥ लघुजातक II. 7, quoted by उत्पल on बृहज्जा II 21, the last quarter of which is 'शनिकुजबुधगुरुशुक्रसाद्या बुद्धितो धैर्यवन्तः', where शनिकुजबुधगुरुशुक्रस stand for शनि, कुधिर (अङ्गारक), बुध, गुरु, शुक्र, चन्द्र and सवितृ

1st house —*horā*, tanu, kalpa, śakti, mūrti, lagna, deha, anga, udaya, vapus, ādya, vilagna.

2nd „ —dhana, sva, kutumba, artha, kośa

3rd „ —sahottha, vikrama, paurusa, sahaja, *duścikya.*

4th „ —bandhu, grha, suhrt, pātāla, *hibuka*, veśma, sukha, caturasra, ambu, jala, ambā, yāna, vāhana

5th „ —suta, dhī, putra, pratibhā, vidyā, vāk-sthāna, *trikona*

6th „ —ari, ripu, ksata, vrana

7th „ —jāyā, *jāmitra*, *dyūna*, *dyūta*, patnī, strī, cittottha, astabhavana, kāma, smara, madana.

8th „ —marana, randhra, mrtyu, vināśa, caturasra, chidra, vivara, laya, yāmya

9th „ —śubha, guru, dharma, punya, tritrikona, *trikona*, tapas

10th „ —āspada, māna, karma, *mesūrana*, ājñā, kha, gagana, tāta, vyāpāra.

11th „ —āya, bhava, lābha, āgama, prāpti.

12th „ —vyaya, *rikpha* (or *risphа*), antya, antima.

It should be noted that the appellations given to these bhāvas are of two classes, (1) those which are used as mere designations, without indicating the special function of the house, such as horā, duścikya, mesūrana, rikpha, caturasra, the second class of these appellations conveys the special functions of the houses, such as *tanu* (body), sva (wealth) or kutumba (family), sahaja (brothers)

There are certain appellations that apply to a number of houses. The 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th houses are all called kantaka, *kendra*, catustaya, the houses beyond the kendra are called *panaphara* (2nd, 5th, 8th and 11th), the 3rd, 6th, 9th and 12th houses are called *Āpoklima*, 6th, 8th and 12th houses are called trika, the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th houses are called upacaya and the rest are called apacaya Garga held that the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th are called upacaya only if there is no aspect of them with malefic planets or with the enemy of the lord of them. Trikona is claimed to be a Greek word.

From the several names of the bhāvas, it appears that the following were to be predicted from the several bhāvas; from first bhāva, health and the growth of the body, from 2nd the

wealth of one's family; from 3rd brothers (and sisters) and valour; from 4th relatives friends, happiness, house and mother, from 5th sons, intellect, learning; from 6th enemies and wounds; from 7th wife, love affairs., marriage; from 8th death, one's foibles and sins; from 9th dharma, elders (including parents), austerities; from 10th actions and dignities or position and father; from 11th acquisition of good qualities and of wealth; from 12th expenditure, debts

Thibaut (in Grundriss p 68) following Jacobi boldly asserts that the doctrine of the twelve astrological houses which is a chief point in the Indian system found developed in Varāhamihira does not occur among Western authorities earlier than Firmicus Maternus (middle of 4th century A. D) and that Greek astrology entered into India only between Firmicus and Varāhamihira One is regretfully constrained to say that this is a case of one blind man following another In the first place the conception of houses (bhāvas) is not totally absent even in Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos, as can be seen in II 8 p 191, III. 10 pp 273–275 (Loeb Classical Library), where houses I, VII, IX, X and XI are referred to, though Ptolemy does not pay much attention to the system of *bhāvas* Probably this escaped the attention of both Jacobi and Thibaut In the second place, the system of bhāvas does not occur for the first time in Varāha Varāha refers to a host of Indian writers before him as will be shown below in whose works the system appears in a fully developed form It is not possible to believe that all this vast literature was developed in a hundred years or so after Firmicus. Besides, authors like Garga, Parāśara, who are placed between the Vedāngajyotisa and the siddhāntas (about 800 B C to 250 A D) knew this system and Garga is assigned to 50 B. C. by Kern (Preface to Br S p 50) Thibaut, a great scholar, proposing to write an encyclopaedic work on Jyotisa is content to rely on Jacobi and does not appear to have cared to see for himself even Ptolemy and examine works like the Atharvana Jyotisa, the Vaikhānasasūtra, Visnudharmottara which teach astrology based on naksatras. This, to say the least, is most surprising Prof Zinner (in 'Stars above us') p 67 says that the twelve houses denote life, business, brothers, father, sons, health, wife, death, religion, gain, good deeds, gaol. In the 3rd place Thibaut takes no account of Sanskrit works written by Yavanas settled in India, to whom Varāha frequently refers, from whom he sometimes differs on vital points of doctrine and from whom Utpala quotes hundreds of verses,

which are found in the ancient Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja. Further, it has been shown above (*pp. 533–34*) that extant references to astrology based on naksatras actually exhibit the names of at least five bhāvas centuries before Firmicus It is quite possible to argue that Firmicus borrowed his astrology from the predecessors of Varāha, who were Greeks and wrote in Sanskrit, or that even Ptolemy did so as he knows of the bhāvas, but furnishes only a dilettante treatment It may be further noted that no adaptations of Greek words for all the bhāvas from the first to the twelfth are to be found in Sanskrit works Such words occur only for some viz. 1st, 3rd, 4th, 7th, 10th and 12th bhāvas and for groups of a few bhāvas (such as kendra, panaphara and āpoclima). Besides, the peculiar points to be deduced from the several bhāvas as stated in Br. J do not all agree with what Firmicus says. Varāha designates the 2nd bhāva as kutumba and sva (family, wealth) while Firmicus calls it 'lucrum' (how one shall earn one's living), the 11th bhāva is called āya (income) and bhāva by Varāha while Firmicus calls it the house of good deeds; in Firmicus the 4th bhāva is that of father or parents, while Varāha calls it 'bandhu' (relatives) and grha in Br J. and 'suhrt' (friends) in Laghujātaka and some later Indian writers say that 4th and 10th bhāvas are respectively of the mother and father. In Firmicus the 6th and 12th bhāvas are respectively wealth and jail, while Varāha holds them to be 'enmity' and 'expenditure'.

Certain technical words have yet to be explained. One meaning of *horā* is half a rāśi. In the case of the rāśis of odd numbers (viz. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11) the lord of the first half is the sun and that of the 2nd half is the moon, while in the case of rāśis of even numbers (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12) the lord of the 1st half is the moon and of the 2nd half the sun (Br J. I. 11) The purpose of this is that those born on sun's horā are energetic (assertive) by nature and those born on moon's horā are mild by nature. Br. J. (I. 12) mentions the view of some[865] (of

865 केचित्तु होरां प्रथमां भपस्य वाञ्छन्ति लाभाधिपतेर्द्वितीयम् । द्रेक्काणसंज्ञामपि वर्णयन्ति स्वद्वादशैकादशराशिपानाम् ॥ बृहज्जातक I. 12, उत्पल quotes on this a verse of यवनेश्वर 'आद्या तु होरा भवनस्य पत्युरेकादश क्षेत्रपतेर्द्वितीया । स्वद्वादशैकादशराशिपाना द्रेक्काणसंज्ञा क्रमशस्त्रयोऽत्र ॥'. This verse occurs in the यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज on *folio* 2. It would be noticed that one पाद is the same in both बृहज्जा॰ and यवनजातक. In the यवनजातक of स्फुजिध्वज (Nepal ms.) the 24 horās of the 12 rāśis are described at length in about 48 rather poetic verses and it winds up the description with the words 'एतास्तु होरा यवनैर्निरुक्ताश्चिन्तासहस्रैर्गणिताश्चार्या (?)' (*folio* 9.)

Yavaneśvara, according to Utpala) that the lord of the first horā is the same as the lord of the rāśi and the lord of the second horā is the lord of the 11th house in the horoscope The result of this view would be that all planets can be lords of horās and not the sun and the moon alone as Varāha, Satya and others say Each rāśi (of 30 degrees) is divided into three parts, each of 10 degrees, called dreskāna or drekkāna or drkāna or drgāna (in Br. J. III 5, probably for the sake of the metre) The lords of the three parts of each rāśi are respectively the lord of the rāśi itself (of the first part), the lord of the 5th rāśi (of the 2nd part) and the lord of the 9th rāśi (of the 3rd part). For example, in the case of Vrsabha (of which the lord is Venus), the lords of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd parts are respectively Venus, Mercury (lord of 5th from Vrsabha) and Saturn (lord of 9th from Vrsabha). And so on for the other rāśis

A few words must be said about dreskāna Weber and others think that it represents the Greek word 'decanoi' The 'dekans' were a legacy from ancient Egypt, which[866] had originally no zodiacal signs. Bouché-Leclercq has discussed[867] the question of decans at great length in his 'L' Astrologie Grecque' pp 215–240 The decanal system can be traced as far back as the third dynasty of Egypt (about 2800 B. C.) and may be older still. Originally, the decans were conspicuous stars or groups of stars rising at particular hours of the night during 36 successive periods of ten days each that constituted the year in Egypt The series began with Sirius and they were distributed in a wide equatorial belt The ancient Egyptians had a fixed idea that each division of time, large or small, must have its protective tutelary deity. Therefore, the decans were originally the divinities (or *genii*) that presided over the 36 decades of the Egyptian year. Each period of ten days was marked by the rising of the next decan on the eastern horizon at sunset. Bouché Leclercq points out that in the Egyptian language a specific name (like the Greek word 'decanos') is not met with and that the decans are designated by a number of synonyms. When the Zodiacal signs were introduced in Egypt by the

866 'Legacy of Egypt' ed by S. R K. Glanville (Oxford, 1942, p. 163).

867. 'L' Astrologie Grecque' p 220 note 2 Vide 'The royal art of Astrology' by Eisler p 82 and plate VII facing p. 81 for Egyptian Decan-stars on the lids of a sarcophagus of the 6th Dynasty.

Greeks, the tutelary spirits slipped into or got intertwined with the signs of the Zodiac (each sign of 30 degrees being divided into decans of 10 degrees) and played an important part in astrology. The original division referred to the equator, while the later distribution of 36 decans among the twelve signs refers to the[868] ecliptic. Bouché Leclercq avers (p. 53) that it has been proved beyond doubt that the Egyptian Zodiacs (they had four, viz. 2 at Denderah, one at Esneh and one at Akhmim) are all of the Roman epoch and are imitations of the Greek Zodiac.

The Bṛhajjātaka has a special chapter 27 (in 36 verses) called dreṣkāṇādhyāya in which the 36 presiding deities of dreṣkāṇas are described. This chapter appears to conserve the ancient Egyptian conception of the decans as guardian[869] divinities. The language must be regarded as rather metaphorical or symbolic. It is parts of the Zodiac that are being described. Nearly two-thirds of 36 are male and the rest are female. Some composite figures of males and females and quadrupeds or birds or serpents occur. In verses 2, 19 and 21 (of chap. 27) Varāha expressly says that he only sets out what the Yavanas have said.

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868. Vide Webb in Journal of Hellenistic Studies, vol. 48 (1925) p. 56, Prof. Neugebauer in E. S. A. pp. 81–83. The latter notes that with the exception of Sirius and its neighbours decans have defied identification with known constellations. Vide Prof. Neugebauer's latest note on 'The Egyptian Decans' in 'Vistas in Astronomy' (ed. A. Beer, vol. I, pp. 47-51).

869. Vide for 'Dreṣkāṇa' Colebrooke's Miscellaneous essays, vol. II pp. 364–373. Colebrooke (on pp. 370–71) states that Manilius employs the word Decania, that Firmicus differs in the names and does not allow the complete degrees to each decanus. This would show that the Br. J. could not have followed about dreṣkāṇa. Firmicus in astrology as Jacobi supposed but some other more ancient author. Nor can it be said that the Br. J. follows Manilius. The description of the middle dreṣkāṇa of Mesa rather resembles the rotund figure in Plate 10 in Prof. Neugebauer's book 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' p. 83, which plate reproduces the representation of the Decan deities on the tomb of Senmut (in Egypt). B. L. Van Der Waerden in his paper 'Babylonian Astronomy, thirty-six stars' in Journal of Near East Studies, vol. VIII (pp. 6–26) shows how thirty-six stars from old Babylonian times finally became mixed up with the twelve Zodiacal signs and 36 Egyptian decans. On p. 8 he gives lists of 36 constellations, the so called 'decans', which were found on coffin lids of the middle kingdom in Egypt and on ceilings of tombs belonging to kings of the New Kingdom. The risings, culminations and settings of decan constellations were supposed to determine not only the date but also the time of the night. On p. 20 he gives a table of Babylonian stars and their modern equivalent stars and their times.

Here I translate two verses (2 and 21) 'the Yavanas have declared the form of the middle dreskāna of Mesa sign (Aries) viz. she is a female clad in red garments, intent on ornaments and food, has the mouth of a horse and has a jar-like (i e. rotund) form, she is oppressed by thirst and is standing on one leg'; 'the Yavanas have declared the appearance of the last dreskāna of Tulā (Scales) as a male having the form of a monkey, decked with ornaments, frightening deer in a forest, wearing golden armour and quiver, and holding fruits and flesh (in his hands)'. There is nothing in the Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy corresponding to this and Varāha probably refers to a Sanskrit work by a Yavana writer much earlier than even Ptolemy and Manilius. Manilius, author of 'Astronomica', a didactic poem on astrology, referred to the decans but he wrote about 9 A. D. and it appears that decans had gone out of vogue in Greece by the time of Ptolemy. Bouché-Leclercq notes (p. 219) that the system of decans is a characteristic of Manilius and that after him one does not hear it spoken of any longer. On p 219 of his work Bouché-Leclercq furnishes a figure of the Decans of Manilius, which is entirely different from the descriptions of decans given by Br J. Manilius divides each sign into three parts, each of which represents no deity but the signs themselves. For example, Aries is divided into three parts and those three are the same as Aries, Taurus and Gemini. The Sārāvali[869a] in chap. 49 devotes thirty-six verses to the description of 36 dreṣkānas, but the description differs from that of the Br J. as the note below will show. The Sārāvali had probably before it a Sanskrit *yavana* work different from the one relied upon by Br. J

Some other technical words may be mentioned and defined here. The six items, viz the rāśi of a planet, the horā, dreskāna, navāmśa, dvādaśāmśa and trisāmśa of the rāśi are each called the *varga* or Sad-varga of that planet (Br. J. I. 9) The first navāmsa of Mesa, Karki, Tūlā and Makara (that are *cara* signs)

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869 a. Compare 'रक्ताम्बरा भूषणभक्ष्यचित्ता कुम्भाकृतिर्वाजिमुखी तृषार्ता। एकेन पादेन च मेषमध्ये द्रेक्काणरूपं यवनोपदिष्टम्॥' (बृहज्जा. 27 2) with 'क्षीचञ्चलो विहारी पतिमान् गीतप्रियो मनस्वी स्यात्। मित्रार्थभाक् सुरूप. स्त्रीवित्तचर्चिद्वितीये च॥' सारावली 49. 2. In the Nepal ms of यवनजातक the मेषद्वितीयद्रेक्काण is described as follows: गौरः प्रहारी रिपुदारुणाक्ष' शुक्लाम्बरो वारणतुल्यमूर्धा। वक्त्रायुधा (?) धातुरसार्थवित्त्व मेषे द्वितीयो वृषलोनशाङ्कः॥ folio 9 This indicates that the यवनजातक had a third tradition about द्रेक्काण. It is expressly stated that the three parts of a rāśi are known among the Yavanas as dreskānas 'षड्भ्रगुणा (?) राशितृतीयभागा द्रेक्काणसंज्ञा यवनारब्धया ये।' folio 9.

is called Vargottama, so also the 5th navāṁśa of Vṛsabha, Siṁha, Vṛścika and Kumbha (that are *sthira*), and the 9th navāṁśa of Mithuna, Kanyā, Dhanus, Mīna (that are *dvisvabhāva*) are called Vargottama (Br. J. I. 14) and they yield beneficent results.[870] The vargottama-navāṁśas of all rāśis bear the same names as the rāśis themselves. The Yoga called Sunaphā occurs when some planet other than the sun occupies the 2nd house from that occupied by the Moon; the Yoga Anaphā occurs when some planet other than the sun occupies the 12th house from that occupied by the Moon and Durudharā occurs when planets occupy the 2nd and 12th houses from that occupied by the Moon. The Yoga called Kema-druma occurs when the above three don't occur and the Moon is not in kendra position or if kendra is not occupied by any of the planets (except the Sun) Br J 13. 4 notices that varieties of Anaphā and Sunaphā are 31 each and the varieties of Durudharā are 180. The Br J. does not devote more than 6 verses to all these four yogas but the Vrddha-Yavanajātaka of Mīnarāja has 30 verses on Anaphā, 30 verses on Sunaphā, 172 verses on Durudharā. The rāśi which is 2nd from the rāśi occupied by the Sun in a horoscope is called 'Veśi' (Br. J. I. 20). All the above five words are said to be Greek. The word 'liptā' meaning '60th part of a degree' is also said to be Greek. The word 'harija' occurring in Br. J. V. 17 means 'horizon' and Kern says it is adapted from Greek (Preface to Br. S p. 29)[870a] The Greek word is *horos* (boundary) All the words used by Varāha and supposed to be Greek by Weber, Kern and others may be brought together in one place here (37 in all), Kriya, Tāvuri, Jituma, Kulīra, Leya, Pāthena, Jūka, Kaurpya, Tauksika, Akokera, Hrdroga, Ittha (?), Heli, Āra, Himna, Jīva, Āsphujit, Kona; horā, dreskāna, kendra, trikona, panaphara, āpoklima, mesūrana, duścikya, hibuka, jāmitra, dyūna, rihpha, anaphā, sunaphā, durudharā, kemadruma, veśi, liptā, harija. I dispute the derivation of *kulīra* and trikona from Greek and Kern agrees that they are pure Sanskrit words. I also doubt whether *Jīva* is an adaptation of Zeus Zeus

870. वर्गोत्तमाश्चरगृहादिषु पूर्वमध्यपर्यन्तत: शुभफला नवभागसज्ञा:। बृहज्जातक I 14, उत्पल explains वर्गोत्तमासमूहे उक्तना:। 'तथा च यवनेश्वर। ते ते गृहेषु स्वगृहाकारा ये वर्गोत्तमास्ते यवनैरुक्ता:'. This occurs in यवनजातक of सुजिध्वज folio 4

870 a. उत्पल on बृहज्जातक V 17 paraphrases हरिज as उदयलेखा and quotes a Sanskrit half verse defining it. 'यत्राकाशं भूम्या सह सस्पृक्त समन्तात् दृश्यते तद्धरिजम्। उक्तं च। हरिजमिति यत्रसमवनौ सम्पृक्तमिव लक्ष्यते यधोत्तौषु।' This is probably a quotation from यवनजातक.

agrees with Sanskrit Dyaus and not with Jīva and Zeus is an Indo-European word meaning 'Heaven' or 'sky'. The different forms of the word dreskāna or '*dyūtam* for 'dyūnam' should not be separately counted The word *horā* is used in early Indian astrology in three different senses, none of which agrees with the sense of hour. It is possible that even in Greek it is a word borrowed from Egypt or Babylonia, since in the definite sense of an hour, it is much later and it is doubtful whether Hipparchus (140 B. C) uses it in that sense. If we exclude these four words only 33 words may at the most be argued to have been adapted from Greek. Some of these words such as the 12 names of rāśis and six of the planets, some names of the *bhāvas* like *kubuka*, *jāmitra*, *dyūna* and *kendra* have several synonyms (sometimes by the dozen) in Sanskrit employed in Br. J. and so no emphasis should be laid on them. They were mentioned by Br J. because they had been employed by ancient Greek authors who wrote in Sanskrit and so Br. J. took cognisance of them for the sake of completeness of treatment Even *kendra* meaning 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th houses or *bhāvas* has two Sanskrit synonyms 'kantaka' and 'catustaya', besides the fact that its meaning is different in Sanskrit astrology from the meaning of the Greek word (*kentr on*, spike) Therefore, barely ten Greek words like Anaphā, Sunaphā remain which have a very minor role to play in Indian astrology and it is a far cry to argue or assert from the occurrence of these few words that the whole Indian astrology as developed in Varāhamihira was borrowed from Greek works It is extremely doubtful whether any Indians except a few sages or gymnosophists ever went to Greece or lived long in Greece or settled there and returned to India to spread Greek words and astrological knowledge in India; but we have ample evidence that Greeks settled in India, composed inscriptions in Sanskrit and wrote extensive works on astrology in Sanskrit. Vide 'L' Astrologie Grecque' by Bouché-Grecque p. XIX for the Greek. Latin, French names and astrological symbols of the signs of the zodiac and planets and G. R Kaye in Memoir No. 18 of the Archaeological Survey of India pp 39-40 (for the Greek twelve names of Zodiacal signs and nine other Greek words occurring in Br. J) and p. 100 for Greek 'bhāvas' and symbols for signs and planets.

A good deal is said in Bṛ. J. II. 15-17, Laghujātaka II. 10-12, Sārāvalī IV 28-31, Muhūrta-cintāmani (VI. 27-28) and other works about the planets being friends, enemies or indifferent

among themselves. Friends and enemies are of two kinds, natural and incidental (temporary) The following table will show natural friends and enemies amog planets

Planet	Friend	Enemy	Indifferent (udāsīna or madhya or sama)
Sun	Moon, Mars, Jupiter	Venus, Saturn	Mercury
Moon	Sun, Mercury	none	Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn
Mars	Sun, Moon, Jupiter	Mercury	Venus, Saturn
Mercury	Sun, Venus	Moon	Mars, Jupiter, Saturn
Jupiter	Sun, Moon, Mars	Mercury, Venus	Saturn
Venus	Mercury, Saturn	Sun, Moon	Mars, Jupiter
Saturn	Mercury, Venus	Sun, Moon, Mars	Jupiter

It may be noticed that there is no reciprocity for these relationships For example, the Moon has Mercury as one of its friends, while Mercury has the Moon as its enemy; the Moon has no enemy but Venus has the Moon as its enemy. According to the Yavanas no planet is *sama* (neither friend nor foe) but that planets are either friends or enemies [871]

As regards temporary friendships and enmities the following rules apply; when planets are in 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 10th, 11th or 12th places from each other they become friends for the occasion (such as marriage, invasion or journey &c), otherwise they become enemies when in the same rāśi or in 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th or

871. Vide उत्पल on बृहज्जातक II 15 'अत्र च तेषा शत्रुमित्रव्यवहार एवेदो नोदासीनव्यवहारस्तस्मान्मित्रेभ्योऽन्ये ह्यमित्राणीति केचिद्यवनेश्वरादय'। तथा च यवनेश्वर। खेटैरुक्तमित्रमतोन्यथान्ये शुक्रेसु भौम परिहाय सर्वे। चान्द्रेरनर्का भृगुनन्दनस्य त्वर्केन्दुवर्ज सुहृद मविष्टा॥ भौमस्य शुक्र शशिजश्च मित्रे इन्दोर्बुधं देवगुरु च विद्यात्। सौरस्य मित्राण्यसु-रेन्दुसूर्या शेषान् रिपून् विद्धि तृणा च तद्वत्॥. These occur on folio 6 of Nepal ms of यवनजातक

9th from each other There are differences of opinion here but they are passed over.

The *bala* (strength) of planets is of four kinds (arises in four ways) viz place, direction, activity (*ceṣṭā*), time. A planet is powerful in its position when it is in its own house or in exaltation (*ucca*) or in its friend's house or in its *trikona* or navāmśa. This is *sthānabala*. Mercury and Jupiter are powerful in the east (i e when they are in the *lagna*), the Sun and Mars in the south (i. e. in the 10th house), Saturn in the West (i e. 7th house), the Moon and Venus are powerful in the north (i e. 4th house). This is *digbala*. The Sun and Moon are powerful in the northern ayana[872] (i. e. in the six rāśis from Capricorn); the remaining planets are powerful when they are retrograde or in conjunction with the Moon or when there is a fight (between planets other than the Sun and the Moon), the one to the north being more powerful. Garga quoted in the Adbhutasāgara says that *grahayuddha* (fight of planets) occurs when one planet occults the other, or when it slightly covers, or when the light of one throws into the background the light of another or when one planet is to the left of the other slightly. This is *ceṣṭābala*. The Moon, Mars and Saturn are powerful at night, Mercury is powerful both by day and night, and others are powerful by day; *krūra* and *saumya* planets are respectively powerful in the dark half and bright half of the month, a planet is powerful in the year of which he is the lord, or on his own week-day or horā or in

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872 उदगयने रविशीतमयूखी वक्रसमागमगा परिशेषाः । विपुलकरा युधि चोत्तरसंस्था-श्चेष्टितवीर्ययुता· परिकल्प्या· ॥ बृहज्जातक II 20. This is explained by the following verse of विष्णुचन्द्र : दिनसकरेणास्तमय· समागम शीतरश्मिसहितानाम् । कुजशुक्रादीनां युद्धं निगदतेऽन्योन्ययुक्तानाम् ॥ q. by उत्पल on बृ. जा II. 20. Conjunction of planets is of three kinds, when any planet is in conjunction with the sun, that is called *astamaya* (setting), when in conjunction with the moon it is called *samāgama*, when the other planets, Mars &c. are in conjunction with each other that is called *yuddha* (fight of the planets). (in the case of yuddha) that planet which is to the north of the other is called victorious or powerful (except in the case of Venus that is powerful when to the south of the other) गर्ग: । छादन रोधन चैव रश्मिमर्दस्तथैव च । अपसव्यं ग्रहाणा च चतुर्धा युद्धमुच्यते ॥ अद्भुतसागर p 207. The अ. सा (p. 208) quotes पराशर as saying that there is no real fight between planets, but a sight of them being together or close indicates to people auspicious or inauspicious happenings The अ सा. is quoted in शान्तिकमलाकर (D. C. ms. No. 306 of 1884–87) folio 81a

the *month* of which he is the lord This *is kālabala.*[873] Yavaneśvara says 'for ten days from the 1st tithi of the bright half the *Moon is of middling* power but in the *next period* of ten days (from sukla 11th to krsna) 5th Moon's power is highest and in the last ten days (from krsna 6th to *amāvāsyā*) the Moon has slight power, but if Moon has an aspect with *saumya* planets (*Jupiter &c.*) he is always powerful

A planet is said by Sārāvalī to have nine vicissitudes,[874] *dīpta* (blazing, when it is in exaltation), *svastha* (at ease when it is in its svagrha), *mudita* (glad, when it is in a friend's *svagrha*), *śānta* (quiet, when it is in an auspicious *varga*), sakta (capable, when it is shining brightly), *nipīdita* (oppressed, when it is overwhelmed by another planet), *bhīta* (frightened, when it is in depression), *vikala* (impaired when its light is lost is Sun's light), *khala* (evil, when it is in the midst of evil company). The Sārāvalī (V. 5–13) describes at length the *results* of a planet *being* in these nine conditions.

How even mythological accounts are pressed into service by astrological works may be well illustrated by two verses from the Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira: 'The Sun was born in Anga (Bengal), the Moon among Yavanas, Mars in Avanti (Ujjayini), Mercury in Magadha, Jupiter in Sindhu, Venus in Bhojakata, Saturn in Surāstra (Kathiawar), Ketu among Mlecchas and Rāhu in Kalinga; if these planets are affected, they cause distress to the countries in which they were born· hence a king should invade the respective countries when any one or more of the planets are affected[875]

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873. चन्द्रमाद्यवनेश्वर । मासे तु शुक्लप्रतिपत्प्रवृत्ते पूर्वं शशी मध्यबलो दशाहे। श्रेष्ठो द्वितीयेत्यबलस्तृतीये सौम्यैस्तु दृष्टो बलवान्सदैव॥ उत्पल on बृहज्जा II 21 This verse occurs in the Nepal ms. of यवनजातक folio 5, सारावली has probably this verse in view 'शुक्लप्रतिपद्दशके मध्यबल: कीर्त्यते यवनबृद्धै:। श्रेष्ठो द्वितीयदशके खलबलबन्द्रमास्तृतीये च॥' V 16

874. दीप्त स्वस्थो मुदित शान्त शक्तो निपीडितो भीत । विकल खलश्च कथितो नवप्रकारो ग्रहो हरिणा॥ सारावली V. 2

875. अङ्गेषु सूर्यो यवनेषु चन्द्रो भौमो ह्यवन्त्यां मगधेषु सौम्य । सिन्धौ गुरुर्भोजकटेषु शुक्र सौर. सुराष्ट्रे विषये बभूव॥ म्लेच्छेषु केतुश्च तम कलिङ्गे जातो यतोऽत. परिपीडितास्ते। स्वजन्मदेशान्परिपीडयन्ति तस्मान्नियोज्या क्षितिपेन देशा॥ योगयात्रा III. 19–20, compare सारावली VII. 14–15, where शुक्र is said to have been born in समतट and both राहु and केतु in द्रविड Vide the Chammak plate of Pravarasen II where the village Carmānka is said to be in Bhojakatarājya (Gupta Inscriptions, No 55 p 237). In Brahmapurāṇa 201.9 Bhojakata is said to be the capital of

(*Continued on next page*)

A very important doctrine of Indian astrology is that of *drsti* (lit. glance, i e aspect) The Br. J. II. 13, Laghujātaka II. 8, Sārāvalī IV. 32-33, Muhūrtadarśana I. 27 lay down the following rules. All planets[876] have a full aspect (pūrna drsti) on the 7th house from the one which each occupies Besides, Saturn has full aspect on the 3rd and 10th rāśi from the one which it occupies and on the planet which is 3rd or 10th from its own position. Similarly, Jupiter has full aspect on the 5th and 9th rāśi from the one it occupies and also on the planet that is 5th or 9th from itself; Mars has full drsti on the 4th and 8th rāśis and the planet in the same. So the Sun, Moon, Mercury and Venus have full drsti only on the 7th rāśi from the one each of them occupies and on the planet that is 7th from them. Besides, all planets have 1/4th drsti on the 3rd and 10th, half drsti on 5th and 9th, ¾ drsti on 4th and 9th There is no aspect of any planet on any rāśi or *sthāna* except the seven expressly mentioned (viz 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th) and in the case of partial drstis the fruit also is partial (i.e. ¼, ½ or ¾) The Tetrabiblos (I. 13 and 20) treats of four aspects viz. opposition (7th house of Varāha), trine (5th and 9th houses), quartile (4th and 10th), sextile (difference of 60 degrees and two signs) and does not distinguish between fractions of drstis as Varāha does. So in the matter of aspects also there is substantial difference between Ptolemy and Varāha-mihira.

Another important doctrine is that of *yogara* It means[876a] the consideration about the auspicious or inauspicious positions of planets at any particular period in question in places either

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(*Continued from last page*)

Rukmin, of Vidarbha Similar verses occur in the वृद्धयवनजातक of भीनराज chap II 9-10 (I O ms folio 4b and Baroda ms No 9183 folio 4b) In the अथर्वपरिशिष्ट (No. 41.1. 3-5) on ग्रहयुद्ध, verses 3-6 are similar but there the sun is said to have been born in कलिङ्ग, Venus is said to have been born in महाराष्ट्र, केतु on मलय, राहु on गिरिशृङ्ग Vide Indische Studien vol. X p 317 The बृहत्संहिता has chap. 17 on ग्रहयुद्ध. In verse 2 वराह says that *the planets move one above the other*, but, on account of the great distances, to the human eye they appear level with each other. The बृहत्संहिता describes at length the results to different countries and peoples of *yuddha* between different planets The अथर्वपरिशिष्ट adds 'यस्मिन्देशे तु यो जात स ग्रह· पीडयते यदा। त देश घातितं विद्याद् दुर्भिक्षेण भयेन वा॥'

876 त्रिदशत्रिकोणचतुरस्रसप्तमान्त्यबलोकयन्ति चरणाभिवृद्धित. । रविजामरेज्य-रुधिरा परे च ये क्रमशो भवन्ति किल वीक्षणेऽधिका ॥ बृहज्जातक II 13 This has been variously interpreted as testified by Utpala

876 a. तत्र जन्मराशित· प्रोक्तनिषिद्धस्थानस्थितेदानीतनग्रहवशेन शुभाशुभनिरूपणं गोचर इत्युच्यते। पीयूषधारा com. on सु चि. IV 1.

declared auspicious or inauspicious judging from the rāśi of birth. The Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi in five verses (of chap 4) deals with this subject I shall illustrate the application of the word by some examples If the Sun is in the 6th place from the rāśi of birth he is auspicious but if at the same time the 12th place from the rāśi of birth is occupied by other planets (except Saturn), then, though auspicious by himself, he becomes inauspicious This result does not arise in case one planet is the father or son of the other (as Saturn is the son of the Sun and Mercury is the son of the Moon). Similarly, if Mercury is in 2nd place from rāśi of birth or in the 4th or 6th or 8th or 10th or 11th and other planets (except the Moon who is the father of Mercury) are respectively in the 5th, 3rd, 9th, 1st, 8th or 12th, Mercury, though originally auspicious, becomes inauspicious for the time being *Kāraka* is another word to be explained It is rather complicated Br. J. XXII and Sārāvali[876b] VI. and VII. deal with it. As many planets as occupy their own *gṛha* or *ucca* or *Mūlatrikona* and also are in the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th places (in the horoscope) they become *Kārakas* of each other, while the planet that is in the 10th place (in horoscope) is specially kāraka. Suppose the lagna is Karka and the moon occupies it (it is moon's svagṛha) and Mars, Saturn, the Sun and Jupiter are in their *uccas* (i e in Makara, Tulā, Mesa and Karkata respectively), they are all kārakas of each other Many more rules are given in this matter in Br. J XXII. and Sārāvali VI. The Sārāvali gives (VII. 7–13) another meaning Each planet is specially concerned with, rules over or produces several matters or persons &c I shall quote two verses The Moon is the lord of poets, flowers, edibles, precious stones, silver, conch, salt, waters, clothes, ornaments, women, ghee, sesame, oils and sleep Jupiter is the lord of auspicious things, *dharma*, rites for prosperity, greatness, education, orders, cities and nations, vehicles, seats, beds, gold, corn, dwelling house and sons.

Then there is the doctrine of *daśās* and *antardaśās* of the seven planets In the Viṃśottarī system man's maximum life is supposed to be 120 years and in Astottarī it is supposed to be 108 and those are distributed among the planets in varying numbers of years and it is said that daśās have further

876 b स्वर्क्षतुङ्गमूलत्रिकोणगा कण्टकेषु यावन्त आश्रिता । सर्व एव तेऽन्योन्यकारकाः कर्मणस्तु तेषा विशेषत ॥ बृहज्जातक XXII 1. कविकुसुममोज्यमणिरजतशङ्खलवणोदकेषु वक्ष्याणाम् । भूपयनारीघृततिलतैलकनिद्राभमुद्भवन्ति ॥ भाङ्गिरसधर्मपीठिकमहत्त्वशिक्षानियोगपुरराष्ट्रम् । यानासनशयनसुवर्णधान्यवेश्मप्रजापो जीव ॥ सारावली VII 8 and 11.

divisions of antardaśās This doctrine is elaborated in the 8th chapter of the Brhajjātaka and Utpala quotes numerous verses from Yavaneśvara on this The theory of Astakavarga is set out by Varāha in chapter 9 of the Bṛhajjātaka viz that the seven planets and lagna are eight entities and they produce their fullest or auspicious results only when they are in particular houses and at particular periods of a man's life All this has to be passed over for reasons of space

In the Brhatsamhitā, the Brhaj-jātaka, and the two works on Yātrā, Varāhamihira mentions a host of his predecessors in astrology In my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' (JBBRAS, N S. vol. 24-25, 1948-49, pp. 1-31) I brought together the names of all the predecessors of Varāhamihira and gave extensive references to them in his works That paper may not be available to all readers of this volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra and therefore I propose to give a brief abstract of it here for ready reference Purely astronomical writers or works have been generally not included in the following list: Atri (who acc. to Br. S. 45. 1 wrote a work on *utpātas* for which Garga gave him instruction, or who was the disciple of Garga); Bādarāyana[877] (named in Br. S 39. 1) from whom about one hundred verses are quoted by Utpala in his several commentaries, in one of which on Br J. VI 2 the view of Yavanendra on the premature death of a child is cited; Bhāguri (Br. S 85. 1 mentions him as an ancient author on *śakunas*), Bhāradvāja (mentioned in Br. S 85. 2 as an author on whose treatise king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī based his own work on *śakunas*); Bhrgu (Br S 85 43); Cyavana (Br. Y. 29. 3), Devala (mentioned in Br. S. 7 15 for the four motions of Mercury such as straight, retrograde and on Yogayātrā IX. 12); Devasvāmin (mentioned in Br. J. VII. 7); Dravyavardhana (mentioned as king of Ujjayinī and as an author on *śakunas*); Garga[878] (over three hundred verses of Garga are quoted by Utpala in his commentary on Br. S alone, a work called Mayūracitraka is ascribed to him by Utpala on Br. S 35. 3 and on Br. S I. 5 Utpala quotes three verses of Garga about Vedāngajyotisa, about his deriving astronomy from it and about other sages

877. पूर्वापरभागगतं शुभाशुभंरलिनि कर्कटे लग्ने। जातस्य शिशोर्मरणं सद्य. कथयन्ति यवनेन्द्रा ॥ बादरायण q by उत्पल on बृहज्जातक VI 2

878 दिनवद्दादौ स्थितो गर्गादिको मुनि शिष्येण क्रौष्टुकिपूर्वेण पृष्ट ।" तत कालप्रमिद्धयर्थं राशय पूर्वमीरिता ॥ उत्पल on बृहत्सं. I 11

obtaining it from him), Vrddhagarga[878a] (twenty-five verses of his are quoted by Utpala on Br. S I 11, in one of which the rāśis are expressly referred to); Gārgi (usually styled 'bhagavān' by Utpala who quotes about 60 verses of his on Br J. alone); Gautama (in Br. Y 29 3), Jivaśarman (named in Br. J VII 9, XI 1 and Utpala on XIII 3 quotes him for the words Sunaphā, Anaphā, Durudharā and Kemadruma), Kaśyapa (in Br. Y. XIX. 1); Kāsyapa[879] (Utpala quotes about 260 Anustubh verses from him in his commentary on Br S., some of which show his acquaintance with all the rāśis); Māndavya (named in Br. S. 103. 3 and quoted by Utpala several times on Br J. VI. 6, XI 3 and 5, XIII. 2 and XV. 4); Manittha (mentioned in Br J. VII 1 along with Maya, Yavana, and Parāśara on *āyurdāya*, and in Br. J. XI. 9, while Utpala quotes 13 Āryās and 2 Anustubh verses of his on Br.[880] J. alone), Maya (mentioned several times in Br. S 24. 2, 55. 29, 56 8, in Br J. VII. 1 with Yavana, Manittha and Parāśara on the topic of length of life, on Br. J. VII. 13 an *āryā* verse of Maya is quoted by Utpala and to Maya king of *dānavas* the science of Jyotisa was imparted by the Sun, as stated in the last chapter of the extant Sūryasiddhānta and in a verse quoted by Utpala on Br. S 2.14); Nārada (mentioned in Br S.

878 a Garga and Vrddha-Garga appear to be different authors and flourished several centuries before Varāhamihira. Vide my paper 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' in JBBRAS, N. S vol 24-25 pp. 6-8 Whether Gārgi is another writer than the above two or the same as Garga is discussed in the same paper at p. 9 Vide Kern's Preface to Br S pp 33-40, where he assigns Garga to 50 B C. It may be noted that though Garga is not expressly named in Br. J, he is named 15 times in Br S, and Utpala on Br S 16 41 cites a verse of Garga which clearly shows his acquaintance with the Rāśi system, स यद्वा स्वोच्चराशित्थो मित्रभे स्वगृहेपि वा। स्थित शुभग्रहैर्दृष्टः स धुरणाति परिग्रहम् ॥ Kern states that the incomplete ms of गार्गीसंहिता which he had secured had almost the same titles for its chapters as Br. S. has

879. तथा च काश्यप। मेषे सुवर्णस्थलजा गोधूमाजाविकास्तथा। ब्रह्मवर्णेक्षसयोगे क्षोभने सफलं भवेत् ॥ उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 40 2.

880. *From* Utpala's com on Br. J VII 9, it appears that Manittha in his Horāśāstra refers to Parāśara 'चित्रं भोजेन्द्र पराशर' कथयते दौर्भाग्यवं योवितास्-इत्येवमादि मयमणित्थयोर्होराशास्त्रे विद्यते, मणित्थ may be an Indian name also like डित्थ which occurs in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 5 on पाणिनि V. 1 119, There were two Maniṭṭhas, one a contemporary of Berosus, who wrote a history of Egypt, the other, author of Apotelesmata an astrological *poem* in Hexameters The मणित्थ whom उत्पल quotes composed his work in Sanskrit verses and is probably an Indian double, if at all, of the Greek Manittha. Vide Kern's Preface p. 52 for मणित्थ.

11.5 as holding the view that Ketu was one though assuming various forms, Br. S. 24 2 mentions that Nārada learnt from Brhaspati on Meru the results of the conjunctions of the Moon with Rohinī on which he composed a work on which Br. S. draws); Parāśara (a Parāśaratantra is named in Br. S. VII. 8 on Budhacāra, Br. S. XI. mentions Parāśara's treatment of *Ketucāra* along with that of Garga and of Asita-Devala, Br S XVII. 3 mentions Parāsara's disquisition on four kinds of *grahayuddha*, Br. S. XXI 2 mentions him on prognostications about rainfall along with the works of Garga, Kāśyapa and Vajra, Br. J. VII. 1 refers to the work of Parāsara on length of life along with those of Maya, Yavana, Manittha from whom Utpala on Br J VII. 9 quotes a verse in which Parāśara is named, Br. J. XII. 2 mentions Parāśara as having spoken of two Yogas called Srak and Sarpa), Pauliśa (vide pp. 515-517 above), almost all quotations in Utpala are on purely astronomical matters, except that on Br J. II. 20 Utpala quotes half an *āryā* of astrological character; Pitāmaha (reputed author of one of the five siddhāntas, from Br. S. I. 4 it appears that Pitāmaha regarded Tuesday as inauspicious); Ratnāvali (mentioned in Brhadyoga-yātrā II 1), Ṛsiputra (Br. S. 48. 85 names him and then Br. S quotes 15 verses from him, Utpala quotes about 20 Anustubha verses from him on different verses of Br. S and a long prose passage on Br S 85. 15 and several Anustubh verses on Yogayātrā 1 15, one peculiarity being that he quotes the views of over a dozen authors such as Garga, Gautama, Devala, Parāśara, Brhaspati), Satya (very frequently named in Br J. such as on VII 3, 9-11, 13, XII. 2, XX 10, and in Brhadyogayātrā XI 34, about 60 *āryās* being quoted by Utpala on Br J. alone, in Br. J. VII. 11 Varāha refers to him as 'Bhadatta' according to Utpala, which may be really 'Bhadanta)', Sārasvata (named in Br. S. 53. 99 as a writer on '*dakārgala*', over 20 Anustubh verses being quoted by Utpala), Siddhasena (Br. J VII. 7 names him along with Devasvāmin and Visnugupta on the length of life); Usanas (named by Varāha in Yogayātrā V. 3 for the view that no march should be made on Svāti or Maghā); Vajra (named by Br. S 21.2 along with Garga, Parāśara and Kāsyapa about prognostications of rainfall and on *Ketucāra* in Br. S. XI 1 with Garga, Parāsara and Asita-Devala), Vasistha mentioned in Br. S. 51 8, in Brhad-Yogayātrā II. 3, VIII. 6 where his view is opposed to that of Satya, IX. 2 (about Horā and Drekkāna), XI 9 (which mentions that Vasistha and Manittha held the same view), Visnugupta (mentioned in Br. J. VII. 7 as holding the same view as Devasvāmin and Siddhasena

about the length of life to be judged from a horoscope, in Br. J XXI 3 where Visnugupta is opposed to the views of Yavanas that the Kumbhadvādasāmśa in the *Lagna* is inauspicious, and Utpala quotes two āryās from him, mentioned in Brhad-yoga-yātrā 23.4, whether identical with Cānakya discussed in the paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' p 19), Yavana (generally mentioned by Varāha in the plural as in Br. J VII 1, VIII. 9, XI 1, XXI 3, XXVII 19 and 21, Laghujātaka IX. 6 about Vesi, Utpala on VIII 9 refers to Purānayavana-mata and Sārāvali 21. 11 mentions pūrvayavanendras, vide paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' pp. 19–21 and on 'Yavanesvara and Utpala 'JBAS, vol for 1957, pp. 1–5)

The vast literature presupposed by these numerous authors cannot be compressed as said above within the brief space of a hundred years or so but requires the lapse of several centuries From Garga, who is assigned to 50 B C. by Kern to Varāhamihira there is a period of about five centuries which might be held to suffice for the production of this vast astrological literature Garga himself knew the rāśi system, the system of the exaltation of planets and of dṛṣṭis as the quotation in note 879 will show. Ptolemy came at least two hundred years after Garga and Firmicus four hundred years after him. Therefore there is nothing to prove that the rāśi system in India was borrowed from Greek authors The Greeks themselves got their inspiration for horoscopic astrology from Babylon after the invasion of Alexander in 4th century B.C and particularly after Berossus

It would be necessary to say something about the signs of the Zodiac. The word Zodiac is derived from a Greek word 'Zodion' meaning 'little animals' and means literally a 'circle of animals'. In Herodotus I. 70 it is used in the sense of 'figure painted or carved'. It was then applied to one of the figures imagined as formed by certain star-groups in the belt of the heavens. The Zodiac is a belt in the sky about 16 degrees broad, divided in two by the ecliptic, in which the Sun, Moon and planets move. The expression 'signs of the Zodiac' may be used in two senses,[881] viz. (1) the 12 groups of constellations which

881 Vide Meissner in 'Babylonian and Assyrian' vol II. p 406, Webb in Journal of Hellenistic, studies, vol 41 p 72, Sarton in 'a History of Science' p. 179 note 2 Webb in 'Names of stars' p 166 points out that Crab and Scales are only 19 and 17½ degrees in extent respectively, while Virgo and Fishes are respectively 48 and 41 degrees in extent in the sky

are found sown in the vicinity of the ecliptic (the path of the Sun) irregular in position, unequal in extent and in brightness, (2) the twelve equal artificial divisions of the belt each extending to 30 degrees of longitude It is generally held that the first meaning alone can be the earlier of the[882] two. Meissner points out that the most ancient Babylonian observation text belonging to the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar (567 B. C.) knows only the figures or pictures of the constellations, while the twelve equal divisions occur first of all in a text of the reign of Darius II (about 418 B C.). Nothing definite is known about the first formation of these picture-signs nor is it known who gave these fanciful names to stars There is hardly any doubt that the picture names were due to popular fancy and not to men of science. The names were probably given at different times. Meissner states that the picture signs are already mentioned in part in a Hittite text of the 13th century B C and are also to be found on boundary stones of the same period.

Schiaparelli in 'Astronomy in the old Testament' (p. 85) observes that in Babylonia upright stones were placed in fields as boundary marks (*Kudurru* in Babylonian) or rather as titles of property by way of public notice, of which thirty have been so far discovered on which figures are drawn and on which inscriptions are found containing most terrible curses on those who would remove the stones. On p 86 he gives the drawing on a Babylonian monument of the 12th century B. C. in which the Moon, the Sun and Venus occupy the central position and round about them there is a crowd of figures, of which one can easily recognize the scorpion, the goat with a fish's tail (Capricornus) and the Archer.[883] Hooke remarks that several constellations are

882. Vide Webb in Journal of Hellenistic Studies vol 48 (1925) p 59, and Journal of Near East Studies vol 8 pp 6-26 by Waerden on Babylonian Astronomy (at p. 25) in which he refers to an observation text from 6th year of Darius II (420 B C.) containing such statements as Jupiter and Venus being at the beginning of Gemini and the like and emphasizes that Babylonian signs were of equal length

883 The same figure occurs in Rawlinson's 'Five great monarchies of the ancient world' (ed of 1889) vol II, p 374 and that author thinks that there are the Ram, the Bull, the Scorpion, the Serpent, the Dog, the Arrow, the eagle or vulture Vide George Smith's 'Assyrian Discoveries' (London, 1875) pp. 235-241 where he gives a figure on a boundary stone of about 1370 B. C which records the grant of land to one Merodach Baladan and a complete English translation of the inscription. Smith thinks (p. 237)

(*Continued on next page*)

assigned to Ea in the astrological texts, the two most frequently mentioned being Pisces and Aquarius and that Ea's symbol as represented on boundary stones was either Ram's head or goat-fish.[884] It is stated by Frankfort[885] that of Zodiacal signs in their Babylonian forms only two, Cancer and Sagittarius, do not occur on the seals of the first dynasty of Babylonia

It is possible to argue that in two verses of the Rgveda (I 24.8 and I. 164. 11) there is a reference to the Zodiacal belt 'King Varuna made a wide path in order that the Sun may follow it'; 'the wheel of *rta* has twelve spokes and it again and again revolves round the sky, but it is not worn out'[886]

The above references to Babylonian boundary stones and monuments are enough to show that in Babylonia some four or five signs of the Zodiac had been distinguished before 1000 B. C But the complete list of picture sings of the Zodiac was known in Babylonia at least from about 6th century B. C. as Meissner (referred to above) says.[887] Sarton cautiously suggests the probability of Babylonian influence on other Oriental peoples (Iranian, Indian and Chinese) but he gives up the discussion of this question as a debatable[888] one. Authorities are agreed that the oldest horoscopes are found in Mesopotamia and not in Greece nor in Egypt. Sarton states that the first known horoscope is a cuneiform tablet in the Bodleian referring to the date 29th April 410 B C., and that the second is another tablet in the

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(*Continued from last page*)

that the figure contains the symbols of the Sun and Moon, a Scorpion, dove-winged lion, a ziggurat (tower). One can also detect therein a bull and a goat with fishes' tail. Waerden in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol 8 at p 22, holds that symbols on boundary stones are of little help and that the figure of Scorpion might first be an earthly Scorpion considered as a symbol of a god or it might be a zodiacal Scorpion.

884. S H Hooke in 'Babylonian and Assyrian Religion' (1953) p. 28.

885. Vide 'Cylinder seals' (1939) p 156

886 उरु हि राजा वरुणश्चकार सूर्याय पन्थामन्वेतवा उ। ऋ I 24 8. बाज स. VIII 23, तै. सं I. 4. 45 1. द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य। ऋ I. 164 11, अथर्व IX. 9. 13.

887. M. Jastrow in 'Aspects of religious life and practice in Babylonia' (1911) pp 230-231, where it is said that, besides the Ram, Twins, Lion, Crab, Scorpion, Archer, Fishes in Babylonian and Assyrian astrology, in place of the Virgin we have a constellation designated 'plant growth' and instead of the "bull" a spear.

888. Vide 'A History of Science' p. 78,

pierpont Morgan Library referring to April 263 B C. (in JAOS. vol 75, No. 3 p. 172). F. C. Cramer in 'Astrology in Roman Law and Politics' (Philadelphia, 1954) agrees with this and gives references to horoscopes of 258 B. C, 235 B C and 142 B. C. (pp. 5-8). Prof. Neugebauer on the other hand remarks[889] that only seven horoscopes are found preserved from Mesopotamia, all written in Seleucid period, the earliest being of 263 B. C. C. V. Maclean refers to a horoscope of 28th February 142 B C. Sarton says that the very word 'horoscopos' was coined very late in Greece, that it is used by Manilius (first century A. D) and Clement of Alexandria (150-220 A D.) and that its use cannot be found earlier.[890] The earliest Greek horoscope from Egypt concerns the year 4 B C. and Prof Neugebauer says that he knows about 60 horoscopes from 4 B. C. to 500 A. D. The earliest Demotic and Greek horoscopes were written about the beginning of the Christian era and the earliest Demotic horoscope refers to 13 A D.[891] Prof. Neugebauer holds that the rising times of zodiacal signs mentioned in Brhajjātaka (I. 19) are precisely the same as the rising times of zodiacal signs in the Babylonian system (called A) Vide Journal of Cuneiform Studies, vol. 7 No, 3 pp 100-102

It has been seen above that not only was general astrology developed in early Vedic times, but individual astrology based on naksatras had begun te be studied even as early as the Atharvaveda.[892], that beginnings of a regular terminology resembling the later *bhāva* nomenclature had been made and prognostications had been based on the naksatra of birth and on the naksatras at certain distances from the naksatra of birth Here we have the germs of the basic assumptions of early and

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889 Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol IV at p 16 Vide Maclean s 'Babylonian Astrology and its relation to the old Testament' p 7 note 3

890 'A History of Science' p 453 note 79,

891. Prof. Neugebauer in E. S A p 85 and in 'Demotic Horoscopes' in J A O S vol 63 pp 115-124

892 Vide above pp 523-525 notes 751-754 Hemādri on 'vrata' (vol, II pp 645-648) contains a dialogue between Garga and Bhārgava, wherein Garga says to the questioner that if a child be born on Mūla first quarter, it causes the father's death, if in 2nd quarter mother's death, if in the 3rd quarter loss of property and birth in the 4th quarter is beneficial and then provides that in case of birth in 1st quarter the child may be pierced and blood allowed to flow, in the 2nd quarter it may be handed to a stranger, in the case of birth in the other two quarters a *Śānti* rite may be performed

medieval astrology, viz. that a person's future is determined at the time of the birth and that his destiny can be inferred from his horoscope. It will be shown immediately that India was in contact with Mesopotamia and the countries of the Near East from very ancient times. This contact became very close after Alexander's invasion of India about 325 B C. and in the 3rd century B. C. It appears to me probable that Indians who had already the naksatra astrology saw the signs of the Zodiac on Babylonian monuments and boundary stones and adapted them to their own astrological purposes just about the time when the Greeks derived their inspiration for individual astrology from Babylonians.

In 'Gayā and Buddha Gayā' (Calcutta, 1934) Dr. B. M Barua draws attention (pp 90–92 and 121 of vol. II) to the fact that one can detect on the railing pillars at Buddha Gayā some of the motifs representing the rāśis or signs of the Zodiac (vide figures 43 a to j, which resemble the signs from Vrsa to Tulā, Dhanus and Makara). These figures were drawn in the 1st century B. C and would go at least some way towards negativing the view of Weber and others that the rāśi system was borrowed by Indians from such Greek writers as Firmicus and Paulus in the 4th century A. D. These Buddha Gayā figures closely resemble the figures drawn on monuments and boundary stones in Babylonia (vide figures opposite) All the railing pillars are not preserved.

A few words may be said about the intercourse between Babylon and India. A. H. Sayce says[893] that as far back as the 3rd millennium B C there was cultural and possibly racial continuity between Babylon and the Punjab and the intercourse was by land and that so far there is no evidence that it was by sea. Peacocks, rice and Indian sandalwood were known in Palestina under their Tamil names in the Hebrew chronicles of Genesis and Kings[894] The Bogozkeui Inscription of about 1400 B. C. recording treaties between the king of Hittites and the king of Mitanni shows the dynasts of the latter people had the

893 'On Aryan problem–fifty years later' in Antiquity vol. I (1927) pp 204–215, particularly p 206 and p 210; on p 204 he rebukes the European scholars, and especially Germans for their fondness for treating negative evidence as of great value in putting forward theories which broke down on further search being made.

894. Vide I Kings chap. X 11–29, 2 Chronicles IX. 21 and 'Early commerce of Babylon with India' JRAS for 1898 pp 241–273,

Vedic gods Indra, Varuna Mitra and Nāsatya in their pantheon.[895] The archives of Bogozkeui contained an elaborate treatise on four tablets on the training of horses by a certain Kikkuli of the land of Mitanni in which are found certain technical terms akin to Sanskrit; and the personal names of the kings and nobles from Mitanni, Nuzi and Syrian documents betray an Indo-European [896] origin. The Bāveru-jātaka refers to the trade by sea between Babylon and India.[897] Greek ambassadors such as Megasthenes from Seleucus to Candragupta Maurya, Daimachus to Bindusāra (son of Candragupta) had been sent to India and it is not too much to hold that there was reciprocity from the Indian side and Indians had gone as envoys to the Seleucid and Ptolemaic courts many years before Aśoka sent his missionaries.[898] Asoka's edict No. 13 refers to five kings of the Near East to whom Buddhist missionaries had been sent, viz. to

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895. L. R. Farnell (1911) in 'Greece and Babylon' p. 46, Winternitz's History of Sanskrit Literature vol. I. pp. 303–306 (English tr.,) and 'Antiquities of Iraq' by Svend Aage Pallis (Copenhagen, 1956) p. 615.

896. Vide J. A. O. S. vol. 67 (for 1947) pp. 251–253 by Dr. P. E. Dumont, Gurney on 'The Hittites' (Pelican series) pp. 104–105, Sarton in 'A History of Science' p. 85. Hrozny tentatively puts the date at 1360 B. C. A. H. Sayce in Pavry commemoration vol. pp. 399–402 draws attention to the fact that Hittite numerals like aika, tera, panz, satta, nāwa are Sanskrit and also words like aikawartanna (one turn) and concludes that in Mesopotamia and East Asia Minor lived in 15th century B. C. a people that spoke Sanskrit. Vide 'Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language' by E. H. Sturtevent and E. A. Hahn, vol. I (1951, Yale University Press) p. 4 para 8 about the treatment of the few Indian words that are quoted in the Bogazkoy documents. It is stated there that the works on horses composed by Kikkulis of Mitanni contain several technical terms that include Indian numerals, that a treaty between the Hittite king Suppiluliumas and Mathiwaza of Mitanni contains the names of several vedic gods, and that these forms are clearly traces of the language of Indian aristocracy in the Hurrian State of Mitanni.

897. 'Jātakas' tr. by Francis and Neil, vol. III p. 83 (Jātaka No. 339) about a crow and a peacock carried in a ship to Bāveru, where the peacock was the Buddha in a former life.

898. Vide 'House of Seleucus' vol. I p. 297 by E. R. Bevan (London 1902). Strabo (15. 1. 4 and 15. 1. 73) states that an embassy from a king Pandion (Pāndya) was received in the west and that an Indian embassy brought to Augustus a letter from its king in Greek written on parchment and a sophist from Barogsa (? Barygaza or Broach). The Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman (2nd century A. D.) mentions a *yavanarāja* Tuṣaspha, a provincial governor of Aśoka in Kathiawar (E. I. vol. VIII p. 36).

Antiyoga (Antiochus of Syria), Turamaya (Ptolemy II of Egypt), Antikina (Antigonus of Macedonia), Magā (Magas of Cyrene) and Alikasundara [899] (of Epirus) The Gospel of Matthew (chap. 2, 1–2) states that at the birth of Christ in Bethlehem wise men from the east came to Jerusalem saying that they had seen in the east the star of the newly born child and had come to worship him. The life of Apollonius of Tyana written by Philostratus [900] (in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D.) states that it was usual in India to show great hospitality to Babylonians and that the Indian king, Iarchus, presented to Apollonius seven rings named after the seven planets of which he was to wear one on each week day.

The theory that is sought to be propounded here is that the sight of the signs of the Zodiac on such patent objects as monuments and boundary stones in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C excited the curiosity of Indians visiting Babylonia, that on knowing their significance they brought the knowledge back to their country and fitted it on to the naksatra astrology that already existed in India and developed the rāsi astrology in their own way Varāhamihira expressly says about dreskānas that he describes them in accordance with the views of Yavanas If the whole Indian astrology had been derived from the Yavanas there was nothing to prevent him from saying so The verse 'Mlecchā hi yavanās &c' (in note 743 above) implies that the Yavana astrological tradition and Indian one were not the same and that the Yavanas had composed Sanskrit works on astrology (as the author's two papers show). Varāha expressly differs from the Yavanas on

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899 The latest date at which all these five kings were alive is 258 B C Vide Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol I (ed by Hultzsch, 1925) pp 48, 87.

900 Vide a summary of the 'Indian travels of Apollonius' by Osmond De Beauvoir Priaulx in JRAS 1860, pp 70–105 (p. 78 for Babylonians and p 99 for seven rings), Loeb Classical Library, vol I p 323 Some scholars hold that the life is a fabrication and that Apollonius never came to India. Supposing for argument that it is a fabrication, the fact remains that in the first quarter of the 3rd century A D Philostratus knew that Babylonians were respected in India, that seven planets were known in India and that planets were supposed to be propitiated by the wearing of rings on appropriate week days Charpentier wrote a booklet 'Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana' (Leipzig, 1934) in which he stated that he felt convinced that Apollonius had been in India but did not go further than the altars of Alexander (vide 'Indian Culture' vol III, p 241 for a review of Charpentier's booklet)

several substantial points.[901] About 200 B. C. the vernal equinox was at the beginning of the divisional sign Aries, which very closely coincided with the picture sign Aries The Indian astronomers, when they began to make use of the signs Mesa and others, switched over from the reckoning with the Krttikās as the beginning of the series of naksatras on to the reckoning from the naksatra Aśvinī, and counted Aśvinī as the first naksatra, though the vernal equinoctial point has now receded owing to precession to the Uttarābhādrapadā naksatra group. It is difficult to trace and describe the early efforts of Indian astrologers in the centuries preceding the Christian era on the system of rāśis, since the excellent work of Varāha, the Bṛhajjātaka, eclipsed all its predecessors and led to their gradual disappearance just as the two works of Ptolemy, Syntaxis (or Almagest) and Tetrabiblos, led to the gradual loss and disappearance of Greek works on astronomy and astrology composed before Ptolemy. Though all scholars maintain that Greek horoscopic astrology was influenced by Babylonian astronomy and astrology, the connecting links have snapped and become obliterated.[902] It is likely that, as both India and Greece were influenced by the Babylonian system of signs and astrology, both show some common characteristics. But it is too wide of the mark to assert that Indian astrology as developed in Varāhamihira was *borrowed* from Firmicus and Paulus Alexandrinus. Prof. Neugebauer, while asserting that the Sūrya-siddhānta is based on Greek eccentric and epicyclic devices, holds that they were modified by

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901. To mention only a few striking matters of differences of opinion between Varāha and Yavanas, (1) Yavanas favoured the view that all planets could be lords of horā (half of a rāśi), while Bṛ J. said no to this (I 11-12); (2) Yavanas held that the moon was never a malefic planet, Br J. (II 5) said it was so in certain cases; (3) Yavanas regarded Mars as sāttvika, while Br. J. (II. 7) held Mars to be *tāmasika*, (4) Yavanas held that planets could only be friends or enemies among themselves, while Br. J. (II. 15) held that they could also be neither friends nor foes; (5) Yavanas and Varāha differed on the temporary friendship or enmity of planets (Br. J. II. 18), (6) Yavanas spoke of Vajrayoga, but Bṛ J. (XII 3 and 6) held that such a yoga was impossible, (7) Yavanas held that only the Kumbha-dvādaśāṁśa was inauspicious, the Bṛ J. (XXI 3) found fault with this.

902. Vide Prof Neugebauer in E. S, A., p. 93 Prof. Waerden (in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, vol 8 p. 76) remarks that Hellenistic Astrology is a mixture of Chaldean, Egyptian and Greek elements and that there are more Babylonian elements in this mixture than is generall supposed.

the Indians and that what he means is not that there was *copying*, but an intelligent modification of the initial impetus (vide 'Archives Internationales D'Histoire des Sciences' for April-June 1955 (at p. 171 and note 32) It has been shown above in note 869 that the Br J differs from Firmicus as to dreskānas and about *bhāvas* (places in the horoscope) My hypothesis is that Indian astrology about *rāśis* and bhāvas was developed before even Ptolemy I have pointed out the differences between Ptolemy and Varāha in many places.[903]

Horoscopes are cast not only for individuals, but also for companies, ships, animals,[903a] foundations of buildings, cities and countries. If a person comes to an astrologer for consultation on any matter, the astrologer notes the sign rising at the time the question is asked, calculates the positions of the planets also for that day and time and then makes his prognostications[904] For casting the horoscope of an individual one must know the year, month, day, hour or *ghaṭikā* of birth and the place of birth. Almanacs are prepared on the basis of the latitudes and longitudes of cities like Bombay or Poona or Calcutta and they furnish tables by following which one can find the sign rising at the time of the birth of a person But the almanacs being based on the latitudes and longitudes of certain towns and cities, if a person uses an almanac prepared in Poona for casting the horoscope of a person born in Berar or Central India there is likely to be some inaccuracy in arriving at the proper *lagna*.

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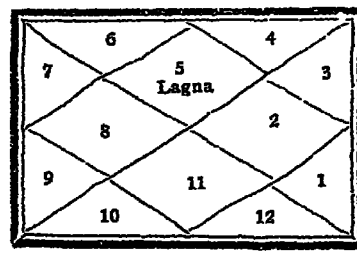
903. Vide e g pp. 568, 575, 583, 589

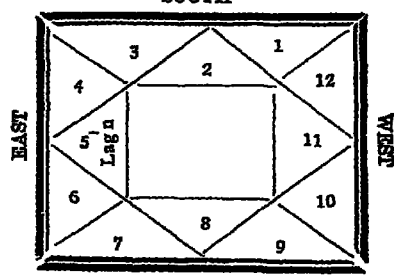
903 a Aldous Huxley in his novel 'Crome yellow' (*Phoenix Library*, 1929) satirizes society ladies who spent their days in casting the horoscopes of horses on which they laid heavy bets (p. 13).

904 There are two well-known works dealing with astrology connected with the time of questions, viz Sat-pañcāśikā of Prthuyaśas, son of Varāhamihira, and the Āryāsaptati of Utpala (printed by Nirn. Press, Bombay) Two verses (5 and 35) from the first book may be quoted here· होराश्चित' पूर्णतद्वं शशाङ्को जीवेन दृष्टो यदि वा सितेन। क्षिप्रं प्रणष्टस्य करोति लब्धिं लाभो· पयातो बलगान् क्षुमश्च॥ दूरगतस्यागमनं सुतधनसहजस्थितैर्बलैर्लग्नात्। सौम्यैर्नष्टमाप्ति लघ्वा· गमनं गुरुसितास्यात्॥ लग्नात् in verse 35 means the lagna at the time the question is asked Verse 55 of the same is अंशकाज्ञाप्यते द्रव्य द्रेष्काणैस्तस्करा स्मृता' राशिभ्य कालविग्देशा वयो जातिश्च लग्नपात्॥ 'material stolen is inferred from the navāṁśa of the lagna at the time of the question, the characteristics of the thieves from dreskānas of the lagna (as described in Br J chap. 27), from the rāśis time, direction and location are learnt and the age and caste of the thief from the lord of the lagna'.

Horoscopes are framed either in square figures or in circular figures and even as to square horoscopes, there is some variance in the practice of placing the *lagna* (the sign rising on the horizon at the time of birth). Supposing the lagna is Simha, the square horoscope as usually drawn in Mahārāstra would be as follows where the figures 6, 2 and 4 would represent the 2nd, 10th and 12th *bhāvas* (places), while a horoscope cast on the modern European method would be like the one next to it with the same lagna and employs symbols for the signs as for Aries and for planets such as for Mars.



SOUTH



NORTH

CHAPTER XVII

MUHŪRTAS FOR RELIGIOUS RITES

We shall now turn to the muhūrtas for religious rites and actions of individuals. Only a few of the rites and actions can be briefly dealt with here.

A few general rules may however be first stated The Atharvana[905] Jyotisa says that a wise man should perform an act or rite with the concurrence of all the four, viz. *tithi*, *naksatra*, *karana* and *muhūrta*, if he wants success in it. if a proper tithi cannot be secured then the other three should be availed of, if the first two are not available then the next two, if the first three are not available then secure *muhūrta* alone; but if there be necessity to hurry and none of the four can be secured, then with the loud declaration by (learned) brāhmanas that it is an auspicious day he should do the act and success is secured Certain religious acts have to be done at stated times and in those cases, one should not consider the conditions of Jupiter and Venus called *bālya* and old age or the fact of Jupiter being in Lion sign, or of *daksināyana* or there being an intercalary month, as for example, in the rites from *pumsavana* up to *annaprāśana*. The Rājamārtanda[906] states 'the correct astrological position of planets and days is not meant for times of distress, all these (rules about auspicious positions) are to be considered when life is easy (matters are in good condition), so says Bhrgu'. Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday confer success in all actions (begun on those days), only those actions succeed on Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday, for which those days are expressly laid down as proper. But the Nāradapurāna says that Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are the best, Sunday and Monday are middling and the other two, viz. Tuesday and Saturday, are condemned for Upanayana[907]

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905 चतुर्भि कारयेत्कर्म सिद्धिहेतोर्विचक्षण.। तिथिनक्षत्रकरणमुहूर्तेनेति निश्चय ॥ दूरस्थस्य मुहूर्तस्य क्रिया च त्वरिता यदि। द्विजपुण्याहघोषेण कृतं स्यात्सर्वसम्पदम् ॥ आथर्वण-ज्योतिष VII. 12 and 16.

906. ग्रहवत्सत्वशुद्धिश्च नार्ते कालमपेक्षते। स्वस्थे सर्वमिद चिन्त्यमित्याह भगवान्भृगुः ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 25a, verse 388

907. सोमसौम्यगुरुशुक्रवासराः सर्वकर्मसु भवन्ति सिद्धिदाः। भानुमौमशनिवासरेषु च मोक्षमेव खलु कर्म सिध्यति ॥ रत्नमाला III 15; आचार्यसौम्यकाव्याना वारा प्रशस्ता. शशीनयो। वारौ तु मध्यमौ चैव व्रतेऽन्यौ निन्दितौ मतौ ॥ नारदीयपुराण I. 56. 359–60

The general rule is that all undertakings succeed when they are begun while the 3rd, 6th, 10th and 11th places from the *lagna* are either in conjunction with or have an aspect with an auspicious planet and the lagna is also in conjunction with the two, when the 8th and 12th places are faultless and the Moon is in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th place.[908]

It should be remembered that the usual tendency of our medieval Dharmaśāstra writers is generally to heap details on what were originally simple ceremonies.

Among the samskāras it is best to begin with Jātakarma (rites at the birth of a child). The Ratnamālā[909] provides that the rites on the birth of a son should be performed on a *mrdu, dhruva, ksipra* or a *cara* naksatra and the good recommend the giving of a name when Jupiter or Venus is in *catustaya* (i e. in the 1st, 4th, 7th or 10th bhāva in the infant's horoscope). As regards birth some writers (e. g. M. M. IV. 19) speak of Gandānta which is inauspicious in birth, marriage and starting on a journey or invasion, viz the conjunction of 15th tithi with *pratipad* for two *ghatikās*, similarly half a ghatikā when Cancer and Lion or Scorpion and Archer or Fish and Ram join and the four ghatikās of the junction of Revatī and Aśvinī, Āśleśā and Maghā, Jyesthā and Mūla These Gandānta conjunctions produce evil for the child's father or mother &c. Similar results are predicted for birth on certain parts of Āślesa and Mūla. About naming a child Manu provides that it should be performed on the 10th or 12th day from birth or on an auspicious tithi or on a muhūrta or naksatra possessed of auspicious characteristics[910] About *caula* or cūdākarma (tonsure) Āśvalāyana-grhya (I. 17. 1) provides a simple rule that it should be performed in the third year after birth or according to family usage, while Manu (II 35) provides that it may be performed in the first or third year; the Āśv. gr, however, has provided for caula, upanayana, godāna and marriage the proper time of the northward passage of the sun, the fortnight of the waxing moon and an auspicious naksatra The Āp. gr. (16. 3) states that it may be performed

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908 व्ययाष्टशुद्धोपचये लग्ने शुभदृग्युते। चन्द्रे त्रिषड्दशायस्थे सर्वारम्भ प्रसिध्यति॥ मु चि. II 44

909. मृदुध्रुवक्षिप्रचरेषु भेषु सूनोर्विधेयं खलु जातकर्म। गुरौ भृगौ वापि चतुष्टयस्थे सन्तः प्रशंसन्ति च नामधेयम्॥ रत्नमाला XIII 2

910 नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत्। पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते॥ मनु II. 30.

in the 3rd year after birth on Punarvasu naksatra. But medieval writers have added numerous astrological details For example, the Rājamārtanda devotes thirty-two verses to *cuula* (folios 16 to 18), one remarkable provision being that the Yavanas regarded *cūdākarma* in the Sun's northward passage as auspicious [911] Vyāsa quoted by Sm. C. says 'tonsure should be performed on Aśvinī, Śravana, Svātī, Citrā, Pusya, Punarvasu, Dhanisthā, Revatī, Jyesthā, Mrgaśirsa and Hasta and should not be performed on the person's naksatra of birth, nor on Pūrvābhādrapadā, Uttarābhādrapadā and Krttikā, one should avoid for tonsure the first tithi (after amāvāsyā), *riktā* tithi (4th, 9th and 14th), *Visti*, Sunday, Tuesday, Saturday and night [912]

Similar rules are laid down for ordinary shaving in the case of grown-up men [912a] Some verses may be quoted here 'the following naksatras are beneficial in the matter of shaving, viz. the naksatras, Hasta, [913] Citrā, Svātī, Mrgaśiras, Śravana, Dhanisthā Śatabhisak, Revatī, Aśvinī, Jyesthā, Pusya and Punarvasu or when any naksatra is at the time of its rise in conjunction with the moon provided there is also *tārābala* (as defined below). Shaving is commended when the rising sign is Makara, Dhanus, Kanyā, Mithuna or Vrsa; observing this produces prosperity, strength and growth of intelligence, if shaving is done when any of the other signs is rising, that leads to disease and danger Shaving is allowed on all naksatras at the king's command, with a brāhmana's consent, at the time of marriage, on the advent of impurity due to death, on the release of an imprisoned person and in *dīksā* (consecration rites) on a solemn Vedic sacrifice'

We now turn to Upanayana, one of the two most important *samskāras*. Āsvalāyana-grhya (I. 4. 1) as noted above (p 605)

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911 उत्तरवर्त्मनि सवितुश्चूडाकरणं जगु शुभ यवना । रा मा folio 16b, verse 255 This proves that the Greek author had become thoroughly Hinduized

912 व्यास । अश्विनी श्रवण स्वाती चित्रा पुष्यपुनर्वसू । धनिष्ठा रेवती ज्येष्ठा मृगहस्तेषु कारयेत् ॥ नक्षत्रे न तु कुर्वीत यस्मिञ्जातो भवेन्नर । न भोष्टपदयोः कार्यं नैर्ऋत्येऽपि च भारत ॥ तिथिं प्रतिपद् रिक्ता विष्टि चैव विवर्जयेत् । वारे शनैश्चरादित्यभौमाना रात्रिमेव च ॥ स्मृतिच I. p 23, अपरार्क p 29 on या. I. 11-12.

912a A proverbial line quoted as early as 4th century A D. by Ausonius (310-393 A D) in Eclogues p 203 (vide Loeb Classical Library, 1919) runs 'cut nails on Tuesday, beard on Wednesday, hair on Friday.'

913 हस्तात्रयं मृगशिर श्रवणत्रय च पौष्णाश्विशुक्रगुरुभानि पुनर्वसू च । क्षौरे तु कर्मणि हितान्युदयक्षणे च युक्तानि चोडुपतिना यदि शुद्धतारा. ॥ क्षौर प्रशस्तं मृगचापलग्ने

(*Continued on next page*)

laid down one simple rule for the proper time of four samskāras. Ap Dh [914] S. laid down two further rules providing that the upanayana of a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya boy should be performed respectively in spring, summer and autumn and the proper ages for these three are respectively the 8th, 11th and 12th from conception The same ages are prescribed by Manu II. 36 and Yāj. I. 14. It may be noted that none of the sūtras nor the smrtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya say a word about the position of planets or rāśis or week-days or month. Gradually such rules were heaped up. The Rājamārtanda devotes 70 verses (from 304 to 373 on folios 20a to 24a) to upanayana It states that the years were to be counted from conception or birth. To find proper muhūrtas for upanayana has become a very intricate matter and such muhūrtas are few and far between. Only a few such rules can be indicated here. First as to months. One text lays down 'Upanayana is commended (for all) when performed in the five months from Māgha (i. e from Māgha to Jyestha); while Vrddha-Gārgya quoted in Kālādarśa provides that it may be performed in the six months from Māgha. [915] Another rule provided 'that no auspicious rites (like upanayana and marriage) should be performed on the naksatra, month and week-day on which the person concerned was born and no auspicious rite for the eldest son or eldest daughter should be performed in the month of Jyestha' [916] The sages differed about the month of birth. Vasistha said that only the day of birth was to be avoided, Garga says only eight days of the month of birth were to be

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(*Continued from last page*)

कन्याकन्यलग्ने मिथुने वृषे च। पुष्टिं बल बुद्धिविवर्धनं च शेषेषु रोगं कुरुते भय च॥ वृषाङ्गया ब्राह्मणसंमतेन विवाहकाले सुतसूतके च। चन्द्रस्य मौढ्ये क्रतुदीक्षणे च सर्वेषु शस्तं क्षुरकर्म भेषु॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 16b, 17b, 18a, verses 258, 272, 279, भुजबल pp 130–131, अपरार्क p 30 (first verse), स्मृतिच I. p. 23 (last verse) The last verse (वृषाङ्गया &c.) is बृहत्संहिता 98, 14 (Kern's ed.).

914. वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं गर्भाष्टमेषु ब्राह्मणं गर्भैकादशेषु राजन्यं गर्भद्वादशेषु वैश्यम्॥ आप. ध सू I. 1. 1. 19 Śabara in his bhāsya on Jaimini VI 1 33 quotes the words वसन्ते ब्राह्मण वैश्यम् apparently as a Vedic text. उपनयनमाहुरिष्ट द्विजस्य गर्भाष्टमेऽष्टमे वाब्दे। नो चेच्चत्वमे वर्षे त्रयोदशे द्वादशे वा॥ राजमार्तण्ड verse 310.

915 तथा च ज्योतिःशास्त्रम्। माघादिषु तु मासेषु मौञ्जी पञ्चसु शस्यते। स्मृतिच I p 27, नि सि p 262 (quotes it from हेमाद्रि on काल p 747), कालादर्शे वृद्धगार्ग्यः। माघादिमासपञ्चके तु मेखलाबन्धनं मतम्। नि. सि. p 262.

916. जन्ममासि न च जन्मभे तथा नैव जन्मदिवसेऽपि कारयेत्। आद्यगर्भभवितु सुतस्य वा ज्येष्ठमासि न तु जातु मङ्गलम्॥ रत्नमाला XVI. 5 of श्रीपति q by com on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि V. 45. This prohibition about Jyestha has no basis beyond the fact that the same word is applied to the month and to the eldest son or daughter.

avoided, Atri says ten days and Bhāguri says the fortnight of birth in the month was to be avoided [917] No upanayana was to be performed when the moon was lost in the rays of the sun, when Venus had set, when the sun was in the first *amśa* (degree) of a *rāśi* and on days which were declared to be unfit for vedic study and on *galagraha* [918] Certain tithis and times were called galagraha (as stated in the note) [919] If Jupiter be in the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th or 11th rāśi from the rāśi of birth, then Jupiter is very auspicious; if Jupiter be in the 1st, 3rd, 6th or 10th rāśi from the rāśi of birth he becomes auspicious after a *śānti* rite; if Jupiter be in the 4th, 8th or 12th rāśi from birth he is inauspicious. [920]

One rather convenient doctrine of the astrologers was that an evil planet may be mollified and the evil consequences of its influence avoided, or, if not altogether avoided, substantially reduced or abated by appropriate rites (called *śāntis*) or by wearing certain precious stones and metals and by various other means enumerated in the Ratnamālā [921] 'one should wear coral for appeasing Mars and the Sun, silver for Venus and the Moon, gold for Mercury, pearl for Jupiter, iron for Saturn and *rājāvarta* (a kind of inferior gem) for the other two (Rāhu and Ketu). The Ratnamālā provides that planets may not possibly afflict a man if he engages in prostrations before images of gods and before brāhmanas, if he carries out the advice of elders, by holding daily conversations with the good, by listening to the

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917 जातं दिनं दूषयते पक्षिष्टो ह्यत्रौ च गर्गो नियत दशाह्नि । जातस्य पक्षं किल भागुरिश्च शेषा. प्रशस्ताः खलु जन्ममासि च ॥ राजमार्तण्ड q by नि. सि p. 263

918. नष्टे चन्द्रेऽस्तगे शुक्रे लिप्ते चैव भास्करे। कर्तव्यमौपनयनं नानध्याये गलग्रहे ॥ quoted by अपरार्क p 32 and स्मृतिच. I p 27, हेमाद्रि (on काल) p 751 (from रत्नकोश)

919. अष्टमी सप्तमीविद्धा त्रयोदश्या चतुर्दशी। प्रतिपदा द्वितीया च गलग्रह उदाहृत ॥ त्रयोदश्यादि चत्वारि सप्तम्यादि दिनत्रयम्। चतुर्थी त्वेकत भौक्ता अष्टावेता गलग्रहा. ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 23a and b, verses 363 and 365, हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 751 for त्रयोदशी चतुर्थ्यां च सप्तम्यादि &c

920 बहुकन्याजन्मराशेस्त्रिकोणषट्टिसगत । श्रेष्ठो गुरु खलदृश्याद्ये पूजायान्यत्र निन्दित ॥ मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि V 46

921 धार्यं गुरुभ्यै विद्रुम भौमभान्वो रौप्य शुक्रेन्द्वोश्च हेमेन्दुजस्य। सूक्ता सूरेर्लोहमर्कास्मजस्य रालाभाभि. (राजावर्त. ?) कीर्तित शेषयोश्च ॥ रत्नमाला X 15 quoted in com. पीयूषधारा on मु चि IV 11 (धार्य लाजावर्तकं राहुकेत्वो), देवब्राह्मणबन्दनादुरुचच.-सम्यादनात्प्रत्यहं साधूनामभिभाषणात् श्रुतिरवश्चैव कथाकर्णनात्। होमाद्यरदर्शनाच्छुचिमनोभावाज्जपाद् दानतो नो कुर्वन्ति कदाचिदेव दुरुपस्पैवं ग्रहा पीडनम् ॥ रत्नमाला X 29. शमयोद्भूतामल्पभद्रटिमापि विद्युधविप्रपूजया शान्तिजपनियमदानवन्मै सुजनाभिभाषणसमागमैस्तथा ॥ बृहत्संहिता 103. 48

loud recitation of the Vedas and to the stories about the great, by offering *homa*, by seeing the performance of Vedic sacrifices, by making the mind pure, by *japa* (inaudible repetition of mantras), by making gifts. The Brhatsamhitā has a similar verse. Ratnamālā X. 16 and Muhūrtacintāmani IV. 9 provide that one should possess a golden ring divided into nine compartments, one being in the middle in which there is to be a ruby for placating the Sun, and in eight directions from the east onwards should be set in order: a diamond for placating Venus in the east, a fine pearl for the moon (in S. E), coral for Mars (South), *gomeda* for Rāhu (in S. W.), fine sapphire for Saturn (West), Vaiḍūrya (cat's eye gem) for Ketu (N. W.), pusyarāga (topaz) for Jupiter (North), emerald for Mercury (N. E.). Such rings are worn even in these days by some people.

As in ancient times upanayana was meant for conferring on the boy the authority to study Veda and as the planet Jupiter (Guru) was identified with Brhaspati, the *guru* of the gods and the Lord of Speech, great importance was attached to the position of Jupiter But exceptions were introduced even when Jupiter was apparently not favourable. One exception was 'even if Jupiter be in the 8th place from the rāśi of birth or be in the sign of Lion (which is the svagrha of the Sun) or in depression (i. e in Makara) or in the house of his enemy, upanayana would be auspicious if performed in Caitra when the Sun is in Pisces (which is the svagrha of Jupiter) This exception is due to the fact that the principal time for upanayana is the 8th year from conception or birth and other conditions are of secondary importance, as the Dharmasindhu says.[922] Certain naksatras alone were declared to be auspicious for upanayana and *samāvartana* of dvijas viz on the naksatras Hasta, Citrā, Svāti, Pusya, Dhanisthā, Revatī, Aśvinī, Mrgaśiras, Punarvasu and Śravana; upanayana was to be performed on a commended tithi when the Moon is powerful (i e from 5th of bright half to the 5th of the dark half) [923]

Very intricate astrological rules are provided for marriage. The Āśv. gr. S. (I. 4. 1–2) laid down a very simple rule about

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922 अष्टमवर्षादिमुख्यकाले मुख्यबलाभावेपि मीनगतरविसुतचैत्रे वा ज्ञात्वा वा व्रतबन्धः कार्यो न तु मुख्यकालातिक्रम । नित्यकालस्य बलीयस्त्वात् । धर्मसिन्धु p 201.

923. एतत्त्रये मुख्यधनिष्ठोत्त्र पौष्णाश्विसौम्यादितिविष्णुमेषु । शस्ते तिथौ चन्द्रबलेन युक्ते कार्यो द्विजानां व्रतबन्धमोक्षौ ॥ हेमाद्रि on काल p. 749, रा. ना (folio 20 b verse 316) quoted by अपरार्क p. 32 (without name)

the proper times for four samskāras which has been quoted above (p. 536 note 778). The Baud. gr. (I 1. 18–20) provides that marriage may be celebrated in all months, that according to some, the months of Āsādha, Māgha and Phālguna are to be avoided and that the auspicious naksatras for marriage are Rohinī, Mrgaśīrsa, Uttarā-Phalgunī and Svātī (vide notes 726 and 777 above). The Āp gr. (I. 2. 12–13) is to the same effect as to months (vide note 775). The Kauśikasūtra[924] (75. 2–4) approaches medieval and modern practice as it prescribes that marriage should be celebrated after the Full Moon of Kārtika up to the Full moon of Vaiśākha or one may do as one likes but one should avoid the month or half month of Caitra. In medieval and modern times there was some difference of opinion. The Rājamārtanda (that devotes over 150 verses to the treatment of marriage) allowed all months for marriage except Caitra and Pausa[925] But works like the Dharmasindhu say that the months of Māgha, Phālguna, Vaiśākha and Jyestha are auspicious, Mārgaśīrsa is middling and in some works Āsādha and Kārtika are allowed and that usages of the country should be followed.

Then consideration is to be given to the naksatras, the week days, the positions of the planets, particularly Jupiter, Venus, Sun and Moon. But before doing so I would like to draw the attention of modern sticklers for astrological requirements about the marriage of a girl to the practical advice and wise words of the Rājamārtanda and Bhujabala composed in the first half of the 11th century A. D. The Rājamārtanda[926] says 'when

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924. ऊर्ध्वं कार्तिक्या आ वैशाख्या । याधाकामी वा । चित्रापक्षं तु वर्जयेत् । कौशिकसूत्र 75. 2–4.

925. मङ्गल्येषु विवाहेषु कन्यावरणेषु च । दश मासा प्रशस्यन्ते चैत्रपौषविवर्जिता ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 29a verse 480 q by उद्वाहतत्त्व p 124, ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p 604, नि. सि. p. 307 रत्नमाला says: नाषाढमभृति चतुष्टये विवाहो नो पौषे न च मधुसंज्ञिते विधेय । XVI. 3.

926. राज्ञा ग्रस्तेऽथवा दुष्टे पितृणा प्राणसंक्षये। अतिमौढा तु या कन्या न तु काल प्रतीक्षते । अतिमौढा तु या कन्या न तु धर्मविरोधिनी । अविक्षुब्धा तु सा देया लग्नचन्द्रबलैर्विना ॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folio 24b and verses 397–398) q by उद्वाहतत्त्व p 124 (reads नाहकूर्च्यं प्रतीक्षते and चन्द्रलग्नबलेन तु), नि. सि p 303 (reads राहुग्रस्ते) संवर्त (verse 67) laid down that a girl was to be married before she reached puberty, but the marriage of a girl when she is eight years old is to be commended. Parāśara (VII 9) says that a brāhmana who marries a girl after she has reached puberty becomes unfit to sit for dinner in a row of brāhmanas and he becomes the husband of a vrsali राजमार्तण्ड (folio 25a verse 391) is: अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गौरी दशवर्षा च कन्यका । संप्राप्ते द्वादशे वर्षे प्रायस्तु रजस्वला ॥. So some stigma atta-

(*Continued on next page*)

(an invading) king has seized a country or when war is raging or when the life of the parents is in danger, a maiden who is very much grown up is not to wait for an (auspicious) time; when a maiden is very much grown up, but does not act against the rules of dharma she should be given in marriage, even though she is impure, without minding whether the Moon and the *lagna* are powerful'. The Bhujabala[927] (or Bhujabalabhīma) provides 'the sages declare that in the case of maidens the auspiciousness of planets and of the year, the month, *ayana*, season and days is to be considered only before maidens reach the age of ten years'.

There is some difference of opinion about the auspicious naksatras for marriage, but all are agreed as to Rohinī, Mrgaśiras, Maghā, Uttarā-Phalgunī, Uttarāsādhā, Uttarā-bhādrapadā, Hasta, Svātī, Mūla, Anurādhā, Revatī (vide Br. S. 100. 1). Others like Haradatta add four more viz. Aśvinī, Citrā, Śravana, Dhanisthā. But if any one of these is in conjunction with a malefic planet, it should be avoided. Among weekdays, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious, the other three are middling. According to a verse quoted in Jyotistattva weekdays have no force at night and particularly Tuesday, Saturday and Sunday.[928] Among tithis amāvāsyā is forbidden; *riktā* tithis (4th, 9th, 14th) yield little good, the other tithis yield much good; the bright half of a month is the best and the dark half of a month upto 13th tithi is middling.

Marriage[929] in the case of maidens should be performed in even years after the 6th year if Jupiter is auspicious; in the case of bridegrooms marriage is auspicious (in uneven years), if the Sun is auspicious; marriage is auspicious to both if the Moon is

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(*Continued from last page*)

ches to the grown-up girl also. The भुजबल says 'वृशवर्षव्यतिक्रान्ता कन्या शुद्धिविवर्जिता। तस्मात्तारेन्दुलग्नानां शुद्धौ पाणिग्रहो मतः॥' p. 152. Therefore the राजमार्तण्ड employs the word अविशुद्धा. The उद्वाहतत्त्व softens the rule by saying that all that should be considered is the moon and the lagna at the time of the marriage of a grown-up girl

927 ग्रहशुद्धिमब्दशुद्धिं शुद्धिं मासायनर्तुदिवसानाम्। अर्वाग्वृशवर्षेभ्यो सुतयः कथयन्ति कन्यकानाम्॥ भुजबल q by उद्वाहतत्त्व p 124, ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 605.

928. ज्ञानरत्नमालायाम्। न वारदोषा. प्रभवन्ति रात्रौ विशेषतो भौमशनैश्चरार्काः। ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p 595.

929 गुरुशुद्धिवशेन कन्यकानां समवर्षेषु षडब्दकोपरिष्टात्। रविशुद्धिवशाच्छुभो वराणा-मुभयोश्चन्द्रविशुद्धितो विवाह॥ मु. चि VI. 12.

beneficent If Jupiter is in exaltation[930] or in its own house or in the house of a friendly planet then he confers full life, various kinds of wealth and happiness, but if Jupiter is in the first or 8th or is depressed or in the house of an enemical planet or lost in the brilliance of the Sun he produces widowhood and distress to the issue. As regards the lagna at the time of marriage the Sun in the 3rd, 6th, 8th from it, the Moon in the 2nd, 3rd or 4th place from it, Mars in the 3rd and 6th, Mercury and Jupiter in the 8th and 12th are to be avoided. If Venus is in the *lagna* or in the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 9th or 10th place from it, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu in 3rd, 6th and 8th from it and every planet in the 11th place from *lagna* conduces to happiness in marriage. If at the time of marriage Jupiter[931] is 2nd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th from the rāsi of birth he is auspicious to the maiden; if in 1st, 3rd, 6th or 10th place therefrom, he becomes beneficent by performing a śānti rite; if he is 4th, 8th or 12th he is inauspicious: but if Jupiter is (at the time of marriage) in Karka, Dhanus or Mīna, he ceases to be inauspicious even though he may be in the 4th, 8th or 12th place (from rāśi of birth); in a time of pressing difficulty Jupiter though in the 4th or 12th becomes auspicious after performing two śāntis (Bṛhaspati homas) and though in the 8th after three śāntis. In the case of the bridegroom the Sun in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th rāśi from the bridegroom's rāśi at birth is auspicious; if in other rāśis the Sun becomes auspicious after the performance of a homa.

If a maiden[932] has attained the age of puberty then one should not stop to consider whether Jupiter is auspicious; even if Jupiter be 8th from the girl's rāśi of birth marriage should be brought about after three śāntis.

If Jupiter be in the house of the Sun (i. e. in Simha sign) and the Sun is in the house of Jupiter (i. e in Mīna or Dhanus) that is called Gurvāditya, which is condemned for all rites.

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930. उच्चस्थ. स्वगृही सुहृन्नवमगो वाचस्पतिर्निरुपद्र. पूर्णायुर्विविधार्थसौख्यजनको जन्मादगो वा भवेत्। नीचस्थोऽरिगृही दिवाकरकरच्छायाहतगामी सदा दुष्टानिष्टफलं ददाति नियतं वैधव्यपुत्रापदम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 27a verse 434

931. द्विपञ्चसप्तनवैकादशस्थो गुरुः कन्यायाः शुभः, जन्मतृतीयषष्ठदशमस्थानेषु पूजाहोमात्मकशान्त्या शुभः, चतुर्थाष्टमद्वादशस्थानेषु दुष्टफल कर्कधनुर्मीनस्थश्च चतुर्थाद्विस्थानेषु न दुष्टः। सङ्कटे चतुर्थद्वादशस्थो द्विवारमष्टमस्त्रिवारं होमादिरूपपूजयार्चित. शुभ.। धर्मसिन्धु p 248. कर्के is the *uccha* (exaltation) of Jupiter and Dhanus and Mīna are his *svagṛhas*.

932. रजस्वलायाः कन्यायाः गुरुशुद्धिं न चिन्तयेत्। अष्टमेपि प्रकर्तव्यो विवाहस्त्रिभिरर्चनात्॥ लल्ल q. by नि. सि. p. 304.

A good deal is said in the medieval works on Simhastha Guru and the rules laid down on this topic are even now observed by most people. The Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes six verses to it When Jupiter is in the sign Lion several rites would become inauspicious such as marching on an invasion, marriage, *upanayana*, first entrance in a newly built house, the establishment of the image of a god. Certain modifications were introduced by sages. Parāśara provided that no marriage should be performed in the countries between the Ganges and the Godāvarī, when Jupiter was in Lion sign and that when Jupiter was in Maghā naksatra (the first of the 2¼ naksatras of Simha) and when the Sun was in Mīna no marriage in all the countries (of India) should take place; Vasiṣṭha said 'marriage and Upanayana are not bad in *simhastha* Guru when performed in a country north of the Ganges and to the south of the Godāvarī.[933]

On account of the complicated nature of the muhūrta for marriage, a short cut was hit upon called *Godhūlī* or *Gorajas* (literally, dust raised by cows) muhūrta The Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes ten verses to it (folios 34b and 35a, verses 550–559). Three of them are set out here.[934] 'While the Sun, though setting, appears like saffron or red sandalwood paste, while the stars in the sky are not seen to sparkle with their light, while the sky is filled with the dust pounded by cows (returning to their pens) with the tips of their hoofs, that time is declared to be Godhūlikā, which gives rise to wealth and crops and prosperity. In this muhūrta the planets, the tithis, Viṣṭi or stars or constellations do not create an obstacle; this unimpeded *yoga* was

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933. यात्रा विवाहो व्रतबन्धनं च प्रवेशयानं च सुरप्रतिष्ठा। अन्येषु कार्येषु च क्षोभनेषु दोषो भवेत्सिंहगते सुरेज्ये । मुजबल p. 275, गुरौ हरिस्थे न विवाहमाहुर्हरीतगर्गमसुरा मुनीन्द्रा । राजमार्तण्ड folio 67a verse 1057, पराशर.। गोदाभागीरथीमध्ये गोदाह. सिंहगे गुरौ। मघास्थे सर्वदेशेषु तथा मीनगते रवौ॥ वसिष्ठोपि। विवाहो दक्षिणे कूले गौतम्या नेतरत्र तु। भागीरथ्युत्तरे कूले गौतम्या दक्षिणे तथा। विवाहो व्रतबन्धश्च सिंहस्थेज्ये न दुष्यति॥ नि. सि. p. 305.

934 यावत्कुङ्कुमरक्तचन्दननिभोऽभ्यस्ताचले भास्करो यावच्चोडुगणो नभ स्थलगतो नो दृश्यते रश्मिभिः। गोभिश्चापि खुराग्रभागदलितैर्व्याप्तं नभ पांसुभिः सा वेला धनधान्यवृद्धि-जननी गोधूलिका ख्यायते॥ नास्मिन्ग्रहा न तिथयो न च विष्टिवारा ऋक्षाणि नैव जनयन्ति कदा न विघ्नम्। अन्यादृत. स तु नामवा (सततमेव ?) विवाहकाले यात्रासु चापसुदितो मृगजेन योगः॥ लग्नं यदा भाति विशुद्धमन्यद् गोधूलिकं साधु तदादिशन्ति। लग्ने विशुद्धे सति वीर्ययुक्ते गोधूलिकं नैव शुभं विधत्ते॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 34b and 35a, verses 551, 556, 559. The last two are quoted by ज्योतिस्तत्त्व (without name) pp. 610–611 (and one more viz 555). Compare बृहत्सं. 102 13 'गोपैर्पटद्या हताना खुरपुटदलिता या तु धूलिर्दिनान्ते सौहार्दे सुन्दरीणा विपुलधनसुतारोग्यसौभाग्यकर्त्री॥ तस्मिन्काले न चर्क्षं न च तिथिकरणं नैव लग्नं न योगः स्यात्. सुखार्थं शमयति दुरितान्युत्थितं गोरजस्तु॥'

declared by Bhārgava as time for marriage and for starting on an invasion. When no other auspicious *lagna* can be found then sages direct that Godhūlikā (muhūrta) is auspicious; but if a lagna which is auspicious and powerful can be found the Godhūlikā muhūrta does not bring about auspicious results. The Dharmasindhu (p. 254) simply quotes the Muhūrta-mārtanda IV. 38, which says that this muhūrta is intended for śūdras, but that in times of great difficulty when the girl has reached puberty it may be auspicious also for brāhmanas and persons of other varnas. In these days also this Gorajas muhūrta is sometimes resorted to by all varnas.

There are other complicated astrological matters for consideration in marriage such as Daśayogacakra (R M. folios 35b–36b), Saptaśalākācakra (R. M folio 36b–37b), which are passed over here. But there in one matter that is sometimes gone into even now and that must be briefly alluded to, viz the calculation of the *gunas* (marks) on the comparison of eight matters concerning the naksatra and rāśi on which the intending bride and bridegroom were born This is designated 'vadhūvaramelakavicāra' or 'ghatitagunavicāra' The eight matters (kūtas as they are called) are varna, vaśya, tārā, yoni, grahamaitrī, ganamaitrī, rāśikūta and nādī,[935] varna carrying one mark, each succeeding one having one more mark (in all 36) than the one immediately preceding All of them are not described even in the latest works; for example, the Dharmasindhu deals only with the last four. Two of these, viz gana and nādī are attached great importance even now among brāhmanas and other classes also. I have described these two in H of Dh. vol II. p 515. All these eight are described at length in Muhūrtamārtanda (IV. 1-12) and Muhūrta-cintāmani (VI. 21-35), Samskāraprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) pp 773ff and Samskāra-ratna-mālā pp. 519ff. One[936] rule made matters easy in some cases, viz when the rāśi of birth of both bride and bridegroom was the same, but the naksatras of their birth were different or where the naksatra was the same but the rāśis were

935 वर्णो वश्यं तथा तारा योनिश्च ग्रहमैत्रकम । गणमैत्रं भकूट च नाडी चैते गुणाधिका. ॥ मु चि. VI. 21.

936 राश्यैक्ये चेद्भिन्नसूक्ष द्वयो· स्यान्नक्षत्रैक्ये पादभिदे शुभ. स्यात् ॥ मु. चि VI 36. If, for example, the bridegroom was born during the first quarter of kṛttikā naksatra and the bride in the 4th quarter of the same their rāśis would be different (viz. Meṣa and Vṛṣabha) but the nakṣatra would be the same.

different, then no consideration need be paid to *gana* and *nāḍi* and the like and if the naksatra of both is one and the same it would be auspicious if they were born on different quarters of the same naksatra Now that in most educated families the age of the bride and bridegroom is twenty years and beyond and there are also love marriages the rigours of this examination of astrological details have been very much reduced, but they are not completely gone even now. In the author's youth nearly sixty years ago, even if the girl was quite eligible from all other points of view, a marriage among the well-to-do classes was almost impossible if this tallying of marks was not astrologically favourable.

Great importance was attached to the favourable position of Jupiter in the case of marriages. The Ratnamālā[937] states 'Mercury that could be seen (being a good deal away from the Sun) and occupying the 1st, 4th or 10th place in the horoscope removes one hundred astrological defects; Venus removes double of such defects and the teacher of the gods (Jupiter) when powerful certainly renders nugatory even one hundred thousand defects'.

In marriages both *candrabala* and *tārābala* were required. As stated in note 772 above the 3rd, 5th and 7th naksatras from the naksatra of birth were called respectively 'vipad (calamity), 'pratyari' (facing enemy) and 'vadha' (destruction) and they yielded results in consonance with their names; therefore they were to be avoided in auspicious rites and particularly in marriage. The naksatras from that of birth were arranged in three groups of nine In the 2nd group the evil ones would be 12th, 14th and 16th and in the 3rd group 21st, 23rd and 25th. It was laid down that, where the Moon[938] is powerful, the *tārābala* need not be considered, but where the Moon is weak (as in the dark half), then the strength of tārās is pre-eminent. Some authors regarded even the naksatra of birth as one to be avoided in certain rites, though acceptable in others. The evil tārās called 'vipad', 'pratyari' and 'vadha' were to be placated respectively by gifts to brāhmanas of jaggery, salt, and gold with sesame.

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937. दोषाणां शतमपहन्ति सौम्यसुतः केन्द्रस्थो द्युनमपहाय दृश्यमूर्तिः। दैत्येज्यो द्विगुणमिद द्युनर्बलीयानाचार्यः शमयति लक्षमप्यदृश्यम्॥ रत्नमाला XVI 26

938. जन्माद्यर्क्ष सम्पदथो विपच्च क्षेमप्रत्यरिसाधका वधश्च। मित्रातिमैत्रेति नवैव तारास्युर्जन्मभात् त्रि परिवर्तनेन॥ न खलु चद्वलपक्षे शीतरश्मे प्रभावः कथितमिह हि तारा वीर्यमार्यैः मधानम्। ... शुक्ले पक्षे शीतरश्मिर्बलीयान् न प्राधान्यं तारकायास्तु तत्र। ...चान्द्रोद्धाद्येषु कार्येषु मूर्ते संज्ञाग्रहण्यं तत्फलं चिन्तनीयम्॥ रत्नमाला XI 4, 5, 6, 7, कृष्णे बलवती तारा शुक्ले च बलवान् शशी। तस्मात्कार्यं प्रयत्नेन विशुद्धे चन्द्रतारके॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 38b, verse 617.

In relation to marriage the Rājamārtaṇḍa[939] says: tithi is declared to have a single value while weekday is four times as good, naksatra is 16 times better, *yoga* has a hundredfold result, the Sun is a thousandfold efficacious, while the Moon is efficacious one hundred thousand times; therefore leaving aside all other *balas* (astrological strengths) one should look to the strength of the Moon as (the pre-eminent) strength.

Now that in most countries including India the kingly office has been abolished, muhūrtas for coronation are of purely academic interest and therefore they are not set out here. Those interested may refer to Ratnamālā XIV. 1-8, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VIII. 1, Muhūrta-cintāmani X. 1-4, Rājanītiratnākara pp. 82-84 (ed. by K. P. Jayaswal)

One very important astrological subject was *Yātrā*, which has two meanings, viz. starting on a journey for going to *tirthas* or for earning wealth and marching out for victory by kings The first kind of yātrā is common to persons of all varnas, while the second is concerned only with *ksatriyas* or the king.[940] It appears that not only professed works on astrology but also the Smrtis, the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya and Purānas attached great importance to this subject. The Āśramavāsikaparva[941] 7 12-18, *Manu VII. 181-212*, *Matsya 240-243*, *Agni 233-235*, Visnudharmottara II. 175-176, the Arthaśāstra in books IX ('the work of one who wants to be an invader') and X (relating to war) deal exhaustively with the subject of *Yāna* or *Yātrā*. The subjects of Yātrā are summarised in the Brhat-samhitā as follows[942]. Under Yātrā are included knowledge of proper

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939. तिथिरेकगुणा प्रोक्ता वारश्चैव चतुर्गुण । ऋक्षं षोडशमित्याहुर्योगश्चैव शताधिक ॥ सहस्रांशो रविः प्रोक्तश्चन्द्रो लक्षगुणाधिकः । वर्जयित्वा बलं सर्वं तस्माच्चन्द्रबलाधिकम् ॥ राजमार्तण्ड folio 39a, verses 611-612. These are quoted in ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 590 but not from रा मा.

940. किंचित्कार्यमुद्दिश्य देशान्तरगमनं यात्रा। सा च संक्षेपतो द्विविधा-एका समरविजययात्रा, अपरा सामान्ययात्रा। तत्र शत्रुनगरजयार्थं यदभियाणं योगलग्नजातकोकराजयोगलग्नेषु साधान्येन या यात्रा सा समरविजयाख्या। ...या द्रव्यार्जनार्थं वाराणस्यादितीर्थदर्शनार्थं वा तिथ्यादिशुद्धिमंगीकृत्य यात्रा सा सामान्ययात्रा। पीयूषधारा on मु चि XI 1

941. यात्रां गच्छेद्बलैर्युक्तो राजा सन्नि. परन्तप। युक्तश्च देशकाल्यां चलैराप्तगुणैस्तथा ॥ बृहद्बृहच्चली गच्छेद्राजा बृद्धध्वये रत । अकृशश्चाव्यथो यावद्यावच्छत्रुवधे पि पाण्डव ॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 7. 12-13.

942. यात्रायां च तिथिदिवसकरणनक्षत्रमुहूर्तविलग्नयोगदेहदण्डनक्षत्रविजयस्नानग्रहयज्ञगणयागाग्निलिङ्ग-हस्त्यश्वेङ्गितसेनाभवाद्यचेष्टादिभवाद्गुणयोपायमङ्गलामङ्गलाकुनसैन्यनिवेशाद्गुनपीडिवर्णा मन्त्रिचरदूतादिकाला यथाकालं प्रयोगाः परकुर्गलग्नोपायाश्चेति। बृहत्सं० chap II (p. 6 of Kern's ed., p. 71 of Dvivedi's ed.).

tithis, week days, *karanas*, naksatras, muhūrtas, the vilagna (the lagna at the time of starting), the (different) yogas (conjunctions of planets, naksatras, rāśis &c.), the throbbings of the limbs of the body, dreams, baths for victory, sacrifice to the planets, worship of deities in groups (such as Guhyakas), the indications drawn from fire-flames (at the time of homa), the indications derived from the gestures of elephants and horses, the talk of men in the army and its activities, the (nine) planets, the employment of six *gunas* (*sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *āsana*, *dvaidhībhāva*, *āśraya*) according to the strength of planets, auspicious and inauspicious things and sights, the four upāyas (sāma, dāna, danda, bheda), *śakunas* (omens), the ground for army encampment, the colour of the flames of fire, the employment as time may require of ministers, spies, envoys, forest tribes and means of securing the enemy's forts.

Varāhamihira, besides devoting several chapters of the Brhatsamhitā (such as 43-50, 88-96) to matters falling under 'Yātrā' composed three works on it, viz. the Brhadyogayātrā, the Yogayātrā and Tikkanikā.[943] Apart from the verses in the Brhatsamhitā, Varāhamihira devotes over 1100 verses to Yātrā. Yātrā is dealt with in several other works also such as the Ratnamālā (XV. 1-74), Rājamārtanda (folios 42a-50a, verses 653-795), the Muhūrtacintāmani (XI. 1-109). The reason why the work is

943. I have not been able to find any printed edition of Bṛhad-yogayātrā I have used a badly written ms. of it in the Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society. Part of the Yogayātrā (chapters 1–9) was published by Kern in the Indische Studien vol. X pp 161–212, vol XIV pp 312-358, vol XV pp. 167–184 (with translation in German). Mr. Jagadish Lal of Lahore published the whole of it in 1944, but he had a defective ms. and there are many gaps in the text as printed There is a ms of the Yogayātrā in the Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society with the commentary of Utpala There are 16 chapters of the Yogayātrā with about 467 verses (17 chap in the Lahore ed.) and the Brhadyogayātrā ms. has 34 chapters and about 520 verses i e. the latter is slightly larger than the former. The Ṭikkanikā is a small work (in nine chapters and about one hundred verses) recently published by Mr. V. R Pandit (who devotes great industry and acumen in arriving at a tolerable text) in the Journal of the Bombay University, vol. XX part 2 (for 1951) pp. 40–63 Vide my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala' in JBBRAS vol 24–25 (new series) pp. 2–4 and 27. The word is variously written in the mss and by Utpala as टिक्कनिक, टिक्कणि, टिक्कनिका, टिक्कनिकयात्रा.

called Yogayātrā is as follows: When a war[944] is impending, to look out and wait for auspicious tithis, week-days, naksatras would involve a great delay. Therefore, the conjunctions and positions of certain planets in some fixed places (i e. yoga) is looked upon as the principal astrological matter The Yogayātrā and Ratnamālā say:[945] Just as even a poison may work like nectar when mixed (with other substances like milk) or just as even honey taken with ghee may act like poison, in the same way a planet giving up its own peculiar power yields results due to certain conjunctions. Kings march out on conjunctions, thieves and bards act on *sakunas*, brāhmanas act on the efficacy of naksatras, others (than these) secure their objects on the strength of muhūrtas.

In Brhaj-jātaka (28.3) Varāha declares that he will enumerate the topics concerning Yātrā[946] and verses 4-5 specify th topics, which agree in the main as to names of titles and their order with those in the Brhad-yogayātrā chapters II-XX and not with those of the Yogayātrā All these works cover a very wide field and deal with many subjects that are not strictly astrological (as the quotation from the Brhatsamhitā cited above in note 942 will show) Even the purely astrological material runs into hundreds of verses and all that can be attempted here is to indicate very briefly some of the material

If a person's rising sign at birth (lagna) is not known, then the lagna at the time of asking a question about Yātrā may be used for astrological purposes. If such a lagna is either Mesa, Karka, Tulā or Makara and is occupied by auspicious

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944 साधारणयात्रा तु वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारणी। तत्र बहुधा बहुना कालेन बहुदोषदानं बहुगुणोपादानं चोदितम्। द्वितीया समरविजयाख्या राज्ञामेव। तत्र योगयात्रा समरविजयोपयोगिनी। उपस्थिते युद्धे पञ्चाङ्गशुद्धिर्बहुदिवसप्राप्येति तद्विचाराद्युपयोगात्। अत एव योगेन यात्रा योगयात्रेत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञाविज्ञानमपि प्रतीयते। योगो नाम कियता ग्रहाणा नियतस्थानावस्थितत्वम्। पीयूषधारा com on बृ चि XI 54.

945. योगै: क्षितिपा विनिर्गता: शकुनैस्तस्करचारणादय:। नक्षत्रगुणैर्द्विजातय क्षणवीर्या इतरो जनोर्थभाङ्नृ॥ यद्यद्योगवशाद्ग्रजत्यगदता द्रव्यैर्विषं योजित सयुक्त मधुना घृतं च विषतां गच्छद्यथा दृश्यते॥ तद्वद्योगसमुद्भवं भजुक्ते हित्वा ग्रह स्वं फलं यस्मात्तेन समुद्यतोऽस्मि गदितु योगान् विचित्रानिमान्॥ योगयात्रा IV 4-5, यथाहि योगावमूतायते विषं विषाय मद्यंपि सर्पिषा समम्। तथा विहाय स्वफलानि खेचरा: फल प्रयच्छन्ति हि योगसम्भवम्॥ रत्नमाला of श्रीपति XV 29, compare बृ चि XI 54 with योगयात्रा IV 4

946 नेष्टा योगा जातकं " जन्मन्येतत्यात्रिक चाभिधास्ये॥ प्रश्नास्तिथिर्मे दिवस: क्षणश्च चन्द्रो विलग्नं स्वथ लग्नभेद:। शुद्धिर्ग्रहाणामथ चापवादो विमिश्रकाख्यं तद्वेषनं च॥ अत पर शुद्धग्रपूजन स्यात्स्वम तत स्नानविधि प्रदिष्ट। यज्ञो ग्रहाणामथ निर्गमश्च क्रमाच्च दिष्ट शकुनोपदेश॥ बृहज्जातक 28 3-5

planets or has an auspicious aspect with any of them, then the questioner becomes successful in his undertaking; but if the lagna, whatever it may be, is occupied by Mars and the Moon or if the Moon is aspected by Saturn or is in the 7th or 8th place and the Sun is in lagna or if a malefic planet occupies the lagna or the 4th, 7th or 8th place, then in all these cases the questioner would be defeated or destroyed (by his enemies)[947] The week–days were regarded as not of much importance in Yātrā. The 6th, 8th, 12th tithi, Full Moon tithi, amāvāsyā, riktā tithi (4th, 9th, 14th) and the first of the bright half were not commended for Yātrā (the rest were commended) and yātrā was commended on nine naksatras, viz. on Aśvinī, Punarvasu, Anurādhā, Mrgaśiras, Pusya, Revatī, Hasta, Śravana and Dhanisthā The Yogayātrā IV, Rājamārtanda (verses 695-752), Ratnamālā XV verses 1-74, Muhūrtacintāmani XI. 55-74 furnish numerous conjunctions that would make a king successful. A few are set out here by way of sample That king that has at the time of marching on an expedition Jupiter in the *lagna*, Mercury and Venus respectively in 4th and 5th places, Mars and Saturn in 6th, the Sun in the 3rd and the Moon in the 10th secures the complete fruit of what he desires[948], (the king is victorious) if Jupiter is in the lagna and the other planets are in the 2nd and 11th places,[949] when at the time of marching the king has Venus, Mercury and the Sun respectively in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd places his enemies fall into the fire of battle like moths,[950] when Venus occupies either the 4th, 3rd or 11th house, if he has an aspect with Jupiter that is in a *kendra* (1st, 4th, 7th or 10th house) and the malefic planets are in places other than the 7th, 8th or 9th place such a conjunction procures for the king heaps of wealth (and victory).[951]

Certain other astrological matters may be alluded to here. Rainfall in the four months from Pausa is called unseasonable;

947 Vide मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि XI 4–5.

948 लग्ने सुरर्षिभृगू हिबुकात्मसंस्थौ षष्ठे कुजार्कतनयौ दिनकृत् तृतीये। चन्द्रश्च यस्य दशमे भनति प्रयाणे तस्याभिगान्त्रिजतफलातिरलं नृपस्य॥ योगयात्रा IV 6, compare मु चि XI. 55

949 लग्नगत स्याद्देवपुरोधा। लाभधनस्थै शेषनभोगै॥ मु चि XI. 58.

950. मूर्तिवित्तसटजेषु सस्थिता शुक्रचन्द्रसुततिग्मरश्मय। यस्य यानसमये रणाजिरे तस्य यान्ति झटभा इवारय॥ योगयात्रा IV 11; compare मु चि XI 60 almost in the same words

951 अशुभखगैरनवाप्तमदस्थैर्हिबुक्तसहोदरलाभगृहस्थ। कविरिह केन्द्रगोऽपितिहृदो वसुचयलाभकर खलु योग॥ मु चि XI. 67, योगयात्रा IV 20 is almost in the same words.

one should avoid vrata and yātrā for seven days thereafter; unseasonable rainfall does not create any defects to a king (starting on an invasion) if the ground is not (so muddy as to be) marked with the soiled footprints of men and beasts [952] The Muhūrtacintāmani says[953] 'one (the king) should not start as long as the periods of upanayana rite, the establishment of an image, marriage, festivals (like *holikā*) and impurity (on birth or death) have not come to an end and for seven days after unseasonable flashes of lightning, clouds, fall of rain or snow'.

Going out of the house on the 9th tithi from the tithi of entrance, or entering a house on the 9th tithi after the tithi of leaving it and the 9th tithi itself are prohibited and the same applies to week-day and naksatra also.[954]

One should avoid starting in such a way as to face Venus. This belief is very old as the Śāntiparva and Kālidāsa refer to it [955] If the king or any one else has decided on a very auspicious day and conjunction for marching out, but some unforeseen or urgent business prevents him from actually going, he should arrange for what is called *prasthāna* (starting, but returning after going a very short distance or sending forward something on the auspicious day and starting within a certain number of days thereafter) A brāhmana should[956] send out a sacred thread, (a ksatriya) a weapon, vaisya should send honey and a śūdra should send out a pure fruit (like cocoanut) or anyone of whatever varna may send whatever is dear to his heart. The sages differed as to the distance one should proceed

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952. पौषादिश्चतुरो मासान् मोक्ता वृष्टिरकालजा। व्रतं यात्रादिकं तत्र वर्जयेत्सप्तवासरान्। वृष्टिं करोति दोषं तावत्काकालसम्भवा राज्ञः। यावच्च भवति गमने नरपशुचरणाङ्किता वसुधा॥ रा मा folios 23b and 24a, verses 368, 372, both quoted in शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 315

953. व्रतबन्धनदैवतप्रतिष्ठाकरपीडोत्सवऋतुकालसमासौ। न कदापि चलेदकालविद्युद्घनवर्षाह्निनेपि समराजम्॥ मु चि XI 76, सौदामिनीवर्षणगर्जितेषु नाकालमेघेषु भवेत्तरेज्ञः। आ समराजाद् ध्रुवमद्भुतेषु दिव्यान्तरिक्षक्षितिजेषु चैवम्॥ रत्नमाला XV 59.

954. प्रवेशान्निर्गमं तस्मात् प्रवेशं नवमे तिथौ। नक्षत्रेपि तथा वारे नैव कुर्यात्कदाचन॥ मु चि. XI. 79

955. यतो वाप्युदेति सूर्यो यत शुक्रस्ततो जयः। पूर्वं पूर्वं ज्याय एषा सन्निपाते युधिष्ठिर॥ शान्तिपर्व 100. 20, दृष्टिप्रपातं परिहृत्य तस्य काम पुर शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे। कुमारसम्भव III 43 Vide H of Dh. vol III. p. 229 note 308 for further details

956. अस्थानं ब्राह्मणादीना यज्ञसूत्रमथायुधम्। मध्यमलफलोपेतं प्रशस्तं वृद्धिकारणम्॥ रा मा. folio 49b, verse 771, कार्यार्थेरिह गमनस्य चेद्विलम्बो भूदेवादिभिरुपयंतिमायुध च। कौद्र श्यामलफलमाशु चालनीय सर्वेषा भवति यदेव शुस्थिर्य वा॥ मु चि XI. 89.

for *prasthāna* and then return. Gārgya[957] said that he may proceed from his own house to another house (though very near), Bhrgu holds that one should leave the boundaries of one's village and stay in another village, Bharadvāja provides that one may go as far as an arrow may be discharged and Vasistha says he must go out of the city The *prasthāna* should be made in the direction in which one intended to proceed. If the king resorts to prasthāna he cannot stay in one place for ten days (i e he may stay nine days), a feudatory chief not for seven days and any other ordinary person not for five days and if a person stays beyond these limits he can only start again on a fresh good muhūrta.[958] Even in modern times some people resort to this method of *prasthāna* and generally it is a friendly neighbour's house where the bundle of substances (some rice, betelnut, turmeric &c.) is kept and taken away when actually starting on a journey.

The Yogayātrā XIII. 3 provides that a king when starting on an expedition should see, hear and touch *mangalas* and enumerates them in verses 4-6, 10-15 at length. A few of them are noted here. Auspicious sounds are those of the recitations of the Veda and the auxiliary lores of the Veda, of conches, drums, of words like 'punyāha' (it is a holy day) and of the Purānas Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstras, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana; the auspicious chirpings of cranes, *cāsa*, peacocks, swans and jīvajīvika (partridge), crows sitting on the backs of tortoises marked with mud; auspicious objects are the bilva tree *chowries*, sandalwood, cow with calf, a goat, *priyangu* creeper fried grains, a chariot filled with men; banners, *sarvausadhi svastika* sign, vessels filled with presents, horse, undried ginger cowdung, mustard, mirror, a bull bound with ropes, meat, a jar full of water, turban, lute, umbrella, curds, honey, ghee, yellow pigment, maiden, flagstaff, gold, lotus, conch, white ox, flowers fine clothes, fish, well-dressed brāhmanas, street walkers, and dancing girls, fire in flames, elephants, wet earth, goad, weapons various precious stones such as emerald, ruby, crystal; a young woman accompanied by her son; these signs and objects should

957. गृहाद्गृहान्तरं गार्ग्यः सीम्न. सीमान्तरं भृगुः। शरक्षेपाद् भरद्वाजो वसिष्ठो नगरद्वहिः। स. मा folio 49b verse 769. हु. चि XI. 90 is almost in the same words

958 वसेत्र चैकत्र दश तितीर्षो दिनान्यथो सप्त च माण्डलीकः। प्र. प्राकृतः सोपि पञ्चरात्रं भद्रेण यात्रा परतः प्रयोज्या॥ रत्नमाला XV. 56; vide हु चि. XI 92 for similar verse

be arranged for or they may present themselves spontaneously. The Agnipurāna chap. 243, Ratnamālā XV. 97–98, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VII. 15–16, 20 and several others contain similar long lists of auspicious matters on a king's *yātrā*. Long lists of auspicious and inauspicious sights, persons, animals and substances are furnished by the Br. S chapters 86–96 (expressly based upon the works of Ṛsabha, Bhāguri, Devala, Bhāradvāja and authors on yātrā like Garga dealing with śakunas of all kinds, including barking of dogs, chirping of birds and crows), the Brhadyogayātrā chapters 21–28 dealing with omens derived from the movements of elephants, horses, the cries of she-jackals, crows &c, the Yogayātrā XIII. 14, Muhūrtacintāmani XI. 99–100, Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa VII. 17–19, Rājanītiprakāśa pp 335–360 and other works. As an illustration only one verse from the Yogayātrā is [959] translated here The following are inauspicious (on Yātrā)– cotton, herbs and drugs, black corn, salt, an impotent person, bones, orpiment, fire, serpent, coals, poison, serpent's slough, excreta, razor, diseased persons, one who has vomited or is mad or paralysed or blind, grass, husk, a famished person, butter milk, an enemy, one whose head is completely shaved, one whose body is anointed with oil, one with hair dishevelled, a sinner, one wearing reddish garments

The construction of a house (*vāstu*) is a very important matter even in the grhya and dharma-sūtras. Construction of a house and the first entrance into it have been described in the H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 833–836 but the astrological requirements were not illustrated there. The Pāraskara-grhya[960] simply provides that the construction of a house should be begun on an auspicious day. The Hiranyakeśigrhya is more specific and says that a shed or house should be begun after kindling fire in the northward passage of the Sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon, on the naksatras of Rohini or the three Uttarās, viz.

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959 कार्पासौषधकृष्णधान्यलवणक्षीरास्थितालानलं सर्पाङ्गारगराहिचर्मशकृत केशारिस्थाधिता । वान्तोन्मत्तजलान्धकतृणतुषक्षुत्क्षाममस्तकारूढे मुण्डाभ्यक्तविमुक्तकेशपतिता· कापाविण्क्षाशुभा ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 27 6, योगयात्रा XIII 14, टिक्कनिकायात्रा 9 15 (variant readings in all) q. by पीयूषधारा on गु चि XI 99–100 (from बृहद्योगयात्रा)' These agree closely with the inauspicious things and persons mentioned in मत्स्यपुराण chap 243. 1–8 Vide also आदिपर्व 29. 34, नारदस्मृति (प्रकीर्णक 54) and under 'Mangala' on p. 366 above

960 अथात· शालाकर्म । पुण्याहे शाला कारयेत् । पारस्करगृह्य III 4 1–2 शाला कारयिष्यन्नुदगयने आपूर्यमाणपक्षे रोहिण्या त्रिषु चोत्तरेष्वग्निमुपसमाधाय &c. । हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 27. 1.

Uttarā Phalgunī, Uttarāsādhā and Uttarābhādrapadā. The Matsyapurāna chap. 253, Ratnamālā chap. 17, Rājamārtanda verses 805–884 (folio 51b–55b), Hemādri on Kāla pp. 817–829, Muhūrtadarśana IX, Jyotistattva pp. 662–670, Muhūrtacintāmani XII, 1–29, Nirnayasindhu p. 364 deal with the construction of a house Matsya (252 2–4) names eighteen teachers of Vāstuśāstra. A few astrological details are set out here Matsya (253 1–5) states the results of beginning the construction of a house in the twelve months from Caitra respectively as disease, fine cows, death, good servants and plenty of cattle (in Āsādha), servants, loss, wife's death, wealth and crops (in Kārtika), rice, danger from thieves, various benefits, gold and son (in Phālguna). The auspicious naksatras for commencing a house are Aśvinī, Rohinī, Mūla, the three Uttarās, Mrgaśiras, Svātī, Hasta and Anurādhā and all weekdays (except Sunday and Tuesday) are auspicious (Matsya 253. 6–7) The Rājamārtanda[961] puts many of the astrological requirements in two verses as follows; 'the sages say that the auspicious work of (constructing) a house should be begun on the auspicious naksatras of Punarvasu, Pusya, Rohinī, Mrgaśiras, Citrā, Dhanisthā, Uttarā (three of them), Revatī, Śravana, Śatabhisak, Anurādhā, Svātī endowed with auspicious tārās, on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, on an auspicious Yoga, on a tithi other than *riktā* (i. e 4th, 9th, 14th) and on a day when there is no Visti, when beneficial planets occupy the kendra (1st, 4th, 7th and 10th places), the 8th and 12th places, when malefic planets occupy the third, 6th and 11th places, when Jupiter is in the *lagna* or *kendra*, or Venus occupies any of these latter and when the *rāśi* of the owner is auspicious, and when any of the *sthira* naksatras are rising, one should commence a house or make the first entrance into it. The Ratnamālā says that the construction of a house should not be begun on *cara* rāśis. There are several other complicated calculations and diagrams employed in finding out a proper time for beginning the construction of a house such as *āya*, *vijaya* and *Rāhumukhacakra* that are passed over here.

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961. आदित्येज्यभरोहिणीमृगशिरश्चित्राधनिष्ठोत्तरा पौष्णं विष्णुशताम्बुराभपवने· शुद्धे सुतारान्विते· । सौम्याना दिवसेऽथ पापरहिते योगे विरिक्तातिथौ विष्टिव्यक्तदिने वदन्ति मुनयो वेश्मादिकार्यं शुभम् ॥ शुद्धैर्द्वादशकेन्द्रनैधनगृहे· पापैस्त्रिषट्त्रायगैर्लग्ने केन्द्रगतेथवा सुरगुरौ दैत्यस्य भुज्येथवा । सर्वारम्भफलप्रसिद्धिरुदये राशौ च कर्तुं शुभे शुद्धांशे स्थिरभोदयेषु भुवनं कार्यं प्रवेशोपि वा ॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folios 55b, 56a, verses 886-87), the first q by ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p 666; compare रत्नमाला XVII, 17–18.

It is stated in the Rājamārtanda verse 887 (quoted in note 961) that the same astrological conditions are required in the case of the first entrance in a newly built house as in commencing to build a house. Vide Rājamārtanda (folio 57 verses 900–908), Ratnamālā XVIII. 1–11, Jyotistattva pp 670–71, Muhūrtacintāmani XIII, Nirnayasindhu p. 366 for rules about grha-praveśa (first entrance into house). The Rājamārtanda says that[962] first entrance into a newly built house should be made on the naksatras Revatī, Dhanisthā, Śatabhisak, Rohinī, the three Uttarās, on an auspicious week-day, when the moon is not weak, on a tithi other than *riktā* He should enter the house on the floor of which plenty of flowers are strewn, which has good ornamental arches, which is adorned with jars filled with water, in which the gods have been worshipped with sandalwood paste, flowers and offerings and which rings with the recitation of (the Vedas by) brāhmanas

It may be stated here that some of the astrologicial requirements about the construction of a house and the first entrance into a newly built house are observed even now.

The proper times for the establishment of the images of gods are specified in many works such as Brhatsamhitā 60. 20–21, Matsya-purāna (264), Visnudharmottara III. 96, Rājamārtanda (folios 57b–59b, verses 909–943), Hemādri on Kāla pp 830–847, Jyotistattva pp 666-667 and 672–73, Nirnayasindhu pp. 334-335, Dharmasindhu p 318 The Brhatsamhitā[963] lays down the general rules for the establishment of the images of all gods. 'In the northward passage of the sun, in the bright half, when the moon is in the *vargā* of Jupiter, when the *lagna* is a sthira rāśi and the navamāmśa rāśi of the lagna is sthira and beneficent planets occupy the kendra places or the 5th and 9th places in the horoscope (of the establisher), when the malefic planets are in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th places, on naksatras called *dhruva*

962. पौष्णे धनिष्टास्वथ वारुणेषु स्वायम्भुवर्क्षे त्रिषु चोत्तरासु। अक्षीणचन्द्रे शुभवासरेषु तिथावरिक्ते च गृहप्रवेशः॥ भूरिप्रसूनानिकरं सुतोरणं तोयपूर्णकलशोपशोभितम्। गन्धप्रसूनबलिपूजितामरं ब्राह्मणध्वनियुतं विशेद्गृहम्॥ राजमार्तण्ड (folio 57, verses 900 and 907), last q by पीयूषधारा on मु चि. XIII 7.

963 उदगयने सितपक्षे जिशिरोगभस्तौ च जीववर्गस्थे। लग्ने स्थिरे स्थिरांशे सौम्यैर्धीधर्मकेन्द्रगते॥ पापैरुपचयसंस्थैर्धुनभूदुरितिष्वायुदेवेषु। विकुजे दिनेऽब्जकूले देवानां स्थापनं शस्तम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 60. 20–21 (Kern's ed and chap 59 in Dvivedi's edition) वर्ग has been defined in बृहज्जातक I. 9, जीववर्ग would be धनु or मीन राशि, its होरा, द्रेष्काण, नवमभाग, द्वादशभाग, त्रिंशभाग, स्थिरलग्न would mean वृषभ, सिंह, कुम्भ

or *mṛdu* or on Śravana, Puṣya or Svāti naksatra, on a favourable week day (other than Tuesday) the establishment of the images of gods is commended'. The Matsya states (264. 3–12) that the establishment (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the images of all gods leads to beneficent results when done in the months of Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyestha, Māgha or Phālguna, in the bright fortnight after daksināyana ends, on the tithis 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 10th, Full moon, 13th (this is the best), on sixteen named naksatras (excepting Bharanī, Krttikā, Ārdrā, Punarvasu, Āśleṣā, Maghā, Pūrvā-phalgunī, Citrā, Viśākhā, Dhanisthā, Śatatārakā), when the *lagna* has an aspect with the three beneficent planets Mercury, Jupiter and Venus, on an auspicious *yoga*, when the lagna or naksatra (of establisher) is free from malefic planets and on *brāhma* muhūrta.

The Ratnamālā[964] provides different naksatras for the establishment of the images of different gods, one interesting provision being that the image of Buddha was to be established on Śravana naksatra. In the case of the images of the Mātrs, Bhairava, the Varāha, Narasiṁha and Trivikrama incarnations and of Devī, the killer of Mahiṣāsura, establishment may be made even in Daksināyana. For the establishment of Linga special rules are provided for which Nirnayasindhu (pp. 335–336) may be consulted.

The Rājamārtanda[965] provides that the 2nd, 3rd, 10th, 13th and 15th tithis are always commended for establishment of images of gods and even the 7th and 6th if the establisher likes.

In the Indian Antiquary vol. VI. p. 363 we find an inscrition of Cālukya king Mangaliśa dated *śake* 500 (578–79 A. D.) recording the grant of a village named Lañjīśvara on the auspicious occasion of the establishment of an image of god Visnu.[965a]

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964. रोहिण्युत्तरपौष्णवैष्णवकरादित्याश्विनीवासवीनूराधेन्द्रवजीवभेषु गदितं विष्णो-प्रतिष्ठापनम्। पुष्यश्रुत्यभिजित्सुरेश्वरकपोर्वित्ताधिपक्रन्दपोर्मैत्रे तिग्मकरे करे निर्ऋतिभे दुर्गादिकान्तं शुभम् ॥ गणपरिवृढरक्षोपक्षभूतासुराणां प्रमथफणिसरस्वत्यादिकाना च पौष्णे। अवसि सुगतनाम्नो वासवे लोकपानां निगदितमखिलानां स्थापनं च स्थिरेषु ॥ रत्नमाला 20. 2-3.

965. पराशरार्द्धे प्रतिपद्-द्वितीया-त्रयोदशी-पञ्चदशीदशम्य। एताः प्रशस्तास्तिथय. सदैव सप्तम्यपि स्वाभिमतेन पष्ठी ॥ रा मा. verse 942

965 a श्रीमल्लीश्वरणविक्रान्त· प्रवर्धमानराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादशे शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेक-संवत्सरेष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु" विष्णो प्रतिमाप्रतिष्ठापनाभ्युदयनिमित्तं लञ्जीश्वर नाम ग्रामं··· I. A. vol. 6 at p. 363.

Auspicious times were prescribed for wearing new garments for the first time The Nirnayasindhu quotes two verses[966] 'It is desirable to put on new garments for the first time on naksatras of Asvini, the three Uttarās, Punarvasu, Pusya, Revatī, Dhanisthā. The following are the consequences of wearing new garments for the first time on the week days from Sunday respectively, viz becoming worn out, constantly wet with water, sorrow, wealth, knowledge, meeting with one's dear ones, becoming dirty; the woman who wears new garments or new ornaments for the first time on Rohinī, Pusya, Punarvasu, Uttarā-Phalgunī and takes a bath on Śatatārakā naksatra does not stay with her husband (i e. she leaves him) If a woman wears for the first time a garment dyed with *Kusumbha* (safflower) or ornaments of gold, precious stones, coral, glass, conch-shell on Revatī, Aśvinī, Dhanisthā, Hasta, Citrā, Svātī, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, that leads to male progeny, wealth and happiness, but if she puts on these on Rohinī, the three Uttarās, Punarvasu and Pusya, that leads to the unhappiness of the husband.

Muhūrtas are prescribed for beginning to take medicine in Rājamārtanda (folio 62a, verses 973 ff), Jyotistattva pp 678 ff, Nirnayasindhu p 362. Only one verse is cited[967] here; 'If one begins to take medicine on the naksatras Mūla, Anurādhā, Mrgaśiras, Pusya, Punarvasu, Revatī, Asvinī, Śravana, Jyesthā, Hasta, Citrā, Svātī, and on Monday, Thursday or Friday, that would benefit the patient Medieval works like the Rājamārtanda, Bhujabala, Muhūrta-mārtanda, Jyotistattva, Nirnayasindhu describe the muhūrtas and inauspicious times for all matters under the sun (not necessarily religious) such as for purchase and sale of merchandise and animals, for agricultural operations, for planting trees, for digging tanks and wells, for oil bath, for baths with ground myrobalans &c

The foregoing discussion about the astrological requirements in several religious and secular matters are enough to show how astrology and omens have had a very firm hold on the minds

966. रोहिणीषु कृरपञ्चकोश्विने ऽत्तरासु च पुनर्वसूदये। रेवतीषु वसुदैवते च मे नव्यवस्त्रपरिधानमिष्यते॥ जीर्णं क्लेदी सततमम्बुभिरार्द्रमिन्दौ भौमे क्षुच्चे बुधदिने तु भवेद्धनाय। ज्ञानाय मन्त्रिणि भृगौ प्रियसङ्गमाय मन्दे मलाय च नवाम्बरधारणं स्यात्॥ रोहिणीषुनर्वसूत्तरे या विभर्ति नववस्त्रभूषणे। सा न योषिदवलम्बते पतिं स्नानमाचरति वारुणेऽपि या॥ श्रीपति p. by नि सि p 357 Vide ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 671 for other verses on the same subject.

967. मूलानुराधमृगतिष्यपुनर्वसौ च पौष्णाश्विनीश्रवणशक्रकरत्रये च। वारेषु वाक्पतिसितेन्दुदिनेषु शस्तं भैषज्यभक्षणमनीषु हितं नराणाम्॥ चण्डेश्वर quoted by नि सि p. 362.

of Indians for the last two thousand years or more. With regard to favourable and unfavourable omens Varāhamihira himself says 'If all favourable and unfavourable signs[968] were on one side and on the other side there is purity of heart, it is the latter that brings success' or 'on one side all omens, on the other the purity of the mind (it is the mind that counts), in a battle the mind may be suddenly seized with fear and even the wind may be the cause of victory or defeat'. The Matsyapurāna after mentioning unusual occurrences and omens in connection with the march of a king on an invasion winds up as follows;[969] 'Auspicious planets are commended, particularly Jupiter (as indicative of future success). Belief in god, faith, honouring those that deserve honour—all these are commended and whatever else may be approved by one's conscience. In this matter (of invasion) the peace of the mind is the highest indication of (coming) success, when all omens are on one side and the mind's peace on the other'. A purely astrological work like the Ratnamāla[970] of Śrīpati says the same thing.

Owing to the almost universal belief in astrology, there was always the temptation to fasten fanciful horoscopes on renowned avatāras and heroes Some Mss. of the Rāmāyana[971] contain a few details of the horoscope of Rāma, the principal ones being that the lagna was Karkaṭa, in which the Moon and Jupiter were in conjunction and that five planets were in exaltation (*ucca*) As the Moon was in Cancer, that planet was not in exaltation, since Taurus (Bull) is exaltation of the Moon. As Rāma was born on Caitra bright half 9th the Sun was in Mesa (Aries, Ram), which is also the *ucca* of the Sun. Therefore,

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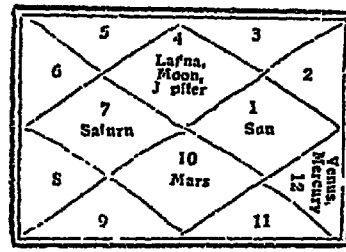
968. शुभाशुभानि सर्वाणि निमित्तानि स्युरेकतः । एकतस्तु मन शुद्धिस्तद्विशुद्धं जयावहम्॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा 14 3, एकतश्च सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनस: परिशुद्धि ॥ चेतसोऽस्ति सहसापि रणे भीर्मारुतोऽपि विजयाजयेहतु: ॥ योगयात्रा 5 15. Jagadish Lal's edition reads सहयानरणे भी:.

969. अनुलोमा ग्रहा: शस्ता: वाक्पतिस्तु विशेषत ॥ आस्तिक्यं श्रद्धधानत्वं तथा पूज्याभिपूजनम्। शस्तान्येतानि धर्मज्ञ यच्च स्यान्मनस: प्रियम् ॥ मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम्। एकत: सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकत. ॥ मत्स्य 243, 25-27 The verse मनसस्तुष्टि "कत: occurs also in विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II. 163, 32. अग्निपु 230, 13 has एकत:···रेकत:।.

970. निमित्तराशिरेकतो वृणां मनस्तथैकत: । अथो विपासता सुधैर्मनोविशुद्धिरित्यते। रत्नमाला 15 48

971. ततश्च द्वादशे मासे चैत्रे नावमिके तिथौ। नक्षत्रेऽदितिदैवत्ये स्वोच्चसंस्थेषु पञ्चसु। ग्रहेषु कर्कटे लग्ने वाक्पताविन्दुना सह। प्रोद्यमाने जगन्नाथ सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम्। कौसल्याजनयद्रामं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम्॥ बालकाण्ड 18, 9-10.

Mercury must be either in conjunction with the Sun or in Taurus or Pisces. None of these is the *ucca* of Mercury. Probably Mercury should be taken to be with Venus as they are friends, while if Mercury be placed in Vrsabha (Taurus or Bull) he would be in the house of an enemy. The Rāmāyana does not mention Rāhu and Ketu at all. So the horoscope of Rāma would be as follows: [972]



Vide Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' vol. I part 1 pp 112–123 for discussion on Rāma's horoscope. Kālidāsa in the Raghuvaṁśa (III. 13) states that Raghu, the ancestor of Rāma, was born when five planets were in exaltation and were not setting (i e were a good many degrees away from the Sun) But he does not furnish the *lagna* nor even the month of his birth.

As regards Paraśurāma, the Nirnayasindhu quotes the Bhārgavārcanadīpikā[973] to the effect that Visnu himself was born as the son of Renukā on Vaiśākha, bright half, 3rd tithi, on Punarvasu naksatra in the first quarter of the night, when six planets were in exaltation and Rāhu was in Mithuna (Gemini, Twins). The Moon being in Punarvasu, that is either in Mithuna or Karkata, none of which is Moon's *ucca* all the remaining six planets must be held to be in exaltation. Therefore, Paraśurāma's horoscope must be supposed to be somewhat like this:

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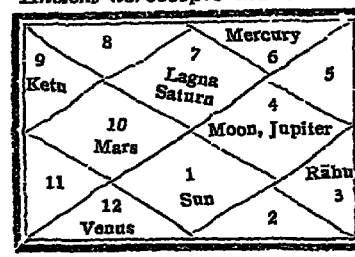
972. Vide my paper in the Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, vol. I. pp 5–7 about the horoscopes of Rāma and his three brothers stated in the Rāmāyana.

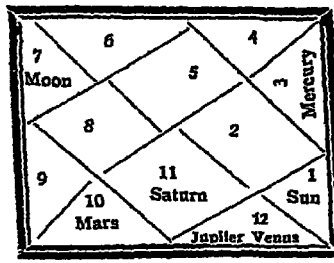
973. तदुक्तं भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां स्वाम्यभविष्ययो: । वैशाखस्य सिते पक्षे तृतीयायां पुनर्वसौ । निशाया: प्रथमे याने रामाख्यः समये हरि: । स्वोच्चगैः षड्ग्रहैर्युक्ते मिथुने राहुसंस्थिते । रेणुकायास्तु यो गर्भादवतीर्णो हरिः स्वयम् ॥ इति । नि सि p. 95.



This horoscope cannot be right. The *ucca* signs of the Sun a Mercury are Mesa (Aries) and Kanyā (Virgo) respective Mercury cannot be so far away from the Sun. So this is only fancy horoscope without any reality behind it

Coming to historical times, Bānabhatta[974] in the Harsacar (4th Ucchvāsa) tells us that Harsa was born on the 12th of t dark half of the month of Jyestha, on Krttikā naksatra, at nig fall when all the planets were in exaltation. But Bāna delightfully vague about the name of the *lagna* and it is clear what he means by 'all planets' being in exaltation. the end of Jyestha the Sun cannot be in Mesa, which is t ucca of the Sun, but may be in Vrsabha or Mithuna.

The commentary Sudhāvidyotini[975] on the Saundaryalah a work attributed to the great philosopher Śankarācārya, furnis a horoscope of Śankarācārya, viz. the *lagna* was Simha (Le Jupiter in Fishes, Sun in Ram, Mercury was in Mithuna, Ve in Fishes, Saturn in Aquarius, Mars in Capricornus, M swallowed by Rāhu (there was an eclipse) and in Hasta Citrā (either in Kanyā or Tulā). This horoscope also seem be a fancy one, since Mercury cannot be in Mithuna when Sun is in Mesa.



974 ततश्च मासे ज्येष्ठामूलीये मासि बहुलासु बहुलपक्षाद्दवयो व्यतीते प्रदोष समावरुक्षति क्षपायौवने''' भान्धाता किलैर्वंविधे व्यतीपातादिसर्वदोषाभिषङ्गरहितेऽहनि सर्वे स्थानस्थितेष्वेवं ग्रहेष्वीदृशि लग्ने भेजे जन्म। हर्षचरित IV.

975. Vide Journal of Indian History, vol. 4 p. 39.

Kalhana[976] in the Rājatarangini says that king Harsa of Kashmir(born 1059 A.D., ruled 1089–1101 A.D) was born on the Karkata *lagna* when Mars and Saturn were in the 5th house, Jupiter and Mercury in the 6th, Venus and the Sun in the 7th and the Moon in the 10th, that like Duryodhana he caused the extinction of his family as the astrological conjuction at his birth indicated and as the authors of *Samhitās* declared that Kauravas destroyed their families because in their horoscopes the Moon, Venus and malefic planets were in the 10th, 7th and 5th houses. This horoscope may be true, as Kalhana wrote only about fifty years after Harsa's death.

Some inscriptions show that kings rewarded men for astrological devices. For example, the Kadaba plates of the Rāstrakūta king Prabhūtavarsa Govindarāja III granted in *śake* 735 to a Jain *Muni* the village of Jālamangala for having warded off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, one of his governors [977].

Some of the previous volumes of this History of Dharmaśāstra have been criticized in two different ways by critics Some said that the author should have stopped at describing what transformations several of the topics dealt with underwent in the course of centuries and that no personal opinions should have been expressed about what changes should be made in the present or in future Another set of scholars complained that the author should have expressed his personal views in many matters on which he expresses no definite opinion or does not advance a definite theory of his own. Bearing in mind these criticisms the author proposes to indicate his own personal views on Indian Astrology in relation to Dharmaśāstra.

Modern scientists, philosophers and theologians have generally ignored astrology. Some ridicule it, some have condemned it as superstitious, as 'a delusion and a snare'. In spite of the condemnation by eminent scientists astrology enjoys great vogue among millions of people in the educated West. Many of those who condemned it in scathing terms appear to have done so on *a priori* arguments and do not appear to have studied

976 राजा दुर्योधन इव स्वदशाच्छेदमिच्छता। सोधूजातकयोगेन कारित. स्वकुलक्षयम्॥ तत्यास्ता ऽमार्कजौ जीवबुधौ शुक्रोऽष्टगः शशी। तनयामित्रजामित्रखेषु कर्कोदयजन्मनः॥ चन्द्र-दैत्येज्यपापेषु खमदात्मजगेषु यत्। आहुः सुसंहिताकारा· कौरवादीन् कुलान्तकान्॥ राजतरङ्गिणी VII, 1718–1720.

977. Vide E. I. vol. VI, pp 332–349 at p. 340.

astrological works. The more effective method would perhaps have been to study the horoscopes of well-known persons, to examine them by the rules of the astrologers themselves, to show that the application of their own rules leads to contradictions, confusion and absurd results and lastly to exhibit that the principles on which they evolve their rules and make their predictions have hardly any basis in fact and are imaginary.

The fundamental doctrine of astrology that the Sun, the Moon and the planets exert some influence on terrestrial life and things is scientific [978] The matter to be considered is whether the principles laid down in such astrological works as the Brhajjātaka can stand rational analysis and tests. The author may state here that in his boyhood there was an astrologer called Mahādkar Jyotishi who never took money, who was employed as a bailiff in a civil court in the Bombay State and who correctly stated the *lagna* and the positions of the planets in the horoscopes of people by looking for a few minutes at their faces, eyes and hands. The percentage of his mistakes in this respect was very low, barely one to five percent. This led many educated people to believe in those days that astrological works may be right so far that the physical features of a man may have some relation to the planets and their positions at his birth But, when he set about the business of stating important facts about the lives of the persons whose horoscopes he correctly stated he often went wrong. One cannot also ignore the facts that some predictions turn out to be true. Unless one holds that they are all mere inexplicable co-incidences, they require to be carefully considered There is an astrological *sanad* (grant) which records most wonderful and detailed predictions that came out to be true. The grant was made in 1793 A D. to one Chinto Mahadeo Gole by Govindrao Gaikwad, a scion of the Gaikwad family that ruled in Gujarat at Baroda It recites [979] that Govindrao Gaikwad had to leave his inheritance at Baroda and stayed near Poona for twenty-five years, that thereafter he consulted Chinto who was a great astrologer, and it was agreed that he should make a prediction after consulting *śāstras* as to when Govindrao would be able to recover his inheritance and if the prediction proved true Govindrao agreed to donate to Chinto a village yielding five thousand rupees yearly revenue The grant

978. Compare Prof. Neugebauer in E. S A p. 164, J. C Gregory on 'Ancient Astrology' in 'Nature', vol 153 pp. 512–515.

979. Vide Indian Antiquary, vol 16 p. 317.

further recites that the astrologer gave to Govindrao a closed letter which stated that the Peshwa at Poona would call Govindrao to his presence in the first watch of Friday, 8th tithi, Mārgaśirsa dark half of *śake* 1714 (7th December 1792 A. D.) when the sign ascending would be Dhanus (Archer) and, after taking from Govindrao an agreement to give certain cash and to cede some territory, would restore him to his inheritance and honour him by the present of three *śirpeñch* (turban ornaments or spray of gems) containing 45 rubies and 14 diamonds (out of which three would be large and eleven small), one pearl crest (containing about 496 pearls), one elephant and one blue horse. It is further recited in that sanad that the letter stated that even after this Govindrao would have to stay for eleven months in Poona out of which he would suffer for eight months great calamities, that thereafter the Peshwa would return to Govindrao the territories he had agreed to cede, that he would then return to Baroda in the month of Māgha. The sanad in the end recites that all this that was contained in the closed letter came to be true to the very letter and therefore as agreed before the village of Ayana was donated. It would be noticed in what details the prediction entered. There is no reason to doubt the solemn words of this grant that everything as predicted came out to be true. How the astrologer pointed out all these details is not at all clear, as no astrological work that I know of, enters into such detailed predictions or gives rules for that purpose.

Just as the Sun and the Moon influence terrestrial phenomena such as the tides, the author feels from the instance of the Mahadkar Jyotishi mentioned above and from the hundreds of horoscopes that he has seen that it might be possible to state the physical characteristics of the persons concerned from their horoscopes. But no such efforts have been made by anybody nor published if made. The author, however, feels also that hardly anything can be said about the mental capacities of a person or the fortunes and vicissitudes of his life from his horoscope. It would not be relevant to enter into further discussion of this matter in this work.

What firm grip astrological considerations had on the minds of people and writers on astrology is demonstrated by certain rules in astrological works about a child's birth on Āśleṣā or Jyesthā naksatra or on what is called *Gaṇḍa* or *Gaṇḍānta* and how it was recommended that the innocent and helpless infant born on these supposed very unlucky times should be abandoned

in spite of what love and pity should dictate. We have seen above that the roots of this belief go back to the Atharvaveda (vide note 753 above). Some verses are translated here. Garga quoted in Prayogapārijāta[980] prescribes 'a child born on Gandānta by day causes the father's death, one born in the night on Gandānta causes the mother's death and one born at twilight causes its own death; no Ganda is safe (free from danger). Abandonment of children born on Ganda is laid down or (the father) should avoid seeing it or hearing its cry for six months'. Bhallāta[981] provides 'a child born during the period of the last *ghatikā* of Jyesthā and the first two ghatikās of Mūla should be abandoned or the father should not see its face for eight years; in the case of a child born on the first quarter (of Mūla) the father dies, if born in the second quarter of Mūla the mother dies, if born in the third quarter there is loss of wealth and (birth in) the 4th quarter (of Mūla) is auspicious; the same results follow in the case of birth on Āślesā but in the reverse order from the last quarter of it.' The author knows the case of his father's first cousin who was born to his father when the latter was over forty years of age and when he had been long and anxiously waiting for a son, that was born on an unlucky quarter of Mūla naksatra. The astrologers recommended that the child be abandoned at the foot of a sacred tree. The father absolutely refused to accept the advice, saying that he would rather gladly die than abandon an innocent and anxiously desired son. The author saw the father when he had lived beyond 80, and the son also reached a pretty old age.

Ptolemy subscribed to the geocentric hypothesis and in order to account for the puzzling movements of the planets adopted the theory of eccentric orbits and epicycles Though his theories viewed in the light of modern astronomical science were wrong,

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980. प्रयोगपारिजाते गर्गे । पितृघ्नस्तु दिवा जातो रात्रिजातस्तु मातृहा । आत्मभुक् सन्ध्ययोर्जातो नास्ति गण्डो निरामय. । सर्वेषां गण्डजातानां परित्यागो विधीयते । वर्जयेद् दर्शनं आव तत्त्व पाप्मासिकं भवेत् ॥ शान्तिकमलाकर (D C. No. 306 of 1884–1887) folio 28. The verse सर्वेषां "भवेत् is q. by निर्णयसिन्धु also p. 244.

981. भल्लाट. । अमुक्तमूलसम्भवं परित्यजेत्तु बालकम् । समाप्तकं पिताधवा न तन्मुखं विलोकयेत् । तदाद्यपादके पिता द्वितीयके जनन्यथ । धनक्षयस्तृतीयके चतुर्थकः शुभावहः । मतीपमन्त्यपादत· फलं तदेव सार्पभे ॥ अमुक्तमूलं त्वाह वृद्धवसिष्ठः । ज्येष्ठान्ते घटिका चैका मूलादौ घटिकाद्वयम् । अमुक्तमूलमित्याहुस्तत्र जातं शिशु त्यजेत् ॥ निर्णयसिन्धु p 244. The great Hindi poet and saint Tulsidas (born in *samvat* 1589 i. e. 1532 A D) was an अमुक्तमूल child and was abandoned by his parents and was brought up by a *sādhu*. Vide Grierson in I. A vol. XXII at p. 265.

he and his followers could predict eclipses. That suggests that correct inferences may be drawn in certain cases from premises some of which may be wrong. Besides, no one appears to have examined the theory of Varāhamihira and his followers that a horoscope is only like a sketch or plan that indicates only future trends in a man's life depending on his actions in his previous life or lives. It is not probable that this theory will ever be tested and examined. There are weighty and practical reasons for this. Millions of people are not at all interested in knowing what they did in their past lives nor do many of them believe in metempsychosis or the theory of past and future lives of the individual soul. They are mainly concerned with predictions about their future. The theory of horoscopes being only sketches or maps indicating future tendencies cuts the very ground from under the feet of professional astrologers They would, if they persisted only in telling their clients mere future tendencies and did not furnish positive predictions, find that their occupation was gone. In the minds of millions not only in India but in many parts of the world astrology is a living faith and it appears that neither scientists nor historians can possibly destroy such a tenaciously held and deep-seated belief. But the belief that planets *cause* persons to do certain things is likely to have serious consequences The sense of moral responsibility for all acts done by a person will be impaired by such a belief; and a person guilty of a crime may plead (or may at least believe) that he was helpless before the influence of the heavenly bodies.

Before closing this brief account of Indian astrology I must in a few words advert to a work called Bhrgusamhitā in Sanskrit which is supposed to contain numberless horoscopes with descriptions of persons born on the twelve rāśis from Mesa onwards, references to the deeds of such persons in previous lives, the horoscope with the positions of the several planets, the important happenings in each person's present life from the year of his birth to his death. Persons who profess to have in their possession the Bhrgusamhitā are generally averse to showing the whole work to any one, but read to those who consult them verses from the work said to be in their possession and people feel often amazed at the accounts about themselves which are read out to them There is much of deception in this I have examined four Mss in the Desai Collection of Sanskrit mss in the Bombay University called Bhrgusamhitā said to have been imparted to Śukra by his father Bhrgu on mount Gandhamā-

dana which contain about 600 horoscopes each of the four *lagnas*, Mesa, Vṛsabha, Mithuna and Karka, describing in 15 to 20 verses each of the horoscopes in the same lagna but with different positions of the planets in each case. No Bhrgusamhitā can be accommodated even in a big library if it contains descriptions of all possible horoscopes in 15 or 20 verses each. There are twelve rāśis as lagnas, 9 planets (including Rāhu and Ketu) and twelve *bhāvas*. By permutations and combinations of these there would be crores of possible horoscopes and if at least 15 verses were to be assigned to each there would be millions on millions of verses. Hence describing a horoscope by extracts from Bhrgusamhitā is often a fraud.

In Indian Astrology the most important matters are the rāśis, the planets and the twelve bhāvas (or places). Take the rāśis first. What is the reason for naming certain groups of stars or constellations as Mesa or Vrsabha &c. ? There are no Rams and Bulls in the sky. Some observers on the earth imagined that certain constellations presented to the eye the appearance of certain animals, human figures and mythical beings. As shown above (p. 565) the Chinese and Japanese name them differently. Therefore, there is a great element of arbitrariness and imaginary analogies in naming the so-called rāśis. Once named, the rāśis are classified in various ways and predictions are based on the class to which a rāśi belongs. All these classifications are based on ideas of symmetrical sequence and fancy. Why should Mesa and Mithuna (which is represented as ' twins ' man and woman) be called male, while Vrsabha and Vṛścika be classed as female ? There is no explanation except this that the twelve rāśis had to be classified in two groups, male and female, and symmetry required that they be alternately called male and female. For the same reason of symmetrical order Mesa and Karka are grouped as *cara* (mobile), while Simha and Vṛścika are classified as *sthira* (firm immobile). The Sun (the giver of all light and support of the world) is called *krūra* or *pāpa* (a malefic) planet along with Mars and Saturn, while Jupiter and Venus are classed as beneficent and the waning Moon is also held to be malefic. Here association of ideas and analogy play a great part Jupiter and Venus are both brilliant and white or whitish, while Mars is red (the colour of blood). Besides, the first two are supposed to be the preceptors of the gods and *asuras* respectively. Therefore, they are beneficent and the blood-red Mars is malefic. The Sun, Jupiter and Mars are said

to be masculine, the Moon and Venus feminine and Mercury and Saturn neuter for the same reason, viz. association of ideas and analogy. The Moon and Venus are beautiful and mild, therefore they are feminine, while the Sun (that has fierce heat), Mars (with blood red hue) and Jupiter (the ācārya of the gods) are masculine. Modern astronomy declares that the Moon is dry and waterless and contains the remains of extinct volcanoes; yet if the astrologers be followed we shall have to regard the Moon as feminine. In classical Sanskrit the Moon is called 'Śaśānka'. The Japanese Moon Goddess Gwaten is drawn with a hare. Vide figure opposite p. 18 in Prof. Zinner's 'The stars above us.' Then we may consider the doctrines of *svagrhas* and *uccas* (exaltations of planets). There are twelve rāśis and seven planets; five must be given two rāśis as *svagrhas* and the other two only one rāśi each as *svagrha*. The Br J. assigns only one rāsi as *svagrha* to the Sun and Moon, viz. Simha (Lion) and Karka (Crab) respectively, while two rāśis are assigned to each of the other five planets. There is absolutely no logical or satisfactory explanation of this. Moreover, in assigning two rāśis as *svagrhas* the only principle that seems to have been followed is that of sequence, viz. one rāśi beyond Simha and one beyond Karka i. e. Kanyā and Mithuna to Mercury and in the same way to the remaining planets in the order of distance. The result is that Vrsabha and Tulā (Scales) are the svagrhas of the beautiful and brilliant planet Venus and Dhanus (Archer) and Mīna (Fishes) are the svagrhas of Jupiter. If one turns to the doctrine of exaltation, no rational or astronomical explanation is given why Aja (goat), Vrsabha (Bull), Makara, Kanyā, Karka, Mīna and Tulā should be the *uccas* of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn respectively. The naming and arrangement of the twelve *bhāvas* hardly follows any rational basis. One may at the most concede that the first bhāva in which the sign rising at a person's birth is placed is plausibly called *tanu* (body) and that regarding the 7th *bhāva* therefrom as the one on which love and marriage may be considered has also some plausibility. Birth and death are the two ends of a person's life. If the first bhāva is called *tanu*, the bhāva about death should be the 12th, the last, but in the Brhaj-jātaka and other works, it is the 8th bhāva that is called mrtyu (death). Some of the bhāvas have too many matters crowded into them. For example, the 4th bhāva is supposed to be the one on which a person's relatives, friends, house, happiness and conveyance are to be considered.

The fifth bhāva is concerned with sons, intellect, learning, speech. Supposing that that bhāva is very favourably placed, the prognostications would have to be that the person would have many sons, he would be a learned man and a good speaker. But all these very rarely go together. A man of great intellect has often no sons, while a very learned man is often not a good speaker.

Then there is the question of friendships and enmities among planets. There is no rhyme nor reason in this respect. Why Venus, a beneficent planet in theory, should be the enemy of the Sun, when Jupiter another beneficent planet is a friend, is something which it is difficult to understand or explain. Besides, these relationships are not reciprocal. The Moon has no enemy, but from the point of view of Venus, the Moon is the enemy of Venus. Mercury (mythologically the son of the Moon) is said to be a friend of the Moon, but from the point of view of Mercury the Moon is its enemy. There is a further strange matter to be noticed. As men fight among themselves, it has been supposed that the planets (excepting the Sun and the Moon) fight among themselves[982] (vide note 872 above). Besides there are thousands of minor planets between Mars and Jupiter and ancient and medieval horoscopes took no account of Uranus, Neptune and Pluto among the planets nor of the numerous satellites of Jupiter.

Another important doctrine in Indian astrology is that of drsti (glance, aspect) which has been explained above (note 876). That doctrine had some plausibility when the distances between the planets and the stars were not known. But in view of modern astronomical knowledge the doctrine of the drstis of planets has hardly any meaning. Every planet and star really

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982. The idea of ग्रहयुद्ध is very old as the बृहत्संहिता chap. 17 (1–27 verses) deals with it at great length and as it expressly states that Parāśara and other sages of old had developed it long before It deals with the astrological results of ग्रहयुद्ध to specific countries, kings, and people Three verses are quoted here आसन्नक्रमयोगाद्भेदोल्लेखांशुमर्दनास्तस्य। युद्धं चतुष्कारं पराशरार्यैर्मुनिभिरुक्तम्॥ भेदे वृद्धिविनाशौ भेद्यसुहृदां महाकुलानां च। उल्लेखे शस्त्रभयं भन्निविरोधः मियाजत्वम्॥ अंशुविरोधे युद्धानि भूभृतां शस्त्रशकुशुद्धवमर्दाः। युद्धे चाप्यपसव्ये भवन्ति युद्धानि भूपानाम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 17 3–5 q by अद्भुतसागर p. 208 भेद, उल्लेख, अंशुमर्दन and अपसव्य correspond to the words छादन, रोधन, रश्मिमर्द and अपसव्य of गर्ग quoted above in note 872.

faces every other planet and star in this vast Universe at all times unless there happens to be another celestial object in the line connecting any two of them and it is very difficult to understand how one planet can look at another planet or star at a quarter or a half or 3ths aspect (i e. at various angles)

When an astrologer says that a planet (say Venus) is in its svagrha (own house) i e Vrsabha (Bull) with the Moon let us understand what it means The rāśi Vrsabha is constituted by many stars, the most brilliant of which is Rohini (Aldebaran). Light travels at 186000 miles a second and modern astronomy finds that light takes 57 years to reach the earth from Aldebaran. The position then is this that the observer on the earth sees the Moon, Venus and Aldebaran very near each other. According to modern astronomy the Moon is only about two hundred and forty thousands miles from the earth, Venus a few *crores* of miles from it and Aldebaran billions of billions of miles away. They appear to be near only on account of the effect of perspective. This creates difficulties which the astrologers altogether ignore. When an observer sees Aldebaran to-day the rays he sees today started some 57 years ago, while the rays of Mars are seen within a few minutes of their start and of the Moon almost immediately.

The principles of rāśi astronomy were probably established in India in the three centuries preceding the Christian era. The predecessors of Varāhamihira and Varāhamihira himself saw Mesa, Vrsabha and other rāśis occupying certain definite sectors of the Zodiac and propounded certain rules about the physical and mental characteristics and professions of persons born when the Moon was in Mesa and the other rāśis (in chap. 17 of the Br. J.) and also of persons born on Mesa and the other rāśis, when the Sun, Mars and the other planets occupied those signs (*ibid.* chap. 18). The zodiacal section where Vrsabha stood about two thousand years ago is now occupied by the constellations comprising Mesa (Ram) owing to precession. How can the astrological consequences of being born on Taurus two thousand years ago be the same now when Taurus does not occupy the Zodiacal sector which it occupied then and when that particular sector is occupied now by Aries?

The above discussion is enough to show the flaws in the teachings of Indian astrology and would lead thoughtful persons

to conclude that the rules of astrology should have very little influence in determining the times of their undertakings. It appears that astrological details which were conspicuous by their absence in ancient Dharmaśāstra works have attained so much growth during the last two thousand years that the fundamental religious requirements have been smothered thereby. Those who believe that all events affecting men are necessitated by the planets and stars appear to go wrong in two ways. They thereby deprive God of control and providence in human affairs and they take away man's free will The dilemma is that if astrologers cannot stop or foil what the planets indicate, what is the use or benefit of their prescience; if they can stop or frustrate what is deemed to be fated to happen how can they support the thesis that planets compel events ?

The question arises then how far religious matters, such as Upanayana and marriage, should be regulated by astrological considerations It has been already shown above (p 606 and p 610) how the astrological requirements for Upanayana and marriage were very few and simple in the times of the gṛhya-sūtras and the Manusmṛti (i. e several centuries before the christian era), how later writers went on adding one requirement after another and how even in the 11th century A. D. orthodox works like the Rājamārtanda advised neglect of all astrological requirements in the case of girls whose marriages had to be postponed very long for some reason or other. Therefore, in respect of religious ceremonies like Upanayana and marriage the author would advise, as a first step towards getting rid of oppressive and meaningless astrological conditions, that people should revert to the simple rules of the grhyasūtras and Manu. There are two views on the observance of the rules about the details of religious rites. One is that a person[983] need not go beyond the provisions contained in the grhyasūtra of his own Veda or *Śākhā* and that when one observes those provisions he would be deemed to have performed all that the śāstra requires of him. The second view (held by a majority of medieval writers of digests) was that one should include in a religious rite details mentioned in works of other śākhās, though not mentioned in his own śākhā, provided the former details are not

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983 यद्यल्पं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम्। तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वः कृतो भवेत्॥ कात्यायन q by अपरार्क p. 8, स्मृतिच I. p 5.

in direct conflict with the details in his own śākhā[984] These people follow what is called the 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyāya' of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*. Both these view-points have been explained at great length by the author in H. of Dh. vol. III p. 870 and vol. IV pp 852–855. In these times one may at most follow the astrological rules provided by the *sūtras* and Manu. Though the author has pointed out great flaws in the whole structure of Indian astrology, he does not think that it is his duty as a mere historian of Dharmaśāstra to advise people how far they should accept or discard astrology in general.

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984 यच्चाम्नात स्वशाखाया पारक्यमविरोधि यत्। विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिक यथा॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 q. by अपरार्क p. 8, हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p 756, आचारादर्श of श्रीदत्त folio 115a (of ms. D. C. No, 194 of 1884–87).

CHAPTER XVIII

Calendar, eras, various reckonings about years, months &c.

In order to be able to perform *vratas* and celebrate *utsavas* at the proper times and in order to find out the appropriate times for religious rites like sacrifices, upanayana and marriage people require a calendar or almanac. A calendar is a methodical combination or book about days, months and years for the purpose of registering in advance religious festivals and astronomical or astrological phenomena and for purposes of civil life. In India about thirty calendars are in use by Christians, Parsis, Moslems and Hindus Confining oneself to Hindus there is a bewildering variety of calendars in use at present. Some are based on the data of the Sūryasiddhānta and some on those of the Āryasiddhānta, while others follow comparatively later manuals like the Grahalāghava; some begin the year with Caitra *śukla pratipad* (or *pratipadā*), others with Kārtika śukla pratipad and there are small tracts like the Halar[985] *prānt* (in Kathiawad) where the year begins with the 1st day of the bright half of Āṣādha. Gujarat and North India except Bengal use the Vikrama era, while the Deccan and South India generally employ the Śaka year, but Kāshmir follows the *Laukika* reckoning. In some parts (North India and Telangana) and communities the months are pūrnimānta (i. e end with Full Moon), while other parts (Bengal, Mahārāstra and south India) follow the amānta (month ending with amāvāsyā) reckoning. The result is that some fasts and celebrations universally observed throughout India such as the Ekādaśī and Śivarātri fasts and the celebrations of the birth of Śrikrsna are observed on two different days in different parts of the country and by different sects and there is a difference of one month between the days of some observances i. e while on the pūrnimānta reckoning a certain festival may be observed in Āsvina dark half, the same month

985 Vide Mrs Stevenson's ' Rites of the twice-born ' p 301 n, also I A, vol. 18 p 93, where it is said that the Halari year used in Halar prant of Kathiawad and also at Amreli and Jetpur begins on Āsādha śukla pratipad instead of Kārtika śukla and there is also another beginning on *amānta* Āṣādha krsna 2

may be called Bhādrapada dark half (by amānta reckoning) and the same festival may be celebrated one month later. The confusion is worse confounded in modern times by some calendars being what are called *Drk* or *Drkpratyaya* based on the data of the Nautical Almanac in order that such happenings as eclipses predicted in the pañcānga may be found to tally exactly with what is actually seen by the people. It appears that in South India there are rather too many pañcāngas (calendars). In Tamilnad there are two kinds of pañcāngas, one is based on *drk-ganita*, the other is based on the Vākya method (that follows medieval calculations based on Āryabhata which produce less accurate results) There is the Pudukottai pañcānga (a Vākya one) issued under the authority of the *rājas* of the principality of that name. The Śrīrangam pañcānga (a Vākya one) is used by the Śrīvaisnavas, while followers of another Vaisnava sect, the Mādhvas, have a pañcānga of their own. The Kanjanur pañcānga is the most common Vākya pañcānga used by the smārtas who do not use the *drk-ganita* pañcānga issued under the authority of the Śankarācārya. The Telugus follow the Siddhānta-candra[986] pañcānga based on the Grahalāghava of Ganeśa composed in *śake* 1442 (1520 A. D.). In Malabar the people have a drk-pañcānga, but it is based on a revision of the old Malabar system called Parahita and is not the drk-pañcānga followed by the Tamils. The Telugus follow the Cāndra reckoning and begin their year called Yugādi from Caitra śukla, while the Tamils follow the Saura reckoning, start their Caitra with Mesa Visu, though, their vratas and religious ceremonies being based on *tithis*, they have to follow the *Cāndra-māna*. Bengalis use solar months and lunar days with triennial adjustment by the insertion of an intercalary month.

There are three siddhāntas in use, viz. the Sūryasiddhānta (used throughout India on account of its accuracy), the Āryasiddhānta (relied on in Travancore, Malabar, and by the Mādhvas in Karnātaka and in Tamil Districts of Madras State) and the Brāhma-siddhānta (followed in Gujerat and Rajputana). The last, however, is losing ground in favour of the first In the Siddhāntas calculations are made from the epoch of the

986. Warren's Kālasankalita (pp 65-68) publishes a skeleton of the Siddhāntacandra pañcānga for the 4924th luni-solar year of the Kaliyuga current (i. e śake 1745, A D. 1822) for the Meridian and Latitude of Madras which is mainly based on Telugu Pañcānga, but furnishes Tamil data also.

mahāyuga and are so elaborate that pañcāngas can hardly be made from them direct. Therefore, works called karanas based on the Siddhāntas are used to prepare pañcāngas, such as Makaranda in Bengal and the Grahalāghava of Ganeśa; the tables of the latter called Tithicintāmani are used in the Deccan, Central India and some other parts of India. There are two important points of difference between the Siddhāntas among themselves viz the length of the year (but the difference is only of a few *vipalas*) and the second is the number of revolutions of the Moon and the planets in the Kalpa or Mahāyuga or Yuga. The Siddhāntaśiromani (I. 6) specifies the matters with which a siddhānta must deal, the very first of which is the enumeration of the units of time from *truti* up to the end of *pralaya*.

It should not be supposed that India is singular in this respect. The present European calendar is also very unsatisfactory. Originally it was Julius Caesar who introduced a revised calendar in 46 B C with the provision that every 4th year was to be a leap year. But his calculations were not very accurate and the result was that by 1582 A. D. the spring equinox occurred on 10th March instead of on 21st March. Pope Gregory XIII declared that 4th October 1582 was to be followed by 15th October (i. e. ten days were dropped). He further provided that century years were not to have a leap year unless they could be divided by 400 (so that years 1700, 1800, 1900 of the christian era have no additional day, but 2000 would have one) Even so, there is still a slight error, but only after more than 33 centuries one day would have to be dropped. The Gregorian year is longer by 26 seconds than the correct length of the year arrived at by modern astronomical calculations. Protestant England did not follow Pope Gregory's reform till 1750 A. D. when Acts were passed whereby 2nd of September 1752 was to be followed not by 3rd September but by 14th September (dropping eleven days) Vide 'the Calendar New Style Act' 1750 (24 Geo. 2, chapter 23) and the Calendar Act 1751 (25 Geo. 2, chapter 30), which changed the year beginning from 25th March to 1st January and embodied the reforms made by Pope Gregory XIII. The European calendar is still very inconvenient Under it a month may have from 28 to 31 days, the quarters of a year consist of 90 to 92 days, the two halves of the year (January to June and July to December) contain respectively 181 (or 182) and 184 days, working days per month vary from 24 to 27 days and years and months begin on different

week-days Easter, the Queen of feasts, could fall even after 1751 on 35 different dates from 22nd March to 25th April, as Easter is first Sunday after the Full Moon occurring on or after 21st March.

It has been stated above (p. 480) that this work will not deal with pure astronomical questions; therefore, the author proposes to avoid going into details of astronomical computations. But something would have to be said about them as occasion requires. Those who are interested in ancient Indian astronomy and its later ramifications may consult and study the following works and articles; Warren's Kālasankalita; the Sūryasiddhānta translated and annotated by Whitney; Indian Metrology by J. B Jervis, pp 174-259, the Pañca-siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira (text and translation by Thibaut and M. M. Suddhakar Dwivedi), S. B. Diksita's 'Bhāratīya Jyotisaśāstra' (in Marathi a masterly work); Sewell and Diksit's 'Indian Calendar' (1896); Sewell's 'Indian Chronography' (1912); Sewell's 'Siddhāntas and Indian Calendar'; 'Vedic Chronology and Vedānga-Jyotisa' by B. G. Tilak (1925): Divan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris', 7 volumes (vol. I part 1 being general and the rest being Tables); V B. Ketkar's Jyotirganitam, Ketaki, Vaijayanti, Grahaganita and 'Indian and foreign chronology' (Extra Number LXXV-A of the JBBRAS); Jacobi's papers in Epigraphia Indica vol I pp. 403-460 (on computation of Hindu dates), vol. II. pp. 487-498 (tables for calculating Hindu dates in true local time), vol. XII. pp. 47 ff (for planetary tables), XII pp 158 ff (special Tables for Hindu dates), Sewell's papers in E. I. vol. 14 pp. 1 ff, 24 ff, vol. 15 pp. 159 ff, vol 16 pp 100-221 (on Ārya-siddhānta and Tables), vol. 17 pp 17 ff (on first Ārya-siddhānta), pp 173 ff (on Brāhmasiddhānta of Brahmagupta) and pp. 205 ff; Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. IV. pp 483-511, vol X pp. 332-336 (for Jain calendar); Nautical Almanac for 1935, explanations by J. K. Fotheringham pp. 754 ff; 'Ancient Indian chronology' by Prof. Sen-Gupta (1947, University of Calcutta); Karana-kalpalatā (in Sanskrit) and Bhāratīya-Jyotihśāstra-nirīksana (in Marathi) of Dr. K. L Daftari, Dr. M. N. Saha's paper on 'Reform of the Indian calendar' in 'Science and culture' (Calcutta), 1952 pp. 57-68, 109-123 and Report of the Calendar Reform Committee (published by the Government of India 1955, a very exhaustive and useful work.)

Among all nations the fundamental periods of time are the same, viz. the day, the month and the year (consisting of

seasons). The years are the constituents of eras that are vital for chronology and history. Though the fundamental periods of time are the same, there are variations in the arrangement of days to form months and years, about the sub-divisions of the day, about the commencement of the day, about the divisions of the year among seasons and months, about the number of days in each month and in the year and about various kinds of months. The great time measurers are the Sun and the Moon. The day is due to the revolution of the earth round its axis. The month is mainly a lunar phenomenon and the year is due to the apparent motion of the Sun (but in reality it is due to the revolution of the earth round the sun). The tropical year is the time of the passage of the Sun from one vernal equinox to the next. The latter is shorter than the sidereal year (i. e. the time between the two successive arrivals of the Sun at the same fixed star) by about 20 minutes as the vernal equinox point shifts to the west at the rate of about 50 seconds per year.[987] A modern calendar mentions the current year (by some era), the month and the day of the month and generally the week-day, besides several other matters of religious and social interest. The eras and accurate knowledge of the length of the year and the month came to man rather late. The synodic month is a little over 29½ days, while the tropical year is a little less than 365¼ days. These are incommensurable periods. For ordinary life and calendars whole days are required; besides, the starting of the year and the month must be properly defined and must correspond to seasons and some era must be used These are the requirements of a calendar which has to be used for civil and religious purposes The complexity of calendars is due mainly to the incommensurability of the above two astronomical

987 Besides the two motions of the earth (viz its daily revolution on its own axis and its yearly revolution round the sun) there is a third motion which is not so well-known. The earth is not a sphere, its equatorial diameter being longer than its polar diameter. The result is that there is a mass of matter bulging out at the equator which is in excess of what it would be if the earth were perfectly spherical, The earth's axis has a slight conical wobbling motion like that of a toy top and it describes a cycle in about 25800 years, the yearly shift being about 50''·2 seconds, due to the pull of the sun and the moon on the equatorial bulge. This causes the appearance of the fixed stars and even the pole-star changing their positions from century to century or from period to period Vide Sir Norman Lockyer's 'Dawn of astronomy' pp. 124–128, Van Den Bergh in 'Universe in Space and Time' p. 82, Hickey's 'Introducing the Universe' p. 117

periods. The Moslems solved it by ignoring the length of the tropical year and holding fast by the Moon as the measurer of time. They had a purely lunar year. The result was that the Moslems' year was of 354 days and that in about 33 years all their festivals travelled through all the months of the year. On the other hand, the ancient Egyptians ignored the moon as the measurer of time and their year was of 365 days (12 months of 30 days each plus five epagomenal, i. e additional days). Their priests stuck to this system for 3000 years, they had no leap years or intercalary months. Most ancient peoples including Indians followed a luni-solar calendar and tried to adjust the lunar months to the solar year by the system of intercalary months. It has been seen above (p. 489 note 710) that even the Rgveda speaks of an additional month (in I. 25 8) but how it was arrived at and where in the scheme of months it was introduced we do not know. We know that the Vedāngajyotisa[988] added two months in five years. The people of those ancient times had to solve the problem of adjusting the reckoning of the months by the moon and the years by the sun. People wanted to know in advance when the Full Moon or New Moon on which many ancient festivals were celebrated may be expected, when to expect monsoon or winter, when to prepare ground for sowing and when to sow. Sacrifices had to be in spring and other seasons, as also on New Moon and Full Moon. The lunar year of 354 days was less by about 11 days than the solar year. Therefore, the seasons would shift back if the lunar year alone were observed. Hence intercalary months were introduced by several nations. The Greeks had the 'Octaeteris' (eight years cycle), that contained 99 months of which three were intercalary, viz. in the 3rd, 5th and 8th years Then was introduced the Metonic cycle of 19 years in which occurred seven intercalary months (19×12 plus $7 = 235$). Olmstead (in American Journal of Semitic Languages, vol. 55 for 1938) says at p. 116 that the cycle of intercalation in Babylon was of eight years and that it was followed by the Greeks Fotherigham (in Journal of Hellenistic studies, vol 39 p 179) says that intercalation in Babylon was irregular till 528 B. C. and in Greece it was unsystematic in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C. Vide also C. R. C. Report pp. 175–176.

988 Vide Lokamanya Tilak's 'Vedic chronology' pp 21–25, Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute, vol IV pp 239–248 for the Vedāngajyotisa Calendar and its salient features and Pillai's 'Indian Ephemeris' Vol I, part 1 pp. 443–456.

The use of eras in India for calendrical purposes is not much older than about two thousand years. Continuous era reckoning first began to be employed in the records of the Indo-Scythian kings that ruled over modern Afganistan and North Western India between about 100 B. C. and 100 A. D. This is not peculiar to India, most of the ancient civilizations such as those of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome did not employ a continuously running era till late in their careers. In the Jyotirvidābharana (which is a later fabrication, though it professes that it was finished in *gatakali* 3068 i. e. 33 years before the christian era) mentions the names of six persons as the founders of eras in Kaliyuga, viz Yudhisthira, Vikrama, Śālivāhana, Vijayābhinandana, Nāgārjuna, Kalkin[989] and states that their eras respectively last for 3044, 135, 18000, 10000, 400000, 821 years. In ancient[990] countries no continuous era was used, but only regnal years were employed In India also Asoka employs only regnal years in his edicts (e. g the 4th pillar edict at Lauriya-nandana-garh and the 5th pillar edict at Rāmpurvā, C I I. vol. I pp. 147, 151, were engraved in the 26th year of his kingship). Kautilya[991] also, when setting forth the business of the collector

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989. युधिष्ठिरो विक्रमशालिवाहनौ नराधिनाथो विजयाभिनन्दनः। इमे तु नागार्जुन-मेदिनीविभुर्मौलिः क्रमात् षट्। शकाश्चकाः कल्की॥ Some read कल्की पढेते for कलिः &c Vide Z D. M. G. vol. 22 p 717 verse 110, Fleet in JRAS for 1911 p. 694 for variant readings in this verse, Poona Orientalist vol V pp 205–209 on 'Jyotirvidābharana and the Nine Jewels' by K Madhava Krishna Sarma for other readings and date

990 Vide Fotheringham in Explanation to Nautical Almanac for 1935 at p. 755 about Egyptians not using a continuous era, but being content to number the years of each reign separately.

991. राजवर्षे मासः पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्टं वर्षहेमन्तग्रीष्माणां तृतीयसप्तमा दिवसोनाः पक्षा. शेषा. पूर्णाः पृथगधिमासक इति कालः। Arthaśāstra II 6 p. 60. This passage is variously interpreted by Fleet, Sham Sastri and others. The difficulty is due to the word 'vyusta', which literally means 'daybreak or light' and here means 'the first day of the year which is deemed to be very auspicious.' Vide 'तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भवबट्। व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण्।' पा॰ V. 1 96–97. To the author it appears that this passage means 'the royal (or regnal) year, month, fortnight, day, the auspicious (first day of the year), the third and seventh fortnights of the three seasons viz rain, winter, summer have one day less (than thirty), the other fortnights are full (i e months have full 30 days each), an intercalary is a separate (period of time) – these are the times (the collector of revenue has to note). In ancient times, the year had six seasons, twelve months and 30 days in each month. The Arthaśāstra here says that there were six fortnights of 29 days each and so the (lunar year was of 354 days In order to bring it in line with the solar year an intercalary month had to be resorted to.

of revenue specifies the times with which the collector would be concerned as 'the royal year, the month, the fortnight, the day &c.' This practice continued even under the Kusanas and Sātavāhanas; vide Luder's list in E.I. X, No 22, 32 for Kaniska, No. 1024 (Kanheri cave Inscription of Gotamiputa-sāmi-Siriyaña Sātakani), No 1100 and 1122 (Karle and Nasik cave inscriptions of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Pulumāvi) The Kalinga king Khāravela (generally assigned to the 2nd century B. C.) uses only regnal years and no era (vide E. I. vol. 20 p 71 at pp 79–80).

A variety of eras have been used in India for hundreds of years; this has created a great deal of confusion in chronology and history. For the lists of eras now in use or met with in inscriptions and Sanskrit literature, vide Cunningham on Indian eras, 'Indian Ephemeris' by Swamikannu Pillai vol. I part 1 pp 53–55, V. B. Ketkar's 'Indian and foreign chronology' pp. 171–172; P. C. Sen-Gupta in 'Ancient Indian eras' (pp. 222–238) and Dr Saha's paper in 'Science and Culture' for 1952 (Calcutta) at p 116 that gives a table of eras with the starting year of the eras, their current years, year beginnings (solar and luni-solar), lunar month end, provenance &c. Vide also p. 258 of the C.R.C. Report (Table 27) for a similar long list of eras. In this work only a few eras of importance will be briefly dealt with. Alberuni (Sachau vol II. p. 5) names five eras, viz of Śri Harsha, Vikramāditya, Śaka, Valabha and Gupta He gives two different versions about the first and leaves the question undecided.

Differing views were held even in ancient times, as to when the Kaliyuga[992] started and what event the Kaliyuga era commemorates. At present the Kaliyuga era is supposed to have started in 3102 B. C and a past Kaliyuga year is to be arrived at by adding 3101 to the A. D. years. There are four principal views about the starting point, viz. (1) the starting point is when Yudhisthira ascended the throne, (2) it is 36

992. Vide JRAS for 1911 pp. 479–96 and 675–698 (Dr Fleet), H of Dh vol. III pp. 896–902 for discussions about the Kaliyuga beginning In 'Ancient Indian chronology' Prof Sen-Gupta after a lengthy and somewhat vehement argument concludes that the date of the Bhārata battle is 2449 B C. and that the year 3102 B. C. for it is wrong (p 1–59). Vide C R.C. Report pp 252–254 for Kaliyuga era It may be noted that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, is mentioned as the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice in Śat Br XIII. 5. 4. Whether he is the same as the Mahābhārata hero is more than one can say, but it is not unlikely that he is the same.

years later when Yudhisthira crowned as king Parikṣit, the grandson of Arjuna; (3) according to the Purāṇas [993] Kaliyuga started when Kṛṣṇa passed away (vide Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 24. 108 to 113); (4) According to [993a] to Varāhamihira, 2426 years prior to the starting of Śaka-kāla, Yudhisthira era started i. e. 653 years after the start of Kaliyuga according to the 2nd view. The Aihole inscription appears to follow the 2nd view, since it equates [994] 556 śaka year with 3735 Kaliyuga year (past). One of the earliest references to the Kaliyuga era is that by Āryabhata who states that he was twenty-three years old when 3600 years of Kaliyuga had expired (i. e he was born in 476 A. D.).[995] There is an early Cola record dated 4044 of the Kaliyuga era (i. e 943 A. D.) Vide JRAS for 1911 pp. 689–694 for several instances of the employment of Kaliyuga era in inscriptions. Medieval Indian astronomers believed that all planets (including the sun and the moon) were together at sunrise on Sunday of Caitra śukla pratipad at the beginning of Kaliyuga and also of Kalpa.[995a] It is suggested by modern writers like Burgess and Dr. Saha that this epoch was arrived at by astronomical calculations carried back-ward at a late period and is a mere fiction (vide p. 253 of the C. R. C. Report). It is rather difficult to hold that this was all pure imagination on the part

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993. यस्मिन् कृष्णो दिवं यातस्तस्मिन्नेव तदाहनि। प्रतिपन्नं कलियुगमिति भाहुः पुराविदः॥ भागवत XII 2 33; compare वायु 99. 428–429, मत्स्य 273. 49–50, विष्णु IV. 24. 110, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74 241 for similar verses.

993a. आसन्मघासु मुनयः…शककालस्तस्य राज्ञश्च॥ बृहत्संहिता 13.3 quoted in note 746. This is followed by कल्हण in his राजतरङ्गिणी I. 51 "शतेषु षट्सु सार्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले। कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामष्टपञ्चाशदूनेषु कुरुपाण्डवाः॥

994. त्रिंशत्तु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारताद्दाहवाहितः। सप्ताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु॥ पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च। शतासु सप्तसीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम्॥ E. I. vol. VI at p 7 Apparently here कलियुग is deemed to have started immediately after the Bhārata War. Later astronomical works hold that the śaka era began when 3179 years of Kali era had expired; vide "यानाः यस्मान्नो युगानि नमितान्यब्धयुगाद्रिवर्यं नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणास्तथा शकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः। सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि I. 28. नन्दाद्रीन्दुगुणा. is equal to 3179 (नन्द = 9, अद्रि = 7, इन्दु = 1, गुण = 3).

995 षट्त्रिंशद्भेदानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः। त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तेह मम जन्मनोऽतीता॥ आर्यभटीय, कालक्रियापाद verse 10 (ed. Kern)

995a लङ्कायामर्कोदयाच्च भानोस्तत्रैव वारे प्रथमं बभूव। मधोः सितादेर्दिनमानवर्षयुगादिकानां युगपत् प्रवृत्तिः॥ ग्रहगणित मध्यमाधिकार verse 15 (of भास्कराचार्य); चैत्रसितादेरुदयाद् भानोर्दिनमानवर्षयुगकल्पाः। चटवार्दो लङ्कायां ननं प्रवृत्ता दिनेऽर्कस्य॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I 4.

of the ancient Siddhānta writers; it is more probable that they had a persistent tradition of long standing before them.[995b]

In the *Saṅkalpa* (declaratory formula) for every religious ceremony the performer has to mention the grand divisions and sub-divisions of time beginning with Śvetavārāhakalpa, such as Vaivasvata manvantara, Kaliyuga and its first quarter together with the geographical position of the place of performance in Bharatavarsa, and the Zodiacal signs occupied by the Sun, Jupiter and other planets, the era, name of year (Jovian), the month, the fortnight, the tithi, naksatra, Yoga and Karana. A verse of Devala states that if a man performing a religious rite does not mention the month, the fortnight, the tithi and the occasion (of the rite) he will not reap the merit of the rite.[996] That is the importance of eras, years and its sub-divisions in the religious life of our people Therefore a calendar (*pañcānga*) is absolutely necessary for every religious Hindu

The origin and use of the Vikrama era are as much shrouded in doubts and mystery as is the case with the *saka* era.[997] Doubts have been expressed as to whether there was any king called

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995 b. Vide E. I. vol VIII p 261 In E I vol. 28 p 63 there are plates of Arkeśvara-deva dated in *yugābda* 4248 (i. e in Kaliyuga era), corresponding to 6th February 1148 A D. Vide also a paper contributed to 'Annals of Science', vol 8 No 3 (1952) pp 221–228 by Prof Neugebauer and Dr O Schmidt on 'Hindu Astonomy at Newminster in 1428', in which reference is made to an anonymous treatise composed in England at Newminster containing astronomical calculations for the year 1428 and for the latitude of Newminster. That treatise quotes several Arabic authorities, among which is one 'Omer' (or Umar, who died about 815 A D) and the treatise remarks that Alfonso began the year of the Flood on February 16, 3102 years before the Incarnation, a date which is obviously identical with the beginning of the Kaliyuga era (employed by Indian astronomers)

996 देवलः। मासपक्षतिथीना च निमित्ताना च सर्वश । समुल्लेखमकुर्वाणो न तत्प फलमाप्नुयात्॥ इति। शान्तिमयूख p. 2

997 On Vikramāditya the reader may consult the scholarly paper of Dr H C Rayachaudhuri 'Vikramāditya in History and Legend' in the Vikramāditya Commemoration volume (Ujjain, 1948) pp 483–511. Vide also Journal of Benares H University vol VIII pp 163–205 for Vikrama and his era, Bhandarkar Commemoration volume pp 187–194 (*D R. Bhandarkar*) Vide Mr S K Dikshit's paper on '*The problem of the Kusānas and the origin of the Vikrama Samvat*' in A B O R I published in book form in 1958.

Vikramāditya about 57 B. C. the supposed starting point being[998] Nov. 58 B C in Gujarat where the year begins with Kārtika *śukla* pratipad and April 58 B C in Northern India where the year begins with Caitra *kṛsṇa* pratipad The expired Vikrama year is equal to A. D. year plus 57. In certain rather early inscriptions, years are referred to as Krta For example, in Nandsa Yūpa Inscription the Kṛta year 282 is mentioned and in three Maukhari Inscriptions on *yūpas* (sacrificial posts) the year 295 Krta is found[999] The Bijayagad pillar Inscription is dated in Krta 428, the Mandasor Inscription in Krta 461 and the Gangadhar Inscription in Krta 480[1000] Scholars are generally agreed that the Krta era is a precursor of the Vikrama era. But the name Krta applied to the years has not been satisfactorily explained[1001]

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998. K. P. Jayaswal (I A vol. 47 p 112 and I. A 46 pp 145–153) holds that Vikrama was historical, ended the rule of Nahapāna–Śakendra in 58 B C, and belonged to the Sātavāhana family.

999 Vide E I vol. 23 pp 42–52 for three Maukhari Inscriptions dated the 5th day of Phālguna śukla in *Krta* year 295 (i e 239 A. D.) by Dr. A S. Altekar. For Nandsa Yūpa Ins of Krta 282, vide E. I vol. 27 pp 252–267 (ed by Dr. A. S. Altekar)

1000. For the Gangadhar Inscription dated in 480 of the Kṛta-year (i. e 423–424 A. D) and the Bijayagadh stone pillar Inscription of Krta year 428 (371–72 A D expired), vide Gupta Inscriptions edited by Fleet pp. 73–78 and pp 252–254 respectively.

1001. Vide Bombay University Journal vol. 17 pp 19–25 where Prof, K. B. Vyas puts forward the rather novel theory that the word *Krta* in the ancient Inscriptions refers to the Katha people and J of Indian History vol. 24 (for 1945) pp 105–109, where Prof D. N. Mookerjee mentions nine Inscriptions in the Krta or Mālava-gana era and contends that Krta is the era started by Kalkin who is supposed to have ushered in the Krta-yuga in the 5th century B C The author does not agree with both these views. Prof. Sen–Gupta in 'Ancient Indian Chronology' pp. 238 ff holds that the Krta era started in 63 B. C His grounds are that certain Mahābhārata and Paurāṇic passages set out in a prophetic vein the circumstances when Krta-yuga will start and he holds that those conditions were satisfied about 63 B C. and therefore the era was called Krta In the first place the passages refer to a future date. No one thought in ancient India that the start of the Krta age was near. Besides, one of the passages on which he relies is Mahābhārata, Vanaparva 190. 90–91 (of the Bombay edition) and 188 87 (of the critical BORI edition) and is differently read in the Śāradā Codex and several Kāśmir Mss. viz. as यदा चन्द्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती। एकरात्रे समेष्यन्ति प्रपत्स्यति तदा कृतम्॥ and not एकराशौ as he reads Therefore this verse is hardly of use for chronological purposes Besides Vāyu 99 413 also reads ekarātre (only one Ms. reads 'eharāśau') Some Purāṇas like Viṣnu IV. 24. 102,

(*Continued on next page*)

Some inscriptions are also dated in the era of the Mālava-gana (Malava tribe), as e g the Mandasor[1002] Inscription of Naravarman. The Krta and Mālava era are held to be identical and the inscriptions so far discovered as dated in these two eras are found in eastern Rajasthan and Western Malva. It is further to be noted that, whereas we have inscriptions in 282 and 295 of the Krta year, no inscription of the Mālava era has yet been found that is dated so early. It is possible that Krta is the earlier name and when the Mālavas adopted the same era it came to be called 'Malava-ganāmnāta' or 'Mālava-gana-sthiti.' But it may be remarked that if Krta and Mālava both refer to what later became the Vikrama era, they were both being used concurrently for at least one hundred years, as we have the Krta era

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(*Continued from last page*)

Brahmānda III 74. 225 no doubt read एकराज्ञौ. The three Matsya-purāna verses he quotes are not from the same chapter. The first verse simply says that Visnu created *Yavas* on 3rd tithi of Vaiśākha bright half and that he started Krtayuga on that tithi. It is impossible to draw any definite date from this verse by itself. The other two verses are Matsya 65. 2-3. They describe a vrata and fast on 3rd tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha, which yield inexhaustible *fruits to the performer*, equal to all good deeds If on that tithi when joined to Krttikā one does special worship, whatever is donated or offered in the fire and whatever mantras are recited become inexhaustible These two verses contain not a word about Krtayuga and the first says nothing about Krttikā It is, to say the least, a strange method to put together verses apart from their context and aver that a particular date has been established.

1002. Vide I A. vol. 42 (1913) p 161–163 for Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman which is dated the 5th of the bright half of Āśvoja of the Mālava year 461 (404 A. D.) as traditionally handed down by the Mālava tribe (Mālavaganāmnāta) The important verse is : श्रीमालवगणाम्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते। एकषष्टयधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये ॥ In the Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman occur the words 'मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु' (year 589 of Mālava era); vide Gupta Ins No. 35 at p 154) On मालवगणस्थिति, vide Prof. Shembavnekar in J I. H. vol. X pp. 143–155, where (on p. 145) he holds that 'ganasthiti' is equal to 'gananāpaddhati'. His arguments though plausible are not correct There should be contemporary authority (of the 5th or 6th century A. D.) for 'gana' meaning 'gananā'. In the Bijaygadh stone Ins (Gupta Ins. No, 58 p 251) we come across the words 'यौधियगणपुरस्कृतस्य महाराजमहासेनापतेः &c'. Therefore 'Mālava-ganasthiti' should really mean 'the usage of the Mālavagana' and मालवगणाम्नात, should mean 'as traditionally handed down among the Mālavagana' Besides a 'Mālavagana-visaya' mentioned in the Nandsa Yūpa inscription edited in E. I, vol 27, p 252 at p 259 makes it almost certain that 'Mālavagana' means 'Mālava tribe' and nothing else.

480 and also the Mālava era year 461. The author does not think it possible that the word Krta was applied to the era because it was believed at its foundation that the Krta-yuga had started. It is possible that Krta has the same meaning as *siddha* (just as krtānta means siddhānta) and it indicates that it was established by agreement among certain people. The Vikrama era is specifically mentioned by name only from about 8th or 9th century A. D [1002a] Besides, the Vikrama era has hardly ever been employed in Sanskrit astronomical works and it is generally designated *samat* to distinguish it from the śaka era. The Yedarāve Inscription of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI shows that that king superseded the śaka era and started a Cālukya Vikrama era the first year of which was 1076-77 A. D. Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 1 part 2 p 447 and 477 (and I. A. VII pp. 61–66 for reference to 400 śakakāla 1478 A. D.).

Almost all astronomical works in Sanskrit from about 500 A. D employ the Śaka era Why the Śaka era is so called, whether it was to commemorate the coming of the famous Kusāna king Kaniska to the throne or when and where it came to be first used are among the most difficult and unsolved problems of Indian History and Chronology. In one of the earliest inscriptions expressly dated in the Śaka era, viz that of Cālukya king Mangaleśvara in 500 śaka (expired, i.e, 578 A.D.) it is cited as the era of the crowning of the Śaka [1003] king. Varāhamihira speaks of it as Śakakāla (in the Pañca-siddhāntikā [1004] and Brhat-samhitā 13. 3) and as Śakendrakāla

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1002 a. Vide I A. vol. 12 p 155 the Dhinkī Grant of King Jāikadeva of Saurāstra of the Vikrama year 794 (737 A D.) 'विक्रमसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु चतुर्नवत्यधिकेषु अङ्कत ७९४ कार्तिकमासापरपक्षे अमावास्यायां आदित्यवारे ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रे रविग्रहणपर्वणि &c

1003. 'शकनृपतिराज्याभिषेकसंवत्सरेष्वतिक्रान्तेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु महाकार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां &c ' in I. A vol III p 305 and VI. 363, Kielhorn's list No 3 in E. I. VII. Appendix.

1004. सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ । अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सौम्यदिवसाद्ये ॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका 1 8, which means 'deducting śaka year 427 (from the śaka year for which ahargana is required) at the beginning of the bright half of *caitra* when the sun has half set in Yavanapura at the beginning of Monday.' Since Varāha employs in his several works the words शककाल, शकेन्द्रकाल and शकभूपकाल as synonyms it cannot be gainsaid that to him at least Śakakāla has something to do with śaka kings One regrets that

(Continued on next page)

or Śakabhūpakāla (in Brhat-samhitā VIII 20-21) Utpala (about 966 A D) while commenting on Brhat-samhitā (VIII. 20) remarks that the Śaka era started from the time when the Śaka king was killed by Vikramāditya Its years begin with Caitra for luni-solar reckoning and Mesa for solar reckoning Its years are generally expired ones and it begins with vernal equinox of 78 A. D The earliest inscription so far discovered in which the śaka era is expressly mentioned is that of Cālukya Vallabheśvara dated in 465 śaka (i e 543 A. D)[1005] The inscriptions of the Ksatrapa kings that bear the number of the year but no era are generally ascribed to the śaka era, e g those of Rudradāman in 52 and 72, of Rudrasimha in 103, of Rudrasena in 122 (Luder's list Nos 965, 963, 962) Emperor Kaniska (of the Kusāna race) is also connected by some with the foundation of the śaka era [1006] One of the earliest date for the śaka era in literature is mentioned as śaka 380 in the Jain work Loka-vibhāga of Simhasūri [1007] As the Pañcasiddhāntikā (XII 2) takes the 2nd year of the śaka era as the epoch of the Pitāmaha-siddhānta, it is not too much to assume that the original siddhānta of which a summary is given by Varāhamihira was composed according to him in the first quarter of the first

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(*Continued from last page*)

since independence some Indian scholars are bent upon not admitting patent facts of history and put forward novel theories The verse 'आसन्... राज्ञश्च' in note 746 does not stand by itself and has to to be taken along with the other verses in the same work (as in Br. S VIII. 20-21) and शकेन्द्रकाल in पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका (vide note 1008); the verse 'आसन् &c.' says that śaka years when added to by 2526 (or 2566) represent the time of Yudhisthira The suggestion made by some that śakakāla simply means method of reckoning cannot be accepted in view of the words Śakendrakāla or Śakabhūpakāla One may raise a dispute as to whether the śaka era was *founded* by a *śaka king* or whether it was *founded by an Indian king* who defeated the Śakas But the central fact remains that śaka-kāla has something to do with the śakas and a Śaka king.

1005 Vide E. I. vol 27 pp 4-8 Vide E I. vol. 16 p 19 at p 23 for Andhau Inscription of Rudradāman in the year 52 'फल्गुणबहुलस द्वितीय ५ २'

1006. Vide Prof. A. L Basham's interesting paper on 'Śaka-Kusāna' in Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, vol 15 pp 80-97, where he brings together much that has been written about Śakas, Kusānas, Vikramāditya &c.

1007. Vide Mysore Arch. Report for 1922 p 23 quoted on p. 5 of I. 27 'सत्तरे तु द्वाविंशे काग्रीक्षः सिंदमर्मण' । अशीत्यग्रे शकाद्राना (ν l शकाब्दाना) सिद्धमेतच्छतत्रये ॥.

century of the śaka era [1008] In later medieval and modern times (as also in the Jyotirvidābharana) the śaka era goes by the name of Śālivāhana. But the form Śālivāhana as that of the era occurs only in the inscriptions of the 13th or 14th century A D. e g. the two earliest inscriptions so far discovered mentioning the word Śālivāhana are those recorded in the plate of Devagiri Yādava king Krsna dated in Śālivāhana era 1172 (1251 A. D.) [1009] and the plate of Bukka I dated in śaka 1276, current (1354 A. D.). Vide No 455 in Kielhorn's list in E I. VII. It is possible that the name Sātavāhana (mentioned in Harsa-carita as the composer of the Gāthāsaptaśatī) was changed into Śālavāhana, then into Śālivāhana and this conjecture is supported by the fact that in the Gāthāsaptaśatī (V. 67) king Sālāhana (a Prakrit form of Sātavāhana) is mentioned; 'only two know how to raise high distressed families (by *śleṣa*, the family of Aparnā), viz. Śiva beloved of the heart of Gaurī or the king Sālāhana (Sātavāhana)' Vide C. R. C. Report pp. 244–256 for the śaka era and Ludwig Bachhofer's paper on 'Greeks and Śakas in India' in J. A O. S. vol 61 (1941) pp. 223–250, where he attacks some of the downright and very emphatic assertions of Dr. W. W. Tarn in 'the Greeks in Bactria and India'

Another era, which is current even now in Kashmir, is the Saptarsi era, also called Laukika era. According to the Rājatarangini the Laukika year 24 was equal to śaka 1070 (expired).[1009a] In the use of that era the centuries are generally omitted. It is a luni-solar era supposed to have begun in April 3076 B. C on the first day of Caitra-śukla Vide Cunningham's 'Indian eras' pp. 6–17 and Stein's Introduction to translation of the Rājatarangini pp. 58 ff The Brhatsamhitā [1010] notes a tradition that the Saptarsis (Ursa Major) occupy each naksatra for a hundred years and that they occupied the constellation of Maghā when king Yudhisthira reigned Probably this is the

1008. द्व्यूनं शकेन्द्रकाल पञ्चभिरुद्धृत्य शेषवर्षाणाम्। युगणं माघसितादौ कुर्याद् युगणं तदब्दयुद्यात्॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका XII. 2.

1009 Vide Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol 17 pp 92–93 (Dr. Gai's paper).

1009 a. लौकिकेऽब्दे चतुर्विंशे शककालस्य साम्प्रतम्। सप्तत्याग्धिकं यात सहस्रं परिवत्सरा॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I. 52.

1010 आसन्मघासु 'राज्ञश्च॥ एकैकस्मिन्नृक्षे शतं शतं ते चरन्ति वर्षाणाम्। बृहत्संहिता 13. 3–4 q above in note 746.

origin of the Kashmir era in cycles of one hundred years. For Inscriptions dated in the Laukika era, vide Bhandarkar's list No. 1431–1443 in E. I. vol. 20 Appendix and No. 1444–45 for Saptarsi era.

Several other eras such as the Vardhamāna and Buddha-nirvāna eras, Gupta, Cedi, Harsa, Laksamana-sena (in Bengal), Kollam or Paraśurāma era (prevelent in Malabar), most of which were once in great vogue (at least in civil life) but are now practically unused, are passed over here, as of only academic interest in these days For Vardhamāna nirvāna era, vide I. A. vol 25 p 346 where the year 2493 after the nirvāna of Vardhamāna is said to be equal to Vikrama year 1888 and śaka year 1752 (1830 A D.) and Buddha-nirvāna era in JRAS for 1875 at p 358 (a Ceylonese Inscription of Sāhasa-malla's time about 1191 A. D), where mention is made that the king was crowned 1743 years, three months and 27 days after the *nirvāna* of Buddha Great controversies have raged over the Gupta era (which Fleet holds began in 319 A. D) There are some who hold that it is really the Vikrama era (J. I H vol. 17 p. 293 ff and J. I. H. special number of March and April 1941 pp 71–84). For Harsa era, vide E. I. 19 p 52 and Nos. 1385–1421 in Bhandarkar's list in vol. 20 Appendix of E. I. From Alberuni (Sachau vol II p 5) it appears that Harsa era started in 606 A.D. There has been some conmflict of views on this; vide IHQ vol. 27 pp. 321 ff, vol. 28 p 280 ff (by R C. Majumdar) and vol 29 pp 72–79 (Dr D. C Sirkar). The Kollam era is said to have started in 1176 B. C.

It has already been shown how in Vedic works the year was denoted by several synonyms such as samvatsara, samā, varsa. In the Nārada-samhitā[1011] it is said that there are nine kinds of

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1011 ब्राह्मं दैव मानुष च पित्र्यं सौर च सावनम्। चान्द्रमार्क्षं गुरोर्मानमिति मानानि वै नव। एषा तु नवमाना व्यवहारोऽत्र पञ्चभि। तेषा पृथक् पृथक् कार्यं वक्ष्यते व्यवहारत॥ नारदसंहिता III 1–2. (Chowkhamba S Series) कल्प (*to be explained later*) is a day of Brahmā (Sūryasiddhānta I. 20), one human year was supposed to be a day of the gods (एक वा एतद् देवानामहो यत्संवत्सर। तै ब्रा III. 9. 22. 1), one human month was held to be the *ahorātra* of pitrs (मनु I. 66) मानुषमान is विमिश्र (mixed) because men employ four reckonings (*māna*) for different purposes as stated in the सि शि 1 30–31 (क्षेय विमिश्र तु मनुष्यमानं मानैश्चतुर्भिर्व्यवहारहेतोः॥ वर्षायनर्तुयुगपूर्वकमत्र सौरान्मासात्तथा च तिथयस्तुहिनाद्युमानात्। चक्रुश्चतुष्कचुलकाचिकित्सित-वासरार्धं वत्सावमान्च यतिकादिकर्मक्षमानात्॥) But the सि शि further on (I 32) says that computations about planets are to be made by human reckoning (ग्रहास्तु साध्या मनुजै. स्वमानात्).

reckonings of time, viz. Brāhma (of Brahmā), Daiva (of the gods), Mānusa (human), pitrya (of the Pitrs), Saura, Sāvana, Cāndra, Nāksatra and Bārhaspatya, but that in ordinary wordly matters only five of these are employed. The Vedāṅga-jyotisa appears to refer to four when it says that in a *yuga* (of five years) there are 61 *sāvana* months, 62 lunar months, 67 nāksatra months. Hemādri (on Kāla, p. 9) dwells on only three of these year reckonings, viz. cāndra, saura, and sāvana, while Mādhava (in Kālanirnaya-kārikās 11–12) speaks of two more, viz Nāksatra and Bārhaspatya. The Visnudharmottara speaks of four (not mentioning Bārhaspatya). The three mentioned by Hemādri are those most employed in religious and civil matters, and dharmaśāstra works are specially concerned with them, while the other two are rarely referred to in the latter. A cāndra month[1012] is a time period from the end of one amāvāsyā (New Moon) to the next amāvāsyā and twelve such months make the cāndra year of 354 days It is also called a lunation. The length of a cāndra month varies from 29.246 to 29.817 days owing to the eccentricity of the moon's orbit and other causes and its average period is 29.53059 days. A saura month is the time taken by the sun to move through one sign of the zodiac; twelve such months constitute the solar year,[1013] and the first day of a solar year is the

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1012. नाडीपञ्चा तु नाक्षत्रमहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् । तत्त्रिंशता भवेन्मासः सावनोऽर्कोदयैस्तथा ॥ चेन्दवस्तिथिभिस्तद्वत् संक्राम्त्या सौर उच्यते । सू. सि I. 12–13; वृद्धौवधि चान्द्रमुशन्ति मासं सौरं तथा भास्कररशिभोगात् । त्रिंशद्दिनं सावनसंज्ञमाहुर्नाक्षत्रमिन्दोर्भगणभ्रमाद्य ॥ रत्नमाला I 20, वायुपुराण 50 187–88, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 72 14–20 (q by हे on काल p 10) and उत्पल on बृहज्जातक VIII 10 mention the four reckonings चान्द्र, सौर, सावन and नाक्षत्र and their employment for certain purposes

1013. The वेदाङ्गज्योतिष (which is in two recensions, attached to Ṛgveda and Yajurveda respectively) summarizes the several items of the saura year as follows —त्रिंशत्यहा सपदपद्विरब्दः षट् चर्तवोयने । मासा द्वादश सौरा स्युरेतत्पञ्चगुणं युगम् ॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 31 (Sham Shastri, ed.) The Vedāṅga-jyotisa holds that 366 days constitute a year. The modern Sūrya-siddhānta says that there are 365 258756 days in a year. The other siddhāntas slightly vary from this According to modern astronomy the year consists of 365 242196 days Vide 'Indian Culture' vol VIII. pp. 114–116 for a note on this (by N. C. Lahiri) and Preface p. VIII. and p. 240 of the (C. R. C Report). For the length of Jupiter's revolution round the sun, vide 'Frontiers of Astronomy' p 47 by D S Evans. The meaning of the above verses is: a solar year contains 366 days, it has six ṛtus (seasons) and two *ayanas*, twelve months, these multiplied five times make a *yuga*.' It does not profess to be a treatise on astronomy as then known, but its aim was a thoroughly practical one viz, to enable the Vedic

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first day of the Saura month, Mesa. If the entry of the sun into the sign is in the day time then that day is the first day of the month. If the entry is in the night, the next day is the first day of the month. The time of entry of the sun into a rāśi differs from almanac to almanac and the result is that the entry may be before sunset in one almanac and after sunset in another Therefore, there may be the difference of one day as to the first day of the month. Owing to the adoption of different ayanāmśas and the difference in the length of the year, the Drk, Vākya and Siddhānta almanacs may differ about the first day of the year, about Pongal and other festivals. A Sāvana year is of 12 months of 30 days each, the day being counted from one sunrise to the next. A nāksatra month is the time taken by the moon to pass through the 27 naksatras; the Bārhaspatya year is the time taken by Jupiter to pass through one sign of the zodiac (i. e about 361 days). According to modern astronomy, Jupiter takes 11.86 years (for its revolution round the sun). All these four or five divisions are not mentioned in early works and even in later days all these four divisions do not appear to have been fully utilised, though mentioned in astronomical and dharmaśāstra works. Kautilya provides that[1014] the month for workmen is of thirty days and nights, the Saura month is one half day larger i. e. (30½ days in a month), the lunar month a half day less (i. e. 29½ days), the nāksatra month is of 27 days, the intercalary month is of 32 days (*or* occurs in the 32nd month?), the month is of 35 days (for the wages) of those who tend horses and of 40 days for those who are keepers of elephants. The month for workmen was of 30 days, but it need not have coincided with Full Moon or New Moon, while lunar months end with amāvāsyā or pūrnimā. The Brāhmasphutasiddhānta quoted by Utpala on Brhat-samhitā II 4 p 40 provides that from the saura reckoning one derives the extent of Yuga, the year, Visuvat, Ayana, seasons, the increase and decrease in the length of the day and night, from the cāndra the details about tithis,

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priest having some knowledge of elementary arithmetic but not knowing astronomy to determine a required *tithi* (age of the moon) and the place (naksatra) of the moon and the sun on a particular day in the *yuga* of five years.

1014 त्रिंशदहोरात्र प्रकर्ममास। सार्धसौरः (सार्ध-सौरः?)। अर्धन्यूनश्चान्द्रमासः। सप्तविंशतिर्नक्षत्रमास। द्वात्रिंशद्मलमास। पञ्चत्रिंशच्चवाहाया.। चत्वारिंशद्धस्तिवाहायाः। अर्थशास्त्र II 20 p 108. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV. 2 21 mentions a भृतकमास (month of hired service), which seems to be the same as प्रकर्ममास

karanas, intercalary month or *ksaya* month, all acts to be performed at night; from *sāvana* reckoning sacrifices, the *savanas* (the three soma libations) the motions of planets, fasts, impurities on birth and death, medical treatment, expiations and other religious rites Vide Visnudharmottara I. 72. 26–27 for similar verses.

At present the year begins either in caitra or kārtika in different parts of India. But in ancient times it began in different months in different countries and for different purposes. Many Vedic[1015] passages show that the reckoning was pūrnimānta, that the year began after the Full moon of Phālguna and that Vasanta was the first season of the year. It is due to this that Mādhava says in his Kāla-nirnaya p 63 (Calcutta ed.) that Śruti (Veda) is insistent on the pūrnimānta month (paūrnamāsyantatve śruteh katākso bhūyān) The Sm C. (on śrāddha p 377) notes that the *amānta* reckoning is followed in Deccan the (Daksinā-patha) and pūrnimānta in North India (Uttarā-patha). Vide Mundakhede plate of Sendraka Jayaśakti on 10th of Phālguna dark half of year 602 (must be śake) for indicating that in north Mahārāstra there was amānta reckoning then (E I. vol 29 part V pp 116–117). The Vedāngajyotisa[1016] says that the first year of the cycle of five years began in Māghaśukla i. e. at the winter solstice Alberuni (Sachau II. pp. 8–9) mentions that the year began in Caitra, Bhādrapada, Kārtika, Mārgasīrsa in different parts of India. Kautilya[1017] provided that the year for work in the Government office of Accounts was a *cāndra* one and ended on the Full Moon of Āsādha. From Vanaparva[1018] it appears that the year began in Caitra It is

1015. न पूर्वयो फल्गुन्योरन्तिमाद्धीत। एषा वै जघन्या रात्रि सवत्सरस्य यत्पूर्वे फल्गुनी। ... उत्तरयोरादधीत। एषा वै प्रथमा रात्रि' संवत्सरस्य यदुत्तरे फल्गुनी। मुखत एव संवत्सरस्याग्निमाधाय वसीयान्भवति। तै ब्रा I. 1 2 13, मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यत्फाल्गुनी पौर्णमासी मुखमुत्तरे पुच्छं पूर्वे। कौ ब्रा V. 1; माघस्यामावास्यायामुपवसत्युदद्वृत्ता वत्सर्ण्यन्युपेते वसन्ति। ...तस्मादत्र न दीक्षेरंश्चैत्रस्यामावास्या एकाह उपरिष्टाद्दीक्षेरन्नागतं तस्य भवति महान्यहानि भवन्ति. । शाङ्खायनब्रा. 19 3, फाल्गुने दीक्षेरन्। मुखं वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यत्फाल्गुनी . । चित्रापूर्णमासे दीक्षेरन्। चक्षुर्वा एतत्संवत्सरस्य यच्चित्रापूर्णमासो मुखतो वै चक्षु । ...चतुरहे पुरस्तात्पौर्णमास्या दीक्षेरन्। ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण V 9 7–12 Vide तै सं VII. 4 8 for similar words For वसन्त vide p. 492 and notes 716–717 above.

1016 मघशुक्ल ..कालज्ञानं प्रचक्षते॥ वेदाङ्गज्योतिष I 5 q above

1017. त्रिशतं चतुःपञ्चाशद्राहोरात्राणा कर्मसंवत्सर. । तमापाढीपर्यवसानमूनं पूर्णं वा वर्षात्। करणाधिष्ठितमधिमासकं कुर्यात्। अर्थशास्त्र II 6 p 63.

1018 क्षीणे युगे तु कौन्तेय शर्वस्य सह पार्षदै । सहोमया च भवति दर्शनं कामरूपिण. । अस्मिन् सरसि सत्रैषै चैत्रे मासि पिनाकिनम् । यजन्ते याजका. सम्यक् परिषारं शुभार्थिन. ॥ वनपर्व 130 14–16

possible to suggest that the year began with Mārgaśīrsa because Anuśāsana (106. 17–30) deals with the results of practising *ekabhakta vrata* from Mārgaśīrsa to Kārtika The Krtyaratnākara (p. 452) quoting Brahmapurāna says that the year began with the *pratipad* of Mārgaśīrsa in Krtayuga. From Gītā X. 35 (māsānām mārgaśīrsoham) it does not, I humby think, follow that Mārgāśīrsa was the first month of the year, since most of the vibhūtis with which Lord Krsna identifies himself are the best in that particular category and as even among Pāndavas Arjuna is mentioned, not as first but as the best. Only a few such as *akshara* or Dvandva are the first of their respective categories. The Varsakriyā-kaumudī and Nirnayasindhu p 79 say that the Brahmapurāna[1019] generally accepts the pūrnimānta reckoning and that it (N. S.) would deal with tithi-nirnaya by generally following Brāhmapurāna. The Bhavisyapurāna when speaking of Holikā festival on Phālguna Full Moon states that it was the end of Phālguna (Uttara-parva 132. 1). Matsya 159 3–6 say that Skanda and Viśākha are said to have been born on the 15th of dark half of caitra in a clump of reeds and it is added that the two were made into one by Indra on the 5th of the bright half of caitra and on 6th crowned as commander. It follows that Matsya thinks the month to have been pūrnimānta.

Something must be said about the 60 year cycle called Bārhaspatya (Jovian). The Visnu-dharmottara[1020] says that the first year called Prabhava of the sixty year cycle began on Māghaśukla when the sun and the moon occupied the naksatra Dhanisthā and were in conjunction with Jupiter In Brhatsamhitā 8. 27–52 the *phalas* of the 60 years from Prabhava to Ksaya are described, as also in Agnipurāna chap. 139, while the Visnudharmottara I. 82. 9 ff and Bhavisya quoted in Jyotistattva pp. 692–697 enumerate all the 60 by name with their *phalas*. Each year of the Bārhaspatya cycle has the word 'Samvatsara' added to it. As *yuga* means five years, the sixty samvatsaras of Jupiter are twelve times five and are so described in Br. S. 8. 23–26 and in Visnudharmottara I. 92. 9 and later writers suppose that the samvatsaras are affiliated to the lunar

1019. पौर्णमास्यन्तमासेनैव ब्रह्मपुराणादौ तिथिकृत्यस्य निर्णीतत्वात् । ध कि कौ. p 499

1020 माघशुक्लं समारभ्य चन्द्रार्कौ वासवर्क्षगौ । जीवयुक्तौ यदा स्याता पष्टिसंवत्सरादयः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 82 8. आद्यं धनिष्ठाप्रभवं प्रपन्नो माघे यदा वासवदेवयुक्ते । षष्टिसंवत्सरपूर्व प्रभवः स नाम्ना प्रथते भूतहितप्रदाब्दः ॥ बृहत्संहिता 8 27

year alone[1021]. In the Deccan now (and in older times also) it appears that at the beginning of each year the Jovian name is changed. But in northern India Vijaya is the first year instead of Prabhava. The length of Jupiter's year is 361. 9267 days and is shorter than the sidereal year by 4 23 days. The result is that in 85 sidereal years there are 86 Jovian (or samvatsara) years and therefore there is the suppression (ksaya) of one year after 85 years (which is done only in Northern India).

The Jovian cycle must be an ancient one. some Purānas and Varāhamihira speak of it as an established institution. Vide Cunningham's 'eras' pp. 11–25 (60 year cycle) and pp. 26–30 (12 year cycle), Warren's 'Kālasankalita' (pp. 199–216), V. B. Ketkar's work on 'Indian and foreign chronology' pp. 73–82, I. A. vol. 18 pp. 193–209 (Kielhorn) and pp. 221–224 (Fleet) and Gupta Inscriptions, Introduction pp. 169–176 (a note on 12 year cycle and 60 year cycle of Jupiter by Sh. B. Dikshit) for origin and information about the Bārhaspatya cycle and tables. In Malabar and Travancore the Jovian cycle is of twelve years, but it is passed over here for reasons of space.

The names of the 60 Bārhaspatya years are (with some differences such as that Br. S. 8. 35 puts Nata after Subhānu and then brings in Tārana and omits Pārthiva):

1. Prabhava	16. Citrabhānu	31. Hemalambin	46. Paridhāvin
2 Vibhava	17. Subhānu	32. Vilambin	47. Pramādin
3. Śukla	18 Tārana	33. Vikārin	48. Ānanda
4. Pramoda	19. Pārthiva	34. Śārvarin (or Śar)	49. Rākṣasa
5. Prajāpati	20. Vyaya	35. Plava	50. Anala
6. Angiras	21. Sarvajit	36 Subhakrt	51. Piṅgala
7. Śrīmukha	22. Sarvadhārin	37. Śobhakrt (Śobhana)	52. Kālayukta
8 Bhāva	23. Virodhin	38. Krodhin	53 Siddhārtha
9. Yuvan	24. Vikrti	39. Viśvāvasu	54 Raudra
10. Dhātr	25. Khara	40. Parābhava	55. Durmati
11 Īśvara	26. Nandana	41. Plavanga	56. Dundubhi
12. Bahudhānya	27. Vijaya	42 Kīlaka	57. Rudhirodgārin
13. Pramāthin	28 Jaya	43 Saumya	58. Raktākṣa
14. Vikrama	29. Manmatha	44. Sādhārana	59. Krodhana
15. Vṛsan	30. Durmukha	45. Virodhakrt	60. Ksaya

1021 चान्द्राणां प्रभवादीना पञ्चके पञ्चके युगे। सम्परीवान्त्रिदित्येतच्छब्दपूर्वास्तु वत्सरा - इति माधवोक्तेरेव मानत्वात्। सकलशिष्टव्यवहारसहकृतादत एव माधववचनाच्चान्द्रविषया एव प्रभवादिसंज्ञा धर्मानुष्ठानोपयोगिन्यो न तु वत्सरान्तरविषया इत्यपि सिद्धम्। स्मृतिकौ p. 530 (संवत्सरदीपिति); चान्द्राणा ..वत्सरा· 18 कालनिर्णयकारिका of माधव verse 13.

The names of the Bārhaspatya years occur rather early in Inscriptions Among the earliest references are two, one to Siddhārtha-samvatsara in the 5th year of the reign of the Cālukya king Mangaleśa (I. A 19 p 1 ff at p. 18) and the other is to Saumya-samvatsara in the Alas plate of Rāstrakūta king Govinda in *Śaka* 692 (E. I vol VI p. 209) How the samvatsara names were supposed to indicate different consequences for the years concerned can be illustrated by citing two verses from the Brhatsamhitā (8 28-29) 'when the samvatsara Prabhava starts there are drought, strong winds and destruction by fire and also other calamities (like excessive rain, locusts &c), there are diseases due to phlegm, but still people are not distressed.' The consequences in the next four samvatsaras are auspicious, viz. the king rules over a kingdom which is full of paddy, sugarcane and barley and other crops, which is free from dangers, in which there are no hatreds, in which the people are joyous and free from the evil results of kaliyuga (such as *adharma*, poverty, accidental deaths &c).

The subject of months is one of the most complicated. Indians followed the luni-solar calendar from very ancient times like the Babylonians, Chaldeans, Jews and the Chinese. All had therefore to resort to the device of intercalary months (adhika-māsa or malamāsa). But Indians had rarely a *ksaya* month also which is absent in the systems of the other peoples. This difference arose owing to the different ways of the calculations of the motions and positions of the sun and moon, in which I do not propose to enter for reasons already stated But a few words to indicate how an additional month arises may be said here. The solar year exceeds the lunar year by a little over eleven tithis This excess amounts to one lunar month in about 32 solar months The Babylonians had a cycle of 19 solar years in which there were 7 intercalary months (i e in all 235 lunar months) The same cycle was called Metonic cycle after Meton, an Athenian, who introduced it in Greece. This cycle is the foundation of the Jewish and Christian calendars, especially so far as Easter is concerned From the Vedānga-Jyotisa[1022] it appears that in a cycle of five years there were two intercalary

1022 द्व्यूनं द्विषष्टिभागेन ज्ञेयं सौरे सपार्वणम् । यस्कृत्वानुपजायेते मध्येऽन्ते चाधिमासकौ ॥ याजुषवेदाङ्गज्योतिष verse 35 (ed by Sudhakar Dwivedi, Prabhakari Press, Benares, 1906). एवसर्वतृतीयानामब्दानामधिमासकम् । ग्रीष्मे जनयत पूर्वं पञ्चाब्दान्ते च पश्चिमम्॥ अर्थशास्त्र II. 20 p 109, quoted in कालविवेक p 113 from ज्योति शास्त्र

months, one being a 2nd Āsādha at the end of 2½ years and the other a second Pausa at the end of the *yuga* of five years. Kautilya's Arthaśāstra merely echoes this The Pitāmahasiddhānta provided that an intercalary month was to be added after thirty months.[1023] In the Virāṭaparva[1024] it is said that the period of 13 years (12 years in exile and one year *incognito*) was more than completed by the Pāndavas if the cāndra reckoning were followed, as two months were to be added in five years. The purāṇas and other works give varying periods after which an intercalary month occurs A few examples may be cited. Visnudharmottara[1025] states that the solar year has eleven days more than the lunar one and that after two years eight months, sixteen days and four ghaṭis a month has to be added. This is not to be taken literally, otherwise it would have to be held that after four ghaṭikās on 2nd tithi of the dark half of a month an intercalary month has to be added All that the passage of the Purāna does is to indicate the number of days in the lunar reckoning after which an additional month is possible Similarly, a passage of the Kāthakagṛhya[1026] says that in the lunar month in which there is no *saṅkrānti* or there are two sankrāntis a month is added after thirty months have expired from a previous intercalary month. This too indicates only a possibility and not a certainty. The Nirnayāmṛta[1027] declared that a month is added between thirty and thirtysix months. This too is only approximate. A more definite rule is that the lunar month in which no sankrānti occurs is called adhika (intercalary) and bears the same name as that of the

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1023 रविशशिनो. पञ्च युगं वर्षाणि पितामहोपदिष्टानि। अधिमासक्रिंशद्भिर्मासैरवमो द्विपष्टया तु ॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका XII 1.

1024 पञ्चमे पञ्चमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायत· । एषामभ्यधिका मासाः पञ्च च द्वादश क्षया । त्रयोदशाना वर्षाणामिति मे वर्तते मति ॥ विराटपर्व 52. 3–4.

1025 सौरसंवत्सरस्यान्ते मानेन शशिजेन तु । एकादशातिरिच्यन्ते दिनानि मुनिनन्दन ॥ समाद्वये साष्टमासे दिनषोडशकान्विते । नाडीचतुष्टयान्ते तु तस्मान्मासोतिरिच्यते । स चाधिमासक· मोक्त. काम्यकर्मसु गर्हित ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 72 21–23 q by हेमाद्रि (काल pp 27–28), a similar verse is quoted from वसिष्ठसिद्धान्त by हेमाद्रि on काल p 27 and by स्मृतिच (on श्रा p 371) 'द्वात्रिंशद्भिर्गतैर्मासैर्दिनं षोडशभिस्तथा। घटिकाना चतुष्केण पतत्यधिकमासक ।'.

1026 अत एव काठकगृह्ये। यस्मिन्मासे न सक्रान्ति· संक्रान्तिद्वयमेव वा। मलमास. स विज्ञेयो मासे त्रिंशत्तमे भवेत् । · इद च सम्भवाभिप्रायं न तु नियतम् । स्मृतिकौ p. 521 (संवत्सरदीपिति), हेमाद्रि on (काल p 28) refers to it and स्मृतिच (on श्राद्ध p. 370) quotes it सनयप्रकाश p. 140 reads 'त्रिंशेयो मास. स्यात्तु त्रयोदश ॥'

1027. त्रिंशत्तमान्मासाद्यूर्ध्वं षट्त्रिंशन्मासात्पूर्वं त्रयोदशो मासो भवतीति नियम इति निर्णयामृतोक्तं चिन्त्यम् । स्मृतिकौ p 521 (संवत्सर०).

next lunar month which is called *śuddha* or *nija* or *prākṛta* to distinguish it from the intercalary month or if in one solar month two amāvāsyās[1028] and then there is an adhikamāsa or *malamāsa*. That lunar month in which two sankrāntis occur gets two names of which the first is retained and the second is suppressed (i. e. this second becomes a *kṣaya* māsa). This means that a kṣaya māsa occurs when there are two sankrāntis in a month. That lunar month in which the sun enters Mesa sign is called Caitra, that in which he enters Vrsabha is called Vaiśākha and so on.[1029]

One or two points more about *adhika* and *kṣaya* months may be mentioned. The seven months from Phālguna to Aśvina can become only *adhika* but never *kṣaya*. Kārtika and Mārgaśīrsa may become both Adhika and Kṣaya, but rarely; Māgha can become adhika but it has never been adhika or ksaya (vide Ketkar's work p. 40). But the Śuddhikaumudi says that Māgha was a kṣaya month in śake 1397;[1030] and the Malamāsatattva quotes a text to the effect that Māgha may be an intercalary month, but Pausa never. About Pausa, Mr. V. B. Ketkar (in 'Indian and foreign chronology' p. 40) says that Pausa has almost no chance of becoming *adhika*, but has greater chance of becoming *kṣaya* than Mārgaśīrsa' (but see a little below). A kṣaya month is generally preceded and followed, though not immediately, by an adhika month, so that there are two adhika months when a kṣaya month occurs in some years. The Siddhānta-śiromani states that one out of the three months only viz. Kārtika, Mārgaśīrsa and Pausa can be kṣayamāsa and that when a kṣaya

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1028. एकराशिस्थिते सूर्ये यदा दर्शद्वय भवेत्। हव्यकव्यक्रियाहन्ता तदा क्षेयोधिमासक ॥ भानु quoted by हेमाद्रि on काल p. 36, समयप्रकाश p. 140, which explains दर्शद्वयं as दर्शान्तद्वयम्, असंक्रान्तमासोऽधिमासः स्फुटः स्याद् द्विसन्क्रान्तिमास. क्षयाख्य. कदाचित्। क्षयः कार्तिकादित्रये नान्यत स्यात्तदा पर्वमध्येऽधिमासद्वय च ॥ सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि (ग्रहगणिते मध्यमाधिकार verse 6) q by हेमाद्रि on काल p 28, शु कौ p 272 (reads अन्यदा), नि सि. p 5, समयप्रकाश p. 142 (explains स्फुटः स्फुटमानागतः). Vide करणकल्पलता verse 23 p. 28 'असंक्रमस्तूत्तरमासनामा द्विसक्रम. स्यात्प्रथमाभिधो टि। असंक्रम. स्यान्मलमाससंज्ञो द्विसंक्रमो यः स भवेत्क्षयाख्य. ॥'

1029. मेषगरविसक्रान्तिः झटिमासे यत्र तत्रैत्रम्। एव वैशाखाद्या वृषादिसक्रान्तियोगेन ॥ ब्रह्मगुप्त q. by शुद्धिकौमुदी p 255, समयप्रकाश 141 (explains 'शुद्धमासाभिप्रायेण प्रायिकं न तु सर्वत्र मलमासाव्यापकत्वात्); चैत्रम् is explained as चैत्र एव चैत्रं स्वार्थे अण् दैवतादिशब्दवत्। क्वचित्स्वाधिकमध्यया लिङ्गमतिवर्तन्ते ॥

1030 कार्तिकादित्रये इति प्रायिकदर्शनं सप्तनवत्यधिकत्रयोदशशतकाब्दे माघे क्षय मासदर्शनात्। शु कौ p 272. 'तृज्ञानो फाल्गुनादीना प्रायो भावस्य च क्वचित्। नपुसकत्वं भवति न पौषस्य कदाचन ॥ नपुंसकत्वं मलमासत्वम्।' मलमासतत्त्व p. 774

māsa occurs there is an adhikamāsa before and after it within three months (Grahaganita, Madhyamādhikāra, verse 6, explanation). The curious reader may consult pp. 246-251 of the C. R. C. Report for light on the intercalary months The Siddhānta-śiromani[1031] mentions some śaka years in which ksaya-māsa occurred or would occur, viz. in saka year 974 (expired) occurred a ksaya month and a ksaya month will occur in śaka 1115, śaka 1256, śaka 1378 and a ksaya month generally occurs after 141 years and rarely in 19 years. In No. 1387 in the list of Inscriptions by D. R. Bhandarkar there is a reference to the 2nd tithi of the bright half of the first[1032] Pausa (dated samvat 34, probably of Harsa era), for a reference to 2nd Asādha see Sohawal plate of Śarvanātha in year 191 (probably Gupta) in E. I. vol. 19 at p. 130, for 2nd Pausa Jesar plate of Siladitya in 357 Valabhi era in E. I. vol 22 p. 120 may be seen.

The rules about what religious acts should be done or not done in an intercalary month will be dealt with a little later. The Śāntiparva refers to the ksaya of samvatsaras, months, paksas and divasas (tithis)[1033]. When there is a ksayamāsa, the adhikamāsa before it is like all ordinary māsas i. e there is no prohibition of doing religious acts in it, but the adhikamāsa that follows a ksayamāsa is the one that is declared unsuitable for religious rites. Adhikamāsa and ksayamāsa may be illustrated by one example for each. Suppose that there was Mesa sankrānti on Caitra amāvāsyā, that from the first tithi following the amāvāsyā to the next amāvāsvā (which is Vaisākha) there

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1031 गतेऽब्धयद्रिनन्दैर्मिते शाककाले तिथीशैर्भवित्व्यथाङ्काक्षयें। गजाग्न्यब्धिभूमि-स्थया मासशोऽप्य कुर्वेदेन्दुभि. स्यात् क्वचिद्वेकुभिश्च॥ सि शि (ग्रहगणित, मध्यमाधिकार verse 7) q. by नि सि 10, समयमयूख p. 142

1032. मेषादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो मास प्रपूर्यते चान्द्र। चंत्राद्य स ज्ञेय पूर्तिद्वित्वेऽधिमासोन्त्य (q. by स्मृतिकौ p 522. This verse is quoted by Bapudevashāstri (editor of सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि p, 49 note) as from ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त. The 4th pāda lays down that if there are two sankrāntis in one lunar month an intercalary month is required and that the intercalary is the latter of the two There were two methods of naming adhimāsa, one was to give to the adhimāsa the name of the next following month, the second was to give to an adhimāsa the name of the preceding month, in these days it is the first method that is followed The कालनिर्णयकारिका 18 says 'चान्द्रेऽधिमासोऽसंक्रान्त सोत्तमर्भवति द्वौसरे॥', हे on काल p 32 says 'अधिमासस्योत्तरमासस्यपूर्वोऽर्धमासइत्तरमासस्यसंज्ञा'. Vide App. to E I. vol XIX-XXIII for first Pausa

1033 क्षयं संवत्सराणा च मासानां च क्षयं तथा। पक्षक्षयं तथा ज्ञात्वा दिवसानां च तत्त्वतः। क्षयं वृद्धिं च चन्द्रस्य ज्ञात्वा मत्पक्षतस्तथा॥ शान्ति 301 46-47

is no saṅkrānti and then Vṛsabha *saṅkrānti* occurs on the 1st tithi thereafter; the month that had no saṅkrānti would be *adhika* Vaiśākha and the month on which Vṛsabha saṅkrānti takes place would be the śuddha (*proper*) Vaiśākha Now as to *kṣaya māsa*; suppose that there is Kanyā saṅkrānti on Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, then there is adhika Āśvina followed by Śuddha *Āśvina*, on the first tithi of which there is Tulā saṅkrānti, then on Kārtika-śukla 1st there is Vṛścika saṅkranti, than on Mārgaśirṣa śukla pratipad there is Dhanus *saṅkrānti* and in the same month on amāvāsya there is Makara saṅkrānti. Then that month having two saṅkrantis (Dhanus and Makara) would be called kṣayamāsa and so there would be one month Pausa (constituted by two months, Mārgaśirsa and Pausa). Then on Māgha amāvāsyā there is Kumbha saṅkrānti, then Phālguna would be *adhika māsa* and there would be Mina-saṅkrānti on śuddha Phālguna sukla pratipad. Thus in the year in which there is a kṣayamāsa, there are still 13 months and the days of the year amount to some days less than 390.

The four kinds of months, Cāndra, Saura, Sāvana and Nāksatra [1034] have already been described (p. 657) when speaking of the Cāndra and other years. As observed by the Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 80) the nāksatra month is not required in Dharmaśāstra, but is known only in Jyotiṣa-śāstra. Pañcāngas are generally prepared for each year They contain separate [1034a] pages for the two pakṣas (fortnights) of each of the twelve months (or 13 months if there be an intercalary month) The five important parts of the Indian calendar are[1035] *tithi*, week day, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and *karana*. The Muhūrtadarśana [1036] says that

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1034. मासास्तु सावन सौरश्चान्द्रो नाक्षत्र इत्यपि । दर्शान्त. पूर्णिमान्तो वा चान्द्रोऽसौ विभेदतः ॥ ... सौरे राज्ञ सावनस्तु यज्ञे ज्योतिष्टिकेऽपर ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 16-17, आद्यदर्शादावपरो नाक्षत्र इत्यर्थ .

1034a The accompanying printed page is from the reformed calendar prepared according to the Karanakalpalatā and used by some people in Mahārāstra It may be compared with an extract of one fortnight from a pañcānga 223 years earlier than the one for śake 1878 It will be found that the fundamental contents are the same in both

1035. न च तिथिनक्षत्रयोगकरणाना पञ्चाङ्गात्पतिना निर्णय कृत्वा स्वस्व पार्वी शास्त्रीयकर्मोपयोगी भवतु कुत उपेक्षित इति शङ्कनीयम् । अहोरात्रपरिमितत्वेन वासरे सम्भवाभावात् । कालनिर्णय p 331.

1036 नक्षत्रवारतिथय. करणानि योगाः पञ्चाङ्गमेतदथ शोधयितुं पवित्रम् । सशास्त्रनित्य-भिहितं यदतः क्रमेतदुपर्गतमो निजनिजो भवने भवाश. ॥ मुहूर्तदर्शन 1. 44.

it may have six parts if the signs of the zodiac are given and seven if the positions of the planets are mentioned. Vāra (weekday) is the period of time between one sunrise and the next and not much will have to be said about it except about the origin of week days. A great deal has already been said about tithis and naksatras What remains to be said about these, if at all, and the treatment of Yoga and Karana will be dealt with later on. We must revert to the topic of naksatras.

The names of the twelve solar months distributed two each among six seasons are very ancient. They occur in the Taittirīya-samhitā IV 3 11. 1, Vāj S 13 25 They are Madhu, Mādhava, Sukra, Śuci, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Isa, Ūrja, Sahas, Sahasya, Tapas and Tapasya[1037]. In the Brāhmanas we meet with months (lunar) named form naksatras. It is therefore that some works speak of *ritus* (seasons) as of two kinds, viz. Saura and Cāndra. The former begin either with Mīnarāśi or Mesarāśi, while the latter are called Caitra and the rest[1038] The name of the naksatra is often formed into a derivative and joined to the word Paurnamāsī, Pūrnamāsa or Amāvāsyā and sometimes the names of the months such as Phālguna and Caitra occur in the Brāhmanas (vide note 1015 above).[1039]

Pānini derives the names of the months like Caitra from Paurnamāsī and expressly names the Āgrahāyanī (IV. 2. 22), Phālgunī, Śravanā, Kārtikī and Caitrī (IV 2 23). 'Paurnamāsī' itself is derived from Pūrnamāsa by the Vārtika 2 on Pānini IV. 2. 35. The Full Moon tithi which has Pusya naksatra is called Pausī by the sūtras (Pān. IV. 2. 3 and IV, 2 21). Thus there were three stages; first the 27 naksatras were distinguished and named in the very ancient Vedic samhitās, then the Full Moon day was called Caitrī Paurnamāsī (and so on) because on that tithi the Moon was in Citrā naksatra and so on; then

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1037. वायुपुराण (chap 50, verse 202) enumerates these twelve months The gṛhyasūtras employ the saura month names, vide p 610 above about the months for marriage They occur in inscriptions also as the month 'Sahasya' and 'Tapasya' in the Mandasor Inscriptions of 493 and 529 of the Mālava era (Gupta Inscriptions p 79 ff)

1038 वसन्तादयस्तु द्वेधा चान्द्रा सौराश्च चान्द्रकाः । चैत्राद्या ह्याद्य मीनाद्या मेषाद्या वा विवस्वतः ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 15

1039. नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । पा. IV, 2 3. तस्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । पा IV. 2. 21; पूर्णमासाद्वण् । वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV. 2. 35. The महाभाष्य explains 'पूर्णमासी यस्यैऽस्मिन् काले पौर्णमासी सिथिः'.

the months were called Caitra, Vaiśākha &c. because they had Caitrī or Vaiśākhī Paurnamāsi in it. All this occurred long before Pāṇini. Later the saura names Madhu, Mādhava &c. came to be indentified with lunar months Caitra, Vaiśakha &c. and became synonyms. When this occurred it is difficult to say. But it is much older than the Christian era. It must be long before Kālidāsa, who in his Meghadūta first speaks of Āsādha and then refers to the next month Śrāvana as Nabhas. Often on the Full Moon day the Moon might not actually be in or very near Citrā or Śravaṇa naksatra but that did not matter; the month would still be called Caitra or Śrāvana as the case may be.[1040]

It has already been shown that in ancient Brāhmana times the months ended with the Full Moon (i. e. were pūrnimānta). When foreigners like Kaniska and Huviska ruled over Northern India they struck to the Pūrnimānta Indian months in their records, though here and there they employ Macedonian month names. For example, the Greek month Gurppiya is used in Huviska's reign (28th year) in the Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription and the Greek month[1041] Artemisios also occurs. In the Zeda Inscription the month must be held to be pūrnimānta as the naksatra Uttaraphalgunī is there said to have occurred on the 20th day of Āsādha.[1042] The Tekkalı plates of Devendravarman record a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 30th day of Māgha.[1043] Similarly, in the Lodhia plates of Sivagupta

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1040. नेपादित्ये सवितरि यौ यौ वर्ज प्रवर्तते। चान्द्रमासानक्षत्रवन्नाम्नेत्याद्या द्वादश स्मृता ॥ तेषु या या पौर्णमासी सा सा चैत्र्यादिका स्मृता। कादाचित्कन यौगेन नक्षत्रस्येति निर्णय ॥ q by सुन्दत्त on गौतमधर्मसूत्र 16 1, who explains 'तद्वत् सिंहस्थे सवितरि या अमावास्या तद्वन्ते चान्द्रमसे मासि पौर्णमासी सा श्रवणा श्रावणीति चोच्यते। श्रवणयोगस्तु भवतु मा वा भूत्।' Mr. Tarakesvara Bhattacharya in his paper on 'History of ancient Indian Astronomy' in J of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. XI-XII (1953-55) at p 17 quotes as from अमरसिंह the verse 'युक्तयुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी माघे तु यत्र सा ॥ नाम्ना स पौषो माघाद्याश्चैत्रमेकादशापरे ॥'. It appears that क्षीरस्वामी does not accept this verse as the original verse of Amara, but only as a variant reading Mr. Bhattacharya seems to be unaware of this. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 5 on पा IV 2 3 says 'युक्तसमीपगते चन्द्रमसि नक्षत्रो भवति युक्तेनाद्य नक्षत्रियेति'.

1041 Vide E I vol 21 p 56 at p 60 for the first and C. I. I. vol. II p. 170 for the second written as 'Arthamisiya' on the Wardak vase of the year 51

1042 E. I. vol. 19 p 1 at p 15 = C. I I vol II p. 145 'Sam 10 1 Ashadasa Masasa 20, Uttaraphalgune'

1043. I. H Q, vol XI p 300 at 302.

Bālārjuna of Kośala (i. e. Chhattisgarh region) published in E.I. vol. 27 p. 319 the date 'Sambatsare sapta pañcāśattame Kārtika-pornamāsyām ankena samvat 57, Kārtika-dina 30' (p. 325) shows that the month was pūrnimānta. The Rājatarangini[1044] says that king Harirāja came to the throne at the beginning of Āsādha in the 4th year (of the Laukika era), who ruled only for twenty-two days and died on 8th of the bright half of Śuci (i e. Āsādha) and thereby shows that the month was pūrnimānta in Kāshmir then as now.

Though inscriptions before the Christian era rarely mentioned the names of months (such as Kārtika 14th in the Kharosthī Inscription of the Greek king Menander,[1045] 2nd century B. C.), the usual mode is to mention the rtu (season), then the number of the month (and not name) in the season and then divasa, e. g. vide the seven inscriptions from[1046] Mathurā and the Śarnath Inscription of Mahārāja Kaniṣka.[1047] In some inscriptions only the *rtu* (season), the number of the paksa and the day occur; vide Nāgarjunikonḍa[1048] Ins. (3rd century A. D.), the Omgudu grant of Vijayaskandavarman (E. I. 15 p. 252 'Hemantapakse trtīye trayodaśyām'), the Nāga image Ins. of Kaniska's time (E. I. 17. p. 11) in sa. (Samvat) 8, grī. 4, di (divasa) 5. Vide also Luder's list No. 922 and No. 1202 (the latter of Mādhariputa Purisadata, samvachhare 20, Vāsāpakham 8, divasam 10). Sometimes the month is mentioned but no paksa and the days are counted ccntinuously from 1 to 30, e. g. Khoh plates of Mahārāja Jayanātha (in year 177 and 22nd day of Caitra) and Khoh plate of Śarvanātha in year 193 month Caitra day 10th without the mention of the fortnight (vide Gupta Inscriptions pp 121 and 125), E. I. vol. 20 p. 59 at p. 63 (*sam* 159, apparently of the Gupta era, Māgha di. 7), E. I. 19 p. 96 (the Mathurā pedestal Ins. of Kushāṇa year 14 in Pausamāsa

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1044 स चतुर्थममादाढमारम्भारे महीपतिः। हरिराजाभिधं पुत्रमभिषिच्यात्ममायर्यौ।... द्वाविंशतिमहान्यूनौ स रक्षित्वा क्षमापतिः। ग्रय य—। शुचिपक्षा शुचिशुक्लाष्टमीदिने॥ राजतरङ्गिणी VII verses 127 and 131

1045 Vide E I vol 2 pp 1–8, for the Bajaur casket Inscription of Minadra.

1046 E I vol 19 p 65 (seven Ins. from Mathurā) at p 66 'सं ८८ ग्री १ दि. ३०

1047. E I vol 8 at p 176 'सं १ हे १ दि २१' (Sarnath Ins of Kaniska)

1048. E I. vol 20 p 16 रज्ञो सिरिवीरपुरिसदत्तस सव ६ वा प ६ दिव १०. *ibid* at p 21 संवच्छरे अठार सं १०८ हेमन्तपखे छठे ६ दिवसे पञ्चमे

divasa 10), Gupta Ins. of Gupta year 129 in Jyestha-māsa di 18 (Gupta Inscriptions p 45 at p. 46). The non-mention of the paksa and the continuous counting of days from 1 to 30 continued even in the 9th century, vide Kota Inscription of Sāmanta Devadatta (I. A. 14. p 351) of *samvat* 879 (923 A D) Māgha su. 20. It may by noted that here the month is pūrnimānta In modern times people use such abbreviations as *su di* or *va di* or *vadya*. The first is abridged from *śukla dina* (or *divasa*) or *śuddha dina* and the latter from *bahula-dina* or *divasa* (*va* and *ba* being often interchangeable). For 'bahula', vide E. I. vol. 16, p. 236 at p. 238 (inscription of Rudrasena in the year 127 held to be of the saka era), Rudradāman's Junagadh inscription in the year 72 (150 A D.) of Mārgasirsa, bahula-pratipad (Luder's list No. 965 and E I. vol. VIII p 36 at p. 40), Udayagiri cave inscription in Gupta era 106 (425-26 A. D) 'bahuladine' (Gupta inscriptions p 258). For *śukla*, vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 95, 102, 114 and for *suddha*, vide the Nasik cave inscription in the year 42 of the reign of Usavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, where we have 'Kātikasudhe' (in E I VIII at p 82) and Pardi plates of Dahrasena in Kalacuri year 207 (i. e. 455-56 A D.) in C. I. I. vol IV pp 22, 24 (Vaisākha-śuddha-trayodasyām), for *su di*, vide E. I 17 p 110 (of the Valabhi year 106, 525-26 A. D.). For '*ba di*' vide JBBRAS (New Series) vol. I. p. 66 'Bhādrapada *ba* 13' in Valabhi year 210 and E. I. 19 p. 126 plate of Dhruvasena in Valabhi year 210 Bhādrapada ba di 9). It may be noted that '*sudi*' and '*vadi*' are treated as indeclinables (*avyaya*) and included in the 'svarādigana' ('svarādmipātamavyayam' Pāṇ I.1 37) by later grammatical writers. The Kāsikā, however, does not include these two in the 'svarādi-gana' which is an *ākrtigana* and therefore liable to be added to. 'Vadya' is inexplicable except as an attempt to have some word with some assonance of sound parallel to śuddha and related to *va di*. It is not clear why the word 'paksa' is not used in many inscriptions before and after the Christian era even though the word *paksa* occurs in such ancient works as the Brāhmanas[1049] and Upanisads. The Chāndogya-Upanisad (IV. 15 5 and V. 10. 1), the Brhad-āranyaka-Upanisad VI. 2 15-16 employ the words 'āpūryamāna-paksa' (also pūrvapaksa' and 'aparapaksa' in Br Up.

[1049] तेषां पूर्वपक्षे क्षुत्या सम्पद्यते। ताण्ड्यब्राह्मणम् V 9 14. तं पूर्वपक्षे याजयेत् श्रेयानेव भवति। य कामयेत पापीयान्स्यादिति तमपरपक्षे याजयेत्। पापीयानेव भवति। तस्मात् पूर्वपक्षोऽपरपक्षात् श्रेयस्तरः॥ तै. ब्रा. III. 2, 5 11.

appears to mean 'soiled or dirty clothes'. The word 'malimluca' occurs in Vāj. S. 22. 30, Śānkhāyana-śrautasūtra VI, 12.15. The Malamāsatattva derives the word as follows: being *mali* (soiled) it passes on'. The words 'samsarpa' and 'amhasaspati' occur in Vāj. S. 22. 30 and 31[1054] respectively, and 'amhasaspati' in Vāj. S. 7. 31 after the mantras referring to the twelve *saura* months, Mādhu, Mādhava &c The Tai. S. (I. 4. 14. 1 and VI. 5 3. 4) has the formula 'samsarpebyaham-spatayе tvā'.[1055] 'Amhaspati' literally means 'the lord of sins or evil' (i. e. a condemned month). Later medieval writers make a distinction[1056] between 'samsarpa' and amhaspati'. When there are in one year two adhimāsas and a *kṣaya* māsa, the first of the two adhimāsas is called 'samsarpa' and it is not condemned for all religious matters but only for marriages, such sacrifices as Agnistoma, festivals (that are not obligatory) and auspicious rites of children (such as 'nāmakarana'). The name amhaspati is confined to *kṣayamāsa*. The intercalary month is called Purusottama-māsa (Visnu being called Purusottama) in some of the Purānas as in Padma VI 64, probably with the purpose of reducing the opprobrium that attached to an intercalary month.

In the Dharmaśāstra Literature considerable space is devoted to the intercalary month e. g. in the Agnipurāna 175 29-30, the Rājamārtanda (folios 68a-69, verses 1078-1115), Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana pp. 113-168, Hemādri on Kāla pp 26-66, Kālanirnaya of Mādhava, Madanapārijāta pp. 544-550, Suddhikaumudī pp. 265-296, Malamāsatattva (Jivananda ed.) pp. 736-856, Samayaprakāśa pp 140-155 (part of Viramitrodaya), Nirnayasindhu pp. 9-17, Smṛtikaustubha (samvatsaradīdhiti) pp. 520-529, Dharmasindhu pp. 4-7, Purusārthacintāmani pp. 17-31. A brief treatment is all that can be attempted here.

1054 उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यंहस्पत्याय त्वा। वाज सं VII 30, मधवे स्वाहा माधवाय स्वाहा "तपस्याय स्वाहाहसस्पत्ये स्वाहा। वाज सं XXII, 31

1055. उपयामगृहीतोऽस्यंहस्पत्याय त्वेत्याह। अस्ति त्रयोदशो मास इत्याहुरतमेव तत् प्रीणाति। तै. सं VI 5 3. 4

1056 यस्मिन्मासे न संक्रान्तिः सक्रान्तिद्वयमेव वा। समर्यादस्पती मासावधिमासश्च निन्दितः॥ वर्हस्पत्यब्दयोर्निर्णय q. by हे on काल p 30, समयप्रकाश p. 143 असंक्रान्तोऽधिकश्चयं द्वौ चैत्रसर्पौ आदिमः। क्षयमासो द्वितीयेऽन्त्य न चाहस्पतिमज्जक ॥ का नि कारिका 19 The लक्ष्मी comments 'उत्तरस्मिन्नेवाधिमास पूर्वस्मिन्सक्रान्त्योऽपि नाधिमासः किं तु सनर्पं इति', the शुद्धिकौमुदी remarks 'अत एव कर्मणि दोषत्व नापतीति सनर्पमासापि तत्र वक्ष्यते। अथ च माम. क्षयमासाधिकरणनवत्सर एव भवति।' p 271; यद्वर्षमध्येऽधिकामासपुरस्ने तत्कार्मि- का.द्वितीयं क्षयाख्यं (v. l. क्षयाख्यम्)। मासतत्त्व स्याज्जनिद्व प्रयत्नादिवादयश्चोत्सवमङ्गलेषु॥ q. by हे (on काल) p. 34, मलमासतत्त्व p 702, समयप्रकाश p. 144 (reads क्षयाख्य), q. by हे (on काल) p. 34, मलमासतत्त्व p 702, समयप्रकाश p. 144 (reads क्षयाख्य),

The Agnipurāna provides:[1057] one should avoid in an intercalary month the performance of the following acts, viz. of consecration of Vedic fires, the establishment of images, sacrifices, religious gifts, vratas, the recitation of the Veda after undertaking it, observance of certain *niyamas* such as mahānāmnī, the letting loose of a bull (after sapindana), tonsure of a child, *upanayana*, rites such as the samskāras of nāmakarana, inauguration of a king. Long lists of what may or may not be done in an intercalary month occur in many works such as in Hemādri on Kāla pp. 36–66, Nirnayasindhu pp 10–15, Dharmasindhu pp. 5–7 It would be enough if some general provisions are stated The general[1058] rule is that one should perform obligatory acts and acts prescribed on certain occasions even in an intercalary month. For example, one must perform even in an intercalary month daily sandhyā worship, the five daily Mahāyajñas (such as Brahmayajña, Vaiśvadeva), the offering into fire (as an *agnihotra*) and must take a bath if there is an eclipse (in adhimāsa), although this is *naimittika*; so also one must perform the funerary rites after a relative's death even if the death takes place in an adhimāsa (this also is *naimittika*). But an obligatory rite should not be performed in adhimāsa if śāstra allows its postponement, e g. Soma sacrifice. The general rule is that no kāmya rite (not obligatory, but to be performed for securing some object or result) is to be performed in adhimāsa. There are exceptions to this also if a certain religious rite is begun before an adhimāsa falls (such as a Prājāpatya penance for twelve days or a cāndrāyana penance for a month) it may be continued even in adhimāsa. If there is drought and one desires to perform the *Kārīrīṣṭi* for bringing down rain, this may be done even in adhimāsa, since to wait might defeat the

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1057 अग्न्याधेयं प्रतिष्ठा च यज्ञदानव्रतानि च। वेदव्रतवृषोत्सर्गचूडाकरणमेखला। माङ्गल्यमभिषेकं च मलमासे विवर्जयेत्॥ अग्नि० 175. 29–30 (reads देवव्रत) q by स्मृ कौ p. 283 (without name) This is cited by हे (on काल) p. 40 as occurring in बृद्धमनु, बृहस्पति, पैठीनसि and ज्योति पराशर and by का वि p. 129 and समय-प्रकाश p. 149 from ज्योति-पराशर

1058. बृहस्पति.। नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्क्रियते सत् मलिम्लुचे। तीर्थस्नानं गजच्छाया प्रेतश्राद्धं तथैव च॥ स्मृत्यन्तरे च। अनन्यगतिं पत्निर्त्वं कुर्यान्नैमित्तिकं तथा॥ हे. on काल pp 45–46 The first verse occurs in भुजबल p. 349 and is q by का वि p. 140, मलमासतत्त्व p. 788, समयप्रकाश p 144. For गजच्छाया vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 371 n The समयप्रकाश explains that गजच्छाया here means श्राद्ध performed in the shadow of an elephant.

desired object These provisions are neatly summarised in the Kālanirnaya-kārikās quoted below [1059]

Certain matters were to be done only in malamāsa such as the gift[1060] of 33 *apūpas* (cakes) every day to brāhmanas or at least once in the intercalary month; certain acts were not to be done in adhimāsa, but only in the *śuddha*[1060a] month, such as the sinking of wells, construction of tanks, solemn sacrifices, the mahādānas and vratas Certain matters can be done in adhimāsa as well as in śuddha-māsa[1061] e.g rites on a pregnancy (such as *pumsavana*), taking interest on money lent, wages of workmen for fixed periods, monthly śrāddha (on amāvāsyā), daily gifts, bath at a holy place, *japa* (muttering mantras), homa with barley grains or rice or sesame, rites on the birth of a child, funeral rites, *nava-śrāddhas*, śrāddha on 13th tithi with Maghā-naksatra, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath and śrāddha and gifts and *japa* on lunar or solar eclipse, obligatory and *naimittika* acts; these may be done in malamāsa also A great deal of discussion is held on śrāddhas in malamāsa by Hemādri on Kāla (pp 56–63), Malamāsatattva (pp. 841–856), Nirnayasindhu

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1059. काम्यारम्भं तत्समाप्तिं मलमासे विवर्जयेत् । आरब्धं मलमासात् प्राक् कृच्छ्रं चान्द्रादिकं तु यत् । तत्समाप्यं सावनस्य मानस्यानतिलङ्घनात् ॥ आरम्भस्य समाप्तेश्च मध्ये स्याज्जन्मलिम्लुचः । महत्तमखिलं काम्य तदाप्तुष्ठेयमेव तु ॥ कारीर्यादि तु यत्काम्य तत्पारम्भसमापने । कार्यकालविलम्बस्य प्रतीक्षाया असम्भवात् ॥ अनन्यगतिकं नित्यमाग्नेहोत्रादि न त्यजेत् । गत्यन्तरयुत नित्यं सोमयागादि वर्जयेत् ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 21–24 नैमित्तिक is defined by म मा तत्त्व p 788 as 'मासदिनसवत्सरादिविशेषनियमञ्जूत्यावश्यकर्तव्यकादाचित्कनिमित्तोत्पन्नम् ।'. About सोमयाग, समयप्रकाश p 148 says 'सोमयागादेर्मासह्रयात्मकवसन्तादिकालिकत्वेन शुद्धेपि विहितकालालाभात्सगतिकत्वम् ॥'

1060 The स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (p 524) quotes हेमाद्रि 'हेमाद्रौ पाद्मे तत्रैव विहितं दानम् । अधिमासे तु संप्राप्ते शुद्धसर्पिर्युतानि च । त्रयस्त्रिंशदपूपानि दातव्यानि दिने दिने । यावन्ति तत्र छिद्राणि अपूपस्य च पार्थिव । तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥ प्रत्यहं मासम्भवे क्वचिदेकस्मिन् दिने कार्यम् । पृथ्वीसममिदं दान गृहाण पुरुषोत्तम । मलाना च विशुद्ध्यर्थं पापप्रशमनाय च । पुत्रपौत्राभिवृद्ध्यर्थं तव दास्यामि भास्कर ॥'

1060 a. वापीकूपतडागादिप्रतिष्ठा यज्ञकर्म च । न कुर्यान्मलमासे तु महादानव्रतादिकम् ॥ q by हे. on काल p 41 and का. वि p 130. महादानs have been enumerated and described in H of Dh vol. II pp. 869–877.

1061. यम· । गर्भे वार्द्धुषिके भृत्ये श्राद्धकर्मणि मासिके । सपिण्डीकरणे नित्ये नाधिमास विवर्जयेत् ॥ तीर्थस्नानं जपो होमो यवव्रीहितिलादिभि ॥ जातकर्मान्त्यकर्मणि नवश्राद्ध तथैव च । मघात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं श्राद्धान्यपि च षोडश । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नान श्राद्धदानजपादिकम् । कार्याणि मलमासेपि नित्यं नैमित्तिक तथा । q. by हे (*on* काल p 52), समयप्रकाश p 145, अन्त्यकर्माणि दहनोदकपिण्डदानास्थिसञ्चयनादीनि, for नवश्राद्ध vide H of Dh vol IV. pp 262–263 and 577, 519–520, for sixteen śrāddhas, vide H. of Dh vol. IV. pp. 518–519.

(pp. 11–15), Samayaprakāśa pp. 151–155 This is passed over for reasons of space For some remarks on the śrāddha of a person dying in an intercalary month, vide H of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 546–547

Just as the 13th month was to be discarded for religious rites, in Western countries number 13 is supposed to be unlucky, particularly in the case of company at a table

One of the five angas in the Indian pañcāngas is the week-day. A brief discussion on days and week-days has therefore to be held. The interval between two sunrises was considered as the most important unit of time This is solar and is called the civil day But *tithi* is a lunar division of time (as described above) and begins and ends at various spaces in the solar day. The word 'day' has two meanings, viz (1) from sunrise to sunset and (2) from sunrise to sunrise[1062] In Ṛg. the word 'ahah' is applied to both the dark part of it (i. e 'rātri' night) and to the bright part.[1063] The word *rātri* is not so frequently used in the Ṛgveda as the word 'ahan' and the word 'dina' is very frequently used in compounds like 'sudinatva', 'sudina' 'madhyandina'; 'ahorātra' (day and night) occurs only once in the Ṛg. X. 190. 2 The word 'pūrvāhna' (first part of the day or forenoon) occurs in the Ṛgveda X. 34 11. Three parts of the day also occur in the Ṛgveda viz prātah, *sangava* and madhyandina[1064] (mid-day). These are three out of the five parts of the day, the other two being *aparāhna* and *astamaya, astagamana* or *sāyāhna*, which five are mentioned in the Śatapatha Br. II. 3 2 9 Both 'prātah' (morning) and 'sāyam' (evening) occur in Ṛg. V. 77. 2 and 'sāyam' alone in Ṛg VIII. 2 20, X. 146. 3 and 40. The day and night were also divided into eight parts by Kautilya (I. 19) and by Daksa and Kātyāyana The division of the day and night each into 15 muhūrtas has been already dealt with at some length on pp. 537–541.

Great divergence prevailed about the beginning of the day. The Jews placed the beginning of the civil day in the evening (vide Genesis I. 5 'The evening and the morning were the first day' and also I 13.) The Egyptians divided the day from sunrise to

1062 Vide H of Dh vol. II pp 644–45, vol III p 242 and vol IV. pp 376–377 for the different ways of dividing the day

1063 अहश्च कृष्णमहरर्जुनं च वि वर्तेते रजसी वेद्याभि । ऋ VI. 9. 1

1064. उता यात सङ्गवे मातरद्धो मध्यन्दिन उदिता सूर्यस्य । ऋ V 76. 3.

sunset into twelve parts and thus obtained hours whose length depended on the season, while the Babylonians[1065] began the day with sunrise and divided day and night into twelve parts, each of which corresponded to two of the equinoctial hours In Athens and in Greece generally the day commenced in historic times with the evening for the purposes of the calendar(vide Heath's 'Aristarchus of Samos', 1913, p. 284). In Rome the day began with midnight. With Indian writers the day begins with sunrise (as in Brāhmasphuta-siddhānta XI. 33), but they were not unaware of different beginnings of the day. The Pañca-siddhāntikā[1066] remarks that Āryabhata declared that the day began at midnight in Lankā and again he said that it began with sunrise and that sunrise in Lankā coincides with sunset in Siddhapura, with mid-day in Yamakoṭī and with midnight in the Romaka country.

In modern times the civil day begins at midnight.

The seven day week is an artificial man-made arrangement. It corresponds to no astronomical or celestial phenomenon. The Mexicans had a week of five days[1067] before the Spanish conquest. The seven days week prevailed among Jews, Babylonians and the Incas of South America. The Romans had a week of eight days in Republican times, while the Egyptians and ancient Athenians had a week of ten days In the Old testament God is said to have gone on with the work of creation for six days, to have rested on the seventh and to have blessed it and sanctified

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1065. Hastings in E R.E. vol XII p. 50 says so, but Prof Neugebauer in E. S A. p 101 says that Babylonian day began in the evening and the first day of the month was made to depend upon a natural phenomenon, namely, the visible crescent of the Moon. Fotheringham in his Explanations to Nautical Almanac 1935 (at p. 769) states that the Babylonians reckoned day from midnight and mentions Pliny as saying that Hipparchus also did the same.

1066. लङ्कार्धरात्रसमये दिनमर्धरात्रं जगाद चार्यभटः। भूप स एव सूर्योदयात्सूत्र्याह लङ्कायाम्॥ उदयो यो लङ्काया सोऽस्तमयः सविद्रेव सिद्धपुरे। मध्याह्नो यमकोट्या रोमकविषयेऽर्धरात्रः स॥ पञ्चसि 15. 20 and 23 Lankā here is not Ceylon but an imaginary island to the south of India. The location of सिद्धपुर and यमकोटी is not known; रोमक seems to be Alexandria In आर्यभटीय (गोलपाद) the 13th verse is उदयो यो लङ्काया सोऽस्तमयः सविद्रेव सिद्धपुरे। मध्याह्नो यमकोट्या रोमकविषयेऽर्धरात्र स्यात्॥ This corresponds to पञ्चसि 15 23 Vide सूर्यसिद्धान्त, भूगोलाध्याय, verses 38–40 for the four cities mentioned in the आर्यभटीय being in the four directions

1067. Vide G. Schiaparelli's 'Astronomy in the Old Testament' (translated, Oxford, 1905) p. 130.

it (Genesis 2. 1–3). In Exodus 20. 8–11, 23. 12–14 and Deuteronomy 5. 12–15 God is said to have commanded the Jews to labour for six days, take rest on the seventh and to observe it as the Sabbath of the Lord God and to keep it sacred. The Jews gave no special names to the week days except the Sabbath which was the last day of the week and which they observed on Saturday (and not on Sunday).

The Old Testament contains no traces of proper names having been given to week days. It appears that even in the New Testament week days were indicated by numbers. Vide Matthew 28 1 'In the end of the sabbath as it began to dawn towards *the first day of the week* came mary Magdalen &c'; Mark 16 9 '*Now when Jesus was risen early the first day of the week* he appeared first to Mary Magdalen &c', Luke 24 1 '*Now upon the first day of the week* being early in the morning they came into the sepulchre' Each of the seven days of the week is designated as the sabbath or holy day by various nationalities and religious communities i. e Monday is the Greek Sabbath, Tuesday the Persian, Wednesday the Assyrian, Thursday the Egyptian, Friday the Moslem, Saturday the Jewish and Sunday the Christian.

On the origin and development of the seven-day cycle the leading work is F. H. Colson's 'the week' (Cambridge University Press, 1926). Some of his arguments may be briefly indicated Dion Cassius (first quarter of 3rd century A.D.) in his 37th book says that Jerusalem was captured[1067a] by Pompey in 63 B C. owing to the reverence of the Jews for Saturday (their Sabbath day) and he further makes the statements that planetary week originated in Egypt, that it was of recent growth and that it was in general use in his day; vide Dio's 'Roman History' vol. III pp 129, 131 where two traditional explanations are given as to how the week days were named after planets, the 2nd of which is based on the 24 hours of the day and night What must be emphasized is that Dio is positive that week days did not originate in Greece, but in Egypt and their introduction was recent Dio was a Roman and wrote his History between 200 to 222 A. D Therefore, the introduction of week days in Greece could not have been earlier than the first century of the

1067 a Vide Dio's 'Roman History' (Loeb Classical Library) vol III pp 126–127 where it is said that Pompey captured the Jewish defenders of Palestine on the day of Sabbath, because they did not work on that day at all

Gupta year[1070] 165 (i. e. A. D. 484), which mentions Thursday and the 12th tithi of the bright half of Āsādha. Supposing for argument that weekdays were originally borrowed from some foreign country, at least a few hundred years would be necessary before such a borrowed system could become general and could be utilized even in Indian proclamations by a great Indian imperial dynasty like the Guptas.

Let us now turn to the literary evidence. The Āryabhaṭīya (Daśagītikā, verse 3) mentions Thursday.[1071] In Bṛhatsaṃhitā[1072] occurs this 'when Pitāmaha declared that the weekday Tuesday does not lead to auspicious results or when (I declare) that the day of the son of the earth is inauspicious, what difference is there between (the śāstra) composed by a divine author and that by a human author (like myself)?' It has been seen above (p 488) that the Pañcasiddhāntikā tells us that a five year cycle started according to Pitāmaha in the second year (expired) of the Śaka era. Therefore it appears that Pitāmaha who probably wrote about 80 A D mentioned Tuesday. The Pañcasiddhāntikā (in I. 8) mentions Monday in summarising the features of the Romaka siddhānta (vide note 1004). The Bṛhatsaṃhitā in chapter 103 (verses 61–63) sets out what actions are proper to be done on the weekdays from Sunday to Saturday and Utpala quotes eighteen *Anuṣṭubh* verses in all from the ancient astronomer Garga on the same topic.[1072a] Kern

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1070. शते षष्यधिके पर्वाणां भूपतौ च भुवस्ते। आषाढमास-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या गुरु-दिवसे॥ Gupta Inscriptions (ed by Fleet) No. 19 p. 69. Vide V. B Ketkar's 'Indian and Foreign chronology' pp. 50–51 where he establishes that this day corresponds to June 21, A. D. 484

1071. काहो ह मनुयुग इह गतास्ते च मनुयुग रूना च। कल्पादेर्युगपादा ग च शुक्र-दिवसाच्च भारतात्पूर्वम्॥ दशगीतिकापाद verse 3. The com explains राज्य चरता पृथिवीराद्दीनामन्त्यो शुक्रदिवसो भारतशुक्रदिवस। द्वापरावसानगत इत्यर्थ। तस्मिन् दिवसे युधिष्ठिरादयो राज्यमुत्सृज्य नक्षत्रमरुधान गता इति प्रसिद्धि। तस्माद्भुक्रदिवसात् पूर्वकल्पादेरस्य गता मन्वादय उक्तोक्ता। This verse means 'There are 14 Manus in a day of Brahmā and 72 yugas make up the period of a Manu, since the beginning of this *kalpa* up to the Thursday of the Bhārata battle six Manus, 27 yugas, 3 yugapādas have elapsed.' काह means कस्य ब्रह्मण अह दिवस; in the system of आर्यभट ह = 14, मनु = 72, यु = 70 and ख = 2, रूना = 27 (यु being = 7 and न or ञ = 20). ग = 3. ब्रह्मगुप्त in ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त XI. 11–12 criticizes आर्यभट for his views mentioned in note 1066 above

1072. क्षितितनयदिवसवारे न क्षुभकृदिति पितामहप्रोक्ते। कुजदिनमविशमिति वा कोऽत्र विशेषो वृद्धिव्यक्तते' (v. l. कृते)॥ बृहत्सं० I. 4.

1072a. The भागवत X 7 5 says 'ज्योतिषामयनं साक्षात् यत्तज्ज्ञानमतीन्द्रियम्। प्रणीत भवता येन पुमान् वेद परावरम्॥' This is said of गर्ग (who is said in verse 7 to have been the आचार्य of the Yadus).

assigns Garga to the 1st Century B. C This would carry the knowledge of weekdays in India to the first century before Christ. Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (who died in 98 A D) relates (vide note 900 above) how when Apollonius travelled in India he received from Iarchus, the chief of the brāhmanas, seven rings bearing names of seven planets, each one of which Apollonius was to wear on each of the weekdays. As Philostratus wrote in the first quarter of the 3rd century A. D., this would carry the knowledge of the planetary week in India at least to the 1st century of the Christian era. The above references furnish a *terminus ad quem* for India's knowledge of the planetary week days (viz. first century B. C. to first century A D.). The *terminus a quo* cannot be stated with certainty.

Now some other literary evidence about the dates of which there are likely to be doubts and disputes would be set out. In the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (I 4) and Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (II. 5. 23) *tarpana* (satiation with water) is offered to the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and to Rāhu and Ketu and the former mentions Budhavāra (Wednesday) in II 12. It has to be conceded that other sūtras such as Āśv gr III. 4. 1–5, the Kausītaki gr (IV. 9–10), the Hir. gr. II. 19–20, Bhāradvāja gr. III. 9–11 contain no *tarpana* to the weekdays or their deities. The Atharvana-Vedāṅga Jyotisa has a section on weekdays (of eight verses) and points out what should be done on each of the seven weekdays from Sunday to Saturday (two of which are quoted below by way of sample[1073]). The Gāthāsaptaśatī of Hāla (a *prākṛt* anthology) mentions Tuesday and Visti (III. 61). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I. 296) enumerates the planets in the modern weekday order from Sunday to Saturday and adds Rāhu and Ketu as *grahas* and provides for a sacrifice to nine grahas (I 295–308). The Nāradapurāna (I. 51. 80) also does the same. The Matsya (chap. 93. 7 ff) provides for a more elaborate sacrifice to planets. The Visnudharmasūtra (78 1–7) refers to śrāddhas performed on the seven weekdays from Sunday to Saturday and the benefits derived from such performance (vide H of Dh vol IV. p 373–374 for details). The Purānas contain numerous references to the

1073 नृपाभिषेकं नृपतिप्रयाणं नृपस्य कार्यं नृपदर्शनं च। यज्ञाग्निकार्यं सुवि जिग्रिदुर्के तत्सर्वमादित्यदिने प्रशस्तम्॥ स्थाप्यं च कर्म क्रतुभिश्च यूपो गृहमवेशो गजबन्धनं च। ग्रामेधिवासो नगरे पुरे वा शनैश्चरे सर्वमिदं प्रशस्तम्॥ आथर्वणवेदाङ्ज्योतिष, वारप्रकरण verses 2 and 8.

weekdays. The Nāradīya provides that Monday[1074], Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are auspicious for all rites and actions, while the other weekdays yield the desired result only in cruel or violent actions The Matsya provides that all weekdays except Sunday and Tuesday are auspicious (253 7) The Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārdha 20. 16–17) provides that śrāddhas on weekdays from Sunday to Saturday respectively yield the benefits of health, happiness (or prosperity), success, all desires, desired learning, wealth and long life The Viṣnudharmottara (I. 142. 30–32) has similar provisions. The Brahmapurāna (118. 30) recommends touching an aśvattha tree on Saturday. The Vāmana (14. 49–50) forbids certain actions on weekdays (such as an oil bath on Sunday or Tuesday) The Matsya specifically refers to Sunday (in chap 55 4, 65. 5, 70. 46), to Monday (in 57. 4), to Tuesday (in 72. 27, 193 8) Though the chronology of all the above works is somewhat uncertain, yet it cannot be gainsaid that at least in the first two centuries of the Christian era planets had become objects of worship and the weekdays had been named and their order as it exists today had been settled. The Mahābhārata, in spite of its vast extent and copious descriptions of Dharmaśāstra matters, is entirely silent about the names of weekdays. The cumulative effect of all the evidence adduced above is to render it extremely probable, if not certain, that the worship of the planets and knowledge of the weekdays presided over by them was known to the Indians at least between 100 B C. to 100 A. D One further circumstance is that the names of weekdays in India are purely Sanskrit and there is hardly any reference to a weekday in Sanskrit works under any Greek or other non-Indian name, while in the case of the signs of the zodiac frequent use is made of such foreign words as *kriya* or *leya* Fotheringham (in explanations in Nautical Almanac for 1935 at p 769) states that the mean temporal hour with the length that it had at equinoxes is first found in Hipparchus (140 B. C.), that Ptolemy in the Tables in the Almagest reckoned the day from mean noon of Alexandria and divided the day into *sixty* equal parts each of which was divided sexagesimally and that Ptolemy in his manual Tables divides the whole day into equinoctial hours reckoned from noon in Alexandria and subdivided these sexagesimally. This shows that two systems

1074. द्वन्द्वज्ञजीवशुक्राणां वासरा: पूर्वकर्मसु। फलदास्त्वितरे क्रूरे कर्मण्यभिमतप्रदा:॥ नारदीय I. 56 161. Compare रत्नमाला III 15 quoted above in note 152 नाग्यङ्गमर्के न च भूमिपुत्रे क्षीरं च शुक्रे रविजे च मांसम्। बुधेषु चोपित्व समाचरेत शेषेषु सर्वाणि सदैव कुर्यात्॥ वामनपुराण 14. 49–50

of dividing the day into 60 parts and also into 24 parts were accepted by Ptolemy himself (who wrote only about 150 A D). Therefore, Indians could very well have used very early the 60 divisions system for finding out the order of the weekdays instead of 24 divisions system. The Indians did not calculate their day from noon or night but from the morning. The Āśvamedhika-parva[1075] expressly says that the day comes first and then night.

It is possible to advance several theories about the origin of the seven day week in India. The five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) were especially regarded by the ancient Babylonians as the powers controlling the destinies of men and therefore five leading Babylonian divinities were identified with the above five planets In course of transmission Babylonian names of divinities assumed Roman forms i. e Ishtar, goddess of love, became Venus, the great god Marduk became Jupiter and so on (vide note 748 above) The five planets together with the Sun and the Moon made a group of seven heavenly bodies In Chaldean temple worship which spread to Syria, it became the custom to sing the praises of each god on a particular day. The name of the god worshipped on a particular day was transferred to the day itself. The days which were sacred to the Sun and the Moon were called Sunday and Monday. Some Norse words like Wednesday (Woden's day) and Thursday (Thor's day) were introduced in England But weekdays in Europe are ultimately derived from the Babylonian gods. It has already been shown (pp 598–600 above) that India and Babylonia had close commercial and other contacts from very ancient times. Vide the recent work on 'Hittites' by O. R. Gurney (in Pelican Books, 1958), pp 104–105 and 124 for technical Sanskrit words in horse breeding Vedic gods and royal names in Sanskrit in the 14th century B C It is possible to argue that seeing the temples of planetary gods in which worship was performed on certain days some Indians got the suggestion of a planetary week, as it has been suggested above that the ideas of the Zodiacal signs were derived from Babylonian boundary stones and similar monuments There were Sun temples in ancient India[1076]

1075. अह. पूर्वं ततो रात्रिर्मासा. शुक्लादय स्मृता । अयनादीनि ऋक्षाणि ऋतवः शिशिरादयः ॥ आश्वमेधिकपर्व 44 2

1076. Vide Gupta Inscriptions, No. 16 at p. 68 (in 146 Gupta era) and No 18 p.79 for temples of the Sun and Br S chap 57, Matsya, chap 257–263, Visnudharmottara III 60–69 and Bhavisya I 131 for temples and images, Br S 57 (verses 46–48) describes the appearance of the Sun image and Visnudharmottara III, 67–69 give directions as to how images of the Sun, the Moon and planets (Mars and others) are to be made.

such as that of Mārtanda in Kashmir, that of Moḍhera in North Gujarat and that of Konārka in Orissa. Even now in some towns and villages there are temples of Saturn and Rāhu (as at Rāhurī in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay State, which bears that name after Rāhu). Kautilya mentions the several divisions of time from '*truta*' to *yuga* and states that two *nāḍikās* are equal to a *muhūrta* and an *ahorātra* (day and night) has 30 muhūrtas (vide note 681 above). From this it follows that Kautilya knew only the division of the day into 60 nāḍīs and that a nāḍī was the same as ghaṭī. The Āryabhaṭīya gives the following table: 60 *vināḍīs* are equal to a *nāḍī*, 60 nāḍīs are equal to a day (Kālakriyāpāda, verse 1) Another way of citing the measures of time is: Time taken for repeating ten long letters is *prāṇa*, 6 prāṇas are equal to pala, 60 palas are equal to a daṇḍa, ghaṭī or nāḍī (Sūryasiddhānta I. 11, Jyotiṣ-tattva p. 562). Pāṇini derives the word 'nāḍīndhama'[1077] from nāḍī Nāḍī is a very ancient word[1078] It occurs in the Ṛgveda and appears to mean some cylindrical instrument like a flute.[1079] It appears that the word nāḍī came to mean a period of time when a conch or a trumpet or similar instrument was blown to announce the lapse of one nāḍī (60th part of the day) as there were no clocks then. Hence division into 60 nāḍīs or ghaṭīs (both words being mentioned by Patañjali who is generally held to have flourished about 150 B. C.) was the ancient mode of dividing the day in India and if any Sanskrit work (like the Sūryasiddhānta, chap 12. 78-79) refers to 24 parts of the day, that work may be regarded as one of later times, but the whole system of time measuring by weekdays in India cannot be said to have been borrowed from a foreign source. Even Patañjali refers to the words nāḍī and ghaṭī as long in use before his time Therefore, the division of the day

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1077. नाडीमुष्टयोश्च। पा III 2 30; on the previous sūtra there are two vārtikas and the महाभाष्य states 'अल्पहृस्वमिदमुच्यते। नासिका-नाडी-मुष्टि-घटी-खारीभिति वक्तव्यम्। नासिका। नासिकन्धम. नासिकन्धयः। नाडी। नाडिन्धमः नाडिन्धयः।" घटी। घटिन्धमः घटिन्धयः।'

1078. The word 'nāḍī' and 'nāḍikā' have several meanings, viz. flute, tube or pipe, vein or artery, one half muhūrta. 'Nāḍīndhama' means a goldsmith (because he makes the fire flame up by blowing on it from a tube) From Kāṭhakasaṃhitā 23. 4 (Saiśā vanaspatiṣu vāg-vadati yā nāḍyāṃ yā tūṇave) it appears that nāḍī was a musical instrument that produced sounds (a trumpet or the like).

1079 हृषमस्य धम्यते नाडीरयं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ ऋ X. 135 7, the meaning is 'here is blown the *nāḍī* for him (Yama) who is decked with songs of praise.'

into nāḍīs or ghaṭīs must be held to be long anterior to 200 B. C. On the whole it would not be far from the truth to say that weekdays were not borrowed by ancient India *en bloc* from elsewhere It is arguable that usages in Babylon and Syria might have suggested the arrangement of days into weeks, but there is hardly any cogent evidence beyond similarity and prejudice to show that the origin of the nomenclature and the method of arriving at the order of the weekdays were not indigenous Vide Cunningham in I A. vol 14 pp. 1 ff. in which he shows by diagrams how the calculation by Indian ghaṭīs results in the same order of weekdays as the European division. Sham Shastri in Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol IV pp 1–31 after mentioning some rather hazy and obscure passages from the Vedic literature arrives at the conclusion that India was not indebted to the Greeks or Babylonians for week days or for the discovery of planets. It may be mentioned that Alberuni (tr by Sachau, vol. I. chap XIX pp. 214–215) illustrates how week-days received names from planets, narrates (p. 215) that it was the custom with Hindus to enumerate the planets in the order of the weekdays and that the Hindus persisted in using these in their astronomical books and declined to use any other order or method even if it was more correct.

CHAPTER XIX

Kalpa, Manvantara, Mahāyuga, Yuga

After dealing with time measures from *yuga* (of five years) down to weekdays and the day one must now briefly deal with the other measures of time such as Yuga, Mahāyuga, Manvantara and Kalpa The word Kalpa has its germ in the Ṛgveda[1080] X. 190 3, where it is said that the Creator created the Sun and the Moon, the heaven, the earth and mid-region as before ' The earliest datable reference to Kalpa is found in Aśoka's edicts e g the 4th Rock edict[1081] at Girnar and Kalsi have ' āva savata kapī ' (yāvat samvartakalpam) and ' āva kapam ' in the 5th Rock Edict at Shahabazgarhi and Mansera This establishes that the theories about the vast extent of Kalpa had been promulgated in India long before the third century B C. The Buddhists also took over the theory of Kalpas as is clear from the Mahāparinibbānasutta III. 53 ' Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the Kalpa Live on, O Blessed One, through the Kalpa for the good and happiness of the great multitudes &c. '.

The beliefs that in the dim past there was an ideally perfect society followed by a gradual degeneracy and decline in standards of morals, health and length of life and that the cycle of decline would be followed in the far distant future by a golden age of perfection in morals &c. have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 885 ff The word '*yuga*' has been shown there as having probably several meanings, viz a short period of time (Rg III. 26 3), a cycle of five years and also a long period and a period of thousands of years Prof. Mankad in Poona Orientalist (vol. VI. pp 211–212) assigns as many as ten meanings to the

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1080. सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वमकल्पयत् । दिवं च पृथिवीं चान्तरिक्षमथो स्व ॥ ऋ X. 190 3

1081. Vide Inscriptions of Aśoka In C I. I vol I pp. 6, 30 (text of 4th edict), and pp 55, 74 (text of 5th edict) In the Vanaparva 188 69 it is said that fire called Samvartaka will assail the world while the Brahmapurāṇa (232, 39) says that terrible clouds called ' Samvartaka ' will rise, when final dissolution (*pralaya*) will follow Therefore, ' āva samvata kapī ' means ' up to the end of Kalpa when destructive fire called samvartaka will arise ' (or when terrible clouds called samvartaka will arise). It may be noted that the Amara-koṣa regards संवर्त, प्रलय, कल्प, क्षय and कल्पान्त as synonyms.

word One cannot agree with him in all that he says. For example, he appears to be wrong when he says that in Śākuntala IV (yugāntaram ārūdhaḥ savitā) yuga means ¼th of a day; yuga does not, so far as I know, mean ¼th anywhere, it means 'four' in some cases In Śākuntala 'yugāntara &c' should be taken to mean that 'the sun has come up in the sky as much as the length of a yoke (from the eastern horizon)' That is the sense of 'yuga' in Ṛg X 60 8, X 101 3 and 4. In the Mahābhārata, in Manu and the Purānas the theory of *yugas*, *manvantaras* and *kalpas* has been elaborated at great length The four yugas are named Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Tiṣya or Kali and concern only Bhārata-varṣa [1081a] But it has been shown (at pp 886-890 of the H. of Dh. vol III) that originally these were the names of certain throws of dice in gambling and that from the 4th century B.C. (if not earlier) they came to be the designations of the ages of man. The early Gupta inscriptions refer to Kṛtayuga as a cycle of great virtues (as in the Bilsad stone pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta in Gupta Samvat 96 in 'Gupta Inscriptions' p 44, the Chammak copperplate of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II in 'Gupta Inscriptions' p 237, Pattan plates of Pravarasena II. in E. I. 23 p. 81. The theory of Yugas, Manvantaras and Kalpas is elaborated among ancient works in the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, chapters 149, 188 and Śāntiparva, chap 69 and 231–232), Manu I. 61–74, 79–86, Viṣnudharmasūtra chap. 20. 1–21, Viṣnupurāna 1 3, 6 3, Brahmapurāna 5. 229–232, Matsya 142–145, Vāyu chap 21, 22, 57, 58, 100, Kūrma I. chap 51 and 53, Brahmānda II. 6 and 31–36, III 1, Mārkaṇḍeya 58 64, 66–70, 71–97 (has the

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1081a. चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगानि मुनयो विदुः । कृत त्रेता द्वापर च तिष्यं चेति चतुर्युगम् ॥ वायु० 24 1, [45] 137 (reads ऋषयो for मुनयो and कलिश्चेति चतुष्टयम्), 57. 22, मत्स्य 142 17–18 'चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगानि ऋषयोऽब्रवन्। कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चैवं चतुर्युगम्॥ पूर्व कृतयुगं नाम ततस्त्रेताभिधीयते। द्वापरं च कलिश्चैव युगानि परिकल्पयेत्॥' Vide ब्रह्म 27. 64. Tradition gave slightly varying information about the end of the Dvāpara age It is said that the war between the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava hosts was fought in the period of sandhyā between Dvāpara and Kali (Ādi 2,13) Similarly, शल्य 60 25 (प्राप्तं कलियुगं विद्धि), वनपर्व 149 38 say that Kaliyuga was very near when the Bhārata war was about to be fought (एतत्कलियुगं नामाचिराद्यत्प्रवर्तते). On the other hand, many of the Purāṇas say that Kaliyuga began the very day Kṛṣṇa finished his avatāra and went to heaven; वायु 99 428–29, ब्रह्माण्ड III 74 241, मत्स्य 273 49–50, विष्णु IV. 24 110, भागवत XII 2 33, ब्रह्म 212 8 has the same idea in different words. Vide note 993 for quotations from some of these Purāṇas The Mausalaparva 1 13 and 2 20 state that Kṛṣṇa passed away 36 years after the Bhārata war In any case द्वापर came to an end immediately or a few years after the Bhārata war.

longest account of Manvantaras), and by astronomical writers and works such as Āryabhata, Sūryasiddhānta, Brahmagupta, Siddhāntaśiromani. None of these works enables us to furnish a satisfactory explanation about the rise of this system of Kalpas, Manvantaras and Yugas Pargiter (in AIHT p 175) thinks that the division into four ages had a historical basis. That may or may not be so. But what historical explanation can be offered about manvantaras and kalpas is not stated anywhere. The theory of yugas concerned only Bhāratavarsa as stated in several Purānas. All these works contain the same general features but there are many divergences in details As the Manusmrti contains one of the oldest accounts, a summary of its remarks will be first set out First, seven Manus are enumerated viz Svāyambhuva, Svārocisa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cāksusa and Vaivasvata. Then divisions of time from *nimeṣa* are specified (18 nimesa = Kāsthā, 30 Kāsthās = Kalā, 30 Kalās = Muhūrta, 30 Muhūrtas = ahorātra); it is then said that the human month is the day and night of *pitrs*, the human year is divine *ahorātra*. Krta-yuga extends over 4000[1082] years, *sandhyā* (twilight) before it is 400 years, *sandhyāmśa* after it is 400 years. The three other yugas Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali have respectively 3000, 2000, 1000 years and sandhyās and sandhyāmśas together of respectively 600, 400 and 200 years. The four yugas thus come to 12000 years (4800 plus 3600 plus 2400 plus 1200); this is called the yuga of gods (i e this is the *divya* measure) and 1000 of these four come to one day of Brahmā and the same is the extent of the night of Brahmā Seventy-one yugas of 12000 divine years each constitute a manvantara and Manu (I. 80) winds up by saying that manvantaras are numberless[1083] and so are creations and dissolutions It should

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1082 Manu I 65-67 are the same as Śāntiparva 231 15-17, Manu I. 65-66 are the same as Matsya 142. 5-6 (with slight variations), Manu I. 69-70 are the same as Śānti 231 20-21, Vāyu 57. 23-24 and Matsya 142. 19-20. Manu I. 69 is same as Vanaparva 188 22 23

1083 It was said by Manu (I 81-82) that Krta was an age in which Dharma was four-footed and perfect, that in the other ages dharma declined successively by one foot, that theft, falsehood and fraud increase in proportion Then Manu further avers (I 83-86) that the length of human life in the four ages is respectively 400, 300, 200 and 100 years, that the set of duties differ in the four ages Dharma is said to be four-footed because Manu VIII 16 identifies dharma with vrsa (bull). Both Plato and Aristotle believed that every art and science had many times developed to its apogee and then deteriorated.

be noticed that the word Kalpa does not occur in this long enumeration. But in other works than the Manusmrti e g Visnupurāna (VI. 3. 11–12) fourteen Manvantaras are said to constitute a Kalpa, which is a day of Brahmā. As a day of the gods is equal to a human year, the 12000 years that constitute a divine *caturyuga* are equal to 4320000 human years[1083a] (12000 × 360) i. e. this is the human (mānusa) measure of time.

When and how these huge numbers of years for the yugas were suggested remains somewhat enigmatic. It appears that as early as the Śatapatha-brāhmana people had become familiar with huge figures The Śatapatha[1084] says that there are 10800 muhūrtas in a year (in one ahorātra 30 × 360), that Prajāpati arranged the Ṛgveda in such a way that the number of syllables it contains is equal to 12000 Brhatīs (each Brhatī having 36 syllables) i e. 432000 syllables and it is further stated that the Ṛgveda also contains 10800 panktis (each pankti having 40 syllables i e the syllables are 10800 × 40 = 432000. Prajāpati is said to have arranged the other two Vedas also and the three Vedas amounted to ten thousand eight hundred eighties (that is 80 × 10800 = 864000 syllables), that *muhūrta* by *muhūrta* he gained eighty syllables (as there are 10800 *muhūrtas* in a sacrificial year of 360 days). Dr. Jean Filliozat, Professor at the College de France, Paris, puts forward the theory in a recent article (in the Bulletin

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1083 a. Many ancient authors in almost all countries believed that there were different ages with differing levels of virtue and that they themselves lived in the worst age. Vide Hesiod's 'Works and days' pp. 11–17 (Loeb Classical Library) where Hesiod's own age was said to be the worst of five ages. The Babylonians made out 2160000 years for the duration of the world and imagined there were three ages, viz golden, silver and copper. Vide pp. 33–34 of Maclean's 'Babylonian astrology in relation to the Old Testament' Sarton also thinks that the Sumerians originated a golden age of man and speak of huge numbers of years, viz 12,960,000 (pp 69 and 118 of 'a History of Science') Berossus gave a list of ten ante-deluvian kings reigning in all for 432000 years (see Cambridge Ancient History, 1923, vol. I page 150) Vide Heath's 'Greek astronomy' (Introduction, p. XIV) re Egyptians' claim for possessing records of observations of stars for 630,000 years and a similar claim of Babylonians for 1,444,000 years.

1084 स ऐक्षत प्रजापति । त्रय्यां वाव विद्यायां सर्वाणि भूतानि हन्त त्रयीमेव विद्यामात्मानमभिसंस्करवा इति ॥ स ऋचो व्यौहत् । द्वादश बृहतीसहस्राण्येतावत्यो हचौ या· प्रजापतिसृष्टास्त्रिंशत्तमे व्यूहे पंक्तिष्वतिष्ठन्त । ता यत्रिंशत्तमे व्यूहेऽतिष्ठन्त तस्मात्त्रिंशन्मासस्य रात्रयोऽथ यत्पंक्तिषु तस्मात्पंक्त प्रजापतिस्ता अष्टाशत शतानि पङ्क्त्योऽभवन्। अथेतरौ वेदौ व्यौहत् । ···ते सर्वे त्रयो वेदा । दश च सहस्राण्यष्टौ च शतान्यशीतीनामभवत् स मुहूर्तेन मुहूर्तेनाशीतिमाप्नोत् । शतपथ X 4 2 22, 23, 25.

of L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Tome XLIV, Fas. 2, pp. 538–546) that the number of years in Kaliyuga (432000) was suggested by these figures in the Śatapatha, that the high figures in the ancient Indian literature are scientific and not astrological, and that in the opinion of Heraclitus 10800 ordinary human years were equal to one 'great year', that Berossus held that a great astronomical period was of 432000 years and that as the Śatapatha-brāhmana is far more ancient than both Heraclitus and Berossus, the borrowing, if it exists, must have been by the Greeks from India Vide 'Ancient relations between Indian and foreign astronomical systems' by Dr J Filliozat in JOR, Madras, vol. XXV (for 1957) pp 1–8; also Prof. Zinner (in 'Stars above us' p 59) for theories about the age of the world held by Plato and Berossus. One day of Brahmā is equal to a Kalpa i e 4320000 × 1000 i e 432,000,000,0 In order[1085] to find out the human years of the one hundred years of Brahmā's life we shall have to multiply 432,000,0000 by 2, then by 360 and then by 100. That is, the day and night of Brahmā come to 8640000000 human years; the year of Brahmā would then be equal to 3110400000000 human years (taking 360 days as a year); one hundred years of Brahmā thus come to 311040000000000 years Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I p 332) also mentions this colossal figure about the life of Brahmā Some said that the extent of Brahmā's life was 108 years Brahmā is said to have already lived 50 years and it is the second half of his life that is running and at present it is the Vārāha[1086] Kalpa and Vaivasvata-manvantara[1087] (7th) that

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1085 A मन्वन्तर would mean 'अन्यः मनु ' or मनूनामन्तरमवकाशोऽधिर्वा as क्षीरस्वामी explains If 1000 महायुगs are divided by 14, each मन्वन्तर is equal to 71 महायुगs plus a little more (i e six mahāyugas divided by 14). Therefore, the विष्णुपुराण says ' चतुर्युगानां सख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः । मन्वन्तर मनोः काल. सुरादीना च सत्तम ॥' I. 3. 18, vide also ब्रह्माण्ड II 6 19 and II 35 173 चतुर्युग-सहस्रान्त कल्पमाहुर्मनीषिण । कूर्म II 45 49, चतुर्युगसहस्रं तु कल्पते ब्रह्मणो दिनम् ॥ स कल्प-स्तत्र मनवश्चतुर्दश महाद्युते । तदन्ते चैव नैत्रेय ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिको लय ॥ विष्णुपु. VI 3 11–12

1086 एकमस्य व्यतीतं तु परार्धं ब्रह्मणोऽनघ । तस्यान्तेऽभून्महाकल्पः पाद्म इत्यभिविश्रुत ॥ द्वितीयस्य परार्धस्य वर्तमानस्य वै द्विज । वाराह इति कल्पोयं प्रथम परिकल्पित ॥ विष्णुपुराण I 3 27–28.

1087. The word 'मनु' frequently occurs in the Rgveda and other saṃhitās Manu is often spoken of as the father of humanity and of the sages and as laying down the proper path for mankind. Vide : यानि मनुरवृणीता पिता नस्ता शं च योश्च मयस्कृधि ॥ ऋ II. 33. 13; मा नः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधि दूर नैष्ट परावतः ॥ ऋ VIII. 30. 3, वि यो रत्ना भजति मानवेभ्य. श्रेष्ठ नो अद्य सवितर्वरेण्य यथा दधत् ॥

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are going on. The past six Manus are Svāyambhuva, Svārocisa, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cāksusa and the present is Vaivasvata, the 7th Manu (Brahma 5 4–5, Kūrma I. 51. 4–5, Visnu III 1. 6–7) The remaining seven Manus are differently named in several Purānas e. g. Visnu (III 2 14 ff) and Narasimhapurāna 24 17–35 mention the future Manus as Sāvarni, Daksa Sāvarni, Brahmasāvarni, Dharmasāvarnika, Rudra-sāvarni, Ruci and Bhauma; while Brahma (5. 5–6) mentions four of the future seven as Sāvarni, Raibhya, Raucya, Merusāvarni Kūrma (I. 53 30–31) names the future four in the same way as Visnu (only substituting Savarna for Sāvarni wherever it occurs and the last two as Raucya and Bhautya) All the fourteen Manus are enumerated in Nāradapurāna I 40 20–23 Alberuni (tr by Sachau, vol I chap. XLIV p 387) gives the names of Manvantaras according to the Visnudharmottara, Visnupurāna and other sources Sāvarnya[1088] Manu as a great benefactor and leader of some territory occurs in Rg X 62 11 It is said that each Manvantara had a separate set of sages, sons of Manu, gods, kings, smrtis, Indra and guardians for the proper regulation of dharma and for the protection of the people (Brahma 5 39, Visnupurāna III chapters 1–2) In the Visnupurāna it is said that some gods remain for four yugas, some for a manvantara and some stay for a kalpa[1088a] The Visnudharmasūtra (chap. XX 1–15) has the same account of Manvantaras and Kalpas as Manu's but it adds one detail viz that the whole age of Brahmā is equal to a day of Purusa (Visnu) and the night of Purusa is also as long. It is remarkable that the same view is attributed by Alberuni (Sachau vol I. p. 332) to the Pulisasiddhānta. It is not known whether those European scholars who regard Pulisa to be Paulus Alexandrinus have shown that this detail occurs in the work of the Greek Astrologer Paulus. In the Vanaparva (188 22–29) the same account as in Manu occurs

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ऋ IV 54 1, यद्वै किं च मनुरवदत्तद्भेषजम् । तै सं II 2 10 2, काठकसं. XI 5. In the शतपथब्राह्मण (I 8 1 1) occurs the famous story of Manu and the deluge Another story is that of Manu and his son Nābhānedistha in तै. सं III. 1 9. 4–6 and ऐ ब्रा 22 9. Vide H. of Dh vol III. p 543.

1088 सहस्रदा ग्रामणीर्मा रिषन्मनु: सूर्येणास्य यतमानेषु दक्षिणा । सावर्णेदेवा म तिरन्त्वायुर्यस्मिञ्जरामन्ता असनाम वाजम् ॥ ऋ. X 62 11. In ऋ. X. 62 9 the gifts made by सावर्णि are mentioned. The भागवतपुराण (XII 7. 15) says 'मन्वन्तरं मनुर्देवा मनुपुत्रा: सुरेश्वर । ऋषयोंशावतारश्च हरे: षड्विधमुच्यते ॥'

1088 a केचिद्युगचतुर्युगं यावत्केचिन्मन्वन्तरं सुरा: । तिष्ठन्ति भवतो दृष्टा मया ये कल्पसंस्थिति. ॥ विष्णुपु. I. 12. 93

except this that 12000 years are called *Yuga*[1089] simply and not caturyuga (as in Manu I 71). The Mārkandeya has a long story about Svārocisa in chapters 58–65, devotes to Uttama chap 66–70, chapter 71 to Tāmasa, chap. 72 to Raivata, chap. 73 to Cāksusa, chap. 74–76 to Vaivasvata, chap 77 to Sāvarni, chap 78–90 to Devī, chap 91–95 to Raucya or Ruci, chap 96–97 to Bhautya The word 'Vaivasvata' (son of Vivasvat, the Sun) is applied to Yama in several passages of the Rgveda (X 14 1, X. 58. 1, X 60 10, X 164 2) The Anukramanī, however, ascribes Rg. VIII. 27–31 to Vaivasvata Manu as the *rsi* and in one of the Vālakhilya hymns (Rg X 52 1) occurs the following verse 'O Indra! just as you drank the soma extracted in (the sacrifice of) Manu Vivasvat, just as you frequently accept the hymn of praise in (sacrifice of) Trita, so may you simultaneously delight in (the soma and praise) of Ayu'[1090] It may be noted that the Manusmrti names only the seven Manus (I. 61–63) and states that each Manu during his own time (which extended over thousands of years) created the movable and immovable world and protected it, that Manvantaras are numberless (Manusmrti I 80) and that the Great God (Parameshin) brought about the creation and destruction of the world during the Manvantaras. Some of the Purānas such as Matsya (9. 37–39, 142. 40, 144. 97–98), Vāyu (59. 34), Agni (150. 21), Visnu (I. 3 and VI. 3) state[1090a] that Manu and the seven sages in each Manvantara (i. e. where there is a change of Manu) who are the sistas that then exist are devoted to dharma, being ordered by Brahmā for the purpose of continuing the worlds, declare the truth and promulgate the Vedas. Some modern

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1089 सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यद्ब्रह्मणो विदुः । रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ शान्ति 23. 31 and गीता VIII 17 The word युग is often used to denote the 12000 years of divine measure as in वनपर्व 188 38 'एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ॥'.

1090 यथा मनौ विवस्वति सोमं शक्रापिब. सुतम्। यथा त्रिते छन्द इन्द्र जुजोपस्यायौ मादयसे सचा ॥ ऋ. VIII 52 1 (4th वालखिल्यसूक्त)

1090 a. अतीतानागताश्चैते मनवः परिकीर्तिता । ' स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदमुत्पाद्य सचराचरम्। कल्पक्षये विनिवृत्ते भुज्यन्ते ब्रह्मणा सह। एते युगसहस्रान्ते विनश्यन्ति पुनः पुनः। मत्स्य 9 37–39; मन्वन्तरेषु ये शिष्टा इह तिष्ठन्ति धार्मिकाः। मह्य ससर्पयश्चैव लोकसन्तानकारणात्। धर्मार्थं ये च शिष्टा वै याथातथ्य प्रचक्षते। वायु 59 34; प्रवर्तयन्ति वेदाश्च मुनि ससर्पयो दिव.। अग्नि 150 21, the मत्स्यपुराण (142 29–32) calculates the numbers of years in a मन्वन्तर as follows 'एषा चतुर्युगाख्या तु साधिका त्वेकसप्तति । कृतत्रेतादियुक्ता सा मनोरन्तरमुच्यते ॥ मन्वन्तरस्य संख्या तु मानुषेण निबोधत। एकत्रिंशत्तथा कोट्य संख्याता संख्यया द्विजै ॥ तथा शतसहस्राणि दश चान्यानि भागशः। सहस्राणि तु द्वात्रिंशच्छतान्यष्टाधिकानि च ॥ अशीतिश्चैव वर्षाणि मासाश्चैवाधिकास्तु षट्। मन्वन्तरस्य संख्यैषा मानुषेण प्रकीर्तिता ॥; vide ब्रह्माण्ड (II. 35 164–165) which differs slightly from this.

writers (like Dr. Daftari) think[1090b] that in ancient times there was an Indian institution of public functionaries called Manu and the Saptarsis, whose function was to legislate and promulgate the Vedas. With great respect to the erudite scholar, I disagree with him. The extant Purāna passages are less than 2000 years old, while the present Vaivasvata Manvantara started several millions of years ago and even Kaliyuga in which we are deemed to live started in 3102 B C. Besides, there is a dissolution of the world at each day of Brahmā, if one is to rely on the Paurānik accounts. How could a tradition of the several Manus survive such pralaya ? A rationalistic interpretation requires that all this that is stated in the Purānas is mere conjecture and imagination and that one cannot safely build theories about the governance of society in ancient times on the accounts contained in Purānas. The Manusmrti (II. 19) appears to assign the function of the regulation of the conduct of all men in the world to the learned brāhmanas born in Brahmarsideśa (i e. Kuruksetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena or Mathurā) at least after his own code was promulgated

Pessimistic and dismal accounts of what will happen in Kaliyuga (which extends according to the Purānas over 432000 years and of which only about 5057 years have gone by this time in 1956) are set forth in the Vanaparva, chap 188, 190, Śāntiparva 69. 80-97, the Harivamśa (Bhavisyaparva, chap. 3-5 ff), Brahmapurāna chap 229-230, Vāyu chap. 58 and 99 verses 391-428, Matsya 144 32-47, Kūrma I. 30, Visnupurāna VI 1, Bhāgavata XII. 1-2, Brahmānḍa II. 31 and in several other purānas. The description in Vanaparva 188 is summarised in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 893-895. The names of 33 Kalpas are given in Vāyu, chap 21-23 and Hemādri on Kāla (pp. 670-671) sets out from Nāgarakhanda the names of 33 Kalpas and the tithis on which they start; Matsya 290 enumerates thirty names of Kalpas; the Brahmānda II. 31. 119 states that there are 35 Kalpas and neither more nor less.

In the purānas *pralaya* is said to be of four sorts,[1091] viz. *nitya* (the every day deaths of those that are born), *naimittika*

1090 b Vide 'The rationalistic and realistic interpretation of the Upanishads' (pp 2 and 3) published at Nagpur in 1958.

1091 चतुर्विधस्तु प्रलयो नित्यो यः प्राणिनां लय । सदा विनाशो जातानां ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिको लयः ॥ चतुर्युगसहस्रान्ते प्राकृत प्रकृतौ लय । लय आत्यन्तिको ज्ञानादात्मन··

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(when a day of Brahmā ends, then there is a dissolution of the world), prākrtika (when everything dissolves itself into prakrti, primordial substance) and ātyantika pralaya is *Moksa* (liberation of the soul due to correct knowledge of Reality and absorption into the Supreme Spirit). Harrowing descriptions of the naimittika and prākrtika pralayas are given in several purāṇas. A lengthy description of the naimittika dissolution is contained in Kūrma II. 45. 11–59 of which a brief summary is given here. When the one thousand Caturyugas end, there is the absence of rain for a hundred years; the result is that living beings perish and are reduced to earth; the sun's rays become unbearable, and even the ocean is dried up; the earth is burnt by the fierce heat of the sun together with its mountains, forests and continents. As the sun's rays fall burning up everything, the whole world presents the appearance of one huge fire. Fire burns everything whether mobile or immoveable. The animals in the big seas come out and are reduced to ashes. Then the samvartaka fire growing by the force of the wind burns the whole earth and its flames rise up to a height of thousands of *yojanas* and the flames burn up *gandharvas*, goblins, *yaksas*, serpents and rāksasas and not only the earth but the worlds called 'bhuvah' and 'mahah' are burnt; then huge samvartaka clouds resembling herds of elephants, lit up by lightning, rise in the sky, some looking like blue lotuses, some yellowish, some having the colour of smoke, some like sealing wax and fill the whole sky and then extinguish the fires by sending down heavy showers. When the fires are extinguished, the clouds of destruction cover the whole world with floods, mountains are concealed and the earth is plunged in waters and all becomes one ocean of water and then god Brahmā resorts to *Yogic* sleep. Vanaparva (chap. 272 32–48) also contains a brief description of *naimittika pralaya*.

The Kūrma I. 46 and Visnu VI. 4. 12–49 furnish a description of the prākrtika *pralaya* which takes Sānkhya terminology for granted,[1092] and is briefly as follows. When all the worlds

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परमात्मनि ॥ अग्नि 368. 1–2, नैमित्तिक॰ प्राकृतिकस्तथैवात्यन्तिको द्विज। नित्यश्च सर्वभूतानां मलपोष चतुर्विधः॥ ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिकस्तत्र शेतेऽप जगतीपति॰। प्रयाति प्राकृत चैव ब्रह्माण्डं प्रकृतौ लयम्॥ ज्ञानादात्यन्तिक॰ प्रोक्तो योगिन॰ परमात्मनि। नित्य सदैव भूतानां यो विनाशो दिवानिशम्। विष्णु॰ I 7. 41–43 and VI 3. 2 ff, where प्राकृतप्रलय is said to be द्विपरार्धक. vide कूर्म II. 45. 1–10 for similar explanations.

1092. For the सांख्यतत्त्व, vide सांख्यकारिका 3 'मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्या प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त। षोडशकश्च विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृति पुरुष॥'. महत्, अहङ्कार and

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including all the nether regions are destroyed by absence of rains and all effects from *mahat* onwards are destroyed, waters first absorb the *gandha* (the special quality of the earth) and when *gandha-tanmātra* is destroyed, the earth is reduced to water; the special quality of waters, viz. *rasa-tanmātra* is destroyed and nothing but fire remains and the whole world is filled with flames, then Vāyu absorbs fire and *rūpa-tanmātra* vanishes; Vāyu shakes all the ten quarters; ākāśa absorbs the *sparśa-guna* of Vāyu and only ākāśa remains as a void and *śabda-tanmātra* is gone and in this way the seven prakṛtis including *mahat* and *ahaṅkāra* are absorbed in order; even Prakṛti and Puruṣa are dissolved in Paramātman (named Viṣnu). The day of Viṣnu is said to be two Parārdhas of human years.

Some works like the Harivaṁśa (Bhaviṣyaparva chap. 10. 12-68) provide that at the end of Kalpa the sage Mārkaṇḍeya alone remains and lies at the time of the pralaya (or kalpa) in the side of Lord Viṣnu and then comes out of His mouth. The Brahmapurāna (52. 1*c*–19 and 53 55) says that Mārkaṇḍeya sees a *vaṭa* tree at the end of Kalpa and a jewelled bed on which he sees a boy lying down (i. e. Viṣnu himself) and then he enters the side of that boy and later comes out Vide also Matsya 167 (14–66) for the same story in almost the same words. The Bhagavadgītā (VIII 18–19) speaks of the recurrent absorption of all beings at the advent of the night of Brahmā and reappearance of beings when the day of Brahmā starts.

The theory of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas with their fabulous numbers of years and harrowing descriptions of pralaya, appears unreal, bizarre and called up by sheer fancy. But underlying it there is the idea of the timelessness of the universe, though from time to time it evolves, gradually declines and perishes, only to reappear in perfection after a cosmic night. There is also the hankering after Reality and pursuit of different ideals. It enshrines the ideas that humanity embarks on a certain goal, pursues it with great efforts and, after achieving some success, gives up that goal and the way that was thought to lead to it and pursues some other goal for aeons in the hope that at some distant date it will be able to evolve and

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पञ्चतन्मात्रs are of a double nature i e. both प्रकृति and विकृति The sixteen (which are merely products and not causes) are five कर्मेन्द्रियs, five ज्ञानेन्द्रियs, five mahābhūtas (पृथिव्यसेजोवाय्वाकाश) and मनः.

construct a perfect society. These ideas are at the bottom of what Manu[1093] and others say 'Tapas was the highest goal (deemed to yield great results) in Kṛtayuga, knowledge (of the self) was the highest in Tretā, yajña (sacrifices to God) in Dvāpara, charity alone in Kali'. This further implies that there are different impelling motives in different ages and modern men should not assess the actions and ideals of past ages by the same yardstick that is applied to contemporary actions and ideals. It is implicit in the words of Manu (XI. 301) that the four ages are not water-tight specific periods of time, but that the Ruler or Government can produce conditions of Kṛta age in what is popularly called Kali by appropriate conduct or measures and Medhātithi expressly says so.[1093a] Prof. Mankad has a novel theory in a paper on the manvantaras in I. H Q. vol XVIII, pp. 208-230, where he states that the Caturyuga formula took 40 years for a ruling unit and not for one king's regnal period and that the manvantara was the regular method of calculating regnal periods of different kings in a dynasty (p. 227). Hardly any scholar has accepted this theory and for reasons of space and relevance, it is not possible to discuss it here.

In the details about the theory of yugas, manvantaras and kalpas there are some divergences. A few may be pointed out Āryabhaṭa appears to hold that the extent of each of the four yugas was the same and not in the traditional proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, when he says that he was twenty-three years old when three *yugapādas* and 3600 years had elapsed (vide Kālakriyāpāda 10 quoted in note 995 above) Brahmagupta (I. 9) says[1094] that, though Āryabhaṭa declared that the four pādas of yugas, viz. Kṛta

1093 तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते। द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे॥ मनु I. 86 = शान्ति 23. 28 = वायुपुराण 8. 65-66, पराशरस्मृति I 23 वायु reads ध्यानं परं कृतयुगे and दानं कलियुगे वरम् The ब्रह्माण्ड (II. 7 59) says 'ज्ञानं परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां यज्ञ उच्यते। प्रवृत्त द्वापरे युद्धं स्तेयमेव कलौ युगे॥.'

1093 a. 'कृतं त्रेता युगं चैव द्वापरं कलिरेव च। राज्ञो वृत्तानि सर्वाणि राजा हि युगमुच्यते॥' मनु XI 301, 'न चैव मन्तव्यं राज्ञा कलिर्नाम कालविशेष इतिहासमसिद्ध. कथमह स्यामीति यतो राज्ञो वृत्तानि युगादि' मेधातिथि

1094. युगपादाचार्यभटश्चत्वारि समानि कृतयुगादीनि। यदभिहितवान् तेषा स्मृत्युक्तसमाननेकमपि॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसि I 9 दिव्य वर्षसटस्र ग्रहसामान्यं द्विपक्कगुणम्। अष्टोत्तर सहस्रं ब्राह्मो दिवसो ग्रहयुगानाम्॥ आर्यभटीय, कालक्रियापाद 8 This means '12000 divine years make a yuga of all the *planets*, 1008 times of planetary yugas are equal to a day of Brahmā.' मनुसन्धि युगनिश्चत्यार्यभटस्तन्मद्धर्यतः इखयुग.। कल्पश्चतुर्युगाना सहस्रमाद्यिकं तस्य॥ ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त I. 12 The words 'तन्मद्ध. इखयुग.' pointedly refer to the Gītikāpāda verse 9 above in note 1071.

and the others, were equal, not one of them was equal to what the smrtis declare them to be There is another discrepancy also Āryabhata in his Daśagītikā verse 3 states that Manu is a period of 72 yugas, while all the smrtis and purānas declare that a manvantara is equal to 71 yugas. Āryabhata appears to have held that the day of Brahmā is equal to 1008 *catur yugas* and Brahmagupta (I 12) refers to this view. The celebrated scientific astronomer Bhāskarācārya[1095] (born in śaka 1036, 1114 A D) impatiently says 'some say that half of the life of Brahmā (i. e 50 years) has passed away, while others say that half plus eight years has passed away Whatever the true tradition may be, it is of no use, since planetary positions are to be established from the days that have passed in the current day of Brahmā'

As incidental to the colossal figures of the years of Kalpas and Yugas, a few words on numerals, their antiquity and the methods of writing numerals would not be out of place, In the Rgveda numerals from 1 to 10 are frequently used. 'Sahasra' (thousand) and 'ayuta' (ten thousand) occur in Rg. IV. 26. 7, VIII. 1 5, VIII 21 18 One of these says[1096] 'O wielder of thunderbolt! O immensely rich (Indra)! I shall not give thee away even for a big price, not for a thousand, not for ten thousand, nor for hundreds'. In Rg VIII 46. 22 a poet says 'I secured 60000 and several tens of thousands of horses, 20 hundreds of camels, one thousand dark-coloured mares and ten thousands of cows bright in three parts of their bodies' In Rg I. 53 9 Indra is said to have struck down sixty thousand and 99 enemies. Vide Rg. I. 126 3 (for sixty thousand cows), VIII 4. 20 and VIII 46 29 for 60000 and VI. 63 10 for one hundred thousand horses. In some of these the larger numbers are mentioned first and the smaller ones next (as in Rg I. 53 9, VIII. 46 22); in others it is the reverse No conclusion can therefore be drawn that the smaller numbers come first in the Rgvedic times In Tai. S IV 4 11 3–4 reference is made to bricks in numbers from one, one hundred, thousand, ayuta (ten thousand), niyuta, prayuta, arbuda, nyarbuda, samudra, madhya, anta and parārdha, while in Tai S VII 2 11–19 various numbers from one to one

1095. तथा वर्तमानस्य कल्पायुषोर्धे गत सार्धवर्षाष्टके केचिदूचु। भवत्वागम कोपि नास्योपयोगो ग्रहा वर्तनानथुयातात् प्रसाध्या ॥ सि शि I 26.

1096. महे च न त्वामद्रिव परा शुल्काय देयाम्। न सहस्राय नायुताय वाजिनो न शताय शतामघ ॥ ऋ VIII 1 5, पंचाशत् सहस्राण्यश्वस्यायुतासनञ्च दक्षिणा शता। दश श्यावीनां शता दश श्यकपीणां दश गवा सहस्रा ॥ ऋ VIII. 46 22

tions of man There is a good deal of literature on this subject which is passed over here as not material for our purpose One of the latest works on this system is 'From Zero to Infinity' by Constance Reid (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1956). Zero is the first of ten symbols with which one can represent an infinitude of numbers and it is also the first of the numbers. This work says that the zero escaped even the greatest Greeks, Pythagoras, Euclid and Archimedes (p 4) The Egyptians[1102] had a decimal system of numerals but no sign for zero and therefore no positional notation, which even the Greeks did not know, ancient Babylonians also had no definite symbol for zero and there is no example of zero signs at the end of numbers even in their latest astronomical writings It is difficult to say when exactly a symbol or word for zero was employed in India But it must have been several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era Pingala's work on metres is a *vedānga* Pingala's sūtra on metres makes use of zero (śūnya) in VIII 28-31. Even the Śatapatha Br. (XI. 4 3 20) seems to be aware of Vedāngas. But it may be argued that there is nothing to show that Pingala's work was known to it It is most probably

1102. Vide 'Legacy of Egypt' (Glanville p 166), E S A by Neugebauer p. 20, Sarton in 'a History of Science' p 69, Prof Neugebauer in JAOS. vol. 61 pp 213-215 avers that strong arguments exist for the assumption that the Babylonian methods of calculation went, together with Greek Astronomy, to India, and that, sometime in the first centuries of the Christian era, the corresponding decimal place value notation in India, which through the Arabs gave rise to the modern system of Europe With great respect the author must demur to these assertions. The learned writer endeavours to show that a peculiar sign was used for zero in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts The important questions that must be answered are, who discovered the symbol for zero now used almost throughout the world, whether the so-called sign for zero which Prof Neugebauer asserts he has discovered in cuneiform texts was ever used in Europe or for that matter anywhere in the world except in Mesopotamia, what direct relation exists between the Indian zero symbol and the recently discovered zero symbol (which no one had found so far), whether the symbols for 1 to 9 in India bear any resemblance to the Mesopotamian symbols for these numbers, whether the Greeks (who admittedly borrowed many things from Mesopotamia) used the Mesopotamian zero symbol and, if so, when The 19th century was distinguished by the theories of Western Scholars claiming that science, philosophy and arts began in Greece and that other nations borrowed these from the Greeks That bubble of Greek primacy in these matters has now been pricked. The twentieth century appears to be heading for giving to Mesopotamia the place once assigned to the Greeks The Mesopotamian bubble raised by some scholars may be pricked in course of time, particularly as regards others borrowing from them.

mentioned as Chandoviciti in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra [1103] Śabara [1104] (about 200 A. D. and not later than 400 A. D.) speaks of Pingala's work as on the same level with Pānini's sūtra. It is unnecessary to offer further proofs of the antiquity of Pingala's sūtra.

There were several methods of writing numerals. One was the place value notation, in which the same numeral has different values according to the place it occupies; for example, the figure two may have the value of only two or twenty or two hundred and so on according as it occupies the units place or tens place or hundreds place. Another way is that of employing words to denote complete numbers. This was a very reliable method when in astronomy huge figures had to be employed and works were not printed but only copied by hand. In ancient times, the writers of mss. might often omit zeros or other figures, but if words with a fixed meaning in relation to numbers were used, they would not be so easily dropped and as many works were metrical, the omission of a word, if any, might have been far more easily detected. It is difficult to say when this system was introduced. But its beginnings are ancient. For example, the word *kṛta* is used in the Taittirīya [1105] Brāhmana in the sense of 'four'. Varāhamihira (beginning of the 6th century A. D.) employs these word numerals but in the place value system (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 897 n. 1763.) The following is a list of some of the very usual numbers with the corresponding words employed to indicate them. It should be noted that the list is not exhaustive. Any number of synonyms [1106] may be employed to indicate the same number. Vide the lists in Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I. pp. 174–179) and Buhler's 'Indian Paleography' (I. A. vol. 33; appendix pp. 83–86).

1103. षडङ्गो वेद. । छन्द कल्पो व्याकरणं ज्योतिषं निरुक्तं शीक्षा छन्दोविचितिरिति । आप ध सू II 4 8 10-11

1104. न हि बुद्धिशब्देन अपाणिनेर्य्यवहारत आदेच. मतीयेरन् पाणिनिकृतिमनङ्गमन्य मानस्य वा । तथा मकारेणापिङ्गलस्य न सर्वशुक्लत्रिक मतीयेत पिङ्गलकृतिमनङ्गमन्यमानस्य वा । शबर's भाष्य on पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र I 1. 5. p 54.

1105 ये वै चत्वार स्तोना कृत तद् । तै ब्रा I 5 11. 1

1106 पर्यायशब्दैरपि कल्पनीया संख्याङ्कसंज्ञा सुधिया धियाम्य् ॥ मुहूर्तमाला I. 26 (MS in Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society) For example, it may be noted that the Amarakośa gives twenty-five synonyms for सर्प in one place, besides नाग and काद्रवेय mentioned elsewhere as divine beings. This work (in I 17–25) gives a list of the important word numerals as follows अङ्कानां वामतो गति ॥ 17 एकं भूनीन्दुरूपं द्वावक्षिपक्षाक्षिदोर्यमाः । त्रय क्रमयानराम-

(Continued on next page)

Zero—śūnya, kha, ambara (sky), gagana, abhra, ākāśa, bindu, pūrna.[1107]

One—eka, bhūmi (earth), indu (the moon), rūpa, ādi, Visnu.

Two—dvi, aksi or locana (eye), paksa, Aśvin, dasra, dos or dosan (arm), bhuja, yama or yamala (twins)

Three—tri, krama (from three steps of Visnu in Rg. I. 22. 18 I. 155. 5), grāma (in music), Rāma, pura (cities burnt by Rudra), loka (earth, heaven and hell), guna (sattva, rajas, tamas), agni (gārhapatya, āhavanīya and daksināgni).

Four—Catur, abdhi (ocean), krta, yuga, veda, śruti, varna (brāhmana etc.)

Five—pañcan, isu or śara (arrows of Madana), vāyu (prāna, apāna &c), bhūta (*prthvī*, waters, *teyas*, air, *ākāśa*), aksa (sense organ), indriya, Pāndava or Pāndu-suta.

Six—Sat, rasa (sweet, acid, salt &c), anga (the six auxiliary sciences of the Veda), rtu (seasons), tarka (logical categories from *dravya* to *samavāya*), darsana (six systems of philosophy)

Seven—Saptan, rsi or muni (the seven sages), svara (nisāda, rsabha &c. in music), aśva (seven horses of the Sun, who is called 'saptāśva' in Rg. V 45 9), giri, parvata (Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya &c), dhātū (elements of the body, viz skin, blood &c).

Eight—astan, vasu, sarpa (vide note 321 for eight nāgas), mangala, matangaja (elephants of eight quarters), siddhi (animā, laghimā &c in yoga).

(Continued from last page)

पुरलोकगुणाग्रय ॥ 18 चत्वारोऽब्धिश्रुतियुगकृता पञ्चेषुबाणव । भूताक्षौ षड्रसाङ्गर्तुतर्का सप्तर्षयः स्वरा ॥ 19 तुरङ्गपर्वतौ चाष्टवसुसर्पमतङ्गजा । नवसंख्या नन्दरन्ध्रनिधिगोऽकनभश्वरा ॥ 20 दशाशाः शून्यमभ्रं स्यादेकादशमहेश्वरा । द्वादशार्काःस्तथा विश्वे त्रयोदश च चतुर्दश ॥ 21 मन्विन्दु-भुवनं पञ्चदश तिथ्योऽथ षोडश । कलाटिराजोद्यात्यष्टिर्धनाः सप्तदश स्मृता ॥ 22 अष्टादश धृति-श्चातिधृतिरेकोनविंशतिः । विंशतिः स्यु कृतिनखाङ्गुलयोऽथैकविंशति ॥ 23 प्रकृतिर्भूर्च्छनास्यर्ह-विंशतिर्जातिराकृतिः । जिना सिद्धाश्चतुर्विंशतिस्तत्त्वपञ्चविंशति ॥ 24 स्यु सप्तविंशतिर्भानि द्वात्रिंशद्दशना द्विजा । त्रयस्त्रिंशत्सुरास्ताना ऊनपञ्चाशदित्यपि ॥ 25

1107 Vide Pañcasiddhāntikā IV. 7 and 11, XVIII 35 and 45 for śūnya, and IV 8 for 'ambara', Bhāskarācārya uses 'pūrna' for zero in saying that he was born in 'rasa-guna-pūrna-mahi' śaka year *Rūpa* denoting one and *rasa* 6 occur in ancient Bakhshali ms (vide I A vol. 17 at p 35) which throughout employs the decimal system of notation *Randhra* (opening) means 'nine' because there are nine openings in the human body, viz. the mouth, the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, organ of generation and that of excretion, compare 'नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन् न कारयन्' गीता V. 13, पुण्डरीक नवद्वारं त्रिभिर्गुणेभिरावृतम्। अथर्ववेद X. 8 43.

Nine—navan, sankhyā (from 1 to 9), Nanda (nine Nanda kings), randhra or chidra, nidhi (treasure, mahāpadma, sankha, makara &c), anka (numerals one to nine), go or graha or nabhaścara (planets)

Ten—daśan, paṅkti,[1107a] āśā or diśā (directions including *ūrdhva* and *adhara*), avatāra, Rāvana-śiras.

Eleven—Ekādaśan, Maheśvara, Rudra.

Twelve—dvādasan, āditya, arka sūrya, māsa

Thirteen—trayodaśan, Viśve (viśve-devāh).

Fourteen—caturdaśan, Manu, Indra, bhuvana (worlds, bhūh &c. seven, and seven pātālas).

Fifteen—pañcadaśan, tithi

Sixteen—sodaśan, kalā (digits of the Moon), nrpa or rājan[1108] (kings), asti.

Seventeen saptadasan, atyasti.

Eighteen—astādaśan, dhrti.

Nineteen—ekonavimśati, atidhrti

Twenty—vimśati, krti, nakha (nails), anguli (fingers of the hands and feet together).

Twentyone—ekavimśati, prakrti, mūrchanā (in music)

Twentytwo—dvāvimśati, jāti, ākrti

Twentyfour—caturvimśati, Jina or siddha (24 Jain tīrthankaras).

Twentyfive—pañcavimśati, *tattva* (25 Sānkhya principles, vide note 1092)

Twentyseven—saptavimśati, bha, naksatra

Thirtytwo—dvātrimśat, dasana or dvija (both mean 'teeth').

Thirtythree—trayastrimśat, sura (gods).

Fortynine—ekonapañcāśat, tāna (notes in music)

The above method of employing particular significant words to denote certain numbers even in decimal place value system is largely employed by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā (e. g I. 8 in note 1004 above, VIII. 1)

1107 a. 'पङ्क्तिर्विंशतिर्त्रिंशाच्चत्वारिंशात्पञ्चाशात्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम्।' पा VI 1 59.

1108. There is a 'षोडशराजकीय' section in द्रोणपर्व chap 55–71 (16 ancient kings named Marutta, Suhotra, Paurava &c.). Asti is a Vedic metre, each of its four pādas having 16 letters as in Rg II 22 1; Atyasti is another Vedic metre with 68 letters in four pādas, Dhrti, Atidhrti Krti, Prakrti, and Ākrti have respectively 72, 76, 80 84, 88 letters in all pādas, The Rk-prātisākhya (16 83–90) says उत्तरादिष्वतु पंक्ति. । ततोऽष्टापंक्तिरत्यष्टिं । धृति पूर्वा द्विसप्तति । पञ्चसप्ततिस्त्वतिधृति. । कृति. प्रकृतिरा कृतिर्विकृतिः सद्भकृतिस्तथा । षष्ठी चाभिकृतिर्नाम सप्तम्युत्कृतिरुच्यते ॥ अशीतिश्चतुरशीतिरष्टाशीतिर्द्विनवति. ।. . ed by Mangal Deva Shastri, Allahabad (1931)

and in Brhat-samhitā 8. 20 and by all later astronomical writers [1109] The particular matter to be noted is that the first word in a group (denoting a number) is to be assigned to the units place, the next to its left in the tens place, so that a word like 'saptāśvi-veda-sankhyam' becomes 427 (by the rule 'ankānām vāmato gatih')

Another method for expressing numbers is elaborated by Āryabhata in his Daśagītikāpāda [1110] (verse 3) where the letters from *k* (kā also) to *m* have the values of 1 to 25, while *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* stand for 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 and so on towards more complicated matters

The fourth *anga* in a pancānga is called *Yoga*. There is no direct astronomical phenomena corresponding to it It is calculated from the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and the Moon (or it is the time during which the sun and the moon together accomplish 13 degrees and 20 minutes of space) When this amounts to degrees 13 20 the first Yoga called Viskambha ends; when it amounts to 26. 40 the 2nd Yoga Prīti ends and so on. The yogas are 27 (that thus make 360 degrees) as stated in the Ratnamālā IV. 1-3 and are as follows —

	Name	Deity
1.	Viskambha	Yama
2.	Prīti	Visnu
3	Āyusmat	Candra.
4	Saubhāgya	Brahmā
5	Śobhana	Brhaspati
6	Atiganda	Candra
7	Sukarman	Indra
8.	Dhrti	Āpah
9	Śūla	Sarpa
10	Ganda	Agni
11	Vrddhi	Sūrya
12	Dhruva	Prthvī
13	Vyāghāta	Pavana
14.	Harsana	Rudra
15	Vajra	Varuna
16.	Siddhi	Ganeśa
17.	Vyatīpāta	Śiva.
18.	Varīyas	Kubera
19	Parigha	Viśvakarman
20	Śiva	Mitra
21	Siddha	Kārtikeya
22.	Sādhya	Sāvitrī
23	Śubha	Kamalā
24	Śukla	Gaurī
25.	Brahman	Aśvinau
26	Aindra	Pitrs
27	Vaidhrti	Aditi

1109. How neatly huge numbers can be indicated by words may be illustrated by the सि शि I 28 गोऽग्नीन्द्रदिक्कृताङ्कवसुनगगोचन्द्रा शकाब्दान्विता सर्वे चक्रलिताः पितामहदिने स्युर्वर्तमाने गता ।' These come to 1972947179 days

1110. The Daśagītikā verse 3 has been differently interpreted by different scholars Vide Fleet in JRAS in 1911 pp 109-128 for Āryabhata's system and pp 115-125 for explanation of the verse

These are *nitya* (ever-recurring) Yogas The Ratnamālā states that they yield good or bad results in keeping with their names. The Muhūrtadarśana[1111] states that among these 27 yogas nine are condemned, viz. Parigha, Vyatīpāta, Vajra, Vyāghāta, Vaidhrti, Viskambha, Śūla, Ganda[1112] and Atiganda. The Ratnamālā provides that Vyatīpāta and Vaidhrti are wholly inauspicious, the first half of Parigha is so and only the first quarter of those Yogas the names of which are odious; and that one should avoid in all auspicious rites the first three ghatikās in Viskambha and Vajra, nine ghatis in Vyāghāta, five in Śūla, six in Ganda and Atiganda. The Agnipurāna[1113] (127. 1–2) has similar verses. The Kālanirnaya-kārikā[1114] provides that when a Yoga spreads over two days, fasts and the like are to be observed on the first of the two days provided that Yoga exists at sunset on that day, and vratas and religious gifts are to be performed on the latter (of two days) provided the Yoga exists for three *muhūrtas* (i. e. six ghatis) after sunrise and for śrāddha the day on which the Yoga extends over the time required for the śrāddha rite should be accepted.

The system of Yogas must be held to be ancient. The Yājñavalkyasmrti (I. 218) when specifying the times for the performance of śrāddhas includes Vyatīpāta among them. In the Harsacarita of Bāna it is said (Ucchvāsa IV) that Harsa was born on a day free from the taint of all defects such as Vyatīpāta (vyatīpātādi-sarvadosābhisanga-rahiteshani) There would generally be 13 vyatīpātas in a year (sometimes 14) and, among the 96 śrāddhas, śrāddhas on these thirteen vyatīpātas are

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1111. निन्द्यन्ते नित्ययोगेष्वपि नव परिघः सव्यतीपातवज्रो व्याघातो वैधृतिश्च प्रथमपरिहृता शूलगण्डातिगण्डा. । मुहूर्तदर्शन II. 16.

1112. विष्कम्भसंज्ञा इह ये च योगास्तेषामनिष्टः खलु पाद आद्यः । सवैधृतिस्तु व्यतिपातनामा सर्वोऽप्यनिष्टः परिघस्य चार्धम् ॥ तिस्रस्तु योगे प्रथमे सवज्रे व्याघातसंज्ञे नव पञ्च शूले । गण्डातिगण्डे च षडेव नाड्यः शुभेषु कार्येषु परिवर्जनीयाः ॥ रत्नमाला IV 4–5.

1113. विष्कम्भे घटिकास्तिस्र. शूले पञ्च विवर्जयेत् । पदपद्म गण्डेऽतिगण्डे च नव व्याघातवज्रयो ॥ परिघे च व्यतीपाते उभयोरपि तद्दिनम् ॥ वैधृतौ तद्दिनं चैव यात्रापुद्धाहदिकं त्यजेत् ॥ अग्नि॰ 127. 1–2.

1114 पूर्वं. स्याद्वपवासादाद्यरो व्रतदानयो. । योगः आद्ये कर्मकालव्यापस्तु परिग्रहाय ॥ कालनिर्णयकारिका 108–109, योगेषु तु कस्यचिद्विद्धस्य पूर्वेद्युर्निशीथमात्रव्याप्तिं प्रत्यल्पत्वकल्पात्सार्धकालादिव्याप्तिर्ग्राह्या । यदि योगः पूर्वेद्युर्निशीथमात्र व्याप्नुयात् तदापरेद्युरहनि पारणं प्राप्नुयात्, रात्रौ पारणस्य निषिद्धत्वात् । ...तस्माद्विद्धकर्मभाविनियोगे उपवासादौ पूर्वविद्धो ग्रहीतव्यः, दानव्रतयोरुदयव्यापी ग्राह्य., आद्धस्य तु कर्मकालव्यापी-इति निर्णेतव्यम् । कालनिर्णय pp. 329–330.

included (vide H. of Dh vol. IV pp. 382–383 and note 861). Besides these 27 Yogas, there are others that occur when there are special conjunctions of weekdays with certain tithis and naksatras or when certain planets occupy certain rāśis on certain tithis and naksatras. For Kapilāsasthīyoga and Ardhodaya, vide above pp 279 and 261. Vyatīpāta itself has two technical senses apart from being 17th out of the 27 Yogas mentioned above viz. (1) When amāvāsyā[1115] occurs on a Sunday and the moon is in the first quarter on any one of the naksatras Śravana, Aśvinī, Dhanisthā, Ārdrā and Āślesā that is Vyatīpāta; (2) When on the 12th of the bright half Jupiter and Mars are in the sign Lion, the Sun is in Ram and when that tithi has Hasta naksatra on it, it is Vyatīpāta[1116] Yoga. These two are sometimes called Mahāvyatīpāta Gifts made on those conjunctions are very much commended,[1117] 'gifts on amāvāsyā yield one hundred-fold merit, on the suppression of a tithi a thousand-fold, on Visuva day ten thousand-fold, but on Vyatīpāta endless (merit). By gifts of cows, land, gold and clothes made on this the donor becomes free from sin and secures godhead, the position of Indra, health, the rulership of men.[1118] The Sūryasiddhānta (XI. 1–2) gives an explanation of Vyatīpāta and Vaidhrta[1119] (or Vaidhrti)—when the sun and the moon are on the same side of either solstice and when the sum of their longitudes being a circle they are of equal declination it is styled Vaidhrti When the moon and the sun are on opposite sides of either solstice and their minutes of declination are the same, it is Vyatīpāta, the sum of their

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1115. श्रवणाश्विधनिष्टार्द्रा-नागदैवतमस्तके। यद्यमा रविवारेण व्यतीपात स उच्यते॥ बृद्धमनु q. by अपरार्क p. 426, हेमाद्रि (on काल) p 673, स्मृतिच II. 341 (without name), कालविवेक 364 (no names) The स्मृतिच holds that मस्तक means मृगशिरस्, while हेमाद्रि and कालविवेक take it to mean the first quarter and connect it with all the preceding naksatras. अग्निपुराण 209 13 is almost the same as बृद्धमनु

1116. पञ्चाननस्थौ गुरुभूमिपुत्रौ मेषे रविः स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे। पाशाभिधाना करभेन युक्ता तिथिर्व्यतीपात इतीह योग॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q by हेमाद्रि on काल p 673, कालविवेक p. 364.

1117 शतमिन्दुक्षये दानं सहस्रं तु दिनक्षये। विषुवे दशसाहस्रं व्यतीपाते स्वनन्तकम्॥ लघुशातातप 150 quoted as व्यास's by अपरार्क p. 292 and as याज्ञवल्क्य's by हेमाद्रि (on काल) p. 672.

1118. अस्मिन्दि गोभूमिहिरण्यवस्त्रदानेन सर्वं भविष्याय पापम्। सुरत्वमिन्द्रत्वमनामयत्वं मर्त्याधिपत्यं लभते मनुष्यः॥ q by हे (on काल) pp. 673-674.

1119 एकायनगतौ स्यातां सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ यदा। तद्युतौ मण्डले क्रान्त्योस्तुल्यत्वे वैधृताभिधः॥ विपरीतायनगतौ चन्द्रार्कौ क्रान्तिलिप्तिकाः। समास्तदा व्यतीपातो भगणार्धं तयोर्युतौ॥ सूर्यसिद्धान्त XI 1-2

longitudes being a half circle Why the times mentioned should be looked upon as specially inauspicious or unfortunate is not at all clear and no plausible reason has been assigned The 27th Yoga called Vaidhṛti was just like Vyatīpāta in all respects. Bharadvāja says that the merit of gifts made on Vyatīpāta and Vaidhṛti is endless.

In the pancāṅgas several Yogas (that have nothing to do with the 27 yogas) like Amṛtasiddhi, Yamaghanta, Dagdhayoga, Mṛtyuyoga, Ghabāda are mentioned; they are purely astrological and all of them except three are passed over here for reasons of space. When on Sunday there is Hasta, on Monday Mṛgaśīrsa, on Tuesday Aśvinī, on Wednesday Anurādhā, on Thursday Tisya (i. e. Puṣya), on Friday Revatī and on Saturday Rohiṇī, all these are Amṛtasiddhiyogas (fortunate ones[1120]). Avoid Anurādhā on Sunday, Uttarāsādhā on Monday, Śatatārakā on Tuesday, Asvinī on Wednesday, Mṛgaśīrsa on Thursday, Āślesā on Friday and Hasta on Saturday—these are seven Mṛtyuyogas (inauspicious). If the weekdays from Sunday to Saturday occur on the tithis, 12th, 11th, 10th, 3rd, 6th, 2nd, 7th respectively, these are Dagdhayogas (inauspicious yogas).

The fifth item in a pañcānga is Karana. Half of a tithi is Karana and thus there are two Karanas in a tithi and 60 Karanas in a lunar month. Karanas are of two kinds, viz. *cara* (moving) and *sthira* (immoveable). The seven *cara* karanas with their presiding deities according to Brhatsamhitā, chap 99. 1–2 are: 1. Bava–Indra; 2. Bālava–Brahmā; 3 Kaulava–Mitra, 4. Taitila–Aryaman, 5. Gara (or Garaja)–Earth; 6 Vanija–Śrī, 7. Visti–Yama. The four *sthira* karanas with their deities are: 1 Śakuni–Kali; 2. Catuspada–Vrsa; 3. Nāga–snake; 4. Kimstughna–Vāyu Some works transpose the two, Catuspada and Nāga This division of a tithi into two halves resembles the division of a rāśi into two *horās* (Brhajjātaka I 9) It is likely that one was suggested by the other The difficulty is to decide which was the earlier. I believe it likely that the division of tithis into two karanas is the earlier of the two. The sthira karanas occur only once in a month i e. on the latter half of

1120 हस्तो रवौ शशधरे च मृगोत्तमार्क्षं सौमेऽश्विनी बुधदिने च तथानुराधा। तिष्यो गुरौ भृगुसुतेपि च पौष्णमिष्टयं रौहिण्यथार्कतनयेऽप्युदितासिद्धियोगाः॥ रत्नमाला VIII 8 (ms). त्यज रविमनुराधा विश्वदेवं च सोमे शतभिषमपि भौमे चन्द्रजे चाश्विनी च। शशधरमपि जीवे सर्पदेवं च शुक्रे रविसुतमपि हस्ते मृत्युयोगाश्च सप्त॥ भुजबलनिबन्ध p. 31 verse 126; आदित्यरुद्रकाष्ठाग्निरसपक्षतुरङ्गमाः। अर्कादिवारयोगेन दह्यन्ते तिथयः क्रमात्॥ भुजबलनिबन्ध p. 28 verse 114

14th tithi of dark half occurs Śakuni: Catuspada and Nāga occupy the two halves of amāvāsyā and Kimstughna occurs on the first half of Pratipad i. e if the 30 tithis of an amānta month are divided into 60 halves, Śakuni, Catuspada and Nāga occupy the 58th, 59th and 60th parts and Kimstughna occupies the first half of the pratipad of the next month. Bava occupies the second half of śukla pratipad and the others follow one after another and as they are only seven they are repeated eight times in a month from the 2nd half of pratipad to the first half of the 14th tithi of a dark half, which would be 57th of the sixty halves of the tithis of the month and would be occupied by Vistı In the pañcāngas, two karanas should properly be shown under each tithi, but in pañcāngas only that Karana is shown against a tithi whose ending moment is 30 ghatikās or less from sunrise. The ending times of Karanas which are assigned to the 2nd halves of tithis coincide with those of the tithis themselves and therefore there is no need for their calculation. The ending times of the first halves of tithis which correspond to certain Karanas are got in the manner described by Pillai in his 'Indian Ephemeris', vol. I. part 1 p 37, paragraphs 106–107

The word Karana is derived from the root 'kr' (to do) and is said to have been so named because it divides a tithi in two parts.[1121] The names of most of the Karanas are somewhat strange and inexplicable. The word 'Taitila-kadrū' occurs in Pānini VI. 2. 42 (with regard to accent) but the Kāśikā explains that Taitila means 'a descendant or pupil or Titilin'. If a mere conjecture were to be offered, the Karana Taitila might have been first named after a man so called The Karanas are only of astrological use and must have been named many centuries before 400 A D. The Nāradapurāna[1122] mentions both kinds of Karanas. The Brhat-samhitā lays down what should be done or not done on the several Karanas[1123] as follows: one

1121. तिथिं द्विधा करोतीति करणमित्यर्थसंज्ञानात् तिथ्यर्धं करणमिति विज्ञायते। com. दीपिका on बृ द. I 41.

1122 शेषं भवो बालवश्च कौलवस्तैतिलो गरः। वणिजोऽथ भवेद्विष्टिः कृष्णसूतापरार्धतः। शकुनिर्नागश्च चतुष्पदं किंस्तुघ्नमेवच॥ नारदपु० I. 54 126–127

1123. कुर्याद्भवे शुभचरस्थिरपौष्टिकानि धर्मक्रियाद्विजहितानि च बालवाख्ये। सभीतिमित्रवरणानि च कौलवे स्यु सौभाग्यसत्रयगृहाणि च तैतिलाख्ये॥ कृषिबीजगृहाश्रयजानि गरे वणिजि ध्रुवकार्यवणिज्युतयः। न हि विष्टिकृत विदधाति शुभ परघातविषादिषु सिद्धिकरम्॥ कार्यं पौष्टिकमौषधादि शकुनौ मूलानि मन्त्रास्तथा गोकार्याणि चतुष्पदे द्विजपितृद्विद्य राज्यानि च। नागे स्थावरदारुणानि हरणं दौर्भाग्यकर्माण्यतः किंस्तुघ्ने शुभमिष्टिपुष्टिकरण मङ्गल्यसिद्धिक्रियाः॥ बृहत्संहिता 99 3–5.

should perform on Bava all auspicious (religious) rites, all acts that bring about physical health. on Bālava religious acts and acts beneficial to brāhmaṇas, on Kaulava acts leading to good relations and friendship and choosing a bride; on Taitila acts that lead to popularity with people, to securing the patronage (of some important person) and building a house, on Gara actions pertaining to ploughing, sowing seeds and those that arise in houses; on Vanija, acts of a permanent nature, trading, and meeting with people; whatever is done on Visti does not bring about fortunate results; but actions as regards destruction of enemies, poisoning and incendiarism become successful on it; on Śakuni one should do what leads to physical health and medication, planting roots and eating them and becoming successful in mantras, on Catuspada actions relating to cows (i. e. gifts of them and rearing them), actions regarding brāhmaṇas and one's ancestors and king's business should be done; on Nāga, acts relating to immoveable property, cruel acts, depriving (a man of his wealth or wife) and acts that lead to hatred among people; on Kimstughna, auspicious (religious) acts, Vedic sacrifices (called *iṣṭis*) and acts leading to physical prosperity and mangala acts (marriage &c.) and other acts that bring success in these matters.

One very noticeable feature is that the 7th mobile Karana called Visti appears to have inspired great terror in the minds of medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra It will be noticed that dividing the lunar month into 60 halves of tithis, and beginning Bava on the second half of the pratipad of an amānta month, the Karana Visti will occur eight times in one month as the following diagram of the sixty halves will show :

Bava	2	9	16	23	30	37	44	51
Bālava	3	10	17	24	31	38	45	52
Kaulava	4	11	18	25	32	39	46	53
Taitila	5	12	19	26	33	40	47	54
Gara	6	13	20	27	34	41	48	55
Vanija	7	14	21	28	35	42	49	56
Visti	8	15	22	29	36	43	50	57

The fixed Karanas will be Śakuni 58, 59 Catuspada, 60 Nāga, 1 (pratipad first half of next month) Kimstughna.

In the dark half,[1124] *Visti* will occur in the latter half of the third and 10th tithis and in the first half of the 7th and 14th tithis; in the bright half Visti will occur in the latter half of the 4th and 11th tithis and the first half of the 8th and 15th (i e. Paurnamāsi) tithis The Rājamārtanda[1125] states 'Some regard Visti as having the form of a cobra and as terrible; there is danger in the mouth of a snake but not in its tail. The mouth, neck, chest, navel region, waist and tail of Visti are respectively of five, one, eleven, four, six and three ghatikās Great sages declare that it (Visti) does not confer fortunate results, therefore a good man should avoid these except the tail' (on last three ghatikās of Visti auspicious acts may be performed) Visti is also euphemistically called Bhadrā or Kalyāni (it is really *abhadrā*). The terrible nature of *Visti* is described in two verses of Bhīma-parākrama quoted in Bhujabala-nibandha p 30 (vide pp. 95–96 of my paper on 'Bhoja and his works &c' in Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, vol XXIII for 1953–54) which also occur in Rājamārtanda, verses 1021–22

The whole scheme of Karanas is itself fanciful But to draw a lurid picture of one of them, *Visti* (which occurs eight times in a month), and say that it is like a cobra or an ogress is the height of imagination dominated by astrological considerations.

Having described at some length the five angas in a pañcānga, a few words must be said about Hindu calendars, though it has been already declared above that purely astronomical matters will not be elaborated in this work In the

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1124 तृतीयादशमीशेषे तत्पञ्चम्योश्च पूर्वत । कृष्णे विष्टि· सिते तद्वत्सप्त परतिथिष्वपि ॥ शुद्धिदीपिका q. by शुद्धिकौमुदी p 207, a similar verse is quoted by नि सि p 23 'संग्रहे । कृष्णेऽग्निविंशयोरूर्ध्वं सप्तमीभूतयोरध । शुक्ले वेदेशयोरूर्ध्वं भद्रा प्राग् वह्निपूर्णयो. ॥.' Vide मु चि. I. 43

1125 विष्टिं भुजङ्गमाकारा केचिदिच्छन्ति दारुणाम् । भुजगस्य मुखे भीतिर्न तु पुच्छे कदाचन ॥ आस्यं तस्या भवति घटिका· पञ्च कण्ठं तथैका वक्षश्चैकादश नियतिता नाभिदेशश्चतस्र. । पुच्छस्तिस्र. कटिरपि तथा षट् च पूर्वे मुनीन्द्रैराख्यातेषा न शुभफलदा वर्जयेदुत्तमस्ताम् ॥ राजमार्तण्ड q by शुद्धिकौमुदी p 208. These are verses 1015–16 of the ms of राजमार्तण्ड described by me in Journal of Oriental research, Madras, vol. XXIII. (1953–54) at pp 108–112 The com. on मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि I 44 quotes a verse from कश्यपसंहिता for the evil consequences of beginning an auspicious rite (mangala) on the different parts of Visti (except its tail) कार्यहानिर्मुखे मृत्युर्गले वक्षसि निःस्वता । कट्यामुन्मत्तता नाभौ च्युतिः पुच्छे ध्रुवो जय. ॥ अर्थ च भद्राङ्गविभागो नाडीना त्रिंशतोक्त· । त्रिंशतो न्यूनाधिकत्वे तु त्रैराशिकेन मुखादीनामङ्गाना विभागज्ञानम् । com

continent of India there are numerous pañcāngas in vogue and there is something like anarchy in this sphere Hardly any two pañcāngas agree completely Many educated I ndians have been demanding that such matters as eclipses, the times of which can be noted by anyone, should be accurately predicted by the almanacs and that our ancient methods of calculating the motions of heavenly bodies should be brought in line with modern accurate calculations based upon observations This is just what scientific astronomers like Varāhamihira would have done if they were living in modern times At the end of his two works Varāha makes a very candid but solemn request[1126] 'whatever in this work comes to be unscientific while it is being used or on account of defects in the mss, or whatever may have been badly executed by me or insufficiently done or not done at all, that should be corrected by learned men, leaving aside all passion (jealousy), and after acquiring (knowledge) from the lips of well-read men' Some almanac-makers follow the Nautical Almanac tables as to eclipses and the like and set out other matters according to the old tables As already stated there are three main schools of astronomers in India, (1) the school that follows the Sūrya-siddhānta (and is called Saurapaksa), (2) the second follows the Brahma-siddhānta (and is called Brāhmapaksa), (3) the third follows the Āryasiddhānta (and is styled Āryapaksa) There are two main points of difference between these, viz (1) the length of the year, (2) the number of revolutions of the sun, the moon and the planets in a certain period such as a mahāyuga The difference in the length of the year among the siddhāntas is very small viz a few *vipalas* (a *vipala* being $\frac{1}{60}$th part of a *pala*, which again is $\frac{1}{60}$th of a *ghatikā* that is equal to 24 minutes). The length of the year according to the Sūryasiddhānta is 365 days 15 ghatis, 31 523 *palas*, while the interval in time between two successive returns of the sun to the vernal equinox (called the tropical year) is only 365 days, 14 ghaṭis and 31 972 palas and the correct sideral (nāksatra) year is 365 days, 15 ghatis, 22 palas and 53 vipalas (vide C. R C. Report p 240 in hours, minutes and seconds and Dikshit's History ed of 1931 pp. 159, 440) The result is that if one follows the Sūryasiddhānta, the starting point of Hindu astronomers is at present more than 23 degrees to the east of the correct vernal equinox point This difference is called the *ayanāmsa*.

1126 अन्यस्य यत्प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाज्ञानेति लेरुवाद् बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगनक्रमेण। यद्वा मया कृततमल्पमिहाकृतं वा कार्यं तदत्र विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम्॥ बृहत्संहिता 105 5, बृहज्जातक 28 8

As the longitudes of heavenly bodies reckoned from the equinox include these *ayanāṁśas* they are called *sāyana* (*sa* + *ayana*). The places of heavenly bodies *obtained* by the methods of the Sūryasiddhānta and mediæval Sanskrit works are distinguished by being called *nir ayana* (devoid of taking into account precession). At present according to most almanacs that employ the Sūryasiddhānta values Makarasankrānti (Sun's entrance into Capricorn) falls generally on 14th January, but according to the most accurate *modern calculations*, it should fall on 21st December, even in calendars that pride themselves on being *śuddha* the Makarasankrānti falls on 9th January i. e. our Makarasankrānti is celebrated[1127] about 23 or 18 days later than it should be and the same happens to the vernal equinox, autumnal equinox and the summer solstice and many other observances Aśvinī is still reckoned as the first naksatra (in which the vernal equinox is deemed to have occurred about *śaka* 444), although the vernal equinox point has receded to the Uttarā-bhādrapadā group of stars (which should now be treated as the first naksatra). Efforts have been made by those familiar with the modern accurate calculations (such as the late Kero L. Chatre) to introduce modrn calculations in our almanacs; but they have met with little response. The late Lokamānya Tilak (who was a great Vedic scholar and mathematician) held several conferences of Indian astronomers and other interested people at Bombay (1904), Poona (1917) and at Sangli (1919). At the last conference several resolutions were passed which without making a total break with the past were calculated to reform our calendar and to prevent furthur deterioration It is unnecessary to set out all the resolutions, but the most important were that the length of the year should be that of the Sūryasiddhānta but subject to necessary corrections, the rate of precession should be accepted at 50 2 *vikalās* a year (as determined by modern astronomical observations), that the Yogatārā[1128] of Revatī (corresponding to Zeta Piscium of modern astronomers) should be deemed to be the beginning of the

1127. Vide note 574 above, where the encyclopoedist scholar Hemādri is quoted as saying that the real Makarsankrānti takes place 12 days before the sankrānti in the almanacs and that the holy time of Makarsankrānti is really twelve days earlier than the one on which people celebrate it and religious gifts should really be made at that time.

1128 सतारागणमध्ये (स्वतारा० ?) हु या तारा दीप्तिमत्तरा । योगतारेति सा प्रोक्ता नक्षत्राणां पुरातनै. ॥ quoted by उत्पल on बृहत्संहिता 24 34 and by अद्भुतसागर p 44 (which reads हु श्वेता वा दीप्तिमत्तरा)

Zodiacal belt (*rāśicakrārambhasthāna*) and that the *ayanāṁśas* calculated from the starting point by actual observation should be accepted for the purpose of a new *Karaṇa* (astronomical manual) to be compiled according to the resolutions. Unfortunately the resolutions did not state where exactly the star Zeta Piscium was in a particular śaka year Dr. K. L. Daftari prepared a Karana-grantha called Karanakalpalatā in Sanskrit which was published in 1924. Almanacs based on its data have been published and are sometimes known as 'Tilak Pañcānga' But it must be confessed that our people in general are so much custom-ridden that the popular response to the reformed calendar is poor. People still follow the pañcāngas based on the old siddhāntas. According to the śāstras every religious festival is to be celebrated at the proper time i.e in the right *season* and on the proper tithi. The tithi depends upon the correct calculation of the movements of the moon, which are most difficult to reduce to rules that will give accurate results. Many people will not observe the *ekādaśī* fast if the eleventh tithi is mixed up with the 10th tithi even for a few ghatikās. But what guarantee is there that the 10th tithi has been accurately calculated? The ending moments of tithis do not agree with those given by the Nautical Almanac which are based on modern formula and are verified by actual observation. If tithis be calculated according to different Sanskrit astronomical treatises the moment of a particular tithi may differ by as much as five hours and the same festival (such as Krsnajanmāstamī or *Dussera*) may be celebrated on two successive days in the same city.

Besides, it must not be forgotten that a pañcānga prepared on the basis of the latitude and longitude of Poona or Bombay will be slightly wrong even at a distance of 30 or 40 miles to the west or east or north. It would be a great mistake from the religious point of view to employ a pañcānga prepared on the basis of the longitude and latitude of Poona or Bombay in a place several hundred miles away (such as in Hyderabad or Aurangabad). From the religious point of view if accuracy is to be preserved there must be a separate pañcānga for every town or every place not more than 10 or 15 miles from places like Bombay or Poona where pañcāngas are at present prepared.

In November 1952 the Government of India appointed a committee called the Calendar Reform Committee presided over by Dr. Meghanad Saha to examine all existing calendars being followed at present in India and to submit proposals for an accurate and uniform calendar for the whole of India That

committee submitted a very exhaustive and valuable report in November 1955. The final recommendations of the Committee for a civil calendar and for a religious calendar are set out on pp. 6-8 of the report. They are deserving of the most serious consideration by all who feel that religious observances must be done at the proper time and that now at least in independent India there should not only be one uniform civil calendar, but also one uniform Hindu religious calendar.[1129] It appears that unless Government makes great efforts for the introduction of a correct calendar even for religious purposes, it would be futile to assume that common people will spontaneously adopt a correct pañcāṅga.

Some of the important recommendations of the Committee may be set out here for the information of readers.

Recommendations for civil calendar

(1) The Śaka era should be used in the unified national calendar. The Śaka year 1876 corresponds to 1954-55 A D

(2) The year should start from the day following the vernal equinox day.

(3) Normal year is to consist of 365 days, while a leap year would have 366 days After adding 78 to the Śaka era year, if the sum is divisible by 4, then it would be a leap year. But when the sum becomes a multiple of 100, it would be a leap year only when it is divisible by 400; otherwise it would be a common year.

(4) Caitra (or Chaitra as often written) should be the first month of the year and the lengths of the different months should be fixed as follows :—

Caitra — 30 days (31 days in a leap year).	Āśvina — 30 days.
Vaiśākha — 31 days.	Kārtika — 30 days.
Jyestha — 31 days.	Mārgaśīrsa — 30 days.
Āsādha — 31 days	Pausa — 30 days.
Śrāvana — 31 days	Māgha — 30 days.
Bhādrapada — 31 days.	Phālguna — 30 days.

1129. Those interested in Indian Calendar Reform should read the Marathi Preface to Dr. K. L Daftari's work in Sanskrit 'Karana-kalpalatā', Mr. S M. Karamalkar's Marathi work '*Kharem pañcāṅga kasem miļel*' (1950), I. H. Q. vol. IV pp 483-511 on 'Hindu Calendar' by Sukumar Ranjan Das, Dr. Saha's papers on 'Reform of Indian calendar' in 'Science and Culture' (Calcutta, 1952), vol XVII. pp. 57-68 and 109-123 and the Report of the Calendar Reform Committee.

The dates of the reformed Indian calendar would thus have a permanent correspondence with the Gregorian[1130] calendar. The corresponding dates would be :

Hindu	Gregorian
Caitra 1	March 22 in a common year and 21 in a leap year.
Vaisākha 1	April 21.
Jyestha 1	May 22.
Āsādha 1	June 22.
Śrāvana 1	July 23.
Bhādrapada 1	August 23.
Āśvina 1	September 23.
Kārtika 1	October 23.
Mārgaśirsa 1	November 22.
Pausa 1	December 22.
Māgha 1	January 21.
Phālguna 1	February 20.

The Indian seasons would thus be permanently fixed with respect to the reformed Calendar as follows :

Seasons :

Grīsma (summer)	— Vaiśākha and Jyestha.	Hemanta (late autumn)	— Kārtika and Mārgaśirsa.
Varsā (rains)	— Āsādha and Śrāvana	Śiśira (winter)	— Pausa and Māgha.
Śarad (Autumn)	— Bhādrapada and Āśvina.	Vasanta (Spring)	— Phālguna and Caitra.

The States now having the solar calendars for civil and partly religious purposes which start the year from Vaiśākha (April 14th) will have to begin the year 23 days earlier, but the first month will be Caitra. The effect of this will be that in Bengal, Orissa and Assam solar months start approximately seven days later than now, and in Tamil-nad solar months start approximately 23 days earlier than now, for the month called Vaiśākha (14th April to 14th May) in Bengal and Orissa is called *Chittirai* (or *caitra*) in Tamil-nad. Those who use the lunar calendar beginning with Caitra also for civil purposes would experience no great difficulty in adopting this unified calendar

1130 It may be noted that under the Indian Limitation Act (Act I of 1908) section 25, all instruments shall, for the purposes of the Limitation Act, be deemed to be made with reference to the Gregorian Calendar. This rule is absolute and therefore even if a bond is made on a tithi of a lunar month in a certain śaka year and is made payable four months after the śaka date, the period of limitation applicable to a suit brought on the bond runs from the expiration of four months after the date computed according to the Gregorian Calendar.

as they have at present the beginning of their year on various dates from 15th March to 13th April and the first month is Caitra.

Recommendations for religious calendar.

(5) The calculation for *Saura* (solar) *months* necessary for determining the lunar months of the same name will start 23 degrees and 15 minutes (fixed ayanāmśa) ahead of the vernal equinox point. This tallies with the present practice of most almanac-makers.

The months would thus commence at the moments when the tropical longitude of the sun attains the following values; viz. Saura Vaiśākha commences when the sun has the longitude of 23° 15', Saura Jyestha and the other Saura months upto Caitra will commence when the sun has respectively the longitude of 53° 15', 83° 15', 113° 15', 143° 15', 173° 15', 203° 15', 233° 15', 263° 15', 293° 15', 323° 15', 353° 15'.

This recommendation is to be regarded only as a measure of compromise, so that a violent break with the established practice would be avoided. But this compromise would not make our present seasons in the several months as they were in the days of Kālidāsa and Varāhmihira. It is hoped that at not a distant date, further reforms for locating the lunar and solar festivals in the seasons in which they were originally observed will be adopted.

(6) As usual the lunar months for religious purposes would commence from the moment of new moon and would be named after the saura month in which the new moon falls. If there be two new moons during the period of a *Saura* month, the lunar month beginning from the first new moon is the *adhika* or *mala māsa* and the lunar month beginning from the moment of the second new moon is the *śuddha* or *nija māsa* as usual.

(7) The moment of the moon's exit from a naksatra division of 13° 20' each or sun's entry into it would be calculated with a variable *ayanāmśa* (i e. on the supposition that they are fixed with respect to the stars) The value of this *ayanāmśa* would amount to 23° 15' 0" on 21 March 1956. Thereafter it would gradually increases with the annual rate, the mean value of which is about 50.27".

These arrangements would ensure that the religious observances determined by the sun such as the Viśuva-sankrānti, Uttarāyana-sankrānti and Daksināyana-sankrānti would follow

astronomically correct seasons, but those determined by the lunar calendar would continue to be observed in times conforming to the present practice and the correction introduced by this report in the length of the year would prevent their further shift in relation to the seasons.

The dates of festivals have already shifted by twenty-three days from the seasons in which they were observed about 1400 years ago as a result of our almanac-makers having ignored the precession of the equinoxes. Although it might appear to some desirable that the entire amount of shifting be wiped out at once, the authors of the Report consider it expedient to maintain this as constant difference and to stop its further increase. As a result there would at present be no deviation from the prevailing custom in the observance of religious festivals.

In the calculation of *nakṣatras*, however, the Report has adopted a variable *ayanāṁśa*, so that at the time of a particular nakṣatra the moon may be seen in the sky in the star or star-group of that name. This practice has been followed in our country from Vedic times and is perfectly scientific.

(8) The day should be reckoned from midnight to midnight of the central station (82½ degrees E Longitude and 23° 11' North Latitude) for civil purposes but for religious purposes the local sunrise system may be followed.

(9) For the purpose of all calculations, the longitudes of the sun and the moon should be obtained by applying the most upto-date and complete equations of their motions, so that they may tally with their actually observed values

(10) Steps should be taken to compile an 'Indian Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac' by the Government of India, showing in advance the positions of the sun, the moon, the planets and other heavenly bodies. The Indian calendar, both civil and religious, prepared according to the above recommendations should be included in that publication every year.

One can only express the hope that the above mentioned recommendations of the Committee of distinguished astronomers and Sanskrit scholars will receive a wide and hearty response from the Hindu people and that the present confusion and anarchy in the matter of religious observances in our country will come to an end as soon as possible. The Government of India accepted the principal recommendations of the Committee

by issuing a Press Note on 23rd October 1956 which decided that the Uniform National Calendar should be adopted with effect from March 22, 1957 corresponding to (Solar) Chaitra 1, 1879, Śaka Era, for certain official purposes in conjunction with the Gregorian Calendar and laid down the steps to be taken by the Central Government and the States Governments for implementing the decision. To avoid misunderstandings and to encourage the use by the mass of the people of this Solar Calendar, Government has decided to make use of both the Gregorian Calendar and the New Indian Solar Calendar together in some Government business, such as publishing the Indian Government Gazette with both dates, the All India Radio Broadcasting news every day announcing both dates at the beginning. But Government is not going to give up as far as possible the practice of declaring public holidays on religious festivals according to the old Calendars. The Government will publish translations of the Calendar Reform Committee's Report in the principal languages of India. It must be said however that this Calendar does not remove all the defects of the Gregorian Calendar.[1131] The years will still commence on different week days and the number of days in each month still varies. It is feared that this will add only one more calendar to the existing ones.

1131 The Gregorian calendar now in general use in Europe and other parts of the world is irregular, unbalanced and inconvenient (vide pp. 643–44 above) For twenty-five years the World Calendar Association founded by Miss Elisabeth Achelis in New York has been dedicating its time and resources to the introdution of the World Calendar in many lands The outstanding features of this world calendar are: Every year is the same and begins on Sunday, 1st January and ends on Saturday each of its four quarters has 91 days, 13 weeks or three months; January, April, July and October have 31 days each and the other months have 30 days each, the Calendar is stabilized and made perpetual by ending the year with a 365th day following 30th December each year. This additional day is named W (it is a World Holiday) and equal to 31st December In a leap year a day is added at the end of the 2nd quarter, is named W, equals 31 June, called Leap year day and is another World Holiday The United Nations Organization has not yet lent its support to the World Calendar An interesting work is 'Time counts: the story of the Calendar' by Harold Watkins (London, 1954.)

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

BY

Mahāmahopādhyāya PANDURANG VAMAN KANE,
M. A., LL. M., D. Litt. (All., Poona).

National Professor of Indology; Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India and Advocate High Court, Bombay; Fellow of the Bombay Asiatic Society, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

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Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, POONA 4

1962

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

It is with a sense of profound gratification that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute presents to the public the second part of the fifth and last volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* by MM. Professor Dr. P. V. Kane, National Professor of Indology. With this part, this monumental literary project, which was conceived by the author more than thirty years ago, has been brought to a successful completion. This must, indeed, be regarded as a memorable event in the history of Indological studies and research in this country. The five volumes of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* together extend over nearly 6,500 pages and constitute an authoritative and encyclopaedic treatment of the religious and civil law of ancient and medieval India. And what is particularly remarkable is that Professor Kane has accomplished this enormous work single-handed, and that too while being fully occupied with various other literary and public activities.

For Professor Kane, the *History of Dharmaśāstra* is the crowning glory of a life of great fulfilment; and, for the Institute, it is a matter of pride and honour to be so closely associated with it.

Professor Kane is now eighty-two years of age, but his energy and enthusiasm by no means seem to be on the wane. For, he has agreed (health permitting) to prepare for the Institute a revised and enlarged edition of the first volume of the *History*, which has now almost gone out of print.

17th November, 1962
Bhandarkar O. R. Institute
Poona 4

R. N. Dandekar

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FOREWORD

Professor Pandurang Vaman Kane, by his monumental volumes on Dharmaśāstra, has placed us all under a deep debt of gratitude to him. His work is of lasting value. At a time when we are building an integrated Indian society, a dispassionate study of our *Dharmaśāstras* is essential. By his work we are helped to understand what is living and what is dead in the heritage which has come down to us.

Our heritage has always been changing with reference to new conditions and new pressures. The process of readaptation is now at work. In spite of many changes the obstacles to Indian unity require to be removed. The principles which should guide us in the reorientation of our society are well brought out in Professor Kane's volumes. They may be said to be religious and social.

True religion has three sides to it : (1) a state of mind ; (2) a relationship to Reality ; and (3) a way of life.

State of mind. Religious scriptures speak of the passionate quest for spiritual illumination. Religion is inner illumination, a renewal of spirit, an awakening, a changed condition of mind. This is the knowledge of God and not merely belief in Him. This is achieved by study, discipline, meditation and purity of heart.

Relationship to Reality. Nearness to God is the goal of religious aspirants. When they attain an insight into Reality, their words are full of rapturous delight. They make out that the Reality they encounter is ineffable, incapable of adequate expression.

It transcends the distinction of subject and object, the duality which is essential for knowledge.

The absolute of experience is not the absolute of language or of logic. The Real to which we belong is beyond description in its majesty, power and glory. Spiritual humility requires us to look upon the varied expressions and interpretations as suggestions of the Supreme. By encouraging dogmatism and the use of force to spread belief, religions have become discredited.

The seers affirm that they are one with the Supreme : *ahaṁ brahmāsmi*. Hallāj exclaims : " I am the truth " and was executed for his heterodoxy.

A well-known Sufi tradition attributes to the prophet a saying : " He who knows the self knows the Lord ". Of Abū Yazīd it is recorded that he said : " I sloughed off my self as a snake sloughs off its skin ; then I looked into my self, and lo, I was He ".[1] Religion, it is said, springs from the great ' I am ' in each ' me '. The fountains are within.

On the pathway to the goal we feel that the attainment of the goal is conditioned by the effort of the seeker and the grace of God — *tapaḥ-prabhāva* and *deva-prasāda*.

The seekers look upon the Supreme as a Person separate from us, whose commands we obey, whose will we accept with reverence. The One beyond sense-perception, speech and logic is also the Controller, the Lord of all, the Creator and Ordainer of all. " There is nothing marvellous in my love for you, O God, you are a mighty being but your love for me a poor slave is really marvellous. It is impossible to know thee and not to love thee. " The personal is not a falsification of

1. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* IV. 4. 7.

the real. It is a manifestation of the Supreme. In some of the Upaniṣads — *Śvetāśvatara* for example — as in the *Bhagavadgītā*, the Supreme is a God of love and grace. Those who adopt the view of religion as experience, communion with God, are free from the tyranny of dogmas, from the fanaticism which is a disease of the mind to which men and communities are subject.

We are vulnerable to mass hysteria. This need not be so for human nature is infinitely malleable. If we feel that anything is true or beautiful, we are persuaded that it must find acceptance from others. We cannot but communicate to others what we know to be the truth. But when claims to absolute truth are varied and conflicting, humility requires us to respect the deepest convictions of others.

Way of Life. In some systems of thought a distinction is made between two orders of being, metaphysical and empirical. It does not mean that the latter is illusory. The distinction between the two is not absolute. The metaphysical reality is immanent in the world of becoming and makes for the gradual unfolding of values. This world is consecrated ground. Our sages set forth in clear and shining words the ideal of participation in the work of the world in order to raise its quality. *Karmabhūmim imām prāpya kartavyaṁ karma yat śubham* says Rāma, according to Vālmīki. Having come into this world of action one should perform good deeds. Vālmīki continues that the great sages have attained heaven through the performance of good deeds. It does not matter whether you are a *gṛhastha* or householder, *saṁnyāsin* or mendicant. Janaka was a householder, and sage Yājñavalkya was a wandering mendicant, *parivrājaka*. If we behave well, we will make the world a paradise ; if we misbehave we will turn it into hell.

Vyavasāyātmikā buddhir eke'ha kurunandana. The trained understanding is single-minded. Integrity refers to the quality of oneness. It does not mean alienation from the world. Religion does not mean other-worldiness, separating oneself from all created things. It is denial of egoism. Turning one's back on the world is a part of ascetic discipline which is not an end in itself. Liberation from the tyranny of time is not liberation from time. When we become spiritual in outlook we do not cease to be human.

The secret of true greatness is love of fellowmen. Love of neighbour is not only a moral duty but a wise policy. The right course today is co-operation and not conflict. "What merit is there in the goodness of a man who returns good for good? A good man verily is one who returns good for evil."[1] *Rāmarājya* or the Kingdom of God is the ideal for the human community. The one hope for the peoples of the world to get together is a change in the human heart.

Ethical standards are the only criteria for the distinction between high and low among men. Purity of conduct elevates a man even as impurity degrades him. All other distinctions are irrelevant. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* refers to *patitas.* The Cāṇḍālas are those given to stealing, drinking, adultery and murder. These four are fallen : *etc patanti catvāraḥ.*[2] A *patita,* a fallen man, is a wicked man, a small-minded selfish man, not an untouchable.

The caste distinctions may have had their value in another context of society but we have out-grown it.

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1. *upakāriṣu yaḥ sādhuḥ sādhutve tasya ko guṇaḥ ।*
   apakāriṣu yaḥ sādhuḥ sa sādhuḥ sadbhir ucyate ॥

2. V. 10. 9.

The *Bhagavadgītā* speaks of the four-fold classification as based on *guṇa* (character) and *karma* (work).

We are all unregenerate at birth and become regenerate by our effort.

janmanā jāyate śūdraḥ
saṁskārād dvija ucyate ।

Some are advanced ; others not. We should give equal facilities to all. The *Mahābhārata* says that there was only one *varṇa* at the beginning and the four castes arose out of later developments.

ekavarṇam idaṁ pūrvaṁ viśvam āsīd yudhiṣṭhira ।
karma-kriyā-vibhedena cāturvarṇyaṁ pratiṣṭhitam ॥

But we have come to base caste on birth though some of our leading writers have held that it is not birth or learning but conduct alone that constitutes its basis ; for *dvijatva*,

vṛttam eva tu kāraṇam ।
vedapāṭhena vipras tu brahmajñānāt tu brāhmaṇaḥ ॥

It is not the colour of the skin but the conduct of the person that counts. The only way to progress is by means of good conduct. The *Saṁvarta-Smṛti* says :

sadācāreṇa devatvaṁ ṛṣitvaṁ vai tathaiva ca ।
prāpnuvanti kuyonitvaṁ manuṣyās tadviparyaye ॥

Great achievement is possible for each one of us.

Professor Kane brings out with great learning and lucidity the frequent changes our society has passed through. When Manu (I. 85) tells us that different customs prevailed in different ages he suggests that the social code is not a fixed but a flexible one.[1] Social

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[1]. *anye kṛtayuge dharmās tretāyāṁ dvāpare 'pare* ।
anye kaliyuge nṛṇām

customs and institutions are subject to change. Yājñavalkya tells us that "one should not practise that which, though ordained by the *Smṛti*, is condemned by the people."[1] What appeals to one's conscience, *ātmanas tuṣṭiḥ*, the conscience of the disciplined, not of the superficial, the forms which the elect praise,[2] should be our standard.

Vital changes may be introduced in the habits of the people by *pariṣads* or assemblies of the learned. When such assemblies cannot be constituted even the decision of one learned in *dharma* will be authoritative. The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* says : *dharmajña-samayaḥ pramāṇam.*[3] People who are learned and compassionate, who are practical-minded can decide the issues of right and wrong. They are the conscience of the community. What we are doing by legislative enactments is consistent with our tradition.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

1. I. 156.
2. *yam āryāḥ kriyamāṇaṁ tu śaṁsanti.*
3. I. 1. 1. 2.

PREFACE TO VOLUME V

The fourth volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* was published in October 1953, i.e. more than eight years ago. This last volume was in the Press for more than five years. The delay is due to several causes This volume in two parts contains over 1700 pages. It is thus far more bulky than any of the previous volumes. Nonavailability of sufficient quantity of good printing paper was another cause. The third cause was my age (I am now 82 years old) and frequent bad health. It is gratifying to my friends and myself that at last this undertaking spread over thirty-seven years is completed.

This volume is divided into ten sections. The first section deals with Vratas and Utsavas (religious vows and festivals); the second with Kāla (time), Muhūrta (auspicious times), and calendar; the third with Śāntis (propitiatory rites for averting the wrath of a deity, a calamity or unlucky event); the fourth and fifth with Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra and the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India; the sixth with Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmaśāstra; the seventh with Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra; the eighth with Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra; the ninth with cosmology, Karma and Punarjanma; the tenth with the fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bhāratīya) culture and civilization, and future trends.

In the Preface to the 2nd volume I have indicated the reasons for numerous and lengthy Sanskrit quotations. In the Preface to the 4th volume I have mentioned the aim I had in view in bringing together the facts

in each branch of Dharmaśāstra with detachment and integrity and without bias. The same aim and mental attitude have been kept in view in this volume also. But it may be argued that when an author selects some of the numerous facts he passes a judgement about the importance of facts and his judgement may be biased all the same. I do not dispute this argument, but will only argue that, facts being numerous and there being limitations imposed by the space available, the author has a right to pronounce a judgement as to the importance of the facts he selects.

As regards volumes two, three and four, I could rely on a tower of strength in the person of Paramahaṁsa Svāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai. But, unfortunately the Svāmī passed away in March 1955 before I began to write this last volume, and I could not get the benefit of his wise counsel in this fifth volume.

In this last volume I received help from many people, either personally or by correspondence. I have to thank Mr. M. B. Arte, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, and Prof. H. D. Velankar for help in translating important passages from several French and German works. Prof. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, was always ready to render help as to manuscripts and books. He had been a close friend for nearly forty years and his sudden death has meant for me the loss of a learned, sympathetic, and ever-obliging friend. Dr. A. D. Pusalker very carefully read the chapters on Purāṇas and indicated several misprints and some inaccurate statements. Dr. Raghavan very kindly brought to my notice the calendars in use in Southern India and certain works on Vratas ; Pandit Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha sent me in Sanskrit the Naiyāyika view on Kāla; Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs. Savkar)

kindly sent me from Paris information from French scholars on Babylonian, Assyrian and Greek astronomy. I am highly obliged to Dr. B. S. Joshi for sending me microfilms of certain papers (not available in India) from Cambridge and Chicago. Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya kindly sent me a copy of the *Kāla-siddhānta-darśinī*. I am under deep obligations to Svāmī Kuvalayānanda of Lonavla for reading my chapter on Yoga and suggesting valuable changes and amendments. Prof. Zala gave me details about the Vratas observed in Saurāṣṭra. Prof. G. H. Bhatt (Baroda) and Mr. S. L. Katre (Curator, Scindia Institute, Ujjain) very kindly showed me the manuscript-wealth of their Institutes and helped me with the contents of several relevant mss. on Vratas and Kāla. Shri Padeśāstrī of Baroda discussed with me, personally and by correspondence, several points about Ancient Hindu Astronomy. MM. Dr. Umesh Mishra brought to my notice his edition of the *Vijñānadīpikā* of Padmapāda and Dr. H. G. Narahari wrote to me about the *Prārabdha-dhvānta-vidhvaṁsana* of Acyutarāya and sent me off-prints of his papers thereon. Mr. Shankarrao Joshi of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala of Poona helped me by bringing to my notice hand-written calendars more than two hundred years old. To all these I offer my best thanks. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi B. A. (HONS.) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for help in the correction of the proofs of this volume. I have to thank Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje of Lonavla, and Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya for reading the printed sheets and making suggestions and pointing out misprints. Mr. N. G. Chapekar, in spite of his being now over 91 years of age, read some chapters when they were only typewritten, and discussed them personally

with me for some hours. To him I owe a deep debt of gratitude for having taken so much trouble at such a very advanced age. I am highly obliged to Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and to the Librarian Mr. L. G. Parab and the staff of the Archaeological Library for rendering all help to me while I had been collecting material for this volume.

I cannot find words adequate enough to express my sense of deep gratitude to Dr. Radhakrishnan, now President of India, who has favoured me with many kindnesses during the last fourteen years. As for this volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, in the midst of numerous engagements and heavy work, he found time to look into its last two chapters, made vital suggestions for their improvement, and finally contributed a learned Foreword.

I am aware that, in spite of so much help rendered by so many friends and well-wishers, this large volume might contain many mistakes, for which I alone am responsible. In the process of printing, some diacritical marks have either been elided or placed in wrong places, for which I seek the indulgence of all scholars and readers.

Lastly, I thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press of Poona for carrying out with energy and zeal the work of printing this very large volume bristling with thousands of quotations, in the face of great difficulties caused by shortage of paper, the Poona floods, and other unforeseen happenings.

Bombay, July 1962 P. V. Kane.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

of some important works and authors.

referred to in vol. V.

N. B. Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are more or less conjectural.

4000 B. C.–1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads; some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda and verses in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇas may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upaniṣads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C.. Some scholars have criticized me for assigning the Vedic Saṁhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Bloomfield, in 'Religion of the Veda' (New York, 1908) was willing (on p. 20) to regard 2000 B. C. for the beginnings of Vedic literary productions and to assign a much earlier date for institutions and religious concepts which the Veda derived and he denies that there is any better proof for any later date such as 1500, 1200 or 1000 B. C. rather than for one of the earlier viz. 2000 B. C. Winternitz (in 'Some problems of Indian Literature' which are his Calcutta Readership Lectures, p. 20) remarks 'it is more probable that this unknown time of the Vedic Literature was nearer 2500 B. C. or 2000 B. C. than to 1500 or 1200 B. C.' Both Bloomfield and Winternitz frankly confess that they know nothing at all about the date of the early Vedic Literature. Some Western scholars are rather too cocksure or dogmatic than the facts warrant.

They mostly rely on comparisons with other extant Indo-Aryan literatures and conjectures, which is *not* proof.

800 B. C.–500 B. C—The Nirukta of Yāska.

800 B. C.–400 B. C.—The principal Śrauta sūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana and Satyāṣāḍha) and some of the Gṛhyasūtras (such as those of Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba) and Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa.

500 B. C.–300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

500 B. C.–300 B. C.—Pāṇini.

500 B. C.–200 B. C.—The Bhagavad-gītā.

400 B. C.–200 B. C.—The Pūrvmīmāṁsā-sūtra of Jaimini.

300 B. C.–200 B. C.—The Vārtikas of Vararuci Kātyāyana on Pāṇini's Grammar.

300 B. C.–100 A. D.—The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter).

200 B. C.–100 A. D.—The Manusmṛti.

150 B. C.–100 A. D.—The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (rather nearer the former date than the latter).

100 B. C.–100 A. D.—Upavarṣa, author of a commentary on Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedāntasūtra.

100 B. C.–300 A. D.—Patañjali, author of Yogasūtra.

100 A. D.–300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.–400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A. D.–400 A. D.—Śabara, author of bhāṣya on P. M. S. (nearer the former date than the latter).

250 A. D.–325 A. D.—Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

300 A. D.–500 A. D.—Bṛhaspatismṛti on Vyavahāra

and other topics (not yet found); extracts on Vyavahāra are translated in S. B. E. Vol. 33 and extracts from Bṛhaspatismṛti on many topics were collected by Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar and published in a volume in G. O. S.

300 A. D.-600 A. D.—some of the extant Purāṇas such as Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya.

400 A. D.-500 A. D.—Māṭharavṛtti on Sāṅkhyakārikā.

400 A. D.-500 A. D.—The Yogasūtrabhāṣya of Vyāsa.

476 A. D.-Āryabhaṭa, author of Āryabhaṭīyam, was born.

500 A. D.-575 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Bṛhajjātaka, Pañcasiddhāntikā and other works.

550 A. D.-700 A. D.—Yuktidīpikā, com. on Sāṅkhyakārikā.

600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāṇa, author of the Kādambarī and Harṣacarita.

650 A. D.-660 A. D.—Kāśikā of Vāmana and Jayāditya, com. on Pāṇini's grammar (was composed)

650 A. D.-700 A. D.—Kumārilabhaṭṭa, author of Ślokavārtika, Tantravārtika, Ṭupṭīkā.

600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the metrical smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha and Devala and some of the Purāṇas like Viṣṇudharmottara, Agni, Garuḍa.

680 A. D.-725 A. D.—Maṇḍana (vide p. 1198 of vol. V).

700 A. D.-750 A. D.—Gauḍapāda, author of a commentary on Sāṅkhyakārikā and *paramaguru* (guru's guru) of Śaṅkarācārya.

700 A. D.-750 A. D—Umbeka; vide vol. V p. 1198

710 A. D.-770 A. D.—Śālikanātha (vide vol. V p. 1198)

788 A. D.–820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, author of Bhāṣyas on the Gītā, principal Upaniṣads and V. S.

780 A. D.–870 A. D.—Utpala, the encyclopedic commentator on Varāhamihira's works.

790 A. D.–850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkyasmṛti, author of Vārtika on the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkarācārya on Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad and the Taittirīyopaniṣad and of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi; the same as Sureśvara (after he became a Sannyāsin).

820 A. D.–900 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of bhāṣya on Yogasūtra, author of Nyāyakaṇikā, Tattvasamīkṣā, Bhāmatī (in all 7 works).

825 A. D.–900 A. D.—Medhātithi, author of bhāṣya on the Manusmṛti.

900 A. D.–1100 A. D.—Pārthasārathimiśra, author of Śāstradīpikā, Tantraratna, Nyāyaratnākara.

1005 A. D.–1055 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works such as the Rājamārtaṇḍa (on astrology), Yuktikalpataru, Rājamārtaṇḍa (a commentary on Yogasūtra).

1050 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Bhavanātha or Bhavadeva, author of Nayaviveka.

1080 A. D.–1100 A. D.—Vijñāneśvara, author of Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yāj.

1100 A. D.–1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, author of a very extensive digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru.

1100 A. D.–1130 A. D.—Aparārka, a Śilāhāra king, author of an extensive commentary on Yāj.

1100 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana, author of Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātṛkā.

1127 A. D.–1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi of Someśvaradeva.

1114 A. D.–1183 A. D.—Bhāskarācārya, author of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi (born in 1114 A. D.).

1150 A. D. - 1160 A. D.—Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa (composed between these dates).

1150 A. D.–1180 A. D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā and *guru* of Ballālasena, king of Bengal.

1158 A. D.–1183 A. D.—Ballālasena (king of Bengal who composed five works of which two are available and printed viz. Adbhutasāgara (begun in 1168 A. D.) and the Dānasāgara composed in 1169 A. D.

1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Haradatta, commentator of Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and of some Gṛhyasūtras.

1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Kullūka, commentator of Manusmṛti.

1200 A. D.–1225 A. D.— Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa.

1260 A. D.–1270 A. D.—Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri (composed between these dates).

1275 A. D.–1310 A. D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pitṛbhakti, Samayapradīpa and other works.

1300 A. D.–1370 A. D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of Gṛhastharatnākara, Kṛtyaratnākara, Vyavahāraratnākara and other works.

1300 A. D.–1386 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistāra, Parāśaramādhavīya and other works.

1300 A. D.–1386 A. D.—Sāyaṇa, author of bhāṣyas of Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

1360 A. D.–1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahārṇavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son.

1360 A. D.–1448 A. D.—These are the dates of the

birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gaṅgāvākyāvali and other works, patronized by several kings of Mithilā.

1375 A. D.–1450 A. D.—Śūlapāṇi, author of Dīpakalikā, Tithiviveka, Ekādaśīviveka and several works on topics of Dharmaśāstra called Vivekas.

1425 A. D.–1450 A. D.—King Madanasiṁha, completed a large digest called Madanaratna.

1375 A. D.–1500 A. D.—Digest composed by Pṛthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, called Dharmatattvasudhānidhi.

1400 A. D.–1450 A. D.—Nyāyasudhā of Someśvara, a commentary on Tantravārtika.

1425 A. D.–1460 A. D.—Rudradhara, author of Varṣakṛtya, Śuddhiviveka and other works.

1425 A. D.–1490 A. D.—Vācaspati, author of Kṛtyacintāmaṇi and numerous works called Cintāmaṇi and some works called Nirṇaya (e. g. Tithinirṇaya).

1440 A. D.–1500 A. D.—Vardhamāna, author of Daṇḍaviveka, Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka and other works.

1513 A. D.–1580 A. D.—Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, author of Tristhalīsetu, Prayogaratna etc.

1520 A. D.–1575 A. D.—Raghunandana, author of many works called Tattvas, such as Tithitattva, Ekādaśītattva etc.

1554 A. D.–1626 A. D.—Appayyadīkṣita, author of Vidhirasāyana and numerous works on different śāstras and topics (vide p. 1199 above).

1560 A. D.–1620 A. D.—Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and author of Dvaitanirṇaya, Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa and other works.

1590 A. D.–1630 A. D.—Nandapaṇḍita, author of Dvaitanirṇaya, Vaijayantī (commentary on Viṣṇudharmasūtra).

1600 A. D.–1665 A. D.—Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāṭṭa-kaustubha and Bhāṭṭadīpikā.

1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Time of literary activity of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu, Śūdra-kamalākara and many other works.

1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Mitramiśra, author of a huge digest called Vīramitrodaya on tīrtha, pūjā, samaya and many other topics of Dharmaśāstra.

1615 A. D.–1645 A. D.—Time of literary activity of Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, and author of a digest on topics of Ācāra, Saṁskāra, Vyavahāra etc.

1620 A. D.–1690 A. D.—Viśveśvara, alias Gāgābhaṭṭa, author of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi and other works.

1645 A. D.–1675 A. D.—Probable period of the literary activity of Anantadeva, author of a large digest called Smṛtikaustubha.

1700 A. D.–1740 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.

1670 A. D.–1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa, an encyclopædic writer on Grammar, Poetics, Dharmaśāstra, Yoga and other Śāstras (about 47 works).

1790 A. D.—date of the composition of the Dharmasindhu by Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya.

1730 A. D.–1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of a commentary called Bālambhaṭṭī on the Mitākṣarā.

ABBREVIATIONS

used in vol. V for works in English and Sanskrit.

On pp. 251–252 there is a list of abbreviations meant for the list of Vratas alone. Many of them will be included in this list also.

A. B. O. R. I. = Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

AIHT = "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" by Pargiter.

Ait. Br. = Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.

A. I. O. C. = All India Oriental Conference.

A. K. = Ahalyā-kāmadhenu (ms.)

Āp Dh. S. = Āpastambadharmasūtra.

Āp. Śr. S. = Āpastamba Śrautasūtra.

Āśv. Gṛ. = Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra.

A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.

B. D. C. R. I. = Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

B. E. = 'Buddhist Esoterism' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya.

B. E. F. E. O. = Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise D' Extreme-Orient.

B. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes.

B. G. S. = Bombay Government Series.

Bhav. U. = Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa.

B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica Series.

B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Br. = Brāhmaṇa (class of works).

Bṛ. S. = Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira.

Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

B. V. = Bhāratīya Vidyā, Journal, Bombay.

C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Vol. I Aśoka Inscriptions; Vol. II Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions; Vol. III Gupta Inscriptions; Vol. IV Kalacūri Inscriptions.

C. R. C. = Calendar Reform Committee (Report of).

D. C. = Deccan College.

E. I. = Epigraphia Indica (Volumes).

E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics in 12 volumes.

E. S. A. = ' Exact Sciences in Antiquity ' by Prof. Neugebauer (1951).

Gaut. or Gautama = Gautama-dharmasūtra.

G. K. = Kālasāra of Gadādhara.

G. O. S. = Gaikwad's Oriental Series (Baroda).

H. = Prof. Hazra.

H. of Dh. or H. Dh. = History of Dharmaśāstra, Vols. I–V.

H. O. S. = Harvard Oriental Series.

H. P. or H. Y. P. = Haṭhayogapradīpikā.

H. V. = Hemādri on Vratas.

I. A = Indian Antiquary (Journal) or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (context will clearly show which is meant).

I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly (Journal).

Jai. = Jaimini or Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra.

J. A. O. S = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

J. A. S. or J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J. B. A. S. = Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay.

J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. B. H. U. = Journal of the Benaras Hindu University

J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. B. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

J. G. J. R. I. = Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

J. I. H. = Journal of Indian History.

Jiv. = Jivananda's edition in two volumes of Raghunandana's Tattvas.

J. N. = Jayantīnirṇaya.

J. U. P. H. S. = Journal of United Provinces Historical Society.

J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

J. V. O. T. = Journal of Venkatesvara Oriental Institute

K. N. = Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava.

K. R = Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara.

K. S. S. = Kashi Sanskrit Series.

K. T. = Kṛtyatattva.

K. T. V. = Kālatattvavivecana.

K. V. = Kālaviveka.

M. B. P. = Mīmāṁsā-bāla-prakāśa.

M. C. = Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi.

M. L. J. = Madras Law Journal.

Mit. = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

M. M. = Mahāmahopādhyāya (title conferred on learned men).

M. M. = Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa (a work).

Nir. or. Nirṇ. = Nirṇayasāgara Press edition.

N. I. A. = New Indian Antiquary (a journal).

N. S. = Nirṇayasindhu.

Pār. Gṛ. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.

P. C. = Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi.

Ph. Up. = Philosophy of the Upanishads by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden.

P. M. = Pūrvamīmāṁsā.

P. M. S. = Pūrvamīmāṁsā-śāstra or sūtra (according to context).

P. O. = Poona Orientalist (journal).

P. R. H. R. = Studies in Purāṇik Records on Hindu rites and customs (collection of 16 papers by Prof. Hazra).

Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.

R. M. = Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (Ms. in B. O. R. I.).

R. N. P. = Rājanītiprakāśa of Caṇḍeśvara.

Śāṅ. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta sūtra.

Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ed. by Weber).

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East Series (ed. by MaxMuller).

S. M. = Samayamayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha.

Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā (ed. by Mr. Gharpure).

Sm. K. = Smṛtikaustubha.

Tai. Ā. or T. A. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

Tai. S. or T. S. = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.

Tai. Up. = Taittirīya Upaniṣad.

T. S. S. = Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

T. T. = Tithitattva of Raghunandana.

U. = Upapurāṇa.

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.

Var. = Varāhapurāṇa.

Varāha = Varāhamihira.

V. Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. = Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

Vi. Dh. = Viṣṇu-Dharmottara-purāṇa.

V. K. K. = Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī.

V. K. R. = Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara.

V. S. = Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa.

Y. S. = Yogasūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

अ. का.
अ. का. धे. } = अहल्याकामधेनु (Ms. in Scindia Institute, Ujjain)

अग्नि.
अग्निपु. } = अग्निपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)

अपरार्क. = Com. of, on या. स्मृति (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

अ. सा. = अद्भुतसागर of बल्लालसेन (Calcutta, 1905)

आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व. गृ. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र

आश्व श्रौ.
आश्व. श्रौ. सू. } = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेद

ए. त. = एकादशीतत्त्व

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

कल्प.
कल्पतरु. } = कृत्यकल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर (separate volumes on गृहस्थ, नैयतकाल, मोक्ष, व्रत etc.) ed. in G. O. S.

का. त. वि. = कालतत्त्वविवेचन

का. नि. = कालनिर्णय of माधवाचार्य

का वि. = कालविवेक of जीमूतवाहन

कृ. त. = कृत्यतत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

कृ. र.
कृत्यर. } = कृत्यरत्नाकर of चण्डेश्वर (B. I. Series)

कौ. ब्रा. = कौषीतकिब्राह्मण

गरुड = गरुडपुराण

गौ.
गौ. ध. सू.
गौतम } = गौतमधर्मसूत्र (आनन्दाश्रम ed. with com. of हरदत्त)

छा.
छा. उ. } = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र of जैमिनि (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

ति. त. = तिथितत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. उ.
तै. उप. } = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Satavalekar)

दुर्गार्च॰
दुर्गार्चन॰ } = दुर्गार्चनपद्धति of रघुनन्दन

दु. भ. त. = दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी of विद्यापति (ed. at Darbhanga, 1900)

द्वै. नि. सि. सं. = द्वैतनिर्णयसिद्धान्तसंग्रह

ध. सि. = धर्मसिन्धु of काशीनाथ (ed. of 1926, with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.

नि. सि. = निर्णयसिन्धु (with Marathi translation) Nir. ed.

न्यायमञ्जरी = Kashi S. Series

पञ्चसि. = पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका of वराहमिहिर (ed. by Thibaut and Dwivedi)

पद्म॰
पद्मपु. } = पद्मपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय (Bombay S. Series)

पा. = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

पु. चि. = पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि

प्राय. त. = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व of रघुनन्दन

प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख of नीलकण्ठ

बृह. उ.
बृह. उप. } = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

बृहत्सं. = बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर (ed. by Kern, only text; by सुधाकर द्विवेदिन्, with com. of उत्पल. There is a difference of one chap. between the two editions).

बृहद्योगि. = बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य (ed. by स्वामी कुवलयानन्द of Lonavla)

बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र

ब्रह्म
ब्रह्मपु. } = ब्रह्मपुराण (आनन्दाश्रम ed.)

भविष्य = भविष्यपुराण

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात (B. I. Series)

मनु = मनुस्मृति (Nirn. ed.)

मार्क. = मार्कण्डेयपुराण (Venk. ed. and Cal. ed. differ by two or three chapters)

मिता. = मिताक्षरा (टीका on याज्ञ. स्मृति, Nirn. ed.)

मी. प. = मीमांसापरिभाषा of कृष्णयज्वन् (निर्णय. ed.)

मी. वा. प्र. = मीमांसावालप्रकाश of शङ्करभट्ट (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series)

मु. चि. = मुहूर्तचिन्तामणि

मेधा. = मेधातिथि's commentary on मनुस्मृति

मै. सं = मैत्रायणीसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar)

या.
याज्ञ. } = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (निर्णयसागर ed. with मिताक्षरा)

यो. सू. = योगसूत्र

रा. मा. = राजमार्तण्ड of भोज

व. क्रि. कौ. = वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (B. I. ed.)

वन. = वनपर्व (of महाभारत)

वराह. = वराहमिहिर or वराहपुराण acc. to context

वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता (ed. by Pandit Sātavaḷekar)

वामन° = वामनपुराण

वि. दी. = विज्ञानदीपिका

वी. मि. = वीरमित्रोदय of मित्रमिश्र

वे. सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र of बादरायण with शाङ्करभाष्य (निर्णय. ed.)

व्य. म. = व्यवहारमयूख of नीलकण्ठ

व्र. का. वि. = व्रतकालविवेक

व्रत. प्र.
व्र. प्र. } = व्रतप्रकाश, part of वीरमित्रोदय

शत. ब्रा.
शतपथ } = शतपथ ब्राह्मण (ed. by Weber)

शां. ब्रा. = शाङ्खायन ब्राह्मण

शां. श्रौ. = शाङ्खायन श्रौतसूत्र

शुद्धिकौ. = शुद्धिकौमुदी of गोविन्दानन्द (B. I. ed.)

श्वे. उप. = श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्

सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (Baroda ed. 1914)

स. प्र. = समयप्रकाश (part of वीरमित्रोदय)

स. म. = समयमयूख (Gujarati Press ed.)

सि. कौ. = सिद्धान्तकौमुदी of भट्टोजिदीक्षित (निर्णय. ed.)

स्कन्द. = स्कन्दपुराण (Venk. Press ed.)

स्मृतिकौ. = स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव

स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (ed. by Mr. Gharpure)

ह. यो. प्र. = हठयोगप्रदीपिका

हे. = हेमाद्रि, author of चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि (B. I. ed.) on व्रत, काल, श्राद्ध, दान etc.

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Chapter XXXIII. Tarka and Dharmaśāstra. 1468–1482

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References to pages of important works consulted

In former volumes lists of important works consulted were set out at length. It is not necessary to do this in this volume because in each section lists of important Sanskrit works and English works and papers have been provided. Therefore, all that need be done is to bring together the pages of this volume where such lists are mostly mentioned.

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Section	Works in Sanskrit pp.	Works and papers in English pp.
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Future trends	1704–5, 1707–11	1659–1661, 1666, 1675–76, 1683, 1695–96, 1711

CORRECTIONS

Mistakes that can be easily detected and misprints due to the loss or displacement of such loose parts as *anusvāras* or *mātrās* or diacritical dots (as under ṭ) that can be easily detected have generally not been included in this list.

Page	Line or note	
384	20	read 'on Śu 7th; when'
494	n. 719, l. 7	read 'from' for 'form'
„	n. 722, l. 2 from bottom	read 'Gandharva'.
530	n. 765, l. 2 from bottom	read 'p. 270'
560	n. 832, l. 3	read '101 (in Kern's ed.)' for '160'
598		the figures in the photo of 'Dhanus' and 'Mīna or Makara' are wrong, in position. They should be turned upside down
647	n. 991, l. 3 from bottom	read : 14' for '29'
660	l. 11	read '*akṣara a*'
696	l. 9	read 'Manu IX. 301'
715	n. 1130, l. 2	read 'purposes'
„	n. 1130, l. 3	read 'deemed'
724	n. 1145, l. 3	read शमीच्यं
736	n. 1172a, l. 2	read 1690 for 1598.
737	n. 1172b, l. 8	read 'Viṣṇor-nu kam'.
751	l. 4	read 'specified on preceding page' for 'specified below'.
801	n. 1300, l. 8	omit 'शाकुन्तल'.
813	n. 1323, l. 3	read 'रुद्रैकादशिनीति'

817	n. 1328, l. 1	read ' श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति '
824	n. 1347, l. 4	read मृदुकूरे
833	n. 1356, l. 3	read सर्ववाञ्छाफलप्रदम्.
844	n. 1375, l. 6	read ' tonal '.
870	l. 5	read ' It ' for ' If '
888	n. 1414b, l. 1	read ' Kālikā 92. 2 '
899	l. 2	read ' Amar Nath Ray ' for ' M. R. Majumdar '.
911	l. 13	read ' Saura '
„	l. 16	read ' Skanda '
„	l. 22	read ' Sūtasaṁhitā '
970	l. 8	omit ' way '
„	l. 11	read ' way ' for ' away '
1019	l. 4 from bottom	read ' it is found that it condemned '
1038	n. 1673, l. 4	put a comma after ' Pūrṇa '.
1066	last note is ' 1724 ' and not ' 1924 '	
1103	l. 5	read ' neuter ' for ' neither '
1104	n. l. 2	read धारणीs for धारणाs.
1105	n. 1794, l. 3	read ' तन्त्रो '
1156	n. 1879, l. 7	read ' पञ्चनखाश्वाशल्यक-, '
1169	n. 1901, last line	read 2238 for 2186.
1174	l. 8	read ' note 2052 ' for note 2010.
1196	l. 13 from bottom	put a comma after Kumārila's
1203	n. 1954, l. 2	read ' सानित्या ' (= सा अनित्या).
1221	n. 1981, l. 5	read वृत्तादिवशव्यावृत्त्यर्थं.
1226	lines 25–26	read ' vidhi-lin '.
1231	l. 13	read ' *Soma* '
1239	n. 2015	read शूर्प.
1242	n. 2016, l. 3	read परप्रवक्तृकार्थादि॰
1244	n. 2019, l. 1	read ये पुरस्ताच्छ्रूयन्ते.
1264	n. 2058, l. 4	read परिह्रियन्ते.

1274	n. 2077, l. 7	read ' paribhāṣas '.
1293	n. 2116, l. 3	read ' °शकुनौ '.
1295	n. 2119, l. 3	read ' निविशेतोत ऋचे '.
1300	l. 29	read ' 1238 ' for ' 1258 '.
1315	n. 2164, ll. 4–5	read ' मुख्यक्रमेण वाङ्गानां तदर्थत्वात् ' and omit वा after V. 1. 14
1356	l. 15	read 2238 for 2186
1373	l. 29	read ' sixty ' for ' six '
1409	n. 2134, ll. 1–2	read यो. सू. I. 2–4
1432	last line	read ' prāṇād-apānatī '
1446	n. 2371	read तत्रैकचित्तता ध्यानं (separate words)
1448	n. 2382, l. 9	read शङ्खस्मृति.
1449	n. 2383, l. 6	कस्मात्, l. 7 योगसुधाकर, l. 9 असंप्रज्ञात.
1453	n. 2389, l. 8	read levitation and n. 2390 l. 8 put a semicolon after °प्रवेशः
1460	n. 2402, last line	read °नृजवे
„	n. 2413, l. 1	read भवेद्वीर्य°
1483	n. 2429, ll. 1 and 6	read Westaway
1488	n. 2439, l. 1	read कतमत्स्वत्
1494	n. 2445, l. 2	read कियता स्कम्भः and in last line व्यचो हितम्
1508	n. 2462, l. 5	read छा. उप. VI. 11. 3
1559	n. 2528, last line	read IV. 11
1615	l. 2 from bottom,	read ' Bagby's '
„	n. 2602, l. 3 from bottom,	read ' unrelated
1671	lines 4–5	read ' being sweeping ones at one stroke are likely '.
1684	l. 1	read p. 9
1708	n. 2659 l. 2	read ' What Vedānta means to me,' a symposium.

SECTION III

ŚĀNTI (Propitiatory rites for averting a deity's wrath, a calamity or unlucky event).

CHAPTER XX

Vedic meaning and procedure of Śāntis

The word Śānti is derived from the root 'śam', which has several meanings (such as 'to stop', 'to be appeased', 'to kill' rarely) and belongs to the 4th conjugation and also to the 9th. The word Śānti itself does not occur in the Ṛgveda, but it occurs in the Atharvaveda and the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā. The root 'śam', its several forms and derivatives and the indeclinable particle 'śam' occur hundreds of times even in the Ṛgveda. The word 'śam' is often conjoined in the Ṛgveda to 'yoḥ' either as 'śaṁyoḥ' (Ṛg. I. 93.7, I. 106.5, III 17.3, III. 18.4, IV. 12.5, V. 47.7, V. 53.14, V. 69.3, VI. 50.7, VII. 35.1, VII. 69.5, X. 9.4, X. 15.4, X. 37.11, X. 182.1–3) or as 'śam ca yośca' (as in Ṛg. I. 114.2, 189.2, II. 33.13, VIII. 39.4, VIII. 71.15). In these places the words are generally rendered as 'happiness and welfare' or 'health and wealth' (by Keith in translation of Tai. S. II. 6.10.3) and these meanings generally suit the context, e. g. in Ṛg. VI. 50.7 'dhāta tokāya tanayāya śaṁ yoḥ' (confer on our sons and progeny happiness and welfare), in Ṛg. X. 182 the words 'athā karad-yajamānāya śaṁ yoḥ' (may Bṛhaspati confer happiness and welfare on the sacrificer) occur as the last quarter of all the three verses. 'Śam' by itself occurs about 160 times in the Ṛgveda and it is somewhat remarkable that in Ṛg. VII. 35. 1–13 [1132] the word śam occurs in each verse from 4 to 7 times (68 times in all). Ṛg. I. 114. 1 [1133] 'we bring these lauds to Rudra who is powerful, who has braided hair, who rules over valiant men, so that there may result welfare to our two-footed and four-footed beings and every thing in this village may be prosperous and free from distress' will bring out the import of

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1132. Verses 1–10 of Ṛg. VII. 35 are the same as Atharva 19.10 1–10.

1133. इमा रुद्राय तवसे कपर्दिने क्षयद्वीराय प्र भरामहे मतीः। यथा शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्ननातुरम्॥ ऋ. I. 114. 1.

'śam'. In some cases 'śam' and 'yoḥ' clearly appear to be employed like nouns in the objective case. For example, Rg. II. 33. 13[1134] "I hanker after the 'sam' and 'yoḥ' of Rudra (i. e. under the power of Rudra), Rg. I. 114.2 "O Rudra! may we secure by your guidance that 'śam' and 'yoḥ' that father Manu procured through sacrifice". Yāska (Nirukta IV. 21) while dealing with Rg. X. 15. 4 'athā naḥ śam yor-arapo dadhāta' holds 'śamyoḥ' to be ablative or genitive of śaṁyu and explains as 'śamanam ca rogāṇām yāvanam ca bhayānām' (allaying of diseases and warding off of dangers). This is an etymological explanation and is in some cases accepted by Sāyaṇa and in others he paraphrases 'śam' by 'sukha' (happiness) and 'yoḥ' as 'duḥkha-viyoga' (freedom from pain or distress). The word 'yoḥ' presents the appearance of the ablative or genitive singular of a noun from the root 'yu' which means 'to bind' or 'separate' or from 'yā' to go. 'Yoḥ' by itself occurs only three times in the Rgveda (i. e. in I. 74. 7, X. 105. 3, X. 176. 3). The meaning of 'yoḥ' in these three cases is doubtful. In the Tai. Br.[1135] we have the mantra 'we choose that happiness and welfare and success (or progress) to the sacrifice and the sacrificer; may divine fortune be ours; let there be good fortune for (our) men; may medicine (or remedy) go up; may there be happiness to our men and quadrupeds'.

In Atharvaveda 19. 9 the word śānti occurs about 17 times. In verses 3 to 5 speech (vāk), the mind (manaḥ)[1136] and the five senses are referred to and it is said that these seven usually produce what is *ghora* (terrible or inauspicious) and these same must exert themselves for producing śānti (i. e. appeasement of angered deities or averting calamities or misfortunes). Verses 6–11 pray to several gods, planets (grahāḥ), the earth, falling stars, cows, the nakṣatras, magical rites, Rāhu, Dhūmaketu (comets), the Rudras, Vasus and Ādityas, sages and Bṛhaspati to confer happiness. Verse 12 prays to Indra, Brahmā, and all

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1134. शं च योश्च रुद्रस्य बह्मि। ऋ. II. 33. 13; यच्छं च योश्च मनुरायेजे पिता तदश्याम तव रुद्र प्रणीतिषु॥ ऋ. I. 114. 2.

1135. तच्छंयोरावृणीमहे। गातुं यज्ञाय। गातुं यज्ञपतये। दैवी स्वस्तिरस्तु नः। स्वस्तिर्मानुषेभ्यः। ऊर्ध्वं जिगातु भेषजम्। शं नो अस्तु द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे॥ तै. ब्रा. III. 5. 11. This is partly explained in तै. सं. II. 6. 10. This is called शंयुवाक. Vide पा. I. 4. 29 on which the first वार्तिक is 'अनुवाकादयः पुंसि' and पतञ्जलि cites 'अनुवाकः शंयुवाकः सूक्तवाकः' as examples.

1136. इमानि यानि पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि मनःषष्ठानि मे हृदि ब्रह्मणा संशितानि। तैरेव सहुजे घोरं तैरेव शान्तिरस्तु नः॥ अथर्व. 19. 9. 5.

the gods for refuge to the composer of the hymn and 13 declares that 'whatever things were appeased (by śāntis) in this world—these the seven sages know. May they all be happiness for me; may happiness be mine and may freedom from fear be mine'. Verse 14 which is similar to Vāj. S. 36. 17 declares that 'the earth, mid-regions, heaven, waters, trees and plants, all gods-these have become appeased and auspicious by the śānti rites performed by the composer and that by those śāntis, by all śāntis I (we) appease (remove the evil effect of) what is here terrible, what is cruel (or inauspicious), what is evil; may all that be appeased, be beneficial and happy for us'.[1137] Atharva 19. 10 (verses 1–10) contains the word 'śam' 51 times and prays for welfare to several gods and 19. 11 is also a śānti containing the word 'śam' 18 times. The Vājasaneya-saṁhitā chapter 36 (verses 8–12) similarly contain the word 'śam' several times. One of these viz. (Vāj. S. 36. 12) occurs in many Vedic texts[1138] 'May the divine waters confer on us happiness, help and protection; may they flow towards us for our our happiness and welfare'.

In the Tai. S. the words 'śamayati' and 'śānti' are frequently used often in the same passage or context. For example, it is said "Rudra[1139] is the fierce (or harsh) one among gods...; He (the priest) does as it were a harsh thing when he recites (that passage containing the word) Rudra; 'in the path of Mitra' he says for the sake of appeasing". There is a similar passage in the Ait. Br. While prescribing the recital of a ṛk verse (Rg. II. 33. 1) in the Āgnimāruta-śastra the Ait. Br. changes the original words of the latter half of the verse in the Rgveda and also suggests another verse altogether for recital

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1137. ताभिः शान्तिभिः सर्वशान्तिभिः शमयामोऽहं यद्विह घोरं यदिह क्रूरं यद्विह पापं तच्छान्तं तच्छिवं सर्वमेव शमस्तु नः॥ अथर्व 19. 9. 14.

1138. शं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये। शं योरभि स्रवन्तु नः॥ वाज॰ सं. 36. 12, ऋ. X. 9. 4, अथर्व I. 6. 1, सामवेद 33. तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 1, 1.

1139. रुद्रस्त्वावर्तयत्वित्याह। रुद्रो वै क्रूरो देवानां...क्रूरमिव वा एतत्करोति यद्रुद्रस्य कीर्तयति मित्रस्य पथेत्याह शान्त्यै। तै. सं. VI. 1. 7. 7–8; The original ṛk is आ ते पितर्मरुतां सुम्नमेतु मा नः सूर्यस्य सन्दृशो युयोथाः। अभि नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेत प्र जायेमहि रुद्र प्रजाभिः॥ ऋ. II. 33. 1. The ऐ. ब्रा. reads 'त्वं नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेथाः' for अभि नो वीरो अर्वति क्षमेथा प्र जायेमहि रुद्रिय प्रजाभिः॥'. If one employed अभि नो, Rudra might have seized the progeny and the word रुद्रिय (meaning a servant of Rudra) avoids the use of the harsh name Rudra. 'प्रजायेमहि रुद्रिय प्रजाभिरिति ब्रूयाद्य रुद्रेरयेतस्यैव नाम्नः परिहृत्यै। तद्ध खलु शं नः करतीत्येव शंसेच्छमिति प्रतिपद्यते सर्वस्मा एव शान्त्यै। ···सोऽनिरुक्ता रौद्री शान्ता सर्वायुः सर्वायुत्वाय। ऐ. ब्रा. 13. 10.

(I. 43. 6 'śam naḥ karatyarvate sugam meṣāya meṣye nṛbhyo nāribhyo gave') because in the first place that verse begins with the auspicious word 'śam' and in the second place because that verse, though the *devatā* (deity) thereof is Rudra, does not expressly mention that word; the result, says the Ait. Br., is that that verse being one of appeasement (śānti) the priest secures long life and procures long life for the sacrificer.

Another example of 'śamayati in the Tai. S. is as follows: When an *agnihotrin* is going on a journey with his household he should offer *homa* to Vāstospati, but if he goes without offering a homa to Vāstospati evil consequences follow; 'Rudra is indeed Vāstospati; if he were to go out without offering homa to Vāstospati, Agni would become Rudra, would leap after him and kill him; (but) when he offers to Vāstospati, he appeases him (Rudra-Agni) with his own share and the sacrificer meets no injury (or distress)'.[1140]

Another example of 'śāmayati' and 'śānti' in the Tai. S. (VI. 3. 3. 2-3) may be set out. 'O tree! protect it; O axe! do not harm it; the axe indeed is a thunderbolt; (therefore he utters those words) for allaying (the fierce power of the axe); these worlds are afraid of the tree (of which the yūpa is made) when it moves; (therefore he recites 'with thy top do not graze the sky, with thy middle do not harm the atmospheric region'. (By these words) he appeases (removes the terrible power for evil of) this tree'.[1141]

The foregoing passages are quite sufficient for showing the significance attached to the words 'śam', 'śamayati' and 'śānti' in the Vedic saṁhitās. The word 'śantama' occurs in the Ṛgveda about two dozen times. It is applied to the great gods like Agni, Indra, Soma (I. 16. 7, I. 77. 2, IX. 104. 3), to the praises of gods (I. 76. 1, VI. 32. 1), to the worshipper or singer (VIII. 13. 22), to protection by gods (V. 76. 3, X. 15. 4) and generally means 'beneficent or conferring happiness'. Simi-

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1140. रुद्रः खलु वै वास्तोष्पतिर्यदहुत्वा वास्तोष्पतीयं प्रयायाद् रुद्र एनं भूत्वाऽग्निरनूत्थाय हन्याद्वास्तोष्पतीयं जुहोति भागधेयेनैवैनं शमयति नार्तिमृच्छति यजमानः। तै. सं. III. 4. 10. 3. Compare कौ. ब्रा. 14. 19.

1141. ओषधे त्रायस्वैनं स्वधिते मैनं हिंसीरित्याह वज्रो वै स्वधितिः शान्त्यै।...इमे वै लोका यूपात्प्रयतो बिभ्यति दिवमग्रेण मा लेखीरन्तरिक्षं मध्येन मा हिंसीरित्याहैभ्य एवैनं लोकेभ्यः शमयति। तै. सं. VI. 3. 3. 2-3; compare वाज. सं. 5. 42-43 and शतपथ III. 6. 4. 13 for similar words.

larly, the word 'śantāti' (Rg. I. 112. 20, VIII. 18. 7) means 'beneficent'.

The causal (śamayati) of the verb 'śam' and the word 'śānti' do not occur in the Ṛgveda, but they are as said above frequently employed in the Tāittirīya and other Saṁhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. Some further examples may be set out here. The Tai. S. relates the following legend "Agni was in the yonder world (heaven), the sun was in this world; these worlds were (then) unappeased (disturbed). The gods said 'come, let us change (transpose) these two'. They placed Agni in this world with the words 'O Agni, come here for the dainty meal' and (placed) the Sun in the yonder world with the worlds 'the great and powerful one, O Agni'; then indeed these two worlds became free from disturbance. Since he repeated those words in this way, it served for the purpose of quieting these worlds (that were once disturbed). These worlds became undisturbed (auspicious) for him who knows this".[1142] Here we have both the verbal form 'aśāmyatāma' (from 'śam' 4th conj.) and the the word 'śāntyai'.

In some passages of the Ṛgveda the word 'śami' occurs (as in I. 87. 5, II. 31. 6, III. 55. 3, VIII. 45. 27, X. 40. 1.). It is generally interpreted by Sāyaṇa in these passages as the locative singular of 'śamī', which is explained to mean 'karman' (action, sacrifice or the like). Two of these may be cited here[1143] "my desires fly in many directions; I shall brighten ancient (lauds) towards 'śamī' (for employing them in various sacrifices?); knowing the truth in Turvaśa (king) and Yadu (king) he (Indra) enveloped Ahnavāyya (their enemy) in warlike action." It is possible to take 'śami' as the locative singular of 'śam' treated as a noun. The word 'śamī' occurs in many passages of the Ṛgveda (I. 20. 2, I. 83. 4, I. 110. 4, II. 1. 9, III. 60. 3, IV. 3. 4, IV. 17. 18, IV. 22. 8, IV. 33. 4, V. 77. 4, V. 42. 10, VI. 3. 2, VI. 52. 1, VIII. 75. 14, IX. 74. 7, X. 28. 12). In all these passages

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1142. इमौ लोकावशान्तावास्तां ते देवा अब्रुवन्नेतेमौ विपर्यूहामेत्यग्न आ याहि वीतय इत्यस्मिँल्लोकेऽग्निमवधुर्बृहदग्ने सुवीर्यमित्यमुष्मिँल्लोके आदित्यम्। ततो वा इमौ लोकावशाम्यतां यदेवमन्वाहानयोर्लोकयोः शान्त्यै। शाम्यतोऽस्मा इमौ लोकौ य एवं वेद॥ तै. सं. II. 5. 8. 2. अशान्त here means 'the evil, aspects or influences in which had not been removed or conjured away.

1143. वि मे पुरुत्रा पतयन्ति कामाः शम्यच्छा दीद्ये पूर्व्याणि। ऋ. III. 55. 3; सत्यं तत्तुर्वशे यदौ विदानो अह्नवाय्यम्। व्यानट् तुर्वणे शमि॥ ऋ. VIII. 45. 27. In the last verse Sāyaṇa takes शमि as objetcive singular of शमी (instead of loc singular as he does elsewhere).

Sāyaṇa interprets it as 'karma' and not as the 'śamī tree or branch'. But in one place at least (if not in more places) the word śamī can easily be held to mean 'the śamī wood or fuel-stick'.[1144] 'To that mortal who worships with sacrifices and appeases with 'śamīs' (śamī fuel-sticks) and gives offerings to Agni that abounds in wealth disappointment as to glory never comes nor does sin nor arrogance overtake him.'

The whole of chapter 36 of the Vājasaneya-saṃhitā is employed as śānti at the beginning and end of the Pravargya rite, according to Kāt. Śr. S. 26. 41 'śāntikaraṇam-ādyantayoḥ'; verses 9–12 of Vāj. S. 36 employ the word 'śam' 17 times and verse 9 is the same as Ṛgveda I. 90. 9.

An interesting text in connection with the root 'śam' is the *adhrigu praiṣa*, to be recited by the Hotṛ priest before the *paśu* is killed in a sacrifice. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1121 note 2504 for the formula which is rather long. The important[1145] words for the present purpose are at the beginning and at the end 'O divine slayers and human slayers! begin (the process of killing the paśu). ...O Adhrigu! you should slay (the *paśu*) in such a way that it would be properly carried out'. Here the root (śam) certainly means to slay; this meaning is, however, apparently quite different from the one so far considered (viz. to appease, to remove evil effects). But it may be that there is a secondary meaning, viz. appease the gods by offering parts of the animal killed in the sacrifice.

The Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa closely connects the śamī tree or branch with the conjuring away or appeasing the terrible or angry aspects of deities in the following myth:[1146] "Prajāpati

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1144. ईजे यज्ञेभिः शशमे शमीभिर्धधद्रायाग्नये ददाश। एवा चन तं यशसामजुष्टिर्नो ह्यो मर्तं नशते न प्रहृतिः॥ ऋ. VI. 3. 2; compare ऋ. VI. 1. 9 सो अग्न ईजे शशमे च मर्तो यस्ते आनट् समिधा हव्यदातिम्।.

1145. दैव्याः शमितार आरभध्वमुत मनुष्याः।'''अधिगो शमीष्वं सुशमि शमीष्वं शमीष्वमधिगाश्च अपाप। आश्व. श्रौ. III. 3. The passage occurs in तै. ब्रा. III. 6. 6. 4, ऐ. ब्रा. VI (अध्याय), 6–7 (खण्ड). The words सुशमि शमीष्वं occur in तै. सं. I. 1 5. 2, वाज. सं. I. 15. The words अधिगो &c. quoted here occur in कौशिक-सूत्र 69. 6.

1146. प्रजापतिरग्निमसृजत। सोऽग्निभेत्य मा धक्ष्यतीति। तं शम्याऽशमयत्। तच्छम्यै शमित्वम्। यच्छमीमयः सम्भारो भवति शान्त्या अप्रदाहाय। तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 3. 11. सायण explains 'शमयत्यनेनेति व्युत्पत्त्या शमीति नाम सम्पन्नम्। अतस्तत्संभारः पूर्वं विद्यमानस्य दाहस्योपशान्त्यै, इतः परमदाहाय च सम्पद्यते.'

created Agni; he (Prajāpati) became afraid 'this Agni might burn me'. He (Prajāpati) pacified (the terrible flame or glow of) Agni with śamī (branch); that is the beneficent or happy aspect of śamī in that the equipment required for Agni is full of śamī in order to appease Agni and for freedom from being burnt thereafter.' The idea is that Agni, the moment it was created had a fierce and evil aspect, that was removed by the use of the śamī and śānti means an action or rite that appeases the evil aspects of a deity and makes the deity beneficent. Similarly, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa says:[1147] "He recites the verse 'they worship you with offerings whatever abodes you may have;...he says: O Soma! move towards houses in such a way as not to kill the sons (of the sacrificer).' Houses are indeed called 'duryā' and the house of the sacrificer is afraid of the king Soma when he approaches the sacrificer's house; when he (the priest) repeats this (verse) he thereby appeases him (king Soma) by a śānti (propitiatory rite); he (Soma) becoming beneficent (by the respetition of the mantra) does not kill the progeny or the cattle (of the sacrificer)." The idea is that king Soma might be angry with the sacrificer if there be any defect in the sacrificial rite and that when the hotṛ priest repeats the verse 'avīrahā o–' that verse is the cause of appeasement.

In the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa there is a similar reference to the appeasing power of the śamī branch. "He (the priest) places fuel sticks on this (Agni). ... He places (on Agni) a fuel stick of śamī as the first. This (Agni) was kindled when this oblation (of śamī branch) was offered and flamed upwards. The gods became afraid of him (Agni) lest Agni might harm them. They (gods) saw this śamī branch and appeased him (Agni) with that; inasmuch as they appeased this (Agni) by means of śamī (branch) this is called śamī. In the same way this sacrificer appeases with śamī this (Agni) for procuring appeasement and not for food"[1148]. It would be noticed

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1147. या ते धामानि हविषा यजन्तीत्यन्वाह। ...अवीरहा प्र चरा सोम दुर्यानिति। गृहा वै दुर्या बिभ्यति वै सोमाद्राज्ञ आयतो यजमानस्य गृहाः। स यदेतामन्वाह शान्त्यैवैनं तच्छमयति सोऽस्य शान्तो न प्रजां न पशून् हिनस्ति। ऐ. ब्रा. 3. 2. The verse 'या ते···दुर्यान्' is ऋ. I. 91. 19.

1148. अथास्मिन्समिध आदधाति। स वै शमीमयीं प्रथमादधाति। एतद्वा एष एतस्या-माहुत्यां हुतायां प्रादीप्यतोदज्वलत्। तस्माद्वेवा अबिभयुर्यद्वै नोऽयं न हिंस्यादिति। त एतां शमीमपश्यंस्तयैनमशमयंस्तद्यदेतं शम्या अशमयंस्तस्माच्छमी तथैवैनमयमेतच्छम्या शमयति शान्त्या एव न जगध्यै। शतपथ IX. 2. 3. 36 and 37.

that here the name 'śami' is derived from the root 'śam' and it is the means of effecting śānti (appeasement).

In the Brāhmaṇas the means of appeasement are various but simple. Often times the recitation of a Vedic verse or hymn effects śānti. For example, the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa[1149] prescribes the singing of sāmans at the time of consecrating the sacred śrauta fires; the three *sāmans* are Rathantara, Vāmadevya and Bṛhat, each being connected with the three worlds respectively. "When Agni is being taken out, he sings the Vāmadevya sāman; Vāmadevya is the atmospheric region and thereby (i. e. by singing Vāmadevya) he makes Agni established in the atmospheric region; Vāmadevya is śānti (means of bringing about the appeasement of Agni); (on singing Vāmadevya) he takes out Agni that has become appeased (beneficent) and as bestower of cattle". The Tai. S. says[1150] "he says 'weave ye with regular measure the work of the singers'. Whatever superfluity (or flaw) is committed in the sacrifice, this (recitation) serves to eradicate its evil effects". The Ait. Br. provides "(the priest) who is about to sprinkle holy water over him[1151] (the king) should (himself first recite the mantra and) make the king repeat it (after him) 'O Waters! look on me with a beneficent eye, (and) touch my skin with (your) beneficent body. I invoke all the Agnis that dwell in waters for your sake; this should be done for the purpose that waters (the evil aspects of which have been) not appeased may not destroy the vigour of him who is being sprinkled over". The Hotṛ performs a *japa* before and after reciting the *sāmidhenī* verses. About this the Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa says[1152] that the sāmidhenīs are a thun-

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1149. वामदेव्यमभिगायत उद्धियमाणे। अन्तरिक्षं वै वामदेव्यम्। अन्तरिक्ष एवैनं प्रतिष्ठितमाधत्ते। अथो शान्तिर्वै वामदेव्यम्। शान्तमेवैनं पशव्यमुद्धरते। तै. ब्रा. I. 1. 8. 2. The वामदेव्य is sung on the verse 'कया नश्चित्र आ भुवत्' ऋ. IV. 31. 1 which occurs also in तै. सं IV. 2. 11. 2, वाज. सं. 27. 39 and 36. 4, अथर्ववेद 20. 124. 1. The द्राह्यायणश्रौतसूत्र (XII. 1 29-31) provides 'जाते रथन्तरं गायेत्। वामदेव्यं ह्रियमाणे। बृहच्चिहिते।'

1150. अनुल्बणं वयत जोगुवामप इत्याह। यदेव यज्ञ उल्बणं क्रियते तस्यैवैषा शान्तिः। तै. सं. III. 4. 2. 6-7; 'अनुल्बणं वयत जोगुवामपः' is the 3rd quarter of ऋ. X. 53. 6.

1151. अथैनमभिषेक्ष्यन्नपां शान्तिं वाचयति। शिवेन मा चक्षुषा पश्यतापः शिवया तन्वोप स्पृशत त्वचं मे। सर्वाँ अग्नीँरप्सुषदो हुवे वो मयि वर्चो बलमोजो निधत्तेति। नैतस्याभिषिच्यमानस्याशान्ता आपो वीर्यं निर्हणन्तीति। ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 2. The मन्त्र 'शिवेन मा' occurs in तै. सं. V. 6. 1. 2 and अथर्ववेद I. 33. 4 (only the first half).

1152. अथ यत्पुरस्तात्सामिधेनीनां जपति वज्रो वै सामिधेन्यस्तमेवैतच्छमयति पुरस्ताच्चोपरिष्टाच्च। शाङ्खायनब्रा. 3. 3. Generally there are 15 सामिधेनी verses, but there are optional numbers which need not be specified here.

derbolt and that if *japa* is performed thereby he appeases (*śamayati*) Agni (i. e. Agni becomes auspicious and beneficent).

Water also is declared as a means of effecting the removal or appeasement of evil effects. The Ait. Br. remarks[1153] "they say what is the atonement (prāyaścitti) if a person's sacrificial material (milk or rice) when put on a fire for cooking spurts out or overflows? (The reply is) 'he should make it go down with water for the sake of śānti; water indeed is (a means of) śānti and then he should touch the material (that has fallen out) with his right hand and recite a mantra (that is specified) or he should recite another ṛk verse 'by whose power the worlds are made fixed', which is addressed to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa; Viṣṇu indeed is the saviour against what is badly sacrificed (i. e. the defects in it), while Varuṇa protects (i. e. prevents obstacles to securing the fruit of) what is well sacrificed; (this latter mantra is recited) for śānti in regard to both (defects as well as good points). This is the prāyaścitti in this case." It should be noticed that here śānti (rite) and prāyascitti are identified. The Śāṅkhāyana[1151] Br. also (III. 6) says "waters are (means of) śānti, (they are) an antidote and therefore after pronouncing the word 'vaṣaṭ' the priest touches water." In the Tai. Ār. (IV. 42) there are 37 mantras of śānti used in the Pravargya rite. Some of these occur in the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā e. g. the 8th (Vāta ā vātu bhesajam) is Ṛg. X. 186. 1, mantras 15–17 are equal to Ṛg. IV. 31. 1–3; mantras 22–24 are Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3. The same Āraṇyaka (IV. 26–35) and Baud. Śr. S. IX. 18 contain several mantras for śāntis, some of which are interesting and are set out here to show how the theory of śāntis was being expanded or enlarged. "If the[1155] sacrificial vessel called

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1153. तदाहुर्यस्याग्निहोत्रमधिश्रितं स्कन्दति वा विष्यन्दते वा का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति तदद्भिरुपनिनयेच्छान्त्यै शान्तिर्वा आपोऽथैनद्दक्षिणेन पाणिनाभिमृश्य जपति। दिवं तृतीयं देवान् यज्ञोऽगात्ततो मा द्रविणमाट, अन्तरिक्षं तृतीयं पितॄन्यज्ञो···ष्ट. पृथिवीं तृतीयं मनुष्यान् यज्ञो···ष्ट, इति। ययोरोजसा स्कभिता रजांसीति वैष्णवारुणीमृचं जपति विष्णुर्वै यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टं पाति वरुणः स्विष्टं तयोरुभयोरेव शान्त्यै। सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः॥ ऐ ब्रा. 32. 4. The मन्त्र 'ययोरोजसा' occurs in वाज. सं. 8. 60 and अथर्व VII. 25. 1 (and in several other texts). Compare मैत्रा. सं. III. 9. 4 'यूपो वै यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टमामुञ्चते यदि यूपमुपस्पृशेद्यज्ञस्य दुरिष्टमा मुञ्चेत्। तस्माद्यूपो नोपस्पृश्यः।'.

1154. वषट्कृत्याप उपस्पृशति। शान्तिर्वै भेषजमापः शान्तिरेवैषा भेषजमन्ततो यज्ञे क्रियते। शां. ब्रा. 3. 6.

1155. अथ यदि घर्मदुघं वा महावीरं वा स्तेनोऽपहरेद्गार्हपत्ये स्रुवाहुतिं जुहुयादहोरात्रे त्वोदीरयतामिति। कौ. श्रौ. IX, 18; that मन्त्र is 'अहोरात्रे त्वोदीरयताम्। अर्धमासास्त्वोदीं जयन्तु। मासास्त्वा श्रपयन्तु। ऋतवस्त्वा पचन्तु। संवत्सरस्त्वा हन्त्वसौ।' तै. आ. IV. 26. असौ refers to the name of the thief as in 'हे देवदत्त चोर त्वामहोरात्रे' &c.

mahāvīra (in Pravargya rite) of the hot milk for the Gharma offering were to be stolen by a thief, one should offer in the Gārhapatya fire an oblation of ghee with the *sruva* ladle to the accompaniment of the mantra 'May Day and Night disclose thee as thief'. 'If a wild [1156] forest dog were to bark (while the Pravargya rite is on), the priest should repeat by way of a magic formula the text 'vi gā Indra vicaran spāśayasva' (O Indra, observe the cows while you move about'), should cast a kindled firebrand on both sides with the words 'O Agni, converse with Agni, and then he worships Agni with the words 'O Agni, salutation to thee once, twice, thrice &c.' If a vulture screeches he recites the formula 'you are undistinguishable (from other birds) since you have blood in your beak', if an owl or she-owl hoots he recites the mantra 'In this way the owl approaches &c.'. Therefore it may be said that śānti is used in the early Vedic texts in several senses viz. (1) the state of being freed from evil aspects or effects, (2) means of appeasing or removing evil aspects, such as water, a Vedic verse or hymn, (3) rite for appeasement.

Apart from the simple śāntis for appeasing deities in sacrificial matters, even the Rgveda contains indications that there were other occurrences which were thought to be unlucky and against the supposed evil effects of which some remedies were employed. For example, Rg. X. 164 (1-5) is a hymn declared by the Anukramaṇī and Rgvidhāna IV. 20. 1 as counteracting the indications of bad dreams.[1157] Verse 3 of it is 'May Agni place far away from us all evil and undesirable actions which we may have done while awake or asleep whether by our desires or imprecations or want of desire'. In Rg. V. 82. 4-5 [1158] the

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1156. यद्येकवृको वाश्येत तमनुमन्त्रयते वि गा इन्द्र विचरन् स्राशयस्वेत्यथास्मा उभयत आदीप्तमुल्मुकं क्षिपेदग्ने अग्निना संवदस्वेत्यथैनमुपनिष्क्रामते मकृत्ते अग्ने नमो द्विस्ते नमस्त्रिस्ते नम इति। यदि गृध्रो वाश्येत तमनुमन्त्रयते असृङ्मुखो रुधिरेणाभ्यक्त इति। ...यद्यल्लूकोलूकी वाश्येत तमनुमन्त्रयत इत्थाद्वुलूक आ पसादिति। कौ. श्रौ. IX. 18. The texts mentioned in this passage are तै. आ. IV. 28, 29, 33. Both the तै. आ. and कौ. श्रौ. refer to other phenomena which are not set out here.

1157. यदाशसा निःशमाभिशसोपारिम जाग्रतो यत्स्वपन्तः। अग्निर्विश्वान्यप दुष्कृतान्यजुष्टान्यारे अस्मद् दधातु॥ ऋ. X. 164. 3 ऋग्विधान IV. 1 is अपेहीति जपेत्सूक्तं दुश्चिद्दुःस्वप्ननाशनम्।

1158. अद्या नो देव सवितः प्रजावत् सावीः सौभगम्। परा दुःष्वप्न्यं सुव। विश्वानि देव सवितर्दुरितानि परा सुव। यद्भद्रं तन्न आ सुव॥ ऋ. V. 82. 4-5; यो मे राजन् युज्यो वा सखा वा स्वप्ने भयं भीरवे मह्यमाह। स्तेनो वा यो दिप्सति वृको वा त्वं तस्माद्वरुण पाह्यस्मान्॥ ऋ. II. 28. 10; त्रिते दुःष्वप्न्यं सर्वमाप्त्ये परि दद्मस्यनेहसो व ऊतयः सुऊतयो व ऊतयः॥ ऋ. VIII. 47. 15.

poet prays 'O God Savitṛ! today produce for us welfare endowed with progeny and frighten away the effects of bad dreams; O God Savitṛ! drive away all sins (or evils) and confer on us what is beneficent' (or auspicious). In Rg. II. 28. 10 the poet prays 'O king Varuṇa! whoever, whether a helper or a friend, declares to me who ascertained a danger (from what I saw) in a dream or whoever, a thief or a wolf, intends to harm me, from that guard us'. In Rg. VIII. 47. 15 the sage exclaims 'we deliver all our bad dreams to Trita Āptya; your kindness cannot be obstructed by any one, the protection given by you is good'. Vide also Rg. VIII. 47. 14, 16-18, X. 36. 4, X. 37, 4 for bad dreams. Similarly, the Rgveda contains verses which show that cries of birds were deemed to indicate coming good or evil and the hooting of the owl was thought to be unlucky. 'It[1159] (the bird) frequently cries and proclaims what is to come and it propels his speech as an oarsman propels a boat; O bird! May you be auspicious to us; may no overpowering (or unfavourable) phenomenon reach you from any side'. The three verses of Rg. II. 43 refer to the cries of birds. 'The birds, chirping, utter cries towards the south (of the house) like composers of songs that speak for food at various seasons; O bird! when you chirp, speak what would be to our welfare, when you are silent think of good thoughts about us; when flying up (from our house) you utter (cries) like a lute; may we be endowed with valiant sons and speak much in assemblies'. Rg. X. 165 contains several verses about a kapota bird and one about an owl. Rg. X. 165. 1 and 4 are:[1160] 'a kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck, has come to this our house, with whatever (evil) intent; we worship you, we shall perform atonement; O God! May it fare well with our men and quadrupeds. May what the owl expresses (by its

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1159. कनिक्रदज्जनुषं···विदत् ॥ ऋ. II. 42 1, q. in note 755 p. 526. निरुक्त IX. 4 explains this verse. सायण holds that the bird referred to is कपिञ्जल. निरुक्त IX. 5 quotes a verse from a खिलसूक्त addressed to कपिञ्जल 'भद्रं वद दक्षिणतो···भद्रं पश्चात्कपिञ्जल,' which occurs in कौशिकसूत्र 46. 54 प्रदक्षिणिदाभि गृणन्ति कारवो वयो वदन्त ऋतुथा शकुन्तयः। ···आवदंस्त्वं शकुने भद्रमावद तूष्णीमासीनः सुमतिं चिकिद्धि नः। यदुत्पतन्वदासि कर्करिर्यथा बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः॥ ऋ. II 43. 1 and 3. The last verse is quoted in कौशिकसूत्र 46. 54 among the कपिञ्जलस्वस्ययनs. Vide ऋग्विधान I. 31. 4 for a similar provision against sounds of birds.

1160. शिवः कपोत इषितो नो अस्त्वनागा देवाः शकुनो गृहेषु। ···यदुलूको वदति मोघमेतत्यत्कपोतः पदमग्नौ कृणोति। यस्य दूतः प्रहित एष एतत्तस्मै यमाय नमोस्तु मृत्यवे॥ ऋ. X. 165. 2 and 4; अथर्व VI. 27. 1-3 are almost the same as ऋ. X. 165. 1-3, अथर्व VI. 27.1 is ऋ. X. 165. 5 and अथर्व VI. 29. 1-2 are similar to ऋ. X. 165. 4. कपोतश्चेद्गारमुपहन्यादनुपतेद्वा देवाः कपोत इति प्रत्यृचं जुहुयाज्जपेद्वा। आश्व. गृ. III. 7. 7; compare मानवगृ. II. 17 and कौशिकसूत्र 46. 7 and ऋग्विधान IV. 20.2.

hooting) turn out to be fruitless or (untrue). What the kapota bird (expresses) by placing its feet near our Agni (be untrue); here is salutation to Yama, the god of Death, whose messenger is this (bird) sent (by the god)'. The Āśvalāyana-gṛhya provides 'if a kapota (pigeon) strikes against a house (enters it) or flies along its length, the house-holder should offer into fire oblations (of ghee) with each verse of the hymn ('devāḥ kapota', Rg. X. 165) or he should recite it inaudibly'. The Kauṣītaki-gṛhya provides for the same (in V. 5. 1–2) and proceeds[1161] "if a man sees a bad dream or when the cawing of a crow is heard in the night and in the case of other *adbhutas* (untoward or unusual occurrences) he should cook rice grains in the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour (as itself) but in no case of a black cow and let him sacrifice with the hymn to Night (Rg. X. 127) verse by verse and having partaken of the remnants of the oblations with the *mahāvyāhṛtis* and having recited over his ears the verse 'bhadram karnebhiḥ' (Rg. I. 89.8) and over himself the verse 'satam-in-nu' (Rg. I. 89. 9) donate something to the brāhmaṇas". The Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya (V. 6, 7, 10 and 11) provides: "if a disease befalls a person, he should offer boiled Gavedhuka grains with the hymn 'these prayers to the powerful Rudra' &c. verse by verse (Rg. I. 114). If the honey bees make honey in a man's house, he should fast and sacrifice a hundred and eight pieces of udumbara wood besmeared with curds, honey and ghee with two verses Rg. I.114. 8–9 and murmur the hymn (Rg. VII. 35) and if an ant-hill arises in his house the house should be abandoned and having fasted three nights (and days) he should perform the 'Mahāśānti'.[1162]

1161. स्वप्नदर्शने निशायां। काकशब्दकान्ते च। अन्येषु चाद्भुतेषु च। पयसा चरुं श्रपयित्वा सरूपवत्साया गोः पयसि। न त्वेव कृष्णायाः। रात्रिसूक्तेन मन्थ्यं जुहुयात्। हुतशेषं महाव्याहृतिभिः प्राश्य भद्रं कर्णेभिरिति कर्णौ प्रतिमृज्य शतमिन्नु शरदो अन्ति देवा इत्यात्मानमभिमन्त्र्य ब्राह्मणेभ्यः किञ्चिद्दद्यात्। कौषी. गृ. V. 5; compare मानवगृह्य II. 15 यदि दुःस्वप्नं पश्येद् व्याहृतिभिस्तिलान् हुत्वा दिश उपतिष्ठेत। (formulas for four quarters, lower regions, and upper regions are cited which occur in काठकसंहिता 37. 10.)

1162. महाशान्ति. The com of नारायण explains that महाशान्ति means विनायक-शान्ति and नवग्रहशान्ति. It is doubtful whether these two were known to the author of the शाङ्खायनगृह्य; the कौशिकसूत्र (39.27, 43.5 and 44.6) prescribes a महाशान्ति which is different. कौशिक 43.5 is वास्तोष्पत्यादीनि महाशान्तिमावपते and कौशिक 8. 23 prescribes 'इहैव ध्रुवामेह यातु, यमो मृत्युः, सत्यं बृहदित्यनुवाको वास्तोष्पतीयानि.' These are अथर्व III. 12. 1 (इहैव ध्रुवाम्); VI, 73.1 (एह यातु), VI. 93.1 (यमो मृत्युः), XII. 1 (सत्यं बृहत्). This last अनुवाक has 63 verses. Among later medieval works the शान्तिमयूख (pp. 106–108) describes an elaborate महाशान्ति.

The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka mentions ten dreams viz. a person sees a dark man with black teeth and such a man kills him, or a boar kills him, or an ape jumps on him, the wind carries him swiftly; having swallowed gold, he vomits it; he eats honey; he chews stalks of lotuses; he carries a single (red) lotus; he drives with a team of asses or boars; himself wearing a wreath of *nalada* flowers,[1163] he drives towards the south a black cow having a black calf. If a man sees any one of these, he should fast, cook a dish of rice in milk in a vessel, offer into fire oblations thereof with each of the verses of the hymn to Night (Rg. X 127. 1-8), feed brāhmaṇas with other food (cooked in the house) and should himself eat boiled rice'.[1164] The same Āraṇyaka mentions in the same context some unusual phenomena such as the sun appearing like the moon (pale and without heat) or the sky becoming like madder and prescribes the recital of some Ṛgvedic verses (such as IX. 67. 21–27, VIII. 6. 30, IX. 113. 6–11, I. 50. 10).

The Chāndogya Up. contains a verse saying 'if a person engaged in rites for securing a certain desired object sees a woman in a dream, one should understand on seeing such a sight that he will prosper (i. e. secure that object).'[1164a] The Chāndogya Upaniṣad (VIII. 10. 1), the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (IV. 3. 7–20) and Praśna IV. 5 contain profound thoughts on the psychology of dream phenomena, but as that discussion

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1163. In the Āśv. Śr. (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 203 n. 481) it is provided that the corpse of an *āhitāgni* is to be decked with a wreath of *naladas*. The south is the direction of the *pitṛs*; vide Śatapatha Br. I. 2. 5. 17 (eṣā vai dik pitṛṇām'). Therefore, to see in a dream oneself wearing a wreath of naladas or driving towards the south was deemed to forebode death.

1164. अथ स्वप्नाः। पुरुषं कृष्णं कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एनं हन्ति वराह एनं हन्ति मर्कट एनमारुकन्दत्याशु वायुरेनं प्रवहति सुवर्णं खादित्वा प्रगिरति मध्वश्नाति बिसानि भक्षयत्येक-पुण्डरीकं धारयति खरैर्वराहैर्युक्तैर्याति कृष्णां धेनुं कृष्णवत्सां नलदमाली दक्षिणामुखो व्राजयति। स यद्येतेषां किंचित्पश्येदुपोष्य पायसं स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा रात्रीसूक्तेन प्रत्यृचं हुत्वाज्येनाज्येन ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा चरुं स्वयं प्राश्नीयात्। ऐ. आ. III. 2. 4; vide मार्कण्डेयपुराण 40. 1–33 for signs of approaching death (Venk. ed.) of which verses 15–20, 27, 29, 31–33 deal with dreams. Some of these verses of मार्कण्डेय have a striking similarity to the ऐ. आ. passage; for example, मार्कण्डेय 40. 27 is : उष्ट्रखरभयानेन यः स्वप्ने दक्षिणां दिशम्। प्रयाति तं च जानीयात्सद्योमृत्युं नरेश्वर॥.

1164 a. यद्वा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति। समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन् स्वप्न-निदर्शने॥ छान्दोग्य V. 2. 9 q. by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 6.

would not be relevant in the section on śānti nothing can be said here beyond quoting three striking passages.[1165]

The Atharvaveda also has several verses on dreams and on birds like *kapota* (pigeon). The Kauśikasūtra prescribes several verses of the Atharvaveda as śāntis in the case of dreams : 'on seeing a dream a man washes his face with the verses (Atharva VI. 45. 1 and 46. 1); if he sees a very terrible dream he offers into fire a cake of mixed grains[1166] or in another direction (in his enemy's field); he changes the side on which he sleeps with Atharva VII. 100. 1 : on seeing himself eating in a dream he recites the mantra (Atharva VII. 101. 1) and he looks on; with the verse 'vidma te' (Atharva VI. 46. 2) all (dreams) vanish.' Two of these verses may be set out here : 'O dream ! we know the place of thy birth : thou art the son of gods' sisters ; thou art the helper of Yama ; thou art the destroyer ; thou art death ; O dream ! we know thee to be so ; O dream ! do thou save us from evil dreams ' ; ' I turn round (and lie on my other side) from evil dreaming, from bad dreaming, from ill-luck ; I make *brahman* (vedic prayer) my defence ; I put away the sorrows that come through dreams '.[1167] The Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra prescribes a similar verse for japa when a *dīkṣita* sees a disagreeable dream.[1168]

1165. य एष स्वप्ने महीयमानश्चरत्येष आत्मेति होवाचैतदमृतमभयं ब्रह्मेति स ह शान्तहृदयः प्रव्रव्राज''' । छा. उप. VIII. 10. 1; अत्रैष देवः स्वप्ने महिमानमनुभवति यद्दृष्टं दृष्टमनुपश्यति श्रुतं श्रुतमेवार्थमनुशृणोति देशदिगन्तरैश्च प्रत्यनुभूतं पुनःपुनः प्रत्यनुभवति दृष्टं चादृष्टं च श्रुतं चाश्रुतं चानुभूतं चाननुभूतं च सच्चासच्च सर्वं पश्यति सर्वः पश्यति । प्रश्न IV. 5; कतम आत्मेति योऽयं विज्ञानमयः प्राणेषु हृद्यन्तर्ज्योतिः पुरुषः स समानः सन्नुभौ लोकावनुसञ्चरति ध्यायतीव लेलायतीव स हि स्वप्नो भूत्वेमं लोकमतिक्रामति मृत्योः रूपाणि। ···स यत्र प्रस्वपित्यस्य लोकस्य सर्वावतो मात्रामुपादाय स्वयं विहत्य स्वयं निर्माय स्वेन भासा स्वेन ज्योतिषा प्रस्वपित्यत्रायं पुरुषः स्वयं ज्योतिर्भवति । बृह. उप. IV. 3. 7 and 9. Some of these passages on dreams are relied upon and discussed by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 42, II. 1. 28, III. 2. 1–4.

1166. The कौशिक s. 23 enumerates मिश्रधान्यानि as 'व्रीहियवगोधूमोपवाकतिलमियङ्गुश्यामाका इति मिश्रधान्यानि'. The com. explains 'उपवाक इति अभियवाः । सुराष्ट्राणां प्रसिद्धाः ।'. श्यामाक is called सांवे in Marāṭhi and उपवाक is झुन्नजव (in Marāṭhi).

1167. विश्वं ते स्वप्न जनित्रं देवजामीनां पुत्रोऽसि यमस्य करणः । अन्तकोऽसि मृत्युरसि तं त्वा स्वप्न तथा सं विद्म स नः स्वप्न दुःष्वप्न्यात् पाहि ॥ अथर्व VI. 46. 2 and XVI. 5. 6; पर्यावर्ते दुःष्वप्न्यात्पापात्स्वप्नाद्भूत्याः । ब्रह्माहमन्तरं कृण्वे परा स्वप्नमुखाः शुचः ॥ अथर्व VII. 100. 1.

1168. दीक्षितोऽमनोज्ञं स्वप्नं दृष्ट्वा जपेत्-पर्यावर्ते दुःस्वप्न्यात्पापात् स्वप्नाद्भूत्यै । ब्रह्माहमन्तरं करवे परः स्वप्नमुखा कृधीति । कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 25. 11. 20. The verse as printed is somewhat corrupt.

The Āpastamba-gṛhya (8. 23. 9) lumps together several unusual appearances and provides the same śānti in the case of all, 'If the post of a man's house puts forth shoots, or if honey is made in his house by bees or if the footprint of a pigeon is seen on the hearth or if disease arises in his family, or in the case of other miracles and prodigies, let him perform on the newmoon night, at dead of night, at a place where he does not hear the sound of water, the rites from the putting of wood on the fire to the *Ajyabhāga* oblations indicated in the next (Āpastambīyamantrapāṭha II. 22. 14–23), and then perform Jaya and following oblations.' Very similar provisions are found in Jaiminīya-gṛhya II. 7.[1169] The Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa contains several prāyaścittas (really śāntis) on the happening of numerous incidents. A few examples are set out here; when bad dreams[1170] are seen, the person should make repetition of Rg. V. 82. 4 twice (i. e. in all at least six times); in the case of any other prognosticatory occurrence not known from any work the person should repeat twice the verse Rg. IV. 31. 1. On seeing one's enemies with weapons raised to strike, the person

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1169. स्थूणाविरोहणे मधुन उपवेशने कृत्वा कयेतयददर्शनेऽमात्यानां शरीरक्षेणेऽन्येषु चाद्भुतोत्पातेष्वमावास्यां निशायां यत्रापां न शृण्वन्तदग्नेरुपसमाधानाद्याज्यभागान्त उत्तरा आहुतीर्हुत्वा जयादि प्रतिपद्यते। आप. गृ. 8. 23. 9 अथातोऽद्भुतशान्तिं व्याख्यास्यामः। अथ यद्यगारे स्थूणा विरोहेत्। कपोतो वागारं गच्छेद्वौर्वा गां धयेदनड्वान्वा विवमुल्लिखेत्। अनग्नौ वा धूमो जायेतानग्नौ वा दीप्येत। मधु वा जायेत। वल्मीकं वोपजायेत मण्डूके बाम्भृणे वाश्येत् श्वानो गृहे पर्यटेयुरित्येतान्यांश्च। यत्त इन्द्र भयामहे। सदस्पतिमद्भुतम्। अधायासुते सुमुदस्य (?)। सनादग्ने। यद्वा उ विश्पतिः शितः। प्रत्यग्ने। यं रक्षन्ति। प्राजापत्ययर्चा पुरस्ताच्चोपरिष्टाच्च महाव्याहृतिभिर्जुहोति। एतानि ऋक्सामानि गायेत्। जैमिनीयगृह्य II. 7 (Punjab S. Series). Pratikas (except the third अधा'''स्य which is corrupt) are: ऋ. VIII. 61. 13, I. 18. 6, X. 87. 19, VIII. 23. 13, X. 87. 24, I. 41. 1, X. 121. 10 (प्रजापते न त्वेदेतान्यन्यो). All these (except X. 87. 24 and X. 121. 10) occur in the सामवेद and some also in other संहिताs. बौ. गृ. III. 6 is very similar to जै. गृह्य.

1170. दुःस्वप्नेष्वद्य नो देव सवितरिति द्वितीयम्। अन्यस्मिंस्त्वनाज्ञाते कयानीयाद्वितीयमावर्तयेत्। सामवि. ब्रा. I. 8. 7–8. अद्य नोः is ऋ. V. 82. 4, सामवेद No. 141 (ed. by Satavalekar); कयानीया is कया नश्चित्र॰ (Rg. IV. 31. 1, Sāma No. 169). The com. notes that the lowest number of the repetition (आवृत्ति) of a mantra is three; the repetition may be recited several times more according to the gravity or otherwise of the 'adbhuta' and one's ability. आवृत्तिर्विशिष्यते ऽपवरमिति। त्रिरावृत्तिर्जघन्या तत्तद्दोषगौरवलाघवानुगुण्येन ततोऽधिकं यथाशक्त्या वर्तयेत्। इत्यर्थः। उद्यतशस्त्राञ्छत्रून्दृष्ट्वा देवव्रतानि मनसा ध्यायेच्चैनं हिंसन्ति। II. 44; देवव्रत is सामवेद I. 350 'एतो न्विन्द्रं स्तवाम शुद्धं शुद्धेन साम्ना। शुद्धैरुक्थैर्वावृध्वांसं शुद्धैराशीर्वान् ममत्तु॥', It is also ऋ. VIII. 95. 7. It is one of the sacred texts by murmurring which or by homas with which a person is purified. Vide Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra 28. 10–15; देवव्रत is in verse 28. 13 of वसिष्ठ.

should revolve in his mind the Devavrata verse, then (the enemies) would not kill him. If one's house were to be burnt[1171] (accidentally) one should offer oblations anointed with ghee with the mantra 'born with the highest Dharman' (Sāmaveda no 90) and with words 'svāhā to Agni'. In II. 2. 2 The Sāmavidhāna Br. prescribes a śānti for one seized or posessed by an evil spirit. A portion of Ṣaḍvimśabrāhmaṇa (viz. V. 1-10) is styled Adbhuta-brāhmaṇa and contains śāntis for several kinds of utpātas. Some parts of it (such as V. 2-3) correspond with Āśvalāyana-gṛhya -pariśiṣṭa, 4. 11-15. The Ṣaḍvimśa-brāhmaṇa V. 7. 2. provides for earthquakes and cracks in palaces, which are similar to Yoga-yātrā 3. 13. The Atharvaveda 19. 9. 9 refers to showers of falling stars (naksatramulkābhihatam śam-astu naḥ) and Ṣaḍ-vimśa V. 9. 2. refers to falling meteors and V. 10. 2. to images laughing, weeping &c.

Reasons of space forbid further description of śāntis from the gṛhya-sūtras.

The preceding discussion with regard to śāntis is enough to show that śāntis were prescribed in the Vedic literature, the śrautasūtras, Sāmavidhāna-brāhmana and Ṛgvidhāna, not only for appeasing the angry divinities or powers of evil, but also for occurrences like bad dreams or of portentous phenomena like the sun's or moon's appearance, the cries of unlucky birds &c.

This subject about śāntis against all sorts of omens and portents was very much elaborated in the post-Vedic literature. An extensive literature on śāntis exists in the Gṛhyasūtras, the Kauśika-sūtra, the Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭas (particularly Nos. V, XXXI on Koṭihoma, XXXIII on Ghṛtakambala, XXXVII on 'samuccayaprāyaścittam', resembling 13th chapter of Kauśika, LVIII to LXVII on utpātas, adbhutaśāntis and dreams, LXXI and LXXII, the Purāṇas (like Matsya 92-93 and 228-238, Viṣṇu-dharmottara I. 90-105, II. 124-127, II. 159-164. Mārkaṇḍeya chap. 40, Agni 149, 164, 167, 259-268, 290-91, 320-324, Bhaviṣya IV. 141-145, Brahmāṇḍa III. 38. 30-34, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā chap. 45, the Śāntika-pauṣṭika-kāṇḍa of the Kṛtyakalpataru (Ms. in Baroda Oriental Institute), the Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena and his son Lakṣmaṇasena (commenced to be written in śaka 1089 i. e. 1167 A.D.), the Śānti section of the Madanaratna (ms. in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner), Jyotistattva of Raghunandana

1171. अग्निवन्धे घृताक्तान्यवाङ्कुंहुयाज्जातः परेण धर्मणेत्येतेनाग्नये स्वाहेति च। 1. 8. 9.

(pp. 704 ff), the Śāntikamalākara of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (ms. in Bhau Daji collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society), Śāntimayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha. Of these the Adbhutasāgara is a very extensive work of 751 pages, edited by Pandit Murlidhar Jha and published by Prabhakari &c, Banares, in 1905 A. D. The Kṛtyakalpataru on Śāntis has not yet been edited and published in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. As compared with some other *kāṇḍas*, the section on śānti is meagre. It deals only with the following; Kūrmavibhāga (the distribution of the countries in Bhārata in 9 groups); Graha-makha or Grahayāga quoting Yāj. I. 295-308, Matsya, Narasiṁha and Bhaviṣya and Devīpurāṇa; Ayutahoma, Koṭihoma; Puṣyasnāna; Grahaśānti; Mātṛśānti; Liṅgaśānti; Vināyakaśānti (quoting Yāj. I. 271-294 and Matsya); Grahaṇasnāna; Saṅkrāntisnāna; mṛtavatsābhiseka; śāntis for variouas utpātas; Gāyatrīhoma; Rudrajapavidhi; ābhicārikakarma (magic rites). It is neither possible nor necessary to deal with this vast mass on śānti in this work in detail. Many of the śāntis described therein and in older śrauta and other works have been almost obsolete for a long time. Therefore, only a few śāntis now in vogue or very interesting from several viewpoints will be dealt with in this section.[1172]

The Kauśikasūtra (chapter 13, kaṇḍikās 93-136) is concerned with *adbhutas*, their descriptions and the śāntis therefor. Kaṇḍikā 93 brings together 42 portentous phenomena and the kaṇḍikās that follow deal with the description of the omen or portent and śāntis for each of these. In these śāntis, Atharvaveda mantras play a secondary role and the majority of the

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1172. A recently published work by D. J. Hoens (pp. 1-197, S. Gravenhage, 1951) on 'Śānti' deals at some length only with śāntis in the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras. According to Keśava's Paddhati on Kauśika-sūtra (I 8; Bloomfield's ed. p. 307) and Sāyaṇa in his Intro. to Atharvaveda there were five Kalpas of the Atharvaveda mentioned by (an ancient commentator) Upavarṣa in his commentary on Jaimini I. 3. 11-14 called Kalpasūtrādhikaraṇa viz. नक्षत्रकल्प, वितानकल्प, संहिताकल्प, आङ्गिरसकल्प and शान्तिकल्प. सायण says (Muradabad edition of saṁvat 1986) 'शान्तिकल्पेपि प्रथमं वैनायकग्रहगृहीतलक्षणानि तच्छान्तये सम्भाराहरणम्, अभिषेकवैनायकहोमाः, तत्पूजाविधानम्, आदित्यादिनवग्रहयज्ञादिकमिति। (p 81, and p. 28 of Pandit's ed.), अथर्व. परिशिष्ट XLIX (चरणव्यूह p. 337, l. 7). Vide JAOS vol. XI. p. 376-378 for the Kalpas of the Atharvaveda. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 35. 61-62 states 'नक्षत्रकल्पो वैतानस्तृतीयो संहिताविधिः। चतुर्थोऽङ्गिरसः कल्पः शान्तिकल्पश्च पञ्चमः। श्रेष्ठा स्त्वथर्वणामेते संहितानां विकल्पकाः॥'. The same verses occur in वायुपुराण 61. 54; compare also विष्णुपु० III. 6. 13-14.

mantras form an independent mantra material. It should be noted that at the end all these śāntis are spoken of as 'prāyaścitta'.

The subjects treated of in the Madanaratna (about 1425 to 1450 A. D.) on Śāntika-pauṣṭika would indicate how extensive was the cult of śāntis recommended in medieval times. The Anukramaṇikā at the beginning of the Ms. mentions the following: Vināyakasnāna; śāntis to placate the nine planets from the Sun to Ketu: Śanaiścarvrata; śāntis to placate Saturn extracted from Skanda (Nāgarakhaṇḍa and Prabhāsakhaṇḍa); worship of Jupiter and Venus; Śāntis based on the Yāmalas [1172a] on the conjunction of five or more planets; Grahasnānas from Viṣṇudharmottara; śāntis of the tithi and weekday when fever and other diseases seize a man; Nakṣatraśānti; śāntis for the nine nakṣatras called Janma and the rest (vide note 772 for these nine nakṣatras); śāntis for birth on Amāvāsyā, or on Mūla, Āśleṣā or Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra; śānti for birth on the same nakṣatra as that of the father or (elder) brother; śāntis for birth on Gaṇḍa, Vaidhṛti, Vyatīpātayoga, Saṅkrānti, Viṣanāḍī, eclipses; śānti called Gomukhaprasava; śāntis declared for the protection of the foetus from the first and following months from conception; *bali* offerings; medicine for removing pains of the foetus; measures for easy delivery; for protection of the child after birth; bali on first day with mantras &c.; nīrājana &c., description of sprinkling the infant with holy water, satiating gods and pitṛs with water, homas, *yantras* (mystical diagrams);

1172a. The *Yāmalas* are works of Tantra class, the numbers of which are variously given. But they are often said to be eight. Vide note 1598 below on *tantras*. The Rudrayāmala tantra was published by Jivananda containing over 6000 verses in 66 chapters in 1892. There are works called Gaṇeśayāmala, Brahmayāmala, Rudra-yamala, Viṣṇuyāmala, Śakti-yāmala, and several others. Certain *ghaṭīs* (or nāḍīs) of certain tithis, weekdays and nakṣatras are said by the Smṛti-kaustubha to be *viṣanāḍīs or viṣaghaṭīs* (producing very disastrous results), but in astrological works certain ghaṭīs of nakṣatras only have that appellation and a person born on those ghaṭīs forebodes the death and loss of the father, the mother, wealth and himself by poisoning, arms and missiles (according to Dharmasindhu p. 184). The Madanaratna on Śāntika (folios 15b to 20b) sets out numerous details about all the 27 nakṣatras from the work of Ātreya, one (detail) being the viṣaghaṭī of each nakṣatra e. g. as to Aśvinī three nāḍikās after 50th ghaṭikā constitute viṣanāḍī, as to Bharaṇī one ghaṭī after 24, as to Punarvasu and Puṣya one ghaṭī after 30 and 20 ghaṭīs respectively and so on.

general rules about the rites on the 1st to the 12th day after birth and in the first and following months of the first year after birth; applying ointments, fumigation, baths with mantras when a child is seized (or possessed) by an evil spirit; *homa* with *dūrvās* and homa for long life; śānti for *adbhutas* and śāntis for strange occurrences about images, Agni, trees, rainfall, reservoirs of water, for strange births, for birth of twins, for strange happenings about implements, beasts, collapse of temples and houses; śāntis for various *utpātas* and *adbhutas;* śāntis about kapota bird and on seeing the *coitus* of crows; śāntis relating to fall on one's body of the house lizard and chameleon; śāntis on impurity due to births and deaths; śāntis relating to horses and elephants; śāntis on weekdays; mahāśānti; Navagrahamakha; rules about Ayutahoma and its procedure, and about Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma from Narasiṁhapurāṇa, Devīpurāṇa and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa;[1172b] Vasor-dhārā from Devīpurāṇa. The adbhutas mentioned in *kāṇḍikā* 93 (of the Kauśika-sūtra) are: showers (of ghee, honey, meat, gold, blood and other terrible showers); yakṣas (supernatural apparitions like apes, beasts, crows appearing in the form of human beings); croaking of two frogs; wrangling of family members; earth-quake; eclipse of the sun; eclipse of the moon; auṣasī (day-break, morning?) does not go up; when *samā* (year?) becomes terrible; when there is fear of inundations; when brāhmaṇas are armed; when images of gods dance, fall down, laugh, sing or present other forms; where two ploughshares get entangled; where two ropes or two threads (become entangled); where one Agni comes in contact with another; when a cow gives birth to twins; when a

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1172 b. *Vasordhārā* (literally a stream of wealth). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1253 n 2696 for it. It is described at great length in Rājanīti-prakāśa pp. 447–457, quoting Devīpurāṇa, and in Kṛtyakalpataru (Rājadharmakāṇḍa p. 201–212) quoting Bhaviṣya. It is an ancient idea, as Tai. S. V. 4. 8 mentions it 'वसोर्धारां जुहोति वसोर्मे धाराऽसदिति &c.'. The शान्तिमयूख p. 43 prescribes the following mantras in Vasordhārā, viz. 9 mantras of the hymn beginning with 'Agnim-īḷe' (Ṛg. I. 1. 1–9), the six mantras in Ṛg. I. 154, 1–6 (Vi ṇor-nu kam), the 15 mantras of Ṛg. II. 33, the nine mantras of Ṛg. IX. 1 (svādiṣṭhayā madiṣṭhayā), the Mahāvaiśvānarasāma and Jyeṣṭhasāma. On p. 210–11 of the कृत्यकल्प० (राजधर्म) the following verses occur 'वसुर्द्रव्यं घृतं वाज्यममृतं हविष्कामिकम्। तत्रधारा सदा देया वसोर्धारा हि सा मता। देया धारा सदा वत्स रिपुनाशाय विद्धि ताम्। विच्छेदो नित्यहोमस्य न कार्यस्तु कदाचन॥' अनुशासनपर्व.

mare, or a she-ass or a woman[1173] (gives birth to twins); when cows yield bloody[1174] milk; when a bull sucks the udder of a cow; where a cow sucks the udder of another cow; where (a cow, horse, mule or a person) smells at *ākāśapheṇa* (white scuttle fish bone supposed to be sea-foam); when ants behave in an unusual way; when blue[1175] bees act in an unusual way; where the honey bees act in an unusual way; when an *adbhuta* happens not known before (or that surpasses all previous records); when anything is torn (or shattered in pieces) in a village, residence, shed for sacred fires or meeting hall; when water spurts up in a waterless place; where sesame yield equal oil (?); where sacrificial offerings are polluted by being touched by birds, two-footed animals and quadrupeds; when the locks of hair (of a boy or girl) turn towards the left; when the sacrificial post strikes shoots; when a meteor is seen falling by day; when a comet darkens the Great Bear; when the nakṣatras fall frequently (from the sky);[1175a] when a bird alights (on one's house) with flesh in its beak; when a light flashes without there being any fire; where Agni seems to breathe (or hiss) as it were; where clarified butter, oil or honey trickles; where village fire burns down a house; where accidental fire burns one's house; where a bamboo splits open with a sound; where a jar splits in a reservoir of water or a pan (when put on fire) splits or a vessel in which barley is put splits.[1176]

1173. Compare कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 'भार्यागोषु यमजनने मारुतं त्रयोदशकपालं निर्वपेत्' 25. 4. 35 with कौशिक 93. 17-18 यमवत्सायां गवि। वडवागर्दभ्योर्मानुष्यां च'.

1174. Compare कौशिक 43. 19 'यत्र धेनवो लोहितं दुहते' with शतपथ XII. 4. 2. 1 'तदाहुर्यस्याग्निहोत्री लोहितं दुहीत किं तत्र कर्म का प्रायश्चित्तिरिति' &c.

1175. 'Nīlamakṣānācāre' Kauśika 93. 24; makṣā (as a collector of honey) occurs in Ṛg. X. 40. 6 'Yuvor ha makṣā paryaśvinā madhvāsā bharata niṣkṛtam na yoṣaṇā'.

1175 a. नक्षत्रेषु पतापतेषु। कौशिक 93. 35; वार्तिक 6 on पा. VI. 1. 12 is चरिचलिपतिवदीनामभ्याक्रु चाभ्यासस्य and पतञ्जलि gives the instances as चराचर, चलाचल, पतापत, वदावद.

1176. Many gṛhyasūtras have passages resembling those in कौशिक For example, मानवगृह्य II. 15. 6 has यद्यर्चा दह्येद्वा नश्येद्वा प्रपतेद्वा प्रभज्येद्वा प्रहसेद्वा प्रचलेद्वा द्वारवंशो वा स्फुटेत्। गौर्वा गां धयेत्। स्त्री वा स्त्रियमाहन्यात्। कर्तसंसर्गे हलसंसर्गे मुसलसंसर्गे मुसलप्रपतने मुसले वाव शीर्यैतान्यस्मिंचाद्भुत एताभिर्जुहुयात्। Then ten आहुतिs with ten मन्त्रs are prescribed viz. Ṛg. I. 89. 6, V. 51. 11, V. 51. 12, V. 51.13, X. 63. 15, VI. 47. 11, VII. 19. 7, X. 152. 4, X. 180. 2, and Tai. Br. III. 5.11. Some of these like Ṛg. X. 152. 4 and X. 180. 2 occur in all Saṃhitās.

(*Continued on next page*)

It would be impossible for reasons of space and also of usefulness to set out the śāntis prescribed for the above *adbhutas* in Kauśika, but a few may be described by way of illustration. When there is an earthquake[1177] one should offer (oblations of ghee) with five verses, three of which are addressed to Jiṣṇu (Viṣṇu). Three of the verses are: "Just as the sun shines brightly in the heaven, Vāyu dwells in the sky and Agni enters the earth, so may this Jiṣṇu be firm and unmoving. As the rivers day and night pour their sediment (clay or mud carried by them) in the sea without fail, similarly may all tribes (of gods?) with one mind approach my invocation (or sacrifice) without fail; may the Goddess (Earth) along with all deities be firm and unmoving for me and may (the Goddess) drive away from us all evil and pierce my enemies that hate me." After having offered oblations with the words '*svāhā* to the earth' he should offer oblations with the verses Atharva VI. 87. 1, VI. 88. 1 and with the verses of the *anuvāka* beginning with Atharva XII. 1. 1. This is the prāyaścitti there (in case of an earthquake).

Where darkness seizes the sun, one should offer oblations with the verses 'arranging according to the season divine wonders, (the sun) rises up revolving (driving away) the fierce (aspects) of the several seasons; may the sun passing over these on all sides come; may the Waters move along in all these worlds. May Indra and Agni, knowing well, protect thee with herbs (remedies); destroy all darkness according to the cosmic order and by true speech.' Having offered oblations with the words 'svāhā to the sun', he should again make oblations (in Agni) with the hymn Atharva XVII. 1. He worships with the Rohita hymns (Atharva XIII. 1-4). This is the *prāyaścitti* in this case.

(*Continued from last page*)

कौशिक 93. 26 is 'अनाज्ञाते'. The शान्ति for all अद्भुतs not specified in the well-known works is contained in कौशिक, Kaṇḍikā 119. 'यद् ग्रन्थे न पठ्यते तत्सर्वमनाज्ञातमित्युच्यते'. The शान्ति is 'यदनाज्ञातमनाम्नातमर्थस्य कर्मणो मिथः। अग्ने त्वं नस्तस्मात्पाहि स हि वेत्थ यथायथम्। अग्नये स्वाहा। वायो सूर्य चन्द्रेति च। पुरुषसंमितोऽर्थः कर्मार्थः पुरुषसंमितः। वायुर्मा तस्मात्पातु स हि वेत्थ यथायथम्॥ वायवे स्वाहा। अग्निर्मा सूर्यो मा चन्द्रो मेति च।'. Compare 'यदनाज्ञातं यदाज्ञातं यज्ञस्य क्रियते मिथु। अग्ने तदस्य कल्पय त्वं हि वेत्थ यथायथम्। पुरुषसंमितो यज्ञः यज्ञः पुरुषसंमितः। अग्ने तदस्य···यथम्॥' तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 11. 26-27.

1177. Vide कौशिकसूत्र chap. 98 for भूमिचलशान्ति, chap. 99 and 100 for śāntis in the case of solar eclipse and lunar eclipse respectively. ऋग्वेद X. 173 contains mantras similar to those in कौशिक 98.

When the (darkness) floods the moon one should offer oblation into fire with the verse[1178] "Rāhu creeps over the shining king (the moon), the former (Rāhu) strikes him (the moon) here (i. e. before us); a thousand of his (Rāhu's) bodies are to be destroyed; may (his) one hundred bodies perish!". Having offered oblations with the words 'svāhā to the Moon', he should offer oblations with the hymn 'Śakadhūmam nakṣatrāṇi yadrājānam-akurvata' (Atharva VI. 128. 1). This is the prāyaścitta in this case.[1179]

In connection with śāntis three words require to be carefully understood viz. *adbhuta*, *utpāta* and *nimitta*. Adbhuta is an ancient word. It occurs several times in the Ṛgveda and is generally applied to some gods in the sense of 'wonderful'. In some passages, however, it means 'future' and possibly also 'portentous'. For example, according to Nirukta I. 5[1180] the sage Agastya first promised to offer an offering to Indra, but later he desired to offer the same to the Maruts, that then Indra came to Agastya and complained to him as in Ṛg. I. 170. 1 (what was promised today) even that does not exist, nor will it (the *havis*) be there (for me) tomorrow; who knows (for certain)

1178. There is difference of opinion about शकधूम in 'शकधूमं नक्षत्राणीत्येतेन सूक्तेन जुहुयात्' कौशिक 100. 3 Literally it may mean 'the smoke from dried cowdung' (शकन् = शकृत् + धूम). It occurs also in कौशिक 8. 17 and 50. 65, which latter is 'उपोत्तमेन सुहृदो ब्राह्मणस्य शकृत्पिण्डान् पर्वस्वाधाय किमद्याहरिति पृच्छति।'. This shows that here at least the meaning is 'a ब्राह्मण on whose joints dried cowdung cakes were placed.' Charpentier has an interesting paper on शकधूम in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London) for 1935 pp. 449-450 where he states that various scholars have given different meanings, viz. constellation, dung smoke, weather prophet (Bloomfield), Agni (Caland), milky way and himself that it means 'Kṛttikā.'. It does not clearly appear how, conceding that शकधूम stands for कृत्तिका, a ब्राह्मण could be called शकधूम in कौशिक 50. 15 and on what grounds. According to Pāṇini IV. 3. 34 a man born on Bahulā nakṣatra was called Bahula; so one born on Śakadhūma (Kṛttikā) may be called by the same name by analogy. सोम is called the lord of plants in शतपथ VII. 2. 4. 26 and पारस्करगृह्य I. 5, and the king of brāhmaṇas (सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा) in शतपथ V. 3. 4. 12 and V. 4. 2. 3.

1179. For a śānti on eclipse from a late medieval work, vide पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि (pp. 355-361) quoting from मत्स्य.

1180. निरुक्त I. 5 says 'अगस्त्य इन्द्राय हविर्निरुप्य मरुद्भ्यः संप्रदित्सांचकार स इन्द्र एत्य परिदेवयांचक्रे। न नूनमस्ति नो श्वः कस्तद्वेद यदद्भुतम्। अन्यस्य चित्तमभिसंचरेण्यमुताधीतं वि नश्यति॥ (ऋ. १. १७०. १)। न नूनमस्त्यद्यतनं नो एव श्वस्तनम्। ...कः तद् वेद यद् अद्भुतम्। इदमपि इतरत् अद्भुतम् अभूतमिव। निरुक्त I. 6. Ṛgveda I. 170 has five verses which contain an interesting dialogue between Indra and Agastya.

what will happen in future'. Yāska paraphrases 'adbhuta' by the word '*abhūta*' (that has not taken place) and remarks that the word 'adbhuta' in popular speech also means 'something that has not happened before'. Ṛg. I. 25. 11[1181] says 'the intelligent man expects from this (Varuṇa) all wonders (or portentous happenings), whether already performed or to be performed'. Ṛg. X. 105. 7 is perhaps a little clearer than the preceding. '(May Indra reduce our sins) Indra who is golden-bearded, who has tawny horses, whose jaw is never broken and who made against the *dasyu* for easily killing him a thunderbolt like the sky that is wonderful (or full of portents)'. The word usually employed in the Gṛhyasūtras is *adbhuta* and the śāntis are called 'adbhutaśāntis'. Adbhuta is a word of very general import. It includes not only such serious phenomena as earth-quakes, eclipses, comets, falling stars but such comparatively minor yet unexpected or unusual happenings as a cow yielding blood-red milk or a cow sucking the udder of another cow. The ancient writer Vṛddha-Garga defines 'adbhuta' as any occurrence that had not occurred before or a total change coming over what has occurred before.[1182] The 67th Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa is called Adbhutaśānti (pp. 432–435). It distributes 'adbhutas' into seven groups relating to Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Agni, Kubera, Viṣṇu and Vāyu and names some adbhutas under each such as a rainbow at night (relating to Indra), a vulture or owl alighting on a man's house or a kapota entering it (relating to Yama), smoke without fire (relating to Agni), eclipse on the nakṣatra of a man's birth (relating to Viṣṇu) and prescribes as śānti the *japa* of Atharvaśiras, making brāhmaṇas say 'svasti,' honouring and feeding brāhmaṇas. That pariśiṣṭa is based on the Adbhutabrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda.

The word 'utpāta' is rare in the Śrauta or Gṛhya sūtras. The Gautamadharma-sūtra, after enjoining upon the king to

1181. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति। कृतानि या च कर्त्वा॥ ऋ. I. 25. 11; यज्ञो यश्चके सुहनाय दस्यवे हिरीमिशो हिरीमान्। अरुतहन्वरद्भुतं न रजः॥ ऋ. X. 105. 7.

1182. तत्र वृद्धगर्गः। अभूतपूर्वं यत्पूर्वं यत्पूर्वं जायतेन्यथा। तदद्भुतमिति प्रोक्तं नैमित्तं त्र्यात्रिमित्तजम्॥ q. by अद्भुतसागर p. 4. अथर्वपरिशिष्ट (p. 344ff) provides how certain portents indicated evil and death to the kings of certain countries. Vide the 'Reports of the Magicians and astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon' referred to above in note 839. Prof. Neugebauer refers to Babylonian tablets containing thousands of omens and observes that from about 700 B. C. systematic observational reports were made by astronomers to the royal court, in which no clear line of demarcation was drawn between astronomical and meteorological phenomena. Vide E. S. A. p. 96.

select a learned, well-conducted brāhmaṇa as his *purohita*, provides that the king should give heed to what astrologers and interpreters of omens tell (him) and that the purohita should perform śānti rites, rites for prosperity (such as vāstu-homa) and magic rites (on behalf of the king[1183]). But in the Purāṇas and the medieval Sanskrit works it is far more frequent than the word adbhuta; sometimes *adbhūta* and *utpāta* are used as synonyms. Garga says[1184] 'deities become unfavourable owing to the wrong doings of men and create extraordinary happenings in the sky, atmospheric region and on the earth. These are the utpātas for all worlds created by gods; these utpātas sally forth for the destruction (of people) and they by their (terrific) appearances rouse people (to do what is proper.)'. Here the words 'adbhuta' and 'utpāta' are used as synonyms. Similarly, Matsya (228. 1-2) appears to regard the two words as synonyms.[1185] Generally, however, the word utpāta denotes occurrences that portend evil to all. Amarakośa treats 'ajanya', 'utpāta' and 'upasarga' as synonyms. Utpāta is defined by Garga, Varāhamihira[1186] and Atharva-pariśiṣṭa LXIV as the

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1183. Vide p. 543 note 799 above for the passage from गौ. ध. सू. where the word उत्पात occurs.

1184. ततोऽपचारे मर्त्यानामपरज्यन्ति देवताः। ते सृजन्त्यद्भुतान् भावान्दिव्यभूम्यन्तरिक्षगान्॥ त एव सर्वलोकानामुत्पाता देवनिर्मिताः। विचरन्ति विनाशाय रूपैः सम्बोधयन्ति च॥ गर्ग q. by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 3; very similar verses are quoted from गर्गसंहिता and बार्हस्पत्य in अद्भु. सा. p. 5. मत्स्य chap. 229 summarises what वृद्धगर्ग told अत्रि and verse 5 is just like the first verse above; it is पुरुषापचाराक्षियतमपरज्यन्ति देवताः। ततोपरागाद्देवानामुपसर्गः प्रवर्तते॥; the बृहत्संहिता 45. 2-3 'अपचारेण नराणामुपसर्गः पापसञ्चयाद्भवति। संसूचयन्ति दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमास्त उत्पाताः॥ मनुजानामपचारादपरक्ता देवताः सृजन्त्येतान्।. It would be noticed that Varāha repeats almost the very words of वृद्धगर्ग. The शल्यपर्व (37. 14-15) speaks of a तीर्थ called गर्गस्रोतस् visited by बलराम on the Sarasvatī and credits him with proficiency in the movements of luminaries and अनुशासन 18. 38 speaks of him as proficient in कालज्ञान with its 64 aṅgas. Garga was a famous gotra name. Vide Pāṇ. IV. 1. 105 (Gargādibhyo yañ).

1185. दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमेषु या शान्तिरभिधीयते। तामहं श्रोतुमिच्छामि महोत्पातेषु केशव॥ अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि त्रिविधामद्भुतादिषु। विशेषेण तु भौमेषु शान्तिः कार्या तथा भवेत्॥ मत्स्य 228. 1-2.

1186. यानत्रेरुत्पातान्गर्गः प्रोवाच तानहं वक्ष्ये। तेषां संक्षेपोयं प्रकृतेरन्यत्वमुत्पातः॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 1; यः प्रकृतिविपर्यासः सर्वः संक्षेपतः स उत्पातः। क्षितिगगनदिव्यजातो यथोत्तरं गुरुतरो भवति॥ समाससंहिता of वराह q. by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 1. This verse is quoted in the अ. सा. p. 5 as taken from a work called वटकणिका; and the अ. स. ascribes the verse to वराह himself on the same page lines 3-4 'अत एव यः प्रकृति-

(*Continued on next page*)

reverse of the usual natural order. *Nimitta* means, according to Amarakośa (nimittam hetulakṣmaṇoḥ) 'cause or prognostic sign'. Nimitta may be auspicious or inauspicious. This is one distinction between utpāta (which generally denotes an unlucky portent) and nimitta. There is another distinction. Nimitta is often restricted to the throbbing of a person's limbs (as in Matsya chap. 241), though here and there it is used in a wider sense as in Gītā (I. 31) ('nimittāni ca paśyāmi viparītāni Keśava' O Kesava! I see adverse omens), Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa. 4. 17–19, Bhīṣma-parva 2. 16–17, Virāṭa 46. 30, Atharva-pariśiṣṭa LXIV (Utpāta-laksaṇa) 10. 9–10.[1187] It may be noted that Manu VI. 50 mentions 'utpāta' and 'nimitta' separately (p. 527 note 758).

Examples of unfavourable happenings (nimittas or utpātas) occur plentifully in the Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva 80. 28–31, 81. 22–25, Vanaparva 179. 41, 224. 17–18, Virāṭa .39. 4–6, 46. 24–32, Udyoga 84. 4–9, 156. 28–30, Bhīṣma 2. 17–33, 3. 65–74, 19. 36–38, 99. 21–28, 112. 6–12, Droṇa 7. 34–41, 77. 3–7, Śalya 23. 21–24, 56. 8–14, 192. 17–21, Mausala 1. 1–5, 2. 1–17 and the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā 4. 17–19, Araṇyakāṇḍa 23. 1–7 and 10–25, Yuddhakāṇḍa 10. 14–20, 23. 4–11, 35. 25–35, 41. 13–20, 53. 32, 65. 47–51, 95. 43, 96. 40–44. The chief *utpātas* and *adbhutas*, are: terrible dreams, roar of contending winds i. e. hurricanes

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विपर्यासः प्रायः संक्षेपतः', 'इह वटकणिकायां वराहेण प्रायः शब्दः प्रयुक्त इति.' This indicates that वराहमिहिर wrote a work called वटकणिका which is the same as the समाससंहिता of वराह quoted by उत्पल. This important point will be elaborated elsewhere. प्रकृतेरन्यथाभावो यत्र यत्रोपजायते। तत्र तत्रापि जानीयात् सर्वमुत्पातलक्षणम्॥ अथर्वपरिशिष्ट (chap. LXIV. I. 2 p. 409); प्रकृतेरन्यथोत्पातः संक्षेपस्तावदीदृशः। गर्ग q. by अद्भुतसागर p. 5. The निमित्त of भद्रबाहु states very similarly 'प्रकृतेर्योन्यभावो विकारः सर्व उच्यते।' (II. 2) and 'प्रकृतेर्यो विपर्यासः स उत्पातः प्रकीर्तितः। दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमाश्च व्यासमेषां निबोधत॥' (XIV. 2) The विष्णुपु० II. 5. 26 speaks of गर्ग as an ancient sage and as having known all the consequences of nimittas 'यमाराध्य पुराणर्षिर्गर्गो ज्योतींषि तत्त्वतः। ज्ञातवान् सकलं चैव निमित्तपठितं फलम्॥.'

1187. निमित्तानि समालोक्य कृत्वा पावनमादितः। महाशान्तिं प्रयुञ्जीत सर्वोपद्रवनाशिनीम्॥ सर्वरोगप्रशमनीमुत्पातफलनाशिनीम्। रौद्रीं कुर्यान्महाशान्तिं श्रद्धया बहुदक्षिणाम्॥ अथर्वपरिशिष्ट LXIV (उत्पातलक्षण) 10. 9–10. In भीष्मपर्व 2. 16–17, we read इह युद्धे महाराज भविष्यति महान् क्षयः। तथेह च निमित्तानि भयदान्युपलक्षये॥ इयेना गृध्राश्च काकाश्च कङ्काश्च सहिता बकैः। सम्पतन्ति नगाग्रेषु समवायांश्च कुर्वते॥; in वनपर्व 155. 2–5 sveral portents such as fall of meteors, sun becoming pale, earthquake, rain of dust are described and in verse 6 they are referred to as उत्पात and अद्भुत 'अन्ये च बहवो भीमा उत्पातास्तत्र जज्ञिरे। तदद्भुतमभिप्रेक्ष्य धर्मयुद्धे युधिष्ठिरः॥'.

(*nirghāta*), meteors, she-jackals howling towards the south, fierce and dry wind with shower of sand; earth-quakes; sun eclipse at an unusual time (Rāmāyaṇa III. 23. 12, Sabhā 80. 29, 81. 23 Śalya 56. 10, Bhīṣma 3. 28); flashes of lightning without clouds; carnivorous birds like vultures and crows on temples; fort-walls and bastions; spontaneous fire; rent banners; halo of the sun and moon; river-flowing with bloody waters; rain without clouds, rain of blood or mud; trumpeting of elephants; sky filled with darkness; horses shedding tears; peals of thunder in a clear sky, rivers flowing in reverse direction; throbbing of the left arm and eye (in men); croaking of frogs; sea lashed into fury; images of gods trembling, dancing, laughing or weeping (Bhīṣma 113. 11); pale sun, birds like pigeons and *mainas* and deer weeping with face towards the sun; appearance of a headless trunk near the sun; strange births such as ass born of a cow, mouse born of an ichneumon (Yuddhakāṇḍa 35. 30). The auspicious signs described in the epics, are comparatively few as in Bālakāṇḍa 22.4, Udyoga 83. 23–26, 84. 117, Bhīṣma 3. 65–74, Śānti 52. 25, Āśvamedhika 53. 5–6. The principal auspicious signs are: clear sky without clouds, wind blowing[1188] cool and pleasant to the skin, no dust raised, birds and animals proceeding to a man's right side, fire without being enveloped in smoke and with flames turned towards the right, shower of flowers, auspicious birds like *cāṣa*, *krauñca*, peacock sending up chirpings to the right (Karṇa 72. 12–13).

The omens and portents mentioned in the two epics are generally described as occurring at certain important times and events, e. g. on the eve of battles or when Daśaratha proposed that Rāma be crowned as *yuvarāja*, or when Pāṇḍavas startad on their exile into the forest or when Bhīṣma was anointed as commander-in-chief of the Kaurava hosts or when Arjuna vowed that he would kill Jayadratha before sunset. There is no gradation or order in mentioning the omens and portents in these two works, but they are set out pell-mell. Untimely rain, thunder without clouds, croaking of frogs are on the same level and

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1188. ववौ शिवः सुखो वायुः सर्वगन्धवहः शुचिः। शान्तिपर्व 52. 25; शिवश्चानुववुर्वायुः प्रशान्तमभवद्रजः। प्रदक्षिणानुलोमाश्च मङ्गल्या मृगपक्षिणः। प्रयाणे वासुदेवस्य बभूवुरनुयायिनः॥ उद्योग. 83. 23–24 and 26 मन्त्राहुतिमहाहोमैर्हूयमानश्च पावकः। प्रदक्षिणसुखो भूत्वा विधूमः समपद्यत॥; रघुवंश III. 14 (दिशः प्रसेदुर्मरुतो ववुः सुखाः प्रदक्षिणार्चिर्हविराददे। बभूव सर्वं शुभशंसि तत्क्षणं भवो हि लोकाभ्युदयाय तादृशाम्॥) seems to be an echo of the above verses; compare also रघु० IV. 25, X. 72–74.

uttered in the same breath with eclipses. But Garga,[1189] Parāśara, Sabhā-parva, Bṛhatsaṁhitā 45. 2, Matsyapurāṇa 229.5, Atharva-pariśiṣṭa LXIX (1. 2) and other works divide *utpātas* into three classes, viz. *divya* (arising from heavenly bodies), *āntarikṣa* (springing in the sky or atmospheric region) and *bhauma* (that appear on the earth). This classification is ancient enough. The Atharvaveda[1190] expressly refers to the three classes of utpātas 'May the earthly and atmospheric utpātas and the planets moving in heaven confer welfare on us'. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[1191] says that it is the king's business to arrange for śāntis in his kingdom for counteracting (the consequences of portents). Garga[1192] declared that those who, when advised by brāhmaṇas for performing śāntis, perform auspicious rites with faith do not suffer defeat, but that those who having no faith or because of atheism or resentment do not perform rites for counteracting (omens) perish in a short time. Garga, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Matsya 229. 6–9, Agni 263. 12–13 furnish examples of the three kinds of utpātas,[1193] viz. the *divya* ones are concerned with the abnormal conditions of planets and nakṣatras, eclipses, comets; those of atmospheric regions are hurricanes, unusual clouds, fall of meteors, twilights, preternatural reddish appearances of the quarters, halo, Fata Morgana (appearance of illusory town in the air), rainbow and strange rainfall (such as

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1189. तेषां द्यौरन्तरिक्षं भूरेताश्चाश्रयः। पञ्चमहाभूतानि योनिः। पराशर; त्रिविधः स तु विज्ञेयो दिव्यनाभसभूमिजः। गर्ग, both q. by अद्भुतसागर p. 5; दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमं च त्रिविधं संप्रकीर्तितम्। मत्स्य 229. 6; उत्पातांस्त्रिविधान्प्राह नारदो भगवान्ऋषिः। दिव्यांश्चैवान्तरिक्षांश्च पार्थिवांश्च पितामह॥ सभापर्व 46. 8–9.

1190. उत्पाताः पार्थिवान्तरिक्षाः शं नो दिविचरा ग्रहाः। अथर्व. 19. 9. 7.

1191. तत्प्रतिघाताय नृपः शान्तिं राज्ञे प्रयुञ्जीत। बृहत्सं. 45. 3.

1192. ये तु सम्बोधिता विप्रैः शान्तये मङ्गलानि च। श्रद्दधाना प्रकुर्वन्ति न ते यान्ति पराभवम्। ये तु न प्रतिकुर्वन्ति क्रियामश्रद्धयान्विताः। नास्तिक्यादथवा कोपाद्विनश्यन्त्यथवाऽचिरात्॥ गर्ग q. by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 4, in अद्भु. सा. p. 6 (with slight variations, such as विमोहात् for कोपात्), ज्योतिस्तत्त्वं p. 707.

1193. स्वर्भानु-केतु-नक्षत्र-ग्रहतारार्कचन्द्रजम्। दिवि चोत्पद्यते यच्च तद्दिव्यमिति कीर्तयेत्॥ वाय्वभ्रसन्ध्यादिग्दाहपरिवेषतमांसि च। खपुरं चेन्द्रचापं च तद्विद्यादन्तरिक्षजम्। भूमावुत्पद्यते यच्च स्थावरं वाथ जङ्गमम्। तदेकदेशिकं भौमं भूमिचालाम्बुविक्रिया। गर्गसंहिता q. by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 45. 4–5, अ. सा. p. 6; दिव्यं ग्रहर्क्षवैकृतमुल्कानिर्घातपवनपरिवेषाः। गन्धर्वपुर-पुरन्दरचापादि यदान्तरिक्षं तत्। भौमं चरस्थिरभवं तच्छान्तिभिराहतं शममुपैति। नाभसमुपैति मृदुतां शाम्यति नो दिव्यमित्येके॥ दिव्यमपि शममुपैति प्रभूतकनकान्नगोमहीदानैः। रुद्रायतने भूमौ गोदोहात्कोटिहोमाच्च॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 4–6; मत्स्य 229. 6–9 ग्रहर्क्षवैकृतं दिव्यमान्तरिक्षं निबोध मे। उल्कापातो दिशां दाहः परिवेषस्तथैव च॥ गन्धर्वनगरं चैव वृष्टिश्च विकृता च या। एवमादीनि लोकेऽस्मिन्नान्तरिक्षं विनिर्दिशेत्॥ चरस्थिरभवो भौमो भूकम्पश्चापि भूमिजः। जलाशयानां वैकृत्यं भौमं तदपि कीर्त्यते॥ q. by हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. II p. 1076; अग्नि (263. 12–13) has same verses as मत्स्य.

of blood-red water, or fall of rain with fishes, tortoises &c.); those of the earth are earth-quake and unusual states of water reservoirs. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā remarks that the evil consequences of earthly (*bhauma*) utpātas when counteracted with śāntis are removed, the evil consequences of utpātas from the atmospheric regions are reduced to a mild form (by śāntis), while, according to some (ācāryas like Kāśyapa, says Utpala) *divya* utpātas are not counteracted by śāntis at all; the opinion of Varāhamihira himself appears to be that the consequences of even *divya* utpātas are conjured away by the gifts of plenty of gold, food, cows and land and by spilling the milk of cows on the ground or in a Rudra temple and by performing *Kaṭihoma*. Varāhamihira and Matsya further provide that daiva utpāta has evil effects (lit. bears fruit) in eight ways, viz. on the king himself, his son, his treasury, his conveyances (horses, elephants &c,), his capital, his queen, purohita and his people.[1194]

Numerous śāntis bearing different names are prescribed in Matsya, by Varāhamihira and others. The 18 śāntis prescribed in Matsya (228)[1194a] and bearing the names of several gods will be briefly mentioned here. Abhaya-śānti is prescribed when a king desires to be a conqueror or when he is attacked by enemies or when he fears that witchcraft has been practised against him or when he desires to uproot his enemies or when a great danger threatens. The *Saumya* śānti is prescribed when a man is attacked by Tuberculosis or is weak owing to wounds or when a man desires to perform a sacrifice. When there is an earthquake or when there is a famine of food or there is excessive rain or drought or there is danger of locusts or when thieves are operating the *Vaiṣṇavī* śānti is prescribed; *Raudrī* śānti is employed against an epidemic among cattle or human beings or when ghosts appear or when a coronation is to take place or when there is fear of an invasion or there is treachery in one's kingdom, or when enemies are to be killed; *Brāhmī* śānti is performed when it is feared that Veda study would

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1194. आत्मसुनकोशवाहनपुरदारपुरोहितेषु लोके च। पाकमुपैति दैवं परिकल्पितमष्टधा नृपतेः॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 7. Compare मत्स्य 229. 12-13 राज्ञः शरीरे लोके च पुरद्वारे (v. l. पुरे दारे) पुरोहिते। पाकमायाति पुत्रेषु तथा वै कोषवाहने। q. by अ. सा. p. 9, हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. II. p. 1076. There is close correspondence between the two here and elsewhere because both expressly say that they will draw upon what Garga declared to Atri.

1194a. The whole of Matsya 228 is quoted by Hemādri on Vrata vol II. pp. 1073-1075 and by अ. सा. pp. 733-736.

perish or when atheism prevails or where honour is paid to persons unworthy of it; if strong winds blow for more than three days and disease spreads due to *vāta*, then *Vāyavī* śānti should be performed; *Vāruṇī* when there is fear of drought or there is abnormal rain (of blood &c.); *Bhārgavī* when there is danger of false accusation; *Prājāpatyā* when abnormal births take place; *Tvāṣṭrī* when there are abnormal conditions of implements; *Kaumārī* when śānti is to be performed for children; *Āgneyī* when fire shows portentous appearances; *Gāndharvī* when a person is disobeyed or his wife and servants perish, or he desires to perform śānti for horses; *Āṅgirasī* when elephants are affected; *Nairṛtī* when danger arises from goblins; *Yāmyā* when there is fear of an accident leading to death or a bad dream; *Kauberī* when wealth is lost; *Pārthivī* when trees are affected by abnormal conditions; *Aindrī* when portents happen on Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatra or on Anurādhā.

The Agnipurāṇa (263. 7–8) refers to these 18 śāntis and says that the best śāntis are Amṛtā, Abhayā and Saumyā. Varāhamihira mentions numerous śāntis on the happenings of several abnormal incidents. For reasons of space nothing can be said here about them. But one śānti deserves to be set out.[1195] 'If a man perceives Yakṣas, the astrologer should declare that an epidemic is very near; for counteracting them Garga performed a propitiatory rite, viz. Mahāśāntis, offerings, plentiful food, worship of Indra and Indrāṇī.' The Bṛhatsaṁhitā sets out (45. 82–95) certain happenings as not portentous when they happen in certain seasons and quotes several verses of Ṛṣiputra which also occur in Matsya 229. 14–25 with some variations; e. g. in Caitra and Vaiśākha the following are auspicious (and not portents requiring śānti) lightning, meteors, earthquake, blazing twilight, noisy storms, halo, dust in sky, smoke in forests, red sunrise and sunset.

1195. दृष्टेषु यातुधानेषु निर्दिशेन्मरकमाशु सम्प्राप्तम्। प्रतीघाताय चैषां गर्गः शान्तिं चकारेमाम्॥ महाशान्त्योऽथ बलयो भोज्यानि सुमहान्ति च। कारयेत महेन्द्रं च माहेन्द्रीं च समर्चयेत्॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 79–80.

CHAPTER XXI

Individual Śāntis

It is now time to turn to individual śāntis, mostly post-vedic. The first is Vināyaka-śānti or Gaṇapatipūjā. This is performed at the commencement of all saṁskāras such as *upanayana* and marriage in order that the fruit thereof may be had without obstacles or for averting the evil effects of portents or in order to mitigate the adverse effects of the death of a sapiṇḍa or the like. When it is performed for its own sake it should be performed on the 4th tithi of the bright half, on Thursday and the auspicious nakṣatras Puṣya, Śravaṇa, Uttarā, Rohiṇi, Hasta, Aśvinī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, but when performed at the commencement of Upanayana or the like, one may perform it at a time suited to the time of the principal rite. The *saṅkalpa* is given below.[1196] In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 213-216 it has been shown how in the earliest stages represented by the Mānava-gṛhya and Baijavāpa-gṛhya which speak of four Vināyakas, all were evil spirits, how in the next stage represented by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 271–294). Vināyaka is not only represented as causing obstacles (Vighnakṛt) but also as bringing success in all actions and rites (Vighnahṛt) and how later on it was prescribed that Gaṇapatipūjā must be done first in all rites (Gobhila I. 13). Yāj. I. 293 provides[1197] that by worshipping Vināyaka in the way prescribed and also the planets, a person secures success in his undertakings and the highest prosperity. The Viṣṇudharmottara II. 105. 2–24 borrows the verses of Yāj. I. 271–292, though not in the same order and adds a few. The Brahmāṇḍa provides[1198]

1196. अथोपनयनविवाहादौ निर्विघ्नफलप्राप्त्यर्थमुपसर्गनिरासाय वा सपिण्डमरणादिनिमित्तकप्रतिकूलनिवृत्त्यर्थं वा विनायकशान्तिः कार्या। तत्र कालः शुक्लपक्षचतुर्थी गुरुवारः पुष्यश्रवणोत्तरारोहिणीहस्ताश्विनीमृगनक्षत्राणि शस्तानि। उपनयनादौ तु प्रधानकालानुरोधेन यथासम्भवकालो ग्राह्यः। तत्रामुककर्मणो निर्विघ्नफलसिद्ध्यर्थमिति वा उपसर्गनिवृत्त्यर्थमिति वा, अमुकसपिण्डमरणनिमित्तकाशुचित्वप्रातिकूल्यनिरासार्थमिति वा सङ्कल्प ऊह्यः। धर्मसिन्धु p. 205; प्रतिकूल has a special meaning, for which vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 516.

1197. एवं विनायकं पूज्य ग्रहांश्चैव विधानतः। कर्मणां फलमाप्नोति श्रियं चाप्नोत्यनुत्तमाम्॥ याज्ञ. I. 293, भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 23. 30.

1198. जातकर्मादिसंस्कारे गर्भाधानादिकेपि च। यात्रायां वणिज्यादौ युद्धे देवार्चने शुभे। संकटे काम्यसिद्ध्यर्थं पूजयेद्यो गजाननम्। तस्य सर्वाणि कार्याणि सिध्यन्त्येव न संशयः॥ ब्रह्माण्ड III. 42. 42–44; ब्रह्माण्ड (IV. 44. 65–70) gives 51 names of गणेश.

that Gajānana must be worshipped for success in all desires, in all *saṃskāras* such as Garbhādhāna and Jātakarma, when starting on a journey or engaging in a commercial undertaking, at the time of battle, in the worship of gods, in troublous times. The Bhaviṣyottara chap. 144 has a śānti called Gaṇanāthaśānti which resembles the Vināyakaśānti of Yāj.

In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I. 294-308), the Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (IV. 13-14), the Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra, the Matsya-purāṇa (93. 1-105), the Viṣṇudharmottara I. 93-105 and other purāṇas, in the Bṛhad-Yogayātrā (chap. 18. 1-24), and in the medieval digests provision is made for a śānti rite to the nine *grahas*, viz. the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn (mentioned in the order of the week-days), Rāhu and Ketu. This *navagrahaśānti* is the model (*prakṛti*) of all śāntihomas in all medieval digests. The Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra[1199] provides that all religious rites should be preceded by this navagraha-śānti. Yājñavalkya[1200] says 'one desirous of prosperity, of removing evil or calamities, of rainfall (for crops), long life, bodily health and one desirous of performing magic rites against enemies and others should perform a sacrifice to planets.' The Matsya (93. 5-6) states that the *navagrahamakha* is of three kinds, viz *Ayutahoma* (in which 10000 oblations are made), Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma. The first is described at length in Matsya 93. 7-84, Lakṣahoma in 93. 85-118, Koṭihoma in 93. 119-139. The Matsya further provides[1201] that Ayutahoma should be performed in marriages, festivals, sacrifices, establishment of images and other rites, in order that no obstacles should arise therein and on occasions when the mind is perturbed or when some evil omen or unusual event happens.

1199. ग्रहपूजां पुरस्कृत्य सर्वकर्मसमारंभेदिति विज्ञायते। वै. स्मा. सू. IV. 14; the शान्तिकमलाकर says, 'अथ सर्वशान्तिप्रकृतिस्तु ग्रहयज्ञ उच्यते। तत्र स्कान्दयाज्ञवल्क्यौ श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा०' (folio 11a).

1200. श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा ग्रहयज्ञं समाचरेत्। वृष्ट्यायुःपुष्टिकामो वा तथैवाभिचरन्नपि॥ याज्ञ. I. 294, मत्स्य 93. 2 (reads वृद्ध्यायुः ० and चरन्पुनः). The मिताक्षरा explains: शान्तिकामः आपदुपशान्तिकामः सस्यादिवृद्ध्यर्थं प्रवर्षणं वृष्टिः ··· पुष्टिरनवद्यशरीरत्वम्; while अपरार्क says 'शान्तिः फलदानोन्मुखदुरितनिवारणं···पुष्टिः शरीराद्युपचयः'.

1201. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञेषु प्रतिष्ठादिषु कर्मसु। निर्विघ्नार्थं मुनिश्रेष्ठ तथोद्वेगाद्भुतेषु च। कथितोऽयुतहोमोऽयं लक्षहोममतः शृणु॥ मत्स्य 93. 84, भविष्य IV. 141. 86-87. The notes will show that several verses are common to both Yāj. and Matsya and the latter is far more elaborate than याज्ञ. or वै. स्मा. सू. It is probable that Yāj. is the earliest of the three, that वै. स्मा. सू. comes next and मत्स्य is the latest of the three.

The procedure in Yāj. being concise and probably the earliest among the extant works on *grahayajña* is set out here, with a few additions from Matsya and Vaikhānasa. The images of the nine planets should respectively be made of copper, crystal, red sandalwood, gold (for both Mercury and Jupiter), silver, iron, lead, bronze or (if all these be not available) they should be drawn on a piece of cloth with powders having colours appropriate to each planet or should be drawn on circles with fragrant substances (such as sandalwood paste). The Matsya[1202] (93. 11–12) prescribes that in drawing the images the Sun should be in the middle, that Mars, Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Moon, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu should be established with grains of rice respectively in the south, north, north-east, east, south-east, west, south-west and north-west. Yāj. (I. 298) proceeds garments, flowers and fragrant substances

Planet	Mantra in Yāj I. 299-301	Mantra in Matsya 93. 33-37.	Mantra in Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra IV. 14.
Sun	Ā kṛṣṇena, Ṛg. I. 35 2	Same.	Ā satyena (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2)
Moon	Imam devā, Vāj. S. IX 40, X. 18.	Āpyāyasva Ṛg. I. 91. 16 or IX. 31. 4.	Somo dhenum (Ṛg. I. 91. 20, Vāj. S. 31. 21)
Mars	Agnir-mūrdhā divaḥ kakut, Ṛg. VIII. 44. 16,	same	same
Mercury	Udbudhyasva, Vāj. S. 15.54, Tai. S. IV. 7.13.5	Agne Vivasvad-uṣasaḥ, Ṛg. I. 41. 1	Same as in Yāj.
Jupiter	Bṛhaspate ati yad-aryaḥ Ṛg. II. 23. 15.	Bṛahaspate pari diyā rathena, Ṛg. X. 103. 4	Same as in Yāj.
Venus	Annāt pari-srutaḥ, Vāj. S. 19.75, Maitrā. S. III. 116.	Śukram te anyat, Ṛg. VI. 58. 1.	Same as in Matsya
Saturn	San-no devīr, Ṛg. X. 9. 4	same	same
Rāhu	Kāndāt, Vāj. S. 13. 20, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 2,	Kayā naś-citra, Ṛg. IV. 31. 1.	Same as in Matsya
Ketu	Ketum kṛṇvan, Ṛg. I.6.3.	same	same

1202. मत्स्य 93. 11-12 are quoted by the मिताक्षरा on या. I. 297 and वै. स्मा. सू. (IV. 13) specifies the same as 'मध्याग्नेयदक्षिणेशान्योत्तरपूर्वपश्चिमनैर्ऋतवायव्याश्रिताः' in the order of the seven week days, राहु and केतु.

of the colour [1203] appropriate to each should be offered to the planets, also offerings should be made, *guggulu* is to be the incense for all planets and oblations of boiled rice accompanied with the mantras (specified below) should be offered respectively to the nine planets.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 102. 7–10) gives the same mantras as Yāj. does, Bhaviṣya (IV. 141. 34–36) gives the same except for Rāhu, for which it gives 'Kayā naścitra,' as in Matsya. Padma (V. 82. 30–32) is same as Matsya. Yāj. then proceeds (I. 301–302) that in homa for each of the planets the fuel sticks (*samidh*)[1204] were to be 108 or 28 anointed with honey or clarified butter or with curds or with milk and they were respectively to be of the arka plant, palāśa, khadira, apāmārga, pippala, audumbara, śamī, dūrvā and kuśas for the sun, the moon and so on in order. A man [1205] of the three varṇas should honour brāhmaṇas according to the prescribed procedure (washing their feet &c.) and should feed them respectively (Yāj.I. 304) with boiled rice mixed with jaggery, or cooked in milk and sugar, sacrificial food (*haviṣya*), boiled rice from paddy becoming ripe in 60 days from sowing mixed with milk, boiled rice with curds, boiled rice with ghee, boiled rice with pounded sesame, rice mixed with meat, rice of various colours, for the sun, the moon and so on in order or with food that is available and according to his ability. The *dakṣiṇā* (fee) to the brāhmaṇas should be a milch cow, conch, draught bull, gold, garment (vāsas), a horse (white), dark cow, iron weapon, a lamb, in honour

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1203. The colours appropriate to the nine planets and their presiding deities are stated by वै. स्मा. सू. as follows: रक्तसितातिरक्तश्यामपीतासितासितकृष्ण-धूम्रवर्णाः । अनलाप्पतिगुहहरीन्द्रशचीप्रजापतिशेषयमाधिदेवत्याः ॥. The मत्स्य slightly differs on both these; chap. 93. 16–17 provide that the colours are: red for the Sun and Mars, white for the Moon and Venus, yellowish for Mercury and Jupiter, dark for Saturn and Rāhu and smoky for Ketu. The presiding deities of nine planets according to Matsya (93. 13–14) are Śiva, Umā, Skanda, Hari, Brahmā, Indra, Yama, Kāla and Citragupta for the planets, Sun, Moon and so on respectively.

1204. कर्तव्या मन्त्रवन्तश्च चरवः प्रतिदेवतम् । अर्कः पलाशः खदिरस्त्वपामार्गोऽथ पिप्पलः । औदुम्बरः शमी दूर्वा कुशाश्च समिधः क्रमात् ॥ एकैकस्य त्वष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिरेव वा । होतव्या मधुसर्पिर्भ्यां दध्ना क्षीरेण वा युताः ॥ याज्ञ. I. 298, 301–302, मत्स्य 93, 32. 24–28. विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 101. 2–4 are very similar.

1205. शुद्धोदन-पायस-गुडौदन-दध्योदन-गौडिक-चित्रौदन-कृसरमाषौदन-कणौदनानि क्रमेण निवेदयेत् । वै. स्मा. सू. IV. 13; मत्स्य (93. 19–20) slightly differs from this and also from Yāj. मत्स्य (93. 38–41) prescribes Vedic mantras for the presiding deities of planets, which are mostly different from those in वै.स्मा.सू.

respectively of the sun, moon and so on. The Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 103. 1-6) contains the same fees.[1206] He should offer special worship to that planet that may be unfavourably situated (as regards his nakṣatra or horoscope) at a particular time. Yāj. winds up by saying that the rise and fall of kings depend on planets (vide note 800 for this verse). Viṣṇudharmottara (I. 106. 9-10) also has the same verse. Kṛtyakalpataru (on Śāntika, folio 5 b) quotes Bhaviṣya to the effect that planets are always favourable to him who abstains from injury to others, who is self-restrained, who acquires wealth by righteous means, and who always observes the *niyamas* (restrictive rules of conduct as in Yāj. III. 313). The Śāntimayūkha (p. 21) also quotes this verse.

The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra (IV. 13) provides slightly different kinds of *naivedya* food for the nine planets (as in note 1205) and prescribes separate Vedic mantras for the presiding deities (of the planets) to whom oblations of ghee were to be offered. The Matsya remarks at the end of the description of Ayutahoma: 'just as armour is a protection against the wounds by arrows, so śānti (graha-yajña) is protection against the strokes of Fate.'[1207]

The Matsya (93.92) declares[1208] that Lakṣahoma is ten times of the Ayutahoma and Koṭihoma is one hundred times of Lakṣahoma in the matter of oblations, fees and rewards, that the procedure of invoking and bidding goodbye to the planets and presiding deities, the mantras for homa, bath and gifts are the same in Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma. The Matsya gives[1209] the warning

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1206. The दक्षिणा in वै. स्मा. सू. (IV. 14) is : रक्तधेनुमादित्याय शङ्खं सोमाय ताम्रमङ्गारकाय हिरण्यं बुधाय शुक्लं वासो बृहस्पतये हयं शुक्राय कृष्णां गां शनैश्चराय राहोश्छागं केतोरायसदण्डमिति। मत्स्य (93. 60-62) slightly differs from both याज्ञ. and वै. स्मा. सू. as to दक्षिणा and prescribes Paurāṇika mantras that are to accompany these gifts (verses 64-72).

1207. यथा बाणप्रहाराणां कवचं भवति वारणम्। तद्वद् दैवोपघातानां शान्तिर्भवति वारणम्। मत्स्य 93. 81, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 105. 14. मत्स्य 228. 29 is a similar verse 'बाणप्रहारा न भवन्ति यद्वत् राजन्नृणां संनहनैर्युतानाम्। दैवोपघाता न भवन्ति तद्वद्धर्मात्मनां शान्तिपरायणानाम्॥'.

1208. अस्माच्छतगुणः प्रोक्तः कोटिहोमः स्वयंभुवा। आहुतीभिः प्रयत्नेन दक्षिणाभिः फलेन च॥ पूर्ववद् ग्रहदेवानामावाहनविसर्जने। होममन्त्रास्त एवोक्ताः स्नाने दाने तथैव च। मत्स्य 93. 119-120.

1209. अन्नहीनो दहेद्राष्ट्रं मन्त्रहीनस्तु ऋत्विजः। यष्टारं दक्षिणाहीनं नास्ति यज्ञसमो रिपुः। न वाप्यल्पधनः कुर्यात्क्षुद्रहोमं नरः क्वचित्। यस्मात्पीडाकरो नित्यं यज्ञे भवति विग्रहः॥ मत्स्य 93. 111-112 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on शान्तिक) folio 10a.

that a sacrifice devoid of distribution of food burns (i. e. brings disasters on) the country, devoid of (proper) mantras burns the officiating priests, devoid of (proper) fees burns the sacrificer; there is no enemy as (disastrous as) a sacrifice and that a poor man should not start on a Lakṣahoma, since wrangling (about food or fees) in a sacrifice always causes trouble or misfortune (to the sacrificer). The Bṛhadyogayātrā of Varāha (chap. 18 verses 1–24) deals with *grahayajña* and closely follows Yāj. though some details are added here and there. Verses about the sun are quoted below (n 1213). The Yogayātrā also (chap. 6) deals with the same matter. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 164) is a wholesale copy of Yāj. (I. 295–308). The Matsya (in chapter 239?) again deals with Koṭi-homa which continues for a year. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 94) contains nine verses on the manner in which the figures of the nine planets were to be drawn or painted and these are quoted by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 297–298 and by Kṛtyakalpataru (on śānti) folio 5a. Vide Koṭihoma in list of vratas (p. 290).

The Grahayajña in Yāj. is short and simple, but in some purāṇas such as the Bhaviṣyottara (141. 6–85) and medieval and modern works it has become an elaborate affair by the addition of numerous details. One or two details may be pointed out. Each planet was supposed to have a gotra and was[1210] deemed to have been born in a certain country (vide note 875 p. 588 for the countries of the birth of planets). Therefore, in invoking the presence of each planet these two details have to be added (as specified below in the note for the sun by way of illustration). The gotras of the grahas from the Sun to Ketu are respectively Kāśyapa, Ātreya, Bhāradvāja, Ātreya, Āngirasa, Bhārgava, Kāśyapa, Paithīnasa, Jaimini. The Saṁskāra-tattva of Raghunandana (p. 946) sets out from Skanda the gotras and countries of birth of the nine grahas and provides that if worship is offered to them without mentioning the gotras and countries that would be disrespectful to them. The Grahayajña

1210. ग्रहपीठस्य मध्ये वर्तुले द्वादशाङ्गुले प्राङ्मुखं सूर्यं रक्तपुष्पाक्षतैः, आ कृष्णेन (ऋ. १. ३५. २) हिरण्यस्तूपः सविता त्रिष्टुप् सूर्यावाहने विनियोगः। ओम्। आ कृष्णेन॰। ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव काश्यपसगोत्र सूर्येहागच्छेह तिष्ठ सूर्याय नमः सूर्यमावाहयामीति सूर्यं स्थापयेत्। ऋग्वेदिनां ब्रह्मकर्म p. 145; it must be pointed out that Yāj. does not lay down a procedure for अयुतहोम, लक्षहोम, कोटिहोम nor does he even refer to them, as stated by शान्तिमयूख (p. 22) 'किं च याज्ञवल्क्यादिस्मृतिषु न तावदयुतहोमादीनां विधिर्नाप्यनुवादः।'.

may be simple (*kevala*) as in Yāj. or Ayutahoma or Lakṣahoma or Koṭihoma. A few further remarks are added here from the Agnipuarāṇa (chap. 149), Narasiṁha-purāṇa (chap. 35), Matsya (chap. 93 and 239), Bhaviṣyottara (chap. 141 and 142), Atharva-pariśiṣṭa XXXI (for Koṭihoma) and other works. The Kṛtyakalpataru[1211] (Rājdharma) quotes the Brahma-purāṇa as follows: The king should perform two Lakṣahomas every year and one Koṭihoma which confers freedom from the fear of all calamities and he should at once perform a Mahāśānti that removes all evil consequences when there are eclipses of the Sun and the Moon and an earthquake. The Agni (149.12) says 'Ayutahoma confers slight success, Laksahoma drives away all distress, while Koṭihoma tends to destroy all kinds of trouble and confers all desired objects.' The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 36. 3–4) states that Aśvapati, father of the famous *pativratā* Sāvitri performed a Laksahoma with the Sāvitrī (Gāyatrī) mantras for securing a son. 'There is no *utpāta* in the world that is not conjured away by Lakṣahoma; there is no more auspicious thing that surpasses Lakṣahoma. In the case of the king who gets a Koṭihoma performed by brāhmaṇas the enemies cannot stand up against him in battle: excessive rainfall, drought, mice, locusts, parrots, evil spirits and the like and all enemies on the battle-field are conjured away from him.'[1212] The Bhaviṣyottara (142. 11–12) calls koṭihoma a śānti rite, which yields all desired objects, by which even grave sins like brāhmaṇa-murder are removed at once, all utpātas are conjured away and great happiness follows. Bhaviṣyottara (chap. 142. 7–54) contains an elaborate procedure of Koṭihoma and also a briefer one (in chap. 142. 56–80). Atharva-pariśiṣṭa (No. 31) describes the procedure of Koṭihoma; it was to be begun on an auspicious tithi in the bright half, on the *muhūrta* called Vijaya and on one of the nakṣatras viz. Rohiṇī, Puṣya, Anurādhā, the three Uttarās, Abhijit, Mṛgaśiras, Śravaṇa, Citrā, Revatī. The firepit was to be of eight cubits (for Laksahoma half of this), the brāhmaṇas may be 20, 100, 1000 or even one crore, who

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1211. ब्रह्मपुराणे। द्वौ लक्षहोमौ कुर्वीत तथा संवत्सरं प्रति। एकं च कोटिहोमं च यत्नात्सर्वाभयप्रदम्। ...ग्रहणे सूर्यशशिनोर्भूकम्पोत्पातदर्शने। तत्क्षणे च महाशान्तिः कर्तव्यानिष्टनाशिनी। राजधर्मकाण्ड of कृत्यकल्पतरु p. 166.

1212. नास्ति लोके स उत्पातो यो ह्यनेन न शाम्यति। मङ्गल्यं परमं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते। कोटिहोमं तु यो राजा कारयेत्पूर्ववद् द्विजैः। न तस्य शत्रवः संख्ये जातु तिष्ठन्ति कर्हिचित्। अतिवृष्टिरनावृष्टिर्मूषकाः शलभाः शुकाः। राक्षसाद्याश्च शाम्यन्ति सर्वे च रिपवो रणे॥ अग्नि 149.5–8.

should offer fuel sticks anointed with ghee. The Bṛhadyogayātrā [1213] verses are quoted below.

Some of the medieval works like the Śāntimayūkha (p. 12) quote verses from the Skandapurāṇa that state how the unfavourable aspect of Saturn led Saudāsa to eat human flesh, that of Rāhu made Nala wander over the earth, that of Mars led to Rāma's banishment to forest, that of the Moon led to the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu, that of the Sun brought about the fall of Rāvaṇa, that of Jupiter led to the death of Duryodhana, that of Mercury made the Pāṇḍavas do work not fit for them, that of Venus led to the death of Hiraṇyākṣa in battle.

Some of the medieval digests (*nibandhas*) such as the Dharmasindhu lay down that certain special gifts should be made when any one of the planets is unfavourable to a person. They are set out here from the Dharmasindhu (p. 135). For the Sun—Ruby, wheat, cow, red garment, jaggery, gold, copper, red sandalwood, lotuses; for the Moon—rice grains in vessel made from bamboo, camphor, pearl, white garment, jar full of ghee, a bull; for Mars—coral, wheat, *masūra* pulse, red bull, jaggery, gold, red garment, copper; for Mercury—blue garment, gold, bronze vessel, *mudga* pulse, emerald, slave girl, ivory, flowers; for Jupiter—topaz, turmeric, sugar, horse, yellow corn and yellow garment, salt, gold; for Venus—garment of various colours, white horse, cow, diamond, gold, silver, unguents, rice grains; for Saturn—sapphire, māṣa beans, sesame and sesame oil, *kulittha* (pulse), she-buffalo, iron, dark cow; for Rāhu—*gomeda* (a kind of gem of four varieties), horse, blue garment, blanket, sesame and sesame oil, iron; for Ketu—cat's eye gem, sesame and sesame oil, blanket, musk, lamb, garments. In the author's youth these directions about dānas (gifts) were followed by many people and even now they are being followed to some extent. The Madanaratna (on Śāntika-pauṣṭika, folios 5 a to 7 a) gives separate śānti procedure for each of the *grahas* from the Sun to Ketu from the Bhaviṣyottara.

1213. तत्रार्चा ताम्रमयी सवितुः पालाशिकाः स्रुचः समिधः। आ कृष्णेनेति मन्त्रो रक्ता गन्धाः सहागुरुणा॥ माषातसीतिलाश्वकसमुद्गचणकान् विहाय भोज्यविधिः। बकुलार्कागस्त्य-पलाशशाल्मलीकुसुमपूजा च॥ अष्टशतमितेभ्यो विप्रेभ्यो दक्षिणाहिताग्निभ्यः। देया वृषकनकमयी सहस्रकिरणमुद्दिश्य॥ बृहद्योग० 18.3-5 (ms). It may be mentioned that the mantras for the nine grahas in बृहद्योग० do not agree completely either with Yāj. or with Matsya. They are आ कृष्णेन, आप्यायस्व, अग्निर्मूर्धा, उद्बुध्यस्व, बृहस्पते अति, अक्षा-त्परिस्रतः, शन्नो देवीः, कया नश्चित्र, केतुं कृण्वन्नकेतवे. Compare table above on p. 750.

Another śānti refers to the placating of Saturn when that planet occupies the 12th, 1st and 2nd rāśis from the rāśi of a man's birth. This is roughly a period of seven years and a half and is called '*sārdha-saptavārṣika-pīḍā*' in Sanskrit and '*sāḍe-sāti*' in Marāthi. The śānti consists in worshipping an image of Saturn made of iron placed in a vessel of iron or clay, covered with two dark garments or a blanket and offering to it dark and fragrant flowers, food or rice mixed with sesame. That food and the image are to be donated to a dark brāhmaṇa or to some brāhmaṇa with the mantra 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). If the worshipper be a śūdra he is to repeat a paurāṇika[1214] mantra (noted below) which refers to Nala getting back his kingdom by placating Saturn. This should be done every Saturday for a year or one should every day repeat the mantra containing ten names of Saturn (in note 1214) and should also repeat a Śanistotra (eulogy of Saturn) every morning. By doing so the trouble that Saturn causes for seven and half years is averted.

Some of the medieval digests try to furnish an accurate definition of Śānti. Only one may be cited here. The Śāntimayūkha[1215] of Nīlakaṇṭha (first half of 17th century A. D.) defines it as a rite prescribed by the śastra, which (rite) has its motive or urge sinfulness that is not clear (i.e. that is only inferred or presumed), that removes evil effects relating only to this world, and the performance of which does not lead on to sin The first clauses excludes gifts made to remove diseases like tuberculosis;[1216] the 2nd clause distinguishes śāntis from sacri-

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1214. The Paurāṇika mantra is: यः पुनर्नष्टराज्याय नलाय परितोषितः। स्वमे ददौ निजं राज्यं स मे सौरिः प्रसीदतु॥ नमोऽर्कपुत्राय शनैश्चराय नीहारवर्णाञ्जनमेचकाय। श्रुत्वा रहस्यं भव कामदस्त्वं फलप्रदो मे भव सूर्यपुत्र॥ धर्मसिन्धु p 135; the ten names of Saturn are कोणस्थः पिङ्गलो बभ्रुः कृष्णो रौद्रान्तको यमः। सौरिः शनैश्चरो मन्दः पिप्पलादेन संस्तुतः॥' q. by मदनरत्न on शान्तिकपौष्टिक folio 8a.

1215. अस्पष्टपापजनदानिष्टकोहिकमात्रानिष्टनिवर्तकं पापप्रयोजकं बंधं कर्म शान्तिकम्। क्षयादिहरदानादावतिप्रसङ्गं वारयितुं नैदानिकान्तम्। आमुष्मिकानिष्टनिवर्तकं वारयितुमैहिकेति। प्रायश्चित्तं वारयितुं मात्रपदम्। प्रायश्चित्तं तु आमुष्मिकानिष्टनिवर्तकमपि। अभिचारप्रत्यभिचारौ वारयितुं पापप्रयोजकमिति। तयोः फलतो हिंसात्वेन तदनुष्ठाने प्रायश्चित्तोक्तेश्च पापप्रयोजकत्वात्। शान्तिमयूख p. 2.

1216. It was believed in ancient India that diseases and bodily defects were due to sins committed in past lives. Vide II. of Dh. Vol. IV pp.174-175. Yāj. (III. 207 and 209) remarks that the murderer of a brāhmaṇa suffers from tuberculosis after passing through the births of deer, dog, hog, and camel. मृगश्वसूकरोष्ट्राणां ब्रह्महा योनिमृच्छति। ...ब्रह्महा क्षयरोगी स्यात्सुरापः श्यावदन्तकः॥

fices (intended to secure other worldly rewards) and *prāyaścittas* (that yield consequences in this world as well as in the next) and the last clause distinguishes śāntis from rites of black magic (for destroying one's enemies or securing a married woman's love &c.) which is sinful.

The number of śāntis is legion. They are prescribed for conjuring away the effects of rare natural phenomena such as eclipses, earth-quakes, rainfall (of peculiar kinds, of blood &c.) hurricanes, fall of meteors, comets, halos, Fata Morgana; for protection against the evil effects of the positions and movements of planets and stars for the world and for individuals; for strange births among human beings and animals; for the good of horses and elephants; for certain untoward happenings about Indra's banner and about images of gods falling or weeping, the cries of birds and beasts, the fall of lizards and the like on a person's limbs and on certain stated periods or on solemn occasions.

All rites of Śānti, Pauṣṭika rites and the Mahādānas were to be performed in ordinary fire, since there is no authority to prove that they are to be performed in śrauta fires or in smārta fire. Manu 3. 67 and Yāj. I. 97 refer only to ceremonies laid down in the Gṛhyasūtras. On Yāj. I. 285-86 the Mitākṣarā prescribes ordinary fire for offerings in Vināyaka-śānti. Vide also Śāntimayūkha p. 4.

Both Manu [1217] and the Viṣṇudharmasūtra prescribe that homas in which the Sun is the deity worshipped and Śāntihomas should be performed by a householder on the *parvans* (i. e. on Paurṇamāsī and Amāvāsyā). These were śāntis at fixed periods. Similarly, when a person, male or female, of any caste completed sixty years, there was the possibility that he may die soon, or that he may lose his mother or father or his wife or sons or that various diseases may affect him; for removing this danger a śānti is prescribed (and is often performed even now) in order that he may enjoy a long life, be free from all calamities and for his complete prosperity. This is called *Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti* (completion of sixty years) or Ugrarathaśānti.[1217a]

1217. सावित्राञ् शान्तिहोमांश्च कुर्यात्पर्वसु नित्यशः। मनु IV. 150; पर्वसु शान्तिहोमं कुर्यात्। वि. ध. सू. 71. 86.

1217a. Vide Mitra's Notices vol. IX No. 3234 for a ms. of Ugrarathaśānti and F. W. Thomas Presentation volume pp. 43-45 for 'ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti.'

One of the oldest available descriptions of the Ugrarathaśānti is found in the Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣa-sūtra (V. 8.). It is brief and the main items in it are set out here. It should be performed in the month of one's birth and on the nakṣatra of birth. A *vedi* as large as a bull's hide should be made, a jar full of water should be placed thereon and on the jar an image of Mṛtyu (Death) manufactured with two *niṣkas* (i. e. gold probably weighing as much) should be placed in the south-east corner; worship should be offered to the image and a *japa* of each of the mantras 'apaitu mṛtyuḥ' ('may Death go away', Tai. Br. III. 7. 14. 4), 'param Mṛtyo' (O Death! follow the path beyond &c.', Tai. Br. II. 7. 14. 5 and Ṛg. X. 18. 1), 'mā nas-toke' (O Rudra! do not injure our progeny' &c., Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Ṛg. I. 114. 8), and 'Tryambakam' ('we offer sacrifice to Rudra', Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2 and Ṛg. VII. 59. 12) be made 108 times; he offers oblations of cooked food with the *puronuvākyā* (invitatory prayer) 'mā no mahāntam' (O Rudra! do not destroy our grown up ones &c.', Tai. S. IV. 5. 10. 2 and Ṛg. I. 114. 7) and the *Yājyā* (offering prayer) 'Mā nas-toke' (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2 and Ṛg. I 114. 8). Then he makes subsidiary offerings of ghee with each verse of the Ghṛtasūkta.[1218] Then he sprinkles himself with water from the jar to the accompaniment of mantras from the Mṛtyusūkta, from the Āyuṣyasūkta and with Paurāṇika mantras, honours the officiating priest, gives dakṣiṇā to the brāhmaṇas and a dinner.

There is a Ms. (of only three folios in D. C. No. 609 of the year 1882–83, now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona) which deals with this śānti attributed to Śaunaka and is called Ugrarathaśānti at the end. The śānti is to be performed on the day or nakṣatra of one's birth. On that day the person of 60 years should take an auspicious bath, perform his daily religious duties, should invite brāhmaṇas and choose one to officiate who is learned in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and is well conducted. First Gaṇeśa worship should be performed, then

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1218 It is difficult to say what hymn is intended here by the word 'ghṛtasūktena'. It is probably Ṛg. VI. 70. 1-6 (ghṛtavatī bhuvanānām &c.). The Mṛtyusūkta is probably the same as Ṛg. X. 18. The Āyuṣya hymn is a *Khila* hymn after Ṛg. X. 128 and begins 'āyuṣyam varcasyam rāyaspoṣam audbhidam.' The Karmapradipa of Gobhila (I. 17) prescribes that Āyuṣya hymns should be recited in śrāddha for śānti. The Smṛtikaumudī (śrāddha p. 503) quotes Gobhila I. 17 and explains that they are hymns like the one beginning 'ā no bhadrāḥ' Ṛg. I. 89. 1.

puṇyāhavācana, worship of Mother goddesses, then nāndīśrāddha. He should bring together *sarvausadhis*,[1219] twigs and leaves of five trees, five jewels, *pañcagavya*, and pañcāmṛta; then worship of nine planets should be performed; an image of Mārkaṇḍeya was to be made from one *pala* or ½ pala or ¼ pala and the image was placed in a jar full of water surrounded by two garments; he should offer the 16 *upacāras* and offer to Mārkaṇḍeya 1008, or 108 or 28 or eight offerings of fuel sticks, boiled rice, ghee, dūrvā, superior dishes with the mantra (quoted below[1220]). Then he should make a *homa* in honour of Mṛtyuñjaya (Śiva) with oblations of dūrvā grass and sesame 10000, or 5000, or 3000 or one thousand in number and then he should sacrifice separately to the secondary objects of worship, viz. Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa, Hanumat, Bibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa and Paraśurāma. Then he should perform a homa with fried grams according to his ability and should recite Śrīsūkta,[1221] Rudra, the Āyuṣya-mantras, the Puruṣasūkta and specially the complete recitation of the Veda; he should finish the *homa* and offer pūrṇāhuti; then water from the jar should be sprinkled over the *yajamāna* (i. e. person who has completed 60 years), his wife and his near relatives; then there should be a *japa* of śānti hymn, the Puruṣasūkta, the mantra Ṛg. X. 18. 1, the Āyusya hymn, Pāvamāna hymn (hymn to Soma from Ṛg. IX.), the six verses of Śivasaṅkalpa (Vāj. S. 32. 1-6), and Mahāśānti. Then the jar should be donated and the garments rendered wet by the *abhiṣeka* and a decked cow with calf should be donated to the officiating priest; ten *dānas* [1222] to brāhmaṇas and gold weighing one hundred *mānas*; he should perform ājyāvekṣaṇa and offer '*bali*' (to all beings, crows &c.); he should then receive the blessings of the brāhmaṇas and put on a new garment; then he should have *nīrājana* performed and bow to deities and feed a thousand or a hundred brāhmaṇas and then himself partake of food along with his relatives. Whoever performs this śānti, according to the rules prescribed for grahaśānti, would certainly

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1219. For सर्वौषधि, vide p. 444 above, for five twigs vide pp. 336, 339 above undr पञ्चभङ्गदल and पल्लव, for five jewels p. 337.

1220. मार्कण्डेय महाभाग सप्तकल्पान्तजीवन। आयुरारोग्यमैश्वर्यं देहि मे मुनिपुङ्गव॥

1221. श्रीसूक्त begins हिरण्यवर्णां हरिणीम्; रुद्र is the eleven anuvākas of तै. सं. IV. 5. 1-11, beginning with नमस्ते रुद्र मन्यव; आयुष्यमन्त्रs are those like ऋ. II. 38. 5, VII. 90. 6 or आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट XXXII. 9.

1222. For the ten dānas vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 869 and above p. 334 for नीराजन.

live for a hundred years, all misfortunes will vanish and all prosperity will be his. The *prayoga* (procedure of this śānti) is given below[1223] since it is often performed even now.

It is difficult to say why this śānti was called Ugraratha. Another śānti on the completion of 70 years or on the 7th night of the 7th month of the 77th year is called Bhaimarathi-śānti, according to the Śabdakalpadruma, which quotes some verses from *Vaidyaka* without stating what work is meant.[1223a] Baud. gṛhyaśesasūtra I. 24 prescribes a śānti for one who has lived up to 100 years or one who has seen 1000 amāvāsyās.

The general rule about the time for śāntis is that no definite time can be fixed for them, since śānti rites are performed with the object of removing the evil consequences of men's lapses suggested by such indications (or omens) as dreams, the evil aspects of planets and the like i. e. they are to be performed as and when omens or portents occur or are observed and one should not wait for such times as the northward passage of the Sun, bright fortnight and that one may perform śāntis even in the southward passage of the Sun or even in an intercalary

1223. अथ प्रयोगः। देशकालौ संकीर्त्य अमुकगोत्रोत्पन्नस्यामुकशर्मणो मम आयुष्याभिवृद्ध्यर्थं श्रीमार्कण्डेयादिदेवताप्रीत्यर्थं सग्रहमखानुग्ररथशान्तिं करिष्ये। तदङ्गगणेशपूजामातृपूजानान्दीश्राद्ध-आचार्यादिवरणं च करिष्ये-इति सङ्कल्प्य तानि कृत्वा वृताचार्यः शरीरशुद्ध्यर्थं देवयजनं रक्षस्वेत्यन्तमुक्त्वा ग्रहस्थापनं कृत्वा मार्कण्डेयाय नम इति मन्त्रेण पीठोपरि कलशे मार्कण्डेयमावाह्य परिवारदेवतावाहनं कुर्यात्। अश्वत्थाम्ने नमः अश्वत्थामानमावाहयामि। एवमुत्तरत्र बलये नमः बलिमावाहयामि. व्यासाय०, हनुमते०, विभीषणाय०. कृपाय०, परशुरामाय० एता आवाह्य काण्डानुसमयेन पदार्थानुसमयेन वा सम्पूज्याग्निप्रतिष्ठापनादि चक्षुषी आज्येनेत्यन्तं, तत्र प्रधानं आदित्यादीन यथालाभं समिदादिद्रव्यैः मार्कण्डेयं समिदाज्यचरुदूर्वापायसद्रव्यैः प्रत्येकमष्टोत्तरसहस्राष्टाविंशतिरष्टसंख्याभिर्वा आहुतिभिः, मृत्युञ्जयं दूर्वाद्रव्येणायुतसंख्यया पञ्चमहस्रसंख्यया त्रिसहस्रसंख्यया सहस्रसंख्यया वा, पुनर्मृत्युञ्जयं तिलद्रव्येण पूर्वोक्तसंख्यया। अश्वत्थामादीन् लाजद्रव्येणाष्टोत्तरादिसंख्यया यद्ये शेषेणेत्यादिप्रधानहोमाङ्गं कृत्वा श्रीसूक्तं रुद्राध्यायं आयुष्यसूक्तं पुरुषसूक्तं यथाशक्ति वेदपारायणं च कृत्वा बलिदानं पूर्णाहुतिं च कृत्वा होमशेषं समाप्य, अभिषेकं यजमानस्य सपत्नीकस्य बन्धुवर्गसमन्वितस्य कृत्वा शान्तिसूक्तं पुरुषसूक्तं परं मृत्योसुपरेहीति आयुष्यसूक्तं पावमानं शिवसङ्कल्पं महाशान्तिं च जप्त्वा अभिषेककालीनवस्त्रमाचार्याय दत्त्वा सालङ्कारां गां च दत्त्वा दशदानानि विप्रेभ्यो दत्त्वा सुवर्णदानं च कृत्वा आज्यावलोकनं तिलदानं ब्राह्मणभोजनसङ्कल्पं आशीर्ग्रहणं देवताभिवादनं च कृत्वा कर्मेश्वरार्पणं कृत्वा बन्धुजनैः सह भुञ्जीतेति शौनकोक्ता उग्ररथशान्तिः। देशकाल० अमुकगोत्रोत्पन्नस्य अमुकशर्मणः मम जन्मतः सञ्जातषष्टयब्दकालनिमित्तदुःस्वमदन्तरोगदृष्टिमान्द्यव्याधिकृतिध्रुवादिनक्षत्रदर्शनभूतप्रेतपिशाचादि-नानाविधशारीरक्लेशापमृत्युमहोग्रपीडाराजभयादि-सकलारिष्टनिरसनपूर्वकदीर्घायुरारोग्यैश्वर्यसम्पत्प्राप्त्यादिसद्भीष्टसिद्धिद्वारा श्रीमार्कण्डेयादिदेवताप्रीत्यर्थं सग्रहमखानुग्ररथशान्तिं करिष्ये। श्रीगजाननार्पणमस्तु।

1223 a. सप्तसप्ततिवर्षाणां सप्तमे मासि सप्तमी। रात्रिर्भीमरथी नाम नराणामतिदुस्तरा॥ तामतीत्य नरो योऽसौ दिनानि यानि जीवति। क्रतुभिस्तानि तुल्यानि सुवर्णशतदक्षिणैः॥ ...इति वैद्यकम्.

month.[1224] If there is no hurry, then a śānti was to be performed on an auspicious week-day, an auspicious tithi and on certain nakṣatras, viz. the three Uttarās, Rohiṇī, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā, Śatatārakā, Punarvasu, Svātī, Maghā, Aśvinī, Hasta, Puṣya, Anurādhā and Revatī.[1225] As regards the Lakṣahoma the Matsya (93. 86) prescribes that it should be performed after securing favourable planets and *Tārās* (stars). Vide also p. 290 above about Koṭihoma prescribed by the Atharva-pariśiṣṭa (XXXI pp. 187–191). The Matsya prescribes that a Koṭihoma should be begun in Caitra or Kārtika (239. 20–21); the invisibility of Jupiter and Venus and similar matters need not be considered when a śānti has to be performed immediately on the occurrence of an omen (or portent) or when the śānti is meant for alleviating the disease from which a person may be suffering.

As against several *adbhutas* and *utpātas*, texts prescribe a rite called Mahāśānti. The Śānkhāyana Gṛ. (V. 11) speaks of a Mahāśānti, when an ant-hill grows in one's house, which has been referred to above on p. 730 note 1162. The details of a Mahāśānti differ in different texts and on different occasions. The Adbhuta-sāgara provides that where no specific details about śāntis against certain utpātas like a fall of meteors are prescribed one should have recourse to a sānti consisting in homa offerings to the accompaniment of one million repetitions of the sacred Gāyatrī verse ('tat-savitur' &c. Rg. III. 62. 10) or to the Mahāśānti called Abhayā according to the nature (grave or light) of the omen or portent.[1226] In the Marāṭhi commentary on the

1224. अत एव दक्षः। नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा। तथा तथैव कार्याणि न कालस्तु विधीयते॥ नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानीति समानाधिकरणम्। निमित्ताद् ग्रहदौःस्थ्यदुःस्वप्नादेः कर्तव्यत्वेन प्रतीतानि नैमित्तिकानि निमित्तसूचितदोषशान्तिकामनया क्रियमाणानि तान्येव काम्यानि। न कालस्तु विधीयते इति उदगयनशुक्लपक्षदिनपूर्वभागादिरूपः कालो नानुरुध्यते। तेन एतद्व्यतिरिक्ते दक्षिणायनादौ निन्दिते मलिम्लुचादौ च शान्तिकं कर्तव्यमिति शान्तिकपौष्टिके कल्पतरुः। मलमासतत्त्व p. 796 (vol. I). This whole passage of the कृत्यकल्पः (on शान्तिकपौष्टिक) occurs on folio 4a and b in the Baroda ms. of it.

1225. श्युत्तरा-रोहिणी-श्रवण-धनिष्ठा-शततारका-पुनर्वसु-स्वातीमघाश्विनी-हस्तपुष्यानुराधारेवतीनक्षत्रेषु गुरुशुक्रास्तमलमासरहितेषु शुभवारतिथ्यादौ शान्तिः कार्या। निमित्ताव्यवहितनैमित्तिके रोगशान्तौ च अस्तादिविचारणा नास्ति। धर्मसिन्धु p. 176.

1226. अत्रानुक्तविशेषशान्तिपूल्कापातेषु सावित्रीमन्त्रकदशलक्षहोमादिका शान्तिरभयाख्या वा महाशान्तिरौत्पातिकफलगुरुलाघवमवगम्य कर्तव्या। अ. सं. p. 341; the शान्तिरत्न of कमलाकर (folios 208–211 a) prescribes a mahāśānti put in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa in the name of Kṛṣṇa to be performed at the coronation of a king or before starting on an invasion, or when a person has a bad dream or the planets are unfavourable, or when there is an earthquake &c. Vide also शान्तिमयूख pp. 106–108 for महाशान्ति.

Nirṇayasindhu (p. 233) about the question of a rite on the first appearance of a woman's monthly illness a *japa* of Mahāśānti is prescribed after an elaborate homa and worship and the Mahāśānti is explained as consisting of the recitation of Ṛg. I. 89. 1-10 (beginning with 'ā no bhadrā'), Ṛg. V. 51. 11-15 (beginning with 'svasti no mimītām &c.') and Ṛg. VII. 35. 1-15 (beginning with 'śan-na Indrāgnī'). The Bhaviṣyottara (143. 2-46) describes a Mahāśānti to be performed at a king's coronation, on his marching out on an invasion, when one has bad dreams or inauspicious omens (*nimittas*), when the planets are unfavourable or when there is lightning and the fall of meteors, when a Ketu appears, in a hurricane, earthquake, birth on a Mūla nakṣatra or Gaṇḍānta, on birth of twins, when parasols and banners fall on the ground, when a crow, owl or pigeon enters a house, when malefic planets are retrograde (especially in the naksatra or rāsi of birth), when Jupiter, Saturn, Mars and the Sun are in the 1st, 4th, 8th or 12th houses (in a person's horoscope), when there is *graha-yuddha*; when garments, weapons, horses and cows, or jewels and hair are lost, or when rainbow is seen at night in front, when the beam on a house pillar is smashed, when a she—mule conceives, on eclipses of the Sun and the Moon—on these a Mahāśānti is commended. The procedure is briefly as follows: Five learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas should officiate in a *maṇḍapa* ten or twelve cubits on each side, in the midst of which there should be a raised platform four cubits on each side and in the south-east corner of that platform there should be a *kuṇḍa* (receptacle for fire). Five jars should be placed, four in the four intermediate quarters (south-east &c.) and the fifth in the middle of the platform and numerous things such as twigs and leaves of some plants, jewels, sandalwood, mustard grains, *śamī* and *dūrvā*. *kuśas* and grains of rice should be collected thereon; Vedic mantras such as 'āśuḥ śiśāno' (Ṛg. X. 103. 1) on north-west, 'Iśā vāsya' (Vāj. S. 40. 1) on north-east, were to be recited over the jars, worship is to be offered with *gandha*, flowers, lamps, fruits like cocoanut to the jars and fire should be placed in the *kuṇḍa* with 'agnim dūtam' (Ṛg. I. 12. 1), seat (*āsana*) should be offerred with the mantra 'hiraṇya-garbhaḥ' (Ṛg. X. 121. 1), then *pāyasa* should be cooked to the accompaniment of Puruṣa-sūkta (Ṛg. X. 90), eighteen fuel sticks of śamī and seven palāśa ones should be cast into Agni, seven *āhutis* of clarified ghee and seven of rice boiled in milk should be offered to Agni with a mantra 'Jātavedase' (Ṛg. I. 99. 1), four more with the hymn

'tārat sa mandi' (Rg. IX. 58), seven with 'yamāya' (Rg. X. 14 13) and again seven with 'idam Viṣṇur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and 27 āhutis to the 27 nakṣatras, then performance of 'sviṣṭakṛt' homa, grahahoma with sesame covered with ghee, then prāyaścitta; thus ends the homa; then the *yajamāna* sitting on a throne of kāśmarya wood should have sprinkled over him to the accompaniment of drum-beating and conch-blowing water from the five jars with five different mantras, then an offering to all the directions (*digbali*) with the mantra 'salutation to all bhūtas'. After the bath, brāhmaṇas recite a śānti over him after letting fall a stream of śānti water all round; then *puṇyāhavācana* and then close of the śānti rite, then gifts of land, gold, beds, seats according to the person's ability to brāhmaṇas; he should treat to a sumptuous meal the poor and helpless and men learned in the Veda. On doing this he secures long life, quick victory over enemies, even difficult undertakings succeed.

The huge work Adbhutasāgara is mostly concerned with rare natural phenomena such as halo, rainbows, hurricanes, glowing horizon (*digdāha*), meteors, comets, earthquakes, rain without clouds, red rain, shower of fish, Fata Morgama &c.

A few words must be said about some striking ones out of these. First comes earthquake. The Br. S. (32. 1-2) puts forth four theories of his predecessors about the cause of an earthquake viz. it was caused by huge animals dwelling inside the seas (view of Kāśyapa) or according to others (Garga) it was caused by the heavy breaths emitted by the elephants of the quarters when tired by carrying the weight of the earth; others (like Vasiṣṭha) said that earthquake noise is caused by the winds striking against each other (in the sky) and falling on the earth; other ācāryas (like Vṛddhagarga) held that an earthquake was caused by *adṛṣṭa* (i. e. by the sins of the people on the earth[1227]). In verses 3-7 of Br. S. (chap. 32) Varāha narrates the myth that mountains had in the dim past wings and the earth being much shaken by their movements approached Pitāmaha (Brahmā) and Brahmā seeing her sad plight asked Indra to discharge his thunderbolt for clipping the wings of mountains and for removing the anger (or sorrow) of the earth; Indra did so, but he told the earth that Vāyu, Agni, Indra (himself) and

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1227. The ब्रह्मपुराण sets out a novel cause of earthquake 'यदा विजृम्भतेऽनन्तो मदाघूर्णितलोचनः। तदा चलति भूरेषा सादितोयाधिकानना॥ 21. 23-24; अ. सा. p. 383 quotes this verse from विष्णुपुराण with slight variations.

Varuṇa would (each) at different parts of the day and night make the earth shake in order to indicate (to mortals) the fruits of their good and bad deeds. In Bṛ. S. 32. 8–22 Varāha describes the spheres and premonitory signs of Vāyu, Agni, Indra and Varuṇa with the nakṣatras and the countries they affect. The Adbhutasāgara (pp. 383–409) quotes most of the verses of Varāha and prescribes śāntis for each of the four deities that are deemed to be connected with earthquakes. The Adbhutasāgara refers to earthquakes that happened when angry Arjuna got no sleep after he made a vow that he would kill Jayadratha before the next day's sunset (Droṇaparva 77. 4) and when Duryodhana challenged Bhīma for a mace fight (Śalyaparva 56. 10 and 58. 49).

It should not be a matter for surprise that ancient and medieval Indians regarded earthquakes as punishments sent by God for the sins of men. The English poet Cowper gives vent to this belief in his poem 'Timepeace'.[1228] The most distinguished Indian of modern times viz. Mahātmā Gāndhi, regarded the earthquake in Bihar that occurred on January 15, 1934, and affected an area of about 30000 square miles and a population of about 15 millions and that killed thousands and made millions homeless, as God's punishment for the prevalence of the evil system of untouchability in Hindu[1229] society. To the natural and usual query why God should punish a small country or a small community with frightful earthquakes and overwhelming waves when other countries and millions of other people are guilty of the same misdeeds, Cowper endeavours to give a reply

1228. What then: Were they the wicked above all,
And we the righteous, whose fast-anchored isle
Moved not, while theirs was rocked like a light skiff,
The sport of every wave. No! none are clear,
And none than we more guilty. But where all
Stand chargeable with guilt, and to the shafts
Of wrath obnoxious, God may choose his mark;
May punish, if he please, the less, to warn
The more malignant.

'Timepiece' lines 150–158.

1229. Vide the eight volume life of Mahātmā Gāndhi by D. G. Tendulkar, vol. 3 pp. 304–308 and vol. 4 pp. 41–42. The characteristic sentences are 'A man of prayer regards what are known as physical calamities as divine chastisement alike for individuals and nations'; 'A man like me cannot but believe that this earthquake is a divine chastisement sent by God for our sins' (vol. 3 p. 303); 'I share the belief with the whole world, civilized and uncivilized, that calamities such as the Bihar one come to mankind as chastisement for their sins' (*ibid*, p. 305).

in the lines quoted above. It appears that, in spite of the beliefs now discredited, Vṛddha Garga and Varāha appear to have also believed that comets had orbits like planets and were visible in the firmament at certain long intervals of time.

The rules to be observed about eclipses have already been stated above (pp. 243–250). Though the real causes of lunar and solar eclipses were known long before the time of Varāhamihira as shown above (p. 242, n 622) this knowledge was not accepted by the masses for centuries and even now many people in India still entertain the old beliefs about eclipses.[1230] Varāha criticises ancient writers like Vṛddha Garga and Parāśara who prophesied an eclipse when five planets including Mercury came together or there were such *nimittas* as halo of the Sun, dim rays [1231] (Br. S. V. 16–17). Here the Śānti for it will be briefly described. One view was that an eclipse was auspicious [1232] to a person, if the eclipse occurs when the Sun or the Moon is in the 3rd, 6th, 10th or 11th rāśi (zodiacal sign) from the rāśi of the birth of a person, it is neither auspicious nor inauspicious when any one of the two is in 2nd, 5th, 7th or 9th rāśi from that of birth and it is inauspicious when the eclipsed sun or moon is in the 1st, 4th, 8th and 12th rāśi from the rāśi of birth. The view of Garga was that if an eclipse occurs when the sun or moon is in the rāśi of the birth of a person or if any of them is in the 1st, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th or 12th rāśi from that of birth or if any of them occupies the nakṣatra of the birth of a person or the 9th nakṣatra from that of birth, it leads to calamities for that person. If an eclipse occurred when the Sun or Moon occupied the nakṣatra of the day of the coronation of the king, that portends the ruin of the kingdom, the loss of friends and

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1230. Vide Bertrand Russell in 'Impact of science on society' p. 11 for remarks on eclipses and for the use even Milton makes of popular beliefs about them.

1231. न कथंचिदपि निमित्तैर्ग्रहणं विज्ञायते निमित्तानि । अन्यस्मिन्नपि काले भवन्त्यधोत्पातरूपाणि ॥ पञ्चग्रहसंयोगाश्च किल ग्रहणस्य सम्भवो भवति । तैले च जलेऽभ्रे वा न विचिन्त्यमिदं विपश्चिद्भिः ॥ बृहत्संहिता V. 16–17. Vide उत्पल's quotations on these from पराशर and वृद्धगर्ग.

1232. जन्मसप्ताष्टरिःफाङ्कदशमस्थे निशाकरे (v. l. दिवाकरे) । दुष्टोरिष्टपदो राहुर्जन्मर्क्षे निधनेपि च । मदनरत्ने गर्गः q. by नि. सि. p. 68 which explains: रिःफं द्वादशं, अङ्क नव, निधनं सप्तमतारा; पुराणान्तरे । सूर्यस्य संक्रमो वापि ग्रहणं चन्द्रसूर्ययोः । यस्य त्रिजन्मनक्षत्रे तस्य रोगोथवा मृतिः । तस्य दानं च होमं च देवार्चनजपौ तथा । उपरागाभिषेकं च कुर्याच्छान्तिर्भविष्यति । स्वर्णेन वाथ पिष्टेन कृत्वा सर्पस्य चाकृतिम् । ब्राह्मणाय ददेत्तस्य न रोगादिश्च तत्कृतः । जन्मनक्षत्रं तत्पूर्वोत्तरे च त्रिजन्मनक्षत्रमुच्यते, जन्मदशमैकोनविंशतितारा इति केचित् । नि. सि. p. 68.

the death of the king.[1233] Atri said that when the eclipse of the Sun or Moon occurs in the nakṣatra of a person's birth, disease, journeys and death are portended, and great danger for the king (whose nakṣatra is so affected). The averting of evil would follow if the man makes gifts and is engaged (that day) in worship of gods and *japa*.[1234] Several modes of śānti are prescribed, particularly for him whose rāśi or nakṣatra of birth or one of three nakṣatras (viz. that of birth, the one preceding and the one following the nakṣatra of birth) is occupied by the eclipsed Sun or Moon. One way is to make the figure of a serpent (that represents the demon Rāhu) with gold or flour and to donate it to a brāhmaṇa. Another was to make a serpent out of gold weighing a *pala* (i.e. 320 *guñjas*) or one half, one fourth or one eighth *pala* and to fix a jewel on its hood and place the serpent figure in a vessel of copper, bronze or cast iron full of ghee and donate it with a dakṣiṇā and also donate a silver disc of the moon and a golden serpent when it is a lunar eclipse and a golden disc of the Sun and a golden serpent when it is a solar eclipse. Further gifts of a horse, chariot, cows, land, sesame, ghee and gold also are recommended. The mantra accompanying the gifts addressed to Rāhu is quoted below.[1235] The Nirṇayasindhu also sets out a far more elaborate śānti from the Matsyapurāṇa, which is passed over for reasons of space.

The fall of meteors (*ulkā*) required a śānti. There were several beliefs about them. Garga held that they were missiles discharged by the Lokapālas [1236] who send down flaming meteors as missiles for indicating (coming) auspicious or calamitous events. Another view was that they were really souls that fell

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1233. यस्य राज्यस्य नक्षत्रे स्वर्भानुरुपरज्यते। राज्यभङ्गं सुहृन्नाशं मरणं चात्र निर्दिशेत्। भार्गव q. by अ. सा. (q. in नि. सि. p. 68).

1234. आह चात्रिः। यस्य स्वजन्मनक्षत्रे ग्रस्येते शशिभास्करौ। व्याधिं प्रवासं मृत्युं च राज्ञश्चैव महद्भयम्॥ तस्माद्दानं च दातव्यं देवार्चनजपस्तथा। कुर्याच्चास्मिन्दिने मुक्तस्तस्य शान्तिर्भविष्यति॥ q. by कालविवेक p. 543.

1235. The दानमन्त्र is: तमोमय महाभीम सोमसूर्यविमर्दन। हेमतारप्रदानेन मम शान्तिप्रदो भव॥ विधन्तुद नमस्तुभ्यं सिंहिकानन्दनाच्युत। दानेनानेन नागस्य रक्ष मां वेधजाद्भयात्॥ नि. सि. p. 68, धर्मसिन्धु p. 35. Vide ब्रह्मपुराण chap. 106 and Matsya 251 for the story of Rāhu at the time of the churning of the ocean and I. A. vol. 16 p. 288 (for the same) and I. A. vol. 21 p. 123 about the customs connected with eclipses.

1236. Lokapālas are guardians of the world or of the four cardinal directions and four intermediate ones from the east onwards in order viz. Indra, Agni, Yama, Sūrya, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Soma. Some substitute Nirṛti for Sūrya. Vide Manu V. 96.

down to the earth (for fresh births) after enjoying in heaven the favourable results of their actions.[1237] Meteors are often referred to in the epics as falling on serious occasions e. g. the Śalya-parva mentions [1238] the fall of a flaming meteor accompanied by a great noise and whirlwind when Duryodhana fell in the macefight with Bhīma. In Droṇaparva a flaming meteor is referred to as indicative of the coming death of the great ācārya and warrior Droṇa. The Adbhutasāgara (pp. 342–344) quotes a long passage (of 23½ verses) from Ātharvaṇādbhuta about the fall of meteors [1239] by day. It is said therein that such a fall of meteors by day portends the destruction of the country and its king and therefore a Mahāśānti called Amṛtā should be performed. There is an Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa LVIII b on *ulkā*, but the Adbhutasāgara verses do not appear to have been extracted from that.

Certain natural phenomena, though they may be called utpātas if they occur at certain times, are not to be regarded as such at certain other times. In Bṛ. S. 45. 82 Varāha says that certain occurrences natural to certain seasons do not lead to any unfavourable consequences; one should know them from the verses composed by Ṛṣiputra that are concise. Then he proceeds: in Madhu and Mādhava (Caitra and Vaiśākha) the following occurrences lead to good viz. lightning, meteors, earthquake, glowing twilight, noisy whirl-winds, halo (of Sun and Moon), dust in the sky, vapour (in forest), red sunrise and sunset; possibility of getting from trees food, rasas (sweet &c.), oily substances, numerous flowers and fruits; and amorous activities among cows and birds. The following are beneficial (auspicious) in summer (Jyeṣṭha and Āṣāḍha) viz. sky rendered dusky by the fall of stars and meteors, or in which the appearance of the Sun and the Moon is dark-brown, which is full of fiery glow without a flaring fire, loud noises, vapour, dust and

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1237. उल्कास्वरूपमाह गर्गः। अग्नाणि विद्युज्जन्त्येते शुभाशुभनिवेदकाः। लोकपाला महात्मानो लोकानां ज्वलितानि तु॥ उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 33. 1 and अ. सा. p. 321: दिवि शुक्लशुभफलानां पततां रूपाणि यानि तान्युल्काः। बृहत्सं. 33. 1.

1238. तस्मिन्निपतिते वीरे परयौ सर्वमहीक्षिताम्। महास्वना पुनर्दीप्ता सनिर्घाता भयङ्करी॥ पपात चोल्का महती पतिते पृथिवीपतौ। शल्यपर्व 58. 50–51; अपतद्दीप्यमाना च सनिर्घाता सकम्पना। उल्का ज्वलन्ती संग्रामे शुच्छेनादृश्य सर्वशः॥ द्रोणपर्व 7.38–39; मत्स्य 163. 43 has: अपतन्गगनादुल्का विद्युद्रूपा महास्वनाः। (among the numerous portents in the fight of हिरण्यकशिपु with नृसिंह).

1239. . अथर्वणाद्भुते। दिवा पतति योल्का सा हन्याद्देशं सभूपतिम्। महाशान्तिं तत्र कुर्याद्भृतां विश्वभेषजीम्॥ अ. सा. p. 342,

winds, in which evenings are like red lotus and which look like a stormy sea, and when rivers are dried up. In the rains (Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada) the following portend no danger viz. rainbow, halo (of Sun and Moon), lightning, dried trees giving out fresh sprouts, the earth quaking or rolling or showing other than its usual appearance, noises in the earth or gaps therein, or when lakes increase in expanse of water or rivers rise up (in floods), or when wells are full or when houses on hills roll down. In Śarad (Āśvina and Kārtika) the following are not of evil import viz. the sight of divine damsels, ghosts, gandharvas, air conveyances and other *adbhutas;* the planets, nakṣatras and other stars becoming visible by day in the sky; noises of song and music in forests and on mountain peaks; abundance of crops and reduction of waters. In Hemanta (Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa) the following are auspicious viz. the presence of cool winds and frost, loud cries of birds and beasts, the sight of rakṣas (evil spirits), *Yakṣas* and other (usually invisible) beings, non-human voices, directions darkened by vapour together with the sky, forests and mountains, the appearance of the rise and setting of the Sun at a higher point than usual. The following appearances are auspicious in Śiśira (Māgha and Phālguna) viz. the fall of snow, portentous winds, sight of terrible beings and *adbhutas*, sky resembling dark collyrium and rendered reddish-yellow by the fall of meteors and stars, the birth of various strange issue from women, cows, sheep, mares, beasts, and birds, strange appearances of leaves, sprouts and creepers. These when seen in the proper seasons are auspicious in those respective seasons, but when seen at other than the proper seasons they are very terrible portents. Two verses [1240]

1240. ये च न दोषाजनयन्त्युत्पातास्तानृतुस्वभावकृतान्। ऋषिपुत्रकृतैः श्लोकैर्विंशद्भेतैः समासोक्तैः॥ वज्राशनिमहीकम्पसन्ध्यानिर्घातनिःस्वनाः। परिवेषरजोधूमरक्तार्कास्तमनोदयाः॥ द्रुमेभ्योऽक्षरसस्नेहबहुपुष्पफलोद्गमाः। गोपक्षिमृदवृद्धिश्च शिवाय मधुमाधवे॥ ...ऋतुस्वभावजा ह्येते दृष्टाः स्वर्गे शुभप्रदाः। ऋतोरन्यत्र चोत्पाता दृष्टास्ते चातिदारुणाः॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 82–84 and 95. The occurrence of these twelve verses (45. 83–94) both in Bṛ. S. and Viṣṇudharmottara raises the important question of the chronological relation of the two works. Varāhamihira expressly tells us that he took the twelve verses (45. 83–94) from Ṛṣiputra or shortened them. Therefore, he did not borrow from the Viṣṇudharmottara. Ṛṣiputra has been often quoted by Varāha in his works (vide above p. 593 and my paper in JBBRAS for 1948–49, vol 24–25, p. 15). The अ. सा. pp. 743–744 quotes the verses from चाईस्पत्य, मत्स्यपुराण, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and वराहसंहिता. The twelve verses occur in मत्स्य 229, 14–25, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II, 134. 15–26. It must be stated that अ. सा.

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about Madhu-Mādhava and the last one (Bṛ. S. 45. 84–85 and 95) are quoted below. The Bṛ. S. further provides[1241] that whatever Gāthās (*prakrit* verses or simply verses) are recited by persons of distracted intellect, the utterances of children and what women speak out does not turn out to be wrong and that a person that understands utpātas, even though he may be devoid of mathematics (about planets), becomes famous and a favourite of the king, and by knowing the secret (or esoteric) words of the sage (Ṛṣiputra) which are stated (by me), a person sees the past, the present and the future.

Another very curious portent mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Kauśikasūtra[1242] (kaṇḍikā 105), Matsya (243), Viṣṇudharmottara, Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the Adbhutasāgara (pp. 425–436), Hemādri on Vrata vol. II. (pp. 1078–79) and Madanaratna (on śānti, folio 54b) is the trembling, dancing, laughing and weeping of the images of gods. The Bhīṣmaparva[1243] refers to the images in the temples of the Kaurava king doing these acts. In the encounter of Hiraṇyakaśipu with the Man-lion form of

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agrees most closely with बृहत्सं., while in the मत्स्य the readings and the order of verses differ a good deal from the अ. सा. In my 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp. 64–70 I arrived for the Viṣṇudharmottara at a date between 500–600 A. D. on other evidence. In my opinion it is probable that the Viṣṇudharmottara borrows the verses from the Bṛhat-saṁhitā. If that be accepted, the Viṣṇudharmottara (at least the 2nd section of it) must be later than 600 A. D. It is possible to argue that the Purāṇa might have taken them from Ṛṣiputra. But the Purāṇa does not say so and in keeping with the assumed character of the Purāṇas as composed by the semi-divine Vyāsa at the beginning of Kali-yuga, the Purāṇas generally take care not to admit any borrowing from a merely human author. It should be noted that three of the verses quoted only from Yogayātrā of Varāha by अ. सा. p. 494 occur in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 176. 9-11.

1241. उन्मत्तानां च या गाथाः शिशूनां यच्च भाषितम्। स्त्रियो यच्च प्रभाषन्ते तस्य नास्ति व्यतिक्रमः॥ ...उत्पातान् गणितविवर्जितोऽपि बुद्ध्वा विख्यातो भवति नरेन्द्रवल्लभश्च॥ एतत्तन्मुनिवचनं रहस्यमुक्तं यज्ज्ञात्वा भवति नरश्चिकालदर्शी॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 96 and 98.

1242. अथ यत्रैतद्देवतानि चृत्यन्ति ष्योतन्ति हसन्ति गायन्ति वाऽन्यानि वा रूपाणि कुर्वन्ति य आसुरा मनुष्या मा नो विदन्नमो देववधेभ्य इत्यभयैर्जुहुयात्। सा तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिः। कौशिकसूत्र 105. य आसुरा मनुष्या० is a मन्त्र in कौशिकसूत्र 104.2; मा नो विदन्० is अथर्व. I. 19. 1 and नमो देववधेभ्यः is अथर्व. VI. 13. 1. This prescribes a शान्ति viz. the offering of āhutis (of ghee) with these mantras called *Abhaya*.

1243. देवतायतनस्थाश्च कौरवेन्द्रस्य देवताः। कम्पन्ते च हसन्ते च चृत्यन्ति च रुदन्ति च॥ भीष्म 112. 11.

Viṣṇu the Matsyapurāṇa[1244] states 'the images of all gods shut and open their eyes, laugh, weep, scream, emit smoke, blaze, and these signs indicate that great danger impends.' In the Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa[1245] LXXII this matter is treated (in prose). It says 'there are portents called *divya* which occur in temples; they (images) laugh, sing, weep, shriek, perspire, cause smoke to issue out of them, they blaze, they tremble, open their eyes and shut them, blood oozes from them, they move to and fro.' These strange phenomena are said to forebode drought, danger from weapons, famine, epidemic in the country and destruction of the king and his ministers (or relatives). The śānti prescribed in the same Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa (4. 7) is as follows: one should boil *pāyasa* in the milk of 108 *kapilā* cows; if such cows are not available one should cook *pāyasa* with the milk of one hundred milch cows; he should put on the fire fuel-sticks with ends towards the east, should spread round the fire darbha grass and should offer oblations (of rice) in fire to the accompaniment of the mantras addressed to Rudra[1246] and called Raudra-gaṇa and also offer clarified butter (in fire). He should present white flowers, he should treat brāhmaṇas with boiled rice and should donate the same cows (the milk of which was used for cooking pāyasa) or donate the kingdom for a limited period for the satisfaction of a brāhmaṇa; he should give to the officiating priest a thousand cows and donate a good village.

Now śāntis on the birth of human beings should be referred to. There are several śāntis concerning the birth of a human being, such as a child's birth on Mūla, Āśleṣā, Jyeṣṭhā nakṣatras, on *gaṇḍānta*, on the 14th tithi of the dark fortnight or on

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1244. उन्मीलन्ति निमीलन्ति हसन्ति च रुदन्ति च। विक्रोशन्ति च गम्भीरा धूमयन्ति ज्वलन्ति च। प्रतिमाः सर्वदेवानां वेदयन्ति (v. l. वेदयन्त्यो) महद्भयम्। मत्स्य 163. 45-46 = पद्म V. 42. 137-138.

1245. दिव्यानीत्याचक्षते देवगृहेषु। अथ हसन्ति गायन्ति रुदन्ति क्रोशन्ति परिधावन्ति धूमयन्ति प्रज्वलन्ति प्रकम्पन्त्युन्मीलयन्ति निमीलयन्ति लोहितं स्रवन्ति परिवर्तयन्ति। आथर्वण-परिशिष्ट LXXII (महाद्भुतानि) p. 525. It may be noticed that three of these actions occur in the भीष्मपर्व and six in मत्स्य.

1246. The रौद्रगण (the string of mantras addressed to Rudra in a śānti) specified in आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट XXXII. 17 is as follows: रुद्रजलाशभेषज. येऽस्याम्. प्राची दिक्, उदितस्थयो अक्रमन्, भवा शर्वौ मन्वे वाम्, ब्रह्म जज्ञानम्, अनाशा ये, सहस्रधार एव, ग्रीष्मो हेमन्तो, अनड्वुह्यस्त्वम्, महामापो, वैश्वानरो, यमो सूत्युः, यां ते रुद्र. योऽग्नौ रुद्रो, भवाशर्वौ सृष्टतम्, भवाशर्वाविदं ब्रूमो, यस्ते सर्पो वृश्चिकः, तस्मै प्राच्या दिशो अन्तर्देशादिति रौद्रगणः। Vide note 1 on p. 146 in Bloomfield's edition of the कौशिकसूत्र 50. 13 for identification of these *pratīkas* from the Atharvaveda.

amāvāsyā, on Vyatīpāta-yoga or on Vaidhṛti or in an eclipse, or on the birth of twins, or when a girl is born to a person after three successive births of sons or a son is born after three successive births of girls. Some of these śāntis are performed even now. Therefore two of them which are still in vogue, though gradually becoming infrequent, are briefly described here. The consequences of birth on Mūla, Jyeṣṭhā and Āśleṣā are more or less similar. Here the *śānti for birth on Āśleṣā is briefly* set out.

The Āśleṣā nakṣatra has a mean measure of 60 ghaṭīs. It is to be divided into ten parts in order[1246a] viz. 5, 7, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 6, 9 and 5; birth of a son in these parts indicates in order the loss of kingdom, death of father, death of mother, addiction to lovemaking, he has devotion to father, has strength, loses property, has proneness to charity, pleasures, wealth. If the nakṣatra be divided into four parts, birth in the first part is auspicious but in the other three parts indicates loss of wealth, death of father, death of mother. If the child is a girl born on the last three quarters of Āśleṣā indicates the death of the future mother-in-law of the girl; if the child be a boy and is born in the last three quarters of Āśleṣā, that indicates death of his future mother-in-law. One should perform a śānti for birth on any quarter of Āśleṣā, either on the 12th day from birth, or if that be not possible, on the next Āśleṣā or on any auspicious day. On that day he (the father or other performer) should make a saṅkalpa[1247] as noted below

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1246 a. अथाश्लेषाफलम्। मूर्धास्यनेत्रगलकांसयुगं च बाहू हृज्जाठ्युग्मपदमित्यहिदेहभागः। बाणाद्रिनेत्रहुतभुक्-श्रुतिनागरुद्र-षण्नन्द-पक्ष शिरसः क्रमशस्तु नाड्यः। राज्यं पितृक्षयो मातृनाशः कामक्रिया रतिः। पितृभक्तो बली स्वघ्नस्त्यागी भोगी धनी क्रमात्। नि. सि. p. 244; शान्तिरत्नाकर folio 88 b. The presiding deity of Āśleṣā is serpent. The first half of the first verse mentions the head, mouth and other parts of a serpent's body (in all ten). Separate as गलक plus अंसयुगम्.

1247. अस्य शिशोराश्लेषाजननसूचितसर्वारिष्टपरिहारार्थं सग्रहमखां शान्तिं करिष्ये, इति सङ्कल्पयेत्. The गोमुखप्रसवशान्ति is described in the मदनरत्न (on शान्तिक-पौष्टिक, folios 35 b and 36 a) and in शान्तिमयूख pp. 59–60. On a new *śūrpa* (winnowing basket) a red piece of cloth is spread, the new born child is placed thereon, and is covered with cotton thread from head to the soles of the feet and is put on a heap of sesame, then the child is brought near a cow's mouth. Then (pretending that) the infant is born from a cow's mouth, the child is bathed with cow's milk with the hymn 'Viṣṇur-yonim kalpayatu' (Ṛg. X.184. 1, अथर्व. V. 25. 5 and बृह. उप. VI. 4.21). The infant should receive the touch of the cow's limbs at the hands of the priest with the mantra of Viṣṇu (Ṛg. X. 184. 1). The officiating priest should take the child that is (now imagined as) born from (the mouth of) the cow and

(*Continued on next page*)

after performing the Gomukhaprasava-śānti. He should worship Rudra and Varuṇa on two jars, should invoke the serpents, the lords of Āśleṣā, on an image placed on a jar established on the figure of a lotus with twentyfour petals and invoke Bṛhaspati, the lord of Puṣya nakṣatra, to the south of the jar (for serpents) and the *pitṛs* (the lords of Maghā) to the north of Āśleṣā jar and invoke on the twentyfour petals, beginning from the petal which is due east and proceeding to the right therefrom, twentyfour deities beginning with Bhaga, the lord of Pūrvā Phalgunī up to Aditi, lord of Punarvasu; then he should invoke the *lokapālas* (eight); then worship all the deities invoked, establish fire (for homa) and the planets and perform *ajyādhāna* (putting fuel on the sacred Agni). After the *ajyādhāna* of the Sun and other planets he should offer to the principal deities, viz. the serpents, 108 or 28 of each of the materials viz. pāyasa mixed with ghee, fuel sticks, clarified butter and boiled rice, to Bṛhaspati and pitṛs 28 or 8 offerings of the same materials and to the 24 deities (of nakṣatras) viz Bhaga and the rest eight *āhutis* of pāyasa to each with the verse 'rak-ohasam' (Rg. X. 87. 1). The other deities are to be worshipped as in śānti for birth on Mūla nakṣatra and the offerings and mantras are to be the same as in that śānti. A śānti for the birth of a child on the 14th tithi of the dark half is still in vogue and the author knows about it personally; it is described at length in the Madanaratna (folio 24 from Gārgya) and in Śānti-kamalākara. The śānti on the birth of a child on Mūla nakṣatra is described in Madanaratna from Garga (folio 27b to 28b,) one peculiarity of which is that the father had to collect one hundred roots of trees and plants (mūla means 'root'). Vide also Śānti-kamalākara (folio 77a).

(*Continued from last page*)

hand it over to the mother who should pass it on to the father who should then return it to the mother The child should be placed on a piece of cloth and the father should look at the face of the infant Then the priest should sprinkle the infant with drops from the mixture of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee with the mantras beginning with 'Āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1). The father then smells thrice parts of the child's head with the mantra 'thou art born from each limbs of the father &c.' (अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायसे। आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतम्॥) and places it with the mother. This mantra is quoted in Nirukta III. 4 and in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 8. It would be noticed that there is a symbolic simulation of the child (that was born on an unlucky nakṣatra &c.) as having been born from the mouth of a cow (a very sacred animal from Vedic times). Vide धर्मसिन्धु pp. 171-172 for details of गोमुखप्रसवशान्ति. The mantra 'Viṣṇur yonim kalpayatu' is employed in the Garbhādhāna rite.

The birth of a girl after three successive births of boys or of a boy after three successive births of girls was supposed to indicate unfavourable consequences to the parents and the family and death of the eldest, loss of wealth and great sorrow. Therefore a śānti was recommended on the 11th or 12th day from the birth of a girl or boy (as the case may be) or on an auspicious day. He (the father) should choose ācārys (chief officiating priest) and other priests, then perform a sacrifice to planets and offer worship to the golden images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra on a jar placed on a heap of grains. On a fifth jar he should worship Rudra and one brāhmaṇa should recite four hymns to Rudra eleven times and all śāntisuktas when homa is being performed. The ācārya should cast into the fire fuel-sticks, ghee, sesame and boiled rice 100, 108 or 300 times to four deities viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa and Indra respectively with the mantras 'Brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2, Vāj. S. 13. 3), 'idam Viṣṇur' (Rg. I. 22. 17), 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Rg. VII. 59. 12), 'Yata Indra bhayāmahe' (Rg. VIII. 61. 13). Then he should perform 'Sviṣṭakṛt' homa,[1248] then offer bali and *pūrṇāhuti*. The family members should be sprinkled with the sacred water. The performer should honour the ācārya and donate some gold and a cow to him and give *dakṣiṇā* to the other priests, should look into a vessel full of ghee and should make the brāhmaṇas recite śānti verses. The images with the additions or decorations thereof should be donated to the guru, brāhmaṇas, poor and helpless people should be fed according to his ability. By doing this śānti all misfortunes are destroyed. (Nirṇayasindhu p. 248 and Śāntiratnākara, folio 109).

The Kauśikasutra (kaṇḍikās 110 and 111), Bṛhatsaṃhitā[1249] (chap. 45. 51–54) and the Adbhutasāgara pp. 559–569 deal at length with the portents of births to women, cows, mares, she asses &c. A few passages only are set out here. Varāhamihira [1249] says 'when women give birth to monstrosities, or to two, three, four or more children at the same time or they are delivered much before or after the proper time, then results

1248. For 'Sviṣṭakṛt,' vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 208, 1257 (2nd note). Vide Nirṇayasindhu p. 248 and Dharmasindhu p. 186 for this śānti called 'Trikaprasavaśānti' i. e. śānti on the successive births of a group of three (sons only or daughters only). The शान्तिमयूख (p. 20) prescribes that the 'pūrṇāhuti' is to be cast into fire with the mantra 'Mūrdhānam divo' Rg. VI. 7. 1, Vāj. S. VII. 24, Tai. S. I. 4. 13.

1249. प्रसवविकारे स्त्रीणां द्वित्रिचतुःप्रभृतिसंप्रसूतौ वा। हीनातिरिक्तकाले च देशकुलसंक्षयो भवति॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 52.

destruction of the country or family'. The Matsyapurāṇa 235. 1–3 and Viṣṇudharmottara II. 140. 1–3 have identical verses similar to the above. The Bhīsmaparva[1250] (chap. 3. 2–7) refers to portentous births such as the following; 'pregnant women and women who had never before given birth to sons produce monstrosities; so also even wives of men who are Vedic scholars are giving birth to eagles and peacocks, mares give birth to calves, dogs to jackals; some women have given birth to four or five girls (at the same time) &c.'. The Br. S. proceeds[1251] 'If mares, camels, she-buffaloes and cow-elephants give birth to twins, that portends death to them. The effect of such births will come to pass about six months later; Garga has declared two ślokas as to the śānti in such cases. The women that give birth (to twins or monstrosities) should be removed to another place (or country) by one that desires his own happiness, he should gratify brāhmaṇas by gifts of things desired by them and should cause a śānti (propitiatory rite) to be performed; as to quadrupeds, they should be removed from their flocks or herds and be abandoned in other countries; otherwise there would be ruin of the town, the owner and the flock or herd.'

Various modes were employed to divine the future, viz. (1) the position of planets and stars, (2) individual horoscopes, (3) flight and cries of birds like khañjana and crow, (4) natural phenomena (eclipses, meteors &c.), (5) dreams, (6) voices suddenly heard, (7) the physical and mental conditions of men, animals &c. The first four have already been briefly dealt with. Now dreams will be taken up for discussion.

It has already been seen (p. 728, notes 1157 and 1158) how in the Vedic literature dreams had been associated with good luck or ill-luck. The two epics, the Svapnādhyāya (of Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa LXVIII pp. 438–449), the Bṛhad-yoga-yātrā of Vārāha (chap. 16. 1–31), Purāṇas such as Vāyu (chap. 19. 13–18), Matsya (chap. 242), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 176), Bhaviṣya I. 194, Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa (Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa 34. 10–40), describe good or bad dreams; Agni (229, many verses of which are the same

1250. गर्भिण्योजातपुत्राश्च जनयन्ति विभीषणान्। ...तथैवान्याश्च दृश्यन्ते स्त्रियो वै ब्रह्मवादिनाम्। वैनतेयान्मयूरांश्च जनयन्ति पुरे तव॥ गोवत्सं वडवा सूते श्वा शृगालं महीपते॥ ...स्त्रियः काश्चित्प्रजायन्ते चतस्रः पञ्च कन्यकाः॥ भीष्म chap. 3. 2, 5–7; अ. सा. pp 562–63 quote these.

1251. वडवोष्ट्रमहिषगोहस्तिनीषु यमलोद्भवे मरणमेषाम्। षण्मासात् सूतिफलं शान्तौ श्लोकौ च गर्गोक्तौ॥ नार्यः परस्य विषये त्यक्तव्यास्ता हितार्थिना। तर्पयेच्च द्विजान्कामैः शान्तिं चैवात्र कारयेत्॥ चतुष्पदाः स्वयूथेभ्यस्त्यक्तव्याः परभूमिषु। नगरं स्वामिनं यूथमन्यथा तु विनाशयेत्॥ बृहत्सं. 45. 53–54, q. by अ. सा. p. 563.

as those of Matsya chap. 242), Bhujabala of Bhoja (pp. 298–304 verses 1347–1378), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 493–515 deal at length with the matters relating to dreams and śāntis therefor. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on Vedāntasūtra[1252] remarks that those who have studied the Svapnādhyāya declare that to see oneself riding on an elephant or the like is auspicious and to see oneself sitting in a conveyance drawn by asses is inauspicious (or unlucky). It appears that rarely an ancient writer like Aṅgiras[1253] said 'the movements of planets, dreams, nimittas (like throbbing), utpātas (portents) produce some consequences by chance; wise men are not afraid of them'. Numerous dreams are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa on several occasions. Some examples may be given. In the Sundarakāṇḍa (chap. 27, 23 ff) Trijaṭā (a *rākṣasī*) details several dreams that she saw and that indicated the destruction of rākṣasas and that were favourable to Rāma. Among the evil omens that she saw in her dream about Rāvaṇa were; he had his head shaved, he drank oil with which he was drenched, he was dressed in red garments, was intoxicated, wore wreaths of Karavīra flowers, he fell on the earth from his puṣpaka balloon, he was carried in a chariot drawn by asses, he was wearing red flowers and was anointed with red unguents &c. (verses 19–27). Similar dreams occur as seen by Trijaṭā in the story of Rāma contained in the Vanaparva chap. 280. verses 64–66. In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (chap. 69. 8. ff) Bharata who was with his maternal uncle saw in a dream his father (Daśaratha) dirty and with dishevelled hair, falling from a mountain peak in a turbid lake full of cowdung, drinking that dirty water and oil; he also saw the ocean dried up and the moon fallen on the earth, he saw his father seated on a dark seat of iron and wearing black garments and beaten by women dark and tawny in colour, he saw him going to the south in a chariot drawn by asses &c. Bharata says that these dreams indicated the death of the king (Daśaratha) or of Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa. In the Mausalaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 3. 1–4) the Yādavas saw in dreams a black woman with whitish teeth running to Dvārakā with a laugh and kidnapping their women and terrible vultures were seen to be devouring the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas in their own houses in which sacred fires had been established &c.

1252. आचक्षते च स्वमाध्यायविदः। कुञ्जरारोहणादीनि स्वप्ने धन्यानि खरयानादीन्यधन्यानीति। शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4.

1253. गीतश्चायमर्थोऽङ्गिरसा । ग्रहाणां चरितं स्वप्नो निमित्तौत्पातिकं तथा। फलन्ति काकतालीयं तेभ्यः प्राज्ञा न विभ्यति॥ वेणीसंहार II. 15.

It is impossible to point out the unlucky and lucky dreams as their number mentioned in Adbhutasāgara (pp. 502–513), quoting the Purāṇas, Parāśara, the works of Varāha and others is extremely large. One passage from the Matsyapurāṇa (242 verses 2–14, quoted in Adbhutasāgara pp. 502–503) is cited here by way of illustration; 'the springing of grass and plants from one's body (except from the navel); bronze vessels dashed against one's head and pulverized; shaving of the head; nakedness; wearing dirty garments; bath with oil; being smeared with mud; fall from a high spot (hill &c.); sitting in a swing, collecting mud and iron; killing horses; ascending trees that have flowers and over circles and riding boars, bears, asses and camels; eating of (the flesh of) birds and fishes and oil and rice mixed with *mudga* or *māṣa*; dancing, laughing, marriage and singing; playing on musical instruments other than stringed ones; going for a dip in a river; bath with water mixed with cowdung or mud or with water fallen on bare earth; entering the womb of one's mother; ascending a funeral pyre; the fall of Indra's banner; the fall of the Sun and the Moon; seeing portents of the three kinds (heavenly, those in atmospheric regions and earthly); anger of gods, brāhmaṇas, kings and one's *gurus*; embracing maidens; sodomy; loss of one's limbs; vomiting and purging; going to the southern direction; being overwhelmed by a disease; fall of fruits and of flowers; fall of houses; sweeping of houses with a broom; playing with goblins, birds or animals that subsist on putrid flesh, monkeys, bears and men; humiliation by strangers (or enemies); arising of calamity brought on by another person (or enemy); wearing ochre-coloured garments; playing with women; plunging into oil or drinks; wearing red flowers and applying red unguents; these and others are inauspicious dreams.

In the Bṛhadyogayātrā[1254] Varāha prescribes that the king wearing silken garments, pearls and jewels and accompanied by

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1254. यज्जाग्रतो दूरमुदैति दैवमाश्चर्यं मन्त्रान् प्रयतश्चिरेतान्। लब्धेकमुग्दक्षिणपार्श्वशायी स्वप्नं परीक्षेत यथोपदेशम्॥ नमः शम्भो त्रिनेत्राय रुद्राय वरदाय च। वामनाय विरूपाय स्वप्नाधिपतये नमः। भगवन् देवदेवेश शूलभृद्वृषवाहन। इष्टानिष्टे समाचक्ष्व स्वप्ने सुप्तस्य शाश्वतम्॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा q. by अ. सा. p. 494; the two verses नमः शम्भो occur in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 176. 9–10 and also the reference to 'yajjāgrato' (occurs in verse 11). That first mantra is यज्जाग्रतो दूरमुदैति दैवं तदु सुप्तस्य तथैवैति। दूरङ्गमं ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरेकं तन्मे मनः शिवसङ्कल्पमस्तु॥ (वाज. सं. 34. 1). This hymn is called शिवसङ्कल्प (vide मनु XI. 250).

astrologers and *purohita* should enter the temple of his favourite deity, should place the images of the *dikpālas* therein, worship them with mantras, place four jars full of water in the four directions, should thrice repeat the mantras beginning with 'Yajjāgrato dūram' (Vāj. S. 34. 1), should eat only once that day, sleep on his right side and pray to Rudra (as noted in *n* 1254) and examine the dream, auspicious or inauspicious, seen towards the close of night.

The Matsya (242. 21–35) sets out[1255] lucky dreams as follows: ascending (or riding on) mountains, palaces, elephants, horses and bulls; going among trees having white flowers; the shooting of trees and grass from the navel and seeing (the sleeper) endowed with many hands or heads; wearing garlands of very white flowers and very white garments; eclipse of the Sun, Moon and nakṣatras; sprinkling water (on one's body) all over; embracing or raising the banner of Indra; seizure of the earth and seas; slaughter of enemies; victory in disputes, in gambling and in battle; eating of wet (fresh) meat, of fish and of pāyasa (rice boiled in milk and sugar); seeing blood or being bathed with it; drinking liquor, blood, intoxicants and milk; being surrounded on the earth with intestines; sight of bright sky; sucking the udders (the milk) of cows and she-buffaloes and of lionesses, cow-elephants and mares; receiving favours from (images of) gods, *gurus* and brāhmaṇas; bath with water flowing from the horns of cows or falling from the Moon (this prognosticates the acquisition of a kingdom); being crowned as a king; the cutting of one's head; one's death; being burnt by fire; one's house and the like being burnt down by fire; securing the insignia of royalty; playing on the lute; swimming beyond waters; crossing difficult places; the delivery in one's own house of cows, mares and cow-elephants; being mounted on horses; weeping; obtaining of handsome women or embracing them; being bound with fetters; being smeared with excreta; seeing living kings and friends; seeing images of gods and pure (or pellucid) waters. On seeing such auspicious dreams a man easily secures permanent wealth and he who is suffering from a disease becomes free from it.

In the Jain Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu (S. B. E. vol. XXII. p. 129) fourteen very auspicious dreams seen by the brāhmaṇī Devānandā are enumerated, viz. an elephant, a bull, a lion,

1255. This long passage from Matsya about auspicious dreams is quoted as from Viṣṇupurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara by अ. चि. pp. 499–500.

anointing of the goddess Śrī, a garland, the Moon, the Sun, a flag, a vase, a lotus lake, the ocean, celestial abode, a heap of jewels, a flame and on pp. 231–238 elaborate details of these dreams are given.

Matsya (chap. 243. 2–12) sets out the sights that are unlucky when they come before a king who is going on an invasion (such as improper drugs, corn with dark exterior, cotton, grass, dry cowdung and many others) and prescribes that on seeing these for the first time he should worship Keśava with a laud and that if he sees it a second time he should enter his palace. Yogayātrā (chap. 13. 4 ff) provides what the king starting on an expedition should hear viz. such recitations as that of the Veda, Vedāṅgas, Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstra, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇa passages. Matsya (chap. 243. 15–25) prescribes the sights that are auspicious (such as white flowers, jars full of water, aquatic birds, meat and fish, flaming fire, courtezans, Dūrvā grass, fresh cowdung, gold, silver, copper and all jewels besides several others and winds up with a fine sentiment,[1256] viz. the ease (or satisfaction) of one's mind is the highest sign of success; on one side are all prognostications and on the other is the mind's ease. The Bṛhad-yogayātrā of Varaha has a similar verse. Vide H. of Dh. vol, II pp. 511, 876 and notes 1192 and 2048 therein for two sets of auspicious sights. The Jyotistattva (pp. 729–730) quotes several verses on the objects that are auspicious or inauspicious when seen by a person starting on a journey or expedition and remarks that the same objects when seen in a dream are of the same (auspicious or inauspicious) quality. The Vasantarāja-śākuna (V. 2–6) sets out fifty objects that are auspicious when starting on a journey or entering a home such as curds, sandal wood, ghee, dūrvā, a jar full of water &c. and (V. 10–11) specifies the thirty objects that are inauspicious.

The Matsya provides[1257]: "dreams seen in the first watch of the night bear fruit in a year, those seen in the 2nd watch after

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1256. मनसस्तुष्टिरेवात्र परमं जयलक्षणम् । एकतः सर्वलिङ्गानि मनसस्तुष्टिरेकतः ॥ मत्स्य 243. 27, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 163. 32; प्रष्टव्यो दैवविदा विश्रब्धमुपक्रमे नराधिपतिः । रिपुनिधनमणिधानं प्रति भवतां किं मनः कुरुते । ब्रूयात्स चेन्मम मनः प्रोत्सहते हर्षयेत्ततश्चैनम् । चित्ताप्रकूलता सिद्धिलक्षणं तत्र श्लोकाः ॥ शुभाशुभानि सर्वाणि निमित्तानि स्थरेकतः । एकतस्तु मनःशुद्धिस्तद्धिशुद्धं जयावहम् ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा chap. 14. 1–3 (ms. rather corrupt); एकतश्च सकलानि निमित्तान्येकतश्च मनसः परिशुद्धिः । चेतसोऽपि सदृयानरणे (v. l. सङ्ग्रासि रणे) भीर्मार्दवतोपि विजयाजयहेतुः ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा XIX. 1.

1257. एषां सङ्कथनं धन्यं भूयः प्रस्थापनं तथा । कल्कस्नानं तिलैर्होमो ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनम् । स्तुतिश्च वासुदेवस्य तथा तस्यैव पूजनम् । नागेन्द्रमोक्षश्रवणं ज्ञेयं दुःस्वप्ननाशनम् ॥

(*Continued on next page*)

six months, those seen in the third watch after three months and those seen in the last watch in a month. If on the same night one sees both auspicious and inauspicious dreams, one (the astrologer) should declare that the last dream (alone) will yield consequences. Therefore, when a person sees an auspicious dream he should not go to sleep thereafter. Declaring a bad dream to another is commended as also sleeping after seeing it; bath with water mixed with the viscous sediment of oily substances, *homa* of sesame, honouring brāhmaṇas, hymn of praise to Vāsudeva and worship of him and listening to the story of the liberation of Gajendra—these remove the evil effects of bad dreams." In connection with the vrata called 'Siddhārthakādi-saptamī' performed for gaining the favour of the Sun the Bhaviṣya (Brāhma-parva, 194. 1–25) sets out the dreams which are auspicious or favourable to the person performing the vrata. Those verses are similar to those in the Matsya and are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru (on vrata pp. 176–179). One verse says 'on seeing a favourable dream one should not sleep again, but declare in the morning the dream as seen to Bhojakas and brāhmaṇas (or to Bhojaka brāhmaṇas).' The Bṛhadyoga-yātrā contains similar verses as quoted by Adbhutasāgara p. 501.

The Jyotistattva quotes[1258] a verse 'I shall declare what matters seen in dreams tend to bring knowledge (of impending consequences) to men who do not understand the true nature

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(*Continued from last page*)

स्वप्नास्तु प्रथमे यामे संवत्सरविपाकिनः। षड्भिर्मासैर्द्वितीये तु त्रिभिर्मासैस्तृतीयके। चतुर्थे मास-मात्रेण पञ्चमे नात्र संशयः। "'एकस्यां यदि वा रात्रौ शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम्। पश्चाद् दृष्ट्वा तु यस्तत्र तस्य पाकं विनिर्दिशेत्। तस्माच्छोभनके स्वप्ने पश्चात्स्वप्नो न शस्यते। मत्स्य 242. 15–20; all these are q. by अ. सा. on pp. 501, 502 and 514 and the first four also from विष्णुधर्मोत्तर by अ. सा. p. 514. For नागेन्द्रमोक्ष (i. e. more familiarly गजेन्द्रमोक्ष), vide वामनपुराण 85, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 194, पद्म VI. 112. 18–20. The अथर्वपरिशिष्ट LXVIII (2. 56 at p. 445) says: 'शुभं वाप्यशुभं वापि यत्पश्चात्तत्फलं लभेत्। स्वप्नास्तु प्रथमे यामे संवत्सरविपाकिनः॥ द्वितीयेऽहनु मासेषु तृतीये तु तदर्धभाक्। मासिके गोविसर्गे तु सद्यः पाकः प्रभातिके॥'; दृष्ट्वा तु शोभनं स्वप्नं न भूयः शयनं व्रजेत्। प्रातश्च कीर्तयेत्स्वप्नं यथा दृष्टं खगाधिप। प्राज्ञो भोजकविप्रेभ्यः सुहृदां देवतासु च। भविष्य q. in कृत्यकल्प० on व्रत pp. 178–179. For मत्स्य and भोजकs vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 722 note 1727. In वेणीसंहार II (between verses 2 and 3) the चेटी says 'अकुशलदर्शना अपि स्वप्नाः ग्रहांसपा कुशलपरिणामा भवन्तीति श्रूयते।'

1258. अविज्ञातस्वरूपाणां नराणां ज्ञानहेतवे। स्वप्ने दृष्टानि वक्ष्यामि पुण्यपापोद्भवानि च॥ एवं चैषां सूचकत्वं न कारकत्वम्। ज्योतिस्तत्त्व p. 730; सूचकश्च हि श्रुतेराचक्षते च तद्विदः। वेदान्तसूत्र III. 2. 4, on which the शाङ्करभाष्य is "सूचकश्च हि स्वप्नो भवति भविष्यतोः साध्वसाधुनोः। तथाहि श्रूयते 'यदा कर्मसु''निदर्शने'॥" This last verse is छा. उप. V. 2. 9.

(significance) of objects seen in dreams that arise from their meritorious or sinful actions (in previous lives)' and remarks that from this verse it follows that dreams are purely indicative and do not *produce* consequences (by themselves). The higher thought in India held that dreams were only indicative or suggestive of future auspicious or inauspicious events, as affirmed by the Vedāntasūtra (III. 2.4) and by Śaṅkarācārya's commentary thereon. On the other hand Bhujabala provides[1259] 'to sleep again (after a dream), not to declare it to another, bath in the Ganges, *japa* (of holy texts), śānti, *svastyayana* (asking brāhmaṇas to say 'it would be auspicious'), to resort in the morning to cows and an Aśvattha tree, honouring brāhmaṇas with food mixed with sesame, with gold and flowers according to one's means, merit-giving recital of the Mahābhārata—these tend to destroy (the effects of) bad dreams.' Bhujabala further says that all white objects except cotton, ashes, bones, buttermilk are auspicious (in dreams) and all dark objects except cows, images of gods, elephants, horses and brāhmaṇas are inauspicious.

The Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa[1260] LXVIII (pp. 438–449) states that persons have different dreams according as their constitutions (*prakṛti*) are choleric or windy or phlegmatic (*pitta*, *vāta* and *kapha*) and long lists of dreams and their interpretations are given and it prescribes the same remedies against bad dreams as Varāha does.

1259. भूयः प्रस्वपनं न चास्य (तथास्य ?) कथनं गङ्गाभिषेको जपः शान्तिः स्वस्त्ययनं निवेदणमपि प्रातर्गवाश्वत्थयोः। विप्रेभ्यश्च तिलान्नहेमकुसुमैः पूजा यथाशक्तितः पुण्यं भारतकीर्तनं च कथितं दुःस्वमविच्छित्तये॥ सर्वाणि शुक्लानि सुशोभनानि कार्पासभस्मास्थि च तक्रवर्जम्। सर्वाणि कृष्णानि न शोभनानि गोदेवहस्तिद्विजवाजिवर्जम्॥ भुजबल p. 304 (first verse) and p. 310 (2nd verse). अ. सा. p. 514 quotes the verse भूयः प्रस्वपनं० from वराह. On अथ स्वस्त्ययनं वाचयीत (आश्व. गृ. I. 8. 15), नारायण explains 'ओं स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्त्विति ते च ओं स्वस्तीति प्रत्यूचुः।'.

1260. विप्रेभ्यः शक्तितो दानं शान्तिः स्वस्त्ययनादयः। विनाशयन्ति दुःस्वप्नं प्रातश्चाश्वत्थसेवनम्॥ अश्वत्थसेवा तिलपात्रदानं गोस्पर्शनं ब्राह्मणतर्पणं च। शान्तिक्रिया स्वस्त्ययनक्रिया च दुःस्वप्नमेतानि विनाशयन्ति॥ आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट LXVIII (स्वप्नाध्याय) 2.60 (p. 445); 'अथ दुःस्वप्नदर्शने कृत्यम्। यो मे राजन्नित्यृचा सूर्योपस्थाने दुःस्वप्ननाशः। अथ स्वप्नेयेति जपाद्वा क्वचिद्दर्शवच्छ्राद्धेन दुःस्वप्ननाशः, चण्डीसप्तशतीपाठेन वा। यद्वा श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रजपः कार्यः। अथवा श्रीभारतस्थस्य श्रीमद्भागवतस्थस्य वा गजेन्द्रमोक्षस्य श्रवणं पाठो वा। धर्मसिन्धु p. 361. ऋ. II. 28.10 is यो मे राजन्युज्यो वा सखा वा स्वप्ने भयं भीरवे मह्यमाह। स्तेनो वा यो दिप्सति नो वृको वा त्वं तस्माद्वरुण पाह्यस्मान्॥. This is obviously addressed to वरुण and it is strange that it is recommended for the worship of सूर्य by the धर्मसिन्धु. For Saptaśatī, vide above p. 155 n 396. For the thousand names of Viṣṇu, vide Anuśāsanaparva 149. 14–120 and for गजेन्द्रमोक्ष. भागवत VIII. 2.

The Dharmasindhu (pp. 359-360) collects in one place numerous dreams that are lucky or auspicious and that are unlucky or inauspicious and then prescribes (p. 361) the remedies to avert the consequences of unlucky dreams viz. worship of the Sun with the mantra (Rg. II. 28. 10, Tai. S. IV. 14-123) 'O king Varuṇa! protect us from the danger which my helper or friend declares to me (from what I saw) in a dream or from the thief or wolf who desires or is about to injure us'; or one may recite inaudibly the verse 'Adha svapnasya' (Rg. I. 120.12) or perform a śrāddha like the one on Amāvāsyā, or should recite the Saptaśatī in honour of Caṇḍī or the thousand names of Viṣṇu or recite or listen to the recitation of the liberation of Gajendra in the Bhārata or Bhāgavata.

All ancient countries and peoples believed in dreams and satisfied their curiosity to know the future by interpreting them. The Chaldean astrologers and dream-interpreters were in high favour at Babylonian and Assyrian courts. The Book of Daniel (chap. 2) tells us how Nebuchadnezzar, a great king of Babylon, asked the Chaldeans not only to interpret dreams but commanded them on threat of death to make known to him the dream which he had forgotten and then to interpret it. Plato, the greatest of the Greek philosophers, regards dreams as important physical and psychic symptoms while certain dreams are conceded as of supernatural origin and explains in his Timaeus (chap. 46 and 47) that dreams are prophetic visions received by the lower appetitive soul (through the liver). In JRAS (old series) vol. 16 pp. 118-171 N. Bland contributes a long and interesting article on 'the Mahomedan science of Tābir or interpretation of dreams.' There are striking parallels between the rules to be observed by the dreamer and by the interpreter and the principles of interpretation (of dreams) by contraries and by dependence upon the religion, country and bodily conditions (such as total fast or full stomach) of the dreamer. On p. 141 of JRAS there is an interesting account of a dream of Nushirwan, a Sassanian king (531-579 A. D.), who saw a dream that he drank from a golden goblet and that a black hog put its head in the goblet and drank from it. Then we are told 'Buzurmihr, his minister, whom he consulted, told him it signified that his favourite princess had a black slave who was her lover and suggested that the women of his harem should be ordered to dance undressed in the presence of the king. One of them showing some hesitation in complying and being protected by the others was discovered to be a Hindu male slave and the

Vazir's interpretation was verified.' The name of the Vazir remarkably agrees in sound with the name Varāhamihira and it is not very fantastic to suppose that Varāhamihira, probably the most famous astrologer and astronomer of early times in India, had been patronized by Nushirvan and held a high position in his court. Chronology is quite in favour of this identification since Varāhamihira takes *śaka* 427 (505 A. D.) as the starting point for finding out the *ahargaṇa*.

In modern[1261] times many educated people think dreams as of no consequence whatever, while there are others who regard dreams as almost infallible indicators of coming events; there is also a third class of people who are willing to listen to the arguments advanced on behalf of the interpreters of dreams and also of those who regard thoughts on the use and value of dreams as frivolous. To those who want to hear arguments on both sides and to form a judgment of their own about dreams, I would recommend the 'Fabric of Dreams' by Catherine Taylor Craig (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1918); Freud's 'Interpretation of dreams' is the most important of his works, in which he develops his psycho-analytic technique. Then there is the work 'Second sight in daily life' by W. H. W. Sabine who has a theory of his own. His work deals with precognition (or foreknowledge) which according to him is a subdivision of Extra-sensory perception. He propounds the theory that the mind comprises of not only normal memory appearing to derive from physical perception but also 'anticipatory memory' deriving from the Basic Experience which from time to time passes to some degree into conscious awareness. Time is one and does not exist except as a verbal convenience and that what we call 'future' has already happened but it is not indicated in what form it has happened. Considerations of space and relevance preclude further discussion of this subject here.

Certain other interesting śāntis will now be described. When a great-grandson (prapautra i. e. a son's son's son)[1262]

1261. Dr. R. G. Harshe contributes to the 'Shri K. M. Munshi Jubilee volume' (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1948) an interesting paper (pp. 241-268) on 'two illustrated manuscripts on dreams', the contents of which do not attempt any elaborate theory about dreams but record empirical observations on dreams for the guidance of people in general.

1262. For the importance of the great-grandson, vide the verse पुत्रेण लोकाञ् जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते। अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण ब्रध्नस्याप्नोति विष्टपम् ॥ मनु. IX, 137 = वसिष्ठ 17. 5 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 15. 46.

is born to a person a śānti has to be performed when he sees the face of the great-grandson. The saṅkalpa [1263] is given below. He should perform the rites beginning with the worship of Gaṇeśa and ending with Mātṛpūjā, then establish a jar full of water and worship (the image of) Varuṇa therein, perform the rite of *nīrājana* [1264] to the accompaniment of the sound of drums, sit on a seat of udumbara tree covered with a blanket and should request brāhmaṇas to sprinkle sacred water on his person. The brāhmaṇas should sprinkle water on him to the accompaniment of a hymn to Varuṇa and a hymn to the Ganges. At the end of the *abhiṣeka* the performer should give up old garments and wear new ones and should worship the Ganges. Melted ghee should be put in a vessel of bronze and the performer should see the reflection of his face therein and then should see the face of his great-grandson in the light of a lamp placed in a golden vessel. Then he should sprinkle drops of water on the great-grandson with one hundred flowers of gold. Then he should sprinkle the great-grandson with water from the jar used for *abhiṣeka*. For completing the ceremony of seeing the face of the grandson, he should donate a cow and feed brāhmaṇas according to his means. Then he should worship an image of Viṣṇu, offer *pāyasa* to it and address the following prayer [1265] 'O Viṣṇu! by your favour I have seen the face of my great-grandson. Therefore, O Lord! in all ways and always do what I desire'. Then the image should be donated with the mantra 'by the donation of the image (of Viṣṇu) may all evil influences of planets be always conjured away in the case of the child, O enemy of Kaṃsa and the Lord of the worlds,' and he should donate to the brāhmaṇas the ghee in which he saw his face.

One of the śāntis that is frequently performed even in these days is 'Udakaśānti'. It is performed for averting the consequences of many happenings and for securing certain benefits

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1263. मम ब्रह्मलोकावाप्तिसर्वतीर्थयात्रासकलदानजन्यपुण्यजातावाप्तिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रपौत्रमुखदर्शनं करिष्ये। तदङ्गं गणेशपूजनं स्वस्तिपुण्याहवाचनं मातृकापूजनं नान्दीश्राद्धं च करिष्ये इति सङ्कल्प्य।

1264. For Nīrājana 'waving of lights before men, horses', vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 230-231. The Bṛ. S. 43.2 regards नीराजन as a Śānti 'द्वादश्यामष्टम्यां कार्तिकशुक्लस्य पञ्चदश्यां वा। आश्वयुजे वा कुर्यान्नीराजनसंज्ञितां शान्तिम्॥.'

1265. The प्रार्थनामन्त्र is: 'भो विष्णो त्वत्प्रसादेन सुखमालोकितं मया। तस्मात्कुरु ममाभीष्टं सर्वदा सर्वथा प्रभो॥, the दानमन्त्र is: प्रतिमायाः प्रदानेन बालकस्य सदा ग्रहाः। क्षेमं यान्तु देवेश कंसारे जगतां पते॥.

such as good health, the removal of the diseases due to the three constituent elements of the human body, viz. bile, phlegm and *vāta* (wind), that may have already arisen or are likely to arise, or for mitigating all the trouble that is caused by planets occupying unfavourable positions from the *lagna* in a person's horoscope or from the *rāśi* of his birth, for removing the impurity on birth or death in one's house or family, for securing a happy life. Therefore, the saṅkalpa may assume various forms that are noted below.[1266] In modern times this is a very elaborate rite in which a very large number of Vedic verses are repeated and which takes up about three hours for its performance. Therefore, even a brief resume of the modern procedure is not attempted here. But one of the oldest available descriptions of this rite contained in the Baudhāyana-gṛhya-śeṣasūtra (I. 14) is set out here in order to convey an idea of this śānti. As the Baudhāyana-sūtras are closely connected with the Taittirīya-saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa the references to mantras and texts are cited as far as possible from that Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa. Many of the mantras occur also in the Ṛgveda and other saṃhitās. Here are the texts; waters indeed are faith; (when a priest takes water) he begins (the rite with) faith itself; waters are indeed the sacrifice, he begins sacrifice itself; water is indeed thunderbolt, he strikes the thunderbolt against enemies; waters are destroyers of malignant spirits (and it is taken) for destroying evil spirits; waters are the favourite abode (or seat) of the gods; waters are indeed nectar; therefore people sprinkle with water him who faints; waters are indeed all gods; he begins with gods. Waters indeed are well disposed; he (priest) removes with the kindly (waters) the pain of this person (the sacrificer); this is (what) the Brāhmaṇa (text) says.

Therefore (the priest) prepares propitiatory[1267] water with two *kuśas* dipped therein. One should commence a śānti on the nakṣatra of (a person's birth) or on an auspicious nakṣatra or when auspicious rites are to be performed, viz. marriage, a (child's) tonsure, *upanayana*, Vedic student's return home, hairparting (of a pregnant woman), establishment of the Vedic fires and other

1266. मम शरीरे उत्पन्नोत्पद्यमानकफवातपित्तोद्भूतसमस्तामयानां जीवच्छरीराविरोधेन समूलनिवृत्तिपूर्वकक्षिप्रारोग्यावाप्त्यर्थं मम जन्मलग्नजन्मराशिभ्यां सकाशादनिष्टस्थानस्थित-रव्यादिग्रहजनित-जनिष्यमाण-सकलपीडापरिहारार्थं मम गृहे अशुचित्वादिदोषपरिहारार्थं वा क्षेमायुःसिद्ध्यर्थं वा उदकशान्तिं करिष्ये।

1267. The words 'vajro vā āpaḥ' (water is indeed thunderbolt) occur frequently in the Sat. Br. I. 1. 1. 17, I. 2. 5. 20, I. 7. 1. 20 &c.

rites, or when a planet is eclipsed, or when a planet indicates a portent, or when danger comes (to a person) from bipeds or quadruped animals.[1268] He should make an even number of brāhmaṇas wash well their hands and feet and make them sip water, seat them on seats in each of the directions, should smear with cow-dung a four-cornered altar of the extent of a bull's hide, should himself sit on *darbhas* with face towards the east, should hold darbhas and dūrvā grass, have two kuśas in his hand, should sprinkle with water the altar made by him, should draw lines thereon and sprinkle water over them and should spread over it dūrvā grass and darbhas and sprinkle it with water scented with sandalwood paste and cover it with flowers, should wrap with (cotton) threads the sacred vessel[1268a] of palāśa leaves and place it on them (darbhas and dūrvā) with the mantra 'brahma jajñānam' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 2). Then he pours water across the two blades of darbha grass and mutters 'tat-savitur-vareṇyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10) and throws in (the water) whole grains of rice and yavas with the formula 'bhūr-bhuvaḥ-suvarom' (Tai. Ā. X. 2.1). Then he spreads around flowers, dūrvā grass and fruits, covers it (jar) with dūrvās and darbhas and touches with the verse 'śan-no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). When the brāhmaṇas have placed themselves besides the officiating priest, he mutters the verse 'tat-savitur-vareṇyam' (Rg. X. 62. 10) separately by each foot and by half verse in one breath and mutters the first words of (all) the Vedas. Then he recites the following[1269] viz. the *anuvāka* beginning with 'kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14) but omitting the half verse 'made cid-asya' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 7), the anuvāka beginning with 'indram vo' (Tai. S. I. 6. 12), with the two verses 'yata indra' (Rg. VIII. 61. 13, Tai. Ā. X. 1. 9), and 'svastidā' (Rg. X. 152. 2, Tai. Ā. X. 1. 9), with the two verses 'Mahān Indro' (Tai. S. I. 4. 41) and 'sajoṣā Indra' (Tai. S. I. 4. 42), with 'Ye devāḥ purassado' (Tai S. I. 8. 7. 1) repeated

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1268. Compare कौशिकसूत्र IX. 8 'अहतवासाः कंसे शान्त्युदकं करोति।'.

1268 a. Vide पैठीनसि quoted by स्मृतिच. I. p. 222 'ब्रह्मपात्रे तु यो भुंक्ते मासमेकं निरन्तरम्। त्रिंशद्वाजपेयैस्तुल्यं महापातकनाशनम्॥ सौवर्णे राजते पात्रे ताम्रे पद्मपलाशयोः॥ भोजने भोजने चैव त्रिरात्रफलमश्नुते॥ ब्रह्मपात्रं पलाशपात्रम्। पुराणेऽपि। पालाशेषु च पत्रेषु मध्यमेषु च भारत। यः करोत्यशनं तस्य प्राजापत्यं दिने दिने॥. Compare लघुशातातप verse 162.

1269. It may be noticed that most of the verses to be recited speak of destroying evil spirits (rakṣas) or enemies, pray for welfare and happiness (*svasti* and *śarma*), for freedom from danger, for protection, for long life &c.

five times, with the five formulas 'Agnaye rakṣoghne' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7. 2), with the five formulas 'Agnir-āyuṣmān' (Tai. S. II. 3. 10. 3), with four clauses 'yā vām-indrāvaruṇā' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13. 1), with the eight clauses 'Yo vām-Indrāvaruṇau' (Tai. S. II. 3. 13. 3), with the four verses 'Agne yaśasvin' (Tai. S. V. 7. 4. 3), the Rāṣṭrabhṛt anuvāka beginning with 'ṛtāṣād-ṛtadhāmā' (Tai. S. III. 4. 7. 1), with the three mantras 'namo astu sarpebhyaḥ'[1270] (Tai. S. IV. 2. 8. 3), with 'ayam puro harikeśaḥ' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 3. 1) repeated five times, with the Apratiratha[1271] anuvāka beginning with 'āśuḥ śiśānaḥ' (Tai. S. IV. 6. 4. 1), the anuvāka beginning with 'śam ca me mayaśca me' (Tai. S. IV. 7. 3. 1), the anuvāka called 'vihavya' beginning with 'mamāgne varco vihaveṣvastu' (Tai. S. IV. 7.14. 1), the Mṛgāra anuvāka[1272] beginning with 'Agner-manve' (Tai. S. IV. 4. 15. 1–11), the offering mantras to serpents beginning with 'samīcī nāmāsi prācī dik' six times repeated, the offering prayers to Gandharvas in the six clauses beginning with 'hetayo nāma stha' (Tai. S. V. 5, 10. 3-4); the five 'ajyāni (bricks) offerings with 'śatāyudhāya' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3), the anuvāka beginning with 'bhūtam bhavyam bhaviṣyat' (Tai. S. VII. 3. 12. 1), the Atharva-śiras,[1273] the anuvāka beginning with 'Indro Dadhīco asthabhiḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 5. 8. 1, Ṛg. I. 84. 13), the Pratyaṅgirasa beginning with 'cakṣuṣo hete' up to 'bhrātṛvyam pādayāmasi' (Tai. Br. II. 4. 2. 1–4), the anuvāka beginning with 'prāṇo rakṣati viśvam-ejat' (Tai. Br. II. 5. 1. 1), the anuvāka beginning with 'siṁhe vyāghra uta yā pṛdākau' (Tai. Br. II. 7. 7. 1); the anuvāka beginning with 'aham-asmi' (Tai.

1270. It is difficult to construe the printed text here. It runs: 'नमो अस्तु सर्पेभ्यः' इति तिसृभिरनु च च्छन्दसं पञ्चचोडा 'अयं पुरो हरिकेशः' इति पञ्चभिः पर्यायैः &c. 'पञ्चचोडा means a brick with five protuberances. The तै. सं. V. 3. 7. 2 has पञ्चचोडा उपदधात्यप्सरस एवैनमेता भूता अमुष्मिँल्लोक उप शेरे' which means 'He puts down the bricks with five crests (protuberances), indeed these becoming Apsarases lie down near him in the yonder world'. But there is no mantra here. Besides अनु च च्छन्दसं is not clear. Is it अनुच्छन्दसम् with च inserted between अनु and छन्दसम् or is it a printer's mistake?

1271. Kātyāyana in his Srāddhasūtra prescribes that among the holy texts to be recited when the brāhmaṇas are eating the śrāddha dinner are the Rākṣoghnī verses and the Apratiratha hymn. Ṛg. X. 103 has most of the verses called Apratiratha in Tai. S. IV. 6. 4.

1272. The printed text reads 'sṛgāram'. Vide Kauśikasūtra IX. 1 for Mṛgāra-sūktāni.

1273. The Atharvaśiras is an Upaniṣad beginning with 'Devā vai svargam lokam-āyan'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV, pp. 45-46 note.

Br. II. 8. 8. 1), the anuvāka 'tā sūryācandramasā' (Tai. Br. II. 8. 9. 1), the three anuvākas beginning with 'agnir naḥ pātu' (Vāj. S. 4. 15), the anuvāka 'ṛdhyāsma' (Tai. Br. III. 1.2.1), the anuvāka 'navo navo' (Tai. S. II. 3. 5. 3), with (the mantras of) supplementary sacrifices, with a verse containing the word 'surabhi' (Tai. S. I. 5. 11. 4 or VII. 4. 19. 4), with verses addressed to waters (Ṛg. X. 9. 1-3 = Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 4 ff), with verses addressed to Varuṇa, with the verses beginning with 'Hiraṇya-varṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1), verses addressed to (Soma) Pavamāna (from Ṛg. IX. 1. 1 'svādiṣṭhayā' to end of Ṛg. IX), with the Vyāhṛtis (seven mystic words, bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, mahaḥ, janaḥ, tapaḥ, satyam), the anuvāka beginning with 'tac-chaṁyor' (Tai. B. III. 5. 11). He repeats thrice the concluding passage 'namo brahmaṇe'.[1273a]

The (officiating priest) makes the performer rise from his seat and sprinkles water on him to the accompaniment of the Vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ &c.). (The performer) makes gifts (to the officiating priest). Then the officiating priest sprinkles sacred water on those that are possessed by an evil spirit or attacked by fever or troubled by ghosts, that are the friends, relatives, agents of the king's and of the royal priests, and the young and old members (of the performer's family), pregnant women, persons suffering from bad diseases, persons suffering from diseases for a long time, persons that are emaciated and are sick; also sprinkles sacred water on the elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep and servants of the performer; in this way the rite is performed for one day, three or five or seven days. Thus doing he wards off death; so says the blessed Baudhāyana."

When a person's nakṣatra of birth is afflicted by an evil planet or aspect Parāśara provided a śānti as follows:[1274] after putting in a jar full of water the dung and urine of a white bull and the milk of a white cow and *kuśas* the person should be

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1273 a. The तै. आ. II. 13. 4 has the very words 'नमो ब्रह्मण इति परिधानीयां त्रिरन्वाह' that occur in बौ. गृ. झे. सू. The verse is 'नमो ब्रह्मणे नमोस्त्वग्नये नमः पृथिव्यै नम ओषधीभ्यः। नमो वाचे नमो वाचस्पतये नमो विष्णवे बृहते करोमि॥' (तै. आ. II. 12). The verse occurs in आश्व. गृ. (III. 5. 4), which reads महते for बृहते.

1274. अथ शान्तिमाह पराशरः। तत्र जन्मर्क्षोपतापे श्वेतवृषभस्य शकृन्मूत्रं तद्वर्णायाश्च गोः पयः कुशांश्चोदकुम्भे निधायाभिषेचनं कुर्यात्। अ. सा. p. 271. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर is quoted by मदनरत्न (on शान्तिक folio 20b) 'शकृन्मूत्रे तु संगृह्य श्वेतस्य वृषभस्य तु। श्वेतगोपयसा सार्धं स्नातव्यं कुशवारिणा। जन्मनक्षत्रपीडायां तस्माद् क्लेशाद्विमुच्यते॥'.

sprinkled with the mixture. Similarly, the Matsya [1275] prescribes for one in whose birth rāśi an eclipse takes place a sacred bath with water from four jars full of water in which earth from the stables of horses, elephants, from an ant-hill, from a confluence, a deep reservoir of water, from a cowpen and from entrance of a palace is cast, and also *pañcagavya*, five jewels, *rocanā*, lotuses, sandalwood, saffron, *uśīra*, *guggulu*; mantras also are to accompany the bath; Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera and other gods are invoked for removing the evil results of eclipses.

If a person suffers from fever the Madanaratna (folio 11) provides for śāntis for the tithis (from the first onwards) on which the fever started, derived from Baudhāyana in which the presiding deity of each tithi is to be offered worship (pūjā) and homa, for each of which the mantra (of which *japa* is to be made) is different, and the incense, flowers, naivedya also are different. There are also śāntis, when a person suffers from fever, about the weekday on which the fever started and images of the presiding deity of the weekday made of different metals according to the name of the day are to be worshipped with different mantras (Madanaratna, folio 12a). For example, if fever started on a Sunday or on a Monday, then the images of Rudra (for Sunday) and Pārvatī (for Monday) were to be made of gold or silver and the mantras to be recited were respectively 'yā te Rudra' (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1), 'gaurīr-mimāya' (Rg. I. 164. 41). The *gandha*, flowers, incense, lamp and *naivedya* were different in each case. If the fever starts on any one of the 27 nakṣatras, the Madanaratna (folios 12b–15b) prescribes śāntis for all the 27 nakṣatras, specifying the deity of each nakṣatra, the figure of the deity, its colour, mantra, the five upacāras from *gandha*, the kinds of fuel-sticks to be employed, the *āhutis*, the gifts &c. If the mantra [1276] be not known, the

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1275. यस्य राशिं समासाद्य भवेद्ग्रहणसम्भवः। तस्य स्नानं प्रवक्ष्यामि मन्त्रौषधि-समन्वितम्॥ मत्स्य q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on शान्ति folio 21b), हे. (on व्रत, vol. II. p. 1021), नि. सि. p. 69 and शान्तिकमलाकर folio 157 b. अ. सा. pp. 87–90 and नि. सि. p. 69 quote this and about 25 verses more from मत्स्य on this.

1276. The mantras prescribed for religious worship and rites have a certain pattern, that is, they either refer to the rite to be performed and the deity or to the benefit prayed for or there is some word therein that indicates an application of it to the deity. For example, the mantra 'जातवेदसे सुनवाम' (Rg I. 99. 1) is employed for invoking the presence of Durgā, because therein occurs the word 'durgāṇi' (स नः पर्षदति दुर्गाणि विश्वा) or the verse 'Gaurīr-

(Continued on next page)

Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) was to be employed and the āhutis were to be 1008 or 108 according to the nature of the disease. The Madanratna (folios 15b–20b) quotes from Ātreya further details about the 27 nakṣatras, viz. the number of stars in each nakṣatra, whether a nakṣatra is masculine, feminine or neuter, its figure, colour, deity, tree, its *gaṇa*[1276a] (whether *devagaṇa* or rākṣasagaṇa or manuṣyagaṇa), what actions should be done on each, the Viṣanāḍī of each.

The Dharmasindhu provides a śānti for the extremely rare occurrence of a person coming to life after people thinking him to be dead take his body for cremation to a cemetery. The person in whose house such a person enters meets death. Therefore, a *homa* should be performed wherein eight thousand udumbara fuel-sticks anointed with milk and ghee are to be offered to the accompaniment of the Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62. 10). At the end of the homa a *kapilā* cow and a bronze vessel full of sesame should be donated to a brāhmaṇa; the bronze vessel should weigh 81 *palas* or 40½ or 20¼ or 9, 6 or at least three palas according[1277] to one's means.

Some works prescribe a śānti on the delivery of a cow in the month of Bhādrapada, of a she-buffalo in Pauṣa and of a mare by day. The śānti is to be performed with 108 *āhutis* of ghee and sesame, the Asyavāmīya hymn (Ṛg. I. 164) and the mantra 'tad-Viṣṇoḥ' (Ṛg. I. 22. 20) are to be recited. It was supposed that if a she-buffalo was delivered in Māgha and on a Wednesday, or a mare in Śrāvaṇa by day or a cow while the

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mimāya' (Ṛg. I. 164. 41) is said to be mantra for Pārvatī, the presiding deity of Monday, because the word 'Gaurīr' suggests Gaurī, which is a name of पार्वती. The requirement is stated in the following Brāhmaṇa passage 'एतद्वै यज्ञस्य सयूचं यदूपसयूचं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृग्यजुर्वोभिवदति' (quoted in निरुक्त I. 16). It occurs in ऐतरेयब्राह्मण several times (e. g. ऐ. ब्रा. I. 4, which reads merely ऋगभिवदति).

1276a. For the gaṇas of the 27 nakṣatras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 514–515.

1277. A pala = 4 karṣas, a karṣa = 16 māṣas and 80 ratis. Hence a pala was equal to 320 raktikās. Vide Manu VIII. 134 and 136 and Yāj. I. 363–365.

Sun is in the Lion sign, that portends death of the[1278] owner in six months. It may be stated that in the author's boyhood such śāntis, particularly in the case of she-buffaloes, were performed. The Adbhutasāgara provides that the śānti should be performed on the 4th, 9th, 12th or 14th tithi, as these are declared to be auspicious tithis for adbhuta-śānti.[1279]

In modern times the entrance into a newly built house is preceded on the same day or on a previous day by a śānti called Vāstuśānti[1280] or Vāstu-śamana (in Matsya 268. 3). It has been described at some length in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 834–836. The description[1280a] there is based on Matsya, chapters 256 and 268. Vāstuśamana is also described in the Āśvalāyana gṛhya II. 9. 6–9, Pār. gṛ. III. 4. 5–18, Baud gṛ. III. 5 (which are certainly older than Matsya by several centuries), in Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣa-sūtra I. 18, the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa III. 3. 5 and several medieval works. The Baud. Gṛ. S. S. calls it Gṛhaśānti and recommends that it be performed every month, every season or every year in the bright fortnight on an auspicious nakṣatra by one who desires prosperity in his house. It is therefore passed over here. The Āśv. gṛ is very brief. It says[1281]: Then

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1278. गर्ग उवाच। विवा प्रसूता वडवा श्रावणे च विशेषतः। माघमासे बुधे चैव प्रसवेन्महिषी यदि। शान्तिकमलाकर folio 180; भानौ सिंहगते चैव यस्य गौः संप्रसूयते। मरणं तस्य निर्दिष्टं बहुभिर्मासैर्न संशयः॥ तस्य शान्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि येन सम्पद्यते शुभम्। नारद q. by अ. सा. p. 568.

1279. चतुर्थी चाष्टमी चैव द्वादशी च चतुर्दशी। एता वै तिथयः पुण्याः स्मृता अद्भुतशान्तये। नारद q. by अ. सा. p. 568.

1280. Vāstu (n. in the Ṛgveda) means a house. Compare 'tā vām vāstūnyuśmasi gamadhyai' (Ṛg. I. 154. 6). It is derived from 'vas' (to reside). Vide Nirukta X. 17, where Ṛg. VII. 55. 1 is explained. There is a deity in the Ṛgveda called 'Vāstospati' (lord of the house). वास्तोष्पति is either (as in Ṛg. VIII. 17. 14) Indra or Rudra (as Durga says). The śānti is performed for averting all evil after entering a newly built house.

1280 a. The सङ्कल्प in modern Vāstuśānti would be somewhat like the following: अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकशर्मणो मम सपरिवारस्यास्मिन्वास्तौ चिरकालसुखनिवासपूर्वमखिलरोगविघ्नादिशान्ति-सम्पदारोग्यपुत्रपौत्रधनधान्यादिसमृद्धि-चिरजीवन-स्वनिवाससिद्धिद्वारा श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थमस्य वास्तोः शुभतासिद्ध्यर्थं सग्रहमखां वास्तुशान्तिं करिष्ये। तदङ्गतया गणेशपूजा-स्वस्तिवाचनमातृकापूजाभ्युदयिकश्राद्धाचार्य-ऋत्विग्वरणानि च करिष्ये।

1281. अथैनच्छमयति। व्रीहियवमतीभिरद्भिर्हिरण्यमवधाय शान्तातीयेन त्रिः प्रदक्षिणं परिव्रजन् मोक्षति। अविच्छिन्नया चोदकधारया आपो हि ष्ठा मयोभुव इति तृचेन। मध्येऽगारस्य स्थालीपाकं श्रपयित्वा वास्तोष्पते प्रतिजानीह्यस्मानिति चतसृभिः मन्थुचं हुत्वाज्यं संस्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा शिवं वास्तु वास्त्विति वाचयीत। आश्व. गृ. II. 9. 6–9. ऋ. VII. 35 (1–15) is called शान्तातीय because the word शं occurs in each of the first thirteen verses several times.

he makes the house śānta (as follows). He deposits gold in water that has rice and barley thrown into it, he sprinkles the house three times going round it with his right side turned towards it with the śantātīya hymn (Ṛg. VII. 35) and he does so again three times pouring out an unbroken stream of water with the three verses 'O waters! you are wholesome' (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3). In the middle of the house he cooks boiled rice, offers from it four oblations with each of the four verses 'Vāstoṣpate pratijānīhyasmān' (Ṛg. VII. 54. 1–3 and VII. 55. 1), should then prepare food, should feed the brāhmaṇas with it and make them say 'lucky is the house, lucky is the house.' Some details from Baud. Gṛ. (III. 5) may be mentioned here. It provides that oblations are offered from cooked food with the invitatory prayer (Puronuvākyā) 'Vāstoṣpate pratijānīhi' ('O Lord of houses! accept us as your devotees,' (Ṛg. VII. 54. 1, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1) and the offering prayer (Yājyā) with 'Vāstoṣpate śagmayā' (O Lord of houses, may we be endowed with fellowship with thee &c.' Ṛg. VII. 54. 3, Tai. S. III. 4. 10. 1). Then he offers *āhutis* of clarified butter with the mantras viz. 'Vāstoṣpate dhruvā sthūṇā' (Ṛg. VIII. 17, 14), 'gṛhyam bhayam yac-ced',[1282] 'akṣispande-aṅgacale,' 'duḥ-svapne pāpasvapne', 'Vāstoṣpate prataraṇo' (O Vāstoṣpati! mayst thou be our saviour', Ṛg. VII. 54. 2), 'amīvahā Vāstoṣpate' (O Vāstoṣpati! Mayst thou be our friend destroying diseases' Ṛg. VII. 55. 1). Then he places the remainder of the food from which offerings were made on bunches of darbhas in front of the Fire with the words 'salutation to Rudra Vāstoṣpati! I offer (oblations to him) who protects when we approach, or run, walk out, depart, turn round or return.' Having brought together in a plate the water for cleansing the cooking vessel, the remainder of the clarified butter and the water (used in the rite) he sprinkles water therefrom on all sides with a twig of udumbara or palāśa or śamī tree or with a handful of darbhas, he goes round the house thrice with his right side towards it with the verse 'tvam viprah' (Ṛg. IX. 18. 2). He prepares food, honours the brāhmaṇas (with food and fees), makes them recite blessings in the words 'lucky is the house, lucky is the house'.

In the later digests the Vāstuśānti is a very elaborate affair which is passed over here for reasons of space.

1282. I was not able to trace the three verses cited in the Baud. Gṛ. III, 5 viz. 'शुभं भयं यच्चेद् द्विपात्सु यदु चेच्चतुष्पात्सु &c.', 'अक्षिस्पन्देऽङ्गचले च यच्चयं यद्वाक्षिते यदु चेदङ्गकेऽ', 'दुःस्वप्ने पापस्वप्ने च यच्चयं &c.'.

Various prognostications were based on the sounds produced by the house lizard (called *pallī*, *pallikā*, *kuḍyamatsya* or *gṛhagodhikā*), by its movements and by its fall on the several limbs of a person by Vasantarāja śākuna, chap. 17 (32 verses), the Adbhutasāgara pp. 666–668 (quoting 28 verses of Vasantarāja), Jyotistattva pp. 706–707, Śāntiratna or Śānti-kamalākara (folio 198), the Dharmasindhu (pp. 347–348). A few words based on the last two are set out here. A fall of the lizard on the right side of a male and on his head (except the chin), chest, navel and stomach is auspicious, while in the case of a woman such a fall would be auspicious on the left side. The same applies to a chameleon. If a lizard or chameleon falls on a limb or creeps up a person's limb the person should take a bath with clothes on and perform a śānti for removal of the inauspiciousness or for increase of auspiciousness. If a person has a mere contact with a house lizard or chameleon he should bathe, drink *pañcagavya*, look into clarified butter, should pay honour to (a golden image of) the lizard or chameleon clothed in a red piece of cloth, offer to the image *gandha* and flowers, worship Rudra in a jar full of water, offer into fire 108 fuel sticks of *khadira* tree to the accompaniment of the Mṛtyuñjaya[1282a] mantra and offer 1008 or 108 *āhutis* of sesame into fire with the *vyāhṛtis* and perform the rites from *sviṣṭakṛt* to sprinkling with drops of water and then donate gold, clothes and sesame.[1282b]

The Yogayātrā chap. 7 (verses 1–12) and Hemādri on Vrata (vol. II. pp. 894–897) mention ceremonial baths on and worship of nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī and their presiding deities as yielding various benefits. The Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa I (called nakṣatrakalpa) sections 37–50 deal with *nakṣatrasnāna* from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī. Sections 37–41 contain the mantras employed in worshipping and placating the presiding deities of the nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikā. Section 42 describes the general procedure of nakṣatrasnāna; sections 43–45 set out

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1282a. Mṛtyuñjaya mantra is the Tryambaka mantra, according to Vidyākara quoted in Jyotistattva (p. 707). The Tryambaka mantra is 'Tryambakaṁ yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2, Vāj. S. III, 60).

1282b. It is somewhat remarkable that Vasantarāja is entirely silent about the fall of the house lizard on a person's body and devotes thirty-two verses merely to the interpretation of the sounds of the lizard in different directions and at different times of the day and to the prognostications derived from its movements on the walls. It is not unlikely that prognostication from the fall of the lizard on a man's limb was a later development.

the substances to be added to the water for each nakṣatrasnāna and the benefit to be derived from so doing. Sections 47–50 contain special rules in relation to each nakṣatra from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī, about the distribution of food to brāhmaṇas and gifts to be made on each nakṣatra together with the rewards to be expected therefrom. But the Bṛhatsaṁhitā chap. 47 (1–87), the Ātharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa V pp. 66–68, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 103, Yogayātrā (VII. 13–21), the Kālikāpurāṇa chap. 89, and Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II. pp. 600–628) speak of a śānti called Puṣyasnāna or Puṣyābhiṣeka. It is said that Bṛhaspati performed this śānti for Indra, then Vṛddha-Garga got it and he imparted it to Bhāguri. Most of the above works confine it to the king, since the king is the very root of the tree—the subjects—and since any harm to or welfare of that root (the king) results in misfortune or welfare of the people; therefore care must be taken for the increase of the king's welfare.[1283] As the treatment in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā is the fullest and is among the most ancient descriptions, it is briefly set out here. The royal astrologer and family priest should perform the rite of Puṣyasnāna for the king, than which there is nothing more holy and nothing more destructive of all evil portents. This may be performed on puṣya-nakṣatra every time, but the Śānti on this day when the Full Moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra is the highest and if such a *snāna* is performed without there being Puṣya nakṣatra on that day, then it yields only half the fruit. There is no utpāta which is not averted or mitigated by this śānti and there is no other auspicious rite which surpasses this. About Puṣya the Ratnamālā[1284] states 'Just as the lion is the strongest among

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1283. मूलं मञ्जजाधिपतिः मजातरोस्तदुपघातसंस्कारात्। अशुभं शुभं च लोके भवति यतोऽतो नृपतिचिन्ता॥ या व्याकृपाता शान्तिः स्वयम्भुवा शुक्रगुरोमेदेन्द्रार्थे। तां माह्य बृहद्गर्गः प्राह यथा भागुरेः शृणुत॥ पुष्यस्नानं नृपतेः कर्तव्यं देवचित्पुरोधान्याम्। नातः परं पवित्रं सर्वोत्पातान्तकरमस्ति॥ ...एतत्प्रयुज्यमानं पतिपुष्यं शुक्रयशोवीर्यबुद्धिकरम्। पुष्याह्निनार्वफलदा पौर्णी शान्तिः परा मोक्षा॥ नास्ति लोके स उत्पातो यो ह्यनेन न शाम्यति। मङ्गलं चापरं नास्ति यदस्मादतिरिच्यते॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 1–3 and 82, 84; vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 103. 31–32 for the story about Indra and Bṛhaspati. मत्स्य says 'मजातरोर्मूलमिहाननीतस्तद्रक्षणाद्राज्ञमुपैति वृद्धिम्। (219. 34) q. by कल्पतरु (on राजधर्मकाण्ड).

1284. सिंहो यथा सर्वचतुष्पदानां तथैव पुष्यो बलवाद्ग्रहाणाम्। चन्द्रे विबद्धेऽपि च गोचरे वा सिध्यन्ति कार्याणि कृतानि पुष्ये॥ रत्नमाला VI. 70. According to बृहत्संहिता 103. 2 if the moon is in the 1st, 3rd, 6th, 7th, 10th or 11th rāśi from the rāśi of birth it is auspicious and it is inauspicious in the other rāśis from birth. 'सूर्यः पद्मत्रिदशपतिविदशपद्मसायकगन्धवन्धुनाः ...सर्वेऽप्युपान्ते शुभाः &c.' Vide note 876a and p. 589 above for गोचरचन्द्र and other ग्रह and बृहत्सं. 103. 8–10 for the *phalas* of the moon being in the rāśi of birth or in the rāśis from the 1st to the 12th.

all quadrupeds, so is Puṣya the most powerful among nakṣatras; undertakings begun on Puṣya succeed even if the Moon be unfavourable or be *gocara*. Then Varāhamihira states in very poetic verses (47. 4–15) that the Puṣyasnāna of the king should be performed in a sylvan spot abounding in young and beautiful trees emitting fragrance and free from trees having thorns or trees like marking nut or from owls, vultures and the like or on rivers or on lakes or near lotus pools or near a cow-house or seashore or hermitages of sages, grand mansions resounding with the sweet cries of cuckoos and the like or near a holy shrine or tīrtha or a spot beautified by parks. Then the astrologer, the councillors and officiating priests should go out from the capital at night and make an offering (*bali*) in the East, North or North-east and the royal family priest, being himself pure and bowing down, should invoke with fried grains, akṣata, barley, curds and flowers and with a mantra[1285] the gods, the (guardians of) quarters, the *nāgas* and brāhmaṇas to be present at the spot and then say 'tomorrow you will receive worship and depart after conferring welfare on the king'. The family priest and the others should stay in order to find the auspicious nature or otherwise of the dreams (of the king). On the next day in the morning they should collect materials (for the Puṣyasnāna) on the spot chosen the previous day. He should draw a maṇḍala (a diagram) there and should place thereon various jewels and should assign places to nāgas, yakṣas, gods, pitṛs, gandharvas, apsarases, sages, siddhas, planets, nakṣatras, Rudras, the mātṛs, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Viśākha, Lokapālas, goddesses (such as Lakṣmī, Gaurī, Indrāṇī), which should all be drawn with charming coloured powders or chalk &c, should offer them worship with sandal wood paste, flowers &c., with various edibles, fruits and meat, with drinks viz. wine, milk and decoctions; he should follow the procedure of Grahayajña and worship the various deities invited with appropriate foods, incense, clarified butter, flowers, with lauds and salutations &c. (verses 30–33). Then he should set up Agni on an altar to the west or south of the maṇḍala drawn by him, should kindle it into flames and bring near it the materials and darbhas. He should offer worship on the altar to the west with fried grams, ghee, curds, honey, white mustard, fragrant substances, flowers, incense, fruits, and should donate plates full of *pāyasa* and ghee. Then in the four inter-

1285. The mantra for invoking the gods is आगच्छन्तु सुराः सर्वे येऽत्र पूजाभिलाषिणः। दिशो नागा द्विजाश्चैव ये चान्यत्रेऽशभागिनः॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 20.

mediate quarters of the altar he should establish four jars the necks of which are surrounded with white thread and that are covered with leaves, twigs and fruits of trees having milky sap and filled with water mixed with herbs and materials for puṣya-snāna and jewels. In verses 39-42 Varāhamihira names about 15 plants the leaves[1286] of which are to be cast in the jars and also seeds and *sarvauṣadhis*, sarvagandhas, bilva fruit &c. He should spread an old bull's hide with its neck to the east on the altar and thereon he should spread the reddish hide of a bull trained for fighting, the hides of a lion and a tiger one over the other, when the Moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra and there is an auspicious *muhūrta* Over the hides a throne made of gold, silver, copper or of a tree with a milky sap should be placed. The king should occupy the throne after placing thereon a piece of gold, surrounded by his ministers, men of his confidence, the family priest, the astrologer, the citizens that have auspicious names (such or Jayarāja, Simharāja &c.).

There should be loud noises (for drowning inauspicious sounds) made by the bards and citizens and of the tabors and drums and of Vedic recitations. The king should wear linen and the *purohita* should cover the king with a blanket, drops should be sprinkled over the king from jars, 3, 28 or 108 in number, containing clarified butter, with two mantras[1287] praising its power to remove evil and then the priest removes the blanket and sprinkles on the king drops of water from water containing the substances collected for puṣyasnāna with sixteen mantras[1288]

1286. Several of the 15 plants mentioned in the Bṛ. S. occur also in आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट V. 1-5. 2. 2. In the मत्स्यपुराण eight plants are mentioned as महौषध्यष्टक (viz. सहदेवी, वचा, श्यामा, बला, अतिबला, शङ्खपुष्पी, सिंही, सुवर्चला) that are to be employed in general for the *snapana* of all gods (chap. 267.14-15).

1287. आज्यं तेजः सहोद्दिष्टमाज्यं पापहरं वरम् । आज्यं सुराणामाहार आज्ये लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ॥ भौमान्तरिक्षं दिव्यं वा यत्ते कल्मषमागतम् । सर्वं तदाज्यसंस्पर्शात् प्रणाशमुपगच्छतु ॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 52-53. These are quoted by हेमाद्रि (on व्रत vol. II. p. 615), but it is not clear from what work.

1288. It may be noted that Hemādri (on व्रत vol. II. p. 615) has the mantras of बृहत्सं. 47. 55-60 in the same order and (p. 616) has also the mantras (verses 67-70 first-half). Varāha first gives a long list (55-70) of Paurāṇika mantras and then (in verse 71) only mentions names of groups of mantras. इत्येतैरन्यैश्चाथर्वकल्पाहितैः सकृद्गणैः । कौष्माण्डमहारौद्रिणकुबेरहृषैः सहृद्वचा च ॥ बृहत्सं. 47.71. The मत्स्यपुराण has verses (93. 51-56) similar to those of वराह's पौराणिक mantras.

(set out by Varāha in verses 55–70) in which gods, goddesses, sages are invited to join in the rite, besides mantras from the Atharvakalpa,[1289] the Rudragaṇa mantras, Kūṣmāṇḍa mantras, the Mahārauhiṇa, Kubera-hṛdaya and *Samṛddhi* verse. Then the king should take a bath and wear two cotton garments over which the three verses 'Āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Ṛg. X 9. 1–3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 5. 1) and the four verses 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1–2, or Atharva I. 33. 1–4) have been inaudibly recited. He should sip water to the accompaniment of words like 'this is a lucky day' and to the sound of conches, should worship gods, gurus, brāhmaṇas, his parasol, banner, and weapons and then worship his special (or favourite) deity. Then he should put on new decorations that lead to victory, that confer long life and vigour and over which the Rāyaspoṣa[1290] (bestowing increase of wealth) ṛk verses have been recited. To the south of the maṇḍala an altar should be prepared and hides of bull, cat, *ruru* deer, spotted antelope, lion and tiger should be arranged one over the other (tiger's being last) and the king should sit down on the hides. The purohita should offer in the fire in the principal place (to the south) offerings of fuel-sticks, sesame, ghee and the like to the accompaniment of ṛk verses addressed to Rudra, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Viṣṇu and Vāyu. The astrologer should observe and

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1289. The Atharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa V. 3. 4–5 prescribes (p. 67) the opening passage of each Veda, the mahāvyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ) and five gaṇas as accompanying the offerings into fire, viz. 'शर्मवर्मागणश्चैव तथा स्याद्-पराजितः। आयुष्यश्चाभयश्चैव तथा स्वस्त्ययनो गणः॥ एतान् पञ्च गणान् हुत्वा वाचयेत द्विजोत्तमान्।'. For शर्मवर्मागण vide आथर्वणपरि. XXXII 14 p. 196 containing 22 verses, the first of which is शर्मवर्मा, that is अथर्व. 14. 2. 21. The अपराजितगण contains 15 verses beginning with 'aparājito' (vide आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट 32. 13); the आयुष्यगण has 14 verses of the अथर्ववेद (in आ. परि. XXXII 9. p. 195); for two अभयगणs, vide आ. परि. XXXII. 12 and 29; for स्वस्त्ययनगण vide आ. परि. XXXII. 11. रुद्रगण is आ. परि. XXXII. 16 or it may be Rudras in Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11. The कूष्माण्ड mantras are Vāj. S. 20 14–16 and Tai. Ā. II. 3. 1, II. 4. 1 (beginning with 'yad-devā devaheḍanam'). Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 43 for Kuṣmāṇḍahoma. For Rauhiṇa-sāman vide H. of Dh. IV. p. 46 n. The Kubera-hṛdaya is probably the mantra in Tai. Ā. I. 31. 6 (Rājādhirājāya...mahārājāya namaḥ). It is not known which ṛk is called Samṛddhi.

1290. There are many verses of the Ṛgveda cited in the Taittirīya-saṁhitā which contain the word 'rāyaspoṣa', but as Utpala in his commentary says that the verses are six, it is probable that the verses meant are (Ṛg. X. 17. 9–14), the first of which ends with the words 'rāyaspoṣaṁ yajamāneṣu dhehi'.

declare the prognostications derived[1290a] from the flames of the sacred Agni as laid down in the chapter on the festival of Indra's banner (Bṛ. S. 42. 31–36). Then the purohita with folded hands should pray[1291] 'May all the groups of gods receive the worship from the king and depart after conferring (on him) abundant prosperity and returning (when again invoked)'. Then the king should honour the astrologer and the purohita with plenty of wealth and (honour) according to their deserts also others, viz. men learned in the Veda and the like who are well worthy of receiving gifts. Then the king should assure safety to all subjects, (order the) release of all animals taken to slaughter houses and release all persons put in jail except those guilty of offences against the king's person or his harem. Varāhamihira adds (47. 85) that this procedure of Puṣyasnāna is commended for a king who aspires after imperial dignity or who ardently desires a son or when he is first crowned king. He further states that this very procedure of ceremonial bath should be employed in the case of the king's elephants and horses that then become free from diseases (verse 87).

A few remarks from other works may be added here. The Yoga-yātrā (chap. VII. 13–14) lays down[1292] that in the ceremonial bath clay should be collected from a mountain top, ant-hill, a river mouth, the two banks of a river, the foot of the Indra figure (in the Indradhvaja festival), (clay) dug up by the tusk of an elephant and by a bull's horn, (clay) from the royal palace-door and from the door of the house of a dancing girl (patronized by the king) and the king's head should be purified by rubbing on it the clay from a mountain top, his ears with

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1290 a. One verse from chap. 42 about the auspicious indications conveyed by Agni flaming up by itself (i. e. without being fanned etc.) at the end of the shout 'svāhā' (when pūrṇāhuti is offerred) and having its flames turned towards the right is cited here : स्वाहावसानसमये स्वयमुज्ज्वलार्चिः स्निग्धः प्रदक्षिणशिखो हुतभुक् नृपस्य। गङ्गादिवाकरसुताजलचारुहारां धात्रीं सहुद्भरसनां वसनां करोति॥ बृहत्सं. 42. 32; compare तस्मै सम्यग्हुतो वह्निर्वाजिनीराजनाविधौ। प्रदक्षिणार्चिर्व्याजेन हस्तेनेव जयं ददौ॥ रघुवंश IV.25. In the योगयात्रा (chapter 8) fifteen verses are devoted to अग्निनिमित्त of which verses 11–15 are the same as बृहत्सं. 42.32–36.

1291. The prayer is well-known : यान्तु देवगणाः सर्वे पूजामादाय पार्थिवात्। सिद्धिं दत्त्वा तु विपुलां पुनरागमनाय च॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 79.

1292. गिरिवल्मीकनदीमुखकूलह्रदपद्मकरिपादमृद्भिरतः। द्विपवृषभविषाणपार्थिवगणिका-द्वारादृताभिश्च॥ गिरिशिखरमृदा मूर्धानं वल्मीकमृदा च शौचयेत्कर्णौ। नद्युभयकूलसङ्गमभृद्भिः प्रक्षालयेत्पार्श्वे॥ इन्द्रस्थानाद् ग्रीवा बाहू करिवृषभयोर्विषाणाग्रात्। हृदयं च नृपद्वारात्कटिमपि देवयागृहद्वारात्॥ योगयात्रा VII. 13–15.

clay from an ant-hill, his sides with clay from the two banks of a river and from its confluence with the sea, his neck with clay from the foot of the Indra figure, his arms with earth on the tip of the elephant's tusk and the bull's horns, his chest with earth from the door of the palace and his waist with clay from a royal courtezan's door. It will be noticed that there is a suggestive symbolism in all this. The king is to hold his head high and to attain eminence; therefore his head is to be rubbed with clay from a mountain peak.

It appears that nakṣatrasnāna was meant for all. For example, the Atharvaṇa-pariśiṣṭa[1293] on nakṣatrakalpa (sec. 43 p. 22) states that a Vaiśya should undergo ceremonial bath on Rohiṇī, being decked with all seeds, while verse 6 of the same section maintains that a brāhmaṇa who undergoes Puṣyasnāna thrice with a thousand grains of red paddy and with a thousand mustard grains and with (twigs and leaves) of Sahasravīryā, Anantī plants and with Madayantī and Priyaṅgu plants acquires as much fame as a king.

From the Matsya-purāṇa it is clear[1294] that Puṣyasnāna was an item in Lakṣahoma, undertaken by the king to counteract the evil effects of planets. That Purāṇa has a chapter (267. verses 3-4) on Devatāsnāna[1295] where also provision is made for casting clay into the jar, clay being collected from the tusk of an elephant, from a horse (stable), public road, ant-hill, (clay) dug up by a boar (with its tusk), from the shed where sacred fire is kept, from a tīrtha (holy spot), cowpen and from the place where cows crowd.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 103. 1-10) provides that Bārhaspatyasnāna (i. e. Puṣyasnāna, Bṛhaspati being the presiding deity of Puṣya) should be performed in the bright half, in the

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1293. रोहिण्यां स्नापयेद्वैश्यं सर्वबीजैरलङ्कृतम् । ...रक्तशान्तिसहस्रेण तावद्भिर्मीरसर्षपैः । सहस्रवीर्यानन्त्या च मदयन्ती-प्रियङ्गुभिः । त्रीन् पुण्यान् ब्राह्मणः स्नातः पार्थिवं लभते यशः ॥ आ. परि. (नक्षत्रकल्प, sec 42 verses 3 and 6, p. 22).

1294. हुत्वा शतसहस्रं तु पुष्यस्नानं समाचरेत् । कुम्भैः षोडशसंख्यैश्च सहिरण्यैः सुमङ्गलैः ॥ स्नापयेद्यजमानं तु ततः शान्तिर्भविष्यति । एवं कृते तु यत्किंचिद् ग्रहपीडासमुद्भवम् ॥ तत्सर्वं नाशमायाति दृष्ट्वा वै दक्षिणां नृप ॥ मत्स्य 239. 12-14 cf. by कृत्यकल्प० (on शान्तिक) folio 12a.

1295. गजाश्वरथवल्मीकवराहोत्खातमण्डलात् । अग्न्यगारात्तथा तीर्थाद् व्रजाद्गोमण्डलादपि । कुम्भे तु मृत्तिकां दद्याद् उद्धृतासीति मन्त्रवित् । मत्स्य 267. 3-4. The मन्त्र is : उद्धृतासि वराहेण कृष्णेन शतबाहुना । भूमिर्धेनुर्धरणी लोकधारिणी ॥. It occurs in तैत्तिरीयारण्यक X. 1. 8.

northern passage of the sun, on an auspicious day, nakṣatra and muhūrta or when the moon is in Puṣya or Rohiṇī nakṣatra or in Hasta or Śravaṇa; two square maṇḍalas of eight cubits on each of four sides should be made, one for offering *bali* and the other for an altar on which a fire is to be established, both being decked with various things. Four jars with waters of springs should be placed in each of the two maṇḍalas, and also seven jars filled with seeds, corn and precious stones, one for being decked with leaves of trees and the other with flowers and fruits. It appears (verses 12–13) that the Viṣṇudharmottara contemplates Puṣyasnāna for the three higher varṇas,[1296] since it provides that a brāhmaṇa should sit on the hide of a bull as his seat, a kṣatriya may employ the hides of a lion and tiger and a vaiśya on the hides of a tiger and leopard. It provides mantras other than those mentioned by Varāhamihira. It provides that this rite of Puṣyasnāna should go on for seven days and that the person undergoing it should give up during those days wine, meat, honey and sexual intercourse (verse 29). This Puṣyasnāna drives away all ill-luck, destroys evil spirits, brightens the intellect, confers health, brilliance and fame, kills enemies, is auspicious, destroys sins and the evil effects of strife and bad dreams (verses 30–31).

It should be borne in mind that a rite on Puṣya for prosperity called Puṣya-vrata is mentioned by so early a work as the Āpastambadharma-sūtra (for which p. 346 above may be referred to).

In Bṛhadyogayātrā (chap. XIII. 1–10), Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 241. 1–14) and in Vasantarāja (chap. VI. 4. 1–14 pp. 87–92) a good deal is said about prognostications derived from the throbbing (*spandana* or *sphuraṇa*) of the several parts of a man's body. All the three often closely agree in words and ideas as the notes below will clearly show. There is hardly any doubt that Vasantarāja's treatment is based on the other two works. It is difficult to decide whether Varāhamihira borrows from the Matsya or *vice versa* or whether both borrow from a common source. It is not unlikely that Varāhamihira might

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1296. विप्रस्य स्नातुकामस्य सौरमार्षभकं शुभम्। क्षत्रियस्य तथा सैंहं वैयाघ्रं च तथा विशः॥ द्वीपिचर्मं च वैश्यस्य स्नाप्यस्तत्रोपवेशयत्। प्रशस्तलक्षणां भार्यां वामभागे तथैव च॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 103. 12–13. I am not sure what सौर means here; probably it means (dedicated to the Sun or to gods).

have followed the Matsya. They all agree that throbbing[1297] of the right side of the body is auspicious and of the left inauspicious in the case of males, while the reverse is true in the case of women. They all set out the consequences indicated by the throbbing of the several parts and limbs of the body from the top of the head to the soles of the feet. To set out all these in detail would occupy much space. A few are mentioned by way of illustration. The fruit indicated by the throbbing of the top of the[1298] head is the acquisition of land (or earth); of the forehead, the prosperity of the position already occupied; of the region between the eyebrows and nose, union with persons dear to one; of the region of the eye, death; of the portion near the eye the acquisition ot wealth; of the upper arm, union with friends; of the hand, the acquisition of wealth; of the back, defeat; of the chest, success; of the upper part of the foot, the securing of a position; of the soles, journey with gain therein. The Matsya-purāṇa[1299] prescribes that when inauspicious indications (by throbbing) occur, brāhmaṇas should be placated with the gift of gold.

From ancient times the throbbing of the limbs, particularly of the arm and eye, have been regarded in India as the harbingers of coming events, auspicious or inauspicious. Manu prohibits a *sannyāsin* (*parivrājake*) from obtaining alms by means of declaring prognostications from utpātas or nimittas, from nakṣatras and from Aṅgavidyā etc. In the Śākuntala

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1297. अङ्गदक्षिणभागे तु शस्तं प्रस्फुरणं भवेत्। अप्रशस्तं तथा वामे पृष्ठस्य हृदयस्य च ॥ ...विपर्ययेण विहितः सर्वः स्त्रीणां फलागमः। मत्स्य 241. 2 and 12: दक्षिणपार्श्वस्पन्दनमभिधास्ये तत्फलक्षयो वामे। बृहद्योग० XIII. 1; पुंसां सदा दक्षिणदेहभागे स्त्रीणां च वामावयवेषु लाभः। स्पन्दाः फलानि प्रविशन्त्यवश्यं निहन्ति चोक्ताङ्गविपर्ययेण ॥ वसन्तराज VI. 4. 10, p. 90.

1298. पृथ्वीलाभो भवेन्मूर्ध्नि ललाटे रविनन्दन। स्थानं विवृद्धिमायाति भ्रूनसोः मिथसङ्गमः ॥ वृत्युलब्धिश्चाक्षदेशे हनुपान्ते धनागमः। ...सुहृत्स्नेहश्च बाहुभ्यां हस्ते चैव धनागमः। पृष्ठे पराजयः सद्यो जयो वक्षःस्थले भवेत्। ...उत्तमं स्थानमाप्नोति पद्भ्यां प्रस्फुरणान्नृप। सलाभं चाध्वगमनं भवेत्पादतले नृप ॥ मत्स्य 241. 4–5, 8; compare बृहद्योग० XIII. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 पृथ्वीलाभः शिरसि स्थानविवृद्धिर्ललाटेसात् (? ललाटदेशे स्यात्)। भ्रूनासिकान्तरे मिथसमागमो वृत्युलब्धिरक्षिणसोः। हनुपान्तेऽर्थासिः पूर्वं ज्ञेयात्र चोत्कण्ठा ॥ ...अंसे भोगविवृद्धिर्भ्रूनस हृदेन संयोगः ॥ हस्तेर्थासिः पृष्ठे पराजयो वक्षसि :स्मृतो विजयः। ...देशैकदेशनाशो अङ्गपां स्थानलब्धिरङ्घ्रयुपरि। अध्वगमनं सलाभं चरणतले स्पन्दमाने तु ॥ मूर्ध्नि स्फुरत्याद्यु पृथिव्यप्तिः स्थानमवृद्धिश्च ललाटदेशात्। भ्रू-घ्राणमध्ये मिथसङ्गमः स्याद्भासाक्षिमध्ये च सहायलाभः ॥ स्पन्दो भुजस्येष्टसमागमाय स्पन्दः करस्य द्रविणाप्तिहेतुः। स्पन्दश्च पृष्ठस्य पराजयाय स्पन्दो जयायोरसि मानवानाम् ॥ ...स्थानाप्तिरूर्ध्वं चरणस्य कम्पे यात्रा सलाभाङ्घ्रितलप्रकम्पे ॥ वसन्तराज VI. 4. 2, 5, 9 pp. 87–90.

1299. अनिष्टचिह्नोपगमे द्विजानां कार्यं सुवर्णेन तु तर्पणं स्यात्। मत्स्य 241. 14.

Kālidāsa twice mentions the throbbing of the arm of the hero as indicative of good fortune and the throbbing of the right eye of Śakuntalā as presaging[1300] misfortune. Shakespeare in "Othello" makes Desdemona speak about the itching of her eyes as a bad omen. The Bṛhad-yogayātrā (XIII. 10), Bṛ. S. (51.10) and Vasantarāja declare that the throbbing of moles, boils, marks, eruptions (on limbs) are to be deemed to indicate consequences similar to the limbs on which they exist.[1301]

The Bṛhatsaṃhitā (chap 93 verses 1–14), Bṛhadyogayātrā (chap. 21 verses[1302] 1–21) and Yogayātrā (chap. 10 verses 1–75) dwell at length on the prognostications to be drawn from the arrangement of the tusks of elephants, from the marks seen when the tusks are cut, from the tired appearance and movements of elephants, particularly when the king is to march on an invasion, since as the Yogayātrā says the king's victory depends on elephants.[1303] These, however, do not describe any śānti and are hence passed over here as not relevant to the subject of śāntis. But the Agnipurāṇa (chap. 291 verses 1–24), Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50. 1–93), Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra I. 20 and Hemādri (on Vrata, vol. II. pp. 1036–1051) prescribe śāntis for removing diseases of elephants and therefore a brief note is added here from Baud. gṛhyaśesa-sūtra, which is probably the earliest and simplest description of a Gajaśānti.

"On the 8th or 11th or 14th tithi of the bright half of a month or on Śravaṇa nakṣatra, the owner should feed brāhmaṇas,

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1300. Vide मनु VI. 50 न चोत्पातनिमित्ताभ्यां न नक्षत्राङ्गविद्यया। नाङ्गुप्रासनवादाभ्यां भिक्षां लिप्सेत कर्हिचित्॥. The commentators give different explanations of अङ्गविद्या. Probably it means सामुद्रिक or lore about the indications from the throbbing of the several limbs. A work Called Aṅgavijjā edited by Muni Puṇyavijayaji is published by the Prakrit Text Society at Banaras. It speaks of eight kinds of निमित्त viz. अङ्ग, स्वप्न, लक्षण, व्यञ्जन, स्वर, छिन्न, भौम and आन्तरिक्ष. For कालिदास, vide शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य। शाकुन्तल I. 11; मनोरथाय नाशंसे किं बाहो स्पन्दसे वृथा। शाकुन्तल VII. 13; शाकुन्तल।—अहो किं मे वामेतरच्चक्षुः विस्फुरति। शाकुन्तल Act V after verse 11.

1301. इति पिटकविभागः प्रोक्त आ मूर्धतोयं व्रणतिलकविभागोप्येवमेव प्रकल्प्यः। भवति मशकलक्षमावर्तजन्मापि तद्वज्जिगदितफलकारि प्राणिनां देहसंस्थम्। बृहत्सं. 51. 10; मशकं तिलकं पिटकं वापि व्रणमथ चिह्नं किमपि कदापि। स्फुरति पदान्यधितिष्ठति यावत्त्वात् पूर्वोक्तं फलमपि तावत्॥ वसन्तराज VI. 4. 11, p. 91.

1302. Verses 8–13 of the Bṛ. S. 93 are the same as the verses of Bṛhadyogayātrā 21. 9–14.

1303. आरिताधिविधुर्नराधिपं वारणाभितनिदं शुभाशुभम्। ज्ञेयमादरवतो विपश्चिता वारणेषु नृपतेर्जयः स्थितः॥ योगयात्रा X. 1.

make them declare 'it is an auspicious day, let there be welfare, let there be prosperity,' should first (or 'towards the east') take out for offering *havis* sesame and rice grains, bring water after repeating the Gāyatrī verse (Ṛg. III. 62. 10), should cover two jars with a new piece of cloth with the Gāyatrī, should close the mouths of the jars with some fruit (a cocoanut or the like) and keep the boiled food towards the west and place (the two jars) on a bunch of five dūrvās. Then after the elephant stable is decked with wreaths of darbhas the elephant inhales the smell of the food offered in fire. He then makes ready a spoon of Aśvattha wood and fuel and darbha grass. Then he goes through the items of ordinary *homa* [1304] from drawing lines onwards and offers oblations of the boiled food with ghee to the accompaniment of the Ghṛtasūkta [1305] (Ṛg. VIII. 81. 1–9). Then (the priest) offers 1008 additional *āhutis* with clarified butter with the five mantras beginning with 'namas-te Rudra manyave' (O Rudra! adoration to you that are fury incarnate' Tai. S. IV. 5. 1. 1–5). Then the procedure from Sviṣṭakṛt offering to the gift of the cow (should be gone through). He puts down on bunches of *dūrvā* grass the remaining portion of the food from which offerings were made in front of the sacred Agni with the words 'svāhā to the *bhūtas*' (spirits). Then he (priest) makes (the elephant) eat what remains of the food cooked in the *sthālī* (pan or cooking vessel) and the bunch of five dūrvās (on which the jars had been placed) to the accompaniment of the Āyuṣya-sūkta; [1306] he sprinkles drops from the praṇītā [1307] water with the

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1304. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 207–211 for the description of a model *homa*.

1305. It may be noted that the first verse of the Ghṛtasūkta is 'आ घृ ण इन्द्र बृहन्तं चित्रं यामं सं गृभाय। महाहस्ती दक्षिणेन॥'. Here the word महाहस्ती means 'great elephant' and also 'having long or big arms' (as applied to Indra) and therefore is employed in the Gajaśānti, following the principle mentioned in note 1276 above. Vide n. 1218 above about घृतसूक्त.

1306. The आयुष्यसूक्त is the खिलसूक्त 'आयुष्यं वर्चस्यं' occurring after Ṛg. X. 128. The आथर्वणपरिशिष्ट 32. 9 p. 195 declares what the आयुष्यगण contains (from Atharvaveda). The कौशिकसूत्र 52. 18 says that Atharva I. 30. 1–4 are आयुष्याणि (conferring long life). Vide तात्पर्यदर्शन on आप. गृ. V. 12. 9 which regards the (first) eight verses of the खिलसूक्त 'आयुष्यं वर्चस्यं' as constituting आयुष्यसूक्त. The com. of Nārāyaṇa on आश्व. गृ. III. 8. 16 (आयुष्यमिति सूक्तेन मणिं कण्ठे प्रतिमुच्य &c.) says that आयुष्यसूक्त here is the खिलसूक्त (of three verses) beginning with नेजमेष after Ṛg. X. 184.

1307. मणीता is water kept in a vessel to the north of the fire after repeating a mantra over it.

three verses beginning with 'āpo hi ṣṭhā' (Rg. X. 9. 1–3, Tai. S. IV. 1. 3. 1–3) and the four verses beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ' (Tai. S. V. 6. 1. 1–4), purifies (the elephant with water) to the accompaniment of the anuvāka beginning with 'pavamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 4. 8. 1); he then leads the elephant to its place (stable); the elephant becomes long-lived; so says the adorable Baudhāyana."

The Gajaśānti in Agnipurāṇa (chap. 291) is entirely different from the above. One should worship on the 5th tithi of the bright half Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, the Airāvata[1308] elephant and the other elephants (in all eight) and Brahmā, Śaṅkara, Indra, Kubera, Yama, the Sun and the Moon, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, the Earth and Ākāśa. The elephants should be sprinkled with *śāntyudaka* (propitiatory water). The Agnipurāṇa proposes an elaborate worship, on a lotus-shaped diagram drawn on an altar, of several gods, several weapons, sages, rivers and mountains &c., elephants &c. and provides that an astrologer should ride the principal elephant of the king and say into its ear 'you are made the chief of elephants, the king will honour you with *gandha*, flowers, best food and people at the order of the king will honour you; you should protect the king in battle, in his journey and in his palace. You should forget that you are a mere beast and revolve in your mind that you are divine!' &c. The king should then ride such an elephant and armed warriors should follow and various gifts should be made to the elephant keeper, the astrologer, the ācārya &c.

The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50. 1–93) is far more elaborate than even the Agnipurāṇa. Its verses about the words to be muttered in the ear of the elephant (II. 50. 59–64) are the same as those in the Agni (291, 15–20). The Viṣṇudharmottara adds (II. 50. 68–70) that this śānti should not be performed on the 4th, 9th or 14th tithi nor on Tuesday nor on Saturday and the commended nakṣatras are Jyeṣṭhā, Citrā and Śravaṇa and that this *śānti* rite for elephants destroys all danger to elephants.

Hemādri (on Vrata vol. II. pp. 1036–1051) contains a long Gajaśānti said to have been declared by Pālakāpya. Many of

1308. According to the Amarakośa, the eight elephants of the quarters are Airāvata, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Puṣpadanta, Sārvabhauma and Supratīka. Vide Udyogaparva 103. 9–16 and Droṇaparva 121. 25–26 for the numerous progeny of these semi-divine elephants. The Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 50. 10–11) names eight *diggajas*, but drops Sārvabhauma from the Amarakośa list and substitutes Nīla.

those verses occur in the Hastyāyurveda (Ānandāśrama ed.) chapters 35 and 36. Considerations of space and of importance prevent any description of that śānti derived from the Hastyāyurveda.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā (chap. 92. 1-14), the Bṛhadyogayātra (22. 1-21) and the Yogayātrā (XI. 1-14) deal with the movements, neighing, prancing, striking the ground with hoofs, postures of horses from which lucky or unlucky consequences are to be inferred. But they do not describe any śānti and therefore are passed over. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 290, 1-8), the Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 47. 1-42), Baud. gṛhyśeṣasūtra I. 19 and Hemādri (on vrata, vol. II. pp. 1031-36 taken from Śālihotra) describe a śānti which averts all dangers to horses and removes their diseases.

The śānti from Baudhāyana is as follows:— "having carried out the usual details of an ordinary *homa* from drawing the lines onwards (the priest) offers into Agni oblations from the cooked food after reciting the puronuvākyā (invitatory prayer) 'tadaśvināśvayujopayātām' (May the Aśvins that yoke horses come near, Tai. Br. III. 1. 2. 10) and the yājyā (offering prayer) 'yau devānām bhiṣajau' ('that are physicians of the gods', Tai. Br. III. 1. 2. 11). Then he makes additional offerings with clarified butter '*svāhā* to Aśvins, *svāhā* to the two that yoke horses, *svāhā* to the ear, svāhā to hearing' (Tai. Br. III. 1. 6. 13). Then he performs all details from sviṣṭakṛt offering to the gift of a cow. Then he puts down on Aśvattha leaves in front of Agni the food remaining after the offering of cooked food with the mantra 'yo aśvatthaḥ ... ketubhiḥ saha' (Tai. Br. I. 2. 1. 8-9). He brings together in a plate the water with which the sthālī is washed, the remainder of the clarified butter and of the water, sprinkles drops from it with an Aśvattha twig and goes round the horses thrice with his right towards the horses with the anuvāka beginning with 'yo vā aśvasya medhyasya lomāni veda' (he who knows the hair of the holy horse). So said the adorable Baudhāyana."

Śāntis are connected with *śakunas* also. The word śakuna means 'a bird' in the Ṛgveda (IV. 26. 6, IX. 86. 13, IX. 96. 19 and 23, IX. 107. 20, IX. 112. 2, X. 68. 7, X. 123. 6, X. 165. 2) and is a synonym of *Śakuni* (Ṛg. II. 42. 1, II. 43. 2 and 3) and *śakunti* (Ṛg. II. 42. 3, II. 43. 1). In Ṛg. X. 16. 6 (yat te kṛṣṇaḥ śakuna ātutoda) the crow is referred to as 'the dark bird'. It has been seen above that birds like *kapota* were regarded even

in the Ṛgveda as harbingers of impending evil and misfortune. Hence the word śakuna gradually came to mean premonition of evil conveyed by cries, movements, positions of birds and then any prognosticatory sign (not necessarily connected with birds). There is an extensive literature on śakunas. Some of it is mentioned here, viz. the Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 237, 241, 243), Agnipurāṇa (chap. 230–232), Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa II. 163–164, Padmapurāṇa (IV. 100. 65–126), Bṛhat-saṁhitā (chap. 85–95), Bṛhad-yogayātrā (chap. 23–27), Yogayātrā (chap. 14), the Nimitta of Bhadrabāhu (ms. in Bhau Daji collection of BBRAS No. 385 in Prof. Velankar's Catalogue pp. 126–127), Vasantarāja-śākuna,[1309] Mānasollāsa of king Someśvara Cālukya (1126–1138

1309. Vāsantarāja's work on 'śakunas' was published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay (1906 A. D.), with the Sanskrit commentary of Bhānucandragaṇi, who was patronized by Emperor Akbar (in the latter half of the 16th century A.D.) and a Hindi translation by Sridhar Jatasankara Bhatta. As Vasantarāja is quoted by Adbhuta-sāgara which was begun in śaka 1089 (1167 A. D.), it follows that Vasantarāja would have to be placed before 1100 A. D. He is probably not much earlier than 700 A. D. as he does not appear to have been mentioned by Utpala in his extensive commentaries on Varāhamihira's works. Vasantarāja tells us (in the Introductory verses 3–5) that he was the son of Vijayarājabhaṭṭa and Sarasvatī and the younger brother of Śivarāja, that he was honoured by king Candradeva (king of Mithilā, acc. to the Com.) and composed the work on śakuna at the request of that king. He mentions (I. 10) Cūḍāmaṇi, jyotiṣa-śāstra, horā-śāstra and Svarodaya and (in I. 27) informs us that Atri, Garga, Guru, Śukra, Vasiṣṭha, Vyāsa, Kautsa, Bhṛgu and Gautama were the principal ancient sages that declared the knowledge of śakunas for the benefit (of human beings). Cūḍāmaṇi is rather an early work quoted in the Sārāvalī (5. 20 and 39. 8) of Kalyāṇavarman in the same breath with Varāhamihira.

The Nimitta attributed to Bhadrabāhu is an extensive work containing 26 chapters and about 1460 verses. It is described in the colophon at the end as 'naigranthe (nairgranthe?) Bhadrabāhuke Nimitte svapnādhyāyaḥ'. The first chapter states that in the time of king Senajit at Rājagṛha in Magadha pupils asked Bhadrabāhu to expound to them the *nimittas* and he did so. He is styled (in chap. II. 1) a *digambara* and the best of *śramaṇas*. The contents of chapters 2 to 26 are: Ulkā (meteors), halo, lightning, evening glow, clouds, winds and hurricanes, rain-fall, gandharvanagara (Fata Morgana), march of kings on invasion, portents affecting the king and the country due to the ripening of actions in former lives (chap. XIV has 177 verses on this), grahacāra as declared by Jina (chap. XV, 227 verses), the prognosticatory movements of Venus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Rāhu, Ketu, the Sun and the Moon; grahayuddha; conjunctions of planets; dreams. It appears that the work is later than Varāhamihira. As it is not within the pale of Dharmaśāstra Literature and hardly ever describes a śānti in the way in which the Purāṇas and medieval dharmaśāstra works provide it has been referred to in this work only rarely.

A. D.) II. 13 pp. 102-112, Adbhutasāgara (which profusely quotes Vasantarāja's work), Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 345-347). Among these Vasantarāja-śākuna is the most comprehensive work on the subject of śakunas and has been quoted by the Adbhutasāgara and other later works. A brief account of the work would not be out of place and is given here. It is divided into twenty *vargas*[1310] (sections) and contains in different metres 1525 verses (as stated in *varga* II. 12). It states: it would declare the śakunas[1311] indicated in this world by groups of beings viz. bipeds (men and birds), quadrupeds (elephants, horses &c.), six-footed (bees), eight-footed (the mythical animal śarabha), beings having many feet (such as a scorpion) and having no feet (such as snakes); that is called *śakuna* which is the means of arriving at definite knowledge about auspicious or inauspicious consequences viz. movement (to the left, to the right &c.), the sounds or cries (of birds and beasts), their glances and activities. A person who is an expert in śakuna-śāstra, knowing that a certain object of his would involve difficulties or would be without difficulties, abandons it or begins it respectively. The work boasts that if it be well studied it requires no expounder, no mathematics and that by merely studying it, the reader acquires pleasant knowledge that yields rewards. The work repeats the view of Varāhamihira (in Bṛhat-saṃhitā 85.5 and on p. 558 above in n. 827) that śakunas indicate to men, whether going on a journey or residing in their houses, how the consequences of actions done in past lives will certainly bear fruit. He answers the objection that, if no man can escape his fate and has to reap the rewards of his past actions, this śāstra is of no use, by saying that the actions of former lives bear fruit only at certain times and places and a man can avoid the results of past actions just as he avoids snakes, fire, poison,

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1310. प्रकीर्तिता विंशतिरेव यस्मिन्वर्गा महाशाकुनसारभूताः। सहस्रमेकं त्विह वृत्तसंख्या तथा सपादानि शतानि पञ्च। वसन्तराज II. 12.

1311. द्विपदचतुष्पदषट्पदमष्टापदमनेकपदमपदम्। यज्जन्तुवृन्दमस्मिन् वक्ष्यामस्तस्य शकुनानि॥ शुभाशुभज्ञानविनिर्णयाय हेतूद्भवानां यः शकुनः स उक्तः। गतिस्वरालोकनभावचेष्टाः सङ्कीर्तयामो द्विपदादिकानाम्॥ सापायमेतत्किरपायमेतत्प्रयोजनं भावि ममेति बुद्ध्या। असंशयं शाकुनशास्त्रविज्ञो जहाति चोपक्रमते मनुष्यः॥ ...अवेक्षितेस्मिन्न खलूपदेष्टा न चात्र कार्यं गणितेन किञ्चित्। उत्पद्यतेऽमुष्य हि ज्ञानमात्राज्ज्ञानं मनोहारि फलानुसारि॥ पूर्वजन्मकृतकर्मणः फलं पाकमेति नियमेन देहिनः। तत्प्रकाशपति दैवनोदितः प्रस्थितस्य शकुनः स्थितस्य च॥ ...दैवमेव यदि कारणं भवेदीतिशास्त्रमुपयुज्यते कथम्। यद्बलेन सुधियो महोद्यमाः पालयन्ति जगतीं जनाधिपाः॥ पूर्वजन्मजनितं पुराविदः कर्म दैवमिति संप्रचक्षते। उद्यमेन तदुपार्जितं तदा दैवमुद्यमवशं न तत्कथम्॥ वसन्तराज I. 6-8, 12, 14, 21-22. The अद्भुतसागर (p. 569) quotes शुभाशुभ० and other verses.

thorns and other (dangerous) things and that if fate alone be the deciding factor what is the use of the science of politics and government by following which wise kings protect the world with great effort? Learned men declare that *daiva* (fate) is only the *karma* produced (accumulated) in past lives; the *karma* in past lives was acquired by human effort; how can one then say that daiva does not depend on human effort? The subjects in the 20 *vargas* and the verses allotted to each by Vasantarāja may be briefly set down at one place: 1. Śāstrapratiṣṭhā (establishment of the śakunaśāstra by reasoning, verses 31); 2. Śāstrasaṅgraha, 13 verses (the statement of the contents of chapters and verses); 3. abhyarcana, verses 31 (how to honour the guru who expounds the śakunaśāstra and to offer worship to the birds and the eight lokapālas according to the procedure laid down by sages); 4. miśraka, verses 72 (general directions such as that the person out of several with reference to whom a śakuna may be examined up to what distance a śakuna operates, if many beings exhibit prognostications which should be followed, what birds and animals are powerful in what directions as to śakunas; *śānta*, *dagdha* and other directions); 5. śubhāśubha (auspicious and inauspicious things and sights) verses 16; 6. *nareṅgita*, verses 50 (the appearance, dress, gestures, speech, throbbing of the limbs of men and women that are auspicious or inauspicious); 7. śyāmāruta (chirpings of the bird called śyāmā, female cuckoo) 400 verses (worship of two images of the bird practically as a deity, the auspicious or inauspicious sounds, activities, motions with reference to invasion, coronation, peace and war, victory, marriage, rainfall, crops); 8. Pakṣiviceṣṭa, verses 57 (prognostications from the cries, sight, glances, movements of several birds such as swan, crane, *cakravāka*, parrot, *mainā*, peacock, kapiñjala, vulture, hawk, owl, pigeon, cock); 9. Cāśa (the blue jay) verses 5; 10. khañjana (wagtail), verses 27; 11. karāpikā (a kind of crane), verses 11; 12. kākaruta (the cawing of crows) verses 181; 13. Piṅgalikāruta (cries of an owl-like bird), verses 200; 14. catuṣpada (four-footed animals like elephant, horse, ass, bull, buffalo, cow and she-buffalo, goat and sheep, camel, musk-rat, rat, monkey, cat, jackal), verses 50; 15. six-footed, many footed and snakes (verses 13); 16. Pipilikā (ants), verses 15; 17. Palli-vicāra (lizard also called kuḍyamatsya and gṛhagodhikā), verses 32; 18. Śvaceṣṭita (barking and other actions of dogs), verses 222; 19. Śivāruta (howling of female jackals), verses 90; 20. Śāstra-prabhāva (the importance of this śakunaśāstra), verses 24.

A noticeable feature of Vasantarāja's work is that more than half of it (781 verses) is devoted to the sounds[1312] made by three birds viz. Śyāmā (400 verses), crow (187) Piṅgalikā (200) and that 312 verses are devoted to the barking, movements and howling of dogs (verses 222) and female jackals (verses 90). It is remarkable that among the Śāktas it is believed that a female jackal is a messenger of Kālī and is auspicious and on hearing its howl in the early morning a person should offer salutation and then success is in the hands of the sādhaka. The brief contents set out above will show that he extends the meaning of śakuna so as to include prognostications based on the actions of men and beasts. He himself says at the end that[1313] is śakuna, which in this world is remembered, heard, touched or seen or which is declared in dreams, since they all yield results. He claims that the system of śakunas is as authoritative as the Vedas, smṛtis and purāṇas, since it never fails to convey correct knowledge.[1314] Some of his interesting statements may be briefly set out. If an owl hoot at night on the top of a house that portends[1315] sorrow and the death of the owner's son (VIII. 40). This is in line with modern popular belief in India. The cawing of crows is at the head of all prognosticatory sounds. 'The barking of dogs is the essence among all śakunas.' The Bṛhad-yogayātrā[1316] provides that certain animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons viz. the *rohita* (red) deer, horse, goat, ass, deer, camel, hare, are useless in winter (śiśira); crow and cuckoo are

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1312. लाभदश्चिलिचिलीतिनिनादः शूलिशूलिनिनदोपि तथैव। ···स्यान्नयाय नियमेन चिचीति निःस्वनश्चिलिकुनाद इहार्थः। कष्टदश्चिरिचिरीति विरावश्चीकुचीकु इति दैन्यविधायी। वसन्त० 7.52–54 pp. 119–120. How an ordinary man could distinguish between the sound 'cilicili' (portending gains), cici (portending danger), ciriciri (portending trouble) and cīkucīku (portending a wretched state) is difficult to say. Similarly, the Piṅgalā bird is supposed to make five sounds viz. किच्, किचि, किचिचि, किचिकिचि, किचिकिचिचि (वसन्तराज 13. 27–28) with different consequences.

1313. यदस्ति किंचिज्जगतीह वस्तु स्मृतं श्रुतं स्पृष्टमथापि दृष्टम्। स्वमान्तराद्यत्प्रतिपादितं तत्फलप्रदत्वाच्छकुनं वदन्ति॥ वसन्त० 20. 2 p. 513.

1314. वेदाः प्रमाणं स्मृतयः प्रमाणं लोके पुराणानि यथा प्रमाणम्। विशुद्धबोधाप्यभिचारिभावात्तथा प्रमाणं शकुनागमोऽयम्॥ वसन्त० 20. 8 p. 517.

1315. रात्रौ गृहस्योपरि भाषमाणो दुःखाय घूकः श्रुतसूत्यवे च। वसन्त० 8. 40. p. 246.

1316. रोहिताश्वाजबालेयकुरङ्गोष्ट्रसुगाः शशाः। निष्फलाः शिशिरे ज्ञेया वसन्ते काककोकिलौ॥ न तु भाद्रपदे ग्राह्या सूकरश्वशृकादयः। शरद्यजादिगोक्रौञ्चाः श्रावणे हस्तिचातकौ॥ व्याघ्रर्क्षवानरद्वीपिमहिषाः सविलेशयाः। हेमन्ते निष्फला ज्ञेया बालाः सर्वे विमानुषाः॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा (ms.) chap. 23. 22–24.

useless in spring; boar, dog, wolf and the like should not be relied upon in Bhādrapada; in Śarad (autumn) lotuses (or conch), bull and birds like krauñca are useless; in Śrāvaṇa month, the elephant and *cātaka* bird; in Hemanta (early winter), tiger, bear, monkey, leopard, buffalo and all animals resorting to holes (like snakes) are useless and so are all young ones except of human beings. Vasantarāja in IV. 47–48 pp. 56–57 has the same provisions almost word for word. Vasantarāja's work appears to have been based mainly on Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṁhitā section on śakuna, chapters 85 to 95 (321 verses) in which Varāhamihira devotes 47 verses in chap. 85 to the cries of birds in general, deals with the movements and barking of dogs (88. 1–20) and female jackals (89. 1–15), the cries of crows (62 verses in chap. 94), to horses (92. 1–15), elephants (94. 1–14) and cows (90. 1–3).

Vasantarāja states[1317] that there are five excellent ones in the matter of śakunas viz. the Podakī bird, dog, crow, piṅgalā bird and the female jackal. Sarasvatī is the presiding deity of podakī, Yakṣa (Kubera) of dog, eagle of crow, Caṇḍī of piṅgalikā and the friend of Pārvatī of the female jackal. He further says that all animals and birds are presided over by deities; therefore a person who interprets śakunas should not kill them, as deities presiding over them might become angry. His statements about 'upaśruti' (oracular voices or words) are worth citing. 'At the time of *pradoṣa* or about the morning twilight when people are hardly speaking anything, a person that is ready to undertake any matter (business) should consider everywhere oracular voices. What a child says without being prompted to do so would not turn out to be untrue even at the end of a *Yuga*. No such easily understood and true śakuna exists for men other than upaśruti.' Both Mānasollāsa (II. 13, verses 920–926 pp. 112–113) and Vasantarāja (VI. pp. 78–80 verses 5–12) describe a curious mode of divining the future called 'upaśruti'.[1318] 'When all people are asleep and the public

1317. पोदकी भषणकाकपिङ्गला जम्बुकाप्रियतमा च पञ्चमी। एतदत्र मुनिसत्तमैः सदा कीर्त्यते शकुनरत्नपञ्चकम्॥ सरस्वती पाण्डविकाप्रधानां यक्षोपि यक्षं गरुडश्च काकम्। चण्डी पुनः पिङ्गलिकां सदैव शिवां शिवादूत्यधितिष्ठतीह। वसन्तराज III. 3–4, pp. 22–23; कालिकापुराणम्। यः शिवाविकृतं श्रुत्वा शिवदूतीं शुभप्रदाम्। प्रणमेत्साधको भूत्वा तस्य कामाः करे स्थिताः॥ आह्निकतत्त्व (Jiv. I p. 345).

1318. प्रदोषकाले यदि वा प्रभाते लोके क्वचित् किञ्चन भाषमाणे। उपश्रुतिः कार्यसमुद्यतेन सार्वत्रिकी वा परिभावनीया॥ यद्बालकेनोक्तमनोदितेन तत्स्यादसत्यं न युगान्तरेपि। उपश्रुतेर्नान्यदिहास्ति किंचित्सत्यं सुबोधं शकुनं जगाद्यात्॥ वसन्तराज VI pp. 80–81.

(*Continued on next page*)

road is empty of people three married women accompanied by a maiden should worship Gaṇeśa (with gandha and flowers &c.); then, after making an obeisance to Caṇḍikā they should fill a measure of corn like *kudava* with *akṣata* grains on which sacred mantras have been recited seven times; they should then place the image of Gaṇeśa in that measure surrounded by the grass blades of a broom. They should take with them the *kudava* measure with Gaṇeśa image inside and repair to the house of a washerman. In front of that house they should cast white *akṣata* grains after (silently) revolving in their mind their thoughts (the matter they are intent on). Then they should with concentrated mind listen. When they hear any words coming from inside of the house talked by a man, a woman or a child or any one else uttered at pleasure (or without restraint of any kind), auspicious, or inauspicious, they should consider the sense of the words heard and the conclusion drawn as to the future project from the words would not turn out to be untrue. The same method may be followed by approaching the house of a cāṇḍāla.

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उपश्रुति occurs in the Rg. I. 10. 3 and appears to mean simply 'coming near to listen.' Vide also Rg. VIII. 8. 5 and VIII. 34. 11. अर्चयित्वा गणाधीशं सर्वविघ्नविनाशनम्। कुमार्या सहिता नार्यस्तिस्रः सुते जनेऽखिले। अक्षतैः पूरयेयुस्ता यत्किञ्चित् कुडवादिकम्। चण्डिकायै नमः कृत्वा सप्तकृत्वोऽभिमन्त्रितम् ॥ संमार्जनीकृतावेष्टे स्थापयेयुर्गणाधिपम्। व्रजेयुस्तं समादाय रजकस्य निकेतनम्। तद्देहस्य पुरोभागे निक्षिपेयुः सिताक्षतान्। मनोगतं समुद्दिश्य शृण्युः सुसमाहिताः॥ श्रूयते वचनं किंचिद् रजकालयमध्यगम्। नार्या नरेण बालेन प्रोक्तमन्येन केनचित्॥ स्वैरसंलापनोक्तं शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम्। शृण्वन्तीभिः फलं ज्ञेयं तद्वाक्यार्थविचारतः॥ चण्डालनिलयेऽप्येवं श्रवणे बोधने क्रमः। यद् ब्रूयुर्वचनं तत्र तत्तथा न तदन्यथ॥ मानसोल्लास II. 13, verses 920-926. वसन्तराज employs almost the same words It is difficult to say whether one borrows from the other. Probably both draw on the same source. कुडव is a measure of grain, equal to ¼ of a *prastha*. Acc. to भविष्य q. by हेमाद्रि (on व्रत vol. I. p. 57 and परा. मा. II. 1. p. 141), 2 पल्स = प्रसृति, 2 प्रसृतिs = कुडव, 4 कुडवs = प्रस्थ, 4 प्रस्थs = आढक, 4 आढकs = द्रोण, 16 द्रोणs = खारी. शबर on जै. X. 3. 45 mentions कुडव, आढक, द्रोण and खारी. पाणिनि mentions आढक and खारी in V. 1. 53 and V. 4. 101. According to ancient smṛtis, a washerman was one of the seven antyajas; vide रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः॥ अत्रि. 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand. ed. of smṛtis). While these pages were passing through the press, the author got a copy of a recent work 'The interpretation of dreams in the ancient Near East' with translation of an 'Assyrian Dream book' by A. Leo Oppenheim (as vol. 46 part 3, 1956, of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series). He could not refer to the interesting parallels from the book as regards dreams, but on p. 211 the writer states that the use of chance utterances made by unconcerned persons was known in the ancient Near East not only in Palestine but also in Mesopotamia.

A peculiar mode akin to 'upaśruti' is described in the Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakhaṇḍa, chap. 100 verses 65–166. It is narrated in that chapter that Bibhīṣaṇa was put in chains by Draviḍas when the former saw Śiva-linga established by Rāma at Rāmeśvara and when no one could explain how it happened, Rāma questioned Śambhu himself who explained that the Purāṇas (mentioned in verses 51–53) may be employed as containing prognosticatory words. The procedure is that a maiden more than five years of age and less than ten years or any girl who has not attained puberty may be honoured with *gandha*, flowers, incense and other upacāras, she should be made to recite the words 'speak the truth, speak what is agreeable, O blessed Sarasvatī! salutation to you, salutation to you!' She should be given three pairs of dūrvā grass and she should be asked to cast them between two leaves of the book. The verse between two leaves would be indicative of success in the undertaking. The verse should be carefully considered and its meaning settled and applied to the matter in hand. This is like *sortes sanctorum* or sortes Vergilianae i. e. divination by opening at random the Scriptures or a book of Virgil or by pricking the text with a pin. Then directions are given as to what should be done if the leaves are half burnt or indistinct &c. and it is said that one should look upon the verse as sent by fate like the words in the upaśruti method.[1319] It is further stated that this method should not be resorted to every day, but rarely and that then one should worship the Purāṇa the previous night and in the morning should consult the Purāṇa for śakuna (verses 114–116). The Skanda is the best among all Purāṇas for this purpose of śakuna; some hold that the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa also may be consulted, but the author of the Padma says that Viṣṇupurāṇa may not be used for this purpose, since if a man devoid of proper conduct honours it for consultation, then inauspicious indications come out (verses 122–125). Śambhu himself worshipped Skanda-purāṇa, asked the question why Bibhīṣaṇa, devotee of Śiva, had fetters put on him (verses 131–132). Then three verses were seen that gave indications (verses 133–135), two of which[1320] are cited below. At the end the

1319. दैवागतो हि स श्लोको दैवं हि बलवत्तरम्। उपश्रुतिषु चक्रुश्च नागराधो द्विजस्य तु। विस्मयो न च कर्तव्यो दैवस्य कुटिला गतिः। पद्म, पाताल, 100. 77–78.

1320. चक्रुश्च सङ्घं स तु राक्षसेन्द्रो रुरोध सुतान् अगदाच्चरेन्द्रात्। चोदुं समारब्ध समागमुस्ते लङ्कापुरस्थास्त्वतिकायमुख्याः॥ अष्टशूला जनपदाः शिवशूला द्विजास्तथा। ग्रामवाः

(*Continued on next page*)

Purāṇa says that the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata or all its *parvans* may be employed for this purpose of śakuna (verses 163–164).

A similar method of finding out omens and of divination from the two works of the great Hindi poet and saint Tulasīdās (born in *saṁvat* 1589 i.e. 1532 A.D.) viz. Rāmājñā (or Rāmaśakunāvalī containing 343 *doha* verses) and Rāmaśalākā is described at some length by G. A. Grierson in I. A. vol. XXII pp. 204 ff and in Festgabe H. Jacobi pp. 449–455.

It is worthy of note that even scientific works like the Carakasaṁhitā ask the physician to notice the condition of the patient, of the messenger, and the actions of the physician and inauspicious omens. They are described in Indriyasthāna chap. 12. A few notable verses may be cited here. 'That patient would only live for a month on whose head arises only powder (dandruff or the like) resembling the powder of dry cowdung and that slides down (from the head); that patient will not live even for a fortnight whose chest dries up when he takes a bath and anoints his body with sandalwood paste while all other limbs are yet wet' (verse 12). 'Those messengers from a patient who come to a physician when the latter is offering oblations into fire or is offering piṇḍas to his pitṛs, will kill the patient (i.e. indicate the approaching death of the patient, verse 16); a woman who is in a pitiable state, terrified, hurried, troubled, dirty and unchaste, three persons (coming together), deformed persons, impotent persons—these are messengers of those who are about to die' (verses 21–22); 'a physician should not go (to see a patient) on being called by a messenger when the physician sees, while the messenger is describing the condition of the patient, an inauspicious omen or a sorrowing man or a corpse or the decoration meant for the dead'; verses 67–70 dilate on the signs of an auspicious messenger and verses 71–79 set out auspicious omens such as the sight of curds, whole grains, brāhmaṇas, bulls, king, jewels, jar full of water, white horse &c. The physician is however advised not to declare an inauspicious omen even when he sees it that would give a shock or cause pain to the patient or even to anyone else (verse 63).

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केशशूलिन्यो भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ॥ पद्म, पाताल 100. 133–134. The second verse is enigmatic and occurs in कलिस्वरूपवर्णन. Vide Vanaparva, chap. 188. 42 where it occurs and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 893 (for explanation) and p. 1012 for quotation from Vanaparva.

It would be of use to students of śāntis if the śānti-sūktas of the Ṛgveda are mentioned in one place. They are:

(1) Ā no bhadrāḥ (Ṛg. I. 89. 1–10)
(2) Svasti na Indro (Ṛg. I. 89. 6–10)
(3) Śam na Indrāgnī (Ṛg. VII. 35. 1–11)[1321]
(4) Yata Indra bhayāmahe (Ṛg. VIII. 61. 13–18)
(5) Bhadram no api vātaya manaḥ (Ṛg. X. 20. 1)
(6) Āśuḥ śiśāno (Ṛg. X. 103. 1–13)
(7) Muñcāmi tvā (Ṛg. X. 161. 1–5)
(8) Tyam-ū ṣu (Ṛg. X. 178. 1–3)
(9) Mahi trīṇām (Ṛg. X. 185. 1–3)
(10) Rātrī vyakhyat (Ṛg. X. 127. 1–8)

Most of the above hymns occur wholly or partly in the Atharvaveda, the Tai. S. and other Vedic works.

Then there are certain hymns that are called Rakṣoghna[1322] (destroying evil spirits) such as 'Kṛṇuṣva pājaḥ' (Ṛg. IV. 4. 1–15), 'Rakṣohaṇam' (Ṛg. X. 87. 1–25), 'Indrāsomā tapatam' (Ṛg. VII. 104. 1–25), 'Agne haṁsi nyatriṇam' (Ṛg. X. 118. 1–9), 'Brahmaṇāgniḥ' (Ṛg. X. 162. 1–6). Some of these also occur wholly or partly in the Tai. S., Atharvaveda and other Vedic works.

The eleven anuvākas of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā IV. 5 beginning with the words 'namas-te Rudra manyava' are styled Rudrādhyāya or simply Rudra. Reciting them once is styled 'āvartana', but the recitation of these eleven times is called 'Ekādaśinī'. Recitation of the Ekādaśinī eleven times is called in popular parlance Laghurudra, eleven repetitions[1323] of this

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1321. In the description of the dāna called Tulāpuruṣa contained in the Matsyapurāṇa chap. 274 occurs the half verse 'जपेयुः शान्तिकाध्यायं चत्वारः सर्वतोदिशम्' (274.56) which Aparārka quotes (on p 317) and remarks 'शान्तिकाध्यायं सं न इन्द्राग्नी इति सूक्तम्।'

1322. कौशिकसूत्र 126. 9 mentions 'रक्षोघ्नैश्च सूक्तैः' but does not state what they are.

1323. So eminent a writer as कमलाकरभट्ट in his शान्तिरत्न states that एकादशिनी and लघुरुद्र mean the same thing. 'एकादशरुद्रै रुद्रीत्युच्यते। सैव लघुरुद्रः रुद्रैकादशनीति चोच्यते। तामिरेकादशभिर्निर्वृत्तः। तैरेकादशावृत्तैरिति हेतौ। ...रुद्रं महातिरुद्रं च जपेत्कार्यस्य गौरवात्।' folio 255 a. Similarly, in the Mahānyāsa-vidhibhāṣya (ms. in the collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society, described in Prof. Velankar's catalogue at No. 794) no Laghurudra is mentioned, but only Rudra, Rudraikādaśinī, Mahārudra and Atirudra.

last are designated Mahārudra and eleven Mahārudras are called Atirudra. The Rudra may take three forms viz. *japa* (muttering), *homa* (offering into Agni oblations to the accompaniment of the mantras), or *abhiṣeka* (sprinkling a person with the holy water over which the mantras have been recited) For reciting Rudrādhyāya the yajamāna, if he cannot himself recite it, may employ one brāhmaṇa and also for Ekādaśinī; but for Laghurudra and Mahārudra eleven brāhmaṇas are generally employed and for Atirudra eleven or 121. Ekadaśinī and Laghurudra are very much in vogue even now in Mahārāṣṭra. Rudrābhiṣeka is described in Baud. gṛhyaśeṣasūtra II. 18. 11–16.

The mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2, Vāj. S. III. 60) is called Mṛtyuñjaya. Japa of it is prescribed for relief against premature death. The Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra (III. 11) prescribes a somewhat more elaborate rite and provides that the mantras to be recited are 'apaitu mṛtyuḥ' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 14. 4), 'param mṛtyo' (Tai. Br. III. 7. 14. 5), 'mā no mahāntam' (Ṛg. I. 114. 7), 'mā nas-toke' (Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2), 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2), 'Ye te sahasram' (Tai. Br. III. 10. 8. 2).

It is unnecessary for the author to say what should be done in these days as to śāntis. Most of the śāntis except a few, as pointed out above in various places, are no longer performed. Even the few that are yet performed may cease altogether in the near future, if one is to judge from modern trends.

SECTION IV

THE PURĀṆAS AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA

CHAPTER XXII

Origin and development of Purāṇa literature

The History of Dharmaśāstra (vol. I pp. 160–167) has a brief chapter on the Purāṇas. It has been shown therein how the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads mention Itihāsa and Purāṇa (sometimes collectively as 'Itihāsapurāṇam' and sometimes separately as 'Itihāsaḥ Purāṇam') and how some of the extant Purāṇas are much earlier than the 6th century A.D. It is further pointed out there that the number of the principal Purāṇas has been traditionally handed down as eighteen,[1324] that some purāṇas such as the Matsya, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and Bhaviṣya contain much Dharmaśāstra material, that the Garuḍa-purāṇa and the Agnipurāṇa contain several hundred verses each that are identical with verses of the Yājñavalkya smṛti, that there is great divergence as to the extent of almost all Purāṇas, that some of the Purāṇas themselves enumerate minor works called Upapurāṇas, that the Purāṇas are divided into three groups, viz. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* (as done by Garuḍa I. 223. 17–20, and Padma VI. 263. 81–84). Details were also furnished as to the chapters of the Purāṇas in which the several topics of Dharmaśāstra (such as *ācāra*, *āhnika*, *dāna*, *rājadharma*, *śrāddha*, *tīrtha*) were dealt with.

In the present section it is proposed to trace the great transformation that took place in the ideas, ideals and practices of the ancient Indian people owing to the influence of the Purāṇas in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

Before proceeding further several preliminary matters have to be dealt with. The mention of Purāṇas as a class of literature

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1324. The Matsya (53. 18–19), Agni (272. 4–5) and Nārada (I. 92. 26) enumerate Vāyu among the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, while the Viṣṇu (III. 6.19), Mārkaṇḍeya (134.8), Kūrma (I. 1.13), Padma (I. 62.2), Liṅga (I. 39.61), Bhāgavata (XII. 7.23), Brahmavaivarta (III. 133.14) substitute Śaiva for Vāyu and omit Vāyu altogether from the list of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.

goes back much farther than was pointed out in the H. of DH. vol. I. p. 160. The Atharvaveda[1325] mentions Purāṇa (in the singular) in XI. 7. 24 and XV. 6. 10–11. 'The ṛk and sāman verses, the chandas, the Purāṇa along with the Yajus formulæ, all sprang from the remainder of sacrificial food, (as also) the gods that resort to heaven. He changed his place and went over to great direction; and Itihāsa and Purāṇa, gāthās, verses in praise of heroes followed in going over.' The Śatapatha brāhmaṇa also (XI. 5. 6. 8) mentions 'Itihāsapurāṇam' (as one compound word) and states that on the 9th day of the Pāriplava the *hotṛ* priest instructs among other matters as follows: 'The Purāṇa is the Veda; this it is; thus saying let him narrate some Purāṇa' (XIII. 4. 3. 13.).[1326] The Śāṅkhāyana[1327] Śrautasūtra (XVI. 2. 27) and the Āśvalāyana Śrauta (X. 7) remark that on two days of the Pāriplava the Itihāsaveda and Purāṇaveda were to be recited. But the two sūtras (though affiliated to the Ṛgveda) differ as to the day on which they were to be recited. It is difficult to say whether the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Upaniṣads knew several works called Purāṇa or whether there was only a single work called

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1325. ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह। उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः॥ अथर्व XI. 7. 24; स बृहतीं दिशमनुव्यचलत्। तामितिहासश्च पुराणं च गाथाश्च नाराशंसीश्चानुव्यचलन्। अथर्व XV. 6. 10–11. Vide Prof. Hazra's interpretation of the first verse in ABORI. vol. 36, 1955, pp. 190–203 and criticism thereof below.

1326. मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते। शतपथ XI. 5. 6. 8; अथाष्टमेऽह्नि। ...मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यहनश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशतीतिहासो वेदः सोयमिति किंचिदितिहासमाचक्षीत। अथ नवमेऽह्नि। ...तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत। शतपथ XIII. 4. 3. 12–13. According to the commentary Itihāsa means such cosmological myths as 'in the beginning there was nothing but water' and Purāṇa means stories such as that of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Compare गोपथब्राह्मण (ed. by Gaastra) I. 1. 21.

1327. समासासु समासासु दक्षिणत आहवनीयस्य हिरण्यकशिपावासीनोऽभिविक्षाय पुत्रामात्यपरिवृताय राज्ञे पारिप्लवमाचक्षीत। ...प्रथमेऽहनि मनुर्वैवस्वतस्तस्य मनुष्या विशस्त इम आसत इति गृहमेधिन उपसमानीताः स्युस्तानुपदिशति। ऋचो वेदः सोऽयमिति सूक्तं निगदेत्॥ आश्व. श्रौ. X. 6. 10–X. 7. 1. समासासु refers to the three iṣṭis to Savitṛ offered every day in the morning, mid-day and evening; the com. of गार्ग्यनारायण explains: समासास्विति दीप्सावचनात् पारिप्लवाख्यानमपि संवत्सरमहरहः कर्तव्यमिति गम्यते॥ The आश्व. श्रौ. connects Itihāsa with the 9th day and Purāṇavidyā with the eighth, while the शां. श्रौ. reverses this order. The आश्व. श्रौ. winds up 'एवमेतत्पर्यायज्ञः संवत्सरमाचक्षीत। दशमीं दशमीं समापयन्। संवत्सरान्ते दीक्षेत।' X. 7. 9–11; the शाङ्खायनश्रौत derives पारिप्लव 'तद्यत्पुनः पुनः परिप्लवते तस्मात्पारिप्लवम्' (XVI. 2. 36).

Purāṇa known to them. But from the fact that the Tai. Ār. (II. 10) speaks of Itihāsas and Purāṇas (*in the plural*) it would not be unreasonable to suppose that in the later Vedic period at least some works (three or more) called Purāṇas existed and were studied and recited by those that were engaged in solemn sacrifices like the Aśvamedha. It is not unlikely that, where the singular 'Purāṇam' was employed in the Vedic texts, a class of works was meant. The facts that 'Itihāsa-Purāṇa' is called the fifth Veda in the Upaniṣads and that the Śatapatha employs 'Itihāsa-Purāṇam' as one compound word lead to the inference that the two categories 'Itihāsa' and 'Purāṇa' were similar in contents at least in several respects. The Āpastambadharmasūtra[1328] quotes two verses each in two places from a Purāṇa (in the singular), once cites the view of the Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa and in another place gives the summary of a Purāṇa passage or verse which says that, when a person attacks another

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1328. अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति। उत्तमामहतं भित्वा दुरुक्तवचसेदितम्। मोक्षां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः॥ न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दूत्र वर्षाणि पञ्च च। न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यधिमन्यते। आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 19. 13; these two are the same as Manu IV. 248–249 with slight variations; अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये यज्ञावीनिरेऽनः। दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि मेनिरे॥ अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये वयां मेनिरेऽनः। उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पन्ते॥ इत्यूर्ध्वरेतसां दर्शनम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 9. 23. 3–6. These two verses respectively say that those who lead the life of a householder performing sacrifices and desiring progeny have to undergo deaths (lit. cemeteries, śmaśānāni) and births (i.e. they only reach heaven and are born again and again), while those that do not desire progeny but remain celebate throughout life become immortal (*i. e. are not born again*). शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on बृह. उप. VI. 2. 15 quotes a स्मृति verse as follows: 'अष्टाशीतिसहस्राण्यूर्ध्वरेतसाम्। उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थास्तेऽमृतत्वं हि मेनिरे॥'. Compare: अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि यतीनामूर्ध्वरेतसाम्। उदक् पन्थानमर्यम्णः सिद्धा ह्यारूढसंज्ञकम्। विष्णुपुराण II. 8. 93, वायु 50. 213, 218, मत्स्य 124. 102–3 and 107, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7. 180 (first half). The third passage of Āp. is पुनःसर्गे बीजार्थं यज्ञवीति ब्राह्मणम्। पुराणे। आप. ध. II. 9. 24. 6. This means that those who perform what is laid down in the Veda serve as the seed (*i e. they become Prajāpatis*) of the new creation after *pralaya* (dissolution). Compare मनु. III. 184–186, one of which is तत्राष्टाशीतिसाहस्रा मुनयो गृहमेधिनः। पुनश्चान्वीनो बीजभूता वंशकराः॥ The 4th passage of आप. ध. सू. is यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्युं शमयति न तस्मिन्दोष इति पुराणे। I. 10. 29. 7. On killing a brāhmaṇa there was a difference of opinion; Āp. probably paraphrases some verses such as Manu VIII. 350–351, the latter of which is: यस्यात्विषये दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन। प्रकाशं वाप्रकाशं वा मन्युस्तं मन्युरृच्छति॥. Both verses of Manu occur in मत्स्य 227. 115–117, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 189–190, बृहद्धारीत IX 349–350; पद्म V. 45. 45–46 are very similar. Vide Bühler in I. A. vol. 25 pp. 323 ff.

with the object of harming him and the person attacked kills the attacker, no sin is incurred. From these passages it is clear that Āpastamba had before him a Purāṇa called Bhaviṣyat and also that the Purāṇa or Purāṇas which he knew contained rules about the food to be accepted for eating, about the stages of householder and the perpetual student, about resisting an ātatāyin even unto death and about creation and re-creation after dissolution. These matters fall within the province of Smṛtis and Purāṇas. As the word 'purāṇa' means 'ancient', the word Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa is a contradiction in terms. Long before Āpastamba the word Purāṇa had come to mean a work dealing with ancient tales &c; several such works must have been composed and they probably began to incorporate contemporary events and wrote about such events in a prophetic vein. Hence arose the name Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa.[1329] As Āpastamba mentions a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and also Purāṇa, it follows that before 500 B. C. several Purāṇas existed one of which was called the Bhaviṣyat and the Purāṇas then known contained the topics of *sarga*, *pratisarga* and smṛti matters.

This conclusion is strongly corroborated by other facts. The Gautama-dharmasūtra provides that a learned (*bahuśruta*) brāhmaṇa is one who knows peoples' usages, the Veda, the aṅgas (auxiliary lores), Vākovākya (dialogues), Itihāsa and Purāṇa and that the king in administering the affairs of his kingdom and justice has to depend upon the Veda, Dharmaśāstra, the (six) *aṅgas* of the Veda, the (four) Upavedas and Purāṇa.[1330]

From the above discussion it appears that, though we are not in a position to make definite statements about the contents of the Purāṇa or Purāṇas referred to in the Atharva, Śat. Br., Tai. Ār. and the Upaniṣads, by the time of Āp. and Gautama, Purāṇas approaching in contents to some extent at least some of the extant Purāṇas had come into existence. The

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1329. It may be noted that the Varāhapurāṇa (chap. 177. 34) expressly mentions the Bhaviṣyat purāṇa. The reference shows that (in 177. 54–57) Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, renovated the Purāṇa called Bhaviṣyat and established images of the Sun-god in four places viz. (1) to the south of the Yamunā, (2) between Yamunā and Multan, called Kālapriya, (3) at Mūlasthāna (modern Multan), (4) in Mathurā; vide Bhaviṣya (Venk. ed.) I. 72. 4–7 for three centres of the Sun image. The Matsya 53. 62 also mentions the Bhaviṣyat.

1330. तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम् । गौ. ध. सू. XI. 19.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya states that[1331] 'trayī' means the three Vedas, viz. Sāmaveda, Rgveda, Yajurveda and that the Atharvaveda and Itihāsaveda are (also) vedas'. It follows that in Kauṭilya's time Itihāsa was a definite work like the three vedas. In another place Kauṭilya provides 'a minister proficient in Arthaśāstras and bent on the good of the king should, by means of itivṛtta (history or historical occurrences) and Purāṇas, admonish (and bring to the right path) a king led astray by other guides.' In laying down a time-table for the king's daily routine of work,[1332] Kauṭilya provides that in the latter part of the day the king should listen to Itihāsa and defines the latter as comprehending Purāṇa, *itivṛtta*, ākhyāyikā (narrations), udāharaṇa (heroic examples), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra (science of government and statecraft). It appears that Kauṭilya meant by 'Itihāsa' a Mahābhārata more or less very like the extant one, which describes[1333] itself as the best of itihāsas, as a Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra and as Kārṣṇaveda. Among the officials[1334] to be maintained by the king with salaries are mentioned astrologers, persons conversant with portents and auspicious times, Paurāṇika, Sūta and Māgadha, who were to be paid 1000 (paṇas) as salary. The Dakṣasmṛti,[1335] which is comparatively an early smṛti prescribes the reading of Itihāsa and Purāṇa for all *dvija* house-holders in the 6th and 7th parts of the day (divided into eight parts). The Aṅgirasa-smṛti prescribes that the Vedāṅgas and Purāṇas should be studied in the dark half of the months after Utsarjana (vide Jīv. part I p. 515). When the

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1331. सामर्ग्यजुर्वेदास्त्रयी अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः। अर्थशास्त्र I. 3; कृष्णैरयं हरीतं वा रथानं तत्रिवासिनः। इतिवृत्तपुराणाभ्यां चोपबृंहयेत्तमिति। अर्थशास्त्र V. 6. p. 257 (a verse at end).

1332. पूर्वमहर्भागं इतरेतरविषयेष्वासु सिनयं वर्त्तेत्, पश्चिमभिहासपुराणे। पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतीतिहासः। अर्थशास्त्र I. 5. p. 10.

1333. अर्थशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं धर्मशास्त्रमिदं महत्। कामशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना। ...इतिहासोत्तमादस्मान्नान्यत्रे कविबुद्धयः। ...अत्यद्भुतानत्र विषये पुराणं पठते द्विजः। आदिपर्व 2. 83, 85-86. In आदिपर्व 62. 23 the महाभारत is called धर्मशास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र and मोक्षशास्त्र. The मार्कण्डेयपुराण (1. 6-7) describes the Mahābhārata as the śāstra of all the four *puruṣārthas* and as the means of knowing the proper actions for all four varṇas.

1334. सार्वत्रिक-वैमेत्रिक-पौराणिक-चौरणिक-सूतमागधाः इतिहासपुराणाः सर्वव्याख्याश्च सहस्राः। अर्थशास्त्र V. 3 (सूत्रपाठसहितम्) p. 247. चौरणिक means one who studies or knows the purāṇas, acc. to the sūtra 'अधीते वेद' पा. IV. 2. 59.

1335. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदमभ्यसेत्तु वै। अथ्ये तोषयेत्पित्रं तु पर्वण्यन्यानि सर्वदा॥ कूर्म II. 69; the मत्स्यपुराण I. 213. 158 has the first half.

Manusmṛti[1336] provides that in a śrāddha rite the brāhmaṇas invited for dinner should recite the Vedas, the Dharmaśāstras, stories, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and khila hymns (such as Śrīsūkta), it should be taken as referring to Purāṇa works closely resembling the extant ones. The Yājñavalkya[1337] smṛti enumerates the fourteen Vidyāsthānas (branches of knowledge) and sources of *dharma* as Purāṇa, Nyāya (logic), Mīmāṁsā (rules of Vedic interpretation), Dharmaśāstras, the aṅgas of the Veda and the (four) Vedas. These fourteen are probably arranged in the order of importance and authoritativeness at the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Yāj. refers to sages that expounded or promulgated the Vedas, Purāṇas, the vidyās (six aṅgas), the Upaniṣads, the ślokas (itihāsa?), aphoristic works (like those of Jaimini or on nyāya), the *bhāṣyas* and whatever other literature exists. In another place Yāj. recommends that a householder after a bath in the morning and worship of gods and pitṛs should engage in japa-yajña, in which he should mutter according to his ability parts of the Veda, of Atharvaveda, Itihāsa and Purāṇas and philosophical texts. These passages from Yājñavalkya establish that Itihāsa and Purāṇa went together, that both were works distinct from Vedic Literature and that both had attained a status of sacredness and authoritativeness in matters of dharma in the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti not later than 3rd century (A. D.). A Vārtika mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ IV. 2. 59-60 provides for the formation of words with the affix 'ṭhak' (*ika*) in the case of ākhyāna (such as Yāvakrītika, Yāyātika), ākhyāyikā (such as Vāsavadattika, Saumanottarika), itihāsa (aitihāsika), Purāṇa (paurāṇika) in the sense of one who studies or knows that.[1338] In numerous passages the Mahābhārata mentions Purāṇa in the singular

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1336. स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत्पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि। आख्यानानीतिहासांश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च॥ मनु III. 232.

1337. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः। वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश॥ याज्ञ० I. 3; यतो वेदाः पुराणानि विद्योपनिषदस्तथा। श्लोकाः सूत्राणि भाष्याणि यच्च किंचन वाङ्मयम्॥ याज्ञ० III. 189; वेदार्थवपुराणानि सेतिहासानि शक्तितः। जपयज्ञप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं विद्यां चाध्यात्मिकीं जपेत्॥ याज्ञ० I. 101. Compare विष्णुपुराण V. 1. 37-38 with याज्ञ० I. 3. Sometimes the branches of knowledge are said to be 18 by adding the four upavedas, viz. आयुर्वेद, धनुर्वेद, गान्धर्ववेद and अर्थशास्त्र, to the 14 mentioned by Yāj. Vide विष्णु० III. 6. 25-26 (about 14 विद्याs and उपवेद) q. by अपरार्क p. 6 and कल्पतरु (ब्रह्मचारि०) p. 22.

1338. आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च ठञ्वक्तव्यः। महाभाष्य on 'तदधीते तद्वेद। क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताड्ढक्'। पा. IV. 2. 59-60. The महाभाष्य gives the examples cited above in brackets.

(as in Ādi 5. 2, 31. 3–4, 51. 6, 65. 52, Udyoga 178. 47–48, Karṇa 34. 44, Śānti 208. 5, Anuśāsana 22. 12, 102. 21) and sometimes Purāṇas in the plural (as in Ādi 109. 20, Virāṭa 51.10, Strīparva 13. 2, Śānti 339. 106, Svargārohaṇa 5. 46–47 (which refers to Purāṇas as 18).[1339] Further, the Matsya-purāṇa and a Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu are mentioned in the Vanaparva.[1340] It is impossible to hold that all the numerous references to Purāṇas are later interpolations, though a few may be so. It is not correct to say that no Purāṇa resembling the extant ones existed before the time when Purāṇa stories were collected in the Mahābhārata. There is hardly any evidence to support any such view.

Early Sanskrit authors like Bāṇa (first half of 7th century A. D.) and commentators like Śabara (not later than between 200–400 A. D.), Kumārila (7th century A. D.), Śaṅkarācārya (between 650–800 A. D.) and Viśvarūpa (800–850 A. D.) leave us in no doubt that in their times Purāṇas existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant Purāṇas. Śabara in his bhāṣya[1341] on Jaimini X. 4. 23, while discussing the question as to what is meant by 'devatā' in relation to sacrifices, states that one view was that they are Agni and others, that are described in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas as dwelling in heaven. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī and Harṣacarita frequently refers to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, but two passages from the Kādambarī and one from the Harṣacarita are very interesting. While describing the hermitage of the sage Jābāli Bāṇa employs a *śleṣa* 'there was Vāyupralapita (proclaiming by god Vāyu; babbling due to the windy humour) in Purāṇa (but no babbling in the hermitage)[1342]. Similarly, in the des-

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1339. महत्त्वाद्भारवत्त्वाच्च महाभारतमुच्यते। ...अष्टादश पुराणानि धर्मप्रवचनानि सर्वशः। वेदाः साङ्गास्तथैकत्र भारतं चैकतः स्थितम्॥ स्वर्गारोहणपर्व 5. 45–46.

1340. इत्येतन्मात्स्यकं नाम पुराणं परिकीर्तितम्। वनपर्व 187. 57 (= cr. ed. 185. 53): सर्वलोकस्य विदिता युक्तसंकल्प च पाण्डव। एतत् ते सर्वमाख्यातमतीतानागतं तथा। वायुप्रोक्तमनुस्मृत्य पुराणमृषिसंस्तुतम्॥ वनपर्व 191. 15–16 (= cr. ed. 189. 14).

1341. का पुनरियं देवता नाम। एकं तावन्मतं या इमा इतिहासपुराणेष्वग्न्यादयः संकीर्त्यन्ते नाकसदस्या देवता इति। ...वेषु देवताशब्दो मन्त्रब्राह्मणे श्रुते अविर्देवता वातो देवता सूर्यो देवता चन्द्रमा देवता इत्येवमादिषु तेऽत्र देवताशब्देनोच्यन्ते इति। ...तस्मात्सूक्तभाजो इविर्भाजश्च देवताः। शबर on जै. X. 4. 23.

1342. पुराणे वायुप्रलपितम्। काद॰ पूर्वभाग para 37; पुराणेऽस्मिन् वायुप्रोक्तप्रलपितसकलपुराणकोशम्। काद॰ पूर्वभाग para 85 (राजकुलं). The वायुपुराण itself states that the Sūta narrated to the sages in the Naimiṣa forest the Purāṇa first

(*Continued on next page*)

cription of the palace of Tārāpīḍa Bāṇa employs a śleṣa (*double extendre*) comparing it with Purāṇa (the two meanings being 'where the accumulated wealth of the world was arranged in appropriate groups', 'in which there is a description of the whole sphere of worlds each part of which was assigned a proper division'). In the Uttarabhāga (by the son of Bāṇa) of the Kādambarī it is stated that in all āgamas (sacred works traditionally handed down) such as Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata there are many stories about curses. The placing of Purāṇas first shows that they were probably more honoured or popular than the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhārata. In the Harṣacarita[1343] it is stated that the book-reader Sudṛṣṭi treated Bāṇa and his relatives and friends to a musical recitation of the Purāṇa promulgated by Vāyu, that was sung by the sage (Vyāsa), that is very extensive, that is world-wide (i.e. known everywhere), that is holy and that is not different from the career of Harṣa (to which also all the adjectives applied to the Purāṇa are applicable). Here it appears that the Vāyu is expressly mentioned (as *Pavamānaprokta* and *Pāvana*) and it is further stated that the Purāṇas contained a description of the several divisions of the world. This description applies to such Purāṇas as the Vāyu, Matsya (chapters 114–128), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 15 ff). It may be argued that the Purāṇa mentioned by Bāṇa may be the Brahmāṇḍa since that Purāṇa says[1343a] in the beginning as well as at the end (IV. 4. 58ff) that Brahmā imparted it to Vāyu, from whom it passed on to several divine and semi-divine personages and ultimately sūta received it from Vyāsa. This latter argument is not acceptable, since there was nothing to prevent Bāṇa from expressly saying that the Brahmāṇḍa was the Purāṇa recited by Sudṛṣṭi.

(Continued from last page)

promulgated by Vāyu (I. 47–48 पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं मातरिश्वना। पृष्टेन मुनिभिः पूर्वं नैमिषीयैर्महात्मभिः॥). Chapters 34–49 of the वायुपुराण contain भुवनविन्यास; आगमेषु सर्वेष्वेव पुराणरामायणभारतादिषु सम्यगनेकप्रकाराः शापवार्ताः। कादम्बरी, उत्तरभाग (शुकनास's consoling speech to king Tārāpīḍa on hearing of the heart-break of Candrāpīḍa).

1343. पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः…"गीत्या पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ। हर्षचरित III, 4th para; the आर्या verse applicable to both is 'तदपि मुनिगीतमतिपृथु तदपि जगद्व्यापि पावनं तदपि। हर्षचरितादभिन्नं प्रतिभाति हि मे पुराणमिदम्॥ हर्ष॰ III, 5th para. पवन means वायु and so पावन may stand for वायवीय.

1343 a. पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं मातरिश्वना। पृष्टेन मुनिभिः पूर्वं नैमिषीयैर्महात्मभिः॥ ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 36–37.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa in his Tantravārtika refers in several places to the Purāṇas and their contents. A few interesting passages are set out here: On Jaimini I. 3. 1 Kumārila says [1344] 'Therefore the authoritativeness of all smṛtis is established by the purpose which they serve; whatever therein (in smṛtis) is connected with *dharma* and *mokṣa* (is authoritative), because it springs from (is based on) the Veda; whatever concerns wealth (artha) and pleasures is based on the usages of the people. In this way a distinction is to be made. This very reasoning applies to hortatory passages in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas. The Upākhyānas may be explained by the reasoning applicable to arthavādas (i. e. they have a purpose and authoritativeness just like the commendatory passages of the Veda). Narration of the divisions of the earth serves the purpose of distinguishing the regions for undergoing the consequences of the (actions that are the) means of dharma and adharma and are partly based on personal experience and partly on the Veda. The orderly presentation of vaṁśas (dynasties) in the Purāṇas is intended to facilitate the knowledge of the brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya castes and their gotras and is based on actual experience and traditional knowledge; countries and measures of time are intended to facilitate worldly transactions and astronomical needs and are based on actual perception, mathematics, tradition and inference. The narration of what will happen in the future is based on the Veda, since it conveys knowledge of the variety of the ripening of the consequences of (complying with) *dharma* and of *adharma* and knowledge of the characteristics of *yugas* that have been in operation from time immemorial.' It is clear from this passage that the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas that Kumārila knew contained stories, geography of the earth, dynastic lists, measures of time and description of what will happen in the future. These are matters dealt with in the extant Purāṇas. On Jaimini I. 3. 7 Kumārila observes: 'In the

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1344. तेन सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रयोजनवती प्रामाण्यसिद्धिः। तत्र यत्तद्धर्मोपकरणवत्तेन तद्धेतुप्रमाण्यम्। यत्पुरुषोपभोगविषयं तल्लोकव्यवहारपूर्वकमिति विवेक्तव्यम्। एवमितिहासपुराणधर्मोपदेशवाक्यानां गतिः। उपाख्यानानि त्वर्थवादेषु व्याख्यातानि। यत्तु भूविभागविभावनं तद्धर्मधर्मसाधनफलोपभोगप्रदेशविवेकाय किंचिद्दर्शनपूर्वकं किंचिद्वेदमूलम्। वंशानुक्रमणमपि ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियजातिगोत्रज्ञानार्थं दर्शनस्मरणमूलम्। देशकालपरिमाणमपि लोकव्यवहारसिद्ध्यर्थं दर्शनस्मृतिसंव्यवहारानुमानपूर्वकम्। भाविकल्पनमपि स्वभावविकल्पवैचित्र्यधर्माधर्मानुष्ठानफलविपाकवैचित्र्यज्ञानहेतोः वेदमूलम्। तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 3. 1 (सर्वस्य शब्दमूलत्वाद्वस्त्वन्तरेषां स्यात्).

Purāṇas [1345] it is narrated that in the Kali age there will arise Śākya (Gautama Buddha) and others that will cause confusion about *dharma*; who would listen to their words?' This shows that before the 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas contained descriptions of the nature of Kaliyuga and that the Purāṇas Kumārila knew did not regard Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, but rather condemned him. From the facts that Kṣemendra composed his Daśāvatāracarita in 1066 A. D., that Aparārka (on p. 338) quotes a long passage from the Matsya chapter 285, verse seven of which enumerates the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu (including Buddha), and that the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva regards Buddha as an avatāra, it follows that before 1000 A. D. Buddha had come to be regarded as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, though before the 7th century some Purāṇas at least had condemned him. In the discussion of the meaning of the word 'svarga' [1346] Kumārila asks: does it mean the region of the stars or does it mean the top of the Meru (mountain) in conformity with Itihāsa and Purāṇas or does it mean only a state of happiness? This indicates that in Kumārila's day Purāṇas contained descriptions of the top of Meru as 'heaven.'

Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra frequently mentions the contents and characteristic features of Purāṇas that are the same as those of the extant ones, though he actually names none of them. For example, on V. S. II. 1. 36 he remarks that it has been established in the Purāṇa that there is no limit to the number of past and future [1347] *kalpas*. On V. S. I. 3.30.

1345. स्मर्यन्ते च पुराणेषु धर्मविप्लुतिहेतवः। कलौ शाक्यादयस्तेषां को वाक्यं श्रोतुमर्हति॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 203 on जै. I. 3.7; some of the Purāṇas such as Varāha 113. 27-28, Brahma 122. 68-70, Padma VI. 31. 13-15 mention the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu (including Buddha). But these Purāṇas have been swollen by late interpolations and it is impossible to give a positive date for these passages.

1346. तथा स्वर्गशब्देनापि नक्षत्रदेशो वा वैदिकप्रवादपौराणिकयाज्ञिकदर्शनेनोच्यते ...यदि वेतिहासपुराणोपपन्नं मेरुपृष्ठम्, अथवा अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां विभक्तं केवलमेव सुखम् ...। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 299 on जै. I. 3. 30. That gods and semi-divine beings dwell on the top of Meru is stated in many Purāṇas. Vide मत्स्य 11. 37-38, पद्म V. 8. 72-73.

1347. पुराणे चातीतानागतानां कल्पानां न परिमाणमस्तीति स्थापितम्। last line of भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 36; vide ब्रह्माण्ड I. 4. 30-32 for कल्पs being endless; स्मृतिश्च भवति। तेषां ये यानि कर्माणि प्राक्सृष्ट्यां प्रतिपेदिरे। तान्येव ते प्रपद्यन्ते सृज्यमानाः पुनः पुनः। हिंस्राहिंस्रे मृदुक्रूरे धर्माधर्मावृतानृते। तद्भाविताः प्रपद्यन्ते तस्मात्तत्तस्य रोचते॥ भाष्य on I. 3. 30; these are विष्णुपु० I. 6. 59-60 and वायु 8. 32-33 and repeated in 9.

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the Ācārya quotes two verses that he designates as smṛti, that are Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 5. 59–60, but are not found in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu or Yāj. On V. S. III. 1. 15 (api ca sapta) the bhāṣya remarks that those who have studied or who know the Purāṇas declare that there are seven hells, Raurava and others, that are regarded as places reached for undergoing the consequences of evil deeds committed by sinners. The Viṣṇupurāṇa enumerates seven hells viz. Tāmisra, Raurava and others, as the places for those who abuse the Veda, who cause obstacles to sacrifices and who give up their proper dharma. Even Manu (IV. 87–90), Yāj. (III. 222–224), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 43. 2-22 enumerate 21 hells and almost all Purāṇas mention 21 or more hells. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 162–164. On V. S. I. 3. 26 and 33 the bhāṣya says that one can see from Vedic mantras, arthavāda passages, Itihāsa and Purāṇa and popular belief that gods have bodies. On V. S. II. 1. 1. Śaṅkarācārya quotes a verse which is the same in Vāyupurāṇa and on I. 3. 30 quotes in all five verses as smṛti, four of which are the same as Vāyu 9. 57–58 and 64-65. Viśvarūpa in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti has two interesting notes on Purāṇas. On Yāj. III. 170 which describes the Sāṅkhya theory of the evolution of the world, Viśvarūpa[1348]

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57–58. Only the half verse हिंसाहिंसे- is found in मनु I. 29; these verses are also found in शान्ति 232. 16–17; अपि च सप्त नरका रौरवप्रमुखा दुष्कृतक्षयोपभोगभूमित्वेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिकैः। तानिष्टादिकारिणः प्राप्नुवन्ति। भाष्य on वे. सू. III. 1. 15; तथा सामर्थ्यमपि (देवादीनां) सम्भवति मन्त्रार्थवादेतिहासपुराणेभ्यो विग्रहवत्त्वावगमात्। भाष्य on I. 3. 26; इतिहासपुराणमपि व्याकरणेन मार्गेण सम्बन्धमन्त्रार्थवादमूलत्वात्प्रभवति देवताविग्रहादि साधयितुम्। ...तथा च व्यासादयो देवादिभिः प्रत्यक्षं व्यवहरन्तीति स्मर्यते। भाष्य I. 3. 33; अतश्च सङ्क्षेपमिमं शृणुध्वं नारायणः सर्वमिदं पुराणः। स सर्गकाले च करोति सर्गं संहारकाले च तदत्ति भूयः॥ इति पुराणे। भाष्य on II. 1. 1. This is वायु I. 205 which reads महेश्वरः for नारायणः. On वे. सू. I. 3. 30 the भाष्य quotes three verses as स्मृति, the first two of which are the same as वायु. 9. 64–65 (viz. ऋषीणां नामधेयानि and यथर्तावृतुलिङ्गानि). It appears probable that शङ्कराचार्य quotes from the वायु most of these verses, as he expressly says about one of them (viz. अतश्च &c.) that it is from a पुराण.

1348. एषा प्रक्रिया सृष्टिप्रलयवर्णनादौ सर्वत्र पुराणादिष्वपि &c.। निश्चल's बालक्रीडा on या. III. 170; पुराणे हि भगवतः सवितुर्वह्नौ पीत्वो दिनि पद्मवः श्रूयन्ते तत्रागस्त्यस्थानन्तरा अजवीथी। बालक्रीडा on या. III. 175. For सांख्यप्रक्रिया in पुराणs, vide प्रधानं प्रकृतिश्चेति यमाहुस्तत्त्वचिन्तकाः॥ ...अभवत्तासीन्महद्बीजं प्रधानप्रभवात्मकम्। ...त्रिविधोऽयमहंकारो महतः सम्भवत्ह। ...पञ्चभूतान्यहंकारात्तन्मात्राणि च जज्ञिरे। कूर्म 1.4. 6, 16, 18, 19 and विष्णु I. 20.29–37. या. III. 175 is पितृणामेऽजवीथ्याश्च यद्यत्स्थानं चान्तरम्। तेनाग्निहोत्रिणो यान्ति स्वर्गकामा दिवं प्रति॥ Compare for a striking resemblance विष्णुपु० II. 8. 85–86 उत्तरं यद्यत्स्थानं अजवीथ्याश्च दक्षिणम्। पितृणाम् स

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remarks that this theory concerning the creation and dissolution of the world is found everywhere in the Purāṇas. On Yāj. III. 175 which states that the path to the world of the pitṛs lies between the star Agastya (Canopus) and the Ajavīthi, Viśvarūpa remarks that in the Purāṇa several *vīthis* (i. e. courses) of the Sun in the sky are found and that Ajavīthi is immediately contiguous to Agastya.

From the foregoing discussion about the references to Purāṇas contained in writers from Śabara to Viśvarūpa it follows that between about the 2nd century AD. and the 6th or 7th century AD. the Purāṇas exhibited the same contents and characteristics as many of the extant Purāṇas do.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say here something about the Yuga-purāṇa, a part of the Gārgī-Saṁhitā, and one of the earliest extant works bearing the title Purāṇas. Kern in his Introduction to the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (pp. 32–40) brought this rare Purāṇa containing valuable historical data to the notice of scholars from a fragmentary ms. Later on K. P. Jayaswal[1348a] published a text of the purely historical material of the Yugapurāṇa in 115 half lines in Anuṣṭubh metre based on the fragment that Kern had got and two more mss. that were secured by him and added a translation and notes. Later on Jayaswal obtained a copy made by Prof. Levi from a ms. (in Bengali script) in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris and published in JBORS. (vol. XV pp. 129–133) a table comparing the readings of that ms. with the text he published in JBORS. vol. XIV. Prof. K. H. Dhruva contributed a paper on the text of the Yugapurāṇa to the JBORS. vol. XVI. pp. 18-66, wherein he altered the proper names and gave free scope to his conjectures and inferences with the result that succeeding scholars have not attached any weight to his emendations and remarks. Prof. D. K. Mankad[1348b] published a monograph in which he gave the text of the historical portion based on the mss. utilized

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वै पन्था वैश्वानरपथाद्बहिः ॥ तत्रासते महात्मान ऋषयो येऽग्निहोत्रिणः ।. विश्वरूप obviously refers to this passage of the विष्णुपुराण or a similar passage in some other Purāṇa such as मत्स्य 124. 53–60, वायु 50. 130. अजवीथि is one of the three divisions of the southern path in the sky in which the Sun, the Moon and planets move, comprehending मूल, पूर्वाषाढा and उत्तराषाढा नक्षत्रs.

1348 a. Vide JBORS vol. XIV. pp. 397–421 on 'Historical data in the Gargasaṁhitā and the Brahmin Empire'.

1348 b. Charutar Prakashan, Vallabhavidyā-nagar, 1951.

by Jayaswal and a fresh ms. that he obtained in Saurāṣṭra, corrects some of the readings accepted by Jayaswal and considerably differs from some of Jayaswal's interpretations and added a few notes.

The Yugapurāṇa is the 113th chapter of Gārgīsaṁhitā and is called Skandapurāṇa in the ms. secured by Prof. Mankad, probably because the Purāṇa starts with a question by Skanda to Śiva about the characteristics of the different *yugas*. The characteristics of Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara are respectively described in lines 11–28, 29–45 and 46–74 of Prof. Mankad's text; and lines 75–235 (of Prof. Mankad's text) and lines 1–115 of Jayaswal's text (in JBORS. vol. XIV. pp. 400–408) describe the characteristics of the Kaliyuga, and the political, social and economic history of a few centuries before the work was composed. The characteristics of the Kaliyuga in the Yugapurāṇa bear a very close resemblance to the description of Kaliyuga in the Vanaparva (chap. 188. 30–64), one half verse being the same in both.[1348c]

The important points that emerge are briefly these:—I omit the discussion of different interpretations of Jayaswal, Prof. Mankad and Prof. Narain. Kaliyuga started after Draupadī died. In the beginning of Kaliyuga Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, would be a famous king but will come in conflict[1348d] with brāhmaṇas. In Kaliyuga, Udāyi son of Śiśunāga, will found the city of Pāṭaliputra on the south bank of the Ganges, which will come to be called Puṣpapura and which will last for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days and five muhūrtas. In that Puṣpapura there will be a deluded and wicked king called Śāliśūka who will establish at Sāketa his virtuous elder brother named Vijaya. Then the valiant Yavanas,

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1348c. The passage from Vanaparva 188. 30–64 is quoted in the 3rd vol. of H. of Dh. pp. 1012–13. The half verse is मोघदिनत्वञ्च मुहूर्ता मासपक्षार्धवादिनः । वनपर्व 188.39, line 38 of Jayaswal's text and 110 of Prof. Mankad's text (reads मासपक्षार्धवादिनः, which does not appear correct and yields hardly any sense). Compare Yugapurāṇa (lines 111–115 of Jayaswal and ll. 182–186 of Prof. Mankad's text with Vanaparva 188. 65–66.

1348d. For the story of this quarrel, vide Matsya-purāṇa 50. 56–65. One half line is variously read 'dharma-mitatamā vṛddhā janam bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ' (Jayaswal l. 40); Prof. Mankad reads 'dharmabhūtatalāḍhā vṛddhā janam mokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ'. Jayaswal thinks that 'dharmamitā' refers to the Greek king Demetrius. Prof. Mankad does not agree.

Pañcalas and Māthuras will attack Sāketa and will conquer Kusumapura which had a mud fortification. All countries will be disturbed (by this onslaught of the Yavanas). Then non-Aryans will follow the practices of the Aryas. At the end of Kali age brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas will dress alike and have the same practices. People will join heretical sects and will make friends for (seducing their) wives. Śūdras will offer oblations into fire with the syllable 'om' and they will address (others) with the word 'bhoḥ' and brāhmaṇas will address others with the words 'O āryas'. The Yavanas will establish five kings in the city (of Puṣpapura). The Yavanas will not stay long in Madhyadeśa. When the Yavanas will vanish there will be seven powerful kings at Sāketa; in Madhyadeśa there would be bloody wars. All the Āgniveśya kings will perish by war and so will the people.

Thereafter the greedy Śaka king will undergo destruction against Sāta, the king of Kaliṅga, and the earth will be devastated and Puṣpapura will be a wilderness. Amlāta called 'red-eyed' will secure Puṣpapura. The Mleccha king Amlāta will destroy the helpless people and the four varṇas. Amlāta with his relatives will perish and then there will be a king called Gopāla who will rule one year and then die. There will then be the just king called Puṣyaka who will rule only one year. After two more kings, Agnimitra will be king who will wage a terrible battle with brāhmaṇas for a girl. After him his son will rule for 20 years. The condition of the people will be very bad because of his fight with Śabaras. Then Sātu king will rule. Then there will be depredations of Śakas who will destroy one-fourth of the population and make the people demoralised. In this way the Yugapurāṇa ends on a dismal note.[1348e]

As the Purāṇa stops with the Śakas and does not dilate on the dynasties of the Andhras, Ābhīras and Guptas, it must be placed earlier than all the known Purāṇas which deal with these dynasties. Jayaswal places the Yugapurāṇa in the latter half of the first century B. C. In the opinion of the present author he is right.

1348 e. देवो द्वादश वर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति। प्रजा नाशं गमिष्यन्ति दुर्भिक्षभयपीडिताः। ततः पापक्षते लोके दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे। भविष्यति युगस्यान्ते सर्वप्राणिविनाशनम्। जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः॥ युगपुराण; तस्मिन्युगसहस्रान्ते संप्राप्ते चायुषः क्षये। अनावृष्टिर्महाराज जायते बहुवार्षिकी॥ ततस्ताग्यल्पसाराणि सत्त्वानि क्षुधितानि वै। प्रलयं यान्ति भूयिष्ठं पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपते॥ वनपर्व 188. 65-66.

A very recent work 'The Indo-Greeks' by Prof. A. K. Narain (Oxford, 1957) has an illuminating note (pp. 174–179) on several difficult passages of the Yugapurāṇa[1348 f].

Several Purāṇas such as Matsya 53. 3–11, Vāyu I. 60–61, Brahmāṇḍa I. 1.40–41, Liṅga I. 2.2, Nāradīya I. 92. 22–26, Padma V. 1. 45–52 state that Purāṇa[1349] was originally only one, that Brahmā thought of it first, that after that the Vedas proceeded from Brahmā's lips, that originally it had the extent of one hundred crores of ślokas and that the essence thereof to the extent of four lakhs of verses was declared in each Dvāpara age by Vyāsa. It is impossible to say whether the writers of the extant Purāṇas had any ancient tradition about this before them or whether all this about the original existence of a single Purāṇa was purely imaginary. The author holds that the latter view is more likely to be the correct one. It has been shown above that as early as the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Purāṇas are mentioned in the plural. Therefore, the extant Purāṇas are only the successors of the ancient Purāṇas, about which, it must be admitted, we know very little.

The number of Purāṇas (in later times and by some of the Purāṇas distinguished as Mahāpurāṇas) has been traditionally handed down as eighteen. They are enumerated in several Purāṇas, such as Viṣṇu III. 6. 21–23, Varāha 112. 69–72 (verses 74–77 in Venk. ed.), Liṅga I. 39. 61–63, Matsya 53. 11 ff, Padma IV. 100. 51–54, Bhaviṣya I. 1. 61–64, Mārkaṇḍeya 134. 7–11,

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1348 f. Vide Appendix I on 'yavana' and 'yona' (pp. 165–169) in Prof. Narain's 'Indo-Greeks.' He points out that in Karṇaparva (45.36) Yavanas are described as all-knowing (sarvajña), valiant and different from mlecchas.

1349. पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् । अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिर्गताः । पुराणमेकमेवासीत्तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ । त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् । प्रवृत्तिः सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणस्यास्मृतेः । कालेनाग्रहणं दृष्ट्वा पुराणस्य ततो मुनेः । व्यस्यतेऽस्मिन् कृतं संहरामि युगे युगे । चतुर्लक्षप्रमाणेन द्वापरे द्वापरे सदा । तदष्टादशधा कृत्वा मर्त्येऽस्मिन् प्रकाश्यते । अद्यापि देवलोकेऽस्मिन् शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् । तदर्धेन चतुर्लक्षं संक्षेपेण निवेशितम् । पुराणानि ब्रह्मादौ च सांप्रतं वदिहोच्यते । मत्स्य 53. 3–11; पद्म (V. 1. 45–52) contains almost all the above verses of मत्स्य. The first verse occurs in वायु I. 60–61 and ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 40–41. The ब्रह्मपुराण 245. 4 says 'अयं ब्रह्मनिधानं च सर्वशास्त्रफलप्रदम्'. The विष्णुपुराण III. 6. 20 states 'अयं सर्वपुराणानां पुराणं ब्रह्मसम्मितः.' The देवीभागवत I. 3. 3 put मत्स्य as the first.

Agni 272, Bhāgavata [1350] XII. 13. 4–8, Vāyu [1351] 104. 2–10, Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 5–7). There is some difference about the 18 names and great difference as to their extent and contents. The Matsya (53. 18–19), Agni 272. 4–5, Nāradīya I. 92. 26–28 enumerate the Vāyu as the 4th among the 18 Purāṇas, while most of the others substitute Śivapurāṇa as the 4th in place of the Vāyu. The Skanda (in Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 5 and 7) puts Śaiva as the 4th in place of Vāyu and Vāyavīya as the last (probably meaning Brahmāṇḍa thereby). The Devībhāgavata[1352] contains a verse naming the 18 Purāṇas by their first letters in which the Śivapurāṇa is omitted. The Saurapurāṇa (chap. 9. 5–12) enumerates the 18 Purāṇas, places Vāyu as the 4th (and not Śiva) and Brahmāṇḍa as the last. The Sūtasaṃhitā (I. 1. 7–11) names the 18 Purāṇas omitting Vāyu and putting Śivapurāṇa in its place. The Dānasāgara in its Introductory verses (11–12 on pp. 2–3) mentions both Vāyavīya and Śaiva separately. In the verses of the Kālikā-purāṇa quoted by Hemādri on dāna I. p. 531, Śiva, Kālikā, Saura and Vahnija (Āgneya, the genuine one) are included among eighteen principal Purāṇas. On the whole I agree with Dr. A. D. Pusalkar [1353] that it is the Vāyu that is entitled to be regarded as one of the 18 principal Purāṇas and not the Śivapurāṇa. Al-beruni in his work on India (com-

1350. The भागवत says 'सुनयोऽष्टादश प्राहुः क्षुल्लकानि महान्ति च ।' XII, 7. 220. The late ब्रह्मवैवर्त (IV. 131. 7–10) states that the five characteristics mentioned in note 1365 distinguish the Upapurāṇas, while the ten characteristics quoted in note 1366 distinguish the महापुराण. विष्णु० III. 6. 13 uses the word महापुराणानि.

1351. Vāyu 104 is a chapter of doubtful authority. Several mss. of Vāyu do not contain it. chap. 104. 7 mentions Vāyu as Anilapurāṇa. Vāyu (104. 2–10) furnishes a list of 18 Purāṇas in which Brahma and Ādika are both included, but no names of Upapurāṇas are given therein.

1352. मद्वयं भद्वयं चैव ब्रत्रयं वचतुष्टयम् । अनापलिंगकूस्कानि पुराणानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥ देवीभागवत I 3. 2. मद्वय = मत्स्य, मार्कण्डेय; भद्वय = भविष्य, भागवत; ब्रत्रय = ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्माण्ड; वचतुष्टय = वराह, वामन, वायु, विष्णु; अ, ना, प, लिं, ग respectively stand for अग्नि, नारदीय, पद्म, लिङ्ग, गरुड; कू = कूर्म; स्क = स्कन्द. Wilson in Preface to tr. of Viṣṇu at p. XXIV states that his ms. of Varāha omits the Garuḍa and Brahmāṇḍa from the list of 18 Purāṇas and inserts Vāyu and Narasiṃha. The ms. is singular in this respect. The printed Varāha (chap. 112. 69 in the B. I. and verse 74 in Venk. ed.) only puts Śaiva for Vāyu; that is all.

1353. Vide 'Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India' by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar (Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay, 1955) chap. 2, pp. 31–41. The Matsya (53. 18–19) mentions what the Vāyupurāṇa contained.

posed in 1030 A. D.) sets out one list of Purāṇas as read out to him from Viṣṇupurāṇa, which is the same as set out below, except this that the Śaiva-purāṇa is put in the 4th place instead of Vāyu (Sachau's tr. vol. I. p. 131, ed. of 1888). It is clear, therefore, that the list of 18 principal Purāṇas had been completed long before 1000 A. D. and was introduced in the Viṣṇupurāṇa many years before that date. Al-beruni furnishes (*ibid* p. 130) another list of the names of 18 Purāṇas which he had heard, viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Āditya, Soma, Sāmba, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Tārkṣya (i. e. Garuḍa), Viṣṇu, Brahma, Bhaviṣya. It should be noticed that in this list Vāyu is included (and not Śaiva), that some purāṇas described in other works as Upapurāṇas are included (viz. Ādi, Narasiṁha, Nanda, Āditya, Soma and Sāmba) and some works almost unanimously declared to be Mahāpurāṇas (such as Padma, Bhāgavata, Nārada, Agni, Liṅga and Brahmavaivarta) are omitted. It follows that some upapurāṇas such as Ādi, Narasiṁha, Āditya, Sāmba, Nanda (Nandī?) had been composed at least some time before 1000 A. D. Bālambhaṭṭa (latter half of 18th century A. D.) states in his commentary on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. I. 3) that the Vāyavīya-purāṇa is also called Śaiva.

The following is a table of the 18 principal Purāṇas together with information about the number of ślokas in each.

Order	Name of Purāṇa	Number of verses acc. to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others	Number of verses acc. to some other Purāṇas and remarks
1	Brahma	10000 (acc. to Nārada 92.31 and Bhāgavata XII. 13. 4)	25000 acc. to Agni 272. 1
2	Padma	55,000	
3	Viṣṇu	23,000	The number of verses is given from 6 to 24 thousand in various works.
4	Vāyu	24,000	14000 acc. to Agni (272. 4–5), 24600 acc. to Devibhāgavata I. 3. 7.
5	Bhāgavata	18,000	

Order	Name of Purāṇa	Number of verses acc. to Matsya, Vāyu 104 and some others	Number of verses acc. to some other Purāṇas and remarks
6	Nāradīya	25,000	
7	Mārkaṇḍeya	9,000	6900 acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya itself (134. 39), 9000 acc. to Nārada I. 98.2, Vāyu 104. 4
8	Agni	16,000	15400 acc. to Bhāgavata XII. 13.5, 12000 acc. to Agni (272. 10–11).
9	Bhaviṣya	14,500	14000 acc. to Agni (272. 12)
10	Brahma-vaivarta	18,000	
11	Liṅga	11,000	
12	Varāha	24,000	
13	Skanda	81,100	84000 acc. to Agni (272. 17), vide below under Sknda.
14	Vāmana	10,000	
15	Kūrma	18,000	17000 acc. to Nārada I. 106. 3 and Bhāgavata XII. 13. 8; 8000 acc. to Agni. 272. 19,
16	Matsya	14,000	13000 acc. to Agni 272. 20-21
17	Garuḍa	18,000	19000 acc. to Bhāgavata XII. 13.8 and Devībhāgavata I. 3; 8000 acc. to Agni 272.21
18	Brahmāṇḍa	12,200 acc. to Matsya 53. 54	12000 acc. to Bhāgavata (XII. 13-8 and Agni 272.23)

It will be noticed from the table that the total number of verses in the 18 Purāṇas according to the figures furnished by most Purāṇas comes to 400600 ślokas. This closely agrees with the total of four lakhs assigned to the eighteen Purāṇas in some of the Purāṇas (vide note 1349 above). But several of the extant Purāṇas contain much smaller numbers of ślokas than are assigned to them. For example, it appears from the commentaries called Viṣṇucitti[1354] and Vaiṣṇavākūtācandrikā on

1354. विष्णुपुराणं च क्वचिद्दशसाहस्रं क्वचिद्दष्टसाहस्रमित्यादिविकल्पेऽप्यत्र षट्साहस्रमेव व्याख्यायते। वैष्णवाकूतचन्द्रिका of रत्नगर्भभट्ट on विष्णुपु० III. 6. 23; the दान-

(*Continued on next page*)

Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 6. 23 that the estimates of the extent of the Viṣṇupurāṇa varied from 6, 8, 9, 10, 22, 23 to 24 thousand ślokas and that both the commentaries comment on a text of the Viṣṇupurāṇa that has only 6000 ślokas. Similarly, the extent of the Kūrma is said to be 17000 or 18000 ślokas by most of the Purāṇas that furnish the extent of Purāṇas, but the extant Kūrma has hardly 6000 ślokas. The Brahma contains 10000 ślokas according to the Nāradīya and 25000 according to the Agni, but the printed Brahma (of the Anandāśrama ed.) contains about 14000 verses. On the other hand, the Skanda (that has two recensions at present) is said to contain 81000 ślokas, but the Skanda printed by the Venk. Press contains several thousands more. The Bhaviṣya (Brāhmaparva)[1355] states that all Purāṇas had originally 12000 verses each, but their extent increased by the addition of tales, so that the Skanda was inflated to the extent of one lakh of ślokas and the Bhaviṣya to 50000 ślokas. The order in which the Purāṇas are enumerated is not quite uniform. Most Purāṇas put the Brāhma in[1356] the first place and set out the order as in the table above, yet the Vāyu (104. 3) and the Devībhāgavata (I. 3. 3) begin the list of Purāṇas with Matsya. The Skanda (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa 2. 8–9) puts the Brahmāṇḍa in the first place. The Bhāgavata (XII. 7. 23–24) enumerates the eighteen Purāṇas in a somewhat different order. The Vāmana[1357] regards the

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(*Continued from last page*)

सागर (p. 7, verse 63) notes that there was a ब्रह्मपुराण of 23000 ślokas and a लिङ्गपुराण of 6000. The विष्णुचित्तीया says 'वैष्णवं तु षड्भेदं तेन पुराणान्तरेषु वैष्णवस्य दशसाहस्राष्टसाहस्राद्युक्तं संहिताभेदमानविषया कल्प्याः। यथा लैङ्गे। ···शैवमात्स्ययोस्तु वैष्णवं चाष्टसाहस्रमिति। क्वचिदेकेन नवसाहस्रं दृश्यते क्वचिच्चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रं क्वचिद् द्वात्रिंशतिसहस्रम्। इदं तु षट्सहस्रमस्माभिर्व्याख्यायमानम्॥. The दानसागर passage is (p. 7 verses 63–64) 'तार्क्ष्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च। त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम्॥ षट्सहस्रमितं लैङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा। ···लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावधीरितम्॥'

1355. सर्वाण्येव पुराणानि संज्ञेयानि नरर्षभ। द्वादशैव सहस्राणि मोक्षानीह मनीषिभिः॥ पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यानैर्विविधैरुप। यथा स्कान्दं तथा चेदं भविष्यं कुरुनन्दन॥ स्कान्दं शतसहस्रं तु लोकानां ज्ञातमेव हि। भविष्यमेतद्विप्रेण लक्षार्धं संक्षयेण कृतम्॥ भविष्य (ब्राह्मपर्व) I. 103–105.

1356. The विष्णु says for example: 'आद्यं सर्वपुराणानां पुराणं ब्राह्ममुच्यते। अष्टादश पुराणानि पुराणज्ञाः प्रचक्षते॥ विष्णु III. 6. 18; तेपि श्रुत्वा मुनिश्रेष्ठाः पुराणं वेदसंमितम्। आद्यं ब्राह्माभिधानं च सर्वयज्ञफलप्रदम्॥ ब्रह्म 245. 4.

1357. सुरूपं पुराणेषु यथैव मात्स्यं स्वायम्भुवोक्तिस्तथ संहितासु। मनुः स्मृतीनां प्रवरो यथैव तिथीषु वर्षा विबुधेषु वासवः॥ वामनपुराण 12. 48. It may be noted that the Matsyapurāṇa chapter (53 verses 3–4 and 11–57) describing the extent and summaries of the 18 Purāṇas are quoted by Aparārka pp. 392–396 and the Dānasāgara pp. 463–469.

Matsya as the foremost among Purāṇas. Notices of the contents of all the 18 Purāṇas occur in Matsya (chap. 53), Agni (chap. 272), Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 2. 28–76), Nāradīya (which devotes 18 chapters from I. 92. 30–43 to I. 109 to the contents of 18 Purāṇas from Brahma to Brahmāṇḍa). There is almost complete agreement among the Purāṇas as to the names of the 18 principal Purāṇas, except as to the Vāyupurāṇa.

The question about the Purāṇas is further complicated by the fact that some of the Purāṇas themselves mention the names of a number of Upapurāṇas, though others ignore them. For example, the Matsya (53. 59–62) names the Nārasiṁha, the Nandi, the Āditya and Sāmba as Upapurāṇas and appears to say that the Nārasiṁha extended to 18000 ślokas and elaborated the description of the Man-Lion *avatāra* declared in the Padmapurāṇa. The Kūrma (I. 1. 16–20), Padma (IV. 111. 95–98), the Devībhāgavata (I. 3. 13–16) set out the names of eighteen Upapurāṇas. Some of the Upapurāṇas bear the same names as those of the principal purāṇas, viz. Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradīya. Prof. Hazra[1358] states that the number of Upapurāṇas is 100. Only a few of the Upapurāṇas have been published and those published do not differ much in the matter of subjects from some of the principal purāṇas and almost all belie the definition of Purāṇa as 'pañcalakṣaṇa'. It has been seen above (note 1349) that the number of ślokas in the 18 principal Purāṇas is said to be four lakhs. It must be remembered that this total *does not include* the number of the ślokas assigned to the Upapurāṇas, and no Purāṇa includes the verses of the Upapurāṇas in the total of four lakhs. Further, no one should forget or ignore the significance of the remarks of the

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1358. Vide Prof. Hazra's paper on Upapurāṇas in ABORI. vol. XXI. pp. 38–62 at p. 49 note. His studies in 'Upapurāṇas, vol. I.' was read by me while this section was in the Press. I have, therefore, been compelled to add only a few matters from this work, mostly in the footnotes. In note 24 p. 13 of his 'Studies' he reiterates that he has collected the names of more than one hundred Upapurāṇas. On pp. 4–13 he sets out 23 sources (six being quotations from Kūrma in different nibandhas) of the lists of Upapurāṇas that exhibit great divergences and chaos. Wilson in his Preface to tr. of the Viṣṇu pp. LXXXVI-XCI mentions the varying lists of Upapurāṇas and offers remarks on some of them. The H. of. DH. vol. I. p. 163 gives the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas as contained in the Garuḍa I. 223. 17–20. Hemādri on Vrata (part 1. p. 21) sets out the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma I. 1. 16–20 (with readings different from those of the printed Kūrma, some of which are rather serious).

Matsya and Kūrma about the Upapurāṇas. The Matsya[1359] speaks of the Upapurāṇas as sub-sections (upabhedas) of the principal eighteen Purāṇas and emphatically asserts 'know that whatever is declared as distinct from the eighteen Purāṇas came forth (or issued from) these (18)'. The Kūrma is no less clear. It states that[1360] the Upapurāṇas are the summaries or abridgments of the 18 (principal) Purāṇas made by sages after studying them. The lists of Upapurāṇas given by several works, most of which are set out by Prof. Hazra in his paper on Upapurāṇas (in ABORI vol. XXI. at pp. 40–48) and in his Studies (pp. 4–13) diverge a good deal from each other. As the Matsya mentions by name only four Upapurāṇas it is not unreasonable to hold that more than four were not in existence at the time when this passage of the Matsya was inserted in it or at least that more than four had not been accepted as Upapurāṇas at that time. A good many of the Upapurāṇas are of late date. Only a few of the rest such as the Narasiṁha, the Viṣṇu-

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1359. उपभेदान् प्रवक्ष्यामि लोके ये संप्रतिष्ठिताः। पाद्मे पुराणे यच्चोक्तं नरसिंहोपवर्णनम्। तच्चाष्टादशसाहस्रं नारसिंहमिहोच्यते। ...अष्टादशभ्यस्तु पृथक् पुराणं यत्प्रदिश्यते। विजानीध्वं द्विजश्रेष्ठास्तदेतेभ्यो विनिर्गतम्॥ मत्स्य 53. 58–59 and 63 q. by हेमाद्रि on व्रत part I pp. 21–22. These verses occur in स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 2. 79–83) also; कु. र. p. 32 explains 'विनिर्गतमुद्भूतम्। यथा कालिकापुराणाद्'. Prof. Hazra in 'Studies &.' vol. I. p. 16 note 33 quotes परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 15 'एतान्युपपुराणानि पुराणेभ्य एव निर्गतानीति याज्ञवल्क्येन पुराणत्वेन सङ्गृहीतानि' and remarks that this implies that the Upapurāṇas were known to Yājñyavalkya. Prof. Hazra is wrong here. All that this passage means is that the Vīramitrodaya in the beginning of the 17th century A.D. (about 1500 years or more after Yāj.) thought that Yāj. included upapurāṇas in the word Purāṇa in Yāj. I. 3. That is Mitramiśra's view, We are not bound by it and should not draw any inference from it, Yāj. mentions only Purāṇa as a source of dharma but he is entirely silent as to how many Purāṇas had been composed in his time. There is nothing to show that they were more than three in his day and it is impossible for us to hold that he included upapurāṇas under the word Purāṇa, simply because some upapurāṇas were composed before 1000 A. D.

1360. अन्यान्युपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु। अष्टादशपुराणानि दृष्ट्वा संक्षेपतो द्विजाः॥ कूर्म I. 1. 16. This verse and the following verses enumerating the 18 Upapurāṇas are quoted by हेमाद्रि on व्रत part I p. 21 (seven), by रघुनन्दन in the मलमासतत्त्व (Jiv. pp. 792–793) and by मित्रमिश्र in the परिभाषाप्रकाश (part of वीरमित्रोदय) pp. 13–14 and other late medieval works of the centuries from the 15th onwards, except हेमाद्रि who belongs to the latter half of the 13th century A. D. One cannot be sure that they are not interpolations in Hemādri. It should be noted that Raghunandana first expressly names only four Upapurāṇas, viz. Nārasiṁha, Nandi, Āditya and Kālikā and then quotes the names of the 18 Upapurāṇas from the Kūrma.

dharmottara, the Devi, can possibly be held to be as old as the 7th or 8th century A.D. I do not accept the view of Prof. Hazra, who places the period of the formation of the group of *eighteen* Upapurāṇas between 650-800 A. D. (in ABORI. vol. XXI. at p. 50 and also in 'Studies in Upapurāṇas' vol. I. by Dr. Hazra), where while admitting (p. 14) that in the Upapurāṇa litarature there are works of comparatively late dates, he boldly states that the age of the Upapurāṇas began approximately from the Gupta period (p. 16). For this last statement there is absolutely no evidence whatever. A detailed discussion of the dates of all the Upapurāṇas would demand a large space and would be somewhat irrelevant in this section. We must hold fast by the facts that even when the 18 principal purāṇas assumed their present form, the number of Upapurāṇas was small, that they were looked upon as no more than abridgments or summaries of the principal Purāṇas, that the Purāṇas that mention upapurāṇas do not state that they were composed by the divinely inspired Vyāsa (but only by some sages as the Kūrma says) and that originally they had not the status or authority of the 18 purāṇas. The Saura, an Upapurāṇa itself, speaks of Upapurāṇas as *khilas* (9. 5). It is only the late medieval digests like the Smṛtitattva (1520–1570 A. D.) or the Vīramitrodaya (first half of 17th century) that were separated by several centuries from the Mahāpurāṇas as well as the Upapurāṇas and the writers of which had practically lost all sense of the distance in time between the two sets of Purāṇas, that say that the mention of Purāṇas[1361] as a source of dharma in Yāj. must be deemed to include Upapurāṇas also. This last may be the opinion of such late writers as Mitramiśra, but no scholar is bound to accept it. It is doubtful whether by the word Purāṇa, Yāj. refers to the Mahāpurāṇas now extant and whether he knows that there were eighteen of them. If some Upapurāṇas glorify themselves as of equal authority with the Mahāpurāṇas, that is of a piece with what the principal Purāṇas state about themselves viz. that Brahmā first thought of the Purāṇas and then the Vedas issued from his lips. Modern scholars should discount all these attempts at self-glorification. Upapurāṇas are due to sages. Upapurāṇas are distinguished from Purāṇas in several important respects. Firstly, the 18 purāṇas are attributed to the semi-divine Vyāsa; secondly, according to both Matsya and Kūrma, they were summaries of the Purāṇas; thirdly, the ślokas in the

1361. एतान्युपपुराणानि पुराणेभ्यो निर्गतानीति याज्ञवल्क्येन पुराणत्वेन सङ्गृहीतानि। परिभाषाप्रकाश (of वीरमित्रोदय) p. 14.

Upapurāṇas are not included in the 4 lakhs of verses of all the Purānas together; fourthly, early commentators and nibandha writers like the Mitākṣarā and the Kṛtyakalpataru either do not mention any of the Upapurāṇas or at the most only about half a dozen or so and that too rather sparingly; and lastly, as Prof. Hazra himself asserts ('Studies', vol. I. p. 23) adherents of various sects such as Śāktas, Sauras, Pāñcarātras interpolated chapters in the Purāṇas of the established group and in some cases wrote new and independent works to propagate their own ideas and styled them Purāṇas.

Early commentaries and digests of Dharmaśāstra very rarely refer to any of the well-known Upapurāṇas. The Mitākṣarā, though it names the Brāhma (on Yāj. I. 3 and 45), quotes passages from the Matsya (profusely), Viṣṇu (on Yāj. III. 6), Skanda (on Yāj. III. 290), Bhaviṣya (on Yāj. III. 6), Mārkaṇḍeya (on Yāj. I. 236, 254, III. 19, 287, 289) and Brahmāṇḍa (on Yāj. III. 30), hardly refers, so far as I know, to any Upapurāṇa. The Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (composed about 1110–1130 A. D.), twelve parts of which published in the G. O. S cover several thousand pages, profusely quotes many of the Mahāpurāṇas, and only six of the Upapurāṇas by name, viz. Ādi (only twice on śuddhi), Nandi (profusely only on dāna and niyatakālika), Āditya, Kālikā, Devī, Narasiṁha (all four profusely on several topics). Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) who quotes profusely from Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhaviṣyat, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Matsya quotes by name only the following Upapurāṇas and only sparingly viz. Ādi, Āditya, Kālikā, Devī, Nandi, Nṛsiṁha, Viṣṇudharmottara (seven times), Viṣṇurahasya (once), and Śivadharmottara (once). The Dānasāgara[1.62] (written in 1169) states 'Upapurāṇas have been promulgated, which clearly set out the procedure of gifts' and it expressly mentions as Upapurāṇas dealing with gifts the Ādya (Ādi or Brahma?), Āditya, Kālikā, Nandi, Narasiṁha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇudharmottara and Sāmba and remarks that the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya are merely compilations (saṅgraharūpa). It is not necessary to refer to writers later than about 1170 A. D. in the matter of Upapurāṇas.

The references to eighteen Purāṇas in about a dozen principal purāṇas and the description of their contents in some of

1362. उक्तान्युपपुराणानि व्यक्तदानविधीनि च। आद्यं पुराणं साम्बं (सान्वं?) च कालिकाह्वयमेव च॥ भान्दमादित्यसंज्ञं च नारसिंहं तथैव च। मार्कण्डेयकृतं तद्वद्विष्णुधर्मोत्तराह्वयम्॥ शाम्बं च विष्णुधर्माख्यं गोपथब्राह्मणश्रुतिम्॥ दानसागर p. 3-verses 13–15.

them naturally lead to the inference that these passages were added some time after all the eighteen Purāṇas assumed a complete form. It is not possible to hold that all the main purāṇas were composed at the same time by one individual author or even by several contemporary writers. Besides, most of the editions of Purāṇas are based either on a single ms. or on a few mss. collected at random and are not critically edited as is the case with the critical edition of the Mahābhārata published in Poona by the B. O. R. I. Many conclusions therefore, drawn from the current printed editions of the Purāṇas or from mss. of the Purāṇas, must be regarded as merely tentative and as likely to turn out to be wrong. What Winternitz said in his History of Indian Literature (English translation, Calcutta, vol. I. p. 469) viz. 'that the date of each section, nay, sometimes of each single verse in the Mahābhārata must be determined separately' applies with equal (or perhaps greater) force to the Purāṇas, perticularly when one wants to use the section or stanza for historical or comparative purposes.[1363]

It may be conceded that the Purāṇas and some of the available Upapurāṇas also contain many ancient legends and traditions; but these have been so much tampered with and inflated by additions intended to bolster up particular forms of worship and particular tenets that great caution is required before one can recognize them as genuine and reliable representatives for ascertaining the *general state* of Indian society and *beliefs* in ancient and medieval times.

In the opinion of the present writer there is no positive objective evidence for placing any of the upapurāṇas except the Viṣṇudharmottara before the 8th or 9th century A. D. Even in the case of Purāṇas, there have been large interpolations such as verses about the 18 purāṇas, their number and contents. But they contain much ancient material and are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas, having been quoted by writers from 8th and 9th centuries A. D. or even earlier.

The Amarakośa[1364] defines 'Itihāsa' as 'what happened in the past' and 'Purāṇa' as 'what has five signs or characteristics'. It is no doubt true that some purāṇas speak of Purāṇa as

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1363. Vide Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in Kane Festschrift pp. 472–487 (about the Rāma episode in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa) at p. 474.

1364. इतिहासः पुरावृत्तं ... पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्। अमरकोश, शब्दादिवर्ग 4–5.

'pañcalakṣaṇa' and set out the five characteristics[1365] as *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (re-creation after dissolution of the world), *vaṁśa* (dynasties of gods, the Sun and the Moon, and the patriarchs), *manvantara* (the vast periods of time that are so called), *vaṁśānucarita* or *vaṁśyānucarita* (deeds and history of the descendants of the solar, lunar and other dynasties). The Bhāgavata[1366] states that ten topics are dealt with by Purāṇas and that some say that they are only five. The ten topics of the Bhāgavata are *sarga, visarga* (dissolution or creation after destruction), vṛtti (modes of subsistence, natural or prescribed for all men by śāstra), *rakṣā* (protection i. e. *avatāras* destroying those that hate the Vedas), *antarāṇi* (i. e. manvataras), vaṁśa, vaṁśyānucarita, *saṁsthā* (four kinds of *laya*), *hetu* (the cause of creation viz. the soul that is subject to avidyā and collects *karma*), *apāśraya* (the refuge of individual souls, viz. *brahman*). The Matsyapurāṇa also mentions other characteristics of Purāṇas viz. in all Purāṇas the four goals of man (puruṣārthas) are described, also the consequences of doing what is opposed to dharma, division of Purāṇas into *sāttvika, rājasa, tāmasa*, the sāttvika and rājasa purāṇas respectively extolling the greatness of Hari and Brahmā, tāmasa Purāṇas extolling Agni and Śiva, the mixed ones extolling the greatness of Sarasvatī and *pitṛs*. The questions addressed by Manu to Keśava (in Matsya 2. 22–24) indicate the subjects that would be dealt with by that Purāṇa viz. creation and dissolution, the *vaṁśas*,

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1365. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च । वंश्यानुचरितं (v. l. वंशानु°) चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ वायु 4. 10–11, वराह 2. 4, कूर्म I. 1. 12, भविष्य I. 2. 4, मार्कण्डेय 134. 13–14; मत्स्य has पञ्चाङ्गानि पुराणेषु आख्यानकमिति स्मृतम् । सर्गश्च···लक्षणम् ॥ 53. 65; विष्णु reads सर्गश्च··· वंशमन्वन्तराणि च । सर्वेष्वेतेषु कथ्यन्ते वंशानुचरितं च यत् ॥ III. 6 24; अग्नि reads सर्गस्य प्रतिसर्गस्य वंशमन्वन्तरस्य च । वंशानुचरितादेश्च मत्स्यकूर्मो-दिरूपधृक् ॥; वराह observes 'पुराणानां हि सर्वेषामयं साधारणः स्मृतः । श्लोकं चरमि निश्चित्य निःश्रेयं स्वमतः शृणु ॥ सर्गश्च···लक्षणम् ॥ 2. 3–4. सर्ग is dealt with in ब्रह्म chap. 1–3, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 8–13, वायु 4–6, कूर्म I. 2, 4, 7, 8, अग्नि 17 and 20 &c. For प्रतिसर्ग vide ब्रह्म 2. 32–37, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 7, विष्णु I. 2 ff, कूर्म II. 45, वायु 7; वंशs are dealt with in several पुराणs as in वायु 99, विष्णु IV, ब्रह्म 8, ब्रह्माण्ड II.14, कूर्म I.20–25, भागवत IX and XII, अग्नि 18, 273–75, 277–78; for मन्वन्तरs vide विष्णु III. 1–2, ब्रह्म 4–6, वायु 100, ब्रह्माण्ड II. chap. 6. 35–38, कूर्म I. 51, भागवत III and VIII.

1366. पुराणलक्षणं ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मर्षिभिर्निरूपितम् । शृणुष्व बुद्धिमाश्रित्य वेदशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥ सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्तिरक्षान्तराणि च । वंशो वंश्यानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः । दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः । केचित्पञ्चविधं ब्रह्मन् महदल्पव्यवस्थया ॥ भागवत XII. 7. 8–10, verses 11–19 explain the ten lakṣaṇas. हेतुर्जीवोऽस्य सर्गादेरविद्याकर्मकारकः । ये चानुशयिनं प्राहुरव्याकृतमुतापरे । व्यतिरेकान्वयो यस्य आभात्यसदपुष्टिषु । तद्भावभावेषु तद्ब्रह्म जीववृत्तिष्वपाश्रयः ॥ भागवत XII. 7. 18–19.

manvantaras, vaṁśyācarita, the expanse of the world, rules about dānas, śrāddha, varṇas and āśramas, *iṣṭa* and *pūrta*, establishment of images of gods, and everything else.

It is not quite clear why the Amarakośa seized upon the above mentioned five topics as characteristics of Purāṇas, Amarakośa[1367] cannot be placed later than the 5th century A. D. It is likely that before that time the number of Purāṇas was not large, that they had not become very inflated, and that, as Itihāsa and Purāṇa were often lumped together as the 5th Veda in the Upaniṣads, they both had certain matters in common. Itihāsa did not probably deal with creation, dissolution and manvantaras, but contented itself with the dynasties of kings and with the deeds and legends about the heroes of the past. Rarely, Itihāsa (Mahābhārata) is called Purāṇa and some extant Purāṇas describe themselves as Itihāsa. For example, the Vāyu[1368] calls itself in the same context both itihāsa and purāṇa. The Brahmapurāṇa calls itself Purāṇa as well as ākhyāna (245. 27 and 30). The Mahābhārata[1369], though generally called itihāsa by itself (as in Ādi. 1. 19, 26, 54) or the best of itihāsas, still applies to itself the words. 'ākhyāna[1370] (as in Ādi 2. 388–89), Kāvya (Ādi 2. 390), Kārṣṇaveda (Ādi 1. 264) and Purāṇa (Ādi 1. 17). From this it appears that originally the line of demarcation between the two was rather thin. In defining Purāṇa as 'pañcalakṣaṇa' the Amarakośa and some of the Purāṇas seized upon such topics as distinguished Purāṇas from Itihāsa and other branches of Sanskrit literature. It has been

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1367. In 'India, what can it teach us' (1882) p. 328 Max Muller points out that the Amarakośa was translated into Chinese about 561–566 A.D. Mr. Oak, editor of the Amarakośa with the commentary of Kṣirasvāmin, assigns it to the 4th century A. D. and Hoernle (in J.R.A.S. for 1906 pp. 940–941) on rather slender and far-fetched evidence puts it between 625 A. D. and 950 A. D.

1368. इमं यो ब्राह्मणो विद्यानितिहासं पुरातनम्। शृणुयाच्छ्रावयेद्वापि तथाध्यापयतेऽपि च॥ ... धन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं पुण्यं वेदैश्च संमतम्। कृष्णद्वैपायनेनोक्तं पुराणं ब्रह्मवादिना। वायु 103. 48, 51; vide also वायु 103. 56 (इतिहास) and 58 (पुराण), ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 4. 47, 50 (which are the same as वायु 103. 48 and 51).

1369. जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा। उद्योग 136.18; जयो नामेतिहासोयं श्रोतव्यो मोक्षमिच्छता। स्वर्गारोहणिक 5. 51; इतिहासोत्तमादस्माज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः॥ आदि 2. 385.

1370. अनाश्रित्येदमाख्यानं कथा भुवि न विद्यते। आदि 2. 37 and 388; इदं कविवरैः सर्वैराख्यानमुपजीव्यते॥ आदि 2. 389.

shown above that the Purāṇa and Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa that existed before Āpastamba contained not only sarga and pratisarga but also some smṛti materials as well. From the definition given in the Purāṇas and the Amarakośa it does not at all follow that those five topics alone were the constituent parts of the very ancient *Purāṇas*, as Kirfel holds;[1371] What could be said at the most is that five were the distinctive topics that differentiated the Purāṇa class of works from other branches of literature and probably cognate works called Itihāsa or it may be that the five are generalized as an ideal for Purāṇas and that the very early representatives of this class (that existed before Āp. Dh. S.) had not these five as characteristics.

The extant Purāṇas contain far more subjects than the five. Some Purāṇas barely touch these five and deal at great length with altogether different topics. Only a few of the extant Purāṇas can be said to deal with all the five topics at some length. The five characteristic topics occupy less than three percent of the extent of the extant Mahāpurāṇas. Of all Purāṇas the extant Viṣṇu alone closely agrees with the definition of Purāṇa as 'pañcalakṣaṇa,' though it also contains a good many other topics. On a modest calculation the four subjects of vrata, śrāddha, tīrtha and dāna cover at least one hundred thousand ślokas in the extant eighteen main Purāṇas. Several of them have identical chapters on several topics (e. g. Matsya[1372] and Padma, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa contain long passages that agree *verbatim* with one another in many matters and details). It is probable, therefore, that the extant principal Purāṇas are partial and gradually inflated representatives of an earlier group of Purāṇas (not necessarily 18 in number) that

1371. Vide Kirfel's Einleitung p. XX of 'Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa'; J. of Veṅkateśvara O. I. vol. VII and at p. 94 for Kirfel's view.

1372. For example, Matsya chapters 55 and 57–60 are the same as Padma V. 24. 64–278, Matsya 62–64 = Padma V. 22. 61–164, Matsya 69–70 = Padma V. 23. 2–146, Matsya 71–72 = Padma V. 24. 1–64, Matsya 74–80 = Padma V. 21. 215–321, Matsya 83–92 = Padma V. 21. 81–213 &c.; Kirfel in 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (and vol. VII. pp. 84–86 of JVOI) gives a chapter concordance of Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu and remarks that Brahmāṇḍa I. 27 (of 129 verses) and II. 21–58 (of 2141 ślokas) have nothing corresponding in Vāyu, while Vāyu has 2704 ślokas that do not correspond to anything in Brahmāṇḍa (vide 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' p. XIII and J. V O. I. vol. VII, 1946, p. 87). Kirfel also furnishes a table of chapters that are common to both Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu (pp. XV–XVI) and vol. VII. pp. 88–90 of JVOI).

existed before Yājñavalkya. In the present state of our knowledge it is almost an insoluble problem to find out what these Purāṇas were or contained. The number 18 was probably due to the fact that the number is prominent in several connections as regards the Mahābhārata. The Bhārata war was fought for 18 days, the total of the vast armies engaged in the conflict came to 18 akṣauhiṇīs, the epic has 18 *parvans*, the Gītā also has 18 chapters.[1373]

The Purāṇas may be classified into several categories, viz. (1) encyclopaedic like the Agni, Garuḍa and Nāradīya, (2) those mainly dealing with tīrthas such as Padma, Skanda and Bhaviṣya, (3) sectarian, such as Liṅga, Vāmana, Mārkaṇḍeya, (4) Historical such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Viṣṇu are probably the oldest among extant Purāṇas, though they too have received substantial additions from time to time.

There are seven Purāṇas that contain historical material, viz. the ancient dynasties down to the time of the Bhārata war and from the Bhārata war to the downfall of the Andhras and the rise of the Guptas,[1374] viz. Vāyu 99. 250–435, Viṣṇu IV. 20. 12 to IV. 24. 44, Brahmāṇḍa III. 74. 104–248, Bhāgavata IX. 12. 9–16, IX. 22. 34–49 and XII. 17, Garuḍa 140 and 141. 1–12, Bhaviṣya III. 3 and 4 (this account is practically worthless). Matsya contains the fullest list of Āndhra kings and states (273. 16–17) that 29 Āndhra kings will rule for 460 years, while the Vāyu (99. 357–358) states that 30 Andhra kings will rule[1374a] for 456 (406?) years. Both Vāyu (99. 355) and Matsya (373. 16) ('Pulovā' in Vāyu) make Puloma as the last king of the Āndhras. Ptolemy who published his 'Geography of India' about

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1373. Vide Otto Stein's paper on the number 18 in 'Poona Orientalist' Vol. I. pp. 1–37.

1374. अनुगङ्गं प्रयागं च साकेतं (तं?) मगधांस्तथा। एताञ्जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः॥ वायु 99. 383, ब्रह्माण्ड III.74 195 (reads अनुगङ्गाप्रयागं च and सप्तवंशजाः); भागवत (XII. 1. 37) reads अनुगङ्गामाप्रयागं गुप्ता भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीम्।; विष्णु IV. 24.63 reads उत्साद्याखिलक्षत्रजातिं नव नागाः पद्मावत्यां नाम पुर्यामनुगङ्गाप्रयागं गयादूर्वांश्च मागधा भोक्ष्यन्ति। Vide Pargiter's 'Purāṇa text &c.' p 53 where the passage is set out and variant readings are noted. Vide I. H. Q. vol. XXI pp. 141–143 on 'Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas' by D. C. Ganguly who criticizes Pargiter's view (pp. XII–XIII in Intro. to Purāṇa texts) and does not agree that the Purāṇa accounts refer to 320–335 A. D.

1374a. 'History of Deccan' by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar for list of सात वाहन kings (in Bombay Gazetter vol. I, part 2, p. 168).

150 A.D. states that Ptolemaios was king of Baithana (Paiṭhaṇa) in his days (vide J.I.H. vol. 22, 1943, at p. 84 in an article on 'Apostles of Kalyan'. So that these historical references to Āndhras must be a good deal later than 150 A.D. Only four Purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu mention in a general way that kings of the Gupta dynasty will rule along the Ganges up to Prayāga, Sāketa (Ayodhyā) and Magadha, but no names of Gupta kings are specified. The passages referring to the Guptas are rather corrupt.[1374b] It is argued by Pargiter (in 'Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XII.) and others that Samudragupta was a great conqueror as his Allahabad Praśasti shows (Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' No. 1). Most scholars are agreed that the Gupta dynasty began to rule about 320 A.D. It is argued that, if the reviser or revisers of the Purāṇas had known the brilliant campaigns of Samudragupta they would have named him at least and that therefore the revision of the Vāyu took place between 320-335 A.D.

There is a large mass of Literature dealing with several questions relating to Purāṇas. For those who desire to make a close study of them and wish to be acquainted with the controversies relating to Purāṇas, some of the more important works and papers on the Purāṇas may be mentioned here: H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the English tr. of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, vol. 1. (1864); F. E. Pargiter's 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age' (1913), 'Ancient Indian genealogies' in Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107–113, 'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' (Oxford, 1922); W. Kirfel's 'das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (Bonn, 1927), 'die Cosmographie der Inder' (1920), 'Bharatavarṣa' (Stuttgart, 1931); Vries on 'Purāṇa studies' in Pavry commemoration vol. pp. 482–487 (applies Kirfel's method to the subject of śrāddha in the Brahmāṇḍa, Harivaṁśa, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu); Haraprasad Shastri's descriptive cat. of Mss. at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. V. Preface pp. LXXIII–CCXXV and his paper on 'Mahāpurāṇas" in J. B. O. R. S. vol. XV. p. 323–340; Prof. B. C. Majumdar's paper in Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee vol. III, Orientalia, part 2 pp. 9–30; Dr. A. Banerji Śāstri's paper on

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1374 b. इत्येते वै सुपार्श्विशादन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वै महीम् । समाः शतानि चत्वारि पञ्च षट् वै तथैव च । (पञ्चाशद्वै ?) । वायु 99. 357–358. The words mean on the decimal positional notation 400 + 5 (i. e. 50, tens place) and 6 (i. e 456). मत्स्य 273. 16–17 reads एकोनत्रिंशतित्रिंशते आन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वै महीम् । समाः शतानि चत्वारि पञ्चाशत् षडिरेव च ॥. It may be noticed that मत्स्य speaks of आन्ध्रs while वायु calls them अन्ध्रs.

'Ancient Indian Historical Tradition' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII. pp. 62–79 (supplies a useful corrective to many sweeping assertions of such scholars as Macdonell, Pargiter and others); Cambridge History of India, vol. I. pp. 296–318; Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature,' English Tr. vol. I. pp. 296–318; Prof. H. C. Hazra's 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records of Hindu rites and customs' (Dacca 1940), papers on 'Purāṇas in the History of smṛti' in 'Indian Culture,' vol. I. pp. 587–614, 'Mahāpurāṇas' in Dacca University Studies' vol. II. pp. 62–69; 'Smṛti chapters in Purāṇas (I. H. Q. vol. XI pp. 108–130), 'Pre-Purāṇic Hindu Society before 200 A.D.' (I. H. Q. vol. XV. pp. 403–431), 'Purāṇic rites and customs influenced by the economic and social views of the sacerdotal class' (in Dacca University Studies' vol. XII. pp. 91–101), 'Influence of Tantra on Smṛtinibandhas' (in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XV. pp. 220–235 and vol XVI pp. 202–211), 'the Upapurāṇas' (in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XXI. pp. 38–62); 'Purāṇa Literature as known to Ballālasena' (in the J. O. R., Madras, vol. XII. pp. 129–146), 'Some Minor Purāṇas' in A. B. O. R. I. vol. XIX. pp. 69–79, 'the Aśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata' A. B. O. R. I. vol. 36 (1955 pp. 190–203); 'Some lost Upapurāṇas' in J. A. S., Calcutta, vol. 20 pp. 15–38; and many other papers on individual Purāṇas specified at the end of this part; Das-Gupta's Indian Philosophy, vol. III. pp. 496–511 on 'Philosophical speculations of some Purāṇas'; Dr. D. R. Patil's paper on 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇic tradition' (in Bulletin of D. C. R. I., vol. II. pp 2–58, comparing passages from Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇas); Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikṣitar's 'The Purāṇas, a study' (in I. H. Q. vol. VIII. pp. 717–67) and 'Purāṇa Index' in three volumes; Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in 'Progress of Indic Studies' (1917–1942) in Silver Jubilee Volume of BORI. pp. 139–152 and 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India' (B. V. Bombay, 1953); Prof. D. R. Mankad's[1375] papers on 'Yugas' (in P. O.

1375. Prof. Mankad's theories are sometimes extraordinary and advanced without any proper or objective evidence. For example, in his paper in the B. V, vol. VI. he boldly asserts that Śuṅga is a Chinese family name, that Puṣyamitra's ancestors were originally Chinese, that Bhāradvāja is a family of Sāmavedins and that he *believes* that the origin of Sāmaveda is Chinese, as its peculiar total music suggests. When it is a mere matter of *belief* without any evidence being adduced, no arguments can convince such a believer that he is wrong. One of his astounding theories is that each of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇik texts is not a real king, but represents a time unit of forty years.

vol. VI. part 3–4 pp. 6–10), on 'Manvantaras' (IHQ. vol. XVIII. pp. 208–230) and in B. V. vol. VI. pp. 6–10; Dr. Ghurye's Presidential Address in the section on Ethnology and Folklore in Pro. of 9th A. I. O. C. (1937) pp. 911–954; Dr. A. S. Altekar's paper 'Can we re-construct pre-Bhārata-war history?' in J.B.H.U. vol. IV. pp. 183–223 (holding that the various pre-Bhārata-war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as historical and real as the dynasties of Mauryas and Āndhras and the Paurāṇic genealogies really refer to kings who figure in the Vedic Literature also); Dr. Jadunath Sinha's 'A History of Indian Philosophy' vol. 1 pp. 125–177 on the philosophy of the Purāṇas' (1956); two papers 'on the ancient chronology of India' by R. Martin Smith in J. A. O. S. vol. 77 No. 2 (April–June 1957) and No. 4 Dec. 1957 (He follows Pargiter in his texts).

Some remarks on the important conclusions of Pargiter and Kirfel are necessary. Pargiter tries to construct history from the earliest times to the Bhārata war which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C. (AIHT, chap. 15 p. 182). He holds that there were two traditions in ancient India, viz. the Kṣatriya tradition and the Brāhmaṇa tradition (AIHT, chap. 5 pp. 58–77). He harps dozens of times on the utter lack of the historic sense among the brāhmaṇas in his work (AIHT), holds that the Purāṇas represent the kṣatriya tradition, that there were three racial stocks, viz. the Mānavas (or Mānvas as he styles them), the Ailas and the Saudyumnas, that respectively represent the Dravidian, the Aryan and Munda (AIHT chap. 25 pp. 289–302), that the Purāṇas are Sanskritizations of works in Prakrit (pp. X–XI) of 'Dynasties of the Kali age'. His date for the Mahābhārata war has not been accepted by later scholars, since his handling of that subject is not judicial, objective or straightforward, but relies too much on his own prejudices and on averages. In his 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age (pp. 58, 74) he appears to favour the view that the Bhārata war was fought 1050 years before the Nandas i. e. about 1475 B. C. The mss. and the printed Purāṇas give four different periods between the birth of Parikṣit[1376] and

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1376. यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम्। एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम्॥ विष्णु IV. 24. 32; भागवत XII. 2. 26 reads (आरभ्य भवतो जन्म···सहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम्); महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः। एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम्॥ मत्स्य 273. 35 (reads एवं वर्षं॰), वायु 99. 415 (reads महादेवाभिषेकात्तु), ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 227 (reads महानन्दाभिषेकान्तं). श्रीधर commenting on Bhāgavata XII.2.26

(*Continued on next page*)

the crowning of Nanda, viz. 1015 years (Viṣṇu), 1050 years (Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and mss. of Matsya), 1115 years (Bhāgavata), 1500 years (some mss. of Viṣṇu and of Matsya). Pargiter himself argues forcefully for the trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies in R.G. Bhandarkar Presentation volume pp. 107–113 and in AIHT chap. X. p. 119–125. Besides, there is the common experience that the total number of years between one well-known event and another can be easily remembered and handed down even orally for hundreds of years, while handing down hundreds of royal names is a difficult matter and some names may easily drop out. Moreover, the Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu themselves say that they [1377] mention only the *prominent* kings of the Ikṣvāku line and the Bṛhadratha line [1378] and even as to the Paurava [1379] line it is clear that that dynasty had many names not all of which are enumerated. There is therefore every possibility that some kings dropped out even in later genealogies also (as for example Matsya 213. 16, saying that Āndhras were 29 and Vāyu 99. 357 saying they were 30). Merely counting the total of the kings actually named in the Purāṇas would not convey a quite accurate idea of the total length of years during which that dynasty ruled. Bearing in mind the two matters (viz. trustworthiness of tradition and Paurāṇika genealogies and the ease of remembering the time distance between too well-known events) he should have endeavoured to find out the age of the Bhārata War. He brushes aside the statement of the period between Parīkṣit and Nanda as unreli-

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states that in the 9th Skandha the Bhāgavata assigns 1000 years to 20 kings from Mārjāri of the Māgadha line (a contemporary of Parīkṣit), then 5 Pradyotana kings ruled for 138 years, then the Śiśunāgas ruled for 360 years; thus 1498 years passed between Parīkṣit and the crowning of Nanda and therefore he supports the reading of the interval as 1500 years.

1377. एते वैवस्वते वंशे राजानो भूरिदक्षिणाः। इक्ष्वाकुवंशप्रभवाः प्राधान्येन प्रकीर्तिताः॥ मत्स्य 12. 57; एते हीक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः शतशः स्मृताः। वंशे प्रधाना एतस्मिन् प्राधान्येन तु कीर्तिताः। ब्रह्माण्ड III. 64. 213–214; एते इक्ष्वाकुदायादा राजानः प्रायशः स्मृताः। वंशे··· कीर्तिताः॥ वायु 88. 213 (as in ब्रह्माण्ड).

1378. अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधेयान् बृहद्रथान्। जरासन्धस्य ये वंशे सहदेवान्वये नृपाः॥ अतीता वर्तमानाश्च भविष्याश्च तथा पुनः। प्राधान्यतः प्रवक्ष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत॥ वायु 99. 294–295, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 107–109, मत्स्य 271. 17–18.

1379. आसीत्सुधर्मतनयः सार्वभौमः प्रतापवान्। सार्वभौमेति विख्यातः पृथिव्यामेकराड्-बभौ॥ तस्यान्ववाये महति महापौरवनन्दनः। महापौरव पुत्रस्तु राजा रुक्मरथः स्मृतः॥ मत्स्य 49. 71–73, वायु 99. 186–187 (with very insignificant variations).

able simply on the ground (which appears to me flimsy) that the figures (1015, 1050) are discrepant (A. I. H. T. p. 180). In almost all passages of the Purāṇas there is some discrepancy or other. Therefore, he should have made an endeavour to find out which one of the three periods (1015, 1050, 1500) is supported by the best and oldest mss. and should have stuck to them, particularly when the Sanskrit equivalents of the three periods (*pañcadaśa*, *pañcāśat* and *pañcaśata*) are so much alike that scribes might easily have been confused and made their own readings. Even taking the least period of (1015) years, the Mahābhārata War would have to be placed at about 1440 B. C. (adding 1015 to the date of Nanda's enthronement, viz. about 425 B. C.). Most Western writers and Prof. S. N. Pradhan (in 'Chronology of ancient India', Calcutta 1927, pp. 249ff) find fault with Paurāṇika statements and brush them aside as practically worthless. Prof. Pradhan takes the kings actually named in the three lines, holds that 28 years are the average reign period of each and multiplying the number of kings by 28 arrives at the conclusion that the Mahābhārata war was fought about 1150 B.C. It is not possible to deal at length with his arguments. But he ignores the express words of the Purāṇas that they enumerate only the *principal* or *important* kings. Besides, there are scholars like Pargiter who regard 17 or 18 years as the average reign of a king in other countries (and in India also). The author cannot accept Prof. Pradhan's reasoning. Most Western writers are loth to assign old dates to matters Indian. Pargiter is no exception. Instead of straightforwardly accepting one of the three periods that was strongly supported by mss. he indulges in some devices that appear like tricks of jugglery (A. I. H. T. pp. 180–183). His method requires some explanation and examination.

Vyāsa is said to have been alive when the Bhārata battle was fought at the end of the Dvāpara age and he is also held to be the author of the 18 Purāṇas. The kings before the Bhārata war, the Pāṇḍava heroes and a few descendants of them and of some contemporaries of them are treated by the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and others as past (*atīta*). Adhisomakṛṣṇa or Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, who[1380] was 6th in direct descent from Arjuna

1380. The genealogy of अधिसीमकृष्ण is as follows: अर्जुन-son अभिमन्यु-son परीक्षित्-son जनमेजय-son शतानीक, then अश्वमेधदत्त, then अधिसीमकृष्ण. Vide वायु 99, 249–258, the last verse being, अधिसीमकृष्णो धर्मात्मा सांप्रतोर्वं महायशाः। यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं युष्माभिरिदमाहृतम्॥; मत्स्य 50. 55–67 has almost the same words as Vāyu, but states that अधिसीमकृष्ण was son of शतानीक.

(excluding Arjuna) is said to have been alive when the Purāṇas were narrated to the sages at the *sattra*. Both Vāyu (99. 282) and Matsya (271. 5) state that in the Ikṣvāku line king Divākara, 6th (or 5th in Matsya) in descent from Bṛhadbala, was alive at the time when the Purāṇas were narrated. Then the same Purāṇas (Vāyu 99. 30, Matsya 271. 23 and Brahmāṇḍa III. 74. 113) state that in the line of Jarāsandha (ruler of Magadha), who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas and whose son Sahadeva was killed in the Bhārata war, there was Senājit who was a contemporary of Adhisīma-kṛṣṇa and Divākara and who was 7th in descent from Sahadeva. These three are described as *vartamāna* kings in the Purāṇas and all those that came after these three are described as *bhaviṣya*. Pargiter first (AIHT p. 180) takes the total of the kings of the three dynasties, Aikṣvāka, Paurava and Māgadha that are actually named (ignoring what the Purāṇas say viz. that only the principal or important kings are named and *not all*) and the total of the reigns of all these (1408 years), finds that the average of the reign of each king in the three lines works out at such large figures as 47, 50, 31, which he regards as impossible when tested by real historical averages. But he forgets that the Purāṇas say that in the Aikṣvāka, Magadha and Paurava lines and also generally only the prominent kings are mentioned and also that the extant Purāṇas are only fragments left of the originals, since in the Brahmāṇḍa (III. 74) all Paurava and Aikṣvāka kings are altogether lost. Then he takes the total number of kings in ten kingdoms up to Mahāpadma and arrives at the average of 26 kings for each kingdom (AIHT p. 181). Then he says that the average of fourteen series of kings in Eastern and Western countries which he examined comes to 19 years for each reign and, holding that the average in eastern countries is less than in western countries, he arrives at the average of 18 years for each reign (pp. 181–182), which he regards as fair and rather liberal. He then multiplies the average 18 (of length of reigns) by 26 (the average number of kings in ten countries which he supposes to be the only kings in those ten) and arrives at the figure 468 years. He adds these to the date which he assigns to Mahāpadma Nanda 382 B. C. and thus arrives at 850 B. C. as the mean date of the beginning of the reign of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Divākara and Senājit, who were *vartamāna* kings. Then he takes five as the average of the kings between the *vartamāna* kings and Yudhiṣṭhira and assigning about 100 years to these 5 kings, arrives at the date 950 B. C. for the Bhārata war. He

discards (AIHT p. 180 n 3) the astronomical evidence contained in the Purāṇas (and the Mahābhārata) about Bhārata war in a single sentence viz. that astronomical statements can have no scientific precision and can only have been formed by estimate at the close. The probable date of the Mahābhārata war has been discussed by the author at some length on materials supplied by the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, Varāhamihira, Āryabhaṭa and Inscriptions in vol. III. pp. 895–923 and therefore he does not go into that question here. But he strongly disapproves of the methods of Pargiter and the date he deduces. Later scholars like Kirfel have not accepted the conclusions of Pargiter about two separate traditions and about the Purāṇas being Sanskritizations of originals written in Prakrit and Kharoṣṭhī script (p. XVI. of Intro. to 'Purāṇa Texts &c.'). The importance of another independent source has not been taken proper notice of by Pargiter and even by Kirfel. It appears that about 300 B. C. Megasthenes was supplied with a list of kings from Bacchus to Alexander's time (153 or 154 in number) covering by their reigns a period of 6451 years and three months. Vide 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' by McCrindle (1877) p. 115 and Cambridge History of Ancient India, vol. I. (1922, p. 409). Even supposing for argument that the account of kings is not trustworthy the fact remains that about 300 B. C. Indians claimed that they had lists of kings that reigned before that date for thousands of years (and not for a few hundred years as Pargiter would have us believe).

It has been shown above that Āpastamba mentions a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa and quotes four verses from a Purāṇa (p. 817, note 1328). That Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa was probably so called because it contained in a prophetic vein the names and other details of kings that flourished after the Bhārata heroes and after a few generations of descendants of them and their contemporaries and probably purported to have been composed by some sage or by Vyāsa. As the Kali age is said to have started after the Bhārata war, as Parāśara, his son Vyāsa and Vyāsa's son Śuka were regarded as more or less contemporaries of the Pāṇḍavas that lived in the Dvāpara age and as all the 18 Purāṇas are deemed to have been composed by Vyāsa[1381] in the Dvāpara age, the history of the kings of the Kali age from the descendants

1381. अष्टादश पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः। भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम्॥ मत्स्य 53. 70.

of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa and his contemporaries downwards has been furnished by the Purāṇas in the form of a prophetic style. It has not been clearly noticed by both Pargiter and Kirfel that the so-called future kings are divided into two groups, viz. the kings of the Aila, Aikṣvāka and Māgadha lines from Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Divākara and Senājit to the last scions of these lines (such[1382] as Sumitra in the Aikṣvāka line, Kṣemaka in the Aila line) form one group and later kings in the lines of Pradyotas, Śuṅgas, Āndhras, Śakas and others form another group and further that the first group was most probably dealt with in the ancient Bhaviṣya-purāṇa or some other Purāṇa if we rely on Āpastamba, but the other group not having been in existence when the Bhaviṣyat was composed (before 500–400 B. C.) was dealt with by the extant Purāṇas from information received by them apart from the ancient Bhaviṣyat. This is clear from the passages of the Matsya and Vāyu quoted[1383] below. The Matsya says 'After this I shall proclaim those *future* kings in the Aiḍa (Aila), Aikṣvāka and Paurava lines and those with whom those three benign (or virtuous) families will come to an end and I shall enumerate all of these kings that are narrated in the Bhaviṣya. *Other kings different* from the preceding that will arise, such as Kṣatras (? of the

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1382. अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोयं भविष्यज्ञैरुदाहृतः। इक्ष्वाकूणामयं वंशः सुमित्रान्तो भविष्यति। सुमित्रं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ॥ वायु 99.292, मत्स्य 271. 15–16, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 106; अत्रानुवंशश्लोकोऽयं गीतो विप्रैः पुराविदैः। ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वैशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः। क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ॥ वायु 99. 278, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 74. 265, मत्स्य 51. 88. There is no अनुवंशश्लोक about the last scion of the third line.

1383. अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि भविष्या ये नृपास्तथा। ऐडेक्ष्वाकान्वये चैव पौरवे चान्वये तथा। येषु संस्थास्यते तच्च ऐडेक्ष्वाकुकुलं शुभम्॥ तान्सर्वान् कीर्तयिष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान्नृपान्॥ तेभ्योऽपरेऽपि ये त्वन्ये क्षुत्स्थास्यन्ते नृपाः पुनः। क्षत्राः पारशवाः शूद्रास्तथान्ये ये बहिश्चराः। अन्धाः (अन्ध्राः?) शकाः पुलिन्दाश्च चूलिका यवनास्तथा। कैवर्ताभीरशबरा ये चान्ये म्लेच्छसम्भवाः। पर्यायतः प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतश्चैव तान्नृपान्। अधिसोम(सीम?)कृष्णश्चैतेषां प्रथमं वर्तते नृपः। तस्यान्ववाये वक्ष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान् नृपान्॥ मत्स्य 50. 73–77. Compare वायु 99.266–270 (the only important variants being भविष्ये पठितान्. वर्षायतः for पर्यायतः and भविष्ये तावतो नृपान्). पारशवाः (पार्शवः or पर्शवः) probably stands for a warlike tribe called Parśus. Vide 'पर्श्वादियौधेयादिग्यामणञौ' पा.V. 3 117, from which it appears that Parśu was an आयुधजीविसङ्घ like यौधेय in the times of Pāṇini. Parśus were ancient Persians, as appears from the Behustun Inscription of Darius (522–486 B. C.). Vide 'Select Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 1–6 ed. by Dr. D. C. Sircar where Pars occurs as the name of a country. The other sense given above does not suit the context. Pulindas were in the Vindhya region and are associated with Andhra in the 13th Rock edict of Aśoka. The अमरकोश says: 'भेदाः किरातशबरपुलिन्दा म्लेच्छजातयः।'.

Kṣatriya class), Pāraśavas (the Parśi tribe or persons born of a śūdra father and brāhmaṇa mother?), Śūdras (as kings) and others that are foreigners, the Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Cūlikas, Yavanas, fishermen, Ābhīras and Śabaras and others born of Mleccha (tribes)—these kings I shall proclaim one after another in order and by name. Out of these (two groups) the first is Adhisīmakṛṣṇa who is now alive and I shall speak of the kings of his line that are narrated in the Bhaviṣya'. This passage makes it perfectly clear that in the ancient Bhaviṣyat kings of the three lines of Aila, Aikṣvāka and Paurava to the last of them were enumerated (vide note 1382), but that the later kings like the Āndhras and Śakas were not enumerated therein. I agree with Pargiter (p. VIII. in Intro. to 'Purāṇa Texts' &c.) that the words 'Bhaviṣye kathitān' in Matsya (50. 77) or 'Bhaviṣye paṭhitān' in Vāyu (in 99.292) refer to the descendants mentioned in the Bhaviṣya and that they do not simply mean 'mentioned in future.' I fail to understand, however, why he regards 'Bhaviṣyat' as a perversion of 'Bhaviṣya'. Bhaviṣyat is as good a word as Bhaviṣya, being employed in several passages such as Varāha (177. 34), Matsya (53. 62).

Pargiter probably wants to identify the Bhaviṣyat of Āpastamba with the Bhaviṣya of later times. There is no evidence except the name to identify the two. It, therefore, appears that the extant Purāṇas base their narrative as to the three lines of Aila, Aikṣvāka and Paurava kings on the materials contained in the ancient Bhaviṣya and as to other lines and comparatively later kings they relied on other materials or oral traditions that they could collect. This inference receives support from other circumstances. The extant Purāṇas quote verses called Anuvaṁśa ślokas or gāthās about ancient kings, such as Kārtavīrya (in Vāyu 94. 20, Matsya 43. 24, Brahmāṇḍa III. 68-20, Brahma 13. 17) and also about the last scions of the Aila and Aikṣvāka lines, viz. Sumitra and Kṣemaka. But so far as kings of comparatively later dynasties such as those of the Āndhras, Śuṅgas and others are concerned, no such gāthās or ślokas are quoted in the Purāṇas. There is absolutely no evidence to hold, as Pargiter does (p. XIII of 'Purāṇa Texts' &c.), that the ancient Bhaviṣya contained a reference to the Guptas. The ancient Bhaviṣya was composed before Āpastamba (i. e. before the 4th or 5th B. C.) and hence originally could have contained no reference to the Guptas (whose rule began about 320 A. D.). The Matsya does not refer to the Guptas and mentions only the

downfall of the Āndhras. Therefore, the Matsya should be regarded as composed or revised about the middle (or end) of the 3rd century A. D., though the possibilities of some chapters or verses being added after that date cannot be ruled out. When the Vāyu (99. 383), Brahmāṇḍa (III. 74. 195), Viṣṇu (IV. 24. 18) and Bhāgavata (XII. 1. 37) mentioned the Guptas as rulers the first two probably added these passages just about the time when Gupta rule began and the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata (which present a corrupt text) might have borrowed the information from mss. of Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa. It is clear, however, that the first two (out of the four) Purāṇas were composed or revised about 320-335 A. D. and the other two later still.

Kirfel's work 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' is one of fundamental importance so far as the Purāṇas are concerned, since it adopts a new method for the treatment of Paurāṇika material. The German Introduction of this work has been reproduced in English in the Journal of the Shri Veṅkaṭeśa Institute at Tirupati, in vol. VII. pp. 81-121 and vol. VIII. pp. 9-33. Kirfel disagrees with many of the views of Pargiter. His main conclusions are: Apart from the abridgement in Agni and Garuḍa as well as the prose paraphrase in Viṣṇu, there are only three complete groups of Purāṇa texts viz. Brahma and Harivaṁśa, Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu, and that of Matsya, all other Purāṇas containing only smaller or larger parts of the same. Of the three groups, Brahmāṇḍa and Harivaṁśa are the oldest (and not Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu as Pargiter in A.I.H.T. p. 78 says). Kirfel holds that the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu must have originally been a single Purāṇa, particularly because the largest parts of both agree with each other, that Pargiter is not right in thinking that the additions in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were borrowed from the ancient Bhaviṣya (Kirfel p. 18, vol. VII. of J. V. O. I. p. 92), but that the borrowed material goes back to an independent text. Kirfel does not accept Pargiter's theory that the Purāṇas were Sanskritizations of Prakrit texts, that the Viṣṇu in its existing form is a younger Purāṇa than the Vāyu or Brahmāṇḍa in spite of the fact that it most faithfully observes the basic arrangement of the five characteristics of Purāṇas. The division of Purāṇas into 18 and the distribution of Purāṇas into *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa* are not original items but are applicable only to the last definitive texts of the Purāṇas. Pargiter thought that there existed an Ur-Purāṇa which had treated of the five topics (of sarga &c.) in ideal completeness and clear disposition. Kirfel

says that this is scarcely more than an arbitrary assumption (p. XLVIII of Kirfel's Intro. and J. V. O. I. vol. VIII, p. 31).

The present author may tentatively accept most of the conclusions of Kirfel, but he differs as stated above from Kirfel's view that the five characteristic topics (*sarga &c.*) are the oldest constituent parts of the whole Purāṇa Literature.

A lengthy discussion of the age of the Purāṇas is not very relevant to the subject of this section. But it would not be entirely out of place if the author said a few words thereon.

The author's position about the Purāṇas is as follows: We know hardly anything about the Purāṇa mentioned in Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha and the ancient Upaniṣads; but this much is clear that Purāṇa had attained a status of sacredness like the Vedas and was closely associated with Itihāsa even in Vedic times. This is the first stage in the evolution of Purāṇa Literature, but we know nothing about the contents of the Purāṇa in those ancient times. The Tai. Ā. mentions *Purāṇāni*; therefore in its time there must have been three Purāṇas at least. As Āp. Dh. S. quotes four verses from a Purāṇa and expressly names Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa, it follows that by the 5th or 4th century B. C. at the latest there was in existence a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and other Purāṇas or a Purāṇa, that contained sarga and pratisarga and some Smṛti material. This we may regard as the 2nd definite stage of Purāṇa Literature, of the contents of which we have some traces at least.

The Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses (called *ślokas, gāthās, anuvaṁśa* ślokas), some of which have a bearing upon Paurāṇika subjects and have a Paurāṇika ring. Some examples may be cited. The Vanaparva[1384] quotes two verses about the spiritual prowess of Viśvāmitra and about his assertion that he was a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsanaparva[1385] quotes certain

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1384. यत्रानुवंशं भगवान् जामदग्न्यस्तथा जगौ। विश्वामित्रस्य तां दृष्ट्वा विभूतिमति-मानुषीम्॥ कान्यकुब्जेऽपिबत्सोममिन्द्रेण सह कौशिकः। ततः क्षत्रादपाक्रामद् ब्राह्मणोस्मीति चाब्रवीत्॥ वनपर्व 87. 17–18. Brāhmaṇas alone were entitled to drink soma in a Vedic sacrifice and not Kṣatriyas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1179.

1385. गाथाश्चाप्यत्र गायन्ति पितृगीता युधिष्ठिर। सनत्कुमारो भगवान्पुरा मह्यमभाषत॥ अपि नः स कुले जायाद्यो नो दद्यात्त्रयोदशीम्। मघासु सर्पिःसंयुक्तं पायसं दक्षिणायने। आजेन वापि लौहेन मघास्वेव यतव्रतः। हस्तिच्छायासु विधिवत्कर्णव्यजनवीजितम्॥ एतस्या बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत्। अनुशासन 88. 11–14. Compare विष्णुपु० III. 16. 17–20, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 19. 10–11, वायु 83. 10–12, all of which have the half verse अपि नः··· शीम् as in अनुशासन. विष्णु and ब्रह्माण्ड add one half verse 'गौरीं वाप्युद्वहेत्कन्यां नीलं वा वृषमुत्सृजेत्'.

gāthās said to have been sung by the pitṛs about the importance of a son or sons, which agree in letter and spirit with verses on the same subject in the Purāṇas. In the Udyoga-parva[1386] Bhīṣma is said to have addressed a verse to Paraśurāma that was sung by Marutta and declared in a Purāṇa. In the Purāṇas also there are frequent quotations of ślokas,[1387] gāthās and anuvaṁśaślokas sung by people described as *Paurāṇika* (in Vāyu 70. 76, 88. 114–116, 88. 168–169, Brahmāṇḍa III. 63. 69–70) or as *purāvidāḥ* or *purāṇajñāḥ* in Vāyu, 88. 171 and 95. 19, Brahmāṇḍa III. 63. 171). Vāyu (93. 94–101) mentions several gāthās as sung by Yayāti, most of which occur in the Ādiparva 75. 50–53 and 85. 12–15, Brahmāṇḍa III. 68. 96–103 and in other purāṇas also. It is quite possible that these gāthās and ślokas said to have been declared by those who knew Purāṇas were taken from the Purāṇa or Purāṇas known to Āpastamba. As Yāj. I. 3 regards Purāṇa as one of the sources of dharma, it follows that some Purāṇas containing smṛti material must have been composed a good deal before that smṛti i. e. before the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. at the latest. This is the third stage in the evolution of Purāṇas. It is difficult to say when the extant Matsya was originally composed but it was revised about the middle (or close) of the 3rd century A D., since it speaks of the downfall of the Āndhra dynasty, but does not refer to the Guptas. But it is possible that the original kernel of the Matsya may be earlier than this by a few centuries. The same applies to Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. The Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa also were compiled or added to about 320–335 A. D., since they refer to the Guptas but do not name any Gupta king. These two in their present form may also be referred to this third stage. Most of the Mahāpurāṇas were composed or completed in the period from the 5th

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1386. अयं चापि विशुद्धात्मन् पुराणे श्रूयते विभो । मरुत्तेन महाबुद्धे गीतः श्लोको महात्मना ॥ गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ उद्योग 178. 47–48. The cr. ed. has a wavy line below पुराणे and reads 'कार्यं भवति शासनम्' with a wavy line for परि···यते. This verse 'गुरो &c.' is शान्तिपर्व 140. 48 and is also शान्ति 57. 6–7, where it is said that it occurred in बृहस्पतिमत. आदिपर्व 140. 54 has this verse but reads the last पाद as न्याय्यं भवति शासनम् ।.

1387. भविष्यं कीर्तयिष्यामि शन्तनोस्तु निबोधत । ···इदं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं प्रति महाभिषक् (भिषम्) । यं यं कराभ्यां स्पृशति जीर्णं रोगिणमेव वा । पुनर्युवा च भवति तस्मात्तं शन्तनुं विदुः ॥ मत्स्य 50. 41–43, वायु 99. 238. The verse यं यं contains a popular etymology of the word शन्तनु. The word भविष्यं should mean only भविष्य-पुराण, since it is the सूत who says this and शन्तनु was a king anterior to सूत by some generations.

or 6th century A. D. to the 9th century A. D. This represents the 4th stage in the evolution of Purāṇa literature. The Upapurāṇas began to be compiled from about the 7th or 8th century A. D. and their numbers went on increasing till about the 13th century A. D. or even later. This is the last phase. Thus there is enough evidence to hold that the Purāṇas began to influence Hindu society a few centuries before Christ, that their influence continued in full force till the 17th or 18th century A. D. and that it continues to some extent even now. After the 9th century no further Mahāpurāṇas appear, but additional matter appears to have been unscrupulously inserted in several Purāṇas, the worst example of the kind being the third part of the Bhaviṣya, which contains stories of Adam and Eve, of Pṛthvīrāj and Jaicandra, Taimur, Akbar, Caitanya, Bhaṭṭoji, Nadirshah and so on.

The word 'purāṇa' occurs over a dozen times in the Ṛgveda, is an adjective and means 'ancient, old'. The Nighaṇṭu (III. 27) mentions six Vedic words as having the sense of 'purāṇa' viz. *pratnam, pradivaḥ, pravayāḥ, sanemi, pūrvyam, ahnāya.* Yāska (Nirukta III. 19) derives the word 'purāṇa' as 'purā navam bhavati' (what was new in former times). The Ṛgveda does not contain the word 'purātana' (ancient). Purāṇa may be a very old form of 'purātana' through the intermediate form 'purāaṇa.' From meaning ancient the word 'purāṇa' came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales; it became a noun and was applied in the times of the Atharvaveda, the Śatapatha and the Upaniṣads to a class of works containing ancient tales. When purāṇa came to mean a work dealing with ancient tales, to speak of a Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa was apparently a contradiction in terms. That contradiction was probably not minded or was ignored by the thought that works that narrated old tales gradually came to include comparatively recent ones and had therefore to adopt a prophetic style of composition with reference to the latter.

The Vāyu[1388] derives the word 'Purāṇa' from 'purā' (in ancient times, formerly) and the root 'an' (to breathe or live), and therefore according to it the word literally means 'that which lives in the past' or 'that which breathes ancient times'.

1388. यस्मात्पुरा ह्यनतीदं पुराणं तेन तत्स्मृतम्। निरुक्तमस्य यो वेद सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते। वायु I. 203; पुरा परम्परां वष्टि पुराणं तेन वै स्मृतम्। पद्म V. 2. 53; the ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 173 has यस्मात्पुरा ह्यभूच्चैतत्पुराणं तेन तत्स्मृतम्। निरुक्त...मुच्यते॥

The Padmapurāṇa propounds a slightly different etymology, viz. "it is called Purāṇa because it desires or likes the past" from 'purā' and the root 'vaś' (to desire or to like).

The question why the extant Purāṇas do not narrate the traditions about the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors cannot be satisfactorily answered. One reason may be that the original kernel of some Purāṇas like the extant Matsya were compiled before the Guptas rose to power, while others like the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa were compiled while the Gupta rule was in its infancy. Another reason may have been that in the 5th and following centuries when many of the extant Purāṇas were compiled northern India was very much disturbed by the invasions of foreigners like the Hūṇas, [1389] Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, numerous sects and schisms had arisen, Buddhism had become powerful and therefore the first task of the intelligent and devout followers of the Veda was held to be to wean the common people away from schisms like that of Buddha, to lay down the foundations of a new ideology among the masses and to emphasize and assimilate as many of the doctrines of the sects and schisms as possible with their ancient traditions and practices. The intelligent classes, therefore, emphasized the importance of such virtues as ahiṁsā, satya, bhakti and of vratas, pilgrimages, śrāddhas and dānas and were probably not in a mood to record the names of foreign conquerors or of small chieftains fighting with each other and unable to repel the cruel invaders. For the absence of references to the dynasties of the Guptas and their successors, Pargiter blames the brāhmaṇas in the following characteristic passage (AIHT chap. 4 p. 57) 'the absolute dearth of traditional history after that stage is quite intelligible, both because the compilation of the Purāṇa had set a seal of tradition and because the Purāṇa soon passed into the hands of brāhmaṇas who preserved what they had received, but with the brahmanic lack of the historic sense, added nothing about the later kings'. Supposing for argument that brāhmaṇas lacked the historic sense, Pargiter's opinion appears to be entirely one-sided. He assigns no reason why the sūtas, whose business was to record and preserve historic tradition (as he himself says on p. 58 of AIHT), did not stick to their business and did not continue to compose genealogies of

1389. For the history of the ruthless Hūṇa invader Mihirakula, vide Gupta Inscriptions pp. 143–148 and 149 ff (Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman) and pp. 924–25 note 1788 a, of vol. III. of H. of Dh.

later kings and to add further items of history to already existing recorded tradition, nor does he explain how the sūtas could be ousted or allowed themselves to be ousted from their age-old avocation by the brāhmaṇas. It is probable that foreign dynasties like that of Kaniṣka and the Hūṇas did not encourage the sūtas who had sunk low in the social scale and the sūtas probably became Buddhists, as Buddhism with its Jātaka stories gave to all persons following a bardic profession sufficient scope for earning their livelihood.

The legends about Vyāsa and Sūta may be briefly considered. The Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa was the son of Parāśara, was also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana and was an incarnation of Viṣṇu (of Brahmā also in Vāyu 77. 74–75 and of Śiva in the Kūrma II. 11. 136). He was called Dvaipāyana[1390] because he was born on an island (dvīpa) in the Yamunā river and Kṛṣṇa because he was of dark complexion. His mother was Satyavatī and son was Śuka. He was called Vyāsa because he is supposed to have divided or arranged the one Veda into four parts (from the root 'as' 4th conjugation 'to throw' with the upasarga 'vi'). He instructed four disciples in the four Vedas, viz. Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu respectively in Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. His 5th disciple was Sūta Romaharṣaṇa to whom was imparted Itihāsa-Purāṇa. The son of Sūta was Sauti who narrated the Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and other sages in the Naimiṣa forest. It was believed that whenever *dharma* and Veda declined Vyāsas were born for the benefit of men (Brahma 158. 34). The Kūrma (I. 52. 1–9) sets out 27 names of different Vyāsas, while Vāyu (23. 115–219), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 35. 116–125), Viṣṇu[1391] (III. 3. 11–19)

1390. अस्मिन्युगे कृतो व्यासः पाराशर्यः परन्तपः (परन्तप?)। द्वैपायन इति ख्यातो विष्णोरंशः प्रकीर्तितः॥ ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन्वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे। अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात्॥ ...ऋग्वेदग्राहकं पैलं जग्राह विधिवद् द्विजम्। यजुर्वेदप्रवक्तारं वैशम्पायनमेव च। जैमिनिं सामवेदार्थं ग्राहकं सोऽप्यपद्यत। तथैवाथर्ववेदस्य सुमन्तुमृषिसत्तमम्। इतिहासपुराणस्य वक्तारं सम्यगेव हि। मां चैव प्रतिजग्राह भगवानीश्वरः प्रभुः॥ वायु 60.11–16, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 34. 11–16 (almost in the same words). Compare विष्णु III. 4. 7–10, कूर्म I. 52. 12-15, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 74. Kūrma I. 51. 48, Padma V. 1. 43, Bhāgavata I. 4. 14–25 and XII. 6. 49–80 and Nāradīya I. 1. 18 identify him with Nārāyaṇa. The आदिपर्व corroborates the Purāṇa statements: विभ्यासैकं चतुर्धा यो वेदं वेदविदां वरः। आदि 60. 2 and 5; यो व्यस्य वेदांश्चतुरस्तपसा भगवानृषिः। लोके व्यासत्वमापेदे काण्ण्यात्कृष्णत्वमेव च। आदि 105. 15.

1391. द्वापरे द्वापरे विष्णुर्व्यासरूपी महामुने। वेदमेकं सुबहुधा कुरुते जगतो हितः॥ वीर्यं तेजो बलं चाल्पं मनुष्याणामवेक्ष्य च। हिताय सर्वभूतानां वेदभेदान् करोति सः॥ विष्णु III. 3. 5–6.

enumerate the names of the 28 Vyāsas of the 28 Dvāpara ages of the Vaivasvata Manvantara (which is the current one). How Vyāsa put together the Purāṇas is described in several Purāṇas 'He who was an adept in the meaning of Purāṇa composed a Purāṇa-saṁhitā from (the material supplied by) tales, episodes, gāthās (stanzas) and correct ascertainment or descriptions of Kalpas'.[1392] This shows that, while the Vedic texts were preserved with unparalleled care by the brāhamaṇas, the very ancient Itihāsa-purāṇa, though called the 5th Veda, was not kept intact with care similar to that bestowed on the four Vedas and that this fifth Veda was allowed to be inflated by fresh additions from time to time.

In connection with Vyāsa's legendary role as an arranger of the Veda, Pargiter has a theory of his own which must be briefly noticed and examined. He develops that theory on pp. 9–10 of A. I. H. T. He refers to the Ṛgveda as the greatest brahmanical book, says that it is a compilation of hymns composed by many authors and is arranged according to certain principles. His words are 'It (Ṛgveda) must manifestly have been compiled and arranged by some one or more persons, yet Vedic Literature says absolutely nothing about this. The brāhmaṇas cannot have been ignorant about it, for they preserved it and its text with unparalleled care. ...Vedic Literature professes to know and declares the names of the authors of nearly all the hymns and even of single verses, yet it ignores all knowledge of the person or persons who afterwards compiled and arranged these hymns. To suppose that when it preserved the earlier information it was ignorant of the later work in so vital a matter is ridiculous.' From this silence in the Vedic Literature about the persons that compiled and arranged the Ṛgveda, Pargiter at once jumps to the positive and emphatic conclusion, as is usual with many western writers on Sanskrit Literature and Indology to argue from silence, that 'Vedic Literature has deliberately suppressed all information on these matters' (AIHT p. 9). He refers to the fact that the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas are full of Vyāsa and repeatedly declare that the Veda was arranged by Vyāsa and points out that Vedic Literature is

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1392. आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पशुद्धिभिः। पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः॥ विष्णु III. 6. 15, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 34. 21 (reads कल्पजोक्तिभिः), वायु 60. 21 (reads कुलकर्मभिः). कल्पजोक्तिभिः would mean 'words or descriptions relating to Kalpas (vast periods of time)'. The com. on विष्णुपुराण explains 'स्वयं दृष्टार्थकथनं प्राहुराख्यानकं बुधाः। श्रुतस्यार्थस्य कथनमुपाख्यानं प्रचक्षते॥'

remarkably reticent about Vyāsa Pārāśarya (who is mentioned as a pupil of Viṣvaksena in the Vaṁśa list at the end of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka) and then he reiterates his charge of the conspirary of silence about Vyāsa (AIHT. p. 10). Pargiter is ready with a reason for the supposed conspiracy of silence viz. 'the brāhmaṇas put forward the doctrine that the Veda existed from everlasting; hence to admit that any one had compiled or even arranged it struck at the root of their doctrine and was in common parlance to give their whole case away' (*ibid.* p. 10).

Several objections can be raised against the positive assertion of deliberate and fraudulent suppression inferred from mere silence. In the first place, Pargiter is very loose in his statement of facts. Pargiter totally ignores that even in the Ṛgveda itself, ṛk verses, yajus texts and sāman chants are differentiated. To give only a few references, vide for Ṛks (Ṛg. II. 35. 12, V. 6. 5, V. 27. 4, V. 44. 14–15), in both verses of the last ṛk and sāmans being separately mentioned; for *yajus vide* Ṛg. V. 62. 5, X. 181. 3); for sāman chants *vide* Ṛg. II. 43. 2 (*udgāteva śakune sāma gāyasi*), VIII. 81. 5 (*śravat sāma gīyamānam*), VIII. 95. 7 (śuddhena *sāmnā*).

The epic and purānic texts indicate that Veda was thought to be originally one, but was arranged into four groups, that the four groups of texts were entrusted for preservation and propagation to four different disciples of Vyāsa. The Ṛgveda has two arrangements, one into *maṇḍalas* and *sūktas* and the other into *aṣṭakas*, *adhyāyas* and *vargas*. The Taittirīyasaṁhitā and Atharvaveda are arranged into kāṇḍas. Not a word is said in any of these accounts to which Pargiter refers about picking up hymns already existing or their being arranged in maṇḍalas or adhyāyas or kāṇḍas by Vyāsa. Further, the reason assigned for the supposed deliberate suppression of the name of the arranger of the Veda is quite flimsy, not to say ridiculous. Every hymn of the Ṛgveda or every mantra has a ṛṣi who by the ancient Indian tradition was not the *author* (as Pargiter puts it) but only the *seer*. It is clear from Brāḥmaṇa texts, Upaniṣads and smṛtis that from very[1393] ancient times it was a very strict principle

1393. ऋष्यादिज्ञानाभावे प्रत्यवायः स्मर्यते। अविदित्वा ऋषिं छन्दो दैवतं योगमेव च। योऽध्यापयेज्जपेद्वापि पापीयाञ्जायते तु सः॥ सायण in his Introduction to the भाष्य on ऋग्वेद edited by the Poona Vaidika-saṁśodhana Maṇḍala. योग in the verse means विनियोग. 'आर्षं छन्दश्च दैवत्यं विनियोगस्तथैव च। वेदितव्यं प्रयत्नेन ब्राह्मणेन विशेषतः॥'.

(*Continued on next page*)

that no one should teach or repeat in japa or employ a mantra in a sacrifice without knowing the ṛṣi, the metre, the deity and the use (viniyoga) of it and dire consequences were declared to follow for him who was remiss in these matters. Hymns and mantras were arranged in different groups for different religious rites and solemn sacrifices or for other purposes (such as śāntis). It is not necessary to remember who arranged the required mantras for rites, sacrifices and other purposes. The Brāhmaṇa texts and śrauta sūtras prescribe the manner of the employment of the same mantras for various purposes and the Anukramaṇīs contain the names of the seers, metres and the deities of hymns and individual mantras also. As every mantra of the Veda was supposed to be only *seen* by a sage and as eternal, the mere compilation of them in one or more series or the mere arrangement of mantras or hymns in different groups for different purposes did not at all affect or interfere with the eternality of mantras or hymns. Pargiter's so-called reason for suppressing the name of the arranger of the Veda is simply no reason at all.

Pargiter did not stop to consider possible explanations. One of the most plausible is now put forth. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (a very extensive literature) were attributed to Vyāsa, who, as shown above in n. 1390, had come to be looked upon as Viṣṇu or as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The four Vedas and the several different śākhās (recensions) of each Veda were well known. By a sort of *post facto* explanation, the distribution of the Veda into four main groups was claimed to have been brought about by the divinely inspired Vyāsa, whose Purāṇas are, as will be apparent from note 1349 above and as will be shown in more detail later, glorified as even anterior and superior to the Veda. The eternality of the Veda had to be maintained and at the same time Vyāsa was to be glorified.

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This is बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य I. 27 quoted also by हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. I p. 247. शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 3. 30 quotes the following as a Vedic text which occurs several times in the Ait. Br. 'यो ह वा अविदितार्षेयच्छन्दोदैवतब्राह्मणेन मन्त्रेण याजयति याध्यापयति वा स्थाणुं वर्च्छति गर्तं वा प्रतिपद्यते···तस्मादेतानि मन्त्रे मन्त्रे विद्यात्'. Vide also छान्दोग्योपनिषद् I. 3. 8-10 'येन साम्ना स्तोष्यन्स्यात्तत्सामोपधावेत्। यस्यासूचि तामूचं यदार्षेयं तदृषिं वा देवतामभिष्टोष्यन्स्यात्तां देवतामुपधावेत्। येन छन्दसा स्तोष्यन्स्यात्तच्छन्द उपधावेत्'. Vide note 1276 for the ऐ. ब्रा. passage which requires that the mantra employed should refer to the rite that is being performed.

The easiest way was to proclaim that Vyāsa, the author of the great Epic and of the distribution of Purāṇas into eighteen, was also responsible for the division or arrangement of the Veda. If all this glorification of Vyāsa occurred in the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ, how could the supposed arranger of the Veda be mentioned in the early Vedic Literature, which, most scholars agree, was closed some centuries before Buddha (i.e. before the 6th century B. C.)? No body claims that the arrangement into maṇḍalas or aṣṭakas or kāṇḍas is eternal. It is only the hymns or mantras that are claimed to be eternal. Even the *padapāṭha* of the Ṛgveda is declared to be non-eternal and is ascribed to Śākalya whom the Nirukta criticises in VI. 28. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 242 expressly states that the *pada* and *krama* arrangements of the Veda are due to human authors.[1394] This theory explains all matters and has far better claims to be accepted than Pargiter's bold ascription of fraudulent suppression inferred from (a supposed) silence.

The Purāṇas do not speak with one voice about their own origin and transmission. After declaring that Vyāsa entrusted the preservation and propagation of the Purāṇas to Sūta, the Vāyu and other Purāṇas contain a somewhat different version. The Vāyu narrates (61. 55–61): Sūta had six disciples, viz. Sunīti Ātreya, Akṛtavraṇa Kāśyapa, Agnivarcas Bhārdvāja, Mitrayu Vasiṣṭha, Sāvarṇi Saumadatti, Suśarman Śāṁśapāyana. Three of these, viz. Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi and Śāṁśapāyana prepared new Purāṇa-saṁhitās and Sūta's own was the 4th and the original one. All were divided into four *kāṇḍas*, contained the same sense (matter), but differed in their readings as the *śākhās* of the Veda differ. All had four thousand verses except the saṁhitā of Śaṁśapāyana. These four are said to be the basic saṁhitās (in Brahmāṇḍa II. 35. 66) or original saṁhitās (in Vāyu 61. 58 pūrvasaṁhitās). The Brahmāṇḍa (II. 35. 63–70) has the same account in almost in the same words. Viṣṇu (III. 6. 16–17), Agni 271 (11–12) are briefer but agree in the main with Vāyu. The Bhāgavāta (XII. 7. 4–7) differs from all these to some extent. That there is some substance in this story appears from stray passages in several chapters of the Vāyu (56. 1, 60. 33–34, 62. 1, 89. 16) and the Brahmāṇḍa (II. 34. 34,

1394. पदक्रमादीनां तु पुरुषकृतत्वादेव व्याडुत्तेर्न तन्निबन्धार्थं संहितावचनम्। वाल्मीकेश्च on या. III. 242 'अरण्ये नियतो जप्त्वा त्रिष्कुत्वो वेदसंहिताम्.' शान्ति 343. 103 (=cr. ed. 330.37) states the क्रमपाठ was due to याज्ञवल्क्य.

II. 36. 1 &c.), where Śaṁśampāyana is the inquirer and Sūta replies.

The personality of Sūta is somewhat of an enigma in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Sūta is called Romaharṣaṇa[1395] or Lomaharṣaṇa because he made the hair (*roman* or *loman*) of his audience bristle or stand erect by his touching and eloquent speech. In the Skanda it is stated that he was so called because his own hair stood on end when he was being instructed by Dvaipāyana. One meaning of the word *sūta* is 'chrioteer' and another meaning is 'a person of a mixed *pratiloma* caste born of the union of a brāhmaṇa woman with a kṣatriya male' and the cognate word 'Māgadha' means 'one who is born of a pratiloma union between a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female' (vide Manu X. 71. Yāj. I. 93–94). The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya says[1396] the same thing about sūta and māgadha, but adds that 'the sūta and māgadha mentioned in the Purāṇas are different from these, because he (the sūta) is distinguished from (ordinary) brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas'. Kauṭilya means that in his days sūta and māgadha were *pratiloma* castes, but the sūta and māgadha mentioned as the first reciters of the Purāṇas are a category apart, that they do not belong to the pratiloma castes and are both distinguished from brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas (i. e. sūta of the Purāṇās is treated more or less as a great sage or semi-divine person). The Vāyu (1. 26–33 and 62–147 ff), Padma (II. 27. 65–87, V. 1. 29–32), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 36. 158–173), the Skanda (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa 1. 8) say[1397] that in the sacrifice of Pitāmaha (i. e. Brahmā) Sūta sprang up as a partial *avātara* of Viṣṇu on

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1395. लोमानि हर्षयांचक्रे श्रोतृणां यत्सुभाषितैः। कर्मणा प्रथितस्तेन लोकेऽस्मिंल्लोमहर्षणः। वायु 1. 16; तस्य ते सर्वरोमाणि वचसा हर्षितानि यत्। द्वैपायनस्यानुभावात्ततोऽभूल्लोमहर्षणः॥ स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड) 1. 6.

1396. वैश्यान्मागधवैदेहकौ। क्षत्रियात्सूतः। पौराणिकस्त्वन्यः सूतो मागधश्च ब्रह्मक्षत्राद्विशेषतः॥ अर्थशास्त्र III. 7. p. 165; Pargiter translates (AIHT p. 17) 'but the sūta who is mentioned in the Purāṇas is different and so also is the Māgadha *who is mentioned there* from brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya offspring by a *real* distinction.' This is not accurate. There are no words in the Arthaśāstra corresponding to 'who is mentioned there' and for 'offspring'. This idea about the origin of सूत and मागध is very old. Vide गौ. धर्मसूत्र IV. 15–16 'प्रतिलोमास्तु सूतमागधायोगवकृत-वैदेहकचण्डालाः। ब्राह्मण्यजीजनत्पुत्रान् वर्णेन्य आनुपूर्व्याद् ब्राह्मण-सूत-मागध-चण्डालान्।

1397. एतस्मिन्नेव काले च यज्ञे पैतामहे शुभे। सूतो सुत्यां समुत्पन्नो सौत्येऽहनि महामतिः॥ तस्मिन्नेव महायज्ञे जज्ञे प्राज्ञोथ मागधः। वायु 62. 135–136, ब्रह्म 4. 60–61. It is popular etymology to derive the word सूत from the root 'su' 5th conj. to extract.

the day when soma juice was extracted and māgadha also thus arose. It is further stated in the same Purāṇas that the *havis* (offering) meant for Indra (symbol of the kṣatriya class) got mixed with that meant for Bṛhaspati (symbol of brāhmaṇa class and learning) and that the sūta was born just at the time when the mixed-up offering was presented to the gods. From this the sūta (in later times) had duties similar to those of the original sūta and it was said that the sūta is offspring of the mixed union of brāhmaṇa (woman) with kṣatriya (male). Then another story is grafted on to this (in Vāyu 62. 147 ff, Brahmāṇḍa II. 36. 170–173 and in others) that the original[1398] Sūta and Māgadha sang the praises of king Pṛthu, son of Vena, who being pleased, made a present of the country of Anūpa to Sūta and the country of Magadha to Māgadha and since that time sūtas and māgadhas sing the praises of kings and awaken them in the morning with blessings. The Vāyu itself,[1399] however, says (1. 33–34) that sūta was born at the time of the extracting of soma juice in the sacrifice of Pṛthu Vainya.

The authors of the extant Vāyu and other Purāṇas are conscious that the sūta and māgadha in their times had no adhikāra for Veda, that the business of the sūta was to note the dynasties of gods, sages and kings that are found in the Itihāsa and Purāṇas. They felt scandalized by the fact that great sages like Śaunaka were said to have learnt Purāṇas from the sūta who in their times belonged to a pratiloma caste, about which Gautama, Viṣṇudharmasūtra and Kauṭilya himself lay down that pratilomas are like śūdras, are condemned by āryas and are

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1398. ततः स्तवान्ते सुप्रीतः पृथुः प्रादात्प्रजेश्वरः। अनूपदेशं सूताय मगधं मागधाय च॥ तदा वै पृथिवीपालाः स्तूयन्ते सूतमागधैः। आशीर्वादैः प्रबोध्यन्ते सूतमागधवन्दिभिः॥ वायु 62. 147–148, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 36. 171–173. The आदिपर्व (59. 112–113) refers to the gift of अनूप and मगध to सूत and मागध; ब्रह्मपु॰ 4. 67 also does so. The Padma V. 1. 31 says that Pṛthu made a present of the Sūta country to सूत. It is popular etymology to derive the name मागध from मगध. अनूप means a watery or marsh country. Padma (II. 27. 86–87) mentions other countries as gifts to सूत &c.

1399. सूत उवाच। ···स्वधर्म एष सूतस्य सद्भिर्दृष्टः पुरातनैः। देवतानामृषीणां च राज्ञां चामिततेजसाम्॥ वंशानां धारणं कार्यं श्रुतानां च महात्मनाम्। इतिहासपुराणेषु विद्वा ये ब्रह्मवादिभिः॥ न हि वेदेष्वधीकारः कश्चित्सूतस्य दृश्यते। वैन्यस्य हि पृथोर्यज्ञे वर्तमाने महात्मनः। सुत्यायामभवत्सूतः प्रथमं वर्णवेकृतः। वायु 1. 31–34, पद्म V. 1. 27; vide ब्रह्माण्ड II. 36. 158–173 for the birth of सूत and gift of अनूपदेश to सूत and of मगध to मागध by पृथुवैन्य. प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः। गौतमधर्मसूत्र (IV. 20); त एते प्रतिलोमाः स्वधर्मातिक्रमाद्ब्राह्मः सम्भवन्ति। ···शूद्रसधर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः। अर्थशास्त्र III. 7 p. 165; प्रतिलोमास्त्वार्यविगर्हिताः। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 3.

beyond the pale of the usual duties of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas (such as *upanayana*, Veda study, teaching &c.). Learning by a brāhmaṇa from a kṣatriya was considered even in Upaniṣad times as contrary to the natural order of things. Vide the words of king Ajātaśatru to Gārgya Bālāki[1400] quoted below. Therefore, to account for the position of Sūta as instructor in Itihāsa and Purāṇa of great sages like Śaunaka, the story of Sūta's birth was invented and he was placed in a separate category by himself. This must have occurred some centuries before Kauṭilya who was aware of the low position of sūta and māgadha and differentiates the Paurāṇika sūta from the pratiloma sūta and māgadha. One need not accept the divine character of Sūta, one has only to understand that in very ancient times brāhmaṇas could, without any qualms and without loss of prestige, learn about legends from a sūta, but that in the times when the extant purāṇas were compiled the position had entirely changed.

Next to Pargiter and Kirfel, one must mention the name of Prof. R. C. Hazra who has bestowed much labour and thought on the purāṇas in general and on individual purāṇas. One cannot but feel high admiration for Prof. Hazra's industry, patience and enthusiasm. One regrets, however, to find that he has developed a tendency to assign rather more ancient dates to the extant Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas than the available evidence would warrant. Besides, he has been so much engrossed in the study of Purāṇas that he sometimes scents a reference to Purāṇas where none in fact exists. For example, in 'Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs' (p. 6) Prof. Hazra observes that Vijñāneśvara tells us of Hārīta's reference to the opinion of Purāṇas in prescribing penance in normal circumstances to those who eat the food dedicated to the patriarchs. The words of the Mitākṣarā[1401] of Vijñāneśvara are quoted in the note

1400. सहोवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वक्ष्यतीति। बृह. उ. II. 1. 15. Vide कौषीतकिना. उ. IV. 18 for almost the same words.

1401. The मिताक्षरा has a long discussion on Yāj. III. 289 about the expiations for eating food tainted by various defects. About eating food in śrāddhas of various kinds it quotes several authorities as follows: हारीतेनाप्युक्तम्। एकादशाहे भुक्त्वान्नं भुक्त्वा सञ्चयने तथा। उपोष्य विधिवत्स्नात्वा कूष्माण्डैर्जुहुयाद्घृतम्॥ इति। विष्णुनाप्युक्तम्। प्राजापत्यं नवश्राद्धे...पञ्चगव्यं द्विमासिके॥ इदं चापद्विषयम्। अनापदि तु—'चान्द्रायणं नवश्राद्धे प्राजापत्यं तु मिश्रके। एकाहस्तु पुराणेषु प्राजापत्यं विधीयते॥ इति हारीतोक्तं द्रष्टव्यम्। प्राजापत्यं तु मिश्रके इत्येतदाधमासिकविषयं द्रष्टव्यम्।

(*Continued on next page*)

below and clearly show that there the word '*purāṇeṣu*' means 'Śrāddhas called purāṇa' and has nothing to do with Purāṇa works. Another defect noticed in Prof. Hazra's writings is that he sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and is not cautious in his conclusions as a scholar of his standing and experience should be. In a recent paper on 'the Aśvamedha, the common source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata' in ABORI, vol. 36 (1956) pp. 190–203, he cites the Atharvaveda verse quoted above (p. 816, n 1325) in which ṛk and sāma verses are mentioned separately and 'purāṇa' (purāṇaṁ yajuṣā saha) is associated with *yajus*, and says this collocation seemed to him highly significant and that he felt *fully convinced* that the Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa and the Mahābhārata owe their origin to the Aśvamedha sacrifice and especially to its Pāriplava ākhyānas. Reasons of available space preclude a detailed examination of this paper. But a few fundamental objections and matters must be mentioned. The words 'purāṇaṁ yajuṣā saha' should ordinarily mean (as in passages like Devadattaḥ saputra āgataḥ) no more than 'Purāṇa and Yajus'. Yāj. 1. 101 provides[1402] that after the daily bath, a vedic householder should undertake every day the japa of portions of the (three) Vedas, the Atharvaveda, Purāṇas together with Itihāsa and of ādhyātmikī-vidyā (Upaniṣads). There is no special meaning here in the association 'purāṇāni setihāsāni' beyond 'Purāṇas and Itihāsa'. One, therefore, fails to understand how the words 'purāṇam yajuṣā saha' are highly significant for arriving at the *conviction* that Aśvamedha is the origin of Purāṇa and Mahābhārata. Then on p. 202 of the paper

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(Continued from last page)

Srāddhas are of three kinds, नवश्राद्ध (up to ten days after death), मिश्र or नवमिश्र (performed after ten days up to one year) and पुराण (those performed after a year from a person's death). The word पुराणेषु means पुराणेषु श्राद्धेषु. हारीत provides प्रायश्चित्त for eating the food in the three kinds of श्राद्ध, नव, मिश्र and पुराण. The word पुराणेषु in that verse of हारीत has nothing to do with Purāṇa works. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 262 notes 591a and 593 for more details about the three kinds of śrāddhas.

1402. वेदाथर्वपुराणानि सेतिहासानि शक्तितः। जपयज्ञप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं विद्यां चाध्यात्मिकीं जपेत्॥ याज्ञ. I. 101. Compare also कूर्म II. 46. 129 एकतस्तु पुराणानि सेतिहासानि कृत्स्नशः। एकत्र परमं वेदमेतदेवातिरिच्यते॥.

in question Prof. Hazra quotes a passage from[1403] Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Chāndogya III. 4. 1–2 and completely misunderstands the great ācārya when he observes "Śaṅkara's use of the word 'rātri' in the plural (in 'rātriṣu') shows that in his opinion the *Itihāsa and Purāṇa were employed every night during the Pāriplava and not merely on the 8th and 9th nights respectively*, as the Śatapatha Br. and Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra say" (Italics author's). The Aśvamedha sacrifice lasted for a year and listening to the Pāriplava went on for a year, each Pāriplava being a cycle of ten days (or rather nights, as the recitation by the hotṛ priest was to take place after the morning, mid-day and evening iṣṭis to Savitṛ were finished). The texts to be recited and the nature of the legends to be narrated on each of the cycle of ten days are fixed and Itihāsa and Purāṇa are to be recited only on the 8th and 9th nights. As each cycle was of ten days, there would be 36 cycles of Pāriplava in a year and Itihāsa would be recited on 36 nights in the year and Purāṇa also would be recited on 36 nights in the year. It is for this reason that Śaṅkarācārya speaks of 'Pāriplavāsu rātriṣu' in the plural, but he does not say that Itihāsa and Purāṇa were to be recited on 'all' nights (*sarvāsu* rātriṣu), while Prof. Hazra represents him as so saying. There is absolutely no warrant in the ancient texts for saying that on each day (or night) of the Pāriplava Itihāsa or Purāṇa was to be recited or that Śaṅkarācārya said anything of the kind. The testimony of the Vedāntasūtra[1404] is completely against this view of Prof. Hazra. Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 23 refers to certain stories mentioned in the Upaniṣads such as 'Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī' (Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 1), 'Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, went to Indra's abode' (Kauṣītaki Up. III. 1), 'Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa was a pious donor giving much wealth to the people and keeping an open house for distributing food' (Chān. Up. IV. 1. 1), and remarks that such stories were not to be recited in Pāriplava, since the stories to be recited therein are expressly specified beginning with the story

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1403. The भाष्य passage quoted is 'इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम्। तयोश्चेतिहासपुराणयोरश्वमेधे पारिप्लवासु रात्रिषु कर्माङ्गत्वेन विनियोगः सिद्धः'.

1404. पारिप्लवमाचक्षीत-इति हि प्रकृत्य 'मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजा' इत्येवमादीनि कानिचिदेवाख्यानानि तत्र विशेष्यन्ते। आख्यानसामान्याच्चेत्सर्वगृहीतिः स्यादनर्थकमेवेदं विशेषणं भवेत्। तस्माच्च पारिप्लवार्था एता आख्यानश्रुतयः। भाष्य on वे. सू. III. 4. 23 (पारिप्लवार्था इति चेन्न विशेषितत्वात्).

of king Manu Vaivasvata (which was to be recited on the first night of the Pāriplava).

Prof. Hazra has recently published (in 1958) 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' vol. I. pp. 1–400 on Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas (in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series 1958). This would be briefly dealt with a little later.

Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar also has written a good deal on the Purāṇas. His writings are beset by the same infirmity that attaches to Prof. Hazra's work to some extent. For example, in a paper published in the Proceedings of the 13th Indian History Congress (pp. 46–50) on the Viṣṇupurāṇa he first states (p. 46) that he is more concerned with the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa and after pointing out that the topics of vratas, of fasts, of tīrtha, are absent from the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa he concludes that the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa can safely be placed *in the 6th or 7th century B. C.* Hardly any modern and critical scholar would accept such a date for the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa. Instead of relying on the absence of certain topics he should rather have relied on what it actually contains to find out the probable date of the extant Viṣṇupurāṇa.

In connection with the Purāṇas the author must refer at some length to the Introductory remarks of Ballālasena, king of Bengal, in his Dānasāgara, edited in the B. I. series (1953–1956) by Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattācārya (three parts of text pp. 1–722 and 4th part an Introduction in English with Indices). Those remarks evince a bold critical faculty rare in our medieval Sanskrit writers. He mentions, besides the Gopathabrāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the smṛtis and dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, (counting Śaṅkha Likhita as two), Dāna-Bṛhaspati and Bṛhaspati (as separate), Vasiṣṭha and others (in all 28), the Chandoga-pariśiṣta of Kātyāyana, thirteen principal Purāṇas viz. Brāhma, Vārāha, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Mātsya, Vāmana, *Vāyaviya*, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaiṣṇava, *Śaiva*, Skānda, Pādma and Kaurma and the Upapurāṇas named in Kūrma and Ādi Purāṇas as containing the procedure of (various) dānas, viz. Ādya, Sāmba, Kālikā, Nānda (v. l. Nandin), Āditya, Nārasiṁha, Viṣṇudharmottara (declared by Mārkaṇḍeya) and the śāstra called Viṣṇudharma (eight in all). He mentions that he drew upon all these for the production of his work on dānas, 1375 in number (verses 11–20

pp. 2–3). Then he mentions certain Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which he discarded in his work on dānas for various reasons.

Some of these remarks are very important and the original verses are set out in the note below.[1405] He states that he did not draw upon the Bhāgavata, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Nāradīya as dānas are absent therefrom. He did not rely in his work upon the Liṅgapurāṇa, though it is a large work, because its essence, he decides, is the same as the treatment of Mahādānas declared in the Matsyapurāṇa; the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa has been assiduously utilised by him only up to the (vratavidhis of) 7th tithi, but he discards the procedures of the 8th and 9th tithis (of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa), since they are overwhelmed (tainted) with (the doctrines of)[1406] heretical sects (Tāntrikas,

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1405. बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं मत्स्यपुराणोदितैर्महादानैः । अवधार्य तुल्यसारं दाननिबन्धेऽत्र न निबद्धम् ॥ 58 सप्तम्यैव पुराणं भविष्यमपि सङ्गृहीतमतियत्नात् । त्यक्त्वाष्टमीनवम्यौ कल्पौ पाषण्डिभिर्ग्रस्तौ ॥ लोकप्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णुरहस्यं च शिवरहस्यं च । द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥ भविष्योत्तरमाचारप्रसिद्धमविरोधि च । प्रामाण्यज्ञापकाङ्गदेर्ग्रन्थाद्वस्मात् पृथक् कृतम् ॥ प्रचरद्रूपतः स्कन्दपुराणैकांशतोधिकम् । यत्खण्डत्रितयं पौण्ड्रेरवान्तिकथाश्रयम् ॥ तार्क्ष्यं पुराणमपरं वाह्मप्राग्नेयमेव च । त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥ षट्सहस्रमितं लैङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा । दीक्षाप्रतिष्ठापाषण्डयुक्तिरत्नपरीक्षणैः ॥ मृषावंशानुचरितैः कोषव्याकरणादिभिः । असङ्गतकथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधतः ॥ तन्मीनकेतनादीनां भण्डपाषण्डलिङ्गिनाम् । लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावधीरितम् ॥ एतत्पुराणोपपुराणसंख्याबहिष्कृतं कश्मलकर्मयोगात् । पाषण्डशास्त्रानुमतं निरूप्य देवीपुराणं न निबद्धमत्र ॥ 67 p 7. The com. विष्णुचित्ती on विष्णुपुराण remarks that the विष्णुपुराण has six recensions viz. of 6000 verses, 8000, 9000, 10000, 22000, 24000, while the दानसागर speaks of a विष्णुपुराण of 23000 verses which it discards. मेधातिथि on मनु IV. 200 remarks that each āśrama has some peculiar signs of its own such as the girdle, deer skin, (palāśa) staff of a Vedic student, the householder has a bamboo stick, ear-rings &c., a forest hermit has tattered garments and matted hair while a sannyāsin wears kaṣāya (reddish) garment &c. Those who maintain themselves by wearing these peculiar signs though they do not belong to that order incur sin, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 386 explains लिङ्गिनः as पाशुपतादयः.

1406. Both the कल्पतरु on व्रत pp. 274–308 and हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. I pp. 921–956 contain several vratas on the 9th tithi from Bhaviṣyapurāṇa in honour of Durgā (under various names such as Caṇḍikā, Nandā) which have a *śākta* flavour. For example, as regards the Ubhayanavamīvrata (Kalpataru on vrata pp. 274–282) it is provided that the eight-armed Durgā called Tryambikā is to be honoured with red flowers and the naivedya of buffalo flesh (p. 275). Similarly, as regards Nāmanavamī vrata (*ibid.* p. 283–288) provision is made for a naivedya of fish and flesh and in the Mahānavamī vrata pp. 296–298 a naivedya of pāyasa and flesh for Maṅgalā is provided. In the Nandānavamī Durgā is called Nandā and the mantra

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Bauddhas, &c.); both the Viṣṇurahasya and Śivarahasya, though well-known among people, have not been accepted in this work, since they are considered to be mere compilations; the Bhaviṣyottara (Purāṇa) which is followed in peoples' practices and is not in conflict (with orthodox views) has been excluded from this work, since no indications (evidence) of its authoritativeness could be found; the following are ignored in the Dānasāgara for reasons stated: three khaṇḍas, viz. those concerned with the tales of Pauṇḍra, Revā and Avanti of the Skanda apart from a part of it that is prevalent (among people), the Tārkṣya (i. e. Garuḍa) purāṇa, another Brahmapurāṇa, another Āgneya (i. e. Agnipurāṇa), a Viṣṇupurāṇa containing 23000 verses, another Liṅgapurāṇa containing six thousand verses; all these have been discarded for various reasons such as the procedure of dīkṣā (initiation of a disciple by a guru in a cult like the Tāntrika or Pāñcarātra or Pāśupata) or of the establishment of an image, heretical reasoning, testing of jewels, stories of the doings of (persons of) false genealogies, treating of such matters as dictionaries and grammar, containing incoherent tales and contradictions, because they lead to the misleading of people by the description of or reference to Love affairs, to those who are buffoons, or are heretics or make their livelihood by displaying some sign (such as matted hair); the Devīpurāṇa has not been utilized in this work, because it is not included in the enumeration of the number of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas (in various works), because it contains delusive acts[1406a] and because it approves of heretic śāstras.

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is 'om Nandāyai namaḥ' (p. 304) and in the Mahānavamīvrata (on Āśvina-śukla 9) worship is commended (p. 308) with plenty of wine and flesh and with the heads of buffaloes, rams and goats. All these Navamīvratas provide a dinner to maidens which is a peculiarity of śākta worship. Tāntrik practices must have affected people in Northern India long before the 11th century as the Kalpataru mentions the Sun's mantra 'Khakholkāya namaḥ'; vide भविष्य I. 215. 1-6 for the basic mantra (Mūla-mantra) and its adjuncts, some of which are 'ओं विडिविडि शिरः, ओं ज्वालिने इति शिखा, ओं सहस्ररश्मये फट् कवचम्, ओं सर्वतेजोधिपतये फट् अस्त्रम् । ओं सहस्रकिरणोज्ज्वलाय फट् ऊर्ध्वबन्धः ।' (कल्प० on व्रत p. 199). It may be noted that the Agnipurāṇa (272. 3) speaks of the gift of the Viṣṇupurāṇa containing 23000 verses.

1406a. कश्मल means मूर्च्छा or मोह acc. to अमरकोश 'मूर्च्छा तु कश्मलं मोहोऽप्यधर्मेषु पीडनम्'. In the भगवद्गीता II. 2 we have 'कुतस्त्वा कश्मलमिदं विषमे समुपस्थितम्' where it should mean मोह. If we prefer the variant reading कल्मष, then the meaning would be मलिन (dark) or मलीमस.

Some important conclussions can be drawn from the above mentioned remarks of Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara. Next to the Mitākṣarā, the Kṛtyakalpataru and Aparārka's commentary, the Dānasāgara is among the earliest extant nibandha works the dates of which are nearly certain.[1407] If does not mention the Mitākṣarā, nor Kṛtyakalpataru nor Aparārka. Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattāchārya is right in his contention that the words 'Kalpadrumo jaṅgamaḥ' in the 3rd opening verse have nothing to do with Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara and that Prof. Rangaswamy Aiyangar is wrong in thinking that the verse refers to the Kalpataru (vide Mr. Bhattāchārya's Introduction to Dānasāgara p. XVIII and note 1).

The principal points that emerge from Ballālasena's remarks on Purāṇas are that he included both Vāyu and Śiva among the principal Purāṇas (sometimes called Mahāpurāṇas), that there were two Purāṇas called Linga, Brāhma, Āgneya and Viṣṇu, that the four counterparts bearing these names were not treated as authoritative (one pseudo-Liṅgapurāṇa having 6000 verses and one Viṣṇu having also 23000 verses being unauthoritative), that he abhorred Tāntrik rites and therefore totally discarded the Devīpurāṇa and parts of Bhaviṣya, that he did not utilize three named sections of the Skanda, that he did not regard the Garuḍa as authoritative. It may be stated here that acc. to the (printed) Kūrma I. 1. 17-20 some Upapurāṇas such as Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradīya bear the same names as the Mahāpurāṇas. Prof. Hazra relies upon a passage quoted from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[1408] by Kalpataru (Brahmacāri-

1407. The pedigree of बल्लालसेन gathered from अ सा. and दानसागर is: हेमन्तसेन (in सोमवंश) – his son विजयसेन – his son बल्लालसेन – his son लक्ष्मणसेन. The अद्भुतसागर was begun in śaka 1089 (1167 A. D.) and was finished by his son लक्ष्मणसेन (p. 4 अ. सा.). The दानसागर was composed by बल्लालसेन in śaka 1091 (1169 A. D.); vide Mr. B. Bhattachārya's Introduction to दानसागर pp. XXV–XXVI. He composed three more works before the दानसागर viz. the व्रतसागर (mentioned on pp. 52 and 59 of the दानसागर), प्रतिष्ठासागर and आचारसागर (in verses 55-56 p. 6 of दानसागर). So बल्लालसेन's literary activity should be placed between 1155 to 1180 A.D. He mentions अनिरुद्धभट्ट, author of हारलता and पितृदयिता, as his *guru* to whom he shows great reverence for his learning, high character and attainments in the दानसागर (p. 2 verse 6) and states that he learnt the essence of all Purāṇas and smṛtis from him (verse 7). Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. (1930) pp. 340-341 for Ballālasena.

1408. भविष्यपुराणे। अष्टादश पुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा। विष्णुधर्मादिशास्त्राणि शिवधर्मास्तथ भारत॥ काण्वी च पञ्चमी वेदो धन्महाभारतं स्मृतम्। सौराश्च धर्मा राजेन्द्र मान-

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kāṇḍa p. 25) wherein it is said that the appellation Jaya is applied to 18 Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇudharmādiśāstras, Śivadharma, Mahābhārata, Sauradharmas and Mānavadharmas (Manusmṛti?). I shall discuss the question of Viṣṇudharmapurāṇa later. But I have serious objections against the antiquity and authenticity of this passage. Being quoted in the Kalpataru it may be earlier than 1050 A. D. That is all. In order to glorify the 18 Purāṇas the meaning of Jaya is extended. Jaya is applied only to the Mahābhārata in the latter e. g. Udyogaparva 136. 18–19 and Svargārohaṇika 5. 49 and 51 quoted in note 1369 above. Hence this passage was inserted very late after all 18 Purāṇas had been composed i. e. after the 9th century A. D. Besides the plural 'Viṣṇudharmādiśāstrāṇi' shows that many works are meant and *not one*, i. e. the meaning is that all śāstras dealing with Viṣṇudharmas and the like. If a single work were meant, one expects 'Viṣṇudharmādiśāstram ca' and that would have not spoilt the metre. Besides, the Kalpataru itself indicates that this verse about 'Jaya' was cited by some authorities as 'Smṛti'. Therefore, it is doubtful if it is a genuine Bhaviṣya passage. Ballālasena mentions only eight Upapurāṇas on dānas by name (including the four mentioned by the Matsya).

In spite of the very admirable and praiseworthy efforts of Dr. Hazra in the matter of the place of the Upapurāṇas, their contents, the search among numerous mss. to find out what the text of the several upapurāṇas has been, the present writer must say here once for all that he does not at all agree with most of the dates that he assign to the Sāmba, the Viṣṇudharma, the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Narasiṁhapurāṇa, which are the principal Upapurāṇas he has dealt with in the first volume of 'Studies in Upapurāṇas'. His dates for the four Upapurāṇas are;

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वोक्ता महीपते। जयेति नाम चैतेषां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः। यदत्र श्लोके 'स्मृतिः' इति कृत्वा म (मा?) णिकानां वचनं (लिखनं in कृ. र.) तदपि महाजनपरिगृहीतत्वेन प्रमाणत्वात्। तथा 'स्मृत्यन्तरेषु च' इत्येनैव सङ्गृहीतं वेदितव्यम्। कल्पतरु (ब्रह्मचारि° p. 25–26). The कृत्यरत्नाकर reads 'तदविज्ञायमानवक्तृकमपि' before महाजन° and thereby clearly shows that the propounder of this passage (cited as from Bhaviṣya) was unknown, acc. to the कृत्यरत्नाकर and also कल्पतरु, but, as some authorities had accepted it, it was regarded as प्रमाण and even if cited as smṛti it would be included in the words 'अष्टादशपुराणेषु यानि वाक्यानि पुत्रक। तान्यालोक्य महाबाहो तथा स्मृत्यन्तरेषु च॥' occurring as a quotation from भविष्य on p. 24 (of ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड). The above verses are quoted by कृ. र. p. 30.

Sāmba between 500 and 800 A. D. (p. 91), the Viṣṇudharmapurāṇa between 200–300 A. D. (p. 143), the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa between 400 to 500 A. D. (p. 212) and the present Narasiṁha-purāṇa between 400 to 500 A. D. To examine all his reasons the present writer would have to write another book. Therefore, he proposes to give only a few illustrations of the way in which Dr. Hazra arrives at his dates. But before this is done it is better to mention some of his own findings on the Purāṇas and the four Upapurāṇas mentioned above. On p. 27 he observes that the text of the extant Mahāpurāṇas which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made at different times and by different sects is *scarcely reliable* and can be used with great caution and careful discrimination. I agree with him. But the same or perhaps worse is the case with the Upapurāṇas. Prof. Hazra himself says ('Studies' vol. I. p. 23) that after the group of 18 principal Purāṇas had been compiled many sub-systems and sects like the Śāktas and Sauras came into prominence and their adherents interpolated chapters in the 18 established Purāṇas and wrote new and independent works styled Purāṇas in order to propagate their own ideas and that some of these latter came to be called Upapurāṇas. The result is that, unless we have critical editions of the Purāṇas and the principal Upapurāṇas on the model of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata at the BORI in Poona, all chapters and often single verses are suspect. But the task of preparing critical editions of even the principal Purāṇas and *some of the Upapurāṇas based upon ancient and medieval mss.* collected from all parts of India would be far more colossal and costly than even the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Therefore, most chronological conclusions about the dates of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and about the borrowings of one Purāṇa from another are just tentative at the most and likely to be set aside by new evidence as long as critical editions of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas are not available.

Let us now turn to the four Upapurāṇas dealt with at length by Prof. Hazra. About the Sāmba (which is one of the four Upapurāṇas expressly named in the Matsyapurāṇa 53. 60–63) Prof. Hazra observes ('Studies' vol. I. p. 68) that the present Sāmba-purāṇa consists of different units mostly belonging to different countries and ages and after analysing in his own way the several chapters of the Sāmba he arrives at the conclusion (on p. 93) that chapters 17, 22 and 23 of the printed

edition were added later than 950 A. D., that chap. 44–45 were inserted between 950 and 1050 A. D. and chap. 39–43 and 47–83 were added between 1250 and 1500 A. D. There is at present only one printed ed. of the Sāmba viz. that of the Veṅk. Press in 84 chapters based probably only on one ms. Out of these 84 chapters Prof. Hazra himself finds that 47 chapters are later than 950 A. D., of which 42 were added between 1250-1500 A. D. Prof. Hazra has himself examined several mss of the Sāmba, but they do not come from all over India, many being from Bengal and almost all seem to be late ones (p. 33 last line), being copied in śaka 1764 i. e. 1842 A. D. When more than half of this Purāṇa ranges between 950 to 1500 A. D. according to Prof. Hazra, how can it be usefully employed for chronological purposes? Nobody can say when the verses about the four Upapurāṇas were inserted in the Matsya, but one can affirm that it was done about the 9th century A. D. or even later. Two dates about Upapurāṇas are certain, viz. that Sāmba is mentioned by Alberuni (Sachau, I. p. 130) who wrote in 1030 A. D. and that the Dānasāgara (verses 13–15 on p. 3), composed in 1069 A.D. mentions eight Upapurāṇas on dānas of which four viz. Sāmba, Nārasiṁha, Nandi and Āditya are the same as are mentioned in the Matsya. Therefore, an Upapurāṇa called Sāmba must have been composed a century or two earlier than 1000 A. D. On p. 91 he holds that the Sāmba cannot be dated later than 800 A. D. It is difficult to fall in line with all the assumptions on pp. 90–91 for arriving at this date. What the Sāmba named by Matsya contained beyond the words 'story of Sāmba' is not at all known. Prof. Hazra himself has given up at least half of the printed Sāmba as later than 950 A. D. and there is absolutely no reliable evidence to hold that the remaining portion of the Sāmba is earlier than 800 A. D. or even earlier than 950 A. D.

The next Upapurāṇa is Viṣṇudharma dealt with by Prof. Hazra in 'Studies' vol. I. pp. 118–155. There is no printed edition. Prof. Hazra (p. 119) refers to six mss. but he has chiefly used only one ms. viz. Bengal Asiatic Society's ms. No. 1670. This Purāṇa has 105 chapters and over 4000 verses. Prof. Hazra admits (p. 119) that it has very little of the principal characteristics of a Purāṇa and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Vaiṣṇavas. Alberuni names Viṣṇudharma but the verses that he quotes therefrom are found in the Viṣṇudharmottara as Bühler pointed out long ago (I. A. vol. XIX. pp. 381–410 and vide table given by Prof. Hazra on p. 208 comparing the two). Prof. Hazra holds (p. 116) relying on two verses quot-

ed below from Viṣṇudharmottara[1408a] that the Viṣṇudharmottara is only the latter part of Viṣṇudharma and that, as he holds that the former was composed between 400–500 A. D., the date of the Viṣṇudharma falls between 200 and 300 A. D. (p. 143). The other arguments that he advances are practically worthless. In the present author's opinion those verses can be interpreted in two other but different ways, viz. that the first section of the present Viṣṇudharmottara is called Viṣṇudharma or that the Viṣṇudharmottara is so called because it was composed after the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which contains the greatness of Viṣṇu and the dharmas of Vaiṣṇavas. He often trots out the theory that, if a work is free from Tantric elements, it must be an early work belonging to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. (see p. 142). The Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha of Mādhavācārya (which was composed in the 14th century) makes no reference to the cult of Śakti or the system of Tantra, though it devotes a good deal of space to the views of even Cārvāka (a thorough-going atheist), Bauddhas and Jainas. The Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha also does not refer to the Śāktas or the Tantras. But no one can argue that Mādhava is earlier than 4th or 5th century A.D. There may be various reasons for silence. One may abhor a thing and may not refer to it or use it at all as the Dānasāgara says about the Devīpurāṇa. The argument from silence is a slippery one. I challenge the whole basis of Prof. Hazra's date for Viṣṇudharma, viz. the date of the Viṣṇudharmottara. This last is a vast work in three sections. It would be proved later that portions of the latter Purāṇa dealing

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1408a. अधीते सोत्तरं यश्च विष्णुधर्ममिमं शुभम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I.143.16 ; संसारक्षयहेत्वर्थं भावोपकरणेषु च । सोत्तरा वैष्णवा धर्माः सारमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 74. 35. These verses are not clear enough for holding that the present विष्णुधर्मोत्तर is only the latter part of another work called विष्णुधर्म. That verse uses the word इमं which refers to the first section of the present विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and refers only to one who studies the first section and also the following sections. The word इमं cannot be proved to refer to विष्णुधर्मशास्त्र, which is nowhere expressly mentioned as a पुराण in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर. To take इमं as referring to विष्णुधर्म, a separate work, would be equal to assuming what has to be proved. Alberuni mentions Viṣṇudharma as a short form of विष्णुधर्मोत्तर and nothing more. Similarly, in the 2nd passage it is expressly stated that in the first section the essence of Vaiṣṇava duties is given along with the following two sections. The Matsya (53. 16) speaks of the Viṣṇupurāṇa as one in which Parāśara proclaimed all the dharmas with reference to Vārāhakalpa; वाराहकल्पवृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य पराशरः । यत्प्राह धर्मानखिलांस्तद्युक्तं वैष्णवं विदुः ॥ मत्स्य 53.16 The word धर्मान् is used in the मत्स्य with reference to four Purāṇas, Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Nāradīya and Skanda, out of 18. The Viṣṇu is full of the characteristic qualities of Vaiṣṇavas e. g. vide III. 7. 20–33, III. 8. 9–19 &c.

with prognostications from dreams cannot be placed earlier than about 600 to 650 A. D. For the Viṣṇudharma we have to rely on what Prof. Hazra quotes. Chap. 66 quotes the famous words of the Gītā 'whenever there is decline of dharma &c.' (p. 143 n. 94) and then the same chap. mentions the incarnations of Viṣṇu including Buddha (p. 125). Therefore, the mention of the ten avatāras in the context of the words of the Gītā is natural and should not be regarded as spurious simply because it comes in the way of one's pet theories. On p. 144 he quotes ten verses from chapter 66 in which Buddha is described as son of Śuddhodana and his doctrines are stated. Prof. Hazra (on pp 145–146) gives four reasons which are quite unconvincing. The Purāṇas mention the avatāras of Viṣṇu in several places. The Bhāgavata in I. 3 names 22 avatāras. On p. 150 Prof. Hazra himself quotes a long passage about the evils of the Kali age from the Viṣṇudharma in which occurs a significant half verse 'utkocāḥ saugatāś-caiva Mahāyānaratās-tathā'. Here not only are the followers of Buddha mentioned but also those who are of the Mahāyāna persuasion. On p. 124 Prof. Hazra states that the Viṣṇudharma (p. 124 n. 45) mentions by name 33 authors of Dharmaśāstras, besides the Saptarṣis and others. Yāj. (I. 4–5) mentions only 19 promulgators of Dharmaśāstra (including himself and holding Śaṅkha-likhita as one). Both the Viṣṇudharma and the Viṣṇudharmottara are not mentioned by the Matsya. Therefore, it must be held that they were not recognized as Upapurāṇas at the time when the verses about Upapurāṇas were interpolated in the Matsya and were not so recognized till at least the 8th or 9th century A. D. The Viṣṇudharma is opposed to what is stated by all writers from the Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras, by Manu (III. 128–186), by Matsya, Kūrma and other Purāṇas about the qualifications of the brāhmaṇas to be invited at a śrāddha dinner (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 384–387). It expressly says that squint-eyed, hunch-backed, impotent, poor and diseased brāhmaṇas should be mixed up at a śrāddha along with those who are deeply versed in the Veda.[1409] This does not bespeak an early date. On p. 138 Prof. Hazra refers to several nibandhakāras as quoting from Viṣṇudharma such as Gadādhara up to Ballālasena, Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataru. These do not carry the date beyond 1000 A. D. and besides an examination of quotations in only one work (Aparārka) will show that the

1409. काणाः कुब्जाश्च वन्ध्राश्च दरिद्रा व्याधितास्तथा। सर्वे श्राद्धे निमोक्तव्या निखिला वेदपारगैः॥ (Hazra p. 153 n 117).

Viṣṇudharma was an hotch-potch bringing together passages from several sources (vide note).[1410] Prof. Hazra himself holds that the original Viṣṇudharma was appropriated and recast by Bhāgavatas and that many verses quoted from Viṣṇudharma by Raghunandana, Govindānanda and the Madanapārijāta do not occur in the present work (pp. 154-155).

Then we come to the Viṣṇudharmottara. The only printed edition is that of the Venk. Press. It is a vast work divided into three sections. The first deals with geography, solar and lunar dynasties, astronomy and astrology, gotra and pravara, śrāddhas, Manvantaras, Bharata's fight with Gandharvas and Śatrughna's with Lavaṇa. The 2nd section deals with various aspects of Rājadharma and the third section of the Purāṇa deals with Citrasūtravidhāna and contains several topics such as painting, dancing, music, song, rasas, riddles, dramaturgy, metrics, figures of speech, construction of images, building of temples, symptoms of approaching death, gifts of various kinds, law and justice, hermits and sannyāsins. On p. 212 Dr. Hazra places this Purāṇa between 400-500 A. D. Reasons of limitations of space preclude any detailed criticism of Prof. Hazra's treatment. In III. 351.54 Buddha is mentioned as an avatāra which Prof. Hazra says is 'most probably spurious' (p. 212) and advances no reasons for this summary judgment. He puts in his usual argument of its non-Tantric[1411] character and frequent use of the word prādurbhāva

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1410. अपरार्क on pp. 368-370 quotes about 20 verses from विष्णुधर्म, some of which may be examined here : षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥. This very verse is q. by अपरार्क on p. 370 from आदित्यपुराण. This verse is stated to be derived from व्यास and मनु in E. I. vol. 12 p. 135. The गृहस्थरत्नाकर p. 517 quotes it from बृहस्पति, while बृहस्पतिस्मृति (Ānan. collection) verse 29 has the latter half of it. On p. 369 the verse यत्किञ्चित्कुरुते पापं is quoted from विष्णुधर्म but the same is quoted by अपरार्क himself on p. 370 from मत्स्य and it is verse 7 of बृहस्पतिस्मृति and is also अनुशासन 62. 19 and वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 29. 16. Then at the end of that long passage is verse आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः (अपरार्क p. 370), which is बृहस्पतिस्मृति 17 and पद्मपुराण VI. 33. 17.

1411. I fail to understand what Prof. Hazra definitely means by non-Tantrik character. He admits (on p 218) that *bījas* and *kavacas* are found in Viṣṇudharmottara of which section I. chap. 226 names over 100 मातृs, some of whose names are काली, महाकाली, अपराजिता, कालजूती, दुर्भगा, कराला, कपाली, पिशाची &c.; chap. 237 of विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (verse 20) refers to वैष्णवकवच and at the end we have purely Tāntrik formulas, some of which quoted as specimens are : 'ओं सुकारे प्रकटोत्कट विकट-

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and not 'avatāra' which latter, he says, occurs in two places only. Prof. Hazra often attaches undue importance to insignificant details. Whether the word 'prādurbhāva' is used or 'avatāra' is used matters little. The same Purāṇa uses both words promiscuously e. g. Narasiṁha (36. 1, 'avatārānahaṁ vakṣye') begins with the word 'avatāra' and in 39. 1 employs the word 'prādurbhāva' (ataḥ paraṁ Hareḥ puṇyaṁ prādurbhāvam) and in the colophons of all chapters from 36 to 53 the word 'prādurbhāva' is used. The Matsya 247. 1 starts with 'prādurbhāvān purāṇeṣu Viṣṇoramitatejasaḥ'. In 247. 19–21 the Matsya employs the word 'avatīrṇaḥ' with regard to Vāmana and Nṛsiṁha and in 246. 4 'avatīrṇo jagadyoniḥ·····Vāmananeneha rūpeṇa &c.'. Padma V. 13. 182 speaks of twelve avatāras; Viṣṇu V. 16 also uses the word 'avatāra'. On p. 199 he gives a table of passages that are common to Manu, Yāj., Nārada and Viṣṇudharmottara, on p. 200 another table of passages common to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra and Viṣṇudharmottara, and on page 202 a table of passages common to Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara and holds that the Matsya borrows. This is a most astounding proposition. The Matsya does not even mention the Viṣṇudharmottara as an Upapurāṇa; the only sure and earliest date is that the latter is mentioned by Alberuni. That does not carry the matter beyond 900–1000 A. D. The Matsyapurāṇa might have been tampered with. The reasons assigned for his opinion by Prof. Hazra are, to say the least, flimsy and unconvincing. It is further to be noted that there are twelve verses that state that some phenomena are not to be held to be utpātas, that are common to Matsya 229. 14–25, Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 134. 15–26) and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (45. 83–94), which are quoted by the Adbhutasāgara pp. 743–744 as occurring in all these three and in Bārhaspatya. I have dealt with this matter above on p. 768 n 1240. Varāha states that these

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इंद्र पूर्वतो रक्ष। ओं हैं हैं हैं हैं दिनकरसहस्रकान्तसमोग्रतेज पश्चिमतो रक्ष रक्ष। ओं निरिनिरि प्रदीप्तज्वलनज्वालाकालमहाकपिलजटिल उत्तरतो रक्ष। ओं चिलिचिलि मिलिमिलि चेकडि गौरि गान्धारि विषोदनि विषं मोहयतु स्वाहा दक्षिणतो रक्ष।'. If this is not tantricism I should like to know what it is. In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 165 there is great eulogy of the Gāyatrī (or Sāvitrī) mantra. Therein verses 55 ff of the same Purāṇa prescribe how Gāyatrī can be used against one's bad enemy. A few verses are quoted: अभिचारेषु तां देवीं विपरीतां प्रयोजयेत्। कार्यो व्याहृतयश्चात्र विपरीताक्षरास्तथा। विपरीताक्षरं कार्यं शिरश्च मनुजेश्वर। आदौ शिरः प्रयोक्तव्यं प्रणवान्ते च यादव। स्वाहास्थाने च कट्कारे साध्यनामसमन्वितम्। ···अभिचारे च होतव्या राजिका विषमिश्रिताः। स्वरक्तमिश्रं होतव्यं कटुतैलमथापि वा। ···महापराधं बलिनं देवब्राह्मणकण्टकम्। अभिचारेण यो हन्याच्च स दोषेण लिप्यते।' 65.

verses are the summaries (ṛṣiputrakṛtaiḥ ślokair-vidyād-etat *samāsoktaiḥ*) of the ślokas of Ṛṣiputra. Therefore, the view that they are borrowed by Varāha from the Matsya or Viṣṇudharmottara would be out of question. The two Purāṇas do not say whence they have taken them. Therefore, it would not be unjustifiable to hold that in both Purāṇas the verses of the Bṛhat-saṁhitā were inserted. There is another circumstance that strengthens this last view. The Adbhutasāgara on pp. 493-494 quotes seven verses from the Bṛhad-yātrā of Varāha alone. These verses are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. 47. 22 (where Varāha says 'sadasat-svapnanimittam yātrāyām svapnavidhir-uktaḥ) from 'Yātrā'. These verses (8 in all) are Varāha's own (as he says) and not taken from any other source. Three of these verses on dreams occur in the Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 176. 9-11). They are quoted above on p. 776 note 1254. Prof. Hazra does not appear to have carefully gone into the several works of Varāhamihira and is not right when he says (on pp. 201 and 211) that 'the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to or utilize the works of Varāhamihira'. The Viṣṇudharmottara is an encyclopaedia, while Varāhamihira was a great astronomer and astrologer. He would turn to his predecessors in his own subject if he wanted to borrow and he expressly mentions numerous predecessors (vide pp. 591-594 above) and not to an Upapurāṇa (which in my view did not exist or at least was not recognised as an authority when Varāha wrote in the first half of the 6th century A. D.) Besides, the presumption to be drawn from the nature of the Upapurāṇa is in favour of holding that it borrows.

Prof. Hazra deals with the Narasiṁha-purāṇa on pp. 219-266 of his 'Studies' vol. I. The only printed edition is that published in 1911 by Gopal Narayan and Co. (Bombay) in 68 chapters based on three mss. about which no information is given. This Purāṇa appears to have been composed solely for the glorification of Narasiṁha identified with Nārāyaṇa. Prof. Hazra has used several mss., two, the oldest, being dated in śaka 1567 (i.e. 1645 A. D.), some of the others are not dated and a few are dated so late as 1798 A. D. and 1810 A. D.; and some are written in Bengali script. On p. 322 Prof. Hazra says about one ms. in Eggeling's cat. of India Office mss. that it was copied about 1500-1600 A.D. and its last five folios were supplied in 1789 A. D. No reasons are given why this ms. should be regarded as being copied between 1500-1600. This is probably a guess, so all the mss. consulted are not earlier than the 17th and following centuries. Most mss. do not

agree with the printed edition in the number of chapters and also lack certain chapters of the printed edition. Prof. Hazra holds (p. 242) on various grounds, all of which cannot be examined here, that the '*present* Narasiṁhapurāṇa is to be placed between 400–500 A. D.' One or two of his characteristic arguments will be noticed here. In chap. 36. 9 (kalau prāpte yathā Buddho bhaven-Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhuḥ) Buddha is mentioned; Mārkaṇḍeya promises in chap. 36 to narrate stories about eleven avatāras (among whom Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha are included) and in chapters 37–54, the stories of all avatāras except Buddha are given and it is added[1412] in chap. 54 that 'I have spoken of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The devotee of Nṛsiṁha who always listens to these attains Viṣṇu'. It may be noted that Balabhadra is mentioned in a half verse (36. 8) which is found only in ms. 'ga' of the three mss. of the printed edition. In chap. 53 a few exploits of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa are narrated in the same chapter and so the half line was inserted later. As the story of Buddha is not given Prof. Hazra holds that the verse in 36. 9 is undoubtedly spurious (pp. 230 and 249). It never occurred to Prof. Hazra that the sectarian zeal of a bigoted Vaiṣṇava might have never cared to give the life of Buddha who was not concerned with (but was antagonistic to) the varṇa system and the Vedas or might have omitted the story of the life of Buddha even if it occurred in the ms. from which he copied. The present author thinks that 36.9 is a genuine verse and enumerates Buddha as an avatāra following the universal belief held in India at least from the 9th or 10th century A. D. that Buddha was an avatāra, but probably bigotry led to the omission of the details of Buddha's life. Besides, the verse is capable of another interpretation. It is only the stories of ten avatāras (excluding Buddha) that lead a devotee to Viṣṇu. A devotee may worship any one of Nṛsiṁha, Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, and reach Viṣṇu, but hardly any orthodox work has ever stated that worship of Buddha alone (an avatāra) will lead to attainment of Viṣṇu. Therefore, it is proper to hold that the story of Buddha's life might not have been given at all or was purposely omitted. On p. 239 Prof. Hazra puts forward a peculiar argument. According to the Narasiṁha-purāṇa chap. 53. 31, says Prof. Hazra, Kṛṣṇa embodies only a part of Viṣṇu's śakti[1413] and therefore 'the Narasiṁha is to be dated

1412. दशावतारः कथितास्तवैव हरेर्मया पार्थिव पापहन्तुः। इमं सदा यस्तु शृणोतिभक्तः शृणोति नित्यं स तु याति विष्णुम्। नरसिंहपु० 54. 6.

1413. सितकृष्णे च मच्छक्ती कंसादीन् घातयिष्यतः। ...तयोः सिता च गौरिष्यां वसुदेवाद्भविष्यति॥ सच्चकृष्णा च देवक्यां वसुदेवाद्भविष्यति॥ नरसिंहपु० 53. 31, 33-34.

earlier than the present Bhāgavata in which Kṛṣṇa is called *bhagavān* himself (Bhāgavata I. 3. 28). As the present Bhāgavata is to be dated in the 6th century A. D. the Narasiṁha is to be placed not later than 500 A D.' Great controversies have raged over the date of the Bhāgavata. The present author holds that the Bhāgavata-purāṇa does not belong to the 6th century A. D. It will be shown below that while Rāmānuja quotes more than a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa, which he regarded as one of supreme authority over other Purāṇas (in Vedārthasaṅgraha pp. 141–142 of D. C. edition) he does not quote the Bhāgavata at all in his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtra. A bigoted devotee of Narasiṁha may say that Narasiṁha avatāra is the perfect avatāra of Viṣṇu, while Kṛṣṇa is only a partial one. But surely that cannot determine the dates of the respective purāṇas. What bigoted devotees are capable of saying may be seen from Brahmāṇḍa III. 36. 18–20 quoted later in this section, where it is asserted that the reward of repeating thrice the thousand names of Viṣṇu is yielded by repeating one name of Kṛṣṇa once. The strongest argument against the authenticity and early date of the present Narasiṁhapurāṇa has not been properly and adequately emphasized or appreciated by Prof. Hazra. The Matsya (53. 60–63) gives meagre details about the four Upapurāṇas expressly named by it, but about the Narasiṁha it makes one definite statement that it contained 18000 verses (53. 60). The present Narasiṁha contains only about 3400 verses.[1414] Therefore, the old Narasiṁhapurāṇa exists no more and in its place a new one has been substituted, probably containing some of the topics and chapters contained in the old one. We do not know the extent of the Narasiṁha mentioned by Alberuni. For ought we know he might have referred to the old extensive purāṇa or the new stripling substituted in its place. Even some of the mss. copied in comparatively recent times drop several chapters of the printed purāṇa; on p. 249 Prof. Hazra holds that chapters 34 verses 43–55, and chapters 61, 65 (on 68 holy places for Vaiṣṇavas), 66, 67 are genuine parts, though dropped in

1414. Even a late writer like नरसिंहराजपेयिन् patronized by the Gajapati king Mukundadeva (1559–1568 A. D.) says in his नित्याचारप्रदीप (B. I, ed.) vol. I. p. 18 'प्रसिद्धनारसिंहस्य अष्टादशसाहस्रसंख्या यद्यपि नोपलभ्यते किञ्चित् काल-क्रमाल्लुप्तमिति प्रतिभाति।'. It further says that the Nandi or Nanda purāṇa is a part of Skanda and that, since Lakṣmīdhara says that the Kālikā is an Upapurāṇa, those that say that by the word Bhāgavata the Kālikā is meant are wrong and then enumerates the 18 उपपुराणs.

some mss. Prof. Hazra's judgments on various matters are most liable to be challenged; but considerations of space prevent any detailed treatment. On p. 252 he holds that in chap. 6 the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya as the sons of Mitra and Varuṇa, the story of Yama and Yamī are comparatively late additions. The story of the birth of Vasistha from Urvaśī and Mitra and Varuṇa is alluded to even in the Ṛgveda (VII. 33. 11) and in the previous verse (10) of the same hymn Vasiṣṭha, Agastya and Mitrāvarunau are brought together. The story of Yama and Yamī occurs in Ṛg. X. 10. The Narasiṁha itself states (in chap. 14 1) that the story of Yama and Yamī is Vaidikī. The Purāna may have added some fringes and embellishments, but the main theme is the same in both. On p. 254–255 and note 330 Prof. Hazra was constrained to admit that the Narasiṁhapurāṇa had been revised more than once, remarks that Hemādri had a more extensive purāna before him than the printed one and that a comparison of the verses quoted from the Narasimhapurāṇa by the Madanapārijāta pp. 301–302, Smṛtitattva on āhnika (vol. I. p. 411) and Nityācārapradīpa (vol. I p. 617) show that the text of the Narasiṁha used by Raghunandana and Narasimha-vājapeyin agrees more with the printed text than the text used by Madanapāla (about 1375 A. D.), less than 200 years before Raghunandana.

The extant Narasiṁhapurāṇa is an insignificant one as compared with the principal Purāṇas like Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu; the Sāmba is not quoted at all by Aparārka, the Viṣṇudharma only twice and even the Viṣṇudharmottara is quoted by Aparārka only 7 times for about 25 verses in all. The very extensive digest Kalpataru (first half of 12th century A. D.) contains hardly any quotation from Viṣṇudharmottara on vratas (though the latter devotes about 1600 verses to vratas), nor is it quoted in the sections on brahmacāri and other kāṇḍas, while hundreds of verses are quoted from Matsya, Brahma, Bhaviṣyā, Mārkaṇḍeya and other Purāṇas. Aparārka in his huge digest of 1252 printed pages quotes the Narasiṁhapurāṇa only 9 times and in all about 30 verses only, of which about half are in respect of *sannyāsa*, while the Brahmapurāṇa is quoted 68 times for hundreds of verses, the Matsya is quoted over 50 times for several hundred verses. The Tulasī plant is now sacred to the devotees of Viṣṇu, but it does not figure in early Paurāṇika or other literature. It is mentioned in chapters

31. 87 (in a prose passage) and 34 (19 and 23) of the printed Narasiṁhapurāṇa. As usual Prof. Hazra holds these references are due to later revisions and should not be held to suggest a late date for the extant Narasiṁhapurāṇa (p. 255). Tulasī-māhātmya is very much in evidence in the Padma e. g. in IV. 94. 4–10, V. 58. 109ff and V. 59, VI. 24. 2–43. The very late part of Padma VI (chap. 98–107) contains the story of Jālandhara, whose wife Vṛndā is said to have become Tulasī. Prof. Hazra fails to realize the full force of his own admission that the Narasiṁha was revised several times and that writers of the 16th century had a version before them different from that before the writers of the 13th or 14th century. In the author's opinion the whole Purāṇa becomes suspect and that by mere diplomatic criticism one would not be able to support beyond doubt any chronological conclusion derived from the present truncated and garbled version of the original Narasiṁha.

So much space had to be devoted to an examination of Prof. Hazra's work on the Upapurāṇas for cogent reasons. His is the latest and most elaborate treatment of Purāṇas and particularly of Upapurāṇas, on which he has bestowed immense labour. His opinions, particularly about the dates of the Upapurāṇas, are likely to be taken as the last word on the subject and even his unfounded surmises are likely to be taken as well-established conclusions. Modern Sanskrit scholars have sad experience about such matters. Max Muller, working back from the date of Buddha and assigning arbitrarily two hundred years each for three periods viz. the Upaniṣad period, the Brāhmaṇa period and the Saṁhitā period, inferred that the composition of the Vedas was to be assigned to a period about 1200 B. C. He no doubt said that his periods were the minimum and that his was a pure surmise. Yet most writers who have not themselves made a deep study of the Veda assign the Vedas to about 1200 to 1400 B. C. even after the lapse of about one hundred years from the time when Max Muller launched his surmises. For example, Prof. Toynbee in the table of the time spans of the growth phases of civilizations on p. 758 of volume IX (1954) gives the dates of Epiphany and of breakdown of the Indic civilization as 1375 B. C. and 725 B. C. respectively. The present author does not at all agree with the dates assigned to the Upapurāṇas by Prof. Hazra and with the methods and reasoning adopted for arriving at those dates. He had to perform this painful duty even in spite of his regard for Prof. Hazra.

There are numerous works, translations and papers on Purāṇas. A few alone are mentioned here. Eugene Burnouf translated the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in French in five volumes in 1840 and later years. The translations of Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya were made respectively by H. H. Wilson and Pargiter; Prof. Kirfel's Introduction to 'Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa' (1927, Bonn) was translated in the Journal of the Shri Veṅkaṭeśa Institute, vol. VII pp. 81–121 and vol. VIII. pp. 9–33; Kirfel in Festschrift Jacobi pp. 298–316; K. P. Jayaswal on 'Chronological tables in Puranic chronicles' in J. B. O. R. S. vol. III pp. 246–262; 'Purāṇas and Indus Aryas' and 'Study of ancient Geography in Agnipurāṇa' in I. H. Q. (1933), vol. 18 pp. 461 and 470; Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar's studies on Vāyu and Matsya and Index to (five) Purāṇas in three volumes; J. R. A. S. 1941 pp. 247–256 and pp. 337–350 by W. Ruben for 'Puranic line of heroes'; J. A. S. B. for 1938, vol. IV. Article 15 pp. 393 ff; 'Purāṇas on Guptas' in I. H. Q. vol. 21 pp. 141 ff and 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇas' by Dr. D. R. Patil in B.D.C.R.I. vol. II. pp. 148–165; H. C Raychaudhuri in a paper in the Pro. of the 10th Oriental Conference, pp. 390 ff for discrepancies of Puranic accounts with epigraphic records; paper by Mr. B. C. Majmudar on 'Origin and character of Purāṇa literature' in Sir Asutosh Mukharji Silver Jubilee vol. III, Orientalia, part 2 pp. 9–30; a verse from p. 30 of 'Inscriptiones Sanskrites de Champa et du Cambodge' refers to the provision made by a king of the 6th century A. D. for the daily reading of the Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas;[1414a] the Penukonda plates of the early Gaṅga king Mādhava II, (E. I. vol. 14 p. 338) speaks of him as knowing 'the essence of many śāstras, Itihāsa and Purāṇas' (probably in 6th century A. D.); Purāṇas are mentioned as studied in 578 A. D. (in E. I. vol. 28 p. 59).

In the following notes on individual Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas the author adds a few notes based on his own study of the Purāṇas and (printed) *digests* (*nibandhas*) of an early age. He desires to emphasize that the earliest works that can be called digests and are available in print cannot be placed earlier than about 1100 A. D. Though there is difference of views among scholars about the exact dates of composition, the Mitākṣarā, the Kṛtyakalpataru (which is a regular Digest of various kinds of materials on Dharmaśāstra) and Aparārka's work (though in

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1414 a The verse is रामायणपुराणान्यामशेषं भारतं वदत्। अक्षुण्णाध्वमखेषां स च ब्रह्मणस्थितिद्द, vide I. H. Q. vol. 22 pp. 221–223.

form a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti is still in the nature of a Digest) are three printed works more or less contemporary and composed between about 1100 to 1140 A. D. The Kṛtya-kalpataru on Vyavahāra mentions by name Prakāśa, Halā-yudha, Kāmadhenu and Pārijāta. Besides, Kṛityakalpataru (Niyata p. 280) cites the explanation of Parārika (in Āp. Dh. S. I. 17. 26) by the Smṛtimañjarī (of Govindarāja) and also on śrāddha (pp. 46 and 259). It has been shown in H. of Dh. vol. I. that Prakāśa (pp. 306–308), Pārijāta (pp. 308–309), Smṛtimañjarī (pp. 312–314) were works of the digest *genre*. The Kāmadhenu of Gopāla also appears to have been a digest (H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 293 ff.). The author Gopāla was a friend of Laksmīdhara (vide Introd. to Dānakāṇḍa p. 49), but, since the latter employs the past tense (*cakre*) with reference to Gopāla's work and the present tense (*tanyate kalpavṛkṣaḥ*) as regards his own work it follows that the Kāmadhenu was composed at least a few years before the Kalpa-taru. As no mss. of the Prakāsa, Pārijāta and Kāmadhenu are available it is impossible to say anything about their exhaus-tiveness or otherwise. But from the summary at the end of the ms. on the Prāyaścitta section of the Smṛtimañjarī (H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 312 note 714) it appears that it must have been fairly large and was composed on the same lines as the later Kṛtya-kalpataru, since it began with Paribhāṣākāṇḍa and Brahmacāri-section, then dealt with Gṛhasthadharmas, Dāna, Śuddhi and Āśauca, Śrāddha, then with Vānaprastha and Pravrajyā (corresponding to the mokṣakāṇḍa of Kalpataru) and ended with Prāyaścittas. These predecessors of the Kalpataru were superseded by the extensive work of Lakṣmīdhara, who himself receded into the background when the works of Hemādrī, Caṇḍeśvara, Madanaratna, the Vīramitrodaya, the Mayūkhas of Nīlakaṇṭha became popular. Even before the Kāmadhenu and probably the Smṛtimañjarī also, Bhoja (about 2nd quarter of 11th century A. D.) composed (or patronised the composition of) several works such as the Bhujabala and Rājamārtaṇḍa which exhaustively dealt with the astrological requirements of *saṁskāras* from *puṁsavana* to marriage and also of vratas, yātrā, śāntis, pratiṣṭhā (vide the author's paper on 'King Bhoja and his works on Dharmaśāstra and astrology' in JOR, (Madras), vol. XXIII for 1953–54 pp. 94–127 for five works of Bhoja). So there was nothing very novel in the Kṛtyakalpataru except its exhaustive and logical treatment of all topics and profuse quotations from the Epics and Purāṇas. The Mitākṣarā does

not quote much from the Purāṇas, but Aparārka and Kalpataru quote them profusely. The Kalpataru quotes about 600 verses from Devīpurāṇa, over 200 verses each from Kālikā, Ādityapurāṇa, Nandipurāṇa and Narasiṁhapurāṇa (all Upapurāṇas) while it quotes none at all from Viṣṇudharmottara. The Kalpataru did not probably regard it as authoritative, though Aparārka and the Dānasāgara utilized it to some extent. The learned editor of the extensive Kalpataru, Prof. Aiyangar, has made great efforts to identify the quotations therein from the Purāṇas, and laid all workers and scholars under great obligations. But many quotations have eluded him as will be shown later on. He has been assiduous in pointing out how Hemādri, Caṇḍeśvara and Mitramiśra have copied wholesale from the Kalpataru. It is not impossible that even the Kalpataru might have done the same to some extent as regards its predecessors such as the Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Smṛtimañjarī, and Kāmadhenu. But as those works are not yet available, no positive conclusion can be drawn about its borrowing for the present

The present author edited 286 verses from the Rājamārtaṇḍa (containing 1462 verses) on tithis, vratas and utsavas in ABORI vol. 36, parts III–IV, 1956, pp. 306–339,). It describes several vratas and utsavas like Indradhvajotthāpana and the work is about 75 years older than the Kalpataru. The Kalpataru is studiously silent as regards Bhoja, though it mentions Kāmadhenu, Govindarāja, Prakāśa and Halāyudha and it hardly anywhere mentions the vratas described by the Rājamārtaṇḍa. The Mitākṣarā does mention Dhāreśvara Bhoja. Probably Lakṣmīdhara did not like that a comparison should be instituted between his treatment of vratas and Bhoja's.

Alberuni's work on India translated by Sachau furnishes us with some data about the chronology of Purāṇas. On p. 130 (of Sachau's tr.) he says he heard the following as the Purāṇas viz. Ādi, Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nārasiṁha, Vāmana, Vāyu, Nanda, Skanda, Āditya, Soma, Sāmba, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Tārkṣya (i. e Garuḍa), Viṣṇu, Brahma, Bhaviṣya. It will be noted that he mixes in this list Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. He further states that he had seen only portions of Matsya, Āditya and Vāyu. Then on p. 131 (of Sachau's tr.) there is another list which was read to him from the Viṣṇu (viz. the 18 principal Purāṇas, Śaiva being substituted for Vāyu). Then, on p. 229 (of Sachau's tr.) he sets out from Āditya some details about the regions below the earth and shows how Vāyu differs from it and

on p. 248 he sets out details about Meru from Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Āditya. As he wrote his work in 1030 A. D. one has to conclude that Purāṇas having the names cited by him existed some time before 1000 A. D. at the latest.

Some of the papers of Prof. Hazra and others on the principal Purāṇas and on some of the Upapurāṇas are brought together in one place by Dr. Pusalkar in his work 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas' pp. 218–225; a few of them are mentioned here. About sixteen papers of Prof. Hazra contributed to various Journals from time to time were included in his work 'Studies in Purāṇik Records of Hindu Rites and customs', which is referred to as PRHR here and H. stands for Prof. Hazra and U. for Upapurāṇa.

CHAPTER XXIII

Brief Notes on individual Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas

Agnipurāṇa—'Present Agni' (by H.) in I. H. Q. vol. XII pp. 683–691: 'Studies in genuine Āgneya alias Vahnipurāṇa' by H. in 'Our Heritage' vol. I part 2 pp. 209–245 and vol. II part 1 pp. 76–109; 'Discovery of genuine Āgneyapurāṇa' by H. in J. O. I. (Baroda) vol. V (1956) pp. 411–416 (shows that present Agni published by Ānan. Press is not the original Purāṇa, that this was compiled late, while the original Āgneya or Vahni is not yet printed); the Dānasāgara p. 7. verse 63 speaks of an Āgneya which it has discarded apart from one which it has utilized (p. 2 verse 11). As usual with most Purāṇas, the printed Āgneya glorifies itself by saying (in chap. 272. 13 and 17) that in that Mahāpurāṇa Hari resides in the form of different lores and the Āgneya is a great purāṇa full of Veda and all *vidyās*.

Ādipurāṇa (U.)—B. V. vol. VI (1945) pp. 60–73 (H. postulates an earlier and a later version). Vāyu 104.7 mentions an Ādika among the 18 principal purāṇas (including the Brāhma). Alberuni's list (which mixes up Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas) mentions an Ādipurāṇa; an Ādipurāṇa is published by the Veṅk. Press in 29 chapters. H. in 'Studies &c.' vol. I. pp. 279-303 deals at length with this and tries to establish that there was an earlier Ādi Purāṇa of which no mss. are yet available (p. 211) and holds that it is to be dated between 1203 to 1525 A.D. ('Studies' p. 288). Ādi and Ādya mean the same thing. But Kullūka on Manu II. 54 quotes some verses from Ādi which are ascribed to Brāhma by G. R. p. 314. The digests make a confusion between Ādi and Ādityapurāṇa. Vide H. in 'Studies' vol. I. pp. 302–303. The printed one is a late compilation and none of the verses quoted by Lakṣmīdhara and Aparārka occur therein (vide 'Studies' vol. I pp. 286–289).

Ādityapurāṇa—Mentioned by Matsya 53.62 as U. and Alberuni (Sachau I. p. 130, 229, 248); quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharma (about 2 verses), Dāna (about 125), Śrāddha (about 20), Vrata (about 22); the Sm. C. quotes many verses on Āhnika and Śrāddha from both Ādi and Āditya and quotes both

separately on 'śauca' on the same page (I p. 94). Aparārka also quotes many verses from both Ādi and Āditya. The Dānasāgara quotes about forty verses from both the Ādi and Āditya purāṇas.

Ekāmra (a work of Orissa):—H in P. O. vol. 16 pp. 70–76 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. p. 341 (assigns it to 10th or 11th century A. D.)

Kālikā:—(an U. in 93 chapters pr. by Veṅk. Press, Bombay); vide H. in A.B.O.R.I. vol. XXII. pp. 1-23; Sharma in I. H. Q. vol. 23 pp. 322–326 (holding that Kālikā was completed during the reign of king Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa); H. in B. V. vol. 16 (1956) pp. 35–40 questions the view of Sharma; 'Date of Kālikā' by Prof. Gode in J. O. R. (Madras) vol. X. pp. 289–294; Dr. Raghavan in J. O. R. (Madras) vol. XII. pp. 331–360 (shows that there are three separate recensions of the Purāṇa). H. distinguishes between an earlier version and the extant one and places the latter in the 10th or 11th century; on the words of Matsya 53. 60–64 'tad-etebhyo vinirgatam', the Kalpataru explains 'vinirgatam' as 'udbhūtam' (sprung from) and gives the Kālikā as an illustration (Brahmacāri p. 30) of an Upapurāṇa sprung from Mahāpurāṇas; the Kalpataru quotes from it about 100 verses on vrata, on dāna, 14 on gṛhastha, 12 on vyavahāra (about witnesses and ordeals), 5 each on niyatakāla and tīrtha and 2 on brahmacārin; Aparārka quotes it on pp. 15, 226, 377 (15 verses on marriage and house settlements for brāhmaṇas), 924; the Sm. C. II. p. 442 quotes one verse from it on śrāddha. The Dānasāgara quotes many verses from it. The Veṅk. ed. mentions Viṣṇudharmottara in chap. 91. 70 and 92. 2[1414b]; the extant Kālikā would have to be placed before 1000 A. D. Vide p. 809 n 1317 above for the Kālikā saying that the howl of a female jackal is auspicious.

Kalkipurāṇa—Vide H. in 'Studies &c.' vol I. pp. 303–303. There are three editions, all from Calcutta; H. remarks that it is a late work not quoted by any writer (p. 308) and that it is not to be placed later than the 18th century A. D.

Kūrma—(Veṅk. Press ed.); is divided into Pūrvārdha (53 chapters) and Uttarārdha (46 chapters); vide H. in 'Purāṇas

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1414 b. कालिका 192. 2 says विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे तन्त्रे बाहुल्यं सर्वतः पुनः। द्रष्टव्यस्तु सदाचारो द्रष्टव्यास्ते प्रसादतः॥ and then narrates the story of वेताल and भैरव who required a son.

in history of Smṛti' I. C. vol. I. pp. 587–614 and in 'Smṛti chapters of Kūrma' in I. H. Q. vol. XI. pp. 265–286 and P.R.H.R. pp. 57–75; H. holds that it was originally a Pāñcarātra work, but was altered to make it a Pāśupata one. In several passages the Kūrma speaks of God as one (II. 11. 112–115), but divided into two, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmā (in I. 9. 40) or as Viṣṇu and Śiva (in I. 2. 95) or in three (as in I. 10. 77). The Sm. C. I. p. 199 quotes verses from I. 2. 94, 95, 97–99 which allow a person to worship either Viṣṇu with the mantra (Ṛg. I. 22. 20 or X. 90) or Śiva with Rudragāyatrī, Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11) or 'Tryambakam' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12, Tai. S. I. 8. 6. 2.) or with 'Om namaḥ Śivāya'. The Sm. C. quotes from Kūrma about 94 verses on āhnika and 19 on śrāddha. In I. 1. 21–22 it states that there were four saṁhitās of the Purāṇa viz. Brāhmī, Bhāgavatī, Saurī and Vaiṣṇavī and that the present one is the Brāhmī in 6000 verses; the Nāradīya (I. 106. 1–22) furnishes a summary of the other three saṁhitās. Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa 102. 41–42)[1414c] expressly names the Kūrma and quotes a verse from it. Kalpataru (on śrāddha p. 119) quotes two verses from it. Aparārka (pp. 201, 204, 207) quotes three verses from Kūrma (all in relation to fast).

Gaṇeśapurāṇa — Vide H. in JGJRI. vol. 9 pp. 79–99.

Garuḍa — Vide p. 769 above for Ballālasena discarding it; H. in ABORI. vol. 19 pp. 69–79, PRHR pp. 141–145; A. P. Karmarkar on 'Bṛhaspatinītisāra' in Siddha-bhāratī vol. I. pp. 239–240; Dr. L. S. Sternbach in ABORI. vol. 37 pp. 63–110 on 'Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra and Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of Garuḍa-purāṇa'; the Garuḍa is quoted by the Sm. C. II. p. 357 (on Ekādaśī); vide H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 173–175 which show how the Garuḍa either reproduces or summarizes verses from Yāj. I. and III.; chap. 107 of the present Garuḍa gives a summary of the Parāśarasmṛti in 39 verses (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 191). The extant Garuḍa will have to be placed not later than 950 A. D. and not earlier than the 6th century A. D.

Devīpurāṇa—(U.) Vide H. in NIA vol. V. pp. 2–20 (assigning it to the latter half of the 7th century A. D.). Vide p. 769 above

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1414 c. कौर्मं समस्तपापानां नाशनं शिवभक्तिदम्। इदं पद्मं च सुभाषं पुराणज्ञेन भाषितम्। ब्रह्महा मद्यपः स्तेनस्तथैव गुरुतल्पगः। कौर्मं पुराणं श्रुत्वैव शुध्यते पातकात्ततः॥ पद्म (पातालखण्ड 102. 41–42).

for the reasons for which the Dānasāgara refused to utilize[1415] it; it is quoted by Bhujabala-nibandha (about 1040–50 A. D.) on how Saṅkrānti when occurring at different parts of the day affects different people.[1416] Kalpataru quotes Devī-purāṇa in several *kāṇḍas* viz. about 210 verses in Rājadharma (88 verses on fortified capital); 37 verses on worship of Devī on Āśvina śukla 9 with the *bali* of goats and buffaloes, 52 on raising a banner in honour of Devī, 10 verses on gavotsarga on Kārtika-amāvāsyā &c; in Vrata-kāṇḍa about 80 verses (on Durgāṣṭamī, 25 verses on Nandāvrata, 44 verses with a prose passage); 245 verses on *dāna* (such as 28 on Tiladhenu and Ghṛtadhenu pp. 147–151, 56 verses on Vidyādāna pp. 201–207, 98 verses on the construction of *kūpa, vāpī, dīrghikā* &c. pp. 289–299, 27 verses on laying out a park and planting trees pp. 300–303, 10 verses on building a rest-house for ascetics &c. pp. 312–313); in Tīrthakāṇḍa 103 verses (20 verses on śrāddha at a tīrtha without examining character and learning of brāhmaṇas); Niyatakālakāṇḍa quotes 30 verses; Brahmacāri-kāṇḍa quotes only a few; Gṛhasthakāṇḍa quotes 6 verses; Śrāddhakāṇḍa p. 21 quotes only one verse on Maghāśrāddha. Aparārka quotes about 34 verses (3 of which on qualifications of a sthāpaka are interesting, p. 16), as they require that he should possess a knowledge of the Vāma and Dakṣiṇa paths, of the Mātṛ cult, of Pāñcarātra and Śaiva śāstras.

Devībhāgavata (pr. by Venk. Press in 12 skandhas)—Vide H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 pp. 49–79 (tries to prove that it is younger than the Bhāgavata); 'Devi-bhāgavata and Bhāgavata' by Mr. Tadpatrikar in ABORI vol. 23 pp. 559–562; IHQ vol. 27 pp. 191–196 (Mr. Ramchandran says that the relief in Deogarh of Nara-Nārāyaṇa is based on Devībhāgavata IV. 5–10); H. in IHQ vol. 29 pp. 387–392 does not agree with Mr. Ramchandran.

Nandipurāṇa (U). Vide H. on 'Bṛhan-nandikeśvara and Nandikeśvara' in Dr. B. C. Law Presentation vol. part II, pp. 415-419 and in JGJRI vol. II pp. 305–320; Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar in NIA vol. IV. pp. 157–161 on Nandipurāṇa (holds that the original Purāṇa is probably lost, that verses quoted from it by Lakṣmīdhara are almost all on gifts of various kinds).

1415. Vide above p. 328 for Nandāvrata for the mūlamantra and p. 425 of the Vratakāṇḍa (of Kalpataru) for other Śākta mantras.

1416. पूर्वाह्णे पीड्यते राजा मध्याह्ने च द्विजोत्तमाः। अपराह्णे यथा वैश्याः शूद्रास्त्वास्तमिते रवौ॥ हलायुध p. 337 quoting देवीपुराण.

Kalpataru on dāna quotes over 200 verses from it on dāna (of which 140 are on Vidyādāna pp. 207–222, 12 verses on Ārogyadāna, which provide for the establishment of an hospital with a physician knowing the eight aṅgas of āyurveda and provided with drugs &c); Aparārka (pp. 396–403) quotes about 100 verses on vidyadāna agreeing with those in Kalpataru and also quotes (pp 365–366) the same verses on Ārogyadāna; Kalpataru on Niyatakāla quotes 13 verses from this purāṇa advocating total abstention from flesh-eating (p. 323) and abstaining from flesh at least on the 4th, 8th, 12th 14th and 15th tithis, on Ṣaḍaśīti and sun's passage from one rāśi to another &c. (pp. 353–360). As this is one of the four upapurāṇas expressly named by the Matsya, as Alberuni mentions a Nanda-purāṇa which (appears to be the same as Nandi) and as it is largely quoted by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka and Dānasāgara it is one of the earliest Upapurāṇas and may have been composed in the 8th or 9th century A.D.

Narasiṁhapurāṇa (or Nṛsiṁha). This U. has been dealt with above on pp. 878–882. Kalpataru on vrata quotes 29 verses from it (22 on Gaṇeśacaturthī pp. 84–87 almost all of which are found in the current work, chap. 26. 2–20); Kalpataru on Tīrtha quotes 66 verses from it, almost all of which are in chap. 65. 2–31, 66. 1–9, 20–45 of the current work; Kalpataru on Niyatakāla quotes 65 verses almost all of which are found in chap. 58; Kalpataru on Mokṣa quotes 57 verses, which can be traced in chapters 17, 58, 59, 60, 61; the Dānakāṇḍa of Kalpataru quotes 13 verses (found in chap. 30. 27 ff.), and Brahmacārikāṇḍa quotes four verses; Aparārka quotes about 40 verses from Nṛsiṁha, of which 16 concern *yati* (pp. 951, 965 from chap. 60. 12 ff.), 17 verses deal (p. 140) with *arghya* to the Sun (from 58. 91–93) by the employment of the 16 verses of the Puruṣasūkta for nyāsa on the different parts of the body and also the sixteen (from chap. 62. 5–14) upacāras from āvāhana (invoking to come) to visarjana (bidding adieu) in worship, 5 verses on Narasiṁha-pūjā with the mantra 'Om namo Nārāyaṇāya' (63. 3 and 6). Out of 3½ verses on p. 125 dealing with evening *sandhyā* and homa attributed to this Purāṇa two are the same as Dakṣa-smṛti (II. 28–29). Sm. C. quotes 27 verses on Āhnika from Narasiṁha. It appears that both Kalpataru and Aparārka had a much longer version before them than the present purāṇa. It may be noted that Kṣemaka, who was the last king of the Aila-vaṁśa (acc. to Vāyu 99. 432 and others), is described in the Narasiṁha-purāṇa (chap. 23) as the son of Naravāhana and grand-son of the famous ancient couple

Udayana and Vāsavadattā. The extant purāṇa may be assigned to about 9th century A. D.

Nāradapurāṇā—(Veṅk. Press). Vide H. in I. C. vol. III, p. 477-488, PRHR. pp. 127-133 on 'Bṛhan-nāradīya and Nāradīya' and 'Studies &c.' vol. I pp. 309-345. The Bṛhan-nāradīya was published by the Calcutta Asiatic Society and by the Vaṅgavāsi Press in 38 chapters and about 3600 verses. H. holds that the Bṛhan-nāradīya is a purely sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, is wanting in the characteristics of a purāṇa, that the Nāradīya noticed by the Matsya (53. 23 as containing 23000 verses and in which Nārada proclaimed the dharmas of Bṛhatkalpa) and by the Agni (272. 8) is different from the present Nāradīya and that the extant Nāradīya borrows from the Bṛhan-nāradīya (pp. 336-341 of 'Studies &c.' vol. I). The Nāradīya (Veṅk. Press) is divided into two parts, the first in 125 chapters and the 2nd in 82 chapters (and about 5513 verses in all). Out of the 5513 verses of the 2nd part 3400 deal with various tīrthas and most of the remaining are concerned with the story of Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī. The first part deals with several matters such as praise of Viṣṇu and bhakti, Geography of India, story of Sagara, Bhagīratha and Gaṅgā-māhātmya, a few vratas, Varṇa-dharma, Āśramadharma, pātakas, *sadācāra* and śrāddha. Nāradīya I. 9.40 has a verse which echoes a Kirātārjunīya verse[1417] and proclaims that a brāhmaṇa who enters a Bauddha temple even in a great calamity cannot get rid of the sin by hundreds of expiations, since the Bauddhas are heretics and revilers of[1418] Veda. The first part speaks of Vaiṣṇavāgama (37, 4) and Pañcarātra procedure (53. 9). The Sm. C. quotes many verses from the extant Nāradīya on Ekādaśī and the story of Mohinī. One characteristic passage may be quoted here.[1419] Rukmāngada proclaimed that any person more than eight years of age and below 80 years who would eat food on the day of Viṣṇu in his kingdom would be liable to corporal punishment, fine or banishment. Aparārka also (p. 205) quotes two verses about fast on

1417. अविवेको हि सर्वेषामापदां परमं पदम् । नारदीय I. 9. 50; compare 'सहसा विदधीत न क्रियामविवेकः परमापदां पदम्।' किराता० II. 30.

1418. बौद्धालयं विशेत्यस्तु महापद्यपि वै द्विजः। न तस्य निष्कृतिर्दृष्टा प्रायश्चित्तशतैरपि ...बौद्धाः पाखण्डिनः प्रोक्ता यतो वेदविनिन्दकाः॥ नारदीय 1. 15. 50-52.

1419. अष्टवर्षाधिको मर्त्य अशीतिं नाहपूर्यते (?)। यो भुंक्ते नामके राष्ट्रे विष्णोरहनि पापकृत्। स मे वध्यश्च दण्ड्यश्च निर्वास्यो विषयाद्वहिः॥ नारदीयपु० q. in स्मृतिच. II. p. 355; in the printed नारद (उत्तरखण्ड) chap. 23. 41 the words are 'यो न कुर्याद्व्रतो मेत्थ धर्म्यं विष्णुगतिप्रदम्। स मे दण्ड्यश्च वध्यश्च निर्वास्यो विषयाद् ध्रुवम्॥'

Ekādaśī. The above circumstances lead to the conclusion that the present Nāradīya was compiled between 700 and 1000 A. D.

Padmapurāṇa—H. in I. C. vol. IV. pp. 73-95, Mr. M. V. Vaidya in Kane presentation vol. pp. 530-537 (holds that the tīrthayātrā section of Padma is older than the tīrthayātrā section in the Mahābhārata), Dr. Belvalkar in F. W. Thomas Festschrift (pp. 19-28) holds that Padma is based on the Mahābhārata; Prof. Lüders tried to prove that the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga legend in Padma is older than the same legend in the Mahābhārata (vide I. H. Q., vol. XX. p. 209 for Lüder's view); H. in PRHR. (pp. 107-129) states that there are two recensions of the Padma the North Indian and the South Indian, that the former is in five kāṇḍas and the latter in six, that the South Indian recension alone is published in the Ānandāśrama and Veṅk. Press editions, though the arrangement differs in the two editions. H. in PRHR (p. 126) states that the Uttara-kāṇḍa (of the Padma) is later than 900 A. D. and earlier than 1500 A. D. One remarkable fact is that hundreds of verses are common to Matsya and Padma and some writers like Hemādri quote long extracts from the Padma, which others quote from the Matsya. In view of the vast smṛti material in the Matsya and the fact that thousands of verses therefrom are quoted in the medieval nibandhas the present writer is inclined to hold that it is the Padma that is the borrower. There are no materials to assign a definite date for the borrowing, but it is likely that it was before 1000 A. D. Padma (IV. 102. 40-41 and IV. 110. 483) mentions the Kūrma (and a verse is quoted from it) and IV. 5. 32-43 contain such alaṅkāras as Śleṣa and Parisaṅkhyā. The Kalpataru quotes from Padma about 55 verses on vrata, 50 on niyatakāla, 50 on dāna, 12 on tīrtha, only a verse here and there on other kāṇḍas. Aparārka quotes only about 12 verses from it, the Smṛticandrikā only about 25. In the Ānandāśrama edition of Padma there are 48452 verses and 628 chapters. It speaks of the Aśvattha as Bodhisattva (Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 55. 16) and mentions a place called Vanasthala in Gurjaradeśa (II. 51. 36-37).

Brahmapurāṇa—The one printed at the Ānandāśrama appears to be a late compilation. Vide H. on 'Apocryphal Brahmapurāṇa' in I. C. II. pp. 235-245 and PRHR pp. 145-157. H. states that numerous quotations from the Brahma occurring in the works of Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Ballālasena, Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa and Haradatta are not found in the printed Brahma, that the current Brahma borrows chapters from the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya and that the present Brahma

was composed between 10th century and 12th century A. D. H. Otto Schrader states that chapters 236–244 of the present Brahma dealing with Sāṅkhya and Yoga are borrowed from the Mahābhārata (I. C. vol. II. pp. 592–93). The Dānasāgara refers to two Brahmapurāṇas one of which it did not utilize (p. 7 verse 63). The Kalpataru quotes at least about 1500 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa (600 in *niyatakāla* section, 66 on tīrtha, 60 on mokṣa, 78 on rājadharma, 21 on gṛhastha, 20 on vyavahāra, verses 15 on vrata, 15 on brahmacārin of which the editor has traced only 9 in the printed text). The Kalpataru on śrāddha quotes several hundred verses from the Brahma, the number of quotations being larger than the quotations from any other Purāṇa, the next being Vāyu and Matsya. On p. 388 of the śrāddha section the Kalpataru quotes from Brahma-purāṇa a few verses about showing honour to Buddha and Bauddha monks on a certain tithi. The printed Brahma contains 245 chapters and 13783 verses. Chapters 70–175 deal with various tīrthas in 4640 verses, chapters 28 to 69 dilate upon several tirthas such as Koṇāditya, Ekāmra, Avanti, Puruṣottama-tīrtha. The whole purāṇa or at least a section seems to come to an end with chapter 175 and from chapter 176 it is Vāsudevamāhātmya that is set forth up to chap. 213 and the narrator is Vyāsa and not Brahmā as in the chapters up to 175. Many of the verses from chapters 42 onwards are quoted by the Tīrthacintāmaṇi (e. g. chap. 43. 1–13 in T. C. p. 58–59, chap. 45. 52–89 in T. C. pp. 61–64, chap. 49 in T. C. pp. 65–72). As Vācaspati flourished in the latter half of the 15th century A. D. (vide H of Dh. vol. I. p 405), the first part of the present Brahmapurāṇa cannot be placed later than the 13th century A. D. The present Brahma has several verses in common with Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 388 n 870). It is not unlikely that the other Brahmapurāṇa which Ballālasena discarded is the present Brahmapurāṇa and that both Kalpataru and Ballālasena had an older work of the same name before them. The present Brahma was probably compiled in some part through which the Godāvarī (Gautamī) flows in Daṇḍakāraṇya; chap. 88. 18. 123. 117 and 129. 55 state that Daṇḍakāraṇya is the holiest country and that the river Godāvarī flows through it (chap. 129. 62, 66); chap. 88. 22–24 derive Janasthāna on the Gautamī as the sacrificial ground of the kings of the Janaka race.

Brahmavaivarta—A huge work printed by the Ānandāśrama, Poona, in four khaṇḍas (parts) viz. Brahma, Prakṛti,

Gaṇapati and Kṛṣṇajanma. It has some chapters on Dharmaśāstra topics, such as on castes, gifts, vratas, hells, duties of varṇas and āśramas, women. Many of the verses quoted from this Purāṇa in the Sm. C., Hemādri and other writers are not found in the current Purāṇa. Wilson, in the Introduction to the Viṣṇu, says (pp. LXV–LXVII) that it has not the slightest title to be called a Purāṇa. Vide H. in ABORI vol. XIX pp. 75–76 and PRHR pp. 166–167.

Brahmāṇḍa (pub. by Veṅk. Press). It is divided into four pādas (I. 1. 38–39) viz. Prakriyā (5 chapters), Anuṣaṅga (33 chap.), Upodghāta (74 chap.), Upasaṁhāra (4 chap) followed by Lalitopākhyāna in 40 chapters. The Kūrma expressly[1420] states that the Brahmāṇḍa was narrated to the sages engaged in a sattra in the Naimiṣa forest and the Skanda (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa 2. 8-9) states there was formerly only one Purāṇa called Brahmāṇḍa containing one hundred crores of verses and that later it was distributed into 18 parts. It was probably composed near the rise of the Godāvarī, since it says that that part of the country towards the northern ranges of the Sahya mountain where the Godāvarī rises is the most charming in the whole world and that there a city called Govardhana was founded by Rāma.[1421] In the first two parts it deals with the subjects of creation, the geography of the earth and of Bhāratavarṣa, and the manvantaras, pupils of Vyāsa, the distribution of the Veda Śakhās &c. The third section is the longest and after mentioning Vaivasvata Manvantara and, after dilating upon the creation of gods, asuras, gandharvas, sages and their progeny, it deals at length with all aspects of śrāddha (in chap. 9–20 and 879 verses), describes Paraśurāmā's austerities, his securing of weapons, his slaughter of Kārtavīrya and kṣatriyas, filling five lakes with their blood (in chap. 21–47 and over 1550 verses); then follow in chapters 48–57 the story of Sagara and the bringing down of the Ganges by Bhagīratha, the protection of Gokarṇa from the sea, and the story of Śūrpāraka (chap. 57 and 58), the dynasties of the solar and lunar race (chap. 59ff); then it speaks of Dhanvantari receiving from Bhāradvāja Āyurveda in eight aṅgas; in part IV. it refers to Manus, jñāna, karma, mokṣa &c.

1420. अत्र पूर्वं स भगवानृषीणां सत्रमासताम्। स वै प्रोवाच ब्रह्माण्डं पुराणं ब्रह्मभाषितम्॥ कूर्म II. 43. 14.

1421. सह्यस्य चोत्तरान्तेषु यत्र गोदावरी नदी। पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः। तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्। ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 43–44. For गोवर्धन vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 710 n 1618.

The Brahmāṇḍa is one of the oldest of the 18 Purāṇas and has hundreds of verses in common with the Vāyu. Vide above p. 852. The Mit. on Yāj. quotes a verse from the Brahmāṇḍa[1422] stating that a person, on touching Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Lokāyatikas and atheists, persons of the three varṇas following forbidden paths and śūdras, should bathe with the clothes on. Aparārka quotes about 75 verses from it of which 43 are concerned with śrāddha. The Sm. C. quotes about 50 verses on Āhnika and Śrāddha, of which ten occur also in Aparārka The Kalpataru does not quote a single verse from it in the sections on vrata, gṛhastha, tirtha, rājadharma, but quotes 16 verses from it on śrāddha, and 16 on mokṣa, none from Niyata. and from Vyavahāra. If we may judge from some of the matters noted here it cannot be placed as early as the Matsya. In III. 48. 8 and 20 it employs long compounds,[1423] mentions Bhīmasena and Nārada[1424] as writers on music (III. 61. 42–43), contains a chapter (III. 62) on Gāndharva, refers to the opinions of former ācāryas, to 30 alaṅkāras of nāṭya and four purposes of such alaṅkāras (chap. 62, verse 22). It may be placed between the 4th and 6th century A. D. For discussion on Brahmāṇḍa, vide Pargiter in AIHT pp. 23, 77 and H. in PRHR (pp. 17–19). The Brahmāṇḍa is very fond of etymologies; vide for example, those of vaiśya and śūdra (II. 7. 157–158), of deva, manuṣya-prajā, rakṣas and yakṣa (II. 8. 9–10, 20, 34), of Tryambaka and Rudra (II. 9. 3–4 and 78), of rājan (in II. 29. 64), of Vasudhā, Medinī and Pṛthivī (II. 37. 1–3), of Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Pulaha and Pulastya (III. 1. 44–46), of Kubera (III. 8. 44–45).

Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa (U.)—Vide H. in J. of University of Gauhati and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. pp. 115 and 277. It is a work of Bengal of the 13th or 14th century A. D.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa—Accounts of the contents of the Bhaviṣya in Matsya 53. 30–31, Agni 272. 12 and Nāradīya I. 100 do not tally with the printed Bhaviṣya (Veṅk. ed.). It is divided into four *parvans* viz. Brāhma, Madhyama, Pratisarga and Uttara. It is only the Brāhmaparva that can claim an early date. The Pratisarga-parva is a modern fabrication containing stories of

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1422. शैवान् पाशुपतान् स्पृष्ट्वा लोकायतिकनास्तिकान्। विकर्मस्थान् द्विजान् शूद्रान् सवासा जलमाविशेत्॥ मिता० on या. III. 309, स्मृतिच. I. p. 118.

1423. तस्याग्रेसरसैन्ययूथचरणप्रक्षुण्णशैलोच्चयक्षोदापूरितनिम्नभागभवनीपालस्य संयास्यतः। ब्रह्माण्ड III. 48. 8.

1424. Vide नाट्यशास्त्र 32. 484 'गान्धर्वमितत्कथितं मया हि पूर्वं यदुक्तं खिल नारदेन.'

Adam and Eve, Pṛthvīrāja, and Saṁyogitā, the mlecchas of Dehali, Rāmānuja, Kabīr, Naraśrī (Narsi?), Nānak, Caitanya, Nityānanda, Raidās, Madhvācārya, Bhaṭṭoji &c. The Bhaviṣyottara is discarded by Ballālasena as unauthoritative, though it was popular in his day (vide. p. 869 above). Aparārka quotes 160 verses from Bhavisyottara on dānas of various kinds. The Sm. C. (I. p. 203) quotes a single verse from the same. Hence the Bhavisyottara cannot be later than 1000 A.D. The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Bhaviṣya on vratas and many verses in other kāṇḍas, e. g. 55 in brahmacāri, 110 on niyatakāla, 101 on gṛhastha, 100 on rājadharma, 15 on śrāddha. The Mit. quotes[1425] a single verse from Bhaviṣya about donating a golden image of a snake when a man is bitten by a snake. Aparārka quotes about 125 verses from Bhavisya, of which about 90 relate to prāyaścittas.

One remarkable feature of the extracts from Bhaviṣya in Aparārka is that they quote the views of Aṅgiras, Gautama, Parāśara, Manu, Vasiṣṭha and Śaṅkha. There are several passages quoted by Aparārka from the Bhaviṣya which approximately indicate the age of the current Bhaviṣya.[1426] It also refers to eight Vyākaraṇas in I. 1. 59–61 viz. Brāhma, Aindra, Yāmya, Raudra, Vāyavya, Vāruṇa, Sāvitra and Vaiṣṇava. But these are different from the well-known eight grammars (except Aindra). It mentions the foreign words Āra (Mars) and Koṇa (Saturn)[1427] and states these planets are to be worshipped along with Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, the Sun &c. In prescribing a prāyaścitta for killing a person who is merely a brāhmaṇa by caste the Bhaviṣya prescribes (as one of the alternatives) the prāyaścitta prescribed by Parāśara.[1428] Therefore, the extant Bhaviṣya

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1425. सर्पदंशनिमित्तं सौवर्णनागदानं प्रतिकृतिरूपेण भविष्यपुराणे सुमन्तुनाभिहितम्। सुवर्णभारनिष्पन्नं नागं कृत्वा तथैव गाम्। व्यासाय दत्त्वा विधिवत्पितृराक्षण्यमाप्नुयात्॥' इति। मिता० on या. III. 6.

1426. अत एव···स्मृतयः षट्त्रिंशदेवाभिहिताः। मन्वादिस्मृतयो यास्तु षट्त्रिंशत्परिकीर्तिताः। तासां वाक्यानि क्रमशः समासेन ब्रवीमि ते॥ अपरार्क p. 7; इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः। पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः॥. Compare यशस्तिलक I. p. 90 न कैश्चिदैन्द्रजैनेन्द्रचान्द्रापिशलि-पाणिन्याद्यनेकव्याकरणोपदिश्यमान &c.

1427 व्योमकेशं तु सम्पूज्य पार्वतीं भीमजं तथा। कृष्णस्य पितरं तात अर्कमारं सितं तथा। धिषणं क्लेदपुत्रं च कोणं लक्ष्म च भारत। अपरार्क p. 564.

1428. जातिमात्रं यदा हन्याद् ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मणं गुरुः। ···प्रायश्चित्तं तदा कुर्यादिदं पापविशुद्धये। धनं वा जीवनायालं गृहं वा सपरिच्छदम्। यद्वा पराशरोक्तेन प्रायश्चित्तेन शुध्यति। अपरार्क p. 1061, who then sets out ten verses from पराशरस्मृति, all of which except three occur in the पराशरस्मृति chap. XII pp. 50–51 of Jivananda's ed.

cannot be placed earlier than about the 6th or 7th century A. D. Vide H. in I. C. vol. III. pp. 223–229 and PRHR pp. 167–173 for Bhaviṣya and JOI (Baroda) vol. III. pp. 8–27 for Bhaviṣyottara. The Bhaviṣya mentioned in Vāyu (99. 267 tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi· Bhaviṣye paṭhitān nṛpān । tebhyaḥ pare ca ye cānye utpatsyante mahīkṣitaḥ ॥) is not the present one but the ancient Bhaviṣyat mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (vide p. 817 and n 1328 above). The Varāhapurāṇa expressly mentions Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa twice (177. 34 and 51).[1429] The second reference is quite interesting. It appears to say[1429a] that the Purāṇa well-known as Bhaviṣya was revised by Sāmba who then established an image of the Sun.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa. None of the early works such as the Mit., Aparārka, Kalpataru, the Smṛticandrikā draw upon this. The Dānasāgara knew it, but, as the Bhāgavata did not contain a disquisition on dānas, the author passed it over. Its date is very controversial, ranging from the 5th century A.D. to the 10th. Dr. Pusalkar (in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas' 1953, pp. 214–216) brings together most of the papers on this subject; Shri S. S. Sastri in ABORI vol 14 pp. 241–249 on 'the two Bhāgavatas' claims that the Devībhāgavatapurāṇa is earlier than the Bhāgavata, while H. in JOR (Madras) vol. 21 (pp. 48–79) takes the opposite view, viz. that the Devībhāgavata is much younger than the Bhāgavata. In 'Date of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa' by B. N. Krishnamūrti Sharma in ABORI. vol. 14 pp. 182–218 it is argued that the Bhāgavata is as old as the 5th century A. D. and he cites in support certain passages from the Mokṣadharma of the Mahābhārata (Kumbhakonam edition), but the critical edition from Poona treats those passages as apocryphal. Prof. Das-Gupta in the 4th volume of his 'Indian Philosophy' deals with this Purāṇa, but his views are criticized in JBRS vol. 36 pp. 9–50. Vide H. in NIA vol. I. pp. 522–528. The Padma part VI. (chapter 189–194) contains a *Māhātmya* of Bhāgavatapurāṇa in 518

1429. 'भविष्यत्पुराणमिति ख्यातं कृत्वा पुनर्नवम् । साम्बः सूर्यप्रतिष्ठां च कारयामास तत्त्ववित् ॥ वराह 177. 51. The Venk. ed. reads (177. 55) 'भविष्यमिति विख्यातं ख्यातं etc.'.

1429 a. The Varāha mentions (178. 5–7) three temples of the Sun, one to the south of the Yamunā, the 2nd in the middle called Kālapriya and the third to the west at Mūlasthāna (modern Multān). The Bhaviṣya mentions three important places of sun-worship (viz Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravaṇa). I agree with Mr. Dilipkumar Biswas that Muṇḍīra is modern Modhera in North Gujerat (vide p. 30 of summary of Proceedings of 15th Indian History Congress) where there has been a sun temple for about a thousand years.

verses. The author of the Purāṇa is said to be a native of the Tamil country by Mr. M. R. Majumdar in IHQ vol. 8. pp. 49–53. The present writer thinks that it is a late Purāṇa, since even in the Mokṣakāṇḍa (of Kalpataru) it is not cited, while about 300 verses are cited from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in that kāṇḍa alone. Vide note 1604 below. No reliable and cogent evidence has been adduced to prove that the current Bhāgavata can be placed earlier than the 9th century A. D.

Matsyapurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.). It has 291 chapters and 14062 verses. It is one of the ancient Purāṇas and has perhaps the largest number of smṛti chapters among Purāṇas. Many verses of the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata occur in it. Some verses of Yāj. also occur in Matsya e. g. Yāj. I. 295 is Matsya 93. 2, Yāj. II. 279. 295–6 and 303 are the same as Matsya 227. 200, 202–203 and 204. It appears that the Matsya holds the balance between Śiva and Viṣṇu. It glorifies not only Viṣṇu in the Matsya avatāra but devotes 1570 verses to the slaughter of Tārakāsura and 623 to the destruction of Tripura, both by Śiva. The Vāmanapurāṇa (12. 48) speaks of it as the principal among Purāṇas.

The Mit. on Yāj. I. 297 expressly quotes all the nine verses of chap. 94 of the Matsya (about the form of the images of the planets) and two verses from chap. 93 (11–12) about the position to be assigned to each with white grains of rice in a maṇḍala. The Kalpataru quotes hundreds of verses from Matsya on vrata, quotes about 750 on dāna from Matsya (all of which except 20 are identified in the present Matsya by the editor); about 410 on Rājadharmakāṇḍa, 157 verses on tīrtha (of which 100 are identified by the editor in the Matsya), 115 verses in Gṛhastha-kāṇḍa, 112 verses on śrāddha, about 67 on niyatakāla (all except 12 identified), 18 in vyavahārakāṇḍa, 6 in brahmacāri and 2 in mokṣa, in all about 2000 verses. Aparārka quotes about 400 verses from Matsya (about 250 being on dāna). It is not necessary after the preceding statement to go into the large number of verses quoted in Dānasāgara, Smṛti-candrikā and Hemādri. It may be said without fear of contradiction that long before 1000 A. D. the Matsya-purāṇa had the same arrangement and presented almost the same appearance as at present. This is more than what can be said about the other Purāṇas except Viṣṇu, Vāyu, probably Bhaviṣya (I), Mārkaṇḍeya.

In the present author's opinion the Matsya is among the best preserved and the earliest of the 18 Purāṇas. It may be

dated between 200 A. D. to 400 A. D. The author does not wish to deny that a few verses here and there might have been interpolated at a later date.

Vide H. on the dates of the smṛti chapters of Matsya in ABORI vol. 17 pp. 1–36 and PRHR pp. 26–52 and Prof. Ramchandra Dikshitar on 'Matsyapurāṇa, a study' (Madras, 1935, pp. 1–140). Four verses from a Svalpa-matsya-purāṇa are quoted in the Pitṛdayitā (p. 92) of Aniruddha (about 1160 A. D.) and there is a paper thereon by Shri Manoranjana Shastri in J. G. J. R. I. vol. IX pp. 183–188. Matsya and Padma (as stated before) agree verbatim in many chapters on tīrthas and vratas. Śaṅkarācārya quotes a verse from Paurāṇikas which is Matsya.[1430] Among the sages to whom water is offered in *tarpaṇa* are included (by Matsya) Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍhu and Pañcaśikha. The first two and the last are mentioned in the Śāṅkhyakārikā as the three great founders of the Śāṅkhya system. Vararuci is said to be a profound scholar of Nāṭya-veda. In chap. 24 the Purāṇa refers to the fact that the Apsaras Urvaśī and her friend Citralekhā were kidnapped by a demon called Keśin, who was vanquished by Purūravas and Urvaśī was released and was given by Indra to Purūravas. While she was acting the part of Lakṣmī in a drama called Lakṣmī-svayaṁvara composed by Bharata, she, being engrossed in her passion for Purūravas, forgot the proper *abhinaya* taught by Bharata and was cursed by Bharata to be a creeper. It is difficult to say whether the Matsya got its inspiration for this story from the Vikramorvaśīya or whether the great poet Kālidāsa was influenced by the story in the Matsya. The story in Matsya and in Kālidāsa's drama agree very closely as regards names and incidents. The Matsya says (24. 24) that for vanquishing Keśin Purūravas employed Vāyavya-astra. The drama also mentions it (I.).

1430. तथा चाहुः पौराणिकाः । अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत् । प्रकृतिभ्यः परं यच्च तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥ शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 27. This is मत्स्य 113. 6. This verse occurs also in भीष्मपर्व 5. 12 but there the reading is साधयेत् for योजयेत्. Besides, the word पौराणिक (पुराणमधीते इति पौराणिकः acc. to पाणिनि IV. 2. 59) suggests that the ācārya refers to a पुराण and not to the महाभारत. कपिलश्चासुरिश्चैव वोढुः पञ्चशिखस्तथा । सर्वे ते तृप्तिमायान्तु मद्दत्तेनाम्बुनाखिलाः ॥ मत्स्य 102 18 quoted in स्मृतिच. I, 193. The सांख्यकारिका says at the end 'एतत्पवित्रमग्र्यं मुनिरासुरयेऽनुकम्पया प्रददौ । आसुरिरपि पञ्चशिखाय तेन च बहुधा कृतं तन्त्रम् ॥'. दोग्धा वररुचिश्चैव नाट्यवेदस्य पारगः । मत्स्य 10. 25; लक्ष्मीस्वयंवरं नाम भरतेन प्रवर्तितम् । मत्स्य 24. 28.

The only points of difference are : in the drama Lakṣmī-svayaṁvara is said to have been composed by Sarasvatī, while Matsya does not say so. Besides, the Purāṇa says that Urvaśī was cursed by Bharata to be a creeper, while Kālidāsa says nothing of the kind and shows that her being reduced to the condition of a creeper was due to Kumāra (Kārtikeya). The decision depends on the exact dating of the Matsya from other evidence. I am inclined to believe that Kālidāsa was familiar with the episode related in the Matsya. There are scholars who believe that Kālidāsa flourished under Vikramāditya about 57 B. C. The present writer does not subscribe to this belief. There is hardly any reliable or positive evidence to show that a powerful ruler called Vikramāditya ruled Northern and Central India about 57 B. C. The tradition of the nine jewels is of no use and if relied upon would make Vikramāditya rule about the 5th or 6th century A.D., since Amarasiṁha, Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa would be contemporaries. A coin of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (Allen's Catalogue of coins, pp. 35 ff.) has क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः. The present writer believes that the most probable date for Kālidāsa is between 350 to 450 A. D.

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa—There are two editions, viz. B. J. edition (of 1862) and the Veṅk. Press ed. The present author has mainly used the latter for quotations. The two differ slightly as to the number of verses in almost each chapter e. g. there are 270 verses in chap. 8 of B.J. edition and 287 in Veṅk. ed.; chapter 16 of the Veṅk. edition corresponds to chapters 16–18 of the other edition. There are 134 chapters in the Veṅk. edition and 137 in B. J. edition. Pargiter translated into English the Mārkaṇḍeya. In the first 42 chapters (B. J. ed.) Mārkaṇḍeya takes hardly any part, but in the remaining chapters he is the principal speaker. This is a peculiar Purāṇa. The first chapter opens with four questions put by Jaimini to Mārkaṇḍeya about Mahābhārata saga, viz. (1) why nirguṇa Vāsudeva assumed a human form, (2) how Draupadī became the wife of five brothers, (3) Balarāma performed expiation of brahmahatyā by pilgrimage (and not by his own death), (4) how the five unmarried sons of Draupadī, themselves great warriors, met death helplessly although they had the great Pāṇḍava heroes to protect them. Mārkaṇḍeya directs him to go to wise birds in the Vindhya mountain and the answers are given in chapters 4 to 7. One wonders why Jaiminī said to be a pupil of Vyāsa in the Purāṇas did not go to Vyāsa but to Mārkaṇḍeya. A portion of this Purāṇa is called

Devīmāhātmya or Saptaśatī[1431] (chapters 78–90 of Veṅk. ed. and 81–93 of B. J. edition) and is deemed by modern Sanskrit scholars to be an interpolation. But even if it is an interpolation it must have been made before the 10th century, as the oldest known ms. of it is dated 998 A.D. and probably before 600 A. D. The Mārkaṇḍeya has practically no verses on vrata, pilgrimages or śānti, but dilates on the duties of āśramas, on rājadharma, śrāddha, hells, karmavipāka, sadācāra, yoga, (explained by Dattātreya to Alarka), stories of Kārtavīrya, his grandson Kuvalayāśva and of Madālasā, creation, manvantaras, geography &c. It has hardly any sectarian bias; prayers and invocations are few except in the Devīmāhātmya. The present Purāṇa has, as indicated above, three different and disconnected sections viz. chapters 1–42 (Veṅk. ed.), where the wise birds figure as speakers, chapters 43 to end where Mārkaṇḍeya and Kroṣṭuki, a disciple, carry on the discourse, except in Devīmāhātmya, which is the third and an independent section.

The Kalpataru on mokṣa quotes about 120 verses from Mārkaṇḍeya on yoga, almost all of which are found in the printed text. It quotes on brahmacārikāṇḍa 9 verses, 12 on śrāddha, 17 on niyatakāla, 19 on gṛhastha, 3 on rājadharma and one on vyavahāra. Aparārka quotes about 85 verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya of which 42 are on yoga and the rest on śrāddha, giving alms, hospitality, śuddhi &c. The Sm. C. quotes 15 verses from Mārkaṇḍeya on āhnika, 40 verses on śrāddha. Mārkaṇḍeya quotes several verses from Manu and Mahābhārata. Mārkaṇḍeya contains some long drawn out rūpakas as in 3.59–70 (where prajñā is said to be a fort-wall and the soul as king therein) and 35. 8–13 (ahamityaṅkurotpannaḥ &c.). It contains the popular idea that for married women long stay with their relatives (in the family of birth) does not conduce to good reputation and that the desire of her relatives (by blood) is that a married woman should stay in her husband's house.[1432] The Mārkaṇḍeya says that the root of all

1431. Vide above p. 155 note 396 about the Saptaśatī for a description of the Devīmāhātmya, which has only 589 verses (and not 700 as the name implies) in Veṅk. ed. and 573 in B. I. ed. The verse सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये cited above on p. 176 n. 454a (from देवीमाहात्म्य) is quoted in the Dadhimatī-mātā inscription (found in the Jodhpur State) dated 289 of the Gupta era (E. I. vol. XI p. 299 at 303). The inscription being of 608 A. D., it follows that the verse taken from the Devīmāhātmya, is earlier than 600 A.D.

1432. बान्धवेषु चिरं वासो नारीणां न यशस्करः। मनोरथो बान्धवानां नार्या भर्तृगृहे स्थितिः॥ मार्क॰ 74. 19; compare शाकुन्तल V 'सतीमपि ज्ञातिकुलैकसंश्रयां जनोऽन्यथा भर्तृमतीं विशङ्कते।'

unhappiness is the idea that one is the owner, (of this and that) and that bliss comes with the idea 'nothing is mine'.[1433] In chap. 160. 39 it refers to *lagna* and *horā*. It puts forward the doctrine of the Gītā that actions done without any desire for their reward do not tend to become chains binding down a man to saṁsāra. On the other hand, this Purāṇa narrates the story of Datta[1434] or Dattātreye who imparted instruction on yoga to Alarka (from chap. 16 ff), but who is represented as an avatāra of Viṣṇu given to drinking intoxicants, as fond of the company of women, as staying near a water reservoir constructed with wood and stones on the Sahya (16. 132) and is called Avadhūta (17. 3). In chap. 54 it is said (just as in Brahmāṇḍa cited above p. 895) that the country in the north ranges of Sahya and near the Godāvarī is the most charming in the world.

On the whole this is one of the early purāṇas and may be assigned to a date between the 4th to 6th century A. D.

Liṅgapurāṇa (Veṅk. ed.). It has 11000 verses as stated in chap. II. 5. The Kalpataru on tīrtha quotes about one thousand verses from it on Avimuktaka (Banaras) and the sub-tīrthas therein. Aparārka quotes six verses from it on Śivapūjā on the 8th and 14th tithis and bath and śrāddha in eclipses. The Sm. C. quotes a few verses from it on bath in eclipses, Veda study &c. According to the Dānasāgara (p. 7 verse 64) there was another Liṅgapurāṇa of 6000 verses which it had not utilised. Vide H. in I. C. vol. IV. pp. 415–421 and in PRHR pp. 92–96.

Varāhapurāṇa (B. I. edition). It has 217 chapters and 9654 verses, besides a few chapters entirely in prose (such as 81–83, 86–87 and 74 on *bhuvanakośa*) and a few in mixed prose and verse (such as 80, 84, 85, 88, 89). It is a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa and begins with the well-known verse 'Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya' and is supposed to have been narrated to the Earth by Viṣṇu in the

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1433. ममेति मूलं दुःखस्य न ममेति च निर्वृतिः। मार्क० 35. 6; न च बन्धाय तत्कर्म भवत्यनभिसन्धितम्। मार्क० 92. 15.

1434. The story of दत्तात्रेय and of his boons (वर) to कार्तवीर्य occurs in several Purāṇas. Vide मत्स्य 43. 15 ff, ब्रह्म 13. 160 ff. The ब्रह्माण्ड III. 8. 84 quotes a पौराणिकश्लोक 'अत्रेः पुत्रं महात्मानं शान्तात्मानमकल्मषम्। दत्तात्रेयं तनुं विष्णोः पुराणज्ञाः प्रचक्षते ॥'. In the भागवत (I. 3. 52 ff) twenty-two avatāras of विष्णु are mentioned out of which Dattātreya is the 6th who propounded ānvīkṣikī (Adhyātmavidyā) to Alarka and Prahlāda. In the मार्कण्डेय (Veṅk.) 17. 10–13 दत्तात्रेय says 'ये च मां पूजयिष्यन्ति गन्धमाल्यादिभिर्नराः। मांसमद्योपहारैश्च मिश्रान्नैश्चात्मसंमतैः। ...तेषामहं परां तुष्टिं पुत्रदारधनादिकीम्। प्रदास्याम्यवधूतश्च हनिष्यामि यमस्यताम् ॥'.

Boar incarnation. It is remarkable that Vyāsa does not appear in the Purāṇa, though the Sūta figures at the beginning of several chapters (e. g. chap. 1, 2, 39, 50, 127, 137–138, 148, 151, 181, 213). It deals with most of the general topics of Dharmaśāstra such as vrata, tīrtha, dāna, images and their worship, āśauca, śrāddha, karmavipāka, narakas, cosmology and geography, prāyaścitta &c. The Kalpataru quotes 150 verses from it on vrata (most of which are traced by the editor), 40 verses on śrāddha (none of which is traced), 250 verses on tīrtha (many of which are traced), 17 on niyatakāla (half traced), five on dāna (all traced), 4 in gṛhasthakāṇḍa (not traced). One peculiarity is that it mentions some tīrthas like Lohārgala and Stutasvāmī which are not described in other Purāṇas. Aparārka quotes about 55 verses from it on several topics.

The Brahmapurāṇa[1435] refers to a Vārāha text laying down a śrāddha for pitṛs on the Full Moon when the sun is in Virgo. The Bhaviṣyottara also (32. 12) refers to Varāhavacana. For the priority of the Bhaviṣya to Varāha vide above p. 898. Varāha refers to a śaka prince called Nandavardhana (in chap. 122. 34) and verse 56 refers to a śaka king.

Vide H. in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 321–337. It is difficult to assign a date to the Varāhapurāṇa. It is not one of the early Purāṇas. In any event it is earlier than the 10th century A. D.

Vāmanapurāṇa (Veṅk. ed.). It is a short purāṇa as compared with Matsya, Vāyu, Varāha &c. It has 5451 verses in the Veṅk. ed. There is prose in chapters 26, 44 and 93. For its size it contains many legends, such as Śaṅkara cutting off a head of Brahmā, the story of Prahlāda and his grandson Bali and the latter's downfall, the greatness of Devī and her exploits, marriage of Śiva and Umā at the request of gods, the birth of Kārtikeya and explanation of his various names, the story of Daṇḍa who was cursed by Śukra for rape, enmity between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, Gajendramokṣa &c. It briefly deals with many of the usual dharmaśāstra subjects viz. tīrtha, sadācāra, āśramadharma, sāmānyadharma, vrata, karmavipāka &c. The Kalpataru quotes from Vāmana about 88 verses on tīrtha (only some of which have been traced), about 80 verses

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1435. नान्दीमुखानां कर्तव्यं कन्याराशिगते रवौ। पौर्णमास्यां तु कर्तव्यं वाराहवचनं यथा। ...पिण्डमिच्छन्ति पितरः कन्याराशिगते रवौ। कन्यां गते सवितरि यान्यहानि तु षोडश। ऋक्षभिस्तानि तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽब्रवीत्॥ ब्रह्म 220. 44–47 (Ānan. ed.).

on vrata, 14 verses on dāna (which are also quoted by Aparārka p. 364) and 11 verses on niyatakāla.[1436]

The Vāmana-purāṇa mentions Kāmaśāstras in 91. 73 and Maṅgalavāra (Tuesday) in 41. 24. It has been stated above p. 899 that it expressly mentions Matsya as the best among Purāṇas. The story of king Daṇḍa (in 63. 19 ff.) who perished along with the kingdom because he tried to violate Śukra's daughter appears to be an echo from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (I. 6 p. 11 'Dāṇḍakyonāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt brāhmaṇakanyām abhimanyamānaḥ sabandhurāṣṭro vinanāśa.'). It states that the king is called *rājan* because he keeps the subjects contented, just as Kālidāsa says.[1437] It says that Umā was so called because[1438] she was forbidden to practise 'tapas' in the words 'u mā' and that Śiva assumed the form of a Vedic student carrying a staff of Āṣāḍha (Palāśa) and wearing a girdle of Muñja grass. This also appears like an echo of Kumārasambhava V.

The Sm.C. I. p. 168 quotes the two verses in which the Vāmana prescribes that a man after a bath and homa should leave his house (for business &c.) after touching certain objects deemed to be auspicious (noted below).

Taking all these matters into consideration the Vāmana purāṇa would have to be placed between 600 to 900 A. D. Vide H. in IHQ XI. pp. 115–130 and PRHR pp. 76–92.

1436. On p. 358 of the Kalpataru on Niyatakāla three verses are quoted as from Vāmana-purāṇa which the editor was not able to trace. They are three verses from Vāmana 14. 48–51 quoted above on p. 71 note 178. The first of those three verses is quoted from the Vāmana-purāṇa by Bhujabalanibandha p. 343. The last two of the three verses are quoted from Vāmana by Sm. C. p. 125

1437. ततो राजेति शब्दोऽस्य पृथिव्यां रञ्जनाद्गतः। वामन 47. 24; compare 'राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्।' रघु. IV. 12; राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा। रघु. VI. 21.

1438. तपसो वारयामास उ मेत्येवाब्रवीच्च सा। वामन 51. 21; compare उ मेति मात्रा तपसो निषिद्धा पश्चादुमाख्यां सुमुखी जगाम। कुमार० 1. 26; बहुरूपं समाधाय (समास्थाय?) आषाढी मुञ्जमेखली। वामन 51. 45; compare अथाजिनाषाढधरः प्रगल्भवाक्...शरीरबद्धः प्रथनाश्रमो यथा॥ कुमार० V. 30; दूर्वां दधिं सर्पिरथोदकुम्भं वेडुं सवत्सां वृषभं सुवर्णम्। सुवोमयं स्रस्तिकमक्षतानि लाजा मधु ब्राह्मणकन्यकाश्च॥ श्वेतानि पुष्पाणि च शोभनानि हुताशनं चन्दनमर्कबिम्बम्। अश्वत्थवृक्षं च समालभेत ततस्तु कार्यो निजजातिधर्मः॥ वामन 14, 36–37 q. in स्मृतिच. I. p. 168.

Vāyupurāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.). This has 112 chapters and 10991 verses. It appears to have been divided like the Brahmāṇḍa into four pādas, Prakriyā (chap. 1–6), Anuṣaṅga (chap. 7–64), Upodghāta (65–99) and Upasaṁhāra (100–112). In the first chap., the first verse is the famous one 'Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya' and the 2nd eulogises Vyāsa (both these are not found in several mss.). The third verse refers to *bhakti* for Śiva. Chap. 104 is not found in many mss. and the chapters at the end on Gayāmāhātmya are deemed to be later additions by some scholars. There is Śaiva bias in several chapters such as chap. 20. 31–35 (with a prose passage containing Vedic texts), 24. 91–165 (called Śarvastotra), chap. 55 (Śivastuti put in the mouth of Viṣṇu), chap. 101. 215–330. Probably to counterbalance this the chapters on Gayā were added and also the praise of Viṣṇu in chap. 98 where Dattātreya, Vyāsa, Kalkin are said to be avatāras of Viṣṇu, but Buddha is not mentioned. Chapter 99 is the longest one in the Purāṇa, contains 464 verses and is full of legendary material and historical references. There are several verses in the Purāṇa that appear also in the Mahābhārata, Manu and Matsya. For its relation to Brahmāṇḍa vide pp. 852, 896 above. This Purāṇa, like the Matsya, contains much Dharmaśāstra material. It is one of the oldest and most authoritative Purāṇas, though it contains some later additions.

The Vāyu is not quoted in the vrata and niyatakāla sections of the Kalpataru, but it is largely quoted in several other sections. From the Vāyupurāṇa Kalpataru quotes about 160 verses on śrāddha[1439] (of which the editor identified only about 21), about 35 on mokṣa (most traced), 22 on tīrtha, 7 on *dāna*, 5 in brahmacāri and 5 in gṛhastha. Aparārka quotes about 75 verses from Vāyu out of which 60 concern śrāddha and the rest deal with fast, dravyaśuddhi, dāna, sannyāsa and yoga. The Sm. C. quotes only about 24 verses from Vāyu on śrāddha, on atithi, on Agnihotra and fuel-sticks.

The Vāyu makes a passing reference to the Gupta dynasty (vide p. 852 above), it knows the yuga of five years (50. 183),

1439. In spite of great efforts the learned editor of Kalpataru has failed to notice in the Kalpataru several verses on śrāddha, tīrtha and mokṣa. I have succeeded in identifying a few more, viz. Vāyu 75. 24–25 and 45–46 occur in Kalpataru on śrāddha (pp. 216–217). In Kalpataru on śrāddha (p. 168 on Gayā) there are eleven verses quoted from Vāyu left untraced by the editor, which are found in Vāyu 77. 98–103 and 105–109. On p. 300 of gṛhasthakāṇḍa two verses not traced are Vāyu 62. 161–162.

and Meṣa, Tulā (50. 196), Makara and Simha (Jupiter therein) in 82. 41–42. Chapter 87 describes Gītālaṅkāras basing its treatment on the doctrines of pūrvācāryas. Brahmāṇḍa III. 62 is a similar chapter on the same subject and has almost the same verses.

As it refers to the kings of the Gupta dynasty and as Bāṇa refers to it in the Kādambarī and the Harṣacarita, it must be placed between 350 A. D. and 550 A. D. This date is corroborated in several ways. Śaṅkarācarya in his Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtrā II. 1. 1 quotes a verse as from a Purāṇa, which is Vāyu except[1440] for one word. In another place Śaṅkara quotes a verse as smṛti which is found in Vāyu with slight variations. Another verse which is cited as smṛti by Śaṅkarācārya occurs in Vāyu. The Tattvavaiśāradī of Vācaspati on Yogasūtra I. 25 expressly quotes from Vāyu 12. 33 and 10. 65–66.

Vide Prof. Dikshitar on 'Some aspects of the Vāyupurāṇa' (1933, 52 pages, University of Madras); H. in IHQ. vol. 14 pp. 131–139 and PRHR pp. 13–17; Shri D. R. Patil's 'Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa' (1946, Poona, a Ph. D. thesis).

Viṣṇupurāṇa—(Veṅk. Press edition and another published by Messrs. Gopal Narayan and Co. in śaka 1824 with two commentaries, one called Vaiṣṇavakūtacandrikā of Ratnagarbha Bhaṭṭācārya and the other called Viṣṇucitti). The present text is divided into six *aṁśas*, 126 chapters and about 6000 verses. There are many chapters in prose alone such as in 4th aṁśa chapters 7, 8, 9 and many in mixed prose and verse as in aṁśa 4 chap. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12 &c. As stated above this purāṇa agrees with the definition of purāṇa as *pañca-lakṣaṇa* far more than any other purāṇa. This purāṇa is declared to Maitreya by

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1440. अतश्च संक्षेपमिमं ···तवन्ति भूयः ॥ इति पुराणे। शंकराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 1; वायु I. 205 is the same, except that for नारायणः, वायु reads महेश्वरः. Vide p. 825 note 1347 for this verse. This change was probably made by some later redactor on account of the obvious Śaiva bias of the Purāṇa. The previous verse (वायु I. 204) states that महेश्वर is the creator of नारायण. "अथवा-मनो महान् मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्वबुद्धिः ख्यातिरीश्वरः। प्रज्ञा संविच्चितिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥ इति स्मृतेः। शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 1. Vide वायु 4. 27–28 मनो महान्मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्वबुद्धिः ख्यातिरीश्वरः। प्रज्ञा चितिः स्मृतिः संविद्विपुरं चोच्यते बुधैः ॥. One ms. of वायु does read पूर्वबुद्धिः, द्यौर्मूर्धानं यस्य विप्रा वदन्ति खं वै नाभिं चन्द्रसूर्यौ च नेत्रे। दिशः श्रोत्रे विद्धि पादौ क्षितिं च सोऽचिन्त्यात्मा सर्वभूतप्रणेता ॥ इत्येवंजातीयका स्मृतिरिहोदाहर्तव्या। शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 2. 25; compare वायु 9. 120 द्यौर्मूर्धानं···वदन्ति···नेत्रे। दिशः श्रोत्रे चरणौ चास्य भूमिः सोऽ···भूतमूर्तिः ॥

Parāśara (son of Vasiṣṭha), which he received from Sārasvata, who received it from king Purukutsa on the Narmadā, who heard it from Dakṣa and others who learnt it from Brahmā.

Five out of the seven verses of Brahmāṇḍa III. 68. 97–103 are the same as Viṣṇu IV. 10. 23–27 (about what Yayāti said about tṛṣṇā). The same occur in Brahma-purāṇa 12. 40–46. It is likely that all borrow from the Mahābhārata, Ādiparva 75. 44 ff., 85. 9 ff. and Anuśāsana 7. 21 ff. The Mit. on Yājñavalkya III. 6 quotes on Nārāyaṇabali about 14 verses of the Viṣṇu-purāṇa. The Kalpataru on Mokṣa quotes 250 verses from the Viṣṇu (most of which have been identified), 70 on niyatakāla (almost all traced), 21 on brahmacāri, 28 on śrāddha (only one not traced), 21 on tīrtha (all traced), about 45 on gṛhastha-kāṇḍa.[1441] Aparārka cites about 75 verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the Smṛticandrikā about 100. The Kāvyaprakāśa[1441a] (IV.) quotes two verses from this (V. 13. 21–22 about a gopakanyā attaining final release by her thorough unswerving devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa). The Viṣṇupurāṇa teaches in some places the sublime philosophy of *advaita*;[1442] for example, it says 'He who seeks mokṣa should strive for treating all as equal, gods, men, beasts, birds, trees and creeping life are all the form of the Infinite Viṣṇu, though appearing as distinct from each other; one who realizes this should look upon the world as his own self &c.' In another place the Viṣṇupurāṇa[1443] states 'The mind alone is the cause of the bondage of men and their release; mind that is attached to the objects of the senses tends to bondage, but when it is beyond attachment to them, it tends to mokṣa'. It teaches the central doctrine of the Gītā that actions done without an eye to the reward or fruit thereof do not lead to bondage,[1444]

1441. The editor has traced several verses from गृहस्थकाण्ड, but he did not notice that the three verses on pp. 272–273 (about brāhmaṇas having to undergo far more trouble than the śūdra) are Viṣṇu VI. 2. 22–24.

1441 a. The two verses begin 'तदप्राप्ति०' and 'चिन्तयन्ती…'; and are quoted as examples of रसध्वनि based on अतिशयोक्ति by the काव्यप्रकाश.

1442. यतितव्यं समत्वे च निर्वाणमपि चेच्छता। देवा मनुष्याः पशवः पक्षिवृक्षसरीसृपाः। रूपमेतदनन्तस्य विष्णोर्भिन्नमिव स्थितम्॥ एतद्विजानता सर्वं जगत्स्थावरजङ्गमम्। द्रष्टव्यमात्मवद्विष्णुर्यतोऽयं विश्वरूपधृक्॥ विष्णु० I. 19. 46–48.

1443. मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयोः। बन्धाय विषयासङ्गि मुक्त्यै निर्विषयं मनः॥ विष्णु० VI. 7. 28.

1444. मुमुक्षुणा विषयान्कर्म चक्रे चानभिसंहितम्। विष्णु VI. 7. 105; 'तत्कर्म यन्न बन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये।' विष्णु० I. 19. 41.

The date of the Viṣṇupurāṇa is a difficult question. There is no doubt that it is one of the early Purāṇas and that its text is not very much inflated. Hundreds of verses quoted in the three early digests viz. Kalpataru, Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā can be traced in the current text and this leads to the inference that the text has remained fixed for at least a thousand years. One important fact is that in this Purāṇa Vyāsa and the Sūta do not play a prominent part as in many other Purāṇas. It states as some other Purāṇas do, that Vyāsa had four pupils to whom he imparted the four Vedas and a fifth pupil the Sūta Romaharṣaṇa (III. chapters 3–7). But the sūta does not appear anywhere as the narrator of this Purāṇa. In the 4th aṁśa one remarkable matter is the mention of Śākya, Śuddhodana and Rāhula and it is stated that Śuddhodana was 23rd in descent from Bṛhad-bala of the Ikṣvāku line (chap. 22). The possibility of interpolations, particularly in the prose passages, would have to be admitted. Rāśis are referred to in III. 14. 5 (rāśiṣvarke ca gacchati) and the words lagna and horā also appear (in a prose passage). Vācaspati in his commentary on the Yogabhāṣya 2. 32 quotes it by name on *yamas* and *niyamas* (Viṣṇu VI. 7. 36–38) and a half verse 'evam bhadrāsanādīnām' etc., Viṣṇu VI. 7. 49 in com. on Yogabhāṣya III. 49. Vācaspati wrote his Nyāyasūcinibandha in *vatsara* 888 which should be taken as Vikrama year as he was a northerner and as the word 'vatsara' is used (and not śaka) i. e. 841 A. D.

The following may be read on this question. Wilson's Intro. to the translation of the Viṣṇu, vol. I. pp. LIX–LXXIII; H. 'date of Viṣṇupurāṇa' in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 265–275 and PRHR pp. 19–26 (puts if between 100–350 A. D.); Prof. Dikshitar in Pro. of the 13th Indian History Congress pp. 46–50; Jos. Abs in Festgabe Jacobi pp. 386–396 (on heterodox systems mentioned in different Purāṇas including the Viṣṇu). Vide above p. 869 for a Viṣṇupurāṇa of 23000 verses not utilized by the Dānasāgara. It would not be far from the truth to hold that the present Viṣṇu was composed between 300 to 500 A. D.

Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa— Vide pp. 873-876 above for discussion of the date assigned to it by Prof. Hazra. Shri Aśoka Chattarjee read a paper at the A.I.O.Con. at Delhi which has been published in ABORI vol. 38. 305–308, wherein he gives the date of composition of this Purāṇa as between 1250–1325A.D. H. P. Sastri' Cat of Nepal Palm-leaf mss p. LIII says that a ms. of it was copied in

1047 A.D. Bühler in I. A. vol. 19 at p. 407 holds that this Purāṇa as well as the next were canonical acc. to Alberuni's pandits.

Viṣṇudharmottara (U. pub. by Veṅk. Press). It is a huge work and has been dealt with above (pp. 876-878). In spite of its huge size it is not quoted by the Kalpataru on vrata, tīrtha, brahmacāri, gṛhastha, rājadharma, mokṣa and other kāṇḍas. Aparārka quotes only 30 verses from it, of which 24 are on dāna: the Smṛticandrikā quotes about 30 in all and that Dānasāgara quotes profusely from it on dāna. It cannot be earlier than 600 A. D., and cannot be placed later than the 10th century, though parts of it may be later additions. Chapters 52-65 of the first section are called Śaṅkaragītā. The Kālikā Purāṇa expressly refers (in chap. 91. 70 and 92. 2) to the Viṣṇudharmottara as having been concerned with Rājanīti and Sadācāra.

Sāmbapurāṇa (U. pub. by Veṅk. Press). Vide H. in 'Sāmbapurāṇa through the ages' in JASB vol. 18 (1952) pp. 91-111, 'on Sāmba-purāṇa' a śaiva work in ABORI vol. 36 (1955) pp. 62-84 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. pp. 32-108. This purāṇa is hardly ever quoted by early digests such as the Kalpataru, Aparārka or Smṛticandrikā. Only four verses from it are quoted by the Dānasāgara. Prof. Hazra's propositions that the Bhaviṣya (pp. 68-82) and Brahmapurāṇa (present) borrow from the Sāmba are not at all acceptable to the present author, particularly in view of his own admission (in 'Studies &c.' vol. I. p. 68) that the present Sāmbapurāṇa consists of different units belonging to different climes and ages. All that can be said positively is that a purāṇa called Sāmba is mentioned by Alberuni in 1030 A. D. (Sachau I. p. 130).

Śivapurāṇa (a Mahāpurāṇa according to some Purāṇas); Printed by Veṅk. Press in two volumes. Vide H. on 'Problems relating to Śivapurāṇa' in 'Our Heritage' (Calcutta 1953) vol. I. part 1 pp. 46-48. Dr. Pusalkar in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas pp. 31-41 (holds that the printed Vāyu is a genuine Mahāpurāṇa, that the Śivapurāṇa is a late work and is only an Upapurāṇa); the oldest datable reference to it is in Alberuni's work (vide Sachau, vol. 1. p. 131). It is quoted in the Dānasāgara several times, but is not quoted in Kalpataru, Aparārka and Sm. C. It is divided into seven saṁhitās called Vidyeśvara, Rudrasaṁhitā (in five parts called Sṛṣṭi, Satī, Pārvatī,[1444a] Kumāra, Yuddha),

1444 a. उमेति मात्रा तपसे निषिद्धा कालिका च सा। पश्चादुमाख्यां सुमुखी जगाम तुषने तुने ॥ शिवपु० रुद्रसं० पार्वतीखण्ड 8. 17; compare 'उमेति···जगाम' कुमारसम्भव I. 26;

(*Continued on next page*)

Śatarudra, Koṭirudra, Umā, Kailāsa, Vāyavīya (in two parts). It contains about 23000 verses. In Śatarudrasaṁ., chap. 42, the twelve jyotirliṅgas are mentioned, are spoken of as avatāras of Rudra and described; in Koṭirudrasaṁ., chap. 35 one thousand names of Śiva are set out; in Kailāsasaṁ., chap. 5 maṇḍala in pūjā is described; in chap. 7 verses 5–26 various Mudrās and Nyāsas are provided for; in the Rudrasaṁ. section, Pārvati, there is a close resemblance between this purāṇa and the Kumārasaṁbhava as noted below.

Śivadharma. Vide H. in JGJRI vol. X. pp. 1–20; Aparārka p. 274 on Yāj. I. 193 quotes one verse from it which is a paraphrase of Yāj.

Śaura (U.)—Vide H. in N. I. A. vol. VI. pp. 103–111 and 121–129, in B. V. vol. IV. pp. 212–216 and 'Studies &c.' vol. I. p. 348.

Skanda—This is the most extensive of Purāṇas and poses perplexing problems. It is found in two forms, one being divided into seven khaṇḍas, viz. Maheśvara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, the other being divided into six saṁhitās, viz. Sanatkumāra, Sūta, Sāṅkarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Brāhmī and Saura. The Skanda in seven khaṇḍas has been published by the Veṅk. Press and the Sūtāsaṁhitā with the commentary of Mādhavācārya has been published by the Anan. Press, Poona. The extent of the Skanda is variously given as 81000 ślokas, at 100000 ślokas (vide PRHR p. 158), at 86000 (in PRHR p. 159). The god Skanda does not figure prominently in this Purāṇa named after him. The Skanda is named in the Padma V. 59. 2. Skanda I. 2. 6. 79 is almost in the same words as Kirātārjunīya[1445] (II. 30 'sahasā vidadhīta na kriyām'). Skanda, Kāśīkhaṇḍa 24 (8 ff) is full of Śleṣa and Parisaṅkhyā in the style of Bāṇa as in 'yatra kṣa-

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(*Continued from last page*)

वरेषु ये गुणाः प्रोक्ता नारीणां सुखदायकाः। तन्मध्ये हि विरूपाक्षे एकोऽपि न गुणः स्मृतः॥ पार्वतीखण्ड 27. 32. Compare वरेषु यद्बालसुभाषितं···तवास्ति किं व्यस्तमपि त्रिलोचने॥ कुमार० V. 72; न केवलं भवेत्पापं निन्दां कर्तुं शिवस्य हि। यो वै शृणोति तन्निन्दां पापभाक् स भवेद्धि॥ पार्वतीखण्ड 28. 37; compare न केवलं यो महतो···स पापभाक्॥ कुमार० V. 83; अद्यप्रभृति ते दासस्तपोभिः क्रीत एव ते। पार्वतीखण्ड 28. 44; compare कुमार० V. 86. There are several other close parallels, which are not set out for reasons of space.

1445. सहसा न क्रियां कुर्यात्पदमेतन्महापदाम्। विमृश्यकारिणं धीरं वृणते सर्वसम्पदः॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 6. 79.

paṇakā eva dṛśyante maladhāriṇaḥ' (verse 21) or 'vibhramo yatra nārīṣu na vidvatsu ca karhicit' (verse 9). Nāṭyaveda and Arthaśāstras are mentioned in Kāśīkhaṇḍa (Pūrvārdha 7. 4–5), Dhanvantari and Caraka on medicine are mentioned in Kāśīkhaṇḍa (Pūrvārdha 1.71); the word Jhoṭiṅga occurs in Kāśīkhaṇḍa 72. 74 (Jhoṭiṅgā rākṣasāḥ krūrāḥ). Skanda is quoted on topics of Dharmaśāstra in early commentaries and digests. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 290 mentions it in connection with the status of veśyās (courtezans). Kalpataru on vrata quotes only 15 verses from it, Kalpataru on tīrtha (pp. 36–39, 32, 46, 130–135) quotes 92 verses from it, on dāna only 44, on niyatakāla 63 verses, 18 verses on Rājadharma (on Kaumudīmahotsava), only 4 in śrāddhakāṇḍa and 3 in gṛhasthakāṇḍa. Aparārka[1446] quotes only 19 verses from it; one quotation indicates Tāntrik influence (vide note). The Dānasāgara cites 48 verses on dāna from it and the Sm. C. only 23 in all. Considering the colossal figure of ślokas in the Skanda it must be said that it is rather sparingly quoted in the Dharmaśāstra works. A verse in it seems to echo the very words of Kālidāsa and quotes the view of Devala.[1446a] In such a huge work interpolations could easily be made. So it is difficult to assign a definite date to it. A ms. of the Skanda in the Nepal Durbar Library is written in characters which belong to the 7th century A. D. according to Haraprasad Shastri (vide Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf mss. p. LII.)

It would be not far from the truth to say that the Skanda cannot be placed earlier than the 7th century A. D. and not later than 9th century A. D. on the evidence so far available.

1446. स्कन्दपुराण is quoted by अपरार्क p. 295 on या. I. 204 on the gift of a cow. After citing five verses and a half a prose mantra is quoted as follows: ओं ह्रीं नमो भगवति ब्रह्ममातर्विष्णुभगिनि रुद्रदेवते सर्वपापविमोचिनि स्वरूपं स्मर इडे इडाम्ते इल्ये चाम्ब्रे धृतिमति सरस्वति सुश्रुते एह्येहि हुंकर हुंकुरु सर्वलोकमये एह्यागच्छागच्छ स्वाहा। इति वेतुकर्णजपः।'.

1446 a. मरणं प्रकृतिश्चैव जीवितं विकृतिर्यदा। स्कन्द I. 2. 10. 27; compare मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः॥ रघुवंश VIII. 87; त्रीणि ज्योतींषि पुरुष इति वै देवलोऽब्रवीत्। भार्या कर्म च विद्या च संसाराय यतस्तत्रयम्। स्कन्द I. 2. 15. 10.

SECTION V

CHAPTER XXIV

Influence of Purāṇas on Dharmaśāstra

Literary works and society act and re-act on each other. The state of Indian society a few centuries before and after Christ, riven as it was by the growing strength and onslaught of Buddhism, Jainism and other dissenting sects and disturbed by invasions of the Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Hūṇas and other foreign tribes, gave much food for thought to those who were devoted to the Vedic religion and induced them to write works setting forth new ideologies and practices and effecting a re-statement of the ancient Vedic and Smṛti religion. When these works attained a position of authority and eminence, the endeavour of the followers of the Veda was to follow them as far as possible and to adapt their practices and religious rites to the requirements of the Purāṇas. We have to see how the Purāṇas set about their task of re-orientation. We must note that current Hindu religious practices, judging from the *saṅkalpa* made at the beginning of every rite, are meant to confer upon the performer the rewards declared by Śruti (Veda), Smṛti and Purāṇas (Śruti-smṛti-purāṇokta-phalaprāptyartham). The task was two-fold, viz. (1) to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism and Jainism and the influence of the numerous philosophical[1447] schools that had sprung up and (2) to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and to convince them that they could secure in the re-orientated Hindu faith the same benefits, social and spiritual, as Buddhism promised and that the religious principles of the followers of Veda coincided with many of the teachings of Buddhism and were borrowed by Buddhism from Vedic practices. Ultimately Buddhism vanished from the land of its origin. The main causes of this disappearance of Buddhism from Bhārata will be stated at the end of this section, but this much may be said here at once that the Purāṇas played a substantial role in bring-

1447. It is stated in the Mahāvagga (part of Suttanipāta) that there were 63 philosophical schools at the time of Buddha (vide SBE vol. X, part 2 p. 92).

ing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism by emphasizing and assimilating some of the principles and doctrines of Buddha[1448] such as ahiṁsā, by accepting Buddha himself as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, by adopting vegetarianism as a high form of austerity, by making use of monasteries and asceticism as stated in such smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj.

The Purāṇas set about their task by saying that for the proper understanding of the Veda, knowledge of Itihāsa and Purāṇa was essential. A famous verse says[1449] 'one should strengthen the Veda by (the study and application of) Itihāsa and Purāṇa; the Veda is afraid of the person of little learning (with the thought) that he (the man of small learning) may harm it'. Manu states[1450] that those brāhmaṇas that have learnt according to the rules (of Veda study) the Veda together with the works that strengthen it are to be understood as *śiṣṭas* and are instrumental in making (the meaning of) the Veda clearly perceptible. The Vāyu[1451] emphasizes in this connection that that brāhmaṇa who knows the four Vedas together with (the six) ancillary lores and the Upaniṣads would not be a wise man if he did not know Purāṇas. The Upaniṣads drop brief hints about the creation of *ākāśa* from the one *brahma* (in Tai. Up. II. 1), of *tejas* (Chān. Up. VI. 2. 3), of waters (Chān. Up. VI. 2. 4). The Purāṇas explain at great length the creation and dissolution of the elements (in the order reverse of that of creation) e g. Vāyu 4. 17 ff, Brahma 1-3, Agni 17, Brahmāṇḍa II. 3 ff, Kūrma I. 2, 4, 7, 8 &c. The stories of Hariścandra and

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1448. Pargiter (in 'Puarāṇa texts of the Dynasties of the Kali age' p. XVIII footnote) thinks that it was largely through the Paurāṇika Literature that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism.

1449. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्। बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति॥ आदिपर्व I. 267-268, वायु 1. 201, पद्म V. 2. 51-52, ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 171, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 27. 6, लघुव्यासस्मृति II. 86, बृद्धात्रि chap. 3 p. 50 in Jivananda's edition (reads प्रतरिष्यति). The स्मृतिच. (I. p. 3) ascribes this verse to बृहस्पति. The प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व p. 511 quotes it from वसिष्ठ. The कूर्म I. 2. 19 reads 'इतिहास-पुराणाभ्यां वेदार्थान्नुपबृंहयेत्'. रामानुज in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र (p. 72 B. S. S.) quotes this verse and reads प्रतरिष्यति.

1450. धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु वेदः सपरिबृंहणः। ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः॥ मनु XII. 109.

1451. यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः। न चेत्पुराणं संविद्याज्जैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः॥ वायु I. 200, स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड 2. 93, पद्म V. 2. 50-51 (reads the second half as 'पुराणं च विजानाति यः स तस्माद्विचक्षणः।'. ब्रह्माण्ड I. 1. 170 has the first half.

Naciketas that occur in the Ait. Br. and the Kaṭhopaniṣad are explained at length in Brahmapurāṇa (chap. 104 and 150 about Hariścandra), in Sabhāparva chap. 12 (for Hariścandra) and in Anuśāsana chap. 91 (for Naciketas). The famous dialogue of Yama and Yamī (Ṛg. X. 10) is expanded in the Narasiṁha-purāṇa (chap. 13. 6–36). The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1452] (IV. 6. 34 ff) sets out the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, refers to the hymn in the Ṛg. X. 95 for that story and quotes the first verse of the hymn in a somewhat corrupt form.

But the claims of the extant Purāṇas go far beyond the above viz. as strengtheners of the Veda. The Kūrma[1453] states: '(put) on one side all the Purāṇas together with Itihāsa (Mahā-bhārata) and on another the highest Veda; it is this (Purāṇas) that surpasses (the other viz. Veda)'. The Mahābhārata also makes a similar claim. The Purāṇas appear to claim priority (and even equality) with the Veda. In note 1349 passages from the Matsya and other Purāṇas have been cited, stating that Brahmā first thought of the Purāṇas before all other śāstras and then the Vedas sprang forth from his lips. Several Purāṇas are spoken of as equal to the Veda (Vedasammita) as in[1454] Vāyu I. 11, 4. 12, Brahma 1. 29, 245. 4 and 21, Viṣṇu I. 1. 13, VI. 8. 12, Padma VI. 282. 116. Further, several Purāṇas claim to have been delivered by some God such as Brahmā (Brahmapurāṇa I. 30) or by the Wind-god (Vāyu I. 196)[1455] or by the avatāras of Viṣṇu as in the case of Matsya-purāṇa (I. 26) or Varāha (2. 1–3). The japa of Vedic texts was deemed to destroy all sins as shown in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 45–50. The Purāṇas also say that reading the Purāṇas or listening to a recitation of them

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1452. विष्णुपुराण IV. 6. 64 in prose runs: ततश्चोन्मत्तरूपो जाये हे तिष्ठ मनसि घोरे तिष्ठ वचसि कपटिके तिष्ठेत्येवमनेकप्रकारं सूक्तमवोचत्। Compare ऋग्वेद X. 95. 1 'हये जाये मनसा तिष्ठ घोरे वचांसि मिश्रा कृणवावहै नु'.

1453. एकतस्तु पुराणानि सेतिहासानि ... रिच्यते ॥ कूर्म II. 46.129 (q. in note 1402 above). एकतश्चतुरो वेदा भारतं चैतदेकतः। पुरा किल सुरैः सर्वैः समेत्य तुलया धृतम्। चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदेभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा। तदाप्रभृति लोकेस्मिन्महाभारतमुच्यते। आदिपर्व 1. 271–273.

1454. पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मोक्तं वेदसंमितम्। वायु 1. 11; गुरुं प्रणम्य वक्ष्यामि पुराणं वेदसंमितम्। ब्रह्म 1. 29; पुराणं नारदोपाख्यमेतद्वेदार्थसंमितम्। नारदीय I. 1. 36.

1455. Vāyu (103. 58–66) narrates how from Brahmā the purāṇa came to Vāyu and how through a succession of about 30 teachers it came down to Dvaipāyana and lastly to Sūta.

would destroy all sins.[1456] Vide Vāyu 103. 58, Brahma 175. 89–90, Matsya 290. 20, 291. 29 and 31, Viṣṇu VI. 8. 3, 12. Some of the Purāṇas indulge in extravagant praise of themselves, e. g. the Varāha-purāṇa (217. 12–13, 217. 15–16) states that reading ten chapters of that Purāṇa confers the merit secured by the performance of Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices. Vide Brahma 254. 34–35, Agni 384. 13–30, Devī-Bhāgavata XII. 13. 11–17 in a similar strain. Moreover, the Purāṇas dwell upon the superior value and efficacy, as compared with the Vedic sacrifices, of some of the institutions on which they lay emphasis, such as pilgrimages,[1457] vratas, *bhakti*. The Padma states (I. 38. 2 and 18) that by merely going to Gayā or by taking a bath in the Phalgu river one secures the reward that the performance of Aśvamedha confers. The Skanda proclaims[1458] 'I have no use for sacrificial rites that are declared by the Veda, that have no life in them, that are within the domain of ignorance and that entail injury (to animals). If (a sacrifice) is performed with such inanimate things as fuel-sticks, flowers and kuśa grass, the result must be similar (inanimate), since the effect is like the cause'. Vide Śāntiparva 337 for a story on the discussion between sages and gods about offering in sacrifices merely products of grains or goat-flesh. Offerings of flesh in sacrifices to gods were made in the Ṛgvedic period. But even in the Ṛgveda there are a few verses that indicate that offerings of ghee and fuel-sticks were declared to be able to win the favour of gods as much as animal sacrifices might do. 'Whoever[1459] offers to (or worships) Agni with a fuel-stick or with an oblation of ghee or

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1456. सर्वपापहरं पुण्यं पवित्रं च यशस्वि च। ब्रह्मा ददौ शास्त्रमिदं पुराणं मातरिश्वने॥ वायु 103. 58; पुराणसंहिता चेयं तव भूप मयोदिता। सर्वपापहरा नित्यमारोग्यश्रीफलप्रदा॥ मत्स्य 290. 20; पुराणं वैष्णवं चैतत्सर्वकिल्बिषनाशनम्। विशिष्टं सर्वशास्त्रेभ्यः पुरुषार्थोपपादकम्॥ एतत्ते यन्मयाख्यातं पुराणं वेदसंमतम् (संमितम्?)। श्रुतेऽस्मिन् सर्वदोषोत्थाः पापराशीः प्रणश्यति॥ विष्णु. VI. 1. 8. 3 and 12.

1457. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 561–564 for superiority of tīrthas to solemn Vedic sacrifices and pp. 43–45 above for the eulogy of *vratas*. The efficacy of *bhakti* (loving faith in God) will be dealt with later on in this section.

1458. अविद्यान्तर्गतैर्यज्ञकर्मभिर्न प्रयोजनम्। मम हिंसात्मकैरस्ति निगमोक्तैरचेतनैः॥ समित्पुष्पकुशाद्यैः साधनैर्यश्चेतनैः। क्रियते तत्तथा भावि कार्यं कारणवन्मृणाम्॥ स्कन्द I. 2. 13. 59–60.

1459. यः समिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये। यो नमसा स्वध्वरः॥ तस्येदर्वन्तो रंहयन्त आशवस्तस्य घृष्णितमं यशः। न तमंहो देवकृतं कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृतं नशत्॥ ऋ. VIII. 19. 5–6.

with (the study of) the Veda or who performs a good sacrifice with prostrations, for him alone run fleet horses and his is most brilliant fame; and no evil whether brought about by gods or by men might reach him from any side'. Another mantra[1460] says 'O Agni! we bring to you an offering accompanied by a ṛkmantra fashioned (or produced) by our heart. May those mantras be oxen, bulls and cows from you'.

The Purāṇas only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in some of the Upaniṣads. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad[1461] says: 'one should know two vidyās (lores), *parā* (the higher) and *aparā* (the lower); the latter comprehends the four Vedas and Phonetics, aphorisms about solemn sacrifices, grammar, Nirukta (derivation of words), metres, astronomy; while the highest lore is that whereby the Imperishable (Reality) is known'. The same Upaniṣad condemns aparā-vidyā when it says 'These sacrifices are infirm (leaky) boats constituted by eighteen (persons) depending on which are declared actions that are inferior; those foolish people who welcome these actions as the highest good become subject again to old age and death'. The Kaṭhopaniṣad[1462] states that what are known as *avidyā* and *vidyā* are far apart from each other, are contradictory and lead to different results. When Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and requested the latter to teach him, the latter said to him 'tell me what you know and then I shall tell you what is beyond that.' Then Nārada stated that he knew all the four Vedas, Itihāsa-purāṇa the fifth Veda and several other lores, whereupon Sanat-kumāra told him that the four Vedas and the other lores he had learned were merely a name and then he led Nārada gradually to the understanding of the Highest Self. The Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10 condemns him, who worships a deity thinking he is different from the *devatā*, that he does not know the truth, that he is like a (sacrificial) animal to the gods. Similarly, in

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1460. आ ते अग्न ऋचा हविर्हृदा तष्टं भरामसि । ते ते भवन्त्वुक्षण ऋषभासो वशा उत ॥ ऋ. VI. 16. 47.

1461. द्वे विद्ये वेदितव्ये इति ह स्म यद् ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति परा चैवापरा च । तत्रापरा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदः शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं छन्दो ज्योतिषमिति । अथ परा यया तदक्षरमधिगम्यते ॥ मुण्डकोप० I. 1. 4–5; प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म । एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मूढा जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापियन्ति ॥ मुण्डकोप० I. 2. 7. The 18 are the 16 priests, the sacrificer and his wife. In his भाष्य on Vedāntasūtra I. 2. 21 Śaṅkarācārya holds that this verse is part of the condemnation of *aparā vidyā*.

1462. दूरमेते विपरीते विषूची अविद्या या च विद्येति ज्ञाता । कठोप. I. 2. 4.

several passages of the Upaniṣads austerities, liberality, straightforwardness, ahiṁsā and truthfulness are put forward as equal to or superior to the actual performance of the ceremonial of sacrifice (*yajna*); vide Chāndogya III. 17. 4, Praśna I. 15, Muṇḍaka I. 2. 11.

Though in a few passages of the Upaniṣads the knowledge of the Highest Self is put higher than the four Vedas, the Upaniṣads generally treat the Vedas as authoritative and quote Vedic verses in support of their statements. For example, the Ait. Up. II. 5 quotes Ṛgveda IV. 27. 1 (taduktam-ṛṣiṇā-Garbhe nu &c.), Praśnop. I. 11 quotes Ṛg. I. 164. 12 (pañcapādam pitaram), Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 15, 17 and 19 quote respectively Ṛg. I. 116. 12, I. 117. 22, VI. 47. 18 (rūpam rūpam pratirūpo). The Upaniṣads further emphasize[1463] that brahmavidyā is to be imparted only to those who are *śrotriya* (who have studied the Veda), who engage in their duties and who have properly performed Śirovrata. The Bṛ.[1464] Up. shows that Veda study, sacrifices, charity &c. are preparations for the knowledge of *brahma*: 'Brāhmaṇas (and others) desire to know this (great Self) by study of the Veda, by sacrifices, gifts, *tapas*, fasting'. These passages make it clear that study of the Veda and performance of sacrifices enjoined by it are accepted by the Upaniṣads as preparatory and as cleansing the mind of its lower passions and as making a person worthy of receiving the knowledge of the highest truth about the One Supreme Spirit and that the Upaniṣads do not altogether condemn and give up the Vedas and sacrifices.

The Purāṇas adopt, in spite of the claims made by them here and there about their priority to the Vedas, about their own value and efficacy, the same attitude towards the Veda as the Upaniṣads do. They treat the Vedas as authoritative and enjoin

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1463. तदेतदृचाभ्युक्तम् । क्रियावन्तः श्रोत्रिया ब्रह्मनिष्ठाः स्वयं जुह्वत एकर्षिं श्रद्धयन्तः । तेषामेवैतां ब्रह्मविद्यां वदेत शिरोव्रतं विधिवद्यैस्तु चीर्णम् ॥ मुण्डकोप० III 2. 10. शिरोव्रत is carrying fire on the head (according to Ātharvaṇa rules). The देवीभागवत (XI. 9. 12-13) remarks 'अग्निरित्यादिभिर्मन्त्रैः षड्भिः शुद्धेन भस्मना । सर्वाङ्गोद्धूलनं कुर्यात् शिरोव्रतसमाह्वयम् ॥ ...यावद्विद्योदयस्तावत्तस्य विद्या खलूत्तमा ॥'. The six अथर्वशिरस् mantras are : अग्निरिति भस्म, वायुरिति भस्म, जलमिति भस्म, स्थलमिति भस्म, व्योमेति भस्म, सर्वं ह वा इदं भस्म'.

1464. तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22; vide गीता 18. 5 यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् । यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥.

the employment of Vedic mantras in many rites. The author contributed a paper to the Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation volume pp. 5–8 on the 'Vedic mantras and legends employed in Purāṇas' citing illustrations from the Brahmapurāṇa. A few illustrations from other Purāṇas may be set out here. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 93) when describing the procedure of the *homa* to the nine planets prescribes nine Vedic mantras, five of which are different from those provided by Yāj. (I. 300–301). Vide p. 750 above for a comparative table of the two sets of mantras. In the Udvāhatattva[1465] Raghunandana remarks that the mantras 'ā kṛṣṇena' and others are common to persons following the four Vedas and that Bhavadevabhaṭṭa held the same view. Matsya prescribes that when inauspicious birds (like an owl) or animals cry near a house or enter it, a homa should be performed, or five brāhmaṇas should engage in a *japa*[1466] of the hymn beginning with 'Devāḥ kapota' (Ṛg. X. 165. 1–5). In describing the whole procedure of the establishment of images of gods or the *liṅga* (of Śiva), the Matsya (chapter 265) prescribes numerous Vedic verses and hymns for the different parts of the ceremony. For example, for bringing about the purification of the image four mantras are prescribed viz. Ṛg. VII. 49. 1-3 and X. 9.1; in providing for the placing of a jar full of water near the head of the bed on which the image is to be placed, two mantras 'Āpo devī' (Vāj. S. 12. 35, Tai. S. IV. 2. 32) and 'āpo asmān mātaraḥ' (Ṛg. X. 17. 10) are to be recited. Matsya (265. 24–29) prescribes for the japa of several *sūktas* (hymns) by four door-keepers learned in the Vedas that are to stand in the four main directions. The Agnipurāṇa (41. 6–8) providing for the laying down of baked bricks or stones in building a temple prescribes the recital of many Vedic mantras, viz. Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3, Ṛg. X. 9. 4, Ṛg. IX. 58. 1–4, Pāvamānī verses (either Ṛg. IX. 1. 1–10 or verses from Ṛg. IX), Ṛg. I. 24. 15, Ṛg. IV. 31. 1, Vāj. S. IV. 36 (Varuṇasya), Ṛg. IV. 40. 5 and the Śrīsūkta (of 29 verses

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1465. गृहहोमे तु आ कृष्णेनेत्यादिमन्त्राः सर्ववेदसाधारणाः पुराणोक्तत्वात्। तथा च मत्स्यपुराणम्। आ कृष्णेनेति सूर्याय होमः कार्यो द्विजन्मना। ...केतुं कृण्वन्निति कुर्यात् केतूनामुपशान्तये॥ अत एव भवदेवभट्टेनापि तथा लिखितम्॥ उद्वाहतत्त्व (Jiv. II. p. 126). The मत्स्यपुराण verses quoted are 93, 33–37. The mantras are taken from the Ṛgveda, Tai. S., Vāj. S. What रघुनन्दन emphasizes is that whatever Veda may be studied by a man and his family, he has to employ the mantras specified by Matsya when he performs a *grahahoma*.

1466. सूनपक्षिविकारेषु कुर्याद्धोमं सदक्षिणम्। देवाः कपोत इति वा जप्तव्याः पञ्चभिर्द्विजैः॥ मत्स्य 237. 13.

beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇām hariṇīm'). The Nāradīya-purāṇa (II. 73. 83-90) contains at end of each of the verses parts of vedic prayer, which occur in Ṛg. VII. 66. 16, Tai. Ār. IV. 4. 2-5 and Vāj. S. 36. 24; Bhāgavata I. 2. 21 (*bhidyate* &c.) is taken from Muṇḍaka Up. II. 2. 8.

The Purāṇas not only prescribe Vedic mantras for various purposes, but suggest the employment of numerous Paurāṇika mantras. It appears that Paurāṇika mantras came to be employed along with Vedic mantras in religious rites even of Brāhmaṇas at the beginning of the Christian era or within a few centuries after Christ. Yāj. I. 229 prescribes that the Viśve Devas should be invited to come to a śrāddha with the ṛk, 'O Viśve-Devas! Come, listen to this my call, sit down on these *kuśas*' (Ṛg. II. 41. 13). On this the Mitākṣarā (about 1100 A. D.) remarks that along with the Vedic *mantra* mentioned by Yāj. a smārta mantra should also be employed viz. the mantra[1467] 'āgacchantu mahābhāgā,' which occurs in Skanda and Garuḍa-purāṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 440 note 984 for the ascription of this verse to various authorities. The Vāyupurāṇa[1468] prescribes that the mantra 'adoration to the *devatās*, to *pitṛs*, to the great Yogins, to *svadhā* and *svāhā*; they are always present' should be recited thrice at the beginning and at the end of śrāddha and at the time of offering *piṇḍas*; the pitṛs quickly come when the mantra is repeated and goblins run away; this mantra protects the pitṛs in all three worlds'. This mantra is styled 'Saptārcis' (having seven flames) in Vāyu 74. 20, Brahmāṇḍa III. 11. 30 and in Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 68 and by Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1079 and 1208, who notes that it occurs in seven Purāṇas. In chap. 206 of the Agni in the procedure of offering *arghya* to the star Agastya (Canopus) Ṛg. I. 179. 6 has been adopted as verse 13.

1467. The मन्त्र is: आगच्छन्तु महाभागा विश्वेदेवा महाबलाः। ये यत्र विहिताः श्राद्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते॥. This is गरुडपुराण I. 218. 7, but q. by अपरार्क on p. 478 from बृहस्पति and on p. 481 from ब्रह्मपुराण.

1468. The mantra is: देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च। नमः स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत॥ वायु 74. 15-16. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 458-459 note 1020 for all the verses in relation to this mantra and the purāṇas where they occur. In the printed ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17-18 the मन्त्र is देवताभ्यः...एव च। नमः स्वाहायै स्वधायै नित्यमेव भवत्युत. Some read नित्यमेव नमो नमः. The मिता. on या. I. 121 says that this mantra should be employed by śūdras in all the five daily sacrifices according to some, while others said that the śūdra was only to utter the word नमः.

Not only are mantras from Vedic Saṁhitās prescribed by the Purāṇas for certain rites, but Upaniṣad passages also sometimes with slight variance are bodily transferred into some of the Purāṇas. For example, Kūrma II. 9.12, 13 and 18 embody Tai. Up. II. 4 (yato vāco nivartante), Śvetāśvataropa. III. 8 (vedāham-etam puruṣam) and VI. 11 'eko devaḥ'. The Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 5. 65 is 'dve vidye veditavye iti cātharvaṇī śrutiḥ' and contains a passage of the Muṇḍaka Up. I.1.4 (vide note 1461 above). The Vāyu 20. 5 (praṇavo dhanuḥ) and 20. 28 (Ajāmekām) are respectively Muṇḍakopa. II, 2. 4 and Śvetāśvatara-up. IV. 5. Vāyu 14. 13 (sarvataḥ pāṇipādāntam) is almost the same as Śvetāśvatara Up. III. 16 and Vāmana 47. 64–65 has the same verse. Vāmana 47. 67 is almost the same as Ṛg. I. 10. 1.

This gives rise to interesting questions. The śūdras had no right to study the Veda. But as a matter of fact the Purāṇas contain as exemplified above a good many Vedic mantras. It is stated in the Bhāgavata[1468a] 'women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas in name only are beyond the pale of the three Vedas; therefore the sage (Vyāsa) composed through compassion for them the Bhārata tale'. The Devībhāgavata states 'study of the Veda

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1468 a. स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा। ...तस्माद्भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम्॥ भागवत I. 4. 25 q. by परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 37, which remarks 'वेदकार्यकारित्वावगमाद्भारतस्य वेदकार्यात्मज्ञानकारित्वसिद्धिः'. स्त्रीशूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां न वेदश्रवणं मतम्। तेषामेव हितार्थाय पुराणानि कृतानि च। देवीभागवत I. 3. 21. शङ्कराचार्य is careful to point out on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 38 that śūdras have no *adhikāra* for brahmavidyā based on the study of the Veda. But he does not deny to the śūdras the knowledge of the Self altogether. He refers to the instances of Vidura and Dharmavyādha that were possessed of the knowledge of *brahma* due to the effects of their former lives, states that they would secure the result of brahmajñāna (viz. mokṣa, final liberation from *saṁsāra*), that śūdras have the right to learn from the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas as stated in 'he should read to the four varṇas' and that in that way they might secure knowledge of brahma and mokṣa. "येषां पुनः पूर्वकृतसंस्कारवशाद्विदुरधर्मव्याधप्रभृतीनां ज्ञानोत्पत्तिस्तेषां न शक्यते फलप्राप्तिः प्रतिषेद्धुं ज्ञानस्यैकान्तिकफलत्वात्। 'श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्' इति चेतिहासपुराणाधिगमे चातुर्वर्ण्यस्याधिकारस्मरणात्। वेदपूर्वकस्तु नास्त्यधिकारः शूद्राणामिति स्थितम्॥ भाष्य on वे. सू. I. 3. 38. On वे. सू. III, 4. 36 शङ्कराचार्य refers to the woman वाचक्नवी as one who had the knowledge of brahma 'ऐक-वाचक्नवी-प्रभृतीनामेवंभूतानामपि ब्रह्मविज्ञानश्रुत्युपलब्धेः'. गार्गी वाचक्नवी figures as a great seeker after *brahma* in the Bṛ. Up. III. 6. 1, III. 8. 1 and 12. The महाभारत says that what it dilates upon as to the पुरुषार्थs, धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष, is found elsewhere and that what it does not contain on those subjects can be found nowhere else and that the Mahābhārata should be listened to by him who desires mokṣa, by brāhmaṇas, kings and pregnant women (Svargārohaṇaparva 5. 50–51).

is not accepted for women, śūdras and brāhmaṇas in name only and Purāṇas are compiled for the purpose of benefitting them'. From this it follows that in the case of śūdras the listening to the Bhārata was deemed to bring about the same results that the Veda does for *dvijas* and that even the śūdra may acquire the knowledge of the Self (and mokṣa) from the Bhārata.

Though the brāhmaṇas in the 5th and following centuries A. D. wanted to placate the śūdras who were probably a majority of the whole people and to wean them away from Buddhism, they still kept a distinction between *dvijas* and *śūdras* and the only concessions made were that the śūdras could worship in the same way as dvijas did and that they could have mantras (Paurāṇika) in their rites and ceremonies. For example, in allowing *bhasma-snāna* (smearing ashes on the body) the Padma (IV. 110. 236–289) provides Vedic mantras for men of the three varṇas but Paurāṇika mantras only (Padma IV. 110. 290–293) for śūdras. The Padma[1469] further provides that śūdras could not perform prāṇāyāma or utter the sacred syllable 'om' but that they should substitute *dhyāna* in place of prāṇāyāma and 'Śiva' in place of 'om'.

Gradually in some matters the procedure provided in the Purāṇas came to supersede the ancient Vedic procedure prescribed for them. Aparārka states (on p. 14) that in Devapūjā one should follow the procedure prescribed in the Narasiṁhapurāṇa[1470] and the like and not the procedure of the Pāśupatas or Pāñcarātras and (on p. 15) he says the same about the consecration of temples,[1471] images and the like.

The Narasiṁhapurāṇa (chap. 63. 5–6) says that the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' enables one to secure all objects and *japa* of it frees a man from all sins and leads him to absorption into Viṣṇu.[1472]

1469. प्राणायामश्च प्रणवः स्त्रीशूद्रेषु न विधीयते। प्राणायामपदे ध्यानं शिवेत्योङ्कारवर्णनम्॥ पद्म IV. 110. 316.

1470. नरसिंहपु० chap. 62 deals with the procedure of विष्णुपूजा.

1471. एवं प्रतिष्ठायामपि पुराणाद्युक्तैवेतिकर्तव्यता ग्राह्या नान्या। तेषामेव स्मार्ताधर्म-प्रमाणत्वेन भविष्यपुराणे परिज्ञातत्वात्। अपरार्क p. 15.

1472. किं तस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैः किं तस्य बहुभिर्व्रतैः। ओं नमो नारायणेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थ-साधकः॥ इमं मन्त्रं जपेद्यस्तु शुचिर्भूत्वा समाहितः। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो विष्णुसायुज्यमाप्नुयात्॥ नरसिंहपु० 63. 6–7; किं तस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्भक्तिर्यस्य जनार्दने। नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थ-साधकः। विष्णुर्येषां जयस्तेषां कुतस्तेषां पराजयः। येषामिन्दीवरश्यामो हृदयस्थो जनार्दनः॥ वामनपु० 94. 58–59; the मत्स्य says 'ओं नमो नारायणेति मूलमन्त्र उदाहृतः।'.

The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 218) describes the procedure of the king's coronation and (chapter 219) sets out the Paurāṇika mantras (about 70) employed at the coronation. Similarly, the Viṣṇudharmottara (II. 21) describes the procedure of coronation with Vedic mantras and (in II. 22) with 184 Paurāṇika verses invoking various gods, minor deities, sages, rivers &c. Medieval digests like the Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 49–83), Nītimayūkha (pp. 1–4), Rājadharmakaustubha (pp. 318-363) describe the combined coronation procedure of Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras from the Visnu-dharmottara (vide pp. 78–79 of the H. of Dh. vol. III. for details). The Rājanītiprakāśa (pp. 430–433) prescribes numerous mantras derived from the Viṣṇudharmottara as prayers and as blessings.

The Padmapurāṇa[1473] narrates the interesting story of a person called Dhanaśarmā whose father followed only the Vedic path (śrauta-mārga), who did not engage in such Paurāṇika prescriptions as Vaiśākhasnāna and who therefore became a horrible and distressed *preta*. Some of the verses are very interesting. 'I performed in my ignorance only Vedic rites and I never observed *Vaiśākhasnāna* in honour of God Mādhava (Visnu), nor observed a single Vaiśākha *Full Moon* vrata which is like an axe for cutting the tree of sins that afflicts one like a conflagration fed by the fuel of sinful deeds &c.; to one who studies many śāstras and several Vedas with their extensive ancillary Literature, learning does not come, if he has not studied Purāṇas'. This shows what importance came to be attached to Purāṇas not only for śūdras but even for brāhmaṇas who performed the Vedic rites prescribed for them.

The influence of the Purāṇas went on increasing gradually. At first it was said[1474] that the dharma understood from the Veda was the highest, while the dharma declared in the Purāṇas

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1473. मया केवलमेवैकश्रौतमार्गानुसारिणा । उद्दिश्य माधवं देवं न स्नातं मासि माधवे ॥ वैदिकं केवलं कर्म कृतमज्ञानतो मया । पापेन्धनदवज्वालापापद्रुमकुठारिका ॥ कृता नैकापि वैशाखी विधिना वत्स पूर्णिमा । अव्रता यस्य वैशाखी सोऽवैशाखो भवेन्नरः । दश जन्मानि च स तत्तिर्यग्योनिषु जायते ॥ पद्म IV. 94. 68. 88–90; बहुशास्त्रं समभ्यस्य बहून्वेदान् सविस्तरान् । पुंसोऽश्रुतपुराणस्य न सम्यग्याति दर्शनम् ॥ पद्म IV. 105. 13.

1474. अतः स परमो धर्मो यो वेदादधिगम्यते । अवरः स तु विज्ञेयो यः पुराणादिषु स्मृतः ॥ व्यास q. by अपरार्क p. 9, हे. on व्रत I. p. 22, परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 29. The कृ. र. p. 39 reads 'अपरः स तु विज्ञेयो'. It may be noted that while अपरार्क read अवरः (inferior), the कृ. र. (about two centuries later than अपरार्क) reads अपरः (another).

and the like was *inferior*. | This gradually changed and dharma was said to be of three kinds, Vaidika, Tāntrika and Miśra and it was said in the Bhāgavata[1475] and the Padma that one may worship god Viṣṇu in any one of the three ways that one desired. The Padma adds that the Vaidika and Miśraka methods are declared to be proper for brāhmaṇas and the like, while the Tāntrika method of worship is meant for a devotee of Viṣṇu and also for śūdras. The Devībhāgavata (XI. 1. 21–23) states that Śruti (Veda) and Smṛti are the eyes of dharma and Purāṇa its heart, and that that is dharma which is declared by these three and that *dharma* can be found nowhere else than in these, that in Purāṇas sometimes what is found in Tantras is put forward as dharma, but one should not accept that.

The Bhavisya (Brāhmaparva I. 43–47) in a dialogue between Śatānīka and Sumantu) first enumerates the 18 dharma-śāstras from Manu to Atri, states that the Vedas, the śāstras of Manu and others and the aṅgas are promulgated for the three varṇas and not for the benefit of śūdras, that śūdras appear to be very much helpless; how can they be able to secure the four *puruṣārthas?* They are devoid of āgama (traditional lore); what traditional lore was declared for them by the wise among the brāhmaṇas for enabling them to secure the three viz. dharma, artha and kāma? Sumantu replies:[1476] listen to the Dharma-śāstras that were declared by wise men for the benefit of all four varṇas and specially for śūdras viz. the 18 Purāṇas, the life of Rāma of the Raghu race (i. e. the Rāmāyaṇa) and the Bhārata

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1475. वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्र इति मे त्रिविधो मखः। त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैव विधिना मां समर्चयेत् ॥ भागवत XI. 27. 7, q. by नित्याचारपद्धति p. 510; पद्म (IV. 90. 3–4) reads वैदिक···श्रीविष्णोस्त्रिविधो मखः। त्रयाणामुदितेनैव विधिना हरिमर्चयेत् ॥ वैदिको मिश्रको वापि विप्रादीनामुदाहृतः। तान्त्रिको विष्णुभक्तस्य शूद्रस्यापि प्रकीर्तितः ॥. Vide अग्निपु० 372. 34 for almost the same words as in भागवत. Compare बृद्धहारीतस्मृति 11. 77 'श्रौत-स्मार्तागमैर्विष्णोस्त्रिविधं पूजनं स्मृतम्। एतच्छ्रौतं ततः स्मार्तं पौरुषेण च यत्स्मृतम् ॥'.

1476. चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां यानि प्रोक्तानि श्रेयसे। धर्मशास्त्राणि राजेन्द्र शृणु तानि नृपोत्तम ॥ विशेषतश्च शूद्राणां पावनानि मनीषिभिः ॥ अष्टादश पुराणानि चरितं राघवस्य च। रामस्य कुरुशार्दूल धर्मकामार्थसिद्धये। तथोक्तं भारतं वीर पाराशर्येण धीमता। वेदार्थं सकलं योज्य धर्मशास्त्राणि च प्रभो। कृपालुना कृतं शास्त्रं चतुर्णामिह श्रेयसे। वर्णानां भवमग्नानां कृतं पोतो ह्यनुत्तमम्। भविष्य, ब्राह्मपर्व 1. 53–57; आ. त्रि. की. p. 66 quotes the verses अष्टादश···धीमता. The भागवत also says that the whole meaning of the Veda was put forward under the name Bhārata, in which even women and śūdras find what *dharma* is: 'भारतव्यपदेशेन ह्याम्नायार्थश्च दर्शितः। दृश्यते यत्र धर्मादि स्त्रीशूद्रादिभिरप्युत ॥ भागवत I. 4. 29. Vide above p. 870 and note 1408 about the lack of antiquity in the case of this passage from Bhavisya (Brāhmaparva).

declared by Parāśara's son (Vyāsa); the compassionate Vyāsa composed a śāstra for the benefit of all four varṇas in which he comprehended the entire meaning of the Veda and the Dharmaśāstras; it is an unparalleled boat for all that are engulfed in *saṁsāra*. This makes it clear that the Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa embody pristine traditions and thoughts and were deemed to have been composed as the instruments of the education and enlightenment of the common people. As a matter of fact we find that some Purāṇas like Agni, Matsya, Viṣṇudharmottara are encyclopaedic and include treatises on politics and government, on law, medicine, astronomy, astrology, poetry, music, sculpture &c. They illustrate India's life and character as a country and exemplify Bhārata's achievements, weaknesses and shortcomings. Two questions that arise are: (1) could the Purāṇas including the Vedic mantras quoted therein be read by the śūdras themselves; (2) supposing that Vedic mantras could not be read by the śūdras, could they, if they were able to do so, by themselves read the purāṇas without a brāhmaṇa's help. All writers of digests and commentaries were agreed that śūdras could not read or listen to the Vedic mantras contained in the Purāṇas (which being meant for the benefit of all varṇas contained Vedic mantras also), but only those that belonged to the three upper classes. Some writers, however, were agreeable to śūdras reciting Paurāṇika mantras in religious rites, relying on a passage of the Padmapurāṇa. But others like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of the Nirṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara, held relying on verses of the Bhaviṣya that Paurāṇika mantras alone were to be used by a brāhmaṇa in a religious rite for a śūdra, that the śūdra was only to listen to the reading of a purāṇa by a brāhmaṇa reader. There was a third view held by Śrīdatta and others that a śūdra could recite a paurāṇika mantra, but he should not himself read the Purāṇas and should only listen to the reading of Purāṇas by a brāhmaṇa. In the times of the Dharmasūtras the only mantras employed were mostly Vedic and therefore in the case of śūdras Gautama[1477] provided that the śūdras were allowed the alternative of saying 'namaḥ' in place of a Vedic mantra. In the centuries preceding Christ the śūdras would naturally have been attracted to Buddha's teaching as it was addressed to all including śūdras. Comparatively early orthodox writers like

1477. अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । गौ. X. 66; compare the quotation from the Padma in note 1469 p. 922.

Kumārila knew that the śūdras formed the largest number of professed Buddhists when he says[1478] 'the dicta of Śākya and others were all opposed, except a few relating to self-restraint, charity and the like, to all the fourteen sources of learning, were promulgated by Buddha and others that had strayed from the path of the three Vedas and did acts contrary (to the Veda) and that those dicta were presented by them to those who were deluded, who were outside the pale of the three Vedas, who mostly comprised the 4th varṇa (i. e. śūdra) and those that had lost caste'. Therefore, the learned brāhmaṇas who wanted to wean sections of the masses (including śūdras) away from Buddhist teachings composed new Paurāṇika mantras by the thousand and employed them in all religious rites like śrāddhas, vratas &c. It was, therefore, that earlier *nibandha* writers like Śrīdatta were prepared to allow śūdras to recite Paurāṇika[1479] mantras. But when centuries had elapsed after Buddhism had disappeared from India, orthodox brāhmaṇa writers like Kamalākara[1480] (who wrote his N. S. in 1612 A. D.) showed a stiffer attitude by confining śūdras merely to the listening to Purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa and by not allowing them even to recite a Paurāṇika mantra. It may be noted that the Narasiṁhapurāṇa in laying down the duties of śūdras provides that they should listen to the reading of purāṇas by a brāhmaṇa

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1478. शाक्यादिवचनानि तु कतिपयदमदानादिवचनवर्जं सर्वाण्येव समस्तचतुर्दशविद्यास्थानविरुद्धानि त्रयीमार्गव्युत्थितविरुद्धाचरणैश्च बुद्धादिभिः प्रणीतानि । त्रयीबाह्येभ्यश्चतुर्थवर्णनिरवसितप्रायेभ्यो व्यामूढेभ्यः समर्पितानीति न वेदमूलत्वेन सम्भाव्यन्ते। तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 3. 4 p. 195 (Ānan). The 14 विद्यास्थानs are numerated in या. I. 3 quoted above and in भविष्य (ब्राह्मपर्व 2. 6). Four more विद्यास्थानs are sometimes added, viz आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चैव ते त्रयः । अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं तु विद्या ह्यष्टादशैव ताः ॥ भविष्य (ब्राह्म) 2. 7 and विष्णुपु० III. 6. 28. This verse and अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारः (विष्णु III. 6. 27) are quoted by कल्पतरु (ब्रह्मचारि० p. 2) and by हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 18 and कृ. र. p. 27. For निरवसित meaning बहिष्कृत, vide पाणिनि 'शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम्' II. 4. 10 and the महाभाष्य thereon.

1479. अत्र केचित् । वैदिकमन्त्रो विप्रस्य पौराणस्तु शूद्रैः पठनीयः – न हि वेदेष्वधिकारः क्वचिच्छूद्रस्य दृश्यते । पुराणेष्वधिकारो मे दर्शितो ब्राह्मणैरिह – इति तत्रैव पाद्मोक्तेरित्याहुः । गौडा अप्येवम् । नि. सि. p. 392.

1480. अध्येतव्यं ब्राह्मणेन वैश्येन क्षत्रियेण च । श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन । श्रौतं स्मार्तं च यो धर्मं प्रोक्तमस्मिन्नृपोत्तम । तस्माच्छूद्रैर्विना विप्रं न श्रोतव्यं कदाचनेति तत्रैव पुराणाधिकारे भविष्योक्तेश्च । ···तेन पौराणमन्त्राणामेव द्विजेन पाठो न वैदिकानामिति सिद्धम् । नि. सि. p. 392. The printed भविष्य (ब्राह्म) 1. 72–74 are अध्येतव्यं न चान्येन ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियं विना । श्रोतव्यमेव शूद्रेण नाध्येतव्यं कदाचन । ···श्रौतं स्मार्त···कदाचन ॥ These are q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. p. 76. पुराणश्रवणं विप्राद्वरसिंहस्य पूजनम् । नरसिंहपुराण 58. 13.

(reader) and should worship Narasiṁha (*avatāra* of Viṣṇu). The relation of Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas and their spheres of application are summed up in the Nāradīyapurāṇa as follows:— "The Veda exists in different forms; there is the Veda which has the performance of sacrificial rites (as its sphere); smṛtis are the Veda for the householder's stage; both those are centered in (or supported by) the Purāṇas. Just as this wonderful world sprang from the ancient Being (God), there is no doubt that all this literature arose from the Purāṇas. I hold that the meaning (or purpose) of the Purāṇas is more extensive (or superior to) than the meaning (or purpose) of the Veda. All the Vedas always rest on the Purāṇas; the Veda is afraid of the man of little learning (with the thought that) that man may harm it. The Veda does not deal with the movements of the planets, nor does it contain correct calculations about the proper times (for religious acts), nor does it deal with the *tithivṛddhi* or *tithikṣaya*, nor with the determination of the *parvans* (amāvāsyā, pūrṇimā &c.) or eclipses. Determinations about these were formerly made in Itihāsa and Purāṇas. What is not seen in the Vedas is all noticed in the Smṛtis; what is not seen in both is declared in the Purāṇas. What is declared by the Vedas and what is declared by the auxiliary lores—it is Veda that is declared by Smṛtis and Purāṇas. The person who looks upon Purāṇas in any other light would be born as a lower animal'.[1481] The Nāradīyapurāṇa[1482] further states 'the merit acquired by those wicked men who speak about Purāṇas as *arthavādas* (mere laudatory[1483] or condemnatory statements) are destroyed and

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1481. शृणु मोहिनि महाक्यं वेदोयं बहुधा स्थितः। यज्ञकर्मक्रिया वेदः स्मृतिर्वेदो गृहाश्रमे॥ स्मृतिर्वेदः क्रियावेदः पुराणेषु प्रतिष्ठितः। पुराणपुरुषाज्जातं यथेदं जगदद्भुतम्॥ तथेदं वाङ्मयं जातं पुराणेभ्यो न संशयः। वेदार्थादधिकं मन्ये पुराणार्थं धराजने॥ वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः सर्वे पुराणेष्वेव सर्वदा। विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति॥ न वेदे ग्रहसञ्चारो न सृष्टिः कालबोधिनी। तिथिवृद्धिः क्षयो वापि पर्वग्रहविनिर्णयः॥ इतिहासपुराणेषु निश्चयोयं कृतः पुरा। यच्च दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तत्सर्वं लक्ष्यते स्मृतौ॥ उभयोर्यत्र दृष्टं हि तत्पुराणैः प्रणीयते। ...यद्वेदैर्गीयते सम्यगुपाङ्गैर्यत्प्रगीयते॥ पुराणैः स्मृतिभिश्चैव वेद एव निगद्यते। पुराणमन्यथा मत्वा तिर्यग्योनिमवाप्नुयात्॥ नारदीयपुराण II. 24. 15–24. Some of these verses (such as वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः ...मामयं चालयिष्यति and यत्र दृष्टं...गीयते) occur in स्कन्द, प्रभासखण्ड, 2. 90–92.

1482. पुराणेष्वर्थवादत्वं ये वदन्ति नराधमाः। तैरर्जितानि पुण्यानि क्षयं यान्ति द्विजोत्तमाः। समस्तकर्मनिर्मूलसाधनानि नराधमाः। पुराणान्यर्थवादेन (पुराणान्यर्थवादेन?) दुष्कृत् नरकमश्नुते॥ नारदीय I. 1. 57–59.

1483. The great अर्थवादाधिकरण is जै. I. 2. 1–18. There are Vedic passages like 'सोऽरोदीद्यदरोदीत्तद्रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वम्' (तै. सं. I. 5. 1. 1), 'स आत्मनो यथाशुदक्षिणदत्' (तै. सं. II. 1. 1), 'देवा वै देवयजनमभ्यवसाय विष्णो न प्राजानन्' (तै. सं.

(Continued on next page)

the wicked man who regards as *arthavādas* the Purāṇas that are the means of uprooting (the evil effects of) all acts, reaches Hell'.

The Purāṇas introduced several striking changes in the religious rites, practices and ideals of the people. The most characteristic thought and the keynote of the Purāṇas is to declare how great rewards and results could be secured with little effort. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (VI. 2) narrates how sages approached Vyāsa with the question 'in what age does a little *dharma* yield very great rewards'? Vyāsa was bathing in the Ganges; he came out, uttered 'śūdra is good and Kali is good' and then again plunged into the river; then he again came out and said 'well done, O śūdra! you are blessed'; he again plunged into the river, came out and said 'women are good and blessed; who is more blessed than they'. When he finished his bath and performed his morning rites, the sages asked him to explain what he meant by calling Kali, śūdras and women good and blessed. He replied: 'a man secures in a single day and night in Kali age as much reward of *tapas*, celibacy and *japa* as is obtained in ten years in Kṛta age, in one year in Tretā and in a month in Dvāpara; therefore, I spoke of Kali as good; in Kali age a man secures merely by the glorification or incessant repetition of the name of Keśava what he would secure by deep meditation in Kṛta, by sacrifices in Tretā, and by worship in Dvāpara; I am pleased with Kali because a man secures great eminence of dharma with a little effort. Persons of the three higher varṇas have to study the Vedas after observing many strict rules, then they have to perform sacrifices which require wealth; they incur sin if they do not perform their duties properly; they cannot eat and drink as they please, but are dependent on the observance of many rules as to food &c.; dvijas secure higher worlds after great trouble; the śūdra secures his worlds by serving the three varṇas, he has the right to offer the *pākayajñas* (without mantras) and therefore he is more blessed than a dvija. He has not to observe strict rules about proper and disallowed food or drink and therefore he was

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VI. 1. 5. 1), 'तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते' (तै. सं. V. 3. 12. 2), 'न पृथिव्यामग्निश्चेतव्यो नान्तरिक्षे न दिवि। तै. सं. V. 2. 7. The question is: are these passages to be taken literally or do they convey any meaning? The reply is: 'विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात् स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः' (जै. I. 2. 7) i. e. they are laudatory and are meant to praise vidhis.

declared 'good' by me. A woman by serving her husband in thought, word, and deed secures with less trouble the same worlds that her husband secures with great effort and trouble and therefore I said a third time about women that they were blessed. The acquistion of *dharma* is secured with small trouble in Kali age by men who wash off all their sins by the water in the form of the qualities of their soul; śūdras do the same by being intent on service to dvijas and women also secure the same without trouble by service to their husbands. Therefore all these three are regarded by me as most blessed.'[1484] The Brahmapurāna chapter 229 verses 62–80 are identical with Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 2. 15–30 and 34–36. The Viṣṇupurāṇa emphasizes that each one must do one's duty in the society in which one is born or one's duty which one has undertaken, that, if a person does this, he reaches the same higher worlds, whether he be a brāhmana or a śūdra. This doctrine is the same as taught in the Bhagavadgītā[1485] 18. 45 and 46 'a person secures the highest perfection (final emancipation) by being intent on carrying out the duties appropriate to him; man secures perfection (or bliss) by worshipping with the performance of his peculiar duties (not with flowers and the like or by words) Him from whom all beings proceed and by whom all this (world) is enveloped'. Ancient works like the Vedas, Jaimini's sūtras on Mīmāṁsā and the Vedāntasutras did not consider or discuss how women or śūdras were to secure higher spiritual life and final Beatitude. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 3. 34–38) denies to the śūdra the right to study the Veda and the Upaniṣads. Buddha's teaching held out the same promise of liberation from suffering

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1484. Some of the verses are striking and they are therefore quoted here: ध्यायन्कृते यजन्यज्ञैस्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽर्चयन्। यदाप्नोति तदाप्नोति कलौ संकीर्त्य केशवम्॥ धर्मोत्कर्षमतीवात्र प्राप्नोति पुरुषः कलौ। अल्पायासेन धर्मज्ञास्तेन तुष्टोस्म्यहं कलेः॥ ···जयन्ति ते निजाँल्लोकान् क्लेशेन महता द्विजाः॥ द्विजशुश्रूषयैवैष पाकयज्ञाधिकारवान्। निजाल्लभति वै लोकान् शूद्रो धन्यतरस्ततः॥ भक्ष्याभक्ष्येषु नास्यास्ति पेयापेयेषु वै यतः। नियमो मुनिशार्दूलास्तेनासौ साधितीरितः। ···योषिच्छुश्रूषणाद्भर्तुः कर्मणा मनसा गिरा। तद्धिता शुभमाप्नोति तत्सालोक्यं यतो द्विजाः॥ नातिक्लेशेन महता तानेव पुरुषो यथा। तृतीयं श्रूयतां तेन मया साध्विति योषितः॥ ···स्वल्पेन हि प्रयत्नेन धर्मः सिध्यति वै कलौ। नरैरात्मगुणाम्भोभिः क्षालिताखिलकिल्बिषैः॥ शूद्रैश्च द्विजशुश्रूषा तत्परैर्द्विजसत्तमाः। तथा स्त्रीभिरनायासात् पतिशुश्रूषयैव हि। ततश्चितयमप्येतन्मम धन्यतरं मतम्। धर्मशम्पादने क्लेशो द्विजातीनां कृताविव॥ विष्णुपु॰ VI. 2. 17–18, 22–24, 28–28, 34–36. The कल्पतरु (गृहस्थकाण्ड pp. 272–273) quotes from विष्णु VI. 3. 22–24 पारतन्त्र्य···रितः (तम् v. l.). The editor of कल्पतरु was unable to trace these.

1485. स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः। ···यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम्। स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः॥ भगवद्गीता 18. 45–46.

to all men irrespective of class or caste and was therefore most attractive to śūdras. The Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas changed the whole outlook of Indian society, high or low, and promised the same higher spiritual life or worlds to all who did their work under a sense of social duty, did not hanker after mundane rewards and brought all their actions, in whatever avocation they might be engaged, as an offering to God. In the Padmapurāṇa[1486] Vyāsa is made to say to Yudhiṣṭhira: "It is not possible to observe in the Kali age the rules of Dharma laid down by Manu and by the Vedas; the one thing which one should do is to observe a fast on Ekādaśī in both fortnights (of a month), which is an easy means (that) requires little wealth, that entails little trouble, but yields great rewards, that is the very essence (of the teachings) of all Purāṇas; he should be pure and on Dvādaśī after worshipping Keśava with flowers he should first feed brāhmaṇas and then himself take his meal; those who desire to secure heaven should perform this vrata throughout their lives; even persons of evil conduct, the greatest sinners devoid of dharma, do not go to Yama (do not fall into hell) if they fast on Ekādaśī." The Sūtasaṁhitā states 'effort for acquiring true knowledge (of the Self) is meant for all (for persons even lower than śūdras), that effort made by explaining in a different language (than Sanskrit) and by the lapse of enough time will tend to the good (of the lowest)'. This clearly shows how the Purāṇas put before all people easy ways whereby they could attain bliss in the Hereafter.

The Baud.[1487] Dh. S., Manu and Vasiṣṭha emphasize that one should not invite a large company of brāhmaṇas at a śrāddha, because a large company destroys these five (advantages) viz. showing proper respect to invitees, propriety of place and time, cleanliness and the securing of worthy brāhmaṇas and

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1486. व्यास उवाच। श्रुता ये मानवा धर्मा वैदिकाश्च श्रुतास्त्वया। कलौ युगे न शक्यन्ते ते वै कर्तुं नराधिप॥ सुखोपायमल्पधनमल्पक्लेशं महाफलम्। पुराणानां च सर्वेषां सारभूतं महामते॥ एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत पक्षयोरुभयोरपि। द्वादश्यां तु शुचिर्भूत्वा पुष्पैः संपूज्य केशवम्॥ भुञ्जीत कृतकृत्यस्तु पश्चाद्विप्रपुरःसरम्। ...यावज्जीवं व्रतमिदं कर्तव्यं पुरुषर्षभ। स्वर्गार्ति प्राप्तुमिच्छद्भिरन्न मे नास्ति संशयः॥ अपि पापकृताचाराः पापिष्ठा धर्मवर्जिताः। एकादश्यां न भुञ्जन्ति न ते यान्ति यमान्तिकम्॥ पद्म VI. 53. 4-9. These verses are quoted as from महाभारत by हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 1089. Vide p 44 note 108 above for some of these verses; अन्येषामपि सर्वेषां ज्ञानाभ्यासो विधीयते। भाषान्तरेण कालेन तेषां सोप्युपकारकः॥ सूतसंहिता I. 7. 22.

1487. सत्क्रियां देशकालौ च शौचं ब्राह्मणसम्पदः। पञ्चैतान् विस्तरो हन्ति तस्माज्जह्येत विस्तरम्॥ मनु III. 26, कूर्मपुराण II. 22. 27, बौ. ध. सू. II. 4. 30, वसिष्ठ XI. 28 (the last two read the 4th pāda as 'तस्मात्तं परिवर्जयेत्').

It was further provided by the Anuśāsana-parva[1488] and others that one should not go deep into examining the learning, family and character of brāhmaṇas in a rite for the gods, but in rites for the Manes close examination as to these matters is proper (or justified). The Purānas went against both these prescriptions. They are not tired of recommending again and again profuse expense in śrāddhas and condemning stinginess (lit. roguishness in spending money) in śrāddhas and also in such other matters as the observances of Ekādaśī. For example, the Viṣṇupurāna[1489] quotes nine verses (III. 14. 22–30) as uttered by the pitṛs, two of which may be translated here 'Would that a wise and blessed person be born in our family who not indulging in stinginess in spending wealth will offer pindas to us and who would donate to brāhmanas for our sake jewels, clothes, a large conveyance, wealth and all enjoyments if he has riches'! Padma[1490] recommends that avoiding stinginess brings pleasure to the *pitṛs*. The Matsya (56. 11) prescribes that one should not show stinginess in the Kṛsnāstamīvrata. The Padma says that that bad man who being possessed of wealth celebrates the *jāgara* on Ekādaśī in a close-fisted way loses his soul. The Brahmapurāna[1491] says in a general way that whoever does a religious act with stinginess is a sinner.

Manu (III. 149) provides that 'in rites in honour of gods one who knows dharma should not critically examine the brāhmanas to be invited for dinner, but in a rite for ancestors one should carefully investigate (the fitness of) brāhmanas'. This does not mean that in rites for gods any one may be invited. We have to observe the general rule of Manu (III. 128) that donors should give only to a man who has studied the Veda

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1488. ब्राह्मणान्न परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये तु न्याय्यमाहुः परीक्षणम् ॥ अनुशासन 90. 2; q. by हे. on श्राद्ध p 511; दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । प्रयत्नात्पित्र्ये परीक्षेत । विष्णुधर्मसू. 82. 1–2; न ब्राह्मणान् परीक्षेत सदा देये तु मानवः । दैवे कर्मणि पित्र्ये च श्रूयते वै परीक्षणम् । वायु 83. 51.

1489. अपि धन्यः कुले जायादस्माकं मतिमाक्षरः । अकुर्वन् वित्तशाठ्यं यः पिण्डान्नो निर्वपिष्यति ॥ रत्नं वस्त्रं महायानं सर्वभोगादिकं वसु । विभवे सति विप्रेभ्यो योऽस्मानुद्दिश्य दास्यति ॥ विष्णु. III. 14. 22–23, वराह 13. 50–51 (reads सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु). All the following seven verses are the same in both पुराणs. Verses III. 14. 24–30 are q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. pp. 253–254 and are also explained.

1490. वित्तशाठ्येन रहितः पितृभ्यः प्रीतिमाहरत् । पद्म I. 9. 181; धनवान् वित्तशाठ्येन यः करोति प्रजागरम् । तेनात्मा हारितो नूनं कितवेन दुरात्मना ॥ पद्म VI. 39. 21.

1491. वित्तशाठ्येन यो धर्मं करोति स तु पातकी । ब्रह्म 123. 174.

dinner in rites for gods or pitṛs. So what Manu III. 149 means is that deep investigation of ancestry &c. is not necessary in rites for gods.

It is provided by the Vāyu[1492] that there is to be no examination of the qualities and character of the brāhmaṇas at Gayā and the Varāhapurāṇa provides that all brāhmanas of Mathurā are like gods and that a brāhmana of Mathurā not knowing even a *ṛk* verse is superior to a brāhmaṇa of another place that has studied the four Vedas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 579, 670 for details of Gayā and Mathurā brāhmanas. The Padmapurāṇa and the Skanda (Kāśīkhaṇḍa 6. 56-57) recommend that at tīrthas (sacred places) one should not engage in investigation (of the worth) of brāhmaṇas, and that Manu declares that brāhmaṇas appearing (at a tīrtha) and desiring food should be fed.[1493]

It is not unlikely that the above passages from the Vāyu, Varāha and Padma are later interpolations. When Buddhism was flourishing large companies of Buddhist monks were fed by the people. When Buddhism declined and disappeared from India after the 12th or 13th century A. D. people came to believe that there was great merit in feeding poor brāhmaṇas just as in former times people fed monks and the Purāṇas might have only echoed and emphasized the general sentiments of the people. If the people in general had not come to believe in this, the author feels that no amount of interpolations or insistence by the so-called crafty brāhmaṇas would have been effective. Writers, Western or Indian, that, relying on the notions current in the 19th and 20th centuries, pass severe and unmeasured strictures on the provisions for brāhmaṇas in the Purāṇas do great injustice to the authors of Purāṇas that flourished about a thousand years ago or more. Such writers should compare Indian medieval conditions, ideas and doings of brāhmaṇas with the claims of the Popes, Christian priests, Inquisitions and the state of monastic Orders in Europe from about the 10th century A. D. to the 15th century. In comparison it would be

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1492. न विचार्यं कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च । पूजितैस्तैस्तु राजेन्द्र तृप्तिं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ वायु 82. 27; अनृचै माथुरो यत्र चतुर्वेदस्तथापरः । वेदैश्चतुर्भिर्न च स्यान्माथुरेण समः क्वचित् ॥ ...मथुरायां ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नराः ॥ वराह 165. 55 and 57.

1493. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन । अज्ञातिनमनुप्राप्तं भोज्यं तं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ पद्म V. 29. 212. The first half is q. by श्रा. क्रि. कौ. from ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 14 and from देवीपुराण on p. 266.

found that the conditions in Europe were terribly worse than in India in those centuries.[1494]

As a consequence of the abovementioned dominating principle the Purāṇas strongly recommend *dāna* (gifts, particularly of food), pilgrimages and baths in sacred waters, vratas, ahiṁsā, bhakti, repetition of the name of god, śrāddhas &c. These will be briefly illustrated below.

The Purāṇas institute a comparison between solemn Vedic sacrifices on the one hand and pilgrimages and baths at sacred places on the other. The Vanaparva[1495] contrasts the two as follows, "the solemn sacrifices promulgated by the sages cannot be accomplished by a poor man; sacrifices require many implements and a collection of various materials, which are secured by kings or sometimes by rich men, but not by poor men who have to rely on themselves alone, who have no helpers and who do not possess means. Going to holy places confers merit and surpasses sacrifices. One does not secure that reward by such sacrifices as Agniṣṭoma, in which profuse fees are distributed, which is secured by repairing to sacred places." Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 561–564 for further encomiums of sacred places and the virtues to be cultivated for reaping the full merit of pilgrimages.

In pursuance of the same dominant principle the Anuśāsana-parva and Purāṇas extol fasts and vratas. The Anuśāsana-

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1494. For the barbarities and abominations in every European country of the Inquisition, particularly in Spain, one may read W. H. Rule's 'History of the Inquisition' (1868), particulary pp. 298–314 on 'Inquisition in Goa' and Rafael Sabatini's work on 'Torquemeda and the Spanish Inquisition' (8th ed. in 1937), 'the Spanish Inquisition' by Prof. A. S. Turberville (Home University Library, 1932), who is constrained to say on p. 235 that at the best the Holy Office in Spain has a terrible record of destruction; Cambridge Medieval History vol. VI, chap. XX on 'Heresies and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages' (1929) pp. 699–726; Cambridge Medieval History vol. VI, pp. 694–695 where it is shown that 'Indulgences' (granting forgiveness of sins and a certificate of entry in Paradise) were freely put on sale by the highest ministers of the Christian Church in the hands of licensed traders without the necessity of any confession and penitence and that they became a formidable bar to the proper working of the penitential system of the Church.

1495. तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते। वनपर्व 82. 17; vide H. of Dh. vol. IV p. 561 n 1263 for the whole passage.

parva[1496] (107. 5-6) remarks that fasts are equal to sacrifices in the matter of rewards. They are put forward as superior to sacrifices in Padma.[1497] It says: Viṣṇuvrata is super-eminent; a hundred Vedic sacrifices are not equal to it; by performing a sacrifice one may go to heaven, but one who observes the Kārtikavrata goes to Vaikuṇṭha (the world of Viṣṇu). For the exaggerated importance attached to fasts and vratas, vide pp. 43-45 above.

First *dāna*. High eulogies of gifts have been sung from the Ṛgveda downwards. The subject of dāna (gifts) in all its aspects has been dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 837-888. The Mahābhārata in numerous places (particularly in the whole of Anuśāsana-parva) and the Purāṇas such as Matsya chap. 82-92 and 274-289, Agni chap. 208-213, Varāha 99-111, Padma V. 21. 81-213 (which agree almost verbatim with Matsya 83-92), Padma II. 39-40 and 94, III. 24, Kūrma II. 26 devote a great deal of space to the subject of *dānas*. But here only two topics in relation to gifts will be dealt with, viz. gifts of food and gifts to brāhmaṇas. The Ṛgveda condemns the person as merely a sinful one who does not offer food to the gods nor to his friends and uses it only to fill his own belly.[1498] The Ait. Br. and the Tai.[1499] Br. speak of 'food' as 'prāṇa' (life). The Baud.[1500] Dh. S. states "all beings depend on food, the Veda says 'food is life,' therefore food should be given (to others), food is the highest offering". Manu[1501] and Viṣṇu Dh. S. state 'the man who cooks food only for his own sake (and not for offering to gods and men) eats merely sin'. The Bhagavadgītā carries the same message 'those who eat food left after offering in sacrifice are freed from all sins, but those who cook food for their sake alone eat sin'. The Padma has a fine passage 'those who always feed the cripple, the blind, children, old men, persons that are dis-

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1496. इदमङ्गिरसा प्रोक्तमुपवासफलात्मकम्। विधिं यज्ञफलैस्तुल्यं तन्निबोध युधिष्ठिर॥ अनुशासन 107. 5-6.

1497. श्रेष्ठं विष्णुव्रतं विप्र तत्तुल्या न शतं मखाः। कृत्वा क्रतुं व्रजेत्स्वर्गं वैकुण्ठं कार्तिकव्रती॥ पद्म III. 21. 29. The same idea is repeated in पद्म VI. 96. 25.

1498. मोघमन्नं विन्दते अप्रचेताः सत्यं ब्रवीमि वध इत्स तस्य। नार्यमणं पुष्यति नो सखायं केवलाघो भवति केवलादी॥ ऋ. X. 117. 6.

1499. अन्नं प्राणमन्नमपानमाहुः। तै. ब्रा. II. 8. 8. 3; अन्नं ह प्राणः। ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 1 in the fifth gāthā recited by नारद).

1500. अन्ने श्रितानि भूतानि अन्नं प्राणमिति श्रुतिः। तस्मादन्नं प्रदातव्यमन्नं हि परमं हविः॥ बौ. ध. सू. II. 3. 68.

1501. अघं स केवलं भुंक्ते यः पचत्यात्मकारणात्। मनु. III. 118, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 67.43,

eased, helpless and pinched by penury, always enjoy bliss in heaven; there is no end to the merit (accumulated) by constructing wells and tanks, where aquatic animals and others moving on land drink water when they desire, for water is the life of living beings and life is centred in water'. The distribution of food particularly to learned brāhmaṇas is highly praised in Brahma-purāṇa[1502] 218. 10–32, Padma V. 19. 289–307m, Agni 211. 44–46. 'The gift of food is superior to all gifts; food is the life of men, from food spring all beings; the worlds are dependent on food, therefore food is praised; man secures heaven by the gift of food; a person who joyfully gives food acquired by just means to brāhmaṇas deeply learned in the Veda is released from all sins' says Brahma. The Agnipurāṇa says 'The gifts of elephants, horses, chariots, male and female slaves and houses do not come up even to a sixteenth part of the gift of food (in merit); a person who committing a great sin afterwards distributes food becomes free from all sins and secures everlasting worlds' (211. 44-46). The Kūrma[1503] prescribes 'a man should give to a brahmacārin (Vedic student) food every day (i. e. when he comes begging); thereby he becomes free from all sins and reaches the abode of Brahmā'. Similarly, Padma calls upon house-holders to give as much cooked food to ascetics as would fill the begging bowl. From very ancient times a householder was called upon to perform five *Yajñas* (sacrifices) daily, two of which were *Baliharaṇa* and honouring a guest (Manu III. 70) and he was to place food on the ground for persons who had lost caste, who suffered from loathsome diseases, to cāṇḍālas, dogs, crows and even insects[1504] (Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Manu III. 92). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 745–747 on Vaiśvadeva and Baliharaṇa. Underlying these provisions was the noble sentiment of universal kindliness and charity, the persistent idea that, in spite of social gradations, rules and prejudices dividing

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1502. सर्वेषामेव दानानामन्नं श्रेष्ठमुदाहृतम्। ...प्राणा ह्यन्नं मनुष्याणां तस्माज्जन्तुः प्रजायते॥ अन्ने प्रतिष्ठिता लोकास्तस्मादन्नं प्रशस्यते। ...अन्नस्य हि प्रदानेन स्वर्गमाप्नोति मानवः। ...न्यायेनाप्तासमन्नं तु नरो हर्षसमन्वितः। द्विजेभ्यो वेदवृद्धेभ्यो दत्त्वा पापात्प्रमुच्यते। ब्रह्मपु० 218. 10-13, 22-23.

1503. यथादरहरस्त्वन्नं श्रद्धया ब्रह्मचारिणे। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः ब्रह्मणः स्थानमाप्नुयात्॥ कूर्म II. 26. 17 q. by दानसागर p. 370; यः पात्रपूरणीं भिक्षां यतीनां तु प्रयच्छति। विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यो यातौ दुर्गतिमाप्नुयात्॥ पद्म V. 15. 140–141.

1504. सर्वान् वैश्वदेवे भागिनः कुर्वीता श्वचण्डालेभ्यः। आप. ध. सू. II. 4. 9. 5; श्वनां च पतितानां च श्वपचां पापरोगिणाम्। वायसानां कृमीणां च शनकैर्निर्वपेद्भुवि॥ मनु. III. 92.

men from each other, one Supreme Light pervades and illuminates the meanest of creatures and makes the whole world kin. This spirit of a householder to regard it as his duty to offer food to all needy persons and particularly to poor and deserving students and brāhmaṇas has prevailed almost to the present day, though during the last few years shortage of food, high prices and rationing have undermined it a great deal.

Then as to gifts to brāhmaṇas. In the first place, it must be remembered that all brāhmaṇas were not priests and are not priests in modern times. Similarly, all priests in all Indian temples and shrines are not brāhmaṇas. Temple priests are comparatively a later institution and in olden times they were looked down upon and are regarded as inferior brāhmaṇas even in modern times. Manu (III. 152) states that a *devalaka* (a brāhmaṇa who performed for remuneration service before the image in a temple) was unfit to be invited at a śrāddha or to officiate in a sacrifice to gods, if he continuously served for three years in that capacity. The ideal set before brāhmaṇas from very ancient times was of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of abandoning the active pursuit of riches, of devotion to the study of the Veda and śāstras, of cherishing a high culture and of handing down literature and cultural outlook. Smṛtis like Yāj. I. 213 recommend that even if a brāhmaṇa be fit for receiving a religious gift he should refuse gifts and thereby he secures the same worlds that habitual donors secure. It was for preserving such high ideals among brāhmaṇas that Yāj. I. 333 prescribes that a king should make gifts of cows, gold and land and should bestow on learned brāhmaṇas houses and requisites for marriage (maidens, expenses of marriages &c.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 856–858 where references are given to inscriptions containing donations to brāhmaṇas of houses and marriage expenses. In these days every body talks of the high culture and literary traditions of ancient India. But who cultivated the vast Vedic and other Sanskrit literature, preserved it and propagated it for several millenia? The answer would have to be that it was mostly due to some of the brāhmaṇas who stuck to the ancient ideal for thousands of years. If the Ṛgveda can be put forward in these days as the most ancient of the literary monuments in any Aryan language, who preserved its more than ten thousand verses with unparallelled care by oral transmission without hardly any variant readings. The reply will again have to be that the brāhmaṇas did it by a

self-denying ordinance. The Brāhmaṇas had to study the Veda with auxiliary lores without[1505] an eye to any ulterior motive, but simply as a duty and to understand the meaning thereof, they were to teach the Veda and other lores without demanding beforehand a fee, they had to bring up their own families, perform sacrifices and make gifts themselves. The only substantial sources of income were officiating at sacrifices and religious rites and receiving gifts. These sources must always have been variable, fitful and precarious. The brāhmaṇas had no power to tax people as in the case of tithes in the West. Nor had they a regularly paid hierarchy of deacons, priests, bishops and archbishops as in the Anglican Church Therefore, the brāhmaṇas are advised to approach the king or a rich person for their livelihood (vide Gautama IX. 63 'Yogakṣemārtham-Īśvaram adhigaccet). It should be noted that before Buddhism spread far and wide the sūtras and smṛtis emphasized that religious gifts should be made only to a worthy brāhmaṇa, learned and well-conducted. For example, Āpastamba[1506] prescribes 'one should invite for dinner in all religious acts brāhmaṇas that are pure, that have studied the Veda and that one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place, on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy recipient.' To the same effect are Vas. Dh. S. III. 8, VI. 30, Manu (III. 128, 132, IV. 31), Yāj. (I. 201), Daksa (III. 26 and 31). Not every brāhmaṇa was in those ancient times a proper recipient for a gift, but he had to possess qualities of what is called '*pātra*'. A few definitions of pātra may with advantage be cited here. The Anuśāsana-parva[1507] has a long passage emphasizing the qualities of a deserving brāhmaṇa: 'gifts made to good brāhmaṇas that are free from anger, that are intent on dharma, are devoted to truth and self-

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1505. ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येयो ज्ञेयश्चेति। महाभाष्य (Kielhorn, vol. I. p. 1) quotes it as आगम. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 105–110 on the duties of brāhmaṇas and their sources of income in ancient times.

1506. शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। देशतः कालतः शौचतः सम्यक् प्रति गृहीतृत इति दानानि प्रतिपादयति। आप. ध. सू. II. 6 15. 9–10 Compare मनु III. 98.

1507. Some of the verses of अनुशासन 22 33–41 may be cited here: अक्रोधना धर्मपराः सत्यनित्या दमे रताः। तादृशाः साधवो विप्रास्तेभ्यो दत्तं महाफलम्। साङ्गांश्च चतुरो वेदानधीते यो द्विजर्षभः। षड्भ्यः प्रवृत्तः कर्मभ्यस्तं पात्रसुषयो विदुः॥ प्रज्ञाश्रुताभ्यां वृत्तेन शीलेन च समन्वितः। तारयेत कुलं सर्वमेकोऽपीह द्विजोत्तमः। ...निशम्य च गुणोपेतं ब्राह्मणं साधुसंमतम्। दूरादानाय्य सत्कृत्य सर्वतश्चापि पूजयेत्॥ verses 33, 36, 38, 41; on षड्भ्यः प्रवृत्तः the com. of नीलकण्ठ is 'अनुपद्रोकैः मधुमांसवर्जनमद्यविषापालनशौचैः सह अध्ययनयागदानेभ्यः, तान्यनुष्ठातुं प्रवृत्त इत्यर्थः।'

control yield great rewards; the sages regard that brāhmaṇa as *pātra* who studies the four Vedas with their *aṅgas* (auxiliary lores like phonetics, grammar &c.), who is active in doing six acts (viz. abstaining from wine and meat, observing the bounds of morality, purity, study of the Veda, sacrifices, making gifts). Even a single eminent brāhmaṇa endowed with intellect, Vedic learning, good conduct and character saves the whole family; one should bring from afar a brāhmaṇa on hearing that he is possessed of good qualities and is approved by good men and should welcome him and honour him in all ways'. Yāj. furnishes[1508] a brief but striking definition of a worthy brāhmaṇa 'not by Vedic learning alone nor by *tapas* (austere life) alone worthiness arises; that person is declared to be *pātra* (worthy recipient for a religious gift) where both these (i. e. Vedic learning and tapas) and good conduct exist'. Manu provides that religious gifts given to a brāhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful are fruitless and lead the donor to hell (IV. 192–194). The Bhagavadgītā also (17.22) condemns a gift given to an unworthy person as *tāmasa* (affected by *tamas*, arising from ignorance or delusion).

As Buddhism grew in popularity and secured also royal support, the brāhmaṇas had to tackle several tasks. They had to keep the number of brāhmaṇas at a high level, they had to find maintenance for those devoted to the deep study of the Veda and they had to make accommodation with prevalent Buddhist thoughts by assimilating as many of them as possible in their own writings. Every brāhmaṇa could not possess the memory, the intelligence and the persistent endeavour for long years required for memorizing and mastering even his own Veda and its subsidiary Literature. If one hundred brāhmaṇa families were patronized, hardly ten percent of them could have been masters of their own Veda, but there was always the possibility that those who were not themselves good Vedic scholars might have sons, some of whom might turn out to be profound students of the Veda. Therefore, the number of brāhmaṇas was to be increased and they had to be fed and not to be allowed to fritter away energy and time in working for their bread. It is mainly due to these factors that some of the Purāṇas contain incessant and frantic appeals for gifts to brāhmaṇas.

1508. न विद्यया केवलया तपसा वापि पात्रता । यत्र वृत्तमिमे चोभे तद्धि पात्रं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ याज्ञ. I. 200.

At the time when most of the Purāṇas were composed, the brāhmaṇas were hemmed in by great difficulties and hostile forces. From about the 3rd century B. C. to the 7th century A. D. Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage under such great kings as Aśoka, Kaniṣka and Harṣa. Buddhism was not really a revolt against caste, but against the sacrificial system, against the Veda and its authority to show the way to salvation. Buddha did not found a new religion, but he was a great reformer of Hinduism. He laid sole stress on moral effort, ahiṁsā, satya &c. which had already been integrated into Hinduism and were part of it and which continue to this day to be part of Hinduism. Buddha in his first sermon in the deer-park near Banaras preached that one who renounced the world should shun two extremes[1509] viz. the pursuit of pleasures and the practice of useless austerities, that it is the course discovered by him that led to wisdom and *nirvāṇa*. He expounded the four noble Axioms or Truths (Āryasatyāni) viz. suffering (duḥkha), the cause of suffering[1510] viz. *taṇhā* i. e. tṛṣṇā (duḥkha-samudaya), the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodha), and the way that leads to the suppression of suffering (duḥkha-nirodhagāminī paṭipadā). This last is the Noble Eight-fold path (aṣṭāṅgiko[1510a]

1509. For the two extremes to be shunned, vide Dhammacakka-ppavattana-sutta (inauguration of the kingdom of Righteousness) S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 146.

1510. It may be noted that in the Upaniṣads and महाभारत the giving up of तृष्णा or काम is emphasized. Vide यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः। अथ मर्त्यो अमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥ कठोप० VI. 14; या दुस्त्यजा दुर्मतिभिर्या न जीर्यति जीर्यतः। यैषा प्राणान्तिको रोगस्तां तृष्णां त्यजतः सुखम्॥ वनपर्व 2. 36, अनुशासन 7. 21, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 68. 100; यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम्। तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतिषोडशीम्। शान्ति. 174. 46, वायु 93. 101, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 68. 103.

1510 a. Vide Dhammacakka-ppavattana-sutta in S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 147 for the eightfold path. The Pāli words are: सम्मा-दिट्ठि, सम्मा-संकप्पो, सम्मा वाचा, सम्मा कम्मन्तो, सम्मा आजीवो, सम्मा-वायामो, सम्मा-सति (सम्यक् स्मृति) सम्मा-समाधि. Vide also दीघनिकाय (Pali Text Society) vol. I. p. 157, महावग्ग (Oldenberg) vol. I. p. 10 (I. 6. 18) and धम्म-चक्क-प्पवत्तनसुत्त para 4 p. 3 (ed. by Sister Vajirā, Sarnath) and for दुःख, दुःखसमुदय, दुःखनिरोध, दुःखनिरोधगामिनी पटिपदा, vide महावग्ग (I. 6.19–22), *ibid* p. 10. These four are called आर्यसत्यानि which may mean 'the four Noble Truths' or 'the four Truths found by the Ārya' (Buddha). This bears a very close resemblance to the fourfold axioms in Yoga and Medicine set out in योगसूत्रभाष्य 'यथा चिकित्साशास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहम्-रोगो रोगहेतुरारोग्यं भैषज्यमिति, एवमिदमपि शास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहमेव तद्यथा-संसारः संसारहेतुः, मोक्षः, मोक्षोपायः-इति। तत्र दुःखबहुलः संसारो हेयः। प्रधानपुरुषयोः संयोगो हेयहेतुः। संयोगस्यात्यन्तिकी निवृत्तिर्हानम्। हानोपायः सम्यग्दर्शनम्। योगभाष्य on योगसूत्र II. 15.

mārgaḥ) viz. right views, right thoughts or aspirations, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection (or mindfulness), right meditation (i. e. briefly leading a virtuous life). These doctrines preached to all by the noble Buddha and his disciples were attractive as remarked by Rhys Davids,[1511] particularly to the śūdras whose social position was low in the Vedic times and also in the days of the smṛtis. No one could study the Veda in the presence of a śūdra, a śūdra could not perform sacrifices and had to serve the three higher varṇas in very ancient times. Almost the same position was assigned to him by Manu (VIII. 413) viz. that he was created by God for serving the brāhmaṇa, though it is doubtful whether this could be or was enforced. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 33–36 and pp. 154–164 for the position and disabilities of śūdras from the Vedic times up to the days of the Smṛtis. It should not, however, be supposed that all India had become Buddhist. Millions still remained Hindus. There was the danger and fear that with royal patronage and the attractive features of Buddha's teachings large masses might forsake their ancient faith.

The brāhmaṇas of the times when Buddhism was at its peak had to strive to keep the banner of the Vedic religion flying, to deprive Buddhism of its hold on the masses of the people and even on the intelligentsia and to make them stick to the old fold. Buddhism itself had changed a great deal in its ideals, doctrines sometime before the beginning of the Christian era and for centuries thereafter. Buddha's original doctrines were aimed at individual effort and salvation of the individual by his own effort and self-culture. Early Buddhist texts deny the existence of anything like a soul[1512] and find no place for

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1511. Vide his eloquent Intro. to S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 142 'Never in the history of the world had a scheme of salvation been put forth so simple in its nature, so free from any superhuman agency, so independent of, so even antagonistic to the belief in a soul, the belief in God, the hope for a future life. Buddha put forth deliberately the doctrine of a salvation to be found here in this life in an inward change of heart to be brought about by perseverance in a mere system of self-culture and of self-control. That system is called the Noble Eight-fold Path.'

1512. Vide 'Questions of Milinda' (II, 3. 6) in S. B. E. vol. XXXV pp. 88–89 for a discussion of the doctrine that there is no soul and pp. 520, 71–77 for the Buddhist theory of *kamma* (karma) and for the theory that what is reborn is *nāma-rūpa* (name and form) and not the soul. The Saundarānanda (B. I. ed. 16. 28–29) says: 'दीपो यथा निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम्। दिशं न कांचिद्विदिशं न कांचित् स्नेहक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिम्॥ एवं कृती निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतो नैव ... कांचित् क्लेशक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिम्॥'.

the idea of God. Though Buddha spoke of *Nirvāṇa* he did not clearly define it nor does he specify the condition of the individual when he enters nirvāṇa. Aśvaghoṣa compares nirvāṇa to the extinction of a flame (Saundarananda, chap. XVI. 28–29). Because the doctrine of karma was deeply rooted in the popular mind at the time of Buddha, Buddhism took over that doctrine, which, to men who are not Buddhists, appears to be contradictory of the denial of the existence of a soul. The word 'Dhamma' is used in three senses in the Pāli 'Dhammapada' (which being mentioned in the questions of Milinda is earlier than the 2nd century B. C.) viz. (1) the truth or law preached by Buddha, (2) thing or form, (3) way or mode of life.

As stated above, the original Buddhism preached by the Buddha and his followers in the first century or two after his *parinirvāṇa* was more or less a strict ethical code for individuals who sought salvation from the misery of the world. The three central conceptions of very early Buddhism were the three refuges (or *ratnas*) Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. Gradually a new doctrine was evolved.[1513] It came to be thought that to care for one's own deliverance and spend all efforts thereon was rather selfish, that as the Buddha himself out of compassion for suffering humanity worked for forty-five years to lead men to salvation by his exhortations and sermons, so a Buddhist should prefer to put off his own deliverance, should work for the deliverance of his fellowmen out of compassion (*karuṇā*) for their miserable lot and in doing so should be ready to be born again and again, should not care for his own salvation and should not be afraid of *saṁsāra*. Those holding these latter views deified Buddha, taught that Buddhahood was attained by Siddhārtha after undergoing numerous births in doing service and rendering help to others and that this was a superior code of conduct (Mahāyāna, the Great Vehicle or Way) to the selfish code of salvation for an individual himself (which came to be called Hīnayāna, the lesser Vehicle or Way). This extra-regarding gospel of Mahāyāna was very attractive and won great support in most countries of Asia.[1514]

1513. H. Kern in his 'Manual of Buddhism' (in the Grundriss p. 122 holds that Mahāyānism is much indebted to the Bhagavad-gītā. Compare 'लभन्ते ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृषयः…सर्वभूतहिते रताः ॥' V. 25 with the Mahāyāna view.

1514. The number of Books on Buddhism is legion. For Mahāyāna Buddhism, vide 'An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism' by W. M. McGovern (London, 1922); 'Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism' by Dr. M. N.

(*Continued on next page*)

This doctrine of Bodhisattvas (meaning 'beings destined to be enlightened') is not consistent with the gospel of Buddha as preached by him in his first sermon at Banaras. There is a difference of ideals between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The original gospel relies on self-effort and moral regeneration and on the elimination of suffering and misery by the extinction of all passions and of hankerings or desires and of the desire of

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Dutt (1930); the 'Bodhisattva doctrine in Sanskrit Literature' by Dr. Har Dayal (Kegan Paul, London 1932); 'The path of the Buddha' ed. by Prof. Kenneth W. Morgan (New York, 1956) written by several scholars from different countries (for both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna).

A few books for those who want to know more of Buddhism in general and of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna are recommended here. 'The central conception of Buddhism' (London, 1923), 'the conception of Nirvāṇa' (Leningrad, 1927), 'Buddhist Logic' vol. I (1958), all by Th. Stcherbatsky; 'Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha' by J. G. Jennings (Oxford Un. Press, 1948); 'Creed of Buddha' by Edmond Homes (5th ed.); 'Introduction to Tantrik Buddhism' by Dr. Shashi Bhushan Das-Gupta (Cal. University, 1950), 'the Flame and the Light' by Hugh I. Faussett (London and New York, 1958); 'the Buddha and his Dhamma' by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1957) in which he refrains from considering Buddhist Texts except those in Pali; 'Comparative study of Buddhism and Christianity' by Prof. F. Masutani (Tokyo, 1957). The Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga (ed. by Prof. S. Levi) summarises in two verses (I. 9–10) the points (five) on which the two schools are in conflict. It-sing's 'Records of the Buddhist religion' translated by Dr. J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896) surprisingly enough states (p. 15) 'These two systems are perfectly in accord with the noble doctrine. Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvāṇa'. Buddha at least ignored (if he did not positively deny) God, he denied the individual soul and Eternity, he did not emphasize the most vital Upaniṣad teaching viz. 'anando brahmeti vyajānāt'. He imagined salvation as a state of absolute quiescence and therefore regarded ordinary life as misery and asserted that salvation may be attained even in this very life. He did not claim to be God, but a human being. There are various kinds of Mahāyāna doctrines and great diversity of definitions. It may generally be said that works professing to teach Mahāyāna practically forsake the ideal of a human Buddha, preach the worship of Buddha and future Buddhas, and assert that Nirvāṇa cannot be attained by the ancient method, that salvation cannot come in this very life but after centuries and aeons of the practice of virtue and helping others.

Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna are said by some to be branches of Mahāyāna, about the latter of which a good deal will be said in the next section. According to Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Vajrayāna (700–1200 A.D.) is a synonym of Mahāyāna (400–700 A. D.) and merely the ulterior development of it (vide p. 211 of the paper 'L' Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209–230.

life[1515] itself. Buddha's original teaching regarded it as a waste of time to ponder over such questions as 'Have I existed during the ages that are past or have I not? Shall I exist during the ages of the future? Do I after all exist or am I not?' The Sabbāsavasutta (9–13) says that a wise man walking in the noble eightfold path understands what things ought to be considered and what things ought not to be considered. Vide S.B.E. vol. XI. pp. 298–300. Buddhism brought half of Asia under its influence not only by its promise of salvation to all by self-help, but more so by its teachings of profound tenderness, of active charity, of goodness and gentleness. Mahāyāna laid great stress on doing good to all and on bhakti. Both the original teaching of Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna teaching are attractive in their own way.

Buddhism insisted on the five *śīlas*[1516] that were binding on all Buddhists viz. prohibition of injury to and destruction of life, of theft, of sexual impurity, of lying and of intoxicating liquors. Five more precepts (which together with the preceding five were called Daśaśikṣāpadas) were added for Buddhist priests, viz. prohibition of eating at forbidden hours, of attending wordly amusements such as dancing, song, music and shows, of the use of unguents and ornaments, of the use of a large or ornamented couch and of the receiving of gold and silver. About the *śīlas* it is clear that they were adopted from the ancient Upaniṣadic and Dharmasūtra teachings. The Chāndogya narrates how Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, boasted before five great householders and theologians 'in my[1517] kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without a fire-altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress'. The same Upaniṣad[1518] quotes an ancient verse 'a man who steals gold, who drinks liquor, who dishonours his guru's bed, who kills a brāhmaṇa—these four fall and a fifth also that associates with any one of these four.' It will be shown

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1515. That destruction of desires is *nirvāṇa* is stated in Ratanasutta 14 and the simile mentioned is that of a lamp being extinguished (by lack of oil).

1516. Vide खुद्दकपाठ 2, दीघनिकाय (II. 43 p. 63) for the five śīlas and Kern's 'Manual of Indian Buddhism' p. 70.

1517. स ह प्रातः संजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपो नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान्न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः। छा. उप. V. 11. 5.

1518. तदेष श्लोकः। स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरां पिबंश्च गुरोस्तल्पमावसन्ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति चत्वारः पञ्चमश्चाचरंस्तैरिति। छा. उप. V. 10. 9.

a little later how *ahiṁsā* was emphasized even in the Upaniṣads. Thus *ahiṁsa*, non-stealing, sexual purity, truthfulness had already been emphasized in the oldest Upaniṣads. That an ascetic[1519] had to give up all property and beg for keeping body and soul together is made clear by Bṛ. Up. III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22, Jābālopaniṣad 5, Gautama III. 10–13, Vasiṣtha X. The other five precepts for priests such as not receiving gold or silver or giving up unguents, flowers, dancing, singing and music are laid down by Gautama[1520] II. 19 and III. 4, Vasiṣṭha X. 6 &c. for Vedic students and ascetics. Vide H. Kern (in 'Manual of Indian Buddhism, Grundriss p. 70) who remarks that the superior morality for monks is nothing else but the rule of life for the *dvija* in the 4th *āśrama*, when he is a *yati* and all the details were taken from the Dharma-sūtras and Dharmaśāstras.

Ahiṁsā—The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas lay great emphasis on ahiṁsā (not harming or giving pain to a living creature). The Upaniṣads too emphasized ahiṁsā. The Chāndogya[1521] does so in several passages. In III. 17. 4 it says 'tapas, charity, straight-forwardness, ahiṁsā, speaking the truth—these are the fees of this (sacrifice without ceremonial)'. While describing how the person who has attained true knowledge of the Self does not return (to this saṁsāra), the Chāndogya says that 'he causes no pain to any creature except at tīrthas'. The Bṛ. Up. (V. 2.) says how Prajāpati told the gods, the *asuras* and men that the sound *'da da da'* produced by thundering

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1519. एतं वै तमात्मानं विदित्वा ब्राह्मणाः पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति। बृह. उप. III. 5. 1 (after the brāhmaṇas have gained knowledge of this Self, they abstain from desire for sons, desire for wealth and desire for the worlds and wander about as beggars); अथ परिव्राड् विवर्णवासा मुण्डोऽपरिग्रहः शुचिरद्रोही भैक्षणो ब्रह्मभूयाय भवतीति। जाबालोप. 5 quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 3 and III. 4. 20.

1520. वर्जयेन्मधुमांसगन्धमाल्यवासस्युपानच्छत्र-काम-क्रोधलोभमोहवाद्य-वादनस्नानदन्तधावनहर्षनृत्यगीतपरिवादभयानि॥ गौ. II.19; मुण्डोऽमोऽपरिग्रहः। वसिष्ठ X. 6. For the other śīlas of priests, compare with गौतम II. 19 the following from दीघनिकाय (vol. I p. 64 Sāmāññā-phala-sutta II. 45) 'विरतो विकालभोजना। नच्च-गीत-वादित-विसूकदस्सना पटिविरतो होति। माला-गन्ध-विलेपन-धारण-मण्डण-विभूसण ठाणा पटिविरतो होति। उच्चासयन-महासयना पटिविरतो होति। जातरूप-रजतपटिग्गहणा पटिविरतो होति। आमक-मंस-पटिग्गहणा पटिविरतो होति।'

1521. अथ यत्तपो दानमार्जवमहिंसा सत्यवचनमिति ता अस्य दक्षिणाः। छा. उप. III. 17. 4; आचार्यकुलाद्वेदमधीत्य ...स्वाध्यायमधीयानो धार्मिकान्विदधदात्मनि सर्वेन्द्रियाणि संप्रतिष्ठाप्याहिंसन् सर्वभूतान्यन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः ...न च पुनरावर्तते। छा. उप. VIII. 15; तदेतत्त्रयं शिक्षेद्दमं दानं दयामिति। बृह. उप. V. 2.

clouds conveys to the gods the necessity of self-restraint (dama), to the asuras of compassion (dayā) and to men of charity (dāna). Gautama[1522] specifies eight virtues of the soul, the first of which is compassion for all beings and states that he who has the forty saṁskāras performed on him but does not possess the eight virtues does not secure absorption into *brahma*. The Ādiparva provides 'ahiṁsā is the highest dharma for all beings; therefore a brāhmaṇa should never harm (or give pain to) any being'. The words 'ahiṁsā paramo dharmaḥ' (ahiṁsā is the highest *dharma*) occur very frequently in the Mahābhārata[1523] (e. g. in Droṇaparva 192. 38, Śānti 265. 6, 329. 18, Anuśāsana 115, 25, 116. 38, Āśvamedhikaparva 28. 16–18, 43. 21). Śāntiparva (296. 22–24) enumerates thirteen virtues common to all men, of which freedom from cruelty and ahiṁsā are the first two. Vasiṣṭha IV. 4, Manu X. 63, Yāj. I. 122 prescribe certain virtues as necessary in men of all varṇas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 10 notes 25–27.

A few examples of emphasis on ahiṁsā in the Purāṇas may be cited here. The Vāmanapurāṇa[1524] provides: *ahiṁsā*, truth-

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1522. दया सर्वभूतेषु शान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति। चत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा न चाष्टावात्मगुणा न स ब्रह्मणः सायुज्यं सलोकतां गच्छति। गौ. ध. सू. VIII. 24–25. The मत्स्य (52. 8–11) sets out these very ātmaguṇas that Gautama mentions; vide also मार्कण्डेय 25. 32–33 for almost the same eight guṇas including ahiṁsā.

1523. अहिंसा परमो धर्मः सर्वप्राणभृतां वर। तस्मात्प्राणभृतः सर्वान्न हिंस्याद् ब्राह्मणः क्वचित्॥ आदिपर्व 11. 13–14; अहिंसा सर्वभूतेषु धर्मं ज्यायस्तरं विदुः। द्रोण 192. 38; अहिंसा सर्वभूतेभ्यो धर्मेभ्यो ज्यायसी मता। शान्ति 265. 6; न हिंस्यात्सर्वभूतानि नैत्रायणगतश्चरेत्। शान्ति 329. 18; अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथाहिंसा परं तपः। अहिंसा परमं सत्यं यतो धर्मः प्रवर्तते॥ अनुशासन 115. 25; अहिंसा परमो धर्मो हिंसा चाधर्मलक्षणा। आश्वमेधिक 43. 21.

1524. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः। अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनीचर। वृशाङ्गे राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोऽसौ सार्ववर्णिकः॥ वामन 14. 1–2; न वेदैर्न च दानैश्च न तपोनियमैश्चाध्वरैः। कथंचित् स्वर्गतिं यान्ति पुरुषाः प्राणिहिंसकाः। अहिंसा परमो धर्मो ह्यहिंसैव परं तपः। अहिंसा परमं दानमित्याहुर्मुनयः सदा। मशकान् सरीसृपान् वंशान्यूकाद्यान्मानवांस्तथा। आत्मौपम्येन पश्यन्ति मानवा ये दयालवः॥ पद्म I. 31. 26–28; these verses are repeated in पद्म VI. 243. 69–71 (reads मशकान्मत्कुणान् and आत्मौपम्येन रक्षन्ति); तस्माच्च हिंसा यज्ञे च प्रशंसन्ति महर्षयः। उञ्छो मूलं फलं शाकमुदपात्रं तपोधनाः। एतद्दत्त्वा विभवतः स्वर्गलोके प्रतिष्ठिताः। अद्रोहश्चाप्यलोभश्च दमो भूतदया शमः॥ ब्रह्मचर्यं तपः शौचमकार्पण्यं (ज्ञः?) क्षमा धृतिः। सनातनस्य धर्मस्य मूलमेतद्दुरासदम्॥ मत्स्य 143. 30–32; ब्रह्माण्ड II. 31. 36–38 are the same as मत्स्य (except that it reads तस्माच्च यज्ञे दानं वा) 143. 30–32, The verses उञ्छं मूलं फल'''मूलमेतत्सनातनम् occur in आश्वमेधिकपर्व 91. 32–34. For the words सनातनधर्म, vide the Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman in E. I. vol. 27 p. 312 at p. 317 (श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितसनातनधर्मकर्मनिरतस्य) edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi who assigns it to the 6th century A. D.

fulness, absence of stealing, charity, forbearance, self-control, quiescence of senses, absence of poor spirit or weakness, purity, *tapas*—this is the tenfold dharma applicable to all varṇas. The Padma says : not by (the study of) the Vedas, nor by gifts nor by *tapas*, nor by sacrifices do men who kill creatures reach the goal of *heaven*; ahiṁsā is the highest dharma, the highest *tapas* and the highest charity—this is what the sages always say; men that are compassionate treat flies, reptiles, stinging insects, lice and the like and human beings as themselves. Matsya goes so far as to state; great sages do not commend sacrifice in which there is killing; by donating grains of corn gathered in a field, roots, fruits, vegetables, vessel for carrying water according to their ability, sages practising austerities became established in heaven; absence of hatred and greed, self-restraint, compassion towards all beings, control of senses, celibacy, tapas, tenderness, forbearance and firmness—this is the root of the ancient dharma, which is difficult to accomplish. The Brahmāṇḍa (II. 31. 35 'tasmād-ahiṁsā dharmasya dvāram-uktam maharṣibhiḥ') says that great sages have declared that ahiṁsā is the door of dharma. The Padma (V. 43. 38) says 'there is no *dāna* nor *tapas* equal to ahiṁsā'. It is interesting to note that the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa regard ahiṁsā as 'sanātana dharma' and condemn animal sacrifices. The Kūrma[1525] provides 'ahiṁsā, truthfulness, non-stealing, celibacy and non-possession of wealth-these are briefly declared *yamas* that produce purity of mind among men. The great sages declare that *ahiṁsā* consists in causing no pain to all beings at all times by thought, word or

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1525. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहौ । यमाः संक्षेपतः प्रोक्ताश्चित्तशुद्धिप्रदा नृणाम् । कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वभूतेषु सर्वदा । अक्लेशजननं प्रोक्ता त्वहिंसा परमर्षिभिः ॥ अहिंसायाः परो धर्मो नास्त्यहिंसापरं सुखम् । विधिना या भवेद्धिंसा त्वहिंसैव प्रकीर्तिता ॥ कूर्म II. 11. 13-15. The लिङ्गपुराण (chap. 8. 8-9) enumerates the eight *sādhanas* of योग of which यम is first and mentions five as in कूर्म. Yamas (abstinences) are variously enumerated. Kūrma appears to follow the योगसूत्र II. 30-31 'अहिंसा-सत्य-अस्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः । शौच-सन्तोष-तपः-स्वाध्याय-ईश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः ।'. Manu IV. 204 provides generally that one should always practise yamas and that one may not always practise the niyamas, but does not name them, Medhātithi explains that yamas are prohibitions (viz. not to injure life, not to steal, not to tell an untruth, not to have forbidden sexual intercourse and not to possess wealth that belongs to another or not to accept gifts), while niyamas consist of positive acts, such as one should always study the Veda (as in Manu IV. 147). Yāj. III. 312-313 enumerates ten *yamas* viz. celibacy, compassion, forbearance, charity, absence of crooked conduct, *ahiṁsā*, non-stealing, sweetness, restraint of senses and ten niyamas. The वैखानस-स्मार्तसूत्र (IX. 4) enumerates ten yamas,

deed. There is no dharma superior to ahiṁsā, no happiness higher than (the practice of) ahiṁsā; the injury (to life) that is caused according to (Vedic) precepts is declared to be ahiṁsā.' The Upaniṣads commended a qualified ahiṁsā, while the original Pali books like the Sāmāññā-phala-sutta forbad injury to all living beings. Most of the Purāṇas, in order to convince the masses that they did not lag behind the Buddhist preachings, generally insist upon unqualified ahiṁsā. Time brings about strange changes. Professing Buddhists in Ceylon, China, Japan and many other countries have no objection to partaking of fish and meat, while following the insistent advice of the Purāṇas, millions of Indian people (not only brāhmaṇas but also others like vaiśyas and śūdras if Vaiṣṇavas) have been strict vegetarians for centuries, though Buddhism vanished from India centuries ago.

It may be noted, however, that some of the Purāṇas are against carrying the doctrine of ahiṁsā to extremes. The Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu both say that there is no sin, great or small, in killing a person (e. g. a tyrant or a desperado), when many will live in happiness by his death.[1526]

Pūrta—The Purāṇas lay the greatest emphasis on what is called *pūrtadharma*, works of public utility, charity, social service and the relief of the poor and distressed. The word Iṣṭāpūrta occurs in the Ṛgveda once[1527] 'May you be united in the highest heaven with your pitṛs (ancestors), with Yama and with iṣṭāpūrta' (merit acquired by sacrifices and works of public utility). The word *iṣṭa* occurs several times in Ṛg. (I. 162. 15, I. 164. 15, X. 11. 2, X. 82. 2), but the meaning is not certain except in Ṛg. X. 11. 2 where it appears to mean 'sacrifice'. *Pūrta* also occurs in Ṛg. VI. 16. 18 and VIII. 46. 21, but the meaning is not certain. 'Iṣṭāpūrta' occurs in several Upaniṣads.

1526. यस्मिंस्तु निहते भद्रे जीवन्ते बहवः सुखम्। तस्मिन् हते नास्ति क्षुद्रे पातकं चोपपातकम्॥ ब्रह्माण्ड II. 36. 188, वायु 69. 162 (reads लभन्ते for जीवन्ते). The ब्रह्मपुराण 141.22 has the same idea in different words 'यस्मिन्निपातिते सौख्यं बहूनामुपजायते। क्षुद्रस्यस्तद्वधे प्राहुरश्वमेधशताधिकम्॥'. The कल्पतरु (गृहस्थकाण्ड) p. 300 quotes the verse from वायु (with slight variations viz. एधन्ते for जीवन्ते). The editor was unable to trace it. The verse should be read as निहते भद्रे and not निहतेऽभद्रे as it is printed on p, 300.

1527. संगच्छस्व पितृभिः सं यमेनेष्टापूर्तेन परमे व्योमन्। अ. X. 14. 8; इष्टस्य मध्ये अदितिर्नि धातु नो भ्राता नो ज्येष्ठः प्रथमो वि दोचति॥ ऋ. X. 11. 2.

The Chāndogya states[1528] 'But they who, living in a village, practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility and almsgiving reach toward smoke &c.'. Similarly, the Praśna-upaniṣad asserts 'those, who practise the (mode of) sacrifices and works of public utility as activities to be engaged in, reach only the world of the Moon, and it is these that again return to this world'. The Muṇḍaka says 'deluded people regarding sacrifices and works of public utility as the best do not know (recognize) any other higher good; having enjoyed (their reward) on the top of heaven, they again enter this world or even a lower one'.[1529] Manu speaks of 'iṣṭa' and 'pūrta' and recommends that one should always practise with a pleased heart sacrificial gifts and gifts of the pūrta kind according to one's ability on securing a deserving brāhmaṇa. The Amarakośa defines 'iṣṭa' as sacrifices and 'pūrta' as works such as digging a well or tank. The Mārkaṇḍeya[1530] defines them as follows 'Maintaining the sacred fires, tapas, truthfulness, study of the Veda, hospitality and Vaiśvadeva—these are called iṣṭa; digging wells and tanks and building temples and distribution of food to those that need it—these are declared to be pūrta.' The Agnipurāṇa has similar verses. The Padma (VI. 243. 10–14) cites the following as dharmakārya (religious works); temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva, tanks, wells, lotus ponds, forest of vaṭa, pippala, mango, kakkola, jambu and nimba trees, flower garden, distribution of food from morning to sunset, water distribution outside towns &c. The Skanda[1531] says: the term 'pūrta' is applied in the dharmaśāstras to the erection of temples, construction of tanks, ponds and wells, laying out parks. Padma (VI. 244. 34–35) says that those who build monasteries, cow stables, houses of rest on roads,

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1528. अथ य इमे ग्राम इष्टापूर्ते दत्तमित्युपासते ते धूममभिसम्भवन्ति धूमाद्रात्रिम् &c छा. उप. V. 10. 3; तद्ये ह वै तदिष्टापूर्ते कृतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते। त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते। प्रश्न I. 9; इष्टापूर्तं मन्यमाना वरिष्ठं नान्यच्छ्रेयो वेदयन्ते प्रमूढाः। नाकस्य पृष्ठे ते सुकृतेऽनुभूत्वेमं लोकं हीनतरं वाविशन्ति॥ मुण्डकोप० I. 2. 10.

1529. दानधर्मं निषेवेत नित्यमैहिकपौर्तिकम्। परिपुष्टेन भावेन पात्रमासाद्य शक्तितः॥ मनु. IV. 227; त्रिष्वथ क्रतुकर्मेष्टं पूर्तं स्यातादिकर्मणि। अमरकोश.

1530. अग्निहोत्रं तपः सत्यं वेदानां चैव साधनम्। आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च इष्टमित्यभिधीयते॥ वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च। अन्नप्रदानमाराम्यः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते॥ मार्कण्डेय 16. 123–124; अग्नि 209. 2–3 (reads चानुपालनं, च प्राकृतिकं च नाकवत्, अन्नप्रदानमारामाः पूर्तं धर्मं च सूक्तिवत्). The verse वापीकूप० is q. by अपरार्क pp. 24, 290 as from महाभारत. The above two are अत्रिसंहिता 43–44 (Ānan.).

1531. सुरालयसरोवापीकूपारामादिकल्पना। पतदर्थं हि पूर्तज्ञैः धर्मशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता॥ स्कन्द X. 2. 10.

dwellings for ascetics, cottages for the poor and helpless, extensive house for Veda study, houses for brāhmaṇas, enter the world of Indra (i. e. heaven). Atri says[1532] that Iṣṭa and Pūrta are dharma common to all *dvijas*; a śūdra is entitled to perform pūrta-dharmas but not Vaidika rites (i. e. sacrifices). The Anuśāsana-parva (chap. 58) describes how parks should be laid out and tanks constructed with trees on their banks. But the Varāhapurāṇa and some smṛtis went so far as to declare that a man secures only heaven by *iṣṭa*, but he secures mokṣa (final release from saṃsāra) by pūrta[1533].

Sometimes the Purāṇas express ideas that might strike us as rather modern, when they put forward social service and removal of suffering and distress as the highest dharma. In the Mārkaṇḍeya[1534] a king solemnly states 'men do not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of Brahmā, which springs from giving relief to distressed beings. Sacrifices, gifts, *tapas* do not conduce to the relief here and in the next world of that man whose heart is not set on relieving the distressed'. The Viṣṇu recommends 'a wise man should say (and do) that alone by thought, word and deed which would be for the benefit of creatures here and hereafter'. The Skanda-purāṇa (Kāśīkhaṇḍa) avers 'adversities of those good men in whose heart doing good to others is awake (i. e. active) vanish and prosperity comes to them at every step. That purity is not secured by baths at holy places, that reward is not obtained by numerous gifts, that (result) is not obtained by severe austerities, that is obtained by doing good to others. After churning all extensive dicta the conclusion reached is this viz. there is no dharma higher than doing good to others and there is no sin greater than harming

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1532. इष्टापूर्तं द्विजातीनां सामान्यो धर्मसाधनौ। अधिकारी भवेच्छूद्रः पूर्ते धर्मे न वैदिके। अत्रि verse 46. On p. 24 अपरार्क quotes this from जातूकर्ण्य (reads धर्मौ सामासिकौ मतौ). Vide अपरार्क p. 290 for quotations from नारद in which the illustrations of Iṣṭa and Pūrta are given.

1533. इष्टापूर्तं द्विजातीनां प्रथमं धर्मसाधनम्। इष्टेन लभते स्वर्गं पूर्तेन मोक्षं च विन्दति। वराह 172. 33, यमस्मृति 68, अत्रिसंहिता 145.

1534. न स्वर्गे ब्रह्मलोके वा तत्सुखं प्राप्यते नरैः। यद्दार्तजन्तुनिर्वाणदानोत्थमिति मे मतिः॥ यज्ञदानतपांसीह परत्र च न भूतये। भवन्ति तस्य यस्यार्तपरित्राणे न मानसम्॥ मार्कण्डेय 15. 57 and 62; प्राणिनामुपकाराय यथेहेह परत्र च। कर्मणा मनसा वाचा तथेव मतिमान् यतेत्॥ विष्णु III. 12. 45; परोपकरणं येषां जागर्ति हृदये सताम्। नश्यन्ति विपदस्तस्य सम्पदः स्युः पदे पदे॥ तीर्थस्नानैर्न सा शुद्धिर्नोपवासशतैर्न च। तपोभिरुग्रैस्तप्ताप्युपकृत्य यदाप्यते॥ परित्रायेत दार्त्तार्तं निर्गीतमिदमेव हि। नोपकारात्परो धर्मो नापकारादघं परम्॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 4–5 and 7; जीवितं सफलं तस्य यः परार्थोद्यतः सदा। अग्निरापो रविः पृथ्वी वायुराकाशमेव च। परार्थं यस्य देहेते सतां चापि विशेषतः॥ ब्रह्म 125. 36–37.

others. The Brahma states 'the life of the man who always strives for the good of others is fruitful (blessed); fire, water, the Sun, the earth and various kinds of crops exist for the benefit of others, and particularly the good (exist for others' benefit)'.

It is surprising that the Bhāgavata avers what is in advance of modern socialistic doctrines 'men have ownership over only that much as would fill their belly; he who thinks as his own what is more than that is a thief and deserves punishment (as such).[1535]

Bhakti—The Purāṇas lay very great emphasis on bhakti (religion of loving faith in God). This is not the place to dilate on the history of the cult of *Bhakti* from the earliest times to modern days. For that purpose there are special treatises (some of which are noted below) that may be consulted. But a few words on bhakti in general may be said here before going into the question as to what the Purāṇas have to say thereon. Traces of the doctrine of *bhakti* may be discovered even in the Ṛgvedic hymns and mantras, some of which are full of loving faith in God, particularly in some of the hymns and verses addressed to Varuṇa and also to Indra. A few examples may be cited. 'All my thoughts[1536] (or hymns) praise Indra in unison, seeking light, longing for him, as wives embrace their husband, their fair young lover, they (thoughts) embrace him (Indra), the divine giver of gifts'; 'your friendship[1537] (with your devotee) is indestructible (everlasting); to him who desires a cow, you become a cow, to him who longs for a horse, may you be a horse;' 'O Indra, you are far better (or richer) than my father or my brother who does not feed me; (you) and my mother, O Vasu, are equal and protect (me) for (conferring) riches and favours'; 'You gave to Kakṣīvat, who offered a hymn and Soma libation to you and who had grown old, Vṛcayā, who was a young

1535. यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत्स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम्। अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति॥ भागवत VII, 14. 8.

1536. अच्छा म इन्द्रं मतयः स्वर्विदः साध्रीचीर्विश्वा उशतीरनूषत। परिष्वजन्ते जनयो यथा पतिं मर्य न शुन्ध्युं मघवानमूतये॥ ऋ. X. 43. 1; compare Ṛg. I. 62. 11 for the simile.

1537. वृणाशं सक्थं तव गौरसि गम्यते। अश्वो अश्वायते भव॥ ऋ. VI. 45. 26; वसवो इन्द्रासि मे पितृकृत आतुरशुक्रतः। माता च मे छदयथः समा वसो वसुत्वनाय राधसे॥ ऋ. VIII. 1. 6; असौ च एवि वीरको गृहं गृहं विचाकशत्। इमं जम्भसुतं पिब धानावन्तं करम्भिणमपूपवन्तमुक्थिनम्॥ ऋ. VIII. 91. 2; मेनामघो वृषणश्वस्य सुक्रतो विश्वेत्ता ते सवनेषु प्रवाच्या॥ ऋ. I. 51. 13.

woman; you became the wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva; all these (favours) of yours deserve to be loudly proclaimed during the offerings of soma libations'; 'you who, shining brilliantly, come to each house assuming the form of a small man, (O Indra!) drink this Soma juice (produced) by being crushed with my teeth and mixed with fried grains, gruel, cake and laud'. Compare Rg. III. 43. 4, X. 42. 11, X. 112. 10 (in all of which Indra is called 'sakhā' friend) and I. 104. 9, VII. 32. 26 (in both Indra is said to be like a father). It will be clear from these passages that the Vedic sages had reached the stage of *sakhya-bhakti*, that the sages believed that Indra was like a mother, that he assumed the form of a wife for the sake of a devotee, that Indra partook *soma* juice from a devotee who, in the absence of the proper implements for crushing soma stalks, extracted soma juice from soma stalks crushed with the devotee's own teeth. These stories in the far-off ages of the Ṛgveda remind us of the stories in the works of the medieval ages about Rāma having accepted *badara* fruit from a Śabarī (Bhil woman) devotee who first tasted them with her teeth to see whether they were sweet or sour and the story of the God Viṭhobā of Pandharpur, having assumed the form of a *mahār* (an untouchable) and paid up to the Moslem king of Bijapur the money equivalent to the price of corn which, Dāmāji (a great devotee), who was in charge of the royal granary, allowed people distressed by famine to take away. Some mantras addressed to Varuṇa show the same kind of *sakhya-bhakti*. Vasiṣṭha[1537a] prays 'O Varuṇa! what is that great offence (committed by me) on account of which you desire to harm me, your friend and bard; declare that to me, O invincible and self-willed God, so that (after propitiating you) I shall be free from sin and may be able quickly to approach you with adoration'; 'where are those friendships of ours (of you and me) which we safely enjoyed in former times, O self-willed Varuṇa?; I (then) went to your big dwelling house that has a thousand doors; whatever offence we mortals commit against the divine hosts, O Varuṇa, whatever laws of yours we may have violated in our ignorance (or heedlessness), do not, O God, harm us on account of that sin'. It is remarkable that in the Ṛgveda there is a verse in which

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1537 a. किमाग आस वरुण ज्येष्ठं यत्स्तोतारं जिघांससि सखायम्। प्र तन्मे वोचो दूळभ स्वधावोऽव त्वानेना नमसा तुर इयाम्॥ ऋ. VII. 86. 4; क्व त्यानि नौ सख्या बभूवुः सचावहे यदवृकं पुरा चित्। वृहन्तं मानं वरुण स्वधावः सहस्रद्वारं जगमा गृहं ते॥ ऋ. VII. 88. 5; परेयिवांसं वरुणं पृच्छे अध्वनि स्वयोनाविव वेवृजानमेदभिद्रोहं मनुष्याचरामसि। अचित्ती यत्तव धर्मा युयोपिम मा नस्तस्मादेनसो देव रीरिषः॥ ऋ. VII. 89. 5.

there is an apotheosis[1538] of '*namas*' (*namaskāra*, adoration or homage); 'Adoration itself is mighty, I offer service with adoration; adoration upholds the heaven and the earth; adoration to the gods, adoration rules these gods, whatever sin is committed (by me) I worship it away with adoration'.

Though the word 'bhakti' does not occur in the principal ancient Upaniṣads, the doctrine of the bhakti schools that it is God's grace alone that saves the devotee is found in the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads, viz. 'this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by expositions (of a teacher) nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; He is to be attained by him alone whom the Supreme Soul favours, to him this Supreme Soul discloses His form.'[1539] This emphasizes the doctrine that God's Grace alone brings salvation to the devotee. The Śvetāśvataropaniṣad employs the word *bhakti* in the same sense in which it is used in the Gītā and[1540] other works on bhakti. 'These matters declared (here) reveal themselves to that high-souled person who has the highest faith in God and the same faith in his *guru* as in God'. The same Upaniṣad emphasizes a doctrine of the bhakti school in 'I, desirous of mokṣa (liberation from saṁsāra), surrender myself as my refuge to that God who in former times created (established) Brahmā, who transmitted to him (Brahmā) the Vedas, and who illuminates the intellect of the individual soul'.

The word 'prapadye' in the Śvetāśvatara serves as the basis of the doctrine of 'prapatti' in the Vaiṣṇavite system such as that of Rāmānuja.

But among the original sources of the Bhakti cult are the Nārāyaṇīya section (chapters 335–351 of Citraśāla ed. = cr. ed. 322–339) of the Śāntiparva and the Bhagavadgītā. For the

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1538. नम इदुग्रं नम आ विवासे नमो दाधार पृथिवीमुत द्याम् । नमो देवेभ्यो नम ईश एषां कृतं चिदेनो नमसा विवासे ॥ ऋ. VI. 51. 8.

1539. नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन । यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् । कठोप० 2. 22, मुण्डक III. 2. 3.

1540. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ । तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥ श्वेताश्व. VI. 23; यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै । तं ह देवमात्मबुद्धि-प्रकाशं मुमुक्षुर्वै शरणमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ श्वेताश्व. VI. 18. This last verse is relied upon by स्वयंप्रभेश्वर in his bhāṣya on शाण्डिल्य-भक्तिसूत्र I. 1. 1. Barth in his 'Religions of India' translated by J. Wood (3rd ed. 1891) sets out the grounds on which western scholars (particularly Weber) held that the religion of loving faith in Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence and then states that he is not satisfied with this theory (pp. 219–223).

antiquity of Kṛṣṇa worship (vide pp. 129–131 above). Megasthenes states that Heracles (Harikṛṣṇa?) was worshipped by Soursenoi (Śaurasenas) on the banks of Jobares (Yamunā) and had two cities Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisbora (Kṛṣṇapura?). In the Nārāyanīya it is stated (in chap. 335. 17–24) that king Uparicara Vasu was a devotee (bhakta) of Nārāyaṇa, that he worshipped the Lord of Gods according to the *sāttvata* rules that were proclaimed by the Sun, that he (Vasu) consecrated his kingdom, wealth, wife and horses to God, thinking that they all belonged to the Bhagavat (the Adorable One) and performed sacrificial rites according to the Sāttvata rules.

In the Śāntiparva, Sātvata and Pāñcarātra are identified[1541] and it is said that the seven sages called 'citraśikhaṇḍin' (lit. whose top-knots on the head were bright or wonderful) viz. Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha, proclaimed the (Pāñcarātra) śāstra and God Nārāyaṇa told them that the śāstra would be authoritative in the world and that king Vasu would learn the śāstra from Bṛhaspati to whom it would come by degrees from the seven sages. Chapter 336 of Śāntī declares that to the north of the Milky Sea there was territory called Śvetadvīpa, where dwelt devotees of Nārāyana who were called[1542] 'Ekāntin' and Pāñcarātra is called 'Ekānta-dharma'. A peculiar doctrine of the Pāñcarātra school is that of the four *vyūhas* (*mūrtis* or forms) viz. that the Supreme Person is Vāsudeva, the individual soul is Sānkarṣana, Pradyuma is mind and springs from Saṅkarsaṇa and Aniruddha is *ahaṅkāra* and originates from Pradyumna.[1543] It is this doctrine of the four forms of Vāsudeva, each springing from the preceding, that is refuted according to Śaṅkara in the Brahmasūtra II. 2. 42–45. The Śānti 348. 8 expressly refers to the Gītā as already declared

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1541. काम्यनैमित्तिका राजन् यज्ञियाः परमक्रियाः । सर्वाः सात्वतमास्थाय विधिं चक्रे समाहितः । पाञ्चरात्रविदो मुख्यास्तस्य गेहे महात्मनः । मायणं भगवत्प्रोक्तं भुञ्जते वाग्भोजनम् ॥ शान्ति 335. 24–25.

1542. एकान्तिनस्ते पुरुषाः श्वेतद्वीपनिवासिनः । शान्ति 336. 29; vide also शान्ति 348. 62 for एकान्तिनः पुरुषाः; एकान्तिनस्ते पुरुषा गच्छन्ति परमं पदम् । नूनमेकान्तधर्मोऽयं श्रेष्ठो नारायणप्रियः ॥ शान्ति 348. 3–4.

1543. यो वासुदेवो भगवान् क्षेत्रज्ञो निर्गुणात्मकः । ज्ञेयः स एव राजेन्द्र जीवः सङ्कर्षणः प्रभुः ॥ सङ्कर्षणाच्च प्रद्युम्नो मनोभूतः स उच्यते । प्रद्युम्नाच्चोऽनिरुद्धस्तु सोऽहङ्कारः स ईश्वरः ॥ शान्ति० 339. 40–41.

to Arjuna. In[1544] chap. 349. 64 it is said that Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata are five lores that differ in their views and were promulgated by Kapila (Sāṅkhya), Hiraṇyagarbha (Yoga), Apāntaratamas (the Veda), Śiva (Pāśupata), the Bhāgavat Himself (promulgator of Pāñcarātra). The Viṣṇudharmottara[1545] remarks 'for seeking Brahma (the One Reality in the Universe) there are five Siddhāntas (systems) viz. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra,[1546] Vedas and Pāśupata'. Relying on Śāntiparva 339. 68 several writers particularly those of the Rāmānuja school assert that the whole of the Pāñcarātra system has Vedic

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1544. सांख्यं योगः पाञ्चरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा । ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥. शान्ति 349. 64; but later on it is said सांख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते । ...उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः । पाञ्चरात्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य वेत्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम् । सर्वेषु च नृपश्रेष्ठ ज्ञानेष्वेतेषु दृश्यते ॥ शान्ति 349. 65-68 q. by परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 21 (which reads वक्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम्). These verses are borrowed almost verbatim by the योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5-6 and the same work reads 'सांख्यं योगं ...तथा । अतिप्रमाणान्येतानि हेतुभिर्न विचालयेत् ।' XII. 4 (q. by अपरार्क on p. 11), which means that the five systems are beyond the ordinary means of knowledge and they should not be disturbed by mere ratiocination.

1545. सांख्यं योगं पञ्चरात्रं शैवं पाशुपतं तथा । कृतान्तपञ्चकं विद्धि ब्रह्मणः परिमार्गणे ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपु० I. 74. 34 q. by हे. on व्रत vol. I. p. 25 and परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 22.

1546. Why the cult of Vāsudeva was called Pāñcarātra has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere in the English Histories of Indian Philosophy so far as I know. The name leads to the inference that the cult has something to do with *five* matters. But why is the word *rātra* or *kāla* used? That is the difficulty. In Śānti 336. 46 (cr. ed. 323. 42) Pañcarātra is referred to as 'Pañcakāla' (तैरिदः पञ्चकालज्ञैर्हरिरेकान्तिभिर्नरैः). Several guesses have been put forward, some of which are: (1) on five nights Nārāyaṇa taught Ananta, Garuḍa, Viśvaksena, Brahmā and Rudra; (2) The Parama-saṁhitā (31. 19) states that God imparted this doctrine in five nights to four sages, Sanatkumāra, Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana; (3) this cult blackened (*rātri* is dark) five teachings, viz. सांख्य, योग, पाशुपत, बौद्ध and आर्हत; (4) this (pāñcarātra) teaches five aspects पर, व्यूह, विभव (i. e. अवतार), अन्तर्यामिन्, अर्चा (images); (5) it dwells upon five duties of Vaiṣṇavas viz. tāpa (branding on the arm and other limbs), puṇḍra (upright lines made on the forehead with some colouring substance), nāma (names of Vāsudeva), mantra (like 'Om namo Nārāyaṇāya), yāga (worship of images of Vāsudeva). The Ālwar literature mentions fivefold nature viz. Para and the others. Vide K. C. Varadachari's paper on 'Some contributions of Ālwars to the philosophy of bhakti' in Silver Jubilee vol. of BORI. p. 621. The Paramasaṁhitā (I. 39-40 G. O. S. ed.) states that the five great Elements, the five Tanmātras, Ahaṁkāra, Buddhi and *avyakta*, (five categories or Tattvas of the Sāṅkhya) are the night (as it were) of the Puruṣa and therefore this śāstra (which propounds how to be free from the meshes of these five) is called Pāñcarātra.

authority, while others like Aparārka p. 13 and Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 23) do not accept it as thoroughly Vedic but only partially.

In the Vedāntasūtra[1547] there are four sūtras dealing with the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. The great Ācāryas are not agreed upon their interpretation, Śaṅkara saying that all the four sūtras refute some tenets of the Bhāgavatas, Rāmānuja saying that the first two sūtras (out of four) contain refutation of the Bhāgavata doctrine and the other two do not. Śaṅkarācārya makes it clear that the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas that the Supreme God Vāsudeva is the Highest Truth, that He assumes four forms, that the worship of Vāsudeva consists in continuous single-minded contemplation of Vāsudeva are not the targets for attack, that what is refuted is the doctrine of the Bhāgavatas that the individual soul called Saṅkarṣaṇa by them springs from Vāsudeva, that Pradyumna (mind) arises from Saṅkarasaṇa and that Aniruddha (ahaṁkāra) arises from Pradyumna. It appears from Śaṅkara's remarks[1548] on II. 2. 45 that in his day Śāṇḍilya was supposed to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra śāstra, because he did not find the

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1547. The four sūtras in the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 42–45) are: उत्पत्त्यसम्भवात्, न च कर्तुः करणम्, विज्ञानादिभावे वा तदप्रतिषेधः, विप्रतिषेधाच्च. Though Rāmānuja enlarges upon the Pāñcarātra doctrine in his comments on the last two sūtras out of these four and quotes three passages that may be called Pāñcarātra, he does not avow either in his Śrībhāṣya or in his Vedārtha-saṅgraha that he is a Sātvata or Pāñcarātra.

1548. वेदविप्रतिषेधश्च भवति। चतुर्षु वेदेषु परं श्रेयोऽलब्ध्वा शाण्डिल्य इदं शास्त्रमधिगतवानित्यादिवेदनिन्दादर्शनात्। शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 2. 45. शाङ्करभाष्य begins 'तत्र भागवता मन्यन्ते' (on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 42) and under II. 2. 44 he remarks 'न च पञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तिभिर्वासुदेवादिव्यूहैकस्मिन् सर्वेषु वा ज्ञानैश्वर्यादितारतम्यकृताः काश्चिद्भेदोभ्युपगम्यते।'. It may further be noted that in the Śāntiparva पाञ्चरात्र is called सात्वतधर्म (chap. 348. 34 and 84). बाण in his हर्षचरित (8th उच्छ्वास), while describing the persons professing various religious and philosophical doctrines gathered near the great ācārya Divākara-mitra, separately mentions Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātrikas 'क्षपणकच्छायासु निषण्णैः···भागवतैर्वणिभिः केशलुञ्चनैः कापिलैर्जैनलोकायतिकैः···पौराणिकैः सात्वततन्त्रैः शैवैः शाक्यैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैरन्यैश्चात्र स्वान् स्वान् सिद्धान्तान् शृण्वद्भिः &c.'. What Bāṇa probably means is that भागवत stands for the general cult of bhakti (in the Gītā) and पाञ्चरात्र for one school among भागवतs, that had as its characteristic the doctrine of four vyūhas. This is like ब्राह्मणश्रमणन्याय. The वृद्धहारीतस्मृति (11. 181–192) states that Śāṇḍilya composed a work for performing the worship of Viṣṇu by a non-Vedic procedure, that Viṣṇu cursed him to remain in hell but relented when Śāṇḍilya threw himself on his mercy and reduced the period of hell-residence.

highest bliss in all the four Vedas. In the Droṇaparva (29. 26–29) there is another and different reference to the four mūrtis of the Supreme for the benefit of the worlds viz. one performs tapas (asuterities) on the earth, the 2nd has an eye on the world's good and evil deeds; the third comes to the world in a human form and does such acts as men perform; the 4th slumbers for a thousand years and when it arises from slumber confers the highest boons on those who deserve them.

It may be noted that even in the Mahābhārata Nārada's name is connected with Pāñcarātra. It is said 'this very secret doctrine, connected with the four Vedas, having the benefit of Sāṅkhya and Yoga and spoken of as Pāñcarātra, was (originally) uttered by the lips of Nārāyaṇa and was again communicated by Nārada.[1549]

Other great sources of the cult of bhakti are the Bhagavadgītā, which is expressly mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya section (348. 8 = cr. ed. 336. 8), the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Gītā contains the words *bhakti* and *bhakta* several dozens of times. It may be stated here that the so-called Nāradabhaktisūtras, Nārada-pāñcarātra, the Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra and the several extant Pāñcarātra-saṁhitās so far published are all later than the Gītā.[1550] The Agnipurāṇa gives the names of 25 works on Pañcarātra quoted in the note below.[1551] The Maheśvara-

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1549. इदं महोपनिषदं चतुर्वेदसमन्वितम् । सांख्ययोगकृतं तेन पञ्चरात्रानुशब्दितम्। नारायणमुखोद्गीतं नारदोऽश्रावयत्पुनः । शान्ति 339. 111–112 (=cr. ed. 326. 100–101). The words इदं···शब्दितम् are q. by रामानुज in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 45 (42 in रामानुजभाष्य B. S. S.).

1550. The reasons for this statement are not relevant to this work, but by way of example, attention may be drawn to some Śāṇḍilya-sūtras: तदेव कर्मिज्ञानियोगिभ्य आधिक्यशब्दात्, प्रश्ननिरूपणाभ्यामाधिक्यसिद्धेः (I. 2. 22–23 in Jivanand's ed. = I. 2. 15–16 in भक्तिचन्द्रिका), which clearly refer to Gītā VI. 46–47 and XII. 1 and 6–7 respectively. There is one sūtra where the Gītā is expressly mentioned viz. सैकान्तभावो गीतार्थप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् (II. 2. 83 in Jivanand's ed. = II. 2. 28 in भक्तिचन्द्रिका). स्वमेश्वर comments on this सा परा भक्तिरेवैकान्तभावो नान्यः। कुतः। गीतार्थेन प्रत्यभिज्ञाश्रवणात्। यथा नारायणीय एव 'सहोपनिषदो···ऋषिणापि वा' (शान्ति 348. 5–6) इति प्रश्ने प्रत्युत्तरम्। 'सप्तपोढेष्वनीकेषु··· भगवता स्वयम्।' (शान्ति 348. 8)। तस्मादेकान्तिता परा भक्तिरिति।

1551. विष्ण्वादीनां प्रतिष्ठादि वक्ष्ये ब्रह्मन् शृणुष्व मे। प्रोक्तानि पञ्चरात्राणि सप्तरात्राणि वै मया॥ व्यस्तानि मुनिभिर्लोके पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यया। हयशीर्षं तन्त्रमाद्यं तन्त्रं त्रैलोक्यमोहनम्॥ ···स्वायम्भुवं कापिलं च तार्क्ष्यं नारायणीयकम्॥ आत्रेयं नारसिंहाख्यमानन्दाख्यं तथाक्षणम्॥ बौधायनं तथाष्टार्कं विश्वोक्तं तस्य सारतः॥ अग्निपु० 39. 1–5. Does नारायणीयक in the verse above refer to the नारायणीय section of the महाभारत ?

tantra names 25 Pāñcarātra tantras promulgated by Viṣṇu, which are condemned therein as having no truth (26. 16 ff.).

There is an extensive Literature on the Bhakti cult. Only a few of the important works in Sanskrit, their translations and works in English are noted here. Barth, Hopkins, Keith, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others have propounded different theories as to what Kṛṣṇa represented, how he was identified with Viṣṇu who appears to be another name of the Sun in the Ṛgveda and came to be regarded as the highest God in Brāhmaṇa times (as in Ait. Br. 'Agnir-vai devānām avamaḥ, Viṣṇuḥ paramaḥ) and came to be identified with sacrifice (Yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ). When Kṛṣṇa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas was identified with the Supreme Spirit, the full-fledged doctrine of Avatāras appeared as in the Gītā. The important works on *bhakti* are: The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (chapters 322–351 in the Citraśālā edition and chap. 322–339 of the critical edition); the Bhagavadgītā; several Purāṇas, the most important being Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata;[1552] the Bhaktisūtra of Śāṇḍilya with the *bhāṣya* of Svapneśvara (ed. by Jivananda, Calcutta 1876) and translation of both these (in B. I. series) by E. B. Cowell

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1552. It is remarkable that the Bhāgavata, which is practically the most important or sole authority for all great medieval Vaiṣṇava teachers like Vallabha and Caitanya and their disciples, is not quoted anywhere by Rāmānuja (who was born in śake 1049 i. e. 1127 A. D.) in his bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras, when he quotes over a hundred verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa in the same. In fact, in the Vedārthsaṅgraha Rāmānuja states that in the same way as the section (anuvāka) on Nārāyaṇa among all śruti texts serves to expound the special aspect of highest Brahma so the Viṣṇupurāṇa also defines a special aspect of the highest Brahma and that all other Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with it 'यथा सर्वासु श्रुतिषु केवलपरब्रह्मस्वरूपविशेषप्रदर्शनायैव प्रवृत्तो नारायणानुवाकस्तथेदं वैष्णवं च पुराणं···परब्रह्मस्वरूपविशेषनिर्णयायैव प्रवृत्तम्। अन्यानि सर्वाणि पुराणान्येतदविरोधेन नेयानि। वेदार्थसंग्रह para 110–111 pp. 141–142 (D. C. ed. 1956). रामानुज mentions (in भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र II. 2. 41 and 45) पौष्करसंहिता, सात्वतसंहिता and परमसंहिता among the पाञ्चरात्रसंहिताs, but does nowhere affirm that he is a follower of the पञ्चरात्र doctrine. There are numerous commentaries on the Bhāgavata and commentaries on commentaries (Das Gupta in vol. 4 pp. 1–2 lists over 40 commentaries on the Bhāgavata). It is unnecessary in this work to refer to the numerous commentaries of the disciples and followers of Madhva and other great Vaiṣṇava ācāryas. The position of Vallabhācārya (1479–1531 A. D.) appears to be that the Bhāgavata is the supreme authority in case of doubt 'वेदाः श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव हि। समाधिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम्। उत्तरं पूर्वसन्देहवारकं परिकीर्तितम्॥ तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध (Ahmedabad, 1926); vide also Prof. G. H. Bhatt in I. H. Q. vol. IX, 300–306. Vallabhācārya's is called पुष्टिमार्ग (meaning कृष्णानुग्रह) and he holds that even *bhakti* is difficult to accomplish in the Kali age.

(1878); Śāṇḍilya's saṁhitā (Bhaktikhaṇḍa) in the Sarasvatibhavan Series, edited by Anantasastri Phadke, (1935); Nāradabhaktisūtra with English Translation by Nandlal Sinha (Pāṇini office, Allahabad, 1911); the Nārada-pāñcarātra (containing the Jñānāmṛtasāra section) in eleven chapters (ed. for B. I. Series by C. M. Banerji, Calcutta, 1865) and English translation of it by Swami Vijñānānanda (Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1921); Sir R. G. Bhadarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.' (1913, in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research); 'Das-Gupta's History of Indian Philosophy' vol. IV. (1949), wherein he deals with the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the doctrines of Madhva, Vallabha, Caitanya and their followers; Grierson's paper 'Gleanings from Bhaktamālā of Nābhādāsa', in J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 607–644; 'History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas', by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Madras, 1923), 'the Gospel of Nārada' by Duncan Greenless (Adyar, 1951); Nārada-bhakti-sūtras (text, translation and notes) ed. by Swami Tyāgīśānanda (Ramakrisna Math, Mylapore, Madras, 1943) in five *adhyāyas* and 84 sūtras; the Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā in two volumes (Adyar, 1916); Dr. F. Otto Schrader's Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā (Adyar, 1916); Jayākhya-saṁhitā with English and Sanskrit Introductions (G. O. S. 1931); the Parama-saṁhitā (G. O. S., 1946) with English Translation by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar; the Bṛhadbrahmasaṁhitā (of Nārada-pāñcarātra) in the Ānandāśrama series, 1912); Bhakticandrikā (commentary on Śāṇḍilya's Bhaktisūtras) by Nārāyaṇatīrtha (Sarasvatibhavan series, 1921, 1938); Bhaktiprakāśa of Mitramiśra (Chowkhamba Series, 1934); Bhaktinirṇaya of Anantadeva (ed. by Pandit Anantasastri Phadke, Banaras, 1937). There is a good deal of Bhakti literature in South India, such as the hymns of the Āḻwārs, but no reference is made here to it for several reasons.

Before proceeding with the treatment of *bhakti* in the Purāṇas the words 'bhakti' and 'Bhāgavata' must be briefly defined and explained. Śāṇḍilya defines[1553a] 'bhakti' as 'sā

1552a. अथातो भक्तिजिज्ञासा। सा परानुरक्तिरीश्वरे। शाण्डिल्य I. 1. 1–2; स्वमेश्वर comments: आराध्यविषयकरागत्वमेव सा। इह तु परमेश्वरविषयकान्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव भक्तिः। The verse relied on is: या प्रीतिरविवेकानां विषयेष्वनपायिनी। त्वामनुस्मरतः सा मे हृदयान्मापसर्पतु॥ विष्णुपु० I. 20. 19. स्वमेश्वर also quotes गीता 'मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम्। कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं तुष्यन्ति च रमन्ति च॥ तेषां सततयुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम्। ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते॥ X. 9–10. On अनुरक्ति he remarks 'भगवन्महिमादिज्ञानावस्तु पश्चात् जायमानावनुरक्तिरित्युक्तम्'. स्वमेश्वर refers

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parānuraktiriśvare'. This may be interpreted in two ways 'the highest form of bhakti is affection fixed on God' or 'bhakti is the highest affection fixed on God'. Svapneśvara, the author of a bhāṣya on Śāṇḍilya, prefers the first and Nārada-bhakti-sūtra, Tilak and others favour the second. Svapneśvara explains that in general 'bhakti' means 'affection fixed on a being that is to be won over or worshipped', but that in this śāstra it means 'a particular state of the mind having the Supreme Lord as its object' and quotes a verse from the Viṣṇupurāṇa uttered by the great devotee Prahlāda 'May that fixed (or unwavering) love, which the ignorant (or unreflecting) people feel for worldly objects, never depart from my heart, ever remembering you'. The Gītā employs the word 'prīti' (affection) and conveys that the word 'bhakti' is derived from the root 'bhaj' to resort to. 'Those whose minds are on me, whose lives are offered to me, who instruct each other, who speak of me, are always contented and happy. On these who are continuously devoted to me and serve me with affection, I bestow that knowledge by which they reach me'. Svapneśvara explains that the word 'anurakti' (with prefix 'anu') is employed to convey that the affection for God arises *after* the devotee secures knowledge of the greatness and other attributes of the Bhagavat (Adorable One). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa the word 'anurāga' is used for 'bhakti', where, after describing the ascent of Rāma and his brothers to heaven, it says that the people of the capital of Kosala who had deep affection for those incarnate parts of the Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), having their minds fixed on them, reached the position of residence in the same world with them. Śāṇḍilya further[1553] says that there is the teaching that there is immortality for him who abides in Him. In the Chāndogya Up. it is said 'He who abides in brahman reaches immortality'. The idea is that immortality being the promise of abiding in God, there will be no indifference in the effort to know God or in the effort to

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to विष्णुपुराण IV. 4. 103 'येपि तेषु भगवद्वंशेष्वनुरागिणः कोसलनगरजानपदास्तेपि तन्मनस्तत्तालोक्यतामेवापुः'. The भागवत holds that the highest bhakti must be disinterested and uninterrupted; अहैतुक्यव्यवहिता या भक्तिः पुरुषोत्तमे। भागवत III. 29. 12. The next verse mentions the four stages of beatitude 'सालोक्यसार्ष्टि-सामीप्यसायुज्यैकत्वमप्युत' (एकत्व is 5th, final goal).

1553. तत्संस्थस्यामृतत्वोपदेशात्। शाण्डिल्य I.1.30; स्वप्नेश्वर explains; 'तस्मिन्नीश्वरे संस्था भक्तिर्यस्य स तथोक्तः'. The छान्दोग्य declares 'ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति' (II. 23.1) and the same meaning is conveyed by ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 1. 7 'तद्धितस्य मोक्षोपदेशात्'.

cultivate highest affection for God. It may be noticed that the sūtras of Nārada appear to be a mere paraphrase of Śāṇḍilya's aphorisms.[1554] Śāṇḍilya further (sūtra 7) provides that bhakti, like knowledge, is not an action because it does not follow an effort of the will and that (sūtra 9) it is different from *jñāna*, as the Gītā refers to self-surrender being attained by one having knowledge after many births (Gītā VII. 19).

Our ancestors had a great *penchant* for classifications, divisions and sub-divisions. Bhakti is divided into *laukikī* (of the common people), *Vaidikī* (laid down by the Veda) and *ādhyātmikī* (philosophical), as in Padma V. 15. 164; or *mānasī* (mental), *vācikī* (verbal) and *kāyikī* (done with the body, such as fasts, vratas &c.) in Padma V. 15. 165–168; into Sāttvikī, Rājasī and Tāmasī (as in Bhāgavata III. 29. 7–10 and Padma VI. 126. 4–11); into best, middling and inferior as in Brahmāṇḍa III.[1555] 34. 38–41).

Prapatti (self-surrender) is distinguished from bhakti in works of the Rāmānuja and of other Vaiṣṇava schools. It consists of five points[1556] viz. resolution to yield (to God's will), the abandoning of opposition, faith that God will protect (the devotee), praying to God to save the devotee, and a feeling of helplessness shown by casting one's soul on Him. Bhakti has as synonyms the words' dhyāna', 'upāsanā' &c. and is subsidiary to *prapatti*. The Gītā explicitly makes no such distinction. In Gītā II. 7 Arjuna speaks of himself as 'prapanna' (who has approached or surrendered himself for salvation). The final advice at the end of the Gītā enjoins what is called *prapatti* in later works 'On me fix your mind, become my devotee, sacrifice

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1554. अथातो भक्तिं व्याख्यास्यामः। सा त्वस्मिन्परमप्रेमरूपा। अमृतस्वरूपा च। नारद-भक्तिसूत्र 1–3.

1555. The ब्रह्माण्ड mentions नारद, शुक, अम्बरीष, रन्तिदेव, मार्कण्डेय, बलि, विभीषण, प्रह्लाद, गोपीs and उद्धव as exemplars of highest भक्ति; वसिष्ठ and मनु as practising मध्यमा and ordinary men as practising kaniṣṭhā (inferior) भक्ति. The नारदभक्तिसूत्र 83 mentions many of these as भक्त्याचार्याः: 'इत्येवं वदन्ति। जनजल्पनिर्भया एकमताः कुमारव्यासशुकशाण्डिल्यगर्गविष्णुकौण्डिल्य-शेष-उद्धव-आरुणिबलिहनुमद्विभीषणादयो भक्त्याचार्याः।'. कुमार stands for नारद, son of ब्रह्मा.

1556. ध्यानशब्दवाच्या भक्तिर्विद्यानेवाङ्गद्विधा। ...प्रपत्तिर्नाम-आनुकूल्यस्य सङ्कल्पः प्रातिकूल्यस्य वर्जनम्। रक्षिष्यतीति विश्वासो गोप्तृत्ववरणं तथा। आत्मनिक्षेपकार्पण्ये-इत्याद्यङ्ग-षाङ्गमुक्ता। यतीन्द्रमतदीपिका p. 64. This work remarks that this प्रपत्ति must be learnt from the lips of a guru and therefore it does not expound it. Some read आत्मनिक्षेपः कार्पण्यं and thus raise the aṅgas of प्रपत्ति to six.

to me, offer adoration to me; you will certainly reach me; I declare to you truly, you are dear to me. Giving up all (*dharmas*) duties, come to me as your (only) refuge; I shall release you from all sins; do not grieve'.[1557] Vide also Gītā VII. 14, 15 and XV. 4 for other instances of the use of the root 'pra-pad'. The theory propounded in the Gītā and other works on bhakti was that bhakti led on to 'prasāda' (favour or grace) of God which enables the devotee to attain mokṣa.[1558] The Gītā (18. 56, 58, 62) says 'a man, though always performing all actions, but solely depending on me, obtains an imperishable and eternal place through my favour; if you fix your mind on me, you will get over all difficulties through my favour; go to Him as the refuge with all your heart, O Arjuna, through His grace you will attain the highest peace and an everlasting abode.' In the Viṣṇupurāṇa Prahlāda[1559] is told by the Adorable One 'as your mind is firmly and devotedly fixed on me you will by my favour attain the highest bliss'. The idea of God's grace occurs both in the Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads:[1560] 'The Self, smaller than the small and greater than the great, is hidden in the heart of the creatures; a man who is free from willing anything and free from grief sees the greatness of the Self through the favour of the Creator'.

There is a great difference between the Gītā and the Nārāyaṇīya section. In the former, though the Supreme Soul is called Vāsudeva,[1561] the doctrine of the four vyūhas, that is very

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1557. मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु । मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥ सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज । अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥ गीता 18. 65-66. धर्मान् here refers to the duties of varṇas (brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya &c) and of āśramas (such as those of householder or ascetic &c.) or धर्मान् may refer to actions enjoined by the Veda and smṛtis. This last exhortation is practically repeated from the end of the 9th chapter 'मन्मना ...नमस्कुरु । मामेवैष्यसि युक्त्वैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥' 9. 34.

1558. भक्तिप्रपत्तिभ्यां प्रसन्न ईश्वर एव मोक्षं ददाति । अतस्तयोरेव मोक्षोपायत्वम् । यतीन्द्रमतदीपिका p. 64.

1559. यथा ते निश्चलं चेतो मयि भक्तिसमन्वितम् । तथा त्वं मत्प्रसादेन निर्वाणं परमाप्स्यसि ॥ विष्णुपु० I. 20. 28.

1560. अणोरणीयान्महतो महीयानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गुहायाम् । तमक्रतुः पश्यति वीतशोको धातुः प्रसादान्महिमानमात्मनः । कठोप० II. 20, श्वेताश्व० III. 20 (reads आत्मा गुहायां निहितोस्य जन्तोः, अक्रतुम्, महिमानमीशम्).

1561. बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान्मां प्रपद्यते । वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥ गीता VII. 19; वृष्णीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि । गीता X. 37.

characteristic of the Nārāyaṇīya section, is totally absent and further even the names of Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha do not occur in the Gītā. In my opinion the Gītā is the older of the two, as it propounds the general doctrine of bhakti, while the Pāñcarātra doctrine in the Nārāyaṇīya is only one of the several bhakti schools. Moreover, the Nārāyaṇīya section represents that Gītā had already been proclaimed and that the knowledge brought from Śvetadvīpa by Nārada is the same as that declared in the Harigītā (chap. 346. 10–11, 348. 53–54). Śānti (348. 55–57) mentions that there was only one vyūha or there were two, three or four and that the Ekāntins attached great importance to ahiṁsā. Besides, the worship of Vāsudeva is older than Pāṇini, since[1562] Pāṇini teaches the formation of the word Vāsudevaka as meaning 'one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva'. Vide Dr. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.' paragraphs 2–10 (pp. 3–19 of vol. IV of the collected works) for the antiquity of Vāsudeva worship. The general view of most medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra about Pāñcarātra is represented by the Pārijāta quoted in the K. R. that the Pāñcarātra[1563] and Pāśupata śāstras are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed to the Vedas. This was the view of the Sūtasaṁhitā also, on which a commentary was composed by the famous Mādhavācārya.

In some Purāṇas the word Vāsudeva is not derived[1564] from Vasudeva (as the son of Vasudeva) but from the root 'vas' to dwell. 'Vāsudeva is so called because all beings dwell in the Highest Self and Vāsudeva dwells in beings as the soul of all'. Compare Gītā 9. 29 'I am alike to all beings; none is odious to me nor dear; but those who worship me with faith dwell in me and I too dwell in them'.

1562. भक्तिः। ...वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्। पा. IV. 3. 95 and 98 (वासुदेवः भक्तिः सेव्यः यस्य स वासुदेवकः).

1563. पञ्चरात्रपाशुपतादीन्यपि शास्त्राणि वेदाविरुद्धानि प्रमाणमेवेति पारिजातः। कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 37; तथा च योऽशो मार्गाणां वेदेन न विरुध्यते। सोंशः प्रमाणमित्युक्तं केषांचिदधिकारिणाम्। अत्यन्तगलितानां तु प्राणिनां वेदमार्गतः। सूतसंहिता IV. 4, 16–18.

1564. सर्वाणि तत्र भूतानि वसन्ति परमात्मनि। भूतेषु च स सर्वात्मा वासुदेवस्ततः स्मृतः॥ विष्णुपु० VI. 5. 80, ब्रह्मपु० 233. 68 (reads निवसन्ति परात्मनि). There is another verse 'भूतेषु वसते योन्तर्वसन्त्यत्र च तानि यत्। धाता विधाता जगतां वासुदेवस्ततः प्रभुः॥ विष्णुपु० VI. 5. 82, ब्रह्मपु० 233. 70 (but it says that this verse contains what Prajāpati declared to great sages). विष्णुपु० (I. 2. 12–13) states 'सर्वत्रासौ समस्तं च वसत्यत्रेति वै यतः। ततः स वासुदेवेति विद्वद्भिः परिपठ्यते॥.'

The word *bhagavat* calls for a brief notice. It was generally applied to Vāsudeva. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says 'The word *bhaga* is applied to the six qualities collectively viz. fulness of sway, manliness (or energy), glory, auspiciousness, knowledge and indifference to wordly objects. This noble word *bhagavān* applies to Vāsudeva who is the Highest Brahma and to no one else'.[1565] The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1566] further states that the word 'bhagavat' may be applied secondarily to others on the ground of possessing special qualities "that person may be called 'bhagavān', who knows about the creation and dissolution (of the world), about the origin and final destiny of beings, and knows what is *vidyā* and *avidyā* (nescience). Knowledge, strength power, sway, manliness, splendour—all these in their entirety, excluding the three guṇas (and their effects) that are to be avoided, are expressed by the word bhagavat". Bhāgavata is one who worships 'Bhagavat' (i. e. Vāsudeva). This is an ancient word. It occurs in the Besnagar column inscription (of the 2nd century B C.) of Heliodora, a Greek of Takṣaśilā and ambassador of Antalikita, who calls himself a bhāgavata (a devotee of Vāsudeva); vide above p. 516 n. 742 and 'Indo-Greeks' by Prof. A. K. Narain (1957), where at end he gives the full Besnagara Ins. of nine lines and its reading (Plate VI.). It appears that 'bhagavat' was rarely applied to Śiva also. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad speaks[1567] of Śiva as 'bhagavān'. Patañjali in his bhāṣya on Pāṇini V. 2. 76 speaks of Śivabhāgavata.[1568] In the Ghosuṇḍī stone

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1565. ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य वीर्यस्य यशसः श्रियः। ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा॥ एवमेव महाञ्छब्दो मैत्रेय भगवानिति। परमब्रह्मभूतस्य वासुदेवस्य नान्यगः॥ विष्णुपु॰ VI. 5. 74 and 76. The वृद्धहारीतस्मृति VI. 164-165 has ऐश्वर्यं च तथा वीर्यं तेजः शक्तिरनुत्तमा। ज्ञानं बलं यदेतेषां षण्णां भग इतीरितः। एभिर्गुणैः प्रपूर्णो यः स एव भगवान् हरिः।, शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र II. 2. 44 remarks about the व्यूहs 'ईश्वरा एवैते सर्वे ज्ञानैश्वर्यशक्तिबलवीर्यतेजोभिरैश्वरैर्धर्मैरन्विता अभ्युपगम्यन्ते'. शङ्कराचार्य probably follows the विष्णुपुराण VI 5. 78-79.

1566. उत्पत्तिं प्रलयं चैव भूतानामागतिं गतिम्। वेत्ति विद्यामविद्यां च स वाच्यो भगवानिति॥ ज्ञानशक्तिबलैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजांस्यशेषतः। भगवच्छब्दवाच्यानि विना हेयैर्गुणादिभिः॥ विष्णुपु॰ VI. 5. 78-79; ब्रह्मपु॰ 233. 66-68.

1567. सर्वव्यापी स भगवान् तस्मात्सर्वगतः शिवः। श्वेताश्व॰ III. 11.

1568. अयःशूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ। पा. V. 2. 76; महाभाष्य 'किं पोऽयःशूलेनाभिच्छति स आयःशूलिकः। किं चातः। शिवभागवते प्रामोति। एवं तर्ह्युत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः। अयःशूलनिघायःशूलम्। यो सुकुनोपायेनाभ्येष्टव्यानर्थान् रभसेनाभिच्छति स उच्यते आयःशूलिकः'. शिवभागवत is to be explained as शिवो भगवान् भक्तिरस्य शिवभागवतः i. e. a devotee that carried with him a tridcht, which is a weapon of Śiva.

Inscription[1569] in Sanskrit (near Nagarī in the Chitorgaḍh District of Rajputana) there is a reference to both Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva as *bhagavat* and it calls them Sarveśvara (about 200 B. C.), while the Besnagara inscription speaks of Vāsudeva alone and Heliodora calls himself bhāgavata. In some early records such as the Pīkira grant of Simhavarman (E. I. vol. VII. p. 161) and in Gupta Inscription No. 4 (at p. 27) Simhavarman and Candragupta (II) son of Samudragupta are called '*paramabhāgavata*'. Akrūra is styled mahābhāgavata in Brahmapurāṇa 190. 20; Padma VI. 280. 27 defines a Mahābhāgavata as noted below.[1570]

Three *mārgas* (paths) are spoken of in ancient works viz. karmamārga, bhaktimārga and jñānamārga. It is necessary to say here something about the path of *bhakti* and that of *jñāna*. Both these paths are deemed to lead to the same goal, viz. *mokṣa*. The mode of approach in the two is, however, different. In the path of knowledge (or *avyaktopāsanā*) it is not bare book knowledge of *brahman* as the Supreme Soul and as *nirguṇa* that will lead to mokṣa; for that purpose what is required is the *brāhmī-sthiti* (state of identifying oneself with *brahma*) mentioned in Gītā II. 72. This condition can be secured only by great efforts and long practice as described in Gītā II. 55 and the following verses. In the path of knowledge whatever actions the person concerned may do are *brahmārpaṇa*, as described in Gītā IV. 18–24. In the path of *bhakti* the bhakta resigns himself to God's grace and whatever he does he consigns to the God worshipped by him such as Vāsudeva (*saguṇa* and *vyakta*). Arjuna asks the Lord a question in Gītā XII. 1 'of the worshippers who thus constantly devoted meditate on you and those who (meditate) on the Unperceived and Indestructible, which

1569. Vide E. I. XVI pp. 25–27 and I A. vol. 61 pp. 203–205 for the Ghosuṇḍī Stone Inscription, where Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva are both styled 'Bhagavat' and 'Sarveśvara'.

1570. तापादिपञ्चसंस्कारी नवेज्याकर्मकारकः। अर्थपञ्चकविद् विप्रो महाभागवतः स्मृतः॥ पद्म VI. 280. 27. For तापादि, vide note 1546 above. The nine modes of worship are स्मरण &c. quoted in note 1571. The five heads under which the doctrines of the रामानुज school are discussed are: (1) जीव, (2) ईश्वर, (3) उपाय (way to God), (4) फल or पुरुषार्थ (the goals of human life), (5) विरोधिनः (obstructions or obstacles to the attainment of God). There is a work called अर्थपञ्चक by नारायण, in which each of the above five heads is shown to have five sub-divisions Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's paper in Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886, Aryan section, pp. 101–110 for a summary of the work called अर्थपञ्चक.

best know devotion'. The reply given in XII. 2–7 is 'those who, being constantly devoted and possessed of the highest devotion, worship me with a mind fixed on me are regarded by me as the most devoted. But those who, restraining the group of the senses, and with a mind equable to all, meditate on the indescribable, indestructible, unperceived (Principle), which is all-pervading, inconceivable, unconcerned, immoveable, and constant, they, devoted to the good of all beings, certainly attain to me. In the case of those whose minds are attached to the unperceived (Principle or Spirit) the trouble is much greater, since the unperceived goal is attained by embodied beings with difficulty. In the case of those, however, who dedicating all their actions to me and regarding me as their highest goal worship me, meditating on me with a devotion towards none beside me and whose minds are placed on me, I, without delay, become their deliverer from the ocean of *saṁsāra* and death'. In chapter 9 the path of bhakti is spoken of in these terms 'it is the chief among vidyās (lores), chief among mysteries; it is the best means of sanctification; it can be directly apprehended, it is in accordance with dharma, imperishable and *easy to practise*'. According to the Gītā, therefore, the path of bhakti is easier than the path of knowledge.

The Bhāgavata says that *bhakti* is ninefold[1571] viz. hearing about Viṣṇu, repeating his name, remembering him, worshipping the feet (of the image of Viṣṇu), offering pūjā, bowing (or homage), treating oneself as the slave of Viṣṇu, treating Him as a friend and surrendering one's soul to Him. According[1572] to Nārada-bhakti-sūtra it is elevenfold (as noted below). It is

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1571. श्रवणं कीर्तनं विष्णोः स्मरणं पादसेवनम् । अर्चनं वन्दनं दास्यं सख्यमात्मनिवेदनम् ॥ इति पुंसार्पिता विष्णौ भक्तिश्चेन्नवलक्षणा । क्रियते भगवत्यद्धा तन्मन्येऽधीतमुत्तमम् ॥ भागवत VII. 5. 23–24. प्रह्लाद says this to his father. स्मृतिकीर्त्योः कथाश्रद्धानौ मायश्चित्तभावात् । शाण्डिल्य 74; स्मरणकीर्तनकथानमस्कारादीनामार्तभक्तौ निवेशः । स्वमेध्यप्रमहापातकिनां त्वार्तौ । शाण्डिल्य 82; पतनहेतुपापरतानां च पुनरार्तिभक्तावेवाधिकारः प्रायश्चित्तवत् तत्पापक्षयस्य सर्वापेक्षयाभ्यर्हितत्वात् । ···तदपगमे तु सुतरामधिकारसिद्धिः । The भक्तिप्रकाश (part of वीरमित्रोदय) in pp. 30–128 explains these nine at great length. Even the तान्त्रिक writers took over these nine modes of bhakti e. g. the रुद्रयामल (27. 103–104) provides 'मननं कीर्तनं ध्यानं स्मरणं पादसेवनम् । अर्चनं··· निवेदनम् ॥ एतद्भक्तिप्रसादेन जीवन्मुक्तस्तु साधकः ।'.

1572. गुणमाहात्म्यासक्ति-रूपासक्ति-पूजासक्ति-स्मरणासक्ति-दास्यासक्ति-सख्यासक्ति-कान्तासक्ति-वात्सल्यासक्ति-आत्मनिवेदनासक्ति-तन्मयतासक्ति-परमविरहासक्तिरूपा एकधा अपि एकादशधा भवति । नारदभक्तिसूत्र 83. The बृहद्नारदीयस्मृति 81–83 gives slightly differing nine aspects of bhakti.

not to be supposed that all these nine methods have to be practised at the same time. A devotee practising any one of these, viz. remembering or reciting His name, may thereby become a true bhakta, and may win God's favour and secure liberation (Śāṇḍilyasūtra 73). The Gītā (VII. 16–17) states 'four classes of men, who are (all) fortunate, worship me viz. one who is in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object (or seeks wealth), one who is possessed of knowledge; of these he who is possessed of knowledge, who is always devoted and who worships One (Being) only is distinguished (above others), for to the man of knowledge I am extremely dear and he is dear to me'. Śāṇḍilya provides that the four aspects (out of nine) viz. remembering God, reciting His name, narrating stories about Him and bowing to Him (His image), find their place in the bhakti of those who are distressed, for these are said to be the means of expiation of sins, as the Viṣṇupurāṇa says (II. 6. 39) that remembering Kṛṣṇa is superior to all prāyaścittas. Śāṇḍilya further says that those guilty of mortal (grave) sins are only entitled to the bhakti of the distressed; but when their sins have been wiped off they would be entitled to the other forms of bhakti.

Gītā does not expressly enumerate all these nine modes of bhakti, but most of them can be gathered from various passages of the Gītā such as IX. 14, 26, 27 and from passages in other Purāṇas. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa[1573] says 'whatever be the expiatory rites, consisting of austerities, deeds of charity &c., to remember Kṛṣṇa is superior to them all' and 'that repetition of His name with bhakti is the best solvent of all sins, as fire is of metals'. In the Bhāgavata[1574] it is said 'whatever the devotee does by his body, speech, mind, organs of sense, by his intellect or by his soul or by the force of temperament that he follows—all that he should offer to Nārāyaṇa who is highest'. This is entirely in line with Gītā IX. 27 and may be called 'dāsya-bhakti'; while Arjuna's bhakti is '*sakhya-bhakti*', as Lord Kṛṣṇa himself speaks of him as 'my devotee and a friend' (Gītā

1573. प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तपःकर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णानुस्मरणं परम् ॥ विष्णुप० II. 6. 39 = पद्म VI. 72. 13; यत्नामकीर्तनं भक्त्या विलापनमहत्तमम् । मैत्रेयाशेषपापानां धातूनामिव पावकः ॥ विष्णुपु० q. by स्वमेश्वर on शाण्डिल्यभक्तिसूत्र 74.

1574. कायेन वाचा मनसेन्द्रियैर्वा बुद्ध्यात्मना वानुसृतस्वभावात् । करोति यद्यत्सकलं परस्मै नारायणायेति समर्पयेत्तत् ॥ भाग. XI. 2 36.

IV. 3). It appears that the Gītā regards the performance[1575] of the duties of his station in life by a *bhakta* as worship (*arcana* or *pūjā*) of God 'worshipping by the performance of one's duties (without an eye to the fruit or rewards of them) God from whom the world springs and by whom all this world is permeated, a man obtains perfection (and not only by offering flowers or by reciting the name of God).

This central doctrine of the Gītā of what is called 'niṣkāma-karma' was accepted by the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu II. 3. 25 adopts it. The Agnipurāṇa in chapter 381 gives a summary of the Gītā in 58 verses which are mostly made up of passages from the Gītā. It winds up the summary with the verse quoted in note 1575 and emphasizes bhakti in the last verse.[1576] The Garuḍa-purāṇa summarises the Gītā in 28 verses (I. 237–238). The Padma (in VI. 171–188) contains the *māhātmya* of each of the 18 chapters of the Gītā interspersed with legends about the fruit of reading each Gītā chapter (1005 verses in all). A few further examples may be cited. The Kūrma says[1577] 'therefore even a man not possessed of (high) wisdom should perform all his duties (or actions) abandoning with all efforts the fruit (or reward) of actions; he obtains (high) abode after some time'; 'actions done after offering them to me do not tend to bind down the doer but tend to *mukti* (liberation)'. The Mārkaṇḍeya also refers to 'niskāma-karma'. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa provides 'a man performing (the rites) prescribed by the Veda but without attachment (not caring for the reward) and surrendering them to God secures freedom from the bondage of *karma* and the declaration of the reward (in the Veda) is only meant for stimulating effort.'

The doctrine of *advaita* in the Upaniṣads (such as in Īśā 16, Tai. Up. III. 4 and 8, Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 14, IV. 3. 30–31, IV. 5. 15) was for the wise. They offer very little to the ordinary man

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1575. यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम्। स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः॥ गीता 18. 46.

1576. अतः प्रवृत्ति'''भ्यर्च्य विष्णुं सिद्धिं च विन्दति। कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा। ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं जगद्विष्णुं च वेत्ति यः। सिद्धिमाप्नोति भगवद्भक्तो भागवतो ध्रुवम्॥ अग्निपु० 381. 56–58. कर्माण्यसङ्कल्पिततत्फलानि संन्यस्य विष्णौ परमात्मभूते। अवाप्य तां कर्महीमनन्ते तस्मिँल्लयं ये त्वमला प्रयान्ति। विष्णुपु० II. 3. 25.

1577. तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन त्यक्त्वा कर्माश्रितं फलम्। अविद्वानपि कुर्वीत कर्मानोति चिरात्परम्॥ कूर्म I. 3. 21; 'मय्यर्पितानि कर्माणि न बन्धाय विमुक्तये।' कूर्म II. 7. 28; न च बन्धाय तत्कर्म भवत्यनभिसन्धितम्। मार्क० 92. 15; वेदोक्तमेव कुर्वाणो निःसङ्गोऽर्पितमीश्वरे। नैष्कर्म्यां लभते सिद्धिं रोचनार्था फलश्रुतिः॥ भागवत XI. 3. 46.

about God or the ultimate destiny of man or the way to God and did not solve the common man's problems. The Gītā took up the problems of the common man; it shows to the lowliest of the lowly that there is hope for him, that the One and the True Being can enter into his life, if he consecrates all the daily duties and actions of his station in life to God and that salvation will come to every one if one has loving faith in God and surrenders himself entirely to his Grace. The Gītā proclaims (IX. 30–32) 'If even a man that has been very badly conducted worships me without worshipping any one else he should be regarded as a good man, since he has resolved upon the right course; he quickly becomes a righteous soul and reaches everlasting peace: O Arjuna! you may affirm that my devotee is never ruined. By taking refuge with me even those that are born in despised castes, also women, vaiśyas and śūdras reach the highest goal'. The Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra provides[1578] that all down to persons of the despised castes are entitled (to follow the path of bhakti) as they are capable of learning bhakti at second hand just as they can learn the common rules (of ahiṁsā, truthfulness &c.). The Purāṇas speak in the same strain as the Gītā and are sometimes even more explicit and emphatic. The Brahma-purāṇa paraphrases Gītā IX. 32 and proceeds 'my devotee even if he be a *cāṇḍāla* attains the desired beatitude, if he be endowed with the right faith; what need be said about others?' The Padma[1579] states 'A Pulkasa or even a śvāpaka and other persons belonging to Mleccha tribes become eminent and worthy of being honoured, if they are solely devoted to the worship of the feet of Hari'; 'Even a śvapāka is a Vaiṣṇava if on his lips there is the name of Hari, in whose heart there is Viṣṇu and in whose stomach goes food offered to Viṣṇu'. The Bhāgavata contains[1580]

1578. आनिन्द्ययोन्यधिक्रियते पारम्पर्यात् सामान्यवत्। शाण्डिल्यसूत्र 78.

1579. पुल्कसः श्वपचो वापि ये चान्ये म्लेच्छजातयः। तेऽपि वन्द्या महाभागा हरिपादैकसेवकाः॥ पद्म I. 5. 10. येषां मुखे हरेर्नाम हृदि विष्णुः सनातनः। उदरे विष्णुनैवेद्यं स श्वपाकोऽपि वैष्णवः॥ पद्म IV. 10. 66.

1580. किरातहूणान्ध्रपुलिन्दपुल्कसा आभीरकङ्का यवनाः खसादयः। येऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाश्रयाः शुध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रभविष्णवे नमः॥ भागवत II. 4. 18; विश्वामित्र pronounced a curse on his 50 elder sons, who did not consent to accepting Śunaḥśepa adopted as a son by Viśvāmitra as their eldest brother, that their progeny would be Andhras, be reduced to the status of the lowest class and they would be Śabaras &c. and mostly *dasyus* as follows: 'तानब्रुव्याज्जहारान्ध्रान्मजा भक्षीष्टेति। त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति वैश्वामित्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः। ऐ. ब्रा. VII. 18 (chap. 33. 6). In E. I. VIII p. 88 there is an Inscription of the 9th year of king Īśvarasena, an Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta, an ābhīra, in the Nasik caves (No. 15 plate VII).

the following remarkable statement: 'Homage to that Supreme Lord, by resorting to whom as refuge Kirātas[1581] (mountain-dwellers like Bhils), the Hūṇas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pulkasas, Ābhīras, Kaṅkas, Yavanas, Khasas and the like and other degraded men are purified.' These sentiments were not mere platitudes, but had been very largely acted upon. Even in the medieval ages in India we have women saints like Mirābai and Āṇḍāḷ (in South India), untouchables as saints like Nanda, Cokhāmeḷā (in Mahārāṣṭra), Rai Das (a *chāmār* disciple of Rāmānanda), sinners like Ajāmila honoured as saints. Saints like Kabir[1582] (a Moslem weaver) and Tukārām had probably not much book learning, but their hymns are recited by Hindus including orthodox brāhmaṇas.

The invasions and gradual conquest of India by Moslem invaders from the Northwest threw down a challenge to Hindus from 11th century A.D. onwards. It was met in various ways. The first was the composition of comprehensive digests of smṛtis of which the earliest extant one is the Kṛtyakalpataru of *Lakṣmīdhara* (about 1110–1130 A.D.) in the North and Hemādri in the Deccan (third quarter of 13th century). The second and the most important way was on the spiritual front. From the 13th to the 17th century there was a great revival of spirituality on an unprecedented scale which produced saints and mystics in all parts of India such as Jñāneśvara, Nāmadeva, Rāmānanda, Kabir,[1582] Caitanya,

1581. Pulkasas and Śvapākas were degraded and untouchable castes. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 88-89 for Pulkasa and p. 97 for Śvapāka (lit. who subsists on dog-meat). Pulkasa occurs in Vāj. S. 30. 17. Kirātas are assigned to caves in Vāj. S. 30. 16. The Ābhīras are described as dasyus and mlecchas in Mausala-parva 7. 46–63, they are said to have attacked Arjuna in Pañcanada when he was taking women with him after Kṛṣṇa's passing away and to have carried away Vṛṣṇi women (Mausala 8. 16–17). Vide also the same account in Viṣṇupurāṇa V. 38. 12–28. Matsya 273. 18 speaks of ten Ābhīra kings. The Khasa tribe had the custom of a brother marrying his deceased brother's widow. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 861 n. 1671.

1582. Vide G. H. Westcott on 'Kabir and Kabir-panth' (Cawnpore, 1907) and 'Kabir and his followers' by F. E. Keay (1931). Kabir's teaching was an amalgam of both Hindu and Moslem ideas. He preached a doctrine of theism that did not tolerate polytheism, incarnations and idols. Kabir is said to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda (who lived about 1400–1470 A. D.), an ascetic who preached at Benares that God should be worshiped under the name of Rāma. Kabir held to the doctrines of Karma and Transmigration. He believed in the unity of God, but makes use of many names such as Rāma, Khudā, Allāh, Śakti in speaking of Him.

Dadu (in Rajasthan), Nānak, Vallabhācārya, Ekanātha, Tukārām, Rāmadāsa (and many others of lesser fame) who all agreed on fundamentals viz. unity of God, the need of self-purification, condemnation of the pride of caste and of formalities of worship, and surrender to the Deity for salvation. The third was the creation of such independent kingdoms as that of Vijayanagara (1330–1565 A. D.), of Mahārāṣṭra (under Shivaji and the Peshwas) and of the Sikhs in Punjab. This last cannot be dealt with way in this work. The doctrine of bhakti had a great appeal to all sections of the Hindu community and its propagation by the Purāṇas went a long away in weaning away Hindus from Buddhism. Not only so, Mahāyāna Buddhism took over the doctrine of bhakti and works like the 'Questions of Milinda' and the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka[1583] contain passages which agree closely with the Gītā. The Gītā exhibits a wonderful spirit of tolerance and accommodation, not found in the scriptures of other religions which were founded by great prophets. It says[1584] 'even those, who are devotees of other deities and worship them with faith, (indirectly) worship me only but with a non-śāstric (or irregular) procedure.' The Bhāgavata-purāṇa elaborates the same idea; 'O Adorable One! others worship you alone in the form of Śiva while following the path promulgated by Śiva and propounded in different ways by several *ācāryas*, all worship you who are Lord and who comprehend in yourself all gods; those also who are devotees of other deities and appear to have different ideas do in the end reach you, just as all rivers rising in mountains and flooded by rains enter the ocean from all sides'. The Śāntiparva[1585] also contains a similar idea 'Those who worship Brahmā, Śiva or other deities and whose conduct (or practice) is intelligent will (ultimately) come to me, who am the Highest'. This doctrine has its germs in the Ṛgveda[1586]

1583. Vide H. Kern's Introduction to the translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka in SBE. vol. 21, pp. XXVI–XXVIII and XXIX n. 2, XXXI n. 1, XXXI n. 2.

1584. येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः। तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम्॥ गीता IX. 23; त्वामेवान्ये शिवोक्तेन मार्गेण शिवरूपिणम्। ब्रह्माचार्यविभेदेन भगवन्समुपासते॥ सर्व एव यजन्ति त्वां सर्वदेवमयेश्वरम्। येऽप्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यद्यप्यन्यधियः प्रभो॥ यथाद्रिप्रभवा नद्यः पर्जन्यापूरिताः प्रभो। विशन्ति सर्वतः सिन्धुं तद्वत्त्वां गतयोऽन्ततः॥ भागवत X. 40. 8–10.

1585. ब्रह्माणं शितिकण्ठं च याश्चान्या देवताः स्मृताः। प्रयुञ्जन्त्यर्चयः सेवन्तो मामेवैष्यन्ति यत्परम्॥ शान्ति 341. 36.

1586. एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः॥ ऋ. I. 164. 46.

itself where it is said 'the One Reality the sages speak of under various names; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind-god)'. This work cannot afford, for reasons of space, to go into the several bhakti schools such as those of Rāmānuja, Madhva (who postulated five eternal *bhedas*), Caitanya and Vallabha (that gave rise to an erotico-mystical brand of bhakti) and others.

In their zeal for the spread of the cult of bhakti the Purāṇas are sometimes guilty of gross exaggeration. The Brahma-purāṇa[1587] says 'men even after having committed many sins under the influence of error (or delusion), do not go to Hell, if they worship Hari who removes all sins; those men also who always remember Janārdana, though they may be guilty of roguery, reach, after they die, the happy world of Viṣṇu. Even a man who is habituated to flying into extreme rage, if he recites the name of Hari, has his faults destroyed and attains *mukti* (liberation) as the king of Cedi country did'. The Vāmana-purāṇa[1588] observes "what has that person got to do with many *mantras* (i. e. he has no use for those), who is a bhakta of Viṣṇu? The mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' is able to accomplish all objects. Success is for those who have bhakti for Viṣṇu; how can there be failure for them in whose heart is enthroned Janārdana dark like a blue lotus?" The Vāmana and Padma Purāṇas say that a man secures the same results by repeating the names of Viṣṇu that he would secure by visiting all the tīrthas (sacred places) and holy shrines[1589] in the world.

Many Purāṇas, particularly the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata, are replete with the eulogies, the theory and practice of *bhakti*

1587. कृत्वापि बहुशः पापं नरा मोहसमन्विताः। न यान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहरं हरिम्॥ ज्ञात्वेनापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम्। तेपि यान्ति तनुं त्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम्॥ अत्यन्तक्रोधसक्तोऽपि कदाचित्कीर्तयेद्धरिम्। सोपि दोषक्षयान्मुक्तिं लभेच्चेदिपतिर्यथा॥ ब्रह्म 216. 87–89. चेदिपति appears to refer to शिशुपाल, whose story occurs in सभापर्व chapters 43–45. He was the sister's son of Kṛṣṇa who had promised to forgive 100 *aparādhas* of his and at last killed him at the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. The story of शिशुपाल also occurs in विष्णु॰ IV. 15. 1–17 and it is said that शिशुपाल always took the name of Kṛṣṇa and always thought of him though as an enemy, and therefore he ultimately reached the Lord 'अयं हि भगवान् कीर्तितश्च संस्मृतश्च द्वेषानुबन्धेनापि अखिलसुरासुरादिदुर्लभं फलं प्रयच्छति किमुत सम्यग्भक्तिमतामपीति।' 17.

1588. किं तस्य बहुभिर्मन्त्रैर्भक्तिर्यस्य जनार्दने। नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रः सर्वार्थ-साधकः॥ विष्णुर्येषां जयस्तेषां कुतस्तेषां पराजयः। येषामिन्दीवरश्यामो हृदयस्थो जनार्दनः॥ वामन 94. 58–59. For the first verse, vide also नरसिंहपु॰ 63. 6.

1589. पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च। तानि सर्वाण्यवाप्नोति विष्णोर्नामानु-कीर्तनात्॥ वामन 94. 63, पद्म VI. 245. 85.

and illustrative stories about it. For reasons of space it is not possible to go into this matter at any length. A few noteworthy points alone will be touched. A few verses eulogising the Bhāgavatapurāṇa may be cited as samples of extreme exaggeration. 'Thousands[1590] of Aśvamedhas and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices are not equal to even the 16th part of the story narrated by Śuka; he who always recites a half or a quarter verse of the Bhāgavata secures the merit of Rājasūya and Aśvamedha; he who listens to the words of the śāstra of Śuka (i.e. Bhāgavata) at the time of death, Govinda being pleased with him confers on him Vaikuṇṭha; this is a good expiation for all sinners viz. uttering the name of Viṣṇu, since (at that time) their mind has Viṣṇu as the only object of thought'.[1591] Another point is the story of Ajāmila in the Bhāgavata (VI. 1. 20 ff and VI. 2), Padma (I. 31. 109 and VI. 87. 7) and other Purāṇas. Ajāmila[1592] (who abandoned his brāhmaṇa wife and kept a mistress) was a moral wreck addicted to gambling and thieving. When on his deathbed at the age of 80 he loudly called upon his youngest son named Nārāyaṇa (out of ten sons born of the mistress) with affection and recited that name and thought of that alone, he became free from his sins and attained a high position difficult to attain'. Such stories have given rise to the common belief that the last thought at one's death leads to a new birth appropriate to that thought (*ante matiḥ sā gatiḥ*). The Upaniṣads contain the germ of the idea of the last thought; vide. Chān. Up. III. 14. 1, VIII. 2. 10, Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 5. In the 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 pp. 123–124) this idea of the importance of the last thought is taken up. It may be that a single heart-felt invocation of the name of God, a single act of faith after

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1590. अश्वमेधसहस्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च। शुकशास्त्रकथायाश्च कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम्॥ श्लोकार्धं श्लोकपादं वा पठेद्भागवतं च यः। नित्यं पुण्यमवाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः॥ अन्तकाले तु येनैव श्रूयते शुकशास्त्रवाक्। प्रीत्या तस्यैव वैकुण्ठं गोविन्दोपि प्रयच्छति॥ पद्म VI. 191. 32, 39, 41.

1591. The Padmapurāṇa (VI. 189–194, 518 verses) contains a lengthy eulogy of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and of listening to its recitation for seven days (*saptāha*) &c.

1592. कान्यकुब्जे द्विजः कश्चिद् दासीपतिरजामिलः। नाम्ना नष्टसदाचारो दास्याः संसर्गदूषितः॥ चन्द्रक्षकैतवैश्चौर्यैर्गर्हितां वृत्तिमाश्रितः। भागवत VI. 1. 21–22; म्रियमाणो हरेर्नाम गृणन् पुत्रोपचारितम्। अजामिलोप्यगाद्धाम किं पुनः श्रद्धया गृणन्॥ भागवत VI. 2. 49; सर्वेषामप्यघवतामिदमेव सुनिष्कृतम्। नामव्याहरणं विष्णोर्यतस्तद्विषया मतिः॥ भागवत VI. 2. 10; म्रियमाणः सुतस्नेहात्प्रोच्य नारायणेति च। तद्ध्याननाममाहात्म्यात्पदं लेभे सुदुर्लभम्॥ पद्म IV. 87. 7; विक्रीय पुत्रमघवान्यदजामिलोपि नारायणेति म्रियमाण इयाय मुक्तिम्॥ पद्म I. 31. 109.

repentance and complete surrender to God's will, cancels the result of a whole life of crime and sin. This is the moral of Ajāmila's story, but it is liable to be grossly misapprehended and might create a complacent belief that a man may commit as many sins in his life as possible, but if he remembers God at his death and repeats His name then, all sins of his are cleared away and wiped out. This is a rather dangerous doctrine. The Gītā (VIII. 5–7) puts the matter in a clear light. 'That person, who remembers me at the time of death and passes from the world leaving the body, attains my essence, there is no doubt about that. Whatever form a man remembers when he leaves the body, to that he goes, *because he was always engrossed in that form.* Therefore remember me at all times and engage in battle; there is no doubt that having fixed your mind and intellect on me you will attain to me'. This passage of the Gītā suggests that a person will remember the name of God at the time of his death only if he had been so doing all his life, while engaged in actively performing all his duties and not caring for the rewards thereof and that it is extremely rare or almost impossible for a man to remember God at the last moment when throughout his life he had been ungodly and a great sinner. The above idea is again emphasized in verses 10–13 of chap. VIII (of the Gītā) and in chap. XIII. 3 (yo yac-chraddhaḥ sa eva saḥ).

In spite of the doctrine that God is one[1593] and the doctrine that whatever form of the deity one may worship, the worship reaches the Supreme Being, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas have been wrangling and abusing one another. For example, the Varāha-

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1593. The proposition that God is only one, that He is worshipped under various perceptible forms for concentrating the mind on Him, worship or contemplation of a formless object being difficult, are doctrines taught in the Purāṇas in spite of the fact that they preach worship of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Devī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 714–715 and pp. 118–119 above. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 65. 32 states: साकारे चञ्चलक्षस्तु शून्यं शक्नोति चिन्तितुम् । अन्यथा तु सुकष्टं स्यान्निरालम्बस्य चिन्तनम् ॥; vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 108. 23 ff, particularly the verse आदौ कृत्वा महाभागे साकारे लक्षबन्धनम् । ततः समर्थो भवति शून्ये ध्याने नरोत्तम ॥ 26. Indian theologians and philosophers deliberately spared lower forms of worship with the thought that it was better to begin at a lower rung of the ladder to the highest goal than not to have a footing at all. A well-known verse is: अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् । प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥ नृसिंहपुराण 62. 5 q. by अपरार्क on p. 140.

purāṇa makes Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu (chap. 70. 14 Nārāyāṇaḥ paro devaḥ), denounce Śaiva-siddhāntas that are outside the pale of the Vedas and put forward the outstanding view 'that such non-Vedic views were promulgated by Śiva himself at the request of Viṣṇu in order to delude people'.[1594] Some Purāṇas started by saying that the Bauddhas and Jainas[1595] were asuras and enemies of gods that were purposely deluded by god. For example, the Matsya (24. 43–49) says that the sons of Raji deprived Indra of his kingdom and share in sacrifices, that Bṛhaspati, at Indra's request, deluded the sons of Raji by composing a treatise of Jina-dharma which was opposed to the Veda and then Indra killed them. Vāyu 96. 230–32, Matsya 47. 11–12, Bhāgavata I. 3. 24 appear to suggest that Viṣṇu himself deluded the people. The Agni (16. 1–4) also says with reference to the Bauddhas that Viṣṇu deluded them. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa[1596] (III. 17–18) narrates that when the gods were

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1594. त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशास्त्राणि कारय। अल्पायासं दर्शयित्वा मोहयाशु महेश्वरः (र?)॥ वराह 70. 36; this verse and several more are quoted from वराह by अपरार्क p. 1052; ये वेदमार्गनिर्मुक्तास्तेषां मोहार्थमेव च। नयसिद्धान्तसंज्ञाभिर्मया शास्त्रं तु दर्शितम्॥ वराह 70. 41; त्वं हि रुद्र महाबाहो मोहनार्थे सुरद्विषाम्। पाखण्डाचरणं धर्मं कुरुष्व च महामते॥ तामसानि पुराणानि कथयात्र च तान् प्रति। मोहनानि च शास्त्राणि कुरुष्व च महामते॥ पद्म VI. 263. 24–25; तथा पाशुपतं शास्त्रं त्वमेव कुरु सुव्रत। कङ्कालशैवपाषण्ड-महाशैवादिभेदतः। अवलक्ष्य मतं सम्यग्वेदबाह्यं द्विजाधमाः। भस्मास्थिधारिणः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः॥ पद्म VI. 263. 32–33. कङ्कालशैवs are the कापालिकs. Compare similar passages in Kūrma I. 12. 261-62; Devībhāgavata VII. 39. 26–31 (अन्यानि-पानि शास्त्राणि लोकेस्मिन् विविधानि च॥ श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि तामसान्येव सर्वशः। वामकापालकं चैव कौलकं भैरवागमः॥ शिवेन मोहनार्थाय प्रणीतो नान्यहेतुकः। ...शैवाश्च वैष्णवाश्चैव सौराः शाक्तास्तथैव च। गाणपत्या आगमाश्च प्रणीता शङ्करेण तु॥ तत्र वेदाविरुद्धोंशोप्युक्त एव क्वचित् क्वचित्। वैदिकैस्तद्ग्रहे दोषो न भवत्येव कर्हिचित्॥).

1595. दिग्वाससामयं धर्मो धर्मोयं बहुवाससाम्। इत्यनेकान्तवादं च मायामोहेन नैकधा॥ तेन दर्शयता दैत्याः स्वधर्मे त्याजिता द्विज॥ विष्णुपु० III. 18. 11–12. This is an obvious reference to the Jain doctrine of सप्तभङ्गीनय.

1596. स्वल्पेनैव हि कालेन मायामोहेन तेऽसुराः। मोहितास्तत्यजुः सर्वा त्रयीमार्गाश्रितां कथाम्॥ केचिद्विनिन्दां वेदानां देवानामपरे द्विज। यज्ञकर्मकलापस्य तथान्ये च द्विजन्मनाम्॥ नैतद्युक्तिसहं वाक्यं हिंसा धर्माय चेष्यते। हवींष्यनलदग्धानि फलायेत्यर्भकोदितम्। यज्ञे-ष्वनेकैर्देवत्वमवाप्येन्द्रेण भुज्यते। शम्यादि यदि चेत्काष्ठं तद्वरं पत्रभुक् पशुः। निहतस्य पशोर्यज्ञे स्वर्गप्राप्तिर्यदीष्यते। स्वपिता यजमानेन किन्नु तस्मान्न हन्यते। तृप्तये जायते पुंसो भुक्तमन्येन चेत्ततः। कुर्याच्छ्राद्धं श्रमायासं न वहेयुः प्रवासिनः॥ विष्णुपु० III. 18. 24–29. Vide a similar narrative about Māyāmoha or Mahāmoha and his being naked, shaved, carrying peacock feathers &c. in पद्म V. 3. 346–390 (this last refers to 24 तीर्थंकरs). In the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह (ed. by M. M. Vasudevashastri Abhyankar, 1924) under चार्वाकदर्शन certain verses are quoted from बृहस्पति which closely resemble the above, e. g. पशुश्चेन्निहतः स्वर्गं ज्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति। स्वपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्मान्न हिंस्यते॥ p. 13. Vide पद्म V. 13. 370–374 for almost the same verses as in विष्णुपुराण.

defeated by the asuras (who also practised tapas and studied the Veda) they approached Viṣṇu and prayed to him to help them and to destroy the asuras and that then Viṣṇu produced from his body Māyā-moha (lit. who causes delusion by wiles) and made him over to the gods. Māyāmoha, who was naked, had shaved his head and held a bunch of peacock feathers in his hand, went to the asuras that were practising tapas on the banks of the Narmadā (III. 18. 1-2) and told them that if they followed his words they would secure *mukti*, led them away from the path of the Veda, taught them formulas of sceptical reasoning and weaned them away from their dharma. Then he approached other asuras and taught them that sacrificing animals was sinful, taught them nirvāṇa and the doctrines of *vijñānavāda*. Some of the passages are very striking 'In a short time the asuras were deluded by Māyāmoha and abandoned all concern with the path depending on the three Vedas. Some condemned the Vedas, some condemned the gods, while others condemned the body of sacrificial rites and brāhmaṇas. (They thought or said) The statement that killing an animal (in sacrifices) is desirable for the sake of Dharma (for accumulating merit) does not stand to reason; to say that offerings burnt by fire would conduce to reward (in the next world) is childish talk; (if it be said that) Indra attained the position of God by means of many sacrifices and enjoys the fuel-sticks of the śamī tree, then an animal (that subsists on leaves) is superior to Indra (who enjoys hard and thorny śamī *samidhs*). If it is desired (by the Veda) that the animal killed in a sacrifice attains heaven, then why does not the sacrificer kill his own father in a sacrifice (and send him to heaven)? If one (the son) performs śrāddha (with the thought) that what is eaten by one (brāhmaṇa diner at śrāddha) tends to give satisfaction to another (i. e. the deceased father of the offerer of śrāddha), then travellers would not carry food (on their backs) which causes weariness to them.' These are the arguments used by atheists (cārvākas). It is remarkable that even *tāntrik* works like the Kulārṇavatantra make Śiva say that he declared certain śāstras purely for deluding certain bad people who did not know the Kaula dharma.[1597]

From condemning the Jainas and Bauddhas some Purāṇas, entirely unmindful of what the Gītā declared (in note 1584),

1597. भ्रामिता हि मया देवि पशवः शास्त्रकोटिषु। कुलधर्मं न जानन्ति वृथा शास्त्राभिमानिनः॥ पशुशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि मयैव कथितानि हि। मूर्त्यर्थं तु गतेष्वेव मोहनाय दुरात्मनाम्॥ कुलार्णवतन्त्र II. 96-97 (ed. by Arthur Avalon).

proceeded so far as to say[1598] that a brāhmaṇa who is not a Vaiṣṇava is a heretic, that Viṣṇu himself assuming the form of Buddha proclaimed a false śāstra, and that all śāstras such as the Pāśupata, Vaiśeṣika of Kaṇāda, Nyāya of Gautama, Sāṅkhya of Kapila, Cārvāka of Bṛhaspati are *tāmasa*; that the *māyāvāda* (of Śaṅkara) is a false śāstra and is disguised Bauddha (doctrine) and the extensive śāstra (Pūrvamīmāṃsā) of Jaimini is condemned, since it made gods as of no use (in his system). The words of the Padma-purāṇa are; 'Listen O Goddess, while I declare to you in order the *tāmasa* śāstras, by merely remembering which even wise men become sinners. First of all I promulgated Śaiva śāstras such as the Pāśupata system; then the following were declared by brāhmaṇas that were possessed (or engrossed) by my *śakti* (power); viz. Kaṇāda proclaimed the great Vaiśeṣika system, the Nyāya and Sāṅkhya systems were declared respectively by Gautama and Kapila: the much despised Cārvāka doctrine was declared by Bṛhaspati, while Viṣṇu, assuming the form of Buddha, promulgated, for bringing about the destruction of *daityas*, the false doctrine of Bauddhas that go about naked or dressed in blue garments; I myself, O goddess, assuming the form of a brāhmaṇa declared in the Kali age the false śāstras of the doctrine of Māyā which is *bauddha* in disguise. The brāhmaṇa Jaimini composed the great system of Pūrvamīmāṃsa, which is unmeaning on account of its atheistic discourse'. Vijñāna-bhikṣu in his Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhāṣya (who flourished about 1550 A. D.) quotes eleven verses from the Padma VI. 263 and holds the peculiar view that no śāstra that is *āstika* (admits a soul) is unauthoritative nor is there any contradiction, each śāstra being of full force and true in its own sphere. The original Sāṅkhya sūtra, on which he comments, tries to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya are not in real or irreconcilable contradiction with the doctrine of all-pervading oneness of *brahma* or with the doctrine that *brahma* is bliss (*ānanda*) or the system of theism (i. e. a personal God). Sectarian exclusiveness and bigotry went so far that the Brahmāṇḍa[1599] contains a dialogue between sage Agastya and

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1598. अवैष्णवस्तु यो विप्रः स पाषण्डः प्रकीर्तितः। पद्म VI. 262. 27. The बृद्ध-हारीतस्मृति also requires the zealous Vaiṣṇava not to pay homage to or worship another god nor to enter the temple of another god 'नान्यं देवं नमस्कुर्यान्नान्यं देवं समुजयेत्। नान्यप्रसादं भुञ्जीत नान्यदायतनं विशेत्॥ 8. 85-86.

1599. शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि तामसानि यथाक्रमम्। येषां स्मरणमात्रेण पातित्यं ज्ञानिनामपि॥ मयैव हि मया चोक्तं शैवं पाशुपतादिकम्। मच्छक्त्याविष्टचित्तैस्तैर्मोहनानि च ततः शृणु॥

(Continued on next page)

Rāma in which it is said that the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa (who is acknowledged by all to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu) are so potent that the merit secured by repeating thrice the 1008 names of Viṣṇu is secured by repeating only once one of the 108 names (of Kṛṣṇa).[1600]

The Viṣṇu and Padma do not stand alone in this strange story of Viṣṇu himself or through Rudra teaching false doctrines for deluding the ungodly or those that dissented from or reviled the Vedas. There were other Purāṇas that sing the same tune; for example, the Kūrma-purāṇa indulges in a *vendetta* against many śāstras and systems in several places. A few passages are set out here. (Devī says) ' the various[1601] śāstras that are found in this world and are opposed to the Vedas and smṛtis are based on *tamas* (ignorance), viz. Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala (a class of Tantra works), Vāma (left-hand practices of a class of Tantras), Arhata (Jain doctrines), these and others are meant for deluding (persons); I produced these śāstras in another birth for deluding people '; ' therefore in order to protect (people) against those who were beyond the pale of the Vedas and for the destruction of sinners we shall, O Śiva, compose śāstras for deluding them; Rudra being thus advised by Mādhava (Viṣṇu) composed śāstras that delude and Viṣṇu also urged on by Rudra did the same;

(*Continued from last page*)

कणादेन तु संप्रोक्तं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत्। गौतमेन तथा न्यायं सांख्यं तु कपिलेन वै॥ धिषणेन तथा प्रोक्तं चार्वाकमतिगर्हितम्। दैत्यानां नाशनार्थाय विष्णुना बुद्धरूपिणा। बौद्धशास्त्रमसत्प्रोक्तं नग्ननीलपटादिकम्। मायावादमसच्छास्त्रं प्रच्छन्नं बौद्धमुच्यते। मयैव कथितं देवि कलौ ब्राह्मणरूपिणा। ...द्विजन्मना जैमिनिना पूर्वं चेदमपार्थकम्। निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम्॥ पद्म VI. 263. 67–71 and 75–76, quoted by विज्ञानभिक्षु in सांख्यप्रवचनभाष्य pp. 6–7 (B. I. edition).

1600. शृणु देवि प्रवक्ष्यामि नाम्नामष्टोत्तरं शतम्। सहस्रनाम्नां पुण्यानां त्रिरावृत्त्या तु यत्फलम्। एकावृत्त्या तु कृष्णस्य नामैकं तत्प्रयच्छति। तस्मात्पुण्यतरं चैतत् स्तोत्रं पातकनाशनम्॥ ब्रह्माण्ड III. 36. 18–20. Verses 21–41 set out the 108 names of Kṛṣṇa. The one thousand and eight names of Viṣṇu are set out in Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva 149. 14–120 and the Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. 15. 1–160) contains names of विष्णु, but often different from those in अनुशासन.

1601. यानि शास्त्राणि दृश्यन्ते लोकेऽस्मिन्विविधानि तु। श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि निष्ठा तेषां हि तामसी॥ कापालं भैरवं चैव यामलं वाममार्हतम्। एवंविधानि चान्यानि मोहनार्थानि तानि तु॥ मया सृष्टानि शास्त्राणि मोहायैषां भवान्तरे॥ कूर्म I. 12. 261–263; vide also कूर्म I. 16 17–19 and 24–26 where कापाल, नाकुल, वाम, भैरव, पञ्चरात्र and पाशुपत are mentioned as produced for the same purpose. The ताराभक्तिसुधार्णव (6th तरङ्ग) p. 272 quotes the कूर्मपुराण passage and remarks that those passages are meant only for praising the Veda and are not to be understood as conveying that *Tāntrik āgamas* are unauthoritative.

(they produced the śāstras) called Kāpāla, Nākula,[1602] Vāma, Bhairava (early and later), Pāñcarātra, Pāśupata and thousands of others; Śaṅkara came down to the earth, wearing garlands of skull-bones and covered with ashes from a cemetery and wearing profuse matted pair, trying to delude this world and engaged in begging for the benefit of these'; 'One should[1603] not honour even by words *Pañcarātra* and *Pāśupata* people that are heretics, following prohibited avocations and those who follow left-hand *śākta* practices; when Buddhist mendicants, Nirgranthas, those who study the Pañcarātra doctrines, Kāpālikas, Pāśupatas and other similar heretics, being bad and deluded, eat the śrāddha food (meant for a deceased person) that śrāddha would be of no use in this world and the next.' For details of some of the heretical sects, vide 'Heretical sects in the Purāṇas' by Śrī Radhakrishna Choudhary in ABORI vol 37 (1956) pp. 234–257.

The Gītā (in chapter 16) speaks of two classes of people, viz. those born to godlike endowments and those born with demoniac qualities and describes the latter in verses 7–20. Some of the verses probably indicate that the reference is to atheists and the like; for verse 8 states 'they say that the world is devoid of truth

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1602. Nākula stands for what is Lakulīśa-pāśupata-darśana in the Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha. The Liṅgapurāṇa (24. 124–133) dilates upon Lakulī. The Vāyupurāṇa (chap. 23. 221–224) mentions in a prophetic vein Nakulī (Lakulī) as the founder of a Śaiva sect and Kāyārohaṇa (modern Karavan in Dabhoi Taluka of former Baroda State) as its sacred place (siddha-kṣetra). The Mathurā Ins. of Candragupta II dated in Gupta era 61 (380 A. D.) in E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1 ff shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished about the first century A. D. Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism' &c. p 166 (in collected works) and the paper 'Antiquities in Kārvan with reference to Lakulīśa worship' in Journal of Bom. Uni. vol. 18 part 4 pp. 43–67 by Mr. M. R. Majmudar and Pāśupata-sūtra of Nakulīśa in T. S. S.; E. I. vol. XXI pp. 1–9, JBBRAS vol. XXII pp. 151–167 (both by D. R. Bhandarkar), IHQ. vol. 19 (1943) pp. 270–271 for the origin and history of the Lakulīśa sect.

1603. पाखण्डिनो विकर्मस्थान्वामाचारांस्तथैव च। पञ्चरात्रान् पाशुपतान् वाङ्मात्रेणापि नार्चयेत्॥ कूर्म II. 16. 15; वृद्धश्रावकनिर्ग्रन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः। कापालिकाः पाशुपताः पाषण्डा ये च तद्विधाः॥ यस्याश्नन्ति हवींष्येते दुरात्मानस्तु तामसाः। न तस्य तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं प्रेत्य चेह फलप्रदम्॥ कूर्म II. 21. 32–33. The verse 'बौद्धश्रावक ···तद्विधाः is q. by हे. on श्राद्ध p. 365 from कूर्मपुराण and on p. 476 हे. quotes both the verses from कूर्म and reads वृद्धश्रावक०. The निर्ग्रन्थs were naked Jaina monks (vide SBE. vol. 21 p. 263 and E. I. vol. 20 p. 59) where a Jain teacher is called Nigrantha Śramaṇācārya in Gupta year 159 i.e. (478–79 A. D.). The words are: 'पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक-निग्रन्थ-श्रमणाचार्य-गुहनन्दिशिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठितविहारे.'

(i. e. contains nothing that one can believe), devoid of any fixed principle (such as virtue and vice), devoid of a Ruler, and is produced by union brought about by lust and nothing else'. After describing their thoughts and aspirations the Gītā winds up 'these perform sacrifices which are so in name only with hypocrisy and against the prescribed procedure; they hate me in their own bodies and in those of others; these impure and cruel enemies I continually throw down in demoniac wombs; coming into demoniac wombs and being deluded, in each birth they go to vilest states without ever coming to me'. This is entirely different from what the Padma and other Purāṇas say about Pāśupatas, Pāñcarātras and about non-Vaiṣṇavas.

Both the Bhāgavata and the Padma say that[1604] (the cult of) bhakti first arose in Dravida country, it progressed or prospered in the Karṇāṭaka, it was found in only a few places in Mahārāṣṭra and declined in the Gurjara country; it was, on account of the terrible Kaliyuga, broken up by heresies and remained weak for a long time; but having reached Vṛndāvana (near Mathurā) it got a fresh start and assumed fine form. In book XI. the Bhāgavata again reverts to this assertion that in Kali people are solely devoted to Nārāyaṇa only in a few places but to the greatest extent in the Dravida country where flow the rivers Tāmraparṇī, Kṛtamālā, Kāverī and Mahānadī flowing to the west and states that those who drink the waters of these rivers are generally devotees of Vāsudeva.

Most great moral and spiritual upheavals have a tendency to reach a very low level in course of time. That appears to have happened in the case of bhāgavatas. The Atri-smṛti has a verse containing a sarcastic reference to bhāgavatas[1605]: 'Those who are devoid of Vedic studies learn śāstras (such as grammar, vedānta, logic &c.), those who are wanting in śāstric lore become readers of Purāṇas for others; those who cannot be readers of Purāṇas become tillers; but those who are broken down even

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1604. उत्पन्ना द्राविडे साहं वृद्धिं कर्णाटके गता । क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुर्जरे जीर्णतां गता ॥ तत्र घोरकलेर्योगात् पाखण्डैः खण्डिताङ्गका । दुर्बलाहं चिरं जाता पुत्राभ्यां सह मन्दताम् ॥ वृन्दावनं पुनः प्राप्य नवीनेव सुरूपिणी । भागवत I. 1. 48–50, पद्म VI. 189. 54–56. The पद्म VI. 189 speaks of the भागवत as the highest among Purāṇas: 'कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति नारायणपरायणाः ॥ क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराज द्राविडेषु च भूरिशः । ताम्रपर्णी नदी यत्र कृतमाला पयस्विनी । कावेरी च महापुण्या प्रतीची च महानदी । ये पिबन्ति जलं तासां मनुजा मनुजेश्वर । प्रायो भक्ता भगवति वासुदेवेऽमलाशयाः ॥ भागवत XI 5. 38–40

1605. वेदैर्विहीनाश्च पठन्ति शास्त्रं शास्त्रेण हीनाश्च पुराणपाठाः । पुराणहीना कृषिणो भवन्ति भ्रष्टास्ततो भागवता भवन्ति ॥ अत्रिसंहिता verse 384.

there, become bhāgavatas'. Atri appears to say that bhāgavatas are idlers, who do not study Veda or śāstra or who cannot even read Purāṇas to others for their livelihood or do not engage in agriculture and who pretend to be worshippers (or *bhaktas*) of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and fatten on what is given by others that are deluded into thinking that they have forsaken everything for the sake of their love of God. They become what are called 'buwās' in Marāṭhi and other modern Indian languages.

Another striking development of the bhakti cult is the Erotic Mysticism (*madhurā bhakti*) associated with the worship of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā in that form of Vaiṣṇavism established by Caitanya and Vallabhācārya. For the Vaiṣṇava movement inspired by Caitanya, vide Dr. S. K. De's work on 'the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (Calcutta 1942) and the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) about Ujjvala-nīlamaṇi of Rūpa-gosvāmin pp. 298-302. In the bhakti cult established by Vallabhācārya great importance is attached to the *guru*, who is one of the descendants of Vallabhācārya and to whom almost divine honours are paid. A wonderful development of bhakti towards Rāma, regarded in the Rāmāyaṇa and in popular tradition as a paragon of restraint and all manly virtues, culminated in an erotic mysticism about Rāma and Sītā also. The devotees of this mystic cult have to consider themselves as brides of Rāma or the female friends of Sītā, they are supposed to seek Lord Rāma's favour through Sītā, who graciously intercedes with the Lord for the devotees. Among the followers of Vallabhācārya the guru tells the devotee to look upon him (the guru) as Kṛṣṇa and upon himself or herself as Rādhikā.

For want of space further details about these bhakti cults have to be passed over.

Supreme importance is attached to Vedic mantras and also Paurāṇika mantras. They will have to be dealt with at some length in the sections on Tantras and on Pūrvamīmāṁsā. But some treatment of mantras, particularly vedic, may be given here as well. The word *mantra* occurs about twenty-five times in the Ṛgveda. Only *once* does the word *mantrakṛt* occur in the Ṛgveda[1606] (IX. 114. 2) 'O sage Kaśyapa! offer obeisance

1606. ऋषे मन्त्रकृतां स्तोमैः कश्यपोद्वर्धयन् गिरः। सोमं नमस्य राजानं यो जज्ञे वीरुधां पतिरिन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव। ऋ. IX. 114. 2; इस्ते दधानो दुष्णा विश्वान्यमे देवान्धावुहा निषीदन्। विहन्तीमत्र नरो धियंधा हुवा यज्ञदान् मन्त्रां अशंसन्॥ ऋ. I. 67. 2; सायण

(*Continued on next page*)

to king Soma Lord of plants with the chants of the composers (or authors) of mantras, thereby sending forth your own voice &c.' Mr. Kapali Sastry is inaccurate when he states (on p. 67 of the translation of his 'Ṛgbhāṣya-bhūmikā in English) 'we see *frequent* mention made in the Rik Saṁhitā of the rishi as the author of the mantra' and he cites only Rg. IX. 114. 2 and I. 67. 2. The latter contains no word like mantrakṛt. Rg. I. 67. 2 (addressed to Agni) runs 'holding in his hand all powers (or riches), sitting in a cave (i. e. concealed) he placed the gods in fright; heroes (men or gods) that place (offer) prayers know him (Agni) to be here when they recite mantras formed in the heart.' There is no direct reference to ṛṣis here (but to naraḥ) and what is emphasized is that mantras already extant as the heart's outpourings enable the reciters of the mantras to find him (Agni). There is nothing to show that the mantras referred to in the verse are meant to be *impromptu*; the idea is rather that mantras that already existed and conveyed heartfelt devotion have to be employed to find Agni. The very next verse makes the position clear when it says, 'like the unborn (Sun) he (Agni) supports the wide earth and fixes in its place the sky on account of the mantras that turn out true'. This clarifies two things, viz. that when this mantra (I. 67. 3) was recited there already existed a host of mantras[1607] and secondly, that the mantras that existed long before were deemed to have helped in supporting the earth and the sky. The ancient mantras were supposed to bring Indra to attend thrice in the day for a short time to the sacrifices of devotees when invoked with mantras addressed to him (Rg. III. 53. 8); similarly, mantras when recited by wise men bring Yama to receive offerings (Rg. X. 14. 4); Rg. X. 88. 14 states 'we raise our voices with mantras towards Vaiśvānara Agni, who is wise and who shines brilliantly all days'. The word mantra[1608] is

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explains 'अग्नौ हविर्भिः सह पलायिते सति सर्वे देवा अभैषुरित्यर्थः ।'; अजो न क्षां दाधार पृथिवीं तस्तम्भ द्यां मन्त्रेभिः सत्यैः । ऋ. I. 67. 3.

1607. रूपं रूपं मघवा बोभवीति मायाः कृण्वानस्तन्वं परि स्वाम् । त्रिर्यद्दिवः परि मुहूर्तमागात् स्वैर्मन्त्रैरनृतुपा ऋतावा ॥ ऋ. III. 53. 8; आ त्वा मन्त्राः कविशस्ता वहन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व । ऋ. X. 14. 4; वैश्वानरं विश्वहा दीदिवांसं मन्त्रैरग्निं कविमच्छा वदामः ॥ ऋ. X. 88. 14.

1608. प्र नूनं ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्मन्त्रं वदत्युक्थ्यम् । यस्मिन्निन्द्रो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा देवा ओकांसि चक्रिरे ॥ तमिद्वोचेमा विदथेषु शम्भुवं मन्त्रं देवा अनेहसम् । ऋ. I. 40. 5-6; मन्त्रमखर्वं सुधितं सुपेशसं दधात यज्ञियेष्वा । पूर्वीश्चन प्रसितयस्तरन्ति तं य इन्द्रे कर्मणा भुवत् ॥ ऋ. VII. 32. 13; समानं मन्त्रमभि मन्त्रये वः समानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ॥ ऋ. X. 191. 3.

also employed in the singular several times. A few striking passages are set out here. 'Indeed, God Brahmaṇaspati (Lord of Prayer) proclaims the mantra fit for recitation (by the mouth of the hotṛ), in which the gods Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman make their abode, O Gods!'; 'We utter that very mantra (in which Indra and other gods are praised together) in our sacrifices, the mantra being one that produces bliss and being free from all blemishes (or is incomparable); 'Do place among the Gods a mantra that is not short, that is well-arranged and that is well ornamented; ancient fetters do not reach him who is in (the good grace of) Indra by the sacrifice (or praise); 'I address the same mantra for you (all) and offer for you (all) one offering (into fire)'. From these passages it appears that when these verses were recited there was a body of already existing mantras; which were supposed to be inspired by the Lord of prayers (or speech) and from which the choice of a long and well-formed one was to be made. Apart from the above passages the word mantra occurs in Ṛg. I. 31. 13, I. 74 1, I. 147, 4, I. 152. 2, II. 35. 2, VI. 50. 14, VII. 7. 6, X. 50. 4 and 6, X. 106. 11, in only one of which (Ṛg. II. 35. 2), apart from Ṛg. I. 67. 2 already quoted, the words 'hṛda ā sutaṣṭam mantram' (mantra well chiselled from the heart) are used and in another verse more simply the word 'atakṣan' (in VII. 7. 6 *mantram* ye vāram naryā *atakṣan*) alone is used. In two passages (Ṛg. X. 95.1 and X. 191. 3 first half) the word 'mantra' appears to mean 'consultations, holding counsel together'. In Ṛg. I. 20. 4, Ṛbhus are called 'satyamantrāḥ' and are said to have made their parents young. There are controversies about what the Ṛbhus stand for and it is difficult to say what is meant by 'satyamantrāḥ' in relation to Ṛbhus. Ṛg. VII. 76. 4. is a[1609] somewhat enigmatic verse. It means 'they (Aṅgirases) alone, (our) ancient pitṛs, learned (or wise) and following the right path, enjoyed companionship among gods and they found out the Light (the Sun) concealed (by Svarbhānu, eclipse); they, whose mantras were true, brought forth Uṣas.' In some passages where other words like *stoma* or *brahma* are used, there is

1609. त इद्देवानां सधमाद आसन्ऋतावानः कवयः पूर्व्यासः। गूळ्हं ज्योतिः पितरोऽन्वविन्दन्सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुषासम्॥ ऋ. VII. 76. 4. Aṅgirases are spoken of as Pitṛs in Ṛg. X. 14. 6 (अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नवग्वाः) and in Ṛg. V. 40. 9 Atris are said to have found out the Sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhānu, an Āsura and no one else was able to do so (यं वै सूर्यं स्वर्भानुस्तमसाविध्यदासुरः। अत्रयस्तमन्वविन्दन् नह्यन्ये अशक्नुवन्॥). This last is a reference to a total eclipse of the Sun, on the occurrence of which the Atris probably assured frightened people that the sun would shine forth in a short time.

mention of the stoma or brahma being made and polished by the devotee (e. g. X. 39. 14 'etam vām stomam-Aśvināvakarmātakṣāma bhṛgavo na ratham'). Vide Ṛg. I. 62. 13 for 'navyam atakṣad brahma', Ṛg. V. 29.15 (Indra brahma kriyamāṇā juṣasva śaviṣṭha yā te navyā akarma); brahmakṛtaḥ (composers of prayers or praises) are mentioned in Ṛg. VII. 32. 2 and X. 50. 7. Other words like *gir* (several hundred times), dhīti (about 100 times), brahma (over a hundred times) mati (about 100 times), manīṣā (over 60 times), vacas and vacasyā (over 100 times), stoma (about 200 times), sukīrti (five times), sūkta (four times) are employed in the sense of 'thought, word or thought out hymn or verse of praise' and in several cases the sages of the Ṛgveda state that it is a new verse or hymn of praise that they employ. Vide 'navyasībhir-gīrbhiḥ' and 'giram bhare navyasīm jāyamānām' in Ṛg. V. 42. 13., in Ṛg. VI. 49. 1, VII. 53. 2; 'Pra tavyasīm *navyasīm dhītimagnaye*' in Ṛg. I. 143. 1; 'vaiśvānarāya *matir-navyasī* śuciḥ soma iva pavate' (Ṛg. VI. 8. 1) and 'iyam te *navyasī matir* agne adhāyyasmadā' (Ṛg. VIII. 74. 7); iyam te agne navyasī manīṣā' Ṛg. X. 4. 6; 'tā valgū[1610] Dasrā puruśākatamā *pratnā navyasā vacasā* vivāse' (Ṛg. VI. 62. 5); 'navyasī sukīrtiḥ' in Ṛg. I. 60. 3; 'sa pratnavat *navyase* viśvavāra *sūktāya* pathaḥ kṛṇuhi' in Ṛg. IX. 91. 5; 'nū *navyase navīyase sūktāya* sādhayā pathaḥ' in Ṛg. IX. 9. 8. It is a remarkable fact that when words like 'sukīrtiḥ' and 'sūkta' that occur only four or five times in the whole of the Ṛgveda are qualified by the word 'new or fresh', the word 'mantra' occurring so many times does not even once bear the adjective 'new'. This emphasizes the conclusion stated above that in the times of many of the extant Ṛgvedic verses mantras were a large group already existing, from which prayers were drawn as occasion required, though now and then new verses were added to those already existing. It may here be stated that in some places the Ṛgveda looks upon prayers (*dhīti*) as divine and as on the same level with Aśvins, Uṣas, and the Śun (VIII. 35. 2) and that ancient prayers were inherited from ancestors (III. 39. 2 'seyamasme sanajā pitryā dhīḥ').

Several hymns and verses of the Ṛgveda are purely philosophical, cosmological, mystic and speculative as I. 164. 4, 6, 29,

1610. Here the contrast is great. The Aśvins are *pratnā* (ancient) but the ṛṣi (in VI. 62. 5) says that he worships the ancient Dasras (Aśvins) with a *new prayer*. This ṛṣi at least does not convey that the Aśvins were seen by him.

32, 39, 42; X. 71, X. 90 (Puruṣasūkta), X. 121 (Hiraṇyagarbha), X. 129, X. 81-82 (Viśvakarman), X. 72, X. 125 (Vāk), X. 154 (state after death), X. 190 (creation).

About the meaning and purpose of Vedic mantras there are great controversies. This much may be said here that according to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system the whole Veda is concerned with sacrifices, that Veda is divided into two classes, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, that Vidhis (hortatory passages) are the most important part of the Veda, that a very large number of Vedic passages are mere arthavādas (that contain either praises of vidhis or are to be explained metaphorically or merely repeat what already exists or are of a legendary character) and that mantras only serve the purpose of bringing to the mind of the sacrificer or priests what is to be done in a sacrifice and that the words used in the mantras ordinarily bear the same meaning as that in popular Sanskrit.

Long before Yāska (several centuries before Christ) there were several schools of Vedic interpretation such as the Aitihāsikas (who acc. to Nir. II. 16 said that Vṛtra was an Asura son of Tvaṣṭṛ, while acc. to the Nairuktas Vṛtra means only 'cloud' and the Veda contains metaphorical descriptions of battles, that the twins that Saraṇyu is said in Ṛg. X. 17. 2 to have given up are according to the Nairuktas Indra and the Mādhyamikā-vāk, while according to the Aitihāsikas they are Yama and Yamī, as stated in Nir. XII. 10), the school of Naidānas is mentioned about 'syāla' and 'sāma' in Nir. VI 19, the school of ancient yājñikas in Nir. V. 11. Ṛg. I. 164. 32 (ya īm cakāra) is differently explained by the Parivrājakas (ascetic school) and the Nairuktas (etymologists). The Nirukta also mentions the names of seventeen individual predecessors (from whom it differs often and who differ among themselves) such as Āgrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Kautsa, Gārgya, Gālava, Śākaṭāyana, Śākapūṇi. There are several mantras of which two different meanings are given in the Nirukta as in Nir. V. 11 on Ṛg. VIII. 77. 4. In Ṛg. I. 164 there are several verses with two meanings or more e. g. verse 21 (yatrā suparṇā &c.) has two meanings (acc. to Nir. III. 13) one relating to the devatā Sūrya (*adhidaivata*) and the other spiritual (adhyātma); similarly, verse 32 of the same hymn has two meanings in the Nirukta (II. 8); the verse 39 (ṛco akṣare parame vyoman) is explained in four ways by Sāyaṇa; verse 41 (gaurīr-mimāya) is explained by Sāyaṇa in two ways, both being different from Yāska's explanation (in Nir.

XI. 40); verse 45 (catvāri vāk parimitā padāni) is explained in six ways (more or less different from each other) by Sāyaṇa; it is also explained in the Mahābhāṣya (p. 7 of M. M. Abhyankara-śāstri's ed.). The verse 'catvāri śṛṅgā' (Ṛg. IV. 58. 3) has been the subject of varying explanations from very early times. Nir. (XIII. 7) explains it as referring to Yajña. The Mahābhāṣya (p. 6 of the Mahābhāṣya *ibid.*) also does the same. Sāyaṇa explains it as referring to Agni (identified with yajña) and Sūrya. This verse is a riddle. Śabara[1611] in his bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2. 38. ('abhidhāne arthavādaḥ') explains it but Kumārila differs from him. Sāyaṇa and others explain it (e. g. the word 'tridhā') with reference to Mantra, Brāhmaṇa and Kalpa, but when this verse was first proclaimed there must have been no Brāhmaṇas and Kalpasūtras. In several cases the Nirukta gives the adhidaivata (physical) and adhyātma (metaphysical or spiritual) or adhiyajña and adhyātma as in Nir. X. 26 (on Ṛg. X. 82. 2 'Viśvakarmā vimanā), Nir. XI. 4 (on Ṛg. X. 85. 3, adhiyajña and adhidaivata meanings), Nir. XII. 37 (on Vāj. S. 34. 55 'sapta ṛṣayaḥ', both adhidaivata and adhyātma), Nir. XII. 38 (on Atharva X. 8. 9 'Tiryag-bilaś-camasa &c.' both adhidaivata and adhyātma). In Ṛg. (I. 164) verses 11–13 and 48 contain a very imaginative and poetic description of the year, the seasons, months and total days and nights.

In recent years Śrī Aurobindo in 'Hymns to the mystic Fire' (translated in the esoteric sense, 1946) and his ardent and devout disciple Sri. T. V. Kapali Sastry (in 'Ṛgbhāṣya-bhūmikā in Sanskrit and its English translation, Pondicherry 1952) have started a theory about the Ṛgveda mantras which must be briefly stated and examined. Śrī Aurobindo first intended to publish an edition of the Ṛgveda with a word by word construction and an English translation. But he gave up that idea on account of other pre-occupations and rests content in the above book with the text and translation of about 230 verses in all from the 1st, 2nd and 6th *maṇḍalas* of the Ṛgveda and a foreword of 48 pages in which he propounds his theory. While

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1611. शबर (on पू. मी. सू. I. 2, 38) explains: 'चतस्रो होत्राः शृङ्गाणीवास्य। त्रयोऽस्य पादा इति सवनाभिप्रायम्। द्वे शीर्षे इति पत्नीयजमानौ। सप्तहस्तास इति च्छन्दांस्यभिप्रेत्य। त्रिधा बद्ध इति त्रिभिर्वेदैर्बद्धः।'. The तन्त्रवार्तिक on this says 'चत्वारि शृङ्गेति रूपकाद्वारेण यागस्तुतिः कर्मकाले उत्साहं करोति। ···चत्वारि शृङ्गा इति विवक्षयामानां ग्रहणम्। त्रयोऽस्य पादा इति शीतोष्णवर्षाकालाः। द्वे शीर्षे इत्ययनाभिप्रायम्। सप्तहस्ता इत्यश्वस्तुतिः। त्रिधा बद्ध इति सवनाभिप्रायेण।' It would be noticed that the तन्त्रवार्तिक differs from शबर on almost every clause.

this was being written by the present writer, Śrī Aurobindo's large work of 634 pages 'on the Veda' published in 1956 reached his hands. Over 60 hymns are dealt with in this big book and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory first outlined in the brief work of Śrī Aurobindo mentioned above and reiterated with greater emphasis. On page 9 of the work of 1956 he states "the ritual system recognized by Sāyaṇa may stand, the naturalistic sense discovered by European scholarship may, in its general conceptions be accepted, *but behind there is always the true and still hidden secret of the veda* – the secret words which were spoken for the purified in soul and the awakened in knowledge'. In this work also he sticks to the meaning of ṛta as truth and on p. 84 translates 'ṛtam' as 'Truth-consciousness', when in his first work he translated 'ṛta-cit' as Truth-consciousness'. Instead of comparing the several hundred passages where the word ṛta occurs in the Ṛgveda he sticks to his own rendering which is unacceptable to most scholars and makes a very perfunctory attempt at finding the correct meaning. One should like to have some clear examples of the distinction between Light and Consciousness in modern times and also in the Veda. So far as the present writer knows, in the language of ancient symbolism Consciousness is identified with Light. In the recently published book he deals with less than $\frac{1}{17}$th of the total hymns (1017 or 1028) of the Ṛgveda. Readers are asked to subscribe to his views although he condescends to translate in the first work less than $\frac{1}{10}$th of the total number of verses in the Ṛgveda and hardly ever enters into a discussion about the meaning of words like ṛta. Śrī Aurobindo (Foreword p. III.) concedes that Sāyaṇa does not reject the spiritual authority of the Veda and that Sāyaṇa does not deny that there is a higher truth contained in the *ṛks*. He further says (IX) that we must take seriously the hint of Yāska (Śrī Aurobindo does not quote the Nirukta, but probably he has in mind Nir. I. 20 'sākṣātkṛtadharmāṇa ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ'). Then he proceeds to state (XVII) that many whole hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the ṛṣis (p. XIX) for the sake of secrecy resorted to double meanings, a device easily manageable in the Sanskrit language. This is a hypothesis which cannot at all be accepted and is no more than mere conjecture. The Vedic mantras were composed thousands of years ago, when all persons among whom the sages moved must have spoken the same language, though generally not so polished and poetical as that of the mantras and they were not addressed to men like the moderns whose

every day thoughts, surroundings and languages are entirely different. Both the Master and the disciple (Mr. Kapali Sastry) cause confusion (or, may be, are themselves confused) by supposing that the difficulties of the modern students of mantras did exist even at or near the time of the mantras. The most sublime thought of the Ṛgveda is that there is only one Spirit behind the various gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan, that originally there was only that One, there was no day and night, no death and immortality. Śrī Aurobindo himself describes (p. XXXII) Ṛg. I. 164. 46 and X. 129. 2 as 'the summit of the vedic teaching.' This view of the one Entity is also illustrated in Ṛg. VIII. 58. 2 'one and the same Agni is kindled in many places, the one Sun enters the whole world and becomes many; the one Dawn illumines all this (physical) world, One became all this (assumes various forms)'. No secrecy was observed about this fundamental truth and it was proclaimed in mantras that can be understood even by an ordinary man of to-day who knows a little Sanskrit. Because we of these recent centuries cannot understand some mantras, that does not mean that the ancient seers were guilty of a subterfuge and purposely composed mantras with two meanings. They might have indulged in the pastime of two meanings (express and metaphorical) in a few cases as poetic devices.[1612] It is no fault of the sages, if we cannot understand their meaning, just as a blind man, who does not see a wooden post and comes to grief by dashing against it, should not blame the post, but should blame himself; we are to blame ourselves and should not foist upon the ancient sages a stratagem created by our own imagination or lack of knowledge (Nir. I. 16).[1613]

1612. The Master (Śrī Aurobindo) and the pupil are at variance about the poetic character of the Mantras. Śrī Aurobindo (p. XXXIV) after saying that his translation is a literary and not a strictly literal one speaks of the hymns as '*great poetry*', magnificent in their colouring and images, noble and beautiful in rhythm. Now let us hear the disciple. On p. 65 Mr. Kapali Sastry states 'the hymnal poetry is unusual, different from other poetry, even from the most superb specimen' and then he chides the readers and men like the present author and impliedly his own Master 'it is not permissible (why?) to class Vedic hymns with poetry of a literary and aesthetic kind'. On p. 31 Mr. Sastry asserts that 'mantras have two meanings, the inner which is psychological or spiritual and the true meaning and a gross or external meaning for common men' and he adds that the use of words with double meanings was *deliberate* but was *effortless* and *natural*.

1613. यथो एतदविस्पष्टार्था भवन्तीति। नैव स्थाणोरपराधो यदेनमन्धो न पश्यति पुरुषापराधः स भवति। निरुक्त I. 16.

Śrī Aurobindo admits (p. XXXIII) that there are some key words in the Ṛgveda such as *ṛta, kratu, śravas, ketu* and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix the meanings of such words. But he does not undertake a study of the key words (each of which except 'ketu' occurs hundreds of times in the Ṛgveda) by comparison of Ṛgvedic passages and considering the light shed on these words by the other Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. He mentions the occurrence of the word ṛta in I. 164. 47 and IV. 21. 3 (*sadanāt-ṛtasya*) and '*ṛtasya pathyā*' in Ṛg. III. 12. 7 and jumps to the conclusion that the last two words mean 'the path of truth' and remarks that 'we have to find the path of Truth' (Foreword p. XXX.). In the H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 2–5 it has been shown that ṛta in the Ṛgveda has three meanings, viz. (1) the regular and general order in the cosmos; (2) the correct and ordered way of the cult of the gods; (3) 'moral conduct of man.' In the Ṛgveda ṛta is not the same as 'satya', but the two are differentiated. In Ṛg. V. 51. 2 the Viśve-devas [1614] are described as ṛtadhītayaḥ (whose thoughts are fixed on ṛta) and 'satyadharmāṇaḥ' (whose ordinances are true or fixed) and the sage prays to them to come to his sacrifice and to drink (*ājya* and soma) by the tongue of Agni. In Ṛg. X. 190. 1 both ṛta and satya are said to have arisen from rigorous or refulgent *tapas* (of the Creator). In the Ṛgveda ṛta involved a very wide conception as stated above and 'satya' had a restricted meaning viz. truth or static order. In Ṛg. IX. 113. 4 Soma is described as one who proclaims ṛta, satya and śraddhā (faith). Therefore, Śrī. Aurobindo is quite inaccurate when he translates *ṛta* by the word 'Truth' and draws important conclusions from his inaccurate renderings. Similarly, Śrī. Aurobindo does not give a correct rendering when he translates (Foreword p. XXX) the word '*ṛtacit*' as truth-conscious (whatever that may mean acc. to Śrī. Aurobindo). Mr. Kapali Sastry (p. 46) goes a step further than his great master by stating that in the mantras true knowledge is termed 'ṛtacit' Truth-consciousness (with a capital C). It appears that both Master and disciple are misled by the meaning of 'cit' in such an attribute as 'sat-cit-ānanda', applied to *brahma*. They appear to take 'ṛta-cit' as meaning two distinct things 'ṛta' and 'cit'. The word 'ṛtacit' occurs

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1614. ऋतधीतय आ गत सत्यधर्माणो अध्वरम्। अग्नेः पिबत जिह्वया ॥ ऋ. V. 51. 2; ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत। ततो रात्र्यजायत ततः समुद्रो अर्णवः ॥ ऋ. X. 190.1; ऋतं वदन्नृतद्युम्न सत्यं वदन्त्सत्यकर्मन्। श्रद्धां वदन् सोम राजन् धात्रा सोम परिष्कृत इन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥ ऋ. IX. 113. 4.

five times in the Ṛg.; in[1615] I. 145.5, IV. 3.4, V. 3. 9 ('ṛtacit is here an epithet of Agni), in VII 85. 4 (it is an adjective of hotṛ) and in IV. 16. 10 it qualifies the word *nārī* (in the context, Śacī, the wife of Indra). The present author wonders whether Śrī Aurobindo and his disciple cared to go into the meaning of 'ṛtacit' in the several verses where it occurs. They pay no attention to the word 'ṛṇacit' that occurs in Ṛg. II. 23. 17 as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati.[1616].

The space at the author's disposal does not allow him to show up the other unwarranted propositions and conclusions of Śrī. Aurobindo and Mr. Kapali Sastry. The author will set out the final conclusion of Śrī. Aurobindo (Foreword p. XXIX) "what then is the secret meaning, the esoteric sense which emerges by this way of understanding the Veda? ..... The thought around which all is centred is the seeking after Truth, Light, Immortality. There is a truth deeper and higher than the truth of outward existence, a Light greater and higher than the light of human understanding which comes by revelation and inspiration, an immortality towards which the soul has to rise. We have to find our way to that, to get into touch with this Truth and Immortality." This is a grand peroration, but all this is built on shaky and meagre foundations, such as the wrong meanings attached to the words ṛta and ṛtacit. Mr. Kapali Sastry (on p. 46) practically reproduces this grand summing up of his *guru*.

Mr. Kapali Sastry launches (on pp. 22–26) a bitter diatribe against Sāyaṇa but ultimately he has to admit (pp. 27–28) that Sāyaṇa is not merely useful, but indispensable to the students of the Veda. On p. 23 he translates a sūtra from Jaimini's work 'the purpose of the Veda being ritualistic, words which do not have that significance are useless' and remarks that this clearly lays down that the only purpose of the Vedas is that of ritual, those that do not pertain to that (ritualistic action) are worthless. The author doubts whether Mr. Kapali Sastry has carefully read the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras or has at least

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1615. व्यन्नवीद्वयुना मर्त्येभ्योऽग्निर्विद्वाँ ऋतचिद्धि सत्यः ॥ ऋ. I. 145. 5. It will be noticed that here ऋतचित् and सत्य are both epithets of Agni. They must be given some separate meanings; स सुक्रतुर्ऋतचिदस्तु होता य आदित्य शवसा पां नमस्वान्। ऋ. VII, 85. 4 (O sons of Aditi! May that Hotṛ priest, who makes obeisance to you with strength (in a loud voice),' be a man of good deeds (or will) and knowing ṛta, moral conduct (or cosmic law). सत्यः in I. 145. 5 would have to be rendered as truthful or pure. The word चित् may be derived from root चि to gather or from चित् to know.

1616. स ऋणचिद्दणया ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्द्रुहो हन्ता मह ऋतस्य धर्तरि ॥ ऋ. II. 23. 17.

correctly stated the position; what he quotes is the Pūrvapakṣa view (prima facie view). Jaimini's position is contained in the 7th sūtra[1617] 'as those passages (that do not directly concern themselves with ritualistic actions) form one syntactically connected whole with the passages prescribing *vidhis* they are to be considered as commendatory of the vidhis'. Mr. Sastry is not satisfied with saying (on p. 8) 'the sages Madhucchandas and others are *seers* of the mantra, the *Gods were present to the vision of these seers of old* ', but he adds 'this seer of the beyond is also the hearer of the truth; therefore that the poet-seers are truth-hearers *kavayaḥ satyaśrutaḥ*, is famous in the Veda' (p. 64). The present writer wonders whether Mr. Sastry carefully read the original passages where the words 'kavayaḥ satyaśrutaḥ' occur in the Veda. The words *kaviḥ* and *kavayaḥ* occur several hundred times in the Ṛgveda, but 'satyaśrutaḥ' occurs only thrice in Ṛg. V. 57. 8, V. 58.8 and VI. 49. 6; Ṛg. V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8 are identical. In Ṛg. V. 57. 8 and [1617a] V. 58. 8 it is the wind-gods (Maruts) that are addressed as *kavayaḥ* (wise) and *satyaśrutaḥ* (well-known as conferring true rewards) and *not sages*. VI. 49.6 (first half of which is addressed to Parjanya and Vāta-wind god) runs 'O establishers of the world! (O Maruts!) that are wise and well-known as conferring true rewards, make the world turn towards the man by whose lauds you are praised' (this half seems to be addressed to the band of Maruts). Further comment is superfluous.[1618]

1617. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानां तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते । ...विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात्स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः ॥ पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 1 and 7.

1617a. इये नरो मरुतो मृळता नस्तुवीमघासो अमृता ऋतज्ञाः । सत्यश्रुतः कवयो युवानो बृहद्गिरयो बृहदुक्षमाणाः ॥ ऋ. V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8; पर्जन्यवाता वृषभा पृथिव्याः पुरीषाणि जिन्वतमप्यानि । सत्यश्रुतः कवयो यस्य गीर्भिर्जगतः स्थातर्जगदा कृणुध्वम् ॥ ऋ. VI. 49. 6. All words including सत्यश्रुतः कवयः in the latter half of V. 57. 8 are epithets applied to Maruts in the first half. सत्यश्रुतः कवयः in the latter half of VI. 49. 6 are vocatives as the पदपाठ shows and are addressed to Maruts as in V. 57. 8 and V. 58. 8. The words सत्यश्रुतः कवयः do not refer at all to Vedic poets in any of the three cases.

1618. The present author is aware that thousands of people look upon Śri Aurobindo as a yogin, a prophet and as a World Teacher. But the search for truth is higher than all prophets and yogins put together. Śri Aurobindo and his disciple claim that he has received a new revelation about the Veda beyond the ken of all scholars of antiquity and modern times and they have very severely handled Yāska, Jaimini, Sāyaṇa and other commentators. The devotees and admirers of Śrī Aurobindo must allow the same freedom to the critics of Śrī Aurobindo's Vedic Incubrations for showing how and why they are wrong and are requested not to take umbrage at what the present writer has said about his theories but only to reply to the author's brief criticisms on their merits or demerits.

The Mīmāṁsakas made a sweeping generalisation that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifice. They went rather too far but they had substantial grounds for doing so. On pp. 980–982 of the H. of Dh. vol. II. it has been shown how even the Ṛgveda discloses that a complicated system of sacrifices with three *savanas*, numerous priests, three fires, existed in those far-off days and sacrifices like Atirātra (Ṛg. VII. 103. 7) and Trikadruka (Ṛg. I. 32. 3, II. 11. 17, VIII. 13, 18, VIII. 92. 21, X. 14. 16) were being performed. The Mīmāṁsakas had a long tradition behind them. But the case of Śrī Aurobindo's theories is entirely different. On flimsy grounds and mistaken meanings he builds up an imposing structure of an exoteric and also an esoteric meaning of vedic mantras, propounds that the sages wanted secrecy for their doctrines and all that they were concerned with was Truth, Light and Consciousness. It has been already shown that there are several philosophical and speculative hymns in the Ṛgveda. But there is no motive of secrecy therein. If it is only Truth, Light and Consciousness with which the vedic sages were concerned ten thousand verses would not have been necessary. One should like to know what secret or higher or deeper esoteric Truth or Light or Consciousness to be kept concealed from common men is contained in hymns such as Ṛg. VII. 55 (sleeping charm), VII. 103 (maṇḍūka-stuti), X. 34 (gambler's song), X. 119 (exhilaration of power of Soma on Indra), X. 166 (invoking destruction of enemies), X. 190 (brief creation hymn), X. 191 (for concord and co-operation). Many more such hymns may be cited, where the theory of secrecy and Truth, Light and Consciousness would entirely fail. Besides, what is the secret (or spiritual or esoteric) element in such passages as those quoted above viz. I. 164. 46, X. 129. 2, VIII. 58. 2, which clearly express the most profound Truth. If the Mīmāṁsakas made a too wide generalization, Śrī Aurobindo makes a far wider generalization with very little basis.

The mantras of the Ṛgveda have a meaning and are not unmeaning letters as often in Tāntrik works. There is a discussion in Nirukta I. 15–16 where it is said that in the absence of the Nirukta the apprehension of the meaning of the words used in mantras would not follow and the view of Kautsa is cited that the Nirukta is useless for understanding the meaning of mantras, since the mantras themselves have no sense (or are useless or purposeless). Yāska[1618a] replies that mantras do possess

1618 a. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते। ···तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च। ···अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्यात्। ···यथो एतद् ब्राह्मणेन संपत्स्यते

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a meaning since they employ the very same words that are used in ordinary Sanskrit, and then quotes a passage of the Ait. Br. (I. 5). Śabara on Jai. I. 2. 41 states that where one cannot get at the meaning one has to come to some meaning on a consideration of other Vedic passages and on the basis of roots following Nirukta and Grammar.

One of the important topics dwelt upon at length in the Purāṇas is that of *avatāras*. This emphasis on the conception of avatāras has greatly influenced the forms of religious worship, vratas and festivals. The subject of avatāras has been dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 717–724. It has been shown there that the beginnings of the doctrine of avatāras and of some of the well-known avatāras may be traced to the Vedic Literature viz. to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (story of Manu and the fish in I. 8. 1. 1–6), story of Kūrma (tortoise) in Śatapatha VII. 5. 1. 5, of Varāha (Boar) in Śat. Br. XIV. 1. 2. 11, Vāmana (Dwarf) in Śat. Br. I. 2. 5. 1 ff., Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, in Chān. Up. III. 17. 6 and that the number of avatāras and the names also varied. But the treatment was not exhaustive and hence some details are added here from the Purāṇas and from general considerations.

Avatāra (from root *tṛ*. with 'ava') means 'descending' or 'descent' and the word is applied to gods, assuming the form of a human being or even of an animal and continuing to live in that form till the purpose for which that form was assumed was carried out. Reincarnation is one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But there is a vast difference between that doctrine and the Hindu theory. Re-incarnation in Christianity is single and unique, while in the Hindu theory as adumbrated in the Gītā (IV. 5–8) and the Purāṇas there have been many incarnations of the Deity and there may he many more in future. It is a comforting belief for ordinary men to hold that when the affairs of the world are in a mess God comes down to the earth to set matters right. And this belief is held not only by the Hindus and Buddhists but by many peoples (including some in the rich and educated West) far apart from each other. Most Hindus, however, do not believe that great

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विधीयन्त इति, उद्दितानुवादः स भवति। एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमनुभिवदति। निरुक्त I. 15–16: अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः। जै. I. 2. 32; अविशिष्टस्तु लोके प्रयुज्यमानानां वेदे च पदानामर्थः। स यथैव लोके विवक्षितस्तथैव वेदेपि भवितुमर्हति। ...अर्थमत्यायनार्थमेव यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम्। शबर's भाष्य.

men, saints or prophets like Śaṅkarācārya, Nānak, Shivaji or Mahātmā Gandhi are born again as avatāras in times of crisis. The Buddhists made Buddha in their Mahāyāna teachings go through many avatāras as *bodhisattva* before he attained Buddhahood. In modern times many persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers or followers. Recently, Mr. J. G. Bennett (Hodder and Stoughton, 1958) has published a book called 'Subud' (Sushila, Buddha, Dharma) in which he suggests his firm belief that one Pak Subuh who hails from Indonesia is an *avatar*, the messenger from above for whom mankind is waiting. The Indian theory of avatāras is connected with the theory about yugas and manvantaras. When the world is in serious trouble, people believe that deliverance will come by the grace of God and they are often justified in their belief by the appearance of godly men who appear with some noble mission and masterly idea suited to the particular time and place when they appear.

In medieval and modern times the avatāras of Viṣṇu have been regarded as ten, viz. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha or Narasiṁha (Man-lion), Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkin. The Varāha-purāṇa mentions these ten in that order.[1619] In an inscription on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa in the Varāha-Perumal[1620] temple, this Paurāṇik verse except the first six letters (which cannot be read) is seen inscribed. The *locus classicus* about the descent of God in different forms is in the Bhagavadgītā[1621] viz. 'Whenever piety or righteousness (*dharma*)

1619. मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नरसिंहोथ वामनः। रामो रामश्च कृष्णश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश॥ वराह 4. 2, मत्स्य 285. 6–7 (reads कल्कीति च क्रमात्). The मत्स्य verse is quoted by अपरार्क p. 338.

1620. Vide Memoir No. 26 of the Archaeological Survey of India by H. Krishna Sastri on two statues of Pallava kings and five Pallava Inscriptions in a rock-cut temple at Mahābalipuram (p. 5), which the writer ascribes to the latter half of 7th century A. D. The preserved engraving reads ···स्य नारसिंहश्च वामनः। रामो रामस्य (श्च) रामस्य (श्च?) बुद्ध (:) कल्की च ते दश॥. The same page notes that at Sirpur in the Central Provinces is a shrine of about 8th century A. D. in which are found side by side the images of Rāma and Buddha in his usual meditative attitude.

1621. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य···सृजाम्यहम्। परित्राणाय साधूनां ···धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे॥ गीता 4. 7–8; compare हरिवंश I. 41. 17 'यदा यदा ···भारत। धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय तदा सम्भवति प्रभुः॥'; जज्ञे पुनः पुनर्विष्णुर्यज्ञे च शिथिले प्रभुः। कर्तुं धर्मव्यवस्थानमधर्मस्य च नाशनम्॥ वायु 98. 69, मत्स्य 47. 235 (reads धर्मे प्रशिथिले and असुराणां प्रणाशनम्); यदाः संसरमाणो वै योनीर्वर्तामि सत्तम। धर्मसंरक्षणार्थाय धर्मसंस्थापनाय

(*Continued on next page*)

declines and impiety grows up, I create myself. Age after age I am born for the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers and the establishment of piety'. The same idea occurs in some of the *parvans* of the Mahābhārata, as in Vanaparva 272. 71 and Āśvamedhika-parva 54. 13. None of the ten avatāras, except those of Kṛṣṇa and probably Rāma, ('Rāmaḥ śastrabhṛtām-ahaṁ', Gītā X. 31) are, however, mentioned by name in the Bhagavad-gītā. The number and names of the avatāras are not uniform in the Mahābhārata. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (chap. 339. verses 77–102) only six avatāras and their exploits are expressly mentioned, viz. Varāha (bringing up the earth submerged in the ocean), Narasiṁha (killing demon Hiraṇyakaśipu), Vāmana (vanquishing Bali and making him dwell in Pātāla), Bhārgava Rāma (extirpating kṣatriyas), Rāma, son of Daśaratha (killing Rāvaṇa), Kṛṣṇa (killing or vanquishing Kaṁsa, Narakāsura, Bāṇa, Kālayavana, Jarāsandha, Śiśupāla). Then the same chapter [1622] mentions ten avatāras as follows: Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma (Bhārgava), Rāma Dāśarathi, Sātvata, Kalki. Here Buddha is omitted and Kṛṣṇa is called Sātvata and Haṁsa is added. In the Harivaṁśa [1623] it is said that the past avatāras have been thousands and in future also they would be thousands. Śāntiparva says the same thing. The Harivaṁśa (I. 41. 27 ff) names only the following and their exploits, viz. Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurama), Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Vedavyāsa. But as Keśava is said to be the 9th (I. 41. 6) it is to be understood that Matsya and Kūrma were counted, though not expressly named and Kalki Viṣṇuyaśas is mentioned as a

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च। आश्वमेधिक 54. 13; असतां निग्रहार्थाय धर्मसंरक्षणाय च। अवतीर्णो मनुष्याणामजायत यदुक्षये॥ स एवं भगवान् विष्णुः कृष्णेति परिकीर्त्यते। वनपर्व 272. 71–72. ब्रह्मपु० (180. 26–27 and 181. 2–4) has almost the same words as गीता. देवीभागवत (VII. 39). 22–23 is यदा यदा'''भवति भूधर। अम्बु'''तदा वेषान् बिभर्म्यहम्॥.

1622. हंसः कूर्मश्च मत्स्यश्च प्रादुर्भावाह् द्विजोत्तम। वराहो नरसिंहश्च वामनो राम एव च॥ रामो दाशरथिश्चैव सात्वतः कल्किरेव च॥ शान्ति 339. 103–104. In आदि 218. 12 वासुदेव is called सात्वत.

1623. प्रादुर्भावसहस्राणि अतीतानि न संशयः। भूयश्चैव भविष्यन्तीत्येवमाह प्रजापतिः॥ हरिवंश I. 41. 11; अतिक्रान्ताश्च बहवः प्रादुर्भावा ममोत्तमाः॥ शान्ति 339. 106. Vide भागवत I. 3. 26 and अग्नि 16. 11–12 for similar words.

future avatāra. The usual ten avatāras are named in Varāha[1624] (4. 2, 48. 17–22, 55. 36–37), Matsya 285. 6–7, Agni (chap. 2–16 stories about all ten), Narasiṁhapurāṇa (chap. 36), Padma VI. 43. 13–15). In Vāyu 98. 68–104 the text presents the avatāras in a confused manner and appears to mention ten avatāras, viz. Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Māndhātṛ, Jāmadagnya, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Veda-vyāsa, Vāsudeva, Kalkin Viṣṇuyaśas. In Brahmāṇḍa III. 73. 75 ff there are lists of avatāras different from the present ten. In the Bhāgavata the avatāras of Viṣṇu are mentioned in several places. In I. 3. 1–25 twenty-two avatāras including Brahmā, Devarṣi Nārada (who promulgated the Sātvata system), Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Kapila (who taught to Asuri the Sāṅkhya system), Dattātreya, Ṛṣabha, (son of Nābhi and Merudevi),[1625] Dhanvantari, Mohinī, Vedavyāsa, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, Kalki are mentioned. In II. 7 twenty-three avatāras are mentioned, many of which are the same as in I. 3, but in II. 7 Dhruva, Pṛthu son of Vena, Hayagrīva are mentioned, the first two of which are mentioned as avatāras hardly anywhere else. In Bhāgavata XI. 40. 17–22 the following avatāras are mentioned, viz. Matsya, Hayaśīrṣa, Kūrma, Sūkara, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Bhārgava Rāma, Rāma, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Buddha, Kalki. In Bhāgavata XI. 4. 17–22 sixteen avatāras are set out, viz. usual ten plus Haṁsa, Datta (Dattātreya), Kumāra (Nārada), Ṛṣabha, Vyāsa and Hayagrīva. Twelve avatāras are noted in Matsya 99. 14 and Padma V. 13. 182–186. The Prapañcasāratantra (ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya) mentions (in Paṭala 20. 59) Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Kubja (i. e. Vāmana), three Rāmas

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1624. The passage of Matsya (285. 6–7) is very likely a later interpolation, because in another place in the Matsya, the names of avatāras are different. In Matsya 47. 106 there is a reference to the curse on Viṣṇu by Bhṛgu that since Viṣṇu killed his wife he would have to be born seven times as a human being and the seven avatāras are Dattātreya, Māndhātā, Jāmadagnya (Bhārgava) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi, Vedavyāsa, Buddha, Kalkin and three more (in 47. 237–240), viz. Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṁha and Vāmana are added; in Matsya 54. 15–19, Nakṣatrapuruṣa-vrata is described and the usual ten avatāras are named.

1625. Ṛṣabha, son of Nābhi, appears to be the first tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas and was probably raised to the status of an incarnation of Viṣṇu as Buddha was raised. In भागवत I. 3. 24 बुद्ध is referred to as follows: ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्ते संमोहाय सुरद्विषाम् । बुद्धो नाम्नाऽजनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥, नमो बुद्धाय शुद्धाय दैत्यदानवमोहिने । भागवत X. 40. 22.

(i. e. Bhārgavarāma, Dāśarathi Rāma and Balarāma), Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin (i. e. it omits Buddha). The Ahirbudhnya Saṁhita (5. 50–57) enumerates 39 avatāras of Vāsudeva, that are set out by Otto Schrader in his Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā, pp. 42–43. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1626] states that Lakṣmī follows Viṣṇu in his avatāras. The Purāṇas are full of the descriptions of the exploits of Viṣṇu in his several avatāras. But it should not be supposed that Śiva had no avatāras. The Vāyu (chap. 23) mentions 28 avatāras of Maheśvara the last of which was Nakulī (Lakulī) as verse 221 says. In Varāha 15. 10–19 all avatāras are praised except that of Buddha. But Varāha (48. 20–22) provides that worship of Narasiṁha frees men from the fear of sins, of Vāmana leads to removal of delusion, of Paraśurāma to wealth, one should worship Dāśarathi Rāma for the destruction of cruel enemies, one desirous of a son should worship Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, one who desires a handsome form should worship Buddha and one should worship Kalkin for the slaughter of enemies.[1627] The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 49. 1–9) describes what characteristics the images of the ten avatāras should possess and says that the image of Buddha should be represented as having a quiet face, long ear-lobes, fair complexion, wearing an upper garment, seated in Padmāsana posture and his hands should have the *varada* and *abhaya* poses.

From the facts that Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāra-carita[1628] (composed in 1066 A. D.), and the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva (court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena) mention the usual ten avatāras with Fish as the first and that the Matsya passage about ten avatāras is quoted by Aparārka (first half of 12th century), it follows that all the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognised throughout India at least about the 10th century A. D.

1626. एवं यथा जगत्स्वामी देवराजो जनार्दनः। अवतारं करोत्येष तथा श्रीस्तत्सहायिनी॥ पुनश्च पद्माद्भूता यदादित्योऽभवद्धरिः। यदा च भार्गवो रामस्तदाभूद्धरणी क्षितम्। राघवत्वेऽभवत्सीता रुक्मिणी कृष्णजन्मनि। अन्येषु चावतारेषु विष्णोरेषा सहायिनी॥ विष्णु I. 9. 139–141; आदित्य means वामन here.

1627. शान्तात्मा लम्बकर्णश्च गौराङ्गश्चाम्बरावृतः। ऊर्ध्वे पद्मस्थितो बुद्धो वरदाभयदायकः॥ अग्नि 49. 8; बृहत्संहिता 57. 4 पद्माङ्कितकरचरणः प्रसन्नमूर्तिः सुनीचकेशश्च। पद्मासनोपविष्टो पितेव जगतो भवति बुद्धः॥; vide वराह 48. 20–22 वामनं मोहनाशाय वित्तार्थे जमदग्निजम्। क्रूरक्षत्रविनाशाय यजेद्दाशरथिं बुधः। बलकृष्णौ यजेद्धीमान् पुत्रकामो न संशयः। रूपकामो भजेद् बुद्धं शत्रुघाताय कल्किनम्॥.

1628. मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहः पुरुषहरिविपुर्वामनो जामदग्न्यः काकुत्स्थः कंसहन्ता स च सुगतमुनिः कार्किनामा च विष्णुः॥ दशावतारचरित I. 2.

Kumārila (7th century A. D.) did not accept Buddha as an avatāra, though about that century some people had come to recognize him as such (vide note 1629). Besides, as shown above, there were many views about the total number of avatāras, their names and the order in which they appeared. Vide Dr. Katre's paper in Allahabad University Studies, vol. X, pp. 37–130 for discussion on 33 avatāras. The Varāha avatāra is mentioned in the Eran stone Boar[1629] Inscription of Toramāṇa (Gupta inscriptions pp. 158–160) in the first quarter of the 6th century. The Raghuvaṁśa (IV. 53 and 58) refers to the recovery of land near the Sahya mountain from the Western Sea by Rāma (Bhārgava); vide pp. 89–90 and note 224 above for references in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas to Paraśurāma's exploits. The Sarvānukramaṇī p. 42 on Ṛg. X, 110 names as ṛṣi Jamadagni or his son Rāma The Meghadūta mentions the planting of the left foot of Viṣṇu on Bali (i. e. the Vāmana avatāra). Māgha in Śiśupāla-vadha (XV. 58) regards Bodhisattva (Buddha) as an avatāra of Hari and as sought to be tempted by the hordes of Māra. Māgha[1630] flourished about 725–775 A. D. The knowledge of Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa avatāras can be carried back centuries before the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, since it refers to works and dramatic representations of the imprisonment of Bali and the killing of Kaṁsa (vide pp. 130, 203 and notes 330, 521 above). In the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora one sees the representations of Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa. These caves are ascribed to the 8th century A. D.[1631] Therefore, it appears almost certain that some at least (viz. Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa) of the usual ten avatāras had been recognised some centuries before Christ and all ten had come to be recognised by some writers and other people before the 7th century A. D.

1629. The first verse of the Inscription is: जयति धरण्युद्धरणे घनघोणाघातचूर्णितमहीध्रः। वेधो वराहमूर्तिस्त्रैलोक्यमहागृहस्तम्भः॥ Gupta Inscriptions p. 159. This was engraved in the first year of the Hūṇa king तोरमाण's reign on 10th of Phālguna, when the temple of Nārāyaṇa in his Boar avatāra was built. The probable date is about 500 to 510 A. D. This अवतार is sometimes called आदिवराह, यज्ञवराह, श्वेतवराह, महावराह. Compare हर्षचरित III 'महावराहपीवरस्कन्धपीठे नरकासुर इव भुवो गर्भादुज्जृम्भितः।'. Vide 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' by C. Sivarāma Mūrti (Calcuttā, 1955) for plate II C. for 'Ādivarāha' of 4th century A. D.

1630. इति तत्तदा विकृतरूपमभजद्भविभिन्नचेतसम्। मारबलमिव भयङ्करतां हरिरोधिसत्त्वमभिराजमण्डलम्॥ शिशुपालवध XV. 58. For Māgha's date, vide the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1951) pp. 112–113 and 139.

1631. Vide 'Cave Temples of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 438; Archaeological Survey of Western India by Burgess, Vol. V. p. 25.

The conception of avatāras contributed largely to the increase of Dharmaśāstra material. They gave rise to numerous vratas and festivals. For example, the Varāhapurāṇa devotes chapters 39–48 to dvādaśī-vratas in honour of the ten avatāras from Matsya to Kalkin. There are separate festivals called Jayantīs of the avatāras such as Narasiṁha-jayantī on Vaiśākha śu. 14, Paraśurāma-jayantī (on Vaiśākha śu. 3). Vide pp. 262–263 for the tithis and months in which the different avatāras appeared.[1631a]

Descriptions of each of the ten well-known avatāras occur in several Purāṇas; for example, Matsya avatāra is described in Matsya chap. 1-2, Agni 2, Narasiṁha 37; Kūrma in Agni 3, Bhāgavata I. 3. 16, VIII. 7-8-10, Narasiṁha 38; Varāha in Matsya 247–248, Vāyu 6. 11–26, Bhāgavata III. 13. 18–45, III. 19. 25–30, Narasiṁha 39; Narasiṁha avatāra in Brahma 58. 12 ff., 213. 43 ff., Matsya 161–163, Bhāgavata I. 3. 18, VII. 8. 18, Narasiṁha-purāṇa 41-44; Vāmana in Brahma 73 and 213. 80–185, Vāyu 98, 74–87, Vāmanapurāṇa 78. 51, Bhāgavata VIII. 18. 12 to VIII. 22. 33, Narasiṁha 45; Paraśurāma in Matsya 244–246, Bhāgavata IX. 15. 13, IX. 16. 1–26 and vide above pp. 89–90 and note 204; Rāma in Brahma 176, Agni 5–11 (the seven *kāṇḍas* of the Rāmāyaṇa are summarised), Vāyu 88. 183–198, Bhāg. IX. 10–11, Padma IV. 1–68, Narasiṁha 47–52; Kṛṣṇa in Brahma 14–17, 180–212, Agni 12–15, Bhāg. X. 3, 44–45, 50–52 &c., XI. 1 and 30, Narasiṁha 53; Buddha in Brahma 180. 27–39, Agni 16. 1–3, Varāha 180. 27–29, 213. 32 ff., Padma VI. 31. 13–15, Bhāg. I. 3. 24; Kalkin — Vide H. of Dh. III. pp. 923–925 for references. The avatāras and their *jayantīs* are described in many Dharmaśāstra works, but the Ṭoḍarānanda, vol. I. edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya in the Ganga Oriental Series probably contains the longest account of the ten avatāras (pp. 39–386). Thousands of verses are devoted by the Purāṇas to each of the topics of *dāna* (gifts), śrāddha, tīrtha and vrata and they have been quoted at length by works on Dharmaśāstra. It would be

1631 a. The following verse is cited from the पुराणसमुच्चय in नि. सि. p. 81: मत्स्योऽभूद्भुतशुक्लिने मधुसिते, कूर्मो विधौ माधवे, वाराहो गिरिजासुते नभसि, यज्ञेसिते माधवे। सिंहो, भाद्रपदे सिते हरितिथौ श्रीवामनो, माधवे रामो गौरितिथावतः परमभूद् रामो नवम्यां मधोः॥ कृष्णोऽष्टम्यां नभसि सितपरे, चाश्विने पद्मशम्यां बुद्धः, कल्की नभसि समभूच्छुक्लषष्ठ्यां क्रमेण॥. The भक्तिप्रकाश p. 79 (of the वीरमित्रोदय) also quotes this. The नि. सि. remarks that others cite some stray verses where some of the tithis are different and that some Koṅkaṇa writers cite some verses as occurring in वराहपुराण in which मत्स्यजयन्ती is on आषाढशुक्ल eleventh, Buddha should be worshipped on पौषशुक्ल 7th and so on.

best to bring together by way of illustration a few of the pages of the previous volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra on these subjects.

Vide vol. II. pp. 880–881 (for gifts of certain dānas called *dhenus* from Matsya chap. 82, Varāha, chap. 99–110, Agni, chap. 210), p. 882 (for gifts called parvata or meru from Matsya 83-92, Agni 210 quoted by Aparārka pp. 344–454), pp. 884–885 (for grahaśānti from Matsya 93 and about images of planets from Matsya 84), p. 892 (for dedication of a reservoir of water to the public from Matsya 58), pp. 895–896 for the planting of trees and the dedication of a garden to the public (Matsya 59, Agni 70), pp. 896–899 (for dedication of temples and consecration of images in Matsya 264–266, Agni 60 and 66); vol. IV. pp. 162–164 about various hells (Agni 203, 371, Brahma 22, 214–215, Brahmavaivarta, Prakṛtikhaṇḍa 29 and 33, Nāradapurāṇa I. 15, Padma IV. 227, Bhaviṣya, Brāhmaparva 192, Bhāgavata V. 26, Viṣṇu V. 6, Mārkaṇḍeya 12 and 14); vol. IV. p. 170 about heaven being really happiness of the mind (Brahma 22. 44 and 47, Viṣṇu IV. 6. 46); vol. IV. pp. 177–178 on the doctrine of Karmavipāka (Vāmana 12, Mārkaṇḍeya 15, Varāha 203, Viṣṇudharmottara II. 102); vol. IV. p. 181 on the signs of approaching death (Vāyu 19, Liṅga 91, Mārk. 43. 29–39 or chap. 40 of Venk. ed. and Viṣṇudharmottara III. 218); vol. IV. p. 212 on cremation (Varāha 187, Garuḍa II. 4); vol. IV. p. 256 on the persons entitled to perform funeral rites (Viṣṇu III. 13, Mārk. chap. 30 of B. I. ed. and 27 of Venk. ed.); vol. IV. pp. 261–262 the rites after death being called pūrva or nava, madhyama (navamiśra) and uttara (or purāṇa) in Viṣṇupurāṇa III. 13; vol. IV. p. 265 about an ātivāhika body being assumed by the soul of a dead person (Brahma 214, Mārk. 16, Agni 230 and 371); vol. IV. p. 272 on āśauca (impurity on birth and death) from Kūrma II. 23, Liṅga I. 89, Garuḍa, pretakhaṇḍa 5, Agni 157–158, Vāmana 14. It is unnecessary to refer to the pages of this volume itself for numerous references to Purāṇas as regards tithis, various vratas, times for religious rites, astrological matters &c.

It should not be supposed that the Purāṇas are restricted to topics called religious in popular parlance and to the five characteristic topics of creation, re-creation (*sarga*, *pratisarga* &c.) Some of the Purāṇas contain an exhaustive treatment of the duties of kings, ministers, commander-in-chief, judge, envoy scribes, court physician and of coronation, invasion &c

Many of these matters have already been dealt with in vol. III. of the H. of Dh. The most exhaustive treatment of what may be called political matters is found in Matsya chap. 215-226 and 240, Agni 218-242, Viṣṇudharmottara II, chap. 2-7, 18-21, 24-26, 28, 61-63, 66-72, 145-152, 177. Among other Purāṇas Garuḍa I. 108-115, Mārkaṇḍeya 24 (in Venk. ed, or 27 in Banerji's ed.), Kālikā 87 contain some discussion of matters political. It should be noticed that both Matsya (240. 2) and Agni (228. 1) employ the two technical words, 'Ākranda' and 'Pārṣṇigrāha' that are part of the theory of *Maṇḍala* in Kauṭilya (VI. 2. p. 260) explained in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 222. The Matsyapurāṇa is profusely quoted by one of the earliest extant digests on Dharmaśāstra viz. the Kṛtya-kalpataru on Rājadharma (pp. 23, 25-30, 34-38, 42-43, 55-61, 118-122, 123-124, 158-161 and many verses from chap. 227 and 241 of the Matsya on the administration of justice in Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa pp. 342, 345, 348, 377, 406, 409-10, 562, 581, 594-95, 599). The same digest quotes many verses (pp. 9-13, 128, 166, 178-181) from the Brahmapurāṇa which are not found in the printed Brahma (Ānan. ed.), but which are quoted by the Rājanīti-prakāśa of Mitramiśra (borrowing from Kṛtyakalpataru) pp. 138, 158, 283, 416-419 and some by the Rājadharmakaustubha of Anantadeva (pp. 326-330). The Viṣṇudharmottara on rājadharma is not quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru on rājadharma, but it is frequently quoted by the Rājanītiprakāśa e. g. Vi. Dh. II. 18. 1, 5-14 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 32-33, Vi. Dh. II. 18. 2-4 are quoted by R. N. P. p. 61, Vi. Dh. II. 22. 1-185 are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 66-81 (on mantras to be recited and the several divinities to be invoked at a king's coronation), Vi. Dh. II. 23. 1-13 are quoted by R. N. P. on pp. 82-83 (describing the rewards of the mantras recited in Vi. Dh. II. 22). Vi. Dh. is quoted 21 times by the Rājadharma-kaustubha. These three Purāṇas alone (Matsya, Agni, Viṣṇudharmottara) devote several thousand verses to the topic of rāja-dharma and allied matters. The Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. 108-115) devotes about four hundred verses to Rājanīti (political thought) but many of them are like subhāṣitas (*bon mots*) and are borrowed from Manu (e. g. Garuḍa I. 109. 1 and 52, 110. 7, 115. 63 are respectively Manu VII. 213, VIII. 26, II. 239, IX. 3), the Mahābhārata, the Nāradasmṛti (e. g. 'na sā sabhā' in Garuḍa 115. 52 is Nārada III. 18). The Garuḍa itself states that it will expound the essence of *nīti* (Rājadharma) based upon Artha-

śāstra[1632] and the like; while the colophons at the end of chapters 108–114 aver that they contain the Nītisāra promulgated by Bṛhaspati. One verse is almost the same as the Introductory verse 5 of Bāṇa's Kādambarī[1633] and I am disposed to hold that it is the Garuḍa that is the borrower.

Certain verses from the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (24. 5, 23–33 or chap. 27 and 21–31 in Banerji's ed.) are quoted by R. N. P. pp. 30–31 (about the duties of kings and their acting in the peculiar ways of five gods, viz. Indra, Sūrya, Yama, Soma and Vāyu). The Dāyabhāga quotes the Markaṇḍeya-purāṇa for pointing out that *sāpiṇḍya* in the matter of inheritance and succession is different from sāpiṇḍya for the periods of aśauca (impurity on death[1634]). The Kṛtyakalpataru on Rājadharma (pp. 182–183) quotes a passage from Skandapurāṇa on the festival of Kaumudīmahotsava to be celebrated by the king. The same passage is quoted by R. N. P. pp. 419–421.

The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Rājadharma) quotes a long passage (pp. 201–212) from Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on '*Vasordhārā*', which is quoted by the R.N.P. (pp. 447–457) from the Devīpurāṇa. The Kālikāpurāṇa in chapter 87 devotes 131 verses to Rājanīti, in which a summary is furnished of the course of conduct that should be followed by the king. This chapter expressly mentions the works of Uśanas and Bṛhaspati (verses 99 and 130) and advises the king to honour brāhmaṇas that are advanced in knowledge, learning, *tapas* and age, to control his senses, to employ the four *upāyas* (sāma, dāna, daṇḍa and bheda), to avoid the vices of gambling, drinking, indulgence in sexual matters and hunting, to practise the six guṇas (yāna, āsana &c.), to test the princes, councillors, the queens and other female relatives by *upadhās* (investigation of character by various tricks).[1635]

1632. नीतिसारं प्रवक्ष्यामि अर्थशास्त्रादिसंश्रितम्। राजादिभ्यो हितं पुण्यमायुःस्वर्गादिदायकम्॥ गरुड I. 108. 1.

1633. अकारणाविष्कृतकोपधारिणः खलाद्भयं कस्य न नाम जायते। विषं महाहेरिवमस्य दुर्वचः सुदुःसहं संनिपतेत्सदा मुखे॥ गरुड I. 112. 16; compare कादम्बरी Introductory verse 5 'अकारणाविष्कृतवैरदारुणादसज्जनात् कस्य भयं न जायते। विषं महाहेरिव यस्य दुर्वचः सुदुःसहं संनिहितं सदा मुखे॥'.

1634. अशौचार्थं तु पिण्डलेपभुजामपि तद्वत्तपिण्डलेपभोक्तृत्वेन सपिण्डत्वं मार्कण्डेयपुराणे निर्दिष्टं यथा—'पिण्डलेपभुजश्चान्ये पितामहपितामहात्। मध्यस्थुक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः॥ इत्येवं मुनिभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः सापपौरुषः।' अशौचकर इत्यर्थः। दायभाग XI para 41. The verses 'पिण्डलेप'...सापपौरुषः' are मार्कण्डेय 28. 4–5 with slightly different readings (chap. 31 in B. I.).

1635. Compare the heading of कौटिल्य I. 10 'उपधाभिः शौचाशौचज्ञानममात्यानाम्' and the following passages: क्षीरस्वामी, while commenting on the word उपधा, quotes this heading about उपधा from कौटिल्य (expressly named).

It appears that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra was not available to most medieval writers and therefore they relied on the purāṇas for the treatment of Rājadharma. But the early purāṇas like the Matsya appear to have made use of Kauṭilya's work. Vide the author's paper on 'Kauṭilya and the Matsya-purāṇa' in Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume II. pp. 13–15.

In the matter of the administration of justice and the law of succession and inheritance also some of the Purāṇas have influenced the views of writers of *nibandhas*. The Kṛtya-kalpataru on Vyavahāra quotes about twelve verses from the Kālikā-purāṇa on the marks of a truthful party or witness and on the appropriate ordeals in the case of the several varṇas,[1636] their procedure and the different causes of action (vide pp. 79, 205, 210, 211, 221, 231, 238). Three verses from the Kālikā (chap. 91. 35–37) about the twelve kinds of sons and the impropriety of making a punarbhava, svayamdatta and a *dāsa* successor to a kingdom are quoted in the R. N. P. pp. 35 and 42. Verses 38–41 of Kālikā, chapter 91, about the sons that can be adopted and the age up to which they can be adopted are quoted by the Dattakamīmāṁsā p. 60 (Ānan. ed.) and by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 114, though the latter remarks that they were not found in two or three mss. of the Purāṇa.[1637] In connection with the question of the seniority among twins the Mayūkha quotes Śrīdhara's comment on Bhāgavata (III. 19. 18) that the son born first is the younger one; but the Vyavahāramayūkha[1638] makes the interesting remark that in the Purāṇas practices opposed to the smṛtis are frequently seen.

1636. The three verses on pp. 210–211 beginning with 'paradārābhi-śāpe' &c. in Kṛtyakalpataru are quoted also by the Vyavahāramayūkha p. 45 and the Rājadharmakaustubha p. 408.

1637. यत्तु कालिकापुराणे—पितुर्गोत्रेण यः पुत्रः···गृहीत्वा पञ्चवर्षीयं पुत्रेष्टिं प्रथमं चरेत्॥ तदसगोत्रपरम्। ···इदं तु वचो न तथा विश्रम्भणीयं द्विव्यकालिकापुराणपुस्तकेष्वदर्शनात्। व्य. म. 114 (B. O. R. I. ed. 1926).

1638. यत्तु—द्वौ तद्वा भवतो गर्भौ स्मृतिर्वेशाविपर्ययात्—इत्यादिना भागवते पञ्चाजातस्य ज्यैष्ठ्यमुक्तं तदप्येनेन बाध्यते। पुराणेषु स्मृतिविरुद्धाचाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात्। व्य. म. p. 98.

CHAPTER XXV

Causes of the Disappearance of Buddhism from India.

At the beginning of Chapter XXIV (pp. 913-14, n 1448) above, it was stated that the Purāṇas had a large share in bringing about the final disappearance of Buddhism from India, the land of its birth. The disappearance of Buddhism from India was complete and seemed to be sudden and is a complex problem. No single cause, nor even a few causes can fully account for this phenomenon. A combination of causes, both internal and external, must have been in operation for a pretty long time to bring about this remarkable event. It may be admitted that some of the causes are more or less conjectural. In the first quarter of the 5th century A. D. Fa-Hian found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in India, while in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Yuan Chwang appears to say that the decline of Buddhism had set in. It-sing found Buddhism very much on the decline in the beginning of the 8th century A.D. An attempt will be made here to discuss briefly the several causes that have been put forward by scholars for explaining the almost total disappearance of Buddhism from India. A few of the contributions bearing on this subject may be noted here. 'Religions of India' by A. Barth, translated by J. Wood (1882) pp. 133-139; Journal of Pali Texts Society (1896 pp. 87-92) on 'Persecution of Buddhists in India' by Rhys Davids; Kern's 'Manual of Buddhism' (in the German Grundriss pp. 133-134); 'Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids (1903, pp. 157-158, 319); I. H. Q. vol. IX pp. 361-371 (where the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism emphasized by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri are enumerated); 'The Sum of History' by René Grousset, translated by A. and H. Temple Patterson pp. 101-105 (Tower Bridge Publications, 1951); 'The Decline of Buddhism in India' by Dr. R. C. Mitra (1954), particularly pp. 125-164; 'Life and Teaching of Buddha' by Devamitta Dharmapala (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, 1938); '2500 years of Buddhism' edited by Prof. P. V. Bapat, 1956 pp. 360-376; 'The Path of the Buddha' by Prof. Kenneth W. Morgan pp. 47-50 (New York, 1956); 'How Buddhism left India' by N. J. O'Connor, Ralph Fletcher Seymour, Chicago (1957).

Before setting out the main causes of the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from India certain general points have to be emphasized. Buddha was only a great reformer of the Hindu religion as practised in his time. He did not feel or claim that he was forming a new religion, nor did he renounce the Hindu religion and all its practices and beliefs. The Buddha referred to the Vedas and Hindu sages with honour in some of his sermons. He recognised the importance of Yogic practices and meditation. His teaching took over several beliefs current among the Hindus in his day such as the doctrine of Karma and Rebirth and cosmological theories. A substantial portion of the teaching of Buddha formed part of the tenets of the Upaniṣadic period. At the time when he was born there were two main currents of thoughts and practices prevalent among the people, one being the path of sacrifices to Gods and the other being the path of moral endeavour, self-restraint and spiritual goal. It has been shown above (pp. 917–918) how the Upaniṣads assigned a lower position to the Vedas and the sacrifices enjoined therein and how spiritual knowledge after cultivating high ethical qualities was deemed greater than sacrifices. The Upaniṣads first began by symbolical interpretation of Vedic sacrifices, as for example in Bṛ. Up. I. 1. 1, where Uṣas, Sūrya and Saṁvatsara are said to be respectively the head, the eye and the soul of the sacrificial horse or as in Chān. Up II. 2. 1–2, where the five parts of the Sāman employed in a sacrifice are symbolically identified with earth, fire, sky, sun and heaven. Then they proceed to belittle the Veda as mere name and as much inferior to *brahmavidyā* (e. g. Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 21, I. 4.10, Chān. Up. VII. 1–4, Muṇḍaka I. 1. 4–5. It is generally held by all Sanskrit scholars that at least the oldest Upaniṣads like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Chāndogya are earlier than Buddha, that they do not refer to Buddha or to his teachings or to the *piṭakas*. On the other hand, though in dozens of *Suttas* meetings of brāhmaṇas and Buddha or his disciples and missionaries are reported they almost always seem to be marked by courtesy on both sides. No meetings are recorded in the early Pali Texts or brahmanical Texts about Śākyans condemning the tenets of ancient brahmanism or about brāhmaṇas censuring the Bauddha heterodoxy. Besides, in all these meetings and talks, the central Upaniṣad conception of the immanence of *brahma* is never attacked by Buddha or by the early propagators of Buddhism. What Buddha says may be briefly rendered as follows: "Even so have I, O Bhikkhus, seen an ancient path, an ancient road followed by

rightly enlightened persons of former times. And what, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times? Just this very Noble Eightfold Path, viz. right views...&c. This, O Bhikkhus, is that ancient path, that ancient road, followed by the rightly enlightened ones of former times. Along that (path) I have gone and while going along that path, I have fully come to know, old age and death. Having come to know it fully, I have told it to the monks, the nuns, the lay followers, men and women; this *brahmacarya* is prosperous, flourishing, widespread, widely known, has become popular and made manifest well by gods and men."[1639] It will be noticed that the Noble Eightfold Path which the Buddha put forward as the one that would put an end to misery and suffering is here expressly stated to be an ancient path trod by ancient enlightened men. Buddha does not claim that he was unique, but claimed that he was only one of a series of Enlightened men and stressed that the moral qualities which he urged men to cultivate belonged to antiquity. In the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta (Mahāvagga, Vāseṭṭha sutta) the truly virtuous man is spoken of as brāhmaṇa: "I speak of him as brāhmaṇa, who causes no harm (or evil) in body, word and thought, who is guarded as regards these three sources"; 'neither by matted hair nor by lineage, nor by caste, does one become a brāhmaṇa'; 'that man in whom there is truth and righteousness is blessed and is a brāhmaṇa'; 'him who does not cling to desires (or pleasures) as water does not stick to a lotus leaf or as a mustard grain (does not stick) on the top of an awl, I call a brāhmaṇa.'[1640] Moreover, it does not appear that at any time

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1639. Vide संयुत्तनिकाय (P. T. S.), part II (Nidānavagga) edited by M. Leon Feer pp. 106–107 paragraphs 21–33, a few sentences from which may be quoted here: 'एवमेव खवाहं भिक्खवे अद्दसं पुराणं मग्गं पुराणंजसं पुब्बकेहि सम्मासंबुद्धेहि अनुयातं॥ कतमो च सो भिक्खवे मग्गो पुराणंजसो'''अनुयातो। अयमेव अट्ठंगिको मग्गो। सेय्यथापि समादिट्ठि। '''अयं खो भिक्खवे पुराणमग्गो अनुयातो। तं अनुगच्छिं। तं अनुगच्छन्तो जरामरणं अभिञ्ञासिं। '''तद् अभिञ्ञाय आचिक्खिं भिक्खूनं भिक्खुनीनं उपासकानं उपासिकानं। तयिदं भिक्खवे ब्रह्मचरियं इद्धं चेव फीतं च वित्थारिकं बहुजञ्ञं पुथुभूतं याव देवमनुस्सेहि सुप्पकासितं ति।'

1640. यस्स कायेन वाचाय मनसा नत्थि दुक्कतं। संवुत्तं तीहि ठानेहि तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणम्॥ न जटाहि न गोत्तेन न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो। यम्हि सच्चं च धम्मो च सो सुची सो च ब्राह्मणो॥ वारि पोक्खरपत्तेव आरग्गेरिव सासवो। यो न लिम्पति कामेसु तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणम्॥ धम्मपद verses 391, 393, 401 (of Dr. P. L. Vaidya's edition of 1934 in Devanāgarī type); सुत्तनिपात (महावग्ग, वासेट्ठसुत्त) has the last verse. With the verse 'na jaṭāhi

(*Continued on next page*)

the whole of India or even large portions of it were completely Buddhistic. The people of India as a whole were always Hindus.[1641]. There were many millions of people at all times who professed Hinduism and not Buddhism. Bssides, even when Buddhism secured the patronage of emperors like Aśoka, Kaniṣka and Harṣa Buddhism was mainly restricted to monasteries and schools and great tolerance prevailed. For example, Harṣa's father was a great devotee of the Sun and he himself is described in his Banskhera and Madhuban plates as a great devotee of Śiva, though his elder brother Rājyavardhana is described as *paramasaugata* (a great devotee of Buddha) and he appears to have shown favour to the Buddhist pilgrim (Yuan Chwang).[1642]

Some recent authors like Prof. K. W. Morgan hold that the most important causes of the disappearance of Buddhism were decline of vigour in the Saṅgha, the Moslem invasions and the opposition of the Hindu community ('The Path of the Buddha' p. 48).

There is a good deal of truth in A. Coomaraswamy's contention that the more profound is one's study of Buddhism and Brahmanism the more difficult it becomes to distinguish between

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(*Continued from last page*)

&c.' compare महाभारत, वनपर्व 216. 14-15 'यस्तु शूद्रो वमे सत्ये धर्मे च सततोत्थितः। तं ब्राह्मणमहं मन्ये वृत्तेन हि भवेद् द्विजः॥. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 101 for other passages from the Great Epic similar to these. With the verse वारि पोक्खर-पत्तेव &c. compare Chān. Up. IV. 14. 3 'यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति' and Gītā V. 10 'लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा'.

1641. Vide for a similar view expressed by a great French *savant* and Sanskrit scholar Prof. L. Renou in 'Religions of ancient India' (University of London, 1953) p. 100.

1642. For Banskhera Plate of the year 22 (of the Harṣa era) i. e. 628-29 A. D., vide E. I. vol. IV pp. 210-211 and for the Madhuban plate of Harṣa in the year 25 i. e. 631-32 A. D., vide E. I. vol. I pp 72-73 (Bühler) and E. I. vol. VII pp. 157-158 (Kielhorn). Yuan Chwang does not mention that Rājyavardhana was a great devotee of Buddha but he tries to paint Harṣa as full of faith in Buddha from the beginning and narrates a fictitious story describing how Harṣa was prevented from mounting the throne and induced to take the title Kumāra by a Bodhisattva who miraculously appeared to him in return for his worship This shows that the accounts by the 'Master of the Law' must sometimes be taken with a pinch of salt. Vide Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' (London, 1904) vol. I p. 343 for this story.

the two or to say in what respects Buddhism is really unorthodox (vide his 'Hinduism and Buddhism' p. 452). Buddha and his successors really attacked some popular varieties of Brahmanism. Mrs. Rhys Davids in her lecture on 'The relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism' (published in I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 274-286) endeavours to show that the Tripiṭakas do not refer to rupture with brāhmaṇas and that what Buddha preached was in agreement with the central tenet of immanence in the Brahmanism of the day. Buddha agreed (or at least had no quarrel) with the Upaniṣad teaching about high moral endeavour being a necessary pre-requisite for *brahma* realization and *mokṣa* (as in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23 'tasmād-evamvic-chānto dānta upratas-titikṣuḥ samāhito bhūtvā ātmanyevātmānam paśyati', Kaṭha Up. I. 2. 23, I. 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, Praśna Up. I. 15–16, Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12–13).

The main matters of controversy between Buddha and the Hindu religious and philosophical system current in his time are generally held to have been caste divisions and pride of caste, the absolute authoritativeness of the Vedas and the great importance attached to sacrifices.[1642a] Buddha asserted that righteousness and wisdom were the best, he did not expressly deny the existence of God but proclaimed that it was unnecessary to be definite nor did he pronounce his definite views on such questions as whether the world is eternal or non-eternal, since according to him, to cogitate on such points would be "a thicket of theorizing, wilderness of theorizing, the tangle of theorizing, the bondage and shackles of theorizing ..... nor would it conduce to aversion, passionlessness, tranquillity, peace, illumination and *nirvāṇa*."[1643] Buddha did not think much

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1642 a. Barth in 'Religions of India' (pp. 125–126) scouts the theory that the institution of the Saṅgha and primitive Buddhism were a reaction against the regime of caste and the spiritual yoke of the brāhmaṇas and calls that theory 'a fiction of romance.'

1643. Vide Majjhima-nikāya (Cūla-Māluṅkyasutta and Aggi-vaccagotta-sutta) ed. by V. Trenkner, vol. I suttas 63 and 72 pp. 431 and 486 'न निब्बिदाय न विरागाय न निरोधाय न उपसमाय न अभिञ्ञाय न सम्बोधाय न निब्बानाय संवत्तति.' These very words occur in the Poṭṭhapada-sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya when Buddha was asked by Poṭṭhapada whether the world was permanent or otherwise, whether it was without end or not, whether the soul (jīva) and body were different and he replied that he did not expound these matters because they served no purpose and did not lead to nirvāṇa (Pali Texts Society, vol. I pp. 188–189 para 28).

of worship or prayer. According to him, what mattered was the deliverance of man from sorrow and suffering and the attainment of nirvāṇa[1643a] (which state he did not care to define clearly and precisely). The original doctrine (called *hīnayāna*, 'the lesser way or vehicle') held that the experience of enlightenment and *nirvāṇa* can be secured by human beings in this very life if they follow the path chalked out by Buddha.

The causes that have been advanced from time to time by scholars for the total disappearance of Buddhism from India must now be dealt with. (1) Persecution is alleged by some scholars as at least one of the main causes. King Puṣyamitra of the Suṅga dynasty is charged with having proclaimed that whoever would bring to him the head of a *śramaṇa* would receive one hundred *dīnāras*;[1644] Mihirakula, king of Kashmir,

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1643 a. The word 'Nirvāṇa' literally means 'blown out, extinguished, or become cooled'. Taking the view most favourable to Buddha's teaching, it implies the blowing out or extinction of the fires of *kāma* (lust or desire), *krodha* (anger or ill-will), *moha* (ignorance or stupidity) and transformation of these into moral purity, goodwill (or charity) and wisdom. It is not like the Biblical Heaven. It is a state of perfect enlightenment, peace and bliss, attainable not merely after death, but in this very life and on this earth. It is really indescribable as stated in the Pali Udāna VIII 'unbecome, unborn, unformed &c.' and resembles the words used in speaking of *brahma* as 'neti neti' in Bṛ. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 4, IV. 4. 22, IV. 5. 15.

1644. The words in the Aśokāvadāna No. 29 (the Divyāvadāna ed. by Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 434) 'यावत् पुष्यमित्रो यावत्सङ्घनरामं निर्ह्रत्य प्रवातयन् प्रस्थितः। स यावच्छाकलमनुप्राप्तः। तेनाभिहितम्। यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि। ...यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रवातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः समुच्छिन्नः'. Puṣyamitra is said by most authorities to be a Śuṅga and was called *senānī* in the Purāṇas, in Harṣacarita (VI) and in the Ayodhyā Inscription (in E. I. vol. 20 p. 54), while the above *avadāna* calls him Maurya. This shows either the ignorance of the writer of the Divyāvadāna (which is a late work) or the text itself may be incorrect or corrupt. Vide Pro. of the 6th Indian History Congress (Aligarh, 1943) pp. 109–116 where Mr. N. N. Ghosh propounds the theory that Puṣyamitra did persecute Buddhists, though his successors did not; on the other hand Dr. Ray Chaudhari in 'Political History of India' (5th ed.) does not agree to the theory of persecution by पुष्यमित्र. In the Āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (T. S. S. part III, 53rd chapter pp. 619–620) it is stated in a prophetic vein that a certain king called Gomimukhya (and also Gomiṣaṇḍa) extending his rule from East India to Kashmir will make Buddha's *śāsana* (system) disappear, will destroy *vihāras* and kill monks'. K. P. Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit text' (p. 19) holds that Gomimukhya is a concealed name for

(Continued on next page)

is accused by Yuan Chwang (or more correctly, Hsuan Tsang according to some modern writers) with having overthrown Buddhist topes in Gandhāra, with destruction of monasteries and the slaughter of myriads of Buddhists (vide 'In the footsteps of Buddha' by René Grousset pp. 119–120 on Mihirakula, the Indian Attila); king Śaśāṅka is said by Yuan Chwang to have destroyed the Bo-tree (*Bodhidruma*), replaced the image of Buddha by one of Maheśvara and to have destroyed the religion of Buddha and dispersed the order (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' Vol. II. pp. 118, 122 and Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels' Vol, II, pp. 115–116); king Sudhanvan is supposed to have issued at the instigation of Kumārila [1644a] a proclamation to take effect from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin (which is palpably absurd) that he would put to death any servant of his who did not kill the Buddhists. These instances are carefully examined by no less a scholar than Rhys Davids in the Journal of the Pali Texts Society for 1896 (pp 87–92). After adverting to the facts that there is nothing about persecution in the Pali Piṭakas, that the tone of Pali books is throughout appreciative of brāhmaṇas, that no details are given and that hardly any names of persons suffering by

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(*Continued from last page*)

Puṣyamitra, that the portion above quoted was written about 800 A. D. and was translated into Tibetan in 1060 A. D. (Intro. p. 3). Vide 'Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire' by Ramaprasad Chanda in I.H.Q. vol. V pp. 393–407 at p. 397 (for the concluding sentences of the Divyāvadāna in English) and pp. 587–613 and a recent paper on 'Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and Buddhists' by Hari Kishore Prasad in JBRS. vol. 40 pp. 29–38.

1644a. Vide also 'Buddhist India' by Rhys Davids pp. 318–320 (5th ed. of 1917, the first being of 1903) about persecution and 'Life and Teaching of Buddha' by Devamitta Dharmapala p. 7 about Kumārila and Śaṅkara having waged only a polemic war and nothing more. The Tantravārtika of Kumārila also suggests that the Buddhists were afraid of polemic skirmishes with the Mīmāṅsakas and that, while stating in one breath that everything is momentary, the Buddhists at the same time foolishly boasted that their sacred texts also were eternal, borrowing that idea from the Vedic doctrines; यथा मीमांसकत्रस्ताः शाक्यवैशेषिकादयः। नित्य एवागमोऽस्माकमित्याहुः शून्यचेतनम् ॥ p. 235; तत्र शाक्यैः प्रसिद्धापि सर्वक्षणिकवादिता। त्यज्यते वेदसिद्धान्ताज्जल्पद्भिर्नित्यमागमम् ॥ p. 236. Vide note (2011) which will show that Kumārila was prepared to admit the usefulness of Buddha's teachings up to a certain point. Other literary works also show that it was a polemic war e. g. the वासवदत्ता of सुबन्धु (not later than 6th century A. D.) says 'केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतमतध्वंसिनः' (p. 144, Hall's ed.).

persecution are mentioned, he asserts that he does not believe in these stories, but adds that he does not go so far as to maintain that there is no truth at all in the legend about Puṣyamitra (but judgment must be reserved in view of the text in the *avadāna* being corrupt and the author of it being grossly ignorant). As to the legend about Sudhanvan and Kumārila he holds that of all the cases of alleged persecution this is the weakest and that it is no more than boastful and rhetorical exaggeration.[1645] Rhys Davids emphasizes that the adherents of both faiths so diametrically opposed to each other lived in continuous peace side by side for a thousand years, that this redounds to the credit of the whole Indian people from the time of Aśoka

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1645. In the शङ्करदिग्विजय of माधवाचार्य it is stated (I. 56 and 59) that king Sudhanvan was an avatāra of Indra and Kumārila of Skanda (who is also known as Kumāra). The order of Sudhanvan is couched in that work as follows: व्यधादाज्ञां ततो राजा वधाय श्रुतिविद्विषाम्। आ सेतोरा तुषाराद्रेर्बौद्धानाबृद्ध-बालकम्। न हन्ति यः स हन्तव्यो भृत्यानित्यन्वशान्नृपः॥ (शङ्करदिग्विजय I. 92-93). This seems to be a palpably absurd legend. No king in ancient India, much less one called Sudhanvā, ruled over the vast territory from the Himālayas to Rāmeśvara. Further, it may be noted that the order, supposing one was issued, was addressed only to the king's servants and not to one and all. The Śaṅkaradigvijaya (XV. 1) states that when Śaṅkarācārya started on a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvara king Sudhanvan accompanied him. Mādhavācārya, being blinded by his zeal to glorify his hero to the utmost, goes on heaping one legend on another and casts all history and chronology to the winds. For example, he narrates that Ācārya Abhinavagupta (a great Śaiva and Tāntrika teacher) was vanquished by Śaṅkara in disputations (XV. 158) and that Abhinavagnpta practised black magic against the great Ācārya. From Abhinavagupta's own works it appears that his literary activity lay between 980 to 1020 A. D. (vide the author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics', 1951, pp. 231-232), while no scholar would place Śaṅkarācārya later than 800 A. D. Mādhavācārya also says (XV. 157) that Śaṅkara vanquished by his arguments Śrīharṣa, author of Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa-khādya, who could not be vanqnished by Guru, Bhaṭṭa and Udayana. Śrīharṣa flourished about the end of the 12th century A. D. Taranath in his 'History of Buddhism' says 'It was probably about this time that the terrible enemies of the Buddhists, Śaṅkarācārya and his disciple Bhattā-cārya appeared, the former in Bengal and the latter in Orissa. A short time after the Buddhists were persecnted in the South by Kumāralila and Kaṇādaruru; here mention is made of the Buddhist king Śālivāhana, though the Buddhists relate that in the end Dharmakīrti triumphed in the discus-sion with Kumāralila, Śaṅkarācārya or Bhaṭṭācārya &c. (I. A. vol. IV. p. 365). It will be noticed how the account is altogether confused. Vide Dr. Mitra's 'Decline of Buddhism' p. 129.

downwards and that India never indulged in persecution in anyway approaching to the persecution of reforming Christians by the orthodox Church or the persecution of Christians by the Roman authorities. Dr. R. C. Mitra in "Decline of Buddhism in India" (pp. 125–130) arrives at the same conclusion about the cases of persecution. Barth (in 'Religions of India' p. 136) admits that everything tends to prove that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion and that it is in its own inherent defects that we must seek for the causes of its disappearance. He prefaces this remark with the words 'the most reliable documents, coins and inscriptions, bear evidence of a tolerance exceptionally generous on the part of the civil powers' (p. 133) and illustrates this by examples.[1645a] It should be noted that great Smṛtikāras like Yājñavalkya laid down that when an Indian king reduced a kingdom to subjection, it was the conqueror's duty to honour the usages, the transactions and family traditions of the conquered country and to protect them. Aśoka, though himself a believer in Buddha's teachings, shows great

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1645 a. यस्मिन्देशे य आचारो व्यवहारः कुलस्थितिः । तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वशमुपागतः ॥. Nothing is gained by a total denial of even sporadic cases of religions persecution and vandalism. But such cases are very few and their very paucity emphasizes and illuminates the great religious tolerance of the Indian people for more than two thousand years. One interesting instance is found in an inscription from Ablur published in E. I. vol. V pp. 213 ff (at p. 243), where the story is told of an intense devotee of Śaivism named Ekāntada Rāma, who, in a controversy with the Jainas of Huligere (Lakṣmeśvara) led by a village headman named Saṅkagauḍā made a wager in a writing on palmyra leaf to the effect that he would cut his own head, place it at the feet of Somanātha in Huligere and have the head restored after seven days and that, if he succeeded, the Jains were to give up their faith and God. Ekāntada Rāma succeeded, but the Jainas refused to destroy the image of Jina, whereupon Rāma routed the horses and guards sent by the Jainas, laid waste the Jaina shrine and built a big Śiva shrine there. The Jainas complained to king Bijjala who sent for Rāma and questioned him. Rāma produced the writing containing the terms of the wager, but offered to perform the same feat. The Jainas were not prepared to face the same test again. Bijjala asked the Jainas to live peaceably with their neighbours, gave a *jayapatra* (document of Rāma's success) and granted a village to the temple of Somanātha. It is clear that a Jain image was overthrown and a Śaiva one was substituted by Rāma (leaving aside the superhuman feat ascribed to him). Rāma is to be placed shortly before 1162 A. D. There is a great difference between local brawls as in the above case and a general policy by a community or a king of wholesale persecution.

tolerance by requiring honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects in his 12th Rock Edict in the words 'Neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place,' that 'other sects ought to be duly honoured in every case', that 'concord (samavāya) alone is meritorious, that is they should both hear and honour each other's Dhamma'.[1646] In the 7th Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra p. 136) Aśoka proclaims that he appointed officers called Mahāmātras to look after the Saṅgha (the community or body of preaching Buddhist mendicants), brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Niggaṇṭhas and all other *pāsaṇḍas* (sects). India has been for thousands of years a country of nearly absolute tolerance, which is literally a religion, while European religiosity has nearly always been intolerant and, when not intolerant, it is tantamount to mental hostility or complete indifference. Most Indian religious people were and are ready to agree that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of life and the salvation of the soul. Indians feel amused at the claims of millions of people that some prophet revered by them has got the monopoly of the knowledge of God and the Hereafter. This tolerance for differing tenets and cults persisted in India with rare exceptions throughout the long stretch of time from centuries before Aśoka onwards till about 1200 A. D. when Moslems overran India. A few striking instances (both early and late) may be cited here: (1) Khāravela again, a Jain king of Kaliṅga (2nd or 1st century B. C.), granted freedom from taxation to brāhmaṇas in the 9th year of his reign (E. I. vol. XX. p. 79 and 88); (2) The Nasik cave Ins. No. 10 records that Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna of the Ksaharāṭa lineage made very large gifts to gods and brāhmanas on the

1646. Vide 'Inscriptions of Aśoka' ed. by Dr. Hultzsch (1925) pp. 20–21 for the text and translation of the Rock Edict from Girnar. Dr. Minakshi in 'Administration and Social life under the Pallavas' (University of Madras, 1938, pp. 170–172) after remarking that Pallava monarchs as a class were tolerant towards all religious sects, points out that king Pallavamalla indulged in some harsh methods and persecution. Prof. Arnold Toynbee in 'East and West' (Oxford Uni. Press) points out that Christianity and Islam have seldom been content to follow the practice of 'live and let live' and that both of them have been responsible for some of the bitterest conflicts and cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history' (p. 49). Similarly, V. O. Vogt in 'Cult and Culture' condemns the unbending arrogance of Moslems and Christian Missionaries in their claims of revealed authority and laments that religion will meet disaster unless it universalizes its own conception of Revelation to embrace the future as well as the past (p. 70).

banks of sacred rivers and at Bharukaccha (modern Broach), Daśapura, Govardhana and donated a field for feeding a congregation of Buddhist monks (E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78); (3) The Gupta kings were generally devotees of Viṣṇu but they also made gifts to Buddhist monks e. g. Gupta Inscription No. 5 ('Gupta Inscriptions' ed. by Fleet pp. 31–34) records a grant by Āmrakārdava (an officer of Chandragupta II) to an Āryasaṅgha in the Gupta year 93 (412–3 A. D.); (4) Siri Chāntamūla I, an Ikṣvāku king of Śrīparvata in Āndhradeśa, had performed Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices but the ladies of that family were almost all Buddhist and one of them erected a pillar in honour of the supreme Buddha (E. I. Vol. XX. p. 8 and Jayaswal's 'History of India' 50–350 A. D., p 175); (5) The Maitraka rulers of Valabhī (in Kathiawar) were all orthodox Hindus and almost all are described as great devotees of Maheśvara (Śiva). The Journal of the University of Bombay vol III. (pp. 74–91) sets out five grants (four Buddhist and one to a brāhmaṇa) The first is issued by a feudatory Gārulaka Mahārāja Varāhadāsa in Valabhī year 230 (= 549 A.D.) and the others by the Valabhī kings themselves. The four Buddhist records make grants to Yakṣaśūra-vihāra and Pūrṇabhaṭṭa-vihāra (both monasteries for nuns) of lands and villages for providing garments, food, beds, seats and medicines to the nuns and for providing for incense, flowers, sandalwood &c. for the worship of Buddha images; (6) A king of Orissa, named Śubhākaradeva, who was son of a Buddhist king and who styles himself *paramasaugata*, made a grant of two villages in the latter half of the 8th century to a hundred brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras (E. I. vol. 15 at pp. 3–5 Neulpur grant); (7) Vigrahapāla, king of Bengal, who belonged to the Buddhist Pāla dynasty, granted in the 12th year of his reign a village to a Sāmavedi brāhmaṇa after taking a bath in the Ganges on a lunar eclipse in honour of Buddha (Bhagavantam Buddhabhaṭṭārakam uddiśya) by the Amgacchi grant (E. I. Vol. XV. p. 293 at pp. 295–298, about 1000 A. D.); (8) The successor of king Vigrahapāla (iii) by name Mahīpāla granted a village in honour of Buddha after a bath in the Ganges in Viṣuva-saṅkrānti to a brāhmaṇa (E. I. Vol. XIV. p. 324); vide also I. A. vol. 21 pp. 253–258 for a grant of Devapāladeva, a Buddhist king of Bengal, about the end of the 9th century, recording a grant of a village to a learned brāhmaṇa. (9) In the Kalacuri stone Inscription from Kasia (E. I. vol. XVIII p. 128) the first invocation in prose is to Rudra and then to Buddha, the first two

verses are in praise of Śaṅkara, 3rd in praise of Tārā (a Buddhist deity) and the 4th and 5th verses praise Buddha (who is styled Munīndra); (10) Kumāradevī, 4th queen of Govindacandra (1114–1154 A. D.), a Gāhaḍavala king of Kanauj and an orthodox Hindu, built a *vihāra* in which she placed an image of Dharma-cakra Jina i. e. Buddha (vide E. I. Vol. IX p. 319 at p. 324); (11) Govindacandra himself made a gift of six villages to a Buddhist learned ascetic (Śākyarakṣita by name) who hailed from Utkala (Orissa) and to his pupil for the benefit of the Saṅgha at Jetavana Mahāvihāra (vide the Saheṭ-Maheṭ plate of Govindacandra dated *saṁvat* 1186, i. e. 1128–29 A. D. recorded in E. I. vol. XI p. 20 at p. 24). (12) The Madanapur plate of the Buddhist king Śrīcandra[1647] of East Bengal records that the king made a grant of land to a brāhmaṇa named Śukradeva 'in honour of Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka' after having bathed on the Agastitṛtīyā day. (13) The Dambal (inscription of the times of Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla alias Vikramāditya (in śaka 1017 i. e. 1095–96 A. D.) begins with an invocation to Buddha and records certain grants to two vihāras, one of Buddha built by certain Seṭṭis of Dharmāpura or Dharmavoḷal (i. e. Dambal in Dharwar District) and the other of Tārādevī by a Seṭṭi of Lokkiguṇḍi (or modern Lakkuṇḍi). (14) In E. I. vol. XVI p. 48 at p. 51 (Inscription of Lakṣmeśvara in 1147 A. D.) a general is styled as the restorer of the four sects viz. Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Bauddha and Jaina (catuḥ-samaya-samuddharaṇam). (15) A stone inscription from Śrāvastī (modern Saheṭ-Maheṭ) of (Vikrama) saṁvat 1276 (1219–20 A. D.) records that a certain person Vidyādhara of the Vāstavya family established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was put up (I. A. Vol. 17 p. 61). (16) The Kumbhakoṇam Inscription of Sevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore (of 1580 A. D.) records the gift of some land in the brāhmaṇa village (*agrahāra*) of Tirumaliarājapuram to an individual attached to a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandura.[1648]

1647. There is divergence of views about the date of Śrīcandra. Vide Dr. R. C. Majmudar's 'History of Bengal', vol. I p. 196 (where the beginning of 11th century A. D. has been accepted by some scholars as the date of Śrīcandra).

1648. The last two examples indicate that, though Jayacandra of Kanauj was defeated and Kanauj was taken by the Mahomedans in 1193 A. D., Buddhism had not become totally extinct in North India in the first quarter of the 13th century A. D. and that some remnants of Buddhism existed in South India up to the 16th century A. D.

The above examples show that in all parts of India in the North as well as in the South, the general rule among kings and their officers was tolerance and care for all faiths. If there was rarely some persecution it was by an individual king or officer or the like. On the other hand, though Aśoka, as an inheritor of the Indian royal tradition of showing honour and respect to all faiths of the subjects irrespective of his own religious views, breathes a striking spirit of tolerance in his 7th and 12th Rock edicts, one cannot help a suspicion that in the later part of his life he seems to gloat over the fact that the gods worshipped as divinities in Jambudvīpa had been rendered false and he proudly proclaims that this result is 'not the effect of my greatness but of my zeal'.

It should be noted that even Aśoka's ahimsā was at first not thorough-going but qualified. In his first Rock Edict he himself states that in his royal kitchen thousands of animals were killed, but that he had reduced the slaughter to two peacocks a day and one deer (that too rarely) and that even the three animals would not be killed in future (vide C. I. I. vol. I pp 1–2). Whether this last promise was really carried out is not clear. Besides, Aśoka appears to have carried his solicitude for the protection of all life too far and used against human beings his absolute power like a dictator. In the 4th Delhi Topra Pillar edict (C. I. I., vol. I p. 124) he mentions that his revenue settlement officers called Lajūkas had to deal with many hundred thousands of men and were given the discretion to award punishments including the *death sentence* and that a respite of three days was allowed in which the relatives of the man condemned to death could persuade the lajūkas to grant reprieves. In the fifth Delhi-Topra pillar edict (*ibid.* pp 125–128), after 26 years of his being anointed he declared that 23 kinds of birds and other animals (such as parrots, *mainas*, ruddy and wild geese, doves, certain kinds of fish, tortoises) were not to be killed at all, that ewes and sows that were with young or were in milk or the young of these that were less than six months old were also not to be killed; he also forbade the sale of fish on certain Full Moon days and the days previous to them and following them, the castration of bulls, rams, horses on 8th, 14th and 15th days of a month and the branding of horses and bulls on Puṣya and Punarvasu and on cāturmāsis. These sweeping regulations must have caused great hardships to poor people and must have assumed the form of rigid coercion more or less, particularly

when all discretion was left to the lajūkas. Later in life Aśoka appears to have tried to undermine the worship of Hindu Gods. In a Rupnath Rock Inscription[1649] published by Bühler in I. A. vol. VI pp. 154–156 it was stated that he had been an *upāsaka* (lay worshipper of Buddha) for certain years but that he was not zealous, that for a year or more (he had become zealous), that during that (last interval) those gods that were held to be true gods in Jambudvīpa (i. e. India) had been made (to be regarded as) false and that was the reward of his zeal. This could be construed as saying that when he became a zealous Buddhist he tried to dissuade people from the

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1649. The important words in the Rock edict at Brahmagiri, Rūpanāth and six other places are quoted here (there are slight variations and some omissions in almost all of them here and there); I follow the reading in the Rūpanath text given by Prof. Jules Bloch in 'Les Inscriptions d' Aśoka' (Paris, 1950 pp. 145–148) 'देवानं पिये देवमाह · सातिरेकानि अढतियानि व (स्सानि) य सुमि पाकासके (उपासके?) नो चु बाढि पक्कते (पक्कन्ते) · सातिलेके चु छवच्छरे य सुमि हकं संघ (संघे) उपेते बाढि च पक्कन्ते · या इमाय कालाय जम्बुदिपस्सि अमिस्सा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिस्सा कटा · पक्कमस्स हि एस फले · नो च एसा महत्तता पाप्पोत्तवे · खुदकेन पि पक्कमिनेन सकिये विपुले पि स्वगे आरोढेवे · (the rest is omitted). The Erragudi copy of the edict reads 'इमिना चु कालेन अमिस्सा सुनिस्सा देवेहि ते दानि मिस्सिभूता'. Two others from near by regions read इमिना चु कालेन अमिस्सा समाना सुनिस्सा जम्बुदीपस्सि मिस्सा देवेहि · There are some gaps and mistakes in these and it is not clear what is meant. Probably the sentence in these latter may be rendered 'During that time men that were true (or, if we take *amissā* as equal to amiśrā 'that were not mixed with gods') became false (or, became mixed with gods'). The words from पक्कमस्स onwards mean 'this is the result of zeal; it cannot be attained by greatness (by one occupying a merely high position); even for a small person it is possible to reach heaven by zeal.' Mr. Ramchandra Dikshitar in Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar Presentation volume pp. 25–30 argues that Aśoka was a Hindu as he refers to 'Svarga'. This is not correct, since the edict itself recites that Aśoka had been a lay follower of Buddha for more than 2½ years before the date of the edict and that for more than a year before it he approached the community of monks and became a zealous Buddhist (or probably a monk). Even early Pali works speak of Gods from heaven coming to pay respect to Buddha. So the mere mention of *svarga* means little. Aśoka does not appear to have been trained in the sacred Pali books if any existed. He hardly ever mentions nirvāṇa, never mentions fundamental tenets of early Buddhism (in all his numerous edicts) like the Four Noble Truths or the Noble Eight-fold Path or Pratītya-samutpāda. He was probably attracted by Buddha's teachings on moral endeavour and subscribed to them and disliked sacrifices. He appears to have believed in gods and desired that the people should strive for heaven (vide 6th Rock edict at Girnar 'परत्र च स्वर्गं आराधयन्तु' and similar words in the 10th Rock edict). This is all that can be said positively.

worship of gods and probably resorted to coercive measures in that direction. This very inscription is edited at C. I. I., Vol. I. pp. 166 by Dr. Hultzsch and the translation of the important sentence is changed and is given as 'And those gods who during that time had been unmingled with men in Jambudvīpa have now been made (by me) mingled with them; for this is the fruit of zeal'. This new translation cannot be understood as it stands and on p. 168 (note 3) Hultzsch admits that this sentence is enigmatical and tries to show that it refers to religious shows at which effigies of gods were shown in order to convey to the subjects that they would be able to reach the abodes of gods by the zealous practice of Buddha's Dhamma. This interpretation is extremely far-fetched and does not fit into the context. How can the mere showing of exhibitions and their effect on people be regarded as the reward of zeal? Besides, in the very first rock edict he forbids assemblies or festival meetings (C. I. I. vol. I. p. 1 'na ca samājo kattavyo)' except such as were regarded good by Aśoka and asserts that the king sees great evil in festival meetings. Aśoka probably followed what Āp. Dh. S. I. 11. 32. 19 provides for Vedic householders 'sabhāḥ samājāṁśca' (varjayet), sabhā meaning 'gambling hall'. The author is not satisfied with the translation of Hultzsch, particularly when Bühler and Senart (pp. 168 note) agreed as to the meaning of the important sentence about gods.[1650]

About Emperor Harṣa also Yuan Chwang narrates that he caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indies and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties (vide Watters' work cited above p. 344). This also must have been felt by large populations as coercive and bordering on persecution. It is remarkable that Harṣa felt no qualms in reconciling his zeal for bird and animal life and keeping vast armies on a war footing for conquest.

1650. Hultzsch himself in JRAS for 1910 at p. 1310 translated 'those who at that time were (considered by me) the true gods of Jambudvīpa are now considered false (by me)'. The Mysore texts of this edict insert 'men' after the word 'those'. The great difficulty is about the words 'amissā' and 'missā kaṭā'. They may respectively stand for 'amṛṣā' (not false) or 'amiśrā' (not mixed) and 'mṛṣā kṛtā' (made false) or miśrā kṛtā (made mixed). There is no word for 'considered'. A straightforward translation of 'amissā devā husu' would be 'that were the true (not false) gods' and of 'missā katā' would be 'were made false'.

A few more striking examples of tolerance of other faiths and spirit of accommodation may be cited here. The great Hindu emperor Samudragupta allowed the building of a splendid three-storied convent at Bodh Gaya at the request of the Buddhist king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon about 360 A. D. Vide 'Early History of India' by V. A. Smith (4th ed. of 1924 pp. 303–304), where the historian further points out that when Yuan Chwang visited Bodh Gaya, that convent was a magnificent establishment occupied by a thousand monks. One Muhammad Ufi relates an anecdote. Though Mahomed of Gazni plundered Kathiawad and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples, the Hindus made a distinction between such invading and destructive marauders and peaceful Muslims residing in Gujarat for trade. Some Hindus at Cambay, being incited by some Parsis, destroyed a mosque and killed some Muslims. One Muslim that escaped approached the king Siddharāja with a petition. The king in disguise inquired into the matter, punished the offenders, gave to the Moslems one *lakh* of *Balotras* to rebuild the mosque and presented to the Khatib four articles of dress which were preserved in the mosque. Ufi declares that he never heard a story comparable to this. Vide Elliotts' History of India, Vol. II pp. 162–163. The Somanath–Paṭṭan Inscription (in I. A. Vol. XI p. 241) is a most remarkable document. A Muslim ship-owner from Hormuz acquired a piece of land in the sacred town of Somanath–paṭṭan, built a mosque, a house and shops thereon. The purpose of the grant was to confirm the purchase and to provide for the application of the income from the shops for particular Moslem religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shia sailors of Somanath and to provide that the surplus left, if any, was to be made over to the sacred towns of *Mecca and Medina*. It is dated in four eras, first in Rasul Mahammad *saṁvat* i. e. Hijra year 662, then Vikrama *saṁvat* 1320 (1264 A. D.), Valabhī year 945 and Siṁha saṁvat 151 (i. e. probably of Cālukya Siddharāja Jayasiṁha). Syrian Christians were given special privileges by generous Hindu rulers in South India.

The above examples will indicate what tolerance was practised by Indian kings and people even in the mediaeval period when Moslem invaders were ruthlessly attacking India. The reader should visualise to himself what the fate of a Hindu would have been, if he had the audacity to build a temple in Christian or Moslem countries or tried to collect materials for

describing the Christian or Muslim religion and ways of life in the 13th century A. D. like Alberuni, who was able to collect, without molestation, from Hindu Pandits and people vast material in the 11th century A. D.

How intolerant most Moslem kings were need not be dwelt upon at length. A few typical examples may be cited from the Cambridge History of India, vol. III. Firuz Shah Tughlak burnt a brāhmaṇa who tried to propagate his religion (*ibid.* p. 187); Sikander Lodi did the same (*ibid.* p. 246) to a brāhmaṇa and was guilty of wholesale destruction of Hindu temples; Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir offered his subjects the choice between Islam and exile (*ibid* p. 280); Hussein Shah of Bengal sent an army to destroy Navadvīpa and converted many brāhmaṇas forcibly. Jehangir says in his 'Memoirs' (translated by A. Rogers and edited by H. Beveridge, 1909 pp. 72–73) that he killed Guru Arjun for his religious activities. Vide 'History of Aurangzeb' by Jadunath Sarkar vol. III. chap. XXX. pp. 265–279 for *firmans* to demolish temples such as those of Somanātha, Mathurā, Viśvanātha in Benares, Ujjain and Appendix V. It is not necessary to go into great details about the terrible persecution of the Jews in Europe and the horrible deeds of the Inquisition in Europe and particularly in Spain and Portugal. For the persecution and expulsion of the Jews in Europe one may read 'A short History of the Jewish people' by Cecil Roth (MacMillan and Co. 1936) chapters XX–XXI. References to several works have been given above on p. 933 note 1494 about the Inquisition. A few instances of the intolerance and barbarities of that body may be cited. The Inquisition staged what are called acts of faith or 'autos-da-fé'. In the presence of thousands of people severe punishment would be inflicted on harmless individuals whose adherence to the Holy Catholic faith was suspected. Those that professed penitence were stripped of their property and condemned to imprisonment, deportation or the galley. The minority who refused to confess to their crime of heresy or gloried in their views would be burnt at once. Kings and nobles graced such spectacles by their presence and such spectacles were arranged at the marriages of high persons or on the birth of a son to the reigning monarch. During the three centuries when the Inquisition was active, it is found that the it condemned about 375000 people, of whom at least one-tenth were burnt; vide Cecil Roth's 'A short History of the Jewish people' (1936) p. 312. Henry C. Lea in 'Superstition and

force' (1878) pp. 426-427 remarks 'The whole system of the Inquisition was such as to render resort to torture inevitable. Its proceedings were secret; the prisoner was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact charges against him and of the evidence on which they were based. He was presumed to be guilty and his judges bent all their energies to force him to confess. To accomplish this no means were too base or too cruel'.

It would be instructive to read what the state of Hindus was under Portuguese rule in Goa, where the infamous Inquisition was established in 1560 A. D. and continued its intolerant and inhuman work for about 250 years more. Those interested may consult 'A India Portuguesa', vol. II. published by the Portuguese Government in 1923, particularly the paper by Antonio de Noronha, a former judge of the High Court of Goa, on 'Os Indus de Goa' pp. 211–355. A brief passage from a paper on 'Historical essay on the Konkani Language' by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, who was General Secretary to the Portuguese Governor General in India from 1855 to 1870 A. D., is very illuminating. It runs (original in Portuguese) 'we shall now endeavour to investigate the causes, which under the Portuguese regime, were either favourable or contrary to the culture of the Konkani language. In the first ardour of conquest temples were demolished, all the emblems of the Hindu cult were destroyed and books written in the vernacular tongue, containing or suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines, were burnt. There was even the desire to exterminate all that part of the population which could not be quickly converted; this was the desire not only during that period, but there was also at least one person who, after a lapse of two centuries, advised the Government, with magisterial gravity, to make use of such a policy.' The writer further notes that the long distance of Goa from Portugal, the invincible resistance offered by a numerous population amongst whom the principal castes had reached a very high degree of civilization, obliged the conquerors to abstain from open violence and to prefer indirect, though not gentle, means to achieve the same end.[1650a].

Buddha's renunciation of his princely position, of his young wife, child and home, to become a wandering ascetic for discovering the path of humanity's deliverance from sorrow and

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1650a. Quoted from p. 161 of 'The Printing Press in India' by Prof. A. K. Priolkar (Bombay, 1958).

suffering, his subsequent mortification of the body for years, his retirement into solitude for meditation, his struggle with Māra and final victory, his confidence that he had discovered the path of deliverance, his constant travels from city to city and village to village for about forty-five years for preaching the great truths he had discovered, his crusade against the slaughter of innocent and dumb animals in sacrifices, his passing away full of years and in peace and contentment – this panorama of Buddha's life had a noble grandeur and irresistible human appeal. Edwin Arnold in his preface (p. XIII) to his poem 'Light of Asia' (1884) pays a very eloquent tribute to Buddha's teaching in the following words 'this venerable religion which has in it the eternity of an universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of faith in the final good and the proudest assertion ever made of human freedom'. The torch lighted by Buddha was kept burning brightly by a succession of able and worthy disciples till Buddhism reached its peak about the 6th century A. D. A reaction had already begun by that time. Substantial changes in the old Buddhist faith had been made, the ideals had changed (as noted above). From being a faith without a clear acceptance of God, many sects arose that had become thoroughly theistic and Buddha himself came to be worshipped as if he were God and the sects were gripped by the strange doctrines and evil practices of Vajrayāna Tāntrik sects; and Buddhism became a medley of conflicting dogmas and was riven with dissensions and internecine rupture. Discussions as to doctrines arose immediately on the passing away of Buddha, when the first council was held at Rājagṛha, a second one being held about one hundred years later at Vesāli and a third one at Pāṭaliputra under Aśoka. In all four councils appear to have been held to secure 'saṅgīti' (standardized scriptural recital) according to traditions, but no Pali book can be traced back to a time before the council held in the time of Aśoka (about 250 B. C.). These discussions and subsequent schisms very much undermined Buddhism. This is mentioned as the first of the four main causes of the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India by N. J. O'Connor.

III. From about the end of the 7th century A. D. India was divided into several independent but small and warring States. Buddhism could not secure the favour and patronage of powerful and zealous monarchs and emperors like Aśoka, Kaniṣka and

Harṣa. Royal patronage on a large scale having ceased from the end of the 7th century A. D., except under the Pāla kings of Bengal, Buddhism began to wane.

IV. Many of the ablest and most vigorous exponents of Buddhist thought and faith left India for propagating their faith in other lands. Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'India and China' names 24 eminent Indian scholars who went to China for propagating Buddha's teachings from the 3rd Century A. D. to 973 A. D. (p. 27) and also mentions a few Chinese scholars who came to India for visiting the sacred places of Buddhism and for making a study of Buddhism on the spot (*ibid.* pp. 27-28).

V. The observance of the high moral ideals inculcated by Gotama Buddha must have been found irksome by at least a great many of his followers, and particularly after his personal example ceased to exist. In the Mahāparinibbānasutta (S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 127) we are told that Subhadda, a barber who had been received in the Order in his old age, addressed the brethren, that deeply mourned and lamented on Buddha's nirvāṇa, as follows: "Weep not, neither lament. We are well rid of the *Great Samana*. We used to be annoyed by being told 'this becomes you, this beseems you not'. But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like that we shall not have to do." Ordinary people could not be fed for long on mere repetition of the sermon on suffering being the lot of man, on monasticism, aversion to speculation and on promises of nirvāṇa which was hardly ever well defined. By nirvāṇa Buddha probably meant extinction of egoism and desires, a state of bliss beyond understanding and not a complete annihilation or extinction. But this last was the sense in which many understood it. Buddha had an aversion to speculation and particularly to issues that were irrelevant to his purely moral approach and purpose. Several questions of a metaphysical or speculative character such as whether the world is permanent or not, whether it is finite or not, whether the soul is the same as the body or other than the body, whether the Tathāgata continues after death or not were left unanswered by Buddha (vide Majjhima Nikāya discourse 63, Trenckner's ed. vol. I.). Monasteries of Buddhist monks and nuns became in course of time centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, and of debased practices like those of Vajrayāna Tāntricism. A well-known scholar like Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, himself a Buddhist bhikṣu, in a paper on 'Vajrayāna and the 84 Siddhas' contributed to the

Journal Asiatique vol. 225 (1934) pp. 209–230 was constrained to say " The monasteries and temples were gorged with riches due to the pious offerings made by the multitudes. The life of the monk became more comfortable than that of the layman. The discipline weakened and many unfit persons entered the community.[1651] The easy life associated with the culture of a sensual art under the cover of cultured paintings, meditation, gods and goddesses must have inclined the minds towards sensuality. Already from the Kathāvatthu[1651a] (XXIII. 1) we know that the Andhaka School was disposed to permit *Maithuna* (copulation) for a special object; it was introduced in the mystic cult. Coming to the south, the practice of mantras, psychical practices, and a certain indulgence in the pleasures of sense were united; the Vajrayāna was complete ".

VI. Smṛtis like those of Gautama (IX. 47, 68, 73), Manu (IV. 176, 206, X. 63), Yājñavalkya (I. 156, III. 312–313), while asking the people to honour the Vedas and learned brāhmaṇas laid great emphasis[1652] on *Ahiṁsā*, truthfulness, charity, self-

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1651. A paper of Dr. A. S. Altekar in the Pro, of the 17th All India Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, 1953 (pp. 243–246) on Śramanera-Tīkā (about 11th century A. D.) on the Ācārasāra (laying down rules for Buddhist novices) enumerates admonitions (some of the striking ones being set out on p. 245) that lead to the conclusion that the monks had a fairly large number among them that brought Buddhism into disrepute. In the ' Questions of king Milinda ' S. B. E, vol. 35 pp. 49–50, to the question why people joined the *saṅgha*, Nāgasena gives the significant answer that some joined the saṅgha for the reason that sorrow may perish and no further sorrow may arise, ' the complete passing away without clinging to the world is our heighest aim '; "'some have left the world in terror at the tyranny of kings; some have joined to be safe from being robbed, some harassed by debts and some perhaps to gain a livelihood.

1651 a. एकाधिप्पायो मेथुनो धम्मो पटिसेवितब्बो ति। आमन्ता। कथावत्थु XXIII, 1.

1652. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः॥ मनु X. 63; अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः। दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम्॥ या. I. 22; अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः। दया सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति। यस्यैते चत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा न चाष्टावात्मगुणा न स ब्रह्मणः सायुज्यं सालोक्यं गच्छति। गौतमधर्मसूत्र VIII 23–25. The मत्स्यपुराण (52. 8–10) mentions these very eight as ' ātmaguṇas ' after referring to the Veda and ācāra ' वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलमाचारश्चैव तद्विदाम्। अष्टावात्मगुणास्तस्मिन्प्रधानत्वेन संस्थिताः।' मत्स्य 52. 7–8; the Atrismṛti (verses 34–41) mentions almost all these eight and defines them and Haradattā on Gautama quotes eight verses defining these eight *guṇas*. धम्मपद verse 131 is ' सुखकामानि भूतानि यो दण्डेन विहिंसति। अत्तनो सुखमेसानो पेच्च सो न लभते सुखम्॥ '

restraint, sexual purity and other virtues for persons of all the four varṇas, just as Buddha and early Buddhist works did for his followers. The sentiment in Manu V. 45 and the Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra 51. 68 'he, who kills harmless animals (like deer) merely for the sake of his own pleasure, never increases nor prospers in happiness, whether living or after death,' finds a parallel in Dhammapada 131. Even the Ṛgveda solemnly says (X. 85. 1) 'the earth is supported by Truth, the sky is supported by the Sun'. The Muṇḍaka Up. exhorts 'Truth alone is victorious, not falsehood' (III. 1. 6).

VII. The strong faith and the alertness of brāhmaṇas who welded into a coherent whole the Veda, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, Yogic practices of a middle path as in Gītā VI. 15-17, the doctrine of salvation by faith and bhakti for all preached in the Gītā gradually held an irresistible appeal.

VIII. In re-orienting their religious outlook and practices to stem the tide of Buddhism and make Hinduism popular, the brāhmaṇas and other leaders of Hindu society of the centuries before and after the Christian era had to make compromises of a far-reaching character; the old Vedic gods (like Indra and Varuṇa) receded into the background though not totally forgotten, most of the Vedic sacrifices had to be given up, deities like Devī, Gaṇeśa and the Mātṛs had to be brought to the front, Paurāṇika mantras came to be used along with Vedic ones as the mantras even in śrāddha (e. g. 'dātāro nobhivardhantām' &c. which occurs in Manu III. 259, Yāj. I. 246, Matsya 16. 49–50, Padma, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9. 117, Kūrma II. 22. 60 and other works). Even an early writer like Varāhamihira (first half of 6th century A.D.) in describing the Puṣya-snāna for the king provides ordinary mantras (Bṛ. S. 47. 55–70) to be recited by the *purohita* along with mantras in the Atharvaveda, Rudra (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1–11), the Kūṣmāṇḍa mantras (Vāj. S. XX. 14–16 and others, Br. S. 47. 71) and winds up the whole procedure with a well-known Paurāṇika verse.[1653] Even Aparārka (pp. 14–15) had to say that in Devapūjā the procedure to be followed is that in the Narasiṁhapurāṇa (probably something like the one in chap. 2 of the Narasiṁha Purāṇa) and in the matter of 'pratiṣṭhā' (establishment of images) also Paurāṇika procedure was to be adopted. Besides, emphasis was laid on ahiṁsā, charity (dāna),

1653. यान्तु देवगणाः सर्वे पूजामादाय पार्थिवात्। सिद्धिं दत्त्वा तु विपुलां पुनरागमनाय च॥ बृहत्सं. 47. 49.

pilgrimages and vratas and it was said that the latter two were more efficacious than even Vedic sacrifices. These changes seriously reduced the appeal of Buddhism. The purāṇas contained stories of gods and avatāras that vied in their appeal to the common man with the Buddhist Jātaka tales. The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (first half of 7th century A. D.) states that the people of Ujjayinī were fond of the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa (Mahābhārata-Purāṇa-Rāmāyaṇā-nurāgiṇā &c). This is put down as the last of the four causes of the decline of Buddhism by O'Connor.

IX. From about the 7th century A. D. Buddha began to be recognised by Hindus as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and by the 10th century Buddha came to be so recognised throughout India by almost all Hindus.

X. Moslem fanaticism and invasions of India delivered the *coup de grace* (final blow) to Buddhism about and after 1200 A. D. by ruining famous universities like those of Nālandā and Vikramaśilā and the monks were mercilessly killed in large numbers. Those who escaped the carnage fled to Tibet and Nepal. H. M. Elliott's History of India (as told by its own historians) vol. II p. 306 contains a passage from Tabakat-i-Nasiri about Bakhtiyar Khilji that states that Bakhtiyar led his army to Behar and ravaged it, that great plunder fell in his hands, that most of the inhabitants of the place were brāhmaṇas with shaven heads, that they were put to death, that large numbers of books were found and it was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (*madrasa*). The description indicates that brāhmaṇa with shaven heads were Buddhist monks.

It should not be supposed that Buddhist bhikkhus renounced wealth altogether. Vide I. A. vol. VII pp. 254–256 (Inscriptions 2 and 9 at Kuda) where bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs are donors and Cunningam's 'Bhilsa Topes' p. 235–236 where there are many bhikṣus and some bhikṣuṇīs among donors. The great appeal of the original Buddhism to common men lay in its spirit of self-abnegation, discipline, service and sacrifice.

When Moslem invaders exterminated the monks the laity became bewildered and were either converted to Islam or became slowly absorbed among Hindus. It has been already stated that Buddha himself was against the admission of women into the Saṅgha but at the persistent requests of his favourite pupil

Ānanda he yielded and prophesied that his pure Dharma, which otherwise would have flourished for a thousand years, would not last so long but only for 500 years. Vide 'Cullavagga' in SBE. vol. XX p. 325.

The Pātimokkha for monks contains 227 articles which were to be recited twice a month in an assembly of at least four monks and confessions of breaches of the rules had to be made. If one reads the Cullavagga (SBE. XX. pp 330-340), one may understand how the gatherings of legions of monks and nuns in immense monasteries led in some cases to sapping the ordinary observances of decency and morality. At first the Pātimokkha could be recited to nuns by monks and the nuns could confess their lapses to monks but this had to be changed later and it was laid down that only bhikkhunīs could do these things for them. P. 333 of the same shows how nuns quarrelled among themselves and came to blows and p. 335 narrates how some monks threw dirty water on nuns and how they uncovered their bodies and thighs before nuns.

The author has cited the above as the main causes of the disappearance of Buddhism following what most have written. Different writers attach importance to a few of them according to their individual leanings. While prepared to concede that the causes noted above went a long way in bringing about the downfall of Buddhism in India, he feels that the principal cause was that large sections of the Indian population came to realize that the persistent teaching of the world being a place of suffering, of giving up all desires and of monasticism, which were preached by the writers on Buddhism to all and sundry, was too much for ordinary men to attempt and that the Hindu ideal of an ordered scheme of life into four *āśramas*,[1654] with peculiar duties and rights, particularly the importance attached to the gṛhasthāśrama showed to vast populations that family life properly regulated and disciplined was capable of realizing the highest that man was capable of and that too much insistence on the giving up of all desires (including desire for life) sapped the very stability and continuance of human society and

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1654. In 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads' by Deussen tr. by A. S. Geden (1906), the distinguished author after adverting to the peculiar rights and obligations of the four life-stages (āśramas) remarks 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought' (p. 367).

gradually led on to the loss of physical and mental virility to idleness, base morals and race suicide. Manu III. 77–78, VI 89–90, Vas. Dh. S. VIII. 14–17, Visnu Dh. S. 59, 29, Daksa II. 57–60 and many other sages and writers praise the stage of householder as the highest.[1655] The Mahābhārata (Śānti 270. 6–11) and the Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā 10ɔ, 2) and the Purānas also sing the same tune; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 425–426 and 540–541.

Not only Dharmaśāstras but also great poets like Kālidāsa emphasized the supreme importance of the householder's stage to society. In the Raghuvamśa[1656] (V. 10) king Raghu says to a learned brāhmana student 'it is now time for you to pass on to the second stage of life that is capable of being useful to (men of) other āsramas'. In the Śākuntala also Kālidāsa harps on the same idea.

When Buddha came to be worshipped by Buddhists as God, when Buddhists gave up the original characteristic doctrine of the attainment of the peace and bliss of *nirvāṇa* in this very life through the eradication of selfish desires by following the Noble Eightfold Path, when Buddhists adopted the doctrines of bhakti and the ideal they set up was the evolution of bodhisattvas through aeons by good deeds, the line of demarcation between Buddhism and popular Hinduism became very thin and was gradually obliterated. Buddhism disappeared from India because of these deviations from the original doctrine and because the brāhmaṇas made Hinduism very comprehensive by finding a place for purely monistic idealism, for the worship of several gods, for the performance of vedic or other religious rites (i. e. Karmamārga) as a preparation for higher spiritual life. The ultimate victory of Hinduism shows the strength and comprehensiveness of its religion and philosophy as against the onesidedness of Buddhism in its various phases and its silence on matters of great moment to the inquiring human mind.

1655. Vide गृहात्त्रयोप्याश्रमिणो ज्ञानेनान्नेन चान्वहम् । गृहस्थेनैव धार्यन्ते तस्माज्ज्येष्ठाश्रमो गृही ॥ मनु III. 78; मार्कण्डेयपुराण 26. 3–6 ' वत्स गार्हस्थ्यमास्थाय नरः सर्वमिदं जगत् । पुष्णाति तेन लोकांश्च स जयत्यभिवाञ्छितान् ॥ पितरो मुनयो देवा भूतानि मनुजास्तथा । कृमिकीटपतङ्गाश्च वयांसि पशवोऽसुराः ॥ गृहस्थमुपजीवन्ति ततस्तृप्तिं प्रयान्ति च । सुखं चास्य निरीक्षन्ते अपि नो दास्यतीति वै ॥ सर्वस्याधारभूतेयं वत्स धेनुस्वरूपिणी ॥ (chap. 29. 3–6 of B. I. edition).

1656. अपि प्रसवेन महर्षिणा त्वं सम्यग्विनीयानुमता गृहाय । कालो ह्ययं संक्रमितुं द्वितीयं सर्वोपकारक्षममाश्रमं ते ॥ रघुवंश V. 10; अध्यास्तां वसतिरसुनाप्याश्रमे सर्वभोग्ये । शाकुन्तल I.

The Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstras put so much emphasis on ahiṁsā that millions of people in India became and are even now strict vegetarians not only among brāhmaṇas, but also among vaiśyas and śūdras, while it appears that Buddhists all over the world are not strict vegetarians at all. To-day very few of the ideal virtues that Buddhism set before even laymen are a matter of endeavour for most Buddhists in all lands. In spite of Buddha's crusade against animal sacrifices and Aśoka's drastic measures to eliminate the killing and cruelty to birds and beasts, it is found that some Vedic sacrifices (including animal sacrifices) continued to be performed by Indian kings and common people during the centuries before and after the Christian era. A few examples are cited here: (1) Senāpati Puṣyamitra (about 150 B. C.) performed two Aśvamedhas (E. I. vol. XX. pp 54-58, Harivaṁśa III. 2. 35 ff[1657] (which latter speaks of Senānī Kāśyapa-dvija as performer of Aśvamedha in Kali age) and Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra (Act V) where he is spoken of as engaged in Rājasūya sacrifice; (2) Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga and a Jain, performed in the 6th year of his reign a Rājasūya (E. I. XX. p. 79); (3) Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva lineage (about 200 A. D.) glorified as the performer of ten Aśvamedhas in Vākāṭaka plates (Chammak plate of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II. in Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236-237,[1658] and in Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II in E. I. vol. XV. p. 39); (4) Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I. (about 250 A. D.) is described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga and as the performer of four Aśvamedhas (in E. I. vol. XV. p. 39); (5) The great Gupta emperor Samudragupta (about 325-370 A. D.) is described in some Gupta Inscriptions as one who restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had long been in abeyance (vide Bilsad Stone inscription in Gupta Inscriptions No. 10 at p. 42 and the Bihar Stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, *ibid*,

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1657. The reference from हरिवंश is as follows: औद्भिज्जो भविता कश्चित्सेनानीः काश्यपो द्विजः। अश्वमेधं कलियुगे पुनः प्रत्याहरिष्यति॥ तद्युगे तत्कुलीनश्च राजसूयमपि क्रतुम्। आहरिष्यति राजेन्द्र श्वेतग्रहमिवान्तकः॥ भविष्यपर्व 2. 40-41. Here it is said that a सेनापति of the काश्यपगोत्र will perform an अश्वमेध in कलियुग and a scion of his family will perform राजसूय.

1658. About Bhavanāga it is said 'अंसभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिव-सुपरितुष्ट-सप्तुत्पादित-राजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां वृषाश्व-मेधावभृथस्नातानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनाग-दौहित्रस्य'''वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्र-सेनस्य &c.'। Gupta Inscriptions No. 55 pp. 236-237.

No. 12 at p. 51); (6) The Pallava King Śivaskanda-varman (about 300–350 A. D.) is praised as the performer of Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha (E. I. vol. I. p. 2 at p. 5); (7) The Pallava king Simhavarman is spoken of as the performer of several Aśvamedhas (Pikira grant in E. I. vol. VIII. p. 159 at p. 162); (8) Cālukya king Pulakeśi I (about 570 A. D.) performed Aśvamedha (Aihoḷe Inscription of śaka 536 in E. I. vol. VI. p. 1); (9) Cālukya king Pulakeśi II performed Aśvamedha (Aihoḷe Ins. of śaka 536 in E. I. vol. VI. p. 1 and Talamanchi plates of Vikramāditya I. in E. I. vol. IX. p. 98 in A. D. 660); (10) the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhava-varmā (a relative of the Vākāṭaka family) is recorded (in E.I. vol IV. p. 196) as having performed eleven Aśvamedhas, one thousand Agni-ṣṭomas, Pauṇḍarika,[1659] Puruṣamedha, Vājapeya, Ṣoḍaśin and Rājasūya (about the 7th or 8th century A. D.). For other instances of Aśvamedhas performed by kings, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1238–39.

It may be noted that even learned brāhmaṇas sometimes performed eleborate Vedic sacrifices. For example, the fifth in ascent from Bhavabhūti performed a Vājapeya at Padmapura in Dakṣiṇāpatha. In the Vājapeya, seventeen was a characteristic number and seventeen animals were to be sacrificed therein. Vide for description of Vājapeya, H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1206–1212. As Bhavabhūti flourished in the first half of the 8th century A. D., the fifth in ascent from him who performed Vājapeya must have flourished about a hundred years before him i. e. in the first half of the 7th century A. D.

In these days it has become a fashion to praise Buddha and his doctrines to the skies and to disparage Hinduism by making unfair comparisons between the original doctrines of Buddha with the present practices and shortcomings of Hindu society. The present author has to enter a strong protest against this tendency. If a fair comparison is to be made it should be made between the later phases of Buddhism and the present practices of professed Buddhists on the one hand and modern phases and practices of Hinduism on the other. The Upaniṣads had a nobler philosophy than that of Gautama the Buddha, the latter merely based his doctrines on the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. If Hinduism decayed in course of time and exhi-

1659. It is possible that this statement about the performance of so many solemn vedic sacrifices is boastful and exaggerated.

bited bad tendencies, the same or worse was the case with later Buddhism which gave up the noble but human Buddha, made him a god, worshipped his images and ran wild with such hideous practices as those of Vajrayāna. As a counterblast to what modern encomiasts often say about Buddhism the present author will quote a strongly-worded (but not unjust) passage from Swami Vivekānanda's lecture on "The sages of India" (Complete Works, volume III. p. 248-268, 7th ed. of 1953 published at Māyāvatī, Almora) "The earlier Buddhists in their rage against the killing of animals had denounced the sacrifices of the Vedas; and these sacrifices used to be held in every house ... ... These sacrifices were obliterated and in their place came gorgeous temples, gorgeous ceremonies and gorgeous priests and all that you see in India in modern times. I smile when I read books written by some modern people who ought to know better that the Buddha was the destroyer of Brahmanical idolatry. Little do they know that Buddhism created brahmanism and idolatry in India. ... Thus in spite of the preaching of mercy to animals, in spite of the sublime ethical religion, in spite of the hair-splitting discussions about the existence or non-existence of a permanent soul, the whole building of Buddhism tumbled down piecemeal; and the ruin was simply hideous. I have neither the time nor the inclination to describe to you the hideousness that came in the wake of Buddhism. The most hideous ceremonies, the most horrible, the most obscene books that human hands ever wrote or the human brain ever conceived, the most bestial forms that ever passed under the name of religion have all been the creation of degraded Buddhism" (pp. 264-265).

SECTION VI

CHAPTER XXVI

Tāntrik doctrines and Dharmaśāstra

In H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 739 while dealing with the worship of Durgā, who is also worshipped as Śakti (cosmic power or energy), it was stated that the influence of Śākta worship has been great throughout India and a promise was given that a brief treatment of Śāktism would follow in a later volume. It is now time to deal with Śāktas and Tantras, which exercised some influence over the Purāṇas and directly and through the Purāṇas over Indian religious ritual and practices in the medieval ages.

There is a vast literature on Tantras, published and unpublished. There are Buddhist Tantras, Hindu Trantras and Jaina Tantras. There is a philosophical or spiritual side in some of the Tantras which has not been much studied except by Arthur Avalon, B. Bhattacharya and a few others. In the popular mind Tantras have been associated with the worship of Śakti (Goddess Kālī), with mudrās, mantras, maṇḍalas, the five *makāras*, the Dakṣiṇamārga and the Vāma-mārga, and magic practices for acquiring supernatural powers. All that can and will be attempted here is to trace briefly the origin of Śāktism and Tantra and point out some of the ways in which *tantra* has entered into Hindu ritual directly and indirectly through the Purāṇas.

The Amarakośa states that *tantra* means 'principal matter or part', 'siddhānta' (i. e. doctrine or śāstra), a loom or paraphernalia. But it does not state that tantra means a certain peculiar class of works. Therefore, the inference is not altogether unjustifiable that in its time works bearing the peculiar character of what are called Tantras were either not composed or had not at least attained great vogue. In Ṛg. X. 71. 9 the word 'tantra' occurs and appears to mean a loom. 'These ignorant[1660] men do not move about lower down (in this world) nor in a higher

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1660. इमे येऽर्वाङ् न परश्चरन्ति न ब्राह्मणासो न सुतेकरासः । त एते वाचमभिपद्य पापया सिरीस्तन्त्रं तन्वते अप्रजज्ञयः ॥ ऋ. X. 71. 9. सायण explains : सिरीः सीरिणो भूत्वा तन्त्रं कुविलक्षणं तन्वते विस्तारयन्ति कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ।.

world, being neither (learned) brāhmaṇas nor some-extracting priests; these resort to speech (of a vile kind) and with that vile speech they engage in handling ploughs and looms'. The Atharvaveda (X. 7. 42) ('tantram-eke yuvatī virūpe abhyākrāmam vayataḥ saṇ-mayūkham') employs the word tantra in the same sense and so does the Tai. Br. II. 5. 5. 3 in a closely similar passage. Pāṇini (V. 2. 70) derives the word 'tantraka' (a cloth that is recently taken away from a loom) from '*tantra*'. The Āp. Śr. employs the word[1661] tantra in the sense of 'procedure containing many parts'. The Śāṅ. Śr. applies the word tantra to what being once done serves the purpose of many other actions. The Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini IV. 2. 60 and Vārtika 'sarvasāder-dvigośca laḥ' cites 'sarvatantraḥ' and 'dvitantraḥ' as examples meaning 'one who has studied all the tantras' or 'one who has studied two tantras', tantra probably meaning 'siddhānta'. In Yāj. I. 228 ('tantram va vaiśva-devikam') the word tantra is employed in the sense in which the commentary on the Śāṅ. Śr. takes it. The 15th adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra bears the title 'Tantrayukti' (vide J. O. R., Madras, vol. 4, 1930, p. 82 ff) meaning the main canons or propositions or principles of exposition of a śāstra. Caraka (Siddhisthāna, chap. 12. 40-45) also speaks of '36 tantrasya yuktayaḥ' and Suśruta (Uttaratantra, chap. 65) names 32 tantrayuktis. In Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana and in the Bhāgavata the word tantra is employed in the sense of 'doctrine' or 'śāstra'. Śabara in his *bhāṣya* on Jaimini XI. I. 1 remarks that when any thing or act, once done, becomes useful in several[1662] matters, that is called 'tantra'. Saṅkarācārya in several passages of his bhāṣya on the Vedāntasūtras speaks of the Sāṅkhya system as sāṅkhya-tantra and of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā as 'prathama-tantra'.[1663] In the Kālikā-

1661. उदित आदित्ये पौर्णमास्यास्तन्त्रं प्रक्रमयति प्रागुदयादमावास्यायाः। आप. श्रौ. I. 15.1, on which the com. says 'अङ्गसमुदायस्तन्त्रम्। तत्प्रक्रमयति यजमानोऽध्वर्युणा।' 'तन्त्रलक्षणं तत्।' शा. श्रौ. I. 16 6 on which the com. says 'यत्सकृत्कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति तत्तन्त्रमित्युच्यते।'.

1662. आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः। शरीरार्धं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 740, दायभाग XI. 1. 2 p. 149, कुल्लूक on मनु IX 187; आत्मतन्त्रे तु यत्रोक्तं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम्। q. from कात्यायन by स्मृतिच. p. 5; तन्त्रं सात्वतमाचष्ट नैष्कर्म्यं कर्मणो यतः। भागवत I. 3. 8. Here the पञ्चरात्र is called सात्वततन्त्र. 'यत्सकृत्कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति तत्तन्त्रमित्युच्यते यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतः प्रदीपः।' शबर's भाष्य on जै. XI. 4. 1.

1663. On वे. सू. II. 2. 1 the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya says 'तथापि महाजनपरिगृहीतानि महान्ति सांख्यादितन्त्राणि ... सम्यग्दर्शनायोपादेयानीत्यपेक्षा &c.'; vide also भाष्य

(*Continued on next page*)

purāṇa (87. 130) the works of Uśanas and Bṛhaspati on Rājanīti (the science of statecraft) are called tantras and in 92. 2 the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa is called tantra. In all these cases the peculiar meaning attached to the word tantra in medieval times does not occur.

It is difficult to determine the exact[1664] time when the word tantra came to be employed in the sense in which it is used in the so-called tantra literature nor is it possible to decide what people first introduced tantra principles and practices or where they first arose. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri was inclined to hold that the principles and practices of tantra came to India from outside and he relies mainly on a verse in the Kubjikāmatatantra[1665]

(*Continued from last page*)

on V. S. II. 1. 1, and II. 4. 9 (where a half verse from सांख्यकारिका 29 'सामान्यकरणवृत्तिः प्राणाद्या वायवः पञ्च' is cited as belonging to तन्त्रान्तर. The सांख्यकारिका itself calls सांख्य system 'Tantra' in verse 70 'tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram'. On वे. सू. III. 3. 53 the पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र is referred to as 'प्रथमे तन्त्रे' in the भाष्य.

1664. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Intro. to Buddhist Esoterism (p. 43), which work will be referred to hereafter as B. E.

1665. I. H. Q. Vol. IX p. 358 f. n. 'गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे अधिकाराय सर्वतः। पीठोपपीठक्षेत्रेषु कुरु सृष्टिमनेकधा॥'. Vide H. P. Sastri's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss. in Nepal Durbar Library (Calcutta, 1905), Preface p. LXXIX, for the verse in Kubjikāmata, the ms. of which is written in late Gupta characters (i. e. about 7th century A. D.). Dr. B. Bhattacharya appears to hold the same opinion (p. 43 of the work cited in the preceding note). Arthur Avalon in Mahānirvāṇatantra (3rd ed. of 1953 p. 560) holds that tantra was brought into India from Chaldea or Śakadvīpa. In 'Modern Review' for 1934 pp. 150–156 Prof. N, N. Choudhuri tries to prove that Indian tāntricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. He relies on the Tibetan tradition of Asaṅga having introduced Tāntricism in India. But that tradition is mainly based on Taranath's History of Buddhism. Lama Taranath was born in 1573 A. D. (1575 A. D. according to some) and completed his history in 1608 i. e. he wrote about twelve hundred years after Asaṅga. Prof. Choudhuri further relies on the colophon to Ekajaṭāsādhana (in Sādhanamālā No. 127, आर्यनागार्जुनपादैर्भोटेषु उद्धृतमिति). But this sentence is dropped in three out of the eight mss. on which the edition is based. Prof. Choudhuri further asserts that the guru's position 'in tantra' is neither Vaidika nor Paurāṇika. Here he is wrong. The Vidyāsūkta in Nirukta (II. 4) and the passage of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad quoted in note 1540 make the Vaidika position of the guru clear. As for the Paurāṇika position of guru, vide the Liṅgapurāṇa (quoted in note 1718 below) and Devībhāgavata (XI. I. 49 'Gurur-brahmā' &c. in the same note) and the verse 'यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ॥ तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः॥' श्वेताश्व० उप. VI. 23 and अग्निपु. 392. 6.

which says 'go thou to the country of Bhārata for exercising dominance on all sides and bring about new creation in various ways in *pīthas*, *upapīṭhas* and *kṣetras*'. With all respect to that great scholar it has to be said that the passage does not affirm that tantra principles were then unknowe in India and were first introduced in Bhārata after that verse was uttered. That passage could very well have been uttered even when tantra practices had already taken hold of people's minds in India and the reference to pīṭhas and ksetras (in the verse) clearly indicates that what is meant is only a record of an existing fact, just as the Purāṇas speak in a prophetic vein about what is past. It is possible that a few mystic practices of *Kulācāra* or *Vāmācāra* owe their origin to foreign elements or sources. But the one verse on which M. M. H. P. Shastri relied is far too inadequate for *proving* this. The Rudrayāmala (ed. by Jivananda, 1892) contains a panegyric of the Atharvaveda (17th patala, verse 4), saying that all gods, all beings (on land, in water and air), all sages, Kāmavidyā and Mahāvidyā dwell in it; verses 10–17 dwell upon the mysterious Kuṇḍalinī, verses 31 ff dilate upon Yogic practices and six *cakras* in the body, verses 51–53 mention Kāmarūpa, Jālandhara, Pūrnagiri, Uḍḍiyāna, and a few others as Kālikā pīṭhas. Bagchi (in 'Studies in Tantra' pp. 45–55) adduces some evidence of foreign elements in the tāntrik doctrines. The Rudrayāmala[1666] (17th Paṭala, verses 119–125) states that Mahāvidyā appeared to sage Vasiṣṭha and asked him to go to Cīnadeśa and Buddha, who is said to have taught Vasiṣṭha the *Kaula* path, Yoga practices for the attainment of siddhis (extraordinary powers) and directed him to make use of five *makāras* (*madya* &c.) in his *sādhanā* for becoming a perfect Yogin. All this shows that pīthas flourished in India when the Rudrayāmala was composed, that Tāntrik practices had grown in China or Tibet and that Buddha was deemed to have taught those practices, which is a libel and a vile travesty of Buddha's noble teaching.

1666. यः कुलार्थी सिद्धमन्त्री भवेद्वाचारनिर्मलः। प्राप्नोति साधनं पुण्यं वेदानामप्यगोचरम्॥ बौद्धवेशेऽथवेवे महाचीने सदा व्रज॥ ...मत्कुलज्ञो महर्षे त्वं महासिद्धो भविष्यसि॥ ...ततो मुनिवरः श्रुत्वा महाविद्यासरस्वतीम्। जगाम चीनभूमौ च यत्र बुद्धः प्रतिष्ठति॥ ...बुद्ध उवाच। वसिष्ठ शृणु वक्ष्यामि कुलमार्गमनुत्तमम्। येन विज्ञान(तन्त्र?)मात्रेण रुद्ररूपी भवेत्क्षणात्॥ ...अतः कुलं समाश्रित्य सर्वसिद्धीश्वरो भव॥ मासेनाकर्षणं सिद्धिर्द्विमासे वाक्पतिर्भवेत्। ...शक्तिं विना शिवोऽशक्तः किमन्ये जडबुद्धयः। इत्युक्त्वा बुद्धरूपी च कारयामास साधनम्॥ कुरु त्वं महाशक्तिसेवनं मद्यसाधनम्। ...महिरासाधनं कर्तुं जगाम कुलमण्डले। मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यं मुद्रा मैथुनमेव च॥ पुनः पुनः साधयित्वा पूर्णयोगी बभूव सः॥ रुद्रयामल, 17th पटल verses 121–123, 125, 135, 152–153, 157–158, 160–161.

Magic spells are found in plenty in the Atharvaveda and some mystic words or syllables are used even in the Rgveda; e. g. the word 'vaṣaṭ' occurs in Rg. VII. 99. 7, VII. 100. 7 and other verses and the word *svāhā*[1667] occurs over a dozen times in the Rgveda (e. g. in I. 13. 12, V. 5, 11, VII. 2. 11). A sleep-inducing spell occurs in Rg. VII. 55. 5–8,[1668] which verses occur also in the Atharvaveda IV. 5. 6, 5, 1, 3 and which spell was probably employed by a *purohita* to put to sleep some noble man complaining of sleeplessness at night. Some Western scholars have held that this hymn is a lover's charm for a clandestine meeting with his lady-love. But the whole hymn has hardly any words of love in it and the author is not able to accept that theory as proved. Rgveda X. 145 is a hymn to be employed against a co-wife, the first verse of which is 'I dig up this herb, which is a most powerful creeper, by which (a woman) injures her co-wife and by which she secures her husband (to herself alone)'.

The Rgveda frequently mentions magicians who appear to have been mostly non-Aryans described as *adeva* (godless), *anṛtadeva* (worshipping false gods), śiśnadeva (lecherous, Rg. VII. 21. 5, X. 99. 3). For reasons of space, it is not possible to go into great details. Tāntrik works describe the six cruel acts which will be dealt with later on. In the Vedic times it was supposed that some wicked people could by charms and incantations bring about the death of men and animals or make them ill. Two long hymns (VII. 104 and X. 87 both containing 25 verses) are enough to show how the Rgveda people were afraid of black magic. Both hymns are full of the words '*Yātudhāna*' (one who employs black magic) and 'rakṣas' (devil or evil spirit), the word yātu being the same as '*jādu*' (employed in Marathi and other regional Indian languages). There were female evil spirits also called 'piśāci' (Rg. I. 133. 5 'O Indra! destroy the reddish very powerful piśāci and kill all evil spirits)'. A few verses from the Rgveda may be translated

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1667. In the Tantras the word 'svāhā' in mantras is indicated by such a word as 'wife of Agni'. Vide Tāntrik Texts, vol. 7, where स्वाहा is called वह्निजाया, ज्वलनवल्लभा and द्विठ, also शारदातिलक VI. 62–63.

1668. सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वा सस्तु विश्पतिः। ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्त्वयमितो जनः॥ य आस्ते यश्च चरति यश्च पश्यति नो जनः। तेषां सं हन्मो अक्षाणि यथेदं हर्म्यं तथा। ...प्रोष्ठेशया वह्येशया नारीर्यास्तल्पशीवरीः। स्त्रियो याः पुण्यगन्धास्ताः सर्वाः स्वापयामसि॥ ऋ. VII. 55. 5–8.

here. 'May I (Vasiṣṭha) die this very day if I be a practitioner of black magic or if I have scorched the life of any person; may he, who falsely called me a practitioner of black magic, lose his ten sons; may Indra kill with a terrible weapon him who called me *yātudhāna*, though I am not so and who, being himself a rakṣas, declares himself to be pure; may he, being most wretched, fall below all beings (Ṛg. VII. 104. 15-16); O Maruts! may you spread in different places among the people, and wish to seize the devils and pound to dust the devils (rakṣasaḥ) who assuming the form of birds fly about at night and who, when the sacrifice is shining, produce deadly obstacles (*ibid.* verse 18); O Indra! kill the male practitioner of black magic and also the female (magician) that destroys with wiles; may the (devils) worshippers of foolish deities perish with their necks cut off; and may they not be able to see the sun rising (Ṛg. VII 104. 24); O Agni, split the skin of the yātudhāna, may thy destructive bolt kill him by its heat; O Jātavedas! shatter his joints, may some carnivorous beast longing for flesh seek (devour) the broken (yātudhāna); O Agni! shatter the yātudhānas by your heat, and the rakṣas by your glow and destroy the worshippers of foolish gods (*mūradevān*) and, shining towards those that feed on the lives of men (*asutṛpaḥ*), shatter them' (Ṛg. X. 87. 5 and 14).

In the Āp. Gṛ. (III. 9. 5-8) it is said that the plant used by the co-wife is called Pāṭhā and the hymn (Ṛg. X. 145) is employed for securing domination over the husband and for harming a co-wife. Ṛg. I. 191 is a charm against various poisons. In the Atharvaveda there are numerous hymns styled 'śatrunāśana' (destructive of enemies) e. g. II. 12-24, III. 6, IV. 3 and 40, V. 8, VI. 6, 65-67 and 134. Atharva II. 11 is styled 'Kṛtyā-dūṣaṇa' (counteracting black magic). A few of the typical verses may be cited[1669] here. 'Employ magic spells against him, who hates us and whom we hate; attain (i. e. dominate) him who is superior and surpass him who is (our) equal'; 'O Soma! strike in the mouth with your thunderbolt him who speaks evil of us that speak what is good and may he, being crushed, run away'. The Śukranītisāra (ed. by G. Oppert, 1882) provides that the Tantras are the Upaveda of the

1669. प्रति तमभि चर योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं वयं द्विष्मः। आप्नुहि श्रेयांसमति समं क्राम॥ अथर्व II. 11. 3; यो नः सोम सुशंसिनो दुःशंस आदिदेशति। वज्रेणास्य मुखे जहि स संपिष्टो अपायति॥ अथर्व VI. 6. 2; विविधोपास्यमन्त्राणां प्रयोगाः सुविभेदतः। कथिताः सोपसंहारास्तद्धर्मनियमैश्च यत्। अथर्वणां चोपवेदस्तन्स्वरूपः स एव हि॥ शुक्रनीतिसार IV. 3. 39.

Atharvaveda. Atharva III. 25 and VI. 130 are spells respectively employed by a man and a woman to soften the heart of the person loved; Atharva II. 30 and 31 are charms for driving away or destroying worms that cause diseases and V. 36 is a charm against *piśācas* (goblins).[1670] The sound 'phaṭ' occurs in Vāj. S. In the Āp. Śr. Sūtra *phaṭ* is employed in offering Soma stalks in *abhicāra* (employment of spells for a malevolent purpose). Phaṭ is a sound frequently employed in the worship of Devī in Tantra works. But no direct connection or line of evolution from the Atharvaveda to the Tantras can be traced. The Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita (705–762 A. D.) connects even Buddha with magic practices. It says 'all wise men declare that it is dharma from which results worldly prosperity and the highest beatitude. Seen results such as intelligence, health, rulership are produced by properly observing the rules about mantras, yoga and the like declared by him (i. e.[1671] by Buddha)'. But one cannot place implicit reliance on any writer's statement made more than a thousand years after the event or person referred to in it. There are, however, stories in the Pali sacred books about the cultivation of magic powers among Buddha's own disciples, e. g. the story of Bhāradvāja[1672] who rose in the air for a bowl carved out of very fragrant

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1670. For the sound 'phaṭ' in Durgā-pūjā, vide p. 161 n. 416; उपरि प्रता भङ्क्ष्न हतोऽसौ फट् प्राणाय त्वा व्यानाय त्वा। वाज. सं. VII. 3. on which the com. महीधर explains 'उपरि आगतेन भङ्क्ष्न आमर्देन असाविति देवदत्तादिनामनिर्देशः। असौ द्वेषो हतो निहतः सन् फट् विशीर्णो भवतु। ...स्वाहाकारस्थाने फडिति अभिचारे प्रयुज्यते।

1671. यतोऽभ्युदयनिष्पत्तिर्यतो निःश्रेयसस्य च। स धर्म उच्यते ताहक् सर्वैरेव विचक्षणैः॥ तदुक्तमन्त्रयोगादिनियमाद्विधिवत्कृतात्। प्रज्ञारोग्यविभुत्वादि दृष्टधर्मोपि जायते॥ तत्त्वसंग्रह p. 905; कमलशील (pupil of शान्तरक्षित) comments 'तेन भगवतोक्तधर्मो मन्त्र-योगादिनियमश्चेति विग्रहः। योगः समाधिः। आदिशब्देन मुद्रामण्डलादिपरिग्रहः।'. The first verse appears to have been based on the वैशेषिकसूत्र I. 1. 1–2 'अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः।'. The word अभ्युदय has been variously interpreted by the commentators of Kaṇāda's sūtra, but gene rally अभ्युदय means 'wordly happiness or prosperity'; compare भरत's नाट्यशास्त्र 'विवाहप्रसवावाहप्रमोदाभ्युदयादिषु। विनोदकरणं चैव धृतमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्॥' chap. IV. 263 (G. O. S.). Some take it to mean स्वर्ग in contradistinction to निःश्रेयस (which means मोक्ष or अमृतत्व).

1672. The story of Puṇḍola Bhāradvāja, a disciple of the Blessed One (Buddha) rising in the air, taking the bowl and going thrice round the city of Rājagṛha in the air, is narrated in Cullavagga (S. B. E. Vol. XX pp 78 ff). But it is said there that Buddha rebuked his disciple, ordered that bowl to be broken and reduced to powder.

sandalwood. Further, there is a story of miraculous powers possessed by all the members of the family of a layman called Mendaka (viz. himself, his wife, son and daughter-in-law) in Mahāvagga VI. 34. 1 ff. (S. B. E. vol. XVII. pp. 121 ff). Here again we have to remember that there is nothing in the *Tipiṭaka* or any early Buddhist document to prove that Buddha or his first disciples had anything to do with *mudrās*, mantras and *maṇḍalas* and that neither Yuan Chwang nor I-tsing refers to any Tantras, though both of them refer to the Buddhist monasteries as centres of Buddhist culture (vide Dr. De in N. I. A. vol. I. pp. 1 ff). In the introduction to Sādhanamālā (vol. II. LXVIII.) Dr. Bhattacharya relies upon the words 'Sugatopadiṣṭam' and 'Sugataiḥ' occurring on pp. 334–335 of the Sādhanamālā for holding that Buddha himself must have promulgated some mantras. There are two weighty objections viz. 'Sugataiḥ' does not always mean Buddha, but means also 'followers of Buddha' and secondly, just as most Hindu Tantras are dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī, so later Buddhist writers might have easily said that they are quoting the Buddha; the same objection applies to Kamalaśīla's remarks quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya, as Kamalaśīla and his teacher flourished about 1200 years after Buddha.

The question whether Buddhist Tantras were prior to Hindu Tantras or *vice versa* is difficult to decide. It appears probable that both arose nearly about the same time. Vide 'The Śāktas' by E. A. Payne pp. 72–74 for discussion of views. In the Sādhanamālā (a Vajrayāna work consisting of 312 small works composed according to Dr. Bhattacharya from the 3rd century A. D. to 12th century A. D.) four *pīṭhas* (chief centres) of Vajrayāna[1673] are mentioned viz. Kāmākhyā, Sirihaṭṭa (or Śrīhaṭṭa), Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna. The first two are respec-

1673. It appears that in some Tantra works five Pīṭhas are named (according to H P. Sastri's Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf and selected paper mss. in the Nepal Durbar Library, Calcutta, 1905, p. LXXX) viz. Oḍḍiyāna (in Orissa, says H. P. Sastri), Jāla (in Jalandar), Pūrṇa Mataṅga in Śrīśaila and Kāmākhyā in Assam. The very fact that five pīṭhas are named in the work supposed to be delivered by Śiva shows beyond doubt that before the work Tāntrism had spread in all parts of India. The Sādhanamālā (vol II pp. 453 and 455) mentions Uḍḍiyāna, Pūrṇagiri, Kāmākhyā and Sirihaṭṭa; the Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra (Tāntrik texts, Vol. IV) in 6th paṭala verses 3–7) refers to five pīṭhas viz. Uḍḍiyāna, Kāmarūpa, Kāmākhyā, Jālandhara and

(*Continued on next page*)

tively identified with Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa (three miles from Gauhati) and modern Sylhet. The exact situation of the other two is a controversial matter. M. M. H. P. Shastri identified Uddiyāna (which is most frequently mentioned as a pīṭha) with Orissa. His son Dr. B. Bhattacharya thinks it most probable that Vajrayāna Tāntricism arose in Uddiyāna (p. 46 of Intro. to B. E.). Dr. Bagchi in 'Studies in the Tantras' pp. 37–40 furnishes good grounds for holding that Uddiyāna was near Swat valley in N. W. India and Grousset 'In the footsteps of Buddha' pp. 109–110 holds the same view. The Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by F. W. Thomas) names eight Śāktaksetras (III. 123–124). In his Intro. to Sādhanamālā (vol. II. p. LXXVIII) Dr. Bhattacharya holds that the Hindu tantras were introduced on the model of the Buddhist tantras. But Winternitz (in 'History of Indian Literature', Eng. tr., vol. II. p. 401) states that this view of Dr. Bhattacharya is contrary to the facts and the present writer agrees with this view.

Though Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhism and Jainism exploited Hindu gods in the earlier period, he asserts (on p. 147 of his Intro. to B. E.) that 'it is possible to declare without fear of contradiction that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the Tantras in their religion and that the Hindus borrowed them from the Buddhists in later times'. It is no honour to ancient Hindus to be called the pioneers in the practice of black magic. But scholars have to seek truth irrespective of the question of honour or dishonour. Very weighty arguments are advanced by Valleé Poussin (in E. R. E. vol. XII. p. 193), Winternitz and Payne (on 'Śāktas p. 73) for the opposite view and the present author agrees with them. Hundreds of works were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan and Chinese. The traffic of borrowing has been all one way from India to Tibet and China. Vide a paper on 'China's debt to India' by Prof. Liang Chi Chao in Viśvabhāratī Quarterly, vol. II. for 1924–25 pp. 251–261, where it is stated that 24 Hindu scholars from A. D. 67 to 789 came to China, besides 13 from Kashmir and that the Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265–790 A. D. numbered 187 of which the names of 105 can be ascertained.

(Continued from last page)

Pūrṇagiri (vide also 3rd paṭala, 59–61). In I. H. Q. vol. XI. pp 142–144 it is argued that Uḍḍiyāna and Śahore are in Bengal. The Devībhāgavata (VII. 30. 55–80) names over one hundred kṣetras of Devī.

There is hardly any evidence of the translations of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit. Besides, the three great Chinese travellers never refer to the study of Buddhist Tantras in India. Watters on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' vol. I. p. 360 narrates a story from the pilgrim's life that when he left Ayodhyā in a boat and proceeded east down the Ganges, *thugs* that looted the boat decided to sacrifice him to Durgā but that the Chinese pilgrim was saved by a hurricane which put the thugs in terror, who released him and treated him with reverence. Vide also 'In the Footsteps of Buddha' by René Grousset pp. 133–135 for this incident. We see that there is evidence of the prevalence of Tāntrik and Śākta worship in India long before the 7th century A. D. There is hardly any evidence of any Buddhist Tāntrik work before 650 A. D. except perhaps the Guhyasamājatantra and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, both of which contain late elements. In this way, presumption and chronology are both against borrowing by Hinduism from Buddhist Tibetan or Chinese Tāntrik works. Vide 'Tibet past and present' by Sir Charles Bell (1924) pp. 23, 25, 29, Sardar K. M. Panikkar's work 'India and China' (1957) p. 70, 'Introduction of the alphabet in Tibet' by M. M. Dr. Satischandra who holds that it was borrowed from Magadha in 7th Century A. D., that show that a written script based on an Indian alphabet as prevalent in Kashmir was first introduced about 640 A. D., that the Tāntrik Buddhist Padmasambhava was summoned from Uḍḍiyāna by a Tibetan king Ti-son De-tson (749–786 A. D.) on the recommendation of Śāntarakṣita Bodhisattva and was induced to settle in Tibet. Bunjiu Nanjio's 'Catalogue of Tripiṭaka' (Oxford, 1883), appendix II. p. 445 No. 155 shows that Amoghavajra translated many works between 746 and 771 A. D., died in 774 A. D. and that it was under his influence that Tantra doctrines gained currency in China. It is clear from the works of Bāṇa as detailed later on that worship of Caṇḍikā with wine and flesh was prevalent in India long before 600 A. D., that Śrīparvata was famed for its tāntrik *siddhis*, that Śivasaṁhitās existed, that japa of mantras a crore of times in a cemetery was supposed to confer *siddhis*, that he 14th of the dark half of a month was deemed the proper tithi for japa and black magic. Therefore, it is most likely that Śākta or Tāntrik doctrines were taken to China and Tibet from India and not *vice versa*. Prof. P. V. Bapat in '2500 years of Buddhism' (pp. 360–376) follows (at p. 363) Dr. B. Bhattacharya and tries to prove that Tibetan Tāntrism is earlier than Hindu Tāntrism, but his arguments

like those of Dr. Bhattacharya do not carry conviction at all. Dr. A. S. Altekar in his paper on Sanskrit Literature in Tibet (ABORI. vol. 35 pp. 54–66) shows how Buddhism entered into Tibet in the reign of Strong-Tsan-Gampo (637–693 A. D.), that about 750 A. D. ;Padmasambhava from Orissa and Vairocana from Kashmir were pioneers and how about 4500 works were translated into Tibetan.

Even Dr. Bhattacharya admits that Buddhist Tantras in outward appearance resemble in a marked degree Hindu Tantras (p. 47 of Intro. to B. E.), but he contends that in the subject matter, the philosophical doctrines and religious principles there is little similarity. As Buddhism did not believe in Hindu gods they do not speak about Śakti or Śāktism. But just as in Hindu Tantras there is the male principle Śiva and the female principle of Devī, the Buddhists postulate Prajñā (which is feminine) and Upāya (masculine) as two principles and invest them with the same roles as those of Śiva and Devī but reversed in character. They had to graft on the idea of *Śūnyatā* the ideas underlying the concepts of Śiva and Devī or Śakti. The subject matter is very similar as regards the goal and means (Yoga &c) and the procedure of mantra, guru, maṇḍala &c. is the same. The most important and early works of Buddhist Tāntric cult, the Prajñopāya-viniścayasiddhi and Jñānasiddhi are not earlier than the 8th century A. D., when Śāktism and Tāntrism had both been long established in India.

The word 'Śākta' means one who is a worshipper or devotee of 'Śakti' (cosmic power or energy). It appears that long before the 8th century A. D. this cult had spread in almost all parts of India, particularly in Bengal and Assam. Śakti under different names (such as Tripurā, Lohitā, Ṣḍaśikā, Kāmeśvarī) was conceived to be the primordial principle of all activity in the universe and is generally worshipped under the name of Devī. The Devīmāhātmya is one of the chief works of the Śāktas and has been described above on pp. 155–156. The chief characteristics of the Śākta cult are the doctrine that God or Deity is one and is to be conceived as the mother and also the destroyer[1674] and that there is a special form of ceremonial

1674. One of the *dhyānas* of Devī as Kālī is as follows: शवारूढां महाभीमां घोरदंष्ट्रां हसन्मुखीम् । चतुर्भुजां खड्गमुण्ड-वराभयकरां शिवाम् । मुण्डमालाधरां देवीं ललज्जिह्वां दिगम्बराम् । एवं सञ्चिन्तयेत्कालीं श्मशानालयवासिनीम् ॥ कालिकाम्र in शाक्तप्रमोद (Venk. ed.)

worship which sometimes assumed debased and revolting forms. Devī has been eulogised in other Purāṇas also as in Vāmana (18-19), Devī-bhāgavata (III. 27), Brahmāṇḍa (that contains the Lalitāmāhātmya in 44 chapters), Matsya (13. 24-54, where 108 names of Devī and 108 places of her worship are set out), Kūrma (I. 12). In the last Purāṇa (Kūrma I. 12) Devī is called Mahāmahiṣamardinī (98), Anāhatā, Kuṇḍalinī (128), Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Caṇḍī, Bhadrakālī (143 and 148) and it is stated that the śāstras opposed[1675] to the Veda and Smṛti that are popular among people such as Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Ārhata were propagated by Devī for deluding the world and were based on ignorance. Vide also Brahmapurāṇa (181. 48-52) for names of Devī and for the proposition that Devī when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and other edibles becomes pleased and grants men's desires. Bhadrakālī is comparatively an ancient name. In the Śāṅ. Gṛ. (SBE vol. XXIX p. 86) it is provided that an offering is to be made to Śrī at the head of the bed on which the householder sleeps and at the foot of the bed to Bhadra-kālī, while Manu provides that, in the daily *baliharaṇa*, *bali* (offering) is to be offered to Bhadrakālī in the south-west.

The Tantras and Śākta works have much in common, the main point of difference being that in the Śākta cult Devī (or Śakti) is worshipped as the highest, while Tantras (which include also Buddhist and Jaina works) are not restricted to the worship of Devī or Śakti, but may be agnostic, Vedāntic or Sāṅkhya in their philosophical outlook. Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in Intro. to Guhyasamājatantra p. XXXIV and in Intro. to Sādhanamālā vol. II. p. XIX) states that, for a work to be called a real Tantra, there must be the element of Śakti in it. But this is plainly rather an over-statement. The Vāyupurāṇa enumerates the Śākta among six *darśanas* (philosophic points of view) as in note [1675a].

Even the Ṛgveda speaks of the Śaktis of the great gods of the Vedic pantheon. But the Śakti or Śaktis are of the God

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1675. यानि शास्त्राणि दृश्यन्ते लोकेऽस्मिन्विविधानि तु। श्रुतिस्मृतिविरुद्धानि निष्ठा तेषां हि तामसी॥ कापालं भैरवं चैव यामलं वाममार्हतम्। एवंविधानि चान्यानि मोहनार्थानि तानि तु॥ कूर्म I. 12. 261-262. These verses are quoted by रघुनन्दन in स्मृतितत्त्व I. pp. 785-786 (under मलमासतत्त्व).

1675 a. आद्यं शैवं वैष्णवं च सौरं शाक्तं तथार्हतम्। षड्दर्शनानि चोक्तानि स्वभावनियतानि च। 104. 16.

nimself and not a separate creative principle and sometimes Śakti is meant as part of the poet, priest or sacrificer (as in Ṛg. I. 31. 18, I. 83. 3, IV. 22. 8, X. 25. 5). The word 'Śakti' occurs in the Ṛgveda about a dozen times in the singular as well as in the plural, five times with Indra,[1676] once with Aśvins (Ṛg. II. 39. 7), twice with pitṛs (I 109. 3, VI. 75. 9) and once with gods in general (X. 88. 10, who are said to have created Agni with their powers). Sometimes, the word 'Māyā' is used with regard to Indra instead of the word Śakti. 'O Indra! I long for your great friendship and powers (śaktīḥ)...understand that you are our great protector; I proclaim your ancient and recent deeds, O Indra endowed with powers (Śaktīvaḥ)!.....; 'Indra assuming[1677] many forms by his powers (māyābhiḥ) repairs (to many sacrifices), ten hundred horses are yoked to his chariot'. In these passages there is no question of worshipping śakti or śaktis of the god praised. The more frequent word, however, is 'Śacī' ('śacībhiḥ' occurring 36 times and 'śacyā' 12 times). The word 'Śacīpati' (lord of Śacī or power) occurs sixteen times in the Ṛgveda and has been applied in all places to Indra, except once in Ṛg. VII. 67. 5 (where it is applied to Aśvins). It cannot be said that in the Ṛgveda 'Śacī' is the wife of Indra (as it is said in later mythology), since the plural is more frequent than Śacī in the singular and since Aśvins also are called 'Śacīpatī' once. Similarly, the word 'Śacīvaḥ' occurs eleven times, in nine of which it is addressed to Indra but it is once applied to Agni (Ṛg. III. 21. 4) and once to Soma (Ṛg. IX. 87. 9). The ideas associated with the words 'Śakti' and 'Śacī' are those of creation, protection, valour, and bounty. In Ṛg. I. 56. 4 Indra's power is called 'Devī taviṣī' but the word Śacī does not occur in that verse. There is a sublime hymn (Ṛg. X. 125) of the power of Vāk (speech), wherein Vāk is said to associate with Rudras, Ādityas, Vasus, all gods and is

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1676. महत्ते सख्यं वसिम शक्तीवो तृत्रघ्ने नियुतो वान्ति पूर्वीः। महि स्तोत्रमव आगन्म वूरेरस्माकं सु मघवन् बोधि गोपाः॥ ऋ. III. 31. 14, प्र ते पूर्वाणि करणानि वोचं प्र नूतना मघवन्या चकर्थ। शक्तीवो यद्विभरा रोदसी उभे जयन्नपो मनवे दानुचित्राः॥ ऋ. V. 31. 6. Vide also Ṛg. VII. 20. 10, X. 88. 10 (स्तोमेन हि दिवि देवासो अग्निमजीजनन्शक्तिभी रोदसिप्राम्॥).

1677. इन्द्रो मायाभिः पुरुरूप ईयते युक्ता ह्यस्य हरयः शता दश॥ ऋ. VI. 47. 18. On this the बृह. उप. II. 5. 19 says 'इदं वै तन्मधु दध्यङ्ङाथर्वणोऽश्विभ्यामुवाच। तदेतदृषिः पश्यन्नवोचत्। इन्द्रो मायाभिः ··· शता दश॥ इति। अयं वै हरयोऽयं वै दश च सहस्राणि बहूनि चानन्तानि च। तदेतद्ब्रह्म &c.'

declared to support Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, the Aśvins, Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan and Bhaga. Vāk is said to stretch the bow for Rudra in order that the destructive enemy of *brahma* (prayer or God Brahmā) may be killed, that Vāk stands occupying all worlds and that her body touches heaven, that it is beyond heaven and the earth, that Vāk stands so vast by its greatness'. Vāk becomes the principle of all energy. According to the Nighaṇṭu (I. 11), menā, gnāḥ and śacī are three of the 57 words meaning 'Vāk'. In Tai. S. V. 1. 7. 2 the metres are called 'gnās'. Rg. I. 164. 41 is an enigmatic description of Vāk explained in Nirukta XI. 40. It should be noticed that, just as Devī or Śakti is associated with Śiva in later literature, so are Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Agnāyī, Rodasī associated with Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Maruts respectively as wives. 'I invoke Indrāṇī,[1673] Varuṇānī and Agnāyī for my welfare and for drinking Soma'; 'May the women, the wives of gods, partake of the offering, viz. Indrāṇī, Agnāyī, the brilliant (wife) of the Aśvins, Rodasī; may Varuṇāṇī listen (to our laud); may the goddesses partake (of offerings) at the time (appropriate) for women'. It must be said, however, that these goddesses (devīḥ) play a very subordinate part in the Ṛgveda. No direct connection can be traced between these Vedic goddesses and the later conception of Devī or Śakti. Indrāṇī is invoked for protection in Ṛg. I. 22. 12, II. 32. 8, V. 46. 8, X. 86. 11-12. In Ṛg. V. 46. 8 Indrāṇī and three others are called Devapatnīs and 'gnās'. In Ṛg. I. 61. 8 it is said that the gnās, the wives of gods, wove, when Indra struck the demon Ahi, a song of worship. The word 'gnā' occurs 20 times in the Ṛg. in the nominative, objective, instrumental and locative and is an Indo-European word for wife (Greek has it). Vide Nir III. 21 where 'menā' and 'gnā' occur. In the Kenopaniṣad Umā Haimavatī (daughter of Himavat) tells of *Brahma* to the gods Agni, Vāyu and Indra (III. 12). In the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad it is said 'they (brahmavādins) endowed with meditation and Yoga saw Śakti (power) abiding as non-different from God and concealed (from com-

1678. इन्द्राणीमुप ह्वये वरुणानीं स्वस्तये। अग्नायीं सोमपीतये। ऋ. I. 22. 12; उत ग्ना व्यन्तु देवपत्नीरिन्द्राण्यग्नाय्यश्विनी राट्। आ रोदसी वरुणानी शृणोतु व्यन्तु देवीर्य ऋतुर्जनीनाम्॥ ऋ. V. 46. 8. सूर्या is said to be the wife of Aśvins in Ṛg. X. 85. 8-9; यास्क explains Ṛg. V. 146. 8 in निरुक्त XII. 46 and holds रोदसी as the wife of रुद्र; in. Ṛg. V. 56. 8 the Maruts are said to have 'Rodasī' on their chariot; in Ṛg. V. 61.4 the Maruts are said to have a beautiful wife; in VI. 50.5 Rodasī is called devī and is said to be mixed up with Maruts. In Ṛg. I. 167.4 and VI. 66.6 Rodasī is connected with Maruts.

prehension) by its own attributes (or by sattva, rajas and tamas).' The same Upaniṣad (in VI. 8) speaks of *Brahma* as possessing the highest Śakti[1679] in various forms and this text is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 24. In the *bhāṣya* on Vedāntasūtra II. 1. 30 and in the sūtra itself *Brahma* is said to be endowed with all powers. Vide also Śvetāśva. IV. 1. The Nārāyaṇopaniṣad contains an invocation of Durgā-devī[1680] 'I approach as a refuge the blazing goddess Durgā, brilliant like fire, luminous owing to *tapas*, that is resorted to for (yielding) the rewards of religious actions; O goddess possessed of excellent might! adoration to your power'. Rāghavabhaṭṭa[1681] avers that Tantra cult is based on Śruti as can be seen from the Upaniṣads called Rāmapūrvottara-tāpanīya and Nṛsimhapūrvottara-tāpanīya. Similarly, Bhāskararāya in his commentary Setubandha on Vāmakeśvaratantra mentions several Upaniṣads as treating in detail of the bhakti of Mahātripura-sundarī and interprets Rg. V. 47. 4 'catvari īm' as referring to Kādividyā. But all these Upaniṣads seem to be purposely composed to bolster up the *tantras* that had come to be looked down upon and they

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1679. ते ध्यानयोगानुगता अपश्यन्देवात्मशक्तिं स्वगुणैर्निगूढाम्। श्वेताश्व० I. 3; परास्य शक्तिर्विविधैव श्रूयते स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च॥ श्वेताश्व० VI. 8; सर्वोपेता च तद्दर्शनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र II. 1. 30, on which शङ्कर says 'एकस्यापि ब्रह्मणो विचित्रशक्तियोगादुपपद्यते विचित्रो विकारप्रपञ्च इति।: But this is entirely different from the later Śākta doctrines. Here Brahma is said to be endowed with various Śaktis (not one), white Śakti among Śāktas is the female principle that is supreme. It is possible that such a vedānta doctrine of śakti might have suggested the later all-engrossing power of Śakti as the only deity or principle

1680. तामग्निवर्णां तपसा ज्वलन्तीं वैरोचनीं कर्मफलेषु जुष्टाम्। दुर्गां देवीं शरणमहं प्रपद्ये सुतरसितरसे नमः। नारायणोपनिषद् 2. 1.

1681. श्रुतिमूलकता तु रामपूर्वोत्तरतापनीय-कृसिंहपूर्वोत्तरतापनीय-सौराष्टाक्षर-शैवपञ्चाक्षरात्मिका च साक्षाच्छ्रुतिरुपलभ्यत एव। राघवभट्ट on शारदातिलक p. 2; श्रीमहात्रिपुरसुन्दर्याश्च गौणीं भक्तिं सेतिकर्तव्यतांकां निरूपयितुमेवंपर्येण सुन्दरीतापनीपञ्चकं भावनोपनिषत्कौलोपनिषद्-गुह्योपनिषन्महोपनिषच्चेत्यादयो वेदशिरोभागाः प्रवृत्ताः। सेतुबन्ध on वामकेश्वरतन्त्र p. 4; तथा च बह्वृचैराम्नायते-चत्वार ईं बिभ्रति...अन्तान्-इति। अत्र हि कादिविद्याया ईकारचतुष्टयवत्त्वविशेषणद्वारोद्धारः कृतः। सेतुबन्ध p. 17. In शाक्तोपनिषद्; edited with the com. of उपनिषद्ब्रह्मयोगिन् by Pandit A. Mahadevaśāstri, Adyar, 1925, are printed त्रिपुरा, त्रिपुरातापिनी, देवी, बह्वृच, भावना, सरस्वतीरहस्य, सीता, सौभाग्यलक्ष्मी (the भावनोपनिषद् occurring on pp 68–73). In the बह्वृचोपनिषद् (on p. 62) occurs the passage 'सैषा परा शक्तिः सैषा शाम्भवी विद्या कादिविद्येति वा हादिविद्येति वा सादिविद्येति वा रहस्यमोमों वाचि प्रतिष्ठा।.' The com. explains: श्रीमत्पञ्चदशाक्षरीप्रविभक्ता क ए ई ल ह्रीं-प्रथमखण्डात्मना कादिविद्येति वा-ह स क ह ल ह्रीं-इति द्वितीयखण्डात्मना हादिविद्येति वा स क ल ह्रीं-इति सादिविद्या वा रहस्यम्।.

are mostly mentioned by late medieval writers like Rāghavabhaṭṭa and Bhāskararārya. There are two great hymns addressed to Durgā in the Mahābhārata,[1682] viz. in Virāṭaparva (chap. 6) by Yudhiṣṭhira and the other in Bhīṣmaparva (chap. 23) by Arjuna, but they are discarded as apocryphal in the Poona critical edition. The Gangadhara stone Inscription of Viśvavarman of 480 of the Mālava era (424 A.D.) refers to Mātṛs (Mother Goddesses) and Tantra.[1683] The Br. S. 57. 56 mentions the groups of Mātṛs. The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti recommends that the householder should not enter places of Śaiva, Bauddha, Skānda and Śākta[1684] cults. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[1685] (one of the earliest among extant Purāṇas) speaks of the whole world as that of Viṣṇu, who is the highest *Brahma* and is endowed with

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1682. In JRAS for 1906 pp. 355–362 B. C. Majumdar endeavours to show that the two hymns to Durgā are late interpolations in the Mahābhārata, probably derived from practices of non-Aryan Śūdras in Oriya-speaking hill tribes of Sambalpur. But he forgets that apart from other sources Kālidāsa (not later than about 400 A. D.) speaks of Pārvatī as Umā, Aparṇā, Durgā, Gaurī, Bhavānī and Caṇḍī in his several works and also that Kālidāsa refers to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. In the last verse of the Śākuntala Kālidāsa speaks of Śiva as 'parigata-śaktiḥ' and thereby suggests that at least the germs of the later Śakti worship were not unknown in his times. Therefore, the worship of Durgā in her several aspects is older than 300 A. D. by at least a century or more; vide pp. 185–186 above.

1683. मातृणां च प्रमुदितघनात्यर्थनिर्ह्रादिनीनां तन्त्रोद्भूत-प्रबलपवनोद्धूर्तितम्भोनिधीनाम् । in Gupta Inscription No 17 p. 72. The बृहत्संहिता 57. 56 provides rules about images of Mātṛs 'मातृगणः कर्तव्यः स्वनामदेवानुरूपकृतचिह्नः', the विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (in I. 226) mentions a large number of मातृs including काली and महाकाली (in all over 180). Vide a recent work on 'the Cult of the Mother Goddesses' by E. O. James (London, 1959), of which pp. 99–124 deal with India; 'Matsyendranātha and his Yoginī cult' by Dr. Karambelkar in I. H. Q. Vol. XXXI (for 1935) pp. 362–374, which show that Ādinātha (Śiva Himself) was the guru of Matsyendranātha, who was himself guru of Gorakṣanātha, the former being called Lnipa (in Tibet), one of the 84 *Siddhas*; vide Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report IX, for the temple of 64 Yoginīs at Bheraghat and 'Tāntrik cult in Epigraphs' by Mr. B. P. Desai in J. O. R (Mad.), Vol. 19 pp. 285–288.

1684. शैवपाशुपताद्यशास्त्रस्थानानि न विशेत् क्वचित् । वृद्धहारीतस्मृति XI. 143.

1685. एतत्सर्वमिदं विश्वं जगदेतच्चराचरम् । परब्रह्मस्वरूपस्य विष्णोः शक्तिसमन्वितम् । विष्णुपु V. 7. 60; सुरामांसोपहारैश्च भक्ष्यभोज्यैश्च पूजिता । वृणामभीष्टकामांस्त्वं प्रसन्ना संप्रदास्यसि ॥ विष्णुपु. V. 1. 86. This verse occurs in ब्रह्मपुराण 181. 52 and the preceding three verses which contain the names of Durgā are the same in both.

Śakti, enumerates some of the names of Durgā as Āryā, Vedagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadra-kālī, Kṣemadā, Bhāgyadā and winds up by stating that when Durgā is worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh, various kinds of foods, she, being pleased, would fulfil all desires of men. In the Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa there is a long description of the temple of Caṇḍikā at a few days' journey from Ujjayinī, where there was an old Draviḍa devotee, in which the following points deserve to be noted, viz. offerings of the heads of animals, lion as *vāhana*, the slaughter of Mahiṣāsura, the doctrines of Pāśupatas written down on small books of palm leaves containing jugglery, tantra and mantras, Durgā-stotra written on a piece of cloth, ruined temples of the Mātṛs and description of the Draviḍa devotee as knowing thousands of wonderful stories about Śrīparvata. Bāṇa describes at length what queen Vilāsavatī, pining for a son, began doing to placate all Gods viz. sleeping in the shrines of Caṇḍikā where *guggulu* was being incessantly burnt, taking auspicious baths on nights of dark 14th in public squares where magic circles had been drawn by great magicians, visiting temples of Mātṛs, wearing amulets inside which were pieces of birch leaves on which mantras had been written with yellow pigment, and, when delivery was near, her bed was rendered holy with various herbs, roots and yantras (figures or diagrams). In the Harṣacarita (III) there is a reference to magic circles and to human sacrifices in the description of the Śaiva ascetic Bhairavācārya who had all the Śaiva-saṁhitās by heart, who performed the *japa* of a mahāmantra called Mahākālahṛdaya a crore of times in a cemetery and wanted the help of Puṣpabhūti (an ancestor of Emperor Harṣa) for perfection in that mantra to be achieved by subduing a *vetāla* and who ultimately attained to the position of Vidyādhara and rose into the starry firmament. In the last Introductory verse of the Harṣacarita the Emperor Harṣa is, by means of puns, called the Śrīparvata in yielding all Siddhis (supernatural powers, or fulfilment) according to the wishes of all suppliants.[1686] These descriptions from the works of Bāṇa (first half of 7th century) show how even long before the 7th century A. D. the worship of Caṇḍī with flesh and the Śākta or Tāntrik paraphernalia of mantras, siddhis, maṇḍalas and yantras had gripped the minds of all Indian people, great

1686. जयति ज्वलत्प्रतापज्वलनाकारकृतजगद्रक्षः। सकलप्रणयिमनोरथसिद्धिश्रीपर्वतो हर्षः॥ हर्षचरित 1. 21; सौदामिनी says in मालतीमाधव 'गुरुचर्या तपस्तन्त्रमन्त्रयोगाभियोगजाम्। इमामाक्षेपिणीं सिद्धिमातनोमि शिवाय वः॥' IX.

and small, rich and poor. In the Mālatīmādhava (Act V) we have a gruesome picture of human sacrifice to Cāmuṇḍā. In the same drama Saudāminī is described as observing the vows of a Kāpālika on Śrīparvata and as having secured supernatural powers by means of mantras. Śrīparvata is mentioned as a holy place of Śiva and Devī in Vanaparva 85. 19–20. The Vāsavadattā of Subandhu (p. 87 of Hall's ed.) speaks of Śrīparvata as 'Sannihita-mallikārjunaḥ.' Later on a few passages from Sanskrit and Prakrit literature will be cited to show how the teaching of Tāntrik practices led to great moral debasement and revolting orgies in the name of religion.

The literature on Tantras was vast (vide 'Principles of Tantra' ed. by A. Avalon, part 1 pp. 390–392 for a long list of Tantras). Both Hindu and Buddhist writers composed numerous works on Tantra and a very large number of subjects came to be included in Tantra works. Buddhist and Hindu Tantras are alike in some respects but they differ in the topics discussed, philosophical doctrines and some religious principles and practices. Tāntra works were introduced into Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and South East Asia. Originals of many of the Sanskrit Tāntrik works are now not available, but the translations of some of them in Tibetan are available.[1687] It is aid that even now if proper search is made, three hundred works on Tantra may be discovered (vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya in vol. X. of Śrī Rāmavarmā Institute of Research at Cochin p. 81).

It is difficult to give a general definition of Tantras. The word 'Tantra' is derived usually from 'Tan' to spread and 'trai' (to save). 'It spreads (dilates upon) many matters including the tattvas and mantras and affords protection;

1687. The following works will convey some idea of Śākta doctrines and practices: R. G. Bhandarkars's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c.' (in Collected Works, Vol. IV pp. 203–210); 'Sakti and Śākta' by Sir John Woodroffe (1920); 'Serpent Power' by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe); 'the Śāktas' by E. A. Payne (Oxford University Press, 1933) 'Sakti or divine power' by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Calcutta University, 1945); 'Doctrine of Śakti in Indian Literature' by Dr. P. C Chakravarti (1940). Vide Prof. Bagchi's 'Studies in the Tantras' pp 1–3 for the introduction of four Tāntrik texts in Kambuja (Cambodia) about 800 A. D. named 'Śiraścheda, Vināśikha, Sammoha and Nayottara and 'Inscriptions from Kambuja' by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1953) pp. 362, 373–374 and JRAS for 1950 pp. 163–65 for relics of Śāktism in Moslem Malaya.

therefore it is called Tantra'.[1688] They can only be described but one matter is included in almost all of them, viz. the five 'Makāras'. Often they contain an amalgam of religion, philosophy, superstitious dogmas, rites, astronomy, astrology, medicine, prognostications. They resemble the Purāṇas in several respects. The Buddhists deified many important personages of Buddhism and took over in course of time certain Hindu deities like Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī. Tantras are classified by comparatively later works into three groups, Viṣṇukrānta, Rathakrānta and Aśvakrānta and 64 Tantras are assigned to each of the three groups (vide Tāntrik Texts, vol. I. ed. by Arthur Avalon, Introduction pp. II–IV); but these numbers seem to be fictitious. The same Tantra is put in two classes by certain works. The Kulārṇava-tantra (III. 6-7) speaks of five *āmnāyas* (East, West, South, North and ūrdhva) as the paths to Mokṣa. The Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra[1689] I. 2 does the same. Besides, Tāntrik worshippers are divided into three classes viz. Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava. Bagchi states ('Studies in Tantras' p. 3) that Tāntrik literature is classified into *Srotas* (which are three) *Pīṭha* and *Āmnāya*. The Saundaryalaharī, ascribed by some to the great Advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya, refers to sixty-four Tantras (in verse 31 which begins 'catuṣṣaṣṭyā tantraiḥ' which, it is said therein, were declared by God Śaṅkara for deluding[1690] the world. Several Hindu and Buddhist Tantras

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1688. तनोति विपुलानर्थान् तत्त्वमन्त्रसमन्वितान्। त्राणं च कुरुते यस्मात् तन्त्रमित्य-भिधीयते॥.

1689. भगवान् परमशिवभट्टारकः...भगवत्या भैरव्या स्वात्माभिन्नया पृष्टः पञ्चभिर्मुखैः पञ्चाम्नायान् परमार्थसारभूतान् प्रणिनाय। परशुरामकल्पसूत्र I. 2. There exist works that mention the mantras and *dhyānas* of the five āmnāyas; for example, D. C. ms. No. 394 of 1882–83 does so (cat. vol. XVI on Tantra mss, pp 339–340).

1690. The evidence for attributing the work Saundaryalaharī to the great ācārya is not strong. In H. P. Śāstri's Cat. of Palm-leaf mss. in Nepa Durbar Library p. LXII there is an entry for तारारहस्यवृत्तिका, a Tāntrī compilation by a Śaṅkarācārya of Gauḍadeśa. This would emphasize that caution is required in accepting works ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya as genuine works of the great Advaita teacher. Vide D. N. Bose on 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' pp 29–30 for the names of 64 tantras mentioned in the Vārāhī-tantra together with the verses therein and Saundaryalaharī (tr. pp. 117–120) for a list of 64 tantras and Bagchi's 'Studies in the Tantras' p. 5 for the names of tantras considered authoritative in the 8th century A.D. and even prior to it. The तन्त्रालोक of अभिनवगुप्त states that there are groups of ten, 18 and 64 Śaiva tantras 'दशाष्टादशचैवस्यदभिन्नं यच्छासनं विभोः।

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have been published and we have now a fair idea of what the numerous Tantras must have been like. Some of the published Hindu Tantras are Kulārṇava, Tantrasāra, Nityotsava, Paraśurāmakalpa-sūtra, Pārānandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Mantra-mahodadhi of Mahīdhara, Mahānirvāṇatantra, Rudrayāmala, Vāmakeśvaratantra, Śāradātilaka (about 11th century A. D.). Besides, there are works like the Tantrāloka and Mālinīvijaya-vārtika of Abhinava-gupta of Kashmir Tāntrism. They stand somewhat apart from the works enumerated above. Among the published Buddhist tantras are; Advayavajrasaṅgraha, Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Guhayasamāja-tantra (probably 6th century A. D.), Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (717 A. D.), Niṣpanna-yogāvali of Abhayākaragupta (composed between the last quarter of 11th and first of 12th century A. D.), Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi of Anangavajra (about 705 A. D.), Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa (1577 A. D.), Sādhanamālā (containing 312 small works supposed to be from 3rd to 12th century A. D.). Of the Buddhist Tantras Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Guhyasamāja-tantra[1691] are the oldest according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya (Intro. p. XXXVIII. to Guhya-samājatantra). Most of the above works have been published by Arthur Avalon (Sir. John Woodroffe) and in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. Some of the Hindu Tantras contain sublime philosophical views derived from the Upaniṣads and the Gītā or from the Sāṅkhya and Yoga and the final goal according to them is *Mukti* (liberation from the

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तन्त्तारं त्रिकशास्त्रं हि तन्त्तारं मालिनीमतम् ॥ I. 18 (Kashmir S. series, Vol. XXII p. 35). The नित्याषोडशिकार्णव (a part of वामकेश्वरतन्त्र) names the 64 Tantras in verses 13–22 of the first विश्राम, but it includes eight Yāmalas among Tantras, while Dr. Bhattacharya (in 'Introduction to E. B. p. 52) tries to distinguish Āgamas and Yāmalas from Tantra and also in his Intro. to Sādhanamālā Vol. II. pp. XXI–XXII. The कौलावलीनिर्णय of ज्ञानान्दगिरि (Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIV) enumerates numerous tantras including Yāmalas in I. 2–14 and names (I. 92–93) eight gurus.

1691. Dr. Bhattacharya in Intro. to Guhyasamāja p. XXXIV holds that Asaṅga is probably the author of the Guhyasamāja and therefore that work belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. One has only to read the Mahā-yānasūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga ed. by Sylvain Levi and compare its refined and correct Sanskrit with the rather barbarous Sanskrit of the Guhyasamāja to come to the conclusion that the latter is not Asaṅga's work. There is no evidence to prove that Guhyasamāja belongs to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. It is probably two or more centuries later than that; Bagchi ('Studies in Tantras' p. 41) is against identifying Asaṅga, the author of Sādhana No. 159, with the great teacher of Yogācāra,

cycle of births and deaths) for all men but to be secured by following the path laid down by the Tantras. As the number of published Hindu Tantras is considerable, reference will be made mainly to a few viz. Kulārṇava, Pārānandasūtra, Prapañcasāra, Māhānirvāṇatantra, Vāmakeśvaratantra (Ānan. ed.), Śaktisaṅgamatantra, Śāradātilaka and in the case of the Buddhist tantras to Āryamañjuśrīmūla-kalpa, Guhyasamājatantra, Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi, Jñānasiddhi, Sādhanamālā, Sekoddeśaṭīkā. The purpose of most Buddhist Tantras is to indicate a short path for attaining Buddha-hood through Yoga practices and they introduce the element of Śakti for Yogic practices and for securing miraculous powers (called *siddhis*). In the History of Dharmaśāstra not much need be said about Buddhist Tantras except for comparison and stress will have to be laid on the Hindu Tantras alone. The philosophical aspects of Tāntrik culture may be studied in the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, the Vāmakeśvara-tantra, Tantrarāja, the works on Kashmir Śaivism, works of Bhāskararāya, Bhāvanopaniṣad. This last is a late work dignified with the title of Upaniṣad, as it deals with *bhāvanā* and summarises the Vāsanāpatala of Tantrarājatantra (vide Intro. to the latter p. 3). There are also Vaiṣṇava Tāntras like the Gautamīya-tantra (D. C. ms. No. 1120 of 1886–1892) and Kramadīpikā of Keśava (who was a successor of Nimbārka) with the commentary of Govinda Vidyāvinoda (published in the Chowkhamba S. series), which are not referred to in this work from considerations of space. Vide Agnipurāṇa 39. 1–7 for the names of twenty-five Vaiṣṇava Tantras dealing with the establishment of Viṣṇu image and other matters and Māheśvaratantra 26. 16–20.

The Hindu tantras which are supposed to have embodied dialogues between Śiva and Devī or Skanda or Bhairava and rarely others as in Dattātreyatantra (D. C. ms. No. 962 of 1887–91) endeavour to show that they base themselves on the Vedas, Āgamas, Smṛtis and Purāṇas, that there is an easier and quicker way to the final goal of mokṣa and they often quote Vedic verses. For example, in the Kulārṇava, Śiva says to Devī 'I churned the great ocean of Vedas and Āgamas with the churning handle of (correct) knowledge. I knew the essence of these and took out the Kuladharma,[1692] that the Kaulaśāstras are autho-

1692. मथित्वा ज्ञानदण्डेन वेदागममहार्णवम्। सारज्ञेन मया देवि कुलधर्मः समुद्धृतः॥ कुलार्णव॰ II. 10; the पारानन्दसूत्र III. 64 is almost the same 'मथित्वा ज्ञानमन्थेन

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ritative like Vedic texts and should not be nullified by ratiocination.' The same Tantra further asserts 'one who has studied the four Vedas but is ignorant of Kuladharma is inferior to a *cāṇḍāla*, while a cāṇḍāla who knows Kuladharmas is superior to a brāhmaṇa. If all dharmas such as sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas are put on one side and Kuladharma on another side, Kaula (dharma) is superior.'[1693] It is, therefore necessary to understand what is meant by Kula or Kauladharma. The Guhya-samāja[1694] states that Guhya means the three viz. body, speech and mind and 'samāja' means 'coming together', that Kula may comprehend five matters or three or 101 and that Guhya (as defined) is *trikula*.' God Śaṅkara[1695] declared five tattvas, viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā (hand and finger poses or the woman helper of a yogin) and sexual intercourse, that are acts that become the means for the attainment of the position of a *vīra* and that the mantra of Śakti does not confer perfection unless one follows the practices of Kula; therefore a person

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वेदागममहार्णवम्। पारानन्दमतं शुद्धं रत्नज्ञेन मयोद्धृतम्॥ इति' (p. 7); 'कुलशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि मयैवोक्तानि पार्वति। प्रमाणानि न सन्देहो न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः॥ देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च मधुवाता ऋतायते। स्वादिष्ठया मदिष्ठया क्षीरं सर्पिर्मधूदकम्। हिरण्यपावाः खादिश्च अवधन्त् पुरुषं पशुम्। दीक्षासुपेयादित्याद्याः प्रमाणं श्रुतयः प्रिये॥ कुलार्णव II. 139–141. देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च is वायुपु. 74. 15, मधु...यते is Rg. I. 90. 6, स्वादि...ष्ठया is Rg. IX. 1. 1, क्षीरं...दकम् is Rg. IX. 67, 32; हिरण्यपावाः is in Rg. IX. 86. 43. Most of the Vedic references are cleverly chosen to suggest sweet wine and flesh.

1693. एकतः सकला धर्मा यज्ञतीर्थव्रतादयः। एकतः कुलधर्मश्च तत्र कौलोऽधिकः प्रिये॥ चतुर्वेदी कुलाज्ञानी श्वपचादधमः प्रिये। श्वपचोऽपि कुलज्ञानी ब्राह्मणादतिरिच्यते॥ कुलार्णवतन्त्र II. 11 and 67. Vide महानिर्वाणतन्त्र IV. 42 for almost the same words.

1694. त्रिविधं कायवाक्चित्तं गुह्यमित्यभिधीयते। समाजं मीलनं प्रोक्तं सर्वबुद्धाभिधानकम्॥ गुह्यसमाज 18th पटल p. 152; पञ्चकं त्रिकुलं चैव स्वभावैकशतं कुलम्।... तत्त्वं पञ्चकुलं प्रोक्तं त्रिकुलं गुह्यमुच्यते। ibid. p. 153.

1695. वीरसाधनकर्माणि पञ्चतत्त्वोदितानि च। मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यमुद्रामैथुनमेव च। एतानि पञ्च तत्त्वानि त्वया प्रोक्तानि शङ्कर। महानिर्वाण I. 57; साधकs are of three kinds पशु, वीर and दिव्य. Vide शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र, कालीखण्ड VI. 21, महानिर्वाण I. 51 and 55, IV. 18–19, कौलावलीनिर्णय VII. 186. कुलाचारं विना देवि शक्तिमन्त्रो न सिद्धिदः। तस्मात्कुलाचाररतः साधयेच्छक्तिसाधनम्। मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यं मुद्रा मैथुनमेव च। शक्तिपूजाविधावाद्ये पञ्चतत्त्वं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ महानिर्वाण० V. 21–22. आद्ये is vocative of आद्या applied to शक्ति, the spouse of शिव. The कौलावलीनिर्णय states चण्डिकां पूजयेद्यस्तु विना पञ्चमकारकैः। चत्वारि तस्य नश्यन्ति आयुर्विद्या यशो धनम्॥ मद्यं मांसं...मैथुनमेव च।... मकारपञ्चकं देवि देवताप्रीतिदायकम्॥...विना पञ्चोपचारं हि देवीपूजां करोति यः। योगिनीनां भवेद्भक्ष्यः पापं चैव पदे पदे॥ IV. 24–28; besides, कौलावलीनिर्णय II. 101–105 are more striking: संस्थाप्य वामभागे तु शक्तिं स्वामिपरायणाम्।...विना शक्त्या तु या पूजा विफला नात्र संशयः। तस्माच्छक्तियुतो वीरो भवेच्च यत्नपूर्वकम्। या शक्तिः सा महादेवी हररूपस्तु साधकः। अन्योन्यचिन्तनाच्चैव देवत्वमुपजायते।...शक्तिं विनापि पूजायां नाधिकारी भवेत्तदा॥.

should be devoted to the Kula practices whereby he would attain to the sādhanā of Śakti; wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse—these are declared to be the five tattvas in the procedure of the worship of Śakti. In another place the Mahānirvāṇa[1696] says that the individual soul, *prakṛti*, space, time, *ākāśa*, earth, water, fire and Vāyu—these are called 'Kula' and that way of life whereby one looks upon all these as *brahma* without distinction is called Kulācāra, that confers the four goals viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. The Śaktisaṅgama-tantra states that Kula means the *upāsakas* (worshippers)[1697] of Kālī. The Kulārṇava states 'Kula means gotra and that springs from Śakti and Śiva; that man is called Kaulika who knows that mokṣa is secured from that (i. e. Śakti and Śiva). Śiva is called 'Akula' and Śakti is called 'Kula'; those who contemplate on Kula and Akula are the wise kaulikas." Various other definitions are given in Guhyasamāja (Ist paṭala p. 6), in the Preface p. VIII of the Śaktisaṅgama-tantra, Tārākhaṇḍa But the same Tantra clinches the matter by declaring that "Śakti is known as *Kula*; her worship and the like are described; that should be known as 'Kulācāra', which is difficult of attainment even for gods. Worship, done with these alone viz. wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse, is known as Kulācāra." The Pārānanda-sūtra[1698] provides that the highest self is one,

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1696. जीवः प्रकृतितत्त्वं च दिक्कालाकाशमेव च। क्षित्यप्तेजोवायवश्च कुलमित्यभिधीयते। ब्रह्मबुद्ध्या निर्विकल्पमेतेष्वाचरणं च यत्। कुलाचारः स एवाद्ये धर्मकामार्थमोक्षदः॥ महानिर्वाण० VII. 97–98. In VII. 109–110 it identifies the five तत्त्व, मद्य, मांस, मत्स्य, मुद्रा and मैथुन with the five elements viz. तेजः (अग्नि), पवन, आपः, पृथिवी and वियत्.

1697. श्रीकाल्युपासका ये च तत्कुलं परिकीर्तितम्। तेषां समूहो देवेशि कुलं सङ्कीर्तितं मया॥ शक्तिसङ्गम, कालीखण्ड chap. 3. 32; मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यं मुद्रा मैथुनमेव च। एभिरेव कृता पूजा कुलाचारः प्रकीर्तितः॥ शक्तिसङ्गम०, ताराखण्ड, 36th पटल, verses 18–20; कुलं गोत्रं समाख्यातं तच्च शक्तिशिवोद्भवम्। येन मोक्ष इति ज्ञानं कौलिकः सोभिधीयते॥ अकुलं शिव इत्युक्तं कुलं शक्तिः प्रकीर्तिता। कुलाकुलानुसन्धानाच्चिप्पुणाः कौलिकाः प्रिये॥ कुलार्णव 17. 26–27. The पञ्चमकार-शोधनविधि (ms. D. C. No. 994 of 1891–95 folio 13 b) states 'मद्य...मैथुनमेव च। भाग्यहीना (नैः?) न लभ्यन्ते मकाराः पञ्च दुर्लभाः॥'.

1698. एकः परमात्मा। ईश्वराः सप्त। असंख्या जीवाः। ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवसूर्यगणेशशक्तिभैरवाश्चेश्वराः। पारानन्दे मते त्रयो मार्गाः। दक्षिणः। वामः। उत्तरः। तथैव गाथामुदाहरन्ति। दक्षिणादुत्तमं वामं वामादुत्तरमुत्तमम्। उत्तरादुत्तमं किंचिन्नैव ब्रह्माण्डमण्डले। वामाचारो द्विप्रकारो मध्यमोत्तमभेदेन। मद्यमैथुनमुद्राभिर्युक्तोऽसावुत्तमः स्मृत इति। मद्यमांसमत्स्यमुद्रामैथुनैर्युक्तो मध्यमः। पारानन्दसूत्र (G. O. S.) pp 1–3, 13; compare कुलार्णवतन्त्र II. 7–8 'वैष्णवादुत्तमं शैवं शैवाद् दक्षिणमुत्तमम्। दक्षिणादुत्तमं वामं वामात् सिद्धान्तमुत्तमम्। सिद्धान्तादुत्तमं कौलं कौलात्परतरं नहि'॥. वामाचार was possibly so called because woman (वामा) played an important part in it or it was secretly practised (which is a crooked way.)

that there are seven Lords (Īśvara) viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Śakti and Bhairava, that individual souls are countless, that there are three *mārgas* (paths) viz. Dakṣiṇa, Vāma and Uttara, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one, that Dakṣiṇa-mārga is the one declared in the Veda, smṛtis and purāṇas, that the Vāma (way) is declared by the Veda and Āgamas, while the third (Uttara) is the one declared by the words of the Veda and of the Guru and that the Guruvākya is that of one's guru who is himself *Jīvan-mukta* and who gives instruction as to a mantra. That sūtra further provides that the Vāmācāra is of two kinds, *madhyama* (middling) and *uttama* (best), that uttama is the one which is concerned with wine, sexual intercourse and hand poses, while madhyama is one where all five, wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and *maithuna* are resorted to. It should be noticed that the Tantras themselves designate the use of five makāras in worship as Vāmācāra and not their orthodox partisans of Yoga, as Heinrich Zimmer alleges in 'The art of Indian Asia' vol. I. p 130. Pārānandasūtra[1699] prescribes that the disciple has to undergo *dīkṣā* (consecration) from a qualified guru, who instructs the disciple as to the mantra, who holds a mouthful of water in his own mouth and passes it into the mouth of the disciple that accepts the mantra while he gulps down the water. This procedure applies if the guru is a brāhmaṇa, but if the guru is a kṣatriya he should recite the mantra in the right ear of the disciple. The Tantrarāja-tantra provides that the guru should wait for 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5 years according as the intending disciple belongs to the four varṇas or to a mixed caste, should test his qualities and devotion and then communicate to him the mantra; otherwise, both guru and disciple would come to grief (Tāntrik Texts, vol. VIII. II. 37–38). Most works on Tantra provide that the knowledge conveyed by the guru and worship with five *makāras* must be kept secret and if made public falling in hell is the result. Vide Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra I. 12 and Śaktisaṅgama-tantra.[1700] After undergoing dīkṣā and receiving the mantra the disciple has to follow the orders

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1699. प्रत्यङ्मुख उदङ्मुखं शिष्यं तदिष्टमन्त्रमुपदिशेत्। मन्त्रं ग्राहयित्वा मुखजलगण्डूषं धृत्वा मन्त्रं जप्त्वा शिष्यमुखे निक्षिपेत्। निगिरन्नेव शिष्यो मन्त्रं गृह्णीयात्। एष ब्राह्मणोपदेशक्रमः। क्षत्रश्चेन्मन्त्रं ग्राहयित्वोपदिशेद् दक्षिणे कर्णे। पारानन्दसूत्र p. 5 sūtras 12–16.

1700. आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपं तच्च देहेष्ववस्थितम्। तस्याभिव्यञ्जकाः पञ्च मकाराः, तैरेवं मुक्त्या, प्राकट्याच्चिरयः। परशुरामकल्पसूत्र I. 12; वेदशास्त्रपुराणानि स्मृतिर्वेदाङ्गना तथा। इदं तु शाम्भवी विद्या गुप्ता कुलवधूरिव॥ गुप्तं कौलिकाचारमनुगृह्णन्ति देवताः। बाध्यन्ते तं प्रपद्यन्ते नाशयन्ति प्रकाशने॥ शक्तिसङ्गम, तारा० 36. 24–25.

of the guru till the former has a vision of the deity.[1701] Guru is higher than all other men, mantra is higher than guru, the deity is higher than the mantra and the highest self is higher than the *devatā*. In order to attain *siddhis* the guru is to be served by disciples with devotion in all ways. There is only one way viz. bhakti (devotion) for those (disciples) that long for worldly pleasures, heaven or mokṣa, as the Śruti says 'there is no other way'. Jīvan-mukti[1702] means 'to have a vision of the Deity worshipped' and 'one who is liberated, though living, is not tainted by his acts, whether meritorious or otherwise'. This doctrine closely follows what is said in some of the Upaniṣads about the man who has realised *brahma* that 'he shakes off *puṇya* and *pāpa* and having cast aside the body he reaches the world of *brahma*; he does not return i. e. he never again undergoes *saṁsāra*'. One should strive for that stage. Therefore one who has obtained correct knowledge should become a *bhakta* (devotee). All these, viz. one in distress, the seeker after knowledge, one who seeks some desired object and one who has obtained correct knowledge, are noble, but the man, who has knowledge about God, when he becomes a devotee, reaches the world of the Highest Self, as the Vedic words say 'one who knows brahma reaches the Highest'. With all this sublime philosophy as the background the Pārānandasūtra frankly provides that the guru, after completing the worship up to the offering of a handful of flowers and having offered into fire some food, should make a collection of *makāras*, should again come to the place for worshipping the Deity and offer food into fire, should hand over to the neophyte a bowl for drinking wine,

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1701. मन्त्रदीक्षातः प्राग्देवतासाक्षात्कारादुर्वह्मज्ञाप्यो भवति। सर्वेभ्यः परो गुरुर्गुरोः परो मन्त्रो मन्त्रात्परा देवता देवतायाः परः परमात्मेति भावयेत्। भोगस्वर्गापवर्गकांक्षिणां भक्तिरेवैकः पन्था नान्यः पन्था इति श्रुतिः। पारानन्द० pp 6–7 sūtras 35, 38, 59. The श्वेताश्वतरोप० III. 8 and VI. 15 have 'तमेव विदित्वातिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय'. This half verse also occurs in वाज. सं. 31. 18.

1702. स्वोपास्यदर्शनं जीवन्मुक्तिः जीवन्मुक्तो न कर्मभिर्लिप्यते पुण्यैः पापैर्वा। न स पुनरावर्तते। न स भूयः संसारं सम्पद्यते। तस्माच्चद्दर्शने यतितव्यम्। ज्ञानी भक्तो भवेत्। आर्तजिज्ञासुरर्थार्थिज्ञानिन उदारास्तत्रेशस्य ज्ञानी भक्त एव परमात्मलोकं प्राप्नोति ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परमिति श्रुत्यात्। पारानन्द p. 9 sūtras 3–8. The words न च पुनरावर्तते occur in छा. उप. VIII. 15 at the end and the words 'ब्रह्मविदाप्नोति परम्' are तै. उप. (ब्रह्मानन्द-वल्ली) at the very beginning. The words आर्त...ज्ञानी भक्त एव are borrowed from गीता VII. 16–17 'चतुर्विधा भजन्ते...उदाराः सर्व एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम्।'. Compare मुण्डकोप० III. 1. 3 (तदा विद्वान् पुण्यपापे विधूय निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति), छा. उप. VIII. 13, महानिर्वाणतन्त्र IV. 22 (ब्रह्मज्ञाने समुत्पन्ने मेध्यामेध्यं न विद्यते।' and VII. 94) (ब्रह्म...ज्ञे कृत्याकृत्यं न विद्यते॥).

mudrā, materials for dinner with condiments and a courtezan and should instruct the neophyte, that has accepted the three *makāras* (madya, mudrā and maithuna), as regards the kaula practices.[1703] Then the Pārānanda-sūtra devotes two pages (16–17) to the kauladharmas taught to the neophyte, from which a few striking passages may be cited. "A young[1704] courtezan is Śakti incarnate, is *brahma*; women are gods and the very life-breath and are ornaments (of the world); they should not be censured nor angered"; 'after worshipping the gods and gurus in the way laid down by the Veda and the Tantras a man does not incur sin if he drinks wine while remembering god or has sexual intercourse with a courtezan. He who partakes of wine and the rest merely for pleasing himself falls into a terrible hell. He who giving up the ordinances of śāstra acts as he pleases does not attain *siddhi* in this world, nor heaven nor the Highest goal (*mokṣa*). A worshipper should drink wine only up till his eyes do not begin to roll and up till his mind does not become unsteady; to drink beyond that stage is bestial'. The Pārānandasūtra (pp. 70–71) describes the procedure of a festival (Utsavavidhi) among Tāntrikas. The mantra is 'Īśvarātman, tava dāsoham', which may be given to even a cāṇḍāla or may be accepted from a cāṇḍāla. It is further provided that the followers of Vāma-mārga may employ the following mantras about the three makāras, that (the best among)

1703. गुरुः पुष्पाञ्जल्यन्तामर्चां विधाय हुत्वा हविः प्रतिपत्त्यगारं प्रविश्य मकारत्रयमङ्गीकृत्य पुनर्देवतागारमागत्य हुत्वा देवतां ससमस्तमण्डलामभ्यर्च्य नवशिष्यायालिपात्रं समुद्रं सव्यञ्जनभोजनसम्भारं सवेश्याकं प्रयच्छेत्।...गृहीतमकारत्रयं नव्यं शिष्यं कौलिकधर्मानुपदिशेत्। पारानन्द pp. 15–16, sūtras 56 and 63.

1704. स्वेच्छाशक्तुमती शक्तिः साक्षाद् ब्रह्म न संशयः। तस्माच्तां पूजयेद्भक्त्या वस्त्रालङ्कारभोजनैरिति॥ स्त्रियो देवाः स्त्रियः प्राणाः स्त्रिय एव हि भूषणम्। स्त्रीणां निन्दा न कर्तव्या न च ताः क्रोधयेदपि॥ इति। देवान् गुरून्समभ्यर्च्य वेदतन्त्रोक्तवर्त्मना। देवं स्मरन् पिबन् मद्यं वेश्यां गच्छन्न दोषभाक्॥ इति। सेवेदात्मसुखार्थं यो मद्यादिकमशास्त्रतः। स पतति नरकं घोरं नात्र कार्या विचारणा॥ यः शास्त्रविधि ... परां गतिम्॥ इति। यावच्च चलते दृष्टिर्यावच्च चलते मनः। तावत्पानं प्रकुर्वीत पशुपानमितःपरम्। इति। जीवन्मुक्तः पिबेदेवमन्यथा पतितो भवेत्॥ इति। पारानन्द० pp. 16–17 sūtras 64, 65, 74–76, 80–81. Extravagant praise is bestowed on women in several tantras such as in Śaktisaṅgama-tantra, Kālīkhaṇḍa 3. 142–144 and Tārākhaṇḍa 13. 43–50 and in कौलावलीनिर्णय X. 88. The half verse 'स्त्रियो...भूषणम्' occurs in शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र, ताराखण्ड 23. 10. The verse यः शास्त्र० is भगवद्गीता 16. 23. For यावच्च...परम् compare कुलार्णवतन्त्र VII. 97–98. The कुलार्णव states that every woman is born in the *kula* of the great Mother and so one should not beat a woman even with a flower even if she be guilty of a hundred misdeeds, one should not mind the faults of women and should make known only their good points (XI. 64–65). Vide also कौलावलीनिर्णय X. 66–69.

Vāmācāras should resort to. They are: 'I take this holy nectar, which is a medicine (antidote) for *saṁsāra*, which is a means of cutting off the snares by which the *paśu* (in man) is bound and which is declared by Bhairava' (this when taking the first i. e. wine); 'I take this mudrā which is 'ucchiṣṭa' of the Lord (i. e. which has been first offered to God), which destroys the torments of the heart, which produces joy and which[1705] is enriched with other food materials' (this when taking mudrā); 'I take this divine young woman who has drunk wine, that always makes the heart full of bliss and that brings about my sādhanā' (when taking one of the women that are brought together).

The Hindu Tantra works present two sides, one philosophical and spiritual, the other popular, practical and more or less magical, which relies on mantras, mudrās, maṇḍalas, *nyāsas*, *cakras* and *yantras* as physical means to realize one's identity with the Supreme Power or Energy by concentration and as conferring extraordinary powers on the devotee. This may be illustrated by reference to two typical tantras, the Śāradātilaka and the Mahānirvāṇa-tantra. The Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, though it speaks of the five makāras as means of *upāsanā* and though it states that when the great Tantra is understood, the Vedas, Purāṇas and śāstras are hardly[1706] of any use, puts forward the striking conception in IV. 34–47 that Parameśvara is one and to be described as *sat*, *cit* and *ānanda*, that He is one without a second, is beyond the *guṇas* and is to be known from the Vedānta texts. It further on says that the best mantra is 'om saccidekam brahma' (III. 14), that those who perform the upāsanā of the Highest Brahma do not require other means of worship (sādhanā); by sticking to this mantra man becomes *brahma*. In the 4th chap. however, the Mahāparinirvāṇa starts by saying that Durgā is the highest prakṛti of Paramātmā, she has various names such as Kālī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bagalā, Bhairavī, Chhinnamastakā, that she is Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Śakti, that she assumes various forms for securing the purpose of her devotees and for the destruction of demons. In the Kaliyuga perfection cannot be attained without following *kula* practices, which lead

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1705. Mudrā has not here the sense of 'hand and finger poses' but one of the meanings that will be noted under mudrā later.

1706. किं वेदैः किं पुराणैश्च किं शास्त्रैश्चागमैः शिवे। विज्ञातेऽस्मिन्महातन्त्रे सर्वसिद्धीश्वरो भवेत्॥ महानिर्वाण II. 31.

to the knowledge of brahma and the man who possesses knowledge of brahma is a liberated soul, though living (he is *Jīvanmukta*). Then there is high praise (IV. 10 ff) of Devī who is spoken of as the primordial Śakti (ādyā paramā śakti) and all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from this Highest Śakti. A rather astounding statement is made in[1707] the words 'as there was partaking of wine and the rest in Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara yugas, one should do the same in Kali-yuga, but in accordance with the *kula* way, and that Kali does not affect those who give to the truthful Yogin the five tattvas (wine &c.) sanctified according to the kula way'. Then a mantra of ten syllables is declared 'hrīm śrīm krīm parameśvari[1708] svāhā', by merely listening to which a man becomes *jīvanmukta*. Then by various combinations of the mystic syllables with Parameśvarī and Kālikā twelve mantras are produced (V. 18). But the mantras do not confer siddhi unless the kulācāra way is followed viz. the five tattvas 'madya' &c. are offered (V. 22-23). Then a Gāyatrī mantra is set out (V. 62-63) as 'adyāyai vidmahe Parameśvaryai dhīmahi | tan-naḥ Kālī pracodayāt ||', which is to be muttered thrice daily. The Sāṅkhya tattvas, Prakṛti, Mahat, Ahaṅkāra &c. are welded on to the worship of Śakti and the Vedic mantra 'Haṁsaḥ śuciṣad' (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5) with the Tāntrik *bīja* Hrīm (V. 197). The Tantra gives directions for the sanctification of flesh (V. 203-208, where Ṛg. I. 22. 20 'tadviṣṇoḥ paramam padam' is employed), of fish (V. 209-210) where the mantra 'Tryambakam' (Ṛg. VIII. 59. 12) is employed, of mudrā (V. 211-212 where the mantras 'Tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam' and 'tad-viprāso' Ṛg. I. 22. 20-21, are employed) to be offered to Devī. The Mahānirvāṇatantra

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1707. सत्यत्रेताद्वापरेषु यथा मद्यादिसेवनम्। कलावपि तथा कुर्यात् कुलवर्त्माश्रुसारतः॥ ...कुलमार्गेण तत्त्वानि शोधितानि च योगिने। ये दद्युः सत्यवचसे न हि तान् बाधते कलिः। महानिर्वाण० IV. 56 and 60. It may be stated here that in the two editions of the महानिर्वाण there is a difference of a few verses here and there.

1708. In the तन्त्र works the letters of the bījas in mantras are often indicated in a roundabout or mystic way. One example about the माया-बीज ह्रीं may be set out here. प्राणेशस्तैजसारूढो भेरुण्डा व्योमबिन्दुमान् (महानिर्वाण V. 10); here ह is प्राणेश, र is तैजस, ई is भेरुण्डा, व्योमबिन्दु is अनुस्वार and this gives the bīja ह्रीम्; क्लीं and क्रीं are described in नित्याषोडशिका० (I. 162-64) in a similar way. ह्रीं and श्रीं are respectively the बीजs of माया (or भुवनेश्वरी) and of लक्ष्मी. Vide मातृकानिघण्टु (Tāntrik Texts Vol. I. 5-22, pp 26-34 for बीजनिघण्टु, pp 35-45 for मातृकानिघण्टु i. e. for ओम् and letters of the alphabet from अ to क्ष). Every bīja mantra must have the *bindu* on it, as in Hrīm, Śrīm, Krīm &c. 'बिन्दुयोगं विना बीजत्वायोगात्' (सेतुबन्ध p 50 on नित्याषोडशिकार्णव).

(18th century) being composed after Śāktism had come into great ridicule and obloquy is rather sober.[1709] It says that women of good birth should simply smell wine and not drink it, while householder *sādhakas* should drink only as much as is contained in five cups, since by drinking too much men of good family incur the loss of *siddhi*, and should drink only so long as the wine quaffed does not make their eyes roll or does not make their mind confused. As to the last tattva (maithuna) the sādhaka was to confine himself to the woman he chooses as his Śakti (VI. 14) and if his wife is alive he is not to touch another woman with a vicious intent, otherwise he would go to hell.[1710] In keeping with its desire to present respectability along with tāntrik practices, the Mahānirvāṇa devotes chapter VIII. to the duties of *varṇas* and āśramas, the duties of the king, the duties of servants in general, provides[1711] that persons of all varṇas are to marry within the varṇa and dine with persons of the same varṇa, except when engaged in Bhairavī cakra and Tattva-cakra (VIII. 150), when men of all varṇas are like the best brāhmaṇas, and no consideration of the castes of the participants arises nor any question about *ucchiṣṭa*. It prescribes that no one has the adhikāra to engage in the performance of Tattvacakra unless he is a *sādhaka* endowed with knowledge of *brahma*. In that *cakra* the tattvas (wine and the others) should be collected and placed in front of the Devī, the mantra 'Hamsaḥ' (Rg. IV. 40. 5) should be recited over all tattvas and the tattvas should be offered to the Highest Self with the verse 'Brahmārpaṇam brahma havir' (Bhagvadgītā IV. 24 = Mahānirvāṇa VIII. 214)

1709. अलिपानं कुलस्त्रीणां गन्धस्वीकारलक्षणम्। साधकानां गृहस्थानां पञ्चपात्रं प्रकीर्तितम्॥ अतिपानात्कुलीनानां सिद्धिहानिः प्रजायते। यावच्च चालयेद्दृष्टिं यावच्च चालयेन्मनः। तावत्पानं प्रकुर्वीत पशुपानमतःपरम्॥ महानिर्वाण० VI. 194. The cup should be of gold or silver or of glass or of cocoanut shell but should not be more than five *tolakas* in capacity and not less than three 'पानपात्रं प्रकुर्वीत न पञ्चतोलकाधिकम्। तोलकत्रितयाक्यूनं स्वार्णं राजतमेव च। अथवा काचजनितं नारिकेलोद्भवं च वा। महानिर्वाण VI. 187–188. For similar provisions about पानपात्र, compare कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII. 55–56.

1710. स्थितेषु स्वीयदारेषु स्त्रियमन्यां न संस्पृशेत्। दुष्टेन चेतसा विद्वानन्यथा नारकी भवेत्॥ महानिर्वाण० VIII. 40.

1711. संप्राप्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजोत्तमाः। निवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक्॥ नामजातिविचारोस्ति नोच्छिष्टादिविवेचनम्। चक्रमध्ये गता वीरा मम रूपा नराकृतयः॥ चक्राद्विनिसृताः सर्वे स्वस्ववर्णाश्रमोदितान्। लोकयात्राप्रसिद्ध्यर्थं कुर्युः कर्म पृथक् पृथक्॥ महानिर्वाण० VIII. 179–180, 197. The verse प्रवृत्ते भैरवीचक्रे...पृथक् occurs also in कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII. 48–49. भैरवीचक्र and तत्त्वचक्र are described in महानिर्वाण० VIII. 154–176 and VIII. 204–219 respectively.

and all the sādhakas should engage in drinking and eating.[1712] Chap. IX enumerates and describes ten *saṃskāras* from garbhādhāna to marriage for members of the three varṇas and nine for śūdras (omitting *upanayana*), wherein Vedic mantras are prescribed as in the Dharmasūtras and smṛtis. One interesting item is what is called Śaiva marriage, which is of two kinds, one entered into according to the rules of *cakra* and the other lasting for life. It is further provided that in Śaiva marriage[1713] no question of *varṇa* or age arises and that if a man has children from a wife married in the *brāhma* form and also children of a Śaiva marriage, it is only the former that take as heirs and the latter are entitled only to food and raiment (IX. 261-264). Chapters X, XI, XII of the Mahānirvāṇa deal respectively with *śrāddhas*, *prāyaścittas* for sins and *vyavahāra*.

It is necessary now to turn to the Śāradātilaka which belongs to about the 11th century A. D. That work is divided into 25 *paṭalas* and contains over 4500 verses. It presents in the beginning a somewhat abstruse and involved philosophy. It says that Śiva is both *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*, the former being different from Prakṛti, the latter being associated with Prakṛti. Then it describes the order of evolution and manifestation as follows :— From the Saguṇa Parameśvara described as "Sac-cidānanda-vibhava' Śakti[1714] proceeds; from the latter arises *nāda* (para) and from nāda arises *bindu* (para) which is divided into three viz. bindu (apara), nāda (apara) and *bīja*; the first is indentified with Śiva, bīja being Śakti and *nāda* being the coming together of the two (Śiva and Śakti). Śakti creates the worlds, she is *śabda-bhahma* (I. 56) and is called parāśakti (I. 52) and para-devatā (I. 57). She flashes like lightning in the ādhāra-cakra.[1715]

1712. ततो ब्राह्मेण मनुना समर्प्य परमात्मने। ब्रह्मज्ञैः साधकैः सार्धं विदध्यात्पान-भोजनम्॥ महानिर्वाण० VIII. 216. मनु is often used in the sense of मन्त्र; vide कुलार्णव XII. 18, बृहद्धारीतस्मृति VI. 161, 163. मन्त्र and मनु are both derived from the same root '*man*' to think. The ब्राह्म-मनु is ओं सच्चिदेकं ब्रह्म.

1713. वयोवर्णविचारोत्र शैवोद्वाहे न विद्यते। ibid, IX. 279.

1714. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the very learned commentator of the Śāradātilaka, who composed his commentary in Banaras in Vikrama year 1550 (1494 A. D.) explains that in the Sāṅkhya system Śakti is called Prakṛti, in Vedānta Māyā and in Śivatantras Śakti.

1715. Vide षट्चक्रनिरूपण (Tāntrik Texts, vol. II. ed. by Arthur Avalon) verses 4-49, Dakṣiṇā-mūrtisaṃhitā VII. 11-16 for cakras and "Serpent Power" (by A. Avalon, ed. of 1953) which contains an English translation

(*Continued on next page*)

Śakti assumes the form of Kuṇḍalinī in the human body. From Śambhu in the form of *bindu* arise in order Sadāśiva, Īśa. Rudra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā; from the avyakta *bindu* arise in order the mahat-tattva, ahaṅkāra and the other tattvas mentioned in the Sāṅkhya system. Śakti is all-pervading and yet more subtle than the subtlest, she is the Kuṇḍalinī coiled like a serpent and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the Sanskrit alphabet (from 'a' to 'kṣa').

Before proceeding further some explanation of the six *cakras* which form an important constituent subject of several tantras is needed. There are said to be six cakras (centres) in the human body viz. Ādhāra or Mūlādhāra (at the base of the spine), Svādhiṣṭhāna (near the generative organ), Maṇipūra (near the navel), Anāhata (near the heart), Viśuddha (near throat), and Ājñā (between the brows). Besides these, there is Brahmarandhra figured as the pericarp of the thousand-petalled lotus

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(*Continued from last page*)

of षट्चक्रनिरूपण in which plate I shows the positions of the six cakras also called lotuses (*padma*), plates II to VII facing pp. 356, 365, 370, 382, 392, 414 illustrate the six chakras from Mūlādhāra to Ājñā together with their colours, numbers of petals, letters, the devatās in each and other details. These are drawings used by the Yogis. Plate VIII facing p. 430 illustrates '*sahasrāra*'. Vide C. W. Leadbeater's work on 'the chakras' (Adyar, 1927), in which the author claims that the illustrations of the cakras represent them as they actually appear to those who can see them and on p. 56 he furnishes a table of the colours of the lotus petals as observed by Leadbeater and his friends, and as described in षट्चक्रनिरूपण, शिवसंहिता and गरुडपुराण. The Rudrayāmala (17th Paṭala, verse 10) speaks of Kuṇḍalī as 'Atharvavedacakrasthā Kuṇḍalī paradevatā', verses 21-24 speak of Kuṇḍalinī passing from Mūlādhāra-cakra and reaching the crown of the head that has the thousand-petalled lotus, that when united with Śiva he (sādhaka) drinks nectar there. Rudrayāmala (27. 58–70) dilates on the six cakras and the Sahasrāra together with the *dalas* (petals) and letters assigned to each. A stern warning has to be given that none should try to experiment about the cakras by reading books or try to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī except under the guidance of a real Master in Yoga, as otherwise very dangerous consequences would follow. Even as regards wrong methods of Prāṇāyāma and Dhāraṇā, the Vāynpurāṇa (chap. XI. 37–60) states that Yoga practices by ignorant men result in dullness of intelligence, deafness, dumbness, blindness, loss of memory, premature old age and disease and it specifies certain remedies to cure these defects. The present author knew a person who practised prāṇāyāma continuously for long periods becoming stone deaf, though otherwise he was strong and muscular, and an expert in ear diseases declared on examination that there was no possibility of his recovery by the methods of modern medical science.

within the crown of the head. The cakras are often indentified with the nerve plexuses of modern physiology, but the descriptions in Sanskrit works of the Kuṇḍalinī and the cakras are meant to refer not to the gross body but rather to what is situated in the subtle body that vanishes when a man dies. The idea of the relevant Sanskrit texts is that the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti ('Kuṇḍalin' means a serpent) is asleep in the Mūlādhāra-cakra coiled like a serpent and has to be roused by the practices of Yoga and deep meditation.[1716] The Śāradātilaka asks in an eloquent stanza the sādhaka to meditate upon the Kuṇḍalinī which when roused passes from the Mūlādhāra-cakra by means of the Suṣumnā-nāḍī (which is in the centre of the spinal column) through all the six cakras, unites with Śiva in the Sahasrāra (thousand-petalled) cakra and then returns to Mūlādhāra. Each of the six cakras is said to have a certain number of petals viz. 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 2 (50 in all) in order from Mūlādhāra to Ājñā (vide Rudrayāmala, 17th Paṭala, verses 55-56). The letters of the alphabet also are 50 (from 'a' to 'kṣa') and they are assigned in groups to the six cakras as follows: ha and kṣa to Ājñā, 16 vowels to Viśuddha in the throat, letters ka to ṭha (12 in all) to Anāhata, letters Ḍa to Pha (10) to Maṇipūra, ba to la (6 in all) to Svādhiṣṭhāna, letters va to sa (4) to Mūlādhāra. Some tantras state the colour of each of the six cakras and identify them with the five elements and the mind. These speculations of the Yoga and Tantras are

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1716. देवीभागवत XI. 1. 43 is: आधारे लिङ्गनाभिप्रकटितहृदये तालुमूले ललाटे द्वे पत्रे षोडशारे द्विदशदशदलद्वादशार्धे चतुष्के। नासान्ते बालमध्ये डफकठसहिते कण्ठदेशे स्वराणां हं क्षं तत्त्वार्थयुक्तं सकलदलगतं वर्णरूपं नमामि॥; that nectar flows over कुण्डलिनी when it reaches सहस्रार is stated in verse 47 of the same 'प्रकाशमानां प्रथमे प्रयाणे प्रतिप्रयाणेप्यमृतायमानाम्। अन्तः पदभ्यामनुसञ्चरन्तीमानन्दरूपामबलां प्रपद्ये॥; मूलोल्लिसद्भुजङ्गराजमहिषीं यान्तीं सुषुम्नान्तरं भित्त्वाधारसमूहमाशु विलसत्सौदामिनी-सन्निभाम्॥ व्योमाम्भोजगतेन्दुमण्डलगलद्दिव्यामृतौघप्लुतां सम्भाव्य स्वगृहं गतां पुनरिमां सञ्चिन्तयेत्कुण्डलीम्॥ शारदा० 25 65; vide *ibid*. 25. 78 for the वर्णs assigned to the six चक्रs. मूल and स्वगृह in (verse 65) mean the मूलाधारचक्र and भुजङ्गराजमहिषी means कुण्डलिनी. Vide षट्चक्रनिरूपण verse 53 also, for the stream of nectar flowing over कुण्डलिनी in सहस्रारपद्म. Vide मन्त्रमहोदधि IV. 19-25, ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र (24. 45-54), महानिर्वाणतन्त्र V. 113-115, for the number of petals in cakras, their colours, the letters assigned to each and their identification with the five elements and mind and सौन्दर्यलहरी verse 9 'महीं मूलाधारे...सहस्रारे पद्मे सह रहसि पत्या विहरसे॥' for identifying the five elements and the mind with the six cakras. In 'Sarasvatībhavana Studies' Vol. II. pp. 83-92 Pandit Gopinath Kavirāja describes the system of *cakras* according to Gorakṣanātha. The रुद्रयामल (36. 6-168) sets out 1008 names of कुण्डलिनी, all of which begin with the letter क.

developments of the ancient Upaniṣad theories briefly noticed below.[1717]

Letters form words and words form mantras, that are the power incarnate of Śakti. Then the Śāradātilaka describes āsana, maṇḍapa, kuṇḍa, maṇḍala, pīṭhas (on which images of gods are to be placed), dīkṣā (initiation), prāṇapratiṣṭhā (vivifying images), production of sacrificial fire. The Śāradātilaka (I. 109 and V. 81–91), the Varivasyārahasya (II. 80), the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra (I. 4, 'Ṣaṭ-triṁśat tattvāni viśvam') and other Tāntrik and Āgamic works enumerate 36 tattvas (including those of the sāṅkhya system). From chap. VII. to XXIII mantras of different deities, their formation, use and results, abhiṣekas and mudrās are described. Yantras are dealt with in chap. XXIV and Yoga in chap. XXV. It must be said to the credit of the Śāradātilaka that it treats of only mantras and mudrās and hardly anywhere treats of the other makāras. The Śāradātilaka has been profusely quoted as an authoritative Tantra by medieval Dharmaśāstra writers like Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Kamalākara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Mitramiśra and orthers. In J. G. J. R. I. vol. III. pp. 97–108 M. M. Gopinath Kavirāja contributes a learned paper on nāda, bindu and kalā and takes great pains to elucidate these and hopes that his exposition will make the meaning of these words clear (p. 103). But the author feels grave doubts whether most readers will find the meanings clear.

Many tantras speak of the five makāras as the means of worshipping Devī, as enabling a man to possess miraculous

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1717. From the times of the Upaniṣads the heart is likened to a lotu and it is said "There are hundred and one Nāḍis (arteries or veins) of the heart; *one of them penetrates the crown of the head; moving upwards by it* a man (who is emancipated) reaches immortality." Vide 'अथ यदिदमस्मिन् ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तराकाशस्तस्मिन्यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति। छा. उप. VIII. 1. 1.; तदेष श्लोकः। शतं चैका हृदयस्य नाड्यस्तासां मूर्धानमभिनिःसृतैका। तयोर्ध्वमायन्नमृतत्वमेति विष्वङ्ङन्या उत्क्रमणे भवन्ति। छा. उप. VIII. 6. 6. The same verse (शतं चैका) is कठोप. VI. 16 and compare प्रश्नोप. III. 6 for a similar statement; compare वे. सू. III. 2 7 'तदभावो नाडीषु तच्छ्रुतेरात्मनि च' and IV. 2.17; in the भाष्य on IV. 2. 17 शङ्कराचार्य quotes the verse 'शतं चैका' &c. The मिता. on या. III. 108–109 *refers to* इडा, पिङ्गला, सुषुम्ना and ब्रह्मरन्ध्र and the रुद्रयामल (VI. 49) speaks of ten nāḍīs of which the three Iḍā &c. represent Soma, Sūrya and Agni. मैत्रुपनिषद् VI. 21 is: अथान्यत्राप्युक्तम्। ऊर्ध्वगा नाडी सुषुम्नाख्या प्राणसञ्चारिणी तालवन्तर्विनिःसृता। The word is written sometimes as सुषुम्णा. The बृह. उप. II. 1. 19 speaks of 72000 nāḍīs that start towards Purītat from the heart and या, III. 108 also says the same.

powers and as leading to final liberation. The Kulārṇava states 'the great Bhairava has prescribed that in the Kaula system Siddhi (perfection) results from those very substances by (resorting to) which (ordinarily) men incur sin'. That means that the Kaula system eradicates poison by poison or, to employ modern terminology, its principles are like those of Homeopathy.[1718]

The Tantras seem to be not unaware that in prescribing the five *makāras* as leading to mukti (final liberation) they were playing with fire. The Kulārṇava itself remarks (II. 117–119 and 122) 'If by merely drinking wine a man were to attain siddhi (miraculous powers, perfection), then all wretched drunkards may attain siddhi. If, by merely eating meat a holy goal were to be secured then all meat-eaters in the world would be holy men. If by mere intercourse with a woman (called *śakti*) mokṣa was to result, then all men in the world may attain liberation. To follow the path (of Kula) is indeed more unattainable than walking on the edge of a sword, than clinging to a tiger's neck, than holding a serpent (in one's hand)'. The Kulārṇava prefaces the preceding dicta by the words 'Many, who are devoid of traditional knowledge and who profane (the śāstra) by false ideas, imagine that the Kaulika doctrine is this and that, relying on their (poor) intellect' (II. 116).

The Devībhāgavata provides (XI. 1. 25) that so much of tantra as is not opposed to the Veda is undoubtedly authoritative (vedāvirodhi cet tantram tat pramāṇam na saṁśayaḥ), but what is opposed to Veda is not authoritative.

There appears to have been great rivalry between the Hindu and Buddhist tantras. The Śaktisaṅgama-tantra, one of the most popular and most exhaustive works on tantra, states that Devī manifests herself for the destruction of Bauddha and other heretical sects, for the removal of the confusing admixture of

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1718. यैरेव पतनं द्रव्यैः सिद्धिस्तैरेव चोदिता। श्रीकौलदर्शने चापि भैरवेण महात्मना। कुलार्णव V. 48; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि (Buddhist tantra) I. 15 'कर्मणा येन वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिशतान्यपि। पच्यन्ते नरके घोरे तेन योगी विमुच्यते॥' and compare प्रज्ञोपाय० (Buddhist) V. p. 23 verses 24–25 'जनयित्रीं स्वसारं च स्वसुतां भागिनेयिकाम्। कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधकः॥' (both works in 'Two vajrayāna texts,' G. O. S.). Bagchi in 'Studies in tantras' (pp 36–37) shows that according to some Tāntrik works the words जनयित्री, स्वसृ, भागिनेयी have esoteric meanings and not the ordinary meanings. But in the context in which they are employed in the two vajrayāna texts, it is rather difficult to hold that they are employed in any esoteric or symbolic sense.

different cults, for the establishment of the (true) cult, for the protection of what the brāhmaṇas stand for and for the perfect attainment of mantra-śāstra.[1719] The Bauddha tantras, on the other hand, were not slow to retaliate.

It would not be entirely out of place if a few words were devoted to the Bauddha Tantras, particularly of the Vajrayāna. It has already been shown above (pp. 943–44 note 1516) that all Buddhists, whether of the *hīnayāna* or *mahāyāna* type, were required to observe strict rules and regulations such as those of *pañcaśīlas* and of taking refuge with Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and of daśaśīlas (for monks). The goal of nirvāṇa (particularly under Mahāyāna doctrines) could be reached only after a very long time or after several births. As luxuries viz. flesh, fish, wine and women had been banned, the general mass of the people and probably monks also were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal. Buddhist Tantras like the Guhyasamāja (that belongs to the Vajrayāna school) provided an easy process by which liberation and even Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and even in[1720] one life and averred that Bodhisattvas and Buddhas attained the seat of *dharma* by enjoying all objects of pleasure as they[1721] pleased. The word Vajra means both 'diamond' and 'thunderbolt'. The first meaning appears to have been principally meant in the Guhyasamāja but the 2nd meaning also must have been sometimes intended. Vajra denotes anything which is hard like a diamond. In the Guhyasamājatantra the word Vajra, either singly or in compounds, occurs hundreds of times. Kāya (body), Vāk (speech) and citta (mind) are called 'trivajra' (Guhya, pp. 31, 35, 36, 43). Numerous other things[1722] are called 'vajra',

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1719. आविर्भवति देवेशि दिव्यौघद्वारतः शिवे। बौद्धपाषण्डनाशार्थं संप्रदायार्थमेव च। संप्रदायसङ्घानां विनाशार्थमिहेश्वरि। संप्रदायस्थापनार्थं ब्राह्मण्यरक्षणाय च। मन्त्रशास्त्रस्य सिद्ध्यर्थमाविर्भवति पार्वति। शक्तिसङ्गम०, कालीखण्ड I. 17–19.

1720. तदिदैव जन्मनि गुह्यसमाजाभिरतो बोधिसत्त्वः सर्वतथागतानां बुद्ध इति संख्यां गच्छति। गुह्यस० p. 144; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 ये तु सत्त्वाः समारब्धाः सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जिताः। ते स्पृशन्ति परां बोधिं जन्मनीहैव साधकाः॥ and also प्रज्ञोपाय० V. 16.

1721. सर्वकामोपभोगैश्च सेव्यमानैर्यथेच्छतः। अनेन खलु योगेन लघु बुद्धत्वमाप्नुयात्॥ दुष्करैर्नियमैस्तीव्रैः सेव्यमानो न सिध्यति॥...बुद्धाश्च बोधिसत्त्वाश्च मन्त्रचर्याप्रचारिणः। माता धर्मासनं श्रेष्ठं सर्वकामोपसेवनैः॥ गुह्यस. 7th पटल p. 27.

1722. Vide Winternitz's 'History of Indian Literature' (English tr.) vol. I. p 388 for the application of the word 'vajra' to many things. It may

(*Continued on next page*)

such as the *śūnya* (the Absolute of the Mādhyamaka school) and also Vijñāna (consciousness), which is the sole reality according to the Yogācāra school, and the Mahāsukha (Bliss) added by the Śāktas. It also means the male organ in the mystic language of Śāktas. Though the original Buddhist rules insisted on ahiṁsā, Guhyasamāja permitted several kinds of flesh, such as that of elephants, horses, dogs and even human[1723] flesh. Early Buddhism insisted upon truthfulness and continence (brahmacarya); vajrayāna, being an innovating revolt, allowed the killing of all animals, speaking untruth, intercourse with women (including even incest with the mother, sister[1724] and daughter) and appropriating wealth not donated by any one. This was called vajramārga (the path of vajra), which is said to have been the doctrine of all Buddhas.

The Prajñopāya (I. 20) describes the state reached by the Vajrayāna method as follows. 'It is neither duality nor non-duality, it is full of peace, beneficent, present everywhere, to be realised by one's own self, steady (unchanging), undisturbed and full of Prajñā (wisdom) and Upāya (activity with compas-

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be noted that the Jñānasiddhi II. 11 (Buddhist work) states 'क्षीन्द्रियं च यथा पद्मं वज्रं पुंसेन्द्रियं तथा॥'. शून्यता is called वज्र because it is वज्रं सारमसौ(सें?) क्षीर्यमच्छेद्याभेद्यलक्षणम्। अद्वाहि अविनाशि च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते॥ अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह (G. O. S. pp. 23, 37). This is somewhat like the doctrine of Brahma and Ātman in the Bhagavadgītā II. 23–25 (नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि &c.). ज्ञानसिद्धि p. 76 explains: सर्वसत्त्वेषु महाकरुणाप्रमाणानुगतं बोधिचित्तं वज्र इत्यर्थः ' i.e. वज्र and बोधिचित्त (Enlightenment) are synonymous. न द्वयं नाद्वयं शान्तं शिवं सर्वत्र संस्थितम्। प्रत्यात्मवेद्यमचलं प्रज्ञोपायमनाकुलम्॥ प्रज्ञोपाय० I. 20; प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्तिकांक्षिभिः।...ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्वत्रैव व्यवस्थिता। अतोऽयं वज्रनाथेन प्रोक्ता बाह्यार्थसम्भवा॥ प्रज्ञोपाय० V. 22–23.

1723. मांसाहारादिकृत्यार्थं महामांसं प्रकल्पयेत्।...हस्तिमांसं हयमांसं श्वानमांसं तथोत्तमम्। भक्षेदाहारकृत्यार्थं न चान्यत्तु विभक्षयेत्। प्रियो भवति बुद्धानां बोधिसत्त्वश्च धीमताम्। अनेन खलु योगेन लघु बुद्धत्वमाप्नुयात्। गुह्यसमाज० 6th पटल p. 26; vide ज्ञानसिद्धि of इन्द्रभूति I. 12–14 for similar verses, प्राणिनश्च त्वया घात्या वक्तव्यं च मृषा वचः। अदत्तं च त्वया ग्राह्यं सेवनं योषितामपि॥.

1924. अनेन वज्रमार्गेण वज्रसत्त्वान् प्रचोदयेत्। एषो हि सर्वबुद्धानां समयः परमशाश्वतः॥ गुह्यस०, 16th पटल p 120; ये परद्रव्याभिरता नित्यं कामरताश्च ये।...मातृभगिनीदुहितृश्च कामयेद्यस्तु साधकः। स सिद्धिं विपुलां गच्छेत् महायानाग्र्यधर्मताम्। गुह्यस. 5th पटल p. 20; 'सर्वाङ्गकुत्सितायां वा न कुर्यादवमाननाम्। स्त्रियं सर्वकुलोत्पन्नां पूजयेद् वज्रधारिणीम्॥ चण्डालकुलसम्भूतां डोम्बिकां वा विशेषतः। जुगुप्सितकुलोत्पन्नां सेवयन् सिद्धिमाप्नुयात्। ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 80 and 82. Vide Dr. Guenther's exposition of this passage and of a similar one from Prajñopāya. V. 25 in 'Yuganaddha' pp. 106–109. Vide Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in 'Introduction to tāntrik Buddhism' p. 114.

sion) and it further provides (V. 22-23) that 'by those who hanker after liberation perfection of wisdom must be sought (resorted to or adored) in all ways. This perfection of wisdom is everywhere present assuming the form of woman'. Prajñā was linked up with an intense state of emotion called Sukha or Mahāsukha (great bliss). "It being of the nature of endless bliss is designated mahāsukha; it is beneficent all round, most eminent and conduces to complete enlightenment' (Prajñopāya. I. 27) and 'this all Buddha knowledge which is by its nature to be experienced by one's inmost self is called Mahāsukha (great bliss) since it is the most eminent of all pleasures' (Jñānasiddhi VII. 3). The word Prajñā is feminine in gender and therefore some Vajrayāna writers identified Prajñā with woman; by erotic symbolism and far-fetched analogies the cult of woman was started.

Dr. H. V. Guenther has published a book styled 'Yuganaddha' propounding the Tāntrik view of life based only on Buddhist Tantras and endeavours to prove in that work (of about 190 pages) that the Buddhist Tāntrikas try to restore life in its entirety, which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection and escape, but a complete reconciliation to the hard facts of life, that the sexual aspect of the Tantras is but the corrective against the one-sided intellectualism and rationalism of mere philosophy which is unable to cope with the problems of everyday life and that the symbol of Yuganaddha points to the unique harmony and interpenetration of masculinity and feminity, of blunt truth and symbolic truth, of intellect and humanity. It is not possible even to summarize this work or criticize it here. The core of the doctrine of the Vajrayāna tantras is found in the passages quoted in notes 1720-21, 1723-24. The argument is: according to these Tantras perception of wholeness is the most joyous of all human experiences and man's experience will not be full but only partial if he has no experience of feminity i. e. of everything female. He may experience feminity through all female members of his family. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, says Dr. Guenther, that 'this experience so often has an incestuous character'. Then he offers (on pp. 106-112) a lengthy explanation of what he means which, the present author has to confess, is not quite clear to his moderate mental abilities. Dr. Guenther appears to be steeped in all the latest theories of modern psychologists like those of Freud and tries to expound that Buddhist authors of the 8th century A. D. like Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti had plumbed the depths of the

psychical life on the lines of modern psycho-analysis. Granting for a moment all that Dr. Guenther says about bi-sexuality, about sexual partnership being the best expression for the most intimate relation between two opposites, about woman being for the male a material object and a goddess, the present writer feels that one question appears to have been not satisfactorily answered or explained, viz. why did not the Buddhist Tāntrikas simply exhort the sādhaka to understand the emotions, view-points and value of woman as a mother, sister, wife, daughter or as a woman in general and why did they frequently and blatantly harp upon sexual intercourse of even an incestuous kind as a quick method of realizing the goal?

The Guhyasamāja-tantra puts forward a quick and short method for realising Buddhahood and for the attainment of miraculous powers (siddhis) through the processes of Yoga. The siddhis are said to be of two kinds, Sāmānya (ordinary,[1725] such as becoming invisible) and Uttama (highest i. e. attaining Buddhahood). Four means for securing ordinary *siddhis* are mentioned and they are called *Vajra-catuṣka*. It is further provided that the best *siddhi* is acquired by the nectar of knowledge due to the six aṅgas[1726] of Yoga (and by no other way) viz. Pratyāhāra, Dhyāna, Prāṇāyāma, Dhāraṇā, Anusmṛti and Samādhi. It is worthy of note that the first three aṅgas of yoga mentioned in the Yogasūtra viz. *yama, niyama*[1727] and *āsana* are omitted and a new one, Anusmṛti, is added. Yama could not be included because to the Guhyasamāja it did not matter if the sādhaka ate flesh, or indulged in sexual intercourse or told lies, while in Yogasūtra *yamas* are *ahiṁsā, satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (not appropriating anything that does not belong to one), *brahmacarya* (sexual purity) and *aparigraha* (non-acceptance of gifts). Niyamas could not be included because among the five

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1725. अन्तर्धानादयः सिद्धाः (? सिद्धयः) सामान्या इति कीर्तिताः। सिद्धिरुत्तम-मित्याहुर्बुद्धत्वा बुद्धत्वसाधनम्॥ चतुर्विधमुपायं तु बोधिवज्रेण वर्णितम्।...सेवाविधानं प्रथमं द्वितीयमुपसाधनम्। साधनं तु तृतीयं वै महासाधनं चतुर्थकम्॥ सामान्योत्तमभेदेन सेवा तु द्विविधा भवेत्। वज्रं चतुष्केण सामान्यमुत्तमं ज्ञानामृतेन च॥ गुह्यसमाज. 18th पटल p. 162.

1726. उत्तमे ज्ञानामृते चैव कार्यं योगषडङ्गतः। सेवा षडङ्गयोगेन कृत्वा साधनमुत्तमम्। साधयेदन्यथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा। प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा। अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडङ्गो योग उच्यते। गुह्यसमाज pp. 163. All these six are defined on pp. 163–164. अनुस्मृति is defined as 'स्थिरं तु वज्रमार्गेण स्फारयीत स्वधातुषु। विभाव्य षडनुस्मृत्या तदाकारं तु संस्मरेत्। अनुस्मृतिरिति ज्ञेया मतिमासोऽत्र जायते॥' गुह्यस० p. 164

1727. For यम and नियम vide note 1525 above and the eight aṅgas of योग are: यम-नियम-आसन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि। योगसूत्र II. 29

niyamas are svādhyāya (Veda study) and (Īśvarapraṇidhāna) devotion to or surrender to God. Many Bauddhas reviled the Veda and acknowledged no Supreme Deity. The Guhyasamāja introduced Yogic practices for quickly securing Buddhahood. The idea of allowing flesh and sexual intercourse seems to have been that the Yogin is to be indifferent as to what he does so long as he is striving for the goal of Buddhahood, for development of his psychic life and that he may disregard all social conventions and rules.[1728] Another innovation of the Vajrayāna was the introduction of *upāsanā* of Śakti for liberation through Yoga. The Guhya-samāja provides that if even after making efforts for six months, the sādhaka has no realisation, he may repeat his efforts for three times more and if even after that he has no enlightenment he should resort to Haṭhayoga and then he would attain correct knowledge through Yoga. A further innovation was the theory of the five Dhyāni-buddhas,[1729] emanating from the Bhagavān, who represent the five Skandhas or fundamental principles of which the whole creation is composed and each of whom was associated with a female Śakti. The teaching of the Guhyasamāja is that if psychical power and miraculous siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yogic exercises to achieve their ends. Thus the prophecy of the founder of Buddhism pronounced, when yielding to the pressure and entreaties of his favourite disciple Ānanda for allowing women to be members of the *saṅgha* and to be nuns, that on account of this innovation his system would stand fast only for five hundred years, though otherwise it would have lasted for a thousand years, was literally fulfilled (vide Cullavagga

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1728. भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविनिर्मुक्तः पेयापेयविवर्जितः। गम्यागम्यविनिर्मुक्तो भवेद्योगी समाहितः॥ ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 18; गम्यागम्यादिसङ्कल्पं नात्र कुर्यात् कदाचन। मायोपमादियोगेन मोक्तव्यं सर्वमेव हि॥ वज्रोपाय० p. 23 v. 29.

1729. Vide Dr. Bhattacharya's Introduction to Guhyasamāja-tantra p. XIX and his Intro. to B. E. pp. 32–33, 70, 80–81, 121, 128–130 for the theory of Dhyāni-buddhas, their śaktis, kulas, the meaning of kula &c. On p. 32 of B. E. Dr. Bhattacharya observes 'we have already mentioned that Buddhism was a challenge to and repudiation of earlier Brāhmanism. It was now the part of Tāntrik Buddhism to challenge the authority of Buddha and repudiate the original Buddhism. All kinds of worldly enjoyments were forbidden (by Buddha), especially wine, women, fish, meat and exciting food. All these the Tāntrikas of the later age introduced into their religion and even went so far as to declare that without these emancipation was impossible'.

X. 1. 6 in Vinaya Texts, vol. III. S. B. E. XX. p. 325). If we accept 483 B. C. as the date of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa (as many scholars hold) or 477 B. C. (as A. Foucher holds) 500 years therefrom would bring us to the first century A. D. and it is clear that by a century or two after that time much of Buddha's teaching appears to have been almost completely swamped by doctrines of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Tantras. By a strange irony of fate Buddha's 'dharma-cakra-pravartana' came to be transformed into 'adharma-cakra-pravartana' by many of his so-called followers of the Vajrayāna. In the Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta V. 23 (S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 91) the Buddha was very strict and warned bhikkhus not to see bhikkhunis, not to talk to them if they could not avoid seeing them, and to be wide awake if a nun talked to them. Buddha severely rebuked one of his disciples for showing his miraculous powers (vide p. 1037 and n. 1672 above), but Guhyasamāja and other Buddhist tantras make provision for endowing the sādhaka with miraculous powers, such as causing rainfall in case of drought (Guhya-samāja p. 84), killing an enemy by magical rites over an effigy of the enemy (*ibid.* p. 96). Besides, the Guhyasamāja knows the six cruel or terrible magic acts (called 'ṣaṭkarmāṇi), viz. *Śānti* (rite for averting disease or black magic), *vaśīkaraṇa* (bewitching women and men and even gods), *stambhana* (stopping the movements or actions of others), *vidveṣaṇa* (creating enmity between two friends or two persons who love each other), *uccāṭana* (making a person or enemy flee from the country, town or village), *māraṇa* (killing or causing permanent injury to living beings). The Guhyasamāja mentions these six (putting 'ākarṣaṇa' for 'vidveṣaṇa') respectively at pp. 168, 165, 96, 87 (Ākarṣaṇa), 81, 130. Vide Sādhanamālā pp. 368–369 for the same and for the shape of maṇḍalas and times for each of the six cruel rites. Even the rather sober Śāradātilaka-tantra mentions these six (23. 122), defines them (23. 123–125), provides that Rati, Vāṇī (speech or Sarasvatī), Ramā, Jyeṣṭhā, Durgā and Kālī are respectively the six deities of these six cruel acts and must be worshipped at the commencement, that six periods of ten *ghaṭikās* from sunrise are respectively appropriate to these six and so also are certain seasons (23. 126–139). It is most astounding that the Prapañcasāra (23. 5) ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya describes at length a mantra called Trailokya-mohana for accomplishing the above six cruel acts.

Both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras[1730] lay great emphasis on the importance and qualifications of the *guru*. The Bauddha Tantras have the highest praise for the guru. The Jñānasiddhi (13. 9–12) prescribes high qualifications and the Prajñopāyaviniścaya-siddhi (III. 9–16) contains a grand eulogy of the guru, identifying him with Buddha and calling him omniscient and so on. The Advayasiddhi of Lakṣmīṅkarā (about 729 A. D.), who started the astounding doctrine that one should offer worship to one's own body wherein all gods reside, says that in the three worlds there is none higher than the ācārya. In the Nityotsava of Umānanda-nātha, pupil of Bhāsurānanda-nātha (i. e. Bhāskararāya as he was called before he took dīkṣā) the guru Bhāskararāya is praised in the following hyperbolical terms[1731] 'to whom no part of the earth was unseen (owing to his yogic sight), there was no king who was not his slave, to whom no śāstra was unknown; why use more words, whose form was the highest Śakti herself.' But the Jñāna-siddhi and Kulārṇava (XIII. 128) warn against gurus who falsely pretend to know the truth and give instruction in dharma from greed for money. The Kulārṇava (*ullāsas* XII and XIII) are devoted to the qualifications and greatness of guru. The Śāradātilaka also sets out the qualifications of the tāntrika guru (II. 142–144) and of the disciple (III. 145–152).[1732] The guru among other matters 'must know the essence of all Āgamas and the principles and meaning of all śāstras, he must be one whose words come out true, who has a quiet mind, who has profoundly studied the Veda and its meaning, who follows the path of Yoga and whose bearing is as beneficent as that of a deity.' Among the many requirements about a disciple,[1733] one is that he must keep secret the mantra and pūjā imparted by his guru. The disciple places the guru's feet on his head and surrenders his body, wealth and even life to

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1730. आचार्यात्परतरं नास्ति त्रैलोक्ये सचराचरे। यस्य प्रसादात्माप्यन्ते सिद्धयोऽनेकधा बुधैः। Intro. to साधनमाला vol. II. p. LXIV–LXV.

1731. यस्याहङ्को नैव भूमण्डलांशो यस्यादासो विद्यते न क्षितीशः। यस्याज्ञावं नैव शास्त्रं किमन्यैः यस्याकारः सा परा शक्तिरेव ॥ Introductory verse 4 of the नित्योत्सव. Dr. B. Bhattacharya in his Intro. to the गुह्यसमाज॰ p. XIII has completely misunderstood this verse when he translates it as 'the Parā Śakti is she to whom no part of the wide universe remains unseen &c.'.

1732. सर्वागमानां सारज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित्।...अमोघवचनः शान्तो वेदवेदार्थपारगः॥ योगमार्गानुसन्धायी देवताहृद्यचङ्गमः। शारदा॰ II. 142–144.

1733. मन्त्रपूजादिरहस्यानि यो वोपचरति सर्वदा। शारदा॰ II. 151.

the guru. The necessity of a guru for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy is stressed by the Upaniṣads also. For, example the Kaṭhopaniṣad[1734] says 'this knowledge cannot be obtained by ratiocination, it can be understood well only when expounded by another'; the Chāndogya (IV. 9. 3) says 'Sir, I have heard from men like you that only knowledge that is learnt from a teacher leads to real good'. The Liṅgapurāṇa[1735] and others say that guru is identical with Śiva and the rewards of devotion to Śiva and to the guru are the same. The Kulārṇava (XI. 46) emphasizes that the order of the succession of gurus, the Āgamas, Āmnāya, mantra and practices—all these when learnt from the lips of a guru become fruitful and not otherwise. The Prapañcasāra provides 'the disciple should consider in his mind that guru, *devatā* and mantra are one and should repeat a hundred times the mantra that he received by the favour of the guru.'

The Vedānta system requires for its understanding high intellectual and moral attainments and could be followed by only a few gifted souls. It is claimed that Tantras provide a method which assists men of ordinary intellect and which utilizes visual and physical processes for the attainment of spiritual experience, for the development of psychic forces and for the quick attainment of liberation by such practices as the repetition of mantras, mudrās, nyāsa, maṇḍalas, cakras and yantras. The respect for the guru sometimes reached amongst Tāntrik writers to extreme and disgusting lengths as the note below will indicate.[1736]

1734. नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया प्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ। कठ II. 9.

1735. यो गुरुः स शिवः प्रोक्तो यः शिवः स गुरुः स्मृतः। यथा शिवस्तथा विद्या यथा विद्या तथा गुरुः॥ शिव-विद्यागुरोस्तस्माद् भक्त्या च सदृशं फलम्। सर्वदेवमयो देवि सर्वशक्तिमयो हि सः॥ लिङ्गपुराण I. 85. 164-165; गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः। गुरुरेव परं ब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः॥ देवीभागवत XI. 1. 49; in the ललितोपाख्यान in the ब्रह्माण्डपु. it is said 'मनुष्यचर्मणा बद्धः साक्षात्परशिवः स्वयम्। सच्छिष्यानुग्रहार्थाय गूढं पर्यटति क्षितौ॥ अत्रिनेत्रः शिवः साक्षाद्दत्तुर्बाहुरच्युतः। अथर्ववदनो ब्रह्मा श्रीगुरुः कथितः प्रिये॥' 43. 68-70. These verses from ललितोपाख्यान are the same as कुलार्णव XIII. 54 and 57 and several verses are common to both. The question as to who is the borrower is very difficult to decide. The शारदातिलक (V. 113-114) has 'गुरुविद्यादेवतानामैक्यं सम्भावयन् धिया। प्रणमेद् दण्डवद्भूमौ तदेकं तं देवतात्मकम्॥ तस्य पादाम्बुजद्वन्द्वं निजे मूर्धनि योजयेत्। शरीरमर्थं प्राणं च सर्वं तस्मै निवेदयेत्॥; गुरुणा समनुगृहीतं मन्त्रं सद्यो जपेच्छतावृत्या। गुरुदेवतामन्त्राणामैक्यं सम्भावयन् धिया शिष्यः॥ प्रपञ्चसार VI. 122.

1736. भगिनीं वा सुतां भार्यां यो वदाकुलयोगिने। मद्यमांसाय देवेशि तस्य पुण्यं न गण्यते॥ q. by तारारहस्यवार्णव IV. p. 116.

The teaching of Tāntrika texts about the five *makāras* must have created a very unhealthy and debased state among all classes, particularly the lower orders of Society. The centuries from the 7th to the 12th A. D. were the peak period of Tāntrik works and cults, both Hindu and Buddhist. In a certain cult of the Vajrayāna the gurus wore a blue vesture. A story is narrated of a guru (a monk) of the *sammitiya* sect who went dressed in a blue dress to a courtezan. He did not return to the monastery at night. When asked in the morning by his disciples why he put on a blue dress, he explained the great spiritual merit of the blue-coloured dress. Since then his followers began to wear blue dress and in their book called 'Nīlapaṭadarśana' it is written 'the god Kāmadeva (Eros) is a jewel, a courtezan is a jewel, wine is a jewel; I bow to these three jewels; other so-called jewels are three glass beads'. It should be remembered that for devout Buddhists, Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are three Ratnas (jewels). The followers of the Nīlapaṭadarśana deemed these last three to be as worthless as glass beads. Vide Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's paper 'On Vajrayāna or Mantrayāna' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) p. 216 where this is narrated. False gurus must have gone about deluding people with rosy prospects of bliss and liberation by the easy method of drinking wine, eating flesh and free association with all sorts of women. The Indian literature of those centuries is full of condemnation and caricatures of the methods of Tāntrik worship by means of wine, flesh and sexual laxity. A few instances may be cited here. In the *prākrit* play called Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara (about 900 A. D.), a character called Bhairavānanda [1737] who was

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1737. The original verses I. 22–24 are in Prākrit. Their Sanskrit equivalents are set out here. मन्त्राणां तन्त्राणां न किमपि जाने ध्यानं च नो किमपि गुरुप्रसादात्। मद्यं पिबामो महिलां रमामो मोक्षं च यामो कुलमार्गलग्नाः॥ एण्डा चण्डा दीक्षिता धर्मदारा मद्यं मांसं पीयते खाद्यते च। भिक्षा भोज्यं चर्मखण्डं च शय्या कौलो धर्मो कस्य नाभाति रम्यः॥ मुक्तिं भणन्ति हरिब्रह्मसुखा अपि देवा ध्यानेन वेदपठनेन क्रतुक्रियाभिः। एकेन केवलसुमादयितेन लब्धो मोक्षः सखे सुरतकेलिसुरारसेः॥. It is quite possible that the name भैरवानन्द is doubly suggestive. The पारानन्दसूत्र mentions several Tāntrik teachers whose names end in आनन्द such as अमृतानन्द (pp. 54, 73), उन्मादानन्द (pp. 54, 72, 76), ज्ञानानन्द (pp. 54, 73, 91), देवानन्द (p. 44), परानन्द (pp. 72, 91 the author of पारानन्दसूत्र), मुक्तानन्द (p. 54), सुरानन्द (pp. 54, 70, 72). Besides, several teachers have the word भैरव as part of their names and are profusely quoted in the पारानन्दसूत्र, viz. आकाशभैरव (9 times), उन्मत्तभैरव (17 times), कालभैरव (11 times); भैरव as an author is mentioned once on p. 66. राजशेखर probably meant a hit at one or more of these

(*Continued on next page*)

supposed to possess wonderful powers is introduced and he says (while representing that he was somewhat tipsy) 'owing to the favour of our guru we know nothing about mantras or tantras or meditation. We drink wine, dally with women and yet, being devoted to the Kula path, we reach *mokṣa*. A fierce strumpet is given dīkṣā and made a lawful wife, wine is drunk and flesh is consumed, our food is got by begging for alms, our bed is a piece of hide. To whom would the Kauladharma not appear attractive? Even gods headed by Viṣṇu and Brahmā declare that liberation is attained by meditation, Veda study and performance of Vedic sacrifices; only one God, the husband of Umā, perceived that mokṣa (can be attained) by dalliance with women and by wine'. The Yaśastilaka-campū (composed in 959 A. D.) after referring to the Dakṣiṇa and Vāma paths of Śaivāgama quotes a verse of the great poet [1738] Bhāsa "a person should drink wine, look at the face of the woman dear to him, wear a dress naturally charming and free from being odd; may the adorable Śiva be long-lived, who (first) discovered such a path to mokṣa!" The Daśāvatāra-carita of Kṣemendra (3rd quarter of 11th century A. D.) states in one verse what the Tāntrik gurus and their followers did "Gurus declare that liberation follows by the drinking of wine from the same goblet by various craftsmen such as washermen, weavers, workers in hides, *kāpālikas*, in the procedure of cakrapūjā, and by dalliance with women without the least scruple and by always leading a life of festivities." [1739] The Rāja-taraṅgiṇī (middle of 12th

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(*Continued from last page*)

tāntrik authors who favoured the makāras. Acc. to Intro. (p. XII) to परानन्दसूत्र, the work was composed probably between 900 to 1200 A. D. The परशुराम-कल्पसूत्र (I. 40) provides that after दीक्षा the guru is to give a name to the disciple ending in आनन्दनाथ. The महानिर्वाण (X. 182) also says the same thing.

1738. इममेव च मार्गमाश्रित्याभाषि भासेन महाकविना। पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुख-मीक्षणीयं प्राह्यः स्वभावललितोऽविकृतश्च वेषः। चेनेदृमीदृशमदृश्यत मोक्षवर्त्म दीर्घायुरस्तु भगवान् स पिनाकपाणिः॥ यशस्तिलकचम्पू p. 251. This is verse 7 in the मत्तविलास-प्रहसन of पल्लव king महेन्द्रविक्रमवर्मन् put in the mouth of a कपाली. This creates a puzzle. Either the Yaśastilaka committed a mistake in naming the author or the verse is one from Bhāsa's genuine dramas not yet found and bodily taken by the author of the मत्तविलास which, being a parody, was after all not a serious matter. I incline to the latter view.

1739. चक्रस्थितौ रजक-वायक-चर्मकार-कापालिकमद्यशिल्पिभिरेकपात्रे। पानेन मुक्तिमविकल्परतोत्सवेन वृत्तेन चोत्सवता गुरवो वदन्ति॥ p. 162 of दशावतारचरित. चक्रपूजा will be referred to a little later.

century A. D.) has several references to the Tāntrikas and their doings. In V. 66 Kalhaṇa says that during [1740] the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir, *siddhas* (persons possessed of miraculous powers like *aṇimā*) such as Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa were born for the benefit of the world. In describing the effects of the rule of a good king Yaśaskara (939–948 A. D.), Kalhaṇa [1741] remarks that during his reign were not seen housewives figuring as divinities at the rite of gurudīkṣā and shaking their heads for detracting from the eminent character (attributed to) of their husbands.' King Kalaśa of Kashmir (1063–1089 A. D.) became a pupil of Pramadakaṇṭha, son of Amarakaṇṭha who was a good brāhmaṇa, but Kalaśa, who by nature was evil-minded, was instructed in evil practices by his guru Pramadakaṇṭha and the latter made the former ignore the distinction between women who are approachable and who are not. In this connection, Kalhaṇa bitterly [1742] bewails "what other unscrupulousness of this guru (of Kalaśa) should be described by me, when, leaving aside all scruples, he committed incestuous intercourse with his own daughter." This establishes that in the 11th century A. D.

1740. अनुग्रहाय लोकानां भट्टश्रीकल्लटादयः। अवन्तिवर्मणः काले सिद्धा भुवमवातरन्॥ राजत. V. 66. अवन्तिवर्मन् reigned from 855 A. D. to 883 A. D. Kallata's is a great name in Kashmir Śaivism. It may be noted that the Vajrayāna cult of Buddhism speaks of 84 सिद्धपुरुषs that flourished from the 7th to the 9th century A. D, Vide Intro. to E. B. p. 34 and Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's paper on 'the origin of Vajrayāna and the 84 siddhas' in J. A. vol. 225 (1934) pp 209–230 in which at pp. 220–225 there is a detailed list of the 84 *siddhas* from Lūipā to Bhalipā with their castes and status, place of origin and names of the contemporaries of some of them from the 8th century A. D. onwards. मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ is said to be the same as Lūipā; vide I. H. Q. vol. XXXI pp. 362–375 for Dr. Karambelkar's paper on 'Matsyendranāṭha and his Yoginī cult.'

1741. नाद्दश्यन्त च गेहिन्यो गुरुदीक्षोत्थदेवताः। कुर्वाणा भर्तृशीलश्रीनिषेधं मूर्धधूननैः॥ राजत. VI. 12. This shows that, there being equality of sexes among Tāntrikas, women used to be made gurus in Tāntrik rites. Vide प्राणतोषिणी p. 179 for qualifications of a woman *guru* and p. 540 for worship of the wife of a guru and of a woman as a guru in her own right. The guru and his predecessors are to be worshipped by disciples as sacrificers. When the latter praised the husbands of the women that had become gurus, they shook their heads in disagreement and thereby impliedly criticized the character of their husbands. Kalhaṇa says that this did not happen in the reign of Yaśaskara, who must have frowned upon the practices of tāntricism and hence occasions for women being gurus did not arise.

1742. गुरोर्गतविकल्पत्वं तस्याग्यत्किमिवोच्यताम्। त्यक्तशङ्कः प्रवृत्ते स्वसुताभुरतेपि यः॥ राजत. VII. 278.

in Kashmir there were Tāntrik gurus that literally carried out what the Guhyasamājatantra quoted in note 1724 apparently recommended to Buddhist Yogis. In the drama called Mohaparājaya by Yaśaḥpāla under king Ajayadeva, successor of Kumārapāla, among the *dramatis personae* is a *kaula* who declares his doctrine to be eating flesh every day, drinking wine without any qualms and allowing the mind free scope.[1743] Aparārka quotes a verse which shows that, in the midst of numerous cults, it was difficult to be consistent: "A person may be at heart a Kaula (follower of the Kula doctrine), in outward appearance he may look a Śaiva, and he may follow Vaidika rites in his usual practices. One should live grasping what is essential like the cocoanut[1744] fruit". It appears that great scholars and poets had a sneaking admiration for Tāntrika worship. The great writer Vidyāpati of Mithilā appears to be a Vaiṣṇava from his devotional songs, but wrote the Śaivasarvasvasāra (so he may be called a Śaiva), and wrote also Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī (and thus appears to have been a Śākta) and composed also a Tāntrik[1745] work. The very first verse of Vidyāpati's 'Puruṣaparīkṣā' contains an invocation of Ādi-Śakti.' Bengal and Assam were the strongholds of Śākta doctrines and even now Kāli worship is still in vogue there, but it was the great Bengal

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1743. In मोहराजपराजय (G. O. S.) p. 100 the कौल says 'खाद्यते मांसमनुदिनं पीयते मद्यं च सुकृतदुष्कृतम्। अनिवारितमनःप्रसर एव धर्मो मया दिष्टः॥ (Sanskrit rendering of a Prākrit verse). The drama was written between 1172–1175 A. D.

1744. अन्तःकौलं बहिःशैवं लोकाचारे तु वैदिकम्। सारमादाय तिष्ठेत्तु नारिकेलफलं यथा॥ अपरार्क p. 10. I prefer the reading of one the mss. noted in the foot notes. The printed text reads अन्तःशैवं बहिःकौलं लोकाचारे etc. The cocoanut fruit presents three aspects, first there is the hard outside shell, then there is the soft and tasty kernel inside the hard shell and thirdly there is water in addition to the soft kernel. The कुलार्णवतन्त्र has 'अन्तःकौलो बहिःशैवो जनमध्ये तु वैष्णवः। कौलं सुगोपयेद्देवि नारिकेलफलाम्बुवत्॥ XI. 83. One ms. reads अन्तःकौला बहिःशैवाः सभायां वैष्णवा मताः and this last is often quoted. The कौलावलीनिर्णय (X. 84–95) reads अन्तःशाक्ता बहिःशैवाः...मताः। नानावेशधराः कौला विचरन्ति महीतले॥. The sect mark of both Śaivas and Śāktas is *tripuṇḍra* (three parallel lines of holy ashes on the forehead from one eye to the other, drawn with three fingers other than the thumb and small finger). Vide बृहज्जाबालोपनिषद् IV. 10–11, देवीभागवत XI. 15. 17–23.

1745. Vide a paper of D. C. Bhattacharya in J. G. J. R. I. vol. VI pp. 241–247 on Vidyāpati's work on Tantra. The first verse of पुरुषपरीक्षा (Darbhanga ed. of 1888) is 'ब्रह्मापि यां नौति नुतः सरण्यां (सुरण्यां ?) यामश्चितोऽर्धचन्द्रेन्दुमौलिः। यां ध्यायति ध्यानगतोपि विष्णुस्तामादिशक्तिं शिरसा नमामि॥'

king Ballālasena who discarded Devīpurāṇa as an authority in his encyclopaedic work on gifts called Dānasāgara.[1746]

It is possible that the founders of the Tāntrik or Śākta cult of the five *makāras* threw defiance at the terrible aspect of God or the Highest Spirit, that rules the destinies of men and things and that made men sometimes suffer terribly even if they led lives of virtue, to do the worst for their disregard of conventional morality and social practices and hoped by their Yoga exercises to attain to high psychical powers and bliss.[1747] There is another possible motive also. Masses of common people were being drawn towards Buddhism. The founders of Hindu Tāntrik cults wanted to retain them within the Hindu fold. As common people drank wine and ate meat, they were told that they would attain higher spiritual levels even while indulging in meat and drink provided they followed Tāntrik gurus and practices. The idea was that Śakti was all and was for all; *bhoga* (enjoyment) need not be given up, as man is part of Devī or Śiva. Bhoga should be sublimated, that is all that is required in Kaulaśāstra. The Tāntrikas[1748] substitute a yoga of enjoyment (bhoga) for the yoga of abstinence and asceticism. When indulging in the left-hand path practices the sādhaka is supposed or held to be destroying the egoistic elements of the soul.

The Mahānirvāṇatantra and a few others endeavour to stem the tide of sexual immorality and promiscuity. For example, Rāmeśvara, the commentator of Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, says that one that has not conquered his senses has no *adhikāra* for Kaulamārga (p. 153). This is in direct conflict with what even the Mahānirvāṇatantra says that all men from brāhmaṇas to the untouchables have adhikāra for Kula practices. Modern apologists for Tāntrism emphasize that the instructions embodied in the Guhyasamāja, the directions for the mode of life to be led by followers of Vajrayāna, apply only to the Yogis who have attained some degree of yogic perfection. But the obvious

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1746. नानावेशधराः कौलाः कुलाचारेषु निश्चलाः। सेवन्ते त्वां कुलाचारैर्नहि तान् बाधते कलिः ॥ महानिर्वाणतन्त्र IV. 63.

1747. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Intro. to Guhyasamāja p. XXII for the above sentiments.

1748. यत्रास्ति भोगो न च तत्र मोक्षो यत्रास्ति मोक्षो न च तत्र भोगः। श्रीसुन्दरीसेवनतत्पराणां भोगश्च मोक्षश्च करस्थ एव ॥ quoted in हंसविलास (from कौलरहस्य) p. 104; विप्राद्यन्त्यजपर्यन्ता द्विपदा येऽत्र भूतले। ते सर्वेऽस्मिन्कुलाचारे भवेयुरधिकारिणः ॥ महानिर्वाण 14. 184.

reply is 'who is to decide that a particular person had attained the minimum spiritual level except the man himself and, supposing that all the directions were meant for Yogis, why was it necessary to say in a blatant manner and language that a Yogi practising Vajrayāna may engage in what common and less sophisticated people deem to be incest? This is not the place to reply to all apologists for ancient and medieval Tāntrik works. But a few must be dealt with because they are liable to create misunderstandings, if allowed to go uncriticized. In his Preface to 'Principles of Tantra' Part 2, Sir John Woodroffe states (p. IX.) that the use of flesh, fish and wine was common in the Vedic age and that the Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas like the Kālikā, Mārkaṇḍeya and Kūrma refer to consumption of wine, meat and fish. This looks like special pleading and is misleading. The question is: was *surā* offered to the gods in every day or periodic sacrifices as an offering in the Ṛgveda or any other Veda. In the Vedic age wine may have been known and even drunk, but what is material to recognize is that there is a difference made between Soma and *surā*. Vide Śat. [1749] Br. "Soma is truth, prosperity, light and surā is untruth, misery and darkness" (V. 1. 5. 28). While Soma is mentioned hundreds of times in the Ṛgveda, has the 9th maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda specially reserved for its praises and was offered to gods, the word *surā* occurs only six times in the Ṛgveda and it is nowhere expressly stated that it was offered to any god as a religious offering; on the contrary, in a hymn to Varuṇa, surā is put forward as leading to the commission of sin just as anger and gambling do (Ṛg. VII. 86. 6 'na sa svo. dakṣo Varuṇa dhrutiḥ sā surā manyur-vibhīdako acittiḥ). In his zeal for the vindication of Tāntrism Arthur Avalon is injudicious enough to misinterpret simple words. In the Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. VII he quotes Ṛg. I. 166. 7 "arcantyarkam madirasya pitaye" and translates "worshipping the Sun before drinking madirā (wine)." The word here is *madira* (and not 'madirā'), it is an adjective and means "exhilarating". The word "Madirā" never occurs in the Ṛg. while "madira" as an adjective, occurs at least sixteen times and qualifies Soma, Indu, Aṁsu, Rasa or Madhu, generally expressed (and rarely implied). There is no word for "before." That quarter means 'they (the worshippers or Maruts) worship (Indra) who is worthy of praise (and a friend of the Maruts) in order that he may come for

1749. सत्यं वै ज्योतिः सोमोऽमृतं पाप्मा तमः सुरा। शतपथ V. 1. 5. 28.

drinking the exhilarating (Soma).' The word madirā (for wine) hardly ever occurs in any genuine work of Vedic times. Its earliest occurrence is probably in the Mahābhārata. Reference is also made by modern apologists to the offering of surā in the Sautrāmaṇī *iṣṭi* in honour of Indra. But the circumstances are peculiar. Sautrāmaṇī is only one out of numerous sacrifices and the occasions for performing it were rare i. e. it was performed at the end of Rājasūya and also at the end of *Agnicayana* and when a priest who had drunk too much of soma vomited. The most important fact, however, is that the remnants of surā offered in Sautrāmaṇī were not drunk by the priests engaged in it but a brāhmaṇa had to be hired for drinking the remnants and if no brāhmaṇa could be secured then the remnants were to be poured over an ant-hill (vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1226 for details). The Kāṭhakasaṁhitā [1750] contains an interesting passage "Therefore an elderly person and a youngster, the daughter-in-law and the father-in-law, drink liquor and remain babbling together; thoughtlessness is sin; therefore a brāhmaṇa does not drink surā with the thought that 'otherwise (if I drink it) I may be tainted by sin'; therefore this is for kṣatriya; one should say to a brāhmaṇa that surā, if drunk by a kṣatriya, does not harm the latter." These passages show that not only the priests did not drink surā even in Sautrāmaṇī but that it had become difficult to hire a brāhmaṇa for drinking it by the time of the Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā. The passage of the Vājasaneya Saṁhitā 19. 5 relied on at p. VII (of Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' part II) also refers to Sautrāmaṇī and to no other sacrifice. The mantra is "Brahma kṣatram pavate teja indriyam surayā somaḥ suta āsuto madāya" and means that "Soma when mixed with surā becomes a strong drink and leads to intoxication." The Chāndogya V. 10. 9 (q. above p. 1578 n. 943) counts the drinker of surā among the five grave sinners. Therefore, there is hardly any analogy between the offering of wine in Sautrāmaṇī and the teaching about offering wine to Devī as provided in the Tantras. Similarly, the reference to the Atharvaveda as containing magical rites does not help at all. Society had advanced far beyond that stage and Manu XI. 63 looked upon abhicāra (i. e. performance of a magic rite like Śyenayāga for killing a person) and mūlakarma (i. e. bringing

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1750. तस्माज्ज्यायांश्च कनीयांश्च स्नुषा श्वशुरश्च सुरां पीत्वा सह लालपत आसते। पाप्मा वै माहल्यं तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्संसृज्या इति तदेतत् क्षत्रियाय ब्राह्मणं नृपाचैनं सुरा पीता हिनस्ति। काठकसंहिता XII. 12.

under one's control a person or a woman by herbs and mantras) as a sin, though a lesser one (an upapātaka). The reference to the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparva, 59. 5 ff) is again misleading. Wine was drunk by people in the Mahābhārata times, but not as part of a religious ritual as in the Tantras. Vide pp. 964–966 of H. of Dh. vol. III for a note on 'intoxicating drinks.' The reference to Mārkaṇḍeya and other purāṇas is of no avail as evidence, since at least the present author holds that those parts of the Purāṇas were written and interpolated after Tāntrik rites had taken a firm hold on some sections of the Hindu society. The reference to sexual intercourse in the Mahāvrata [1751] is most misleading. In the Tantras like the Kulārṇava and the Guhyasamāja it is the sādhaka himself who is to practise *maithuna* as one of the ways of securing marvellous powers and higher spiritual attainments. But in the Mahāvrata the sexual intercourse is by strangers to the sacrifice (and not by the *yajamāna* nor by any of the priests), is a purely symbolical act and bears no analogy to a sādhaka himself engaging in maithuna as a religious rite to placate the Devī. Even a late reformist work like the Mahānirvāṇa (VIII. 174–175) expressly says that those of the five tattvas which a sādhaka can secure, such as flesh and others, should have recited over them the mantra 'ām, hrīm, krom, svāhā' a hundred times, that he should reflect that everything is a product of *brahma*, should close his eyes, should offer those to Kālī and should himself drink and eat them. As the Tāntrik prescriptions of the *makāras* for attainment of miraculous powers and of liberation had shocked people and had brought the tantras into great disrepute, later Hindu Tāntrik works like the Śaktisaṅgamatantra (between 1555–1607 A. D.) began to offer symbolic interpretations. They [1752] say that the

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1751. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp 1243–1245 for the Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in a *sattra*.

1752. गुडार्द्रकरसो देवि मुद्रा तु प्रथमा मता। पिण्याकं लवणं देवि द्वितीया परिकीर्तिता। लशुनं तिन्तिडी चैव तृतीया परिकीर्तिता। गोधूममाषसम्भूता सुन्दरी च चतुर्थिका। शक्त्यालापः पञ्चमी स्यात्पञ्च मुद्राः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ शक्तिसङ्गम, ताराखण्ड, 32, 13–15; vide महानिर्वाणतन्त्र VI. 9–10 where products of grains of rice, barely or wheat with ghee or fried grain are called मुद्रा. न मद्यं माधवीमद्यं मद्यं शक्तिरसोद्भवम्। सुषुम्ना शक्तिनी मुद्रा उन्मन्यद्युत्तमं रसः॥ सामरस्यामृतोल्लासं मैथुनं च सदाशिवम्। महाकुण्डलिनी शक्तिसयोगार्थं महेश्वरि।...संयोगामृतयोगेन कुण्डल्युत्थानकारणात्। शक्तिसङ्गम०, ताराखण्ड 32, 25–27, 32. Vide 'Śakti and Śākta' pp. 339–340 where madya, māṁsa, matsya and maithuna are interpreted esoterically for a 'divyabhāva' following Yoginītantra (chap. VI) and from Āgamasāra. One verse from the former may be quoted

(*Continued on next page*)

words 'madya, mudrā, maithuna' &c. are not used in the ordinary popular sense but in a special esoteric sense. For example, mudrā has several senses, viz. a mixture of jaggery and ginger, or of salt and oil-cake or garlic and tamarind fruit, or wheat and māṣa beans, that madya (wine) is not what is prepared from mādhavī (spring flower) but it springs from the joyful experience (or *rasa*) of Śakti, when effort is made to awaken the Kuṇḍalinī. It may be admitted that some Tāntrik works and writers divide men into three classes, paśu (the bestial ones), vīra (those that have made great progress on the path of spiritual discipline) and daiva (those who are godlike). As regards these three, the five makāras are assigned by some apologistic writers different meanings. D. N. Bose in his work 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' boldly asserts (p. 110) that the real significance of the five makāras has been deliberately perverted by vicious people and explains (p. 111) that *madya* is the nectarine stream issuing from the cavity of the brain where the soul resides, matsya means suppression of vital airs, māṁsa means 'vow of silence,' 'maithuna' means 'meditation on the acts of creation and destruction.'

The Tāntrikas clothe their practices in bombastic and high-sounding words. The five makāras are called pañca-tattvas, kuladravyas or kulatattvas. Maithuna is generally referred to as pañcamatattva, the woman with whom sexual intercourse is to be had or who was at least to be associated with a male in Tantra worship is called Śakti (vide Kulārṇava VII 39–43 and Mahānirvāṇa VI. 18–20) or *prakṛti* or *latā* and this special ritual is called 'Latāsādhana' (Mahānirvāṇa I. 52). Wine is called tīrthavāri (holy water) or kāraṇa (VIII. 168 and VI. 17). The Mahānirvāṇa-tantra, though a reformist work and in certain cases asking the king to punish drunkards (XI. 113–121),

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'सहस्रारोपरि बिन्दौ कुण्डल्या मेलनं शिवे। मैथुनं परमं द्रव्यं यतीनां परिकीर्तितम्॥. Substitutional तत्त्व are also variously mentioned for पशु, who is the lowest kind of the worshippers of Śakti. The कौलावलीनिर्णय V. 113–123 suggests various substitutes viz. a ब्राह्मण may employ honey in a copper vessel or cow's milk or the water of cocoanut fruit in a bell-metal vessel, that, in the absence of flesh, garlic and ginger may be used for flesh, milk of buffalo or sheep for fish, roasted fruits and roots for *maithuna*. It will be, however, noticed in the above and also later on that the explanations do not all completely agree and therefore raise doubts about their veracity.

waxes eloquent over wine and praises it as Tārā in the form [1753] of a fluid substance, as the saviour of individual souls, as the mother (or producer) of bhoga (enjoyment) and mokṣa (liberation) and as the remover of misfortunes and diseases and after some further praise of wine winds up by saying that those men who drink wine according to the rules and with a well-controlled mind are gods on earth (XI. 108). For the worship of Śakti the five tattvas are absolutely necessary (Mahānirvāṇa-tantra V. 21–24 quoted in note 1695 above and [1754] Kulārṇava V. 69 and 76). Some tantras say that the meaning of tattva differs according as the person concerned is Tāmasika (a *paśu* kind of worshipper), Rājasika (a vīra as he is called), sāttvika (a divya, a person who is godlike). Madya means according to various Tāntrik Texts real wine as well as a substitute like cocoanut water or any other liquid; it also means that intoxicating knowledge that comes of Yoga practices, whereby the worshipper becomes senseless as regards the external world. *Māṁsa* is the act whereby the sādhaka surrenders himself and his action to Lord Śiva. *Matsya* (fish, of which the first part 'mat' means 'mine') is that psychical state by which the worshipper sympathizes with the pleasure and pain of all beings. *Maithuna* is the union of the Śakti Kuṇḍalinī (the woman inside a man's body) in the Mūlādhāra-cakra with the supreme Śiva in the Sahasrāracakra in the highest centre of the brain and is the stream of the sweet juice that drops from the Sahasrāra. Preparation of hemp (called *vijayā* or '*bhāng*') is madya for some. The Mahānirvāṇa says (VIII. 170 and 173) that 'madhura-traya' may be substituted for wine and for 'Maithuna' meditation on the feet of the (image of) Devī and *japa* of the desired mantra may be substituted. The Kaulāvalīnirṇaya (III. 111) boldly states that if a man, after partaking of vijayā (*bhāng*) engages in meditation, he sees directly before him the form of the goddess as described in the Dhyānamantra. Some Tantras like the

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1753. सुरा द्रवमयी तारा जीवनिस्तारकारिणी। जननी भोगमोक्षाणां नाडिनी विषहां वजाम्॥ महानिर्वाण० XI. 105.

1754. कुलद्रव्यैर्विना कुर्याज्जपयज्ञतपोव्रतम्। निष्फलं तद्भवेद् देवि भस्मनीव यथा हुतम्॥; मन्त्रपूतं कुलद्रव्यं गुरुदेवार्पितं प्रिये। ये पिबन्ति जनास्तेषां स्तन्यपानं न विद्यते॥ कुलार्णव V. 69 and 76. The words स्तन्य ... विद्यते mean that he is not born again. The कुलार्णव (V. 79–80) ordains 'सुरा शक्तिः शिवो मांसं तद्भोक्ता भैरवः स्वयम्। तयोरैक्यसमुत्पन्न आनन्दो मोक्ष उच्यते॥ आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो रूपं तच्च देहे व्यवस्थितम्। तत्पानिभ्यञ्जनं मद्यं योगिभिस्तेन पीयते॥'.

Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Bhāskararāya [1755] in his commentary on Lalitāsahasranāma say that when Kuṇḍalinī is roused by a yogin and it reaches the thousand-petalled cakra (Sahasrāra) from which (that has on its pericarp the moon) drops nectar which is figuratively spoken of as *madya* (vide notes 1716, 1752). The Kulārṇava at first asserts (I. 105–107) 'Mukti does not result from the study of the Veda nor by the study of śāstras, it results from (correct) knowledge alone, that the āśramas are not a means of mokṣa nor are the darśanas the means, nor all the śāstras, that it is knowledge alone that is the cause, that it is the knowledge imparted by the teaching of the guru that confers *mukti*, all (other) vidyās are mockery.' Then in the Vedāntic strain it affirms (I. 111–112) "two words (respectively) lead to bondage or liberation viz. (this is) '*mine*' or 'nothing is *mine*'. A person falls in bondage by the thought 'this is mine' and becomes liberated by realising 'nothing is mine' and that that is proper action that does not lead to bondage and that is real lore that leads to liberation." After these high thoughts the same Tantra (II. 22–23 and 29) proceeds to Kaula doctrine. 'If a man is a yogin he does not (ordinarily) enjoy life, while one who enjoys life does not know yoga; but the Kaula doctrine combines both *yoga* and *bhoga* and is superior to all (other doctrines); in the Kaula doctrine bhoga turns into yoga directly, what is sin (acc. to ordinary people) becomes meritorious, *saṁsāra* turns into mokṣa. Kaula knowledge enlightens him whose mind is purified by the mantras of Śaiva worship, Durgā worship &c."

The Kulārṇava appears to be in two minds to ordinary men like the present writer. While in one breath as shown in note 1718 it frankly recommends the drinking of wine and eating of flesh to the followers of Kaula doctrine, it also endeavours to give an esoteric meaning to the *makāras* as follows (V. 107–112): Frequently reaching the *brahmarandhra* from the mūlādhāra, there arises the bliss of the union of the Kuṇḍalinī-Śakti with the moon in the form of Intelligence (*cit*, Śiva); the person who is intent on tasting the nectar oozing from the lotus in the

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1755. सा (कुण्डलिनी) हि मूलाधाराख्ये चक्रे सार्धत्रिवलयाकारेण सुप्ता सती योगिभिरुत्थाप्य षट्चक्राणि ब्रह्मविष्ण्वादिग्रन्थींश्च भेदयन्ती सहस्रारं नीता सती तत्कर्णिकारूपचन्द्रमण्डलादसृतं स्रावयति। p. 52 of भास्करराय's com. सौभाग्यभास्कर on ललितासहस्रनाम on verses 87–91 कुलामृतैकरसिका ... सहस्राराम्बुजारूढा सुधासाराभिवर्षिणी। ... महाशक्तिः कुण्डलिनी बिसतन्तुतनीयसी॥ (Nir. ed. of 1935). Compare कौलज्ञाननिर्णय VI. 18–19 p. 16.

crown of the head is said to drink *sudhā* (nectar, wine); other people drink mere wine. When the adept [1756] in Yoga cutting the beast (ego) doing good or evil actions with the sword of knowledge (of reality) makes his mind merge in the Highest, he is said to be eater of pala (the Highest, flesh). The (Yogin) who restraining the several senses by his mind concentrates them on the Self, becomes 'matsyāśī',[1757] others are only killers of living beings. The Śakti (the woman associated with a sādhaka) of a beastly man is unenlightened but that of the Kaulika is enlightened; he who honours (or resorts to) such a Śakti is really a worshipper of Śakti. When a man is filled through and through with the bliss due to the union of the Highest Śakti with the Self (Śiva), that is called Maithuna (copulation); all other men are merely licentious persons.

The apologists for unpopular Tāntrik practices offer explanations of the five 'makāras' more or less on the lines of the Kulārṇava. For example, in his Introduction to the 'Principles of Tantra' (part II) Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) gives (pp. CVII–CVIII) an esoteric explanation of the word 'drinking' used in such a verse as that in the Pārānandasūtra, 'Having drunk again and again, having fallen upon the earth, then having got up and again drunk (wine) there is no rebirth.' [1758]

1756. आमूलाधारमाब्रह्मरन्ध्रं गत्वा पुनः पुनः । चिच्चन्द्रकुण्डलीशक्तिसामरस्यसुखोदयः ॥ व्योमपङ्कजनिस्यन्दसुधापानरतो नरः । सुधापानमिदं प्रोक्तमितरे मद्यपायिनः ॥ पुण्यापुण्यपशुं हत्वा ज्ञानखड्गेन योगवित् । परे लयं नयेच्चित्तं पलाशी स निगद्यते ॥ मनसा चेन्द्रियगणं संयम्यात्मनि योजयेत् । मत्स्याशी स भवेद्देवि शेषाः स्युः प्राणिहिंसकाः ॥ अमुद्धा पक्षोः शक्तिः प्रबुद्धा कौलिकस्य च । शक्तिं तां सेवयेद्यस्तु स भवेच्छक्तिसेवकः ॥ पराशक्त्यात्ममिथुनसंयोगानन्दनिर्भरः । य आस्ते मैथुनं तत् स्यादपरे स्त्रीनिषेवकाः ॥ कुलार्णव V. 107–112. The 4th *tattva* is *Mudrā*, but the latter word is often applied to the Śakti associated with a sādhaka.

1757. 'Palāśī' means 'eater or enjoyer of Pala.' Pala means 'flesh', and pala stands for Para (Highest) 'aś' *r* and *l* are often interchangeable in Sanskrit and the root 'aś' may mean 'to reach' as well as 'to eat. Matsyāśī literally means 'eater of fish,' but in the esoteric interpretation "matsya" stands for 'manas' (mind) plus 'sya' representing 'saṁyama' (restraint).

1758. जीवन्मुक्तः पिबेदेवमन्यथा पतितो भवेदिति । पुनः पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पतित्वा धरणीतले । उत्थाय च पुनः पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥ पारानन्दसूत्र p. 17 sūtras 81–82; the Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' (part II) p. CVIII. It reads the first half of the verse as पीत्वा पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पीत्वा पतति भूतले. But there is hardly any difference in the literal meaning. Vide कुलार्णवतन्त्र VII. 100 which reads पीत्वा पीत्वा ... यावत्पतति भूतले.' रामेश्वर, commentator of परशुराम-कल्पसूत्र,

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He explains 'Being thus awakened Kuṇḍalinī enters the great road to liberation (mukti), that is, the Sushumnā nerve, and penetrating the centres one by one, ascends to the Sahasrāra and there coming in blissful communion with the Lord of Lords, again descends down through the same passage to the Mūlādhāra Chakra. Nectar is said to flow from such communion. The sādhaka drinks it and becomes supremely happy. This is the wine called Kulāmṛta, which a sādhaka of the spiritual plane drinks..... In reference to a sādhaka of the spiritual (ādhyātmika) class the Tantra says 'Pītvā pītvā...vidyate'. During the first stage of Ṣaṭ-cakra-sādhanā the sādhaka cannot suppress his breath for a sufficiently long time at a stretch to enable him to practise concentration and meditation in each centre of Power. He cannot therefore detain Kuṇḍalinī within the Sushumnā longer than his power of Kumbhaka permits. He must consequently come down upon the earth i. e. the Mūlādhāra, which is the centre of the element earth, after having drunk of the heavenly ambrosia. The sādhaka must practise this again and again and by constant practice, the cause of rebirth i. e. *vāsanā* (desire) is removed." This explanation sounds very profound and highly psychical, but it is not at all convincing. Similarly, the present author wonders how many writers on Tantras and how many Tāntrikas understood the theory of sublimation put forward in 'Tantras as a way of realization' (Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV. pp. 233–235) by way of explaining the insistence on five makāras. The first question is: why was it necessary to employ vulgar language to describe a state of profound bliss? Supposing the explanation of madya offered by Woodroffe is accepted, what is the explanation about offering flesh and fish? One cannot easily get out of 'matsyāśī' and 'māṁsāśī' the esoteric sense required by the apologists. The Kulārṇava, the Pārānanda-sūtra and several

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quotes पीत्वा ... पतति भूतले, and takes it in a literal sense by citing a passage आगलान्तं पिबेद् द्रव्यं (on V. 22 p. 213) from कुलार्णव VII. 99. कौलावलीतन्त्र (VIII. 164–165) has this verse but reads पतित्वा च महीतले. The next verse in this last work is: अलिमीनाङ्गनासङ्गे यत्सुखं जायते नृणाम्। तदेव मोक्षो विदुषामविदुषां च पातकम्। VIII.165–166. Verses 213–214 refer to the fifth makāra in *cakrapūjā* and verses 223–225 justify promiscuous intercourse in Śrīcakra and verse 226 says 'it is the sinful *vāsanā* that is reprehensible, but to the pure-hearted everything is pure (*omnia sanctis sanctis*)'. The कालीविलासतन्त्र (ed. by A. Avalon, 1917 Tantrik Texts, vol. VI.) has the verse पीत्वा पीत्वा ... पुनः पीत्वा पतनं सत्यसंमतम्। (VI. 25).

other works almost always employ the words madya, māṁsa and fish in the ordinary sense. They rarely, if at all, drop the hint that words like matsya and māṁsa are being used in an esoteric sense and proceed to deal with realities of madya and flesh. The Kulārṇava quotes (II. 126) the verse of Manu IX, 93 (surā vai malam-annānām &c.), provides for the preparation of the three kinds of surā (V. 15–21), and says (V. 30) that surā is the 12th kind among intoxicants and that there are eleven other kinds of intoxicants made from jack-fruit, grapes, dates, sugar-cane &c. (V. 29). In XI. 22–35 the Kulārṇava dilates upon the etiquette to be observed in drinking wine as part of Kaula practice. It proceeds (V. 44) to divide flesh into three classes viz. of animals that fly in the sky (birds), of acquatic animals and of those that move on the earth. The [1759] Svacchandatantra (a work of great authority in Kashmir Śaivism) prescribes that various kinds of fish and meat and other food that can be licked and drunk should be poured in front of Śiva (image) and one should not stint for money. Quotations from Pārānanda-sūtra (notes 1698, 1703-4) make it perfectly clear that the words madya, māṁsa, and maithuna are employed therein in the ordinary sense. Pārānandasūtra (on pp. 80–81, paragraphs 69–70 and pp. 82–83 para. 76–80) describes such obscene details of the sādhaka's sexual intercourse that it is not possible to set them down here. The ordinary worship of Devī was elaborate enough, containing as it did 16 *upacāras* (vide p. 164 note 420 above). Where was the necessity of bringing in wine, meat and maithuna as an absolutely necessary part of the worship of Devī? The Kulārṇava and other tantras praise the Vedas, employ vedic mantras and quote[1760] Upaniṣad and Gītā passages. For example, Mahānirvāṇa V. 197 ff employs Vedic mantras (as noted on p. 1058) for sanctifying the five makāras, the three mantras 'Āpo hi ṣṭhā' Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3 in Nāmakaraṇa (*ibid.* IX. 150–152), 'Tac-cakṣur' Ṛg. VII. 66. 16 in Niṣkramaṇa (*ibid.* IX. 163), 'Viṣṇuryonim' Ṛg. X. 184. 1 in Garbhādhāna (*ibid.* IX. 96), 'Ayam te yonir' Ṛg. III. 29. 10 in the worship of Agni (*ibid.* IX. 21) and the verse 'Kālī Karālī' (Muṇḍakopaniṣad I. 2. 4)

1759. मत्स्यमांसाद्यनेकानि लेह्यपेयानि यानि च। अग्रमापूरयेच्छम्भोर्विचक्षणाव-विवर्जितः॥ स्वच्छन्दतन्त्र II. (पटल) 135 (Kashmir S. series with the com. उद्योत of क्षेमराज); मद्यं मांसं तथा मत्स्यानन्यानि च वरानने। साचारांश्च निराचारांल्लिह्यिमो न जुहुप्तयेत्। *ibid* V. 48.

1760. कुलार्णव XII. 33 cites the verse यस्य देवे &c. (which is श्वेताश्वतरोप. VI. 23); *vide* महानिर्वाण II. 44–45 for adopting तै. उप. 'भीषास्माद्वातः पवते भीषोदेति सूर्यः। ... मृत्युर्धावति पञ्चमः।

in the worship of the seven tongues of Agni. The Mahānirvāṇa (VIII. 214–215) prescribes Gītā IV. 24 (brahmārpaṇam brahma havir) as the mantra to be recited by the leader of the Tattva-cakra in offering the five *tattvas* and in sanctifying them. In spite of all this lip service to the Veda the tantras ignore the great moral dangers involved in their persistent teaching of five makāras and also pay no heed to the impressive advice of the Gītā (III. 21) that whatever a great or honoured man does or holds as authoritative is followed by all common people. There are several late medieval works about the Kaula cult that speak of drinking wine, eating flesh and maithuna in the vulgar sense as means of Devī worship and yet assert that by doing so *mukti* (liberation) would be secured. Two verses from a ms of a tāntrik work called Kaularahasya (containing one hundred verses) will bring home to the reader how common people understood the cult of the *makāras*.[1761]

Prof. Heinrich Zimmer in the 'Art of Indian Asia' (vol. I pp. 129–130) observes 'such living forms are suggested to the Indian artist by a dynamic philosophy that is intrinsic to his religious and philosophical tradition, for the worship of the life-force pouring into the universe and maintaining it, manifesting itself no less in the gross matter of daily experience than in the divine beings of religious vision constitutes the very foundation of Indian religious life. According to this doctrine which was particularly influential in the great periods of Indian art, release from the bondage of our normal human imperfection can be gained not only through the world-negating methods of asceticism (yoga) but equally through a perfect realization of love and its sexual enjoyment (bhoga). According to this view which has been eloquently expressed in the so-called Tāntric symbols and rituals of both the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, there is intrinsically no antagonism between *yoga* and *bhoga*. The role played by the guru, the spiritual guide and teacher in the stern masculine disciplines of yoga, is

1761. निधाय धारां वदने सुधायाः श्रीचक्रमभ्यर्च्य कुलक्रमेण। आस्वाद्य मद्यं पिशितं सुगाक्षीमालिङ्ग्य मोक्षं सुधियो लभन्ते॥ आस्वादयन्तः पिशितस्य खण्डमाकण्ठपूर्णं च सुधां पिबन्तः। सुगेक्षणासङ्गतमाचरन्तो मुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वयं व्रजामः॥ verses 4 and 7 of कौलरहस्य, D. C. ms. No. 959 of 1884–87 copied in संवत् 1790, i. e. in 1734 A. D. This may be compared with the doctrine of the नीलपटदर्शन quoted above (p. 1073). There is a ms. in the BORI at Poona (D. C. No. 994 of 1891–1895) called पञ्चमकारशोधनविधि, which describes the sanctifications of five makāras with Vedic mantras on the same lines as the महानिर्वाणतन्त्र cited above.

taken over in the initiations of bhoga by the devout and sensual helpmate. The initiating woman plays the part of Śakti while the male initiate assumes that of Śiva and both attain together to the realisation of the immanence within themselves of the consubstantiality of the Goddess and the God.' It has already been stated (p. 1054) that Prof. Zimmer is wrong in thinking that the Tāntrik rites were systematically disparaged as 'vāmamārga' by the Indian partisans of Yoga. He is also wrong (p. 130) when he says that 'throughout the first millenium A. D. they (Tāntric rites) were a basic element of normal Indian experience.' There is really very little evidence to substantiate this claim. He makes this sweeping generalisation as an art-critic and historian of Indian Art from the few tāntric sculptures on the Puri and other temples in Orissa and some other places in India. Vide the well-known work 'Bengal Lancer' by F. Yeats-Brown (London, Golancz, 1930) pp. 236–237, where the superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha justifies the obscene frescoes on the ground that until a man is master of his gross body he cannot see the Godhead and feels sure that future ages will look on Tántrik psychology with understanding.

One or two very peculiar notions and practices of the Tāntrikas may be briefly mentioned here. The offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the *devatā* with the recital of three *bījas* 'āṅ, hrīm, krom' and the mantras 'om Ānandabhairavāya namaḥ' and 'om Ānandabhairavyai namaḥ' was technically called *śuddhi* [1762]. The Mahānirvāṇa and Tantrarāja-tantra state that to drink wine without *śuddhi* [1763]

1762. शुद्धिं विना मद्यपानं केवलं विषभक्षणम्। चिररोगी भवेन्मन्त्री स्वल्पायुर्म्रियतेऽचिरात्॥ महानिर्वाण० VI. 13. Sir John Woodroffe offers the rather amusing explanation that wine without food produces greater injury and that *japa* of mantra and the performance of other rites were believed by the sādhakas to remove the curse from wine and that the sādhaka meditates upon the union of the Goddess and God Śiva in the wine, the latter being itself a devatā. सत्यत्रेताद्वापरेषु यथा मद्यादिसेवनम्। कलावपि तथा कुर्यात् कुलधर्मानुसारतः॥ कुलमार्गेण तत्त्वानि शोधितानि च योगिने। ये दद्युः सत्यवचसे नहि तान् बाधते कलिः॥ महानिर्वाण० IV. 56–60.

1763. The कुलार्णव (17. 25) defines वीर as 'वीतरागमदक्रोधकोपमात्सर्यमोहतः। रजस्तमोविदूरत्वाद्वीर इत्यभिधीयते॥'. In spite of these requirements of high qualities the रुद्रयामल (in 28. 31–36) provides that a वीर should honour the beautiful wife of another (or 'his own wife or another's') wearing charming ornaments whose body is suffused with erotic passion and who has become

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was like swallowing poison, that the person doing so would suffer from diseases for a long time, would soon die prematurely and that wine was to be drunk even by one who has attained some perfection only up till the mind has reached an ecstatic state of absorption (in thoughts of Devī) and that if he drinks beyond that stage he at once becomes a sinner (vide also Kulārṇava VII. 97–98 for the last proposition).

A most revolting rite from the view-point of all unsophisticated people is what is called 'cakra-pūjā' (worship in a circle). An equal number of men and women without distinction of caste and even near blood relations secretly meet at night and sit in a circle (vide Kaulāvalinirṇaya VIII. 76). The Goddess is represented by a *yantra* (diagram). There is a leader of the cakra. The regulations were that only persons who had attained the status of *Vīra* (defined above in n 1763) were to be admitted[1764] and *paśus* (ordinary men with beastly passions not curbed) were to be excluded. What assurance was there that the leader of the cakra himself possessed the noble qualities mentioned in the verse quoted above and would choose only men possessed of similar qualities? The women assembled cast their bodices in a receptacle and each of the assembled men secured a female companion for that night by lot i. e. by taking a bodice out of those contained in the receptacle. The practice of

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gay with wine 'अथ वीरो यजेत्कान्तां परकीयामथापि वा। ... मद्यनानलतत्साङ्गमासवानन्द-निग्रहात्। &c. The महानिर्वाण० I. 57 refers to the three categories of साधक: viz. पशु, वीर and दिव्य, the last being defined as दिव्यश्च देवतामायः शुद्धान्तःकरणः सदा। द्वन्द्वातीतो वीतरागः सर्वभूततनः क्षमी॥ (*ibid.* I. 55). The Tantras contain conflicting views on these three bhāvas. The Kālīvilāsa-tantra says that men of divya type existed only in Satya-yuga and Tretāyuga, Vīra only in Tretā and Dvāpara and these two were non-existent in Kali and Paśu-bhāva remained in Kali (VI. 10 and 21).

1764. Vide 'Śakti and Śākta' p. 354, Farquhar's 'Outlines of the religious Literature of India' p. 203, महानिर्वाणतन्त्र VIII. 204–219, श्रीचक्र-कृत्तान्तं शुभं वा यदि वाशुभम्। कदाचिदेव वक्तव्यमित्याज्ञा परमेश्वरि॥ कुलधर्मादिकं सर्वं सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा। गोपयेच्च प्रयत्नेन जननीजारगर्भवत्। वेदशास्त्रपुराणानि इतिहासानि गणिका इव। इयं तु शाम्भवी विद्या गुप्ता कुलवधूरिव॥ कुलार्णव XI. 79, 84, 85. In the महानिर्वाण (IV. 79–80), however, Śiva is made to say that the Kaulika-sādhana should be made openly and that what he said in other tantras about the concealment of Kaulikadharma not being blamable was not applicable when the Kali age became powerful.

Śrīcakra must have given rise to great obloquy and unpopularity for the Tāntrikas. Therefore, the Kulārṇava[1765] advises that cakrapūjā should be *sub rosa*. 'What happens at Śrīcakra, whether good or bad, should never be uttered (in public); this is the order (of God); one should never give out information about what happens at Cakrapūjā'. The 18th century Mahānirvāṇatantra, which is reformist in character, states that, since in the Kali age (in which people are weak and the influence of sinful age is very strong), for the last tattva (i. e. maithuna) one's own wife is alone to be the Śakti because in that case no fault can be found or some substitute like red sandalwood paste may be employed. In the author's youth whispers floated about that in some towns in Mahārāṣṭra cakrapūjā was practised, that even great Pandits thought that their learning was due to the favour of Devī, that they, though very orthodox in other respects, took once a year in Devīpūjā a thimbleful of wine as *prasāda*. The learned Achyutarāya[1766] Modak of Nasik composed at Nasik a work called 'Avaidikadhikkṛti' (condemnation of non-vaidika practices) wherein he severely handled the cult of the five makāras.

Naturally common people, who could not appreciate or understand the abstruse and subtle philosophy of Śakti, Nāda, Bindu and so forth, seized with avidity upon the apparently easy path of worship of Śakti by the five makāras and the mantras, bījas, cakras and the like taught by the Tantras and it has been seen above (pp. 1073–76) to what depths some persons professing to be gurus, Śāktas and Tāntrikas descended in course of time.

The path of the Tantras was in its higher level one of *Upāsanā* or *Bhakti*, though it very often degenerated into magic and moral depravity. The deity worshipped viz. Parameśvarī

1765. शेषतत्त्वं महेशानि निर्वीर्ये प्रबले कलौ। स्वकीया केवला ज्ञेया सर्वदोषविवर्जिता॥ अथवात्र स्वयम्भ्वादि कुसुमं माणवल्लभे। कथितं तत्पतिनिधौ कुसीदं परिकीर्तितम्॥ महानिर्वाण० VI. 14–15; अत्र means 'in offering शेषतत्त्व' (i. e. the 5th). The com. explains 'कुसीदं रक्तचन्दनम्'. Women that could be śaktis were of three classes, स्वीया (one's own wife), परकीया (wife of another) and साधारणी (a woman who is a *veśyā*).

1766. Vide for Achyutarāya Modak 'Taraporevalā Commemoration volume' of the Deccan College Research Institute, pp. 214–220. The work was finished at Pañcavaṭī in śaka 1736 Phālguna bright half 10th (i. e. in 1815 A. D.).

presented three aspects to the *upāsaka*[1767] (devotee) viz. gross (sthūla), subtle (sūkṣma) and para (highest). The first aspect is represented by the form of Devī with hands, feet and other limbs, which is fit for worship with the hands and the eyes of the devotee; the second aspect consists of mantras, which are fit for apprehension with the organs of hearing and speech by those who have the good fortune to receive the mantras from a worthy guru. The third aspect (*para*) is one to be apprehended by the mind of the sādhaka and described as all-pervading consciousness and the like (in Nityāṣoḍaśikā VI. 49–50).

Some modern writers have been somewhat unjust to the whole Tāntrik literature in labelling it all as black magic or as full of obscenities. The present writer is not one of those who sometimes hold that what is not understood is either false, absurd or non-existent. He is prepared to believe that the end and aim of a few of the higher minds among Tāntrikas and of some of the works on Tantra was the attainment of high spiritual powers by Yoga practices, the Realization of the Supreme Tattva (Principle) variously designated as *Brahma*, Viṣṇu, Śiva or Devī, and Liberation (mokṣa). He is aware that many of these claim to be based on Vedic traditions, teachings and practices and to have further developed the conceptions underlying Vedic teachings and ritual and that even the magic rites contained in several Tāntrik works had their counterparts, though on a much smaller scale, in the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda, Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and other Vedic works. The present author, though he has carefully studied many of the Tantras and the Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the bhāṣya and commentaries thereon, has to admit that he has had no mystic experience, but he is not prepared to deny that prophets, saints, poets and others might have mystic visions and experiences. Man's psychic powers are vast

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1767. अथात्रोपास्याया: परमेश्वर्यास्त्रीणि रूपाण्युपास्तियोग्यानि स्थूलं सूक्ष्मं परं चेति। तत्राद्यं करचरणाद्यवयवशीलं मन्त्रसिद्धिमतां चक्षुरिन्द्रियपाणीन्द्रिययोर्योग्यम्। ततः पद्मनिभां देवीं बालार्ककिरणारुणाम्, इत्यादिना वक्ष्यमाणम्। द्वितीयं मन्त्रात्मकं पुण्यवतां श्रवणेन्द्रियवागिन्द्रिययोर्योग्यम्।... तृतीयं वासनात्मकं पुण्यवतां मनसो योग्यं — चैतन्यमात्मनो रूपम् — इत्यादिना षष्ठे पटले वक्ष्यमाणम्। एतत्त्रितयातीतं तु वाङ्मनसातीतं युक्तैरवंतयाऽनुभूयमानमखण्डं रूपम्। सेतुबन्ध on नित्याषोडशिका॰ pp. 7–8. The words चैतन्यमात्मनो रूपम् occur in नित्याषोडशिका॰ VI. 50 p. 213. नित्या is 'श्रीपरमशिवाभिन्ना शक्तिरेव तावच्छिरसेत्युच्यते।' सेतुबन्ध on p. 25. The नित्याषोडशिका॰ (I. 138–160) contains a finely worded description of the gross aspect of Devī beginning with the half verse 'ततः पद्मनिभां देवीं बालार्ककिरणारुणाम्.'

and unknown as propounded in Alexis Carrell's work 'Man the unknown' and in 'Invisible influence' by Dr. Alexander Cannon (15th impression, Rider and Co., London, 1935). He knows that some of the Tāntrik works made a distinction between the rules of ordinary social life and conventions (samājā-dharma) and the peculiar forms of Tāntrik worship, in which, while it lasts, no distinction is made on the ground of caste or sex (vide notes 1711 and 1713). It may further be conceded that the Tantra works placed women on a footing of equality with men, gave them an exalted position and that they endeavoured to provide a common platform (as shown in *n.* 1704 above) for differing and wrangling sects of Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and others by putting forward Devī as the object of worship for all; but they had not much success as is shown by the facts that Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas still carried on their quarrels and that the Tāntrik texts themselves fell into five classes, viz. Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Gāṇapatya and that there are differing doctrines among the Tāntrikas called Kādimata, Hādimata &c.

The matters that distinguish Tāntrik works from other religious literature in Sanskrit are the [1768] promise of the attainment of miraculous powers, the Realization of the one Supreme Principle in a short time by means of the Tāntrik *sādhanā* 'method or procedure' (vide Intro. to 'Principles of Tantra' p. XIV), by their insistence on the worship of Devī with makāras alone as yielding the desired results (as in Mahānirvāṇa V. 24 'pañcatattva-vihīnāyām pūjāyām na phalod-

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1768. Sir John Woodroffe remarks (in the Introduction to his 'Principles of Tantra' part 2, pp. XII-XIV) that the one topic that appears to differentiate Tantras from other religious works is the constituent parts of its ritual such as the mantras, bījas, mudrās, yantras, *bhūtaśuddhi* and that it is mainly by these items rather than by anything else that the tāntrik character of a work is established. Vide also 'the Śāktas' by E. A. Payne p. 137 for a similar view. Sir. John Woodroffe, while reviewing Payne's work (in JRAS for 1935 at p. 387), himself agreed that what distinguished the Śākta ritual is the mantra and magical sections and that part of it which deals with the secret ritual, that, while there is ordinarily no *bhoga* (enjoyment) where there is *yoga*, in the Śākta doctrine a man may have both *yoga* and *bhoga* and that this is a distinct and profound characteristic of that doctrine. Even the Buddhist Vajrayāna Tantras purport to aim at the attainment of *bodhi* (vide Guhyasamāja p. 154, Sādhanamālā I. p. 225 and II. p. 421) and ज्ञानसिद्धि I. 4 ये तु सत्त्वाः समाख्याताः सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जिताः। ते स्पृशन्ति परां बोधिं जन्मनीहैव साधकाः॥.

bhavaḥ') and on their peculiar ritual of mantras, bījas (syllables meaningless to ordinary men), nyāsas, mudrās, cakras, yantras and similar things for attaining their goal. The condemnation poured on Tāntricism is principally due to their insistence on wine, meat and sexual unions as the best and the only means for the effective worship of Devī, their theory that by merely repeating some mantra or mantras over wine, meat and other tattvas, by offering them to Devī and by meditation on her, one may drink wine or eat meat, when in the same breath they say emphatically that partaking of wine and meat is sinful without this ritual. This antagonizes those who are not *kaulas* and who hold that this persistent teaching is very dangerous for the common run of men and savours of hypocrisy.

Some of the Tantras practically inculcated what appears to non-tāntrikas unbridled licence. The Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya (IV. 15 ff) asserts: 'The Śāktas have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva (i. e. maithuna); a sādhaka becomes *siddha* only by the (practice) of the fifth tattva. If he resorts only to the first (i. e. wine) he becomes only Bhairava, if only to the 2nd (meat) he becomes Brahmā, by the third (fish) he becomes a mahābhairava, by the 4th (mudrā) he becomes foremost among sādhakas.[1769] The same Tantra goes further and frankly says 'all women are fit for intercourse to a (Śākta) worshipper except the wives of his guru or of those Śāktas who have attained to the status of *Vīra*, that for those who have reached the stage of *advaita* there is no prohibition nor is anything enjoined. To the pure everything is pure, it is only the hankering that is blamable.' In this connection that work advances certain puerile and obscene arguments (in VIII. 223-225) about illicit or incestuous intercourse that cannot be set out here. That tantra does not stand alone in such statements. For example, the Kālīvilāsatantra (X. 20-21) allows adulterous intercourse to a 'Śākta' devotee pro-

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1769. अथातः संप्रवक्ष्यामि पञ्चतत्त्वविनिर्णयम्। पञ्चमात्तु परं नास्ति शाक्तानां सुखमोक्षयोः। केवलैः पञ्चमैरेव सिद्धो भवति साधकः। केवलेनाद्ययोगेन साधको भैरवो भवेत्। &c. कौलावलीनिर्णय IV. 15-16; गुरुधीरवधूस्त्यक्त्वा रन्याः सर्वाश्च योषितः। एता वर्ज्याः प्रयत्नेन सन्दिग्धानां च सर्वदा॥ अद्वैतानां च कुत्रापि निषेधो नैव विद्यते। ... अत एव यदा यस्य वासना कुत्सिता भवेत्। तदा दोषाय भवति नान्यथा दूषणं क्वचित्॥ कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII. 221-222, 226; पवित्रं सकलं चैव वासना कुत्सिता भवेत्। ibid. XVII. 170. दीक्षितः परनारीषु यदि मैथुनमाचरेत्। न बिन्दोः पातनं कार्यं कृते च ब्रह्महा भवेत्। यदि न प्रपतेद् बिन्दुः परनारीषु पार्वति। सर्वसिद्धीश्वरो भूत्वा विहरेद् भूमिमण्डले॥ कालीविलाससन्त्र X. 20-21.

vided it is not carried to the last stage of emission and avers that, if he observes the condition in the proviso, he would become the master of supernatural powers in spite of adultery. It should be noted that the author of this work has unabashed hardihood to make Śiva tell this to Pārvatī. About wine that work remarks 'just as drinking of soma[1770] is prescribed for brāhmaṇas is solemn Vedic sacrifices, similarly wine should be drunk at proper times (or according to the practice of Kaulas), since it confers enjoyment as well as mokṣa; drinking wine is blamable in the case of those who hanker after benefits or who are egoistic; but in the case of those that are free from egoism there is neither prohibition (of drinking) nor the enjoining of it. One who is free from the fetters of making distinctions should practise drinking wine for the purpose of remembering the meaning of the mantras and for making his mind fixed (on worship) but he who resorts to wine, and other tattvas merely for pleasure is sinful.' The teachings of works like the Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya about drinking wine and sexual intercourse with all sorts of women as the highest means of Śakti worship by persons professing to be *advaitins* led to great depravity and sexual immorality and orgies as indicated by the criticism in medieval works cited above (pp. 1073–76) that regarded Tāntrik teachings as execrable, though some medieval Hindu works admitted into religious practices nyāsa, mudrā, yantra and the like, which were deemed to be innocuous and which would be described in this work later on. The mere intention of doing good if certain conditions were fulfilled is not enough excuse, when it is most likely that the means proposed for attaining a high spiritual level and for liberation would have the opposite effect on most people. Taking all things into consideration, the present author is constrained to observe that medieval and recent writers who severely criticized Tāntrik works were on the whole largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices as enunciated in many Tāntrik works and of the works themselves. For one man that attained super-normal powers, high spiritual level and great mystic experience there must have been hundreds of hypocrites, charlatans, and licentious men who deluded trustful and ignorant men and particularly women.

1770. यथा क्रतुषु विप्राणां सोमपानं विधीयते। मद्यपानं तथा कार्यं समये भोगमोक्षदम्॥ फलार्थिनामवश्यत्वं दूषणमेव हि। निरहंकारिणां चैव न निषेधो न वा विधिः॥ कौलावली० VIII. 90–91; मन्त्रार्थस्मरणार्थं तु मनसः स्थैर्यहेतवे। मेद्यपात्रविनिर्मुक्तो मद्यपानं समाचरेत्। सेवेत यः सुखार्थाय मद्यादीनि स पातकी॥ ibid. VIII. 74.

Only a few Purāṇas like the Devīpurāṇa, the Kālikā, the Devīmāhātmya in the Mārkaṇḍeya provide for the employment of some of the condemned makāras (madya, māṁsa, matsya) in the worship of the Great Goddess. From about the 6th or 7th century A.D. Purāṇas began to incorporate the special ceremonial characteristics of the Śāktas and Tāntrikas. Aparārka quotes a passage[1771] from the Devīpurāṇa wherein the qualifications of a *Sthāpaka* (one who performs Devapratiṣṭhā) are set out, viz. he would be the best Sthāpaka for establishing images of Devī and the Mātṛs, who knows the *vāma* (left or opposite) and the *dakṣiṇa* (right) path of worship, who has thoroughly mastered the veda relating to the Mātṛs (the Mother Goddesses), who is clever in the interpretation of Pañcarātra works and is proficient in the Tantras of the Mātṛs &c. The Kālikā-purāṇa devotes many chapters (54 ff) to the description of mantras, kavacas, mudrās, nyāsas &c. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa also and Agni[1772] 372.34 expressly say that the worship of gods and of Viṣṇu also is either *vaidikī*, *tāntrikī* or *miśrā*, the first and third being for the three higher varṇas and the tāntrikī for śūdras. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa refers to the worship of Keśava laid down in the Tantras for him who desires to cast out the knot (bondage or grief) of the heart. It (Bhāgavata) also mentions[1773] Vaidikī and Tāntrikī dīkṣā (in XI. 11. 37) and refers to the Tāntrik method of the aṅgas, upāṅgas, āyudhas and decorations in the worship of the Lord of Lakṣmī.[1774] Some of the Purāṇas and medieval nibandhas, however, fully utilized what Tantras had to say about mantras, japa, nyāsa, maṇḍala, cakra, yantra and

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1771. यदपि देवीपुराणे—वामदक्षिणवेत्ता यो मातृवेदार्थपारगः। स भवेत्स्थापकः श्रेष्ठो देवीनां मातरा(तृका!) सु च। पञ्चरात्रार्थकुशलो मातृतन्त्रविशारदः। &c. अपरार्क p. 16, who then quotes Matsya 265. 1–5 for the qualifications of sthāpaka in which there is no reference to वाम, दक्षिण or तन्त्र. This and the quotations from the Bhāgavata indicate that the Matsya was composed some centuries before the देवीपुराण and भागवतपुराण.

1772. वैदिकस्तान्त्रिको मिश्रो विष्णोर्वै त्रिविधो मखः। त्रयाणामीप्सितेनैकविधिना हरिमर्चयेत्। अग्नि 372. 34.

1773. य आशु हृदयग्रन्थिं निर्जिहीर्षुः परात्मनः। विधिनोपचरेद् देवं तन्त्रोक्तेन च केशवम्॥ लब्धानुग्रह आचार्यात्तेन सन्दर्शितागमः। पिण्डं विशोध्य संन्यासकृतरक्षोऽर्चयेद्धरिम्॥ भागवत XI. 3. 47 and 49. Here पिण्डशोधन refers to the भूतशुद्धि prescribed in such तान्त्रिक works as महानिर्वाणतन्त्र (V. 93–105) and taken over in late medieval works like the पूजाप्रकाश pp. 129–133 and न्यास also is mentioned as a means of protection against evil.

1774. तान्त्रिकाः परिचर्यायां केवलस्य श्रियः पतेः। अङ्गोपाङ्गायुधाकल्पं कल्पयन्ति यथैव हि। भागवत XII. 11. 2.

similar matters. This will be illustrated later by some examples. Even for such a simple and common topic as the 16 upacāras of worship, the Varṣakriyā-kaumudī (p. 156) and Ekādaśī-tattva (p. 59) quote the Prapañasāra-tantra (VI. 41-42).

The Purāṇas and some smṛtis prescribe short mantras of five, six, eight, twelve, thirteen and more syllables as very efficacious for securing all objects. A few of them are set out in the note[1775] below. Medhātithi or Manu says that the word mantra primarily means a part of the Veda comprising Rgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, treated as such by those who have studied the Veda, and that expressions like "Agnaye svāhā"[1776] employed in rites like Vaiśvadeva are called mantras in a secondary sense by way of praise. The vedic conception was that a mantra has great potency and that it must be correctly repeated to secure the desired result, that a mantra defective as to accent or as to a letter or wrongly applied did not convey the meaning intended and that becoming a thunderbolt in the form of a word or words it destroys[1777] the *yajamāna*. Vedic mantras are

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1775. Vide शारदातिलक I. 73 ff for references to mantras of five or more letters. A pañcākṣara mantra is नमः शिवाय (in लिङ्गपुराण I. 85); the same becomes a mantra of six letters when 'om' is prefixed. Other mantras of six letters are: ओं नमो विष्णवे (in वृद्धहारीतस्मृति VI. 213), ओं नमो हराय (in हेमाद्रि on व्रत vol. I. p. 227), श्रीरामरामरामेति (vide note 219 above) and two more on p. 434 under 'Ṣaḍakṣaramantra'; 'Khakholkāya namaḥ' is a ṣaḍakṣara mantra of Āditya quoted from भविष्यपुराण in हेमाद्रि (व्रत II. p. 521) and in Kalpataru on vrata p. 9 and 199 (in the latter it is called मूलमन्त्र under Nimbasaptamī, the description of which is taken from Bhaviṣya, Brāhma-parva, chap. 215 and 216); mantras of eight letters are: ओं नमो नारायणाय (in नारदपुराण I. 16. 38-39, ब्रह्मपुराण 60. 24, वराहपु. 120. 7), ओं नमो वासुदेवाय (in वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र IV. 12, नरसिंहपु. 63 6, q. by अपरार्क, मत्स्यपु. 102. 4 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 182 as मूलमन्त्र); a mantra of twelve letters is ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय (in नारदपु. I. 16. 38-39, नरसिंहपु. 7. 43); for a mantra of 13 letters about राम, vide note 219 above); mantras of 16 letters are गोपीजनवल्लभचरणौ शरणं प्रपद्ये (in नारदपु. II. 59. 44) and ह्रीं गौरि कमलवासिनि गोपेश्वरि हुं फट् स्वाहा (in शारदा० IX. 99).

1776. मन्त्रशब्देन देवतोद्देशशब्दवान् स्वाहाकारान्तोऽग्नये स्वाहेत्येवमादिर्निर्दिश्यते। न ह्यग्ने मन्त्रा वैश्वदेवेषु विनियुक्तास्तेषु च मन्त्रत्वं प्रशंसयोच्यते। न तु स्वाध्यायेऽपठितानां मन्त्रत्वमस्ति। स्वाध्यायैकदेशः कश्चिद्ऋग्यजुःसामात्मको वेदाध्यायिभिर्मन्त्र इति व्यवह्रियते। व्यवहारतश्च पदार्थावगमनम्। मेधातिथि on मनु III. 121 (in Dr. Jha's edition).

1777. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 347 and note 840, where verse 52 from the Pāṇinīyaśikṣā is quoted and the story of the result of wrong accentuation of the word 'indraśatruḥ' is briefly set out from Tai. S. II. 4. 12. 1 and Śat. Br. I. 6. 3. 8-16.

of four classes viz. *ṛk* (which is metrical), *yajus* (which has no restriction as to metre but which must be a sentence), a *sāman* (which is sung) and *nigada* (i. e. *praiṣa*, meaning words that are addressed by one person to another calling upon the latter to do a certain act, e. g. the words 'srucaḥ sammṛḍḍhi, prokṣaṇīr-āsādaya'. Nigadas are yajus in form but are distinguished from yajus by the fact that the former are loudly uttered, while a yajus is ordinarily recited in a low voice.[1778] The most sacred mantra is the Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10 'tat-savitur' &c). The Atharvaveda (XIX. 71. 1) calls it Vedamātā (the mother of the Veda). The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad (V. 14) contains a grand eulogy of the Gāyatrī.[1779] *Om* is a very sacred syllable, a symbol of *brahma* and may be called in the language of the Tantras a bīja. There are only a few syllables such as *om*, *phaṭ*, *vaṣaṭ* in the Vedic literature that on the face of them have no meaning but are like *bīja* mantras in the Tantra sense. There is a *Bījanighaṇṭu* (a dictionary of bīja mantras) printed in 'Tāntrik texts' Vol. I, pp. 28–29 (where monosyllabic bījas such as Hrīm, Śrīm, Krīm, Hum, phaṭ, are set out and described in symbolic words indicated in note 1708 above. It is stated about a dozen times in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa viz. it is the perfection of sacrifice when it is *rūpasamṛddha* (perfect as to its form) i. e. when the ṛk verse pointedly refers to the sacrificial act that is being performed.[1780] The Nirukta (I. 15–16) starts a lengthy discussion on Kautsa's view that mantras have no sense (or are purposeless). There is a long discussion in the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra (I. 2. 31 ff) on the same lines as in the Nirukta. Jaimini states that there is no difference in the meanings of words employed in the Veda and those employed by people and Śabara adds in his *bhāṣya* (on P. M. S. I. 2. 32) that mantras are recited in sacrifices only for the purpose of conveying or manifesting the meaning.[1781] It is difficult to

1778. Vide Jai. II. 1. 35–45 and H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 983–984 and note 2232 for further details about these.

1779. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 302–304 for the meaning and eulogies of Gāyatrī in various Sanskrit works and pp. 301–302 for the eulogy of 'om', which is called 'praṇava'.

1780. एतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृगभिवदति। ऐ. ब्रा. III. (अध्याय), 5 (खण्ड).

1781. The Nirukta (I. 16) quotes this Brāhmaṇa passage but reads ऋग्यजुर्वाभिवदतीति in its discussion on the question whether Vedic mantras are significant. The words of the Ait. Br. 'yat karma kriyamāṇam ṛgabhivadati'

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define what a vedic mantra is and it is generally understood, as said by Śabara, that passages or verses are mantras that are recognised as such by the learned.[1782] The whole Veda is divided into five categories viz. *Vidhi* (hortatory passages as in 'Agnihotram juhuyāt'), *mantras*, *nāmadheya* (names such as Udbhid in 'Udbhida yajeta' or 'Viśvajit' as in 'Viśvajitā yajeta'), *niṣedha* (prohibition as in 'nānṛtam vadet') and *arthavāda* (explanatory or laudatory passages as in 'Vāyu is a deity that is swiftest'). The Nirukta (I. 20) embodies the ancient view that the sages had an intuitive perception of Dharma and they transmitted the mantras by oral instruction to those that came after them and that had no intuitive perception of Dharma. The *mantras* and *stotras* were supposed even in the Ṛg. to induce the gods to come to the sacrifices and to bestow on those who recited them protection, valiant sons, cattle, wealth, victory and all sorts of things (e. g. vide Ṛg. I. 102. 1–5, II. 24. 15–16, II. 25. 2, III. 31. 14, IX. 20. 7, IX. 72. 9, X. 78. 8, X. 105. 1). It has been shown above p. 920 (in notes 4167–4168) how the Purāṇas prescribed their own mantras for many religious acts but those mantras also are significant and not meaningless.

Mantras are the very heart and core of Tantraśāstra so much so that the śāstra is often spoken of as mantraśāstra. The theory of Tāntrik writings such as the Prapañcasāra and Śāradātilaka about mantras may be briefly stated as follows: In the human body there are ten nāḍīs, the three principal being Iḍā (on the left side from the left testicle to the left nostril), Suṣumnā (in the middle of the body in the spinal chord) and Piṅgalā (on the right side from the right testicle to the right nostril). The Kuṇḍalinī lies asleep coiled like a snake in the Mūlādhāra-cakra. It is a form of the *śabda-brahma*. The Devī (or Śakti) assumes the form of Kuṇḍalinī, all gods reside in Devī and all mantras are Her forms (Śāradātilaka I. 55–57). It has already been stated how from contact with light (Jyotiḥ) Śakti becomes conscious and has a desire to create, then it solidifies and appears as a *bindu*. Through the instrumentality

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contain the same doctrine that the PMS and Śabara emphasize viz. mantras are 'arthapratyāyaka' or 'arthaprakāśaka'. शबर on अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः (पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 32) says 'अर्थप्रत्यायनार्थमेव यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम्'.

1782. अनाम्नातेषु मन्त्रत्वमाम्नातेषु हि विभागः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34 on which Śabara remarks अनाम्नातेषु मन्त्रत्वं न स्यादभिधायकेष्वपि। नाभिधायकत्वं मन्त्रत्वे हेतुः किं तर्हि। अभियुक्तप्रयोगः। येऽभियुक्तैर्मन्त्रा इति भोक्ष्यन्ते न ते मन्त्राः॥'.

of Kāla (Time) bindu divides itself into three, gross (i. e. bīja), subtle (sūkṣma i. e. nāda which is bījabindu) and *para* (i. e. bindu which is kāryabindu). This last is of the nature of an unmanifest sound and is called *śabdabrahma*[1782a] by the sages (Śāradātilaka I. 11–12, Prapañcasāra I. 41 ff). Śabdabrahma exists in all things as consciousness; it exists in the bodies of living human beings in the form of Kuṇḍalinī and then appears as letters in prose, poetry and so forth, being carried by Vāyu (air) to the throat, palate, teeth &c. The sounds thus produced are called *akṣaras* and when written they are spoken of as *varṇas* (letters of the alphabet, mātṛkā, which are 50 from *a* to *kṣa*). The impulse to sound production arising in mūlādhāra-cakra is called 'parā' (vāk), it is called paśyantī when it reaches 'svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra, madhyamā in the heart and vaikharī in the mouth. Both akṣara and varṇa are Kuṇḍalinī made articulate in speech and visible in writing. All the *mantras* (some say they are nine crores) are evolved from the varṇas of the alphabet that are deemed (by Tāntrikas) to be living conscious sound powers. It is the bīja mantras like hrīm, śrīm, krīm that make visible the form of the Devatā (Mahānirvāṇa V. 18–19).[1783] It is wrong to suppose that mantras are mere letters or words or language. They assume different forms, such as bīja-mantras, kavaca, hṛdaya &c. The bījamantras like Hrīm (representing Tribhuvaneśvarī or Māyā), Śrīm (representing Lakṣmī), Krīm (representing Kālī) cannot possibly be called language, since they convey no meaning to ordinary men. They are the Devatā (Iṣṭadevatā of the

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1782 a. देवी is described in शारदातिलक I. 56–57 as शब्दब्रह्मस्वरूपिणी and पञ्चाशद्वर्णरूपिणी.

1783. ताराद्या कमलाद्या च वाग्भवाद्या यथाक्रमम्। ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां सावित्री कथिता कलौ॥ ··· द्विजादीनां प्रभेदार्थं शूद्रेभ्यः परमेश्वरि। सन्ध्येयं वैदिकी प्रोक्ता प्रागेवाह्निककर्मणाम्॥ महानिर्वाण० VIII. 87–88. ओम् is called तार, श्रीं is कमलाबीज and ऐं is वाग्भवबीज. About गायत्री the शारदा० (XXI. 1–3) says 'अथो वक्ष्यामि गायत्रीं तत्त्वरूपां त्रयीमयीम्। यया प्रकाश्यते ब्रह्म सच्चिदानन्दलक्षणम्। प्रणवाद्या व्याहृतयः सप्त स्युस्तत्पदादिकाः। चतुर्विंशत्यक्षरात्मा गायत्री शिरसान्विता॥ सर्ववेदोद्भूतः सारो मन्त्रोयं समुदाहृतः॥. For the seven व्याहृतिs, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 301 note 713. Each is to be repeated preceded by *om*. The शिरस् of गायत्री is ओमापो ज्योती रसोऽमृतं ब्रह्मभूर्भुवः स्वरोम्। The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 165 says about गायत्री 'अभिचारेषु तां देवीं विपरीतां प्रयोजयेत्॥ कार्या व्याहृतयश्चात्र विपरीताक्षरास्तथा। विपरीताक्षरं कार्यं शिरश्च मनुजेश्वर॥ आदौ शिरः प्रयोक्तव्यं प्रणवान्ते च यादव। स्वाहास्थाने च फट्कारं साध्यनामसमन्वितम्। गायत्रीं चिन्तयेच्चात्र दीप्तानलसमप्रभाम् ··· अभिचारे च होतव्या राजिका विषमिश्रिताः॥ स्वरक्तमिश्रं होतव्यं कटु तैलमथापि वा। अल्पापराधे न कर्तव्यमभिचारं तथैव तु॥ महापराधं बलिनं देवब्राह्मणकण्टकम्। अभिचारेण यो हन्याच्च स दोषेण लिप्यते॥ verses 55–63.

sādhaka, the worshipper) imparted to the sādhaka by the qualified guru at the time of dīkṣā (initiation). They are not efficacious if merely learnt by reading books. A mantra according to Tāntrik works is the sound body of Śakti charged with the vibrations of the spiritual personality of the original Tāntrika seer of the *mantra* and endowed with a perpetual store of power by the Tāntrik seer. What is needed to awaken Power in the disciple and to reap the full effect of the mantra is the touch of the *guru*, the imagination and concentrated will power of the sādhaka. The deity willed that certain letters uttered by the seer should as sound or sounds convey such and such a meaning and should have a certain potency. The sounds represented by the letters are forms of Śivaśakti i.e. *Śabdabrahma*. From this last the whole world proceeds in the form of sounds (śabda) and the objects (*artha*) which sounds or words denote. The Devatā, the mantra and the guru are the essentials of *sādhanā* (procedure that leads on to Siddhi, laid down in Tāntrik works); the disciple has to revolve in his mind that the three are non-different. Mantra is not the same thing as a prayer. For a prayer a person may employ any words that he may choose, but in the case of a mantra definite letters are considered necessary, which are deemed to be the forms in which Śakti manifests Herself to the worshipper. A mantra may be in the form of words that have an obvious meaning or in the form of letters arranged in a particular order and that have no meaning to the uninitiated. It is recognised in some of the works on this śāstra that thought has creative power, that each person is Śiva, and can attain to higher and higher spiritual levels depending upon his ability to realise himself as Śiva. Thoughts are real, kind thoughts will do good to ourselves and to those around us, evil thoughts and wishes of others may cause us suffering.

Tāntrik works have their own mantras and they also employ Vedic mantras. For example, the mantra 'Jātavedase sunavāma' (Ṛg. I. 99. 1), though addressed to Agni, is employed in later works for invoking Durgā, the mantra 'Tryambakam yajāmahe' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12) is addressed to Rudra, but is called Mṛtyuñjaya-mantra or mṛtasañjīvinī mantra in Tāntrik works and is prescribed for purifying the mind (*cittaśuddhi*) in the Mahānirvāṇa (VIII. 243). Similarly, the Gāyatrī mantra (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) is employed by the Tāntrikas. Vide Śāradātilaka XXI. 1–8 and 16 (latter for *dhyāna* of Gāyatrī) and Prapañcasāra, which

devotes the whole chapter 30 to the explanation of *om*, the *vyāhṛtis* and the words of the Gāyatrī and Gāyatrī-sādhana). The Mahānirvāṇa prescribes the performance of Vaidikī *sandhyā* to be followed by the Tāntrikī *sandhyā*. The Tāntrikī Gāyatrī is 'Ādyāyai vidmahe Parameśvaryai dhīmahi | tan-naḥ Kālī pracodayāt ||' (Mahānirvāṇa V. 62–63). Even Śūdra Tāntrikas were to recite this last, while the three higher classes were to repeat the vedic Gāyatrī employing *om*, *śrīm* and *aim* before it respectively. The importance of guru, mantra and devatā is emphatically brought out in the following verse 'the person, who considers guru as a mere mortal, a mantra as mere letters and images (of deities) as mere stones falls into Hell.'[1784] The Rudrayāmala says 'If Śiva is angered, Guru can save (the pupil), but if Guru is angered, no one can save (the pupil)'.

The Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, Jñānārṇavatantra, the Śāradātilaka and almost all Tāntrika works say that mantras possess wonderful and inconceivable powers,[1785] that a follower of Tantra secures all powers by following the practices of the school of his guru traditionally handed down and by faith, that mantras are the means of securing the fruits desired, that the authoritativeness of Tantraśāstra depends mainly on the faith of the followers of the śāstra; that the sādhaka should come to feel that guru, mantra, the deity, his own soul, mind and life-breaths are all one and then he will possess the knowledge of the Highest Self. Some ot the Tāntrik works contain most exaggerated praises of mantras, particularly the śrīvidyāmantra of sixteen letters; e. g. Jñānārṇava says 'Even crores of Vājapeyas and thousands of Aśvamedhas are not equal (in merit) to even the utterance of Śrīvidyā and so also gifts of crores of Kapilā cows cannot be compared to one utterance of *Śrīvidyā* (24th

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1784. गुरौ मनुष्यबुद्धिं च मन्त्रे चाक्षरबुद्धिकम्। प्रतिमासु शिलाबुद्धिं कुर्वाणो नरकं व्रजेत्॥ कुलार्णव XII. 45, कौलावलीनिर्णय X. 12–13; रुद्रयामल (II. 65) says 'गुरुः पिता गुरुर्माता गुरुर्देवो गुरुर्गतिः। शिवे रुष्टे गुरुस्त्राता गुरौ रुष्टे न कश्चन॥' This verse occurs in कुलार्णव 12. 49 (reads गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः).

1785. मन्त्राणामचिन्त्यशक्तिता। संप्रदायविश्वासाभ्यां सर्वसिद्धिः। विश्वासमूर्यिष्ठं प्रामाण्यम्। गुरुमन्त्रदेवतात्ममनःपवनानामैक्यनिष्कालनादन्तरात्मविप्तिः। परशुरामकल्पसूत्र I. 7–11; अकारादिक्षकारान्ता मातृका पीठरूपिणी। ··· ककारादिक्षकारान्ता वर्णास्तु शिवरूपिणः। पञ्चाशद्वर्णरूपेण शब्दाख्यं वस्तु सुव्रते। ··· ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र I. p. 1; मातृकावर्णभेदेभ्यः सर्वे मन्त्राः प्रजज्ञिरे। मन्त्रविद्याविभागेन त्रिविधा मन्त्रजातयः॥ ··· पुंमन्त्रा हुंफडन्ताः स्युर्ढ्रीं ढान्ताश्च स्त्रियो मताः। नपुंसका नमोन्ताः स्युरित्युक्ता मनवस्त्रिधा॥ शारदा० II. 57 and 59. Vide p. 118 note 305 where the verse 'चिन्मयस्य &c' is quoted; राघवभट्ट quotes it on शारदा० II. 59.

paṭala, verses 74-76). Vide Agnipurāṇa 125. 51-55 for mantras employed in killing an enemy, chapters 134 and 135 for Trailokyavijayavidyā and Saṅgrāmavijayavidyā respectively.

Numberless mantras are contained in the Tantras made from different arrangements of the constituent parts of a mantra. The Mahānirvāṇa first gives a mantra of ten syllables as noted below and then by different arrangements of the letters and by addition of certain other syllables and words like 'Kālike' it forms twelve mantras, remarks that there are crores of mantras and that the mantras contained in all Tantras are all mantras of the Great[1786] Devī.

The word *mantra* is explained as derived from 'man' to think and 'trai' or 'trā'. Yāska's Nirukta (VII. 12) derives it simply from 'man'. The Kulārṇava says 'mantra' is so called since it saves from all dangers, as the *sādhaka* thereby is led to ponder over God of immeasurable refulgence that is the only principle (in the world)'. A similar derivation is given by Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad, by the Prapañcasāra and other Tantras.[1787] Numerous varieties of mantras called Kavaca, Hṛdaya, Upahṛdaya, Netra, Astra, Rakṣā and so forth are specified in the Tāntrik texts, one or two of which may be illustrated in the note below and the rest are passed over for reasons of space.[1788]

1786. The mantra of ten syllables in महानिर्वाण० V. 10-13 is क्रीं क्रीं क्रीं परमेश्वरि स्वाहा. Then it proceeds: 'तव मन्त्रा ह्यसंख्याताः कोटिकोट्यर्बुदास्तथा। ... येषु येषु च तन्त्रेषु ये ये मन्त्राः प्रकीर्तिताः। ते सर्वे तव मन्त्राः स्युस्त्वमाद्या प्रकृतिर्यतः॥ महानिर्वाण० V. 18-19.

1787. क्रियाकर्मैक्यकर्तृणामर्थी मन्त्रो वदत्यथ। मननात् प्राणनान्मन्त्रः सर्वबाध्यस्य वाचकः॥ रामपूर्वतापिनीय-उप. I. 12; ददाति दिव्यभावं क्षिणुयाद्दुरितान्यतो भवेद्दीक्षा। मननात्तत्त्वपदस्य त्रायत इति मन्त्रमुच्यते भयतः॥ प्रपञ्चसार V. 2; मननात्तत्त्वरूपस्य देवस्यामिततेजसः। त्रायते सर्वभयतस्तस्मान्मन्त्र इतीरितः॥ कुलार्णव 17. 54.

1788. The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III. 33 provides for a मन्त्र of ten syllables, 'गोपीजनवल्लभाय स्वाहा' together with ऋषि, छन्दस्, देवता and विनियोग 'गोपीजनपदस्यान्ते वल्लभाय समुच्चरेत्। स्वाहान्तोयं महामन्त्रो दशार्णो मुक्तिमुक्तिदः॥ सदाशिवस्तस्य ऋषिः पङ्क्तिश्छन्द उदाहृतम्। देवता कृष्ण उद्दितो विनियोगोऽखिलाप्तये॥' verses 3-4. Then the कवच called त्रैलोक्यविजय is described in verses 5-27 beginning with त्रैलोक्यविजयस्याथ कवचस्य प्रजापतिः। ऋषिश्छन्दश्च जगती देवो राजेश्वरः स्वयम्। त्रैलोक्यविजयप्राप्तौ विनियोगः प्रकीर्तितः। प्रणवो मे शिरः पातु श्रीकृष्णाय नमः सदा। पायात्कपालं कृष्णाय स्वाहेति सततं मम॥ कृष्णेति पातु नेत्रे मे कृष्ण स्वाहेति तारकाम्।... क्लीं कृष्णाय नमः कर्णौ पातु कल्पतरुर्मम। श्रीं कृष्णाय नमः पातु नित्यं मेऽधरयुग्मकम्॥ ... इति ते कथितं भूप सर्वाघौघविनाशनम्। त्रैलोक्यविजयं नाम कवचं परमेशितुः। &c. For a comparatively modern कवच of आद्या कालिका, vide महानिर्वाणतन्त्र VII. 56-65, and नारदपु० II. 56. 48-50 for a कवचमन्त्र beginning with पूर्वे मां पातु गोविन्दो ... भूतले पातु वाराहस्तथोर्ध्वे च त्रिविक्रमः॥ (in four दिशाs, 4 कोणदिशाs, पाताल and ऊर्ध्व with different names of विष्णु).

The Śāradātilaka divides mantras into male, female and neuter; masculine mantras end in 'hum' and 'phaṭ', female mantras in 'svāhā' and neuter mantras end with 'namaḥ'. This is stretched further so as to apply to letters viz. the vowels ṛ ṝ, ḷ ḹ are said to be neither and the rest are said to be not neuter but only short and long (Śāradātilaka, VI. 3 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa thereon). Śāradātilaka (from chap. VII to XXIII) is devoted to mantras of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Tvaritā and others, Durgā,[1789] Tripurā, Gaṇapati, Candramas. Many of the mantras are to be repeated thousands of times or *lakhs* of times in order to secure full effect. For example, in X. 105–107 the Śāradātilaka prescribes that a certain mantra should be repeated five lakhs of times and then fifty thousand āhutis of ghee should be made and worship of the Devī with the procedure prescribed should be performed. The worshipper then secures whatever he may desire and can make kings sub-servient to his will. Another noticeable feature is that the mantras are treated like the mantras of the Veda and mention is made in the manner of the Anukramaṇīs of the sage, the metre, the deity and the viniyoga (or purpose for which it is to be used or employed). Though the Śāradātilaka is a sober work free from the sexual practices of Vāmamārga, still it does contain mantras for magical purposes such as bringing women under control (IX. 103–104, X. 76),[1790] bringing about the paralysing or the death of an enemy by mantras (XI. 60–124, XXI. 95 XXII. 1 ff).

The Buddhist Tantras did not lag behind the Hindu Tantras in the matter of the potency of mantras. The Sādhanamālā[1791]

1789. The दुर्गागन्त्र is 'ओं ह्रीं दुं दुर्गायै नमः' (शारदा० XI 1-2) and then the work proceeds ऋषिश्च नारदश्छन्दो गायत्रं देवता मनोः। दुर्गा समीरिता सद्भिर्दुरितापविवारिणी॥ (XI. 3); दुरितापविवारिणी refers to the विनियोग; about the monosyllabic mantra 'śrīm' these are set out as follows; बीजमेतच्छ्रियः प्रोक्तं चिन्तामणिरिवापरः। ऋषिर्भृगुर्निचृच्छन्दो देवता श्रीः समीरिता॥ शारदा० VIII. 2-3.

1790. मूलमन्त्रं जपेन्मन्त्री नित्यमष्टसहस्रकम्। सप्ताहाद्वाञ्छितां नारीमाहरेत्स्मरविह्वलाम्। शारदा० IX. 103–104; सिद्धं मन्त्रं जपेन्मन्त्री सहस्रं शयनस्थितः। यां विचिन्त्य स्त्रियं रात्रौ सा समायाति तत्क्षणात्। *ibid.* X. 76. मूलमन्त्र would be ह्रीं श्रीं क्रीं.

1791. किमस्त्यसाध्यं मन्त्राणां योजितानां यथाविधि। साधनमाला p. 575; ओं आः ह्रीं हुं हूँ हः अयं मन्त्रराजो बुद्धत्वं ददाति किं पुनरन्याः सिद्धयः। *ibid.* p. 270; यातु किं बहु वचनीयं परमतिदुर्लभं बुद्धत्वमपि तेषां पाणितलावलीनबदरकफलमिवावतिष्ठति। *ibid.* p. 62, ओम् चलचल चिलिचिलि चुलुचुलु कुलकुलु हुलुहुलु हुंहुंहुंहुं फट्फट्फट्फट् पद्महस्ते स्वाहा दिने दिने पञ्चवारान् त्रिसन्ध्यमुच्चारयेत्। गर्दभोपि ग्रन्थशतत्रयं गृह्णाति। *ibid* p. 87; the

(*Continued on next page*)

asserts that there is nothing that cannot be accomplished by mantras if proper procedure is followed. For example, it says that a certain mantra that is a prince among mantras confers Buddhahood, what need is there to say about othere siddhis, that by another mantra even Buddhahood which is extremely difficult to attain is like a jujube fruit placed on the palm of the hand and that a certain mantra (of unmeaning words) if repeated five times at three periods in the day viz. the morning, noon and evening, makes even a fool (lit. an ass) master of three hundred works. The Buddhist Tantras also prescribe repetition of mantras for a lakh[1792] of times (vide Sādhanamālā, vol I, No. 165

(Continued from last page)

सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र chap. 21 (B. I. series ed. by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, 1952) contains several धारणीs (Talismanic sentences), one of which may be cited here (p. 267) 'अथ खलु बोधिसत्त्वो ... इमानि धारणीमन्त्रपदानि भाषते स्म। तद्यथा। ग्रले महाग्रले उक्के तुक्के मुक्के अडे अडाविति कृत्ये ... इट्टिनि विट्टिनि ... कृत्यावति स्वाहा'.

1792. ओं मणितारे हुं। लक्षजापेनार्या अग्रत उपतिष्ठति। यदिच्छति तत्सर्वं ददाति। विना मण्डलकरणानोपवासेन केवलं जापमात्रेण सिध्यति सर्वं कार्यं च साधयति। साधनमाला vol. I. p. 221. आर्या here means Goddess Tārā. The most famous mantra among Buddhists is 'Om Maṇipadme hūm' where 'maṇipadme' is vocative (and probably refers to Tārā deity, who has a jewel lotus). Vide Dr. F. W. Thomas in JRAS for 1906 p. 464. It is often rendered as 'Hail, the jewel lotus'. While these pages were passing through the press the present author received a work called 'Foundations of Tibetan mysticism' according to the Esoteric Teachings of the Great Mantra 'Om Maṇi Padme Hūṁ' by Lama Anagarika Govinda (pub. by Rider and Co. London, 1959). It is impossible to deal with this work in this note. He states that the Mantra 'Om' &c. is dedicated to Avalokiteśvara (a fine photographic plate of whom occurs as the Frontispiece). None who is not a confirmed Tibetan Buddhist scholar or monk will accept his interpretations of the words of the mantra. On p. 27 he states that the mantra is pronounced in Tibet as 'Oṁ Maṇi Pémé Hūṁ' and that the complete formula is 'Oṁ... Hūṁ, Hrīḥ' (p. 230); on pp. 84 ff. he scouts the idea that tāntrism is a Hinduistic reaction taken over by later Buddhist schools. He offers different esoteric meanings of the words of the mantra, e. g. on p. 130 he says 'oṁ is the ascent towards universality, Hūm is the descent of the states of universality into the depth of the human heart'; on p. 131 'Oṁ is the infinite, but Hūṁ is the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the temporal' &c.; on p. 230 'In the Oṁ, we experience the *Dharmakāya* and the mystery of the universal body, in 'maṇi' the *Sambhogakāya*, in the Padma we experience the Nirmāṇakāya, in the Hūṁ we experience the *Vajrakāya* as synthesis of the transcendental body of the three mysteries; in the Hriḥ, we dedicate the totality of our transformed personality to the service of Amitābha; on p. 256 'thus Oṁ...Hūṁ embodies the happy tidings of liberation, of the love towarde all living beings and of the way that leads to final realization.' The present author is constrained to say that by similar arbitrary interpretations the words of any mantra may be made to yield similar senses.

p. 336 and No. 108. p. 221). Some of the mantras embody the doctrines of Mahāyāna with the addition of syllables like om, phaṭ, svāhā (such as 'om śūnyatā-jñānavajrasvabhāvātmakoham' in Sādhanamālā vol. I. p. 62). The Prapañcasāra, which is ascribed to the great advaita teacher Śaṅkarācārya and on which Padmapāda is said to have written a commentary (both published by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XVIII–XIX, 1935), contains a mantra called Trailokya-mohana for the purpose[1793] of the six cruel magic rites and (in 34. 33) describes a *yantra* (diagram) by worship of which a sādhaka can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him. This, among other matters such as ungrammatical forms, raises grave doubts as to whether the work was really composed by the first Śaṅkarācārya. It may, however, be stated that the learned Rāghavabhaṭṭa in many places in his commentary on the Śāradātilaka (such as I. 7, 8, 12) quotes the Prapañcasāra (I. 42, 44) as the great ācārya's work and several later writers do the same. It has to be borne in mind, however, that about 400 works are ascribed to the great advaita Ācārya and that Rāghavabhaṭṭa was separated by at least seven centuries from the great Ācārya and his ascription therefore cannot be accepted with implicit faith without more evidence.

Several Purāṇas are affected by the theory about the power of mantras of the Tāntrika type. The Garuḍa-purāṇa (I. chap. 7 and 10) employs many monosyllabic unmeaning mantras like hrām, kṣaum, hrīm, hum, huḥ, śrīm, hrīm and says (I. 23) that 'om Khakholkāya Sūryamūrtaye namaḥ' is the mūlamantra of the Sun and this mantra is employed for sun-worship in an early digest like the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata (p. 9 note). The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (Brāhmaparva 215. 4) gives 'Khakholkāya namaḥ' as the mūlamantra in Sun worship. The Bhaviṣya (Brāhma. 29. 9-15) provides that 'gam svāhā' is the mūlamantra of Gaṇapati worship, cites the mantras for *hṛdaya*, śikhā, kavaca &c. and a Gāyatrī suited to Gaṇapati.[1794] Garuḍa I. 38 contains a long prose mantra of Cāmuṇḍā. The Agni-

1793. मारणोच्चाटनद्वेषस्तम्भाकर्षणकांक्षिणः। भजेयुः सर्वथैवेनं मन्त्रं त्रैलोक्यमोहनम्॥ प्रपञ्चसार XXIII. 5. Vide शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र VIII. 102–105 and जयाख्यसंहिता 26th पटल, verse 24 for the same. Agni-purāṇa Chap. 138 deals with the six cruel acts.

1794. गं स्वाहा मूलमन्त्रोयं प्रणवेन समन्वितः। गां नमो हृदयं सेयं गीं शिरः परिकीर्तितम्। शिखां च गूं नमो ज्ञेयं गैं नमः कवचं स्मृतम्। गौं नमो नेत्रमुद्दिष्टं गः फट् कामास्त्रमुच्यते। भविष्य (ब्राह्म 29. 9 ff). The गायत्री is महाकर्णाय विद्महे वक्रतुण्डाय धीमहि। तन्नो दन्तिः प्रचोदयात्॥ (*ibid.* 29. 15).

purāṇa also contains many mantras of the Tāntrik type. Chap. 121 verses 15–17 provide[1795] for a mantra whereby enemeis are brought under control (as noted below) and verses 17–19 speak of a mantra for paralysing (*stambhana*) of an enemy. Chap. 133–135 of the Agni contain several mantras of the Tāntrik type. Chapter 307 contains several mantras of bringing under control the three worlds.

A mantra called Mahāśvetā is spoken of in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa which is mentioned in the Kṛtyakalpataru on vrata (p. 9) and in Ekādaśītattva p. 40 and it is 'hrām hrīm saḥ' and the japa of that mantra on Sunday with fast is said to yield what one desires.[1796]

The later medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra adopt the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā-mantra evolved by the Śāradātilaka (XXIII. 71–76). The Devapratiṣṭhā tattva[1797] (pp. 506–507) quotes these verses from Śāradātilaka, sets out the mantra and explains the verses at length. The Divyatattva also (pp. 609–610) does the same. The Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 86) sets out the same mantra for the consecration of the image of Dharma in the ordeal of Dharma without expressly naming the Śāradātilaka. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp. 349–350) has an elaborate rite of the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā of images full of Tāntrik elements like the words vaṣaṭ, hrīm, and phaṭ and employs the same procedure as the one prescribed by the Śāradātilaka without expressly mentioning the latter. The Śāradātilaka appears to follow earlier works like the Jayākhyasaṁhitā (Paṭala XX) and Prapañcasāra-tantra (35. 1–9 ff).

1795. पार्थिवे चाष्टवर्णीकारं मध्ये नाम च विन्यसेत् ॥ ह्रीं पुटं पार्थिवे विन्यसेत् ह्रीं विन्यसेत् लिखेद्बहून्। गोरोचनाकुङ्कुमेन भूर्जे वस्त्रे गले धृतम् ॥ शत्रवो वशमायान्ति मन्त्रेणानेन निश्चितम्। अग्नि. 121. 15–17.

1796. उपवासं च ये कुर्युरादित्यस्य दिने तथा। जपन्ति च महाश्वेतां ते लभन्ते यथेप्सितम् ॥ महाश्वेतामन्त्रस्त्वागमे। ह्रामित्युक्त्वा ततो ह्रीं तु सकारश्च विसर्गवान्। महाश्वेताख्य-मन्त्रोयं भानोरष्टाक्षर ईरितः ॥ ए. त. p. 40. The verse उपवासं च is quoted by हे. on व्रत vol. II. part 2 p. 520.

1797. तेनायं मन्त्रः। आ ह्रीं क्रों यं रं लं शं षं सं हों हंसः अमुष्य प्राणा इह प्राणाः। अमुष्य जीव इह स्थितः। अमुष्य सर्वेन्द्रियाणि। अमुष्य वाङ्मनश्चक्षुःश्रोत्रघ्राणप्राणा इहागत्य सुखं चिरं तिष्ठन्तु स्वाहा। देवप्रतिष्ठातत्त्व pp. 506–507. अमुष्य refers to the name of the divinity whose image is to be established. If it is a Goddess then the words अमुष्याः or अस्यै are to be substituted. The तन्त्रराजतन्त्र (XIII. 62–68) sets out the प्राणप्रतिष्ठाविद्या of 40 letters from अमुष्य to स्वाहा in the technical language of Tāntrik works.

Reasons of space preclude further illustrations of the use of Tāntrik mantras by medieval digests on Dharmaśāstra. One matter of contrast between Vedic mantras and some Tāntrik mantras may be noticed. A Vedic mantra, according to Jaimini (I 2. 32), was significant, but the Tantras go so far as to teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of the mantra in reversed form. For example, the Kālīvilāsatantra (XXII. 21) says that the reverse of the three letters of the mantra 'om Durge', as 'rgedu om' yields all desires ('rgedu om tryakṣaram mantram sarvakāmaphalapradam)'. The Sad-dharmapuṇḍarīka[1798] (a standard work of Mahāyāna Buddhism) chap. 21 (text edited by Kern and Bunyiu Nanjiu, 1912 and translated in S. B. E. vol. XXI, pp. 370–375) contains spells (called Dhāraṇīpadāni). It should not be supposed that spells were peculiar to Hindus or Buddhists. Many ancient peoples believed that words and letters have magic power and that belief led on to another belief that it did not matter even if the letters and words had no sense. E. J. Thomas in 'History of Buddhist thought' (reprint of 1953) states that spells similar to Hindu and Buddhist types exist in old English, Old High German and Keltic (p. 186).

The repetition of mantras, Vedic as well as Tāntrik, is called 'Puraścaraṇa'[1799] (which literally means 'performing or carrying out before'). The Mahānirvāṇa (VII. 76–85) sets out various modes of puraścaraṇa (brief as well as elaborate). One way is to bring together five *tattvas* on the 14th tithi of a dark fortnight or on a Tuesday or Saturday, then the Devī is to be worshipped and the worshipper is to repeat ten thousand times with single-mindedness the mantra in *mahāniśā* (midnight), then he is to feed persons devoted to *brahman* and becomes one who has carried out puraścaraṇa. Another way is that he should repeat every day one thousand times the mantra beginning on a Tuesday up to (including) the next Tuesday, so that by repeating the mantra in all eight thousand times on eight days,

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1798. A very brief spell from the सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक may be set out here by way of sample: ज्वले महाज्वले उक्के मुक्के अडे अडावति ... स्वाहा। p, 372 of SBE vol. XXI which is quoted above in note 1791. All the words excluding स्वाहा are in the vocative. उक्के, for उल्के, ज्वले for ज्वाले.

1799. Puraścaraṇa of a mantra has several constituent elements viz. dhyāna (meditation on the form of the deity to be worshipped), worship, japa of the mantra, homa, tarpaṇa, abhiṣeka and feeding brāhmaṇas. In a brief puraścaraṇa the first three alone are included. Tarpaṇa means satiating with water the deity and the pitṛs.

he will be deemed to have performed puraścaraṇa. Sometimes, it is prescribed[1800] that a mantra such as 'Śivāya namaḥ' (this is five-lettered mantra) or 'Om Śivāya namaḥ' (a ṣaḍakṣara mantra) should be repeated 24 lakhs of times and the sādhaka should offer into Agni twenty-four thousand *āhutis* of *pāyasa*. Then the mantra becomes perfect and confers on the sādhaka whatever he desires. The Kulārṇava states that Puraścaraṇa is so called because by the five-fold *upāsanā* the deity desired (as if) moves[1801] before the worshipper for conferring on him her favour. A mantra like the Gāyatrī is[1802] to be repeated every day 1008 or 108 or 10 times. This requirement is in keeping with what the Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra works say. For example, the Nāradapurāṇa (II. 57.54) provides that a mantra is to be repeated 8, 28, or 108 times. The Ekādaśītattva[1802] quotes Devīpurāṇa for the proposition that the offerings in the homa to planets should be 108, 28 or 8 according to one's ability.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Śāradātilaka (16. 56) has a very exhaustive and learned note on the details of puraścaraṇa that are common to all mantras. According to the Vāyavīya-saṃhitā[1803] the perfecting of the procedure of the mūlamantra is called puraścaraṇa, since it has to be practised before the acts in which it is to be employed. The Kulārṇava[1804] provides that there are at least five constituent elements of puraścaraṇa viz. pūjā (worship of the desired deity) three times a day, japa (muttering of the mantra), *tarpaṇa*, homa, and

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1800. हृदयं वपरं सार्धं लाम्तानन्तान्वितो मरुत् । पञ्चाक्षरो मनुः प्रोक्तस्तारार्योऽयं षडक्षरः ॥ ... तत्त्वलक्षं जपेन्मन्त्रं दीक्षितः शैववर्त्मना । तावत्संख्यासहस्राणि जुहुयात्पायसैः शुभैः ॥ ततः सिद्धो भवेन्मन्त्रः साधकाभीष्टसिद्धिदः । शारदा० 18. 2, 15-16. The first verse says that शिवाय नमः or ॐ शिवाय नमः is the mantra of Śivā.

1801. पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेनेष्टा देवता प्रीतिदानतः । पुरश्चरति भक्तस्य तत्पुरश्चरणं प्रिये ॥ कुलार्णव 17. 87.

1802. अष्टोत्तरं सहस्रं वा शतं वा दशधापि वा । जपानां नियमो भद्रे सर्वत्राह्निककर्मणि ॥ महानिर्वाण VIII. 79; compare एकादशीतत्त्व pp. 59 होमसंख्यामाह देवीपुराणे । होमो ग्रहादिपूजायां शतमष्टोत्तरं भवेत् । अष्टविंशतिरष्टौ वा यथाशक्ति विधीयते ॥.

1803. वायवीयसंहितायाम् । साधनं मूलमन्त्रस्य पुरश्चरणमुच्यते । पुरतश्चरणीयत्वाद्विनियोगात्क्रियार्थकर्मणाम् । पुरतो विनियोगस्य चरणाद्वा तथोदितम् ॥ राघवभट्ट on शारदा०; and सेतुबन्ध of भास्करराय p. 99 reads पुरतश्चर्यमाणत्वाद्विनियोगाद्धि.

1804. संसारे दुःखभूयिष्ठे यदीच्छेत्सिद्धिमात्मनः । पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेनैव मन्त्रजापी भवेत् सुखम् । पूजा त्रैकालिकी नित्यं जपस्तर्पणमेव च । होमो ब्राह्मणभुक्तिश्च पुरश्चरणमुच्यते । यद्यदङ्गं विहीयेत तत्संख्याद्विगुणो जपः । कुर्याद् द्विश्चतुःपञ्चसंख्यां वा साधकः प्रिये । ... सुभोजितेषु विप्रेषु सर्वं हि सफलं भवेत् । सम्यक्सिद्धिकमन्त्रस्य पञ्चाङ्गोपासनेन च । सर्वे मन्त्राश्च सिध्यन्ति त्वत्प्रसादात्कुलेश्वरि । कुलार्णवतन्त्र XV. 7-9 and 11-12 q. by राघवभट्ट.

dinner to brāhmaṇas; that if any one of these cannot be carried out, then he should perform japa of the mantra twice as many times more as the number prescribed for that constituent, that, in the absence of some constituents, by providing a good dinner to brāhmaṇas everything becomes successful and that if one mantra is perfected by performing the five constituents mentioned above, then he secures *siddhi* of all mantras. Rāghavabhaṭṭa suggests another way of puraścaraṇa viz. one should be pure,[1805] observe a fast and then in an eclipse of the sun or moon should stand in the navel-deep water of a river directly falling into the sea, should recite a mantra with concentration of mind from the time the eclipse begins till its end, thereafter perform homa and the rest in order reducing each to 1/10 of the number of japa recitation, then secure the guru's contentment (by gifts) and that by this method mantra becomes perfect and the deity becomes favourable. The Kaulāvalinirṇaya describes (14th *paṭala*, verses 75–260) a terrible sādhanā whereby in a single night a sādhaka secures mantra-siddhi viz. by going to a cemetery or other lonely spot after one watch of the night, securing the corpse of a cāṇḍāla, or of one who is killed by some one with a sword or one bitten by a snake or a young handsome warrior dying in a battle (not killed by himself), he should wash the corpse, offer worship to it and to Durgā and repeat the mantra ('om Durge Durge rakṣaṇī svāhā'). If he is not frightened by the terrific sights that he may see and after following a very long procedure he secures *mantrasiddhi*. The Tārābhaktisudhārṇava (*taraṅga* IX pp 345 ff) describes the 'śavasādhana-vidhi' and so does the Kulacūḍāmaṇi-tantra (Tāntrik texts, vol. IV.) VI. 19–28.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa further quotes a passage[1806] to the effect that if the sādhaka satisfies his guru who is a form of the deity

1805. अथवान्यप्रकारेण पुरश्चरणमुच्यते। ग्रहणेऽर्कस्य चेन्दोर्वा शुचिः पूर्वमुपोषितः। नद्यां सप्तमृगाम्भस्यां नाभिमात्रेऽम्भसि स्थितः। ग्रहणादि तु मोक्षान्तं जपेन्मन्त्रं समाहितः। अनन्तरं तद्दशांशक्रमाद्धोमादिकं चरेत्। तदन्ते मन्त्रसिद्ध्यर्थं गुरुं संपूज्य तोषयेत्। ततश्च मन्त्रसिद्धिः स्यात् देवता च प्रसीदति। q. by राघवभट्ट on शारदा॰ 16 56 and by स्मृति कौस्तुभ (pp. 73–74); vide ध. क्रि. कौ. pp. 109–110 where these verses (with slight variations) are quoted from आगम. Vide शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र (ताराखण्ड) 17. 40–45, some portion of which is 'चन्द्रग्रहे पुरश्चर्या सर्वसिद्धिकरी मता। यथादृष्टं विधीयेत तत्साङ्गे द्विजभोजनम्। दशांशं हवनं कुर्यात्तर्पणं तद्दशांशतः। मार्जनं तद्दशांशेन तद्दशांशेनाभिषेचनम्। यथादृष्टं विधीयेत तत्संख्याद्विगुणो जपः।'

1806. अथवा देवतारूपं गुरुं भक्त्या प्रतोषयेत्। पुरश्चरणहीनेपि मन्त्रः सिध्येन्न संशयः॥ ... पुरस्क्रिया तु मन्त्राणां प्रधानं बीजमुच्यते। येषां जपे च होमे च संख्या नोक्ता मनीषिभिः।

(*Continued on next page*)

worshipped, he would secure perfection of mantra even without puraścaraṇa, that puraścaraṇa is the main seed (cause) of (the perfection of) mantras, that where the number of times a mantra is to be recited is not expressly stated, it should be repeated 8000 times. Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes a verse saying that just as a man in the grip of diseases is incapable of performing all actions a mantra devoid of puraścaraṇa is declared to be in a similar condition.

The Agnipurāṇa, Kulārṇava and Śāradātilaka lay down rules about the places where puraścaraṇa of a mantra is to be practised. The following places are commended[1807] for those who are engaged in perfecting a mantra, viz. holy places, river bank, caves, mountain top, ground near a *tīrtha*, confluence of rivers, holy forests and parks, the root of a *bilva* tree, mountain slopes, temple, seashore, one's own house or any place where the mind (of the sādhaka) feels happy. Rules were also laid down as to the food on which the sādhaka was to subsist during the days of puraścaraṇa viz. food[1808] obtained by begging for alms (for *brahmacārin* and *yati*), *haviṣya* food (prescribed for vratas), allowed vegetables, fruits, milk, bulbous roots, barley meal. The Mantramahodadhi (25. 66–71) sets out what is haviṣya food in śānti and proper food in the other cruel rites. Rāghavabhaṭṭa (on 16. 56) adds many rules from other sources, such as the sādhaka performing puraścaraṇa should avoid sexual intercourse, flesh, wine, should not speak with women and śūdras, nor speak untruth, nor pamper his senses, should carry on the *japa* from morning till noon, should not allow a break, should repeat the mantra the same number of times every day.

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तेषामष्ट सहस्राणि संख्योक्ता जपहोमयोः। राघवभट्ट on शारदा० 16. 56. The verse मुर... मुच्यते occurs in कौलावलीतन्त्र XII. 108 (reads प्रधानं जीव उच्यते). व्याधिग्रस्तो यथा देही सर्वकर्मसु न क्षमः। पुरश्चरणहीनोयं तथा मन्त्रोऽपि कीर्तितः। राघव० on शारदा० 16. 56. This mantra is q. by नित्याचारपद्धति of विद्याकर p. 454 (but reads जीवहीनो यथा०). साधकः साधयेन्मन्त्रं देवतायतनादिके। शुद्धभूमौ गृहे भार्च्य मण्डले हरिमीश्वरम्। अग्निपु. 29. 1.

1807. पुण्यक्षेत्रं नदीतीरं गुहा पर्वतमस्तकम्। तीर्थप्रदेशाः सिन्धूनां सङ्गमः पावनं वनम्। उद्यानानि विविक्तानि बिल्वमूलं तटं गिरेः। देवतायतनं कूलं समुद्रस्य निजं गृहम्। साधनेषु प्रशस्तानि स्थानान्येतानि मन्त्रिणाम्। अथवा निवसेत्तत्र यत्र चित्तं प्रसीदति॥ कुलार्णव XV. 22–24, शारदा० II. 138–140 (except the last half verse); vide अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता 20. 52–53 for similar provisions.

1808. मैदयं हविष्यं शाकानि विहितानि फलं पयः। मूलं सक्तुर्यवोत्पन्नो भक्ष्याण्येतानि मन्त्रिणाम्। शारदा० II. 140–141; for हविष्य, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 149 note 343.

The Jayākhya-saṁhitā (19th paṭala, verses 13–33) says that, for three years after the sādhaka begins puraścaraṇa of the mantra chosen, various obstacles and disturbances present themselves but if his mind and action are not affected by them, then from the 4th year he comes to be served by disciples that surrender everything to him, that after seven years even proud kings approach him for favour, after the 9th year he notices many wondrous things such as joy, sound dreams, sweet music and fragrance,[1809] hears loud vedic recitation, he eats and sleeps little (yet does not become lean), that these are signs of his having reached perfection in the mantra. The same work provides that such signs he should not divulge to any one but his own guru and if he divulges those happy signs to others siddhis run away from him (19. 34–37). The same Saṁhitā (15. 186–188) provides that the syllables svāhā, svādhā, phaṭ, hum and namaḥ are to be respectively employed in homa, in rites for *manes*, destructive activities, creating hatred among friends and for securing *mokṣa*. All tāntrik works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the *sādhanā* of the mantra must be done under the guidance of the guru till the disciple himself becomes a *siddha*. As shown above it was believed that mantras would confer the highest spiritual and supernormal powers, would bring to the sādhaka all desired objects and mokṣa. The Kulārṇava states[1810] 'It it declared in the doctrine taught by Śiva that without dīkṣā there would be no mokṣa, that dīkṣā cannot be had without an *ācārya* (guru) and that mantras would yield no fruit unless a guru instructs (a disciple) about them'.

1809. The Yogasūtra III. 36 and bhāṣya thereon state that some of the powers developed are that the yoga expert hears divine music and receives the impression of fragrant scents. In 'Bengal Lancer' F. Yeats—Brown (London, 1930) narrates (pp. 246–247) how he had the experience that the room in which he and his American friends were sitting was filled by a yogic teacher who wore nothing but his *dhoti* with the perfume of *attar* of roses, then with the scent of violets, musk, sandalwood, with nothing else with him except cotton wool on which he focussed a magnifying glass. The Śv. Up. II. 13 details the first signs of the effectiveness of yoga practices 'लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादः स्वरसौष्ठवं च। गन्धः शुभो मूत्रपुरीषमल्पं योगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति॥'.

1810. विना दीक्षां न मोक्षः स्यात्प्रोक्तं शिवशासने। सा च न स्याद्विनाचार्यमित्याचार्य-परम्परा॥ ... अन्तरेणोपदेष्टारं मन्त्राः स्युर्निष्फला यतः। कुलार्णव XIV. 3–4.

It was further provided[1811] that there was no siddhi (miraculous powers due to mantras) nor mokṣa for him who had not had dīkṣa performed for him, that therefore a man should by all means receive dīkṣā from a guru and that when one is endowed with the ceremony of dīkṣā the distinctions based on caste vanish and a śūdra and a brāhmaṇa cease to be so (when both have undergone dīkṣā). It was held that, if a person were to engage in the japa of a mantra written in a book, he would not secure siddhi and he would surely meet losses at every[1812] step.

In the Mahānirvāṇa (II. 14–15 and 20) it is said that Vedic mantras yielded desired results in Satya and other yugas, but in Kaliyuga they are like serpents without poison or like dead ones, that in the Kaliyuga the mantras declared in tantra works yield fruits quickly and are commended for employment in all actions such as *japa* and sacrifices. There is no such path as the one propounded in Tantras that would lead to mokṣa or to happiness in this world and the next. The Mahānirvāṇa prescribes that 'om sac-cid-ekam brahma' is the best of mantras (III. 14), that those who perform the upāsanā of the highest *brahma* are in need of no other sādhanā and that by the mere perfection of that mantra the individual soul merges in *brahma*.[1813] So *Mokṣa* was one of the aims. Another aim was the attainment of miraculous or supernormal powers. The Prapañcasāra enumerates[1814] the eight siddhis and states that one who is endowed with these eight is a liberated soul and is spoken of as a *yogin*. The theory of siddhis is an ancient conception and occurs in the Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.[1815] The eight siddhis are named and

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1811. देवि दीक्षाविहीनस्य न सिद्धिर्न च सद्गतिः। तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन गुरुणा दीक्षितो भवेत्॥ गतं शूद्रस्य शूद्रत्वं विप्रस्यापि च विप्रता। दीक्षासंस्कारसम्पन्ने जातिभेदो न विद्यते॥ कुलार्णव XIV. 97 and 91.

1812. पुस्तकाल्लिखितो मन्त्रो येन सुन्दरि जप्यते। न तस्य जायते सिद्धिर्हानिरेव पदे पदे॥ q. by राघवभट्ट on शारदा० IV. 1.

1813. परब्रह्मोपासकानां किमन्यैः साधनान्तरैः। मन्त्रग्रहणमात्रेण देही ब्रह्ममयो भवेत्॥ महानिर्वाण III. 23–24. The मन्त्र is ओं सच्चिदेकं ब्रह्म and it is preceded by ऐं, ह्रीं or श्रीं according as विद्या, माया or श्री is to be worshipped (महानिर्वाण III. 35–37).

1814. अणिमा महिमा च तथा गरिमा लघिमेशिता वशित्वं च। प्राप्तिः प्राकाम्यं चेत्यष्टैश्वर्याणि योगयुक्तस्य॥ अष्टैश्वर्यसमेतो जीवन्मुक्तः प्रवर्तते योगी। प्रपञ्चसार 19. 62–63. For a personal experience of levitation in modern times; vide 'The invisible influence' by Dr. Alexander Cannon (15th impression, 1935) chap. II, pp. 39–41. The कल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड pp. 216–17) quotes a long prose passage from the ancient writer देवल who names and illustrates the eight siddhis or vibhūtis (omits गरिमा and adds यत्रकामावसायित्व).

1815. अथापि सङ्कल्पसिद्धयो भवन्ति। यथा वर्षं प्रजा दानं दूरे दर्शनं मनोजवता यच्चान्यदेवं युक्तम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 9, 23. 6–7.

explained in the Yogasūtrabhāṣya as follows[1816]: Aṇiman (becoming small like an atom, atomization), laghiman (levitation), mahiman (becoming magnified like a mountain or the sky, magnification), prāpti (all objects becoming near to him such as touching the moon with one's fingertip, extension), prākāmya (the non-obstruction of his desire such as diving into the earth underground and coming up as if he were in water), vaśitva (mastery of the five elements and their products such as a jar), Iśitva (sovereignty over the production, absorption or arrangement of elements and their products), yatra-kāmāvasāyitva (the power to determine things according to his wish or will i. e. he may will that poison should have the effect of nectar and brings about that result). A siddha would be one who has secured these eight siddhis. The Gītā (X. 26) says that the sage Kapila is the great one among siddhas ('siddhānām kapilo muniḥ'). The Yogasūtra further speaks of siddhis as fivefold viz. proceeding from birth, from drugs, from mantras, from *tapas* (austerities) and from concentration. There were other objects also sought to be achieved by mantras, such as the six cruel rites and making women to have passion for a man. This shows that not only Tāntrikas, but those who practised yoga believed in the power of mantras to confer supernormal powers on the yogin. The Yogasūtra provides that some of the siddhis (as in III. 37) are obstacles to the attainment of *samādhi* and they are siddhis only to those who have awakened from trance.[1817] Yāj (III. 202–203) provides that the power to disappear, to enter another body and temporarily to abandon one's body, to create at one's will objects-these and other powers are characteristic signs of the attainment of siddhis by Yoga and that when one attains perfection in Yoga one can cast away the mortal coil and be able to become immortal in brahma.

A great deal is said about the six cruel rites in the Tantras such as Prapañcasāra (V), Śāradātilaka (23. 121–145), Śaktisaṅgamatantra (Kālikhaṇḍa VIII. 102–106), Mantramahodadhi (25th Taraṅga). The Śāradātilaka (23. 137–141) deals with the six methods or arrangements of mantra along with the name of the enemy against whom the six rites were to be practised,

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1816. विभूतिर्भूतिरैश्वर्यमणिमादिकमष्टधा। अमरकोश; ततोऽणिमादिप्रादुर्भावः कायसम्पद्धर्मानभिघातश्च। योगसूत्र III. 44; जन्मौषधि-मन्त्र-तपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः। योगसूत्र IV. 1. The भाष्य explains मन्त्रैराकाशगमनाणिमादिसिद्धिः.

1817. ते समाधावुपसर्गा व्युत्थाने सिद्धयः। योगसूत्र III. 37.

viz. the arrangements called *grathana, vidarbha, sampuṭa, rodhana, yoga* and *pallava*. These are all passed over here. But it appears that even the early Purāṇas were influenced by rites of black magic. For example, the Matsya[1818] says 'in *vidveṣaṇa* (creating enmity among friends or among those who love one another) and in *abhicāra*, a triangular kuṇḍa is recommended and homa should be offered in it by priests that wear red flowers and red sandalwood paste, that wear the sacred thread in the *nivīta* way, that put on red turbans and red garments, the fuel sticks should be smeared with the fresh blood of crows collected in three vessels and should be offered with the left hand holding the bones of a hawk. The priests should have their hair untied on the head and should contemplate the befalling of evil on the enemy; they should recite the mantra 'durmitriyās-tasmai santu' and also the syllables 'hrīm' and 'phāṭ' and having recited over a razor the mantra used in *śyenayāga*, the priest should cut into pieces an effigy of the enemy with that razor and throw into the fire the pieces of the effigy. This rite yields results only here (in this world), but no good results in the next world and therefore one (who engages in this rite) should then perform a śānti. The Matsya also provides for a rite for bringing a person (or a woman) under control or for *uccāṭana* (chap. 93. 139–148). It is possible that the Tāntrikas and the Matsya both developed their magic rites of six kinds from the Śyenayāga mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta-sūtras. The Agnipurāṇa (chap. 138) also deals with those evil rites. The Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā, though mainly a work of the Pāñcarātra cult, is full of lore on mantras.[1819] In chap. 52 (verses

1818. विद्वेषणेऽभिचारे च त्रिकोणं कुण्डमिष्यते। ... होमं कुर्युस्ततो विप्रा रक्तमाल्यानुलेपनाः। निवीतलोहितोष्णीषा लोहिताम्बरधारिणः। त्रयवायसरक्ताढ्य पात्रत्रयसमन्विताः। समिधो वामहस्तेन श्येनास्थिबलसंयुताः। होतव्या शुक्लकेशैस्तु ध्यायद्भिररिशिवं रिपौ। दुर्मित्रियास्तस्मै सन्तु तथा हुं फडिमीति च। श्येनाभिचारमन्त्रेण क्षुरं समभिमन्त्र्य च। प्रतिरूपं रिपोः कृत्वा क्षुरेण परिकर्तयेत्। रिपुरूपस्य शकलान्यथैवाग्नौ विनिक्षिपेत्। ... इहैव फलदं पुंसामेतज्जामुत्र शोभनम्। तस्माच्छान्तिकमेवात्र कर्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता॥ मत्स्य 93. 149–155. For 'nivita' way of wearing Yajñopavita, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 287–289 footnotes 673–674 and 679. In the तै. सं. I. 4. 4. 5 and तै. ब्रा. II. 6. 6. 3 occurs the mantra सुमित्रा न आप ओषधयः सन्तु दुर्मित्रास्तस्मै भूयासुर्योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः।' श्येन was the name of an *abhicāra* (magic) rite (vide Jaimini I. 4.5 and Śābara thereon), was a modification of सोमयाग and in the texts about श्येन (viz. श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत) occur the words 'लोहितोष्णीषा लोहितवसना निवीता ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्ति' (आप. श्रौ. 22. 4. 13 and 23) q. by शबर on जै. X. 4. 1. Vide षड्विंश-ब्राह्मण III. 8. 2 and 22 for the same passages.

1819. पञ्चरात्रमयी दिव्या सांख्ययोगादिसंमिता। संहितेयं महाभुजा नानातन्त्रमयी परा॥ अहिर्बुध्न्यसं० 59. 70.

2–88) it deals with the linguistic occultism of such mantras as 'om namo Viṣṇave'. It says that mantras have three senses sthūla (gross), sūkṣma (subtle) and highest; chap. 51 explains these three about the Tāra or Tāraka mantra viz. Om.

It may be noted here that the Buddhist Tantras also claimed to show the way to the attainment of various objects, from success in love affairs to liberation and all these could be mostly secured by mantras. The Buddhist Tantra writers of the Vajrayāna school state that there were 84 *siddhas*, whose names are still cherished[1820] and honoured in Nepal and Tibet. The Buddhists mentioned eight siddhis but they were somewhat different from those of the Yogasūtra. The Sādhanamālā mentions them as follows: Khaḍga (a sword over which mantras have been muttered whereby the user of it succeeds in battle), Añjana (collyrium applied to eyes which enables a person to see buried treasure), Pādalepa (ointment applied to the soles of the feet enabling a person to move anywhere undiscovered), Antardhāna (becoming invisible before the very eyes of persons watching him), Rasarasāyana (power of transmitting baser metals into gold or finding out an elixir for immortality), Khecara (being able to fly up in the sky), Bhūcara (going swiftly anywhere on the earth) and Pātālasiddhi (diving underneath the earth[1821]). As the Buddhist monks were to possess no property, they had a craving for wealth and supposed that by means of certain mantras, the lord of wealth (Kubera) would confer on them riches that would last for ever.[1822] They also believed that by mantras they would make

1820. Vide Dr. Bhattacharya's 'Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' pp. 84, 96 and 126 for references to 84 Siddhapuruṣas and 'Cultural Heritage of India' Vol. IV, pp. 273–279 on 'Cult of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas' by Prof. P. C. Bagchi at p. 274 for the names of 84 Siddhas according to Tibetan tradition. The tradition of Siddhas continued right down to modern times; vide ABORI, Vol. 19 pp. 49–60 for the account of a brāhmaṇa called 'Śivayogi' of Śṛṅgārapura in the Ratnagiri District, who went from Koṅkaṇa to a siddha at Rāḍhā in Bengal, served him devotedly for a long time, himself became a Siddha, returned to his native place and built a monastery there. The हठयोगप्रदीपिका (I. 5–8) names about thirty Mahāsiddhas from Ādinātha (Śiva), Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Allamaprabhu and others.

1821. खड्गाञ्जनपादलेपान्तर्धानरसरसायनखेचरभूचरपातालसिद्धिमुखाः सिद्धीः साधयेत्। साधनमाला No. 172 p. 350.

1822. एवंप्रकारैः सलिलप्रदानैः सन्तुष्टचित्तो द्रविणाधिराजः। ददेद्धनान्यक्षयवृत्ति-भाञ्जि तस्याधशो परलोकेन साधयन्॥ साधनमाला No. 296 p. 580.

some of the Hindu gods their servants, viz. that they would be surrounded by many *apsarases* (heavenly damsels), that Indra would be their umbrella-bearer, Brahmā would be councillor and Hari door-keeper.[1823] They wanted to defeat opponents in public discussions and to acquire proficiency in Śāstras without study through the power of mantras alone (vide Sādhanamālā Nos. 151, 155, 256). They were also anxious to cure and avert diseases and remove snake poison. They thought that by mantras they would attain to omniscience and Buddhahood (vide notes 1791–92).

As stated above (notes 1810–11) a mantra had to be received from a guru after initiation (dīkṣā). Therefore, a few words must be said about dīkṣā. The Tāntrikas did not discover any new concept in dīkṣā. From very ancient Vedic times there was upanayana regarded as the beginning of the spiritual birth of a boy and the sacrificer had to undergo a purificatory ceremony before embarking on the performance of a sacrifice, but both were not so elaborate as the dīkṣā described in some of the Tāntrika works. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1135–1140 for Vedic dīkṣā (in Agniṣṭoma), the observances and references to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras. The Tai. S. (VI. I. 1–3 and VII. 4. 8) refers to dīkṣā and the Ait. Br. (I. 3) mentions the main items in Vedic dīkṣā, such as bath with sacred water on the sacrificer, smearing the face and other parts of the body with butter, applying collyrium to the eyes, purification of the sacrificer's body twice by the *adhvaryu* with three bunches of seven *darbhas* each above the navel and then below it with mantras, entering a pavilion specially prepared for the sacrificer, covering him with a garment that envelopes him as a sack envelopes an embryo, dark antelope skin as an upper garment. The Śat. Br. also refers to the details of dīkṣā and states that thereby the sacrificer becomes one among the gods for the time being (vide III. 1. 2. 10–21, III. 1. 3. 7–28) and for the idea that dīkṣā symbolizes a new birth for the sacrificer. The Atharva-veda says 'Great truth, formidable moral order, vows of initiation, austerities, prayer (or knowledge) and sacrifice support the earth.'[1824]

1823. किं च भगवतो लक्षत्रयजापात् उभयचक्रवर्तिराज्यमाद्युक्षीभवति, अनेकाप्सरोभिः परिवृतः पुरस्कृतो विद्याधरस्थाने महलसुखमनुभवन्नेव तिष्ठति, देवेन्द्रश्छत्रधरो भवति, ब्रह्मा च मन्त्री ... हरिः प्रतिहारः। साधनमाला No. 260 pp. 509–510.

1824. The शतपथ III. 2. 1. 19 and 22 is 'देवान्वा एव उपावर्तते यो दीक्षते स देवतानामेको भवति'; सत्यं बृहद्वृतमुग्रं दीक्षा तपो ब्रह्म यज्ञः पृथिवीं धारयन्ति। अथर्व XII. 1. 1.

Dīkṣā is treated elaborately in some of the Tantras such as Prapañcasāra (V and VI), Kulārṇava (14. 39 ff), Śāradātilaka (4th paṭala), Nityotsava (pp. 4–10), Jñānārṇava (24th paṭala), Viṣṇusaṁhitā (X), Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112–119) and in Liṅgapurāṇa (II. 21). The Nirṇaysāgara Press brought out an edition (in 1935) of a work called Dīkṣāprakāśikā of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa, pupil of Satyānandanātha, composed in śaka 1719 (1797 A. D.). Almost all of them derive[1825] the word from the root 'dā' (to give) and 'kṣi' to destroy, in various ways. The Kulārṇava defines it as 'the good call it dīkṣā because it confers a divine (holy) state and wipes off all sins, thereby freeing a man from the bondage of saṁsāra'; the Śāradātilaka states 'since it confers divine knowledge and destroys sins it is named dīkṣā by the teachers that know the Tantras.'

The Śaktisaṅgama-tantra regards an eclipse of the sun or the moon (particularly of the moon) as the best time for undergoing initiation for a mantra from a guru and remarks that when performed in an eclipse, the week day, *tithi*, *nakṣatra* or month or *Yoga* or *Karaṇa* need not be considered.[1826] The Kālīvilāsatantra states that if one is fortunate enough to secure Svātī nakṣatra and Friday on the 5th tithi of the dark half of Phālguna and undergoes dīkṣā on that date, that yields the rewards of a crore of ordinary dīkṣās (VI. 3–4). The N. S. (p. 67) quotes the Jñānārṇava to the effect that the dīkṣā as to a mantra should be on the day of a solar or lunar eclipse or within seven days from an eclipse and adds that the principal time is solar eclipse and quotes Kālottara to the effect that, if the time of a solar eclipse is secured for dīkṣā, one need not consider the month, tithi, the week day and the like. N. S. also quotes a passage from Yoginītantra condemning dīkṣā on a lunar eclipse. Vide Muhūrtakalpadruma of Viṭṭhala p. 94 verse 6 (Nirn. ed.) for further details about times and places for dīkṣā.

1825. यथाज्ञ दिव्यभावं क्षिणुयाद् दुरितान्यतो भवेद्दीक्षा । प्रपञ्चसार V. 2; दिव्यभावप्रदानाज्ञ क्षालनात्कल्मषस्य च । दीक्षेति कथिता सद्भिर्भवबन्धविमोचनात् ॥ कुलार्णव 17. 51 (here क्ष is said to represent क्षालन and not क्षय as in others); दिव्यज्ञानं यतो दद्यात्कुर्यात्पापस्य संक्षयम् । तस्माद्दीक्षेति संयोक्ता देशिकैस्तन्त्रवेदिभिः ॥ शारदा० IV. 2.

1826. चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे दीक्षा सर्वदीक्षाशुभा मता । चन्द्रग्रहे शक्तिदीक्षा सर्वदीक्षोत्तमोत्तमा । न वार-तिथि-ऋक्षादि न लग्ननियमस्तथा । न योगकरणं वापि न विचारं समाचरेत् । शक्तिसङ्गम, ताराखण्ड 17. 36–38; मन्त्रदीक्षाप्रकारस्तन्त्रे द्रष्टव्यः । दीक्षाग्रहणमुपदेशस्याप्युपलक्षणम् । युगे युगे तु दीक्षासीदुपदेशः कलौ युगे । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तीर्थे सिद्धक्षेत्रे शिवालये । मन्त्रमात्रप्रकथनमुपदेशः स उच्यते । धर्मसिन्धु p. 32.

The Agnipurāṇa (chapters 27, 81–89 and 304) deals with dīkṣā at great length and is full of Tāntrik mantras and rites, but reasons of space forbid any treatment of the same here. The Jñānārṇava (24. 45–53) provides that at the time of initiation (dīkṣā) the guru has to instruct the disciple or novice as regards the six *cakras* (Ādhāra up to Ājñā) together with the number of petals in each, the colour of each, the letters of the alphabet assigned to each.

Late Dharmaśāstra works relied for the initiation into mantras on tantra works. For example, the Dharmasindhu (p. 32) expressly says so. There is a difference between Dīkṣā and *upadeśa*, which latter means the communication of only a mantra in a solar or lunar eclipse, at a tīrtha, Siddhakṣetra (sacred region once inhabited by a siddha) or in a Śiva temple. Raghunandana in Dīkṣātattva (vol. II. pp. 645–659) gives a lengthy treatment of dīkṣā at the beginning of which he remarks that in the Śāradātilaka and other works numerous topics of dīkṣā are described but as in his time all those were not being followed he attempts only a brief treatment.

The Mahānirvāṇa states (X. 201–202) that the guru for giving dīkṣā when the disciple is a Śākta, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Saura or a Gāṇapatya, should be of the same sect, but a *kaula* is a good guru for every one. The Mahānirvāṇa (X. 112) provides that a person does not become a Kaula by merely drinking wine, but he becomes so only after *abhiṣeka*. Then (in verses 113–193 of 10th ullāsa) the Mahānirvāṇa provides an elaborate procedure of complete *abhiṣeka* somewhat resembling Christian Baptism. There is first on the day previous to the day of abhiṣeka worship of Gaṇeśa, then of eight Śaktis (Brāhmī &c.), lokapālas and their weapons. Then the next day (i. e. the day of abhiṣeka) after a bath the neophyte donates sesame and gold for the removal of all sins and approaches a guru with the prayer to perform abhiṣeka. Then the guru draws a *sarvatobhadra* maṇḍala on an altar, sanctifies the five tattvas, places an auspicious jar and fills it with wine or with holy water. The principal part consists in the guru's sprinkling with water the disciple to the accompaniment of 21 mantras (X. 160–180) invoking[1827] the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Mātṛs, various Śaktis, the avatāras, the numerous forms of Devī, the dikpālas,

1827. One अभिषेकमन्त्र may be quoted for sample 'गुरवस्त्वाभिषिञ्चन्तु ब्रह्मा-विष्णुमहेश्वराः। दुर्गालक्ष्मीसरस्वत्यस्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्तु मातरः॥' X. 160.

the nine planets, nakṣatras, *yogas*, weekdays, *karaṇas*, seas, sacred rivers, nāgas, trees &c. Then the guru gives the disciple a new name ending in Ānandanātha, who honours the guru and other Kaulas present. This ceremony may go on for 9, 7, 5, 3 nights or one night. Vide Tantrarājatantra II. 58–72, Jñānasiddhi (XVII) for similar procedure of abhiṣeka. Vide the Introduction to the Sekoddeśaṭīkā, a Buddhist Tāntrik work (in G. O. S.) edited by Mario E. Carelli, for its resemblance to the Christian rite of Baptism. The Ahirhudhnya-saṁhitā (chap. 39) provides a procedure of *Mahābhiṣeka* as one remedy against all diseases, as one destroying all enemies and for the attainment of all desired objects.

There were four kinds of dīkṣas, Kriyāvatī, Varṇamayī, Kalāvatī and Vedhamayī and there were elaborate rules about *vāstuyāga*, construction of maṇḍapa, kuṇḍas and sthaṇḍila, which are all passed over for reasons of space.

CHAPTER XXVII

Nyāsas, Mudrās, Yantra, Cakra, Maṇḍala, etc.

One of the important items in the Tāntrik ritual and worship is *nyāsa*, which means 'mentally invoking a god or gods, mantras and holy texts to come to occupy certain parts of the body in order to render the body a pure and fit receptacle for worship and meditation'. Several works such as the Jayākhya-saṁhitā (Paṭala XI), Prapañcasāra (VI), Kulārṇava (IV. 18 ff) refer to several kinds of nyāsa; the Śaradātilaka (IV. 29–41, V. 5–7), Mahānirvāṇatantra (III. 41–43, V. 113-118) describe several varieties of nyāsa. Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śāradātilaka (IV. 29–41) cites numerous quotations on *nyāsa* from an extensive literature. There are several kinds of nyāsa such [1828] as Haṁsanyāsa, Praṇavanyāsa, Mātṛkānyāsa, Mantranyāsa, Karaṇyāsa, Aṅganyāsa, Pīṭhanyāsa. Praṇavanyāsa is illustrated as 'om ām Brahmaṇe namaḥ', 'om ām Viṣṇave namaḥ' and so on for all the names set out by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on Śāradātilaka 25. 58. The Aṅganyāsa (nyāsa on parts of the body) is illustrated as follows: om hṛdayāya namaḥ, om śirase svāhā, śikhāyai vaṣaṭ, om kavacāya hum, om netratrayāya (or netradvayāya) vaṣaṭ, om astrāya phaṭ'. Several Purāṇas contain provisions about *nyāsa*. The Garuḍapurāṇa (I. chapters 26, 31, 32) describes aṅganyāsa as part of worship, japa and homa. The Nāradīyapurāṇa (II. 57. 13–14), the Bhāgavata (VI. 8, about 40 verses), Brahma (60. 35–40) provide for nyāsa of the mantras 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya', and 'om Viṣṇave namaḥ'. The Kālikāpurāṇa (chap. 77) deals with Mātṛkānyāsa. The Smṛtimuktāphala (Āhnika pp. 329–331) quotes several passages dealing with nyāsa of the 24 letters of the Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) on several parts of the body, meditation on each of the 24 letters as having certain colours of flowers and as identical with certain gods and avatāras and nyāsa of the Gāyatrīpādas on limbs. The Brahmapurāṇa

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1828. राघवभट्ट illustrates हंसन्यास as 'हं पुरुषात्मने नमः, सः प्रकृत्यात्मने नमः, हंसः प्रकृतिपुरुषात्मने नमः' on शारदा॰ IV. 29; आत्मनो देवताभावप्रदानादेवमेति च। एवं समस्ततन्त्रेषु विद्वद्भिः समुदीरितम्॥ हृदयशिरसोः शिखायां कवचास्त्रयोस्तु सह चतुर्थीषु। नत्या हुत्या च वषट् हुं वौषट् फट्पदैः षडङ्गविधिः॥ प्रपञ्चसार VI. 5–6. Compare शारदा॰ IV. 33–35 and महानिर्वाण III, 142 *for similar provisions.*

(60. 35-39) deals with the nyāsa of the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' on the fingers and also on other parts of the body, and speaks of Karanyāsa and Aṅganyāsa in 38. 26. Padma[1829] (VI. 79. 17-30) describes the nyāsa of the names of Viṣṇu on the limbs of the body from the head to the feet and Padma VI. 85. 26 speaks of Aṅganyāsa and Karanyāsa with the mantra 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya'. The Matsyapurāṇa[1830] provides for the employment in nyāsa of mantras with 'om' prefixed to them. Karāṅganyāsa and Aṅganyāsa of Gāyatrī are dealt with in Devībhāgavata XI. 16. 76-91 and it expressly names nyāsa as part of *sandhyā* worship.[1831] Vide also Devībhāgavata XI. 7. 26-38 for nyāsa and Kālikāpurāṇa 53. 36. The Devībhāgavata (VII. 40. 6-8) mentions the nyāsa of certain letters on such parts of the body as the chest, the space between the eyebrows, the head. The Bṛhad-yogiyājñavalkya[1832] contained

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1829. The passage of पद्म VI. 79. 17-30 begins and ends as follows: शिखायां श्रीधरं न्यस्य शिखाधः श्रीकरं तथा। हृषीकेशं तु केशेषु मूर्ध्नि नारायणं परम्॥ एवं न्यासविधिं कृत्वा साक्षान्नारायणो भवेत्। यावन्न व्याहरेत्किंचित् तावद्विष्णुमयः स्थितः॥

1830. ओङ्कारपूर्वका ह्येते न्यासे बलिनिवेदने। मन्त्राः स्युः सर्वकार्याणां वृद्धिपुष्टिफलप्रदाः॥ मत्स्य 266. 29.

1831. अथ न्यासविधिं वक्ष्ये सन्ध्यायाः अङ्गसम्भवम्। XI. 16. 76. The संस्काररत्नमाला, a comparatively modern work, remarks (p. 229) that Nyāsa has no Vedic authority and hence some do not perform it 'एषोऽङ्न्यासः। एतमेके नेच्छन्ति स ह विधिरवैदिक इति॥'. The षडङ्गन्यास of गायत्री takes the form 'तत्सवितुर्हृदयाय नमः, वरेण्यं शिरसे स्वाहा, भर्गो देवस्य शिखायै वषट्, धीमहि कवचाय हुं, धियो यो नो नेत्रत्रयाय वौषट्, प्रचोदयात् अस्त्राय फट्। इति षडङ्गन्यासः कार्यः। न वा कार्यो न्यासविधेरवैदिकत्वादिति गृह्यपरिशिष्टे स्पष्टम्। तेनाक्षरन्यासपादन्यासादीनां मुद्रादिविधेः शापमोचनादिविधेश्च तान्त्रिकत्वेनावैदिकत्वादनावश्यकत्वं वेदितव्यम्। धर्मसिन्धु III. p. 272. The passage quoted by Aparārka is interesting and a few verses are cited here 'अप्त्वग्नौ हृदये सूर्ये स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च। षट्सोपेषु हरेः सम्यक्पूजनं मुनिभिः स्मृतम्। अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम्। प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां योगिनां हृदये हरिः॥ आनुष्टभस्य सूक्तस्य त्रिष्टुबन्तस्य देवता। पुरुषो यो जगद्बीजमृषिर्नारायणः स्मृतः॥ प्रथमां विन्यसेद्धाम्ने द्वितीयां दक्षिणे करे। तृतीयां वामपादे तु चतुर्थीं दक्षिणे न्यसेत्। ... अष्टौ पञ्चदशीं चैव षोडशीं मूर्ध्नि विन्यसेत्। अपरार्क pp. 140-141. आनुष्टभस्य सूक्तस्य refer to the पुरुषसूक्त (ऋ. X. 90), the first fifteen verses of which are in Anuṣṭubh metre and the 16th (last verse) is in त्रिष्टुभ् metre. The verses from अप्त्वग्नौ to नारायणः स्मृतः are नरसिंहपुराण 62. 5-8 (with slight variations).

1832. अङ्गुष्ठे चैव गोविन्दं तर्जन्यां तु महीधरम्। मध्यमायां हृषीकेशमनामिकां त्रिविक्रमम्। कनिष्ठिकायां न्यसेद्विष्णुं हस्तमध्ये च माधवम्। स्मृतिच. I. p. 198 quoting योगियाज्ञवल्क्य. These verses are quoted by स्मृतिमुक्ताफल (आह्निक p. 331) from the स्मृतिचन्द्रिका. The ed. of बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. (chap. V) published by the कैवल्यधाम of Lonavala deals with nyāsa but does not contain the above verses.

verses dealing with the nyāsa of the names of Viṣṇu such as Govinda, Mahīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Trivikrama, Viṣṇu, Mādhava on the fingers of the right hand and the palm and back respectively, which are quoted by the Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 198) as from Yoga-yājñavalkya and which have been taken over in the *sandhyā* worship in modern times. The latter work (Sm. C, I. p. 145) also contains Aṅganyāsa of several portions of Gāyatrī, the nyāsa of the single letters of the Gāyatrī on the limbs and Aparārka (p. 140) quotes a passage for the employment of the sixteen verses of the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90) for nyāsa on the several limbs in the worship of Viṣṇu. For the nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from 'a' to 'kṣa', vide Śāradātilaka V. 5-8 and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on V. 4 who quotes verses setting out how each letter is to be meditated upon. The Mahānirvāṇa (V. 176-178) also specifies the limbs on which there is to be nyāsa of the letters of the alphabet from the forehead downwards.

The above passages show that the item of nyāsa was taken over from Tāntrika works in the Purāṇas for the rites of the orthodox people several centuries before Yogayājñavalkya, Aparārka (first half of 12th century A. D.) and the Smṛticandrikā. The Varṣakriyākaumudī[1833] (about first half of 16th century) shows that long before it the Garuḍa and the Kālikā purāṇas contained provisions on nyāsa. The Devapratiṣṭhātattva of Raghunandana (p. 505) speaks of Mātṛkānyāsa and Tattvanyāsa. The Pūjāprakāśa section of the Vīramitrodaya dwells upon Mātṛkānyāsa, Aṅganyāsa, Gāyatrīnyāsa on pp. 130, 131, 132 respectively. The Bhaktiprakāśa (pp. 88-89) of the same work deals with Mātṛkānyāsa. In modern times some orthodox people still perform two kinds of nyāsas as follows; The Antarmātṛkā which consists in the mystic assignment (*mentally*) of the letters of the alphabet (from 'a' to 'kṣa') on the fingers of the hands and on the palm and back of the hands and on several parts of the body viz. the throat, organs of generation, the ādhāra place and the middle of the eyebrow (as the seats of the six psychic cakras mentioned in note 1715 above). The Bahirmātṛkānyāsa consists in assigning the individual alphabet letters with *anusvāra* on each on the limbs from head to feet in such forms as 'ām namaḥ mūrdhni' and so on.

1833. वत्सकालिकापुराणादिषु प्रथमान्तानां केवलानामादीनां न्यासदर्शनात्। व. क्रि. कौ. p. 124.

The word nyāsa is derived from the root 'as' 'to cast' with 'ni' and literally means 'placing or depositing in or on'. The Kulārṇava explains it as follows:[1834] 'nyāsa is so called because therein riches that are acquired in a righteous way are deposited or placed with persons whereby all-round protection is got' (so by the ritual touching of the chest and other limbs with the tips of the fingers and the palm of the right hand accompanied by mantras the worshipper can act fearlessly in the midst of bad men and becomes like a god). Vide Jayākhyasaṃhitā quoted below.[1835]

The subject of nyāsa was briefly dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 319–320. In 'Principles of Tantra' Sir John Woodroffe (pp. LXXI–LXXVII) compares the ritual of nyāsa with the Christian method of making the sign of the cross.

Mudrā is another characteristic item in Tāntrik ritual. The word *mudrā* has several meanings, four of which have a bearing on Tantrik practices. It means a posture in yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part. It also means the symbolic or mystic intertwining of the fingers and hands as part of religious worship. Mudrā is also the 4th of the five *makāras* and means various kinds of grains mixed with ghee or other ingredient (vide note 1752 above) or parched grains. A fourth meaning of mudrā is the woman with whom a Tāntrika yogi associates himself (as in Prajñopāya o V. 24 and Sekoddeśaṭīkā p. 56). The Kulārṇava derives the word from 'mud' meaning 'delight' or 'pleassure' and 'drāvay' (causal of 'dru') and says 'mudrās' (ritual finger and hand poses) should be shown (in worship) and are so known because they give delight to the gods and make their minds melt (with compassion for the worshipper). But the Śāradātilaka[1836] appears to derive it from 'mud' and 'rā' (to

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1834. न्यायोपार्जितवित्तानामङ्गेषु विनिवेशनात्। सर्वरक्षाकराद् देवि न्यास इत्यभिधीयते॥ कुलार्णव 17. 56.

1835. संक्षुब्धनिग्रहो मन्त्री मन्त्रन्यासं समाचरेत्। येन विन्यस्तमात्रेण देवेशस्तनये भवेत्। पूजादौ सर्वकार्याणामधिकारश्च जायते। यं कृत्वा निर्भयस्तिष्ठेद्देवो दुष्टसमाकुले। विजयश्चापपुत्त्रूणां न्यासेन विहितेन च॥ जयाख्यसंहिता, पटल XI. 1–3.

1836. मुदं कुर्वन्ति देवानां मनांसि द्रावयन्ति च। तस्मान्मुद्रा इति ख्याता दर्शितास्ता कुलेश्वरि॥ कुलार्णव 17. 57; मुदं कुर्वन्ति देवानां राक्षसान्द्रावयन्ति च॥ विष्णुसंहिता VII. 43; आवाहन्यादिका मुद्राः प्रवक्ष्यामि यथाक्रमम्। यासिर्विरचितासित्तु मोदन्ते सर्वदेवताः॥ शारदा० 23. 106, on which राघवभट्ट comments 'रा दाने। मुदं राति ददातीति मुद्रेति निर्वचनम्।... अत एव तद्दर्शनेन देवताहर्षोत्पत्तिः। स्वाङ्गुल्यो हि पञ्चशक्तात्मिका अङ्गुलाद्या

(Continued on next page)

give) and according to it *mudrā* means 'what affords pleasure to the Gods'. Other derivations are also proposed (vide J. O. R. Baroda, vol. VI. p. 13). Rāghavabhaṭṭa states that the fingers from the thumb to the small finger are identified with the five elements viz. ākāśa (sky or ether), wind, fire, water and earth and that their contact with each other tends to make the deity favourable and delighted and induces the deity to be present at the worship, and that various appropriate mudrās are to be employed in worship, at the time of japa, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object or benefit, since they induce the deity to be present (near the worshipper[1837]). It was supposed that mudrās helped in enhancing concentration on the part of the worshipper. Even as early as the 7th century it was believed that the making of mudrās may bring to life one who, being poisoned had fallen into coma, as the Kādambarī quoted below shows. The Varṣakriyā-kaumudī quotes a verse saying that japa, prāṇāyāma, worship of gods, yoga, meditation and *āsanas* are fruitless unless accompanied by appropriate mudrās.

The word mudrā occurs in the name of Lopāmudrā,[1838] wife of Agastya, who figures in a hymn of the Rg. (I. 179. 4). The word 'mudrā' is not mentioned in the Amarakośa.

(*Continued from last page*)

आकाशवाय्वग्निसलिलभूरूपास्तासां मिथः संयोगरूपसङ्क्षेत्रात्कोपि देवतामयुणीभावपूर्वको मोदः सांनिध्यकरो भवति। तदुक्तम्। पृथिव्यादीनि भूतानि कनिष्ठाद्याः क्रमान्मताः। तेषामन्योन्यसम्भेदप्रकारैस्तत्त्वपञ्चता।', योगिनीहृदय I. 57 derives as in कुलार्णव. The verse 'मोचयन्ति महाविद्याः' quoted in J. O. I, Baroda, vol. VI, p. 13 as from कामकलाविलास occurs in a footnote appended by the editor (in the Kashmir series of texts) and not in the text of the कामकलाविलास. The half verse 'यामिर्वि...देवताः' of शारदा० 23. 106 is the same as मुद्रानिघण्टु (Tāntrik texts vol. I, p. 46).

1837. अर्चने जपकाले तु ध्याने काम्ये च कर्मणि। तत्तन्मुद्राः प्रयोक्तव्या देवतासंनिधापकाः q. in पूजाप्रकाश। p. 123 and by राघवभट्ट on शारदा० 23.336: स्नाने चावाहने चैव प्रतिष्ठायां च रक्षणे। नैवेद्ये च तथार्घे च तत्तत्कर्मप्रकाशने। स्थाने मुद्राः प्रकर्तव्याः स्वस्वलक्षणसंयुताः॥ Tāntrik texts vol. I. p. 46, verses 1-3; मुद्राबन्धाद् ध्यानाद्वा विषमप्रसुप्तस्योत्थापने कीदृशी युक्तिः। कादम्बरी, उत्तरभाग (in शुकनास's consoling speech to तारापीड on the reported heart failure of Candrāpīḍa; compare आर्षमञ्जुश्री-मूलकल्प p. 369 'निर्विषोपि भवेत्क्षिप्रं यो जन्तुर्विषमूर्च्छितः। चत्वारिंशति समाख्याता मुद्रा श्रेष्ठा महर्धिका॥; प. क्रि. कौ. p. 156 'मुद्रां विना तु यज्जाप्यं प्राणायामः सुरार्चनम्। योगो ध्यानासने चापि निष्फलानि तु भैरव'॥. This verse is कालिकापुराण 70. 35. मुद्राभिरेव तुष्यन्ति न पुष्पादिकपूजनैः। महापूजा कृता तेन येन मुद्राष्टकं कृतम्॥ मेरुतन्त्र 17. 22.

1838. लोपामुद्रा वृषणं नी रिणाति वीरमधीरा धयति श्वसन्तम्॥ ऋ. I. 179. 4.

The H. of Dh. vol. II. (pp. 320–321) makes a brief mention of mudrās in worship and refers to the work of Miss Tyra de Kleen on the mudrās practised by Bauddha and Śaiva priests called *pedandas* in the island of Bali. Here the same subject will be dealt with in a little more detail and from different points of view.

There is a great divergence among the Tantra, Purāṇa and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of mudrās. This may be briefly illustrated.

In the Tāntrik texts (Vol. I. pp. 46–47) there is a nighaṇṭu (a glossary or enumeration) of mudrās with names and definitions, where it is stated that nine mudrās (*āvāhanī* and others) are common (i. e. capable of being employed in any worship); and then are enumerated mudrās specially appropriate to Viṣṇu worship (19 in all viz. Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, Veṇu, Śrīvatsa, Kaustubha, Vanamālā, Jñāna, Vidyā, Garuḍa, Nārasiṁhī, Vārāhī, Hayagrīvī, Dhanus, Bāṇa, Paraśu, Jagan-mohinī, Vāma; ten of Śiva (Liṅga, Yoni, Triśūla, Akṣamālā, Abhīti i. e. abhaya, Mṛga, Asikā, Khaṭvāṅga (a club with a skull at the top), Kapāla, Ḍamaru; one of the Sun (viz. Padma); seven of Gaṇeśa (Danta, Pāśa, Aṅkuśa, Avighna, Paśu, Laḍḍuka, Bījapūra (i. e. a citron).[1839]

The Śārādatilaka (23. 106–114) names only nine mudrās and defines them, while the Viṣṇusaṁhitā (VII) says that mudrās are innumerable (verse 45), names about thirty and defines them and Jñānārṇava (IV), mentions at least nineteen. The Jayākhyasaṁhitā (8th Paṭala) has about 58 mudrās. The Tāntrik[1840] works provide that mudrās should be practised

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1839. These Mudrās are also mentioned in a work called Mudrā-lakṣaṇa (D. C. Ms. 291 of 1887–91). Some of these mudrās in connection with the worship of individual gods occur in Viṣṇusaṁhitā VII and in Jñānārṇava IV. The Mudrānighaṇṭu names and defines mudrās of Śakti, Agni, Tripurā and other deities. The mudrās specially appropriate in the worship of Viṣṇu, such as Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, Padma, Kaustubha, Śrīvatsa, Vanamālā, Veṇu are described in a work called Nāradatantra quoted by Varṣakriyākaumudī pp. 154–156.

1840. पटान्ते बन्धयेद् मुद्रां न चापि कथयेद् बुधः। कथनाज्जायते क्षेत्रतस्मात्प्रोच्या सदा बुधैः। आनन्त्यादखिला मुद्रा वक्तुं ब्रह्मन् न शक्यते। विष्णुसंहिता VII. 44–45 (T.S.S.); न जातु दर्शयेन्मुद्रा महाजनसमागमे। गुह्यमेतन्मुनिश्रेष्ठ तस्माद्गुप्तिं नियोजयेत्। नार्हायिनस्य मुद्राणां लक्षणानि प्रकाशयेत्। क्षुभ्यन्ति देवतास्तस्य मन्त्रं च विफलं भवेत्॥ quoted from महासंहिता by राघवभट्ट on शारदा० 23. 114; स्मृतिच्च. (I p. 148) quotes the first verse and the last half verse.

secretly under cover of a garment and not in the presence of many people and should not be announced to another as otherwise they become fruitless. The Kāmakalāvilāsa of Puṇyānanda expressly mentions (in verse 46) Trikhaṇḍā-mudrā and refers to the fact that there are nine mudrās.[1841] The Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (3rd viśrāma) first defines Trikhaṇḍā, then names and defines nine mudrās most of which bear names different from those in the Śāradātilaka. The Mudrās mentioned by Nityāṣoḍaśikā apart from Trikhaṇḍā, are: Sarvasaṅkṣobhakāriṇī, Sarvavidrāviṇī, Ākarṣiṇī, Sarvāveśakarī, Unmādinī, Mahāṅkuśā, Khecarī, Bījamudrā, Yonimudrā.

The Jñānārṇava Tantra (IV. 31–47 and 51–56 and XV. 47–68) names over thirty mudrās, several of which bear the same names as those in Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava, are defined in a similar way and are quoted by Bhāskararāya in his commentary on the latter work. In these circumstances the author proposes to name and describe first of all the nine mudrās of the Śāradātilaka.[1842] (1) Āvāhanī mudrā consists in folding both hands in a hollow and filling the hollow completely with flowers; (2) sthāpanī is the same as āvāhanī but the folded hands are held upside down; (3) the 'sannidhāpana-mudrā' occurs when the two hands are formed into a closed fist, are joined together with only the

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1841. आधारनवकरणा नवचक्रत्वेन परिणतिं गताः॥ नवनाथास्तत्रयोऽपि च मुद्राकारेण तान्यके॥ कामकलाविलास verse 67.

1842. सम्यक् सम्पूरितः पुष्पैः कराभ्यां कल्पितोऽञ्जलिः। आवाहनी समाख्याता मुद्रा देशिकसत्तमैः॥ अधोमुखी कृता सैव प्रोक्ता स्थापनकर्मणि। आश्लिष्टमुष्टियुगला भोक्तताङ्गुष्ठदुग्मका॥ सन्निधाने सन्मुद्दिष्टा मुद्रेयं तन्त्रवेदिभिः। अन्तर्गर्भिणी सैव सन्निरोधे समीरिता॥ उत्तानौ द्वौ कृतौ मुष्टी संमुखीकरणी स्मृता। देवताङ्गे षडङ्गानां न्यासः स्यात्सकलीकृतिः॥ सम्यक्स्तकृता मुष्टिर्दीर्घाधोमुखतर्जनी। अवगुण्ठनमुद्रेयमनिलो ग्रामिता सती॥ अन्योन्याभिमुखाश्लिष्टकनिष्ठानामिका पुनः। तथा च तर्जनीमध्या धेनुमुद्रा समीरिता॥ अमृतीकरणं कुर्यात्तया देशिकसत्तमः। अन्योन्यग्रथितामुष्टा प्रसारितकराङ्गुली॥ महामुद्रेयमुद्दिता परमीकरणे बुधैः। प्रयोजयेदिमा मुद्रा देवतायागकर्मणि॥ शारदा० 23. 107–114. It may be noted that the ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र (IV, 32–37) names and describes eight of these nine mudrās almost in the same words, omitting संमुखीकरणी and calling the महामुद्रा of शारदा० by the name परमीकरण. The कुलार्णव (17, 90-93) has eight out of these nine, omitting संमुखीकरणी and employing the words परमीकरण for महामुद्रा. Both कुलार्णव and शारदा० connect अमृतीकरण with धेनुमुद्रा. The कौलावलीनिर्णय VII. 5–14 has eight out of the nine described by शारदा० and appears to be based on the कुलार्णव. The half-verse देवताङ्गे ... कृतिः occurs in कुलार्णव 17. 92 and कुलार्णव 17. 93 says 'शनसेरयञ्जलिर्देवि परमीकरणं प्रिये।'. महानिर्वाण० VI. 77 states 'शीलयेद् देवमुद्धर्यं षड्भिः सकलीकृतिः'. The mudrās described in शारदातिलक are quoted by ब. भि. को. p. 153.

thumbs raised up; (4) 'Sannirodhanī' means the same as the preceding but with the thumbs closed inside the fist; (5) the mudrā is called 'Sammukhīkaraṇī' when the two closed fists are held upwards; (6) 'Sakalīkṛti' mudrā is the action of making the nyāsa of the six limbs on the limbs of the (image of) the *devatā* (deity worshipped); (7) the 'Avaguṇṭhana' mudrā consists in closing the fingers held straight and turned downwards and waving the hand round (the image); (8) 'Dhenumudrā' (a complicated pose) is formed by putting the right small finger over the right ring finger, intertwining the former with the left ring finger, the left small finger as it is, to be intertwined with the right ring finger, the left ring finger is to be passed over the left middle finger and the left thumb, and to be intertwined with the right hand middle finger brought to the right side of the left index finger and the right hand index finger to be joined with the left hand middle finger; (9) Mahāmudrā is constituted by intertwining the thumbs of both hands *and holding the other fingers straight.*

Some of the works on Yoga describe various mudrās. For example, the Haṭhayogapradīpikā (III. 6-23) describes at length ten mudrās and the Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā (III. 1-3) speaks of 25 mudrās and describes them in one hundred verses. The Śivasaṁhitā (IV. 15-31) mentions ten mudrās as the best. An important mudrā in Haṭhayoga practices is the Khecarīmudrā described in Devībhāgavata XI.66.62-65, Śivasaṁhitā IV. 31-33, Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā III. 25-27, Haṭhayogapradīpikā III. 32-53. This description differs from the definition of Khecarī in Jñānārṇava (15. 61-63) and Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava III. 15-23. The Vajrolīmudrā (in Haṭhayogapradīpikā III. 82-96) cannot be set out here for reasons of decency and it was supposed to prolong the life of a yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies.

Some of the Purāṇas contain an extensive treatment of mudrās. The Kālikāpurāṇa mentions aṅganyāsa, karanyāsa in chap. 66 and mudrās like Dhenumudrā, Yonimudrā, Mahāmudrā, Khecarīmudrā in 70. 36-56, 78. 3-6; Devībhāgavata (XI. 16. 98-102) speaks of 24 mudrās at the time of Gāyatrī-japa; the Brahmapurāṇa[1843] and Nāradīyapurāṇa set out eight mudrās

1843. पद्मं शङ्खश्च श्रीवत्सो गदा गरुड एव च। चक्रं खड्गश्च शार्ङ्गं च अष्टौ मुद्राः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ ब्रह्म 61. 55, नारदीय II. 57. 55-56. It may be noted that these are mentioned among 19 Viṣṇu mudrās enumerated from Tāntrik texts vol. I.

(*Continued on next page*)

of Viṣṇu worship. Vide Agnipurāṇa, chap. 26, for a brief reference in 7 verses to some mudrās. The Kālikāpurāṇa (70. 32) states that there are 108 mudrās, 55 for general worship and 53 on special occasions, such as collecting materials, drama, acting (naṭana).

Most verses of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (in the Lalitopākhyāna, chap. 42) are the same as in the Mudrānighaṇṭu pp. 55–57 verses 110–118; but the largest number of mudrās in dancing is contained in the Viṣṇudharmottara (III). In chap. 32 it speaks of numerous rahasya (secret) mudrās in prose called mudrāhastas and in chap. 33 (1–124) it describes over one hundred sāmānyamudrās and the colophon at the end of the chapter calls them 'nṛttaśāstramudrās' (mudrās in the science of dramaturgy).[1844] This opens up a subject which cannot be gone into here, viz. whether the mystic hand poses (mudrās) in worship were derived from the postures (*karaṇas*), *recakas* (gestures) and 32 *aṅgahāras* (movements of limbs) described in the Nāṭyaśāstra[1845] of Bharata (chapters 4, 8 and 9). It may be noted that the Nāṭyaśāstra (in IV. 171 and 173) speaks of 'nṛttahastas'. Pāṇini knew naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva.[1846] Bharata speaks of four kinds of acting (*abhinaya* 8. 9–10) viz. āṅgika, vācika, āhārya, and sāttvika. In the 9th chapter the movements of the hands and fingers intertwined or joined are set out. Muṣṭi is defined by Bharata in 9. 55. Mudrās would fall under āṅgika abhinaya; *aṅgahāras* depended upon *karaṇas*

(*Continued from last page*)

cited above. All these except श्रीवत्स are named and defined in the पूजाप्रकाश pp. 124–125. The पूजाप्रकाश p. 136 prescribes that in the worship of विष्णु 'āvāhana' should be made with the mantra 'Sahasraśīrṣā' (*Ṛg.* X. 90. 1) and 14 mudrās shown 'सहस्रशीर्षेतिमन्त्रेणावाहनं कुर्यात् । तत आवाहनादिचतुर्दशमुद्राः प्रदर्शयेत् । ताश्च आवाहनी स्थापनी संमुखीकरणी सन्निरोधिनी प्रसादमुद्रा अवगुण्ठनमुद्रा शङ्खचक्रगदापद्ममुसलखड्गधनुर्बाणमुद्राः ।'.

1844. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 32 which begins अथातो मुद्राहस्तान् व्याख्यास्यामः and ends with a verse एता रहस्यमुद्रास्ते मयोक्ता नृपसत्तम । अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि सामान्यास्ता निबोध मे ॥ : इत्युद्देशे तु ते प्रोक्ता मुद्राहस्ता मया नृप । दर्शयेन्मन्त्रयुक्तानां परां सिद्धिमभीप्सताम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 33. 121.

1845. करणैरिह संयुक्ता अङ्गहाराः प्रकल्पिताः । एतेषामिह वक्ष्यामि हस्तपादविकल्पनम् । नाट्यशास्त्र IV 33–34; illustrations of the 108 aṅgahāras enumerated in नाट्यशास्त्र IV. 34–55 are given in the GOS edition of the नाट्यशास्त्र (vol. I), copied from the Naṭarāja temple gopuras at Chidambaram in South India.

1846. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ पा. IV. 3, 110–111.

and the latter consisted of different arrangements of hands and feet. It is likely that the mudrās in the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrik works are based on the poses that were evolved in ancient Indian dance and drama and that find their earliest extant description in Bharata-nāṭyaśāstra and that are also to be found in later medieval works on dramaturgy such as the Abhinayadarpaṇa.[1847]

The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa names and defines 108 mudrās (p. 380). On p. 376 it states that the combination of mudrās and mantras would bring success in all actions and neither *tithi*, nor *nakṣatra* nor fasting would be required. In the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa[1848] there is a fine eulogy of the mudrās made in dancing viz. they are the graces of the rich, the removers of the sorrow of the distressed, the instruction of the ignorant, the increase of the blessedness (or charm) of women; they were created by Vāsudeva for the removal of portents, as the means of prosperity and of the attainment of desired objects.

The Buddhists also had mudrās. One of the early works of the Mahāyāna school viz. Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa is full of mudrās in the 35th paṭala (pp. 355–381) and states (on p. 380) that there are 108 mudrās.[1849] L. H. Waddell in 'the Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism' (London, 1895) describes nine mudrās practised in Tibet by the Lamas (pp. 336–337).

In the Indian Antiquary, vol. 26 (1897), pp. 24–25, Burgess mentions nine Buddhist mudrās (slightly differing from Waddell's descriptions) as follows :—(1) Bhūmispṛś or Bhūmisparśa mudrā, an attitude of Śākya Buddha (making the earth as witness); (2) Dharmacakra mudrā (teaching attitude); (3) Abhaya mudrā (of blessing), in which the left hand is open

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1847. Vide अभिनयदर्पण (edited by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, 1957) p. 47 where certain postures of the hands are called Śaṅkha, Cakra, Sampuṭa, Pāśa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Garuḍa, Simhamukha, which, as noticed above, are among the mudrās mentioned in the Mudrānighaṇṭu (Tāntrik texts, edited by Avalon, vol. I p. 46 verses 5–7 and pp. 49–50 verses 32 ff, which define Vaiṣṇava mudrās some of which like Garuḍa occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra IX. 201 also.

1848. ईश्वराणां विलासं तु चार्तानां दुःखनाशनम्। मूढानामुपदेशं तत् स्त्रीणां सौभाग्यवर्धनम्। शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं काम्यं वासुदेवेन निर्मितम्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 34. 30–31.

1849. Vide आर्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (35th paṭala) p. 372 for अभयमुद्रा and वरदमुद्रा.

on the lap, the right hand is raised in front of the chest with the fingers and thumb half extended and with the palm facing forwards; (4) Jñānamudrā (Dhyāna mudrā?) or Padmāsana-mudrā (posture of contemplation); (5) the Vara or Varadamudrā, in which the right hand hangs down over the knee, the palm of the hand turned outwards symbolising charity; (6) Lalita-mudrā (enchanting or bewitching); (7) Tarkamudrā (right hand raised to the chest and slightly constricted; (8) Śaraṇa-mudrā (of refuge or protection); (9) Uttarabodhimudrā (pose of highest perfection, which is apt to be confounded with Dharmacakramudrā).

The Jainas also had mudrās. In J. O. I. (Baroda), vol. VI. No. 1 pp. 1–35 Dr. Priyabala Shah contributes an interesting paper on two Jaina works, one of which called Mudrāvicāra describes 73 mudrās and the other called Mudrāvidhi lists 114 mudrās.

In a recent work 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' Mr. C. Sivaramamurti (Calcutta, 1955) remarks (on p. 43) that the 'hastas' and '*karaṇas*' on the Gopura at Chidambaram are found also in the Śiva temple at Prambanan in Java, where one can observe many of the *karaṇas* like Patākā, Tripatāka, Ardhacandra, Śikhara, Kartarīmukha, Śūci and hastas like Añjali, Puṣpaputa. In another recent work 'Contributions to the History of the Indian Drama' by Dr. Manomohan Ghosh (Calcutta, 1958) it is stated that in the bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain aspects of the Cambodian dance and drama, particularly certain gestures depicted and actually observed in practice now in the dances in the royal palace, are similar to those described in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata such as Añjali, Patākā, Ardhacandra, Muṣṭi, Candrakalā and Kapota (p. 63).

Some Sanskrit medieval Dharmaśāstra works from the 13th century A. D. dilate at some length on mudrās. Hemādri on Vrata (vol. I. pp. 246–247) speaks of mudrās called Mukula, Paṅkaja, Niṣṭhura and Vyoma. The Smṛticandrikā (1st half of 13th century A.D.) names and defines 24 mudrās (I. pp. 146–147). The names are the same as in Devībhāgavata XI. 16. 98–102. The Pūjāprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) defines in all 32 mudrās of which eight, viz. Āvāhanī, Sthāpanī, Sannidhāpanī, Saṁrodhinī, Prasāda, Avaguṇṭhana, Sammukha, Prārthanā are common to the worship of all gods, some are specially appropriate

in Viṣṇu worship, some in worship of the Sun, Lakṣmī and Durgā and the Añjali and Saṁhāra mudrās (the last two) used in the worship of all gods. The Āhnikaprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) names 24 mudrās to be shown at the time of the japa of Gāyatrī (pp. 298–299) which are the same as in Devī-bhāgavata XI. 16. 98–102, but it quotes them as from Brahmā.[1850] It is difficult to say what work is meant by Brahmā. Mudrās were not universally practised. It is clear from the Dharmasindhu and Saṁskāra-ratnamālā quoted in note 1831 that Nyāsa and Mudrā were held to be non-vedic in Mahārāṣṭra at least.

Another item in the Tāntrik worship is that of Maṇḍala which has been also a prominent feature of orthodox Hindu practices in medieval and modern times. But it cannot be said that the concept of maṇḍalas was borrowed by Sanskrit writers from the Tāntrikas. The word was used in the sense of orb or circle. In the Tai. S. V. 3. 9. 2 reference is made to circular bricks (maṇḍaleṣṭakā); vide also Śat. Br. IV. I. 1. 25. The orb of the Sun is also called the wheel (cakra) in Ṛg. IV. 28. 2 and V. 29. 10. The Bṛ. Up. says 'this Āditya is what is (called) truth[1851] (satya)' and refers to the Person in the orb (maṇḍala) of the sun. Then it came to mean any figure or diagram (generally

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1850. वरदाभयमुद्रे च वरदाभयवत् प्रिये। ज्ञानार्णवतन्त्र IV. 39; the Vara and Abhaya mudrās are defined in Jayākhyasaṁhitā VIII. 104–5 as follows: सुस्पष्टं दक्षिणं हस्तं स्वात्मनस्तु पराङ्मुखम्। पराङ्मुखं लम्बमानं वामपार्णिं प्रकल्पयेत्। क्रमाद्वरा-भयाख्यं तु इदं मुद्राद्वयं द्विज।, विज्ञेयं लोकपालानामिन्द्रादीनां समासतः। See 'Buddha and the Gospel of Buddha' by A. Coomaraswamy (London 1916) p. 262 for a Bhumisparśa-mudrā from Ceylon (of 18th century A. D.) and 'Buddhist Art in India' by Prof. Grünwedel tr. by Agnes C. Gibson, figure 126 p. 178 for Bhumisparśamudrā (of Buddha) and pp. 38 and 330 (of Coomaraswamy's work) for Dharmacakramudrā respectively of Gupta period and from Gandhāra (1st or 2nd century A. D.) and Dr. B. Bhattacharya's 'Buddhist Iconography' plate XXVIII for the same. Vide 'Serpent Power' by A. Avalon (5th edition, 1953 pp. 480 and 488) for illustrations of Yogimudrā in Siddhā-sana and Mahāmudrā respectively as practised by modern practitioners of yoga. In the Memoirs of Arch. S. I. No. 66 plate XIII (g) has Abhayamudrā of standing Buddha and 'Buddhist Art in India' (above) p. 192 has Abhaya-mudrā of Maitreya from a relief in Swat, while in V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' (ed. of 1930) plate 113 shows Buddha seated in Abhayamudrā from Java. Vide N. K. Bhattasali's 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum' (1929) plate VIII opposite p. 30 for a fine Bhūmisparśa mudrā of Buddha and pp. 56 and 57 plates XX and XXI for Varada mudrās (right hand).

1851. तदेतत्सत्यमसौ स आदित्यो य एव एतस्मिन्मण्डले पुरुषो यश्चायं दक्षिणेऽक्षन् पुरुषः। बृह. उप. V. 5. 2; vide बृह. उप. II. 3. 3.

circular) drawn on an altar and the like. In the Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana reference is made to the squaring of a circle (maṇḍala).[1852] The Matsyapurāṇa refers in several passages to maṇḍalas drawn with powders of five colours (as in 58. 22). It also refers to the figure of a lotus of twelve or eight petals drawn with saffron or red sandalwood paste or with various colours (72. 30; 62. 15; 64. 12–13; 74. 6-9 a lotus figure with eight petals and pericarp for sun worship). Varāhamihira in Bṛ. S. (chap. 47) describes[1853] a very auspicious ceremony called Puṣyasnāna in which a maṇḍala was to be drawn on holy ground with powders of different colours in which positions were to be assigned to gods, planets, stars etc. The Brahmapurāṇa (28. 28) mentions the invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and Brahmapurāṇa (61. 1–3) about the worship of Nārāyaṇa on a maṇḍala in the form of a lotus is quoted by Raghunadana in Puruṣottama-tattva (p. 569). The Harṣacarita[1854] (first half of 7th century A. D.) refers to a large maṇḍala being drawn in several colours. The Varāhapurāṇa refers to the images or paintings of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa in a maṇḍala for worship (chap. 99. 9–11). The Agnipurāṇa (chapter 320) refers to eight maṇḍalas, Sarvatobhadra and others. Several maṇḍalas are described in Śāradātilaka III. 113–118, 131–134, 135–139 (navanābhamaṇḍala), in Jñānārṇava 26. 15–17 and other works. According to the Amarakośa[1855] Sarvatobhadra is a variety of

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1852. चतुरश्रं मण्डलं चिकीर्षन् मध्यात् कोट्यां निपातयेत्। पार्श्वतः परिकृष्यातिशय-तृतीयेन सह मण्डलं परिलिखेत्। सा नित्या मण्डलम्। यावद्धीयते तावदामन्तु।; मण्डलं चतुरश्रं चिकीर्षन् विष्कम्भं पञ्चदशभागान् कृत्वा द्वावुद्धरेत्। त्रयोदशावशिष्यन्ते सा नित्या चतुरश्रम्। आपस्तम्बशुल्बसूत्र III. 2–3 (Z. D. M. G. vol. LV. p. 579); compare a similar ptovision in the Śulbasūtra of Kātyāyana q. by राघवभट्ट on शारदातिलक III. 57. Vide 'The science of the Śulba' (a study in early Hindu Geometry) by Bibhutibhushan Datta (Calcutta, 1932) pp. 140 ff. The three fire-mounds required in vedic sacrifices are Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇāgni and they have to be respectively circular, square and semi-circular in form and a further requirement is that all the three have to be equal in area. Therefore, the Āp. Śulbasūtra provides a method for securing this when it says that a person desiring to make a circle (equal in area) to a square etc.

1853. तस्मिन् मण्डलमालिख्य कल्पयेच्च मेदिनीम्। नानारत्नाकरवतीं स्थानानि विविधानि च।... वर्णकैर्विविधैः कृत्वा हृद्यैर्गन्धगुणान्वितैः। यथास्वं पूजयेद्विद्वान्गन्धमाल्यानुलेपनैः। बृहत्संहिता 47. 24 ff. तस्मिन् refers to भूमदेशे.

1854. महामण्डलमिवानेकवर्णरागमालिखन्तं ... शिवकलिमिव विष्णु विक्षिपन्तं (भैरवाचार्यं...) ददर्श। हर्षचरित III.

1855. सौधोऽस्त्री राजसदनमुपकार्योपकारिका। स्वस्तिकः सर्वतोभद्रो नन्द्यावर्ताह्वयोऽपि च॥ अमरकोश II. (पुरवर्ग).

residence for kings or rich people. The Śāradātilaka (III. 106-130) deals at length with the construction of a Sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala and remarks that it is common to all worship[1856] and provides (III. 122-124) that the maṇḍala should be drawn with five coloured powders viz. yellow with turmeric powder, white produced from husked grains of rice, red with Kusumbha powder, black with the fine powder of half burnt inferior cereals sprinkled with milk and greenish with powder of the leaves of bilva. The Prapañcasāra (V. 64-65) and Agni (30. 19-20) provide for similar coloured powders. The Vāstuyāgatattva of Raghunandana (p. 416) quotes the Śāradātilaka (III. 123-124) about the five powders. The Jñānārṇavatantra (24. 8-10 and 26. 15-17) appears to hold that maṇḍala and *cakra* are synonyms and states that a maṇḍala with nine angles may be drawn on an altar in a pavilion (maṇḍapa) with saffron or vermilion powder.[1857] The Mahānirvāṇatantra also refers to maṇḍalas drawn with coloured powders (X. 137-138). Four characteristics of maṇḍala ceremonies are maṇḍala, mantra, pūjā and mudrā.

The Buddhist tantras also make much of maṇḍalas. In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa maṇḍalas are described with special directions for painting them. The Guhyasamājatantra speaks of a maṇḍala of 16 cubits with a *cakra* inside. Vide Prof. G. Tucci's 'Indo-Tibetica' vol. IV part I (Rome, 1941) which gives tables containing maṇḍalas and A. Getty's 'The Gods of Northern Buddhism' (1908) Plate XVI for a maṇḍala of nine elements, and 'Contributions to the study of maṇḍala and mudrā' by Erik Haarh pp. 57-91 of vol. XXIII. Nos. 1 and 2 (1958) of Acta Orientalia of the Oriental Societies of Denmark, Norway &c. in which at the end there are photographs of about 100 hand poses (mudrās). The Niṣpannayogāvali (G. O. S.) of Abhayākara-gupta, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, king of Bengal (1084-1130 A. D.), describes 26 maṇḍalas in 26 chapters, each maṇḍala having a central deity and other minor Buddhist divinities, sometimes more than one hundred in number.[1858]

1856. मण्डलं सर्वतोभद्रमेतत्साधारणं स्मृतम्। शारदा० III. 131.

1857. मण्डपं (पे?) वेदिकां कृत्वा पुष्पवैतानमण्डितम्। ...वेदिकायां वरारोहे कुंकुमेनाथ वा प्रिये। सिन्दूररजसा वापि विलिखेच्चक्रमुत्तमम्। ज्ञानार्णव 24. 8-10; नवकोणं विरचयाथ सिन्दूरेण महाप्रभम्। कलशाद् नव संस्थाप्य हेमरत्नादिपूरितान्। एकं वा कलशं रम्यं स्थापयेद्देशिकोत्तमः। दक्षतो मण्डलं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमाद्यैर्विचित्रितम्। ibid. 26. 15-16.

1858. Vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's article in J. G. J. R. I. Vol. VI. pp. 273-281 for the importance of Niṣpannayogāvali of Abhayākaragupta for Buddhist deities and psychic literature.

In the collection of the rites and worship called 'Rgvedabrahmakarmasamuccaya' published by the Nirnayasāgara Press (6th ed. Bombay 1935) there are at the beginning several maṇḍalas, plain or drawn in various colours, such as the Sarvatobhadra, Caturliṅgatobhadra, Prāsādavāstumaṇḍala, Gṛhavāstumaṇḍala, Grahadevatāmaṇḍala, Hariharamaṇḍala, Ekaliṅgatobhadra. The Smṛtikaustubha mentions Dvādaśaliṅgatobhadra, Hariharamaṇḍala inside which there is Sarvatobhadra pp. 410–411 (of Nirn. ed. of 1909). They are all passed over here. Sarvatobhadra literally means 'auspicious on all sides'. This concept of an auspicious figure or diagram was carried over in the realm of Poetics. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa cites a verse in the form called Sarvatobhadra, which is an illustration of what are called 'citra-bandhas'.[1859] About a century before Daṇḍin, the Kirātārjunīya (15. 25) gives an illustration of 'sarvatobhadra'.

In the Acta Orientalia volume referred to above there is an interesting analysis of the contents of two Tibetan mss., one containing what is called 'Rice-maṇḍala' in which 37 elements

1859. आहुर्वर्त्मेदं नाम श्लोकार्धभ्रमणं यदि। तादृष्टं सर्वतोभद्रं भ्रमणं यदि सर्वतः॥ काव्यादर्श III. 80. किरातार्जुनीय (sarga 15 v. 25) furnishes the following as सर्वतोभद्रः देवाकालिनिकावादे वाहिकास्त्वस्वकाहि वा। काकारेमभरे काका निस्वभव्यभवानि॥ An example of a verse in the सर्वतोभद्रबन्ध is furnished by काव्यादर्श III. 82, which is as follows:

सा	मा	या	मा	मा	या	मा	सा
मा	रा	ना	या	या	ना	रा	मा
या	ना	वा	रा	रा	वा	ना	या
मा	या	रा	मा	मा	रा	या	मा
मा	या	रा	मा	मा	रा	या	मा
या	ना	वा	रा	रा	वा	ना	या
मा	रा	ना	या	या	ना	रा	मा
सा	मा	या	मा	मा	या	मा	सा

are indicated by their names (vide figure 1) and the other containing 123 drawings of mudrās (hand poses).

Another characteristic item in Tāntrik worship is '*yantra*' (geometrical diagram), sometimes called *cakra* also, which one finds to some extent also in the Purāṇas and slightly in modern orthodox practices. A *yantra* is a diagram (or figure) engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, paper or other material. It resembles a maṇḍala but differs from it in this that a maṇḍala may be employed in the worship of any *devatā*, while a yantra is specially appropriated to the worship of a particular deity or employed for a particular purpose. The Kulārṇava-tantra[1860] states; 'Yantra is a development (or product) of mantra and a deity apprehended in the form of a mantra; the deity worshipped on the yantra immediately becomes favourable; yantra is so called because it removes all pains (or perturbations) arising from such faults as love and anger; if God is worshipped in yantras, he is pleased'. The same Tantra further says 'if worship is done without a yantra the *devatā* is not pleased'. Here the word 'yantra' is derived from the root 'yantr'. In another place the same tantra states 'Yantra is so declared because it always saves (the worshipper) from Yama (god of death) and goblins and other dangers'. The Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad[1861] observes 'the arrangement (or preparation) of a yantra is the body of the deity which confers safety'. The Kaulāvalīnirṇaya observes 'worship (of a deity) without employing a yantra, satiating (the goddess) without offering flesh, drinking wine without being accompanied by a Śakti (the wife or other woman associated with a Śākta worshipper)-all these yield no fruit.' Some works evolved a 'yantra-gāyatrī' also.[1862]

1860. यन्त्रं मन्त्रमयं प्रोक्तं देवता मन्त्ररूपिणी। यन्त्रे सा पूजिता देवी सहसैव प्रसीदति॥ कामक्रोधादिदोषोत्थसर्वदुःखनियन्त्रणात्। यन्त्रमित्याहुरेतस्मिन् देवः प्रीणाति पूजितः॥ कुलार्णव VI. 85–86 (The first half verse is quoted from अगस्त्यसंहिता by व. कि. कौ. p. 147); विना यन्त्रेण पूजा चेद् देवता न प्रसीदति। Ibid. X. 109; यमभूतादिसर्वेभ्यो भयेभ्योपि कुलेश्वरि। त्रायते सततं चैव तस्माद्यन्त्रमितीरितम्। Ibid XVII. 61. Here य is supposed to stand for यम and others, त्र is derived from the root 'trai' (or 'trā'). विना यन्त्रेण या पूजा विना मांसेन तर्पणम्। विना शक्त्या तु यत्पानं तत्सर्वं निष्फलं भवेत्॥ कौलावलीनिर्णय VIII. 41-42. साभयस्यास्य देवस्य विग्रहो यन्त्रकल्पना॥ विना यन्त्रेण चेत्पूजा देवता न प्रसीदति। रामपूर्वतापनीयोप. I. 13.

1861. It will be noticed that the latter half is the same as the latter half of कुलार्णव X. 109. Vide Heinrich Zimmer's 'Myths and symbols in Indian Art and civilization' pp. 140–148 on 'yantra'; also अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता chap. 36 where the construction and worship of Sudarśanacakra is described.

1862. The यन्त्रगायत्री is: यन्त्रराजाय विद्महे परमेष्ठाय धीमहि। तन्नो यन्त्रं प्रचोदयात्॥ मेरुतन्त्र 33. 13.

These passages make it clear that a yantra was deemed to be a factor helping in restraining the restless movements of the mind due to anger, love and the like and in making the mind concentrate on a diagram or model deemed to represent the deity worshipped. It induced concentration and encouraged the mental realization of the deity. The distinction between the *devatā* and yantra is similar to that between the soul and the body. Most Hindus look upon such forms of worship without antipathy because it is felt that they serve as a way of approach to divinity for ordinary unsophisticated people and that it is better to have one's foot on the lowest rung of the ladder to higher life than to have it on no rung at all.

Yantras are described in such Tāntrik and other works as Tripurātāpanī Upaniṣad (II. 3), Prapañcasāratantra (paṭalas 21 and 34), Śāradātilaka (VII. 53-63, XXIV), Kāmakalāvilāsa (verses 22, 26, 29, 30, 33), Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (I. 31-43) Nityotsava (pp. 6, 64–65), Tantra-rājatantra (II. 44–51, VIII. 30 ff. XXXIII), Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitā (chap. 23–26), Mantramahodadhi (20th Taraṅga), Kaulajñānanirṇaya (X, which speaks of them as cakras), Kaulāvalīnirṇaya (III. 105–135), Merutantra (33rd prakāśa, 562 verses), Mantramahārṇava-tantra (Uttarakhaṇḍa, 11th taraṅga). It is not possible to deal with all this large material here. The Padma (Pātālakhaṇḍa, 79. 1) provides that the worship of Hari (Viṣṇu) may be performed on the Śālagrāma stone or on a jewel or a yantra, a maṇḍala, or images, and not merely in a temple. The Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā (chap. 36, verses 5-66) describes the procedure of the worship of a Sudarśana-yantra by a king or other personage desiring wealth or prosperity. One yantra or cakra may be explained and illustrated here. The most noted is *Śrīcakra* described in two verses quoted[1863] below and explained in some detail in the

1863. बिन्दु-त्रिकोण-वसुकोणदशारयुग्म-मन्वस्रनागदलसंयुतषोडशारम् । वृत्तत्रयं च धरणीसदनत्रयं च श्रीचक्रराजमुदितं परदेवतायाः॥ q. by शङ्करविजय of आनन्दगिरि (B. I. ed. of 1868) p. 255 and by सेतुबन्ध on नित्याषोडशिका 1. 31 from यामल (*probably from the* रुद्रयामल *said to be composed by the great* शङ्कराचार्य *himself*) and चतुर्भिः श्रीकण्ठैः शिवयुवतिभिः पञ्चभिरपि प्रभिन्नाभिः शम्भोर्नवभिरपि मूलप्रकृतिभिः। त्रयश्चत्वारिंशद्वसुदलकलाश्रत्रिवलयत्रिरेखाभिः सार्धं तव भवनकोणाः परिणताः॥ सौन्दर्यलहरी verse 11 in ed, by Ganesh and Co. Madras, 1957 with Com. लक्ष्मीधरा. Some writers read in the 2nd verse चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्. वसु stands for 8, मनु for 14, नाग for 8, कला for 16. There are two ways of describing it viz. from the bindu onwards (which is called Sṛṣṭi-krama) or from the outer lines to the bindu (which is called saṁhāra-krama). Vide 'Shakti and Shākta' by Sir John

(*Continued on next page*)

Setubandha commentary on Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (I. 31–46). The latter verses explain how the Cakra is to be drawn with the bindu in a small triangle. The bindu represents Śakti or Mūla-prakṛti solidified. In published works on Tantra the Śrīcakra is represented in colours (as in Saundaryalaharī published by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1957, facing the title page), while others represent it only by means of plain uncoloured lines (as on the outer cover of the above edition of Saundaryalaharī or on the cover of the Kāmakalāvilāsa ed. by A. Avalon and published by Ganesh and Co. 1953). In some works the figure of Śrīcakra shows no gates as on the cover in 'Principles of Tantra' by A. Avalon or on the cover of Kāmakalāvilāsa, while gates are shown in other works (as in the above edition of Saundaryalaharī before the Sanskrit text). There are nine triangles, five of which have their apex pointing downwards and these represent Śakti and four (representing Śiva) have an apex pointing upwards. The bindu is situated in the smallest triangle pointing downwards. Then there are two pairs of ten triangles (shown in some books as blue and red respectively), then fourteen triangles (coloured blue in some works), then eight-petalled lotus (sometimes coloured red), 16 petalled lotus (coloured blue), then three circles, then three boundary lines with four gates, these two latter being the outer sections of the yantra and the lotuses of 8 and 16 petals being the inner section of the yantra. There are in all 43 angles (some works make 44). The part of the Cakra within the boundary lines is called *bhūpura*. The worship of yantra is *bahiryāga* (outer or external worship of Śakti). The internal worship (*antaryāga*) consists in taking the awakened Kuṇḍalinī through the cakras from Mūlādhāra to Ājñācakra and then uniting it with the Lord Śiva in the Sahasrāra-cakra, the six cakras from Mūlādhāra being identified with

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(*Continued from last page*)

Woodroffe (3rd edition of 1929 published by Ganesh & Co, Madras) pp. 399 ff for explanation of the figure of Śrīcakra. A tāntrik work called Devī-rahasya (D. C. ms. No. 490 of 1895–98) quotes the verse बिन्दुत्रिकोण...देवताया: (on folio 31a) but also cites another verse describing this चक्र somewhat differently. Cakras are differently enumerated in different works. For example, in D. C. ms. No. 962 of 1884–1887 called चक्रभेद, five cakras employed in the worship of Durgā according to Kaulāgama are राजचक्र, महाचक्र, देवचक्र, वीरचक्र and पशुचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 163), while in another ms. D, C. No 964 of 1887–91, several other cakras are described such as अकडमचक्र, ऋणधनशोधनचक्र, राशिचक्र, नक्षत्रचक्र (Cat. vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 251).

the five elements and mind. This is described in Saundaryalaharī (verse 9). To what lengths 'Śakti' worshippers had gone in the worship of Devī by the *bahiryāga* method would be clear from a passage quoted from the commentary of Lakṣmīdhara, almost the latest among the numerous commentators of the Saundaryalaharī, who was horrified by the methods of Kaulikas.[1864]

The Setubandha on Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava is at great pains to emphasize that the worship of Tripurasundarī is of the nature of upāsanā and not of the nature of *bhakti* and that this upāsanā is of two sorts, one consisting of the recitation of the mantra of the Devī and the other consisting of the worship of the yantra[1865] (or cakra). Verses 126–204 of the Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava detail the different items in the worship of the Śrīcakra. The Nityāṣoḍaśikā and other Tāntrik works say that the great Tripurasundarī is seated in the Śrīcakra.[1866] The great aim of the Śākta *sādhaka* is apparently to realize his identity with the yantra, the mantra, the guru and Tripurādevī. The Varṣakriyākaumudī quotes a verse stating that worship of yantra performed with all mantras is commended and by so doing a worshipper may secure whatever he desires.[1867]

Even a comparatively sober work like the Śāradātilaka provides for the drawing up of yantras for wicked purposes. For example, in VII. 58–59 it describes an Āgneya-yantra to be drawn on a garment secured from a pile in a cemetery and buried near the house of one's enemy for the latter's destruction.

1864. तवाधारे मूले सह समयया लास्यपरया नवात्मानं मन्ये नवरसमहाताण्डवनटम्। उभाभ्यामेताभ्यामुदयविधिमुद्दिश्य दयया सनाथाभ्यां जज्ञे जनकजननीमज्जगदिदम्॥ सौन्दर्य० verse 41 p. 181 (ed. of Ganesh and co. 1951). The com. of लक्ष्मीधर remarks 'अत एव कौलास्त्रिकोणे बिन्दुं नित्यं समर्चयन्ति। ... श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिमध्यगतयोनिं भूजहेमपद्मरत्नपीठादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति। तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिमुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति। उभयं योनिद्वयं बाह्यमेव नान्तरम्। अतस्तेषामाधारचक्रमेव पूज्यम्। ... अत्र बहु वक्तव्यमस्ति तत्तु अवैदिकमार्गत्वात् स्मरणार्हमपि न भवति।'.

1865. अस्य तन्त्रस्य प्राधान्येन त्रिपुरसुन्दर्युपासनाविधान एव तात्पर्यावगमात्। सा चोपासना मानसक्रियाविशेषरूपा। ... तस्मादनुरागव्यावृत्ता क्रियैवोपासना। सा च द्विविधा-तन्मन्त्रजपरूपा तद्यन्त्रपूजारूपा चेति। सेतुबन्ध on नित्या० I. 125 p. 68.

1866. संस्थितात्र महाचक्रे महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी। नित्याषोडशिका० I. 82; ज्ञाता स्वात्मा भवेज्ज्ञानमर्च्यं ज्ञेयं बहिःस्थितम्। श्रीचक्रपूजनं तेषामेकीकरणमीरितम्॥ तन्त्रराजतन्त्र 35. 6; आसीना बिन्दुमये चक्रे सा त्रिपुरसुन्दरी देवी। कामेश्वराङ्कनिलया कलया चन्द्रस्य कल्पितोत्संगा॥ verse 37 of कामकला०.

1867. सर्वेषामपि मन्त्राणां पूजा यन्त्रे प्रशस्यते। यन्त्रे मन्त्रं समाराध्य यद्यभीष्टं तदाप्नुयात्॥ व. क्रि. कौ. p. 147.

In XXIV. 17–18 and 19–21 two yantras for the destruction of an enemy are described. Vide above p. 1105 for Prapañcasāra (34. 33) providing a yantra for creating passion in a woman and making her run to the person practising magic.

The Tantrarājatantra provides (8th Paṭala, verses 30–32) that yantras that yield all desired objects should be engraved, painted or drawn on pieces of gold, silver or copper or on cloth or birch leaf with paste of sandalwood, agalochum, camphor, musk or saffron and should be worn on the head or the arms or neck, waist or wrist or one should worship them after placing them somewhere (on the ground &c.); vide also Prapañcasāra-tantra XI. 46 for similar provisions.

At the end of this chapter on Tāntrik doctrines and practices reference must be made to a remarkable circumstance. The Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava (14th century A.D.), that deals with 15 *Darśanas* (points of view or philosophical views), has not a word to say about Tantras, though it devotes considerable space to the atheistic Cārvāka-darśana and the unorthodox Bauddha and Jaina systems. It is impossible to believe that the most learned brothers Sāyaṇa and Mādhava were unaware of the works on Tantra. The silence must be due to some special reason. If one may make a conjecture, it appears that Tāntrik doctrines were discarded for the same reasons that induced the Bengal king Ballālasena in his Dānasāgara to exclude the Devīpurāṇa from the authorities on which he meant to rely. At the time when Sāyaṇa and Mādhava flourished (about middle of 14th century A. D.) Tāntrik doctrines and practices had come into great disrepute. Therefore, Tāntrik doctrines were probably passed over in silence by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava.

APPENDIX TO SECTION VI

Some important published texts consulted by the author on Tāntricism are set out here. Sanskrit works are arranged in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet, but are transliterated in English and their names are printed in italics. Information about authors, dates and editions is set out briefly where available.

Advayavajrasaṅgraha of Advayavajra (11th century A. D.); contains 21 short works on Buddhist philosophy (in G.O.S.), ed. by H. P. Shastri, with a valuable Introduction.

Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (published in TSS in three parts and 721 pages); contains parts of different dates (from 4th to 9th century A. D.). It is Buddhist and included in Tibetan Kangyur. It has now 55 chapters, but a Chinese translation of 10th century has only 28 chapters. Dr. B. Bhattacharya ascribes it to 2nd century A. D.; but Winternitz disagrees (vide IHQ. IX. pp. 1 ff.). Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India' gives the text of *paṭalavisara* 53 containing 1003 verses, out of which verses 6-344 deal with the biography of Buddha up to his *nirvāṇa* and real history is given from about 78 A. D. to 8th century A. D. in verses 345-980.

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati of Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra, in four parts, Sāmānyapāda, Mantrapāda, Kriyāpāda and Yogapāda; it contains about 18000 ślokas and is published in T. S. S.; it mentions Gautamīya Tantra, Prapañcasāra and Bhojarāja; composed about 1100 A. D. or a little later.

Kāmakalāvilāsa of Puṇyānandanātha, with the commentary Cidvallī of Naṭanānandanātha (Kashmir S. S.); there are 55 verses with tr. and notes by Arthur Avalon (pub. by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1953), originally in Tāntrik Texts vol. X.

Kālacakratantra (Buddhist)-Vide J. A. S. B., Letters, vol. XXVIII (1952) pp. 71-76 for an account of this work by Biswanath Bandopadhyaya

Kūlajñānanirṇaya-ed. by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (in Calcutta S. Series, 1934); H. P. Shastri assigned the ms. of it to 9th century A. D., but Prof. Bagchi (p. 3) places it in the

middle of the 11th century A. D. It is ascribed to Matsyendrapāda in the colophons. Vide p. 1115, n 1820 above for Matsyendranātha.

Kālivilāsatantra—ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VI (1917) in 35 paṭalas. In X. 20-21 it frankly allows adultery provided the sexual act is not completed. It mentions (in XX. 1) the Kālikāpurāṇa and in XV. 12–13 contains a mantra in a language resembling Assamese and eastern Bengali.

Kulacūḍāmaṇi-tantra (ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. IV, 1915) in seven paṭalas and 430 verses. In I. 4–12 names of 64 tantras are cited.

Kulārṇava-tantra—It is in 17 *ullāsas* and contains over 2000 verses. It is a famous work profusely quoted (published in Tāntrik Texts, vol. V, London, 1917). It is an early tantra, probably composed before 1000 A. D. In the colophons it is said to be a tantra of the Ūrdhvāmnāya (the fifth of the five āmnāyas) and as part of the work of one lakh and a quarter verses. Vide A. B. O. R. I. vol. XIII. pp. 206–211 for a paper on 'Kulārṇava-tantra, its extent and contents' by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Kaulāvalīnirṇaya of Jñānānandagiri in twenty-one *ullāsas*, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIV; in I. 2–14 names numerous Tantras including yāmalas and in I. 92–93 eight former gurus are named.

Gaṇapatitattva – Old Javanese Text, critically edited, annotated and translated by Dr. (Mrs.) Sudarśadevī Singhal (pub. by International Academy of Sciences, New Delhi, 1958); refers to Mūlādhāra and other Cakras with their positions and colours, six aṅgas of Yoga excluding *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana* and adding *tarka*; gives an account of the production of *nāda* from Niṣkala and of bindu from nāda and so on, of mantras, *bījās* &c.

Guhyasamājatantra or *Tathāgata-guhyaka* (*Buddhist*): It is published in G. O. S.; it is assigned to 4th century A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in Intro. to Sādhanamālā, vol. II, p. XCV); vide p. 1050 above for criticism of this view. It probably belongs to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Vide notes 1673 and 1691.

Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha published in S. B. Texts (1925); mixture of Yoga and Tantra.

Cidgaganacandrikā; ascribed to Kālidāsa; ed. by Trivikramatirtha in Tāntrik Texts, Vol. XX.

Jayākhyasaṁhitā (published in G. O. S.)—a Pāñcarātra work ascribed to 450 A. D. by Dr. B. Bhattacharya; contains some Tantra topics such as Yakṣiṇī-sādhana, Cakrayantra-sādhana, Stambhana.

Jñānasiddhi of king Indrabhūti, disciple of Anaṅgavajra and father of guru Padmasambhava; pub. in 'Two Vajrayāna Texts' (G. O, S.); assigned to about 717 A. D. (Intro. p. 10); gives in a nutshell leading doctrines of Vajrayāna.

Jñānārṇavatantra, pub. by Anan. Press, Poona; contains 26 paṭalas and about 2300 verses.

Tantrarājatantra, ed. in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VIII and XII and pub. by Ganesh & Co. Madras, 1954, with the commentary Manoramā by Subhagānandanātha; it has 36 chapters. It gives an account of the Kādimata.

Tantrasāra of Kṛṣṇānanda, pub. in Ch. S. S.; about 17th century A. D.

Tantrasāra of Abinavagupta, a summary of Tantrāloka, pub. in Kashmir S. S. (1918). About the first quarter of 11th century A. D.

Tantrābhidhāna with Bījanighaṇṭu and Mudrānighaṇṭu, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. I. (1913).

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the com. of Jayaratha, pub. in Kashmir S. S. in several volumes; composed about 1000 A. D.

Tārātantra, ed. by Śrī Girisacandra and pub. in the Gauḍa-granthamālā No. 1 (1913); in 6 paṭalas and 150 verses. It declares that Buddha and Vasiṣṭha were Tāntrik sages of old and nine Kaula gurus whose names end in 'nātha' are mentioned; refers to Mahācīnākhya Tantra and provides for devotee (only male) offering his own blood to Tārā.

Tārābhaktisudhārṇava, of Narasiṁha Ṭhakkura, who was 5th in descent from Govinda Ṭhakkura, author of Pradīpa, com. on Kāvyaprakāśa; composed about 1680 A. D.; ed. by Pancanan Bhattacharya (in Tāntrik Texts vol. XXI, 1940);

a large work in eleven Taraṅgas and 435 pages on the worship of Tārā, one of ten vidyās connected with Śakti (not the Buddhist divinity Tārā). The 9th Taraṅga deals with the horrible rite of Śavasādhana (pp. 345–351).

Tārārahasya of Brahmānanda, pub. by Jivananda (1896); mentions Mahācīna, Nīlatantra, Yoginītantra, Rudrayāmala.

Tripurārahasya of Hārītāyana, with com. called Tātparyadīpikā of Śrīnivāsa; pub. in S. B. series; it is a discourse by Hārītāyana to Nārada. Tārākhaṇḍa portion of it is philosophical.

Tripurāsārasamuccaya of Nāgabhaṭṭa with the com. of Govindācārya; pub. by Jivananda (1897).

Dakṣiṇāmūrti-saṁhitā on Śrīvidyopāsanā in 65 paṭalas and about 1700 verses; pub. in S. B. series.

Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (part of Vāmakeśvaratantra) with the com. Setubandha by Bhāskararāya (1700–1750 A. D.); pub. by Anan. Press (1944).

Nityotsava of Umānandanātha (who bore the name of Jagannātha before *dīkṣā* and who was a Mahārāṣṭra brāhmaṇa patronized by the Tanjore Maratha Chief); this is a supplement to Paraśurāmakalpasūtra; Umānandanātha was a pupil of Bhāsurānandanātha (Bhāskararāya before dīkṣā) and composed the work in Kali era 'rasārṇava-karivedamiteṣu' (Kali 4846 i. e. 1745 A. D.). It is probable that the word arṇava is used for seven instead of for 4 as usual (i. e. 4876, equal to 1775 A. D.); pub. in G. O. S. (1923).

Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta, a contemporary of king Rāmapāla of Bengal (1084–1130 A. D.). It is Buddhist. The author was a Professor at the Vikramaśilā University in Bihar; describes 26 maṇḍalas, each having a central deity and other minor Buddhist deities that sometimes exceed 100. It is valuable for later Buddhism, its pantheon and ritual; pub. in G. O. S. (1949).

Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, with com. Saubhāgyodayā of Rāmeśvara, pub. in G. O. S. (1923); earlier than 1300 A. D.; claims to be composed by Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni and chief disciple of Lord Mahādeva.

Pādukāpañcaka, ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. II (1913).

Pārānandasūtra, pub. in G. O. S. (1931); not earlier than 900 A. D., says Dr. B. Bhattacarya.

Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi of Anaṅgavajra, one of the 84 siddhas venerated in Tibet; Buddhist Vajrayāna work pub. in G. O. S. (1929); composed about 705 A. D. acc. to Dr. B. Bhattacharya in Intro. p. XII.

Prapañcasāra (ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya) with com. Vivaraṇa by Padmapāda; pub. in Tāntrik Texts (vol. III) and later a new ed in vol. XVIII–XIX (1939). Vide p. 1105 above. In 36 paṭalas.

Prāṇatoṣiṇī, compiled by Rāmatoṣaṇa Bhattacharya and pub. by Jivananda (Calcutta); it is a very large modern work in 1097 pages.

Brahmasaṁhitā, with the commentary of Jīva Gosvāmi; for Vaiṣṇavas; pub. in Tāntrik texts, vol. XV.

Mantramahodadhi of Mahīdhara with his own commentary; composed in Vikrama year 1645 (1588–89) A. D.; pub. by Jīv. and Venk. Press.

Mahānirvāṇatantra, with the com. of Hariharānanda Bhāratī. It is a leading but late work on Tantra, published very often; ed. by A. Avalon in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XIII in 14 *Ullāsas* as the first part; the ed. of 1929 by Ganesh & Co. has been used in this work; the third ed. of 1953 differs slightly here and there.

Mātṛkā-cakra-viveka of Svatantrānandanātha, with the com. of Śivānanda; pub. in S. B. series, 1934.

Māheśvaratantra, in 51 paṭalas and 3060 verses (pub. in Ch. S. S.); mentions that Tantras are 64 (1. 15 and 26. 11) and names 25 Vaiṣṇava tantras (26. 16–20) and holds that Bauddha tantras are misleading and meant for cruel rites (26. 21–22).

Merutantra; extensive work in 35 chapters, 821 pages and about 16000 verses; pub. by Venk. Press, Bombay, 1908.

Yoginītantra, published by Jivananda; q. by Raghunandana in Ekādaśītattva p. 58.

Yoginīhṛdaya—the last three chapters of Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (VI–VIII) are so called.

Yoginīhṛdayadīpikā of Amṛtānandanātha, disciple of Puṇyānandanātha, pub. in S. B. series, 1923; about 10th or 11th century A. D.

Rudrayāmalatantra, ed. by Jivananda (2nd ed. in 1892). A very extensive work in 66 chapters and in over 6000 verses

(mostly in Anuṣṭubh metre), supposed to have been declared by Bhairavī to Bhairava (Śiva). It was said to be a huge work in a lakh and a quarter ślokas, e. g. D. C. ms. No. 667 (*i*) of 1895–1902 called Dhanadāpuraścaraṇavidhi states in the colophon that it is part of the Rudrayāmala (iti Rudrayāmala-sapādalakṣagrantho.... Kiṅkiṇī-tantrokta-Dhanadā-puraścaraṇa-vidhiḥ; BORI cat. of mss., vol. XVI. on Tantra p. 247).

Lalitāsahasranāma with the com. Saubhāgyabhāskara of Bhāskararāya son of Gambhīrarāya, minister of the Bijapur Moslem king; written in *saṁvat* 1785 i. e. 1729 A. D.; Nir. ed. of 1935.

Varivasyārahasya of Bhāskararāya (called Bhāsurānandanātha after dīkṣā) with his own com. called Prakāśa. He flourished between 1700–1750 A. D.; pub. at Adyar, 1934.

Viṣṇu-saṁhitā in 30 paṭalas; pub. in T. S. S. 1925.

Śaktisaṅgamatantra, in four parts, viz. Kālī, Tārā, Sundarī and Chinnamastā; three parts dealing with the first three pub. in G. O. S.; between 1505–1607 A. D. Vide Poona Orientalist, vol. XXI. pp. 47–49 (between 1530–1700 A. D.).

Śaktisūtra—Vide Sarasvatībhavana Studies, vol. X. (pp. 182–187); has 113 sūtras and com. on 19 sūtras; attributed to Agastya by the commentary; the sūtra mentions Jaimini and Vyāsa.

Śāktapramoda (a recent work), compiled by Śrīrājadevanandanasiṁha, chief of Śivahara; pub. by Venk. Press, 1951; contains 17 tantras viz. Kālītantra, tantras called Ṣoḍaśī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Chinnamastā, Tripurabhairavī, Dhūmavatī, Bagalāmukhī, Mātaṅgī, Kamalātmikā, Kumārikā, Balidānakrama, Durgā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu.

Śaradātilaka of Lakṣmaṇa-deśikendra (disciple of Utpala); one of the most famous works on tantra. Aufrecht (p. 64) enumerates several commentaries, the most learned and lucid of which is the Padārthādarśa of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, composed in *saṁvat* 1550 (i. e. 1493–94 A. D.). Rāghavabhaṭṭa hailed from Mahārāṣṭra and was a resident of town Janasthāna (Pañcavaṭī) on the banks of the Godāvarī; pub. in Kashi S. S. and in Tāntrik Texts, vol. XVI and XVII. Śāradātilaka was composed about the 11th century

A. D. Raghunandana expressly names Rāghavabhaṭṭa as the commentator of the Śāradatilaka in Jyotistattva p. 580.

Śricakrasambhāratantra—A Buddhist work; Tibetan text and English translation by Lama Kazi Dawa Samdup and edited in Tāntrik Texts, vol. VII by A. Avalon, 1919.

Śyāmārahasya of Pūrṇānanda in 16 chapters, ed. by Jivananda; 16th century A. D.

Ṣaṭ-cakra nirūpaṇa, of Pūrṇānanda in 85 verses; pub. in Tāntrik Texts, vol. II; composed śaka 1499 (i. e. 1577–78 A. D.).

Sanatkumāra-tantra – is a dialogue between Sanatkumāra and Pulastya in eleven paṭalas and about 375 verses. Published by Jyestharam Mukundji in Bombay in 1905. It is a mixture of Yoga and tāntrik technique and inculcates the worship of Kṛṣṇa in Tāntrik bījas like 'klīm, gauṁ &c'.

Sādhanamālā, published in two volumes in G. O. S. with a long Intro. to vol. II by Dr. B. Bhattacharya; contains 312 Sādhanas, many of which are anonymous and are known to Tibetan Kangyur; Dr. Bhattacharya states that the Sādhanas range in dates from third century A. D. to 12th century A. D. Winternitz, in I. H. Q. vol. IX (pp. 5–6), does not accept the view that the Prajñāpāramitāsādhana was composed by Asaṅga.

Sāmrājya lakṣmī-pīṭhikā – said to be part of Ākāśa-bhairava Mahātantra, published in Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahal Series in 139 chapters, of which the first 30 are connected with mantra, japa, homa,; chapters 31 ff deal in detail with departments of State, coronation (chap. 43 ff) and festivals like those of New Year, Rāmanavamī, Navarātra, &c.

Sekoddeśaṭīkā – a Buddhist work of Śrīnaḍapāda,; text ed. by Mario E. Carelli in G. O. S. with an Intro. in English.

Saundaryalaharī, ascribed to the great Śaṅkarācārya, has numerous commentaries; ed. by Sir John Woodroffe and pub. at Adyar (1937); ed. of 1957 with three commentaries and English translation published by Ganesh & Co. Madras. There is an excellent edition of this work in 100 verses (text, English translation by Prof. W. Norman Brown, Harvard University Press, 1958).

Śrīvidyāratnasūtra, attributed to Gauḍapāda (in 101 sūtras) with the commentary of Śaṅkarācārya, pupil of Vidyāraṇya,

on 21 sūtras; ed. by Pandit Gopinatha Kaviraja in S. B. Texts series, Benares (1924).

Haṁsavilāsa, of Haṁsamiṭṭhu; pub. in G. O. S. (1937); the author was born in Gujarat in Vikrama year 1794 on Phālguna Full moon day (1738 A. D.). Though not a purely Tāntrik work it quotes many Tāntrik works such as the Kulārṇava (pp. 68–76), Kaularahasya (p. 104), Yoginī-tantra (p. 103), Śāradātilaka (pp. 84–85, 105 ff). It deals with many other topics such as figures of speech, erotic subjects.

Hevajratantra, edited and translated by Dr. D. L. Snellgrove (Oxford University Press, 1959), in two parts. This work came to the author's hands while this Appendix was passing through the Press. Part I (pub. in 1959) contains Introduction (pp. 1–46), English translation (pp. 47–119), contents (pp. 121–125), diagrams (pp. 126–129), Glossary (pp. 131–141) and Index (pp. 142–190); Part II contains Sanskrit texts and Tibetan texts based on a Nepalese ms. lent by Prof. Tucci; com. called Yogaratnamālā by Pandita Kāṅha has been included from an old Bengali ms. The editor holds (part I p. 14) that Hevajratantra was in existence towards the end of 8th century A. D. and that Advayavajra-saṅgraha and Sekoddeśaṭīka borrow from Hevajra-tantra. Sādhanamālā No. 229 (two opening verses) are the same as Hevajra II. 8. 6–7. Hevajra is an invocation of vajra. On p. 11 part I the editor questions how the yogins could call themselves Buddhists when they experienced enlightenment in the embrace of a yoginī. Part I p. 70 mentions Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurṇagiri as pīṭhas and several upapīṭhas, upakṣetras. The term Śakti does not occur in Hevajra but its place is taken by Prajñā. Part II verses 11–15 p. 98 express how the followers of this tantra had sexual experiences with women called mudrās and how thereby they secured *siddhi*. Part I p. 54 contains ritual for gaining mastery over a young woman. Part II p. 2 states 'Hekāreṇa mahākaruṇā vajram Prajñā ca bhaṇyate; Prajñopāyātmakam tantram tan-me nigaditam śruṇu'. This is a very valuable addition to the literature on Tantra and has been very well edited.

Some important works and papers on Tantra—vide also note 1687 for works on Śakti cult.

Catalogue of Palm-leaf and some paper mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal, by M. M. H. P. Sastri (1905).

Tārānāth's History of Buddhism in India (translated into Germān by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg, 1869). Portions were translated into English in I. A. IV. 101 ff. and 361 ff.

'Lamaism' by L. A. Waddell (Allen & Co., London, 1895).

'History of Buddhism in India and Tibet' by Bu-ston translated from Tibetan by Dr. E. Obermiller.

Descriptive catalogue of mss in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VIII (deals with 648 mss. on Tantra in 892 pages).

Bhandarkar's Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism &c. (in collected works, vol. IV. pp. 202–210 on Śāktas).

Tantra of the Great Liberation (translation of the Mahānirvāṇa Tantra) with Introduction and commentary by Arthur Avalon (1913).

Tāntrik Texts edited by A. Avalon, vol. I–XXII, Introductions, notes, analysis &c.

The Serpent Power by A. Avalon (1914), containing translation of Ṣaṭ-cakranirūpaṇa and Pādukāpañcaka (5th ed. of 1953, by Ganesh & Co., Madras).

'Principles of Tantra' parts 1 and 2, ed. by A. Avalon (1914, 1916) with a long Introduction to part 2.

'Wave of Bliss' — translation of Ānanda-laharī (first fortyone verses of Saundarya-laharī) and comments by Sir John Woodroffe (1917).

'Wave of Beauty' – translation of Saundarya-laharī (with text and commentaries) pub. by Ganesh & Co. (Madras, 1957).

'Chakras' by Right Rev. C. W. Leadbeater (Adyar, 1927) with plates.

'Śivasaṁhitā' – translation of – by Shrischandra Vidyarnava.

'Thirty minor Upanishads' translated by K. Narayanswami Aiyar.

'Mysterious Kuṇḍalini' by Dr. V. G. Rele (1927).

'Śakti or Divine Power' by Dr. Sudhendu Kumar Das (Uni. of Calcutta, 1934).

P. C. Bagchi's Introduction to Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1934).

'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrines' by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1935).

P. C. Bagchi's 'Studies in Tantras' (Cal. Uni. 1939).

Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Introduction to Sādhanamālā vol. II. (G. O. S.) pp. XI-LXXVII; the same scholar's Introduction to Guhyasamājatantra (G. O. S.) and 'Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism' (Oxford University Press, 1932).

'Philosophy of Tripurā Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in Sarasvati Bhavan Studies (1934), vol. IX. pp. 85–98.

'Some aspects of the philosophy of Śākta Tantra' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, 1938 vol. X. pp. 21–27.

'Buddhist Tantra Literature' by Prof. S. K. De in New Indian Antiquary, vol. I. pp. 1–23.

'Influence of Tantras on the Tattvas of Raghunandana' in I. H. Q. IX. (1933), pp. 678–704 by Prof. R. C. Hazra.

'Influence of Tantra in Smṛtinibandhas' in ABORI vol. 15 pp. 220–235 and vol. XVI. pp. 203–211 by Prof. R. C. Hazra.

'The Tāntric Doctrine of Divine bi-unity' by A. K. Coomaraswamy in A. B. O. R. I. vol. 19. pp. 173–183;

'Comparative and critical study of Mantraśāstra' by Shri Mohanlal Bhagavandas Jhavery (1944);

Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti's following Papers: 'Antiquity of Tāntricism' in I. H. Q., vol. VI pp. 114 ff; 'Controversy regarding the authorship of Tantras' in Prof. K. B. Pathak commemoration volume pp. 210–220; 'A note on the age and authorship of the Tantras' in Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, vol. XXIX (1933) No. 1 pp. 71–79; 'Ideals of Tantra rites' I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 468 ff; 'Śākta festivals of Bengal and their antiquity' in I. H. Q. vol. 27 (1951) pp. 255–260; 'Application of Vedic Mantras in Tāntrik rites' in J. A. S. B., Letters, vol. 18 (1952) pp. 113–115; 'Kālī worship in Bengal' Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XXI, parts 3–4 pp. 296–303;

'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets' by D. N. Bose (Calcutta, Oriental Publishing Co.);

'Vajra and the Vajrasattva' by Dr. S. B. Das-Gupta in 'Indian Culture' vol. VIII. pp. 23-32;

'Introduction to Tāntrik Buddhism' by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta (Calcutta, 1950);

'Philosophies of India' by Heinrich Zimmer (1951) pp. 560-602;

'The Veda and the Tantra' by Shri T. V. Kapali Sastry (Madras, 1951) pp. 1-255;

'Yuganaddha' (which literally means 'bound together or yoked together' in the case of opposites) 'the Tāntrik view of Life' by Dr. Herbert V. Guenther in Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 'Studies' vol. III. (1952);

The following articles in the Cultural Heritage of India vol. IV, viz. 'Evolution of the Tantras,' by Dr. P. C. Bagchi pp. 211-226; 'Tantra as a way of realization' by Swami Pratyagātmānanda, pp. 227-240; 'The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras' pp. 241-251 by Mr. Atal Behari Ghosh; 'Śakti Cult in South India' by Shri K. R. Venkataraman, pp. 252-259; Tāntrik culture among the Buddhists' by Dr. B. Bhattacharya pp. 260-272; 'The cult of the Buddhist Siddhāchāryas' pp. 273-279 by Prof. P. V. Bapat.

'Lights on the Tantra' by M. P. Pandit (published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1957) This is a booklet of 54 pages of text and pp. 55-71 of notes containing hardly anything valuable of the author's own; over three-fourths of it consists of long quotations from the works of Woodroffe (particularly from 'Śhakti and Śhākta'), Sri Aurobindo and Shri Kapali Sastry and is here and there marked by bold and unwarranted assertions such as 'It is the central truths of the Tantra thought and ritual that form the backbone of the Hindu religion today' (p. 36). The present author repudiates totally this assertion. The author of this booklet has to admit that in the case of the Tāntrik cult that abuse of the body of occult knowledge for malevolent purposes instead of for the material and spiritual advancement of man and the vulgarization of the profound rationale of the mystic ritual are deplorable deformations (p. 36), that there has doubtless been a gross misuse of the knowledge developed by this science and that spurious texts have sprung up (p. 21).

'History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western' ed. by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vol. I. pp. 401–428 on 'Exposition of Śākta belief' by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj (1953).

'Yoga, immortality and freedom' by Mircea Eliade translated from French by Willard Trask (pub. by Routledge, Kegan, Paul, London, 1958), pp. 200–273 for 'Yoga and Tāntrism'.

'Tibetan Book of the Dead' by Dr. W. Y. Evans-Wentz (3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 1957).

'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed. 1959 by Aquarium Press) – deals with magical and religious practices of Tibetans, spells, and exercises which are deemed to produce supernatural powers.

SECTION VII

CHAPTER XXVIII

MĪMĀṀSĀ AND DHARMAŚĀSTRA

The Yājñavalkya-smṛti provides that there are fourteen sources of vidyās (knowledge) and of Dharma,[1868] viz. Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Dharmaśāstra, Aṅgas (six) and the Vedas (four). A similar verse is quoted by some as Manu's, but it is not found in the extant Manusmṛti. It is therefore necessary to consider the origin and meaning of the word Mīmāṁsā, to set out the principal doctrines of that Śāstra, to mention the important rules of interpretation and the maxims of the Mīmāṁsā in their application to topics of Dharmaśāstra and to refer to some of the important works of that Śāstra together with their approximate dates.

The word mīmāṁsā has a great antiquity behind it. The Tai. S. VII. 5. 7. 1[1869] says 'the expounders of Brahma (Veda) discuss (the question) whether a day should be omitted or not'. Here the verbal form 'mīmaṁsante' is employed in the sense of discussing or investigating a doubtful point and arriving at a decision thereon. In another passage of the Tai. S. the same form

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1868. पुराणन्यायमीमांसा ... च चतुर्दश॥ या. I. 3, quoted in n 1337 above. The बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य reads 'पुराणतर्कमीमांसा ... चतुर्दश' (12.3). अपरार्क p. 6 quotes from विष्णुपुराण the verse 'अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः। पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या एताश्चतुर्दश॥'. It is विष्णुपु. III. 6. 27, वायु 61. 78. This is quoted as Manu's by Prof. T. R. Chintamani in JOR, Madras, vol. XI. supplement p. 1. It occurs in भविष्य (ब्राह्मपर्व 2. 6) also. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 112 note 198 where औशनसधर्मशास्त्र is quoted for 14 विद्याs and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 10 note 17 (for the four additional vidyās bringing the total up to 18). Vide a recent publication of Dr. G. S. Ghurye (1957, Bombay) on Vidyās (or Indian contribution to Sociology of knowledge) for detailed treatment. Even before the days of Kālidāsa the Vidyās had been 14 as indicated by Raghuvaṁśa V. 21 (वित्तस्य विद्यापरिसंख्यया मे कोटीश्चतस्रो दश चाहरेति॥).

1869. उत्सृज्यां 3 नोत्सृज्या 3 मिति मीमांसन्ते ब्रह्मवादिनस्तद्वाहुरुत्सृज्यमेवेति ...। तै. सं. VII. 5. 7. 1; व्याहृते देवयजने याजयेद्व्याहृत्कामं यं पात्रे वा तल्पे वा मीमांसेरन् ... नैनं पात्रे न तल्पे मीमांसन्ते। तै. सं. VI. 2, 6. 4–5. The last sentence means 'they do not have any doubt about his being fit for dining with them or fit for relation with him by marriage'.

and another 'mīmāṁseran' are used in the same sense. In several other places the Tai. S. raises points for discussion with the words 'the brahmavādins discuss' but without employing the word mīmāṁsante or a cognate word. Vide Tai. S. II. 5. 3. 7 (about the deity of *sānnāyya*), V. 5. 3. 2, VI. 1. 4. 5., VI. 1. 5. 3–5. The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā[1870] puts forward a doubtful point for investigation without the words 'Brahmavādins say', but with the word 'mīmāṁsante'. The Atharvaveda[1871] states 'men separately discussing many times noted on the earth her actions'. In another place it employs the words *mīmāṁsita* and *mīmāṁsamāna*. The Śāṅkhāyana[1872] Br. has 'they discuss the question whether one should offer homa after the sun rises or before the sun rises'. The Tai. Br. employs the word mīmāṁsā and the Śatapatha also in the Kāṇva recension does so (vide S. B. E. vol. 26 note 1). In the Chāndogyopaniṣad[1873] it is stated that five scholars very learned in the Veda and possessed of large houses (wealth) named Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava and others got together and entered upon the consideration of the question 'what is (the nature of) our self and what is Brahma-?'. In the Tai. Up. occur the words 'this is the investigation into (the nature of) Bliss (Brahma)'. In both these passages the word mīmāṁsā is used in the sense of 'consideration' (vicāraṇā) of high philosophical topics.'

Pāṇini provides[1874] for the formation of seven roots with *san* affix (Desiderative), one of which is 'mīmāṁsate' from

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1870. आधेयोऽग्नी ३ नाधेया ३ इति मीमांसन्ते श्वोऽग्निमाधास्यमानेना ३ इति। काठकसं. VIII. 12.

1871. पश्यन्त्यस्याश्चरितं पृथिव्यां पृथङ्नरो बहुधा मीमांसमानाः। अथर्व IX. 1. 3; स य एवं विद्वाञ्च द्विषन्नदीयाञ्च द्विषतोऽन्नमश्नीयाञ्च मीमांसितस्य न मीमांसमानस्य। अथर्व IX. 6 (2). 24.

1872. उदिते होतव्या ३ मनुदित इति मीमांसन्ते। शां. ब्रा. II. 8. Compare मनु II. 15; सैषा मीमांसाऽग्निहोत्र एव सम्पन्ना। तै. ब्रा. III. 10. 9.

1873. प्राचीनशाल औपमन्यवः ... ते हैते महाशाला महाश्रोत्रियाः समेत्य मीमांसां चक्रुः को न आत्मा किं ब्रह्मेति। छा. V. 11. 1; सैषानन्दस्य मीमांसा भवति। तै. उप. II. 8.

1874. गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन्। मान-बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य। पा. III. 1. 5–6; the काशिका explains 'मान पूजायाम्। ... एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो सन् प्रत्ययो भवति। अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घादेशो भवति। मीमांसते ... मानेर्जिज्ञासायाम्।'. The bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 1 winds up the discussion with the words तस्माद् ब्रह्मजिज्ञासोपन्यासमुखेन वेदान्तवाक्यमीमांसा तद्विरोधितर्कोपकरणा निःश्रेयसप्रयोजना प्रस्तूयते।' on which the भामती remarks 'मान् माने-इत्यस्माद्वा मान पूजायाम्-इत्यस्माद्वातोः, मान-बध इत्यादिनानिच्छार्थे सति स्युत्पादितस्य मीमांसाशब्दस्य पूजितविचारवचनत्वात् &c.

'mān' and the Kāśikā adds that it means 'desire to know i. e. investigation and final conclusion', having in view probably the sūtras 'Athāto dharma-jijñāsā' and 'Athāto brahma-jijñāsā'.

The foregoing brief discussion shows that long before the Upaniṣads the word 'mīmāṁsā' had come to mean 'investigation into a topic of discussion and coming to a conclusion thereon'. The same word acquired a restricted sense (as in the verse of Yāj. quoted above) viz. investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters by interpretation and reasoning.

Some of the Dharmasūtras disclose familiarity with purely Mīmāṁsā terms and principles. For example, Gaut. states[1875] that an option is allowed only when there is a conflict between two texts of equal authority. The Āpastamba Dharmasūtra is the only Dharmasūtra that contains numerous Mīmāṁsā terms and doctrines. It says 'a positive Vedic text has more force than an usage which merely leads to an inference (of its being based on a Vedic text now lost)'.[1876] This is similar to Jaimini I. 3. 3 'If there is a conflict (between an express Vedic text and a smṛti text) the latter is to be discarded but if there be no conflict an inference may be drawn (that the smṛti text is based on some Śruti)'. Āp. says 'the rules about *anadhyāya* (stopping Veda study on *parvan* &c.) are applicable only to learning the Vedic mantras and not to their application in sacrifices'. In another place Āp. provides 'where activity takes place because of finding pleasure therefrom (i. e. from a worldly motive), there is no (inference of its being based on) śāstra', which is similar to Jaimini's rule. For reasons of space other examples of close agreement between Āp. Dh. S.[1877] and Jaimini are simply referred

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1875. तुल्यबलयोर्विकल्पः। गौ. I. 5; compare जै. XII. 3. 10 एकार्थास्तु विकल्पेरन् समुच्चये ह्यावृत्तिः स्यात्प्रधानस्य; शबर explains: ये त्वेकार्थाः एककार्यास्ते विकल्पेरन् यथा व्रीहियवौ; vide शबर 'तुल्यार्थयोर्हि तुल्यविषययोर्विकल्पो भवति न नानार्थयोः।' on जै. X. 6. 33; compare मनु II. 14 'श्रुतिद्वयं तु यत्र स्यात्तत्र धर्मावुभौ स्मृतौ।'.

1876. श्रुतिर्हि बलीयस्यानुमानिकादाचारात्। आप. ध. I. 1. 4. 8; compare 'विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्' जै. I. 3, 3; विद्यां प्रत्यनध्यायः श्रूयते न कर्मयोगे मन्त्राणाम्। आप. ध. I. 4. 12. 9, compare जै. XII. 3. 19 विद्यां प्रति विधानाद्वा सर्वकालं प्रयोगः स्यात्कर्मार्थत्वात् प्रयोगस्य।'; यत्र तु प्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति। आप. ध. I. 4. 12 11, compare जै. IV. 1. 2 'यस्मिन् प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्सार्थलक्षणाऽविभक्तत्वात्।'.

1877. अङ्गानां तु प्रधानैरभ्यपदेश इति न्यायविस्तरमयः। आप. ध. II. 4. 8. 13, compare जैमिनि I. 3. 11-14 (कल्पसूत्राधिकरण); अथापि नित्यानुवादमविधिमाहुर्न्याय-

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to in the note below and not explained at length. These examples show that in Āpastamba's day Mīmāṁsā doctrines had been far advanced and since he employs the words 'Nyāyavit-samaya' (the *siddhānta* or doctrine of those who know Nyāya) and 'Nyāyavidaḥ', it follows that he is referring to some work on Mīmāṁsā or some author who composed a mīmāṁsā-sūtra. The correspondence in ideas and words between Āp. and the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra is so close that one is tempted to argue that Āp. knew either the extant mīmāṁsāsūtra or at least an earlier version of it containing almost the same expressions. It will not do to say that all the above passages are later interpolations. They have all been commented upon by Haradatta.

Some Śrautasūtras such as that of Kātyāyana contain rules of the interpretation of Vedic texts that are similar to Jaimini's sūtras and sometimes are stated almost in the same words.[1878]

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विद्: &c.। आप. ध. II. 6. 14, 13, compare जै. VI. 7. 30 'अर्थवादो वा विधिशेषत्वात् तस्माच्चित्याद्यनुवादः स्यात्।'; तस्यां क्रयशब्दः स्तुतिमात्रम्। धर्माद्धि सम्बन्धः। आप. ध. II. 6. 13. 11, compare जै. VI. 1. 15 क्रयस्य धर्ममात्रत्वम्।

1878. It may be noted that P. M. S. writers are often called 'Nyāya-vidaḥ' by Śaṅkara (on V. S. III. 4. 22), by Viśvarūpa and others. Bhāskara in his commentary on Brahmasūtra (I. 1. 1. p. 5, Chowkhamba series) states: यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणमिति हि न्यायविदः. These are the words of Śabara in his bhāṣya on P. M. S. III. 2. 36. On Yāj. I. 58 the Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa says "Tathā ca naiyāyikāḥ, 'na hi vacanasyātibhārosti-tyāhuḥ'". These are the words of Śabara on Jaimini III. 2,3 viz. 'Kimiva vacanam na kuryāt nāsti vacanasyātibhāraḥ'. So here Śabara is called Naiyāyika. On Yāj. I. 53 the Bālakrīḍā says 'Nyāyavidaśca Yājñikāḥ | api vā sarvadharmaḥ syāt tannyāyatvād vidhānasya'. This last is Jai. I 3. 16 So here Jaimini is called Nyāyavid and Yājñika. Similarly, on Yāj. I. 87 the Bālakrīḍa quotes Jai. VI. 8. 17 as the words of 'Nyāyavido yājñikāḥ'. The J. N. M. V. says *nyāyas* are the *adhikaraṇas*, deciding points of Dharma and expounded by Jaimini 'जैमिनिनोक्तानि धर्मनिर्णायकान्यधिकरणानि न्यायाः.' The writers of Śrautasūtras are called merely Yājñikas by Bālakrīḍa on Yāj. I. 38 'Tathā ca yājñikāḥ vyavahāryā bhavanti ityāhuḥ'. This quotation is from Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra 22. 4. 27–28. Besides, the sūtra 'Prāyaścittavidhānācca,' is the same in both Kāt. Ś. I. 2. 19 and P. M. S. VI. 3. 7 and Kāt. Ś. I. 8. 6 is the same as P. M. S. XII. 3. 15; moreover, Kāt. Ś. IX. 11. 14–15 employ almost the same words as in P.M.S. III. 5. 36–39, though they hold opposite views. The P. M. S. (IV. 4. 19–21) holds that the Piṇḍapitṛyajña is not an *aṅga* of the rites on darśa (i. e. amāvāsyā), but an independent rite, while the Kāt. Śr. (IV. 1. 28–30) holds that it is an *aṅga*. In the discussion on the meaning of the word Vaiśvā-

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Only a few examples may be cited here; compare Kāt. I. 1. 9–10 (about rathakāra) with Jai. VI. 1. 44; Kāt. I. 1. 12–14 with Jai. VI. 1. 51 and VI. 8. 20–22; Kāt. I. 1. 18–20 with Jai. XII. 2. 1–4; Kāt. I. 2. 18–20 with Jai. VI. 3. 2–7 (about *nitya-karma* yielding full reward, even though some *aṅga* could not be performed), also Kāt. I. 3. 1–3 with Jai. I. 1. 35–40; Kāt. I. 3. 28–30 with Jai. VI. 6. 3. Sometimes, the Kāt. Ś. takes a view opposite to that of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā but the words are often almost the same.

The Vārtikas of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya show that Mīmāṁsā technical terms and doctrines had been elaborated long before them. For example, the Vārtikas employ the technical Mīmāṁsā terms '*prasajyapratiṣedha*' (Vārtika 7 on Pāṇini I. 1. 44, Vārtika 5 on I. 2. 1, Vārtika 2. on VII. 3. 85), *paryudāsa* (Vārtika 3 on I. 1. 27), the word 'Śāstrātideśa' (in Vārtika on VII. 1. 96), the distinction between 'niyama' and 'vidhi' (in Vārtika 1 and 2 on III. 3. 163), the word 'prakaraṇa' (vārtika 4 on Vi. 2. 143). Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya is full of Pūrvamīmāṁsā matters. The word 'Mīmāṁsaka' occurs in bhāṣya on Pāṇini II. 2. 29. The Mahābhāṣya cites the well-known passage 'the five five-nailed animals may be eaten' and remarks that the sentence conveys that others than those five were not to be eaten.[1879] But Patañjali does not employ the word Parisaṅkhyā of which the above (five) is an example, according to mīmāṁsā works. Jaimini employs the word

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nara occurring in Ṛg. I. 98. 1. and I. 59. 6 the Nirukta (VII. 21-23) cites the views of 'ācāryāḥ', of the ancient Yājñikas (who held that Vaiśvānara means the sun in the sky) and of 'Śākapūṇi' (who holds that it means the terrestrial Agni). The Nirukta mentions the views of Yājñikas in V. 11, VII. 4 (where Yājñikas differ from the Nairuktas), in IX. 29 where the Nairuktas hold that Anumati and Rākā are wives of the gods while the Yājñikas held that these were the names of Paurṇamāsī), in XI. 31 (where a similar conflict between the views of the two interpreters of Sinīvālī and Kuhū is mentioned) and XI. 42–43 (where also the views of Yājñikas and Nairuktas are mentioned).

1879. भक्षनियमेनाभक्षप्रतिषेधो गम्यते। पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या इत्युक्ते गम्यत एतद्-तोऽन्येऽभक्ष्या इति। महाभाष्य (ed. Kielhorn vol. I. p. 5). Compare शबर on जै. X. 7. 28 'किं तु परिसंख्यया प्रतिषेधः स्यात्। यथा पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्या इति शशादीनां पञ्चानां कीर्तनादन्येषां भक्षणं प्रतिषिध्यत इत्ययमर्थो वाक्येन गम्यते.' The five animals are: शल्यकः श्वाविधो गोधा शशः कूर्मश्च पञ्चमः॥ रामायण IV. 17. 39; मनु V. 18 adds खड्ग (rhinoceros) to these five. Vide या I. 177 for five and गौ. ध. सू. 17. 27 'पञ्चनखाश्च। शल्यकशशश्वाविद्गोधाखड्गकच्छपाः' (अभक्ष्याः).

Parisaṅkhyā in VII. 3. 22. The Mahābhāṣya on IV. 1. 14 (vārtika 5) and on IV. 1. 93 (vārtika 9) gives valuable information viz. a brāhmaṇa woman is called 'Kāśakṛtsnā' if she studies the Mīmāṁsā expounded by Kāśakṛtsni.[1880] This establishes that in Patañjali's time a mīmāṁsā work composed by Kāśakṛtsni was in existence and women were found studying it. It is not certain what the Kāśakṛtsni-mīmāṁsā contained i. e. whether it was like the Pūrvamīmāṁsā of Jaimini or it was like the Uttaramīmāṁsā (Vedāntasūtra) or dealt with both mīmāṁsā and vedānta, which latter is not unlikely. The V. Ś. mentions the opinion of a teacher Kāśakṛtsna (in I. 4. 22), which Śaṅkarācārya regards as the final conclusion supported by the real import of Śruti. The son of Kāśakṛtsna might have been called Kāśakṛtsni (Pāṇini IV. 1. 95). The Vārtikas and Patañjali are full of the discussion of important matters on which the Mīmāṁsā has its own doctrines. In the Vārtikas 35 to 59 on Pāṇini I. 2. 64 (Sarūpāṇām-ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau) there is a lengthy dicsussion on the question of the import of words, viz. whether it is *ākṛti* or *vyakti*. It is said in Vārtika 35 that, according to Vājapyāyana, ākṛti is the import of a word, while, according to Vyāḍi (in Vārtika 45 'dravyābhidhānam Vyāḍiḥ), *dravya* (or *vyakti*) is the import of a word (*pada*). The Mahābhāṣya notes that Pāṇini wrote some sūtras (such as I. 2. 58 'Jātyākhyāyām' &c) in which he accepted *jāti* as the import of words, while in other sūtras (such as I. 3. 64 'sarūpāṇām' &c) he

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1880. काशकृत्स्निना प्रोक्ता मीमांसा काशकृत्स्नी काशकृत्स्नीमधीते काशकृत्स्ना ब्राह्मणी। महाभाष्य on पा. IV. 1. 14. If काशकृत्स्नि's मीमांसा dealt with पूर्वमीमांसा matters it is surprising that the extant पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र makes no reference to काशकृत्स्नि, when it names, besides जैमिनि, *nine* predecessors viz. आत्रेय, आलेखन (VI. 5. 17), आश्मरथ्य (VI. 5. 16), ऐतिशायन, कामुकायन, कार्ष्णाजिनि, बादरायण, बादरि and लाबुकायन. Dr. Umesha Mishra omits by oversight आश्मरथ्य from the list of the predecessors of जैमिनि in his 'critical bibliography of mīmāṁsā' added at the end of M. M. Jha's 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources.' काशकृत्स्नि's मीमांसा, being mentioned by पतञ्जलि, must be placed not later than 200 B. C. If काशकृत्स्नि wrote on पूर्वमीमांसा as is most likely, one would naturally expect that if the extant पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र was composed after 200 B. C. and about 200 A. D. (as both Jacobi and Keith propose) काशकृत्स्नि should have been mentioned by the पू. मी. सू. But if जैमिनि was earlier than काशकृत्स्नि or was a contemporary of the latter, then it would be natural if the पू. मी. सू. does not mention him. Therefore, though an argument from mere silence is not very strong, it is likely that the present P. M. S. was composed at least before 200 B. C.

accepted 'dravya' as the import of words.[1881] It is to be noted that, according to Jaimini (I. 3. 33 'ākṛtistu kriyārthatvāt), ākṛti is the import of words. On vārtika 3 on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 92 (Sāmānyacodanāstu viśeṣeṣu) Patañjali says that the vidhis declared with reference to certain things and objects in general really apply to individuals and he gives purely mīmāṁsā examples in this connection as set out in the note. The Vārtikakāra and Patañjali both use the word '*codanā*'[1882] in the Pūrvamīmāṁsā sense and give examples which are familiar to us from Śābarasbhāṣya. Among the purposes served by a study of grammar, *ūha* (which is the subject of the 9th chapter of PMS) is one. On Pāṇini I. 4. 3 Patañjali uses the language of Mīmiṁsā 'apurva eva vidhirbhaviṣyati na niyamaḥ.'

It appears that the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa was very much neglected from early times. There is a conflict of views about its authorship. The Nyāyapariśuddhi of Veṅkaṭanātha (I. H. Q. vol. IX. at p. 299) states that Kāśakṛtsna was the author of the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa. It appears from Śabara's bhāṣya that[1883] that Kāṇḍa existed in his day and was looked upon by him as Jaimini's work. Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 43 (pradānavadeva tad-uktam) mentions the Saṅkarṣa, quotes a sūtra therefrom, holds that it was known to the Vedāntasūtra and appears to convey that it was a work of Jaimini. Rāmānuja also appears to hold that Jaimini was the author of 16 chapters (comprising

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1881. 'किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थ आहोस्विद् द्रव्यम्। उभयमित्याह। कथं ज्ञायते। उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि पठितानि। आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा जात्याख्या... तरस्याम् इत्युच्यते। द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा सरूपाणाम्- इत्येकशेष आरभ्यते। महाभाष्य just before 'सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे' vol. I. p. 6 Kielhorn's ed.; आकृतौ शास्त्राणि प्रवर्तन्ते। ... आकृतिस्तु प्रत्येकं परिसमाप्यते। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 392 (Kielhorn).

1882. चोदनायां चैकस्योपाधिवृत्तेः। वार्तिक 44 on पा. I. 2. 64; on which the महाभाष्य remarks 'चोदनायां चैकस्योपाधिवृत्तेर्मन्यामह आकृतिरभिधीयत इति। आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्। चोदनासु च तस्यारम्भात्।'. वार्तिक 47 on I. 2. 64, on which the महाभाष्य comments 'चोदनासु च तस्यारम्भान्मन्यामहे द्रव्यमभिधीयत इति। गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इति।'; कानि पुनः शब्दानुशासनस्य प्रयोजनानि। रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम्। p. 1. of Kielhorn's edition; सामान्यचोदनास्तु विशेषेऽवतिष्ठन्ते। तद्यथा। गौरनुबन्ध्योऽजोऽग्नीषोमीय इत्याकृतौ चोदितायां द्रव्य आरम्भणालम्भनप्रोक्षणविशसनादीनि क्रियन्ते। पतञ्जलि on वार्तिक 3 on पा. IV. 1. 92.

1883. विधिनिगमभेदः प्रकृतौ कृतः। स्विष्टकृद्विकारश्च वनस्पतिरिति सङ्कर्षे वक्ष्यते। शबर on X. 4. 32 (p. 1934); यथा पत्नी तुल्यवच्छ्रूयते इति सङ्कर्षे वक्ष्यति। शबर on जै. XII. 2. 11 (p. 2242); 'एवं तत्त्वाभेदेऽप्याधेयांशपृथक्त्वाद्ध्यानपृथक्त्वमित्यर्थः। तदुक्तं 'नाना वा वेषता पृथग्ज्ञानात्' इति। शङ्कर on वे. सू. III. 3. 43. Vide Siddha-Bhāratī part II pp. 102-105 for some sūtras from Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa and Intro. to Tattvabindu pp. 12-13.

the twelve called Pūrvamīmāṁsā and the four forming the Saṅkarṣa). The Kalpataruparimala of Appayyadīkṣita on V. S. III. 3. 43, while conceding that the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa was undertaken for discussion about *devatās*, insists that it is a •pariśiṣṭa (supplement) of the P. M. S. of twelve chapters consisting as it does of discussions on several topics treated in the P. M. S. and being of a miscellaneous nature, that it does not begin with nor conclude with the discussion about devatās and that its first sūtra is 'anuyajatīti anuvaṣaṭkāraś-codyate'. Since the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa has had hardly any influence on Dharmaśāstra works no further reference need be made to it in this work.[1884]

Later medieval writers look upon the mīmāṁsāśāstra as the most important of vidyāsthānas (other than the Vedas), since it removes the ignorance, doubts and mistaken notions about the sense of several (Vedic) passages, and since all vidyāsthānas require its aid for the determination of the nature of their real meaning.[1885]

In some works like the bhāṣya of Rāmānuja on V. S. and the Prapañcahṛdaya [1886] the Mīmāṁsāśāstra is stated to be as one whole containing twenty adhyāyas (chapters) and we are told that there was a (bhāṣya) commentary called Kṛtakoṭi on the whole of it by Bodhāyana, that later on a concise commentary was composed by Upavarṣa, that Devasvāmin wrote a commentary

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1884. Vide a paper by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Shastri in I. H. Q. vol. IX. pp. 290–299 on Saṅkarṣa as a supplement to the P. M. S.

1885. प्रातिस्विकानेकवाक्यार्थगततत्तद्ज्ञानसंशयविपर्ययव्युदासेन पारमार्थिकार्थसत्त्वस्वरूपनिर्णयार्थं समस्तैरप्येभिर्विद्यास्थानैरन्यदर्थ्यमानत्वात्तेभ्योपि मीमांसाख्यविद्यास्थानं गरीयस्तरम्। तथा ह्याहुः। चतुर्दशसु विद्यासु मीमांसैव गरीयसी। जैमिनीयसूत्रार्थसंग्रह of श्रविभुज-परनेश्वर part. I p. 2 (T. S. S.).

1886. तत्र साङ्गोपाङ्गस्य वेदस्य पूर्वोत्तरकाण्डसंभिन्नस्याशेषवाक्यार्थविचारपरायणं मीमांसाशास्त्रम्। तदिदं विंशत्यध्यायनिबद्धम्। तत्र षोडशाध्यायनिबद्धं पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रं पूर्वकाण्डस्य धर्मविचारपरायणं जैमिनिकृतम्। तदन्यदध्यायचतुष्कसूत्तरमीमांसाशास्त्रमुत्तर। काण्डस्य ब्रह्मविचारपरायणं व्यासकृतम्। तस्य विंशत्यध्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनामधेयं भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतम्। तद्ग्रन्थबाहुल्यभयादुपेक्ष्य किंचित्संक्षिप्तमुपवर्षेण कृतम्। तदपि मन्दमतीन्प्रति दुष्प्रतिपादं विस्तीर्णत्वादित्युपेक्ष्य षोडशलक्षणपूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रस्य देवस्वामिनातिसंक्षिप्तं कृतम्। भवदासेनापि कृतं जैमिनीयभाष्यम्। प्रपञ्चहृदय (T. S. S. pp. 38–39; तदाह वृत्तिकारः। वृत्तात्कर्माधिगमादनन्तरं ब्रह्मविविदिषेति। वक्ष्यति च कर्मब्रह्ममीमांसयोरैकशास्त्र्यं संहितमेतच्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेनेति शास्त्रैकत्वसिद्धिः। श्रीभाष्य p. 2 (Bom. S. S.). Vide ABORI vol. X. pp. 153–54 for the author's paper on Bhavadāsa as a predecessor of शबर. भवदास is named in श्लोकवार्तिक (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र verse 63) and the न्यायरत्नाकर on p. 133 states that भवदास split पू. मी. सू. I. 1. 4 into two. Vide Intro. to तत्त्वबिन्दु pp. 19–20 for भवदास.

on 16 chapters and Bhavadāsa also composed a commentary on Jaimini, but that Śabara wrote a bhāṣya only on the first 12 chapters and did not comment on Saṅkarṣa. In I.H.Q. (vol. 15 pp. 262–263) reference is made to an inscription of Rājarāja (999 A. D.) which records the gift of certain lands to a learned brāhmaṇa who was to provide to four pupils board and teaching in several subjects, one of which is specified as the mīmāṁsā of twenty adhyāyas. These 20 chapters are made up as follows:—12 chapters (each divided into four *pādas*, except chapters III, VI and X, each of which has eight pādas, in all sixty pādas) ascribed to Jaimini, 4 chapters called Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa and 4 chapters constituting the Vedāntasūtra. The twelve chapters often called Pūrvamīmāṁsā make an extensive work containing 915 or about one thousand adhikaraṇas (according to different writers) and about 2700 sūtras, dealing with numerous topics and laying down important rules of vedic interpretation. Yāj. (in I. 3) means by Mīmāṁsā probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters. Many writers such as Mādhavācārya [1887] speak of two Mīmāṁsās, Pūrva and Uttara, respectively comprising the 12 chapters ascribed to Jaimini and the four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra. Śaṅkarācārya refers to the extant Pūrvamīmāṁsā as Dvādaśalakṣaṇī in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III. 3. 26, as 'Prathamatantra' in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 25, III. 3. 53 and III. 4. 27, as Prathama-kāṇḍa in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 3. 1, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 44, III. 3. 50, as Pramāṇalakṣaṇa in bhāṣya on V. S. III. 4. 42. On V. S. III. 3. 53 he speaks of the first pāda of the P. M. S. as 'Śāstrapramukha eva prathame pāde' and thereby conveys that he regards that the PMS and VS form one entire śāstra.

From here onwards up to note 1890 the discussion is also comprised (though a little more briefly) in the present author's paper on 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Brahmasūtra &c' contributed to the Prof. De Felicitation volume (pp. 119–139).

There are very difficult and controversial questions about the authorship of the extant Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra and of the extant Vedāntasūtra (or Brahmasūtra) and their relation to each other. All of them cannot be gone into here. The first matter to be noted is that, though the number of the Vedāntasūtras is only about 1/5th of the number of the P. M. S., the V. S. contains

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1887. .ये पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसे ते व्याख्यायातिसंग्रहात्। कृपालुर्माधवाचार्यो वेदार्थं वक्तुमुद्यतः॥ Intro. verse 4 to the Com. on the ऋग्वेद (Poona ed.), Some mss. read सायणाचार्यो for माधवाचार्यो.

more personal references (i. e. 32) than the P. M. S. (i. e. 27). In the 2nd place, we find that the Vedāntasūtras mention Jaimini eleven times and Bādarāyaṇa nine times, while the P. M. S. names Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini only five times each. The question arises whether Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were contemporaries and, if not, what the relation between the two was. Scholars are generally agreed that they were not contemporaries. There is a tradition of some antiquity contained in the Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa[1888] according to which Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. It has been shown above (p. 857, note 1390) how the Purāṇas declare that Vyāsa Pārāśarya, also called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, arranged the one Veda into four and imparted the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda respectively to Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. In the Mahābhārata Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampayana, Paila are stated along with Śuka (the son of Vyāsa) to be the pupils of Vyāsa; vide Sabhā 4. 11 and Śāntiparva 328. 26–27 (cr. ed. 314, 23–24, 29) and 350. 11–12 (cr. ed. 337. 11–12). In the *tarpaṇa* provided for in the Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra (III. 4. 4) occurs the very interesting passage 'Sumantu-Jaimini-Vaiśampāyana-Paila-Sūtra-bhāṣya-Bhārata—Mahābhārata—Dharmācāryāḥ.' The above passages make it clear that several centuries before the Christian era Jaimini's was an honoured name and connected with the Sāmadeva. Scholars have examined the references to Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa in the P. M. S. and the V. S. Prof. K. A. Nilankanta Sastri in I. A. Vol. 50 pp. 167–174 on Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa arrives at the somewhat startling conclusion that there were three Jaiminis. T. R. Chintamani on p. 14 of the supplement to J. O. R. Madras, Vol. XI agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. Jaimini is named five times in the extant P. M. S. viz. at III. 1. 4, VI. 3. 4, VIII. 3. 7, IX. 2. 39, XII. 1. 7. Commonsense requires us to hold that these five

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1888. सोऽयं प्राजापत्यो विधिस्तमिमं प्रजापतिर्बृहस्पतये बृहस्पतिर्नारदाय नारदो विष्वक्सेनाय विश्वक्सेनो व्यासाय पाराशर्याय व्यासः पाराशर्यो जैमिनये जैमिनिः पौष्पिण्ड्याय पौष्पिण्ड्यः पाराशर्यायणाय पाराशर्यायणो बादरायणाय बादरायणस्ताण्डि-शाट्यायनिभ्यां ताण्डिशाट्यायनिनौ बहुभ्यः &c.। सामविधानब्रा. (at end). The न्या. र. on श्लोकवा. (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र v. 23) sets out the गुरुपरम्परा of पूर्वमीमांसा as ब्रह्मा-प्रजापति-इन्द्र-आदित्य-वसिष्ठ-पराशर-कृष्णद्वैपायन-जैमिनि. The युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी p. 8 (in Chowkhamba series) gives two similar गुरुक्रमs slightly differing from that of the सामविधानब्रा॰ and from each other. The गुरुपरम्परा is practically useless up to वसिष्ठ. It may be noted that in the सामविधान॰ Jaimini is said to be the disciple of Vyāsa Pārāśarya while between Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa intervene two other names.

references about Jaimini must have been made to the same person. If two different Jaiminis were intended by the P. M. S. (other than its own author) in the five sūtras a clear warning would have been given by the author. As shown below a sūtra should leave no ambiguity. Prof. Sastry holds that Jaimini mentioned in VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini in the other four passages, because Śabara does not employ the word ācārya for qualifying Jaimini on VI. 3. 4 as he does in the four other cases and because the view put forward in VI. 3. 4 appears to be Pūrvapakṣa, while in the four other cases Jaimini's view is the siddhānta view of the Mīmāṁsā-sūtra. The number of sūtras in which Jaimini is named is very small (only 5), out of which the word ācārya is applied to Jaimini by Śabara in four places and not so applied in one. This is a very slender and inadequate ground for holding that the Jaimini in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini named in four other places. The usages of ācāryas as to employment of qualifying words like 'ācārya' or 'bhagavat' to authors mentioned by them differ. Kumārila applies no epithet like 'ācārya' or 'bhagavān' to Jamini and in one place [1889] charges Jaimini with composing sūtras containing not much substance. In the sūtras in which Jaimini is named in the VS (viz. in I. 2. 28, I. 2. 31, I. 3. 31, I. 4 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) Śaṅkarācārya adds the qualification 'ācārya' in all except on III. 4. 40, although Jaimini propounds many propositions not acceptable to Bādarāyaṇa the author of V. S. or to Śaṅkara. In III. 4. 40, however,[1890] he omits the qualification 'ācārya' as regards both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. No one has argued that because the word ācārya does not qualify Bādarāyaṇa in III. 4. 40, the Bādarāyaṇa in that sūtra is different from the Bādarāyaṇa named in other sūtras. In another place (on V. S. IV. 1. 17) it may be noted Śaṅkarācārya remarks that both Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa are in agreement that certain acts of the *kāmya* type are of no help in

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1889. 'सन्ति च जैमिनेरेवंप्रकाराण्यनत्यन्तसारभूतानि सूत्राणि।' तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 895 (on उपवीतं लिङ्गदर्शनात् सर्वधर्मः स्यात्, which is the first of six sūtras after III. 4. 9 that were omitted by Śabara).

1890. The sūtra is 'तद्भूतस्य तु नातद्भावो जैमिनेरपि नियमातद्रूपाभावेभ्यः' वे. सू. III. 4. 40 on which Śaṅkara remarks: जैमिनेरपीत्यपिशब्देन जैमिनिबादरायणयोरत्र संप्रतिपत्तिं ज्ञापयति अविप्रतिपत्तिवाद्धर्थाय. This means that बादरायण is the author of III. 4. 40 (in which बादरायण is not named at all) and therefore of the entire Vedānta-sūtra.

attaining real knowledge of brahma. This shows that according to Śaṅkara, Jaimini had treated of how brahma-vidyā arises. As regards the second reason, it does not clearly or indisputably appear that VI. 3. 4 is a pūrvapakṣa view. In that *adhikaraṇa* the Pūrvapakṣa is stated in the first sūtra [1891] viz. as to such *nitya* rites as Agnihotra or Darśapūrṇamāsa a man who can carry out all the details in their entirety is alone entitled to engage in them. The 2nd sūtra states the *siddhānta* view that, as regards *nitya* acts, it is not absolutely necessary that one should be able to perform all details (aṅgas) therein; the third sūtra only states that smṛti declares that it is a fault if the principal rite is not performed and therefore the principal rite being obligatory must be performed. Then comes the 4th sutra in which the name of Jaimini occurs. Śabara's bhāṣya on this sutra is extremely meagre (2½ lines in print) and not clear. The Ṭup-ṭikā does not comment separately on each of the sūtras of VI. 3. 1–7, [1892] it omits the name of Jaimini in its explanation and its concluding words on this adhikaraṇa appear to support the interpretation of the 4th sūtra advanced by the present author. No one doubts that sūtras 5–7 support the siddhānta view. If VI. 3. 4 were a pūrva-pakṣa sūtra, it is expected that sūtra 5 should contain the word 'tu' or 'api vā' in order to indicate that it refutes the

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1891. सर्वशक्तौ प्रवृत्तिः स्यात्तथाभूतोपदेशात्। अपि वाप्येकदेशे स्यात्प्रधाने ह्यर्थनिर्वृत्तिर्गुणमात्रमितरत्तदर्थत्वात्। तदकर्मणि च दोषस्तस्मात्ततो विशेषः स्यात्प्रधानेनाभिसम्बन्धात्। कर्माभेदं तु जैमिनिः प्रयोगवचनैकत्वात् सर्वेषामुपदेशः स्यादिति। अर्थस्य त्वपवर्गित्वादेकस्यापि प्रयोगे स्याद्यथा क्रत्वन्तरेषु। पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 1–5. It appears that the अध्वरमीमांसा-कुतूहलवृत्ति by Vāsudeva-dīkṣita (ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library) reads कर्मभेदं for कर्माभेदं and अर्थस्यपवर्गित्वात् in sūtras 4 and 5. I am indebted to Dr. V. Rāghavan for this reference. In a complete ms (zz A in Prof. Velankar's Catalogue p. 317 No. 1091) of the bhāṣya of Śabara in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Mss. Library on VI. 3. 1 the words जैमिनिर्मन्यते स्म are omitted and कर्मभेदं is read for कर्माभेदम्. The word 'upadeśa' in the 4th sūtra may be taken in the same sense in which it is used in PMS I. 1. 5 'autpattikastu ... tasya jñānam-upadeśaḥ' or in the general sense of 'instruction'.

1892. The दुपट्टीका on पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 4 appears to make this clear 'सूत्रकारो नित्ये इतिकर्तव्यतामिच्छति। ... एवं च साङ्गं यावज्जीवं न शक्नोति कश्चिदपि कर्तुमिति कृत्वा यावच्छक्नुयादित्युपनिबध्यते। शक्तस्य कामतो वैगुण्यं स्यात्।'. The last sentence means 'if one, being able to finish an obligatory rite with all details, omits some part at his sweet will, then there would be defect in the rite itself'.

view expressed in sūtra 4. What that sūtra means is that the dropping of some aṅga in the *nitya* rite does not make that rite a different one from the same *nitya* rite when performed with all aṅgas, since the text about its performance (with all aṅgas or with some aṅgas) is one and the same and the vedic instruction is that all aṅgas have to be done (if possible). Interpreted thus, that sūtra is not a pūrvapakṣa at all, but only emphasizes the siddhānta with additional reasons. The upshot would be that Jaimini mentioned five times in PMS is only one person and that he is a different person (who had written on P. M.) from the reputed author of the extant PMS.

A parallel may be cited. Śaṅkarācārya makes one adhikaraṇa of sūtras 26–33 of V. S. I. 3 (devatādhikaraṇa) which establishes that not only men but gods are qualified to study the Vedāntaśāstra and names Bādarāyaṇa twice in the same adhikaraṇa (in I. 3. 26 and 33) and in I. 3. 33 he employs the word 'tu' because that sūtra is a reply to Jaimini's view contained in I. 3. 31–32. Similarly, the PMS puts forward the siddhānta view in VI. 3. 2 and names Jaimini in VI. 3. 4 for the same purpose.

Even Prof. Sastry admits that in four out of the five references where Jaimini is expressly named, his views are the siddhānta views. The cases of PMS IX. 2. 3 and XII. 1. 59 are somewhat remarkable. The adhikaraṇa in both cases consists of only one sūtra, which is the siddhānta view and Jaimini is expressly named therein. In PMS III. 1. 4 Jaimini differs from Bādari (III. 1. 3) and two more sūtras are added to complete the adhikaraṇa. In PMS VIII. 3. 7 Jaimini's view is opposed to that of Bādari (VIII. 3. 6), is the siddhānta view and there is no separate sūtra setting forth the view of the author of the PMS.

From the remarks of Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890) it follows that he regarded Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the Vedāntasūtra. In V.S. III. 2. 38-39 the Siddhānta is stated that the rewards of actions are given by Īśvara (God), while Jaimini's view is that it is Dharma that gives the rewards of actions (III. 2. 40) and in the next sūtra (III. 2. 41) it is stated that Bādarāyaṇa holds the former view (or that the former of the two, Īśvara and Dharma, gives the reward is the view of Bādarāyaṇa). Here Bādarāyaṇa is expressly mentioned as holding the same view as that in the Siddhāntasūtra III. 2. 38.

The observations of Śaṅkarācārya in introducing[1893] the last sūtra of the VS make it perfectly clear that he regarded Bādarāyaṇa as the author of the entire Vedāntasūtra. No satisfactory explanation is offered why it was necessary to mention Bādarāyaṇa nine times in the VS when all the 555 sūtras thereof are deemed to have been composed by Bādarāyaṇa, or why it was necessary to mention in a work containing about 2700 sūtras all deemed to be composed by Jaimini, the views of Jaimini five times when in all cases or at least in four out of the five cases the views are identical with the reputed author of the PMS. Only two theories are possible viz. to hold that there is no explanation or to hold that there were two Jaiminis and two Bādarāyaṇas.

The problem of the author of the VS is rather complicated. Bhāskara (like Śaṅkara) holds that Bādarāyaṇa is the author of VS, since he begins his commentary on VS with an obeisance to Bādarāyaṇa who sent forth (into the world) the Brahmasūtra that brings about the cessation of the bondage of birth. The Pañcapādikā of Padmapāda (a disciple of Śaṅkarācārya) performs (in the 2nd Introductory verse) an obeisance to Bādarāyaṇa.[1894] Rāmānuja, on the other hand, makes confusing statements. In the 2nd verse of his introduction to the Śrībhāṣya[1895] on VS he calls upon all good men to drink the nectar-like words of Pārāśarya, but in his bhāṣya on VS II. 2. 42 he holds that Bādarāyaṇa was the author of the Mahābhārata, wherein the Pāñcarātra-śāstra is expounded at great length (in Śāntiparva chap. 334–339 = cr. ed. 321 ff.) as also of the VS[1896]. But Yāmunācārya, the preceptor of the teacher

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1893. नन्वेवं सति सातिशयवत्त्वादन्तवत्त्वमैश्वर्यस्य स्यात्ततश्चैषामावृत्तिः प्रसज्येतेत्यत्र उत्तरं भगवान् बादरायण आचार्यः पठति—अनावृत्तिः ... शब्दात्। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 4. 22.

1894. नमः श्रुतिशिरःपद्मषण्डमार्तण्डमूर्तये। बादरायणसंज्ञाय मुनये शमवेदिने॥ पञ्चपादिका 2nd Intro. verse (Madras Govt. series, 1958).

1895. कथमेवं ब्रुवाणो बादरायणो वेदविदग्रेसरोवे दान्तवेद्यपरब्रह्मभूतवासुदेवोपासनार्थे-नादिमतिपादनपरस्य सात्वतशास्त्रस्यामाण्यं ब्रूयात्। p. 509 of श्रीभाष्य (B. S. S.) on वे. सू. II. 2. 42.

1896. यद्यपि भगवता बादरायणेन हृदमर्थान्येव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि विवृतानि च तानि परिमितगम्भीरभाषिणा भाष्यकृता विस्तृतानि च तानि गम्भीरन्यायसागरभाषिणा श्रीवत्साङ्क-मिश्रेणापि०। सिद्धित्रय (Chow. S. S.) pp. 5–6.

of Rāmānuja, ascribes the VS to Bādarāyaṇa. In spite of Śaṅkarācārya, Vācaspati-miśra, author of the famous Bhāmatī on[1897] Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on VS, makes an obeisance to Vedavyāsa, the author of Brahmasūtra The Parāśara-mādhavīya is in two minds; in vol. I part I pp. 52, 97, vol. II. part 2 pp. 3 and 275 Bādarāyaṇa is said to be the author of the VS, but in a few other places VS is spoken of as Vyāsasūtra (vol. I. part 1, pp. 56, 113). The above conflict of testimony gives rise to the important question whether Bādarāyaṇa, the supposed author of the Vedāntasūtras, is identical with Vedavyāsa or is different from him. Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya points to the conclusion that in his opinion at least they are different.[1898] For example, on V. S. I. 3. 29 he quotes a verse of Vedavyāsa in support of the proposition of the VS that the Veda is eternal. On VS II. 3. 47, in support of the proposition that, though the individual soul is an aṁśa of the Supreme Self, the latter is not at all affected by the suffering of the individual soul, Śaṅkara quotes two verses as smṛti from the Mahābhārata. This makes it clear that, if the author of the VS was identical with Vedavyāsa, the author of the Mahābhārata, Śaṅkarācārya would not have cited the latter as an independent smṛti source supporting the former or would at least have used some such language as 'this very author has said elsewhere that' &c. The same reasoning would apply to Śaṅkarācārya's comments. If that great ācārya was of the opinion that the author of the VS was the same as that of the Mahābhārata and the Gītā he would not have cited passages from the Epic and the Gītā as Smṛtis supporting the reasoning of the VS.

If it were contended that there is only one Jaimini (and not two, much less three) a serious difficulty arises. Why should the author of PMS (containing about 2700 sūtras) refer to himself by name in five places only. The usual explanation offered

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1897. ब्रह्मसूत्रकृते तस्मै वेदव्यासाय वेधसे। ज्ञानशक्त्यवताराय नमो भगवतो हरेः॥ भामती, 5th Intro. verse.

1898. अत एव च नित्यत्वम्। वे. सू. I. 3. 29; भाष्य 'वेदव्यासश्चैवमेव स्मरति। 'युगान्तेन्तर्हितान्वेदान्सेतिहासान्महर्षयः। लेभिरे तपसा पूर्वमनुज्ञाताः स्वयम्भुवा॥' इति. This verse is शान्तिपर्व 210. 19 (cr. ed. 203. 17); स्मरन्ति च। वे. सू. II. 3. 47; भाष्य "स्मरन्ति च व्यासादयो यथा जैवेन दुःखेन न परमात्मा दुःखायत इति। 'तत्र यः परमात्मा हि स नित्यो निर्गुणः स्मृतः। न लिप्यते फलैश्चापि पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा॥ कर्मात्मा त्वपरो योसौ मोक्षबन्धैः स युज्यते। स सप्तदशकेनापि राशिना युज्यते पुनः॥' इति". These two are शान्तिपर्व 352. 14–16 (cr. ed. 339. 14–15).

by some commentators when Pāṇini names[1899] his predecessors, viz. that they are named for showing his reverence for them, would be of no avail as to Jaimini, since it cannot be said that the author of PMS Jaimini shows respect to himself. When Jaimini mentions Bādarāyaṇa in I. 1. 5 and XI. 1. 65 Śabara[1900] explains this is done for showing respect to Bādarāyaṇa or for spreading his fame. Another explanation that ancient authors often refer to themselves in the 3rd person will not do. Why should the author of about 2700 sūtras choose five places only for referring to himself. Therefore, one is compelled to hold that, if Jaimini is the author of the extant PMS and mentions the views of Jaimini five times only, there was a predecessor and namesake of his called Jamini who had expressed his views in a different work.

There are eleven sūtras in the VS in which the views of Jaimini are referred to. They are (as stated above) VS I. 2. 28 and 31, I. 3. 31, I. 4. 18, III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18, III. 4. 40, IV. 3. 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11. Out of these eleven there are six references to Jaimini (viz. I. 2. 28, I. 2. 31, I. 4. 18, IV. 3 12, IV. 4. 5, IV. 4. 11) for which no corresponding *adhikaraṇa* or sūtra in the PMS can be pointed out, while sūtras III. 2. 40, III. 4. 2, III. 4. 18 attribute views to Jaimini, which are well-known doctrines of the PMS. VS I. 3. 31 corresponds to PMS VI. 1. 5 and on III. 4. 40 (quoted in note 1890 above) Jaimini and VS agree. Therefore, it appears that the Jaimini who expresses views on purely Vedāntic topics and whose views are not found in PMS composed a work on Vedānta.

There are in VS nine sūtras in which Bādarāyaṇa is named viz. in VS I. 3, 26 and 33 (Bādarāyaṇa being twice named in the same *adhikaraṇa* as opposed to Jaimini), III. 2. 41, III. 4. 1, III. 4. 8, III. 4. 19, IV. 3. 15, IV. 4. 7, IV. 4. 12. It may be noted that in all these cases (except in IV. 3. 15) the views ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa are opposed to those of Jaimini or are slightly different (only VS IV. 4. 7 and IV. 4. 12). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that all the views mentioned as Bādarāyaṇa's are the views of the author of the VS who employs

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1899. On तृषि-सृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य (पा. I. 2. 25) the महाभाष्य says 'काश्यप ग्रहणं किमर्थम्। काश्यपग्रहणं पूजार्थम्'.

1900. बादरायणग्रहणं बादरायणस्येदं मतं कीर्त्यते बादरायणं कीर्तयितुं नात्मीयं मतं पर्युदसितुम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू. I. 5 p. 25; बादरायणग्रहणं कीर्त्यर्थं नैकीयमतार्थम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू. XI. 1. 65,

the third person for himself as ancient authors do (I. A. vol. 50 at p. 169). This does not afford a satisfactory explanation of the question why it was necessary to invoke Bādarāyaṇa's name in nine cases only for buttressing up the position of the author of the VS (that has 555 sūtras). If the author of the VS and Bādarāyaṇa named nine times are identical, the name of Bādarāyaṇa should ordinarily appear towards the end of the *adhikaraṇa* and not in the middle. Two examples may be cited here to illustrate how VS deals with references to Bādarāyaṇa. In III. 2 38-41 (which is one *adhikaraṇa*) the *siddhānta* view is first stated with reasons in III. 2. 38-39, then Jaimini's view is cited (III. 4. 40) and then Bādarāyaṇa is mentioned as agreeing with the view first put forth 'pūrvam tu Bādarāyaṇo hetuvyapadeśāt), the difference being that the *siddhānta* is based upon 'upapatti' while Bādarāyaṇa relies upon 'hetuvyapadeśa' (in śruti and smṛti). This shows that different reasons were assigned by the author of VS and by Bādarāyaṇa for the same proposition. VS. III. 4. 18-20 form one *adhikaraṇa* about *sannyāsa*. Jaimini starts the pūrvapakṣa that the Chān. Up. (II. 23. 1 'trayo dharmaskandhāḥ') only makes a passing reference to the āśramas, there is no vidhi (injunction) in that text and there is no exposition also. Then Bādarāyaṇa's view is cited 'anuṣṭheyaṁ Bādarāyaṇaḥ sāmyaśruteḥ' i. e. *sannyāsa* should be resorted to just as one resorts to the householder's stage. Then comes the view of the author of the VS that there is a vidhi of *sannyāsa* in that text. If Bādarāyaṇa and the author of VS be held identical, why was it necessary to add the sūtra 'vidhirvā dhāraṇavat' (VS III. 4. 20) after stating Bādarāyaṇa's view? It would be also noticed that the reasons given in the two sūtras differ. In VS IV. 4. 10-14 first the views of Bādari and Jaimini on Chān. Up. VIII. 2. 1, 5 are set out, then Bādarāyaṇa's view is set forth (in IV. 4. 12) and then two more sūtras are added by the author of VS. Therefore, these illustrations show that, though the final conclusion of Bādarāyaṇa and the author of VS is the same, the language and the reasons are different, and that Bādarāyaṇa named in the VS was a predecessor of the author of the extant VS that had composed a work on Vedānta, whom the author of the VS strengthens with reasons of his own.

In Pāṇini's time there were mendicant ascetics (bhikṣus) who studied the 'Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya' or 'the Bhikṣusūtra of Karmanda' and were designated 'Pārāśariṇaḥ' and

'Karmandinaḥ'.[1901] A bhikṣu represents the order of *Sannyāsa*. Therefore, a Bhikṣusūtra must have had as its subject sannyāsa, the time for it, the rules of the order, the final goal to be attained and so on. The Bṛ. Up. (III. 5. 1 and IV. 4. 22) emphasizes that those who realize *brahma* give up all desires and practise begging. The Gautama-dharmasūtra[1902] says the same thing. No trace is found of the Bhikṣusūtra of Karmanda. But it is possible to say that the Bhikṣusūtra propounded by Pārāśarya must have been somewhat like the extant Brahmasūtra or one of its predecessors. This would be the earliest reference to a sūtra by Pārāśarya on the sannyāsāśrama. The date of Pāṇini is not beyond dispute. But no modern scholar would place him after 300 B. C. The present writer would place him as early as at least 500 or 600 B. C. The result would be that the Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya named by Pāṇini would have to be placed at some time between 400 B. C. to 700 B. C. Further light is shed by Vārtika[1903] (1) on Pāṇini IV. 1. 97, from which it follows that Vyāsa's '*apatya*' (son) was called Vaiyāsaki, that is Śuka (according to the Mahābhāṣya). Bādarāyaṇa is formed from Badara which is a word in the Naḍādi-gaṇa (consisting of about 76 words), according to Pāṇini IV. 1. 99 (Naḍadibhyaḥ phak), Bādari being the son of Badara, Bādarāyaṇa being the grandson (or a remoter male descendant) of Badara. At some period Vyāsa and Bādarāyaṇa came to be confounded and Śuka, who was the son of Vyāsa according to the Vārtika and the Mahābhāṣya, came to be called Bādarāyaṇi (son of Bādarāyaṇa) as shown by the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (XII. 5. 8 where Śuka is said to be 'Bhagavān Bādarāyaṇiḥ'). It appears that from the 9th century A. D. Bādarāyaṇa came to be confounded with Vyāsa Pārāśarya.

1901. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः । पा. IV. 3, 110–111 : पाराशर्येण प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः । सि. कौ. It is possible that Pāṇini refers to a sūtra work on ancient Sāṅkhya by Pañcaśikha. This will be briefly discussed in another chapter below. It will be shown later from the Mahābhārata that Pañcaśikha was called bhikṣu and Pārāśarya (vide note 2186 below).

1902. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो भिक्षुर्वैखानसः । ...अनिचयो भिक्षुः । ...भिक्षार्थी ग्राममियात् । गौतमधर्मसूत्र III. 2. 10–13.

1903. सुधातुरकङ् च । पा. IV. 1. 97; सुधातुव्यासयोः वार्तिक ।; सौधातकिः । वैयासकिः शुकः । महाभाष्य.

A brief examination of the citation of the views of Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini in the PMS and the Brahmasūtra[1904] is necessary. Bādarāyaṇa is named only five times by the P. M. sūtra as said above. (1) In P. M. S. I. 1. 5 the author claims that he and Bādarāyaṇa are agreed on the eternity and infallibility of the Veda; (2) In P. M. S. V. 2. 17–20, there is a discussion on Nakṣatreṣṭi. In the model sacrifice there are certain homas called Nāriṣṭha; the question is whether in the modifications of the model wherein certain subordinate homas colled *upahomas* are prescribed, the Nāriṣṭha homas precede or follow the Upahomas. The *siddhānta* view is that Nāriṣṭhahomas precede, Ātreya being of the opposite view and Bādarāyaṇa supporting the *siddhānta*. (3) In P. M. S. VI. 1. 8 Bādarāyaṇa's view is that not men alone but women also are entitled to take part in *kratus* (Vedic sacrifices) and this is the *siddhānta* of the P. M. S.; (4) P. M. S. X. 8. 35–46 make an extensive *adhikaraṇa* in which the question is whether the texts prescribing Āgneya and Aindrāgna *puroḍāśas* in Darśapūrṇamāsa for a sacrificer who has not performed soma sacrifice constitute a vidhi (of the two) or only an anuvāda, Bādarāyaṇa's view in PMS. X. 8. 44 being that its is a *vidhi* and the *siddhānta* being that there is an anuvāda (X. 8. 45). (5) PMS XI. 1. 54–67 constitute a lengthy *adhikaraṇa* and the discussion concerns the question whether *āghāra* and other aṅgas are to be repeated with each of the principal matters (Āgneya and others) in Darśapūrṇamāsa or are to be performed only once.

With regard to these five cases where Bādarāyaṇa is cited in the P. M. S. three points emerge, viz. the author of the P. M. S. agrees with Bādarāyaṇa's view in all except in X. 8. 44 (where the two differ), that the view attributed to Bādarāyaṇa in P. M. S. I. 1. 5 has correspondence with the views of the V. S. (1. 3. 28–29) and that four views out of five refer to purely sacrificial matters to which nothing corresponds in the V. S. It follows that the author of the extant P. M. S. had some work of Bādarāyaṇa dealing with Pūrvamīmāṁsā matters before him and that, if Bādarāyaṇa be the author of the extant V. S., the latter had composed a work on Pūrvamīmāṁsā matters also or that there was another Bādarāyaṇa who wrote only on Pūrva-

1904. Prof. Nilakant Sastry's paper referred to above is valuable, but several of his conclusions set out on p. 172 of I. A. vol. 50 cannot be accepted by the present writer, who regrets that Prof. Sastry did not consider much other matter relevant to the points discussed by him.

mīmāṁsā. The five references to Jaimini in P. M. S. have been noted above and the sūtra VI. 3. 4, which led Prof. Sastry to postulate three Jaiminis, has been already explained as not necessarily leading to any such conclusion.

Another alternative might be put forward viz. that works by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa did not exist before the extant V. S. and P. M. S., but that the references to Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa concern views current in the schools of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa. But this is not a likely hypothesis. The extant V. S. and P. M. S. are meant for all throughout Āryāvarta and it is not likely that the oral traditions of two schools were supposed to be known to all and sundry in the whole of the country.

In several cases where Bādarāyaṇa is mentioned, the extant V. S. makes certain additions and explanations. It has been shown above that Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and Yāmuna ascribe the V. S. to Bādarāyaṇa and that Vācaspati and others hold that Vyāsa Pārāśarya is the author of V. S. It is difficult to explain how Vedavyāsa came to be identified with Bādarāyaṇa after the 9th century A. D. Some other relevant matters have also to be considered. A verse about *kṣetra* and *kṣetrajña* in the Bhagavadgītā raises a problem. In Gītā[1905] 13. 4 it is said 'this

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1905. ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छन्दोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् । ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥ गीता 13. 4 ; the first half refers to the passages in the Vedas and Upaniṣads and the 2nd half to the Brahmasūtrapadas. ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव must be connected with *gītam* according to all commentators. The present writer feels that the word 'ṛṣibhiḥ' also must be understood in the second half of the verse. If ṛṣibhiḥ is required to be connected with 'chandobhiḥ', there is no reason why that word should not be connected with 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' also. Two words in the instrumental are employed in the first half (viz. ṛṣibhiḥ (agents) and 'chandobhiḥ' (means); if we understand 'ṛṣibhiḥ' in the 2nd half, we shall have a symmetrical arrangement viz. 'ṛṣibhiḥ' (agents) and 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' (means). There is a contrast between Vedic and Upaniṣadic passages in the first half and Brahmasūtra passages that are well reasoned and definite in the 2nd half. Then the meaning will be that sages had composed several Brahmasūtras. The author is inclined to hold that the Gītā refers to several Brahmasūtras current in its day and not to the extant Vedāntasūtra. Here commentators other than Śaṅkarācārya understand by the word 'Brahmasūtra' the work going under that name in these days. The late Lokamānya Tilak in his Marathi 'Gītārahasya' discusses (in appendix part 3 pp. 527–534 of the ed. of 1915) the question of the relation of the Gītā and Brahmasūtra and puts forward his own surmise

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real nature of kṣetra and kṣetrajña has been separately sung (i. e. propounded) in many ways by the sages in different vedic hymns (or metres) and by the words of the Brahmasūtra that are full of reasoning and that arrive at definite conclusions'. Here the Gītā expressly mentions Brahmasūtra. If one turns to the extant Brahmasūtra (or Vedāntasūtra), it is found that in many sūtras reliance is placed on smṛti, which is taken to mean the Gītā by all ācāryas. For example, on 'Smṛtiśca' (V. S. I. 2. 6) the only Smṛti passages cited by Śaṅkarācārya are Gītā 18. 61 and 13. 2. Similarly, on 'api ca smaryate' (V. S. I. 3. 23) Śaṅkara cites only Gītā 15. 6 and 12; on 'api ca smaryate' (V. S. II. 3. 45) the only Smrti passage quoted by Śaṅkara is Gītā 15. 7; on 'Smaranti ca' (V. S. IV. I. 10) only Gītā 6. 11 is quoted; on 'Yoginaḥ prati ca smaryate smārte caite' (V. S. IV. 2. 21) Gītā 8. 24-25 alone are set forth as the passages meant to be explained. Therefore, though the Bhagavadgītā is not expressly named in the Brahmasūtra, the ācāryas are agreed that the Bhagavadgītā alone is relied upon and referred to in all the above-mentioned sūtras. We have, therefore reached this position that the Gītā mentions the Brahmasūtra which must be held to be earlier than the Gītā, but as Gītā passages are declared to be at the basis of some of the Vedāntasūtras, the Gītā must be earlier than the V. S. This is contradictory; Śaṅkarācārya,[1906] who saw the contradiction, therefore explained 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' as passages (of Upaniṣads) that suggest (i. e. propound) doctrines about brahma (i. e. he interprets 'sūtra' as meaning 'sūcaka'). But this explanation is far-fetched and has not been accepted by other commentators. Therefore, other theories have to be put forward viz. that the author of both is the same or that the Mahābhārata and Gītā were receiving accretions from time to time and that when the

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that the author who composed the extant Brahmasūtra redacted the original Mahābhārata and Gītā and gave them both the present form. The present writer regrets that he cannot accept this surmise of the late Lokamānya. It may be pointed out that Prof. R. D. Karmarkar in (ABORI vol. III. pp. 73-79) did not accept Lokamānya's explanation of 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' and held that in Gītā 13. 4 the word 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' does not refer to the Bādarāyaṇa sūtras but refers to some similar other works. But he did not pursue that matter further.

1906. ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि ब्रह्मसूत्राणि तैः पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते इति तानि पदान्युच्यन्ते। तैरेव च क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्याथात्म्यं 'गीतम्' इत्यनुवर्तते। 'आत्मेत्येवोपासीत' इत्यादीभिर्हि ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैरात्मा ज्ञायते। शङ्कर on गीता 13. 4.

final redaction of the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā) was made the verse about Brahmasūtra was inserted in the Gītā or that in the times of the Gītā there were several works called Brahmasūtra other than the extant one.

The present writer thinks it highly probable that the Gītā had before it several works called Brahmasūtras and in 13. 4 refers to them and not to the extant Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa. A brief examination of the authors mentioned in the PMS and VS is necessary. Both these works mention by name several individual authors (besides Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa). Both PMS and VS mention the following:—

Ātreya – PMS IV. 3. 18, V. 2. 18, VI. 1. 26 and VS III. 4. 44;

Āśmarathya – PMS VI. 5. 16 and VS I. 2. 29, I. 4. 20;

Kārṣṇājini – PMS IV. 3. 17, VI. 7. 35 and VS III. 1. 9.

Bādari – PMS III. 1. 3, VI. 1. 27, VIII. 3. 6, IX. 2. 33 and VS. I. 2. 30, III. 1. 11, IV. 3. 7, IV. 4. 10;

PMS also names Ālekhana (VI. 5. 17), Aitiśāyana (III. 2. 44, III. 4. 24, VI. 1. 6), Kāmukāyana (XI. 1. 58 and 63) and Lāvukāyana (VI. 7. 37), these being not mentioned at all in the VS. On the other hand VS mentions Auḍulomi (I. 4. 21, III. 4. 45, IV. 4. 6) and Kāśakṛtsna (I. 4. 22), both being absent from PMS. The PMS very rarely refers to some ācāryas as 'eke' in I. 1. 27 and IX. 3. 4; V. S. has 'eke' in I. 4. 9 and 18, II. 3. 43, III. 2. 2. and 13, III. 4. 15, IV. 2. 13 and 'ekeṣām' in I. 4. 13, IV. 1. 17, IV. 2. 13 and 'anye' in III. 3. 27, in all of which the reference in V. S. is to other recensions of the Veda or Upaniṣads, while in III. 4. 42 'eke' refers to ācāryāḥ and in III. 3. 53 'eke' refers to Lokāyatikas. Vyāsa or Pārāśarya is not mentioned by name in PMS or VS. The case of Bādari requires careful consideration. The PMS mentions both Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini only five times each, while PMS and VS mention (each) Bādari four times. Bādari differs from Jaimini on two important points viz. the denotation of the word 'śeṣa' and the remarkable view that even śūdras are entitled to perform *agnihotra* and other Vedic rites. In VS. Bādari is mentioned as differing from Jaimini on the *upāsanā* of Vaiśvānara in Chān. Up. V. 18. 1–2 and on the words 'sa enān brahma gamayati' (Chān. Up. IV. 15. 5) and in VS IV. 4. 10 Bādari is opposed to Jaimini about a released soul. It follows from this brief analysis and the mention of Bādari four times in PMS and also in VS that both the latter had before them a work of Bādari dealing with Pūrva-

mīmāṁsā matters and also with Vedānta. Ālekhana and Āśmarathya are both quoted at least 16 times in Āp. Śr. Sūtra, their views are quoted frequently as in conflict on the ritual of sacrifices and these are the only two individual authors quoted in Āp. Śr. S. It is likely that Ātreya, Āśmarathya and Kārsṇājini composed a work or works dealing with both systems and Auḍulomi (quoted thrice by VS) and Kāśakṛtsna composed works on the Vedānta. Vide Tantravārtika on I 3. 2 p. 169 note 2010 for the view that the present PMS was preceded by several efforts in the same direction.

From the above discussion it may very plausibly be held that the word 'Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ' in Gītā 13. 4 refers to some sūtra works such as those of Bādari, Auḍulomi, Āśmarathya and one or two others and not to the extant Brahmasūtra. No one can say that Bādari and Ātreya are not 'ṛsis'. Śabara refers to Ātreya as 'Muni' on PMS VI. I. 26.

It should be remembered that Jaimini, Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa are gotra names. But Vyāsa is not a gotra name and Pārāsarya is one of the three *pravaras* of the group of Parāśaras.[1907]

The Āp. Śr. Sūtra 24. 8. 10 (ed. by Garbe) and the Pravaramañjarī (ed. by Chentsalrav, Mysore, 1900) p. 61 mention Bādarāyaṇa as a sub-section of Viṣṇuvṛddhagotra, while p. 38 of the latter work mentions Jaimini along with Yāska, Vādhūla, Mauna and others as having the pravara 'Bhārgava-vaitahavya-sāvataseti' and pp. 108 and 178 cite Bādari (or Vādari) as a sub-division of Parāśaras. Therefore, it was possible that several individuals separated by a century or more could bear the name of Jaimini or Bādarāyaṇa.

We have also to answer the observations of the Naiṣkarmya-siddhi of Sureśvarācārya (the most famous of the disciples of Śaṅkarācārya himself) that Jaimini does not mean that all passages of the Veda relate to sacrificial rites and that if he really meant that, he would not have composed 'Śārīrakasūtra' beginning with 'athāto brahma-jijñāsā' and 'janmādyasya yataḥ', containing an investigation of the purport of all Vedānta passages, laying bare the nature of brahma and supporting his words with profound reasoning; but that as a matter of fact he

1907. अथ पाराशराणां ऽयार्षेयः। वसिष्ठ-शाक्त्य-पाराशर्येति। पराशरवच्छक्तिवद्वसिष्ठवदिति। आप. श्रौ. सूत्र. 24. 10. 6.

did compose such a śārīrakaśāstra. This passage means that Jaimini composed a sūtra work called Śārīrakasūtra on the investigation and knowledge of brahma, which began with two sūtras that were the same as the first two sūtras of the extant Vedāntasūtra.[1908] Col. Jacob in his Introduction (p. 3) to the first edition of the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi thought that the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi made Jaimini the author of the Vedāntadarśana. He is inaccurate, since all that Sureśvara says is that Jaimini composed not only a sūtra work on the Karmamīmāṁsā but he also composed a work called Śārīrakasūtra on the doctrines of brahmamīmāṁsā, but he does not convey that the whole of the extant Vedāntasūtra is the work of Jaimini. Dr. Belvalkar [1909] postulates two propositions, viz. that there were brahmasūtras written separately for the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad and other Upaniṣads for each Śākhā and secondly, that the Śārīrakasūtra of Jaimini was bodily incorporated within and forms the main part of the contents of the present text of the Brahmasūtra. The present author takes strong objections to both these propositions. He cannot go into this question at length here but has to remark that these propositions are based on little evidence. If 'janmādyasya yataḥ' was also a sūtra of Jaimini who was specially connected with the Sāmaveda by the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, why is it that that sūtra is supposed by the bhāṣyakāras as based on a passage of the Taittirīya-upaniṣad? The Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads are each nearly thrice as long as all the other eight Upaniṣads (out of the principal ten Upaniṣads) and six times longer than the Taittirīya Upaniṣad. Therefore, these two Upaniṣads figure largely in the discussions in the extant Brahmasūtra. The 2nd proposition is hardly more than a pure guess. There is no evidence to establish that the main part of the extant Vedāntasūtra is bodily taken from Jaimini's Śārīrakasūtra, when the latter has not come down to us and when no sūtras therefrom

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1908. यतो न जैमिनेरयमभिप्राय आम्नायः सर्व एव क्रियार्थ इति। यदि ह्ययमभिप्रायोऽभविष्यद् अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा जन्माद्यस्य यतः—इत्येवमादिब्रह्मवस्तुस्वरूपमात्रयाथात्म्यप्रकाशनपरं गम्भीरन्यायसन्दृब्धं सर्ववेदान्तार्थमीमांसनं श्रीमच्छारीरकं नाद्रक्ष्यिष्यत्। अद्रक्ष्यच्च। तस्माज्जैमिनेरेवायमभिप्रायो यथैव विधिवाक्यानां स्वार्थमात्रे प्रामाण्यमेवमैकात्म्यवाक्यानामप्यनधिगतवस्तुपरिच्छेदसाम्यादिति। नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि pp. 54–55 (ed. by Col. Jacob in B. S. S. 1906).

1909. Vide his 'Gopal Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy' pp. 141–142.

(other than the two noted above) are quoted anywhere as from Jaimini's Śārīrakasūtra.

Then some sūtras of VS in which the words 'tad-uktam'[1910] occur have to be considered. There are eight sūtras that contain those words. Śaṅkarācārya holds that in VS I. 3. 21, II. 1. 31, III. 3. 18 (where 'tad uktam' occur) the reference is to the preceding sūtras of the VS itself. On V. S. III. 3. 26, III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III. 4. 42 Śaṅkarācārya holds that these respectively refer to PMS X. 8. 15, III. 3. 8, XI. 4. 10 and I. 3. 8-9 and that VS III. 3. 43 refers to a sūtra of the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa. The other ācāryas differ from Śaṅkarācārya in several places and among themselves. Vallabhācārya, who had come to regard the Bhāgavata as of equal authority with the Veda and as even superseding the latter, holds that the words 'tad-uktam' in VS III. 3. 33, III. 3. 50 and III. 4. 42. refer to passages of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The VS III. 3. 44 appears to echo the words and principles of PMS III. 3. 14.[1911] The words 'tad-uktam' should ordinarily mean the same thing throughout *i. e.* they should everywhere be taken as referring to the PMS or to VS. But no ācārya is prepared to accept entirely one of these two alternatives. It may further be noted that the extant P. M. S. very rarely employs the words 'tad-uktam' as in V. 3. 9 where it refers to PMS V. I. 19.[1912] The P. M. S., though it mentions Bādarāyaṇa five times, nowhere appears to be influenced by the V. S. On the other hand, not only are some of the sūtras of V. S. containing the words 'Tad-uktam' deemed to be references to the P. M. Sūtras, but the V. S frequently employs peculiar Pūrvamīmāṁsā words such as arthavāda, prakaraṇa, liṅga, vidhi, śeṣa and purely P. M. matters such as in III. 3. 26 (kuśāchandastutyupagānavat), III. 3. 33 (aupasadavat), III. 4. 20 (dhāraṇavat), IV. 4. 12 (Dvādaśāhavat). Therefore, the extant VS very much presupposes the P. M. S., while the latter cannot be said to have been influenced by VS to any noticeable extent.

The present author now wishes to draw together the separate threads that have been spun so far about Vyāsa, Jaimini,

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1910. Vide a brief note 'The problem of Tad-uktam Sūtras' by Prof. P. M. Modi in I. H. Q. Vol. 13 pp. 514-520.

1911. Compare 'लिङ्गभूयस्त्वात्तद्धि बलीयस्तदपि' वे. सू. III. 3. 44 with 'श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्' पू. मी. सू. III.3.14.

1912. अन्ते वा तदुक्तम् । पू. मी. सू. V. 3. 9. This refers to V. 1. 19 (अन्ते तु बादरायणस्तेषां प्रधानशब्दत्वात्). In पू. मी. IX. 2. 2 occur the words 'तदुक्तदोषत्व' which refer to पू. मी. VII. 2. 13.

Bādarāyaṇa, the PMS and the VS and tries to present a tentative pattern of conclusions as follows:—

1. The Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas state that Jaimini was a pupil of Pārāśarya Vyāsa. But this is said in relation to the transmission of the Sāmaveda to Jaimini and therefore must be confined to that matter alone (and not extended to other matters) in accordance with the mīmāṁsā maxim 'yāvadvacanam vācanikam.' We have got a Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, a Jaiminīya Śrauta-sūtra and Gṛhya-sūtra. The tradition about the imparting of Sāmaveda to Jaimini may be true and at present there is no evidence to show that it is wrong. There is, however, no warrant for extending this tradition to the reputed authors of the PMS and the VS. Late medieval writers like Vallabhācārya, whose weakest points were lack of correct knowledge of history and chronology and the obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite authors and works, extended the above tradition about the Sāmaveda to the authors of the two sūtra works,[1913] viz. PMS and VS. From the above discussion it follows that the extant PMS is earlier than the extant VS and that the author of the extant PMS could not have been a disciple of the author of the extant VS. The medieval writers failed to pay proper attention to the fact that Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa are also gotra names and not merely individual names.

2. From Pāṇini we know that there were two *bhikṣu-sūtras* composed by Pārāśarya and Karmanda before his time. Patañjali mentions a mīmāṁsā work composed by Kāśakṛtsna. There is, therefore, no doubt that sūtra works on 'bhikṣus' and mīmāṁsā had come to be composed several centuries before the Christian era.

3. From the examination of the views of Jaimini mentioned in the extant VS it appears that Jaimini composed a work on Vedānta also. Some corroboration is lent to this view by the remarks of the Naiṣkaramyasiddhi quoted on p. 1175 above. There is nothing to show that this Jaimini was a pupil of Bādarāyaṇa or of Pārāśarya. On the contrary, the words 'Jaiminer-api' in VS. III. 4. 40 convey great solicitude on the part of the author of the extant VS for Jaimini's support. The author of the

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1913. On तत्तु समन्वयात् (V. S. I. 1. 4) वल्लभाचार्य says: तथा हि जैमिनिर्धर्मजिज्ञासामेव प्रतिज्ञाय तत्प्रतिपादकस्य पूर्वकाण्डस्य समन्वयमाह। अवान्तरवाक्यानां प्रकारशेषत्वात्। न च सर्वस्मिन् वेदे धर्म एव जिज्ञास्यस्तदुपयोग्य व्यासेन ब्रह्मजिज्ञासायाः प्रतिज्ञातत्वात्।

extant VS shows special respect for Jaimini's views, since he quotes Jaimini more times than other ācāryas (including Bādarāyaṇa). It becomes necessary to hold that there were two authors named Jaimini, one dealing with both PM and Vedānta subjects and the other deemed to be the author of the extant PMS. This Jaimini is different from Jaimini deemed to be the author of the extant PMS.

4. The fact that PMS mentions five times Bādarāyaṇa's views, four of which are concerned with purely sacrificial matters and the fact that the VS mentions Bādarāyaṇa nine times in connection with Vedānta matters, leads to the inference that Bādarāyaṇa must have composed a work dealing with PM and Vedānta topics. That work has not come down to us. This Bādarāyaṇa is different from the Bādarāyaṇa regarded by Śaṅkarācārya and others as the author of the extant VS. Thus there are two authors named Bādarāyaṇa.

5. The author of the extant VS was, according to Śaṅkarācārya, Bhāskara and some other early bhāṣyakāras, also Bādarāyaṇa, but from about the 9th century A. D. onwards he came to be confounded with Vedavyāsa.

6. So far as the PMS and VS are concerned, there are only two Jaiminis (and not three, as Prof. Sastry holds in I. A. vol. 50 p. 172) and two Bādarāyaṇas.

The present section is concerned mainly with the influence of Pūrvamīmāṁsā doctrines and methodology on Dharmaśāstra works. But it must be mentioned here that Pūrvamīmāṁsā works from that of Jaimini onwards also rely upon smṛtis and Dharmaśāstra. A few examples may be cited. The PMS I. 3 deals with the limits of the authoritativeness of smṛtis, PMS VI. 7. 6 mentions the word 'Dharmaśāstra'. The P. M. S. expressly relies on smṛti in support of its propositions (as in XII. 4. 43). On PMS VI. 1. 12 Śabara quotes a smṛti verse, which is almost the same as Manu VIII. 416 and Ādiparva (82. 23=Cr. Ed. 77. 22). Śabara frequently quotes Dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis to elucidate and strengthen his arguments; e. g. Śabara on PMS VI. I. 10 quotes Ap. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 11 and states on PMS VI. I. 15 that the sale of a daughter mentioned in the smṛtis is not approved of by *śiṣṭas*.[1914] It is not necessary to cite further

1914. विक्रयो हि श्रूयते शतमतिरथं दुहितृमते दद्यात्, आर्षे गोमिथुनम्-इति। शबर on VI. 1. 10 and 'स्मार्तं च श्रुतिविरुद्धं विक्रयं नाद्रियन्ते' on PMS. VI. 1. 15. Vide

(*Continued on next page*)

examples to support the proposition stated above. Those interested may consult the present author's paper on "Gleanings from Śabara and the Tantravārtika' JBBRAS vol. 26 (old series, 1924) pp. 83–98 and on 'Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra' in JBBRAS, New series, vol. 1 and 2 for 1925 (pp. 95–102).

We must now turn to the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra itself. In relation to every śāstra there are what are called four *anubandhas* (indispensable elements) [1915] viz. *Viṣaya* (the subject to be treated of), *prayojana* (the purpose or object), *sambandha* (the relation of the śāstra to the prayojana) and *adhikārin* (the person entitled or competent to study the śāstra). The Ślokavārtika [1916] remarks 'as long as the purpose of any śāstra or of any undertaking (or act) whatever is not declared, so long no one will take it (i. e. study or do it).' Therefore, the very first sūtra of the PMS puts forward the subject (viṣaya) and the purpose of the śāstra (prayojana). [1917] That sūtra states 'next, therefore, (should be undertaken) the investigation and consideration of dharma'. The *sambandha* of this śāstra with the *prayojana* is that of *sādhya* (the object to be attained) and *sādhana* (the means of attaining) i. e. this śāstra is the means of attaining the knowledge of dharma. Therefore, as remarked by the Śāstra-

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(*Continued from last page*)

आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 11 for the first sentence and मनु III. 53 for 'आर्षे गोमिथुनं शुल्कम्'; on P. M. S. VI. 8. 18 शबर quotes यथैव स्मृतिः, धर्मे... नातिचरितव्येति, धर्मप्रजासंपन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीतेति च। एवमिदमपि स्मर्यत एव, अन्यतरापायेऽन्यां कुर्वीतेति।; आप. ध. (II. 5. 11. 12–13) has the two सूत्रs, धर्मप्रजा... कुर्वीत and अन्यत... कुर्वीत (with slight variations).

1915. The four अनुबन्धs in the case of the पूर्वमीमांसा may be briefly put as 'शास्त्रे धर्मादिर्विषयः, तदवबोधः प्रयोजनं, त्रैवर्णिकोऽधिकारी, विषयविषयिभावादयः सम्बन्धाः'.

1916. सर्वस्यैव हि शास्त्रस्य कर्मणो वापि कस्यचित्। यावत्प्रयोजनं नोक्तं तावत्तत्केन गृह्यते॥ श्लोकवा. (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) 12. q. by बालक्रीडा on या. I. 1. p. 2.

1917. अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासासूत्रमाद्यमिदं कृतम्। धर्माख्यं विषयं वक्तुं मीमांसायाः प्रयोजनम्॥ श्लोकवा. (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) v. 11. अथ means आनन्तर्य i. e. after the study of the Veda from a guru that has already taken place. The शास्त्रदीपिका says (p. 12) 'तत्सिद्धमध्ययनादनन्तरं धर्मजिज्ञासा कर्तव्येति। सा चतुर्विधा धर्मस्वरूप-प्रमाण-साधन-फलैः।'. The न्यायरत्नाकर comments on verse 18 (of प्रतिज्ञासूत्र) 'योयं पूर्वोक्तेन प्रयोजनेन सह शास्त्रस्य साध्यसाधनसम्बन्धः स एव शास्त्रारम्भहेतुः.' Compare the well-known maxim 'प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते' found in श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप-परिहार v. 55). Writers of the Prābhākara School hold that the word dharma in P. M. S. I. 1. 2 means 'Vedārtha'. Vide Ṛjuvimalā-pañcikā on Bṛhatī (p. 20) 'चोदनासूत्रेण चोदनालक्षणः कार्यरूप एव वेदार्थः, न सिद्धरूप इति प्रतिज्ञातम्। तदनेन भाष्येण व्याख्यायते। धर्मशब्दश्च वेदार्थमात्रपरः।'.

dīpikā (on P. M. S. II. 1. 1), the proper subject of this śāstra is Dharma and not the meaning of the Veda (tasmād dharma ityeva śāstraviṣayo na vedārtha iti). The *adhikārin* is one who has studied the Veda or a part of it from a guru and is treated of at length in the 6th chapter of the P. M. S.

The Mīmāṁsāsūtra does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters on understanding the meaning of it. Here the Smṛtis come to one's help. Gautama II. 51–53 prescribes several options viz. twelve years for one Veda or 12 years for each of the four vedas or so long as he can commit to memory (one Veda). Manu III. 1–2 are similar viz. one should study vedas for 36 years under a guru or for 18 years or nine years or for as many years as would be required for committing Veda to memory and they permit the option of studying the three Vedas or two Vedas or one Veda. Yāj. I. 36 remarks that Vedic studenthood lasts 12 years for each Veda or five (for each Veda) or some sages say for as many years as the student would require to master (one Veda or more). But even these prescriptions must have been rather a tall order for many brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Further, the Mīmāṁsā requires that not only should a person of the three *varṇas* (classes) study the Veda but he must also engage in understanding its meaning. On PMS I. 1. 1 Śabara states that the venerable Yājñikas do not [1918] declare that rewards result from the mere study (memorizing) of the Veda and that where the Vedic texts appear to assign a reward for the mere memorizing of Veda they are merely arthavādas (intended only to praise Veda study), as in Tai. Ār. II. 15 which states[1919] 'whatever (vedic texts about a) sacrifice he memorizes the result is that he, as it were actually performs that, and he secures absorption into (or communion with) Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya. The Tai. Up. I. 9 attaches the greatest importance to *svādhyāya* (memorizing the Veda) and *pravacana* (teaching it or expounding it) and after stating the views of two sages cites the view of Nāka Maudgalya that svādhyāya and pravacana are the most important to be resorted to or striven for, though ṛta, satya, dama, śama, agnihotra, hospitality and others may be combined with them, the reason

1918. न च तस्याध्ययनमात्रात्तत्रभवन्तो याज्ञिकाः फलं समामनन्ति। शबर on I. 1. 1.

1919. तस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यो यं यं क्रतुमधीते तेन तेनास्येष्टं भवत्यग्नेर्वायोरादित्यस्य सायुज्यं गच्छति। तै. आ. II. 15; ऋतं च स्वाध्यायप्रवचने च ... सत्यमिति सत्यवचा राथीतरः। तप इति तपोनित्यः पौरुशिष्टिः। स्वाध्यायप्रवचने एवेति नाको मौद्गल्यः। तद्धि तपः तद्धि तपः। तै. उ. I. 9.

being that those two constitute *tapas*. The PMS in III. 8. 18 (jñāte ca vācanam na hy-avidvān vihitosti) provides that only *he who knows the Veda has adhikāra for performing sacrifices*. Śabara[1920] raises the question how much of the Veda must a man know in order to be entitled to perform a vedic sacrifice and replies that he must have memorized as much of the veda as would enable him to carry to its completion the vedic sacrifice undertaken by him. The Tantravārtika on the same sūtra adds that the whole veda is to be studied during the period of studenthood, but if anyone is unable to memorize the whole veda, but somehow only the portion on Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsa, then it cannot be said that he has no adhikāra for performing those two. To memorize the Veda and also to study its meaning was a formidable task. Many verses of the Veda had a threefold application with reference to sacrifices (adhiyajña), with reference to the deities (adhidaivata or adhidaiva) and adhyātma (with reference to the spiritual or metaphysical meaning). Vide Nir. III. 12 (where Ṛg. I. 164. 21 is explained in two ways, adhidaivata and adhyātma), X. 26 (where Ṛg. X. 82. 2 is explained in two ways, adhidaivata and adhyātma), XI. 4 (where Ṛg. X. 85. 3 is explained in adhiyajña and adhidaivata ways), XII. 37 (where Vāj. S. 34. 55 is explained in the adhidaivata and adhyātma ways), XII. 38 (where Atharva X. 8. 9 is explained in adhidaivata and adhyātma ways). Manu (VI. 83) lays down the *japa* (muttering) of Veda of the adhiyajña, ādhidaivika and ādhyātmika types. Manu I. 23 and Vedāṅga-jyotiṣa say that the mantras of the three vedas were drawn from Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya for the carrying out of yajñas. Viśva-rūpa on Yāj. I. 51[1921] explains the words 'vedam vratāni vā pāram nītvā' as memorizing the Veda and completely understanding its meaning and not merely memorizing it. Dakṣa says that Vedābhyāsa (study of the Veda) comprehends five[1922]

1920. न ह्यविद्वान् विहितोऽस्ति। यो ह्यविद्वाक्सावधिकृतः सामर्थ्याभावात्। ... कियता पुनर्विदितेन विद्वानधिक्रियत इति। यावता विदितेन शक्तो भवति यथोक्तं क्रतुमभिनिर्वर्तयितुं तावद्यो वेद स तेन क्रतुनाधिक्रियते।... सर्वे क्रतवः कथं ज्ञायेरन् पृथक् पृथगिति कृत्स्नस्य वेदस्याध्ययनं श्रूयते। शबर on पू. मी. सू. III. 8. 18; अवश्यं ब्रह्मचर्यकाल एव समस्तो वेदोऽध्येतव्यः। यदि तु कश्चिदशक्तो नाधीते सकलम्, अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासमात्रं कथंचिदधिगच्छति न तत्र तस्यानधिकारः। तन्त्रवा. p. 1122 on same sūtra.

1921. वेदस्य पारनयनमर्थतो ग्रन्थतश्च स्वीकरण न ग्रन्थत एव। विश्वरूप on या I. 51.

1922. वेदस्वीकरणं पूर्वं विचारोऽम्यसनं जपः। तदानं चैव शिष्येभ्यो वेदाभ्यासो हि पञ्चधा॥ दक्षस्मृ. II. 34, q. by मिता० on या. III. 310 (without name), अपरार्क p. 126 on या. I. 99 (from दक्ष).

matters viz. first memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, *japa* and imparting it to pupils. These were ideals attained by a few persons only, while most brāhmaṇas generally rested content with memoriznig one Veda or a portion of it.

The Pūrvamīmāṁsāśāstra is the most extensive of all the *darśanas*.[1923] Śāstra is that which regulates and declares (human) activities and abstentions by means of eternal words (Veda) or by works composed by men.[1924] And it has about 2700 sūtras and over 900 adhikaraṇas (called *nyāyas* or conclusions on topics for discussion). Some sūtras are often repeated such as 'Liṅgadarśanāc-ca' (which occurs about 30 times) and 'tathā cānyārthadarśanam' (that occurs about 24 times). An adhikaraṇa is described as having five constituents, viz. (1) the topic for discussion, (2) the doubt about it, (3) the *prima facie* view, (4) the refutation of the prima facie view, (5) the final conclusion.[1925] A sūtra (aphorism) should be concise[1926] (contain a few letters), but clear in its meaning, substantial, of wide application (lit. facing all directions), should be without pauses or interjected letters and should be faultless. A bhāṣya is that which sets out the meaning of the sūtra in sentences that follow the words of the sūtra and that makes its own contribution (to the elucidation of the subject of the sūtra), while a vārtika is one that considers what is stated in the sūtra, or what

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1923. The Darśanas are many, as appears from the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह of माधवाचार्य, but the orthodox and famous darśanas are six and run in pairs, viz. न्याय and वैशेषिक, सांख्य and योग, पूर्वमीमांसा and उत्तरमीमांसा. In I. A. vol. 45 pp. 1-6 and 17-26, it is stated that the सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह was not composed by माधवाचार्य who became later on Vidyāraṇya, but was composed by a nephew of माधवाचार्य, who was a son of सायण (at pp. 22 ff.)

1924. प्रवृत्तिर्वा निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन वा। शासनाच्छंसनाच्चैव शास्त्रमित्यभिधीयते॥ भामती on वे. सू. I. 1. 3, which is quoted by परा. मा. II. 2 p 288 as from a पुराण. The first half is श्लोकवा. (शब्दपरिच्छेद v. 4).

1925. विषयो विशयश्चैव पूर्वपक्षस्तथोत्तरम्। निर्णयश्चेति पञ्चाङ्गं शास्त्रेधिकरणं स्मृतम्॥ q. by तिथितत्त्व p. 92, अधिकरणकौमुदी of रामकृष्ण (Chowkhamba series), सर्वदर्शनकौमुदी p. 89 (T. S. S.). Some read निर्णयश्चेति सिद्धान्तः, others like माधवाचार्य set out the five as विषय, विशय (or सन्देह), सङ्गति, पूर्वपक्ष and सिद्धान्त.

1926. अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम्। अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः। (पञ्चपादिका of पद्मपाद p. 82, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 33. 58, वायु 59. 142, युक्तिदीपिका p. 3 which explains अस्तोभं as अपुनरुक्तं). The पञ्चपादिका quotes this verse as from पौराणिकs and remarks 'सर्वतोमुखमिति नानार्थतामाह' and the com. says 'अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यमिति न्यायस्य सूत्राण्यविषयत्वात् न वाक्यभेदः'.

is omitted or what is not well stated.[1927] The Kāvya-mīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara defines the words sūtra, bhāṣya, vṛtti, ṭīkā, kārikā &c. in chap. II.

Having declared in the first sūtra that after a person has studied the Veda and because he has done so, PMS proceeds to say that he should start on the consideration of what dharma[1928] is. The 2nd sūtra, therefore, defines 'dharma as an act conducive to a man's highest good, that is characterized by an exhortative (vedic) text.' Śabara explains that 'codanā' means a sentence that urges or exhorts a person to do an act. So this conveys that the means of knowledge (pramāṇa) as regards dharma are vedic sentences and it also means that what is characterized or indicated by *codanā* is dharma i. e. the nature (svarūpa) of Dharma is made manifest. The word 'artha' is put in to exclude acts (from being designated dharma) that may be mentioned in the veda but the result of doing which is evil, such as the sentence 'one practising black magic (to harm a person) may perform the *Śyena* sacrifice.' This is not dharma, but adharma, since the practice of black magic is condemned as sinful. This vedic sentence does not say that one should inflict injury, it only says that śyenayāga brings about injury and if one desires to inflict injury, śyena is the means.[1929] The Ślokavārtika remarks that the words, 'codanā', 'upadeśa' and 'vidhi' are synonyms according to

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1927. सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र वाक्यैः सूत्रानुसारिभिः। स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः।. भामती on ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 1. 1 quotes a verse 'लघूनि सूचितार्थानि स्वल्पाक्षरपदानि च। सर्वतः सारभूतानि सूत्राण्याहुर्मनीषिणः॥' q. by युक्तिदीपिका p. 3; उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ताकरं वार्तिकम्। आनन्दागिरि on बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्भाष्यवार्तिक p. 7 quotes a verse 'उक्तानुक्तद्विरुक्तादिचिन्ता यत्र प्रवर्तते। तं ग्रन्थं वार्तिकं प्राहुर्वार्तिकज्ञा मनीषिणः।' Should we read दुरुक्तादि for द्विरुक्तादि?

1928. शबर says 'एवमधीतो वेदो धर्मजिज्ञासायां हेतुर्ज्ञातः, अनन्तरं धर्मो जिज्ञासितव्य इत्यतःशब्दस्य सामर्थ्यम्।; the न्या. र. says एतदुक्तं भवति। वेदाध्ययनादनन्तरमस्य एवाधीतवेदत्वारकारणात् तदर्थं धर्मजिज्ञासा कर्तव्येति' (on v. 112 of प्रतिज्ञासूत्र of श्लोकवा०).

1929. तस्माच्चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थः श्रेयस्करः। ... य एव श्रेयस्करः स धर्मशब्देनोच्यते। उभयमिह चोदनया लक्ष्यते अर्थोऽनर्थश्चेति। कोऽर्थः, यो निःश्रेयसाय ज्योतिष्टोमादिः। कोऽनर्थः, यः प्रत्यवायाय श्येनो वज्र इषुरित्येवमादिः। तत्र अनर्थो धर्म उक्तो मा भूदिति अर्थग्रहणम्। कथं पुनरसावनर्थः। हिंसा हि सा हिंसा च प्रतिषिद्धेति। ... नैव श्येनाद्यः कर्तव्या विज्ञायन्ते। यो हि हिंसितुमिच्छेत् तस्यायमभ्युपाय इति तेषामुपदेशः। श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत इति हि समामनन्ति, न 'अभिचरितव्यम्' इति। शबर on I. 1. 2 at end. Vide पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 5 and III. 8. 36–38 for श्येनयाग which is a modification of ज्योतिष्टोम and पू. मी. सू. VII. 1. 13–16 for इषुयाग, where on VII. 1. 13 शबर quotes आप. श्रौ. 22. 7. 18 'समानमितरच्छ्येनेन.'

Śabāra, the bhāṣyakāra. The word 'vidhi' is often translated as injunction (i. e. an authoritative order) but in common parlance 'injunction' means 'restraining a person from doing something.' Therefore, the word, 'codanā' or 'vidhi' has often been translated in these pages as 'exhortatory passage or exhortation.' The result is that dharma means a religious act (a yāga) which confers highest good. In Rg. X. 90. 16 'yajña' is spoken of as the first (or ancient) dharma (yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāṇi prathamānyāsan) and Śabara (in the bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 1. 2) quotes this verse for the proposition that the Veda expressly says that dharma means 'yāga'. That Vedas have been promulgated for yajña is stated by the Vedāṅgajyotisa [1930] verse 3 (Vedā hi yajñārthamabhipravṛttāḥ). Medieval Dharmaśāstra writers like the Mitāksarā (on Yāj. II. 135), Dāyatattva (p. 172), Vy. M. (p. 157) quote a verse ascribed to Devala or Kātyāyana, which provides that all wealth is created for sacrifices, that, therefore, one should expend it on purposes of dharma and not on women, fools and irreligious people [1931] (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 609 n. 1155 for further passages of similar import and their application).

Śabara introduces the 2nd sūtra by saying that what is to be investigated and understood is what dharma is (i.e. what is its nature-svarūpa), what are its characteristics, what are the means of attaining it, what are deceptive (wrong) means of attaining it and what does it lead to (what the fruit or reward of knowing it is) and replies that the second sūtra explains the first two of these (viz. what dharma is and what its characteristics are [1932]).

1930. चोदना चोपदेशश्च विधिश्चैकार्थवादिनः। श्लोकवा. on औत्पत्तिकसूत्र v. 11, on which the काशिका remarks 'तत्र चोदना विधिपदपर्यायः शब्दविशेषो भाष्यकारस्याभिमत इत्याह चोदनेति। एतदुक्तं भवति — विधायकशब्द उपदेश इति.'

1931. यज्ञार्थं विहितं वित्तं तस्मात्तद् विनियोजयेत्। स्थानेषु धर्मजुष्टेषु न स्त्रीमूर्खविधर्मिषु॥ The मिता. on या. II. 135 strenuously opposes the proposition contained in this verse.

1932. स पुनः कथं जिज्ञासितव्यः। को धर्मः कथंलक्षणः। काऽस्य साधनानि कानि साधनाभासानि किंपरश्चेति। तत्र को धर्मः कथंलक्षण इति एकेनैव सूत्रेण व्याख्यातम्... चोदनालक्षणो धर्मः इति। ... चोदना इति क्रियायाः प्रवर्तकं वचनमाहुः। आचार्यचोदितः करोमीति हि दृश्यते। लक्ष्यते येन तल्लक्षणम्। धूमो लक्षणमग्नेरिति हि वदन्ति। तया यो लक्ष्यते सोऽर्थः पुरुषं निःश्रेयसेन संयुनक्तीति प्रतिजानीमहे। शाबरभाष्य on I. 1. 2; again on II. 1. 1 'चोदना च क्रियाया अभिधायकं वाक्यं वाक्ये च पदानामर्थाः।'; श्लोकवा. 'तेन प्रवर्तकं वाक्यं शास्त्रेऽस्मिंश्चोदनोच्यते' चोदनासूत्र v. 3); तत्र यो धर्मः इत्युद्दिश्य स चोदनालक्षणश्चोदनाप्रमाण इति प्रमाणवचन इति प्रमाणवचनव्यक्तिः। यश्चोदनालक्षण इत्युद्दिश्य स धर्म इति स्वरूपवचनव्यक्तिः।

That is, 'codanās' (vedic hortatory texts) are the pramāṇa (means of knowledge) about dharma and whatever is laid down by hortatory vedic texts is dharma (i. e. Dharmasvarūpa). The relation of Dharma to the Veda and the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-śāstra is clearly and succinctly brought out in a verse of Kumārila himself as follows: [1933] "When discussion about the correct knowledge of Dharma is being carried on, Veda being the means of such knowledge, mīmāṁsā will supply complete information about the subject of the procedure or method.' Just as even if a man has good sight he cannot perceive anything unless there is light, so unless a man knows the methods laid down by PMS he cannot correctly judge what Dharma is. Jaimini then examines the means of knowledge (pramāṇas) and holds that except *śabda* (i. e. the Veda) there is no means of knowledge about Dharma. One cannot perceive directly what Dharma is i. e. Dharma is not *pratyakṣa*. All the other pramāṇas except śabda are based on pratyakṣa and therefore they cannot define or explain what Dharma is. According to Kumārila there are six pramāṇas, pratyakṣa (direct perception), anumāna (inference), upamāna (analogy), śabda, arthāpatti and abhāva (non-existence). Prabhākara does not accept the last as a pramāṇa.

The subjects of the twelve chapters of the PMS are stated in the J. N. M. V. to be respectively: (1st chapter) *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge; (2nd) *bheda* (six grounds on which religious rites are distinguished from each other and the distinctions of rites as principal and subsidiary); (3) Śeṣa (the meaning of śeṣa being 'ancillary or what subserves another that is called *śeṣin* or what is helpful to another'), how it is employed and the relative strength of śruti, liṅga, vākya, prakaraṇa, sthāna and samākhyā; (4) *prayukti* (what is obligatory and what is addressed to the performer's conscience i. e. what is *kratvartha* and what is *puruṣārtha*); (5) Krama (principles of settling the order or sequence depending on śruti &c.); (6) adhikāra (persons entitled to perform yāga); (7) sāmānyātideśa (extension of items in the model yāga to its modifications); (8) Viśeṣātideśa (extension of items to individual rites); (9) ūha (adaptation of mantras and saṁskāras); (10) bādha

1933. धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे हि वेदेन करणात्मना। इतिकर्तव्यताभागं मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति॥ बृहट्टीका (of कुमारिल) q. by तन्त्ररहस्य (G. O. S., 1956, p. 36). This verse is introduced with the following lucid remarks 'वेदवाक्यार्थसंशये सति तन्निर्णयौपयिकन्यायनिबन्धनं हि शास्त्रं मीमांसा। ...सा च करणीभूतस्य वेदस्येतिकर्तव्यता। यथा चक्षुष आलोकः। यथा वानुमानस्य व्याप्तिस्मरणम्। यथा वोपमानस्य सादृश्यम्। यथा वा अर्थापत्तेः सन्देहापत्तिः।'.

(omitting certain items or details in modifications of model yāgas; (11) *tantra* (one item being useful and enough for several acts or persons); (12) *prasaṅga* (extension of application). In the four pādas of the first adhyāya four matters are respectively dealt with viz. vidhi (hortatory texts), arthavāda (laudatory or explanatory passages including mantras), smṛtis (including customs and usages) and names (of rites, such as *udbhid, citrā*). Śabara himself gives a summary [1934] of the first chapter of PMS as follows; viz. the pramāṇas; principles of the conclusions about vidhi, arthavāda, mantra and smrtis, examination of guṇavidhi (texts laying down some subsidiary or accessory matter as in 'dadhnā juhoti', where curds are prescribed as offering) and nāmadheya; the determination of doubtful matters by the help of the remainder of a passage or by the *sāmarthya* (the suitability of things for the actions prescribed). It is unnecessary for the purpose of this section to furnish here a summary of the contents of the other chapters of the PMS. For a tolerably full summary of the contents of the twelve chapters of the PMS the reader is referred to the author's paper 'a brief sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system' in ABORI, vol. VI. pp. 6-12. At the beginning of each chapter Śabara summarizes what he dealt with in the preceding chapter and sets out the principal topics of that chapter.

The P. M. S. itself is of enormous extent and it has been overlaid with commentaries and with numerous commentaries on commentaries. Even before Śabara there was a commentator described as Vṛttikāra, [1935] who is mentioned in several places

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1934. प्रथमेऽध्याये प्रमाणलक्षणं वृत्तम्। तत्र विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रस्मृतयस्तत्त्वतो निर्णीताः। गुणविधिर्नामधेयं परीक्षितम्। सन्दिग्धानामर्थानां वाक्यशेषादर्थाच्चाध्यवसानमुक्तम्। शबर at the beginning of II. 1. 1. The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains तत्त्वतः in the above as follows 'विध्यादितत्त्वनिर्णीतिः प्रमाणेनैव स्थिता। समस्तो हि प्रथमः पादश्चोदनासूत्रपरिकरः। ... श्रुतिमूलत्वं विज्ञानस्य स्मृतिप्रामाण्ये तत्त्वम्। नामधेयस्य चोदनान्तर्गतत्वात्प्रमाणत्वम्। सन्दिग्धनिर्णये वाक्यशेषसामर्थ्ययोः प्रामाण्यमित्येवं समस्तमध्यायं प्रमाणलक्षणमाचक्षते।'. As the P. M. S. is divided into twelve chapters it is called द्वादशलक्षणी.

1935. Śabara expressly mentions (Bhagavān) Upavarṣa (on I. 1. 5) as to what is 'śabda', while Rāmānuja says (note 1886 above) that Bodhāyana composed a bhāṣya on both P. M. S and V. S. There are controversies about Vṛttikāra, Upavarṣa and Bodhāyana. Vide M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami in Pro. of 3rd All India O. Con. pp. 465-468 and Pandit V. A. Ramaswami in I. H. Q, vol. X. pp. 431-433 for identity of Vṛttikāra and Upavarṣa, while Dr. S. K. Iyengar in 'Maṇimekalai in its historic setting' p. 189 and

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by Śabara (sometimes with great respect) viz. on II. 1. 32 and 33, II. 2. 26, II. 3. 16, III. 1. 6 ('atra bhagavān Vṛttikāraḥ'), VIII. 1. 1. ('vṛttikāraiḥ' in the plural), X. 4. 23. On P. M. S. I. 1. 3–5, II. 1, 33, VII. 2. 6 Śabara differs from Vṛttikāra. The earliest extant commentary on the P. M. S. is the bhāṣya of Śabara. Śabara quotes many verses concerning PMS matters and a few also on other topics. Verses quoted on PMS matters are found on II. 1. 32 (one on p. 434 and another on p. 435), II. 1. 33 (p. 436, two verses),[1936] II. 2 1 (p. 462, two verses on adṛṣṭārtha), on IV. 3. 3 (one verse on p. 1247), IV. 4. 21 (p. 1279 a verse on piṇḍapitṛyajña), IV. 4. 24 (p. 1280 an Āryā verse on the girdle of sacrificial post), IV. 4. 28 (p. 1281 about 'svaru'), V. 2. 23 (p. 1319, same verse on XII. 2. 30 p. 2251), VII. 1. 12 (p. 1534 definition of *atideśa*), X. 4. 20 (p. 1924 one verse), XI. 1. 1 (p. 2096 on *tantra* and *prasaṅga*), XII. 3. 20 (p. 2262 on bhāsika-svara). All these verses are apparently quoted by Śabara from some work or commentary on the PMS or on Pūrvamīmāṁsā, one or two probably from some Śrautasūtra and one or two may be his own composition.

Many glosses on PMS composed by writers of the 10th and following centuries are extant, of which 22 are referred to on p. 166 of vol. VI. of the Sarasvatībhavana Studies (Benares) by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja in his paper on the 'Mīmāṁsā Mss. in the Government Sanskrit Library at Benares' (pp. 165–196). On Śabara's bhāṣya there were numerous commentaries as is

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the present author in JBBRAS for 1921 pp. 83–98 at p. 84, hold that Vṛttikāra and Upavarṣa are different. M. M. Kuppuswami Sastry (in Pro. of 3rd O. Conference pp. 465–468) holds Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa identical. Śaṅkarācārya twice names Upavarṣa with great respect (as bhagavān) on VS I. 3. 28 and III. 3. 53, but he nowhere mentions Bodhāyana to whose extensive commentary Rāmānuja refers at the beginning of his bhāṣya on VS. Vide J. I. H. Madras, vol. VII. pp. 107–115 on Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa and V. A. Ramaswami Sastry's Intro. to the Tattvabindu pp. 14–18 (1936). Vide I. H. Q. vol. X. pp. 431–452 on 'Vṛttikāras of Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra.'

1936. It is remarkable that the two verses about the ten topics dealt with by Brāhmaṇas (on P. M. S. II. 1. 33) occur also in the Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa II. 33. 47–48. In शबर they are: हेतुर्निर्वचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः। परक्रिया पुराकल्पो व्यवधारणकल्पना॥ उपमानं दर्शनं तु विधयो ब्राह्मणस्य तु॥ एतत्स्यात् सर्ववेदेषु नियतं विधिलक्षणम्॥. There are a few variants in the ब्रह्माण्ड. The verse about विधिलक्षण on IV. 3. 3 is introduced with the words एवं हि पदवाक्यार्थन्यायविदः श्लोकमामनन्ति-कुर्यात्क्रियेत॰.

clearly indicated by the Ślokavārtika that says that the very first sentence[1937] of Śabara's bhāsya was interpreted in six different ways before it by commentators and by the Tantravārtika that the bhāsyakāra did not notice six sūtras after the 'nivītādhikaraṇa' (III. 4. 1-9) and that commentators differed in their reasons for the omission, but all commentators other than Śabara did explain those six sūtras.[1938] None of the commentaries composed before Kumārila is now available.

.Kumārila wrote the Ślokavārtika on Śabara's bhāsya on P. M. S. I. 1 (in about 4000 verses) and the voluminous Tantravārtika on I. 2 to the end of chap. III of PMS and the Ṭup-ṭīkā on P. M. S. IV–XII (stray notes, not a regular commentary). Kumārila is credited with having composed two more commentaries, 'Madhyama-ṭīkā' and 'Bṛhat ṭīkā' on P. M S.[1939] The latter has been referred to by the Nyāyaratnākara[1940] and the Nyāyasudhā on Tantravārtika quotes several verses from it (on pp. 201, 329–30, 393) and the Jaiminīya-sūtrārthasangraha of Ṛsiputra Parameśvara quotes Bṛhat-ṭīkā several times. On the Ślokavārtika two commentaries have so far been published viz. the Nyāyaratnākara of Pārthasārathi and the Kāśikā of Sucaritamiśra (in T. S. S.). In the Introduction to his English translation of the Tantravārtika, M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha notices eight commentaries on the Tantravārtika of which the Nyāyasudhā or Rāṇaka of Someśvara (published in Chowkhamba Series) is a very exhaustive one, the others being in Ms. The

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1937. लोक इत्यादि भाष्यस्य षडर्थान्संप्रचक्षते। भाष्यकारानुसारेण प्रयुक्तस्यादितः पृथक्॥ श्लोकवा. (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र, verse 26)

1938. अतः परं यद् सूत्राणि भाष्यकारेण न लिखितानि तत्र व्याख्यातारो विवदन्ते। केचिदाहुर्विस्मृतानि। लिखितो ग्रन्थः प्रलीन इत्यपरे। फलश्रुत्वाद्युपेक्षितानीत्यन्ये। अनार्षेयत्वादित्यपरे। ... वृत्त्यन्तरकारैस्तु सर्वैर्व्याख्यातानि। सन्ति च जैमिनेरयंप्रकाराण्यप्यनल्पानल्पसारभूतानि सूत्राणि। तन्त्रवा. after III. 4. 9 p. 895.

1939. Vide 'Kumārila and the Bṛhaṭ-ṭīkā' by K. S. Ramasvami Sastri and A. Sankaran in Pro. of 3rd All India O. Conf. pp. 523–529 where on p. 526 the Sarvadarśanakaumudī of Mādhava-bhāratī is quoted as cataloguing all the five works of Kumārila and *ibid.* p. 475 where Prof. Kuppuswami cites the same Sarvadarśanakaumudī.

1940. तामभावोत्थितामन्यामर्थापत्तिमुदाहरेत्। पक्षदोषेषु चान्यासासुदाहरणविस्तरः॥ श्लोकवा. (अर्थापत्तिपरिच्छेद v. 9), on which न्यायर. remarks "अर्थापत्यन्तराणामप्युदाहरणप्रपञ्चः पक्षदोषावसरे 'श्रोत्रादिनास्तितायामित्यादिना बृहट्टीकायां दर्शित इत्याह पक्षदोषेष्विति".

Ṭuptīkā [1941] has some regular commentaries but none is published. The Tantraratna of Pārthasārathimiśra deals at some length with the same chapters of P. M. S. (published partly in Prince of Wales, Sarasvatibhavana S.). On Śabara's bhāṣya Prabhākara wrote a commentary called Bṛhatī, a portion of which on the Tarkapāda (PMS I. 1) with the commentary Ṛjuvimalāpañcikā of Śālikanāthamiśra has been edited by Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and published by the Madras University (1934). The Śāstra-dīpikā of Pārthasārathi is not a regular commentary on the P. M. S. but it is a classic work on the P. M. S. and follows the views of Kumārila. Another very useful work is the Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistāra [1942] of Mādhavācārya (published by Anan. Press, Poona) that gives summaries in verse of the *adhikaraṇas* of the PMS with brief prose comments and also points out some of the differences of Prabhākara (called 'guru' by Śālikanātha and others) from Kumārila (in all about 15 points of difference being noted between the two as regards the first chapter of the PMS and three in the 2nd chapter). Śālikanātha wrote an independent work called Prakaraṇapañcikā (published in the Chowkhamba S. S.). There is another work of Prabhākara's school called Nayaviveka of Bhavanātha or Bhavadeva (ed. by Pandit S. K. Ramanath Sastri and published by the Madras University in 1937). This Bhavanātha is eulogised in the Madanaratnapradīpa on Vyavahāra (pp. 324–325, published by the Anup S. Library, Bikaner, 1948) as the sun to the lotus of Prabhākara's doctrine. The Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya (2nd ed. published in G. O. S, 1956) composed about 1750 A. D. is the last noted work of the Prābhākara School and this work furnishes some useful information about the works of Prabhākara and the commentaries thereon by Śālikanātha. A verse in the Prabodhacandrodaya (Act II) after referring to Guru, Kumārila

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1941. It is difficult to explain the name टुप्टीका. It is explained as an abridged form of अनुष्टुप्टीका or टुप् is an indeclinable in the sense of 'small' 'टुप् इत्यल्पार्थेऽव्ययम्.'

1942. The जै. न्या. मा. वि. verse 9 says: सर्वथापि सहस्रे द्वे नातिक्रामति संग्रहः, and it is remarked सर्वथापि सहस्रन्यायसंग्रहरूपो ग्रन्थः श्लोकसहस्रद्वयपूर्तेरवगिव समाप्यते न तु सहस्रद्वयमतिक्रामति'. This works puts down the number of अधिकरणs in पू. मी. सू. at 1000, while some other works say there are only 915 adhikaraṇas. The मीमांसासारसंग्रह of शङ्करभट्ट (pub. by Haridas Gupta at Benares in 1904) gives the summary of 1000 adhikaraṇas in 250 verses, the concluding verse being आचार्यैरधिकरणान्युक्तानि सहस्रसंख्यानि। तस्सिद्धान्तान्यादै-स्तत्संख्यैर्भट्टशङ्करोऽवच्मात्॥'.

(or Tautātita), Śālikanātha and Vācaspati refers to Mahodadhi and Māhāvratī (work of Mahāvrata), the last two being mentioned in the Nayaviveka (pp 271, 273 respectively).

Prabhākara differed from Kumārila on numerous points.[1943] The divergence starts from the very first sūtra of the P. M. S. (as the note below will show[1944]). Prabhākara is called guru' by Śālikanātha in many places in the Prakaraṇapañcikā (vide first Intro. verse and pp. 17, 32 &c.). There is a very great divergence of views about the relative chronological position of Kumārila and Prabhākara. Vide 'the Prābhākara School' (1911) by M. M. Ganganath Jha, A. B. Keith's 'Karmamīmāṁsā' (1921) pp 9–11, Pro. of 2nd All India O. Conf. pp. 408–412 and Pro. of 3rd All I. O. Conference pp. 474–481 (both by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri), J. O. R. Madras, vol. I pp. 131–144 and 203–210. The fundamental question is whether Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara or only a later follower. From several considerations the present writer holds that Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara. Śālikanātha not only speaks of Prabhākaraguru,

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1943. Vide Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. II. pp. 309–335 for collection in Sanskrit of the points of difference between Prabhākara and Kumārila (called Bhaṭṭa), particularly pp. 331–335 for a table of the points of difference. Vide also Intro. to Tattvabindu by Pandit V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, 1936, pp. 37–40 for a few important points on which the two differ.

1944. According to the Bhāṭṭa school, the 'viṣayavākya' of PMS I. 1. 1 is स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः in शतपथ XI. 5. 6 3 and तै. आ. II. 15. 1 (एतस्मात्स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यो यं यं क्रतुमधीते तेन तेनास्येष्टं भवतीति). According to the प्राभाकर school the viṣayavākya is अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत तमध्यापयीत, the idea in this latter case being that study of Veda (Vedādhyayana) is only an aṅga (a subsidiary matter) of the *vidhi* to teach a student the Veda after his upanayana. The objections of the Prābhākara school against the viṣayavākya 'svādhyāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ' are that it has a seen fruit or reward and that when a seen fruit can be found it is improper to suppose that there is an unseen reward. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p, 837 n. 1628 where several passages from Śabara and others are cited about this maxim. The एकादशीतत्त्व (pp. 88-89 on मन्त्र) after quoting P. M. S. III. 2. 1 winds up 'इति दृष्टार्थसम्पत्तौ नादृष्टमिह कल्प्यते इति'. I have not been able to find from what *Vedic* work the sentence 'अष्टवर्षं...पयीत' is taken. It seems that the view that this passage contains a vidhi about teaching the Veda is only an inference from passages like Manu II. 140, III. 2, and Gautama I. 10–11. The प्रकरणपञ्चिका (on p. 6) admits this: कः पुनराचार्यकरणविधिः, 'उपनीय ... प्रचक्षते' (मनु 2. 140) इति स्मरणानुमितः. According to this उपनयन is only an aṅga of the अध्यापनविधि. On p. 225 of the पञ्चपादिका of पद्मपाद (published with two commentaries in the Govt. Oriental Series, Madras, 1958) there is a scathing criticism of this विधिवाक्य (अष्टवर्षं ... पयीत).

but in one place states 'our teacher does not tolerate this'.[1945] Śālikanātha in his Prakaraṇapañcikā quotes several verses of the Ślokavārtika (e. g. on p. 5 he quotes and criticizes verse 11 of Ślokavārtika quoted in n. 1916 above, on p. 122 quotes Ślokavārtika v. 28 of abhāva-pariccheda and on p. 114 verse 21 of arthāpatti-pariccheda). Maṇḍanamiśra wrote several works on PM viz. Vidhi-viveka (published at Benares with Nyāyakaṇikā of Vācaspati), Bhāvanāviveka (with com. of Umbeka, edited in S. B. series), Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṁsānukramaṇī (Chow. S. S.). The Śāstradīpikā (on PMS II. 1. 1) cites Maṇḍana's explanation of Kumārila's verse [1916]. Therefore, Maṇḍana is later than Kumārila or was a younger contemporary of Kumārila and flourished about 690 to 710 A. D. Śālikanātha quotes Vidhiviveka of Maṇḍana (pp. 243, 302) in Prakaraṇapañcikā p. 178 and Brahmasiddhi in Ṛjuvimalā (p. 20). Moreover, Śāntarakṣita in his Tattvasaṅgraha (GOS) frequently criticizes the kārikās of Kumārila (without naming him) and his pupil Kamalaśīla names Kumārila many times. Śāntarakṣita does not name or quote Prabhākara. He flourished between 705–762 A. D. (vide Foreword to Tattvasaṅgraha p XVI, GOS). Therefore, Kumārila must be placed about 650–700 A. D. As Śālikanātha quotes the Ślokavārtika and Maṇḍana's works he would have to be placed between 750–800 A. D. If Śālikanātha was a direct pupil of Prabhākara it follows that the latter (who appears to be unknown to Śāntarakṣita, should have been a contemporary (i. e. should be held to have flourished nearly between 700–760 A. D. or a little later) and was later than Kumārila. There is a tradition that Prabhākara was a pupil of Kumārila. Traditions (such as of

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1945. यच्च बह्वीषु ज्वालास्वेकवर्तिवर्तिनीषु ज्वालात्वं सामान्यं प्रत्यभिज्ञागोचरः कैश्चिदिष्यते तदपि गुरुरस्माकं न सृष्यति। प्रकरण॰ p. 31. He would have said simply 'गुरुर्न सृष्यति' if he were a later follower and not a pupil.

1946. शास्त्रदीपिका on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 2 (p. 101) says: उक्तं ह्येतदाचार्यैः। धात्वर्थव्यतिरेकेण ... गम्यते॥'. This is तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 382; then शास्त्रदीपिका proceeds: विचुतं चैतन्मण्डनेन 'कथ्यमानाद्रूप ... भावना किं प्रदुष्यति॥'. This is भावनाविवेक p. 80 (with slight variations). The भावनाविवेक on p. 61 quotes तथा क्रमव्रतोर्नित्यं ...प्रतीयते'. This occurs in तन्त्रवा. p. 381. The author regrets that M. M. Dr. Jha (in Intro. to 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources' p. 21) asserts, on the very slender basis of the above quoted words of the Śāstradīpikā, that Maṇḍana wrote a *commentary* on the Tantravārtika. M. M. Jha himself felt uneasy about his own sweeping assertion (p. 22 bottom), but he was not able to discover the verse of the Bhāvanāviveka referred to above.

the nine gems at the court of Vikramāditya) often arise without much evidence to support them; they should not, however, be summarily rejected but should be tested by other available evidence.

At one time Prabhākara appears to have occupied a very prominent position. The Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI (in 1098 A. D.) refers to the founding of a school for teaching Prabhākaras' system at Lakkigundi (vide E. I. vol. XV p. 348). This and the reference in the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. II. 114) to the views of Guru on[1947] the Lipsāsūtra (PMS. IV. 1. 2.) in the third alternative interpretation put on that sūtra, holding that the rules about the acquisition of wealth (in Gautama and other smṛtis) are *puruṣārtha* (addressed to the conscience of the performer of sacrifices) and not *kratvartha*, show the outstanding position that the Prābhākara school occupied in the 11th century A. D. in the Carnatic and Maratha countries. The Madanapārijāta, a north Indian work (1360–1390 A. D.), quotes a half verse of Guru[1948] (on p. 89). The Smṛticandrikā (on Vyavahāra p. 257), the Vīramitrodaya (on vyavahāra p. 523) and the V. M. (p. 89) refer to the Nayaviveka of Bhavanātha, almost the last outstanding work of the Prābhākara school. Gradually, the Prābhākara School lost ground and the Bhāṭṭa school of Kumārila has been most predominant for several centuries. The present writer holds that Prabhākara is later then Kumārila but he is not in a position to say from whom he borrowed his peculiar views or whether they were started by him for the first time (though this appears more plausible). Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri (in Intro. to Tantrarahasya, G. O. S., 2nd edition of 1956) holds that Prabhākara took his views from Bādari (p. XXV). The learned Pandit offers hardly any tangible evidence for his remark (on p. XIX of the Intro.) that Bīdari held views similar

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1947. नियतोपायकं स्वत्वं लोकसिद्धमेवेति न्यायविदो मन्यन्ते। तथा हि लिप्सासूत्रे तृतीये वर्णके द्रव्यार्जननियमानां क्रत्वर्थत्वे स्वत्वमेव न स्यात् स्वत्वस्यालौकिकत्वादिति पूर्वपक्षासम्भवमाशङ्क्य द्रव्यार्जनस्य प्रतिग्रहादिना स्वत्वसाधनत्वं लोकसिद्धमिति पूर्वपक्षः समर्थितो गुरुणा। ननु च द्रव्यार्जनस्य क्रत्वर्थत्वे स्वत्वमेव न भवतीति याग एव न संवर्तेत। मलपितमिदं केनापि अर्जनं स्वत्वं नापादयतीति विप्रतिषिद्धमिति वदता। तथा सिद्धान्तेपि स्वत्वस्य लौकिकत्वमङ्गीकृत्यैव विचारप्रयोजनमुक्तम् — 'अतो नियमातिक्रमः पुरुषस्य न क्रतोः' इति। मिता. on या. II. 114.

1948. न च निरपेक्षयोर्गुणयोर्मिथः सम्बन्धः। गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसम्बन्धः समत्वात्त्वात् — इति सूत्रकारवचनात्। कर्तुश्च शेषत्वमुपदिष्टं गुरुणा। अधिकारो हि यज्ञेषु कर्तुः शेषस्य चिन्त्यते। इति। मदनपारिजात p. 89. 'गुणानां...स्यात्' is पू. मी. सू. III. 1, 22.

to those of Bhartṛmitra who so interpreted the PMS as to make it atheistic. Bādari's views on Mīmāṁsā matters are quoted only four times in PMS viz. in III. 1. 3 (on what matters are *śeṣa*), VI. 1. 27 (that vedic sacrifices can be performed even by śūdras), VIII. 3. 6. (purely sacrificial matter about application of Ṣaḍaha procedure), IX. 3. 33. (about method of singing *sāman*, Bādari's view being accepted by Jaimini). In none of these does one find the slightest touch of Bhartṛmitra's atheistic tendencies or of Prabhākara's special propositions.

From Kumārila onwards there are numerous commentaries, commentaries on commentaries and manuals on some aspects of mīmāṁsā doctrines or of the contents of the PMS. Several difficult questions of identity and relationship among some of the early writers whose works are wholly or partially extant have also arisen during the last fifty years and many papers have been written. The present writer has read most of them, but if the whole evidence is to be set out and discussed a bulky volume of several hundred pages would have to be written. That cannot be done here. The several questions of identity and relationship are set out below and the present author's replies to all of them will be given with a little discussion on a few out of them:

(1) Whether Prabhākara was a pupil of Kumārila; the reply is that there is no substantial or compelling evidence for this except tradition, but Prabhākara is certainly later than Kumārila;

(2) Whether Śālikanātha is a direct disciple of Prabhākara — yes;

(3) Whether Maṇḍana was a disciple of Kumārila; there is no substantial evidence for an affirmative reply, but Maṇḍana certainly explains in his Bhāvanāviveka a verse of Kumārila and quotes another verse from Tantravārtika. Vide note 1946 above. In the Vidhiviveka also (Benares ed. 1907), which Maṇḍana wrote after Bhāvanāviveka he quotes (on p. 15 'abhidhābhāvanā...liṅādayaḥ) from Tantravārtika (p. 378) and on p. 315 of the Vidhiviveka quotes (yathoktam-śreyaḥsādhanatā... ...pratīyate') from Ślokavārtika (codanāsūtra, verse 14). Maṇḍana also quotes a passage from the Bṛhatī (p. 38) of Prabhākara in Vidhiviveka [1949] (p. 109). So Maṇḍana, if not a disciple, was

1949. उक्तं च - कर्तव्यताविधयो नियोगो न नियोगः कर्तव्यतामाह। विधिविवेक p. 109, on which the न्यायकणिका of वाचस्पति remarks 'अत्रैव जरत्प्राभाकरोक्तीतार्थं गुरोर्वचः सङ्गच्छते'. This sentence occurs in बृहती p. 38 (तर्कपाद. pub. by Madras Un., 1934).

certainly later than or a younger contemporary of Kumārila.

(4) Are Maṇḍana and Umbeka identical—no; Umbeka wrote a commentary on the Bhāvanāviveka of Maṇḍana in which on pp. 17 and 76 he discusses various readings in it; it is not possible to hold that a writer would discuss variant readings in his own work (as would follow if the two were identical).

(5) Are Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa identical—No;

(6) Are Viśvarūpa and Sureśvara identical—yes; the latter name being assumed after Viśvarūpa became a *saṃnyāsin*.

(7) Is Umbeka identical with Bhavabhūti—the evidence is not enough to give a definite affirmative reply; but it is likely that they may be identical.

(8) Is Umbeka a disciple of Kumārila—yes; as shown in note below.[1950]

1950. That Umbeka was a pupil of Kumārila follows from the following considerations. In his com. on the Bhāvanāviveka (p 43) Umbeka quotes a half verse from Bhaṭṭapāda (यथोक्तं भट्टपादैः। अन्यदेव हि धात्वर्थसामान्यं कृत्यात्मकम्) and on the same page he quotes another half verse 'यथोक्तं गुरुणा-अन्यच्च भावना नाम साध्यत्वेन व्यवस्थितम्'. These two halves make one verse on p. 383 of the Tantravārtika, the latter half of which is again ascribed by Umbeka (on p. 92 of his com. on the same work) to Bhaṭṭapāda. It follows that Bhaṭṭapāda was his guru. Prof. Kunhan Raja tries to wriggle out by advancing the theory (on pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII of his Intro.) that some later scribe inserted the word 'guruṇā' and argues that there is no proof of Bhaṭṭapāda being Umbeka's guru. Unless another reliable ms. of Umbeka's commentary is found which omits the word 'guruṇā' or substitutes in its place some other word it is not open to us to hold that the reading is not trustworthy and then build positive or negative propositions on our own speculations alone. The Uveyaka whose view is quoted by Kamalaśīla in Tattvasaṅgraha (G. O. S p 812 'उवेयकस्त्वाह न बोधात्मकं नाम ज्ञानानां प्रामाण्यं, किं तर्हि, अर्थाविसंवादित्वम्') is probably उम्बेक, whose name is written in several different ways in works and mss. (vide M. M. Jha's Intro. to Bhāvanāviveka p. 2). If this identity is correct उम्बेक must have flourished before 750 A. D and chronology would not be against Umbeka being a pupil of Kumārila. The Yukti-snehaprapūraṇī on Śāstradīpikā quotes Umbekabhaṭṭa in several places. But one long quotation from Umbeka on p. 30 is very striking. In this both Śabara and Vārtikakāra (i e Kumārila) are severely criticized and after quoting the famous verse frequently cited in the Mahābhārata गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य ... परित्यागो विधीयते he discards the views of the Vārtikakāra. Śabara is separated from Umbeka by several centuries and was not Umbeka's guru. Therefore, this passage (that occurs on pp. 105–108 of the तात्पर्यटीका of Umbeka on Ślokavārtika, pub. by Madras Un. in 1940) leads to the inference that the Vārtikakāra was

(*Continued on next page*)

(9) Is Sureśvara, a pupil of Śaṅkarācārya ?—Yes.

The result of the above replies is that the following is the most probable chronological order of Pūrvamīmāṁsā writers mentioned in questions 1 to 9 viz. Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha. They flourished between 650 A. D. to 750 A. D., Kumārila being the earliest of the five, Prabhākara (who quotes Kirātārjunīya II. 30 twice on pp. 242, 343) and Maṇḍana being contemporaries or Maṇḍana being younger than Prabhākara.

The opening and ending verses in Sureśvara's Vārtika on the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the Bṛ. Up. and the Tai. Up. leave no room for doubt that he was a disciple of Śaṅkara.

From the present author's paper in JBBRAS for 1928, pp. 289–293 and Prof. Kuppuswami's paper on 'Maṇḍana, Sureśvara equation in the History of Vedānta' in ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121–157 it follows that Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are not identical.

Some remarks in the learned Introduction of Prof. Kunhan Raja to the edition of Umbeka's Com. on the Ślokavārtika invite criticism. Prof. Raja (on p. XLIX) states that his attempt has been only to raise doubts and to attempt at weighing the evidence for and against various theories. The present writer has no serious objection to this. But he thinks that Prof. Raja has gone wrong in his interpretation of words like 'anupāsitaguravaś-codayanti' (p. 33) and 'anupāsitaguruprajñā-vilasitam-iti'[1951] grantha-jñāna-mānino manyante' (p. 30). He starts (XLII) by saying "whether it meant (i. e. 'anupāsitaguru' meant) one by

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(*Continued from last page*)

Umbeka's guru. The युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी writes 'अत्रोम्बेकभट्टैरिदं तु वार्तिककारीयं दूषणं समर्थनं सर्वमेवालूनविशीर्णमित्यादिना श्येनादौ न कस्यचिदनर्थत्वम्... तस्यानर्थमतिपादनपरं श्येनो वऋ इत्यादि भाष्यमुपेक्षणीयम्। गुरोरप्य ... विधीयते इत्यनेन ग्रन्थेन वार्तिकं भाष्यं च दूषितम्। It is quite clear that at least the युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी holds that the वार्तिक view is discarded by उम्बेक. The words इदं वार्तिककारीयं दूषणं... विशीर्णम् occur on p. 105 (at end) of the तात्पर्यटीका; the words श्येनो वऋ इत्यु॰ occur in Śābarabhāṣya on p. 18 (Ānan. ed.). The verse गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य occurs on p. 108 of तात्पर्यटीका.

1951. The words are to be dissolved as अनुपासितः गुरुः येन (or यैः if अनुपासितगुरवः occurs) तस्य (or तेषां) प्रज्ञा तस्याः विकसितम्, उपासितः गुरुर्येन (कुमारिलेन) तस्य भावः उपा...गुरुता (in the Introductory remarks in Tātparyaṭīkā to Ślokavārtika verse 2). In this last the word 'guru' is meant for Kumārila's guru (or gurus) to whom he makes obeisance in the 2nd verse, while with regard to the objector, who is ridiculed, guru is meant to refer to Kumārila.

whom the teacher was not respected or a teacher who was not respected (by his disciples)' and then proceeds 'but the expression 'upāsitagurutām' (appearing in the commentary on the 2nd verse of the Ślokavārtika) settles the point. It must mean 'one by whom the teacher was not respected'. 'Upāsita-guru' literally means 'one who waited on the guru i. e. listened to the explanations of his teacher and made them his own'. 'Honoured' is at most a secondary meaning of 'upāsita'. Upa-ās literally means 'sit near, wait upon'. I fail to see how it settles the point. The word 'upāsita-gurutām' (when introducing the 2nd intro. verse of the Ślokavārtika) is applied by Umbeka to Kumārila himself in relation to the Ślokavārtika verse 'abhivandya gurūnādau'. It means 'the characteristic or quality of one who has served his teacher i. e. who has carefully listened to what the guru expounded and understood it.' The expression 'anupāsitaguru' (which, according to Prof. Raja, always refers to Prabhākara) frequently (vide also pp. 14, 52, 75, 291, 441) used by Umbeka means 'he or those who have not waited upon the guru and listened to his words carefully and therefore have failed to grasp the correct meaning of the passages'. The inference suggested by these words of derision is that the objector (either Prabhākara or some one else) has not understood the doctrine taught by Kumārila to him and the present author is disposed to hold that the frequent emphasis on the word 'guru' in 'anupāsitaguru' is a veiled reference to Prabhākara-guru (as Śālikanātha puts his name in his Prakaraṇa-pañcikā 'Prabhākara-guror-dṛṣṭyā), who was Kumārila's pupil but deviated from his guru's doctrines and wrote against them and Umbeka attacks and derides him for this. Supposing that Prabhākara had once been a pupil of Kumārila and later on propounded views that very much diverged from Kumārila's, it is natural if Umbeka took up the cudgels on behalf of Kumārila and attacked Prabhākara as one who had forsaken his Guru's views, had not digested them properly and had written a work (not now available but well-known to Umbeka) severely attacking Kumārila. Prof. Raja (Intro. pp. XLIII and XLIV) throws out the suggestion that on p. 14 and p. 291 Umbeka possibly suggests that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila. There is nothing of the kind. Umbeka holds that Prabhākara had not grasped his master's doctrines and tries to show what the real doctrine misunderstood by Prabhākara was.

It appears desirable to set out a tentative chronological table of the outstanding works and writers of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā, with

a few remarks here and there. Most of the dates are approximate and tentative.

Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra of Jaimini—400 B. C. to 200 B. C.

Vṛttikāra—There is great conflict of views about the person who the Vṛttikāra quoted several times by Śabara was. Pārthasārathi in Śāstradīpikā p. 48 (first line) holds that he is Upavarṣa. Vṛttikāra is cited with great respect by Śabara, but he also differs from him frequently. The Prapañcahṛdaya (p. 39) attributes to Bodhāyana an extensive commentary called Kṛtakoṭī on both mīmāṁsās. It is remarkable that Bodhāyana is not mentioned by name by any early work on P. M. S. nor does Śaṅkara mention him though he twice mentions Upavarṣa. Rāmānujācārya in the opening words of his bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra refers to the extensive commentary of Bodhāyana on the Brahmasūtra. But he does not say that Bodhāyana commented on P. M. S. The present author is not even now prepared to hold that Vṛttikāra mentioned by Śabara so often is identical with Upavarṣa. Śabara cites at some length the different interpretation of PMS I. 1. 3–5 by Vṛttikāra and in the midst of it mentions (on p. 45) by name the view of Upavarṣa on 'what is śabda'. He appears to regard the two as different. The fact that the Tantravārtika (pp. 602–3 on II. 3. 16) appears to identify Upavarṣa with Vṛttikāra is not conclusive. From Kumārila himself we know that several Vṛttis were written on PMS before as well as after Śabara. So even Upavarṣa may have been deemed to be Vṛttikāra by Kumārila (on II. 3. 16) and his views quoted, though the Vṛttikāra in other places in Śabara's bhāṣya may be different.

Upavarṣa—between 100 B. C. to 100 A. D.

Bhavadāsa—The Ślokavārtika (Pratijñāsūtra, v. 63) mentions him by name and verse 33 of the same as explained by the Nyāyaratnākara shows that Bhavadāsa was deemed to be earlier than Śabara by the Ślokavārtika; between 100–200 A. D.

Śabara—between 200–400 A. D. (nearer the former date). From the Tantravārtika on II. 3. 23 p. 612, on II. 3. 27 p. 620 and III. 4. 31 p. 967 it appears that there was another person called Bhāṣyakārāntara, who was earlier than Śabara From Tantravārtika on III. 4. 12 (p. 909) and Ṭup-ṭīkā on VI. 5. 10 (p. 1462) it seems that Kumārila sometimes applies the word vṛttikāra to Śabara also.

Bhartṛmitra—On verse 10 of the Ślokavārtika, the N. R says that the former refers to Bhartṛmitra who so interpreted the Mīmāṁsā as to make it atheistic. According to Umbeka (in Tātparyaṭīkā p. 3) his work was called Tattvaśuddhi; between 400–600 A. D.

Kumārilabhaṭṭa—About 650–700 A. D.[1952]

Prabhākara—author of Bṛhatī on Śabara's bhāṣya—between 675–725 A. D.

Maṇḍana—Disciple of Kumārila or a younger contemporary, wrote on both P. M. and Vedānta; in Vidhiviveka p. 109 he quotes the Bṛhatī (vide Pro. of 3rd O. Conf. p 479); his other works are Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṁsānukramaṇikā; between 680–720 A. D. Vide ABORI vol. 18 pp. 121–157 (by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri), J. I. H. vol. XV pp. 320–329.

Umbeka—pupil of Kumārila and commentator of Ślokavārtika and of Maṇḍana's Bhāvanāviveka; generally identified with dramatist Bhavabhūti between 700–750 A. D.

Śālikanātha—pupil of Prabhākara and author of the commentary Ṛjuvimalā on Prabhākara's Bṛhatī and of an independent work 'Prakaraṇa-pañcikā'. It is noteworthy that in Ṛjuvimalā on Bṛhatī (p. 91) he quotes a verse from Ślokavārtika (Vākyādhikaraṇa verses 43–44) and refers to Kumārila with great respect as 'Yadāhur-Vārtikakāra-miśrāḥ'; 710–770 A. D.

Sureśvara—(called Viśvarūpa before he became a sannyāsin) disciple of Śaṅkarācārya. Between 800–840 A. D.

1952. One circumstance which fixes the earliest limit of Kumārila's time is furnished by the Kāśikā (com. on Aṣṭādhyāyī). In the lengthy pūrvapakṣa against Grammar contained in the Tantravārtika on P. M. S. I. 3. 24 (from p. 254 onwards), on p. 260 an objection is raised that Pāṇini himself violates his own rules laid down in 'tṛjakābhyām kartari' (Pāṇ. II. 2. 15) in the sūtras 'Janikartuḥ prakṛtiḥ' (Pāṇ. I. 4. 30) and 'tatprayojako hetuśca' (Pāṇ. I. 4. 55). The Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana defends the sūtra 'tatprayojako hetuśca' in the words 'तस्य प्रयोजकः तत्प्रयोजकः, निपातनात्समासः' (p. 91 of Benares ed.). The पूर्वपक्षी in तन्त्रवार्तिक on p. 260 does not accept this explanation of the Kāśikā in the words: न चैषां निपातनैः साधुत्वसिद्धिः। कुतः। येषामनुगमो नास्ति ते सिध्येयुर्निपातनैः। अन्यथानुगतानां तु प्रयोगं बाधते स्मृतिः। स्मृत्याचारविरोधे हि स्मृतिरेव बलीयसी। प्रत्यक्षप्रतिषेधाच्च जनिकर्माद्यसाधुता।'. From I-tsing's remarks it appears that Jayāditya died in or about 661 A. D. Therefore the Tantravārtika in which fault is found with Kāśikā's explanation must be later than about 650 A. D.

Vācaspati-miśra — wrote famous works on all śāstras; author of Nyāyakaṇikā on Maṇḍana's Vidhiviveka and Bhāmatī on Śaṅkarabhāṣya; between 820–900 A. D.

Pārthasārathimiśra — author of Śāstradīpikā (pub. by Nirn. Press 1915), Nyāyaratnākara (com. on Ślokavārtika), Tantraratna (com. on Ṭupṭikā) and Nyāyaratnamālā (pub. in G. O. S. with com. Nāyakaratna of Rāmānujācārya); between 900–1100 A. D.

Authors later than Pārthasārathi are placed below in one paragraph.

Sucaritamiśra — author of com. called Kāśikā on the Ślokavārtika (a part published in the T. S. S.); Bhavanātha (or Bhavadeva), author of the Nayaviveka, pub. in Madras Uni. Sanskrit series, with the com. Vivekatattva of Ravideva (on Tarkapāda, 1937), between 1050–1150 A. D; Someśvara — son of Mādhava, author of the Nyāyasudhā or Rāṇaka (a voluminous commentary on the Tantravārtika), pub. in Chowkhamba S. S. at Benares, 1909, about 1200 A. D; Murārimiśra — who is supposed to have founded a third school of Mīmāṁsā (Murāreस्तṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ), author of Tripādīnītinayana (part pub. in J. O. R. Madras, vol. II pp. 270–273 and vol. V. pp. 1–5) and Aṅgatvanirukti, Ānan. ed. pp. 1141–1190), between 1150–1220 (acc. to Intro. to Tattavabindu); Mādhavācārya, author of Jaiminīya-nyāyamālāvistāra (pub. by Ānan. Press); vide H. of Dh. Vol. I. pp. 374–381), between 1297–1386; Appayya-dīkṣita, author of Vidhirasāyana (pub. at Benares), is deemed to have written 100 or 108 works on different śāstras, said to have flourished between 1520–1593 A.D., another view being that he flourished between 1554–1626 A. D.; Laugākṣibhāskara, author of Arthasaṅgraha (text with translation, pub. by Dr. Thibaut in 1882 and by several others); Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, author of Mīmāṁsā-bālaprakāśa (Benares), between 1550–1620 A. D.; Āpadeva, son of Anantadeva, author of Mīmāṁsā-nyāyaprakāśa (pub. by B. O. R. I. Poona, with a lucid commentary by M. M. Vasudevasastri Abhyaṅkar, 1937); there are several other editions of this work, one of which edited by Prof. Edgerton with transliterated text, translation and notes in Harvard O. Series is very useful; between 1610–1680 A. D.

Khaṇḍadeva, author of Bhāṭṭakaustubha with Bhāṭṭadīpikā (published in Mysore Govt. Oriental series), and Bhāṭṭarahasya. About 1600–1665 A. D.

Gāgābhaṭṭa or Viśvesvarabhaṭṭa, son of Dinakarabhaṭṭa, author of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi (part published at Benares); between 1620–1690 A. D.

Rāmānujācārya, author of Tantrarahasya (G. O. S.), belonging to the Prābhākara school and of Nāyakaratna (com. on Nyāyaratnamālā of Pārthasārathi, G. O. S., 1956); about 1500–1575 A. D.

Mīmāṁsākośa (in Sanskrit)—An encyclopaedic and most learned work on Pūrvamīmāṁsā—prepared by Swami Kevalānanda Sarasvatī, published by the Prājñapāṭhaśālāmaṇḍala at Wai in the Satara District, Bombay State; four parts have been published so far, covering over 2400 pages and four more are to be published. The press copy of the whole is, it is understood, ready. Unfortunately the great Swami entered *Brāhmī state* five years ago.

Some of the works written in English on the P. M. S., apart from short papers and the translation of the Śābarabhāṣya (3 vol. in G. O. S.), the Tantravārtika and the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1900) by M. M. Dr. Ganganath Jha, may be noted here for those who desire to make further studies in P. M. S. The following works and papers are also useful.

Max Müller's 'Six systems of Indian Philosophy' in collected works (ed. of 1899), pp. 197–214; The Prābhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṁsā by M. M. Ganganath Jha (1911); Karmamīmāṁsā by A. B. Keith (1921); 'Indian Philosophy' by Prof. Das-Gupta, vol. I. pp 367–405 (Cambridge, 1922); 'A Brief Sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system' by the present author in A. B. O. R. I. vol. VI pp. 1–40 (1925); 'Outlines of Indian Philosophy' by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, pp. 298–325 (Allen and Unwin, London, 1932); Introduction on 'a short History of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-śāstra' to the edition of the Tattvabindu of Vācaspatimiśra by Pandit V. A. Ramaṣwami Sastri (Annamalai University S. Series, 1936); 'Indian Philosophy' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vol. II. pp 374–429 (1941); Introduction (pp. III–LI) to the edition of the Tātparyaṭīkā of Umbeka on Ślokavārtika by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja (Madras Un. 1940); 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources' by M. M. Ganganath Jha (Benares Hindu University, 1949) with a critical Bibliography (pp. 5–81) by Dr. Umesha Mishra; 'Citations in Śabarabhāṣya' by Dr. D. V. Garge (Poona, 1952), a painstaking work

in which the learned writer has been able to identify many of the quotations in Śabara's bhāṣya that had eluded such a deep scholar as M. M. Ganganath Jha, though even Dr. Garge has not been able to identify a large number; Introduction to the Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya by Pandit K. S. Rāmaswami Sastri (G. O. S. 1956); Mīmāṇsā — the Vākyaśāstra of Ancient India, by Prof. G. V. Devasthali (Book-sellers' Publishing Company, Girgaon Back Road, 1959); Mīmāṁsā Jurisprudence by Shrī Nataraja Aiyyar, Allahabad (Jha Research Institute).

CHAPTER XXIX

Some Fundamental Doctrines of Pūrvamīmāṁsā

Some of the characteristic fundamental doctrines of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā will now be set out with some references and a few remarks as to some of them, the views of Prabhākara and his followers being also rarely referred to.

(1) Veda is eternal, self-existent, not composed by any author, human or divine, and is infallible. This is the core of the P. M. system. Vide P. M. S. I. 1. 27–32 and Śabara on I. 1. 5 (p. 53) and Ślokavārtika (Vākyādhikaraṇa, verses[1953] 366–368). The argument briefly is; Veda is learnt at present and was studied in the past also by students from teachers, that there is no evidence about the person who first composed it or who first studied it. If it be argued that such a reasoning may be put forward as regards the Mahābhārata, the reply is that people know that Vyāsa is the author of it. Similarly, the passages in Smṛtis and Purāṇas that Prajāpati created the Veda are merely arthavādas (laudatory) not based on any evidence or perception and are meant only to convey the absolute authoritativeness of the Veda. If the connection between word and sense is eternal and not brought about by any person, the same reasoning holds good as to the Veda. This view is opposed to the view of the Naiyāyikas who hold that God is the author of the Veda or the interpretation of V. S. I. 1. 3 (Śāstrayonitvāt) by Śaṅkarācārya based on Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 10. Manu I. 21 (stating that Brahmā created from the words of the Veda the names and appropriate duties of all) seems to suggest that (according to

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1953. On P. M. S. I. 1. 5 Śabara comments (pp. 52–53) 'तस्मान्मन्यामहे केनापि पुरुषेण शब्दानामर्थैः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा संव्यवहर्तुं वेदाः प्रणीता इति। तदिदानीमुच्यते। अपौरुषेयत्वात्सम्बन्धस्य सिद्धमिति। कथं पुनरिदमवगम्यतेऽपौरुषेय एव सम्बन्ध इति। पुरुषस्य सम्बन्धुरभावात्। कथं सम्बन्धो नास्ति। प्रत्यक्षस्य प्रमाणस्याभावात् तत्पूर्वकत्वाच्चेतरेषाम्।'; वेदस्याध्ययनं सर्वं गुर्वध्ययनपूर्वकम्। वेदाध्ययनवाच्यत्वादधुनाध्ययनं यथा॥ भारतेपि भवेदेवं कर्तृस्मृत्या तु बाध्यते। वेदेपि तत्स्मृतिर्यां तु सार्थवादनिबन्धना॥ पारम्पर्येण कर्तारं नाध्येतारं स्मरन्ति हि। श्लोकवार्तिकवाक्याधिकरण verses 366–368; the प्रकरणपञ्चिका (p. 140), remarks 'कथं पुनरपौरुषेयत्वं वेदानाम्। पुरुषस्य कर्तुरस्मरणात्। ... काठकादिसमाख्यापि न कर्तृसद्भावमुपकल्पयितुमलम्। प्रवचनेनापि तदुपपत्तेः।. The argument when put in a syllogistic form would run like this: 'वेदाः अपौरुषेयाः, अस्मर्यमाणकर्तृकत्वात्। यत्तथैवं तत्तथैवं यथा महाभारतरघुवंशादि।'. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I.3.29 (अत एव च नित्यत्वम्) begins his भाष्य with the words 'स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुरस्मरणादिभिः स्थिते वेदस्य नित्यत्वे.'

Manu) the Veda was self-existent. Similarly, the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 3 on Pāṇini IV. 3. 101 ('tena proktam') remarks [1954] that the Vedas were not composed by anyone, that they are eternal, that the meaning of the Veda is eternal, but the arrangement of the letters is not eternal and therefore we have different vedic texts like Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka, Paippalādaka &c. The Smṛtis also sometimes state that there is no author of the Veda, that Brahmā remembers it and that Manu also has remembrance of Dharma in different Kalpas (Parāśarasmṛti I. 21).

In P. M. S. I. 1. 28 ('Anityadarśanāc-ca') the opponent of the eternality of the Veda puts forward such passages as 'Babara Prāvāhaṇi (son of Pravāhaṇa) desired' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 10. 2) and 'Kusuruvinda Auddālaki desired' (Tai. S. VII. 2. 2. 1), which mention men named Prāvāhaṇi and Auddālaki (son of Uddālaka) that are mortals and argues that Veda did not exist before those mortals and is, therefore, not eternal. To this the Siddhānta replies in P. M. S. I. 1. 31 ('param tu śrutisāmānyam') that such examples are to be explained differently viz, 'Babara' is a onomatopoetic word meaning 'rustling' and Prāvāhaṇi (from 'pra' and 'vāhay' causal of *vah*) means the wind.

It may be noted that centuries before Jaimini and Yāska there was a school of Vedic interpreters called 'Aitihāsikas'. For example, Ṛg. X. 98. 5 and 7 refer to Devāpi, son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, and to Śantanu. Yāska (in Nirukta II. 10), starting with the words 'tatra-itihāsamācakṣate' states that Devāpi and Śantanu were brothers of the Kuru family and the younger brother Śantanu was crowned king ignoring the rights of the elder and that these verses refer to them. In Ṛg. X. 10 there is a dialogue between Yama and Yamī and Nir. V. 2 refers to the 8th verse of it. Those who hold that Veda is eternal would explain Yama as Āditya and Yamī as 'Night'. Ṛg. III. 33 is a dialogue between the sage Viśvāmitra and the rivers. The Nir. (II. 25–27) explains verses 5–6 and 10 of that hymn from the Aitihāsika point of view and states that Viśvāmitra was son of king Kuśika and does not mention the Nairukta interpretation of these verses.

1954. ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसीति। यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यो या त्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वी सा नित्या। तद्भेदाच्चैतदुपपद्यते काठकं कालापकं मौदकं पैप्पलादकमिति। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 3 on 'अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे' पा. IV. 3. 87. पाणिनि emphasizes this distinction between being the author of a work and being only the expounder or transmitter in the two sūtras 'तेन प्रोक्तम्' (IV. 3. 101) and 'कृते ग्रन्थे' (IV. 3. 116). The पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र I. 3. 30 'आख्या प्रवचनात्' also emphasizes the difference between कृत and प्रोक्त.

About the Aśvins the Nirukta (XII. 1) states several views viz. they are Heaven and Earth, or Day and Night, or the Sun and the Moon and remarks that according to the Aitihāsikas they were kings who had accumulated great merit. Probably the Nairuktas were divided among themselves and explained that the Aśvins represented different natural phenomena. About Vṛtra (occurring in such verses as Rg. I. 32. 11) the Nairuktas (Etymologists) said in Nirukta II. 16 that the word means 'cloud', while the Aitihāsikas say that he (Vṛtra) was an Asura, son of Tvaṣṭṛ. As to the hymn Rg. I. 105 of 19 verses (in the first 18 of which the refrain is 'vittam me asya rodasī') the Nirukta IV. 6 states that the hymn was seen by Trita who was thrown into a well. In Rg. VII. 33. 11 there is mention of Urvaśī and Vasiṣṭha (Maitrā-Varuṇa) as born of Urvaśī and Nirukta (V. 13–14) explains that verse and remarks that Urvaśī was an *apsaras* and Rg. X. 95 is a dialogue between Aila Purūravas and Urvaśī. But the interpretation of the Nairuktas and Aitihāsikas on this story are not expressly set out. Probably the Nairuktas would explain Urvaśī as lightning and Purūravas as the roaring wind. The hymn Rg. X. 108 is a dialogue between Saramā (Indra's bitch) and the Paṇis and the Nirukta XI. 25 explains the first verse and remarks that there is a story (Ākhyāna) therein viz. that there was a dialogue between Saramā sent by Indra and the Paṇis who were Asuras. In all such legends the Nairuktas would insist that they are to be taken allegorically as referring to natural phenomena, while the Aitihāsikas would insist that there is historical basis in all these. Though it is not stated by the Nirukta expressly that the Aitihāsikas do not hold the doctrine of the eternality of the Veda it implicitly follows from their explanations that they did not subscribe to that doctrine.

2. The connection between word and sense is eternal.[1955] This is explained by the words of Śabara (in n. 1953) that there is no person who could be put forward as having brought about

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1955. The sūtra (P. M. S. I. 1, 5) contains several conclusions. The first is औत्पत्तिकः (नित्यः) शब्दस्य अर्थेन सम्बन्धः, the 2nd is तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेशः (exhortation is the means of knowing it i. e. dharma); here ज्ञान means ज्ञायते येन (श्लोकवा. औत्पत्तिकसूत्र verse 9); the next part is अव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे (it is unfailing or infallible as to all that is not perceptible); तत्प्रमाणमनपेक्षत्वात् i e Vedic injunction is a valid means of knowledge since it is independent; बादरायणस्य (this is the view of Bādarāyaṇa also). The question 'what is a

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the connection of word and sense. Vide P. M. S. I. 1. 6–23, Śabara's bhāṣya thereon, the elaborate treatment in 444 verses in Ślokavārtika (pp. 728–8'5) and Prakaraṇa-pañcikā pp. 133–140 (seventh Prakaraṇa). On the question "what does a word like 'Gauḥ' denote," the P. M. S. replies that a word denotes 'ākṛti' (or jāti) i. e. the universal, the class. Briefly, the Mīmāṁsakas hold that the word, the denotation and the relation of these two are eternal. Vide P. M. S. I. 3. 30–35.

3. *The individual soul.* The P. M. S. does not expressly affirm the existence of the soul in any sūtra. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 3. 53 refers to this fact, states that Śabara, the Bhāṣya-kāra, propounded the existence of the soul and that the venerable Upavarṣa refrained from going into that question in his exposition of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā with the remark that he would expound it when dealing with Śārīraka (i. e. the Vedānta-sūtra). It was probably due to this fact of the absence of a statement about the soul that the Pūrvamīmāṁsā was interpreted by some as favouring atheism. Kumārila complains that the Mīmāṁsā, though not really atheistic, was put forward as Lokāyata (atheistic) [1956] by some and that therefore he endeavours (in the

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word' is answered differently by different writers. The revered Upavarṣa said that in a word like 'gauḥ' it is the letters that constitute the word (vide Śabara quoting Upavarṣa p. 45 on I. 1.5 and Śaṅkara on V. S. I. 3. 28). The other view is that the letters manifest the sphoṭa and it is the sphoṭa that conveys the sense. This subject cannot be dealt with in this work.

1956. मायेनैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता। तामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया॥ श्लोकवा. verse 10. The न्या. र. notes that भर्तृमित्र put forward several wrong doctrines about the Mīmāṁsā such as the one that the performance of obligatory acts or of prohibited acts leads to no desirable or undesirable results. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 46–47 note 57 and vol. II. pp. 358–359 on लौकायतिक and नास्तिक. The meaning of लोकायत had changed from time to time. कौटिल्य (I. 2) included लोकायत under आन्वीक्षिकी along with सांख्ययोग. पाणिनि appears to have known the word लोकायत, his sūtra (IV. 2. 60) is 'ऋतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताड्ढक्' and लोकायत is the 2nd word in the ऋक्थादिगण; the Kāśikā on this sūtra mentions लौकायतिकः; at least before the 6th century A. D. लौकायतिक had come to be identified with one who did not believe in the existence of a soul independent of the body. The कादम्बरी (paragraph 153) has 'लौकायतिकविद्यायेवाधर्मरुचेः'. शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 3.54 says that the Lokāyatikas do not admit any principle other than the four elements (earth, water, heat and wind) and do not believe in the existence of a soul apart from the body. Vide Prof. Das-gupta's 'Indian Philosophy' vol. III, p. 512–533 and 'Lokāyata' by Dr. W. Ruben (Berlin 1954). From the Chān. Up. VIII. 8 it appears that Asura Virocana held that there was no soul

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Ślokavārtika) to show that it treads the path of belief (in soul and another world). The souls are many, eternal, all-pervading (omnipresent) and different from the body, the senses and the mind. The soul resides in the body, is the agent (*kartṛ*) as well as *bhoktṛ* (enjoyer), is of the nature of pure consciousness, and is cognised by itself (svasaṁvedya). Though the P. M. S. does not expressly deal with the existence of the soul, there are indications that the P. M. S. itself must have impliedly accepted the existence of the soul. The reward of many religious rites is *Svarga* and the P. M. S. refers to numerous Vedic passages where svarga is the reward of rites and assumes that the reward goes to the performer (e. g. in the *adhikaraṇa* III. 7. 18–20 beginning with 'Śāstraphalam prayoktari' that expounds the meaning of such vedic passages as 'agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ'). Śabara on I. 1. 5 expounds at great length the existence of the soul as different from the body, senses &c. (vide particularly pp. 60–72 of Ānan. ed.). The Ślokavārtika devotes 148 verses to this subject and the Tantravārtika also briefly deals with it on P. M. S. II. 1. 5 (pp. 402–403). The Ślokavāritka (Ātmavāda, verse 148) has this interesting verse [1957] 'the Bhāṣyakāra (Śabara) desirous of refuting atheism has established here (i. e. in bhāṣya passages) by reasoning the existence of the soul; the

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apart from the body and that the body alone was the soul. There is a recent book published (while these pages were being sent to the press) viz. 'Lokāyata' (study of ancient Indian materialism) written by Shri. Devaprasad Chattopadhyaya (New Delhi, 1959), which deals with the subject of Indian materialism in detail.

1957. इत्याह नास्तिक्यनिराकरिष्णुरात्मास्तितां भाष्यकृदत्र युक्त्या। इदत्वमेतद्विषयस्य बोधः प्रयाति वेदान्तनिषेवणेन॥ श्लोकवा. (आत्मवाद) 148. About the soul being स्वसंवेद्य, शबर says स्वसंवेद्यः स भवति, नासावन्येन शक्यते ब्रण्डुं कथमसौ निर्विदृश्येतेति। यथा च कश्चिज्जन्मान्धः स्वयं रूपं पश्यति न च शक्नोत्यन्यस्मै जात्यन्धाय तद्विदर्शयितुम्। न च तत्र शक्यते निदर्शयितुमित्येतावता नास्तीत्यवगम्यते' and relies upon certain passages of the Br. Up. such as III. 9.26, IV. 5 15 (अगृह्यो न हि गृह्यते), IV. 3.6 (आत्मैवास्य ज्योतिर्भवति). As the words आत्मास्तिता and नास्तिक्य are put in juxtaposition in श्लोकवार्तिक it follows that, acc. to कुमारिल, a नास्तिक is primarily one who does not believe in the existence of the soul. पाणिनि has the sūtra 'अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः' IV. 4. 60 on which the महाभाष्य explains 'अस्तीत्यस्य मतिरास्तिकः। नास्तीत्यस्य मतिर्नास्तिकः'; the काशिका explains 'परलोकोऽस्तीति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः तद्विपरीतो नास्तिकः'; so नास्तिक primarily means 'one who does not believe in the existence of the soul (and as a consequence in a world other than the physical). The तन्त्रवा. (pp. 402–404 on II. 1, 5) establishes the following propositions about the soul: तत्र नित्यः सञ्जात्मा शरीराभ्यन्तरवर्ती (नाणुमात्रः, न शरीरपरिमितः), सर्वगतः, आत्मनानात्वे स्वदोषः, सर्वगतत्वात्सिद्धमात्मनो निश्चलत्वम्।.

knowledge on this subject (viz. existence of the soul) becomes sound and enduring by the study of Vedānta passages'. The Padma-purāṇa states that Jaimini composed a vast, but useless Śāstra by expounding the view of there being no god.[1957a]

4. *God and the devatās in sacrifices.* Śabara's position is that the Vedas were not created by God, nor was the connection between word and sense created by Him, The Prakaraṇapañcikā also (pp. 137 ff) denies a creator for the whole universe. Kumārila's position [1958] also is peculiar and startling. He says in the Ślokavārtika that it is difficult to prove that God first created the world together with Dharma and Adharma and the means of attaining these, words, senses, and their relations and the Veda. Thus it appears that he does not expressly deny the existence of a supreme power or God but simpily ignores such power or God. In spite of this he begins his Ślokavārtika with an obeisance to Śiva.[1959] The Nyāyaratnākara says that the verse can also be an apotheosis of Yajña. But in that case Kumārila would have to be charged with duplicity. It is better to say that the tradition of beginning a work with a *maṅgala* verse could not be discarded even by Kumārila.

The consideration of the question of what is meant by the *devatā* with reference to which an offering is cast into the sacred fire leads to startling results. Jaimini (in VIII. 1. 32–34) takes the position that in a sacrifice the *havis* (offering) is the principal matter while the *devatā* is a subordinate one (*guṇa*) and that if there be a conflict between the havis and the devatā, the final conclusion is to be arrived at by relying on the havis. The reasoning is that the Veda connects the deity with the sacrificial act, as in 'one desirous of progeny should offer an havis for Indra and Agni cooked on eleven potsherds and then Indra confers on him progeny' (Tai. S. II. 2. 1. 1.). Even though

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1957a. वेदार्थवन्महाशास्त्रं मायया यद्वैदिकम्। मयैव दृश्यते देवि जगतां नाशकारणात्। द्विजन्मना जैमिनिना पूर्वं वेद (चेद?)मपार्थकम्। निरीश्वरेण वादेन कृतं शास्त्रं महत्तरम्॥ पद्मपुराण VI, 263. 74–76.

1958. यदि त्वादौ जगत्सृष्ट्वा धर्माधर्मौ ससाधनौ। यथा शब्दार्थसम्बन्धान् वेदान् कश्चित्प्रवर्तयेत् ॥ जगद्धिताय वेदस्य तथा किंचिन्न दुष्यति। सर्वज्ञवत्तु दुःसाधमित्यत्रैतन्न संश्रितम्॥ यदा सर्वमिदं नासीत् कावस्था तत्र गम्यताम्। प्रजापतेः क्व वा स्थानं किं रूपं च प्रतीयताम्॥ श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप० verses 43–45.

1959. विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय त्रिवेदीदिव्यचक्षुषे। श्रेयःप्राप्तिनिमित्ताय नमः सोमार्धधारिणे॥ first verse. The न्या. र. remarks 'सोमस्य अर्धं स्थानं ग्रहत्वमसादि तद्धारिणे इति यज्ञपक्षेपि सङ्गच्छते।'. मनु says: मङ्गलाचारयुक्तानां ... विनिपातो न विद्यते ॥ IV. 146.

it is so, the *phala* (the reward) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by the deities (Indra and Agni in this case) and the words 'Indra[1960] and Agni confer progeny on the sacrificer' are purely laudatory. P. M. S. IX. 1. 6–10 are very important in this connection. Śabara quotes Vedic passages like Rg. X. 47. 1, III. 30. 5, VIII. 17. 8 (where Indra's right hand, fist, neck, stomach and arms are mentioned), Rg. I. 95 10, VIII. 77. 4 (where Indra is said to have put in his stomach all foods and to have drunk thirty vessels full of soma), Rg. VIII. 32. 22 and X. 89. 10 where Indra is said to be lord of the world, of heaven and earth, waters and mountains and then remarks that these are all *arthavādas*, though at first sight they appear to postulate that Vedic deities have bodies, eat and drink. The Śāstradīpikā advances the argument that if the devatā had a body, ate, drank and was pleased, devatā will be *anitya* (ephemeral) and could not in that case be treated of in the Veda that is eternal. He further asserts that men of limited intelligence not knowing the real import of the Vedic passages may hold wrong opinions. Śabara notes (on X. 4. 23) that there are various opinions as to who the Devatās are to whom either a hymn (*sūkta*) is addressed (as Rg. I. 94) or to whom 'havis' is directed by the Veda to be offered as in 'one should offer to Agni an offering cooked on eight potsherds'; that the devatā becomes connected with the sacrifice not in its own nature but by the word used with reference to an offering and that where the Veda directs an offering to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym for Agni such as 'Śuci, Pāvaka, Dhūmaketu, Kṛśānu, Vaiśvānara or Śāṇḍilya. Thus Devatā is a matter of words, as admitted by[1961]

1960. Note the following sūtras: विप्रतिपत्तौ हविषा नियम्येत कर्मणस्तदुपाख्यत्वात्। VIII. 1. 32; अपि वा शब्दपूर्वत्वात् यज्ञकर्म प्रधानं स्याद्गुणत्वे देवताश्रुतिः। IX. 1. 9. शबर's words on VIII. 1.34 are quite frank and clear: स्यादेतद्देवं यदि देवतातः फलं स्यात्। यागात्तु फलं स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति श्रूयते। यत्तु 'तृप्त एवैनमिन्द्र' इति तत्रेदमुच्यते गुणत्वेन देवताश्रुतिः। यागे गुणभूता देवता। तस्या दातृत्वं स्तुत्या उच्यते। यथा अमात्येन मे ग्रामो दत्तः, यथा सेनापतिना मे ग्रामो दत्त इति। न चामात्यः सेनापतिर्वा ग्रामस्य प्रभवति। राजैव प्रभवति। इतरस्मिन् गुणभूते स्तुत्या दातृत्ववादः।।. गुणभूत means 'that has become a subordinate factor' as opposed to प्रधान.

1961. तस्मान्मन्त्रत्वे विधिशब्द उपादातव्य इति। उच्यते। नन्वेवं शब्द एव देवता प्राप्नोति। अत्रोच्यते। नैतदस्माभिः परिहर्तव्यम्। न हीदमुच्यमानमस्मत्पक्षं बाधते। शबर on X. 4. 23; यागादीनां देवताराधनहेतुत्वे प्रमाणाभावात्। ... अतो देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागो याग इति गौणं देवतापूजात्मकत्वमवगमयितव्यम्। प्रकरणपञ्चिका pp. 185–186; यद्यपि देवता विग्रहवती परिगृह्य भुक्त्वा तृप्यति प्रसीदति च तथापि यागादेव फलं विग्रहवती चानित्या स्यात्। शास्त्रदीपिका p. 580 on PMS IX. 1. 6–10.

Śabara. The Prakaraṇapañcikā also states that there is no proof that a sacrifice (yāga) is a means of pleasing the deity and that to say that there is worship of a deity in a *yāga* is really metaphorical. From this and the preceding doctrine (No. 1) it follows that P. M. S., Śabara, and Kumārila discard the idea that the Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour or grace of God. It is therefore that the Padmapurāṇa quoted (in note 1957a) above dubs Jaimini's doctrine 'nirīśvaravāda' (Godless).

When the Veda says 'one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice', three *ākāṅkṣās* (expectancies) arise. The first is 'what is to be brought about'; this is satisfied by the word *svarga*, stating the reward or the purpose. The 2nd is 'by what means' is the first to be brought about. That is satisfied by the meaning of the root '*yaj*' (i. e. by yāga); the third is 'what is the procedure or in what manner'; that is satisfied by the establishment of the sacred fires and other rites that are described in the context of the passage 'svargakāmo yajeta'. It is learnt from this passage that the reward or purpose (svarga) springs from (is brought about by) yāga and not by the devatā. [1962]

Later writers could not digest all these ideas about the deities in sacrifices. Veṅkaṭanātha (or Veṅkaṭadeśika, 1269–1369 A. D.) composed a work called 'Seśvaramīmāṁsā', in which he criticizes both Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools and being an ardent Vaiṣṇava of the Rāmānuja school attempts a synthesis of the two mīmāṁsās and brings in the idea of God as the dispenser of the reward of sacrifices against the combined testimony of Śabara, Kumārila, Śālikanātha and others. Vide Dr. Radhakrisnan in 'Indian Philosophy,' vol. II pp. 424–429 for 'God and world according to Pūrvamīmāṁsā'.

5. There is no real creation nor dissolution of the whole universe. The constituent parts may come and go but the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end. The descriptions of creation and dissolution are only meant to illustrate the power of *daiva* (fate, destiny) and the vanity of human effort and urge men to perform duties enjoined by the Veda. Without any human effort the world may come into being and in spite of

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1962. यजेतेत्येवमादयः साकाङ्क्षा यजेत किं केन कथमिति, स्वर्गकाम इत्यनेन प्रयोजनेन क्ष
निराकाङ्क्षाः। शबर on II.1.1. Vide सुपूटीका on IX 1. 9 अपि वा...वेदसाक्षुतिः quoted क्ष
in note 1960.

all effort it may come to an end. The world is real and has always been there and will go on for all time.[1963] Vide Ślokavārtika (V. 112–117), Prakaraṇapañcikā pp. 137–140 and Nyāyaratnākara on the former. The Ślokavāratika goes so far as to say 'it must be admitted that all these (worlds &c.) existed before the creator, and again such a creator may be proved (by anumāna) to have been preceded by the Veda on account of his being an intelligent being, just as ourselves are preceded by the Veda.'

It would be noticed that the Mīmāṃsa idea of creation and dissolution is opposed to the Mahābhārata and Gītā (X. 8 'ahaṁ sarvasya prabhavo mattaḥ sarvam pravartate).

6. The doctrine of *apūrva* (invisible mysterious or subtle potency). The Veda lays down that one desirous of heaven should perform a sacrifice. But the reward heaven comes off only after a long time, while the sacrifice lasts only for a short time. There would thus be no direct connection between the sacrifice (the cause) and heaven (the reward) or purpose. It must be presumed from the Vedic injunction that there is some connecting link between the activity of man to perform a yāga and the reward. Before the principal and subordinate acts in a sacrifice are performed men have no capacity for svarga and sacrifices (described in the texts) are also incapable of producing the effect 'svarga'. The principal and subsidiary acts in a sacrifice when carried out remove the incapacity and produce a certain capacity or potency for svarga. This must be admitted by all. Unless such a capacity exists there would be the unacceptable conclusion that not doing the acts and doing them are on the same level. This capacity or potency either residing in the man (agent) or arising from the sacrifice that is performed is called *apūrva* in this śāstra. It is true that this capacity cannot be proved by direct perception or other means of knowledge except by *śrutārthāpatti*. When we are told that a man

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1963. तस्मादध्रुवदेवात्र सर्गप्रलयकल्पना। समस्तक्षयजन्मभ्यां न विध्वस्तमणिका॥ सर्वज्ञवाक्षिपेद्या च ध्रुवः सद्भावकल्पना॥ ... तस्मात् प्रागपि सर्वेऽमी ध्रुवदासन् पदादयः। स्यात्तत्पूर्वकता चास्य चैतन्यादस्मदादिवत्॥ एवं ये युक्तिभिः प्राहुस्तेषां दुर्लभमुत्तरम्। अन्वेद्यो व्यवहारोयमनादिर्वेदवादिभिः॥ श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप० verses 113–117). बुद्ध was called सर्वज्ञ, as the अमरकोश states 'सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धो' &c The न्या. र. remarks on verses 113–114 'यथा च बुद्धादेः सर्वज्ञत्वं पुरुषत्वादस्मदादिवन्निषिद्धम्, एवं प्रजापतेरपि स्रष्टृत्वं निषेध्यमित्याह सर्वज्ञवदिति। तेन दैवप्रभावकथनार्थोयं सृष्टिप्रलयवादः। समस्तपुरुषकाराभावेऽपि सृष्टिकाले दैवबलेनैव सर्वं प्रवर्तते, प्रलयकाले च सत्यपि पुरुषकारे दैवोपरमादैवोपरमति तस्माद्धर्मानुष्ठान एव यतितव्यमित्येतत्परं सृष्टिप्रलयवचनमिति। न्या. र. on श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेपपरि० verse 112).

who is fat does not eat by day we presume, in order to account for this, that he must be eating food at night. Similarly, the Veda brings sacrifice and svarga together; we have to presume that sacrifice gives rise to a subtle potency, though the sacrifice itself comes to an end in a short time, and that this potency is the cause of bringing about the reward svarga and that we may look upon it as abiding in the soul of the sacrificer or as an invisible effect (a reaching forth of the yāga itself that has vanished).[1964] Mīmāṁsakas do not admit that the results of religious acts are given by God. The V. S. III. 2. 40 states that this is the view of Jaimini (dharmam Jaiminir-ata eva) and is opposed to the view of Bādarāyaṇa, Śaṅkara and the Bhāmatī that it is God who confers the reward. According to the Prakaraṇapañcikā (p. 186) the invisible force or potency is not in the agent but arises as a subtle form from the action itself. Four kinds of Apūrva[1965] (with further sub-divisions) as regards Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice are stated by Mādhavācārya.

The idea is that every rite as a whole produces an apūrva, and that each subordinate part (aṅga) of the rite has also an (apūrva) which is subordinate to the apūrva of the whole rite.

The Tantravārtika explains why it is called apūrva. The invisible potency was not in existence before the performance of

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1964. चोदना पुनरारम्भः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 5; चोदनेत्यपूर्वं भ्रमः। अपूर्वं पुनरस्ति यत आरम्भः शिष्यते स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति। इतरथा हि विधानमनर्थकं स्याद्भङ्गित्वाद्यागस्य। यद्यन्यदुत्पाद्य यागो विनश्येत् फलमसति निमित्ते न स्यात्। तस्मादुत्पादयतीति। शबर, फलाय विहितं कर्म क्षणिकं चिरभाविने। तत्सिद्धिर्नान्यथेत्येवमपूर्वं प्रति गम्यते॥ वेदवाक्योपात्तस्वर्गयागादिसम्बन्धानुपपत्त्या चोदनयैवापूर्वमपि चोदितं भविष्यतीति प्रमाणवत्। तस्मादस्त्यपूर्वमिति। तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 390; प्रधानकर्मणामङ्गकर्मणां वा प्राक्क्षरणात्स्वर्गादिप्राप्त्ययोग्याः पुरुषाः क्रतवश्च स्वर्गकार्ययोग्याः। तासुभयीमप्ययोग्यतां ध्रुवस्य प्रधानैरङ्गैश्च योग्यतोपजन्यत इत्यवश्यं सर्वेणाभ्युपगन्तव्यम्। असत्यां तस्यामकृतसमत्वप्रसङ्गात्। सैव च पुरुषगता क्रतुगता वा योग्यता शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नपूर्वमित्युपदिश्यते। यत्तु प्रत्यक्षादिगम्यरूपमस्य नास्तीति सत्यं, श्रुतार्थापत्तिव्यतिरिक्तैर्न गम्यते स त्वदोषः। तन्त्रवा॰ p. 394; In the श्लोकवा. (अर्थापत्ति॰) Kumārila says 'पीनो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते चेत्येवमादिवच्चःश्रुतौ। रात्रिभोजनविज्ञानं श्रुतार्थापत्तिरिष्यते॥ v. 51. तन्त्रवा॰ further proceeds 'एवं स्वर्गादयोप्यङ्कुरादिस्थानीयां तावत्पूर्वावस्थां प्रतिपद्यन्ते तया चोत्पद्यमानया त एवोत्पन्ना भवन्तीति'. तस्मादस्त्यपूर्वम्। सूत्रस्यापि च न प्रकृतोपयिकमन्यमर्थं पश्यामः। तेनारम्भचोदनैवापूर्वस्यापि चोदनेत्ययमेवार्थः। तन्त्रवा. p. 400. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. III. 2. 40 puts briefly and clearly Jaimini's view 'श्रुतिश्चेत् प्रमाणं यथार्थः कर्मफलसम्बन्धः श्रुत उपपद्यते तथा कल्पयितव्यः। न चानुत्पाद्य किमप्यपूर्वं कर्म विनश्यत्कालान्तरितं फलं दातुं शक्नोति। अतः कर्मणो वा सूक्ष्मा काचिदुत्तरावस्था फलस्य वा पूर्वावस्थाऽपूर्वं नामास्तीति तर्क्यते।; vide भामती on वे. सू. III. 2. 41.

1965. तच्चापूर्वं दर्शपूर्णमासयोरनेकविधम्। फलापूर्वं, संस्कारापूर्वं, उत्पत्त्यपूर्वं, अङ्गापूर्वं चेति। येन स्वर्गं आरभ्यते तत्फलापूर्वम्। This is जै. न्या. मा. वि. This फलापूर्व is also called परमापूर्व.

the sacrifice and arises as something new after its performance and hence apūrva has a purely etymological sense.[1966]

If one holds the view that apūrva is some potency coming to reside in the performer of a sacrifice one's views would be like those of some modern writers who hold that real prayer is not mere repetition of certain words deemed to be sacred, but it is an upward movement or a real increase in the intensity of spiritual power in the man who prays, it being immaterial to ask to whom he prays (vide W. James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 467).

7. *Svataḥ-prāmāṇya* (self-validity of cognition). It has already been stated that the *pramāṇas* are six (five according to Prabhākara). The P. M. system postulates that all cognitions as cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves, do not require any extraneous help to establish their validity but invalidity of cognitions is (*parataḥ*) established extraneously by showing that there was defect in the organ that produced the cognition or it is established later on that a particular cognition was wrong.[1967] Prabhākara goes much further and holds that every experience as such is valid and no experience can be said to be wrong or illusory.

8. *Svarga*. The ideas about heaven entertained by Jaimini, Śabara and Kumārila are different from the description of heaven in the Veda and Purāṇas. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp.

1966. यागादिजनितं च पुंसां फलप्राप्तिसामर्थ्यमपूर्वशब्दवाच्यं यागानुष्ठानात्पूर्वमभूतमनुष्ठानोत्तरकालं चापूर्वं जायत इति यौगिकत्वाद्देवापूर्वशब्दाभिधानं सर्वत्र लभ्यते। तन्त्रवा. p 299 on I. 3. 30; on पू. मी. सू. VII. 4. 1 शबर says 'इदमपि चोद्यं यज्जिरपूर्वं साधयति ततश्चापूर्वात्कालान्तरे फलं भवतीति चोदना पुनरारम्भ इत्यत्र।'.

1967. सर्वं विज्ञानविषयमिदं तावत्प्रतीक्ष्यताम्। प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वे स्वतः किं परतोऽथवा॥ स्वतः सर्वप्रमाणानां प्रामाण्यमिति गम्यताम्। न हि स्वतोऽसती शक्तिः कर्तुमन्येन शक्यते॥ ..... तस्माद्बोधात्मकत्वेन प्राप्ता बुद्धेः प्रमाणता। अर्थान्यथात्वहेतूत्थदोषज्ञानादपोह्यते॥ श्लोकवा० (चोदनासूत्र) verses 33, 47, 53; the last two verses are respectively quoted by शान्तरक्षित and कमलशील in तत्त्वसंग्रह pp. 745 and 788. On verse 33 the न्या. र. comments 'तदिहैव चिन्ता। किं ज्ञानस्य प्रामाण्यमप्रामाण्यं च स्वत एव निर्णीयते। किं वोभयमपि कारणगुणदोषाद्विना निरूपयितव्यम्, उताप्रामाण्यं स्वतः प्रामाण्यं परतो विपरीतं वेति।.' Here four possible views are put forward about प्रामाण्य and अप्रामाण्य. The मीमांसक view is that cognition is स्वतःप्रमाण, while its invalidity has to be established by other means (अप्रामाण्यं परतः). शबर on I. 1. 5 says 'तस्माद्यस्य च दुष्टं करणं यत्र च मिथ्येति प्रत्ययः स एवासमीचीनः प्रत्ययो नाम्य इति।'; 'यत्र प्रयत्नेनान्विष्यमाणोऽपि कारणदोषो बाधकज्ञानं वा नोपलभ्यते तत् प्रमाणम्, इतरज्ञानमप्रमाणम्' शास्त्रदीपिका on I. 1. 5 p. 50 (of Nirṇ. ed. of 1915).

165–167 and 168–171 for descriptions of the joys of heaven in the Vedic literature, the Epic and the Purāṇas. From considerations of space the remarks will have to be brief. In Ṛg. IX. 113. 7–11 the sage prays to Soma to place him in that immortal world where there is continuous light, where all desires are fulfilled, where there are joys of various grades. Heaven was deemed to be the place where the souls of valiant men that fought battles and sacrificed their lives went (Ṛg. VI. 46. 12) and in Ṛg. X. 154. 2–4 the soul of the dead is asked to join those departed men that had become invincible by great *tapas*, that had died in battle, that had made gifts of a thousand cows, that had led a life of right and virtue and that were wise sages.

The Atharvaveda IV. 34. 2 and 5–6 say that in heaven there are many women, they get edible plants and flowers of various kinds, there are streams of ghee, honey and wine (*surā*), milk, curds and there are lotus ponds all round. The Śatapatha Br. (XIV. 7. 1. 32–33) states that the joys of heaven are 100 times greater than those on earth. Vide Macdonnell's 'Vedic Mythology' pp. 167–168 and A. B. Keith's 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda' etc. pp. 403–406 (1924). Even the Upaniṣads refer to the joys of heaven e. g. Chān. VIII. 5. 3. speaks of two lakes in the world of Brahmā, aśvattha tree showering down Soma and the city of Bṛahmā calld Aparājitā; the Kauṣītaki Up. (I. 3 and 4) elaborates this and adds that five hundred Apsarases go out to meet him (who reaches heaven), one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with ointments, one hundred with perfumes, one hundred with garments and one hundred with fruits. Poets like Kālidāsa love to dwell upon the instantaneous arrival of the soul of the warrior whose head was cut off in battle and who was at once joined by an apsaras in heaven (vide Raghuvaṁśa VII. 51 'Vāmāṅgasaṁsaktasurāṅganaḥ svam nṛtyat-kabandham samare dadarśa'). The Purāṇas furnish graphic descriptions of the joys of heaven. Vide Brahmapurāṇa 225. 6, Padma II. 95. 2–5, Mārkaṇḍeya 10. 93–95, which enumerate Nandana garden, aerial cars with bevies of Apsarases, golden beds and seats, absence of sorrows, all pleasure &c. Śabara on P. M. S. VI. 1. 1 refers to two popular views about *svarga*; one is, whatever gives pleasure to a person such as silken garments of fine texture, sandalwood, damsels sixteen years old is designated *svarga*. Another popular view is that *svarga* is a certain place where there is no heat nor cold, no hunger nor thirst, no dissatisfaction, no tiredness.

Śabara and Kumārila say that popular[1968] ideas about *svarga* are invalid, that the Mahābhārata and Purānas, being composed by men, need not be considered and that the Vedic descriptions of svarga are mere arthavādas for praise.

P. M. S. IV. 3. 15. provides that svarga[1969] is the reward of all religious acts (such as Viśvajit) for which no express reward is provided by the texts. Śabara states 'happiness is svarga and all seek that'; an old verse says 'that state of happiness in which there is no mixing of pain, which is not immediately overwhelmed by pain, that comes to one when one desires it, is called by the word *svar* (svarga)'.

Medhātithi remarks that smṛtis sometimes state[1970] that the gift of a single cow yields all rewards and relieves from sins with the result that fruits of great religious acts and of slight ones would be deemed to be the same but it should be understood that the rewards differ in their duration; otherwise, no one would engage in great or difficult rites.

Some Vedic rites expressly declare fruits of sacrifices that are other than svarga. For example, the Tai. S. provides 'one desirous of (plenty of) cattle should offer the *citrā* sacrifice' (II. 4. 6. 1.) or 'one desirous of (leadership or control over) a village should offer the Iṣṭi called Sāṅgrahaṇī' (Tai. S. II. 3. 9. 2.).

1968. नन्नु च लोकादाख्यानेभ्यो वेदाच्चावगम्यते देश एवंजातीयकः स्वर्ग इति। तच्च। पुरुषाणामेवंविधेन देशेनासम्बन्धादप्रमाणं वचः। आख्यानमपि पुरुषप्रणीतत्वादनादरणीयम्। वैदिकमपि स्वर्गाख्यानं विधिपरं नास्त्येव भवति तु विध्यन्तरेणैकवाक्यभूतं स्तुतिपरम्। शबर on VI. 1. 1 p. 1348.

1969. स स्वर्गः स्यात्सर्वाम्प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 15; शबर says 'सर्वे हि पुरुषाः स्वर्गकामाः कुत एतत्। प्रीतिर्हि स्वर्गः सर्वश्च प्रीतिं प्रार्थयते।'. स्वर्ग is the साध्य and याग is साधन acc. to दुपटीका on P.M.S. VI. 2.4; यच्च दुःखेन सम्भिन्नं न च ग्रस्तमनन्तरम्। अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं स्वःपदास्पदम्॥ q. by सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति p. 45 (Chow. edition) and by नीलकण्ठ on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72. Some quote this verse as from the विष्णुपुराण, The प्रकरणपञ्चिका (pp. 102–3) appears to echo the words of the verse 'उर्वेतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादि समाम्नायं सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वेनार्थवादैः स्तूयमानं कर्म दृश्यते।...तथा च यावत्तावत्सुखसाधने स्वर्गशब्दं न प्रयुञ्जते किन्तु सातिशयमीतिजनके।; मेधा० on मनु IV. 87 where narakas are said to be 21 remarks 'नरकशब्दो निरतिशयदुःखवचनः। एकविंशतिसंख्या अर्थवादः।. The printed विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 46 is: मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः। नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पुण्यपापे द्विजोत्तम॥.

1970. स्मृत्यन्तरे सर्वफलता पापप्रमोचनार्थतापि गोदानस्य श्रुता यावतामल्पोपकाराणां महोपकारैः फलसाम्यमुच्यते तेषां लोकवत्परिमाणतः फलविशेषोऽवगन्तव्यः। प्राप्यते तदेव फलं न तु चिरकालम्। आवाप्यो ह्ययं न्यायः। पणलभ्यं हि तत्माज्ञः क्रीणाति दशभिः पलैः—इति समानफलत्वे महाप्रयासानर्थक्यं प्राप्नोति। मेधा० on मनु III. 95.

Śabara says the Veda does not say that the result of such sacrifices cannot be had in this very life. This the Ṭuptikā[1971] expands in an interesting note. The remedy declared by the Veda for securing desired objects (son's birth and the like) is bound to yield the result in this life or in the next. If a man has committed evil deeds in a previous life he has to undergo the effects of those sins and while he is undergoing the effects of sins the fruits of sacrifices are postponed. But if the effects of sins have been extremely reduced he secures the fruits of *kāmya* rites in this very life. The words of the Veda laying down an injunction state only so much that the fruit of the rite performed does come about but they do not say that the fruit follows immediately (after the rite is performed). Therefore, there is no definiteness (about the time when the fruit will follow). But svarga is to be enjoyed only in another life (as a fruit of rites performed in this life). It (svarga) means unequalled happiness and is achieved in a degree proportionate to the actions; but it cannot be enjoyed in this life, since men experience in this world every moment both happiness and misery. Every happiness is not the fruit of Jyotiṣṭoma and every being does not perform Jyotiṣṭoma. But some happiness does come to a man. Therefore, it (happiness) is natural. The existence, however, of another body has to be imagined for the experience of unequalled happiness, there being no other reasonable explanation. That unequalled happiness does not come to a man unless he dies; therefore svarga is to be enjoyed in another life.

9. *Mokṣa* (liberation): Neither the P. M. S. nor Śabara nor Prabhākara deals with the topic of Mokṣa. Kumārila and

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1971. पुत्रादीनि कामयमानस्योपायो विधीयते। उपाये च कृते नियतमुपेयेन भवितव्यम्। तदा पूर्वजन्मन्यशुभं कृतम्। तच्चानुभाव्यं तस्मात्पूर्वजन्मकृतमनुभूयते। तत्र यदि जन्मान्तरकृतोऽधर्मः प्रक्षीणस्तत इहैव जन्मनि फलम्। अथाक्षीणस्ततस्तेन बद्धसाधकं फलमुत्कृष्यते। फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिशब्दोऽस्ति न त्वनन्तरत्वे तस्मादनियमः। स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव। स हि निरतिशया प्रीतिः कर्मानुरूपा चेति न शक्येह जन्मन्यनुभवितुम्। यतोऽस्मिँल्लोके क्षणे क्षणे सुखदुःखे अनुभवन्ति। न च प्रीतिमात्रं ज्योतिष्टोमफलम्। प्राणिमात्रस्य च सा विद्यते न च प्राणिमात्रं ज्योतिष्टोमं करोति। तस्मात्तदभाविक्यसौ। देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयप्रीत्यनुभवनायान्यथानुपपत्त्या कल्प्यते। तच्चासुतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः। तुप्टीका on IV. 3.28. It should be noticed that a distintion is drawn here between *prīti* (a moment of happiness) and *niratiśaya-prīti*. The तुप्टीका on VI. 1. 1 says that the siddhānta view is that svarga means 'prīti' (happiness), while the pūrvapakṣa holds that svarga signifies the means for things that cause happiness, but both do not hold that svarga is some place 'एकस्य प्रीतिः स्वर्गशब्दवाच्या, अपरस्य प्रीतिमद् द्रव्यम्। विशिष्टो देश उभयोरप्यवाच्यः' तुप्टीका on पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 1 p. 1348.

Prakaraṇapañcikā deal with it. They both say that liberation consists in not having to assume a body again.[1972] The Ślokavārtika states 'one desiring Mokṣa should not do any act that is forbidden or is *Kāmya* (prescribed for those who desire an object like riches, son &c); he should perform obligatory rites (such as agnihotra) and *naimittika* (like bath, japa and gifts on eclipse &c.) in order to avoid the sin that would accrue owing to non-performance of those two; if he does not desire the rewards of doing nitya and naimittika acts they will not come to him, as such a reward comes to him who seeks it. The results of acts in a former life would be eliminated by undergoing them in the life in which he seeks liberation. This differs from Śaṅkarācārya's position who holds on V. S. IV. 3. 14 that, as declared in the Śvet. Up. III. 8, there is no other way to Mokṣa except knowledge and realization of the Ātman. In his bhāṣya on the same sūtra he seems to attack[1973] Kumārila's position. According to Kumārila Upaniṣad passages about the knowledge of the Ātman are only arthavādas as they convey to the performer the knowledge that he has a soul and that the soul has certain characteristics, while Śaṅkara maintains (on V. S. I. 1. 1) that the phala, the subject of investigation and the Vedic exhortation (codanā) are different in Pūrvamīmāṁsā and in Brahamamlmāṁsā. There exist smṛtis that ridiculed the idea that the mere

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1972. तत्र ज्ञानात्मतत्त्वानां भोगात् पूर्वक्रियाक्षये । उत्तरप्रचयासत्त्वाद्देहो नोत्पद्यते पुनः ॥ ... मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः । नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायजिहासया । प्राप्यमाणं फलं ज्ञातं न चानिच्छोर्भविष्यति । आत्मज्ञे चैतदस्तीति तज्ज्ञानमुपयुज्यते । श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप० vv. 108, 110-111). On v. 111 त्या. र. quotes गीता VI. 1 अनाश्रितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः ।; the दुपटीका on VI. 3. 2 propounds the same views. 'उपात्तदुरितक्षयार्थानि नित्यानीति भट्टादिभिरभ्युपगमात्' चंद्रिका on नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धि I. 83; प्रकरणपञ्चिका p. 156 says, 'न अविद्यास्तमयो मोक्षः । आत्यन्तिकस्तु देहोच्छेदो निःशेषधर्माधर्मपरिक्षयनिबन्धनो मोक्ष इति सिद्धम् ।'.

1973. Vide the passage (in शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 3.14) यत्तु कैश्चिज्जल्प्यते नित्यानि नैमित्तिकानि कर्माण्यनुष्ठीयन्ते प्रत्यवायानुत्पत्तये काम्यानि प्रतिषिद्धानि च परिह्रियन्ते स्वर्गनरकानवाप्तये सांप्रतदेहोपभोग्यानि च कर्माण्युपभोगेनैव क्षप्यन्त इत्यतो वर्तमानदेहपातादूर्ध्वं देहान्तरप्रतिसन्धानकारणाभावात्स्वरूपावस्थानलक्षणं कैवल्यं विनापि ब्रह्मात्मतयैवंवृत्तस्य सेत्स्यतीति । तदसत् । प्रमाणाभावात् । The तन्त्रवार्तिक on पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 7 remarks 'एतेन क्रत्वर्थकर्तृप्रतिपादनद्वारेणोपनिषदां नैराकांक्ष्यं व्याख्यातम् ।' p. 114 and श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप०) verses 103-104 'आत्मा ज्ञातव्य इत्येतन्मोक्षार्थं न च चोदितम् । कर्मप्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वमात्मज्ञानस्य लक्ष्यते । विज्ञाते चास्य पारार्थ्ये यापि नाम फलश्रुतिः । सार्थवादो भवेदेव न स्वर्गादेः फलान्तरम् ' ॥ ; सुरेश्वर's वार्तिक on तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्भाष्य (शिक्षाध्याय I. 9-10) quotes the verses मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत &c. cited in note 1972 and remarks इति मीमांसकंमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् ।

knowledge of the Self would lead to Mokṣa. For example,[1974] the Bṛ. Y. Y. affirms that both knowledge and actions lead to Liberation, that to say that knowledge alone leads to liberation is a sign of indolence, that out of the fear of bodily labour ignorant men do not want to engage in actions.

The doctrines of the early and principal writers on Pūrvamīmāṁsā are rather quaint and startling. Their arguments about the eternality and self-existence of the Veda are fallacious and were not accepted even by other ancient Indian systems. Both Prabhākara and Kumārila have in their scheme no place for God as the dispenser of rewards or as the ruler of man's destiny, as being pleased with men's prayers. They do not expressly deny the existence of God, but they assign to God or the deities mentioned in the Vedic texts a secondary role or rather practically no role at all. They raise yajña to the position of God and their dogmas about yajña seem to be based upon a sort of commercial or business-like system,[1975] viz. one should do so many acts, dispense gifts to priests, offer certain offerings, observe certain ethical rules and other rules of conduct (such as not eating flesh, subsisting on milk)[1976] and then the reward would follow without the intervention of God. There is hardly any appeal to religious emotions, there is no omniscient Being, no Creator and no creation of the world. The PūrvamImāṁsā no doubt lays emphasis on (the rights and) duties of man in life. The other darśanas are far more concerned with the question of escaping permanently from the world and with man's destiny after death. The P. M. S, Śabara and Kumārila, however, make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic

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1974. ज्ञानं प्रधानं न तु कर्महीनं कर्म प्रधानं न तु बुद्धिहीनम्। तस्माद् द्वयोरेव भवेत सिद्धिर्न ह्येकपक्षो विहगः प्रयाति॥ परिज्ञानाद्धवेन्मुक्तिरेतदालस्यलक्षणम्। कायक्लेशभयाज्ज्ञैव कर्म नेच्छन्त्यपण्डिताः॥ बृहद्योगिया. IX. 29,.34 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष) p. 146.

1975. For a striking example of the spirit of bargaining with God, vide the mantra देहि मे ददामि ते नि मे धेहि नि ते दधे। निहारमिहि मे हरा निहारं नि हरामि ते॥ तै. सं. I. 8. 4. 1-2, वा. सं. III. 50 (with slight variations); compare अथर्ववेद III. 15. 6.

1976. Vide Tai. S. II. 5. 5. 6. about one engaged in Darśapūrṇamāsa; तस्यैतद्व्रतं नाश्नतं वदेच्च मांसमश्नीयाच्च स्त्रियमुपेयाज्जास्य पल्पूलनेन वासः पल्पूलयेयुः' and तै. सं. VI. 2.5. 2-3 where पयः, यवागूः and आमिक्षा are prescribed as the proper food for a ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय and वैश्य sacrificer respectively. Jaimini (IV. 3. 8-9) declares that this is *kratvartha* (obligatory). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1139-1140 for the observances of the person who has undergone dīkṣā (consecration) for an Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.

texts. There are about three thousand quotations in Śabara's bhāṣya, out of which several hundred have not been yet identified. At least one thousand of these are taken from the Tai. S. and Br. About twelve adhikaraṇas are concerned with the Adhrigupraiṣa (a long formula) which is quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1121 note 2504. Some adhikaraṇas are devoted to the explanation of certain words in that praiṣa e. g. PMS IX. 4. 22 explains urūka as 'vapā', IX. 4. 23-24 explain 'praśasā', IX. 4. 25-27 explain five words (śyena, śalā, kaśyapa, kavaṣa, srekaparṇa). Similarly, X. 1. 32 explains the word *bṛsaya* as meaning 'bṛhat.' Śabara's and Kumārila's stands on the individual soul and mokṣa confer on the P. M. system some status as a philosophical one. For a systematic and exhaustive study of Śabara's contribution to Vedic and post-vedic exegesis, vide Dr. S. V. Garge's citations in Śābara-bhāṣya' pp. 140–213 (Poona, 1952).

The doctrine that the Veda is eternal and of absolute and unquestioned authority has led to certain undesirable tendencies. Propounders of new doctrines make great efforts to show that there is Vedic authority for what they hold. For example, the sūtras in V. S. I. 1. 5–18 are concerned to show that the Upaniṣads do not postulate Pradhāna as the cause of the world, as the Sāṅkhyas imagine. Śaṅkarācārya expressly states that the Sāṅkhyas explain Vedānta passages as favourable to their theories and therefore a refutation of their arguments was[1977] provided in V. S. I. 1. 5–18. It has been shown above how followers of Śākta worship try to interpret a verse like Ṛgveda V. 47. 4 (catvāra Im bibhrati &c) as referring to the Śākta doctrines and how treatises dignified with the title of Upaniṣads were produced by Śākta writers such as the Bhāvanopaniṣad. Śabara in his bhāṣya on PMS. I. 1. 5 states that the Vijñānavādi Bauddhas put forward Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 13 (Vijñānaghana evaitebhyo bhūtebhyaḥ samutthāya tānyevānuvinaśyati na pretya sañjñāsti) as supporting their position. One of the most glaring examples of this tendency is the explanation of Ṛg. I. 141. 1–3 by Ānandatīrtha, also called Madhvācārya, who in 'Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya' claims to be the third incarnation of Vāyu, the other two being Hanūmat and Bhīmasena, one

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1977. सांख्यादयस्तु परिनिष्ठितं वस्तु प्रमाणान्तरमप्यमेवेति मन्यमानाः प्रधानादीनि कारणान्तराण्यनुमिमानास्तत्परतयैव वेदान्तवाक्यानि योजयन्ति। शङ्कर on वे. सू. I. 1. 5; सांख्यादयः स्वपक्षस्थापनाय वेदान्तवाक्यान्यप्युदाहृत्य स्वपक्षानुगुण्येनैव योजयन्तो व्याचक्षते। शङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2. I.

of the Pāṇḍavas, and who endeavours to interpret Ṛg. I. 141: 1-3 as referring to these three avatāras.[1978] The words 'Madhvaḥ' and 'Mātariśvā' (meaning 'wind-god') occur in Ṛg. I. 141. 3. This was deemed sufficient to claim that Madhva, the propounder of the Dvaita system, was mentioned in the Ṛgveda. I do not know how Madhvācārya would have met the charge of Veda not being eternal if it referred to Bhīmasena (who even according to the traditional account in the Mahābhārata lived at the end of Dvāpara age i. e. about 5000 years ago) and to Madhva himself who lived barely seven centuries ago. The Veda would be later than these dates. The argument that this refers to a previous Kalpa would not be available to rebut the charge, as the Kalpa, Manvantara and Mahāyuga when Bhīma and Madhvācārya flourished and in the present day are the same. There was no *pralaya* (dissolution of the world) at the end of Dvāpara and Kaliyuga immediately set in. The Bhārata war was fought between Dvāpara and Kali (Ādiparva 2. 13) and Kaliyuga was about to start at the time of that war (vide Vanaparva 'etat kaliyugam nāmācirād-yad pravartate' and Śalya 60. 25 '(prāptam Kaliyugam viddhi)'. It is on account of this pretention that he was very roughly handled by eminent writers like Appayya-dīkṣita who charges Madhva with citing fabricated Vedic and other texts in support of his doctrines. Vide I. A. vol. 62 at p. 189 where the writer, Shri Venkatasubbiah, sets out over thirty works mentioned by Madhva which he states occur nowhere else. M. M. Chinnaswami, who has edited (Benares, 1941) Appayya's work in 60 verses with the commentary of Appayya called Madhvamatavidhvaṁsana and notes of his own, sets out on p. 4 thirty-six unknown works and the sūtras where they are cited by Appayya.

1978. तद्वस्तृतीया पवनस्य सेयं सद्भारतार्थमतिपादनाय। ग्रन्थं चकारेमहदूर्णविद्या यस्मिन् रमन्ते हरिपादभक्ताः॥ तृतीयमस्य वृषभस्य दोहसे दशप्रमतिं जनयन्त योषणः। निर्यदीं बुध्नान्महिषस्य वर्पस ईशानासः शवसा क्रन्त सूरयः। यदीमनु प्रदिवो मध्व आधवे गुहा सन्तं मातरिश्वा मथायति॥; यस्य त्रीण्युदितानि वेदवचने रूपाणि दिव्यान्यलं यद् तद्दर्शतमित्थमेव निहितं वेदस्य भर्गो महत्। वायो रामवचोनयं प्रथमकं पृक्षो द्वितीयं वपुर्मध्वो यत्तु तृतीयमेतदधुना ग्रन्थः कृतः केशवे॥ महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णय chap. 32 verses 176-181 (Nirn. ed. of 1911; तृतीय ...योषणः form latter half of Ṛg. I. 141. 2 and निर्यदीं....मथायति is Ṛg. I. 141. 3. Ṛg. I. 141. 1 begins with चकित्था. In the भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र the verse यस्य etc. quoted here reads the last line as 'मध्वो यत्तु तृतीयकं कृतमिदं भाष्यं हरौ तेन हि'. The celebrated Appayyadīkṣita delivered a heavy onslaught on Madhvācārya in his मध्वतन्त्रमुखमर्दन (Ānan.) for this claim of avatāraship.

It is remarkable that great ācāryas like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja never claimed in their own works that they were the avatāras of some deity. It was left to their disciples to say so, if at all.

Having established that Veda is eternal and self existent the Mimāmsakas give free rein to their ingenuity, powers of reasoning and logic. They have a logic of their own which governed not only the interpretation of Vedic passages but also of the Smrtis and the medieval works on Dharmaśāstra (including law and procedure). As Colebrooke, one of the most accurate and level-headed of Western scholars of Sanskrit, said more than 130 years ago 'the disquisitions on the mīmāmsā bear therefore a certain resemblance to juridical questions; and in fact, the Hindu law being blended with the religion of the people, the same modes of reasoning are applicable and are applied to the one as to the other. The logic of the Mimansa is the logic of the law; the rule of interpretation of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of law and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimansa' (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I. pp. 316–317, Madras ed. of 1837).

The first division of Vedic material is into *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. It has been already stated above (p. 1096 note 1776) that those are mantras that are recognized as such by the learned. P. M. S. (II. 1. 31–32) provides[1979] that mantra is that which simply asserts (and is not hortatory) or (to say the same thing in another way) 'those are mantras that are so called on account of their asserting something'. On P. M. S. I. 4. 1 Śabara describes mantra as one that at the time when the procedure of a sacrifice is being followed, recalls or reminds or makes clear to the performer the matter that is prescribed e. g. 'I cut (the blades of) kuśa grass that is an abode for the deity'. This is only a general description of mantra and not an accurate definition. Mantras are not supposed to be useful in sacrifices by

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1979 अपि वा प्रयोगसामर्थ्यान्मन्त्रोऽभिधानवाची स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 31; शाबरभाष्य 'प्रयोगे क्रियमाणेऽस्य सामर्थ्यं विद्यते गोदानं गोयागं च प्रत्याययितुं न विधातुम्"; तच्चोदकेषु मन्त्राख्या। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 32; शाबरभाष्य 'अभिधानस्य चोदकेष्वेवंजातीयकेष्वभियुक्ता उपदिशन्ति मन्त्रानधीमहे, मन्त्रानध्यापयामः, मन्त्रा वर्तन्त इति'।; the तन्त्रवार्तिक dissolves 'तच्चोदकेषु' as तत् अभिधानं चोदकं प्रयोजकं येषामिति बहुव्रीहिः। काश्चिन्मन्त्रो यो विहितमर्थं प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशयति। यथा बर्हिर्देवसदनं दामि इत्येवमादि। शबर on पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 1. बर्हिर्देव० occurs in मै. सं. I. 1, 2.

their mere utterance (*uccāraṇa*) but are really '*abhidhāyaka*' (reminders of what is to be done or is being done). Śabara remarks that *lakṣaṇa* is the only way for the recognition of mantras and not an enumeration of some characteristics of mantras as done by the Vṛttikāra such as these viz.[1980] some end in 'asi' (thou art) or '*tvā*' as in Tai. S. I. 1. 1 'iṣe tvā', prayer or wish (as in 'āyurdhā asi' in Tai. S. I. 6. 6. 1), praise ('agnir mūrdhā divaḥ' in Tai. S. IV. 4. 4). Śabara points out that 'asi' and 'tvā' occur even in the middle of mantras, the other characteristics such as blessing and praise are found in Brāhmaṇas also. The M. B. P. remarks that there are (p. 66) one hundred kinds of mantras and that if we take into account the fourteen Vedic metres and their sub-varieties there would be 273 different varieties of *ṛk* mantras alone (p. 67). There are certain texts regarded as mantras (e. g. 'Vasantāya kapiñjalānālabhate' Vāj. S. 24. 20) which are not merely assertive but rather relate to the procedure of a yāga (in the case of Vāj. S. 24. 20, of Aśvamedha).

Mantras are classified under three heads viz. Ṛk, Sāman and Yajus. These are defined in P. M. S. II. 1, 35–37; the name ṛk is applied to those[1981] mantras that are divided into feet, metrical *pādas* (often) based on the meaning. Sāman is the name applied to Vedic mantras that are sung. It has been established in P. M. S. VII. 2. 1–21 and IX. 2. 1–2 that the mantra[1982] texts are not called Sāman but only the music, that

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1980. ऋषयोऽपि पदार्थानां नान्तं यान्ति पृथक्त्वशः। लक्षणेन तु सिद्धानामन्तं यान्ति विपश्चितः। q. by शबर on II. 1. 32; तन्त्रवार्तिक proposes to read this very श्लोक as 'ऋषयोऽपि हि लक्ष्याणां'.

1981. तेषामृग्यत्रार्थवशेन पादव्यवस्था। गीतिषु सामाख्या। शेषे यजुःशब्दः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 35–37. In अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं (Ṛg. I. 1. 1) the first pāda has a complete sense, but in अग्निः पूर्वेभिर्ऋषिभिरीड्यो नूतनैरुत (Ṛg. I. 1. 2) the meaning is not complete in the first pāda. Therefore, the only definition is 'पादव्यवस्था' and अर्थवशेन is only illustrative as शबर says 'यतो नार्थवशेनेति वृत्तादिवशाच्चरितार्थं, किं तर्हि अनुवाद एव प्रदर्शनार्थः। ... तस्माच्चत्र पादकृता व्यवस्था सा ऋगिति'

1982. तस्माद्गीतयः सामानि न गीतानि मन्त्रवाक्यानि। शबर on IX. 2. 2; सामवेदे सहस्रं गीत्युपायाः। ... गीतिर्नाम क्रिया। सा आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नजनितस्वरविशेषाणामभिव्यञ्जिका। सा सामशब्दाभिलप्या। सा मितपरिमाणा। ऋचि च गीयते। शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX. 2. 29. In the महाभाष्य on the Vārtika सर्वे देशान्तरे in the first आह्निक we read चत्वारो वेदाः साङ्गाः सरहस्या बहुधा विभिन्ना एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद एकविंशतिधा बाहुवृच्यं नवधाथर्वणो वेदः &c. Here the word शाखा is not used in relation to सामवेद but the word वर्त्मन् (way). As शबर expressly

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gīti is an action which manifests various tunes owing to the internal effort made by the singer and in order to bring about the musical effect the singer has to resort to modifications of the letters of the ṛk, to disjunction (of parts of it), to omission (of a letter), to repetition, to pauses, to [1983] *stobha*. In VII.2. 1–21 the PMS establishes that the words 'Rathantara-sāman', 'Bṛhat-sāman' refer only to the music and not to the *ṛk* or basic text set to music. Yajus means those Vedic mantras that are neither *ṛk* nor *sāman*. There is another word 'nigada' applied to certain mantras that are addressed to others as directions to do certain acts and are uttered loudly such as 'agnīdagnīn vihara', 'prokṣaṇīrāsādaya, 'idhmābarhirupasādaya'. They are Yajus (i. e. in prose), the only difference being that they are loudly uttered (in order that the persons to whom they are addressed may hear them), while ordinary Yajus is uttered inaudibly. Vide P. M. S. II. 1. 38–45 for discussion on Nigadas and Mai. S. III. 6. 5 for 'uccair-ṛcā kriyata uccaiḥ sāmopāṁśu yajuṣā'.

Mantra and Brāhmaṇa constitute the Veda. The P. M. S. [1984] states that all those parts of the Veda that are not or cannot be called Mantra constitute Brāhmaṇa. Śabara notes that the Vṛttikāra, in order to enable students to decide what texts are Brāhmaṇa texts, pointed out certain characteristics found in Brāhmaṇa texts such as abounding in the word 'iti' or 'ityāha' (so it is said), anecdote, stating the reason for an injunction, etymology, condemnation, praise, doubt, injunction, instance where another did something of the same kind, what happened in

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says that in सामवेद there are a thousand गीत्युपाय, सहस्रवर्त्मा means 'सहस्रगीत्युपायवान्' and it is not correct to render सहस्रवर्त्मा as सहस्रशाखः, as many scholars do. The विष्णुपुराण III. 6 gives a confused account of the recensions of the सामवेद, verses 3 and 6 speaking of 1000 संहिताs propagated by सुकर्मा and 24 संहिताs propagated by a pupil of हिरण्यनाभ respectively.

1983. Stobhas are musical interjections and flourishes added or introduced in the chants such as 'hāū, haī, ī, ū, hum'. Vide Chān. Up. (I. 13. 1–3) where hum is said to be the 13th stobha and undefinable (identified with highest Brahma) and the other 12 stobhas are specified among which are हाउ, हाइ, ई, ऊ &c. Vide Jai. IX. 2. 39 (adhikam ca vivarṇam ca Jaimineḥ stobhaśabdatvāt).

1984. शेषे ब्राह्मणशब्दः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 33; 'मन्त्राश्च ब्राह्मणं च वेदः। तत्र मन्त्रलक्षण उक्ते परिशेषसिद्धत्वात् ब्राह्मणलक्षणमवचनीयं मन्त्रलक्षणवचनेनैव सिद्धम्। शबर.

past ages, changing the meaning after considering the context.[1985] Śabara also quotes two verses summarising under ten heads the characteristics of Brāhmaṇa texts, points out that all this is only illustrative and that the characteristics mentioned by the Vṛttikāra sometimes occur in mantras also, such as 'iti' in Ṛg. X. 119. 1, 'ityāha' in Ṛg. VII. 41. 2, 'ākhyāyikā' as in Ṛg. I. 116. 3, reason (*hetu*) in Ṛg. I. 2. 4. The Ṛgveda alone contains over ten thousand mantras. Hardly one-third of them are employed in all the Vedic rites. The rest are employed in *japa*. Besides, the other Vedas also have thousands of mantras. Therefore, no formal definition of mantra is attempted and all that is stated is that mantras are those which have been recognised as such by the [1986] learned.

Brāhmaṇas are attached to each Veda, such as the Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas to the Ṛgveda, the Taittirīya to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, the Śatapatha to the Śukla Yajurveda, the Tāṇḍya to the Sāmaveda and Gopatha to the Yajurveda. The Brāhmaṇas contain the oldest known specimens of prose in Indo-European languages, though prose formulas (probably earlier in date than those in the Brāhmaṇas) are found in the Kṛṣṇa and Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitās. They are the primary source of information about sacrifices, ritual and priests. They contain numerous myths and legends put forward for illustrating ritual and sacrifices. They often mention contests between gods and *asuras* (titans) and abound in etymologies. Their contents can be divided into two broad classes, viz. injunctive (hortatory) passages (vidhis) and explanatory (or laudatory) passages (arthavādas). The scope and purpose of arthavādas will be explained later on. But one important point to be noted is that the Mīmāṁsakas are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda, even the smallest, is useless or meaningless.

It is now time to see how the Mīmāṁsakas deal with the contents of the Veda. The extant Vedic literature is of

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1985. हेतुर्निर्वचनं निन्दा प्रशंसा संशयो विधिः। परक्रिया पुराकल्पो व्यवधारणकल्पना। उपमानं दशैते तु विधयो ब्राह्मणस्य तु। एवत् स्यात् सर्ववेदेषु निपतं विधिलक्षणम्॥ q. by शबर on II. 1. 33. The तन्त्रवा. explains that the word विधि in विधिलक्षण here means ब्राह्मण. About व्यवधारणकल्पना it says 'यत्राप्यर्थाः प्रतिभातः पौर्वापर्यालोचनेन व्यवधार्य अन्यथा कल्प्यते सा व्यवधारणकल्पना तद्यथा प्रतिगृह्णीयादिति श्रुतं प्रतिग्राहयेदिति कल्पयिष्यते।' and परकृति and पुराकल्प as 'एकपुरुषकर्तृकमनुपाख्यपार्थं परकृतिः बहुकर्तृकं पुराकल्पः।' The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 34.63-64 explains 'अन्यदाख्यस्य चोक्तिर्या बुधैः सोक्ता पुराकृतिः। यो ह्यत्यन्तपरोक्षार्थः स पुराकल्प उच्यते॥'

1986. स्वाध्याये पठ्यमानेषु येषु मन्त्रपदं स्मृतम्। ते मन्त्रा नाभिधानं हि मन्त्राणां लक्षणं स्थितम्॥ तन्त्रवार्तिक on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34.

enormous extent and of greatly varied content. Once it is admitted that the Veda is self-existent and not the work of any author, human or divine, every sentence in it apparently becomes of infallible authority. The Veda being the only means of knowing Dharma, the Mīmāṁsakas had to accept that whatever the Veda says was authoritative and binding on them, as Śabara [1987] admits. But many Vedic texts are apparently in conflict with each other and often are in conflict with ordinary experience. A few striking instances may be given to show how difficulties arose. The Tai. S. V. 2. 7 and Mai. S. state 'one should not pile the fire altar on (bare) earth, nor in the sky, nor in heaven'. [1988] No one can build a fire altar in the sky, nor in heaven. The Veda apparently prohibits something which is quite impossible and therefore this prohibition seems at first sight senseless. The Tai. Br. (III. 8. 10. 5) states that by offering the Pūrṇāhuti the performer secures all desired objects. If Pūrṇāhuti yields all objects, then one need not perform any further rites of Agnihotra &c. Does the Veda mean this? The Veda contains stories and legends about individuals e. g. Tai. S. mentions Babara Prāvāhaṇi who desired to be an eloquent speaker and therefore performed a sacrifice called Pañcarātra and secured his object. The Veda would then be later in time than this Babara and this would forfeit the claim of being eternal &c. Therefore, Śabara states that a story that never happened is described for the sake of praise. This may be an escape from a tight corner but the explanation does not redound

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1987. शब्दप्रमाणका वयं यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू. III. 2. 36. These very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 9 in the first आह्निक.

1988. न पृथिव्यामग्निश्चेतव्यो नान्तरिक्षे न दिवि – इत्याहुः। अधृतं वै हिरण्यमधृते वा एतदग्निश्चीयते। मै. सं. III. 2. 6. Vide P. M. S. I. 2. 5 and 18 on this and व्यवहारमयूख p. 202 (which says it is निषेधानुवादमात्रम्). All that is meant is that, just as agnicayana in the air or sky is not at all known, so doing it on bare earth also is unknown and it should be done after placing a piece of gold on the ground. This is a *stuti* (laudation) of gold. पूर्णाहुति is explained as पूर्णया स्रुचा आहुतिः by the com. on कात्यायनश्रौ. सू. IV. 10. 5. बबरः प्रावाहणिरकामयत वाचः प्रवदिता स्यामिति स एतं पञ्चरात्रमाहरत् तेनायजत ततो वै स वाचः प्रवदिताऽभवत्। य एवं विद्वान् पञ्चरात्रेण यजते प्रवदितैव वाचो भवत्यथो एनं वाचस्पतिरित्याहुः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 10. 2-3. प्रावाहणि would mean 'son of प्रवाहण'. Vide P. M. S., I. 2. 6 and 18 for this. शबर remarks 'असद्वृत्तान्तान्याख्यानं स्तुत्यर्थेन प्रशंसाया गम्यमानत्वात्' on I. 2. 10, on which तन्त्रवा. remarks 'एवं वेदेपि विधिना तावत्कल्पनागमितमर्थवादास्त्वसत्येन नाम प्रशंसयन्तु न तद्वते सत्यासत्यत्वे किंचित् दूषयतः प्रवर्तनमात्रोपकारित्वात्। तस्माद्बुपाख्यानासत्यत्वमतन्त्रम्।' तन्त्रवा. on I. 2. 10.

to the credit of the Veda which is here admitted to have manufactured a non-existent story for pushing up one of its injunctions; besides, if people come to know from what Śabara says that the story is false, people would not be induced to go in for performing that rite. A true story might encourage persons to follow the prescription of the Veda in this case. The Tantravārtika (p. 125) on this explanation of Śabara tries to meet the objection raised here. Sometimes Veda is divided into three portions viz. Vidhi, Arthavāda and Mantra, names of yāgas like *udbhid* and *viśvajit* being placed under vidhi. The Ślokavārtika refers to this threefold division in its last verse.[1989] Though the whole Veda is the only means of right knowledge about what Dharma is i. e. what should be done and what should not be done, the different parts of the Veda are not all directly related to right knowledge about Dharma. Large portions of the Veda are related only mediately to the principal part.[1990] In one place Śabara very succintly but clearly defines the three classes of Vedic texts and illustrates them. The Veda is also divided into five parts viz. vidhi, arthavāda, mantra, nāmadheya and pratiṣedha. These five have already been mentioned above. Here some details will have to be added on each of these. Vidhi is an injunction (or exhortation) that is meaningful on account of enjoining a matter that has a (useful) purpose and it prescribes

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1989. इति प्रमाणत्वमिदं प्रसिद्धं युक्त्येह धर्मं प्रति चोदनायाः। अतःपरं तु प्रविभज्य वेदं त्रेधा ततो वक्ष्यति यस्य योर्थः॥ q. in मी. वा. प. p. 7; on this न्या. र. remarks 'तेन सिद्धेपि चोदनाप्रामाण्ये ततःपरं विध्यर्थवादमन्त्रात्मना वेदं त्रेधा विभज्य तत्स्तुत्यादिप्रयोजनप्रतिपादनेन कृत्स्नस्य वेदस्य तन्मूलयोश्च स्मृत्याचारयोर्धर्मं प्रति प्रामाण्यमुपपादितमेषु पादत्रयेषु प्रतिपादयिष्यत इति समस्तोऽध्यायः प्रमाणलक्षणं, नैवेह समाप्तमिति।'. On the पूर्वपक्षसूत्र 'उक्तं समाम्नायैदमर्थं तस्मात् सर्वं तदर्थं स्यात्' (पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 1.) शबर states 'कश्चिदस्य (वेदस्य) भागो विधिर्योऽविदितमर्थं वेदयति यथा सोमेन यजेतेति। कश्चिदर्थवादो यः प्ररोचयन् विधिं स्तौति यथा वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता इति। कश्चिन्मन्त्रो यो विहितमर्थं प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशयति यथा बर्हिर्देवसदनं दामि-इत्येवमादिः। अर्थ अर्थः यस्य सः इदमर्थः तस्य भावः ऐदमर्थ्यम्। समाम्नाय means वेद. उक्तं refers to पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 1 (आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वात् &c).

1990. The ज्ञानदीपिका on I. 4. 1 states 'तत्र चोदनैव साक्षात्प्रमाणम्। अर्थवादमन्त्रस्मृतिनामधेयानि तच्छेषत्वेन तन्मूलत्वेन च प्रमाणं भवन्तीति धर्ममितेरितिकर्तव्यतास्थाने नियतं निपतन्ति।' (p. 54). That विधि means something not known before or from another source follows from the पूर्वपक्षसूत्र I. 2. 19 विधिर्वा स्यादपूर्वत्वात् &c. On I. 4. 4 (p. 333) शबर says 'अविदितवेदनं च विधिरित्युच्यते।'; अज्ञातस्य हि ज्ञापनं विधिः। शबर on X. 3. 20; on I. 4. 8 p. 339 'यद्यज्ञातस्ततो विधिः, यदि ज्ञातस्ततोनुवादः। ... न ह्याख्यातमन्तरेण कृत्यं वा नामशब्दार्थव्यापारो विधीयते।; this last states that ordinarily a vidhi is laid down by a verbal form or by a potential passive participle (ending in य, तव्य, or अनीय).

something that does not follow (or is not established by) from any other authority. Śabara himself describes in many places what vidhi means. For example, the injunction 'one desirous of (attaining) Heaven should offer Agnihotra' prescribes (the performance of) homa that does not follow from any other authority and that has a beneficial purpose, its meaning being 'by the Agnihotra offering one should effect (the attainment of) svarga'. Where, however, a rite is otherwise established, all that can be done is only to enjoin an accessory with regard to it. Thus in the sentence 'one should offer an oblation with curds' the homa being already established by the words 'one should offer Agnihotra (if one desires heaven)' all that is enjoined is the offering of curds with regard to it, the meaning being 'by curds one should effect the oblation'. Vide Ṭup-ṭīkā on P. M. S. VI, 3, 17 and M. N. P. p. 17 (B. O. R. I ed.).[1991]

The collection of vidhis in the Vedic texts forms the core of the Veda and refers to many specific rites. The central element in a vidhi is the verb or verbal form, which will be analysed later on. The question is: how is one to recognize a vidhi. Śabara quotes a verse which those who know the propositions about the meanings of words and sentences declare traditionally, viz. in all the Vedas the fixed (or definite) sign of a vidhi is the words 'one shall do', 'it should be done', 'it ought to be done', 'it should be so', it ought to be so'.[1992] From this it follows that a vidhi is ordinarily couched in the optative form (called vidhiliṅ in Sanskrit), and that a verb in the present tense cannot ordinarily be taken as laying down a vidhi.[1993] But sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a text in which the verb is in the present tense. For example, there is a vedic text occurring in the Mahāpitṛyajña which states 'he should follow holding the

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1991. यत्र तु कर्म प्रकारान्तरेण प्राप्तं तत्र तदुद्देशेन गुणमात्रविधानम्। यथा 'दध्ना जुहुयात्' इत्यत्र होमस्य 'अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्' इत्यनेन प्राप्तत्वात् होमोद्देशेन दधिमात्रविधानम्, दध्ना होमं भावयेत् इति। मी. न्या. प्र. p. 17.

1992. एवं हि पदवाक्यार्थन्यायविदः श्लोकमामनन्ति। कुर्यात् क्रियेत कर्तव्यं भवेत्स्यादिति पञ्चमम्। एतत्स्यात्सर्ववेदेषु नियतं विधिलक्षणम्॥ शबर on पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 3.

1993. शबर himself says on पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 13 'ऋत्विजो वृणीते ... देवयजनमध्वर्यवस्यन्तीति। नात्र विधिर्गम्यते वर्तमानकालप्रत्ययनिर्देशात् न चात्र वाक्यशेषः स्तावकोस्ति।' and on III. 4. 15 (while discussing तै. सं. II. 5. 2. 4 तस्माज्जाय्यमानोऽनुब्रूयान्मायि यज्ञकतू इति प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धत्ते) 'नात्र विधायकं शब्दमुपलभामहे य एष प्राणापानावेवात्मन्धत्ते इति। वर्तमानापदेश एष न विधायकः स्तावकस्तु भवति मन्त्रवच्चनस्य'; similarly, on IV. 1. 32 (p. 1215) 'नात्र विधिविभक्तिः, वर्तमानापदेशो ह्ययमिति।'. मेधातिथि on मनु V. 40 employs very similar words.

fuelstick below the handle of the ladle in the pitṛyajña, since the performer of rites for the gods holds the fuel-stick above the handle.[1994] This has been construed as a vidhi (exhortation) and not as a mere arthavāda. Another example is that of Rātrisattras (Soma sacrifices occupying more than twelve days). A passage in the context of Rātrisattras states 'those who perform *rātrisattra* attain stability (or fame), are endowed with *brahma* lustre and eat or possess food'. This looks like a mere praise (arthavāda) of the performance of rātrisattras, but really it is a vidhi about the reward of rātrisattra mentioned in the above passage and states an exception to the rule that svarga is the reward of a rite in which no reward is specified by the Vedic texts. This is employed in the Mit. on Yāj. III. 226 which states that the sin committed through ignorance is removed by the performance of penances. Ordinarily, a sinful act is deemed to be destroyed by undergoing the penalty that God may inflict, but Yāj. states a special rule. Medhātithi on Manu V. 40 (stating that animals, birds and herbs dying by being offered in yajñas reach higher levels) says that this is merely an arthavāda and no vidhi can be imagined from this by the maxim of Rātrisattra.[1995] Vide Par. M. (I. 1. p. 149) which holds that an

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1994. विष्टगताग्निहोत्रे महापितृयज्ञे वा श्रूयते। अधस्तात्समिधं धारयन्नुत्तरवेदुपरि हि देवेभ्यो धारयति। quoted by तन्त्रवा. on III. 4. 6 (Śabara has dropped this sūtra along with five preceding ones); it then proceeds 'पित्र्ये होमेऽधस्तात् स्रुग्दण्डस्य समिद्धारयितव्या।' दैवे च पुनरुपरिष्टादिति। विधित्वे चैवमादीनामुक्तः कल्पनामकारः। तस्माद्विधिरिति॥' p. 899. It may be noted that the स्मृतिच. (I. pp. 72–73) mentions this Vedic passage and the conclusion in its discussion about the validity of marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter or one's paternal aunt's daughter, after quoting a Śatapatha text I. 8. 3. 6 'तस्मात्समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चाधश्च जायेते इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छामहे इति विदेवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसते' (where the verbs are in the present tense and not in the optative mood and yet the Sm. C. holds that it is not a mere anuvāda, but it leads to the formulation of a vidhi). Vide also परा. मा. I. 2. pp. 66–67 for a similar treatment. It was held that the use of words like 'hi' indicating a reason or 'vai' (indicating what is well-known) is not generally allowed in a vidhi. Vide शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX. 1. 41 (p. 1690) 'न च विधीयमाने वैशब्दो भवति प्रसिद्धवचनो ह्येष इदः, न वै ऋणानि सरूपाणि सन्ति— इति यथा।'. न वै &c. occurs in Ṛg. X. 95. 15.

1995. रात्रीः प्रकृत्य श्रूयते। प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति। ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनोऽन्नादा भवन्ति य एता उपयन्ति। The words प्रति...यन्ति occur in ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4. This is considered in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 17–19. The सुबोधिका holds that there is a विधि here. The मिता० on Yāj III. 226 says 'न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम्। अधिकारिविशेषणाकांक्षायां रात्रिसत्रन्यायेनार्थवादैकफलत्वेन कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात्। अतो युक्तं प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येन इति।'. This अधिकरण contains an exception to the

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adhikāravidhi about one desirous of stability has been assumed from the passage about rātrisattra. Raghunandana in Ekādaśītattva (p. 28) explains the sūtras (P. M. S. IV. 3. 17-19) and illustrates this *nyāya*.

Following the Vedas, the Smṛtis also lay down numerous vidhis by means of verbal optative forms or participles ending in 'ya, tavya &c.'. For example, vide Manu IV. 25 'agnihotram ca juhuyāt' and XI. 53 ('caritavyam-ato &c.') as instances of the two ways. From different points of view *vidhi* is classified in various ways. One classification is into four, *Utpattividhi* (originative injunction), *Viniyogavidhi* (applicatory), prayoga *vidhi* (performance), *adhikāra-vidhi* (eligibility). Utpattividhi is one which shows in a general way the nature of the rite, as in 'agnihotram juhoti' (he offers the agnihotra oblation); an applicatory injunction is one which conveys the connexion of a subsidiary matter with the main rite as in 'dadhnā juhoti' (he offers oblation with curds) and this is dealt with in the 3rd chapter of the P. M. S.; a prayogavidhi is an injunction that governs the order of parts in a rite and suggests non-delay or promptness in the performance, though often times it is implied rather than expressly stated. This is considered in the chapters IV and V of the P. M. S. An Adhikāravidhi (injunction of qualification or eligibility) is one that points to the ownership of the fruit of an action as in 'svargakāmo yajeta' (he who desires to secure heaven should perform a yāga).[1996] This is the subject of the 6th chapter of P. M. S.

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general rule in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 15 'स स्वर्गः स्यात्सर्वान्प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात्'. About such special passages Śabara remarks 'ननु वर्तमानापदेशोऽयम्। सत्यमेवमेतत्। आनर्थक्यपरिहाराय फलचोदनया सम्बन्ध एवितव्यो भवति।' on पू. मी. सू. III. 4. 24 (p. 955) and the तन्त्रवार्तिक on the same states 'सत्यपि चार्थवादसरूपत्वे पाशार्थ्यानवधारणादेवंजातीयकेषु फलविधित्वं वक्ष्यति 'फलमात्रेयो निर्देशात्' इति।'. फलमा० is the सिद्धान्त in पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 18 (about रात्रिसत्र).

1996. The मी. न्या. प्र. gives the following definitions 'तत्सिद्धं विधिः प्रयोजनवन्तमप्राप्तार्थं विधत्ते। तत्र कर्मस्वरूपमात्रबोधको विधिरुत्पत्तिविधिः, यथा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति। अङ्गप्रधानसम्बन्धबोधको विधिर्विनियोगविधिः, यथा दध्ना जुहोतीति। ... प्रयोगग्रांशुभावबोधको विधिः प्रयोगविधिः। स चाङ्गवाक्यैकतामापन्नः प्रधानविधिरेव। ... फलस्वाम्यबोधको विधिरधिकारविधिः। फलस्वाम्यं च कर्मजन्यफलभोक्तृत्वम्। स च यजेत स्वर्गकाम इत्येवंरूपः।' pp. 66, 72, 171, 193 (BORI ed. of 1937). The आश्व. गृ. (I. 2.1) prescribes 'सायं प्रातः सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य जुहुयात्.' Here जुहुयात् is उत्पत्तिविधि, सिद्धस्य हविष्यस्य would be विनियोगविधि. The अर्थसंग्रह gives another definition of प्रयोगविधि as 'अङ्गानां क्रमबोधको विधिः प्रयोगविधिरित्यपि लक्षणम्' (p 11 text) i. e. prayogavidhi is one that conveys the order of the subsidiaries in a principal rite,

Another and an important classification is apūrva-vidhi (injunction of something quite new and not otherwise established as in 'svargakāmo yajeta'), niyamavidhi (a restrictive injunction) as in 'he pounds the rice' and parisaṅkhyāvidhi (an injunction in form where two alternatives being simultaneously possible one is precluded). The Tantravārtika defines these three in a well-known verse.[1997] For a sacrifice a plot of land is required which may be quite flat or may have ups and downs. Here there are two alternatives only and both cannot be availed of at the same time (i. e. a man cannot perform a sacrifice at the same time on even as well as on uneven ground). Therefore, 'same deśe yajeta' (one should offer a sacrifice on an even spot) is a *niyama* (it restricts the performance to flat land only) and excludes the use of uneven land for a sacrifice. 'Five five-nailed animals are to be eaten'. This is a parisaṅkhyā. This sentence is not a vidhi, as eating flesh is already established by men's appetites. Nor is it a niyama, since one can eat the flesh of five-nailed animals as well as of other animals at the same time. It is a parisaṅkhyā. i. e. it prohibits the eating of the flesh of animals other than of five five-nailed animals. In form the sentence is a vidhi (as it employs the word 'bhakṣyāḥ' (which is optative or potential passive participle), but in substance it is a prohibition of eating the flesh of animals other than the five five-nailed ones. The

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1997. विधिरत्यन्तमप्राप्ते नियमः पाक्षिके सति। तत्र चान्यत्र च प्राप्ते परिसंख्येति कीर्त्यते॥ विधिरेव हि केनचिद्विशेषेणैवं भिद्यते। तत्र योऽत्यन्तमप्राप्तो न च प्राप्स्यति प्राग्वचनादित्यवगम्यते तत्र नियोगः शुद्ध एव विधिर्यथा व्रीहीन्प्रोक्षतीति। यत्र तु प्राग्वचनात् पाक्षिकी प्राप्तिः सम्भाव्यते तत्राप्राप्तिपक्षं पूरयन्यो विधिः प्रवर्तते स नियन्तुत्वान्नियम इत्युच्यते यथा व्रीहीनवहन्तीति। तन्त्रवा. on I. 2. 34 p. 152. On P. M. S. VI. 3. 16 the दुपटीका says 'यत्र कदाचिदपि प्राप्नोति स विधिः। यथा, अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्—इति। पूतीकाः प्राप्नुवन्ति तस्माद्युक्तमुक्तं नियमार्थः क्वचिद्विधिः।'. 'मेधा॰ on मनु. III. 45 (ऋतुकालाभिगामी॰) reads प्राप्तौ in both halves and परिसंख्या नक्षिप्विव'. नक्षिप्विव refers to the sentence पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्ष्याः. If these words are taken as परिसंख्या the three faults are; 'पञ्च भक्ष्या इति यदान्वयतः पञ्चनखविषयं भक्षणं प्रतीयते तदा तत्यक्तं भवति, तद्व्यतिरिक्तनिषेधपरत्वाद्वाक्यस्य। अश्रुतश्च निषेधः, अतः परार्थकल्पना। अर्थित्वाच्च सर्वविषयभक्षणं यत्प्राप्तं तस्य बाधः' मेधा on मनु. III. 45. The sprinkling of water on rice in a rite is not established by any other means and is therefore a vidhi. Rice can be unhusked with the nails or by being pounded by the use of a mortar and pestle. Therefore 'vrīhīn avahanti' is a niyama, since it does not allow the use of nails and puts the restriction of pounding.

word parisaṅkhyā occurs in P. M. S X. 7. 4 and 7 and Śabara notes that it is liable to three faults.[1998]

Dharmaśāstra writers make frequent use of the doctrine of *niyama* and *parisaṅkhyā*. Medhātithi on Manu III. 45 (ṛtukālābhigāmī syāt) has a long note on niyama and parisaṅkhyā, quotes the verse of Tantravārtika and explains the passage about five five-nailed animals. The Mit. also on Yāj. on I. 79 (tasmin yugmāsu saṁviśet 'the husband should approach the wife on every even night next to the 4th night up to the 16th after her monthly illness starts) and on I. 81 holds a lengthy discussion whether there is a vidhi or niyama or parisaṅkhyā. The Mit. defines the three in prose, cites examples and tells us that some thought that there was only a parisaṅkhyā, while Bhāruci, Viśvarūpa, and others (including the Mit.) hold that there is a niyamavidhi only in I. 79 and 81. Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 17 deals with the same subject as Yāj. I. 79 and 81 and Haradatta says it is a niyama, while others thought it was a parisaṅkhyā and that in any case it is not a pure vidhi. On Gautama V. 2 Haradatta comments that the ācārya (i. e. Gautama) holds that there is a parisaṅkhyā only (the sūtra is 'sarvatra vā pratisiddhavarjam'). Compare Yāj. I. 81 (yathākāmī bhaved-vāpi &c.), on which the Mit. emphatically says that in both Gautama and Yāj. there is a restrictive rule (niyama). Gautama prescribes that a brāhmaṇa should eat at the houses of persons of the three higher classes that are commended for the performance of their duties and should receive gifts also from such persons. Haradatta treats these two rules as[1999] parisaṅkhyāvidhis. Āp. Dh. S. II. provides the rules of conduct for husband and wife after their marriage, the first being 'taking food two times (morning and evening)'. Haradatta takes it as a parisaṅkhyā, meaning that eating a third time is prohibited (but they may or may not eat twice in the day), while others take it as a *niyama* meaning 'they must eat twice in the day'.

1998. On पू. मी. सू. X. 7. 5. शबर says 'न चैतदस्ति परिसंख्येति। तत्र हि त्रयो दोषाः। स्वार्थप्रहाणं परार्थकल्पना प्राप्तबाधश्चेति.' Vide शबर on III. 7. 33 for the same words. As said in the भाट्टदीपिका 'शब्दतः फलतो वा यस्य शास्त्रस्यान्यनिवृत्ति-विषयः स परिसंख्याविधिः। तत्र चान्यत्र च प्राप्तिर्न तु सापि लक्षणयटिकेति ध्येयम्।' (p. 9. B. I. ed.)

1999. क्षुदुपघातार्था भोजने प्रवृत्तिः। शक्या च यस्य कस्यचिद्गृहे सुखानेन क्षुदुपहन्तुम्। तत्र परिसञ्चष्टे एषामेव गृहे ब्राह्मणो भुञ्जीत नान्येषामिति। हरदत्त on गौतम 17. 1; पाणिग्रहणादधि गृहमेधिनोर्व्रतम्। कालयोर्भोजनम्। आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 1. 1-2; कालयोरुभयोरपि भोजनं कर्तव्यं सायं प्रातश्च। हरदत्त (this is a नियम and not परिसंख्या).

Niyamavidhis are of three classes, viz. those concerned with *pratinidhis* (substitutes), those about *pratipatti* (concluding act or final disposal of certain materials employed in a sacrifice), and those that are concerned with matters other than the preceding two. The Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa says[2000] 'if one is not able to obtain the soma plant, one may extract juice from *pūtīkas*'. Jai. III. 6. 40 and VI. 3. 13–17 deal with this matter and Jai. and Śabara prescribe that if no soma plant is available in a soma sacrifice, the sacrificer should substitute pūtīkas for Soma and no other substance, even if the latter be more similar to Soma, can be used.[2001] The word *pratipatti* is used in several sūtras by Jai; vide IV. 2. 11, 15, 19, 22). The casting into water of all utensils and things smeared with *some* (such as the dregs left after Soma is extracted, the stones, two wooden boards and the post of udumbara in the midst of the *sadas*) at the time of the final purificatory bath (avabhṛtha) in Jyotiṣṭoma is said to be pratipattikarma (P. M S. IV. 2. 22). This terminology is employed in Dharmaśāstra works. Manu (III. 262–263) provides that out of the three piṇḍas (balls of boiled rice) that are offered to the three male ancestors of the performer of *śrāddha* the wife desirous of a son should eat the middle piṇḍa (meant for the paternal grandfather) and Devala provides that the piṇḍas may be given to a brāhmaṇa or may be eaten by a goat or a cow or cast into fire or water.[2002] This is the pratipatti of the piṇḍas according to Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 256) and the Sm. C. II p. 486. Vide *H. of Dh.* vol. IV pp. 480–481. The word *pratipatti* is opposed to *arthakarma*. For example, in Tai. S. we read 'after the soma plant is bought, he gives the staff to the Maitrāvaruṇa priest'. Here the staff had been first given to the performer (Yajamāna) at the time of Dīkṣā and then transferred to the Maitrāvaruṇa who has several uses for it, viz. he can walk with its help in darkness, may enter water, can prevent cows and snakes from coming near him and he can

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2000. यदि सोमं न विन्देयुः पूतीकानभिषुण्युर्यदि न पूतीकानर्जुनानि च। ताण्ड्य IX. 5. 3.

2001. नियमार्था गुणश्रुतिः। पू. मी. सू. III. 6.40; नियमार्थः क्वचिद्विधिः। पू.मी.सू. VI. 3. 16; on which Śabara comments 'सोमाभावे बहुषु सहस्रेषु मासेषु नियमः क्रियते। पूतिका अभिषोतव्या इति। तस्मात्प्रतिनिधिमुपादाय प्रयोगः कर्तव्य इति।'.

2002. तेन पत्नीप्राशिते मध्यमपिण्डे पिण्डद्वयस्यापि प्रतिपत्तिः कार्या। अपरार्क p. 550. (quotes मत्स्य 16. 52–53 which are similar to याज्ञ. I. 256).

support himself on it. So this is different from pratipatti, where the substance is finally disposed of and no further use is made of it. This is dealt with in P. M. S. IV. 2. 16–18. This (giving of the staff) is *arthakarma* as opposed to pratipatti-karma. This is mentioned in Tai. S. VI. I. 4. 2 (krīte some maitrāvaruṇāya daṇḍam prayacchati &c.). Another example of pratipatti is the casting of the horn of the black antelope on the *cātvāla* (Tai. S. VI. I. 3. 8 and PMS IV. 2. 19). PMS XI. 2. 66–68 deal with an example of arthakarma. Cremating a sacrificer when dead with his implements of sacrifice (mentioned in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2–3) is pratipattikarma of the implements (P. M. S. XI. 3. 34). Manu V. 167 provides that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him she is to be cremated with the sacred fires set up by him and with the sacrificial implements. An example of the third kind of niyama (which is not concerned with pratinidhi or pratipatti) is 'one should take his meal,[2003] facing the east'. A man can take food facing any direction but this restricts him to the east alone. Here no question of a pratinidhi or of pratipatti arisess.

Vidhis are also divided into *Kratvartha* (for the rite) and *Puruṣārtha* (for the man) They are concerned with 'Prayukti'. (motivating force) which is the subject of chapter IV of the P.M. S. P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 defines[2004] *puruṣārtha* and Śabara advances three interpretations of that sūtra, one of which is '(Puruṣārtha) is that matter on doing which follows the happiness of man, as its understanding is due to man's desire for obtaining it (happiness) and puruṣārtha (man's purpose) is not different (from happiness)'. From this rather obscure and clumsy definition it appears to follow that puruṣārtha is what a man ordinarily undertakes for securing the reward of happiness, while kratvartha is that which helps in the accomplishment of purūṣārtha and does not itself directly yield any reward to the performer. All principal sacrifices like Darśa-pūrṇamāsa are included under puruṣārtha, while under kratvartha are put all those auxiliary acts that have the

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2003. प्राङ्मुखोऽश्नानि भुञ्जीत — occurs in आप. ध. सू. I. 11. 31. 1.

2004. 'यस्मिन्प्रीतिः पुरुषस्य तस्य लिप्साऽर्थलक्षणाऽविभक्तत्वात्।' पू. मी. सू. IV. 1. 2. The meaning of the sūtra as given by मयूखमालिका on शाबरदीपिका is 'यस्मिन् पदार्थे कृते पुरुषस्य प्रीतिः स्वर्गादिलक्षणोपजायते स दर्शपूर्णमासादिः पुरुषार्थः यतस्तस्य लिप्सा अनुष्ठानं अर्थलक्षणं पुरुषार्थस्य प्रीत्या अविभक्तत्वात्।'. The words of the sūtra are underlined in this explanation. लिप्सा is a desiderative noun from the root 'labh' (to get) and means लब्धुमिच्छा. The मिता. on या. II. 114, therefore, calls it लिप्सासूत्र.

purpose of accomplishing the principal rite itself e. g. the five [2005] *prayājas* that are auxiliary to the Darśapūrṇamāsa are Kratvartha, while Darśapūrṇamāsa itself is puruṣārtha. The importance of this distinction lies in this that if what is kratvartha is not followed the rite itself becomes defective, while if what is puruṣārtha is not followed, the result is that the man himself becomes blamable or sinful but the undertaking or rite does not become defective. One set of the three interpretations of P. M. S. IV. 1. 2 given by Śabara is that it refers to the rules about the acquisition of wealth viz. that a brāhmaṇa should earn wealth by receiving gifts, a kṣatriya by conquest and a vaiśya by agriculture and the like (vide Gaut. X. 40–42, Manu X. 76–79). These are in the nature of niyamas. If the acquisition of wealth is kratvartha and, if one acquires wealth by means other than those prescribed by the Śāstra and performs a sacrifice with such wealth, the sacrifice itself would be defective and would not yield the desired reward. But if the acquisition of wealth be puruṣārtha, then, by whatever means wealth with which a *yāga* is to be performed be obtained, the sacrifice would not be affected. The Mit. on [2006] Yaj. II. 114 quotes a passage from Guru Prabhākara (vide note 1947) which is quoted by the Dāyabhāga also (II. 67) but without name, while the Sm. C. II. pp. 257–58), Madanaratna (on Vyavahāra pp. 324–325) and Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 420) quote a similar passage from the Nayaviveka. Viśvarūpa also on Yāj. II. 144 holds that rules about acquisition of wealth are 'puruṣārtha'. To acquire wealth is natural to man and acquisition of wealth does not depend upon Śāstra. Besides, every one can directly perceive that wealth when earned confers pleasure on the acquirer. Therefore, wealth is puruṣārtha and sacrifices which are performed with wealth are also puruṣārtha. The general rule is that all aṅgas (auxiliary rites) are kratvartha and all principal rites (like

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2005. The Tai. S. III. 6. 1. 1 mentions five *prayājas* (oblations of clarified butter) introductory to the principal offerings of Darśapūrṇamāsa viz. 'Samidho yajati, tanūnapātam yajati, iḍo yajati, barhir-yajati, svāhākāram yajati.' There is a difference of view as to whether these are names of rites or of devatās. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 1057 note 2361.

2006. The मिता० explains 'यदा द्रव्यार्जननियमानां क्रत्वर्थत्वं तदा नियमार्जितेनैव द्रव्येण क्रतुसिद्धिर्न नियमातिक्रमार्जितेन द्रव्येणेति न पुरुषस्य नियमातिक्रमदोषः पूर्वपक्षे। सिद्धान्ते त्वर्जननियमस्य पुरुषार्थत्वात्तदतिक्रमेणार्जितेनापि द्रव्येण क्रतुसिद्धिर्भवति, पुरुषस्यैव नियमातिक्रमदोष इति नियमातिक्रमार्जितस्यापि स्वत्वमङ्गीकृतम्। अन्यथा क्रतुसिद्ध्यभावात्।' Intro. to या. II. 114.

Darśapūrṇamāsa, Somayāga) are puruṣārtha; all texts prescribing the rewards of rites are puruṣārtha. Some individual examples may be given.

In the Śānkhāyana Br. (VI. 6) after saying that certain observances (*vrata*) must be followed by the sacrificer, it is provided that he should not see the sun rising or setting. These observances are called 'Prajāpativratāni' by Śabara and are declared by him to be puruṣārtha, the meaning being that the sacrificer should make a resolve not to see the rising or setting sun.

This distinction between Kratvartha and Puruṣārtha is often taken over into Dharmaśāstra matters. For example, Yāj. I. 53 provides that one should marry a girl who is free from diseases, has a brother and who does not belong to the same *gotra* or *pravara* as that of the bridegroom. The Mit.[2007] explains that the status of being a wife does not at all arise if the girl is a *sapiṇḍa* or is of the same *gotra* or *pravara* as the bridegroom (i. e. marriage itself is null and void), but a girl who has some disease when married becomes a wife, the only result being that there is a visible defect (such as a diseased wife is a constant source of anxiety and unhappiness). Kullūka on Manu III. 7 (providing that one should not marry a girl from a family in which prevail diseases like phthisis, epilepsy, white and black leprosy, refers to this doctrine of Śabara elaborated above. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 quotes a verse 'a wise man should not marry a girl who has no brother, nor father, for fear that she may be a *putrikā* (daughter appointed as a son).' Here the prohibition is like the prohibition of marrying a deformed girl i. e. it is a perceptible purpose. Therefore, the marriage would be valid i. e. the prohibition is puruṣārtha. Manu says (IX. 168) 'that is known to be an adopted son whom the mother or father might give (to another) with water in a time of distress &c.'. The Mit. on Yaj. II. 130 quotes this verse and remarks that, as the word 'distress' is specifically mentioned, a son is not to be given in adoption to another when there is no distress and that this prohibition would affect only the giver (but not the act of adoption) i. e. this prohibition would be

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2007. सपिण्डा-समानगोत्रा-समानप्रवराश्च भार्यात्वमेव नोत्पद्यते रोगिण्यादिषु तु भार्यात्वे उत्पन्नेऽपि दृष्टविरोध एव। मिता. on या. I. 53; this means that the provision against marrying a sapiṇḍa, sagotra or sapravara girl is शास्त्रार्थ, while that about not marrying a diseased girl is only पुरुषार्थ.

puruṣārtha and not kratvartha.[2008] It may be noted that the Vyavahāramayūkha disagrees and holds that the prohibition is kratvartha. It may be said in a general way that those prescriptions that have an invisible, spiritual or other-worldly result or reward are kratvartha, while those that have a visible result are puruṣārtha.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to analyse the notions underlying the word 'yajeta' used in such Vedic sentences as 'one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice' (svargakāmo yajeta). In the word 'yajeta'[2009] there are two parts viz. the root 'yaj' (to sacrifice) and the termination (of injunctive third person singular). In the termination also there are two parts (elements) viz. general verbal nature and injunctiveness (or injunctive force). General verbal nature is found in the ten *lakāras* (verbal forms in ten moods and tenses), but injunctiveness is found only in the injunctive form. Both general verbal nature and injunctiveness express only *bhāvanā* (force that brings into being something, efficient force). Bhāvanā (lit.) means a particular operation or activity of an agent which conduces to the coming into being of the result (lit. which is to come into being). And this bhāvanā is of two kinds, *śābdī* (word force) and *ārthī* (result-producing force).

It has been already stated that vidhis are the very core of the Veda. The doctrine of bhāvanā is the very heart of vidhis and is therefore one of the most important doctrines of the mīmāṁsā.

In ordinary life when a person says to another 'this should be done by you', the prompting to do something comes from a person. But Veda has according to the Mīmāṁsā no author, human or divine. Therefore, in a Vedic vidhi the prompting arises from the injunctive or the optative form of the word; there is no person, human of divine, behind the injunction; hence the bhāvanā is said to be śābdī (i. e. based on the word itself and not on the will or direction of a person). There-

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2008. आपद्ग्रहणादनापदि न ज्ञेयः। दातुरयं प्रतिषेधः। मिता. on या. II. 130; the व्य. म. p. 107 disagrees: अयं निषेधो दातुरेव पुरुषार्थो, न कृत्यर्थ इति विज्ञानेश्वरः। तन्न। अस्य वाक्यादृष्टार्थतया कृत्यर्थाविगमात्।'.

2009. यथाहि यजेतेत्यत्रास्त्यंशद्वयम्, यजिर्धातुः प्रत्ययश्च। तत्र प्रत्ययेऽप्यस्त्यंशद्वयम्, आख्यातत्वं लिङ्त्वं च। आख्यातत्वं च दशसु लकारेषु विद्यते। लिङ्त्वं च पुनः केवलं लिङ्येव। तत्राख्यातत्वलिङ्त्वाभ्यां भावनैवोच्यते। भावना नाम भवितुर्भवनानुकूलो भावकव्यापारविशेषः। सा च द्विविधा शाब्दी भावना, आर्थी भावना चेति। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 4-6 (BORI ed.).

fore, śābdī-bhāvanā is defined as a particular operation (or activity) of an agent (here the word of the Veda) that conduces to the activity of a man; and it is expressed by that part or element which is optative. It is called 'śābdī' because it is 'śabdaniṣṭha (centred in the word of the Veda) and not puruṣaniṣṭha (centred in a person). In a śābdībhāvanā there are three elements viz. (1) there is prompting of the agent to activity, (2) the injunction is the instrument and (3) the manner is furnished by the desirableness proclaimed by arthavāda passages. The śābdī-bhāvanā gives rise to ārthī-bhāvanā. In an ārthī-bhāvanā (that aims at or seeks the artha, the *phala*) also there are three elements viz. (1) svarga is the *phala* that is to be brought about, (2) the means or instrument is yāga, (3) there is also the procedure or method (itikartavyatā) of the yāga. All this is based on the P. M. S. sūtra II. 1. 1, on Śabara's bhāṣya and certain important verses of the Tantravārtika quoted below. This whole discussion leads on to the idea of *apūrva*. Yāga lasts for a short time, while svarga comes to a man after death, which may be years after the performance of the sacrifice. What is the connecting link between yāga and svarga (the cause and the result)? It is the force or potency generated by yāga that brings about svarga.

Briefly, the idea is; both the root and the affix together express the sense of the affix and as the bhāvanā is the principal element in this, it is held to be the sense of the affix. There are numerous [2010] 'bhāvaśabdas' such as yajati, juhoti, dadāti,

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2010. भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेभ्यः क्रिया प्रतीयेतैव ह्यर्थो विधीयते। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 1; in the मयूखमालिका on शास्त्रदीपिका this is explained as follows: भावार्थाः भावनाप्रयोजनकाः ये कर्मशब्दाः धातवस्तेभ्योऽपूर्वं प्रतीयेत एव हि धात्वर्थः पदश्रुत्या भावनाकरणत्वेन विधीयते. कर्मशब्दाः means कर्मप्रतिपादकाः. कः पुनर्भावः के ते पुनर्भावशब्दा इति। यजति ददाति जुहोत्येवमादयः।...यजेतेत्येवमादयः साकाङ्क्षा यजेत किं केन कथमिति स्वर्गकाम इत्येतेन प्रयोजनेन निराकाङ्क्षाः। शबर (q. above in note 1962); अभिधाभावनामाहुरन्यामेव लिङादयः। अर्थात्मभावना त्वन्या सर्वाख्यातेषु गम्यते। तन्त्रवा. p. 378; शास्त्रे तु सर्वत्र प्रत्ययार्थो भावनेति व्यवहारः। तत्रायमभिप्रायः। प्रत्ययार्थं सह धातुः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ सदा। प्राधान्याद्भावना तेन प्रत्ययार्थोऽवधार्यते॥ तन्त्रवा. p. 380. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. III. 1, 67 has the maxim प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूतः and शबर refers to it as आचार्योपदेश on III. 4. 13 p. 922. Pāṇini coins special technical names for tenses and moods and does not employ words expressive of meaning, present, past or future. They begin with ल and therefore are called लकाराः. They are: लट् (वर्तमान, present); लेट् (Vedic subjunctive), लिट् (परोक्षे लिट्, perfect), लुट् (Aorist), लङ् (अनद्यतनभूत Imperfect), लिङ् (optative, पा. III. 3. 161, 173), लोट् (blessing or prayer, पा. III. 1. 173), लृट् (distant future in

(*Continued on next page*)

dogdhi, pinaṣṭi. These are of two sorts, viz. pradhāna (principal) and guṇabhūta.[2012] Those by which a substance is not intended to be produced or embellished (or made fit) for a religious rite, are expressive of principal karma (such as prayājas), while those which are meant to produce a substance or to make a substance fit are *guṇabhūta* (such as pounding rice grains or chiselling a piece of wood for making a sacrificial post, wiping *sruc* ladle). Therefore the latter kind of actions are called guṇakarma. There are two kinds of verbal forms (1) those in which the form only conveys that the *kartā* (doer of the action) exists such as the forms 'asti, bhavati, vidyate'; (2) there are others where not only there is the existence of the *kartā* but there is also the understanding of some activity that produces a result such as 'yajati' (meaning 'yāgam karoti'), 'dadāti' (i. e. dānam karoti), 'pacati' (pākam karoti), 'gacchati' i. e. gamanam karoti). That is, in such cases the sense of *karoti* is also understood. Jaimini (in P. M. S. II. 1. 4) divides words into two classes viz. *Nāmāni* (nouns) and *Karmaśabdāḥ* (verbs). Under the first Śabara would include pronouns and adjectives. The 2nd is called 'ākhyāta'. Śabara (on II. 1. 3.) paraphrases (nāmāni as 'dravya-guṇaśabdāḥ' and remarks that in the sūtra (II. 1. 3) the word 'nāmāni' is employed in the sense of dravyaguṇaśabdāḥ'[2013]. Śabara remarks that *dhātvartha* (the

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ता), लृट् (future in स्य), लृङ् (conditional). The words भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दाः echo the निरुक्त I. 1 भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्.

2011 ननु केयं शाब्दी भावना। उच्यते पुरुषप्रवृत्त्यनुकूलो व्यापारविशेषः। स एव विध्यर्थः (i. e. विधिशब्दार्थः)। लिङादिश्रवणेऽयं मां प्रवर्तयतीति नियमेन प्रतीतेः। मी. न्या. प्र. p. 267 (BORI ed.) and अतश्च शब्दनिष्ठ एव प्रेरणापरपर्यायो व्यापारः शाब्दी भावना। मी. न्या. प्र. p. 269; स्वर्गेच्छाजनितो यागविषयो यः प्रयत्नः स भावना (आर्थी) स एव चाख्यातांशेनोच्यते। यजेतेत्याख्यातश्रवणे यागेन यजेतेति प्रतीतेर्जायमानत्वात्। मी. न्या. प्र p. 274. Vide तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 376–377.

2012. तानि द्वैधं गुणप्रधानभूतानि। यैर्द्रव्यं न चिकीर्ष्यते तानि प्रधानभूतानि द्रव्यस्य गुणभूतत्वात्। यैस्तु द्रव्यं चिकीर्ष्यते गुणस्तत्र प्रतीयेत तस्य द्रव्यप्रधानत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 6–8 and शबर thereon; विहिते कर्मणि तदङ्गतया द्रव्यदेवतादिविधायकं वाक्यं गुणवाक्यं दध्ना जुहुयादिति। मी. परिभाषा p. 2.

2013. येषां शब्दानामुच्चारणोत्पत्तौ स्वेऽर्थे प्रयुज्यमानानां रूपमुपलभ्यते। यत् सकृदुत्पन्नं कालान्तरं तिष्ठति न क्रियेवोत्पन्नमात्रं विनश्यतीत्यर्थः। तानि नामानि। ते द्रव्यगुणशब्दाः। ईदृशो द्रव्यगुणशब्दानामर्थः। ते द्रव्यगुणशब्दा इति वक्तव्ये तानि नामानीति सूत्रितम्। अतो नामानीत्येषां पर्यायशब्दः। शबर on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 3. When we say पाकः it is a nāman and denotes an accomplished fact, while when one says 'pacati' it is not one accomplished fact but includes from beginning to end several acts, such as preparing fire, placing on it a pot containing water, putting rice

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meaning of a verbal root) can have no ākāṅkṣā (expectancy) for Dharmas but it is the pratyayārtha that has ākāṅkṣā for the procedure (itikartavyatā).

We must now turn to the 2nd great division of Vedic texts, viz. Arthavādas. They are dealt with in P. M. S. first adhyāya, 2nd pāda. There are numerous Vedic passages such as 'he roared; because he roared he came to be called Rudra' (Tai. S. I. 5. 1. 1.), 'Prajāpati cut out his own fat' (Tai. S. II. 1. 1. 4), 'the gods, having reached the sacrificial ground, did not know the directions' (Tai. S. VI. 1. 5. 1.); 'who knows whether one lives in the other world or not' (Tai. S. VI. I. 1. 1.); 'there should be no piling of fire altar on the earth nor in the sky nor in heaven' (Tai. S. V. 2.7.1). The objector says 'you have yourself declared that enjoining religious rites is the purpose of the Veda' (P. M. S. I. 1. 2). The above and similar passages do not serve any purpose in the matter of religious acts, they are therefore useless and are non-eternal (or do not refer to any permanent matter). The reply is that these passages form one syntactical or connected whole with hortatory passages of the Veda and they serve the purpose of commending (or glorifying) the hortatory passages. Śabara cites on I. 2. 7 the passage 'one desiring prosperity should sacrifice a white animal in honour of Vāyu; Vāyu indeed is the swiftest deity; he runs near Vāyu with the share proper (to Vāyu); he (Vāyu) leads the sacrificer to prosperity'.[2011] These words form one whole passage; the first

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grains therein when the water is boiling, stirring it and taking it down from the fire. The निरुक्त says 'भावप्रधानमाख्यातम् सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि ... पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्टे व्रजति पचतीति उपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तम्॥' (I, 1.). शबर also follows this 'एवं तस्याख्यातस्यार्थमुपदिशन्ति, उपक्रमप्रभृत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तमाहेति। उपक्रमादारभ्य यावत्परिसमाप्तिरित्येतावान् व्यापारविशेषस्तस्यार्थो न यथा पाकः, त्यागः इति। तत्र हि पाकसत्तामात्रं निर्दिश्यते नास्य परिसमाप्तयितव्यमिति।' on पू. मी. सू. VI. 2. 13; न हि धात्वर्थस्य च धर्माणां च परस्परेणाकांक्षा विद्यते, प्रत्ययार्थेन हीतिकर्तव्यताकांक्ष्यते कर्तव्यं कथमिति न यजिः कीदृश इति। तस्माद्यत्कर्तव्यं तस्यैवेतिकर्तव्यतया सम्बन्धः। अपूर्वं च तत्। तस्मादपूर्वमुक्ता इति। शबर on पू. मी. सू. IX. 1. 1 p. 1639.

2014. आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानां तस्मादनित्यमुच्यते (पूर्वपक्ष)। विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात्स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः। पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 1 and 7. The passage quoted on I. 2. 7 is 'वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत भूतिकामः। वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता वायुमेव स्वेन भागधेयेनोपधावति। स एवैनं भूतिं गमयति।' This अर्थवाद (वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवता) is an auxiliary (शेष) to the विधि 'वायव्य... लभेत' etc.; this occurs in तै. सं. II. 1.1.1. The भाष्य on I. 2. 10 (गुणवादस्तु) points out the passages of which the three passages cited under I. 2. 1 are अर्थवाद्स. For example, the passage 'सोऽरोदीद्यदरोदीत्-

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part 'vāyavyam...bhūtikāmaḥ' is clearly a vidhi, as the word 'ālabheta (in the optative form) shows. The latter portion is an arthavāda for the purpose of commendation. People are familiar with the fact that Vāyu is swift. Therefore, the latter portion (Vāyurvai &c.) merely repeats what is already well known (that is, it is an anuvāda). In sūtras 19–25 of I. 2 the P. M. S. considers certain passages that look like vidhis but are declared to be arthavādas. For example, (Tai. S. II. 1. 1. 6) 'the sacrificial post is to be of udumbara wood; the udumbara wood is indeed vigour (or food or sap); cattle are vigour; by this strong (or juicy) post, he (sacrificer) secures cattle, for 'the securing of strength'. The objector says that this is a *phalavidhi* (an injunctive text about a result) as the words 'ūrjoऽvaruddhyai' contain the purpose and there is no word of commendation. The reply is that there is only commendation.

There are some passages in the Veda in which occur words like 'hi' (because) such as in 'one should offer into fire the oblation with the winnowing basket, because food is prepared by means of it' (Tai. Br. I. 6. 5). [2015] The question that arises is

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द्रुवस्य नित्यत्वम्' is an अर्थवाद of 'बर्हिषि रजतं न देयं।' तै. सं. I. 5. 1. 1–2. This arthavāda (सोऽरोदीत् etc.) is an auxiliary (शेष) to the प्रतिषेध 'बर्हिषि रजतं न देयम्. The word अनित्य in the sūtra is purposely used. Veda is nitya and therefore pramāṇa. Hence the passages not referring to any religious rite are different from the portion dealing with rites and anitya i. e. apramāṇa (not authoritative). Vide p. 927 note 1482 about calling पुराण as merely arthavādas.

2015. हेतुर्वा स्यादर्थवत्त्वोपपत्तिभ्याम्। स्तुतिस्तु शब्दपूर्वत्वाद्चोदना च तस्य। पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 26–27; अथ ये हेतुवल्लिगदाः शूर्पेण जुहोति तेन ह्यन्नं क्रियत इत्येवमादयः। तेषु सन्देहः। किं स्तुतिस्तेषां कार्यमुत हेतुरिति।; अस्मत्पक्षे पुनः शूर्पं स्तूयते। तेन ह्यन्नं क्रियत इति वृत्तान्तान्वाख्यानं न च वृत्तान्तज्ञापनाय किं तर्हि प्रशोचनायैव। तस्माद्धेतुवल्लिगदस्यापि स्तुतिरेव कार्यमिति। शबर on I. 2. 30. शूर्प was used like a *juhu* ladle to make a homa of Karambhapātras (pots full of husked grains of yava slightly fried, ground and mixed with curds) in the Varuṇapraghāsa, one of the cāturmāsyas. The position of the P. M. S. is that what Veda declares is authoritative; there is no need to cite reasons for the statements of the Veda. It may cite a reason for its declaration, even though no necessity exists. As stated by the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi "अनेन वेदविहितेऽर्थे हेत्वपेक्षा नास्तीति पार्थसारथिप्रतिपादितानपेक्षत्वं हेतुवादस्येति सूचितम्। उक्तं च 'न हि वेदेनोच्यमानं हेतुमपेक्षते' इति॥". Vide for a detailed discussion of this हेतुवल्लिगदाधिकरण in connection with the rule of Vasiṣṭha 15. 3–4 (na tvekam putram dadyāt pratigṛhṇīyādvā, sa hi santānāya pūrveṣām) in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 676–77 n, 1277. Here the first is a vidhi, 'dadyāt' and 'pratigṛhṇīyāt' being in the optative mood,

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whether this and other passages containing words denoting reason should be construed as arthavādas commending what is enjoined in the preceding sentence or whether as stating a reason for the injunction. The established conclusion is that they are commendatory. If the other view were adopted (viz. that śruti gives a reason for the vidhi) then it may be argued that the ladle, pan and other utensils also may be used for making an offering (not merely the śūrpa), as they also are required in preparing food. Raghunandana in Malamāsatattva p. 760 relies upon and explains this maxim with reference to Laghu-Hārīta's words 'cakravat parivarteta sūryaḥ kālavaśād yatah'. It should not be supposed that commendation (*stuti*) is the purpose of all arthavādas. In 'he lays down anointed pebbles, ghee is indeed brilliance' (Tai. Br. III. 2. 5. 12) a doubt arises about the material with which pebbles are to be anointed. That doubt is removed by the remainder of the passage that it is ghee with which they are to be anointed (P. M. S. I. 4. 24)

Arthavādas are of three kinds viz. guṇavāda, anuvāda and bhūtārthavāda; 'when an arthavāda text is in conflict with ordinary experience it is metaphorical; when something is definitely ascertained by other means of knowledge and becomes the subject of a text it is called anuvāda and when a text is not opposed to other pramāṇas or is not definitely ascertained otherwise, it is called 'bhūtārthavāda' (statement of an accomplished fact, or of a past event); in this way arthavāda is of three kinds'.[2016] An example of the first kind is 'during day-time

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while the latter part containing a reason (in 'sa hi &c.') is on arthavāda, lauding the importance of a son). This topic of Hetuvan-nigadādhikaraṇa figured very much in the case of *Beni Prasad* vs. *Hardai Bibi* I. L. R. 14 All 67 (F. B.). The court was misled on two points, by counsel as to the first and by Mandlik's wrong statement (in 'Hindu law' p. 499) as to the 2nd. viz. that Jaimini flourished in the 13th century A. D. and secondly (p. 73, 125) 'it is a rule of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that all texts supported by the assigniing of a reason are to be deemed not as vidhis but simply as arthavādas (recommendatory)'. This case went up to the Privy Council as *Radha Mohan* vs. *Hardai Bibi* L.R. 26 I. A. p. 153, where the Privy Council was more cautious and did not accept in its entirety the wrong statement of Mandlik.

2016. निरुक्त 1. 16 speaks of उदितानुवादः स भवति. विरोधे गुणवादः स्याद्ग्रहणवादोऽवधारिते। भूतार्थवादस्तद्ज्ञानादर्थवादस्त्रिधा मतः॥ q. by मी. वा. प्र. p. 48; अग्रहणवादोऽवधारित इत्यत्रोदाहरणं तु चुर्सिहाभ्यामैरक्तम्। अग्निर्हिमस्य भेषजम्-इति। तत्स्वाध्याया-

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only the smoke of fire is seen and not its flame' (this is Tai. Br. II. 1. 2. 10). One sees both smoke and fire during the day and night. What this text desires to emphasize is that by day the light of fire is not so well seen as at night (or not well seen from a distance by day as at night).

'Fire is the medicine (antidote) for cold' (Vāj. S. 23. 10 and Tai. S. VII. 4. 18. 2) is cited by some as an example of anuvāda. The M. B. P. finds fault with this on the ground that it is well-known as a mantra and does not form part of a vidhi by syntactical relation, and that it is cited by Nṛsiṁhāśrama as an example owing to neglect of the study of the Veda or absent-mindedness. A proper example would be 'Vāyu indeed is the swiftest deity' cited above. 'Prajāpati cut off his own fat' is cited by some as an example of bhūtārthavāda, but the M. B. P. does not approve of it and cites the verse 'yan-na duḥkhena sambhinnam' (cited above in note 1969) as an example.

The Mīmāṁsāparibhāṣā of Kṛṣṇayajvan classifies Arthavādas into four kinds, viz. nindā (censure), stuti (praise),' *parakṛti* (performance by another great person) and *purākalpa* (what

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ध्ययनवैधुर्याद् वैचित्र्याद्वा। मी. वा. प्र. p. 48. It may be noted that मधुसूदन-सरस्वती in प्रस्थानभेद, अर्थसंग्रह (p. 26, Thibaut) and M. M. Jha cited this very text as an anuvāda (in 'Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in its sources' p 201). A strict definition of अनुवाद is 'स नामानुवादो भवति योऽत्यन्तसमानार्थत्वेनावधार्यते।' (तन्त्रवा० p. 911 on II. 4. 13). Medhātithi on Manu II. 227 (=Matsya 211. 22) saying that a man cannot requite even in a hundred years the parents for the troubles they undergo in the birth and upbringing of the child holds that it is a भूतार्थानुवाद. मधुसूदनसरस्वती in प्रस्थानभेद and अर्थसंग्रह (p. 26) cites इन्द्रो वृत्राय वज्रमुदयच्छत् as an example of भूतार्थवाद, and अर्थसंग्रह defines it as 'प्रमाणान्तर-विरोध-तत्पतिरहितार्थबोधको वादो भूतार्थवादः'. When the Tai. S. I. 7. 4. 4. or II. 6. 5. 3 says 'yajamānaḥ prastaraḥ' or 'yajamānaḥ yūpaḥ' the literal meaning is opposed to our perception (there is pratyakṣavirodha), therefore the sentence has to be understood in a metaphorical sense' (as when a boy is called 'fire') and is therefore a गुणवाद, that is, the meaning in 'yajamānaḥ yūpaḥ' is that he stands up (or erect) like a sacrificial post and looks brilliant. Where a statement (not being a vidhi) is neither an anuvāda nor a guṇavāda it is called vidyamānavāda or bhūtārthavāda. This is lucidly explained by Śabara in P. M. S. I. 4. 23 and by Śaṅkarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33. The first handful of darbha grass cut is called 'prastara'. These passages have to be interpreted in such a way as to avoid conflict with perception and other pramāṇas but also as intended to convey praise (of some vidhi already expressed). Vide भामती 'न च आदित्यो वै यूप इति वाक्यमादित्यस्य यूपत्वमतिपादनपरम्, अपि तु यूपस्तुतिपरम्'. The गुण stressed is तेजस्विता (brilliance) since the post is smeared with घृत.

happened in bygone ages). [2016] Devala states that sages have laid down expiation for the first wrong, for committing a second double of that, for committing a third time thrice as much but there is no expiation for committing it a fourth time. The Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva says that this is not to be taken literally, but it is only nindārthavāda. The P. M. S. itself (VI. 7. 26 and 30) states that parakṛti and purākalpa are arthavādas.

The Vyavahāra-mayūkha quotes a verse of Devala [2017] 'on the father's death the sons should divide the paternal wealth, for they have no ownership as long as the father who suffers from no blemish (that deprive him of ownership) is alive'. Here the first half lays down a time for partition (it is a vidhi), the latter half is only an arthavāda praising the vidhi and means that, as long as the father is alive, the sons are not independent and not that they have no ownership in ancestral property.

Smṛtis also abound in arthavādas. For example, Medhātithi on Manu V. 56 (na māṁsabhakṣaṇe doṣaḥ) says that from V. 28 up to V. 56 all verses except two or three are arthavādas. Medhātithi points out in several other places in the Manusmṛti a few vidhis and numerous arthavādas. For example, Manu II. 117 contains a vidhi about *abhivādana*, while verses II.

2016. स (अर्थवादः) च चतुर्विधः निन्दा-प्रशंसा-परकृति-पुराकल्पभेदात्। ... परेण महता पुरुषेणेदं कर्म कृतमिति प्रतिपादकोर्थवादः परकृतिः—यथा अग्निर्वा अकामयत—इत्यादिः। परप्रवृत्तकार्थादिप्रतिपादकः पुराकल्पः—यथा तमशपद्धिया धिया त्वा वध्यासुः—इत्यादिः। मी० परि. pp 27-28. On मनु II. 151 where an Āṅgirasa taught his pitṛs and is said to have called them 'putrakāḥ' मेधातिथि remarks 'पूर्वस्य पितृवद्वृत्तिविधेरर्थवादोयं परकृतिनामा.' The वायुपुराण (59.134-137) defines विधि, स्तुति, निन्दा, परकृति and पुराकल्प. The same four are said to be the constituents of अर्थवाद in न्यायसूत्र II 1. 65. परकृतिपुराकल्पे च मनुष्यधर्मः स्यादर्थाय ह्यनुकीर्तनम्। ... अर्थवादो वा विधिशेषत्वात्तस्माच्छित्यानुवादः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 26 and 30. The story of Śunaḥśepa whom his father sold to Hariścandra's son and was willing even to kill him as offering to Varuṇa (narrated in the Ait. Br.) is really an अर्थवाद of the परकृति type. Vide मनु X. 105 where this legend is mentioned and मेधा० thereon.

2017. यत्तु देवलः—पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभजेयुर्धनं पितुः। अस्वाम्यं हि भवेत्तेषां निर्दोषे पितरि स्थिते—तत्र पूर्वार्धे तावद्विभागकालविधायकं विधिप्रत्ययश्रवणात्, उत्तरार्धे तु तस्यैव स्तुत्यर्थतयाऽस्वातन्त्र्यपरं न तु स्वत्वाभावपरम्। व्य. म. p. 90. The व्य. म. extends this to a sūtra of Śaṅkha which forbids partition by sons during the father's life-time even of property earned by them after they are born and states that they have no independence as regards wealth and religious ceremonies during the father's life and that the words about absence of independence are only an arthavāda eulogising the prohibition about non-division.

118–121 are arthavādas in relation to it. In Manu II. 165 a vidhi is laid down for the study of the whole Veda by persons of the three upper classes; when Manu (X. 1) again lays down that the three classes should study the Veda, this is merely an anuvāda. Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 135 remarks that many verses in Manu contain arthavādas.

The Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra and Viṣṇudharmottara[2018] provide that cow's urine, excreta, milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which *kuśas* have been dipped and a fast for a day and night will purify even a *śvapāka*. A Śvapāka was the lowest amongst untouchables and followed the same avocations as a cāṇḍāla and was governed by the same rules (vide Manu X. 51-56). This verse is not to be taken literally, as nothing could make a cāṇḍāla touchable. Therefore, this is a mere arthavāda meant to praise the purifying effects of *pañcagavya* and a fast.

It would have been noticed that every Vedic passage is not of the nature of a vidhi (of an injunctive or exhortatory character). There are numerous Vedic passages that are commendatory of a vidhi, condemn an act that is prohibited, give an illustration of some one having performed the vidhi in the past or put forward an easily understood reason for the specific act which is enjoined. These commendatory, condemnatory and illustrative passages are not to be treated as unnecessary or purposeless, but are to be taken along with the *vidhi* passages to complete their full import. This doctrine of arthavādas saves a huge portion of Vedic texts from being neglected or treated as unnecessary.

The Garuḍapurāṇa states 'Gāndhārī, who observed a fast on Ekādaśī mixed with daśamī, lost her hundred sons; therefore Ekādaśī mixed with daśamī should be given up'. Here the first part is only a nindānuvāda (i. e. it indirectly supports the positive rule 'tām parivarjayet'), as the maxim is that '*nindā* in a text is not meant for the mere sake of condemnation but for prescribing the opposite of what is condemned.' Vide Kṛtyaratnākara p. 635 for this interpretation. The M. B. P. (pp. 50-58) gives another classification of arthavādas into 38 varieties. They are passed over here from considerations of space.

The arthavādas constitute the largest part of the Veda, particulary in the Brāhmaṇa texts. About arthavāda the

2018. गोमूत्रं गोमयं क्षीरं दधि सर्पिः कुशोदकम्। एकरात्रोपवासश्च श्वपाकमपि शोधयेत्॥ वसिष्ठ 27. 3, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 42. 31-32.

Tantravārtika makes[2019] a general statement that arthavāda passages coming after *vidhi* passages are weak, while those that come before vidhis are stronger.

The 3rd class of Vedic texts are mantras. They have already been treated above (vide p. 1220, notes 1979 ff.). Some mantras also lay down an injunction as in Rg. X. 117. 5 'pṛṇīyād-in-nādhamānāya-tavyān' (the strong must bestow wealth on one who begs), also the mantra 'vasantāya kapiñjalānālabhate' (Vāj. S. 24. 20) cited above on p. 1221. But generally mantras are only expressive or assertive and call to mind things that are connected with the acts enjoined by vidhi-vākyas (injunctive passages). The Tantravārtika[2020] notes that it is definitely understood that religious acts that are performed with mantras that recall to the mind the things enjoined lead to prosperity (or to *svarga*). The reader would notice how the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system came to relegate mantras to a secondary place and made them play a passive role in the sacrificial system. The Ṛgveda contained sublime prayers, but in the mīmāṁsā system the most prominent place was given to Brāhmaṇa texts, that contained almost all the *vidhis*. It has been seen above pp. 950–952 how Ṛgveda mantras are full of faith (*bhakti*) in God and fervent appeals to God after confession of sin and repentance; vide Rg. VII. 86. 4-6 (kim-āga āsa varuṇa jyeṣṭham &c.); Rg. III. 39 is a hymn full of beatitude, verse 2 of which says 'this prayer (dhīḥ) born of yore in heaven, sung in the holy assembly with earnestness, dressed in pure (lit-white) and auspicious garb is ours, ancient and inherited from our forefathers'

The 4th part of Vedic texts bearing on Dharma is 'Nāmadheya' (proper names of sacrifices). There are such texts as 'one should sacrifice with the *udbhid*' (Tāṇḍya Br. 19. 7. 2-3), 'one desirous of possessing cattle should sacrifice with *citrā*'[2021] (Tai. S. II. 4. 6. 1). The question is whether in these passages what is laid down is some substance to be offered in some rite (as in

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2019. ये हि विध्युद्देशात्परस्तादर्थवादाः श्रूयन्ते तेषामस्ति दौर्बल्यम्। ये पुरस्ताच्छ्रूयन्ते ते सुकरत्वाद् बलीयांसो भवन्ति। तन्त्रवा. on III. 3.2.

2020. शबर on पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 32 says अर्थपरत्वायनार्थमेव यज्ञे मन्त्रोच्चारणम्। यज्ञाङ्गप्रकाशनमेव प्रयोजनम्।; मन्त्रैरेव स्मृत्वा कृतं कर्मोद्दिश्यकारि भवतीत्यवधार्यते। तन्त्रवा. on II. 1. 31 p. 433.

2021. पशुकामो यजेत। यदुद्भिदा यजते बलमेवास्मै विच्यावयति यद्बलभिदा बलमेवास्मै भिनत्ति। ताण्ड्य. 19. 7. 2–3. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 269 n. 618 for the application of the Udbhidadhikaraṇa (P. M. S. I. 4. 1–2) by संस्कारप्रकाश and above p. 137 by the समयमयूख.

'dadhnā juhoti) or whether they are names of sacrifices. No substance is well-known as 'udbhid' (as *dadhi* is a well-known substance). Citrā means a female animal of variegated colour. If it is guṇavidhi (in the case of 'citrayā yajeta'), there would be the fault of Vākyabheda (one sentence broken up as laying down two vidhis) i. e. the injunction would be that a female *paśu* was to be sacrificed (not a male) and further injunction that its colour should be variegated. Therefore, Udbhid, Citrā, Balabhid, Abhijit, Viśvajit (Kauṣītaki Br. 25. 14) and Agnihotra (P. M. S. 1. 4. 4), Vājapeya (P. M. S. I. 4. 6-8), Vaiśvadeva (P. M. S. I. 4. 13-16) are names of rites and are not substances. Similarly, in 'Śyenenābhicaran yajeta' (one practising black magic for bringing about the death of an enemy may perform a yāga called śyena). Here 'śyena' is the name of a yāga, because the yāga swoops down upon the enemy and seizes him just as a falcon swoops down upon its victim and catches it (Ṣaḍviṁśa Br. III. 8. 1. 3). The point to be noted is that these names serve the purpose of[2022] particularising the meaning of what is enjoined. The Vedic text 'svādhyāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ' enjoins the study of the Veda consisting of all parts including nāmadheyas of sacrifices and we directly see that in such Vedic vidhis as 'Citrayā yajeta paśukāmaḥ' the name citrā is a part of the vidhi. Therefore, nāmadheya also is a puruṣārtha and is authoritative like other parts of the Veda (vide Śāstradīpikā on Jai. I. 4. 1). In the sentences mentioned above *yāga* is enjoined with the fruit as the object, since it is not otherwise established. Since it is not intended to lay down a general injunction to sacrifice, a specific variety of sacrifice has to be enjoined. When one wants to know the specific variety enjoined, from the word 'udbhid' it is known that it is the sacrifice called udbhid. Dharmaśāstra writers apply this maxim called 'Udbhid-nyāya' to 'Upanayana' which literally means 'taking (a boy) near an ācārya' (teacher of the Veda)'. The Saṁskāraprakāśa says so.[2023]

2022. नामधेयानां विधेयार्थपरिच्छेदकतयाऽर्थवत्त्वम्। तथाहि-उद्भिदा यजेत पशुकाम इत्यत्र उद्भिच्छब्दो यागनामधेयम्। तेन हि विधेयार्थपरिच्छेदः क्रियते। अनेन हि वाक्येनाप्राप्तत्वात्फलोद्देशेन यागो विधीयते। यागसामान्यस्य चाविधेयत्वाद्यागविशेष एव विधीयते। तत्र कोऽसौ विशेष इत्यपेक्षायां उद्भिच्छब्दाद्भिदिरूपो यो याग इति ज्ञायते। मी. न्या. प्र. p. 206 (ABORI).

2023. तत्रोपनयनशब्दः कर्मनामधेयम्। तत्र यौगिकमुद्भिदन्यायात्। योगश्च भावव्युत्पत्त्या करणव्युत्पत्त्या वेत्याह भाट्टचिः। स यथा। उप समीपे आचार्यादीनां बटोर्नयनं प्रापणमुपनयनम्। समीपे आचार्यादीनां नीयते बटुर्येन तदुपनयनमिति वा। संस्कारप्रकाश p. 334.

The fifth (and last) part of Vedic texts consists of 'pratiṣedha' (niṣedha, prohibition). Prohibitions[2024] serve the ends of man by causing men to desist from actions which would produce undesirable results. To explain, just as vidhis, which express an urge or prompting (to do something), suggest, in order to effectuate their prompting quality, that the matter to be enjoined such as a sacrifice is the means to attain a desirable result and so urge a man to do it, so also prohibitions such as 'one should not eat Kalañja (red garlic)' or 'one should not utter what is false' (Tai. S. II. 5. 5. 6) denote a turning away and in order to effectuate their own deterring quality, suggest that the thing to be prohibited viz. eating kalañja or speaking untruth will be the cause of bringing about an undesirable result and so make a man desist from it. The particle 'na' may come before a verbal form, a noun or an adjective and 'na' becomes in certain cases 'a' (as in 'abrāhmaṇa,' 'adharma') and 'an' in certain others when it is prefixed to a word beginning with a vowel (as in 'anaśva', 'anuṣṇa'). Pāṇini devotes several sūtras to 'na' and expressly refers to 'pratiṣedha' as one of the meanings conveyed by 'na' (vide Pāṇ. II. 2. 6, VI. 2. 155 &c.)[2025]; 'na' is said to convey six senses as noted in the verse quoted below.[2026]

The first meaning of 'na' is 'abhāva' (non-existence). But that meaning would not suit all cases. When one says 'bring abrāhmaṇa' the meaning conveyed is not 'non-existence' since, if that were the meaning, one could not bring non-existing brāhmaṇa and so might not bring any one at all, or might

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2024. अनर्थहेतुकर्मणः सकाशात्पुरुषस्य निवृत्तिकरत्वेन निषेधानां पुरुषार्थानुबन्धित्वम्। तथा हि। यथा विधयः प्रवर्तनाभिदधतः स्वप्रवर्तकत्वनिर्वाहार्थं विधेयस्य यागादेः श्रेयःसाधनत्वमाक्षिपन्तः पुरुषं तत्र प्रवर्तयन्ति, एवं न कलञ्जं भक्षयेदित्यादयो निषेधा अपि निवर्तनाभिदधतः स्वनिवर्तकत्वनिर्वाहार्थं निषेध्यस्य कलञ्जभक्षणादेरनर्थहेतुत्वमाक्षिपन्तः पुरुषं ततो निवर्तयन्ति। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 248–249. Some read प्रेरणां for प्रवर्तनाम्. The meaning of both is the same. आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 17. 26 forbids the eating of कलञ्ज, पलाण्डु and परारीक and हरदत्त explains 'कलञ्जं रक्तलशुनम्' and कल्पतरु on नियतकाल p. 280 explains it as लशुनविशेष.

2025. नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः। पा. VI. 2. 155.

2026. तत्सादृश्यमभावश्च तदन्यत्वं तदल्पता। अप्राशस्त्यं विरोधश्च नञर्थाः षट् प्रकीर्तिताः॥ q. on p. 430 of the com. भाट्टालंकार on मी. न्या. प्र. (Chowkhamba S.S.). अब्राह्मण means ब्राह्मणादन्य (i. e. नञ् suggests here तदन्यत्व) and अधर्म means धर्मविरोधि, as stated by श्लोकवा. (अपोहवाद verse 33) 'नामधात्वर्थयोगी च नैव नञ् प्रतिषेधकः। वदतोऽब्राह्मणाधर्मावन्यमात्रविरोधिनौ॥'. The महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 on पा. III. 1. 12 says 'नञिवयुक्तमन्यसदृशाधिकरणे तथा ह्यर्थगतिः' and explains 'अब्राह्मणमानयेत्युक्तो (के?) ब्राह्मणसदृश आनीयते नासौ लोष्टमानीय कृती भवति'.

bring a clod of earth which would not fulfil any purpose of the person addressing these words and therefore, on hearing this, a person not a brāhmaṇa but resembling a brāhmaṇa (such as a kṣatriya) is brought. So in this case 'abrāhmaṇa' means a person other than a brāhmaṇa; 'na' also conveys the opposite (*virodha*) of that to which it is prefixed. It has been seen above that the verb is the main part in a sentence and in the verbal form it is the termination that is the principal part. So, in 'one must not eat kalañja' the negative particle 'na' must be held to be connected with the optative termination in 'bhakṣayet'. In a vidhi[2027] (or on hearing a vidhi) one perceives that the sentence urges the listener to be active. When 'na' is prefixed to an optative from it conveys the opposite of urging viz. '*nivartana*' (desisting from something). The phala that one understands from a vidhi is as in 'yajeta svargakāmaḥ' *svarga*, while in a prohibition the phala is cessation of harm (anartha-nivṛtti). The adhikārī in a vidhi is one who desires svarga; in a niṣedha the adhikārī is one who is afraid of harm and desires to avoid what is undesirable. Therefore, these considerations establish that exhortation and prohibition are entirely different in their import.

But when there is an obstacle or difficulty in construing 'na' with the verbal termination, then it is construed with the meaning of the root. These obstacles are of two sorts; one is where the whole passage is introduced by the words 'his vows are' or where an option will emerge if the meaning of prohibition is stuck to. In the case of these two obstacles in sentences where

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2027. अतो लिङन्तार्थेन नञ् सम्बध्यते। तस्य सर्वापेक्षया प्राधान्यात्। नञश्चैष स्वभावो यत्स्वसम्बन्धिप्रतिपक्षबोधकत्वम्। ... तद्दिह लिङर्थस्तावत्प्रवर्तना। अतस्तेन सम्बध्यमानो नञ् प्रवर्तनाप्रतिपक्षं निवर्तनां गमयति। अतश्च सर्वत्र निषेधेषु निवर्तनैव वाक्यार्थः। एवं च विधिनिषेधयोर्भिन्नार्थत्वं सिद्धं भवति। यथाहुः। अन्तरं यादृशं लोके ब्रह्महत्याश्वमेधयोः। दृश्यते तादृगेवेदं विधानप्रतिषेधयोः॥ इति। तथा। ...सर्वथापि तु नञः प्राधान्यात्यत्ययेनान्वयः। पदा तु तदन्वये किञ्चिद्बाधकं तदागत्या धात्वर्थेनान्वयः। तच्च बाधकं द्विविधम्। तस्य व्रतमित्युपक्रमो विकल्पप्रसक्तिश्च। तेन च बाधकद्वयेन नञ्युक्तेषु वाक्येषु पर्युदासाश्रयणं भवति। तदभावे निषेध एव। पर्युदासः स विज्ञेयो यत्रोत्तरपदेन नञ्। प्रतिषेधः स विज्ञेयः क्रियया सह यत्र नञ्॥ इति च तयोर्लक्षणम्। तत्र-नेक्षतोद्यन्तमादित्यम्-इत्यादौ पर्युदासाश्रयणम्, तस्य व्रतमित्युपक्रमात्। तथाहि व्रतशब्देन कर्तव्योर्थ उच्यते। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 250–253. The न्यायसुधा (or राणक) p. 201 on तन्त्रवा. quotes the verse अन्तरं ... भेदयोः as from the बृहट्टीका (of कुमारिल) and cites verses explaining the five points (फल &c.) in which विधि and निषेध differ. The word उत्तरपद is a technical मीमांसा word and means the termination in the verbal form and पूर्वपद means the pada minus the termination. विधिः प्रवर्तमानो हि श्रेयःसिद्धये प्रवर्तते। प्रतिषेधः पुनः पापाक्निवर्तयति भेदतः। तन्त्रवा. on पू. मी. सू. III. 4. 13 p. 911.

'na' occurs, we would have to resort to *paryudāsa* (exclusion or exception). In the case of the Prajāpativratas[2028] (which are puruṣārtha as decided in P. M. S. IV. 1. 3) the passage starts with the words 'his vows are' and then comes the sentence 'he must not see the sun rising or setting' (Kauṣītaki Br. VI. 6). Vrata means a mental act, a resolve not to do a certain thing, the meaning being 'he should make a resolve to act in such a way as not to see the rising or setting sun and stick to it'. This really is niyama (restriction). This passage does not mean that he should never look at the sun (there is no prohibition of seeing the sun) but it only excludes the sight of the rising or setting sun; therefore, this is only exclusion and he who observes this niyama (restriction) secures the reward while in the case of eating kalañja there is a total prohibition. 'Paryudāsa (exclusion) is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with another word (i. e. with the verbal root or a different word such as a noun); prohibition is to be understood where the negative particle is taken with the verbal form'.

In Dharmaśāstra works, 'na' is frequently explained as laying down a paryudāsa (proviso or exception). In the section on the duties of a *snātaka* in Yāj. I. 129-166 'na' occurs very often. The Mit. explains (on Yaj. I. 129) that in this section wherever 'na' occurs it is meant to denote a paryudāsa (sarvatrāpi asmin snātakaprakaraṇe nañ-śabdaḥ pratyekam paryudāsārtha eva), To take only one example, Yāj. in I. 132 provides that one should not speak (to a man or woman) what would be painful without any necessity or cause. This does not altogether prohibit speaking what is painful; what it means is that a *snātaka* may say to another what is painful except when there is no proper reason nor proper occasion to do so. One may have to speak what is painful to an erring son or friend or near relative. Aparārka (pp. 206-207) quotes two well-known

2028. युक्तं यत्प्रजापतिव्रतेषु शास्त्राणामर्थवत्त्वेन पुरुषार्थो विधीयते। तत्र नियमः कर्तव्यतयोपदिश्यते। ... तस्य व्रतमिति प्रकृत्य प्रजापतिव्रतानि समाम्नातानि। व्रतमिति च मानसं कर्मोच्यते। इदं न करिष्यामीति यः सङ्कल्पः। कतमत्तद् व्रतम्। नोद्यन्तमादित्यमीक्षेतेति। यथा तदीक्षणं न भवति तथा मानसो व्यापारः कर्तव्यः। तस्य च पालनम्। तत्र तस्मात्पुरुषार्थोऽस्तीत्यवगन्तव्यम्। ... न हि कलञ्जं भक्षयन् प्रतिषेधविधिं नातिक्रामति। इह पुनरादित्यं पश्यञ्जातिक्रामति विधिम्। न हि तस्य दर्शनं प्रतिविद्धम्। नियमस्तत्रोपदिष्टः। यस्तं नियमं करोति स फलेन सम्बध्यते। इह तु प्रतिविध्यते कलञ्जादि। शबर on पू. मी. सू. VI. 2. 20. In the कौषी. ब्रा. VI. 6 (or ज्ञा. ब्रा.) we read तस्य व्रतमुद्यन्तमेवैनं नेक्षेतास्तं यन्तं चेति। मनु IV. 37 has a similar provision 'नेक्षतोद्यन्तमादित्यं नास्तं यान्तं कदाचन'. Vide अनुशासनपर्व 104. 18, वसिष्ठ XII. 10 (among स्नातकव्रतs), विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 17-18 for almost the same words.

verses on the distinction between *paryudāsa* and *pratiṣedha* (the two halves of which are quoted and underlined in note 2027) on the interpretation of a verse requiring a man having a son not to observe a fast on certain days &c. The first halves of those verses are; 'Pradhānatvam vidhauyatra pratiṣedhespradhānatā (paryudāsaḥ...nañ) ॥ aprādhānyam vidhau yatra pratiṣedhe pradhānatā । prasajyaprati...nañ'.॥

When the particle 'na' is employed in a sentence, it is either a prohibition or a paryudāsa or an arthavāda. These three have to be clearly distinguished. In Darśapūrṇamāsa the two *ājyabhāgas* are an aṅga (P. M. S. IV. 4. 30) and a passage states that the two ājyabhāgas are the eyes of the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice.[2029] In connection with this the Veda says 'these two are not performed in an animal sacrifice nor in a Soma sacrifice'. The question is; is this a prohibition or a paryudāsa or an arthavāda. A pratiṣedha occurs only when there is the possibility of what is prohibited following as a matter of course. As the *ājyabhāgas* are prescribed in Darśapūrṇamāsa there is no possibility of these two being required in a Somayāga and there is no real prohibition. Nor is there *paryudāsa*, for if it be a paryudāsa there would be no proper connection, since in paryudāsa one would have to say 'there are ājyabhāgas in darśapūrṇamāsa except in somayāgs', which would be absurd. Therefore, these words 'na tau paśau karoti na some' contain an arthavāda. A true[2030] prohibition would occur only when something is first prescribed and then prohibited. The stock example is of the Ṣoḍaśin cup; there are two Vedic sentences of equal authority 'he takes the ṣoḍaśin cup in Atirātra' and 'he does not take the Ṣoḍaśin cup in atirātra'; owing to this conflict an option is allowed. Similarly, there is a Vedic passage 'Vrīhibhir yajeta yavairvā' (one shall offer a sacrifice with grains of rice or with yavas). Therefore, in the above two cases where the two texts are irreconcilable, there is

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2029. चक्षुषी वा एते यज्ञस्य यदाज्यभागौ यजति चक्षुषी एव तद्यज्ञस्य प्रतिदधाति। तै. सं. II. 6. 2. 1.

2030. शिष्ट्वा तु प्रतिषेधः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 8. 6. शबर explains 'यथा नातिरात्रे गृह्णाति षोडशिनमिति। न तत्र शक्यं वक्तुं पर्युदास इति। सम्बन्ध एव हि न स्यात्। अतिरात्रवर्जितातिरात्रे गृह्णाति षोडशिनमिति। नापि कस्यचिदर्थवादत्वेन सम्भवति। ... यत्र पुनरन्या वचनव्यक्तिरस्ति वाक्यस्य तत्र न विकल्पो भवति।; एवमेषोऽदोषोऽपि यद् व्रीहियवावयोः। विकल्प आश्रितस्तत्र गतिरन्या न विद्यते। व्रीहिशास्त्रप्रवृत्तौ हि यवशास्त्रेण कुप्यते। श्रोता तत्र प्रवृत्तोपि व्रीहिशास्त्रेण कुप्यते। तन्त्रवा. on I. 3. 3 p. 175. Vide also प्राप्तिपूर्वो हि प्रतिषेधो भवति। शबर on पू. मी. सू. VII. 3. 20 and VII. 3. 23.

no way except that of allowing an option (vikalpa). But 'vikalpa' is liable to eight faults.[2031] Therefore, an effort has to be made to avoid option and accept as far as possible a paryudāsa or arthavāda, since by accepting an option, the authoritative statement in one case or the other has to be regarded as unauthoritative and not binding. Śabara and Tantravārtika provide that *vikalpa* should be resorted to only in case there is no other way. The P. M. S. lays down that vikalpa may be accepted when several things having the same object (or sense) are stated by several authoritative texts.

There is one more word that must be explained, viz. *nityānuvāda*.[2032] This word occurs in Āpastambadharmasūtra II. 6. 14. 13 (vide n. 1877 above). It occurs frequently in Jaimini (vide II. 4. 26, IV. I. 5, VI. 7. 30, VII. 4. 5, VIII. 1. 6, IX. 4. 36, X. 2. 38) and Śabara uses it oftener still. He explains that where the Vedic text apparently prohibits something when there is no possibility of what is prohibited as happening, there is nityānuvāda (as in 'the fire altar should not be piled on bare earth nor in the sky nor in heaven'). The Ṭupṭīkā states the same thing in a different form when it says that where a prohibition amounts to an arthavāda, that is nityānuvāda.

Vikalpas (options) are grouped under three heads viz. those indicated by logic or reasoning, (2) those due to express words and (3) those dependent on the will of the performer. An example of the first kind is the option about rice grains and barley grains (yavair vrīhibhir-vā yajeta). The 2nd may be exemplified from Manu III. 267, which says that the Manes derive satisfaction for a month when offerings are made of sesame or of rice or of barley or of māṣa pulse or of water or of fruits and roots.

2031. एकार्थास्तु विकल्पेरन् समुच्चये ह्यावृत्तिः स्यात्प्रधानस्य। पू. मी. सू. XII. 3, 10. The eight faults of allowing an option between two provisions are set out in मी. न्या प्र. p. 151 and Prof. Edgerton's translation of मी. न्या. प्र. paragraph 318 pp. 163–164, n. 212. The एकादशीतत्त्व (p. 42) discusses the व्रीहियववाक्य, quotes the verse एवमेषोऽष्टदोषोपि० and points out the eight doṣas. The three words पर्युदास, प्रतिषेध and विकल्प occur in one sūtra viz पू. मी. सू X. 8. 15 'अपि तु वाक्यशेषत्वादितरपर्युदासः स्यात्प्रतिषेधे विकल्पः स्यात्' which is quoted in the शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 3. 26). The भामती remarks (on this sūtra) that these words are only a summary of the original sūtra which is 'अपि वा वाक्यशेषः स्यादन्याय्यत्वाद्विकल्परय विधीनामेकदेशः स्यात्।'

2032. असति प्रसङ्गे प्रतिषेधो नित्यानुवादः। शबर on I. 2. 18; यथार्थवादत्वेन प्रतिषेधस्तत्र नित्यानुवादो भवति। टुप्टीका on VII, 3. 21; on IX. 4. 36 (परो नित्यानुवादः स्यात्) शबर explains: *नित्यमेतमर्थं सन्तमनुवदति*.

' An option depending on the will of a person occurs in the Jābālopaniṣad[2033] (4) 'after finishing the period of studenthood one should become a householder, after becoming a householder, one should become a forest hermit and after becoming a forest hermit one may become a wandering ascetic (sannyāsin or parivrāḍ); or following another method one may become a wandering ascetic after finishing studenthood or after becoming an householder or after becoming a forest hermit.' The latter part of this passage gives an option as to āśramas.' This option is referred to by Gautama in the words 'some sages allow an option as to āśramas to him (to brahmacārin).' When Yāj. I. 14 provides that the *Upanayana* of a brāhmaṇa boy may be performed in the eighth year from conception or from birth there is an option depending on the will of the father.

Manu IV. 7 provides that a *dvija* should amass as much corn as would fill a granary (i. e. as would last for a year) or a Kumbhī (for six months) or as much as would suffice for three days or may not care to amass even for to-morrow. These are four options and then Manu IV. 8 provides that a *dvija* who is an householder may choose one of these four, but each succeeding one is superior in point of merit and otherworldly rewards.

A *vikalpa* may also be *vyavasthita* (restricted or limited to a certain set of circumstances) or avyavasthita (not restricted). The Āp. Dh. S. provides[2034] that one should offer *bali* with his hand in the *aupāsana* fire or in the kitchen fire with the first six mantras. Haradatta remarks that 'This is a limited option' viz. in the aupāsana fire bali should be cast every day by those who have kept up that fire and in the ordinary kitchen fire by

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2033. ब्रह्मचर्यं परिसमाप्य गृही भवेत्। गृही भूत्वा वनी भवेत्। वनी भूत्वा प्रव्रजेत्। यदि वेतरथा ब्रह्मचर्यादेव प्रव्रजेद्गृहाद्वा वनाद्वा। जाबालोप. 4, q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on ब्रह्मसूत्र III. 4. 20 with the remark 'अनपेक्ष्यैव जाबालश्रुतिमाश्रमान्तरविधायिनीमयमाचार्येण विचारः प्रवर्तितः'. The विषयवाक्य of ब्रह्मसूत्र III. 4. 18-20 is छान्दोग्य II. 23. 1 'त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः ... ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति।' and the ब्रह्मसूत्र mentions the views of जैमिनि and बादरायण on this छान्दोग्य passage and the established conclusion is 'विधिर्वा धारणवत्' III. 4. 20. गौतमधर्मसूत्र says 'तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते' III. 1, तस्य referring to ब्रह्मचारिन्. The जाबालोपनिषद् does not appear to have been known to the author of the Brahmasūtra while views similar to those propounded by it were known to Gautama. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 56 refers to the Jābālopaniṣad as allowing an option 'तथा च विकल्पो जाबालश्रुतौ श्रूयते ब्रह्मचर्यं ... वनाद्वा। इति। ... एतेषां समुच्चयविकल्पबाधपक्षाणां सर्वेषां श्रुतिमूलत्वादिच्छया विकल्पः।'.

2034. औपासने पचने वा षड्भिराद्यैः प्रतिमन्त्रं हस्तेन जुहुयात्। आप. ध. सू. II. 2.3. 16; 'औपासनवतामौपासने विधुरादेः पचने इति व्यवस्थितो विकल्पः। हरदत्त.

him whose wife is dead. Manu III. 82 prescribes that one should offer *Śrāddha* everyday with food, water, milk etc. Here there is vyavasthita-vikalpa i. e. first food, then in its absence milk, fruits and roots, and in the absence of these water. When Manu IV. 95 prescribes "Having performed the Upākarma rite according to proper procedure on the Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa or of Bhādrapada a brāhmaṇa should diligently study the Vedas for four months and a half." Medhātithi says that this is a 'vyavasthita-vikalpa' viz. the Sāmavedins should perform upākarma on Bhādrapada Full Moon, while Ṛgvedins and Yajurvedins on Śrāvaṇa Full Moon. Vide the Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 about the *sapiṇḍana* of a mother, where the Mit. introduces order among conflicting texts. When Gaut. prescribes (III. 21) that a *sannyāsin* should completely shave the head or keep only a top-knot, there is an option depending on the will of the person. Gaut. II. 51-53, Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 11, Manu III. 1 prescribe *brahmacarya* for Veda study for 48, 36, 24, 12, 3 years. Here there is an option depending on the capacity and wish of the student. It should be noted that the eight faults about accepting an option do not occur in a vyavasthita[2035] vikalpa nor do they apply where the option is dependent on the volition of the performer nor where option is given by express texts. Those eight faults apply only to an option indicated by reasoning.

The Mīmāṁsābālāprakāśa (pp. 153-165) provides a long list of the divisions and subdivisions of Vikalpa.

Śāstra is meant to give definite rules as stated by Patañjali[2036] and therefore all Śāstrik works try to reduce options to the minimum and assign to apparently conflicting passages separate and definite provinces of application (*Viṣayavyavasthā*). Sometimes, the options are so many that commentators give up the task of assigning them different scopes e. g. the Mit. on Yāj. III. 22, after quoting the conflicting passages on impurity on birth and death, for kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras

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2035. सर्वस्मिंश्च व्यवस्थितविकल्पे पूर्वोक्ता अष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति। ...एवमैच्छिकविकल्पेऽप्यष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति कस्यापि शास्त्रस्य प्रतीतप्रामाण्यत्यागाद्यभावात्। ... एवमेव वाचनिकेऽपि विकल्पेऽष्टौ दोषा न सन्ति। ... तस्माद्व्यायगम्ये विकल्प एवाष्टदोषत्वमिति सिद्धम्। मी. वा. प्र. pp. 161-162.

2036. न ह्याप्यवस्थाकारिणा शास्त्रेण भवितव्यम्। शास्त्रतो हि नाम व्यवस्था। महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 (तथा चानवस्था) on पा. VI. 1. 135; एवमनेकोऽन्यायश्चाशौचकल्पा दर्शिताः। तेषां लोके समाचारभावाच्छास्त्रतोऽपि व्यवस्थाप्रदर्शनमनुपयोगीति नात्र व्यवस्था प्रदर्श्यते॥ मिता. on पा. III. 22.

from Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasiṣṭha and Atri gives up the effort to bring order because it would be of no use as people do not accept the dicta of these in practice.

Two other words require some explanation. They are 'ārādupakāraka' and 'sannipatyopakāraka'. In the 3rd chapter of the PMS the author deals[2037] with *śeṣa*, its definition and explains how to determine what things are called *śeṣa* and what are *śeṣin*. Kumārila sets out five definitions of the word śeṣa, discards four and accepts one, viz. 'śeṣa' is that which serves the purpose of another. Śabara comments that what serves to help another is called śeṣa and the other is called śeṣin. Śabara adds a qualification viz. that is śeṣa which is of very much help to another. Bādari holds that there are three groups of śeṣa viz. *dravya* (materials for sacrifice such as rice-grains), *guṇa* (such as the reddish colour of the cow that is the price of the *soma* to be purchased), *saṁskāras* (purificatory acts such as the pounding of the grains in mortar and pestle which make the grains fit for turning them into puroḍāśa). Jaimini adds that rites (karmāṇi) like yāga, fruit or result (of yāga) are śeṣa as regards the performer and the performer is śeṣa with reference to the yāga. According to Bādari, *dravya*, *guṇa*, *saṁskāra* are always śeṣa, while according to the established conclusion, yāga, reward and performer (*yāga*, *phala* and *puruṣa*) may be according to circumstances either śeṣa or śeṣin. After a long discussion the Tantravārtika sums up the discussion that dravya, guṇa, and saṁskāra are with reference to *yāga* invariably śeṣa, though they may be śeṣin with reference to their own constituent elements, while as regards *phala*, *yāga* and the performer they can be both śeṣa and śeṣin with reference to each other. For example, in the Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice there are various items, such as taking out handfuls of rice grains (for sacrifice), sprinkling water on them, pounding them; then certain acts are to be performed with reference to *ājya* (clarified butter) viz. purifying it with two blades of *kuśa* grass, melting it, also bringing a branch, starting the cows towards the meadows &c. These auxiliaries are of two kinds, viz. (i) that are already accomplished, (ii) that are of the nature

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2037. शेषः परार्थत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. III. 1. 2; का: शेषः केन हेतुना शेषः कर्म च विनियुज्यते। इति। कुत्वादीनि च विनियोगे कारणानीति वक्ष्यते च। तेषां च सहकारित्वम्। उच्यते; शेषत्वं शेषिविच्छित्ति अविनाभावलक्षणम्। पशोरुपलक्षणं तन्त्रे सहकारित्वेन चापरे। अन्ये अन्यतरता तस्य विवक्षालक्षणपरिग्रहात्। उपकारेण शेषत्वं बहुभिस्तेन तत्त्विकम्। तन्त्रवा. on III. 1. 2 p. 654.

of actions. The first comprehend substances, number &c.; those that are of the nature of acts are two-fold viz. *sannipatyopakāraka* and *ārād-upakāraka*. In the Paurṇamāsī rite there are such auxiliaries as Prayājas, the Āghāras, the Ājyabhāgas. These are ārādupakāraka. Sannipatyopakārakas are also called sāmavāyika, or āśrayikarmāṇi; they are such as the pounding of grains, *prokṣaṇa* etc. The Ārādupakāraka are [2038] rites prescribed without being meant to do something about substances and are directly the *aṅgas* of the principal rite. These do not give rise to any saṁskāra (embellishment or making fit) in the substance meant to be offered in sacrifice, are helpful in producing the *paramāpūrva* that yields the fruit of the whole rite. They produce a subordinate *apūrva* of their own. They are directly aṅgas of the principal rite and are distinguished from sannipatyopakārakas, which are saṁskāraka (bring about some embellishment or fitness). The Sannipatyopakārakas are more powerful than Ārādupakārakas and therefore the Tantravārtika states the proposition that where it is possible to hold an act [2039] in a rite to be sannipatyopakāraka or sāmavāyika, it is not proper to regard it as ārādupakāraka. It is somewhat remarkable that Prof. Keith in his 'Karmamīmāṁsā' (p. 88) inverts the meaning of these two words. The explanation of *sannipatyopakāraka* in 'Prābhākara School' (by M. M. Jha) p. 181 also is rather obscure. The Ekādaśītattva (p. 97), while discussing the substitutes (pratinidhis) to be employed on Ekādaśī for ghee, for milk and honey (being milk-powder, curds and jaggery) quotes P. M. S. VI. 3. 18 'na devatāgniśabdakriyam-anyārthasaṁyogāt', explains that in place of a prescribed *kriyā* like prayājas (that have an unseen or spiritual reward) there is to be no substitute, since what has an invisible result is āradupakāraka, but in place of rice grains (that are the means of preparing *puroḍāśa*) a substitute may be employed, since the rice grains are sannipatyopakārakas and have a seen purpose viz. preparing purodāśa. Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on

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2038. अपि च द्विविधान्यङ्गानि। आरादुपकारकाणि सामवायिकानि च। आरादुपकारकेभ्यः सामवायिकानि गरीयांसि। तत्र हि साक्षाद्वाक्यम्। आरादुपकारेषु प्रकृतेन परोक्षेणैकवाक्यता स्यात्। तस्मात्संस्कारकर्मेति। शबर on X. 4. 38. आरात् means दूरात् acc. to शबर on X. 8. 16. तत्र कर्माङ्गद्रव्यायुद्देशेन विधीयमानं कर्म संनिपत्योपकारकम्, यथावघातप्रोक्षणादि। इदमेव चाग्नये कर्मोच्यते। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 163–164; द्रव्यायनुद्दिश्य केवलं विधीयमानं कर्म आरादुपकारकम्। यथा प्रयाजादि। ibid p. 168; vide मीमांसापरिभाषा p. 13.

2039. न च सामवायिकत्वे सम्भवत्यारादुपकारककल्पना युक्ता। तन्त्रवा. on III. 4. 12 p. 902.

V. S. IV. I. 16 states that the performance of obligatory vedic rites (like Agnihotra) by a man who has to acquire knowledge of brahma is helpful for attaining it as an ārādupakāraka.[2040]

Apart from the Veda and smṛtis the Pūrvamīmāṁsā relies upon or refers to *loka* or *lokavat* (usage of the ordinary people) for elucidation. For example, I. 2. 20, I. 2. 29, II. 1. 12 (Lokavat), IV. 1.6 'tathā ca lokabhūteṣu' meaning 'lokepi'), VI, 2. 16 (loke karmāṇi vedavat-tatoऽdhipuruṣajñānam), VI. 5. 34 (na bhaktitvād-eṣā hi loke), VI. 8. 26 (yāñcā-krayaṇam-avidyamāne lokavat), VII. 4. 11 (Liṅgahetutvād-aliṅge laukikam syāt), VIII 2. 22 (payo vā tat-pradhānatvāl-lokavad-dadhnas-tadarthatvāt) gives the illustration that in order to solidify milk a little of curds is enough; VIII. 4. 6, (na laukikānām &c. where 'laukikānām' means 'lokānām'); X. 3.44 (śabdārthaścāpi lokavat), X. 3. 51, X. 6. 8, X. 7. 66 (Lokavat, Śabara saying 'Yathā matsyān na payasā samaśnīyāt), XI. 1. 23, 26, 62. Śabara himself uses the word 'Laukikanyāya' in bhāṣya on PMS III. 4. 13 (evam varṇyamāne laukikayāyānugataḥ sūtrārtho varṇito bhaviṣyati' p. 926).[2041]

Jaimini dealt with the eternal, self-existent and absolutely authoritative character of the Veda as regards Dharma in the first *pāda* of the first chapter and also dealt with the means of knowledge, the eternal character of the relation of words and senses. In the second pāda of the first adhyāya he pronounced that arthavādas which form a very large portion of the Veda were meant to laud the *Vidhis* with which they were connected and were not to be treated as useless. He also provided that mantras (that formed part of the veda) had a purpose to serve viz. that of recalling to the mind the meaning of the rites performed, that some mantras like 'catvāri śṛṅgā'[2041a] (Rg. IV.

2040. तदुत्कर्मणोऽपि ज्ञानसंयुक्तस्य मोक्षकार्योपपत्तेः। मन्त्वारभ्यो मोक्षः कथमस्य कर्मकार्यत्वमुच्यते। नैष दोषः। आरादुपकारकत्वात्कर्मणः। ज्ञानस्यैव हि साक्षात् कर्म ज्ञानजन्मनो मोक्षकारणमित्युपचर्यते। वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य IV. 1. 16.

2041. शबर on VII. 4. 12 explains the nyāya स्थालीपुलाक: यथा स्थाल्यां तुल्यपाकानां पुलाकानामेकतुषभूयस्त्वेऽपि सिद्धता ज्ञायते।; शबर on VIII.1.11 employs it 'अस्थिकरणेऽपि स्थालीपुलाकवत्सिद्धिः'; the तन्त्रवार्तिक employs it on III. 5. 19 (p. 991) 'एकैकशस्तत्रापि सिद्धं स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन समस्तयोगेन भविष्यति'।.

2041a. The objections about 'catvāri śṛṅgā' and the quotations are raised in P. M. S. I. 2. 31, which is a very long sūtra, and are answered in I. 2. 32–45. P. M. S. I. 2. 38 deals with the verse चत्वारि शृङ्गा. This verse is explained in Nirukta XIII. 7, in तन्त्रवार्तिक महाभाष्य, by Śabara, by Kumārila

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58. 3) are laudatory of *yāga*, by means of a metaphor, that the sense of some words in the mantras like 'Jarbharī turpharītū (Rg. X. 106. 6) or 'Indraḥ somasya kāṇukā' (Rg. VIII. 77. 4) about which it is argued that no sense can be made out of them are really explicable with the help of Nirukta (etymology) and grammar, that some words like 'Kīkaṭa', 'Naicāśākha', and 'Pramaganda', that are claimed to refer to a country, a city, a king and therefore are claimed to make the mantra (Rg. III. 53. 14) non-eternal, can be explained in a different way. In this way, no part of the Veda is anarthaka (without sense or useless) or non eternal. The Mīmāṁsakas are very keen on avoiding *ānarthakya* of any Vedic words or sentences.

In the third pāda of the first chapter Jaimini deals with the authoritativeness of smṛtis, the usages of respectable and learned people (*sadācāra*), the Vedāṅgas &c.

It appears that before Jaimini composed his sūtra, smṛtis had come into prominence and the usages of the śiṣṭas had been recognised as one of the sources of Dharma. The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, and[2042] others had declared that the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the usages of those who know the Vedas are the sources of Dharma. Therefore, the Śāntiparva (137.

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(in Tantravārtika p. 155–156), by Durga and Sāyaṇa. These differ a good deal (even Kumārila widely differs from Śabara). जर्भरी तुर्फरीतू are epithets of the Aśvins and explained in Nirukta (XIII. 5), Kāṇukā (in Nirukta V. 10), Kīkaṭa and other words in Nirukta VI. 32. Yāska says 'Kīkaṭa is a country in which non-Āryans resided, while Tantravārtika (p. 158) first explained it as meaning a country and affirmed that a country is eternal. Then Kumārila proposes that Kīkaṭa means 'close-fisted', Pramaganda 'usurious man', 'naicā-śākham' means wealth of an impotent person. Śabara on P. M. S. I. 2. 41 (pp. 156–157) विद्यमानोऽप्यर्थः प्रमादालस्यादिभिर्नोपलभ्यते। निगमनिरुक्तव्याकरणवशेन धातुवोर्थः कल्पयितव्यः। यथा सुष्येव जर्भरी तुर्फरीतू इत्येवमादीन्यश्विनोरभिधानानि द्विवचनान्तानि लक्ष्यन्ते॥. सुष्येव जर्भरी तुर्फरीतू occur in Rg. X. 106.6; the words निगम ... कल्पयितव्यः again occur in शाबरभाष्य on P. M. S. I. 3.10. In तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 259 (on I. 3. 24) we find 'कात्स्न्र्येऽपि व्याकरणस्य निरुक्ते हीनलक्षणाः प्रयोगा बहवो यद्वद् ब्राह्मणो ववणादिति.' The निरुक्त I. 15 has the words तदिदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कार्त्स्न्यम्. Vide तन्त्रवार्तिक pp. 268–269 for other references to निरुक्त. On P. M. S. XI. 1. 24 Śabara quotes भावप्रधानमाख्यातं (निरुक्त I. 1).

2042. वेदो धर्ममूलं तद्विदां च स्मृतिशीले। गौ. I. 2; धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणं वेदाश्च। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 1. 2–3. तस्य च व्यवहारो वेदो धर्मशास्त्राण्यङ्गान्युपवेदाः पुराणम्। गौ. XI. 19, where हरदत्त explains तस्य राज्ञः व्यवहारो लोकमर्यादास्थापनम्. Vide मनु II. 6 and या. I. 7.

23, 135. 22 in Citrao ed.) mentions Dharmaśāstras and Anuśāsanaparva (45. 17) quotes gāthās from Yama's Dharmaśāstra. Therefore, Jaimini had to consider whether smṛtis and usages were authoritative in the matter of Dharma and, if so, to what extent. Even if smṛtis were held to be unauthoritative, the authoritativeness of the Veda would not be affected; but the very first sūtra (of P. M. S.) postulated that the work would consider the question about the characteristics of Dharma and, therefore, smṛtis that were called Dharmaśāstra (Manu II. 10) were connected with the discussion about Dharma. Besides, from VI. 7. 6 it follows that[2043] Jaimini knew Dharmaśāstras as he provides that in a Viśvajit the performer cannot make a śūdra a subject of gift simply because he serves a man of higher caste on account of the ordinances of Dharmaśāstra. Even in the Upaniṣads (as in Tai. Up. I.11) the teacher after the pupil had completed Veda study impresses upon the latter that whenever he would have a doubt about the rites enjoined or about proper conduct he should follow the conduct of brāhmaṇas in his country that act after proper consideration, that are devoted to their duties and are not driven to do anything by another, are not harsh of character, that are intent on doing their duties. This amounts to following 'sadācāra' as a source of dharma. Jaimini employs the word 'smṛti' *in the sense of works in several sūtras as in* VI. 8. 23 (which contains the very words that the Āp. Gṛ. sūtra employs), IX. 2. 1, XII. 4. 43. Śabara mentions 'smṛti' and the word 'smarati' and 'smaranti' more than a dozen times.

The following passages may be noted. On[2044] P. M. S. I. 3. 2. Śabara says "pramāṇam smṛtiḥ"; on P. M. S. I, 3. 3 he

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2043. शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्। यू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 6: विश्वजित्येव सन्दिह्यते। किं परिचारकः शूद्रो देयो नेति। ... एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः। शूद्रश्च न देय इत्यस्यादेशः। कुतः। धर्मशास्त्रत्वात् धर्मशासनोपनतत्वात्तस्य. Vide मनु X. 123 for śūdra's duty to serve higher varṇas and गौतम (XI. 57-59).

2044. अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यचरणं जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्निमादधीत इत्यनेन विरुद्धम्। क्रीतराजकोऽभोज्यान्न इति 'तस्मादग्नीषोमीये संस्थिते यजमानस्य गृहेऽशितव्यमित्यनेन विरुद्धम्। शबर on I. 3. 2; गौ. ध. सू. I. 2. 1 is अष्टाचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि वेदब्रह्मचर्यम्'; आप. ध. सू. I. 6. 18. 16 and 23 are सङ्कल्पमभोज्यम्। दीक्षितोऽक्रीतराजकः; Manu X. 89 forbids the sale of horses and other animals that are ekaśapha, while Tai. S. II. 3. 12. 1 stating that Varuṇa seizes him who accepts the gift of a horse practically forbids it. The Ṛgveda highly praises donors of horses e. g. in X. 107. 2 उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदाः सह ते सूर्येण. On p. 226 of 'Pūrvamīmāṃsā in its sources' Sir. G. Jha translates 'giving and accepting in gift and buying and selling of lions, horses &c.' केसरिन् means 'lion' and also as an adjective 'having a mane' qualifying 'horses'; vide H. of Dh, vol, III. p. 850 n. 1647 criticizing this translation.

mentions three smṛti rules, two of which can be said to correspond with extant smṛtis; on PMS VI. I. 5, while dealing with the question whether lower animals (dogs &c.) have *adhikāra* for Vedic rites, Śabara denies their adhikāra, since they do not study the Veda nor the smṛtiśāstras (as men do); on PMS VI. 2. 21-22 (when the question is whether the smārta rules that a teacher should be followed or obeyed and obeisance be made to him and whether one should get up and honour an old man apply to even children whose upanayana is not performed) Śabara states that smṛti is equal to Veda (Vedatulyā hi smṛtiḥ, vaidikā eva padārthā smaryanta ityuktam). On VI. 8. 23 he quotes one quarter of a śloka as smṛti (smaranti-teṣu kāleṣu daivāni-iti). On VI. 7. 31 he says that smṛti speaks of gandharvas living for a thousand years. On VI. I. 20 Śabara says a woman owns no wealth, if one follows smṛti, but is owner of property if *śruti* be followed. On IX. 2. 2 Śabara says 'naiṣā smṛtiḥ pramāṇam, dṛṣṭamūlā hyeṣā'; on X. 1.36 Śabara says that from the usage of respectable people smṛti is inferred and from smṛti Śruti text is inferred; on X. I. 42 Śabara says 'Smṛti is stronger than usage'. On X. 3. 47 Śabara says 'there is a smṛti that one should not sell a horse'. In one place Śabara employs the words 'pramāṇāyām smṛtau' instead of 'pramāṇe smṛtau' as one would expect and the Tantravārtika is at great pains to show that this lapse on the part of Śabara may be somehow justified (pp. 183-184) on I. 3. 3. The Baudhāyana Dh. S. (1. 1. 19-26) sets out five practices peculiar to the countries of the South (Southern India) and five others peculiar to the North and says that if one belonging to the South follows any of the usages peculiar to the North and *vice versa* he would be guilty of sin. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 858 and note 1663 for the passage from Baud. Dh. S. The objector says[2045] that smṛtis should be

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2045. धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वाद्शब्दमनपेक्षं स्यात्। अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात्। I. 3. 1-2. The words कर्तृसामान्यात् are explained by the भाष्यकार as कर्तृसामान्यात्स्मृति-वैदिकपदार्थयोः i. e. the people who perform Vedic rites and also observe the Smṛti prescriptions are the same; they would not do so unless they firmly believe that smṛti prescriptions are based on Vedic authority though it may not be possible in every case to point out Vedic passages expressly or impliedly referring to them. मेधातिथि on मनु II. 6 clearly puts it, quoting from his own work called स्मृतिविवेक, the following verse: प्रामाण्यकारणं स्मृत्यं वेदविद्भिः परिग्रहः। तदुक्तं कर्तृसामान्याद्वनुमानं स्मृतेः प्रति॥, the words underlined are taken from पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 2. मनुस्मृति (II.7) has 'यः कश्चित्कस्यचिद्धर्मो

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discarded, since smṛtis were composed by men (i. e. they are *pauruṣeya* and not *apauruṣeya*, as the Veda is) and men are often deluded and forgetful. This is the main basis of the objector. To this the reply is that for prescriptions of the smṛtis, there are passages in the Veda that suggest some of the smṛti rules e. g. that the Aṣṭakā *srāddha* was prevalent long before the smṛtis is indicated by the Vedic mantra 'yām janāḥ pratinandanti'.[2046] The usages about obeying the teacher, about providing cisterns for travellers have a seen purpose, viz. the benefit of others. Even the Veda mentions '*prapā* (Rg. IX. 4. 1 'dhanvanniva prapā asi 'meaning' O Agni! thou art like a prapā in a desert'. The Tantravārtika is most exhaustive on this and the following sūtras, differs from the Bhāṣyakāra in many places, finds fault with him and gives alternative matters as the subjects for discussion. He puts forward two theories about smṛti provisions for which it is impossible to suggest Vedic indications. He says (firstly) that Smṛti[2047] prescriptions may be based on lost Vedic śākhās, or (2) they may be based on texts contained in the very parts of the Veda that are available at present. If any one asks 'how is it that they are not found', Kumārila gives the reply: the several branches of the Veda are scattered about (in many distant territories), men are negligent, and the texts are contained in different sections of the Veda; on account of these one cannot point out the texts that are the basis of the smṛtis.

That many Vedic texts were lost or are unavailable now was the view even before the days of the Āp. Dh. S. (I. 4. 12. 10), which states 'rites were promulgated in the Brāhmaṇa texts, but the exact words (of the Brāhmaṇa texts) are lost and have to be inferred from the performance of the rites (or from procedure prescribed in Smṛtis)'.[2048] There was danger in relying on the

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मनुना परिकीर्तितः। स सर्वाभिहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हि सः॥'. मेधातिथि, गोविंदराज and some other commentators take सः as referring to Veda, while Kullūka refers it to मनु. Vide H. of Dh. III. p. 828 n. 1612 for another meaning of these words.

2046. The verse यां जनाः प्रतिनन्दन्ति रात्रिं occurs in अथर्ववेद III. 10. 2, आप. म. पा. II. 10. 27. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 828 note 1612.

2047. तेन वरं प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्यनुमानमेव .....। यद्वा विद्यमानशाखागतश्रुतिमूलत्वमेवास्तु। कथमनुपलब्धिरिति चेदुच्यते-शाखानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात्पुरुषाणां प्रमादतः। नानाप्रकरणस्थत्वात् स्मृतेर्मूलं न दृश्यते॥ तन्त्रवा. on I. 3. 1 p. 164, quoted by विश्वरूप in his com. on याज्ञ. I. 7 p. 14 (without name).

2048. ब्राह्मणोक्ता विधयस्तेषाहुत्तशाः पाठाः प्रयोगादवगन्तव्याः। यत्र क्रीत्युपलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिर्न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति। आप. ध. सू. I. 4. 12. 10–11.

theory that Smṛtis were based on Vedic texts that are lost (or disappeared), because that very argument might be urged by heterodox sects like the Bauddhas.[2049] Therefore, Kumārila put forward the other theory viz. the basis of smṛtis are texts that are not found in the existing vedic texts because the Vedic *śākhās* are scattered about (as said in the verse quoted above).

This whole subject about Smṛtis according to the views of the Mīmāṁsakas has been dealt with at great length by the author in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 827–841. Therefore, only a few examples and conclusions may be mentioned here. Śabara himself proposes that PMS I. 3. 4[2050] should form a separate *Adhikaraṇa* by itself and puts forward an important maxim viz. where one can find out or ascribe a visible motive for an act one should not postulate an unseen Vedic text or a transcendental motive.[2051] The result of Śabara's dealing with PMS I. 3. 3–4 is neatly put by the Śāstradīpikā as follow; Smṛti rules that are opposed to Śruti rules and such smṛti provisions as can be shown to have a clear worldly motive are not authoritative or binding, while the rest of smṛti texts are authoritative. This doctrine is older than the Āp. Dh S. (I. 4. 10. 12) which provides 'where men act because they find pleasure in doing that act there Śāstra has no scope'. Kumārila does not agree with Śabara. He says that visible and invisible or spiritual motives are often inextricably mixed up. 'Unhusking rice grains' has a visible purpose in order that they may be well boiled and the boiled rice may be offered in a sacrifice. In this act then there is a visible purpose and yet this act is prescribed by the Veda. In a trenchant, finely worded and very accommodating passage redolent of a cosmopolitan outlook and the desire to give even the devil his due, Kumārila examines (in pp. 166–168) all the known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness

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2049. यदि तु प्रलीनशाखामूलता कल्प्येत ततस्तासां ब्रह्मादिस्मृतीनामपि तद्द्वारा प्रामाण्यं प्रसज्यते। तन्त्रवा. on I. 3. 1 p. 163.

2050. विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम्। हेत्वदर्शनाच्च। पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 3–4. There is another reading in I. 3. 3 viz. अनपेक्षम्. Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 193 quoted on p. 833 n. 1622 of vol. III. of H. of Dh.

2051. On I. 3. 2 Śabara says 'ये दृष्टार्थास्ते तत एव प्रमाणं ये त्वदृष्टार्थास्तेषु वैदिकशब्दोऽनुमानम्।'. The तन्त्रवा. on this says 'उपपत्तरं चैतद् वेदवाक्यानुमानतः। दृष्टे हि सत्यदृष्टस्य कल्पना निष्प्रमाणिका।' (p. 186). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 837 n. 1628. It appears that कुमारिल thought that Śabara stated his case as merely a counter blast and his own opinion is that a smṛti text which has a visible purpose may still be Vedamūla.

and relation to Veda and ordinary worldly experience. Only a few sentences will be set out here and in the notes. Therefore, he provides that all Smṛtis are authoritative according to the purpose they serve. Those parts of Smṛtis that are concerned with Dharma and Mokṣa have the Veda as their source, while whatever parts of Smṛtis are concerned with wealth (*artha*) and worldly pleasures (*kāma*) are based on worldly practices. The same rule applies to the hortatory passages of *Itihāsa* (the Mahābhārata) and Purāṇas, both of which are often spoken of as Smṛti. The episodes and tales in these two should be taken as *arthavādas*. Then he refers to the descriptions of the divisions of the earth and the vaṁśas (dynastic lists) (both of which are among the subjects treated of in the Purāṇas) and sets out the purposes they might serve. The six Vedāṅgas (grammar, metrics, etymology, astronomy &c.) are useful as kratvartha and puruṣārtha, and Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya (logic) have been established (worked up) from worldly experience by means of *pratyakṣa* (direct perception) and inference based upon the technique evolved by a continuous and unbroken line of learned men; that no single person would have been able to put together for the first time such a large collection of arguments[2052] (as in the Mīmāṁsāśāstra). For the necessity of Nyāya (in the interpretation of the Veda) he relies upon Manu XII. 105–106. Kumārila is prepared to concede that philosophical systems in which are postulated *pradhāna* and *puruṣa* (Sānkhya) or the śupreme Lord or atoms (Vaiśeṣika) should be deemed to explain the creation and dissolution of the world, should be looked upon as exhibiting perceived, minute and gross substances divided into causes and effects due to the knowledge derived from *mantras* and *arthavādas*. The purpose of these is to make known the distinction of *swarga* and *yāga* as result and cause. The purpose of the description of creation and dissolution is to show the

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2052. सर्वत्र च यथा कथंचिल्लोकपङ्क्ति (पंक्ति?) सहायोपादानात्मरक्षणमीत्युत्पादादिका इष्टार्थता भाष्यकारोक्ता शक्या वक्तुम्। न चावघातादीनां वृष्टिकामयागादीनां च इष्टार्थानामवैदिकत्वम्। तस्मात्सत्यपि इष्टार्थत्वे सम्भाव्यते वेदमूलत्वं नियमाहृष्टसिद्धेरनन्यप्रमाणकत्वात्। तन्त्रवा. p. 166 (on पू. मी. सू. I. 3.2); मीमांसा तु लोकादेव प्रत्यक्षानुमानादिभिरविच्छिन्नसंप्रदायपण्डितव्यवहारैः प्रवृत्ता। न हि कश्चिदपि प्रथममेतावन्तं युक्तिकलापमुपसंहर्तुं क्षमः। एतेन न्यायविस्तरं व्याचक्षीत। तन्त्रवा. p. 167 on I. 3. 2. M. M. Jha in his translation of Tantravārtika (p. 121) translates 'mimāṁsā is based on the Veda, upon ordinary experience &c. But in the Ānan. edition there are no Sanskrit words corresponding to the words underlined. This passage indicates that Kumārila firmly held that many authors had tried their hands at composing sūtra works on Mīmāṁsā before the present P.M.S. emerged.

distinction between the power of luck and human effort. He goes even a step further and is prepared to admit that even heterodox hypotheses of Bauddhas such as the theory that only Vijñāna (cognition) exists, that everything is in an eternal flux and that there is no (permanent) soul, which (theories) sprang from the arthavāda passages in the Upaniṣads, serve the purpose of inducing people to give up extreme attachment to sensual pleasures and are useful and authoritative in their own ways.

He sums up the distinction by stating that as regards those smṛtis (or portions of them) in which the fruit or result promised cannot possibly be experienced in this life, but where the result is promised as fructifying in the remote future (i. e. after death), an inference as to their being based on Veda may be drawn, but, as in the case of scorpion lore[2053] (i. e. incantations for curing the sting of a scorpion), works dealing with matters that can be seen are authoritative only because the result can be perceived in other men similarly stung.

The medieval Dharmaśāstra works take up this discussion about the distinction between smṛtis based upon the Veda and those on perceptible motives or purposes. For example, the Kalpataru (Brahma-cāri-kāṇḍa p. 30) and Aparārka (pp. 626–627) quote verses from Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Brāhmaparva chap. 181, 22–31) that divide the contents of smṛtis in five categories and exemplify that division. The Sm. C. II. p. 24 quotes two of these and the Paribhāṣāprakāśa of Mitramiśra (p. 19) quotes all of them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 840 note 1634 for all the verses.

Kumārila (pp. 194–196 of Tantravārtika) holds that the passages quoted by Śabara on I. 3. 3 are not really opposed to Veda at all and that the proper subject for discussion under I. 3. 3–4 is the authoritativeness in matters of Dharma of the schools[2054] of Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata, Pāñcarātra and Śākyas

2053. विज्ञानमात्र-क्षणभङ्ग-नैरात्म्यादिवादानामप्युपनिषदर्थवादप्रभवत्वं विषयेष्वात्यन्तिकं रागं निवर्तयितुमिच्छुपपन्नं सर्वेषां प्रामाण्यम्। सर्वत्र च यत्र कालान्तरफलार्थत्वादिदानीमनुभवासम्भवस्तत्र श्रुतिमूलता। सान्दृष्टिकफले तु वृश्चिकविद्यादौ पुरुषान्तरे व्यवहारदर्शनादेव प्रामाण्यमिति विवेकसिद्धिः। तन्त्रवा० p. 168 on I, 3. 2.

2054. यान्येतानि त्रयीविद्भिर्न परीगृहीतानि ... सांख्ययोग-पाञ्चरात्र-पाशुपत-शाक्यग्रन्थगृहीतधर्माधर्मनिबन्धनानि ... अदिक्षासत्यवचनदमदानदयादिश्रुतिस्मृतिसंवादिस्तोकार्थगन्धवासितजीविकाप्रायार्थान्तरोपदेशीनि यानि च बाह्यतराणि म्लेच्छाचारमिश्रकभोजनाचरणनिबन्धनानि तेषामेवैतच्छ्रुतिविरोधहेतुदर्शनाम्यामनपेक्षणीयत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते। तन्त्रवा. p. 194. Here the reading in the sūtra would have to be अनपेक्ष्यं.

and he holds that all these are outside the pale of the three Vedas and are to be discarded as unauthoritative, although they contain a few matters such as ahiṁsā, truthfulness, self-control, charity and compassion, that agree with Śruti and smṛti. It will have been seen from the above that Kumārila was aware of the emphasis placed by Buddhists on some moral values but he differed from them in many other matters, that he was ready to admit that Buddhist works had some value and he did not preach that they should be burnt or destroyed. Therefore, it appears that his attitude was far from being one of total hatred and persecution of the Buddhists, as alleged by Taranatha cited above on p. 1010 n. 1645.

Śabara explains that *sūtras* 5–7 of P. M. S. I. 3 are[2055] concerned with certain religious acts such as ācamana (sipping water) when one sneezes in the midst of a rite, the wearing of Yajñopavīta (the sacred thread), the use of the right hand alone in all acts. These interfere with the sequence and quick performance of the subordinate items in a religious rite, says the objector. Śabara establishes that there is no substance in the objection. Kumārila feels that Śabara is not right as regards the three instances cited by him. He splits the three sūtras into two *adhikaraṇas* (topics for consideration); sūtras 5 and 6 deal (acc. to Kumārila) with the contention that those precepts of Buddha and other founders of unorthodox sects, such as the construction of monasteries and parks, the insistence on desirelessness (*vairāgya*), the continuous practice of meditation, ahiṁsā, truthfulness, restraint of senses, charity and kindness are such as are laid down also by the Veda, are not opposed to the ideas of *śiṣṭas* and cannot rouse the antipathy of those who know the Vedas and that therefore those parts of the unorthodox systems should be deemed to be authoritative. This contention is repelled by Kumārila with the remark that only 14 (four Vedas, 6 Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra) or 18 (adding four Upavedas) have been accepted by the Vedic śiṣṭas as authoritative in matters of Dharma and the works of Bauddhas and other sects are not included therein.[2056] Kumārila gives a telling example viz. milk, though by itself pure and useful,

2055. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841–844 for details of Śabara's views on P.M.S. I. 3. 5–7 and Kumārila's criticism thereof.

2056. Vide Yāj. I. 3 for the 14 *vidyās* and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 10 note 17 for the four Upavedas viz. Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and Arthaśāstra.

becomes useless and unacceptable, when poured into a bag of dog-skin.

Kumārila holds that *sūtra* 7 of PMS I. 3 is an *adhikaraṇa* by itself and is concerned with the authoritativeness of *sadācāra* (the customs and usages of śiṣṭas). His position as elaborated in the Tantravārtika is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by śiṣṭas under the belief that they are right conduct (*dharma*) and for which no visible motive (such as pleasure or the satisfaction of desires or the acquisition of wealth) can be predicated. Śiṣṭas are only those that perform the religious rites and duties expressly enjoined by the Veda. The practices traditionally handed down from generation to generation that are observed by śiṣṭas (as defined above) with the conviction that they form part of Dharma must be regarded as Dharma and as leading to heaven. The Tantravārtika remarks that practices do not become authoritative merely by the fact that no visible motive or purpose can be postulated for them; but they become so only when they are observed by śiṣṭas as part of Dharma.[2057] Many activities such as agriculture, service or trade, that are the means of securing wealth and pleasures and such actions as eating sumptuous food, drinking, sleeping on soft beds, possessing a charming house or garden, all of which are common to Āryas and Mlecchas are not deemed by any one to be part of Dharma and it does not follow that because a few actions of śiṣṭas are accepted as Dharma, all their actions are to be looked upon as Dharma. Kumārila quotes the advice that a man should follow the path by which his father, grand-father and other ancestors went, provided it is the path of the good, following which he will not come to harm.[2058]

Very intricate questions arise with regard to the relative force of śruti (Veda), smṛti and *sadācāra* (usages observed by śiṣṭas as defined above and in Manu XII. 109). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 7 (laying down five sources of Dharma viz. śruti, smṛti,

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2057. दृष्टकारणहीनानि यानि कर्माणि साधुभिः। प्रयुक्तानि प्रतीयेरन् धर्मत्वेनेह तान्यपि॥ प्रत्यक्षवेदविहितधर्मक्रियया हि लब्धशिष्टत्वव्यपदेशा यत्परम्परायातमन्यदपि धर्मबुद्ध्या कुर्वन्ति तदपि स्वर्ग्यत्वाद्धर्मरूपमेव। तन्त्रवा. pp. 205–206; vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 843 note 1639 for the whole passage.

2058. येनास्य पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः। तेन यायात्सतां मार्गं तेन गच्छन्न रिष्यते॥ मनु IV. 178 q. by तन्त्रवा. p. 211, where Kumārila adds येषां तु पित्रादिभिरेवार्थो नाचरितः स्मृत्यन्तरमतिविरुद्धश्च ते तं परिहरन्त्येव। अपरिहरन्तो वा स्वजनादिभिः परिहीयन्ते। Vide मेधा. and मिता० on this in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 857 n. 1661.

sadācāra, and two more) states the general rule that in case of conflict each preceding one is more powerful than each succeeding one. Manu (I. 12) states that, for those who desire to know Dharma, Śruti (Veda) is the highest authority. Therefore, in case of conflict between śruti and smṛti the former prevails. There are a few exceptions even to this clear rule which may be illustrated later on. But where two smṛtis are in conflict, the ordinary rule, following the Ṣoḍaśi-nyāya and the words of Gautama I. 5 (Tulyabalavirodhe vikalpaḥ), should be an option. Many works on Dharmaśāstra must have been composed long before 500 B. C., since Gautama mentions Manu (in 21. 7) and 'ācāryāḥ' (in 3. 35, 4. 18) and Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 19. 2-12) mentions no less than nine individual authors' opinions on the single question as to whose food may be eaten. Manu (in III. 16) mentions three views held by four sages on the position of a brāhmaṇa who marries a śūdra wife or has a son or child from her. A striking example of a conflict between smṛtis is the rule of Manu (III. 13), Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 2, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 24. 1-4, Vas. I. 25, Pār. Gṛ. I. 4 allowing *anuloma* marriages and permitting a brāhmaṇa to have a śūdra woman as a wife and the emphatic statement of Yāj. I. 56-57 that it does not agree with those that declare that persons of the three higher classes can take a śūdra woman as wife. Later writers of smṛtis and *nibandhas* should have said that on account of this conflict there is an option. But they do not say so. They struck upon various devices to wriggle out of such apparent contradictions. The first device was declared by Bṛhaspati (about 500 A. D.) that the Manusmṛti occupies a pre-eminent position as it correctly represents the sense (the real view) of the Vedas and that a smṛti which is opposed to the teaching of Manu is not held in esteem.[2059] But this was not satisfactory and some other devices were resorted to. One was to insert passages in Manusmṛti itself and in other works opposing what had already been declared as the law. Two examples may be cited. As against Manu III. 13 (referred to immediately above) we find in the extant text (III. 14-19) verses very strongly condemning persons of the three

2059. वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात् प्रामाण्यं तु मनुस्मृतौ। मन्वर्थविपरीता या स्मृतिः सा न प्रशस्यते॥ बृहस्पति q. by अपरार्क p. 628 on या. II. 21 and by कुल्लूक on मनु I.1. मनुस्मृति II. 7 (quoted above in note 2045) claims that whatever it says on dharma has all been declared in the Veda. The मनुस्मृति frequently echoes the very words of the Veda; e. g. Manu I. 31 and Ṛg. X. 90. 12, Manu II. 2 and वाज. सं. 40. 2, Manu IX. 8 (about Jāyā) and Ait. Br. 33. 1 (7th gāthā), Manu IX. 32 and Ait. Br. 33. 3 (4th gāthā).

higher *varṇas* taking a śūdra woman as wife. Manu allowed the practice of *niyoga* (in IX. 59–62), but the extant Manusmṛti (IX. 64–68) condemns it in no measured terms. These contradictory statements were known to Bṛhaspati who expressly says that Manu permits *niyoga* and himself forbids [2060] it and assigns a reason viz. that in former ages (Kṛta and Tretā) people practised *tapas* and were endowed with knowledge while in the Dvāpara and Kali ages men have lost the powers possessed by men of the past ages and therefore *niyoga* is forbidden. Yājñavalkya himself proposes (II. 21) that when two smṛtis are in conflict 'reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force'. Nārada has a similar rule.[2061] Another device was to declare that the nature of Dharma differed in each of the four yugas and that in the kṛta, tretā, dvāpara and kali ages the Dharmas respectively promulgated by Manu, Gautama, Śaṅkha-Likhita and Parāśara were to prevail.[2062] This also could not solve all difficulties, since medieval commentators and digests found that even what was allowed by Parāśara (such as permitting a brāhmaṇa to eat food at the [2063] house of such śūdras as his dāsa, cowherd, barber, family friend and a cultivator of his land for a half share of the crops, permission for a married woman to re-marry in certain circumstances), came to be disapproved of or condemned by people. Another expedient in cases of conflict among smṛtis was provided by Gobhila viz. where there is a conflict of (smṛti) passages, the opinion of the majority should prevail.[2064]

2060. उक्तो नियोगो मनुना निषिद्धः स्वयमेव तु । युगक्रमादशक्तयोर्यं कर्तुमन्यैर्विधानतः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by कुल्लूक on मनु IX. 68; two more verses of Bṛhaspati cited by Kullūka are not quoted here.

2061. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 866–867 notes 1682–83 for several renderings and explanations of Yāj. II. 21. Compare 'धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः।' नारदस्मृति I. 40.

2062. अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽपरे। अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपतः ॥ मनु I. 85. The same verse occurs in शान्तिपर्व 232. 27 (=cr. ed. 224. 26) and in पराशरस्मृति (I. 22) (which reads युगरूपानुसारतः); कृते तु मानवो धर्मस्त्रेतायां गौतमः स्मृतः। द्वापरे शाङ्खलिखितः कलौ पाराशरः स्मृतः ॥ पराशर I. 24 q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 11.

2063. दास-नापित-गोपाल-कुलमित्रार्धसीरिणः । एते शूद्रेषु भोज्यान्ना यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् ॥ पराशरस्मृति XI. 21. Compare याज्ञ I. 166 for about the same words and स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कुवीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोज्यान्नाः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः ॥ केवल q. by अपरार्क on p. 245 on या. I. 168. नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ । पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीणां पतिरन्यो विधीयते ॥ पराशरस्मृति IV. 30, on which परा. मा. II. 1. p. 53 remarks 'अयं च पुनरुद्वाहो युगान्तरविषयः'.

2064. विरोधो यत्र वाक्यानां सामान्यं तत्र भूयसाम्। गोभिलस्मृति q. by मलमासतत्त्व p. 767.

As shown above smṛtis had been composed before 500 B. C. and they continued to be compiled till about 900 or 1000 A. D. i. e. for over 1500 years. Yāj. (I. 4–5) mentions 19 smṛtis including his own. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. I. pp. 132–135 for the enumeration of different numbers of smṛtis in different works. At least a hundred smṛtis if not more can be named. During the long period of over 1500 years vast changes in the religious and social ideas of the Indian people, in their customs and usages had occurred. Buddhism arose, flourished and disappeared from India, the caste system became rigid in the matter of food, marriage and social behaviour; Vedic rites, divinities worshipped and language underwent great transformations, animal sacrifices, though occasionally performed, had ceased to be looked upon as meritorious. The religious literature had therefore to be recast to suit new ideals, new worship and new patrons (viz. the common people who had ceased to follow ancient ritual and worship). Smṛtis reflected the changes in ideas, beliefs, worship and usages that occurred from time to time and naturally gave rise to great conflicts among themselves. At last it appears that the learned men of the 10th and following centuries of the Christian era hit upon the plan of providing that certain customs and practices, though formerly allowed and practised, were harmful in the Kali age. A theory was put forward that great sages came together at the beginning of the Kali age and declared that certain rites, customs and usages, though allowed in past ages, should be prohibited in the Kali age.[2065] The actions prohibited or to be avoided in the Kali age (about 55 in number and therefore called Kalivarjya) have been set out and discussed at length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 926–967. It is clear from Medhātithi's bhāṣya on Manu (IX. 112) that long before his time (9th century A. D.) there were writers who had condemned *govadha* (in Madhuparka &c.), *niyoga* and the giving of a larger share to the eldest son and expressed the view that those practices were only allowed in bygone ages.

This subject of *Kalivarjya* requires some serious consideration. Three of the Kalivarjyas are the prohibition of *niyoga*, of

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2065. एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः। निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः॥ lines 39–40 from the appendix (pp. 1014–1015) to vol. III. (of H. of Dh.); 'तस्मादुद्वार-नियोग-गोवधस्तुतय उपविद्धा नाद्रियेरन्।' मेधा. on मनु IX. 112; यथा नियोगधर्मो नो नानुबन्ध्याश्वधोऽपि च। तथोद्वारविभागोऽपि नैव संप्रति वर्तते॥ q. by मिताक्षरा on या II. 117.

the offering of the *anubandhyā* cow (after avabhṛtha) in Jyotiṣṭoma and of the allotment of the largest share (of ancestral wealth) to the eldest son. All these three were either enjoined or permitted by the Veda. From Ṛg. X. 40. 2 it follows that a sonless widow raised a son for the sake of the spiritual benefit of her husband's soul by sexual intercourse with the husband's brother.[2066] The Tai. S. (III. 1. 9. 4) has two contradictory passages viz. 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons' (without making any distinction among them) and 'therefore they endow the eldest son with (the paternal) wealth' (Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 7). In this last case it may be argued that as two Vedic passages are in conflict there is an option. But from very early times there is a prohibition against allowing the whole ancestral wealth or a major portion of it to the eldest son. Āpastamba quotes both[2067] Vedic passages, holds that equal division among sons is the proper rule and remarks that allowing the eldest son to take the whole or a major portion of ancestral estate is prohibited by the Śāstras. Among actions forbidden in the Kali age but practised in Vedic times some striking ones (apart from the three already cited above) may be mentioned here: (1) being initiated for *Sattras* (which were sacrifices extending from 12 days to 12 years or even more and which could be performed by brāhmaṇas alone); Jaimini[2068] deals with them at some length in VI. 6. 16–32 and other places. It is remarkable that neither Śabara nor Kumārila says anything against Sattradīkṣā as prohibited in Kali. So it was not among generally recognized Kalivarjyas till at least the 8th century A. D. (2) killing of a cow or bull. There were several occasions on which this was

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2066. को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ॥ ऋ. X. 40. 2. For the treatment of niyoga from ancient times, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 599-607. Some regard this verse as indicating re-marriage and not niyoga. But that does not appear to be correct. Manu (IX. 65) states that niyoga is nowhere mentioned among the mantras relating to marriage nor is the remarriage of a widow referred to in the procedure of marriage. But Gautama and some other sūtrakāras and even Yāj. (I. 68–69) prescribe in detail the procedure and conditions governing niyoga; all writers are entirely silent about the procedure of the re-marriage of widows. Therefore, it has to be said that Ṛg. X. 40. 2 was rightly held by ancient smṛtis as referring to the practice of niyoga.

2067. ज्येष्ठो दायाद इत्येके। ... तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिद्धम्। ... मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजदित्यविशेषेण श्रूयते। अथापि तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्तीत्येकवच्छ्रूयते। ... सर्वे हि धर्मयुक्ता भागिनः। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 14. 10-12, 14.

2068. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp, 1239–1246 for details about Sattras.

done in the Vedic age. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 939–940. As flesh-eating came to be looked down upon, cow-sacrifices became most abhorrent and medieval Kalivarjya texts only register a prohibition which had been acted upon for centuries before them. (3) The employment of cups of wine in the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice.[2069] Jaimini, Śabara and the Ṭup-ṭīkā of Kumārila describe it and both Śabara and Kumārila refer to the offering of cups of wine in it. Therefore this rite must have become Kalivarjya after Kumārila's day. (4) Offering an animal with the recital of Vedic mantras to the bridegroom, to a guest and in honour of *pitṛs*. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 542–546 for Madhuparka in which a bull or a cow was offered according to the Ait. Br. and Vol. III. pp. 945–46 for this Kalivarjya. Manu (V. 41–44) allows the killing of animals in Madhuparka, in sacrifices and in rites for the *pitṛs* (Manes) and gods and emphasizes that sacrificing an animal as laid down by the Veda is no *hiṁsā* but is *ahiṁsā*. Yāj. (I. 258–260) prescribes the periods of time for which *pitṛs* are gratified by the offering of sacrificial food (such as rice or sesame), various kinds of fish and the flesh of several animals. The Mit. was[2070] constrained to observe that, although Yāj. shows that sacrificial food (rice &c), flesh and honey are offerings in Śrāddha for all *varṇas*, yet (in its day) the rule established by Pulastya should be followed viz. food fit for muni (i. e. rice) should be offered by brāhmaṇas, flesh by kṣatriyas and vaiśyas and honey by śūdras.

According to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā Veda is eternal, self-existent and of absolute authority; one fails to understand how sages could have authority at the beginning of the Kali-yuga to prohibit what the Veda enjoined or permitted. This seems to be a fiction invented to accommodate as Dharma the changes in people's ideas and practices that had occurred. It would have been honest and straightforward if the writers on Dharmaśāstra had

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2069. For reference to Sautrāmaṇī, vide above p. 1079 note 1750. Jai. III. 5. 14–15 and IV. 3. 29–31 deal with it. The Tai. S. V. 6. 3–4, states 'Agnim citvā sautrāmaṇyā yajeta'. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 1224–1228 for a description of this sacrifice, which is a combination of an *iṣṭi* with animal sacrifice. The peculiarity of this rite is that, along with cups of milk, cups of wine are offered to Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra.

2070. अत्र यद्यपि सुरापानमांसमध्वादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन श्राद्धे भोग्यानि दर्शितानि तथापि पुलस्त्योक्ता व्यवस्थादरणीया। सुरापं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः। मधुमद्दानं शूद्रस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्॥ इति। मिता. on याज्ञ. I. 260–261.

said that changed circumstances required that the words of the Veda or of the old smṛtis should not be followed. And there is nothing novel or revolutionary in saying this. Both Manu [2071] and Yājñavalkya prescribe that one should not observe but give up, what was (once) deemed to be dharma, if it had become hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness and not lead to the attainment of heaven. Even the Mitākṣarā follows this precept of the two smṛtis and expressly says that unequal distribution (at partition) of ancestral wealth, though found in the Śāstras, should not be followed because people had come to hate it. It may be noted that the word used by Yāj. and others is 'lokavidviṣṭa' or 'lokavikruṣṭa' (hated or reviled by the people) and not 'śiṣṭa-vidviṣṭa', the idea being that even if orthodox learned *pandits* insist that people must follow what the Veda and smṛtis declare to be Dharma, common people may give up practices condemned by them or hateful to them. This attitude recognizes the historical facts that practices change in the course of centuries and common people are entitled to ignore the dicta even of the Veda (much more of the smṛtis). To the question why should one not be allowed to marry one's mother's sister or

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2071. परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ। धर्मं चाप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविक्रुष्टमेव च॥ मनु. IV. 176; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 reads धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप and विद्विष्ट°; कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यत्नाद् धर्मं समाचरेत्। अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्न तु॥ याज्ञ. I. 156. Vide विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71. 17–21 (परिहरेत्) धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ लोकविद्विष्टं च धार्म्यमपि।; बृहन्नारदीयपु. I. 24. 12 has the verse कर्मणा मनसा ... चरेन्न तु; सर्वलोकविरुद्धं च धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु। कूर्म° I. 2. 54. 'विषमो विभागः शास्त्रदृष्टस्तथापि लोकविद्विष्टत्वान्नानुष्ठेयः' मिता. on या. II. 117; on याज्ञ. I. 156 the मिता. says 'धर्म्यं विहितमपि लोकविद्विष्टं लोकाभिशस्तिजननं मधुपर्कगोवधादिकं नाचरेत् यस्मादस्वर्ग्यमग्नीषोमीयवत्स्वर्गसाधनं न भवति।'. Vide also मिता. on या. III. 8, which says about the different days of impurity for sapiṇḍas of the 4th, 5th, 6th or 7th degree prescribed by a Smṛti that it should be discarded 'तद्विगीतत्वान्नादरणीयम्। यद्यप्यविगीतं तथापि मधुपर्काङ्गपशुालम्भनवल्लोकविद्विष्टत्वान्नानुष्ठेयम्।'; the स्मृतिच. (I. p. 71) says 'न त्वमः शास्त्रतो न पारिणेयेति किंतु लोकविरुद्धत्वात्। यच्च धर्म्यमपि लोकविरुद्धं तन्नानुष्ठेयम्। यदुक्तं मनुना–अस्वर्ग्य°;। वराहमिहिरेणापि लोकाचारस्तावदादौ विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या'॥. Vide above p. 555 note 825 b for this verse which is there quoted from राजमार्तण्ड. The शतपथब्राह्मण (III. 4. 1–2) has 'तस्मै (सोमाय) एतथथा राज्ञे वा ब्राह्मणाय वा महोक्षं महाजं वा पचेत्तदह मानुषं हविर्देवानामेवमस्मा एतदातिथ्यं करोति.' वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र (4. 8) and याज्ञ I. 109 have the same provision as in Śatapatha. Medieval writers could not subscribe to this practice. Viśvarūpa says that an ox or goat is killed only if the guest desires it. कल्पतरु (नियतकाल section p. 190) quotes both वसिष्ठ and याज्ञ° and remarks अत्र गृहागतश्रोत्रियतृप्त्यर्थं गोवधः कर्तव्य इति प्रतीयते तथापि कलियुगे नायं धर्मः किं तु युगान्तरे, while the मिता. explains "उपकल्पयेत्, भवदर्थमयमस्माभिः परिकल्पित इति तत्प्रीत्यर्थं न तु दानाय व्यापादनाय वा, 'अस्वर्ग्यं ... न तु' इति निषेधाच्च."

mother's sister's daughter if a maternal uncle's daughter can be married, the Smṛticandrikā replies 'we do not say that she could not be married according to Śāstra, but she should not be married as people abhor such a marriage' and it quotes Yāj. I. 156 (by oversight it ascribes the verse to Manu). In modern times when any change or reform in religious or social practices is suggested, Pandits calling themselves *Sanātanis* put forward the pleas that the proposed change or reform is opposed to the śāstras, that the controversy should be carried on according to the Mīmāṁsā rules, that all Smṛti and other dicta should be so construed as to lead to *samanvaya* (consistent arrangement of apparently discordant texts), that the historical approach leads nowhere and should not be resorted to. All these objections are here briefly dealt with. It has been shown how from Vedic times to the present day great changes have taken place in religious ideas, worship and practices, how smṛtis from Gautama, Āpastamba, Manu downwards espouse conflicting views so much so that as early as the Mahābhārata Vyāsa [2072] had to protest that 'rationalisation is unstable, Vedas are in conflict with each other, there is no single sage whose opinion is held to be authoritative (by all), the truth about Dharma is enveloped in a cave (i. e. it cannot be clearly discerned) and that therefore the path (to be followed) is the one followed by the great mass of people.' The Mīmāṁsā does not often lead to certain conclusions and it has already been seen how great Mīmāṁsā writers like Śabara, Kumārila, Prabhākara differ among themselves on numerous topics and it would be further illustrated later on how even great Mīmāṁsakas evolve highly conflicting conclusions in the interpretation of simple smṛti passages. Change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious and social ideas and what those who appeal to the historical approach mean is that the smṛtis were composed by human authors during a period of 1500 or 2000 years and were greatly influenced by the then prevailing religious and social atmosphere, that many of their dicta cannot be fully reconciled so as to form a consistent code of conduct, that they cannot be

2072. तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्ना नैको मुनिर्यस्य मतं प्रमाणम्। धर्मस्य तत्त्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः॥ वनपर्व chap. 313. 117 (in यक्षप्रश्न). But this verse does not occur in the Cri. ed. of वनपर्व chap 297, though several other questions and answers do occur. The words 'महा... पन्थाः' may also mean the path to be followed is the one that some great man (or men) takes; महाजन in the sense of 'mass of people' is employed by शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. IV. 2.7 in the words 'एवमिदमप्युक्तान्तिर्महाजनगतैवानुकीर्त्यते'.

regarded as forever binding on all Hindus, that in the 20th century our people are free to introduce or recognize such changes as are required or have already taken place among the people in the changed circumstances and that this course is sanctioned even by Manu and Yājñavalkya and medieval eminent authors and works on the Dharmaśāstra such as the Mitākṣarā and the Kalpataru. It is of course clear that changes in practices and principles should not be made merely for the sake of change or for the whims of some leader, but the governing principle of conscious change should be the feelings and needs of common people, while retaining the foundations on which society has been based for thousands of years.

It has further to be noted that the Mīmāṁsā rules were concerned only with the interpretation of the Vedic passages on sacrificial rites and matters relating thereto and had very little to do with the practices of people unconnected with sacrifices or religious rites.[2073] The Mīmāṁsāsūtra nowhere says that the same rules should be applied to the interpretation of smṛtis. On the contrary, the P. M. S. is very critical about smṛtis and usages (vide P. M. S. I. 3. 3-4 and 7). There are fundamental differences between the Veda and the smṛtis. The Veda was deemed to be self-existent, eternal and of absolute authority, while smṛtis are pauruṣeya (works of human authors), have only a derived authority (as being presumed to be based on Vedic passages most of which are not now available), their number is

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2073. For an example, where Dharmaśāstra refused to allow the application of Mīmāṁsā rules to vratas and utsavas vide above p. 133 n. 337. For examples of medieval digests and commentaries saying that certain inconvenient smṛti texts referred to previous Kalpas and Yugas, vide Sm. C. I. 24 and Par. M. I 2 p. 83 about Hārīta speaking of Upanayana for women (H. of Dh, Vol. II, p. 295); Par. M. I. part 2 p. 97 refers to Manu III, 13 allowing the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman and III. 14 forbidding it and to Yāj. quoted above in note 2071 and remarks that this conflict is to be resolved by saying that there is difference of opinion among smṛtis on that point or that they refer to different yugas. Vide also above p 89 n. 222 on the divergence about Yugādi Tithis. The V. M. (P. 99 of my edition, Poona, 1926) states that the verse of Nārada which says 'as to those sons who are separated by their father himself by giving to each of them less or more, it is their duty to abide by it since the father has power over all' is declared as referring to another Yuga. Vide also V. M. pp. 242–243 about killing an *ātatāyin* brāhmaṇa अतः कलौ स्वधीयतोऽप्याततायी द्विजो न वध्यः। युगान्तरे तु वध्य एव। This conclusion is due to the verse in कलिवर्ज्य section 'आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन घ्नतम्। ... क्षमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः॥.'

very large, they often differ so much from each other that even eminent authors and works like the Mitākṣarā had sometimes to give up in despair the idea of bringing order out of the welter of smṛti passages and in their efforts at *samanvaya* had to say that certain smṛtis refer to a former Kalpa or Yuga (i. e. to a society of several thousands or millions of years ago). One of the well-known maxims of the P. M. S. is the one called 'Sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya'[2074] or 'Śākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya' (II. 4. 8–33). In the several recensions of the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas attached to the Vedic recensions the same rite is mentioned and is dilated upon with details some of which occur in one or more recensions but are absent from others. Jaimini and Śabara establish that all the Śākhās of the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas form one *corpus*, that such rites as Agnihotra and Jyotiṣṭoma are one and the same in all recensions of the Veda, though the details may vary here and there, and this is the proper conclusion because the name (Jyotiṣṭoma and the like) is the same in all recensions, the promised reward of the rite is the same, the materials of the sacrifice and the *devatā* are the same and the *codanās* (the exhortatory sentences) are the same. This very maxim was extended to smṛtis from very early times. Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi, the Mitākṣarā,[2075] Aparārka and other commentators extend this to smṛtis and provide that where smṛtis are in conflict there is to be an option but that in other cases all the details are to be added up. But as an option was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all smṛti passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give no rise to conflict or to allow no option by means of various devices

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2074. एकं वा संयोगरूपचोदनाख्यविशेषात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 4. 9; शबर says 'सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययं सर्वब्राह्मणप्रत्ययं चैकं कर्म' on जै. II. 4. 9 pp. 635-636; the तन्त्रवा. p. 635 remarks 'एकस्यामपि शाखायां ब्राह्मणानेकत्वेपि तदेव कर्मेत्यभिप्रायः। तथयोद्गातृणां पञ्चविंश-षड्विंश-ब्राह्मणयोर्ज्योतिष्टोमद्वादशाहौ॥.' Compare सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययं चोदनाद्यविशेषात्। वे. सू. III. 3 1.

2075. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 4-5 'न तावदाम्नायो धर्मशास्त्रभेदप्रतिपादकः, न चैतत्प्रभवो न्यायः। अपि तु श्रौतानां कृत्स्नोपसंहारात् तत्पूर्वकत्वाच्च तथैवात्रापि प्राप्नोति।'; vide मेधा० on मनु II. 29; 'एवमन्येष्वपि विकल्प आश्रयणीयः, अविरोधिषु समुच्चयः। शास्त्रान्तराधिकरणन्यायेन सर्वस्मृतिप्रत्ययत्वात्कर्मणः।' मिता. on याज्ञ. III. 325; vide अपरार्क pp. 1053 q. on p. 89 n 211 of vol. IV. and also p. 1102, स्मृतिच. I. p 5, मद. पा. pp. 11, 91, शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 378-380, जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्व p. 523. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 72 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 89-90 and 453-455 for explanations and illustrations of this maxim. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 4-5 provides 'एतेषां (धर्मशास्त्राणां) प्रत्येकं प्रामाण्येपि साकांक्षाणामाकांक्षापरिपूरणमन्यतः क्रियते विरोधे विकल्पः' q. in I.L.R. 39 Bom. 373 at p. 379.

such as 'Viṣaya-vyavasthā', reference to another Kalpa or Yuga and so on. For example, even as regards the stock example of *vikalpa* (viz. taking or not taking the Ṣoḍaśin cup in Atirātra) the Mit. says that it is proper to assume that it should be taken if it is possible to do so, or it may be assumed that by taking the Ṣoḍaśin cup in Atirātra the attainment of *svarga* is hastened &c.[2076] The result of regarding all smṛtis as constituting one Śāstra was that many simple rites became in course of time overloaded with details, complicated and taxing to the performer. But sometimes it is necessary to apply this doctrine. For example, Yāj. I. 135 requires the *snātaka* not to look at the sun (nekṣetārkam); this would mean that to look at the sun is prohibited at all times, but the dictum of Yāj. should be read along with Manu IV. 37 which forbids a person to look at the rising or setting sun or at the sun when eclipsed or as reflected in water or when it is at the meridian. So the rule will be as stated by Manu.

While on this subject of the authoritativeness of Smṛtis it would be useful to glance at what Jaimini and particularly Kumārila say about the Vedāṅgas. As regards Śikṣā (Phonetics) Kumārila says that the account given in that work about the organs employed in pronunciation and the rules about Vedic accents have their use in the correct recitation of *mantras*. On the Kalpa-sūtras Jaimini[2077] has a separate *adhikaraṇa* (I. 3. 11–14). Śabara mentions by name the Māśaka, Hāstika and Kauṇḍinyaka Kalpasūtras and the Tantravārtika draws a distinction between *kalpa* (ritual of Śrauta sacrifices) and Kalpasūtras, and refers by name to eight.

These sūtras (PMS I. 3. 11–14) have been interpreted by Kumārila in several different ways, firstly as referring to the authoritativeness of Kalpasūtras (as done by Śabara), secondly

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2076. न च षोडशिग्रहणाग्रहणवद्विषमयोरपि विकल्पोपपत्तिरिति वाच्यं, यतस्तत्रापि सति सम्भवे ग्रहणमेवेति युक्तं कल्पयितुम्। यद्वा षोडशिग्रहणाद्गृहीतेनातिरात्रेण क्षिप्रं स्वर्गादिसिद्धिरतिशयितस्य वा स्वर्गस्येति कल्पनीयम्। मिता० on याज्ञ. III. 243.

2077. के पुनः कल्पाः कानि सूत्राणीति उच्यते। सिद्धरूपः प्रयोगो यः कर्मणामनुगम्यते। ते कल्पा लक्षणार्थानि सूत्राणीति प्रचक्षते। कल्पनाद्धि प्रयोगाणां कल्पोऽनुष्ठानसाधनम्। सूत्रं तु सूचनात्तेषां स्वयं कल्प्यप्रयोगकम्। कल्पाः पठितसिद्धा हि प्रयोगाणां प्रतिकृतौ। तन्त्रवा. on I. 3.11 (प्रयोगशास्त्रमिति चेत्) p. 229. The principal distinction is that Kalpas about each vedic sacrifice lay down simply the procedure that is ready made as handed down by oral tradition, while Kalpasūtras like those of Āśvalāyana, Baijavāpi, Drāhyāyaṇa, Lāṭyāyana and Kātyāyana contain *saṁjñās*, *paribhāṣās*, general rules, exceptions and definitions etc.

as referring to all the six Vedāṅgas and thirdly as referring to the so-called smṛtis of Buddha and others. That the Buddhist works claimed to be smṛtis is clear from the Manusmṛti [2078] 'the smṛtis that are beyond the pale of the Veda and whatever other false systems may exist, they are all fruitless as to the (soul's) Hereafter (destiny after bodily death), since they are all based on *tamas* (ignorance).' Here some words will be said about the Vedāṅgas according to Kumārila. According to both Śabara and Kumārila, vyākaraṇa is dealt with in Jaimini I. 3. 24–29. In the Tantravārtika Kumārila launches an elaborate and telling (pūrvapakṣa) onslaught against Pāṇini himself, aganist Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārtikas) and Patañjali (author of the Mahābhāṣya) in which some very interesting points are made but they have to be passed over for reasons of space. Kumārila says that the proper subject of grammar is to determine what words are correct or incorrect. It is intersting to note that in the *prima facie* attack against grammar two Pūrvamīmāṁsā sūtras are said to offend against grammar. [2079]

The Nirukta of Yāska, which is one of the six *aṅgas* of the Veda, is an extensive work and deals with the derivation of words, semantics, explanations of several hundred Vedic verses in whole or in part. Jaimini agrees with several conclusions of the Nirukta, which claims that without its help one cannot understand the meaning of the Veda, that it has a purpose of its own and is a complement of grammar, and it controverts at great length the view of Kautsa[2080] that Vedic mantras have no meaning

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2078. या वेदबाह्याः स्मृतयो याश्च काश्च कुदृष्टयः। सर्वास्ता निष्फलाः प्रेत्य तमोनिष्ठा हि ताः स्मृताः॥ मनुस्मृति XII. 95.

2079. गव्यश्च च तदादिषु। पू. मी. सू. VIII. 1. 18; here गव्य is employed in the sense of गवामयन sacrifice; द्यावोस्तथेति चेत्। पू. मी. सू. IX. 3. 18. Here द्यावोः stands for द्यावापृथिव्योः. On these the तन्त्रवा. (p. 259) remarks 'तथा मीमांसायामपि–गव्यस्य च तदादिषु इति गोर्विकारावयवविषयसाधुप्रयोगयोग्यः शब्दोऽन्यत्रैव गवामयने प्रयुक्तः। तथा द्यावोस्तथेति चेत्– इति द्यावापृथिव्योरिति वक्तव्ये लक्षणहीनमेव बहु प्रयुक्तम्।'. Śabara quotes the Mahābhāṣya several times and refers to Pātañjali as ācārya and abhiyukta. Vide the present author's paper on the 'Mahābhāṣya and the bhāṣya of Śabara in the Journal, Bhāratīya Vidyā, vol. VI. pp. 43–45 (1945) and 'citations from Śabara' by Prof. D. V. Garge in the Deccan College Dissertation series No. 8 (1952), pp. 239–242 for Śabara's quotations from the Mahābhāṣya.

2080. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते तद्विदं विद्यास्थानं व्याकरणस्य कात्स्न्यं स्वार्थसाधकं च। यदि मन्त्रार्थप्रत्ययायानर्थकं भवतीति कौत्सोऽनर्थका हि मन्त्राः।... अर्थवन्तः शब्दसामान्यादेतद्वै यज्ञस्य समृद्धं यद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म क्रियमाणमृग्यजुर्वाभिवदतीति

(*Continued on next page*)

(or purpose) and emphatically asserts that Vedic mantras have a meaning (and a purpose) because the words they contain are the same as those employed in popular speech and that a Brāhmaṇa passage states that sacrifice has a perfect form when a ṛk verse or yajus formula refers to the rite that is being performed. Jaimini (in I. 2. 4. ff and I. 3. 30) holds that Mantras are meaningful and that Vedic words and words in popular Sanskrit are the same and the things denoted by them both are the same (except that some difference may be caused by accentuation in the Veda).[2081] The very first sentence of Śabara's bhāsya says the same thing. Jaimini further[2082] agrees with the Nirukta about the denotation of verbs and nouns. Śabara frequently quotes either the very words of the Nirukta or pointedly refers to them.[2083] Jaimini agrees with the Nirukta in the matter of the nature and functions of the Devatās in sacrifices.[2084]

(Continued from last page)

ब्राह्मणम्। निरुक्त I. 15. The word विद्यास्थानं which is employed by Yāj. also (I. 3) may be noted. Vide notes 1780–81 for the passage एतद्वै ... वदति. The Ait. Br. (chap. III. 5) states that 13 verses are repeated at the time of producing fire by attrition and examines them to show how they are रूपसमृद्ध. All that it says on these 13 verses is not quite convincing, but in the case of several of them such as Rg VI. 16.13–15 it is convincing; vide 'Our Heritage' (Calcutta Sanskrit College) vol. V. part 2 (for July–December 1957) for a lengthy paper 'on the justification of rūpasamṛddha verses in the Ait. Br.' by Vimana Chandra Bhattacharya (pp. 119–146).

2081. लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि पदानि सति सम्भवे तदर्थान्येव सूत्रेष्वित्यवगन्तव्यम्। ... एवं वेदवाक्यान्येवैभिर्व्याख्याय न्ते। शबरभाष्य, first sentence.

2082. Compare भावप्रधानमाख्यातं सत्त्वप्रधानानि नामानि। निरुक्त I. 1 with जै. II. 1. 1 'भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेभ्यः क्रिया प्रतीयेतैव ह्यर्थो विधीयते।'

2083. Vide for example, शबर on जै. IV. 3. 38 p. 1267 (the verse अङ्गवद्वचनात् occurring in निरुक्त III. 4 which cites it as a ṛk; शबर on जै. VI. 2.13, p. 1396 (एवं तर्ह्याख्यातस्यार्थमुपदिशन्ति—उपक्रममभूत्यपवर्गपर्यन्तमाहेति उपक्रमाद्वारभ्य यावत्परिसमाप्तिरियेतावान् व्यापारविशेषस्तस्यार्थो न यथा पाकस्यागच्छेति, which quotes the words in निरुक्त I. 1); शबर on जै. X. 4. 23 p. 1927 (the words अतिथिदेवत्यं पितृदेवत्यमिति that occur in निरुक्त VII. 5), शबर on जै. X. 4. 34 p. 1935 (न ह्यत्र 'स्वरसंस्कारौ ... गुणेनान्वितौ' भवतः, which occur in निरुक्त II. 1 in the first sentence); शबर on जै. X. 8. 35. quotes the verse यमेव विद्याः occurring in निरुक्त II. 4 and remarks that एव should be placed after शुचिम् 'यं शुचिमेव विद्या इति पठितव्ये यमेव विद्याः शुचिमिति.

2084. Compare निरुक्त VII. 6–7 with जैमिनि IX. 1. 9 अपि वा शब्दपूर्वत्वाद्यज्ञकर्म प्रधानं स्याद्गुणत्वे देवताश्रुतिः; शबर on this has several phrases like पौरुषविधिकैरङ्गैः (शबर p. 1654, निरुक्त VII. 7), which appear to be taken from the निरुक्त.

Kumārila makes a general remark that all the six aṅgas and the Dharmaśāstras are comprehended under Smṛti.[2085]

It appears that Jaimini did not attach much importance to Smṛtis, since out of 915 (or 1000) Adhikaraṇas barely about a dozen are concerned in any way with smṛtis alone, viz. I. 3. 1–2, I. 3. 3–4, I. 3. 11–14, I. 3. 24–29, VI. 2. 21–22, VI. 2. 30, VI. 8. 23–24, VII. 1. 10, IX. 2. 1–2, XII. 4. 43. Śabara, however, refers to smṛtis in many more places such as on VI. I. 5 and 13, IX. 1. 6–9.

We are here concerned with the attitude of Jaimini and his early commentators like Śabara and Kumārila towards Smṛtis. The established conclusion arrived at by Jaimini (in I. 3. 2) is that in case of conflict with the Veda Smṛti is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict (of Smṛti with Veda), it may be inferred (that Smṛti is based on some Vedic text).

This amounts to saying that there is always a presumption that smṛtis are based on Veda, if their prescriptions are not directly in conflict with the Veda. Smṛtis prescribe the observance of Aṣṭakā śrāddhas, the digging of tanks, following and obeying a teacher. These are authoritative because they do not conflict with any Vedic text of opposite import. The Smṛtis do claim that they are based on the Veda. Gautama says so (in XI. 19 in note 2042) and Manu states (II. 7) 'whatever Dharma is proclaimed by Manu for anybody has all been (already) declared in the Veda, since Veda possesses all knowledge'.

In connection with smṛtis and usages an important question arises viz. if there is conflict between smṛtis and usages of śiṣṭas, which is to be regarded as more authoritative. Kumārila holds that if the practice of good men is not opposed to what is taught in the Veda and Smṛti, such practices can be understood to be authoritative but if there is contradiction between what is taught by Veda and by Smṛti and by usages, then their authoritativeness would be opposed (i. e. would be lost) and further that[2086] smṛti is more authoritative because it is based directly

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2085. स्मृतित्वं त्वङ्गानां धर्मसूत्राणां चाविशिष्टम्। तन्त्रवा. p. 285 on I. 3. 27.

2086. शिष्टं यावच्छ्रुतिस्मृत्योस्तेन यत्र विरुध्यते। तच्छिष्टाचरणं धर्मे प्रमाणत्वेन गम्यते। यदि शिष्टस्य कोपः स्याद्विरुध्येत प्रमाणता। तदकोपात्तु नाचारप्रमाणत्वं विरुध्यते॥ तन्त्रवा. on I. 3. 8 p. 216 and again on p. 220 'उभयोः श्रुतिमूलत्वं न स्मृत्याचारयोः समम्। सप्रत्ययप्रणीता हि स्मृतिः सोपनिबन्धना। तथा श्रुत्यनुमानं हि निर्विघ्नमुपजायते। आचारात्तु स्मृतिं ज्ञात्वा श्रुतिर्विज्ञायते ततः। तेन दृष्यन्तरितं तस्य प्रामाण्यं विप्रकृष्यते॥' प्रत्यय means ज्ञानं विश्वासो वा (as Manu and others were sages).

on the Veda, while in the case of usages, one has to infer that śiṣṭas must have based their conduct on some smṛti, which in its turn has to be deemed to be based on some Vedic text i. e. usage is removed from the Veda by one step further than Smṛtis and besides it is well-known that smṛtis are compositions by persons who were deeply versed in the Veda, while the origins of usages are vague and unascertainable.

Though this is the theoretical rule, supported by Dharmaśāstra works such as Vas. I. 5, Mit. on Yāj. I. 7 and II. 117, Kullūka on Manu II. 10, one finds that usages opposed to smṛtis have been in vogue from ancient times (such as the usage of marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter that is condemned by Manu and authoritative smṛtis). The Vyavahāramayūkha (p. 98 of the text in B. G. S.) was constrained to observe that in the Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛtis. The courts have held that 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' and that this is the translation by Sir William Jones of 'ācāraḥ paramo dharmaḥ' in Manu I. 108. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp 874-876 for two interpretations of this verse of Manu I. 108 in modern times. Manu in (II. 10) asserts that Veda and smṛti are in all matters not to be subjected to (hostile) reasoning, since Dharma shone forth from these two. Manu further provided that as regards matters not specifically provided for, whatever brāhmaṇas that have studied the Veda together with the supporting lores (viz. the six aṅgas, mīmāṁsā, Purāṇas &c.) and that make others realize what Śruti says are śiṣṭas and whatever they declare to be the Dharma in such unprovided cases is undoubtedly the Dharma.

It was declared by the Privy Council that 'under the Hindu system of law clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law.'[2087] From very ancient times customs and usages have been held to be authoritative. For example, Gautama XI. 20 says 'the usages of countries, castes and families are authoritative, provided they are not (directly) opposed to Vedic texts.' Manu I. 118 states that he has embodied in his Śāstra the long-standing customs and usages of countries, castes, families, heretical sects and guilds. In some matters

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2087. In Collector of Madura v. Mootoo Ramlinga, 12 M. I. A. 397 at p. 436 the Privy Council say so.

modern legislation in India allows to customs and usages over-riding[2088] authority.

In the examination of certain Kalivarjyas mentioned above, (p. 1268–1270) it has been shown how several actions prohibited in the Kalivarjya texts were practised in Vedic times or were enjoined by Vedic texts.

Kumārila points out that even brāhmaṇa women of Ahicchatrā and Mathurā drank[2089] liquor in his day, that northern brāhmaṇas engage in such transactions as the gift and sale of horses that have a mane, of mules, camels and animals that have two rows of teeth and eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends, that brāhmaṇas of the South enter into matrimony with the maternal uncle's daughter and take their meals while seated on a couch of wickerwork, that both (brāhmaṇas of the North and South) take cooked food (kept in pots) that remains after their friends or relatives have partaken of it or that has been touched by them (at the time of eating), that they chew *tāmbūla* of betel leaves, betelnut, catechu and lime made into a roll that has been touched (in a betel-seller's shop) and do not sip water at the end of the chewing, wear clothes cleaned by washermen and brought on the back of asses, that they do not avoid the contact of persons guilty of grave sins except of the murder of a brāhmaṇa; there are also an infinite number of obvious violations of the subtle dictates of Dharma laid down for each man, caste or family, that these (transgressions) are contrary to Śruti and Smṛti and have a visible purpose and that it is not possible to regard such adulterated practices as Dharma inculcated by *sadācāra*. The requisites of valid usages according to the Pūrvamīmāṁsā school are that they must be ancient, not opposed to the express texts of the Veda or of Smṛti, must be such as are deemed by śiṣṭas to be obligatory and must

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2088. For example, the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) by section 5 provides that the parties to a marriage must not be within the degrees of prohibited relationship and must not be *sapiṇḍas* of each other and yet adds 'unless the custom or usage governing each of them permits of a marriage between the two'.

2089. For the original text of this interesting passage of the Tantravārtika, vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 848 note 1645; for different views on marrying a maternal uncle's daughter vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp 458–463; for eating from the same plate with wife and children, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 765, and about gift or sale of horses and animals with two rows of teeth, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 181 and Jai. III. 4. 28–31.

be observed by them with the consciousness that they are so, they must not have a visible purpose and must not be immoral. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 853-855 for discussion on valid customs and usages.

The general rules laid down by Dharmaśāstra works about the binding character of customs and usages are in line with the rules of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 871-884. But deviation from Vedic texts and smṛtis gradually arose as noted above.

Even all actions done by great men cannot be called *sadācāra*, according to Kumārila, if they can be attributed to greed or some such base motive and should not be looked upon as Dharma. Gautama,[2090] Āp. Dh. S. and the Bhāgavata-purāṇa remark that even great men were guilty of violations of Dharma and defiant excesses, that those great men incurred no sin (got over the effects of such violations) on account of their being endowed with eminent *tapas* (spiritual merit due to austerities) but that others of later ages following their examples and treading the same path would sink (into hell). Kumārila cites twelve such instances of lapses, explains them away or says they were due to wrath or other passions and were not intended by the authors (of those acts) as dharma and are not looked upon as śiṣṭācāra by modern men. The twelve instances are: Prajāpati who became enamoured of his own daughter (Uṣas, explains Kumārila), Indra is described as the jāra (paramour) of Ahalyā (night, according to Kumārila's explanation); Vasiṣṭha through grief for the slaughter of his hundred sons by a demon contemplated suicide; Viśvāmitra who became officiating priest to Triśaṅku that had become a cāṇḍāla through a curse; Nahuṣa who, when he occupied the position of Indra, made approaches to Śacī, wife of Indra and was transformed into an *ajagara* (huge reptile); Purūravas, when separated from Urvaśī, thought of dying (by hanging &c.); Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana who was *naiṣṭhika* (perpetual) brahmacārin raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother, Vicitravīrya; Bhīṣma, though unmarried, performed Aśvamedha sacrifices; Dhṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, performed

2090. दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च महताम्। अवरदौर्बल्यात्। गौ I. 3-4; दृष्टो धर्मव्यतिक्रमः साहसं च पूर्वेषाम्। तेषां तेजोविशेषेण प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते। तदवीक्ष्य प्रयुञ्जानः सीदत्यवरः। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 7-9; vide भागवत X. Pūrvārdha 33. 30 धर्मव्यतिक्रमो दृष्ट ईश्वराणां च साहसम्। तेजीयसां न दोषाय वह्नेः सर्वभुजो यथा. That by prāṇāyāma and other practices the impurities of the senses and mind are cleared away is stated by Manu VI. 71.

sacrifices which blind men are not authorised to do (compare Jai. VI. I. 42); five Pāṇḍavas marrying one Draupadī; Yudhiṣṭhira who prevaricated and thereby caused the death of Droṇa, his brāhmaṇa guru; Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are described in the Mahābhārata as drunk with wine ('ubhau madhvāsavakṣibau dṛṣṭau me Keśavārjunau' in Udyogaparva 59. 5) and married their maternal uncle's daughters; Rāma performed Aśvamedha by associating a golden image of Sītā with him.

Kumārila displays great ingenuity in explaining away most of these transgressions by plausible and specious arguments, by relying on the great *tapas* in some cases (such as about Viṣvāmitra) and in some cases by downright denial (as in the case of Subhadrā being the sister of Kṛṣṇa).[2091] Those interested may refer for all these instances and their explanations by Kumārila to H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 845–848.

One interesting *adhikaraṇa* is the Holākādhikaraṇa (Jai. I. 3. 15–23). It is said that Holākā should be observed by the easterners, Āhnīnaibuka by Southerners, Udvṛṣabhayajña by northerners. The established conclusion is that such observances are meant for all (and not merely for persons of the East or South &c.), if they are fit to be done by[2092] easterners or southerners (there is no reason why these should not be observances fit for all). The general rule about Vedic vidhis is that they are applicable to all Āryas; no cogent reason exists why a restricted Vedic text should be inferred in the case of the above observances. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 851–853 for detailed explanation of this maxim and above pp. 237 ff. The Dāyabhāga (II. 40 and VI. 22–23) refers to this maxim in connection with a double share to be allotted to the acquirer and with reference to a person acquiring property without detriment to the ancestral estate and explains the purpose of the Holākādhikaraṇa.

The Holākādhikaraṇanyāya is frequently mentioned by writers on Dharmaśāstra. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 53 quotes the

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2091. The आदिपर्व expressly says about सुभद्रा 'दुहिता वसुदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य च स्वसा। आदिपर्व 219. 18 (cr. ed. chap. 211. 18). The मीमांसाकौस्तुभ of खण्डदेव states 'एवमर्जुनस्य मातुलकन्यकायाः सुभद्रायाः परिणयेऽपि सुभद्राया वसुदेवकन्यात्वस्य साक्षात् क्वचिदप्यश्रवणात्।' (p. 48, Chowkhamba S. S. 1924). This is a sample of what to expect from some orthodox Sanskrit writers, when hard pressed by facts contrary to their pet theories or views.

2092. न्यायविदश्च याज्ञिकाः—अपि वा ... विधानस्य-इति (जै. I. 3. 16)। अतः कार्यत्वे सति सर्वधर्मत्वम्। विश्वरूप on या. I. 53.

siddhāntasūtra 'api va sarvadharmaḥ syāt tannyāyatvād vidhānasya' (Jai. I. 3. 16) and adds that it must be regarded as 'Sarvadharma' (as applicable to all) if it is recommended as something to be observed by some people. There is a difference of opinion between medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra as to the exact import of this adhikaraṇa. The Dāyabhāga says[2093] that the Śruti to be inferred from the practice of Holākā by easterners is simply the general one (sāmānya-śruti) that Holāka rites should be observed. On the other hand Govindānanda in his Com. on the Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi says that the Holākādhikaraṇa leads to this only that the Śruti to be inferred from this practice is not in the form 'the easterners should perform Holākā' but it is in a general form viz. 'the usage of a country should be observed by those in the country'.

2093. तस्माद्यस्मादेवाचारात् स्मृतिर्वाक्याद्वा या श्रुतिरपहर्यं कल्पनीया तयैव तदुत्पत्याचारांशस्य स्मृतिपदस्य चोपपत्तेर्न तत्राधिकल्पनेति होलाकाधिकरणन्यायः। दायभाग II. 42; माघ्यैर्होलाका कर्तव्येति विशेषश्रुतिर्न कल्प्यते किं तु देशधर्मः कर्तव्य इति सामान्यत एव, अन्यथा देशान्तरे आचारान्तरात् श्रुत्यन्तरकल्पनागौरवं स्यादिति होलाकाधिकरणन्यायः। तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on प्रायश्चित्तविवेक p. 142 (Jiv. ed.).

CHAPTER XXX

On Mīmāṁsā principles and rules of interpretation in relation to Dharmaśastra

The Pūrvamīmāṁsā evolved a method of its own and a set of principles for the interpretation of Vedic texts. It is now time to set down and explain some of these principles and rules and point out how they have been employed by Dharmaśāstra writers for solving their own difficulties.

The Mīmāṁsā principles and rules of interpretation fall into several groups. There are rules that are concerned only with the details of Vedic sacrifices and their inter-relations. The most important rule in this field is this that only *Vidhis* properly so called have absolute authority and binding force, while what are called *arthavādas* have authority in so far only as they form one syntactical whole with the vidhis and as they are meant to praise the vidhis. (P. M. S. I. 2. 7). Vidhis and Arthavādas are not discussed consecutively, but they are scattered over the several chapters of the P. M. S. For example, arthavādas are first dealt with in I. 2. 1–18 (the arthavādādhikaraṇa), but in many other places there is a discussion about arthavādas as in III. 4. 1–9, III. 4. 10, III. 4. 11, IV. 3. 1–3, VI. 7. 26–30, X. 8. 5, X. 8. 7 and 8.

It should not be forgotten that the Mīmāṁsā is not concerned with legislation by the king or a sovereign popular assembly. It promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma (meaning religious rites and matters connected therewith) and the means of arriving at that knowldge is the Veda itself and the main purpose of the Mīmāṁsā is to regulate the procedure (*itikartavyatā*), the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices. [2094]

There is a great deal of difference between the interpretation of statutes and the Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation. *In the*

2094. धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे तु वेदेन करणात्मना। इतिकर्तव्यताभागं मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति॥ q. by युक्तिस्नेहप्रपूरणी on ज्ञानदीपिका (p.36), अधिकरणकौमुदी of देवनाथ p.3, तन्त्ररहस्य. The word itikartavyatā occurs in P. M. S. itself (III. 3. 11 असंयुक्तं प्रकरणादितिकर्तव्यतार्थित्वात्). On the preceding sūtra (भूयस्त्वेनोभयश्रुति) शबर remarks 'ये च भूयांसो गुणाः सेतिकर्तव्यता' and on P. M. S. XI. 2. 8 (अङ्गानि तु विधानत्वात्प्रधानेनोपदिश्येरंस्तस्मात्स्थाद्देकदेशत्वम्) शबर explains 'विधानं कल्प इतिकर्तव्यतेत्यर्थः'.

first place, statutes are man-made, they express the will of the enacting authority, have mostly secular purposes, may be amended or even repealed and have to be expounded according to the intent of those that made them. But the Mīmāṁsā is concerned with the Veda that is deemed eternal and self-existent (and not man-made), that deals with religious matters, cannot be amended or repealed and is to be expounded according to the intent of the Vedic words. Therefore, though some rules of the interpretation of Vedic texts evolved by the Pūrvamīmāṁsā are identical with or resemble the rules of the interpretation of statutes developed in such works as Maxwell's on 'interpretation of statutes', the author will not enter into any detailed treatment showing the parallelisms between Mīmāṁsā rules and Maxwell's rules. This task was attempted over fifty years ago by Mr. Kishorilal Sarkar in his Tagore Law Lectures published in 1909. It would appear ungracious on the part of the present author to offer criticisms against a predecessor in the same field who wrote more than half a century ago when Mīmāṁsā studies by modern educated Indians were in their infancy. But the author cannot help stating that Mr. Sarkar was obsessed by the notion that he must show somehow or other that Jaimini's rules of interpretation were not inferior to those of Maxwell's and agreed closely with him. For this purpose he relies often on far-fetched analogies and employs obscure explanations. In several cases it appears that he had not been able to grasp correctly what Jaimini and Śabara meant.[2095]

In this work the author is concerned only with the question of the influence on Dharmaśāstra of Pūrvamīmāṁsā doctrines and rules of interpretation. He has already shown how many of the doctrines and technical expressions of the Mīmāṁsā have dominated Dharmaśāstra. He would now turn to the rules of interpretation.

The first rule is that no part of the Veda (not even a word) can be treated as *anarthaka* (meaningless or purposeless). It is therefore that a very large part of the Veda is treated as arthavādas intended to praise vidhis. This has been stated above (p. 1243). The result of the vital importance attached to vidhis

2095. Vide his explanation of the words 'Vedam kṛtvā vedim karoti' in pp. 241–242 of his work and the remarks of the present author in H. of Dh. Vol. III, pp. 841–42 and his explanation of 'arthakarma' and 'pratipattikarma' as 'essential act' and 'non-essential act' respectively (pp. 186–187) and the explanations of these given above on pp. 1231–32.

in the PMS and of the assignment of a very subordinate role to *arthavādas* (as merely intended to praise) and to mantras (as merely 'abhidhāyaka') has resulted in this that a small portion of the Brāhmaṇas has been held to be of supreme authority, while a large part of the Brāhmaṇas and of Saṁhitās containing mantras has become of secondary importance or of little importance.

The Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different standpoints. Some rules are general and some are special. Some rules have to do with the proper procedure to be followed when several texts laying down matters relating to the same subject are in conflict by means of the application of the technical words śruti, liṅga, vākya, prakaraṇa, sthāna and samākhyā (III. 3. 14) and there are rules about adhikāra, atideśa, ūha, bādha, tantra and prasaṅga.

Some examples of general rules may first be cited. That *vidhis* alone have special obligatory authority and that arthavādas are authoritative only in so far as they form one syntactical whole with the vidhis is a general rule. The rules distinguishing between *vidhis* (properly so called), *niyama* vidhis and *parisaṅkhyā* are general.

The Mīmāṁsā rule is that where there is a[2096] doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage, it may be determined by relying on the remaining parts of the passage. Vide above for the example 'he puts down anointed pebbles' &c. (p. 1240). The Mīmāṁsā is very much against assuming conflict among Vedic texts and therefore allows an option only if there is no other way out. Vide remarks on *vikalpa* above (p. 1250). Another general rule is that the singular includes the plural. In the Mīmāṁsā it is called 'Grahaikatvanyāya (P. M. S. III. 1. 13-15). In the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice a number of cups (*grahas*) filled with Soma are offered to deities and drunk at the three *savanas* (pressings of Soma) and Śruti states 'he wipes or cleanses the cup with the strainer made of white wool' (daśāpaviṭreṇa graham sam-mārṣṭi) and in the Darśapūrṇamāsa it is said 'he carries a firebrand round the puroḍāśa (cake)'. The question is

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2096. सन्दिग्धेषु वाक्यशेषात्। पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 24. The विषयवाक्य is 'अक्ताः शर्करा उपदधाति तेजो वै घृतम्' (तै. ब्रा. III. 2. 5. 12). Compare Maxwell p. 29 'the words of each clause should be so interpreted as to bring them in harmony with other provisions.'

whether a single cup ('graham' is the word used) is to be cleansed or a single puroḍāśa is to have a firebrand carried round it or whether all cups called grahas or puroḍāśas are to be treated as stated. The established conclusion is that all grahas are to be cleansed and all puroḍāśas have the firebrand carried round them. The singular number is not intended to be insisted on.[2097] From this a further general rule is derived by Kumārila and others that an attribute of the subject (*anuvādya* or *uddiśyamāna*)[2098] about which something is predicated (*vidheya*) is not intended and should not be insisted upon. This is frequently relied on in Dharmaśāstra works. Yāj. II. 121 states that the father and son have equal ownership in land, a corrody and wealth (gold and silver &c.) acquired by the grand-father. Here the word *pitāmaha* is not to be insisted upon and the same rule applies to land or wealth acquired by a great-grand-father, as the V. M. says.[2099] Similarly, when Nāradasmṛti says (16. 37) 'of brothers being undivided religious worship (or rites) are one, but if there is a partition then they may have separate religious worship'. Here the proper subject is the word 'undivided persons', and the word 'brothers' is used only as an attribute, which is not intended to be insisted on and the same rule applies to undivided grand-father, father, sons, uncles and nephews. Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 mentions this maxim. The same rule is applied in some cases to gender also i. e. a word importing males includes females also. For example, Yāj. II. 182 and Nārada (8. 40 ff) lay down certain rules about a *dāsa* (male slave). The V. M. says that the masculine gender in these passages is not intended to be insisted upon, but the rules

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2097. Vide Maxwell (10th ed, of 1953) p. 349 for the propositions that words importing masculine gender include females and that the singular includes the plural and *vice versa*.

2098. The Ṭupṭīkā on III. 4. 22 remarks 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य विशेषणमविवक्षितमिति स्थितमेव' and on X. 3. 39 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य च संख्या न विवक्ष्यते ग्रहस्येव.'

2099. The व्य. म. says 'वस्तुतस्तु पितामहपदमविवक्षितम्। अन्यथा प्रपितामहाद्युपात्ते सदृशस्वाम्यस्याभावप्रसक्तेः। अनुवाद्यविशेषणत्वाच्च' p. 90. अनुवाद्य means the same thing as उद्दिश्यमान or उद्देय (the subject, of which something is to be predicated). 'अत्र अविभक्तानामित्येवोद्देश्यसमर्पकम्। भ्रातॄणामिति तु तद्विशेषेणत्वादविवक्षितम्' व्य. म. p. 132. मेधातिथि on मनु II. 29 says 'न च प्रधाने लिङ्गसंख्यादि विशेषणं विवक्ष्यते ग्रहं संमार्ष्टीति सत्यप्येकवचने सर्वे ग्रहाः संमृज्यन्ते।'. श्लोकवा. defines उद्देश्य as 'यद्युक्तयोगः प्राथम्यमित्याद्युद्देश्यलक्षणम्। तद्युक्तमेवकारश्च स्याद्विधेयलक्षणम्॥ यद्यर्थौ स्वशब्दस्य च शब्दो यत्रानपेक्षया॥ अनुमानपरि० verses 109–110).

apply even to female slaves.[2100] There are exceptions to these rules. The rule about *grahas* does not apply to *camasas* (P. M. S. III, 1. 16–17).[2101] This rule that the qualification (viśeṣaṇa) of the subject in a vidhi is not meant to be taken literally and emphasized is applied in many other cases. Three verses from the Kālikāpurāṇa are quoted by Kalpataru (on vyavahāra pp. 210-211) and V. M. (pp. 45–46) about the performance of an ordeal in certain grave charges and this maxim is applied by the V. M. there in the words 'paradārarūpam viśeṣaṇam-avivakṣitam-abhiśāpasyānuvādyatvāt'; vide notes to V. M. pp. 83–84. But in 'paśum-ālabheta', where there is a vidhi about 'yāga' it must be held that what is laid down is yāga as qualified by being made with a male animal and therefore only one paśu (and that paśu a male) is to be sacrificed.

Although the Veda employs the masculine gender (in svargakāmo yajeta, 'one desiring heaven should offer a sacrifice'), yet Jaimini establishes (in VI. 1. 6–16) that even women are included and have a right to offer a yāga.[2102] Jaimini further provides that husband and wife should perform a religious right in co-operation (VI. 1. 17–21), but he provides that where the Śruti specifically provides for certain matters to be done by the *yajamāna*[2103] (the male performer) it is the male alone who can perform them as the wife is not equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and is ignorant and therefore she is restricted to the performance of those acts that are expressly enjoined for her such as looking at the clarified butter, observing *brahmacarya* and the like (VI. 1. 24 'tasyā yāvad-uktam-āsīrbrahmacaryam-atulyatvāt'.) The wife also performs bath and such

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2100. अस्मिन् प्रकरणे दासपदगतपुंस्त्वस्याविवक्षितत्वाद् दास्यामप्येष सर्वो विधिर्ज्ञेयः। व्य. म. p. 210. Vide also व्यवहारप्रकाश (part of वीरमित्रोदय) p. 322. As to 'पशुमालभेत' शबर remarks on VI. 1. 9: 'इदं तु पशुत्वं यागस्य विशेषणत्वेन श्रूयते। तत्र पशुत्वस्य यागस्य च सम्बन्धो न द्रव्ययागयोः। यथा पशुत्वं यागसम्बद्धमेवं पुंस्त्वमेकत्वं च। सोयमनेकविशेषणविशिष्टो यागः श्रूयते। स यथाश्रुत्येव कर्तव्यः। उपादेयत्वेन चोदितत्वात्।' p. 1359.

2101. These two rules that the singular includes the plural and words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to include females are the same in section 13 of the Indian General Clauses Act X of 1897, subject to this that if there is anything repugnant in the subject or context the rule will not apply.

2102. तस्मात्फलार्थिनी सती स्मृतिमप्रमाणीकृत्य द्रव्यं परिगृह्णीयाद्यजेत चेति। शबर on पू. मी. सू. (VI. 1. 13).

2103. तस्मात्सर्वं यजमानेन कर्तव्यम्। आहरत्व विहितं पत्न्या च। दुपदीका on VI. 1. 24 p. 1376.

acts as applying collyrium, sipping water (*ācamana*), observes silence till the morning or evening *agnihotra* is gone through. She has her waist girt up with a yoktra (a triple cord of *muñja* grass) in Darśapūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices. She has also to look upon the clarified butter in the pot with a mantra (Tai. S.II.). 10. 3 'mahīnām payosyoṣadhīnām rasosi adabdhena tvā cakuṣāṣ vekṣe suprajāstvāya' ('thou art the milk of cows, the fluid of herbs, with an invincible eye I look on thee for securing good progeny'). The wife was to learn the mantras she had to repeat in sacrifices from her father or husband before the husband set up the sacred fires (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1041 n). Gradually, the wife lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator[2104] of all the weary details that had to be gone through by the sacrificer and the priest.

In spite of the above restrictions on the wife's powers about Vedic sacrifices many smṛti rules apply to women also, though the text employs the masculine gender. For example, Manu XI. 93 provides that a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya should not drink *surā*. This prohibition applies to wives of the members of the three varṇas according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 256.

The P. M. S. holds that the gender and number of a word in a *vidhivākya* may in certain cases be intended and insisted on. For example, in PMS IV. I. 11–16 it is established that the Agniṣomīya animal to be sacrificed in Jyotiṣṭoma as prescribed in the words 'yo dīkṣito yad agniṣomīyam paśum-ālabhati' (that the person who has undergone dīkṣā and offers the animal to Agni and Soma) is only one and that the words in the Aśvamedha 'he offers kapiñjalas to the season of[2105] spring', the

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2104. The Paddhati in the Com. on कात्या. श्रौ. IV. 13 remarks 'उपवेशनव्यतिरिक्तं पत्नी किमपि न करोतीति संप्रदायः। तत्र साधुतरम्'। विद्वत्तया पुमानेव कुर्यादविदुषीतरा। वेदाध्ययनशून्यत्वात्। प्रतिषिद्धं हि तत्स्त्रियः॥' शास्त्रदीपिका on VI. 1. 24.

2105. वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलानालभते ग्रीष्माय कलविङ्कान् &c.; this occurs in वाज. सं. 24. 20 and मैत्रा. सं. III. 14. 1. This is कपिञ्जलन्याय embodied in पू. मी. सू. XI. 1. 31–46. The plural Kapiñjalān is satisfied by offering three as the lowest number. To offer a thousand would not yield more abundant reward, since only a single provision is made and not several alternate numbers. The शास्त्रदीपिका remarks 'यो हि त्रीनालभते यश्च सहस्रं तयोरुभयोरपि बहुत्वसम्पादनमविशिष्टम्।... निवृत्तव्यापारे च विधौ, न हिंस्यादिति निषेधशास्त्रं प्रवर्तत इत्यधिकानालम्भः।'. It is referred to in परा. मा. I. 2. 281 'प्राणायामैरिति बहुवचनस्य कपिञ्जलन्यायेन त्रित्वे पर्यवसानात् त्रिभिः प्राणायामैः शुध्यति इत्यर्थः।'. Compare also P.M.S. IV. 1. 11 ff.; 'तथा च लिङ्गम्' पू. मी. सू. IV. 1. 17. The passage is तै. सं. II. 1. 2. 5 'वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोर्यौं कृष्णग्रीवीमालभेत ग्रीष्मे मध्यन्दिने संहितामैन्द्रीं शरत्यपराह्णे श्वेतां वाईष्यवाय' and then in तै. सं. II. 1. 2.6 'गर्भिणयो भवन्ति, इन्द्रियं वै गर्भ इन्द्रियमेवास्मिन् दधति.'

kapiñjala birds to be offered are only three (and not one nor two nor more than three). Similarly, the gender in the passage 'he sacrifices in the morning in spring an animal with dark coloured neck to Agni, in summer in the noon an animal of different colours, in the autumn in the afternoon a white animal to Bṛhaspati', it is a female animal that is offered because immediately thereafter the words 'they become pregnant' occur. Dharmaśāstra works often say that the masculine gender used in many texts excludes women. For example, the Agnipurāṇa[2105] (175. 59–61), when dealing with the rules to be observed in all *vratas* in general, provides that the person undergoing vrata should take a bath, should worship the golden images of the deities of the *vratas*, perform *japa* and *homa* and at the end of the *vrata* make gifts according to his ability and should feed 24, 12, 5 or only three *vipras*. The N. S. quotes this from Pṛthvīcandra and observes that as the masculine gender 'viprāḥ' is employed only males of the brāhmaṇa class are to be fed and not women.

As against this, when Hemādri[2107] quoting Padma says 'If a woman is pregnant, freshly delivered, or is ill and becomes impure, she should get her *vrata* performed through another and when she becomes pure she may observe it personally,' the N. S. remarks that this applies to men also when they are impure, since the gender here is not intended to be emphasized.

There are Mīmāṁsā rules about the interpretation of words and also about sentences. First a few of the rules about words may be illustrated. (1) Śabara in the very first sentence of his bhāṣya propounds the principle that as far as possible the words in the sūtras of Jaimini and in the Veda are to be understood in the sense in which they are understood in popular usage and not in a secondary or technical sense. The same rule is propounded by Jaimini in III. 2.1–2 in connection with the meaning of 'barhis' in the mantra 'I cut the *barhis* as an abode for gods'. Here the conclusion is that *barhis* is to be taken in the primary sense of 'handful of kuśa grass' and not in a secondary sense

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2106. पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदयेऽग्निपुराणे–स्नात्वा व्रतवता सर्वव्रतेषु व्रतमूर्तयः। पूज्याः सुवर्णमय्याद्याः ... व्रतान्ते दानमेव च। चतुर्विंश ... पञ्च वा त्रय एव च। विप्रा भोज्या यथाशक्ति तेभ्यो दद्याच्च दक्षिणाम्॥ अत्र विप्रा इति पुल्लिङ्गनिर्देशात् पुमांस एव भोज्याः, न तु स्त्रियः। एवं सहस्रभोजनादावपि। विरूपशेषस्य प्रमाणान्तरं विनाऽयुक्तत्वात्। नि. सि. p. 24. It also relies on what Śabara says on III. 3. 17 and 19.

2107. तथा हेमाद्रौ पाद्मे। गर्भिणी सूतिकादिष्व कुमारी वाथ रोगिणी। यदाऽशुद्धा तदाऽन्येन कारयेत् प्रयता स्वयम्॥ इति पुंसोऽप्येव विधिः, लिङ्गस्याविवक्षितत्वात्। नि. सि. p. 28.

such as kāśa or other kind of grass. Śabara winds up with the[2108] words 'between the primary and secondary senses of a word it is proper to hold that the primary sense is to be taken for the business in hand'. Again, on I. 3. 30 Śabara says[2109] that the words are the same as in the Veda and popular use and the meanings are the same.

As regards the setting up of Vedic fires, the Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 and Āp. Śr. V. 3. 18 prescribe different seasons for men of the three *varṇas* and add that a 'rathakāra should set up Vedic fires in the rainy season'. The question arises whether the word 'rathakāra' in these passages means a person of that caste (i. e. whether it is to be taken in the popular sense) or whether it refers to any one of any *varṇa* who manufactures chariots (i. e. the etymological sense). The established conclusion is that the popular sense is to be taken and not the etymological (P. M. S. VI. 1. 44–50). In the case of the *rathakāra* the mantra for *ādhāna* (setting up of Vedic fires) is 'ṛbhūṇām tvā' (Tai. Br. I. 1. 4. 8). Though not belonging to one of the three higher varṇas, the rathakāra could repeat that mantra because the Śruti expressly authorized him to do so, but he was not entitled to *upanayana*. The P. M. S. (VI. 1. 50) held that the *rathakāra* (mentioned in the Tai. Br. and Āp. Śr.) was a caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher varṇas but is slightly inferior to them. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 45–46. The S. Kau. argues that[2110] if once the right of a Hindu

2108. तस्मान्मुख्यगौणयोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः। शबर on III. 1. 1. The same words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 on पा. VI. 3. 46 as गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः; तस्माल्लोकवेदयोरभिन्नाः शब्दार्था इति। तन्त्रवा. on same सूत्र p. 293, शङ्कराचार्य on V. S. IV. 3. 12 employs the same words as the first quotation from Śabara. Vide शास्त्रदी. on III. 2,1–3. In *Umaid Bahadur* V *Udaichand* I. L. R. 6 Cal. 119 (F. B.) at p. 126 (where the question was whether the word 'sapiṇḍa' defined by the Mitākṣarā in the *ācāra* section as a person connected by particles of one body can be taken for purposes of inheritance as persons connected by the offering of funeral oblations) it is stated 'it is a well understood rule of construction among the authors of the Institutes of Hindu Law that the same word must be taken to have been used in one and the same sense throughout a work, unless the contrary is expressly indicated.' Vide *Ramchandra* V *Vinayak* L. R. 41. I. A. 290 where the above passage in the Calcutta case is quoted with approval at pp. 303–304.

2109. य एव लौकिकाः शब्दास्त एव वैदिकास्त एवैषामर्था इति। शबर on I. 3. 30.

2110. न च प्रतिग्रहमन्त्राभावेनाधिकाराभावोक्तिरपि घटते। अशूद्रायां सत्यामिवासत्यामपि तस्यामुत्पादनीत्याधिकारनिर्णये रथकारवन्मन्त्राध्ययनकल्पनासम्भवात्। एतेनाशूद्रायां सत्यामेव मन्त्रकः प्रतिग्रह इति निरस्तम्। सं. कौ. p. 168.

widow to adopt is conceded, the mere fact that she is not entitled to repeat Vedic mantras in general cannot deprive her of that right and that it is possible to hold, as in the case of the rathakāra, that she can repeat the specific mantra required in adopting a boy. The Tai. S. IV. 5. 4. 2 separately mentions several craftsmen such as *takṣan*, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra &c. From Atharvaveda III. 5. 6 and Vāj. S. 30. 6 (medhāyai rathakāram dhairyāya takṣāṇam) it appears that the rathakāra held a good position in the then society.

A word is to be understood in that shade of its meaning that is appropriate to the act in hand. For example, śruti says 'he cuts off with sruva, he cuts off with a knife, he cuts off with the hand' (the same verb 'avadyati' being used for all the acts). The question is whether one is to cut all offerings, whether liquid or solid, whether of flesh or other substances, with sruva ladle or whether he is to employ the method or implement appropriate for each i. e. clarified butter should be taken from a pot and offered by means of a sruva ladle, flesh should be cut off with a knife and offered, and hard or thick things (like fuel sticks) should be offered with the hand. The conclusion is that one is to offer in the way most appropriate to each kind of offering. This is called 'sāmarthyādhikaraṇa' (PMS.[2111] I. 4. 25). The V. M. relies on this when dealing with the homa prescribed by Pitāmāha for all ordeals in the words 'homa should be offered in the four directions with clarified butter, boiled rice and fuel sticks &c' and declares that the homa of clarified butter should be made with sruva ladle, of havis (i. e. 'boiled rice &c') with *sruc* and of fuel sticks with the (right) hand, on account of the fitness (sāmarthya) of these for the various offerings and sharply criticizes Raghunandana who in his Dāyatattva provided that the homa should be made of all three together (and not separately). A similar rule is applied to the ten sacrificial implements

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2111. अर्थाद्वा कल्पनैकदेशत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. I. 4. 25; शबर quotes 'स्रुवेणावद्यति, स्वधितिनावद्यति हस्तेनावद्यति, इति श्रूयते। किं स्रुवेणावदातव्यं सर्वस्य द्रव्यस्य संहतस्य मांसस्य च। तथा स्वधितिना हस्तेन च उत सर्वेषामर्थतो व्यवस्था'. The पूर्वपक्ष is अविशेषाभिधानाद्व्यवस्थेति. The conclusion is अर्थाद्वा कल्पना, सामर्थ्यात्कल्पनेति स्रुवेणावद्येद्यथा शक्नुयात् तथा यस्य शक्नुयात् तस्य चेति। आख्यातशब्दानामर्थं प्रवर्तां शक्तिः सहकारिणी। एवं चेद्यथाशक्ति व्यवस्था भवितुमर्हति। तथा अञ्जलिना सकृत् प्रदाव्ये जुहोति इति। This last is a quotation from Tait. S. III. 3. 8. Vide स्व. म. p. 54 for the text and notes pp. 89–93 for detailed explanations of the passage by the present author. The शास्त्रदीपिका on the above remarks 'तस्माच्छक्तिसहायो विधिरेव पदार्थसामर्थ्यं विधेयं व्यवस्थापयति.'

enumerated in Tai. S. I. 6. 8. 2 viz. *sphya* (the wooden sword), the potsherds &c. Here the Pūrvapakṣa is that one may employ any one of these for any purpose required in the sacrifice; the established conclusion (PMS III. 1 11. and IV. 1. 7–10) is that the enumeration of ten implements is a mere *anuvāda* and is not to be understood as the pūrvapakṣa states, but each is to be employed for the purpose for which the Vedic texts prescribe it (such as one cooks the puroḍāśa on potsherds, pounds grains in mortar and pestle). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 985 n. 2233 for ten implements of sacrifice and others that are required and p. 1232 above for their disposal.

One and the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, that is, in the primary sense and also in the figurative sense.[2112] This maxim is relied upon by the Dāyabhāga. When brothers (sons of the same mother) come to a partition, smṛti texts (like Yāj. II. 123) prescribe that the mother takes a share equal to that of a son. On this the Dāyabhāga remarks that the word 'mātā' (in Yāj. II. 123 and others) primarily means a real mother (*jananī*, that gives birth) and this smṛti rule has no application to the step-mother, since it is improper to hold that the same word once used in a sentence has a primary and a secondary sense at the same[2113] time. But it must be pointed out that all Dharmaśāstra works do not observe this rule. Aparārka (p. 730) on Yāj. II. 123 (pitur-ūrdhvam vibhajatām mātāpyaṁśam samam haret) includes the step-mother under the word 'mātā' following a text of Vyāsa. The Mitākṣarā interpreting Yāj. II. 135 about obstructible heritage stating the order of succession as wife, daughters, parents, brothers, their sons, provides that full brothers first succeed, in default of them half brothers, in default of the last, full brothers'

2112. अभ्यायम्यानेकार्थत्वम् । शबर on III. 2. 1 and VII. 3. 3; न श्लोकस्थ शब्दस्यानेकार्थता सत्यां गतौ न्याय्या । शबर on VIII. 3. 22. Vide शबर on IX. 4. 18 also. शङ्कराचार्य in his bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra II. 4. 3 puts this rule very clearly 'न श्लोकस्थिमन्प्रकरणे एकस्मिंश्च वाक्ये एकः शब्दः सकृदुच्चरितो बहुभिः सम्बध्यमानः क्वचिन्मुख्यः क्वचिद् गौण इत्यध्यवसातुं शक्यम्। वैरूप्यप्रसङ्गात्।.

2113. पितरि चोपरते सोदरभ्रातृभिर्विभागे क्रियमाणे मात्रेपि पुत्रसमांशो दातव्यः समांशहारिणी मातेति वचनात् । मातृपदस्य जननीपरत्वाच्च सपत्नीमातृपरत्वमपि सङ्गच्छते तस्य मुख्यगौणत्वानुपपत्तेः । दायभाग III. 29–30, p. 67; मातृग्रहणं तत्सपत्न्यादिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अपरार्क p. 730. It may be noted that in *Vithal* V. *Prahlad* (I. L. R. 39 Bom. 373) a paternal step-grandmother was held entitled to a share when a partition took place between the sons of a deceased son of her co-wife.

sons. The V. M. disagrees[2114] with this and says that the word 'brother' primarily means 'full brother' and only secondarily 'half-brother', that, as it is not allowable to use a word like brother in two senses in the same passage, in default of full brother his son succeeds (and not half-brother as the Mit. provides). The primary sense of a word is got by 'abhidhā', the secondary sense by 'lakṣaṇā'[2115] and sometimes a third sense called suggested sense is said to be due to vyañjanā. These are the three *vṛttis* (functions) of a word.

One of the rules about the interpretations of words is contained in P.M.S.I. 3. 8–9. Śabara cites three instances of words[2116] viz. caru made from yavas, sandals made of boar skin, a cane mat. The words *yava*, *varāha* and *vetasa* are respectively employed by some people in the sense of 'priyaṅgu' (long pepper), dark bird (crow) and jambu (black berry). The prima facie view insists that one may use those words in any one of the two senses. The Siddhānta is that those words must be used in the sense in which the Veda (or śāstra) or śiṣṭas employ them i. e. the usage of learned Aryan people is to be followed where words

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2114. मातुरभावे भ्राता सोदरः, तदभावे तत्पुत्रः। यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरादयः सोदराभावे भिन्नोदरस्तदभावे सोदरसुता इत्याहुस्तन्न, भ्रातृपदस्य सोदरे शक्त्या भिन्नोदरे च गौण्या वृत्तिद्वयविरोधात्। व्य. म. p 142.

2115. According to तन्त्रवा॰ there is a slight difference between लक्षणा and गौणी. Vide अभिधेयाविनाभूते प्रतीतिर्लक्षणेष्यते। लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद्वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता॥ वह्नित्वलक्षितादर्थाद्यत्यैक्ष्ण्यादि गम्यते। तेन माणवके वह्निः साद्दश्यादुपजायते॥ p. 354 on I. 4. 12. गङ्गायां घोषः is लक्षणा (गङ्गातीरे घोषः), while अग्निर्माणवकः (the boy is fire) is an example of गौणीवृत्ति (possession of a quality common to both). गौणी is a variety of लक्षणा which latter occurs in a far larger number of cases. The boy has some of the qualities (गुण) of fire such as very brown colour and the like and therefore here the word 'fire' is applied to the boy in a figurative sense.

2116. तेष्वदर्शनाद्विरोधस्य समा विप्रतिपत्तिः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 8; यवमयवदः, वाराही उपानहौ, वैतसे कटे प्राजापत्यान् सन्निनोति इति यववराहवेतसशब्दान् समाममन्ति। तत्र केचिद्दीर्घशूकेषु यवशब्दं प्रयुञ्जते केचित्प्रियङ्गुषु। वराहशब्दं केचित्सूकरे केचित्कृष्णशकुनौ। वेतसशब्दं केचिद्वञ्जुलके केचिज्जम्बाम्। शबर. The सिद्धान्तसूत्र is शास्त्रस्था वा सन्निधित्वात्। पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 9; शबर explains यः शास्त्रस्थानां स शब्दार्थः। के शास्त्रस्थाः, शिष्टाः तेषामविच्छिन्ना स्मृतिः शब्देषु वेदेषु च। भामती on ब्र. सू. III. 3. 52 relies on this for holding that the meaning assigned to a word among Aryas in India prevails over the meaning of the word among Āndhras (e. g. of the word राजन्). As regards पीलु, Gaut. (I. 22) prescribes that a kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacārin should carry a staff of the aśvattha or pīlu tree (अश्वत्थपैलवौ क्षेत्रे), while Manu II. 45 prescribes a staff of pīlu or udumbara tree for a vaiśya brahmacārin. The Amarakośa states that pīlu means a tree as well as an elephant.

may have two or more senses. As in several other cases Kumārila does not like Śabara's explanation and proposes two other explanations, viz. one being that the sūtras relate to the word 'pīlu' used in the sense of a tree and *mlecchas* employ it in the sense of elephant. The meaning of the word in smṛtis is a tree and that should be followed. Here 'Śāstrasthāḥ' means 'the sense given to the word in the Śāstra i. e. smṛti'. Another meaning he sees into those sūtras is the comparative strength of smṛti and *ācāra*. This *adhikaraṇa* is relied upon by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. (I. 225) on the question of the primary meaning of the word Śrāddha which he states is 'piṇḍadāna' (offering balls of boiled rice to the *manes*) and not feeding brāhmaṇas. The Parāśara-mādhavīya refers to Parāśara-smṛti (VI. 70–71) about the food cooked from rice in such quantities as measuring an *āḍhaka*[2117] or *droṇa* and rendered unclean by being pecked by crows or touched by dogs and smelt by asses and provides that the measures *āḍhaka* and *droṇa* were to be taken as those known from śāstras and not those known among mlecchas.

Another rule (PMS I. 3. 10) about words is that[2118] words, though of foreign origin, that are in vogue in Sanskrit, are to be understood in the sense which they have in the foreign language and one should not think of an attempt to derive them with the help of Nirukta and grammar. Śabara cites four such words viz. pika (cuckoo), nema (half), tāmarasa (lotus), sata (circular wooden vessel).

Another rule about words is that where a single substance connected with several attributes is concerned in an action laid down for being carried out, all of these attributes should be taken to refer to the same one substance (PMS III. 1. 12). The Tai. S. prescribes 'he purchases Soma with a heifer one year old and having brown eyes and reddish in colour'. Here the two words 'piṅgākṣī' and 'ekahāyanī' yield a good etymological meaning, are in the same case and so refer to the same substance

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2117. For āḍhaka, droṇa and other measures of corn, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 881 n. 2053, vol. III. p. 124 n. 165.

2118. चोदितं तु प्रतीयेताविरोधात्प्रमाणेन। पू. मी. सू. I. 3. 10; न चामीषां (पिकादिपदानां) आर्येष्वर्थः कश्चिदस्ति। ... तस्माम्लेच्छप्रसिद्ध एवार्योऽमीषां निरुक्तव्यवसीयते। शाबरदीपिका on I. 3. 10. The मयूखमालिका gives सूत्रार्थ as म्लेच्छैश्चोदितमपि प्रतीयेत। आर्यं स्यादिति यावत्। प्रमाणेनार्यव्यवहारेणाविरोधात्। The underlined words occur in the sūtra.

(heifer in this [2119] case). But the word 'aruṇayā' (of red colour) causes a doubt viz. whether it should be separated from the other two words in the sentence and taken in the sense of 'any reddish substance such as a piece of cloth' or whether it should be connected with the verb (he purchases), should thus be subordinate to the purchase and should be taken as referring to the one year old heifer. This last is the established conclusion. How Soma is to be purchased does not follow from any other text. Therefore, in such a case several subsidiaries can be laid down in one injunction. If 'aruṇayā' be taken as referring to any red substance such as a piece of red cloth this one sentence would have to be divided into two vidhis 'he should purchase with a red piece of cloth' and 'he should purchase with a brown-eyed (heifer) one year old'. This would be a fault called 'vākyabheda'. This nyāya is explained by the Madanapārijāta pp. 88–89 and Aparārka (p. 1030) makes use of [2120] it in explaining the correct import of the words of the Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 21 'tam-etam vedānuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividiṣanti' by saying that when the highest object in view is one but the subordinate elements are different these latter are to be lumped together.

Another rule about words is evolved by what is called 'niṣādasthapatinyāya' (PMS VI. I. 51–52). [2121] It is stated that the *Iṣṭi* in which an offering of boiled rice is made to Rudra is

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2119. अर्थैकत्वे द्रव्यगुणयोरैककर्म्याक्षिप्तयः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. III. 1. 12; ज्योतिष्टोमे क्रयं प्रकृत्य श्रूयते। अरुणया पिङ्गाक्ष्यैकहायन्या सोमं क्रीणाति। इति। तत्र सन्देहः। किमरुणिमा कृत्स्ने प्रकरणे निविशेतोत क्रये एवैकहायन्यामिति। शाबर. The sentence अरुणया... क्रीणाति is तै. सं. VI. 1. 1. 6–7. शाबर has a very lengthy discussion on this. The तन्त्रवार्तिक on पू. मी. सू. II. 2. 6 states 'प्राप्ते कर्मणि नानेको विधातुं शक्यते गुणः। अप्राप्ते तु विधीयन्ते बहवोऽप्येकयत्नतः॥' p. 485 quoted in मी. न्या. प्र. p. 39 (Abhyankar's ed.). For example, श्राद्ध is laid down as a विधि but if one wants to lay down some matters about श्राद्ध separate विधिs would be required for each matter, such as गयायां श्राद्धं दद्यात्, कुतपे श्राद्धं दद्यात्. But where there is already no vidhi laying down a guṇa (subsidiary matter) there can be one main vidhi embodying several guṇas, as laid down in P.M.S. I. 4. 9.

2120. किं च परमकार्याभेदेऽवान्तरव्यापारभेदे तु कारकं कारकान्तरेण सङ्गृह्यते यथा—अरुणया... क्रीणाति इत्यारुण्यमेकहायन्या। अपरार्क p. 1030 on याज्ञ. III. 205 (न्यायार्जित... गृहस्थोपि विमुच्यते॥).

2121. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात्। पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 51. ...निषादानां स्थपतिरिति षष्ठीसमासो भविष्यति। ...एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः स्थपतिर्निषादः स्यात्।... कस्मात् शब्द-सामर्थ्यात्। ... समानाधिकरणसमासस्तु बलीयान्। तत्र हि स्वार्थे शब्दौ वृत्तौ भवतः। द्वितीया च विभक्तिस्तन्त्रेणोमार्थां सम्बध्यते। शाबर; compare मैत्रा. सं. II. 2. 4 for the इष्टि and the words तया निषादस्थपतिं याजयेत्। अत्र तावन्निषादस्थपतिन्यायेन षष्ठी-

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one that should be performed for niṣāda-sthapati. A niṣāda is a person born of a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra mother (vide Manu X. 8). He does not belong to one of the three higher varṇas. Sthapati means 'chief or leader'. The question whether the compound word means 'a niṣāda who is a chief (that is a karmadhāraya compound) or whether it means 'the ruler of niṣādas' who may not necessarily be a niṣāda himself but may be a kṣatriya (i. e. whether one should take the word as 'ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa' as 'niṣādānām sthapatiḥ'). The conclusion is that a karmadhāraya is more powerful than a tatpuruṣa, since in the former both the words may be directly connected with the verb (niṣādaścāsau sthapatiśca, tam yājayet). The V. M. makes use of this 'maxim'. The Śaunaka-smṛti authorizes śūdras to adopt a son, yet some writers like Rudradhara, author of Śuddhiviveka, held that adoption required a homa with mantras and as a śūdra could not repeat vedic mantras he could not adopt. To this V. M. replies that his power to adopt a son being established by Śaunaka's smṛti all that is required is that he may get the homa performed through a brāhmaṇa. The Bhāmatī on Śaṅkarā's bhāṣya on V. S. I. 3. 15, where the meaning of the word 'brahmaloka' in Chāndogya-Up. VIII. 3. 2 is in question, says that the niṣādasthapatinyāya applies and so 'brahmaloka' means 'brahma as the goal' and not 'the world of brahma.' Manu XI. 54 enumerates five Mahāpātakas (deadly sins), one of which is 'gurvaṅganāgama' (sexual intercourse with gurvaṅganā). Commentators have differed about the meaning of this word, some like Bhavadeva in Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa stating that, following niṣādasthapatinyāya, the word must be dissolved as a Karmadhāraya compound (guruḥ or gurvī cāsau aṅganā ca), the meaning being one's own mother, while many others dissolve it as a tatpuruṣa compound meaning 'guror or gurūṇām aṅganā' (which would then include a step-mother, an elder brother's wife and teacher's wife &c.). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 23–25 for a discussion of this.

Prabhākara held that no word was significant in isolation, but that words became significant when joined together in a

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समासात्कर्मधारयो बलीयानिति स्थितमेव। भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 3. 15; मायश्चित्ते तु यथा स्थपतीष्टौ मन्त्रादिरहितोऽपि साक्षाच्छ्रुत्या निषादः कर्तृतया गृहीतस्तथा शूद्रः मायश्चित्तेषु। अपरार्क on या. III. 262 p. 1090. In the Ait. Br. 37. 7 niṣādas, selagas and evil-doers are spoken of as robbing a rich man and running away with the booty,

sentence. Therefore, he and his followers were called 'anvitābhidhānavādinaḥ' as opposed to Kumārila and his followers who held that words have different senses of their own and then they combine in a sentence and yield a further sense of the sentence. These latter were called 'abhihitānvayavādinaḥ'. Vide notes to Sāhityadarpaṇa (I., II., X) pp. 86–88 for explanations of these two terms by the present writer (ed. of 1956).

Let us now turn to the interpretation of *vākya* (sentence). The Ṛgveda and the Sāmaveda are metrical and therefore there is generally no difficulty in arriving at what constitutes in them one syntactical unit (vākya). But much of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda is in prose. Therefore, PMS (II. 1. 46) defines[2122] what makes one vākya by stating that when a number of words serve a single purpose, but if one or a few of those words are separated from the rest, the latter words are incomplete in effecting a purpose and stand in need of the words separated, then all these words make one vākya. An example is the mantra 'I offer thee, that art dear to Agni, at the command of God Savitṛ with the arms of Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan'. This is one sentence, the purpose of which is nirvāpa (offering). For other definitions of *vakya*, vide the author's notes on Sāhityadarpaṇa (II. 1) p. 34. For constituting words into a sentence with an understandable meaning expectancy[2123] (ākāṅkṣā), compatibility (yogyatā) and proximity (sannidhi) are required, particularly the first. For example, Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 3 says that without ākāṅkṣā there is no cognition

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2122. अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 46; अत्र प्रश्लिष्टपठितेषु यजुःषु कथमवगम्येत, इयदेकं यजुरिति। यावता पदसमूहेनेज्यते तावान्पदसमूह एकं यजुः। कियता चेज्यते। यावता क्रियाया उपकारः प्रकाश्यते तावत्। वक्तव्याद् वाक्यमित्युच्यते। तस्मादेकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यं यदि च विभज्यमानं साकाङ्क्षं पदं भवति। किमुदाहरणं देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसव इति। शबर. The मन्त्र is देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यामग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामि (तै. सं. I. 1. 4. 2, काठक I. 4) and is one वाक्य from देवस्य to निर्वपामि. Vide also शबर on I. 1. 25 (तच्छ्रुतानां क्रियार्थेन समाम्नायोऽर्थस्य तन्निमित्तत्वात्). The word अर्थ in both sūtras means प्रयोजन. The न्यायसुधा takes the word 'artha' as meaning 'sense' (अभिधेय) in order to give to the sūtra a wider scope while Śabara appears to limit it to yajus texts and holds that अर्थ means प्रयोजन. Vide also यावन्ति पदान्येकं प्रयोजनमभिनिर्वर्तयन्ति तावन्त्येकं वाक्यम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू. II. 2. 27 p. 560. The कात्या. श्रौ. has a similar sūtra 'तेषां वाक्यं निराकाङ्क्षम्' I.3.2. The com. explains तेषां as यजुषाम्.

2123. आकाङ्क्षा सन्निधानं च योग्यता चेति च त्रयम्। सम्बन्धकारणत्वेन कृत्स्नं नानन्तरश्रुतिः॥ तन्त्रवा. p 455; वाक्यबोधे समाम्नानामङ्गाङ्गित्वाद्यपेक्षया। वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहृत्य जायते॥ तन्त्रवा. p. 366 on I. 4. 24 (सन्निधेषु वाक्यशेषात्). This verse is q. in the साहित्यदर्पण II. 1; न चाकाङ्क्षामन्तरेणैकवाक्यतामतिपत्तिरस्ति। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 4, 3.

that the words form a *vākya*. The word *ekavākyatā* occurs in V. S. III. 4. 24 and conveys that there is a twofold ākāṅkṣā viz. grammatical as well as psychological. It is the listener or reader who has, on hearing or reading a word, a desire to know another idea or word to get a complete sense. When several sentences, each conveying its own sense as far as it goes, are brought together having regard to the fact that one of them may be principal and the others auxiliary, they form one syntactical whole. This shows that sentences are of two kinds, vākyas and mahāvākyas, as the Sāhityadarpaṇa puts it.

It follows from the definition and the bhāṣya thereon that, in order to constitute a vākya, three conditions are necessary viz. (1) there must be a number of words uttered or put down together (padasamūha), (2) the words must have an expectancy for each other (i. e. if a word in the collection is dropped no complete sense can be had), (3) all the words must serve one purpose or convey together one meaning (arthaikatva, acc. to another view). It is not absolutely necessary that the words in order to form a vākya must be in close proximity. Even if some words intervene there may be a sentence, provided there is ākāṅkṣā between the words. Śabara on PMS IV. 3.11 illustrates this well as stated in the note.[2124] In the verse quoted 'paśyasi' is to be connected with 'jaradgavam', though several other words intervene. Though there is proximity (sannidhi) between 'pinakṣi' and 'jaradgavam' they do not form a sentence as there is no capacity as also ākāṅkṣā between the two. The upshot is that sannidhi (proximity) of words is generally required to form a sentence, though not necessarily required in every case.

The different parts of a *mantra* text, meant to serve different purposes, may be regarded as distinct sentences. For example, the mantra in Tai. Br.[2125] (III. 7.5) 'I make an agreeable

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2124. व्यवहितमपि पराणुद्य व्यवधायकमानन्तर्येण मनसि विपरिवर्तमानमलमेव भवति विशेषमुपजनयितुम्। यथा। इतः पश्यसि धावन्तं दूरे जातं वनस्पतिम्। त्वां भवीमि विशालाक्षि या पिनक्षि जरद्गवम्॥ इति। अत्र इतः पश्यसीति शब्दो बुद्धौ भवति। सः दूरे जातं वनस्पतिमित्येतैः पदैर्व्यवहितेन जरद्गवमित्यनेन शब्देन व्यवधायकान्यपोह्य सम्बध्यमानः सम्बध्यते। यानि पुनरर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानि तान्यानन्तर्येपि सति न परस्परेण सम्बन्धमर्हन्ति यथा, या पिनक्षि जरद्गवमित्येवमादीनि। शबर on पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 11 p. 1254; भामती on वे. सू. III. 4 21 states नहि समभिव्याहृतैरेवैकवाक्यता भवतीति कश्चिन्नियमहेतुरस्ति। अनुपलक्षितवेशलब्धैरपि विध्यसमभिव्याहृतैरर्थवादैरेकवाक्यतास्युपगमात्।'.

2125. श्योनं ते सदनं कृणोमि घृतस्य धारया सुहोतं कल्पयामि। तस्मिन् सीदामृते प्रतितिष्ठ व्रीहीणां मेध सुमनस्यमानः॥ तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 5. शबर says (on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 46) ह्रे तु प्रयोजने क्रियेते सदनकरणं पुरोडाशप्रतिष्ठापनं च। तस्माद् भिन्ने वाक्ये पूर्वं सदनकरणे विनियुज्यते, उत्तरं पुरोडाशप्रतिष्ठापने।.

seat (or abode) for thee (O cake!), I prepare it as a very happy one with a stream of clarified butter; do sit thereon with pleased mind, be established in ambrosia, O sacrificial essence of rice'. These are two sentences, the first part being concerned with making a seat, the latter part being concerned with depositing the *puroḍāśa* on the seat. Similarly, in the passage 'I (cut) thee (O palāśa branch) for food, I (wash or rub) thee for vigour' there are two different sentences, that are independent of each other, as the Śat. Br. employs these with the words 'he cuts the palāśa[2126] branch with the words 'for food (I cut) thee', he washes it with the words 'for vigour thee'. The same rule applies to the ten different clauses 'āyuryajñena kalpatām, prāṇo yajñena kalpatām' in Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2. They are all different sentences.[2127]

The doctrine of Vākyabheda plays a very important part in Mīmāṁsā as well as in Dharmaśāstra. Vākyabheda literally means 'split of sentences'. When the sentences are equally independent and one sentence does not require or expect words from the other sentence to complete it, they should be treated as separate sentences. This is one sense of 'Vākyabheda.' Another and more frequent sense of Vākyabheda is as follows: The underlying principle of vākyabheda is that one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate *vidhis* (prescriptions) or that when a certain matter has already been prescribed and then several auxiliary matters are to be prescribed, prescribing[2128] all the auxiliaries in one sentence would

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2126. समेषु वाक्यभेदः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 47; समेषु परस्परानाकाङ्क्षेषु वाक्यं भिद्यते। इषे त्वा इत्यनेनैकोऽर्थः क्रियते, ऊर्जे त्वा इत्यनेनापरः।... श्रुत्या तु गम्यते इषे त्वेति छिनत्ति ऊर्जे त्वेत्यनुमार्ष्टि इति। इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा are the very first words of तै. सं. The शतपथ I. 7. 1. 2 has तमाच्छिनत्ति इषे त्वोर्जे त्वेति. The sūtra may be explained as समेषु परस्परनिरपेक्षतया तुल्येषु यज्ञुर्भेदः स्यात्।.

2127. तत्रैकामायुःकृप्तिं 'आयुर्यज्ञेन कल्पताम्' इत्येष मन्त्रः शक्नोति वक्तुम्। प्राणो यज्ञेन कल्पताम्—इत्ययमपि प्राणकृप्तिमपराम्। एवं तु सर्वे कृप्तिविशेषवचनाः। शबर on II. I. 47.

2128. प्राप्ते कर्मण्यनेकगुणविधाने वाक्यभेदापत्तेः। यथाहुः। प्राप्ते कर्मणि० (तन्त्रवा. p. 485 on II. 2.6 quoted in n. 2119). अत्र कर्मपदवत् गुणेऽप्युपलक्षणम्। एकोद्देशेनानेकविधाने वाक्यभेदात्। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 36, 39. All this is based on Śabara's words 'कर्मचोदना वा आग्नेयादयः स्युः। कुतः। गुणानां युगपच्छासनात्। एकेनैव वाक्येनाम्नानेको गुणो विधातुमिष्यते भवता। न च शब्दान्तरेण चोदिते कर्मण्यनेको गुणः परस्परसम्बन्धे चासति शक्यते विधातुम्। (on II. 2. 6. pp. 485–486), Vide also शबर on p. 593 on II. 3. 4. The मदनपारिजात (on p. 88) has an elaborate discussion upon the proper tithi and time for upākarma in which it echoes the very words of the तन्त्रवा. quoted at the beginning of this note, when मद. पा. states 'तथा च दुष्परिहरणीयो वाक्यभेदः प्राप्ते कर्मण्यनेकगुणविधानात्'.

give rise to the fault of vākyabheda (syntactical split of sentence). In Tai. S. there is the following passage 'the sacrificial post is to be of *udumbara* tree, the udumbara (tree) is vigour, cattle is vigour; he obtains for him (the sacrificer) by means of vigour ūrj (i. e. by udumbara post) vigour (i. e. cattle) for the attainment of vigour'. This is one syntactical whole (vākya). If it be said that there is a vidhi prescribing the use of udumbara post in a sacrifice and that there is also another vidhi about the fruit viz. securing vigour (i. e. cattle); this would give rise to vākyabheda. Therefore there are no two vidhis in the sentence but only a vidhi and an arthavāda (praise).[2129] Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. III. 3. 57 remarks 'ekaṁ hīdam vākyam Vaiśvānaravidyāviṣayam paurvāparyālocanāt pratiyate ... ekavākyatāvagatau satyām vākyabheda-kalpanasyānyāyyatvāt.' This is said with reference to the first aspect of the idea of Vākyabheda.

The basic idea underlying the latter sense of vākyabheda is this. If an act or a substance or a secondary matter has already been the subject of a vidhi and if concerning the act (or substances &c.) a number of other matters (actions, substances &c.) are enjoined in one sentence, there would be vākyabheda (i. e. there would have to be a separate vidhi for each of the other matters relating to what has already been the subject of a *vidhi*). On the other hand, if an action, substance or a *guṇa* is enjoined for the first time along with several secondary matters in one sentence, there would be no fault of vākyabheda i. e. in a single vākya however long or containing many matters, if there is a single vidhi there is no fault. If, in the passage quoted on p. 1258 above[2130] 'one desiring prosperity should offer in sacrifice a white animal to Vāyu', one were to hold that first there is to be a *vidhi* about prosperity as the fruit or reward, there would be two vidhis and so the fault of vākyabheda, but if one holds that the vidhi is only concerned with offering a white animal and what follows 'vāyurvai kṣepiṣṭhā.....bhūtim gamayati' is merely an arthavāda (praise of the preceding vidhi), there is no vākyabheda. The fault of vākya-

2129. विधौ च वाक्यभेदः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. I. 2. 25; औदुम्बरो यूपो भवतीति विधावेतस्मिन्नाश्रीयमाणे ऊर्जोऽवरुध्यै इत्येतस्मिंश्च वाक्यं भिद्येत। इत्यौदुम्बरो यूपः पशवस्तः स चोर्जोवरुद्ध्या इति। शबर.

2130. भूतिकाम इत्येतदन्तो विध्युद्देशः। तेनैकवाक्यभूतो वायुर्वै क्षेपिष्ठा देवतेत्येवमादि ... वाक्यं हि सम्बन्धस्य विधायकं द्वौ चेत्सम्बन्धौ विदध्यात्, भूतिकाम आलभेत, आलम्भेन चैष गुणो भविष्यतीति। भिद्येत तर्हि एवं सति वाक्यम्। शबर on I. 2. 7 pp. 117 and 119.

bheda arises when more vidhis than one are held to occur in the same vākya.[2131]

A few examples must be cited to illustrate the principle of *vākyabheda*. A simple example is 'graham sammārṣṭi'. If one were to interpret this as meaning 'he is to clean the cup' and also as meaning that only a single cup is to be cleaned there would be vākyabheda. Therefore, it was decided that the singular number in 'graham' is not to be insisted upon and cleaning of all cups was to be resorted to; otherwise there would be two vidhis viz. 'graham sammṛjyāt' and 'ekam-eva sammṛjyāt'. Śabara quotes (on PMS I. 3. 3) a *śruti* 'one who has a son and whose hair is dark should consecrate the vedic fires'. *Agnyādhāna* is laid down by śruti texts such as Tai. Br. I. 1. 2. 6, Śat. II. 1. 2. Therefore, the above text only lays down certain subsidiary matters about it. A man may have dark hair but no son or he may have a son when his hair is turning grey. Therefore, if that sentence is meant to prescribe both attributes (having a son and also having dark hair), there would be two distinct vidhis in the same *vākya*, that is, there would be the fault of vākya-bheda, which has to be avoided. Therefore, that sentence must be understood as indicating a certain age viz. he must not be a mere boy (at the time of agnyādhāna) but of an age to bear a son, nor very old (when hair turns grey), i. e. he must be neither too young nor too old at the time of agnyādhāna. A lakṣaṇā as regards the words 'jātaputraḥ' and 'kṛṣṇakeśaḥ' is resorted to and lakṣaṇā is only a fault as to a word, while vākyabheda is a fault of a sentence and therefore lakṣaṇā should be preferred to vākyabheda. The V. M. quotes (p. 115) the verse of Manu[2132]

2131. बहवोऽपि ह्यर्था युगपदेकेन सम्बध्यन्ते। न च तावता वाक्यं भिद्यते। अनेक-विधितो हि वाक्यभेद उक्तः। तन्त्रवा. p. 551 on II. 2 26.

2132. This text of Manu has been a subject of several conflicting judicial decisions, which are now of no use since there is now a law governing Hindu Adoptions viz. the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act 78 of 1956, by section 12 proviso b of which the decisions in 40 Bom. 429 and in some later cases have been set aside. Those interested may read the present author's notes in his translation of the V. M. pp. 121–123 and the footnotes and his paper (Brief sketch of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system' pp. 37-38 (ABORI, vol. VI, pp. 1-40) and also H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 690–697. In *Dattatreya* V. *Govind* I.L.R 40 Bom. 429 (where a person, in whom property had already become vested as the sole surviving male in the family, was given in adoption into another family) it was held, relying on Manu IX. 142, that on adoption that person lost all rights to the property of the

(*Continued on next page*)

IX. 142 'the son given shall not have (share) the family name (*gotra*) and the wealth (*riktha*) of his natural father; the *piṇḍa* (cake offered to deceased ancestors) follows the family name and the wealth; of him who gives (his son in adoption) the *svadhā* (obsequies) cease (so far as that son is concerned)'. After citing the above smṛti passage 'one having a son' and another text for the position of the sacrificial post (vide PMS III. 7. 13–14) with reference to the altar, the V. M. holds that one should not merely emphasize the words *gotra*, *riktha*, *piṇḍa* and *svadhā* used by Manu and take them literally but should hold that the verse contains a lakṣaṇā (indicated meaning); it indicates the cessation of all those consequences that are due to connection with the piṇḍa in the case of the natural father and Manu says nothing about the property taken by a son before he is given in adoption into another family.

Another illustration of vākyabheda can be cited from the law of re-union. The Mit., Dāyabhāga and Sm. C. (on Vyavahāra p. 302) quote a text[2133] of Bṛhaspati 'that man who being once separated from his father, brother, or paternal uncle again dwells

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(*Continued from last page*)

natural family that had become vested in him before adoption. That decision holds that Manu laid down two propositions, viz. (1) a man forfeits by adoption into another family the property that once belonged to the family and that became vested in him before adoption, (2) A person given in adoption into another family does not, after the adoption, take any property of the family to which he belonged but whose connection with the family ceased after adoption. These are two distinct propositions and to hold that Manu's text is capable of these two propositions is liable to the fault of Vākyabheda. The V. M. (p. 115) further relies on the construction of another vedic text 'He fixes half of the yūpa inside the vedi and half outside it.' This is interpreted by PMS III. 7. 13–14, Śabara and the Tantravārtika as merely indicating a certain region for the fixing of the yūpa and that the words are not to be taken literally, because in that case there would be Vākyabheda. The दुपटीका brings out the meaning clearly. 'समस्तस्य यूपस्यान्तर्वहिर्वा माने प्राप्ते-अर्धमन्तर्वेदि-इति नियम्यते। द्वितीयस्यार्धस्य पुनरप्य-नियमप्रसक्तौ – अर्धं बहिर्वेदि – इत्यपि विधातव्यम्। ततश्चानेकार्थत्वाद्वाक्यभेदो मिलित्वाक्या-तानुषङ्गक्लेशश्च प्रसज्यते। अतश्चेदृशमवधारणमर्धमन्तरवेद्येव न त्वर्धमेवान्तर्वेदीति। तथा सति चार्धान्तरमनियतत्वात् कदाचिदन्तरपि प्राप्नोतीति न बहिर्भावः सिद्ध्यतीति। ... तस्माद्द्वाभ्यां विशिष्ट एको देशोऽभिधीयत इत्येवमवाक्यभेदः।'.

2133. विभक्तं धनं पुनर्मिश्रीकृतं संसृष्टं तदस्यास्तीति संसृष्टी। संसृष्टत्वं च न येन केनापि किन्तु पित्रा भ्रात्रा पितृव्येण वा। यथाह बृहस्पतिः। विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकत्र संस्थितः। पितृव्येणाथ वा प्रीत्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते॥ मिता. on या. II 138; व्यवहार chap. 12 quotes बृहस्पति and remarks 'परिगणितव्यतिरिक्तेषु संसर्गकृतो विशेषो नादरणीयः परिगणनानर्थक्यात्'.

through affection with them (or any of them) is said to be re-united with them (or him)'. According to the Mit., a reunion is possible only with father, brother and paternal uncle and with no one else, since no one else is mentioned in the text of Bṛhaspati. The V. M. does not approve of this limitation and says that a re-union is possible with all or any of those that participated in the partition and that the three persons, father, brother and uncle are mentioned only by way of illustration (i. e. there is *lakṣaṇā*). A man may separate not only from the three named persons but also from his paternal grand-father, the grandson of his brother and the son of his paternal uncle and several other persons and therefore the construction of the text of Bṛhaspati by the Mit. is liable to the fault of vākyabheda, since on that interpretation there would be two separate propositions viz. (1) that man is to be called re-united who having become separate again stays together with the one from whom he separated, (2) one can re-unite only with the father, brother, or paternal uncle. Thus there would be two distinct prescriptions in one sentence. Therefore, one should have recourse to *lakṣaṇā* viz. that the three named persons indicate a class of persons from whom one may have separated but with whom he then stayed together. The Vīramitrodaya (on Vyavahāra), V. R. (pp. 605–67), V. C. p. 533 hold the same view as that of the V. M.[2134]

The Smṛticandrikā provides that after the death of a man when the sons divide, the mother is entitled to a share equal to that of each son if the estate to be divided is not very large, but if the estate be very large she is to get as much only as would be necessary for her maintenance (although Yāj. II. 123 and others employ the words '*samam aṁśam*'). The Madanaratna on Vyavahāra criticizes this as a bad provision on the ground that it is vitiated by Vākyabheda, since there would be two different propositions (vidhis) about the meaning to be attached to the

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2134. अत्र पितृभ्रातृपितृव्यैरेव सह संसृष्टता नान्येन वचनेनोपादानादिति मिताक्षरादिषु। विभागकर्तृसामान्याधिकरण्येनैव सेति युक्तम्। पित्रादिपदानि तु विभागकर्तुमात्रोपलक्षकाणि। अर्धमन्तर्वेदि मिनोत्यर्धं बहिर्वेदीतिवत्। अन्यथा वाक्यभेदात्। व्य. म. p. 146. This text (अर्धमन्तर्वेदि etc.) is discussed in P.M.S. III. 7. 13–14 (तथा यूपस्य वेदिः। देशमात्रं वाऽशिष्येणैकवाक्यत्वात्) and the conclusion is that this text is not to be taken literally (since in that case there would be two propositions and the fault of Vākyabheda) but as merely indicating the region where the sacrificial post is to be planted. Vide the author's notes in translation of V. M. p. 191.

words 'samam aṁśam' (equal share) according as the estate to be divided is large or small.[2135]

There is another principle about sentences called 'anuṣaṅga' (elliptical extension) or the extension of a word, phrase or clause from a sentence to another or other sentences, provided all those sentences are of the same type or form. This is one type of *anuṣaṅga*. Another type is where each of two or more sentences appears to be complete by itself, but there are certain words of a subordinate character in the last sentence of a passage which have to be taken up or understood in the preceding sentences. This latter is also called *anukarṣa*. In the three *upasads* of Jyotiṣṭoma, the first[2136] is in honour of Agni in which the mantra is 'yā to Agne ayāśayā tanūr-varṣiṣṭhā gavhareṣṭhogram vaco apāvadhīm tveṣam vaco apāvadhīm svāhā'; the other two Upasads have the two mantras 'yā te Agne rajāśaya' and 'yā te Agne harāśayā' which are incomplete and in need of complementary words to complete the sentences. The conclusion is that the words 'Varṣiṣṭhā ... svāhā' are to be supplied from the first sentence and not other words from the popular language that one may choose. Another passage of the Tai.[2137] S. is 'cit-patistvā punātu, vākpatis-tvā punātu, devas-tvā savitā punatvacchidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ'. Here the first two clauses appear to be prima facie complete, but when we look to the last clause where the word 'punātu' is particularised by certain other words, we at once feel that the first two clauses also should be connected with the words 'acchidreṇa... raśmibhiḥ' and that then they would be quite complete.

2135. यत्पुनः स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायां समशब्दस्य सार्थकत्वमुक्तं विभाज्यधनस्य भूयस्त्वे जीवनमात्रोपयोगि-धनग्रहणं स्वल्पत्वे तु समांशहरणमेव, न तु जीवनोपयोगमपेक्षादधिकहरण-मित्येवमर्थः समशब्द इति तदसुन्दरम् । कदाचिज्जीवनमात्रोपयोगिधनग्रहणविधानं कदाचित्-समांशग्रहणविधानमिति वाक्यभेदापादकविधिवैरूप्यप्रसङ्गात् । मदनरत्न on व्यवहार p. 331. Vide स्मृतिच. II. p. 268.

2136. अनुषङ्गे वाक्यसमाप्तिः सर्वेषु तुल्ययोगित्वात् । पू. मी. सू II. 1. 48; या ते अग्ने अयाशया तनूर्वर्षिष्ठा गह्वरेष्ठोग्रं वचोऽपावधीं त्वेषं वचोऽपावधीं स्वाहा, या ते अग्ने रजाशया, या ते अग्ने हराशया इति। अत्र सन्देहः । तनूर्वर्षिष्ठेति किं सर्वेष्वनुषक्तव्यामाहोस्विल्लौकिको वाक्यशेषः कर्तव्य इति । For the mantra, vide तै. सं. I. 2. 11. 2 and वाज. सं. V. 8. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1151 n. 2562. The वाज. सं. and शतपथ III. 4. 4. 23–25 read अयःशया, रजःशया and हरिशया.

2137. चित्पतिस्त्वा ... रश्मिभिः । तै. सं. I. 2. 1. 2; शबर on PMS. II. 1. 48 says अथेह कथं भवितव्यम्, यत्र निराकांक्षाणां संनिधौ परिपूरणसमर्थः श्रूयते। यथा चित्पतिं ... रश्मिभिरिति । ... एकश्चासौ पुनातुशब्दः पुनः पुनरुच्चरितः । तेनावगच्छामो यत्र पुनातु-शब्दः प्रयुक्तस्तत्र तेनैकवाक्यत्वादाच्छिद्रेणेत्ययमपि प्रयोक्तव्यः । ... स च पुनातुशब्दोऽ-च्छिद्रेणेत्यनेन विशिष्टः । तेन पुनातुशब्देन साहचर्येण नियोगतः सर्वे निराकांक्षीकर्तव्याः ।.

The V. M. has a long disquisition on the principle of anuṣaṅga applied by the Mit. and Madanaratna to the succession to the wealth of one who died re-united. Yāj. II. 135–136 lay down the order of succession to the wealth of a person dying sonless. Yāj. II. 137 deals with succession to the property of a forest hermit, an ascetic or a perpetual Vedic student. The Mit. then holds that Yāj. II. 138 'saṁsṛṣṭinastu saṁsṛṣṭī' is to be construed as an exception to Yāj. II. 135–136 and understands that the words 'of one dying without having a son' (grandson or great-grandson) are to be supplied before Yāj. II. 138 from II. 136 (i. e. there is to be anuṣaṅga of the words 'svaryātasyāputrasya'. The V. M. does not approve of this and states that there is no rational ground for applying the principle of anuṣaṅga and therefore the order of succession to the property left by one re-united propounded by V. M. becomes different from that of the Mit. The whole discussion is rather abstruse and lengthy and the present writer feels that the space required for exposition should be saved. Those interested may consult the exhaustive notes (pp. 265–275) in the edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha (Poona, 1926) on the passages of the V. M. beginning with the one in the note below.[2138]

This principle of anuṣaṅga cannot apply where words of a different type intervene between the several sentences. For example, when the animal to be offered is killed a long passage occurs which contains the[2139] words 'sam te prāṇo vāyunā gacchatām, sam yajatrair-aṅgāni, sam yajñapatir-āśiṣā' &c. (may your limbs be joined to the worshipful deities and may the sacrificer be united to blessing &c). Here the first clause is

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2138. संसृष्टिधनहरणाधिकारिणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदरः। पत्नी दुहितरः (या. 2. 135–136) इत्यादेरपवादोऽयम्। ... यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरमदनादयोऽपवादस्योत्सर्गसमानविषयत्वनियमात् पूर्वोक्त-स्वर्यातस्यापुत्रस्येत्येतत्पदानुषङ्गाच्चैतदपि पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रहीनविषयम्; । अतस्ताद्दशसुतसंसृष्टिधनमसंसृष्टिसंनिहितपत्न्यादिसद्भावेऽन्यः संसृष्ट्येव गृह्णीयादिति। तच्चिन्त्यम्। तेन विनापि गतौ सम्भवस्यामनुषङ्गे मानाभावात्। व्य. म. p. 147; vide मदनरत्न (on व्यवहार) p. 372 'न च संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टीति याज्ञवल्क्यवाक्येऽपुत्रस्येति पदाश्रवणात्संसृष्टिमरणमेव प्रयोजकमिति वाच्यं, स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्येति वाक्योपात्तस्यापुत्रस्येति पदस्य स्वर्यातस्येतिपदवत् संसृष्टिवाक्येऽनुषङ्गात्।'.

2139. व्यवायाच्चानुषज्येत। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 49; शबर says सं ते वायुर्वातेन गच्छतां सं यजत्रैरङ्गानि सं यज्ञपतिराशिषा इति। वायुर्वातेन गच्छताम्—इत्येव सं यजत्रैरङ्गानि—इति बहुवचनान्तेन व्यवहितत्वात् सं यज्ञपतिराशिषा इत्यत्र नानुषज्यते। ... तस्माद्बहुवचनान्तस्य परस्य च तद्वत्त्वेतस्य लौकिको वाक्यशेषः कर्तव्य इति।'. The तै. सं. I. 3.8. 1 reads 'सं ते प्राणो वायुना'. It is probable that Śabara quotes from memory or sets out the mantra from the Mai. Saṁhitā I. 2. 15 which reads सं ते वायुर्वातेन.

separated from the 3rd clause by a clause in which there are two words in the plural while the first and third clauses have two words in the singular; therefore there is no anuṣaṅga of the words of the first clause into the 2nd and one may employ for completing the sense of the 3rd clause some ordinary word from popular language (and not the words from the 1st clause).

Veda enjoins many acts such as performing a *yāga*, casting an oblation into fire, making a gift, milking a cow, melting clarified butter &c, but all are not on the same level. Some are *pradhāna* (primary [2140] or principal), while others are guṇa-bhūta (subsidiary). The acts denoted by words such as Prayājas by which some substance is not embellished or not made fit or is not produced are primary, while those which produce a substance or make it fit (such as pounding in the case of grains of paddy) are subsidiary. Acts are further classified into various groups such as *nitya*, *naimittika* or *kāmya* or as kratvartha and puruṣārtha. These have already been explained. There are six means [2141] by which is ascertained the difference or non-difference among acts viz. (1) śabdāntara (different words, such as yajati, juhoti, dadāti, i. e. yāga, homa, dāna are different acts); abhyāsa [2142] (repetition) as in 'samidho yajati, tanūnapātam yajati' &c. (Tai. S. II. 6. 1. 1-2), where the word yajati is repeated five times and therefore there are five different acts prescribed; (3) saṅkhyā (number) as in 'he sacrifices seventeen animals to Prajāpati' (Tai. Br. I. 3. 4. 3), which are seventeen distinct acts; (4) *guṇa* (an accessory detail such as the deity

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2140. तानि द्वैधं गुणप्रधानभूतानि। यैर्द्रव्यं न चिकीर्ष्यते तानि प्रधानभूतानि द्रव्यस्य गुणभूतत्वात्। यैस्तु द्रव्यं चिकीर्ष्यते गुणस्तत्र प्रतीयेत तस्य द्रव्यप्रधानत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 6-8.

2141. तदिह षड्विधः कर्मभेदो वक्ष्यते-शब्दान्तरं, अभ्यासः, संख्या, गुणः, प्राक्रिया, नामधेयमिति। ..... तदेतज्ज्ञानाकर्मलक्षणमित्यध्यायमाचक्षते ..... । शबर on पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 1 'भावार्थाः कर्मशब्दास्तेभ्यः क्रिया प्रतीयेतैव ह्यर्थो विधीयते।'. These six are mentioned in P. M. S. II. 2. 1., II. 2. 2 (अभ्यास), II. 2. 21 (संख्या), II. 2. 23 (गुण), II. 2. 22 (नामधेय or संज्ञा), प्रकरण (or प्राक्रिया) in II. 3. 24. Śabara mentions the six in one order, while the P. M. S. deals with them in a slightly different order. Parāśara I. 38 says that a man should be intent on six actions, viz. bath, sandhyā etc. and relies on śabdāntara to establish that they are six distinct acts and not one composite act. Vide परा. मा. I. 1. 2.

2142. For the distinction between yāga, homa and dāna, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 714 n. 1703.

or substance in such a passage as 'when curds[2143] are put into heated milk it turns into curdled solid mass *āmikṣā* which is offered to Viśvedevas and the liquid called vājina is to be offered to Vājins, these two being two distinct offerings); (5) prakaraṇa, (context). In the sentence 'one should offer agnihotra' (Tai. S. I. 5. 9. 1) there is a vidhi of the daily performance of Agnihotra. In the Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana[2144] it is said 'he offers agnihotra for a month'. Since this last occurs in a different context altogether (while the former occurs in the context of Darśa-pūrṇamāsa), this sentence (from Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana) deals with a different act from that of the daily Agnihotra. (6) The name (Sañjñā) also differentiates acts, since they occur in utpattivākya (originative injunction) as in the passage quoted in the note below.[2145] This technique about determining what actions are different on account of the several grounds noted above, was employed by Hemādri, the Kālanirṇaya and the Nirṇayasindhu in deciding whether Janmāṣṭamīvrata and Jayantīvrata are really one vrata or separate vratas. Vide pp. 132–133 above.

It has already been stated above (p. 1228) that there are four kinds of vidhis of which viniyogavidhi is one. This last conveys the relation between a religious act as principal (*śeṣin or aṅgin*) and[2146] its auxiliaries (aṅgas). This is the concern of the third chapter of the P. M. S., which first defines 'śeṣa', states why it is called 'śeṣa', how it is employed in religious acts, what are the means of determining the relation of śeṣa to śeṣin and the comparative strength of each of the means.

2143. तसे पयसि दध्यानयति सा वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा वाजिन्यो वाजिनम्।, शबर on IV. 1. 23 cites this and states 'आमिक्षायां दधिपयसी विद्येते न वाजिने। ... वाजिने तिक्तकटुको रसः।'. वैश्वदेवी is a तद्धित meaning विश्वेदेवाः देवता अस्याः, formed acc. to पाणिनि IV. 2. 24 'तस्य देवता'; वाजिनामिक्षारूपगुणभेदाद्वाजिनद्रव्यकं कर्मान्तरम्' आमिक्षाद्रव्यकं च कर्मान्तरमिति चिन्तितम्। वाजिनं नामामिक्षोत्पत्तिशिष्टमुदकम्। आमिक्षा नाम पयोदधिमिश्रणजनितं दृढाकारं द्रव्यम्। सर्वदर्शनकौमुदी p. 100 (T. S. S.). शङ्कराचार्य mentions this text on वे. सू. III. 3. 1. In तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 2. 5 we have 'वैश्वदेव्यामिक्षा भवति। वैश्वदेव्यो वै प्रजाः। ... वाजिनमानयति।'. आमिक्षा is the प्रयोजक (inducing force or motive) of putting curds into boiled milk and vājina is not the prayojaka, since in producing āmikṣā it appears of itself.

2144. शबर on VII. 3. 1 says कुण्डपायिनामयने श्रूयते मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति। तत्रैतत्समधिगतं नैयमिकादग्निहोत्रात्कर्मान्तरमेतादिति।.

2145. संज्ञा चोत्पत्तिसंयोगात्। पू. मी. सू. II. 2. 22; शबर 'अथैष ज्योतिरथैष विश्वज्योतिरथैष सर्वज्योतिः। एतेन सहस्रदक्षिणेन यजेत इति श्रूयते।. The conclusion is that all the three are names of three different acts.

2146. अङ्गलक्षणमेवेदमिहोक्तं शेषलक्षणम्। तद्धिशेषमपश्यत्वात्तत्राम्यान्तर्गतिरिष्यतेः॥ तन्त्रवा. p. 647 on पू. मी. सू. III. 1. 1.

Some examples of aṅga and aṅgin may have to be given here. In 'vrihīn prokṣati' (he sprinkles rice grains with water) the sprinkling (prokṣaṇa) is an *aṅga* (stands in a subsidiary relation to) of rice grains as directly shown by the objective case (vrihīn). The prokṣaṇa (is motivated by) has the purpose of contributing to the transcendental result (the *apūrva*), since what is meant is that if, without the sprinkling of water on the rice grains, a sacrifice (yāga) were performed, apūrva would not be brought about. To take another example,[2147] 'he takes hold of the bridle of the horse with (the mantra beginning with) 'they took hold of the bridle of ṛta (cosmic order)'. Here the direct assertion (śruti) shown by the objective case in 'raśanām' shows that that mantra stands in a subordinate relation to (is an aṅga of) the bridle of the horse, since the utterance of it when taking hold of the bridle of the horse effects a saṁskāra in the bridle and taking hold is also an aṅga of the horse bridle (which is in the objective case), just as prokṣaṇa is an aṅga of rice grains.

It has already been stated that 'śeṣa' means 'what subserves the purpose of another' and it is śeṣa of that other (P. M. S. III. 1. 2 'Śeṣaḥ parārthatvāt') and that, according to Bādari (III. 1. 3) 'to substances, properties (like reddish colour of a cow), saṁskāras[2148] (what makes a person or thing fit for being employed in a yāga or for any other purpose) the word śeṣa is always applied, while, acc. to Jaimini (III. 1. 4-6) religious rites are śeṣa to the result or fruit (expressed or implied), the fruit is śeṣa to the agent of religious acts and an agent is śeṣa to certain acts. The word 'śeṣa' is often employed by Dharmaśāstra works. For example, the Mit. while commenting on Yāj. II. 118-119 states that the first half of verse 118 is śeṣa to all the rest[2149] (i. e. serves the purpose of the remaining verse and a half). The result is (if the Mit. be followed) that if a gift is

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2147. 'Imām-agṛbhṇan raśanām-ṛtasya-ityaśvābhidhānīm-ādatte':—this occurs in Tai. S. V. 1. 2. 1. The words 'imām-agṛbhṇan raśanām-ṛtasya' constitute a quarter of the mantra in Tai. S. IV. 1. 2. 1.

2148. संस्कारो नाम स भवति यस्मिञ्जाते पदार्थो भवति योग्यः कस्यचिदर्थस्य। तेनापि क्रियायां कर्तव्यायां प्रयोजनमिति सोपि परार्थः। शाबर on PMS III. 1. 3; तथा संस्कारोप्यवहन्त्यादिर्यागसाधनपुरोडाशादिनिर्वृत्तये चोदितानां व्रीह्यादीनां स्वरूपेणायोग्यत्वादवहतानां योग्यत्वमापाद्ययज्ञत्पत्त्यैवाङ्गं भवतीति। तन्त्रवा. on the same p. 660.

2149. अत्र च पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यत्किंचित्स्वयमर्जितमिति सर्वशेषः। ... तथा पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्यस्य सर्वशेषत्वादेव पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन प्रतिग्रहलब्धमपि विभजनीयम्। मिता. on या. II. 118-119.

acquired (by a coparcener) from a grateful friend who was placed under an obligation by spending family wealth, if a property is acquired by a gift from a member's father-in-law who was paid from the family property for securing the bride for that member or if the property of the family lost to it was recovered by a member with the help of (other paternal estate), or if a member of the family learnt at the expense of the family and made gains from that learning, then those kinds of property were liable to be partitioned among all members. This view of the Mit. was not shared by several other writers and works such as the Dāyabhāga (VI. 1. 8), and Viśvarūpa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 579–580 for further remarks.

The P. M. S speaks of six means that are helpful in determinig, as regards *viniyoga-vidhis*, what are principal and what are auxiliary when there is a doubt or when there is a conflict. They are śruti (direct vedic statement or assertion), liṅga (indirect indication), vākya (syntactical connection or relation), prakaraṇa (context), sthāna (place or sequence), samākhyā (sañjñā, name). When several of these come together and refer to the same subject each succeeding one is weaker than each preceding one, since each succeeding one is more remote than each preceding one from the objective (viz. the viniyoga). P. M. S. III. 3. 14 is called 'balābalādhikaraṇa'.[2150]

An example where both śruti and liṅga come in conflict is 'with the Aindrī verse (verse addressed to Indra) he should worship the Gārhapatya fire'. The verse addressed to Indra[2151]

2150. श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्। पू. मी. सू. III. 3. 14; समवाय means एकार्थोपनिपात. The तन्त्रवार्तिक states 'समानविषयत्वं हि समवायोऽभिधीयते' and adds 'न ह्येकत्र सम्भवमात्रं समवायः किं तर्हि विषयैक्यत्वम्' (p. 822) and तस्माद्विरोधविषयमेव समवायग्रहणम् (p. 823); दुर्बलस्य भावः दौर्बल्यम्, परस्य दौर्बल्यं परदौर्बल्यं तदेव पारदौर्बल्यम्।; विप्रकर्ष means विलम्ब; शास्त्रदीपिका on this सूत्र (p. 241) remarks 'इदानीं श्रुत्यादीनामेकविषयसमवायेन विरोधे सति बलाबलं विचार्यते'.

2151. निवेशनः सङ्गमनो वसूनामित्यैन्द्रा गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते। मैत्रा. सं. III. 2. 4. This verse occurs in चयन, According to some (e. g. भामती on वे. सू. III. 3. 25) the Aindrī verse is कदाचनस्तरीरसि नेन्द्र सश्चसि दाशुषे। ऋ. VIII. 51. 7 and वाज. सं. VIII. 2. It is used in अग्निहोत्र (महोपस्थान). The words श्रुति and लिङ्ग have technical senses in PMS III. 3. 14. Śruti ordinarily means Veda or a vedic text. But here श्रुति and लिङ्ग mean respectively निरपेक्षो रवः श्रुतिः, शब्दसामर्थ्यं लिङ्गम् i. e. a vedic word or a passage that is independent (i.e. does not require any intermediate step to be taken) and liṅga means the suggestive power of words. Both the definitions are given by the अर्थसंग्रह; 'यत्तावच्छ-

(*Continued on next page*)

is 'niveśanaḥ saṅgamano vasūnām...Indro na tasthau samare pathīnām' (Tai. S. IV. 2. 5. 4). Here the doubt arises whether one should worship Indra as the word 'Aindryā' indicates or whether one should worship Gārhapatya (as the passage directly asserts) with a verse addressed to Indra, or whether one should worship both or whether one should worship either Indra or Gārhapatya as one likes. The conclusion is that śruti (direct Vedic assertion) is more powerful than liṅga. On hearing the words 'Gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate' we are directly told by the Veda about the worship of Gārhapatya. The word 'Aindryā' being in the instrumental (as in 'dadhnā juhoti'–he performs homa with curds) merely supplies a detail (guṇa) viz. that the mantra to be repeated is one addressed to Indra and there is no word that directly asserts that Indra is to be worshipped.[2152] Śabara on PMS III. 2. 4 explains that even Gārhapatya has some of the qualities of Indra and so metaphorically he may be called Indra (as a brave man is called a lion), since Gārhapatya is a means of accomplishing yajña like Indra or Gārhapatya may be called Indra from the root 'ind', and may be taken to mean 'a master or lord'.

The six means may each come in conflict with all the means that follow each of them. Therefore, there will be five cases of conflict of śruti with liṅga (which has already been described) or with vākya, or prakaraṇa or sthāna or samākhyā; there will be four cases of conflict between liṅga and vākya or each of the three ones (of the means) that follow vākya in the sūtra, in the same way vākya may be in conflict with prakaraṇa and the other two (in all three cases), prakaraṇa may be in conflict with sthāna or samākhyā (i. e. two cases) and sthāna may be in conflict with samākhyā. So that there are in all fifteen cases of conflict of the six means among themselves. We need not

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(Continued from last page)

स्वस्यार्थमभिधातुं सामर्थ्यं तल्लिङ्गम्, यदर्थस्याभिधानं शब्दस्य श्रवणमात्रादेवागम्यते स श्रुत्यावगम्यते। श्रवणं श्रुतिः। शबर on III. 3. 13 p 825; compare पाणिनि 'कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म' (I. 4. 49), 'कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया' (II. 3. 18). The word ऐन्द्र्या being in the instrumental conveys the idea of करण, while गार्हपत्यं being in the objective case at once conveys that it is principal in उपस्थान.

2152. गुणाद्वाप्यभिधानं स्यात्सम्बन्धस्याशास्त्रहेतुत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. III. 2. 4; शबर, 'भवति हि गुणादप्यभिधानम्। यथा सिंहो देवदत्तः ... इति। एवमिहाप्यभिन्द्रे गार्हपत्य इन्द्रशब्दो भविष्यति। अस्ति चास्येन्द्रसाद्दश्यम्। यथैवेन्द्रो यज्ञसाधनमेवं गार्हपत्योऽपि। अथवेन्द्रते-रैश्वर्यकर्मण इन्द्रो भवति। भवति च गार्हपत्यस्यापि स्वस्मिन् कार्ये ईश्वरत्वम्।', vide भामती on वे. सू. III. 3. 25.

take into account the conflict of one of the six means with its predecessors, since to say that liṅga may be in conflict with śruti is the same thing as saying that śruti may be in conflict with liṅga. Very large space would have to be devoted if all these fifteen possible conflicts are to be exemplified from Vedic and Dharmaśāstra texts. Therefore, the author does not essay that task.

Dharmaśāstra works often utilize this adhikaraṇa called *balābala* (PMS III. 3. 14). For example, the Par. M. quotes[2153] a śruti passage that one should perform the daily evening *sandhyā* adoration of Āditya (the sun) with mantras addressed to Varuṇa and remarks that "Vāruṇībhiḥ" (like Aindryā) is only liṅga while, 'Ādityam-upsthāya' is śruti (direct assertion) and therefore the sun is to be worshipped in the evening with mantras addressed to Varuṇa and refers to the example 'aindryā gārhapatyam upatiṣṭhate' for support.

The fourth adhyāya of the PMS deals mainly with the subject of *prayojya* and *prayojaka* and *kratvartha* and *puruṣārtha*. The latter two have been explained and illustrated above (pp. 1232–1235). A few illustrations of the first two may be given. The Prayājas have been declared above to be *kratvartha* (p. 1233). Therefore, kratu (sacrifice) is the *prayojaka* (motivating force) of Prayājas. The reward (*phala*, svarga or the like) is the prayojaka of yāga or a puruṣārtha rite. That is a prayojaka for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory passage. The sentence is 'one should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice for securing svarga'; therefore the reward (*svarga* and the like) is the prayojaka of Darśapūrṇamāsa-yāga.[2154] The injunction to mix curds with milk makes a person do so for producing āmikṣā and not *vājina*, since this latter arises of it-

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2153. वारुणीभिस्तथादित्यमुपस्थाय प्रदक्षिणम्। यद्यपि वारुणीभिर्वरुणस्योपस्थानं लिङ्गबलात् प्राप्तं तथापि श्रुतेः प्राबल्यात् तया लिङ्गं बाधित्वा आदित्योपस्थाने एव विनियुज्यते। परा. मा. I. 1 pp. 298–299. पराशर० refers to इमं मे वरुण (ऋ. I. 25. 19–21) as वारुणी verses. In Mahārāṣṭra even in these days the vedic mantras recited in सायंसन्ध्या are यच्चिद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् and the following nine verses (i. e. Ṛg. I. 25 1–10).

2154. Compare Śabara on PMS IV. 1. 1 (athātaḥ kratvarthapuruṣārthayor-jijñāsā) 'यापि प्रयोजकामप्रयोजकफलविध्यर्थवादाङ्गप्रधानचिन्ता सापि क्रत्वर्थपुरुषार्थजिज्ञासैव। कथम्। अङ्गं क्रत्वर्थः प्रधानं पुरुषार्थः। फलविधिः पुरुषार्थः, अर्थवादः क्रत्वर्थः। प्रयोजकः कश्चित्पुरुषार्थोऽप्रयोजकः क्रत्वर्थः। तस्मात्क्रत्वर्थपुरुषार्थयोर्जिज्ञासेति सूचितम्। ... क्रतवे यः स क्रत्वर्थः, पुरुषाय यः स पुरुषार्थः।'

self in preparing āmikṣā. Therefore, it is āmikṣā, being the *havis* in the Vaiśvadevayāga that is the prayojaka of the Vaiśvadevayāga and vājina-yāga is not the prayojaka of putting curds into milk [2155] (P. M. S. IV.1 22–24). The result is that, if by accident āmikṣā is destroyed, in order to secure the havis (āmikṣā) curds will have again to be put in boiled milk, but if *vājina*, not being prayojaka, is destroyed, curds need not be put into boiled milk again.

Examples of puruṣārtha acts have been given above (p. 1234) such as the Prājāpativrata. This chapter (in 2nd *pāda*) deals with several cases of pratipattikarma and arthakarma already explained above (pp. 1231–32). There are certain substances, certain embellishments and subsidiary actions with which some *phala* is associated. For example, it is said (in Tai. S. III. 7. 5. 2) 'he who has juhū ladle made of parṇa (palāśa) wood never hears an evil word about himself'; 'that he applies collyrium (to his eyes), he injures the eye of his enemy' (Tai. S. VI. I. 1. 5); 'That he performs the Prayājas and Anuyājas, that is indeed the armour of the sacrifice'. PMS declares that these texts about rewards associated with substances, embellishments and subsidiary acts are really not *vidhis* about rewards but are mere arthavādas, because all these serve the purpose of the principal kratu. [2156]

This fourth chapter (in 3rd pāda) also decides that, although no reward is expressly declared by Śruti (the Veda) for the performance of the Viśvajit sacrifice, still in the Viśvajit sacrifice (and in other sacrifices where no reward is expressly mentioned) svarga is the reward. [2157]

The Viśvajit is a striking sacrifice in which the performer donates all belongings of which he is the owner ('Viśvajiti sarva-

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2155. तस्मादामिक्षा प्रयोक्त्री वाजिनमप्रयोजकमिति। शबर on III. 1. 23; यद्युभय प्रयोजकं वाजिने नष्टे पुनस्तस्मे पयसि दध्यानेतव्यम्। अथ वाजिनमप्रयोजकं नष्टे वाजिने लोपो दध्यानयनस्य। शबर on IV. 1. 24.

2156. द्रव्यसंस्कारकर्मसु परार्थत्वात्फलश्रुतिरर्थवादः स्यात्। पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 10; शबर quotes among others the following three passages: यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति न स पापं श्लोकं शृणोति (द्रव्य), यदाक्रक्ते... चक्षुरेव भ्रातृव्यस्य वृङ्क्ते (संस्कार), यत्प्रयाजानुयाजा इज्यन्ते वर्म वा एतद्यज्ञस्य क्रियते (कर्म).

2157. स स्वर्गः स्यात्सर्वान्प्रत्यविशिष्टत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. IV. 3. 15. सर्वान् means सर्वपुरुषान्. शबर explains 'सर्वे हि पुरुषाः स्वर्गकामाः। कुत एतत्। प्रीतिर्हि स्वर्गः। सर्वश्च प्रीतिं प्रार्थयते।; मेधा. on मनु II. 2. refers to it; vide एरा. मा. I. 1. p. 148. The विष्णुपुराण II. 6. 46 has: मनःप्रीतिकरः स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः। नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पुण्यपापे द्विजोत्तम॥

svam dadāti'). Jaimini devotes about fourteen adhikaraṇas[2158] to it, viz. IV. 3. 10–16 (three adhikaraṇas), VI. 7. 1–20 (nine adhikaraṇas), VII. 3. 6–11 (one adhi.), X. 6. 13–14 (one adhi.). Some of the interesting propositions are: the performer cannot donate his own relatives (such as father or mother) but can denote that of which he is real owner or master; that even the emperor cannot make a gift of the whole kingdom, as other people have rights over land and the king protects the people and has only the right to a certain share in the produce of the land; that the performer cannot donate horses as śruti expressly forbids the gift of horses in Viśvajit; that the performer can donate only that which exists as his property at the time of giving dakṣiṇā in the sacrifice and not that which may become his at a future date; that a śūdra[2159] who waits upon the performer because it is his duty to serve (acc. to Manu) cannot be donated; a person of a higher varṇa cannot be donated; only he who has 112 cows or more wealth is entitled to perform Viśvajit.

The 5th adhyāya of P. M. S. deals with *krama* (the order in which the several component parts or acts that go to make up a sacrifice are to come one after another). Vidhis speak of the performance of many acts in a sacrifice and do not always lay down the order in which those acts (principal and auxiliary) are to be performed. It would not do to perform them in any order that the performer likes. For determining the order of sequence of several acts in a sacrifice one has to depend upon six means[2160] viz. śruti (direct assertion as to order), artha

2158. स्वदाने सर्वमविशेषात् (पूर्वपक्ष)। यस्य वा प्रभुः स्यादितरस्याशक्यत्वात् (सिद्धान्त)। IV. 7. 1–2; vide H. of Dh, vol. II pp. 849–50 which summarise PMS, VI. 7. 1–7, न्य. म. p. 92. विश्वजिति ... ददाति occurs in कौषी. ब्रा. 25. 14. मेधा० remarks "कृत्स्नगोलकाभिप्रायमेव चादेयत्वं भूमेर्विश्वजिति मीमांसकैरुक्तं 'न भूमिः स्यात्'। सर्वान् पुरुषान् प्रति चक्रक्रमणादियोग्यतयाऽविशिष्टा भूमिः स्वामीकर्तुमशक्या कथं दीयते इत्यर्थः॥".

2159. शूद्रश्च धर्मशास्त्रत्वात्। VI. 7. 6; vide न्य. म. p. 93, and notes p. 132 thereon; एकमेव तु शूद्रस्य प्रभुः कर्म समादिशत्। एतेषामेव वर्णानां शुश्रूषामनसूयया॥; मनु I. 91 and X. 123; vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 182 n. 424 for शबर's words. विकारः सङ्घभयतोऽविशेषात्। अधिकं वा प्रतिप्रसवात्। अनुग्रहाच्च पादवत्। पू. मी. सू. VI. 7. 18–20; तत्र च द्वादशशतमधिकं वा सर्वस्वम्। इहापि तद्वदेव। तस्माच्च न्यूनधनस्याधिकारः। शबर; the पञ्चविंश (ताण्ड्य) ब्रा. has तस्य द्वादशं शतं दक्षिणाः (16. 1. 10–11).

2160. इदेदानीं क्रमनियमलक्षणमुच्यते। तच्छ्रुत्यर्थ-पाठ-प्रवृत्ति-काण्ड-मुख्यैर्वेद्यते। श्रुत्यादीनां च बलाबलम्। शबर on पू. मी. सू. V. 1. 1. It may be noticed that both अर्थसंग्रह and मी. न्या. प्र. slightly differ from Śabara in the order and names of the six means viz. as तत्र षड् प्रमाणानि श्रुत्यर्थपाठस्थानमुख्यप्रवृत्याख्यानि। तत्र क्रमो नाम वितितिविशेषः पौर्वापर्यरूपो वा। अर्थसंग्रह p. 12 and मी. न्या. प्र. p. 173;

(purpose, suitability); pāṭha (verbal texts), pravṛtti (commencement), kāṇḍa (place in the texts), mukhya (principal).

In the Vedic passage about the dīkṣā in a sattra, the adhvaryu, after performing the dīkṣā (initiation rite) on the gṛhapati (the *yajamāna*, the performer of the sacrifice) performs dīkṣā on the brahmā priest, then on udgātṛ etc. the Vedic text directly lays down the sequence (by means of the termination 'tvā') that the dīkṣā of brahmā priest comes after the dīkṣā of the yajamāna. In the passage 'samidho yajati tanūnapātam yajati &c'. the very order in which the sentences occur in the text (i. e. pāṭha) determines the order of the performance of the several yāgas (PMS V. 1. 4). The Veda first speaks of the offering of Agnihotra and then of the cooking of gruel. Here the offering of Agnihotra comes first and preparation of gruel comes after that. But, unless the material to be offered is ready, no Agnihotra offering can be made. Therefore, here the pāṭhakrama has to be given up and arthakrama (order as dictated by the purpose and suitability) has to be followed i. e. first gruel must be prepared and then Agnihotra offered.[2161] This is an example showing that arthakrama is more powerful than pāṭhakrama (PMS V. 4. 1). The Parāśarasmṛti lays down that every day one should perform *sandhyā* (morning adoration), bath, japa (muttering of sacred texts), *homa*, study of the Veda, worship of gods, Vaiśvadeva and feeding guests. The Par. M. says that[2162] setting aside the *pāṭhakrama* one must follow the suitability and therefore bath comes first and *sandhyā* afterwards. The Sm. C. quotes Vṛddhamanu to the effect that a childless chaste widow should offer piṇḍa to her deceased husband and take his wealth. Here it is proper to hold that she should first take his wealth and then perform his śrāddhas. In the Vājapeya the text says that the performer (yajamāna) has to tie to the sacrificial post seventeen paśus to be offered to Prajāpati (Tai. Br. I. 3. 4.

2161. अग्निहोत्रं जुहोतीति पूर्वमाम्नातम्, ओदनं पचतीति पश्चात्। असन्निधात् पूर्वमोदनः पक्तव्यः। शबर on V. 1. 3. Vide also शबर on V. 4. 1.

2162. सन्ध्या स्नानं जपो होमो देवतातिथिपूजनम्। आतिथ्यं वैश्वदेवं च षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने॥ पराशरस्मृति I. 39; vide परा. मा. I. 2. 18 that says "सन्ध्यास्नानमित्यत्र यथाङ्गपाकन्यायेन स्नानस्य प्राधान्यं व्याकरोति। ... 'यवाग्वाग्निहोत्रं जुहोति यवागुं च पचति' इति श्रूयते। ... यवाग्वा इति तृतीयया श्रुत्या होमसाधनत्वावगमादसति च श्रुत्ये होमानिष्पत्तेरर्थाद्यवागूपाकः पूर्वभावीति सिद्धान्तः। एवमत्रापि स्नानस्य शुद्धिहेतुत्वाच्छुद्धत्वेन सन्ध्यायाश्चाधिकारित्वात्स्नानं पूर्वभावीति द्रष्टव्यम्। वृद्धमनुः—अपुत्रा श्वशुरं भर्तुः पालयन्ती व्रते स्थिता। पत्न्येव दद्यात्तत्पिण्डं कृत्स्नमंशं लभेत च॥ and remarks 'उत्तरार्धे स्पष्टमेव पाठक्रमबाधो द्रष्टव्यः। तत्रायमर्थः। उक्तलक्षणा पत्न्येव भर्तुरंशं कृत्स्नं लभेत पश्चात्पिण्डं दद्यात्। न पुनस्तत्सर्वा सत्यां भ्रात्रादिरिति। स्मृतिच. II. p. 291.

2–3). It is also provided that each of the 17 *paśus* should have several saṁskāras performed on it such as *prokṣaṇa* (consecration by sprinkling sacred water on it), upākaraṇa (bringing near). One may take any of the 17 animals first and begin to perform the first of the saṁskāras on it; but having once begun with a particular animal he must perform the second and other saṁskāras one after another on the same animal; i. e. the order of the saṁskāras on an animal is determined by the commencement. *Kāṇḍa* or *sthāna* is exemplified as follows: The Jyotiṣṭoma is the model sacrifice (prakṛti) of which Sādyaskra is a vikṛti (modification). It is prescribed by the Veda in the case of Sādyaskra that all animals should be sacrificed together at the savanīya stage.[2163] In Jyotiṣṭoma, there are three animals offered viz. 'agnīṣomīya' in the morning, 'savanīya' in the noon and 'anubandhya' in ths evening. Sādyaskra, being a vikṛti, all these have to be performed in it; but the particular text about it provides that all three must be sacrificed together at the *savanīya* stage. This (offering all three simultaneously) is impossible and therefore all that can be done is to offer (them) one after another (and not at three different times in the day); it would appear at first sight that the Agnīṣomīya paśu comes first; but that is not so, since simultaneous offerings being laid down at the savanīya stage in sādyaskrayāga, the savanīya-paśu is to be first offered (and not Agnīṣomīya) and then the Agnīṣomīya immediately after and then Anubandhya or these two may be offered in any order one likes (but immediately).

An example of sequence being determined by the mukhya (first or principal) is: there is a śruti passage 'two Sārasvata offerings are to be made; this is indeed a divine couple'.[2164]

2163. अतः प्राजापत्येष्वेकं पदार्थं सर्वत्रानुष्ठाय द्वितीयः पदार्थोऽनुष्ठेयः। तत्र प्रथमपदार्थानुष्ठानं कस्माच्चित्पशोरारभ्य कार्यम्। द्वितीयस्तु पदार्थो येन क्रमेण प्रथमोनुष्ठितस्तेनैव क्रमेणानुष्ठेयः प्रयोगविध्यवगतस्य मिथोङ्गसाहित्यस्योपपत्तये। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 189–190.

2164. सारस्वतौ भवत एतद्वै दैव्यं मिथुनं दैव्यमेवास्मै मिथुनं मध्यतो दधाति पुष्ट्यै प्रजननाय। तै. सं. II. 4. 6. 1–2. This occurs in relation to चित्राग्याग in which seven subsidiary offerings are prescribed of which two are सारस्वत. सारस्वतौ means 'सरस्वतीदेवताकः सरस्वद्देवताकश्चेत्युभौ सारस्वतौ'. The पू. मी. सू. is 'मुख्यक्रमेणानुष्ठानं तदर्थत्वात्' (V. 1. 14 वा.) याज्ञ. II. 135 mentions as heirs to a man dying sonless, his wife, daughter and parents (पितरौ). Suppose a man dies leaving his father and mother as nearest relatives, who should succeed, viz. whether mother should be preferred to father or *vice versa* or whether both should take the estate equally. The मिताक्षरा prefers the mother to the father, the Sm. C. refers to this instance of सारस्वतौ भवतः and there being

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Details are provided as regards the two offerings to Sarasvatī and Sārasvata. The doubt arises: are the details about the offering to be made to the female deity to be performed first or are they to be first performed as the offerings to the male deity? The prima facie view being that as no *śāstra* exists regulating priority one may do as one likes, the established conclusion is that the order of sequence in the case of the details should be determined by the order of the Yājyānuvākyā verses. These are mentioned first about the female deity in the words 'pra ṇo devī Sarasvatī' (Tai. S. I. 8. 22. 1, Ṛg. VI. 61. 4). Therefore, the conclusion is that in the details also the offering to the female deity should come first.

In PMS V. 1. 16 it is decided that the order expressed in mantras should be followed in preference to the order contained in Brāhmaṇa texts.[2165] The Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice is made up of three component sacrifices, Āgneya, Upāṁśu and the Agnīṣomīya. In Tai S. II. 5. 2. 3, the Agnīṣomīya sacrifice is first described and in Tai. II. 6. 3. 3 the Āgneya is described. But these are held to be Brāhmaṇa texts, though now appearing in the Saṁhitā texts, since they lay down a vidhi; but in the Mantra-pāṭha the Āgneya mantra 'Agnir-mūrdhā' (Tai. B. III. 5. 7. 1) is first set out and then follows the mantra 'Agnīṣomā savedasā' (Tai. Br. III. 5. 7. 2). Therefore, the Āgneya is to be first performed and the Agnīṣomīya afterwards.

If there are several deities or brāhmaṇas to be honoured with several acts or things, or there are several yūpas (sacrificial posts) as in Aikādaśina animal sacrifice on which several saṁskāras are to be performed from *añjana* to *parivyāṇa* (sur-

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(*Continued from last page*)

no special ground of choice between the two, holds that the father takes first following certain other smṛtis like Bṛhat-Viṣṇu. The Dāyabhāga prefers the father to the mother and several works like the Vyavahāra-prakāśa, (p. 524), the Madanaratna (p. 364) do the same. The words of the स्मृतिच. (II. p 297) are "सारस्वतौ भवतः इत्युत्पत्तिवाक्ये क्रमावगत्यभावेन याज्या-क्रमात् प्रधानयोः क्रमः पञ्चमे दर्शितो न पुनः सारस्वतावित्येकशेषत एव कथंचित् क्रमावगति-रुपपादितेति निबन्धमेव (?) मातुः प्राथम्यसमर्थनम्। अत एव श्रीकरेण पित्रोर्धनग्रहणप्रकरणे तदप्ययुक्तम्। ... दौहित्राभावे पितृगामित्यमवगन्तव्यम्। 'पञ्चमे' in the above passage refers to fifth *adhyāya* of P. M. S.

2165. पदार्थबोधकवाक्यानां यः क्रमः स पाठक्रमः। तस्माच्च पदार्थानां क्रम आश्रीयते। येन हि क्रमेण वाक्यानि पठितानि तेनैव क्रमेणाधीताग्यर्थप्रत्ययं जनयन्ति। यथार्थप्रत्ययं च पदार्थानामनुष्ठानात्। स च पाठक्रमो द्विविधः मन्त्रपाठो ब्राह्मणपाठश्च। तत्राग्नेयाग्नीषोमीयपो-डशिग्राज्यानुवाक्याक्रमाधः क्रम आश्रीयते स मन्त्रपाठात्। स चायं मन्त्रपाठो ब्राह्मणपाठाद् बलवान्। अनुष्ठाने ब्राह्मणवाक्यापेक्षया मन्त्रवाक्यस्यान्तरङ्गत्वात्। मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 176–177.

rounding with a girdle), then one should perform all the saṁskāras from añjana to parivyāṇa on the yūpa first and then all these on the 2nd and so on up to the last yūpa or whether one should perform añjana on all yūpas one after another, the next saṁskāra on all yūpas one after another and so on till the last saṁskāra of parivyāna is done on all yūpas one after another. The former way is called kāṇḍānusamaya and the latter 'padārthānusamaya'.[2166] Jai. V. 2. 7–9 refers to the first method and Jai. V. 2. 1–3 to the 2nd. Vide for the explanation and illustration of these two, H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 739–740, p. 1132 n 2528 and Vol. IV. pp. 441–42 n 987. On Yāj. I. 232 ('apasavyam tataḥ kṛtvā) the Mit. remarks that the performer of Śrāddha follows the kāṇḍānusamaya method for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas i. e. gives them water for washing the feet, then ācamana, seat, sandalwood paste, flowers &c, then he should wear the sacred thread on the right shoulder and offer the upacāras to the pitrya brāhmanas.

The sixth adhyāya of PMS is a very interesting one. It deals with the various aspects of the question of adhikāra, that is, qualifications of the performer of a sacrifice. It is a very extensive chapter having eight pādas like chap. III and X. A few of the numerous propositions contained therein that have influenced the works on Dharmśāstra have already been set out, such as women's right to participate in Vedic sacrifices, śūdra's ineligibility for them, the rathakāranyāya and niṣādasthapatinyāya and a few more will be dealt with here. As a preliminary Jaimini establishes (in P. M. S. VI. 1. 1–3) that in such texts as 'one desirous of heaven should offer the Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice or one should offer the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice' the Veda prescribes *yāga* for one who desires heaven i. e. heaven is the principal (or predominant) factor while yāga is subsidiary or subordinate; thereby it follows that the Vedic text lays down the characteristics of the performer. The Ṭupṭīkā says that[2167]

2166. On जै. V. 2. 1–3 पार्थसारथि states 'प्रथमं पदार्थं सर्वेषां कृत्वा ततो द्वितीयः कर्तव्यः । एवं दर्शपूर्णमासादिष्वनेकप्रधानसमवाये पदार्थाङ्गसमय एव न्याय्यो न काण्डाङ्गसमय इति स्थितम् ।' शास्त्रदीपिका । p. 421; ... गार्ग्यनारायण on आश्व. गृ. सू. I. 24. 7 explains तत्र पदार्थाङ्गसमयो नाम सर्वेषां वरणक्रमेण विष्टरं दत्त्वा ततः पाद्यं ततोऽर्घमिति । काण्डाङ्गसमयो नाम एकस्यैवं विष्टरादिगोनिवेदनान्तं समाप्य ततोऽन्यस्य सर्वं ततोऽन्यस्येति । The स्व. म. (p. 66) refers to पदार्थाङ्गसमय in the worship of deities in the balance ordeal.

2167. तस्मात्स्वर्गकामस्य यागकर्मोपदेशः स्यात् । अतः स्वर्गः प्रधानतः कर्म गुणतः इति स्वर्गाकाममधिकृत्य यजेतेति वचनमित्यधिकारलक्षणमिदं सिद्धम् । शबर on पू. मी. सू. VI. 1.3;

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'adhikārī is the owner (or master) who stands above all actions (yāga).' Another more elaborate definition is given as 'adhikārī is one who desires some reward (such as heaven or happiness), who is possessed of the capacity to perform the act prescribed, who has learning and who is not excluded from performing a sacrifice (by Śruti)'. Even lower animals desire happiness; hence to exclude them the words 'possessed of the capacity' &c. are added. A man may be totally ignorant and so the word 'vidvān' is added; a śūdra may desire happiness, may have capacity and be also learned but he is excluded by the vedic text, 'Therefore the Śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice'.

In VI. I. 39–40 it is established[2168] that every man belonging to one of the three higher classes has a right to perform Vedic sacrifices. A man though at one time devoid of wealth may acquire wealth by various means. Similarly, it is said in VI. 1. 41 that one who is defective in a limb is just like one who is devoid of wealth i. e. such a man has a right to offer Vedic sacrifices provided he takes steps to remove the weakness. In VI. 1. 42 it is further provided that if the defect is congential and incurable, the person who suffers from such a defect is not entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices.

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अधिकारीति कर्मणामुपरिभावेनावस्थितः स्वामीत्यर्थः। दुपटीका (on same); अर्थी समर्थो विद्वान् शास्त्रेणापपुंदस्तोधिकारी। सर्वदर्शनकौमुदी p. 103. This summarises in one place what Śabara and Kumārila state in different places e. g. न चैतदस्ति तिर्यगादीनामप्यधिकार इति। कस्य तर्हि। यः समर्थः कृत्स्नं कर्माभिनिर्वर्तयितुम्। न देवानां देवतान्तराभावात्। न ह्यात्मानमुद्दिश्य त्यागः सम्भवति। त्याग एवासौ न स्यात्। ... अपि च तिर्यञ्चो न कालान्तरफलेनार्थिनः। आसद्यं हि ते कामयन्ते। ... न चैते (तिर्यञ्चः) वेदमधीयते नापि स्मृतिशास्त्राणि। नाप्यन्येभ्योऽवगच्छन्ति। तस्माच्च विदन्ति धर्मम्। अविद्वांसः कथमनुतिष्ठेयुः। शबर on पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 5. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामन्धः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ सूतसंक्रामिणावन्धश्च शूद्रश्च। तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1. 6. सायण explains अनवक्लृप्तः as यज्ञे प्रवर्तितुं न योग्यः.

2168. त्रयाणां द्रव्यसंपत्कः कर्मणो द्रव्यसिद्धित्वात् (पूर्वपक्ष)। अनित्यत्वात्तु नैवं स्यादर्थाद्धि द्रव्यसंयोगः। अङ्गहीनश्च तद्धर्मा। उत्पत्तौ नित्यसंयोगात्। पू. मी. सू. VI. 1. 39-42; तद्धर्मा means 'द्रव्यरहितधर्मा तत्तुल्य इति'. The last sūtra may be paraphrased as उत्पत्तौ एव येषामङ्गवैकल्यं जात्यन्धादीनां सर्वेषामप्रतिसमाधेयाङ्गवैकल्यानां ते नाधिक्रियन्ते आज्यावेक्षणादिभिः। क्रतोर्नित्यसंयोगात्। तै. सं. VI. 3. 10.5 states 'जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्ऋणवा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः प्रजया पितृभ्य एष वा अनृणो यः पुत्री यज्वा ब्रह्मचारिवासी'. On this, पू. मी. सू. VI. 2. 31 is ब्राह्मणस्य सोमविधानमङ्गगुणवाक्येन संयोगात्', on which शबर explains that the word brāhmaṇa is only illustrative 'ब्राह्मणग्रहणं तु प्रदर्शनार्थम्। जायमानो ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वैश्यश्चेति। तथा जायमानो जातश्चेति।'.

The ancient and medieval Hindu law of inheritance and succession was modelled on this. Vide Yāj. II. 140, Manu IX. 201 and Nārada (dāyabhāga, verses 21–22). Yāj. II. 140 declares that the impotent, the outcast and his son, a lame man, a lunatic, an idiot, a blind man and a person afflicted with an incurable disease are not entitled to a share, but are entitled to receive maintenance. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III. pp. 610–612. The Mit. on Yāj. II. 140 provides that the grounds of disqualification apply to males and females alike. But the recent Hindu Succession Act (No. 32 of 1956) sweeps away all these grounds of disqualification by providing that no person shall be disqualified from succeeding to any property on the ground of any disease, defect or deformity or, save as provided in this act, on any other ground whatever (section 28).

A good many sūtras (in chap. VI. 3. 17–41) deal with what are called 'pratinidhi' (substitute, representative or proxy). These have been described in H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 684' 1110, 1203, Vol. III. pp. 471, 637, 653. 654 (where Satyāṣāḍha Śr' S. III containing similar rules is mentioned). A few of them are briefly mentioned here. The first rule is that if the substance declared by the Veda for preparing an offering perishes or is lost as regards an obligatory rite or as regards *kāmya* rite that is already begun, one should substitute another substance (like nīvāras, wild rice grains) for *vrīhi* (rice grains) or *yava* i. e. barley grains and finish the rite (VI. 3 13–17). In some cases Vedic texts prescribe a substitute for the substance required to be used, as in ' if he (the performer) cannot obtain the Soma plant, he should substitute pūtīka stalks and extract juice therefrom.' It is argued by the objector that, as the Veda expressly substitutes pūtīkas for soma, one should conclude that where Veda does not expressly mention a substitute for a prescribed substance, it means that a substitute is not allowed by the Veda in other cases. The siddhānta is that the prescribing of pūtīkas as substitute is a restrictive rule[2169] viz. that although several plants may resemble soma, there is a restriction that only pūtīkas should be substituted. It is provided (in III. 6. 37, 39) that when a substitute like nīvāras is employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding with mortar and pestle that are performed on rice or barley grains should also be per-

2169. नियमार्थः क्वचिद्विधिः । VI. 3. 16; सोमाभावे बहुषु सत्सदेषु प्रोक्षेषु नियमः क्रियते पूतीका एवानियोक्तव्या इति । शबर. The ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण (IX. 5. 3) provides ' यदि सोमं न विन्देयुः ' which is quoted in n. 2001 above.

formed on them. When rice grains are employed the mantra expressly speaks of the rice offering as the sap or essence of rice grains. There adaptation (*ūha*) is to be made as 'nīvārāṇām medha' (vide PMS IX. 3. 1-2).[2170] But in certain cases no substitute is allowed viz. the devatā with respect to which an *havis* (offering) is prescribed cannot have another substituted in a rite e. g. 'Āgneyoṣṭākapālaḥ' cannot be changed into 'aindroṣṭākapālaḥ', since in that case the rite will cease to be what was intended. Similarly, when the text says 'he offers into the Āhavanīya fire,' one cannot substitute the Gārhapatya fire; another mantra cannot be substituted for the one prescribed nor can other rites be substituted for the Prayājas 'samidho yajati' &c.).[2171]

The Veda forbids the use of *varakas*, *kodravas* and *māṣas* as unfit for a sacrifice. If a person mistakenly takes māṣa grains or particles believing them to be *mudga* grains or particles and uses them in a sacrifice in which an oblation of boiled mudga pulse is prescribed, he will not be performing the desired rite as what is forbidden as unfit cannot be a substitute.[2172]

This nyāya is relied upon by the Mit. on Yāj. II. 126 (which simply states that if joint family properties are suppressed or concealed by some members and kept for themselves, they should be distributed in equal shares even after partition (when this is found out), which holds that this verse cannot be interpreted so as to absolve the concealer of such joint property from guilt simply on the ground that he was himself a part owner and explains that just as a sacrificer mistakenly believing māṣa particles as mudga ones loses the fruit of the sacrifice, so the concealer of joint property is guilty of wrong. The Vyavahāraprakāśa (p. 555) and Aparārka p. 732 take the same view, but the Dāyabhāga (XII. 11-13) and V. R. (p. 526) are opposed to this (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 636). The Prāyaścittatattva p. 482 has an elaborate note on this nyāya.

2170. अस्ति तु प्रकृतौ व्रीहिलिङ्गो मन्त्रः—स्योनं ते सदनं ... प्रतितिष्ठ व्रीहीणां मेध सुमनस्यमान इति। शबर on IX. 3. 1. This is तै. ब्रा. VII. 7. 5. 2-3. मेध means सारभूत.

2171. न देवताग्निशब्दक्रियमन्यार्थसंयोगात्। पू. मी. सू. VI. 3. 18.

2172. प्रतिषिद्धं चाविशेषेण हि तच्छ्रुतिः। VI. 3. 20; प्रतिषिद्धं च न प्रतिनिधातव्यमिति। अविशेषेण ह्येतदुच्यते—न यज्ञार्हा माषा वरका कोद्रवाश्चेति। शबर. The सूत्र may be explained as प्रतिषिद्धं माषादिकं न प्रतिनिधेयं यस्मात् अविशेषेण यज्ञसम्बन्धमात्रे निषेधश्रुतिः। The तै. सं. V. 1. 8. 1 has 'अमेध्या वै माषाः', vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 637 and note 1209 for Jaimini's sūtra and the quotation from the Mit.

Another rule is that there can be no substitute for the performer of the sacrifice (VI. 3. 21), since (in Jai. III. 7. 18–20) it is laid down that the fruit of the rite belongs to the owner, though after beginning the rite he leaves everything to the priests engaged to perform the rite. The only exception is in the case of *sattras* (Jai. VI. 3. 22) performed by many persons together acting both as performers and as priests.

One important adhikaraṇa is VI. 7. 31–40. There is a Sattra called 'Viśvasṛjām-ayanam' which is said to last for 1000 saṁvatsaras. After referrring to Tai. Br. I. 3. 7. 7 and I. 7. 6. 2 (śatāyuḥ puruṣaḥ) and to the views of Kārṣṇājini and Lāvukāyana, Jaimini boldly establishes the conclusion that *saṁvatsara* here means day. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 1246 n. 2683 for the *Mahābhāṣya* stating that the Yājñikas in speaking about such sattras only follow the tradition handed down by ancient sages. Medhātithi on Manu I. 84 ('vedoktam-āyur-martyānām) has a long note wherein he refers to the viw of Jaimini, quotes 'śatāyur vai puruṣaḥ' and also 'śatam-innu śarado anti devā' (Ṛg. I. 89. 9) and cites the views of other interpreters. The Kātyāyana Śr. (I. 6. 17–27) discusses this very subject at great length, refers to the differing interpretations of Bharadvāja, Kārṣṇājini and Laugākṣi but ultimately holds that saṁvatsara means 'day' here.

In the first six chapters of the P. M. S. the procedure of such rites as Darśapūrṇamāsa the details of which are expressly laid down by the Veda has been considered. In the six chapters from the 7th consideration will be given to sacrifices like Aindrāgna, the procedure of which is not expressly laid down by the Veda.[2173] In the 7th chapter what is considered is whether in the vikṛtis (sacrifices that are modifications of the model sacrifices) details have to be added and, if so, which and how many of the details have to be carried out.

The 7th chapter deals with the general question of the extension or transference of details in general (i. e. *atideśa* in general) to Aindrāgna and other sacrifices. *Atideśa* is the

2173. The न्यायरत्नमाला (in G. O. S.) 4th परिच्छेद p. 257 says: एवं तावदौपदेशिकाङ्गसम्बन्धप्रकारः सप्रमाणकः पूर्वाध्यायषट्कगोचरः प्रदर्शितः। इदानीमातिदेशिकाङ्गसम्बन्धविधानं प्रतिपाद्यते। द्विविधं हि शब्दजातमुपदेशात्मकमतिदेशात्मकं च। इत्थमिदं कर्तव्यमित्युपदेशः, तद्वदिदं कर्तव्यमित्यतिदेशः।'; अतिदेशो नाम ये परत्र विहिता धर्मास्तमतीत्यान्यत्र तेषां देशः। ... यथा देवदत्तवद्यज्ञदत्तो भोजयितव्य इति। श्लोकमप्युदाहरन्ति। प्रकृतात्कर्मणो यस्मात्तत्समानेषु कर्मसु। धर्मप्रदेशो येन स्यात् सोऽतिदेश इति स्थितिः॥ इति। स च.नाम्ना वचनेन वा। वचनं पुनर्द्विविधं प्रत्यक्षश्रुतमानुमानिकं च। शबर on जै. VII, 1. 12.

process or method by which the details prescribed in connection with one rite are taken beyond that rite and transferred to another. Śabara quotes from some ancient author a śloka defining atideśa. The sacrifice from which details are transferred is called *prakṛti* (model or Archetype) and the sacrifice to which details are transferred or extended is called vikṛti (or Ectype). Atideśa may be provided for by *vacana* (Vedic text) or by the name. The first is of two kinds viz. by a direct statement or by an inferential process. For example, as regards a magic sacrifice called Isu the text says, after speaking of some details, that the rest are the same as in [2174] Śyena. An instance of an inferential *vacana* is the extension to the Saurya sacrifice of the details of the Āgneya in Darśapūrṇamāsa, because both are very closely connected and because no details are prescribed by the text about 'Sauryayāga' (PMS VII. 4. 1). The name also is two-fold, viz. name of a rite and name of a *saṃskāra*. The Māsāgnihotra prescribed (vide PMS II. 3. 24) in Kuṇḍapāyināṃ-ayana is a different rite from the obligatory Agnihotra (as in 'yāvajjīvam-agnihotram juhuyāt') as proved above, but the name 'agnihotra' being common to both, the details of the usual Agnihotra (such as milking the cow, offering curds or milk, using a Khadira fuel stick &c.) are to be extended to Māsāgnihotra (Jai. VII. 3. 1–4). Extension due to saṃskāra name is instanced in Jai. VII. 3. 12–15. In the Varuṇapraghāsa (one of the cāturmāsyas), Avabhṛtha (bath) is prescribed, but no details are added and therefore the requisite details are to be taken from the rules about the Avabhṛtha in Somayāga. [2175]

Atideśa is frequently resorted to by smṛtis and digests. For example, Yāj. I. 236 and 242 extend the procedure of Piṇḍapitṛyajña as regards *Agnaukaraṇa* and offering of piṇḍas to the Pārvaṇaśrāddha. The Parāśarasmṛti (VII. 18–19) speaks [2176]

2174. अस्तीषुर्नाम एकाहः। अपरः श्येनः। तौ द्वावप्याभिचारिकौ तत्रेषौ कांश्चिद्धर्मान्विधायाह समानमितरच्छ्यैनेनेति। शबर on VII. 1. 13. समा ... नेन is आप. श्रौ. 22. 7. 18.

2175. तथावभृथः सोमात्। जै. VII. 3. 12; वरुणप्रघासेषु श्रूयते। वारुण्या निष्कासेन तुषैश्चावभृथं यन्तीति। यथा षडहात्पृष्ठानामतिदेश एवं सौमिकादवभृथादिह धर्मातिदेशः। कुतः। अभिहितो न्यायः। उक्तं क्रियाभिधानं तच्छ्रुतावन्यत्र विधिमदेशः स्यात्-इति। उक्तं ... स्यात् is जै. VII. 3. 1,

2176. प्रथमेऽह्नि चण्डाली द्वितीये ब्रह्मघातिनी। तृतीये रजकी प्रोक्ता चतुर्थेऽह्नि शुध्यति॥ पराशर VII. 18–19, on which परा. मा. (vol. II. 1. pp. 168–169) remarks 'चण्डाल्यादिगमने यावान् प्रत्यवायस्तावान्शुद्धकयागमने द्रव्यमिप्रेत्य तैर्नामभिर्व्यवहारः। यथा कुण्डपायिनामयने मासमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति द्रव्यमिहोत्रनामनिर्देशेन नित्याग्निहोत्रधर्मातिदेशस्तद्वत्।'.

of a woman in her monthly illness as a cāṇḍālī on the first day of the illness, as the murderess of a brāhmaṇa on the 2nd day and as a washerwoman on the 3rd day. The Par. M. remarks that the intention of calling such a woman by these names is to convey that intercourse with her will result in the same sin as would be incurred by a person of higher classes if he had intercourse with a cāṇḍālī &c. For an instance of express extension, vide V. M. pp. 56–57 when it quotes a verse of Pitāmaha on the balance ordeal (in which the word 'yūpavat' is used) and remarks that atideśa is prescribed expressly by the word 'yūpavat'.

The 8th chapter deals with specific cases of extension (atideśa). The Darśapūrṇamāsa is the prakṛti of all[2177] *iṣṭis* and 'Darśapūrṇamāsābhyām yajeta' is called *vidhyādi* and *vidhyanta* is the whole procedure of Darśapūrṇamāsa (except the originative injunction 'darśapūrṇamāsyābhyām yajeta) detailed in the Brāhmaṇas about the offering of puroḍāśa (cake) &c. In the Vikṛtiyāga called Saurya[2178] the sentence 'one who desires to secure the lustre of Vedic learning should offer boiled rice to the Sun' is the vidhyādi, but no details are mentioned there. There is an expectation of some procedure and, though there are numerous vidhyantas in relation to sacrifices, the special word '*nirvapati*' is indicative of the procedure of Darśapūrṇamāsa (in which also there is *nirvāpa*) and one comes to understand that the Saurya *caru* is offered as in Āgneya (the first rite in

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2177. Vedic sacrifices are usually divided for convenience into three varieties, viz. *Iṣṭi* (in which offerings are of milk, clarified butter, rice, barley and other grains), Paśu and Soma and the latter again into Ekāha (lasting for one day like Agniṣṭoma), Ahīna (lasting for more than one day up to 12 days) and Sattra (lasting from 12 days to a year or more). Śabara on PMS IV. 4. 20 states that there are four Mahāyajñas, viz. Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Jyotiṣṭoma, Piṇḍapitṛyajña. There are seven Soma sacrifices as stated by Gaut. Dh. S. VIII. 18. Besides these Śrauta rites, there are other rites prescribed in the gṛhyasūtras, which are offered in *gṛhya* fire and seven important ones from which are called pākayajñas. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 193–194.

2178. विध्यन्तो वा प्रकृतिवच्चोदनायां प्रवर्तेत तथाहि लिङ्गदर्शनम् । पू. मी. सू. VII. 4. 10; वेदेपि दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां यजेतेति विध्यादिः । विध्यन्तोऽपि प्रधानविधिवर्जितं कृत्स्नं पौरोडाशिकं ब्राह्मणम्, तेन समेतोऽयं विध्यादिविशिष्टापूर्वनिर्वृत्तिं प्रति पुरुषं प्रवर्तयति । तस्मात्स्तोऽस्यान्तः । शबर; on पू. मी. सू. VIII. 1. 2 शबर explains: विध्यन्तापेक्षो यो वैकृतो विध्यादिः सोपि वैदिकेन विध्यन्तेनानुमानाद् बुद्धौ संनिहितेनैकवाक्यतां यास्यति । यथा सोपि चरुं निर्वपेद्ब्रह्मवर्चसकाम इति । तत्र कथमिति विध्यन्तापेक्षापामनेकविध्यन्तसंनिपातेऽप्यधारणेन निर्वपतिशब्देन दार्शपौर्णमासिकविध्यन्तसंयोगिना लिङ्गेन तदीयो विध्यन्तः प्रसज्यते ।.

Darśapūrṇamāsa). The details of the prakṛti are to be performed in all other *iṣṭis* along with the few details that may have been stated expressly as to some.

The Jyotiṣṭoma is the prakṛti of all soma sacrifices of one day and of Dvādaśāhā and its details are performed in all modifications of soma sacrifices such as Atirātra. The Agnīsomīya is the prakṛti of all sacrifices in which a paśu (animal) is to be sacrificed, the details of which are to be performed in all vikṛtis of paśuyāgas. Dvādaśāha is of two kinds, *Ahīna* and *Sattra* and is the prakṛti of all Ahīna sacrifices like Dvirātra, Trirātra up to Śatarātra; and Dvādaśāha of the sattra type is the model of all sattras. Gavām-ayana is the prakṛti of all sacrifices like Ādityānām-ayana. Darvihomas are *sui juris* and are not prakṛtis or vikṛtis of any other sacrifices. All these are considered in the 8th chapter.

The 9th chapter deals with *ūha* (adaptation). When applying the principle of *atideśa* certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of mantras, sāmans and saṁskāras. The word ūha ordinarily means only *tarka* or *vicāraṇā* (reasoning), yet in PMS it has a special meaning.[2179]

The Āgneya is the *prakṛti* in which the *nirvāpa* (offering) is to be made with the words 'I offer to Agni what is liked by him'; in the Sauryayāga, which is a vikṛti of Āgneya, the offering has to be made with the words 'I offer to Sūrya what is liked by him.' In the Vājapeya we read 'he offers to Bṛhaspati *nirvāpa* grains cooked on seventeen pans'. The Vājapeya is a modification of Darśapūrṇamāsa in which the grains of rice are sprinkled with water; therefore sprinkling has to be done on nīvāra grains also (PMS IX. 2. 40). On the 2nd and following days of the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice there is recitation of the Subrahmaṇyā litany[2180] addressed to Indra by the Subrahmaṇya priest, beginning with the words 'Indra āgaccha, hariva āgaccha, Medhātither-mesa &c'. In the Agniṣṭut sacrifice also there is

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2179. यद्यपि चोदशब्दस्तर्कमात्रवचनस्तथाप्यस्मिन् शास्त्रेऽन्यथागतानां पदार्थानामन्यथाभावविषयो यस्तर्कः स ऊहशब्देनोच्यते। न्या. र. मा, 4th परिच्छेद p. 263; vide न्यायसूत्र I. 1. 40 'अविज्ञाततत्त्वेऽर्थे कारणोपपत्तितस्तत्त्वज्ञानार्थमूहस्तर्कः'.

2180. तथा मेधातिथेर्मेष इत्येवमादि इतिहासवचनमिव प्रतिभाति इतिहासे च विधौ सति आद्यिमत्ता दोषो वेदस्य प्रसज्येत। ... तस्मादेते गुणा इन्द्रे विद्यन्त इत्यसमेतवचनत्वादविकारेण प्रयोग इति तदेतन्न रोचयन्ते याज्ञिकाः। ऊहं कुर्वन्ति। अग्न आगच्छ रोहिताश्च इहज्ञानो धूमकेतो जातवेदो विचर्षण इति। शबर on जै. मी. सू. IX. 1. 44.

Subrahmaṇyā-nigada[2181] addressed to Agni. In reciting it the word 'Agne' is substituted for 'Indra'; but the following words 'Hariva āgaccha' is are not to be changed and are to be recited, as they are attributes which may be predicated of Agni also (PMS IX. I. 42–44). The principle deduced by the Mīmāṁsakas seems to be that, only if the words in the original mantra cannot at all be extended to the modified yāga as they stand, then *ūha* may have to be resorted to but not otherwise. Śabara however, notes that the 'yājñikas perform *ūha* (i. e. adapt them by suitable changes) i. e. they recite 'agne āgaccha rohitāśva bṛhad-bhāno' etc.). It is noteworthy that, according to PMS II. 1.34 and Śabara thereon, a maṇtra as adapted (*ūhita*) is not called a mantra, since only those are mantras[2182] that are recognized as such by the learned. In the Darśapūrṇamāsa when the priest takes out four handfuls of grains and puts them in a winnowing basket he repeats over three of the handfuls the mantra which literally means 'at the command of God Savitṛ, with the arms of Aśvins and with the hands of Pūṣan I take out for Agni thee that art dear (to him)'.[2183] The PMS holds (in IX. 1. 36–37) that the words Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Aśvin are not to be changed by ūha in the modifications of Darśapūrṇamāsa where the deity to which the offering is to be made is not Agni. Śabara assigns rather far-fetched meanings to the words Savitṛ, Aśvins and Pūṣan (as in the note below) and says that they are meant to eulogize the laying aside of the handfuls of grains for offering. There is another interesting case where there is no

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2181. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 1144–1146 and note 2550 for the Subrahmaṇyā-nigada and its meaning.

2182. अनाम्नातेष्वमन्त्रत्वमाम्नातेषु हि विभागः। पू. मी. सू. II. 1. 34; ऊहप्रवरनामधेयेषु संशयः—मन्त्रा उत नेति। अभिधायकत्वान्मन्त्रा इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः। अनाम्नातेषु मन्त्रत्वं न स्यादभिधायकेष्वपि। नाभिधायकत्वं मन्त्रत्वे हेतुः। किं तर्हि। अभियुक्तप्रयोगः। येऽभियुक्तैर्मन्त्रा इति लोचयन्ते न ते मन्त्राः। न चैवमादयो मन्त्रसमाम्नाये सन्ति। तस्मादमन्त्राः। प्रयोजनं मन्त्रे ब्रूते यत्प्रायश्चित्तममन्त्रेषु तत्र। शबर.

2183. स्तो दर्शपूर्णमासौ। तत्र निर्वापमन्त्रः। देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णो हस्ताभ्यामग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामीति। शाबर on IX. 1. 36; देवस्य ... निर्वपामि occurs in तै. सं. II. 6. 4. 1. देवस्य सवितुः प्रसवे-देवेन सवित्रा यजमानेन प्रसूते, उदिते वा सवितरि। अश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां परिक्रयमभिप्रेत्य यजमानयोर्दर्व्यपर्योर्बाहुभ्याम्। अश्विनौ हि तौ अन्नाधानेऽश्वदानेन, अक्षितवन्तौ वा तद्यज्ञफलमश्नुवाते। तद्बाहू इति स्वौ बाहू व्यपदिशति। देवताध्वर्योऽश्विनोरेतौ बाहू इति। पूषणं तु यजमानमेव मन्यते पुष्णातेः। एवं सर्वे निर्वापप्रकाशनार्थाः। शाबर on IX. 1. 37. The words 'परिक्रयमभिप्रेत्य' refer to the fact that the priest adhvaryu is engaged by the yajamāna as agent for a payment of fee and therefore adhvaryu's arms are yajamāna's arms.

ūha. In the Darśapūrṇamāsa there is a *praiṣa* (direction) 'set down [2184] the water for sprinkling, put down the fuel sticks and the bunch of kuśa grass, clean the *sruc* and *śruva* ladles, gird up the wife (of the sacrificer) and come out with clarified butter'. Suppose the sacrificer has two or more wives. Still the singular 'patnīm' was to be used and not the dual or plural either in the model itself (IX. 3. 20) or in any modification thereof (IX. 3. 21). Dharmaśāstra works make use of *ūha*. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra provides that one should perform Srāddha of one's maternal grand-father and the latter's two male ancestors in a similar way by the ūha of the mantra. [2185] The mantra in the case of the śrāddha of male ancestors is 'Śundhantām pitaraḥ' (Āp. Śr. I. 7. 13), which should be changed into 'Śundhantām mātāmahāḥ'; vide Mit. on Yāj. I. 254 and H. of Dh. Vol. IV p. 513 n. 1142a.

When in a sacrifice boiled rice is to be offered the mantra is 'syonam...vrīhīṇām medha sumanasyamānaḥ' (vide pp. 1398-99 n. 2125 above). If boiled rice is destroyed or not available and *nīvāra* grains are substituted, there is no ūha as 'nīvārāṇām medha' but the words 'vrīhīṇām medha' are to be retained (PMS IX. 3. 23-26), because, as stated in PMS VI. 3. 27 (sāmānyam tac-cikīrṣā hi), nīvāras are substituted on account of the similarity of parts of boiled *nīvāras* with the parts of rice grains.

In the third and fourth pādas of the 9th chapter there are twelve *adhikaraṇas* about the *adhrigu-praiṣa* recited by the Hotṛ in Paśubandha. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1121, note 2504 for that praiṣa. There is ūha to be made about certain words therein and PMS explains some of the unfamiliar and difficult words in that text.

The tenth chapter is the longest chapter in the PMS, having eight *pādas* and 577 sūtras (i. e. more than one-fifth of

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2184. अपूर्वे त्वविकारोऽप्रदेशात्प्रतीयेत। पू. मी. सू. IX. 3. 20; दर्शपूर्णमासयोरामनन्ति। प्रोक्षणीरासादयेध्मबर्हिरुपसादय स्रुचं च स्रुवञ्च संमृड्धि पत्नीं संनह्याज्येनोदेहीति। शबर on IX. 3. 20. The words प्रोक्षणी ... देहीति occur in आप. श्रौ. सू. II. 3. 11. This is तै. ब्रा. III. 2. 9. 14. Then शबर proceeds तत्र पत्नीं संनह्येति विभज्यते। अस्ति हि यजमान एकपत्नीको बहुपत्नीकश्च। ... इदं तु सन्दिह्यते। किं द्विपत्नीके बहुपत्नीके च प्रयोग ऊहितव्यः पत्नीशब्द उत नेति। ... एवं प्राप्ते क्रमः। अपूर्वे तु अप्रकृतिपूर्वके कर्मणि अविकारेण प्रयुञ्ज्येत। The next sūtra is विकृतौ चापि तद्वचनात्। IX. 3. 21.

2185. मातामहानामप्येवं श्राद्धं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः। मन्त्रोदेन यथान्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 75. 8.

the total number of sūtras) just as the third (with 363 sutras) and the 6th (with 349 sutras) have eight *pādas* each. This chapter is concerned with *bādha* (annulment or exclusion) and *abhyuccaya* or samuccaya which is the exact opposite or antithesis of bādha. The general rule is that the details of the prakṛtiyāga (model sacrifice) should be taken over in the vikṛti (modification). But in some cases the vikṛti-yāga[2186] has a different name, some of the saṁskāras (purificatory and embellishing acts) and some of the substances (dravya) employed in the prakṛti cannot be extended to the vikṛtis, because there are express texts negativing their employment or because they serve no purpose or have become useless or senseless. Śabara states that *bādha* occurs when an idea or knowledge determined for certain as this type or that has to be understood as wrong owing to some (special) reason while abhyuccaya (addition or combination) occurs when even after we have the knowledge that certain matters are to be extended to the vikṛti there is the further idea that a few others also are to be additional in the vikṛti.

The Mai. S. prescribes that one desirous[2187] of long life should offer a lump of one hundred *kṛṣṇalas* (golden pieces shaped as grains of rice) heated in clarified butter. But no pounding (*avaghāta*, threshing) is to be done in this, as the grains being made of gold, there is no chaff which can be separated by pounding (X. I. 1–3). Similarly, no *upastaraṇa*[2188] (pouring of clarified butter) and *abhighāraṇa* (the subsequent pouring of clarified butter) are to be done, since in the model sacrifice these two are done for making the oblation to have a sweet flavour (X. 2. 3–11). A caru of rice has to be boiled (i. e. the heat of fire is to be applied to it). In the same way the golden pieces are to be heated in clarified butter by fire (X. 2. 1–2). The golden pieces have to be sucked like sugarcane pieces (X. 2. 13–16), because they cannot be eaten while in the

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2186. बाधो नाम यदेवेदमिति निश्चितं विज्ञानं कारणान्तरेण मिथ्येति कल्प्यते। तथा, अभ्युच्चयो यदिदमिह भवतीति विज्ञातेऽपरमपि भवतीति विज्ञानम्। शबर on X. 1. 1; अपि वाऽभिधानसंस्कारद्रव्यमर्थे क्रियेत तावदर्थात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 1. 2; नैतदस्ति सर्वं प्राकृतं विकृतौ कर्तव्यमिति। कश्चिदभिधानसंस्कारद्रव्यं निवर्तितुमर्हति यल्लुप्तार्थम्। कुत एतत्। अभिधानसंस्कारद्रव्यं हि प्रयोजने सति क्रियते नाप्रयोजनम्। शबर.

2187. प्राजापत्यं घृते चरुं निर्वपेच्छतकृष्णलमायुष्कामः। मै. सं. II. 2. 2. भाष. वि. p. 37 refers to the absence of threshing in the matter of कृष्णल.

2188. For उपस्तरण and अभिधारण, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 528 n 1233.

model sacrifice *iḍā* and *prāśitra* [2189] are actually eaten. In a magic rite like *śyena* reeds are spread on the ground and not kuśa grass (as in the model sacrifice). This bādha is due to a special text. [2190] The general rule in vedic sacrifices is that priests have to be chosen and dakṣiṇā is to be paid to them at the end but sattras are an exception, since in sattras all are priests as well as performers (yajamānas). Here the exclusion of *varaṇa* (choosing) is due to the fact that in the other sacrifices the yajamāna and priests are different and the latter are engaged for fee. There is a visible purpose in selecting or engaging priests, [2191] but in a sattra where *ex hypothesi* all are yajamānas and priests as well, there is no visible purpose in going through the ceremony of choosing priests (ṛtvig-varaṇa).

One example of samuccaya may be given. In the Vājapeya (which is said to be a form of Jyotiṣṭoma according to PMS III, 7. 50–51) seventeen animals are to be sacrificed. In the model sacrifice (i e. Jyotiṣṭoma) also there are certain animals to be offered. The question is whether there is bādha of the *paśus* prescribed in the prakṛtiyāga or whether there is combination (samuccaya). The conclusion is that there is samuccaya (X. 4. 6), because in the Tai. Br. there occur passages like this—"The Brahmavādins say 'why is it that all sacrificial rites are contained in Vājapeya'? He should reply 'by means of paśus, viz. he sacrifices an animal to Agni, thereby he contains Agniṣṭoma, he contains the Ukthya &c.'" This shows that he has to sacrifice also other animals besides the seventeen. [2192] The Mit.

2189. For iḍā, vide vol. II p. 1065 n 2382 and for prāśitra, vol. II. p. 1039 n 2339. स्याद्वा निर्धान्यदर्शनात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 2. 14; स्याद्वा हिरण्यस्य भक्षः। भक्षणविशेषदर्शनात्। निरवधयन्तो भक्षयन्ति चुच्चुधाकारं भक्षयन्तीति। प्राप्ते भक्षे केवलं भक्षोपायं विधास्यति शब्द इति। शबर; पूर्ववाक्ये कृष्णलानां प्राधान्यादाज्यस्य च तदङ्गत्वात् तेषामेव भक्षणवाक्येऽन्वयः। तेषां चानङ्गभूतानामपि प्रदानवद्भक्षणमपि वचनाद्विधास्यतीति। तेषामेव चुच्चुधाकरणविशिष्टं भक्षणं विधीयते। शास्त्रदीपिका. चुच्चुधा is an onomatopoetic word for making a smacking sound when sucking juice.

2190. सोमारौद्रं चरुं निर्वपेत्कृष्णानां व्रीहीणामभिचरन् शरमयं बर्हिर्भवति वैभीदक इध्मः। शृणादिति शरमयं बर्हिर्भवति। मै. सं. II. 1. 6 and पू. मी. सू. X. 4. 1–2.

2191. वरणसूत्विजामानमनार्थत्वात्सत्रे न स्यात् स्वकर्मत्वात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 2. 34; वरणं ऋत्विजां सत्रेषु न स्यात्। न कर्तव्यमिति। स्वार्थं हि तेषां कर्म। न च कश्चिदात्मानं वृणीते। प्रकृतौ च आनमनार्थं वरणं दृष्टप्रयोजनमिति न शक्यमदृष्टं कल्पयितुम्। तस्मात्सत्रेषु वरणं न स्यात्। शबर. आनमन means 'submission or obedience to another's direction.'

2192. प्राजापत्येषु चाक्षानात्। पू. मी. सू. X. 4. 6; शबर quotes the passage 'ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति ... एतावन्तो वै पशुक्रतवः, तान् पशुभिरेवावरुन्धे' (तै. ब्रा. I. 3. 4) and remarks 'इति सशब्दयं दर्शयति'.

on Yāj. III. 243 furnishes examples of *samuccaya* in the matter of expiations.

The Tantravārtika (on PMS III. 3. 14 pp. 859–860) collects together about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general not dependent on either the conflict between śruti, liṅga &c. or not falling under the bādha instanced above. They are 'inference and such appearances as mirage are dispelled by or invalidated by direct perception, deceptive means of knowledge by the six means of knowledge, smṛti by śruti, a contradictory and untrustworthy smṛti by a trustworthy and uncontradicted smṛti, a smṛti with a visible purpose by another with an unseen purpose &c.'.

There is in the 10th chapter an important topic about *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees). In X. 2. 22–28 it is established that dakṣiṇā is to be given not for an unseen purpose (adṛṣṭa) but for engaging the priests to perform rites required in sacrifices. In III. 8 1–2 it is established that the yajamāna (the svāmin) is to engage priests for sacrifices except where a vedic text expressly directs otherwise (as in Tai. S. V. 2. 8. 2). In X. 3. 39 the items of *dakṣiṇā* are set out from Tāṇḍya XVI. 1. 10–11; it is held that the words 'dvādaśaśatam dakṣiṇā' mean [2193] that the cows are to be 112 (X. 3. 39, 49) and in X. 3. 50 it is provided that the yajamāna should himself distribute the fees and X. 3. 55 sets out the method of distribution. All priests are not to receive equal shares. The four principal priests are hotṛ, adhvaryu, [2194] udgātṛ and brahmā and each of these four have three assistants arranged in a certain order set out in the note below. Suppose there are one hundred cows to be distributed

2193. अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोमः, ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेति। तत्रैवमाम्नायते। गौश्चाश्वश्चाश्वतरश्च गर्दभश्चाजाश्चावयश्च व्रीहयश्च यवाश्च तिलाश्च माषाश्च। तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा। शबर on X. 3. 39. There is great divergence of views about the dakṣiṇā to be given; vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1188.

2194. होता मैत्रावरुणोऽच्छावाको ग्रावस्तुत्, अध्वर्युः प्रतिप्रस्थाता नेष्टोन्नेता, ब्रह्मा ब्राह्मणाच्छंसी आग्नीध्रः पोता, उद्गाता प्रस्तोता प्रतिहर्ता सुब्रह्मण्यः–इति। The four principal priests are underlined, three assistants come after each principal one. The assistants immediately after all four principals are called *ardhinaḥ* (they get half of their principal, they being मैत्रावरुण, प्रतिप्रस्थाता, ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् and प्रस्तोता); the thirds in each group of four constitute what are called *tṛtīyinaḥ* (they get ⅓ of what their principals get, they being अच्छावाकः, नेष्टा, आग्नीध्रः, प्रतिहर्ता); the last in each of the four groups are called pādinaḥ (they get one-fourth of what their principals get, they being ग्रावस्तुत्, उन्नेता, पोता and सुब्रह्मण्य). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1188–1189 and vol. III. p. 469 for distribution of fees among sacrificial priests.

as fee. Each group of four is assigned 1/4 i. e. 25 for *hotā* and his assistants, the *hotā* getting 12 and the other three getting respectively 6, 4, and 3 i. e. they get respectively half, 1/3 and 1/4 of what their principal gets. The same method applies to the other three groups. The prima facie[2195] view is that there should be an equal distribution of the fee (cows) as śruti does not lay down any unequal distribution; this is not accepted and it is proposed that the fee should be distributed in proportion to the work done by each. The established conclusion is that both the views are unacceptable and that the distribution should be in accordance with the meaning of the words 'ardhinaḥ,[2196] tṛtīyinaḥ and pādinaḥ' employed by Śruti.

Manu (VIII. 210) mentions the method of the distribution of fees in Vedic sacrifices outlined above and extends its principles of division to men working jointly on such undertakings as the construction of houses &c.[2197] Though the sūtra (samaṁ syād-aśrutivāt) is only the pūrvapakṣa view and not accepted as to the distribution of the cows as fees in Vedic sacrifices, it has been frequently followed as an equitable rule by medieval Dharmaśāstra writers. The Sm. C. relies on it about the liability of sureties (II. p. 152), about equal shares between father and sons in partition (II. p. 260) and II. 285 (distribution of *yautaka* among unmarried daughters), II. 404. Kullūka on Manu III. 1 (where 36 years are laid down as the period of studentship for mastering the three Vedas) states, relying on the sūtra 'samam' &c. that thirty-six years should be equally distributed over the three Vedaśākhās. The Madanaratna (on Vyavahāra) p. 202

2195. समं स्यादश्रुतित्वात्। अपि वा कर्मवैषम्यात्। अतुल्यौः स्युः परिक्रये विषमाख्या विधिश्रुतौ परिक्रयाच्च कर्मण्युपपद्यते दर्शनाद्विशेषस्य तथाम्युदये। पू. मी. सू. X. 3. 53-55.

2196. अध्वर्युः गृहपतिं दीक्षयित्वा ब्रह्माणं दीक्षयति तत उद्गातारं ततो होतारम्। ततस्तं प्रतिप्रस्थाता दीक्षयित्वा अर्धिनो दीक्षयति।... ततस्तं नेष्टा दीक्षयित्वा तृतीयिनो दीक्षयति।... ततस्तमुन्नेता दीक्षयित्वा पादिनो दीक्षयति पोतारं ब्रह्मणः सुब्रह्मण्यमुद्गातुः ग्रावस्तुतं होतुः। शबर on V. 1. 1 and also on X. 3. 55. Vide आप. श्रौ. सू. XXI. 2. 16-20 for a similar passage.

2197. सर्वेषामर्धिनो मुख्यास्तदर्धेनार्धिनोऽपरे।... अनेन विधियोगेन कर्तव्यांशप्रकल्पना॥ मनु. VIII. 210-211; एतच्चतुर्वंशपरिकल्पनविधानं तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणेति क्रतुसम्बन्धमात्रेण विहितायां दक्षिणायां न तु ऋत्विग्विशेषसम्बन्धित्वेन विहितायाम्। अन्यं दृष्टान्तविदो शास्त्रे इति तत्प्रतिपादकश्रुतिविरोधापत्तेः। मदनरत्न (व्यव०) pp. 202-203. मदनरत्न adds (p. 204) पशुबन्धादौ विषमविभागो नोक्त इति तत्र साम्येन दक्षिणाविभागः॥. If there be 112 cows, 28 cows are to be assigned to each of four वर्ग्स (viz. होतृवर्ग, अध्वर्युवर्ग, उद्गातृवर्ग and ब्रह्मवर्ग), then होतृवर्ग share is to be divided into 25 and होतृ is to get 12 out of 25 parts and his assistants 6, 4, 3 respectively i. e. the shares would approximately be 13, 6, 5, 4 (in 28 cows).

quotes both verses of Manu (VIII. 210–11), then quotes Manu VIII. 210 (on p. 213) and explains and then sets out the distribution of the dakṣiṇā if it was 112 cows. The Vyahāraprakāśa pp. 443 and 548 (on division of mother's yautaka stridhana by unmarried daughters) refer to the rule of equal division. Most of these works (as printed) read the sūtra as 'samam syādaśrutatvāt' and not as Jaimini and Śabara read.

The eleventh chapter deals with *tantra* which embraces cases where one act serves the purpose of several other acts or rites.[2198] For example, there are three yāgas viz. puroḍāśa (cake) baked on eight potsherds for Agni, curds for Indra and milk for Indra; one performance of the Prayājas serves these three (XI. 1. 5–19 and XI. 1. 29–37). Ādhāna (establishment of the sacred fires) is to be done only once and is not to be repeated in each *iṣṭi*, paśuyāga or somayāga (XI. 3. 2); the utensils required for Śrauta rites are prepared only once and are to be kept till the death of the sacrificer (XI. 3. 34–42).[2199] All these are cases of *tantra*. The general rule is that the place, time and the performer as regards all principal matters in one composite rite such as Āgneya and others in Darśapūrṇamāsa are one (XI. 2. 1) and also that they are the same for aṅgas (details); but in the case of the aṅgas (details) the place, time and the performer may be different on account of express texts.

If the fruit or result (*phala*) follows from all the component sacrifices collectively, then the subsidiary details have to be

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2198. यत्सकृत्कृतं बहूनामुपकरोति तत् तन्त्रमित्युच्यते यथा बहूनां ब्राह्मणानां मध्ये कृतः प्रदीपः। यत्त्वावृत्त्योपकरोति स आवापः। यथा तेषामेव ब्राह्मणानामनुलेपनम्। श्लोकमप्युदाहरन्ति-साधारणं भवेत्तन्त्रं परार्थे त्वमयोजकः। एवमेव प्रसङ्गः स्यादिष्यमाणे स्वके विधौ। शबर on XI. 1. 1; against repeating such acts as prayājas, शबर remarks 'येन सकृत्कृतेन नोपकृतं स पुनः क्रियमाण उपकरिष्यतीति काशा।' on XI. 1. 30; even the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali mentions this rule; on वार्तिक 4 (तत्रावयवे शास्त्रार्थसंप्रत्ययो यथा लोके) on पा. VI. 1. 84 it remarks 'यथा लोके वसन्ते ब्राह्मणोऽग्नीनावधीतेति सकृदाधाय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति। यथा गर्गाहते ब्राह्मण उपनेय इति सकृदुपनीय कृतः शास्त्रार्थ इति कृत्वा पुनः प्रवृत्तिर्न भवति।'.

2199. यज्ञायुधानि धार्येरन् प्रतिपत्तिविधानाद्यजीयवत्। पू. मी. सू. XI. 3. 34. The Vedic text is आहिताग्निमग्निभिर्वहन्ति यज्ञपात्रैश्च. Ten यज्ञायुधs are enumerated in तै. सं. I. 6. 8. 2–3 (स्रुचश्च कपालानि च etc.). For these and other utensils required in Vedic sacrifices, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 985, n. 2233; vide also पू. मी. सू. XI. 3. 43–45 which establish that the Yajñapātras are to be kept from the day of Agnyādheya and that placing them on the body of the sacrificer after his death is *pratipattikarma* of the utensils and of the sacred fires. Vide शबर on जै. XI. 3. 45.

performed only once and not separately in the case of each component; this is *tantra*. But if the result follows from each of the component sacrifices separately, then the subsidiary details should be performed with each one of those components. That would be a case of āvāpa (decentralisation or scattering). In the Darśapūrṇamāsa there are really two sets [2200] of sacrifices, one called Darśa (on amāvāsyā) and the other Pūrṇamāsa. The subsidiaries prescribed for each are almost the same. Yet they have to be repeated with each of the two sets, the principal reason being that the two are performed on two different days separated by a fortnight, though the two sets together make one single sacrifice leading to a single fruit. Vide PMS XI. 2. 12–18 which is a case of āvāpa.

The Aveṣṭi is a sacrifice which is performed as part of the composite sacrifice called Rājasūya that could be performed only by Kṣatriyas. It is also an independent sacrifice that could be performed by any one of the three higher varṇas. This is no part of the Rājasūya and is different from it, though the passage about it occurs in the midst of the description of Rājasūya.[2201] This is relied upon by the Nirṇayasindhu in connection with the Navarātra from Āśvina 1st to 9th of the bright half. There were different views, viz. Devīpūjā was to be performed for 9 days or on 8th or 9th tithi (vide above p. 154). The Kālikāpurāṇa quotes [2202] a verse about Devīpūjā on the 8th or 9th alone of Āśvina (*śukla*) and the N. S. interprets it as a separate worship on 8th or 9th alone distinct from the whole Navarātra.

2200. On XI. 2.15 शबर says 'अपि वा न तन्त्रमङ्गानि स्युः। कुतः कर्मपृथक्त्वात्। तेषां च तन्त्रविधानात्। कर्माणि तावदेतानि भिन्नानि अन्यः पौर्णमासः समुदायोऽन्य आमावास्यः। एवं सर्वत्र। तेषां च देशकालभेदः। पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेतेत्येवमादिः साङ्गानां च तेषां तत्र तत्र देशकालविधिः। ... तस्मात्पौर्णमास्यङ्गानां पौर्णमासीकालः। अमावास्याङ्गनाममावास्याकालः। तत्र गृह्यते विशेषः। विशेषग्रहणान्नेदः।'.

2201. अवेष्टौ यज्ञसंयोगात्कर्तृप्रधानमुच्यते। पू. मी. सू. II. 3. 3; अस्ति राजसूयः, राजा राजसूयेन यजेतेति। तं प्रकृत्यामनन्ति—अवेष्टिं नामेष्टिम्। आग्नेयोऽष्टाकपालो हिरण्यं दक्षिणा इत्येवमादि। तां प्रकृत्य विधीयते। यदि ब्राह्मणो यजेत बार्हस्पत्यं मध्ये निधायाहुतिमाहुतिं हुत्वाभिधारयेत्। यदि राजन्य ऐन्द्रं यदि वैश्यो वैश्वदेवम्—इति। शबर; for यदि ब्राह्मणो ... वैश्वदेवम् vide आप. श्रौ. 18. 21. 11. The सूत्र 'अवेष्टौ यज्ञसंयोगात्' may be expanded as follows 'अवेष्टौ यदि ब्राह्मण इत्यादिकं ब्राह्मणादिकर्तृकमयोगान्तरप्राप्तं स्यादेकस्यैव क्षत्रियस्य राजसूययज्ञसंयोगात्; then come अवेष्टौ चैकतस्त्यं स्यादिङ्गदर्शनात्। वचनात्कामसंयोगेन। क्रत्वर्थायामिति चेन्न वर्णसंयोगात्। पू. मी. सू. XI. 4. 8–10.

2202. एकाहपक्षोपि कालिकापुराणे-यस्त्वेकस्यामथाष्टम्यां नवम्यामथ साधकः। पूजयेद्धरदां देवीं महाविभवविस्तरैः॥ इति। तत्त्वं तु राजसूयेन्ययागैः सममधानायाः सहिताया अप्यवेष्टेरेतयाज्ञाय्यकालं याजयेदित्येकत्वान्मध्ये विधानाच्च यथा फलार्थो बहिः प्रयोगस्तथा नवरात्रमध्यस्थाया अष्टम्या नवम्या वा फलार्थः पृथक्प्रयोगः। नि. सि. p. 164.

The same *adhikaraṇa* where the Pūrvapakṣa proposes that Rājā means any one of any varṇa who rules over a kingdom and offers protection to the country and its cities, the siddhānta (PMS and Śabara) holds that 'rājā' is a word expressive of a caste viz. Kṣatriya, and this is referred to by several late Dharmaśāstra works like the Rājadharmakaustubha (p. 5). The V. P. refers to this adhikaraṇa and interprets the verse of Nārada viz. 'one who is an apostate from the order of ascetics would become the slave of the king' as providing that even a kṣatriya apostate would have to be the slave even of a vaiśya ruler, though the word 'rājā' in the primary sense means a kṣatriya yet in a secondary sense (lakṣaṇā) any one who protects subjets could be called rājā. The Par. M. discusses this adhikaraṇa at great length (I. 1. pp. 449–55). It may be noticed that the meaning of 'rājā' as kṣatriya in early texts changed to any ruler of any class who protects the country and people ruled over by him. This change is brought out briefly in Tantravārtika on III. 5. 26.

The 12th chapter deals with the topics of *prasaṅga*, *vikalpa* and the like. Prasaṅga occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just as when a lamp is lighted in a mansion it illumines the public road also.[2203] In connection with the Agnīṣomīya animal sacrifice an offering of *paśupuroḍāśa* (a cake of the meat of the animal sacrificed) in the words 'having offered the omentum of the animal to Agni and Soma one offers a paśupuroḍāśa cooked on eleven potsherds to Agni and Soma'. The question is whether the details such as *prayājas* should be performed afresh for this or whether those details performed at the time of offering the omentum will suffice. The established conclusion is that the details already performed at offering paśu (omentum) will serve for the offering of the meat cake also.[2204] In such cases the place or time and performer are to be the same. This conclusion is relied upon in the Prāyaścittaviveka which says that when a man performs the expiation for twelve years in connection with grave sins of

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2203. अन्यत्र कृतस्यान्यत्रापि प्रसक्तिः प्रसङ्गः। यथा गृहीपस्य प्रासादे कृतस्य राजमार्गे-प्यालोककरणम्। शबर on पू. मी. XII. 1. 1.

2204. अग्नीषोमीये पशौ पुरोडाशः, अग्नीषोमीयस्य वपया प्रचर्याग्नीषोमीयं पशुपुरोडाशमेकादशकपालं निर्वपेदिति। किं तस्य पृथक्त्वेनाकृतानि कर्तव्यानि उत यानि पशौ कृतानि तान्यप्युपकुर्वन्तीति। शबर on XII. 1. 1; अथवा नैव भेदेन पुरोडाशस्य तन्त्रं कर्तव्यम्। किं तर्हि। मुख्यतन्त्रेण सिद्धिः स्यात्। पाशुकमेव तन्त्रं पुरोडाशस्योपकुर्यात्। किं कारणम्। तन्त्रमध्ये विधानात्। पाशुकस्य तन्त्रस्य मध्ये पुरोडाशो विहितः, अग्नीषोमीयस्य वपया ... कपालं निर्वपतीति। शबर on XII. 1. 3.

different kinds or of the same kind, there is no necessity of a separate expiation for venial sins on the analogy of paśupuroḍāśa.[2205] Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 88–91 for twelve years' expiation for brāhmaṇa-murder.

Vikalpa has already been dealt with above (pp. 1249–1252).

The preceding pages are enough to exhibit the main doctrines and some of the principal Mīmāṁsā rules of interpretation and the great influence that the Mīmāṁsā exercised for over two thousand years on Dharmaśāstra works from the Āpastambadharmasūtra to late medieval works like the Smṛtitattva, Nirṇayasindhu and Vyavahāramayūkha. An exhaustive treatment of the numerous technical terms, topics and principles of the mīmāṁsā would easily cover a thousand pages, would enormously add to the extent of this work and has to be given up here for reasons of space, if for no other reason.

The Mīmāṁsā rules have been of considerable help to Dharmaśāstra writers. But it should not be supposed that application of the Mīmāṁsā rules is easy or that the rules always enable scholars to arrive at agreed or certain and definite conclusions. Apart from the schism between the Prābhākara and Bhāṭṭa schools already referred to above (on p. 1189) there are many circumstances which militate against the certainty and usefulness of mīmāṁsā conclusions. There are variant readings in the sūtras themselves (e. g. on I. 2. 9 there are three readings according to Tantravārtika p. 123, on I. 2. 14 two readings acc. to Tantrav. pp. 128–129). Śabara omitted the sutra II. 4. 17 (vākyāsamavāyāt) and the Tantravārtika notes (pp. 895–897) that Śabara omits six sūtras after III. 4. 9. Śabara frequently mentions a predecessor called Vṛttikāra with great respect but differs from him in some cases (e. g. on I. 1. 3–5), does not like his way of dealing with sūtras like II. 1. 32, 33 and VIII. 1. 2. Śabara gives alternative explanations of the same sūtra (e. g. of I. 3. 4, VII. 4. 13, VIII. 1. 39). Sometimes he treats two or more sūtras as forming one *adhikaraṇa* and alternatively treats one of them as forming a separate adhikaraṇa (as in I. 3. 3–4, II. 2. 23–24). He proposes more than two explanations of the same sūtra viz. IV. 1. 2. He puts forward two or more explanations of the same *adhikaraṇa* (as in IV. 3. 27–28, VIII. 3. 14–15

2205. एवमतुल्यरूपेषु पापेषु समानजातीयेषु विजातीयेषु वा लघुपापोद्देशेन द्वादशवार्षिकादिरूपप्रायश्चित्ते कृते स्वल्पपापानां पशुपुरोडाशन्यायेन प्रसङ्गादेव कार्यसिद्धेर्लाघवात् न पृथक् प्रायश्चित्तानुष्ठानम्। प्राय. वि. p. 85.

of two sūtras out of four), IX. 1. 1, IX. 1. 2–3, IX. 1. 34–35, IX. 2. 1–2, IX. 2. 21–24, IX. 2. 25–28 four explanations, X. 2. 30–31 three explanations, X. 1. 1–2 three explanations, X. 4. 1–2 three explanations. On 'Viśaye prāyadarśanāt' II. 3. 16 Śabara himself is at a loss as to what the doubt intended by the sūtrakāra is or what the sūtrakāra wants to establish and relies upon what the vṛttikāra says about the passage to be discussed and about the doubt that arises. Besides, Śabara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain *adhikaraṇas* as in 1. 3. 3–4 (where Kumārila gives on pp. 194–195 a different interpretation altogether after first accepting Śabara's view), I. 3. 5–7, I. 3. 8–9, I. 3. 11–14. Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini by naming him without the honorific title 'bhagavān' or 'ācārya' on pp. 495, 650, 655, 895, charges Jaimini with composing sūtras not containing much substance (p. 895) and remarks that Jaimini's sūtra is improper or wrong (e. g. vide p. 1241 about IV. 2. 27).

Kumārila is often critical of Śabara's bhāṣya and remarks dozens of times that the bhāṣya is improper (*ayukta*) or deserves to be discarded, is unmeaning or absurd (*asambaddha*) as on pp. 165, 302 (*upekṣitavya*), 313 (*asambaddha*), 314, 662, 710, 731, 863 (*asambaddha*), 950, 953, 1090–91, 1615 (*bahavo doṣāḥ*), 1714, 1980, 2004, 2193, 2204.

Another circumstance that makes one entertain grave doubts about the universal validity and usefulness of the principles evolved by the PMS system must also be adverted to. The greatest students of Mīmāṁsā arrive at entirely different conclusions on many points. Some striking cases may be referred to here. One of the most glaring of such cases is the interpretation of the short sūtra of Vasiṣṭha[2206] (15. 5, na strī putram dadyāt pratigṛhṇīyād vā anyatrānujñādbhartuḥ) 'a woman should not give or take a son in adoption except with the assent of her husband.' This has been interpreted in four different ways by works and authors about a Hindu widow's power of adopting a son. The Dattakamīmāṁsā holds that no widow can adopt a son, because, the husband being already dead, no assent of his can be had at the time of adoption. Vācaspati,

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2206. अत एव वसिष्ठः। न स्त्री पुत्रं ... भर्तुः—इति। अनेन विधवाया भर्त्रनुज्ञानासम्भवाद्यनधिकारो गम्यते। ... किं च व्याहृतिभिर्हुत्वा अदूरवान्धवं संनिकृष्टमेव प्रतिगृह्णीयात्—इति समानकर्तृकताबोधक-क्त्वाप्रत्ययश्रवणात् होमकर्तुरेव प्रतिग्रहसिद्धेः क्रीणां होमानधिकारत्वात् परिग्रहानधिकारः – इति वाचस्पतिः। वृत्तकमीमांसा pp. 19 and 22–23 (Ānan).

a Maithila writer, was of the same opinion on the further ground that, as Vasiṣṭha lays down that one about to take a son in adoption should, after having performed a *homa* in the middle of his house with the vyāhṛtis, take (in adoption) only him who is closely related and who is a kinsman and not remote (in habitation &c.) and, as women cannot perform a homa with Vedic mantras, all women including widows have no power to adopt. But in Bengal, it was held that the husband's assent need not be given at the time of adoption and that it may be given long before the actual adoption. In Madras it was held that the word husband in 'except with the assent of the husband' is only illustrative and that therefore the assent of the agnates of the father-in-law (husband's father) or of the husband's agnates would be enough to enable a widow to adopt. The Vyavahāramayūkha,[2207] the Nirṇayasindhu and the Saṁskāra-kaustubha hold that the assent of the husband is required for a woman whose husband is living and that a widow can adopt provided she has not been forbidden to adopt by her husband. For a detailed presentation of these four views and the case law, vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 668–674. The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (No. 78 of 1956) has made far-reaching and radical changes in the Law of Hindu adoptions and section 4 of that Act overrules all texts, rules or interpretations of Hindu Law or customs and usages as part of that law, except in so far as they may have been expressly saved by that Act.

The Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga, both steeped in Mīmāṁsā lore, differ on numerous points, some of which are:— (1) The Mit. holds that property or ownership arises by birth, the Dāyabhāga denies it and says it is on the death of the previous owner or by partition; (2) superior right to inherit depends on religious efficacy according to the Dāyabhāga, while nearness of blood relation is the determining factor according to the Mit.; (3) Members of a joint family hold family property in quasi-severalty and can dispose of their shares even before partition according to the Dāyabhāga; the Mit. does not say so; (4) acc. to Dāyabhāga even in a joint family a widow succeeds to her husband's share on his death without male issue, while the Mit. does not accept this view.

2207. भर्त्रनुज्ञा तु सधवाया एव दृष्टार्थत्वात्। विधवायास्तु तां विनापि पितृसदृभावे ज्ञातीनामाज्ञया भवति ... अतो यस्यामवस्थायां भर्त्रनुज्ञा प्राप्ता सैवात्रानूद्यते न त्वपूर्वा विधीयते। अतो विधवाया भर्तुराज्ञां विनाप्यधिकारः। व्य. म. p. 113; उक्तविधदत्तकस्वीकारः पुंभिरिव स्त्रीभिरपि सधवाभिर्विधवाभिश्च कार्यः। सं. कौ. p. 160.

One may note the great cleavage of opinion (above p. 1230) on such texts as Yāj. I. 81 (whether there is a vidhi or a niyama or parisaṅkhyā); in note 2111 (p. 1291) between the V. M. and Raghunandana both great Mimāṁsakas; in note 2113 p. 1292 on the interpretation of the word 'mātṛ' by Aparārka and the Dāyabhāga; on pp. 1302-3, notes 2133-34 above on Bṛhaspati's verse on re-united coparceners.

In passing it may be stated that to call the Act 'Hindu Adoptions Act' is a travesty and misnomer. It should have simply been called the Law of Adoptions in India and should have retained the ancient Hindu rules for Hindus as developed by the courts and should have been of a permissive character for all Indians like the English Statute (of 1926) on the adoption of children. The general Hindu law of adoption as developed in the authoritative smṛtis and commentaries and the case law did not contemplate the adoption of a daughter (except when she was made in ancient times a *putrikā*) and to allow the adoption of a daughter when a son was living throws to the winds the basic priniciple of the Hindu Law that a *sonless* man should adopt a male as a son for the sake of the presentation of piṇḍas and water (to the Manes) and for continuance of the family name (sections 7 and 11 of the Act). The Act allows a woman (even if not married) to adopt to herself a son or daughter or both and under it a woman, if married, can adopt a daughter even if she has a son but a married woman cannot adopt a daughter if she has already a daughter or a son's daughter living at the time of adoption (sections 8 and 11). The Act does not recognize dvyāmusyāyana adoptions which were recognized by Sanskrit texts and also by judicial decisions. The ministers in the Government and their followers (most of the latter hardly know what Hindu Law was and has been) were carried away by enthusiasm for equality of rights for both men and women. As the Indian Union is now a welfare State and it is professed that laws are to be made keeping in view a socialistic pattern, Govt. should have disallowed adoptions altogether or at least put great curbs on indiscriminate adoptions. Instead, they extended the scope of adoption among Hindus by allowing a man to adopt a daughter even when he had a son or sons and by allowing even unmarried women to adopt a son or daughter or both. This is against a socialistic pattern. If adoptions had been disallowed entirely or allowed within narrow limits cases of escheat to Government for want of heirs would have been many and to that

extent a socialistic pattern would have been advanced. There is no evidence to show that women were keen on the right to adopt a son or daughter even when they were unmarried. The first principle of introducing reforms in the existing law is that only strictly necessary changes should be put forward. Reformers and legislators should take to heart the advice of Mr. Aldous Huxley (in 'Ends and Means,' p. 30) that change as such is more or less distressing to most human beings, that man's conservatism is a fact in any historical situation and that social reformers should abstain from making unnecessary changes or changes that are of startling magnitude. Legislators should not forget that when they introduce far-reaching changes to lessen hardships, real or supposed, deemed to be caused by existing social conditions, they very often create new problems for the immediate future. To take a simple example, under the old Hindu Law all girls were to be married before puberty, though Manu (IX. 90) provided that a girl should wait for three years thereafter during which, her parents or relatives might select a bridegroom for her, but that if they failed to do so she may herself choose her partner. This was not a bad provision. People however went in for child marriages for girls and the problem of spinsters never arose. Then over thirty years ago came the Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929) whereby the legally allowed marriageable age for girls was fixed at 14. By subsequent amendments and by the Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) the lowest marriageable age for girls is now fixed at 15. This Act of 1929 originally went a long way in raising the minimum age for the marriage of girls. Then, after the second world war, owing to economic stringency, and other factors, the tendency of marrying at a late age increased and now the problem of spinsters among Hindus has emerged and great difficulties about the marriages of grown-up women in middle class families are being experienced.

Appendix to Section VII Chap. XXX.

It would be helpful to the students of Pūrvamīmāṁsā and of Dharmaśāstra, if some of the important and frequently cited maxims (nyāyas) of the former, are brought together in one place with references from the P. M. S., Śabara, Kumārila, Pārthasārathi, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on the Vedānta-sūtras, the Bhāmatī on the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya and a few others. Kumārila, particularly, is very fond of employing Nyāyas in the Tantravārtika e. g. on p. 415 (on Jai. II. 1. 8) he employs five different nyāyas. Many of these nyāyas have been explained in the several volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra to which references will be furnished at the appropriate places. Several of the nyāyas here mentioned occur in the Laukika-nyāyāñjali (in three parts) published by the indefatigable scholar, Col. Jacob. In some cases his explanations are not accurate or satisfactory, but one must not forget that he wrote about half a century ago.

अग्निहोत्रन्याय — जै. VI. 2. 23–26; vide शङ्कर on वे. सू. III. 4. 32.

अङ्गगुणविरोधन्याय — जै. XII. 2. 25; vide शबर thereon and मी. न्या. प्र. p. 166.

अङ्गभूयस्त्वे फलभूयस्त्वम् — शबर on जै. X. 6. 62 and XI. 1. 15.

अङ्गाङ्गिन्याय — जै. II. 2. 3–8. Vide above p. 1308 n 2146.

अङ्गानां प्रधानोपकाररूपैककार्यार्थत्वम् — जै. XI. 1. 5–10.

अणुरपि विशेषोऽध्यवसायकरः — vide व्य. प्र. p. 525 and व्य. म. p. 143.

अधिकारन्याय — जै. VI. 1. 1–3 and 4–5 (śāstra is meant only for human beings), but vide वे. सू. I. 3. 26–33, where शङ्कर on I. 3. 26 holds that Śabara's words have no application to brahmavidyā.

अनन्यलभ्यः शब्दार्थः — मी. न्या. प्र. p. 92 'अत्राहुः। स एव शब्दस्यार्थो यः प्रकारान्तरेण न लभ्यते। अनन्य...र्थ इति न्यायात्।; vide भामती on वे. सू. I. 3. 17 (प्रसिद्धेश्च).

अनुपकृङ्गन्याय — जै. II. 1. 48; vide pp. 1304–1306 above and स्मृतिच. (on आह्निक p. 381), व्य. म. p. 147.

अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोरन्तरङ्गं बलीयः — vide शबर on जै. XII. 2. 27; महाभाष्य (on पा. I. 1. 4, I. 1. 5) says 'असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे'.

अन्धपरम्परान्याय — तन्त्रवा. on जै. I. 3. 27 p. 282 and on III. 3. 14 p. 858, मेधा. on मनु X. 5, शङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2. 30.

अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम् — शबर on जै. II. 1. 12 p. 410, on V. 4. 14 p. 1340, on VI. 1. 22 p. 1366, on VII. 3. 3, p. 1550; तन्त्रवा. on II. 4. 10, p. 639, भामती on वे. सू. I. 3. 17; vide मनु. पा. p. 369 and p. 1292, n. 2112 above.

अपच्छेदन्याय — शबर on जै. VI. 5. 49–50 defines अपच्छेद as 'संयुक्तस्य हि पृथग्भावोऽपच्छेदः' and व्यव. प्र. p. 535. The word occurs in जै. VI. 5. 56.

अप्राप्ते शास्त्रमर्थवत् — This is part of जै. VI. 2. 18 and means 'विधिना तावच्चोद्य विधेयं यत्प्रकारान्तरेण्याप्तम्' मी. न्या. प्र. p. 222.

अभिमर्शनन्याय — जै. III. 7. 8–10; व्यव. प्र. p. 535.

अभ्यासाधिकरण — जै. II. 2. 2 (with reference to five Prayājas in तै. सं. II, 6. 1. 1–2). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1057 n 2368 and above p. 1306.

अभ्युदितेष्टिन्याय — जै. VI. 5. 1–9; मिता० on या. III. 253 and व्य. म. pp. 151–152 and notes thereon pp. 277–279 and भामती on वे. सू. III. 3. 7.

अरुणान्याय or अरुणाधिकरण — जै. III. 1. 12 on तै. सं. VI. 1. 6. 7 अरुणया पिङ्गाक्ष्या क्रीणाति; vide अपरार्क p. 1030 on या. III. 205, मद. पा. pp. 88–89, H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1142 n 2547 and above pp. 1294–5.

अर्के चेन्मधु विन्देत किमर्थं पर्वतं व्रजेत्—शबर on जै. I. 2. 4 quotes the latter half also as इष्टस्यार्थस्य संसिद्धौ को विद्वान् यत्नमाचरेत्. He explains अर्क as a plant (*Calatropis Gigantea*); vide also तन्त्रवा. on same p. 111, विश्वरूप on या. III. 243 (first half); शङ्कर on वे. सू. III. 4. 3 quotes the first half as a न्याय.

अर्धकुक्कुटिपाक — means the same thing as अर्धजरतीय; vide तन्त्रवा० p. 720 on जै. III. 1. 13. It means 'it involves a total contradiction to say that one would cook half a hen for food and keep the other half for laying eggs.'

अर्धजरतीय — Vide महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 5 on पा. IV. 1. 78 (अर्धं जरत्या: कामयतेऽर्धं नेति), शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. 1. 2. 8 (यथाशास्त्रं तर्हि शास्त्रीयोर्धः प्रतिपत्तव्यो न तत्रार्धजरतीयं लभ्यम्), परा. मा. II. 1. p. 702.

अर्धवैशस — Resembles अर्धजरतीयन्याय. Vide तन्त्रवा. pp. 170, 174, 180, 261; शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 3. 18. वैशस means 'destruction, rending into pieces, conflict'. The कुमारसम्भव IV. 31 employs the word in the literal sense.

अर्धमन्तर्वेदि मिनोत्यर्धं बहिर्वेदि — Vide शबर on जै. III. 7. 14 and तन्त्रवा. pp. 1083–84; quoted by व्य. म. pp. 115, 146 and notes (by the present author) pp. 189–191 and H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1114 and vol. III. pp. 694–95.

अवयवप्रसिद्धेः समुदायप्रसिद्धिर्बलीयसी — vide शबर on जै. VI. 7. 22, who gives अश्वकर्ण (name of a tree) with leaves like horse's ears as an instance (which has neither अश्वत्व nor कर्णत्व), तन्त्रवा. on जै. I, 4. 11.

अवेष्ट्यधिकरणन्याय — जै II. 3. 3 and XI. 4. 10. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 38 and above pp. 1332–33 n 2201–2, शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 3. 50.

अश्वाभिधानीन्याय — इमामगृभ्णन्रशनामृतस्येत्यश्वाभिधानीमादत्ते — तै. सं. V. 1. 2. 1 and the mantra occurs in तै. सं. IV. 1. 2. 1, explained in मी. न्या. प्र. p. 80, अर्थसंग्रह p. 5. Vide p. 1308 n 2147.

अश्वकर्णन्याय — vide दुपटीका on जै. IV. 4. 1 p. 1270. This is put forward to assert that in राजसूय the conventional meaning has to be taken and not the literal one.

आकाशमुष्टिहननन्याय — vide तन्त्रवा. on जै. I. 3. 12 p. 236 (यस्तम्नूनमुपादाय तुरीमात्रपरिग्रहात्। पदं कर्तुं समीहेत स हन्याद् व्योम मुष्टिभिः), शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 18.

आख्यातानामर्थं ब्रुवतां शक्तिः सहकारिणी — शबर on जै. I. 4. 25, अर्थसंग्रह (p. 16, calls it a न्याय), श्लोकवा. (on चोदनासूत्र verse 47 p. 59), तन्त्रवा. on जै. II. 1. 1 p. 378 (शक्तयः सर्वभावानां नानुयोज्याः स्वभावतः। तेन नाना वदन्त्यर्थान् प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादयः॥). Vide p. 1291 note 2111 above.

आनन्तूनामन्ते निवेशः — Vide शबर on जै. V. 3. 4 and X. 5. 1, शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 3. 3, H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 731 notes 1413–14 and तिथितत्त्व p. 63, व्य. म. p. 143.

आनन्तर्यमकारणम् — Vide यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्धः below. Vide the sūtra आनन्तर्यमर्थात् (जै. III. 1. 24) and जै. IV. 3. 11 a part of which is 'अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्येऽप्यसम्बन्धः'.

आर्ष्यधिकरणन्याय — जै. VI. 4. 22; तै. ब्रा. III. 7. 1. 7–8 has यस्योभयं हविरार्तिमार्च्छेद् वैश्वं पञ्चशरावमोदनं निर्वपेत्. Here the word उभयं is अविवक्षित and is no part of the विधि.

उद्दिश्यमानस्य (or उद्देश्यगतं) विशेषणमविवक्षितम् — Vide above p. 1286 notes 2098–99 on ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि and दुप्टीका on जै. VI. 4. 22 p. 1438, on VII. 1. 2 p. 1526, on IX. 1. 1 p. 1636, on X. 3, 39 p. 1882 (उद्दिश्यमानस्य च संख्या न विवक्ष्यते ग्रहस्येव) and व्य. म. pp. 45–46, 90, 132, 210 and विश्वरूप on या. III. 250 (न च लक्ष्यमाणस्य विशेषणं विवक्षितमिति न्यायः).

उद्भिदधिकरण — जै. I. 4. 1–2. उद्भिद्, चित्रा, अग्निहोत्र are names of *yāgas* (and not गुणविधि) and are प्रमाण. Vide pp. 1244–45 n 2021–22 above.

उपक्रमोपसंहारन्याय — If the उपक्रम is doubtful it is the उपसंहार that settles the same and not *vice versa*. Vide भामती on वे. सू. III. 3. 17.

उपसंहारन्याय — जै. III. 1. 26–27; उपसंहारो नाम सामान्यतः प्राप्तस्य विशेषे सङ्कोचरूपो व्यापारविशेषो विधेः। मी. न्या. प्र. p. 261; vide मिता. on या. I. 256, नि. सि. pp. 37 and 71, व्य. म. p. 111 and the present author's notes to V. M. p. 179.

ऋतुलिङ्गन्याय — This refers to the verse यथर्तावृतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये। दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु॥ आदिपर्व 1. 39 (= cr. ed. 1. 37), शान्तिपर्व 210. 17 (= cr. ed. 233. 15). This verse is quoted by तन्त्रवा. on जै. I. 3. 7 p. 202, in शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 3. 30. It is also वायुपुराण 9. 65, विष्णुपुराण I. 5. 61, मार्कण्डेय 45. 43–44.

एकवाक्यतान्याय — जै. II. 1. 46. Vide M. M. Jha's 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources' pp. 192–193 for explanation and examples and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 443 note 744 and pp. 1297–98 n 2123 above. विश्वरूप on या. III. 248 exemplifies this न्याय. The word एकवाक्यता occurs in वे. सू. III. 4. 24.

एकहायनीन्याय — m. by तन्त्रवा. on II. 1. 12 p. 415. It is the same as अरुणान्याय above.

एकार्थास्तु विकल्पेरन् — This is part of जै. XII. 3. 10. मिता. on या. III. 257 states 'एकार्थानामेव विकल्पो व्रीहियवयोरिव न च दण्डतपसोरेकार्थत्वम्'.

ऐन्द्रीन्याय — Vide pp. 1309–10 notes 1251–52 on ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते.

औदमेधिन्याय — If a man's name is औदमेधि one at once infers, without being expressly told, that he is the son of one called उदमेध. Vide शबर on जै. III. 5. 26 p. 1003 and on II. 3, 3 at p. 580 and तन्त्रवा. p. 580.

औदुम्बराधिकरण — जै. I. 2. 19–25 concerning तै. सं. II. 1. 1. 6 औदुम्बरो यूपो भवति, ऊर्ग्वा उदुम्बर ऊर्ज पशवः, तन्त्रवा. p. 352, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 134 ff.

कपालन्याय or कपालाधिकरणन्याय — जै. X. 5. 1, explained in मलमासतत्त्व p. 779.

कपिञ्जलन्याय — जै. XI. 1. 38-46 and above pp. 1288–89, n 2105. Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 415 (on जै. II. 1. 12), and p. 1004 (on जै. III. 5. 26) saying कपिञ्जलवच्च त्रिष्वेव बहुत्वश्रुतिरवस्थाप्यते; परा. मा. I. 2. p. 281.

कम्बलनिर्णेजनन्याय — शबर on जै. II. 2. 25 p. 545 (निर्णेजनं क्षुभयं करोति कम्बलक्षुद्धिं पादयोश्च निर्मलताम्).

कर्मभूयस्त्वात्फलभूयस्त्वम् — Vide स्मृतिच. II. p. 264 and परा. मा. I. 1. p. 25 (कर्माधिक्यात्फलाधिक्यमिति न्यायसमाश्रयात्).

कलञ्जन्याय — शबर on जै. VI. 2. 19-20 on 'न कलञ्जं भक्षयितव्यं' says that this is downright prohibition (प्रतिषेध) and not a पर्युदास. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 248-249 and तिथितत्त्व p. 6.

कांस्यभोजिन्याय — This occurs in the पू. मी. सू. XII. 2. 34 itself (अधिकस्य गुणः साधारणेऽविरोधात्कांस्यभोजित्वदक्षुखयेऽपि); शंबर explains 'शिष्यस्य कांस्यपात्रभोजित्वनियमः, उपाध्यायस्य न नियमः। यदि तयोरेकस्मिन्पात्रे भोजनमापद्यते, अक्षुखयस्यापि शिष्यस्य धर्मो नियम्येत मा भूद्धर्मलोप इति'.

काकदन्तपरीक्षान्याय — Vide तुपटीका p. 1388 on जै. VI. 2. 1. Some actions such as counting the hair on the skin of an ass or the teeth of a crow are useless or profitless.

काकाक्षिगोलकन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 198 on जै I. 3. 7, मेधा. on मनु VIII. 1, न्य. प्र. p. 534, न्य. म. p. 95 and notes thereon at p. 135.

काण्डानुसमय — शबर on जै. V. 2. 3 pp. 1310-11. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 739-740, vol. IV. pp. 441-442 note 987 and पदार्थानुसमय below.

कारणगुणपूर्वकत्वात्कार्यगुणानाम्न्याय — तन्त्रवा. p. 245 on जै. I. 3. 16. The qualities of the cause are found in the effect.

कुण्डपायिनामयनन्याय — जै. VII. 3. 1-4. Vide आप. श्रौ. 23. 10. 6 ff and H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 136-137 n 312 for references and p. 1307 above.

कुशकाशावलम्बनन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 268 on जै. I. 3. 24. (कुश is दर्भ and काश is a grassy plant with white flowers). These are so frail that no one can support himself by means of these; so metaphorically it means "supporting by frail or hopeless arguments." Vide न्यव. प्र. p. 527.

कृत्वाचिन्ताम्याय — Taking up a purely hypothetical point for discussion; occurs frequently in Śābarabhāṣya, e. g. on जै. VI. 8. 43 p. 1522 (कृत्वा चिन्तायां प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यम्), on XI. 3. 16 p. 2175, XII. 2. 11 p. 2242; vide तन्त्रवा. p. 287 (on जै. I. 3. 27) and p 890 on जै. III. 4. 1 (यस्तु भाष्यकारेणोपन्यासः कृतः स कृत्वाचिन्ताम्यायेन).

कैमुतिकन्याय — The word is derived from किमुत, used in such passages as in कादम्बरी 'गर्भेश्वरत्व... शक्तित्वं चेति महतीयं खल्वनर्थपरम्परा, सर्वाविनयानामेकमप्येषामायतनं किमुत समवायः'। Vide न्य. म. p. 241 and present author's note on p. 419 of the notes to न्य. म.

क्षामेष्टिन्याय — जै. VI. 4. 17-20. If the Puroḍāśa to be offered in दर्शपूर्णमास is partially burnt, still one should perform the rite with the unburnt part of the cake and a prāyaścitta would be necessary only if the whole puroḍāśa is burnt. Vide मिताक्षरा on या. III. 243.

खलेकपोतवत् — Meaning 'like all pigeons, young and old, simultaneously alighting on a threshing floor.' Vide शबर on जै. XI. 1. 16 p 2111, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 65.

गार्हपत्यन्याय — Same as ऐन्द्रीन्याय above. Vide शबर on जै. III. 2. 3 and अर्थसंग्रह p. 6.

गुणकामाधिकरण — जै. II. 2. 25–26 based on इष्नेन्द्रियकामस्य जुहुयात् (तै. ब्रा.II. 1. 5. 6), the meaning being वृधिकरणत्वेनेन्द्रियं भावयेत्. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 42–43, and 36–39 and p. 1310 above.

गुणमुख्यव्यतिक्रमन्याय — This is part of जै. III. 3. 9 (गुणमुख्यव्यतिक्रमे तदर्थत्वान्मुख्येन वेदसंयोगः). Vide तन्त्रवा. pp. 810 and above p. 1290 n. 2108; शाङ्कर भाष्य on वे. सू. III. 3. 33 quotes this sūtra.

गुणलोपे च मुख्यस्य — This is जै X. 2. 63. The words क्रिया स्यात् (or भवति) are to be understood.

गोबलीवर्दन्याय — In such a sentence as गाव आनीयन्तां बलीवर्दाश्च, the separate mention of balīvardas that are really included under 'gāvaḥ' is due to the fact that bulls are more intractable than cows and require special attention and effort. This is often used in Dharmaśāstra works. Vide मिता० on या. III. 312–313, स्मृतिच. (on व्यवहार) pp. 66, 67, 102, 169, 280, 300, कुल्लूक on मनु VIII. 28, व्य. म. p. 2 and H. of *Dh. vol. III. p. 526* note 966.

गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्ययः — Vide शबर on ज. III. 2. 1. This न्याय is also cited as मुख्यगौणयोः ... संप्रत्ययः. शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 13. 12 cites it. मुख्य and गौण respectively mean 'primary sense' and 'secondary sense.' The महाभाष्य has the परिभाषा 'गौण ... संप्रत्ययः' on वार्तिक 1 on पा. I. 1. 15 and on वार्तिक 4 on पा. VI. 3. 46. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 725, note 1399.

ग्रहैकत्वन्याय — जै. III. 1. 13–15 based on वज्रापविद्धेण ग्रहं संमार्ष्टि (तै. सं. III. 2. 2. 3). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 589 note 1380 and above p. 1285–86 and n. 2098.

चतुर्धाकरणन्याय — जै. III. 1. 26–27. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. p. 261, अर्थसंग्रह p. 24. Vide vol. IV, p. 670 n 1517.

छत्रिन्याय — Vide शबर on जै. I. 4. 23 (यथा छत्रिणो गच्छन्तीत्येकेन छत्रिणा सर्वे लक्ष्यन्ते), तन्त्रवा. on I. 4. 13, p. 347, दुप्टीका on जै. IV. 4. 1 p. 1270 and VII. 3. 7, p. 1552 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 500–501. शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू III. 3. 34 employs it in explaining छत्रं पिबन्तौ (कठोप. III. 1).

जतिलयधान्या जुहुयात् — This appears like a विधि, but it is only an अर्थवाद for praising पयोहोम. The vedic passage is in तै. सं. V. 4. 3. 2 and जै. X. 8. 7 deals with it. भामती on वे. सू. III 3. 18 relies on it.

जातेष्टिन्याय — जै. IV. 3. 38–39 on तै. सं. II. 2. 5. 3 वैश्वानरं द्वादशकपालं निर्वपेत् पुत्रे जाते. Though the performer of the rite is the father, the fruit accrues to the son that is born. Vide मिता. on या. II. 56 and III. 220, शाय. वि. p. 18, व्यव. प्र. p. 253–54, इष्ट. मी. p. 136 (Ānan. ed.)

जुहून्याय — जै. IV. 3. 1 based on passages like यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति न स पापं श्लोकं शृणोति (in तै. सं. III. 5. 7. 2). Such sentences are not फलविधि, but merely अर्थवाद.

तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय or ब्राह्मणकौण्डिन्यन्याय — Vide तन्त्रवा. p. 860 (वधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय), श्लोकवा. (वनवाद, verse 15). If only the words वधि ... दीयतां were uttered, कौण्डिन्य being a ब्राह्मण would be included; but if the whole sentence be used he would be excluded from the first part. The महाभाष्य frequently cites this nyāya, e. g. on वार्तिक 4 on पा. VI. 1. 2 and वार्तिक 1 on पा. I. 1. 47 and on वार्तिक 2 on पा. VI. 2. 1; vide मिता. on या. III. 257 for this maxim.

तत्सकृत्कन्याय — जै. I. 4. 4 (तत्सकृत्कं चान्यशास्त्रम्), which means तस्य गुणस्य सकृत्कं सापकं अन्यशास्त्रं यत्र भवति. In तै.सं. I. 5. 9. 1 we read अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति (स्वर्गकामः). Here अग्निहोत्र is the name (नामधेय) of a rite (अग्नये होत्रं हामो यस्मिन्) and not a गुणविधि. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. p. 64, धर्महेतुनिर्णय p. 3, अर्थसंग्रह pp. 4 and 20.

तद्व्यपदेशन्याय — जै. I. 4. 5. The example is श्येनेनाभिचरन् यजेत. Here the word श्येन (meaning 'hawk') is applied to the rite called śyena, because it resembles the bird in its swift action. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. p. 238 (तेन व्यपदेशः उपमानम्। तद्वन्यथानुपपत्त्येति यावत्) and p. 1245 above.

दण्डापूपन्याय or दण्डापूपिकनीति — This is very often employed in धर्मशास्त्र works. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 147 and III. 257, मिता. on या. II. 126, स्मृतिच. on व्यवहार pp. 142, 146, 242, 249, 283, 296, 301, 315, 326, दायभाग X. 30, दायतत्त्व p. 170, व्य. म. p. 131 (and my notes on the same at pp. 221–222). For the derivation of दण्डापूपिक, vide अलङ्कारसर्वस्व on अर्थापत्ति p. 196 and जयरथ thereon.

दर्विहोमन्याय — जै. VIII. 4. 1, तन्त्रवा. p 115 on जै. I. 2. 7, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 149. In this compound word होम is the principal word and the word दर्वि is उपसर्जन (or अप्रधान). Therefore दर्विहोम is the name of a rite.

दशहराव्याय — Vide प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण of भवदेव p. 18, प्राय. विवेक p. 81, मुद्गितत्त्व pp. 240–241. There is a व्रत on the 10th tithi of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha called दशहरा, since it removes ten sins. The maxim means that in certain cases, by a single performance one may be able to secure several objects.

दृष्टं प्रयोजनमुत्सृज्य न शक्यमदृष्टं कल्पयितुम्।

दृष्टे फले अदृष्टफलकल्पना अन्याय्या।

दृष्टे सति अदृष्टकल्पनाऽन्याय्या।

दृष्टे संभवत्यदृष्टस्यान्याय्यत्वम्।

Vide शाबर on जै. IX. 3. 3 p. 1745, on जै. X. 2. 23 p. 1835 and on X. 2. 34 p. 1838, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 201, एकादशीतत्त्व p. 89, भागवती on वे. सू. III. 3. 14 and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 837 n 1628 and above p. 1260 note 2051.

देहलीदीपन्याय–देहली door-sill. A lamp thereon sheds light inside the room as well as outside. This is the same as प्रासाददीपन्याय below. प्रदीपवत् occurs in जै. XI. 1. 61; vide शाबर thereon, व्य. म. p. 149 explaining या. II. 139 employs it.

द्वयोः प्रणयन्तिन्याय — जै. VII. 3. 19–25; Relied upon and explained in Mit. on Yāj. II. 135, दायभाग XI. 5. 16 p. 194 and व्यव. प्र. pp. 500–502 and 535; vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 704–705 note 1347a for explanation.

धेनुकिशोरन्याय — जै. VII. 4. 7 (in which the words यथा धेनुः किशोरेण occur); शाबर explains it clearly. धेनुः ordinarily means 'cow', but किशोर means 'foal'. Therefore in कृष्णकिशोरा धेनुः, धेनु means 'mare'.

न तौ पशौ करोति न सोमे — जै. X. 8. 5 and XII. 1. 7. तौ refers to आज्यभागौ; vide व्यवहारसार p. 231 (part of वृसिंहप्रसाद), द्र. मी. p 182 and above p 1249.

न विधौ परः शब्दार्थः — means that it is not permissible to hold that in a विधि-वाक्य a word therein has a meaning other than the direct one. The कल्पतरु on भामती (on वे. सू. I. 1. 1 p. 10) explains 'विधायके शब्दे परो लक्ष्यः शब्दार्थो न भवति'; vide शाबर on IV. 4. 19 (which says अनुवादे च लक्षणा न्याय्या न विधौ) and also on IV. 1. 8, where the ten यज्ञायुधs (स्रुच् wooden sword etc.) mentioned in तै. सं. I, 6. 8. 2–3 are held to be an अनुवाद and not a विधि. Vide परा. मा. I. 2. p. 298 and मद. पा. p. 372, वृत्त. मी. p. 180.

नष्टाश्वदग्धरथन्याय — Vide शबर on जै. II. 1. 1 p. 376, तन्त्रवा. on जै. I. 2. 7 and on III. 3. 11 p. 818. This is an old न्याय. वार्तिक 16 on पा. I. 1. 50 is संप्रयोगे वा नष्टाश्वदग्धरथवत् and the महाभाष्य explains 'तवाश्वो नष्टो ममापि रथो दग्धः, उभौ संप्रयुज्यावहै इति'. मेधा. on मनु V. 51 and भामती on I. 1. 4. p. 108 mention it. The idea is इतरेतरोपकारकत्व.

न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते, अपि तु विधेयं स्तोतुम् — vide H. of Dh. II. p. 581 n 1359 and above p. 96 n 237 for passages from Śabara and Tantravārtika. The मिता. on या. III. 221 paraphrases it.

न श्लोकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थता सत्यां गतौ न्यायात्या — Vide शबर on जै. VIII. 3. 22 and IX. 4. 18 and the न्याय 'अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्' above p. 1339.

नागृहीतविशेषणान्याय — This is often expressed in the form नागृहीतविशेषणा विशेष्ये बुद्धिरुत्पद्यते (as in शबर on जै. VII. 2, 13) or as न ह्यप्रतीते विशेषणे विशिष्टं केचन प्रत्येतुमर्हन्ति (as in शबर on जै. I. 3, 33 p. 304). Vide तन्त्रवा. pp. 304, 326, 916, एका. तत्त्व p. 15, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 313, न्य. म. p. 89 (and the present author's notes thereon pp. 117–118).

नास्ति वचनस्यातिभारः — This न्याय occurs very frequently in शबर and धर्मशास्त्र works in different forms, but the meaning is the same viz. 'there is nothing too heavy (i. e. impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text.' Vide शबर on जै. *II, 2. 27* (किमिव हि वचनं न कुर्यात्...नास्ति...भारः), *on* जै. *III. 2. 3, X. 5. 11*; on जै VI. 1. 44, the wording is 'न हि वचनस्य किंचिदलभ्यं नाम'. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. III. 3. 41 and III, 4. 32 employs it. Vide विश्वरूप on या. I. 58 (referred to in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 525 n 1224), मिता. on याज्ञ. III. 298 (H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 66 n 161, परा. मा. II. 1 p. 202 and II. 2 p. 64).

निमित्तगतं विशेषणमविवक्षितम् — Similar to आर्त्याधिकरणन्याय. Vide विश्वरूप on या. III. 212.

निमित्तावृत्तौ नैमित्तिकावृत्तिः — जै. VI. 2. 27–28 and 29. Such passages as भिन्ने जुहोति स्कन्ने जुहोति really lay down that whenever such a *nimitta* as breaking occurs a fresh homa has to be performed. Vide मेधा. on मनु XI. 220 (एतद्ब्रुवस्तथा &c.) and मिता. on या. I. 81.

निषादस्थपतिन्याय — जै. VI. 1. 51–52. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 46, vol. IV. p. 24 n 58 and above pp. 1295–96 and n 2121. It is employed by परा. मा, I. 1. p. 49, प्राय. वि. p. 132, न्य. म. p. 112.

न्यायसाम्य — नि. सि. p. 67 states that rules about śrāddha on a solar eclipse apply by analogy to śrāddha on a lunar eclipse.

पङ्कप्रक्षालनन्याय — *This is expressed in the half verse* 'प्रक्षालनाद्धि पङ्कस्य दूराद-स्पर्शनं वरम्' introduced by विश्वरूप on या. I. 210 with the words तथा च लौकिकाः. This half verse is वनपर्व 2. 49, which reads श्रेयो न स्पर्शनं दूराद् and the other half is धर्मार्थी यस्य वित्तेहा वरं तस्य निरीहता'. शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 2. 22 quotes it.

पदार्थभावरूपाधिकरण — जै. I. 3. 5–7 on the place of आचमन in view of the words वेदं कृत्वा वेदिं कुर्वीत and explained by शबर on I. 3. 7.

पदार्थानुसमय — जै. V. 2. 1–2 and vide काण्डानुसमय above p. 1342.

परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवति — This is like 'silence shows consent' — Vide दृष्ट. मी. p. 82 and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 669 n 1264 and शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 4. 12.

पर्णमयीन्याय — जै. III. 6. 1–8; certain passages like यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति न स पापं श्लोकं शृणोति occur in तै. सं. III. 5. 7. 2 without express reference to any topic. They are to be applicable to the modifications. Vide मी. न्या. प्र. p. 117 and भामती on वे. सू. I. 1. 4 pp. 123–124.

पशुन्याय— जै. IV. 1. 11 and तुपूटीका pp. 1203–5 on the Vedic text यो दीक्षितो यदग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभते. The emphasis is that both एकत्व and पुंस्त्व are to be insisted on.

पशुपुरोडाशन्याय — जै. XII. 1. 1–6; vide प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण of भवदेव p. 20, प्राय. वि. p. 85 and गोविन्दानन्द's तत्त्वार्थकौमुदी on the latter and n 2205.

पिष्टपेषणन्याय — Occurs in Śabara's Bhāṣya on Jai IX. 2. 3, XII. 2. 16, तन्त्रवा. I. 2. 31 p. 147. पिष्टपेषण — Means grinding what is already well ground and therefore unnecessary repetition (of arguments).

पृष्ठाकोटन्याय — Literally means 'bending the back again and again to observe each of many objects lying on the ground.' Vide शबर on जै. II. 1. 32 and तन्त्रवा. thereon p. 434. The मिता. on या. III. 216 employs it.

प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह ब्रूतः — Vide शबर on जै III. 4. 12 p. 922 and on जै. XI. 1. 22 p. 2013, तन्त्रवा. on जै. II. 1. 1 p. 380, III. 1. 12 p. 674, III. 4. 12 p. 902, III. 7. 10 p. 1080. It occurs in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. III. 1. 67. Vide above pp. 1235–38 n 2010.

प्रतिनिधिन्याय — जै. VI. 3. 13–17, स्मृतिच. (on श्राद्ध p. 460). It means द्रव्यान्तरोपचारे द्रव्यान्तरं प्रतिनिधाय प्रयोगः कर्तव्यः.

प्रतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकशास्त्रमावर्तते — Vide the न्याय 'निमित्तावृत्तौ' etc. above, मिता. on या. III. 263–64 and 288 for this form of the न्याय.

प्रतिपदाधिकरण — मी. न्या. प्र. p. 47. The first part of the interpretation of जै. II. 1. 1 by Śabara is so called and the 2nd part is called भावार्थाधिकरण.

प्रतिप्रधानं गुणावृत्तिः — शबर on जै. III. 3. 14 p. 844; परा. मा. I. 1. p. 391 illustrates it.

प्रथमातिक्रमे कारणाभावात् — जै. X. 5. 1 and 6 (on which शबर says ये क्रमवन्त आरब्धव्यास्ते प्रथमाद्युपक्रमितव्याः), तन्त्रवा. on जै. III. 2.20 p. 772 and on III. 4. 51 p. 988, न्य. म. p. 134.

प्रधानमल्लनिबर्हणन्याय — Lit. 'Crushing the principal wrestler', the idea being that lesser champions would be regarded as vanquished if the principal wrestler is vanquished. Vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 28 and II. 1.12.

प्रधानस्य चोद्दिश्यमानस्य विशेषणमविवक्षितम् — Vide तुपूटीका on जै. VII. 1. 2, p. 1526 and the न्याय 'उद्दिश्यमानस्य' etc. above.

प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते — Vide श्लोकवा. (सम्बन्धाक्षेप० verse 55 p. 653 quoted above on p. 1179 n 1917.

प्रस्तरप्रहरणन्याय — जै. III. 2. 11–15 referring to the direction in दर्शपूर्णमास 'सूक्तवाकेन प्रस्तरं प्रहरति' (the priest casts the bunch of kuśas called *prastara* into the fire to the accompaniment of Sūktavāka mantras, which thus becomes an aṅga). For प्रस्तर, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1013 and for सूक्तवाकमन्त्र H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1073 n 2398.

प्रासाददीपन्याय—same as वेहलीदीपन्याय. Vide शबर on जै. XII. 1. 1 and 3.

प्रैषन्नवन्याय—Vide तन्त्रवा. on जै. II. 1. 12, p. 415. It refers to the example cited by शबर on जै. I. 3. 8 'तत्र केचिदीर्घशूकेषु यवशब्दं प्रयुञ्जते केचित्प्रियङ्गुषु'.

फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम्—In जै. IV. 4. 34 (which is a lengthy sūtra) we have the words तत्पुनर्मुख्यलक्षणं यत्फलवत्तं तत्संनिधावसंयुक्तं तदङ्गं स्यात्'. Vide शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19; कुल्लूक on मनु II. 101–102 employs it and so does the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya on V.S. II. 1. 14. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 481 n. 1082.

बर्हिर्न्याय—जै. III. 2. 1. शबर cites the mantra बर्हिर्देवसदनं दामि (I cut off barhis as an abode for the deity) and remarks that the mukhya sense is to be taken and not gauṇa (secondary sense, based on similarity).

ब्राह्मणकौण्डिन्यन्याय—Vide तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय above p. 1343. The मिता. on या. III. 257 refers to it.

ब्राह्मणपरिव्राजकन्याय—शबर on जै. II. 1. 43 has 'इतो ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्तामितः परिव्राजका इति'. The भामती on वे. सू. III. 1. 11 states that this nyāya means the same thing as गोबलीवर्दन्याय. The शाङ्करभाष्य mentions it on वे. सू. I. 4. 16, II. 3. 15, III. 1. 11. Vide सुबोधिनी on या. II. 96 (ed. by Mr. Gharpure).

ब्राह्मणवसिष्ठन्याय—मेधा. on मनु VII. 35 employs it. वसिष्ठ also was a brāhmaṇa but he may be separately mentioned as he was most eminent in *tapas*.

भावार्थाधिकरण—जै. II. 1. 1, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 128 and p. 1236 n 2010 above.

भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणन्याय or भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणे भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते—शबर frequently mentions it as on जै. II. 1. 4, III. 4. 40, IV. 1. 18, VI. 1. 1, IX. 1. 9. The दुपटीका on जै. IV. 1. 18 explains 'भूतं द्रव्यं भव्यां क्रियां निर्वर्तयतीति क्रियातोऽहष्टम्'. व्य. प्र. p. 111 mentions it; vide the present author's notes thereon pp. 173 ff and H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 695 n 1322.

भूयसान्याय or भूयसां स्यात्सधर्मत्वम्—based on जै. XII. 2. 22 (विप्रतिषिद्धधर्माणां समवाये भूयसां स्यात् सधर्मत्वम्). When there is a composite sacrifice comprising several rites the various details of which present conflicts the procedure to be adopted is such as to secure the performance of the details common to the largest number; this is relied upon in स्मृतिच. (on श्राद्ध p. 498) and व्यव. नि. p. 202.

माषन्यायन्याय—जै. VI. 3 20. The rule is that if a substance prescribed for a sacrifice cannot be had, a similar substance may be used (as पूतीक for सोम mentioned by Śabara on Jai. VI. 3. 14); but where a substance is expressly forbidden it cannot be employed as a substitute, even when it is similar to the one prescribed. If mudga pulse cannot be had māṣa pulse cannot be used, as Tai. S. V. 1. 8. 1 declares māṣa grains to be unfit for sacrifice. Vide मिता. on या. II. 126, द्वैतभाग XIII. 16 (in both this nyāya is mentioned), प्राय. तत्त्व p. 482, व्यव. प्र. p. 555.

मिथःसम्बन्धन्याय—same as वार्त्रघ्नीन्याय (जै. III. 1. 23).

मिथोऽसम्बन्धन्याय—जै. III. 1. 22. and शबर thereon and मद. पा. p. 89. A guṇavākya (clause laying down a subsidiary matter) is not to be taken as subsidiary to another guṇavākya, as both are subsidiary to the main purpose and are of equal status. There are two rites viz. Agnyādheya

and Pavamāna offerings and it is stated that one of these is subordinate to the other. Both subserve the same purpose, viz. being employed in Darśapūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices. A Vedic text states that vessels made of Varana and Vaikaṅkata wood are fit for sacrifices, but a vessel of Varaṇa wood is not to be used for homa while one of Vaikaṅkata may be used. Both classes of vessels are subsidiary to sacrifices, but the text about not using Varaṇa vessel in homa is of a general character. Therefore, one of the two clauses is not subordinate to the other. Hence Vaikaṅkata vessels are to be used in yāgas in which homa is requisite, but Varaṇa vessels are not to be used in such yāgas.

मुख्यगौणयोश्च मुख्ये संप्रत्ययः — शबर on जै. III. 2.1. Vide above गौणमुख्ययोश्च etc.

मुख्यापचारे (or मुख्यालाभे) प्रतीनिधिः शास्त्रार्थः - जै. VI. 3. 13–17; vide तिथितत्त्व p. 13, दत्त. मी. p. 206.

यथाशक्तिन्याय — जै. VI. 3. 1–7; vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p 373 and above pp. 1163–64, धर्महेतनिर्णय p. 105, एका. तत्त्व pp. 18, 26.

यववराहाधिकरण — जै. I. 3. 9 and above p. 1293 note 2116.

यश्चोभयोः पक्षयोर्दोषो न तमेकश्चोद्यो भवति or यश्चोभ ... नासावेकं पक्षं निवर्तयति or यश्चो... नासावेकस्य वाच्यः —Vide शबर on जै. VIII. 3, 7 and 14 (pp. 1616, 1619) and X. 1. 25 p. 1816.

यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्ध इति न्यायात्- This is part of the verse यस्य येनाभिसम्बन्धो दूरस्थेनापि तस्य सः। अर्थतो ह्यसमर्थानामानन्तर्यमकारणम्। q by न्यायसुधा (p. 1076) on तन्त्रवा. III. 1. 27 as वृद्धश्लोक; तन्त्रवा. p. 744 has यस्य ... सम्बन्ध इति न्यायात्. Vide above p. 1298 n 2124. This न्याय is employed also in works on Poetics, e. g. the व्यक्तिविवेक-व्याख्या p. 39 (TSS) and by अभिनवभारती on नाट्यशास्त्र (G. O. S. vol. I. p. 210 'तथापि यस्य येनार्थसम्बन्ध इत्यर्थक्रम आदर्तव्यो न शब्द इति').

यावद्वचनं वाचनिकम् — Vide शबर on जै. V. 4, 11 (याव...कं न तत्र न्यायः क्रमते) and on V. 3 12 (याव...कं न सदृशमुपसंक्रामति). The idea is: in the case of an authoritative text that much only is to be accepted as covered by it which is expressed by the words used and that it should not be made applicable to other cases on the ground of similarity or analogy. Vide तन्त्रवा. on जै. III. 5. 19, भामती on वे. सू. IV. 1. 4 and on IV. 3. 4; मेधा० on मनु X. 127 applies this maxim. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 469 n 1101.

युगपद्वृत्तिद्वयविरोधन्याय — One and the same word in a *vidhi* cannot be taken to have been used at the same time in the primary sense as well as in the secondary sense. Vide जै. III. 2 1 and शबर thereon, व्य. म. p. 92 and notes there on by the present author (pp. 129–131), व्यवहार III. 30 p. 67 and H. of Dh. vol III, p. 725 note 1399 and above pp. 1292–93 notes 2112–14.

योगसिद्ध्यधिकरण — जै. IV. 3. 27–28. The ज्योतिष्टोम does not simultaneously bring out all the rewards but only one after another. The word occurs in sūtra 28 itself and योगसिद्धि means पर्याय according to शबर. Vide मेधा. on मनु XI. 220, शुद्धितत्त्व p. 239 (for explanation), प्राय. वि. p. 78 and प्राय. प्रकरण of भवदेव (p. 18).

रथकाराधिकरणन्याय — Vide जै. VI. 1. 44–50, मी. न्या. प्र. p. 113 and above p. 1290 n 2110 and परा. मा. I. 1. p. 48.

रात्रिसत्रन्याय — जै. IV. 3. 17–19 and H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 602 note 1367, above p. 1227 n 1995 and वृत्त. मी. p. 207, भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 1. 4 p. 111 as part of the Pūrvapakṣa.

रूढियौगमपहरति — This means that the conventional meaning of a word is to be preferred to the etymological meaning as in the case of the word 'rathakāra' in Jai. VI. 1. 44 ff.; vide परा. मा. I. 1. p. 300. As against this one must note another nyāya sometimes relied upon viz. योगसम्भवे परिभाषाया अयुक्तत्वात् (used by the मिता. on या. II. 143 about the meaning of the word स्त्रीधन). Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 780 n 1508 and the मी. न्या. प्र. pp. 112–113.

रेवत्याधिकरणन्याय — जै. II. 2. 27 and मी. न्या. प्र. pp 40–42.

लक्षणा ह्यदृष्टकल्पनाया ज्यायसी — Vide शबर on जै. I. 1. p. 7 and I. 4. 2 p. 324.

वर्चोन्याय — जै. III. 8. 25–27. In दर्शपूर्णमास the adhvaryu priest recites 'समाग्ने वर्चो विहवेष्वस्ति' (मै. सं. I. 4. 5). The reward, however, goes to the sacrificer and not to the adhvaryu, as the latter works for a fee.

वाजपेयन्याय — *जै. I. 4. 6–8. In the sentence वाजपेयेन स्वाराज्यकामो यजेत, वाजपेय* is the name of a yāga and does not lay down any detail about a sacrifice, mentioned in Mit. on Yāj. I. 81.

वार्त्रघ्नीन्याय — जै. III. 1. 23. Tai. S. II. 5. 2. 5 lays down that the Vārtraghnī verses are recited on Paurṇamāsī and the Vṛdhanvatī verses on Amāvāsyā These two are prescribed in relation to sacrifices that require the recitation of two anuvākyās. There is only one anuvākyā at the Darśa or Paurṇamāsī rite; therefore these verses cannot be used in Darśapūrṇamāsa. But two anuvākyās are known to be used in the Ājyabhāgas, which are subsidiary offerings in Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa. Therefore, the two anuvākyās 'Vārtraghnī' and 'Vṛdhanvatī' are to be connected with Ājyabhāgas alone and not with the principal rite.

विधिवच्छिगदाधिकरण — Vide above pp. 1239–40 note 2015; दायभाग II. 30 (स्थावरं द्विपदं ... न विक्रयः) remarks 'कर्तव्यपदमवश्यमत्राध्याहार्यम्'). This is a विधि, though there is no word expressing exhortation.

विश्वजिन्न्याय — जै. IV. 3. 15–16. Where no fruit or reward is expressly prescribed for a sacrifice *svarga* is the reward. This is so with the Viśvajit sacrifice in which the sacrificer had to donate all that he owned at the time of the sacrifice; mentioned by मेधा. on मनु II. 2, परा. मा. I. 1 p. 148, एका. तत्त्व p. 23.

विधौ लक्षणा अन्याय्या — Vide शबर on जै. I. 2. 29, IV. 4. 19 and the न्याय 'न विधौ परः शब्दार्थः' above. मलमासतत्त्व (p. 760) relies on this.

वैश्वदेवन्याय — जै. I. 4. 13–16. वैश्वदेव is the first *parvan* of the four parvans of Cāturmāsyas. It is a name (*nāmadheya*) and not a guṇavidhi. It is employed in the वृत्त. मी. p. 239.

वैश्वानराधिकरणन्याय — Vide आतेष्टिन्याय.

शाखान्तरन्याय — जै. II. 4. 8–33. It is the same as सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय below.

श्रुतिलक्षणाविशये च श्रुतिर्न्याय्या न लक्षणा — Vide शबर on IV. 1. 23, IV. 1. 46, IV. 2-30.

षोडशिन्याय — जै. X. 8. 6; *vide above p. 1249 n 2030 on* अतिरात्रे षोडशिनं गृह्णाति and नातिरात्रे... गृह्णाति, अर्थसंग्रह p. 24.

संयोगपृथक्त्वन्याय — जै. IV. 3. 5-7. The word संयोगपृथक्त्व occurs in जै. IV. 3. 5 itself; vide above p. 56 note 217; मेधा. on मनु II. 107, परा. मा. I. 1. 60, प्राय. तत्त्व. p. 474, एका. तत्त्व pp. 29-30, तिथितत्त्व p. 44, नि. सि. p. 84.

सकृत्कृते कृतः शास्त्रार्थः — Vide शबर on जै. XI. 1. 28 and XII. 3. 10; employed in एका. तत्त्व p. 32 and उद्वाहतत्त्व p. 133; it is mentioned in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 4 on पा. VI. 1. 84. This nyāya has a limited application and often the maxim निमित्तावृत्तौ etc. (i. e. repetition) applies.

सकृच्छ्रुतः शब्दस्तमेवार्थं गमयति—Vide दायभाग III. 29-30 p. 67, मद. पा. p. 369, accepted in 6 Cal. 119. 126 (F. B.) and in L. R. 41 I. A. p. 290 at pp. 303-4.

समं स्यादश्रुतित्वात् — This is the पूर्वपक्षसूत्र in जै. X. 3. 53-55, but it is held generally applicable unless there is a special or express provision for unequal distribution. This is followed in मिता. on याज्ञ. II. 265, दायभाग IV. 8 p. 80 (on स्त्रीधनविभाग), स्मृतिच. (*II. pp. 152 and 285*), कुल्लूक *on* मनु *III. 1.* (समं स्यादश्रुतत्वादिति न्यायेन प्रति ... द्वादशवर्षाणि व्रताचरणम्), परा. मा. I. 2. p. 362, मदनरत्न (on व्यवहार) p. 204.

समदशसामिधेनीन्याय — जै. III. 6. 9. Passages like समदश सामिधेनीरनुब्रूयात् in Ait. Br. 1. 1 that occur without being attached to any particular sacrifice are applicable only to vikṛtis and not to the model (prakṛti) sacrifice; vide मिता. on या. I. 256.

सर्वपरिदानाधिकरण — जै. III. 4. 17 based on Tai. S. II. 6. 10. 1-2 which prohibits threatening or striking a brāhmaṇa. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 515 note 937-938 and प्राय. तत्त्व p. 479, प्राय. वि. p. 6.

सर्वशक्त्यधिकरणन्याय — Vide यथाशक्तिन्याय and एका. तत्त्व pp. 18, 26.

सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय — जै. II. 4. 8-33. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 870 note 1693, vol. IV. pp 89-90 note 211, pp. 453-55 note 1011 and मिता. on या. III. 325, अपरार्क p. 1053, स्मृतिच. (I. p. 5), मद. पा. pp. 11 and 91, शुद्धितत्त्व pp. 378, 380 and above p. 1273 n 2074.

सामान्यविशेषन्याय—Vide शबर on जै. VII. 3. 16 (बाध्यते च सामान्यं विशेषेण) and तन्त्रवा. p. 1030 on जै. III. 6. 9 'तत्र नाम विशेषेण सामान्यस्य निराक्रिया। अन्यको यत्र सम्बन्धो विशेषेण प्रतीयते। तुल्यप्रमाणको हि विशेषो बाधको भवति न दुर्बलप्रमाणकः' and p. 1120; vide for examples स्मृतिच. (on व्यवहार pp. 142, 299, 381) and परा. मा. I, p. 233.

सामर्थ्याधिकरण — जै. I. 4. 25. Vide above p. 1291 note 2111.

सारस्वतौ भवतः — जै. V. 1. 14; vide above pp. 1315-16 n 2164 and स्मृतिच. (on व्यवहार p. 297), सुबोधिनी (on पितरौ) on p. 72 (text) and p. 183 (tr. by Mr. J. R. Gharpure).

सार्थक्यन्याय — जै. I. 2. 1 and 7; vide p. 1284 and शबर on जै. II. 2. 6 and on *III. 1. 18* (*on* आनर्थक्यात्तदङ्गेषु). अनर्थक *means either* '*meaningless*' or '*purposeless*'.

सुवर्णधारणन्याय — जै. III. 4. 20–24. In तै. ब्रा. II, 2. 4. 6 there is a passage not connected with any specific sacrifice viz. सुवर्णं हिरण्यं भार्यम्' (one should wear bright gold). This is a puruṣadharma and not a sarvaprakaraṇa-dharma. Vide मिता. on या. II. 135–136, where this is used as an argument against the view that all wealth is for *yajña*.

सूक्तवाकन्याय — Vide जै. III. 2. 16–19 and प्रस्तरप्रहरणन्याय (p. 1346) for the meaning of सूक्तवाक and प्रस्तर. In these sūtras it is established that the whole सूक्तवाक is not to be recited in both Paurṇamāsa-iṣṭi and Darśa-iṣṭi, but only those portions of it that refer respectively to the deities of the two iṣṭis.

स्थालीपुलाकन्याय — The word स्थालीपुलाक occurs in Jai. VII. 4. 12 itself; vide शबर on जै. VIII. 1. 11 and तन्त्रवा. on जै. III. 5. 19 p. 998. The महाभाष्य knew it since it says on वार्तिक 15 to पा. I. 4. 23 'पर्याप्तो ह्येकः पुलाकः स्थाल्या निदर्शनाय'.

स्थूणानिखननन्याय — Fixing a post firmly in the earth by frequently pushing it down and about; occurs in शाबरभाष्य on जै. VII. 2. 1 and शाङ्करभाष्य on ब्रे. सू. II. 1. 34 and III. 3. 53.

स्वर्गकामाधिकरण — जै. VI. 1. 1–3, referred to in H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 169.

हेतुवचिगद्वाधिकरण — जै. I. 2. 26–30. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 676 and notes 1276–77, विश्वरूप on या. III. 263, मलमासतत्त्व p. 760 for application.

होलाकाधिकरण — जै. I. 3. 15–23. Vide above p. 1281 n 2093 for explanation.

SECTION VIII

Relation of Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Tarka to Dharmaśāstra

CHAPTER XXXI

Dharmaśāstra and Sāṅkhya.

Sāṅkhya is one of the well-known six *darśanas* (philosophical points of view).

Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya [2208] on V. S. II. 2. 17 says that Manu and others who were deeply versed in the Veda took up to some extent in their works the doctrine of *pradhāna* being the cause of the world with the idea of relying on that part of its doctrine viz. the effect is (already) existent in the cause. Similarly, on V. S. I. 4. 28 he says that great effort was made by the Sūtrakāra and himself for refuting the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya system (and not for the refutation of the theory of atoms being the cause of the world), since the Sāṅkhya system is near to the Vedānta as it accepts the view of the non-difference of cause and effect and as some Dharmasūtra writers like Devala have had resort to it in their works. On V. S. II. 1. 3 Saṅkarācārya remarks that, though there are many smṛtis dealing with metaphysical topics, great effort was made for the refutation of Sāṅkhya and Yoga only, since the two systems are well-known in the world as means of securing the highest goal of man, as they have been accepted by *śiṣṭas* (respectable and learned people) and are supported by Vedic indications in their favour (as in Śvetāśvatara Up. 'tat-kāraṇam sāṅkhyayogābhipannam' VI. 13). It would be shown later on that Manu and Devala rely on and propound (some) Sāṅkhya doctrines.

2208. प्रधानकारणवादो वेदविद्भिरपि कैश्चिन्मन्वादिभिः सत्कार्यत्वांशोपजीवनाभिप्रायेणोपनिबद्धः। अयं तु परमाणुकारणवादो न कैश्चिदपि शिष्टैः केनचिदप्यंशेन परिगृहीत इत्यत्यन्तमेवानादरणीयो वेदवादिभिः। शाङ्कर on वे. सू. II. 2. 17 (अपरिग्रहाच्चात्यन्तमनपेक्षा); "ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम्"-इत्यारभ्य प्रधानकारणवादः सूत्रैरेव पुनः पुनराशङ्क्य निराकृतः तस्य हि पक्षस्योपोद्बलकानि कानिचिल्लिङ्गाभासानि वेदान्तेष्वापातेन मन्वमतीव्प्रतिभान्तीति। स च कार्यकारणानन्यत्वाभ्युपगमात्प्रत्यासन्नो वेदान्तवादस्य। देवलप्रभृतिभिश्च कैश्चिद्धर्मसूत्रकारैः स्वग्रन्थेष्वाश्रितस्तेन तत्प्रतिषेधे यत्नोऽतीव कृतो नाण्वादिकारणवादप्रतिषेधे।" शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 28.

It would not be irrelevant to say a few words about the origin and development of the Sāṅkhya system. This (rise of Sāṅkhya) is one of the most difficult problems in Indian philosophy. A good many works and papers have been written on the Sāṅkhya system.[2109] As to what the original Sāṅkhya teaching revised in the Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa was, no generally accepted answer can be given. From the 5th century A. D. at least the Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa has been regarded as the foremost exponent of the Sāṅkhya. The Sāṅkhyakārikā and a commentary on it were translated into Chinese about 546 A. D. by Paramārtha, originally a brāhmaṇa of Bhāradvāja gotra and a śramaṇa from Ujjayinī (vide BEFEO, 1904, p. 60). Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 11 quotes the whole of the 3rd verse of the Sāṅkhyakārikā and the first quarter of it on V. S. I. 4. 8. But the Sāṅkhya system, it appears, went through several phases. Chinese sources say that there were eighteen Sāṅkhya schools (p. 2 of Johnston's "Early Sāṅkhya," quoting Takakusu in BEFEO, 1904, p. 58).

There is the Sāṅkhyasūtra or Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra attributed to Kapila (published with two commentaries viz. that of Aniruddha and parts of the *Ṭīkā* of Vedāntin Mahādeva edited by Garbe in B. I. Series 1881). This is a late work composed about 1400 A. D. as shown by Garbe in his Introduction and by

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2209. Those interested in Sāṅkhya may consult the following: Fitz-Edward Hall's 'Introduction to Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya' (B. I. Series 1856); 'Sāṅkhya-Kārikā' exposition of the system of Kapila, translation and notes by John Davies (first published in 1881, 2nd ed. in 1957, Calcutta); Richard Garbe's 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie', 1894, and Introduction to his edition of the Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya of Vijñānabhikṣu in the Harvard Oriental Series; 'Six systems of philosophy' by Prof. Max-Muller ed. of (1903) pp. 219–330; 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads' by Paul Deussen translated by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 239–255; Prof. A B. Keith's Sāṅkhya system (1924); 'Early Sāṅkhya' by E. H. Johnston (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 1937); Das-Gupta's 'Indian Philosophy', Vol. I, pp. 208–273 (1922); Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy', Vol. II, pp. 248–335 (1927) and 'Philosophy, Eastern and Western', Vol. I, pp. 242–257; 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' by Prof. A. B. Keith, Vol. II, pp. 535–551; 'Beginning of Epic Sāṅkhya' by Dr. W. Ruben in ABORI, Vol. 37 (1956) pp. 174–189; 'Sāṅkhya in the Mokṣaparva' by Shri Jayadev Yogendra in J. of Bom. Uni. (1957), Vol. 26, New Series, Arts number, pp. 123–141; 'Studies in Sāṅkhya, Pañcaśikha and Caraka' in ABORI Vol. 38, pp. 140–147 and 'Studies in Sāṅkhya', the teaching of Pañcaśikha in the Mahābhārata' ABORI, Vol. 38, pp. 233–244, both by Shri V. M. Bedekar.

Fitz-Edward Hall in his learned Introduction to the edition of the Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya (B. I. Series, 1856). There is an edition of 23 sūtras called Tattvasamāsa with a commentary called Kramadīpikā in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series which has also published several other brief late works that are passed over here. Several commentaries on the Sāṅkhyakārikā have been published. The earliest appears to be the one translated into Chinese by Paramārtha about 546 A. D., which has been reconstructed into Sanskrit from the Chinese by the learned Pandit Aiyaswami Sastri and published (in 1944) in the Sri. Venkatesvara Oriental Series with a valuable Introduction; another commentary styled Māṭharavṛtti was published (in 1922) in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Dr. Belvalkar (in ABORI vol. V. pp. 133–161) contributed a long and scholarly paper on the Māṭharavṛtti in which he holds that the Māṭharavṛtti is the original of the commentary translated into Chinese by Paramārtha together with some accretions made from time to time, that Gauḍapāda's commentary is a simplified abridgment of the Māṭharavṛtti (p. 148), that the Māṭharavṛtti cannot be placed later than 450 A D. (p. 155) and that Īśvarakṛṣṇa cannot be assigned to a date later than 250 A. D. (p. 168). Prof. A. B. Keith in 'Sāṅkhya system' (p. 51) places Īśvarakṛṣṇa at a date not later than 325 A. D. Another early commentary is the Yuktidīpikā of an unnamed author edited from a single ms. by Shri Pulinabehari Chakravarti in Calcutta Sanskrit Series (1938). This is a very valuable commentary and has been very competently edited even from a single ms, though there are a few gaps here and there. That commentary is replete with quotations and polemical discussions, mentions several Sāṅkhya teachers who differed among themselves and whose opinions are cited on many topics. For example, vide under Vindhyavāsin below. It mentions some ācāryas that are hardly ever mentioned in any Sāṅkhya work. It frequently cites an author called Pañcādhikaraṇa (vide pp. 6, 108, 114, 132, 144, 147, 148 where two Āryās apparently of Pañcādhikaraṇa are quoted). Another hitherto unknown Sāṅkhyācārya mentioned by this com. is Paurika on p. 169 and p. 175, who holds the surprising view[2210] that there is a separate *pradhāna* for each Puruṣa. Patañjali is frequently mentioned on pp. 32 (who denied the existence of

2210. प्रतिपुरुषमन्यत् प्रधानं शरीरार्थं करोति। तेषां च महात्म्यशरीरप्रधानं यदा प्रवर्तते तदेतरान्यपि, तन्निवृत्तौ च तेषामपि निवृत्तिरिति पौरिकः सांख्याचार्यो मन्यते। युक्ति० p. 169.

Ahaṅkāra), 108, 132 (there are 12 *karaṇas* and not 13 as S. Kārikā in verse 32 asserts), 145, 149, 175; Vārṣagaṇāḥ (in the plural) are mentioned on pp. 39, 67, 95, 102, 133, 145, 170; Vārṣagaṇa (pp. 6, 108) and Vārṣagaṇavīra (on pp. 72, 108, 175) styled bhagavān on p. 72 and Vṛṣagaṇavīra (on p. 103 probably meaning 'the son of Vṛṣagaṇa'); all these refer to the views of Vārṣagaṇas. Pañcaśikha (p. 31 in the plural, p. 61, p. 175) is mentioned and one passage which is quoted in the Vyāsa-bhāṣya (on Y. S. I. 4) and ascribed to Pañcaśikha by Vācaspati is quoted by the Yuktidīpikā on p. 41 as Śāstra. From pp. 113 and 129 it appears that the author of the com. was a Vedāntin.[2211] It is probable that he flourished between 500 and 700 A. D., since he quotes (on p. 39) Diṅnāga's definition of 'pratyakṣa' and is not cited by Vācaspati and other commentators on the Sāṅkhya.

. Gauḍapāda composed a commentary on the S. Kārikā but only on 69 verses published in the Ch. S. Series. The Commentary called Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī by the famous writer Vācaspatimiśra was published in the Chowkhamba S. S. in 1919. A commentary called Jayamaṅgalā ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya (in the colophon) on the S. Kārikā was published at Calcutta in 1933 by Sri H. Sarma with a brief but interesting Introduction by Principal Gopinatha Kaviraj (vide also I. H. Q. vol. V. pp. 417–431) where Sri H. Sarma tries to prove that the Jayamaṅgalā is earlier than Vācaspatimiśra. Vijñānabhikṣu composed (about 1550 A. D.) a bhāsya on the Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra. The Sūtrakāra and Vijñānabhikṣu make efforts to establish the impossible thesis that the teachings of the Sāṅkhya system are not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with the Advaita Vedānta. The Mātharavṛtti on S. Kārikā 71 furnishes the names of certain teachers that flourished between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa viz. Bhārgava, Ulūka (Kauśika ?), Vālmīki, Hārīta, Devala and others, while the Jayamaṅgalā mentions Garga and Gautama as Sāṅkhya teachers after Pañcaśikha (vide note one in Pandit Aiyaswami's edition on p. 99). The Sanskrit commentary reconstructed from the Chinese version of Paramārtha (p. 98 of Pandit Aiyaswami's edition)

2211. सङ्कल्पमूलोच्छित्तविषयसुखतृष्णो हि अयं यतिरिन्द्रियाणामन्तःकरणस्य च प्रवृत्तिनिवृत्त्योरीष्टे। एकाग्र एकारामोऽविद्यापर्वणोऽतिक्रान्तः परस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रत्यनन्तरो भवति। p. 113; सोयं धर्मादिषु प्रवणस्तत्प्रतिपक्षापक्रान्तः सत्त्वारामो विनिवृत्ताभिमानो ज्ञाननिष्ठः सविशुद्धयोनिरचिरेण परं ब्रह्मोपपद्यत इति। p. 129.

states that the line of teachers and pupils from Pañcaśikha is : Pañcaśikha-Gārgya-Ulūka-Vārṣagaṇa-Īśvarakṛṣṇa. It is clear from the above that several teachers, in any case not less than five or six, intervened between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. From a somewhat mutilated passage[2212] of the Yuktidīpikā (p. 175) it appears that at least ten persons intervened between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa. If this be accepted and if Īśvarakṛṣṇa be assigned to about 250 A. D., then Pañcaśikha cannot be placed later than the first century B. C. and may be much earlier still. On 'tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram' (S. Kārikā 70) the Yuktidīpikā speaks of *bhagavat* Pāncaśikha as 'daśama-kumāra' (tenth son of Prajāpati ?) and states that he expounded the śāstra to many persons such as Janaka and Vasiṣṭha and thereby identifies Pañcaśikha with the teacher Pañcaśikha mentioned by the Śāntiparva (vide note 2186 below).

Vācaspatimiśra in his commentary on the Yogasūtrabhāṣya (II. 23) sets out eight alternative views among Sāṅkhya writers on the question of 'darśana' and 'adarśana' and remarks that the fourth out of the eight alternatives is the real doctrine of the Sāṅkhyaśāstra.[2213] From about the 5th century A. D. the Sāṅkhyakārikā has been regarded as the standard work on the Sāṅkhya system. The S. Kārikā itself states that the holy śāstra was expounded by Kapilamuni to Āsuri, who expounded[2214] it to Pāñcaśikha and the latter expounded the (Sāṅkhya) system to several disciples and that it came down to Īśvarakṛṣṇa in a succession of teachers and disciples, who summarised it in Āryā

2212. अस्य तु शास्त्रस्य भगवतोऽग्रे प्रवृत्तत्वात् न शास्त्रान्तरवत् वंशः शक्यो वर्षसहस्रैरप्याख्यातुम्। संक्षेपेण तु ह्याव ... (gap) हारीत-बाष्कलि-कैरात- पैङ्गिक-अवभेश्वर-पञ्चाधिकरण-पतञ्जलि-वार्षगण्य-कौण्डिण्य-मूकादिकाशिष्यपरम्परयागतं etc. । युक्ति० p. 175.

2213. On 'इत्येते शास्त्रगता विकल्पाः' of व्यासभाष्य on योगसूत्र II. 23 वाचस्पति remarks : 'तदेवं विकल्प्य चतुर्थं विकल्पं स्वीकर्तुमितरेषां विकल्पानां सांख्यशास्त्रगतानां सर्वपुरुषसाधारण्येन भोगवैचित्र्याभावप्रसङ्गेन दूषयति इत्येते शास्त्रगता इति ।.'

2214. एतत्पवित्रमग्र्यं मुनिरासुरयेऽनुकम्पया प्रददौ। आसुरिरपि पञ्चशिखाय तेन च बहुधा कृतं तन्त्रम्॥ शिष्यपरम्परयागतमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैतदार्याभिः। संक्षिप्तमार्यमतिना सम्यग्विज्ञाय सिद्धान्तम्। सां. का. 70-71. It should be noticed that Gauḍapāda comments only on 69 verses and omits these two and a subsequent verse 'सप्तत्यां किल येऽर्थास्तेऽर्थाः कृत्स्नस्य षष्टितन्त्रस्य। आख्यायिकाविरहिताः परवादविवर्जिताश्चापि॥', which means that all the matters contained in the whole Saṣṭitantra (of Pañcaśikha) are contained in the seventy verses (of the Sāṅkhyakārikā), excluding the illustrative stories and the controversies with others. The Sāṅkhyakārikā is known as Sāṅkhyasaptati and in Chinese as 'Suvarṇasaptati.

verses. Kapila-muni is here said to be the first promulgator of the Sāṅkhya.

Before proceeding further the most characteristic and fundamental conceptions of the standard Sāṅkhya must be set out. The most fundamental conception is that there are two entirely distinct essences existing from eternity, viz. *prakṛti* (i. e. nature or matter) also called *pradhāna* and *avyakta*, and *puruṣa* (soul or spirit, the knowing subject). The 2nd fundamental conception is that puruṣas are many. Another most characteristic feature of the Sāṅkhya system is the doctrine of three [2215] guṇas (factors) called *sattva* (light, intelligent), *rajas* (energetic, active, domineering), *tamas* (coarse, inert, enveloping, dark). Pradhāna or prakṛti or avyakta is said to be constituted by the three guṇas (triguṇātmaka) when they are in equilibrium (Sattvarajastamasām sāmyāvasthā). The Sāṅkhya analysed all physical and mental phenomena. The lowest factor is the heavy impenetrable matter and coarse foolish impulses. They are called *tamas* (described as *guru*, heavy and *varaṇaka*, enveloping). Then there is the factor of constant change in the physical world as well as in the mental. This is called rajas (*cala*, changing and *upaṣṭambhaka*, exciting, as the S. Kārikā puts it). The third factor or element in the world is the varied operation of consciousness that leads to knowledge and experience, which is called *Sattva* (*laghu*, light as opposed to the coarse, merely material objects and *prakāśaka*, luminous, as contrasted with *tamas*). These three factors or elements combine in various proportions and make up the evolving universe. The three are called guṇas from several points of view viz. they are qualities, they also bind as with a rope the Puruṣa to *saṁsāra*. The basis of the universe is to be found in the guṇas. Pradhāna

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2215. सत्त्वं लघु प्रकाशकमिष्टमुपष्टम्भकं चलं च रजः। गुरु वरणकमेव तमः प्रदीपवच्चार्थतो वृत्तिः॥ सां. का. 13. गुणs are so called because they multiply (गुणयतीति) and evolve objects. Compare 'मोहात्मकं तमस्त्वेषां रज एषां प्रवर्तकम्। प्रकाशबहुलत्वाच्च सत्त्वं ज्याय इहोच्यते॥ वनपर्व 212. 4 and गीता 14. 5–18 for a discourse on the three guṇas, particularly the following 'सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसम्भवाः। V.5; तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलत्वात् प्रकाशकमनामयम्। सुखसङ्गेन बध्नाति ज्ञानसङ्गेन चानघ। verse 6; रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासङ्गसमुद्भवम्। verse 7. On वे. सू. II. 2.10 शङ्कराचार्य notes that the Sāṅkhya system presented contradictions in the days of the V. S. 'परस्परविरुद्धश्चायं सांख्यानामभ्युपगमः। क्वचित्सप्तेन्द्रियाण्यध्यक्षमाहन्ति क्वचिदेकादश। तथा क्वचिन्महतस्तन्मात्रसर्गमुपदिशन्ति क्वचिदहङ्कारात्। तथा क्वचित्त्रीण्यन्तःकरणानि वर्णयन्ति क्वचिदेकमिति।'. The seven indriyas would be the skin, five karmendriyas and mind; the three antaḥkaraṇas would be buddhi, ahaṅkāra and manas. The one antaḥkaraṇa would be buddhi.

is not different from the guṇas, but it is only the name of the primordial matter before evolution starts. Prakṛti being *anādi* and eternal, the Sāṅkhya system did not postulate God as creator, and held God to be a superfluity. The Sāṅkhya propounds a theory of cosmic evolution which is practically as reasonable as any modern theory of evolution. It is probably the earliest attempt to furnish an answer from reason alone to the questions about the origin of the world, about the nature of man and his relation to the physical world and man's future destiny. In the nineteenth century mind and matter were held to be entirely different and atoms were supposed to be indivisible. Modern physics has reduced matter to energy but the nature of this last also is a mystery. Under the Sāṅkhya system, *puruṣa* or *prakṛti* or both serve no religious purpose. There is no definite or convincing answer as to why puruṣa becomes entangled in the web of prakṛti. The Sāṅkhya simply says that as a result of non-discrimination puruṣa somehow becomes entangled. The Vedāntasūtra refers to *pradhāna* as smārta in I. 2. 19 and as 'ānumānika' in I. 4. 1. From Prakṛti evolves *mahān* (i. e. buddhi, consciousness) from which arises *ahaṅkara*, from which evolve on the one hand the five tanmātras (subtle elements, viz. sabda, sparśa, gandha, rasa, rūpa) and on the other hand *manas* (mind) and the ten *indriyas* (sense organs). From the five subtle elements are evolved the five great elements, earth, water, tejas, vāyu and ākāśa (ether). These are twentyfour[2216] *tattvas* (categories) and puruṣa is 25th. Pradhāna is distinct from puruṣa and serves the purpose of puruṣa (who is passive and a sākṣi) who is distinct from the evolutes of prakṛti and is *bhoktṛ* (and not *kartṛ*). The Sāṅkhya[2217] does not admit God. Prakṛti and puruṣa come together in order that the latter may see its working; just as a blind man and a cripple (a lame man) may come together (and the blind man may carry the lame man on his shoulder, the latter showing the way and both may reach their destination by this joint effort).[2218] When

2216. In V. S. 1. 4. 11 the *pūrvapakṣa* is advanced as follows (after quoting Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 17 'yasmin pañca pañcajanāḥ): तथा पञ्चविंशतिसंख्यया यावन्तः संख्येया आकाङ्क्ष्यन्ते तावन्त्येव च तत्त्वानि सांख्यैः संख्यायन्ते 'मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्महदाद्याः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त। षोडशकश्च विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिः पुरुषः॥'. This last verse is सां. का. 3.

2217. The Sāṅkhya-pravacana-sūtra (I. 92-93) states 'ईश्वरासिद्धेः, मुक्तबद्धयोरन्यतराभावाच्च तत्सिद्धिः॥'.

2218. पुरुषस्य दर्शनार्थं कैवल्यार्थं तथा प्रधानस्य। पङ्ग्वन्धवदुभयोरपि संयोगस्तत्कृतः सर्गः। सां. का. 21. The sixty topics dealt with in the Saṣṭitantra, according

(*Continued on next page*)

puruṣa realizes the difference between himself[2219] and the guṇas constituting Prakṛti he is liberated. Both Sāṅkhya and Yoga treat the external world as real. They both postulate plurality of souls (puruṣas), that are eternal and unchanging. This latter is one of the most crucial differences between Sāṅkhya and advaita Vedānta. It is not necessary for our purpose in this chapter to go into greater details. One more doctrine of the Sāṅkhya is called *satkāryavāda* i. e. the theory that the effect already exists in the cause and does not arise from nothing (S. Kārikā, verse 9); compare Chān. Up. VI. 2. 2 (kathamasataḥ sajjāyeta) and Gītā II. 16 (nāsato vidyate bhāvo).

It is difficult to assign a definite date to the Sāṅkhya-kārikā. As Paramārtha translated the Kārikā as well as commentary on it into Chinese in about 546 A. D. the Kārikā cannot in any case be placed later than about 250–300 A. D. It may be earlier by a few centuries. Umbeka in his commentary on the Ślokavārtika of Kumārila mentions an author called Mādhava as 'Sāṅkhyanāyaka' and Yuan Chwang also refers to a Sāṅkhya teacher called Mādhava. Dr. Raghavan in 'Sarūpa-Bhāratī' (pp. 162–164) shows that Mādhava was really a destructive critic of Sāṅkhya, that the proper reading is 'Sāṅkhyanāśaka-Mādhava' and that he was probably earlier than even Diṅnāga and Dharmarkīrti (i. e. earlier than 500 A. D.).

Śaṅkarācārya in the passage quoted in n. 2208 remarks that certain Upaniṣad passages may be relied upon as apparently supporting the Sāṅkhya system. Some of the Upaniṣad passages that either foreshadow Sāṅkhya doctrines or employ words that have technical meanings in the Sāṅkhya system would be

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to the युक्तिदीपिका p. 2 verses 10–12 and the राजवार्तिक quoted by Vācaspati in his commentary सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी, were: प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थवत्त्वमथान्यता। पारार्थ्यं च तथाऽनैकं वियोगो योग एव च। शेषवृत्तिरकर्तृत्वं मौलिकार्थाः स्मृता दश। विपर्ययः पञ्चविधस्तथोक्ता नव तुष्टयः। करणानामशक्तिरष्टाविंशतिधा मतम्। इति षष्टिः पदार्थानामष्टभिः सह सिद्धिभिः॥ सांख्यतत्त्वकौमुदी ed. by Ganganatha Jha, Bombay, 1896). Vide सां. का. 47 for the enumeration of 50 topics (in addition to the ten basic ones in the verse प्रधानास्ति०). The अहिर्बुध्न्यसंहिता in chap. XII. 20–29 sets out the sixty topics of Sāṅkhya-tantra, but they differ from those enumerated in the Rājavārtika quoted by Vācaspati.

2219. धर्मेण गमनमूर्ध्वं गमनमधस्ताद्भवत्यधर्मेण। ज्ञानेन चापवर्गो विपर्ययादिष्यते बन्धः। सां. कारिका। 44; compare गीता 14.18 'ऊर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति &c.' शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 4 states 'शेषत्वेन च सांख्यैः प्रधानं स्मर्यते गुणपुरुषान्तरज्ञानान्मोक्षस्येष्यमिति वदद्भिः'.

cited.[2220] But one passage from the Atharvaveda X. 8. 43 deserves notice, viz. 'the knowers of Brahma know that *yakṣa* endowed with ātman which abides in the lotus with nine gates (the physical body) covered by three guṇas.' With this may be compared Śv. Up. III. 18 and Gītā V. 13 (navadvāre pure dehi). The Muṇḍaka Up. states 'From Him are born prāṇa, mind, all indriyas, the five elements, and sky, wind, jyotis (tejas), waters and the earth.' The Kaṭha Up. refers to indriyas, the objects of senses, mind, buddhi, mahān, avyakta, puruṣa as a rising series, similar to that of the Sāṅkhya with one exception viz. the Up. does not mention *ahaṅkāra* and holds that *buddhi* and *mahān* are different, while the official Sāṅkhya identifies them. It is, therefore, clear that the evolution in these two Upanisads is very similar to the theory of evolution stated by the classical Sāṅkhya, the only difference being that the Upaniṣads postulate a supreme Creator (that produces the cosmos) while Sāṅkhya drops the creator and accepts the evolutionary series only. On V. S. I. 2. 12 Śaṅkarācārya cites the verse 'dvā suparṇā sayujā' (which is Muṇḍaka Up. III. 1. 1, Śv. Up. III. 1 and also Ṛg. I. 164. 20) and explains it, as referring to the individual self (jīva) and the Highest Spirit (paramātman). The ācārya then mentions the argument of a predecessor who relies upon Paiṅgirahasya-brāhmaṇa where the latter half of the verse is explained as mentioning *sattva* (buddhi) and *kṣetrajña* (i. e. the individual self). This indicates that some took that verse as putting forward Sāṅkhya ideas. The Kaṭha Up. III. 4 states that the description of the individual soul as the enjoyer (bhoktṛ) results

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2220. पुण्डरीकं नवद्वारं त्रिभिर्गुणेभिरावृतम् । तस्मिन्यद्यक्षमात्मन्वत् तद्वै ब्रह्मविदो विदुः ॥ अथर्व० X. 8. 43. It is difficult to say what यक्ष here means. That word also occurs in Ṛg. IV. 3. 13, V. 10. 4, VII. 61. 5, where सायण gives different meanings. एतस्माज्जायते प्राणो मनः सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च । खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी ॥ मुण्डकोप० II. 1. 3; इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः । मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान्परः॥ महतः परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात्पुरुषः परः । पुरुषान्न परं किंचित्सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः । कठोप. III. (valli) 10–11. These occur with slight variations in बृहदारण्यकयाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति IX. 184–186. On V. S. I. 4. 1 the Sāṅkhya objector relies upon this Kaṭha text as providing evidence of the Sāṅkhya doctrines being based on the Veda; compare भगवद्गीता III. 42–43. Then शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. 1.2 12 cites द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते । तयोरेकः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्योऽभिचाकशीति ॥ मुण्डक III.1.1, श्वेताश्वतरोप० IV. 6 and ऋ. I. 164.20) and states 'अपर आह । द्वा सुपर्णा – इति ॥ नेयमृगस्याधिकरणस्य सिद्धान्तं भजते पैङ्गिरहस्य-ब्राह्मणेनान्यथा व्याख्यातत्वात् । तयोरेकः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्तीति सत्यम्, अनश्नन्नन्यो ... अभिपश्यति ज्ञस्तावेतौ सत्यक्षेत्रज्ञौ ।'. This verse (द्वा सुपर्णा) is the subject of V. S. III. 3. 34 *also*.

from the union of the *ātman* with organs of sense and the mind. The Śvetāśvataropaniṣad expressly [2121] refers to Sāṅkhya and Yoga (in VI. 13) and says that 'on realizing that cause which can be apprehended by means of the study of Sāṅkhya and Yoga he is released from all bonds'. That Upaniṣad is full of words that are frequently employed in the Sāṅkhya system such as 'avyakta' (I. 8), guṇa (V. 7 'sa viśvarūpas-triguṇaḥ' and VI. 2, 4 and 16), jña (v. 2, VI. 17), prakṛti ('māyām tu prakṛtim vidyāt' IV. 10), puruṣa (I. 2, III. 12, 13, IV. 7), pradhāna (I. 10, VI. 10 and 16), liṅga (I. 13, VI. 9). The Śv. Up. (VI. 11) describes the one God as 'sākṣī cetā kevalo nirguṇaś-ca'. The Sāṅkhya denies God and transfers these epithets to the Puruṣa, who in his true essence is, according to the Sāṅkhya, merely a passive witness, pure intelligence, unaffected by guṇas. The Praśna Up. (IV. 8) speaks of the five elements and their mātrās (pṛthivī ca pṛthivīmātrā ca &c), the ten *indriyas* and their objects, manas, buddhi, ahaṅkara &c. The Sāṅkhyas rely on the verse 'ajāmekām' (Śv. Up. IV. 5) [2222] for Upaniṣadic support to their theory about prakṛti and its three guṇas (vide bhāṣya of

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2221. नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानामेको बहूनां यो विदधाति कामान्। तत्कारणं सांख्ययोगाधिगम्यं ज्ञात्वा देवं मुच्यते सर्वपाशैः॥ श्वेताश्व० VI. 13. The first half occurs in कठोप. V. 130. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 3 remarks 'यत्तु दर्शनमुक्तं तत्कारणं सांख्ययोगाभिपन्नम् इति, वैदिकमेव तत्त्वज्ञानं ध्यानं च सांख्ययोगशब्दाभ्यामभिलप्यते प्रत्यासत्तेरित्यवगन्तव्यम्॥'. Compare गीता 13. 19 and 21 प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव etc. for the relation of पुरुष, प्रकृति and गुण; साक्षी is explained ay Pāṇini as 'साक्षाद् द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम्' V 2. 9. The word कैवल्य, the *summum bonum* of the Sāṅkhya, is derived from केवल (which word occurs in Śv. Up. I. 11 and VI. 11) and means केवलस्य भावः.

2222. अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः। अजो ह्येको जुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः॥ श्वेताश्व० उप. 4. 5. This verse metaphorically speaks of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Guṇas acc. to the Sāṅkhya objector. अजा and अज ordinarily mean 'she-goat' and 'he-goat'. The words also mean 'unborn'. Therefore, *ajā* stands for Prakṛti and *aja* for Puruṣa, both of which are eternal acc. to the Sāṅkhya system. Lohita (red) stands for the guṇa *rajas*, śukla (white) for *sattvaguṇa* (which is *prakāśaka*) and kṛṣṇa (dark) for *tamas*. From Prakṛti are evolved numerous objects. The latter half refers to a soul that is enveloped in ignorance and therefore lives in bondage, but one who has realised the distinction between *guṇas* and *puruṣa* abandons *prakṛti* i. e. is liberated. The relations of the numerous puruṣas (poetically represented as he-goats) to the one Prakṛti (represented as a she-goat) are mentioned in this verse. These three colours really stand for three elements viz. *tejas*, *waters* and *food* (i. e. earth). Vide Chān. Up. VI. 3. 1 'यदग्ने रोहितं रूपं तेजसस्तद्रूपं यच्छुक्लं तदपां यत्कृष्णं तदन्नस्य.'

Śaṅkara on V. S. I. 4. 8). That verse means : there is one unborn (female), constituted by red, white and black, but producing manifold progeny resembling each other; there is one unborn being (a male) who resorts to her (loves her) and lies by her; there is another, who leaves her after having experienced enjoyment. Similarly, Sāṅkhyas argue that Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system, is mentioned in the Śv. Up. (V. 2) 'it is he who, in the beginning, bears (nourishes) by thoughts Kapila sage when born and looks on while he is being born.' If one looks to various passages of the Śv. Up. such as III. 4, IV. 12, VI. 18 one must hold that ṛsi Kapila,[2223] the reddish sage, is Hiranyagarbha (the golden child), the first creation (Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre,' Rg. X. 121. 1). Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. II. 1. 1) replies that from the mere occurrence of the word 'Kapila' one cannot at once jump to the conclusion that he must be the founder of the Sāṅkhya, since another Kapila, called Vāsudeva, who reduced to ashes the sons of Sagara by his angry look, is well-known.[2224] Śaṅkarācārya concedes on V. S. II. 1. 3 that both Sāṅkhya and Yoga are within the pale of Vedic orthodoxy as regards those portions of them that are not in conflict with the Veda. The five elements (mahābhutāni) are mentioned in the Ait. Up. (III. 3), Praśna VI. 4 and the five special qualities of these five in Kaṭha Up. (III. 15).

In view of the fact that the word 'Sāṅkhya' occurs in the Śv. Up. and that the Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka have some doctrines similar to the Sāṅkhya system and the Śvetāśvatara employs many words that occur frequently in the works on Sāṅkhya, the question arises—what is the relation of the Sāṅkhya to the Upaniṣads. There are three possible views, (1) that Upaniṣad thought and Sāṅkhya made parallel progress, (2) that Sāṅkhya adopted and expanded some of the germinal ideas

2223. या तु श्रुतिः कपिलस्य ज्ञानातिशयं प्रदर्शयन्ती प्रदर्शिता न तया श्रुतिविरुद्धमपि कापेलं मतं श्रद्धातुं शक्यं कपिलमिति श्रुतिसामान्यमात्रत्वात्। अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य सगरपुत्राणां प्रतप्तुर्वासुदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात्। भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 1; येन त्वंशेन न विरुध्येते तेनेष्टमेव सांख्ययोगस्मृत्योः साधकाशत्वम्। शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 3.

2224. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 4. 12 Kapila is said to be a part of bhagavān Puruṣottama, who reduced to ashes the 60 thousand sons of Sagara, that suspected that the Aśvamedha horse grazing near that sage must have been stolen by him (IV. 4. 16–23). For Vāsudeva Kapila, vide Vanaparva 107. 31–33, where we read (in Chitraśālā ed.) 'ततः क्रुद्धो महाराज कपिलो मुनिसत्तमः। वासुदेवेति यं प्राहुः कपिलं मुनिपुङ्गवम्। ... ददाह सुमहातेजा मन्दबुद्धीन् स सागरान्। The story is also mentioned in Vanaparva 47 (7–18).

of the Upaniṣads, (3) that some Upaniṣads borrowed from the Sāṅkhya. It is not possible to discuss these questions here for reasons of space and relevance. The present author holds that it is the Sāṅkhya that based itself on the thoughts of the Upaniṣads, particularly when the older Upaniṣads like the Bṛ. Up. and Chāndogya hardly exhibit any traces of Sāṅkhya doctrines or technique, when Sāṅkhya references are found only in Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara, Praśna (which are held to be later than Chāṅ. Up. and Bṛ. Up. by modern scholarship) and when there is hardly any work or writer of purely Sāṅkhya doctrines that can be assigned to a period even a few centuries earlier than the Christian era and when no one can place the principal Upaniṣads (about twelve, including the Svetāśvatara) later than 300 B. C., since even the Śv. Up. is referred to as 'Śruti' in V. S. I. 4. 8, II. 3. 22. Garbe (in 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie' pp. 3 ff) denies that Sāṅkhya underwent any essential modifications in its long history. Jacobi does not agree, holding that Sāṅkhya originated out of a common cultural and philosophical heritage and Oldenberg sees the origin of Sāṅkhya in the Kaṭha and Śv. Up. and holds that epic Sāṅkhya is an independent development ('Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus', 1915, pp. 206 ff). Sāṅkhya and Yoga were known to Kauṭilya (Sāṅkhyam Yogo Lokāyatam cetyānvīkṣikī' Arthaśāstrā I. 2. p. 6.). Therefore, we may say that Sāṅkhya as a philosophical school started at least before the 4th century B. C.

We should now turn to Sanskrit works other than the Upaniṣads for seeing the origins of the Sāṅkhya system. First comes the Mahābhārata.

In many passages of the Śāntiparva [1225] references to some of the doctrines, technical words and persons connected with the mature Sāṅkhya system occur. The references are so many that the present writer will have to select only a few passages by way of sample. In chap. 203 there is a dialogue between a clever pupil and his guru. It begins by stating (in verse 8) that Vāsudeva is all this (Vāsudevaḥ sarvam-idam), then it proceeds 'just as from one lamp thousands of lamps can proceed, so prakṛti

2225. For the Śāntiparva only the critical edition of the Mahābhārata issued by the BORI is cited in this section on Sāṅkhya from this paragraph onwards. The quotations from other parvans are taken from the Citraśālā Press edition.

creates endless things, but does not become reduced (in size) thereby; buddhi springs from the activity of avyakta (i.e. prakṛti) and ahaṅkāra is produced (from buddhi) and from ahaṅkāra is evolved *ākāśa* from which *vāyu* arises and then *tejas*, water and the earth arise each from its predecessor; these eight are the mūlaprakṛtis[2226] and the whole world is centred in them (verses 24–26). Then the chap. mentions five organs of knowledge (ear, skin, eye, tongue, sense of smell) and five senses of activity (hands &c) and then there are the five objects of sense (viz. śabda, sparsa &c) and the mind is all-pervading and the 16th (verses 27–31). Then the chapter speaks of puruṣa (the soul) that resides in the city with nine[2227] gates and is undecaying and immortal, which shines in all beings just as a lamp, whether big or small, does. In chapter 204 the same dialogue is pursued and the first verse says all *bhūtas* spring from *avyakta* and are merged (die) in *avyakta*, it refers to *kṣetra* (the body) and *kṣetrajña* (in verse 14) and winds up by saying that, just as seeds burnt by fire do not grow, the soul is not again connected with *kleśas*[2228] when they are burnt by the fire of (correct) knowledge. In chap. 205, verses 22–23 speak of the characteristics of the three guṇas; chap. 206 says that when a person brings under control anger, avarice,[2229] fear, pride and becomes pure he merges into the highest self that is Viṣṇu in *avyakta* form and chap. 207 deals with the measures for reaching the highest goal and puts forward brahmacarya (sexual purity) as

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2226. मूलप्रकृतयोऽष्टौ ता जगदेतास्ववस्थितम्॥ ज्ञानेन्द्रियाण्यतः पञ्च पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाण्यपि। विषयाः पञ्च चैकं च विकारे षोडशं मनः॥ verses 26–27. Compare सांख्यकारिका 3 q. above in n 2216 for षोडशकश्च विकारः etc.

2227. नवद्वारं पुरं पुण्यमेतैर्भावैः समन्वितम्। व्याप्य शेते महानात्मा तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते॥ शान्ति 203. 35. Compare also भगवद्गीता 'नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन् न कारयन्'. The word पुरुष is generally derived as पुरि शेते इति पुरुषः. Vide निरुक्त I. 13 यथा चापि पतिनार्थानि स्युस्तथैतान्याचक्षीरन् पुरुषं पुरिशय इत्याचक्षीरन्; but in II. 3 it gives three derivations of 'पुरुषः पुरिषादः पुरिशयः पूरयतेर्वा' (the first being पुरि+स from सद् to sit). The derivation of the word from पुरि शेते occurs ever in the बृह. उप. II. 4. 18 'स वा अयं पुरुषः सर्वासु पूर्षु पुरिशयः'. The words नवद्वारे पुरे देही occur in श्वेताश्व० III. 18.

2228. क्लेश is a technical term in the Yogasūtra where it occurs frequently as in I 24, II. 2 and 3, II. 12, IV. 28 and 30. Yogasūtra II. 3 enumerates the five *kleśas* as अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः'. They are so called because they harass man (क्लिश्यन्ति पुरुषम्).

2229. क्रोधलोभौ भयं दर्प एतेषां साधनाच्छुचिः॥ परमं परमात्मानं देवदेवमयमव्ययम्। विष्णुमव्यक्तसंस्थानं विशन्ते देवसत्तमम्' chap. 206. 1–2.

the first measure. In these chapters, though some doctrines peculiar to the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā appear, they are all brought in line with the Vedānta of one supreme Being, which is negatived in the official Sāṅkhya.

That there were philosophers, who adopted some of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga doctrines, postulated Parameśvara (Supreme Deity) and held that the three, viz. Pradhāna, Puruṣa and Īśvara were different from each other, is expressly stated by Śaṅkarācārya[2230] in his bhāṣya on V. S. II. 2. 37. Therefore, the Mahābhārata references to Sāṅkhya probably relate to philosophical doctrines in which all three viz. Prakṛti, Puruṣas and Supreme Self were recognized, from which arose the later official Sāṅkhya that discarded any supreme Ruler of the Universe. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva (quoted in note 1544 p. 954 above) 'Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcarātra, Vedas and Pāśupata are said to be knowledges (jñānāni) and 'nānāmatāni' (different points of view) and Kapila, a paramarṣi, is said to be propounder of Sāṅkhya. Chapter 294 (in verses 26-49) deals with the twenty-five tattvas of the Sāṅkhya from Prakṛti or Avyakta, mahat, ahaṅkāra, the five elements from ahaṅkāra (these eight being called prakṛtis) and then 16 *vikāras* (verse 29). These are called *kṣetra*, the soul is the 25th (v. 35) and is called kṣetrajña and Puruṣa (v. 37 'avyaktake pure śete puruṣaś-ceti kathyate', and Īśvara or *brahma* is not brought in anywhere in that chapter.

Chapters 211–212 (containing in all 100 verses) of Śāntiparva deal with what Janaka, called Janadeva,[2231] king of Mithilā, learnt from Pañcaśikha, when the latter, after wandering over the whole earth, visited Mithilā and who is described as the first (or foremost) pupil of Āsuri and who is said to have performed a sattra for a thousand years on Pañcasrotas[2232]

2230. तस्मात् प्रकृतिरधिष्ठाता केवलं निमित्तकारणमीश्वर इत्येष पक्षो वेदान्तविहित-ब्रह्मैकत्वप्रतिपक्षत्वाद्यत्नेनात्र प्रतिषिध्यते। सा चेयं वेदबाह्येश्वरकल्पनानेकप्रकारा। केचित्सांख्य-योगव्यपाश्रयाः कल्पयन्ति प्रधानपुरुषयोरधिष्ठाता केवलं निमित्तकारणमीश्वर इतरेतरविलक्षणाः प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरा इति। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 2. 37 (पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात्).

2231. Janadeva may be a proper name of Janaka and may mean 'Lord of men' (i. e. same as 'Janādhipa')' In the Bṛhan-Nāradīya-purāna I. chap. 45 the same story about Janaka and Pañcaśikha is narrated often in the words of the Śāntiparva.

2232. Pañcaśrotas probably means 'Pañcanada' (the five rivers of the Punjab), Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. p. 787. The cr. ed. of the Śāntiparva

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(verse 10). He was the son of a brāhmaṇa woman called Kapilā and was therefore known as Kāpileya (verses 13–15). Janaka had a hundred ācāryas in his palace who propounded the different views of different sects. Verse 9 says that Pañcaśikha made people wonder when he appeared like Kapila, the great sage (paramarṣi) and Prajāpati, that he confounded the hundred ācāryas by his arguments (v. 17). Later Janaka abandoned those ācāryas and followed Pañcaśikha (verse 18). He, after creating disgust in Janaka about his caste or about rites and about everything, expounded to Janaka the highest *mokṣa* which is declared as Sāṅkhya. In chāp. 212 Pañcaśikha expounds five elements, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas, mind (verses 7–22) and the signs (*liṅgas*) of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa bhāvas (verses 25–28) and describes how a person who seeks the Self is freed from the fetters of pleasure and pain and being beyond the fear of old age and death reaches immortality. In the first place, these two chapters are not sometimes very clear, offer no consistent clear-cut system and employ words that are difficult to construe and are not completely identical with the scheme of the 25 tattvas of the official Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā, since chap. 211 verse 13 speaks of 'ekākṣara brahma assuming many forms'. For example, it is difficult to say what is meant by 'purusāvastham-avyaktam'. The meaning that can be drawn out of the words seems to be 'he (Pañcaśikha) conveyed knowledge (to Janaka) about Avyakta (i. e. Pradhāna) that depends upon Puruṣa (i. e. that becomes active through union of Puruṣa with it), which is the highest truth. It further says that Pañcaśikha became perfect (in knowledge) by the performance of *iṣṭis* and *sattras*, again by abounding tapas, had a vision of the deity (God) and he realized the distinction between kṣetra and kṣetrajña and also realized *brahma* symbolized[2233] by om. There-

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omits one verse in chap. 211 (corresponding to chap. 218 of the Citraśālā Press ed.), which is पञ्चस्रोतसि निष्णातः पञ्चरात्रविशारदः। पञ्चज्ञः पञ्चकृत्पञ्चगुणः पञ्चशिखः स्मृतः॥ which is 11–12 in that chap. Here पञ्चशिख is said to have been profoundly learned in पञ्चरात्र (वैष्णव) doctrines. As he was called कापिलेय, it was probably imagined that his mother was Kapilā.

2233. तं समासीनमागम्य मण्डलं कापिलं महत्। पुरुषावस्थमव्यक्तं परमार्थं व्यशोधयत्॥ इष्टिसत्रेण संसिद्धो भूयश्च तपसा मुनिः। क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोर्व्यक्तिं बुबुधे देवदर्शनः॥ यत्तदेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म नानारूपं प्रदृश्यते। शान्ति 211. 11–13, पुरुषावस्थं must be dissolved (in order that some sense can be made out of it) as पुरुषे अवस्था (अवस्थानं यस्य) or 'पुरुषे अवतिष्ठते इति.' The meaning of मण्डलं कापिलं महत् is not at all clear,

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fore, the doctrine of Pañcaśikha in these chapters of Śāntiparva is really *advaita* (monism) on which are grafted some doctrines similar to the later official Sāṅkhya for explaining creation and so forth.[2231] In Śāntiparva 306. 56–66 (= Chitra ed. 318. 58–62) Viśvāvasu tells Yājñavalkya that he has heard about the 25th tattva (i. e. Puruṣa) from Jaigīṣavya, Asita-Devala, Vārṣagaṇya (of Parāśara gotra), Bhṛgu Pañcaśikha, Kapila, Śuka, Gotama Āṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Garga, Nārada, Āsuri, Pulastya, Sanatkumāra, Śukra and Kaśyapa (father of Viśvāvasu) and 336. 65 (Chitra. ed. 318. 67) states that Yājñavalkya had mastered completely both Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Śāntiparva 304. 4 (=316. 4 of Citra. ed.) states that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are one.[2235]

Pañcaśikha figures frequently in the Mahābhārata. In Śāntiparva, chap. 307 (containing only 14 verses) Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma how one can rise superior to old age and death,

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but from the passages in the Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā, chap. XII. 18–29 it follows that the doctrines of Kapila's Sāṅkhya—tantra were divided into two maṇḍalas called Prākṛta and Vaikṛta and the two had 32 and 28 topics respectively. 'सांख्यरूपेण सङ्कल्पो वैष्णवः कपिलाह्वयेः। उदितो याद्दशः पूर्वं ताद्दशं शृणु मेऽखिलम्। षष्टिभेदं स्मृतं तन्त्रं सांख्यं नाम महासुने। प्राकृतं वैकृतं चेति मण्डले द्वे समासतः॥'. The com. Arjunamiśra appears to take it as 'the great doctrine of Kapila came to him (Pañcaśikha) in the form of an aura of light and expounded to him the highest truth' etc. This is extremely far-fetched. There is a doubt about the agent of 'nyabodhayat and as to whom 'samāsīnam' refers. To me it appears that the meaning is that 'Pañcaśikha came to him (i. e. to Janaka) and imparted to him the great Kāpila maṇḍala, the highest truth, the avyakta etc.' According to the usual sanskrit construction the agent of 'āgamya' and 'nyabodhayat' must be the same (i. e. Pañcaśikha). समासीनं refers to जनक. Compare 'एकाक्षरं परं ब्रह्म' मनु II. 83 and 'ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन्' गीता VIII. 13. Verse 13 of chap. 211 is आसुरिर्मण्डले तस्मिन् प्रतिपेदे तदव्ययम्। (अव्ययं refers to एकाक्षर-ब्रह्म). Therefore, मण्डल should be taken to mean 'the circle of the doctrines first propounded by Kapila.'

2234. The position reached by Janaka on Pañcasikha's teaching is stated in Śānti 212. 50–51. 'न खलु मम तुषोऽपि दह्यतेऽत्र स्वयमिदमाह किल स्म भूमिपालः। इदमसृतपदं विदेहराजः स्वयमिह पञ्चशिखेन भाष्यमाणः॥. Compare शान्ति 171. 56 अनन्तं बत मे वित्तं यस्य मे नास्ति किंचन॥ मिथिलायां प्रदीप्तायां न मे दह्यति किंचन॥ धम्मपद 200, उत्तराध्ययनसूत्र 9. 14 सुहं वसामो जीवामो जेसिं मो णत्थि किंचण। मिहिलाए डज्झमाणीए न मे डज्झइ किंचण॥. इमां तु यो वेद विमोक्षबुद्धिमात्मानमन्विच्छति चाप्रमत्तः। न लिप्यते कर्मफलैरनिष्टैः पत्रं विसरवेव जलेन सिक्तम्॥ शान्ति 212–44; vide note 1640, pp. 1005–6 above for the figure of a lotus leaf and water falling thereon.

2235. यदेव योगाः पश्यन्ति तत्सांख्यैरपि दृश्यते। एकं सांख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति।.

whether by very great tapas [2236] or by rites or by Vedic learning or by the use of *rasāyanas* (elixirs of life or alchemist's prescriptions). Bhīṣma speaks of an ancient dialogue between Janaka and Bhikṣu Pañcaśikha, where the same question was put by Janaka and Pañcaśikha replied that none can escape these two and that union with wife and relatives is like meeting persons when on a journey (i. e. the company of these is not durable or permanent), nobody has seen heaven or hell, that one's duty is not to violate the ordinances of Vedas, and to make gifts and to offer sacrifices. In this chapter there is hardly anything which approaches the special doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, though Pañcaśikha's views are here set forth. Chap. 308 (191 verses out of which less than 30 have anything to do with Pañcaśikha's teachings directly) begins with the question of Yudhiṣṭhira 'who secured mokṣa without giving up the stage of householder.' Then Bhīṣma narrates to him the dialogue between Janaka called Dharmadhvaja [2237] and Sulabhā, a nun. Janaka was learned in the Veda, in mokṣaśāstra and in his own śāstra (rājadharma), he had controlled his senses and ruled the earth. She heard from ascetics about Janaka's righteous conduct and she desired to find out the truth. She gave up her form as a nun by her yogic powers and became a woman, a paragon of beauty, and met Janaka. The latter informed her that he was the pupil of old bhikṣu [2238] Pañcaśikha of the Pārāśarya gotra who stayed with him during the four months of the rainy season and who expounded to him the threefold mokṣa (viz. Sāṅkhya, Yoga and the science of government) and yet who did not ask him to give up rulership. Janaka said

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2236. तपसा वा सुमहता कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा। रसायनप्रयोगैर्वा केनैतौ जरान्तकौ॥ ... केन वृत्तेन भगवन्नतिक्रामेज्जरान्तकौ। तपसा वाथ बुद्ध्या वा कर्मणा वा श्रुतेन वा॥ शान्ति 307. 2 and 5.

2237. 'Dharmadhvaja' may be a proper name here; if not, it means 'one who has raised aloft the banner of dharma' i. e. who proclaims to the world that he follows dharma in all matters.

2238. पाराशर्यसगोत्रस्य वृद्धस्य सुमहात्मनः। भिक्षोः पञ्चशिखस्याहं शिष्यः परमसंमतः॥ सांख्यज्ञाने तथा योगे महीपालविधौ तथा। त्रिविधे मोक्षधर्मेऽस्मिन् गताध्वा छिन्नसंशयः॥ तेनाहं सांख्यमुख्येन सुहृदार्थेन तत्त्वतः। श्रावितस्त्रिविधं मोक्षं न च राज्याद्विचालितः॥ सोहं तां निखिलां वृत्तिं त्रिविधां मोक्षसंहिताम्। मुक्तरागश्चराम्येकः पदे परमके स्थितः॥ वैराग्यं पुनरेतस्य मोक्षस्य परमो विधिः। ज्ञानादेव च वैराग्यं जायते येन मुच्यते॥ शान्ति 308. 24–29. A conjecture may be hazarded that this Pañcaśikha is entirely different from the Pañcaśikha who was one of the founders of the Sāṅkhya and that he is probably the same as the Pārāśarya who is credited by Pāṇini as having composed a 'bhikṣusūtra', 'पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः' पा. IV. 3. 110; Vide note 1901 p. 1169 above.

"I, giving up all attachment, though occupying the highest position (as ruler), follow the three paths of *mokṣa*; the highest rule of this mokṣa is 'freedom from attachment, the absence of attachment is due to correct knowledge whereby one is freed from bondage (of saṁsāra)". Janaka further avows that[2239] on account of the knowledge imparted to him by the bhikṣu who is called after his top-knot, he is free from all attachment, though looking after the kingdom and that he is different from other sannyāsins. Then Janaka gives in verses (308. 38–41) another meaning[2240] of the threefold Mokṣa propounded by Pañcaśikha to him viz. (1) highest knowledge and renunciation of actions, (2) strict adherence to the patha of *karma* (duties prescribed by Śāstra) and (3) combination of knowledge and actions, and it is said that those who follow this third path resemble householders in several respects. Janaka asserts his view 'wearing ochre-coloured[2241] garments, shaving the head, carrying a water-vessel placed on three staves-these are merely outward signs and do not lead to *mokṣa* and that *mokṣa* does not consist in non-possession of wealth and bondage does not follow possession of some wealth, but it is *jñāna* by which a person secures deliverance, whether there is possession or non-possession of wealth'. It appears from verse 40 that Pañcaśikha emphasized the third kind of Mokṣaniṣṭhā (Jñānakarmasamuccaya) and Janaka followed that teaching. The rest of the chapter (308) is concerned with Janaka's charges against Sulabhā and Sulabhā's scathing remarks against Janaka.[2242] She says at the end 'you

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2239. तद्भगवता तेन शिखामोक्तेन भिक्षुणा। ज्ञानं कृतमबीजं मे विषयेषु न जायते॥... मुक्तसङ्गः स्थितो राज्ये विशिष्टोन्यैस्त्रिदण्डिभिः॥ Chap. 308. 34–37. पञ्चशिख literally means 'one having five śikhās (locks of hair on the head)'. Therefore, he is referred to as शिखामोक्त (lit. declared by his śikhās).

2240. लोके हि त्रिविधा निष्ठा दृष्टा पूर्वैर्महर्षिभिः। ज्ञानं लोकोत्तरं यच्च सर्वत्यागश्च कर्मणाम्॥ ज्ञाननिष्ठां वदन्त्येके मोक्षशास्त्रविदो जनाः। कर्मनिष्ठां तथैवान्ये यतयः सूक्ष्मदर्शिनः। प्रहाबोभयमप्येतत् ज्ञानं कर्म च केवलम्। तृतीयेयं समाख्याता निष्ठा तेन महात्मना॥ 308. 38–40.

2241. काषायधारणं मौण्ड्यं त्रिविष्टब्धः कमण्डलुः। लिङ्गान्यत्यर्थमेतानि न मोक्षायेति मे मतिः॥ ... आकिंचन्ये न मोक्षोऽस्ति कैञ्चन्ये नास्ति बन्धनम्। कैञ्चन्ये चेतरे चैव जन्तुर्ज्ञानेन मुच्यते॥ Chap. 308. 47 and 50. अकिंचन means one who possesses nothing and अकैञ्चन्य means 'the state of being अकिञ्चन'. Should we read अक्षार्थम् or अर्थार्थम् for अत्यर्थम् as some mss. do? The verses are chap. 320. 47 ff of चित्र० ed.

2242. Some of her telling retorts are set out here. 'यथात्मनि परस्मिंश्च समतामध्यवस्यसि॥ अथ मां कासि कस्येति किमर्थमनुपृच्छसि। ... सर्वः स्वे स्वे गृहे राजा सर्वः

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have indeed heard from Pañcaśikha the whole (doctrine) about mokṣa together with the means (for attaining it), with the Upaniṣad passages expounding it or with the auxiliaries (of meditation) and with definite conclusions.'

This passage expressly refers to Upaniṣads in connection with mokṣa and the preceding verses emphasize the freedom from attachment on the part of Janaka (in 308. 37 'mukta-saṅga'). The Bṛ. Up. in III. 1 refers to the sacrifice performed by Janaka, king of Videha, who set apart a thousand cows to be given to him from among the brāhmaṇas assembled at it, that would be the most profound in learning and be *brahmiṣṭha* (most learned in or devoted to brahma). Yājñavalkya asked his disciple to take the cows away; thereupon followed a learned disquisition by questions (of angry brāhmaṇas including a woman) and answers by Yājñavalkya;[2242] the questioners were Aśvala (the holy priest of Janaka), Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa, Kahola Kāuṣītakeya, Gargī Vācaknavī, Uddālaka, Āruṇi, Vidagdha Śākalya (III. 1-9 ending with 'vijñānam-ānandam brahma)'. In Bṛ. Up. IV. 2 it is said that Janaka Vaideha approached Yājñavalkya, did obeisance to him and said 'instruct me' and that then the sage spoke to him 'you have studied the Veda and the Upaniṣads have been expounded to you by ācāryas, but, when you will be leaving this body, where will yo go'? Janaka replied that he did not know it and requested the sage to enlighten him on that point. Then a long disquition follows (Bṛ. Up. IV. 2 ff) in which occurs the famous passage ('sa eṣa neti netyātmā, agṛhyo na hi gṛhyate ..... asaṅgo na hi sajjate ..... abhayam vai Janaka prāptosi' (IV. 2. 4). It appears to the present writer that some one desirous of boosting Sāṅkhya teachings inserted the chapters about Sāṅkhya in which Pañcaśikha is substituted in place of Yājñavalkya as the teacher of Janaka.

It would be seen from the brief synopsis of the chapters 211-12, 307 and 308 that the views described in all of them are not the same as those of the official or standard Sāṅkhya, that Pañcaśikha's views as presented in chapters 211-212 seem to be different from those in chap. 308, particularly when chap. 308 emphasizes that jñāna-karma-samuccaya was the view of

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स्वे स्वे गृहे गृही। विग्रहाद्ग्रहौ कुर्वंस्तुल्यो जनक राजभिः॥ 308. 126-27. 147. नन्वु चाम त्वया मोक्षः कृत्स्नः पञ्चशिखाच्छ्रुतः। सोपायः सोपनिषदः सोपासङ्गः सनिश्चयः॥ chap. 308. 163. The Com. Nilakaṇṭha explains: उपासङ्गो ध्यानाङ्गानि यमादीनि.

Pañcaśikha, while the official Sāṅkhya holds that jñāna alone leads to liberation. It should be noted that these chapters nowhere refer to a work of Pañcaśikha but show him to be a wandering ascetic holding certain views. The present writer believes that the author of these passages in the Śāntiparva had no work before him and only knew by hearsay and tradition that Pañcaśikha was a great Sāṅkhya teacher. Prof. Keith holds that the Pañcaśikha of the Śāntiparva is not identical with Pañcaśikha, the author of Ṣaṣṭitantra (p. 48 of 'Sāṅkhya System'). [2243]

There are other chapters in the Śāntiparva where the peculiar Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology are employed but they are brought in line with Vāsudeva or Highest Self to which the Sāṅkhya doctrines are made subordinate. For example, in chap. 340 Nārada is said to have been [2244] told by God himself some of the tenets of Sāṅkhya such as the twenty-four tattvas and Puruṣa as the 25th taṭṭva, the three guṇas, that Puruṣa is kṣetrajña and bhoktṛ, that ācāryas, who have arrived at definite conclusions about Sāṅkhya, call God who is in the orb of the Sun as Kapila, that Hiraṇyagarbha, who is well praised in the Veda and is announced as (author) of Yogaśāstra, is 'myself'.

Not only in the Śāntiparva, but also in other *parvans* of the Mahābhārata, Sāṅkhya doctrines are dwelt upon. For example, the Āśvamedhika (in chap. 35. 47–48) speaks of sattva, rajas, tamas as ātmaguṇas and mentions their equilibrium. In another place, the same parvan enumerates the 24 *tattvas* viz. avyakta, mahān, ahaṅkāra &c and describes the three guṇas. [2245]

2243. Vide p. 11 (note) of Hall's Preface to the edition of Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra (1856), where passages ascribed to Pañcaśikha are grouped together and Richard Garbe in Festgruss an Rudolph von Roth (Stuttgart, 1893) pp. 75–80 for fragments of Pañcaśikha.

2244. द्विर्द्वादशेभ्यस्तत्त्वेभ्यः ख्यातो यः पञ्चविंशकः। पुरुषो निष्क्रियश्चैव ज्ञानहृदयञ्च कथ्यते॥ यं प्रविश्य भवन्तीह मुक्ता वै द्विजसत्तम। स वासुदेवो विज्ञेयः परमात्मा सनातनः॥ ... सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणानेतान्प्रचक्षते। एते सर्वशरीरेषु तिष्ठन्ति विचरन्ति च। एतान्गुणांस्तु क्षेत्रज्ञो भुंक्ते नैभिः स मुच्यते॥ ... विद्या सहायवन्तं मामादित्यस्थं सनातनम्। कपिलं प्राहुराचार्याः सांख्यनिश्चितनिश्चयाः॥ हिरण्यगर्भो भगवानेष छन्दसि स्तुतः। सोहं योगगतिर्विद्वान् योगशास्त्रेषु शाश्वतः॥ शान्ति० 340. 23, 24, 26–27, 64–65. हिरण्यगर्भ is praised in the hymn Ṛg. X. 121. 1 and appears to be identified with Prajāpati in the last verse of the hymn (X. 121. 10 Prajāpate na tvadetānyanyo). The शान्तिपर्व chap. 340 corresponds to chap. 339 of the Chitrashala edition and the verses quoted here all occur in that chap.

2245. सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चेति त्रय आत्मगुणाः स्मृताः। तेषां गुणानां साम्यं चेत्तदाहुः स्वस्थलक्षणम्। तेषामन्यतमोत्सेके विधानमुपदिश्यते॥ आश्व० 12. 4–5; compare शान्ति-

(*Continued on next page*)

Āsuri is mentioned by the S. Kārikā as the pupil of Kapila, also in a quotation in Yogasūtrabhāṣya on I. 25 (note 2251) and by the Śāntiparva (chap. 306). But no work is attributed to him and hardly any quotation from him is cited by writers on Sāṅkhya (except a verse quoted as his by Haribhadra a late Jain writer). Kapila is a legendary figure. In Ṛgveda X. 27. 16 Kapila[2246] is mentioned as one among ten (Aṅgirases) whom, though similar to them, they (Aṅgirases) urge on for a sacrifice. Vide Hall's Preface to Sāṅkhya-pravacanabhāṣya (ed. 1856) pp. 14 ff for the confused legends about Kapila. Some references to Kapila in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In Vanaparva (221. 26) Kapila is styled as the promulgator of Sāṅkhya-yoga, as Paramarṣi and as an incarnation of Agni. In the Matsyapurāṇa[2247] it is stated that water should be offered to the seven sons of Brahmā, viz. Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Voḍhu and Pañcaśikha. The Vāmana-purāṇa (60. 70) mentions Kapila (as knower of Sāṅkhya), Voḍhu, Āsuri, Pañcaśikha (as 'yogayukta') and states that Sanatkumāra approached Brahmā for yoga lore.

In the Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana (kaṇḍikā 3) attached to the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra the above seven are the only persons to whom *tarpaṇa* is offered among *ṛṣis* (vide II. of Dh. vol. II.

(Continued from last page)

पर्व 16. 11-13. Guṇas in the Sāṅkhya system must be understood to be of the nature of both substance and qualities. Vide also तमो रजस्तथा सत्त्वं गुणानेतान् प्रचक्षते। अन्योन्यमिथुनाः सर्वे तथान्योन्यानुजीविनः॥ तमसो मिथुनं सत्त्वं सत्त्वस्य मिथुनं रजः। रजसश्चापि सत्त्वं स्यात्सत्त्वस्य मिथुनं तमः॥ आश्वमे. 36. 4 and 6. Vide chap. 36. 12-15 for तामसगुण and 17-20 for तामसवृत्त and chap. 37 for राजसगुणवृत्त and 38. 1-9 for सत्त्वगुण.

2246. दशानामेकं कपिलं समानं तं हिन्वन्ति क्रतवे पार्याय। गर्भे माता सुधितं बक्षणास्वेनम्वं तुषयन्ती बिभर्ति॥ ऋ. X. 27. 16. The latter half is mystical and not clear.

2247. मनुष्यांस्तर्पयेद्भक्त्या ब्रह्मपुत्रान्ऋषींस्तथा। सनकश्च सनन्दश्च तृतीयश्च सनातनः। कपिलश्चासुरिश्चैव बोढुः पञ्चशिखस्तथा। सर्वे ते तृप्तिमायान्तु मद्दत्तेनाम्बुना सदा॥ मत्स्य० 102. 17-18. The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa (IV. 2. 272-274) mentions these seven sons of Brahmā but in a different order. The वामनपुराण (60. 69-70) mentions the seven sons as सनत्कुमार, सनातन, सनक, सनन्दन, कपिल, बोढु and आसुरि and adds पञ्चशिख. In the बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (VII. 66) these same seven are said to be human sons of Brahmā. The स्मृतिच. I. p. 193 quotes मत्स्य 102. 14-21 on the topic of तर्पण, but reads 'कपिलश्चासुरिश्चैव सौढुः पञ्चशिखस्तथा।' in verse 18. बोढु or बौढ is a strange name and no verse or prose passage of his has been cited in works and commentaries on Sāṅkhya. It looks more like a prakrit form of some Sanskrit word. Vide Garbe in 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie' p. 72 for Voḍhu,

p. 693). In the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I. 3. 10) Kapila is said to be the 5th avatāra of Viṣṇu, is called *siddheśa* (the lord of siddhas) and the teacher of Āsuri in Sāṅkhya that had become decadent (by lapse of time). The Gītā also (X. 26 'siddhānām Kapilo muniḥ') mentions Kapila as a *muni* and the most eminent among siddhas. The S. Kārikā also refers to him as muni. The Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 7. 7) echoes the very words of the Gītā ('siddhānām Kapilo muniḥ').

In the *vaṁśas* in Bṛ. Up. II. 6. 3 and VI. 5. 2–3, in which succession lists of teachers and pupils differing from one another occur, Āsuri is said to be disciple of Bharadvāja in the first and the pupil of Yājñavalkya in the second. Each list contains at least 60 teachers from Brahmā downwards. In the first place, it is difficult to hold that these lists are authentic and there is no evidence to establish that the Āsuri mentioned in both is the same as the pupil of Kapila.

Pañcaśikha's is a great name in the Sāṅkhya system. His systematic work on that system was called Śaṣṭitantra. The S. Kārikā (70, 72) refers to him as the author of the Śaṣṭitantra containing great details, illustrative tales and discussions of others' views. It was called Ṣaṣṭitantra because it expounded sixty topics and it contained sixty thousand gāthās.[2248] The Yogasūtrabhāṣya (IV. 13) quotes a verse which is ascribed to Ṣaṣṭitantra by Vācaspati on Yogasūtrabhāṣya IV. 13. The present writer cannot agree with Keith p. 69 that the reference to Ṣaṣṭitantra in S. Kārikā (verse 72) is not to a work but to a philosophy of sixty topics. The āryā 72 had a Sanskrit commentary which was translated into Chinese in 546 A. D. in which it was stated that the work contained six thousand *gāthās*,[2249] but the Bhāmatī (by Vācaspati) on V. S. II. 1. 3 ascribes it to Vārṣagaṇya. It may be a slip on the part of Vācaspati or it is possible that he regarded Pañcaśikha and Vārṣagaṇya as the names of the same person, the first being a nickname and the latter a gotra name. On Yogasūtra I. 4, 25, 36, II. 5, 6, 13, 17,

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2248. अयं पञ्चशिखः षष्टिसहस्रगाथात्मकं विपुलं तन्त्रमनुकवान्। p. 97 of Pandit Aiyaswami's ed.; षष्टिपदार्था यस्मिन् शास्त्रे तन्त्र्यन्ते व्युत्पाद्यन्ते तत् षष्टितन्त्रम्। माठरवृत्ति.

2249. 'Gāthā' here seems to mean 'a group of 32 syllables or a fixed number of mātrās as a unit.' The few quotations attributed to Pañcaśikha are almost all in prose, only one under Y. S. IV. 13 being in verse and later commentators like Bhāvā-Gaṇeśa on Sāṅkhya-sūtra quote verses of Pañcaśikha.

18, 20, III. 13 and 41, IV. 13 (tathā ca śāstrānuśāsanam 'Guṇānām &c), prose passages occur which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha. On S. Kārikā 2 Vācaspati quotes in his com. the view of Pañcaśikhācārya. In Yogasūtrabhāṣya on I. 25 a sūtra is quoted which Vācaspati ascribes to Pañcaśikha in which Kapila is styled 'ādividvān' (the first master of Sāṅkhya) and 'paramarṣi' and is said to have imparted to Āsuri the Tantra, the Sāṅkhya Siddhānta.

In the dialogue between Viśvāvasu Gandharva and Yājñavalkya (in Śāntiparva, chap. 306) there is a long list of sages from whom Viśvāvasu says he learnt a great deal (in verses 56–60) but prays to Yājñavalkya[2250] that the latter should expound to him the knowledge of Sāṅkhya and Yoga (verses 65–66). Then Yājñavalkya states that *prakṛti* is also called pradhāna, that it does not know the 25th (viz. the puruṣa) and that there is a 26th (Highest Self) and so on. That list contains the following names: *Jaigīṣavya*,[2251] Asita, Devala, *Vārṣagaṇya* of the Parāśaragotra, *bhikṣu Pañcaśikha*, *Kapila*, Śuka, Gautama, Āṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Gārgya, Nārada, *Āsuri*, Pulastya, Sanatkumāra, Śukra, father of Kaśyapa. The sages are not mentioned in chronological order. Five of them (that are in Italics) are important so far as Sāṅkhya and Yoga are concerned. We saw above that Pañcaśikha is said to be of Parāśara gotra and in the above list Vārṣagaṇya also is said to be of the same gotra. Vācaspati on S. Kārikā 47 ascribes to Vārṣagaṇya the view that *avidyā* has five facets or aspects.[2252] The Yogasūtrabhāṣya on III. 53 quotes a sūtra of Vārṣagaṇya. It is shown above from

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2250. तथा च शास्त्रानुशासनम्। गुणानां परमं रूपं न दृष्टिपथमृच्छति। यत्तु दृष्टिपथं प्राप्तं तन्मायेव सुतुच्छकम्। इति। योगसूत्रभाष्य IV. 13; अत्रैव षष्टितन्त्रशास्त्ररथानुशिष्टिः। मायेव न तु माया। सुतुच्छकं विनाशि। तत्त्ववैशारदी on योगसूत्र; अत एव योगशास्त्रमुत्पादयिता ह स्म भगवान् वार्षगण्यः। गुणानां ... सुतुच्छकम्। भामती on ब्र. सू. II. 1. 3.

2251. यथाह स्म भगवान् पञ्चशिखाचार्यः—स्वल्पसङ्कल्पः सपरिहारः प्रत्यवमर्षः—इति। on अविशुद्धि in सां. कारिका 2; तथा चोक्तम्। आदिविद्वान्निर्माणचित्तमधिष्ठाय कारुण्याद्भगवान् परमर्षिरासुरये जिज्ञासमानाय तन्त्रं प्रोवाचेति। योगसूत्रभाष्य I. 25; तथा चोक्तं पञ्चशिखाचार्येण। आदिविद्वान् कपिल इति। वाचस्पति's टीका.

2252. पञ्च विपर्ययभेदा भवन्त्यशक्तिश्च करणवैकल्यात्। सां. कारिका 47; 'अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशाः ... पञ्च विपर्ययविशेषाः। ... पञ्चपर्वा अविद्येत्याह भगवान् वार्षगण्यः। सां. तत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति; बुद्धचरित (of अश्वघोष) XII. 33 is: इत्यविद्या हि विद्वांसः पञ्चपर्वां समीहते। तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च॥. The श्वेताश्व० उप. I. 5 has the words 'पञ्चाशन्नेदां पञ्चपर्वामधीमः'. In the Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 11. 129) Kapila is said to have given instruction to both Jaigīṣavya and Pañcaśikha. It is difficult to say whether that Purāṇa had before it any ancient tradition to this effect.

the reconstruction of the Sanskrit Com. from Chinese that Vārṣagaṇa was one of the teachers after Pañcaśikha and before Īśvarakṛṣṇa. So it is extremely doubtful if Pañcaśikha and Vārṣagaṇya are identical. Vide JRAS for 1905 pp. 33–53 (by Takakusu who shows on p. 47 that Vṛṣagaṇa was a teacher of Vindhyavāsa and that Vasubandhu wrote a work called Paramārthasaptati in opposition to Vindhyavāsa and that Paramārtha was in China from 546 to 569 A. D.

In the Introduction to the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (a Jain work) Charpentier refers to two different lists one older and shorter which speaks of the four Vedas, Itihāsas (as 5th), Nighaṇṭu as the sixth and of the Vedic aṅgas and upāṅgas and then of Ṣaṣṭitantra. This last may be a reference to Pañcaśikha's work or simply to the 60 topics dwelt upon in the Sāṅkhya system.

In Śāntiparva (chap. 222) Yudhiṣṭhira asks Bhīṣma: by what character, conduct, lores and by being intent on what does a person reach the abode of Brahmā which is higher (or beyond) *prakṛti* and Bhīṣma mentions the dialogue of Jaigīṣavya and Asita Devala in which it is stated that he who is unperturbed by being reviled or praised, who keeps silent over his good deeds, does not harm even him who harms him, is always calm and does good to all beings, reaches the abode of Brahmā. The Buddhacarita (XII. 67) speaks of Jaigīṣavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as having secured mokṣa by the path described in that chapter. The Yogabhāṣya (on III. 18) gives a long story about Āvaṭya (called prince of Yogins) and Jaigīṣavya. Jaigīṣavya is quoted in Vyāsabhāsya on Y. S. II. 55 for *indriya-jaya* (control over senses). He appears to be a Vedāntic writer on Yoga.

Not only does the Śāntiparva dilate upon some of the peculiar doctrines associated with the later official doctrines of the S. Kārikā, but the Bhagavadgītā also does so. A few striking passages are cited here. Gītā XIII. 5 (Mahābhūtānyahaṅkāro buddhiravyaktam eva ca। Indriyāṇi daśaikam ca pañca cendriyagocarāḥ॥) enumerates the twenty-four tattvas omitting puruṣa and mentioning the five elements in place of the five tanmātrās); XIII. 19–20 (prakṛtim puruṣam caiva viddhyanādī ubhāvapi। vikārāṁśca guṇāṁścaiva viddhi prakṛtisambhavān॥ Karyakāraṇa-kartṛtve hetuḥ prakṛtir-ucyate। Puruṣaḥ sukhduḥkhānām bhoktṛtve heturucyate॥); XIV. 5–9 (sattvam rajas tama iti guṇāḥ prakṛtisambhavāḥ &c.); VII. 4

(bhūmirāpoʻnalo vāyuḥ kham mano buddhireva ca । ahaṅkāra itīyam me bhinnā prakṛtir-aṣṭadhā ॥), VII. 13, II. 28. The Gītā in VII. 6 and 8 emphatically states that God is the source of the whole world, which ultimately is merged in Him. Herein the Gītā differs materially from the standard Sāṅkhya. The Gītā expressly mentions "Sāṅkhya-kṛtānta" [2253] (i. e. siddhānta) in XVIII. 13; what that means is that by that time Sāṅkhya tenets had assumed the form of a system but there is no express or definite reference to a work such as in the case of Veda or Vedānta (in XV. 15) or Brahmasūtra (in XIII. 4).

Vindhyavāsa or Vindhyavāsin (dweller on Vindhya mountain) is identified with Īśvarakṛṣṇa by Takakusu in B. E. F. E. O. for 1904 p. 48 and by Keith on pp. 73–79 in 'Sāṅkhya System.' His view about the non-existence of the *ātivāhika* body after a man's death is mentioned by Kumārila.[2254] Dr. B. Bhattacharya (in J. I. H. vol. VI. pp. 36–49) goes into the question of the identity of Vindhyavāsa with Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The present writer agrees with him but he does not agree with his further conclusion (p. 49) that Vindhyavāsa lived earlier than Īśvarakṛṣṇa whom he assigns to the period 330–390 A. D. The evidence is too meagre to prove this. In JRAS for 1905 pp. 47 ff. Vindhyavāsa is said by Takakusu to be a pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa and that according to Paramārtha Vṛṣagaṇa and Vindhyavāsa lived in the 10th century after Buddha's nirvāṇa. From Kamalaśīla (p. 22 of Tattva-saṅgraha) it appears that Rudrila was also a name of Vindhyavāsa.

The Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta distinguishes between the two; [2255] so it is possible that Vindyavāsa only revised the

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2253. Vide p. 954 note 1545 above where the five Siddhāntas (Kṛtāntapañcaka) are Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra, Śaiva and Pāśupata.

2254. अन्तराभवदेहस्तु निषिद्धो विन्ध्यवासिना । तदस्तित्वे प्रमाणं हि न किंचिदवगम्यते ॥ श्लोकवार्तिक, आत्मवाद verse 62 p. 704 on which the com. Nyāyaratnākara explains: 'यद्यपि आतिवाहिकं नाम शरीरं पूर्वोत्तरदेहयोरन्तराले ज्ञानसन्तानसन्धारणार्थं कल्प्यते तदपि विन्ध्यवासिना निराकृतामित्यादि'. While criticizing the Sāṅkhya and its 'Satkāryavāda' कमलशील makes fun of the epithet Vindhyavāsin (which may also suggest 'a man who belongs to a wild tribe on the Vindhya mountain) applied to Rudrila 'यदेव दधि तत् क्षीरं यत्क्षीरं तद्दधीति च । वदता रुद्रिलेनैव कथापिता विन्ध्यवासिता ॥'.

2255. On नाट्यशास्त्र (22. 88–89, G. O. S. vol. III. p. 184 मनसश्चित्तिधो भाव:) it is said by Abhinavagupta 'कापिलदृशि तु विन्ध्यवासिनो मनस एव ईश्वरकृष्णादिमते मनःशब्देनात्र बुद्धिः ।'. मेधातिथि on मनु I. 55 remarks "कैश्चिद्विष्यते अस्त्यन्यदन्तराभवं शरीरं यत्येयमुत्क्रान्तिः । ... सांख्या अपि केचिदान्तराभवमिच्छन्ति विन्ध्यवासप्रभृतयः ।". Vide सां. का. 39–41 for the intermediate subtle body.

Sāṅkhya system after Īśvarakṛṣṇa. Bhojadeva in his Rājamārtaṇḍa [2256] on Yogasūtra IV. 22 (23 of most editions) 'dṛṣṭidṛśyoparaktam cittam sarvārtham' quotes a prose passage from Vindhyavāsin. As there is no evidence to show that Īśvarakṛṣṇa composed some work other than the Sāṅkhyakārikā, Vindhyavāsin must be treated as different from Īśvarakṛṣṇa according to Bhojadeva. The Yuktidīpikā several times mentions the views of Vindhyavāsin and indicates that he is different from the author of the S. Kārikā. Vide pp. 4, 108, 144, 148. This work says that the ācārya (author of S. Kārikā) did not enumerate *jijñāsā* [2257] and other constituents of the Śāstra but other ācāryas like Vindhyavāsa did mention them in other treatises. On pp. 144–145 this com. shows that Vindhyavāsin held that *indriyas* were *vibhu* (all-pervading), denied the existence of a subtle body (sūkṣma śarīra), while in S. Kārikā (40–41) Īśvarakṛṣṇa held that the *indriyas* were not *vibhu* and that there was a *liṅga* or sūkṣma body and Yuktidīpikā p. 144 says that Patañjali postulated a subtle body.

How the name Sāṅkhya came to be applied to a system of philosophy has to be considered. 'Saṅkhyā' means 'number', hence enumeration. As the Saṅkhya system enumerated twenty-five tattvas and as the Ṣaṣṭitantra of Pañcaśikha dealt with sixty topics, it is likely that the philosophy came to be called Sāṅkhya. The Śv. Up. I. 4 is full of numbers. [2258] Verse I. 5 of Śv. Up. employs the word pañca (five) seven times and also has the word 'pañcāśadbhedām', similar to 'śatārdhāram' in I. 4); vide VI. 3 also. In this sense Sāṅkhya means the

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2256. स एव भोगोऽत्यन्तसंनिधानेन विवेकाग्रहणादभोक्तरपि पुरुषस्य भोग इति व्यपदिश्यते। अनेनैवाभिप्रायेण विन्ध्यवासिनोक्तं 'सत्त्वतप्यत्वमेव पुरुषतप्यत्वम्'। भोजदेव on यो. सू. IV. 22.

2257. एवं चेन्मन्यसे सन्ति जिज्ञासादयोऽवयवाः शास्त्रे तेषामनुपदेशे प्रयोजनं वक्तव्यम्। अनुष्माद्धेतोराचार्येण नोपदिश्यन्ते सन्ति च त इति। उच्यते प्रमाणान्तर्भावात्। ... तस्मान्तरेषु विन्ध्यवासिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैरुपदिष्टाः प्रमाणं नस्ते आचार्या इत्यतश्चानुपदेशो जिज्ञासादीनामिति। युक्तिदीपिका. p. 4; विन्ध्यवासिनस्तु विभुत्वादिन्द्रियाणां बीजदेशे वृत्त्या जन्म तत्त्यागो मरणम्। तस्माच्चास्ति सूक्ष्मशरीरम्। तस्माच्चिविशेषः संसार इति पक्षः। ... तस्माच्च करणानां विभुत्वमनुपपन्नं। तस्मात्-चित्रं यथाश्रयमृते स्थाण्वादिभ्यो विना यथा छाया। तद्वद्विना विशेषैर्न तिष्ठति निराश्रयं लिङ्गम्॥ (कारिका ४१) pp. 144–145.

2258. तमेकनेमिं त्रिवृतं षोडशान्तं शतार्धारं विंशतिप्रत्यराभिः। अष्टकैः षड्भिर्विश्वरूपैकपाशं त्रिमार्गभेदं द्विनिमित्तैकमोहम्॥ श्वेता. उप. I. 4. शतार्धारं means 'having fifty spokes.' The सां. का. (46–47) refers to 50 *bhedas* of Buddhisarga. There are eight basic elements viz. Prakṛti, mahat, ahaṅkāra and five *tanmātrās*. 'सांख्यं संख्यात्मकत्वाच्च कपिलादिभिरुच्यते।' मत्स्य. III. 29. Vide also शान्ति० 294. 41.

philosophic system which postulates twentyfive tattvas, Prakṛti, Puruṣa and others. This is the sense in which the word is used once even in the Gītā (18. 13, Sāṅkhya kṛtānte proktāni &c). The Matsyapurāṇa also emphasizes this aspect of the Sāṅkhya system.

The word 'Saṅkhyā' has another sense as the Amarakośa states ('carcā saṅkhyā vicāraṇā) viz. 'rational examination' or 'discernment'; and the word Sāṅkhya may be derived from it in the sense of 'system of rational examination' and in the sense of 'philosopher' (masculine) according to 'tadadhīte tadveda' (Pāṇ. IV. 2. 59) meaning 'Sāṅkhyam veda'.[2259] The Bhāmatī explains the word in the second sense. Sāṅkhya in a general sense means tattvajñāna (knowledge of ultimate reality, including Vedānta) or a 'person who knows the ultimate reality.' The word Sāṅkhya is frequently used in the Bhagavadgītā in the sense of *tattvajñāna* (as in II. 39, V. 5, XIII. 24) and in the sense of a person knowing ultimate reality (in III. 3, V. 5).

Some comparatively early Sanskrit works that disclose tenets similar to the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā may be briefly noticed here. The Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa (in chap. XIII. 17ff) mentions a dialogue between Arāḍa and Gautama (the future Buddha) in which occur *prakṛti*, five elements, *ahaṅkāra*, buddhi, the indriyas, objects of sense, mind, kṣetrajña as Ātman and states that Kapila with his pupil was enlightened as to these; that nescience, actions and desires are the causes of saṁsāra; that *avidyā* has five aspects (verses 33–37) which are defined, speaks of *brahmacarya*, and *mukti*. Though the tattvas are mentioned here the rest of the doctrines bear very little resemblance to the official Sāṅkhya.

The Carakasaṁhitā[2260] (Jamnagar ed. 1949), Śārīrasthāna chap. I. (particularly verses 17, 36, 63–66) contains some doctrines similar to the Sāṅkhyakārikā scheme and verse 151

2259. 'संख्या सम्यग्बुद्धिर्वैदिकी तया वर्तन्ते इति सांख्याः' भामती on वे. सू. भाष्य II. 1. 3.

2260. पुनश्च धातुभेदेन चातुर्विंशतिकः स्मृतः। मनो दशेन्द्रियाण्यर्थाः प्रकृतिश्चाष्टधातुकी॥ ... रजस्तमोभ्यां युक्तस्य संयोगोऽयमनन्तवान्। ताभ्यां निराकृताभ्यां तु सत्त्वबुद्ध्या निवर्तते॥ ... खादीनि बुद्धिरव्यक्तमहङ्कारस्तथाष्टमः। भूतप्रकृतिरुद्दिष्टा विकाराश्चैव षोडश। बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि पञ्चैव पञ्च कर्मेन्द्रियाणि च। समनस्काश्च पञ्चार्था विकारा इति संज्ञिताः॥ जायते बुद्धिरव्यक्ताद्बुद्ध्याहमिति मन्यते। परं खादीन्यहङ्कारादुत्पद्यन्ते यथाक्रमम्॥...अतःपरं ब्रह्मभूतो धृतात्मा नोपलभ्यते। निःसृतस्सर्वभावेभ्यश्चिह्नं यस्य न विद्यते। ज्ञानं ब्रह्मविदां चात्र नाज्ञस्तज्ज्ञातुमर्हति। चरक (शारीरस्थान chap. 1. verses 17, 36. 63–64, 66, 155.

refers to Yogins and Sāṅkhyas and ultimately the liberated soul is said to become *brahma*. Therefore, it is more like the philosophy of Kaṭha and Śv. Upaniṣads.

The Suśrutasaṁhitā also (in Śārirasthāna, chap. I paragraphs 3, 4–6, 8–9) sets out the Sāṅkhya,[2261] is much closer to the standard system of the Kārikā than either the Buddhacarita or the Carakasaṁhitā as the quotations in the notes will show.

From p. 1352 and note 2208 above it would be seen that the tenet of *pradhāna* being the cause of the world was mentioned in their works by Manu and others. This will be briefly illustrated. Manu I. 15 in speaking of creation mentions mahān, the three guṇas, objects of sense, five senses. Manu I. 27 refers to the five *tanmātrās* of the five elements. In Manusmṛti XII. 24 *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* occur as the three guṇas, verses 26–29 define and illustrate these three and XII. 30-38 dilate upon the different effects of the three guṇas and the indications about these guṇas; XII. 40 provides that those who rest in *sattva-guṇa* become gods, those who are *rājasa* become men and those that abide in *tamas* become lower animals.[2262] Manu XII. 50 speaks of mahān and avyakta. Yāj. smṛti (III. 91–92) speaks of the five objects of sense, five jñānendriyas, five karmendriyas and mind (16 in all); these sixteen together with ahaṅkāra, buddhi and five elements, kṣetrajña and Īśvara are mentioned in Yāj. III. 177–178 and verses 179–180 set out the evolution of *buddhi* from *avyakta*, of ahaṅkāra from buddhi, of tanmātrās from ahaṅkāra, the five guṇas (śabda, sparśa &c.) of the five elements and verse 182 speaks of the three guṇas.

2261. सर्वभूतानां कारणमकारणं सत्त्वरजस्तमोलक्षणमहदाद्यमखिलस्य जगतः सम्भवहेतुरव्यक्तं नाम। तदेकं बहूनां क्षेत्रज्ञानामधिष्ठानं सलुब्ध इवौदकानां भावानाम्। सुश्रुत० I. 3; तस्मादव्यक्तान्महानुत्पद्यते तल्लिङ्ग एव तल्लिङ्गाच्च महतस्तल्लक्षण एवाहङ्कार उत्पद्यते स त्रिविधो वैकारिकस्तैजसो भूतादिरिति। सुश्रुत I. 4; तत्र बुद्धीन्द्रियाणां शब्दादयो विषयाः कर्मेन्द्रियाणां वचनादानानन्दविसर्गविहरणानि। सुश्रुत I. 5; अव्यक्तं महानहङ्कारः पञ्च तन्मात्राणि चेत्यष्टौ प्रकृतयः, शेषाः षोडश विकाराः I. 6; तत्र सर्व एवाचेतन एष वर्गः, पुरुषः पञ्चविंशतितमः कार्यकारणसंयुक्तश्चेतयिता भवति। सत्यप्यचैतन्ये प्रधानस्य पुरुषकैवल्यार्थं प्रवृत्तिमुपदिशन्ति क्षीरादिभ्यश्च हेतूदाहरन्ति। I. 8; compare with this last सां. कारिका 57 'वत्सविवृद्धिनिमित्तं क्षीरस्य यथा प्रवृत्तिरज्ञस्य। पुरुषविमोक्षनिमित्तं तथा प्रवृत्तिः प्रधानस्य॥'.

2262. बुद्धेरुत्पत्तिरव्यक्तात्ततोऽहङ्कारसम्भवः। तन्मात्रादीन्यहङ्कारादेकोत्तरगुणानि च॥ याज्ञ. III. 179; compare सत्त्वं ज्ञानं तमोऽज्ञानं रागद्वेषौ रजः स्मृतम्। मनु XII. 26 with सां. का. 13 सत्त्वं लघु q. above p. 1357 and गीता 14. 6–8, यो. III. 137–140.

On p. 1352 and in note 2208 above occurs the statement of Śaṅkarācārya that Devala, a Sūtrakāra on Dharma, accepted Sāṅkhya doctrines. This will be briefly indicated here. Aparārka on Yāj. III. 109 quotes a very long passage[2263] from Devala, which after stating that there are two goals of human life (puruṣārtha) viz. *abhyudaya* and *niḥśreyasa* and that the latter comprises Sāṅkhya and Yoga, defines Sāṅkhya as the knowledge of twenty-five tattvas, and yoga as the fixing of the mind on the desired goal after turning it away from objects of sense, and

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2263. On the word योगशास्त्रं in याज्ञ. III. 109 अपरार्क quotes a long passage (all in prose except one verse) from Devala, almost the whole of which is set out here. देवमानुषयोर्द्विविधः पुरुषार्थः, अभ्युदयो निःश्रेयसमिति। तयोरभ्युदयः पूर्वोक्तः। द्विविधं निःश्रेयसं सांख्ययोगाविति। पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञानं सांख्यम्। विषयेभ्यो निवर्त्याभिप्रेतेऽर्थे मनसोऽवस्थापनं योगः। उभयत्रापवर्गः फलम्। जन्ममरणदुःखयोरत्यन्ताभावोऽपवर्गः। एतौ सांख्ययोगौ चाधिकृत्य यैर्युक्तित. समयतश्च पूर्वमणीतानि विशालानि गम्भीराणि तन्त्राणीह संक्षिप्योद्देशतो वक्ष्यन्ते। तत्र सांख्यानामेका मूलप्रकृतिः। सप्त प्रकृतिविकृतयः। पञ्च तन्मात्राणि षोडश विकाराः पञ्च पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि। अर्थाश्च (अर्थाश्च?) पञ्चभूतविशेषाः। त्रयोदश करणानि त्रीण्यन्तःकरणानि। चतस्रश्चतस्रो मातृजाः पितृजाश्च कोशाः। पञ्च वायुविशेषाः। त्रयो गुणाः। त्रिविधो बन्धः। त्रयो बन्धनहेतवः। द्वौ बन्धरागौ। त्रीणि प्रमाणानि। त्रिविधं दुःखम्। चतुर्विधः प्रत्ययसर्गः। तथा द्विविधः सर्गः। तथा विपर्ययः पञ्चविधः। अशक्तिरष्टाविंशतिधा तुष्टिर्नवविधा। सिद्धिरष्टविधेति प्रत्ययभेदाः पञ्चाशत्।

अस्तित्वमेकत्वमर्थार्थवत्त्वं परार्थमन्यत्वमथो निवृत्तिः।
योगो वियोगो बहवः पुमांसः स्थितिः शरीरस्य च शेषवृत्तिः॥

इति दशमूलिकार्थाः। अथ मूलप्रकृतिरव्यक्ता (क्तं?) महानहङ्कारः पञ्च तन्मात्राणीति प्रकृतिविकृतयः। शब्दतन्मात्रं स्पर्श०, रस०, रूप०, गन्धतन्मात्रमिति तन्मात्राणि। द्विविधानीन्द्रियाणि। भूतविशेषाश्च विकाराः। चक्षुःश्रोत्रघ्राणजिह्वात्वचो बुद्धीन्द्रियाणि। रूपशब्दगन्धरसस्पर्शास्तेषामर्थाः। वाक्पाणिपादपायूपस्थाः कर्मेन्द्रियाणि:भाषणं क्रिया गमनमुत्सर्ग आनन्द एषां कर्माणि। वाय्वग्न्यब्वाकाशपृथिव्यो भूतविशेषाः। दशेन्द्रियाणि बुद्ध्यहंकारमनांसि च करणानि। तेषु मनोबुद्ध्यहङ्काराश्चान्तःकरणानि। दश बहिःकरणानीन्द्रियाणि च। गुणसाम्यलक्षणमव्यक्तं प्रधानं प्रकृतिर्विधानमित्यनर्थान्तरम्। अध्यवसायलक्षणो महान् बुद्धिर्मतिरुपलब्धिरित्यनर्थान्तरम्। अभिमानलक्षणोऽहङ्कारो वैकारिकोऽभिमान इत्यनर्थान्तरम्। न पूर्वपूर्विका प्रकृतिः। प्रकृतेर्महानुत्पद्यते ततोऽहङ्कारः। अहङ्कारात्तन्मात्राण्येन्द्रियाणि च। तन्मात्रेभ्यो विशेषा इत्युत्पत्तिक्रमः। यो यस्मादुत्पद्यते स तस्मिंल्लीयत इति वाप्ययं क्रमः (चाप्ययक्रमः)। अपरार्क pp. 986–988 on या III. 109. For अभ्युदय and निःश्रेयस vide p. 1037 n. 1671 above. Compare pp. 1358–59 note 2218 (verse प्रधानास्तित्वमेकत्वं etc.) with the verse अस्तित्वमेकत्व ... शेषवृत्तिः of this passage. On p. 100 of Pandit Aiyaswami's edition the verse अस्तित्व ... शरीरस्य विशेषवृत्तिः is restored from Chinese. The तत्त्वसमास-सूत्रवृत्ति p. 135 (Chow S.S.) reads 'स्यत्वमकर्तृता च'. On p. 165 of कृत्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड) the portion देवमनुष्ययोः द्विविधः पुरुषार्थः ... वर्गः फलम् is again quoted from देवल; on p. 124 of the same work देवल in prose is again quoted for three *bandhas* (Prakṛitibandha, Vaikārikabandha and Dakṣiṇābandha) and for three bandhanahetus. On the same page three verses and a half are quoted from Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa for the three bandhas (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, Venk. Edition IV. 3. 37–40).

states that the fruit of both is *apavarga* which means the total disappearance of the sufferings of birth and death. The quotation then proceeds to say that there are extensive and profound tantras concerning both Sāṅkhya and Yoga composed by former (sages) relying on ratiocination and tradition and these will be summarized and their subjects set out. As to the Sāṅkhyas there are these: *mūlaprakṛti*, seven categories that are both prakṛtis and vikṛtis, five tanmātrās, sixteen vikāras (products); indriyas are five (jñānedriyas) and five (karmendriyas), five objects of sense, five elements; thirteen *karaṇas*, three being antaḥkaraṇas; viparyaya of five kinds, *aśakti* of 28 kinds; *tuṣṭi* of nine kinds, *siddhis* of eight kinds; in this way there are 50 pratyayabhedas, there are ten basic matters, viz. astitva (existence of prakṛti &c). After this there is again an enumeration of prakṛti, avyakta, mahān, ahaṅkāra, five tanmātrās &c.

It would be noticed that the quotation from Devala in Aparārka contains two parts, the first stopping at the words 'iti daśa mūlikārthāḥ' and the 2nd containing the rest. It appears that the two parts cover mostly the same ground and it is probable that the two parts are summaries of two different works on Sāṅkhya.

Another important digest of the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. namely the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara in its Mokṣakāṇḍa pp. 100–101 also quotes from Devala's Dharmasūtra a prose passage which agrees word for word with a portion of the passage quoted above from Aparārka viz. from the words 'tatra sāṅkhyānām ekā mūlaprakṛtiḥ' up to 'trīṇyantaḥkaraṇāni'. Then the portion from 'catasraś-catasro' to 'iti daśa mūlikārthāḥ' is dropped by the Kalpataru and then it has the whole of the passage from 'atha mūlaprakṛtiravyaktam' up to 'abhimāna ityanarthāntaram',[2264] after which it adds a short passage not found in Aparārka (which is quoted below). It has the passage 'prakṛter mahānutpadyate' up to 'ityutpattikramaḥ'.

Both Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataru (Mokṣakāṇḍa) quote verses from Yama on the Sāṅkhya system, which are cited in

2264. After अभिमान इत्यनर्थान्तरम् occurring in note 2263 the कृत्यकल्पतरु reads: सत्तामात्रलक्षणानि तन्मात्राणि स्वानुग्रहलक्षणानीन्द्रियाण्यक्षाणीन्द्रियाण्युच्यन्ते। सङ्कल्पलक्षणं मनः। इन्द्रियार्थलक्षणा विषयविशेषा भूतानीत्यनर्थान्तरम्। सर्वपूर्विका प्रकृतिः। In some cases the editor of the Mokṣakāṇḍa has not correctly separated the clauses. On p. 100 he should have printed 'गन्धतन्मात्रमिति तन्मात्राणि। द्विविधानीन्द्रियाणि। मनो भूतविशेषाश्च विकाराः। ... दश बहिःकरणानीन्द्रियाणि च।'.

the note below. It will be noticed that after enumerating the twenty-five tattvas Yama adds Puruṣottama as the 26th tattva.[2265]

Purāṇas contain lengthy disquisitions on the Sāṅkhya doctrines. For example, the Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 2. 19–23, 25–62, VI. 4. 13-15, 17, 32-40 (in all about 66 verses) are full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and are all quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru (Mokṣakāṇḍa pp. 102–108). But that Purāṇa emphasizes that Paramātman (called Viṣṇu) is the support of all tattvas. In Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 2. 22–23 it is asserted[2266] that *brahmavādins* who are proficient in Vedic doctrines recite (a verse) that expounds pradhāna, (and state) 'there was then (before creation) neither day nor night, no sky nor earth, neither darkness nor light, there was only *one* male brahma that was evolved as pradhāna and that could not be apprehended by the ear (and other indriyas) or by *buddhi*. Verses 39–40 (of Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 4) assert that both[2267] prakṛti and puruṣa become dissolved in the Highest Self who is called Viṣṇu in Vedas and Vedāntas (Upaniṣads).

Many other Purāṇas devote a great deal of space to the elucidation of Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. Considerations of space preclude any statement beyond references to

2265. मनो बुद्धिरहङ्कारः खानिलाग्निजलानि भूः। एताः प्रकृतयस्त्वष्टौ विकाराः षोडशापरे॥ श्रोत्राक्षिरसनघ्राणत्वचः सङ्कल्प एव च। शब्दरूपरसस्पर्शगन्धवाक्पाणिपायवः। पादोपस्थ इति ते विकाराः षोडश स्मृताः॥ चतुर्विंशकमित्येतज्ज्ञानमाहुर्मनीषिणः। पञ्चविंशकमव्यक्तं पञ्चविंशः पुरुषोत्तमः। एतज्ज्ञात्वा तु मुच्यन्ते यतयः शान्तबुद्धयः। पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत्र तत्राश्रमे रतः। प्रकृतिज्ञो विकारज्ञो याति विष्णोः परं पदम्॥ यम q. by अपरार्क p. 988 and कृत्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड) pp. 101–102, which combines the first and 4th quarters of the last verse and reads पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो याति विष्णोः परं पदम्. In the commentary reconstructed from the Chinese translation by Paramārtha (edited by Pandit Aiyaswami) occurs the verse पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वज्ञो यत्र तत्राश्रमे वसेत्। जटी मुण्डी शिखी वापि मुच्यते नात्र संशयः॥' (on p. 5 and again on p. 55 on Kārikā 37). This verse occurs in गौडपाद's भाष्य on कारिका one. भावागणेश (1550–1600 A. D.) in तत्त्वयाथार्थ्यदीपन (Chow. S. S.) ascribes this last verse to पञ्चशिख.

2266. वेदवादविदो विद्वत्क्षियता ब्रह्मवादिनः। पठन्ति चैवमेवार्थं प्रधानप्रतिपादकम्॥ नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो न भूमिर्नासीत्तमो ज्योतिरभूच्च नान्यत्। श्रोत्रादिबुद्ध्याह्यपलभ्यमेकं प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत्॥ ... ततस्तु तत्परं ब्रह्म परमात्मा जगन्मयः। ... प्रधानपुरुषौ चापि प्रविश्य स्वेच्छया हरिः। क्षोभयामास संप्राप्ते सर्गकाले व्ययाव्ययौ॥ विष्णुपुराण I. 2. 22–23, 28–29 quoted by कृत्यकल्पतरु (मोक्षकाण्ड, p. 103). The first two verses have in view the famous Ṛgveda hymn X. 129 (verses 1–2).

2267. प्रकृतिर्या मया ख्याता व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणी। पुरुषश्चाप्युभावेतौ लीयेते परमात्मनि। परमात्मा च सर्वेषामाधारः परमेश्वरः। विष्णुनाम्ना स वेदेषु वेदान्तेषु च गीयते॥ विष्णुपु० VI. 4. 39-40, q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष p. 108).

chapters and verses of some Purāṇas and the citation of a few striking or informative verses. Matsya (3. 14–29) begins with prakṛti, guṇas and all the twenty-five tattvas, remarks that the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, though one, arose from the guṇas being put into activity and winds up by saying that Sāṅkhya is full of enumerations and was proclaimed by Kapila and others.[2268] The Brahmapurāṇa (1. 33–35, 33. 3–4, 242, 67–70, 76–85) recounts the tattvas from prakṛti to kṣetrajña and remarks at the end that the soul becomes *kevala* (free from all contacts and liberated) when he realizes the truth about himself. The Padmapurāṇa in several places dilates upon the tattvas of the Sāṅkhya such as in Pātālakhaṇḍa 85. 11–18, Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa, chap. 2. 88–103, chap. 15. 177–187, which closely follow the S. Kārikā verses. The Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 4. 13–35) states that Maheśvara enters prakṛti and puruṣa, activates them and sets out Sāṅkhya ideas and in II. 7. 21–26 it refers to the twenty-four tattvas and the state of equilibrium (sāmyāvasthā). The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa in chap. 42. 32–62 treats of creation with Sāṅkhya terminology. Three verses of the Brahmāṇḍa IV. 3. 37–46 referring to the threefold bondage (bandha) are quoted by the Kṛtyakalpataru (mokṣa) p. 124. Similarly, Brahmāṇḍa (II. 32. 71–76) employ the Sāṅkhya terminology of mahat, ahaṅkara &c. Prof. Das Gupta in 'Indian Philosophy' vol. IV. pp. 24–48 deals at some length with Kapila's philosophy in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and Sri Siddhesvara Bhattacharya contributes a paper 'a critique of the Bhāgavata' in JBRS for 1950 pp. 9–50 in which he severely criticizes Prof. Das Gupta.

2268. सत्त्वं रजस्तमश्चैव गुणत्रयमुदाहृतम्। साम्यावस्थितिरेतेषां प्रकृतिः परिकीर्तिता॥ केचित्प्रधानमित्याहुरव्यक्तमपरे जनाः। एतदेव प्रजासृष्टिं करोति विकरोति च॥ गुणेभ्यः क्षोभ्यमाणेभ्यस्त्रयो देवा विजज्ञिरे। एका मूर्तिस्त्रयो भागा ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः। ... सांख्यं कपिलादिभिरुच्यते। मत्स्य 3.14-16,29. Vide वैकारिकस्तैजसश्च भूतादिश्चैव तामसः। त्रिविधोयमहङ्कारो महत्तत्त्वादजायत। भूतेन्द्रियाणां पञ्चानां तथा कर्मेन्द्रियैः सह॥ पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड chap. 2. 89–90; compare सां. का. 24–25. आकाशवायुतेजांसि सलिलं पृथिवी तथा। शब्दादिभिर्गुणैर्वीर युक्तानीत्युत्तरोत्तरैः। शान्ता घोराश्च मूढाश्च विशेषास्तेन ते स्मृताः। *ibid*, chap. 2. 99–100; the half verse शान्ता...स्मृताः occurs in मार्कण्डेयपु. (Venk. ed.) 42 57 and कूर्म I. 4. 33; compare सां. का. 38 तन्मात्राण्यविशेषास्तेभ्यो भूतानि पञ्च पञ्चभ्यः। एते स्मृता विशेषाः शान्ता घोराश्च मूढाश्च॥; vide पद्म, सृष्टिखण्ड 15. 177–179 चतुर्विंशतितत्त्वानि प्रधानादीनि संख्यया। अचेतनानि भोग्यानि पुरुषः पञ्चविंशकः। चेतनः पुरुषो भोक्ता न कर्ता तस्य कर्मणः। आत्मा नित्योऽव्ययश्चैव अधिष्ठाता प्रयोजकः।; पातालखण्ड 85. 11–12 are the same with slight variation; compare सां. का. 17 and 19 'पुरुषोस्ति भोक्तृभावात्कैवल्यार्थं प्रवृत्तेश्च॥ तस्माच्च विपर्यासात् सिद्धं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य। कैवल्यं माध्यस्थ्यं द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च॥'.

Vide Bhāgavatapurāṇa III. 26. The Varāhapurāṇa (B. I. ed. of 1893) narrates the story of king Aśvaśiras to whom Kapila and Jaigīṣavya (the prince of Yogins) came after he had performed the avabhṛtha bath and was surrounded by brāhmaṇas and who asked them how the highest Nārāyaṇa was to be worshipped, when the two told him that they were themselves Nārāyaṇa. On his doubting these words of theirs Kapila assumed the form of Viṣṇu and Jaigīṣavya of Garuḍa and after other similar wonders, the king requested that his doubt whether Mokṣa is attained by him who follows karmamārga or jñānamārga be resolved. The same Purāṇa in chap. 25 (verses 1–5) declares that *avyakta*, the first tattva, made up of three (guṇas) arose from the highest Puruṣa, from the union of the two ahaṅkāra was produced also called mahat, that Puruṣa is named Viṣṇu or Śiva while avyakta is called Umā, Devī or Śrī and Guha (Kārtikeya) is ahaṅkāra. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (I. 3. 10) mentions Kapila as the fifth avatāra of Viṣṇu (vide above p. 1373) and (in X. 8. 37–38) states that when Yaśodā asked the child Kṛṣṇa to open his mouth she saw inside the mouth the whole world, the five elements, the indriyas, mind, mātrās and the three guṇas. Even great poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa are fond of utilising Sāṅkhya doctrines and terminology. For example, vide Kumārasambhava II. 4 (Guṇatrayavibhāgāya &c.), Raghuvaṁśa X. 38 (aṅginām tamasevobhau guṇau prathamamadhyamau), Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 21 (Raghurapyajayad-guṇa-trayam prakṛtistham &c.); Kādambarī, very first verse (rajojuṣe janmani...triguṇātmane namaḥ).

Even the Tantras were influenced by the Sāṅkhya system as the Śāradātilaka shows (vide above p. 1061).

It is not a vain boast when the Śāntiparva[2269] asserts that whatever knowledge is found in the Vedas, in Sāṅkhya and Yoga, in the various Purāṇas, in the extensive itihāsas, in the arthaśāstra and whatever knowledge exists in the world, all that is derived from the Sāṅkhya. For a dispassionate appraisal of the Sāṅkhya theory of evolution and its stages, vide Dr. Behanan's work on 'Yoga' chap. IV. pp. 63–91.

2269. ज्ञानं महत्त्वद्धि महत्सु राजन् वेदेषु सांख्येषु तथैव योगे। यच्चापि दृष्टं विविधं पुराणं (णे?) सांख्यागतं तच्चिखिलं नरेन्द्र॥ यच्चेतिहासेषु महत्सु दृष्टं यच्चार्थशास्त्रे उपनिषद्-जुष्टे। ज्ञानं च लोके यदिहास्ति किंचित्सांख्यागतं तच्च महन्महात्मन्॥ शान्ति 290. 103–104 (= 301. 108–109 of Chitrashala edition).

CHAPTER XXXII

Yoga and Dharmaśāstra

Sāṅkhya and Yoga often go together in the Upaniṣads as well as in the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavadgītā and the Purāṇas and their relationship to one another is the same in all these. In Śv. Up. VI. 13, Vanaparva 2. 15, Śāntiparva[2270] 228. 28, 289. 1, 306. 65, 308. 25, 326. 100, 336. 69, Anuśāsana 14. 323, Bhagavadgītā V. 4–5, Padma purāṇa (Pātālakhaṇḍa, 85. 11 ff), the two are mentioned together.

Though Sāṅkhya greatly influenced all works dealing with the evolution of the world in its various aspects, it did not enjoy that great esteem among all sorts of people in India that the Yoga system enjoyed and still enjoys. The word *yoga* is derived from the root 'yuj' to join or to unite (of *rudhādi* class). The germs of yoga can be traced back to the Ṛgveda. Ṛgveda V. 81. 1 (a verse in praise of Savitṛ) reads 'wise men, priests and sacrificers concentrate their minds and join their prayers to the wise, the great (Savitṛ), who knows all (prayers)'. Another Vedic[2271] verse also speaks of concentrating the mind. The word 'yoga' occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda in several shades of meaning. Sāyaṇa in many passages takes 'yoga' to mean 'acquiring what is not already possessed' (as in Ṛg. I. 5. 3). In Ṛg. I. 18. 7 God Sadasaspati (Agni) is said to pervade the prayers (or thoughts) of sacrificers. In Ṛg. I. 34. 9 it means 'yoking' (kadā yogo vājino rāsabhasya yena yajñam nāsatyopayāthaḥ'. The word 'yoga' is often used with the word *kṣema* (separately as in Ṛg. VII. 54. 3, VII. 86. 8) or as a compound

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2270. पञ्चविंशतितत्त्वानि तुल्यान्युभयतः समम्। योगे सांख्येपि च तथा विशेषांस्तत्र मे शृणु॥ शान्ति 228. 28 (=236. 29 Ch. ed.)

2271. युंजते मन उत युंजते धियो विप्रा विप्रस्य बृहतो विपश्चितः। वि होत्रा दधे वयुनाविदेक इन्मही देवस्य सवितुः परिष्टुतिः॥ ऋ. V. 81. 1 = तै. सं. I. 2. 13. 1, काठकसंहिता II. 51 and XV. 36, वाज. सं. 11. 4, श्वे. उप. II. 4. Ṛg. I. 18. 7 is यस्माद्दृते न सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चितश्चन। स धीनां योगमिन्वति॥; युञ्जानः प्रथमं मनस्तत्त्वाय सविता धियः। अग्नेर्ज्योतिर्निश्चाय्य पृथिव्या अध्याभरत्। तै. सं. IV. 1. 1. 1, वाज. सं. XI. 1 and श्वे. उप. II. 1

(as in Rg. X. 166. 5 'Yogakṣemam va ādāyāham bhūyāsamuttamaḥ'). There is a great distance or gap between the meaning of the word yoga in the Ṛgveda (even in the verses about concentrating the mind) and its meaning in some of the Upaniṣads and in classical Sanskrit. In Rg. X. 136. 2-3 there is mention[2272] of *munis*, sons of Vātaraśana, who wore dirty and tawny garments and who say in verse 3 'we being in ecstasy (or wild bliss) owing to our way of life as munis resort to winds; mortals! you look on our bodies only'. This shows that even in those ancient times, some people practised *tapas*, did not care what clothes they wore and thought they (i. e. their souls) would be merged in the wind (that is, the souls are formless and could not be seen). In Rg. VIII. 17. 14 Indra is said to be a friend of munis and muni is also a friend of every god in Ṛg. X. 136. 4. But as to *yatis* the position was rather different. The word *yati* occurs several times in the Ṛgveda but in most cases that word has no certain connection with the meaning of 'ascetic'. In Ṛg. VIII. 3. 9 'by which (says brahmā priest) wealth was given to Bhṛgu from the yatis and by which you helped (or protected) Praskaṇva'; here Indra seems to be opposed to yatis. In Ṛg. VIII. 6. 18 the poet says 'O valiant Indra! listen to my prayer alone from among the yatis and Bhṛgus that praised thee'. Here Sāyaṇa explains 'yatayaḥ' as 'Aṅgirasaḥ'. In any case 'yatis' are here shown to be devotees of Indra. But in other Saṁhitās it is said that Indra threw 'yatis' to the wolves or hyenas.[2273] Later on, however, the meaning of *yati* seems to have changed. In these Saṁhitā passages 'yatis' appear to be persons hostile or alien to the Vedic rites, but what they did to deserve

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2272. मुनयो वातरशनाः पिशङ्गा वसते मला। वातस्यानु ध्राजिं यन्ति यद्देवासो अविक्षत॥ उन्मदिता मौनेयेन वातां आ तस्थिमा वयम्। शरीरेदस्माक यूयं मर्तासो अभि पश्यथ॥ ऋ. X. 136. 2-3. According to the सर्वानुक्रमणी the sages of seven verses of the hymn are जूतिर्वातजूतिर्विमजूतिर्वृषाणकः। करिक्रत एतश ऋष्यशृङ्गश्चैकर्चाः. मौनेय is derived from मुनि and means मुनेर्भावः. The word 'Keśin' (having hair, hairy, by metaphor 'possessing rays' applied to the Sun or Fire) occurs five times in the first verse of this hymn and two times more in the other verses. 'Muni' appears thrice in this hymn and once more in 'mauneya'. Dr. Hauer in 'Der yoga als Hailweg' (1932) remarks (on p. 13) that the word 'muni' is probably related to Greek 'mantis' (prophet).

2273. इन्द्रो यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छत् तान् दक्षिणत उत्तरवेद्या आवृत्। तै. सं. VI. 2.7.5; vide also तै. सं. II. 4.9.2 'यतीनामद्यमानानां शीर्षाणि परापतन् ते अर्चूरा अभवन्॥'. Vide also काठकसंहिता VIII.5 and XI.10 and ऐ. ब्रा. 35.2. In कौषीतकyप. III, 1 (Indra says) 'त्रिशीर्षाणं त्वाष्ट्रमहनम्। अवर्तुक्षान् यतीन् सालावृकेभ्यः प्रायच्छम्।'.

slaughter by Indra is not clear. In Atharvaveda II. 5. 3 Indra is said to have killed Vṛtra as he did in the case of yatis. Some of the Upaniṣads, however, show that 'yati' was a person who had given up worldly affairs, practised yoga and endeavoured after the knowledge of Ātman and realized Brahma; vide Muṇḍaka Up. III. 1. 5 (yam paśyanti yatayaḥ kṣiṇadoṣāḥ) and III. 2. 6 (sannyāsayogād-yatayaḥ śuddhasattvāḥ). Some like Haüer in 'Die Anfrange der Yoga-praxis', 1922 pp. 11 ff) hold that the Vrātyas of Atharvaveda XV were ecstatics of the kṣatriya class and forerunners of Yogins.

The word 'yoga' occurs in some of the Upaniṣads in the same sense in which it is employed in the Yogasūtra. In Kaṭha Up. II. 12, it is said[2274] 'the wise man reflecting on God by means of yoga, by concentrating the mind on the inner spirit becomes free from joy and grief' (adhyātmayogādhigamena). The same Upaniṣad says that the state described in VI. 11 is regarded as Yoga because therein the organs (and the mind and buddhi) are firmly held under control. In Kaṭha Up. VI. 18 it is said that Naciketas having understood the *vidyā* and the whole procedure of Yoga propounded by Yama attained (the realization of) *brahma*. The word 'Yoga' occurs in the Tai. Up. II. 4 (in speaking about vijñanamaya ātman, yoga is said to be its *ātman*, the exact sense being doubtful), and in the Śv. Up. II. 11 and VI. 13. Praśna (5. 5-6) speaks of the three mātrās (a, u, m) of Om. In Śv. Up. 1. 3 occurs the word 'dhyānayoga'. The Śv. Up. (II. 8-13) refers to *āsana* and prāṇāyāma and sets out the first signs of the successful practice of Yoga. The Chān. Up. VIII. 15 appears to refer to pratyāhāra (though the technical word is not used) in 'ātmani sarvendriyāṇi pratiṣṭhāpya' (having brought all organs of sense to rest in the ātman).' The Bṛ. Up. (I. 5. 23) appears to refer to prāṇāyāma in 'he should observe the one vow, viz. inhalation and exhalation (tasmād-ekameva vratam caret prāṇyāc-caiva apānyācca).

2274. तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम्। कठ० VI.11; मृत्युप्रोक्तां नचिकेतोऽथ लब्ध्वा विद्यामेतां योगविधिं च कृत्स्नम्। ब्रह्मप्राप्तो विरजोऽभूद्विमृत्युरन्योऽप्येवं यो विदध्यात्ममेव॥ कठ. VI. 18, The important words in this last are कृत्स्नं योगविधिम्. The idea appears to be that yoga had been fully developed at the time of the Kaṭha Up. but that Upaniṣad did not set it out in detail. It may be further noted that the words एतां विद्यां refer to Brahmavidyā and that yoga-vidhi is separately mentioned (probably as a means to brahma-realization).

The Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 3 'etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ) states that Yoga is refuted by the reasoning adopted for the refutation of the Sāṅkhya system. The position of Śaṅkarācārya as to both Sāṅkhya and Yoga has been stated above (pp. 1352 and 1361 n. 2208 and 2221). He points out in the pūrvapakṣa that Veda [2275] prescribes Yoga as a means of achieving correct knowledge and refers to Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 5. He further points out that in the Śv. Up. Yoga is expounded in great detail after first mentioning the proper posture (for the practice of Yoga) in the words 'having held the body straight but raised high in three places viz. chest, neck and head' (Śv. Up. II, 8). From the words of Śaṅkarācārya that in Yogaśāstra also Yoga is held to be a means of the realisation of right knowledge, it follows that he had a yogaśāstra before him in which occurred the words 'atha...yogaḥ,' but as he does not employ the word Yogasūtra he probably does not refer to a sūtra work. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is possible that the Yogaśāstra meant by Śaṅkara is a work like the Yogaśāstra ascribed to Yājñavalkya in Yāj. Smṛti III. 110 (Yogaśāstram ca mat-proktam &c.). Śaṅkarācārya admits on V. S. II. 1. 3 that a part of the yoga is acceptable to him but other parts conflict with the Veda. Muṇḍaka Up. (II 2. 6) enjoins *samādhi* in the words 'om-iti dhyāyatha ātmānam' as Śaṅkarācārya states on V. S. II. 3. 39 (samādhyabhāvāc-ca). In the Upaniṣads 'Muni' and 'Yati' have come to denote [2276] the same meaning, e g. Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 states 'one becomes muni by realizing this very self,'

2275. सम्यग्दर्शनाभ्युपायो हि योगो वेदे विहितः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः-इति। 'त्र्युन्नतं स्थाप्य समं शरीरम्' इत्यादिना चासनादिकल्पनापुरःसरं बहुप्रपञ्चं योगविधानं श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषदि दृश्यते। ... योगशास्त्रेऽपि 'अथ तत्त्वदर्शनोपायो योगः' इति सम्यग्दर्शनाभ्युपायत्वेनैव योगोऽङ्गीक्रियते। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 3. The words अथ...योगः imply that it is a quotation. Compare 'समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिरः।' गीता VI. 13.

2276. एतमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति। एतमेव प्रव्राजिनो लोकमिच्छन्तः प्रव्रजन्ति। बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22; vide कठ. IV. 15 'यथोदकं...एवं मुनेर्विजानत आत्मा भवति गौतम।'. The कौषीतकि-उप. II. 15 has परिव्रजेत्. The word परिव्राजक, however, does not occur in the other Upaniṣads. In पाणिनि's day परिव्राजक was well-known as the sūtra 'मस्कर-मस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः' VI. 1. 154 shows which states that मस्कर means bamboo (staff) and मस्करिन् means परिव्राजक. The महाभाष्य comments that मस्करिन् is not so called because he carries a bamboo staff but because he advises people not to do actions for securing desired objects and that for people quiescence is better 'मा कृत कर्माणि मा कृत कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसीत्याहातो मस्करी परिव्राजकः.'

while the Muṇḍaka (III. 1. 5)[2277] states 'this self is to be attained by Truth, by *tapas*, by right knowledge and by sexual purity at all times: that self resides inside the body (like a light), is pure, whom spotless ascetics realize.' The Kaṭhopaniṣad (III. 13) provides that the wise man should restrain speech in mind (speech and mind, as the text stands), he should keep it within the self which is knowledge, he should keep down knowledge within the self that is: the great, and he, should keep that (the great) within the self which is quiet. The Upaniṣads thus not only employ the word 'Yoga' but provide some of the stages of yoga and its technique for realizing the Supreme Spirit. About twenty Yoga Upaniṣads are published at Adyar, edited by A. Mahadev Sastri (1920), but as their chronology is most uncertain and as most of them appear to the present writer to be later than the Mahābhārata, Manu and probably the Yogasūtra, they are passed over here and are referred to in this work sparingly.[2278]

Pāṇini provides for the formation of the words *yama* and *niyama* (two *aṅgas*) of Yoga and the word 'Yogin' appears to have been derived by him from the root 'yuj' with the affix 'ghinuṇ' (i. e. *in*) in the sense of *tācchīlya* (being habituated to) according to Pāṇ. III. 2. 142 (which is a very long sūtra).[2279]

2277. कामक्रोधवियुक्तानां यतीनां यतचेतसाम्। अभितो ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं वर्तते विदितात्मनाम्॥ गीता 5. 26; यच्छेद्वाङ्मनसी प्राज्ञस्तद्यच्छेज्ज्ञान आत्मनि। ज्ञानमात्मनि महति नियच्छेत्तद्यच्छेच्छान्त आत्मनि॥ कठोप. III. 13. शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 4. 1 explains this at length 'वाचं मनसि संयच्छेत् वागादिबाह्येन्द्रियव्यापारमुत्सृज्य मनोमात्रेणावतिष्ठेत'. He takes मनसी as an *ārṣaprayoga* equal to मनसि.

2278. That the yoga Upaniṣads are late productions may be briefly indicated here. Verses 10–14 of the गोरक्षशतक (dealing with the *ādhāra* and *svadhiṣṭhāna* cakras) are found in the ध्यानबिन्दु (verses 43–47) and in the योगचूडामणि (verses 4–9) with slight variations. Vide pp. 1060–1062 and notes 1715–1717 above for the six chakras and the nāḍis. In the description of prāṇāyāma the Śāṇḍilya Upaniṣad quotes certain verses with the words तदेते श्लोका भवन्ति, some of which occur in the गोरक्षशतक. One cannot say definitely that the Śāṇḍilya borrows from G. S., but this is possible. All the ancient and medieval works on the several branches of yoga are not yet available, and therefore one cannot preclude the possibility that Śāṇḍilya and other yoga upaniṣads and गोरक्षशतक borrow from earlier sources not yet discovered.

2279. यमः सप्तसु निमिषु च। पा. III. 3. 63; एषु अनुपसर्गे च यमेरप् वा।... नियमः नियामः। यमः यामः। सि. कौ. याम means प्रहर (watch, 1/8 part of the whole day), while यम means 'restraint' 'यम्यते चित्तं अनेन'. On पा. III. 2. 142 the काशिका remarks 'युज समाधौ दिवादिः। युजिर् योगे रुधादिः। द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम्'.

The Āpastambadharmasūtra (I. 8. 23. 3-6) quotes a verse 'The total destruction of *doṣas* (taints) is due to Yoga in this life; a wise man after having expelled all doṣas that cause harm to all beings reaches peace (mokṣa)' and then it sets out fifteen doṣas such as anger, ecstatic joy, greed, hypocrisy, the destruction of which is due to Yoga and enumerates the qualities that are opposites of the doṣas. This shows that long before the 4th or 5th century B. C. Yoga as a discipline of the mind had been well developed.

The V. S. II. 1. 3 indicates that the Sūtrakāra had before him a body of Yoga doctrines, some of which were the same as those of the Sāṅkhya and he also knew Samādhi (V. S. II. 3. 39). Again, the V. S. mentions (in IV. 2. 21) Yogins and distinguishes Sāṅkhya and Yoga as smārta (and not śrauta). Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 33 quotes the extant Yogasūtra II. 44 (svādhyāyād-iṣṭa-devatā-samprayogaḥ) and on[2280] V. S. II. 4. 12 he appears to be willing to admit that the Yoga-sūtra preceded V. S. and quotes Yogasūtra I. 6 in the 2nd interpretation of that sūtra.

The important question is whether the author of the V. S. refers to the extant Yogasūtra. The present author holds for various reasons that the V. S. does not refer to the present Yoga-sūtra, but to the Yoga doctrines that had been developed even before the Kaṭha Muṇḍaka, Śvetāśvatara and other Upaniṣads.

In the Śāntiparva it is stated that the propounder[2281] of Sāṅkhya was *paramarṣi* (highest sage) Kapila. Hiraṇyagarbha

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2280. पञ्चवृत्तिर्मनोवद्व्यपदिश्यते। वे. सू. II. 4. 12; शांकरभाष्य 'श्रूयतेऽस्ति मुख्यस्य प्राणस्य वैशेषिकं कार्यं यत्कारणं पञ्चवृत्तिरयं व्यपदिश्यते श्रुतिषु प्राणोऽपानो व्यान उदानः समानः-इति (बृह. उप. I. 5. 3)। ...एवं तर्हि परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतं भवतीति व्यायादिहापि योगशास्त्रप्रसिद्धा मनसः पञ्च वृत्तयः परिगृह्यन्ते-प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रा-स्मृतयो नाम। It would be noticed that Śaṅkarācārya first gave one explanation of the word 'manovat' in the V. S. and then he gave another by way of concession.

2281. सांख्यं योगं...नाना मतानि वै॥ सांख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते। हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वेत्ता (v. l. वक्ता) नान्यः पुरातनः॥ अपान्तरतमाश्चैव वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते। प्राचीनगर्भं तमृषिं प्रवदन्तीह केचन॥ शान्ति 337. 59-61 = चित्र० ed. 349. 64-66. For the first verse, vide above p. 954 n 1544 and also 'सांख्यं योगः पञ्चरात्रं वेदारण्यकमेव च। ज्ञानान्येतानि ब्रह्मर्षे लोकेषु प्रचरन्ति हि॥ शान्ति 337. 1.; एवमेकं सांख्ययोगं वेदारण्यकमेव च। परस्पराङ्गान्येतानि पञ्चरात्रं च कथ्यते। एष एकान्तिनां धर्मो नारायणपरात्मकः॥ शान्ति 336. 76 (= 348. 81-82 Ch. ed.). वेदारण्यक probably refers to upaniṣads like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya, which contain passages about 'nididhyāsa' and the non-difference of *jīva* and *brahma* such as 'tat-tvam-asi'. A *paramarṣi* is defined in the वायुपुराण as 'निवृत्तिसमकालं तु बुद्ध्याऽभ्यक्तऋषिः स्वयम्। परं हि ऋषते यस्मात्परमर्षिस्ततः स्मृतः। 59. 80 (vide same verse in Brahmāṇḍa III. 32. 86.

was the ancient knower of Yoga, no one else (knew it); Apāntaratamas was Vedācārya whom some called the sage Prācīnagarbha. In the previous chapter it is stated that Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vedāraṇyaka and Pañcarātra are one and are aṅgas of each other. In Śānti. 326. 65 Hiraṇyagarbha is again connected with Yogaśāstra. Vide p. 1371 above. In the Anuśāsanaparva[2282] Sanatkumāra appears to be connected with Yoga as the founder, just as Kapila was the founder of Sāṅkhya. In the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā (XII. 32-33) it is stated that Hiraṇyagarbha first propounded two Yogasaṁhitās, one was called 'Nirodhayoga' and the other was called 'Karmayoga', the first of which was again divided twelve-fold. The Bhāmatī[2283] on V.S. II. 1.3 states that that sūtra does not totally negative the authoritativeness of the Yogaśāstra of Hiraṇyagarbha and Patañjali. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa[2284] appears to quote two verses from Hiraṇyagarbha (vide note below). Vācaspati in his commentary on Yogasūtra I. 1 states that Yogi-Yājñavalkya mentions that Hiraṇyagarbha was the propounder of Yoga. Vācaspati regards the Yogasūtra of Patañjali as later than Yoga-Yājñavalkya-smṛti. Therefore, it is almost certain that the V. S. refutes the doctrines of that Yoga system that was known to the Śāntiparva.

In Śalyaparva (chap. 50) a story is told about *bhikṣu* Jaigīṣavya who was a great Yogin and of 'Asita Devala', a householder staying on the holy Sārasvata-tīrtha.

In the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. chap. 222 = Ch. ed. chap. 229) there is a long dialogue between Jaigīṣavya and Asita about Yoga, one verse (14)[2285] from which may be cited

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2282. सनत्कुमारो योगानां सांख्यानां कपिलो ह्यसि। अनुशासन 14. 323 (addressed by उपमन्यु to महादेव).

2283. नानेन योगशास्त्रस्य हैरण्यगर्भपातञ्जलादेः सर्वथा प्रामाण्यं निराक्रियते किं तु जगदुपादानस्वतन्त्रप्रधान-तद्विकारमहदहङ्कारपञ्चतन्मात्रागोचरं प्रामाण्यं नास्तीत्युच्यते।... न चैतानि प्रधानादिसद्भावपराणि किंतु योगस्वरूपतत्साधन-तदवान्तरफलविभूति-तत्परमफल-कैवल्यव्युत्पादनपराणि। भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य II. 1. 3.

2284. नन्वु हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः-इति योगियाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेः कथं पतञ्जलेर्योगशास्त्रकर्तृत्वमित्याशङ्क्य सूत्रकारेणाप्तशासनमित्युक्तम्। शिष्टस्याप्तशासनं न तु शासनमित्यर्थः। वाचस्पति on यो. I. 2. The half verse हिरण्य...पुरातनः is बृहद्योगियाज्ञवल्क्य XII. 5 (Lonavla); संभावना परां हानिं योगर्द्धेः कुरुते यतः। जनेनावमतो योगी योगसिद्धिं च विन्दति। तस्माज्जरेत यो योगी सतां धर्ममनूषयन्। जना यथावमन्येरन् गच्छेरंश्चैव सङ्गतिम्॥ हिरण्यगर्भवचनं विचिन्त्याथ महामतिः। आत्मानं दर्शयामास जनोन्मत्ताकृतिं जने॥ विष्णु II. 13. 42-44.

2285. निन्द्यामशंसे श्लाघ्यार्थं न वक्ष्यन्ति परस्य ये। न च निन्द्याप्रशंसाभ्यां विक्रियन्ते कदाचन॥ शान्ति 229. 14 (Ch. ed.).

here 'Yogins do not talk much by way of censure and praise of others and their minds are never affected by the praise and censure of them indulged in by others.' In that chap. Jaigīṣavya is described as one who was never angry nor joyful. In the Varāhapurāṇa (4. 14) it is stated that Kapila and Yogirāṭ Jaigīṣavya came to king Aśvaśiras that had taken the *avabhṛtha* bath after Aśvamedha and assumed the forms of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa respectively. It may be noted that on Y. S. II. 55 the bhāṣya quotes several views, but prefers that of Jaigīṣavya. On Y. S. III. 18, [2286] the bhāṣya mentions the dialogue between Āvaṭya and Jaigīṣavya, where the latter's opinion is stated to be that from the point of view of *kaivalya*, the happiness of contentment is also misery, though as compared to pleasures of sense contentment is supposed to be and may be called happiness.

In the Buddhacarita (XII) when Gautama (the future Buddha) approached a philosopher Arāḍa, the latter described to Gautama his idea of the path to mokṣa and mentioned Jaigīṣavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as persons that had become liberated by following that path.[2287]

From these references it follows that Jaigīṣavya was a great teacher of Yoga long before the Christian era and probably had composed a work on Yoga not now available.

There are numerous English translations of the Yogasūtra (wholly or partly) and of the Bhāṣya and Vācaspati's Commentary, such as that by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra with text of Y. S., bhāṣya and com. Rājamārtaṇḍa and an appendix (p. 218-227) noting 150 mss. on Yoga (B. I. ed. 1883); Swami Vivekananda's 'Rājayoga' (Vol. I. of collected works, ed. of 1946) pp. 200-304, which translates and explains all the sūtras; Dr. Ganganath Jha's translation (Bombay 1907); translation by Rama Prasad (pub. by Panini office, Allahabad 1910); translation by Prof. J. H. Woods (in the Harvard Oriental Series, 1914) who read with the present author in Bombay for some months in 1909; Geraldine Coster in 'Yoga and Western Psychology' (London, 1934) translates and explains many of

2286. भगवान्जैगीषव्य उवाच। विषयसुखापेक्षयैवेदमनुत्तमं सन्तोषसुखमुक्तम्। कैवल्यसुखापेक्षया दुःखमेव। भाष्य on यो. सू. III. 18. सन्तोष is one of the five niyamas (यो. सू. II. 32) and यो. सू. II, 42 is सन्तोषादनुत्तमः सुखलाभः.

2287. जैगीषव्योपि जनको बुद्धश्चैव पराशरः। इमं पन्थानमास्थाय सुक्ता ह्यन्ये च मोक्षिणः॥ बुद्धचरित XII. 67.

Patañjali's sūtras (pp. 100–131); 'Aphorisms of Yoga' done into English by Shree Purohita Swami and Intro. by W. B. Yeats (Faber & Faber, London, 1937) with figures of Śiddhāsana, Baddhapadmāsana, Paścimottānāsana, Bhujaṅgāsana, Viparīt-akaraṇī and Matsyendrāsana; 'Bhāratiya Mānasa-śāstra' or 'Pātañjala-yoga-darśana' (Sanskrit text, with a table of contents, errata, Introduction of 232 pages, and meaning and explanation pp. 787 in Marathi) in all 1051 pages, edited by Krishnaji Keshav Kolhatkar and published by K. B. Dhavale, Bombay, 1951—a very exhaustive and useful work, though rather diffuse and marred by a few uncritical statements.

The number of works and papers on Yoga in general written by Indian and Western authors is very large. The present author has not read many of them. He may mention the following among those that he read or consulted; 'Rājayoga' (complete works of Vivekananda, ed. of 1946, Mayavati, vol. I, pp. 119–313); 'Yoga technique in the Great Epic' by W. Hopkins in JAOS vol. 22 for 1901 pp. 333–379; 'Yoga as a philosophy and religion' by Prof. S. N. Das Gupta (London, 1924), and 'Yoga philosophy (Uni. of Calcutta, 1930); Dr. J. W. Haüer's 'Die Anfrange der Yogapraxis im Alten Indien' (Stuttgart, 1922) and 'Der Yoga Als Heilweg nach den Indischen quellen Dargestellt, Stuttgart, 1932; this is a careful and systematic study of Yoga; this work (pp. 101–127) gives the transliterated text of the Yoga-sūtra with translation in German not in serial order but by subjects (such as yogāṅgas, kriyāyoga, Īśvarapraṇidhāna); Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy' vol. II. pp. 336–373 (London, 1931); 'The mysterious Kuṇḍalinī' by Dr. J. G. Rele (Taraporevala and sons, Bombay, 1927); 'Yoga, the science of health' by Felix Guyot (in French), translated by J. Carling, London, 1937 (3rd ed.), expounding the practical principles of Haṭha-yoga; 'Yoga, a scientific[2288] evaluation' by Dr. K. T. Behanan. pub. by Macmillan & Co., New York, 1937 (the author studied at Kaivalya-dhāma for a year); 'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrine' by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1935) and 'Tibetan Book of the Dead' by the same author (Oxford, 1927); 'A search in secret India' by Paul Brunton (London, 1947); Paul Tuxen's 'the religions of India' (Copenhagen, 1949);

2288. This is one of the best modern books on Yoga. The present author is much impressed by Dr. Behanan's sincerity, detailed and scientific treatment of Yoga and the very frank appraisal of some Yoga practices (pp. 225–249) at the end.

'Tibetan Yoga' by Bernard Bromage (2nd ed. of 1939) pp. 108–111; 'Yoga the method of re-integration' by Allain Danielou (London, 1949); the author states that the exposition is based on yoga works and also on the teachings of living exponents; it is a useful book with six illustrations and 352 Sanskrit texts; 'The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation' ed. by W. G. Evans-Wentz (Oxford Uni. Press, 1954); pp. XXIX–LXIV contain C. G. Jung's Psychological commentary and pp. 63–69 on astrology; 'Source-book of Indian Philosophy' by Dr. Radhakrishnan and C. A. Moore; gives translation of the whole yogasūtra with extracts from the bhāṣya; Mercea Eliade's 'Yoga, immortality and freedom' translated from French into English by Willard R. Trask (London, 1958); 'Haṭhayoga, an advanced method of physical education and concentration' by Prof. S. S. Goswami (L. N. Fowler, London, 1959); this is a very valuable book; it deals scientifically with yoga in all its aspects, but particularly with āsanas of which 108 photographs are given; 'Concentration' by Mouni Sadhu (London, 1959); 'The Lotus and the Robot' by A. Koestler (London, 1960).

Many editions of the Yogasūtra of Patañjali with the bhāṣya of Vyāsa and the commentary (called Tattvavaiśāradī) of Vācaspati have been printed in India. I shall mention only two or three editions of the text of the Sūtra and the two commentaries viz. the edition by the late Pandit Rajaram Shastri Bodas, printed in beautiful type at the Nirṇayasāgara Press in 1892 and the other, the Ānandāśrama edition of 1932 which contains the sūtra, bhāṣya, Vācaspati's commentary and also the commentary called Rājamārtaṇḍa of king Bhoja. In the Kashi Sanskrit series the Yogasūtra was printed (in 1930) with six commentaries viz. the Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhojarāja, the Pradīpikā of Bhāvā Gaṇeśa, vṛtti by Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa, the Maṇiprabhā by Rāmānandayati, the Candrikā by Anantadeva and the Yoga-sudhākara by Sadāśivendra Sarasvatī.[2288a]

The Yogasūtra, as compared with the sūtras of some other darśanas, is a brief one. It is divided into four *pādas*, viz.

2288a. It should be noted that Bhojadeva omits Yogasūtra IV. 16 (न चैकचित्ततन्त्रं चेद्वस्तु तदप्रमाणकं तदा किं स्यात्) which is commented upon in the Vyāsabhāṣya and by Vācaspati. On the other hand, Yogasūtra III. 20 (na ca tat-sālambanam tasyāviṣayībhūtatvāt) does not occur in the edition of Pandit Bodas Shastri and is not commented upon by Bhāvā Gaṇeśa and Nāgoji. The form of the sūtra in Y. S. IV. 16 makes one feel some doubt about its genuineness, but as it is explained by the bhāṣya and Vācaspati, one has to accept it as genuine.

Samādhi (concentration), Sādhana (means of attainment), Vibhūti (super-normal powers) and Kaivalya (aloofness, liberation). There are only 195 sūtras in all the pādas together (51+55+55+34).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Indian Philosophy' (vol. II. of the ed. of 1931 pp. 341–42) holds that the author of the Yogasūtra is not later than 300 A. D. Prof. S. N. Das Gupta in 'History of Indian Philosophy' (vol. I. pp. 226–238) is in favour of the identity of the two Patañjalis and therefore holds that the author of the Yogasūtra flourished in the 2nd century B. C.[2289] The Sanskrit paper of Pandit R. Ramamūrtiśarmā in J. of Veṅkaṭeśvara Institute of Tirupati (vol. II. pp. 289–294) and Mr. Govind Das's brief note in I. A. vol. 44 (for 1915 p. 24) may also be read in this connection. Jacobi and (following him) Keith hold that the Yogasūtra (I. 40), meaning at the most 'the mastery of the Yogin extends from the minutest particle to the greatest magnitude imaginable',[2290] refers to the atomic theory of the world. This is a good sample of the way in which even great Western writers read in simple words later theories and try to give late dates to early works. The Upaniṣads speak of the self as more minute than what is *aṇu* and as greater than the great and the Mahābhārata also uses the same phraseology. There is no convincing reason to suppose that the Yogasūtra refers only to a theory of atoms propounded in the Vaiśeṣika system and is not paraphrasing the words of the Upaniṣad and the Mahābhārata.

We have also to consider the early tradition embodied in an introductory verse in Bhojadeva's commentary (not later than 1055 A. D.) and mentioned by Cakrapāṇi (commentator

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2289. Most scholars accept 2nd century B. C. as the date of the Mahābhāṣya. Dr. D. C. Sircar in I. H. Q. vol. 15 (pp. 633–638) tries to show that the Mahābhāṣya cannot be placed earlier than the 2nd century A. D. His arguments cannot be discussed here. The present author does not agree with Dr. Sircar and holds that the arguments for placing the Mahābhāṣya in the 2nd century B. C. are far more weighty than those put forward by Dr. Sircar.

2290. अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गुहायाम्। कठोप. II. 20, श्वेता. उ. III. 20; 'अणोरणीयो महतो महत्तरं तवात्मना पश्यति युक्त आत्मवान्। शान्तिपर्व 232.33 (cr. ed.); the योगसूत्र I. 40 is 'परमाणुपरममहत्त्वान्तोऽस्य वशीकारः'. शब्दानामनुशासनं विदधता पातञ्जले कुर्वता वृत्तिं राजसूगाङ्कसंज्ञकमपि व्यातन्वता वैद्यके। वाक्चेतोवपुषां मलः फणिभृतां भर्त्रेव येनोद्धृतस्तस्य श्रीरणरङ्गमल्लनृपतेर्वाचो जयन्त्युज्ज्वलाः॥ 5th Intro verse of Bhoja's vṛtti called राजमार्तण्ड on योगसूत्र.

of the Carakasaṁhitā[2291] (about 1060 A. D.) that Patañjali (deemed to be an *avatāra* of Śeṣa) composed works on Grammar, Yoga and Medicine.

The present author cannot deal at length in this volume with the two questions of identity and of the dates of the two works, as he is mainly concerned with the influence of Yoga on Dharmaśāstra works. He thinks that hardly any cogent arguments have been advanced to positively disprove the identity of the authors of the Mahābhāṣya and of the Yogasūtra. Whether the revision of Caraka's work was done by the same Patañjali is very doubtful. In the Śāntiparva the founder of *Cikitsita* (medicine) is said to have been Kṛṣṇātreya and not Caraka nor Patañjali. The Caraka-saṁhitā uses the expression 'iti ha smāha bhagavān-Ātreyaḥ' in the beginning of its chapters. Caraka (in I. 1. 23 ff) states that the sage Bharadvāja learnt Āyurveda from Indra. His pupil was Punarvasu Ātreya, who had six disciples viz. Agniveśa, Bheḍa, Jatūkarṇa, Parāśara, Hārīta and Kṣārapāṇi. First, Agniveśa composed a treatise on Āyurveda and read it to Ātreya and then Bheḍa and others did so. In the chapter called 'Tisraiṣaṇīya' in Caraka-saṁhitā (I. 11. 75) Kṛṣṇātreya's view is specially mentioned. Therefore, it appears that Kṛṣṇātreya[2292] is different from Ātreya who is reverently mentioned at the beginning of Caraka's chapters. Even the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa mentions Ātreya as the first propounder of medical science.

It is possible to argue that the tradition that Pātañjali dealt with Yoga and Grammar is older than the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. That work states in its first section[2293] (called Brahmakāṇḍa) that the taints that affect the body, speech and

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2291. पातञ्जल-महाभाष्य-चरकप्रतिसंस्कृतैः। मनोवाक्कायदोषाणां हर्त्रेऽहिपतये नमः॥ Intro. verse to com. on चरक. Another verse to the same effect is योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य च वैद्यकेन। योऽपाकरोत्तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतोऽस्मि॥ cited in योगवार्तिक of विज्ञानभिक्षु.

2292. वेदविद्वेद भगवान् वेदाङ्गानि बृहस्पतिः। भार्गवो नीतिशास्त्रं च जगाद जगतो हितम्॥ गान्धर्वं नारदो वेद भरद्वाजो धनुर्ग्रहम्। देवर्षिचरितं गार्ग्यः कृष्णात्रेयश्चिकित्सितम्। न्यायतन्त्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः। शान्ति 203. 18–20 (cr. ed. = 210. 20–22 of Ch. ed.); चिकित्सितं यच्च चकार नात्रिः पश्चाच्चकारात्रेय ऋषिर्जगाद॥ बुद्धचरित I. 50. Aśvaghoṣa is held to have flourished in the first or 2nd century A. D.

2293. कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलाः समवस्थिताः। चिकित्सा-लक्षणाध्यात्मशास्त्रैस्तेषां विशुद्धयः॥ वाक्यपदीय I. 148; अलब्धमाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्। वाक्यपदीय II. 485; तदेवं ब्रह्मकाण्डे कायवाग्बुद्धिविषया ये मलाः—इत्यादि श्लोकेन भाष्यकारप्रशंसा उक्ता, इद चैव भाष्यप्रशंसेति शास्त्रस्य शास्त्रकर्तुश्च टीकाकृता महत्तोपवर्णिता। हेलाराज's टीका.

intellect are purified (respectively) by the sciences of medicine, grammar and metaphysics. Then in the eulogy of the Mahābhāṣya it remarks 'alabdhagādhe gāmbhīryād-uttāna iva sauṣṭhavāt', on which the commentator explains that in the verse from the Brahmakāṇḍa the author of the Mahābhāṣya is praised and in the other verse there is praise of the bhāṣya itself. From this it appears to follow that according to the commentator the Vākyapadīya attributes the three śāstras on medicine, grammar and metaphysics (i. e. Yoga) to Patañjali himself.

Even if it be held that the authors of the Yogasūtra and of the Mahābhāṣya are different persons, there are hardly any reasons for definitely assigning the author of the Yogasūtra to a date later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. The date of the Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa is of considerable importance in arriving at the probable date of the Yogasūtra. But the question of the date of the Yogabhāṣya is also debatable. The Vyāsa who composed the Yogabhāṣya would have to be held as different from Vedavyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata.

The author of the Yogasūtra is, according to the tradition embodied in such comparatively early commentaries as that of Vācaspatimiśra, said to be Patañjali. Important questions arise as to his age and his identity with Patañjali, the author of the famous Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar and the Vārtikas thereon. The grammarian Patañjali is generally held to have flourished about 150 B. C. Therefore, the question of identity becomes important for the date of the Yogasūtra. Some scholars like Prof. B. Liebich, Dr. Haüer (p. 98 of the work of 1932) and Prof. Das Gupta favour the identity of the two, but several others such as Jacobi, Keith, Woods, Renou are against it. Prof. Renou (in I. H. Q. vol. XVI. pp. 586–591) examines the question from the grammatical point of view, points out that certain words like Pratyāhāra, Upasarga, Pratyaya are used in the Yogasūtra in senses entirely different from the senses of these words in the Mahābhāṣya. But as the subjects of the two works are entirely different, the same words may have acquired different senses. Similarly, Prof. Renou relies on breaches of grammatical rules (in the Yogasūtra I. 34), while he says that Patañjali in the Mahābhāṣya is very strict in following Pāṇini's rules though Pāṇini himself is rarely not strict in observing his own rules as in 'tat-prayojako hetuśca' (I. 4. 55) which is against his own sūtra 'tṛjakābhyām kartari' (II. 2. 15); but

Patañjali also employs such an expressions as 'aviravikanyāya'[2294] (which should be avyavikanyāyena) for which Patañjali is criticized in the long Pūrvapakṣa on Vyākaraṇa contained in the Tantravārtika and which is not explained away in the reply to the Pūrvapakṣa. It cannot be supposed that the Yogasūtra for the first time settled the technical terms of Yoga. Yoga terms had been evolving from Upaniṣad times and Patañjali only used them in the sense which they had acquired in the course of centuries. Prof. Renou arrives at the conclusion that the Yogasūtra is later by several centuries than the Mahābhāṣya. Jacobi in his paper on 'the dates of the philosophical sūtras of the Brāhmaṇas' (in JAOS, vol. 31 pp. 1–29) holds (p. 29) that the Yogasūtra must be later that the 5th century A. D. and, following Garbe, thinks that it is not improbable that the Vyāsabhāṣya was composed in the 7th century A. D. The views of Jacobi are strongly criticized by Jwala Prasad in J. R. A. S. for 1930 pp. 365–375. The present author disagrees with Jacobi and Prof. Renou.

The date of the Yogabhāṣya will have considerable bearing on the date of the Yogasūtra. The Yogabhāṣya presupposes much literary activity on Yoga. It mentions by name on Y. S. II. 55 and on III. 18 Jaigiṣavya who is a prominent figure in the Mahābhārata as shown above (pp. 1367 and 1374). Vide also the story of Asita Devala with whom Jaigiṣavya stayed for many years as a bhiksu and adept in Yoga (Śalyaparva, chap. 50). It has to be remembered that several interpretations of the same Yogasūtra are noted in the bhāṣya (as on II. 55). The Yogabhāṣya quotes several *Kārikās* and verses dealing with the matters treated of in the Y. S. as on Y. S. I. 28, 48, II. 5, 28 (on nine causes that lead to Vivekakhyāti), II. 32, III, 6, III. 15 (on seven Cittadharmas of the *aparidṛṣṭa* type). Besides these, several quotations in prose are cited in the bhāṣya, many of which are attributed to Pañcaśikha by Vācaspati (vide pp. 1373–74 above), and some (as on II. 22, 30, 52) to āgamins (those who know the tradition or Veda). Therefore, it follows that some centuries intervene between the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya.

The Bhāṣya on Y. S. II. 42 quotes a verse with the words 'tathā coktam' (it has also been said), which is identical with

2294. In the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 2 on पा. IV. 1. 88 and on पा. V. 1. 7 the words अविरविकन्यायेन occur. In the पूर्वपक्ष in the तन्त्रवार्तिक against grammar (vyākaraṇa) it is urged 'भाष्येऽप्यविरविकन्यायेनेति द्वन्द्वगर्भे तत्पुरुषे पूर्वसमासपूर्वपदस्थायाः सुपः—सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः (पा. II. 4. 71) इति प्रत्ययोपदिष्टोऽपि लुङ् न कृतः।' (p. 260. Ānan. ed.)

a verse from the Śāntiparva.[2295] It is most unlikely that an author will rely on his own work for supporting a proposition propounded in another work of his own. Besides, the Yogabhāṣya quotes on Y. S. I. 28 a verse, which is Viṣṇupurāṇa[2296] VI. 6. 2. The Viṣṇupurāṇa is one of the earliest among extant Purāṇas (vide above pp. 907-909) and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 3rd century A. D. Therefore, the Yogabhāṣya which quotes the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇupurāṇa may be assigned to about 4th century A. D. As argued above, the Y. S. would therefore have to be assigned to a date not later than the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. Though the present writer holds that the Yoga that is said to be refuted in V. S. II. 1. 3 is not that of the Yogasūtra but the Yoga found in the Śāntiparva, yet he is not prepared to place the present Yogasūtra earlier than the 2nd century B. C. Mr. K. K. Kolhatkar in his very exhaustive and learned Introduction (in Marathi) asserts (on p. 126) that the Yogasūtra is later by 3000 years than the Brahmasūtra and that the Bhagavadgītā was composed about 5000 years before the present day (p. 224). But he adduces no evidence for such an ancient date for that work. He probably relies on the traditions that Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata (including the Gītā), flourished towards the end of the Dvāpara age and that Kaliyuga started in 3179 B. C. Modern critical scholarship does not accept these traditional datings.

Not only do some of the Upaniṣads contain references to Yoga technique and practices, but the Mahābhārata also dilates upon matters that pertain to the domain of Yoga. A few examples may be referred to here (the cr. ed. of the Mahābhārata is relied upon). In the Śāntiparva, chap. 232 (241 of Ch. ed.)

2295. सन्तोषादनुत्तमसुखलाभः। योगसूत्र II. 42. The only भाष्य on this is तथा चोक्तम्। यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम्। तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम्॥ इति. This Verse is शान्तिपर्व 171. 51 (cr. ed. =177. 51 of Ch. ed.) and वायु 93. 101; see p. 939 n. 1510 for this verse. On I. 47 'निर्विचारवैशारद्येऽध्यात्मप्रसादः' the भाष्य is: तथा चोक्तम्। प्रज्ञाप्रासादमारुह्य अशोच्यः शोचतो जनान्। भूमिष्ठानिव शैलस्थः सर्वान्प्राज्ञोऽनुपश्यति॥'. On this वाचस्पति remarks 'अत्रैव पारमर्षीं गाथामुदाहरति'।.

2296. तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम्। यो. सू. I. 28; तस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्र्यं सम्पद्यते। तथा चोक्तम्। स्वाध्यायाद्योगमासीत योगात्स्वाध्यायमामनेत्। स्वाध्याययोगसम्पत्त्या परमात्मा प्रकाशते इति. The printed विष्णुपु. reads 'आचरेत्' for आमनेत्, which latter is probably the older reading.

it is stated[2297] that kāma (desires), krodha (anger), lobha (covetousness), bhaya (fear) and svapna (sleep) are the five doṣas (disturbances), in the path of Yoga and then it prescribes means for mastering them. An important and striking assertion in that chapter is that even a person of the lowest *varṇa* (class) or a woman who is intent on dharma may reach the highest goal by following this path[2298] (of Yoga). The same chapter lays down (in verse 25) the proper places for the residence of a yogin and for the practice of Yoga, viz. untenanted mountains and caves, temples, vacant houses, in order that ekāgratā (one-pointedness of mind) may be achieved and that the yogin should treat in the same way a person who commends him or who speaks ill of him and should not contemplate the befalling of good or evil on any one. Chapter 289 of the Śāntiparva refers to Dhāraṇā (verse 37) and states that a yogin that has attained[2299] spiritual power may transfer himself to thousands of other bodies and move about in those bodies on the earth and that this path (of Yoga) is regarded as difficult of access even to wise brāhmaṇas and no one can tread it with ease and that one can stand easily on the sharp edges of razors, but to abide in Dhāraṇā of Yoga is difficult for those whose souls are not purified. Śāntiparva 304. 1 states that there is no knowledge equal to Sāṅkhya and no spiritual power equal to Yoga; it further says that Yoga is eightfold (verse 7) and in verse 9 mentions

2297. योगदोषान् समुच्छिद्य पञ्च यान् कवयो विदुः। कामं क्रोधं च लोभं च भयं स्वप्नं च पञ्चमम्॥ क्रोधं क्षमेन जयति कामं सङ्कल्पवर्जनात्। सत्त्वसंवेदनाद्धीरो निद्रामुच्छेत्तुमर्हति॥ अप्रमादाद्भयं जह्याल्लोभं प्रज्ञोपसेवनात्। शान्ति० 232. 4-7. In शान्ति० 289 (= 301 Ch. ed.) there is a dialogue between Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira in which the five doṣas are slightly different, viz. रागं मोहं तथा स्नेहं कामं क्रोधं च केवलम्। योगाच्छित्त्वादितो दोषान्पञ्चैतान् प्राप्नुवन्ति तत्। (verse 11). In chap. 290 (verses 53-54, cr. ed.) the five doṣas are कामक्रोधौ भयं निद्रा पञ्चमः श्वास उच्यते। एते दोषाः शरीरेषु दृश्यन्ते सर्वदेहिनाम्. The means of mastering them are the same as in chap. 232, but as to श्वास it is said 'छिन्दन्ति पञ्चमं श्वासं लघ्वाहारतया नृप (55)' Compare dosas as in Āp. Dh. S. quoted on p. 1390.

2298. अपि वर्णावकृष्टस्तु नारी वा धर्मकाङ्क्षिणी। तावेप्येतेन मार्गेण गच्छेतां परमां गतिम्॥ शान्ति० 232. 32.

2299. आत्मनां च सहस्राणि बहूनि भरतर्षभ। योगी कुर्याद्बलं प्राप्य तैश्च सर्वैर्महीं चरेत्। शान्ति 289. 26; this is quoted by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S, I, 3. 27 as smṛti and he remarks 'स्मृतिरपि ... एवं जातीयका प्राप्तानिमाद्यैश्वर्याणां योगिनामपि युगपदनेकशरीरयोगं दर्शयति।'. दुर्गस्त्वेष मतः पन्था ब्राह्मणानां विपश्चिताम्। न कश्चिद् व्रजति ह्यस्मिन् क्षेमेण भरतर्षभ॥ क्षुरस्येयं क्षुरधारासु निशितासु महीपते। दारुणासु तु योगस्य दुःस्थेयमकृतात्मभिः॥ शान्ति० 289. 50 and 54; compare क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत् कवयो वदन्ति। कठोप. III. 14.

Dhāraṇā and Prāṇāyāma. The Āśvamedhikaparva 19. 17 (Ch. ed.) appears to refer to pratyāhāra.[2300]

There is also striking similarity between the Bhagavadgītā and the Yogasūtra.[2301] For example, the definition of Yoga in the Yogasūtra as the 'mastery over (or elimination of) the functions (or fluctuations) of the mind' has a close parallel in the Gītā. The Gītā insists on the yogin being 'aparigraha' (VI. 10); 'aparigṛha' is one of the five yamas (Y. S. II. 30). Similarly, the seat and posture (āsana) in which a yogin is to practise must be stable (this refers to the seat) and comfortable (says Yogasūtra); the Gītā says the same thing in greater detail. In VIII. 12 the Gītā speaks of Yogadhāraṇā. The Gītā says (in VI. 35) that the mind is certainly restless and difficult to control, but it can be controlled by practice and passionlessness and the Y. S. (I. 12) speaks of the same two means. The Gītā (in V. 4-5) emphasizes that it is the ignorant that regard Sāṅkhya and Yoga as different, that he who applies himself or stands committed to one of these secures the fruit held out by both and that he who sees both ways as identical sees truly. Here Sāṅkhya means (sannyāsa) 'renunciatien' and Yoga means 'Karma-yoga'.

The Yogasūtra of Patañjali nowhere expressly sets out its scheme of the evolution of the world. But it contains enough material to enable us to hold that it presupposes and accepts some of the Sāṅkhya doctrines such as the theory of Pradhāna, the three guṇas and their characteristics, the real nature of the individual self and *kaivalya* (the state of the soul in final liberation). This may be established by a few references to Y. S. Y. S. III. 48 describes the results that ensue to the yogin from subjugation or mastery of the organs (*indriyas*), one of which is

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2300. Compare 'स्वविषयासंप्रयोगे चित्तस्वरूपानुकार इवेन्द्रियाणां प्रत्याहारः।' योगसूत्र II. 54. Vide also शान्ति 232. 13 मनसश्चेन्द्रियाणां च कृत्वैकाग्र्यं समाहितः। मात्रात्राप्ररात्रेषु धारयेन्मन आत्मना॥

2301. योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः। योगसूत्र I. 2; compare गीता VI. 20 यत्रोपरमते चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया; स्थिरसुखमासनम्। योगसूत्र II. 46; compare गीता VI. 11-13 शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः। नात्युच्छ्रितं नातिनीचं चैलाजिनकुशोत्तरम्॥ ... समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिरः।; असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम्। अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च गृह्यते॥ गीता VI. 35; compare 'अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः।' योगसूत्र I. 12.

'*pradhānajaya*'[2302] (subjugation of Pradhāna, the primary cause of the world according to the Sāṅkhya). The Y. S. nowhere describes what Pradhāna is and what its evolutes are. Therefore, it follows that it takes over from the Sāṅkhya all that is said about Pradhāna. About the individual soul the Y. S. states 'the seer (Puruṣa) exists[2303] as merely pure capacity of awareness (or as the mere power of seeing) and although pure (changeless or undefiled or free from any taints) appears as if he sees all experiences (that really pertain to Buddhi).' The characteristics of the three guṇas (sattva, rajas and tamas) are clearly and succintly[2304] stated in Y. S. as in S. Kārikā 13, when it says 'the seen (phenomenal universe) is characterized by light (sattva), activity (rajas) and inertia or dullness (tamas), it is the essence of the elements and organs and it exists for the purpose of giving experience and liberation (to the soul)'. The *guṇas* are frequently referred to in Y. S. I. 16, IV. 13, 32, 34 and *sattvaguṇa* in Y. S. II. 41, III. 35, 49 and 55. The Y. S. postulates three *pramāṇas* (in I. 7), but does not define them; the S. Kārikā (4-6) mentions the same three pramāṇas and briefly defines them. They both agree about the plurality of souls It may further be noted that Vyāsabhāṣya on Y. S. is full of Sāṅkhya doctrines and quotes, according to Vācaspati, Pañcaśikha twelve times and Ṣaṣṭitantra once (vide above p. 1374 and n. 2250).

In spite of the fact that the Yogasūtra accepts some of the fundamental doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, there are certain points of difference between the two. The standard Sāṅkhya finds no place for God (Īśvara) i. e. it is frankly atheistic (if theism means belief in God who is the creator of the universe and regulator of rewards and punishments), while Yoga finds a place for God in Y. S. I. 23-29, though not a basic one, but only secondary, probably as a concession to popular feelings and belief. The

2302. ततो मनोजवित्वं विकरणभावः प्रधानजयश्च। यो. सू. III. 48. These are three perfections. On प्रधानजय, the व्यासभाष्य remarks 'सर्वप्रकृतिविकारवशित्वं ... प्रधानजयः। इति एतास्तिस्रः सिद्धयो मधुप्रतीका उच्यन्ते।'.

2303. द्रष्टा दृशिमात्रः शुद्धोऽपि प्रत्ययानुपश्यः। यो. सू. II. 20; व्यासभाष्य explains 'प्रत्ययानुपश्यो यतः प्रत्ययं बोद्धमनुपश्यति। तमनुपश्यन्नात्मापि तदात्मक इव प्रत्यवभासते'. Compare सां. कारिका 19 तस्माच्च विपर्यासात्सिद्धं साक्षित्वमस्य पुरुषस्य। कैवल्यं माध्यस्थं द्रष्टृत्वमकर्तृभावश्च॥.

2304. प्रकाश-क्रिया-स्थितिशीलं भूतेन्द्रियात्मकं भोगापवर्गार्थं दृश्यम्। यो. सू. II. 18; प्रकाशशीलं सत्त्वं क्रियाशीलं रजः स्थितिशीलं तम इति। एते गुणाः ... प्रधानशब्दवाच्या भवन्ति। एतद् दृश्यमित्युच्यते। व्यासभाष्य; compare सां. कारिका 13 सत्त्वं लघु॰ quoted in note 2215 p. 1357.

Y. S. nowhere expressly says that Īśvara is the creator of the world and all that it says about Him is that in him omniscience is at its highest, that He was the teacher of primal sages and that by repetition of the mystic syllable 'om' and reflection on it the yogin attains correct knowledge of the real nature of the self. In the next place, though the *summum bonum* in both systems is called *kaivalya* (S. Kārikā 64, 68 and Y. S. III. 50, 55, IV. 34), yet the Sāṅkhya does not set out any elaborate discipline for attaining it except correct knowledge, that is, it is metaphysical and rational, while the Y. S. gives an elaborate treatment on mind discipline, insists on effort rather than mere jñāna, attaches great importance to prāṇāyāma and meditation (dhyāna) and is psychological.

The Sāṅkhya postulated that an intellectual understanding of the nature of *puruṣa* and of *prakṛti* (or *guṇas*) and of the difference between the two was sufficient for the emancipation of the individual self from the liability to rebirth, while yoga, on the other hand, was not content with this philosophic easy-going mental frame and emphasized systematic training of the will and emotions. In both Sāṅkhya and Yoga each individual soul is eternal and his destiny is to become free from the influence of Prakṛti and its evolutes and to remain for ever the same (*viz.* pure intelligence). Herein they differ from the Advaita Vedānta, according to which the final destiny of the self is to become absorbed in and one with *brahma*.

There is another matter for consideration. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Yājñavalkya is put forward as saying that the soul shining like a lamp in the heart should be realized, that on such realization the soul is not born again and as adding that for the purpose of attaining to Yoga one should understand the Āraṇyaka[2305] which 'I received from the Sun and also the

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2305. ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान्। योगशास्त्रं च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता॥ या. III. 110; याज्ञवल्क्यो महायोगी इच्छात्र तपसा हरम्। चकार तल्लियोगेन कायशास्त्रमनुत्तमम्॥ कूर्म I. 25. 44 (=B. I. ed. p. 269). एह्यास्व व्याख्यास्यामि ते व्याचक्षाणस्य तु मे निदिध्यासस्वेति। ... आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः। बृह. उप. II. 4. 4–5. Compare बृह. उप. IV. 5. 5–6 for the same words and वे. सू. IV. 1. 1 for this Br. Up. passage as the basis along with छा. उप. VIII. 7. 1 'य आत्मापहतपाप्मा ... सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः' of that topic in V. S. It is not unlikely that Yāj. III. 110 is an early interpolation, but since all commentators from Viśvarūpa downwards treat it as authentic, one has to accept it as a genuine part of Yāj. smṛti until some explicit evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

Yogaśāstra propounded by me.' In the Kūrmapurāṇa it is said that Yājñavalkya composed Yogaśāstra at the order of Hara and the Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 4 107) states that Hiraṇyanābha attained the knowledge of Yoga from the great Yogīśvara Yājñavalkya who was a pupil of Jaimini. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. (II. 4) Yājñavalkya tells his wife Maitreyī (who hankered after immortality and cared naught for worldly goods) that he would expound to her the path to immortality and the very first sentence calls upon her to cultivate 'nididhyāsa' (i. e. dhyāna) and the first part of his discourse ends with the memorable words (ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyaḥ, Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 5). What work is meant by the Yogaśāstra composed by Yāj. is a debatable point. There are three works (other than the Yāj. smṛti) connected with the name of Yājñavalkya viz.... Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya, Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya (vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 188–190). The last has been published by Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla (1951), the Yoga-Yāj. was published in T. S. S. (1938) based on a single ms., then in the JBBRAS (vol. 28 and 29) by Shri P. C. Diwanji and now available in book form (1954). This last is in the form of a dialogue between the great yogin Yājñavalkya and Gārgī (who is identified with Maitreyī by Shri Diwanji on pp. 27–28 of his ed. of 1954) and sages and learned brāhmaṇas. Yājñavalkya narrates what he learnt from Brahmā. On Yāj. III. 110 the Dīpakalikā of Śūlapāṇi remarks that the Yogaśāstra referred to is called 'Yogiyājñavalkya'. But this again leads to uncertainty as both the works viz. that published by Kaivalyadhama and the one by Mr. Diwanji are so referred to as Yogi (or Yoga) Yājñavalkya in several digests. Mr. Diwanji[2306] tries hard to establish that the work published by him 'has a better claim to be adjudged the specific work on Yoga referred to in Yāj. III. 113.' I think that the claim is not at all justified. The work edited by Mr. Diwanji no doubt contains a good deal of Yoga knowledge; while the work published by Kaivalyadhama also contains a good deal of Yoga material, though not as much as the work edited by Mr. Diwanji contains. It would be irrelevant to discuss here all the points made by Mr. Diwanji. The present author is convinced that the work sponsored by Mr. Diwanji is not the work referred to by Yājñavalkya (in his smṛti III. 110). It is a compilation of a later period. Some striking

2306. Vide Shri P. C. Diwanji's lengthy paper on 'Bṛhad-Yogi Yājñavalkya and Yoga-Yājñavalkya' in ABORI vol. 34 pp. 1–29.

matters alone may be pointed out to show that the Yoga-Yājñavalkya could not have been the work of the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and the Yogaśāstra (as stated in Yāj. III. 110) and of Yāj. smṛti. In the Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 1 and IV. 5. 1 (Yājñavalkyasya dve bhārye babhūvatur–Maitreyī ca Kātyāyanī ca) it is expressly stated that Yājñavalkya had two wives, (philosophy-minded) Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī (worldly-minded). Maitreyī desired such knowledge as would lead to immortality and she asks questions, in all of which she addresses Yājñavalkya as 'bhagavān' (in Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 3 and 13 and IV. 5. 4, 14) and never as mere Yājñavalkya. On the other hand, Gārgī in the Bṛ. Up. is called Vācaknavī (in III. 6. 1, III. 8.1 and 12), is not Yājñavalkya's wife but a pert and rationalistic woman inquirer like Aśvala, Ārtabhāga, Bhujyu Lāhyāyanī, Uṣasta Cākrāyaṇa, Kahola (all present in the court of Janaka), who including Gārgī questioned the claim of Yājñavalkya to be regarded as 'brahmiṣṭha'. In Bṛ. Up. III. 6. 1 when Gārgī pursues her ratiocination too far (in matters depending upon āgama and being beyond reasoning) Yājñavalkya reprimands her and says that she would die (lit. her head would fall away) if she pursued the subject in a pure logistic way. All those inquirers address Yājñavalkya as mere Yājñavalkya without any honorific epithet like 'bhagavān' and Gārgī does the same (in Bṛ. Up. III. 6. 1, III. 8. 2–6). Acc. to Yāj. Smṛti III. 110 the Bṛ. Up., a Yoga-śāstra and the smṛti are the works of one man (whose two wives were Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī) and who had a philosophical skirmish with Gārgī Vācaknavī (according to the Bṛ. Up.). The present Yogayājñavalkya (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) makes Gārgī wife of Yājñavalkya[2307] (vadhūḥ). One would like to know whether Yāj. had three wives, as Bṛ. Up. says he had only two. Mr. Diwanji (pp. 27-28 of the ed. of 1954) tries to make light of this discrepancy and regards Maitreyī as another name of Gārgī. We are here concerned not with pure Yoga doctrines but with the question

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2307. The योगया. I. 6-7 are तमेवंगुणसंपन्नं नारीणामुत्तमा वधूः। मैत्रेयी च महाभागा गार्गी च ब्रह्मविद्वरा॥ सभामध्यगता चेयमृषीणामुग्रतेजसाम्। प्रणम्य दण्डवद्भूमौ गार्ग्येतद् वाक्यमब्रवीत्॥. The two च्स may be noted; that would ordinarily show that मैत्रेयी and गार्गी were different. It might be argued that having already learnt from Yāj. (in Bṛ. Up.) Maitreyī was present but took no part in the discussion and Gārgī alone asked questions. Verse 6 of chap. I could be considered as using the words उत्तमा वधूः for मैत्रेयी and the words महाभागा and ब्रह्मविद्वरा as applicable to गार्गी; but this is made impossible by the text which in I. 43 and IV. 5 refers to Gārgī as the wife (bhāryā) of Yāj. and she is addressed as 'priye' (IV. 7), 'varārohe' etc.

whether a work attributed to Yāj. which makes Gārgī the wife of the ancient Yājñavalkya (when the Upaniṣad makes her only a more or less insolent woman) can be regarded as the work of the same Yāj. who propounded *brahmavidyā* in the Bṛ. Up. and is supposed to have composed the Yāj. smṛti. This one circumstance alone is enough to brand the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (of Mr. Diwanji) as a fabrication sought to be passed off as an ancient work. If identity was really meant the verse could easily have been read as 'Maitreyyākhyā mahābhāgā' without any metrical fault. Therefore, it is not possible to hold that Yogayājñavalkya is the Yogaśāstra composed by Yājñavalkya before the Smṛti going under his name was composed. A few other decisive grounds may also be urged. The work edited by Mr. Diwanji mentions Tantras (in V. 10) and Tāntrikas (in VIII. 4 and 25). The Yāj. smṛti nowhere mentions these two and is free from the peculiar Tāntrik words or technique. Therefore, the present Yogayājñavalkya edited by Mr. Diwanji was composed long after the Yāj. smṛti and probably in the 8th century or after when Tāntrik rites and works had become common. One more important matter may be adverted to. The Yāj. smṛti and the Yoga-Yājñavalkya (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) both enumerate ten *yamas* and ten *niyamas*. But the two diverge materially in the ten names as the note below will show.[2308] The number of yamas and niyamas differs in different works, but if the Yāj. smṛti and Yoga-Yājñavalkya were the works of the same author, the differences in the ten names would not have occurred at all. Therefore, the author of the Yāj. smṛti is quite different from the author of the Y. Y. There is no evidence for holding that the latter flourished before the 8th or 9th century A. D.

A good deal has been said by Mr. Diwanji in his paper on 'Bṛhad-yogi-yājñavalkya and Yoga-Yājñavalkya' in ABORI, vol. XXXIV (1953) pp. 1-29, in his preface to Yoga-Yājñavalkya in JBBRAS, volumes XXXVIII and XXXIX pp. 103-106 and by Swami Kuvalayanand in his reply in ABORI, vol. XXXVII for

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2308. ब्रह्मचर्यं दया क्षान्तिर्दानं सत्यमकल्कता। अहिंसास्तेयमाधुर्ये दमश्चेति यमाः स्मृताः॥ स्नानं मौनोपवासेज्या स्वाध्यायोपस्थनिग्रहाः। नियमा गुरुशुश्रूषा शौचाक्रोधाप्रमादता॥ या. III. 312-313; compare अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं दयार्जवम्। क्षमा धृतिर्मिताहारः शौचं सेवेत यमा दश॥ तपः सन्तोष आस्तिक्यं दानमीश्वरपूजनम्। सिद्धान्तश्रवणं चैव ह्रीर्मतिश्च जपो व्रतम्। एते तु नियमाः शौक्तास्तांश्च सर्वान् पृथक् पृथक्॥ योगयाज्ञ. I. 50-51. The striking dissimilarities between the two are: शौच is a नियम acc. to या. स्मृ. but a यम acc. to योगया and there are other notable additions and omissions which any reader will find.

1957 pp. 279–289 and in the paper 'the real Yogayājñavalkya-smṛti' in the journal 'Yogamīmāṁsā' vol. VII. No. 2 (and also published separately as a pamphlet in July 1958). It would not be relevant in this work to discuss the points in dispute between Mr. Diwanji and Swami Kuvalayanand. In the bhāṣya on the Śvetāśvataropaniṣad attributed to Śaṅkarācārya[2309] (published by Anan. Press) on p. 28 four verses and a half are quoted from Yogi-Yājñavalkya, none of which is found either in Bṛ. Y. Y. or Y. Y. Besides on Śv. Up. II. 9 (pp. 42–44) 29 verses on Yoga matters are quoted in the bhāṣya, but the name of the author or work whence the quotations are taken is not mentioned. Not one of the 29 verses wholly occurs in Mr. Diwanji's Y. Y. He is able to point out only five or six half verses as occurring in Y. Y. out of the 29 verses, while a whole verse quoted in the bhāṣya (viz. 'prāṇāyāmair' &c) occurs in Bṛ. Y. Y. (8. 32). It may be further pointed out that Aparārka and the Smṛticandrikā quote in all about 100 verses from Yogi (or Yoga–) Yājñavalkya which are found in Bṛ. Y. Y., but not in Y. Y. The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣakāṇḍa alone) quotes (on pp. 146, 149, 166, 171, 196–197) about 70 verses from Yogi-yājñavalkya which are found in chapters 2, 8, 9 and 11 of the Bṛ. Y. Y. Mr. Diwanji has not been able to show that verses of the Y. Y. (ed. by him) are cited anywhere in the above three digests. Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacarya in his paper on Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti and its utilization in the medieval digests of Bengal and Mithilā (in J. G. J. R. I. vol. XV for 1958 pp. 135–140) points out that king Ballālasena of Bengal (1158–1179 A. D.) in his Dānasāgara contains a fairly large number of quotations from the Bṛhad-Yogi Yāj. (pub. by Kaivalya-dhama). It appears that Viśvarūpa[2310] (first half of 9th century A.D.) quotes a half verse from the Bṛ. Y. Y. and remarks that the work is composed by the author of the Yāj.

2309. The authenticity of the bhāṣya as the great Śaṅkarācārya's work is extremely doubtful. In the whole of the extensive bhāṣya on the Brahma-sūtra Śaṅkarācārya quotes no Purāṇa by name but cites only a very few verses with the words 'iti purāṇe'. But in the bhāṣya on the Śv. Up. of only 76 printed pages over 30 verses from Brahmapurāṇa, about 30 verses from Viṣṇupurāṇa, about a dozen from the Liṅgapurāṇa and about half a dozen verses from the Śivadharmottara (on pp. 7, 34, 35) are cited.

2310. On स्नानमद्भैर्वतैर्मन्त्रैर्मार्जनं प्राणसंयमः। या. स्मृति I. 22, विश्वरूप comments "स्नानं प्रत्यहं कुर्यात्। तस्य च विधिराचार्येणैवान्यत्राभिहितः, विद्यमाने प्रभूते हि नाल्पे स्नानं समाचरेत्" इति. Compare बृह्. यो. या. VII. 6 'प्रभूते विद्यमाने तु उदके सुमनोहरे'; अपरार्क p. 235 (योगयाज्ञवल्क्य) प्रभूते ... हरे। नाल्पोदके द्विजः स्नायात्) and स्मृतिच. I. p. 129 reads as अपरार्क does.

smṛti himself. Therefore, the Br. Y.Y. is an early work and cannot be assigned to a date later than the 7th century A.D.; while Y. Y. is a much later compilation composed in the 8th or 9th century or even later. The present author is not, however, prepared to hold that Br. Y. Y. is the Yogaśāstra of Yāj. mentioned in Yāj. smṛti III. 110, since the Yoga material contained in it is meagre as compared with the Smṛti material. The present author is glad to find that on pp. 7–8 of the Sanskrit Preface to the edition of the Bṛhad-Yogi-Yājñavalkya-smṛti the editors express grave doubts about the identity of the author of the Yāj. smṛti with the author of the work edited by them.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha is an extensive work in 32000 Ślokas (one śloka meaning 32 syllables) printed in two volumes with a commentary by Ānandabodha by the Nirn. Press. It is really an eclectic work embodying[2311] the tenets of the Gītā on *anāsakti*, the tenets of the Trika system of Kashmir, of Advaita Vedānta &c. Its text appears to have been added to from time to time. Controversies have raged about its date and its contribution to Indian philosophy. The present writer holds on reading the contributions[2312] that the extant Yogavāsiṣṭha is a late work and was composed some time between the 11th and 13th century A. D.

It is now necessary to furnish a brief outline of the main teachings of Y. S. Though the work is comparatively small, its rendering in English requires to be amplified in order that it may be understandable. Only the most important and instructive matters are set out here.

Yoga is defined (2nd sūtra) as the elimination of or mastery over the functions (activities) or fluctuations of the mind. This is provisionally explained by Vyāsa (on I. 1.) as

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2311. Though there is not much compact teaching on pure Yoga, the योगवासिष्ठ here and there has remarks on योग. For example, the उपशमप्रकरण chap. 78 verse 8 states: द्वौ क्रमौ चित्तनाशस्य योगो ज्ञानं च राघव । योगस्तद्वृत्तिरोधो हि ज्ञानं सम्यगवेक्षणम् ॥.

2312. Vide Dr. Atreya's thesis on the 'Philosophy of Yogavāsiṣṭha' published in 1936 at Adyar by the Theosophic Publishing House (he holds that it belongs to 6th century A. D.); I. H. Q. vol. 24 pp. 201–212 (Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya), I. H. Q. vol. 25 pp. 132–134 (Dr. D. C. Sarkar); Mr. Diwanji's papers in Pro. of 7th All India O. Conf. pp. 15–30, P. O. III. 1 pp. 29–44, N. I. A. vol. I pp. 697–715 (on Laghu-yogavāsiṣṭha), JOR. Mad. vol. XIII. pp. 71–82 and 118–128 (Dr. Raghavan), ABORI vol. 32 pp. 130–145.

Samādhi. The different stages viz. (*bhūmis*) of the mind are five, being restless (kṣipta), infatuated (mugdha or mūḍha), distracted (vikṣipta), one-pointed (ekāgra) and controlled (niruddha).

In this connection (i. e. on the topic of bhūmis) the present author has to bring to the notice of readers a paper by Shri Kuvalayānanda contributed to the Yogamīmāṁsā vol. VI. No. 4 on 'Traditional reading of Pātañjala-yogasūtra III. 11; is it accurate.' The traditional reading accepted by the bhāṣya of Vyāsa and all other commentators is 'Sarvārthataikāgratayoḥ kṣayodayau cittasya samādhipariṇāmaḥ'. The Svami[2314] argues that the correct reading should be '*sarvārthataikārthayoḥ* &c.' He states that the bhūmis should be six, the sixth being 'ekārtha' and bases his arguments on the combined explanations of Yogasūtra I. 2–4, 18 and III. 9–12. All that the present writer can say is that his arguments deserve serious consideration. The fact that even Vyāsa, the bhāṣyakāra of Yogasūtra, would have to be held not to have seen the difficulties in the traditional reading of Y. S. III. 11 would have to be given due weight before any final conclusion can be arrived at. That sūtra states the goal of Yoga viz. the soul that is seer abides in its own form then (i. e. when the functions of the mind have been mastered), while in ordinary life the soul appears to assume the forms of the fluctuations of the mind. The Vṛttis[2315] are five, some of which are

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2314. योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः। तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्। वृत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र। यो. सू. I. 2. 4; it would be interesting to note some definitions of yoga from other works: विषयेभ्यो निवर्त्याभिप्रेतेऽर्थे मनसोऽवस्थापनं योगः। देवल-धर्मसूत्र q. in note 2263, p. 1380 above; वृत्तिहीनं मनः कृत्वा क्षेत्रज्ञं (°ज्ञः v. l.) परमात्मनि। एकीकृत्य विमुच्येत योगोयं मुख्य उच्यते॥ दक्षस्मृति VII. 15; आत्ममयत्नसापेक्षा विशिष्टा या मनोगतिः। तस्या ब्रह्मणि संयोगो योग इत्यभिधीयते॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 31. All three are q. by अपरार्क (on या. III. 109) p. 986 and by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष) p. 165. अपरार्क himself says 'जीवपरमात्मनोरभेदविज्ञानं विषयान्तरासम्भिन्नं योगः'.

2315. वृत्तयः पञ्चतय्यः क्लिष्टाक्लिष्टाः। प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रास्मृतयः। प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमाः प्रमाणानि। ... अभावप्रत्ययालम्बना वृत्तिर्निद्रा। अनुभूतविषयासंप्रमोषः स्मृतिः। यो. सू. I, 5–7 and 10–11. The क्लेशs (hindrances or obstacles) are five, viz. अविद्या-अस्मिता-राग-द्वेष-अभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः (यो. सू. II. 3). The भाष्य on I. 8 is 'सेयं पञ्चपर्वा भवत्यविद्या अविद्यास्मिता... निवेशाः क्लेशा इति। एत एव स्वसंज्ञाभिस्तमो मोहो महामोहस्तामिस्रोऽन्धतामिस्र इति।', अविद्या has five aspects (lit. joints) viz. अविद्या etc. which are respectively called मोह etc; वाचस्पति explains all these. About अस्मिता he says योगिनामष्टस्वणिमादिकेष्वैश्वर्येष्वप्रेयःसु श्रेयोबुद्धिरष्टविधो मोहः पूर्वस्माद्अधम्यः। स चास्मितोच्यते।'. The बुद्धचरित XII. 33 has these technical ideas: इत्यविद्या हि विद्वांसः पञ्चपर्वा समीहते। तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च॥'. They are so called because they afflict men plunged in *Saṁsāra* with several kinds of suffering. 'अविद्यादयः क्लेशाः क्लिश्नन्ति खल्वमी पुरुषं सांसारिकैः विविधदुःखप्रहारैरेनेति' वाचस्पति on यो. सू. I. 24).

afflicted by hindrances called *kleśas* and the others are not so hindered (those that are hindered are to be mastered or eliminated and the others are to be accepted). The five *vṛttis* are *pramāṇa* (means of valid knowledge), *viparyaya* (wrong conception), *vikalpa* (fancy), *nidrā* (sleep),[2316] *smṛti* (memory). Pramāṇas are three, *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *āgama* (verbal testimony). The means for the suppression of the vṛttis are *abhyāsa* (practice) and *vairāgya* (passionlessness) (simultaneously carried on), the first being the effort to secure a calm flow of the mind free from vṛttis, continued for a long time uninterruptedly and earnestly and the latter (vairāgya) being the consciousness of mastery over (i. e. freedom from thirst for) seen objects (such as woman, food and drink, high position) and objects promised by Revelation (such as heaven, disembodied existence &c.).[2317] 'Vairāgya is of two kinds *apara* (described in Y. S. I. 15 just above) and *para* (highest) described in Y. S. I. 16 and bhāṣya thereon. In the highest *vairāgya* the yogin (who has reached discrimination between the self and the *guṇas*, sattva &c.) is free from thirst not only for objects of sense, but also free from the guṇas, attains a stage of undisturbed consciousness only and leads the yogin to reflect 'I have attained what was to be attained, the kleśas (hindrances

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2316. According to the Yogabhāṣya on Y. S. I. 10 sleep is a special positive idea or experience (*pratyaya*) and not a mere absence of any activities or fluctuations of the mind, since when a man rises from sleep he reflects 'I have slept well, my mind is happy and makes my intellect clear' and this reflection on waking would not be possible if there had been no experience (during sleep) of the cause of such a feeling. Just as in *samādhi* one has to master other ideas (viz. misconception, fancy &c.), so the Yogi has to master sleep also as a hindrance to the attainment of Samādhi.

2317. अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः। तत्र स्थितौ यत्नोऽभ्यासः। स तु दीर्घकालनैरन्तर्यसत्कारासेवितो दृढभूमिः। दृष्टानुश्रविकविषयवितृष्णस्य वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम्। तत्परं पुरुषख्यातेर्गुणवैतृष्ण्यम्। यो. सू. I. 12-16. On sūtra I. 15 the bhāṣya says 'स्त्रीपोऽन्नपानमैश्वर्यमिति दृष्टविषये विरक्तस्य स्वर्गवैदेह्यप्रकृतिलयत्वमात्रापाद्यानुश्रविकवितृष्णस्य दिव्यादिव्यविषयसंप्रयोगेऽपि चित्तस्य विषयदोषदर्शिनः प्रसंख्यानबलादनाभोगात्मिका हेयोपादेयशून्या वशीकारसंज्ञा वैराग्यम्।'; वाचस्पति explains 'आनुश्रवो वेदस्ततोऽभिगताः आनुश्रविकाः स्वर्गादयः। ..... न वैतृष्ण्यमात्रं वैराग्यं, अपि तु दिव्यादिव्यविषयसंप्रयोगेऽपि चित्तस्यानाभोगात्मिका।' For the words दृष्ट and आनुश्रविक, compare सां. का. 2 दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः स ह्यविशुद्धिक्षयातिशययुक्तः। तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान् व्यक्ताव्यक्तज्ञविज्ञानात्॥. The भाष्य on I. 16 remarks 'तद्द्वयं वैराग्यम्। तत्र यदुत्तरं तज्ज्ञानप्रसादमात्रम्। ... ज्ञानस्यैव पराकाष्ठा वैराग्यम्। एतस्यैव हि नान्तरीयकं कैवल्यमिति।'. In this 2nd kind of vairāgya there is nothing but an undisturbed and calm consciousness or knowledge (unconnected with any object whatever) and *Kaivalya* (the goal of yoga) is inseparably connected with it.

avidyā &c.) that have to be destroyed have been destroyed, the close-knit succession of births and deaths has been out off'. The Bhāṣya remarks 'the highest limit of consciousness (knowledge) is Vairāgya and Kaivalya is inseparably connected with it.' Vācaspati states that this last is called 'Dharmamegha-samādhi' (mentioned in Y. S. IV. 29). Sūtras 17 and 18 of first pāda deal respectively with samprajñāta-samādhi (conscious concentration) or sālambanasamādhi and asamprajñāta-samādhi (concentration in which there is no consciousness of objects, gross or subtle). The first is of four kinds (or of four stages) viz. *savitarka* (deliberation over or realization of a gross object like Śālagrāma or the image of a god with four arms and the like), *savicāra* (where there is reflection over a subtle object such as the *tan-mātrās*), *sānanda* where the reflection is on the mind which is full of sattva (that is a samādhi of joy) and *sāsmitarūpa* (i. e. where there is only a sense of personality in which the knower himself is the object of perception).[2318] These four kinds lead on to the asamprajñāta-samādhi, which results when all vṛttis have disappeared, when there is persistent exercise of this state and the mind consists of sub-liminal impressions only. Sūtras 19-51 (to the end of the first *pāda*) deal with the different kinds of samādhi, the different ways of attainment, the position of Īśvara in the Yoga system, the nine obstacles (antarāya) that cause distraction of the mind of the person who practises Yoga and the companions of these

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2318. वितर्कविचारानन्दास्मितानुगमात् संप्रज्ञातः। विरामप्रत्ययाभ्यासपूर्वः संस्कारशेषोऽन्यः। यो. सू. I. 17-18. These two are called सबीज and निर्बीज or सालम्बन and निरालम्बन or सविकल्प and निर्विकल्प समाधि. The भाष्य on I. 18 states तदभ्यासपूर्वं हि चित्तं निरालम्बनमभावप्रायमिव भवतीत्येष निर्बीजः समाधिः. The भाष्य on यो. सू. I. 2 states 'स निर्बीजः समाधिः। न तत्र किंचित्संप्रज्ञायत इत्यसंप्रज्ञातः। द्विविधः स योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोध इति।'. अस्मिता is one of five क्लेशs (vide n. 2315 above) and avidyā is said to be the root of four out of five kleśas (II. 4), and II. 6 defines 'asmitā as the identification of the seer (the self) and the instrument of seeing i. e. buddhi'. It is somewhat surprising that one kind of samādhi is characterized by 'asmitā'. Probably asmitā here means no more than the conciousness 'I am' (i. e. of personality). It is remarkable that Buddhist texts exhibit a close parallel to the four kinds of संप्रज्ञातसमाधि (vide मज्झिमनिकाय vol. I pp. 21-22 Trenckner's ed. of 1888). 'सो खो अहं ब्राह्मण विविच्चेव कामेहि विविच्च अकुसलेहि धम्मेहि सवितक्कं सविचारं विवेकजं पीतिसुखं पठमं झानं उपसम्पज्ज विहासिं। etc. पीति (प्रीति) is the same as आनन्द in the योगसूत्र. Dr. B. C. Law's paper on 'Prince Jeta's Grove in Ancient India' (J. I. H. vol. XXXVII, Part III, December 1959 p. 353 note 94) brought to my notice this close correspondence and he kindly furnished the reference to the Majjhimanikāya.

obstacles, the means of preventing obstacles &c. such as practice of concentration on a single entity, the cultivation of friendliness, compassion, joy (towards holy men), indifference (towards unholy men) or by prāṇāyāma.

The Pātañjalasūtra (in I. 19–23) divides yogins for asamprajñāta-samādhi into various categories (nine in all), which are passed over here. Patañjali says that asamprajñāta-samādhi in the case of yogins (who are not gods or not those whose bodies are resolved into primary matter) follows upon that practice which effects the cessation of all vṛttis and which comprises only subliminal consciousness and is preceded by faith, perfect repose or serenity, energy, mindfulness and discriminatory insight (into what is real) due to passionlessness. It would be noticed that so far Patañjali asks the aspirant for Yoga to rely on his own efforts, practice &c. He does not mention God or his grace anywhere so far. From this it follows that any man or woman and even one who is an agnostic may pursue yogic practices and attain to asamprajñāta-samādhi and liberation without devotion to God or without God's grace. But Patañjali as a keen psychologist knew the help that faith affords. Therefore, he provides that, if you believe in God, He will help you in the practice of Yoga and from that point of view he assigns to Īśvara a role of a limited scope.

In Y. S. I. 23–28 Patañjali provides that Samādhi and liberation (the result of Samādhi) may also be secured by [2319]

2319. ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा । क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः । तत्र निरतिशयं सर्वज्ञत्वबीजम् । स पूर्वेषामपि गुरुः कालेनानवच्छेदात् । तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः । तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् । ततः प्रत्यक्चेतनाधिगमोऽप्यन्तरायाभावश्च । यो. सू. I. 23–29. ईश्वरप्रणिधान is explained in two ways by the व्यासभाष्य (1) special devotion (भक्तिविशेष on I. 23) and (2) offering up of all actions to the Supreme Teacher (Īśvara) or the renunciation of the fruits of all actions (ईश्वरप्रणिधानं सर्वक्रियाणां परमगुरावर्पणं तत्फलसंन्यासो वा । on II. 1). The भावागणेशवृत्ति on this quotes कूर्मपुराण for the meaning of ब्रह्मार्पण 'नाहं कर्ता सर्वमेवैतद् ब्रह्मैव कुरुते तथा । एतद् ब्रह्मार्पणं प्रोक्तमृषिभिस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥'. The यो. सू. (I. 22–23 and II. 45) states that samādhi may be very near of attainment by devotion to God. It is remarkable that the Bṛhadyogiyāj. (published by the Kaivalyadhāma of Lonavla) appears to reproduce Y. S. I 24, 28–29 as Śruti in the following verses 'क्लेशकर्मविपाकैश्च वासनाभिस्तथैव च । अपरामृष्टमेवाह पुरुषं ईश्वरं श्रुतिः । वाच्यो यज्ञेश्वरः (वाच्यः स ईश्वरः?) प्रोक्तो वाचकः प्रणवः स्मृतः । वाचकेन तु विज्ञातो वाच्य एव प्रसीदति ॥ तदर्थं प्रणवं जप्यं ध्यातव्यं सततं बुधैः । ईश्वरः पुरुषाकारस्तु तेनोपास्तुः प्रसीदति ॥ बृहद्योगि. II. 43–45. On यो. सू. I. 28 the Bhāṣya explains 'तदस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपतः प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाग्रं सम्पद्यते ।' and वाच० explains

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devotion to Īśvara (Īśvara-praṇidhāna) who is a special *puruṣa*, who is untouched by hindrances, by *karma* (good or evil) or by the results of actions or by hankerings, in whom the omniscience, that is only a germ (in others), is infinite; He, being not limited by time, is the teacher of even the ancient teachers. The mystic syllable (Om) is expressive of (i. e. representative or symbol of) God and *japa* of that syllable and constant reflection upon the meaning of 'om' (i. e. on Īśvara) leads to one-pointedness (ekāgratā) of mind. Devotion to Īśvara secures for the practitioner attainment of right knowledge of the nature of the soul and the absence of hindrances (*antarāya*) that distract the mind (I. 29). These hindrances are nine such as illness, langour, doubt &c. and they are also called *Yogamala* (taints or blemishes of Yoga), the enemies (*pratipakṣa*) of Yoga. These hindrances are accompanied by pain, mental distress, tremor of the limbs, irregular inhalation and exhalation (I. 31). These distractions and their accompaniments that are the foes of *samādhi* may be prevented or mastered in various ways such as practice of concentration on one entity (Īśvara or the like), by the practice of such attitudes of mind as friendliness, compassion, cheerfulness and indifference respectively towards the happy or the distressed, the good and the evil (I. 33) or by the expulsion and retention of breath (bhāṣya uses the word 'prāṇāyāma'). When the mind is concentrated then arise the four kinds of samprajñātasamādhi (called *savitarka* &c. in I. 17). The knowledge that is gained in the last kind of samprajñātasamādhi is of a higher order than what is obtained from scripture or inference and the subliminal impression made in this samādhi is hostile to all other impressions and when this last impression also is suppressed or removed, then results the seedless samādhi (i. e. asamprajñātasamādhi). In this last the mind itself ceases (from its task) and the yogin's soul abides in itself, shines forth in its

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भावनं as 'पुनः पुनश्चित्ते निवेशनम्.' For the eulogy of 'Om' vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 301–302 and for japa (inaudibly done or mental) Manu II. 85–87, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55. 19, Vasiṣṭha 26. 9 and p. 686 of H. of Dh. II. The Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad, which, Śaṅkarācārya declares, contains the essence of the thought of Vedānta' (Vedāntārthasārasaṅgrahabhūta), has a disquisition on 'om'. Om was in the Upaniṣads (and before them) a symbol of the whole Universe, of the supra-sensible *brahma* and was of metaphysical use. Yoga took it over from the Upaniṣads and made it an instrument of psychology and of dhyāna.' Compare Muṇḍaka Up. II. 2. 4 'प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते। अप्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यं शरवत्तन्मयो भवेत्॥'

own light and is called pure, isolated and liberated.[2320] Īśvara-praṇidhāna does not lead to union with Īśvara, but it enables the soul that is still bound to become what Īśvara always is. In the Yogasūtra there is very little about *bhakti* for God.

Pāda II. The first pāda ends on the note of samādhi and liberation i. e. describes the Yoga for him who has succeeded in concentration. The 2nd pāda deals with the procedure for a person whose mind is not used to concentration but is restless, infatuated or distracted (vyutthita)[2321] and who is desirous of learning the technique. This pāda is the most important of all the four pādas for modern students, either Indian or Western, and has exerted great influence on Dharmaśāstra works. The fundamental idea of Yoga is that the individual self is real, eternal and pure, but it is immersed in the objective world and, though eternal, pursues transient objects. Patañjali is a master psychologist. The goal being set (viz how to secure the isolation of the soul from *avidyā* and the *guṇas* and its attainment of its own pure nature) Y. S. prescribes a rigorous discipline for the attainment of the goal. Patañjali differs from many modern Western psychologists (like Freud)[2322] in two very fundamental matters. The first is that Patañjali puts all emphasis at his command on the freedom and liberation of the soul from bondage, prescribes restraint of the activities of the mind as the

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2320. तस्मिन् (चित्ते) निवृत्ते पुरुषः स्वरूपमात्रप्रतिष्ठोऽतः शुद्धः केवलो मुक्त इत्युच्यते। भाष्य on यो. सू. I. 51 (तस्यापि निरोधे सर्वनिरोधान्निर्बीजः समाधिः).

2321. व्युत्थान is explained by भोजदेव as 'व्युत्थानं क्षिप्तमूढविक्षिप्तानां भूमित्रयम्' on यो. सू. III. 9 and on III. 37 (ते समाधावुपसर्गा व्युत्थाने सिद्धयः) as व्यवहारदशा.

2322. Freud gives the name 'libido' to the energy of the sexual instinct, while Jung, who was once a disciple of Freud, diverged from Freud, holds it as applicable to all forms of mental, psycho-physical or conative energy. The theory of the Oedipus complex is the central core of the Freudian system. It appears that Freud later in life modified his theory of the Oedipus complex and, though he assumed that the Oedipus complex is present in every infant, he came to hold that in the course of normal development the complex becomes eradicated in early childhood. Vide 'An outline of abnormal psychology' by W. Macdougall (London, ed. of 1952) p. 418.

Prof. J. B. Watson propounded the theory of 'Behaviourism' (vide the work so called, London, 1925), which denies the existence of mind or mental traits, dispositions or tendencies. On this view the subject matter of psychology is not mind but the behaviour or activities of the human being and the concept of instincts on which most psychologists dwell at length becomes meaningless.

means and several preliminary steps of the training of ordinary emotions and will, while several modern psychologists condemn repression of the mind. In the 2nd place Patañjali is a firm believer in the doctrine of *karma* and *rebirth* and (in II. 12–15) holds that even good actions that give rise to a future life of pleasure and happiness are a misery to the enlightened, while modern psychologists speak of several innate instincts and are not at all agreed on what these are, they do not tackle the problem of karma and rebirth and their relation to what they call instincts. If there is no pre-existince of the soul as Christians and many others believe, how do the human *instincts* arise? There is hardly any convincing or satisfactory explanation of this.

The first sūtra (of pāda II) says that the activities or practices that are preliminaries to the attainment of Yoga are *tapas*[2323] (austerity), *svādhyāya* and devotion to Īśvara; these,

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2323. तपःस्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि क्रियायोगः। समाधिभावनार्थः क्लेशतनूकरणार्थश्च। अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः क्लेशाः। यो. सू. II. 1–3. Various definitions of *tapas* occur in the Dharmaśāstra and other works. The word *tapas* occurs in the Ṛgveda over a dozen times. Vide Ṛg. VI. 5. 4, VIII. 59. 6, VIII. 60. 16, X. 16. 4, X. 87. 14 in all of which it is possible to take tapas in the sense of heat. But in Ṛg. X. 109. 4, X. 154. 2, 4 (pitṛntapasvataḥ), 5 (ṛṣīn tapasvataḥ), X. 183. 1, X. 190. 1 tapas means 'austerities, asceticism or bodily mortification.' तपसा येऽनाधृष्यास्तपसा ये स्वर्ययुः। तपो ये चक्रिरे महस्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात्॥ ऋ. X. 154. 2 (this is addressed to the soul of the deceased person) 'join them that are unassailable owing to tapas, that went to heaven by tapas and that performed great tapas'. The emphasis on asceticism (or tapas) appeared among Indians earlier than among any other known people. In Ṛg. X. 190. 1 it is stated that right and truth and the sun and the moon and the universe are born of tapas. In Ṛg X. 109. 4 the seven sages are said to have sat down for tapas. In Ṛg. X. 136. 2 sages (*munis*) having long hair and wearing dirty yellowish clothes are said to roam over paths. In the Śat. Br. VI. 1. 1. 13 and Ait. Br. XI. 6. 4 it is indicated that *tapas* like *Yajña* would give everything. The Upaniṣads (e. g. Tai. Up. III. 5 'tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva', Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22) emphasize that tapas is one of the means of realizing brahma. Chān. Up. II. 23 postulates tapas as the 2nd of three *dharmaskandhas*. The Āp. Dh. S. I. 2. 5. 1 holds that the strict observances laid down for a Vedic student are called tapas (नियमेषु तपःशब्दः); Gautama Dh. S. 19. 15 provides that sexual purity, truthfulness, bathing three times in the day, wearing a wet garment, sleeping on the sacrificial ground and fast are austerities. Manu X. 70 provides that even three prāṇāyāmas are the highest tapas for all brāhmaṇas provided they are performed according to prescribed rules and are accompanied by the seven *vyāhṛtis* and *praṇava*. Manu (XI. 234–244) contains a grand eulogy of tapas; verse 238 states 'everything can be

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when resorted to, serve for the cultivation of samādhi and for minimising the *kleśas*, which are avidyā (nescience which is the field that produces the other four), *asmitā* (the feeling of personality), *rāga* (attachment to pleasures), *dveṣa* (aversion, that dwells angrily on pain and its causes) and *abhiniveśa* (will to live or clinging to life). Tapas is explained by Vyāsabhāṣya (on Y. S. II. 32) as bearing or enduring the pairs (of opposites) such as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, standing and sitting, stillness of a stump (i. e. not indicating what is passing in one's mind even by gestures), stillness of the body (not speaking at all), and also such observances as Kṛcchra, Cāndrāyaṇa and Sāntapana (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 120 and 132, 134–137, 151 respectively for kṛechra &c.).

The Vyāsabhāṣya explains 'svādhyāya' as the *japa* (inaudible repetition) of *om* and other holy texts or study of the śāstras treating of liberation.[2324] The Śat. Br. XI. 5. 7 contains a eulogy of svādhyāya and the words 'svādhāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ' (one should study the Veda) occur frequently therein. *Om* is the most prominent among the symbols (*pratīkas*) under which the upāsanā of the supra-sensible brahma was to be carried out. Vide Chān. Up. I. 1. 1 (om-ityetad-akṣaram-udgītham-upāsīta), Tai. Up. I. 8 (om-iti brahma, om-itīdam sarvam), Muṇḍaka Up. II. 2. 4 (praṇavo dhanuḥ śaro hyātmā brahma tal-lakṣyam-ucyate, 'om is the bow, the soul is the arrow, brahma is the

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accomplished by tapas, since tapas has invincible power'. Yāj. also (I. 198–202) emphasizes the great importance of tapas. Jaimini (in PMS III. 8. 9) employs the word tapas for 'fast'. Frequent eulogies of tapas are found in the Mahābhārata as in Vanaparva 259. 13. 17, Śānti, chap. 5 and 12 'Gods and sages secured their position by tapas', Ānuśāsana 122. 5–11). Śāntiparva 79. 18 explains अहिंसा सत्यवचनमानृशंस्यं क्षमो घृणा। एतत्तपो विदुर्धीरा न शरीरस्य शोषणम्॥. All passages of the Mahābhārata are taken from Chitrashālā Press edition in this note. Yogins are said to repeat the Ajapā japa i. e. while they breathe inwards there is सोहं and when they breathe out there is हंसः and the combined words सोहं हंसः mean 'I am that *haṃsa*' (the eternal Spirit)'. Compare बृहद्योगिया. II. 115. 'हंसं तुर्यं परं ब्रह्म'.

2324. स्वाध्यायः प्रणवादिपवित्राणां जपो मोक्षशास्त्राध्ययनं वा। व्यासभाष्य on यो. सू. II. 1. गौ. ध. सू. 19. 12 (= बौ. ध. सू. III. 10. 10, वसिष्ठ 22. 9) enumerates the Upaniṣads, Vedānta and some vedic texts as holy texts by repeating which a man expiates sins. वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 28. 10–15 (=विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 56 in prose =शङ्खस्मृति chap. 10 12 and chap. 11) enumerate holy texts (pavitrāṇi) from all Vedas. The word 'praṇava' occurs in the Tai. S. III. 2. 9. 5–6 'उद्गीथ एवोद्गातृणामृचः प्रणवः उक्थर्क्सिनाम्, which is quoted by शबर on पू. मी. सू. III. 7. 42.

target &c.), Praśna Up. V. 5 (Yaḥ punar-etam trimātreṇomity-etenaivākṣareṇa param puruṣam-abhidhyāyIta). The Y. S. borrows this importance of Om from the Upaniṣads. The five *kleśas* are defined in Y. S. II. 5-9. Avidyā (ignorance)[2325] consists in regarding the non-eternal as eternal, the impure as pure, pain as pleasure, the non-self as the self. Asmitā (sense of personality) consists in the seer (the self) being held as if identical with the instruments of seeing (such as mind and sense organs). Abhiniveśa (clinging to life) means the craving ('May I not cease to live, may I live') which sweeps on by its own force and is established in this form even among the learned. Īśvarapraṇidhāna has been explained above (p. 1412 note 2319). The Y. S. (II. 11 and 12) says that the kleśas have subtile conditions (viz. avidyā and asmitā) and coarse effects in the form of vṛttis (the fluctuations of the mind, rāga, dveṣa and abhiniveśa); escape from the former is secured by resolving them by means of real knowledge while the coarse ones are controlled by contemplation (dhyāna). The accumulated deposits of *Karma* arise from the five *kleśas*, are fit to be experienced in the seen birth (that is in the present birth) and in an unseen (i. e. future) birth. So long as the root (viz. the kleśas) exists the accumulated karma leads to fruition in three forms viz. birth, life (long or short) and experience, which three result in giving joy or

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2325. अनित्याशुचिदुःखानात्मसु नित्यशुचिसुखात्मख्यातिरविद्या । दृग्दर्शनशक्त्योरेकात्मतेवास्मिता । सुखानुशयी रागः । दुःखानुशयी द्वेषः । स्वरसवाही विदुषोऽपि तथा रूढोऽभिनिवेशः । यो. सू. II. 5-9; the भाष्य explains the last 'सर्वस्य प्राणिन इयमात्माशीर्नित्या भवति मा न भूवं भूयासमिति । न चाननुभूतमरणधर्मकस्यैषा भवत्यात्माशीः । ... ... स चायमभिनिवेशः क्लेशः ... कृमेरपि जातमात्रस्य ... मरणत्रास उच्छेददृष्टात्मकः पूर्वजन्मानुभूतमरणदुःखमनुमापयति ।.' With the यो. सू. II. 5 compare ब्रह्माण्डपुराण 'अनित्ये नित्यसंज्ञा च दुःखे च सुखदर्शनम् । अस्वे स्वमिति च ज्ञानमशुचौ शुचिनिश्चयः ॥ रागद्वेषविवृद्धिश्च तज्ज्ञानमुदाहृतम् । IV. 3. 39-40 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष p. 124). In Venk. ed. the last half is different. Compare also विष्णुपुराण IV. 7. 11 अनात्मन्यात्मबुद्धिर्या &c. क्लेशमूलः कर्माशयो दृष्टादृष्टजन्मवेदनीयः । सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यायुर्भोगाः । ते ह्लादपरितापफलाः पुण्यापुण्यहेतुत्वात् । परिणाम-ताप-संस्कार-दुःखैर्गुणवृत्तिविरोधाच्च दुःखमेव सर्वं विवेकिनः । यो. सू. II. 12-15. वाचस्पति explains आशय as 'आशेरते सांसारिकाः पुरुषाः अस्मिन्नित्याशयः । कर्मणामाशयो धर्माधर्मौ '. *On* योगसूत्र II. 13 the भाष्य puts forward four possible alternatives about karma and punarjanma, rejects the first three and accepts the 4th. It may be quoted here 'तत्रेदं विचार्यते किमेकं कर्मैकस्य जन्मनः कारणम्, अथैकं कर्मानेकं जन्म आक्षिपति-इति । द्वितीया विचारणा-किमनेकं कर्मानेकं जन्म निर्वर्तयति, अथानेकं कर्मैकं जन्म निर्वर्तयति इति. *On* II. 14 से ... हेतुत्वात् one may note the following Upaniṣad passages on which the sūtra is based, viz. बृ. उप. III. 2. 13, छा. उप. V. 10. 7. The last two passages illustrate the meaning of जाति in यो. सू. II. 13. The above passages will have to be quoted later under karma and punarjanma.

anguish according as the accumulation is due to meritorious or evil acts. The Yogasūtra says that the Yoga system has, just like the system of medicine,[2325a] four divisions or aspects, viz. *saṁsāra* (the round of births or transmigration), the cause of saṁsāra, the release from saṁsāra, the means of release (viz. samyak-darśana, insight into reality or discriminating discernment between the puruṣa and sattva, unassailed by false knowledge); sūtras 16–27 of the 2nd pāda set out these four and explain some of the terms used in defining them. Sūtra 28 provides that when impurities are washed away by practising the aṅgas of Yoga, the knowledge shines forth (more and more) till discriminatory discernment becomes perfect. Then sūtra[2326] 29 enumerates the eight *aṅgas* (aids, or auxiliaries) of Yoga, viz. *yama* (abstinences), *niyama* (observances), āsana (bodily posture), prāṇāyāma (control or regulation of breath), pratyāhāra (withdrawal or suppression of the organs of sense), dhāraṇā (fixed attention), dhyāna (meditation or contemplation), samādhi (concentration or absorption into the object of meditation). The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra enumerates the same eight

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2325 a. यथा चिकित्साशास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहम् ... एवमिदमपि शास्त्रं चतुर्व्यूहमेव ... तद्यथा। योगभाष्य on II. 15; vide p. 939 note 1510a for the whole passage. हेयं दुःखमनागतम्। द्रष्टृदृश्ययोः संयोगो हेयहेतुः। ... तस्य हेतुरविद्या। तदभावात्संयोगाभावो हानं तद् दृशेः कैवल्यम्। विवेकख्यातिरविप्लवा हानोपायः। यो. सू. II. 16, 17, 24–26. Compare these four aspects with the four Noble Truths of Buddhism cited in note 1510a above. विप्लव means मिथ्याज्ञान acc. to वाचस्पति.

2326. योगाङ्गानुष्ठानादशुद्धिक्षये ज्ञानदीप्तिराविवेकख्यातेः। यम-नियमासन-प्राणायाम-प्रत्याहार-धारणा-ध्यान-समाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि॥ यो. सू. II. 28–29. The भाष्य on II. 29 is: 'तेषां (योगाङ्गानां) अनुष्ठानात् पञ्चपर्वणो विपर्ययस्याशुद्धिरूपस्य क्षयो नाशः। ... यथा यथा च साधनान्यनुष्ठीयन्ते तथा तथा तत्त्वमशुद्धिरापद्यते यथा यथा च क्षीयते तथा तथा क्षयक्रमानुरोधिनी ज्ञानस्यापि दीप्तिर्वर्धते। सा खल्वेषा विशुद्धिः प्रकर्षमनुभवत्याविवेकख्यातेः, आगुणसंबन्धस्वरूपविज्ञानादित्यर्थः।' The five क्लेशs mentioned in यो. सू. II. 3 are called विपर्यय. It is somewhat surprising that the eight aṅgas 'यम...समाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि' (in prose) are quoted as from महाभारत in the कृत्यकल्प (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 167) and by अपरार्क p. 1022. The वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र (B. I. ed.) VIII. 10 divides yogins into three classes owing to the differences in their practices and abstentions, viz. सारङ्ग, एकार्ष्य and विसरग; and each of these is again subdivided into further sub-classes. It further states that some of these called Anirodhakāḥ do not practise prāṇāyāma, others called Mārgagāḥ practise only prāṇāyāma and the rest and those called vimārgagāḥ practise all the eight aṅgas, but they regard even God that is proper for contemplation as not so. The original words are 'ये विमार्गगास्तेषां यमनियम ... त्यङ्गाङ्गं कल्पयन्तो ध्येयमप्यन्यथा कुर्वन्ति.' It is difficult to say what the last clause exactly means. It is probable that in this sentence reference is made to some class of yogins that do not contemplate on God, but hold that without contemplation on God they can secure liberation (*kaivalya*, *mukti*).

aṅgas of Yoga. The remaining sūtras of *pāda* two (from 30 to 55) deal with the enumeration and definitions of yamas and niyamas, their explanations and the treatment of āsana, prāṇāyāma and pratyāhāra. The Śāntiparva (304.7 = 316.7 of Ch. ed.) speaks of Yoga as 'aṣṭaguṇita' or aṣṭaguṇin). Out of the eight aṅgas the first five are indirectly useful for samādhi, because they eradicate what are opposed to samādhi (such as hiṁsā, asatya &c.), and are therefore called *bahiraṅga* (external, indirect) sādhanas (means) of Yoga, while dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi are said to be *antaraṅga* to Yoga (Y. S. III. 7, 'trayam-antaraṅgam pūrvebhyaḥ'. The last three are dealt with in the 3rd pāda. It is these sūtras in the 2nd *pāda* that are emphasized and elaborated in Dharmaśāstra works. Therefore some detailed treatment of these matters is needed here.

In some works, such as the Gorakṣasaṁhitā the aṅgas of yoga are said to be only six (omitting yama and niyama or omitting some others). The Maitrāyaṇī Up. (VI. 18), the Dhyānabindu Up. the Atri-smṛti XI. 6, Dakṣa VII. 34, Skandapurāṇa, Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 41. 59 and Buddhists say the same. Manu[2327] provides (IV. 204) 'a wise man should always practise *yamas* but not the *niyamas* always; one who only practises niyamas and does not practise yamas incurs sin (or falls into hell)'. This does not mean that niyamas are forbidden but it means only this that yamas are far more important than niyamas. The words 'yama' and 'niyama' both occur in the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 326. 15 and 339. 16 of Ch. ed.). Some Smṛtis omit them from the aṅgas of yoga probably because they are prescribed for all persons in general by Manu, Yāj. and others. Manu does not enumerate yamas and niyamas, but Yāj. (quoted on p. 1406, n. 2303 above) enumerates ten yamas and ten niyamas. The five yamas[2328] of the Y. S. are

2327. तथा तत्प्रयोगकल्पः। प्राणायामः प्रत्याहारो ध्यानं धारणा तर्कः समाधिः षडङ्ग इत्युच्यते योगः। मैत्रा. उप. II. 18; अत्रिस्मृति IX. 6 and वृद्धस्मृति VII. 3 mention the same six aṅgas (including tarka) as in मैत्रा. उप. 'आसनं प्राणसंरोधः प्रत्याहारश्च धारणा। ध्यानं समाधिरेतानि योगाङ्गानि भवन्ति षट्॥ ध्यानबिन्दु उप.० verse 41 (Adyar ed p. 196), गोरक्षशतक I. 4, and स्कन्दपु. (काशीखण्ड 41. 59); अपरार्क on या. III. 110 p. 990) quotes a smṛti text enumerating six aṅgas of yoga (omitting यम, नियम, आसन and adding तर्क). The बृहद्योगियाज्ञ. IX. 35 and लिङ्ग-पुराण (I. 8. 8-9) mentions eight aṅgas. अपरार्के (p. 990) explains 'ततो मनोबुद्धिपरित्यागेनात्मनि विमर्शरतर्कः'. वायुपुराण XI. 76 mentions only five, प्राणायाम, ध्यान, प्रत्याहार, धारणा and स्मरण in that order.

2328. अहिंसा-सत्यास्तेय-ब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः। जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम्। यो. सू. II. 30-31; some words of the भाष्य may be quoted;

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ahiṃsā (non-injury to all creatures and at all times), *satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-stealing i. e. not appropriating others' things in a way not sanctioned by the Śāstra), *brahmacarya* (i. e. control of the organ of generation while guarding the other organs of sense also), *aparigraha* (non-acceptance of anything from another beyond what is necessary for preserving the body). These five constitute for a yogin a great vrata when practised without reference to species, place, time and occasions (or exigencies). As provided by Manu, yamas have to be observed by all but there are exceptions. The observance of yamas would be called vrata, but the rigorous observance of yamas without allowing exceptions is called by the Y. S. *mahāvrata* which has to be observed by yogins without exception at all stages. The observance of yamas and niyamas is a first step for the soul's ultimate success in winning Liberation or Isolation (kaivalya), since, unless the soul is purged of all sexual and egoistic desires, it cannot live the divine or spiritual life that the higher stages of yoga require. What is meant may be briefly exemplified as follows: Smṛtis recognize some exceptions to all these in the case of ordinary people. For example, it is the kṣatriya's duty to fight and therefore it was provided by Manu (VII. 87, 89) that a kṣatriya should not run away from battle and that kṣatriyas fighting and dying in battle on both sides went to heaven. Vide Yāj. I. 324. So *hiṃsā* was allowed to a kṣatriya but if he wanted to follow the Yoga discipline he had to give up hiṃsā. Similarly, Smṛtis excused untruth on five occasions (vide Gautama 23. 29, Vasiṣṭha 16. 36, Ādiparva 82. 16, Śāntiparva 34. 25 and 165. 30, quoted in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 353 and notes 536, 537). Manu in IV. 138 makes an exception for ordinary men viz. one should not speak what though true is painful to another (na brūyāt satyamapriyam). But one who enters on the discipline of Yoga must always speak the truth except when speaking the truth would result in the ruin of

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तत्राहिंसा सर्वथा सर्वदा सर्वभूतानामनभिद्रोहः। उत्तरे च यमनियमास्तन्मूलास्तत्सिद्धिपरतयैव तत्प्रतिपादनाय प्रतिपाद्यन्ते। ... ब्रह्मचर्यं गुप्तेन्द्रियस्योपस्थस्य संयमः। विषयाणामर्जन-रक्षण-क्षयसङ्गहिंसादोषदर्शनादस्वीकरणमपरिग्रहः। सिद्धि in the भाष्य above means ज्ञान and not उत्पत्ति; on गुप्तेन्द्रियस्य, वाचस्पति explains 'संयतोपस्थोऽपि स्त्री-प्रेक्षण-तदालाप-कन्दर्पायतन-तदङ्गस्पर्शनसक्तो न ब्रह्मचर्यवानिति तन्निरासायोक्तं गुप्तेन्द्रियस्येति'। The भोजवृत्ति and योगसुधाकर respectively explain अपरिग्रह as 'अपरिग्रहो भोग-साधनानामनङ्गीकारः' and 'अपरिग्रहः शरीरस्थितिमात्रव्यतिरिक्तभोगसाधनास्वीकारः'। देवल quoted by गृहस्थकाण्ड of कल्पतरु states that hiṃsā is of ten kinds (p. 304). The लिङ्गपु. I. 8. 10–28 names these five यमs and defines them.

creatures.[2329] The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 312 remarks that telling a falsehood in the case of arranging a marriage though excused (by smṛtis) should be avoided and also the beating of a son or a pupil as punishment by one who observes a *vrata*. A householder who approaches his wife on certain specified days after her monthly illness and avoids the parvan days (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. n 1425) is to be regarded as one observing brahmacarya, acc. to Yāj. I. 79 and Manu IV. 128, but if he takes to the path of Yoga, he would have to give up this latitude (vide note 2308,[2330] above) and avoid all contact whatever with all women including his own wife as the Liṅgapurāṇa emphasizes. The Yuktidīpikā, one of the earliest commentaries on the Sāṅkhyakārikā, mentions (on p. 112) five yamas but puts 'akalkatā' (absence of crookedness) as the 5th instead of *aparigraha*. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (VI. 7. 36-37) enumerates five yamas and five niyamas as in Y. S. but substitutes 'mind bent on the highest brahma' (kurvīta brahmaṇi tathā parasmin pravaṇam manaḥ) for 'Īśvarapraṇidhāna'. The five niyamas according to Y. S. II. 32 [2331] are *śauca* (cleanliness), *santoṣa* (contentment), *tapas* (austerity), *svādhyāya* (study of Veda), *īśvarapraṇidhāna* (devotion to God, or surrendering all actions to him). Three of the five niyamas, viz. tapas, svādhyāya and Īśvarapraṇidhāna constitute *kriyāyoga* as already stated in Y. S. II. 1. It is most difficult to give an objective definition of duty, but duties can be defined on the subjective side. The object of emphasizing duties is to make men rise above lower desires and to make the higher self shine forth. These are

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2329. यदि चैवमप्यभिधीयमाना (वाक्) भूतोपघातपरैव स्यात् न सत्यं भवेत्यापमेव भवेत्तेन पुण्याभासेन पुण्यप्रतिरूपकेण कष्टं तमः प्राप्नुयात्। तस्मात्परीक्ष्य सर्वभूतहितं सत्यं ब्रूयात्। भाष्य on यो. सू. II. 30; यथा विवाहादिष्वन्यत्रज्ञातस्याप्यनृतवचनस्य निवृत्त्यर्थं सत्यत्वविधानम्। पुत्रशिष्यादिकमपि न ताडनीयमेवमर्थमहिंसादिविधानमित्येवमादि। मिता. on या. III. 312-13. देवल (in कल्पतरु गृहस्थकाण्ड) states 'अनृतं द्विविधं, असत्यं विसंवादश्च। प्रागभ्युपगतानामसंकीर्तनं विसंवाद इति।' p. 309.'

2330. कर्मणा मनसा वाचा सर्वावस्थासु सर्वदा। सर्वत्र मैथुनत्यागं ब्रह्मचर्यं प्रचक्षते॥ कूर्म II. 11. 18, यो. या. I. 55; अङ्गारसदृशी नारी घृतकुम्भसमः पुमान्। तस्माद्वारीषु संसर्गं दूरतः परिवर्जयेत्। लिङ्गपु. I. 8. 23.

2331. शौच-सन्तोष-तपः-स्वाध्यायेश्वरप्रणिधानानि नियमाः। यो. सू. II. 32; भाष्य 'तत्र शौचमृज्जलादिजनितं मेध्याभ्यवहरणादि बाह्यं, आभ्यन्तरं चित्तमलानामाक्षालनम्'; for तपः acc. to यो. सू. vide n. 2323 above. Vide कूर्मपु. II. 11. 20-29 for these five and their definitions. The युक्तिदीपिका (p. 112) enumerates the नियमs as अक्रोधो गुरुशुश्रूषा शौचमाहारलाघवमप्रमादः इति पञ्च नियमाः. The same five are quoted as Vyāsa's in a verse by कृत्यक० (गृहस्थकाण्ड p. 302). वाचस्पति explains 'चित्तमला मद्यमानासूपादयस्तदपनयो मनःशौचम्'.

based more or less on the Upaniṣads; vide e. g. Chān. Up. III. 17. 4 where *tapas*, *ahiṁsā*, *truthfulness*, *dāna*, (charity) and *ārjava* (straightforwardness) are put forward as virtues to be cultivated by a sacrificer, Br. Up. V. 2.3. where all men are asked to cultivate *dama* (self-restraint), *dāna* (charity), *dayā* (kindness). Therefore, the yamas prescribed by the Yogasūtra constitute what may be called extra-regarding duties and are mostly in the nature of prohibitions (such as 'don't injure anyone, don't tell a lie, don't rob a person, don't accept gifts'), while the niyamas are concerned with the individual himself (who has embarked on Yoga practice) and are of a positive character (viz. be clean, be contented, be austere, do study the Veda and be a devotee of Īśvara). The Amarakośa[2332] defines 'yama' as actions that are obligatory (or to be always performed) and that depend upon the body as the means for being carried out, while niyamas are acts that are not obligatory (or not to be continuously engaged in) and that depend (for carrying them out) on means that are outside the body (such as water &c). Śauca (cleanliness) is of two kinds, *bāhya* (of the body effected with water, loose earth, pañcagavya, pure food &c.) and *ābhyantara* (internal or mental). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 651–52 and vol. IV. pp. 310–311 for details of the śauca of both kinds. A verse of Manu (V. 106) deserves to be noted[2333] in this connection viz. 'of all kinds of śauca the highest is the one that relates to wealth (one must desire wealth without depriving another of his wealth by improper means); that man is *śuci* (pure) who is pure as to wealth and not he who is purified by loose earth and water.' Sūtras 33–34 of pāda II provide that when the practitioner of Yoga is assailed by the outbreak of the fever of perverse thoughts (such as 'I shall kill him who has harmed me', 'I shall tell a lie, I shall appropriate another's wealth, I shall commit adultery with another's wife'), he should revolve in his mind and cultivate the opposites of such thoughts and dwell on the consequences of such thoughts, viz. they cause endless suffering and lack of right knowledge. Yama and

2332. शरीरसाधनापेक्षं नित्यं यत्कर्म तद्यमः । नियमस्तु स यत्कर्मानित्यमागन्तुसाधनम्॥ अमरकोश (2nd काण्ड, ब्रह्मवर्ग). क्षीरस्वामी quotes the yogasūtra definitions and explains 'आगन्तु चार्द्रं मृज्जलादि साधनं यत्रेति, अत एव कृत्रिमकर्म नियमः।'.

2333. सर्वेषामेव शौचानामर्थशौचं परं स्मृतम्। योऽर्थे शुचिर्हि स शुचिर्न मृद्वारिशुचिः शुचिः॥ मनुस्मृति V. 106; विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22.89 has the same verse, but reads अन्न for अर्थ in both places. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 275. 13 states: तस्माद्धि सर्वशौचानां मनःशौचं परं स्मृतम्। Compare आहारशुद्धौ सत्त्वशुद्धिः in छा. उप. VII. 26. 2 and आहार ... शुद्धिरित्याचार्याः as quoted from हारीतधर्मसूत्र by अपरार्क on या. I. 154.

niyama constitute the preliminary ethical code which an aspirant for yoga must observe and some part of it must be followed by all men as Manu and Yāj. prescribe.

In sūtras 35 to 45 (of pāda II.) the results of the continuous practice of the several yamas and niyamas are set out viz. when the aspirant has become established in ahiṁsā, all beings (men and animals) give up enmity [2334] in his presence. When the aspirant for Yoga is well grounded in the practice of abstinence from falsehood his speech comes out to be effective unfailingly (that is, if he says to a person 'be you a righteous man' or 'may you attain heaven', the man becomes righteous or attains *svarga*). When he becomes rooted in abstinence from theft all jewels wait upon him from all quarters (that is, though he may not hanker after riches or means, the latter come to him of their own accord). When the Yogin is firmly fixed in brahmacarya,[2335] he secures energy (whereby he treads the path to such super-normal powers as aṇimā) and when he reaches perfection he is able to transfer knowledge about Yoga and its aṅgas to his disciples. In Y. S. I. 20 it is stated that *asamprajñāta-samādhi* follows when the yogin has faith, *vīrya* (energy) and other qualities. The greatest emphasis is laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the yogin or the seeker for *brahma* (vide Muṇḍaka III. 1. 5, 'satyena labhyas-tapasā hyeṣa ātmā samyag-jñānena brahmacaryeṇa nityam'). The idea is that the yogin makes very rapid progress towards the final goal of *samādhi* and *kaivalya* if he is thoroughly chaste and that without it the practice of rājayoga is futile and dangerous. Those interested in the importance of 'brahmacarya' should read Mahātmā Gandhi's 'self-restraint versus self-indulgence' (3rd ed. 1928), particularly the Appendix I. pp. 137–158 which reproduce W. L. Hare's article). When the yogin is firmly established in non-

2334. अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्संनिधौ वैरत्यागः। यो. सू. II. 35; वाचस्पति remarks 'शाश्वतिकविरोधा अप्यश्व-महिष-सूयक-मार्जारादिनकुलादयोऽपि भगवतः प्रतिष्ठितहिंसस्य संनिधानात्तद्धित्तात्मकारिणो वैरं त्यजन्ति.' Sanskrit poets love to dwell on this aspect of the hermitages of sages e. g. vide कादम्बरी, पूर्वभाग p. 45 (of Peterson's ed., description of Jābāli's hermitage') 'अस्य भगवतः प्रसादादेवोपशान्तवैरमपगत-मत्सरं तपोवनम्। अहो प्रभावो महात्मनाम्। अत्र हि शाश्वतिकमपहाय विरोधमुपशान्तात्मा-नस्तिर्यञ्चोऽपि तपोवनसुखमनुभवन्ति। तथाहि एष ... ... विशति शिखिनः कलापमातपाहतो निःशङ्कमहिः। अयमुत्सृज्य मातरं ... प्रक्षरत्क्षीरधारमापिबति कुरङ्गशावकः सिंहीस्तनम्।'.

2335. Vide छा. उप. VIII. 2. 10 यं यमन्तमभिकामो भवति यं कामं कामयते सोऽस्य सङ्कल्पादेव समुत्तिष्ठति तेन सम्पन्नो महीयते।; ब्रह्मचर्यप्रतिष्ठायां वीर्यलाभः। यो. सू. II. 38; I. 20 is 'श्रद्धावीर्यस्मृतिसमाधिप्रज्ञापूर्वक इतरेषाम्'. अपरिग्रहस्थैर्ये जन्मकथंतासम्बोधः। यो. सू. II. 39, कथंता means किंप्रकारता.

acceptance of gifts he has a desire to know his past, present and future lives (and receives illumination thereon).

As a result of having to clean[2336] one's body the Yogin becomes disgusted with his own body and avoids contact with the bodies of others. Other results of cleanliness (of the mind) that arise are the purity of *sattvaguṇa* (i. e. not being assailed by *rajas* and *tamas*), gentleness, one-pointedness (of the mind), mastery over the senses and fitness for the sight (realization) of the Self. From contentment results[2337] supreme happiness. *Tapas* gives rise[2338] to perfection in the body (i. e. acquisition of some occult powers like aṇimā) and perfection as to the sense organs (such as being able to hear and to see what is distant) owing to the eradication of impurities (i. e. the *kleśas* and sin); (continuous) study of the Veda (and japa of *om* &c.) leads on to the union with (realization of) the deity he chooses. From devotion to Īśvara results perfection in Samādhi.

Āsana (bodily posture)[2339] is defined in Y. S. as one that is stable and easy (or comfortable). Āsana means a seat which is covered with *kuśa* grass, deer-skin and a garment in that order (this would be *bāhya āsana*) as laid down in Gītā (VI. 11),

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2336. शौचात् स्वाङ्गजुगुप्सा परैरसंसर्गः। सत्त्वशुद्धिसौमनस्यैकाग्र्येन्द्रियजयात्मदर्शनयोग्यता च। यो. सू. II. 40–41. The first sūtra refers to बाह्यशौच and the 2nd to आभ्यन्तरशौच. मनु II. 98 defines जितेन्द्रिय as 'श्रुत्वा स्पृष्ट्वा च दृष्ट्वा च भुक्त्वा घ्रात्वा च यो नरः। न हृष्यति ग्लायति वा स विज्ञेयो जितेन्द्रियः॥'; vide कुल्लूक for illustrations.

2337. सन्तोषादनुत्तमः सुखलाभः। यो. सू. II. 42. The भाष्य on this only quotes a Śāntiparva verse (vide p. 1399 n. 2295 above). वाचस्पति explains न विद्यते अस्मादुत्तमः इत्यनुत्तमः.

2338. कायेन्द्रियसिद्धिरशुद्धिक्षयात् तपसः। स्वाध्यायादिष्टदेवतासंप्रयोगः। समाधिसिद्धिरीश्वरप्रणिधानात्। यो. सू. II. 43–45. भोज explains सम्प्रयोग as 'सा देवता प्रत्यक्षीभवति' and समाधिसिद्धि as 'स भगवानीश्वरः प्रसन्नः सकलान्तरायरूपान् क्लेशान् परिहृत्य समाधिं सम्बोधयति'. Vide यो. सू I. 23 for समाधिलाभ from ईश्वरप्रणिधान. The भाष्य on II. 44 explains 'देवा ऋषयः सिद्धाश्च स्वाध्यायशीलस्य दर्शनं गच्छन्ति, कार्ये चास्य वर्तन्ते'.

2339. स्थिरसुखमासनम्। प्रयत्नशैथिल्यानन्तसमापत्तिभ्याम्। ततो द्वन्द्वानभिघातः। यो. सू. II. 46–48. Compare श्वेता. उप. 'त्रिरुन्नतं स्थाप्य समं शरीरं' and 'समे शुचौ शर्करावह्निवालुकाविवर्जिते॥' (II. 8 and 10). The word अनन्त is explained in different ways. वाच० explains अनन्ते वा नागनायके स्थिरतरफणासहस्रविधृतविश्वम्भरामण्डले समापन्नं चित्तमासनं निर्वर्तयतीति'. This is rather far-fetched and unsatisfactory, as hardly anywhere else is अनन्तनागसमापत्ति recommended. भोज takes अनन्त to mean आकाश 'यदा चाकाशादिगत आनन्त्ये चेतसः समापत्तिः क्रियतेऽल्पावधानेन तादात्म्यमापद्यते तदा देहाहंकाराभावाद्भासनं दुःखजनकं भवति। This is a little better than Vācaspati's explanation. Brahma is described as सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म (तै. उप. II. 1).

while the word āsana (in Yoga) means bodily posture. It should be noticed that the Yogasūtra does not expressly prescribe any of the numerous āsanas mentioned and defined in the Haṭhayogapradīpikā and other works on Haṭhayoga and indicates that those āsanas are not necessary in the practice of the Pātañjala Yoga and that any posture which is easy, stable and comfortable would be enough for the yogin. The Y. S. here follows the Śv. Up. (II. 8 and 10) and not the works on Haṭhayoga, if any existed in its times. In order to secure the posture described above the yogin should relax the usual physical movements of the body (*prayatnaśaithilya*) and bring the mind to reflect on the Infinite (*brahma*). As a result of perfect mastery over posture, he is not overwhelmed (or overcome) by the pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold, hunger and thirst).

A few words must be said about āsanas. The present author recommends to all those interested in āsanas a very useful and instructive handbook (in 188 pages) on 'āsanas' composed and published by Sri Kuvalayānanda of the Kaivalyadhāma at Lonavla near Poona (third impression in 1949) with 81 plates (78 on different āsanas and 3 on *nauli*). The Dakṣasmṛti (VII. 5) mentions Padmāsana and Yāj. in III. 198 appears to allude to it. Dr. K. T. Behanan on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' inserts 16 figures (between pp. 186–187) of several āsanas. Though the Y. S. does not mention any *āsana* by name yet the Vyāsabhāṣya[2340] names ten and indicates by the word 'ādi'

2340. तद्यथा पद्मासनं वीरासनं भद्रासनं स्वस्तिकं दण्डासनं सोपाश्रयं पर्यङ्कं क्रौञ्चनिषदनं हस्तिनिषदनमुष्ट्रनिषदनं समसंस्थानं स्थिरसुखं यथासुखं चेत्येवमादीनि। भाष्य on योगसूत्र II. 46. About क्रौञ्च० and the following two वाचस्पति says 'क्रौञ्चादीनां निषण्णानां संस्थानदर्शनात् प्रत्येतव्यानि'. सोपाश्रयं 'with the support of a cushion' 'योगपट्टकयोगात् सोपाश्रयम्' (वाचस्पति). In E. I. vol. XXI p. 260, the Kolagallu Ins. of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga of Śaka 889 (exact date, 17th February 967 A.D.) mentions 'Daṇḍāsana,' (p. 263) and 'Lohāsanī' p. 264 l. 35. दण्डासनं is explained by वाचस्पति as 'उपविश्य श्लिष्टाङ्गुलिकौ श्लिष्टगुल्फौ भूमिश्लिष्टजङ्घोरुपादौ प्रसार्य दण्डासनमभ्यसेत्'. Yoga had permeated society so much that in several Inscriptions Yogaśāstra and Yoga techniques are mentioned; e. g. in the Tewar Stone Inscription (C. I. I. vol. IV p. 306) of Gayākarṇa in the *Cedi* year 902 (=1151 A. D.), Yogaśāstra (verse 6) and Pātañjalāgama (verse 8) are referred to and in verse 11 the first quarter is प्राणायामसमाधिसिद्धानियमध्यानासनैरन्वहम्. न च पद्मासनाद्योगो न नासाग्रनिरीक्षणात्। दक्षस्मृति VII. 5, explained by विश्वरूप on या. III. 189 (T. S. S.). ऊरुस्थोत्तानचरणः सव्ये न्यस्योत्तरं करम्। उत्तानं किंचिदुत्तान्य मुखं विष्टभ्य चोरसा॥ याज्ञ. III. 198.

that it knew more. Vīrāsana[2341] is mentioned in Raghuvaṃśa 13. 52. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. IV. 1. 10 remarks that Padmakāsana and other special āsanas are propounded in Yogaśāstra. The V. S. (IV. 1. 7–10) has in view, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, the description of āsana in the Gītā (VI. 11), the relaxation of bodily activities and stableness of posture indicated by such words as 'dhyāyatīva pṛthivī' (Chān. Up. VII. 6. 1). According to the H. P. (I. 17) āsana is the first *aṅga* of Haṭhayoga, that Śiva speaks of 84 āsanas, of which four āsanas called Siddha, Padma, Siṃha and Bhadra are the most essential (sārabhūta) and it recommends Siddhāsana as the best (I. 34) and describes it (I. 35). The Haṭhayogapradīpikā names and describes 15 *āsanas* in I. 19-55. The Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad states that there are innumerable āsanas but mentions the same four as the most prominent. Vide figures 16 (p. 55), 18 (p. 57), 62 (p. 97) in Śrī. Kuvalayānanda's work for Siddha, Padma and Siṃha āsanas respectively and figures 105 (p. 186), 106 (p. 187), and 108 (p. 188), for the āsanas called Siddha, Padma and Baddhapadma respectively in Prof. S. S. Goswami's work on Haṭhayoga and p. 28–30 for Siddhāsana, Padmāsana and Baddha-padmāsana respectively in Alain Danielou's work (London, 1949). The Śivasaṃhitā (III. 100) and Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā (II. 1) mention that there are 84 āsanas, while the Gorakṣaśataka[2342] states that there are as many āsanas as there are living species, that all of them are known to Śiva, that out of 84 lakhs of āsanas Śiva chose 84 and that out of these Siddhāsana and Padmāsana are the best and defines these two (I. 5–9).

The word Yoga is applied to many matters in an extended sense (i. e. the method or methods by which union with the

2341. वीरासन is explained by वाच० as 'स्थितस्यैकतरः पादो भूम्यस्त एकतरश्चाकुञ्चितजानोरुपरि न्यस्त इत्येतद्वीरासनम्।', while मल्लिनाथ (on रघु०) quotes वसिष्ठ's description एकपादमथैकस्मिन्विन्यस्योरुणि संस्थितम्। इतरस्मिंस्तथा चान्यं वीरासनमुदाहृतम्॥. This is almost the same as ह. यो. प्र. I. 21. वाचस्पति explains all the āsanas named by the bhāṣya except the *padmāsana* (which he says is well known). पद्मासन is described in ह. यो. प्र. II. 58 and गोरक्षशतक verse 9. The त्रिशिखिब्राह्मणोपनिषद् (verses 39–40) describes पद्मासन and चद्मपद्मासन and so does *Kāśikhaṇḍa* 41. 62–63. भद्रासन is defined by वाच० as 'पादतले वृषणसमीपे सम्पुटीकृत्य तस्योपरि पाणिकच्छपिकां कुर्यात्तद्भद्रासनम्' (on यो. सू. II. 46). The योगयाज्ञ० (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) defines it as 'पार्श्वपादौ च पाणिभ्यां दृढं बद्ध्वा सुनिश्चलम्। भद्रासनं भवेदेतत्सर्वव्याधिविषापहम्॥' (III. 12).

2342. आसनानि च तावन्ति यावन्त्यो जीवजातयः। एतेषामतुलाम्भेदान् विजानाति महेश्वरः॥ सिद्धं भद्रं तथा सिंहपद्मं चेति चतुष्टयम्। ध्यानबिन्दू० 42 p. 196 (Adyar) The verse आसनानि ... महेश्वरः occurs in गोरक्षशतक 5.

Supreme Self may be promoted) in the Bhagavadgītā, which itself is described as Yogaśāstra and each chapter of which is also called Yoga. For example, we have in the Gītā 'abhyāsayoga' (8. 8, 12. 9), karmayoga (3. 3. and 7), jñānayoga (3. 3.), bhaktiyoga (14. 26). A few other works also do the same. Some Western writers speak of several kinds of Yoga such as Mantrayoga, Jñānayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Karmayoga, Rājayoga and Haṭhayoga (vide 'Bengal Lancer' by F. Yeats-Brown, London, 1930, p. 284), R. C. Oman's 'The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India' p. 172 (ed. of 1905), Geraldine Coster's 'Yoga and Western psychology' p. 10, Alain Danielou's work pp. 83 ff. (for descriptions of Mantrayoga, Layayoga, Kuṇḍalinīyoga &c.). Some late Sanskrit works like the Yogatattvopaniṣad [2343] and Śivasaṁhitā (5. 9) speak of four Yogas viz. Mantrayoga, Haṭhayoga, Layayoga and Rājayoga. All these have in view the system of Patañjali, but each emphasizes some particular aspect of yoga discipline. But there are really only two main systems of Yoga, viz. the one expounded in the Yogasūtra and its bhāṣya by Vyāsa and the other dealt with in such works as the Gorakṣaśataka, the Haṭhayogapradīpikā of Svātmārāma-yogin[2344] with the commentary called Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda. Briefly, the difference between the two is that the Yoga of Patañjali concentrates all effort on the discipline of the mind, while Haṭhayoga mainly concerns itself with the body, its health, its purity and freedom from diseases. This is illustrated by the facts that Patañjali defines *āsana* as any posture that is 'sthirasukha', while works on Haṭhayoga describe many āsanas like Mayūrāsana, Kukkuṭāsana, Siddhāsana, which are deemed to remove

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2343. योगो हि बहुधा ब्रह्मन् भिद्यते व्यवहारतः। मन्त्रयोगो लयश्चैव हठोसौ राजयोगकः॥ मातृकादियुतं मन्त्रं द्वादशाब्दं तु योजयेत्। क्रमेण लभते ज्ञानमणिमादिगुणान्वितम्॥ अल्पबुद्धिरिमं योगं सेवते साधकाधमः॥ लययोगश्चित्तलयः कोटिशः परिकीर्तितः। गच्छंस्तिष्ठन् स्वपन् भुञ्जन् ध्यायेच्चिष्कलमीश्वरम्। स एव लययोगः स्यात् &c.। योगतत्त्वोप० verses 19. 21–23.

2344. A translation of this work (which contains 388 verses) into English by Srinivasa Iyengar has been published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras (3rd ed. 1949). The proper name of the work appears to be हठप्रदीपिका, as shown by I. 3 'हठप्रदीपिकां धत्ते स्वात्मारामः कृपाकरः', by the colophons at the end of each Upadeśa and the first verse of the commentary of Brahmānanda 'Haṭhapradīpikā Jyotsnā'. Acc. to the com. ह and ठ mean सूर्य and चन्द्र and represent respectively right and left nostril-breath. The Śivasaṁhitā is translated by Rai Bahadur Srischandra Vidyārṇava, Pāṇini Office, 2nd ed. 1923 and Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā was translated by Srischandra Vasu, Bombay, 1896.

diseases (I. 31) and which are said to be 84 (for the names of the 84 āsanas vide pp. 146-149 of Danielou's work) and Haṭhayoga deals with such processes[2345] as Dhauti (washing the stomach), Basti (yogic enema) and Nauli (shaking the abdomen) about which Patañjali is silent. Haṭhayoga, if practised with proper guidance and perseverance, will not only endow a man with a strong, healthy, pure and active body but also may develop inner strength and happiness. The technique of Haṭhayoga claims three kinds of results viz. (1) cure of diseases and disorders of the mind also; (2) attainment of supernatural powers called *siddhis*; (3) leading to Rājayoga and *Kaivalya*. The Haṭhayogapradipikā itself states that Haṭhayoga

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2345. The six क्रियाs of हठयोग are: धौतिर्बस्तिस्तथा नेतिस्त्राटकं नौलिकं तथा। कपालभातिश्चैतानि षट् कर्माणि प्रचक्षते॥ ह. यो. प्र. II. 22. धौति is described in the Journal योगमीमांसा vol. II. pp. 170-177, बस्ति (yogic enema) in vol. I. pp. 101-104, नौलि in vol. I. pp. 25-26 and vol. IV. pp. 320-24 and कपालभाति in the Handbook on 'Prāṇāyāma' (by Shri Kuvalayānanda), part I. pp. 79-100. There are various methods of Dhauti. The present author, who has been suffering from hyperacidity for over 60 years and from duodenal ulcer for at least 35 years, practised on the advice of an Indian doctor holding an English degree in medicine washing of the stomach by swallowing a large quantity of tepid water and then vomitting it. This was done for several years, generally once a week (or oftener). He can say from personal experience that it washed the stomach and reduced acute pain. But he found or thought that it was no cure and gave up the practice after some years. नेति is cleansing the nose and त्राटक is fixing the eyes without winking on a minute object till the tears fill the eyes (निरीक्षेन्निश्चलदृशा सूक्ष्मलक्ष्यं समाहितः। अश्रुसम्पातपर्यन्तमाचार्यैस्त्राटकं स्मृतम्॥ ह. यो. प्र. II. 31). त्राटक is of various types such as नक्षत्रत्राटक, सूर्यत्राटक, आदर्शत्राटक, भ्रूमध्यत्रा०, नासाग्रदृष्टित्रा०. One with weak eyes must not attempt it except under the guidance of an expert. It is a preliminary to *ekāgratā* (one-pointedness of mind) and *dhyāna*. Those interested in the Haṭhayoga may read 'Haṭhayoga, the report of a personal experience', by Theos Barnard, Columbia University Press, New York, 2nd impression, 1945. This author travelled over the whole of India, settled down at a guru's retreat in the hill near Ranchi, and went to Tibet also at his guru's bidding. The book contains 36 photographs, 28 of which represent various *āsanas*, VII, XXVI-VII of Mahāmudrā, Vajrolimudrā and Pāśinīmūdrā, XXXII and XXXIII represent the first and second stages of Uḍḍiyāna-bandha and Nos. XXXIV-VI represent Naulī-madhyamā, Naulī-vāmā and Naulī-dakṣiṇā. The H. Y. P. (III. 6-7) names ten mudrās. Another recent work is 'The Yoga of Health, Youth and Joy' (a treatise on Haṭha-yoga adapted to the West) by Sir Paul Dukes (Cassell, London 1960). This is a very useful book, contains about seventy excellent photographs and is written with great moderation after long personal practice. The author was engaged for years in lecturing to the army on the usefulness of yoga practices.

is expounded only for leading on to Rājayoga[2346] i. e. Rājayoga is the principal fruit of Haṭhayoga and not siddhis and *Kaivalya* is due to Rājayoga. The Haṭhayogapradīpikā enumerates the names of the same eight aṅgas as Patañjali does, but its *yamas* are ten of which taking a light meal is the principal and *ahiṁsā* is the first among niyamas. Besides the eight angas, it deals specially with Mahāmudrā, Khecarī, Jālandhara, Uḍḍiyāna and Mūlabandha, Vajrolī, Amarolī and Sahajolī (I. 26–27). The Haṭhayogapradīpikā (I. 5–8) mentions that Haṭhayoga started from Ādinātha (i. e. Śiva) and then enumerates 35 great siddhas in all from Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha onwards. The famous exposition of the Bhagavadgītā by Jñānadeva called Jñāneśvarī cites at the end the Guruparamparā as Ādinātha, Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha, Gahinīnātha, Ṇivṛttinātha, Jñānadeva.

There are other differences between the works on Haṭhayoga and the Pātañjala Yoga. According to the Gorakṣaśataka and H. Y. P. the main aim of āsana and prāṇāyāma is to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī (the vital force in a person slumbering at the base of the spine coiled like a snake) and take it through the several cakras and the Suṣumnānāḍī to *brahmadvāra*, while the Y. S. hardly ever dilates upon chakras and nāḍīs.[2347] Several people after reading some modern works on Kuṇḍalinī are tempted to make efforts to rouse the Kuṇḍalinī. This is a dangerous experiment. Shri Purohit Swami in his 'Aphorisms of Yoga' states

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2346. केवलं राजयोगाय हठविद्योपदिश्यते । हठ० I. 2, on which the com. उद्घोतना remarks राजविद्या एव मुख्यं फलं न सिद्धयः । राजयोगद्वारा कैवल्यं फलम् । ; after mentioning several siddhas such as मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ, शाबरानन्द, भैरव, गोरक्ष, the हठयोगप्रदीपिका (V. 8) concludes इत्यादयो महासिद्धा हठयोगप्रभावतः ।

2347. Y. S. mentions Nābhicakra, which means no more than the navel that is circular in shape, and Kūrmanāḍī in III. 29 and III. 31 respectively. Vide Gorakṣaśataka verses 10–23, 54–67 for the chakras, nāḍis, brahmadvāra &c. and H. Y. P. III for the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī. The Gorakṣaśataka is set out (transliterated text and translation) in W. G. Briggs' work 'Gorakhnath and the Kanphāṭas' pp. 284–304 and was recently edited and published by Swami Kuvalayanand with translation and notes (1959). Dr. Hazariprasad Dwivedi has written a work called 'Nath Sampradaya' (1950) and Dr. Mohansingh also has a work on 'Gorakhnath and medieval Hindu mysticism'. If we take the Guruparamparā set out in the Jñāneśvarī, Gorakhnath should be taken to have flourished about 1100 A. D. or a little later. Vide 'the life of Gorakṣanāth and the succession of disciples' (in Marathi) by Mr. R. C. Dhere (1959). pp. 224.

that the awakening of the Kuṇḍalinī is a terrifying experience, that on the first day on which the Kuṇḍalinī was awakened, the whole body was as it were on fire and he thought that he was dying and that he drank in three months gallons of milk and clarified butter and ate all the leaves on two *nimba* trees (pp. 57–58 of the translation). The germ of the doctrine of nāḍīs in Tantras is found in a verse occurring in Kaṭhā Up. VI. 16 and Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 6 'there are hundred and one nāḍīs (arteries) of the heart; one of them penetrates the (crown of) head; moving upwards by it, one attains immortality; the others (of the nāḍīs) serve for departing in various directions.' The Praśna Up. (III. 6–7) states that each of 101 nāḍīs has 72 sub-nāḍīs, each of which again has 1000 more. Vide Muṇḍaka Up. II. 2. 6. In Chān. Up. VIII. 6. 1 it is stated that the nāḍīs of the heart consist of a subtle substance, brown, white, blue, yellow or red in colour. This is probably the germ of the statement of a nāḍī being called *piṅgalā*. The Maitrāyaṇī Up. VI. 21 speaks of the nādī going upwards as Suṣumnā.

The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions Bhadrāsana [2348] which passage is quoted by Vācaspati. The Purāṇas, Vāyu (11. 13), Mārkaṇḍeya (36. 28), Kūrma (II. 11. 43), Liṅga (I. 8. 86), Garuḍa (I. 238. 11) mention the same three āsanas, viz. Svastika, Padma and Ardhāsana. The Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa (III. 283. 6) prescribes for *dhyāna* the āsanas called Svastika, Sarvatobhadra, Kamala (Padma) and Paryaṅka. The Bhāgavata III. 28. 8 employs the same words as the Gītā VI. 11 about *āsana* (viz. 'śucau deśe pratiṣṭhāpya).

Āsanas are of two kinds, one type being helpful for prāṇāyāma, meditation and concentration, such as Padma, Siddha and Svastika (figure 20 p. 59 in Śrī Kuvalayānanda's handbook on 'Asanas'). The other kind of āsanas are helpful in eradicating diseases and for physical culture. But most of them require different physical movements and the final form assumed by these postures would make deep meditation difficult, if not impossible (vide Śīrṣāsana figures 24–27 between pp. 62–63 of Śrī Kuvalayānanda's handbook on Āsanas), Sarvāṅgāsana (figures 33–36) of the same work, Hālāsana (fig. 42–47 of the same), Viparītakaraṇī (figures 77–78 pp. 121–123), Mayūrāsana

2348. आसनमप्युक्तं विष्णुपुराणे—एवं भद्रासनादीनां समास्थाय गुणैर्युतम्। इति। वाच० on यो. सू. II. 48. The half verse is विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 39.

(figure 72 p. 109). The Tejobindu Upaniṣad I. 23 (Adyar ed)[2349] holds 'that alone is (proper) āsana which makes continuous meditation on brahma possible; other postures only lead to discomfort.' It should not be supposed that one who seeks higher yogic disciplines must devote some time to āsanas and then pass on to the next stage. The āsanas are primarily meant for physical culture and eradication of diseases. If the individual yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he may proceed with prāṇāyāma and other aṅgas. Besides the postures, the practitioner of Yoga is asked to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose (Gītā VI. 13).

Some regulations are prescribed about the food to be taken or avoided by a seeker after Yoga and about the places where he is to practise. The Śāntiparva[2350] of the Mahābhārata provides that the yogin should subsist on cooked small particles of grains, or oilcakes and should avoid oily substances and even when subsisting on yāvaka (i. e. kulmāṣa or cooked barley grains) for long, he would still be strong; he should drink water and milk mixed together and should resort to caves. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (q. by Kṛtyakalpataru on Mokṣa pp. 167–177) states 'The yogin should begin meditation in unoccupied spots, in forests, caves and should avoid practising Yoga in noisy places, near fire and water, in old cowsheds, where four roads meet, near a heap of dried leaves, on a river bank, in a cemetery or in a place where creeping creatures exist, in a dangerous place, near a well, near a caitya (funeral ground) or an anthill'. The same purāṇa says that he should not practise when his stomach is windy, or he is hungry or tired or when disturbed in mind, nor when it is very cold or hot or windy. The Devala Dharmasūtra[2351]

2349. सुखेनैव भवेद्यस्मिन्नजस्रं ब्रह्मचिन्तनम्। आसनं तद्विजानीयादन्यत्सुखविनाशनम्॥ तेजोबिन्दु-उप. I. 25.

2350. कणानां भक्षणे युक्तः पिण्याकस्य च भक्षणे। स्नेहानां वर्जने युक्तो योगी बलमवाप्नुयात्॥ युञ्जानो यावकं रूक्षं दीर्घकालमरिन्दम। एकाग्रमो विशुद्धात्मा योगी बलमवाप्नुयात्। पक्षान् मासानृतूंश्चैतान् सञ्चरंश्च गुहास्तथा। अपः पीत्वा पयोमिश्रा योगी बलमवाप्नुयात्॥ शान्ति. 289. 43–45 (cr. ed.) = 300. 43–45 चित्र. ed.) q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष pp. 173–176). Vide मार्कण्डेय (36. 48–50), ब्रह्मपुराण 234. 7–9, कूर्म II. 11. 47–52, स्कन्द. काशीखण्ड 41. 65–66, लिङ्गपु. I. 8. 79–84 for places to be avoided for yoga practice.

2351. देवतायतनशून्यागारगिरिकन्दरनदीपुलिनगुहाख्यानामन्यतमे शुचौ निराबाधे विभक्ते ... मनसा तच्चिन्तने ध्यानम्। देवल q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 181). Compare श्वेता० उप, II. 10.

prescribes that a yogin should practise meditation in a shrine, empty house, mountain cave, on the sands of a river, in caves, or in a forest, in a pure spot free from danger. H. Y. P. I. 61 and 64 prescribe what foods to avoid and what foods may be eaten. The Goraksaśataka[2352] prescribes that the yogin should give up pungent, sour and salted food and should subsist on milk diet. The Gītā (VI. 16-17) says 'one cannot succeed in Yoga who eats too much nor one who observes total fast and Yoga removes pain for him who takes proper food and exercise. The Chān. Up. (VII. 26. 2) where Sanatkumāra gives instruction to Nārada about the Reality remarks 'Purity of the mind follows on purity of food &c. (āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' &c.). Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154 quotes a long prose passage (on p. 221) from Hārīta "one should be pure and should subsist on a limited quantity of food that would be enough or useful for his purpose as the ācāryas say 'purity of mind ...food". It is clear that Hārīta takes the words 'āhāraśuddhau &c.' literally, while Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Chān. takes āhāra to mean 'experience of objects of sense such as Śabda'.

Prāṇāyāma—It is this anga of Yoga that figures most in the works on Dharmaśāstra from the earliest times. Literally the word means 'restraint or pause of prāṇa'. Other synonymous words are 'prāṇasaṁyama' (note 2310) and 'prāṇasaṁrodha'. The important point is: What does 'Prāṇa' mean here. The word is derived from the root 'an' (to breathe) with the prefix 'pra'. The verb and its forms occur in the Ṛgveda as in I. 101. 5, X. 121. 3, X. 125. 4. In various passages of the Ṛg. prāṇa means simply 'breath' (as in I. 66. 1, III. 53. 21, X. 69. 6). In Ṛg. X. 90. 13 (prāṇād-vāyur-ajāyata) it is stated that Vāyu (air, wind) arose from the prāṇa of the primeval *puruṣa*. The word 'asu' also is used in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'prāṇa' in I. 113. 16 (udhīrdhvam jīvo asur-na āgāt), I. 164. 4. We have both *prāṇana* (breath) and *jīvana* (life) in Ṛg. I. 48. 10 (addressed to Uṣas). Perhaps *apāna* is suggested in Ṛg. X. 189. 2 (antaścarati rocanāsya prānād-apānatī). All the five

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2352. कट्वम्ललवणत्यागी क्षीरभोजनमाचरेत्। गोरक्षशतक 50; कट्वम्लतीक्ष्णलवणोष्ण-हरीतशाकसौवीरतैलतिलसर्षपमद्यमत्स्यान्। आजादिमांसं-दधि-तक्रकुलत्थकोल-पिण्याक-हिङ्गुलशुनाद्यमपथ्यमाहुः॥ गोधूमशालियवषष्टिकशोभनान्नं क्षीराज्यखण्डनवनीतसिता-मधूनि। शुंठीपटोलकफलादिकपञ्चशाकं मुद्गादि विष्णमुदकं च यमीन्द्रपथ्यम्। पुष्टं सुमधुरं स्निग्धं गव्यं धातुप्रपोषणम्। मनोभिलषितं योग्यं योगी भोजनमाचरेत्। ह. यो. प्र. 61. 64-65.

names of prāṇas appear in pairs as in the note[2353] below from Tai. S. In the Tai. S. I. 7. 9. 2 occur the three words 'prāṇa, apāna and vyāna'. The Atharvaveda (in VIII. 1. 1) mentions 'prāṇāḥ' and 'apānāḥ' in the plural and 'asu', 'prāṇa' and 'āyuḥ' in VIII. 1. 3, all probably meaning 'life'. In the Upaniṣads, prāṇa becomes the vital force or principle of all beings, the representative or symbol of *brahma*; vide Bṛ. Up. I. 6. 3 (Prāṇo vā amṛtam, nāmarūpe satyam, tābhyām-ayam prāṇaśchannaḥ), Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 23, which, after quoting a verse that the sun rises from Prāṇa and sets in Prāṇa, goes on to say (tasmādekam-eva vratam caret, prāṇyāc-caiva-apānyācca, nen-mā ṛāpmā mṛtyur-āpnavad-iti) 'therefore one must observe only one vow, he should inhale and exhale with the (fearful) thought that otherwise, the Evil one, Death, might seize me'. Here it appears that we have the germ of the theory of the importance of prāṇāyāma. In Chān. Up. V. 18–24 it is stated that the five *āhutis* are offered to prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna and udāna (in the words 'Prāṇāya svāhā' &c.) at the time of a meal and that one who knows the true meaning of Agnihotra and offerings offers it in all worlds, in all beings and in all selves. Even now these āhutis are taken before meals by brāhmaṇas, only the order of the five differs. Praśna II. 13 says :—'All this that is established in the three worlds is under the dominance of Prāṇa.' In Chān. Up. IV. 3. 3 Prāṇa is again given five names on account of its working in the different parts of the human body viz. prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna and udāna (all five being named in the Tai. S.). It follows that some distinction among the operation of the five prāṇas must have been made at least a thousand years before the Christian era.

2353. प्राणापानौ मे पाहि समानव्यानौ मे पाह्युदानव्यानौ मे पाहि। तै. सं. I. 6. 3. 3. On this सायण has in the com. the clear and interesting note 'एक एव वायुः शरीरगतस्थानभेदात् कार्यभेदाच्च प्राणादिनामभिर्भिद्यते। स्थानभेदः कैश्चिदुक्तः। हृदि प्राणो गुदेऽपानः समानो नाभिसंस्थितः। उदानः कण्ठदेशस्थो व्यानः सर्वशरीरगः॥ इति। उच्छ्वास-निःश्वासौ प्राणव्यापारः। मलमूत्रयोरधः पातनमपानव्यापारः। भुक्तस्यान्नरसस्य शरीरे साम्येन नयनं समानव्यापारः। उद्गारहिक्कादिरूपोर्ध्वदानव्यापारः। कृत्स्नासु शरीरनाडीषु व्याप्य प्राणापानवृत्त्योः सन्धिकाले शरीरस्य बलप्रदानं व्यानव्यापारः॥. Then सायण relies on छा. उप. I. 3. 3 यद्वै प्राणिति स प्राणः यदपानिति सोऽपानः। अथ यः प्राणापानयोः सन्धिः स व्यानः। यो व्यानः सा वाक्. In connection with the parts of the animal to be offered in a sacrifice as प्रायश्चित्त, the तै. सं. (III. 4. 1. 3–4) states: पुरस्ताद्वै नाभ्यै प्राण उपरिष्टादपानो यावानेव पशुस्तस्यावरुन्धे।; यथा सम्राडेवाधिकृतान् विनियुङ्क्ते। एतान् ग्रामानेतान् ग्रामानधि-तिष्ठस्वेति। एवमेवैष प्राण इतरान् प्राणान् पृथक् पृथगेव संनिधत्ते। पायूपस्थेऽपानम्। चक्षुः श्रोत्रे मुखनासिकाभ्यां प्राणः स्वयं प्रातिष्ठते। मध्ये तु समानः। एष ह्येतद्धुतमन्नं समं नयति प्रश्न III. 4–5.

In this work it is not necessary to enter upon an exhaustive discussion on prāṇa from the Upaniṣads. A controversy has gone on about the meaning of prāṇa and apāna. Caland, Keith, Dumont and a few others hold that 'prāṇa' means in the ancient Vedic literature 'expiration' and 'apāna' means 'inspiration', but that this meaning was revised in later days. On the other hand almost all Sanskrit commentators and writers and G. W. Brown, Edgerton and others hold the opposite view.[2354] The present author agrees with the latter view viz. that 'prāṇa' meant and means 'inhalation or thoracic breath', while 'apāna' means 'abdominal breath.' All scholars are agreed that these are certainly the meanings of the words prāṇa and apāna in all classical Sanskrit literature, the opposite view being confined to the ancient period even by those who hold that prāṇa and apāna meant respectively 'expiration' and 'inspiration'. We should as far as possible so construe all Upaniṣad passages as to yield the same sense consistently. The Praśna Up. (certainly an early Upaniṣad, though not among the earliest ones) contains the following interesting and rather decisive passage "just as the king appoints his officers saying '(each of) you should govern such and such villages', in the same way this prāṇa assigns to the other prāṇas separate spheres viz. apāna in the organs of excrement and generation, the prāṇa going in from the mouth and nose establishes himself (as king) in the eyes and ears, Samāna in the middle (of the spheres of Prāṇa and Apāna) i. e. in the navel, since it is he (Samāna) that carries the food offered (in the fire i. e. in the stomach) equally (to all bodily parts)."

Caland, Dumont and others who hold that the word 'prāṇa' in ancient Sanskrit literature means 'expiration', chiefly rely on Śaṅkarācārya's explanation of Chān.[2355] Up. I. 3. 3. (yadvai

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2354. Vide Z. D. M. G. vol. 55 pp. 261–265 and vol. 56 pp. 556–558, J. A. O. S. vol. 39 (1919) pp. 104–112 on 'Prāṇa and Apāna' by G. W. Brown, J. A. O. S. vol. 77 (1957) pp. 46–47 by Prof. Dumont, J. A. O. S. vol. 78 (1958) pp. 51–57 (Prof. Dumont *versus* Prof. Edgerton).

2355. शंकराचार्य on छा. I. 3. 3 explains 'यद्वै पुरुषः प्राणिति मुखनासिकाभ्यां वायुं बहिर्निःसारयति स प्राणाख्यो वायोर्वृत्तिविशेषः, यदपानित्यपश्वासिति ताभ्यामेवान्तरा कर्षति वायुं सोऽपानाख्या वृत्तिः।'; vide also शाङ्करभाष्य on बे. सू. II. 4. 42 (पञ्चवृत्तिर्मनोवदव्यपदिश्यते) 'प्राणः प्राग्वृत्तिरुच्छ्वासादिकर्मा, अपानोऽर्वाग्वृत्तिर्निश्वासादिकर्मा। व्यानस्तयोः सन्धौ वर्तमानो वीर्यवत्कर्महेतुः। उदान ऊर्ध्ववृत्तिरुत्क्रान्त्यादिहेतुः। समानः सनं सर्वेष्वङ्गेषु पीतान्नरसानयतीति।'. The गीता in IV. 29 'अपाने जुह्वति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथापरे। प्राणापानगती रुद्ध्वा प्राणायामपरायणाः॥' appears to use the two words in a special sense.

prāṇiti sa prāṇo yad-apāniti soऽpānaḥ &c.). They hold that 'antarākarṣati vāyum' in Śāṅkarabhāṣya (on Chān. Up I. 3. 3) only mean 'inhaling'; but that expression is capable of meaning 'it draws the air into the inside of the body (i. e. in the abdomen) and what is more important, one has to note that the interpretation put on Śaṅkara's words here by Caland, Dumont and others is directly opposed to Śaṅkarācārya's own explanations in several other passages of the Upaniṣads, such as Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 3, III. 4. 1, Chān. Up. III. 13. 1-6, Kaṭha 5. 3; Praśna III. 4-5 (vide note 2353). The bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 3 [2356] remarks 'Prāṇa is an activity of the heart which moves about in the mouth and nose and is so called because it is led forth; Apāna is a downward movement starting from the navel and is so called because it casts out urine and excreta'. On Praśna Up. III. 4 (quoted in n. 2353) the Śāṅkarabhāṣya says the same thing about Prāṇa and Apāna. Not only Śaṅkarācārya but a much earlier authority viz. the Dharmasūtra of Devala (mentioned by Śaṅkara, vide p. 1352 n. 2208 above) defines the working of Prāṇa and Apāna as done by Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 3.

In the Yoga system (which is based on the Upaniṣads) prāṇa implies more than mere breath. It means vital energy, powers such as speech, eye, ear, *manas* in the body as well as in different forms in the universe. Its most perceptible manifestation in the human body is the movement of the lungs. The Y. S. inculcates on the yogic student the doctrine that by scientific control (as laid down in it) of prāṇa in the body it is possible to obtain control over the deep-seated (and ordinarily imperceptible) forces in human consciousness as well as in the external world.

2356. On बृह. उप. 1. 5. 3 'श्रीण्यात्मनेऽकुरुतेति मनो वाचं प्राणम्। ... यः कश्च शब्दो वागेव सा। एषा ह्यन्तमायत्तैषा हि न प्राणोऽपानो व्यान उदानः समानोऽन इत्येतत्सर्वं प्राण एव ...।', the important भाष्य passage is अथ प्राण उच्यते। प्राणो मुखनासिकासञ्चारी हृदयवृत्तिः प्रणयनात्प्राणः। अपनयनान्मूत्रपुरीषादेरपानोऽधोवृत्तिः आनाभिस्थानः'; on प्रश्न III. 5 the relevant भाष्य on अपान is: अपानमात्मभेदं, मूत्रपुरीषाद्यपनयनं कुर्वंस्तिष्ठति संनिधत्ते।'; on कठोप. 5. 3 'ऊर्ध्वं प्राणमुन्नयत्यपानं प्रत्यगस्यति' the भाष्य is 'ऊर्ध्वं हृदयात्प्राणं प्राणवृत्तिं वायुमुन्नयत्यूर्ध्वं गमयति तथा अपानं प्रत्यगधो अस्यति क्षिपति यः इति वाक्यशेषः।'. This clearly shows that prāṇa is taken by the bhāṣya as meaning 'inhalation or thoracic breath' and apāna as 'abdominal breath' or 'exhalation'. तत्र ऊर्ध्वं नाभेर्गतो रेचनोच्छ्वासक्षरणोद्गारकर्मा प्राणः। अधो नाभेरुत्सर्गान्नद्यकर्माऽपानः। देवल q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 170); वनपर्व 213. 7 (चित्र० ed.) says 'बस्तिमूलं गुदं चैव पावकं समुपाश्रितः। वहन् मूत्रं पुरीषं वाप्यपानः परिवर्तते॥'.

The word 'prāṇāyama' does not occur in any of the principal Upaniṣads.[2357] But it occurs frequently in the Sūtras. For example, the Āp. Dh. S. provides that if a householder[2358] is still asleep when the sun rises he should fast and keep silent that day (till night) and observes that, according to some ācāryas, he should continue to perform prāṇāyāma till he feels exhausted (by way of penance). The Gaut. Dh. S. states that if animals other than dogs, snakes, frogs and cats pass between the teacher and the pupil when the latter has sat down before the former for study, he (pupil) should practise three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of some clarified butter (by way of prāyaścitta). Similarly, it provides that if a person smells the odour from the mouth of one that has drunk liquor, he should perform (as penance) three prāṇāyāmas and should partake of clarified butter and that if a Vedic student chances to see an impure person like a Cāṇḍāla, he should, after performing one Prāṇāyāma, look at the sun. Similarly, Baud. Dh. S. (IV. 1. 4-11, prose) provides prāṇāyāmas as expiation for several lapses.

The above examples show that in the times of the Sūtras (i. e. several centuries before the Christian era) the conception of prāṇāyāma had been so developed as to hold that it was a sort of penance and religious rite for removing the taint attaching to acts and omissions that were condemned by the then society. At this stage prāṇāyāma appears merely to have been a religious act independent of any theory about its being one of the eight aṅgas of yoga.

To the five prāṇas mentioned in Vedic literature, the Purāṇas and other medieval works added five more prāṇas with different[2359] names.

2357. In a श्लोक ten ancient and principal upaniṣads are enumerated 'ईश-केन-कठ-प्रश्न-मुण्ड-माण्डूक्य-तित्तिरि। ऐतरेयं च छान्दोग्यं बृहदारण्यकं तथा॥.'

2358. स्वपन्नभ्युदितोऽनाश्वान्वाग्यतोऽहस्तिष्ठेत्। आ तमितोः प्राणमायच्छेदित्येके। आप. ध. सू. II. 5. 12. 14-15; श्वनकुलसर्पमण्डूकमार्जाराणां व्यहमुपवासो विप्रवासश्च। प्राणायामा घृतप्राशनं चेतरेषाम्। गौ. I. 61; गन्धाघ्राणे सुरापस्य प्राणायामा घृतप्राशनं च। अशुचिं दृष्ट्वादित्यमीक्षेत प्राणायामं कृत्वा। गौ. 23. 6 and 22. Compare with गौ. 23. 6 मनु XI. 149 and with गौ. 23. 22 मनु V. 86.

2359. प्राणोऽपानः समानश्च उदानो व्यान एव च। नागः कूर्मस्तु कृकलो देवदत्तो धनञ्जयः॥...उद्गारे नाग आख्यातः कूर्म उन्मीलने तु सः। कृकलः क्षुत्कार्यंत्र देवदत्तो विजृम्भणे। धनञ्जयो महाघोषः सर्वगः स मृतेपि हि। इति यो दशवायूनां प्राणायामेन सिध्यति। लिङ्गपु. I. 8. 61, 65-66; compare योगयाज्ञवल्क्य (ed. by Mr. Diwanji) IV. 64-71 for the ten vāyus and their functions; वनपर्व 213. 16 (वहन्त्यन्नरसान् नाड्यो दशप्राणप्रचोदिताः) mentions the function of ten prāṇas. Vide Dr. B. N. Seal's 'the positive sciences of the ancient Hindus' (Longmans, Green, 1915) pp. 228-231 for explanation about these ten.

It is now proper to see how the Y. S. defines and explains prāṇāyāma. 'When the stability of posture has been assured (or secured) prāṇāyāma is the pause (lit. cutting off) in the movements of inhalation and exhalation'. The bhāṣya explains 'śvāsa' as 'drawing in of the air which is outside one's body' and 'praśvāsa' as the expelling of the air in the trunk (or chest)' and the absence of both these is prāṇāyāma. This shows that the chief element in prāṇāyāma is the absence of both inhalation and exhalation i. e. *kumbhaka* in the technical language of yoga works. The next sūtra states that prāṇāyāma (the pause in movement) is of three kinds, viz. external, internal and suppressed. The idea is that Kumbhaka (stopping or pause) may be done after one has taken in air from outside (first kind) or after one has expelled air from the trunk (2nd kind) or when one is in a normal condition (i. e. neither making an effort to fill his chest with air or emptying it of air) one may make a pause (3rd kind). Each of these may be regulated and considered from the point of the units of space, time (measurement by *kalās* or *mātrās*) and numbers. Prāṇāyāma is called *mṛdu* (mild) when pause is kept up for 36 mātrās, then moderate one when kept up for 72 mātrās and keen (*tīvra*) when kept up for 108 mātrās. When practised for days, fortnights and months, it is called protracted and when performed with great skill it is called sūkṣma (subtle).

In connection with prāṇāyāma we must look to Y. S. I. 34 also. That sūtra lays down that for securing the undisturbed calm of the mind one remedy is the expulsion and retention of the breath.[2360] It appears from that sūtra and its bhāṣya that *vidhāraṇa* (retention of breath, i. e. Kumbhaka) is prāṇāyāma.

Some explanation must be offered about *deśa* (space), *kāla* and *saṅkhyā* in relation to prāṇāyāma. Ordinarily a healthy grown-up man breathes in and out in about four seconds i. e. about 15 times a minute (21600 times in one day and night). In order to measure the force of the *recaka* a piece of cotton or a thin thread is held at some distance from the nostrils and the distance up to which the air driven from the nostrils makes the cotton or thread move or cease to move is measured by means of finger-breadths. As regards time several units of time are mentioned because in those ancient days there was no scientific

2360. प्रच्छर्दन-विधारणाभ्यां वा प्राणस्य। यो. सू. I. 34; कौष्ठ्यस्य वायोर्नासिकापुटाभ्यां प्रयत्नविशेषाद्गमनं प्रच्छर्दनं विधारणं प्राणायामस्ताभ्यां वा मनसः स्थितिं सम्पादयेत्। भाष्य.

apparatus. The time taken for winking (*nimeṣa*) is equal[2361] to the time required for pronouncing a short vowel and this was called *mātrā*. The time taken for touching one's knees thrice with one's hand and snapping the thumb and forefinger was also called mātrā. Other units are passed over. The general rules are that both *recaka* and *pūraka* must be uniform and quiet, that the time given for pūraka should be half of that given to recaka. Three views about the duration of *pūraka*, *kumbhaka* and *recaka* are that they should be in the proportion of 1 : 4 : 2 or 1 : 2 : 2 or the same for all. The Purāṇas give different mātrās for prāṇāyāmas e. g. the Mārkaṇḍeya (36. 13, 14) says that the *laghu* (*mṛdu* of the bhāsya) is of twelve mātrās, double of that is *madhyama* and the *uttarīya* (tīvra in the bhāṣya) is for three times twelve mātrās, while the Garuḍapurāṇa (I. 226. 14–15) puts down the figures as 10, 20, 30 respectively and the Kūrmapurāṇa (II. 11. 32) agrees with the Mārkaṇḍeya. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 200-201 provides that prāṇāyāma is of three varieties (adhama of 15 mātrās, madhyama of 30 mātrās and uttama of 45 mātrās). The Liṅgapurāṇa (I. 8. 47–48) also puts forth 12, 24, 36 mātrās as the time of *nīca udghāta*, *madhyama udghāta* and *mukhya* and states that obvious results of these three are respectively perspiration, tremor and utthāna (prasāda-kampanotthāna-janakaśca yathākramam). Compare Märk. 36. 16 which states that those three are to be mastered respectively by the different lengths of prāṇāyāma (prathamena jayet svedam madhyamena ca vepathum | viṣādam hi tṛtīyena jayed-doṣān anukramāt ॥).

It should be noticed that neither Patañjali nor the Vyāsabhāṣya employs the well-known words, *pūraka*, *recaka* and

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2361. निमेषकालतुल्यं हि विद्याल्लघ्वक्षरं च यत् । वायुपु. 57. 6; निमेषो मानुषो योयं मात्रामात्रप्रमाणतः । ब्रह्म 231. 6; निमेषोन्मेषणा मात्रा तालो लघ्वक्षरं तथा ॥ मार्क० 36. 13 (Venk. ed.). विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 73. 1 लघ्वक्षरसमा मात्रा निमेषः; परिकीर्तितः । वाचस्पति says 'स्वजानुमण्डलं पाणिना त्रिः परामृश्य च्छोटिकावच्छिन्नः कालो मात्रा ताभिः षट्त्रिंशता मात्राभिः परिमितः प्रथमः उद्घातो मृदुः । स एव द्विगुणीकृतो द्वितीयो मध्यमः । स एव त्रिगुणीकृतस्तृतीयस्तीव्रः ।' on यो. सू. II. 50; अङ्गुलिमोक्षत्रितयं जानूर्वोः परिमार्जनमथापि । तत्कालत्रयमपि तज्ज्ञा मात्रासंज्ञां प्रशंसन्ति ॥ बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 12 q. as योगियाज्ञवल्क्य in कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 171). The गोरक्षशतक says 'प्राणायामो भवेत्त्रेधा मात्राद्वादशसंयुतः ॥ द्वादशाधमके मात्रा मध्यमे द्विगुणस्ततः । उत्तमे त्रिगुणा मात्राः प्राणायामस्य निर्णयः ॥ verses 47-48; vide वायुपु. 11. 80-81 मन्द्रो द्वादशमात्रस्तु उद्घाता द्वादश स्मृताः । मध्यमश्च द्विरुद्घातश्चतुर्विंशतिमात्रिकः ॥ उत्तमः स्यात् त्रिरुद्घातो मात्राः षट्त्रिंशदुच्यते ॥. The योगतत्त्वोपनिषद् (verses 41-42) lays down the proportion of the three (पूरक, कुम्भक and रेचक) is as 16, 64, 32 mātrās, while the गरुडपु. (I. 226. 14-15) speaks of 10, 20, 30 mātrās.

kumbhaka, but only śvāsa, praśvāsa and gativicchedа.[2362] Besides, Patañjali and Vyāsa say nothing about the japa of Om, Gāyatrī or Vyāhṛtis in prāṇāyāma, as the smṛtis and later medieval works do. A third matter to be considered is that in some later works recaka, pūraka and kumbhaka are said to be three prāṇāyāmas and this latter is said to be of four kinds, three set out in Y. S. II. 50 and the fourth in II. 51.

The words 'recaka', 'pūraka' and 'kumbhaka' also must be, however, regarded as ancient enough. They are mentioned and defined by the Dharmasūtra of Devala[2363] referred to by

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2362. तस्मिन्सति श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः । बाह्याभ्यन्तरस्तम्भवृत्तिर्देशकालसंख्याभिः परिदृष्टो दीर्घसूक्ष्मः । बाह्याभ्यन्तरविषयाक्षेपी चतुर्थः । यो. सू. II. 49–51; सत्यासनजये बाह्यस्य वायोराचमनं श्वासः कौष्ठ्यस्य वायोर्निःसारणं प्रश्वासः तयोर्गतिविच्छेदः उभयाभावः प्राणायामः । भाष्य on II. 49. The word वृत्ति is to be connected with each of the three words बाह्य, आभ्यन्तर and स्तम्भ. Here the कुम्भक that follows रेचक is called बाह्यवृत्ति and the one that comes after पूरक is called आभ्यन्तरवृत्ति. The कुम्भक that is made when there is neither रेचक nor पूरक is called स्तम्भवृत्ति. For an exhaustive and lucid exposition of the Pātañjala sūtras on prāṇāyāma, the bhāṣya thereon and the views of other commentators, vide Yogamīmāṃsā (of Shri Kuvalayānanda) vol. VI. pp. 44–54, 129-145, 225–257.

2363. देवलः । त्रिविधः प्राणायामः । कुम्भो रेचनं पूरणमिति । निश्वासनिरोधः कुम्भः । अजस्रनिःश्वासो रेचनम् । निश्वासाध्मानं पूरणमिति । स पुनरेकद्वित्रिभिरुद्घातै– (हृषातै?) र्मृदुर्मन्दस्तीक्ष्णो वा भवति । प्राणापानव्यानोदानसमानान् सङ्कुचनं मूर्धानमाहत्य (हत्य!) निवृत्तिश्चोद्घातः (हृषातः?)। कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 170) and अपरार्क p. 1023. Compare व्यासभाष्य 'संख्याभिः परिदृष्टा एतावद्भिः श्वासप्रश्वासैः प्रथम उद्घातस्तद्वज्जिगृहीतस्यैतावद्भिर्द्वितीय उद्घातः । एवं तृतीयः । एवं मृदुरेवं मध्य एवं तीव्र इति संख्यापरिदृष्टः' on यो. सू. II. 50. The राजमार्तण्ड explains 'उद्घातो नाम नाभिमूलात्प्रेरितस्य वायोः शिरस्यभिहननम्'. This word is differently explained by different writers; vide योगमीमांसा vol. II. part 3 pp. 225–234. Sometimes पूरक, रेचक and कुम्भक are said to be three प्राणायामs, sometimes all three together are deemed to be one प्राणायाम. Each of these again is either मृदु, मन्द (or मध्यम) and तीव्र. Vide बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 7 त्रिविधं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा च नवधा परे। मृदु मध्याधिमात्रत्वादेकैकं त्रिविधं भवेत् ॥. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 280. 1 रेचकं पूरकं चैव कुम्भकं च तथा द्विजाः। एकत्रयवस्थो विज्ञेयः प्राणायामो महाफलः॥ रेचक-पूरक-कुम्भकेष्वस्ति श्वास-प्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेद इति प्राणायामसामान्यलक्षणमेतदिति । तथाहि । यत्र बाह्यो वायुराचम्यान्तर्धार्यते पूरके तत्रास्ति श्वास-प्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः । यत्रापि कौष्ठ्यो वायुर्विरेच्य बहिर्धार्यते तत्रास्ति श्वास-प्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः । एवं कुम्भकेपीति । वाचस्पति on यो. सू. II. 50; पूरकः कुम्भकश्चैव रेचकस्तदनन्तरम् । प्राणायामस्त्रिधा ज्ञेयः कनीयो मध्यमोत्तमः॥ पूरकः कुम्भको रेच्यः प्राणायामस्त्रिलक्षणः । बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 9–10; the last half verse is quoted by स्मृतिच., I. p. 142 (as योगया.) and the three are defined in बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 19–21 of which verse 19 is q. by स्मृतिच. I. p. 142. कुम्भक is so called because in it there is resemblance to a jar filled with water (which remains steady in it). राजमार्तण्ड explains 'तस्मिञ्जलमिव कुम्भे निश्चलतया प्राणा अवस्थाप्यन्ते इति कुम्भकः ।'. Vide पाणिनि V. 3. 97 'प्रतिकृतौ च'; इवार्थे कन् स्वाङ्गसमुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । So कुम्भक means कुम्भ इव कुम्भकः कुम्भसदृशस्य संज्ञा.

Śaṅkarācārya (vide note 2208 above). The Bṛhad-Yogi-Yāj. and Vācaspati also mention them. The Viṣṇupurāṇa in a poetic description of the Śarad season employs them by way of śleṣa[2364] (as below). Several modes of performing prāṇāyāma are prescribed. One of the simplest is to stop the right nostril with the thumb, to fill in air through the left nostril according to one's ability; then to throw out the air through the right nostril; again inhale through the right nostril and eject air through the left. Do this at least thrice. Practise this at least twice every day, preferably in the morning after bath and in the evening or four times (before dawn, during midday, in the evening or at midnight). In the beginning kumbhaka need not be practised at all. After some practice with pūraka and recaka, kumbhaka may be begun after recaka. Kumbhaka after pūraka is to be practised with great caution and should be attempted under the direction of an expert.

The Manusmṛti contains[2365] a great eulogy of prāṇāyāma in the following words 'even three prāṇāyāmas performed according to the rules prescribed and accompanied by the vyāhṛitis and *praṇava* (the syllable *om*) should be regarded as the highest *tapas* for a brāhmaṇa; just as in the case of metals (like gold and silver) impurities are burnt when they are melted in the blast of a furnace, so blemishes (like passion &c.) of the organs of sense (including the mind) are destroyed by the control of breath; one should extinguish the blemishes (passion, hatred &c.) by prāṇāyāmas, sin by *dhāraṇā*, contact with the objects of sense by *pratyāhāra* and such attributes as are ungodly (viz. anger, avarice, jealousy &c.) by meditation (on brahma). The Y. S. states that from the practice of prāṇāyāma results the dwindling of actions (or kleśas) that envelop enlightenment (which is the characteristic of *sattva*) and the

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2364. प्राणायाम इवाम्भोभिः सरसां कृतपूरकैः । अभ्यस्यतेऽन्वहं रेचकाकुम्भकादिभिः ॥ विष्णुपु. V. 10. 14.

2365. प्राणायामा ब्राह्मणस्य त्रयोऽपि विधिवत्कृताः । व्याहृतिप्रणवैर्युक्ता विज्ञेयं परमं तपः ॥ दह्यन्ते ध्मायमानानां धातूनां हि यथा मलाः । तथेन्द्रियाणां दह्यन्ते दोषाः प्राणस्य निग्रहात् ॥ प्राणायामैर्दहेद् दोषान् धारणाभिश्च किल्बिषम् । प्रत्याहारेण संसर्गान् ध्यानेनानीश्वरान् गुणान् ॥ मनुस्मृति VI. 70–72. All these are बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 29, 30, 32. The last verse occurs also in शङ्खस्मृति VII. 13, वायुपु. X. 93, भागवत III. 28, मार्कण्डेयपु. 36. 10=39, 10 B. I. ed.; it is quoted from मार्कण्डेय by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 168), which explains 'दोषान् स्वेदश्वेथुप्रभृतीन्, अनीश्वरान्, प्राकृतान्'. अपरार्क p. 990 explains 'अनीश्वरा गुणा रागद्वेषादयः'.

mind of the yogin becomes fit for fixed attention.[2365] The Gorakṣaśataka[2367] provides 'a yogin always eradicates diseases by āsana, sin by prāṇāyāma and mental disturbance by pratyāhāra'. The Smṛtis state that prāṇāyāmas have great efficacy in destroying sins. Manu XI. 248 (=Vasiṣṭha 26. 4, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1. 31 and Śaṅkhasmṛti XII. 18-19) states 'sixteen prāṇāyāmas performed everyday for a month together with the *vyāhṛtis* and *praṇava* (om) purify even the murderer of a brāhmaṇa. Manu XI. 199 and 201 prescribe the performance of a single prāṇāyāma as a purification for light lapses or riding an ass or a camel and such incidents as being bitten by a dog, jackal, horse, camel, boar or man. Yāj. III. 305 prescribes the performance of a hundred prāṇāyāmas for the destruction of all sins, of upapātakas (lesser sins described in Yāj. III. 234-242) and of sins for which no specific prāyaścitta is provided. Manu II. 83 (=Vasiṣṭha X. 5 and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 55.83) states 'the one syllable (om) is (the representative of) the highest brahma and prāṇāyāmas are the highest *tapas*'.

It may interest readers to note that the great Jaina monk, ācārya Hemacandra, condemns prāṇāyāmas by saying that they allow no rest to the mind, that there is physical effort in pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka and that prāṇāyāma is an obstacle to *mukti*.[2368]

In kumbhaka performed after pūraka the nerves, heart and lungs are under strain and permanent damage to these may result from careless or hasty practice of kumbhaka after pūraka. Those suffering from lung or cardiac affections should not enter upon the practice of prāṇāyāma on their own initiative but must first consult an expert. Swami Vivekananda said long ago that all students of Yoga[2369] 'are expressly and earnestly reminded

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2366. ततः क्षीयते प्रकाशावरणम्। धारणासु च योग्यता मनसः। यो. सू. II. 52-53; 'प्राणायामानभ्यस्यतोऽस्य योगिनः क्षीयते विवेकज्ञानावरणीयं कर्म। ...तथा चोक्तम्। तपो न परं प्राणायामात्ततो विशुद्धिर्मलानां दीप्तिश्च ज्ञानस्य। इति। भाष्य.

2367. आसनेन रुजो हन्ति प्राणायामेन पातकम्। विकारं मानसं योगी प्रत्याहारेण सर्वदा॥ गोरक्षशतक 54.

2368. तत्रामोति मनः स्वास्थ्यं प्राणायामैः कदर्थितम्। प्राणस्यायमने पीडा तस्य स्याच्चित्तविप्लवः॥ पूरणे कुम्भने चैव रेचने च परिश्रमः। चित्तसंक्लेशकरणान्मुक्तेः प्रत्यूहकारणम्॥ योगशास्त्र of हेमचन्द्र, 6th प्रकाश verses 4-5 (pub. in जैनग्रन्थमाला, Surat, *Vikrama* Saṁvat 1995).

2369. Vide p. 123 Vol. I of the complete works of Swami Vivekānanda, Mayāvatī ed. of 1946. Vide a similar warning given by Swami Kuvalayā-

(*Continued on next page*)

that with few exceptions Yoga can safely be learnt by direct contact with a teacher'. The fact, that the Yogasūtra containing 195 sūtras in all devotes only five sūtras (II. 49–53) to prāṇāyāma and that even these five are of a very general nature, indicates that Patañjali intended that the yogin should not practise prāṇāyāma by merely listening to or reading these sūtras but should approach an expert yogin for instruction and guidance.

It should be noticed that Patañjali does not require in his definition of prāṇāyāma the mental or inaudible repetition of any syllable like 'om' or any mantra like the Gāyatrī. But the Smṛtis prescribe the practice of prāṇāyāma every day in the Sandhyāvandana. Yāj. (I. 22) prescribes [2370] that a man of the three higher varṇas must every day take a bath, perform *mārjana* (sprinkling water with kuśas) with the mantras (Ṛg. X. 9. 1–3 'āpo hi ṣṭhā &c.'), practise prāṇāyāma, worship of the sun and japa of Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) and that prāṇāyāma comprises the *japa* three times of Gāyatrī preceded by the Vyāhṛtis, each being preceded by Om and followed by the *Śiras*. Prāṇāyāma as described by Yāj. is prescribed even in modern times for the morning and evening Sandhyā adorations. Prāṇāyāma with mental repetition of 'Om' or a 'mantra' is called 'sagarbha' [2371] or 'sabīja,' while prāṇāyāma not so accompanied

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(*Continued from last page*)

nanda in 'Prāṇāyāma' part I. p. 66 and by Shree Purohit Swami in 'Aphorisms of Yoga' (London, 1938 p. 56). Figures 27 to 40 (pp. 68–89 in Shri Kuvalayānanda's popular handbook on Prāṇāyāma, part one) illustrate the three (pūraka &c.) in prāṇayāma of the best scientific type.

2370. स्नानमब्दैवतैर्मन्त्रैर्मार्जनं प्राणसंयमः। सूर्यस्य चाप्युपस्थानं गायत्र्याः प्रत्यहं जपः। गायत्रीं शिरसा सार्धं जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्विकाम्। प्रतिप्रणवसंयुक्तां त्रिरयं प्राणसंयमः॥ याज्ञ. I. 22–23. The second verse occurs in वसिष्ठ 25. 13, बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 3, अत्रिसंहिता verse 298. The whole japa for प्राणायाम would be ओं भूः ओं भुवः ओं स्वः ओं महः ओं जनः ओं तपः ओं सत्यं ओं तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। ओं आपो ज्योती रसोऽमृतं ब्रह्मभूर्भुवः स्वरोम्। This has to be repeated thrice in the सन्ध्यावन्दन. The words आपो ज्यो ... रोम् are called शिरः of गायत्री. Vide बृहद्योगिया. VIII. 4–6 q. by स्मृतिच. I p. 141 as योगया.

2371. अगर्भश्च सगर्भश्च द्वितीयस्तु ततो वरः। जपध्यानं विनाऽगर्भः सगर्भस्तत्समन्वितः॥ कूर्म II. 11. 31 mentions these two. प्राणास्त्यजनिलं वश्यमभ्यासात्कुरुते तु यः। प्राणायामः स विज्ञेयः सबीजोऽबीज एव च॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 40 q. by वाचस्पति on यो. सू. II. 52 and by अपरार्क p. 1022 (which explains सबीजः समन्त्रकः, अबीज इतरः). Vide also कूर्म II. 46. 40–41 'आवरुह्यात्तु सगुणं पूजयेत्परमेश्वरम्। पिनाकिनं त्रिनयनं जटिलं कृत्तिवाससम्। रुक्माभं वा सहस्रार्कप्रख्यं वैदिकी श्रुतिः। एष योगः समुद्दिष्टः सबीजो मुनिपुङ्गवाः॥'.

is called 'agarbha' or 'abīja' and it is said that 'sagarbha' is the better of the two. Śāntīparva (304. 9. cr. ed. = Ch. ed. 316. 9–10) speaks of saguṇa and nirguṇa prāṇāyāma. The Yogabhāṣya (on Y. S. II. 52) quotes a passage [2372] 'there is no higher tapas than prāṇāyāma, therefrom arises purification of the taints and knowledge flashes forth.'

The H. Y. P. speaks of eight kinds of Prāṇāyāma (in II. 44). The two most important ones, viz Ujjāyī and Bhastrikā are described by Śrī Kuvalayānanda in chap. IV. pp. 67–68 and chap. VI. pp. 101–115 respectively in his handbook on Prāṇāyāma, part one and the other six viz. Sūryabhedana, Sītkārī, Śītalī, Bhrāmarī, Mūrcchā, Plāvinī in. pp. 6–25 of the handbook part 2. H. Y. P. (II. 48–70) describes all the eight at some length.

Dr. Rele in his work 'Mysterious Kundalinī' provides at the very beginning a diagram of the autonomic nervous system according to the Western anatomical science, showing the six cakras and identifying the positions of these six and the sahasrāracakra (lit. thousand-petalled i. e. having numberless petals). He propounded an original view that the Kuṇḍalinī is the right vagus nerve. His book is very interesting and he has explored a very large field of yogic practices. He has very thoroughly utilized his deep knowledge of Western anatomy and physiology, but he himself admits in his preface (p. 2) that the explanations of the various Yogic practices and phenomena given by him are possible suggestions only. But it may be noted that Sir John Woodroffe, who made a deep study of Yoga and of Tantra works and who wrote a foreword to Dr. Rele's work, was not prepared to accept Dr. Rele's identification of Kuṇḍalinī with the right Vagus Nerve (p. ii) and holds that Kuṇḍalinī is not a nerve or any other physical substance or mental faculty but rather the Ground Substance of both (Foreword p. iii). Similarly, Shri Kuvalayānand (in his popular handbook on prāṇāyāma part 1, p. 57 n. 3), after referring to Dr. Rele's admission about his explanations being possible suggestions only, points out that Dr. Rele had not tried a single experiment in the laboratory nor had he taken much care to consult the practical experience of the students of Yoga and he states that to him the whole book of Dr. Rele seems to be of doubtful scientific value. He goes further and asserts that Swami

2372. तथा चोक्तम्। तपो न परं प्राणायामात्ततो विशुद्धिर्मलानां दीप्तिश्च ज्ञानस्य। इति। योगभाष्य on II. 52; compare विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III. 280. 4 प्राणायामात्परं नास्ति द्विजातीनां तथा तपः।.

Vivekananda's lectures on Rājayoga suffer from the same drawbacks as the work of Dr. Rele does. Śrī Kuvalayānand shows (on pp. 121–126) the value of prāṇāyāma for physical health and the proper functioning of the lungs, the organs of digestion, the liver, pancreas and kidneys and asserts that the spiritual value of Prāṇāyāma is very great.

Pratyāhāra (withdrawal of the sense organs from the objects of sense) is defined[2373] in Y. S. II. 54 as 'when the senses have no contact with (are withdrawn from) their objects (because the mind is restrained) and thereby resemble the state of the mind itself, there is pratyāhāra.' When the mind, being restrained by the yogin, does not come in contact with the objects of sense, viz. sound, touch, form, taste, smell, the organs of sense also become disconnected with them, the organs come to resemble the mind itself (hence the words 'anukāra iva' in the sūtra). From this (non-contact) results the complete mastery over the senses. The idea is that in restraining the mind from the objects of sense the organs also are withdrawn from contact with them. Since the mind is made *ekāgra* (one-pointed) the sense organs together with the mind do not cognise or apprehend the objects. Pratyāhāra is the checking of the outgoing activities of the mind and freeing it from being the slave of the senses. The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 5-7 = Ch. ed. 195. 6–7) speaks of it. The Viṣṇupurāṇa in V. 10. 14 (in describing Śarad, i. e. autumn, states 'Śarad removed the turbidness of waters as pratyāhāra withdraws the organs from their objects') refers to pratyāhāra[2374]

2373. स्वविषयासंप्रयोगे चित्तस्वरूपानुकार इवेन्द्रियाणां प्रत्याहारः। ततः परमा वश्यतेन्द्रियाणाम्। यो. सू. II. 54–55. The word प्रत्याहार is formed from the root हृ with प्रति and आ. The राजमार्तण्ड explains 'इन्द्रियाणि विषयेभ्यः प्रतीपमानीयन्तेस्मिन्निति प्रत्याहारः'. The word प्रत्याहार literally means 'bringing back'. The भाष्य explains 'स्वविषयसंप्रयोगाभावे चित्तस्वरूपानुकार इवेति चित्तनिरोधे चित्तवत्रिरुद्धानीन्द्रियाणि नेतरेन्द्रियजयवदुपायान्तरमपेक्षन्ते। यथा मधुकरराजं मक्षिका उत्पतन्तमनूत्पतन्ति निविशमन्तमनु निविशन्ते तथेन्द्रियाणि चित्तनिरोधे निरुद्धानीत्येष प्रत्याहारः।'. The illustration of the queen bee and the honey-making bees occurs in Praśna Up. II. 4 'तद्यथा मक्षिका मधुकरराजानमुत्क्रामन्तं सर्वा एवोत्क्रामन्ते तस्मिंश्च प्रतिष्ठमाने सर्वा एव प्रातिष्ठन्ते। एवं वाङ्मनश्चक्षुः श्रोत्रं च। This sūtra is variously interpreted but the bhāṣya follows the view of Jaigīṣavya.

2374. शब्दादिष्वनुपक्तानि निगृह्याक्षाणि योगवित्। कुर्यान्चित्तानुकारीणि प्रत्याहारपरायणः॥ वश्यता परमा तेन जायते निश्चलात्मनाम्। इन्द्रियाणामवश्यैस्तैर्न योगी योगसाधकः॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 43–44. These are also quoted by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 173) and by अपरार्क p. 1025. The मार्क० पु. (39. 41 of Cal. ed. =36, 41–42 of Venk. edition) says 'शब्दादिभ्योऽनिवृत्तानि यदक्षाणि यतात्मभिः। प्रत्याहियन्ते योगेन प्रत्याहारस्ततः स्मृतः॥ q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 173).

as 'Indriyāṇindriyārthebhyaḥ pratyāhāra ivāharat'.| Vācaspati quotes two verses from the Viṣṇupurāṇa which employ the very characteristic words of the Y. S. and probably borrow the idea and language from the Y. S. The Dharmasūtra of Devala[2375] explains pratyāhāra as 'establishing (or yoking) the mind to the soul by bringing it back (to the soul) when it has swerved from the path of Yoga, because of its subtlety, its restlessness, its thoughtlessness or its force'. The Kūrmapurāṇa[2376] defines it as 'the suppression or mastery over the organs of sense that are naturally attracted to objects of sense'. Vide Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 232. 13) also.

It appears that when the Chān. Up. (in VIII. 15) enumerates the circumstances which enable a person to reach the worlds of *brahman* it has an idea of pratyāhāra in the word 'ātmani sarvendriyāṇi sampratiṣṭhāpya' ('when he concentrates all his senses in the self').

The third pāda of the Y. S. is called 'Vibhūti-pāda' (pāda that deals with the super-normal powers of the yogin). The word 'vibhūti' occurs in Praśna 5. 4 where it is stated that he who contemplates on Om of the dvimātra type is taken to the world of the moon where he enjoys 'vibhūti' and again returns to the earth. There the word probably means nothing more than prosperous life. The third *pāda* first deals with the last three of the eight aṅgas of Yoga, the first five being called *bahiraṅga* (indirect helpers of samprajñāta-samādhi), while the last three are said to be *antaraṅga* of samprajñāta-samādhi (but even these three are bahiraṅga with reference to nirbīja Yoga, as the latter may occur even in the absence of the three 'dhāraṇā' &c. These three are called dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi and these three when practised on the same object are called saṁyama, which is a technical term in the Yoga system. Vibhūtis are the results of saṁyama of various kinds. Instead of employing the three words dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi Patañjali employs expressly or impliedly the word 'saṁyama' in most of the sūtras from 16 to 52 of the 3rd *pāda*.

2375. अशुलाद्राप्रवाहाचनाद्वलवत्त्वाद्वा योगब्रह्मस्य मनसः पुनः प्रत्यानीयार्थे योजनं प्रत्याहारः। देवल q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष० p. 173); अपरार्क p. 1025 ascribes this sūtra to हारीत and reads 'अशुलाद्राप्रवाहाचनाद्वलवत्त्वाद्वा योगब्रह्मस्य ... प्रत्याहारः' (we should read -त्त्वाद्वा योग०). कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष० p. 173) explains 'अर्थोत्प्रत्या'.

2376. इन्द्रियाणां विचरतां विषयेषु स्वभावतः। निग्रहः क्रियते तेषां प्रत्याहारस्तु तत्परम्॥ कूर्म II. 11. 38. स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 41. 101 'इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां विषयेषु यदृच्छया। बलात्प्रत्याहरणं सुधिया प्रत्याहारः स उच्यते॥. सुधिया means 'विषयदोषदर्शनेन'.

Dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi are said to be the direct auxiliaries of Yoga and are three successive stages, the preceding one leading to the next. Dhāraṇā is the holding of the mind to a certain spot or point [2377] or object. The bhāṣya explains that the mind is to be held down to such spots (in one's body) as the navel, the heart-lotus, the head, the light (in the eye), the tip of the nose, the tip of the tongue and the like or on external objects (such as images of gods in various forms). In this stage attention has to be firmly held upon the chosen object for a period of time determined by the will of the yoga aspirant. In this stage there are three elements, the subject, the object and the act of concentration. The next stage is dhyāna, which will be described immediately below. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa speaks of ten dhāraṇās on the different parts of the yogin's own body [2378] and is in accordance with the plural 'dhāraṇāsu ca yogyatā manasaḥ' (in Y. S. II. 53) employed by Patañjali himself. The Āśvamedhikaparva also employs the plural 'dhāraṇāsu'. Vide the Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 8-12 = Ch. ed. 195.8). The Yājñavalkyasmṛti [2379] in a succint manner brings

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2377. देशबन्धश्चित्तस्य धारणा। तत्र प्रत्ययैकतानता ध्यानम्। यो. सू. III. 1, 2; the भाष्य on these is: नाभिचक्रे हृदयपुण्डरीके मूर्ध्नि ज्योतिषि नासिकाग्रे जिह्वाग्र इत्येवमादिषु देशेषु बाह्ये वा विषये चित्तस्य वृत्तिमात्रेण बन्ध इति धारणा। तस्मिन्देशे ध्येयालम्बनस्य प्रत्ययस्यैकतानता सदृशः प्रवाहः प्रत्ययान्तरेणापरामृष्टो ध्यानम्। The लिङ्गपु I. 8. 42-43 appears to echo the words of यो. सू. in 'चित्तस्य धारणा योक्ता स्थानबन्धः समासतः। ... तत्रैकचित्ततायानं प्रत्ययान्तरवर्जितम्।' The Upaniṣads speak of the heart as lotus (vide above note 1717 and शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. I. 3. 14-21 दहर उत्तरेभ्यः &c.). ज्योतिषि probably refers to the Puruṣa in the eye (as in छा. VIII. 7. 4 or IV. 15. 1 (य एषोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यत एष आत्मेति होवाच) or the Lord in one's heart; वाचस्पति explains बाह्ये वा विषये by quoting several verses of the विष्णुपुराण VI. 7. 77-85 where it speaks of contemplation on the form of Viṣṇu with a benign face, lotus-like eyes, wearing ear-rings and having the Śrīvatsa jewel on his chest, with four or eight long arms, wearing a yellow garment and holding conch, śārṅga bow, mace.

2378. भ्रूनाभ्यां हृदये चाथ तृतीये च तथोरसि। कण्ठे मुखे नासिकाग्रे नेत्रभ्रूमध्यमूर्धसु॥ किंचित्तस्मात्परस्मिंश्च धारणा परमा स्मृता। दशैता धारणाः प्राप्य प्राप्नोत्यक्षरसात्म्यताम्॥ मार्कण्डेय (36. 44-45 =39. 44-45, Cal. ed.), गरुडपु (I. 226. 21-22) q. by अपरार्क p. 1023 and कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष० p. 173). Compare कूर्म 'हृत्पुण्डरीके नाभ्यां वा मूर्ध्नि पर्वसु मस्तके। एवमादिषु देशेषु धारणा चित्तबन्धनम्॥' II. 11. 39; तथैव सुप्ते योगी धारणासु समाहितः। प्राप्नोत्याशु परं स्थानं लक्ष्यमुक्त इवाङ्गजः॥ आश्वमेधिक 19. 37.

2379. ऊरुस्थोत्तानचरणः सव्ये न्यस्योत्तरं करम्। उत्तानं किंचिदुन्नाम्य मुखं विस्तभ्य चोरसा। निमीलिताक्षः सत्त्वस्थो दन्तैर्दन्तानसंस्पृशन्। तालुस्थाग्रजिह्वश्च संवृतास्यः सुनिश्चलः। संनिरुध्येन्द्रियग्रामं नातिनीचोच्छ्रितासनः। त्रिगुणं त्रिगुणं वापि प्राणायाममुपक्रमेत्। ततो ध्येयः स्थितो योऽसौ हृदये दीपवत्प्रभुः। धारयेत्तत्र चात्मानं धारणां धारयन्

(*Continued on next page*)

in the aṅgas from āsana to dhāraṇā and dhyāna as follows: (The yogin) occupying a seat neither too high nor too low, having placed his upturned heels on his thighs and having placed on the left (palm placed on the upturned right heel) his other (right) palm (turned upwards), having slightly raised his face and having braced up his body with his (raised) chest, having closed the eyes, being free from *rajas* and *tamas*, not allowing the upper and lower rows of teeth to touch, holding his tongue firmly in the palate, and allowing no shaking of the body, covering the mouth, holding back the organs of sense from their objects, should perform prāṇāyāma of the twofold or threefold type (of 24 or 36 mātrās), should contemplete on the Lord that occupies his heart like a lamp, and fix his mind on that Lord by way of Dhāraṇā. Devala states [2380] that dhāraṇā is the holding in check of the body, senses, mind, intellect and ātman (egoism).

M. Charles Baudouin in 'Suggestion and auto-suggestion' tr. by Elder and Cedar Paul (ed. of 1922, Allen and Unwin) says (on p. 150) 'As one of the curiosities of history and further as a lesson in humility we must point out that the states just described under the names of collectedness, contention and auto-hypnosis are described with considerable psychological acumen (though not in modern psychological terminology) in the precepts by which for centuries past the Yogis of Hindustan have been accustomed to attain to self-mastery' and the author refers to Pratyāhāra and Dhāraṇā in this connection and on p. 151 remarks that auto-hypnosis is encountered in Yoga but it is tinged with mysticism because the sacred word 'om' is repeated hundreds of times.

Dhyāna (contemplation) is the one-pointedness (continuous flow) of the apprehension of the object contemplated upon,

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बुधः ॥ याज्ञ. III. 198–201. These except the last are quoted by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 180) and occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 41. 69–71 and the last (verse 201) is q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष on p. 194). Vide figure 16 in Shri Kuvalayānanda's handbook on 'Āsanas' (pp. 54–55) for पद्मासन. These verses in या. are commented upon by Viśvarūpa, the Mitākṣarā and Aparārka. Therefore they cannot be said to be later interpolations.

2380. शरीरेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्यात्मनां धारणाद्धारणा।, देवल q. by अपरार्क p. 1025, कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 174). अपरार्क says 'अत्रात्माहंकारः; the कृत्यकल्प० says nothing on आत्मा.

unaffected by any other idea or apprehension. The Upaniṣads[2381] insist upon dhyāna, e. g. Muṇḍaka says 'contemplate upon the Self in the form of Om'; the Bṛ. Up. has the famous passage 'the self should be seen, heard, understood and reflected upon.' The Chān. Up. (VII. 6. 2) employs the word 'dhyāna' in the sense of 'concentrating all thoughts on one object'. The Śv. Up. (I. 3) mentions dhyānayoga and also Gītā 18. 52 does so (dhyānayoga-paro nityam). The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 188. 13 ff = Ch. ed. 195. 13–18) speaks of dhyāna. The Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣa p. 181) quotes a long prose passage from Devala-dharmasūtra about dhyāna. The Viṣṇupurāṇa[2382] closely agreeing with the Yogabhāṣya in phraseology describes dhyāna as the one-pointed succession of the apprehension of the Lord's form, unmixed with another idea, brought about by the practice of the first six aṅgas of Yoga. Aparārka (pp. 1025–27) quotes a long prose passage from Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 97), which asks the yogin to contemplate upon the all-pervading and all-powerful Lord who is free from guṇas (sattva, rajas, tamas), is beyond the twenty-four tattvas and who is imperceptible to the senses, and that, if he be unable to focuss his mind on formless God all at once, to

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2381. आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः। बृह. उप. II. 4, 5; ओमित्येवं ध्यायथ आत्मानम्। मुण्डक II. 2. 6. निदिध्यासितव्यः is the potential passive participle of the desiderative form of ध्यै with नि.; The छा. उप. VII. 6 is 'ध्यानं वाव चित्ताद्भूयः। ध्यायतीव पृथिवी ... ध्यायन्तीव देवमनुष्याः। तस्माद्य इह मनुष्याणां महत्तां प्राप्नुवन्ति ध्यानोपादांशा इवैव ते भवन्ति। ... ध्यानमुपास्स्वेति। The earth is motionless, just as a yogin when deep in contemplation is motionless and therefore it is said "the earth is as it were engaged in contemplation."

2382. तद्रूपप्रत्ययैकाऽयसन्ततिश्चान्यनिःस्पृहा। तद् ध्यानं प्रथमैरङ्गैः षड्भिर्निष्पाद्यते नृप॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 91 q. by वाचस्पति, कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्षकाण्ड p. 175) and अपरार्क p. 1026 who explains 'ब्रह्मरूपप्रत्ययात्मिका सन्ततिः प्रवाहः सा विषयान्तरासंसृष्टा सती ध्यानमित्युच्यते।'; सगुणं वर्णभेदेन निर्गुणं केवलं मतम्। समन्त्रं सगुणं विद्धि निर्गुणं मन्त्रवर्जितम्॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 41. 120. One verse from नृसिंहपुराण is repeated even now in worship viz. ध्येयः सदा सवितृमण्डलमध्यवर्ती नारायणः सरसिजासन-संनिविष्टः। केयूरवान् मकरकुण्डलवान् किरीटी हारी हिरण्मयवपुर्धृतशङ्खचक्रः॥ 26. 17 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 192); हृत्स्थस्य ध्यानयोगेन देवदेवस्य दर्शनम्। ध्यानं प्रोक्तं प्रवक्ष्यामि ध्यानयोगमतः शुभम्॥ शङ्खस्मृति VII. 16. This is followed by seven verses, two of which are अणोरणीयान् and वेदाहमेतं (VII. 20 and 23) that are the same as श्वेताश्व. उप. III. 20 and 8 respectively, and all the eight verses are q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 193). The editor did not identify them from शङ्ख; बहिर्मुखानि सर्वाणि कृत्वा चान्तर्मुखानि वै। मनसैवेन्द्रियग्रामं मनश्चात्मनि योजयेत्। सर्वभावविनिर्मुक्तं क्षेत्रज्ञं ब्रह्मणि न्यसेत्। एतज्ज्ञानं च ध्यानं च शेषोन्यो ग्रन्थविस्तरः॥ दक्षस्मृति VII. 20–21. These and the following five verses are q. by कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष० pp. 207–208) which the editor did not identify. The verse सर्वभाव ... विस्तरः is q. by अपरार्क p. 970 (reads एतद् ध्यानं च योगश्च).

gradually rise up from Pṛthvī and the other elements, mind, intellect, the soul, avyakta (unmanifested Spirit); if he be unable to do even this he should contemplate on the person that is like a lamp in his own heart (lotus); if this is impossible, he should contemplate upon the form of Vasudeva having on his chest vanamālā, having four arms, holding the conch, the quoit, mace and lotus; and adds that he secures whatever he contemplates upon and that this is the secret of dhyāna. This shows that dhyāna is either *saguṇa* or *nirguṇa* as stated by the Padmapurāṇa IV. 84. 80–86 (nirguṇa) and IV. 84. 88–96 (*saguṇa*) or *sūkāra* and *nirākāra* (Padmapurāṇa, II. 80. 70, 77–78). The Viṣṇupurāṇa (VI. 7. 78–90) contains a passage similar to the Viṣṇu Dh. S. Skanda (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 41. 19) speaks of dhyāna as saguṇa and nirguṇa and defines saguṇa as depending on different forms or as accompanied by repetition of mantras and nirguṇa as 'not depending on any particular form or as not accompanied by mantras'. The Narasiṁhapurāṇa (17. 11-28 and 26. 17) describes at some length the form in which Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu is to be contemplated upon and these verses are quoted by the Kṛtya-kalpataru (Mokṣa, pp. 191–192). The Śaṅkha-smṛti states that one has realization (*darśana*) of the Lord of gods that abides in the heart (of every person) by means of dhyānayoga and describes the mode of dhyāna. Dakṣasmṛti also emphasizes dhyāna and jñāna (correct knowledge) and states that description of others serves no purpose beyond adding to the bulk of the work. In this stage there is only the duality of subject and object, there is no awareness of effort to tie down the mind on an object (as in mere *dhāraṇā*).

Samādhi (concentration and absorption)—Dhyāna itself is Samādhi, when only the contemplated object shines forth and when dhyāna is as if emptied of its own form because there is no apprehension of dhyāna as distinct from *dhyeya*.[2383] When

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2383. तदेवार्थमात्रनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः। त्रयमेकत्र संयमः। तदपि बहिरङ्गं निर्बीजस्य। यो. सू. III. 3, 4, 8. The भाष्य on these three is: ध्यानमेव ध्येयाकार-निर्भासं प्रत्ययात्मकेन स्वरूपेण शून्यमिव यदा भवति ध्येयस्वभावावेशात् तदा समाधिरित्युच्यते॥ तदेतद् धारणा-ध्यान-समाधि-त्रयमेकत्र संयमः। एकविषयाणि त्रीणि साधनानि संयम इत्युच्यते। तदस्य त्रयस्य तान्त्रिकी परिभाषा संयम इति॥ तदप्यन्तरङ्गं साधनत्रयं निर्बीजस्य योगस्य बहिरङ्गं भवति। कस्मात्। तदभावे भावात्। The राजमार्तण्ड explains the word समाधि as सम्यगाधीयते एकाग्रीक्रियते विक्षेपान् परिहृत्य मनो यत्र स समाधिः। The योगसुधाकर p. 118 (Kashi series, 1930) brings out the distinction between संप्रज्ञात and असंप्रज्ञात समाधि as follows: ब्रह्माकारमनोवृत्तिप्रवाहोऽहंकृतिं विना। संप्रज्ञातः समाधिः,

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meditation is carried to a stage where the object contemplated upon alone appears and the meditator is not conscious of the idea of contemplation, because the object meditated upon entirely engulfs the meditator. The yogin becomes so much identified with the object meditated upon that he is not conscious that he is contemplating upon an object. This is what is meant by 'svarūpaśūnyam-iva' (in Y. S. III. 3). In Samādhi the subject and object, the individual and Paramātman are completely blended into one, so that the consciousness of the subject as separate from object disappears. The word 'Samādhi' does not occur in any of the ancient Upaniṣads, though it is known to the Maitrāyaṇi Up. (vide n. 2327 above). The word Samādhi occurs in the Bhagavadgītā (II. 53–54) and in Vanaparva (3. 11) and in Śāntiparva 195. 19–20, Ch. ed.). The Viṣṇupurāṇa[2384] provides that it is called Samādhi when the mind grasps as a result of dhyāna the real nature of that (the Paramātman) in which there is absence of the separate apprehension (of the object to be meditated upon, the act of meditation and the meditator). The three (dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi) are direct aids in samprajñāta-samādhi but they are indirect aids in asamprajñātasamādhi, as this last may follow without these. The Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā [2385] states 'that is called Samādhi where there is equality and oneness of the individual self and the Highest Self and where all desires cease to exist'. *Sabīja* and *nirbīja* samādhis would be equal to savikalpa and nirvikalpa samādhi defined by the Vedāntasāra. There are several grades or stages in samādhi. There are four grades[2386] of Samprajñāta

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स्याद्ध्यानाभ्यासप्रकर्षतः। इति। ... परवैराग्यपूर्वकनिरोधप्रयत्नेन तस्यापि निरोधे सर्ववृत्तिनिरोधान्निर्बीजः समाधिर्भवति। तदुक्तम्। मनसो वृत्तिशून्यस्य ब्रह्माकारतया स्थितिः। या ऽसंप्रज्ञातनामासौ समाधिरभिधीयते। इत्येष विभागो द्रष्टव्यः। योगसुधाकर of सदाशिवेन्द्रसरस्वती on यो. सू. III. 3.

2384. तस्यैव कल्पनाहीनं स्वरूपग्रहणं हि यत्। मनसा ध्याननिष्पाद्यं समाधिः सोऽभिधीयते॥ विष्णुपु. VI. 7. 92 q. by वाचस्पति, कृत्यकल्प० (मोक्ष p. 175), अपरार्क p. 1026 (who explains तस्य ब्रह्मणः कल्पनाहीनं ध्येयं ध्यानं ध्यातेति भेदमत्वपरहितं etc.). The लिङ्गपु. I. 8. 44 is 'चिद्भासमर्थमात्रस्य वेद्यशून्यमिव स्थितम्। समाधिः सर्वहेतुश्च प्राणायाम इति स्थितः॥'

2385. तत्समं च द्वयोरैक्यं जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः। प्रनष्टसर्वसंकल्पः समाधिः सोऽभिधीयते॥ ह. यो. प्र. IV. 7. This is practically the same as स्कन्द, काशी० 47. 127 यत्समत्वं द्वयोक्त ... भिधीयते॥

2386. तत्र शब्दार्थज्ञानविकल्पैः संकीर्णा सवितर्का समापत्तिः। स्मृतिपरिशुद्धौ स्वरूपशून्येवार्थमात्रनिर्भासा निर्वितर्का। एतयैव च सविचारा निर्विचारा च सूक्ष्मविषया व्याख्याता।... सा एव सबीजः समाधिः। यो. सू. I. 42–44, 46; तद्यथा गौरिति शब्दो गौरित्यर्थो गौरिति ज्ञानमित्यविभागेन विभक्तानामपि ग्रहणं दृष्टम्। विभाज्यमाना श्चान्ये शब्दधर्मा अन्येऽर्थधर्मा अन्ये विज्ञानधर्मा इत्येषां विभक्तः पन्थाः। भाष्य.

samādhi, viz. savitarka, nirvitarka, savicāra, nirvicāra. Vide p. 1411 note 2318 above. The word gauḥ, the object cow denoted by it and the concept or idea (jñāna) 'this is a cow' are all really three separate matters, but they are apprehended as mixed up. When a yogin concentrates upon a gross object and his intellect is conscious of that object as permeated by all the above three, then that samādhi is savitarka (Y. S. I. 42). For the others vide note 2318 and below. In the asamprajñāta Samādhi, the ultimate reality dawns on the yogin, prakṛti does not affect him in any way, his soul which abides in itself and is not conscious of personality and even of joy is all *cit* or *citśakti* and nothing else. In this section about the influence of yoga on Dharmaśāstra it is not necessary to go deeply into the several stages of samādhi described in the yoga works. The Gorakṣaśataka [2387] describes the final stage of samādhi as follows: 'A yogin in Samādhi does not apprehend smell, flavour, form, touch or sound nor does he apprehend himself or others (as distinct); knowers of brahma hold it to be pure, immovable, eternal, not engaged in activities, free from the guṇas, expansive like the sky, as intelligence and bliss; the knower of yoga reaches non-duality in the highest stage as milk poured in milk, ghee into ghee or fire into fire.'

It would have been noted that in dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi the principal emphasis is mental. External conditions do help in the training but they are subsidiary. As noted above (pp. 1421-22) cleanliness, contentment, austerities (tapas), sexual purity, certain easy postures and living in detachment, restrictions as to quantity and quality of food—these are the chief physical or external conditions. While the yogin practises the above three he may develop certain super-normal powers which he is advised to ignore, as they are hindrances in the attainment of his goal (Yogasūtra III. 36). Though this is the opinion of Patañjali, from the fact that with most yogins the siddhis are an important part of yoga doctrines and the fact that, out of 195 sūtras of the Yogasūtra, 35 (III. 16-50) are devoted

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2387. न गन्धं न रसं न रूपं न स्पर्शं न च निःस्वनम्। आत्मानं न परं वेत्ति योगी युक्तः समाधिना॥ निर्मलं निश्चलं नित्यं निष्क्रियं निर्गुणं महत्। व्योम विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो विदुः॥ दुग्धे क्षीरं घृते सर्पिरग्नौ वह्निरिवार्पितः। अद्वयत्वं व्रजेन्नित्यं योगवित्परमे पदे॥ गोरक्षशतक verses 97, 99-100. The first verse is also ह. यो. प्र. IV. 108. Compare श्वेता. उप. VI. 19 निष्कलं निष्क्रियं, कठोप. 3. 15 अशब्दमस्पर्शमरूपमव्ययं; विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म बृह. उप. III. 9. 28 and श्वेताश्व. उप. I. 15 तिलेषु तैलं ... चाग्निः with दुग्धे क्षीरं &c.

to the description of siddhis, the present author is constrained to say that siddhis are an integral part of Yoga. The Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra says that the yogin can vanish from people, can see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the results of all *saṁyamas* mentioned in Y. S. pāda three. A few are cited by way of sample. By saṁyama on the power of an elephant one secures the strength of an elephant (III. 24), by saṁyama on the sun there arises the knowledge of the seven worlds (III. 26) and by saṁyama on the moon, there arises knowledge of the arrangement of the stars (III. 27), by saṁyama on the navel *cakra* arises knowledge of the arrangement of the body (III. 29, viz. the three *doṣas*, *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha* and the seven dhātus viz. skin, blood, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow and semen). By saṁyama on the coarse [2388] forms, the essential attributes (svarūpa), the subtle form (tanmātrās), the inherence (anvaya) and the purposiveness of the five elements results the conquest (or mastery over) elements and from this results the appearance of the perfections called *aṇimā* and others, perfection of body and non-obstruction (of the actions of the yogin by the qualities of the elements i. e. the earth cannot prevent the yogin by its hardness from penetrating inside the earth's rocks nor can fire burn him &c.). In IV. 1 Patañjali states that supernormal powers (siddhis) arise in five ways viz. by birth in certain [2389] bodies

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2388. स्थूलस्वरूपसूक्ष्मान्वयार्थवत्त्वसंयमाद्भूतजयः। ततोऽणिमादिप्रादुर्भावः कायसम्पत्तद्धर्मानभिघातश्च। रूपलावण्यबलवज्रसंहननत्वानि कायसम्पत्। योगसूत्र III. 44–46. स्वरूप consists of nature or attributes of the five elements and is explained as solidness (or hardness) of the earth, liquidity of water, heat of fire, mobility of the wind, all pervading nature of ākāśa. The 4th rūpa of the elements viz. *anvaya* is the attributes of *khyāti* (cognition), activity and inertia. भाष्य explains: अन्वयिनो गुणाः प्रकाशप्रवृत्तिस्थितिरूपतया सर्वत्रैवान्वयित्वेन सदुपलभ्यन्ते. Vide यो. सू. II. 18 'प्रकाशक्रियास्थितिशीलं भूतेन्द्रियात्मकं भोगापवर्गार्थं दृश्यम्।'. The three प्रका... स्थिति stand for guṇas सत्त्व, रजस्, तमस् respectively. Vide above p. 1357 note 2215 (सत्त्वं लघु etc.). The fifth 'arthavatva' consists in the five elements serving the purpose of affording experience and liberation to the soul. वज्रसंहननत्व having a body as hard as diamond. वज्रस्य इव संहननं संहतिः अस्य तस्य भावः वज्रसंहननत्वम्. The भाष्य explains तद्धर्मानभिघातश्च as पृथ्वी मूर्त्या न निरुणद्धि योगिनः शरीरादिक्रियां, शिलामप्यनुविशतीति। नापः स्निग्धाः क्लेदयन्ति। नाग्निरुष्णो दहति etc.

2389. जन्मौषधिमन्त्रतपःसमाधिजाः सिद्धयः। यो. सू. IV. 1. Ernest Wood on 'Yoga' (1959, in Penguin Books) observes on p. 104 about levitation (*laghimā*) 'I remember one occasion when an old yogin was levitated in a recumbent position about six feet above ground in an open field for about

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(e. g. being born as a bird which can fly high in the sky), by the use of certain drugs, by the *japa* of certain mantras, by *tapas* (which is one of the niyamas) and by samādhi, each succeeding one being superior to each preceding one.

The siddhis have been enumerated and explained above on pp. 1112–13. The Devaladharmasūtra has a long note on siddhis, which is quoted in Kalpataru (Mokṣakāṇḍa pp. 216-217).[2390] The Yājñavalkya smṛti (III. 202–203) enumerates some characteristic signs of Yogasiddhi, viz. becoming invisible to others, remembrance of incidents in past lives, charming appearance, ability to see past and future happenings or objects that are distant, knowing what is being said at a great distance, entering another body after leaving one's own body, creation of things at one's will (without possessing the appropriate materials).

A great deal has been said above on mantras under Tantra (pp. 1096–1107 and notes thereto). There are two theories about mantras; one is the vibration theory, viz. that the letters of the mantra are charged with certain powers by the original composer and user of it and when the mantra is repeated certain imperceptible vibrations are set up which help in securing the purpose for which the mantra is repeated. The other theory is that the mantra comes down from antiquity and from

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half an hour, while the visitors were permitted to pass sticks to and fro between'. He further refers to levitation which a princess of Sikkim asserted she saw as a girl. A. Koestler in 'The Lotus and the Robot' (London, 1960, on p. 114) doubts the quality of the evidence of E. Wood on the ground that no exact date or place is mentioned and asserts that no experiment on levitation with definite date and place has been published. But Dr. Alexander Cannon in 'The invisible influence' (1935) pp. 39-41 narrated a personal experience of lavitation (laghimā). It is not clear whether A, Koestler was aware of this statement.

2390. A short extract from the long prose passage of Devala-dharmasūtra may be set out here. तत्र देवलः। अणिमा महिमा लघिमा प्राप्तिः प्राकाम्यमीशित्वं वशित्वं यत्रकामावसायित्वं चाष्टावैश्वर्यगुणाः। तेषामणिमा महिमा लघिमा त्रयः शारीराः। प्राप्त्याद्वयः पञ्चेन्द्रियाः। ... शरीराद्गुणाभित्वं लघिमा। तेनातिदूरस्थानपि क्षणेनासादयति। विश्वविषयावाप्तिः प्राप्तिः। प्राप्त्या सर्वमत्यक्षवदर्शी भवति। ... अमतिहतैश्वर्यमीशित्वम्। ईशित्वेन दैवतानाप्यतिशेते। ... यत्रकामावसायित्वं त्रिविधम्-छायावेशः, अवध्यानावेशः, अङ्गप्रवेश इति। यत् परस्य अङ्गप्रवेशमात्रेण चित्तं वशीकरोति स छायावेशः। यद्दूरस्थानामपि अवध्यानेन चित्ताधिष्ठानं सोऽवध्यानावेशः। यस्सजीवस्योभिस्ते (?) जीवस्य वा शरीरानुप्रवेशनं सोऽङ्गप्रवेशः। अन्तर्धानं स्मृतिः कान्तिर्दृष्टिः श्रोत्रज्ञता तथा। निजं शरीरमुत्सृज्य परकायाप्रवेशनम्। अर्थानां ह्युत्वतः सृष्टिर्योगसिद्धेश्च लक्षणम्। या. III. 202-203.

a great sage and its power of suggestion is great. But the real effective power of a mantra seems to the present author to depend far more on the knowledge, the responsiveness and the high spiritual level which the person who repeats it brings to bear on its use. No scientific tests have been employed and different works emphasize with exaggeration one of the two theories about mantras. All is speculation. The present author believes that the 2nd theory has greater elements of trust-worthiness than the first, as it relies on human psychology, while the first degenerated so much that the famous mantra 'om maṇi padme hūm' (dedicated to Avalokiteśvara) written on some material and pasted on a wheel which was turned round and round hundreds of times was supposed to yield great results. The 2nd theory led to the importance of *guru* and dikṣā (initiation) and here also extravagant claims were made. This latter theory, however, required that the disciple should possess certain qualifications such as implicit faith in the guru, respect for matters spiritual, some knowledge of the tenets and the basic scriptures and readiness to devote time and energy to the study and practice of the teachings of the guru. Vide Śiva-saṁhitā (III. 10-19) for the relation between guru and disciple.

The fourth *pāda* deals with *Kaivalya*. The yogin who has gone through the whole discipline up to samādhi and has become thoroughly aware of the distinction between Puruṣa and the guṇas (*sattva* and others), becomes free from the influence of the three guṇas, because they merge in *Pradhāna* after having served the purpose of the soul, that is Kaivalya (isolation) or it (Kaivalya) may be stated to be the principle of consciousness that abides by itself (and does not become connected with even *sattva-guṇa*).[2391] This has also been alluded to in Y. S. II. 25 that states that when *avidyā* (nescience) is removed by discrimination the self (who is the perceiver) does not come into contact with the guṇas, which state is Kaivalya.[2392] Kaivalya

2391. पुरुषार्थशून्यानां गुणानां प्रतिप्रसवः कैवल्यं स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठा वा चितिशक्तिरिति। यो. सू. IV. 34; भाष्य 'कृतभोगापवर्गाणां पुरुषार्थशून्यानां यः प्रतिप्रसवः कार्यकारणात्मकानां गुणानां तत्कैवल्यं, स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठा पुनर्बुद्धिसत्त्वानभिसम्बन्धात्पुरुषस्य चितिशक्तिरेव केवला, तदयाः सदा तथैवावस्थानं कैवल्यमिति'. वाचस्पति explains प्रतिप्रसवः as स्वकारणे प्रधाने लयः.

2392. तस्य हेतुरविद्या। तदभावात्संयोगाभावो हानं तद्दृशेः कैवल्यम्। यो. सू. II. 24-25; । तस्यादर्शनस्याभावाद् बुद्धिपुरुषसंयोगाभाव आत्यन्तिको बन्धनोपरम इत्यर्थः। एतद्धानम्। तद्दृशेः पुरुषस्यामिश्रीभावः पुनरसंयोगो गुणैरित्यर्थः। दुःखकारणनिवृत्तौ दुःखोपरमो हानं तदा स्वरूपप्रतिष्ठः पुरुष इत्युक्तम्। भाष्य. कैवल्य means 'एकाकिता' remaining alone by itself.

is put forword in IV. 34 from two points of view. When a puruṣa ceases to be affected in any way by the guṇas (that constitute prakṛti) because he has become entirely passionless, prakṛti becomes aloof (*kevala*) so far as that puruṣa is concerned. When puruṣa has thorough knowledge and ceases to be affected by guṇas he remains as bare consciousness (citiśakṭi) and remains aloof (kevala) and that is the 2nd point of view about *kaivalya*. In that state of kaivalya or mokṣa we cannot predicate any happiness or bliss about him but we can only say about him that he is in a state of bare consciousness (citiśakṭi). The Upaniṣads declare[2393] that in such a state the liberated soul has neither joy nor sorrow, that happiness or its opposite does not touch such an one, since he has risen above identifying the body with himself. The ideal of Yoga is to be jIvan-mukta (i. e. to reject Life and Personality, to die to this world though the body may persist for some time).

The eight aṅgas of Yoga are described in more or less detail in several Purāṇas. Vide Agni, chap. 214–215 and 372–76, Bhāgavata III. 28, Kūrma II. 11, Narasiṁha 61 (verses 3–13 of which are quoted by Kalpataru, mokṣakāṇḍa pp. 194–195), Matsya chap. 52, Mārkaṇḍeya (chap. 36–40 of Veṅk. edition, 39–43 of Cal. ed.) about 250 verses, many of which are quoted by Kṛtyakalpataru (on Mokṣa), Aparārka and others; Liṅga I. 8., Vāyu, chap. 10–15, Viṣṇu VI. 7 (which closely follows the Y. S, in thought and phraseology), Viṣṇudharmottara III. 280–284, Skanda (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, chap. 41).

Geraldine Coster in 'Yoga and Western Psychology' (Oxford Uni. Press, 1934) observes 'I am convinced that the ideas on which Yoga is based are universally true for mankind and that we have in the Yoga-sūtras a body of material which we could investigate and use with infinite advantage (p. 244)... My plea is then that Yoga as followed in the East is a practical method of mind development, quite as practical as analytical therapy and far more practical and closely related to real life than the average university course. I am convinced that the Yogasūtras of Patañjali do really contain the information[2393] that some of the most advanced psychotherapists of the present day are ardently seeking' (p. 245).

2393. अशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः। छा. उप. VIII. 12. 1; अध्यात्मयोगाधिगमेन देवं मत्वा धीरो हर्षशोकौ जहाति। कठ. II. 12. वे. सू. IV. 4. 2 (मुक्तः प्रतिज्ञानात्) is based on छा. उप. VIII. 12. 1.

The last chapter in Dr. Behanan's book on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation' is interesting and important. He makes an appraisal of several aspects of Yoga by means of experiments which he carried out on himself after spending one year under the guidance of Swami Kuvalayānand of Lonavla and after he had three years of experience in Yogic breathing. It is not possible for reasons of space to give here a summary of his appraisal of several aspects of Yoga but reference may be made to a few of his findings. He finds that by yogic practices the mind is turned inward and detached from the external world (p. 232), it seems to him very probable that the prāṇāyāmic breathing induces a state of relaxation, thereby inducing the mind to take an inward course (p. 234), that taking normal breathing as a basis of comparison it was found that oxygen consumption increased 24. 5 per cent in Ujjāyī, 18. 5 per cent in *bhastrikā* and 12 per cent in Kapālabhāti; that the nasal gaze in a meditative posture is an aid to checking the wandering propensities of the mind (p. 242), that Yogic practices lead to an emotional stability and that watching at close range for a year the daily lives of more than half a dozen practitioners of yoga Dr. Behanan concluded that they were the happiest personalities that he had known and that their serenity was contagious (p. 245).

Dr. P. A. Sorokin of the Harvard University, one of the greatest living sociologists, contributes a very valuable paper on 'Yoga and man's transfiguration' to the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan's Journal for November 1958 (pp. 111–120), the very first sentence of which opens with the words 'The methods and techniques of the yoga, particularly those of the Rājayoga, contain in themselves nearly all the sound techniques of modern psycho-analysis, psychotherapy, psycho-drama, moral education, and education of character.'

That a person engaged in Yoga practices is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels is shown by the appearance of certain traits in himself. The Śv. Up. states that the first favourable signs of the working of Yoga are: lightness or agility of body, health, freedom from desires, brightness of complexion, fineness of voice, pleasant bodily odour, passing only a small quantity of urine or excreta. Almost the same verse occurs in the Vāyu [2394] and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas and

2394. लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादः स्वरसौष्ठवं च। गन्धः शुभो मूत्रपुरीषमल्पं योगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति॥ श्वेता. उप. II. 11; वायु. 11. 63 reads सत्त्वं तथारोग्य ...

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Mārkaṇḍeya further says 'people come' to like the yogin and sing praises of his qualities behind his back and all animals are not afraid of him; he is not affected by severe cold or heat and is not afraid of others; these show that *siddhi* in Yoga is approaching.' The Vāyupurāṇa adds 'if the practitioner of Yoga sees the earth or his body as if on fire and if he sees himself entering the elements (or all beings) he should understand that success in Yoga is near.' [2395]

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (chap. 38 verse 26) and the Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 13 describe at some length *yogicaryā* (i. e. behaviour or conduct of a yogin). It is not possible to set out all that is said in these chapters but two striking verses are rendered here. The Mārkaṇḍeya [2396] says 'honour and disrespect cause pleasure and distress to man (in general), but these two have the reverse effect and serve to produce perfection in the yogin; these two are called poison and nectar respectively; disrespect is nectar for the yogin and honour is terrible poison.' The Viṣṇupurāṇa emphasizes that a yogin should so act that people will disrespect him and would not seek his company. The Manusmṛti (in VI. 38–85) enlarges upon the duties of sannyāsins, many of which are applicable to yogins. In VI. 65 Manu calls upon the sannyāsin to ponder by means of Yoga over the subtleness of the Highest Self and in VI. 73 Manu advises the ascetic to practise dhyānayoga. The Yājñavalkyasmṛti also (in III. 56–67) prescribes the duties of sannyāsins, one of which (in verse 64) is the same as Manu VI. 73.

The Śāntiparva provides [2397] that a man is said to be a yogin by those who know the procedure and ordinances of Yoga,

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वर्णप्रभा सुस्वरसौम्यता च गन्ध ... योगप्रवृत्तिः प्रथमा शरीरे ॥. The मार्कण्डेय reads अतौल्य-मारोग्यमनिष्ठुरत्वं गन्धः ... ल्पम् । कान्तिः प्रसादः स्वरसौम्यता च योगप्रवृत्तेः प्रथमं हि चिह्नम् ॥ 36. 63 (= 39. 63 in Cal. ed.). This and two more verses of Mārkaṇḍeya (*36. 64–65*) are q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष) p. 211.

2395. आत्मानं पृथिवीं चैव ज्वलन्तीं यदि पश्यते । भूतान्याविशते चैव विद्यात्सिद्धि-मुपस्थिताम् ॥ वायु 11. 64 q. by कृत्यकल्प० (on मोक्ष) p. 211.

2396. मानापमानौ यावेतौ प्रीत्युद्वेगकरौ नृणाम् । तावेव विपरीतार्थौ योगिनः सिद्धि-कारकौ ॥ मानापमानौ यावेतौ तावेवाहुर्विषामृते । अपमानोऽमृतं तत्र मानस्तु विषमं विषम् ॥ मार्क. 38. 2–3; compare विष्णुपुराण II. 13. 42–43 संमानना परां हानिं योगर्द्धेः कुरुते quoted in note 2284 above.

2397. स्थिरीकृत्येन्द्रियग्रामं मनसा मिथिलेश्वर । मनो बुद्ध्या स्थिरं कृत्वा यावत्प्य इव निश्चलः ॥ स्थाणुवच्चाप्यकम्पः स्यादृषिरिच्चापि निश्चलः । बुद्ध्या विधिविधानज्ञास्तदा युक्त

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when he curbs the senses by his mind and makes the mind itself firm by his intellect and he becomes unmoved (by objects of sense) as if he were a stone, is unshakable like a tree-trunk, strong and motionless like a mountain. The wise call a man yukta (a yogin), when he neither hears, nor smells fragrance, nor tastes nor sees, nor touches and when his mind does not form (ever changing) ideas, when he does not regard anything as his own, when he does not cognise (external objects) as if he were a log of wood and when he can be said to have recovered the original real nature (of the Self). The Devaladharmasūtra provides that all beings come under bondage owing to *ahaṅkāra* (egoism that one will do this or that) and *mamatva* (regarding transient things as owned by oneself) but he who is free from these becomes liberated.[2398]

Through centuries Sannyāsins and Yogins have been paid the highest honours in India. Special emphasis is laid on inviting a Yogin at a śrāddha and it is said by some authorities that a single yogin is equal to hundreds and thousands of brāhmaṇas. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 388, 398–399 for original authorities. In cases of doubt as to what the proper conduct or Dharma is in a set of circumstances, the matter was left to be decided by a *pariṣad* (an assembly) of ten learned brāhmaṇas or at least three, but even one may constitute a pariṣad, provided he is learned in Veda and knows Dharma (vide Manu XII. 108–113). But Yāj. I. 9 and others say that four persons knowing the Veda and Dharmaśāstra or three of the same type or even one who is the best among knowers of spiritual matters (ascetics) may constitute a pariṣad and what he declares would be the right course of conduct. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. 969 for texts on this point. The Bhagavad-gītā says 'the yogin (who is a real karmayogin surrendering the

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प्रचक्षते। न शृणोति न चाघ्राति न रस्यति न पश्यति॥ न च स्पर्शं विजानाति न सङ्कल्पयते मनः॥ न चाभिमन्यते किञ्चिन्न ब्रुवति च काष्ठवत्। तदा प्रकृतिमापन्नं युक्तमाहुर्मनीषिणः॥ शान्तिपर्व। (cr. ed. 294. 14–17=306. 14–17 Ch. ed.) q. by कृत्यकल्पतरु (on मोक्ष pp. 187–188). The editor did not identify this passage. The गोरक्षशतक q. above in n. 2387 appears to be based on this passage of the शान्तिपर्व.

2398. इदं ममेति यत्स्नाय्यमात्मनोऽर्थेषु मन्यते। अजानंस्तदनित्यत्वं ममत्वमिति तद्विदुः॥ अहमित्यभिमानेन यः क्रियासु प्रवर्तते। कार्यकारणयुक्तासु तदहङ्कारलक्षणम्। अहङ्कार-ममत्वाभ्यां बध्यन्ते सर्वदेहिनः। संसारविनिर्योगेषु ताभ्यां मुक्तस्य (मुक्तस्तु?) मुच्यते॥ देवल q. by कल्पतरु (मोक्षप्रकरण pp. 90–91).

fruits of his actions to God) is superior to persons practising tapas (such as fasts or following Haṭhayoga) and superior even to those who have mastered philosophical knowledge (like that of Sāṅkhya) and he is superior to those who are performers of Vedic rites (leading to *svarga*); therefore, O Arjuna! be a yogin, that does acts (because it is his duty to do so and who does not hanker afer the fruits of those actions).

Manu (XII. 83) states 'study of the Veda, *tapas*, true knowledge (about brahma), restraint of the sense organs, *ahiṁsā*, attending on one's guru-these are the highest means of *niḥśreyasa* (i. e. mokṣa). Then verse 85 proceeds 'of all these six means true knowledge of the Self is the highest, it is at the head of all *vidyās* (lores), since immortality (mokṣa) is obtained by means of it.

The highest value is attached to Yoga [2399] as an integral part of Vedānta by the Yājñavalkyasmṛti when it states that realization of the Self by means of Yoga is the highest Dharma. Then the same Smṛti provides [2400] 'study of the Veda, performance of sacrifices, brahmacarya (sexual purity), *tapas* and *dama* (restraint of senses), faith, fasting and freedom from attachment to worldly objects; these are the causes of securing knowledge of the Ātman.' It should be noticed that some of these fall under *yama*, *niyama* and *pratyāhāra*. The Dakṣasmṛti avers 'even the country, where a yogin, who has profound knowledge of yoga and who is given to *dhyāna*, becomes holy; what need is there to say about his relatives (i. e. they will certainly be pure). [2401]

The Yogasūtras are difficult and do not give complete explanations of the several stages of Yogic practices. They are in the nature of brief notes or hints that are calculated to rouse the curiosity of the hearer or reader and induce him to go to a competent teacher and learn Yoga practices. A few examples may be cited. Y. S. II. 50 refers to three kinds of Prāṇāyāmas, and II. 51 mentions a fourth (bāhyābhyantaraviṣayākṣepī caturthaḥ). There is no further explanation of this 4th variety. In IV. 1 Patañjali lumps together siddhis arising from janma, oṣadhi, mantra, tapas and samādhi. There is a vast difference

2399. अयं तु परमो धर्मो यद् योगेनात्मदर्शनम्। याज्ञ. I. 8.

2400. वेदाद्युक्तवचनं यज्ञो ब्रह्मचर्यं तपो दमः। श्रद्धोपवासः स्वातन्त्र्यमात्मनो ज्ञानहेतवः॥ याज्ञ. III. 193; compare बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22 q. in note 1464, p. 918 above.

2401. यस्मिन्देशे वसेद्योगी ख्यायी योगविचक्षणः। सोऽपि देशो भवेत्पूतः किं पुनस्तस्य बान्धवाः॥ ब्रह्मस्मृति VII. 45.

between a siddhi due to a drug and siddhis due to samādhi. Patañjali says that *Om* is the symbol of Īśvara and that repetition thereof and reflection on its meaning is a means of attaining *ekāgratā*, but there is no explanation why Om is expressive of Īśvara nor is any reference made to the Upaniṣads &c. about the importance of *Om* or how japa is to be performed. This is probably due to the agelong tradition that spiritual knowledge should be kept secret, should not be taught to all and sundry, but only to a disciple possessing certain qualifications. Already on pp. 1071–72 notes 1733, 1734 it has been shown from a few Upaniṣad quotations how esoteric knowledge was imparted only by a guru to a disciple. In the dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga (Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13), when the latter asked, after saying 'after a man's death his speech enters fire, his breath enters into wind, his eye into the sun, his body into the earth' 'where does then the man remain?' Yājñavalkya replied take my hand, on this matter we two alone must come to some understanding, but not here in the midst of company.' Then the two went aside and conferred with one another. That shows that the knowledge about what happens after death was not held to be a matter proper for being discussed in an assembly of people. The Chāndogya Up. (III. 11. 5) states 'therefore a father may tell that doctrine of Brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil but not to anyone else even if the latter gave him this earth girt by waters (seas) and full of wealth, for this doctrine is worth more than that'. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 3. 12 provides 'one should not speak of it (brahma doctrine) to one who is not his son or pupil'; vide Śv. Up. VI. 22, Maitrāyaṇī Up. VI. 29 for similar words. The Śāntiparva in a chapter dealing with spiritual knowledge provides that it should be imparted to one's dear son and an obedient disciple, but not to one whose mind is not quiescent nor controlled, nor one who is jealous or crooked or a backbiter or a logic-chopper.[2402] H. Y. P. states 'a Yogin desirous of attaining *siddhi* should keep the knowledge of Haṭha as highly secret; it becomes potent if kept secret, but becomes impotent if exposed to all; one should practise yoga alone in the way expounded by the guru'.[2403] This applied in ancient

2402. तदिदं नाप्रशान्ताय नादान्तायातपस्विने। नासूयकायानृजवे न चानिर्दिष्टकारिणे। न तर्कशास्त्रदग्धाय तथैव पिशुनाय च। शान्ति० 246. 16–18 (Ch. ed). The words असूयकायानृजवे seem to be an echo of the verse quoted in the निरुक्त II. 4 विद्या ह वै ... असूयकायानृजवे &c.

2403. हठविद्या परं गोप्या योगिना सिद्धिमिच्छता। भवेद्वीर्यवती गुप्ता निर्वीर्या तु प्रकाशिता॥ गुरूपदिष्टमार्गेण योगमेव समभ्यसेत्। ह. यो. प्र. I. 11 and 16.

times not only to esoteric knowledge but to other scholastic studies. The Nirukta (II. 3) says that it (Nirukta) should not be taught to one who does not know grammar, nor to one who does not approach (the guru) for knowledge or who is not aware of the importance of the śāstra, since an ignorant person always bears ill-will to knowledge; and the Nirukta quotes (II. 4) four verses (called Vidyāsūkta) on this matter.[2404] In the Bhagavadgītā Kṛṣṇa frequently emphasizes that the knowledge of Bhaktiyoga is a sovereign secret (IX. 2), in XVII. 63 the knowledge conveyed to Arjuna is stated to be more secret than all secrets and in XVIII. 64–65 Kṛṣṇa asks Arjuna to listen to the most secret words of his viz. 'fix they mind on Me, be my devotee, offer sacrifice to me, prostrate thyself before me; thou shalt come to me; I promise to thee truly as thou art dear to me'. This last is repeated from IX. 34. At the end of chap. XV it is said 'O blameless one! this most secret doctrine has been expounded by me to you'.

Whether the path of Yoga is desirable or feasible in its entirety cannot be debated here. But there have been great men in India for thousands of years who have trodden the path of Yoga that led to the desired goal of freedom of the self from *avidyā* and the bondage of birth and death by means of Yoga. Even as early as the Śāntiparva (chap. 289, cr. ed. verses 50 and 54), the path of yoga is said to be very difficult and that it is easy to stay on the sharp edges of razors, but that those whose souls are not purified would find it difficult and painful to continually practise Dhāraṇās. Kālidāsa so finely describes in the 8th canto of the Raghuvaṁśa (verses 16–24) how Yoga was practised by king Raghu. Kālidāsa refers (in VIII. 16) to *apavarga* as the goal of the ascetic Raghu as contrasted with *mahodaya* (*abhyudaya* or *bhoga*), both words occurring in Y. S. II. 18 (prakāśa ... ... bhogāpavargārtham dṛśyam); mentions dhāraṇā (in VIII. 18), praṇidhāna practice and consequent mastery over the five prāṇas (in Raghu VIII. 19, Y. S. II. 45 'samādhisiddhirīśvara-praṇidhānāt); mastery over the three guṇas that constitute prakṛti (Raghu VII. 21, Y. S. III. 48 mentions 'pradhānajaya), Yogavidhi as a means of *paramātmadarśana* (Raghu VIII. 22, Yāj. smṛti I. 8 quoted in note 2399).

2404. Vide the Gospel of Mark IV. 11 and 33–34 where Christ is said to have expounded all things to his twelve disciples, but only in parables to the multitude.

Rājayoga holds the supreme goal to be liberation from Nature (prakṛti) or Māyā of the Advaita) and its attitude towards the world of senses and our empirical life is that of shunning these. Mukti means absorption into *brahma* for the Vedantist or Kaivalya (isolation of the Individual self from the bonds of birth and death and from prakṛti according to pure Yoga). For the vast majority of men and women the path and final goal of Pātañjala Yoga or of the Advaita Vedānta are almost inaccessible and unattainable, as the Gītā itself states (XII. 5) "Those whose mind is set on the Unmanifested encounter greater difficulties (than those who worship a personal God), since the goal of the unmanifested is hard to reach by embodied beings'. The path of *Karmayoga* (performing good deeds and acts prescribed by Śāstra without hankering for rewards) and *Bhaktiyoga* (wherein there is deep devotion to God and self-surrender) appear to be more suitable and practical for ordinary human beings. The Gītā in chap. XIII. (verses 13-17) contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendent and immanent and verse 18 adds that the devotee of God who understands this reaches God.

Many readers familiar with Shri Aurobindo's *āśrama* at Pondicherry and his voluminous writings might express surprise at the present author's non-mention (in what precedes) of Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahāyogī by his disciples and admirers) in this section on Yoga and its influence on Dharmaśāstra. But the reasons are obvious. In the first place, Shri Aurobindo says hardly anything about Dharmaśāstra in relation to Yoga. In the 2nd place, Shri Aurobindo admits that he had 'no touch from a guru', that he got an inner touch and practised Yoga, that he got some help from Mr. Lele of Gwalior, that when he came to Pondicherry he got from within a programme for his *sādhanā*, that he could not make much progress as to the help to be given to others and that when the Mother (Mira Richard) came to the *āśrama* in 1920 he found with her aid the method of helping others. In the next place, he departs from the teachings of a galaxy of Sanskrit writers on Yoga, viz. that a yogin must shun women (vide p. 1421 and note 2330), while his biographer Mr. Diwakar states that the Aurobindo Ashram was founded on 24th November 1926, that the Mother was entirely in charge of it from that day and that Shri Aurobindo thenceforward cut off all contacts except through the Mother (p. 257). In this, he strikes an entirely new line and appears to ordinary

men like the present author to have diverged far from the well trodden path of ancient Yoga and become like one described in the well-known words ('Murārestṛtīyaḥ panthāḥ'). Shri Aurobindo is a mystic,[2405] the experiences of mystics are peculiar and their own, ordinary words and modes of speech fail to communicate them to those that cannot claim to have ever shared such experiences. Aurobindo became a recluse from November 1926 to his Mahāsamādhi on 5th December 1950 and gave *darśana*[2406] only on four days in the year viz. 15th August (his birth date), 24th November (day of victory for him), 21st February (the birth date of the Mother) and 24th April the day of the Mother's coming to the Ashrama (vide Mr. Diwakar's 'life of Mahāyogī' p. 265). For forty years Aurobindo lived in Pondicherry. His Ashram became a centre of the gospel of integrated Yoga and a home for those who sought real life and light, a place of pilgrimage for men and women attracted by his teachings.

On 15th August 1947 when India attained Independence (which happened to be the date of Aurobindo's birth) he issued a long statement referring to the dreams of his youth, which he thought were arriving at fruition or were on their way to achievement. He stated 'the first of these dreams was a revolutionary movement which would create a free and united India. Another dream was the resurgence and liberation of the peoples of Asia and her return to her great role in the progress of human civilization. The third dream was a world union forming the outer basis of a fairer, brighter and nobler life for all mankind. A catastrophe may intervene and interrupt or destroy what is being done; but even then the final result is sure. For unifica-

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2405. It is difficult to give an accurate definition of 'mysticism'. W. R. Inge in his work 'Christian Mysticism' publishes 26 definitions of the word in an Appendix. James H. Leuba defines it as follows: "Mysticism means for us any experience taken by the experiencer to be a contact (not through the senses, but immediate or intuitive) or union of the self with a larger than self, be it called the World Spirit, God, the Absolute or otherwise" ('Psychology of religious mysticism,' Kegan Paul, 1929). In a recent work 'Mysticism, sacred and profane' Prof. R. C. Zaehner (Oxford, 1957) says 'Mysticism is the realization of unity' (p. 144) and translates and examines Chān. Up. VI. 9.1–4, Bṛ. Up. II. 3–6, III. 7.I. ff. Bhagavadgītā II. 55–72 (pp. 136–145) for that purpose.

2406. Vincent Sheean in his work 'Lead, kindly light' (Random House, New, York, 1949) pp. 269–277 has a very illuminating and sympathetic note on what 'obtaining darshan' of such Great Men as Mahatma Gandhi and Shri Aurobindo means to the crowds that throng for it.

tion is a necessity of Nature, an inevitable movement. Another dream, the spiritual gift of India to the world, has already begun; India's spirituality is entering Europe and America in an ever-increasing measure. The final dream was a step in evolution which would raise man to a higher and larger consciousness and begin the solution of the problems which have perplexed and vexed him since he began to think and to dream of individual perfection and a perfect society. Here too, if the evolution is to take place, since it must proceed through a growth of the spirit and the inner consciousness, the initiative can come from India and, although the scope must be universal, the central movement may be hers'.

These emotional and eloquent words are flattering to the pride of all Indian people, but it is possible that, bearing in mind that the whole of India was mostly under the heel of ruthless or exploiting conquerors for over seven hundred years from the 13th century A. D. (except for some parts and for brief periods as under the Vijayanagar Empire or under the Marathas for about 150 years and for about 50 years under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Panjab) these proud assertions of Aurobindo are likely to bring derisive smiles on the faces of many non-Indian readers. It is for discerning Indian readers to judge whether any of the dreams of Shri Aurobindo (except the first about [2407] Independence) are on the way to achievement or realization, whether during the last fourteen years after Independence India has progressed in the way of spirituality among men in general, whether there is any likelihood of there being a union of peoples and nations in the near future or whether the world is on the brink of a precipice.

Shri Aurobindo had set his heart on the unity of the human race by an inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests; for '24 years he completely withdrew from the outer world and gave *darśana* only on four days in the year. What efforts he made for the inner oneness of the human race except by his writings is not clear and nor does it appear that in the community of men and women that gathered under his leadership and influence at Pondicherry any one occupied

2407. There has been no 'United India' after Independence. The country was partitioned and Pakistan came into being as a separate entity and has been a source of constant irritation to India, in spite of the policy of the appeasement of Pakistan followed by Indian leaders throughout. 'There is today hardly a Hindu or a Sikh to be found in West Pakistan' says Mr. V. P. Menon in 'Transfer of Power in India' on p. 43.

a pre-eminent position and energetically and fruitfully pursued the path marked by the Master and carries on the work that the master dreamt of and left unattempted and unfinished. Passages quoted from his letters by Shri Diwakar (on p. 258) clarify what visions he had 'there will be first a race representing the supermind as man represents the mind', 'in what I am trying to do the spiritual realization is the first necessity, but it cannot be complete without an outer realisation also in life, in men in this world, spiritual consciousness within but also spiritual life without'. About his Sādhanā he says 'I began my Yoga in 1904. My Sādhanā was not founded upon books but upon personal experiences that crowded on me from within.....It is a fact that I was hearing constantly the voice of Vivekananda speaking to me for a fortnight in the Jail' (p. 131 of Mr. Diwakar's book).

In a letter to his brother Barindra dated 7th April 1920 which is set out in full on pp. 309–314 in the work 'Shri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother' (1953), Aurobindo asserts 'the main defect in the old Yogas consisted in the fact that they knew mind and intelligence and the Ātman; they used to be satisfied with spiritual experience on the mental level; but the mind is capable of only partial knowledge and it can comprehend only parts and not the whole. The mind can know the infinite and the total reality only through Samadhi, Moksha or Nirvana and by no other means. Of course, some people do attain this kind of Moksha which may be said to be a blind alley. But *then what is the use of it?* But what the Bhagwan intends to do with man is to enable him to realize God in life, in the individual as well as in the collective society (to manifest God in life). The old systems of Yoga could not bring about a synthesis or unity between spirituality and life; they disposed of the world calling it Māyā or the transitory play of the Lord. The result is vitality and vigour in life have been sapped and India has decayed'. In this passage Aurobindo tries to bring out the distinction between his integral Yoga and the Yoga of ancient and medieval Indians. There is hardly anything very new in his theory of Yoga. The Gītā also says the same in 'ajñānenāvṛtam' (Gītā V. 15), in 'utsīdeyur-ime lokā' (Gītā III. 24–25, II. 47, III. 8, 19, IX. 27, XVIII. 45–46, all of which emphasize that disinterested work is worship of God). Aurobindo should have brought into being an organised body of workers after his own heart. The Pātañjala Yoga does not employ the

word Māyā at all nor did it say that the world was a play of God. It was the Vedānta-sūtra II. 1. 33 (lokavat-tu līlākaivalyam) that said so by way of repelling an objection. In the Pātañjala yoga Īśvara has nothing to do with the creation of the world (vide above pp. 1402–3) but it speaks of *avidyā* by which the individual self is enmeshed (Y. S. II. 3–5 and 24) and not God or the Supreme Self. Besides one is tempted to echo the question of Aurobindo himself 'What is the use of integral Yoga, mind, overmind and supermind?' Can anybody point out even half a dozen men and disciples of Aurobindo who have devoted all their energies to the regeneration of the country and of the human race on his lines? The position of the Ashram itself is rather vague, anomalous and undefined. But it is unnecessary to say in this work anything further about it. [2408]

The writings of Shri Aurobindo are numerous and voluminous. For a list of his writings along with a few other works, vide the Bibliography (pp. 267–269) given by Shri Diwakar at the end of his work 'Mahāyogī'. The present author has read only the following works of Shri Aurobindo 'Yoga and its objects' (1938, a brief work in which 'adhyātma Yoga' is said to be higher than Haṭhayoga and Rājayoga); 'The Mother' (1937), 'Essays on the Gītā (5th ed. of 1949), 'The Synthesis of Yoga' (1948) which attempts to show that all three paths, viz. of knowledge (Jñānayoga), of Devotion (Bhaktiyoga) and of Divine works (Karmayoga) can be integrated; 'the problem of Rebirth' (published by the Aurobindo Ashram in 1952 after his passing away); 'Foundations of Indian culture' (essays brought together in one volume, revised by Shri Aurobindo), New York, 1953; Aurobindo's *Magnum Opus* is 'Life Divine' (originally in three volumes, now available in one of 1272 pages, published by the Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry 1955). The present author has read only the first volume of this last work. Men of ordinary intelligence like the present writer find this philosophical work not easy to read, and are often at a loss to find out, in the flood of high sounding phrases used by Shri Aurobindo concerning the mind, overmind,

2408. I have to acknowledge my obligations to two biographies of Sri Aurobindo, one by G. H. Langley (former Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University) published in 1949 and 'Mahāyogī' (on the life, Sādhanā and teachings of Aurobindo) written by Shri R. R. Diwakar and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay, 1953. There is an interesting work published by the Aurobindo International University Centre at Pondicherry called 'Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother' (1953)

supermind, his precise meaning. Only one sentence is cited here for sample (from p. 345 of the big one volume edition); 'Overmind, intuition, even supermind not only must be principles inherent and involved in the Inconscience from which we arise in the evolution and inevitably destined to evolve, but are secretly present, occult actively with flashes of intuitive emergence in the cosmic activity of mind, life and matter.' The present author regards the book 'Foundations of Indian culture' as the best of the works of Shri Aurobindo which he has read. Prof. R. D. Ranade in his Lectures on 'Bhagavadgītā as a philosophy of God Realization' (Nagpur, 1959 pp. 163–176) submits to examination Aurobindo's 'Essays on the Gītā' and disagrees with him on some points. While these pages were passing through the press the present writer received a copy of 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo', a symposium edited by Dr. Haridas Chaudhuri and Dr. Frederic Spiegelberg (and published by Allen and Unwin, 1960), which contains 30 papers written by Indian and Western scholars on the Philosophy of Aurobindo, p. 32 defining the essence of integral Yoga and p. 44 distinguishes between 'mind' and 'supermind' (of Aurobindo's philosophy).

CHAPTER XXXIII

Tarka and Dharmaśāstra

The Yājñavalkyasmṛti (I. 3) mentions Nyāya (logic)[2409] as one of the fourteen vidyās and as one of the means of knowing what Dharma is. Nyāya is rendered as 'tarkavidyā' by the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. and the Mit. states that the fourteen vidyās are the *hetu* (means) of (knowing) dharma.

Both the Nyāyasūtra and the Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda postulate that 'niḥśreyasa' follows from the correct knowledge of the categories of the two darśanas.[2410]

One of the earliest occurrences of the word *tarka* is in the Kaṭhopaniṣad[2411] where it is declared 'This knowledge (about the Self) cannot be obtained by (mere) ratiocination' and the previous verse states that the Self is subtler than the subtlest and not capable of being understood by mere inference or reasoning. The word 'mantavyaḥ' in the passage[2412] 'Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo' (in Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 5 and IV. 5. 6) is held by the objector (in bhāṣya on V. S. I. 1. 2) and also by Śaṅkarācārya as referring to *tarka* on V. S. II. 1. 4. Tarka is accepted as an aṅga of Yoga in the Maitrāyaṇī Up. (vide note 2327 above), which further quotes a passage stating that by the control of speech, mind and prāṇa one apprehends *brahman*

2409. Some works read the verse as 'Purāṇa-tarka-mīmāṁsā'; vide note 1337 for the verse.

2410. अथातो धर्मं व्याख्यास्यामः। यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः। द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुः। वैशेषिकसूत्र I. 1. 2 and 4; प्रमाणप्रमेयसंशयप्रयोजन-दृष्टान्त-सिद्धान्तावयवतर्क-निर्णय-वादजल्पवितण्डाहेत्वाभासच्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानानां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः। न्यायसूत्र I. 1. 1. The word निःश्रेयस occurs in 'अचतुर०' (a long sūtra) in पा. and in कौषीतक्युपनिषद् II. 14 and III. 2.

2411. नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया प्रोक्तान्येनैव सुज्ञानाय प्रेष्ठ। कठोप. II. 9 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 6. The previous verse ends with the words 'अणीयान्ह्यतर्क्यमणुप्रमाणात्.' आपनेय is an irregular form for आपनीय। (आप्+अनीय) *or for* अपनेय (*from* नी *with* अप).

2412. अथाप्यत्राप्युक्तम्। अतः परास्य धारणा तालुरसनाग्रनिपीडनाद्वाङ्मनःप्राणनिरोधनाद् ब्रह्म तर्केण पश्यति। मैत्रा. उप. VI, 20.

with the help of tarka.[2413] The Gautamadharmasūtra[2414] remarks 'tarka is the means for securing justice (among contending parties)'. One of the replies given by Yudhiṣṭhira to the Yakṣa guarding a lake is 'ratiocination is unstable (leads to no certain conclusions), the Vedic texts differ (among themselves), there is no single sage whose opinion is held authoritative (by people or other sages); the essence of Dharma is placed in a cave (i. e. is enveloped in darkness and cannot be seen clearly), that is the path (to be followed) by which the majority of people[2415] proceed'. This appears to make man in the mass the ultimate tribunal on all questions of value. In its peroration at the end, the Manusmṛti observes 'one who desires to secure the pure Dharma must know well the three viz. direct perception (or experience), inference, and śāstra based on various traditions; none but that man who considers the sayings of sages (i. e. the Veda), the instruction on Dharma (contained in the Smṛtis) with the help of reasoning that does not (directly) conflict with Veda and śāstras knows what Dharma is'.[2416] This is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka. Their reasoning appears to have been this. If one were to rely on mere reason, the result would be uncertainty and anarchy. Every theorist states that his system is based on reason; but the answers arrived at on the basis of reason as to questions of vital importance to ordinary men are bewilderingly different. Thinkers brought up in different environments and of different experiences have different logics and propound even different moral laws. Whom should an ordinary man follow? The Vedas and Smṛtis

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2413. श्रुतिरपि 'श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यः' इति श्रवणव्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधती तर्कमप्यावर्तव्यं दर्शयति (this is पूर्वपक्ष in भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 4); to this the भाष्य replies 'यद्यपि श्रवणव्यतिरेकेण मननं विदधच्छब्द एव तर्कमप्यावर्तव्यं दर्शयतीत्युच्यते। नानेन निषेण शुष्कतर्कस्यात्रात्मलाभः सम्भवति। श्रुत्यनुगृहीत एव ह्यत्र तर्कोऽनुभवपर्यवसायीष्यते॥'. The following sentence in the भाष्य cites three examples of inferences not opposed to *śruti*.

2414. न्यायाधिगमे तर्कोऽभ्युपायः। तेनाभ्यूह्य यथास्थानं गमयेत्। गौ. ध. सू. II. 23–24.

2415. तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः। ... पन्थाः। वनपर्व 313. 117 (Chitrashala ed. whole verse q. in n. 2072). Some mss read नैको मुनिर्यस्य. The sūtra तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादप्यन्यथानुमेयमिति चेदेवमप्यनिमोक्षप्रसङ्गः (वे. सू. II. 1. 11) seems to echo the words of वनपर्व. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 860 n. 1667, where मेधातिथि on मनु. II. 1 refers to 'महा ... पन्थाः' as a न्याय.

2416. प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम्। त्रयं सुविदितं कार्यं धर्मशुद्धिमभीप्सता॥ आर्षं धर्मोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना। यस्तर्केणानुसन्धत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः॥ मनु XII. 105, 106, relied upon by शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1, 11.

embody the principles of conduct in all spheres of life arrived at by eminent and selfless sages during the course of thousands of years i. e. they embody the experiences and the reasonings of numerous wise men. Therefore, if a modern man says that reason leads him to hold opinions opposed to the Veda, most people are not prepared to accept a single man's opinion pitted against the views of numerous ancient sages. This point need not be elaborated further. On many important questions viz. whether there is God or a Supreme Intelligence guiding the universe, or whether there is an individual self, or what the future of a man when he dies is, the wisest among men have given widely differing answers.[2417] On such questions final answers acceptable to all or most people cannot be given by reason alone. Though the orthodox position is as stated above, it has been shown above (e. g. on pp. 1267–1269) how Vedic practices have been discarded by the weight of popular opinion from time to time. It is laid down by Smṛti writers themselves that blindly following the words of Śāstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smṛtis reasoning should be resorted to and popular opinions and practices should be considered. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 866–868 for this. The Mahābhārata enjoins[2418] 'one should not try to solve incomprehensible matters by ratiocination.' In the dialogue between the famished sage Viśvāmitra (who desired to eat the tail of a dog) and a cāṇḍāla the great Epic winds up by saying 'therefore a learned man whose soul is pure should act after relying on his intelligence in the matter of deciding what Dharma and adharma are'.[2419] It should not be supposed that Śaṅkarācārya and other great Indian writers wanted to throw reasoning overboard altogether. What they emphasized was that mere reasoning of one or more men should not as a rule be followed if the

2417. Pascal quoted in 'This I believe' edited by E. P. Morgan (London, 1953) on p. 60 says 'The heart has its reasons which reason does not understand.'

2418. अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत् । प्रकृतिभ्यः परं यच्च तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् । भीष्मपर्व 5. 12, q. by शङ्कराचार्य as स्मृति on वे. सू. II. 1.6. First half only q. by शङ्कराचार्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 6. This also occurs in मत्स्य 113. 6, पद्म (आदि 3. 12), the first half in ब्रह्माण्ड II. 13. 7-8. ब्रह्माण्ड reads तदचिन्त्यं प्रचक्षते and some read साधयेत् for योजयेत्. प्रकृति would mean material cause. The मत्स्य (Anan. ed.) reads अचिन्त्याः ... तांस्तु तर्केण साधयेत्, thus reversing the position adopted by others.

2419. तस्मात्कौन्तेय विदुषा धर्माधर्मविनिश्चये । बुद्धिमास्थाय लोकेऽस्मिन्नतिवर्त्यं कृतात्मना ॥ शान्तिपर्व 141. 102 = cr. ed. chap. 139. 94.

conclusions arrived at by reasoning are in direct conflict with Vedic and smṛti texts. Śaṅkarācārya clearly states his position on V. S. II. 1. 1. and 11.[2420] Beliefs (such as those of Jains and Buddhists) were held to be heterodox, because they did not acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition, though they often observed Hindu practices and married with Hindus; but within this limit there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices that claimed to be orthodox. This may be illustrated by the attitude of some Upaniṣads. For example, the Muṇḍaka Up. (I. 1. 4–5) speaks of two vidyās, *parā* and *aparā*, includes under *aparā* the four Vedas and the six *aṅgas* and *parā* (highest) *vidyā* is that by which the imperishable *brahman* is attained. In the Chān. Up. (VII. 1. 1–5) when Nārada approached Sanatkumāra for instruction, the former recounted what he had already learnt viz. the four Vedas, Itihāsapurāṇa and other lores; then Sanatkumāra tells him that all that he has studied is mere name and then explains what is better than all those. Muṇḍaka (I. 2. 7) condemns *yajñas* as leaky vessels. It is extremely surprising that the Chān. Up. in I. 12. 2–5 compares the procedure of the five priests and the sacrificer touching each other and creeping from the *sadas* towards the cātvāla where the Bahiṣpavamāna chant is to be sung with a procession of dogs, each dog holding the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth. Vide for the creeping of priests noiselessly and silently Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa VI. 7. 9–12 and Āp. Śrauta-sūtra XII. 17. 1–4 and H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1166 and 1169. Though this is so, the Upaniṣads are called Vedānta, are looked upon as orthodox and as the highest end of the Vedic religion and literature. Most ancient Upaniṣads, however, quote Vedic Saṁhitā texts as authorities. For example, Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10 and Ait. Up. II. 5 quote Ṛg. IV. 26. 1 and IV. 27. 1 respectively; Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 16–17 quote Ṛg. I. 116. 12 and I. 117. 22 and Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 19 cites Ṛg. VI. 47. 18; Kaṭha IV. 9 is the same as Atharvaveda X. 8. 16, Praśna I. 11 is quoted from Ṛg. I. 164. 12. The Muṇḍaka III. 2. 10

2420. वेदस्य हि निरपेक्षं स्वार्थे प्रामाण्यं स्वेरिव रूपविषये। पुरुषवचसां तु मूलान्तरापेक्षं वक्तृस्मृतिव्यवहितं चेति विभागः। तस्माद्वेदविरुद्धे विषये स्मृत्यनवकाशदोषप्रसङ्गो न दोषः। भाष्य on वे. सू. II.1.1; तर्कज्ञानानां स्वन्योन्यविरोधात्सिद्धा विप्रतिपत्तिः। यद्धि केनचित्तार्किकेणेदमेव सम्यग्ज्ञानमिति प्रतिपादितं तदपरेण व्युत्थाप्यते तेनापि प्रतिष्ठापितं ततोऽपरेण व्युत्थाप्यते इति प्रसिद्धं लोके। कथमेकरूपानवस्थितविषयं तर्कप्रभवं सम्यग्ज्ञानं भवेत्। न च प्रधानवादी तर्कविदामुत्तम इति सर्वैस्तार्किकैः परिगृहीतो येन तदीयं मतं सम्यग्ज्ञानमिति प्रतिपद्येमहि। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. II. 1. 11.

provides that brahmavidyā is to be expounded to śrotriyas (those who have studied the Veda). Herein the Upaniṣads rely upon the principle of adhikārabheda.

One of the oldest philosophical problems is Authority and Reason or to put it in different words, Faith and Reason and there has been throughout the ages a constant struggle between these two. Most men want to rely on some authority, on some one deemed higher than themselves. For vast numbers of people this authority or the something greater than themselves is Revelation and God. They have neither the leisure nor the inclination nor the intellectual ability to think for themselves rationally on such abstruse questions as the existence of God or an individual self, free will and determinism, the general principles of conduct, the final destiny of men after physical death &c. In sociological matters human judgement is often warped by prevailing dogmas and prejudices; on questions which are deemed to be religious (and in India the field of matters deemed to be religious has always been very extensive) a frank discussion is almost impossible without creating anger and rancour. Several ethical questions such as divorce and birth control often assume the position of religious dogmas and when openly discussed create great heat. In several so-called democracies of the present day rational discussion comes last and vital questions are determined by party loyalties or by personality cults or by lust for power and self-aggrandisement. It should not be supposed that ancient and medieval India had no rationalists nor atheists. As a matter of fact there were several rationalists. Vide the present author's note 875 pp. 358–359 in H. of Dh. Vol. II, Vol. III. pp. 46–47 note 57 on Lokāyatas and their views, [2421] and pp. 974–975 note 1596 above for rationalistic criticism of sacrifices, śrāddhas &c. Many rationalists hold that there is no proof of the existence of God, they deny an individual soul, they deny immortality and the existence of any intelligence in the universe higher than man's, deny that there is any design or purpose in the Universe and they believe that in all religions there is some truth mixed with a great deal of error. The case of the rationalist is that

2421. For Lokāyata or Laukāyatika, vide the work Tattvopaplavasiṁha of Jayarāśibhaṭṭa (GOS). The word Lokāyata occurs in the *gaṇa* Ukthādi mentioned in Pāṇini 'Kratūkthādisūtrāntaṭ-ṭhak' IV. 2. 60. Vide Dr. Dakshinaranjan Shastri's 'Short History of Indian Materialism' (Calcutta, 2nd ed. of 1957) and pp. 1205–6 note 1956 above.

he should not be called upon to prove that there is no God (which is a negative proposition), that it is for theists to prove that God exists (which is a positive proposition) and that he is omnipotent and omniscient. They say that to attribute anger, love, pity to God is to implicitly negative God's omnipotence. The problem of evil in the world is, according to rationalists, a great stumbling block in accepting God as good, kind, all-knowing and all-powerful. The rationalist might agree with the theist that man as an individual depends on something greater than himself that is able to give directions and to punish him for the disobedience of directions. For the rationalist it is some kind of community or society in which men live and have their being that is greater than themselves. This would be substituting the worship of the human community or of collective human power for the worship of God. What human community is to be in the place of God? Is it to be the whole human race (now having over two thousand million human beings) or some big or small groups out of these? There are now two well-defined blocks between whom there is a conflict of ideological ends, viz. the communist block represented by the U. S. S. R. and China and the capitalistic block represented by U. S. A., England and several other countries of Europe, and a third unorganized block of countries professing to have no alignment with anyone of the two blocks.

In these days Communism is really a form of worship i. e. worship of man or men in place of the worship of God. It may be conceded that probably the masses of the Russian people are far better off in the matter of physical needs than they were in the regime of the Tsars. The masses seem to have devotion to Communism. But that devotion is more apparent than real, based on the hope of quick gains or the fear of prompt punishment and is the product of rigid State control of education and the environment. The communists have an attractive slogan in the words 'Workers of the world! unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains.' There are also the catchwords 'Dictatorship of the proletariat.'. But this ends in fact in a dictatorship of the Communist Party over the proletariat. In return for physical well-being the common people have had to bargain away several freedoms, freedom to think for themselves, freedom of expression, freedom of intercourse with foreigners, freedom to choose their occupation &c. The communists make no secret that they want to bring the whole world under Communism. Therefore, they pose that they are the

saviours of common men and women throughout the world and they cannot be charged with aggression since they mean to liberate people from the bonds of capitalism or colonialism &c. Their creed is one of fanaticism, of intolerance or hatred of others. The only experiment of a godless society on a large scale was made by the Soviet, but it does not appear to outsiders to have been a happy or successful one. The universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers)[2422] proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society. Dictators have nationalized not only all the means of the production of wealth but also all the *labour* in the country. They have established themselves in the place of God and desire to have total control over the bodies and the minds of all their subjects. The faith of the communists is that their country is a heaven on earth and one must accept their word for that without wanting to see for one self the real state of things. The Communists have their own special versions of history, economics and science. These one must not question.

The followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam (all believing in one God and one Book) did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines and practices by terrible persecutions and bloody wars. This spirit is very shocking to people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism. If Rationalists substitute blocks of humanity or the leaders of such blocks for worship and authority, humanity itself would soon be wiped out. Conceding for argument that the existence of an omnipotent and omniscient Power cannot be proved to the satisfaction of the so-called rationalists, the present writer feels that it is for the good of most societies consisting of millions of common men and women that they believe in God and the individual soul. Most men are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, by the prickings of conscience (which is the inner light implanted in man by God), by the fear of public opinion, and by fear of punishment at the hands of the rulers of the State (vide

2422. Those interested in this phase of Communism should read 'Krushchev and Stalin's Ghost' by Bertram De Wolfe (1957); pp. 88–252 contain on even pages Krushchev's secret report to 20th Congress on the night of February 24, 25 in 1956, translated into English and odd pages contain notes and commentaries by the author. On p. 91 note it is stated that Stalin placed the number of *Kulaks* disposed of at one crore. Vide 'Assignment in Utopia' by E. Lyon (1937) for the horros in Russia before 1934, and 'Communist China to-day' by S. Chandrasekhara, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961 for the present state of morals in China.

Śāntiparva quoted in H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 389 note 619). Those who reject the first of these would have to reject the 2nd also and would have to fall back upon hedonism (the greatest pleasure for themselves) or the idea of greatest good of the greatest number or progress towards some ideal state of society painted by imagination. The pursuit of purely secular or worldly happiness is incompatible with the precepts and ideals of Hinduism and all higher religions. Rationalism accepts the postulates which science finds convenient and useful. Though these postulates work well up to certain limits, it must be said that those limits are very narrow. Science aims at establishing general rules or laws. From those laws we know only the behaviour of nature and how man can utilize natural forces for realizing human aims; but science does not tell us what those aims should be, it is amoral and not concerned with morals or spirituality. Rationalism appears to smother many experiences of the human mind which are beyond the present machinery of science. When the scientific method is adopted in social studies, there is little to show that it leads to increased wisdom about the values that should be pursued. Rationalism insists that all our beliefs ought ultimately to be based on tangible and definite grounds and that modern scientific method is the only reliable method for acquiring knowledge of all kinds. But there are sub-conscious and non-rational impulses, beliefs and intuitions in men that are held by men to be truer or of a higher order than what is on the rationalistic level (vide W. James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 74, ed. of 1920). It should be the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation to find out what is essential and vital in tradition (without believing in the infallibility of all traditions) and to present reasoned dogmas which, while retaining the essential elements of tradition, will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions and environment. It is not necessary to say here more about modern rationalism. For over two thousand years our ancient writers and smṛtis like those of Manu (XII. 105-106 which are relied upon by Kumārila himself as shown on p. 1261 above) have allowed to *tarka* a place in the matter of finding out what Dharma is and have been most tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters as shown above and brought about great changes even in religious rituals, philosophical views, social customs and practices without perpetrating atrocities and indulging in wholesale persecutions. A man may be a monotheist, or a polytheist or

an image-worshipper, an agnostci, or atheist or an idealist philosopher holding 'nirguṇa brahma' as the only reality, yet he may nevertheless be held to be a full Hindu, if he conforms to the general attitude towards Veda and social usages. A more radical tolerance than what our people showed throughout the ages is almost unthinkable. Western writers while admitting great tolerance in religious views and practices harp often on the requirements about observing caste rules in matters of food, marriage etc. But caste is more a social institution than a religious one and therefore just as in Western countries there were rules of etiquette and observance (such as the number 13 and the regulations against working on Sabbath and against theatre going, card playing and physical exercise except walking) that had to be observed meticulously, in India caste rules had to be observed. Besides, even when caste rules were broken the offender had in a meeting of the caste people to admit his mistake, to pay a fine to the caste or village temple and then was restored to all privileges of the caste. As the Christian churches were extremely intolerant of the slightest departure from religious views held at particular times, there arose in Europe the emphasis on rationalism and freedom to hold opinions. Government could effectively mould the opinions of its subjects by controlling education, by censorship of books and by inflicting severe penalties on those who expressed opinions opposed to those espoused by them. The Roman Church prepared an Index of forbidden books and an Index expurgatorius (a list of passages to be expunged from books that were otherwise permitted). The first Index Librorum Prohibitorius in its latest edition (before 1949) contains 5000 titles. Lecky in his 'History of the rise and influence of rationalism in Europe' [2423] points out to the extirpation of Christianity from Japan, of Protestantism from Spain, of the Huguenots from France, of most Catholics from England. The Jesuits acted on the [2424] principle that the end justifies the means.

2423. Vide Lecky's work, vol. II p. 5 for these instances (ed. of 1890). The Toleration Act' (1689) in England expressly excluded Catholics and Unitarians from the benefits of the Act. In 1401 the English Parliament passed the Statute for the burning of heretics which was not repealed until the Stuarts came back. Vide 'Conscience and Liberty' by Robert S. W. Pollard (1940) pages 46–48, for harsh laws in force in England a little over one hundred years ago against non-Conformists and Roman Catholics.

2424. Vide 'Rationalism in Theory and Practice' by Archibald Robertson (pub. by Watts & Co., 1954) p. 57 for the Jesuits. Vide p. 59 of the

(*Continued on next page*)

Their end was the 'greater glory of God', which meant to them the conversion of peoples and kingdoms to Roman Catholicism. Their means included incitements to assassination and to war. It has been mentioned above (p. 483) how Galileo was persecuted for espousing the Copernican theory in astronomy. Not much difference is made to religion whether the Sun revolves round the earth or the earth round the sun. In this connection it may be pointed out that Āryabhaṭa (born in 476 A. D.) appears to have held the view that the stars did not revolve round the earth, but the latter revolved round itself and gave the illustration of a man sitting in a moving boat feeling that it is the stationary objects on the banks that rush past in the opposite direction.[2425] The Pañcasiddhāntikā (13. 6) of Varāhamihira refers to this view and rejects it, not on the ground that it is opposed to the Veda, but on the ground that, if that view were correct, hawks and other birds flying high up in the sky would not be able to come back to their nests without fail. He did not know that the atmosphere also goes with the earth. This was more than eleven hundred years before Galileo and there is nothing to show that Āryabhaṭa suffered in the least for his views. For Āryabhaṭa's view vide 'Āryabhaṭīyam' by W. E. Clark (Chicago, 1930) p. 64. As observed by Archibald Robertson the history of the Rationalist movement in Europe is to a very great extent the history of a fight for the right to hold and propagate opinions unpopular for the time being and the growth of religious toleration in Europe has in fact gone hand in hand with the decay of traditional religious beliefs. Reason arrives at different conclusions on the same matter in different ages and even in the same age what appears reasonable to one group or people is held to be unreasonable by another people. Vide Robert Bridges' 'Testament of Beauty' Book I lines 465–470 on what is reasonable. Millions of people saw fruits falling from tree tops to the earth, but it was only the intuition and logic of Newton that enabled him to formulate the laws of gravitation.

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same book and also 'The flame and the light' by Hugh T. Anson Fausset (London, 1958) pp. 11–12, where the author says that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization of the last five hundred years is dissolving.

2425 अनुलोमगतिर्नौस्थः पश्यत्यचलं विलोमगं यद्वत्। अचलानि भानि तद्वत्समपश्चिमगानि लङ्कायाम्॥ आर्यभट्टीय, गोलपाद verse 9.

Doubt has been and is a frequent and legitimate attitude of the mind as recognised by the Bṛ. Up. (I. 5. 3) 'Kāmaḥ saṅkalpo vicikitsā śraddhā, aśraddhā, dhritir, adhritir hrīr-dhīr-bhīr-etyetat sarvam mana eva' (desire, fancy, *doubt*, faith, want of faith, steadiness, restlessness, shame, understanding, fear, all these are aspects of mind). Even the Ṛgveda (II. 12. 5) refers to doubters about Indra (*utem-āhur-naiṣostityenam*'). In the Kaṭha Up. Naciketas says "when a man dies there is the *doubt*, some saying 'he (the self) exists', others saying 'he ceases to exist" and prays to Yama to resolve that doubt for him as the third boon.

Descartes held that only one truth is beyond doubt viz. *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am). In Europe the whole of the 18th and 19th centuries were dominated as far as thoughtful men were concerned by boundless faith in reason and progress. But owing to the two world wars (particularly the second), their aftermath and the rise of two powerful Communist countries have greatly weakened the faith in progress guided by reason and ethics, faith in the dignity of man and in equality is on the decline and is assailed in many regions and the view that might creates or is right is gaining ground.

The Upaniṣads teach that a sound moral preparation must precede the acquisition of true vedāntic view. The Bṛ. Up. states 'therefore one who knows this, after securing quiescence, restraining his senses, being free from all hankerings, bearing with fortitude all pairs of opposites (such as heat and cold), having his mind concentrated, sees the Self in the self, looks upon everything as Ātman'; the Kaṭhopaniṣad II. 24 says 'one who has not ceased from doing evil actions, who is not quiescent, who has not concentrated his mind nor has made his mind quiescent would not realize this Self by correct knowledge'; Praśna I. 16 'those secure the pure world of *brahman* who are free from crookedness, falsehood and deceitful conduct'; Śv. Up. VI. 22 'this highly esoteric knowledge of Vedānta should not be imparted to one whose mind is not quiescent or who is not a son or disciple'. The great formula 'thou art That' teaches one to look upon all men as Ātman or as the Gītā (VI. 29–30) puts it 'he who is endowed with Yoga and knows Ātman to be in everything and everything as abiding in Ātman, is not lost to the Lord nor is the Lord lost to him'. Compare Īśā Up. 6 and Manu XII. 91. In the Chān. Up. (III. 16. 1) man is symbolically represented as sacrifice and in III. 17. 4 it is stated

that *tapas*, charity, straightforward conduct, ahiṁsā and truthfulness are the dakṣiṇā (sacrificial fees).

This shows that Vedānta in its highest form is the best support of pure morality for individuals. It is on account of this teaching that many sages cultivated these virtues in hermitages and were honoured by kings and common people in ancient times in India, but in medieval times the sages became[2426] rare and as regards common people they were tied down by customs and caste and very few people made strenuous efforts for solidarity of all their countrymen, for meeting their common needs and safeguarding all peoples' interests; and by the side of sublime philosophical tenets our country witnessed abject poverty among large masses of people and political domination by alien or brutal invaders. The tendency to rely on the Vedas, to believe and to argue that what has been is the best, and to appeal to the past has been very strong throughtout our history for centuries. Our motto must not be 'back to the Vedas' but rather 'forward with the Vedas'. While giving due weight to the Veda and authority, we must not condemn all independence in thought.

Some Western rationalists such as Bentham, James Mill and John S. Mill put forward the theory of utilitarianism which briefly comes to this that actions are to be judged by their consequences and are right in proportion as they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the community or of the greatest number. This theory has great drawbacks, the most important being that it is not really a moral theory at all as it does not tell us exactly what a man or community ought to do. Religions tell their followers what they ought to do or not to do. Another difficulty is that what may appear to one man as being for the greatest good of the greatest number may not be so accepted by others and further it is difficult to define what the greatest number regards as good or happiness. Besides, many men care nothing at all about the happiness of others. Moral, political and economic actions are confused by this doctrine. In practice, as the emphasis was put on happiness, this theory

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2426. Even in these days our country can produce men imbued with the true spirit of Advaita-vedānta like Raman Maharshi, the sage of Arunachal (1879–1950) about whom Arthur Osborne has published a very interesting and revealing work 'Raman Maharshi and the path of Self-knowledge' (Rider and Co, 1954).

was made the excuse for epicurianism and indulgence in things material.

The present author is not at all against freedom of thought, but what he objects to is making a fetish of rationalism and making millions of common men and women waver in their faith and principles of conduct by the constant talk of the non-existence of God or of the individual soul &c. The rationalists and utilitarians hardly agree upon any values and principles of conduct to be inculcated among ordinary young men and women. If God and soul be eliminated, they have not been able to put something more valuable in their place, for which the young generation that is growing up would be ready to live laborious days or to sacrifice themselves. Though we may not subscribe to the position that the last word of wisdom on all religious and social matters is to be found in the Veda or in the works of ancient sages and writers, even wise men may hesitate before they decide the question whether we should carry on a campaign for eradicating beliefs in God and an immortal self. The Gītā strikes the right note for most people when it utters the warning (III. 26) 'let not the knowing or wise man (the *jñānin* or *vidvān*) unsettle the minds of the ignorant that are attached to (certain) actions (by habit); the enlightened man, himself doing all work in the true spirit of a yogin, should set others to do all actions.'

As a result of the two world wars in which unspeakable atrocities and barbarities [2427] were committed by highly educated and organized countries most of whose people professed Christianity, there is a revulsion of feeling and several eminent men are busy in attributing the present difficulties to the decay of religious belief and in inviting humanity to return to religion. But the crux of the problem is what religious beliefs and practices are to be inculcated and practised by men in the present age. It appears to the present writer that religions can hardly be a panacea for the ills of the world. Very large blocks of modern educated men are dissatisfied with the tenets and practices of several current religions and their authoritative books. The real difficulty to be grappled with is to

2427. Vide 'Scourge of the Svastika' by Lord Russell of Liverpool p. 171 where he cites the confession of Höss that not less than three million people were put to death at Auschwitz, 2500000 of them by gas chambers and on p. 250 he remarks 'the murder by the Germans of over five million European Jews constitutes the greatest crime in World History.'

define what must be the content of the faith that would appeal to and secure the allegiance of most or all good, intellectual and educated modern men. At different times different virtues (such as monachism, charity, humility, patriotism, social service or philanthrophism) were preached as of supreme importance. The growth of the virtue of patriotism and of the feeling of nationalism in Western countries was not due to Christianity's teachings but to various other causes in Europe's political and economic history. There are religious virtues, heroic virtues, amiable virtues &c. The Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the virtues preached in the Sermon on the Mount, by extending their colonial empires for exploiting vast regions, by decimating millions of unoffending backward races, by hunting human beings as if they were beasts and forcing on them slavery and by preaching from the house tops the great need of competition in all spheres and worshipping it as if it were God. After the holocaust of the great wars, many eminent men, not only religious men, but even those that occupy positions in Government and political life, preach the necessity of the moral sense, of benevolence and kindness towards others, restraint, unselfishness and a desire to allow others to share in the good things of life, which virtues were emphasized for all men in the Br. Up. V. 2. 1–3 quoted above.[2428]

In India Emperor Aśoka in the 3rd century B. C. inculcated in his Edicts tolerance for the Brahmanic and the Buddhist faith (vide pp. 1011-12 above). Aśoka does not enter into dogma of any kind, but regarding himself as the father of all his subjects enjoins on them a morality that is practical and would be acceptable to all, such as tolerance, humanity, charity to monks and also to the poor and compassion towards dumb animals. Later on, it was at the most necessary to show that the doctrines put forth by reasoning were not directly opposed to the dicta

2428. Archibald Robertson in "Rationalism in theory and Practice" (Watts and co, London 1954) asserts (on page 41) that Christian morals have never been practised and that a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount. W. R. Mathews in 'Christ' (London, 1939) agrees (on page 76) with Professor Whitehead that the adoption of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount literally understood on any large scale would mean the sudden death of civilization. C. H. Tawney in 'Acquisitive Society' (1921) asserts that what was Christian in Christianity had largely disappeared from about 1700 A. D. (pages 12–13).

of the Veda. To take only one example: though the Upaniṣads express Advaita in such Mahāvākyas 'aham brahmāsmi' (Ch. Up. III. 14. 1), 'tat-tvam-asi' (Ch. Up. VI. 8. 7), Madhvācārya could expound his thorough-going *dvaita* doctrine, could explain away by reasoning the above passages and claim to be the only true expounder of Veda and denounce the *advaita* doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without any serious persecution on either side. Yājñavalkya (II. 192) calls upon the king to safeguard the special usages of guilds and heretics and their modes of livelihood. This tolerance for multiplicity of forms and practices in religion and for diametrically opposed philosophic views has had also its weakness viz. it permitted the growth of endless variations in the formulation of faith, ritual and philosophic doctrines and led in great measure to several abuses, to some unhealthy and even revolting practices.

SECTION IX

CHAPTER XXXIV

COSMOLOGY

All writers on Dharmaśāstra are agreed on the existence of God. They rarely enter upon the task of adducing arguments for the existence of God. Christian theologians for hundreds of years put forward various arguments pointing to the existence of God. They are briefly summarised in William James' 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 437 (ed. of 1920). The *cosmological argument reasons from the ordered universe to a* First Cause which must be conceived as God who must at least possess whatever perfection the universe itself contains. The argument from purpose or design (teleological argument) bases itself on the evidence of purpose or design in Nature and concludes that the First Cause (God) must be a creative intellect or mind. Then there are other arguments also such as the 'moral argument' (viz. the moral law presupposes a law-giver), the argument *ex consensu gentium* (viz. there is widespread belief in God all over the world and it should carry weight).[2429]

2429. Vide also F. W. West-way's 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (Blackie & Son, 1938), which adds a fifth to James' four viz,. ontological argument (the very idea or concept of God makes the existence of God requisite) pp. 378–80. W. James in 'Pragmatism' (p. 109, ed. 1910) states that the evidence for the existence of God lies primarily in inner personal experience. Mr. Westway (on p. 374) gives a definite answer that there is no proof of the existence of God, but (on p. 387) he admits that the argument from design carries an extremely high degree of probability and that he believes that the Universe is not merely a chance-made affair as some philosophers believe. The argument from design (for God's existence) is held to have been shattered by the theory of evolution. If everything has a cause, it is also argued, why should God not have a cause? And it is said by some that there is no reason to suppose that the world had a beginning at all. This is the view of famous Mīmāṁsakas like Kumārila. Vide above pp. 1209–1210 and note 1963. H. G. Wells in his 'You can't be too careful' (London 1942, p. 282) holds that the idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence must be

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The Upaniṣads speak of the Absolute *brahman* as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the *bhūtas* (beings or elements or both). For example, the Tai. Up. III. 1 (Bhṛgu[2430] is instructed by his father Varuṇa) 'desire to know that from which all *bhūtas* spring, by which, after being created, they live (are sustained) and to which they return and are absorbed therein; that is *brahma*'. This is the basic text on which V. S. I. 1. 2 (janmādyasya yataḥ) is based. This means 'from which the creation (sustenance and dissolution) of this (world) proceed' (that is brahma). Another passage of the Tai. Up. (II. 1) states that 'from this Ātman Ākāśa sprang, from ākāśa Vāyu, from Vāyu Agni, from Agni waters, from waters the earth, from earth plants, from plants food, from food man'. A passage of the Chān. Up. states[2431] 'all this, indeed, is brahma; a man, cultivating restraint of the mind, should meditate on that (world) as springing from, ending in and breathing on account of that (brahma)'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 2. 1 (*sarvatra prasiddhopadeśāt*). Here the three attributes of brahma are creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe.

The Vedāntasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa further says that śāstras (sacred canon or texts) are the source of the correct knowledge

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abandoned, since, according to him, these are preposterous absolutes. On the other hand Dr, F. W. Jones in his work 'Design and purpose' (London, 1942) puts forward the view that many people are in danger of losing sight of the truth that the Cosmos is an ordered entity and that many have lost belief in the purpose of human life (p. 13). The teleological argument may strengthen the faith of a person who already believes in God, but it appears that it cannot create faith in God in the case of one who does not subscribe to that view. Abel Jones in 'In search of truth' (1945) holds that the three main arguments for the existence of God are cosmological, teleological and ontological.

2430. यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते येन जातानि जीवन्ति यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति तद् विजिज्ञासस्व। तद् ब्रह्मेति। तै. उप. III. 1.

2431. सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीत। छा. उप. III. 14. 1. The word तज्जलान् applied to brahma is peculiar; it is explained by शङ्कराचार्य as follows: तज्जलानिति। तस्माद् ब्रह्मणो जातं तेजोबन्नादिक्रमेण सर्वम्। अतस्तज्जम्। तथा तेनैव जननक्रमेण प्रतिलोमतया तस्मिन्नेव ब्रह्मणि लीयते तदात्मतया श्लिष्यते इति तल्लम्। तथा तस्मिन्नेव स्थितिकाले अनिति प्राणिति चेष्टते इति। Vide also छा. उप. I. 9. 1 सर्वाणि ह वा इमानि भूतान्याकाशादेव समुत्पद्यन्त आकाशं प्रत्यस्तं यन्त्याकाशो ह्येवैभ्यो ज्यायान्। आकाशः परायणम्।.

of *brahma*.[2432] To the objection that the Veda is concerned with rites, that some portions of it are meant for the praise of rites, that the Vedic *mantras* only remind the performer about the various ingredients of sacrifice, that, therefore, the Vedānta texts either serve no purpose at all or at the most give information about the soul of the sacrificer or the deity to be worshipped in sacrifices, the reply is given by the Vedāntasūtra I. 1. 4 (*tat-tu samanvayāt*), which means that all Vedānta texts are agreed that their purport is to establish that brahma, which has been postulated (in V. S. I. 1. 2) as the creator, preserver and absorber of the world has that character and is omniscient and omnipotent.

That the argument from design also was present to the minds of the propounders of Vedānta follows from the fact that the Vedāntasūtra (II. 2. 1, racanānupapatteśca nānumānam) denies that the *Pradhāna* of the Sānkhya (that is postulated as *acetana*) can be inferred as the cause of the universe.[2433]

It may be noted here that, according to Śaṅkarācārya, the detailed[2434] statements on the doctrine about creation contained in the Upanisads are not to be taken literally, that no special purpose dependent thereon can be found nor is such a purpose laid down by Śruti (Veda), but all those statements are intended to lead on to the knowledge of *brahma* and to expound the non-difference of the world from brahma.[2435] From early times most

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2432. शास्त्रयोनित्वात्। वे. सू. I 1. 3; शाङ्करभाष्य। यथोक्तसूत्रवेदादिशास्त्रं योनिः कारणं प्रमाणमस्य ब्रह्मणो यथावत्स्वरूपाधिगमे। तत्तु समन्वयात्। वे. सू. I. 1. 4; भाष्य 'तद् ब्रह्म सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्ति जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिलयकारणं वेदान्तशास्त्रादेवावगम्यते। कथम् समन्वयात्। सर्वेषु हि वेदान्तेषु वाक्यानि तात्पर्येणैतस्यार्थस्य प्रतिपादकत्वेन समनुगतानि।'

2433. अतो रचनानुपपत्तेश्च हेतोर्नाचेतनं जगत्कारणमनुमातव्यं भवति। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू II. 2. 1.

2434. न ह्ययं सृष्ट्यादिप्रपञ्चः प्रतिपिपादयिषितः। न हि तत्प्रतिबद्धः कश्चित्पुरुषार्थो दृश्यते श्रूयते वा। न च कल्पयितुं शक्यते, उपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यां तत्र तत्र ब्रह्मविषयैर्वाक्यैः सार्वमेकवाक्यतायाः गम्यमानत्वात्। दर्शयति च सृष्ट्यादिप्रपञ्चस्य ब्रह्मप्रतिपत्त्यर्थताम्—'अनेन सोम्य शुङ्गेनापो मूलमन्विच्छ ... सन्मूलमन्विच्छ' (छा. VI. 8. 4) इति। सृष्टादिदृष्टान्तैश्च कार्यस्य कारणेनाभेदं वदितुं सृष्ट्यादिप्रपञ्चः श्राव्यत इति गम्यते। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू' I. 4. 14. For सृष्टादिदृष्टान्त, vide छा. उप. VI. 3. 4–6 यथा सोम्यैकेन मृत्पिण्डेन सर्वं मृन्मयं विज्ञातं स्यात्। वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्॥ Again on V. S. IV. 3. 14 Śaṅkarācārya remarks: सृष्टादिदृष्टान्तैर्हि सतो ब्रह्मण एकस्य सत्यत्वं विकारस्य चानृतत्वं प्रतिपादयच्छास्त्रं नोत्पत्त्यादिपरं भवितुमर्हति। ... एवमुत्पत्त्यादिश्रुतीनामैकात्म्यावगमपरत्वाज्ज्ञानैकफलत्वोपपत्तेर्ब्रह्मणः॥

2435. The following works may be read for cosmology of Vedic texts: H. W. Wallis on 'Cosmology of the Ṛgveda' (1887); 'Vedic mythology

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philosophers oscillate between the doctrine of the First Principle as immanent in the universe and the doctrine that God is the creator and is transcendent. The Rgveda and Upaniṣads appear to postulate the first doctrine according to which the Absolute enters into it when it creates the Universe (Tai. Up. II. 6 'tat sṛṣṭvā tad-evānuprāviśat'), Chān. Up. VI. 2. 1, VI. 3. 2, Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10. They also speak of God as ruling the Universe (antaryāmin) as in Bṛ. Up. III. 7. Kauṣitaki Up. III. 8. At that time there was no atomic theory. Early Greek thought also wavered between the two doctrines. Later on came the rival theory of cosmology in which atoms played a great part, that was adumbrated by Democritus (died about 370 B. C. acc. to William James in 'Some Problems', and explained by Lucretius. In India also the Vaiśesikas put forward the theory that the world is paramāṇus (atoms). Kaṇāda or Kaṇabhuk (lit. one who assumes or subsists on kaṇas, very subtle particles) is the reputed founder of the Vaiśeṣika system. He does not expressly say anything about God. But later medieval writers on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika combined the two doctrines of God and atoms. As the Tarkadīpikā[2436] puts the theory it is as follows: when God desires to create, activity is produced among the atoms, two atoms join, dvyaṇuka (dyad) is produced, tryaṇuka is produced from three dvyaṇukas and in the end the great earth is produced; of things created when God desires to bring about dissolution an activity is produced in the atoms. The atoms are eternal and infinite in number.

Though there was almost universal agreement about the existence of God among the Dharmaśāstra writers, there was (as in the[2437] West) divergence about the names, nature and

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by A. A. Macdonell pp. 8–15, Deussen's 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' translated into English by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 180–253; 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads' by A. B. Keith, pp. 570–584. A recent work 'Theories of the Universe' by Milton K. Munitz (pub. by Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957) deals with the cosmologies of several countries from Babylonian myth to modern science (but omits the Indian material).

2436. ईश्वरस्य चिकीर्षावशात्परमाणुषु क्रिया जायते। ततः परमाणुद्वयसंयोगे सति द्व्यणुकमुत्पद्यते त्रिभिर्द्व्यणुकैस्त्र्यणुकम्। एवं चतुरणुकादिक्रमेण महती पृथिवी ... वायुरुत्पद्यते। ... एवमुत्पन्नस्य कार्यद्रव्यस्य संहितीर्षावशात् परमाणुषु क्रिया। तर्कदीपिका p. 9 (Athalye's 2nd ed. of 1918).

2437. In the West, Jeans in 'Mysterious Universe' (Cambridge 1931 goes so far as to say (on p. 134) 'the great Architect of the Universe ...

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attributes of God. Most were agreed that God is one without a second, is spiritual (and not physical, though several people worshipped Him in the form of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Devī), immutable, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, creator, holy, good and just &c. Difficult questions arise about belief in God. One or two may be mentioned: Is God omniscient in the completed and strictest sense viz. whether he could do anything whatever as he likes or whether there are certain things which he cannot do. Another question is whether all existing things other than himself have been created by him or whether there are some things whose existence is as ultimate as God's. All religions are faced with difficulties and therefore religion is a matter of faith.

Though the Ṛgveda is full of the deeds of and prayers to individual Gods (such as Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Soma), the Ṛgveda contains several hymns and verses to the effect that the original Principle is only one, that it creates the world out of itself, enters into it and inspires it. In Ṛg. I. 164. 46 the sage says 'the wise speak of the One existing (principle) under various names, they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan (wind god)'. This is not a solitary verse. There are similar verses in the Ṛgveda. For example, Ṛgveda VIII. 58. 2 (a verse from the Vālakhilya hymns) says 'The one fire is kindled in many places, the one Sun appears in the whole world, the one Dawn shines over all this world and the One (Principle, Spirit) became all this'. In Ṛg. X. 90. 2, it is declared 'all this universe is (in reality) the Puruṣa alone, (both) what has been and what will come into existence in future'. In Ṛg. II. 1. 3–7 Agni is identified with Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Tvaṣṭṛ, Rudra, Draviṇodas, Savitṛ and Bhaga. All these verses establish that ultimately all plurality is only a play of words, a mere name ('Vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam' as the Chān. Up. VI. 1. 4 states) and that unity is the only Reality and that the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads appears in germ in the Ṛgveda.

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begins to appear as a pure mathematician.' Einstein, the greatest scientist of modern times, is reported to have cabled back to Rabbi H. S. Goldstein of New York (who asked by wire 'Do you believe in God) that 'I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the harmony of all beings, not in a God who concerns himself with the fate and actions of men.' In 'Out of my later years' he holds that the main conflict between science and religion lies in the concept of a personal God. Vide Viscount Samuel's address in the symposium 'In search of faith' edited by E. W. Martin p. 78, where four views on the relation of God and the world are mentioned.

In the Ṛgveda there are several hymns about the creation of the world in the 10th Maṇḍala (X. 72, X. 81 and 82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129). For reasons of space all these cannot be set out at length, but some important texts will be mentioned. The main purpose of the hymn (X. 72) is to describe the birth of eight Ādityas. Ṛg. X. 72. 2 states[2438] that Brahmaṇaspati brought about the (births of) gods like a smith (that works with bellows) and that in the primeval ages of the Gods' *sat* was produced from *asat*. In Ṛg. X. 72. 4–5 and 8 it is said that Dakṣa was born from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa, that the gods were born after her (Aditi) and that from Aditi eight sons were born. The two hymns X. 81 and 82 refer to Viśvakarman who fashioned the worlds. X. 81. 2 and 4 ask questions 'what was the base[2439] (from where he created the world), what was the

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2438. ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता सं कर्मार इवाधमत् । देवानां पूर्व्ये युगेऽसतः सदजायत ॥ ऋ. X. 72. 2. Here 'Asat' must be taken to mean 'undeveloped' (*Avyakta*) and not as meaning 'non-existent'. The Bṛ. Up. (I. 4. 7) states 'all this was then (before creation began) undeveloped and it was developed by name and form'. Similarly, in the Tai. Up. II. 7 it is said असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत् ततो वै सदजायत. But the Chān. Up. (VI. 3. 1–3) emphatically asserts "in the beginning there was that only which was 'sat', one only without a second; some say 'in the beginning there was that only which is *asat*, from which arose *sat*'; but how could it be thus, how would *sat* (that which is) spring from *asat* (that which is not)? It is sat only that was at the beginning, one without a second. It reflected 'may I be many, may I produce'; it created fire &c." Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 4. 15 refers to Tai. Up. II. 7 'asad vā idam-agra āsit' and Chān. Up. III. 19. 1 'asad-evedam-agra āsīt' and explains what is meant by *asat* in such passages viz. 'नामरूपव्याकृतवस्तुविषयः प्रायेण सच्छब्दः प्रसिद्ध इति तद्व्याकरणाभावापेक्षया प्राग्उत्पत्तेः सदेव ब्रह्मासदिवासीदित्युपचर्यते' and points out that in such passages Śruti itself adds words which give the go-by and refute the words 'asad-evedam' &c. In Ṛg. X. 72. 4 (aditer dakṣo ajāyata) Prof. Velankar (Pro. of All I. O. Conference, 17th Session in 1953) holds 'aditeḥ' to be in the genitive case (p. 62) and not in the ablative case, to avoid the riddle how Dakṣa and Aditi were born of each other; but that breaks the symmetry of the words, such as 'asataḥ', 'uttānapadaḥ', 'bhuvaḥ' that precede and are taken as ablatives The present author demurs to this explanation offered by Prof. Velankar.

2439. किं स्विदासीदधिष्ठानमारम्भणं कतमत्स्वित्कथासीत् । यतो भूमिं जनयन्विश्वकर्मा वि द्यामौर्णोन्महिना विश्वचक्षाः॥ विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखो विश्वतो बाहुरुत विश्वतस्पात् । सं बाहुभ्यां धमति सं पतत्रैर्द्यावाभूमी जनयन्देव एकः॥ किं स्विद्वनं क उ स वृक्ष आस यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः । मनीषिणो मनसा पृच्छतेदु तद्यदध्यतिष्ठद्भुवनानि धारयन् ॥ ऋ. X. 81. 2–4. The half verse किंस्विद्वनं occurs in Ṛg. X. 31. 7 also. सायण explains कथासीत् in the first verse as 'कथमभूत् किं स्वयं सदसद्वा भवेदित्यर्थः । उभयथापि नोपपद्यते । सती

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material (out of which he fashioned the earth), what was the forest and the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out' and the third verse describes the one God as follows 'The one God who sees all round, whose face is turned in all directions, who has hands and feet everywhere, who when creating heaven and earth sends them forth with his (two) hands as with bellows and with wings' (as a bird is propelled). Ṛgveda X. 90 (containing 16 verses) is the famous hymn called Puruṣasūkta and postulates a supreme creator as a Puruṣa (called Ādipuruṣa by Sāyaṇa) with a thousand heads, eyes and feet, asserts that all this that has come into being and that is yet to come is Puruṣa, that from Puruṣa arose Virāj, from whom arose (what we may call the second) Puruṣa (Hiraṇyagarbha) whom the gods offered as *havis* (oblation or *paśu*) in a symbolical sacrifice in which the three seasons, Vasanta, Grīṣma and Śarad were respectively the ghee, the fuel and the *havis*. This hymn was probably composed at a time when, it appears, there was a firm belief (as in Śat. Br. V. 2. 4. 7, VI. 1. 1. 3 and Tai. S. VII. 4. 2. 1) that nothing great can be accomplished without *yajña* or *tapas*. The hymn then proceeds to say that from that primeval *yajña* all animals (horses, cows &c.), the four *varṇas*, the Sun, the Moon, Agni, Indra, the Veda, heaven and earth were produced. In the Atharvaveda XIX. 6 also there are 16 verses of which the first fifteen correspond with the first 15 verses of the Puruṣasūkta, but the order of verses is different and some of the words also are slightly changed. The Vāj. S. 31 has all the 16 verses of the Puruṣasūkta but it contains five more verses and a prose passage at the end. Rg. X. 121. 1 declares[2440] that in the beginning Hiraṇya-

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(*Continued from last page*)

वद्देतमङ्गमसङ्गः। असच्चेत् सदात्मकयोर्द्यावापृथिव्योरुपादानानर्हत्वात्। नान्यत्किंचन मिषत् इति श्रुतेश्चेत्यभिप्रायः।". The तै. ब्रा. (II. 8. 9. 3 ff) repeats all the verses of Ṛg. X. 129 except the 3rd verse and in II. 8. 9 6 states that the answer to the question किं स्विद्वनं (Ṛg. X. 81. 4) is ब्रह्म वनं ब्रह्म स वृक्ष आसीद्यतो द्यावापृथिवी निष्टतक्षुः। मनीषिणो मनसा विब्रवीमि वो ब्रह्माध्यतिष्ठद्भुवनानि धारयन्॥ 'Brahma was the forest and the tree from which they chiselled heaven and earth (and worlds)'.

2440. हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे भूतस्य जातः पतिरेक आसीत्। ऋ. X. 121. 1. The तै. सं. V. 5. 1. 2 provides 'हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे इत्याधानमाधास्यति प्रजापतिर्वै हिरण्यगर्भः प्रजापतेरनुरूपत्वाय'. य आत्मदा बलदा यस्य विश्व उपासते प्रशिषं यस्य देवाः। यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम॥ ऋ. X. 121. 2. 'He gives life and strength, his commandments are honoured by all the Gods, whose shadow is immortality and also death; who is this God whom we worship with other offerings (or to what God we may offer worship with *havis*?).

garbha (the Golden Egg) was born; and verse 10 identifies him with Prajāpati and verses 8 and 10 declare that waters were produced by him from which issues forth Hiranyagarbha (the Golden egg), which was Prajāpati Himself. The second verse is quoted in n. 1440. Rg. X. 125 is a hymn placed in the mouth of Vāk (speech), wherein speech is portrayed as a power even beyond the gods and as creative. Three (1, 6, 8) out of the eight verses may be rendered here 'I move along with the Rudras and Vasus, with the Ādityas and Viśvedevas; I support both Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni and the two Aśvins. I stretch the bow of Rudra in order to kill the enemy, the hater of *brahma* (sacred prayer); I cause war for men; I entered heaven and earth. I blow like the wind, producing all the worlds; I am beyond heaven and beyond this earth; by my greatness (power) I have become such a one'. Here one must hold that the sage is not referring to ordinary speech or language but to the conception that word has creative power and that it is one with God or was the thought uttered by *brahman*.

Rg. X. 129 (called Nāsadīya-sūkta from the opening words) is a unique hymn.[2441] Several passages of his hymn are yet very obscure in spite of the labour bestowed upon it by eminent scholars. In this hymn the First Principle or Creator is not given any name but is simply spoken of as 'tad-ekam', as done in the Upaniṣads in 'Tat-tvam-asi' or 'ekam-evādvitīyam' (Chān. Up. VI. 2.1-2.). The important and tolerably clear passages are translated here: "There was then neither 'asat' (what is not,

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2441. नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं नासीद्रजो नो व्योमा परो यत्। किमावरीवः कुह कस्य शर्मन्नम्भः किमासीद्गहनं गभीरम्॥ न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि न रात्र्या अह्न आसीत् प्रकेतः। आनीदवातं स्वधया तदेकं तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किं च नास॥ तम आसीत्तमसा गूळ्हमग्रेऽप्रकेतं सलिलं सर्वमा इदम्। ... कामस्तदग्रे समवर्ततताधि मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्। ... को अद्धा वेद क इह प्रवोचत् कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः। ... इयं विसृष्टिर्यत आबभूव यदि वा दधे यदि वा न। यो अस्याध्यक्षः परमे व्योमन् सो अङ्ग वेद यदि वा न वेद॥ ऋ. X. 129. 1–7. The शतपथब्राह्मण (X. 5. 3. 1–2) makes an interesting reference to this hymn: 'नेव वा इदमग्रेऽसदासीन्नेव सदासीत्। आसीदिव वा इदमग्रे नेवासीत्तद्ध तन्मन एवास। तस्मादेतदृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम्। नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीमिति। नेव हि सन्मनो नेवासत् तदिदं मनः सृष्टमिवरुवूपत्।' This Br. makes it clear that this (Universe) was as it were neither non-existent nor existent and it further says 'in the beginning this (Universe) as it were existed and did not exist: there was then only the mind and that mind as it were was neither existent nor non-existent.' It may be noted that the Bhāgavatapurāṇa speaks of the Lord as importing the esoteric (guhya) Truth in verses 32–36 of II. 9; verse 32 which reminds us of Rg. X. 129. 1 is: अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यद्यत्सदसत्परम्। पश्चादहं यदेतच्च योऽवशिष्येत सोऽस्म्यहम्॥.

non-being) nor 'sat' (what is); there was no sky nor the heaven which is beyond; what was it that covered all? Where was it and under whose shelter? Was there deep unfathomable abyss of waters?; (2) There was no death, hence nothing immortal; there was no consciousness (distinction) of night and day; that one breathed by its own nature (power) without there being any air, really nothing other than that existed; (4) desire came into being, that was the first flow (seed, offspring) of the mind; (6) who knows directly, who can proclaim it here whence this creation came into being; (7) He from whom arose this creation, whether he made it or did not make it, the Highest seer in the highest heaven, he indeed knows or even he does not know?

It would be noticed that the sage, who was a poet and philosopher, proclaimed that there was that one Being, raised high above all gods, conditions and limitations; he, the sage, gives expression to what he conceived to be the state before the creation of the universe. Night and day, death and immortality are opposites. These exist only when there is manifestness or creation and therefore he says 'there was no death, nor anything immortal'. The hymn does not say that there was non-being out of which being grew. What he means is that That One alone breathed, the opposites, being and non-being, did not exist. For translations and remarks on this hymn, vide Max-Müller's 'History of ancient Sanskrit Literature' (1859) pp. 539–566, and 'Six systems of Indian Philosophy' (1919 ed.) pp. 49–52, Dr. Radhakrishnan's 'Indian Philosophy' (1923), vol. I. pp. 100-104. Prof. Whitney (Proceedings of American Oriental Society Vol. XI p. CXI.), in his characteristic supercilious manner referred to above on p. 512, remarked that the praises bestowed on this hymn were nauseating. Deussen, long after Whitney's diatribe, said 'in its noble simplicity, in the loftiness of its philosophic vision, it is possibly the most admirable bit of the philosophy of olden times' and that 'no translation can ever do justice to the beauty of the original' (vide Bloomfield's 'The religion of the Veda,' p. 234, ed. of 1908). Vide Keith's 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads.' Vol. II. pp. 435–436. In many other passages of the Ṛgveda, different gods are referred to as creators. God Prajāpati is said to have created heaven and earth, the wide, deep, well formed and to have pushed them by his power without support (IV. 56. 3). Indra is said to have created the Sun and Uṣas (Rg. II. 12. 7) and to have established heaven without any beam to support, supported and spread the earth (Rg. II. 15. 2).

The creation hymns refer to a stage when there was no generally accepted theory about the origin of the world. But this much is clear that in the most ancient times, at least some of the Vedic sages had arrived at the theory that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names and that it willed to create the world and created it from itself.

Apart from the above-mentioned hymns that may be called creation hymns, the Ṛgveda contains many references to the creation or the support [2442] of heaven and earth by several gods and also creation of other things. In Ṛg. X. 89. 4 Indra is said to have made from heaven and earth on all sides as the axle does the wheels. Ṛg. I. 154. 4 refers to Viṣṇu who single-handed supports the three, viz. the earth, the heaven (and antarikṣa) and all the worlds. Mitra is said to support heaven and earth (Ṛg. III. 59. 1) and to bear all gods (Ṛg. III. 59. 8) [2443]. Brahmaṇaspati (Lord of Prayer, Bṛhaspati) is said to have sent forth (blazed) the births of gods like a blacksmith and that in the primeval times of the gods *sat* was born from *asat*. Soma is said (Ṛg. VI. 47. 4) to have made the width of the earth and the loftiness of the heaven and supported the wide antarikṣa (mid regions) and in Ṛg. II. 40 (which is addressed jointly to Soma-Pūsan) it is said that one of them (Soma) produced all worlds and the other (Pūṣan, the Sun) goes overseeing or marking, the doings of the whole world (verse 5).

In Ṛg. VII. 78. 3 dawns (plural) are said to have created the Sun, Yajña and Agni. This is metaphorical, since after each dawn the Sun rises, sacrificial fire is kindled into flames and sacrifice is offered. In Ṛg. I. 96. 2 Agni is said to be the progenitor of men. In Ṛg. II. 35. 2 (apām napāt, grandson of waters i. e. Agni) is said to have created all worlds.

Heaven and earth (as dual divinities) have six hymns addressed to them in the Ṛg., viz. I. 159–160, 185, IV. 56, VI. 70, VII. 53) and they are called 'rodasī' and sisters (Ṛg. I. 185. 5). They are also called parents of the gods (Ṛg. VIII. 97. 8, X. 2. 7).

2442. य उ त्रिधातु पृथिवीमुत द्यामेको दाधार भुवनानि विश्वा। ऋ. 1. 154. 4. The word त्रिधातु occurs at least two dozen times in the Ṛgveda, but the meaning is not certain. In Ṛg. VIII 40 12 we have 'tridhātunā śarmaṇa pātamasmān' (protect us with a three-fold protection) and it is difficult to say what 'tridhātu' protection is.

2443. ब्रह्मणस्पतिरेता...सदजायत। ऋ. X. 72. 2. एता refers to जाना (जज्ञानि) in the first verse (देवानां नु वयं जाना प्रवोचाम विपन्यया). For the meaning of सत् and असत् vide note 2438 above.

The word 'antarikṣa' (atmospheric region) occurs at least a hundred times in the Ṛgveda. Sometimes we have phrases like (*tisraḥ pṛthvīḥ*) meaning the three worlds including the earth (Ṛg. I. 34. 8), while in other passages reference is made to lower, middle and highest pṛithivi as in Ṛg. I. 108. 9 (*yad indrāgni avamasyām pṛthivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta sthaḥ*) meaning thereby the earth, antarikṣa and heaven. Antariksa is often called 'rajas' as the region of dust, mists and clouds in Ṛg. I. 35. 2 and 9).

In Ṛg. I. 35. 6 it is said 'there are three *dyaus* (i. e. heaven, antarikṣa and earth), two are on the lap of Savitṛ (i. e. heaven and earth) and one (antarikṣa) is in the world of Yama. The sage explains in Ṛg. X. 88. 15 'I have heard of two paths viz. of the pitṛs and of the gods and also of men; the whole world that moves reaches that (region) which is between the father (heaven) and the mother (the earth)'.

Varuṇa is said to have spread antarikṣa on forests, spread the Sun in heaven and Soma on mountains (Ṛg. V. 85. 2). Even in the times of the Ṛgveda speculation had begun about the distance between heaven and earth. In Ṛg. I. 155. 5 the poet says that no one dare soar up to the third step of Viṣṇu (i. e. heaven), not even the birds flying on their wings. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the distance between the earth and heaven is put at one thousand days' journey for a horse.[2444]

In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā Prajāpati is frequently mentioned as creating the gods and asuras (III. 3. 7. 1), as creating yajñas (I. 6. 9. 1), as creating people (II. 1. 2. 1) and animals (I. 5. 9. 7) and desiring to create *prajā* and performing tapas for that (III. 1. 1. 1). Tai. S. (V. 6. 4. 2) states that all this in the beginning was water, a sea and that Prajāpati becoming wind floated rapidly on a lotus leaf.

The Atharvaveda has some hymns on creation. But they are verbose, repetitive and do not possess the depth, philosophy and terse style of the hymns of the Ṛgveda cited above. In hymns 7 and 8 of the 10th *kāṇḍa* it puts forward Skambha as the base and as identified with Prajāpati, as the creator and supporter of all worlds and as having all the thirty-three gods in himself; it asks 'by how much did Skambha enter the manifold

2444. सहस्रमस्यै स्वर्गस्यानत्य सहस्राय्हीये वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः। ऐ. ब्रा. (7th अ, 7th खण्ड or 2nd पञ्चिका 17).

forms of the highest, lowest and middling type that Prajāpati created; how much is that in which he (Skambha) did not enter'? In Rg. IX. 86. 46 Soma made for sacrifice is spoken of as Skambha. Hymn 8 of kāṇḍa X (of Atharvaveda) is styled 'description of Jyeṣṭha-brahma' (the highest or oldest brahma). Two verses from it may be cited 'Obeisance to that *Jyeṣṭha Brahma* that governs all, whether produced or to be produced, and to whom alone heaven pertains. These two, heaven and earth, stand supported by Skambha; all this that has *Ātman*, that breathes and blinks is Skambha. Skambha literally means 'support' or 'pillar'. The verbal form 'Skabhnāti' occurs in Rg X. 6. 3 and the word 'Skambha' occurs several times in the Rg. but not in the sense of 'creator'. In Atharva X. 8. 2 Skambha is mentioned twice, while in X. 7[2445] (of 44 verses) it occurs many times. Atharva X. 2 is called Brahmaprakāśana hymn (of 33 verses). Numerous questions are asked in verses one to 19. In verses 20, 22, 24 questions are asked and verses 21, 23, 25 give replies to them. One question and answer may be set out 'By whom was this earth made (or arranged), by whom was the high heaven placed, by whom was the sky placed above and crosswise and in various directions'? 'Brahma made the earth, brahma is the heaven placed high, it is brahma that is the sky placed above, cross-wise and in various directions.' Verse 27 of Atharva X. 8 is the same as Śv. Up. IV. 3 and identifies the creator with young and old, men and women and boy and girl. In Atharva X. 8 several other deities also are mentioned but they are deemed to be comprehended in the Supreme Entity. In Atharva IX. 2 (25 verses) there is apotheosis of Kāma, in the first eighteen verses of which there are prayers to Kāma for vanquishing and driving away enemies, the last quarter of each of the verses 19 to 24 ends 'tasmai te Kāma nama it kṛṇomi' (I offer obeisance to you, O Kāma'). These six verses declare that Kāma appeared first, that neither the gods, nor pitṛs nor men reached Kāma who is greater than heaven and earth, waters, Agni, the directions, all beings that blink their eyes, the sea; Vāta, Agni, the Sun and the Moon do not reach Kāma.

2445. यस्मिन् स्तब्ध्वा प्रजापतिर्लोकान्सर्वां° अधारयत्। स्कम्भं तं ब्रूहि कतमः स्विदेव सः॥ यत्परममवमं यच्च मध्यमं प्रजापतिः ससृजे विश्वरूपम्। कियता स्कम्भः प्रविवेश तत्र यत्र प्राविशत्कियत्तद् बभूव॥ यस्य त्रयस्त्रिंशद्देवा अङ्गे सर्वे समाहिताः। स्कम्भं तं ब्रूहि कतमः स्विदेव सः॥ अथर्व X. 7. 7, 8, 13; केनेयं भूमिर्विहिता केन द्यौरुत्तरा हिता। केनेदमूर्ध्वं तिर्यक् चान्तरिक्षं व्यचो हितम्॥ ब्रह्मणा भूमिर्विहिता ब्रह्म द्यौरुत्तरा हिता। ब्रह्मेदमूर्ध्वं तिर्यक्चान्तरिक्षं व्यचो हितम्। अथर्व° X. 2. 24-25.

Atharva XIX. 52 is a hymn[2446] of five verses addressed to Kāma, who is said to have appeared in the beginning and was the first flow of the mind.

Atharvaveda XI. 4 (26 verses) is addressed to Prāṇa, the first verse being 'obeisance to Prāṇa under whose domination is all this (world); he is the Lord of all and in him everything is centred (or established)' and verse 12 is 'Prāṇa is Virāj, Prāṇa is the directing power, all offer worship to Prāṇa, Prāṇa is indeed the Sun, the Moon and they (the sages) call him Prajāpati'.

In hymns 53 (10 verses) and 54 (5 verses) of Kāṇḍa 19 the Atharvaveda appears to put forward Kāla (time) as the first principle. Three of these are here translated. '*Tapas* is placed in Kāla, also the Jyeṣṭha Brahma, Kāla is the Lord of all, he was the father of Prajāpati; Kāla created people, in the beginning Kāla created Prajāpati, Svayambhū (Brahmā), Kaśyapa and *tapas* sprang from Kāla; from Kāla were born waters, *brahma, tapas* and directions, sun-rise is due to Kāla and it is merged in Kāla (at night).'

The Śat. Br. in many places speaks of creation. A few passages only can be referred to here. The Śat. Br. (in VI. 1. 1) starts by saying that 'in the beginning there was here the non-existent' and asserts that the non-existent was the sages, the vital airs and then it postulates Prajāpati (made from seven vital airs) who desired 'May I be more, may I have progeny'. 'He toiled and practised *tapas*, and being tired, he created first of all the *Brahman*, the triple lore (the three Vedas), that Prajāpati then created waters from Vāk that is the world; that he (Prajāpati) entered the waters with the triple lore and that thence an egg arose; he touched it, then earth was produced and so on.

In XI. 1. 6. 1 ff. the Śat. Br. states "In the beginning this was water, only a sea. The waters desired 'How shall we have

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2446. कामस्तदग्रे समवर्तत मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्। स काम कामेन बृहता सयोनी रायस्पोषं यजमानाय धेहि॥ अथर्व० XIX. 52 1. For मनसो रेतः, compare Ṛg. X. 129. 4 quoted above in n. 2441; प्राणाय नमो यस्य सर्वमिदं वशे। यो भूतः सर्वस्येश्वरो यस्मिन्त्सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम्॥ प्राणो विराट् प्राणो देष्ट्री प्राणं सर्व उपासते। प्राणो ह सूर्यश्चन्द्रमाः प्राणमाहुः प्रजापतिम्॥ अथर्व० XI. 4. 1 and 12; काले तपः काले ज्येष्ठं काले ब्रह्म समाहितम्। कालो ह सर्वस्येश्वरो यः पितासीत्प्रजापतेः॥ कालः प्रजा असृजत कालो अग्रे प्रजापतिम्। स्वयंभूः कश्यपः कालात्तपः कालादजायत॥ अथर्व XIX. 53. 8 and 10; कालादापः समभवन् कालाद् ब्रह्म तपो दिशः। कालेनोदेति सूर्यः काले नि विशते पुनः॥ अथर्व० XIX. 54. 1.

progeny?' They toiled and practised austerities; while they were doing this a golden egg was produced, which floated for about a year, in about a year's time a Puruṣa, Prajāpati, was born; he broke open the egg; he created the Gods by (the breath of) his mouth; he created Agni, Indra, Soma" &c.

In XI. 2. 3. 1-2 the Śat. Br. says—In the beginning this (universe) was *brahma*, it created the gods, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya; then a reference is made to name and form (nāma-rūpe) by which he descends into the worlds and it is said 'these two (nāmarūpe) are the great manifestations of *brahma*'.

This myth about a golden egg of the universe is developed from Rg. X. 129. 3 and X. 121. 1 (Hiraṇyagarbhaḥ samavartatāgre) in the Ch. Up. III. 19. 1-2 'In the beginning this universe was *asat* (not unfolded), it became *sat* (began to unfold), it was born (i. e. it took form); then an egg was evolved; it lay (in waters) for the period of a year; then it broke up, the two halves were one of silver and the other of gold; the silver half is this earth and the golden half is heaven'. This is followed in Manusmṛti as will be shown later on.

It is stated in the Śat. Br. X. 4. 2. 22-23 that Prajāpati arranged the Ṛgveda in such a way that the number of syllables in the Ṛgveda come to 12000 Bṛhatī metres (each Bṛhatī has 36 syllables).

The Tai. Br. states "Prajāpati created Gods and asuras (II. 2. 3) but he did not create Indra; the Gods said to him 'create Indra for us'; just as I created you by means of tapas in the same way you create Indra; they practised tapas and they saw Indra (abiding) in themselves (i. e. in their hearts) they said to him 'be born'". In II. 2. 9. 1 the Tai.[2447] Br. states "this universe was nothing at all in the beginning; there was no heaven nor earth nor mid region; that non-existent created Mind with the thought 'let me be'". In II. 6. 2. 3 the same Brāhmaṇa says "Prajāpati created by the help of Veda the two forms 'sat' and 'asat'". The Tai. Br. in II. 8. 8. 9-10 cites as Puronuvākyā and Yājyā of purodāśa and puronuvākyā of 'havis' as follows: 'Brahma produced the Gods and all this world;

2447. इदं वा अग्रे नैव किंचनासीत्। न द्यौरासीत्। न पृथिवी। नान्तरिक्षम्। तदसदेव सन् मनोऽकुरुत स्यामिति। तै. ब्रा. II. 2. 9. 1, ब्रह्म देवानजनयत् ब्रह्म विश्वमिदं जगत्। ब्रह्मणा क्षत्रं निर्मितम्। ब्रह्म क्षत्रेण आत्मना॥ अन्तरिक्षमिमे लोकाः। ब्रह्मैव भूतानां ज्येष्ठम्। तेन कोऽर्हति स्पर्धितुम्॥ ब्रह्मन्देवाजायन्त। ब्रह्मजिज्ञमजापती। ब्रह्मेदं विश्वा भूतानि। नावीवान्तः समाहिता॥ तै. ब्रा. II. 8. 8. 9-10.

the kṣatriyas were produced from brahman and brahma transformed its form into brāhmaṇas; (Yājyā) 'these worlds abide inside *brahman*, similarly all this world is inside it; brahma is the best among all bhūtas; who vie or compete with it, brahman is thirty-three Gods, and all bhūtas, all placed inside it as in a boat'.

In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa there are brief allusions to Prajāpati. In VI. 1 it is stated 'Prajāpati, desirous of progeny, practised *tapas*; while he was thus practising tapas five were born, viz. Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, the Moon and Uṣas as fifth;' in VI. 10 it is said 'Prajāpati practised tapas; after having practised tapas, he produced this world (the earth) from *prāṇa*, the mid regions from *apāna* and the yonder world (heaven) from *vyāna*; he then created Agni, Vayu and Āditya respectively from the earth, mid regions and heaven, and he produced *ṛk* verses from Agni, *yajus* texts from Vāyu and *sāman* texts from Āditya; in XIII. 1 it is asserted 'Prajāpati is indeed yajña, in which all desires, all immortality are centered'; in XXVIII. 1 it is said 'Prajāpati created yajña, the gods worshipped by means of yajña, when it was created and thereby obtained all desired objects.'[2148]

The chief aim and purpose of the Brāhmaṇas of the Veda are to prescribe the acts and parts of the ritual of various sacrifices, to set out some myths and legends for their origin and to postulate various rewards on the performance of numerous sacrifices.

Prajāpati, who is mentioned very rarely in the Ṛgveda (IV. 53. 2 where Savitṛ is called Prajāpati, IX. 5. 9 where Soma is called Prajāpati, X. 85. 4 where in the marriage hymn Prajāpati is prayed to bestow offspring, X. 169. 4 where Prajāpati is invoked to bestow good cows, X. 184. 1 where Prajāpati along with other gods and goddesses is invoked for the blessing of conception in a married woman, X. 121. 10 (already referred to above on p. 1490), becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmaṇas. The Ait. Br. narrates the story that after Indra killed Vṛtra he wanted to be great and honoured in place of Prajāpati, that then Prajāpati said (if you are to be great) 'who am I going

2148. प्रजापतिर्वै यज्ञस्तस्मिन्सर्वे कामाः सर्वमसुतत्वम्। कौषी. ब्रा. XIII. 1 (Lindner's ed. Jena, 1887); प्रजापतिर्ह यज्ञं ससृजे तेन ह सृष्टेन देवा ईजिरे तेन हेष्ट्वा सर्वान्कामानाप्नुः। *ibid* XXVIII. 1.

to be' (koham-iti) and thereby Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.[2449]

The Ait. Br. states that Prajāpati desiring to propagate and to be many and having practised tapas created the three worlds, earth, mid region and heaven from which arose three lights (*jyotis*), Agni, Vāyu and Āditya, from which arose the three Vedas &c.

The Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas show that the popular belief about the individual self was that by good deeds the soul reaches heaven, becomes immortal and enjoys various joys and pleasures. Vide Ṛg. IX. 113. 7–11, I. 125. 4-6, Atharva IV. 34. 2 and 5, VI. 120. 3. There was also the idea of retribution and recompense for evil or harmful acts done by one person to another. For example, the Śat Br. says (XII. 9. 1. 1) 'for whatever food a man eats in this world, by the very same is he eaten again in the other world.' Vide also Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1. But when we come to the Upaniṣads, the whole intellectual atmosphere is changed. The Upaniṣads frequently assert that Ātman is the only reality, that there is nothing else and that the Ātman can only be described as 'not this–not this' i. e. the Ātman is unknowable. This is the first and foremost aspect of Vedānta. But this lofty metaphysical conception clashed with the ideas of common people who thought that a real universe existed apart from the Creator. The higher philosophic minds had to concede the reality of the universe for common people. They were prepared to say that the universe exists; in truth, however, it is nothing but the Ātman entered into the universe. They said that the world was phenomenal, not false or nothing, but the world had the Ātman behind it. This was the good aspect of the Vedānta viz. that the universe evolved from the first principle, *brahma*. They distinguished between *saguṇa* (qualified) *brahman* that was for prayer and worship (upāsanā), and for practical purposes (vyavahārāvasthā) and *nirguṇa* (unqualified) *brahma*. But the higher thought also insisted that the highest truth (pāramārthikasatya) is that *brahman* is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, inorganic matter)

2449. In Ṛg. X. 121 the last quarter of the first 9 verses is "Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema" (to what god shall we offer havis?). Then the 10th and last verse addresses Prajāpati with the words 'there is no God other than you who encompassed all these creations.'. It is probably due to this that from 'kasmai' (in the first nine verses) Prajāpati came to be called 'Ka'.

is brahman (' *sarvam khalvidam brahma*' Chān. Up. III. 14. 1, 'aham brahmāsmiti tasmāt tatsarvam-abhavat' Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10). The Ait. Up. quoted below is most emphatic about the identity [2450] of the first principle with men, beasts, motionless beings and other passages do the same. As regards the elements the Bṛ. Up. has a long passage [2451] (III. 7. 2-23) in which Yājñavalkya propounds to Uddālaka Āruṇi the sublime doctrine viz. that the Ātman residing in the earth and other elements is inside them, whom they (the elements) do not know, whose body is the earth and other elements, who rules from within the earth and others, that that Ātman is the soul of thee (and of mine and others), is the inner ruler and is immortal. The last part of this passage is 'the ruler within is unseen but seeing, unheard but hearing, unperceived but perceiving, unknown but knowing, there is no other seer but he, there is no other hearer but he, that is no other perceiver but he, there is no other knower but he. This is the Self, the ruler within, the immortal. Everything else is distress' This whole section called

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2450. आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीन्नान्यत्किंचन मिषत्। स ईक्षत लोकान्नु सृजा इति। स इमाँल्लोकानसृजताम्भो मरीचीर्मरमापः।...स ईक्षत इमे नु लोकाः। लोकपालान्नु सृजा इति। सो अद्भ्य एव पुरुषं समुद्धृत्यामूर्छयत्। ... स ईक्षत कथं न्विदं मदृते स्यादिति। स ईक्षत कतरेण प्रपद्या इति।...स एतमेव सीमानं विदार्यैतया द्वारा प्रापद्यत। ऐ. उप. I. 1-3, I. 3. 11-12. This passage is dealt with in V. S. III. 3. 16 which establishes that here the word Ātman stands for Paramātman, अम्भः, मरीचीः, मरं, आपः stand for heaven, mid-region, earth and waters below the earth.

2451. यः पृथिव्यां तिष्ठन् पृथिव्या अन्तरो यं पृथिवी न वेद यस्य पृथिवी शरीरं या पृथिवीमन्तरो यमयत्येष त आत्माऽन्तर्याम्यमृतः। ... अदृष्टो द्रष्टाऽश्रुतः श्रोताऽमतो मन्ताऽविज्ञातो विज्ञाता। ... एष त आत्माऽन्तर्याम्यमृतः। अतोऽन्यदार्तम्। बृह. उप. III. 7. 3 and 23; compare with this last, बृह. उप. III. 4. 2 कतमो याज्ञवल्क्य सर्वान्तरः। न दृष्टेर्द्रष्टारं पश्येः ... एष त आत्मा सर्वान्तरः। अतोऽन्यदार्तम् and III. 5. 2. शंकराचार्य in his भाष्य on the last passage explains अतोऽन्यदार्तं as 'एतदेवैकमनार्तमविनाशि कूटस्थम्' and so आर्तं means liable to sorrow, infatuation, old age and death, as appears from the question and answer in बृह. उप. III. 5. 1 कतमो याज्ञवल्क्य सर्वान्तरः। योऽशनायापिपासे शोकं मोहं जरां मृत्युमत्येति। After quoting this passage Rene Grousset in 'Sum of History' tr. into English by A. and H. Temple Patterson (1951) pays a handsome compliment to it (on p. 95) 'what better introduction to Christianity is there than the conception of the sanctity of the human individual and of the universe as temples of God.' In ऐ. उप. III. 2 we are given 17 words that are said to be names of Prajñāna (i. e. *brahman*) and then ऐ. उप. III. 3 runs 'एष ब्रह्मा, एष इन्द्रः, एष प्रजापतिः, एते सर्वे देवाः, इमानि च पञ्च महाभूतानि पृथिवी वायुराकाश आपो ज्योतींषि, एतानीमानि च क्षुद्रमिश्राणीव बीजानीतराणि चेतराणि चाण्डजानि च जारुजानि स्वेदजानि चोद्भिज्जानि चाश्वा गावः पुरुषा हस्तिनो यत्किंचेदं प्राणि जङ्गमं च पतत्रि च यच्च स्थावरं सर्वं तत्प्रज्ञानेत्रं प्रज्ञाने प्रतिष्ठितम्। प्रज्ञानेत्रो लोकः। प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठा। प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म।'. This carries to its logical conclusion the idea in the Puruṣasūkta X. 90. 6, 8, 10.

antaryāmi-brāhmaṇa has a parallel in Bṛ. Up. II. 5 (Madhu-vidyā). The ordinary man's conception of *brahman* as the creator was not, however, entirely given up by the thinkers in the Upaniṣads, though it was said that that concept was due to *avidyā* (ignorance about Reality). Brahman conceived as creator was called Īśvara (a personal God), though the worshipper might know that brahman in essence is above all conditions and limitations of personality. This is theism, which acknowledges three entities viz. a real world, the Paramātman (creative Ātman) and the individual self dependent on Paramātman. But the real thought of the Upaniṣads is centred round the non-difference of *brahman* and *ātman* and the physical world. This thought that *brahman* entered into what are called individual souls and also the material universe is the third aspect of Vedānta. On V. S II. 3. 43 Śaṅkarācārya quotes passages from the Brahma-sūkta belonging to the Atharvaveda[2452] and from the Śv. Up. expressive of the identity with *brahman* of fishermen, slaves, gamblers, of men and women, of boys and girls and old men tottering on a staff. The faith that the same Spirit animates the universe, from the stone, worms and beasts to man, is an elevating one, may make one feel that all creatures are brethren seeking the Creator and may, in a world dominated by egoism and urged to activities for individual prosperity and benefit, introduce some sweetness and consolation. Deussen in 'The philosophy of the Upanishads' (translated by A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906) pays a glowing tribute to the sages of the Upanishads in the following eloquent passage 'It was here that for the first time the original thinkers of the Upanishads, to their immortal honour, found it (key) when they recognized our *ātman*, our inmost individual being, as the *Brahman*, the inmost being of universal nature and of all her phenomena' (p. 40). Vide also J. Royce in 'The world and the individual', First series of Lectures, particularly pp. 156-175 for the exposition of Chān. Up. III. 14 and VI. 2–15 and the Bṛ. Up. dialogue between Yāj. and Maitreyī

The Upaniṣads are full of theories of creation and of the nature of the First Principle A few passages may first be cited

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2452. एके शाखिनो दाशकितवादिभावं ब्रह्मण आमनन्त्यार्थवणिका ब्रह्मसूक्ते-ब्रह्म दाशा ब्रह्म दासा ब्रह्मैवेमे कितवाः-इत्यादिना। ... इति हीनजन्तूदाहरणेन सर्वेषामेव नामरूप-कृतकार्यकरणसङ्घातप्रविष्टानां जीवानां ब्रह्मत्वमाह। तथान्यत्रापि ब्रह्मप्रक्रियायामेवायमर्थः प्रपञ्च्यते। त्वं स्त्री त्वं पुमानसि त्वं कुमार उत वा कुमारी। त्वं जीर्णो दण्डेन वञ्चसि त्वं जातो भवसि विश्वतोमुखः। इति।. The last is अथर्व० X. 8 27 and श्वेता. उप. 4. 3.

about creation. The Bṛ. Up. I. 4 (in 3–4, 7) has an original and significant passage on creation. Some part of it is set out here 'In the beginning this was Ātman alone in the form of Puruṣa; He (being alone) found no pleasure; he desired to have a second (a companion); he became of the extent of a male and a female in close embrace; he made this very Ātman fall aside in two parts that became husband and wife; from them were born men and he produced lower animals up to ants; this (universe) was then undeveloped (or not unfolded), it was then developed in names and forms; that (Ātman) entered into this up to the finger tips, just as a razor remains hidden in a sheath or just as the all supporting (fire) is not seen in wood'. In this passage the popular idea of the creation of the world is taken up and related to the one reality, Ātman, and the emphasis appears to be placed on the theory that the sole reality is Ātman, under the phantasmagoria of world phenomena. In Ch. Up. VII. 10. 1 it is said 'this earth, mid regions, heaven, gods and men, beasts and birds, grass and herbs, animals including insects, butterflies, ants. These are all nothing but waters in solid form.' The Chān. Up. (VI. 2. 3–4 and VI. 3. 2–3) states "in the beginning *Sat* alone was existent, one without a second; it thought 'I shall become many, I shall have progeny"; it created heat (tejas); from tejas waters were produced, from water food; that divinity proposed 'I shall enter into these three divinities (heat, water and food) with this living self and unfold name and form'. Here reference is made to three elements only viz. *tejas*, water, and earth (*anna* is produced from plants which spring from the earth). It is not, however, proper to hold that only three were then recognized, these three were the most obvious and the other two Vāyu and Ākāśa mentioned in Ait. and Tai. Up. are elusive. The Ait. Up. (quoted in note 2451) begins "In the beginning there was here this *Ātman* alone, there was nothing else that was active (lit. that opened and closed eyes); He reflected' I shall create worlds'. He created these worlds, the *ambhas* (water above heaven), marici 'rays' (i. e.) atmospheric region, death, waters". Then the Up. proceeds: He created guardians of worlds and proposed to produce food for them. Then he reflected 'how can this frame subsist apart from me? Then he reflected 'by what way shall I enter into it?' Then it is stated that he split open the crown of the head and entered by that door. The Tai. Up. II. 6 says "He (the Ātman) desired 'May I become many, I shall have progeny'; having practised tapas, he created all this (universe) whatever it is; after having created it he

entered into it" and again in II. 7 'in the beginning this was *asat* (not unfolded), then it became *sat* (developed), it unfolded itself'. This is the basis of V. S. I. 4. 26 (ātmakṛteḥ pariṇāmāt) which establishes that brahman is both *kartṛ* (agent) and *karma* (object) of creation. The same Up. in II. 1 speaks of the creation of ākāśa from the Ātman, of Vāyu from ākāśa, of Agni from Vāyu, of waters from Agni and of the earth from waters. Here we have five elements instead of three (as in the Chān. Up.). The Ait. Up. III. 3 names the five elements and calls them Mahābhūtāni (though the usual order is not followed); so do Praśna VI. 4, Śv. Up. II. 12, Kaṭha III. 15 (where the five guṇas, śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa and gandha, each peculiar to the five elements from ākāśa to pṛthvī, are mentioned).[2453]

2453. Prof. George Sarton in 'A History of Science' (Harvard University Press, 1952) states (p. 247) that Empedocles born about 490 B. C. (in Greece) postulated only four elements; fire, air, water and earth and that a fifth, ether, was added by Plato and Aristotle. Vide also Introduction (p. 11) to Plato's Timaeus (in Loeb's classical library, Vol. VII, ed. of 1952) translated by Rev. R. G. Bury. Plato's exuberant imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures most familiar to him and assigned the cube to earth and different kinds of triangles to fire, air and water (vide Jowett's translation of Timaeus, Vol. III pp. 638–639). The Greek philosophers relied on reason and not on ancient texts (as Indian sages did) and Plato's philosophy and cosmology were looked upon as the acme of wisdom even up to the 19th century, but Sarton (on p. 420 of the above work) remarks that modern men of science can regard it only as a monument of unwisdom and recklessness (rather a harsh judgment). Dr. W. M. Smart in 'Origin of the Earth' remarks that in probing into the mystery of creation science has not been more successful than the poetic Hebrew expounders of cosmology (pp. 8–9). For comparison of ancient Indian ideas on cosmology with those of ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Hebrews, and Greeks one may read a small book in the 'Corridors of Time' Series' Vol. I on 'Apes and men' by H. Peak and H. J. H. Fleure pp. 6–8 (Oxford, 1927); on p. 7 there is a figure of a Babylonian tablet recording part of the creation story. On p. 56 it states that the probable place of the origin of man and the period at which human story began are matters of great speculation. The principal questions that arise in cosmology are: (1) when were the earth and planets produced, (2) what is the process that accounts for the present state of the earth and the solar and other systems. Sanskrit works from the Ṛgveda down to the Purāṇas tried to answer these questions in their own ways. During the last one hundred years or so the theories of Lemaitre and Darwin and the developments in the sciences of Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy have revolutionized the whole conception of cosmology. Even the work of Sir A. Eddington 'The expanding Universe' (Cambridge, 1933) has become

(*Continued on next page*)

It has already been shown that in the Tai. Up. and the Chān. Up. (vide note 2430) it is stated that the bhūtas spring from and are absorbed in *brahman*. The order of dissolution is the reverse of that of creation. This is stated by the Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 14 (*'viparyayeṇa tu kramoऽta upapadyate ca'*). Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāsya quotes a verse of the Śāntiparva in support of this.[2454]

The theory of yugas, mahāyugas, manvantaras and kalpas has already been dealt with in vol. III. pp. 885–896 and above pp. 686–692. The dissolution of the world was called *pralaya* which was said to be of four kinds (vide above pp. 693–95), two of which are *naimittika pralaya* (which occurs at the end of a day of Brahmā, that is equal to 1000 mahāyugas) and Prākṛtika (when everything including Prakṛti is dissolved in Paramātman). The Gītā (VIII. 17–18) and Manu I. 73 state that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas and the night is also of the same duration, that all manifested things spring from the unmanifested (First Principle) at the beginning of the day (of Brahmā) and at the coming of the night (of Brahmā) they merge in the same unmanifested (Principle). The present author does not like the disagreeable task of comparing Sanskrit cosmology with the theories in other religious scriptures such as the Bible, but will only refer to some Western writers on that subject. About these ideas of creation and dissolution of the universe René Grousset in the work mentioned above observes (p. 96) 'the same power of synthesis appears in the ancient Indian cosmogonies which transcend in their breadth all that the Ionian philosophers or Lucretius have left us. In them the

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(*Continued from last page*)

somewhat outmoded by recent discoveries. The present author does not know much of science. But from what little he has read in a few scientific works he may say that the history of science makes it clear that the actual state of man's scientific knowledge is provisional, that scientific theories are always subject to corrections and modifications. For instance, Newton's laws of motion were regarded for over two hundred years as absolutely correct enunciations of fundamental and universal laws of physics, but in recent times they have been found to be mere approximations.

2454. स्मृताववुत्पत्तिक्रमाविपर्ययेणैवाप्ययस्तत्र तत्र प्रदर्शितः। 'जगत्प्रतिष्ठा देवर्षे पृथिव्यप्सु प्रलीयते। ज्योतिष्यापः प्रलीयन्ते ज्योतिर्वायौ प्रलीयते॥' इत्यादौ. This verse is शान्तिपर्व 340. 29 (=326. 28 of cr. ed.). The three following verses (which occur in both editions) may be cited here: खे वायुः प्रलयं याति मनस्यकाशमेव च। मनो हि परमं भूतं तत्रव्यक्ते प्रलीयते॥ अव्यक्तं पुरुषे ब्रह्मन् निष्क्रिये संप्रलीयते। नास्ति तस्मात्परतरं पुरुषाद्धे सनातनात्॥ नित्यं हि नास्ति जगति भूतं स्थावरजङ्गमम्। ऋते तमेकं पुरुषं वासुदेवं सनातनम्॥.

world alternates between periods of creation (which correspond to the activity of the Demiurge) and of dissolution (which correspond to the slumber of the God)'. Similarly, Gerald Heard remarks (in 'Is God evident' Faber and Faber, London, 1950) 'Final and most helpful fact is that Sanskrit cosmology not only gets rid of intellectual difficulties such as the crude Hebrew Geology and Astronomy fossilized in the Christian dogmas, but it gets rid likewise of those more serious moral difficulties such as eternal damnation, pre-destination and that this life is man's only chance' (p. 51).

The high metaphysical conception that in reality there is no universe outside *brahman* (i. e. brahman is one and is unqualified, *nirguṇa*) and the popular empirical conception that there is a personal God who creates (*saguṇa brahma*) and real universe, often run together in the Upaniṣads. The Praśna Up. V. 2 asserts that *Om* is both *para* (highest) *brahma* and *apara* (other, lower) brahma. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 1. 12 (ānandamayosbhyāsāt) states that in the Upaniṣads brahman is described in two ways, (firstly) as qualified by various adjuncts such as name and form and created objects and meant to be worshipped and (secondly) as devoid of all adjuncts (as meant to be mystically realized). As instances of the 2nd way (*nirupādhika* or *nirguṇa brahman*) he instances several passages viz. Br. Up. IV. 5. 15 ('where there is as it were duality, there one sees the other ..... one touches the other or knows the other, but where one has come to realize that all is only Ātman, whom will one see, with what will one understand the knower himself'), Bṛ. Up. III. 9. 26 = IV. 4. 22 and IV. 5. 15 (this self is to be spoken of as 'not this, 'not this'), Bṛ. Up. III. 8. 8 (it is that imperishable one that the brāhmaṇas speak about as neither coarse nor small, neither short nor long, neither red nor fluid, neither wind nor ether...neither as having an inside nor outside &c.); Chān. Up. (VII. 24. 1 'where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else that is the Infinite; where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is small (finite): the Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal; the Infinite rests in its own greatness, or does not rest in greatness); Śv. Up. VI. 19 (who is without parts, without activities, tranquil, faultless, without taint, the highest bridge to immortality, like a fire that has consumed its fuel). There are also other passages of the same import e. g. Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 19 (neha nānāsti kiñcana, there is no diversity in it), Kaṭha Up. IV. 10-11 (mṛtyoh sa mṛtyum-āpnoti ya iha nāneva

paśyati). The 4th aspect of Upaniṣadic thought is concerned with the destiny of the self after the death of the body and the matters that govern it (i. e. Ethics and Eschatology).

These passages emphasize that it is impossible to describe what *brahman* is and that we can only say what it is not. Śaṅkarācārya[2455] on V. S. III. 2. 17 refers to the dialogue of Bāṣkali and Bādhva where Bādhva declared the characteristic of *brahman* by his silence. Bāṣkali said 'Sir, tell me about brahma'; then Bādhva remained silent; when Bāṣkali asked a second and a third time Bādhva replied 'we have been telling you indeed; but you don't understand; this self is still (without any activity)'. J. Royce in 'The world and the individual' vol. I. p. 148 is just like this episode of Bāṣkali and Bādhva "Believe not those prattlers' says one often quoted mystical work 'who boast that they know God.' 'Who knows Him is silent". Śaṅkarācārya puts the distinction between para-brahma and apara-brahma (personal God) as follows: Where texts reject the connection of *brahma* with names and forms that are the product of avidyā (nescience) and speak of brahma in negative expressions such as 'asthūla' (not gross or big), there it is parabrahma (that is meant), but where in such passages as 'He is mind, has prāṇa or body, the form of light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ākāśa (present everywhere), who creates everything' &c, brahma is mentioned for worship and it is *apara*.[2456]

2455. बाष्कलिना च बाध्वः पृष्टः सत्यवचनेनैव ब्रह्म प्रोवाचेति श्रूयते। 'तद्होवाचाधीहि भो इति स तूष्णीं बभूव तं ह द्वितीये वा तृतीये वा वचन उवाच ब्रूमः खलु त्वं तु न विजानासि। उपशान्तोऽयमात्मा' इति। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 2. 17. This is a Vedic Text acc. to Śaṅkara, but it has not yet been identified.

2456. किं पुनः परं ब्रह्म किमपरमिति। उच्यते। यत्राविद्याकृतनामरूपादिविशेषप्रतिषेधादस्थूलादिशब्दैर्ब्रह्मोपदिश्यते तत्परम्। तदेव यत्र नामरूपादिविशेषेण केनचिद्विधिना उपासनायोपदिश्यते 'मनोमयः प्राणशरीरो भारूपः' (छा. III. 14. 2) इत्यादिशब्दैस्तदपरम्। भाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 3. 14; एवमेकमपि ब्रह्मापेक्षितोपाधिसम्बन्धं निरस्तोपाधिसम्बन्धं चोपास्यत्वेन ज्ञेयत्वेन च वेदान्तेषूपदिश्यत इति। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. I. 1. 12. It should be noted that the words 'neti neti' occur four times in the great exposition of Yājñāvalkya on brahman in Bṛ. Up. IV. 2. 4, IV. 4. 22, IV. 5. 15, III. 9. 26. The highest brahman is conceived as beyond space, time and independent of the law of causality. We may compare the conceptions of *para-brahma* and *apara-brahma* with what Plato postulates (in Timaeus, Introduction p. 6 to Bury's translation) as the distinction between Being and Becoming viz. Being is changeless, eternal, self-existent and apprehensible by thought only; Becoming is the opposite, ever changing, never truly existent and the object of sensations, and the perceptible universe belongs to the latter.

The description of the creation of the universe and its dissolution are valid only on the practical plane. In *Advaita* Vedānta, Sattā (reality) is said to be of three kinds, viz. Pāramārthikī (the highest, the absolute), vyāvahārikī (of practical life) and prātibhāsikī (apparent or illusory). The first is the province of parā-vidyā which teaches that only the Ātman exists, that the cosmos exists within the Ātman and nothing else has intrinsic reality apart from it. From this high metaphysical standpoint there is in reality no creation nor dissolution, the individual self is not really in bondage, therefore none is liberated. The 2nd kind of reality is empirical and practical and the dogmas of the creation and dissolution of the world, of the individual self, its bondage, transmigaration and final liberation are valid only for the *aparā-vidyā*. Most religions postulate three fundamental entities viz God, individual self and the external world. These three are true but only up to a certain limit (only so long as a man holds his own ego as a separate reality) but these three are not the ultimate Truth. Even in this lower kind of reality, a man who is in deep sleep becomes (for a time) united with (or absorbed in) the True, as stated by the Chān. Up. VI. 8. 1 (yatraitat puruṣaḥ svapiti nāma satā somya tadā sampanno bhavati). The third kind of reality pertains to dream state. One may have experience of pleasure and pain and misery from what one sees in a dream, which are real as long as the dream lasts, but all this that is seen in a dream vanishes the moment the man is awake. As stated above (p. 1485 and note 2434) the descriptions of the creation of the world have only this in view that there is non-difference between cause and effect and that they all lead to a correct understanding about *brahman*. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 30 extends the same reasoning to individual selves (to be quoted later on under 'Karma and transmigration').

In the Upaniṣads there is apparent discrepancy as regards what was created and the order of the things[2457] created. The

2457. It may be noted that the creation of the universe is put in the Upaniṣads in the distant and dim past, not at a definite date as fixed by Biblical chronology (4004 B. C.). Vide Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of God' (ed. of 1917) p. 299; H. D. Anthony in 'Science and its background' (MacMillan, 1948, p. 2) states that James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, in the 17th century introduced into the Anglican Church the year 4004 B.C. as the date of creation. On the medieval Christian doctrine, creation is only an incident in God's existence and man is made in the image of God and it is by the breath of God that man became a living soul (Genesis I. 27 and II. 7). There is another point that distinguishes Christian doctrine about man from the Vedānta doctrine; according to the former man is conceived and born in sin, according to the latter the human soul is divine.

Bṛ. Up. (V. 5. 1) states 'in the beginning there were only waters; the waters created *satya*, which is *brahma*, brahman created Prajāpati, who created the gods'. In Chān. Up. VI. 2. 3 the thing expressly mentioned as the first creation is *tejas* (heat), ākāśa not being mentioned at all, while in the Tai. Up. II. 1 ākāśa is said to have been first created and then Vāyu (was created from ākāśa), then Agni from Vāyu. Similarly, in the Chān. Up. IV. 2 where the creation of *tejas*, waters and food (i. e. the earth) is expressly mentioned, nothing is said about the creation of Vāyu, which is set out in Tai. Up. II. I. This matter about the creation of the elements and their order is discussed in V. S. II. 3. 1–11. The reply of Śaṅkarācārya is that a *Śruti* passage like the one in Ch. Up. is concerned only with the creation of some elements like *tejas* and cannot be also interpreted as having a second purpose, viz. showing that the creation of ākāśa in Tai. Up. is wrong and should be discarded.[2458]

On the subject of creation, the question arises whether the individual Self is also a creation like that of the earth, trees and shrubs. The Upaniṣads have a good deal to say on this. Here also two kinds of texts have to be considered. In the first place, some texts seem to state that the individual selves spring from the Supreme Spirit. A few passages that are sometimes relied upon for this last matter may be cited here.[2459] The Bṛ. Up. states 'just as tiny sparks spring forth from fire, in the same way from this Ātman spring up all prāṇas, all worlds, all gods and all creatures'. The Muṇḍaka Up. expands this same idea as follows: As from a well-kindled fire sparks of the same nature spring forth in thousands, so from the Imperishable various living beings issue and return into it. The Smṛti of Yāj. cites the same illustration of fire and sparks. Another and perhaps apter illustration is in the Kaṭha Up. 'just as pure water poured in (other) pure water becomes like it (i. e. not distingui-

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2458. न ह्येवं श्रुतिस्तेजोजनिप्रधाना सती श्रुत्यन्तरप्रसिद्धामाकाशस्योत्पत्तिं बाधितुं शक्नोति, एकस्य वाक्यस्य व्यापारद्वयासम्भवात्। भाष्य on ब्र. सू. II. 3. 6.

2459. यथाग्नेः क्षुद्रा विस्फुलिङ्गा व्युच्चरन्त्येवमेवास्मादात्मनः सर्वे प्राणाः सर्वे लोकाः सर्वे देवाः सर्वाणि भूतानि व्युच्चरन्ति। बृह. उप. II. 1. 20; यथा सुदीप्तात्पावकाद्विस्फुलिङ्गाः सहस्रशः प्रभवन्ते सरूपाः। तथाक्षराद्विविधाः सोम्य भावाः प्रजायन्ते तत्र चैवापियन्ति। मुण्डकोप० II. 1. 1. Compare कौषीतक्युप० 'यथाग्नेर्ज्वलतः सर्वा दिशो विस्फुलिङ्गा विप्रतिष्ठेरन्नेवमेवैतस्मादात्मनः प्राणा यथायतनं विप्रतिष्ठन्ते। प्राणेभ्यो देवा देवेभ्यो लोकाः। IV. 18 and also मैत्री VI. 26 and 31 for a similar verse. याज्ञ. III. 67 is निःसरन्ति यथा लोहपिण्डात्ततस्तास्फुलिङ्गकाः। सकाशादात्मनस्तद्वदात्मानः प्रभवन्ति हि॥; यथोदकं शुद्धे शुद्धमासिक्तं तादृगेव भवति। एवं मुनेर्विजानत आत्मा भवति गौतम॥ कठोप. IV. 15.

shable), so the self of the wise sage becomes (indistinguishable from the Supreme Essence). On the other hand, there are numerous Upaniṣad[2460] passages which categorically state that the individual self is unborn, undying, is not a product, that the Supreme Spirit enters as individual self, that there is non-difference between the one Supreme Spirit and the individual self. Some of these passages are set out in the note below. All those passages are cited by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 17, which states two propositions viz. the individual self is unproduced and that it is eternal according to Śruti passages (nātmāśruter-nityatvācca tābhyaḥ). How the one Supreme Spirit expands into and pervades the manifold universe of plurality is a great mystery and can only be explained by illustrations. The few passages in which the texts seem to mention the creation or dissolution of individual selves are to be understood as referring to the Upādhis (such as body and mind) by which the self is affected. Yājñavalkya gives this answer in finally winding up his exposition to Maitreyī[2461] 'this self is imperishable and indestructible; but (when one speaks of death what is meant is) that the self has no longer any contact with material elements'. The Śāntiparva[2462] and the Gītā (II. 20, 21, 24, 25) say the same thing.

The highest metaphysical standpoint can be realized by only a few. For millions of men, the empirical standpoint alone remains and it is for them that texts speak of a personal God, ritual and sacrifices; they are only on the first rung of the ladder

2460. जीवापेतं वाव किलेदं म्रियते न जीवो म्रियत इति। छा. उप. I. 11. 3; स वा एष महानज आत्माऽजरोऽमरोऽमृतोऽभयो ब्रह्म। (बृह. IV. 4 25); न जायते म्रियते वा विपश्चित्... अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे। कठ 2. 18; तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशत्। तै. उप. II. 6; अनेन जीवेनात्मनानुप्रविश्य नामरूपे व्याकरवाणि। छा. उप. VI. 3. 2; स एष इह प्रविष्ट आ नखाग्रेभ्यः। बृह. I. 4. 7; तत्त्वमसि (छा. उप. VI. 8. 7); अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृ. उप. I. 4. 10); अयमात्मा ब्रह्म सर्वानुभूः। बृह. उप. II. 5-19.

2461. अविनाशी वा अरे आत्माऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा मात्रासंसर्गस्त्वस्य भवति। बृह. उप. IV. 5. 14. This is quoted by शङ्कराचार्य on ब्र. सू. II. 3. 17.

2462. न जीवनाशोऽस्ति हि देहभेदे मिथ्यैतदाहुर्मृत इत्यबुद्धाः। जीवस्तु देहान्तरितः प्रयाति वृक्षार्धतैवास्य शरीरभेदः॥ एवं सर्वेषु भूतेषु गूढश्चरति संवृतः। दृश्यते त्वग्र्यया बुद्ध्या सूक्ष्मया तत्त्वदर्शिभिः॥ तं पूर्वापररात्रेषु युञ्जानः सततं बुधः। लघ्वाहारो विशुद्धात्मा पश्यत्यात्मानमात्मनि। शान्ति 180. 26-28 (=187. 27-29 Ch. ed.). वृक्षार्ध means five and वृक्षार्धता means पञ्चत्व. With न जीवनाशोऽस्ति compare छा. उप. VII. 11. 3 जीवापेतं वाव किलेदं म्रियते न जीवो म्रियत इति and the verse एवं सर्वेषु भूतेषु is almost the same as कठ. III. 12 एष सर्वेषु भूतेषु गूढोऽत्मा न प्रकाशते। दृश्यते त्वग्र्यया बुद्ध्या सूक्ष्मया सूक्ष्मदर्शिभिः॥. The verse एवं सर्वेषु ... दर्शिभिः occurs again in शान्ति. chap. 246. 5 (=cr. ed. 238. 5).

to enlightenment and are only dimly aware of God; there is a much smaller class of people other than the preceding, who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendent; there is a third class of a very few people, the great sages and masters, the spiritual elite such as Śaṅkarācārya. who reach the peak of pure monism, who lose the sense of the ego and who are ripe for entering into union with the One and they cannot and should not say that the individual soul and the physical world are all unreal (or Māyā). Both Bādarāyaṇa (V. S. II. 2. 29 'Vaidharmyāc-ca na svapnādivat') and Śaṅkarācārya are agreed that the ordinary physical world is entirely different from dreams and that the impressions in the waking state are not independent of existing objects. Apart from the question whether the word 'Māyā' used in V. S. III. 2. 3 (Māyāmātram tu &c.) is used by Bādarāyaṇa in the sense in which Śaṅkarācārya understands it, it cannot be denied that Upaniṣad passages like Kaṭha Up. II. 4. 2, Praśna I, 16, Chān. Up. VIII. 3. 1-2, the prayer in Bṛ. Up. I. 3. 28 (asato mā sadgamaya &c) could easily suggest the doctrine of Māyā and lead to it as an intelligible development. Hence the proper language for almost all men is not to speak about the world as Māyā (illusion). If the individual soul and the world are unreal, then it may be argued by one who does not subscribe to the doctrine of Māyā as against those who hold it that you are teaching that an unreal soul has to escape from an unreal *Saṃsāra* and secure what you call mokṣa by means which are themselves unreal (such as Upaniṣad study) and that therefore mokṣa itself is unreal. How the one Reality becomes many and expresses itself in the ever-changing physical world is really an inexplicable mystery, but that does not entitle all of us to say that the world is unreal or a dream. The few highly philosophical men may say that what is real is the one Absolute, that all else is only an appearance of that Absolute. Common men may, however, complain that explanations offered by these philosophers do not satisfy them or are beyond them.

When one has to emphasize what the Reality behind the world is in itself, one speaks of the Absolute *brahman*, but when one has to speak about the relation of the one Reality to the individual selves and the physical world one speaks of a personal God. When the Vedāntasūtra (II. 1. 14) states[2463] that the

2463. On तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः (वे. सू. II. 1. 14) शङ्कराचार्य says 'प्राक् चात्मैकत्वावगतेरभ्याहृतः सर्वः सत्यानृतव्यवहारो लौकिको वैदिकश्चेत्यवोचाम'।; सर्वज्ञ-

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world is non-different (*ananya*) from *brahman*, what is meant is not that the two are identical, but only this that the selves and the world are not entirely different from *brahman*. When it is said that *Mokṣa* results if one realizes *brahman*, there is no question of the destruction of the world but all that it comes to is that the false idea or outlook in that case is displaced or sublated by a true one. How the finite world arises from the Infinite is a mystery, for which Śaṅkarācārya employs the word 'Māyā'. But he is positive that till a person realizes the one Ātman all religious and worldly courses of life, real-unreal, go on unobstructed. The concept of Māyā as postulated by Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. II. 1. 14 and other places) is one of the most misunderstood elements of Vedānta. Further, it should not be forgotten that a very large number of philosophically minded Hindus do not advocate the doctrine that the world is an illusion; all that is said by advaitins is that the world is not as real as the Absolute is. The passages quoted below from Śaṅkarācārya's *Bhāṣya* clarify his position, which is this. There is the physical world with its manifold distinctions, but it must rest on something else; that something is called the *absolute brahman*. The relation between the two is inexplicable and therefore it is spoken of as Māyā. In that way Śaṅkarācārya is agnostic, while other religious philosophers are not willing to admit the futility of theories or their helplessness to put forward a generally acceptable and reasonable theory of the relation of the universe and the Eternal Spirit behind it.

It should not be forgotten that, according to our śāstras the goals of human life are four, *Dharma* (an ethical life of doing what is right), *Artha* (a life of acquisition of wealth i. e. economic life based on justice), *Kāma* (a life of the enjoyment of innocent pleasures and right desires) and *Mokṣa* (liberation), this last being the highest goal to be attained only by a few people (it is called *Paramapuruṣārtha*). Even in the Ṛgveda (I. 89. 8) the sage prays for physical health,[2464] happiness and

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स्येश्वरस्यात्मभूते इवाविद्याकल्पिते नामरूपे तत्त्वान्यत्वाभ्यामनिर्वचनीये संसारप्रपञ्चबीजभूते सर्वज्ञस्येश्वरस्य माया शक्तिः प्रकृतिरिति च श्रुतिस्मृत्योरभिलप्येते।; तदेवमविद्यात्मकोपाधिपरिच्छेदापेक्षभेदेश्वरस्येश्वरत्वं सर्वज्ञत्वं सर्वशक्तित्वं च न परमार्थतो विद्ययापास्तसर्वोपाधिस्वरूपे आत्मनीशित्रीशितव्यसर्वज्ञादिव्यवहार उपपद्यते।' वाचस्पतिमिश्र in the भामती on वे. सू. II. 1. 14 makes the laconic remark 'न खल्वनन्यत्वमित्यभेदं ब्रूमः किन्तु भेदं व्यासेधामः'.

2464. भद्रं कर्णेभिः शृणुयाम देवा भद्रं पश्येमाक्षभिर्यजत्राः। स्थिरैरङ्गैस्तुष्टुवांसस्तनूभिर्व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः॥ ऋ. I. 89. 8 = वाज. सं. 25. 21.

a life of hundred years in the words "O Gods, may we be able to hear words of welfare (i. e. we may not suffer deafness till our death), may we see with our eyes pleasing sights, may we, engaged in praising you and possessing strong limbs and bodies, enjoy (long) life as fixed by God (i. e. 100, 116 or 120 years)". Vide also Ṛg. VII. 66. 16. The Manusmṛti, after referring to several views about the number of the goals of human life, states its own final conclusion (in II. 224) that there are three goals[4655] (Dharma, Artha and Kāma) for all men and condemns premature resort to sannyāsa in the following words (VI. 36-37) "Having studied the Vedas as laid down in śāstras, having produced sons and having performed sacrifices according to one's ability, one should fix his mind on *Mokṣa* (liberation); if a man desires Mokṣa without having performed these duties he falls into hell". Manu emphasizes that a man must discharge his duties (i. e. pay off the three debts) as laid down in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 (quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 270 n. 621) before he can renounce the world. The experience of sexual life and other pleasures not opposed to righteousness was not condemned by Manu and other Śāstras and in the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in opposition to righteousness. In the three goals[2466] of ordinary human life there is hardly anything that should cause surprise. The Gītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one's duty as worship (III. 8, 19, 20, 25, IV. 18, XVIII. 65-66). The 4th goal (mokṣa) is in a way opposed to the first three. But the first three goals enable a man to attain liberation, after he has discharged his duties. It was not meant for everybody but only for a selected few.

The 4th goal can be attained only by a few men. The theory in the Upaniṣads is that in order to secure correct knowledge of the Self, Reality behind everything, the study of the Veda, sacrifices, charity, austerities and fasts are necessary

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2465. For the three views about the four āśramas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 424-425.

2466. तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन। बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22; तस्माद्देवमिच्छाप्तो दान्त उपरतस्तितिक्षुः समाहितो भूत्वात्मन्येवात्मानं पश्यति। सर्वमात्मानं पश्यति ... विपापो विरजोऽविचिकित्सो ब्राह्मणो भवति। एष ब्रह्मलोकः सम्राट्। एनं प्रापितोसीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः। बृह. उप. IV. 4. 23. These two passages of Bṛ. Up. are the basis of वे. सू. III. 4. 26-27.

as preparation (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22). Because the Upaniṣads often employ the words "Brahma veda brahmaiva bhavati" (as in Muṇḍaka III 2. 9) one should not run away with the idea that *mere knowledge* of *brahma* (from books or a teacher) is enough. Though the verb "vid" (to know) is employed, the Upaniṣads are emphatic that before one attains realization of *brahma* one must have lived a life of detachment, peace, self-restraint etc. For example, in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 23 Yājñavalkya says to Janaka "Therefore, one who knows this (under tarka quoted above p. 1478) evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil and hence he becomes free from evil, free from *rajas* (desires), free from doubts, he becomes a (true) Brāhmaṇa. This is the Brahma-world. O king! you have been made to reach the world. So said Yājñavalkya." This passage clearly emphasizes three stages, firstly, verbal knowledge about *brahma* (evam-vid), secondly he becomes *śānta*, *dānta* &c., thirdly, he realizes the non-difference of himself and the world from the Supreme Self. In this text the indeclinable past participle[2467] (bhūtvā) in "tvā', acc. to Pāṇini III. 4. 21, is used and so clearly conveys that (as Sanskrit grammar and usage require), in order that a person may realize the Self in his own self, he must have been already endowed with all that precedes the word "bhūtvā".

Similarly, in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad it is provided[2467a] 'After carefully examining all the worlds that are collected (gained or brought about) by actions, a brāhmaṇa should reach a sense of disgust or disregard with the thought that by actions (which are all impermanent) nothing that is imperishable (lit. unmade) can be attained, he should, for the special understanding of that, approach with fuel in hand a teacher who is learned in the Veda and who solely dwells in *brahman*, that wise (guru) declared *brahma-vidyā* to the one who thus properly (respectfully) approaches and whose mind is quiescent (not perturbed by vanity &c.) and whose mind has ceased to hanker after objects of sense, whereby the disciple would realize the immutable Reality, the Puruṣa (Self).' Here also the word "parikṣya" shows that

2467. Vide Śabara on Jaimini X. 3. 48 'ktvā tāvat pūrvakāla eva smaryate.'

2467a. परीक्ष्य लोकान्कर्मचितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन। तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम्॥ तस्मै स विद्वानुपसन्नाय सम्यक् प्रशान्तचित्ताय शमान्विताय। येनाक्षरं पुरुषं वेद सत्यं प्रोवाच तां तत्त्वतो ब्रह्मविद्याम्॥ मुण्डकोप I. 2. 12-13; नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशा...नसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात्॥ कठ 2. 24.

brahmavidyā can be attained only by him who already has become tired of the world of senses. It is further provided that[2468] when a man becomes freed from all hankerings that cling to the heart of man, he becomes immortal and attains *brahma* in this very life. The Br. Up. (iv. 4. 6) states that of him who does not desire, who, not desiring, is freed from desires, who feels that he has obtained all desires in that he desires only the Self, the life breaths do not depart towards higher worlds (heaven etc.) as he, being (in reality) *brahma* only, becomes absorbed in *brahma*.

The Kaṭha Up. (2. 24) remarks 'He, who had not ceased from evil conduct, whose mind is not serene, who does not practise concentration, would not be able by mere knowledge to find the Ātman.'

The unalloyed Upaniṣad doctrine appears to be that, even when a man does good actions, they produce good results, to enjoy which the soul would have to undergo the bondage of fresh good births and thus liberation will be put off. Therefore, complete renunciation of all actions and their rewards was inculcated for the sannyāsin, who was to give up all desires for wealth, progeny and higher worlds and beg for alms as long as the body lasts. As no other course of conduct for the sannyāsin is specified here, it would have to be deemed that the Upaniṣad teaches only this mode of life for the sannyāsin. This view is further strengthened by other passages of the Upaniṣads, where it is said that the liberated are beyond sukṛta (good deeds and their consequences) and duṣkṛta (evil deeds and their consequences). The Chāndgoya says[2469] "the self is a bank (a dike or ridge) so that these worlds are kept asunder and are not confounded, day and night do not pass beyond (over) bank, nor old age, death and misery, neither good deeds nor evil deeds; all evil deeds turn away from him, for the world of *brahma* is free from all evil'. Similarly, the Kauṣītaki Up. says "being freed from good actions and from evil ones, this knower of brahma moves towards brahma (i. e. becomes one with or is absorbed in brahma)'.

2468. यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि श्रिताः। अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥ कठोप. VI. 14 and बृह. उप. IV. 4. 7 (which latter quotes it as a śloka).

2469. अथ य आत्मा स सेतुर्विधृतिरेषां लोकानामसम्भेदाय। नैनं सेतुमहोरात्रे तरतो न जरा न मृत्युर्न शोको न सुकृतं न दुष्कृतम्। सर्वे पाप्मानोऽतो निवर्तन्ते। अपहतपाप्मा ह्येष ब्रह्मलोकः। छा. उप. VIII. 4. 1; स एष विधुकृतो विधुष्कृतो ब्रह्म विद्वान्ब्रह्मैवाभिमेति। कौषी. उप. I. 4.

In this way the Upaniṣads appear to inculcate that the sannyāsin should completely give up all actions except living till the body lasts. The Jābālopaniṣad[2470] (4) provides that the very day on which a person becomes disgusted (with worldly life) he should become a wandering ascetic (a sannyāsin). This emphasizes that not mere knowledge but disgust with worldly life is necessary before one becomes a sannyāsin. Vide Kaṭhopaniṣad (II. 24) quoted above in note 2467a. The Praśnopaniṣad emphasizes 'to them alone comes the pure world of *brahman*, in whom there is no crookedness, no untruth and no duplicity' (I. 16). The Upaniṣads sometimes do say that 'one who knows *brahma* becomes *brahma* itself' (Muṇḍaka II. 3. 9), but the same Upaniṣads (e. g. Muṇḍaka I. 2. 12-13 quoted in n. 2467a) require great moral and spiritual attainments besides mere knowlegde of *brahma*.

It is not necessary to set out more Upaniṣad passages to exhibit the proper relation between mere knowledge of *brahma* and Realization of brahma.[2471]

In classical Sanskrit several words are employed to describe the state of liberation. The Amarakośa regards mukti, kaivalya, nirvāṇa, śreyas, niḥśreyasa, amṛta, mokṣa and apavarga as synonyms. Mukti, mokṣa, and amṛta (or amṛtatva) are frequently employed in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā. They refer to the state of Salvation or Liberation from different points of view. Man is liable to have hankerings and to birth and death; therefore when the soul becomes free from that cycle and realizes *brahma* it is said that he becomes immortal or secures immortality. Vide Bṛ. Up. VI. 4. 7 and 14, V. 15–17 (Vidyayāmṛtamaśnute), Chān. Up. II. 23. 2 (he who is firmly grounded in brahma attains immortality), Kaṭha Up. VI. 2 and 9, Śvet. Up.

2470. यदहरेव विरजेत्तदहरेव प्रव्रजेत्। जाबालोप० 4. नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात्। कठोप. II. 24; तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोको न येषु जिह्ममनृतं न माया चेति। प्रश्नोप. I. 16.

2471. So much had to be said because Prof. Edgerton in his paper 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture' in J. A. O. S. Vol. 62 (for 1942) pp. 151–156 appears to suggest that the Upaniṣads carry forward the idea of the Atharvaveda that knowledge of a matter was supposed to have magic power. It is not possible for limitations of space to examine his arguments at length. With great respect for such a veteran scholar, it has to be said that, so far as the Upaniṣads are concerned, mere knowledge of brahma is only a first step, and that one who desires liberation has to live life on a high moral and spiritual level. Vide Gītā XIII. 7–11 for definition of jñāna.

IV. 17 and 20, III. 1, 10, 13, Gītā 13. 12, 14. 20. Mukti and mokṣa are both derived from the root 'muc' (to be free) and the verbal forms of '*muc*' are frequently used along with 'immortality' as in Kaṭha Up. VI. 8 (yam jñātvā mucyate jantur-amṛtatvam ca gacchati) and 14, Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 7, Śv. Up. I. 8 and IV. 16 (jñātvā devaṁ mucyate sarvapāśaiḥ). The word mokṣa occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 16 and Gītā 5. 28, 7. 29, 18. 30. Niḥśreyasa (moksa, than which there is nothing better) occurs in Kauṣ. Up. III. 2, Gītā V. 2. Vide p. 1037 n 671 for 'niḥśreyasa'. The word 'śreyas' often means 'better' in the Upaniṣads (Tai. Up. I. 11 and Chān. Up. IV. 6. 5) and Gītā II. 7, 31, III. 35, XVIII. 47 &c., but in Kaṭha Up. II. 1 and 2 śreyas (as opposed to *preyas* i. e. pleasure) really means 'niḥśreyasa' (salvation).[2472] Kaivalya does not occur in the principal Upaniṣads, but *kevalaḥ* (not affected by guṇas or isolated as pure consciousness) occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 18 and VI. 11 (sākṣī cetā kevalo nirguṇaśca) Nirvāṇa occurs in Gītā VI. 15 (the yogin, that has subdued his mind and always practises yoga, secures peace, centred on me that is highest nirvāṇa); in Gītā II. 72 and V. 24–25 we find 'brahmanirvāṇam' which means 'bliss in brahma'. Apavarga occurs only in the Maitri Upaniṣad VI. 30 and was the goal laid down by the very first sūtra of the Nyāyadarśana.

It should be noted that cosmology whether in the Upaniṣads or later works is based on the geocentric theory and is concerned mostly with the earth, the elements, the Sun, Moon, planets and stars in general (without details).

The Manusmṛti has several theories on creation. In I. 5–19 we have the first theory: this (universe) existed in the form of darkness, was unperceived, destitute of distinctive signs, not subject to reasoning, unknowable, immersed in deep sleep as it were. Then the divine Self-existent appeared with irresistible power, dispelling darkness and making all this including the great elements discernible; he shone forth of his own (will); he, desirous of producing beings of various types from his body, first produced water only after reflecting (over the idea of creating) and planted therein his seed; the seed became a golden egg, equal in brilliance to the sun and in that egg he himself was born as Brahmā, the progenitor of the whole

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2472. निःश्रेयस is one of twenty-five words mentioned by Pāṇini in V. 4. 77 as irregular and the Mahābhāṣya explains it as निश्चितं श्रेयः.

world. He is called Nārāyaṇa,[2473] since waters, designated as *nārās* (offspring of Nara), were his first place of residence. From that first cause, not yet unfolded, which can neither be called *sat* nor *asat*, was produced a *puruṣa* (a male) who is called by people Brahmā. In that egg the divine one resided for one year; he divided the egg into two parts after reflecting on that matter; out of those two halves (of the egg) he created heaven and earth, between these two middle region, the eight directions and the abode of waters (the sea). From himself he drew forth mind which is neither *sat* nor *asat*, from mind Ahaṅkāra (self-consciousness), and the *mahat*-ātman, all products produced by the combinations of three guṇas, the five organs of sense which perceive the objects of sense; He created all beings by joining the subtle particles of the six (ahaṅkāra and tanmātrās) with portions of himself, the five great elements enter the framer of all beings. This theory combines the ideas contained in Ṛg. X. 129 (particularly verses 1–3) with those in the Śat. Br. XI. 1. 6. 1 and Chān. Up. III. 19. 1–2 (about the golden egg) and with the Sāṅkhya theory of *tattvas* and *guṇas*, though Manu differs from the standard Sāṅkhya of the Kārikā as regards the order in which Mahat, Ahaṅkāra and the five subtle elements arise. In I. 21 Manu states[2474] that Hiraṇyagarbha in the

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2473. आपो नारा इति प्रोक्ता आपो वै नरसूनवः। ता यदस्यायनं पूर्वं तेन नारायणः स्मृतः॥ मनु I. 10. शान्तिपर्व 342. 40 (=cr. ed. 328. 35) has first half and the 2nd half is अयनं मम तत्पूर्वमतो नारायणो ह्ययम्; विष्णुपु. I, 4. 5–6, ब्रह्माण्ड I. 5.5–6, कूर्म I. 6. 4–5 इमं चोदाहरन्त्यत्र श्लोकं नारायणं प्रति। ... आपो नारा...सूनवः। अयनं तस्य ताः पूर्वं ... स्मृतः. It is obvious that the two Purāṇas borrow from some work probably from मनु. मार्कण्डेयपु. 44. 4–5 (Venk. ed,) has the same verses as विष्णुपु. viz. इमं चोदा॰ and आपो ... सूनवः। तासु शेते स यस्माच्च तेन नारायणः स्मृतः॥; वराहपु. 2. 25–26 are the same as विष्णुपु. I 4. 5–6. ब्रह्मपु. (I. 38–39) has आपो नारा ... सूनवः। अयनं तस्य ता ... स्मृतः॥.

2474. सर्वेषां तु स नामानि कर्माणि च पृथक् पृथक्। वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ पृथक्संस्थाश्च निर्ममे॥ मनु. I. 21. The वे. सू. I. 3.28 is 'शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात्प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्. On this the bhāṣya is "कथं पुनरवगम्यते शब्दात्प्रभवति जगदिति। प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम्' प्रत्यक्षं श्रुतिः प्रामाण्यं प्रत्यनपेक्षत्वात्। अनुमानं स्मृतिः प्रामाण्यं प्रति सापेक्षत्वात्। ते हि शब्दपूर्वां सृष्टिं दर्शयतः। 'एते इति वै प्रजापतिर्देवानसृजत, असुग्रमिति मनुष्यान्, हन्दव इति पितॄन्, तिरः पवित्रमिति ग्रहान्, आशव इति स्तोभं विश्वानीति शस्त्रम्, अमिसौभगेत्यन्याः प्रजाः' इति श्रुतिः, ... स्मृतिरपि। अनादिनिधना नित्या वाग्युत्सृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा। आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः। ... तथा। नामरूपं च भूतानां कर्मणां च प्रवर्तनम्। वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ निर्ममे स महेश्वरः॥ इति. The śruti text cited is Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa VI. 9.15, explains the words of Ṛg. IX. 62. 1, the mantra being 'एते असृग्रमिन्दवस्तिरः पवित्रमाशवः। विश्वान्यभि सौभगा॥'. The verse अनादिनिधना॰ is शान्तिपर्व 233.24 (=cr. ed. 224. 55 which has only the first half) and the verse नामरूपं च occurs in विष्णुपुराण I. 5. 62, वायुपु. 9. 63 (reads प्रपञ्चनं) and कूर्म I. 7. 67–68 (reads प्राकृतानां प्रपञ्चनं).

beginning of creation assigned names, peculiar activities and conditions to all created beings by means of the words of Veda. In this it follows a śruti text (explaining Ṛg. IX. 62. 1) quoted by Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3. 28) who quotes a verse in support from the Mahābhārata and another verse also (the source of which is not mentioned but which is found in some purāṇas).

Another theory of creation is stated in Manusmṛti I. 32-41. Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, one half a male and the other a female and from that female he created Virāj, who practised *tapas* and created a male who was no other than Manu (promulgator of Manusmṛti). Manu desirous of producing created beings, first created ten great sages as Prajāpatis, who created seven Manus, Gods, classes of gods, great sages, yaksas rākṣasas, gandharvas, apsarases, snakes, birds classes of pitṛs, lightning, clouds, large and small stars, monkeys, fishes, cattle, deer, men, lions, worms, insects, flies, immovable things (trees etc.). This account appears to be inspired by the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90), particularly verses 5, 8-10.

A third theory of creation by Brahmā after he awakes from his sleep is briefly noticed in Manusmṛti I. 74-78, viz. he creates (or appoints) his mind which impelled by Brahmā's desire to create, produces ākāśa (ether), of which sound is the (peculiar) quality; that ether modifying itself creates Vāyu possessing the quality of touch; from Vāyu arises refulgent light, from which arises water and from water arises the earth of which the special quality is smell. This theory is a modification of the Sāṅkhya doctrine, according to which (kārikā 25) all five elements proceed from *ahaṅkāra* and God Brahmā is thrown in (who has no place in standard Sāṅkhya). The Manusmṛti is in the habit of stating opposing views on the same topic one after another; e. g. note on the use of flesh in Manu V. 27-46 as compared with V. 48-56, Manu III. 13 as compared with III. 14-19 (on brāhmaṇa having a śūdra wife), Manu IX. 59-62 as opposed to IX. 64-68 on the practice of *Niyoga*.

Accounts of creation occur frequently in the Mahābhārata, mostly in the Śāntiparva. All cannot be set out here, but a few would be described. Chap. 175. 11-21 (=Ch. ed. 182. 11-21) states that from God known as *Avyakta* all beings were born, he first created mahān also called ākāśa, from ākāśa water was produced, from water were produced fire and vāyu, from the combination of these two the earth was produced. Then the

self-existent created a lotus, from which arose Brahmā, known as Ahaṅkāra and he produced the whole world. In chap. 176 (183 of Ch. ed.) it is stated that Brahmā first created water, from water arose Vāyu, from the combination of water and Vāyu arose Agni and earth was produced from the combination of Agni, Vāyu and ākāśa. Chap. 177 (=184, Ch. ed.) explains that the Mahābhūtas (great elements) are five viz. vāyu, ākāśa, agni, water and earth, that all bodies are made of these five, that there are five *indriyas*, five objects of sense and five qualities, śabda, sparśa (touch), rūpa (colour), rasa (taste) and gandha (smell); subdivisions of each of these five are mentioned. Chap. 178 (=189 of Ch. ed.) speaks of the five prāṇas and the spheres of their activities. Chap. 179–180 (=186–187 of Ch. ed.) deal with jīva (individual self) and states at the end that the body is perishable, that the self passes from one body to another and that by yoga one can see the self in the Highest Self. Chap. 200 (=207 Ch. ed.) states that Puruṣottama created the five elements, that he reclined on waters, that from his navel sprang a lotus brilliant like the sun, from which arose Brahmā, who created from his mind seven sons, Dakṣa, Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu. Dakṣa had many daughters (the eldest being Diti), from these daughters Daityas, Ādityas, the other gods, Kāla and its parts, the earth, the four varṇas, all kinds of men, Āndhras, Pulindas, Śabaras and others in Dakṣiṇāpatha and in the Uttarāpatha, Yauna (Yavanas), Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Kirātas, Barbaras and others were produced. Chap. 224 (=231 Ch. ed.) starts by saying that in the beginning there was *brahma*, beginningless and endless, unknowable and proceeds to divisions of time from *nimeṣa* to the yugas and their characteristics. Herein occur verses that are the same as in Manusmṛti I. 65–67, 69–70, 75–77, 81–83, 85–86. It is difficult to say who borrow as even the Manusmṛti (in X. 44) mentions Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas and Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas, as having been originally sub-divisions or sub-castes of Kṣatriyas (Kṣatriyajātayaḥ) but reduced to the position of śūdras, because of losing all contact with brāhmaṇas (X. 43) and because of the cessation of religious rites (like Upanayana &c.). In Śānti 311 (=cr. ed. 299) creation is described in Sāṅkhya terms with Brahmā thrown in. Brahmā (identified with *mahān*) was born in the golden egg, he remained inside the egg for a year, then he created within the two parts of the egg (heaven and earth), antarikṣa, from ahaṅkāra five elements were produced and their

five qualities are mentioned. Āśvamedhika (Chap. 40–42 is similar to Śānti 311) states the order of creation as avyakta-mahat-ahaṅkāra-five elements, the only peculiarity being that in verse 2 mahān is identified with Viṣṇu, Śambhu, buddhi and several other words are given as synonyms thereof.

The Smṛti of Yājñavalkya (III. 67–70) states that from the one Self, many individual selves arise just as from a red-hot iron ball sparks go out, that the unborn and imperishable Atman is said to be born when connected with body, that in the beginning of creation, Paramātman creates the five elements, ether, vāyu, tejas, water and earth, each succeeding one possessing a rising series of qualities and when appearing as individual self, it receives (for body) the same elements. Then after pointing out how a human being is conceived, how the foetus grows in the womb and describing the anatomy (with number of bones, veins, arteries, muscles &c.) of the human body, the Smṛti avers that the whole world proceeds from the Paramātman and the individual self appears from the elements (which form the body). The individual self is beginningless[2475] and is not born, but it comes in intimate contact with a body that is due to acts influenced by false ideas, hankerings and aversions (III. 125). From the several parts (mouth, arms, thighs, feet &c) of the First Principle that assumes numerous forms arise the four varṇas in order, the earth, heaven, prāṇas, directions, Vāyu, Agni, Moon (from mind), the Sun (from His eye), sky and the whole movable and immovable world (III. 126–128). Here the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1 and 12–14) is closely followed.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to the theories of cosmology and cosmography. Only a very brief summary is all that can be attempted from the contents of a few among the extant Purāṇas that have been shown above to be the earliest, viz. Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya. It has been stated above (pp. 838–840) that the topics with which Purāṇas were deemed to be concerned were according to the Amarkośa five and that some of the Purāṇas themselves set out the five topics as creation (*sarga*), recreation after dissolution (*pratisarga*), dynasties (vaṁśa), the vast periods of time (called Manvantaras), and history and deeds of the descendants of the

2475. अनादिरात्मा कथितस्तस्यादिस्तु शरीरकम्। आत्मनस्तु जगत्सर्वं जगतश्चात्मसम्भवः॥ पा. III. 117.

solar, lunar and other dynasties (Vaṁsānucarita). Thus, many of the Purāṇas deal with creation at some length. A few striking theories and passages alone can be set out or cited.

The Matsyapurāṇa begins the topic of creation in the same way as the Manusmṛti does and some of the verses of the former are identical (or almost identical) with the verses of the Manusmṛti.[2476] The Matsya (2. 27) states; Nārāyaṇa alone appeared first and being desirous of creating the manifold world, produced from his body waters, cast the seed therein and a golden egg emerged; inside that egg the Sun appeared, he is called Āditya as well as Brahmā, he made the two halves of the egg into heaven and earth and produced all directions and the sky between the two (heaven and earth). Then the Meru and other mountains and the seven seas (of salt, sugarcane juice &c.) were produced. Nārāyaṇa became Prajāpati who created all this world including gods and asuras. The 3rd chap. of the Matsya speaks of the Vedas, Purāṇas and Vidyās as proceeding from his lips and states that he created from his mind ten sages, Marīci, Atri and others (3. 5–8). Then the Matsya launches on the Sāṅkhya scheme of creation (in 3. 14–29), stating that the three *guṇas* are *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, and the state of their equilibrium is called *Prakṛti*, that some call it *Pradhāna*, others call it *Avyakta*, that this Pradhāna produces creation, that from the three guṇas rose Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; that from Pradhāna arose Mahān, from the latter ahaṅkāra, then five Jñānendriyas and five Karmendriyas and the mind as the 11th sense and the five tanmātrās (subtle elements); that ākāśa was produced from the śabda-tanmātrā, vāyu from ākāśa, tejas from Vāyu and water from tejas, that the Puruṣa is the 25th *tattva*. Then the Matsya (3. 30–44) tells a fantastic story that Brahmā produced a woman (called Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī or Brahmāṇī) from himself, felt passion for her and had after a long time a son named Manu (called Svāyambhuva) and also Virāj from her; then Brahmā called upon his sons to create people. The Matsya in chapter four states that Brahmā had from Śatarūpā seven sons, Marīci and others (verses 25–26, contradicting chap. 3. 5–8), mentions two sons of Svāyambhuva Manu and also the descendants of those two sons. Some

2476. For example, Matsya 2. 25–27 and 32 echo the phraseology of Manu I. 5–6, 13, Matsya 2. 28 is the same as Manu I. 8, Matsya 3. 23 is same as Manu I. 75, Matsya 4. 55 (one half) is same as Manu IX. 129. The Brahmapurāṇa I. 37–39 are almost the same as Manu I. 6 and 8.

chapters from five onwards describe the descendants of Dakṣa, of Kaśyapa, of Diti, the coronation of Pṛthu, the solar and lunar dynastie and various classes of pitṛs.

The Vāyupurāṇa devotes five chapters (4–9) to creations of differents kinds (in over 600 verses). In Chap. 4 verses 22–61 the Sāṅkhya scheme of Pradhāna, Mahat, Ahaṅkāra, Tanmātrās is set out and is combined with the egg theory (verses 66ff). Chap. 6 appears to refer (verses 2–3) to the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 1–2), explains that Nārāyaṇa is so called because he reclines on waters, refers to the Boar incarnation, to nine kinds of creation, states a (different theory) that Brahmā created in the beginning the mind-born sons and Sanandana and Sanaka (6. 65). Chapter 7 refers to re-creation, Chap. 8 (containing 198 verses) refers to the Yugas, their durations, the creation of eight Devayonis, of animals, metres &c., and different sons of Brahmā.

The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa I (chapters 3–5) deal with the appearance of Hiraṇyagarbha and various kinds of creations and chapter 4 refers to Pradhāna, the guṇas and states that creation is due to the uneven mixture of guṇas that constitute Pradhāna but these work under Viṣṇu. Chap. 5 speaks of various kinds of creations, and the *mānasa* sons of Brahmā. Chapters 8, 11 of the Anuṣaṅgapāda (2nd section of the Purāṇa) deal with the creation of gods, pitṛs, men and of the great sages, Bhṛgu &c.

The first three chapters (containing about 240 verses) of the Brahmapurāṇa deal with creation. Chap. 1 (verses 34 ff) puts forward Brahmā as the creator of all *bhūtas* (beings) and as devotee of Nārāyaṇa and then states that ahaṅkāra arose from mahat and from ahaṅkāra the elements were produced. The Brahma like the Matsya closely follows (in I. 37-41) Manu I. 5-13. It refers to the creation of the seven sages Marīci, Atri and others who were seven Brahmāṇaḥ, the creation of Sādhyas, gods, the Ṛgveda and other Vedas, birds and all sorts of beings; it also states (I. 53) that Viṣṇu created Virāj, who created Puruṣa (this is based on the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 5) and that Puruṣa created people. Chapter 2 states that Puruṣa married Śatarūpā, that Puruśa is called Svāyambhuva Manu, that a son Vīra was born to Puruṣa and Śatarūpā and Vīrā's two sons were Priyavrata and Uttānapāda; then their descendants are described, that Dakṣa had 50 daughters 10 of whom were married to Dharma, 13 to Kaśyapa and 27 (the nakṣatras) were

married to king Soma. Chapter 3 deals with the creation of gods and asuras.[2477]

The Viṣṇupurāṇa in Chapters 2, 4, 5, 7 of the first *aṁśa* deals with several kinds of creation. Chapter 2 starts with Viṣṇu and asserts that Pradhāna and Puruṣa are his forms and in verses 34-50 proclaims the details of the Sāṅkhya system and verse 54 refers to the production of the egg by Mahat and other tattvas. Chap. 3 deals with the question how *brahman*, which is free from guṇas, inconceivable, pure and untainted, is the author of creation, the reply being that there are natural powers (Śaktis) in all things that are inconceivable and so *brahman* has the power of creating the universe. Chap. 5 deals with nine kinds of creations viz. of Mahat, Tanmātrās. bhūtas, (elements), Vaikārika (i. e. Aindrīyaka), Mukhya (i. e. of immovable objects), of lower animals, of ūrdhvaretas (i. e. divine beings), of human beings, of Kumāras (i. e. Sanatkumāra and others).

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa in Chap. 42 speaks of the creation of Pradhāna, Mahat, Ahaṅkāra, Tanmātrās under the aegis of Brahmā. Chap. 44 speaks of the nine kinds of creation as in Viṣṇu. Chapters 45, 46, 47 deal with the creations of Gods, pitṛs, human beings, the four varṇas, beasts, birds, trees and plants &c. Passages from other Purāṇas need not and cannot be quoted as they are in the same strain as above and as limitations of space preclude further elaboration.

In the Upaniṣads the geographical details are very few and are limited to the territory between the Himālayas and Vindhya (the Kauṣitaki Up. II. 13 speaks of two parvatas, the north and south, the Bṛ. Up. 1. 1, 1-2 alludes to the eastern and western seas). Noble steeds were brought from Sindhu country (Bṛ. Up. VI. 1. 13), the country of Gandhāra (Chān. Up. VI. 14. 2) appears to

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2477. As a sample of how several Purāṇas repeat the same verses, the following is set out: अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तत्प्रधानमृषिसत्तमैः। प्रोच्यते प्रकृतिः सूक्ष्मा नित्यं सदसदात्मकम्॥ ... त्रिगुणं तज्जगद्योनिरनादिप्रभवाप्ययम्। ... वेदवादविदो विप्रजिघ्यता ब्रह्मवादिनः। पठन्ति चैतमेवार्थं प्रधानप्रतिपादकम्। नाहो न रात्रिर्न नभो. न भूमिर्नासीत्तमो ज्योतिरभूच्च नान्यत्। श्रोत्रादि बुद्ध्याद्यनुपलभ्यमेकं प्राधानिकं ब्रह्म पुमांस्तदासीत्। विष्णोः स्वरूपात्परतो-विधे हे रूपे प्रधानं पुरुषश्च विप्र। विष्णुपु. I. 2. 19, 21-24; ब्रह्माण्डपुराण I. 3, 1-9 'अव्यक्तकारणं ... दात्मकम्। प्रधानं प्रकृतिं चैव यमाहुस्तत्त्वचिन्तकाः॥; the वायुपु. 4. 17 has अव्यक्तं कारणं यत्तु नित्यं सदसदात्मकम्। प्रधानं...तत्त्वचिन्तकाः॥. The ब्रह्मपुराण 1.33 has अव्यक्तं कारणं ... त्मकम्। प्रधानं पुरुषस्तस्माज्जिमंमे विश्वमीश्वरः॥. Mārkaṇḍeya, Chap. 42. 36-52 and 59-63 are identical almost word for word with Viṣṇu I. 2. 34-49, 51-55.

have been known and was at some distance from the place where the Upaniṣad was composed; the country Madra is mentioned in Bṛ. Up. III. 3.1 and III 7.1. Janaka was a king of Videha at whose court brāhmaṇas from Kurus, Pañcālya, gather together for argument with Yājñavalkya (Bṛ. Up. III 1.1), king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī (Banaras) humbled the vain Bālāki Gārgya (Bṛ. Up. II. 1.1), and Kauṣītaki IV. 1.1, which latter mentions also the countries of Vaśa, Uśīnara, Kuru. Pañcāla and Videha); Kuru country occurs in Chān. Up. I. 10.1. IV. 17.10. Pañcāla country by itself in Chān. Up. V. 3.1, Bṛ. Up. VI. 2.1; Aśvapat king of Kekaya (in the extreme North-west) imparted knowledge of Vaiśvānara-vidyā to brāhmaṇas.

The Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to cosmography [2478] i. e. description of the divisions of the earth called dvīpas, varṣas, the mountains, the oceans, the rivers and the countries therein and their extent, the motions of the sun, moon, planets, the yugas, manvantaras, and kalpas [2479] and Dharmaśāstra works frequently rely on them. Jambudvīpa was known at least before 300 B. C. as Aśoka mentions it in his Rūpanātha Rock Inscription, quoted above on p. 1016 n 1649. The word 'dvīpa' occurs in the Ṛgveda I. 169. 3 and VII. 20. 4 (vi *dvīpāni* pāpatan). Pāṇini derives the word from *dvi* and *āpaḥ*. (VI. 3. 97). A bare outline of these from some Purāṇas may be indicated here. The Matsyapurāṇa starts by saying (in chap. 113. 4-5) that there are thousands of dvīpas, but as it is not possible to describe the whole of the world in order it would expound only the seven [2480] dvīpas.

2478. The most systematic and complete work on the cosmography of ancient India as described in Purāṇas is W. Kirfel's 'Die Kosmographie der Inder' (Bonn, 1920, pp. 401) with plates. He deals with Purāṇa material in. pp. 1–177, with Buddhist material in pp. 178–207 and with Jaina material in pp. 208–339 and there is an index of proper names in pp. 340–401.

2479. Many of the Purāṇas contain the same questions put by the sages to the Sūta about the dvīpas. ऋषयः ऊचुः। कति द्वीपाः समुद्रा वा पर्वता वा कति प्रभो। कियन्ति चैव वर्षाणि तेषु नद्यश्च काः स्मृताः॥ महाभूमिप्रमाणं च लोकालोकस्तथैव च। पर्वतेषु परिमाणं च गतिश्चन्द्रार्कयोस्तथा। एतद् अवीहि नः सर्वं विस्तरेण यथार्थवित्। स्वयम्भूतमेतत्सकलं श्रोतुमिच्छामहे वयम्। सूत उवाच। द्वीपभेदसहस्राणि सप्त चान्तर्गतानि च। न शक्यन्ते क्रमेणेह वक्तुं वै सकलं जगत्॥ ससैव तु प्रवक्ष्यामि चन्द्रादित्यग्रहैः सह॥ मत्स्य. 113. 1–5, वायु 134. 1–3, 6–7, ब्रह्माण्ड II. 15. 2–3, 5–6, मार्कण्डेय 51. 1–3.

2480. The dvīpas are generally said to be seven, but sometimes they are said to be 18 as in Vāyu 2. 15 (aṣṭādaśa samudrasya dvīpān aśnan Purūravāḥ) and by Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṁśa VI. 38 (aṣṭādaśa-dvīpa-nikhāta

(*Continued on next page*)

Chapters 121-123 of the same Purāṇa mention by name seven dvīpas viz. Jambudvīpa, Śakadvīpa, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmala, Gomedaka and Puskara, each succeeding one being double of each preceding one and each surrounded by a sea and each having seven *varṣas*, seven principal mountains, seven main rivers. The seven oceans surrounding the seven dvīpas are stated to be respectively of salt [2481] water, milk, liquid ghee, curds, liquor, sugar-cane juice, fresh water. The names and order of the dvīpas differ to some extent in different Purāṇas e. g. the Viṣṇu II. 1.12–14, II. 2.5, the Brahmapurāṇa (18.11) mention them as Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka and Puṣkara. The Vāyu (33. 11-14), Kūrma I. 45. 3, Mārk, 50, 18-20 mention the same seven in the same order.

The descriptions of Kalpa, Manvantara, Yuga in the Purāṇas have already been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. III. p. 890–91 and above pp. 686–693 and *pralaya* has been treated of in Vol. III pp. 893-895 and pp. 693-695 above. The Purāṇas contain thousands of verses on these topics.

The Viṣṇu (II. 2. 13-24) mentions the *varṣas* as Bhārata (the first among them), Kimpuruṣa, Hari, Ramyaka, Hiraṇmaya, Uttara-Kuru, Ilāvṛta, Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla. The Vāmana (13. 2–5) mentions the same except that it substitutes Campaka for Ramyaka. Viṣṇu II. (1. 16–17) states, however, that Nābhi, Kiṁpuruṣa, Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛta, Ramya, Hiraṇvat, Kuru, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla were the names of nine kings, sons of Āgnīdhra, son of Priyavrata, a son of Svāyambhuva Manu and that the varṣas given to the nine sons of Āgnīdhra were respectively Himāhva (i. e. Bhārata), Hemakūṭa, Naiṣadha, Ilāvṛta, Nīlācala, Śveta, Śṛṇgavat, a varṣa to east of Meru, Gandhamādana. Thus there is a confusion of names of kings and names of *varṣas*. Vāyu (30. 38-40) states the same names of

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(*Continued from last page*)

yūpaḥ). It is possible to take the word dvīpa in the sense of islands and not in the sense of continents in these cases. From Pāṇ. IV. 3. 10 (dvīpādanusamudram yañ) it appears that the word 'dvīpa' was also used about islands near the sea coast. Vide 'Nine dvīpas of Bharatavarṣa' by Sashi bhushan Chauduri in I. A. Vol. 59 pp. 204–208 and 224–226.

2481. एते द्वीपाः समुद्रैस्तु सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः । लवणेक्षुसुरासर्पिर्दधिदुग्धजलैः समम् । विष्णु II. 2. 6. ब्रह्मपु. 18. 12, मार्क० 51. 7 (लवणे ... दधिक्षीरजलादिभिः) द्विगुणैर्द्विगुणैर्व्याप्ता सर्वतः परिवेष्टिताः).

sons and in 33. 41–45 mentions the same varṣas except Mālyavat, which was given to Bhadrāśva.[2482]

The Vāyu (45. 75-81) states that Bhāratavarṣa is to the north of the ocean and to the south of Himavat (Himālaya) and Manu was called Bharata because he supported his subjects and therefore this varṣa is called Bhārata. The Brahmāṇḍa (II. 16.7, says the same thing. The same (Vāyu) Purāṇa contradicts itself by stating (in 33. 50-52) that Nābhi's son was Ṛṣabha, whose son was Bharata after whom Bharata-varṣa is so called. Brahmāṇḍa (II. 14.60-62) says the same thing; Vāyu also stated (in 99. 134) that from Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā was born Bharata and Bhārata is so called[2483] after him. The seven

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2482. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम्। वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः॥ नवयोजनसाहस्रो विस्तारश्च द्विजोत्तमाः। कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम्॥ महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः। विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वताः॥ विष्णु. II. 3. 1–3, ब्रह्मपु. 19. 1–3; vide अग्नि 118. 1–3 (which reads हेमपर्वतः for ऋक्षपर्वतः), मार्कण्डेय (54. 10–11), ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 5 and 18–19. It is worthy of note that Pāṇini expressly names only Himavat (in IV. 4. 112) out of these mountains, though he knew other mountains like Kimśulukagiri and others (VI. 3. 117). अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठं जम्बूद्वीपे महामुने। यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा यतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः॥ ब्रह्म. 19. 23, विष्णु. II. 3. 22. In both several verses after this are the same. भीष्मपर्व (chap. 9. 11 has the verse महेन्द्रो० (but reads ऋक्षवान्), while in chap. 6 (verses 4–5) only six are mentioned.

2483. The Viṣṇupurāṇa II. 1. 32 agrees with Vāyu 33, 50–52. In the Śākuntala (Act. VII.) Kālidāsa makes a character state that Śakuntalā's son called Sarvadamana in the hermitage of Kaṇva would become known as Bharata (इहार्थं सत्त्वानां प्रसभदमनात्सर्वदमनः पुनर्यास्यत्याख्यां भरत इति लोकस्य भरणात्). It is likely that in Kālidāsa's days Śakuntala's son had not been probably connected with the name Bhāratavarṣa, otherwise there would have been nothing to prevent the poet from adding another prophecy about him that a varṣa would be named after him. Pāṇini speaks of prācyas and Bharatas (II. 4. 66, IV. 2. 113). The Bharatas were an ancient people mentioned several times even in the Ṛgveda; vide III. 33. 11–12. The Bharatas are spoken of as grāma i. e. a group or saṅgha, to have crossed the confluence of the rivers Vipāś and Śutudri (modern Beas and Sutlaj), III. 23. 2 (Bharatas are said to have produced Agni by attrition), III. 53. 12 (where the prayer of Viśvāmitra is said to have protected Bhārata-jana). Agni is styled Bhārata in several verses (as in Ṛg. II. 7. 1 and 5, IV. 25. 4, VI. 16. 19 and 45). It is stated in the Ait. Brāhmaṇa (39. 9) that Dīrghatamā Māmateya crowned Bharata Dauṣpanti (Dauṣyanti) by the Aindra Mahābhiṣeka, that Bharata thereon conquered the earth all round, performed many Aśvamedha sacrifices and then five ślokas are quoted stating that Bharata made gifts of innumerable elephants in Masnāra country, that he performed sacrifices on the banks of the Yamunā river and on the

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principal mountains of Bhāratvarṣa are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣaparvata, Vindhya and Pāriyātra. The Purāṇas affirm that Bhārata is the best in the varṣas of Jambudvīpa (Brahma 19. 23-24, Viṣṇu III. 3. 22, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 17). Some of them contain fine eulogies of Bhārata (e. g. Brahma 27. 2.9 and 69-79, Viṣṇu II. 3. 23-26.).

In several Purāṇas nine divisons of Bhāratavarṣa are named viz. Indradvīpa, Kaśeru, Tāmraparṇa, Gabhastimat, Nāgadvīpa, Sahys, Gandharva, Vāruṇa and a ninth which is 1000 yojanas long from north to south, on the east of which are Kirātas and on the west Yavanas and the four varṇas in the middle of it.[2484]. It may be noted that though Bhāratavarṣa is only one the divisions of Jambudvīpa, some of the nine divisions are themselves called Indradvīpa and Nāgadvīpa. Another important matter is that Matsya 114. 10, Vāyu 45. 81, Vāmana 13. 11, and Brahmāṇḍa appear to call the 9th dvīpa Kumāra or as extending from Kumārikī to the sources of the Gaṅgā. There-

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Ganges; the last verse (the 5th) says 'महाकर्म भरतस्य न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः। विश्वं सर्वं इव हस्ताभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्चमानवाः॥'. Vide Śatapatha Br. XIII. 5. 4. 11–13 (for Bharata Dauṣpanti born of Śakuntalā, where four gāthās are quoted about him, three of which are almost the same as in Ait. Br. and it is added that he attained the same sway or eminence that belongs to the Bharatas in its times. The Atharvaveda frequently refers to Himavat (as in V. 2. 8, XIX. 39. 1) and it is said that Kuṣṭha plant is found in the north and is taken to the east from Himavat and that (Atharva VI. 24. 1 and 3) all rivers flow from Himavat and join the ocean (Sindhu). The महाभाष्य on Pāṇ. II. 4. 66 remarks that Bharatas are not found in any countries other than those in the east.

2484. भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नवभेदान् निबोधत। इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रपर्णो गभस्तिमान्। नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः। अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंवृतः। योजनानां सहस्रं तु द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरात्। पूर्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनाः स्मृताः॥ ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागशः॥ विष्णु. II. 3. 6–9, मार्क. 54. 5–8 and Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 8 add one half verse समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम् (after भारतस्यास्य ... ते), वामन 13.8–11 (reads नागद्वीपः कटाहश्च सिंहलो वारुणस्तथा, and adds कुमाराख्यः परिख्यातो द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरः after अयं ... संवृतः), वायु 45. 78–83 (adds आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्याद्या गङ्गाप्रभवाच्च वै and one verse more after this), ब्रह्मपु. (27. 14–17 and 19–20) has also the verses इन्द्रद्वीपः ... यवनाः स्मृताः but the first verse is शृणुध्वं भारतं वर्षं नवभेदेन भो द्विजाः। समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते समाश्च परस्परम् (v. l. दुर्गम्याः परस्परम्). The मत्स्य (14. 7–12) has some of the above verses but adds आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गङ्गायाः प्रवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः?)। तिर्यगूर्ध्वं तु विस्तीर्णः सहस्राणि दशैव तु। Agni 118 also has similar verses. The ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 11 adds आयतो ह्याकुमार्यां वै या गंगाप्रभवाच्च वै। तिर्यगुत्तरविस्तीर्णः सहस्राणि दशैव तु.

fore, it appears that the 9th division of Bhāratvarṣa was held to be a country like modern India and the other eight divisions seem to be countries and islands lying to the south-east of present India. It is probable that early works identified Bhāratvarṣa with what is now modern India, but when Indian culture spread to South-East Asia, Bhāratavarṣa was used to denote India as well as Greater India.

Śabara (bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1, 35) shows that the language of cultured people from the Himavat *to* cape Comorin was the same (prasiddhaśca sthālyām caruśabdaḥ ā Himavataḥ ā ca Kumarībhayaḥ prajujyamāno dṛṣṭaḥ). Vide also his bhāṣya on Jai. X. 1. 42 for the same words. The snow-capped mountains were known to the sages of the Ṛgveda (vide X. 121, 4 'yasyeme Himavanto mahitvā yasya samudram rasayā sahāhuḥ). 'Yasya' in the verse quoted refers to Hiraṇyagarbha. The Atharvaveda (V. 4. 2 and 8) mentions Himavat in the singular. *Parvatas* (plural) occur several times in Ṛg. III. 33. 1, IV. 54. 5 and also *parvata* in the singular (Ṛg. I. 37. 7, V. 56. 4). The Mahābhārata, Śabara, Purāṇas and the Bṛhat-saṁhitā show that ancient Indian people identified their culture with Bhāratavarṣa i. e. they identified country and culture, not race with culture.

The Brahmapurāṇa and the Mārkaṇḍeya appear to confine Bhāratvarṣa substantially to what has been known for centuries as India when they describe it as 'to its south, west and east there is the great ocean, to its north is Himavat resembling the string of a bow.'[2485] Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II, pp. 11–16 for discussion as to the limits of Āryāvarta and pp. 17–18 for Bhārata-varṣa.

The Vāyu devotes about 1000 verses (chap. 36-49) to what is called Bhuvanavinyāsa (arrangement of the universe), the Brahma devotes chap. 18-21 to the same viz. Bhuvanakośa, the Matsya chap. 114 deals with Bhuvanakośa, Kūrma I. 40 is called Bhuvanavinyāsa and deals with dvīpas and varṣas.

The countries[2486] of ancient and medieval India are enumerated in Viṣṇu II. 3. 15–18, Vāyu 45. 109–136, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16.

2485. दक्षिणापरतो यस्य पूर्वे चैव महोदधिः। हिमवान्धनुरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः। तवेतद्भारतं वर्षं सर्वबीजं द्विजोत्तमाः। ब्रह्म. 27. 65–66, मार्क० 54. 59.

2486. For the Janapadas and other geographical data in Pāṇini, vide J. of U. P. H. S. Vol. 16 pp. 10-51 by Dr. V. S. Agravala and IHQ Vol. 21 pp. 297–314 for countries in the Purāṇas and Dr. D. C. Sirkar's 'Text of the Purāṇic list of peoples' in IHQ vol. 19 pp. 297–314. It appears from

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40-68, Matsya 114. 34-56, Mārkaṇḍeya 54, Padma (Ādi 6. 34-59), Vāmana 13. 36 ff. The Bhīṣmaparva (chap. 9) mentions countries and peoples. In the Nakṣatrakūrmādhyāya of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhmihira (chap. 14. 1-33) numerous names and countries in the centre of Bhāratavarṣa and in the eight directions of it are set out. Many rivers are named in the Ṛgveda. In Ṛgveda X. 75. 5-6 eighteen or nineteen rivers are mentioned in order from the Ganges towards the west up to Kubhā (Kabul river), Gomatī, Krumu (modern Kurram). Twenty-one rivers, seven in three groups, are referred to in Ṛgveda) X. 64. 8 and X. 75.1 and 99, in Ṛgveda I. 32.12 and X. 104.8 seven Sindhus are mentioned and in (Ṛgveda II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, X. 43, 3). Rivers are enumerated as flowing from the principal mountains in Matsya 114. 20-33, Kūrma I. 47. 28-39, Brahmāṇḍa II. 16. 24-39, Vāmana 13, 20-35 and 34. 6-8, Brahma 19. 10-14 and 27. 25-40, Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 6. 10-32). The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 165. 19-29) mentions many rivers.

Pātālas (nether regions) are generaly mentioned as seven, but the names slightly vary in the several Purāṇas. Vide Vāyu 50. 11-12, Brahma 21. 2-3 and 54. 20-11, Brahmāṇḍa II. 20. 10 ff, Kūrma I. 44. 15-25, Viṣṇu II. 5. 2-3.

The Bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Y. S. III. 25 (26 in some editions) 'bhuvanajñānam sūrye saṃyamāt' contains a concise but remarkably detailed summary of the description of the seven lokas (bhūr, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, mahaḥ, jana, tapas and satya,[2487]

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Pāṇini that he was well acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest to Kalinga (modern Orissa) and Aśmaka (region about Ajanta and Paithan) and modern Kutch as he expressly names Gāndhāra (IV. 1. 169), Suvāstu (in IV. 2. 77, modern Swat), Kamboja (IV. 1. 175) and Takṣaśilā (IV. 3. 93), Sindhu (IV. 3. 93), Śalātura (IV. 3. 94, the birth place of Pāṇini who is hence called Śalāturīya by later writers like Bhāmaha), Sauvīra (IV. 1. 148), Kaccha (IV. 2. 133), Magadha, Kaliṅga, Sūramasa (Surma valley ?) in IV. 1. 170, Aśmaka (IV. 1. 173). Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India (1872), Nundolal Dey's 'The Geogtaphical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927), 'Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India' by Surendranath Majumdar' in I. A. Vol. 48 (for 1919) pp. 15-23 and 'the list of Tīrthas' in the author's H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 723-825 may be consulted for ancient Indian Geography.

2487. The words for the three or seven Vyāhṛtis were supposed to denote *lokas*. Vide Tai. Br. II. 2. 4. 3 'एता वै व्याहृतय इमे लोकाः' and Tai. Up. I. 5 भूरिति वा अयं लोकः। भुव इत्यन्तरिक्षम्। सुवरित्यसौ लोकः। मह इत्यादित्यः। आदित्येन वाव सर्वे लोका महीयन्ते।, the कूर्मपुराण (I. 44. 1-4) mentions the lokas from महः to सत्य.

the seven narakas from Avīci upwards, the seven pātālas, the earth with seven dvīpas, the seven parvatas with Meru in the middle of the earth, varṣas, the seven dvīpas, jambu, śaka, kuśa, krauñca, śālmala, gomedha (not gomedaka as in the printed Purāṇas) and Puṣkara, the seven seas, the parks of the gods, their assembly hall called Sudharmā and city called Sudarśana and palace called Vaijayanta, the groups of gods in Mahendra-loka, Prājāpatya-loka, in Jana, Tapas and Satya lokas. Many of these details closely agree with the enumerations and descriptions in the Purāṇas. This shows that the Paurāṇika cosmography had been established long before the 4th century A. D.

CHAPTER XXXV

The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis)

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Indian system of religion and philosophy, is an endeavour to answer the question that occurs to all thoughtful persons, viz. what happens to man after the death of the body and has influenced for thousands of years or at least from the times of the Upaniṣads all Indian thought and all Hindus, Jains and Buddhists. This is a vast subject and has during the last few decades attracted the minds of numerours writers in the West. There is now a voluminous literature in the West on reincarnation.[2487a] Several countries in historical times believed in transmigration. Herodotus[2487b] states that some of the Greeks (whose names he knew but did not disclose) had used that doctrine as their own, but that the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul was immortal and that at the time of the death of the body it entered into some other living thing then coming to birth. Pythagoras appears to have believed in it and there are controversies whether he derived it from India. Prof. A. B. Keith (in J. R. A. S. for 1909 pp. 569-606) after a lengthy discussion holds that Pythagoras did not borrow it from India. The present writer does not express any opinion on that subject as it is irrelevant for the purpose of this volume. Hopkins and Macdonnell accept the theory of Indian Influence on Pythagoras, but Oldenberg and Keith do not.

Not only Pythagoras, but Empedocles (who is reported to have said that he was a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird and a fish) and Plato believed in the pre-existence and post-existence of the soul, in the idea that the bodies which will accompany the soul in several births would bear similitude to the lives that

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2487a. Even so early as 1913, E. D. Walker (Rider and Co., London) devotes to a bibliography of books and articles on 'Reincarnation' 15 pages (pp. 329-343).

2487b. Vide English translation of Herodotus by A. D. Godley, Vol. I. (book II. 123).

they had led, that the happiest would be those who had practised the social and civil virtues called temperance and justice and that supersensible thinking would be the only means of disengaging the soul from successive lives of sense. Vide Kenneth Walker's 'The circle of Life' p. 93 (where he says that the doctrine of metempsychosis was probably well-known in India at the time of Christ) and Gough's 'Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' (London 1882), pp. 25–28, where he cites a long passage from Plato's Phaedon on this subject and pp. 29–31 for a long quotation from Hume's Dialogues concernig Natural Religion on the miseries and migration of the soul from body to body. Gough on p. 25 of the above work opines that since in the Vedic literature prior to the Upanisads there is no reference to the belief in the passage of the soul into plants and human bodies, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hindus borrowed this doctrine from the indigenes in the course of their absorption of indigenous blood. Vide also 'Studies in honour of Bloomfield' pp. 76–88 for G. W. Brown's views to the same effect. This is a most gratuitous assumption, it is a pure conjecture and without any evidence whatever. If belief in transmigration could exist among Egyptians and many primitive tribes, there is no reason to assume that Indians did not themselves arrive at the doctrine, particularly when there exists nowhere else in the whole world any theory of Karma and transmigration so detailed, so influential and so thorough as in Sanskrit Literature. One may dismiss the conjectures of Gough and G. W. Brown as verbiage (the latter conjectures on pp. 87–88 that even the words Yoga, Sāṅkhya and Upaniṣad are coined from similar words in some Dravidian tongue now lost). All Scholars (particularly Western ones when writing about the East) should lay to heart the words of Mallinātha 'nāmūlam likhyate kiñcit'. The present writer is not against conjectures at all but they must not be bold and must always be treated as such. But the danger is that the conjectures of former scholars or men are often treated as valid conclusions by later writers. All scholars must bear in mind Acton's warning 'Guard against the prestige of great names; no trusting without testing'. In the H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 38–40 the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma was briefly discussed in relation to the consequence of sins and their removal and details were reserved for treatment later.

In the present chapter the author proposes to examine the Vedic literature for tracing the origin and the growth of

this doctrine and the vicissitudes and modifications of it and the objections raised against it in modern times. It is a remarkable circumstance that, though the several *darśanas* (such as Sānkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśesika, Pūrvamīmāmsā and Vedānta) severely criticize some doctrines of each other, the doctrine of Karma and transmigration received almost unanimous support except among materialists (like Cārvāka). Prof. Wilson in 'Religion of the Hindus' (London, ed. of 1862) vol. II, p. 112 remarks 'metempsychosis is not only the one point on which all are agreed, it is the one point which none have ever disputed'. The Buddhists and Jains, though they differed on many matters from Vedic and Smrti literature, adopted this doctrine in their own way. There are some suppositions antecedent to all beliefs in Karma and transmigration viz. (1) man has a soul, eternal and separate from the physical body, (2) that other organisms, animals, plants and probably inanimate objects possess souls, (3) that the souls of men and lower animals can pass from one kind of physical organism to another, (4) that the soul is both doer and sufferer.

It has already been shown at some length (in Vol. IV. pp. 154–171) how ideas of Heaven and Hell were developed from ancient Vedic times and it has been stated (on p. 158 of that volume) that the doctrine of Karma and transmigration modified the doctrine of Heaven and Hell.

The word *karma* occurs in the Rgveda over forty times. In some passages it appears to mean 'exploits' or 'valiant deeds' as in the following: 'Observe the exploits of Visnu' (Rg. 1. 22. 19), 'proclaim by your word (or verses) the [2488] ancient deeds of Him (Indra) who is worthy of praise' (Rg. I. 61. 13); 'that deed of his (of Indra), who is wonderful, is most worthy of worship, that deed is most beautiful, that he filled with sweet waters of four rivers' (Rg. I. 62. 6); 'who is firm in each exploit' (Rg. I. 101. 4); 'O Indra! four are your divine and unconquerable names,... under which you performed exploits' (Rg. X. 54. 4); 'O Aśvins! frequent drinkers of delicious Soma and Lords of splendour, you helped (or protected) Indra in his exploits

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2488 अस्येदु प्र ब्रूहि पूर्व्याणि तुरस्य कर्माणि नव्य उक्थैः। ऋ. I. 61. 13; तदु प्रयक्षतमस्य कर्म दस्मस्य चारुतममस्ति दंसः। उपह्वरे यदुपरा अपिन्वन् मध्वर्णसो नद्यश्चतस्रः॥ Rg. I. 62.6; युवं सुरामममश्विना नमुचावासुरे सचा। विपिपाना शुभस्पती इन्द्रं कर्मस्ववर्धतम्॥ ऋ. X. 131. 4.

against Namuci, son of Asura (or of the Asura breed)' in Ṛg. X. 131. 4. In several other passages of the Ṛgveda 'karma' means 'religious works' (such as sacrifices or gifts); '(the gods) accept (or like) all works of this poet who brings to you a hymn of praise' [2489] (Ṛg. I. 148. 2); (O Indra), give your ear to (the prayer) of Śyāvāśva who offers Soma to you, as you listened to (the prayers of) Atri who performed religious works' (Ṛg. VIII. 36. 7); O pure Soma! with thy help our ancient and wise forefathers performed works' (Ṛg. IX. 96. 11). In very ancient times Heaven was believed to be the place for enjoying the rewards of most works. Rewards of this world such as wealth, heroic sons were no doubt prayed for, but it was immortality (*amṛtatva*) and the joys of heaven, that were highly valued. In Ṛg. X. 16. 4 Agni is prayed to take the deceased to the world of those who performed good works (tābhir-vahainam sukṛtām u lokam). The words 'sukṛtām lokam' occur in the Atharvaveda [2490] (III. 28. 6, XVIII. 3. 71) and in the Vāj. S. 18. 52. In Ṛg. IX. 113. 7–10 the sacrificer who offers Soma to Indra prays that he may be placed in that world (heaven) as an immortal, where there is never-ending light, where Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the King, where there are joys and delights and where there are desires and their fulfilment. The prayers for immortality are made in the Ṛgveda to all gods, e. g. to Agni in I. 31. 7, IV 58. 1, V. 4. 10., Vi. 7. 4, to the Maruts in V. 55. 4, to Mitra and Varuṇa in V. 63. 2, to Viśve-Devas in X. 52. 5 and X. 62. 1, to Soma in I. 91. 1, IX. 94. 4, IX. 108. 3. But about the fate of evil-doers not much is said in the Ṛgveda. In the Brāhmaṇa works greater details are offered as to rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds. Śat. Br. (XII. 9. 1. 1) puts forth the idea of retribution (cited above).[2491] The same idea is set forth as to flesh-eating in Manu and Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, which state

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2489. शुष्वन्त विश्वान्यस्य कर्मोपस्तुतिं भरमाणस्य कारोः। ऋ. I. 148. 2: इयावाश्वस्य सुन्वतस्तथा शृणु यथा शृणोरत्रेः कर्माणि कृण्वतः। ऋ. VIII. 36. 7; the same verse is repeated in VIII. 37. 7 (with रेभतः for सुन्वतः); त्वया हि नः पितरः सोम पूर्वे कर्माणि चक्रुः पवमान धीराः। ऋ. IX. 96. 11.

2490. ताम्यां पतेम सुकृताम् लोकं यत्र ऋषयो जग्मुः प्रथमजाः पुराणाः। वाज. सं. 18. 52; शरीरमस्य संवृहाथैनं धेहि सुकृताम् लोके॥ अथर्व. XVIII. 3. 71.

2491. एतस्माद्वै यज्ञात्पुरुषो जायते। स यद्ध वा अस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषोऽन्नमत्ति तदेनममुष्मिँल्लोके प्रत्यत्ति। शतपथ XII. 9. 1. 1; मां स भक्षयिताऽमुत्र यस्य मांसमिहाद्म्यहम्। एतन्मांसस्य मांसत्वं प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः॥ मनु. V. 55, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 51. 78; मां means 'me' and सः 'that being' and the word मांस (that contains these two) is explained as above.

"that being whose flesh I eat here would eat me in the next world, the wise declare this to be the origin of the word 'māṃsa'." The Śat. Br. in another passage refers to a strange legend.[2492] Bhrgu, who had become vain on account of his learning and thought himself more learned than his father Varuna, was asked by his father to go to the four quarters from east to north and report what he would see there. Horrible sights met him in all directions *e. g.* in the east he saw men dismembering men, hewing off their limbs one by one and saying 'this to you, this to me'. He said 'this is horrible'. They replied 'these indeed dealt with us in yonder world and so we now deal with them in return'. Then in the north he saw that men crying aloud were being eaten by men crying aloud. When he said 'horrible &c'; they replied 'these indeed dealt with us...in return'. This is a long story and it is not necessary to set out the whole. This story probably gives expression to the popular notion of 'tit for tat'. But one thing is clear that the Śat. Br. indicates by this story that a belief had then arisen that one who does evil in one life has to suffer for it in a later life from that being whom he treated badly. The Śat. Br and the Tai. Br. both several times speak of conquering or casting off '*punarmṛtyu*' (renewed death, liability to be born and die again and again). Two passages from the Śat. Br. and Tai. Br. may be quoted. In X. 4. 4 the Śat. Br. tells the story that gods became immortal by means of the proper performance of Agnicayana as Prajāpati advised them viz. by laying down 360 enclosing stones, 360 Yajuṣmatī bricks and 36 more thereon, 10800 Lokampṛṇā bricks. In X. 4. 4. 9 it is said 'he who is to become immortal through knowledge (vidyā)[2493] and through sacred works (*karman*) shall become immortal after separating from the body', and then X. 4. 4. 10 asserts that 'those who know this or those who do this holy work come to life again after dying and coming to life they secure immortal life; but those who do not know

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2492. स तत एव माङ् प्रवव्राज। एतु पुरुषैः पुरुषान्पर्वाण्येषां पर्वशः संव्रश्चं सर्वशो विभजमानानिहं तवेहं ममेति। स होवाच भीष्मं वत भोः। पुरुषान्वा एतत्पुरुषाः पर्वाण्येषां पर्वशः संव्रश्चं पर्वशो व्यभक्षतेति ते होचुरित्थं वा इमेऽस्मानद्युष्मिँल्लोकेऽसचन्त तान्वयमिहमिह प्रतिसचामह इति। ... स ह तत एवोदङ् प्रवव्राज। एतु पुरुषैः पुरुषानाक्रन्दयत आक्रन्दयद्विरध्यमानान्। स होवाच। भीष्मं वत भोः पुरुषान् वा एतत्पुरुषाः आक्रन्दयत आक्रन्दयन्तोऽवन्तीति। ते होचुरित्थं वा इमेऽस्मा ... सचामह इति। शतपथ XI. 6, 1. 3–6.

2493. ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्ये वै तत्कर्म कुर्वते सुत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति ते सम्भवन्त एवासुतत्वमभि सम्भवन्त्यथ य एवं न विदुर्ये वै तत्कर्म न कुर्वते सुत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति त एतस्यैवार्थं पुनः पुनर्भवन्ति। शतपथ X 4. 3. 10.

this or do not perform this sacred work come to life again when they die and they become the food of him (Death) time after time.' In the Tai. Br. III. 11. 8 the story of Naciketas is narrated just as in the Kaṭhopaniṣad (some of the verses are the same in both). Death grants Naciketas three boons in the Tai. Br., the third being different in the Kaṭhopaniṣad. The third boon asked by Naciketas in Tai. Br. is 'Declare to me how to cast off *punarmṛtyu*.' Death declared to him the Nāciketa fire, thereby he (Naciketas) cast off or kept off *punarmṛtyu*.[2494] The words 'apa punarmṛtyum jayati' occur in Kauṣitaki Br. 25. 1 and several times in the Bṛ. Up. I. 2. 7., I. 5. 2, III. 2., 10, III. 3. 2.

From the ancient popular idea of retribution for evil deeds probably arose the idea of the setting of good deeds against the evil deeds of a person and weighing them as if in a balance. The Śat. Br. states[2495] 'Now this one is the balance, viz. the right side of the vedi.[2496] Let him sit down touching the right edge of the vedi, for indeed they place him on the balance in yonder world and whichever of two will rise he will follow, whether it be good or evil. And whosoever knows this mounts the balance even in this world and escapes being placed on the balance in yonder world, for it is good deed that rises and not his evil deed'.

The Śatapatha had arrived at the idea that man's will (and corresponding deed) governs what world he will reach after death. It says 'Let him meditate on truth as brahma. Now man here is mostly will and, according as his will is when he departs from this world, does he on departing become of similar will in the yonder world'.[2496]

There is a curious passage in the Śatapatha (X. 1. 5. 4) about the powers conferred by sacrifices in the yonder world. It states that he who had regularly performed Agnihotra eats food

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2494. तृतीयं वृणीष्वेति। पुनर्मृत्योर्मेऽपचितिं ब्रवीति होवाच। तस्मै हैतमग्निं नाचिकेतमुवाच ततो वै सोऽप पुनर्मृत्युमजयत्। अप पुनर्मृत्युं जयति योऽग्निं नाचिकेतं चिनुते य उ चैनमेवं वेद। तै. ब्रा. III. 11. 8. 6.

2495. अथ हैवैव तुला यद्दक्षिणो वेद्यन्तः स यत्साधु करोति तदन्तर्वेद्यथ यदसाधु तद्बहिर्वेदि। तस्माद्दक्षिणं वेद्यन्तमधिसृज्येवासीत। तुलायां ह वाऽअमुष्मिँल्लोक आदधति यतरद्धरयति तदन्वेष्यति यदि साधु वाऽसाधु वेति। अथ य एवं वेदास्मिन्हैव लोके तुलामारोहयत्यमुष्मिँल्लोके तुलाधानं मुच्यते। साधुकृत्या हैवास्य यच्छति न पापकृत्यां। शतपथ XI. 2. 7. 33. Here the edge of the right side of the Vedi is spoken of as the beam of the balance.

2496. सत्यं ब्रह्मेत्युपासीत। अथ खलु क्रतुमयोऽयं पुरुषः स यावत्क्रतुरस्माल्लोकात्प्रैत्येवं क्रतुर्हीतं लोकं प्रेत्याभिसम्भवति। शतपथ X. 6. 3. 1.

in the evening and morning in the yonder world, the performer of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifice eats food every half month; the performer of Cāturmāsyas (seasonal sacrifices) eats food in the yonder worlds every four months. the performer of animal sacrifice every six months: the Soma sacrificer once a year; the builder of the fire after (agnicit) eats food every hundred years at his will or may not require it at all after once taking it, for a hundred years are as much as immortality, unending and everlasting.

The Śat. Br. had arrived at the conclusion that every man is born in a world fashioned by himself. It also asserted that he who sacrifices to the gods does not win such a place as the one who sacrifices to the Ātman and the latter frees himself from the mortal body, from sin, as a snake frees itself from its slough [2497].

It must be conceded that a clear statement about the doctrine of karma and punarjanma is absent from the whole of the Ṛgveda. Rg. VII. 33 is an important hymn. The first nine verses are spoken by Vasiṣṭha about his sons. Verses 10–14 refer to Vasiṣṭha[2498] himself and are either attributed to his sons or according to another view are part of a dialogue with Indra. The verses are mythological, mystical and rather difficult to explain. Verse 10 refers to one birth of Vasiṣṭha when the gods Mitra and Varuṇa saw him reaching the refulgence of lightning and it is said that Agastya brought him (Vasiṣṭha) to the people. Here the words 'ekam janma' indicate that another janma of Vasiṣṭha is intended in this hymn. Verse 11 refers to Vasiṣṭha as born of Mitra and Varuṇa from Urvaśī and states that all the gods placed him in *puṣkara* (either antarikṣa or lotus); verse 12 is important for the metaphorical and mystical statement that

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2497. तदाहुः। आत्मयाजी श्रेयान् देवयाजी ३ ... इत्यात्मयाजीति ह ब्रूयात्। ... स यथाहिस्त्वचो निर्मुच्येतैवमस्मान्मर्त्याच्छरीरात्पाप्मनो निर्मुच्यते स ... स्वर्गं लोकमभिसम्भवति। अथ ह स देवयाजी ... न तावन्तं लोकं जयति यावन्तमितरः। शतपथ XI. 2. 6. 13–14.

2498. विद्युतो ज्योतिः परि संजिहानं मित्रावरुणा यदपश्यतां त्वा। तत्ते जन्मोतैकं वसिष्ठा-गस्त्यो यत्त्वा त्रिश आजभार॥ उतासि मैत्रावरुणो वसिष्ठोर्वश्या ब्रह्मन्मनसोधि जातः। द्रप्सं स्कन्नं ब्रह्मणा दैव्येन विश्वे देवाः पुष्करे त्वाददन्त॥ स प्रकेत ... सदानः। यमेन ततं परिधिं वयिष्य-न्नप्सरसः परिजज्ञे वसिष्ठः॥ सत्रे ह जाताविषिता नमोभिः कुम्भे रेतः सिषिचतुः समानम्। ततो ह मान उदियाय मध्यात्ततो जातमृषिमाहुर्वसिष्ठम्॥ ऋ. VII. 33. 10–13. The verse उतासि is explained in the Nirukta V. 14. मानः is explained as शमीप्रमाण or शम्याप्रमाण (of the measure of a yoke-pin). For शम्या (ordinarily 32 aṅgulas), vide H. of Dh. vol, II. p. 1112 n 2487.

wishing to weave the cloth stretched by Yama, Vasiṣṭha was born from Urvaśī. Verse 13 refers to the seed cast in a pitcher by the two (Mitra and Varuṇa) from the midst of which arose (Agastya) and from which also Vasiṣṭha was born. Verse 14 is addressed to Pratṛds (the Tritsus according to Sāyaṇa) and calls upon them to wait upon (or honour) Vasiṣṭha who would be coming to them (for performing sacrifice. This, it seems, is the second birth of Vasiṣṭha.

Prof. R. D. Ranade[2499] in his 'Constructive survey of the Upanishadic philosophy' (pp. 145–166) relies upon certain mantras of the Ṛgveda for stating that there is evidence for holding that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by the vedic sages (p. 147), though he concedes (on the same page) that in the major part of the Ṛgveda the idea of transmigration is conspicuous by its absence.

Among the texts on which he relies are Ṛg. I. 164. 3, 4, 16, 17, 20, 30, 31, 38. The whole hymn has several riddles, has highly imaginative descriptions of the year, the path of the Sun, questions and answers and is a late hymn, as he him self admits (p. 150). Verses 3 and 17 contain nothing suggestive of punarjanma. Verse 4 is really concerned with the first creation, as it literally means 'who saw that one that *was first being born*, when the boneless (prakṛti) bears a body possessing bones; where was the life (prāṇa) of the earth, or its blood or its

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2499. All verses on which Prof. Ranade relies are set out here in one place: को ददर्श प्रथमं जायमानमस्थन्वन्तं यदनस्था बिभर्ति। भूम्या असुरसृगात्मा क्व स्वित् को विद्वांसमुप गात्मण्वुमेतत् ॥ ऋ. I. 164. 4; स्त्रियः सतीस्ताँ उ मे पुंस आहुः पश्यदक्षण्वान्न वि चेतदन्धः। कविर्यः पुत्रः स ईमा चिकेत यस्ता विजानात्स पितुष्पितासत् ॥ 16; अवः परेण पर एनावरेण पदा वत्सं बिभ्रती गौरुदस्थात्। स कद्रीची कं स्विदर्धं परागात् क्व स्वित्ते नहि यूथे अन्तः ॥ 17; द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परि षस्वजाते। तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति। 20; अनच्छये तुरगातु जीवमेजद् ध्रुवं मध्य आ पस्त्यानाम्। जीवो मृतस्य चरति स्वधाभिरमर्त्यो मर्त्येना सयोनिः ॥ 30; अपश्यं गोपामनिपद्यमानमा च परा च पथिभिश्चरन्तम्। स सध्रीचीः स विषूचीर्वसान आ वरीवर्ति भुवनेष्वन्तः ॥ 31; अपाङ् प्राङेति स्वधया गृभीतोऽमर्त्यो मर्त्येना सयोनिः। ता शश्वन्ता विषूचीना वियन्ता न्यन्यं चिक्युर्न नि चिक्युरन्यम् ॥ 38; the word जीव occurs only in I. 164. 30. In I. 164. 38 the word जीव does not occur. At the most there is a contrast between the immortal part i. e. soul) and the mortal part (the body) in the verses 30 and 38. These two (soul and body) are always bound together; one of them (the body) is well known to people, the other (the soul) is not so known. The verse अपश्यं गोपां (ऋ. I. 164. 31) is repeated in X. 177. 3. The आश्वमेधिकपर्व 47. 16 द्वाविमौ पक्षिणौ नित्यौ is an echo of द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा etc.

self? Who (a pupil) approached a wise one (a guru) to ask this?'. Verse 16 means 'they declare to me the women that exist and the men; one possessing eyes (the light of true knowledge) may see (the Reality); the blind (the ignorant) will not know; the wise son may know this; he who knows these would be the father's father'. Sāyaṇa gives several meanings of this verse. The present author fails to understand how the words 'father's father' indicate any reference to transmigration in this verse, as Prof. Ranade asserts. Why he presses this verse of I. 164 into service the present author cannot understand. After referring to I. 164. 32 (which doubts whether he who created all this knows its real nature) he states 'it sets such a high price on the mystical knowledge which it glorifies that any one who comes in possession of this knowledge may be said to be his father's father.' To whom does 'his' refer?.

The verse 20 'dvā suparṇā' also occurs in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad III. 1. and ŚV. Up. IV. 6 and refers to the individual soul and the Supreme Self and tells us that the former is bhoktṛ (taster of worldly pleasures), while the latter simply looks on. But so far as the present writer can see there is absolutely nothing about a former or future life in the verse. Verse 30 draws a sharp distinction between the self which is immortal and the body which is mortal and states that the two are bound together to the same place. Verse 31 is a description of the movements of the Sun who is called 'gopā' (protector, guardian) and speaks of his coming to the worlds again and again. Prof. Ranade sees too much in the words 'gopām', which is applied to Agni (Ṛg. I. 1. 8, I. 96. 7), to Soma (in Ṛg. VI. 52. 3), to Varuṇa (in Ṛg. VIII. 42. 2), to Viṣṇu in Ṛg. I. 22. 18. In Ṛg. III. 43. 5 the words 'gopām janasya' (protector of the people) occur. Prof. Ranade translates (p. 151) 'he saw the guardian returning frequently to mundane regions'. Why should we not translate (particularly when we have the words 'bhuvaneṣvantaḥ') 'I saw the guardian Sun again and again returning to the worlds and moving towards me and away from me by different paths'?. Prof. Ranade also[2500] relies on Ṛg. X. 16. 3 and particularly on the

2500. सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा द्यां च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मणा। अपो वा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिष्ठा शरीरैः॥ ऋ. X. 16.3. धर्मणा means सुकृतेन (good deeds or sacrifices). In Ṛg. X. 85. 24 we have ऋतस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोकेऽरिष्टां त्वा

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word 'dharmaṇā' in it which he renders as 'his qualities'. Rg. X. 16 has 14 verses, is one of the funeral hymns and the cremation fire (as Agni or Jātavedas) is expressly mentioned in eleven verses. Verse 3 (addressed to the deceased) may literally be translated as 'may thy eye go to the Sun, ātman (prāṇa) to wind, go to heaven or the earth by dharman or go to the waters if you find your benefit in them; be firmly established in the plants with the limbs of the body.' The express mention of 'heaven' shows that this is only one of the numerous verses of the Ṛgveda in which heaven is referred to as the abode of those who perform good works and that there is nothing more in it than that. Vide above pp. 20–21 for the meaning of dharman (which is the only form of the word employed in the Ṛgveda) viz. 'religious rites or sacrifices' (in most Ṛgveda passages) or rarely 'fixed principles of conduct'. The very next verse (X. 16. 4) contains a prayer to Agni to carry the deceased to the world of people of good deeds (tābhirvahainam sukṛtām-u lokam). There is no reason to suppose that in Rg. X. 16. 3 anything more is meant than what is prayed for in verse 4. Besides, the basic idea of punarjanma is that future existence is regulated by the good or evil deeds of a person and he has no option whatever. In Rg. X. 16. 3 the departed spirit is told that he may go to heaven or earth or waters or plants. This is not the doctrine of punarjanma at all. In X. 16. 5 the cremation fire is addressed 'O Agni! send forth the departing man who is offered as an oblation into thee and who will move on with the food offered, again to (the world of) pitṛs; the remainder (left after the body is burnt) putting on a new life may go near (pitṛs) and be connected with (a new) body in that world.' This verse contains the same idea as in X. 16. 4 in different words and refers

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सह पत्या वधानि. Compare with ऋ. X. 16.3, शतपथ X. 3.8, स यदैवंविदस्माल्लोकात्प्रैति वाचैवाग्निमप्येति चक्षुषादित्यं मनसा चन्द्रं श्रोत्रेण दिशः प्राणेन वायुं स यतमय एष भूत्वैतासां देवतानां यां यां कामयते सा भूत्वेलयति; and यत्ते यमं वैवस्वतं मनो जगाम दूरकम्। तत्त आवर्तयामसीह क्षयाय जीवसे॥ ऋ X. 58. 1. The words underlined occur in all twelve verses of the hymn, which must be supposed to have been addressed to the man who is moribund. The first verse means 'thy mind that has reached far away to Yama, the son of Vivasvat, we bring back for the purpose that it may reside and live here.' The remaining eleven verses refer to the dying man's mind having gone to (i.e. as having the dying thought of) *heaven* and *earth*, to the earth with four points, four intermediate quarters, the sea, rays and high hilly tracts, waters and plants, to the Sun and Dawn, the big mountains, this whole world, most distant regions, past and future.

only to the other world (pitṛs) and not to transmigration. Prof. Ranade refers (p. 148) to Ṛg. X. 58 and translates one of the verses as meaning that the sage will recall the soul and make it live again by his song. It is not clear what verse or verses he has in view. He has probably only the first verse in view. That hymn has twelve verses in each of which a quarter is different but three quarters are the same. None of the verses contains any express word for song. Besides, mind is different from the soul even in the Ṛgveda (vide Ṛg. X. 57. 5 where both words 'manaḥ' and 'jīvam' occur). Moreover, the man is not yet dead. The composer uses the present tense (ā vartayāmasi) and means to say that he will try to prevent his dying. In the present author's opinion there is not even a distant reference to transmigration in this hymn or in any of the four hymns (Ṛg. X. 57–60) which are assigned to brothers Bandhu, Śrutabandhu and Vipra-bandhu, who are called Gaupāyanas in the Anukramaṇī. In Ṛg. X. 60. 7 Subandhu who appears to have been a brother of the three is addressed 'O Subandhu! here comes your mother, your father, your very life' etc., and in X. 60. 10 it is said 'I have brought the mind of Subandhu from Yama Vaivasvata in order that he may live and not die.'

In Ṛg. X. 14. 8 there is no reference (as some suppose) to return to this world after enjoying the fruits of good deeds in the company of pitṛs. The first half of the verse expresses that the newly departed spirit will be united with pitṛs, with Yama and with his good deeds. The 2nd half asks the departed to leave behind his sons and be united in heaven with a new and brilliant body.

Ṛg. IV. 42 (in ten verses) is a hymn of a sage-like king Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, who identifies himself with Indra and Varuṇa in verse 3[2501] 'I who have become enlightened about the worlds am Indra and Varuṇa and by my greatness am the two worlds (heaven and earth) that are wide, deep (spacious) and well-fixed. I sent forth heaven and earth like Tvaṣṭṛ (Prajāpati) and support them.' Here by virtue of true knowledge he identifies himself with Indra and Varuṇa but there is no conception of transmigration. Similarly, Vāmadeva

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2501. अहमिन्द्रो वरुणस्ते महित्वोर्वी गभीरे रजसी सुमेके। त्वष्टेव विश्वा भुवनानि विद्वान् समैरयं रोदसी धारयं च॥ ऋ. IV. 42. 3. The निरुक्त IV. 19 gives several meanings of the word 'rajas', one of which is लोका रजांस्युच्यन्ते.

having attained knowledge of Reality asserts[2502] 'I have become Manu and the Sun, I am the wise sage Kakṣīvat; I reached Kutsa, the son of Arjunī, I am the seer Uśanas; look upon me (as identifiable with all)'. This verse is quoted in Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10 (which would be set out later on and explained). In this also there is no express reference to a past birth as Manu or as the Sun. In Rg. IV. 27. 1 Vāmadeva declares 'while still staying in the womb (of my mother) I learnt all the births of these gods; if a hundred fortresses of *ayas* (copper or iron) had guarded me, I would have still escaped like a hawk with swiftness' (another meaning is also possible which may be set out later). This is quoted in the Ait. Up. II. 5 (to be quoted and explained later). Prof. R. D. Ranade understands (pp. 49, 153) Rg. IV. 26. 1 as saying that Vāmadeva makes an unconscious utterance that he was in a former life Manu or the Sun. In that verse Vāmadeva indentifies himself with five persons, Manu, Sūrya, sage Kakṣīvat, Kutsa and Uśanas. There is no word like 'janma'. On Prof. Ranade's view Vāmadeva would have to be held to state five previous births at least (and if so in a confused order). Besides, the following verses clearly show that Vāmadeva makes a claim to be identical with the Supreme Principle by giving the earth to the Āryas, sending rain to those who give offerings, making the gods follow his desire or will. The utmost that can be said is that he claims identity with the Godhead. Deussen in 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' (p. 318) holds that both the verses (Rg. IV. 26. 1 and IV. 27. 1.) have nothing to do with the doctrine of the soul's transmigration. The present author respectfully agrees with Deussen and thinks that Prof. Ranade is wrong. Śaṅkarācārya[1503] on V. S. I. 1. 30 explains that Indra looking upon himself as *brahma* according to the Vedāntaśāstra gives the instruction 'know me alone', quotes Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10, and on V. S. III. 4. 51 reiterates that in Rg. IV. 27. 1 the Veda expressly asserts that Vāmadeva, while still in the mother's womb, realized his identity with *brahma* and then remarks that this vedic

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2502. अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चाहं कक्षीवाँ ऋषिरस्मि विप्रः। अहं कुत्समार्जुनेयं न्युञ्जेऽहं कविरुशना पश्यता मा॥ ऋ. IV. 26. 1. गर्भे नु सन्नन्वेषामवेदमहं देवानां जनिमानि विश्वा। शतं मा पुर आयसीररक्षन्नध श्येनो जवसा निरदीयम्। ऋ. IV. 27. 1.

2503. शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तूपदेशो वामदेववत्। वे. सू. I. 1. 30; भाष्य-इन्द्रो नाम देवतात्मानं स्वमात्मानं परमात्मत्वेनाहमेव परं ब्रह्मेत्यार्षेण दर्शनेन यथाशास्त्रं पश्यन्नुपदिशति स्म—मामेव विजानीहि-इति। यथा 'तद्धैतत्पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्च' इति तद्वत्। This is बृह. उप. I. 4. 10.

assertion indicates that correct knowledge of Reality may arise in a succeeding life owing to the means (or efforts) made in a previous life or lives. It may be noted that Śaṅkarācārya draws a distinction between what Śruti (Veda) expressly declares (vadanti) and what it indicates or what is to be inferred from it (darśayati).[2504]

Mr. J. S. Karandikar of Poona (a staunch disciple and follower of Lokamānya Tilak) in his learned work 'Gītātattvamāñjarī' (in Maṛathi, Poona 1947) asserts (on pp. 775-776) that the doctrine of transmigration is as old as the Vedic age (i. e. the Saṁhitās) and relies for this proposition on only four verses of the Ṛgveda viz. X. 14. 8, X. 16. 3 and 5 and X. 135. 6. The first three of these four have been explained above in dealing with Prof. R. D. Ranade's views. Mr. Karandikar summarises Ṛg. X. 16. 5 as a prayer to Agni that the latter should take the departed to the world of pitṛs and should send him back to his relatives after endowing him with a new brilliant body. There are no words for 'back to his relatives' nor for 'brilliant' in the verse at all. The word 'punaḥ' occurs in the first half and refers to the deceased's coming to *pitṛloka* after the body is burnt on the earth and the second half refers to the new body to be had in the world of pitṛs (and not to relatives). Ṛg. X. 14. 8. on which Mr. Karandikar relies has nothing to do with returning to the earth. After leaving his bad deeds (*avadya*) behind the deceased is asked to go to the home of the pitṛs with a brilliant body. The brilliant body is not earthly but of the pitṛ world. Ṛg. X. 135. 6. is quoted in the note below.[2505] That verse is an extremely vague one and is a riddle or is metaphorical. That hymn of seven verses is addressed to Yama and the Anukramaṇī says that the *ṛṣi* of it is Kumāra of Yama's family.

2504. गर्भस्थ एव च वामदेवः प्रतिपेदे ब्रह्मभावमिति वदन्ती जन्मान्तरसञ्चितात्साधनाज्जन्मान्तरे विद्योत्पत्तिं दर्शयति। न हि गर्भस्थस्यैवंविधं किंचित्साधनं सम्भाव्यते। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 4. 51.

2505. यथाभवदनुदेयी ततो अग्रमजायत। पुरस्ताद् बुध्न आततः पश्चान्निरयणं कृतम्॥ ऋ. X. 135. 6. The word अनुदेयी occurs only thrice in the Ṛg. viz. in this hymn twice (in verses 5 and 6) and once in Ṛg. X. 85. 6 where it is in the feminine gender, means a friend of the newly married bride who goes along with her to the bridegroom's house to keep her company' (वैग्यासीवनुदेयी). अनुदेयी literally means 'what is given after the principal gift'. Even in these days when a substantial gift is made to a brāhmaṇa, another small gift is added to it. The word निरयणं occurs only here in the whole of the Ṛgveda. अग्र and बुध्न are contrasted as top and bottom in Ṛg. X. 111. 8 'क्व स्विदग्रं क्व स्विद् बुध्न आसाम्'.

The first verse of Ṛg. X. 135 refers to Yama who is said to drink (Soma) along with the gods under a tree (i. e. in a garden) with fine foliage, where our (my) father, lord of people, desires to send (me) to the ancient fathers. It is possible that this refers to Naciketas as Sāyaṇa, following the story of Naciketas in the Tai. Br. III. 11. 8 and in the Kaṭhopaniṣad, holds. This verse may be taken as containing the words of Naciketas, sent by his angry father Vājaśravasa to the world of Yama as donation in the Viśvajit sacrifice. The 2nd verse also contains what Naciketas said viz. that he (at first) looked upon his father in anger, since he (the father) desired to send him (the son) to the ancient pitṛs in that evil way, but that he (on further consideration) liked (what the father did). He liked the idea of facing Yama himself. Verses 3 and 4 are addressed by Yama to the boy Naciketas who approached Yama with prayer (or metaphorically in a chariot). Verse 3 says 'O boy! the new wheel-less chariot (viz. ṛk prayer) with only one beam that you created by your intellect soars up in all directions and that you mount it without seeing (without considering the result of your action).' In Ṛg. a prayer to (and a laud of) gods is often compared to a chariot (as in V. 73. 10, VIII. 3. 15). Therefore, verse 3 suggests two meanings viz. Naciketas went to Yama in a chariot or that he sent up a prayer to Yama. Verse 4 is spoken by Yama 'O boy! that chariot (i. e. prayer which you sent up from the learned priests on the earth) was followed by Sāman (a melody) from this place (the earth) as if it were placed in a boat.' Almost all the verses of the Sāmaveda except about 75 are taken from the Ṛgveda and therefore the Chān. Up. says [2506] 'therefore Sāman is sung as resting on the ṛk'. As the melody (Sāman) is sung on a ṛk verse, the Sāman is said in this verse (4) as placed in a boat. Verse 4 may also convey another meaning. Sāman also means 'reconciliation' and the verse may be taken as referring to the legend that Yama gave the boy a boon that the boy's father would become well-disposed to him. Verse 5 contains a question (supposed to be asked by Yama). It means 'who is the father of this boy' (meaning probably that the father must be a bad man as he sent his own son to Yama)? Who sent up the chariot? Who would tell me to-day how (this boy) became *anudeyī* (a small gift accom

2506. Vide छा. उप. I. 6. 4 'नक्षत्राण्येवर्क् चन्द्रमाः साम। तदेतदेतस्यामृच्यध्यूढं साम। तस्मादृच्यध्यूढं साम गीयते। नक्षत्राण्येव सा। चन्द्रमा अमः। तत्साम।'. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1181-1184 for Sāman, Stotra and Śastra, particularly notes 2606-9.

panying the large principal gift)?' Then follows the verse on which Mr. Karandikar relies as expressing Karma and rebirth. That verse literally means 'as it or he became an *anudeyī*, it stood in front (or on top); the bottom (or base) was spread in front (or first or to the east), the coming out (or end) was behind (or afterwards or to the west).' This conveys no clear sense. But it is possible to explain it in this way, viz. though the boy was sent by his father as an *anudeyī* (as a subsidiary gift) still he came on top of all (in that Yama was pleased with him and bestowed on him three boons); he was in front of all though he (boy) was at the bottom of all gifts (i. e. though he came last of all gifts)'. There is another possible way of explaining this verse. Each Sāman in a stotra has five parts called Prastāva, Udgītha, Pratihāra, Upadrava and Nidhana (finale); vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 1169 note 2589. Naciketas (who was a subsidiary donation following the donation of all hia father's property and designated 'anudeyī') is deemed here to have chanted a Sāman; when he began that, the ṛk verse on which the Sāman rests went forth. The bottom of a Sāman is a ṛk verse. Therefore it is again said that the base or bottom went forward and the 'Nirayaṇa' (i. e. the nidhana of the Sāman) came last. Mr. Karandikar explains verse 6 as 'the cremation rite of the body of a deceased person shows the two-fold path; by the front path he should go to the highest world or by the hind path he should return to this world' (p. 776). It passes the present author's understanding how this translation follows from the words of verse 6. Verse 7 of the hymn presents no difficulty; it means 'this is the house of Yama that is called the the palace of gods; here is played (or blown) the flute (or tube or trumpet) for him (Yama); he (Yama) is embellished with songs (of praise).'

An interesting passage of the Taittirīya-saṁhitā[2507] may be cited here. "Whoever threatens a brāhmaṇa, he shall atone for

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2507. योऽपगुरातै शतेन यातयाद्यो निहनत् सहस्रेण यातयाद्यो लोहितं करवद्यावता प्रस्कद्य पांसून् संगृह्णात् तावतः संवत्सरान् पितृलोकं न प्रजानादिति। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणाय नापगुरेत, न निहन्याच्च लोहितं कुर्यादेतावता हैनसा भवति। तै. सं. II. 6. 10. 2; अभिक्रुद्धा वगोरणं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्षशतमस्वर्ग्यम्। निघाते सहस्रम्। लोहितदर्शने यावतस्तत्प्रस्कन्द्य पांसून्-संगृह्णीयात्। गौ. ध. सू. 21. 20-22; शंयौ च सर्वपरिदानात्। जै. III. 4. 17; शबर 'किं प्राप्तम्। प्रकरणाद् दर्शपूर्णमासयोरवगोरणादिप्रतिषेधः। ... एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः ... सर्वावस्थस्य "ब्राह्मणस्यायं प्रतिषेध उक्तः, न दर्शपूर्णगतेनैव नावगोरणादि कर्तव्यमिति।; तन्त्रवार्तिक (p. 950) 'शतेन यातयात् सहस्रेण यातयात्' इति शतगुणं सहस्रगुणमनुभवेदित्यर्थः। अथवा संख्येयान्तराद्युपादानादुपरि संवत्सरब्रह्मणादिष्वपि संवत्सरशतेन यातनां निस्तरेत्सहस्रेणेत्येवं सम्बध्यते।."

it with a hundred years; he who strikes him (shall atone) with a thousand years; he who sheds the blood of a brāhmaṇa would not know the world of the Fathers for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be moistened into a ball by the stream of blood. Therefore a person should not threaten a brāhmaṇa or strike him or draw blood from his body, since (in doing so) so much (sin) is involved." This does not mean that only the world of Fathers had been conceived at the time of this passage (as Deussen supposes on p. 325 of his Ph. Up.). It will be shown below that even the Ṛgveda was well aware of both Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa. Most men would go to pitṛloka presided over by Yama according to the Ṛg. and only the blessed would go by the Devayāna to the world of gods. This passage is important as conveying that for a very mortal sin the offender would have to suffer for a thousand years or even several thousand years and, therefore, would have to be born for several lives, since one human life was held to extend to one hundred years only (Ṛg. X. 161. 4 = Atharva III. 11. 4, Ṛg. 1. 89. 9 = Vāj. S. 25. 22). Following the above Tai. S. passage, the Gautama Dh. S. provided that threatening a brāhmaṇa in anger would bar going to heaven for a hundred years (or lead to hell for &c), striking him would bar for a thousand years and on drawing blood there would be bar for as many years as the number of the particles of dust that would be made into a ball by the stream of blood. Manu (XI. 206–7) understands that the several acts against a brāhmaṇa mentioned therein would lead to the offender being consigned to hell for 100, for 1000 or for thousands of years. Jaimini (III. 4. 17) discusses this passage and holds that the prohibition is not restricted only to Darśapūrṇamāsa, but it applies to all brāhmaṇas in all conditions. It is possible to understand by the words 'śatena' and 'sahasreṇa' as a hundred or a thousand cows (or money). The Tantravārtika refers to this meaning but seems to prefer the idea of connecting the two words with years. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 151–152 where the first meaning was put forward and also A. B. Keith's tr. of the Tai. S. in the H. O. S. vol. I pp. 216–217 'him who reviles him (a brāhmaṇa) he shall fine with a hundred' &c.

The doctrine of how a man's own works and conduct fashion his future life is taught as follows in the[2508] Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7:

2508. स वा अयमात्मा ब्रह्म विज्ञानमयो मनोमय ... इति। यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन।

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"so truly according as he works and according as he behaves so will he be, a man of good deeds will become (be born) good, a a man of evil deeds will become (be born) evil; he becomes holy by holy deeds, evil by evil deeds. Here they say 'a person only consists of desires (or is fashioned out of) desires and as his desire is so will be his (determination or) will and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will become (reap)."[2509] On this there is av erse 'To whatever a man's mind and subtle body are attached to that he goes together with (the fruits of) his deeds and after having obtained the end

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अथो खल्वाहुः। काममय एवायं पुरुष इति। स यथाकामो भवति तत्क्रतुर्भवति यत्क्रतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म कुरुते तदभिसम्पद्यते। तदेष श्लोको भवति। तदेव सक्तः सह कर्मणैति लिङ्गं मनो यत्र निषक्तमस्य। प्राप्यान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य यत्किंचेह करोत्ययम्। तस्माल्लोकात्पुनरैत्यस्मै लोकाय कर्मणे। इति तु कामयमानः। अथाकामयमानो "योऽकामो निष्काम आप्तकाम आत्मकामो न तस्य प्राणा उत्क्रामन्ति ब्रह्मैव सन्ब्रह्माप्येति। तदेष श्लोको भवति। यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः। अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥" बृह. उप. IV. 4. 5–7; the verse यदा सर्वे occurs in कठोपनि०; the भाष्य of शङ्कराचार्य on this begins: स वा अयं य एवं संसरत्यात्मा ब्रह्मैव पर एव। He distinguishes यथाकारी यथाचारी as 'करणं नाम नियता क्रिया विधिप्रतिषेधादिगम्या चरणं नामानियतामिति विशेषः।'. On क्रतु he says क्रतुर्नामाध्यवसायो निश्चयो यदनन्तरा क्रिया प्रवर्तते।'. आत्मकाम is explained as यस्य आत्मैव नान्यः कामयितव्यो वस्त्वन्तरीभूतः पदार्थो भवति. With कामयमानः and अकामयमानः, compare मुण्डकोप० III. 2.3 (कामान्यः कामयते). The affix मय as in काममय is employed in two senses viz. प्राचुर्य and विकार acc. to पाणिनि 'तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट्' (V. 4. 21 and IV. 3. 134 and 143). The word क्रतु by itself and in compounds like शतक्रतु and सुक्रतु occurs hundreds of times in the Ṛgveda. It is an Indo-European word, as in Greek we have 'Kratos' meaning power. Several meanings have been assigned to क्रतु. Indra called 'Śatakratu' is invoked to bestow *ojas*, courage, an heroic son and stated to be the father and mother of the devotee (in Ṛg. VIII. 98. 10–12). With the Bṛ. Up. passage, we may compare छा. उप. III. 14. 1 'सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति शान्त उपासीत। अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथा क्रतुरस्मिँल्लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति। स क्रतुं कुर्वीत।'

2509. Compare Epistle to Galatians by Apostle Paul 6. 7 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap'. Even in the Old Testament we find in the Book of Job, chap. 4. 8 'they that plough iniquity and sow wickedness reap the same'. From the question of the disciples of Jesus as regards a man blind from birth 'Master! who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind' (St. John IX. 2), it appears that the idea of Karma was prevalent among the Jewish people in the time of Jesus. From Matthew XI. 14 and XVII. 12-13 it appears that John the Baptist was declared to be an incarnation of :prophet Elias. Shaw Desmond in 'Re-incarnation for every man' points out (on p. 63) that the doctrine of re-incarnation was taught in the Christian Church in the early centuries and that the 2nd Council of Constantinople in 551 A. D. made the doctrine of re-incarnation an anathema.

(the last results) of whatever deeds he does in this world, he returns again from that world (where he temporarily went by way of reward) to this world of action; so much with regard to him who is consumed by desires; now concerning the man who has no desires (akāmayamāna); he who is without desire, free from desire, in whose case desires are laid to rest, who is himself his own desire, his vital spirits do not withdraw elsewhere but he, being *brahma* itself (here), is absorbed into *brahma* (or attains to *brahma*). On this point there is a verse: 'When all hankerings that found an abode in a man's heart vanish, then he who was liable to death becomes immortal, here (in this body itself) he attains to *brahma*." In the above passage the sequence is: desire, will and act.

About the grandeur of this passage it is enough to quote what Deussen (in 'Philosophy of the Upanishads' p. 348) says 'there follow words than which deeper, truer, more noble were never uttered by human lips.' Vide also remarks of Gerald Heard in 'Is god evident' (Faber and Faber, London) p. 34 'Here (in Vedānta and Mahāyāna) is spirituality showing its full fruits; freedom from physical craving, from economic possessiveness, from social desire for recognition and that triple freedom removing all fear' and he hopes that the Vedānta picture, far from being contradicted, is being increasingly confirmed by modern science.

This sublime passage is preceded and followed by illustrations two of which may be cited for explaining the conception of the passage of the soul from one body to another: 'Just as the caterpillar, having reached the tip of one blade of grass, makes an approach to another blade, draws itself towards it and establishes itself thereon, so this (individual) self, casting down this body in death, dispelling *avidyā* (ignorance) and making approach to another body draws itself to another body and establishes (or identifies itself) therein.' This is Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 3. Another illustration (in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 7) is 'just as the skin (slough) of a snake lies dead and cast-off in an ant-hill, in the same way the body lies (dead and cast-off) and then the self is bodiless, immortal spirit, is *brahma* only and is light only.'

This whole passage (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 5–7) is the leading, the oldest and the clearest passage on the doctrine of transmigration in the Upaniṣads. There are several others of similar import. At the end of the story about Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga referred to above (where Yājñavalkya discussed with Āratbhāga alone in private the question as to what happens

to a man when the body dies) the Upaniṣad states 'what they said was Karma alone, what they praised was Karma alone viz.[2510] that a man becomes good by good works and evil by evil works.' These two are the fundamental passages which express the reason and motive that lie at the basis of the doctrine of transmigration.

The gist of these two passages is that works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present birth of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives. But works and conduct are the result of volition or will and this last is due to desires. A man may have several desires, he may curb some of them, but may make a resolve to consummate some of his desires. Therefore, desires (*kāma*) are the root of volition, of works and conduct and ultimately of the cycle of birth and deaths (that is called 'saṁsāra'). Hence Śaṅkarācārya, following the idea of the verse 'yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā' (in Bṛ. Up. IV. 5. 7) says 'Kāmo mūlam saṁsārasya' (Kāma is the root of saṁsāra).

Then there is another important passage in the Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. There the story is told of Śvetaketu, son of Āruṇi, who being proud of his learning, came to the assembly hall of the Pañcālas and saw there Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (a kṣatriya or prince) being waited upon by servants. When the prince saw him he asked Śvetaketu 'have you been taught by your father'? When Śvetaketu replied 'yes', the prince put to him five questions viz. (1) do you know how men when they depart from this world go in separate (different) directions; (2) Do you know how they come back to this world; (3) Do you know how the yonder world does not become full with many men going there again and again; (4) Do you know at the offering of which oblation waters become endowed with human voice and rise and speak; (5) Do you know the access to the path called 'Devayāna'[2511]

2510. तौ होत्क्रम्य मन्त्रयांचक्राते। तौ ह यदूचतुः कर्म हैव तदूचथुः। अथ यत्प्रशशंसतुः कर्म हैव तत्प्रशशंसतुः। पुण्यो वै पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेनेति। बृह. उप. III. 3.13.

2511. The question about देवयान and पितृयाण is put in the Bṛ. up. VI. 2.2 in the following form; वेत्थो देवयानस्य वा पथः प्रतिपदं पितृयाणस्य वा। यत्कृत्वा देवयानं वा पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यन्ते पितृयाणं वा। अपि हि न ऋषेर्वचः श्रुतम्—द्वे सृती अशृणवं पितृणामहं देवानामुत मर्त्यानाम्। ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत्समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं च। इति। The verse द्वे सृती etc. is ऋ. X. 88. 15 (which reads द्वे स्रुती अशृणवं etc.) and तै. आ. I. 4. 2-3 (which reads स्रुती...अन्तरापूर्वमपरं च केतुम्). द्यौः (heaven) and पृथिवी are respectively called father and mother in Ṛg. I. 164. 33 and I. 191. 6.,

and to the path called 'Pitṛyāṇa' (i.e. the deeds by which men gain access to the paths called Devayāna ans Pitṛyāṇa), for we have heard the saying of a sage 'I heard two paths for men, one leading to the Fathers and the other leading to the Devas; on those two paths all the world that is active moves on, whatever exists between father (sky) and mother (earth).' To all these five questions Śvetaketu replied that he did not know any one of them. The prince offered hospitality but Śvetaketu ran to his father and demanded how the latter could say that he had been thoroughly-taught by him and that he could not answer even one of the five questions that the fellow of a Rājanya asked. Then the father replied that he had taught all that he knew but he himself did not know the answers to those questions. He went to the prince (kṣatriya) who honoured him with offerings. Āruṇi did not want wealth but the replies to those questions. The prince said 'come as pupil.' Āruṇi (Gautama) stated he came as a pupil. The prince stated that the *vidyā*[2512] that he would teach was never before with any brāhmaṇa. Then he propounds to Śvetaketu the anwers to the five questions (to be brief) viz. that the five fires are (figuratively) heaven, god of rain, the earth, man and woman, and the five *āhutis* (oblations) are śraddhā (faith), Soma (Moon), rain, food and seed. This answers the 4th question. The first and fifth questions are answered by the statement 'Some go by the path of Devas, others by that of *pitṛs* and others (like flies and worms) know no path (they merely live and die)'; vide Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15–16. The 2nd and 3rd questions are answered by the same viz. those that go by the path of pitṛs return to the earth and others that go to *brahman* do not return and therefore the world does not become full.

In the Ch. Up. V. 3. 2 the questions are put in a slightly different form: (1) do you know to what place men go from here, (2) how they return, (3) do you know where the path of devas and the path of the fathers diverge, (4) why the world never becomes full, (5) why in the 5th oblation water is called 'man.' The answers to these in Bṛ. Up. and Chān. Up. are not identical, though very similar. A fire has five constituents, fuel, smoke, flame, live coals, sparks. In both Chān. Up. V.10.4–9 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 9–13 the fires are the same, but the constituents of

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2512. This Vidyā is called Pañcāgnividyā. 'Rājanya' in this Upaniṣad passage should mean only Kṣatriya as in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 12) and not king.

each of these five differ slightly; compare, for example, Br. Up. VI. 2. 11 with Chān. Up. V. 3. 6. The first question in the Ch. Up. is answered by the mention of the two paths. The 2nd is answered in Chān. Up. V. 10. 3-5.[2513] The paths diverge (3rd question) after reaching the moon (Chān. Up. V. 10. 2 and 4-5), the 4th is answered in Chān. V. 10. 8. The fifth is answered by means of the statement on pañcāgnividyā.

Before proceeding further some remarks are called for about what might possibly happen when a man's body dies. There are mainly three possibilities, viz. (1) annihilation, (2) endless retribution in heaven or hell and (3) punarjanma (transmigration. Those who do not believe in an individual immortal self, including some most eminent[2514] men such as G. B. Shaw, hold the first view and even in ancient India (as the Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 20 testifies) there were people who had doubts about survival after death. Those who hold that there is no survival after death are not troubled by other questions. Therefore, the most vital question is the one about survival after death. The very first verse of Śv. Up. puts forward four problems; is brahma the cause, whence do we come, what sustains us and whither we are going? Many of those who believe in God, heaven and hell do not admit pre-existence of the soul but only post-existence. They believe that if a man leads a virtuous career in this life (and virtue according to them consists in obedience to the will

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2513. छा. उप. V. 10. 4 'आकाशाच्चन्द्रमसमेव सोमो राजा तद्देवानामन्नं तं देवा भक्षयन्ति' and बृह. उप. VI. 2. 16 ते चन्द्रं प्राप्यान्नं भवन्ति तांस्तत्र देवाः ... भक्षयन्ति. are dealt with in वे. सू. III. 1. 7 (भाक्तं वानात्मवित्त्वात्तथाहि दर्शयति), which states that the words (gods eat them) are not to be taken literally but metaphorically and what is meant is that Gods like the company of those people (who perform sacrifices), since the Chān. Up. itself says elsewhere (in III. 8. 1) that the Gods do neither eat nor drink but they feel satisfied by seeing nectar.

2514. In 'In search of faith', a 'symposium' edited by E. W. Martin (London, 1943) G. B. Shaw states (pp. 9-10) that he may be described as a creative evolutionist, that he does not believe in personal immortality and abhors it, that he does not believe in the Resurrection of Jesus. It is difficult for a non-Christian to state definitely the doctrine as to what happens after death, there being many varying interpretations accepted by the Christian Church at various times and in different countries. But the general traditional scheme is a particular judgment immediately after death, the general judgment at the general Resurrection- the ultimate issue of judgment being consignment to Hell or admission to Heaven eternally.

of God as disclosed to their intellect in Revelation such as the Bible or the Koran) he would have an eternal life of bliss in heaven and that if one led a life of sin and evil, he would after death remain for ever in hell. Very few accept the first possibility (annihilation) because it is in conflict with man's cherished desires and with deep-rooted emotional certitude that efforts made in a long life, the mental and spiritual equipment acquired cannot have been meant to be dissolved altogether without leaving any trace behind. The 2nd possibility also leads to the prospect of eternal reward or eternal damnation for acts done during a life of a few years' span and becomes unacceptable to many by the unparalleled disproportion between deeds (as causes) and their endless rewards or retribution (as effects). Therefore, to many people the third possibility of transmigration appeals, since it allows continued existence of the soul after physical death in some other forms and environments.

The above Upaniṣad passages are enough to show how the doctrine of transmigration was being moulded in the Upaniṣad period. The Ṛgveda knows the two paths of Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa and also that in heaven there were joys and delights but the Ṛgveda does not say how long the joys of Heaven were to last and makes no clear and definite statement on the doctrine of transmigration. In the Brāhmaṇa period the two paths were often referred to and the conception had dawned upon the minds of thinkers that man might have to pass through death several times (*punarmṛtyu*). But even then there is hardly any definite theory of punarjanma based on good or bad deeds. The clearest statements (and probably earliest) of the origin of the doctrine of transmigration are the two passages (Bṛ. Up. III. 3. 13 and IV 4. 5-7) in which Yājñavalkya is concerned and is the instructor and emphasizes that it is man's own works and conduct that lead a man to new births. In both those passages the Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa paths are not mentioned at all. But the Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V. 10 relate the two paths to transmigration and speak of a third place for those born as worms and flies. This is an addition to the doctrine of the two paths, but they make a further departure. The Chān. Up. V. 10. 5 states that those that perform sacrifices, works of public utility and charity go to the moon and when the results of their actions are exhausted after staying in the moon they have to return to this world by the path they went (i. e. from the Moon to ether, then to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud and rain

and they may be born from a mother's womb.[2515] This shows that a double retribution awaits those who perform sacrifices &c. viz. stay in the moon for a time and their rebirth on this earth. Other Upaniṣads follow the Chān. Up. in the theory of double retribution e.g. the Praśna has the following passage in prose:[2516] "The year indeed is Prajāpati, there are two parts thereof, the southern and the northern. Now those who believe in sacrifice and gifts for public utility as work that must be done, secure the moon only as their (future) world and it is they who return to this world. Therefore, the ṛṣis who desire offspring resort to the southern (path). That path of the Fathers is indeed treasure (or wealth). But those who, after having sought the Ātman by austerities, (sexual) abstinence, faith and knowledge go by the northern path to the Sun. This is the home of the vital spirits, it is immortal, free from fear, it is the highest (or final) end. Thence they do not return, that is a check to other things. On this there is a verse (Rg. I. 164. 12) 'some call him the father with five feet (the five seasons) and with twelve forms (twelve months), the giver of rain in the highest of heaven; others again say that the sage is placed in the lower half, in the chariot with seven wheels (horses or rays of sun) and six spokes'". This verse of the Rgveda is probably quoted here in support of the conception of the two paths symbolically represented as two parts of the year, as the Rg. verse (first half) appears to refer to the Sun, placed in highest half of heaven and as the second half seems to refer to a lower (*upari*) half of heaven with six spokes (i. e. the six months of Dakṣiṇāyana). Deussen (Ph. Up. p. 338) is positive that Rg. I. 164. 12 has nothing to do with

2515. अभ्रं भूत्वा मेघो भवति मेघो भूत्वा प्रवर्षति। त इह व्रीहियवा ओषधिवनस्पतयस्तिलमाषा इति जायन्तेऽतो वै खलु दुर्निष्प्रपतरम्। यो यो ह्यन्नमत्ति यो रेतः सिञ्चति तद्भूय एव भवति। छा. उप. V. 10. 6; and 8 is अथैतयोः पथोर्न कतरेण च न तानीमानि क्षुद्राण्यसकृदावर्तीनि भूतानि भवन्ति जायस्व म्रियस्वेति। एतत्तृतीयं स्थानम्। तेनासौ लोको न सम्पूर्यते।. Compare मुण्डक II. 1. 5. शङ्कराचार्य has a very long and interesting note on this passage. He explains दुर्निष्क्रमणं दुर्गतिःसरणम्।' and again says the word is निष्प्रपततरम् (one त being lost) 'तकार एको लुप्तो द्रष्टव्यः। व्रीहियवादिभावो दुर्निष्प्रपतः। तस्मादपि दुर्निष्प्रपतात्रेतःसिग्देहसम्बन्धो दुर्निष्प्रपततर इत्यर्थः। यस्माद्ऊर्ध्वरेतोभिर्बालैः पुंस्त्वरहितैः स्थविरैर्वा भक्षिता अन्तराले शीर्यन्ते अनेकत्वादन्नादानाम्। कदाचित्काकतालीयवृत्त्या रेतसिग्भिर्भक्ष्यन्ते।'.

2516. संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिस्तस्यायने हे दक्षिणं चोत्तरं च। तद्ये ह वै तदिष्टापूर्ते कृतमित्युपासते ते चान्द्रमसमेव लोकमभिजयन्ते। त एव पुनरावर्तन्ते तस्मादेत ऋषयः प्रजाकामाः दक्षिणं प्रतिपद्यन्ते। एष ह वै रयिर्यः पितृयाणः॥ अथोत्तरेण तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण श्रद्धया विद्ययात्मानमन्विष्यादित्यमभिजयन्ते। एतद्वै प्राणानामायतनमेतदमृतमभयमेतत्परायणमेतस्मान्न पुनरावर्तन्ते इत्येष निरोधस्तदेष श्लोकः। पञ्चपादं पितरं ... षडर आहुरर्पितमिति। प्रश्नोप. I. 9–11. पञ्चपादं० is ऋ. I. 164. 12 (उपरे as one word, while प्रश्नोप० reads उ परे separately.)

with the subject (of the two paths). But what is there to prevent an ancient sage of the Upaniṣadic times from holding that the verse in its two halves refers (figuratively or symbolically) to two paths, particularly when even in the Ṛgveda times paths called Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa were well-known as shown below? It should be noted that in the preceding verse (I. 164. 11) the wheel of ṛta (the year or the sun) is Dvādaśāra (with twelve spokes, viz. months) and therefore when *ṣaḍare* (with six spokes) is mentioned in I. 164. 12 a period of six months could well have been intended or could very well be got by interpretation.

The Kauṣītaki Up. (I. 2–3), however, speaks only of Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa and has no third place for worms and birds &c. and states (vide n 2520 below) that worms &c. also come to the same world to which men return. Further, the stations of the Devayāna path (Agni, bright half of the month etc.) had been given a counterpart in the Pitṛyāṇa path in the Bṛ. Up. and Chān. Up. which made the moon the point of divergence for the two paths. The Kauṣītaki Up. omits all the preliminary stations up to the moon and brings all transmigrating beings to the moon (in I. 2). There are some other variations also that need not be dwelt upon here.

Deussen (in Ph. Up. p. 318) argues that in the Ṛg. verse (X.88. 15) the two ways are really to be understood as day and night and he translates that verse as 'I have heard from my forefathers that there are two ways alike for gods and men', thus giving to the world 'pitṛṇām' the sense of the ablative and holding that 'my' is to be understood before pitṛṇām, though not to be understood before the other two words in the genitive in the same verse. The meaning which the Upaniṣad reads in the Ṛg. verse is proper and also the original meaning of the verse. The path called Pitṛyāṇa [2517] is mentioned in Ṛg. X. 2.7 (Agni knows well the path called pitṛyāṇa) and Ṛg. X. 18. 1 runs 'O Death! Follow another path which is your own and different from Devayāna.' These two verses clearly show that the Ṛgvedic sages had arrived at the conception of paths called Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa. Therefore, the express mention of two paths in Ṛg. X. 88. 15 in connnection with Pitṛs and Devas should be deemed to refer to Pitṛyāṇa and Devayāna paths and it is far-fetched to take them as day and

2517. पन्थामनु प्रविद्वान् पितृयाणं यमदग्ने समिधानो वि भाहि। ऋ. X. 2. 7; परं मृत्यो अनु परेहि पन्थां यस्ते स्व इतरो देवयानात्। ऋ. X. 18. 1.

night, which are hardly ever referred to in the Rgveda as paths. This verse is explained in the Śat. Br. XII. 8. 1. 21[2518] (quoted below) which says that the two ways are those of the gods and pitṛs and the commentary of Dvivedagaṅga explains the first half in the same way. Vide also Śat. Br. I. 9. 3. 1–2. Devayāna is sometimes used in the plural in the Rgveda (as in III. 58. 5, VII. 38. 8, VII. 76. 2, X. 51. 5, X. 98. 11). In Rg. X. 15. 8 Yama is said to enjoy offerings along with the ancient forefathers of the sage and in X. 154. 4 Yama is requested to be united with ancient pitṛs, righteous and full of austerities. The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8. 1. 5) states that the door to the world of the Fathers is in the southwest, while Northeast is the direction of Gods and men (I. 2. 5. 17 and XII. 4. 2. 15). The Atharvaveda (XV. 12. 5.) mentions both Pitṛyāṇa and Devayāna paths. Soma, rain, food, *retas* (semen) may be described as watery, but the question is how the first *āhuti* 'śraddhā' (faith) can be described as an āhuti offered in Agni (viz. the yonder world) by the Gods from which king Soma arises (in Chān. Up. V. 4. 2 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 9). This is answered by V. S.[2519] III. 1. 5 and (and at some length) in the Śāṅkarabhāṣya thereon.

The Kauṣītaki Up. (I)[2520] sets out rather obscurely the doctrine of the two paths as part of the Pañcāgnividyā taught

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2518. द्वे सृती ... इमिति द्वे वाव सृती इत्याहुर्देवानां चैव पितॄणां चेति। शतपथ. XII. 8. 1. 21; मर्त्यानां मनुष्याणां द्वे सृती द्वौ मार्गौ श्रुतवानस्मि तयोर्मध्ये एका पितृलोकप्रापिका द्वितीया तु देवलोकप्रापिका। Com. of द्विवेदगङ्ग (Weber's ed. p. 1165); यो यजते सोऽरयैव यज्ञो देवलोकमेवाभिमैति तदनूची दक्षिणा यां ददाति सैति। दक्षिणामन्वारभ्य यजमानः। स एष देवयानो वा पितृयाणो वा पन्थाः। शतपथ I. 9. 3. 1–2.

2519. प्रथमेऽश्रवणादिति चेन्न ता एव ह्युपपत्तेः। वे. सू. III. 1. 5; भाष्य 'यदि नाम पर्जन्यादिष्वुत्तरेषु चतुर्ष्वग्निष्वपां हौम्यश्रुत्यता परिकल्प्येत परिकल्प्यतां नाम। तेषु होतव्यतयोपात्तानां सोमादीनामब्बहुलत्वोपपत्तेः। प्रथमे त्वग्नौ श्रुतां श्रद्धां परित्यज्याश्रुता आपः परिकल्प्यन्त इति साहसमेतत्। ... नैष दोषः। ... श्रद्धाकार्ये सोमबृहत्त्वादि स्थूलीभवदब्बहुलं लक्ष्यते। सा च श्रद्धाया अप्ये युक्तिः। कारणानुरूपं हि कार्यं भवति। श्रद्धाशब्दश्चाप्युपपद्यते वैदिकप्रयोगदर्शनात्–श्रद्धा वा आपः–इति। तदुक्तं श्रद्धासारूप्यं मन्यमान आपो देहबीजभूता ह्युच्यतः श्रद्धाशब्दाः स्युः। It may be noted that V. S. III. 1. 1–7 are explanatory of Chān. Up. V. 3. 9 and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 9–13 and the whole of V. S. III. 1 explains on the basis of Pañcāgnividyā how the self passes through various stages of saṃsāra.

2520. स होवाच ये वै केचास्माल्लोकात्प्रयन्ति चन्द्रमसमेव ते सर्वे गच्छन्ति। तेषां प्राणैः पूर्वपक्ष आप्यायते। तानपरपक्षेण प्रजनयति। एतद्वै स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य द्वारं यच्चन्द्रमाः। तं यः प्रत्याह तमतिसृजते। अथ य एनं न प्रत्याह तमिह वृष्टिर्भूत्वा वर्षति। स इह कीटो वा पतङ्गो वा शकुनिर्वा शार्दूलो वा सिंहो वा मत्स्यो वा परश्वा वा पुरुषो वान्यो वैतेषु स्थानेषु प्रत्याजायते यथाकर्म यथाविद्यम्। कौषी. उप. I. 2: स एतं देवयानं पन्थानमापद्याग्निलोकमागच्छति। स वायुलोकम्। ... ब्रह्मलोकम्। ... *ibid* I. 3; स एष विद्युतो विद्युत्वतो ब्रह्म विद्वान् ब्रह्मैवाभिमैति। *ibid* I. 4.

by Citra Gārgyāyaṇi (v. l. Gāṅgyāyni) to Śvetaketu, son of Āruṇi. It is passed over here for reasons of space and as not of material importance except one passage which runs 'He (Citra) said that all those that depart from this world go to the moon; in the bright half the moon is increased by their spirits, in the dark half the moon sends them on to be born again. The moon is verily the door of the heavenly world. Now if a man disowns the moon (i. e. is dissatisfied with life there) the moon sets him free. But if a man is not dissatisfied then the moon sends him down as rain here (on the earth). And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, a locust, a bird, a tiger or a lion or a fish, or a snake, as a man or as something else in different places.' Then I. 3 begins by referring to Devayāna and I. 4 ends by saying, 'being freed from good deeds and from evil deeds, he, the knower of brahman, (neuter) moves towards brahman alone.'

In the Kaṭhopaniṣad [2521] Yama tells Naciketas the secret about Brahmavidyā and what the self becomes on the death (of the body) viz. some men go to a mother's womb for an embodied existence while others are transferred into stumps (of. trees) according to their deeds and knowlege.

The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15-16 and Chān. Up. V. 3. 10 ff deal with the question of those who go by Devayāna and by the Pitṛyāṇa paths. First [2522] the Bṛ. Up. 'Those (even householders) who know this (Pāñcāgnividyā) and also those (hermits and ascetics) who, in the forest being full of faith, worship Truth (Brahman, Hiraṇyagarbha) go to *arcis* (light), from arcis to day (*ahan*) from day to the increasing fortnight (i. e. śukla-pakṣa), from the increasing half to the six months during which the Sun moves in the north, from those six months to the world of the Devas (Devaloka), from the Devaloka to the Sun, from the sun to lightning. When they have reached the place of lightning a

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2521. हन्त त इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि गुह्यं ब्रह्म सनातनम्। यथा च मरणं प्राप्य आत्मा भवति गौतम॥ योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः। स्थाणुमन्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम्॥ कठोप. V. 6-7.

2522. ते य एवमेतद्विदुर्ये चामी अरण्ये श्रद्धां सत्यमित्युपासते तेऽर्चिरभिसम्भवन्ति। अर्चिषोऽहः। अह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षम्। आपूर्यमाणपक्षाद्यान् षण्मासानुदङ्‌ङादित्य एति। मासेभ्यो देवलोकम्। देवलोकादादित्यम्। आदित्याद्वैद्युतम्। तान् वैद्युतान् पुरुषो मानस एत्य ब्रह्मलोकान् गमयति। ते तेषु ब्रह्मलोकेषु पराः परावतो वसन्ति तेषां न पुनरावृत्तिः। बृह. उप. VI. 2. 15. Compare याज्ञ. स्मृति III. 193-94, which closely follow the above in verse.

person born of the mind (of Brahmā) comes to them and leads them to the worlds of Brahmā. In these worlds they being exalted, dwell for ages and there is no return (to *saṃsāra*) for them. But they who conquer (attain) worlds by sacrifice, charity and austerities go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to decreasing half (of the month), from decreasing half month to the six month during which the Sun moves in the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the Moon, having reached the Moon, they become food and then the Devas feed on them there as sacrificers feed on king Soma as it increases and decreases (in a sacrifice). But when this (the result of their works done on earth) is exhausted they return to either (ākāśa), from that to Vāyu, from Vāyu to rain, from rain to the earth; on reaching the earth they become food. They are then again offered into the fire called man, from that (i. e. man) they are born in the fire called woman. These, making efforts to secure worlds (by sacrifices &c.), again and again repeat coming to this world. Those, however, who do not know both these paths, they become (are born as) worms, locusts (or birds) and flies.'

The Chān. Up. V. 10. 1–2 are almost in the same words as Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15 with a few slight changes viz. Chān. Up. reads 'Śraddhā tapa ityupāsate' and 'from months in the north to the year, from year to the Sun, from the Sun to the Moon, from the Moon to lightning; there is a person who is not human (amānavaḥ' for 'mānasaḥ' of Bṛ. Up.) who leads him to *brahman* &c.; then Chān. Up. V. 10. 3–4 are again the same as Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 16 except that Chān. Up. reads 'those who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility (called *pūrta*) and almsgiving, go to smoke', but adds 'these do not reach the year,' and proceeds 'from the months to the world of fathers, from that world to ether, from ether to the moon, this is king Soma that is the food of Gods (i. e. the gods like or love them). Having dwelt there (in the moon) till their works are exhausted, they return by the same way by which they came i. e. to ether, from ether to Vāyu, smoke, mist, cloud. (The persons that had performed sacrifices &c) having become clouds come down as rain, are then born as rice and barley, herbs and trees, sesame and māṣa beans. Escape from that state (to that of human beings) is beset with extreme difficulties. Whoever the beings (cattle or other animals or man) may be that eat the food (into which one has been transformed) and beget offspring he (the transmigrating entity) becomes most like them.'

One of the most important passages in the Upaniṣads on conduct fashioning the life that would follow is the Chān. Up. V. 10. 7–8 which may be rendered as follows:[2523] Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa, of a kṣatriya or of a vāiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quikly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a *cāṇḍāla*. Those that do not go by either of the two paths become those small creatures (worms, flies &c) that are continually returning and whose destiny may be said to be 'to live and die'. Theirs is a third place (apart from the two paths). Therefore the yonder world does not become full. Hence one should be disgusted (with this Saṁsāra).

It may be stated here that the Bhagavadgītā (VIII. 23–27) also refers to the two paths following one of which a yogin does not return to this world and following the other of which he returns to this world. These are called śukla (bright) and kṛṣṇa (dark) *gati* (in VIII. 26) and śṛti (in VIII. 27). The former is fire, light,[2524] day, the bright half of the month, the six months of the northern path of the sun; those men who have realized *brahman* when going from this world go to brahman (the absolute)'. The latter path is 'smoke, night, the dark half (of the month), the six months of the southern path of the Sun; the yogin reaching the moon-light by that path returns to this world. The Śāntiparva[2525] of the Mahābhārata refers to the northern and southern paths, the latter of which is attained by gifts, study of Veda and sacrifices (as in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 16 and Chān. Up. V.10. 8). The Yājñavalkya-smṛti[2526] also refers to those

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2523. तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीयां योनिमापद्येरन् ब्राह्मणयोनिं वा क्षत्रियोनिं वा वैश्ययोनिं वाथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। अथैतयोः पथोर्न कतरेणचन तानीमानि क्षुद्राण्यसकृदावर्तीनि भूतानि भवन्ति जायस्व म्रियस्वेत्येतत्तृतीयं स्थानं तेनासौ लोको न सम्पूर्यते तस्माज्जुगुप्सेत। छा. उप. V. 10 7–8. अभ्याशो ह is explained as क्षिप्रमेव by शङ्कराचार्य.

2524. It is better to read 'agni-jyotir' (in Gītā VIII. 24) as one word instead of 'agnir jyotir' (as in most editions), because both the Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 15 and Chān Up. V. 10 1 start the Devayāna path with *arcis* and omit Agni.

2525. अवाप्येतानि कर्माणि वेदोक्तानि धनंजय। दानमध्ययनं यज्ञो नियमश्चैव दुर्ग्रहः। दक्षिणेन च पन्थानमर्यम्णो ये द्विवंगताः। एतान् क्रियावतां लोकाञ्जुक्लशान् पूर्वमप्यहम्॥ उत्तरेण तु पन्थानं नियमाद्यं प्रपश्यसि। शान्तिपर्व 26. 8–10 (Ch. ed. = Cr. ed. App. I, no. 4, Lines 15–19).

2526. एतद्यो न विजानाति मार्गद्वितयमात्मवान्। दन्दशूकः पतङ्गो वा भवेत्कीटोऽथवा कृमिः॥ याज्ञ. III. 197; compare बृह. उप. VI. 2. 16 'अथ य एतौ पन्थानौ न विदुस्ते कीटाः पतङ्ग यदिदं दन्दशूकम्।' and छा. V. 10. 8 अथैतयोः ... तृतीयं स्थानम् quoted in the note. 2523.

paths. In III. 195–196 it mentions the Pitṛyāṇa path, which is very like the one described in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 16 (except that Yāj. omits ākāśa) and Chān. Up. V. 10. 3–7 (which mentions more stages than in Bṛ. Up.). Yāj. III. 197 also states that those who do not know any one of these two paths (i. e. do not perform the acts peculiar to those who go by these paths) become snakes, locusts, creeping insects or worms.

The Vedāntasūtra frequently refers to the doctrine of transmigration, but owing to the limits imposed by available space only a few important sūtras and their explanations will be set out here. The three sūtras of V. S. II. 1. 34–36[2527] are of great importance for the theory of transmigration. An objector says 'to hold that God is the cause of the world does not stand to reason, for, if it be so, God would be liable to the charges of unequal treatment (or dispensation) and cruelty. He creates some that enjoy extreme happiness (like gods and others), some lead an extremely miserable life such as beasts (of burden &c.) and some like men, who enjoy an intermediate position, secure a modicum of enjoyment. So God may be charged with acting through hatred and love (like ordinary men). God also produces misery and finally destroys all persons. This aspect (of great cruelty) appears abhorrent even to evil men. To this the reply is: if god had created inequality in the world at his sweet will and without regard to any other matter, he might have been liable to the two charges of unequal treatment and cruelty. But God has regard to the righteousness (merit) or otherwise of beings when he produces inequalities among creatures. The position of God should be looked upon like that of rain, which is the common cause (or factor) in the production of crops of rice and barley, but the difference (in quality) between rice and barley is due to the varying potentialities of the seeds. God is the common cause in the creation of beasts, men and gods but the inequalities in these are due to the special potentialities of each. Śaṅkarācārya relies expressly on two Upaniṣad passages viz. Kaus. Up. III. 8 and Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13 'puṇyo vai puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpena). The Kauṣ. Up. passage means 'He[2528] (the Absolute Ātman) is not

2527. वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये न सापेक्षत्वात् तथाहि दर्शयति। न कर्माविभागादिति चेन्नानादित्वात्। उपपद्यते चाप्युपलभ्यते च। वे. सू. II. 1. 34–36

2528. स एष माण एव प्रज्ञात्माऽऽनन्दोऽजरोऽमृतः। न साधुना कर्मणा भूयान् नो एवासाधुना कनीयान्। एष एवैनं साधु कर्म कारयति तं यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्य उन्निनीषते। एष उ एवैनमसाधु कर्म कारयति तं यमधो निनीषते। एष लोकपालः। एष लोकाधिपतिः। एष सर्वेशः। स म

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exalted by good works nor degraded by evil works, but it is He indeed who inspires (a person) to do good works, whom he wishes to lead high over those worlds and it is he who inspires one to do evil deeds whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds'. It will be noticed that the Kauṣītaki bases the attainment of a higher life (or birth) or a lower life on the quality of men's deeds (just as in Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13, IV. 4. 5, Chān. Up. V. 10. 7, Praśna 3. 7). The Gītā states 'I treat them the same way (with appropriate fruits) in which they come to (or approach) me.'

Another objection is raised to the above proposition contained in V. S. II. 1. 34. The Upaniṣads often state 'In the beginning there was that only which is one without a second (Chān. Up. VI. 2. 1 sad-eva somyedam agra āsīd-ekam evādvitīyam). Therefore, before creation there was no difference between deeds and so there could have been no inequality among the first created beings dependent on difference in deeds. You may say that after difference in deeds arose God has regard to deeds of men, but all beings created in the beginning must have been alike. To this the reply is that saṁsāra is without beginning (anādi) and that such a conception of the beginninglessness of saṁsāra stands to reason and is supported by (Śruti) texts.

Another discussion on the working of Karma occurs in V.S. II. 3. 41-42.[2529] According to the highest metaphysical doctrine the Ātman is one and all individual selves are really free but they are affected in the empirical state by the *Upādhis* of *buddhi*, *mind* &c. and in that state they are controlled by Īśvara (as Antaryāmin, as Bṛ. Up. III. 7. 23 or Kauṣ. Up. III. 8 says) and they

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(*Continued from last page*)

आत्मेति विद्यात्। कौषी. उप. III. 8. मे refers to इन्द्र who in this adhyāya (chapter) expounds *Vidyā* to Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, and asks him to meditate upon Prāṇa who is immortal. The Bṛ. Up. and Chān. Up. passages are quoted above. The Praśna Up. passage is III.7 'अथैकयोर्ध्व उदानः पुण्येन पुण्यं लोकं नयति पापेन पापम्। उभाभ्यामेव मनुष्यलोकम्।', एकया refers to नाडी. The गीता passage quoted by Śaṅkara is 'ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्' IV. II.

2529. परात्तु तच्छ्रुतेः। कृतप्रयत्नापेक्षस्तु विहितप्रतिषिद्धावैयर्थ्यादिभ्यः। वे. सू. II.3. 41-42; कृतो यः प्रयत्नो जीवस्य धर्म्माधर्म्मलक्षणस्तदपेक्ष एवैनमीश्वरः कारयति ततश्चैते चोदिता दोषा न प्रसज्यन्ते। जीवकृतधर्माधर्मवैषम्यापेक्ष एव तत्तत्फलानि विषमं विभजेत्पर्जन्यवदीश्वरो निमित्तत्वमात्रेण। ... अपि च पूर्वप्रयत्नमपेक्ष्येश्वरो कारयति पूर्वतरं च प्रयत्नमपेक्ष्य पूर्वमकारयदित्यनादित्वात्संसारस्येत्यनवद्यम्। शाङ्करभाष्य.

receive the fruits of their good and bad actions through Īśvara who does not act at his sweet will but has regard to good or bad conduct.

A few passages about *karma* and transmigration and stories illustrating how people's minds were affected by them in ancient times may be cited here. The Āp. Dh.[2530] S. provides 'Members of all varṇas (classes) reap (in heaven) highest and measureless happiness by carrying out their prescribed duties; thereafter (i. e. after enjoying happiness in heaven) they return (to this world) on account of the (unenjoyed) residue of the results of their actions and secure birth in an (appropriate) caste (or family), beauty of form, charming complexion, power, mental ability, wisdom, wealth, the (blessing of the) performance of duties and this results in happiness only in both worlds like a wheel. A similar rule applies to the increase of the results of evil acts. The thief of gold, one guilty of brāhmaṇa murder, according as he belongs to the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya class, after undergoing torments in hell for a limited time becomes respectively a *cāṇḍāla*, *paulkasa* or *vaiṇa*.' The Gautama Dharmasūtra has a passage in very similar words: 'Members of the varṇas (brāhmaṇa and others) and of āśramas (brahmacārin &c) who are devoted to performing the appropriate duties (of their class or stage in life) enjoy the fruit (heaven) of their actions after death and then by virtue of the residue (of their actions) they attain a (new) birth (in this world) endowed with a good country, caste, family, life, learning, character, wealth, mental ability and happiness. Those who act contrary to this are ruined by having to resort to many (evil) births.' On V. S. III. 1. 8 Śaṅkarācārya after quoting Gautama XI. 29 states 'there is no possibility of the destruction of the effect of an evil deed except by some of the methods prescribed by śāstra (such as expiations and realisation of the Absolute) and that it is possible that a good deed may begin to yield its reward

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2530. सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सुखम्। ततः परिवृत्तौ कर्मफलशेषेण जातिं रूपं वर्णं बलं मेधां प्रज्ञां द्रव्याणि धर्मानुष्ठानमिति प्रतिपद्यते तच्चक्रवदुभयोर्लोकयोः सुख एव वर्तते। ... एतेन दोषफलवृद्धिरुक्ता। स्तेनोऽभिशस्तो ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वैश्यो वा परस्मिँल्लोके परिमिते निरये वृत्ते जायते चाण्डालो ब्राह्मणः पौल्कसो राजन्यो वैणो वैश्यः। आप. ध. सू. II. 1. 2. 2-3, 5-6; वर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय ततः शेषेण विशिष्टदेशजातिकुलरूपायुःश्रुतवित्त (वृत्त?) वित्तसुखमेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विपर्यये विपरीता नश्यन्ति। गौ. ध. सू. XI. 29-30.

after a long time because it is hampered by the results of an evil deed and quotes a smṛti (Mahābhārata) in support.[2531]

The principle of the doctrine of Karma is that every act, whether good or bad, produces a certain result or return which cannot be escaped. In the physical world there is the universal law of causation. The doctrine of Karma extends this inexorable law of causality to the mental and moral sphere. The doctrine of Karma is not a mechanical law; it is rather a moral or a spiritual necessity. It cannot, however, be said that this doctrine is an induction from observed facts nor can it be asserted that it is experimentally verifiable, but it is only a hypothesis or supposition; it is, however, far better than other naive and childlike theories. In the absense of the theory of karma and rebirth it would have to be assumed that the world is arbitrary, that the Creator is not bound to regard the nature of men's actions but may distribute rewards as he pleases or by caprice. This doctrine of Karma emphasizes three things, firstly it regards an existence as a sort of expiation for the doings of a previous existence or existences; secondly, an evil deed cannot be expiated by works of merit but its punishment must be borne; thirdly, the punishment for wrong is automatic and personal. Under the doctrine of Karma there is no such thing as chance or luck. When we use those words they correspond to no reality and are a tacit confession of our ignorance or inability to state the cause or causes of what has happened. This doctrine of Karma leads on to the doctrine of transmigration. The results of a man's actions may not happen at once or in the present life. The Ādiparva and Manu say[2532] 'an evil deed does not yield its retribution immediately like a a cow (that yields plenty of milk immediately after she is well fed) but returning slowly it cuts off the very roots of the perpe-

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2531. न हि प्रायश्चित्तादिभिर्हेतुभिर्विना कर्मणामुच्छेदः सम्भाव्यते। स्मृतिरपि विरुद्धफलेन कर्मणा प्रतिबद्धस्य कर्मान्तरस्य चिरमवस्थानं दर्शयति — कदाचित् सुकृतं कर्म कूटस्थमिह तिष्ठति। मज्जमानस्य संसारे यावद् दुःखात्प्रमुच्यते॥ इत्येवंजातीयका। (शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 1. 8). The verse कदाचित्सुकृतं is शान्तिपर्व 290. 18 (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 279. 17).

2532. नाधर्मश्चरितो लोके सद्यः फलति गौरिव। शनैरावर्तमानस्तु कर्तुर्मूलानि कृन्तति॥ आदिपर्व 80. 2, मनु IV. 172. गौः may also mean 'the earth.' But in that case the meaning would be ' when you sow seed in the earth it takes time before the crops are ready.' If गौः means ' an ox ' (or cow) here, then it would mean an ox is immediately useful for carrying loads unlike adharma or ' a cow yields milk immediately after she is fed well.'.

trator.' Man's actions in past existences determine or fashion the nature of the present existence and the actions in the present existence taken along with the residue of past actions will determine the future existence. This, in short, is the basis of the doctrine of *punarjanma*. The modifications introduced by texts or popular notions will be briefly dealt with later. The theory of rebirth is as logical as any of the hypotheses that hold the field about what happens after physical death of the body. It is certainly as satisfactory as (or rather more satisfactory than) the theory of absolute annihilation after physical death (held by atheists) or the theory of eternal reward or retribution in heaven or hell (for confirmed criminals of one life). The leaders or exponents of almost all religions hold that God is with them and they generally have never seen (up to at least the 19th century A. D.) any good outside their respective Churches. Hinduism of the Upaniṣads and Gītā is the only religion and philosophy that proclaimed thousands of years ago that the man of good deeds is nearest to God on account of his goodness and the man of evil deeds cannot secure divine grace and fellowship, whomsoever he may regard as a prophet or messiah sent by God.

The Vedāntasūtra in III. 1 examines the passages of the Chān. Up. and of the Bṛ. Up. dealing with Pañcāgnividyā. It is not possible to set out in detail the discussions in the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara on the sūtras in V. S. III. 1. Some of the important final conclusions are: The individual self, while passing from one body to another, is accompanied or surrounded by subtle elements (bhūtasūkṣma), that the āhutis are spoken of as 'āpaḥ' (in Chān. Up. V. 9. 1) because the human body is full of fluids in the form of chyle, blood &c., because sacred works like Agnihotra &c. are the causes of a new body after death and in those works the principal materials used (such as Soma juice, ghee, milk) are mainly fluid. In the statement that those who perform sacrifices &c. go to the moon by the Pitṛyāṇa path and that śraddhā is offered as oblation from which Soma that is the food of gods arises, the words 'food of gods' are used in a metaphorical sense (and not in the sense of eating). The souls of sacrificers and the like, after reaching the moon and enjoying the fruits of their good deeds that can be enjoyed in the moon, return to the earth by the way they went but in reverse order of stations for enjoying the fruits of their actions that can only be

enjoyed on the earth.[2533] This combines the idea of a life beyond (often referred to in the Ṛgveda) with the notion of rebirth and offers two prizes for good deeds (viz. reward in heaven and then a rebirth with material well-being and cultural environment, as in Gautama Dh. S. XI. 29 and Gītā VI. 37-45 and there is a double penalty for evil deeds (viz. hell torture and then a despised or low life).

The V. S. (III. 1. 13-17) further explains that all men do not go to the moon, but only those that perform sacrifices &c. and those that do not perform sacrifices or works of public utility but are guilty of evil acts go to the abode of Yama for undergoing tortures of hell [2534] (which are seven, according to V. S. III. 1. 15) and after that they come to the earth. Those who follow the path of faith and austerity go by the Devayāna path (Chān. Up. V. 10. 1 and Muṇḍaka I. 2. 11) and those who perform sacrifices, charity and works of public utility go by the pitṛyāṇa path (Chān. Up. V. 10. 3 and Muṇḍaka I. 2. 10)[2535] and those that do not follow any one of the two have to go to a third place and be born as worms &c. (Chān. Up. V. 10. 8), that when a śruti text like Kauṣītaki Up. (I. 2) states that all those that depart from this world go to the moon, what is meant by 'all' is all those that have the *adhikāra* (capability or fitness) to go to the moon.

There is one word, namely 'saṁsāra', which occurs frequently in the comparatively later literature on Vedānta and Dharmaśāstra but rarely in the Upaniṣads. It means 'passing through a succession or a round or a cycle of births and deaths.' The

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2533. कृतात्ययेऽनुशयवान् दृष्टस्मृतिभ्यां यथेतमनेवं च। वे. सू. III. 1. 8. अनुशय is explained by शङ्कराचार्य as 'आमुष्मिकफले कर्मजाते उपभुक्तेऽवशिष्टमैहिकफलं कर्मान्तरजातमनुशयस्तद्वन्तोऽवरोहन्तीति।'. अनुशय means 'residue' here; compare मेघदूत (पूर्व ३०) स्वल्पीभूते सुचरितफले स्वर्गिणां गां गतानां शेषैः पुण्यैर्हृतमिव दिवः कान्तिमत्खण्डमेकम्॥. This is a fine fancy (उत्प्रेक्षा) based on the doctrine stated in V. S. III. 1. 8.

2534. संयमने त्वनुभूयेतरेषामारोहावरोहौ तद्गतिदर्शनात्। वे. सू. III. I. 13, on which शङ्कराचार्य quotes कठोप. II. 6 'न साम्परायः प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम्। अयं लोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुनः पुनर्वशमापद्यते मे॥.'

2535. विद्याकर्मणोरिति तु प्रकृतत्वात्। वे. सू. III. 1. 17; 'तद्य इत्थं विदुः' (छा. V. 10. 1.) इति विद्या तया प्रतिपत्तव्यो देवयानः पन्थाः प्रकीर्तितः। 'इष्टापूर्ते दत्तम्' (छा. V. 10. 3.) इति कर्म तेन प्रतिपत्तव्यः पितृयाणः पन्थाः प्रकीर्तितः। शाङ्करभाष्य.

Kaṭhopaniṣad says[2536] 'that person who has no understanding, who has not controlled his mind, who is always impure, does not attain that (highest) state and undergoes *saṁsāra* (births and deaths)'. The Śv. Up. VI. 16 speaks of the Supreme Spirit as the 'creator and knower of the universe, as self-born, the knower, the destroyer of time, possessing (all) qualities, knowing everything, Lord of Pradhāna, individual souls and the guṇas (sattva, rajas, tamas) and as the cause of release from saṁsāra, of sustaining it and of bondage.' The Maitrāyaṇī Up. I. 4. says 'such being the nature of saṁsāra what is the use of the enjoyment (of pleasures)'. The Muktikā Up. (II. 37) states 'mind is established as the root of the tree of saṁsāra'. The word 'saṁsāra' occurs in the Vedāntasūtra[2537] IV. 2. 8. The Bhagavadgītā mentions the word several times e. g. 'men who have no faith in this way (of life) do not attain to me (Lord Kṛṣṇa) and return to the path of death and transmigration (IX. 3); those whose minds are fixed on me I deliver in no time from the ocean of death and transmigration' (XII. 7). The Manusmṛti employs the word *saṁsāra* frequently e. g. in the table of the subjects to be treated in the Smṛti 'the passing through saṁsāra' is mentioned (in I. 117) and the 12th chap. uses the word often. It is said (in XII. 51) 'the entire saṁsāra of three kinds due to three sorts of Karma affecting all beings has been expounded'. After describing the various characteristics of the three *guṇas*, sattva, rajas and tamas (in XII. 26–29), and the effects of these guṇas (XII. 30–38), Manu states that those in whom sattva, rajas or tamas preponderates respectively become gods, men or lower animals and again divides each of these three classes into lowest, middling and highest (XII. 40–50). Manu uses the word 'saṁsāra' in the plural (in XII. 52, 54, 70) in the sense of '*gati*' or '*yoni*'. In chap. VI. 40–60 Manu first dilates at length on the daily routine of one who has entered on the stage of *sannyāsa*, what he should wear and carry, how he should maintain himself, how he should restrain

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2536. यस्त्वविज्ञानवान्भवत्यमनस्कः सदाऽशुचिः। न स तत्पदमाप्नोति संसारं चाधिगच्छति॥ कठ III. 7; the words तत्पदं refer to कठ II. 15–16; स विश्वकृद्विश्वविदात्मयोनिर्ज्ञः कालकालो गुणी सर्वविद्यः। प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिर्गुणेशः संसारमोक्षस्थितिबन्धहेतुः। श्वेताश्व० VI. 16.

2537. तदापीतेः संसारव्यपदेशात्। वे. सू. IV. 2.8; the शाङ्करभाष्य on this quotes कठ V. 7 as the basis of the use of the word संसार 'योनिमन्ये ... यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम्' ॥ q. above in n. 2521.

his senses and give up love and hate and practise *ahiṁsā* and then proceeds 'he should ponder over the destinies of men due to bad deeds, falling in hell and the tortures of hell, separation from loved ones and contact with undesirable persons, the ravages of old age and the pains of diseases, the departing from the body and again lying in the womb and the passage of the soul through thousands of crores of births of all sorts.' It is entirely wrong to suppose (as done by Mr. Sanjana on p. 10 of his 'Dogma of reincarnation') that Manu prescribes that 'each ego has to go through ten thousand millions of existences.' Manu nowhere says so. All that he means is that the Sannyāsin desirous of liberation should revolve in his mind the possibility of some souls having to migrate through millions of births. Yāj. (in III. 169) employs the verb 'saṁsarati' in the sense of 'undergoes births' and states 'The fruition of actions done by some men results after death (in other bodies) or in this very life (as in the case of Kārīrī sacrifice) and in some cases either in this world or the next (i. e. there is no hard and fast śāstra rule that fruits of actions result immediately after they are done); it also states in a fine simile [2538] 'just as an actor, when acting different parts, colours his body in different colours (fair, dark, brown), so the soul assumes various forms (as short, hunchback, &c.), assumes different bodies due to the various acts done by it. In Yāj. III. 140 the word saṁsāra itself occurs 'The soul affected by (or under the influence of) *rajas* and *tamas*, wandering in this world and coming in contact with undesirable objects (or mental attitudes) goes through transmigration (i. e. assumes various bodies)'. This is in reply to the question in Yāj. III. 129 (Īśvaraḥ sa katham bhāvairaniṣṭaiḥ samprayujyate). The Śāntiparva [2539] remarks 'there is no doubt that in life there is far more misery than happiness'. The Purāṇas often harp on the theme that saṁsāra is impermanent, abounds in sorrows and is fragile like a plantain leaf (e. g vide the Brahmapurāṇa 'saṁsāre..., anitye duḥkhabahule kadalīdalasannibhe' (178. 179). The present writer cannot help feeling that this view of the thorough miserableness of life has been so much and so persistently dinned into the ears of common people not only by

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2538. विपाकः कर्मणां प्रेत्य केषांचिदिह जायते। इह वाऽमुत्र वैकेषां भावस्तत्र प्रयोजनम्॥ यथा हि भरतो वर्णैर्वर्णयत्यात्मनस्तनुम्। नानारूपाणि कुर्वाणस्तथात्मा कर्मजास्तनूः॥ याज्ञ. III. 133, 162; the words नानारूपाणि कुर्वाणः may be construed with भरतः also.

2539. सुखाद्बहुतरं दुःखं जीविते नास्ति संशयः। स्निग्धस्य चेन्द्रियार्थेषु मोहान्मरणमप्रियम्॥ शान्तिपर्व 205. 6 (= Cr. ed. 198 lines 11–12).

much of Sanskrit literature but also by medieval saints like Tukaram (who says 'happiness is as little as a grain of barley while misery is as big as a mountain') that people have lost zest in life, are unable to put their heart and soul and serious efforts for improving their own lot and the lot of others. It cannot be denied that in India the doctrine of Karma, instead of being a powerful means of urging all men to put great efforts in doing good deeds and a gospel of hope, became in the minds of many confused with fatalism, which led men to become feeble, submissive and disinclined to work hard.

All the above discussion in the Upaniṣads about transmigration of the individual self are valid and concerned with the empirical or phenomenal world (saṁsārāvasthā or vyavahārāvasthā) but considered from the highest metaphysical standpoint of thorough-going *advaita* (the parā vidyā of Muṇḍaka I. 1. 5–6 or *amūrta brahma* of Bṛ. Up. II. 3. 5–6) it falls to the ground, since the individual self is non-different from the Absolute *Brahman*. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. II. 3. 30 emphasizes this point. He states: As long as the individual self is in *saṁsāra* state and has not attained perfect knowledge and brought the empirical or phenomenal state to an end, so long the connection of the self with *buddhi* does not cease. As long as this connection with *buddhi* (a limiting adjunct) lasts, so long lasts the state of being an individual self merged in saṁsāra. But the real truth is that there is no entity called *jīva* by itself except in so far as it is fictitiously hypostatized by *buddhi*, the limiting adjunct. For, when we determine the real meaning of Vedānta texts, we find no intelligent substance other than the one omniscient Lord whose nature is eternal freedom. Then Śaṅkarācārya cites certain texts (viz. Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 7, III. 7–13, Chān. Up. VI. 1. 6, VI. 8. 7 [2540] and remarks that there are

2540. यावदात्मभावित्वाच्च न दोषस्तद्दर्शनात्। वे. सू. II. 3. 30, यावदयमात्मा संसारी भवति यावदस्य सम्यग्दर्शनेन संसारित्वं न निवर्तते तावदस्य बुद्ध्या संयोगो न शाम्यति। यावदेव चायं बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धस्तावज्जीवस्य जीवत्वं संसारित्वं च परमार्थतस्तु न जीवो नाम बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धपरिकल्पितस्वरूपव्यतिरेकेणास्ति। न हि नित्यमुक्तस्वरूपात्सर्वज्ञात्सर्वेश्वरादन्यश्चेतनो धात्वर्थद्वितीयो वेदान्तार्थनिरूपणायामुपलभ्यते। नान्योतोस्ति द्रष्टा श्रोता मन्ता विज्ञाता (बृ. III. 7. 23), नान्यदतोऽस्ति द्रष्टृ श्रोतृ मन्तृ विज्ञातृ (छा. VI. 8. 7.), तत्त्वमसि (छा. VI. 1. 6.), अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (बृ. I. 4. 7.) इत्यादिश्रुतिशतेभ्यः। ... अपि च मिथ्याज्ञानपुरःसरोऽयमात्मनो बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धः। न च मिथ्याज्ञानस्य सम्यग्ज्ञानादन्यत्र निवृत्तिरस्तीत्यतो यावद् ब्रह्मात्मतावबोधस्तावदयं बुद्ध्युपाधिसम्बन्धो न शाम्यति। शाङ्करभाष्य. Similarly on वे. सू. I. 1. 5. शाङ्करभाष्य says 'सत्यं, नेश्वरावयवः संसारी, तथापि वेदादिसङ्कलितोपाधिसम्बन्ध इत्यत एव, घटकरकगिरिदुर्गाद्युपाधिसम्बन्ध इव व्योम्नः'

hundreds of such texts. Śaṅkarācārya states that even Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the Vedāntasūtras, composed some sūtras from the highest *advaita* standpoint and some from the empirical standpoint. In the following sūtras of V. S. Bādarāyaṇa is obliged to differentiate Jīva and Paramātman I. 1. 16–17; I. 1. 21, I. 2. 20, I. 3. 5, II. 1. 21–23, II. 3. 21. II. 3. 41, II. 3. 43 &c. But the sūtras I. 1. 33, II. 1. 14, IV. 13 indicate that there is non-difference between the two.[2541]

The theory of transmigration postulates that each life is the result or fruit of the actions of the preceding existence or existences. It follows from this that if we go backwards far enough, no existence or birth can be the first. Therefore, the Vedāntasūtra had to declare (in II. 1.35 quoted in n. 2527 above) that saṁsāra is *anādi* (beginningless). But this is in conflict with many passages of the Upaniṣads, which, in speaking of creation, employ the words ' in the beginning ' (as in Chān. Up. VI. 2.1, Bṛ. Up. I. 4., 1, 10 and 17, V. 5.1, Tai. Up. II. 7. 1). In order to get over this conflict the conception of the recurring creation of the universe periodically from all eternity was postulated by means of the machinery of kalpas,[2542] which provides that the universe created by *brahman* persists through a vast period called Kalpa, after the lapse of which it is absorbed into brahman. Vide Śāntiparva 231. 29–32 (Ch. ed.= cr. ed. 224. 28-31). It is stated in the Gītā VIII. 17–19 that the day of Brahmā is equal to one thousand yugas (four yugas make one unit or Mahāyuga) and the night of Brahmā is also of the same duration. All objects spring up from Prakṛti at the advent of the day of Brahmā and at the advent of night are absorbed (or merged) in the Prakṛti. Vide Bhagavadgītā IX. 7 also ' at the end of a Kalpa all elements (or beings) pass into prakṛti over which I preside; but when the next Kalpa starts I send them forth '.

The reasoning is; just as we cannot decide which comes first, the seed or sprouting plant, so it is impossible to say which

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2541. तदनन्यत्वमारम्भणशब्दादिभ्यः । वे. सू. II. I. 14; सूत्रकारोपि परमार्थाभिप्रायेण तदननन्यत्वमित्याह व्यवहाराभिप्रायेण तु व्याख्योक्त वितिमहासहस्रद्वयानीयतां ब्रह्मणः कथयति। अमत्याख्यायैव कार्यप्रपञ्चपरिणामप्रक्रियां चाश्रयति सगुणेपूपासनेषूपयोक्ष्यत इति। शाङ्करभाष्य at end, ' भोक्त्रापत्तेरविभागश्चेत्स्याल्लोकवत् '-this is वे. सू. II. 1. 13.

2542. The one thousand Mahāyugas constituting a day of Brahmā are called a Kalpa. For detailed treatment of Kalpa, Manvantara, Mahāyuga and Yuga, vide pp. 686–697 above. The ancient Upaniṣads have not elaborated this theory of Kalpas &c.

comes first (body or Karma), since no body is possible without Karma (deeds) and no deeds are possible without a body. The Chān. Up. (V.13·2) states " that Being (deity) that had produced fire, water, and earth thought ' let me enter those three beings (fire, water and earth) with this living self and then develop names and forms." That shows that Jīva (the self) was there at the time of creation and thereby indicates that saṁsāra is beginningless. The Ṛgveda in X. 190.3, expressly says ' the creator arranged (or created) as before.'[2542a] Similarly, the Gītā (15.3) states ' the real form of it (of the tree of saṁsāra) is not thus perceived, nor its end nor beginning nor its support; having cut off this deeply rooted Aśvattha (pippala) tree with the powerful sword of non-attachment, that place must be sought for from which those who have reached it do not again return '. The Smṛti verses relied upon by Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. 1.3.30 are noted below.[2543]

2542a. It is possible that the words 'dhātā yathāpūrvamakalpayat' (in Rg. X. 190.3) simply mean that the Creator arranged the Sun, the Moon, Heaven, Earth and regions according to the priorities (or their proper order). But it cannot be gainsaid that these words are at least the germs of the later doctrine of Kalpa, Manvantara & c. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3.30 explains the Ṛgveda verse as ' the creator created in the present Kalpa the universe including the Sun and the Moon in the same way as in the preceding Kalpa.' यथा पूर्वस्मिन्कल्पे सूर्याचन्द्रमःप्रभृति जगत् कृतं तथास्मिन्नपि कल्पे परमेश्वरोऽकल्पयदित्यर्थः. He quotes as supporting his views several smṛti verses which occur in the Mahābhārata and in some of the Purāṇas. The present writer feels that it is difficult to hold that a mere illustration or analogy (of seed and tree) can amount to a logical argument. At the most an illustration may lend some plausibility to a theory, belief or conclusion.

2543. The verses quoted by Saṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 30 as smṛtis are;

(1) तेषां ये यानि कर्माणि प्राक्सृष्ट्यां प्रतिपेदिरे । तान्येव ते प्रपद्यन्ते सृज्यमानाः पुनः पुनः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 232. 16. (ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224. 47), वायु 8.32 and 9. 57, विष्णु I. 5. 60, कूर्म I. 7. 64-65, मार्कण्डेय 45.39.

(2) हिंस्राहिंस्रे मृदुक्रूरे धर्माधर्मावृतानृते । तद्भाविताः प्रपद्यन्ते तस्मात्तत्तस्य रोचते ॥ शान्ति 232. 17 (Ch. ed. = cr. ed. 224. 48), वायु 8. 33, 103. 33, मनु I. 29, विष्णु I. 5. 61, कूर्म I, 7. 65, मार्कण्डेय 45. 40.

(3) ऋषीणां नामधेयानि याश्च वेदेषु दृष्टयः। शर्वर्यन्ते प्रसूतानां ताम्येवैभ्यो ददाद्यजः॥ वायु 9. 64, मार्कण्डेय 45. 43. शर्वरी here refers to night of ब्रह्मा.

(4) यथर्तुष्वृतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये । दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव यथा भावा युगादिषु ॥ शान्ति 210.17 (=cr. ed. 203.15), मार्कण्डेय 45. 44, वायु 9. 65, विष्णु I. 5. 65. This verse is quoted without name in the तन्त्रवार्तिक p. 202 on Jai. I. 3. 7; compare मनु I. 30.

(5) यथाभिमानिनोऽतीतास्तुल्यास्ते सांप्रतैरिह । देवा देवैरतीतैर्हि रूपैर्नामभिरेव च ॥

The Bhagavadgītā (VI. 37–45) is very emphatic that no exertions made by a man on the path of Yoga with faith are lost even if he does not quickly attain perfection. Lord Kṛṣṇa replies (VI. 40 ff) that such a man failing to secure perfection does not come to an evil end, but he attains to the worlds of the righteous, dwells there for many years, is born in the houses of prosperous and pure men or is born in the family of wise yogins, *where he regains the mental impressions of his past lives.* He makes fresh efforts to gain perfection and is carried forward irresistibly by his practice in former lives and being free from all sins and perfecting himself through many lives attains the highest goal. In the Gītā, Kṛṣṇa says (in IV. 5) 'many are my lives that are past and thine also. All of them I know but thou knowest them not.' In many places the Gītā touches upon the doctrine of transmigration (such as in II. 12–13 and 22–27, IV. 8–9, VII. 19, VIII. 6, 15–16, IX. 21).

In chapters 30–32 (of ch. ed.) of Vanaparva there is a dialogue between Draupadī and Yudhiṣṭhira, who, having lost his kingdom in gambling with the Kauravas, was in exile and hard pressed. Draupadī wonders how such a straightforward, mild, benevolent and truthful prince allowed his mind to be involved in gambling (30. 19), that God does not act towards beings like a father or mother, but He appears to be irascible like a common man, when she sees that honourable men of high character have difficulties in maintaining themselves and dishonourable men live in pleasures (30. 38–39); she proceeds 'human beings,[2544] ignorant and having no control over happiness and misery, go to heaven or hell at the caprice of God.' Yudhiṣṭhira warns her that she talks like an atheist, that he performed no deed with the thought of seeking the reward thereof, that he made gifts and performed sacrifices because he held that it was his duty to do so.' He asked her to give up atheistic talk and not to disrespect Highest God. Then Draupadī came round and replied that she did not mean to disrespect or censure Dharma, that it is far from her thoughts to show disrespect to God, but that, being distressed, she talked like an atheist. She then enters upon a discussion[2545] about

2544. अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः। ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत्स्वर्गं नरकमेव च॥ वन० 30. 28; this is द्रौपदी's lament.

2545. तथैव हठदुर्बुद्धिः शक्तः कर्मण्यकर्मकृत्। आसीत न चिरं जीवेन्नाथ इव दुर्बलः। अकस्मादिह यः कश्चिदर्थं प्राप्नोति पूरुषः। तं हठेनेति मन्यन्ते स हि यत्नो न कस्यचित्॥ ... एवं

(*Continued on next page*)

what people mean by *diṣṭa* (fate) or *haṭha* (chance) or nature (*svabhāva*) and winds up by saying that whatever a person gains is all the result of deeds in past lives.

It is not necessary to say here anything about human effort (*puruṣakāra*) and *daiva*. That topic has been dealt with and the different views of ancient and medieval writers about the respective spheres of these two have been pointed out in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 168–170 and notes 214–216.

When the son of Gautamī, who was an old woman that had attained control of mind, died by snake-bite, a hunter caught the snake, brought it bound to Gautamī and said that he would kill the snake for having bitten an innocent and unoffending boy. Gautamī dissuades him from killing the snake by stating 'by killing the snake my son would not be brought back to life, I see no good in killing the snake.' Then Kāla came forward and explained 'Just as a potter moulds from a lump of clay whatever he desires, so man secures fruits of deeds done by himself; the boy's death was due to his deeds in a former life' and Gautamī agreed that her son died by his own deeds in a previous life and that her bereavement by the death of her son was due to her own former deeds.[2546] This story occurs in the very first chapter of the Anuśāsanaparva.

Draupadī who had to work as Sairandhrī (a maid servant) in the harem of Virāṭa bewails before Bhīma 'in my girlhood I must have done something which displeased the Creator *by virtue of which I have been reduced to this distressing condition.*'[2547] The Anuśāsanaparva states 'just as the calf finds

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(*Continued from last page*)

हठाच्च दैवाच्च स्वभावात्कर्मणस्तथा। यानि प्राप्नोति पुरुषस्तत्फलं पूर्वकर्मणाम्॥ वनपर्व 32. 15–16, 20. नीलकण्ठ explains हठादिकः as 'प्राग्जन्माभावादकृतमेवोपरथास्यतीति वदन् चार्वाकः।'

2546. यथा मृत्पिण्डतः कर्ता कुरुते यद्यदिच्छति। एवमात्मकृतं कर्म मानवः प्रतिपद्यते॥ नैव कालो न सृजगो न मृत्युरिह कारणम्। स्वकर्मभिरयं बालः कालेन निधनं गतः। मया च तत्कृतं कर्म येनायं मे मृतः सुतः। यातु कालस्तथा मृत्युर्मुञ्चार्जुनक पन्नगम्। अनुशासन I. 74, 78–79.

2547. नूनं हि बालया धातुर्मया वै विप्रियं कृतम्। यस्य प्रसादाद्दुर्नीतं प्राप्तास्मि भरतर्षभ॥ विराटपर्व 20. 14. She implies that she does not remember having done any wrong. यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु वत्सो विन्दति मातरम्। एवमात्मकृतं कर्म कर्तारमनुगच्छति॥ अनुशासन 7. 22 = पद्म U. 81. 47 (तथा शुभाशुभं कर्म), 94. 17 (तद्वच्छुभाशुभं कर्म). This verse is quoted in an English translation by A. G. Hogg in 'Karma and redemption' (ed. of 1910 p. 19) and by M. Macnicol in 'Indian Theism' (Oxford Uni. Press, 1915) p. 224

its own mother from among thousands of cows, so *karma* done in a previous life pursues the doer of it.' The Āśvamedhika-parva[2548] asserts that there is no destruction of good and evil actions; they ripen and produce results when the self passes from one body to another. The Śāntiparva (cr. ed. 316. 25 and 35 = ch. ed. 329. 25, 35) avers 'a man by performing good deeds secures the state of a god, he is reborn as a human being by actions of a mixed character (good and evil both) and he is born as lower (than man) by evil deeds; when you (yourself) start after death no one will follow you; only your good or evil deeds will follow you when you leave this world.'

All strata of Hindu society were permeated by the theory of Karma and transmigration. Great Sanskrit poets often allude to it. In the Raghuvaṁśa XI. 22 describing the visit of Rāma to the hermitage of Vāmana pointed out by Viśvāmitra, Kālidāsa remarks 'Rāma became restless (or disturbed) in mind, though not remembering his actions in the former existence as Vāmana' (both Vāmana and Rāma being avatāras of Viṣṇu). Similarly, in Śākuntala (Act V) the poet remarks 'when on seeing charming sights and hearing pleasing words, a person, though surrounded by pleasures, becomes restless (or sorrowful), that is indeed due to this that his mind unconsciously has the impressions of loves and friendships of past lives presented to it'. In the seventh Act of the same play when Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā were re-united, she, referring to her previous rejection by the king, remarks[2549] 'indeed at that time some (bad) actions of mine (in some former life) hampered my good deeds and became ripe for fruition'. In the Raghuvaṁśa the 14th canto contains at first a message of spirited protest by Sītā whom Rāma ordered Lakṣmaṇa to abandon near Vālmīki's hermitage on account of the scandal about her among common people, but afterwards qualifies the message by saying that the terrible misfortune that she was going to suffer was the fruition of her misdeeds in former existences and that she desired to be his wife in a future existence but without separation from him. Vide also the Meghadūta verse quoted above in note 2533 p. 1563.

2548. शुभानामशुभानां च नेह नाशोस्ति कर्मणाम्। प्राप्य प्राप्यानुपच्यन्ते क्षेत्रे क्षेत्रे तथा तथा। आश्वमेधिक 18. 1.

2549. नूनं मे सुचरितप्रतिबन्धकं पुराकृतं तेषु दिवसेषु परिणामसुखमासीत्। शाकुन्तल VII; ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसह्याः॥ साहं तपः सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिरूर्ध्वं प्रसूतेश्चरितुं यतिष्ये। यूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेपि त्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः। रघुवंश 14. 62 and 66.

Many questions naturally arise on the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. One of them is discussed by the bhāṣya of Vyāsa on Yogasūtra II. 13. In Yogasūtra II. 3 five *kleśas* (hindrances) such as *avidyā* (nescience) are enumerated and it is stated (II. 13) that these *kleśas* lead on to fruition of actions by way of birth, life (long or short), kind of experience. Actions (Karma) are of four sorts according to Yogasūtra (IV. 7) viz. *kṛṣṇa* (dark found in wicked people), (2) *śuklakṛṣṇa* (white-dark) that are accomplished by external means in which there is some injury to or benefit of others; (3) *śukla* (white) belonging to those who engage in *tapas*, svādhyāya (study of the sacred texts) and contemplation; because this kind of deed depends on the mind alone and does not depend on external means and does not involve injury to others; (4) *Aśuklākṛṣṇa* (neither white nor dark), which is found in sannyāsins (ascetic saints) whose hindrances (avidyā &c) have dwindled and whose bodies are the last (they will have). Of these four kinds, the yogin alone has non-white karma since he has renounced the fruit of all actions (even of good ones) and he has *akṛṣṇa* since he will never resort to dark actions. The bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II. 13 states four questions, (1) whether one Karma is the cause of one birth, or (2) whether one Karma is the cause of more births than one; (3) whether more than one Karma brings about more births than one; (4) whether more than one Karma brings about one birth. The bhāṣya raises objections to the first three and states that the fourth alternative alone is acceptable. Vide p. 1417 note 2325 for the text of the Yogabhāṣya on these four alternatives. The Śāntiparva (chap. 273. 33–34 of cr. ed. =chap 280. 33–34 of ch. ed.) mentions individual souls as of six colours viz. *kṛṣṇa* (dark), *dhūmra* (grey), *nīla* (blue), *rakta* (red), *hāridra* (yellow) and *śukla* (white) in an ascending order, the dark being the lowest and *śukla* being the highest and verses 36–46 describe these six in detail.

There are several features of our present life that can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of transmigration than on any other. Why do two people who have seen but little of one another feel friendship or hatred? The surmise that in past existences they were friends or had obliged each other or harmed each other offers an explanation. The doctrine of karma and transmigration accounts for the apparently unmerited misery and suffering of many people, while some enjoy undeserved happiness or a good life. Our sense of fairness and justice would

be shocked by the inequalities in the world, if such a doctrine were not there. The hypothesis and belief that all human volition and conduct will suitably be rewarded and punished in subsequent existences has an important bearing on present conduct, would act as an urge to continual effort for goodness in this life and is likely to deter men from vice and cruelty. This doctrine of karma not only offers an explanation about the varying degrees of happiness and unhappiness among human beings, but also accounts for differences in material well-being and unhealthy bodily conditions. It offers a solution of the problem of evil in the world and explains precocious abilities in mathematics, music and arts among children and grown up men as in the case of Ramanujan about whom Prof. Hardy of Cambridge (in 'Ramanujan,' Cambridge, 1940) says that he was the most romantic figure in the recent mathematics. If rightly understood, it is not pessimistic or fatalist, but rather emphasizes all out human effort in this life. It will be seen how many of the works on Dharmaśāstra or connected with it as sources emphasize effort (puruṣakāra) as against views of various people that it is *Daiva* or *Svabhāva* or time or the combination of all these that yield rewards or retribution in this life. It also explains sudden accession of prosperity or high position such as, for example, a poor man's son being adopted by a prince or queen and then becoming an enlightened and famous ruler as was the case with the late Sayajirao Maharaj Gaikwad of Baroda.

Even from Upaniṣadic times various views were held about the origin of the world and similar questions. The Śv. Up. (I. 1) asks the question 'Is *brahma* the cause ? Whence are we born ? Whereby do we live and whither are we going ? Tell us, O knowers of *brahman*, under whose control do we abide in pain or pleasure' ? The next verse states 'Should Time or nature or necessity or chance or the elements be considered as the cause or He who is (called) Puruṣa ? It cannot be their combination either, since even the self has no power over happiness and misery.' Then verse 3 (latter half) states 'He being one superintends (or controls) all causes viz. Time, self and the rest.' Yāj. I. 350 refers to five views on the question as to what causes desirable or undesirable results viz. some hold that it is *Daiva* alone, some put forward Svabhāva (nature), some rely on Time, some on human effort and some on a combination of all these; but, Yājñavalkya's own view (I. 349, 351) is that

good or bad results are due to *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* and that the former is nothing but effort of former existences that has begun to manifest results. The Śāntiparva (chap. 238. 4–5 = cr. ed. 230. 4–5) refers to the fact that there are three views viz. either human effort or *daiva* or *svabhāva* being the cause, but its own view appears to be that Purusākāra and Daiva combine to produce fruits. The Matsyapurāna (221. 8) asserts that *daiva*, effort and *kāla* working together produce the fruits of actions. The Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (II. 8. 61-62) refers to three views viz. Daiva, effort and Svabhāva are put forward as causes separately but its own view is that daiva and effort together yield fruits.

It may be stated here that Karma is put in three groups viz. *sañcita*, *prārabdha* and *kriyamāṇa* (or sañclyamāna). The first is the total accumulated deeds of all past existences, the fruits of which have not been experienced. The *prārabdha* Karma is that which was the strongest among the group of *sañcita* deeds just before the present existence of a person begins and which is supposed to determine one's present existence. What a person accumulates during the present existence is called *kriyamāṇa* (or *sañciyamāna*, being collected) and the next existence is determined by the strongest (or the earliest according to some) among the sañcita and kriyamāṇa deeds put together. As the *karmans*[2550] are of different characters and yield different consequences (heaven in case of *sāttvika* deeds, or the earth or mid-regions when they are mainly *rājasa*), and places of tortures when deeds are mainly tāmasa the existences (or births or bodies) differ and the self being affected by the body, the individual souls appear as different. The objection is raised that freedom of will is the basis of all ethical values and that if a man's Karma in past lives determines the present life, then a man in the present life is merely a toy in the power of Karma and has no power to do as he sees best. The question about a man's freedom of will is a most thorny one, on which the greatest thinkers from ancient times to the present day have differed[2551] and no

2550. Vide विज्ञानदीपिका of पद्मपाद verses 5 and 8. 'कर्मणां फलवैचित्र्याद्वैचित्र्यं जन्मनामिह। देहवैचित्र्यतो जीवे वैचित्र्यं भासते तथा॥ सञ्चितं क्षीयमाणं च प्रारब्धं कर्म तत्फलम्। क्रमेणावृत्तिरेतेषां पूर्वं बलवतोऽपि वा॥. The com. explains सञ्चितानां शुभाशुभकर्मणां मध्ये यस्य पूर्वकालिकत्वं तस्य पूर्वं प्रारम्भः। तत्समानौ तदनन्तरजातस्यैवं वा क्रमेणावृत्तिः। अपि च सञ्चितकर्मणां मध्ये पौर्वापर्यमनपेक्ष्य यस्य कर्मणो बलवत्तरत्वं तस्यैव पूर्वं प्रारम्भः।

2551. Jeans in 'Mysterious Universe' (p. 30) observes 'And if Time is so fundamental that an understanding of its true nature is forever beyond our reach, then so also in all probability is a decision the age-long controversy between determinism and free will.'

satisfactory reply can be given. There are numerous works on discussions on Free will and Determinism such as Rashdall's 'Theory of good and evil' vol. II. pp. 302-355 (1907) on 'Free Will,' Bergsons's 'Time and Free will,' Viscount Samuel in 'Belief and action' pp. 303-320; but the present author does not propose to recommend any of these books to the reader of this volume. But if the reader wants a small book on the Free Will controversy he may read the book by M. Davidson (London, 1942). So far as the Indian doctrine of Karma is concerned, it appears that freedom of will is postulated for a man during the present existence to lead a good moral life and perform meritorious acts subject to the limitations caused by the environment in which the present existence is cast. The important working belief is that one has free will and that one is free in the present existence to mould the future (so far as he is concerned) by means of meritorious works. This is the message of the Śāntiparva.[2552] Lord Kṛṣṇa, after a long discourse in the Bhagavadgītā gives Arjuna permission to do as the latter likes (18.63 'yathecchasi tathā kuru'). In Gītā 9.30 also Lord Kṛṣṇa says 'if even a person of the vilest conduct worships me with undivided devotion, he must be held to be righteous, for he has made a right resolve.' Similarly, in VI. 5 the Gītā provides 'let a man lift himself higher by himself, let him not degrade himself; for the self alone is the friend of the self and the self alone is the enemy of the self'. Vide notes below for Upaniṣad passages, V. S. and Śaṅkarabhāṣya. It is possible to accept, on the ancient Indian doctrine, both predestination and free will, the first so far as one's being born in a certain environment is concerned and the 2nd so far as one's actions in the present life are concerned. The Bhagavadgītā (VI. 5-6) holds out the hope even to a sinner that it is never too late to mend and (II. 40) avers that even a little of righteousness saves a man from great fear and no effort is lost.

Though the general drift of the Gītā is in favour of Free Will, there are a few passages that seem to savour of determinism, e. g. 'everyone is made to do acts helplessly by the *guṇas* born of Prakṛti (III. 5); 'all beings follow prakṛti (Nature); what can control (or repression) do'? (III. 33); "due to your conceit you think 'I shall not fight,' this thy resolve is vain; (your) Nature will compel you to do it; you being constrained

2552. आयुर्न सुलभं लब्ध्वा नावकर्षेद् विशांपते। उत्कर्षार्थं प्रयतते नरः पुण्येन कर्मणा॥ शान्तिपर्व 280. 3 (= 291. 3. of ch. ed.).

by your own acts born of your nature will helplessly do that which you do not wish to do" (XVIII. 59–60). It may have to be conceded that there is no freedom of will in the matter of environment during childhood.

The Rāmāyaṇa gives expression to the belief that sorrow in the present life is the result of similar actions done in past life or lives. When Rāma left Ayodhyā as an exile for the sake of fulfilling the promise given to queen Kaikeyī by king Daśaratha, Kausalyā, mother of Rāma, laments 'I believe indeed that in a past life I must have made many persons lose their sons or I must have harmed (or killed) living beings; it is therefore that this (sorrow) has befallen me'; 'I think beyond doubt that in a former life, I, a wretched woman, must have cut off the breasts of cows (or mothers) when their calves (or children) desired (to drink milk at the breasts) of their mothers'.[2553]

The Purāṇas also emphasize the importance of good or evil deeds and say that one has to reap the fruits of one's actions, whether good or evil, and Karma does not come to an end even after hundreds of lives unless the results thereof are undergone.[2554] The Padmapurāṇa states 'there is no destruction of Karma except by reaping the fruits thereof; no one can set aside the bondage due to the Karma of past lives' and further 'man by his own actions may become a God, or a human being, cattle, a bird or a lower animal or even a tree (or rock); no man in this world is able to annul the effects of actions done in previous existences by his power or by the birth of progeny'[2555] (son &c). The

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2553. मन्ये खलु मया पूर्वं विवत्सा बहवः कृताः। प्राणिनो हिंसिता वापि तस्मादिदमुपस्थितम् ॥ अयोध्याकाण्ड 39. 4; निःसंशयं मया मन्ये पुरा वीर कदर्यया। पातुकामेषु वत्सेषु मातॄणां ज्ञातितः स्तनाः ॥ अयोध्या० 43. 17 (Madras Law Journal Press edition).

2554. अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म शुभाशुभम्। नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म ह्यपि जन्मशतैः प्रिये ॥ नारदीय पु० (उत्तरभाग) 29. 18; the quarter नाभुक्तं क्षीयते कर्म is quoted by the भामती on शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. IV. 1. 13. (without name). Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. p. 39 note 95 for the same verse quoted by others. भामती notes 'नाभुक्तं...कर्म इति च स्मरणमप्राप्तिबद्धसामर्थ्यकर्माभिप्रायम्।.'

2555. उपभोगादृते तस्य नाश एव न विद्यते। प्राक्तनं बन्धनं (बन्धकं ?) कर्म कोन्यथा कर्तुमर्हति ॥ पद्म. II. 81. 48. and 94. 118; देवत्वमथ मानुष्यं पशूनां पक्षिणां तथा। तिर्यक्त्वं स्थावरत्वं च याति जन्तुः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ पूर्वदेहकृतं कर्म न कश्चित्पुरुषो भुवि। बलेन प्रजया वापि समर्थः कर्तुमन्यथा ॥ पद्म. II. 94. 13, 15. The first occurs in पद्म. II. 81. 43 also. Vide Ṛgveda प्रजाभिरग्ने अमृतत्वमश्याम्' V. 4. 10. and मनु IX. 137 पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमश्नुते. These are merely laudatory acc. to the पद्म; न तु भोगादृते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम्। परित्यजति भोगाच्च पुण्यापुण्ये निबोध मे ॥ मार्कण्डेय 14. 17; यादृशं वपते बीजं क्षेत्रे तु कृषिकारकः। सुनक्ति तादृशं वत्स फलमेव न संशयः ॥ यादृशं क्रियते कर्म तादृशं परिभुज्यते। विनाशहेतुः कर्मास्य सर्वं कर्मवशा वयम् ॥ पद्म. II, 94. 7–8.

idea of transmigration as described in the Upaniṣads had become universal in India at the time of Buddha. Buddha rejected the reality of a permanent ego or self as an entity. He was not a metaphysical philosopher, but wanted to lay down a way or method by which mankind could be freed from ignorance and suffering and liberation could be achieved. Therefore, while rejecting a permanent ego he accepted the doctrine of rebirth.

A side issue has been very much debated by some eminent scholars, viz. whether the cherishers of the Vedānta thoughts were originally the Kṣatriyas and not the Brāhmaṇas. The present author dealt with that question in a brief compass in H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 105–107 and note 222. Deussen in 'Das System des Vedānta' (1883 pp. 18–19) and Ph. Up. (tr. by Geden pp. 18–19) and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism' p. 9 hold the view that the kṣatriyas were the original possesseors of Vedānta doctrines. Deussen relies mainly on six passages and Dr. Bhandarkar on two only (Chān. V. 3 and 11) and besides Deussen (in Ph. Up. p. 19) admits that his conclusion is not absolute certainty but has a high degree of probability. Barth in 'Religions of India' p. 65, Hopkins in 'Ethics of India' (1924) p. 63, 'Vedic India' by Macdonell and Keith (vol. II. p. 206), and Tuxen on 'The religions of India' (Copenhagen, 1949, p. 88) do not subscribe to this view. Deussen went so far as to aver (p. 19) 'this teaching with regard to the *ātman* was studiously withheld from them (the brāhmaṇas), that it was transmitted in a narrow circle among the kṣatriyas to the exclusion of the brāhmaṇas'. The present author had not set out the passages on which reliance was placed by Deussen and those who followed him. They will be set out here and will be examined as to the context in which they appear and the subject with which they deal. But it must first be emphasized that the most important doctrines of the main and ancient Upaniṣads are two, viz. 'non-difference of the individual self from the Supreme Self, and (2) transmigration of the self depending on his deeds and conduct. Both these doctrines are expounded by Yājñavalkya to king Janaka in various places in the Upaniṣads e. g. in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 4–7 and following passages. Deussen regards this part of the instruction as deepest, truest and noblest (Ph. Up. p. 348; quoted above on p. 1547) and this passage is (acc. to him) the leading passage on the doctrine of transmigration and on what accompanies the self in its transmigration (Ph. Up. p. 281). Besides, the words of Yājñavalkya

in Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13 'He who does good is born good' and in IV. 4. 5 'He who does good is born good, he who does evil is born evil, he becomes righteous by righteous works &c.' are declared by Deussen himself (Ph. Up. p. 410) as 'the oldest in which a doctrine of transmigration is found'. Therefore, according to Deussen himself, the original possessor of these two fundamental doctrines of the Upaniṣads is the brāhmaṇa Yājñavalkya who in the same Upaniṣad (Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 1-14) propounds to his wife Maitreyī the identity of the self and elements and everything else with *brahma* (idam sarvam yadayamātmā). Not only so, there are other brāhmaṇa teachers of these. For example, Uddālaka Āruṇi expounds at great length to his son Śvetaketu the doctrine of identity in the famous words 'tat-tvamasi' (Chān. Up. VI. 8-16).

Now the examples on which Deussen (Ph. Up. pp. 17-19) bases his couclusions must be cited and examined. Chān. Up. (V. 11. 1) tells the story of five (named) wealthy householders and great students of Veda who came together and discussed the question 'what is our ātman, what is brahma'. They proposed to go to Uddālaka Āruṇi who knew the self called Vaiśvānara. Uddālaka thought that he would not be able to explain all and therefore told them that Aśvapati Kaikeya (king of Kekaya country) at that time knew the self called Vaiśvānara and all five together with Uddālaka went to that king, who said he would give an answer the next day. The next day those six went to him with fuel in hand (i. e. as pupils) and the king without performing further preparatory rites asked each of them what they medidated upon. When each replied as to what he meditated upon, such as heaven, Āditya, air, ether, water and earth (this last by Uddālaka Āruni), he told them that all these are parts of Vaiśvānara and he explained to them how the proper Agnihotra is to be performed.

Two things should be noticed viz. Uddālaka Āruṇi is here shown as ignorant of true Vaiśvānaravidyā, though in the very next section (Chān. Up. VI. 8. 7. ff.) Uddālaka Āruṇi teaches the sublime doctrine of 'Tat-tvamasi'. Probably these two Uddālakas are different or the present story is more or less a myth. In the second place, all that Aśvapati Kaikeya teaches is about Vaiśvānara and not brahmavidyā (about the identity of individual soul with the Supreme Self. From before the times of Yāska, there have been various opinions about Vaiśvānara, frequently mentioned in the Ṛgveda (e. g. in I. 52. 6. I. 98. 1.). The Nirukta (VII. 21-23) has a long discussion and quotes

three different views viz. that Vaiśvānara is lightning or Āditya or terrestrial fire. The Chān. Up. (V. 18. 2) winds up the description of Vaiśvānara and brings it (V. 19–24) in line with the oblations to five breaths (as 'Prāṇāya' svāhā &c.) and sets forth the results of the observance of Agnihotra with full knowledge of its true purport. The Vedāntasūtra (I. 2. 24–32) deals with what is meant by Vaiśvānara in Chān. V. 11 ff. and the conclusion is that it means *paramātman* (the highest Self) and not individual self or fire as an element or the digestive (stomach) heat.

Deussen then refers to the story of Gārgya Bālāki (in Bṛ. Up. II. 1) who offered to expound *brahma* to Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśi, who offered to give a thousand cows if he did so and remarked that people run exclaiming 'Janaka, Janaka' (meaning Janaka is donor and also listener to *brahma* exposition).[2556] Bāiāki offered twelve objects of meditation on brahma such as the person in the sun, the person in the moon &c. Ajātaśatru replied as to the twelve objects that he knew them already and brahma is different from them and cannot be understood by what he said. Then Bālāki remained silent. Bālāki offered to be his pupil. Then Ajātaśatru said[2557] " this is topsy-turvy that a brāhmaṇa should approach a ksatriya as a pupil with the idea 'the kṣatriya would expound *brahman* to him.' I shall make known to you (brahma)." So saying he took hold of Bālāki's hand and got up (from his seat). Certain matters in this story must be carefully noted here. This does not at all say that the class of brāhmaṇas did not know brahmavidyā and that kṣatriyas alone were then the only possessors of it. On the contrary, Janaka is specially mentioned as a donor of cows and is eager to listen to brahmavidyā and people ran to him desiring to accept large gifts of cows for imparting brahmavidyā. We

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2556. हसवालाकिर्हान्यूचानो गार्ग्य आस स होवाचाजातशत्रुं काशि ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति स होवाचाजातशत्रुः सहस्रमेतस्यां वाचि वदमो जनको जनक इति वै जना धावन्तीति। बृह. उप. II. 1. 1; the words 'ब्रह्म ते ... धावन्तीति occur in कौषीतकि उप. IV. which has the same story with some variations. Max-Muller's tr. in. S. B. E. vol. I. p. 300 " for verily all people run away saying 'Janaka (king of Mithilā) is our father (patron) " is not accurate and does not bring out the sense properly. Saṅkarācārya's explanation is far more satisfactory' 'जनको विस्तुर्जनकः शुश्रूषुरिति ब्रह्म शुश्रूषवो विवक्षवः प्रतिजिघृक्षवश्च जना धावन्ति).'

2557. सहोवाचाजातशत्रुः। प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वक्ष्यतीति। ज्येव त्वा ज्ञपयिष्यामीति। तं पाणावादायोत्तस्थौ। बृह. उप. almost the same words occur in कौषी. उप. IV. 18 'प्रतिलोमरूपमेव तत् स्याद्यत्क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणमुपनयेत्। प्रेहि ज्येव त्वा ज्ञपयिष्यामीति तं ह पाणावभिपद्य प्रवव्राज।'.

know about Janaka from Bṛ. Up. III. 1 ff. wherein Janaka king of Videha, offered a thousand cows and, when Yājñavalkya took away those cows, numerous persons present in Janaka's court such as his hotṛ priest Aśvala, Ārtabhāga, Gargī, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Vidagdha Śākalya ply him with questions. In Bṛ. Up. IV. 4, 7 (Janaka offers a thousand cows to Yājñavalkya, in IV. 4.23 (Janaka offers to give his Videha kingdom to Yājñavalkya along with himself as a slave). The story of Bālāki only comes to this at the most that when Janaka had learnt brahmavidyā, a brāhmaṇa Bālāki did not know it though he professed to know it, and had to be instructed in it by king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, who knew it and who only stated that a brāhmaṇa did not become a pupil of a kṣatriya. All brāhmṇas could never have been proficient in brahmavidyā much less kṣatriyas. One regrets to say that Deussen is guilty of making a sweeping generalisation without adequate data. It may be noted that in this story Ajātaśatru of Kāśī does not say that the Vidyā was not known to any brāhmaṇas before (as Pravāhaṇa Jaivali claimed), but, on the contrary, expressed surprise that a brāhmaṇa should come to him for learning the Vidyā.

The same story occurs in Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad[2538] IV. 1–19 often in the same words. Bālāki offers 16 explanations about the objects of his meditation. The V. S. devotes three sūtras (I. 4. 16-18) to the passage in which Ajātaśatru stated ' He who is the maker of those persons (you mentioned), he of whom all this is the work, he alone is to be known '. There is in Bṛ. Up. II. 1 and Kauṣītaki Up. IV hardly anything about transmigration. Both passages simply affirm that from the Ātman all prāṇas, all worlds, all gods, all elements spring forth (Bṛ. II. 2. 20). This is nothing more than what is stated in the leading text (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 7) of Yājñavalkya or in Chān. Up. VI. 1–16 in the oft-repeated words of Āruṇi to his son Śvetaketu (aitadātmyam idam sarvam...tattvamasi).

It is most surprising that Deussen should press into service the story of Sanatkumāra and Nārada in order to fortify his proposition that kṣatriyas were the original possessors of the great doctrines of Vedānta. He relies on Chān. Up. VII, where

2558. यो वै बालाक एतेषां पुरुषाणां कर्ता यस्य वैतत्कर्म स वै वेदितव्य इति। कौषी. उप. IV. 18. The conclusion in वे. सू. I. 4. 16–18 is that the person to be known is Paramātman and the words यस्य वैतत्कर्म refer to the world (जगत्), and that this has no reference to ' jīva ' or principal prāṇa.

it is said that Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and prayed 'Teach me, Sir.' Sanatkumāra said to him 'tell me what you know; then I shall tell you what is beyond that'. Nārada stated (in Chān. Up. VII. 1-2) that he had studied the four Vedas,[2559] Itihāsa-purāṇa and gave a long list of lores including Devavidyā, Brahmavidyā (whatever that may mean), kṣatravidyā, Nakṣatravidyā, admitted he knew *mantras* only and did not know Ātman (the Self) and added 'I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Ātman overcomes sorrow. I am in sorrow; *bhagavan* ! do help me to cross (to get over) my sorrow.' Sanatkumāra replied 'whatever you have studied is mere name, there is something better than a name'. Then Sanatkumāra teaches him to meditate on speech as better than name, then on *manas* as better than speech and several others as better than the preceding (in VII. 4-24) till he reaches *bhūman* (the Infinite, the Paramātman) and describes *bhūman* in VII. 25-26 ending with the words 'all this springs from the Self' and it is stated at the end (in VII. 26. 2) 'Bhagavān (venerable) Sanatkumāra showed to Nārada, all whose blemishes had been crushed (uprooted), what is beyond darkness (avidyā); they call him (Sanatkumāra) Skanda.'[2560]

In all this long passage there is not a word whether Sanatkumāra and Nārada belonged to a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya class. Skanda is known in classical Sanskrit as the God of War (as in Gītā X. 24 'Senānīnām-aham Skandaḥ') and in the Vanaparva 229. 22-23 he is mentioned as the commander of the armies of gods and the Śāntiparva mentions that Nārada approached Devala for knowledge about the creation and dissolution of the world (chap. 275 = 267 of Cr. ed.). From this Deussen at once draws the conclusion that Sanatkumāra must have been a kṣatriya and Nārada a brāhmaṇa. In the Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and the Purāṇas both of them are semi-divine sages and beyond varṇa or caste. Gītā X. 13 speaks of Nārada as Devarṣi, the Vāyu-purāṇa speaks of Parvata and Nārada as sons of Kaśyapa and as included among Devarṣis (Vāyu 61. 85). The Manusmṛti includes Nārada among the first ten Prajāpatis

2559. Compare Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 10 for a similar but smaller list of lores that are said to be the breath of the great Being and another list of the four Vedas and six Vedāṅgas (called aparāvidyā) in Muṇḍaka Up. I. 1. 5.

2560. तस्मै मृदितकषायाय तमसस्पारं दर्शयति भगवान् सनत्कुमारः। तं स्कन्द इत्याचक्षते। छा. उप. VII. 26. 2. कषाय means रागद्वेषादिदोषः; the root स्कन्द् is given two senses in धातुपाठ viz. गति and शोषणे.

(I. 25). The Brahmapurāṇa (I. 46–47) describes both Skanda and Sanatkumāra as sons of Brahmā. The Nāradīyapurāṇa (Pūrvabhāga, 2. 3) speaks of Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana as the mind-born sons of Brahmā and Sanatkumāra as *brahmavādin* and as expounding all Dharmas to Nārada. The Vāmanapurāna (60. 68–69) describes the same four as sons of Dharma and Ahiṁsā, and as exponders of Yogaśāstra. To crown all, Kūrmapurāṇa [2561] I. 7. 20–21 speaks of these four along with Kratu as *Vipras* (brāhmaṇas), yogins, and as mind-born sons of Brahmā. Sanatkumāra might have been literally or metaphorically called 'Skanda', because he attacked and routed *Avidyā* just as God Skanda routed armies of asuras, if at all the myth about Skanda was known in times before the Upaniṣads.

Chān. Up. I. 8 narrates that there were (in some part of India not mentioned) three persons well versed in (the esoteric meaning of Udgītha i. e. Om), viz. Śilaka Śālāvatya, Caikitāyana Dālbhya and Pravāhana Jaivali. They sat down for a discussion on Udgītha. The first two (who were brāhmaṇas) first put questions to each other and answered. Then Pravāhana Jaivali told them that they were giving replies about matters that were not permanent. Then Pravāhana Jaivali told them that Ākāśa was the origin of this world, that beings owe their origin to Ākāśa and will return into it, that Ākāśa is Udgītha, greater than the great and without end &c. Deussen relies on this passage also for supporting his theory. Udgīthavidyā is only one of several *Upāsanās* in the Upanisads. Therefore, what would follow is that Pravāhaṇa Jaivali knew it and two brāhmanas of some place not mentioned did not know it. It is not possible to see how this story lends any support to Deussen's sweeping thesis of all brāhmaṇas being originally excluded from the central doctrine of identity. In the same context (Chān. Up. I. 9. 3) Pravāhaṇa mentions that one Atidhanvan Śaunaka[2562] taught Udgītha-vidyā to Udaraśāṇḍilya.

2561. अग्रे ससर्ज वै ब्रह्मा मानसानात्मनः समान्। सनकं सनातनं चैव तथैव च सनन्दनम्। क्रतुं सनत्कुमारं च पूर्वमेव प्रजापतिः। एतेते योगिनो विप्राः परं वैराग्यमाश्रिताः। कूर्म I. 7. 19–21.

2562. *Dhanus* becomes 'dhanvan' when it is at the end of a bahuvrihi compound, according to Pāṇini V. 4. 132. (धनुषश्च). What is the meaning of अतिधन्वन् as a बहुव्रीहि? It may mean 'who has gone beyond the bow (i. e. who is far above those who wield the bow). धन्वन् itself means a bow (as in Rg. VI. 75. 2 and 3) and 'arid desert' in the Ṛgveda (x. 4. 1. धन्वञ्चिव प्रपा असि). Then अतिधन्वन् may mean one who had crossed an arid desert and would have nothing to do with one wielding a bow.

Deussen without giving any reason asserts 'the names allow of the conjecture that in this case also a brāhmaṇa received instruction from a kṣatriya' (p. 18). He probably connected the first name with 'dhanus' (bow) which was the *forte* of kṣatriyas. But he forgets that Śaunaka and Śāṇḍilya are both brāhmaṇa names. This will illustrate how even the most profound scholar goes astray when he becomes over-enthusiastic about a theory of his. In this story Pravāhaṇa does not claim that the Udgīthavidyā was unknown among brāhmaṇas. On the contrary he himself states that Śaunaka, a brāhmaṇa (called Atidhanvan) expounded that Vidyā to Udaraśāṇḍilya, another brāhmaṇa. Besides, Udgīthavidya is only one among numerous upāsanās and what Pravāhaṇa teaches is that all *bhūtas* spring from Ākāśa and are absorbed in Ākāśa, the purport being that Ākāśa here denotes *brahman* as the V. S. (I. 1. 22) establishes. This doctrine is the same as the one taught in Tai. Up. III. 6 (basis of V. S. I. 1.2) and other texts. Moreover, there is nothing about transmigration in this passage of Chān. Up.

The sheet anchor of the views of Deussen and Dr. Bhandarkar are the dialogue between Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Śvetaketu (Bṛ. Up. VI. 2, Chān. Up. V. 3–10) about Pañcāgni-vidyā and that between Aśvapati Kaikeya and Uddālaka Āruṇi about Vaiśvānara (Chān. V. 11. 24). The latter has been already dealt with. In the former occurs an important passage which has been made much of and misunderstood. Before proceeding to expound the Pañcāgnividyā to Śvetaketu and his father Āruṇi Gautama, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali remarks (Chān. Up. V. 3. 7) 'this vidyā did not go to brāhmaṇas before you; therefore in all worlds domination (or government) has remained with the kṣatriya class alone'. In the corresponding Bṛ. Up. passage the words are 'this vidyā did not reside in any brāhmaṇa before this day, but I shall expound it to you, for, who would like to refuse when you address me thus'[2563] (viz. I approach you as pupil). In the

2563. यथेयं न प्राक् त्वत्तः पुरा विद्या ब्राह्मणान् गच्छति । तस्माद्व सर्वेषु लोकेषु क्षत्रस्यैव प्रशासनमभूत् । छा. V. 3. 7; यथेयं विद्येतः पूर्वं न कस्मिंश्चन ब्राह्मण उवास । तां त्वहं तुभ्यं वक्ष्यामि । को हि त्वैवं ब्रुवन्तमर्हति प्रत्याख्यातुमिति । बृह. VI. 2. 8. प्रशासन is translated by MaxMuller as 'teaching' in S. B. E. Vol. I. p. 78. But it is better to take प्रशासन in the sense of 'domination or government,' as is clearly the meaning of the word in Bṛ. Up. III. 8. 9 एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ विधृते तिष्ठतः'. Besides, there is nothing to show that kṣatriya rulers everywhere were teaching that doctrine (if we take prasāsane to mean

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Kauṣītaki Up. I. the doctrine of the two paths of Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa is expounded to Āruni (and his son Śvetaketu) by Citra Gārgyāyaṇi (v. l. Gāṅgyāyani), but the remarks about kṣatriyas alone being the first possessors of the doctrine do not occur there at all and Gārgyāyaṇi appears to be a brāhmaṇa teacher. The question is: what is meant by 'this vidyā' in the above passages of Chān. and Bṛ. Upaniṣads? In the Upaniṣads (particularly in Chāndogya and Bṛ.) numerous vidyās for the *upāsanā* of *brahman* by men that are not yet far advanced on the path of *brahmavidyā* are dilated upon, such as Udgīthavidyā (Chān. Up. I. 8-9, Bṛ. Up. I. 3), Daharavidyā (Chān. VIII. 1. 1-2, Bṛ. Up. I. 3, Vedāntasūtra 1. 3. 14-21), Madhuvidyā (Chān. III. 1. 1 ff., Bṛ. Up. II. 5. 1-15), Saṁvargavidyā (Chān. IV. 3). In the same way Pañcāgnividyā is an Upāsanā. Deussen and others admit (as shown above) that the great and original texts about the identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self and about transmigration of the soul based on works and conduct are those of Yājñavalkya in the Bṛ. Up. The Pañcāgnividyā expatiates upon and is concerned mainly with only one aspect of transmigration viz. the path of those who living in a village practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms. The five fires and five offerings relate only to the pitṛyāṇa path. It contains an esoteric and semi-physical explanation of the process by which persons come to be born again on the earth. At the most it may be argued that some kṣatriya rulers or noblemen claimed to have given an esoteric or metaphorical explanation of the mode of the return of pious men from the moon to the earth again. Nothing positive is said as to whether Pravāhaṇa Jaivali was the ruler of a country or only a kṣatriya (rājanya in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2.3, Chān. Up. V. 3.5) but we are told that Aśvapati was king of the Kekaya country in the extreme northwest of India, while the original proclaimer of the immortality of the self and its identity with the supreme self was Yājñavalkya who was in Videha (Mithilā, modern Bihar), which was at least a thousand miles away from Kekaya. Yājñavalkya's philosophy must have taken a long time before it became well known in the distant Kekaya. Conceding for argument that a few rulers like Aśvapati were the first to propound an explanation of the

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(teaching). Further, this sentence (in Chān. V. 3. 7. is a boastful assertion like the one of Aśvapati in Chān. V. 11. 5. that there was in his country of Kekaya no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man who had not consecrated sacred fire in his house, no ignorant person and no adulterer.

way of the transmigration of pious sacrificers and the like, it is a far cry from that to assume as Deussen does (Ph. Up. p. 20) that the doctrine of the Ātman as the first Principle of the universe was fostered and progressively developed by the kṣatriyas in opposition to the principles of the brahmanical ritual and this assumption is contrary to what he himself states elsewhere in his own work (pp. 410, 281, 348).

Before proceeding further a passage from the Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10 and another from the Ait. Up. (II. 4–5) would have to be considered. In Bṛ. Up. occurs the following passage:[2564] "In the beginning *brahman* was there, it cognised itself as 'I am brahma'; therefore it became all; whoever from among the Gods perceived this (viz. 'I am brahman'), he became that (brahman); the same occurred to sages and men. The sage Vāmadeva realizing this reached the conclusion 'I was (or became) Manu and the Sun also.' Therefore, this (will occur) even now. Whoever (even a man) who realizes 'I am brahman he becomes (identical with) all this (universe); even the gods are not able to prevent that man's being one with brahman and with all, for he is the soul of all these." Deussen translates 'aham Manurabhavam Sūryaśca' as 'I was once Manu, I was once the Sun'. There is no word for 'once' and it is supplied by Deussen who remarks 'as a proof of his knowledge of *brahman*, (Vāmadeva) alleged his acquaintance with his former births as Manu and Sūrya' (p. 317). The words can very well be construed as meaning that Vāmadeva, having realized

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2564. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत्। तदात्मानमेवावेत्। अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति। तस्मात्तत्सर्वमभवत्। तद्यो यो देवानां प्रत्यबुध्यत स एव तदभवत्। तथर्षीणाम्। तथा मनुष्याणाम्। तद्धैतत्पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेवः प्रतिपेदेऽहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेति। तदिदमप्येतर्हि य एवं वेदाहं ब्रह्मास्मीति स इदं सर्वं भवति। तस्य ह देवाश्चनाभूत्या ईशते। आत्मा ह्येषां स भवति। बृह. उप. I. 4. 10; compare मुण्डकोप. III. 2. 9 'यो हि तत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति। ... तरति शोकं तरति पाप्मानं गुहाग्रन्थिभ्यो विमुक्तोऽमृतो भवति।; कठोप. 4. 15 यथोदकं शुद्धे शुद्धमासिक्तं तादृगेव भवति। एवं मुनेर्विजानत आत्मा भवति गौतम।; कठोप. 6. 14 'अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते॥; मुण्डक III. 2. 8 यथा नद्यः ... परात्परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् and प्रश्न. VI. 5 स यथेमा नद्यः &c.; छा. उप. VIII. 12. 3 and वे. सू. I. 4. 22 and शाङ्करभाष्य thereon. These passages emphasize that the moment a man realizes the identity of the self and the Supreme Self and moulds his life accordingly, he becomes *brahman* and that his works after this realization do not cling to him. Vide for this latter proposition, Chān. Up. IV. 14. 3 (यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवंविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति), Muṇḍaka Up. III. 1. 3 (तद्या विद्वान्पुण्यपापे विधूय निरञ्जनः परमं साम्यमुपैति), मुण्डक II. 2. 9, बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22–23 and वे. सू. IV. I. 13–15.

brahman when he sang the hymn Rg. IV. 26, expressed his identity with Manu and Sūrya (and the whole universe). There is no express reference to former births and Śaṅkarācārya in [2565] his bhāṣya on Bṛ. Up. understands the passage in this sense and does not refer to former births. It cannot be said that the Bṛ. Up. quotes Rg. IV. 26. 1 for supporting the conception of transmigration but it relies on it merely for the conception of identity of the individual soul with the Supreme Self.

Then there is a passage in the Ait. Up. which Deussen refers to (pp. 317–318 of Ph. Up.). In the 2nd adhyāya that Upaniṣad refers to the conception of a person as the first birth; when the child is actually born that is described as the 2nd birth. Then it proceeds "He (the son) being the self of the father is placed in his (the father's) stead for the performance of all sacred works; then his other self (the father) having performed all he has to do and having reached the span of his life (having become very old) departs (from this world) and departing from this world is born again, that is his third birth. And this has been declared by a sage 'while dwelling in (mother's) womb I came to know all the births of the gods; a hundred strongholds of *ayas* (copper or iron) held me, but I escaped down with speed like a hawk.' Vāmadeva lying in his mother's womb declared this". In this passage the father and son are treated as identical, as elsewhere it is so said (vide note below). This Ṛgveda verse (the 2nd half) is liable to several interpretations. In the Ṛgveda (I. 80. 2, VIII. 95. 3, IX. 68. 6, X. 11. 4 &c.) it is frequently stated that (śyena) hawk brings Soma for Indra. Śyena may also be interpreted as standing for the soul and the iron fortresses as the bodies through which the transmigrating soul wanders. The Ṛgveda sage might have only meant the mythical hawk of Indra. But as the word 'janimāni' occurs in the first half the Upaniṣadic sage (in Ait. Up.) might have used the verse to support his ideas about the three births. But even in the Ait. Up. passage the three births are not clearly of one person, unless we resort to a myth, viz. the conception of a son and the son's birth are

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2565. स एतस्मिन् ब्रह्मात्मदर्शनेऽवस्थितः एतान्मन्त्रान्ददर्श अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेत्यादीन्। तदेतद् ब्रह्म पश्यन्निति ब्रह्मविद्या परामृश्यते। अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेत्यादिना सर्वभावापत्तिं ब्रह्मविद्याफलं परामृशति। पश्यन् सर्वात्मभावं फलं प्रतिपेदे इत्यस्मात्पदयोगाच् ब्रह्मविद्यासहायसाधनसाध्यं मोक्षं दर्शयति। ... तस्य ह ब्रह्मविज्ञातुर्यथोक्तेन विधिना देवा महावीर्याश्च नापि अभूत्यै अभवनाय ब्रह्मसर्वभावस्य नेशते न पर्याप्ताः किमुतान्ये। शाङ्करभाष्य on बृह. उप. I. 4. 10. अहं मनुरभवं is Ṛg. IV. 26. 1.

taken as the two births of the father himself on the ground that the son is the father himself born again.[2566]

The Upaniṣads laid down an inexorable law that fruits of all actions, good or evil, must be experienced and that a person's deeds and conduct determined the character of his succeeding existences. But from some passages in the Upaniṣads themselves it appears that they recognised some exceptions. One exception was that when a pesron realized that he was one with *brahman* the actions both good and evil, if any, done by him after that Realization and before the physical death of the body produced no results. In Chān. Up. VI. 14. 3 Satyakāma[2567] Jābāla tells his pupil Upakosala that 'Just as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows (realizes) *brahman*'; Chan. Up. V. 24. 3 'just as the (soft) cottonlike fibres of the *iṣīkā* reed when cast into fire are burnt out, so all evil deeds of him who knowing (the purport of) Vaiśvānara (brahma) offers Agnihotra are burnt'. The Bṛ. Up. states 'Him who knows these two do not overwhelm, whether he says that he did evil for some reason or that he did a good deed for some reason; he overcomes both these; neither what he has done nor what he has omitted to do afflict (lit. heat or burn) him'. The Muṇḍaka Up. provides 'when a person has seen (realized) the Highest (cause) and lowest (effect) his actions perish.' But this is only true as regards all acts before he attained Realization and all acts that his body may do after his attainment of Realization but he cannot rescind the *prārabdha karma* which brought about that existence wherein he reached Realization of *brahman*. The idea is that the actions which led to a person's present embodiment must all be consumed by the body persisting till the appointed period for its death, and then only he becomes free from the

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2566. सोऽस्यायमात्मा पुण्येभ्यः कर्मभ्यः प्रतिधीयते। अथास्यायमितर आत्मा कृतकृत्यो वयोगतः प्रैति। स इतः प्रयन्नेव पुनर्जायते। तदस्य तृतीयं जन्म। तदुक्तमृषिणा। गर्भे नु ... निरवीयम्॥ इति। गर्भ एवैतच्छयानो वामदेव एवमुवाच। ऐ. उप. II. 5. This has been quoted on p. 1541. अथ प्रोष्यायन पुत्रस्य मूर्धानमभिमृशेत्। अङ्गादङ्गात् सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायसे। आत्मा त्वं पुत्र मा विध स जीव शरदः शतम्। कौषी उप. II. 11. This is quoted as a ṛk in Nirukta III. 4 (probably because it occurs in the Kauṣītaki Āraṇyaka of the Ṛgveda).

2567. यथा पुष्करपलाश आपो न श्लिष्यन्त इति। छा. उप. IV. 14. 3; तद्यथेषीकातूलमग्नौ प्रोतं प्रदूयेतैवं हास्य सर्वे पाप्मानः प्रदूयन्ते य एतदेवं विद्वानग्निहोत्रं जुहोति। छा. उप. V. 24. 3; एतह्येवैते न तरत इति। अतः पापमकरवमिति। अतः कल्याणमकरवमिति। उभे उ हैवैष एते तरति। नैनं कृताकृते तपतः। बृह. उप. IV. 4. 22; क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे। मुण्डक II. 2. 8; एवमेवेहाचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद। तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्य इति। छा. उप. VI. 14. 2.

physical body. The Chān. Up. states[2568] as to a man who has attained true knowledge of the Supreme Self from a teacher that 'for him there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will become perfect'. All these Upaniṣad passages are relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 13–15 and Śaṅkarācārya explains their purpose concisely but very clearly. The Gītā also says (IV. 37) that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all deeds. Here all means only *Sañcita* and *Sañciyamāna* and excludes *prārabdha-karma*. About the acts during the period between the attainment of *Vidyā* and the fall of the body Śaṅkarācārya gives the instance of an arrow shot from a bow, which stops only after the initial impetus is exhausted in the flight of the arrow. Some works say that when the meritorious deed or the sinful deed done in the present life is of the extremest kind it may yield results in this very life.[2569]

The Upaniṣad theory is that one must bear the consequences of all actions, good or evil. But sometimes an evil action is done without any previous thought, as, for example, when a man's gun goes off by accident and somebody is killed or seriously injured. This led to a discussion in Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis and the doctrine of prāyaścittas (expiations) for sins was developed. From Vedic times some rites had been performed to counteract mishaps and irregularities in the course of religious ceremonies and for portentous phenomena or personal misfortunes such as a dog-bite. In these the idea was

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2568. तदधिगम उत्तरपूर्वाघयोरश्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशात् । इतरस्याप्येवमसंश्लेषः पाते तु । अनारब्धकार्ये एव तु पूर्वे तदवधेः । वेदान्तसूत्र IV. 1. 13–15; शाङ्करभाष्य 'ब्रह्माधिगमे सत्युत्तरपूर्वयोरघयोरश्लेषविनाशौ भवतः उत्तरस्याश्लेषः, पूर्वस्य विनाशः इतरस्यापि पुण्यस्य कर्मणः एवमघवदसंश्लेषो विनाशश्च ज्ञानवतो भवतः । अवश्यंभाविनी विदुषः शरीरपाते मुक्तिरित्यवधार्यते ।'. On बृह. उप. 1. 4. 10 the शाङ्करभाष्य states 'यावच्छरीरपातस्तावत्फलोपभोगाङ्गतया विपरीतमप्ययं रागादिदोषं च तावन्मात्रमाक्षिपत्येव । मुक्तेषुवत्प्रवृत्तफलत्वात्तद्धेतुकस्य कर्मणः । तेन न तस्य निवर्तिकी विद्या । अविरोधात् । ... ज्ञानोत्पत्तेः प्रागूर्ध्वं तत्कालजन्मान्तरसञ्चितानां च कर्मणामप्रवृत्तफलानां विनाशः सिद्धो भवति ।.' The विज्ञानदीपिका of पद्मपाद says 'उभयोर्ज्ञानतो नाशो भोगात्प्रारब्धकर्मणः ।' (verse 9). The com. says: ज्ञान is of two kinds, परोक्ष and अपरोक्ष. The first is in the form 'there is brahman and I must engage in *upāsanā* thereof.' The other is of this sort: 'ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या । अतोहमपि ब्रह्मैवेत्याकारकं यज्ज्ञानं तदपरोक्षम् । अपरोक्षज्ञानं तावत्प्रारब्धेतरकर्मनाशकम् । एवं चात्र ज्ञानमपरोक्षमेव । तस्माद्द्वयोः सञ्चितसञ्चीयमानयोः कर्मणोर्नाशो बीजलोपः ।'

2569. पूर्वं फलति देहेऽस्मिन् कृतमत्र परत्र यत् । अदृष्टत्वाद् द्वयोरेवोत्कटमत्रैव जन्मनि ॥ वि. दी. 10; com. says 'उत्कटं तु कर्म शुभमशुभमपि एतज्जन्मकृतमेतस्मिन्नेव जन्मनि प्रारब्धमाक्रम्य फलति'. Compare अत्युत्कटैः पापपुण्यैरिहैव फलमश्नुते ।.

of ceremonial purity and the averting of evil results from such phenomena in which no question of sin as ordinarily understood entered. In the Gautama Dharmasūtra there is a discussion on this, which is probably the earliest clear exposition on expiations for sins. Gautama states that there were two views on the efficacy of expiations against sins. One view was that expiations should not be performed as regards sins, because a sin is not destroyed unless its consequences are experienced; the other view was that one should perform expiations since there are Vedic passages indicative of this, such as 'after performing the sacrifice called Punaḥstoma one can come back (i. e. become fit for) Soma sacrifice (i. e. for all Vedic rites in general)'; 'after performing the Vrātyastoma' (one becomes fit for vedic sacrifices), 'he who offers the Aśvamedha sacrifice crosses beyond all sin, beyond (even)[2570] brāhmaṇa murder.' Some held the view that only sins committed inadvertently were removed by expiations;[2571] while others held the view that expiations were efficacious even against sins committed wilfully as there are Vedic indications to that effect (Manu XI. 45). Manu, however, appears to have held that a man is relieved of the lapses inadvertently committed by means of the study of the Veda, but sins wilfully committed can be removed only by various prescribed expiations (XI. 46) and that a man must always resort to expiations for sins, since those who have not done so have to undergo a double retribution viz. the tortures of horrible hells for long terms of years and also being born in other human existences with bodily deformities and diseases (Manu XI. 48 and XII. 54). The subject of expiations and of Karmavipāka (fruition of evil actions by being born as a worm or lower animal, or having a short life and premature death and undergoing torments of Hell) has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 1–178).

2570. तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्याच्च कुर्यादिति मीमांसन्ते। न कुर्यादित्याहुः। न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति। कुर्यादित्यपरम्। पुनः स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा पुनः सवनमायान्तीति विज्ञायते। व्रात्यस्तोमैश्चेष्ट्वा। तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते। अग्निष्टुताऽभिशस्यमानं याजयेदिति च। गौ. ध. सू. 19. 3–10. Vide वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र 22. 3–7 for almost the same words. For explanation of all these, vide H. of Dh. vol. IV pp. 61–62 and notes 152-153 thereon. For Aśvamedha freeing the sacrificer from all sins, from even brāhmaṇa-murder, vide Tai. S. V. 3. 12. 2 and Śat. Br. XIII. 3. 1. 1 'सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानं देवा अतरन्नपि वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरंस्तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजते।'

2571. अनभिसन्धिकृते प्रायश्चित्तमपराधे। अभिसन्धिकृतेष्येके। वसिष्ठ 20. 1–2.

So far as rebirth for sins is concerned attention may be drawn here to the following authorities: Manusmṛti XII. 54–69, Yāj. III. 131, 135–136, 207–215, Viṣṇudharmasūtra, chap. 44, Atrismṛti 4. 5–14, 17–44, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 15. 1–41 (B. I. ed.), Brahmapurāṇa 217. 37–110, Garuḍapurāṇa, Pretakāṇḍa, chap 2. 60–88 (which incorporate almost word for word Yāj. III. 206–215) and also quotations from Śaṅkha Dharmasūtra collected by the present author in ABORI. vol. VIII, pp. 116–117 items 375–378 culled from the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. III. 216, the Madanapārijāta pp. 701–702, the Parāśara-Mādhavīya, vol. II. part 2 pp. 246, 259, 263, 269. For reasons of space it is not possible to set out this whole mass but a few illustrative passages will be cited.

Manu states (XII. 54–69, with which Yāj. III. 206–208 and 212–215 agree in many places) 'those guilty of mortal sins (Mahāpātakas), having gone through terrible hells during a large numbers of years, come after the expiration (of hell punishment) to the following births. The slayer of a Brāhmaṇa passes through the births of dog, pig, ass, camel, cow (or ox), goat, sheep, deer, a bird, a cāṇḍāla and a pukkasa; a brāhmaṇa who drinks the liquor called Surā enters the bodies of worms and (large) insects, of moths (or locusts), of birds feeding on ordure and of carnivorous animals; a brāhmaṇa (who steals gold of a brāhmaṇa) shall pass a thousand times through the births of spiders, snakes, lizards, aquatic animals and of destructive goblins; the violator of his guru's bed passes a hundred times through (the form of) grasses, shrubs, creepers, carnivorous animals and of beasts with fangs and of those (animals) like tigers doing cruel acts. Those men who are given to injuring others become animals that eat raw flesh, those who eat forbidden food become worms, those that thieve become creatures consuming their own kind (such as fishes) and those who have intercourse with women of the lowest classes become *pretas* (ghostly spirits); one who has associated with outcasts (for certain specified periods), he who approaches the wives of other men and he who has deprived a brāhmaṇa of his property (other than gold) becomes Brahmarākṣasa (an evil demon); a man who has on account of greed stolen gems, pearls or coral or any of the other kinds of precious stones is born among goldsmiths; for stealing grain a brāhmaṇa becomes a rat, for stealing bell-metal a man becomes a haṁsa bird, for depriving another of water he becomes the bird called Plava, for stealing honey a stinging

insect, for stealing milk a cow, for stealing sweet juice (sugar-cane &c) a dog, for stealing clarified butter an ichneumon; for stealing meat a vulture, for stealing fat a cormorant, for stealing oil a bird called Tailapaka, for stealing salt a cricket, for stealing curds a bird called Balākā (crane); for stealing silk a partridge, for stealing linen a frog; for stealing cloth of cotton threads Krauñca bird, for stealing a cow an iguana, for stealing molasses a bird called *vāgguda* (a bat?), for stealing fine perfume a musk-rat, for stealing vegetables consisting of leaves a peacock, for stealing cooked food of various kinds a porcupine and for stealing uncooked food a hedgehog; for stealing fire a person becomes a heron, for stealing household utensils a mason-wasp, for stealing dyed garments a *cakora* bird; for stealing a deer or an elephant a wolf, for stealing a horse a tiger, for stealing fruits and roots a monkey, for stealing a woman a bear, for stealing drinking water a *cātaka*, for stealing vehicles a camel, for stealing cattle a he-goat; that man who has forcibly taken away any kind of property belonging to another or who eats sacrificial food of which no part has been offered in sacrifice certainly becomes a lower animal; women also who in like manner committed theft shall incur guilt; they become the females of those same creatures (enumerated above).

It may be noted that some of the births assigned to those guilty of thefts of various articles have some logic or reason behind those regulations e. g. when Manu XII. 62 and Yāj. III. 214 prescribe that a thief of grains becomes a rat in the next birth or when Manu XII. 61 prescribes that a thief of jewels, pearls and coral is born among the class of goldsmiths, one can easily appreciate this retribution as appropriate or reasonable, but the same cannot be said of all others. It is noteworthy that, in spite of what the bhāṣya on Y. S. quoted in note 2325 and pp. 1417-18 above says, a single mortal sin like brāhmaṇa-murder might make the perpetrator pass through several vile births, as stated by Manu in XII. 55-58, Yāj. III. 207-208 and by Śaṅkarācārya.[2572]

Once the strict rule of the original doctrine of Karma in the Upaniṣads was loosened by the theory of prāyaścittas, a

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2572. ब्रह्महत्यादीनां चैकैकस्य कर्मणोऽनेकजन्मनिमित्तत्वं स्मर्यमाणमुपलभ्येत। न च धर्माधर्मयोः स्वरूपफलसाधनादिसमधिगमे शास्त्रादविरिक्तं कारणं शक्यं सम्भावयितुम्। शाङ्करभाष्य on वे. सू. III. 1. 8.

quick pace was set even in early times for the removal or reduction of the effects of sins in other ways than by means of expiations. Gautama[2573] prescribes five means for redeeming (or expiating) blamable acts viz. inaudible recitation of the Veda, austerities, sacrifice in fire, fasting, giving gifts. The history of Dharmaśāstra vol. IV deals at some length with *japa* (pp. 44-51), tapas (pp. 42-43), homa (pp. 43-44), dāna (pp. 51-52) and fasting (pp. 52–54). Therefore, it is not necessary to say here anything about them. But attention must be drawn to some special and far-reaching modifications of these and other means. Śūdras and members of *pratiloma* castes were not authorized to study the Veda. Hence the authors of medieval works, particularly of Purāṇas, went so far as to say that remembrance[2574] of the name of Kṛṣṇa is superior to all expiations and all forms of austerities and that if a man only remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, noon, evening, at night and other times, he at once secures the destruction of (the consequences of) sins. Other means were also provided for the removal of sins, one being pilgrimage to holy places. Vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 55–56 and 552–580. Another was the practice of prāṇāyāma which has been dealt with on p. 42 of H. Dh. vol. IV.

Even in the earliest times open confession of sin was in certain cases regarded as freeing the person from sin. In the Cāturmāsya called Varuṇa-praghāsa, the wife who took part with her husband had to confess expressly or by some indirect ways whether she had at some time a paramour and if she did so she was purified and could take part in the sacred rites thereafter. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 575–576 and 1098 for this. Similarly, according to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 15, I. 10. 28. 19 and 1, 10. 29. 1 it was necessary when undergoing expiations for forsaking one's wife or for brāhmaṇa murder to confess one's sin. So also the brahmacārin, if guilty of sexual intercourse,

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2573. तस्य निष्कृयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासो दानम्। गौ. ध. सू. 19.11. In 19.12 Gautama gives a long list of Vedic texts the recitation of which purified a person of sins. Manu (XI. 249–250) specifies Vedic hymns and verses that remove the consequence of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking Surā, theft of gold, violation of guru's bed and other grave and light sins and highly praises (XI. 259–260) the japa of Aghamarṣaṇa hymn (Ṛg. X. 190.1-3) as removing all sins.

2574. प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तपःकर्मात्मकानि वै। यानि तेषामशेषाणां कृष्णानुस्मरणं परम्॥ प्रायनिर्हारं तथा सन्ध्यॉमध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन्। नारायणमवाप्नोति सद्यः पापक्षयं नरः॥ विष्णुपु. II. 6. 39 and 41, भागवपु. 22.39. These are q. by प्राय. विवेक p. 31, अपरार्क p. 1232 and प्राय. तत्त्व p. 524.

had to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (vide Gautama and Manu quoted below).[2575]

Repentance (*anutāpa*). Manu (XII. 227 and 230) provides that a sinner is relieved of the consequences of sin by proclaiming his sin to people, by repentance, by austerities, by recitation of Vedic texts, by gifts in case of distress (i. e. if he is unable to undergo *tapas*); a man after commiting a sin becomes free from it by feeling remorse and if he makes a resolve 'I shall never again do so' he is purified. The Viṣṇupurāṇa provides that, when afer committing a sin the man feels remorse, the one high expiation that he has then to undergo is the remembrance of Hari.[2576] MacNicol, a Scottish Missionary, wrote a work (in 1915) on 'Indian theism' in which he boldly asserts, after referring to the Upanisadic doctrine of Karma that 'there is no place for repentance in the Hindu doctrine of Karma' (p. 223). It has been shown above that confession was known in Vedic times and that repentance was valued in Dharmaśāstra works either as removing sins or as making the repentant man fit for receiving expiatory rites (vide H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 41–42). The worthy missionary author probably thinks his Christian brand of remission of sins by confession and repentance better than the Upaniṣadic teaching. Ancient Indian authors were not prepared to accept mere confession and repentance as enough to absolve a man of all sins. The Biblical position that if one believes in Christ and his gospel, confesses his sins and says he repents (as required in Matthew 4. 17, Mark I. 15 and Luke 24. 47) is very likely to engender among common men a complacent attitude about sins. This complacent frame of mind, the ancient Dharmaśāstra writers wanted to prevent and therefore, they insisted upon a good deal more than repentance and confession of sins. They blended the old doctrine of confession and repentance with retribution viz. hell tortures and vile births. Later Paurāṇik writers approached very close to the probable attitude of common Christians that one has simply to believe in Christ as a redeemer, to confess and to take the name of God for being absolved from all sins. Macnicol either did not

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2575. तस्याजिनमूर्ध्ववालं परिधाय लोहितपात्रः सप्त गृहान्भैक्षं चरेत्कर्माचक्षाणः। गौ. 23. 18; मनु XI. 122 एतस्मिन्नेनसि प्राप्ते वसित्वा गर्दभाजिनम्। सप्तागारांश्चरेद्भैक्षं स्वकर्म परिकीर्तयन्॥.

2576. कृते पापेऽनुतापो वै यस्य पुंसः प्रजायते। प्रायश्चित्तं तु तस्यैकं हरिसंस्मरणं परम्॥ विष्णुपु. II. 6. 40.

read the relevant texts from Purāṇas or he forgot them when he made the assertion noted above.

Long before MacNicol wrote and since his days numerous Western scholars brought up in Christian surroundings have expressed their view that the ancient Indian doctrine as regards man's destiny after death is far more preferable to Biblical ideas on the same subject. It is enough to refer to only two or three authors. Arberry in his 'Asiatic Jones' quotes (p. 37) from Sir William Jones' letter to Earl Spencer the following passage 'I am no Hindu, but I hold the doctrine of the Hindus concerning a future state to be incomparably more rational, more pious and more likely to deter men from vice, than the horrid opinions inculcated by Christians on punishments without end'. Lowes Dickinson in 'Religion and Immortality' (Dent and Sons, 1911) observes (on p. 74) 'it is really a consoling idea that our present capacities are determined by our previous actions and that our present actions again will determine our future character'. Owen Rutter, author of 'the scales of Karma' (London, 1925) says that Christianity has failed to solve the intellectual and moral problems which beset those who live in the complexities of the modern world, that he began to study the doctrine of Karma and reincarnation seven years before he wrote the book, which is a personal statement rather than an essay on Karma (pp. 12–13). Many who have written against this doctrine, while conceding that the Upaniṣadic doctrine is an ancient and serious attempt to solve the problem of injustice and evil in the world, call it a weak one and beset with difficulties. One should like to ask, what systems of religion and philosophy are not beset with difficulties? One may take the Christian doctrines for example. To all non-Christians (and to several Christians also in modern times) its doctrine of original sin, its damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination deduced from the belief that God is an Omniscient and Omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth appear strange and unjustified. L. T. Hobhouse in 'Morals in Evolution' part II (1906) pp. 130 ff points out how all systems with a personal God, particularly Christianity, are beset with difficulties, such as making the problem of evil urgent, eternal punishment for a great sinner in one life suggestive of a moral impossibility, the inescapable conclusion that all men, however good, that did not or could not or do not believe in Christ and are not members of the Christian Church by baptism are irrevocably doomed. That

Christianity is unique and that Christians are God's chosen people are beliefs which would make God appear quite unjust and therefore some Christian writers like Prof. Toynbee in 'Christianity among the religions of the world' (Oxford Un. Press, 1958) have begun to urge that Christianity must be purged of such beliefs (pp. 13 and 95).

The strict doctrine of Karma would require that there can be no transfer of good or bad *karma* from one man to another and a man cannot suffer for the sins of others. But in the Ṛgveda there are allusions to the belief that God might inflict punishment on the sons for the sins of their fathers. For example, in Ṛg. VII. 86. 5 Vasiṣṭha[2577] prays to Varuṇa "cast away from us the transgressions of our fathers, and those that we committed in our own person'; 'May we not have to suffer for the sin committed by another, may we not do that for which you punish (this is addressed to Viśve-devāḥ). The Śāntiparva, however, asserts 'whatever deed a man does in four ways viz. with eye, with thought, speech or action, he receives (in return) that same kind of action; a man does not enjoy (i. e. experience the results of) the good deeds or evil deeds of another; man attains (a result) in consonance with the actions done by himself'.[2578] Similarly, in the Gṛdhra-gomāyu-saṁvāda, it is asserted 'the son does not have to go by the path due to the actions of the father, nor *vice versa*, they being bound by their own respective good or evil deeds proceed each by a different path'. Whatever deed a man does, whether holy or very unholy (terrible), the consequences of that are experienced by the doer alone, what have the relatives to do with that' (Śāntiparva 153. 38 and 41 = cr. ed. 149. 34 and 37).

Modifications of this doctrine were early introduced. The Gaut.[2579] Dh. S. provides that the king should guard all the

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2577. अव द्रुग्धानि पित्र्या सृजा नोऽव या वयं चकृमा तनूभिः। ऋ. VII. 86 5; मा व एनो अन्यकृतं भुजेम मा तत्कर्म वसवो यच्चयध्वे। ऋ. VI. 51. 7; ऋ. VII. 52. 2 practically repeats this 'मा वो भुजेमान्धजातमेनो मा तत्कर्म वसवो यच्चयध्वे॥.'

2578. चक्षुषा मनसा वाचा कर्मणा च चतुर्विधम्। कुरुते यादृशं कर्म तादृशं प्रतिपद्यते॥ नायं परस्य सुकृतं दुष्कृतं चापि सेवते। करोति यादृशं कर्म तादृशं प्रतिपद्यते॥ शान्तिपर्व 279. 15 and 21 (= 290. 16, 22 of Ch. ed.)

2579. Vide also शान्तिपर्व 287. 28 (= ch. ed. 298. 30); वर्णानाश्रमांश्च न्यायतोऽभिरक्षेत्। चलतश्चैतान् स्वधर्मे स्थापयेत्। धर्मस्य ह्यंशभाग्भवतीति। गौ. XI. 9-11.

varṇas and *āśramas* according to Śāstra and if they swerve from their duties he should make them follow their duties, since he gets a share of the dharma (merit) observed by them. Manu provides (VIII. 304-305, 308) that the king who protects his subjects secures the sixth part of the (spiritual) merit of all (his subjects), but if he does not guard them he also shares in the sixth part of their *adharma* (sin); the king who protects well is entitled to the sixth part of the merit of the Veda study, the sacrifices, the gifts, and of the worship of gods done by all subjects; that king who takes as his one-sixth part of the crops and other products, but fails to guard the subjects is declared (by sages) as receiving all the sins of all his subjects'. Manu says elsewhere (in IX. 301) that the king is the Yuga, that his actions may bring in Kṛta or any of the other Yugas. Kālidāsa in Śākuntala echoes this idea.[2580] Manu (in VIII. 316) provides that when a thief comes to a king, confesses his guilt and asks the king to punish him with a heavy staff or a sharp weapon and the king either punishes him or lets him off, the thief is freed from (the effects of) the sin, but the king incurs the guilt of the thief if he does not punish him. To the same effect is Vasiṣṭha 19. 46 and 20. 41. It was stated by Manu (III. 100) that all the merit of even a man who lives a plain life by subsisting on grains left in the field after the crops are garnered and who performs homa in the five fires (to be kept by an householder) is taken away by a brāhmaṇa guest who stays unhonoured by him. Śāntiparva, Viṣṇu Dh. S. and several Purāṇas provide that [2581] when a guest, being disappointed (in getting food), turns away from the house of a person, the guest goes away taking all the merit of the person and transfers to him all his own misdeeds. This was probably not meant to be taken literally. It is only an arthavāda (in the language of the Mīmāṁsā) and merely exhorts a householder to honour a guest properly. The exhortation addressed by the judge to a witness before the latter began to depose contains in Yāj. the following

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2580. सर्वतो धर्मषड्भागो राज्ञो भवति रक्षतः। अधर्मादपि षड्भागो भवत्यस्य ह्यरक्षतः॥ मनु VIII. 304; compare शाकुन्तल II. 14 'यदुत्तिष्ठति वर्णेभ्यो नृपाणां क्षयि तत्फलम्। तपःषड्भागमक्षय्यं ददत्यारण्यका हि नः॥.'

2581. अतिथिर्यस्य भग्नाशो गृहात्प्रतिनिवर्तते। स तस्मै दुष्कृतं दत्त्वा पुण्यमादाय गच्छति॥ शान्तिपर्व 184. 12 (expressly quoted) as a श्लोक = Ch. ed. 191. 12), विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 67. 33, विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 15 and III. 11. 68, वराहपुराण 170. 46 (with variations).

verse [2582]: 'whatever good deeds you performed in hundreds of existences, all that will go to that party whose defeat you will bring about by your false evidence.' The Mit. and Aparārka both say that this is meant only to frighten and quote a verse of Nārada (ṛṇādāna 200) in support 'he (the judge) should frighten them (from telling lies) by citing ancient dharmaśāstra texts, by recounting the greatness of truth and by censuring falsehood.' Manu (VIII. 90), however, makes the exhortation run as follows 'Whatever good deeds you performed from your birth, the merit of all of them would go to dogs if you will depose falsely'. Manu XII. 81 says [2583] 'with whatever disposition of mind (either *sāttvika* or *rājasa* or *tāmasa*) a man does an act he reaps the fruits thereof (in a future life) in a body endowed with the same character.'

The Bhagavadgītā, apart from the fact that knowledge of reality destroyed the effects of all deeds, emphasized at the end the path of singleminded devotion (*bhakti*) to God and surrendering all one's acts and their fruits to Him 'giving up all the various paths, come to me alone as your refuge; don't grieve, I shall release you from the consequences of all evil deeds, if any, of yours'. [2584]

As regards husband and wife, the Dharmaśāstra works say a good deal but all that is said should not be taken literally. For example, Manu (V. 164–166) states [2585] 'by playing false to her husband (i. e. by adultery) the wife is censured in this world, she becomes (after death) a female jackal and is tormented by evil diseases (such as leprosy). That woman controlling herself in thought, word and deed, who does not play false to her

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2582 सुकृतं यत्त्वया किंचिज्जन्मान्तरशतैः कृतम्। तत्सर्वं तस्य जानीहि यं पराजयसे मृषा॥ या. II. 75; the मिता० says: अन्यस्यानेकजन्मार्जितसुकृतसंक्रमणस्य महापातकादिफलप्राप्तेश्चानृतवचनमात्रेणानुपपत्तेः साक्षिसंत्रासार्थमिदमुच्यते। यथाह नारदः। पुराणैर्धर्मवचनैः सत्यमाहात्म्यकीर्तनैः। अनृतस्यापवादैश्च भृशमुत्त्रासयेद्दिमान्॥ इति॥.

2583. यादृशेन तु भावेन यद्यत्कर्म निषेवते। तादृशेन शरीरेण तत्तत्फलमुपाश्नुते॥ मनु XII. 81.

2584. सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज। अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः॥ भगवद्गीता 18.63. Here dharma does not mean 'religion' but paths which are deemed to lead to man's goal and many of which are set out in Śāntiparva 342.10–16 (= Ch. ed. 354. 10–16), such as mokṣadharma, yajñadharma, rājadharma, ahiṁsādharma. The last verse in that chapter is 'एवं बहुविधैर्लोकैर्धर्मद्वारैरनावृतैः। ममापि मतिराविग्ना मेघलेखेव वायुना॥'

2585. मनु V. 164–165 are repeated in मनु IX. 30, 29.

husband, resides in the same world (heaven) as her husband, and is called a virtuous wife. A woman restrained in thought, word and deed, secures by such conduct (as is laid down for her) in this life highest renown and residence with her husband in the next world'. For hyperbolical descriptions of the power of a chaste wife (*pativratā*) in the great epic and Purāṇas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 567–568. A verse cited there may be repeated here 'just as a snake-charmer forcibly draws out from a hole a snake, so a chaste wife snatches away her husband's life from the messengers of death and reaches heaven with her husband'. This is also an *arthavāda* but it probably reflected the popular ideas of those times.

The Mahābhārata has certain interesting verses on the transference of the effects of *karma* to one's descendants. The Ādiparva states 'if the consequences of sin are not seen affecting the perpetrator, they will surely be seen in the sons or grandsons'. This again is an *arthavāda*.[2586]

It was believed that punishment by the king for a sinful deed (like a theft &c.) liquidated the consequences of the sin, made the offender pure and enabled him to reach heaven as men of good deeds do.[2587]

It is difficult to reconcile the doctrine of Karma and punar-janma with the system of Śrāddhas in which balls of rice are offered to the three paternal ancestors of the performer of śrāddha. This subject has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. IV. pp. 335–339. The offering of balls of rice to the spirits of the departed male ancestors was in vogue in the times of the Veda probably and even before the Vedas and the theory of Karma and Punar-janma arose later and as people were not prepared to give up the theory of śrāddhas, they kept both.

The popular idea of the last thought at one's death leading to a future birth appropriate to that thought in spite of a life of sin and iniquity is an interference with the working of the law of Karma and transmigration. This notion has been dealt with

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2586. नाधर्मश्चरितो ... कृन्तति ॥ पुत्रेषु वा नप्तृषु वा न चेदात्मनि पश्यति । फलत्येव ध्रुवं पापं शुक्लमुक्तमिवोद्वरे ॥ आदि 80: 2–3; the first has been quoted above on p. 1561 note 2532; to the same effect is शान्ति 139.22 (= cr. ed. 137.19) पापं कर्म कृतं किञ्चिद्यदि तस्मिन् न दृश्यते । नृपते तस्य पुत्रेषु पौत्रेष्वपि च नप्तृषु ॥

2587. राजभिः कृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः । निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा ॥ मनु VIII. 318 = वसिष्ठ 19.45 (reads धृतदण्डास्तु).

above (pp. 972–973) where it has been pointed out that that notion is not supported by the Bhagavadgītā (VIII. 5–7).

Apart from the Upaniṣads (and commentaries thereon), the Vedāntasūtras (and the bhāṣyas thereon) and the Bhagavadgītā, there are very few regular treatises on the doctrine of Karma and re-incarnation. One work comparatively early in date is the Vijñānadīpikā of Padmapāda (said to be the same as the favourite pupil of the first Śaṅkarācārya) in 71 verses (edited with a commentary and Introduction by M. M. Dr. Umesha Mishra, Allahabad, 1940) which deal with the means of achieving *mokṣa* by realizing the identity of the individual self and the Supreme Self (they being like the reflection and its original) and by annihilating karma. Some of the important verses in it have been adduced above in the notes. That work (verse 9) [2588] compares sañcīyamāna-karma to grain standing in the field, *sañcita* to grain stored in one's house and prārabdha-karma to food put in one's stomach. The food put in one's stomach is exhausted by its being digested which takes some time. Therefore, Karma of the sañcita and sañcīyamāna types is annihilated by correct knowledge, while prārabdha karma by undergoing its results for some time. It emphasizes that it is *Vairāgya* (extreme non-attachment to objects of sense) that leads to the rise of correct knowledge of Reality, to the elimination of *vāsanās* (unconsciously working impressions), to the annihilation of Karma and to cessation of rebirth.

Another work is the Janma-maraṇavicāra of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva (published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies vol. 19, 1918 A. D.). It is a small work in 25 pages.[2589] It appears to belong to the Kashmir Śaiva cult. It states that Śiva has three Śaktis, Cit-śakti (which is of the nature of light or consciousness), Svātantrya (free will, independence) and

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2588. उभयोर्ज्ञानतो नाशो भोगात्प्रारब्धकर्मणः। क्षेत्रागारोदरस्थानामक्षानामिव तद्विदा॥ वैराग्याज्ज्ञानसम्पत्तिर्वैराग्याद्वासनाक्षयः। वैराग्यात्कर्मनाशश्च कर्मनाशाज्जनेर्लयः॥ वि. दी. verses 9 and 16. The com. remarks: क्षेत्रस्थितमक्षं सञ्चीयमानं गृहस्थितमक्षं सञ्चितम्। उदरस्थितमक्षं प्रारब्धम्। तत्र क्षेत्रागारस्थितपोरक्षपोर्द्वानादिना तात्कालिकक्षपोपि सम्भवति। उदरस्थाक्षस्य तु भोगात् कालपरिपाकादेव क्षयः।

2589. The ms. of this work was copied in Laukika year 4603 i. e. 1527 A. D. The author was a disciple of योगीश्वराचार्य, probably the same as Yogarāja, who wrote a commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Abhinavagupta. So he flourished probably about 1050–1100 A. D. and at any rate before 1500 A. D.

Ānandaśakti (bliss). There are six *kañcukas* (sheaths, covers) viz. Māyā, Kalā, Śuddha-vidyā, Rāga, Kāla and Niyantraṇā. On p. 15 it says that when the bodily machine is broken, consciousness, taking hold of *prāṇana* (breathing), is carried to another body by the Ātivāhika (subtle body).[2590] This latter body becomes like a vehicle between the body that lies dead and the next physical body. The work then quotes from a Kośabhāṣya three verses which support the theory of the antarābhavadeha (the intermediate body between the dead physical body and the future physical body) and also relies on Rg. X. 85. 16.[2591] It also quotes Bhagavadgītā 14. 14–15 (yadā sattve pravṛddhe tu &c) and says that those bodily states are referred to in such Vedic passages as 'Pañcāre cakre &c' (Rg. X. 164. 13), in Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 6 (sasyam-iva martyaḥ pacyate), in 'Vāsāṁsi jīrṇāni' (Gītā II. 22). He further says that by God's grace a man becomes pure and by *dīkṣā* and other means he understands his real character and reaches Śiva. It states that all men do not attain liberation, while those who hate (discard) *dīkṣā*, temples and correct knowledge go to hell. There is very little discussion about the kinds of Karma and the removal of the effects of these.

There is another rather modern work called Prārabdha-dhvānta-saṁhṛti (destruction of the darkness i. e. ignorance about *prārabdha*) composed in *śaka* 1741 (1819 A. D.) at Pañcavaṭī near Nasik by Acyutarāya Moḍaka, a learned and prolific writer. The only known ms. is in the Mysore Government

2590. V.S. IV. 3.4, is 'ātivāhikās-talliṅgāt' and for 'antarābhavadeha', vide Ślokavārtika (ātmavāda, verse 62 p. 704 q. above in n. 2254 p. 1376) and न्या. र. यदप्यातिवाहिकं नाम शरीरं पूर्वोत्तरदेहयोरन्तराले ज्ञानसन्तानसन्धारणार्थं कल्प्यते तदपि विन्ध्यवासिना निराकृतमित्याह। अन्तरेति।

2591. द्वे ते चक्रे सूर्ये ब्रह्माण ऋतुथा विदुः। अथैकं चक्रं यद्गुहा तदद्धातय इद्विदुः॥ ऋ. X. 85.16. This literally means 'O Sūryā (daughter of the Sun)! two are thy wheels which the brāhmaṇas (or priests) know as coming at proper seasons; one of the wheels is inside a cave and is known only to *addhātis* (wise men?).' Acc. to Sāyaṇa here Sūryā addresses herself. The two wheels are the Sun and the Moon and the wheel in the 2nd half is a third one viz. the year. The Nighaṇṭu includes 'addhātayaḥ' among the twenty-four words meaning 'medhāvin' (III. 15). That word occurs only here in the whole of the Ṛgveda. The work explains 'Sūryā' as 'ātmaśakti' and takes 'cakra' as meaning 'body'; two bodies would be 'the present and the future body' and it holds that addhātayaḥ means 'yogins' and 'guhā' (in the cave) suggests that one body cannot be seen but is only known to yogins. That one body is the *ātivāhika* body according to this writer.

Oriental Library and is in Kannaḍa script. The present author got a Devanāgarī transcript of the Ms. through the kindness of the authorities of the Library.

Dr. H. G. Narahari (in N. I. A. vol. V. pp. 115–118) furnishes an account of the ms., its date and a brief description of its contents. In another paper the same scholar gives a tolerably full analysis of its contents (in J. G. J. R. I. vol. III. for 1945-46, pp. 349–367).

The author Acyutarāya states that the work really means 'Prārabdha-vāda-dhvāntasaṁhṛti' (destruction of the darkness caused by the doctrine of prārabdha) and that all that he wants is to combat the false idea that all human acts from the moment of conception to death are governed by past deeds alone to the exclusion of everything else. He postulates that all human activity is due to *prārabdha*, to *saṁskāras* (sub-conscious or latent impressions or tendencies) and *prayatna* (human effort). He explains : the moment after the body dies, all the accumulated good and bad deeds set in motion by God become ready to yield their retribution (results) and that a good or evil deed (or both) that is strongest begins a suitable body. The birth is that of a brāhmaṇa or the rest when there is mixed good and evil as the strongest karma, as a lower animal when sin is strongest, as a godly birth when a good deed is strongest. The duration of life may be 100 years, less or more, and *bhoga* means experiencing pleasure or pain that is regarded as favourable or unfavourable.[2592] Then he launches on the discussion of pleasure (*sukha*) as threefold, viz. illusory (prātibhāsika), actual (vyāvahārika) or actual due to illusory pleasure. Pleasure is again *ramya* (beautiful) and *priya* (dear or liked). These two are not synonymous, since gold would appear beautiful to an ascetic but it is not dear to him. Then he divides what is *priya* into three kinds (or degrees). He divides each of the three kinds of pleasure into three varieties, which are passed over here. The preceding are classifications of pleasure that is 'Laukikakārya' (ordinary or common); but there are also other sukhas, viz. *vaidika* [fourfold such as pratikopāsanā, āhārya (assumed) and *vāsanātmaka*

2592. प्रारब्धकरणकः संस्कारकरणकः प्रयत्नकरणकश्चापि निरुक्तव्यवहारः। देहपात-व्यवहितोत्तरक्षणे परमेश्वरेरितानि सर्वाणि सञ्चितपुण्यपापानि फलदानोन्मुखानि भवन्ति। तेषां मध्ये यद् बलवत्पुण्यं पापं वोभयं वा तद्भावितदेहमारभज्जात्यायुर्भोगदं प्रारब्धमित्युच्यते। तत्र जातिर्ब्राह्मणादिर्मिश्रे तिर्यक्त्वादि पापे देवत्वादिः पुण्ये। आयुः शतवर्षादि यथायथम्। भोगस्त्वनुकूलप्रतिकूलवेदनीयलक्षणयोः सुखदुःखयोः साक्षात्कार एव। pp. 4–5 of the transcript. He relies on the योगसूत्र II. 13 सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यायुर्भोगाः।

(as in sleep)]. This last he subdivides into three kinds (sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa) that are passed over. Pain (duḥkha) is divisible in the same way as sukha and the author illustrates the different kinds of pain, that are left out here. Then the author dilates upon the cause or causes of pleasure and pain (sukha and duḥkha) that constitute man's experience on earth, which causes are prārabdha (past *karma* that has begun to operate and determines the body the soul secures), *saṁskāra* and *prayatna*.[2593] He states that the bliss that a man feels in meditation (samādhi) is due to *prārabdha*, the pleasure he feels in deep sleep is due to saṁskāras[2594] and the pleasure on the fall of rain after the performance of the Kārīrī (sacrifice) is due to human effort From the Upanisad passages it follows (says Acyutarāya) that in deep sleep there is no desire, no karma and no fear and so the pleasure (expressed on waking in the words 'sukham-ahamasvāpsam' (I had a happy sleep) is not due to prārabdha but to saṁskāras. He relies on the Bṛ. Up.[2595] (IV. 4. 2) for holding this view (i. e. he takes 'pūrvaprajñā' in that passage as equal to *vāsanā* ('latent impressions or reminiscences of past experiences). The activities of a person in past lives may be madhya[2596] (middling or moderate),

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2593. एवमेतादृशसुखदुःखक्षयोर्मनुष्यादीनां भोगः प्रारब्धतः संस्कारतः प्रयत्नतश्च भवति। p. 14 of transcript.

2594. The छान्दोग्योप० avers that in deep sleep man's soul loses personal consciousness and becomes merged in the *Sat* (the True, *brahma*). उद्दालको हारुणिः श्वेतकेतुं पुत्रमुवाच। स्वप्नान्तं मे सोम्य विजानीहीति। यत्रैतत्पुरुषः स्वपिति नाम सता सोम्य तदा संपन्नो भवति। तस्मादेनं स्वपितीत्याचक्षते। स्वं ह्यपीतो भवति। छा. उप. VI. 8.1. In स्वपिति, स्व means 'his own i. e. Self', पिति represents अपीत (absorbed). अपीति or अप्यय means लय. The वे. सू. I. 1, 9 (स्वाप्ययात्) and IV. 4. 16 are based on this Chāndogya text; compare बृह. उप. IV. 3. 19 यत्र 'सुप्तो न कंचन कामं कामयते न कंचन स्वप्नं पश्यति.'

2595. तमुत्क्रामन्तं प्राणोऽनूत्क्रामति। ... तं विद्याकर्मणी समन्वारभेते पूर्वप्रज्ञा च। बृह. उप. IV. 4.2, quoted by अच्युतराय on p. 16 of the transcript. शङ्कराचार्य explains: तं परलोकाय गच्छन्तमात्मानं ... विद्या च कर्म च ... विद्या सर्वप्रकारा विहिता प्रतिषिद्धा च अविहिता अप्रतिषिद्धा च तथा कर्म विहितं प्रतिषिद्धं च अविहितमप्रतिषिद्धं च समन्वारभेते ... अनुगच्छतः। पूर्वप्रज्ञा च। पूर्वानुभूतविषया प्रज्ञा पूर्वप्रज्ञा अतीतकर्मफलानुभवनासनेत्यर्थः।. वे. सू. III. 4.5 and 11 refer to this passage and explain it. अच्युतराय quotes a verse: कर्मणः क्रियमाणस्य संस्कारो यो ह्यवि स्थितः। तत्फलस्य च भुक्तस्य पूर्वप्रज्ञेति सोच्यते॥ (which is बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्-भाष्यवार्तिक p. 1743, verse 118) p. 17 transcript. पूर्वप्रज्ञा (knowledge or acquaintance with former things) is postulated for explaining the peculiar genius or deficiency observed in children.

2596. एवं मध्यमन्दतीव्राभिधाऽप्यपि जन्मान्तरीयकर्मण्येव तारतम्यात्तथा तथोद्भवानि। तत्र त्रिपादसात्त्विकमेकपादराजसं पुण्यं मध्यम्। एवं द्विपाद्-सात्त्विक द्विपादराजसमपि

(*Continued on next page*)

manda (inferior), tīvra (formidable). A good deed which is three parts sāttvika and one part rājasa is called madhya; a deed which is half sāttvika and half rājasa is tīvra. Then Acyutarāya refers to a conflict of views. Following the words 'puṇyo vai puṇyena karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpena' (Bṛ. Up. III. 3. 13 quoted in note 2510 above), some writers held that it is only Karma that is the cause of a new birth and that vidyā (knowledge of all kinds) and pūrvaprajñā have nothing to do with it, while others relying on Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 2 (to which reference is made in the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka III. 18) held that Vidyā, Karma and Pūrvaprajñā have all to do with the assumption of a new body by the soul. Achyutarāya agrees with this latter view. He divides and subdivides Karma, vidyā and pūrvaprajñā, so that ultimately the threefold apparatus for giving a new body comes to 96 varieties and remarks that these divisions are not of much use.[2597] To the objection that all this refutation of prārabdhavāda is idle and serves no purpose he replies: men are of three sorts, mukta (liberated), mumukṣu (desirous of liberation) and viṣayin (immersed in enjoying the objects of sense). As regards the first the Chān. Up. VI. 14. 2 says 'for him there is delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body), then he will be perfect'.[2598] The same is relied upon in V. S. IV. 1. 19. The idea being that until prārabdhakarma that brought about the body in which Realisation was attained is done away with by the death of the body, the self is jīvanmukta, but his other karma that has not begun to yield fruit is done away with by Realisation, To the same effect is Bhagavadgītā.

Acyutarāya quotes thirteen verses from Vārtikasāra about Vāsanā (pūrvaprajñā), Karma and Vidyā (pp. 31–33). He

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(*Continued from last page*)

किंचित्पापोपसृष्टं तीव्रमिति । p. 18 transcript. There is some mistake in making this transcript. Probably a line is omitted. What is half Sāttvika and half rājasa and slightly affected by viciousness should be called *manda* and *tīvra* should be described as one part sāttvika and three parts rājasa and predominantly sinful.

2597. एतदुदाहरणानि तु पूर्वाचार्योक्तविशेष स्वयमेवोह्यानि विस्तरभयादनतिप्रयोजनत्वाच्च नेह विविच्यन्ते । p. 29 (transcript).

2598. तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्ये इति । छा. उप. VI. 14.2. विमोक्ष्ये and संपत्स्ये are in the first person singular. The father Āruṇi instructs the son Śvetaketu. When he reaches the stage of describing the step of Mokṣa due to realisation he passes on to the first person from the third and states about himself 'I shall become mukta and perfect at that stage.'

quotes the Jīvanmuktiviveka on the three means of jīvanmukti viz. *tattvajñāna* (knowledge of the Reality as enunciated in 'Tat-tvamasi' Chān. Up. VI. 8. 7, 'Aham brahmāsmi' Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 10), *manonāśa* (disappearance of the activities of the mind) and *Vāsanākṣaya* (destruction of the instincts of anger &c). Then he gives a lengthy disquisition on the condemnation of prārabdhavāda and the superiority of effort from the Vāsiṣṭha-Rāmāyaṇa. About *mumukṣu* Acyutarāya advises going to a guru as laid down in Muṇḍakopaniṣad I. 2. 12 (tadvijñānārtham sa gurumevābhigacchet &c).

The present author has read either wholly or partially the following modern works, mostly written by Western scholars on Karma and rebirth, that either offer remarks for or against that doctrine. The space at the author's disposal precludes any detailed statement about the objections raised against this doctrine in some of them. But a few important objections will be stated and will be briefly dealt with. The works read or consulted are: "Philosophy of the Upanishads" by Paul Deussen, translated by A. S. Geden (1906) pp. 313-338; J. R. A.S. for 1906 pp. 586–593 and for 1907 pp. 665–72 on modifications of the doctrine of Karma by E. W. Hopkins; 'Transmigration of souls' by Alfred Berthelot, translated by H. J. Chaytor (Harper, London, 1909); 'Karma and redemption' by A. G. Hogg (ed. of 1910); 'Religion and immortality' by G. Lowes Dickinson (Dent, 1911); 'Re-incarnation' by E.D. Walker (Rider and Co., London, 1913); this book contains extracts from Western authors (22 in number) on re-incarnation (pp. 63–124); there is also a long chapter (pp. 127–191) of extracts from Western Poetry on the same subject; he also deals with evidences of the doctrine in the Bible and early Christendom and a Bibliography on pp. 329-343; 'Fate and free will' by Ardesar Sorabji N. Wadia (Dent and Sons, London 1915). He states the problem to be 'whether fate by itself influences and directs the course of human evolution or freewill by itself or both fate and freewill working conjointly lay down the lines along which human progress must lie'. He states that it must be the one or the other and that it can never be both (p. 180). He himself believes in a fixed and determinist future; 'Immortality' essays on, by B.H. Streeter and others (Macmillan & Co. 1917); pp. 293-317 deal with re-incarnation and Karma by Miss Lily Dougall and pp. 317–341 deal with modern Theosophy which adopts the doctrines of re-incarnation and Karma; 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by A. B. Keith, vol. II. pp. 570-584; 'Karma and re-

incarnation' by Paul Yevtic (Luzac & Co., London, 1927); L'Ame et le Dogme de la Transmigration dans les Livres Sacres de L'Inde ancienne' by Eric de Henseler, Paris, 1928; 'Some dogmas of Religion' by McTaggart with Introduction by C. D. Broad (London, 1930 pp. 77–111 on 'Human Immortality'), pp. 112–139 on human pre-existence, pp. 140–185 on Free Will; 'Vicissitudes of karma doctrine' by Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya in Malaviya Commemoration Volume (1932) pp. 491–526; 'Reincarnation for every man' by Shaw Desmond (Rider & Co., London). This work mentions in chap. VIII European great men that believed in this doctrine; 'The scales of karma' by Owen Rutter (London). This book contains numerous references to Greek and Roman writers and to modern English and German poets and philosophers from whose works extracts are cited for showing that they believed in Karma and reincarnation such as Shakespeare, Hume, Goethe, Wordsworth; 'Indian Philosophy', by Dr.S. Radhakrishnan (1941) pp. 244–249; 'The circle of life' by Kenneth Walker (Jonathan Cape, London, 1942) chap. VIII and IX pp. 81–104; 'Karma and re-birth' by Christmas Humphreys (London, 1944); in chap. VII. pp. 62–66 he tries to show that Schopenhauer, Tennyson, Browning, Rossetti and John Masefield, the English Poet Laureate, believe in this doctrine; 'The problem of re-birth' by Sri Aurobindo (Pondicherry, 1952); 'The Brahmasūtras' by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (1959), pp. 194–207 of the Introduction; 'The dogma of re-incarnation' by J. E. Sanjana (New Book Co., Bombay, 1954) pp. 1–134 with an Appendix on the rationale of the dogma of rebirth, pp. 137–157. This is one of the largest and latest works on 're-incarnation' that the present author read. Mr. Sanjana writes bitterly and sometimes in offensive language about those from whom he differs. He asserts that he is a true Zoroastrian and that 'it can be said without any exaggeration and with the most perfect reason and justice that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian' (p. 125). None need quarrel with his first belief, but the latter part of the sentence invites serious consideration. He appears to aver that he has a monopoly of the true doctrines of Zoroastrianism and like the Roman Church and the Popes, that held that the true religion was only in their keeping and that all others (even those who believed in the Bible and Christ) were damned, holds that Zoroastrians believing in re-incarnation are apostates. I shall cite only one or two Parsi scholars who hold just the opposite view. Mr. R. F. Gorvala contributed a paper on the "Immortal Soul, its pre-existence,

persistence after death and transmigration" to the Spiegel Commemoration Volume edited by no less a Parsi scholar than Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1908) pp. 99–124, in which he states (p. 124) 'that the Hindu doctrine of the transmigration of the soul influenced the faith of the ancient Zoroastrians *in all times*. Indeed the struggle between Good and Evil could not end in the triumph of the former if but one brief life was the only time given for the fight.' *Vide also* 'Philosophy of Zoroastrianism' by Faredun K. Dadachanji (Bombay, Times of India Press, 1941) pp. 108–133, particularly pp. 116 ff. Mr. Sanjana seems to have been much upset by the fact that some Parsis, who were scholars of Avesta and Sanskrit, became Theosophists and admirers of Mrs. Besant and other famous personages in the Theosophist movement. Nearly half the main book of 129 pages is concerned with the criticisms (sometimes extremely offensive) of the doings and writings of Madame Blavatsky (pp. 28–42), Mrs. Besant (pp. 43–51), C. W. Leadbeater (pp. 57–59), A. P. Sinnett and others (like Col. Olcott and Mr. K. A. K. Iyer, author of 'Vedanta), W. Q. Judge and a Gujarati book of an unnamed scholar (pp. 59–73). On pp. 82–88 he deals with McTaggart, G. L. Dickinson and W. Lutosowski (Polish writer who claims that he remembers his many past lives). Mr. Sanjana returns (pp. 89–103) to the charge against the Theosophists and the storms aud eruptions in the Theosophical society and considers some works on Sufism also (pp. 106–115). He emphasises the good points of Zoroastrianism as certified by W. B. Henning, J. W. Waterhouse and Hopkins. He does not devote much thought to the objections, more or less insuperable, against all monotheistic religions with a personal God in such works as Hobhouse's 'Morals in Evolution' part 2, though in the appendix (on p. 140) he has to admit that no satisfactory answer can be given to the question why an omnipotent and omniscient God should allow Evil to exist. He contrasts Zoroaster's religion and philosophy with Hinduism and Buddhism and winds up with an article by Winternitz (pp. 119–121) and then ends on an illuminating personal note in which he confesses (p. 126) that he in his youth was particularly attracted by the doctrine of re-incarnation eloquently propounded by Mrs. Besant, but later he became sceptical about what was said by Mrs. Besant. Neophytes generally indulge in opprobrious language for the cult once ardently professed by them and later abjured and Mr. Sanjana seems to be no exception to this. I may mention here only one or two instances of his language against Theosophists;

on p. 64 he speaks of Blavatsky, Mrs. Besant, Sinnett and Leadbeater as "proved charlatans" and on p. 95 he writes about Mrs. Besant's entry into Politics as "these later metamorphoses of the megalomaniac Mrs. Besant". It appears to the present writer that his study of original Sanskrit works is not deep and that he commits serious mistakes in the small portion of his work that he devotes to the ancient Indian view of the doctrine of re-incarnation. His wrong interpretation of Manu VI. 63 (p. 10 of his book) has been pointed out (on p. 1565). Some more cases of mistakes may be cited here. On p. 11 of his book he relies on Thibaut for the statement that there is nothing in the sūtras (the Vedānta-sūtras) to warrant the main doctrine of Śaṅkara about two Vidyās, the higher (*parā*) and the lower (*aparā*), which respectively lead to the higher (para) *brahma* and the lower (apara) brahma. If he had carefully read only a few of the eleven principal Upaniṣads (the Īśāvāsya, Kena, Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka, Praśna) he would have found for himself that Thibaut is not a trustworthy guide in all cases. The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (I. 1. 4–5) speaks of two vidyās, parā and aparā 'dve vidye veditavye parā ca, aparā ca, atha parā yayā tadakṣaram adhigamyate' and this Muṇḍaka text is treated as the basis of Vedāntasūtra I. 2. 21–23 by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. The Praśna Upaniṣad 2 states both *para* and *apara brahma* 'etadvai Satyakāma param cāparam ca brahma yad-oṁkāraḥ". On pp. 21, 121, 146 he alleges that the words "yadahareva virajet tadahareva pravrajet" (a man should become a sannyāsin the very day on which he feels disgust for this worldly life) are a dictum or saying of Śaṅkara. But this text is taken from the Jābālopaniṣad 4. The whole passage of the Jābālopaniṣad 4 on the āśramas is quoted by Śaṅkara on Vedāntasūtra III. 4. 20 and Śaṅkara calls it Jābālaśruti. On p. 22 Mr. Sanjana quotes Bhagavadgītā (IX. 32, 'mām hi pārtha vyapāśritya yepi syuḥ pāpayonayaḥ, striyo vaiśyās-tathā śudrās-tepi yānti parām gatim) and holds that women, vaiśyas and śūdras are declared to be included under 'pāpayonayaḥ' (of evil or sinful birth). This is quite wrong. A Vaiśya from very ancient times belonged to the three higher classes and in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad V. 10. 7, it is expressly stated that Vaiśyayoni is of good birth (those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmaṇa or of a kṣatriya or of a vaiśya, but those whose conduct has been evil will attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'. So vaiśya's was good

birth in Chān. Upaniṣad. Women of the higher classes could not study the Veda in medieval times but women of the three higher classes co-operated with their husbands in all religious rites (including Vedic sacrifices). Therefore, the Gītā first mentions the worst case viz. that of Cāṇḍālas and affirms that even Cāṇḍālas (who belonged to the lowest class) would attain the highest goal if they surrendered themselves as devotees to God and then adds three more classes of people viz. women, vaiśyas and śūdras. A Śūdra was never among untouchables; on the contrary, early Smṛtis like Manu VI. 253, Yājñavalkya I. 166, Parāśara XI. 19 provide that a brāhmaṇa could take food at the house of a śūdra provided the latter was born of his slave woman or cultivated the brāhmaṇa's fields on the rent of half share of crops or was the friend of his family or tended his cattle or was his barber. In medieval times (after the 5th or 6th century A.D.), however, the caste system became more rigid but even up to the 12th century A.D. a brāhmaṇa could take food at a śūdra's house in extreme calamity (vide History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. III. pp. 952–53). Thereafter this was forbidden and was included among Kalivarjya acts. The vaiśyas are probably equated with women and śūdras because in their pursuit of wealth they never cared to study the Veda and Upaniṣads. Other passages of Mr. Sanjana's work are not cited for criticism for reasons of space.

Some of the objections raised by Western thinkers and writers against the doctrine of Karma and re-incarnation will now be mentioned and briefly dealt with. One or two preliminary matters have to be emphasized. Many in the West regard our life after the death of the bodies as certain, but hardly anyone of them regards our life before our present bodies as a possibility. The explanation of this attitude of many Western thinkers lies in the fact that in modern Western thought the great support of the belief in immortality of the soul has been the Christian religion, which is supposed not to recognize the pre-existence of the soul. Besides, Christian writers from Augustine onwards firmly believed that religious truths outside the revelation in the Bible as interpreted by them were a work of the devil. McTaggart in 'Some Dogmas of religion' (London, 1930) attacks this attitude. He holds (p. 113) that any evidence which will prove immortality will also prove pre-existence and that there is nothing in pre-existence that is incompatible with any of the dogmas that are generally accepted as fundamental

to Christianity.' L. P. Jacks in 'Near the brink' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1952, pp. 10–11) holds the same opinion (at the age of 92) as McTaggart's. Wordsworth in his famous Ode appears to agree that the present life is preceded by another existence when he says 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting, the soul that rises with us, our life's star, had elsewhere its setting and cometh from afar.' L. P. Jacks in the work mentioned above remarks (on p. 9) that an endless punishment is not, strictly speaking, a punishment at all but an exercise of cruelty or vengeance and that the same is true of an endless reward.

The first objection raised against the doctrine of Karma by Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of immortality' (Oxford, 1922) is that absence of memory of the pre-existence is fatal to it (p. 112) and that immortality without recollection is quite useless. Miss Lily Dougall in 'Immortality' by Canon Streeter and others raises a similar objection (p. 29). This objection can be answered in various ways. Does any one remember anything of what one did during the first two years of his life? It is also well-known that men do not correctly remember in old age even the names of their grand-children nor does a man remember what he did exactly ten years ago during his present life. It is rather merciful that there is no memory of past lives. If all the multifarious memories of many lives were to crowd on us in the present life, our minds would be confused and matters in the present life would be very much complicated. Karma is a cosmic law like the law of gravitation. The latter was not recognized by humanity for thousands of years but all the same it existed and worked. Several people claim to remember their past lives. The story of Śāntidevī was published as a case of re-incarnation by Lala Deshbhandhu Gupta, Pandit Nekiram Sharma, and Tarachand Mathur. The 'Theosophist Monthly' for January 1925 mentions concrete instances of the memory of past lives. 'The lives of Alcyone' (Adyar, 1924) is a work in two volumes by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Leadbeater in which 48 lives are traced from 70000 B. C. to 624 A. D. with photographs of some of them as they must have appeared in the respective incarnations. The present author does not go into that question here. In the Essays on Immortality edited by B. H. Streeter it is said (on p. 297) that lack of conscious continuity between two incarnations of a soul negatives the doctrine. One may ask: what grounds are there to hold or to prove that the reprobate criminal who will be awarded a judgment of eternal punish-

ment will remember while undergoing hell fires his past life on earth? If one can believe in future eternal punishment for a confirmed sinner without any tangible evidence of memory of the sinful life he lived, why refuse to believe in pre-existence merely on the ground of absence of memory? Vide 'Some Dogmas &c.' p. 130. Further, science holds that matter and energy are indestructible, they are only transformed into other forms. Why should one regard it as absurd if one were to hold that the soul (to which post-existence is granted by Christianity and some other religions) should be held to come into existence in the present life all at once and not be held to have had previous existence but only in a different form? The continuity of the soul in past and future existences is merely a metaphysical question and cannot be affected by the loss of memory. The latter occurs in one life of many years as to numerous happenings and at least in that one life the soul is admittedly one throughout.

Another objection is on the ground of heredity. We often find a strong likeness between parents and children in body and sometimes in mental faculties also. How are we to explain this? One answer may be that by some law not yet discovered the soul that has to undergo rebirth is born to parents suited to his condition. Besides, children are not exactly like their parents, some resemble in several physical features the mother or the father, but not in all and children of the same parents differ among themselves even as regards physical features. As regards mental qualities, children do not very often resemble their parents. What sort of mental equipment was possessed by the parents of such men of genius as Shakespeare, Newton, Ramanujan, Einstein? Karma does not express what a man inherits from his ancestors, but it expresses that which he inherits from himself in some previous state or states of existence.

Another objection is often raised that belief in the doctrine of Karma would make men callous to human misery and suffering and unwilling to help. This also is a perverse idea. From the ancient Vedic times charity and compassion have been inculcated as the duties of all men without distinction. The Ṛgveda (X. 117. 6) sage declares 'that man who cooks food for himself and eats it himself alone simply incurs sin' (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī). The Bṛ. Up. V. 2. 3 prescribes for all men the three duties viz. self-restraint, charity and compassion. If

a man having the means to help another does not offer help he would be failing in his duty. It is possible that the result of the sufferer's Karma might have been meant to be mitigated by the kindness of helpers.

Another objection is sometimes raised as follows. The population of the earth is growing rapidly. The question is: where do the additional egoes come from (vide Berthelot's work, English tr. p. 127 and J. E. Sanjana's book on the 'Dogma of re-incarnation' p. 81). Several answers are possible. Several species of lower animals have become extinct and the number of wild animals such as the lion is rapidly being reduced. It is possible for one who believes in Karma doctrine to argue that the selves that were masquerading as beasts now appear as human beings, because their Karma that reduced them to the state of beasts has been exhausted.

Some of the Purāṇas declare that a man who is very sinful may reach lower and lower states e. g. the Vāyupurāṇa[2599] (chap. 14 verses 34–37) provides that a very sinful man may become *paśu* (cattle or a beast), then deer, then a bird, then a creeping insect and then a tree or other immobile object. Theosophists and some modern scholars hold that once the human state is reached there is no regression at all. It may be noted that the Kaṭhopaniṣad expressly states (in V. 6–7) that after the death of the body the souls take up birth in other bodies, while some become tree-trunks according to their actions and knowledge. The Ch. Up. V. 10. 7 says 'those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or hog or cāṇḍāla.' Manu (XII. 9) avers that a man is reduced by bodily sins to the stage of a tree-trunk, by sins due to speech to being a bird or a beast and by mental sins to lowest births (of a cāṇḍāla etc.). In verses 62–68 of chapter XII, Manu describes the different births of various animals by the commission of thefts of various articles and in verses 52–59 the births due to the grave sins of brāhmaṇa-murder, drinking liquor, incest. The Yājñavalkya Smṛti (III. 213–215) also contains provisions similar to Manu XII. 53–59. The Yogasūtra II. 13 also suggests that the retribution for various sins results in being

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2599. कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यद्यभीक्ष्णं निषेव्यते। तत्तथा हरेत्पापं तस्मात्सुकृतमाचरेत्॥ पाञ्चरज्जातानि पापानि पूर्वं कर्माणि देहिनः। संसारं तामसं ताद्दक् षड्विधं प्रतिपद्यते॥ मानुष्यं पशुभावं च पशुभावाच्च सूगो भवेत्। सूगत्वात्पक्षिभावं तु तस्माच्चैव सरीसृपः॥ सरीसृपत्वाद्वृक्षत्वं स्थावरत्वं न संशयः। वायुपु. 14. 34–37.

born in low births or dying prematurely or experiencing misery and suffering.

It is rather difficult to regard all this body of authority as mere arthavādas (not meant to be taken seriously but intended only to frighten intending sinners). Dr. Radhakrishnan (in 'An idealist view of life' ed. of 1932) suggests that it is possible that rebirth in animal form is a figure of speech for rebirth as human beings with animal or beastly qualities (page 292).

SECTION X

The fundamental conceptions and characteristics of Hindu (Bhāratīya) culture and civilization from the Vedic times to about 1800 A. D. and future trends.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Fundamental and leading characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization

It is necessary to gather together the threads scattered over six thousand pages of the History of Dharmaśāstra and to emphasize the fundamental and leading characteristics and conceptions of Hindu culture and civilization.

The word Hindu (in the form 'Hidu') appears to have been applied by the Persian[2600] Emperors Darius (522–486 B. C.) and Xerxes (486–465 B. C.) to the territory and people to the west and to the east of the great river Sindhu, while the Greeks referred to the people in the same region as 'Indoi', from which comes the word 'Indian'. Herodotus in his History (Loeb series) states that the Thracians were the biggest nation in the world next to the Indians (Book 5 para 3, vol. III p. 5) and that the Indians constituted the 20th province of the Persian Empire and paid 360 talents of gold dust as tribute. The word 'Sindhu' occurs more than two hundred times in the Ṛgveda alone in the singular as well as in the plural. The words 'Sindhavaḥ' and 'Sapta Sindhūn' occur more frequently than Sindhu in the singular. Indra is often described as having let loose the seven Sindhus for flowing (Ṛg. I. 32.12, II. 12.12, IV. 28.1, VIII. 96.1, X. 43.3). In such passages what is meant is the great river Sindhu and its tributaries (or possibly its seven mouths).

2600. Vide the Naqkh-i-Rustam Inscription of Dāraya-ush (Darius) and the Persepolis Inscription of Kshayārsha (Xerxes) in 'Select Inscriptions' edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, No. 4 p. 10 and No. 5 p. 12. Sanskrit 'sa' is changed to 'ha' even now in some parts of our country. The ancient Parsi scripture Vendidad (S.B.E. Vol IV p. 2) mentions sixteen lands out of which nine can be identified, the 15th being Hapta Hindu (Sapta Sindhu).

Many passages of the Ṛgveda where the singular is employed refer to the river Sindhu alone (as in Ṛg. II. 15.6, IV. 30.12, V. 4.9 &c). In Ṛg. II. 15.6 it is said that Indra made Sindhu flow northwards. This would obviously refer to the first part of the river flowing northward from the Himālayas. Pāṇini uses the word 'Sindhu' as the name of a country in IV. 3.93 ('Saindhava' means one who or whose ancestors lived in the Sindhu country). For the fluctuating limits of Āryāvarta, vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 11–16 and p. 1525, note 2483 above, where Ṛg. passages about Bharatas are set out and it is shown that the Purāṇas speak of Bharata-varṣa as of the same extent as that of modern India and the name is said to have been due to Bharata, son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. Bharatavarṣa occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (line 10 on p. 79) which cannot be assigned to a date later than the 1st century[2601] B. C. It has been shown above (p. 1016 n. 1649) that Aśoka in one of his edicts refers to his kingdom as Jambudvīpa. Even in these days in the rather long *saṅkalpa* (declaration) at the beginning of a religious act in Mahārāṣṭra, occur the words 'Jambudvīpe Bharatavarṣe Bauddhāvatāre Godāvaryā dakṣiṇe tīre' &c. Therefore, the proper word to be used by us for our country should be Bharatavarṣa. It may be said that our culture and civilization had throughout the past ages a geographical background. The Constitution of India has recognized this in its very first Article which runs 'India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of States'. In view of the fact, however, that the words 'Hindu' and 'Indian' have been employed for centuries by foreign as well as our own writers, this work will employ those words instead of 'Bharatavarṣa'.

The words 'culture' and 'civilization' are used as synonyms by some writers, while some others regard them as quite distinguishable. These two are defined in various ways by scholars. A few definitions are set out here by way of sample.

Dr. Tyler states (in 'Primitive Culture' vol. I p. 1, Murray, London, 1871) 'Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and

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2601. Vide E. I. vol. XX pp. 71–89. Scholars differ about the date of this Inscription, Jayaswal holding (*ibid.* p. 77) that it belongs to the first half of the 2nd century B. C., while N. N. Ghosh in J. G. J. R. I. vol. VI pp. 97–106 opines that it belongs to the last quarter of the first century B. C.

any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'. Matthew Arnold's definition of culture in his lengthy essay on 'Culture and Anarchy' (1869, Preface p. VIII) is rather restricted in scope. He regards culture as a 'pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we know follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically'. Prof. P. A. Sorokin in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics' (1957, p. 2) defines human culture as 'the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behaviour.[2602]' Prof. Edgerton in Journal of American Oriental Society in a paper on the 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian Culture' (vol. 62 for 1942 pp. 151–156) understands culture as a total way of life viewed as a norm and as such approved or at least tolerated by a people as a whole and by its articulate representatives generally.

Prof. Toynbee in 'Civilizations on trial' (1948) states (p. 223) 'I mean by a civilization the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of his own country, U. S. A., say, or U. K.' Prof. Toynbee in his latest work 'Reconsiderations' (vol. XII pp. 76–77, of his Study of History) adopts Bagbey's definition of culture as meaning 'regularities in the behaviour, internal and external,

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2602. Prof. Sorokin (*ibid.* pp. 24–25) distinguishes two types of integrated cultures, one called ideational and the other sensate. None of the two has, according to him, existed in the purest form. In some cultures the first type prevails, in others the 2nd; while in still others both might mingle in equal proportions and on equal basis. This last he terms 'idealistic type' (which is not to be confused with the ideational type). Dr. G. S. Ghurye's 'Culture and Society' (University of Bombay Publications, 1947) is a very useful book on culture and civilization and considers at length the views of eminent writers like Emerson, Arnold, Morley, Whitehead, Russell, Laski, Wells and others. Prof. Northrop in 'Meeting of East and West' (1946) and Prof. Sorokin in 'Social Philosophies in an age of crisis' (London, 1952) p. 145 hold that the total culture of a nation in the East or West is not a mere heap of numerous phenomena unrelatied to each other but rather as grounded in differing philosophical conceptions of the nature of man and of the universe.

of the members of a Society, excluding those regularities which are clearly hereditary in origin' and adds that 'religious practices and institutions and, by implication, also religious beliefs and experiences are certainly a part of culture as thus defined' and mentions religion together with art, technology, social structure as examples of the elements of which culture consists (pp. 84, 95). Prof. Toynbee further says that in his volumes he employed the word 'culture' in two different senses, viz. (1) the comprehensive one in which it is used by Bagby and (2) in an exclusive sense in which the word has been current in contemporary English since the time of Matthew Arnold (*ibidi.* p. 272). As regards the word 'civilization' he remarks (p. 273) that civilization is a hybrid word of modern French coinage and Johnson refused to include it in his dictionary.

Archibald Robertson (in 'Rationalism in theory and practice', London, 1954 p. 62) says "when we use the word 'civilization', we mean a society with enough command over nature to raise it above savagery or barbarism. Civilization primarily means 'civitas' city life, division of labour and consequent surplus production over and above mere animal needs.' Vide Prof. S. Levi's book 'L' Inde et le Monde' p 63 translated in H. Kraemer's 'World cultures and world religions' (London 1960) p. 345 where it is really a definition of Hindu civilization alone.

It is unnecessary to cite further definitions. We may accept any one of these for a working hypothesis. If a distinction is to be made between the two words, one may say that the word 'culture', being neutral in meaning, is the better one to use than the word 'civilization'. The latter word is often employed for an advanced stage of social development and is contrasted with the stage of primitive or barbarian societies. People often speak of primitive culture, but rarely, if at all, of primitive civilization.

During the last 6000 years of human history, several cultures and civilizations rose and fell. Spengler, a militarist and anti-rationalistic author, who does not rely on religion, morality or politics but is a votary of force, examines about thirty civilizations and cultures and propounds the thesis that all of them (except seven or eight) follow a certain common pattern, viz. they are born, grow, decline and die and that once defunct they are not revived. Prof. Toynbee, a Christian (and

not a militarist) in his 'Study of History' appears to arrive at conclusions not unlike those of Śpengler, viz. culture and societies have stages of childhood, maturity, senility and disintegration. On p. 758 of Volume IX of his 'Study of History' he gives a table for nineteen civilizations with the dates of their Epiphany (manifestation), of their breakdown and the span of growth phase in number of years. He puts down Indic civilization as starting in 1375 B. C. and as breaking down in 725 B. C. and Hindu civilization as beginning in 775 A. D. and its breakdown in 1175 A. D. This is, to say the least, most objectionable.[2603] The distinction between Indic and Hindu civilization is arbitrary and the dates also are so. Why the Hindu civilization is held by him as breaking down in 1175 A. D. is quite unconvincing and what was the nature or name of India's civilization between 725 B. C. and 775 A. D. is not stated by him. On the other hand, the whole metaphor of being born, growing, maturing and disintegrating is held inapplicable to civilizations by other distinguished writers, such as J. G. De Beus in the 'Future of the West' (London, 1953), who remarks that civilizations are not born and they do not die (p. 60), but are transformed or absorbed. Prof. Sorokin asserts (in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics') that his theory has little in common with the age-old theories of the life cycle of culture and societies with stages of childhood, maturity, senility and decay (p. 627). Leonard Woolf in 'Quack, quack' mercilessly criticizes Spengler's theories (pp. 139–160). A. L. Kroeber in 'Style and Civilizations' (New York, 1957) agrees with Prof. Sorokin and disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee and remarks that 'the study of civilizations can hardly become truly scientific or scholarly until it divests itself of emotional concern about crisis, decay, collapse, extinction and doom' (p. 160).

Among the numerous civilizations and cultures that flourished in the world there are only two (namely, the Indian and the Chinese) that have survived and kept up a continuity of tradition for four thousand years (if not more) in spite of recurrent invasions by foreign hordes like those by Persians,

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2603. While these pages were passing through the press, I received Prof. Toynbee's 'Reconsiderations' (Vol. XII of his Study of History) on p. 184 of which he revises his opinion by saying "the maintenance of the brahmans' monopoly of the religious ministry gives Indian History a continuity throughout the period running from the Aryan invasion to the impact of the West".

Greeks, Scythians, Huns, Turks and notwithstanding internal conflicts and convulsions.[2604] India absorbed such people and made many Greeks, Śakas and other foreigners adopt the spiritual ideologies of India and found for them a place in the Indian social fabric (as has been and will be shown later). Not only so, India could spread its literature, religion, art and culture, not by invasions or annexations but mostly by peaceful means, viz. teaching, translations of Sanskrit works and persuasion, to Ceylon, Burma, Sumatra, Malaya, Java, Bali, Borneo, China, Tibet, Japan, Mongolia and Corea.[2605] The charming island of Bali is still Hindu with four varṇas, priests being called Pedanda (Pandita), consecrated water for worship being called *Toya* (vide S. Levi's 'Sanskrit texts from Bali' Preface p. XIII G. O. S.), priests still repeating one quarter of Gāyatrī, viz. 'bhargo devasya dhīmahi' (ibid. p. XV) and repeating the yajñopavīta mantra (yajñopavītam paramam etc.) in a corrupt form.

This persistence of Indian culture and civilization for several millennia requires an explanation and a consideration of the fundamental conceptions, values and characteristics of that civilization would enable us to offer a satisfactory one. Indian culture and civilization have a distinct personality and should not and could not be judged by purely European standards.

2604. Vide Prof. Sorokin in 'Social and Cultural Dynamics' p. 697, Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Religion and Society' (1947) p. 101.

2605. The number of works and papers on the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia, China and what is called 'Further India' or 'Greater India' is very large. A few only out of those that the author has read or consulted are mentioned here : Dr. R.C. Majumdar's 'Ancient Indian Colonies' Vol. I and II; 'Towards Angkor' with 42 illustrations, 1937 and 'Making of Greater India' (London, 1951), both by H. G Quaritch Wales, the latter containing a good Bibliography; 'Śrī Vijaya' by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1949, with an appendix of Inscriptions from 683 A. D. to about the 14th century A. D.; 'Civilizations of the East' by Rene Grousset, translated from French by Catherine A. Phillips with 249 illustrations, Vol. II on 'India, Farther India and Malaya' pp. 1-343. For China's debt to India, vide Viśvabhāratī Quarterly, Vol. II pp. 251-261 by Prof. Liang Chi Chao, who states that Hindu scholars that came to China from 8th century A. D. were 24 and Chinese scholars that went to India for study from 265 A. D. to 790 A. D. numbered 187 (the names of 105 out of these being ascertained); vide also 'India and China' by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (Hind Kitabs, 1950), particularly chapters II and III.

Various peoples during past centuries had the conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate. When the British empire became so extensive that the 'Sun never set on it', many British imperialists claimed (most hypocritically) that they were carrying on the 'white man's burden'[2605 A] for the benefit and betterment of undeveloped and backward people (when British Imperialism was impoverishing to the utmost the people whom they governed by their colonial policies as will be briefly indicated later on so far as India is concerned). Russia claims that it has the mission to liberate the proletariat from capitalism and to bring about a Paradise on Earth. The Germans under Hitler believed that they belonged to the superior Nordic race and that they would save the world from communism. Such a conceit is not confined to the West. The Chinese believed that they alone were civilized. The Japanese hold that their Emperor is the son of Heaven. In these days some Indians also claim that spirituality existed nowhere except in India. It is quite correct to say that ancient Indian culture and civilization were based on great spiritual values. It would be entirely in the wrong to say that other people had no spirituality. All that we can at most say is that spirituality is more basic to Hinduism and was more diffused among Hindu people than anywhere else. The Manusmṛti provides that only those usages of varṇas and mixed castes that are traditionally prevalent in the country of Brahmāvarta, in Kurukṣetra, in the countries of Matsya, Pañcāla (the country called Doab) and Śūrasena (round about Mathurā) are spoken of as *sadācāra* (II. 17–19) and that all men on the earth should learn their respective duties from brāhmaṇas born in those countries. The Manusmṛti excludes the countries ef Madhyadeśa (as defined by it) and Āryāvarta from this provision (II 21–22). Recently, some people appear to rely on the words 'kṛṇvanto viśvam-āryam' occurring in Ṛg. IX. 63. 5–6 and hold that the Veda has put forward the mission of our country as making the whole world *ārya*. But there is hardly any foundation for this conceit. These words occur about the offering of Soma juice (indavaḥ) to Indra. They only mean this-these Soma libations, brown in colour,[2606] (pressed from Soma plant) increase (the

2605 A. Vide Leonard Woolf in 'Barbarians at the Gate' (London, 1939) p. 54 for saying that 'white man's burden' was another name for economic imperialism and also p, 162.

2606. इन्द्रं वर्धन्तो असुरः कृण्वन्तो विश्वमार्यम्। अपघ्नन्तो अराव्णः॥ शुना अनु स्वना

(*Continued on next page*)

might of) Indra, making the waters to fall (from the sky), destroy hostile men coming to Indra, making all (the whole environment) noble they reach their proper sphere.' There is here no reference whatever to Vedic people making the whole world Ārya. At the most these verses may be interpreted as suggesting that Soma sacrifices to Indra would make the world *Arya*. Then there is no message in it which modern Indians can give and spread. Soma plant itself became unavailable in Vedic times and substitutes had to be utilized. And hardly any solemn Vedic sacrifices have been performed for centuries in India and very rarely, if at all, Soma sacrifices.

During the last four or five hundred years the Western nations professing Christianity started on a career of conquest, exploitation of undeveloped countries and peoples, colonial empires, use of the discoveries of science for competitive purposes, the amassing of wealth with such ideologies as those expressed in the words 'everybody should be for himself and the devil take the hind-most.' But the devastation and atrocities of the last two world wars and the possibility of the annihilation of the human race or a very large part of it by atomic warfare have now opened the eyes of many thoughtful leaders and people in the West that, if modern civilization is to be saved, they must cultivate regard for spiritual values, love of righteousness and justice, sympathy with the oppressed, and active belief in the brotherhood of man. Though our ancient sages and lawgivers laid great emphasis on spiritul values, a very large majority of our people and so-called leaders have been wanting in the practice of those values for centuries. Instead of merely praising our past glories, the present author would humbly request all educated Indians to be introspective and to ponder over certain questions that are often asked and seek to find the reasons for the loss of our freedom from the 13th century onwards. (1) Why Hindus were generally found inferior to the invaders, Persian, Greek, Scythian, Turk, English, even though Indians far outnumbered and even though most invaders were impressed by the courage and perfect indifference to death on the part of India's soldiers; (2) Why Hindus could not form

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रजोऽन्यर्षन्ति वसवः । इन्द्रं गच्छन्त इन्दवः ॥ ऋ. IX. 63.5-6; compare verse 14 of the same hymn एते धामान्यार्या शुक्रा ऋतस्य धारया । वाजं गोमन्तमक्षरन् ॥ The words धामान्यार्या mean 'the noble dwellings or noble statutes' (of Gods).

a permanent organized State comprising the whole of India for many centuries; (3) why did they fail to take advantage of the splendid natural resources of India to excel in manufactures, commerce and industry. We must enter upon a thoroughgoing and honest inquiry into our past to find our own defects (political and others) that led to our fall for centuries and try to remove those defects as quickly as possible, now that Bhārata has won independence after centuries. There was no political unity of the whole of India till the British began to rule over the whole of India. There were constant wars among Hindu kingdoms and princes. For example, because the Marathas invaded Bengal, the Bengalis hated Marathas and were jubilant over the defeat of the Marathas by the British. We Indians hardly had any deep-seated feeling of all Indians being one people or of nationalism till the 2nd half of the 19th century A. D. This chapter cannot discuss at length the subject of the causes of the downfall of India, politically and in other respects. But a few remarks would not be altogether out of place here.

Hinduism is a combination of many systems and religious ideologies including Vedic ritualism, Vedāntic thought, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Shāktism and primeval cults, adapted to the requirements of different types of men and communities with great disparities of intellectual and spiritual attainments. There were only a few matters that would be said to have bound most of the Hindus to each other, viz. the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, the unifying influence of the vast and venerated Sanskrit literature that gradually enriched the regional languages, the veneration in which the Vedas were held by all Hindus as the final authority in religious matters, though only a small minority could learn and understand them, the geographical unity of the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin emphasized by the Purāṇas and by the pilgrimages to holy places from Mānasa lake and Badrinath to Rāmeśvara. These few elements, however, were not enough to neutralize the causes that militated against effective unity amongst all Hindus. Most of the *ācāryas* and saints laid too much emphasis on otherworldiness and Vedānta and did not lay equal or greater emphasis on or recognize the importance of active and thorough performance of people's duties to themselves, to their families, and to society, the result being that many people, whether fit or unfit, tried to become otherworldly and did not actively pursue worldly values with righteousness. Another cause of disunity

and downfall was the great disparity between the high metaphysical teaching of the whole world being one and the treatment meted out to lower classes and untouchables, owing to ideas of exclusiveness, of purity and pollution by touch &c. The education of the masses was greatly neglected[2607] and the higher classes did not seriously mind who ruled the country as long as their life was not much disturbed. The great patriot and revolutionary Savarkar, hammered on seven fetters by which Hindu society was bound for centuries, viz. untouchability, prohibitions of several kinds viz. sea travel, of mutual dining among the hundreds of castes and subcastes, of intercaste marriages, of Veda study against several castes, prohibition against following certain occupations and prohibition against re-admission to Hinduism of people that were converted to other religious faiths by force, fraud or ignorance.

Our cultural history shows some central features which may be mentioned in one place here. The first is that there has been an unbroken religious tradition from the Vedic times almost to the present day. Vedic mantras are still employed throughout the whole of India in religious rites and ceremonies by all brāhmaṇas and by a large number of the members of castes claiming to be Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The Vedic gods are not entirely forgotten. Kindling of Agni is still required at the beginning of all rites; Viṣṇu (though not so frequently praised as Indra, Agni or Varuṇa, yet often enough, is praised in Ṛg.I. 22 16-21, I. 154. 1-6, I. 155. 1-6, VI. 69. 1-8, both Indra and Viṣṇu are praised in Ṛg. VII. 99. 1-7, Atharvaveda VII. 27. 4-9) and Siva (Rudra of the Ṛgveda, transformed a great deal yet highly praised in Ṛg. II. 1.6, II. 33,9, X. 92.9 where he is spoken of as Śiva) are even now the principal deities worshipped. In the morning and evening Sandhyā worship, brāhmaṇas in many parts of India still repeat respectively verses addressed to Mitra (Ṛg. III. 59) and Varuṇa (Ṛg. I. 25). The second feature is that, India being a vast country (as large as the whole of Europe minus Russia), central authority in political power never existed (except perhaps for a short time under Aśoka). The ideal was that of supreme ruler (*saṃrāṭ* or *cakravartin*). But, if a king submitted, acknowledged the prowess of the successful conqueror

2607. Vide Works of Vivekananda (Mayavati ed. Vol. III. pp. 191–192, 428–29, V. 122, VI. 224). The census of 1951 disclosed that there were fifty-one million untouchables in Bhārata.

and paid some tribute, no saṁrāṭ troubled himself to look into the affairs of the kingdoms ruled by petty kings. There could, therefore, be no common front against a foreign invader, no uniformity in laws, customs and practices and there were frequent wars among kings and petty princes. A third feature was that there did not develop a serious clash of cultures, there was tolerance about varying ideologies and beliefs and constant adaptation to create harmony in diversity.

It makes one sad to find that not a single Hindu scholar resembling Alberuni came forward to inquire into the causes of the successful invasions of India by Mahmud of Gazni and later hordes. Intellectuals were mostly engaged at least from the 11th century onwards in composing works of thousands of pages on such topics as Vrata, Dāna, Śrāddha (as the very learned minister Hemādri did) or in mental gymnastics about logic, Vedānta, Poetics and similar subjects and appear to have bestowed little thought on finding means of meeting the onslaught of foreigners or the remedies for removing their own weaknesses and defects. There were also other causes of the downfall of Hindus. Our intellectuals did not or could not pursue and make their own discoveries of science and technology made in the world from the 15th century A. D. Shahaji purchased firearms from foreigners. Neither he, nor his great son Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha empire, started factories for the manufacture of up-to-date firearms and cannon. Similarly, our people did not properly appreciate the role of a powerful navy. If the Hindus or their rulers had possessed a powerful navy they would have been able to nip in the bud the ambitions of the Portuguese, the French and the English.

We must now set out the important characteristics of Hindu culture and civilization.

1. The most striking conception even as early as the Ṛgveda is that there is only one Reality or Essence, in spite of the fact that people speak of it or worship it as Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni &c. (Rg. I. 164. 46, VIII. 58. 1, X. 129. 2, q. above on p. 1487). In the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, in classical Sanskrit Poetry and even in medieval times, when there were various cults and schisms, such as the worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva or Śakti, almost all Hindus had an inner consciousness that God is one though called by various names; vide p. 118 note 306, p. 973 and note 1593 above, and Harivaṁśa (Viṇṇuparva 25. 31), Kumārasambhava VII. 44.

2. From this conception arose the great tolerance that Hinduism at all times showed to freedom of thought and worship, which has been dwelt upon by the present author in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 388 note 928, Vol. V. pp. 970-71, 1011-1018 (references to Aśoka's edicts and Yāj. I. 343 and numerous instances of Indian kings and donors of one persuasion making gifts to temples and institutions of other cults and persuasions); vide also Gītā *7. 21-22* and *9.23*. To hunt down heretics, real or supposed, has been a favourite business of some religions[2607] for centuries. This has been absent from Hinduism. Hindusim is not bound by any fixed creed nor does it rely on a single book[2608] or a prophet as its founder. All that it requires is that man shoud be God-fearing and what matters is not correct beliefs but moral conduct and social behaviour. Hindus do not deny the truth of any religion or reject the validity of another man's religious experience. A verse[2609] quoted below breathes a broad-minded approach to religious beliefs and worship 'May Hari, the Lord of the three worlds, bestow on you the desired reward, whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, Vedāntins as *brahman*, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāykas proficient in the means of knowledge as the Creator, those devoted to Jain teachings as Arhat and Mīmāṁsakas as Yajña'. The great logician Udayana who composed his Lakṣaṇāvali in *śaka* 906 (984 A. D.) breathes in his Nyāyakusumāñjali the same spirit as is contained in the verse translated above. Tolerance is thus of the essence of Hinduism and even an atheist is often met with amusement and not with persecution.

III. Working on the doctrine that there is only one Essence or Godhead, the sages of the Upaniṣads arrived at the

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2608. For Biblical intolerance one may read Jeremiah 29.8–9, Colossians II. 8, Galatians I. 7–9.

2609. यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनो
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः।
अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः
सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः॥
सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार (Nir. ed. of 1935 p. 15 verse 27);

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि I. 2 is: स्वर्गापवर्गयोर्मार्गमामनन्ति मनीषिणः। यदुपास्तिमसावत्र परमात्मा निरूप्यते॥ इह यद्यपि ये कमपि पुरुषार्थमर्थयमानाः शुद्धबुद्धस्वभाव इत्यौपनिषदाः। आदिविद्वान् सिद्ध इति कापिलाः। क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टो निर्माणकायमधिष्ठाय सम्प्रदायप्रद्योतकोऽनुग्राहकश्चेति पातञ्जलाः। लोकवेदविरुद्धैरपि निर्लेपः स्वतन्त्रश्चेति महापाशुपताः। शिव इति शैवाः। पुरुषोत्तम इति वैष्णवाः। पितामह इति पौराणिकाः। यज्ञपुरुष इति याज्ञिकाः। निरावरण इति दिगम्बराः। उपास्यत्वेन ज्ञेशित इति मीमांसकाः। यावदुत्कर्षपर्यन्त इति नैयायिकाः। लोकव्यवहारसिद्ध इति चार्वाकाः। किंबहुना कारणोऽपि यं विश्वकर्मेत्युपासते॥.

conclusion that the individual self is non-different from the one Essence, that all manifoldness is only apparent, that even fishermen, slaves, gamblers and the inanimate world are non-different from it. This Vedānta doctrine is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and is India's great contribution to the spiritual development of man, though there are sporadic instances of this doctrine having been held by some ancient philosophers in other lands. This idea of one in the many and many in one is the very core or centre of Vedānta. This has been dealt with above (vide pp. 1499-1500 notes 2451-52 and pp. 1509-10). In Europe the study of philosophy is an end in itself. In ancient India this idea of the unity in diversity was made the basis of education and sociology and it was held that the realization of this unity in one's life was the highest freedom (mokṣa).

The Upaniṣadic teaching is a universal doctrine in which all men of good will can meet and combine, in whatever religion they might have been brought up from their childhood. Many illustrations are adduced in the Upaniṣads to bring home non-difference to the inquirer about the Essence. But two are very apt. The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (III. 2. 8) declares " just as rivers flowing (towards the ocean) become merged in the ocean after giving up their names and forms, so the man who realizes (knows), being free from name and form, attains the divine Person that is higher than the highest ". The Praśnopaniṣad has (VI.5) the same illustration in prose. The Kaṭhopaniṣad IV. 15 states 'just as pure water poured into pure water assumes the same form (appearance), similarly the soul of the sage who has realized (the Essence) becomes the Ātman (Self).' Deussen in his address on 20th February 1893 before the Asiatic Society of Bombay (in J. B. B. R. A. S. No. 18 for 1893 Art 20 pp. 330-340) after quoting the verse of Muṇḍaka III. 2. 8 remarks " It is not the falling of the drops in the infinite ocean, it is the whole ocean returning to that which he really is and has never ceased to be, to his own all-pervading eternal almighty nature " and concludes (p. 340) " Vedānta in its unfalsified form is the strongest support for morality, is the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death; Indians, keep to it. " Vide V. S. II. 3.43, where reference is made to Atharvaveda 'Brahma dāśā brahma dāsā brahmeme kitavā uta ' (occurring in the Paippalāda version as shown by Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharya in his paper on a

palm-leaf ms. of the Paippalāda-saṁhitā in Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. XXV, parts 1-4).

IV. From very ancient Vedic times one of the fundamental conceptions of our Indian culture has been the idea of three spiritual and religious debts owed by a person to the sages, gods and *pitṛs*, which he paid off by the study of the ancient lore, by sacrifices, and by having a son or sons respectively. This subject has been dealt with at length in the H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 270, 425, 560-61, 676, Vol. III p. 416 and above. p. 1318 note 2168. To these three debts the Mahābhārata added a fourth viz. the debt owed to all men paid off by goodness (vide H. of Dh. Vol. III p. 416 n. 675). Śabara on Jaimini VI. 2.31 explains that this doctrine is not confined to brāhmaṇas but to all members of the three classes, the word 'brāhmaṇa' used in the Tai. S. and other Vedic texts being only illustrative.

V. Another set of values is contained in the conception of *puruṣārthas* (ends or goals of human endeavour) viz. Dharma (right conduct), Artha (economics, politics and civics), Kāma (life of sex, of pleasures and aesthetics), Mokṣa (salvation, release or recovery by the self of its real nature and freedom from the bondage of low desires and aims). Mokṣa is said to be the highest goal (paramapuruṣārtha) and the first three are spoken of as 'trivarga'. The concept of Dharma is a far-reaching one and has been emphasized from very ancient times and refers to the principles which men have to observe in their lives and in social relations. This subject of puruṣārthas and of dharma has been dealt with at some length in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 2-11 and Vol. III pp. 8-10 and 239-241. Therefore, only a few matters would be briefly emphasized here. It has been shown above on pp. 1-21 how the Ṛgveda had three words viz. *ṛta* (cosmic order), *vrata* (laws or ordinances deemed to be laid down by a god or gods) and *dharma* (religious rites or sacrifices or fixed principles), how gradually *ṛta* receded into the background and 'satya' took its place and Dharma became an all-embracing conception and vrata came to be restricted to sacred vows and rules of conduct. When a teacher was about to take leave of the pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood he placed in his final exhortation (Tai. Up. I. 11) Truth as the first and Dharma as next to it (satyaṁ vada dharmaṁ cara). The Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 14 equates *Satya* with *Dharma*. One of the noblest prayers occurs in the Bṛ. Up. (I. 3. 28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness unto light, from death

unto life eternal'. The same Upaniṣad in V. 2. 3 inculcates on all men the three cardinal virtues of self-restraint (*dama*), charity (*dāna*) and compassion (*dayā*). The Chān. Up. V. 10 quotes a verse 'the thief stealing gold, the drinker of liquor, one who dishonours his guru's bed and the murderer of a brāhmaṇa—these four fall (into hell) and the fifth is one who associates with them.' It would be noticed that this ancient verse contains some of the ten commandments of the Bible. In spite of these (noble) Upaniṣadic teachings of Dharma and morality, Prof. Keith (in 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads', Vol. II. p. 584, ed. of 1925) makes the pontifical but perverse pronouncement that 'the ethical content of the Upaniṣads is negligible and valueless'. It is not necessary to combat here his views. Most scholars would rather follow Schopenhauer (quoted in S. B. E. Vol. I. p. LXI) and Deussen (quoted above in Vol. II. p. 424) rather than Keith. The concept of Dharma began to occupy the highest position in the times of the Upaniṣads. The Bṛ. Up. I. 4.14 states 'there is nothing higher than Dharma.' The Tai.[2610] Āraṇyaka avers 'Dharma is the support (or prop) of the whole world'. The Mahābhārata and Manu repeatedly refer to the high value of Dharma. The Mahābhārata claims that everything concerning the four puruṣārthas is contained in it and that what is not contained in it about them would be found in no other work. In Udyogaparva it is stated 'Dharma is so called because of its character as the sustainer of all beings.' Vanaparva and Manu both declare 'Dharma when violated kills the violator, when preserved it preserves man; therefore, Dharma should not be violated lest Dharma might destroy us.' Vyāsa winds up the Mahābhārata with the solemn appeal 'with arms up-raised I here raise a loud cry, but no one listens to me; from Dharma spring wealth and (satisfaction of) all desires, why is Dharma not resorted to? One should not give up Dharma for some desired object, nor through fear nor from greed nor even for the

2610. धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा। लोके धर्मिष्ठं प्रजा उपसर्पन्ति। धर्मेण पापमपनुदति धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं तस्माद्धर्मं परमं वदन्ति। तै. आ. X. 63, महानारायणोप०; धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ। यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित्॥ आदिपर्व 62.53 = स्वर्गारोहणपर्व 5.50; vide also आदि° 62.23; धारणाद्धर्म इत्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः। उद्योग 89.67, 137.9; धर्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः। तस्माद्धर्मो न हन्तव्यो मा नो धर्मो हतोऽवधीत्॥ मनु VIII.15. वनपर्व 313.128 is the same, except that the third pāda is तस्माद्धर्मं न त्यजामि; ऊर्ध्ववाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम्। धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते॥ न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद्धर्मं जह्याज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः। नित्यो धर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यो हेतुरस्य त्वनित्यः॥ स्वर्गारोहणपर्व 5, 62–63.

sake of life itself. Dharma is eternal, pleasure and pain are impermanent, the individual self is eternal, but the conditions (under which self works) are impermanent.' The Mahābhārata passages quoted in n. 18 p. 8 of H. of Dh. Vol. II say 'the three (Dharma, Artha, Kāma) are meant for all men, that Dharma is the best of the three, that Artha is middling and Kāma is the lowest and that if there be conflict then Dharma must be followed and the other two abandoned.' This shows that Artha and Kāma were made subservient to Dharma (the ethical code) and all three were subservient to the spiritual goal. Our Śāstras do not at all prescribe asceticism for all, but they recognized a scale of values. The Manusmṛti (IV. 3 and 15) provides 'one should accumulate wealth for securing only his needs by actions proper for his station (varṇa &c) and without harm to his body. One should not desire to acquire wealth by excessive attachment nor by actions condemned by Śāstra nor when he has already enough wealth nor from any kind of person (a sinner or like), even when he is in straightened circumstances.' Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20 22-23) declares that man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not against Dharma; by doing so he secures both worlds (this life and life in the next world). Gautama Dharmasūtra[2611] IX. 46-47 and Yāj. I. 115 practically say the same thing. In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma that is not in conflict with Dharma. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya no doubt says (I. 7) that 'Artha is the chief among the three puruṣārthas', but he also provides that one should enjoy a life of pleasures in such a way as not to conflict with Dharma and Artha, that one should not lead a life devoid of pleasures altogether. The Anuśāsanaparva (chap. III. 18-19) states that Dharma, Artha and Kāma are the three prizes (fruits) of human life, these three should be striven for but in such a way as not to coflict with Dharma'. The Manusmṛti (V. 56) declares that eating flesh, drinking intoxicants and sexual intercourse are not sinful in themselves; all beings are naturally inclined to these; but abstention (from these) leads to great rewards (and therefore Śāstra emphasizes abstention)'. The Rāmāyaṇa (Araṇyakāṇḍa 9.30) contains a statement similar to Svargārohaṇaparva 5. 62.

2611. न पूर्वाह्णमध्यन्दिनापराह्णानफलान् कुर्याद्यथाशक्ति धर्मार्थकामेभ्यः। तेषु तु धर्मोत्तरः स्यात्। गौ. ध. सू. IX. 46-47; धर्मार्थकामान् स्वे काले यथाशक्ति न हापयेत्॥ या. I.115; मिताक्षरा comments 'धर्मार्थकामान् स्वोचितकाले यथाशक्ति न परित्यजेत्। यथासम्भवं सेवेतेत्यर्थः।'; धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितयं जीविते फलम्। एतत् प्रयमवाप्तव्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम्॥ अनुशासनपर्व chap. 111. 18-19, ब्रह्मपुराण 217. 11.

When reforms are suggested in these days, conservative people put forward the plea that ours is 'sanātana-dharma'[2612] and so no changes should be introduced. But the words 'sanātana dharma' do not mean that Dharma always stands still or is immutable; all that those words mean is that our culture is very ancient and has a long tradition behind it but they do not mean that Dharma permits no change. As a matter of fact fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices have been made from ancient times to the medieval times by means of various devices. Attention may be drawn to a few. Veda was all in all in very ancient times but in the Upaniṣads this was changed, the Muṇḍaka I. 1. 5 designating the four Vedas as inferior knowledge (aparā vidyā) and the knowledge of the immutable *brahman* as the higher vidyā; in the Chān. Up. VII. 1.4, the four Vedas and several other branches of knowledge are called by Sanatkumāra (whom Nārada approached for instruction) mere name (*nāma*). Yajñas were the most important religious practice in the early Vedic period, but the Muṇḍaka Up. I. 2. 7 designates them as leaky boats and regards those who hold them as the best thing to be fools. Vide above pp. 1265–72 about changes in the views on anuloma marriages, on the topic of whose food may be partaken even by a brāhmaṇa, the abrogation of many Vedic practices by the doctrine of Kalivarjya (matters forbidden in Kali age) &c. Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇudharmasūtra, Viṣṇu and other purāṇas expressly provide that one should not observe but give up what was once Dharma, if it has come to be hateful to the people and if it would end in unhappiness (vide p. 1270 n. 2071 above). The Śāntiparva[2613] expressly states that what was *adharma* (in one age) may become dharma in another

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2612. One of the earliest occurrences of the word सनातनधर्म is found in the Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman (in E. I. Vol. 27, p. 312) edited by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, who assigns it to about the 6th century A. D., in the description of the donee as 'यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनदानप्रतिग्रहाया (च?) श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितसनातनधर्मैकनिरताय etc.'; The land granted was in Returaka (modern Retrem in the Satara District of the Mahārāṣṭra State). Another early reference to the phrase सनातनधर्म is in ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II. 33. 37–38 अद्रोहश्चाप्यलोभश्च तपो भूतदया दमः। ब्रह्मचर्यं तथा सत्यमनुक्रोशः क्षमा धृतिः। सनातनस्य धर्मस्य मूलमेतदुदाहृतम्॥. The words 'सनातनधर्म' are used in the sense of ancient practice no longer prevalent in Ādiparva 122.18 (Ch. ed.), and in the sense of 'duty recognised long ago' in रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 19.26, 21. 49 etc.

2613. भवत्यधर्मो धर्मो हि धर्माधर्मावुभावपि। कारणाद्देशकालस्य देशकालः स तादृशः॥ शान्ति 78. 32.

and that dharma and adharma are both subject to the limitations of country and time. Kāma also was not neglected, as the Kāma-sūtra (particularly its chapter on 'nāgaraka-vṛtta' I. 4) will show. The extensive Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (containing about 5000 verses) is a witness to the aesthetic enjoyment of dance, music and drama in ancient India by thousands of ordinary men and women.

Hindu thought on the three goals of human life came to this 'do your duty, do not fall into temptations, perform duties for their own sake (Gītā II. 47, III. 19), do unto others as you would be done by (Gītā VI. 32, Anuśāsanaparva 113. 8–9, Śānti 259. 20. = Cr. ed. 251. 19), earn wealth but without conflict with dharma and without injury to others and lead a chaste sexual life and enjoy aesthetic pleasures. These summarise the teachings underlying the conceptions of the three puruṣārthas. There was hardly any real pessimism[2614] in the principal Dharmaśāstra works except perhaps here and there in the Mahābhārata. They consider life to be worth living, provided all actions are informed by the dictates of Dharma. Manu (XII. 88-89) provides that Karma (conduct or actions) prescribed by the Veda is of two kinds, viz. *pravṛtta* and *nivṛtta*, the former leading to happiness in this world and to *svarga*, and the latter to niḥśreyasa (mokṣa) and requiring complete absence of all hankerings preceded by realization of *brahma*. The Anuśāsana-parva (chap. 146. 76-80) divides Dharma into pravṛttilakṣaṇa (characterized by persistent activity) and nivṛttilakṣaṇa (characterised by abstention from worldly activities and desires), which latter is to be followed for mokṣa and lays down certain practical and salutary rules viz. one should constantly make gifts according to one's ability, constantly offer sacrifices and perform rites to secure one's prosperity. One should collect wealth following what is right and such wealth obtained righteously should be divided into three parts; one should secure both dharma and artha with one-third of the wealth acquired, one-third should be spent on Kāma (i. e. chaste sexual life and enjoyment of other pleasures not in conflict with dharma) and one-third he should increase. Manu (VII. 99 and 101) prescribes similar rules for the king. The same parvan (Anuśāsana chap. 144. 10–25

2614. The Bible was very pessimistic, both Christ and Saint Paul regard the world as evil or at least spoiled. Christ calls upon people not to resist evil (vide Hobhouse 'Morals in evolution' Vol. II. p. 152).

and 31–39) dwells at length upon those actions that lead men to heaven (the phrase ' te narāḥ svarga-gāminaḥ ' is repeated in each verse). These provisions are meant for all ordinary people. The Rāmāyaṇa [2615] quotes a popular verse that man is not condemned to never-ending misery but joy comes to a man even after a hundred years if he be alive.

The 4th Puruṣārtha Mokṣa can be obtained only by a few. It is not a bow which every man or any man can make strung. It was a very difficult path like a razor's edge (Kaṭha Up. III. 14), far more difficult than the path of devotion to a Personal God (Bhagavadgītā XII. 5). The Upaniṣadic doctrine of liberation comes to this that man's nature is really divine, that it is possible for a human being to know and become actually identified with the Godhead, that this should be the ultimate goal of man's life, that this can be achieved by one's own efforts, but the way to achieve this goal is most difficult and requires the aspirant to give up egotism, selfishness and worldly attachments. Besides, there is another difficulty. The conceptions about mokṣa differ in the different schools of thought like Nyāya Sāṅkhya, Vedānta. Even in the Vedānta the conception about Mokṣa on the part of the different ācāryas differs. Some declared that there were four stages in Mukti viz. *Sālokya* (place in Lord's world), *Sāmīpya* (proximity), *Sārūpya* (attaining same form as God) and *Sāyujya* (absorption). [2616] These matters cannot be gone into here.

2615. कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।
एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि ॥
रामायण सुन्दरकाण्ड 34.6, (M L. J. ed.)

The महाभाष्य quotes the third पाद् ' एति जीवन्तमानन्दः ' in two places, viz. on पा. I. 3.12 and III. 1.67 under वार्तिक 5, Kielhorn's edition, Vol, I. p. 277 and Vol. II. p. 59.

2616. The तै. सं. V. 7.5.7 has : एतासामेव देवतानां सायुज्यतां गच्छति. But this is entirely different from the idea of मोक्ष. The words सायुज्य, सारूप्य and सलोकता occur in ऐ. ब्रा. II. 24; सायुज्य and सलोकता occur in बृह. उ. I. 3. 22, सलोकता, सार्ष्टिता (same happiness) and सायुज्य occur in छा. उ. II. 20. 2. The सूतसंहिता (मुक्तिखण्ड chap. 3. 28) speaks of the same four stages of मोक्ष. सायुज्य is derived from सयुज् (yoked or joined together). The words सयुजः वाजान् (horses yoked together) occur in Ṛg. III. 30. 11 and सयुज (meaning सयुजौ) occurs in Ṛg. I. 164.20. The पुरुषार्थसुधानिधि of सायण (Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Series, ed. by T. Chandrasekharan, 1955) in its मोक्षस्कन्ध states : मुक्तिर्नानाविधा प्रोक्ता सायुज्यादिप्रभेदतः । तत्र सायुज्यरूपाया मुक्तेः साक्षात्तु कारणम् । सम्यग्ज्ञानं न कर्मोक्तं नानयोश्च समुच्चयः । कर्मणैव हि सिध्यन्ति पुंसामन्याश्च मुक्तयः ॥ (chap. 11 Verses 2–3).

Dharma is divided into different classes from different standpoints. One classification is into *śrauta* (based on the Vedas) and *Smārta* (based on Smṛtis). There was another and a more comprehensive classification of Dharma into six classes viz. varṇadharma (duties and rights of varṇas), āśramadharma (rules about the āśramas), varṇāśramadharma (rules enjoined because the person belongs to a certain class and was also in a certain āśrama (e. g. the rule that a brāhmaṇa brahmacārī should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree), guṇadharma (rules for one who holds or occupies a certain position, as in the case of a king), naimittikadharma (rules that have to be observed only on certain occasions such as bath on an eclipse, expiation for a lapse and lastly sāmānyadharma (duties common to all (such as those described in pp. 10-11 of the H. of Dh. Vol. II). This leads on to the next important characteristic of Hindu culture and society, viz. varṇas and castes.

VI. *Varṇa and caste.* The subject of the origin of varṇa classification, the caste system and the duties, privileges and disabilities of the four varṇas have been dealt with at length in the History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. pp. 19–164. It has been shown that the word 'varṇa' (colour) has been applied to *Āryas* and *dāsas* in the Ṛgveda, that these two (āryas and dāsas) were opposite camps, that brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas are mentioned in the Ṛgveda, but the word varṇa has not been expressly connected with them. The words Vaiśya and Śūdra do not occur in the Ṛgveda except in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛg. X. 90. 12) but even in that hymn the word 'varṇa' is not employed with reference to them. That hymn is held to be comparatively a late one by most modern scholars. It may be conceded that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed the community was divided into four groups viz brāhmaṇas (thinkers, learned men, priests) kṣatriyas (rulers and warriors), vaiśyas (common people following agriculture and crafts) and śūdras (those that did menial work). Such a division of people into four groups is not unnatural and is found in many countries even now. In England there are aristocratic families, there is the middle class and the workers in factories &c. They are not necessarily based on birth alone, though largely so based. It has been shown above (p. 1265) that intermarriages between brāhmaṇas and the other varṇas were allowed up to the time of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which expresses its dissent from its predecessors

and prohibits a person of the three upper classes from marrying a śūdra woman. There is no evidence to show that intermarriage or interdining among the four varṇas was prohibited in the Vedic age. In the Vāj. S. 30. 6–13, Kāṭhaka S. XVII. 13, Tai. Br. III. 4. 2–3 numerous artisans and craftsmen such as takṣan, rathakāra, kulāla, karmāra, niṣāda, sūta and others are mentioned but it is extremely doubtful whether they had become petrified castes at the period of these works. Rathakāra and karmāra and sūta are mentioned in Atharvaveda III. 5. 6–7. It is probable that by the time of the Chān. Up. V. 10. 7 Cāṇḍālas had become untouchables (like dogs and hogs) and Paulkasa seems to be equated with Cāṇḍāla in Bṛ. Up. IV.3.22. Even in the times of Yājñavalkya and Parāśara (2nd to 6th century A. D.) a brāhmaṇa was permitted to take food at the house of such śūdras as his *dāsa*, cowherd, barber, a tenant of his land on the rent of half share of crops (vide above p. 1266). The varṇas were only four, there was no fifth varṇa (Manu X. 4 and Anuśāsanaparva, chap. 48. 30), though in modern times untouchables are often spoken of as *pañcamas* (against Smṛti usage). The word *jāti* in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in Vedic literature but it occurs in the Nirukta (XII. 13) and in Pāṇini (V. 4. 9), who explains 'brāhmaṇajātīya' as meaning one who is a brāhmaṇa by caste'. Sometimes, Jāti and Varṇa are differentiated in Smṛtis (Yāj. II. 69, 260), but from ancient times the word *Jāti* is confounded with the word *Varṇa*. Manu (X. 31) uses the word Varṇa in the sense of mixed castes; conversely, the word Jāti is employed in the sense of 'Varṇa' in Manu (VIII. 177, IX. 85-86, X. 41).

A sort of caste system existed in several countries such as Persia, Rome and Japan, but it disappeared and had never attained the complexity of the Indian caste system.

There are now several thousand castes and sub-castes in India. How they arose is, according to the present author, an insoluble problem. Sherring in 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' (1881, vol. III. p. 231) held that caste was an invention (of the brāhmaṇas). How such a huge system could be invented and imposed upon millions of people by a small minority without physical or political power never occurred to the prejudiced Christian missionary of the third quarter of the 19th century.

It is well-known that at least from the 6th century B. C.

onwards India was being invaded by Persians, Kāmbojas,[2617] Greeks, Scythians (generally held to be the same as Śakas), and people like Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas (Dards) and Khaśas emigrated into India. Manu (X. 43–44), after mentioning these and Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras (Orissa), Draviḍas, asserts that these were originally Kṣatriyas but had become Śūdras because the sacraments like Upanayana had ceased among them and because they lost contact with brāhmaṇas. Manu X. 45 shows that in his day there were mixed castes that spoke mleccha tongues and Arya languages but were treated as dasyus (śūdras). Gautama-dharmasūtra (IV. 14–17), Manu X. 5–40, Yāj. I. 91–95 and many other works dilate upon the rise of mixed castes from the marriages or unions of men and women of different varṇas and declare how further castes and sub-castes arise from the marriages and unions of men and women belonging to different classes and castes. This was called *Varṇasaṅkara* or simply *saṅkara*, about which Arjuna expressed concern (Gītā I. 41-42) and against which the Bhagavad-gītā (III. 24-25) inveighs bitterly. It was stated by Gautama (Dh. S. VIII. 3) that the prosperity (of the castes and sub-castes), protection and the non-mixture (of varṇas) depend on the king and learned brāhmaṇas. The Nasik Inscription of king Siri Pulumāyi (E. I. Vol. VIII. p. 60 about 130 A. D.) extols the king as having prevented the intermingling of varnas (Varṇasankara).

The mixture of castes (varnasaṅkara)[2618] had gone so far even in the early ages that in the Vanaparva (180. 31–33) Yudhiṣṭhira is made to say that 'It is difficult to ascertain the

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2617. Atri-smrti VII. 2 (in prose, Ānan. collection) mentions some of these foreign tribes and peoples. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 33. 21–23 (Śakā yavana-kāmbojāh...kṣatriyajātayaḥ | vṛṣalatvam parigatā brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt &c.) and Anuśāsana 35. 17–18 also. Śaka and Yavana are included among Śūdras by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini II. 4. 10 (q. in H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 92. n. 200). Aśoka in his Rock Edicts V. and XIII refers to Yonas, Yonarāja and Kāmbojas as people on the borders of his empire.

A. M. T. Jackson says in 'Indian Antiquary' for 1910 p. 77 'the attractive power of Hindu civilization which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Moslem and European...India civilized the nomads of Central Asia, so that wild Turkman tribes have been transformed into some of the most famous Rajput royal races.'

2618. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 59–61 on Varṇasaṅkara.

caste of a person on account of the confusing mixture of *Varṇas*; all men raise progeny from all sorts of women; therefore, those who are wise regard character as the principal and desirable matter' (q. in H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 61 n. 149). The original scheme of varṇas was natural and based on the work that men put in for the community as a whole. It was not based on birth. The ideas underlying the original varṇa system made the nearest approach towards a society in which there was no attempt to secure a competitive equality but in which the interest of all groups were regarded as identical. In Vedic times there were only classes and not castes in the modern sense. Even in the smṛtis when many castes had arisen the greatest emphasis was laid on duties rather than on privileges and on high moral character and the value of the effort made by a man. It is therefore stated in the Gītā (IV. 13) that the system of four varṇas was created on the basis of quality (or on the basis of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) and actions and (in XVIII. 42–44) it specifies the qualities and actions required in the four varṇas as an ideal, viz. serenity of mind, self-control, austerity, purity, forbearance, straightforwardness, wisdom (spiritual knowledge), knowledge (of all kinds), faith (in God)–these are the natural actions (duties) for a brāhmaṇa; bravery, fury, energy, steadiness, capability, not running away in battle, charity and rulership-these are duties of a kṣatriya; agriculture, keeping herds of cows (and cattle), trade and commerce–these are the natural duties of the Vaiśya; work of the nature of service is the natural duty of the Śūdra. These words of Gītā cannot be used for supporting the present scheme of thousands of castes and sub-castes of water-tight character. If birth had been regarded as the sole or principal basis, the words in the Gītā[2619]

2619. It is remarkable that the late Lokamānya Tilak advocated about four months before his death (in the issue of the 'Kesari' of 16th March 1920) that anyone who spent his life in Indian freedom struggle must be treated as a brāhmaṇa to whatever caste or sub-caste-he might have belonged by birth, that caste should not be treated as a matter of birth but that we must begin to treat it as dependent on qualities and actions and he relies on our śāstras and quotes in support a Pali verse from the Suttanipāta: न जच्चा वसलो होति न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो। कम्मणा वसलो होति कम्मणा होति ब्राह्मणो॥ 'a man does not become a Vṛṣala, that is, Śūdra by caste (or birth) nor does he become a brāhmaṇa by birth; a man becomes a vṛṣala or a brāhmāṇa by his actions' (compare Mahāvagga, vāseṭṭhasutta, verse 57 in SBE Vol. X part 2 p. 115).

(*Continued on next page*)

(IV.13) should have been, ' Jāti-karmavibhāgaśaḥ ' (' or janma--karma') and not ' Guṇakarma '. It would be noticed that out of the nine *Karmāṇi* specified as natural to brāhmaṇas most are moral and spiritual and no emphasis is laid on the element of birth. At the time of the Mahābhārata there must have been a great deal of ferment, some revolt and criticism about the petrified caste system. The epic frequently refers to the theme of varnas and jātis. Vide for example, Vanaparva (chapter 180), Virāṭaparva 50. 4–7, Udyoga 23. 26, 40. 25–29, Śānti 188. 10-14, Anusāsana 143. A few passages may be set out here. Śānti 188. 10 says ' there is no (real) distinction between the varṇas, (since) the whole world is of Brahmā, since it was formerly created by Brahmā, and has had the system of varṇas on account of the various actions (of men)'; Śānti (189. 4 and 8) avers ' that man is known as brāhmana in whom are seen truthfulness, generosity, absence of hate, absence of wickedness, shame (restraint for avoiding wrong-doing), compassion and a life of austerity; if these signs are observed in a śūdra and are not found in a brāhmana, then the śūdra is not a śūdra (should

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There is great misunderstanding about his opposition to those reformers who did not care for or engage in political agitation but spent their energies and time in inveighing against some social evils. He wanted to remove the evil of grinding poverty and political bondage of India due to the colonial policy of Britain for over 150 years and therefore he stressed the point that everyone must join in the fight for freedom and did not like the idea of some very intellectual men spending time and energy in crying themselves hoarse for only social reform. He thought that when India became free from the incubus of foreign rule, many social reforms would be introduced in no time. Events have shown that he was right, and the social reformers who maligned him were wrong. Our Constitution abolished untouchability at one stroke (Article 17), legislation has made a provision that to treat a man as untouchable in public is punishable (vide Act XXII of 1955 sections 3 and 4), legislation has removed all ban against intercaste marriages and several other reforms have been brought about. Vide ' Social Legislation and its role in Social Welfare ' published in 1956 on behalf of the Planning Commission. For Tilak's article, vide 'लोकमान्य टिळकांचे केसरींतिल लेख भाग ३, पृष्ठें ४५३-५८). British people were cautious and were generally opposed to progressive social reforms in Hindu Society. The High Courts administered Hindu Law as contained in the medieval digests (nibandhas) like the Dāyabhāga, the Mitākṣarā and the Vyavahāramayūkha and not the law found in ancient smṛtis, which allowed anuloma marriages; vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 448–452 and ' A Century of Social reform ' by S. Natarajan, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, particularly pp. 126–173.

not be treated as a śūdra) and the brāhmaṇa is not a brāhmaṇa. A similar passage occurs in Vanaparva 216. 14–15 (quoted above in note 1640 pp. 1005–6 and compared to Dhammapada 393, translated on p. 1005). When the wrangles between Vaiṣṇavas and others were at their highest the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) avers that a cāṇḍāla who is a devotee of Viṣṇu is superior to a brāhmaṇa who is not a devotee of Viṣṇū. Apart from the specific qualities required to be possessed by the members of each of the four varṇas, all Dharmaśāstra works attach the highest importance to certain moral qualities and enjoin them on all men. Manu X. 63, Yāj. I. 22, Gaut. Dh. S. VIII. 23–25, Matsya 52. 9–10 (quoted above on p. 1023 n. 1652) prescribe for all Varṇas a brief code of morals, such as ahiṁsā, truthfulness, non-stealing (i. e. no wrongful taking of another's property), purity and restraint of the senses. The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 22 explains that the word 'sarveṣām' therein states that these moral qualities if practised are the means of Dharma for all men from brāhmaṇas *to cāṇḍālas.* *Vide* H. *of* Dh. Vol. II *pp.* 10–11 *for different* enumerations of dharmas common to all men. The Manusmṛti (I. 1) begins by saying that the great sages requested Manu to expound the dharmas of all varṇas and of the intermediate castes. This (viz. the Dharmas of varṇas, intermediate castes and āśramas) is the principal topic in most of the smṛtis.

A very high ideal was placed before brāhmaṇas (vide above pp 936–938). They were to study the Veda and its subsidiary lores as a duty (to be discharged), were to perform sacrifices and make gifts also and their proper means of livelihood were only three viz. teaching the Veda and Śāstras, officiating as priests in sacrifices and receiving religious and other gifts. How arduous learning the Veda was will be clear when it is remembered that a brāhmaṇa who was to be regarded as a very learned one had to memorize one Veda at least. Supposing he was a student of the Ṛgveda he had to commit to memory the ten thousand and odd verses of the Ṛgveda, also its *pada-pāṭha*, its krama-pāṭha, the Brāhmaṇa text (generally the Aitareya), the six Vedāṅgas (auxiliary works) viz. the Kalpasūtra (of Āśvalāyana generally), Vyākaraṇa (the Grammar of Pāṇini in about four thousand *sūtras*), the Nirukta (in at least 12 chapters), metrics, Śikṣā (Phonetics) and Jyotiṣa. The first three of these six Vedāṅgas are rather longish treatises and abstruse. These extensive texts were generally committed to memory without understanding the meaning and so entailed very great strain on

the mind and memory. There were thousands of such brāhmaṇas in India up to the beginning of this century, and even now there are still hundreds of such men. They were to teach the Veda without demanding any fee (demanding a fee to teach Veda was and is regarded as sinful even to this day). They were allowed to receive a fee if the pupil or somebody on his behalf paid something at the end of studenthood. Not only did they transmit the Veda free, but there were in the present author's youth in Koṅkaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra many Vaidik brāhmaṇas who gave free board and lodging to several pupils (or arranged to feed them by turns at the houses of brāhmaṇa families in the village or town). All this has now almost stopped owing to rationing during the world wars and present high prices. So teaching hardly brought any regular and substantial amount of money (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 108–110). As regards officiating as priests, that was a precarious and fitful source of income. Besides, in Ṛg. times at least, the scion of a royal family could be a *purohita* i. e. a priest (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 109). It should be remembered that all brāhmaṇas were not priests; they could be so if they chose and if they were learned. Further, many learned brāhmaṇas refuse even now to act as priests in śrāddhas for pitṛs (at least for three years after the man's death). Pāṇini (V. 2. 71) provides for the formation of the word 'Brāhmaṇaka' meaning a province or country where 'brāhmaṇas followed the profession of arms' and Kauṭilya (IX. 2) also refers to armies of brāhmaṇās, kṣatriyas &c. The third source specially permitted to brāhmaṇas was the privilege of receiving religious gifts from a worthy or unblemished person (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 110. 11). Brāhmaṇas could follow other occupations in distress, but even then there were great restrictions imposed on them by śāstras even when they took to other means of livelihood (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 118–132).[2620] The ideal set before brāhmaṇas was one of poverty, of plain living and high thinking, of forsaking a very active pursuit of wealth, of insisting on the necessity and high value to themselves and the Aryan society of studying, preserving, propagating and augmenting the ancient literature and culture. Kings, rich persons and even

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2620. It was, for example, provided by Vasiṣṭha (II. 27) and Manu X. 92 that a brāhmaṇa becomes a śūdra by selling milk for three days. In the present author's boyhood some poor brāhmaṇas had begun to sell milk and the result was that they were very much looked down upon by the villagers. There would be the temptation to add water to the milk to gain money.

ordinary men made gifts of lands and houses to learned brāhmaṇas (which were deemed the most meritorious gifts).[2621] The present author saw in his boyhood very learned Vaidika brāhmaṇas themselves ploughing their own lands, while repeating inaudibly the Veda (*i. e.* revising it, as otherwise it might slip from their memory) and knew a middle class Vaidika brāhmaṇa family that for seven generations had taught Veda to a number of pupils and provided them with free board and lodging; (out of these seven the present author personally knew three generations, the last of whom stopped a few years ago the Vaidika school owing to present high prices of food, decrease in gifts due to the increasing poverty of the people round about and their unconcern for Vedic studies). Even in the times of the early Upaniṣads, the brāhmaṇa's first duty was to learn and teach the Veda and to take all knowledge for his province. Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī, exclaimed, when the brāhmaṇa Bālāki Gārgya approached him for knowledge of *brahman*, 'this is against the natural usual course that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya to learn about brahman' (Bṛ. Up. II. 1. 15). That indicates that many brāhmaṇas must have endeavoured to act up to the old ideal of learning in olden times. They became the custodians of the vast literature that had accumulated and was growing every day and were expected to preserve that literature and propagate it. Though every brāhmaṇa could not have lived up to the high ideals set up for brāhmaṇas, a very large number must have made as near an approach to the ideal as possible It was the greatness of these latter that led to the glorification of the whole class. In most communities there is a group of the *élite*, which represents the ideals of the whole community, its essential tendencies and acts up to the ideals. Learning, great moral and spiritual attainments among individuals are rather elusive and impalpable, while birth in a certain family is a very obvious thing. Most people in ancient and medieval times followed the occupation of their forefathers. The kingly office was highly eulogised by Manu (VIII. 4-8), who propounded the theory that the king represented in his person eight deities (Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, the Sun, the Moon, Kubera, Yama and Vāyu) and that the king was a great divinity in human form. The office of the king also was hereditary.

2621. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 113 n 241 for large gifts to brāhmaṇas, in the early centuries of the Christian era, of villages, cows and marriage expenses.

Except in a few cases the brāhmaṇas were never rulers. It was the kṣatriyas and śūdras that were rulers. Therefore, a generalisation was made that birth in a particular group or family was a more or less sure indication of the possession of certain qualities generally associated with the members of that group or family. The brāhmaṇas were teachers with no salary, officiated as priests when called and were given fees, but there was no assurance of a continuous and certain payment. They had no church organization[2622] (such as Archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons in the Anglican church) and monasteries for monks among Buddhists and in the Christian Church. The brāhmaṇas were not monks but house-holders who had to maintain a family and bring up children and to make their sons learned and of high moral and spiritual worth. There is no example in the whole world of a small minority of the population of a country, that had no military strength behind it, being revered for at least thirty centuries without any serious challenge not only by the common people but by nobles and kings. What was the basis of the reverence shown to brāhmaṇas as a class for at least three thousand years? They were believed to be religious, moral and spiritual leaders and the possessors and representatives of an idealistic culture ('ideational' in the language of Prof. Sorokin). The secret of the power of and regard for brāhmaṇas had been the fact that as a class they performed well three of their appointed tasks of study, teaching and comparative renunciation (in spite of the failings of some individual brāhmaṇas). The brāhmaṇas had no army to support them and they could not, by devoting themselves to physical sciences, find new sources of income or well-being for themselves or for the whole community.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Autobiography (p. 432) pays in passing a tribute to the Brāhmaṇa ideal as follows 'But the West also brings an antidote to the evils of this cut-throat civilization – the principles of socialism, co-operation and service to the community for the common good. This is not so unlike the old Brahmin ideal of service etc.' The ancient Indian culture exalted the mind and soul over the body and hence arose an extra-ordinary development of asceticism.

2622. The income of the See of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it is understood, has been fifteen thousand pounds a year (vide Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. by F. L. Cross, London 1957, p. 232). Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 138 for a sample of the actions of Popes and eulogies of the Nordic race by Spengler and others.

If in modern times the caste system has broken down and has become harmful and unpopular among all people, it may be scrapped and discarded (vide above p. 1270 note 2071 for provisions about this). But such a huge and all-pervading system cannot be destroyed in a short time nor by legislation. What those who desire to destroy altogether the caste system want is not clear. Do they want complete westernization of the whole of India ? To the present author this appears to be not only very difficult but almost impossible. Legislation may help a little, but it cannot eradicate within the foreseeable future the mental attitudes and outlook of millions of people. Cases have been reported where village *kunbis* and craftsmen threatened to beat untouchables that wanted to draw water from a village well in the presence of a magistrate. If this campaign against the whole caste system is carried on with force, there are sure to be widespread riots and disorders and the Independence of the country attained after two centuries of colonial rule may be jeopardized. Two matters must be carefully considered and strenuously worked for. Government must see to it that nationalism, the emotion of being one people, in spite of differences in some respects, must be instilled from childhood and among the masses. For that purpose free and compulsory education for all children on national lines must be achieved as quickly as possible. Merely inveighing against casteism by leaders would not do, when people often suspect them as guilty of other ' isms ' (such as nepotism). Universal primary and secondary education, growing number of inter-caste marriages, a growing sense of solidarity as to essentials of culture (though petty differences may exist) would be the first requisites in any scheme of the removal of castes. Besides, very large numbers of self-sacrificing men, of high moral character and devotion to duty would be required for eradicating the evils of the decayed caste system. Another matter also must be very carefully considered. What is going to be substituted in place of the old caste system ? People are afraid that a new caste system of ministers, bureaucrats, captains of industry, men in power and workers is going to be substituted without the saving grace of the ancient caste system.

It should not be forgotten that high spiritual life and mokṣa were not denied to the śūdra. It is true that the Pūrvamīmāṁsā denied to the śūdra the right to study the Veda and to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. I. 26). But even in those ancient times

one sage, Bādari, advocated that the śūdra could study the Veda and perform Vedic sacrifices (P. M. S. VI. 1. 27). Besides, it should be noted that the śūdra was not at all debarred from a spiritual life and could secure mokṣa by studying the Mahābhārata (which contains thousands of verses on Mokṣa), which Vyāsa compassionately composed for the benefit of women and śūdras and which calls itself (in Ādiparva chap. 62. 23) Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra and Mokṣaśāstra, as declared by the Bhāgavata-purāṇa I. 4. 25. All that was decided was that a śūdra could not secure Mokṣa by the study of Veda. Śaṅkarācārya on V. S. I. 3. 38 points out that śūdras like Vidura (Ādiparva 63. 96–97 and 114, 106. 24-28, Udyogaparva 41. 5) and Dharma-vyādha (Vanaparva 207) possesed knowledge of *brahmavidyā* and that it is impossible to say that they were not able to secure Mokṣa. Vide above pp. 921–22 and note 1468a for the discussion of the relevant passages. It is noteworthy that even in early Vedic times the Rathakāra (a caste not belonging to any of the three higher classes) was allowed to set up Vedic fires and could repeat certain Vedic mantras for that purpose and the Niṣāda (also not belonging to any of the three varṇas, but being a śūdra) was allowed to perform an *iṣṭi* to Rudra with Vedic mantras. Vide pp. 1290–91 (for Rathakāra) and pp. 1295–96 (for Niṣāda) above. These facts show that Vedic sacrifices had penetrated into certain śūdra castes long before the sūtras and smṛtis The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (VII. 9. 10) was prepared to hold that a cāṇḍāla (by birth) if he becomes a devotee of Viṣṇu was superior to a brāhmaṇa who was not such a devotee.

The disappearance of the caste system, when it comes about, will not at all imply the disappearance or destruction of all that for which Hinduism has stood up during several millennia.

We should not be constantly harping on the caste system as the only or most basic cause of our downfall. The Moslems have no caste system and yet most of the Moslem countries in the world have been backward and under the thumb of Western powers. China, Japan and the countries in S. E. Asia had hardly anything like the caste system of our country, but the first two about a hundred years ago were very backward and many of the countries in S. E. Asia were within the Colonial Empire of Holland, a small country the population of which is even now only about eleven millions. Since 1818 when the British acquired the Deccan, for about 130 years what little

royal power remained in India was distributed among about 600 princely States ruled by kṣatriyas and others and hardly a dozen brāhmaṇa States existed among those 600. What little trade and commerce existed or was allowed by the British to Indians was in the hands of Parsis, Bhatias, Banias, Marvadis, Jains and Lingayats and the brāhmaṇas had very little share in trade and commerce. It was the brāhmaṇa politicians like Tilak that insisted on *Swadeshi*. Agriculture, money lending and Zamindari were mostly in the hands of non-brāhmaṇas except in Bengal and contiguous territories where the Zamindari system supported by Lord Cornwallis prevailed. Our downfall for centuries was due to lack of certain virtues and idealogies among all our people, high or low. Let us, therefore, all Indians, stop blaming the caste system for our downfall and try to eradicate it or lessen its evils and cultivate virtues like duty for duty's sake, high endeavour, high moral character, nationalism, freedom and justice.

VI. *Aśramas*: Another important characteristic of our culture is the system of Āśramas, which have been in existence for certainly several centuries before the Christian era. The word Āśrama does not occur in the Vedic Saṁhitās or Brāhmaṇas. In Sv. Up. VI. 21 occurs the word 'atyāśramibhyaḥ' (to the best of ascetics) which indicates that the word 'āśrama' had then been known. A generic word comprehending several matters is coined long after the several words for the component parts have been current for centuries. The word śrāddha does not occur in any ancient Vedic passages, though the Piṇḍapitṛyajña (performed by an *agnihotṛin* on each Amāvāsyā), the Mahāpitṛyajña (performed in the cāturmāsya rite Sākamedha) and the Aṣṭakā rites (all of which are rites in honour of pitṛs) were known in early Vedic literature (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV. pp. 349–50). Similarly, some of the āśramas were certainly known from the times of the Ṛgveda. The Āśramas[2623] long before the time of the sūtra literature at least have been four viz. brahmacarya (stage of studenthood), gārhasthya (householder stage), vānaprasthya (stage of forest hermit) or vaikhānasa (Gaut. III. 2), Sannyāsa (stage of ascetic life) or Mauna or Pārivrājya or Pravrajyā or Bhikṣu (Gaut. III. 2). Āśramas have been dealt with in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 416–426, brahmacarya in H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 349–382, forest hermit (in pp. 919–929) and sannyāsa in pp.

2623. चत्वार आश्रमा गार्हस्थ्यमाचार्यकुलं मौनं वानप्रस्थ्यमिति। आप. ध. सू. II. 9, 21. 1 quoted by शङ्कराचार्य in भाष्य on V. S. III. 1. 47.

930–975 (of the same volume). The span of human life is said to be one hundred years or winters or autumns from the times of the Ṛgveda (Rg. VI. 4. 8; 10. 7, 12. 6, 17. 15, 24. 10 in all these hundred winters), VII. 101. 6, X. 161. 3 and 4 (autumns). As no one could say how long one might live it is not to be supposed that each stage was of 25 years; all that is meant is that a man may, if he lives long, pass through the four stages. The word brahmacārī occurs in Rg. X. 109. 9 and Tai, S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and brahmacarya in Tai. S. VI. 3. 10. 5 and Tai, Br. III. 10. 11. In Rg. VI. 53. 2 occurs the word 'gṛhapati' (lord of the house) meaning the same thing as gṛhastha. Indra is said to be the friend of munis (in Rg. VIII. 17. 14) and yatis are said to have praised Indra (Rg. VIII 6. 18). The Kaṭha Up. IV. 15 saying that the self of the *Muni* (knowing the reality) becomes one with the Supreme Self indicates that the reference is to a Sannyāsin who had realized the Supreme Spirit. The Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 22 saying that the Great Self is the Lord of the universe, that brāhmaṇas seek to know him by study of the Veda, by sacrifices and gifts, by austerities (*tapas*) and by fasting and that, after realizing that Supreme Self the man becomes a muni, that desiring this stage only the wandering (ascetics) leave home (take to that stage). Here those engaged in tapas are placed at an earlier stage than pravrajyā. Therefore, the Ch. Up. II. 23. 1, speaking about three branches of Dharma, should be taken as mentioning the three āśramas and the words 'one who is firmly established in *brahman* obtains immortality' should be taken as referring to the 4th Āśrama. As pointed out in H. of Dh. Vol. II. pp. 928–929 most of the rules laid down for forest hermits are the same as those for the sannyāsin and there was difference between the two in a few matters only. From Bṛ. Up. II. 4. 1 ff. and IV. 5. 2 ff. (where the word *pravrajiṣyan* is used) for *udyāsyan* (in II. 4. 1) it follows that Yājñavalkya became a sannyāsin (or parivrājaka) immediately after leaving the householder's life. Later on in the *Kalivarjya* acts the stage of being a forest hermit is included. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 420 n. 999 on Chān. Up. II. 23.1. The stage of householder (gṛhastha) was highly praised. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 424–425, 640–41, Vol. V. pp. 1026–27.

The stage of sannyāsa or yati was highly honoured, because it was deemed to lead to mokṣa. The result was that many persons quite unfit to lead the life prescribed for a real sannyāsin only entered the order and possessed all the outward

signs of that stage such as wearing ochre-coloured garments, shaving the head, carrying three staffs and a water jar. They are condemned in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva 308. 47 (cr. ed. = 320. 47 Ch. ed.) quoted in H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 936 n 2151b and above p. 1369 n. 2241). Yāj. III. 58 provides that the sannyāsin should be good to all beings, quiescent, have three daṇḍas and a water jar and should enter a village for begging alms. Some interpreted the word *tridaṇḍī* as meaning ' carrying three staffs', while others like Manu XII. 10 and Dakṣa VII. 30 provide that a person is called tridaṇḍI who observes threefold restraint, viz. of speech, mind and body. The sannyāsin was so highly esteemed that for deciding doubtful points of dharma a single ascetic was allowed to do the work of a pariṣad and declare the proper decision (vide H. of Dh. Vol. II p. 969). Similarly, great emphasis was laid on inviting a Yati at a śrāddha dinner (vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV pp. 388, 399). The Bṛhaj-jātaka (chapter 15) deals with the question about the horoscopic indications for different kinds of ascetics being born on the conjunction of four or more powerful planets in the same sign of the zodiac in the horoscope and adds that according as Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn, or the Sun is the most powerful of the four or more planets in one sign in a horoscope, the person whose nativity it is becomes respectively an ascetic of the types of Bauddha, Ājīvika,[2624] a bhikṣu (i. e. vedic ascetic), Vṛddha (a Kāpālika), a *caraka*, a nirgrantha (a Jain ascetic) or one subsisting on forest produce, fruits, roots &c.[2625] This shows that long before Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.) so many kinds of ascetics flourished or were common in India.

The *varṇa* system classified the whole community and was addressed to people in the mass ; the Āśrama theory addresses itself to the individuals in a community and maps out for them

2624. The ājīvikas were an ancient class of monks. They are mentioned in Aśoka's 7th Pillar Edict (E. I. Vol. II. pp. 270, 272) Daśaratha, grandson of Emperor Aśoka, made grants of caves to Ājivika monks. Vide C. I. I. Vol. I. p. 181. The founder of the order was Gośāla, once a disciple of Mahāvīra, who later left him. The Vāyupurāṇa (62.285) refers to them as ' adhārmika '. Vide ' History and the doctrines of the Ājīvikas ' by Prof. A. L. Basham (Luzac and Co. 1951). This is an exhaustive work on the Ājīvikas.

2625. एकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाताः पृथग्वीर्यगैः शाक्याजीविकभिक्षुबुद्धचरका निर्ग्रन्थवन्याशनाः । माहेयद्रुयुरक्षपाकरसितभाभाकरीनैः क्रमात् प्रव्रज्या बलिभिः समाः परजितै-स्तत्स्वामिभिः प्रच्युतिः ॥ बृहज्जातक 15.1. उत्पल quotes Prākrit verses on the same subject from Vaṅkālakācārya and several Āryās in Sanskrit from Satyācārya, a predecessor of Varāha.

how they should order their lives and what preparations are required for the several goals of human life. Deussen in the 'Philosophy of the Upanisads' (English translation of 1906, p. 397) says about the Āśrama theory that 'the entire history of mankind does not produce much that approaches in grandeur to this thought.'

VII. The doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma (transmigration or metempsychosis).

This is one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Hindu system of religion and philosophy and is unique in its own way, particularly in its long continuity and immense early literature. It has been dealt with above in a separate and extensive chapter (XXXV pp. 1530 ff). It is not, therefore, necessary to say anything more here.

VIII. Another important doctrine is that of *ahiṁsā*. So far as the Upanisads, Mahābhārata, Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas are concerned the subject of *ahiṁsā* has been dealt with above in pp. 944-947 and in Vol, II. p. 10. A few matters are briefly mentioned here. The words *kratu* and *yajña* occur hundreds of times in the Rgveda. The difference sometimes made is this that the word *yajña* is very general (including the five daily religious duties laid down in Manu III. 70), while *kratu* is confined to solemn Vedic sacrifices like Somayāga. Pānini mentions the two separately (IV. 3. 68) and the Gītā IX. 16 (aham kraturaham yajñaḥ) also does the same. Animals were offered in some of these, though not in all. Gradually it came to be thought even in the Rgveda times that worshipping Agni with fuel sticks or with an oblation of cooked food or ghee or with Veda study or obeisances or with a solemn sacrifice is on the same level and the worshipper is rewarded with swift horses (dashing against enemies) and with highest glory and no trouble whether divine or due to men, reaches him (Rg. VIII. 19. 5-6). Some Brāhmaṇa texts are couched in the same strain. The Ait.[2626] Br. (VI. 9) remarks 'he who offers a cake performs a sacrifice equal to the offering of all sacrificial animals'. The Tai. Br. provides that the forest sacrificial animals, after a firebrand is carried around them, are let off for the sake of ahiṁsā. Dr. A. Schweitzer in his 'Indian thought and its development' (tr. into English by Mrs. Russell, 1936) tries hard to establish a contrast between the attitude of what he calls 'world and life negation' in Hindu thought and 'world and life affir-

2626. सर्वेषां वा एष पशूनां मेधेन यजते यः पुरोडाशेन यजते। ऐ. ब्रा. VI. 9; पर्यग्निकृतानारण्यान्छुत्सृजन्त्यहिंसायै। तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 3. 3 (सायण explains स च परित्यागो हिंसाराहित्याय सम्पद्यते).

mation' characteristic of Christianity and as a side issue remarks (on p. 80) that 'the ahiṁsā commandment does not arise from a feeling of compassion but from a feeling of keeping a person undefiled'. The learned author ignores several things; firstly,[2627] not a word is said about purity (śauca) in the

2627. This is not the place to give a lengthy reply to Dr. Schweitzer's remarks. Dr. Schweitzer's compliment to Christ, Christianity and the West was criticized by Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Eastern Religion and Western thought' (1939 pp. 76–110) and by Shri D. S. Sharma in 'Renaissance of Hinduism' pp. 618–634. On p. 2 Dr. Schweitzer boldly asserts that world and life affirmation unceasingly urges men to serve their fellows, society, the nation, mankind and indeed all that lives with their utmost will &c. One should like to know the Biblical passages where all this grand thought is explicitly stated. On p. 4 he contradicts himself when he says 'Christianity also brought European thought into relation with world and life negation.' The two great commandments of Jesus are first 'to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul' and the second is 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (vide Matthew 22.37 and 39 and Mark 12. 30–31). This is hardly anything like what Schweitzer says about Christianity's world and life affirmation. Not a word is said here about even loving all human beings, much less loving 'all that lives'. The world has had enough of the world and life affirmation of Christianity (or rather of Christian nations or people). Attention is invited to H. of Dh. Vol. II. p. 180, where Westermarck's remarks in his 'Origin and development of the moral ideas' (1912) Vol. I. p. 711 are cited on slavery. The world knows what during the last four or five hnndred years the colonial empires of Christian countries like England, France, Holland, Belgium, Portugal and Spain did in India, Africa, S. E. Asia, the Congo and America. On p. VII of his Preface he appears to contradict himself when he disagrees with the view of Schopenhauer and Deussen about Indian thought being completely governed by the ideal of world and life negation and admits the fact that 'world and life affirmation is present at the back of this thought (Indian thought) from the very dawn of its history, and life negation and world and life affirmation constitute its chief characteristic and determine its development'. Both books (Dr. Sweitzer's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's) are reviewed in 'Hibbert Journal' for 1953 pp. 234–241 and 355–365 by C. W. M. Gell who finds both works disappointing, holds that Schweitzer has misunderstood the Hindu ideal of supra-ethical man, that negation and affirmation have not been properly defined by him, that it was only very late in Christian history that the West began to work actively for improvement of social and economic conditions. Social service was not unknown in Ancient India. The very idea of 'pūrta' dharma is social service. Vide above pp. 947-949. The Purāṇas emphasize the importance of work for relieving distressed beings. For example, the Mārkaṇḍeya has the following very noble sentiment (15. 57) 'men would not obtain that happiness in heaven or in the world of Brahmā which arises from giving happiness to distressed men' (न स्वर्गे ब्रह्मलोके वा तत्सुखं प्राप्यते नरैः। यदार्तजन्तुनिर्वाणदानोत्थमिति मे मतिः॥). Vide also note 6 on pp. 3-4 of H. of Dh. vol. II.

Chāndogya and other passages about ahiṁsā. Secondly, the injunction about not giving pain to any being (in Chān. Up.) is immediately preceded by the words 'having concentrated all his senses on the Self'. That shows that one who knows and has come to realize that all is *brahma* should give no pain to others as all those also are brahma and not on the ground of purity or defilement. Further, in the Mahābhārata and Smṛtis some of which at least are not far removed in time from the Upaniṣads both ahiṁsā and śauca (purity) are separately mentioned along with other duties (dharmas) common to all varṇas. Gaut. (8. 23–24) lays down eight qualities of the soul for every dvija viz. compassion towards all beings, forbearance, freedom from jealousy, freedom from excessive harm (to himself), doing auspicious acts, absence of abjectness (or miserliness), absence of discontent'. The same eight are specified in the Matsya-purāṇa 52. 8–10, Atrismṛti 34–41. Manu V. 46 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 69) provides 'he who does not desire to cage or kill or cause pain to living beings, thus desirous of doing good to all, secures highest (or never ending) happiness'. Śauca is external (of the body) and internal (of the mind). Manu V. 106 expressly says that he who is pure as to money matters is really pure and not one who washes himself with sand or water. Vide above pp. 1421-22 notes 2331 and 2333. It is worthy of note that the Śāntiparva (chapter 162. 4-5 = Cr. ed. 156. 4-5) contains an apotheosis of *Satya* as the ancient Dharma and *brahman* itself and then in verses 7–9 Satya is stated to appear in thirteen aspects such as *tyāga* (renunciation of attachment and pleasures), *samatā* (being the same to all), *dama* (restraint of senses), *kṣamā* (forbearance), *hrī* (being ashamed to boast of one's good deeds), *anasūyā* (absence of jealousy), *dayā* (compassion) and so on, *ahiṁsā* being the 13th aspect of Satya.

It was only in Jainism that thoroughgoing ahiṁsā was preached and practised. Buddha had no objection to eating flesh, provided the animal was not killed specially for doing him honour or treating him.

IX. The three paths, viz. Karmamārga, Bhaktimārga and Jñānamārga. These have already been dealt with above in pp. 964-967, 1462. The Bhagavadgītā expounds the further doctrine of what is called niṣkāma-karmayoga, which has been explained above on pp. 966–67. Doing one's duty without hankering for the fruit thereof is worship of God.

X. Adhikāra-bheda

It was recognised in India from very early times that in the matter of religious worship and philosophical doctrines, there are different grades among human beings. All are not competent to grasp and act upon abstruse metaphysical doctrines or to follow higher forms of worship. This has been brought out in several places before. Vide above p. 973 note 1593 and p. 1462. Abstruse metaphysical doctrines are likely to be misunderstood and therefore we find that there is an effort to keep such doctrines secret and frequent warnings are given in the Upaniṣads not to impart the knowledge of *brahman* to all and sundry and to keep it secret. Vide p. 1071–72 and Chān. Up. III. 11. 5 set out above on p. 1460, Śv. Up. VI. 22, Kaṭha Up. III. 17, Bṛ. Up. III. 2. 13 (Yājñavalkya and Ārtabhāga did not discuss *brahman* among people). The word Upaniṣad came to mean 'secret doctrine' (vide Tai. Up. II. 9 and III. 10). This tendency to keep abstruse doctrines secret obtained in other nations in antiquity (vide St. Mark 4. 11, 34–35). The Haṭhayogapradīpikā[2628] has similar provisions (vide p. 1460 above). Many modern writers condemn people that engage in image worship. The reasons advanced for image worship by Indian works are given in note 1593 p. 973 above. The worshipper of an image of Gaṇeśa or Kālī casts the image in water (a river, sea &c.) after a day or more (when the period of the festival is over). So it is not as if he worshipped the wooden or earthen object but he has an emotional idea for the time being that God is enthroned in that object. These common people, if questioned, will say 'God is everywhere, in you, in me and in the wooden image'. The Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa 62. 5 (quoted by Aparārka p. 140 on Yāj. I. 101) says that sages declare that the worship of Hari (God Viṣṇu) may be performed in six ways, viz. in water, in fire, in one's own heart, in the sun's orb, on an altar or in an image.[2629] The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa appears to have been conscious that image worship came later in Kali age and was not prevalent

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2628. हठविद्या परं गोप्या योगिना सिद्धिमिच्छता।
भवेद्वीर्यवती गुप्ता निर्वीर्या तु प्रकाशिता॥ हठयोगप्र० I. 11

2629. अप्स्वग्नौ हृदये सूर्ये स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च। षट्स्वेतेषु हरेः सम्यगर्चनं मुनिभिः स्मृतम्॥ अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो ... योगिनां हृदये हरिः॥ नृसिंहपुराण 62. 5-6 (the 2nd quoted in note 1593 above). Vide स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (आह्निक p. 198 ed. by Mr. Gharpure) which quotes verses from the Smṛtis of Hārīta and Marīci to the same effect. Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण III. 93. 5–7 and 20.

in former ages (III. chap. 93. 5–7 and 20). The present author saw in several European Churches the images of the Madonna or the images or pictures of certain saints worshipped by Christian people that addressed prayers to the image of the Madonna or the pictures of saints for fulfilment of their desires. Therefore, he thinks that it would not be wrong for him to say that the religion of many Christians in Europe is image worship.[2630] The several darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) were looked upon generally as approximations to truth. There was no question of all of them being false and one alone as containing the truth.

(XI) Vast Sanskrit literature.

India produced a vast amount of Sanskrit literature of a most varied character for at least three thousand years. There is no country in the world that can exhibit continuous creation of several departments of literature for such a long period. Sanskrit literature penetrated to countries like Tibet, China, Java and others. Its literature influenced the Moslem world and European world by means of the decimal place value system, its fable literature and system of Vedānta. Vide Winternitz's ' Some problems of Indian Literature ' (the Readership Lectures in Calcutta University) pp. 59–81 for a brief but instructive treatment of the influence of Sanskrit Literature in the West. Its study by Europeans at the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century laid the foundation of several sciences, such as the science of language, of comparative religion, of thought and of mythology. There exist several Histories of Sanskrit Literature by several scholars such as Weber, Max Müller, Winternitz, Keith, M. Krishnamachariar, which will give an idea to any reader of the variety and vastness of Sanskrit literature.

2630. Vide ' Hinduism and Buddhism ' by Sir Charles Elliot, Vol. I. Intro. p. LXX, where a similar view is expressed by the learned writer who relies also on William James' ' Varieties of religious experience ' pp. 525–527. Sir Oliver Lodge in ' Man and the Universe ' (London, 1908) pp. 246–247) says " There are plenty of good reasons against idolatry among intellectual and ' chosen ' people but this (God was jealous of idol worship) is not one of them; nor is it to be supposed that the stock of a tree is ever really worshipped even when prostrated to. An idol, to ignorant and undeveloped people, is a symbol of something which they are really worshipping under a material form and embodiment, the sensuous presentation assists their infantile efforts towards abstract thought as material sacraments help people in a higher stage of religious development; but some of these helps should be outgrown. "

India has preserved for itself and for the world a vast literature in the best part of which the principal theme is to ask men never to cease in their efforts to control the senses and to reach higher and higher heights of morality and spirituality. H. H. Gowen in ' A History of Indian Literature ' (1931) observes (on p. 8) ' Indian literature has an intrinsic value which no remoteness avails to destroy. For sacredness, variety and continuity, scarcely any other may compare with it, certainly none surpasses it. As for sacredness no other scripture, not even our Bible, may compete with the Veda in its continuity or in the matter of general acceptance '. He dilates also on the variety and remarkable continuity of Indian literature. Classical Sanskrit first blossoned at least before 500 B. C. Pāṇini names at least ten predecessors and his sūtras IV. 3. 87 and 88 clearly indicate that before his time there was considerable non-vedic secular literature.

XII. Yoga : Yoga has been treated of above (pp. 1385–1462). In the whole world there exists hardly any well thought out and comprehensive system of psychical and moral discipline like Yoga. Mercea Eliade observes (on p. 359) in ' Yoga, Immortality and Freedom ' (tr. by Willard R. Trask, 1958) ' Yoga constitutes a characteristic dimension of the Indian mind, is marked by reaction against metaphysical speculations and the excesses of a fossilized ritualism '. Western minds having experienced a surfeit of economic prosperity, but worried by the tensions and crises of these times are turning more and more to Yoga and to Indian philosophy such as the Vedānta. In recent years numerous books are being published that deal with ' perennial philosophy ', Yoga (including Tibetan Yoga), meditation, concentration, mystical experience &c. Many of these books are written by honest people after reading a good deal of literature on these subjects but they are wanting in any personal yogic or mystic experience. There are some books that are written by persons who want to take advantage of the popular craze for Yoga and similar mystical practices for the sake of wealth and fame. In 'Vedanta for the Western World' edited by Christopher Isherwood (Allen and Unwin, London, 1948) the famous writer Mr. Aldous Huxley sounds a note of warning against the plethora of books on mysticism and Yoga in the market (p. 376).

XIII. Philosophy :

The central point of much of our philosophy is contained in Chāndogyopaniṣad VI.1, where Uddālaka inquires of his conceited

son Śvetaketu "Have you asked for that instruction by which one hears what cannot be heard, by which one perceives what cannot be perceived, by which one knows what cannot be known;' and when Śvetaketu asked for that instruction, Uddālaka expounds to him (in VI. 1-16) the subject at length and winds up with the words 'tat-tvam-asi' (thou art that Self). An inquirer into philosophy will find in the various branches of Indian philosophy a vast mass of material, hardly surpassed by any other ancient country in the world. The word for philosophy is *darśana* and there is a famous work called 'Sarvadarśansaṅgraha' in which fifteen different points of view apart from *advaita* Vedānta are summarised. The principal orthodox darśanas are six—Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika. Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Uttaramīmāṁsā' (or Vedānta), which have been treated above and their relation to and influence on Dharmaśāstra has been dwelt upon. The chief marks of Indian philosophy are that it concentrates on the spiritual, that philosophy has to be lived and not merely discussed, that it seeks the Reality, that for real philosophy great moral preparation is necessary, that reason has to be extensively used in arriving at the truth, that tradition and authority have to be accepted and not neglected. Almost all darśanas (except that of Cārvāka) are concerned with Liberation (variously called Mokṣa, Kaivalya, Nirvāṇa, Amṛtatva, Niḥśreyasa, Apavarga) and all (except Cārvāka) are agreed on the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma. It is not necessary to say more on Indian Philosophy in this Chapter.

XIV. *Arts. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting :*

Though the present author has travelled throughout India for over fifty years and seen most of the famous places rich in ancient architecture, sculpture and painting, he lays no claim to being a connoisseur in these matters and cannot give his own valuation of these relics of ancient Indian Art. The number of works on these is legion. A mere bibliography would not be of much use to the reader. Therefore, he will content himself with mentioning a few works on each of the above branches which he has read wholly or partly or which he consulted.

Among the most remarkable ancient monuments of India are the stūpa at Sāṇchī, the paintings in the Ajaṇṭā caves, the

Kailāsa temple at Ellora, and the Koṇārka[2631] temple in Orissa.

Some of the Purāṇas contain information on the above topics. The Matsyapurāṇa (chap. 252. 2–4) names 18 expounders of Vāstuśāstra (architecture) such as Bhṛgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandīśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra and Bṛhaspati. Chapters 253–257 deal with the construction of mansions and houses, chap. 258–263 with images of several deities. The Vāyupurāṇa (8. 108 ff.) describes the founding of a capital. Agnipurāṇa, chapters 42, 104–106 deal with the building of mansions, houses and laying out cities. The Viṣṇudharmottara (third section) is called *citrasūtra*[2632] because dancing is held to be the primary art and painting rests on it. It is further said that painting is the best of arts (III. 33. 38) and the foremost of auspicious things in a house, that the rules that apply to painting are applicable to the making of images of metals, stone and wood (III. 43.31–32). Chapters 36–43 deal with painting, chapters 44–85 with the making of images of gods and goddesses and housebuilding is dilated upon in chap. 86 ff. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā (ed. by M. M. Sudhakar Dvivedi, 1895) of Varāhamihira (500–550 A.D.) deals with palaces, mansions and houses of king, crown prince and others; in chap. 52 (123 verses) with temples of several gods, in chap. 53 (31 verses) with images of gods, in chap. 57 (Rāma, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, Śiva, Buddha, Jina, the Sun,

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2631. For Koṇārka, vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV of 769, Modern Review (Calcutta) for 1945 pp. 67–72 with seven illustrations by Mr. Pranakrushna Samal and 'A time in India' by Ross Smith pp. 198–201 on 'Konarka, its mithunas and several explantions about them.' The tower of the temple of the Sun 24 miles to the N. W. of Puri is 180 feet in height, the Maṇḍapa in front is 140 feet high. In 'Orissan Sculpture and Architecture' by O. C. Ganguly and A. Goswami (1956, Calcutta) out of 41 plates, plates 21-41 relate to the Sun temple of Koṇārka. For Sānchi, three big volumes with numerous plates have been published by the Govt. of India, the editors bein Sir John Marshall, A. Foucher and N. Majumdar.

2632. Vide the present author's 'History of Sanskrit Poetics' (1961) pp. 66–72 for an account of the Viṣṇudharmottara and its date (575–650 A. D.). Dr, Miss Stella Kramrisch has translated into English the chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara bearing on painting and sculpture (Cal. Un. 1928). Varāha-mihira mentions several authors such as Garga and Manu on palaces (55, 31), Nagnajit (57. 4) and Vasiṣṭha (57. 8) on images.

Liṅga, Mother Goddesses, Yama), with images or statues of five kinds of men (chap. 68 verse 30) called Haṁsa, Śaśa, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mālavya and their bodily features.

There are several other works like the Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja (Calcutta ed. of 1917), the Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi (also called Mānasollāsa)[2633] of king Someśvara, Śilparatna (T. S. S.), Mayamata (T. S. S.) on these subjects.

Paintings—The only famous ancient paintings are those in the caves of Ajanta, in the Bagh caves in the former Gwalior State and those in the caves at Sigiriya in Ceylon. For reasons of space it is not possible to quote the enthusiastic appreciations of Western writers on ancient Indian Art, particularly paintings and sculpture. The author would quote a few passages from Rene Grousset's[2634] works: 'India has given a mighty art or a complete Aesthetic equal in originality and power to the Greek and Chinese. It is marked by its naturalism in depicting animals'. The same writer says about Ajanta's immortal paintings 'they count among the most moving that have ever come within human vision'. 'In civilizations of the East' (tr. by Mrs. C. A. Phillips, London, 1932 with 249 illustrations) the same author (after citing paintings of the Jātakas of self-sacrifice) remarks 'these are but a few examples, the most poetic, tender and moving that could be imagined. No better example could be found of that purely Indian sentiment of universal brotherhood, that fervour of humanitarianism which extends even to animals and plants' (p. 79). For Ajanta, there is a fine edition by Dr. G. Yazdani, the text in two parts (1930 and 1933) and there are besides many coloured and monochrome plates with an Introduction by Lawrence Binyon. There is also another small work prepared for the use of Lord Reading on his visit to Ajanta in 1924 in which Dr. Yazdani gives ten colour plates and one monochrome plate (of a bull fight) with notes on some of the scenes in several caves and appreciations by Binyon, Rothenstein, Solomon and others. Another good book is 'my pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh' by Sri Mukul Chandra Dey, with Introduction by Lawrence Binyon (London, 1925)

2633. The third Viṁśati of Mānasollāsa deals with Vāstuśāstra, painting, images of gods and goddesses, planets &c. (vide part II of the work in G. O. S.).

2634. Vide 'The Sum of History' by Rene Grousset, translated by A. & H. Temple Patterson, *Tower Bridge Publications, 1951, p. 105, p. 107* about Ajanta.

A third book on Ajanta is in Marathi written and published in 1929 by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh State, with half-tone and coloured illustrations. Percy Brown on 'Indian Painting' deals with Buddhist, Hindu and Mahomedan Painting and covers a long period from 6th century A. D. to 19th Century A. D. He gives two illustrations of Sigiriya paintings opposite pp. 33, 69, which are remarkably similar to some paintings in caves 16 and 17 at Ajanta. In Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' illustrations No. 183 and No. 184 are respectively from Bagh and Sigiriya.

Many modern works deal with all three viz. architecture sculpture and painting or with two of them or with one only Some important works are mentioned here :

1. E. B. Havell's 'Indian Sculpture and Painting' (London, 1908) with 45 plates for sculpture and 8 for painting.
2. V. A. Smith's 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' with 38 illustrations (including some of Moslem Art), Oxford, 1911.
3. A. Foucher's 'Beginnings of Buddhist Art' (1917), with plates.
4. Ananda K. Coomarswamy's 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' (1927), with 400 illustrations on 128 plates.
5. 'Ellora' by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Chief of Aundh with 89 half-tone illustrations, published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay.
6. James Fergusson's 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture', volumes I and II, London, 1910.
7. T. A. Gopinath Rao's 'Elements of Hindu Iconography,' Vol. I and II (Madras, 1914, 1916).
8. Dr. Stella Kramrisch on 'The Art of India' (sculpture, painting, architecture), London, Phaidon Press, 1954, with 156 plates and 7 coloured plates.
9. Dr. Stella Kramrisch's 'Indian Sculpture' (1933) with 116 illustrations.
10. Rene Grousset's 'The civilizations of the East' Vol. II (on India) with 249 illustrations.
11. A. V. T. Iyer's 'Indian Architecture' in three volumes (Madras).

12. Ananda K. Coomarswamy's 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography' (Harvard Un. Cambridge, U. S. A., 1935); also his 'Dance of Śiva' (frontispiece of Naṭarāja in cosmic dance), Foreword by Romain Rolland, 27 plates, (1924).
13. 'Indian Architecture' (Buddhist and Hindu), published by D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, Bombay, with 118 illustrations.
14. Benjamin Rowland's 'The Art and Architecture of India' (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain), Penguin Books, 1956; remarks that some sculptures are worthy of being placed in world culture and the Art presents synthesis of beautiful forms and deep spiritual expression.
15. Heinrich Zimmer's 'Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization' posthumously published by J. Campbell, 70 plates from 2nd century B. C. to 19th century A. D.
16. 'Immortal India' by Alfred Newrath, translated from German, published by D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay, with 12 coloured and 106 photographic reproductions, 1956.
17. H. Goetz's 'Five thousand years of Indian Art' Bombay, 1959; 72 plates (many coloured ones) and two maps; D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Bombay.
18. Sir John Marshall's 'Buddhist Art of Gandhāra' Vol. I, Memoir of Archaeological Department of Pakistan, 1960, (111 Plates) and his work in three volumes on 'Taxila' Cambridge Un. Press 1951 for scholars, and his 'Guide to Taxila' (4th ed. of 1960) for tourists and general readers.

South Indian Architecture and Sculpture has some peculiarities of its own. Some works thereon may be mentioned here viz. 'Dravidian Architecture by G. J. Dubreuil (1917), 'Mahabalipuram' by C. Śivarāmamurty (Dept. of Archaeology) 7 full page plates; 'Art of Pallavas' text and notes by B. C. Ganguly and ed. by A. Goswami, 46 plates (1957).

Besides, on music also several works have been written : 'Music of Hindustan' (Oxford 1914) by A. H. Fox Strangway Alain Danielou's 'Northern Indian music' vol. I and II (London, 1949, 1954), H. A. Popley's 'the Music of India', (Calcutta, 1950), O. Goswami's 'The story of Indian Music (Bombay, 1957), G. H. Ranade's 'Hindustani Music and Outline of its Physics

and Aesthetics' (Poona, 1951). But the present author unfortunately knows little about music.

Indian architectonic and iconographic symbolism spread to Java, Bali and other parts of Indonesia and many works have been written on this subject such as 'Barabudor' (Java) by Paul Mus, G. Gorer's 'Bali and Angkor', 'Towards Angkor' by Quaritch Wales (with a full Bibliography at end), W. F. Stutterheim's 'Indian influences in Balinese Art' (London, 1935).

A few more characteristics could have been mentioned; the present writer desists from adding them since the list is already a long one. It is not claimed that no other culture had or has these characteristics. What is claimed is that there is no other single culture in the world where all these can be found now or existed in the past and that some of these characteristics such as the noble Vedānta concept of man, lower animals and even inanimate things being one in Essence, the great tolerance throughout the ages for differing religious and philosophical views, the emphasis on *satya* and *ahiṁsā* are unique and not found elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Future Trends

After the battle of Plassey in 1757 the civil government of the three large provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came under British rule from 1765. From 1818 when the last Peshwa Bajirao II was defeated and became a pensioner, the British were in control over the whole of India except Punjab, which was subdued in 1845. The British left India in 1947. Therefore, they were rulers over a large part of India for 180 years, over the whole of it except Punjab for about 130 years and over Punjab just about 100 years. The impact of British occupation during these periods on Hindu society was tremendous in all spheres, physical, mental and moral. The changes effected during these years of British rule were of such magnitude that they far exceeded the changes that occurred in hundreds of years before the coming of the British. With the advent of British rule came a new system of Government on an all India basis, establishment of courts of justice on Western patterns, laws that applied to all Indians without distinction, modern individualistic liberty, Western pattern of living at least in towns and cities, an educational system placing all Indians on the same level, newspapers, better means of transport, study of modern science, English literature and arts &c.

The present author has no intention of writing anything on the all round changes that have taken place in India under British rule. All that he proposes to do in this chapter is to indicate *briefly* the effects that are likely to be produced on Hindu society, its ancient ideals and values in the near future, on account of science and modern ideas, the Constitution framed for Indian democracy, the idea of a secular State, socialistic pattern of society, economical planning, legislation, growth of population and means to check it.

But before he deals with the above subjects, it is necessary to give a rapid review of the state of things before Independence was achieved. Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India in 1882 started a scheme of local self-government by means of municipal corporations in the cities and district and local Boards in the rural areas. Thus after about 120 years from 1765 when British rule was first established in a large part of India, the British

thought fit to associate the conquered people in managing some of their own (unimportant and petty) affairs. Colonialism on the part of the British had reached its peak by that time. The British imported raw materials like cotton from India, processed them in Manchester and exported the manufactured products back to India's immense market. At the instance of British manufacturers laws were passed in Britain forbidding the import of Indian silk and cotton goods. India was drained of wealth by that policy for over a hundred years and India became one of the poorest countries in the world. Dadabhai Naoroji in his 'Poverty and un-British rule in India' (London, 1901, 675 pages) demonstrated this very ably. The main elements of the colonial rule of Britain were these; complete political subjection existed; the main economic activity was in the hands of foreigners, it was foreign capital that was employed in India and substantial dividends or interest on the capital were guaranteed in some cases like the Railways by the British rulers of India payable from the taxes imposed on Indian people, the control of large enterprises was in foreign hands and directed towards securing foreign interests, the land and people were used as instruments of the purposes of Britain. India got peace and political unity at the cost of enormous poverty and distress and many of the economic problems that beset present day India have to be traced back to the disastrous colonial policies of Britain.

The army of the Government of India was for over a century entirely officered by the British. There were in the 20th century about 7000 officers (lieutenants, captains, majors, colonels) among whom not one Indian held the King's commission till after the first world war. Then a few were sent every year for training to England. The examination for entry in the Indian civil[2635] Service (the 'Steel frame' of the Indian

2635. A well known jibe in the author's youth was that an I. C. S. was neither Indian (almost all were British in those days) nor civil nor a servant (but he was the master of the destinies of poor India). Munro wrote in 1817 a memorandum to Lord Hastings from which two sentences may be quoted : 'there is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India...Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence and often wtih great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we' pp. 273–74 of 'the Making of Indian Princes' (London, 1943) by Edward Thompson. Vide G. W. Forrest's 'Selections from the Minutes and other official writings of Elphinstone' (London, 1884) p 102 for reproach against British rule in India.

administration, as one great British Prime Minister was pleased to call it) was held in England (in spite of a Resolution of the House of Commons that the examination for appointment to the Indian Civil Service in 1893 should be held simultaneously in India and England). Only a few Indians in the last quarter of the 19th century could go to England and qualify for entry in that heaven-born service. District officers such as Collectors, District Judges, Police Superintendents, Medical officers (of the Indian Medical Service) were almost all British. Almost all Professors in colleges and the head masters of even some secondary schools were Englishmen. All the books to be used in schools were prescribed by the Head of the Department of Public Instruction in the several provinces, all of whom were Westerners. Even primary education was being given only to a small fraction of the children of school-going age, even in 1947 when the British left. The elements of colonial rule by Britain and the policies pursued by the British rulers are emphasized here solely as warnings to present warring elements in our country that if they pursue their quarrels to bitter ends the nation may again be plunged into a miserable state by invasions from powerful and hostile neighbours.

Morley (who was Secretary of State for India and who was believed by many Indians to be a man of liberal or even radical views) introduced separate communal electorates for Moslems in the reforms of 1909 and he was firmly of opinion that a Parliamentary system in India should not be established in the foreseeable[2636] future. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to Montagu's famous speech in 1917, characterizing the Indian Government as too wooden, too antediluvian for modern times, to his statement (the reverse of Morley's views) that 'the policy of the British Government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realiza-

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2636. *Vide* the volume of "Indian Speeches" by Viscount Morley (p. 92) where he says "If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire". Even so late as 1941 Sir G. Schuster in "India and Democracy" (MacMillan, 1941) strongly expressed the view that Parliamentary democracy of the Westminster pattern would not suit India and that Indians would have to work out a system of their own. He does not even indicate how, while the British ruled India, a democratic system could be evolved by Indians and in how many years.

tion of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire,' the failure of Dyarchy introduced by Montagu, the Rowlatt Acts, unrest in Punjab, General Dyer's proclamation declaring any assembly of four or more persons as unlawful, his shooting of men, women and children assembled in Jallianwallah Bagh for a meeting in defiance of the proclamation, when, even according to Government statistics, 300 people were killed and 1200 injured, Dyer's compulsory retirement and the presentation of a purse of thirty thousand pounds to him by his British admirers for saving the British Empire (as they then thought).

The introduction of education through English was espoused by Lord Macaulay in his 'Minute on Indian Education'. Why he insisted on the education of Indians through English is stated in the Minute as follows: 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect'.[2637] English education caused great wastage of effort in learning all subjects (including even Sanskrit) through English and led to a disproportionate pursuit of literary studies and neglect of scientific and technological subjects and created a wide gulf between the educated and the uneducated masses; it glorified Western culture and did not help Indians to study and appreciate their own culture. Educated Indians, particularly in the earlier period of English education in India, came to entertain an exaggerated respect for Western institutions and unduly disparaged their own social and religious systems.

The British Government's interest in Indian education (particularly higher education) was lukewarm. Three Universities (of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras) were first established in 1857 for the whole of India, but they were merely examining bodies. In the whole of the Bombay Presidency there was no Science Institute entirely maintained by Government till about

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2637. Vide 'Speeches by Lord Macaulay' with Minute on Indian Education, edited by G. M. Young (Oxford Un. Press 1952). The minute is on pp. 344–361. On p. 349 he makes the following statement 'I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. *I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.*' Vide p. 359 of the above work for the above oft-quoted passage.

1920. An Indian could pass the M. A. examination in Philosophy without knowing anything about ancient Indian philosophy till only a few years ago. However, English education by Government and missionaries produced a result exactly opposite of what was expected by them. The missionaries miserably failed in securing the Indians (except a few among the lower castes and *ādivāsis*) for Christ and Government found that reading the classics of English literature and works of men like Burke, Spencer, Mill and others created among the educated emotions of nationalism and discontent with their own abject political status. Political agitation daily increased. Lokamanya Tilak was called 'the father of Indian unrest' by an English writer. He passed away in 1920. But his mantle fell on Mahatma Gandhi, who while agitating for political power and eventual freedom, adopted the technique of *satyāgraha*.

It is not necessary to go into the freedom struggle from 1919 to 1947 which culminated in the British leaving India but after dividing it into Pakistan and the present India. The partition of India into two parts based on merely communal considerations let loose the most hideous conflicts, massacres and flights of millions of refugees which India had ever witnessed during its long history. The giving up of a large empire with mutual consent and without war or bloodshed is a unique and unparalleled event in the whole history of the world. The message of the King of Great Britain read by Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy to the members of the Constituent Assembly was nobly and graciously worded "With this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of a great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian people alike are firmly dedicated.' Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply to the message of the King was couched in equally noble and just language 'While our achievement is in no small measure due to our sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events, and last, though not least, it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic traditions and democratic ideals of the British race" (vide 'Transfer of power in India" by Shri V. P. Menon, published by Orient Longmans, 1957, p. 415).

The Indian Independence Act[2637A] was passed by the British

2637 A. Vide 'Transfer of Power in India'; Appendix XI sets out the Indian Independence Act, 1947 at pp. 516–532 and Appendix XII gives Congress comments on the draft independence bill with Nehru's corrections signed by him on 3-7-47 (pp. 1–9).

Parliament and Royal assent was given on 18th July 1947. A Constituent Assembly had been set up by the cabinet mission (of three cabinet ministers, Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Stafford Cripps and A. V. Alexander) and it held its first meeting in December 1946. It re-assembled in August 1947 as a sovereign body to frame a constitution for free India. Its work went on for over two years and the constitution consisting of 395 Articles and nine Schedules came into force on 26th January 1950 (except 15 Articles that came into force at once); vide Art. 394.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India declares that India is a sovereign democratic Republic. The extent of the Indian Republic even at present is vast. It was hardly ever under one Government, except possibly under Aśoka. In ancient times India had some *gaṇarājyas* or *saṅgharājyas* (oligarchic states, or republics as Jayaswal and some others prefer to call them). This question of the existence of oligarchies (or republics) in ancient India has been discussed at some length by the present author in Vol. III pp. 87–96 of the H. of Dh. He still adheres to the views there expressed. The Buddhist monks had a procedure for regulating the meetings of their *saṅgha* (as set out in the Mahāvagga IX. 3 in SBE Vol. XVII p. 264 ff and in Cullavagga IV. 9, SBE Vol. XX pp. 24–27 and pp. 53 ff) and Jayaswal conjectures that the same procedure was followed in oligarchies (or republics).

There are substantial achievements to the credit of present India and its leaders during the last 14 years after Independence. Some of them may be very succinctly stated here: (1) The production of a comprehensive democratic constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and worship, freedom of the Press, protection of the rights of minorities, equality of all before the law, equality of status to women, independent judiciary; (2) Abolition of untouchability (Art. 17); (3) political integration of India without any violence, as the five hundred and odd States (except only three), that comprised nearly 1/3rd of the total land area of India and 1/4th of the population, patriotically accepted a merger of the States in the Indian Republic (Shri. V. P. Menon's 'Story of the Integration of States'); (4) Reorganization of India into 15 States and six Union Territories based mostly on linguistic unity and administrative convenience; (5) holding two elections on the basis of

adult suffrage, viz. every person [2637b] (male or female) who is a citizen of India, is twenty-one years of age and not disqualified under the constitution or any other law, has a right to be registered as a voter at elections to the House of the people and to the Legislative Assemblies of States (Art. 326); (6) Socialistic pattern of society as the goal (Art. 38, 39); (7) Two five year plans have been carried out and a third Five Year Plan has been set on foot (under Schedule VII, list III, item 20). The creation of a democratic republic was something that India had not been acquainted with for at least twelve centuries (even if *gaṇarājyas* were held to be republics and not merely obligarchies). From Ṛgvedic times there was a hereditary monarchical form of rule. Vide Ṛg. VII. 33.3 and 5, VII. 83. 7–8, where the battle of ten kings (daśa rājānaḥ) with king Sudās is mentioned; vide also the story of Devāpi and Śantanu in Ṛg. X. 98 expanded in Nirukta II. 10–12.

Some criticism may be offered against the Constitution. In the first place, it is extremely bulky and goes into too many details and is a hotchpotch of provisions from several sources. Some provisions are derived from England, the directive principles of State policy are derived from the constitutions of Ireland and other countries of Europe, some are borrowed from the Government of India Act of 1935. Several of these need not have been put in a Constitution but should have been left to ordinary legislation. In spite of such a lengthy constitution there are many omissions. Nothing is expressly said about political parties, about industrial corporations, about relation of religions and the State. The Constitution makes a complete break with our traditional ideas. Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis begin with the dharmas (duties) of the people (varṇas and āśramas). Prime Minister Pandit Nehru himself says in his Azad Memorial Lectures on 'India to-day and to-morrow' (1959) p. 45 'All of us now talk of and demand rights and privileges, but the teaching of the old dharma was about duties and obligations. Rights follow duties discharged.' Unfortunately this thought finds no place in the Constitution.

One fact of the greatest importance in the life of India is the accession of the masses to power, not only political, but also

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2637 b. Women had no votes in Great Britain till the first war and even now in Switzerland women have no votes (vide p. 31 of 'Switzerland in perspective' by George Soloveytchik (1954).

social, economical, intellectual and moral. The Constitution engenders a feeling among common people that they have rights and no obligations whatever and that the masses have the right to impose their will and to give the force of law and justice to their own ideas and norms formed in their own cottages and tea shops.

The Constitution of India has no chapter on the duties of the people to the country or to the people as a whole. Art. 19 confers the right to seven freedoms, one of which (c) is to form associations or unions and sub-article (4) enables the State to make laws imposing, *in the interest of public order or morality*, reasonable restrictions. The framers of the Constitution forgot to include what Britain had provided long before in 17 and 18 Geo. 5, Chapter 22, Article 1, part of which runs 'any strike is illegal if it is *designed* or *calculated* to coerce the Government directly or by inflicting hardship on the community'. The eyes of some of the framers of this constitution were opened by the strike of Government servants in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs by which, if it had continued for even a fortnight, crores of people would have had to submit to incalculable hardships and the action of the strikers in essential services would have been like a rebellion by some lakhs of people against over forty crores of people. The right to strike by workers tacitly given in the constitution is in imitation of similar rights enjoyed in industrial countries like Britain only for the last few decades and the framers should have restricted the right to strikes between private employers and employees as an experiment in the first instance.

Another criticism is that there are too many amendments. From 1950 there have been ten amendments, while in the U. S. A. there have been only 22 amendments during a period of about 170 years. The very first amendment was made within less than a year and a half from the day the Constitution came into force. It affected about a dozen Articles, among which there were three Articles dealing with fundamental rights viz. 15, 19, 31. One fails to understand the meaning of the words 'fundamental rights' in a constitution which took over two years of deliberations, if they could be changed within a year and a half. The amendment made in Article 31 prohibits a person from challenging in a court of justice a law about the compensation to be paid to a person for compulsory acquisition of his property. This is a serious inroad on rights to private property

and smacks of spoliation and arbitrariness. In the House of the People the quorum is only 50 and if 50 persons are present and a majority of them (say 26) decide that a certain amount of compensation should be paid for compulsory acquisition of several properties of a person and the compensation is felt to be ridiculously low he has no remedy in a court of law at all. Besides, the Welfare State is, if at all, foreshadowed in the Directive Principles of State Policy (Art. 38, 39 etc.), but these principles are not enforceable in a court of law and, therefore, they are inferior to fundamental rights, the breach of which can be examined by the High Court or Supreme Court, which is invested with the power of issuing writs. Parliament (Lokasabha) has over 500 members and the quorum is 50 and yet this small number is not often present and the Speaker has several times to reprimand the House of the People on this score.

Another criticism my be offered as to the inclusion of Universities in list II (of schedule 7, State List, No. 11) and not in the concurrent list. Vocational and technical training of labour is in the concurrent list (Item 25). Is not University education throughout India of as much importance as the training of labour ? Only items 63–66 (of list I, Union list) are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central Government.[2638] There is hardly any weighty reason (except chance) why the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University and Santiniketan should be treated as the exclusive concern of the Central Government and the other Universities be not placed even in the concurrent list.

The Constitution in its 8th Schedule recognizes fourteen languages as the national languages of India, while Article 343 (1) makes Hindi the official language of the Union, but sub-article 2 (of Article 343) provides that English will continue to be used for all official purposes for fifteen years and sub-article 3 provides that Parliament may continue even after 1965 the use of English for purposes specified by Parliament. Even such a small country as Switzerland has three official languages. The Constitution should have provided at least two Official languages for north India and two for South India, when even

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2638. Vide 'Our fundamental rights' by D. N. Banerjee for an exhaustive and trenchant criticism of the change made in Art. 31 (2), the speeches of the Prime Minister and of Hon'ble Mr. G. B. Pant (pp. 316–336) Calcutta, 1960

in 1950 the population of India was about 36 crores. This sweeping decision to make Hindi the only official language instead of helping emotional integration of Indians produced great strife. An official language is not the only means of emotional integration, nor even the chief one. The Govt. should begin with the children in the schools, should instil into their minds the fundamental cultural Unity of India, and that India has been looked upon as one by all foreign invaders, steps should be taken to make every Indian feel that he is the inheritor of the vast ancient wisdom and spiritual culture of India, that he must contribute to the conservation of that culture, and must add to its greatness in the future, and free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 should have been achieved in ten years as foreshadowed in Art. 45.

A plan and programme to instil among all grown-up citizens the ideal of national integration must be prepared, insisting on our common past, common interests, common future and on elements like the wisdom and thought embodied in Sanskrit and the regional languages, the tolerance shown by our people through the ages.

The Constitution has also committed several mistakes in the allotment of subjects in the 7th Schedule as Union list, State List and Concurrent list. For example, the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors are put in the State List (item 8 in List II, State List) This has led to prohibition in some States, but also its absence in other States.

The above discussion is enough to show that the Constitution framed after more than two years' cogitation is unsatisfactory in several ways.

Ours is a democratic Republic. The most famous definition of democracy is Lincoln's viz. ' Government of the people by the people for the people'. All three must exist in a proper democracy. In the Greek city States such as Athens all adult citizens (except slaves that outnumbered citizens) could assemble and could directly participate in discussion and the framing of laws and regulations. But this is impossible when crores of people spread over a vast country are voters. Therefore, one part of Lincoln's definition becomes watered down. Crores of people cannot govern themselves, which is a physical impossibility. All they can do is to choose some men as their rulers. In former ages when monarchy

was the prevailing form the ruler came to be so by succession or by conquest i. e. by breaking heads. Now, under democracy, the ruler or rulers are chosen by the mere counting of heads. As observed by Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Kalkin or the future of civilization' (4th ed. of 1956) 'Democracy in actual working rarely permits a country to be governed by its ablest. The opinions of the mass prevail over those of the thinking few. We must strive for some better way for conducting human affairs than the lottery of the ballot-box' (pp. 20–22). René Guenon in 'Crisis of the modern world' (translated by Arthur Osborne, London, 1932) remarks 'the law is supposed to be made by the opinion of the majority, but what is overlooked is that this opinion is something that can very easily be guided or modified i. e. opinion can be manufactured. The majority on whatever question it may be called on to give its opinion is always composed of the incompetent, whose number is vastly greater than that of the men who can give an opinion based on a full knowledge of the subject' (p. 108).

These words of René Guenon refer to conditions in European countries in most of which there has been almost cent per cent literacy for some decades. Parliamentary democracy assumes that voters understand the policies and programmes of different parties and cast their votes accordingly. It presupposes some education, intelligence, respect for the rule of law, tolerance, a sense of brotherhood for at least one's countrymen, and a more or less homogeneous society. But when, as in India at present, the vast majority of voters are illiterate, the state of things becomes far worse. We can and must tolerate democracy in India as a first step towards better days, though at present it is a mere shell and is ridiculed by some unsympathetic foreigners.[2639] The census of 1961 discloses that literacy which was only 16.6 percent in 1951 is 23·7 percent in 1961. Dean Inge in 'Christian Ethics' (1930) remarks about politics in England where almost all voters are literate 'our politics are so corrupt that many would welcome a dictatorship.' (p. 385). About the U. S. A., a recent work 'Corruption in Washington' by Blair Bolles (Gollancz, London, 1960), which makes rather dismal reading, indicates the terrible moral predicament of the honest man in power caught between public responsibility and loyalty

2639. A. Koestler in 'Lotus and Robot' (London, 1960) remarks 'India is a democracy in name only, it would be more correct to call it Bapucracy' (p. 156).

to his friends and associates. In our country also ministers and officials must be in a similar predicament, particularly when there exist numerous rules and regulations about permits and licenses galore.

The Directive Principles of state policy are contained in Articles 37 to 51 and it is provided in Article 37 that they shall not be enforceable by any court, but that they are *fundamental* in the governance of the country. Article 45 enacts that the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution *for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.* It is more than twelve years since the commencement of the Constitution. In spite of the fact that about 7000 crores of rupees were to be spent on grandiose schemes in the two Five Year Plans, this fundamental provision was not implemented. Even free and compulsory primary education of all children up to the age of *eleven* years (instead of 14 as envisaged in Article 45) is not accomplished and it is promised that in the Third Five Year Plan (which envisages an expenditure of over ten thousand crores of rupees) this may be accomplished. But, if the huge sums for the third plan be not forthcoming, the first casualty will be education. The education of the masses who are to be voters and indirectly rulers of the nation continues to be sadly neglected even after Independence.

It is remarkable that the directive principles of state policy mostly contain provisions on the economic system for raising people's standard of living (Art. 43, 47 &c.), i. e. it lays emphasis only on the material things for the people. It seems to be assumed that if material prosperity or benefits are assured for all, then there is nothing more to be done by the State. The present author feels that the Directive Principles should also have put equal or greater emphasis on moral and spiritual values and should have called upon the State to promote among the people high moral standards, self-discipline, co-operation, sense of responsibility, kindliness, high endeavour. Man is a many-sided being. The satisfaction of mere physical needs is not enough. Man has intellectual, spiritual, cultural and social aspirations also. The socio-economic pattern for the future must be based on the foundation of the best part of our traditions, the rule of dharma, the duties common to all as declared by Manu X. 63 and Yāj. I. 122. A secular state should not and does not mean a godless state or a state that has nothing to do with moral and

spiritual values. Prime Minister Nehru himself emphasizes this, when he says ' whether religion is necessary or not, a *certain faith in a worth-while ideal is essential* to give substance to our lives and to hold us together. We have to have *a sense of purpose beyond the material* and *physical* demands of our daily lives' (in 'Today and tomorrow' p. 8). It may be stated that for most common men and women it is religion that sets worth-while ideals.

The third item in Lincoln's definition is ' for the people '. That is, the Government must look to the good of the people as a whole and not to that of any class or a community in the country. Modern democracy has come to mean parties and it has to work on decisions of the majority. It often happens that, there being several parties, no one party has an absolute majority over all other parties put together. It may often happen that one party secures 40% of the votes actually cast and the other parties (that differ in ideologies) secure, say 25, 20, 15, percent of the votes, then the first party with only 40 percent of the total votes cast rules, though it does not represent the majority of the whole country. The party system generally leads to a struggle for power and lowers the moral standards of the whole people, particularly when hardly one-fifth of the voters (both male and female) can read and write their own regional language. The present author does not hold that illiteracy necessarily means absence of intelligence. But, unless a man can read for himself and ponder over what he reads, he can hardly be a good judge of the *pros* and *cons* in relation to a measure or policy placed before the voters. Besides, the emphasis laid on standards of living without any direct reference to moral and spiritual values has already led to this result that in India the desire for material comforts and positions of power dominates almost every one and there is no corresponding urge or even idea to do one's best for producing goods. The laws are drafted in the English language. Most of the speakers in Parliament use English (a few only speak in Hindi) and complicated laws are said to have been passed by a majority or unanimously as the case may be. That country may be said to be the best governed which is least governed. There is a spate of legislation in the House of the People. In the seven years from 1950 to 56 nearly 450 laws were passed by the central legislature alone. Some of these laws vitally affect Hindus in their family relations and in other respects. A few examples only can be cited here. The Hindu Adoption Act went far beyond the ancient Hindu principles, which were two viz. that

only a male could be adopted for purposes of spiritual benefit to the adopter and the person to be adopted should be in age and other matters like a son. Women could not adopt to themselves but a widow could adopt a son for the spiritual benefit of her husband. These principles have been thrown to the winds as will be seen from the criticisms of the present author above on pp. 1337-1338. But one thing must be mentioned. In some enactments affecting Hindu Law, customs have been abrogated: vide Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955, Section 4, Hindu Succession Act 30 of 1956, Section 4 (1). The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (78 of 1956) prescribes that the person to be adopted must not be more than 15 years of age (section 10 item IV) and that there should be a difference of 21 years between a male adopter and a female adoptee and between a female adopter and a male adoptee (sec. 11 items iii and iv). But the provision in Sec. 10 is made subject to a custom to the contrary. It passes one's understanding why custom was allowed to prevail over the law in this case. The Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, has made sweeping changes of which the vast majority of Hindus are blissfully ignorant. Before the Act a Hindu could in theory (and rarely in practice) have two or more wives living at the same time and even an *anuloma* marriage (i. e. the marriage of a male of a higher *varṇa* with a woman born in a *lower varṇa*) was held to be invalid by some High Courts in India such as those of Allahabad and Madras. Now under the present Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 the marriage is a monogamous marriage (section 5) and a person belonging to any caste may marry a woman of any caste how highsoever or lowsoever she may be by caste; and further marriages between spouses belonging to the Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist or Jaina religions are now declared valid. It was suggested, while the marriage Bill was in the Committee stage, that the provision as to monogamous marriages should become compulsory when a similar provision would be made applicable to Muslims (who under the Koranic law can have four wives at the same time). But this was brushed aside through fear of antagonizing Muslims. Other provisions about Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs being Hindus for the purposes of the Marriage Act, being a sweeping one at one stroke, is likely to be resented by almost all illiterate Hindus and likely to lead to tension and bitterness in many rural families and to break-up of the family as a central and compact unit in Hindu society. The orthodox people do not like such mixed marriages. It is not

unlikely that the orthodox sections in the country may join hands with the ignorant masses and set back the hands of the clock, when some years hence the ranks of the towering personalities of the Gandhi era whom people want to humour have become thin.[2640]

One of the outstanding characteristics of Hindu society for several millennia has been the joint family system of the Mitākṣarā type which prevails in the whole of India (except in Bengal which is under the Dāyabhāga system). Its peculiarity is that all male members in the family form a coparcenary, that if any male of the family dies his interest devolves by survivorship on the remaining male members including his own male issue, if any, that females have no rights in the family property except marriage expenses and maintenance and no member of the joint family could transfer any part of the family property by will (not even the father) or by sale or mortgage except for certain recognised family necessities. This joint family system and the caste system were the bulwarks that kept together Hindu Society for centuries, inspite of foreign invasions and misrule. The Hindu Succession Act (30 of 1956) makes two sweeping changes in the Mitākṣarā joint family system. The explanation to Section 30 of the Act provides that any male Hindu may dispose of by will his interest in the coparcenary property. This is one drastic change. A similar drastic change was made by section 6, its proviso and explanation read together. Briefly it comes to this. If a Hindu coparcener of the Mitākṣarā system dies after the Succession Act comes into force, leaving him surviving no son, but a daughter or the daughter of a predeceased son or the son of a predeceased daughter or daughter of a predeceased daughter, his interest in the coparcenary property will not pass by survivorship to the other surviving male members of the coparcenary but to the above mentioned descendants of his and the interest that would pass to these descendants would be the share in the coparcenary property that would have been allotted to him if partition of the coparcenary property had taken place immediately before his death. Before this Act, the daughter or the other heirs mentioned above would have got nothing in the coparcenary property when any male member of the family died sonless. These two changes make of the joint family of the Mitākṣarā

2640. Vide what Mr. Frank Moraes says (on p. 85) in his biography of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1956) about people being anxious to humour him.

type a mere shell. It was suggested when the Bill was before Parliament that Parliament should provide that the joint family system of the Mitākṣarā type has been abrogated and that all members of the joint family after the passing of the Act would be only tenants-in-common. But this was not done. Why the Minister in charge or the members of Parliament felt squeamish about ending the coparcenary system of the Mitākṣarā is not clear to the present author. It looks like straining at a gnat while swallowing a camel. These and other changes in the old Hindu Law are possibly motivated by the desire to do justice to the rights of women. But in some cases this is done with a vengeance. For reasons of space only one example of this type is cited. Under Section 8 of the Hindu Succession Act and the Schedule of heirs in class I and class II, if a man dies possessed of property leaving only his mother and father (and no sons or wife or other persons) the mother will take the whole estate of her son absolutely to the entire exclusion of the father, since the mother is placed among heirs of class I., while the father is placed in class II and the rule in Sec. 8 (a and b) is that heirs put in class II succeed only if there is no heir in class I. Under Yāj. II. 135 the order of heirs to a man dying without male issue is first the widow, then daughter, then daughter's son or sons, then parents (*pitarau*, the dual is used). Some commentators held that the mother is to be preferred as heir to the father, others held that the father is to be preferred to the mother, while still others held that both parents should succeed together. In the Council of States (Rājyasabhā) the father was put in class I along with the mother, but in the House of the People the mother was put in class I and the father was put as heir in class II. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex, religion, race &c. What difference can be made between the mother and the father of a man as heirs except on the ground of sex ? Probably, the legislators wanted, in however small a way, to compensate women for past injustices to them. The Hindu Law of Succession of 1956 goes even beyond Muslim Law in that it recognizes twelve categories of persons (in class I of Schedule) as entitled to succeed simultaneously and take the property of the deceased. In a few cases it is possible that the heirs of class I taking the estate of a deceased person may be twenty or even more, if the latter leaves five sons and five daughters, besides some children of predeceased sons and daughters. There is probably no country in the world where so many persons are entitled to succeed simultaneously to

a deceased person's estate. The result would be that there would be great fragmentation of property and constant wrangles and litigation. This amounts to distribution of poverty. Under the Hindu Law before 1956 women as heirs to males took as a general rule a limited estate (i. e. a life estate). For example, if a man died leaving his wife and a brother or a brother's son (but no children) his widow would take a limited estate i. e. on the widow's death, the estate would go to the brother (if alive) or to the latter's sons &c. Now (after 1956) the widow would take an absolute estate and she would be able to dispose of it as she pleased (by sale, gift or will). Vide Section 14 of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. Not only this, that section has retrospectively conferred an absolute estate on the widows who succeeded as limited owners before 1956. Suppose a person died in 1950, leaving a widow and a brother. The widow would take only a limited estate and she could not sell it or will it away ; if she died before 1956 the husband's brother would have succeeded to the estate. But suppose she is alive and in possession of her husband's estate when the Act of 1956 was passed. Her estate is at once enlarged. She can donate it to any one or leave it by her will to her own brother and entirely destroy the expectancy of the husband's brother to succeed to her husband's estate. This is equality of women with a vengeance The mass of people know nothing about this at present. But when many cases come before the courts and the common people come to know the present law whereby the expectancies of male members of her husband's family are set at naught by the widow transferring the property to persons that are strangers there is bound to be great trouble. Of all the revolutionary changes in India none will have more pervading influence and meaning than the drastic changes in the legal status of women made by the laws affecting Hindus passed from 1954 to 1956, which enforce monogamy, make polygamy punishable, which provide the minimum ages for the marriage of women and men at 15 and 18 respectively, which allow divorce to both sexes on the same basic rules, which confer rights of inheritance and absolute ownership on a daughter and her children, that allow the husband or the widow of a person, if the deceased had not already adopted a son and a daughter before his death, to adopt a son and a daughter.

Several States (e. g. Bombay by Act LXVII of 1948, sec. 5) have passed laws putting ceilings on the extent of the holding

of lands up to 48 acres or 24 acres according as the land is ordinary or *bagait* (irrigated). This is felt by common people as a great injustice, when there is no ceiling on the wealth of big merchants and the like. It may be argued that these very rich people pay income-tax and other taxes. The agriculturists also say that they pay taxes and that inflation has made the price of bare necessities go up.

Before leaving the subject of legislation vitally affecting Hindu society, some remarks will have to be made about the mentality of several Congressmen who appear to have great faith in making men moral by legislation. Article 47 provides that it is among the primary duties of the State to raise the level of nutrition, the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and that, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. The Bombay State and a few other States in India embarked on a policy of total prohibition of intoxicating drinks. If there was to be a total prohibition of intoxicating drinks, it should have been an all India measure. Several States refused to have the prohibition law because there is loss of revenue in two ways, viz. the income from excise duties on liquors is lost and large sums of money have to be spent on establishments for preventing people from manufacturing illicit liquor. Art. 45 about free and compulsory education of children of school-going age (up to 14 years) was not strenuously observed by the Bombay State but it wanted to enforce Art. 47 at all costs. Besides, there being no prohibition on an all India basis, what is an offence under law in the Bombay State is not an offence in Delhi and some other States at all. That takes away the moral basis from the measure. Besides, prohibitionists forget human psychology. When something is prohibited or becomes rare, many feel a fascination in breaking the law or trying to possess what is rare. Illicit liquor produced and kept under the most unhygienic conditions is being sold on a large scale and persons knowing this dare not inform the police for fear of being stabbed or killed by distillers of illicit liquor.[2640a] A

2640a. L. P. Jacks in "Near the brink" remarks 'Social Reform might be defined as the process of creating the social problems of tomorrow by Acts of Parliament designed to solve the social problems of today' (p. 116) and on p. 118 he says that he never saw so many drunken people as during the years when prohibition was in force.

Minister's cook was found engaged in manufacturing illicit liquor. In the present author's opinion prohibition has turned out to be a dismal failure, it tends to corrupt the police, it reduces revenue much needed for development purposes, illicit distillation has become a cottage industry and boot-leggers have acquired a vested interst in prohibition. Why horse-racing and betting are not prohibited by law is inexplicable, except on the supposition that many people entertain that Government is afraid of displeasing rich people who indulge in it. Wine and gambling have been besetting sins from the times of the Ṛgveda. Vasiṣṭha pleads for forgiveness of sins from Varuṇa in Ṛgveda VII. 86.6 saying that 'it is not one's own power that leads one to commit sin, it is fate, wine, anger, dice (gambling) and thoughtlessness'. In Ṛg. X. 34 a gambler laments over his own frailty. Therefore, all that can be reasonably attempted is temperance and reducing the spread of the drinking habit; otherwise new and greater evils not contemplated in the ardour for suppression emerge. Vide p. 1338 above for the warning given against startling changes based on Mr. Aldous Huxley's words. Another faddist attempt at improving morals by legislation is the recent Act prohibiting dowries, which came into force on first July 1961. The giving or taking or abetting the giving or taking of dowry or demanding a dowry directly or indirectly from the parents or guardians of a bride or bridegroom is punishable with imprisonment extending to six months or with fine extending to five thousand rupees or with both. The definition of dowry punishable[2641] under the Act is rendered practically nugatory by the explanation that presents made at the time of a marriage to either party to the marriage in the form of cash, ornaments, clothes or other articles, shall not be deemed to be dowry within the meaning of the section, unless they are made as consideration for the marriage of the said parties. This, instead of relieving the parents of marriageable girls from the payment of a dowry, would give rise to blackmail on the part of busy bodies in the town or the village of the parties. If this latter does not happen the Act will ordinarily remain a dead letter.

2641. The Act defines 'dowry' as 'any property or valuable security given or agreed to be given either directly or indirectly (a) by one party to the marriage to the other party to the marriage or (b) by the parents of either party to a marriage or by any other person, to either party to the marriage or to any other person at or before or after the marriage as consideration for the marriage of the said parties, but does not include dower or Mahr in the case of persons to whom the Muslim Personal Law applies'.

Article 40 of the Constitution calls upon the State to organize village Panchayats and to endow them with the powers and authority necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government. In ancient and medieval times, village Panchayats played an important part. Under the British this system (which trained people in democratic functions on a small scale) was practically done away with. Now after about two hundred years the present Government wants to revive Panchayats. In the different States of India village Panchayat Acts have been passed. Until a large percentage of villagers become educated, self-reliant and men of character, the village Panchayats cannot function as the foundations of real democracy. It is very likely that either the dominant castes or the leading families or the bullies (*guṇḍas*) in the village will capture the village Panchayats and use them for their own benefit A recent book ' Panchayt-i-raj ' by Shri S. A. Dey (published by Asia Publishiug House, 1961) paints a very roseate picture of Panchayats functioning in the 550 thousand villages of India. It all depends on disinterested workers of high character; otherwise this project will meet the same fate that overtook Brayne's work in Gurgaon after Brayne left.

Some people took it into their heads to decide that agricultural land should belong to him who tilled it. Therefore, in Bombay and some other States legislation was enacted, first holding that he who tilled another's land for six years was to be regarded as a ' protected tenant ' (i. e. practically a permanent tenant); later on the owner was prohibited from selling the land to a non-agriculturist and ultimately(by Bombay Act. LXVII of 1948, sec. 32) the tenant was made the owner, being liable to pay to the original owner the price fixed by the Revenue authorities spread over twelve yearly instalments. Whatever may be the case in Zamindaris, in the Deccan and some South Indian States the Ryotwari system prevails and persons belonging to the lower middle class purchased lands at high prices (not getting more than three or four percent as rent on the money invested) as land was deemed a stable investment. The present author, having been a practising lawyer for forty-five years, knows personally thousands of village people. In many cases although four or five years have passed away, the Revenue authorities have not yet decided the prices of the lands over which ownership of erstwhile tenants has been declared. Most of the erstwhile tenants (now become owners) have not paid a pie for four years

and the real owners have been robbed of the benefit to be derived from the price, if paid. Supposing Government was solicitous of increasing production by making tenants owners there is no reason why Government should not have recovered the price or instalments as a revenue demand. There is no judicial probe in the ordinary courts of law, the appeal lies only to the Govt. (that means to the Collector), no owner is entitled to engage a pleader (sec. 80 A) and very complicated provisions are made if the former tenant fails to pay each instalment. But the present state of things is sheer spoliation and looks like robbing Peter to pay Paul and is a sample of what democracy might mean to people of the lower middle class. There is no evidence that by these measures production of food grains has greatly increased. But Congressmen are complacent because they know that in the elections the vast majority of illiterate agriculturists who are to benefit by such legislation will cast their votes in favour of 'oxen' adopted as symbol by the Congress party. Many States have introduced by legislation ceilings in land holdings, viz. no man or family is to hold more then 48 acres of dry land and no more than 24 acres of irrigated land. Even agriculturists have now begun to grumble and to ask why no ceilings are placed on the accumulation of wealth, when they see rich people flaunting their wealth in cars eighteen or twenty feet in length, obstructing narrow roads and causing serious casualties.[2642] Most people complain that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer under the policies of the present Government. Government is not able to hold the price line and agriculturists, workers in industries and the lower middle class are dissatisfied and there is great danger of communistic ideas spreading among the majority of the inhabitants of this ancient land, that once honoured sages. Prime Minister Nehru said on the Congress manifesto for the elections of 1962[2643] 'If the great majority of people in India for some reason or other become communists in the sense of thinking that way, it may be good or bad, I do not know, but I

2642. A survey carried on by the Police authorities for some months in Greater Bombay (population 41 lakhs) this year disclosed that motor accidents on an average caused one death every day, 13 people were injured and several dozens of accidents occurred every day in which motor cars were involved but no man was killed or injured.

2643. Quoted in Prof. V. K R. V. Rao's paper in 'Changing India' p. 241 in the Volume of papers presented to Prof. D. R. Gadgil on his 61st birth-day.

am quite convinced it would not be India, then it would be something else. I do not want that to happen, even though I want India to take up modern scientific techniques, scientific theories, economic theories, economic organizations. I accept all that to the extent it is good for India. It is for us to choose. I do not rule out any-thing but I rule out being uprooted from India'.

What is ordinarily ment by 'Socialism' is collective farming, the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and State Industrialization. Merely saying that the land should go to the tiller and carrying out that by legislation is simply robbing one person to benefit another. It is a long way off from that to socialist farming which would make the tiller a landless worker on the collective farm.

It is often said that ours is a 'Welfare State' and that what is aimed at is 'a socialistic pattern of society'. The Constitution *does not employ these very words. But Art. 38 appears in* substance to mean that India would be a Welfare State, as it provides 'The State shall *strive to promote the welfare of the people* by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.' In the report of the Planning Commission on the 2nd Five Year Plan (which was accepted by the Government) the meaning of 'socialistic pattern of society' is set out as follows :[2644]

The task before an underdeveloped country is not merely to get better results within the existing framework of economic and social institutions, but to mould and refashion these so that they contribute effectively to the realisation of wider and deeper social values. These values or basic objectives have recently been summed up in the phrase 'socialist pattern of society'. Essentially this means 'that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relation should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increase of national income and employment but also in greater equality in incomes and wealth.' 'Major decisions regarding production, distribution, consumption and investment

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2644. Vide p. 9 of a draft outline of the 2nd Five Year Plan pub. by the Planning Commission in February 1956.

must be made by agencies informed by social purpose. The benefits of economic development must accrue more and more to the relatively less privileged classes of society and there should be progressive reduction of the concentration of incomes, wealth and economic power. The problem is to create a *milieu* in which the small man who has so far had little opportunity of perceiving and participating in the immense possibilities of growth through organized effort is enabled to put in his best in the interest of a higher standard of life for himself and increased prosperity for the country'. It appears from this and from what follows that 'socialist pattern of society' is not to be regarded as some rigid or fixed pattern. It is not rooted in any doctrine or dogma.

A booklet published by Sriman Narayan for the All India Congress Committee (2nd ed. of 1956, New Delhi) embodies the notable speeches of the Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He starts by saying that private enterprise is useful so far as our country is concerned, that we wish to encourage it, but the dominance which private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period is no more and that for a planner it has now a secondary place. Later on (p. 2) he states that he uses the word 'socialistic picture of society' *as meaning largely that the means of production should be socially owned or controlled for the benefit of society as a whole.* On p. 12 he says (at Avadi Session) 'we have laid down that certain basic industries must necessarily be state-owned and there are other industries we should try to encourage the State to start. The plan is an integrated whole and in that integrated whole the public and private sector must also be integrated. They are not rival shows.' On p. 19 he says '*The national aim is a welfare state and a socialistic economy.*' 'Finance is important, but not so much as people think.' 'What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the money thrown in'. (p. 20). 'Everyone in the country should have the primary things of life like food, clothing, housing, education, sanitation, medical help, employment, work' (p. 27). 'The objectives of India's Planning should be socialistic pattern of society. It cannot be achieved by mere legislation; but it is all a question of planning' (pp. 30–31). 'Both Congress and Parliament have said that we want a socialistic pattern of society. *Why have we used this vague language? We have done*

so deliberately because we do not want to commit ourselves to any rigid formula' (p. 55). 'India wants a social revolution by peaceful means, peaceful methods, by mutual agreement, by working together. Hard work is the only way to progress.' Russia had to use force to do in 20 or 25 years what England did in 100 years (pp. 60–66).

These quotations taken from the speeches of the Prime Minister clearly establish that he does not want a totalitarian communism in India. He appears to favour a democratic socialistic pattern. But he himself admits that vague language about socialistic pattern has been deliberately used and that his idea is to build up in India by trial and error a sort of democratic socialism. But there is great danger in this. The present author is not aware of any large country in the world where a democratic socialistic pattern purposely clothed in vague language has been tried and succeeded. The language being vague and no defininite procedure being chalked out, a socialistic pattern would mean all things to all men and the socialistic pattern of society is vague enough to allow diverse interpretations.

Russia and China have been and are under totalitarian socialism. In Soviet Russia under Lenin and Stalin peasants, working men and intellectuals became statesmen and military commanders, the old economic principle of supply and demand was replaced by central control of all commercial relations, of all production and distribution among the large populations of Russia spread over vast areas, individualistic agriculture gave place to huge co-operative farms managed under the directives of the State, aristocracy and democracy were abolished and dictatorship of a party that monopolized all power emerged. Our leaders appear to have borrowed the ideas of co-operative farming and the State control of production and distribution of several commodities from the Russian example, but the present writer is afraid that without the coercive methods employed by dictators like Stalin, our experiments will not in a measurable period of time lead to the results desired and expected by our leaders.

Those interested in democratic socialism may profitably read Shri Ashok Mehta's work on it (published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959).

What appears to the present author is that our country is to have a mixed economy, in which private and public enterprise are supposed to work together to narrow the disparity or gulf between a small minority of haves and a vast multitude of have-nots. For example, Atomic energy, Railways, iron and steel, aircraft, ship-building are among Government industries, while the private sector is to be concerned with the manufacture of textiles, cement, alluminium, machine tools, chemicals and pharmaceuticals &c.

The present writer does not think that he is competent enough to criticize the means and methods that are being adopted by the leaders of the country and to say whether they are enough to meet the high promises made and the hopes raised by certain Articles in the Constitution such as 39 (part *a* of which declares that the citizens have the *right* to an adequate means of livelihood), 41 (providing for securing the *right to work*, to *education* and to *public assistance* in *cases of un-employment, old age, sickness* and *disablement*), 43 (the State *shall* endeavour to secure to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, *work, a living wage, decent standard of life* and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities); vide Articles 45 and 47 already quoted above (on pp. 1669, 1675)

But he will say a few words. The mass of people cannot be kept at a high level of self-sacrifice, great ideals and hard work for long. A dynamic and revered leader like Buddha may succeed for a time in securing this. But, when he passes away, there is gradually a relapse into conditions worse than what they were before. For the vast majority of people anywhere private gain is the chief motive for hard work and not mere requests or sermons. If that motive is abolished, then the majority will not work hard at all, though a few individuals of high ideals and moral character may work as hard as before. Or there will have to be a dictatorship, coercion and fear of being liquidated. In the absence of these, production will be enormously reduced and there will be no improvement in standards of living. Russia and China are not under a Parliamentary democracy and they can therefore make people work without trammels, but in countries like U. K., U. S. A., even Japan the appeal of the motive of private gain is the chief factor. Even in Russia incentives have to be held out for extra work and it is admitted that even after forty years of totalitarian rule, there are great inequalities of income, since the wages of

an Academician and an average worker are in the ratio of 62:1, and (apart from academicians) the wages of high-placed executives and common men are in the ratio of 20:1 and there are no ceilings on income.[2646] Shri Vinoba Bhave placed his target about Bhūmidāna at fifty million acres but he got only about five million acres, half of which are not arable. Now the emphasis has shifted to 'Sarvodaya'. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, who was first a Marxist out and out, then joined the P. S. Party, is now advocating the principles of 'Sarvodaya' in[2647] 'Towards a new society' published by Mr. Prabhakar Padhye for the Congress for cultural freedom (New Delhi, 1958). Sarvodaya planning seems to be based on the assumption that a radical change in human behaviour and attitude to work and property will take place on a large scale without coercion. There is hardly any basis for any such assumption at present. The Prime Minister himself admits (vide p. 240 of Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao's paper in 'Changing India') that adequate motives and inducements have to be provided. The Indian Government more than any other purely democratic country in the world has extended the scope of public administration to embark on the production and distribution of economic goods while keeping at the same time full Parliamentary democracy. Gandhiji also called upon the millionaires to hold their vast fortunes in trusteeship. One should like to know the names of even a dozen millionaires in India that dealt with their wealth like trustees even in Gandhiji's lifetime.

Let us now turn to the third Five Year Plan.[2648] The vital

2646. Vide 'The Democratic alternative' (p. 16) by Miss M. A. Devaki, published in 1959 by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Bombay.

2647. Sarvodaya ideal is not different from the well-known verse 'सर्वेऽत्र सुखिनः सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः। सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद् दुःखमाप्नुयात्॥,' which means 'May all here (in this world) be happy, may all be free from diseases. May all see prosperity and may no one experience sorrow'.

2648. 'Third Five Year Plan', published by the Government of India, Planning Commission, 1961 (774 pages). While these pages were passing through the press the author came across a book called 'Planning in India' by Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari (Orient Longmans, 1961) who was a member of the Planning Commission from March 1950 and Deputy Chairman from February 1953 to June 1960. It is a valuable book based on official information and containing numerous tables and details. It requires to be carefully studied and invites criticism, but that cannot be done in this place now.

objectives of the planners are stated on p. 3. 'Rapid economic growth and expansion of employment, reduction of disparities in income and wealth, prevention of the concentration of economic power, and creation of the values and attitudes of a free and equal society. Where the bulk of the people live so close to the margin of poverty, the claims of social justice, the right to work, of equal opportunity and of a minimum level of living have great urgency'. On p. 48 the principal aims are further elaborated and it is stated on p. 49 that the first priority belongs to agriculture and therefore the total outlay provided is 1718 crores of rupees as against 950 crores in the Second Plan and fertilizers to the extent of 800,000 tons are provided for as against 110,000 tons in the 2nd Plan.

Our country's great handicap is population and food production. Statistics for the growth of population [2649] are '(in millions): 1901 (235.5), 1911 (249), 1921 (248.1), 1931 (275.5), 1941 (314.8), 1951 (356.9), 1961 (438). This indicates that by about 1966–1967 the population of our country may be about 480 millions. Article 39a (referred to on p. 1666) requires the State to direct its policy towards securing that every citizen has the right to an adequate means of livelihood. Our country has been an agricultural country from time immemorial, yet we have to import millions of tons of wheat and other grain for feeding our large population. The finance minister in his speech on the Budget for 1961–62 states (p. 79 para 36) that in May 1961 an agreement under P. L. 480 was signed by India's minister with the U. S. A. for the import in four years of 18 million tons of wheat, one million tons of rice and also certain quantities of maize, cotton, tobacco and soya bean oil. This is the biggest agricultural commodities agreement ever signed between two countries. There were four previous agreements commencing from August 1956 but they were all on a lesser scale. The fifth agreement of May 1960 was for agricultural commodities worth 1369.8 million dollars (= 655.8 crores of rupees). The average intake of food in India is below the nutritional standards laid down by scientists. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world as the following table [2650] for national income *per capita* for 1957 will show:

2649. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical Outline of India for 1959', Table 8 for population.

2650. Vide Tata Industries 'Statistical outline of India' 1959, Table No. 2. Vide 'Communist China today' by S. Chandrasekhara (p. 136), who shows that the present figures about China are not reliable owing to a change of policy in modern China.

Country	Rupees	Country	Rupees
India	289	Italy	1922
Australia	5114	Japan	1200
Burma	222	U. K.	4561
Canada	4946	U. S. A.	10124
Ceylon	553	W. Germany	3530

These figures show that in Ceylon the per capita income is double that of India, in Japan it is four times as much and in Germany over twelve times that of India. Both Germany and Japan were devastated by the 2nd World War and yet the people of both countries have in less than 15 years improved so much in production that both are giving substantial assistance to India. Our people and leaders should deeply ponder over this state of things and should strain every nerve in an all out effort to improve the country's lot instead of talking and mutual bickerings.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author got a copy of 'India 's Food Crisis and steps to meet it'' which is a report (of 254 pages) made in 1959 by a Ford Foundation Team of thirteen American Technicians and agriculturist specialists at the invitation of two Indian Ministers of Food and Agriculture and Community Development and co-operation. It is a very important document, discusses seventy aspects of the problem and deserves close study by all Indians interested in India's welfare. It is issued by the Govt. of India. One or two striking matters can alone be referred to here. The report points out that the total population of India will be about 480 millions at the end of the Third Five Plan in 1966, that the target of 110 million tons of food grains by 1965–66 is reasonable and is necessary to provide food enough for the added millions and to provide for some dietary improvement and a safety margin for poor crops and other emergencies. The report recognises that India is making steady progress in food production, but the rate of production must be tripled to meet the Third Plan target. It gives the warning that if India's food production increases no faster than at present rates, the *gap*

between supplies and target will be 28 million tons by 1965-66; this would be 25 per cent shortfall in terms of need and that no conceivable programme of imports or rationing would meet a crisis of this magnitude (pp. 3-4). The report suggests several emergency measures and measures to be carried on over a long period, which cannot be set out here. It stresses the need for research in agricultural economics. It recommends (p. 11) that the entire nation must be made aware of the impending food crisis and steps must be taken to meet it and warns that adequate supplies of food are essential to the survival of democracy. Two short-comings of the report may be pointed out. It does not tell us what funds would be required for research and for implementing the numerous other suggestions it makes. Besides, it says nothing about the birth rate in India and measures to curb the phenomenal rise in population.

According to U. N. Demographic Year book (August 1960) there are about 2900 million people in the world. More than half of the world's inhabitants live in four countries viz. China (669 millions), India (438 millions), Soviet Union (209 millions), U. S. A. (178 millions). Population growth depends upon the birth rate and the death rate. Owing to scientific discoveries, epidemics or such diseases as malaria, typhoid, cholera, influenza are either eliminated or brought under control and therefore the death rate tends to be lower and lower. It is the birth rate that has to be controlled. The following table[265] for comparative birth rate and death rate in 1957 for eight countries is interesting:

Country	Birth Rate per thousand.	Death rate per thousand.
India	24	12
Australia	23	9
Canada	28	8
Ceylon	37	10
France	19	12
Sweden	15	10
U. K.	17	12
U. S. A.	25	10

2651. Vide table 12 'Comparative vital statistics, 1957' in the Tata Industries' Statistical Outline of India, 1959'.

This table shows that the birth rate in our country is not very high or abnormal and the death rate is also similar to that of such progressive countries as France and U. K. Many Western countries have no definite population policy at Govt. level. But the case of our country is entirely different. Our country has already a huge population, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level. Supposing that by means of our two Five Year Plans the national income in the ten years (1951–1961) increased 30 percent, the growth of population in the same period would come to about 22 percent, so that most of the additional wealth produced would be eaten up by the new mouths that have to be fed and the standard of living of the average Indian would practically remain the same. Therefore, the main problem that faces the Government, the planners and the people is how to control the large growth of population. Population control will not solve all the problems of our country, but our other problems will not be solved without solving that problem. The Government of India and the Planners had no well thought policy about the control of population. Government appears to lay far more emphasis on industrialization and agricultural production than on population control. In the first Five Year Plan only 65 lakhs of rupees were allocated to the schemes of population control, in the 2nd Five Year Plan the allocation was raised to five crores. The Planning Commission has now realized the gravity of the problem of the enormous growth of Indian population, has provided 50 crores of rupees in the Third Plan for the various schemes of population control (vide pp. 676 ff. of Third Five Year Plan). In the whole world about 100 people are born every minute, about 6000 persons every hour, about 140,000 every day and about five crores every year. This problem of the phenomenal growth of population overshadows in urgency and importance almost every problem of the contemporary world, much more so of India. Very little is being done to control systematically the terrific growth of numbers. Sweden in the early 19th century was a poverty-stricken country, but now it is one of the progressive and prosperous countries of the world owing to hard work, co-operation, honesty, social and personal discipline. Birth control is a very difficult and delicate problem. Religious beliefs and prejudices have to be taken into consideration. In Rgvedic times the prayer to God Indra for a newly married bride had been 'O bountiful Indra! may ten sons be born of her and make her husband the eleventh (member of the family).' Later on

some kindly soul took compassion on women and made the blessing to be 'of eight sons'. The Mahābhārata said that a sonless man does not reach blessed worlds (heaven &c). By the birth of a son the father was deemed to have discharged his debt to his ancestors and the water and piṇḍas (balls of cooked rice) offered by the son to his deceased father and other deceased ancestors were supposed to be of great efficacy for the peace of the departed souls. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 560-61, 799 and above p. 1626 This importance of a son or sons is believed to this day by almost all illiterate or educated people in India except a few men and women of advanced views. Educated brides sometimes request that the old mode of blessing for eight sons should not be followed. Therefore, in such cases the formula has to be changed to 'may you have as many sons as you desire'. The Smṛtis lay down that the husband has to cohabit with the wife after the first few days of her monthly illness and that he incurred the sin of embryo murder if he refused to do so without good cause. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. II pp. 570-71 and note 1327. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Chap. 14. 5-6) goes a little further and gives a story in which the husband who neglected this owing to his partiality for another charming wife had to undergo torments of hell. The present high prices of the necessaries of life induce many people to limit families by various devices. The Planning Commission is going to try various measures such as intensive education, provision of facilities and advice on the largest scale possible, providing family planning services at 1864 rural and 330 urban medical and health centres, numbers of sterilization centres, opening 6100 clinics in rural areas and 2100 in urban areas (in 2nd Plan only 549 urban and 1100 rural clinics), distribution of simple contraceptives, research programme for more effective contraceptives etc. The 3rd Plan reports that in the 2nd Plan period 125000 sterilization operations were carried out (p. 678 of Third Plan). The present author is not an expert in these matters and so will content himself by pointing out that sterilization and, particularly contraceptives, are double-edged weapons. Sterilization for males is easy and may become popular among well-to-do men for selfish reasons (such as not wanting children and not undertaking the task of bringing them up). Therefore, a rule would have to be made and rigorously enforced that no sterilization will be done unless the man has three children or more. Vide a very thoughtful work 'Fertility and Survival' by Alfred Sauvy tr. from French by hristine Brooke-Rose (1961). Birth control is practised in

West Europe, North America, Japan exclusively by the well-to-do type of people. The same might happen in India. The most serious objection against contraceptives is that they will lead to immorality and encourage promiscuity in both sexes. Gandhiji in his 'Self-restraint versus self-indulgence' (3rd. ed., 1928) stated that so far as India is concerned there is no case for contraceptives (p. 3) and advised self-restraint. But he might have changed his opinion if he had been alive today. To advise poor people to practise self restraint, when most of them live in hovels of one room or two rooms, who are uneducated and have no ambitions and pass life in abject poverty, sounds to them as a huge joke. The well-to-do have many interests in life and several outlets for their energy but for the poor there are very few. It is interesting to note that the Prime Minister in his 'Autobiography' (1936) strongly criticizes Gandhiji's praise of poverty, suffering and ascetic life as utterly wrong, harmful and impossible of achievement (p. 510) and regards Gandhiji's attitude to sex as extraordinary (p. 512).

Dr. Radhakrishnan in 'Religion and Society' (published in 1947) concedes (p. 189) that the use of contraceptives cannot be altogether forbidden, quotes Dawson to the effect that birth control by abstention is either ineffective or, if effective, pernicious (p. 90), that objections to birth control by contraceptives are due to their abuse and that in the present conditions facilities for birth control must be available, especially to poorer classes (p. 191). Contraceptives would have to be harmless to use, cheap, easy to use and absolutely reliable. The author is not sure if there are contraceptives of this type. Japan, a small country of islands, was compelled by the rapid growth of population to legalise abortions. Vide 'Aggression and Population' by F. James Dawson (London, 1946) for a thoughtful book on how to check worldwide growth of population. A thoughtful and exhaustive work is 'Population and planned parenthood in India' by S. Chandrasekhar, Director of Indian Institute for population studies, Madras (revised Edition of 1961).

The total investment programme for the Third Plan comes to Rs. 10400 crores (p. 109), Rs. 6100 crores in the public sector and Rs. 4300 crores in the private sector. The public sector has to find Rs. 7500 crores in all (that is Rs. 6300 for investment plus 1200 crores for current outlays in personnel &c (p. 91).

Resources for the Third Plan (p. 100)

TABLE 3.

	CENTRE	STATES	TOTAL
1. Balance from current revenue	410	140	550
2. Contribution of Railways	100	...	100
3. Surpluses of other public enterprises	300	150	450
4. Loans from the public	475	325	800
5. Small Savings	213	387	600
6. Provident funds	183	82	265
7. Steel Equalisation Fund	105	...	105
8. Balance of miscellaneous capital receipts.	428	258	170
9. Total of 1 to 8	2214	826	3040
10. Additional Taxation	1100	610	1710
11. External Assistance	2200	...	2200
12. Deficit financing	524	26	550
Total ...	6038	1462	7500

Besides the States have resources for 3rd Plan amounting to 1416 crores.

The two five year plans have given our leaders a certain mastery over the situation and some confidence abut the future. But Mr. Nanda has to admit that the productivity and level of efficiency are very low. Foreign aid raises difficult questions as to how to match it with an adequate mobilization of domestic resources. The mass of people are poverty-stricken, have a low standard of living and therefore can save little. High prices, which is a concomitant of development plans in all countries, are making common people discontented.

Foreign assistance runs into thousands of crores of rupees, nearly half of which comes from U. S. A. The United States Information Service has prepared a detailed statement of assistance to India for ten years from June 1951 to 4th August 1961 and circulated it to many Indians from which some striking figures are quoted here. A statement brought up only to June 30 of 1961 gives slightly smaller numbers as compared with the statement given below which brings up the figures up to 4th August 1961,

U. S. Government aid consists of grants and loans. Grants are gifts and do not involve any repayment. The grants in ten years total 1128.5 million dollars (537.4 crores of rupees). Loans involve repayment, some in dollars and some in rupees or dollars at the option of the Indian Government. Repayment in rupees does not involve the utilization of India's foreign exchange earnings or the export of goods from India. Eighty percent of U. S. loans to India up to Aug. 4, 1961 (2192.1 million dollars) are repayable in rupees i. e. that portion of the loans is not so inconvenient as the loans repayable in dollars are.

On p. 110 of Third Five Year Plan the foreign exchange requirements are put down at 2030 crores of Rs. for plan projects. But there are other general needs of the economy by way of raw materials, components, replacement machinery to be provided for. It is estimated that Rs. 3800 crores over the five years would be not too high. On p. 114 it is stated that the total assistance for the Third Plan assured by foreign countries is 2286 million dollars (Rs. 1089 crores) out of which the USA has agreed to provide 1045 million dollars (just under half of the total foreign assistance), West Germany 425 million dollars, U. K. 250 million dollars, Japan 80 million dollars, and small sums by Canada, France &c.

U. S. Aid from the Inception of the Aid Programme to India in June 1951, through August 4, 1961.

	DOLLARS (Millions)	RUPEES (Crores)
Aid under Indo-American technical co-operative programme	496.4	236.4
Public Law 480, Title I	2337.3	1113.0
Famine Relief grants to Indian Government	10.4	5.0
Agricultural commodities distributed through voluntary agencies (Public Law 480, Title III).	116.8	53.6
Development Loan Fund	513.4	244.5
Export-Import Bank	246.9	117.6
Wheat Loan of 1951	189.7	90.3
Total ...	3910.9	1862.6

BREAKDOWN

Grants to Indian Government for economic development (not repayable)	1128.5	537.4
Famine relief grants to Indian Government (not repayable)	10.4	5.3
Agricultultural commodities distributed through voluntary agencies (PL. 480, title III) (not repayable)	116.8	55.6
Loans repayable in dollars	436.6	307.9
Loans repayable in rupees or dollars	1755.6	836.0
Cooley fund for loans to private enterprises.	162.3	77.3
Amounts under PL-480 Title I reserved for US Govt. use.	300.8	143.1
Total ...	3910.9	1862.6

The preceding table shows that in the last ten years, India has become indebted to the USA in the huge sum of 2655 million dollars (some payable in dollars alone and the rest in rupees if India chose that way). In the Third Plan USA has agreed to provide India up to 1045 million dollars i. e. at the end of the 15 years from 1951 India may owe to U.S.A. 3700 million dollars, that is roughly about 1756 crores of rupees (at Rs. 4¾ per dollar). India will probably owe a larger amount to all the other lending countries taken together. The most serious question is how and in how many years India will repay the debts that run into astronomical figures. The explanatory memorandum accompanying the Central Budget for 1961-62 shows that India's public debt stood at Rs. 949 crores on 31st March 1939. On the 31st March 1962 it will reach the huge figure of 5554 crores. Adding the liability of Govt. to repay various deposits placed with Govt. under the Post Office Savings Bank, National Plan Savings, Provident Funds, Saving Deposit Certificates etc. which account for Rs. 1868 crores, India's obligations would really come to 7422 crores of Rs. (5554+1868), at the end of March 1962. Our interest yielding assets are only Rs. 5725 crores. If we add to this huge sum the debts our Govt. will owe to U. S. A. and other countries as shown in the

above table, at the end of the third plan India would be indebted in the colossal figure of about Rs. 11000 crores.

While these pages were passing through the Press, the author received a statement from the USA Information Service in Bombay, which brings the figures up to 12th March 1962. It states that the American Economic assistance to India from June 1951 to 12th March 1962 totals 4118 million dollars (= 1960.9 crores of Rupees) as shown in the table below :

		DOLLARS (Million)	RUPEES (Crores)	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
1.	Grant (not repayable)	1,291.2	614.8	31.3
2.	Loans repayable in dollars.	608.2	289.6	14.8
3.	Local Currency repayments.	2,218	1,056.5	53.9
		4,118.0	1,960.9	100.0

It is not necessary to go into other details. The loans are repayable at different dates, some being repayable in forty years and some carrying a very low rate of interest. It may, however, be noted that out of about 4000 million dollars aid to India since Independence over half has been in the form of P. L. 480 Food for commodities. The Food Minister of India, Mr. S. K. Patil, assures us, however, that India would become completely self-sufficient in food by the end of the Third Five Year Plan and points out that during the last decade, foodgrain production in India rose from 50 to 80 million tons a year, an increase of 60 per cent. But it should not be forgotten that the population of India in the same ten years increased by about 22 per cent over the population in 1951.

The Welfare State theoretically aims at (Sarvodaya) prosperity for all (at least for the vast majority). Up to recent times, the main obligations of the State towards its people were the administration of the country, the defence of the country and its coast against aggression or invasion, maintenance of law and order, primary and higher education. The ambition of the framers of the Indian Constitution and our leaders is to create a welfare state, and to reconstruct the present social and economic order on a socialistic pattern by subjecting the country to a planned economy. Several vital industries are now reserved

for the State and Government has assumed power to regulate production, to control distribution and to fix even the prices of some commodities absolutely necessary to all men in daily life. It has also established the State Trading Corporation. Taxation has become an ever-increasing instrument of economic policy for carrying out the plan projects. Apart from the income-Tax Act (XI of 1922 recently consolidated by Act 43 of 1961) our democratic Government passed one after another four Acts, viz. the Estate Duty Act (XXXIV of 1953), the Wealth Tax (XXVI of 1957), the Expenditure Tax (XXIX of 1957) and the Gift Tax (XVIII of 1958). There is no other country in the world that has all the above five taxes. Is India the only welfare country in the world ? There is a sense of uncertainty and fright in the middle classes and tax dodging in the rich or influential sections of the community. Reasons of space prevent the citing of illustrations of the arbitrary character of the recent four Acts. In all these Acts the opinions of the Govt. officers (viz. Gift Tax officer, expenditure tax officer, and wealth tax officer and higher officers) in an executive ladder under the same Acts on questions of fact (such as the value of a property) are final and cannot be questioned in any court of justice (i. e. in a subordinate judge's court or district judge's court or High Court). If a creditor releases a debtor from his debts (wholly or partly) the creditor will have to pay gift tax on the debt released if the gift tax officer is of opinion that he could have recovered the debt by means of legal steps. No man can make a gift of more than 100 rupees at one time to a private person or even a near relative (except to his wife) and if he makes several gifts to the same person in one year exceeding five hundred rupees he will have to pay gift tax. In all cases of questions of fact one appeal should have been allowed to a district court or where the amount concerned was more than ten thousand rupees to the High Court. It should be recognized by policy-makers that our people have great faith in the integrity of the High Courts and the district judges who are selected by the High Courts and whose promotion does not depend on the Executive. They have not much faith in the fairness and integrity of Appellate Commissioners and Tribunals that are appointed by the Ministers, when the dispute is between private persons and taxing authorities on behalf of Government. Writers on the constitutions of countries have for many years emphasized two leading features viz. the sovereignty of Parliament and the rule of law. Parliaments are cajoled into

passing legislation whereby courts of justice are evaded or passed by and the will or caprice of executive officers becomes unfettered and supreme. This is what is called the 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart of Great Britain.[2559] In the name of the Welfare State it seems that all power is being centralized in bureaucracy by our leaders.

Most common pepople in India have a very vague notion of what socialism means. They believe that socialism is based on Marxism.[2652] Marx holds that revolution is the weapon or means by which the workers are to seize power, that his theory is scientific and based on a study of facts. He himself declared that he was no 'Marxist' (vide 'Naked God' p. 3 by Howard Fast, New York, 1957 and 'New Class' by Milovan Djilas p. 4 London, 5th Impression, 1958). These words of his are explained by Dr. Radhakrishnan as meaning that he was not pledged to the acceptance of a doctrine, final, complete and oppressive (vide 'Religion and Society,' 1947, p. 25). This is not the place to discuss the premises and predictions of Marx, But a few words may be said here. Marx had predicted that communism would prevail first in the most developed and industrialized nations. What happened is quite the opposite of this. Communism occurred in countries like Russia and China that were relatively very much less developed and industrialized. Another of his predictions was that the system of private ownership would make the rich richer and the poor poorer, would

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2652. Vide 'New Despotism' by Lord Chief Justice Hewart (Earnest Benn Ltd. London, 1929) p. 17 (a long passage from which is quoted by R. S. W. Pollard in 'Conscience and liberty' (Allen and Unwin, London, 1940). Vide also 'Bureaucracy triumphant' by C. K. Allen (London, 1931). All these taxing enactments have created a high ladder of officers appointed by the executive. For example, under the Wealth Tax Act there is first the Wealth Tax Officer who decides what tax is payable, then there is an appeal to the Appellate Assistant Commissioner (Sec. 23), then there is a further appeal to the Appellate Tribunal (Sec. 24), then there can be a reference to the High Court on a point of law (Sec. 27-28) and finally an appeal to the Supreme Court (Sec. 29). This is sheer harassment and practical denial of justice. After a private person has run to three different officers or official bodies then only the High Court comes in, if at all, and that too on a point of law. It should be remembered that the wealth tax officer has often to determine the value of properties worth lakhs of rupees and on points of fact there are appeals only to the first officer's superiors and there is no provision for a probe of facts by a court or judicial officer independent of the executive. A similar procedure is provided in the Gift Tax, the Expenditure Tax and Estate Duty Tax.

breed ruinous depressions and in the end the angry proletariat would revolt, would overthrow the exploiting classes and establish a communist society. This second prophecy has not materialized in almost all highly industrialized nations. On the contrary, several democratic States have provided security against unemployment, sickness and old age and in some countries employers have admitted representatives of workers into the management of industries. The 'Communist Manifesto' is the official Bible in the U. S. S. R. A recent work 'The 'Anatomy of the Soviet man' by Claus Mehnert, translated from German by Maurice Rosenbaum (1961), appears to the present author to contain a balanced and fair estimate of the working of Communism in U. S. S. R. He points out that the desire to rise socially and amass wealth and power is as common to the Soviet Union as to the rest of the world (p. 84), that the New Class does not constitute a *bourgeoisie* in the West European sense, that it is a State *bourgeoisie*, all members work for the State and are dependent on it (p. 73), that social distinctions are greater in U. S. S. R. than in U. S. A. (p. 109), that the greatest disproportion prevails between the incomes of Academicians, artists and writers on the one hand and ordinary men and workers on the other. It appears to the present author that Communism has so far been the best means for the exploitation of the proletariat.

No great Indian leader of the present day has offered a lucid and considered statement of what the philosophical foundations of Indian socialism are or should be, nor has any leader placed before the people a clear and full picture of the Indian socialistic pattern of the future in all its aspects. In the Plan structures welfare seems to be identified with bread, physical and material comforts. Marx denied God and advocated the forcible liquidation of the exploiting classes. Our Constitution does not mention God (except in schedule III about oaths and affirmations of Ministers and M. P.'s) nor does it emphasize moral and spiritual values, though the founding fathers of the U.S.A. prescribe (in the Declaration of American Independence) "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Of course it is wrong and unscientific to say that all men are created equal if literally construed (as even children of the same parents are not equal in height, strength and mental equipment). All that is meant is that all men are equal in the eye of the law or have the same rights before the law. Truth

and non-violence are not mentioned in our Constitution, though these were the basic principles from Upaniṣad and Smṛti times (as in Chāndogya III. 17.4, Manu X. 63, Yāj. I. 122) and for Gandhiji by whom all Congressmen and their leaders swear. Lands of thousands of men of the middle class of small means were taken away from them by changing the fundamental right to property bestowed by Art. 31 (as originally enacted), by preventing recourse to law courts and by giving illusory hopes of some compensation not yet even determined after several years. This may not be liquidation of opponents, yet it is a cruel thing all the same in the name of democracy and Welfare State.[2653]

Borrowing in the country itself and from foreign countries has been resorted to on an increasing scale.

Table 3 above (p. 1689–90) will convey some idea of the vast amounts of debts our country owes and will owe to U. S. A. and other countries. How and in how many years the nation will be able to pay back these debts with interest is to ordinary men a source of grave anxiety and an insoluble problem. Among the sources for the plan are included Provident Funds, Post Office savings bank accounts, National Plan Certificates &c. These are really debts, though not demandable on any one date or year. Deficit financing which did not form part of the central budget in past years has now become a regular item. The budget of the central Govt. for 1961–62 exceeds 1023 crores. For 1962–63 the revenues are estimated at 1329.87 crores of

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2653. Vide a book called 'Social Welfare in India' issued on behalf of the Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi, 1960. People are likely to make a confusion between 'Welfare State' and 'Social Welfare'. The latter phrase refers to more specialized work for the weak or more vulnerable sections of the population (such as women, children, physically handicapped persons like the deaf, dumb and blind, mentally retarded, scheduled castes and tribes and backward classes). A Welfare State wants to change the pattern of life of the whole community or country. Our Constitution in Article 15 (paragraphs 3 and 4) authorizes the State to make special provisions for women and children and for the advancement of backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and Article 16 para 4 authorizes the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens. Articles 338–342 deal with the appointment of a special officer for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and with the appointment by the President of India of a Commission to report on the administration of scheduled areas and scheduled tribes and for specification from time to time of the castes, races or tribes in a list of the scheduled castes and tribes.

rupees and the expenditure at 1381.65 crores of rupees and it is announced that a total deficit of about 150 crores would have to be met partly by additional taxation of 60 crores and 80 lakhs of rupees. It must be remembered that most of these taxes are indirect and the major part of the income from such taxes is due to levies on articles of everyday necessity to common people who are already groaning under high prices of absolutely necessary commodities. The Bombay Government's Budget for 1962–63 intended to tax the poor man's *bidis* and *gur* (jaggery). About 7000 crores were put in the State sector in the 1st and 2nd Plan projects and 7500 crores are proposed to be spent in the Public sector in the 3rd plan period. Thus at the end of the 3rd Plan (in 1965–66) Government will have spent about 15000 crores of rupees. Tremendous power will be concentrated in the hands of ministers and the official bureaucracy. It is not generally known how Government has dealt with or will deal with this vast amount, what projects have been undertaken, which of them are completed, the cost of the completed projects, yearly yield from the projects that are completed, steps that are being taken to repay debts and to what extent. There are fervent appeals made by leaders to common people to co-operate with Govt. but the Govt. does not seem to be anxious to take people into confidence by widely circulating through newspapers, press-notes or otherwise information on the above mentioned matters. The vast sums spent on projects have caused inflation. Besides, during the two five year Plans population increased by 77 millions. This accentuated the problem of unemployment and on p. 47 of the book above referred to it is admitted that at the end of 10 years the backlog of unemployment is estimated at nine millions.

Sir W. Beveridge in 'Pillars of Security' (1944) names five giants with which humanity has to struggle viz. want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. (p. 43) The last, that is, unemployment, should be the first point of attack. Art. 41 of our Constitution confers the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and in certain other cases. It is not easy to give full employment for all. The State must try to limit numbers and provide not merely for literary education but also for vocational and technical training on a very extensive scale. Industrialization is necessary but it is not an unmixed blessing. Discussion of these matters would require far more space than can be afforded in this chapter.

One last word before taking leave of the subjects of Democracy, Welfare State, Socialistic pattern, legislation, planning for social and economic reconstruction. In the new set-up public administrators have become the brains behind the production of economic goods. They have, however, to do in the new sphere work which is entirely different from their traditional work in the Government of former times. Production activity in modern days demands bringing together and co-ordinating various skills and complex tasks to which administrators in Govt. offices are often strangers. How far they will be able to accomplish the new tasks undertaken by them is a matter which admits of no certain answer. But the most perplexing and baffling question is : Can all-comprehensive national plans under which the State either owns or controls most aspects of economic activities in Agriculture, Industry and Trade be implemented democratically by Parliamentary control ? The present author is very much afraid that the combination of economic and political power in the hands of a few ministers, high ranking officials and politicians would be so overpowering as to reduce the present Parliament (based on universal adult suffrage, only 23 percent of the population being literate) to a mere shadow and may in some respects at least narrow the liberties of men almost as much as the totalitarian State does.

Let us now turn to the reform and reorganization of Hindu Society and religion. The Portuguese came to India towards the end of the 15th century and acquired some territory on the Western coast of India. But owing to religious intolerance and persecution by them not much impression was made by them on Hindu society. But the case was different with the British, who did not imitate the Portuguese in the matter of religion, but wanted trade, wealth and power. On account of the British rule established over a large part of India from 1765 A. D. Indians came in contact with modern English literature and modern science. The earliest Indian reformer in modern times was a Bengali, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833). He founded the Brāhmo Samāja in 1828. Some of the great names in the effort to reorganize and reform Hindu society and religion are those of Devendranath Tagore (1817–1905), Keshub Chandra Sen (1838–1884), Ishvarachandra Vidyasagar, Dayānand (1824–1883) who founded the Āryasamāja in 1877 and who regarded only the Vedas as authoritative, Rāmakrishna Paramahamsa (1834–1886) and his great disciple Swami Vivekānanda (1863–1902), who founded the Ramkrishna Mission

for propagating Vedānta and doing charity work among the poor and the needy, M. G. Ranade (1842–1901) who was closely connected with the Prārthanāsamāja of Bombay, Agarkar, Phule, Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Gandhiji (1869–1948), Dr. Karve (who founded the Women's University in 1916). Those interested may usefully read 'A Century of Social Reform' by S. Natarajan (Asia Publishing House, Bombay), G. N. Farquhar's 'Modern religious movements in India' (Macmillan, 1917), W. T. de Bary's 'Sources of Indian Tradition', New York, 1958 (pp. 604–659).

There is a great ferment of ideas in India at present. Many of our countrymen, whether young or old, do not derive any inspiration from their religion. It is not the fault of religion, but the fault lies with us and our predecessors who did not and do not exhibit to us the core of our culture and religion, do not sift the essentials and separate them from the unessential accretions due to superstitions and wrong emphasis. Ordinary men of to-day feel bewildered by the disagreements between scientific knowledge and the traditional beliefs. The result is that traditional values and codes of conduct are disintegrating and various views are being bandied about. There are now several distinct thought-forms on matters religious or spiritual. One class calls itself *sanātanis* whose view is that the traditional codes of conduct and beliefs were established by the all-wise sages of old and therefore modern half-baked reformers have no right at all to introduce changes in them. There is another class (allied to these) of those who have studied such modern sciences as eugenics and biology, who oppose change on the ground that our traditions embodied in the caste system and the restrictive rules about marriage are most scientific and no change should be made in them and if made disaster will follow. There is another class of people who say 'why do you quarrel with us? Time will bring about all necessary changes'. There are other people who go to the other extreme and deny the existence of any divine or spiritual realities and values in the world. Some believe in the efficacy of laws to introduce desired changes. There are people who say 'take the essential values of Indian culture as foundation and build thereon a structure in keeping with the needs of the times'. Hinduism has always been growing and changing traditions (vide for examples above pp. 1267–72 and 1471). The changes, however, were not brought about by legislation but were the work of commentators and digest-writers, the result being a bewildering variety of

laws, customs and usages, religious and spiritual views in different parts of India. India, being always divided into many kingdoms before the advent of the British, there did not exist any legislative authority that could pass laws for the whole of India. Ancient and medieval Dharmaśāstra writers held the view that the king had no authority to interfere with Śāstric rules governing *varṇas* and castes. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 98–101 for the proposition that there was almost total absence of legislative power in the king according to Dharmaśāstra writers. Changes in practices and beliefs, however, did take place, but it was learned commentators that by various devices tried to support changes that had already taken place (vide pp. 1267–1272 above). There are really three well-marked classes of people, viz. *Sanātanis* or no-changers, the iconoclasts and those who want a synthesis of the old and the new.

The question is what should be conserved or discarded from the old practices and what new ideals or values should be added and assimilated. Reasons of space forbid saying much about values here. Values are largely moulded by environment. Only a century or two ago, slavery or racial inequality and pride, sweating children of tender age in factories were accepted in Christian countries as morally neutral or at least not disreputable. But at present some of these, if not all, are generally condemned as immoral. In India also values have changed from time to time. At one time animal sacrifices were quite reputable and of high other-worldly value. Later in the Upaniṣad times *Ahiṁsā* came to the fore. But there are certain values of our culture that have endured for three thousand years, viz. the consciousness that the whole world is the manifestation of the Eternal Essence, restraint of senses, charity and kindness. Now we are in an age of democracy and the important values of democracy are justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. But unfortunately many of those who sing paeans of democracy in India hanker after power and are in the grip of selfishness and hatred. Lord Acton wrote "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Kauṭilya said more than two thousand years ago that power warps (intoxicates) the mind. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 114 and n. 151 for quotations.

Many young men have in these days hardly anything which they believe as worth striving for whatever the cost may be, and hence they have nothing to practise as an ideal. We have to preserve a religious spirit among common men and

women, while getting rid of superstitions and beliefs opposed to all science and common sense. It is not the age-old principles of Hindu religion that are at fault, it is modern Hindu society that has to be reorganized, particularly when ours is now a democratic republic; and our leaders must make supreme efforts for many years to preserve equality in the midst of very great economic inequality, liberty which is likely to be overwhelmed by mighty parties and social groups and democracy against demagogues on the one hand and plutocrats on the other.

We must not shut our eyes to the peculiar and formidable difficulties of our country.[2654] Even the present India (i. e. Bhārat) is a vast country. There are in present India adherents of eight great religious systems (Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Moslem, Parsi, Christianity and Judaism), besides some tribes following none of these, but their own primitive systems; there are different States based on 14 different languages (mentioned in the 8th schedule to the Constitution of India), besides six Union territories and about 200 recognized dialects. These are likely to produce movements towards complete provincial autonomy and cultural separation. There are great contrasts among the inhabitants, at one end the primitive tribes and the people who were untouchables and at the other end highly educated men and, in between the two, groups of illiterate people numbering at present about 77 per cent of the whole population. *After centuries of conquests by alien people our country has gained independence.* This opens

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2654 For a somewhat captious and depressing portrayal of our difficulties by an apparently unsympathetic and unhelpful critic, vide 'India, the most dangerous decades' by Selig S. Harrison (Oxford University Press, 1960). The trend of the whole book is mainly to drive home one point viz. that democracy will not live or be successful in India. The book, it is believed, is mainly intended for non-Indian readers. The author insists too much on the obscurantist tendencies of some Indian people in the matter of caste. If he felt real sympathy and real friendship for the new democracy in India, he should have emphasized the points that make for unity in India, viz. the absence of an organized Church (like Protestant or the Roman Catholic Church), that Hinduism is a personal religion, that Hindus can easily adapt themselves to the requirements of modern democracy as shown by the three elections held so far without any serious disturbances when there were millions upon millions of voters, men and women. If he really wanted to help the Indian people, he should have stressed matters that favour democracy and not constantly harped on North India and South India, on Hindi and anti-Hindi, many States and language difficulties.

for us a new vista of creative thinking and work. We need not give up the basic principles of Hinduism, but should reorientate them to meet new and more complex conditions and work out a changed social order. Everybody says that what is wanted is an emotional integration of Indians and some have suggested that the caste system should be destroyed. If the caste system were a tangible thing it could have been easily and quickly destroyed. But it is not tangible. Legislation cannot destroy it. Only a change of heart with appropriate remedies and vast efforts persistently made over a long period may accomplish this Herculean task and not glib talk by people that hardly ever practise in their lives what they preach. In the present author's opinion States purely on linguistic basis should not have been created at all, but once it was resolved to create them, that should have been strictly adhered to and clear definite principles should have been laid down by the Central Government about assigning border villages to one State or another. The Central Government leadership has been most vacillating in this respect. For exmple, there were at least five different proposals put forward on Bombay City alone viz. a bilingual state (in which Bombay City was merged), a city State for Bombay alone with separate states of Gujarat and Maharashtra, central administration for five years, a return to the bilingual formula, and lastly separate Maharashtra (including Bombay City, Berar and Marathwada) and a separate State of Gujarat, with about 200 villages taken over from the Khandesh and Thana districts that had been part of Maharashtra for over one hundred years.

The caste system, the joint family system and the laws of succession and inheritance that are peculiar to Hindus are really social matters and not religious matters at all. Our Constitution and recent legislation deal with all the three, holding that these are social matters. As shown above, the Constitution abolished untouchability, the Hindu Marriage Act has done away with all prohibitions against marriages between persons of different castes and a Hindu can have marriage relations with any Hindu (including Buddhist, Jain and Sikh) and can take any Hindu woman as spouse subject only to the rules of *sapiṇḍa* relationship and prohibited degrees for marriage. The Hindu Succession Act has practically done away with the joint family system as shown above, though it has not been expressly abrogated.

What is wanted is not mere declamations against the caste system and fervent appeals for emotional integration of all Indians but a comprehensive code or scheme of beliefs and day to day conduct. The present writer cannot enter here into a detailed code or scheme which might require a volume by itself but some concrete proposals if set out here may induce more competent writers to give better and more exhaustive patterns. Let there be churning of thoughts. It is possible that in the beginning one may meet with formidable and fearful difficulties as in the mythological churning of the ocean, but let us hope that, even after the emergence of frightful things, the final result would be blissful, as in the churning of the ocean poison emerged but the whole effort was crowned with the appearance of *amṛta* at the end.

We must not despair of solving our difficult problems. Despair means destruction and death. We must not lose courage by the condition of our country for the last few centuries. We should rather look to our achievements during about three thousand years and take to heart the following advice of ancient sages of the Dharmśāstras such as that of Manu. Manu says (IV.137)[2655] 'one should not despise oneself on account of previous failures; one should seek (make efforts for securing) prosperity till one's death and should not regard prosperity as unattainable.' To the same effect is Yāj. when he says 'One should *never despise* a learned brāhmaṇa, a serpent, a kṣatriya (a king) or *oneself*; one should desire to secure prosperity till one's death and should not touch (i. e. make public) another's weak points (misdeeds &c.)' We are over 43 crores of people, we are proud of the achievements of our forefathers. If we work hard in a concerted and intelligent effort for years with the sole object of bringing about the highest development of the country and without ambitions of securing individual profit or fame there is no reason why our country should not outstrip or at least equal other countries in the world. The Īśopaniṣad 2 (Vāj. S. 40.2) ordains for all common men 'one should wish to live for a hundred years, always doing here (in this world) actions (prescribed by the śāstra).' The Ait. Br. (chap. 33.3), in the story of Śunaḥśepa insists on men being always active and emphasizes that prosperity does not come to him who does

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2655. नात्मानमवमन्येत पूर्वाभिरसमृद्धिभिः। आ मृत्योः श्रियमन्विच्छेन्नैनां मन्येत दुर्लभाम्॥ मनु. IV. 137; विप्राहिक्षत्रियात्मानो नावज्ञेयाः कदाचन। आ मृत्योः श्रियमाकाङ्क्षेत्क्षांचिन्मर्माणि सूदयेत्॥ या. I. 153.

not work hard (nānāśrāntāya śrīrastīti). So early as the Ṛgveda (IV. 33.11) it is emphasized that Gods do not befriend anyone who has not become tired by hard work (na ṛte śrāntasya sakhyāya devāḥ).

In 1934 some persons under the guidance of Swāmī Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai (Satara District) started a society which later came to be named 'Dharmanirṇaya-maṇḍala'[2656] (society for arriving at definite conclusions on matters of Dharma). The Swamī was a very learned man and a Sannyāsin, did not know English, but he held very modern views. There were fourteen original founder members of whom the present author is one. From 1934 to 1959 eleven sessions attended by hundreds of people were held at Thana, Poona (twice), Lonavla (thrice), Ahmednagar, Badalapur (Dist. Thana), Vardhā (in Berar), Akolā (in Berar), Wai and Bombay. At the different sessions resolutions were passed (in all 82) on several social and religious matters and a committee was appointed to prepare model *prayogas* (procedures) for Sandhyā, congregational (*Sāmudāyika*) prayer, *upanayana*, marriage, *antyeṣṭi* (funeral rites), śrāddha, remarriage (of widows), re-conversion to Hinduism &c. That Committee prepared under the guidance of Swāmī Kevalānanda such *prayogas* shorn of unnecessary details and with translations in Marathi, which can be had from Mr. Kokaje of Lonavla. Among the resolutions the following deserve special mention: usages have been changed from time to time by former learned men (śiṣṭas) and the learned men of the present day have the authority to introduce changes in usages as the present circumstances may require; that the untouchability of the people of certain castes be abolished (Art. 17 of the Constitution of India subsequently did this); that those sub-castes that have similar usages,

2656. The original name was 'तत्त्वनिष्ठ-परिवर्तनवादिपरिषद्' (Assembly of people who favoured the making of changes based on some fundamental principles). Seven of the original fourteen members died subsequently viz. Svāmī Kevalānanda, Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīdharaśāstri Pāṭhak (who became a Sannyāsin under the name Saṅkarānanda-bhāratī), Sadāśivaśāstri Bhide, Dr. K. L. Daftari, Mr. J. S. Karandikar (editor of the Poona 'Kesarī' newspaper), Mr. C. M. Saptarshi (Advocate, Ahmednagar) and Prajñāneśvarayati, Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokaje of Lonavla (Dist. Poona) was the Secretary. Among the other original members are Mr. N. G. Chapekar (a nonagenarian, retired First Class Subjudge), a scholar of wide reading including Vedic literature, Dharmaśāstras, sociological studies and Tārkatīrtha Lakṣmaṇaśāstri Joshi of Wai, who knows English well, studied all Darśanas and Śāstras under Swāmī Kevalānanda and is a critical scholar.

saṁskāras and rules about food should merge and such merger is not against Dharmaśāstra; there is no objection to any Hindu sitting in the same row with other persons of different varṇas provided vegetarians are served vegetarian eatables; that Hindus including untouchables are entitled to study the Veda and have upanayana performed with Vedic mantras and priests conversant with the upanayana procedure should be ready to do so, if invited; if any one takes to another religion owing to force or fraud or of his free will and wants to revert to the Hindu fold he should be allowed to come in after proper expiation and after undergoing a simple *vidhi*[2657]; marriages of spouses of the same gotra and pravara should be allowed provided there is no bar on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship (vide Hindu Marriage Act, 25 of 1955, sec. 5 items 4 and 5); that divorce be allowed among the castes in which it is not allowed at present on the ground of conversion to another religion of one of the spouses &c. (almost the same grounds as in sec. 13 of the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955); a Hindu widow succeeding as heir to her husband takes an absolute estate except when any of the following relatives of the husband are alive, viz. daughter, daughter's son, mother, father, brother, brother's son, paternal grand-parents, paternal first cousin (vide Hindu Succession Act, 30 of 1956 sec. 14 which goes further by omitting the near relatives specified above). Most of the decisions mentioned above were proclaimed from ten to twenty years before our Constitution came into operation.

Among the standing complaints against brāhmaṇas one has been that they debarred millions of people called 'Śūdras' from Vedic studies. Therefore, the Maṇḍala announced that all Hindus (including the so called untouchables) should observe the worship of the sun, repetition of the Gāyatrī-mantra (Ṛg. III. 62.10, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4, Vāj. S. III. 35) and reading or recital of the Bhagavadgītā (whole or part) every day, since these common observances would help in creating the sentiment of

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2657. Vide H. of Dh. Vol. IV pp. 828-830 where the 'Hindūkaraṇavidhi', prepared by the Dharmanirṇaya-maṇḍala for re-admission to Hinduism is set out in Sanskrit. This re-admission *vidhi* (in Sanskrit) has been translated into Marathi and Hindi.

cultural equality among all Hindus. The procedure of morning and evening (sandhyā) worship is brief and is quoted below.[2658]

In order to cultivate a sense of unity among all Hindus (including the so-called untouchables), the Maṇḍala prepared a congregational prayer (to be recited by all Hindus in a congregation once in a month) consisting of the following eleven passages culled from the Vedic literature, viz. Atharvaveda X. 8.1, Ṛg. X. 82.3, I. 164.16, Vāj. S. 25.21, Ṛg. X. 121. 10, Tai. Ār. 4.42.5, the Gāyatrimantra, Bṛ. Up. I. 3.28 (asato mā sad-gamaya, tamaso mā jyotir-gamaya, mṛtyor māmṛtam gamaya), Ṛg. X. 191.2–4. In many villages some people tried to introduce this congregational prayer, but after some time most people complained that they found it difficult to commit to memory and recite the Vedic passages and requested that similar congregational prayers be prepared in Hindi and therefore the Maṇḍala prepared a brief prayer of five verses in Hindi.

The above lines would only briefly illustrate how we would have to proceed if we want an emotional integration of all our countrymen, particularly on the social and religious plane. But we must not forget what the foundation of our culture and civilization has been throughout the past ages. Ancient sages laid the foundation by insisting upon this that there is and must be harmony between man's spirit and the spirit of the world and man's endeavour should be to realize in his actions and in his life this harmony and unity.[2659] The Upaniṣads teach that man gains by giving up (by renunciation) and exhorts man not to covet another's wealth (Īśopaniṣad I 'tena tyaktena bhuñjīthā mā gṛdhaḥ kasya svid dhanam ').

2658. प्रातः स्नात्वा पूर्वाभिमुखः, सायं हस्तौ पादौ च प्रक्षाल्य पश्चिमाभिमुखः आसने उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानायम्य श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं प्रातः सन्ध्योपासनं करिष्ये इति प्रातः सङ्कल्पं कुर्यात्। श्रीपरमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं सायंसन्ध्योपासनं करिष्ये इति सायम्। ततः अर्घ्यप्रदानम्। ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः। तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्। श्रीसूर्याय इदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम इति त्यागः। इति त्रिवारम्। अथ प्रातरुत्थाय सायमासीनः अष्टोत्तरशतं दशवारं वा—ओं भूर्भुवः स्वः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि। धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्॥ इति मन्त्रस्य जपं कुर्यात्। तत उपस्थानम्। पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्य प्राजापत्य व्यूह रश्मीन् समूह तेजः। यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि। योऽसावसौ पुरुषः सोहमस्मि (ईशावास्योपनिषद् 16) इति। ततः कर्मसमाप्तिं सोदकं ब्रूयात्। अनेन सन्ध्योपासनाख्येन कर्मणा भगवान्परमेश्वरः प्रीयताम्। ओं तत्सत्। इति द्विराचामेत्।

Two lines referring to Gotra, Pravara, Veda, Śākhā and Sūtra and to making an obeisance to Guru are omitted.

2659. Many thoughtful men in the West have been influenced immensely by the *advaita* Vedānta and its emphasis on sound moral

(*Continued on next page*)

The Bhagavadgītā emphasized doing one's duty without hankering for the rewards thereof. Science cannot answer such fundamental questions as occur to every thoughtful person viz. what is the ultimate cause, is it *brahman*, what is our origin, by what are we sustained, what is our destiny (goal), being influenced by what do we persist in paths leading to pain and misery (Śv. Up. I. 1.). They are answered by the ancient[2660] Upaniṣads, but not by science so far.

The chief aim of Indian culture and civilization was not to attain military and political power over other countries and peoples; it neglected to organize Indians for offensive and defensive purposes, nor encouraged the starting of immense corporations for the acquisition of wealth. But in these days of keen competition between nations and peoples we must not only keep a vigilant eye on the eternal principles of our culture but also on the worldly happiness of our countrymen in the midst of the warring elements in the world. Our people often took and take to premature *vairāgya* (renunciation), while Western nations and men have been laying for the last few centuries great store by extreme activity. Now that our leaders are thinking of remodelling our society and spiritual life they must cultivate qualities whereby they at least will be *sthitaprajña* i. e. fully developed or ideal souls (Bhagavadgītā II. 55–68) or men of God (Gītā XIII. 13–18). Social reforms and politics have to be preached through our age-old religion and philosophy.[2661] If a large majority of our people and the leaders throw away or neglect

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(*Continued from last page*)

preparation before one can realize the One Essence underlying the universe; vide 'What Vedānta means to me a Symposium edited by John Yale (Rider & Co., London, 1961), in which the views of 16 writers are set out. That of Aldous Huxley summarizes (pp. 19-20) the Upaniṣadic doctrine in the same words as on p. 1631 above. The same summary he gave in his novel 'Time must have a stop' 1945, p. 289.

2660. ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति। किं कारणं ब्रह्म कुतः स्म जाता जीवाम केन क्व च संप्रतिष्ठाः। अधिष्ठिताः केन सुखेतरेषु वर्तामहे ब्रह्मविदो व्यवस्थाम्। श्वेताश्व. उप. I. 1.; को न आत्मा, किं ब्रह्मेति। छा. उप. V, 11. 1.

2661. Our politicians seem at present to be treading the path humorously quoted from an American writer long before Independence by Prime Minister Nehru in his Autobiography 'Politics is the gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other' (p. 131). In the same work Panditji says that Gandhiji's reference to Rāmarājya as a golden age jarred on his ears and that his close associates half humorously said that when *svarājya* (Independence) came these fads must not be encouraged (pp. 72–73).

religion and spirituality altogether, the probability is that we shall lose both spiritual life and social betterment. This is not the place to say more on this point. Vide pp. 1478–79 above for the sound moral preparation required before one realizes the pervasion of everything by *brahman* and pp. 1623 ff. for the proposition that the One Principle is variously named by sages, which taken together lead to universal brotherhood, kindliness and tolerance. From time immemorial all religious cults in India (except Buddhism and Jainism) recognized that there was One Principle (or Deity of some kind) and in the immortality of the soul. The tremendous march of science and mastery over some of the forces of nature has gone to the heads of many modern men and made them conceited. Science can disclose to us at the most secondary causes; but it has to be silent as to the ultimate cause and the ultimate destiny of man. It cannot tell us what the purpose of life is, it cannot tell us anything about moral values. The present and the following generations have to be trained in an environment where spiritual life, love of truth, sense of and belief in the brotherhood of man or at least of our own countrymen, love of peace and sympathy for the oppressed would be held to be supreme virtues to be attempted by all people.

It is most difficult to suggest in a brief space a code of conduct for all the millions of India. But for men of limited education and busy life a few suggestions by way of illustrations may be set out. The idea of pollution by the touch of men belonging to certain castes must be given up and much more therefore the idea of pollution by the mere shadow of certain people.[2662] Swāmi Vivekānanda (Works Vol. V. p. 152) was so angered as to say "The religion of India is at present dont touchism". Reason and science must be resorted to for checking or abandoning dogmas based on ancient authority. The myths and legends of the Purāṇas on the origin of the universe, about eclipses and so forth that are not credible in the light of

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2662. Vide H. of Dh of Vol. II p, 173–174 on the Smṛti rules about shadow (chāyā) showing gradual excess of exclusiveness in later times. मक्षिका विप्रुषश्छाया गौरश्वः सूर्यरश्मयः। रजो भूर्वायुरग्निश्च स्पर्शे नैष्यानि निर्दिशेत्॥ मनु V. 133, विष्णु 23.51.

Vide above p. 242 where it is established that long before the first half of the 6th century, Indian astronomers had arrived at the correct causes of solar and lunar eclipses but even up to this day educated men often act in such a way that it seems that they believe in the demon Rāhu being the cause of eclipses.

science should not be included in the religious creeds of these days and should be treated as mere myths and legends. Many Christians even in these days (and most Hindus and Moslems) believe in a heaven above and a hell or hells below. But Śabara[2663] (in the first centuries of the Christian era) holds that heaven is not a place (vide pp. 1211-1215 above). Therefore, heaven and hell as described in ancient Sanskrit works cannot be made an article of faith for modern men. It is often said that myths may be represented as facts to simple people for the sake of beneficial results (e. g. for inducing them to perform sacrifices or to observe rules of morality &c.). But this is not proper as there are dangers in this. In these days of growing popular education, when the myth becomes exposed, the men who once believed it not only give up that myth but also might give up everything contained in ancient works as unbelievable. Space does not permit any elaborate cataloguing of what should be given up and what striven for in these days. Values, aims and institutions that were accepted by almost all people only a few decades ago are now challenged and new patterns are in process of being moulded. The chief catalytic agencies are modern science and Western thought and literature. The old structure of beliefs is tottering and laxity in morals has made great headway. But whatever happens, we must so regulate society that the family as a social unit[2664] is preserved and safeguarded, every child of whatever class or race must have equal opportunities of education, man's daily work must be held to be divine work and worship, great inequalities of wealth and possessions must be eliminated.

Swāmī Vivekānanda uttered the following exhortation long ago "The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian is my brother." "Repeat and pray day and night 'O Lord of Gaurī! make me a man'" quoted in "Sources of Indian Tradition" by W. T. de Bary and others (New York, 1958) p. 659. Vide Atharvaveda XII. 1.45 for universal brotherhood of all men whose mother is the Earth.

2663. Vide above pp. 1224-25 for criticism of Śabara's view that Veda invented stories that never happened.

2664. In 'This I believe' (philosophies of 100 thoughtful men and women in all walks of life) edited by E. P. Morgan (London, 1953), Sir Charles Darwin (author of 'New conception of matter and the next million years' and grandson of the author of 'the Origin of species') emphasizes 'the importance of family as the continuing unit of human life' (p. 30).

This volume (the last in the History of Dharmaśāstra) may be brought to a close with a quotation from the Kaṭhopaniṣad[2665] and another from Rabindranath Tagore's Gītāñjali :

'Get up, awake and having secured highly gifted (teachers) understand (the Truth); the sharp edge of a razor is difficult to pass over; thus the wise say that the path (to Realization) of Self) is hard' (Kaṭhopaniṣad);

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depths of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

2665. उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत। क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति॥ कठोप. III. 14.

EPILOGUE

Many friends and well-wishers of the author and some readers of the volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra have often (personally and by correspondence) pressed him to furnish some biographical details about himself, about the circumstances in which he launched on this undertaking, about the preparations he made, about the time and labour that this undertaking cost him and also what money it brought to him (a few asked even this).

To write an autobiography is a most difficult and delicate matter. In an autobiography one has often to use the words 'I', 'Me', 'My' etc. and the writer is liable to be charged with egotism. If he is very frank about his own failings and faults, he may be accused of exhibitionism. I do not propose to say much about my parents or my ancestors or about my marriage and family life or my likes and dislikes. I had my own share of anxieties, troubles and sorrows, but I shall not say much about them, since the blessings that were showered on me far outweighed the anxieties and sorrows. A brief account of some aspects of my long life may, I hope, be of some interest and help to those who have to face problems similar to those that I had to face.

I was born on 7th May 1880 in a village called Peḍhem or Paraśurāma [because it has a large and famous temple of Paraśurāma, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and the patron saint of several brāhmaṇa sub-castes (such as the Citpāvana)] near Chiplun in the Ratnagiri District at my maternal uncle's house. My father belonged to a priestly family in a village called Murḍem near Khed in the Ratnagiri District. My father had learnt by heart a great deal of the Ṛgveda and was being trained for priesthood till the age of 18. He did not like the profession of a priest and left for Poona to learn English along with a friend of his boyhood, the late Shankar Balkrishna Dixit, who later on became famous for his Marathi work on Indian Astronomy which was admired by Dr. Thibaut. Mr. Dixit and my father passed the Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University in 1873. My father studied for the Pleader's examination held in those days by the Bombay High Court, passed it and began to practise as a Taluka lawyer at Dapoli in the Ratnagiri District from 1878. Besides Vedic lore, my father studied the principal Upaniṣads

and the Gītā and had many of the former by heart. He practised as a lawyer for about forty years, then retired and passed away in 1925. We were nine children, six brothers and three sisters. I was the eldest of the sons and one sister was older than myself. In my early boyhood my father taught me some elements of astrology and advised me to commit to memory the verses of Amarakośa (of which I had 400 by heart before I was 12 years of age). In 1891 I joined the S. P. G. Mission's English High School at Dapoli and passed the Bombay University's Matriculation Examination in 1897 and stood high among the successful candidates. While at school, I began to suffer from hyper-acidity, consequent acute stomach pains and vomiting at the age of 16 and had to leave school for nearly a year. At the time when I passed the Matriculation there was an epidemic of Bubonic Plague in Bombay and Poona, where there was high mortality. My father was not willing to send me (whose health was already delicate) to those places where alone College education could then be had. So he asked me to study law under him. I studied it for two weeks, but being repelled soon by the dry study of law, I wrote a letter to Dr. Machichan, who was then Principal of the Wilson College in Bombay (and reputed to be very kind), conducted by the Scottish Mission, asking him whether I could be enrolled as a student *in absentia*. He asked me to send Rs. 36/–, a term's fee, get myself registered as a student and stated that as the epidemic was at its height the University might condone absence. The Bombay University later on did so. I did not attend College in the first term. The epidemic abated, I joined College in June and appeared for the first year's examination of the Bombay University in November 1898 (which was then called the Previous Exam.) and was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 175 and a prize of Rs. 100 for being the first among the students whose second language was Sanskrit. This was the first lucky accident in my life. Life is a mysterious business. It is full of lucky incidents or chances and one must be able to take advantage of them by one's own efforts. There have been many such incidents and disinterested friendships in my life and I have hardly ever had an enemy to my knowledge in the whole of my rather long life. The ailment of my boyhood pursued me at college, pursues me even now and has become worse, but I did not allow myself to be much disturbed by it, controlled my diet and led a regular and strict life. At the second year's examination in Arts (called Intermediate) I was awarded a scholarship of Rs. 180

(lump sum) for standing first among students taking Sanskrit as a second language. Two years afterwards I appeared for the B. A. examination in 1901 and was awarded the Bhau Daji Prize for proficiency in Sanskrit and stood first among the students of the Wilson College. An idea about how delicate I was in 1901 when I was 21 years old may be had from the fact that, though I was 5 feet 4 inches in height, I weighed only 98 pounds. After the B. A. examination I was a Dakṣiṇā Fellow at the Wilson College for two years and lectured to the first two years' classes at the Wilson College on Sanskrit about three hours a week. In 1902, I passed the First LL. B. examination in the First class and in 1903 the M. A. examination and was awarded the Zala Vedānta Prize of Rs. 400. The peculiarity of this prize is that the paper set is in Sanskrit, the answers are to be written in Sanskrit in three hours, the chief examiner was to be a Śāstri who was proficient in Śāṅkara Vedānta and had studied it under the old traditional methods. As my father had yet to spend for the education of several sons he asked me either to enter the Education Department as a High School teacher or to become a lawyer in a subordinate court. I did not like the latter idea and applied to the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, for appointment as a teacher in a Govt. High School. Here again Dr. Machichan helped me by recommending me highly to the D. P. I. I was appointed a teacher in the Govt. High School at Ratnagiri in August 1904 on a salary of Rs. 60 per month raised to Rs. 65 per month after a few months (having been an M. A. with five scholarships and prizes in Sanskrit). I was at the Ratnagiri Govt. High School for three years. I appeared for the S. T. C. (Secondary Teacher's Certificate) Examination held by the Department in 1905 and stood first in the whole of the Bombay Presidency (including Sind in those days). In the same year I submitted an essay on 'Aryan Manners and Morals as depicted in the Epics' for the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal of the Bombay University and was awarded a prize of books worth Rs. 150. For this essay I read both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Till now I have read the Mahābhārata thrice and I have yet got the notebooks of extensive extracts, particularly from the Mahābhārata. In the next year I appeared for a Departmental Examination for Honours in Teaching and secured first class in 'Logic in relation to teaching'. The same year (1906) I submitted a paper on 'the History of Alaṅkāra Literature' for the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal again and was awarded the medal. At the end

of this year I lost my younger brother by T. B. I was transferred at my own request to the Elphinstone High School in Bombay as 5th assistant on Rs. 75 in April 1907. There were over 40 teachers in that High School and about 750 students from the 4th to the 7th standard. I was made Head Sanskrit teacher (there were three teachers of Sanskrit and 12 classes in Sanskrit). Towards the end of 1907 the post of Assistant to the Professor of Sanskrit at the Poona Deccan College (on Rs. 125 p. m.) fell vacant and I applied for the post. But I was not appointed and another person who was an M. A. in Sanskrit, but had won no prize, scholarship or medal in Sanskrit at any examination from the Matriculation to the M. A. and who was 9th Assistant in the Elphinstone High School (where I was 5th assistant) was appointed to the post, because he was a favourite student of the D. P. I. when the latter was Principal of the Deccan College. I sent a protest through the Principal of the High School. I was informed that a competent authority in Sanskrit had recommended that the person chosen was superior to me in Sanskrit and when I requested the D. P. I. to let me know the name of the competent authority I was informed that my letter was an impertinent one and deserved no reply. This added insult to injury. This happened in December 1907. I decided to appear for the 2nd LL. B. examination in November 1908 and then to leave Govt. service. My supersession created a great deal of criticism in the Department and almost all persons sympathised with me and helped me in various ways. I appeared for the 2nd LL. B. examination in November 1908 and passed it. This created an impression in the Education Department that I meant serious business. Therefore, as a sop to my injured feelings, I was appointed to act as Professor of Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College from February to April 1909 in place of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar who had been deputed on some Govt. work. I reverted to the High School at the end of April 1909 and began to cast about where to practise as a lawyer. I was not inclined to practise as a lawyer in subordinate courts and decided that, if I left service, I would practise on the Appellate side of the High court, where it is a battle of wits and of hard work and one had not to do what a lawyer practising in the subordinate courts had to do. At that time, the late Mr. Daji Abaji Khare was almost at the top of the Appellate side Bar (called Vakils of the High Court). He had some large estates at Dapoli (my native place) and knew my father and myself. I approached him for advice. He told me that I must

have with me at least two thousand rupees in cash, if I wanted to practise in the High Court and to stick to it. I had then not a pie with me and my father who was already sixty years old and had to educate other sons, declined to help. In less than two years from June 1909 I brought out two school books and one annotated book in Sanskrit (the Sāhityadarpaṇa) for College students and was also appointed an examiner in Sanskrit at the Previous and Intermediate Arts Examinations. I thus collected two thousand rupees, resigned from Govt. service at the end of June 1911 and applied for a Sanad (after paying Rs. 500 as fee for enrolment as a Vakil of the High Court of Bombay) with a certificate of good moral character from Mr. Khare and was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court on 5th July 1911 when I was in my 32nd year.

Work was slow in coming and the first two years were rather bleak. Having not much to do, I appeared for the LL. M. examination in Hindu and Mahomedan law in 1912 and passed it. From 1911 to about 1918 I brought out every year some book or books such as the Kādambarī of Bāṇa in three parts with ample notes, the Harṣacarita in two parts, and the Uttararāmacarita. I also conducted a private law class for coaching students for the High Court Vakil's examination (in which 60 percent marks were required for passing). This brought in a steady income of about Rs. 100 per month for four years from 1913 to 1917 and, what was more important, this task of teaching single-handed the vast field of law made me proficient in all complicated legal topics. In the meantime, in 1913 I was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer to deliver six lectures on Sanskrit, Prakrit and allied languages for a lump sum of Rs. 750. In 1913 I became an ordinary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and a life member (by paying a lump sum of Rs. 500) in January 1915. At the beginning of 1915 I was appointed by the Bombay University a Springer Research Scholar for two years on a salary of Rs. 100 per month, the subject of research being 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāṣṭra' (part published in JBBRAS, Vol. XXIV for 1917, pp. 613-657). In 1916 I worked as Honorary Professor of Sanskrit at the Wilson College, when Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who was permanent Professor, fell ill, and I lectured for three hours a week to B. A. classes on the most difficult part of Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra.

In 1917 June I was appointed as a Professor of Law in the Govt.

Law College at Bombay. This was again a case of an unexpected event. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court had recommended for a vacancy in the law college two names from among the Vakils on the Appellate side Bar of the High Court, one a very senior gentleman and myself who had less than six years' practice. The senior gentleman for some reason (not given out) refused at the last moment and on 20th June, the day on which the Law College was to open, I received a wire in the Vakil's room from Government stating that Govt. proposed to appoint me as a Professor of Law from that day and that if I agreed I should see the Principal. This was a comfortable job, the salary being Rs. 350 a month and the duties light viz. three or four hours per week in the evening from 5-45 p.m. to 6-45 p. m. I was Professor of Law for six years (1917-1923). Hardly any Vakil with less than six years' practice on the Appellate Side of the High Court had been appointed before me as Professor of Law.

I had undertaken about 1911 an edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha with explanatory notes on the advice of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar who was one of the General Editors of the Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series. But, owing to fluctuations in my own fortunes, I had neglected the work and had almost decided to give up the undertaking altogether. The Bombay Govt.'s Sanskrit Series came to be transferred by Govt. to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute that had been started in Poona in 1917. The authorities of the Institute pressed me to carry out my undertaking. I agreed and began to read the vast Dharmaśāstra Literature for that purpose. The edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha of Nīlakaṇṭha (text based on three printed editions and eight mss., an Introduction of 47 pages and exhaustive notes) was published in 1926 by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. In the brief Preface to that edition of 1926, I announced that I had undertaken to write the History of Dharmaśātra Literature.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar had expressed a desire to donate his large library of thousands of books to some Institute that would properly house them, take care of them and make it a centre of Sanskrit studies. Dr. Belvalkar, Dr. Gune and several others supported the idea and about thirty people including myself contributed Rs. 500 each for the purchase of a big vacant plot of 30 acres in Poona and, after setting aside nearly half of the purchased plot for

the Institute to be named after Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, distributed the rest among the original contributors as plot-holders. The public and Govt. supported the Institute and the famous Tatas donated money to construct a suitable building. The first project undertaken was the publication of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. Govt. made grants, transferred the Bombay Sanskrit Series to the Institute, the Chief of Aundh promised a lakh of rupees for the Mahābhārata edition with pictures and later the Nizam of Hyderabad contributed a large sum for building a guest-house for scholars from India and abroad.

The first volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra, which was published in 1930, deals with the chronology and relative importance of famous and less known writers and works and covers 760 pages. As I regarded myself as one of the original founders of the B. O. R. I. and as I was a successful lawyer on the Appellate side of the High Court, I offered the volume to that Institute for publication without any agreement about payment. The Preface to the first volume makes it clear that I intended to finish the whole history in two volumes and that even at that time I suffered from a painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) which has dogged my footsteps throughout up to this day. The second volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra covering 1368 pages (including about 300 pages on Śrauta ritual, not included in the original plan) was published in June 1941 (i. e. eleven years after the publication of the first volume), when I was already 61 years old and pursued by an implacable ailment. The third volume containing 1088 pages was published in October 1946 and deals with only three topics 'Rājadharma, Vyavahāra, and Sadācāra' (customs and customary law). On account of the 2nd world war there was paper shortage and the finances of B. O. R. I. were at a low ebb. I had therefore to advance three thousand rupees to the B. O. R. I. and had to purchase paper worth several hundred rupees for expediting the printing, in view of the fact that I was in my 67th year and that my physical condition was causing anxiety. The 4th volume is spread over 926 pages, was published in October 1953 (when I was in my 74th year) and deals with Pātaka (sins), Prāyaścitta (expiation), Karmavipāka (fruition of evil deeds), Antyeṣṭi (rites on death), Aśauca (impurity on death and birth), Śuddhi (purification), Śrāddha, Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimages to sacred places).

The (fifth and) last volume deals with numerous topics, as the Table of Contents will show. The first part of 718 pages dealing with Vrata (sacred vows, observances and festivals) and Kāla was separately published in 1958 (as I had then an attack of heart trouble, and it was thought that I might not survive, being more than 78 years old at that time). The second part now printed deals with Śāntis, Purāṇas in relation to Dharmaśāstra, causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India, Tantras and Dharmaśāstra, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Tarka and Dharmaśāstra, Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra, Cosmology, doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, dominant characteristics of our Indian culture and civilization and future trends. This volume has been in the press for over five years and has involved an enormous amount of varied reading and writing for over eight years from 1953.

In describing how and in how many years the H. of Dh. developed, I have not said anything about the environment in which I had to work. From about 1918 I began to have good work as a lawyer. I not only conducted cases in the Bombay High Court, but I appeared before the District Courts of the mofussil in several districts such as Khandesh, Nagar, Poona, Sholapur, Satara, and Ratnagiri. I owe a great deal to my college friends, to my students that passed the High Court Vakil's examination after attending my private law class and to Mr. M. K. Athavle of Sangli and Mr. C. M. Saptarishi of Ahmednager for sending me much legal work.

I took part in many of the intellectual activities in Bombay and Poona. I was a member of the Senate of the Bombay University from 1919 to 1928, I have been throughout a member of the Regulating Council of the Bhandarkar Institute and of its other bodies. I was closely connected for over 40 years with the Marathi Granthasaṅgrahālaya of Bombay in various capacities and with the Brāhmaṇasabhā of Bombay in many capacities as Chairman of the Managing Committee, a Trustee for 21 years and Adviser from 1918 to this day.

I had argued gratis several cases for some societies and individuals. Mr. Javdekar, lawyer of Dhulia, espoused the cause of people who had grievances against the Indian Railways. I conducted many such railway cases and cases of poor and helpless people. One of these latter was that of a poor untonsured brāhmaṇa widow who had been prevented by the priests in the temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur

from offering worship to the image by placing her head at the feet of the image (because she was untonsured) as all Hindus, male or female, of all castes were allowed to do. I had to go to Pandharpur thrice at my own expense and spent in all seven days in court. The court decided in favour of the widow. The case is referred to in the History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II p. 593 and the arguments are set out on pp. 587–593 of the volume.

Another case that I conducted gratis is that of the Deccan College, Poona. This College was started by Govt. but a Parsi Baronet, Sir Jamsetji, made in the early sixties of the 19th century a munificent donation of about two lakhs with the stipulation that it was to be maintained as an educational Institution for ever on the lines already laid down. The British Govt. on the suggestion of an Indian Minister wanted to close the College and made a contract for sale of the site and buildings for a Parsi Public School. Some of the Old Boys of the College such as Prof. S. G. Sathe and Dr. Belvalkar consulted me what to do, though I was not an old boy of the Deccan College. I first suggested that a member of the Bombay Legislative Council should ask a question whether the Deccan College was not an Institution held in trust by Govt. The Govt. replied that it was a trust property, but that Govt. would approach the District Court of Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school. Govt. applied to the District Court at Poona for permission to sell it for the purpose of a public school. I appeared for the old Boys' Association and requested that the Association should be made a party to Govt's application. The Court allowed the application. I had agreed not to charge any fees. I suggested that Mr. M. R. Jayakar, who had a great regard for me and was a very successful advocate in Bombay (who later became a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England), should be briefed in the matter. The Association said that they had not money enough to pay Mr. Jayakar's heavy fees. I requested Mr. Jayakar not to charge any fees. He complied with my request and the whole case took about 15 working days in court, besides many days of preparation. Mr. Jayakar, having once agreed to work without fees, put his heart and soul in the matter and the District Court in a long judgement of about ninety typed pages held that the Deccan College was a trust and could not be sold. Govt. went in appeal to the High Court of Bombay, but by that time a popular Ministry with the

late Mr. B. G. Kher as Chief Minister had come to power and compromised the matter by agreeing to conduct the Deccan College as a Research Institute for Vedic studies and classical Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History etc. The Association made Mr. Jayakar and myself Honorary members of the Old Boys' Association. I have been on the Managing Council of the Deccan College Research Institute since 1938 to this day.

In 1944 I was appointed by the Bombay University Sir Lallubhai Shah Lecturer and delivered four lectures on Hindu customs and modern laws. The lectures have been published in book form by the University.

In 1927 at the time of the Gaṇapati festival in Bombay, a *mela* (party of worshippers) of the Mahar caste (held untouchable) approached the authorities of the Brāhmaṇasabhā for permission to come for *darśan* of the image installed by the Sabhā and stated that they would be content if they were allowed to come as near the image as Parsis, Christians and Moslems would be allowed to do. I was then Chairman of the Managing Committee and called a meeting of the Committee to decide whether the request should be granted. In the Committee the voting was exactly half for and half against. I had to give a casting vote for granting permission, since I was of the opinion that the request was a very modest one and in view of the changing times should be acceded to. A suit was filed in the Bombay High Court by certain orthodox people against the Brāhmaṇasabhā, against myself as Chairman of the Managing Committee and the Secretary for a temporary injunction restraining us from bringing the Mahar Mela inside the building where the image was and for a declaration that the Sabhā through its office-bearers had no right to do what had not been previously done. It must be said to the credit of the members of the Sabhā that in a meeting of the general body of members my action was supported by a very large majority. Tnere was great excitement and it was feared that violence might result. The High Court refused to grant a temporary injunction and later the suit was withdrawn by the members seeking legal relief. Our Constitution has abolished untouchability but that was in 1950 and this excitement arose in 1927.

I have been a member of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Asiatic Society for about 45 years, a Vice-President and one

of the editors of the Journal of the Society for many years. I contributed many long articles to the Journal of the Society and to the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute. In 1946 at my request Dr. B. C. Law, a great scholar, whom I had never seen but who had become an admirer of my books, donated Rs. three thousand (for purchase of books for the Society) and donated five thousand rupees for founding a medal called P. V. Kane Gold Medal to be awarded once every three years to a scholar who had done substantial research in subjects in which I was interested.

On 7th May 1941, in honour of my 61st birthday 'A volume of studies in Indology' was presented to me edited by Dr. S. M. Katre and Prof. P. K. Gode and published by Dr. N. G. Sardesai of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona. My friends and admirers had formed a Committee with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar as Chairman and invited papers. Many contributions came in, of which 74 are contained in that work, mostly written by Indian scholars (a few by scholars from abroad also).

In 1942 the British Govt. conferred on me the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya and the Allahabad University conferred on me the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. In 1946 I was asked to preside over the All India Oriental Conference held at Nagpur. In 1947 Mr. B. G. Kher, then Chief Minister of the Bombay State, pressed me to become Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University for two years and I agreed after some hesitation owing to my age (about 68). There was no salary attached to the post nor was there any sumptuary allowance nor any other allowance. In the years 1947 to 1949 I had three matters on my hands, my legal practice, the History of Dharmaśāstra and the work as Vice-Chancellor (which was heavy in those days, sometimes three hours a day). Mr. Kher pressed me to remain Vice-Chancellor for three years more, offered to make it a salaried post of 2000 Rs. per month and requested me to give up practice as Advocate. The then Governor of Bombay, Sir Maharaj Singh, as Chancellor, also pressed me, but for various reasons (the foremost being that the work on the History of Dharmaśāstra would make slow progress if I spent five or more hours a day in the University) I declined. The Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held in Bombay in 1949. I was Chairman of the Reception Committee. On my request the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa was performed in Sanskrit with songs, the director being Mr. K.C.M.

Bhatavdekar who is a fine-looking and tall man, an excellent actor, a good Sanskritist and a singer. It was a great success. Emboldened by this success I suggested that other Sanskrit dramas should be put up on the stage. Mr. Bhatawdekar and Mr. P. P. Joshi, two enthusiastic workers of the *Sanskritic Samiti* (Cultural Committee) of the Brāhmaṇasabhā at Bombay, worked hard and at different times and in different places (Delhi, Bombay, Ujjain, Poona) put up on the stage ten Sanskrit dramas, Śākuntala, Mṛcchakaṭika, Ratnāvali, Veṇīsaṁhāra, Uttararāmacarita, Mudrārākṣasa, Vikramorvaśīya, Mālavikāgnimitra, Svapnavāsavadattā and Saṅgīta Saubhadra (translated into Sanskrit by Mr. S. B. Velankar, Indian Postal Service, from the original Marathi by Anna Kirloskar). These performances became very popular. The sale of tickets yielded 150,000 Rs. out of which about thirty thousand were saved after meeting all expenses as a fund to fall back upon when they performed one of these plays at different places.

The International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1948. The Indian Govt. sent a delegation of three, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as leader and Dr. S. K. Chatterji and myself as two members. In 1951 the International Congress met in Istanbul and the Indian Govt. sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. Siddiqui. At this conference I sponsored a resolution that the Unesco should make a substantial grant to the project of a Sanskrit Dictionary on Historical Principles undertaken by the Deccan College and it was unanimously passed by the Conference and subsequently *Unesco* made a grant of 5000 dollars to the Deccan College. In 1954 the Session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held at Cambridge to which the Govt of India sent a delegation consisting of myself (as leader), Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. From Cambridge I went at my own expense to U. S. A. and visited the Library of the Congress in Washington for two days, the University of Princeton, Harvard University and the University of Rochester, where my younger son was studying for the Ph. D. degree in Atomic and Nuclear Physics. The Governing Body of the London School of Oriental and African studies of the London University was pleased to nominate me as an Honorary Fellow, I being the only Indian among the present 25 Honorary Fellows of the School. In December 1953 I presided over the session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair.

In November 1953 the President of India was pleased to nominate me as a member of Parliament i. e. of the Rājyasabhā (Council of States) and when my term expired on 1-4-58 I was again nominated for six years. While in Parliament I worked on several committees such as the Committees for considering the Hindu Adoption Act, the Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act. I pressed on the Govt. that they should start a Central Institute of Indian Studies. This has been now accepted in principle and a committee has been appointed to suggest a constitution and other matters. I have also been a member of the Central Sanskrit Board. On 15th August 1958 the President of India was pleased to grant me a certificate of merit and an annuity of Rs. 1500 a year. In August 1959 the President was pleased to nominate me as National Professor of Indology for five years on a substantial salary, the only condition being that I should carry on research as I have been doing. I resigned from Parliament in September 1959, because as I held an office of profit under Govt., I had to do so according to law. In 1960 the University of Poona conferred on me the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters.

From the beginning of 1955 I did not take any fresh legal work and by March 1956 I got all my cases disposed off. Since April 1956 I have systematically refused all pressure to accept briefs. Since April 1956 I have devoted my time to Parliamentary work (till September 1959 only) and to the last volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra.

I had substantial legal work from 1919 to about 1949. For the benefit of those who made inquiries and of those who desire to pursue literary studies while working as lawyers, I shall briefly state how I saved time for literary work. The High Court worked for five days in the week. I always utilized all holidays for literary work, Saturday and Sunday have always been my busiest days. There were always two Benches (sometimes three Benches also) on the Appellate side of the High Court. Often ten appeals were placed on the board for each Bench every day, since the practice of the Court has been that if an Advocate had two matters, one in each of the different courts and he was engaged in one court, his case in the other court was kept back till he became free. So when an advocate had even one appeal in one court and that too very low down in the list, even then he had to be present in court from the beginning, since appeals

lower down on the Board might be taken up by the Court if the lawyers therein were available. Most lawyers when free spent their time in chitchat in the Advocates' room. I spent such time in the Library for preparing my briefs that were likely to be taken up in the next few weeks. I hardly ever read my briefs at home. Therefore, I could devote every day some hours in the morning and evening to my work on Sanskrit studies. I always worked for eight or nine hours a day and sometimes ten to twelve hours from 1911 to 1948, except when I was not in Bombay. I have never slept or even taken a nap by day from 1904 to 1958; even when I went to see a drama at night and came home at 2 A.M. I awoke at 6 A.M. and slept a little earlier on the following night. After the mild heart trouble in 1958, I tried sleeping a little by day, but not being used to such a thing I gave it up in a few months. For fifty years I have been taking morning walk for about one hour on the Chowpati sea face in Bombay and at the Hanging Gardens since 1912, but stopped going to the Hanging Gardens from about 1956.

That I had duodenal ulcer was discovered by x-ray therapy about 1925. Some doctors advised an operation. Others opposed it. I consulted the then most eminent surgeon in Bombay, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, and he advised me not to go in for it. Again in 1937 when I undertook a trip in European countries for three months, I consulted in Vienna an eminent German doctor who advised me to continue my dietetic methods and not to undergo an operation, when I was nearly 58 and the disease was of very long standing.

A few words about my method of collecting materials for my History of Dharmaśāstra. I have about a hundred note-books, some of them subjectwise and some with pages marked from A to Z, in which I noted important pages and passages extracted from the works read. For example, I have a big oblong notebook (leather bound) of about 500 pages devoted to Purāṇas only.

As regards the writing of the History of Dharmaśāstra my method was as follows: I wrote in my own hand a first draft, collected a hundred pages or so and then carefully read those pages. Sometimes I tore off several pages and prepared a new draft. I cannot type well, having had no time to cultivate the habit of using a typewriter. Then I got the matter typewritten by an excellent typist, Mr. G. R. Barve, who was my neighbour and who could decipher my bad writing tolerably well and paid him his usual

charges. I sent to the Press only the handwritten original of the first volume. It was from the 2nd volume onwards that I got one or two copies typewritten (two when there was danger of bombing Bombay in 1942) and sometime afterwards I read the typed copy myself and put in the diacritical marks. This was sent to the Press in Poona I examined three (rarely four) proofs of all forms myself, but the press had directions to send a copy of the third page proof to a good Sanskrit scholar in Poona who was to read it and make corrections (not in the matter but only as to diacritical marks, spelling, stops etc.) and to send the corrected proof to me and I incorporated his corrections (if accepted by me) in my own copy of the third proof, which was sent to the Press as the final proof. The Indexes to all the five volumes were prepared by me. The Indexes to volumes I-IV alone come to 289 pages. The total printed pages of all works written and printed by me and of the numerous papers that I contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and to other Journals would come to at least twenty thousand pages. To the typewriters of vol. II to V, I paid about 2500 rupees out of my own pocket and about 600 rupees to the correctors of the page proofs (of volume II to V). I went to places that had collections of Sanskrit Mss. such as Poona (very often), Baroda, Benares (several times), Madras (several times), Tanjore and Ujjain at my own expense for reading several mss. and getting copies made of a few of them. In our country, there are no large libraries like those in Europe and U. S. A. So I had to spend money on securing micro-films of certain articles in foreign journals and copies of certain Mss. I have no accounts of the travelling charges but about making copies of some mss. and microfilms I can say that they came to about 200 rupees. The Press was in Poona and I was in Bombay and the proofs (along with the original copy at the time of the despatch of the first proof) had to be sent by post for about 35 years (sometimes one form, sometimes two and rarely three at a time). Besides, the original ms. had always to be sent in small packets (of from 50 to 100 handwritten or typed pages) by registered bookpost. No accounts are kept of this but probably Rs. 400 would be a very modest estimate. The honorarium paid (and to be paid) to me for all the five volumes is given in the table below :

For the information of those who have already inquired or

might inquire hereafter about the cost of this undertaking viz., History of Dharmaśāstra, a table is appended:—

Volumes	Year of publication	Cost of Printing, paper, binding	Honorarium
		Rs. as.	Rs. as.
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II			
pts. 1 and 2	1941	8828 - 12	4239 - 0
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part I	1958	25,000 - 0	7000 - 0
part II	1962	(Approximately)	(Approximately) the II part is to be hereafter published
		58341 - 13	18802 - 0
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Thus the cost of the whole series would be Rs. 84,943–13–0 (77,143–13 + 7,800). It must be mentioned that the Executive Board of the B. O. R. I. paid me Rs. three per page as to Volumes I, II and IV and only Rs. two per page for vol. III and propose to pay me Rs. four per page for Vol. V, leaving me to bear all expenses for typewritten copy, for correction of one proof by a third person, all postage, travelling expenses and for copies of mss. and microfilms.

The usual method in India as regards Histories or Encylopædias in several volumes (running into thousands of pages) is to appoint a Director or Chief Editor (on a salary of Rs. 1500 per month), an Assistant Editor (on a salary of Rs. 600 or Rs. 750 per month) and to pay contributors at Rs. five or so per page, beside an office and a staff of clerks and typists. The Director's salary on the usual scale for one year alone would come to Rs. 18,000. The payments made and to be made to me for writing a work of over six thousand pages spread over 37 years come practically to one year's salary for a Chief Editor (or rather less by Rs. 3700 which were spent for typewriting, correction, and copies etc. as stated above). I do not like this distasteful task. I had, however, to write about this matter because I wanted to dispel the queer notions about my profits that some people appear to entertain and made inquiries. It is owing to one individual's sacrifice that all the volumes (containing over 6000 pages) can be sold by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute for only Rs. 180. If the usual method had been followed, these 6000 pages would have had to be priced at Rs. 400 or more.

I could not arrange or plan my life. I had to oscillate between education, literature and law, between Government service and an independent profession like that of law. I have, however, lived a very active, full and varied life for over sixty years. Thinking over the vast Sanskrit literature and the labour and time that I had to spend on one branch of it, I am inclined to close this Epilogue with two lines from Browning's poem " The last ride together "

' Look at the end of the work, contrast
The petty done, the undone vast.'

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND THANKS

During the last thirty-seven years from 1925 to this day I have received from hundreds of friends and others, institutions and books, assistance of various kinds. Now that this undertaking is drawing to a close, I should like to mention with gratitude all of them that I can remember. In the Prefaces to the several volumes of this History I have acknowledged the help received from individuals in writing the separate volumes. Here at the end of the whole work,

I shall try to mention in one place the Institutions, the series of books and individuals to whom I have been indebted.

INSTITUTIONS

Among Institutions the first place must be assigned to the Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society (formerly called Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society). It was in this Library that I passed several hours almost every day (except on holidays), when I was in Bombay. It has also a large collection of Sanskrit Mss. The materials for the first four volumes were collected mainly in the rooms of this Library. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to this Library and to all persons in the service of the Library from the highest to the lowest. I must next mention the Library of the Bombay University, which was also of great use to me. The Library of the Bombay Asiatic Society is a circulating Library with a large membership, but the Bombay University Library permits only the members of the Senate to have books issued to them for reading at home. I could secure books urgently needed by me from this Library, when I could not get them from the Asiatic Society's Library (because some members had taken them). Besides, it possesses a large number of Sanskrit Mss. I tender my thanks to the Bombay University and its Library, to the staff of the Library and particularly to Mr. D. N. Marshall, the present Librarian. Since November 1953 when I was nominated a member of Parliament (Rājyasabhā) by the President of India, two more Libraries became available to me. One was the Library of Parliament which contains a large number of books on many subjects including Sanskrit Literature, Ancient Indian History, and the Library of the Archaeological Department in New Delhi. I thank the staff of the Parliament Library. Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, made special arrangements for seating me in the Archaeological Library and made me a corresponding member. Dr. Chabbra, Joint Director of that Department, also was very kind and helpful. I am under great obligations to these high Officers. When at the end of 1953, I went to the Library of the Archaeological Department, the Librarian was a young man, Shri L. G. Parab, a double M. A. of the Bombay University, a B. T. and holder of a diploma in Librarianship. He is a very industrious and enthusiastic young Librarian, who made great efforts to keep the Library

full of Sanskrit books, full of books both on ancient and medieval history of India and of other countries, and of books on all archaeological studies, such as architecture, iconography and painting, kept the Library uptodate and took a keen interest in my work and a great deal of trouble to accommodate me in various ways (too many to mention) from 1954 to the present day. Much of the material for this lengthy 5th volume was collected in the Archaeological Library and a good deal of the text also was written there. I am under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Parab and also thank all his assistants, particularly Messrs. Kapur and Mr. A. S. Dhavle and his Jamadar, Bhagavat Sahai.

Then I must mention certain Series of books and certain Presses that have printed and published a large number of books, such as the Ānandāśrama series (Poona), the Bibliotheca Indica Series the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the Kāvyamālā and the Nirṇayasāgar Press, Calcutta Oriental Series, Chowkhamba S. Series, Cultural Heritage of India, volumes I–IV (Calcutta), the Gujarati Press and its Sanskrit Series, the Gaikwad Oriental Series (Baroda), Haridas Sanskrit Series (Benaras), Harvard Oriental Series, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Jivanand Vidyasāgar's numerous publications, Prājñapāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala's volumes of Dharmakośa and Mīmāṁsā-kośa (Wai), Kashmir Sanskrit Series, the Manikyachandra Digambar Jain Series, Jain Grantha-mala Series, Pali Texts Society's Series, Prince of Wales Sarasvatībhavana Series of texts and Studies, Pandit S. D. Satavalekar's Series of Vedic Saṁhitās, Sacred Books of the East Series (50 valumes including the valuable Index Volume), St. Petersburg Dictionary by Bohthlingk and Roth, the Vaidika Saṁśodhana-maṇḍal's volume of 18 Upaniṣads with valuable footnotes and Index (Poona), Trivandrum S. Series, Vedic Index (in two volumes) of Macdonell and Keith, Vijianagram S. Series.

Among periodicals I must mention, the Epigraphia Indica, the Indian Antiquary and those indexed under the word 'Journal'.

I am highly obliged to many scholars who contributed appreciative and encouraging reviews in several journals and newspapers. The first and third volumes received the largest number of reviews. I shall mention only a few for each volume. The first was reviewed in the Bombay Law Reporter, volume 32 (Journal pp. 94–95), in J. A. O. S. for 1931 volume 61 pp. 80–84 by Prof. Hopkins, in JRAS. for 1932 pp. 158–161 by Prof. S. V. Fitzgerald, I. H. Q.

for 1932, pp. 805–807 by Amareshwar Thakur, J. of Oriental Research, Madras, for 1931 pp. 231–233 by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, by the 'Kesari' of Poona in three issues dated 7th, 10th, 14th March 1931 (in Marathi); Volume II was reviewed by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in very eulogistic terms in Adyar Library Bulletin for 1944 pp. 75–86, in J. R. A. S. for 1942 pp. 106–107 by Prof. Brough; Vol. III was reviewed in "Indian Culture" by Dr. B. C. Law, Volume XIII for 1947 pp. 119–23, in Journal Asiatique for 1948, vol. 236 pp. 149–150 by Prof. L. Renou' and also in his book "Sanskrit et Culture" (Paris, 1950) pp. 126–136, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 67 pp. 232–234 by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, in M. L. J. Vol. 93 for 1947 (Journal pp. 33–38), in newspaper "Hindu" of 25. 5. 1947 (Madras) by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, in Bom. Law Reporter for January 1947 (Journal pp. 13–15), in the "Bombay Chronicle" of 9–2–1947 by Mr. Prabhu and in the 'Times of India' of 13. 6. 1947, by Mr. N. C. Kelkar in "Kesari" of 2nd and 5th December 1947, in 'Prabhāt' (a Marathi newspaper) in seven issues in March and May 1947 by Shri N. G. Chapekar; Volume IV was reviewed at some length by Prof. Hans Losch of Bonn in Z. D. M. G. Volume 107 pp. 217–221, and in 56 Bom. L. R. (1954 pp. 34–35 Journal), in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, volume X pp. 168–172, in J. A. O. S. Vol. 74, pp. 271–273 by Dr. Sternbach, in the Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, Volume 17, part 3 for October 1955 pp. 620–21 and in the "Kesari" of 26th September 1954 by Mr. J. S. Karandikar; Volume V part I was reviewed in J. A. O. S. for 1959 by Dr. Sternbach, in J. R. A. S. 1960 pp. 193–194 by Dr. Derrett. Volumes I to IV were reviewed by Prof. V. I. Kalyanov in the Quarterly Journal of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society, volume VII No. 4 pp. 7–10 (1960). The number of Individual authors whose works I read or whom I consulted in 37 years may run into thousands. Authors and works referred to only once or twice are not collected here, but they have been mentioned in the several separate Indices to the five volumes. Only very eminent writers or authors who wrote several valuable works and papers or were personally consulted are named below.

Abhyankar, Vasudevasastri (M. M. Pandit); Prof. K. V. Abhyankar (son of the preceding); Aiyangar (Krishna), (Prof.) K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Dr.

A. S. Altekar, Arthur Avalon (Sir. John Woodroffe), Mr. M. B. Arte, Srī Aurobindo, Prof. P. V. Bapat, Shri. N. C. Bapat, Prof. A. L. Basham, Mr. Y. A. Bhat, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Pandit Bhagavad-datta, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. (and now Dr.) Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Dr. Benoyatosh Bhattacharya, M. Bloomfield, G. Bühler, A. Burnell, Dr. Caland, Prof. Chinta-haran Chakravarti, M. M. Cakravarty, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. M. A. Chinnaswami Sastry, H. T. Colebrooke, A. Coomaraswamy, E. B. Cowell, Dr. K. L. Daftari, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Dr. Matilal Das, Prof. Das Gupta, Datar Chintaman Sastri, T. W. Rhys Davids, Prof. S. K. De, Paul Deussen, Dr. (Miss) Indu Dike, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Mr. P. C. Divanji, Shri R. R. Diwakar, Pandit K. S. Dravid (Sāmaveda expert), Prof. P. E. Dumont, Will Durant, M. N. Dutt, Prof. Edgerton, Julius Eggeling, V. Fausböll, Prof. Filliozat, J. F. Fleet, A. A. Führer, Dr. D. Gaastra, Dr. G. S. Gai, Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri, R. Garbe, G. T. Garrat, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Prof. P. K. Gode, Prof. N. A. Gore, M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, G. Gorer, H. H. Gowen, R. T. Griffith, F. Hall, Martin Haug, Dr. R. C. Hazra, A. Hillebrandt, Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Dr. R. Hoernle, Prof. Hopkins, R. E. Hume, Col. G. A. Jacob, H. Jacobi, W. James, K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Julius Jolly, Dr. B. S. Joshi, Tarkatīrtha Lakṣmaṇa Sāstri Joshi, Mr. S. N, Joshi (Poona), Pandit Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha, Mr. S. L. Katre Dr. S. M. Katre, A. B. Keith, H. Kern, Mr. Kesavan (National Library, Calcutta), Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Swami Kevalānanda, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, F. Kielhorn, W. Kirfel, Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shastri Kokje, Sten Konow, Prof Kunhan Raja, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Shri Kuvalayānanda, Dr. B. C. Law, Sylvain Levi, H. Lüders, A. A. Macdonell, MacTaggart, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, V. N. Mandlik, Prof. Mangal Deva Shastri, Sir R. P. Masani, F. Max-Müller, Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Rajendralal Mitra, Dr. M. M. Umesha Mishra, Dr. R. K. Mukerji, Mr. Y. M. Mulay, Prof. Neugebauer, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, K. L. Ogale, Hermann Oldenberg, Pandit J. S. Pade, Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Prof. A. M. Paramasivanandan, Prof. V. G. Paranjape, Peter Peterson, A. S. Pringle-Pattison, Mr. P. M. Purandare, Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Ranga-charya Raddi Shastri, Dr. V. Raghavan, V. K. Rajwade, Prof. R. D. Ranade, Prof. P. T. Raju, Prof. L. Renou, R. Roth, Mr. R. S. Sarma. Prof. G. Sarton, Miss Kunda Sathe (now Mrs.

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I beg to be pardoned if, through loss of memory, I have omitted the names of persons to whom I have been indebted for advice, guidance or information.

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a. = *author*; *Acc.* = *According*; *M* = *mentioned by or in*; *Q.* = *quoted by or in*

(Important and rare words are put in Italics)

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Ahiṁsā, (vide under Buddhists, Buddhism, Purāṇas, sacrifices); 944–47 ; Devala quoted by Kalpataru says *hiṁsā* is of ten kinds, 1420; Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas put great emphasis on A. 1028; emphasized in Upaniṣads like the Chāndogya, Dharmasūtras, Mahābhārata, 944–45 ; emphasized in the Purāṇas and sometimes unqualified a. 945–47 ; examples of Vedic sacrifices (including animal sacrifices) performed durig some centuries before and after Christian era 1028–29 ; *hiṁsā* in fighting was allowed to Kṣatriyas by Manu and Yāj., but if one wanted to be a yogin he had to give it up, 1420 ; is door of Dharma or highest Dharma and that neither *dāna* nor *tapas* is equal to a. 946 ; is one of the *yamas*, acc. to Kūrma, Yogasūtra and Yāj. 946n ; Kūrmapurāṇa and others stated that killing sanctioned by Veda is not hiṁsā 948 ; some purāṇas sanction the killing of a person (such as a tyrant or desperado) by whose death many will live in peace, 947 ; stated to be sanātanadharma by Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa 946 ; Upaniṣads commended qualified A. 947.
Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā, 996 (mentions 39 *avatāras*), 1110n (for places fit for puraścaraṇa), 1114 (full of mantra lore), 1119 (procedure of Mahābhiṣeka as one remedy for all diseases; for destroying all enemies and for attaining all desired objects; 1135n, 1359n, 1367n (on divisions of Kapila's tantra), 1391 (on two Yogasaṁhitās).
Ahmedabad, horoscope of the foundation of, 555–56n.
Āhnika-cintāmaṇi, 34n.
Aihole, inscription, 649.
Aitareya-āraṇyaka, 731.
Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, 25, 26, 63n, 65, 126, 235, 489, 492, 498n, 507, 510, 511n, 671, 691n, 721, 721n, 725–27, 789n, 860n, 915, 934 (food is life), 957 (Viṣṇu as highest), 968 (story of Śunaḥśepa and Viśvāmitra's curse on his own sons), 992, 1097 (on *rūpasamṛddha*). 1116 (mentions the main items in Vedic śikṣā), 1255n, 1276n (thirteen verses are repeated at the time of producing fire by attrition and are rūpasamṛddha), 1296n (on *niṣādas, selagas* as robbing a rich man); 1276n (paper on 'justification of rūpasamṛddha verses in Ait,

Br. in 'Our Heritage' Vol. V part 2, 1386n, 1493, 1497–98, 1525n, 1631n.

Aitareya Upaniṣad, 918, 1362, 1471, 1499, 1501–2, 1541 (quotes Ṛg. IV. 27. 1), 1586 87.

Aiyangar, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami, 30, 42n, 870, 885; several verses from Purāṇas and other works that eluded him, identified, 905n, 906n, 908n, 929n, 947n, 1448n, 1458n.

Aiyangar, Presentation Volume, 1016n.

Ajāmila, a sinner who had abandoned his brāhmaṇa wife and kept a mistress, became a saint, 969, 972; story of, is liable to be misunderstood and may create complacent belief and attitude in a sinner 973.

Ajapā-japa, 1416n.

Ajātaśatru and Gārgya Bālāki, dialogue of 1579–80.

Ajavīthi, meaning of, in Yāj., Viṣṇupurāṇa, Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas 826 and n.

Ajñāna (same as *avidyā*), explained in Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1417n.

Ājyabhāga (oblations), 733.

Ākhyāna, distinguished from upākhyāna 858n.

Akṣayya-tṛtīyā, details of vrata on, 88–89; one of the most auspicious tithis in the year, 89; referred to in Viṣṇudharmasūtra, 88; third tithi of Vaiśākha bright half is so called 88.

Alberuni, a. of a work on 'India' composed in 1030 A.D.; 516n, 517, 656 (on Harṣa era), 659, 685, 691 (names 14 Manus), 699, 701, 830–1 (furnishes two lists of Purāṇas), 885–6 (mixes up Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas in his list and gives details about contents of some Purāṇas), 1019 (collected with the help of Hindu Pandits vast materials).

Ālekhana, mentioned in P. M. S., is quoted at least 16 times in Āp. Śr. Sūtra, his views being frequently in conflict with Āśmarathya's, 1174.

Alexander, Prof. S, a. of 'Space, Time and Deity' 475.

Algebra, Hindu knowledge of, superior to that of Greeks, acc. to Colebrooke 518.

Allen, D C., a. of 'Star-crossed Renaissance' 543n, 550n.

Allen, a. of Catalogue of Gupta coins, 186, 901.

Allen, on Sāvitrīvrata, 94.

Altekar, Dr. A. S., on Gupta gold coins of Bayana hoard, 186, 651n, 845; paper of, on 'Srāmaṇeraṭīkā' on Ācārasāra, 1023n; paper of, on 'Sanskrit Literature in Tibet' 1041.

Alwar literature, mentions fivefold nature of God, 954a.

Amānta reckoning, 659.

Amarakośa, 29, 84, 117, 477, 668n, 742 (utpāta and upasarga are synonyms), 743, 803n (names of dig-gajas), 838 (defines Purāṇa); date of, acc. to MaxMüller, Hoernle and Mr. Oak, 840n; commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin on, 840n, 850n; 869n, 948 (defines 'iṣṭa and

pūrta'), 1113n, 1132, 1210 (Buddha is sarvajña), 1293n, 1378, 1422 (defines Yama and Niyama), 1514.

Amāvāsyā, addres ed as a deity in Atharvaveda 64; Ait. Br. on 64; derivation of word in Atharvaveda and Śat. Br., 64, 259; of two kinds, Sinīvālī and Kuhū m by Tai. S. and Śat. Br. 62–63.

Ambedkar, Dr. B. R., a. of 'the Buddha and his Dhamma' 942n.

Ambikā, sister of Śiva in Tai. S. but wife of Śiva in Tai. Ā. 185; why called Kauśikī 185n.

Ambuvācī 260.

Aṁhaspati or Aṁhasaspati, 13th additional month was so called 671, 672.

Āmikṣā, offered to Viśve-devas, is got by putting curds in heated milk 1307.

Amoghavarṣa, vide under China 1040.

Amṛtasiddhiyoga (fortunate conjunction), defined 707.

Anadhyāya (not to study Veda at certain times or on certain days), applicable only to actual study but not to the employment of Vedic mantras in sacrifices, 1154.

Anājñāta, meaning of, 739n.

Ānandagiri, a. of Śaṅkaravijaya, 1136n; a. of com. on Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika 1183n.

Ānandatīrtha, see under Madhva.

Anantacaturdaśī-vrata, 151–153; Ananta is one of the forms of Kṛṣṇa 152; brief description of, from Agnipurāṇa 150; celebrated on 14th of Bhādrapada-śukla 151; consists mainly in the worship of Hari as Ananta and in wearing on the right hand of men and left hand of women a holy strap of thread dyed with saffron, made of cotton or silk 151–152; description of, in Hemādri 152; description of, in Vratārka 153; *doraka* dyed with saffron and 14 knots 151; not mentioned in K. K. V. (on vrata), 151; salt forbidden in this vrata 153; varying views of eminent writers about the exact time and tithi for this when third is mixed with another tithi.

Anaphā, an astrological Yoga, meaning of, 584.

Anaximander, a Greek, believed the earth to be cylindrical 512.

Andhra kings in Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas, 842.

Andhūkabhaṭṭa, m. by Malamāsatattva and flourished about 1035 A. D, 58.

Aṅga and Aṅgin: vide under Śeṣa Śeṣin; Prokṣaṇa, an aṅga of rice grains that are aṅgin 1208; other examples of, 1308ff.

Aṅganyāsa (nyāsa on parts of the body) illustrated as 'om hṛdayāya namaḥ', 1120–22.

Aṅgas, six of Veda, 478.

Aṅgahāras (movements of limbs depended on *karaṇas* which depended upon different postures of hands and feet) 1128–29; it is likely that Mudrās are based on them; illustra-

tions of 108 a. are given in G. O. S. ed. of Nāṭyaśāstra, 1128n.

Aṅgavidyā (palmistry and *śakuna* from throbbing of limbs, dreams etc.), 801n; mentioned by Kāśikā and Manu, 527n, 801n.

Aṅgavijjā (Aṅgavidyā), a prakrit work, 801n.

Aṅgiras, 48, 51n, 106n, 775 (about dreams), 810n.

Animal Sacrifice: Manu (V. 41–44) allows the killing of animals in Madhuparka, sacrifices to gods and in rites for pitṛs (Manes) and that in such sacrifices allowed by the Veda there is no hiṁsā, 1262; offering of bull or cow in Madhuparka was allowed acc. to Ait. Br., but later prohibited as Kalivarjya, 1269n; Yāj. (I. 258–260) provides the periods of time for which pitṛs are gratified by the offering of sacrificial food (such as rice or sesame), various kinds of fish and the flesh of several animals, but the Mit. states that, in spite of Yāj., in its day brāhmaṇas should offer only food fit for *muni* (rice etc.), flesh by kṣatriyas and vaiśyas and honey by śūdras, 1269.

Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, a. of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā and guru of Ballālasena, 870n.

Annakūṭa, vide under Govardhanapūjā.

Anniversary of birth, see Vardhāpanavidhi.

Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute; 3, 72n, 75n, 78n, 79n, 90n, 91n, 110n, 114n, 116n, 125n, 132n, 144n, 165n, 194, 212n, 213n, 220n, 650n, 685, 816, 834n, 836, 844, 865, 978, 1041, 1115 (on a modern Siddha Śivayogin), 1149, 1159n (on Bhavadāsa), 1172n (on Gītā 13.4), 1186 (present author's paper on 'Brief sketch of the PMS), 1198, 1200 (present author's paper 'Pūrvamīmāṁsā'), 1301n, 1404n, 1406, 1408n, 1590 (Śaṅkhadharmasūtra).

Antarābhavadeha, 1600.

Ant-hill, made in a house is evil omen and house is to be abandoned acc. to Gṛhya-sūtras 730.

Anthony, H. D, a. of 'Science and its background' (on who introduced the date of creation in Anglican Church) 1506n.

Antiquity, journal so called, 482n.

Antyajas (lowest in Hindu social grade), seven in some smṛtis, 810n.

Anubandhas (indispensable elements), in each śāstra are four 1179.

Anudeyī meaning of, in Ṛg. 1542n.

Anukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda 129, 692, 728n.

Anumati (Paurṇamāsī mixed with 14th tithi) treated as a deity in Ṛgveda, spoken in the same breath with Varuṇa, Soma, Bṛhaspati 63.

Anuṣaṅga, a principle about sentences, viz. extension of a

word or clause from one sentence to another or other sentences, provided all the sentences are of the same type or form 1304; illustrations of, 1304–6, 1339.

Anuśāsana-parva, 27, 44, 55n, 81n, 98, 101, 127, 129, 207, 500, 660, 742n, 780n, 821, 853n, 876n, 908, 915, 931, 933, 937, 939n, 945, 949 (on parks), 1248n, 1257 (quotes gāthās from Yama's Dharmaśāstra), 1385, 1416, 1528, 1570, 1628, 1630, 1634, 1636.

Anuśaya, meaning of, 1563n.

Anusmṛti, a new aṅga of Yoga, acc. to Guhyasamāja-tantra 1068n.

Anuvāda, explained as a text which contains something which has already been ascertained by other means 1240; examples discussed 1240-41; the word occurs in Nirukta 1239n; strict definition of, 1241n.

Anuvādya, same as Uddeśya or Uddiśyamāna, 1286 and n.

Ānvitābhidhānavādinaḥ 1297.

Apāmārga, a plant used in incantations and medicine 196n.

Aparājitagaṇa (mantras) 796n.

Aparājitādevī : procedure of the worship of, on Vijayādaśamī 188, 190; procedure of worship of, by a king 191–192.

Aparārka, 41n, 53n, 75, 183n, 223n, 606n-609n, 639n, 640n, 699, 706n, 749n, 813n, 820n, 824, 833n, 837 (sparingly quotes only nine Upapurāṇas), 875-76n, 897, 920n, 922 (says Narasiṁha-purāṇa to be followed in Devapūjā etc.), 923n, 948n, 949n, 954n, 955, 973n, 974n, 993n, 1024, 1032, 1076, 1093 (quotes Devīpurāṇa), 1096n, 1121n (quotes Narasiṁha-purāṇa and nyāsa of Puruṣasūkta verses on parts of the body), 1122, 1184n, 1231, 1248-9 (two well-known verses on *paryudāsa* and *pratiṣedha*), 1262 (quotes Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on five categories of smṛti contents), 1265n, 1266n, 1273n, 1292, 1295, 1320, 1381, 1407, 1409, 1418n, 1419n, 1432, 1440n, 1444n, 1446n, 1448, 1450n, 1455, 1592n, 1597.

Aparigraha, not accepting from another anything beyond what is necessary for preserving the body 1420 and n.

Āpastamba, 220.

Āpastamba-dharma-sūtra, 24, 27, 29, 36, 46, 100n, 103, 244, 478, 607, 701 (mentions Chandoviciti as Vedāṅga), 799, 817 (names Bhaviṣyapurāṇa and has verses from a Purāṇa), 853, 935, 937, 1017 (forbids gambling halls and samājas to house-holders), 1154 (employs Mīmāṁsā terms and principles), 1230, 1232n, 1246n (forbids eating of Kalañja), 1250, 1251 (example of *Vyavasthita-vikalpa*), 1256, 1257n, 1259, 1268 (on equal shares to all sons), 1280 (some great men guilty of violation of Dharma), 1390 (knows Yoga), 1436, 1560 (on Karma doctrine), 1592, 1628.

Āpastamba-gṛhyasūtra, 497n, 524n, 534–35, 605 (time for *caula*), 610, 733 (śānti for unusual appearances), 802n (view of com. Tātparyadarśana), 1257 (P. M. S. VI. 8. 23 contains the very words that Ā. employs).

Āpastamba-śrautasūtra, 26n, 53n, 1032, 1037, 1114n, 1174 and n, 1183n, 1290, 1322n, 1326, 1330n, 1332n, 1471.

Āpastambīya-mantrapāṭha, 633.

Apavarga (meaning 'liberation'), occurs in Y. S., Raghuvaṁśa, Maitrī Up. and Nyāyasūtra 1515.

Appayya Dīkṣita, a. of Kalpataruparimala 1150; a. of Vidhirasāyana, 1199 (conflict about his date), 1219n; a. of Madhvatantramukhamardana, 1519n.

Appolonius of Tyana, life of, by Philostratus, states that A. received seven rings from Iarchus, an Indian king, which A. was to wear on each week day, 600, 688.

Apratiratha anuvāka 786n.

Apsaras, wife of Gandharva, 495n

Apte, Prof. V. M., on derivation and meaning of vrata, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9n, 10–19.

Apūrva (invisible, mysterious or subtle potency), idea of, explained, being one of the fundamental doctrines of PMS. 1210–11, 1231; proved by Arthāpatti and not by any other *pramāṇa* 1210; resides in the man (the agent) or an invisible effect arises from the sacrifice, 1210; V. S., Śaṅkarācārya oppose this doctrine and hold that reward is given by God, 210–11; why called A. 1211–12.

Arabs, admit that they borrowed astronomy from the Siddhānta 508.

Ārādupakāraka, are acts or rites prescribed without being meant to do something about substances and are directly the aṅgas of the principal rite, for example Prayājas, Āghāras and Ājyabhāgas in Darśapūrṇamāsa, 1354.

Arberry, a. of 'Asiatic Jones' 1594.

Archaeological survey of India, 174n, 485, 993n.

Archaeological survey of Western India, 131, 997n.

Archaeological survey of India, Memoirs, 1131n (Memoir 66 for illustrations of Abhayamudrā).

Ardhodaya-yoga, 261, 706.

Argument from silence, not very strong ordinarily, 1157n.

Aristotle, believed stars to be divine and endowed with independent volition, 546n.

Arjuna, 1502n; came to country of Nāgas and made Ulūpī, a Nāga princess, his wife 126–127; fight with Babhruvāhana at Maṇipura, in which he was killed but was restored to life with Sañjīvana jewel 127.

Arjunamiśra, commentator of Mahābhārata 1367n.

Arnold, Edwin, a. of 'Light of Asia', pays a very eloquent tribute to Buddha, 1021.

Arnold, Matthew, 1615 (on culture).

Arthakarma, the giving of the staff to the Maitrā-varuṇa priest after Soma is purchased is A. 1231–32.

Arthapañcaka, of Nārāyaṇa, on the five heads of Rāmānuja's doctrines, 964n.

Arthasaṅgraha, 1228, 1241n, 1309n.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, 476 (units of time), 487, 527, 571n, 616 (on *yātrā*), 647, 659n, 662n, 663, 819n, 862 (on Sūta of the Purāṇas), 863, 905, 1032 (on tantrayukti), 1628; condemns the intense desire to find out auspicious nakṣatra and tithi and extreme reliance on them, but did not ignore prognostications altogether, 528; employs regnal year and not era 647.

Arthavādādhikaraṇa, 927n.

Arthavādas (vide Anuvāda, Guṇavāda) 1238–1244; all A. are not commendatory, some remove doubts also as about *śarkarā* 1240; are the second great division of Vedic texts and are dealt with in P. M. Sūtra I. 2, 1238; are scattered over the several chapters of P. M. Sūtra 1283; are the *śeṣa* (auxiliary) of vidhis in the Brāhmaṇa texts 1263; constitute the largest part of the Veda, particularly of Brāhmaṇa texts 1243; examples of, cited 1238-39; four kinds of viz *nindā*, *praśaṁsā*, *parakṛti purākalpa*, according to Mimāṁsā paribhāṣā, Vāyupurāṇa, Nyāyasūtra and examples, 1241–42; Smṛtis abound in A. illustrated, 1242–43; some Vedic passages contain words like 'hi' (meaning 'because'), the conclusion being that such passages (called 'hetuvan nigadas') are also commendatory 1239-1240; three kinds of A. viz. guṇavāda, anuvāda, bhūtārthavāda, exemplified 1240–41.

Aruṇaketukacayana, 24.

Aruṇānyāya, 1294–95 (explained), 1340.

Aruṇodaya, (last half quarter of night), 260.

Āryabhaṭa, 484, 676, 679; born in 476 A. D. 649, 1477; view of, that earth revolved round itself and that stars did not revolve round earth 1477.

Āryabhaṭīya, work of Āryabhaṭa, 649n, 676n, 679, 80 (mentions Thursday), 684, 696n, 1477; edited by W. E. Clark, 1477.

Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, names and defines 108 Mudrās 1129; says combinations of mantras and mudrās bring success in all actions and that no tithi, nakṣatra, nor fast required 1129.

Āryāsaptaśatī of Utpala, 602 (deals with predictions based on time of question asked).

Āṣāḍha, most important tithi in, is Ekādaśī, 95.

Āsana or Āsanas (vide under Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā, Haṭhayoga, Inscriptions, Śivasaṁhitā) 1424–1431; an aṅga of Yoga and defined as what is stable and comfortable in Y. S. (i. e. bodily posture) and in Gītā means seat covered with Kuśa

grass, deer-skin and garment, 1424; handbook on, published by Śrī Kuvalayānanda, with 78 figures 1425; is first aṅga in Haṭhayoga, of which there are 84, most important being Siddhāsana 1426–28; names of 84 āsanas 1428; Padmāsana mentioned by Dakṣasmṛti and by Śaṅkara 1425n, 1426; photographs (108) of Ā. in Dr. Goswami's work, 1394: sixteen figures of Ā. in Dr. Behanan's work and more figures in other works 1425–26; ten Ā. named by Yogabhāṣya 1425–26; Yāj. Smṛti (III. 198) seems to have Padmāsana in view 1425 and n.

Asaṅga, a. of Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, ed. by Levi 1050n; great teacher of Yogācāra 1050n; Tibetan tradition that A. introduced Tantricism in India examined 1033n; view of Dr. Bhattacharya that A. is the a. of Guhyasamājatantra criticized 1050n.

Aśānta, meaning of, in Tai. S. 723n.

Asat, meaning of, in Ṛg. X. 72. 2, Chān. Up. III. 19. 1, Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 7, Tai. Up. II. 7, 1488n.

Āśauca (days of impurity on birth or death), does not affect king in doing regal duties nor any one who is engaged in vrata or sacrifice, marriage etc. occurring after any one of these is begun 48.

Asceticism, not prescribed for all by śāstras 1628.

Ascetics, forbidden by Manu to secure alms by fore-telling results of portents or bodily movements 527; had to give up all property and beg for livelihood 944; many kinds of m. in Bṛhaj-jātaka 1645.

Asiatic Researches, volumes of 253, 498.

Āśleṣā, vide Gomukhaprasava-śānti; Śānti for birth of a son or daughter on certain parts of Ā. 771–72; serpent, presiding deity of Ā. 771n.

Āśmarathya, quoted by both P. M. S and V. S. and is quoted at least 16 times by Āp. Śr. sūtra, his views being often in conflict with Ālekhana's 1174..

Asmitā (in Yoga) defined, 1409n, 1417.

Aśoka, 493; *Ahiṁsā* of A. was qualified 1015; appointed officers called Mahāmātras to look after Buddhist Saṅgha, Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and all other sects 1012; 12th Rock edict of, requires honour to be shown to all beliefs and sects 1012, 1481; edict 13 of, shows that he sent missionaries to five kings of the Near East about 258 B. C.; edicts 2 and 5 refer to Yavanas (Yona) 1634n; emphasized moral endeavour, disliked sacrifices, believed in gods and desired that people should strive for heaven 1016n; employs regnal years in his edicts 647; forbids festival meetings (samāja) 1017; his regulations about not killing birds and animals and about the sale of fish must have caused

great hardships to poor people, 1015n; in later life appears to gloat over the fact that gods worshipped as divinities in Jambudvīpa had been rendered false 1015-17; Revenue settlement officers called Lājukas were given by A. powers of life and death 1015; Rock edicts 4 and 5 mention 'Kalpa' 686; Rupnath Rock Inscription words about gods have been differently interpreted by different scholars 1016-17; was not trained in Pali books and never mentions in all edicts fundamental tenets of early Buddhism such as four noble truths, noble eightfold path 1016n.

Aśokāvadāna, charges Puṣyamitra (called Maurya by it) with persecution of Buddhists, but Rhys Davids reserves judgement on this point 1009n, 1010.

Āśramas, each has its peculiar signs as characteristics (liṅga) 868n; Hindu scheme of, highly praised by Deussen 1026n; theory of, highly eulogized by Deussen 1646; word not found in Veda, but only in Śv. Up. though some āśramas were well known even in Vedic times 1643-44.

Āśramavāsika-parva, 616.

Aṣṭakā (8th tithi after full Moon in any month, particularly in Māgha) 65.

Aṣṭakavarga, astrological theory about seven planets and Lagna 591.

Astobha, meaning of, 1182 and n.

Astrologer, an established officer in Italy and later in French court, 543n; came to be looked upon in India as all important for the king 543; professional A. (for money) was looked upon as an unworthy Brāhmaṇa till about 500 B.C, 543.

Astrology (vide under Āthar-vaṇa Jyotiṣa, auspicious days, Babylonians, bhāvas i.e. houses in horoscopes, Greeks, Mahābhārata, planets, predictions, Ptolemy, Rāmāyaṇa, Utpala, Varāhamihira); among Assyrians A. was concerned with the interpretation of celestial phenomena 521, 548; Āthar-vaṇa Jyotiṣa divided nakṣatras into nine classes (each of three nakṣatras) and sets out what should be undertaken on each of nine classes 532–34, 579; based on Nakṣatras had been well developed in India before Ptolemy 558-61, 579, 597n; belief in A. was common throughout Europe and among Greeks after Alexander 548; believers in A. should now rest content with the simple rules of Gṛhyasūtras and Manu as regards Upanayana and marriage 639; birth of a boy on Jyeṣṭhā or Vicṛt (Mūla) held in Atharvaveda to be evil for the boy or parents 524; criticism of the main doctrines of Indian A. including dṛṣṭi, 635–638; dilemma for those who believe in A. 639; firm hold of A. on Indian mind for two thousand years or more and

even in modern times 626–27; general A. (not horoscopic) like that in Reports of Babylonian priests prevalent in India, centuries before Christ 570; generally ignored by modern Western philosophers and scientists 630; high claims about importance and utility of A. made by Varāhamihira and others 546–48; horoscopic A. is later than natural A. 521; in Varāhamihira is not borrowed from Greeks 585; in ancient times the words 'astronomy' and 'astrology' were synonyms 483, 521; Indians who knew Nakṣatra a. centuries before Christ probably adopted it to rāśis on seeing zodiacal signs in Babylonian monuments about the time that the Greeks derived it 598–600; influence of, in England shown by several English words, 552–53; Kauṭilya knew general A. but not horoscopic 569–70; knowledge of A. found in Vedic works 521–525; long list of Varāhamihira's predecessors in A. 591–94; most important matters in Indian A. are rāśis, the planets and the twelve *bhāvas* 635: prejudice in ancient India against astrologers and star-gazers 527; Ptolemy's arguments in support of, 553–54; serious consequences of belief that planets caused persons to do certain things, 634; some predictions came true 631–32; spread from Greece to Rome about 2nd century B. C. 549; two circumstances that tended to weaken the influence of A. in Europe 551; was comparatively more scientific than hepatoscopy 522n; was cultivated by the side of astronomy in European Universities 551; works on Indian A. gradually disappeared owing to the excellent works of Varāhamihira 601; works on A. recommended that a child born on Āśleṣā or Mūla nakṣatra or on *gaṇḍānta* should be abandoned 632–33; world wars provided a powerful fillip in modern times for spread of A. 531.

Astronomers, Indian, of medieval times believed that all planets including the Sun and Moon were together at sunrise on Sunday of Caitra Śukla pratipad at beginning of Kaliyuga and of Kalpa 649; three schools of, (1) of Sūryasiddhānta, (2) of Brahmasiddhānta, (3) of Āryasiddhānta 649; two main points on which the schools of A. in india differ viz. (1) length of yeer, (2) the number of revolutions of the Sun, Moon and the planets in a Mahāyuga 711.

Astronomy (see 'Astrology', Greeks, 'Siddhāntas'), both a. and astrology are equally ancient and acted and reacted on each other 483; Cambridge Ancient History holds that whole science of a. is due to astrology, while Prof. Neugebauer and Mr. Doig hold that

there is no evidence for this 483; discussion of Greek influence on Indian a. is of little interest, since most of the Greek material was well-known in Mesopotamia in the middle of the 2nd Millenium B. C, 518n; extensive Sanskrit Literature on Hindu A. perished 521, 531; in China, assumptions of antiquity of astronomy, should not be accepted at face value 509; Indian A. held by Dixit to be independent and based on Indian observations 484; Indian A. cannot be said to have been directly based on Ptolemy owing to serious discrepancies in essential matters and no direct evidence of being based on Hipparchus or other Greek writers 520-21; knowledge of, in Homer's and Hesiod's works not better than that of Vedic Indians 513; Sanskrit literature on a. and astrology falls into three slightly overlapping periods 484; study of constellations by monks was allowed by Buddha, though foretelling the future was condemned by him 527; works on Hindu A. recommended for reading 484-85.

Āsuri, acc. to Sāṅkhya-kārikā, Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Śāntiparva received Sāṅkhya system from Kapilamuni and expounded it to Pañcaśikha, 1356, 1372-73; an Ā. occurs in Vaṁśas in Bṛ. Up, as pupil of Bhāradvāja 1373; no quotation from him cited by any Sāṅkhya writer 1374.

Asutosh Mukerji (Sir), Silver Jubilee Volume 843.

Aśvaghoṣa, a. of Saundarananda 941; a. of Buddhacarita 1378.

Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa 734.

Āsvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra 26, 35n, 36, 126, 224n, 526n, 534, 536, 605, 609, 729n, 780n, 787n, 790, 802, 1161, 1228n, 1317n; com. of Gārgya Nārāyaṇa on, 1317n.

Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra, 18n, 26n, 123n, 724n, 731n, 816.

Aśvamedha (vide under Rājasūya) sacrifices lasted for a year in which there were 36 cycles of ten days, on each day of which the sacrificer was to listen to different branches of literature and legends 866; sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra, Bhavanāga, Pravarasena I, Samudragupta and other kings 1028-29; supposed to remove the consequences of all sins, 1589n.

Āśvamedhikaparva, 127, 467, 683, 744, 945 (on *ahiṁsā*), 994, 1371, 1401, 1446, 1519, 1537n, 1571.

Aśvapati Kaikeya, boast of, in Chān. Up. 943, 1584n; expounds Vaiśvānara-vidyā to Uddālaka Āruṇi, 1578-79.

Aśvattha, name of Śravaṇa nakṣatra in Kāṭhaka and Pāṇini, 500.

Aśvattha tree, is called Bodhisattva in Padmapurāṇa 893.

Āśvayujī, one of the seven Pākayajnas m. by Gaut. performed on full Moon of Āśvina, 206.

Aśvins, different views as to what they stand for in Ṛgveda, 7; spoken of as wearing blue lotuses in Ṛgveda 35.

Ātatāyin, killing an Ā. brāhmaṇa is not brahma-hatyā 817n.

Ātharvaṇa-jyotiṣa 80, 532–34, 539, 541, 604; date of, difficult to decide 534; furnishes a scheme of nakṣatra astrology somewhat different from Vaikhānasa-smṛti and Yogayātrā 532–34; mentions week-days but not rāśis 534.

Ātharvaṇa-nakṣatra-kalpa, first part of Atharvapariśiṣṭas 499.

Atharva-pariśiṣṭa, 589n (on graha-yuddha), 734, 735n, 741 (67th pariśiṣṭa), 742 (on Utpāta-lakṣaṇa), 743, 745, 754, 759n, 761, 767, 770, 774, 779n, 780, 792-93, 795n, 796n, 798, 802n.

Atharvaśiras, Upaniṣad 786n, 918n.

Atharvaveda, 12n, 20, 22, 23n, 25n, 35, 62n, 63–65, 126, 194, 196n, 463, 486n, 487, 489, 494n, 495n, 496–98, 500, 524, 526n, 528, 538n, 563, 596n, 671, 702, 719n, 720–21, 726n, 727n, 729n, 730n, 732 (verses of, used in Śāntis on dreams), 734, 739–40, 745 (on Utpātas), 769 (abhaya-mantras), 771n, 796, 802n, 816, 985 (two interpretations of X. 8. 9), 1032, 1035 (magic spells in), 1036–37 (spells for softening the heart and for destroying worms), 1116 (on dīkṣā), 1153, 1181, 1213 (on joys of heaven), 1217n, 1259n (aṣṭakāmantra 'Yām janāḥ' etc.), 1291, 1360, 1387, 1433, 1471, 1489 (repeats 15 verses of Puruṣasūkta), 1493–95 (hymns on Creator and creation), 1498, 1500, 1526n, 1533, 1554 (Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa), 1622, 1625–26 (relied upon in V. S.), 1633, five Kalpas of A. are Nakṣatra, Vaitāna, Saṁhitā, Āṅgirasa and Śānti 735n.

Atheists, Bhagavadgītā describes their destiny 979–80.

Atideśa (process or method by which the details prescribed in connection with one sacrifice are tranferred to another rite) 1321–24; vide under Vidhyādi and Vidhyanta; may be provided by *vacana* (Vedic text) or by name, 1322–23; prakṛti (model or Archetype) is the name given to the sacrifice from which details are transferred and vikṛti is the name given to the sacrifice to which details are transferred 1322; 7th Chap. of P. M. sūtras deals with general question of the extension of details to Aindrāgna and other sacrifices, while the 8th Chap. deals with specific cases of A. 1321, 1323–24; Smṛtis and digests frequently resort to principle of A. 1322–23.

Atirudra, eleven times of Mahārudra 814.

Atithi (guest), flesh of an ox or goat, offered to king or brāhmaṇa coming as an A., according to Śat. Br., Vasiṣṭha, Yāj. 1267.

Ātivāhika (intermediate body between dead body and the future body for soul), 1600 and n.

Ātman (vide Brahman), resides in the earth and elements, is inside them; rules them and is the soul of all human beings, 1499; description of, in Br. Up. 1499.

Atomic theory; Democritus (who died in 370 B. C. in Greece) started it, 1486; in Kaṇāda, who does not expressly say anything about who started it, 1486; later Nyāya-vaiśeṣika writers combined two theories by saying that, when God desires to create, activity is produced in the atoms and creation starts, as stated in Tarkadīpikā, 1486.

Ātreya, on astrology, q. by Madanaratna, 736n, 789.

Ātreya, Dr., thesis, on 'Philosophy of Yogavāsiṣṭha' 1408n.

Ātreya, views of, quoted in P. M. S. and V. S. and called Muni by Śabara 1173-74.

Atri, writer of a work on Utpātas and pupil of Garga, 591, 766.

Atri, author of a Smṛti, 29n, 250, 810n, 948n, 949, 979, 1023n, 1419, 1442n, 1634n (mentions foreign tribes).

Atris, performed Saptadaśastoma three days before Viṣuvat and smote svarbhānu, 242; found out the sun afflicted with darkness by Svarbhānu (i.e. totally eclipsed) 982n.

Augustine, saint, called astrology a delusion 558; believed that religions outside the Bible as interpreted by him and others was the work of the devil 1608.

Aurangzeb, issued firmans for the destruction of famous temples at Somnath, Mathurā, Benaras, 1019.

Aurobindo, vide (Vedic Interpretation), a. of 'Hymns to the Mystic fire' 985; a. of 'On the Veda' (published in 1956) dealing with over 60 hymns and 283 pages are devoted to the elaboration of his theory that behind the ritual explanations there is always the true and still hidden secret of the Veda, 986; a. of 'The problem of rebirth', 1605; does not compare the several hundred passages in which the word *ṛta* occurs and translates *ṛta* as truth and 'truth consciousness' and 'ṛta-cit' also in the same way 986; his theory that many whhle hymns of the Veda bear on their face a mystic meaning and that the ṛṣis for the sake of secrecy resorted to double meanings, criticized 986-89, 991; he concedes that there are some keywords in the Ṛgveda such as *ṛtu*, kratu, śravas, ketu (most of which occur hundreds of times) and that elaborate work would have to be done to fix their meanings, but he does not himself undertake that task and fixes the meaning of *ṛta* from three passages only 988; A. and his disciple

Kapali Sastry differ about the poetic character of the mantras 987n; makes a very wide generalization with very little basis 991; A.'s translation of 'ṛtacit' is shown to be wrong 988–89; explanation why Shri Aurobindo (who is called Mahāyogi by his disciples and admirers) was not mentioned in dealing with Yoga and Dharmaśāstra, 1462-63; faults that he finds with the old systems of Yoga stated and criticized 1465–66; his *sādhanā* was not founded on books, but upon personal experiences that crowded upon him and he constantly heard the voice of Vivekānanda for a fortnight in the jail 1465; life of A. written by Shri R. R. Diwakar (wherein he speaks of him as 'Mahāyogi') published in 1953, 1466n; life of A. by G. H. Langley (1949), 1466n; lived as a recluse from 1926 to his passing away on 5th December 1950 and gave *darśana* to people only on four days in the year, 1463 and n; long statement on 15th August 1947 (Independence day) in which he referred to the several dreams of his youth which he thought were on their way to fruition 1463–64; recent work 'Integral Philosophy of Aurobindo' containing 30 papers by Indian and Western scholars (1960), 1467; A. sets his heart on the unity of the human race to be achieved by inner oneness and purpose and not by an external association of interests, but his own efforts (in that direction, except by writings) are not discernible 1464–65; writings of, are many and voluminous, his *magnum opus* being 'Life divine', which is not easy to understand for men of ordinary intelligence 1466–67.

Auśanasa-smṛti 819.

Auspicious days, reference to, occurs even in the Ṛgveda 522; Soma sacrifice did not require auspicious day or nakṣatra 523.

Auspicious muhūrta, for constructing a house 540.

Auspicious nakṣatras, for caula, puṁsavana, marriage, 535; for wearing new garments or ornaments for the first time 626.

Auspicious objects, see Vasantarājaśākuna, 778; to be touched when leaving house after bath and homa on business 905.

Auspicious times, for all rites for gods 536; times for caula, upanayana, godāna, and marriage according to gṛhyasūtras 224, 535; A. times prescribed by Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad for rites to be performed by individuals 524, 534; A. nakṣatras and seasons prescribed for solemn Vedic sacrifices by Brāhmaṇa texts and Kalpasūtras, gṛhya and dharma sūtras 534; year for caula, 535.

Avalon, Arthur (Sir John Woodroffe, which see), 178n, 1033n, 1048n, (a. of 'Principles of

Tantra), 1060 (a. of 'Serpent Power), 1048n, 1129n, 1131n; published many of the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras, 1050, 1105.

Avama-dina, explained 263.

Avantivarman, king of Kashmir 1075.

Āvāpa (decentralisation or scattering); example is Darśa-pūrṇamāsa, which are really two sets of sacrifices, 1332.

Avatāras (vide 'Bhāgavata', 'Buddha', 'Reincarnation'), 992–998; Agnipurāṇa describes the characteristics of the images of ten a. 996; all ten avatāras of Viṣṇu had become recognized throughout India at least before 10th century A. D. 996; are dwelt upon at great length in Purāṇas 992; Buddhists in the Mahāyāna teachings made Buddha go through many a. as Bodhisattva 993; conception of, may be traced to the Śat. Br. 992; conception of a. increased Dharmaśāstra material and gave rise to numerous vratas and festivals called Jayantīs 992, 998; derivation and meaning of the word 992; in modern times some persons pose or are made to pose as avatāras by their admirers 993; Indian theory of a. is connected with the theory of yugas 993; Kumārila (7th century A. D.) did not regard Buddha as avatāra of Viṣṇu 997; Lakṣmī follows Viṣṇu in all avatāras 996; *Locus classicus* on a. is Bhagavadgītā IV. 7–8, 993; none of the ten avatāras except Kṛṣṇa and possibly Rāma is expressly named in Bhagavadgītā 994; of Viṣṇu due to a curse of Bhṛgu 995n; one Pak Subuh who hails from Indonesia is suggested by Mr. J. G. Bennett as an avatāra for whom mankind is waiting 993; reference to Buddha as avatāra in Bhāgavata 995n; references from Purāṇas to each of ten a. 998; ten a. of Viṣṇu in medieval and modern times named in Matsya and Varāha Purāṇas 993; thirtynine a. of Vâsudeva in Ahirbudhnya-saṁhitā 996; thirty-three a. discussed by Dr. Katre 997; tithis of the appearance of, 262, 998n; Ṭoḍarānanda probably contains longest account of ten a. 998; twelve a. noted in Matsya and Padma 994; twenty-two a. of Viṣṇu in Bhāgavata 903n; Vāmana and Kṛṣṇa a. known centuries before Mahābhāṣya 997; Varāha avatāra m. in Gupta Inscription in the first year of Toramāṇa (about 500 to 510 A. D.) 997n; Vāyu-purāṇa mentions 28 a. of Maheśvara, last being Nakulī 996; verses on a. similar to those in Gītā from Harivaṁśa, Vāyu, etc. 993n; worship of avatāras from Narasiṁha to Kalkin yields different rewards, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa 263, 996.

Aveṣṭi, is a sacrifice performed as part of the Rājasūya-yajña that could be performed only

by a kṣatriya, 1332; it is also an independent *yāga* that may be performed by any one belonging to the three varṇas 1332; Nirṇayasindhu relies upon this difference in Aveṣṭi for its conclusions about Devī-pūjā on different tithis 1332; word 'rājan' in 'Rājasūya' is held by PMS and Śabara to mean a kṣatriya only, while some late Dharmaśāstra works hold that the word 'rājan' may secondarily mean even a Vaiśya who becomes a ruler 1333, 1340.

Avidyā (nescience), consists (Y. S. II. 5) in regarding non-eternal as eternal, impure as pure, painful as pleasurable, non-self as self 1417.

Aviyoga-vrata, in which food was to be distributed to helpless people, to the blind and deaf 38-40.

Ayācita, is a substitute method for an absolute fast on ekādaśī 100-103.

Ayana, meaning of, in Ṛgveda, 491.

Ayanāṁśa (vide under 'calendar'), meaning of 711.

Ayodhyā, capital of Kosala 531.

Ayodhyākāṇḍa (of Rāmāyaṇa), 775 (dreams in).

Āyuṣyagaṇa (from Atharvaveda) 802n.

Āyuṣyamantras, 759 and n, 796n.

Āyuṣyasūkta, 758n, 802n (different views as to what is Ā.).

Ayutahoma (in which ten thousand oblations are offered); a kind of Navagrahaśānti 749-752; to be performed at marriages, establishment of images etc. 949.

Babylon: (see 'Chaldeans', 'signs of Zodiac'): apostrophized as the daughter of Chaldeans 548; intercourse between India (Punjab) and B. from 3rd Millenium B. C., 598-600; latitude of 542; peacocks, rice and Indian sandalwood under their Tamil names were known to Hebrew chronicles of Genesis and Kings 598; ratio of longest day to shortest, varied in ancient Babylon, 542-43; reports made by astrologers of B. to the king about the portents due to position of Sun, Moon and planets, 521, 548, 741n; upright stones placed in fields with inscriptions bearing curses and figures of zodiacal signs, 595.

Babylonians: B. and Assyrians based astrology on three assumptions 546; B. and Greeks had no generally believed doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma, 546; difference between B. astrology and Greek astrology 550-51; nakṣatras not integrated with religious systems in, 509; called Capricorn goat-fish 565n; imagined there were three ages of the world, gold, silver and copper 689n; no cuneiform tablet yet discovered where all the 27 or 28 nakṣatras are arranged in an orderly series 509; observations by B. of planets from 2nd millenium B. C., 570.

Bachhofer, Ludwig, 655 (criticizes Dr. Tarn).

Bacon, view of, that stars rather incline than compel, 551.

Bādarāyaṇa, predecessor of Varāha-mihira, quoted by Utpala, 561, 591; mentions Yavanendra 591.

Bādarāyaṇa: between Jaimini and B., Sāmavidhāna Br inserts two names and so B. is thus two generations later than J. 1161n; B. came to be confounded with Vyāsa, Pārāśarya but it is difficult to say when and why this confusion arose, 1169, 1171–73; held by Rāmānuja to be author of V. S. and also of Mahābhārata 1165; illustrations how V. S. deals with references to B. 1168; is A. of V. S., acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, 1162n, 1164–65; is different from Veda-vyāsa, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1166; no satisfactory reason offered why B. is mentioned only nine times in V. S. if all the five hundred fifty-five sūtras were composed by him, 1165; that several individuals separated by a century or more could have borne the name Bādarāyaṇa or Jaimini follows from Āp. Śr. S. and Pravaramañjarī, 1174; would be a grandson or a remoter male descendant of Badara 1169.

Bādarī, mentioned by both P. M. S. and V. S. four times each, would be son of Badara and P. M. S. mentions both Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini five times each, 1169, 1173, 1193; differs from Jaimini by holding that Śūdras are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices and on the interpretation of the word 'śeṣa' 1173, 1253, 1642; P. M. S. and V. S. both had before them a work of B. dealing with both P. M. matters and Vedānta 1173–4; trace of Bhartṛmitra's atheistic views none in B. nor of doctrines akin to Prabhākara's 1193.

Bagchi, Dr. P. C., a. of 'Studies in Tantras' 1034, 1039, 1048n, 1049, 1050n, 1064n (that words 'mother', 'sister' etc. in some Tantras with regard to coitus have esoteric sense); a. of paper on 'Cult of Buddhist Siddhācāryas' in 'Heritage of India' Vol. IV, pp. 273–79; a. of 'India and China' 1618n.

Bādha, 1327–28; Tantravārtika collects about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general, not dependent on conflict of *Śruti*, *liṅga* etc. or not falling under bādha as defined by Śabara for 10th chap, 1329.

Bādhva and Bāṣkali, story of, 1505.

Bahulā, 4th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half, 355.

Bahvṛcopaniṣad, 1045n.

Baijavāpa-gṛhya, 748.

Bakapañcaka, five days from Kārtika bright half eleventh tithi are so-called, on which all have to abstain from flesh-eating, 355.

Bakhshali MS. employs decimal notation 702.

Balābalādhikaraṇa, is PMS III. 3. 14; Dharmaśāstra works employ it, 1311.

Bālāki Gārgya was taught by Ajātaśatru, king of Kāśī 1639.

Bālakrīḍā, com. of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. Smṛti, 825, 826n, 1155n.

Bālambhaṭṭa, com. of, on Mitākṣarā (latter half of 18th century, A. D.), states that Vāyavīyapurāṇa is also called Śaiva, 831.

Bali, island of, in S. E. Asia, is still Hindu with four varṇas, 1618.

Balipratipadā, 201–207; see Govardhanapūjā; Bali addressed as future Indra 201; B. is also called Dyūtapratipadā, 203; *Balirājya* extends over three days from 14th in Divali, 204; cows, bulls and calves worshipped on this day, 204; Kārtika-śukla-pratipadā is so-called 201; gifts made on bath on this day become inexhaustible and please Viṣṇu 202; king to offer worship to Bali with his ministers and his brothers, 201; king should arrange for dramatic spectacles about kṣatriyas, 201; Mantra addressed to Bali 201n; most important item on this day is the worship of Bali 201–202; Lakṣmī becomes stable by illuminations on this day, 204; long list of observances on this day, 204; Mārgapālī on, described, 205; Naivedya to Bali included wine and meat 201; ordinary people also should establish in their houses image of Bali with white rice grains and worship it with flowers and fruits, 201; people even now engage in gambling on this day in some places, 203; procedure of the worship of Bali, 201; proper time for worship of Bali, when *pratipadā* is mixed with Amāvāsyā or dvitīyā 202; Śiva was defeated on this day in dice-play by Pārvatī, so gambling recommended on this day, 203; story of Bali, narrated in several Purāṇas is ancient, long prior to Mahābhāṣya 202–203, 997; Vāmana thrust Bali into nether regions, gave him overlordship of Pātāla and made him the future Indra, 202, 203.

Ballālasena, king of Bengal, a. of 'Adbhutasāgara', 'Dānasāgara' and also three other works not yet recovered: (vide Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas) 867 and 870; discarded Devīpurāṇa 869; Aniruddhabhaṭṭa was his guru 870n; composed Vratasāgara, Pratiṣṭhāsāgara and Ācārasāgara before Dānasāgara 870n; evinces in remarks on Purāṇas in Dānasāgara a bold critical faculty rare in medieval Sanskrit writers, 867; genealogy of, 870n; names numerous authorities and eight Upapurāṇas 867; states that Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradīya contained nothing on Dāna, 868.

Bāṇa, a. of Kādambarī, 39, 821–22, 1384; a. of Harṣacarita, 629, 705, 821–22, 955n.

Bannerjee N. G., theory of, about

origin of Durgāpūjā as military rite, 187.
Bapat, Prof. P. V. writer of '2500 years of Buddhism' 1003, 1010–41 (view of, that Tibetan Tantricism is earlier than Hindu, criticized).
Bārhaspatya, cycle of 60 years (vide Saṁvatsara); *phalas* of each of the 60 years, 660–62.
Bārhaspatyasaṁhitā, 544n, 742n.
Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by F. W. Thomas) 1039.
Barth, a. of 'Religions of India' (in French) tr. by J. Wood, 952n, 1003, 1007n, 1011, 1577
Barua, Dr. B. M,, a. of 'Gaya and Buddha Gaya' 598.
Basham, Prof. A. L., a. of 'History and doctrines of Ājīvikas' 1645n.
Bath, not to be taken at night as a rule except on eclipses, in marriages, on a birth and death, pilgrimage, Saṅkrānti, 218, 244; on Mahācaitrī and other eleven full moon days at certain holy places yields great rewards, 79.
Bauddhas, of Vijñānavādi school rely on Bṛ, Up. IV. 5. 13 as supporting them, acc. to Śabara 1218; heterodox hypotheses of B.acc. to Kumārila sprang from the arthavāda passages of the Upaniṣads and serve the purpose of inducing people to give up extreme attachment to sensual plesures and are useful in their own way, 1262.
Baudhāyana 99
Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, 538, 681, 930, 934, 1257n, 1258 (on five different practices of the North and of the South), 1416n, 1436, 1441.
Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra, 534, 535n, 610, 733n, 790.
Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣa-sūtra 749, 758 (on Ugrarathaśānti), 784, 787n, 790–1, 804, 814 (describes Rudrābhiṣeka)
Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra 505n, 519n, 722n, 727–8.
Baudouin, M. Charles, a. of 'Suggestion and auto-suggestion,' refers to Pratyāhāra and Dhāraṇā, 1447.
Baveru-Jātaka, shows trade by sea between India and Babylon 599.
Beal, a. of 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' 262, 1009 (on Śaśāṅka)
Bees, making honeycomb in a house, *śānti* for, 730.
Behanan, Dr. on 'Yoga, a scientific evaluation,' 1384, 1393, 1425, 1456.
Behaviourism–vide under J. B. Watson.
Behistun Inscription of Darius (522–486 B. C.), gives Pars as the name of a country, 850n.
Bell, Sir Charles, on 'Tibet, past and present' 1040.
Dr. Belvalkar, two propositions of, in Gopal Basu Mallik lectures on Vedānta viz. that Brahmasūtras were separately composed for the Chāndogya Up., the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up., and other Upaniṣads for each and that the Śārīrakasūtra of Jaimini was bodily incorporated in the extant Brahma-

sūtra, strongly criticized, 1175–76; paper of, on Māṭharavṛtti, 1354.

Bennett J. G. a. of 'Subud' (1958), puts forward Pak Subuh as avatāra 993.

Bergh, Prof. Van Pen, a. of 'Universe in space and time,' 571n.

Bergson, author of 'Time and Free Will', 475, 1575.

Bernard, Theos, a. of 'Haṭhayoga, the report of a personal experience', 1428n.

Berthelot, Alfred, a. of 'Transmigration of souls', translated by H. G. Chaytor, 1601.

Berossus, 189n, 690.

Besnagar Column Vaiṣṇava Inscription (2nd century B. C); of Heliodora, Yavana ambassador to an Indian king, 516n, 963.

Bhadrabāhu, Kalpasūtra of, 777 (on dreams).

Bhagavadgītā: (vide under 'Gīta, path, tolerance): 103, 127, 172, 467, 660, 692n, 695, 702n, 743, 869n, 918n, 929, 938, 958n, 960–62, 964–66, 970, 973, 978–79, 992, 994, 1006n, 1024, 1055n, 1066n, 1087, 1113, 1171–73, 1210, 1216n, 1357n, 1359–60, 1361n, 1364n, 1367n, 1373, 1378, 1379n, 1385, 1388n, 1401, 1431–2, 1434n, 1448, 1450, 1458, 1461 (frequent emphasis on secrecy, 1462 (path of Yoga and advaita Vedānta is most difficult and unattainable by most persons), 1465, 1478, 1508, 1511, 1557, 1563–4, 1567, 1569, 1598, 1600, 1628, 1630–31, 1635, 1648; difference between B. and Nārāyaṇīya section 961–62; is styled Yogaśāstra and each chapter of it is also styled 'Yoga', 1426–27; mentioned in Śāntiparva, 653, 656; puts Japa-yajña as the highest among Yajñas, 172; Padmapurāṇa devotes 1005 verses to māhātmya of B. 967; proclaims that doing one's work without an eye to the fruits thereof is worship and even the greatest sinner and persons of the lowest castes and mlecchas can reach the highest goal by bhakti of Kṛṣṇa, 968; Purāṇas follow with great emphasis the Gītā doctrine of Niṣkāmakarmayoga, 967–968; summaries of, in Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas 967; tantras like Mahānirvāṇa employ Bh. IV. 24 as a mantra when offering wine 1059, 1087.

Bhagavat: both Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva spoken of as B. in Inscriptions 964; connotation of the word B., 963; rarely applied to Śiva also, as in Mahābhāṣya 963; usually applied to Vāsudeva in ancient times, 963, though in a secondary sense to persons with special qualities such as knowledge of Vidyā and Avidyā 963; word B. is ancient, 963.

Bhāgavata-purāṇa 112, 129, 131, 139n, 147, 197n, 474 (on Kāla), 477 (elaborate scheme of units of time), 649n, 680n,

687n, 791n, 865, 839 (*ten topics* of Purāṇas), 845n (period between Parīkṣit and Nanda), 852, 857n, 861, 880, 903n, 920–21, 924, 950, 959n, 960 (three kinds of *bhakti*), 965 (on nine modes of bhakti), 966, 968, 970 (tolerance of worship of other gods), 972, 974, 979, 995, 1032, 1093 (worship of Viṣṇu is Vaidikī, Tāntrikī and Miśrā), 1120, 1169, 1280, 1373, 1384, 1440n, 1455, 1490n, 1637, 1642; date very controversial, ranging from 5th cen A. D. to 10th, 898–99 ; lengthy eulogy of Bh. in Padma 972; many medieval digests hardly ever rely upon Bhāgavata for Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī 131 ; note on, 898-99; none of the early works on Dharmaśāstra, such as Mit., Kalpataru, draw upon it, 898 ; not quoted by Rāmānuja in bhāṣya on V. S. 957 ; numerous commentaries on, over 40 being listed, 957n ; papers on, brought together by Dr. Pusalker in 'Studies in Epics and Purāṇas', 898 ; regarded as the most important or sole authority by Vaiṣṇava teachers like Vallabha and Caitanya 957 ; Śrīdhara, commentator of, 845n, 866n ; very exaggerated praise of Bh. 972.

Bhāgavata (vide 'Mahābhāgavata') : means one who worships 'Bhagavat' (Vāsudeva), 963 ; Akrūra is styled Mahābhāgavata in some Purāṇas, 964 ; low stage reached by Bhāgavatas, acc. to Atri, 979–80.

Bhāguri, on Śakunas, a predecessor of Varāhamihira, 591, 622.

Bhakti, (loving faith in God and surrender to him) pp. 950–980 ; (vide under Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇīya, Pañcarātra, saints, Sāttvata, Viṣṇu) ; ācāryas of bh. acc. to Nāradabhaktisūtra, 960n ; derivation and meaning of the word 'Bhakti' acc. to Śāṇḍilya and others 958–959 ; distinction between *prapatti* and bh. 960 ; doctrine of bh. had great appeal to all sections of Hindus and weaned them away from Buddhism 970 ; doctrine of 'Prapatti' based on the word 'prapadye' in Śv. Up. 952 ; doctrine that God's grace alone saves dovotee is found in Kaṭha and Muṇḍaka Upaniṣads 952 ; doing one's duties of the station in life without an eye to the rewards is worship (*arcana*) 967 ; eleven modes of, acc. to Nāradabhaktisūtra, 965 ; four classes of men take to the path of bhakti, of whom the 4th (jñānin) is very dear to God, 966 ; Gītā makes no express distinction between bh. and prapatti, but its final advice in XVIII, 65–66 comes close to prapatti, 960 ; Indra is addressed as *sakhā* and father in the Ṛgveda and is said to have given a young wife to old Kakṣīvat and become the wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva, 950–51 ; is difficult in Kali, acc. to Vallabhācārya

975n; is not an action and is also different from jñāna (knowledge), acc. to Śāṇḍilya, 960; list of important works on 657–58; Nārāyaṇīya section in Śāntiparva and Gītā are among the original sources of Bhakti cult, 952; Namaskāra (adoration or homage), apotheosis of, in the Ṛgveda, 952; names of the exemplars of the highest kind of bhakti and of middling kind, acc. to Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, 960n; nine modes of, all of which need not be practised at the same time 965–66; of the *dāsya* type in Bhāgavata, 966; origin and vicissitudes of the cult of bh. acc. to Bhāgavata and Padma, 979; path of, said to be easier than that of knowledge in the Gītā, 965; peculiar cult of the bh. of Rāma and Sītā, 980; *prapatti*, five elements of, and relation to bhakti, 960; Purāṇas emphasize that even cāṇḍālas, mlecchas, Hūṇas, yavanas, become pure by bhakti of God, 968; Purāṇas lay very great emphasis on bh. 950; remembering the name of God (Kṛṣṇa and the like) with devotion is the highest expiation for sin, acc. to Viṣṇupurāṇa and Śāṇḍilya, 966; *sakhya* type of Bh. is that of Arjuna, 966; schools of Bh. formulated by Rāmānuja, Madhva, Caitanya, and Vallabha 971; sources of the cult of bhakti other than Śāntiparva are Gītā, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇupurāṇa, 956; Sāttvata or Pañcarātra proclaimed the path of bhakti 953; stories in Ṛgveda hymns about Indra's and Varuṇa's deeds for devotees (sometimes called 'friends') resemble medieval stories about Rāma and Śabarī and about Viṭhobā of Pandharpur for Dāmājī 950–52; striking development of bh. of erotic mysticism of Vallabha and Caitanya 980; Tāntrik works like Rudrayāmala take over the nine modes of bhakti, 965n; theory of Gītā that B. led on to *prasāda* (grace or favour) of God which enabled devotee to secure mokṣa, 961; two interpretations of Śāṇḍilya's definition of B. 958–59; various sub-divisions of B. in Purāṇas 960; various theories of Barth, Hopkins, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and others as to what Kṛṣṇa represented and how he was identified with Viṣṇu, 957; word 'Bhakti' does not occur in the principal ancient Upaniṣads, but occurs in Śvetāśvatara Up. 952; words 'Bhakti' and 'Bhakta' occur dozens of times in the Gītā, 956.

Bhakticandrikā, com. on Śāṇḍilya-bhaktisūtra 956n, 959.

Bhaktiprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) 965n; explains at great length nine modes of bhakti, 965n, 998n, 1122.

Bhāmatī (commentary of Vācaspati on Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on V. S.), 1153n, 1182n,

1183n, 1211, 1241n, 1250, 1293n (on the word 'rājan' among Āndhras), 1296 (on Brahmaloka in Chān. Up. VIII. 3. 2), 1298n, 1309n (on the Aindrī verse), 1310n, 1373–74, 1378, 1391, 1576n.

Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G., a. of 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc.' 131, 472, 478n, 1048n, 1577.

Bhandarkar (R. G) Presentation Volume (or Commemorative essays) 650n, 643.

Bhandarkar, D. R, 'list of Inscriptions' by, 665, 978n.

Bhāradvāja-gṛhyasūtra, 535.

Bhāradvāja, on śakunas 591, 621–22; on Vyatīpāta and Vaidhṛti 707.

Bhāradvāja (Puṇḍola), disciple of Buddha, story of his rising in the air, 1037–38.

Bharata (Nāṭyaśāstra of), 1128.

Bharata, son of Duṣyanta (or Duṣpanta); Ait. Br. (39. 9) states that B. was crowned by Aindra Mahābhiṣeka and Śat. Br. speaks of Bharata, son of Śakuntalā and has some verses identical with those in Ait. Br. 1525–26n: Kālidāsa probably did not know that Bharatavarṣa was named after Śakuntala's son, 1525n.

Bhāratakaumudī, work in honour of Prof. R. K. Mukerji, 64n, 699n.

Bharatas, ancient tribe of people frequently mentioned in the Ṛgveda, 1525.

Bharatavarṣa: different views about the identity of the Bharata after whom it was so called, 1525–26 and 1614 (Śakuntalā's son); limits of, 1525–1527; m. in Khāravela's Inscription 1614; nine divisions of (some of which are called dvīpas) mentioned in several Purāṇas, 1000 *yojanas* from North to South and boundaries of, 1526 (and n); originally it appears B. was what is now modern India, but later B. was made to denote India as well as Greater India, 1526–27; Śabara shows that the language of cultured people was one i. e. Sanskrit from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin, 1527, Śabara, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and Bṛhatsaṁhitā show that ancient Indian people identified their culture with B. i. e. with the country and not with race, 1527.

Bhārata War, date of, 648–649.

Bhāratīya Vidyā, Journal, 645.

Bhārgava, writer on astrology 766n.

Bhārgavārcanadīpikā, 90n.

Bhartṛhari, philosophical grammarian, author of Vākyapadīya, 475, 1396.

Bhartṛmitra (between 400–600 A. D.), an interpreter who made P. M. atheistic, 1198, 1205n; his work was called Tattvaśuddhi, acc. to Umbeka 1198.

Bhāskara, commentator on Brahmasūtras, 1155n.

Bhāskarācārya (born in 1114 A. D.), 697n, 702 (uses pūrṇa in the sense of zero); a. of

Grahagaṇita, 649n; a. of Siddhāntaśiromaṇi, 697n.
Bhāskararāya, a. of com. Setubandha on Vāmakeśvaratantra 1045; called Bhāsurānandanātha after *dīkṣā* 1071, 1126; holds that Ṛg. V. 47. 1 refers to *Kādividyā*, 1045; hyperbolic praise of, 1071.
Bhāṣya, defined 1182.
Bhatt, Prof. G. H. 957n.
Bhattācārya B., paper of, on 'Ten Avatāras' 263.
Bhattāchārya (Prof. Golokendranath), 125n.
Bhattacharya, Prof. T. 497n, 668n.
Bhattacharya, Mr. Bhabatosh, editor of Dānasāgara in B. I. series in 4 parts, 867, 870; a. of paper on 'Yogi-Yājñavalkyasmṛti and its utilization in Bengal digests', 407.
Bhattacharya Dr. B., a. of Intro. to 'Buddhist Esoterism' 1033n, 1050n, 1069n (Dhyānibuddhas, their śaktis, *kulas* etc), 1075, 1115 (on Siddhas of Vajrayāna); a. of Intro. to Sādhanamālā, 1038, 1039, 1042, 1050n; a of Intro. to 'Guhyasamājatantra', 1042, 1050n, 1069n, 1071n (wrong translation of a verse), 1077n; a. of 'Buddhist Iconography', 1131n; a. of paper on importance of Niṣpannayogāvali, 1133n.
Bhattacharya, D. C.; a. of paper on the tāntrik work of Vidyāpati, 1676n.
Bhattacharya, Prof. Duragāmohan, 1625–26.
Bhattacharya, Prof. H. D., paper of, on 'Vicissitudes of Karma doctrine', 1605.
Bhattacharya Sri Siddhesvara, 1383 (on Bhāgavata).
Bhattacharya S. P. 1408n.
Bhāṭṭadīpikā 1230n.
Bhattasali, N. K., a. of 'Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in Dacca Museum', 1131n (for mudrās).
Bhāva (or Bhāvas, acc. to context): (vide under Thibaut): differences between Varāhamihira and Firmicus as to matters indicated by B. 540; names of twelve B. 578–79; naming and arrangement of B. follows hardly any rational basis, 636–37; system of B. known to Ptolemy, though he paid little attention to it 533; system of B. known to many writers before Varāhamihira, some of whom like Garga and Parāśara are assigned to 50 B. C. by Kern 579; table of twelve B. with synonyms, seven only of which correspond with Greek words and some others convey the matters judged from them 578; terms that apply to a group of Bh. 578; terms *Karma* and *Mṛtyu* occur in both Nakṣatra and rāśi astrology 531; terms (at least five) such as Janma and Sampat that occur in Ātharvaṇajyotiṣa correspond in name and import with *tanu*, *dhana* and other terms used in Varāha's works 533n; what was to be predicted from each of twelve B. 578–79.
Bhavabhūti: fifth in ascent from

him performed Vājapeya (about first half of 7th century A. D.) 629.

Bhavadāsa, (between 100–200 A. D.), Śabara's predecessor on Jaimini, named by Ślokavārtika 1159n, 1160, 1197.

Bhavadevabhaṭṭa, m. by Raghunandana 919; a. of 'Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa' 1242, 1296.

Bhāvā Gaṇeśa, a. of com. Tattvayāthārthyadīpana on Sāṅkhya and on Yogasūtra, 1382, 1394, 1412n.

Bhāvanā, doctrine of B. is the very heart of *vidhis* 1235; meaning of, 1235; śābdībhāvanā gives rise to ārthībhāvanā 1236; two kinds of, viz. śābdī (word force) and ārthī (result producing force), 1235–36; three elements in each of the two bhāvanās described, 1236.

Bhavanāga, of Bhāraśiva lineage, performer of ten Aśvamedhas 1028.

Bhavanātha (between 1050–1150 A. D.), a. of Nayaviveka 1199.

Bhavānī, known to Pāṇini, as wife of Bhava (i. e. Rudra) 185n.

Bhāvanopaniṣad (on Tantra) is a late work 1051, 1218.

Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa, named by Āp. Dh. S. 817; by Matsya and Varāha Purāṇas 818; contained dynastic names acc. to Matsya and Vāyu, 851.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, 32, 38–40, 43–45, 54, 57, 70, 77n, 78n, 79n, 82, 90, 92, 96, 102, 110, 113, 115n, 119n, 124, 132n, 137–8, 148–158, 161n, 164n, 178n, 181n, 184n, 199, 200n, 204n, 212n, 220n, 572n, 660, 683n, 734 (on śāntis), 748–9, 779n, 810n, 851, 868 (part discarded by Ballālasena because tainted with heretical doctrines), 869, 924, 926n, 1096n, 1105, 1106, 1152n, 1262 (divides smṛti contents into five categories); divided into four parvans of which only the first viz. Brāhma can claim an early date, the Pratisargaparvan being a modern fabrication 896–7; note on 896–898; not earlier than 6th or 7th cen. A. D. 898; was revised by Śāmba, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, 898.

Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa; 40, 43, 89, 93n, 94, 97n, 108n, 119n, 122, 124n, 128, 131, 132n, 135, 137n, 142, 149–50, 153, 157n, 194, 210, 218, 238, 240, 753–4, 869; held not authoritative by Ballālasena, 869: not later than 1000 A. D. 897.

Bhikṣu, casts off all desires and practises begging, 1169; Gaut. provides that a bhikṣu should beg for food and Bṛ. Up. also states that those who realize *brahman* give up desires and practise begging 1169; represents Sannyāsa order, 1169.

Bhikṣusūtra, mentioned by Pāṇini as composed by Pārāśarya, might refer to Pañcaśikha's work who was described as Pārāśarya and Bhikṣu in Mahābhārata 1169n.

Bhīma, fight of, with Duryodhana 767.

Bhīmaparākrama, a work of king

Bhoja, 62n, 710, 762.
Bhīṣma, though unmarried, performed Aśvamedha 1280.
Bhīṣmaparva 129, 532n, 743–44, 769 (images of gods trembling), 774 (portentous births), 900n, 1470n, 1528.
Bhoja, king of Dhārā (1st half of 11th century A. D.); composed (or got composed) numerous works, such as Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya, Bhujabala, Rājamārtaṇḍa (on astrology), 58, 884 (four works of, on Dharmaśāstra and astrology); a. of com. Rājamārtaṇḍa on Yogasūtra 1377, 1394.
Bhojaka : 779n (to whom one's dream was to be declared);
Bhojakaṭa : m. in Brahmapurāṇa as capital of Rukmin of Vidarbha and in Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' 588 and n.
Bhrātṛ–dvitīyā, same as Yamadvitīyā, 207–210 ; an independent festival tacked on to Divali 209 ; hardly any religious ceremony observed in these days 208 ; on 2nd of bright half of Kārtika 207 ; procedure on, 207, 208 ; worship of Yama, Yamunā and Citragupta and some other details found in medieval digests are now dropped 208.
Bhṛgu (writer on astrology and astronomy) 591, 664n.
Bhṛgu–saṁhitā (on astrology), criticism against claims of possessing it, 634–635.
Bhujabala or Bhujabalanibandha ; 42n, 61n, 62, 71n, 110n, 240n, 243n, 249n, 547, 555n, 560, 572, 890 (quotes Devīpurāṇa); Bhūpāla means Bhūpālakṛtyasamuccaya of Bhoja, 70.
Bhūtaśuddhi, in Mahānirvāṇatantra, 1095n.
Bhūtārthavāda or Bhūtārthānuvāda ; examples of, 1241 and n ; explained by Śabara and Śaṅkarācārya (on V. S. I. 3. 33) who calls it Vidyamānavāda 1241n.
Bhuvanakośa or Bhuvana–vinyāsa, described in Brahmapurāṇa, Kūrma, Matsya, Vāyu (has 1000 verses), 1527.
Bible, says that Jesus did not expound all things to all people but only to his disciples, 1461n; is intolerant and pessimistic 1624n, 1630n.
Bījanighaṇṭu, 1058n (a list of Tāntrik Mantras), 1097.
Bilva, tree, twig of, to be brought in the house on a certain day and tithi in Durgāpūjā, 181.
Biot, 510.
Birds, cries of Kapiñjala, Kapota, owl and others indicative of coming good or evil in the Ṛgveda 729–30, 804–5.
Birds and animals, when on the right side of one going on a journey indicate auspicious results, 526.
Birth, on certain nakṣatras like Āśleṣā and Mūla inauspicious, 605.
Bland, N., on Mahomedan interpretations of dreams 781.
Bloch, Jules, edited and translated in French Aśoka Inscriptions, 1016n.

Bloomfield, 740n; a. of 'Religion of the Veda' 1491; edited Kauśika-sūtra, 770n.

Bodhāyana: acc. to Prapañcahṛdaya, B. composed a commentary on both PMS and VS, while Rāmānuja says he composed a bhāṣya on Brahmasūtra, 1186n, 1197.

Bodh Gaya 1018.

Body (human), has nine openings (mouth, nostrils, eyes etc.) 702n, 1364n.

Bogozkeui: vide under 'Mitanni'; Inscription of, about 1400 B. C. regarding treaties between the king of Hittites and king of Mitanni that had gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya in their pantheon 598–99; archives of, contained a treatise on horse training by one Kikkuli of Mitanni, which discusses technical terms akin to Sanskrit 599.

Bollinger and Negelein, editors of Ātharvaṇa-nakṣatra kalpa, 499.

Bombay Gazetteer 653.

Bose, D. N., a. of 'Tantras, their philosophy and occult secrets,' 1081 (explains five *makāras* esoterically), 1149n.

Bouche-Leclercq, a. of 'Astrologie Grecque' (1899): 548, 550, 552, 565n, 566n, 571, 581–3, 585.

Brahman, (vide under Creation); defined in Tai. Up. II. 1, 1424n; described as 'neti neti' (not this, not this) in Br. Up. II. 3. 6, IV. 2. 4–22, IV. 5. 15, III. 7. 26, 1504; distinction made in Upaniṣad texts between *saguṇa* br. that was for prayer and worship and *nirguṇa* brahma 1498; it is impossible to define what br. is, we can only say what it is not 1505; is said to be endowed with all powers in VS. and by Śaṅkarācārya, 1045; passages of Upaniṣads referring to nirguṇa br. cited, are Br. Up. III. 9. 26, IV. 4. 19 and 22, IV. 5. 15, Chān. Up. VII. 24. 1, Śv. Up. VI. 19, Kaṭha IV. 10–11; para br. is conceived as beyond space, time and causality 1505n; real truth (pāramārthika satya) about br. is that it is one, that everything in the world (men, animals, matter) is br. 1498–99; śāstras (Vedānta texts) are sources of the correct knowledge of br. and that they are agreed that their purport is to establish that br. 1484–85; seeker after br. reaches it by the practice of truthfulness, tapas, samyag-jñāna and brahmacarya, acc. to Muṇḍaka, 1423; story of Bādhva conveying idea of br. to Bāṣkali by remaining silent 1505; Tai. Br. describes br. as the tree from which heaven and earth were chiselled out 1489n; when it is said that the world is non-different from *brahman*, it is not meant that they are identical, but the meaning is that the individual selves and the world are not entirely different from *brahman* 1510.

Brahmā (see 'Viṣṇu'); day of Br. equal to Kalpa 688, 690; figure to which the life of br.

in human years extends is colossal 690; fifty years of life of Br. are gone and the present is Vārāhakalpa and Vaivasvata Manvantara 690; is supposed to have created world on first tithi of Caitra bright half 82; seven sons of, 1372; some held that life of Brahmā was 108 years, 690, 697.

Brahmacārī, word occurs in Ṛgveda, 7.

Brahmacarya, (vide under 'Mahatma Gandhi'); is very strict for Yogin (viz. he is not even to look at, talk to or touch women 1420n; when a householder may be called an observer of B. 1421.

Brahmacarya, also means periods of study from 48 to 3 years for a Vedic student prescribed by Gautama, Āp., Manu etc. 1252.

Brahmagupta (astronomer born in 598 A. D.) 484, 515n, 680n, 696–7; criticized the Jaina view about there being two suns and two moons, 511n; condemned 'Romakasiddhānta' as outside the pale of smṛtis,' 515n.

Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas (vide under gifts, pātra, priests); all brāhmaṇas were not priests, are not priests in modern times and all temple priests are not always brāhmaṇas 936; every b. was not a proper recipient for gifts in ancient Indian times 937; difference of view on killing an ātatāyin b. 817n; gifts (religious) to be made acc. to śāstras, Manu and other Smṛtis only to *pātra* (deserving) br. who has learning, character and tapas, 937; gifts made to brāhmaṇa not learned in Veda or who is avaricious or deceitful were deemed fruitless by Manu and to lead donor to hell 938; had no power to raise taxes like *tithes* nor was there a regularly paid hierarchy of priests and bishops as in England, 937; high ideal placed before br. of plain living, of giving up active pursuit of riches, of devotion to study, pp. 936–38, 1637; how importance of birth as a brāhmaṇa arose 1639–40; lores to be studied by a learned brāhmaṇa, acc. to Gautama Dh. S. 818; maintaining themselves by practising astrology were unfit for being invited to perform rites for gods or for śrāddha dinner acc. to Manu 527; Manu and others provided that in rites for *pitṛs* the learning and character of b. should be carefully scrutinized, but Purāṇas did away with this, particularly at Gayā 930–32; of Mathurā are like gods, says Varāhapurāṇa 932; Mahābhārata emphasizes that good character makes a brāhmaṇa 100n; milk is vrata of, 18; most Br. studied only one Veda or a part of it, 1182; only br. were entitled to drink Soma beverage in Vedic sacrifices 853; performed solemn Vedic sacrifices like Vājapeya 1029; reasons or basis of the veneration paid to brāhmaṇas for

over three thousand years, 1640; result of threatening or striking or injuring (with blood from wound) a brāhmaṇa declared in Tai. S., which is interpreted in two ways by different writers, 1544–45; substantial sources of income were only three, viz. teaching, officiating as priests at sacrifices of others and receiving gifts made voluntarily which were fitful, variable and precarious, 937, 1638–39; to learn *vidyā* from a kṣatriya was unnatural or unusual in Upaniṣad times, 864; to be fed in all vratas, 39; tribute paid in passing to the ancient brāhmana ideal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru 1640; vast Vedic and classical literature was cultivated, preserved and propagated mostly by brāhmaṇas with arduous labour and the Ṛgveda was preserved by them with unparalleled care, 936, 1637–38; were asked to study Veda and subsidiary lores without any eye to motives of profit as a duty and to understand it, to teach the Veda without demanding a fee beforehand, to perform sacrifices and to make gifts, 937; who is not a Vaiṣṇava is declared as a heretic by Padmapurāṇa and Vṛddha-Hārīta 976; Yāj. provides that even a learned br. should refuse gifts and that the king should donate to learned brāhmaṇas, land, houses and marriage expenses or br. should approach a king or rich person for their 'Yogakṣema' 936.

Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas (texts, acc. to context), all those parts of the Veda which are not or cannot be called mantras constitute B. 1222–23; are primary sources of information about sacrifices, ritual, priests etc. 1223; contain oldest prose found in any Indo-European language 1223; contain numerous myths and legends, 1223; contents can be divided into two classes viz. vidhis (hortatory) and arthavādas (explanatory or laudatory) 1223; often mention contests between Gods and Asuras and abound in etymologies 1223; order (*krama*) of rites as expressed in mantras is to be preferred to the order contained in Br. texts 1316; principal purpose and aim of Br. of the Veda is to prescribe the rituals of sacrifices, to narrate myths and legends about sacrifices and to state rewards of sacrifices, 1497; ten characteristics of B. acc. to Vṛttikāra 1223n.

Brāhmaṇaka, a country where brāhmaṇas followed profession of arms, acc. to Pāṇini 1638.

Brahmaṇaspati, as the creator of Gods in Ṛg. X. 72. 2, 1485.

Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (vide note on pp. 895-96); 90n, 117, 119, 133, 147, 149, 184n, 541, 649n, 652n, 687, 690n, 693, 734, 735n (on Kalpas of Atharvaveda), 748, 817, 822, 824n, 840n, 841

(many verses identical with those of Vāyu), 845n (on period between Parikṣit and Nanda), 850n, 851–2, 853n, 854–56, 861–3, 903n, 920 (Saptārcis mantra), 939n, 946–7, 960 (three kinds of *bhakti*), 976–77, 994 (list of Avatāras–different from usual one), 1042 (Lalitāmāhātmya of), 1102, 1187n (has verses that are also found quoted by Śabara), 1223n, 1372n, 1383, 1390n, 1470n, 1521, 1526, 1528, 1574, 1629n (for word 'sanātana-dharma), compiled or revised about 320–335 A. D. 854; probably composed near the source of the Godāvarī, 895; divided into four *pādas* besides Lalitopākhyāna 845; is fond of etymologies, 890; one of the oldest of Purāṇas, has hundreds of verses in common with Vāyu 896; Skanda says there was first only one Purāṇa, viz. Brahmāṇḍa, 895.

Brahmapurāṇa 43, 45, 82, 90, 106n, 118–9, 169n, 201n, 202–3n, 221, 243, 588n, 660, 682, 686n, 687, 691, 693, 695, 754, 763n, 824n, 833, 851, 857, 862n, 903n, 915–16, 919, 929, 931, 935, 947n, 950, 962n, 964, 968, 971, 994n, 1046n, 1096n, 1120, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1127n, 1132, 1213, 1383 (on Sāṅkhya), 1431n, 1438n, 1521 (on creation), 1526n, 1527–8, 1582, 1590, 1628n; chapters 10–175 containing 4640 verses deal with tīrthas, 894; composed between 10th and 12th A. D. acc. to Prof. Hazra, 894; has 10000 verses acc. to Nāradīya and 25000 acc. to Agni, but the printed one has about 14000 verses, 833; one recension of B. discarded by Ballālasena, 869, 894; Note on, 893–94; present B. probably compiled in some part through which the Godāvarī flows 894; that printed in Ānan. Press appears to be a late compilation and numerous quotations in Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Ballālasena are not found in it, 893.

Brahmārpaṇa, meaning of, 1412n.

Brahmasāvitrīvrata, 92, 94n.

Brahmasiddhānta 66n.

Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta, 511n, 515n, 649n, 658, 676, 680n, 696n.

Brahmasūtra-vide Vedāntasūtra; Gītā had before it several works, called Brahmasūtra, 1173–4.

Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa (note on, 894–95); 34, 95n, 97n, 104n, 106, 114, 119n, 125, 129, 132n, 134n, 135n, 138, 148, 213n, 774; printed in Ānan. Press, Poona, in four kāṇḍas, viz. Brāhma, Prakṛti, Gaṇapati and Kṛṣṇajanma; several verses q. in Sm. C, Hemādri as from it are not found in the printed one 895.

Brandon, S. G. F., a. of 'Time and mankind' 475.

Breasted, a. of 'Ancient Times' 521n.

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 24, 62, 103, 126, 464, 475, 491, 525,

534, 559, 670, 732n (on *dreams*), 771n, 772n, 864n, 866, 918, 944–5 (emphasis on *dayā*), 972 (on last thought), 1043 (explains Ṛg. VI. 47. 18), 1063n (on 72000 nāḍīs), 1097 (eulogy of Gāyatrī), 1131 (maṇḍala of the Sun), 1169, 1202, 1295, 1358n, 1364n (derivation of Puruṣa), 1370 (Yājñavalkya expounds *brahman* to Janaka and answers angry brāhmaṇas in his court), 1373 (vaṁśas), 1387-88, 1403n, 1404–5, 1417n, 1433 (prāṇa as symbol of brahman), 1435, 1448, 1451n, 1459n, 1460, 1468 ('*mantavyaḥ*' *implies tarka*), 1471, 1478, 1481, 1486, 1488n, 1499, 1501, 1504, 1507–8n, 1512–3, 1535 (frequently has the words 'apa punarmṛtyum jayati'), 1541 (I. 4. 10 quotes Ṛg. IV. 26. 1), 1545, 1547–50, 1554–9, 1566–7, 1575–76 (Free will and Determinism), 1577–80, 1585, 1587, 1602–4, 1626–27 (noblest prayer in), 1631n (sāyujya and salokatā occur), 1633–34, 1644 (on āśramas).

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika, 1602n.

Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa, 896.

Bṛhad-devatā, 60n, 486n.

Bṛhad-yama, 238.

Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira, 479, 545n, 547–48, 559, 561n, 562, 564, 567n, 568–75, 577, 580, 582–85, 586n, 587n, 589–91, 597, 601n, 618, 624n, 638, 657n, 711n, 1645; rising times of zodiacal signs in B. are same as those in the Babylonian system, acc. to Prof. Neugebauer 597.

Bṛhaj-jābālopaniṣad, 1076n.

Bṛhad-yoga (or -gi) yājñavalkya 31n, 42, 860n, 1152n (reads 'Purāṇa-tarka-mīmāṁsā' in Yāj. I), 1217 (on *samuccaya* of jñāna and karma), 1391, 1404, 1416n, 1419n, 1438n, 1439n, 1440 (same three verses as in Manu), 1442n; cited as Yoga (or Yogi) Yājñavalkya in medieval digests, 1404; not later than 7th Cent. A.D. but is not the Yogaśāstra m. in Yāj. Smṛti (III. 110), 1408; reproduces in verse Yogasūtra I. 24 and 28–29 as Śruti 1412n; verses cited by Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā as from Yoga-Yāj. are found in this but not in Yoga-Yāj. ed. by Mr. Diwanji, 1407; Viśvarūpa appears to quote a half verse from it 1407.

Bṛhad-yogayātrā of Varāhamihira, 70n, 529n, 533, 540, 545n, 558n, 591–94, 617, 622, 627n, 749, 753 (follows Yāj. about Grahayajña), 755, 774, 776, 778, 799, 800n, 801, 804–5, 808, 878.

Bṛhan-nandikeśvara-purāṇa, 156.

Bṛhan-nāradīya purāṇa, 892; is a sectarian Vaiṣṇava work, different from the Nārada-purāṇa, 892.

Bṛhaspati, Smṛti writer; fragments of, collected by Prof. Ayyangar, 42n, 117n, 145n, 876n, 1032, 1265–66, 1302–03 (conflict of interpretation about

reunion among medieval digests); asisgned to Manusmṛti a pre-eminent position, 1265.

Bṛhaspati, a. of a work on Rājanīti 1001, 1033.

Bṛhaspati, planet Jupiter, 494n (presiding deity of Puṣya), 572 (indicative of life, happiness and knowledge).

Bṛhaspati, verses of, quoted under Cārvākadarśana by Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, closely resemble verses from Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas, 974n.

Bṛhatī, com. of Prabhākara on Śabara's bhāṣya 1179n, 1189; com. on B. is Ṛju-vimalā of Śālikanātha, 1179n, 1189.

Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, 69–70, 150n, 187, 191n, 193, 216n, 242n, 465n, 476 (on units of time from kṣaṇa to kalpa), 477, 516 (praise of Yavana astrology), 517n, 519, 520, 526 (birds' flights indicate good or bad acts of person going on journey in his former lives), 530, 531n, 540–41, 543n, 547n, 559–60, 561n, 564, 574n, 584, 589n, 591–94 (names of predecessors), 607n, 608–09, 611, 613n, 616, 622, 624, 637n, 650–55, 658, 660, 662, 680, 683n, 704, 708, 711n, 734 (45th chap. of, on Śāntis), 745–47, 763 (causes of earthquakes), 764 (premonitory signs of earthquakes), 765 (criticizes vṛddha-Garga and Parāśara), 767n, 768n (quotes 12 verses of Ṛṣiputra), 769, 773–74, 783n, 793 (Puṣyasnāna), 794n, 795n, 797, 801, 804–05, 826, 877 (verses that are also found in Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara), 878, 996 (Buddha image described), 1024 (mentions mantra 'Yāntu Devagaṇāḥ' used even now), 1046n (rules about images of Durgā), 1132 (on Maṇḍala), 1528 (names of countries in Bharatavarṣa).

Bṛhaṭ-ṭīkā of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, referred to by Nyāyaratnākara and verses from it q. by Nyāyasudhā and Jaiminīyasūtrārthasaṅgraha, 1188.

Bridges, Robert, a. of 'Testament of beauty' (on what is reasonable), 1477.

Briggs, W. G. a. of 'Gorakhnath and the Kanphatas', 1429.

British Imperialists and hypocritical talk of 'White man's burden' 1619.

British rulers of India were generally opposed to progressive social reform in India 1636n.

Bromage, Bernard, a. of 'Tibetan yoga', 1394.

Brown G. W., a. of paper in 'Studies in honour of Bloomfield', 1434, 1531; conjectures that even words 'Yoga, Sāṅkhya and Upaniṣad' are coined from some Dravidian words now lost, 1531.

Brunton, Paul, a. of 'A search in Secret India', 1393.

Buddha (vide under Bhāradvāja, dhamma, Edwin Arnold, Hīnayāna, nirvāṇa, śūdras, taṇhā, Upaniṣads), came to be regarded by Hindus as avatāra before

1000 A. D., but some Purāṇas and Kumārila in 7th century A. D. did not regard him so, 934, 914, 993, 1025; Ceylon tradition about Parinirvāṇa of, 356; characteristics of Buddha image, acc. to Bṛ. S. 996; claims that he only follows an ancient path, 1005; did not clearly define what he meant by nirvāṇa 941, 1008; did not think much of worship or prayer, 1007-08; expounded the four Noble Truths (or axioms, viz. Duḥkha, the cause of it viz. taṇhā, suppression of duḥkha and Noble Eightfold Path *to suppression*, 939-40; Kumārila quoting Purāṇas condemns B. as one that caused confusion as to Dharma, 824; life of B. has a noble grandeur and human appeal 1021; main matters of controversy between B. and Hindus of his day, 1007; Nārada-purāṇa holds that one entering B. temple cannot be purified by any expiation 892; Nirvāṇa era 656; Noble Eightfold path described, 939n, 1005; original teaching of B. was swamped by Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, 1070; Parinirvāṇa of B in 483 B. C. or 477 B. C., 1070; philosophical schools 63 in times of B. mentioned by Mahāvagga 913n; preached in his first sermon the avoidance of two extremes, 939; B. rejected permanent ego and yet accepted doctrine of rebirth 941, 1004, 1577; spent forty-five years for suffering humanity 941; taught that Salvation may be attained even in this very life, 942n, 1008; taught that it was unnecessary to be definite about God's existence and similar matters, 1007; teaching of B. held out the same promise of liberation to all men and was most attractive to śūdras and women, 925, 929-30; three early and central conceptions were Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 941; was a great reformer of the Hinduism of his times and laid sole stress on *moral effort*, *satya*, and *ahiṃsā*, 939-40, 1004; was against admission of women in the Saṅgha (Order), but yielded to persistent requests of Ānanda and prophesied that his pure dharma would flourish owing to this only for five hundred years instead of for a thousand years, 1025-26, 1069-70.

Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa; mentions Kapila and 25 *tattvas*, 1378; speaks of Jaigīṣavya and Janaka, 1375, 1392, 1409n.

Buddhism (vide under Buddha, Hindus, India, Mahāyāna, Śūdras, Vajrayāna); became a medley of dogmas and was rent by dissensions 1021; causes of the disappearance of, discussed, final blow being given by Bakhtiyar Khilji, 1003, 1030; changes in doctrines and ideals of B. were

great before the Christian era and for some centuries afterwards 940–41; *daśaśīlas* prescribed for all priests and pañcaśīlas for all Buddhists and both these were derived from Upaniṣads and Dharmasūtras 943–44; decline of Buddhism had set in about first half of 7th Century A. D., 1003, 1021, 1023–24; found no place for God 940; Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of, 1066; Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, differences in doctrines of, 942–43; observance of high moral ideals of Buddha's preaching were found irksome even in Buddha's own life and gradually monasteries of monks and nuns became centres of idleness, pleasures and immorality, 1022–23; three *ratnas* (jewels) of B. are Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, which were compared to glass beads by Nīlapaṭadarśana, a later depraved cult of B. 1073; Vivekānanda's severe criticism against later phases of B. 1030; Tāntrik B. repudiates Buddha and introduced into the religion makāras and exciting food 1066, 1069n; was a revolt against the sacrificial system, against the Veda and its authority and not against caste, 939; weaning away Hindus from B. was due to *bhakti* cult propagated by Purāṇas, 970; when B. flourished large bodies of monks were fed by people and when it disappeared large companies of brāhmaṇas came to be fed 932; works and papers on both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna B. and on causes of disappearance of Buddhism 942n, 1003.

Buddhist (or Buddhists, acc. to context): (see under ahiṁsā, Buddhism, Siddha): goal of nirvāṇa (particularly under Mahāyāna) could be reached after many births 1065; hardly any B. are strict vegetarians in these days in any country, while millions of Hindus are strict vegetarians, 947; monks of B. were tired of the strict mode of life and long waiting for the goal 1065; persecution (alleged) of B. by Puṣyamitra, by kings Śaśāṅka and Sudhanvan, by Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya examined by Rhys Davids who disbelieves most of it and others also do the same, 1008–1011; Tantras have the same ideas about potency of mantras as Hindu T. have, 1103–1104, 1115; Tantras like Guhyasamāja (that was Vajrayāna) provided an easy method by which liberation and Buddhahood could be secured in a short time and in one life and averred that Bodhisattvas and Buddhas enjoyed all pleasures as they pleased, 1065–66n; several councils of Buddhists were held to settle the Saṅgīti (standardized scripture) 1021.

Buddhist-saṅgha (Order): pur-

poses for which people joined Saṅgha are set out in 'Questions of Milinda' 1023–24.

Buddhist texts : claimed to be smṛtis, which follows from Manu XII. 95n; no *pali* texts can be placed earlier than the council held under Aśoka (about 250 B. C.); have ideas similar to Savitarka and Savicāra Samādhi, 1411n; such as Dhammapada and Suttanipāta speak of the truly virtuous man as brāhmaṇa 1005.

Bühler, a. of 'Indian Paleography', 701, 817n, 873, 900.

Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute 2, 844, 883.

Bulletin of London School of Oriental and African studies, 654n, 740n.

Burgelin, Pierre, author of 'L' Homme et Le Temps' 475.

Burgess, 498, 521, 531, 997n, 1129–30 (mentions nine Buddhist *mudrās* slightly differing from Waddell's); differs from Whitney 512.

Caitanya : founded a school of Bhakti 971.

Caitra : (vide under 'Month', 'Pratipadvrata', 'Year'); bright half, 9th tithi of C, has Rāmanavamīvrata, 84.

Cajori : a. of 'History of elementary Mathematics' 482n, 483n, 518, 699n.

Cakra, vide under 'Yantra'.

Cakrabheda, a work enumerating different cakras in worship of Durgā 1137n.

Cakrapūjā (worship in a circle of men and women), a revolting tantra rite described 1089–90; secrecy enjoined by most tantras about what happens at C. but Mahānirvāṇa-tantra says Śiva ruled that in Kali age the worship should be open, one's own wife was to be the Śakti and none else, 1089n, 1090.

Cakras (subtle centres in the human body) : vide under nāḍīs) : are six, spoken of as lotuses (*padma*) viz. Ādhāra or Mūlādhāra, Svādhiṣṭhāna, Maṇipūra, Anāhata, Viśuddha, Ājñā; and there is the Brahmarandhra figured as the pericarp of the Sahasrāra (thousand-petalled lotus) within the crown of the head, 1061–2 and n, 1137–38; are often identified with the five elements and the mind, 1062n; often identified with the nerve plexuses of modern physiology, but that appears to be wrong 1062; Avalon in tr. of Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa (plates I to VII) illustrates the six cakras and *sahasrāra* together with their colours etc 1061n; speculations about C. are based on the Upaniṣads that the heart is like a lotus and on the Nāḍīs 1063n; work of C. W. Leadbeater on 'Cakras' with illustrations 1061n.

Caland, Dr. 238n, 740n, 1434–35.

Calendar or Calendars (acc. to context); (see 'Gregorian, Metonic cycle, pañcāṅga, siddhānta, tithi, week-day, year); about thirty c. in use by diffe-

rent communities in India 641–3, 658; absolutely necessary for every Hindu, as he has to repeat many details, such as month, tithi, weekday in every religious rite, 650n; different eras used in India 641–642; European C. also is defective and unsatisfactory 643–644; in Ancient Egypt 490 and n; in Ṛg. times, there were probably two calendars, one purely sacrificial (of 360 days), the other where a month was added to bring year in line with visible astronomical data, 490; many C. in South India, 642; meaning of word 'calendar' 641; C. Reform Committee, appointed by Govt. of India, with Dr. Meghnad Saha as President, to examine existing pañcāṅgas and for submitting proposals for an accurate and uniform calendar for the whole of India, 711, 713–174; requirements and contents of *modern* C. used for religious and civil purpose 645; several year beginnings in different parts of India 641; some C. based on Nautical Almanac and so called *dṛk* or dṛk-pratyaya 642; starting point of Hindu calendar-makers based on Sūryasiddhānta is at present more than 23 degrees to the east of the correct vernal equinox point, the difference being called Ayanāṁśa 711; works for readers interested in Calendar Reform 714n.

Calendar Reform Committee Report of 1953; 648–49, 657n, 665, 711, 713–14; contains a long list of Hindu festivals but hardly any original authorities are cited 253; main recommendations of, for civil and religious calendar 714–17.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. I: 844, 849.

Cambridge Medieval History 933n.

Campāṣaṣṭhī 299.

Cāmuṇḍā, human victims were offered to, 186.

Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, demons killed by Devī 156.

Cāṇḍālas had become untouchables long before Chān. Up. 1633.

Caṇḍikā, temple of, Guggulu burnt in 39.

Caṇḍīpāṭha 171–173.

Cannon, Dr. Alexander, a. of 'Invisible Influence' 1092, 1112n, 1453n.

Canterbury, income of the See of the Archbishop of, has been 15000 £. a year 1640n.

Caraka-Saṁhitā: com. of Cakrapāṇi on 1396; on Kāla 474; on prognostications about a patient from messenger's condition or physician's actions when messenger arrives 812; refers to Sāṅkhyas and Yogins and some Sāṅkhya doctrines 1378–79.

Caraṇavyūha 735n.

Carrell, Alexis, a. of 'Man the unknown' 1092.

Cārvākadarśana, arguments of, against sacrifices and śrāddhas 975.

Cāṣa bird, with something in its beak flying to the right of a man, a good omen 526.
Cases (*In Law Reports*)
Beni Prasad Vs. Hardai Bibi. I. L. R. 14 All. 67 (Fi. B.), 1240n.
Collector of Madura Vs. Mootoo Ramlinga, 12 M. I. A. 397 at 436, 1278n.
Dattatreya Vs. Govind, I. L. R. 40. Bom. 429, 1301n.
Murarji Vs. Nenbai, I. L. R. 17 Bom. 351, 437.
Radha Mohan Vs. *Hardai Bibi*, L. R. 26. I. A. 153, 1240n.
Ramchandra Vs. Vinayak L. R. 41 I. A. 290, 1290n.
Umaid Bahadur Vs. *Udaichand* I. L. R 6 Cal 119, 1290n.
Vithal Vs. Prahlada I. L. R. 29 Bom. 373, 1292n.
Caste system, vide under Varṇa (pp. 1632-43); no benefit by constantly harping on c. as main cause of India's downfall for centuries, when Moslems, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian that had hardly any caste system like India's have been backward for centuries 1642-43.
Catalogue of Deccan College Mss. Vol. XVI on Tantra 1049n.
Cato, warned farmers against consulting Chaldean astrologer 550.
Cāturmāsyas, four names of 487; were Vedic sacrifices (seasonal) in which performer had to keep certain observances 123.
Cāturmāsya vrata 122-23; may be begun even when Jupiter or Venus is 'invisible' 122; performer had to give up all vegetables in four months or in Śrāvaṇa and curds, milk and pulse in the other months 122; procedure of, 122; rewards of not partaking of certain things 122-23; women mostly observe it now 122.
Catus-sama, 38.
Caula or Cūḍākarma (tonsure of a child): auspicious and inauspicious nakṣatras for and tithis also 606; proper time for, 605-606; varying views about time for 605.
Chaudhuri, Sashibhushan, a. of paper on 'nine dvīpas of Bharatavarṣa, 1524n.
Cave temples of India, work on, of Fergusson and Burgess 178, 997n.
Chakravarti, Prof. Chintaharan, Papers of, on Tantra 1149.
Chakravartin, Dr. P. C., a. of 'Doctrine of Śakti in Indian Literature' 1048n.
Chaldeans, astronomers and dream-interpreters in high favour with Babylonians 781; held that five planets controlled the destinies of men and identified Babylonian deities with them, 548, 683; temples where singing and worship of five planets on successive days prevailed 683.
Chanda, Ramprasad, on 'Puṣyamitra and Śuṅga Empire' 1009n.
Chāndogya-pariśiṣṭa, 79.
Chāndogyopaniṣad: 24, 129, 223, 227n, 464, 525n, 526n (nak-

ṣatra-vidyā), 569, 572, 670, 731, 779n, 860n, 866, 943, 944 (emphasis on *ahiṁsā*), 948 (*Iṣṭāpūrta*), 959, 972 (last thought); 1006, 1055n, 1063n (on heart as lotus and 101 arteries), 1072 (on guru), 1079, 1153, 1168 (interpretation of II. 23. 1 'trayo dharmaskandhāḥ'), 1205n, 1213 (joys of heaven), 1222n (on *stobhas*), 1251n, 1296 (meaning of 'brahmaloka' in VIII. 3. 2), 1359, 1361n, 1387, 1403n, 1416, 1417n, 1422n, 1423, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1435, 1445 (VIII. 15 has the idea of *pratyāhāra* of Y. S., though not the word), 1446n, 1448 (uses the word 'dhyāna'), 1455n, 1460, 1471, 1478, 1484, 1485n, 1486, 1488n, 1490, 1499, 1501, 1504, 1507, 1513, 1543, 1546n, 1549-50, 1554, 1555-8 (on Karma and punarjanma), 1562-3, 1566-7, 1578-9, 1580-82, 1585, 1587, 1602n, 1603-4, 1611, 1627 (four mortal sins), 1631 (salokatā, sārṣṭitā and sāyujya), 1633 (on cāṇḍālas), 1644 (on āśramas), 1648.

Chandoviciti 701.

Chandrasekhara S. a of 'Communist China today' (1961) 1474n, 1684n.

Change (or Changes): (vide Kalivarjya, dharma, mīmāṁsā, smṛtis); in religious rites and usages could be made and were made if common people came to condemn or hate them, even if a few orthodox people may be opposed to change, 1267-71, 1469; change is the one absolute in the long history of our religious or social ideas 1271; examples of fundamental changes in conceptions, beliefs and practices made from ancient times to medieval times by various devices, 1265-7, 1629; people should be free to introduce or recognize such changes in practices as are required or have already taken place in changed circumstances and this course sanctioned even by Manu and Yāj. and by eminent medieval works like the Mitākṣarā 1272; should not be merely for the sake of change or for the whims of some leader 1272.

Charpentier, Prof. J. on meaning and etymology of pūjā 37.

Chatre, K. L., efforts of, to introduce modern calculations in Hindu almanacs 712.

Chatterji, Dr. S. K. on 'Sinīvālī', criticized 64.

Chaudhary Radhakrishna, 978.

Child Marriage Restraint Act (XIX of 1929):
fixed 14 years (later raised to 15 by the Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955) as minimum age for girls' marriages and is partly responsible for giving rise to the modern problem of spinsters in Hindu Society, 1338.

China: (vide under Bagchi): Tantra doctrines gained currc-

ncy in C. under the influence of Amoghavarṣa, who translated many works into Chinese between 746–771 A. D., 1040; debt of China to India, papers on, 1618n.

Chinnaswami M. M.: edited Appayya-dīkṣita's work in 60 verses with Appayya's com. called Madhvamata-vidhvaṁsana, 1219.

Chintamani, Prof. T. R. 152n, 1161 (agrees with Prof. Nilakanta Sastri that there were three Jaiminis).

Choudhuri, Prof. N. N. 1033n (view of, that Indian Tantricism has its origin in Bon religion, criticized).

Christianity, doctrines of original sin, of damnation of unbaptized infants, of predestination appear strange to non-christians 1594; A. Robertson asserts that Christian morals have never been practised and tha a society would not last for a month if run on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount and Prof. Whitehead and W. R. Mathews appear to agree with him 1481n; Christian people of Europe and America during the last four centuries achieved great wealth and prosperity by throwing to the winds the Sermon on the Mount, by imposing slavery on millions, but after the two world wars they have begun to preach the necessity of benevolence, kindness, restraint, which virtues were emphasized for all men by Br. Up. V. 2 1–3; idea of Karma and Reincarnation prevailed among Jews and Christians till 551 A. D., 1546n; on what happens after death 1550n; writers like Robertson and H. T. A. Fausset hold that Western man is very little sustained or guided by the doctrines of orthodox Christianity and that European civilization is dissolving 1477n; what was Christian in Ch. largely disappeared from 1700 A. D. acc. to C. H. Tawney 1481n.

Christians, vide under 'Syrian'.

Cicero, did not believe in astrology, 550.

Cirajīvin persons, eight named 208n.

Civilization, various definitions of 1614–16; (vide under culture, Spengler, Toynbee, De Beus); two types of integrated cultures, acc. to Sorokin, 1615n.

Civilizations, only two, viz. Indian and Chinese, have continued for about 4000 years 1617–18.

Clark, W. E. on 'Hindu Arabic Numerals' 699n.

Cleostratus, acc. to Pliny, formed the Zodiac 566.

Cognitions: according to PMS, all cognitions are intrinsically valid in themselves (*svataḥ-pramāṇa*), but their invalidity may be established extraneously (*parataḥ*) 1212; according to Prabhākara every experience as such is valid, 1202.

Coins, of Kaniṣka and Chandra

gupta (of Gupta dynasty), 186, 901.
Colebrooke, essays of, 498, 518 (on Hindu algebra), 582n, 699n, 1220.
Colonial policy, British, elements and results of 1659–60.
Colson, F. H., a. of 'the Week' 550, 677–78.
Communism (vide under 'Chandrasekhara', 'Lyon' and 'Wolfe'): 1473–74; is really a form of worship i. e. worship of man or such men as Lenin and Stalin in place of the worship of God, 1473; catchwords and slogans of, 1473; in return for physical well-being, common people under C. bargain away several freedoms, such as thinking for themselves, freedom of expression etc. 1473; no secret is made by communists that they want to bring the whole world under C. 1473; universal exhibition of portraits of great Soviet leaders (some of whom were recently declared by successor leaders to be no better than murderers) proclaims the necessity of worship even in a godless society 1474.
Conjectures, bold, should not be made; but if made, should be announced and treated as such 1531; danger that C. of past famous scholars are regarded as established conclusions by later writers 1531; warning of Acton 'guard against the prestige of great names, no trusting without testing' should always be remembered, 1531.
Constellation, same, is given different names 566.
Constitution of India, referred to 1614; criticized 1664–1667.
Coomaraswamy A.; a. of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1007; a. of 'Buddha and Gospel of Buddha' 1131n (for Bhūmi-sparśa mudrā); 1656 (other works)
Copernicus: denounced by Luther 512.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum: Vol. I Aśoka Inscriptions, ed. by Hultzsch, 600n 668n, 686n, 1015, 1017, 1645n,; Vol. II Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions ed. by Sten Konow, 668n; Vol III (Gupta Inscriptions) ed. by J. F. Fleet, 669–70, 680n, 683n; Vol. IV Kalacūri Ins. (by Prof. Mirashi), 220, 246 (grants on solar and lunar eclipses), 248, 670, 1425n.
Cosmography (see under Upaniṣads, Purāṇas): Kirfel's systematic work on C. of ancient India is based on Purāṇa material and also on Buddhist and Jaina material, 1523n; Paurāṇika C. had been established long before 4th century A. D. 1529.
Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to the description of the divisions of the earth called dvīpas and varṣas, mountains, oceans, rivers, countries etc; and Dharmaśāstra works quote them 1523.
Cosmology : 1483–1529 (vide under 'Atomic theory;' 'Creation', 'God', 'Heaven and

Earth', 'pralaya'): all Dharmaśāstra writers are agreed on the existence of God and rarely adduce arguments for that purpose, 1483; argument from design was present to the mind of the propounders of Vedānta 1485; Christian theologians have put forward various arguments for the existence of God, summarised by William James, which are mainly four 1483 and n; comparison of ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek and Indian ideas on C. in 'Apes and Men' by H. Peak, 1502n; Grousset's observation on Indisn scheme of creation and dissolution of the universe compared to Ionian ideas 1503-4; Gerald Heard's remarks about the helpfulness of Sanskrit cosmology as compared with Hebrew and Christian dogmas 1504; originally there was no atomic theory in C., but from 4th B. C. in Greece and from Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika system in India, it began to prevail 1486; principal questions in C. are two and the whole conception of C. has been revolutionized by developments in Geology, Biology, Physics and Astronomy during about one hundred years, 1502n. whether in the Upaniṣads or later works C. is based on geocentric theory 1515; works on Vedic C. 1485-86n.

Coster, Geraldine, a. of 'Yoga and Western Psychology' 1394, 1427, 1455.

Countries, m. in the Upaniṣads 1522-23; m. in Purāṇas 1527-28; m. by Pāṇini 1528n; m. in Bhīṣmaparva and nakṣatra-kūrmādhyāya of Bṛhat-saṃhitā 1527-28; Ptolemy's treatment of, 555.

Cows, honoured on certain tithis called Yugādi, Yugāntya etc. 293-94; praise of 204n; worship of, on Balipratipadā, 204.

Cow or Bull, offered in several rites in the Vedic age, as shown in H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 939-40, 1268-69; flesh-eating came gradually to be looked down upon and so cow sacrifices became most abhorrent and were prohibited 1269.

Cowell, E. B., translated Śāṇḍilya-bhaktisūtra, 957-58.

Cowper, English Poet, believed that earthquakes were caused by God as punishment for men's sins, 764.

Craig, Catherine Taylor, a. of 'Fabric of Dreams' 782.

Cramer, F. C., a. of 'Astrology in Roman Law and Politics' 597.

Creation (and dissolution) of world or universe: (vide under 'God', '*asat*', 'man', 'sattā' (reality), 'Nāsadīyasūkta', Upaniṣads): 1491; Atharvaveda has several hymns on C, but they are verbose and wanting in depth, 1493-95; Atharvaveda puts forward Skambha (identified with rajāpati) as

Creator, also Kāma and Kāla 1493–95; C. is put in Upaniṣads in the distant and dim past, while in Biblical chronology it is put at 4004 B. C. following James Ussher, Arch bishop of Armagh, in 17th century 1506n; description of state before C. in Ṛg. X. 129; none in reality, acc. to PMS and Śloka-vārtika, 1209–10, 1483n; Mahābhārata, particularly Śāntiparvan, frequently states theories of C. 1517–18; purpose of the description of creation and dissolution in the Smṛtis, epics, Purāṇas, etc. is, acc. to Kumārila, to show the distinction between the powers of *daiva* and human effort, 1261–62; Purāṇas devote thousands of verses to C. 1519–22; statements in the Upaniṣads about creation are not to be taken, acc. to Śaṅkara, literally, they are meant to lead on to the knowledge of *brahman* and non-difference from *brahman* 1485, 1506; Sāṅkhya scheme of guṇas, tanmātrās etc. brought in describing creation by Nārāyaṇa or Hiraṇyagarbha, as in Matsya, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya 1519–22; several theories on C. in Manusmṛti, two of which have some Sāṅkhya doctrines, 1515–17; several hymns on C. in Ṛg. (X. 72, X. 81–82, X. 90, X. 121, X. 129) examined and it is shown that the Creator is called by various names, 1488–91; several references in Ṛg. to the creation or support of heaven and earth by different gods, 1492; statements about Cr. and dissolution of the universe in the Upaniṣads are valid only on the practical or empirical plane but from the highest metaphysical point of the Vedānta, there is no Cr. nor dissolution, the individual soul is not really in bondage 1506; Tai. Br. passages on creation and Prajāpati as creator 1496–97; Upaniṣads like Tai. (III. 1) and Chān. (III. 14) state that the creation, preservation and absorption of all *bhūtas* is due to *brahman* 1484, 1500; various statements about C. in Śat. Br. 1495–96; Vedāntasūtra relies on Upaniṣads that *brahman* is the creator, sustainer and destroyer, 1484; Yāj. Smṛti 1519.

Creator: (vide under '*brahman*', God, 'Nāsadīyasūkta') : in Ṛgveda different Gods (such as Indra, Mitra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa) are referred to as creators of heaven and earth, 1491–93; Kauṣītaki Br. mentions Prajāpati as the creator and identifies him wiih Yajña, 1497; no name given to Cr. in Nāsadīya Sūkta, but Cr. is only mentioned as 'Tadekam' (that one) as in Upaniṣads 1490–91; Tai. S. names Prajāpati several times as creator of gods, asuras, people and as performing *tapas* for that purpose, 1493.

Cūḍāmaṇi, a work on astrology

mentioned by Sārāvali and Vasantarāja 805n.
Cūḍāmaṇi, a Yoga, 249.
Cullavagga, 1037, 1069–70, 1663.
Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, papers on Tantra, 1150,
Culture, definitions of, 1614–1616; and civilization sometimes used as synonyms 1614; difference between 1616.
Cunningham : a of 'ancient Geography of India' 1528n; a. of Archaeological Survey Reports, 1046n; on 'Bhilsa Topes' 1026; on 'Indian Eras' 648, 655, 661, 685.
Customs, vide under 'usages' and 'change'.
Cyavana, a writer on Astrology 591.
Daftari, Dr. K. L.; criticized about views on Manu and Saptarṣis 693; works of 644, 714n.
Dagdhayoga (an inauspicious conjunction) defined 707.
Daiva (luck) : meaning of, acc. to Yāj. Smṛti 544n; meaning of, acc. to Vasantarāja 807; three views on importance of D. and human effort, 545.
Dakṣa-smṛti, 1409 (Yoga defined), 1425n (Padmāsana), 1448 (six verses from), 1459, 1645.
Dakṣiṇā (fees in a Vedic sacrifice), 1329–31; great divergence of views about the D. to be given 1329n; is to be given by the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) who is to engage priests to perform rites in a sacrifice and is not given for an unseen purpose 1329; items (various) which may constitute D. in different *yāgas* set out by Tāṇḍya Br. to be distributed by the yajamāna himself acc. to the method of unequal distribution set out in PMS, 1329; Madanaratna provides that to Paśubandha the unequal distribution does not apply 1330; Manu mentions this method of unequal distribution in the Veda and extends its principle to men working jointly on joint undertakings such as house construction, 1330; Medieval Dharmaśāstra works follow the Pūrvapakṣa view of equal distribution (X. 3. 53) as an equitable rule in the case of liability of several sureties and other matters, 1330–31.
Dakṣiṇāmūrti-saṁhitā 1060n (on Cakras), 1066n.
Dāmāji, devotee of God Viṭhoba of Pandharpur, 951.
Damanakāropaṇa (worship of various deities with Damanaka plant) 311.
Dānasāgara (written in 1169 A.D.) by Ballālasena, king of Bengal : (vide under Ballālasena) : 220, 312, 830, 833n, 837, 867–71; discards certain Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, 868; mentions 1375 dānas in all, 867–868; does not cite Kṛtyakalpataru 870; one of the early digests 870, 935.
Dānas (see under gifts) 312, 759 (ten *dānas*).
Daniel, a book in the Old Testa-

ment : refers to Chaldeans and astrologers 548, 781.
Daniel, Thomas, painted in 1780 A. D. the scene of the *Visarjana* of Durgā 176n.
Danielou, Allain, a. of 'Yoga, the method of re-integration' 1394; figures and names of *āsanas* in, 1426, 1428; for Mantra-yoga, Layayoga *etc.* 1427.
Darius the 2nd, about 418 B. C., 595; the first D. (522–486 B. C.) employs the word Hidu (for Hindu) the people to the west and east of river Sindhu 1613.
Darśana or Darśanas (philosophic points of view) : are many, as Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha shows 1182n ; famous and orthodox d. are six 1182n, 1652.
Darśan, of great men (like Gandhiji and Aurobindo) explained by Sheean, 1463n.
Darwin 1502n.
Das, S. R., paper of, on 'Study of Vrata rites in Bengal' in 'Man in India' (1952) Vol. 32 pp 207–245, 60.
Das, Sudhendu Kumar on 'Śakti or Divine Power', 1048n.
Daśagītikā (of Āryabhaṭa) 680, 704n.
Daśaharā – vrata, on 10th of bright half of Jeyṣṭha 90–91 ; so–called because it removes ten sins 90–91.
Daśanirṇaya of Hārīta Veṇkaṭa-nātha 59, 136 ; contains conclusions on ten vratas of which Jayantīnirṇaya is one 138.
Dasarā– (vide under Aparājitā and Vijayādaśamī) ; Durbars and processions held in Baroda and Mysore on this day 192–193 ; speculations about origin of, 194 ; worship of weapons of war and implements of trade on 193 ; word derived, 194n.
Daśaślokī 118n.
Dasgupta, Dr. S. B., a. of 'Introduction to Tāntrika Buddhism' 1066n.
Das Gupta, Prof. : a. of 'Indian Philosophy' in 5 volumes, 844, 898 (on Bhāgavata in Vol. IV), 1205n (Vol. II on Lokāyata), 1383, 1393 (on 'Yoga Philosophy'), 1395 (on identity of two Patañjalis), 1397.
Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra (composed in 1066 A. D.), 990, 1074.
Datta, Bibhutibhushan, a. of 'The science of the Śulba' (a study in early Hindu Geometry) 1132n.
Dattakamīmāṁsā, 1336 (widow cannot adopt a son).
Dattātreya (or Datta) : described in Mārkaṇḍeya as avatāra of Viṣṇu, given to drinking, fond of female company and staying near a water reservoir on Sahya mountain and called Avadhūta, 903 ; instructs Alarka in Yoga, 903 ; propounded ānvīkṣikī (adhyātmavidyā) to Alarka and Prahlāda 903n ; story of his conferring boons on Kārtvīrya occurs in several Purāṇas 903n.
Dattātreya Tantra 1051.
Davids – (vide under Rhys Davids.)

Davidson, M. on 'Freewill and Determinism' 1575.
'Dawn of Astronomy', a work of Sir Norman Lockyer 512.
Day:(vide 'Babylon', Babylonia, 'tithi': begins at sunrise with Indian writers 676, 682; civil d. is interval between two consecutive sunrises, 675; civil d. begins at midnight in modern times 676; differences about the beginning of d. 675–676; difference between tithi and d. 675; divided into eight parts by Kauṭilya, Dakṣa and Kātyāyanasmṛti 675; five parts of, in Śatapatha and by others, 101, 675; fifteen muhūrtas of d. and night each, 675; Kauṭilya knew only a day divided into thirty muhūrtas or 60 nāḍīs and mentions no *horas* or hours 684; longest and shortest day of 36 and 24 ghaṭikās respectively, acc. to Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa 538n; three parts of, mentioned in Ṛgveda 675; two meanings of, (1) from sunrise to sunrise and (2) from sunrise to sunset 675; two systems of dividing d. into 60 *ghaṭikās* and 24 hours, 682–683; various views about divisions of d. into 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 or 15 parts, 267.
Dāyabhāga, (a work) 1032n, 1233, 1281–82, 1292 (on meaning of 'mātā'), 1302–3, 1309, 1316n, 1320.
Dāyatattva 1184, 1291.
De, Dr. S. K., 1038; a. of Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' 112–3, 120, 980.
De Beus, a. of 'Future of the West', disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee, 1617.
De Felicitation volume, paper in, by present writer on Pūrvamīmāṁsā 1160.
Death: (vide atheism, heaven, punarjanma): ancient Indian doctrine about what happens after death preferred by some western writers to Biblical ideas 1594-95; last thought at death supposed to lead to an appropriate future life 972-3; signs of approaching d. 731n; three possibilities as to what happens after d. of body, discussed 1550–51; Upaniṣads like Chān. and Bṛ. contain germs of that idea (of last thought) but Gītā clarifies the position 972–3.
Debts: a brāhmaṇa (this includes the three varṇas) is born with three debts to sages, gods and ancestors and discharges them respectively by *brahmacarya* (i.e. Veda study), sacrifices and birth of son, 1318n, 1626; Mahābhārata added a 4th debt, viz. to be good to all men 1626.
Decimal numeration system in India goes back thousands of years, 699.
Decimal place value notation 699–701; invented by Indians, 483n, 518; one of the most fertile inventions of man 699–70; was introduced in the 12th century in Europe by the Arabs who borrowed it

from India, 483n, 699 and n (for authorities).
Demetrius, Greek king, 827n.
Democracy or Democracies: in modern D. rational discussion of problems or measures comes last and vital questions are often decided by party loyalties or personality cults or by lust for power, 1472.
Democritus (died about 370 B. C.) adumbrated the atomic theory in Greece 1486.
Descartes, 1478.
Desmond, Shaw, a. of 'Re-incarnation for every man', states that re-incarnation doctrine was taught in the Christian Church till 551 A. D.; 1546n.
Deussen, Paul (vide under Upaniṣads, Vedānta); a. of 'Philosophy of Upaniṣads'; 1026n (high praise for āśrama system), 1486n, 1491 (on Nāsadīya hymn), 1500 (tribute to Upaniṣad sages), 1541, 1548 (high eulogy of Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 5-7), 1552-53 (holds that Ṛg. I. 164. 12 has nothing to do with Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa, criticized), 1553-54 (criticized as to meaning of Ṛg. X. 88. 15), 1577 (theory that Kṣatriyas were the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts, criticized as contradicting himself and as wrong), 1580-82 (criticized for holding Sanatkumāra as kṣatriya and Nārada as brāhmaṇa; 1585 criticized for wrong translation of Ṛg. (IV. 26. 1, 'aham Manurabhavam' etc.); 1604, 1625 (explains the implication of the illustration of rivers merging into sea), 1627, 1646 (on *āśramas*), 1647n
Deuteronomy 677.
Devala, writer on astrology 591, 622.
Devala, a of Smṛti, 31, 41, 51, 55, 65n, 78n, 79, 81, 96, 97n, 100n, 103n, 116, 182, 202n, 204n, 214n, 215n, 249n, 480, 650, 1242, 1266 (allowed brāhmaṇa to eat food from certain śūdras).
Devala, author of a Dharmasūtra 1431-32; explains the words prāṇa and apāna as 'Śaṅkarācārya' does on Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 3., 1435; mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya 1353, 1435; quotations from D. in Aparārka and Kṛtyakalpataru on Sāṅkhya and Yoga, 1380-81, 1409, 1435, 1439n, 1445 and n, 1447-48, 1453, 1458; states falsehood to be of two kinds 1421n.
Devalaka (brāhmaṇa): meaning of 936; unfit for being invited at a Śrāddha 936.
Devamitra Dharmapāla, a. of 'Life and teaching of Buddha', 1003, 1009n.
Devāpi and Śantanu, story of, 1203.
Devapratiṣṭhātattva 1106, 1122.
Devapūjā: (vide under 'pūjā'): 34-37; procedure of Narasiṁhapurāṇa to be followed in, acc. to Aparārka 1024; sixteen upacāras (items of worship) in, 34; Upacāras may be in-

creased up to 36, or reduced to five 34.

Devasthali, Prof. G. V., a. of 'Mīmāṁsā, the Vākyaśāstra of ancient India' 1201.

Devasvāmin, writer on astrology, 591.

Devatā, of a nakṣatra or tithi, is often employed in the texts to indicate the *nakṣatra* or *tithi* itself 558.

Devatā : Discussion of question. what is meant by D. with reference to which an offering is cast into fire leads to startling results in P. M. S 1207-09 ; D. is a subordinate element in a sacrifice and *havis* is principal matter and in a conflict between the two decision rests on *havis* (in PMS) 1207 ; D. is a matter of words (says Śabara) and when an offering is directed by Veda to be made to Agni, one cannot use a synonym like Pāvaka, 1207-8 ; Jaimini and Nirukta agree as to the nature and function of D. in a sacrifice, 1276 ; phala (*reward*) is conferred by the sacrifice and not by D. (like Agni etc.) 1208 ; several opinions on who the Devatās are, to whom a hymn is addressed or an *havis* is offered 1208 ; though some Vedic passages speak of the body of D. and that it drinks and is lord of heaven and earth, they are (merely) laudatory 1208.

Devatā : Veṅkaṭanātha or Veṅkaṭadeśika (1269-1369 A. D.) a. of 'Seśvara-mīmāṁsā', criticizes both Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools and brings in God as the dispenser of rewards of sacrifices 1209.

Devavrata, a purifying text, viz. Ṛg. VIII. 95. 7

Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa Paths- (vide under *Paths*) : described in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2 and Chān. Up. V. 10 and brought in relation to the doctrine of transmigration described in Br. Up. IV. 4. 5-7 and III. 3. 13, 1551-58 ; men that have to go by D. and P. paths 1551-58, 1563 ; mentioned in Ṛg. X. 2 7 and X. 18. 1, 1553.

Devayātrotsava, tithis on which Yātrā festivals of several gods are to be celebrated 316, 317.

Deveśvara : m. by Kṛtyaratnākara on the definition of 'vrata' 30.

Devībhāgavata, 176n, 178, 829n (states that Matsya is first out of 18 Purāṇas), 830 (mnemonic verse containing first letters of 18 Purāṇas), 890 (note on), 916, 918n, 921, 924, 974n, 994n, 1033n (verse 'gururbrahmā' etc), 1039n, 1062n (on *cakras* and *sahasrāra*), 1064, 1072, 1076n, 1121 (states nyāsa should be part of Sandhyā worship), 1127 (Khecarīmudrā), 1130 (on mudrās).

Devīmāhātmya (in Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, also called Saptaśatī, Caṇḍī) : 155, 176n : Chapters of, arranged in three parts 155n ; has only about 573 to 590 verses, though called Sapta-

śatī, 155n; oldest known ms. of, is dated 998 A. D. 155n; one of the chief works of Śāktas 1041; some verses of, are called *Kavaca, argala* and *kīlaka*, that are outside the D. 155n; verses of, are treated like a Vedic hymn or verse with ṛṣi, metre, devatā and *viniyoga* 155n.

evī-Pūjā: (vide under Durgā-pūjā).

Devī-Purāṇa, 50n, 54, 61n, 76n, 156, 170-1, 174, 176, 179n, 180-81, 184-5, 212n-214, 215n, 244, 572n, 1093 (q. by Aparārka), 1108; devotes considerable space to Durgā-pūjā 156; discarded by Ballālasena for several reasons 869; note on 889-90.

Dhamma, three meanings of the word in Buddhism 941.

Dhamma-cakka-ppavattana-sutta 939n.

Dhammapada, verses on who should be called brāhmaṇa 1005n, 1637.

Dhāraṇā: Aṅga (6th) of Yoga, 1446-7; M. in Śāntiparva, 1400-1; meaning of, 1446.

Dhāraṇīs (Talismanic sentences among Buddhists), 1104n.

Dharma: (vide under 'change', Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Satya, Smṛti): differs in each Yuga, 1266; investigation of D. has four aspects, viz. its nature, the pramāṇas of it (such as Veda, Smṛti etc.), the means (sādhana) of knowing it, the fruit or reward, 1179n; Jaimini holds that śabda (i. e. Veda.) alone is the pramāṇa for Dharma and no other, 1183, 1185, 1265; Mahābhārata says that Dharma is the one followed by the great mass of people, 1071; Mahābhārata and Manu often refer to the high value of D. and make *artha* and Kāma subservient to D. 1627-28; Manu provides that as to matters not specifically provided for in Veda and Smṛtis, whatever learned brāhmaṇas declare to be the D. is undoubtedly so, 1278; meaning of Dharma in P. M. S. 1. 1. 1. is 'Vedārtha' acc. to Prabhākara school and 'Codanā' acc. to Kumārila (i. e. a religious act, a yāga) 1179n, 1184; D. is one of the puruṣārthas that has been a far-reaching one from Upaniṣad times and concerns principles which men should observe in their lives and social relations, 1627; P. M. Sūtra I. 1. 2 defines Dharma as an act conducive to a man's highest good, that is characterized by an exhortative (Vedic) text, 1183; practice of black magic is adharma, as it is sinful and condemned, though it be referred to in the Veda, 1183; Śabara holds, on account of Ṛg. X. 90. 16, that Veda expressly declares that Dharma means 'Yāga' 1184.

Dharma, three important words in the Ṛgveda are ṛta., vrata and dharma, that were transformed into other meanings

later on, 21; is not immutable, but liable to change and is subject to country and time 1629; roots of (Dharmamūla), four or five, acc. to Dharmasūtras (ancient) and Yāj. 1256, 1264; several classifications, one into śrauta (based on Veda) and smārta (based on smṛtis), another into six (named and illustrated) 1632; Sages (ancient) had an intuitive perception of D. 1098; Sources of (fourteen), acc. to Yāj. 1152; why so called 1627.

Dharmacakra Mudrā (illustrated), 1131n.

Dharman, meaning of, 20.

Dharmas, common to all varṇas and castes enjoined 1637, 1648.

Dharmaśāstra (or Dharmaśāstras acc. to context): (vide under 'Sadācāra', Smṛtis): digests (nibandhas) on, that are printed, are not earlier than 1100 A. D. such as Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, Aparārka, 883-4; general tendency of medieval writers on, is to heap details on what were originally simple ceremonies, 605; influence of Purāṇas on 913–1002; later digests on D. adopt prāṇapratiṣṭhā mantra evolved by Śāradātilaka, a tāntrik work, 1106; medieval works on D. make a distinction between Smṛtis based on Veda and those based on perceptible motives, 1262; mentioned by śānti and Anuśāsana parvans 1256-7; profoundly influenced by Jātaka and Śākhā, 480; refused to follow mīmāṁsā rules in regard to vratas, 133, 1272n; smṛtis were called D. by Manu (II. 10), 1257; Tai. Up. provides the usage of learned brāhmaṇas of high character as source of decision in case of doubt, 1257; were known to P. M. Sūtra, 1257; works on Dh. such as Pārijāta, Prakāśa, Kāmadhenu that were earlier than 1100 A. D. are not yet available even in mss 884-5; works (medieval) on D. say that certain Smṛti texts applied to former Yugas, 1272n; works on Dh. rely on Tantra works for initiation into mantras, 1118; works on D. make use of the technical term *pratipattikarma* 1231-32; works on D. must have been composed before 500 B. C., 1265, 1267; writers on D., conflicts of interpretation among, exemplified 1315–1316.

Dharmas, eight, common to all men of all dh. 1648

Dharmasindhu, 30, 71n–73n, 74' 84, 90, 99n, 104, 105n, 107, 112n, 113, 134-5, 139n, 142n, 146n, 188, 189n, 190–92n; 197–8, 200, 201, 204–5, 217, 232, 233n, 234n, 241, 243n, 609n, 612n, 614, 624, 672–3, 736n, 748, 755–6n, 761n, 766n, 772n, 773n, 780n, 781–82, 1117, 1121n (nyāsa and mudrā are *avaidika*).

Dharmasūtras: of Gautama and Āpastamba disclose familiarity

with Mīmāṁsā terms and principles, 1154–55.
Dharmavyādha, 721n, 1642 (a śūdra was endowed with brahmajñāna).
Dhātupāṭha, 10.
Dhaumya, 154n.
Dhere, R. C., a. of 'Life of Goraksanath' etc. (in Marathi) 1429n.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra, though congenitally blind, performed Vedic sacrifices 1280–81.
Dhūpa (incense), various names of, 323.
Dhyāna (7th aṅga of yoga), 1447–49 ; meaning of 1447–8 ; two kinds of viz saguṇa or sākāra and nirguṇa or nirā kāra, 1449 ; Upaniṣads insist upon *dhyāna*, 448.
Dhyānbindūpaniṣad, 1389n, 1419n, 1426n.
Dhyāna-yoga : m. by Śv. Up. and Gītā 1448 ; m. by Manu (VI. 73) and Yāj. III. 64), 1447.
Dīghanikāya 939n, 943n, 944n, 1007n.
Dickinson, Lowes, 1594, 1604.
Dīkṣā, 1116, 1119 : Bhāgavatapurāṇa says that Tāntrikī d. is for śūdras and Vaidikī and miśrā for other varṇas, 1093 ; derivation of the word, 1117 ; details of d. given in Śāradātilaka were on the decline in Raghunandana's day, 1118 ; four kinds of, 1119 ; on receiving Tāntrik d. from a guru, both śūdra and brāhmaṇa become alike, 1112 ; procedure of, to be undergone by one learning the Tāntrik way, 1054 ; proper times for d. such as eclipses, and if an eclipse be available, other matters such as tithi, nakṣatra, vāra, need not be considered 1117 ; some tantras treat d. elaborately, 1117 ; some tanras provide that in d. guru should instruct disciple about cakras, 1118 ; symbolized a new birth for a sacrificer in Vedic times, 1116 ; Vedic d. observances after, 1217n.
Dīkṣāprakāśikā of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa, composed in *śaka* 1719 (1797 A. D.), 1117.
Dīkṣātattva of Raghunandana 1118 ; guru for giving dīkṣā should be of the same sect as the disciple, but a Kaula is a good guru for all, 1118.
Dikshit S. B. a. of work on 'Hindu Astronomy' in Marathi, 484, 498, 507n, 513, 515n, 644, 679n
Dikshit S. K. 650n.
Dikshitar, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra, 1016n (wrong in saying thet Aśoka was a Hindu because be believed in Svarga) ; a. of 'Purāṇa Index' in three vol. 844, 867, 883 ; a of 'studies in Vāyu and Matsya', 883 ; a. of 'some aspects of Vāyupurāṇa' 907 ; remarks of, on date of Viṣṇupurāṇa, criticized 867.
Dina (day) ; word d. frequently used in Ṛgveda in compounds like 'Sudina' 675.
Dinakṣaya, explained, 711.
Dio, a Roman who wrote Roman

History between 200–222 A. D., 677n.
Diodorus Siculus 550.
Dion Cassius 677.
Dīpakalikā, com. on Yāj. Smṛti by Śūlapāṇi, 1404.
Dīrghatamas, son of Mamatā 486.
Disciple : among requirements about Tāntrik d. is the one that he must keep secret the mantra and pūjā imparted by guru, 1071; Tantras call upon d. to revolve in his mind the identity of guru, deity and mantra 1072.
Diseases and bodily defects, deemed to be due to the sins of past lives 756n.
Divākīrtya Day, 511.
Divākīrtya Sāman, 511n.
Divali Festival; 194–210; (see under Narakāsura, Lakṣmī-pūjana, Bali Pratipadā, Bhrātṛdvitīyā); Apāmārga to be whirled over one's head on 14th, 196; Amāvāsyā in D. important day 199; called Dīpāvalī or Dīpālikā and also Sukharātri, Sukha-suptikā and Yakṣarātri 194–195; festival comprises five items spread over five days with illuminations and crackers from 13th of dark half of Āśvina 195; Kārtika-śukla first is one of three most auspicious days in the year 201; Kārtika-śukla first if it has Svātīnakṣatra is most commended 201; lights in temples of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods, in monasteries, rooms for implements, on *caityas*, stables, 196; not a festival in honour of a single god as Navarātra is, 194; oil bath necessary on all three days from 14th, 199; of lights, and fireworks, is most joyful of festivals and observed throughout India, though the observances differ in detail from age to age and from country to country 194; on evenings of 14th dark half and Amāvāsyā men with firebrands show the way to *pitṛs* 198; origin of, not certain 207; rites on Amāvāsyā in, 199; rites performed on the 14th of dark half of Āśvina (or Kārtika according to pūrṇimānta reckoning), 196, 198; second tithi of Kārtika-śukla is called Bhrātṛdvitīyā 207; tarpaṇa on 14th of Yama with seven names or 14 names, 196 and n; three days, viz. 14th, Amāvāsyā and Kārtika śukla first constitute Kaumudī festival 195, 206; usage of eating 14 kinds of vegetables on 14th in Divali 198.
Divanji, P. C., editor of 'Yogayājñavalkya' 1404.
Divination– (*vide* Future, Hepatascopy, Astrology, Upaśruti): by using Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and works of Tulsidas at random 811–2; is either voluntary or involuntary 522n; instances of voluntary d. 522n; involuntary d. depends on all kinds of phenomena, such as aspects of the sun and planets, lightning, dreams flight and cries of birds

522n; method of asking a maiden to cast dūrvā grass inside a purāṇa like Skanda or Rāmāyaṇa and apply the words discovered to matter in hand 811; seat of life and the soul was supposed to be the liver in the western countries such as Rome and among Romans, heart and lungs of animals sacrificed were examined, 522n; temple priests in Babylon and Assyria made extensive collections of omens and portents, but the interpretations were almost exclusively concerned with general welfare or the king 522n.

Divyatattva 1106.

Doig, Mr. Peter, 483.

Dolotsava 317.

Doṣas (disturbances or faults): 317; five in Śāntiparva 1400n; in Āp. Dh. S. (a larger number) 1390, 1400n.

Doubt is a frequent and legitimate attitude of the mind as recognized in Bṛ. Up. 1478; Descartes held that only one truth is beyond doubt, viz. 'I think, therefore, I am' 1478.

Drāhyāyaṇaśrautasūtra, 726n.

Draviṇodas, is either Indra or Agni, 159n.

Dravyavardhana, king of Ujjayinī, based his work on śakunas on Bhāradvāja, 591.

Dream or Dreams: all ancient countries and peoples used dreams for knowing future 781–82; are only indicative and not causative acc. to Vedāntasūtra, Śaṅkara, Jyotistattva, 779–80; associated with good luck or ill-luck in Vedic literature, 728–729; declaring a bad d. to another and sleeping after is commended 779; depend on men's constitution as choleric, windy etc. 780; fourteen very auspicious dreams m. in Jaina Kalpasūtra 777–78; if several dreams one after another, the last alone is indicative of consequences, 779; indicating approaching death 731; modern works about dreams 782; numerous d. mentioned in Rāmāyaṇa 775; objects, auspicious or inauspicious, seen on starting on a journey are also so if seen in d. 778; of Nushirwan, Sassanian king, interpreted by Buzurmihr, 781; of riding on an elephant held lucky and of riding on an ass unlucky, 775; on seeing auspicious D. one should not sleep 779; texts to be recited on seeing a bad dream, 780n; thoughts on, in, Upaniṣads 731, 732n; three kinds of people in modern times about dreams 782; times when dreams seen in different watches of the night bear fruit 778–779; vast literature on matters relating to D. and Śāntis for them 774–75; which white or dark objects seen in D. are auspicious or otherwise 780; wise men should not be afraid of d acc. to Aṅgiras, 775.

Dreṣkāṇa, 581–83; antiquity of system of, in Egypt, at least

from 2800 B. C. 581; Bṛhajjātaka has one chapter (27) of 36 verses on descriptions by Yavanas of 36 presiding deities of, 582: Egyptian stars so called cannot be identified with known constellations except Sirius and its neighbours 582n; Greek decans had gone out of use about Ptolemy's time 583; lords of each third part of each rāśi, 581; meaning of, viz. 1/3rd part of each rāśi of 30 degrees, 581; origin of the word from Greek and idea of, originated with Egyptians, 581; Sārāvalī (chap 49) differs from Bṛhajjātaka about descriptions of dreṣkaṇas 583; Varāhamihira on Dreṣkāna probably follows some Sanskrit work by a Yavana author on D. and not Ptolemy nor Firmicus nor Manilius 582n, 583.

Droṇaparva, 90n, 129, 539, 703n, 743, 764, 767, 803n, 945 (on ahiṁsā).

Duḥkha, three kinds of, exemplified, 150n.

Dukes, Sir Paul, a. of 'the Yoga of Health, Youth and joy', 1428n.

Dumont, Prof. Paul Emile, 506, 599n, 1434–35.

Durant, Will, author of 'Life of Greece' 516n, 550.

Durgā, antiquity of pūjā of, 185–86; Arjuna's and Yudhiṣṭhira's praise of D. in Bhīṣmaparva and Virāṭaparva, 85, 1046n; killed Śumbha and Niśumbha 186; on coins 186; names of D. in Mahābhārata 185; names of, in Kālidāsa, 1046n.

Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī of Vidyāpati, 155–6, 159–61n, 163n, 165n, 167n, 169n–171n, 174n, 175, 178n–182n, 183, 184n.

Durgāpūjāprayogatattva of Raghunandana 155.

Durgārcanapaddhati of Raghunandana, 158n-161n, 162, 163n, 164, 166–7, 168n, 173, 174n–176n, 178n, 179 and n, 183.

Durgotsava, 154–187; (vide under Durgā, Saptaśatī): also called Navarātra, 154; all men and women of all castes and even those beyond the pale of the caste system such as Mlecchas have adhikāra for, 157; animals that may be sacrificed in honour of Durgā, 164; animals are offered principally on the 9th tithi, 168; but no female of any species is to be sacrificed, 164; Bhadrakālī, described as having 16 arms in Kālikāpurāṇa 163n; bilva twig to be brought and Durgā is to be invoked to abide in it, 160–61; *bodhana* (rousing from sleep) of Devī on different days 158–59, 181; brief statement of what is to be done from the 2nd to the 5th tithi of Āśvina or to the 9th, 159; Caṇḍīgāyatrī in, 179n; celebrated all over India from 1st to 9th tithi of Āśvina-śukla in some form or other, but it is celebrated in a grand way in Bengal, Bihar

and Kāmarūpa, 154; contemplation on form of Devī 162; description of Durgotsava from 1st day to 10th, 159-177; description of the form of Devī, long and finely worded, in Matsya and Kālikā-purāṇas, 162–63; Devī (Durgā) got different weapons from several gods, 155; Devī may be worshipped in her shrine, on mountain Vindhya, in all places, towns and villages, forests, in a liṅga, in a book, in water etc., 157, 178; Durgā is said to go to sleep on 8th of Āṣāḍha-śukla and hence some works provide for rousing her (bodhana) on different dates, 158.

Durgāṣṭamīvrata in Kalpataru and Hemādri 185; elaborate ritual about offering the blood and head of a *bali*, prescribed in Durgārcanapaddhati, rites and mantras differing according to the *bali* offered, 166ff; establishment of the image of Durgā on a seat, the bundle of nine plants to its right and placing the bilva twig near the image and performance of prāṇapratiṣṭhā 162; even now many high caste people of Bengal including brāhmaṇas offer goats and rarely buffaloes to Durgā, though some brāhmaṇa families offer only fruits and vegetables in lieu of animals, 168; family members, and guests sit together after each day's pūjā in Navarātra and persons present partake of *prasāda*, 157, 173; *ghaṭa* (a jar with a peculiar shape) is to be established and filled with water, twigs of mango and other auspicious plants to be placed thereon and worship of Durgā thereon, on 7th tithi with 16, 10 or 5 *upacāras*, 159, 162–3, 183; goats and buffaloes alone sacrificed usually in D. 165; Guggulu incense, favourite of Durgā, 164, 1047; *homa* is performed after pūjā in fire called 'Balada', with a mantra preceded by 'om' and followed by svāhā, 173; horses honoured in, by kings and those who possess them, 184; if an animal was killed as *bali*, what was offered was only the blood or head, 165; if brāhmaṇa offered his own blood to Devī, he would be guilty of suicide and go to hell, 165; in place of wine one should offer cocoanut water in a vessel of bell metal or honey in a copper vessel, 165; in Navarātra the performer has to listen to the recitation of the Vedas and from the 1st tithi to the 9th he should mutter Caṇḍīpāṭha or engage a person to do so, 171; it was believed in the Vedic times and also by Manusmṛti that animals killed in sacrifices to gods and pitṛs went to heaven and those who offered them did not incur sin, 168; image of Durgā with four or ten arms to be made from certain substances only or a picture is to be used, 178;

image of Durgā with lion and Mahiṣāsura and images of Lakṣmī and Gaṇeśa and of Sarasvatī and Kārtikeya to be shown on her two sides 177-78; is nitya as well as a Kāmya rite, 156; *Jāpaka* was to be engaged for reciting the mūlamantra a hundred thousand times, besides the reader of Śatacaṇḍī, 173; Kālikāpurāṇa details the different periods of time for which Durgā becomes gratified by the offering of the blood of different animals, 167; Mahānavamī rites (of 9th day) described, 154, 174-6; Mahāṣṭamī rites (on 8th day) described, including a fast to be observed by one having no son, 168-71; Mantra of Durgā to be repeated after *saṅkalpa* for *japa* and homa is either the Jayantīmantra or the mantra of nine syllables 159, 171; *naivedya* of various kinds to be offered to Durgā, 164n; offering of devotee's own blood and the flesh of a he-buffalo and goats pleases Durgā most, 185; offering of wine in D. relates to ages other than Kali, says Prāyaścittatattva, 158; prāṇapratiṣṭhā of images of Durgā, Gaṇeśa and other deities, 162; principal items in Durgāpūjā are *snapana* (bath), pūjā, offering of *bali and homa*, 179; reciting of Devīmāhātmya in, also rewards of so doing, 172-3; revelry and abuse indulged in, on last day of Durgāpūjā, 177; revulsion of feeling against killing animals arose and Kālikāpurāṇa provides substitution of Kūṣmāṇḍa (pumpkin), sugarcane stalks etc. 164-68; *sandhi* (a short period viz. last ghaṭikā of the mahāṣṭamī and the first part of Mahānavamī), pūjā of Durgā on, with Yoginīs, is deemed to be the holiest of pūjās, 174; saṅkalpa, different forms of, 158-160; saṅkalpa, at time of giving dakṣiṇā, 175n; saptaśatī is the best of *stavas* (lauds) 172; several alternatives for the beginning and duration of D. suggested by Tithi-tattva, most of which find support in Kālikā and other Purāṇas, 154; some works provide that D. must be celebrated in Śarad (Āśvina) and also in Vasanta (Caitra), 154; Svastika used in D., explained, 160n; threefold character of Caṇḍikā, 158; three times for Durgāpūjā, the principal one being at night and varying views, 180-83; tilaka mark with blood of the *bali* made on forehead of devotee, 167; tithi more important than nakṣatra in D. 182-83; twigs of nine plants bound together in a sheaf with a separate mantra for each plant and worship of sheaf, 161, 181; Upacāras 16 in D. are slightly different from the 16 offered to other gods, 164n; Veda recitation in D. 171; voluminous literature on D., 155-56; worship of maidens

in D., 170; worship much influenced by Śākta doctrines and practices, 186; worship of Yoginīs, said to be 8, 64 or a crore, along with pūjā of Durgā, 174 and n.

Durgotsavapaddhati of Udayasiṁha, 155, 187.

Durgotsavaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, 155.

Durudharā, a Yoga, meaning of, 584.

Duryodhana, 767.

Duty (see Yamas): doctrine of Gītā and the Purāṇas like Viṣṇu that the work of performing one's d., in the society in which one is born or which one has undertaken, is worship and enables a person, whether a brāhmaṇa or a śūdra to reach the same higher worlds 929–30; most difficult to give an objective definition of duties, but they can be defined on the subjective side, 1421; object of emphasizing duties is to make men rise above low desires 1421.

Dvādaśī, called Trispṛśā, which touches three civil days 119; eight kinds of, 119; Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Pāpanāśinī D. have respectively Punarvasu, Śravaṇa, Rohiṇī and Puṣya nakṣatras, 119.

Dvaitanirṇayasiddhāntasaṅgraha 171, 182n; 184; speaks of five different mantras, any one of which may be used for *japa* and *homa* in honour of Devī 171.

Dvāparayuga, varying views about its end 687n.

Dvīpa (continent, also island): vide under Jambudvīpa, mountains, oceans, rivers, countries, varṣa; each d. divided into 7 varṣas (9 in some purāṇas), has seven main mountains, seven principal rivers each, 1524; Matsya states that there are thousands of dvīpas but names only seven, 1523-24; said to be eighteen in Vāyupurāṇa and Raghuvaṁśa 1523n; word occurs in Ṛg. in the plural and Pāṇini derives the word (VI. 3.97) and mentions dvīpas along the sea coast (IV 3.10), 1523, 1525n; Yogabhāṣya names seven D. 1529.

Dvivedi, Dr. Hazariprasad, a. of 'Nath Sampradāya' (1950), 1429n; Earth: legend that e. was donated to Kāśyapa by Paraśurāma 89n; three motions of, 645n.

Earth, legend of gift. of, to Kāśyapa 89n; three motions of 645n.

Earthquakes: described as having happened at time of the Bhārata war 764; four theories about causes of, acc. to predecessors of Bṛ. S. 763; novel cause of earthquakes acc. to Brahmapurāṇa 763; regarded as punishments caused by God for men's sins not only by ancient and medieval Indians, but by English poets like Cowper and great men like Gandhiji 764.

Easter, 662.

Eclipses (solar and lunar): (vide under gifts,): 241-250; bath with hot water only allo-

wed to children, old men and persons that are ill 243; common people and even some educated men hold old beliefs and believe even now that Rāhu causes e. 242, 765; consequences (astrological) of e 250; extensive literature on 241; fast recommended on day of eclipse and some also recommended it on the day previous 249; first duty of a man on seeing e. is to bathe and to give up all food cooked before e. 243; great importance of, from very ancient times 241; holiest bath is in the Ganges or Godāvarī or at Prayāga, then in any of the big rivers six connected with Himavat and six south of Vindhya 243, 244; householder having a son not to fast on e. 249; in 1953 (20th June) four lakhs of people took a bath at Kurukṣetra and Sanyahet, 244; if one does not bathe at time of e. or sun's entrance into rāśi he would have, it is said, leprosy 243; moon e. a lakh of times more meritorious than an ordinary day and sun e. ten times more than moon e. 243; obligatory japa of Gāyatrī in e. 247; one should bathe when e. begins, perform homa, worship gods and perform śrāddha, while e. is in progress, make gifts when e. is about to end, take a bath again when e. ends 246 ff.; order of the several religious acts to be done on e. 246–247; persons born on nakṣatra of e. suffer troubles, unless they perform a śānti 250; persons impure owing to birth or death in family have to bathe in e. 244; poor people clamour for gifts on, 246; prājāpatya expiation for eating food during e. 246; puṇyakāla (holy period) in e. lasts only so long as it is or can be visible to the eye and for 16 kalās on both sides of it, 247; Rāhu is not the cause of, 242; real causes of, were known to Indian astronomers several centuries before Varāhamihira, 242; results of lunar e. and solar e. in the same month 250; rules about taking food before, during and after e. 249-250; śāntis for rāśi or nakṣatra of a person being affected by eclipse, 766; solar e. on Sunday and lunar e. on Monday is called Cūḍāmaṇi and yields crore of times of merit 249; some people in these days take a bath on e. and make gifts, but hardly anything more is done 247; special merit (puṇya) on bath in certain rivers when e. in certain months 244; śrāddha, bath, gifts and *tapas* in e. yield inexhaustible rewards or merit, 245; total eclipse of the sun referred to in Ṛgveda which appears to have occurred three days before the autumnal equinox, 241–2; Varāhamihira makes an effort to square Śruti, Smṛti and popular belief and real astronomical doctrines 242–243; views differ as to

whether one in āśauca can make gift or perform śrāddha or puraścaraṇa 244; views differ as to whether religious rites are to be performed only when e. is actually seen or even when e. is astronomically known to be on in the locality, even though not seen owing to clouds 247-248; when auspicious and inauspicious and to whom 765.

Eddington A., a. of 'The Expanding Universe' 1502n;

Edgerton, Prof. 67, 1199 (edited Mīmāṁsā-nyāyaprakāśa of Āpadeva), 1250n, 1434n, 1514n (criticized for his view about mere *brahma* knowledge being enough for attaining *mokṣa*); 1615 (on meaning of culture).

Egypt (see 'horoscopes'), : Ancient, had two calendars 490; knew nothing about the Zodiac before Alexandrian age, 549, 565; marriage with one's sister in, 554.

Einstein, believed in Spinoza's idea of God and held that the main conflict between science and religion lies in the concept of a personal God, 1487n.

Eisler, Robert, a. of 'The Royal art of Astrology', 552, 581n.

Ekabhakta, 100; proper time for 100; restriction of, as an alternative to Ekādaśīvrata 107; it is an independent vrata also, apart from being an alternative to Ekādaśī 101.

Ekādaśī (vide under 'Pāraṇā'): daśamī, observances for 115-116; dvādaśī, observances on 117; fast on e. mixed with daśamī is condemned by Nāradīya and others 114; four kinds of *vedhas* of E. by Daśamī 114; if there is Ekādaśī on two days, householders should fast on the earlier and Sannyāsins on the later 115; is exception to the general definition of sampūrṇā tithi 113; is sampūrṇā when it exists for two muhūrtas prior to sunrise of the day on which it exists for 60 ghaṭikās and fast to be observed on that day 113; names of the 24 ekādaśīs of twelve lunar months and two more in the intercalary month when it occurs 108n; order is introduced in conflicting texts on Ekādaśī by Kālanirṇaya and Nirṇayasindhu 115; question on what tithi fast should be observed when Ekādaśī is mixed with tenth or twelfth tithi would have to be decided in different ways for Vaiṣṇavas and Smārtas and is complicated 113; Smārtas (i. e. all those who do not profess to be Vaiṣṇavas) have not to follow strict rules of *vedha* laid down for Vaiṣṇavas 115; some difference in the names of Ekādaśīs and some reasons for this 109; two ekādaśīs called Śayanī (also called Mahaikādaśī) and Prabodhinī, on Āṣāḍha bright half and Kārtika bright half respectively 99, 109; two kinds of, viz. sampūrṇā and viddhā or khaṇḍā 113.

Ekādaśinī, 813; means reciting the Rudra mantras (Tai.S. IV. 5. 1. 11) eleven times; Śāntiratna of Kamalākara identifies it with Laghurudra, 813n; Ekādaśinī and Laghurudra are very much in vogue even now 814.

Ekādaśīvrata (vide under Cāturmāsya, dvādaśī, fast, jāgara, pāraṇā, Vaiṣṇava, vratas) 95-121; a person above 8 years of age and less than 80 years of whatever caste and āśrama has adhikāra for fasting on E. 97, 99; brief mention of items that constitute E. 119-20; difference (main) between mere fast on E. and Ekādaśīvrata is that in the former there is no Saṅkalpa 104; early description of E. procedure from Nāradīya 104-5; even Śaivas and devotees of the Sun may observe E. 1045; exceptional cases where texts allow fast on Ekādaśī mixed with daśamī but only to Smārtas 115; explanation of Ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita 100; extends from the 10th tithi to pāraṇā 115; extremely exaggerated praise of the efficacy of fasting is indulged in by many purāṇas, 98-99; fast on E. is of two kinds viz. adhering to the prohibition about taking food, the other is in the nature of a vrata and persons who should enter on one of these 103-104; great rewards promised on observance of E. 93; is both *nitya* and *kāmya* 96, 104; is obligatory on householders on 11th of bright half, while in both fortnights is obligatory on others 96-97; main matters in E. are fast, worship of Viṣṇu image, Jāgara at night with songs, pāraṇā on 12th, certain restrictions as to conduct 105, 106 and n; Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa provides four methods of observing E. viz. ekabhakta, nakta, ayācita, complete fast and dāna, the first three being allowed only if one is unable to observe complete fast 99-100; no homa in 106; pāraṇā or pāraṇa 107, 118; Padmapurāṇa devotes over a thousand verses on names and legends about E., 108n; person unable to fast owing to illness should make his son or others to fast on his behalf 100; person performing E. should miss four meals in three days 106; person even in mourning has to observe E. 115; procedure of, from Brāhmavaivartapurāṇa and Dharmasindhu 106-108: pronouncing mantra (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) three times after saṅkalpa 108; separate observances prescribed for daśamī, ekādaśī, and dvādaśī, though somewhat overlapping 115; Saṅkalpa, form of, in 107; Saṅkalpa for Śaivas 108; restrictions as to food, physical and mental activities to be observed from Saṅkalpa to Pāraṇā, and on fast day 115; 116; some purāṇas prohibit only taking of food on 11th

tithi, while others prescribe an elaborate procedure 95; ten observances common to all vratas (including E.) 41, 115; time for Saṅkalpa when E. is mixed up with 10th tithi at different parts of the day 106-107; Vaiṣṇavas and Smārtas both observe Ekādaśīvrata 112-13; Vaiṣṇavas have to observe fast on all Ekādaśīs, 97, 104; voluminous literature on 95; widow to be treated on the same footing as a Yati or a Vaiṣṇava 97, 115; worship of Hari with flowers etc. 108.

Ekādaśītattva of Raghunandana 29n, 30, 34n, 48n, 77, 95-97n, 99n-101n, 106n, 113n, 115, 116n, 119n, 120n, 1096, 1106 (Mahāśvetā mantra), 1108, 1190n, 1228, 1250n (eight faults in vikalpa pointed out) 1254.

Ekādaśīviveka of Śūlapāṇi 95.

Ekāmra, a work from Orissa; note on, 888.

Ēkavākyatā: when several sentences, each conveying its own sense, are brought together, one being principal and the others auxiliary, they form one syntactical whole, called a Mahāvākya 1298; word occurs in Vedāntasūtra, 1298, 1341.

Elements, five great (called *mahābhūtāni*) and their five qualities referred to in Upaniṣads, sometimes only three viz. *tejas*, water, *anna* (earth) are mentioned (as in Chān. Up. VI. 2. 3-4); only four postulated in Greece by Empedocles (about 490 B. C.) and a fifth, ether, was added by Plato and Aristotle, 1502n; spring from and are absorbed in *brahman*, the dissolution being in the reverse order of creation 1503.

Elephants (vide under 'prognostications'): king's victory depends on 801; names of e. of eight quarters 803n.

Eliade, Mercea, a. of 'Yoga, immortality and freedom', 1394 1651.

Elliot, Sir Charles, a. of 'Hinduism and Buddhism' 1650n.

Elliott H. M., a. of 'History of India' in several volumes, 1018, 1025.

Ellora caves: in a cave Śiva and Pārvatī are shown as playing with dice 203; described by Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh 203, 1655.

Empedocles (born about 490 B.C. in Greece): vide under 'Elements'; held the doctrine of Punarjanma 1530.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I. m. on 246 (grant on Full Moon for endowing a *maṭha* to teach Bhāskarācārya's works), 348, 644, 650n, 656, 1006n, 1029; Vol. II. on 644; Vol. III. on 245, 407; Vol. IV. on 1006n, 1029; Vol. V. on 1011n; Vol. VI. on 630n, 649 (Aihole Inscription), 662, 1029; Vol. VII. on 89, 212n, 213n, 245, 348, 655, 964, 1006n; Vol. VIII. on 404, 599n, 650n, 669n, 670, 968n, 1013, 1029;

Vol. IX. on 245, 1014, 1029; Vol. X. on 284, 386, 648; Vol. XI. on 1014; Vol. XII. on 213n, 274, 644, 876n; Vol. XIV. on 213n, 245, 644, 883; Vol. XV. on 644, 669, 1013, 1028, 1192; Vol. XVI. on 131, 644, 654n, 670, 964n, 1014; Vol. XVII. on 644 669, 670; Vol. XVIII. on 1013; Vol XIX. on 246, 665, 668n, 669; Vol. XX. on 648, 656, 669, 678n, 1012–13, 1028, 1614n; Vol. XXI. on 668n, 978n, 1425n; Vol. XXII. on 131, 665; Vol. XXIII. on 651n, 687; Vol. XXIV. on 356, 669n; Vol. XXVII. on 671, 945n, 1629n; Vol. XXVIII. on 883 (Purāṇas studied in 578 A. D.); Vol. XXIX. on 651n, 652n, 654n, 659.

Equinox: cannot be accurately ascertained without scientific apparatus 511n.

Era (or eras acc. to context): (Vide under Śaka, Vikrama, Kṛta years); Chālukya Vikrama era started in 1076–77 A. D., 253; five eras named by Alberuni 648; Laukika or Saptarṣi e. in Kashmir 655–656; most ancient civilizations used e. late in their career and used regnal years instead of eras 647; several eras that were once in vogue are not now employed, such as Vardhamāna era, Buddhanirvāṇa, Gupta, Cedi, Harṣa, 656; six eras in Kaliyuga according to Jyotirvidābharaṇa 647; use of, in India not more than about two thousand years old 647; Vardhamāna e. 656; variety of e. used in India 648; Vikrama era under that name occurs only from the 8th century A. D. 653; writers and works on Indian e. 648.

Europeans: ignorant of decimal place value notation and symbol for zero, which were introduced to them by Arabs who borrowed them from India, 482; slavishly followed Ptolemy's Almagest for 1400 years, 512.

European scholars: many were obsessed by two notions, viz, (1) much in India that resembled what prevailed in the West must have been borrowed from West and the (2) Indians who were governed by foreign invaders for centuries must not have been good at anything 141; many of the striking theories of, are now consigned to oblivion, 141; nurtured on the literature of Greeks and Romans and on the vaunted superiority of Greeks in philosophy, Mathematics and Arts generally assumed borrowing from Greeks by Indians, 281; rules of common sense that should be followed by E. S. stated 141; that wrote on India indulged in very disparaging remarks about Indians not only as to astronomy but generally 511–512; theories of, about Indian Astronomy and Astrology, not accep-

table for several reasons 481.
Evans-Wentz W. Y.; a. of 'Tibetan book of the Dead', of 'Tibetan Yoga and secret doctrine' and of 'The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation' 1393-4.
Evolution : theory of, is supposed to have shattered the argument from design for proving existence of God, 1483n.
Expiations : different views viz. expiations would remove effects of sins deliberately committed or were restricted only to acts inadvertently done 1589.
Faddegon, B. on '13th month in ancient Hindu chronology' 490n.
Fa Hian (1st quarter of 5th century A. D.), found Buddhism flourishing in India, 1003.
Farnell L. R., a. of 'Greece and Babylon' 599n.
Farquhar J. N , a. of 'Outlines of the religious Literature of India' 1089n.
Farrington, Prof, on 'Science and Politics in the Ancient World', 550n.
Fast (vide under 'Ekādaśīvrata') : a householder having a son was not to fast on Sunday and on certain other days 220; as prāyaścitta 97; brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas not to observe fast for more than three days and others for more than two days 55; idea of efficacy of fasting undertaken cheerfully is common to several religions, 103; none of the holy rivers like the Ganges and none of the tīrthas like Kāśī is equal to fast in honour of Makarasaṅkrānti 220; observed by Haihayas, Turks, Yavanas and Śakas for reaching status of brāhmaṇas, 54; underlying idea of fast is spiritual viz. that the Supreme Spirit is to be realized by fast together with study of Veda, sacrifices, gifts 103; woman pregnant or recently delivered should observe only *nakta* instead of a fast, 52.
Fausset, Hugh T. Anson, a. of "The Flame and the Light" 1477n.
Fergusson, J. a. of 'Tree and Serpent Worship' 127; a. of 'History of Indian and eastern Architecture'; 1655.
Filliozat, Prof. J. 189, 698, 699n.
Fires : different names of, in different rites set out in Tithitattva 173; different seasons for setting up Vedic f. in the case of the three classes 1290; three mounds for Vedic fires were Gārhapatya Āhavanīya and Dakṣiṇāgni; they were respectively circular, squre and semi-circular in shape and all were to have same area, 1132n.
Firmicus Maternus (middle of 4th century A. D.), inspired Indian astrology, says Thibaut, which is wrong, 579–580, 582n.
Five year Plans 1664.
Fleet, editor of 'Gupta Inscriptions', 494n, 679n, 704n; holds that the list of nakṣatras beginning with Kṛttikā was entirely due to ritual and astrology

and has no basis in fact but assigns no reason why priests later changed the beginning to Aśvinī, 528.

Flesh-Eating; (vide under 'ahiṁsā' and 'Buddhists'): flesh of five-nailed animals not to be eaten except of five specified ones, acc. to Gaut , Manu, Yāj., Rāmāyaṇa 1156.

Flowers : fit or unfit to be offered to deities in worship 38; results of offering various flowers in worship 38.

Food : One should not speak ill of food, one should prepare much food, secure much food by some method or other 24; prescribed for Dīkṣitas of different varṇas 25.

Forenoon : for gods, says Śat. Br., 72.

Foreign Tribes and people : m. in Śāntiparva, chap. 224, (cr. ed.) and Manusmṛti, 1518.

Fortnight (pakṣa) mentioned very early 670.

Fotheringham, Prof. J. K. 566, 644, 646, 647n, 676n, 682.

Foucher, A, a. of 'Beginnings of Budhist Art' 1655.

Frankfort, a. of 'Cylindrical seals', 521n, 596n.

Frazer, J. G., a. of 'Golden Bough' 94.

Free Will (or Freedom of will), how far consistent with doctrine of Karma, 1574–1576; works on, 1575.

Freud, a. of 'Interpretation of dreams' 782; his theory of 'libido' and œdipus complex, 1414n.

Future : Carakasaṁhitā provides how to draw forecasts about a patients's possibility of survival from the condition of the messenger or from what the physician was doing when messenger arrived 812.

Future trends (in India) 1658–1711.

Gadādharapaddhati (Kālasāra) 241.

Gāgābhaṭṭa or Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, a. of Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi, 1200.

Gadgil, Prof. D. R. volume of papers presented to, 1678n.

Gajacchāyā, explained 673n.

Gajendramokṣa, story of, in Bhāgavata, Padma, Vāmana and Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇas, 779n, 780n.

Galagraha, meaning of, 608.

Galatians, epistle of Paul to, 1546n.

Galileo, condemned by Churchmen to imprisonment for life at 70 for espousing the Copernican theory, 483, 1477; and Kepler practised astrology or countenanced it, 551.

Gaṇḍānta, astrological term, explained 605.

Gandharva, meaning of, 494n, 495n.

Gandhāṣṭaka (eight fragrant substances) 292.

Gandhi (Mahātmā) : a. of 'self-restraint versus self-indulgence', Appendix of which reproduces W. L. Hare's article on importance of *brahmacarya*, 1423; belief of, that the earthquake in Bihar was sent by God as punishment for un-

touchability 764n; life of, by D. G. Tendulkar in eight volumes, 764n; opinion of G. that no case for contraceptives is made out, criticized by Pandit Nehru and the present author, 1689; prediction about the time of the death of, by Louis de Wohl turned out to be untrue 552.

Gaṇapatipūjā—vide Vināyaka-śānti.

Gaṇapatyatharvaśīrṣa 148.

Gāndhārī, lost her 100 sons because she observed fast on Ekādaśī mixed with Daśamī 1243.

Gandhiji, praise by, of poverty, suffering and ascetic life criticized by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as utterly wrong, harmful and impossible of achievement and Gandhiji's attitude to sex as extraordinary in 'Autobiography' pp. 510 and 512, 1689.

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati : Gāyatrī (Paurāṇika) of, set out, 1105n; is worshipped before undertaking a vrata 32, 748; most popular god among people, the god of wisdom, bestower of success and destroyer of obstacles 748; Mūlamantra is 'gam svāhā' 1105.

Gaṇapatipūjā – vide Vināyaka-śānti.

Gaṇeśacaturthī – vrata 145-149; also called Varadacaturthī in S. M. 145; antiquity of Gaṇeśa worship, 148-149; explanations about Gaṇeśa's elephant-head and mouse as conveyance are phantastic 149; form of Gaṇeśa to be contemplated upon, in, 146; if one sees the moon on night of 4th of Bhādrapada śukla he may be falsely accused of theft and should repeat the verse 'simhaḥ prasenam' over some water, drink the water and listen to story of Syamantaka jewel, 146, 148; identified with *brahma* in Gaṇapatyatharvaśīrṣa 149; if 4th of Bhādrapada-śukla falls on a Sunday or Tuesday it is called 'Great' (Mahatī) 146 and also sukhā if on Tuesday 148; in modern times a clay image of Gaṇeśa, beautifully painted, is worshipped 146; image of Gaṇeśa is immersed in water after a procession 148; legends about Gaṇeśa in Brahma-vaivarta 148; mantra is Ṛg. II. 23. 1 ('Gaṇānām tvā' &c. addressed to Brahmaṇaspati) 146; not observed in Bengal nor in Gujarat, 145; procedure of 146; procedure of, is different in Narasiṁhapurāṇa 149; proper time for performance is mid-day 145; ten names of Gaṇeśa 146; tithi 4th on which Gaṇeśa is worshipped is called Śivā 148; twenty-one dūrvā tendrils and 21 *modakas* are offered in, 146; when Gaṇeśa, is worshipped on Māgha-śukla 4, that tithi is called Śāntā, 148; when caturthī is mixed with 3rd or 5th tithi, then Caturthī mixed with 3rd is to be preferred, if it exists at midday, 146; worship of Gaṇeśa in modern

times lasts two, five, or seven days or till Anantacaturdaśī, according to usages and tastes of people 148.
Gaṇeśapurāṇa, note on, 889.
Ganges, festival of, celebrated in turns over large rivers like Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Narmadā 91.
Ganguly O. C. on 'Orissan Sculpture and Architecture' 1653n.
Garbe, a. of 'Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie' 1312n; edited Āp. Śr. S. 1174; edited Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya 1354, 1371; on Vodhu 1372n.
Garga (vide Vṛddhagarga): 71, 78n, 250, 479n, 578–9, 591–592, 594, 607, 637n (on grahayuddha), 622, 633n, 742, 743n, 745, 747, 766, 767n, 772, 774; a famous ancient writer on astronomy and astrology from whom Utpala on Bṛ. S. quotes about 300 verses, 591–92; assigned to 50 B C. by Kern, 579, 592n; author of Mayūra-citraka, acc. to Utpala 591; dialogue of G. and Bhārgava about child's birth on Mūla-nakṣatra 597n; instructor of Atri, 591, 746n; known to Viṣṇupurāṇa as an ancient sage that knew all about omens 743n.
Garga-gotra, known to Pāṇini, 642n.
Gargasrotas, holy place on Sarasvatī visited by Baiarāma 520n, 742n.
Garge Dr. D. V., a. of 'Citations in Śābarabhāṣya', 1200–1201; 1218 (on Śabara's contributions to exegesis), Vedic and non-Vedic), 1275n.
Gārgi, sixty verses of, quoted by Utpala, 92n.
Gārgī, called Vācaknavī, in Bṛ. Up., a pert woman, showing no respect to Yājñavalkya 1405.
Gārgya, 61, 73n, 77n, 621, 772.
Gārgya Bālāki, learnt Brahmavidyā from Ajātaśatru 1579–80.
Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, com. of Āśv. Gṛhyasūtra, 1317n.
Garments, auspicious times for wearing, new, 626.
Garuḍapurāṇa, 39, 42n, 43, 49n, 70, 75n, 99, 100n, 113–14, 115n, 116n, 118n, 134n, 136n, 178, 225–26n, 230, 266n, 815, 819, 834n, 869 (discarded by Ballālasena), 820n, 967 (summary of Gītā in 28 verses), 1243, 1438n, 1446n; contains many verses identical with Yāj. Smṛti, 815, 889, 1590; has a verse almost identical with an introductory verse of Harṣacarita, 1101; has several monosyllabic unmeaning mantras like *hrām*, 1105; present G. contains a summary of Parāśarasmṛti 889; provides that aṅganyāsa is part of worship, japa, homa, 1120.
Gāthāsaptaśatī 655, 681 (mentions Tuesday).
Gauḍapāda, a. of com. on Sāṅkhyakārikā 1354–55, 1382n; comments on only 69 verses of Sāṅkhyakārikā 1356n.
Gautama, a writer on astrology 592.
Gautama-dharma-sūtra, 17n, 27, 103, 159n, 206, 543, 668n, 741, 818, 862n, 863, 925, 944–45,

1023, 1154, 1156n, 1169, 1190n, 1233, 1251n, 1252, 1256, 1257n, 1278, 1293n, 1416n, 1436, 1469, 1544n–45, 1589, 1592–93n, 1595, 1628, 1637, 1643.

Gavām-ayana, a sattra, 511n.

Gāyadānr, festival in Bihar, Orissa and other places on Balipratipadā 205.

Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62–10), eulogy of, in Bṛ. Up. 1097; eulogy of, in Viṣṇudharmottara which employs it also for black magic 877n, 1099n; to be preceded by 'om' and *vyāhṛtis* and followed by 'Śiras', 1099n, 1442n; syllables of G. to be reversed when employing it for black magic, 877n, 1099n; used for *nyāsa* of its letters on parts of body, 1120.

Geldner, 498n, 538n.

Gell, C. W. M, in Hibbert Journal, 1953, reviews Dr. Schweitzer's and Dr. Radhakrishnan's works 1647n.

Genesis (Bible) 575, 677, 1506.

Geography, of ancient India, works on, 1528n.

Getty, A. a. of 'Gods of Northern Buddhism' 1133.

Ghaṭī, word known long before Mahābhāṣya 684.

Ghaṭitaguṇavicāra, explained 614.

Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā, on Haṭhayoga 1427n; mentions 25 mudrās and Khecarīmudrā 1127; states there are 84 *āsanas*, 1426.

Ghosh, Dr. Manmohan, a. of 'contributions to the History of the Indian Drama' 1130; shows that in bas-reliefs of Bayon (Angkor Thom) certain gestures in Cambodian dance and drama are similar to those in Bharata-nāṭya-śāstra 1130.

Ghosh, N. N. 1614n.

Ghosh, Pratāpcandra, a. of an English work on Durgāpūjā 156, 160n, 173, 184, 186; theory of, on origin of Durgāpūjā 186.

Ghosundi, Inscription, 131, 963–64.

Ghṛtasūkta, 758n, 802n.

Ghurye, Dr. G. S., 845, 1152n (on Vidyās), 1615n (on Culture and Society).

Gifts (vide under Brāhmaṇas), 934–36; of food praised in Ṛg. Ait. and Tai. Br., Manu, and Purāṇas like Agni, Brahma, 934; of food to cripples, the blind, children, old men, the poor, highly praised in Padmapurāṇa 934–35; of food to *brahmacārins* and yatis enjoined by Kūrma and Padma 935; of food in Vaiśvadeva and Balikarma on the ground by householders to persons that had lost caste or had loathsome diseases, to cāṇḍālas, dogs, crows and even insects 935; of land to deserving brāhmaṇas recommended by Mahābhārata and in inscriptions on eclipses, *ayana* and viṣuva days 245–6; in Inscriptions 245–46; made to unworthy persons declared as tāmasa by the Gītā 938; results of g. made on nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī 500; rule that gifts to brāhmaṇas were to be made by day and

not by night, the exceptions being the same as in the case of bath etc. 218; special gifts required to be made on Makarasaṅkrānti, such as sesame, garments 219; sūtras and early smṛtis before the spread of Buddhism, emphasized that religious gifts were to be made only to learned and well-conducted brāhmaṇas 937; universal kindness and charity in giving food to poor, disabled men and to students has prevailed to the present day in India, though recent high prices and rationing have undermined this spirit 935–36; why Purāṇas make incessant appeals for gifts to brāhmaṇas 938.

Gītā, vide Bhagavadgītā.

Gītagovinda, of Jayadeva, court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, regards Buddha as avatāra 824, 996.

Glanville S. R K., on 'the legacy of Egypt', 490n, 565n, 581n, 700n.

Gnā, in Ṛg. means 'wife' and is an Indo-European word, 1044.

Goals of human life are four, 1510 (vide Puruṣārtha).

Gobhila, Karmapradīpa of, 758n

Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, 27, 67, 69, 78, 480, 494n, 535.

Gobhilasmṛti, 53n, 218, 640n, 758n, 1266n.

Gocara, meaning of, 589--90.

God (vide under creation, Einstein, Ṛgveda, Vāk, cosmology; arguments for the existence of G. (vide under cosmology); Bhagavadgītā (XIII. 13–17) contains one of the best descriptions of God as transcendant and immanent 1462; divergence about the names, nature and attributes of 1486–87; evidence for existence of G. lies in inner personal experience, acc. to W. James, 1483n; idea of the grace of G. occurs in Kaṭha and Śvetāśvatara Up. 961; idea of God's omniscience, omnipresence must be abandoned, acc. to H. G. Wells 1483–84n; is one acc. to Mahābhārata and some Purāṇas and higher Indian thought 118; is immanent in the Universe, acc. to Tai. Up., Chān Up., Bṛ. Up. 1486; is a pure mathematician, acc. to Jeans 1486n; is supposed to take different forms for the benefit of worshippers, 118; is transcendant and rules the universe 1486; most striking characteristic of Hindu religion, from Vedic times is that G. is one, though called by various names 1623; nature and attributes of G. on which most are agreed 1487; no place for G. in Sāṅkhya system, while in Yogasūtra G. has a secondary one 1402–3; Ontological srgument for proving existence of G. 1483n; some sages at least in Ṛgveda times had arrived at the conclusion that there was only one Principle or Spirit, though called by various names, 1492; spirit of bargaining with God in some Vedic texts illustrated

1217n; supreme G. is called Vāsudeva in Gītā, 961; three main arguments for existence of G. 1484n; two difficult questions about belief in G. set out 1487; views (four) on the relation of God and world, acc. to Viscount Samuel 1487n.
God and creation of the universe (vide under Creation); Prakaraṇapañcikā denies a creator of the whole universe, 1207; Ślokavārtika of Kumārila says that it is difficult to prove that God created the world or dharma and adharma and the means of attaining these, words and senses and yet performs obeisance to Śiva at the beginning of it 1207.
God, Gods (vide under 'Images', 'Īśvara'), : Ādityas, Agni, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, are called kings (rājan) and universal sovereign in the Veda 8; all g. and goddesses supposed to go to sleep on different tithis, 110–11; asked by worshippers to partake of apūpa, honey, milk, puroḍāśa etc. in the Veda 35; poor men reach G. by vratas, 44–45; Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra, Śabara, Kumārila discard the idea that Veda is the word of God or that rewards of religious acts are due to the favour of God, 1209; Vedic G. have the epithet 'Vṛṣa' (bull, powerful) or 'Vṛṣabha' applied to them, to their chariots, weapons etc. 19; wives of gods Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and Maruts mentioned in Ṛg. are Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, Agnayī and Rodasī, but they play a very subordinate part in Ṛg., 1044; worship of gods and of Viṣṇu is of three kinds, Vaidikī, Tāntrikī and Miśrā (mixed), acc. to Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas 1093; worship of God may be performed in an image, in water, fire, one's own heart, in sun's orb or on an altar 1649.
Godāna, same as Keśānta, 536n.
Gode, Prof P. K. 195.
Godhūli or *Gorajas*, muhūrta, defined, 613–14.
Goethe (1749–1832 A. D.); begins his memoirs with the positions of planets at his birth 551.
Goetz H., a. of 'Five thousand Years of Indian Art' (Bom.), 1656.
Gokarṇa, 90n.
Golden age in dim past, belief in, 686.
Gomatīvidyā, 204n.
Gomukhaprasavaśānti, 771n–72n.
Gopatha-brāhmaṇa, 816n.
Gopinatha Kaviraja, M. M. 1062n (on cakras), 1063 (in J. G. J. R. I.), 1187 (paper on Govt. Mss. in Govt. Sanskrit Library at Benaras), 1355.
Gopinath Rao, T. A., a. of 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' 1655.
Gorakhnath, pupil of Matsyendranātha, 1429n; works on, 1429n.
Gorakṣaśataka (on Yoga) 1389n, 1419, 1426n–27, 1432; verses of, are found in some Yoga Upaniṣads 1389n; ed. by Shri

Kuvalayānanda, 1429, 1438n, 1441, 1451 (on final stage of Samādhi), 1458n.
Gorer G., a. of 'Bali and Angkor', 1657.
Gosava, Vedic sacrifice, 219.
Goswami, Prof. S. S, a. of 'Haṭhayoga' 1394 (with 108 photographs of Āsanas), 1426.
Gough, a. of 'Philosophy of the Upaniṣads' 1531; holds the view that Hindus borrowed doctrine of *punarjanma* from the indigenes 1531.
Govadha (offering of the flesh of a bull); Kalpataru remarks that this is not permitted in Kali age, though allowed in former ages and Mit. says it should not be practised as it has become hateful to people 1270n.
Govardhana, a city founded by Rāma on the northern part of Sahya, acc. to Brahmāṇḍa, 895.
Govardhanapūjā on Balipratipadā, 204–205; also called Annakūṭa, 205.
Govindacandra, king of Kanoj, granted a village after a bath in the Ganges on Akṣayya-tṛtīyā 89.
Govinda Das, 1395.
Govindānanda, commentator of Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, explains Holākānyāya 1282.
Gowen, H. H, a. of 'History of Indian Literature': high eulogy of Sanskrit Literature by, 1651.
Grahagaṇita 665.
Grahalāghava of Gaṇeśa, composed in 1520 A. D., 642.
Grahaṇa, vide under 'eclipse'.
Grahayajña (vide Navagraha-śānti), 750, 753.
Grahayuddha, explained, 587n, 589, 637; Parāśara and Garga refer to it, 637.
Grammar (Vyākaraṇa), dealt with in P. M. S. (I. 3. 24–29), 1275; Kumārila in *prima facie* case agaist G. criticises Pāṇini, Vārtikakāra and Mahābhāṣya, 1275; eight, m. in Bhaviṣya-purāṇa 897; purposes of the study of, acc. to Patañjali, among which Ūha, a technical Mīmāṁsā term, is one 1158.
Grants: on Jupiter's entrance into Vṛṣabha-rāśi 212n; on Sun's entrance into Rāśis, 212-213n.
Grassmann 498n.
Greek and Latin equivalents of Sanskrit words for 'rāśis', planets etc. 585.
Greeks, (see under Herodotus, astronomical knowlodge, Ionia); all Greeks gradually came to be called Ionians 516; G. astronomers got from Babylonians the names of the constellations on the ecliptic 522n, 549; ambassadors of Greece such as Megasthenes to Candragupta and Deimachus to Bindusāra (Candragupta's son) 599; borrowed sexagesimal system of sun dials and twelve parts of day from Babylonians 482n; Berossus (about 280-261 B.C.) first introduced astrology among Greeks 549; debt of, to Babylonians much greater than

had been imagined, 482; debt owed by Greeks to Egypt 482; developed geometry because they could not employ ordinary arithmetical methods owing to dependence on the abacus, 482; even eminent G. were surrounded by superstitions 513; Homer's poems and the works of Hesiod are oldest surviving writings of the Greeks 513; inferior to Babylonians in several respects, 482; inspiration for horoscopic astrology was received by G. from Babylon 594; mind of, was little in advance of the *predecessors of the Vedic* priests in science 512–13; no trace of astrology in writings of early Greeks 549; no extant literature of G. is earlier than 900 B. C. 513; scholars are far from insight into astronomy of Greeks before Ptolemy 518n; settled in India after Alexander's invasion, learnt Sanskrit, some wrote works in Sanskrit and became worshippers of Viṣṇu, 516, 585; tried to peep into future before the advent of astrology by oracles, dreams and inspection of entrails and liver of sacrificed animals 549; vaunted superiority of, in Arts, Philosophy and Mathematics has now been reduced owing to discoveries in Mesopotamia and other countries, 482, 700 and n; were completely captivated by astrology derived from Mesopotamia 549.

Greek words (on astrology), lis of, supposed to be used in Sanskrit works like the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and Bṛhajjātaka by Weber and others are 37 but some like Kulīra, Trikoṇa are not so held by Kern (vide under *Jīva*) 584; some 22 Greek words have indigenous Sanskrit synonyms 584; were used by Varāhamihira and others because they were employed in ancient Sanskrit works on astrology written by Greeks in India 585.

Gregorian calendar,: changes made by, 643; is unbalanced and inconvenient even now 718n; not followed in England till 1750 A. D, 643.

Gregory J. C. paper of, in 'Nature', Vol. 153 on Ancient Astrology, 549n, 552, 631n.

Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara 876n.

Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa 75n–76n.

Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras took their knowledge of astronomy from astronomical works 480.

Gṛhyasūtras 223, 1323n; many G. have passages on Śāntis similar to those in Kauśikasūtra 738n.

Grierson G. A. 633n.

Grousset, Rene, a. of 'The sum of History' tr. by A. and H. Temple Patterson 1003, 1499n, 1503–4, 1654 (his appreciation of Indian Art and paintings); a. of 'In the footsteps of Buddha' 1009, 1039–40; a. of 'Civilization of the East', Vol. II on 'India, Further India

and Malaya' 1618n, 1654–55.
Growse, 141.
Guenon Rene a. of 'Crisis of modern world' 1668 (defects of democracy).
Grunwedel, Prof, a. of 'Buddhist Art in India' 1131n.
Guenther, Dr. H. V. 1150, a of 'Yuganaddha' (the Tāntrik view of life); 1066n (explains away what is meant by intercourse with cāṇḍāla women etc.); relies on Buddhist Tantras only and tries to prove that Buddhist Tāntrikas endeavour to restore life in its entirety which is neither an indulgence in passions nor a rejection of nor escape from them 1067; views of, briefly stated and criticized 1067–68.
Guest, practice of offering a cow or bull to some worthy guests prevailed in ancient times, but forbidden later, 1270n.
Guggulu (incense), burnt in Caṇḍikā temple 39: favourite dhūpa of Devī 164n.
Guhya, meaning of, in Tantras, 1052 and n.
Guhyasamājatantra (probably of 6th century A. D.): (vide under Asaṅga, siddhis); 1040 (contains late elements), 1050, 1053, 1065–66, 1133, 1141 etc.; makes provision for endowing Sādhaka with miraculous powers such as killing enemy with magical rites, causing rainfall in a drought 1070; mentions the six magical cruel rites 1070; puts forward a quick and short method for realizing Buddhahood and for attainment of Siddhis through Yoga 1068-70; Siddhis are sāmānya (ordinary, such as becoming invisible) and Uttama (best viz. attaining Buddhahood) 1068; sets forth six aṅgas of Yoga (omitting the first three of Patañjali and adding Anusmṛti), 1068; teaching of G. is that if psychical powers and siddhis are to be developed females must be associated with those who undertake Yoga practices 1069.
Guṇa (means subordinate matter or detail) 1207.
Guṇakarma (or *Guṇabhūta*), explained (such as pounding rice grains or wiping ladle) and contrasted with *pradhāna* 1237, 1306.
Guṇas, in Sāṅkhya are three, sattva, rajas, tamas and their characteristics and are both substances and qualities 1357, 1372n; in Gītā 1357n; why so called 1357n.
Guṇavāda, a kind of arthavāda, defined and illustrated 1240–41.
Gupta, dynasty, referred to in a general way in only four Mahāpurāṇas in rather corrupt passages without specifying names of kings 843; rule of G. dynasty began about 320 A. D. 843.
Gupta Inscriptions, edited by Fleet, 110 (Gangadhar stone Ins. of Kṛta year 480 i. e. 423–24 A. D.), 263, 651n, 652n, 661, 667n, 669–70, 680, 687, 843, 856n, 964, 997, 1013,

1028, 1046 (mentions Mātṛs and awakening of Viṣṇu in Kārtika); era of, 656.
Gupte, B. A., work of, on 'Hindu holidays and ceremonials' 60, 200n; on Sāvitrīvrata origins, in I. A. vol. 35, 94; on Diwali, 207; on Śivarātri origin 235; on Holikā, criticized 241.
Guru, vide under Prabhākara.
Guru, vide under 'disciple'; Buddhist tantras like Jñānasiddhi contain grand eulogies of g, identify him with Buddha and call him omniscient 1071; is higher than all men and is to be served with devotion by disciples for attaining siddhis 1055; Jñānasiddhi and Kulārṇava warn against false gurus 1071; necessity of a g. for the acquisition of esoteric philosophy stressed by Upaniṣad passages 1072; position of, in Tantra, is not very different from that in Vedic literature or Purāṇas 1033n; pupil after *undergoing dīkṣā in Tantra* worship and receiving the mantra has to follow orders of g. 1054-55; qualifications of Tantrik g. acc. to Śāradātilaka, 1071; respect for g. sometimes reached extreme and disgusting lengths among tāntrik writers as stated by Tārābhaktisudhārṇava, 1072n; saves a man if Śiva is angry, but none can save the pupil if g. is angered 1101; theory of efficacy of mantras led to importance of guru about whom extravagant claims were made, 1454.
Gurney, O. R, a. of a work on 'Hittites' 683
Gurvāditya, astrological position, condemned for all rites 612.
Guyot Felix, a. of 'Yoga, the science of health', 1393.
Haarh, Erik, a. of paper on 'Contributions to the study of Maṇḍala and Mudrā' 1133.
Hall, Fitz-Edward, editor of Sāṅkhyapravacana-bhāṣya, 1354, 1371n, 1372 (on legends about Kapila); editor of Subandhu's 'Vāsavadattā' 1048.
Haṁsanyāsa, described by Rāghavabhaṭṭa 1120n.
Haṁsavilāsa 1077n.
Haradatta, com., of, on Āp. Dh. S. 1230, 1246n (explains Kalañja), 1251 (illustrates Vyavasthitavikalpa), 1256; com. of Āp. Gṛhya 735n, 611; com. on Gautama 668n, 1230.
Haraprasad Śastri, a. of Cat. (in several volumes) of Mss. in Bengal Asiatic Society, 437; *a. of Cat. of Nepal Palm-leaf* Mss. 909-10, 1033n, 1338n, 1049n; a of paper on causes of the disappearance of Buddhism 1003.
Hard work, the incentive of private gain, is motive for 1682.
Hardy, Prof. a of 'Ramanujan' 1573.
Hare W. L., article of, on 'Generation and Regeneration' in 'Open Court' (1926) included by Gandhiji as Appendix in his work 1423.
Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa 113, 120.

Hariścandra, story of, in Ait. Br., Sabhāparva, Brahmapurāṇa 915.

Hārīta, Dharmasūtra of, q. by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 154, 1422n, 1432.

Hārīta, Smṛti of, 33, 42 (in prose), 116n (prose), 151, 257, 864-65n.

Haritālikāvrata, 144-45; brief procedure of, 144; for women alone, 144; not found in Hemādri on vrata or in Kṛtya-kalpa-taru 144; not prevalent in Bengal or Gujarat 145; observed on 3rd of Bhādrapada bright half 144; Rājamārtaṇḍa has four verses on it, 144; *saṅkalpa* in 144n; to be performed on 3rd mixed with 4th tithi (and not with 2nd) provided 3rd exists at least for two ghaṭikās from sunrise 145; various mantras repeated in 145n; very much in vogue among Mahārāṣṭra women 144; why it is so-called is difficult to explain 145.

Harivaṁśa 129, 133, 135n, 147n, 693, 695, 993n (on avatāras), 1028 (on Puṣyamitra), 1623.

Harṣa, king of Kashmir, horoscope of 630.

Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, 655, 705, 821-22, 997n, 1047, 1132 (on Maṇḍala in colours), 1384.

Harṣavardhana, emperor, 1047, distributed his wealth at Prayāga once in five years 262; birth of 705; horoscope of, examined 629; era of (started in 606 A. D.) 656; prohibited use of animal food, says Yuan Chwang, 1017.

Harshe, Dr. R. G., paper of, on mss. on dreams 782n.

Hastings, editor of E. R. E. 676n.

Hastyāyurveda, 803-04.

Haṭhavādika, explained, 1570n.

Hāthigumpha, inscription of Khāravela 1614.

Hauer Dr, on Munis, 1386n, 1387 (on Vrātyas), 1393 (two works of, on Yoga), 1397.

Haviṣya (sacrificial substances that may be eaten in vratas) 462, 1110n.

Haṭhayoga (vide under Khecarī-mudrā' and 'Vajrolīmudrā'); deals with processes called Dhauti, basti, nauli, neti, trāṭaka, kapālabhāti, on which Patañjali is silent, 1428 and n; photographs of the processes called Dhauti 1438n; technique of H. claims three results 1428; to be kept secret and not to be exposed to all 1460. works (modern) on H. 1428n.

Haṭhayogapradīpikā of Svātmārāma, 1127 (on Mudrās and Vajrolī), 1426-27, 1432 (proper food for Yogin), 1443, 1450, 1451n, 1460, 1649 (on secrecy); com. Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda 1427; English translation of, 1427n; main aim of *āsana* and prāṇāyāma is to awaken the kuṇḍalinī, while Pātañjala Yoga does dot dilate upon this 1429; names about 35 Mahāsiddhas from Ādinātha (Śiva), Matsyendranātha, Gorakṣanātha and others 1115n, 1429n; proper name is Haṭhapradīpikā 1427; ten mudrās

named by 1428n, 1429; Yamas of, are ten, of which taking a light meal is the principal 1429.

Hazra, Prof. R. C. 1149; a of 'Studies in Purānic Records on Hindu rites and customs', 816n, 834, 844, 886 (paper on Upapurāṇas) and of 'studies in Upapurāṇas' Vol. I) 867, 870; admits that among the Upapurāṇas are works of late date and yet asserts that the age of Upapurāṇas began from the Gupta period, 836; bestowed much labour and thought on Purāṇas in general and individual Purāṇas 864; dates of the formation of U. given by Prof. H. entirety wrong for reasons pointed out 836-37; dates assigned by Prof. H. to Sāmba, Narasiṁha, Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara not acceptable 871-72; has developed a tendency to assign more ancient dates to Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas than the evidence warrants 864; does not explain what he means by non-tāntrik character 876n; paper on 'Aśvamedha as common source of origin of Purāṇa and Mahābhārata' criticized 865-67; papers published in several journals on Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, 844; puts a wrong interpretation on Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣya on Chān. Up. III. 4. 1-2 about Pāriplavarātris 866; remark of Prof. H. that Upapurāṇas were known to Yāj, criticized 835n; sees reference to Purāṇas when in fact none exists and where Purāṇa (in Hārīta quoted by Mitākṣarā) means Śrāddha of a particular kind 864-65; sees too much meaning in simple words and phrases and does not observe caution in his conclusions 815; theory of, that if a work is free from Tāntrik elements it should be regarded as belonging to 3rd or 4th cen. A. D. is a slippery one and wrong 874; view of, that the Viṣṇudharmottara does not refer to the works of Varāhamihira shown to be wrong 778.

Heard, Gerald, a. of 'Is God evident' 1547 (on Vedānta).

Heart, 1073 (note 1717) spoken of as lotus in the Upaniṣads, 1446n.

Heath, T. L., a. of 'Greek Astronomy' and of 'Aristarchus of Samos' 482, 513-14, 520n, 566n, 676, 689n.

Heaven (*svarga*), 1212-1215 (vide under Gods): and earth, six hymns addressed to as divinities in Ṛg, 1492-93; and earth are called father and mother in Ṛg. 1548n; distance between h. and earth as put in the Ait Br., 1493; ideas about h. held by Jaimini, Śabara and Kumārila differ from those in the Veda and Purāṇas 1212; in Ṛg. h. was deemed to be a place where souls of valiant men and great donors and wise men went 1213; in Atharvaveda heaven was deemed to possess damsels, edible plants

and flowers, streams of ghee, honey and wine, milk, curds, lotus ponds, 1213; is defined as 'mental happiness' (prīti) by Śabara, 1214, 1312n; joys of h. were 100 times greater than those on earth 1213; old verse defines svarga as 'a state of happiness unmixed with pain' 1214; poets like Kālidāsa describe how the soul of one killed in battle arrives instantly in H. 1213; Purāṇas like Brahma, Mārkaṇḍeya, Padma, graphically describe H. as having all pleasures and no sorrow 1213; rewards of acts must be held to differ in their duration 1214; Śabara and Kumārila state that popular ideas about h. are invalid, that Mahābhārata and Purāṇas being the works of human authors need not be considered and Vedic descriptions are merely *arthavādas* 1214; Śabara states that the words of Veda provide that reward of rites will follow, either in this life or in later existences, 1215; Upaniṣads like Chān. (VIII. 5.3) and Kauṣītaki dilate upon the joys of heaven such as hundreds of Apsarases with garlands 1213; Viṣṇupurāṇa says h. is what produces mental happiness, Naraka is the opposite, that merit and sin are named Svarga and Naraka 1214; was declared to be reward for all sacrifices for which no express reward is provided by Veda 1214.

Heliodora, a Bhāgavata and Greek ambassador from king Antalikita to an Indian king 131.

Hemacandra, Jaina ācārya, condemns prāṇāyāmas 1441.

Hemādri, 1623; on Vrata 31n, 37-40, 42n, 44-47, 49n, 51n, 54, 55n, 61n, 82, 84-86, 88-90, 92, 94n, 100n, 101, 105n-107, 114-7, 119, 124, 127-8, 132n, 142n, 147n, 148-9, 150n, 151, 153n-4n, 156n-7n, 160n, 165n, 168, 170-1, 178, 183n-5, 188-9, 191, 195 6n, 199, 207, 221, 239n, 572n, 597n, 745n-46, 769, 788n, 792-3, 795n, 801, 803-4, 810n, 834n, 835, 860n, 868n, 923n, 926n, 930n, 954n, 1096n, 1106n, 1130 (speaks of some mudrās), 1289, 1307; on Kāla 69n, 73n, 75n, 78n-9n, 89, 95-97, 99n, 100, 102, 104n, 106, 110n, 111, 113, 115-20n, 125, 132n, 133, 137n-8n, 147n. 201n-3n, 211-16, 216, 218, 219-20n, 222-23, 227, 229-30 234n, 238, 241, 243n-50n, 473n, 477, 480n, 608, 609n, 623, 657, 663n-5n, 671n, 672-74; on śrāddha 640n, 693, 706, 920, 931n, 978n; on Dāna 830.

Hensler, Eric de, a. of a French work on 'Transmigration' 1605

Hepatoscopy, meaning and illustrations of, 521n; not developed in India 522n; theory underlying it 522n.

Heraclitus, view of, that a new sun was born and died every day, 511, 690.

Heretical sects in Purāṇas, 978; one should not even talk with Pañcarātras and Pāśupatas and should not feed at Śrāddhas Bauddha mendicants, Nirgranthas etc. 978.

Heretics: in 1401 English Parliament passed the Statute for the burning of H., which was not repealed till the Stuarts came back 476.

Heritage of India, paper on 'Tantras as a way of realization' in Vol. IV, 1085.

Herodotus, 482 (Greeks borrowed from Babylonians two kinds of sun-dials and division of day into 12 parts); refers to peculiar practice of Egyptians to regard each month and day as sacred to some god 549; states some Greeks had made the doctrine of punarjanma their own and that Egyptians were the first to teach it 1530; states that India constituted the 20th province of Persian empire and paid tribute 1613.

Hesiod, furnishes the earliest evidence for lucky and unlucky days in Greece 523.

Hevajratantra, edited and translated by Dr. D. L. Snellgrove, 1147.

Hickey J. C., a. of 'Introducing the Universe' 499, 565n–66.

Himavat mountain (Himālaya): alone m. by Pāṇini among seven principal mountains though he knew others also, 1525n; Atharvaveda knows it and remarks that all rivers start from Himavat and join Sindhu (ocean), 1526n–27; snow-capped mountains known to Ṛgveda 1527.

Hindi, making Hindi the only official language of India, criticized 1666–67.

Hindu astronomy, discussion of the theory of Greek influence on, 514–21.

Hindu culture and civilization, fundamental characteristics of 1623–1657.

Hindu, word, used by Darius and Xerxes in inscriptions 1613; few elements that bound Hindus together and causes that militated against their unity set out 1621–22.

Hinduism (vide under 'Buddhism' and 'Buddha'); had to meet challenge of Moslem invasions and domination from 11th century A. D. onwards; higher thought in H. held that there was only one God 118; in stemming the tide of Buddhism, the brāhmaṇas and other leaders of H. had to make compromises of a far-reaching character, such as giving up of Vedic animal sacrifices, Paurāṇika Mantras and procedure came to be used along with Vedic Mantras in Śrāddha, in Devapūjā and in establishing images, 1024–25; modern fashion to make comparison between present practices and shortcomings of H. and the original doctrine of Buddha and to disparage the former, but a comparison to be fair should be made between

the later phases of Buddhism and later phases and practices of H. 1029.

Hinduism, the pursuit of purely secular or wordly happiness is incompatible with the precepts and ideals of Hinduism 1475.

Hindu law (vide under Dowry, Women): Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act (No. 78 of 1956) has made radical and far-reaching changes and overrules all texts, rules, customs and usages, except in so far as they may have been expressly saved by the Act, 1336, 1670-71; of all the revolutionary changes occurring in India the most pervading influence will be that of the several laws affecting Hindus made from 1954 to 1956, 1674; on adoption severely criticized as a misnomer and travesty of ancient Hindu Law 1337-8; Hindu Law of inheritance declared the impotent, the outcast and his son, and several others as unfit for a share (on partition), and only entitled to maintenance, but the Hindu Succession Act (32 of 1956) has swept away all these disqualifications 1319; under old H. L. girls were to be married before puberty and Manu IX. 90 provides that if relations don't get her married she should wait for three years and then may herself choose her partner 1338.

Hindu Marriage Act 25 of 1955, 1671 (makes sweeping changes of which most Hindus are ignorant).

Hindu Marriage Act makes vast changes 1706

Hindu Marriage, recent Act against dowry, criticized as useless 1676.

Hindu society, one of the outstanding characteristics of, is the joint family system of Mitākṣarā type prevalent in whole of India (except Bengal); drastic changes made by Hindu Succession Act of 1956 without abrogating it 1672–74.

Hindu Society and Religion; Reform and reorganization of, discussed, 1699–1710.

Hindu Succession Act 30 of 1956, criticized 1673–74.

Hipparchus (about 140 B. C.): Ptolemy based his work on the work of, 514n, 682.

Hiraṇyagarbha, praised as creator and identified with Prajāpati and Śāntiparva says that he is announced in Yogasūtras as author 1371, 1391, 1489–90.

Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya, 622.

Hiriyanna, Prof. M., a. of 'Outlines of Indian Philosophy' pp. 298-325 (on P. M. S.), 1200.

History of Dharmaśāstra : Vol. I, on pp 20, 815–16, 834n, 854, 889, 894, 1152n, 1199; vol. II on pp. 18, 25, 27–8, 31n–33n, 34, 37, 43, 87n, 101n, 123, 126, 148, 185, 191, 206, 210, 218n–9n, 267, 276, 293, 312, 393, 419, 421, 511n, 536–37n, 554n, 614, 622, 674n–5n, 724, 737n, 748, 759n, 773n, 778–9n, 790, 802n, 853n, 935, 945, 969n 973n, 991–2,

1006n, 1027, 1029n, 1031, 1079–80n, 1096n–97, 1099n, 1114n, 1116, 1123, 1125, 1205n, 1217n–18, 1233n, 1244n, 1269, (for Madhuparka), 1269n (for Sautrāmaṇī), 1272 (Upanayana for women), 1279 (marrying a maternal uncle's daughter and gift or sale of horses), 1288, 1292, 1294n, 1304n, 1306 (distinction between *yāga*, *homa*, and *dāna*), 1313n, 1317, 1319, 1321, 1323n, 1325n–26, 1328n–29n, 1331n, 1413n, 1422, 1458, 1471–2, 1511, 1527, 1536n, 1545, 1570, 1577, 1592, 1598, 1614, 1624, 1626–28, 1632, 1634n–36n, 1638n–1640, 1643, 1647n, 1688; *Vol. III.* — (on pp.) 184, 237n, 335, 448, 486, 532, 543n, 545, 620n, 640, 648n, 686–7, 691n, 693, 701, 783n, 812n, 849, 856n, 969n, 1080, 1152n, 1184, 1190n, 1205n, 1239n, 1257n, 1259n (on Manu II. 7) 1258, 1260, and n, 1262, 1263n, 1264n, 1266n, 1269, 1273n, 1278–9, 1280 (discussion on valid customs and usages), 1281 (Kumārila's explanations of transgressions by great men of antiquity), 1294n, 1296, 1301n, 1309, 1319–20, 1336 (adoption by Hindu widow), 1420-1, 1469n–70, 1472, 1474, 1543n, 1626–27, 1663, 1701; *Vol IV*– 3, 20, 28, 40n–41, 52–3, 64–5n, 89n, 91n, 97–8, 103, 105, 204n, 205n, 246n, 267, 272, 292, 371, 375, 386, 416, 430–31, 462, 640, 671, 673n–4n, 675, 681, 706, 731n, 756n, 786n, 796n, 825, 865n, 894–5, 915–16n, 920, 932–3, 988 (meaning of ṛta), 1110n, 1212, 1231, 1273n, 1317, 1320, 1334, 1365n, 1416, 1422, 1458, 1528, 1531–2 1576n, 1589, 1592, 1598, 1643, 1645, 1653 (n), 1706 (Hindūkaraṇavidhi).

History of Sanskrit Poetics by P. V. Kane, 769n, 780, 997n, 1653n.

Hittites, 599n comparative grammar of H. language; Sayce draws attention to the fact that H. numerals are Sanskrit 599n; technical Sanskrit words in horse-breeding, royal names and Vedic gods about 1400 B. C. among H. 683.

Hobhouse, L. T. a. of 'Morals in evolution'; 1594, 1606, 1630n.

Hoens, D. J. work of, on Śāntis, is extensive but deals with Śāntis in Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras only 735.

Hoernle, Dr. 499, 840n (on date of Amarakośa).

Hogben, on 'Mathematics in Antiquity' 482n.

Hogg, A. G., a. of 'Karma and Redemption' 1570n, 1604.

Holākādhikaraṇa–Jai. I. 3. 15–23 are so called because the first example in Śabara's bhāṣya is Holākā 237n, 1281; frequently m. by writers on Dharmaśāstra 1281–82.

Holikā 237–241 (vide under Śabara), also called 'Hutāśani' and 'Phālgunikā' 238; ancient festival on Phālguna Full Moon of unmixed gaiety and

frolic throughout India, though all parts do not observe it in the same way 237; derivation of the word from the word 'Homa' 239n; element of bonfire is present everywhere except in Bengal, where swinging of Kṛṣṇa image is done 237; Dolayātrā in Bengal in place of bonfire 239-240; history of holākā from ancient times 238; legend as to why boys become boisterous and kindle Holākā 238-39; number of days for this festival varies 237; obeisance to ashes with Mantra on the day after Phālguna full moon 239; obscene sex references in 241; only religious element is worship of Kṛṣṇa in Bengal and in some other provinces a priest is engaged to perform pūjā before bonfire 237; origin of, explained from natural phenomena 240; ribald songs and music, sprinkling of coloured water or powder are accretions 240-241; sounds made by beating mouths with the back of the hand 237, 241; spring festival in origin 240; sprinkling of friends with coloured water from bamboo or metal syringes or with red powder is indulged in now even by persons in high places 237; worship of Kāma, god of love 239.

Homa, 802 and n; cannot be performed by women and śūdras with Vedic mantras but could be performed for them through a priest 32, 40, 52; distinction between homa, yāga, and dāna, 33; distinguished from *devapūjā* 33; fire in which h. is to be made 50; in a vrata was in honour of the deity of the vrata or was vyāhṛtihoma 33; number of āhutis to be offered in 50.

Honey making and queen bee, illustration of, in Praśna Up. II 4 and in Yogabhāṣya, 1444n

Hroke S. H., a. of 'Babylonian and Assyrian religion' 522n.

Hopkins E. W., paper of, on 'Yoga technique in the Great Epic' 1393, 1577 (against Deussen's theory); 1604 (on modifications of karma doctrine).

Horā, a branch of Jātaka 479; also means 'lagna' and also half a 'rāśi' 546; early Sanskrit texts do not employ the word h. in the sense of 24th part of day 571n; had three sub-sections, Jātaka (horoscopic astrology), Yātrā of Yātrika (prognostications on a king's march for invasion or for starting on a journey), Vivāha (examining horoscopes of parties to a marriage) 479-80; lords of the two horās of a day 580-81; meaning and derivation of, 545, 571n, 580; prognostications from birth on each of the two horās of a day 580; three meanings of, in Sanskrit astrology 571.

Horace, ode of, to Maecenas 550.

Horāśāstra, means astrology based

on horoscopes of individuals 545.

Horizon, Bṛhajjātaka employs the word 'harija' for it 584n.

Horoscope (vide astrology, Ahmedabad, bhāva): ancient and medieval Indian h. took no account of Uranus, Neptune, Pluto and Satellites of Jupiter 637; correctly cast from looking at a man, his eyes and hands by Mahadkar Jyotishi 631; is cast not only for individuals but also for companies, ships, animals, foundations of buildings, cities and countries 555; oldest h. found in Mesopotamia and not in Egypt nor in Greece, 596–67; oldest Greek h. from Egypt range from 4 B. C. to 500 A. D. 597; possibility that h. might lead to a more or less correct statement about a person's features but little about the vicissitudes of his life, 632; principle that h was merely like a map or plan was often given up by Varāhamihira and others 547–48, 634; Ptolemy insists that h. is not the sole basis for judging a person's future, but country of birth, race, customs, upbringing have also to be considered 553–4; some horoscopes of avatāras like Rāma and of other famous ancient persons examined 627–629; twelve houses in h., their names and synonyms 577-8; Utpala and Rājamārtaṇḍa also require as Ptolemy does, the consideration of country, caste, family and customs of a person whose h. is to be explained 554n, 555; was linked with the doctrine of Karma and Punarjanma by Varāhamihira and other Indian astrologers 545; word horoscope coined late in Greece 597.

Horses, honoured in Durgotsava 184; Nīrājana of, m. in Raghuvaṁśa and Bṛhatsaṁhitā as Śānti 187; prognostications from movements, prancing, neighing of, 804; sale of, expressly forbidden by Manu X. 89 and impliedly by Tai. S., but gifts of H. highly praised in Ṛg. 1257n.

Hospital, establishment of, with physicians proficient in eight aṅgas of Āyurveda m. in Nandipurāṇa q. by Kalpataru and Aparārka, 891.

Hours, European, derived from Babylon and Egypt 678.

House, astrological requirements in construction of 623; auspicious times and nakṣatras for construction of, were provided in gṛhyasūtras 622–23; construction of, called Śālākarma 622; first entrance (gṛhapraveśa) into a newly built h. required the same astrological times as for construction of h. 624; many of the astrological requirements are observed even now in construction of a house and first entrance in a newly built h. 624; works on construction of, 623.

Householder–vide under 'gifts': high eulogy of stage of, in

Dharmaśāstras, epics and by poets, 27; is to engage after daily bath, in *Japa* of parts of three Vedas, of Atharvaveda, of Purāṇas with Itihāsa and Upaniṣads 865; to perform five yajñas daily 935.

Hrozny: puts date of Mitanni records at 1360 B C. 599n.

Hultzsch, edited 'Aśoka Inscriptions' 1012n, 1017.

Humphreys, Christmas, a. of 'Karma and Rebirth', 1605.

Hūṇas, vide under Mihirakula and Toramāṇa, 61n, 856.

Huxley Aldous: a of 'Ends and Means' gives advice to social reformers against making unnecessary or startling changes 1338, 1676; warning by, against the plethora of books on Yoga, 1651.

Images (vide under Portent): Grant of a village on the establishment of Viṣṇu image in 6th century A. D. 625; of gods were made for sale and for worship before Pāṇini, 36; of gods described as dancing, trembling and weeping as a portent 769; Purāṇas say that i. are necessary for concentrating the mind 973n; rules about auspicious times for establishment of i., 624–5; rules about making images of Sun, Mātṛs and others in Br S. and Purāṇas 683n, 1046; Śānti for i. of gods that fall down, weep, dance, laugh or sing 737n, 769n, 770; reasons advanced for image worship are acquieseed in by some western scholars also 1649–50n.

Incense (*dhūpa*); results of burning various kinds of dhūpa 39; varieties of incense 39.

Incentives for hard work are required even in Russia 1682.

India, (vide under 'monuments'): Achievements of, after Independence in 1947, 1663–64; downfall of, was due to lack of certain virtues, such as general high character, nationalism, freedom, justice, high endeavour and not merely to caste system, 1643; even when Buddhism flourished, the people of India as a whole were always Hindu 1606; intercourse between Babylon and I. from 3rd millenium B. C. 598–600, 683; Northwest of, was centre of Sanskrit culture at least six centuries B. C. 542; people of, were and are ready to agree that there may be alternative approaches to the mystery of life and salvation of the soul 1012; Rhys Davids holds that I. never indulged in persecution approaching in any way to persecution of reforming Christians by orthodox Christians etc. 1011; Varāhamihira divided India into nine parts, each of which held to be governed by three nakṣatras and the Mārkaṇḍeya also agrees 530; works and papers on ancient Geography of, 1528n; proper word for I. is Bharatavarṣa or Bhārata 1614; no political unity for the whole of India (except perhaps under Aśoka)

at any time nor of one nationality for all Hindus till the British rule began, 1621; is now a sovereign democratic Republic 1663; mixed economy of public and private enterprise in I. 1682; poor per capita income of India, 1685; problem of phenomenal growth of population 1687–88; some of the causes of political downfall of India 1622–23; was invaded by Persians, Greeks, Scythians and Huns but they and other tribes like Pāradas, Cīnas, kirātas that emigrated into I. were absorbed 1640; Yavanas and Kambojas referred to in Aśoka's ediots 1640; assistance to, by U. S. A., 1693; Budget of Govt. of I. envisages vast expenditure 1689–90; no political authority that could legislate for whole of India before the British and consequent variety of laws and usages in 1701; peculiar and formidable difficulties of modern I. 1702; public debt of, at various periods 1692; rapid enactment of several tax laws, and their procedure and effects, 1694–95; States, based on purely linguistic basis undesirable 1703; vacillating policy of Central Govt. as to Bombay city criticized 1703; vast debt owed to U. S. A. and other countries 1689–90, 1693; what is wanted for integration is a comprehensive code or system of beliefs and day to day conduct 1703.

Indian, brought to Baghdad a treatise on Arithmetic and astronomy and introduced Indian numerals which were passed on to Europe in 12th Cent. A. D. by Arabs 483n.

Indian Antiquary (Journal): 94, 112, 130–31, 140–42, 149, 155, 205, 207, 213, 245–246, 253, 262, 264, 275, 279, 419, 420, 437, 485, 493, 507n, 508, 510, 515n, 625, 631 (grant of 1793 A. D. containing predictions of matters that came to be true), 633n, 641n, 651n, 652n, 653, 656, 661–2, 670, 685, 701, 702n, 766n, 812, 817n, 873, 910, 964n, 1010n, 1013–4, 1016, 1018, 1025, 1129, 1161, 1182n, 1219, 1395, 1524n, 1528n, 1634n

Indian Art, architecture, sculpture and painting; 1652–7; works on, 1655–56

'Indian Culture' a journal, 493n, 657n, 844.

Indian Ephemeris by Pillai: Vol. I, has a long list of festivals but it mentions no original authorities 253.

Indian Civilization (vide under debts, puruṣārthas, varṇa and caste): wrong view of Toynbee (in Vol. IX) that Indian C. was born about 1375 B. C. and broke down about 725 B. C. and Hindu civilization began about 775 A. D. and broke down about 1175 A. D., which he himself corrects in his Reconsiderations (Vol. XI), 1617; absorbed

foreign invaders like Persians, Scythians, Huns and spread its religion, art, literature to many countries of S. E. Asia by mostly peaceful methods 1617–8.

Indian Culture, is based on great spiritual values and exalted mind and soul over the body 1619, 1640; large number of works and papers on spread of, to further India or greater India, 1618n; developed the idea of three religious debts owed to sages, gods and ancestors 1626; unbroken tradition and continuity from Vedic times, 1622; questions that require to be asked and answered by Indians are about the prevention of recurring invasions of foreigners and about inability to form one dominion for the whole of India till British rule began 1620–21.

Indian culture, chief aims of, in former times 1708.

India's great handicap is population and food production 1684; India, one of the poorest countries in the world 1685.

India's food crisis and the steps to meet it dealt with in Ford Foundation Report, discussed, 1685–86

Indian General Clauses Act (X of 1897), Sec. 13 lays down that the singular includes the plural and words of masculine gender include females, unless the subject or context is repugnant 1187n.

Indian Historical Quarterly 30, 126n, 155n, 187, 485, 516, 614, 656, 668n, 696, 699n, 714n, 812 (Pargiter criticized), 844, 883, 957n, 978n, 1003, 1007, 1033n. 1046n, 1075n, 1140, 1158n, 1159n, 1160 (Inscription of Rājarāja in 999 A. D in which Mimāṁsāśāstra is said to have 20 Chap.), 1176 (problem of 'Taduktam' sūtras), 1186n, 1187 (paper on 'Vṛttikāras of Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra), 1355, 1395, 1397 (Prof. Renou criticized) 1408n, 1527n.

Indian Independence Act of 1947, 1662.

Indians (except gymnosophists) did not go to Greece and did not return to India to spread Greek astrology 585.

Indians should not despair or lose courage, but must work hard to secure prosperity for all 1704.

Indica Antiqua (in honour of Dr. Vogel) 67.

Indische Studien 563n, 589n, 617n.

Indra and Prajāpati 1497–8; exploits of, 12; paramour of Ahalyā (night), 1280; relation to Yatis, in Ṛgveda 1386; said to be a killer of 'ahi' 126.

Indradhvajotthāna 274; described at length in H. of Dh. II. pp. 825–26.

Indulgences (granting forgiveness of sins and a certificate of entry in Paradise) were put on sale by highest dignitaries of Christian Church in the hands of licensed traders 933n.

Ingalls, Prof. on 'Materials for the study of Navyanyāya' 470n.

Inge, W. R. a. of 'Christian Mysticism' 1463n; a. of 'Christian Ethics' 1668.

Intercalary Month (*adhimāsa*): (vide malamāsa, saṁsarpa); as opposed to *nija, śuddha* or *prākṛta* 664; called Saṁsarpa or Aṁhaspatya in Tai. S. and M. S. and Aṁhasaspati in Vāj. S. 489; condemned from ancient times, 671; explanation as to why it occurs 662–663; how and when inserted in times of Ṛg. and Tai. S. not known but one whole month was added even in Ṛg. times 490; known to Ṛg., the other Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas 489; one I. M. once in 2½ years provided in Kauṭilīya and another after 2½ years more 506n; Mahābhārata adds two I. M. in 5 years, 506 n; names for I. M. in Sanskrit are many and their explanations 671; people following luni-solar calendars like the Babylonians, Chaldeans and Indians had to resort to the device of, 662; said to be of 35 days in Śat. Br. 489n; two intercalary months in five years acc. to Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and others 663; various works specify different periods after which I. M. occurs 663.

Invakā, means Mṛgaśīrṣa, 535.

Inquisition: instances of the intolerance and barbarities of, 1019–1020; method of its work 1020; Rule W. H. a. of History of, 933; state of Hindus in Goa when Inquisition existed 1020; three centuries of I. resulted in condemnation of 375, 000 people of whom at least one-tenth were burnt 1019; was established in Goa in 1560 and it continued its inhuman work for 250 years more, 1020; works on the brabarities of 933n.

Inscriptions: Aihole I. 1029; Aśoka I. 686n; details about season, month etc. how given in i. before and after Christian era 669–670; from Kambuja (Cambodia) 1048n; Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman 670; Nasik cave Inscriptions 968n; of Campā and Cambodia 883 (6th century provision for reading of Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas); Somanath Pattan Inscriptions of 1264, A. D. is a a remarkable one 1018; Yogaśāstra, Yoga techniques and āsanas mentioned in, 1425n.

Ionia (of which Yavaṇa is a Sanskrit equivalent): original location of, 516n.

Isaiah (Old Testament) 548.

Īsānasaṁhitā 228–9.

Īśopaniṣad 1478, 1704, 1707.

Iṣṭāpūrta: (vide under 'Pūrta'): occurs in Ṛgveda once and means merit acquired by sacrifices and by works of public utility 947; occurs in

Upaniṣads Manu and purāṇas 947–9.

Iṣu-yāga, a magic rite referred to in P. M. S. VII. 1. 13–16, to which details are transferred from Śyena-yāga 1322.

Īśvara, in Yoga system is not creator but has a limited role 1412–13.

Īśvarapraṇidhāna, two meanings of, in Vyāsabhāṣya 1412n, 1414.

Itihāsa-purāṇa, meaning of, acc. to com. on Śat. Br. 815; in Atharvaveda, Śat. Br. and Śrauta-sūtras and Kautilya, 816, 819; m. in Tai. Ār, Chān. up and Bṛ. Up. 675; reading of, prescribed for all *dvija* householders by Dakṣa, 819; Upaniṣads speak of them as fifth Veda 817.

Itikartavyatā – means procedure of sacrifices, 1283n; Kalpa is the same as i. 1283n; word occurs in P. M. S. III. 3. 11.

I-Tsing: his 'Records of Western world' tr. by Dr. Takakusu 942n, 1003, 1198n (refers to Jayāditya, author of Kāśikā)

Iyengar, Dr. S. K., a. of 'Manimekalai in its historic setting', 1186n.

Jābāla, a. of Smṛti 213n 216.

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Jābālopaniṣad 944, 1251 (gives several options about the time when to become a sannyāsin), 1514, 1607.

Jacks L. P., a. of 'Near the Brink' 1609; 1675n 'on social reform').

Jackson, A. M. T. 1640n (attractive and absorbing power of Hinduism).

Jacob, Colonel, a. of 'Laukikanyāyāñjali' 1339.

Jacobi, H. 579, 1395, 1397–98 (on dates of philosophical sūtras); Festgabe H. Jacobi, 812, 883; on date of Ṛgveda 510, 513; papers of, on Indian astronomy in E. I. 644.

Jagdish Lal, editor of Yogayātrā 627n.

Jāgara, 26 items of, in Ekādaśīvrata 106n.

Jaigīṣavya, m. as Sāṅkhya-yoga teacher in Śāntiparva 1374, 75 (dialogues of J. and Asita Devala), 1391–92 (a great Yoga teacher in Śalya and Śānti *parvans*), 1398, 1444 (Yogabhāṣya on Y. S. II. 54 follows J.).

Jaimini (vide under Bādarāyaṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Pūrvamīmāṁsā, Vyāsa): a. of Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra 24n-5n, 28, 33–34, 53, 73n, 77, 86, 96, 132, 139, 212n, 224, 823–4, 926n-7n, 1032, 1097 and n, 1107, 1114n, 1154–55, 1158, 1207, 1222n, 1231, 1250 (the word 'nityānuvāda' occurs frequently in), 1527, 1544–45; commentator Upavarṣa on, 735n, 821; pupil of Vyāsa, acc to Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, 1161; received Sāmaveda from Vyāsa, 1161; Sabhā and Śānti *parvans* and Purāṇas on 1161; sūtras of V. S. in which J. is named, 1162.

Jaimini, a. of a Smṛti, 249n.

Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa 1117.

Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra 733 (adbhutaśānti), 1177.
Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistāra of Mādhavācārya 237n, 1185, 1189 (summarises in verse and prose 1000 adhikaraṇas).
Jaiminīya Śrauta-sūtra 1177.
Jaiminīya-sūtrārthasaṅgraha of Ṛṣiputra Parameśvara 1159n, 1188n
Jaina Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu 777.
Jainas, doctrine of 'Saptabhaṅgīnaya' m. in Viṣṇupurāṇa 974n; had *mudrās* 1130; view of there being two suns and moons criticized by Pañcasiddhāntikā and Brahmagupta 511 and n.
Jainism, practised thorough-going ahiṁsā 1648.
Jalāśayotsargatattva 1273n
Jamadagni, a. of a Smṛti 118n.
Jambudvīpa, m. in Aśoka's Rupnath Rock Inscription 1523, 1614.
James, E. O., a. of 'the cult of the Mother Goddess' 1046n.
James, William, a. of 'Varieties of religious experience' and of 'Pragmatism' 1212, 1475, 1483, 1486, 1650n.
Janaka, king of Mithilā, a pupil of Pañcaśikha acc. to Śāntiparva, 1365–70; had reached a position of unconcern about worldly goods and power 1367n, 1369; dialogue between J. and Sulabhā and her scathing remarks against J. 1368–70; learned from Pañcaśikha the whole doctrine of *mokṣa* as based on Upaniṣad passages acc. to Śāntiparva, 1369–70; learnt from Yājñavalkya the doctrine of *brahman* acc. to Bṛ. Up. 1370, 1377–79; offered to become slave of Yājñavalkya 1580.
Janamejaya, son of Parīkṣit, 648n; quarrel of, with brāhmaṇas, 827 and n.
Janasthāna, on Godāvarī, said to be sacrificial ground of Janaka dynasty, 894.
Janma-maraṇavicāra, of Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva, on doctrine of Karma 1599–1600.
Janmāṣṭamī, vide Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī.
Japa of Om in Smṛtis and Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad 1413 and n.
Japan, compelled by growth of population to legalize abortion 1689.
Jastrow, Morris, a. of 'Religion of Babylon and Assyria' 522n.
Jātaka, a branch of horā (judicial astrology), based on horoscope 479, 545; often identified with horāśāstra 546.
Jātakālaṅkāra of Gaṇeśa, composed in 1613 A. D., 558.
Jātakarma (rites on a child's birth); auspicious times for, 605.
Jātakas, Buddhist birth stories 599n.
Jāti (caste): word does not occur in Vedic literature, but occurs in Nirukta, Pāṇini, Mahābhārata 1433; vide under 'varṇa'.
Jawaharlal Nehru, a. of 'Autobiography' 1640n, 1689; about a man having a worth-while ideal, 1670.

Jaya, applied to Mahābhārata at first but later to several other works also 301, 870–1.

Jayākhya-saṁhitā, 1105n–6, 1111, 1120 (on nyāsa), 1123, 1125, 1131n.

Jayamaṅgalā, commentary on Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra 195n, 238, 1131n.

Jayamaṅgalā, com. on Sāṅkhya-kārikā, names many teachers between Pañcaśikha and Īsvara-Kṛṣṇa, 1355.

Jayanta-bhaṭṭa, a. of Nyāya-mañjarī 469.

Jayantī, 8th of dark half of Śrāvaṇa with Rohiṇī nakṣatra is different from Janmāṣṭamī-vrata, acc. to Hemādri and some others 133.

Jayantīnirṇaya, of Hārīta Veṅkatanātha (part of Daśanirṇayī), 132n, 133, 138, 139n.

Jayaprakāśa Narayan and Sarvodaya ideal 1683.

Jayaswal, K. P. (a. of ' History of India ' 1013): 651n, 679n (on origin of week-days), 826 (published the historical portion of Yugapurāṇa), 827–28, 883 (papers on Purāṇas), 1008n (on explanation of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa), 1013, 1140 (a. of ' Imperial History of India ', which deals with parts of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa); 1614n (on Hathigumpha Ins.); 1663 (holds that ancient India had republics).

Jayātithis are 3rd, 8th and 13th, 230, 302.

Jeans, a. of ' Mysterious Universe' 1486n, 1574n.

Jehangir, killed Guru Arjun of the Sikhs for his religious activities 1019 ; memoirs of, tr. by A. Rogers and ed. by H. Beveridge 1019.

Jesuits : acted on the principle of ' the end justifies the means, ' which latter included incitements to assassination and war 1476–77.

Jewels : (vide Pañcaratnas) : 219, 337, 759 ; nine, acc. to Vratarāja 387.

Jews, persecution of, 1019 ; murder of five million J. by Germans in the 2nd World War constiutes the greatest crime in world history 1480n.

Jha, Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganath, a. of ' Pūrvamīmāṁsā in its sources ' 1157n, 1191n (wrong in saying that Maṇḍana wrote a. com. on Tantravārtika) ; translation of word ' *kesarin* ' criticized 1257 ; translated into English Tantravārtika and notices eight commentaries on it in Introduction 1188, 1261 ; translated the bhāṣya of Śabara and Ślokavārtika into English, 1200 ; wrote introduction to Bhāvanāviveka of Maṇḍana 1194 ; a. of ' Prābhākara school of Pūrvamīmāṁsā ' 1200, 1254 (obscure as to meaning of ' ārādupakāraka ' and ' Sannipatyopakāraka ') ; translated Yogasūtra 1394.

Jitendriya, defined by Manu (II. 98) 1424n.

Jīva, the word for ' Individual soul ' occurs in Ṛg. I. 164. 30,

Jīva, meaning Jupiter in Sanskrit, how derived, 572; derivation of J. from Zeus not correct 585.
Jīvanmukti, defined in Pārānandasūtra 1055.
Jīvanmuktiviveka, 1604.
Jīvaśarman, author on Astrology quoted by Utpala for Anaphā, Sunaphā etc. 592.
Jñāna, path of, leads to Mokṣa 964-65.
Jñānārṇavatantra, 1062n (for details about *cakras*), 1101 (wonderful power of mantras), 1117 (on Dīkṣā), 1118, 1125-6 (on Mudrās), 1127, 1131n, 1133.
Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (of about 717 A. D.); 1050, 1064 (*yogin may secure liberation by those very actions by which ordinary men suffer torture in Hell*), 1065n, 1066n (symbolical meaning of vajra and coitus with Cāṇḍālī or Dombikā), 1071 (on *gurus* and warning against false gurus), 1119 on abhiṣeka in Tantra, 1142 (*date etc.*).
Job, Book of, in Old Testament 1546n.
John St. (for *idea of Karma*) 1546.
Jones, Abel, a. of 'In search of truth' 1484 n.
Jones F. W., a. of 'Design and purpose' 1484n.
Jones, Sir William; published list of Hindu festival days based on the Tithitattva 253; translated Manusmṛti and rendered Manu I. 108 (ācāraḥ paramo dharmaḥ) as 'immemorial usage is transcendental law' 1278.
Johnston, E. H., on 'Sāṅkhya' 1353.
Joint family system, practically abrogated 1672.
Joshua (Old Testament) 512.
Journal Asiatique; 942n, 1023, 1073, 1075n.
Journal of American Oriental Society 94, 482n, 485, 512, 597, 599n, 655, 732n, 845, 1393, 1398 (Jacobi's paper), 1434n (controversy on meaning of Prāṇa), 1514n, 1615,
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 186n, 485, 499, 699n, 883, 1149.
Journal of Benares Hindu University 650n, 1190.
Journal, Bhāratīya Vidyā 1275n, 1456.
Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society 437, 514n, 517n, 521, 826-27, 843-44, (Dr. Banerjee Sastri criticizing Pargiter and others), 883.
Journal of Bihar Research Society 1009n, 1383.
Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 131n, 245, 516n, 576, 591, 592n, 670, 978n, 1179 (papers on 'Gleanings from Śabara and Tantravārtika' and 'Tantravārtika and Dharmaśāstra'), 1187n, 1195, 1404, 1406, 1625 (Deussen's address on Vedānta).
Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society 564.

Journal of Bombay University 651n, 978n, 1013.
Journal of Cuneiform Studies 597.
Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute 195, 497n, 646n, 668n, 1076n, 1133n, 1407, 1601.
Journal of Hellenistic Studies 549n, 566n, 582n, 595n, 646.
Journal of Indian History 629n, 651n-2n, 656n, 843, 1187, 1198, 1376, 1411n.
Journal of Near Eastern Studies 483n, 490n, 517n, 520n, 543, 549n, 566n, 582n, 595n
Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, 84n, 628n, 1124, 1130.
Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, 655, 690, 710, 844, 884, 1032, 1046n, 1152n, 1161.
Journal of Pali Texts Society 1003, 1009.
Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain 494n, 498, 508, 516, 563n, 598n, 647n-9, 656, 679n, 704n, 883, 1017n, 1046n, 1048n, 1092n, 1104n, 1375, 1398, 1530
Journal of Venkateswara Oriental Institute 841n, 1395.
Journal of United Provinces Historical Society 1527n.
Jung, C. G., a. of Psychological commentary in Evans Wentz's book, 1394; once a disciple of Freud diverged from his views on *libido*, 1414n.
Jupiter, *bālya* and *vṛddhatva* of, explained 61; description of, in Bṛhajjātaka 574; importance of, in settling marriage 615; length of J.'s revolution round the sun 657n, 658; when in sign Leo, to be avoided for all religious acts within certain limits of India 62; ruler of silver and also gold in certain situations 575.
Juvenal, strongly inveighed against ladies who had great confidence in Chaldean astrology 550.
Jwalaprasad 1398.
Jyeṣṭha: Daśaharā on 10th of bright half of, 90-91; Sāvitrīvrata on J. Full moon for women whose husbands are living 91.
Jyeṣṭhā Nakṣatra is called Rohiṇī in Tai. S. and Tai. Br. and Jyeṣṭhaghnī in Atharvaveda 500.
Jyotirvidābharaṇa, a fabricated work, mentions six starters of eras 647.
Jyotiṣa (see under Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa): also called Gaṇita in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 478; had become one of the six aṅgas (auxiliary lores) of Veda several centuries before Christ, 477-78; had 64 aṅgas, acc. to Anuśāsanaparva 742; he who knows J. knows sacrifices 478; included in later times three branches (*skandhas*) viz. Tantra (movements of planets by Mathematics), Horā or jātaka (astrology) and Śākhā (divination, omen etc.) 478-479; in case of conflict between J. and

Dharmaśāstra the latter was to prevail 480–481 ; J. lore of Veda several centuries before Christ 477–78 ; said to be eye of Veda in Śikṣā or at the head of all vedāṅgas 478 ; third branch of J. was called Śākhā and also Saṁhitā 479 ; two branches of J. viz. Horā and Śākhā exerted great influence on Dharmaśāstra 480 ; Varāhamihira composed a work on the three branches of J. 479 ; Vedāṅga (of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda) was concerned with only astronomical matters 478.

Jyotiṣa work embodying all three branches of, was called Saṁhitā 479.

Jyotiṣa-ratna-mālā of Śrīpati 557, 559–60.

Jyotistattva 610n–1n, 613n, 623–4, 626, 660, 734 (on Śāntis), 745n, 778–80, 792 (on Pallīpatana).

Kabir (Moslem weaver and disciple of Rāmānanda 1400–1470 A. D.) 969n ; his teachings 969.

Kādambari of Bāṇa and his son 39, 821–22, 1040, 1047, 1124n, 1205, 1384, 1423 (in hermitages of sages natural antipathies between animals disappear).

Kādividyā (a form of Tantra) 1045n.

Kaivalya : does not occur in the principal or older Upaniṣads but the word Kevala occurs in Śv. Up. IV. 18 and VI. 11 1415.

Kalā, as a unit of time variously defined 117.

Kāla, as the first principle in Atharvaveda 1495.

Kāla (vide under Kalpa, Manvantara, pralaya, Rudra, measures of Time, yuga); *Aśvamedhikaparva has* an elaborate metaphorical description of wheel of K. 467 ; Bhagavad-gītā identifies K. with Kṛṣṇa 467 ; derived from root ' Kal ' in Bhagavadgītā, 467n ; included among nine *dravyas* by Vaiśeṣika-sūtra 468 ; in the case of religious rites K. is not a mere detail, but is the *nimitta* (occasion) on the happening of which an act has to be performed and what is done at a time other than the prescribed one is as good as not done 73 ; Mahābhārata frequently refers to theme of Kāla 466–67 ; *mukhya* and *gauṇa* 100, 102 ; not included in the 25 tattvas of Sāṅkhya, but m. in relation to Karaṇas 468 ; Omkāra is said to be beyond the three divisions of K. by Māṇḍūkya Up. 465 ; Pāṇini uses the word K. for ' time ' in general or proper time or divisions of time 467 ; Patañjali's important theory about K. that it does not exist except as a convenient name or word for the manner of measuring changes and comparing them 468 ; produced by Him who is intelligent and omniscient, acc-

to Śv. Up., 465 ; produces and destroys beings and is invincible, acc. to Ādiparva 466–467 ; Purāṇas on K. hold that time is without beginning or end, is all-embracing and is identified with God 473-4 ; Śāntiparva on the formidable influence of K. on all including even Indra and other gods 467 ; Śāntiparva speaks of Kāla as 20th guṇa and to be the source and end of all beings 467 ; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa uses it in sense of time or 'proper' time 464 ; Śvetāśvataropaniṣad uses the word Kāla in sense of cause or source of creation 465 ; units of K. 486 ff ; Upaniṣads use the word K. in the sense of 'end' or 'proper time' or 'appointed time' 464–465 ; Vanaparva identifies Kṛṣṇa with K., Brahmā, Rudra etc, 467 ; views on time being non-existent as a separate entity or as being directly apprehended or as merely inferred 469–70 ; word occurs in Ṛg. only once 463 ; word used in two senses even by early Vedic times viz. time in general and as identified with Supreme Being 464 ; Yogasūtrabhāṣya has a brief but interesting and abstract disquisition on K. 471–72.

Kāladarśa 75n, 78.

Kalañjādhikaraṇa Nyāya 77.

Kālanirṇaya 54n, 73n, 75, 77n–8n, 85, 95–97n, 99n, 100n, 105n–107, 112–3, 115–7n, 120n, 121n, 129n, 132–5, 138n, 145n, 146n, 151n, 153, 188, 202n, 211n, 215n, 220n, 227n–230, 232n, 241, 243n–5n, 249n. 659, 666n, 671n, 672, 705.

Kālanirṇaya-kārikā 145n, 657n, 661n, 662n, 665n, 674, 705.

Kālamādhava 67n–8n.

Kālatattvavivecana 73n, 77n, 86, 96, 121n, 135, 154n, 157n 158, 163, 176, 180–82, 188, 195–196n, 203, 204n, 232, 240, 672n.

Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana 41n, 58, 61n, 75n, 76n, 78n–9n, 81n, 83n, 95, 97n–100n, 105n, 106n, 110n, 111–2, 116n, 117n, 119n, 124n, 125, 126n, 133, 154n, 165n, 176n–178n, 180–1n, 194, 200n, 207n, 212n, 214n, 216n, 220n, 222n, 238n, 241, 243n, 244–5n, 246n, 248–9n, 662n, 671n–74n, 706n, 766n ; mentions seven predecessors that wrote on Kāla 58.

Kalaśa, king of Kashmīr (1063–1069 A. D.) was led into lax sexual morals by his guru Pramadakaṇṭha, guilty of incest with his own daughter 1075n.

Kalaśa, jar used on auspicious occasions like marriage, coronation 280.

Kālasiddhāntadarśinī of Sri Haranchandra Bhattacarya, exhaustive work on Kāla 475.

Kalhaṇa, author of Rājataraṅgiṇī 630, 649 1075 ; vide under Rājataraṅgiṇī.

Kālī, mentioned in Mahābhārata 185 ; one of the dhyānas of,

described, 1041n ; (vide under Devī, Śāktas, Śakti).

Kālidāsa 1046n ; generally held to have flourished about 350–450 A. D., 186 ; refers to Viṣṇu's sleep for four months 110 ; refers to Vratas 46 ; refers to Nīrājana Śānti 193 ; traditions about K., Vikrama and nine jewels 901, 1461 (uses Yoga technical words), 1571 (on Karma doctrine); throbbing of hero's right arm and of the right eye of the heroine foreshadow future 905, 1027, 1152 ; uses Sāṅkhya terms 1384 ;

Kālikāpurāṇa 34, 39–40, 154, 156, 158n–60n, 162, 164 (on 16 Upacāras of Devī, on animals to be offered), 165–167, 169n, 171n, 173 ; 174 (Yoginīs named and numerous balis to Devī), 175n, 176n, 177 Śābarotsava in Durgā-pūjā), 178n, 180 (pūjā of Devī three times in the day), 185, 187 (*nīrājana*), 219, 793, 830, 1032–33, 1093 (many chapters on mantras, mudrās, nyāsa etc.), 1120 (mātṛkānyāsa), 1121, 1124n, 1287 (three verses q. by Kalpataru) 1332 ; devotes considerable space to Durgā and her worship, 156 ; describes mudrās like Dhenu, Yoni, and states there are 108 mudrās, 55 for general worship and 53 for special occasions 1127–28 ; Note on 888 ; three separate recensions of, acc. to Dr. V. Raghavan 888 ; to be placed before 1000 A. D., 888.

Kalivarjya (actions forbidden in the *Kali* i. e. present age) 1267–1272 : (vide under *niyoga*, uddhāravibhāga, veda, sattrās, sautrāmaṇī, killing animals) ; is a fiction invented to *accommodate the changes in* people's ideas and practices 1269–70 ; K. actions (55) in number) were set out and discussed in Vol. III of H. of Dh. pp. 926–967, 1267 ; long before 9th century Dharmaśāstra writers had condemned *Govadha* (in Madhuparka), the practice of *niyoga* and the assignment of a larger share to the eldest son at a partition among brothers 1267–68 ; some striking actions forbidden for Kali but enjoined or practised in Vedic times (apart from Niyoga and Uddhāravibhaga) set out, 1268–69 ; what authority could sages at the beginning of Kali have to prohibit what Veda enjoined or allowed is not made clear anywhere 1269, 1664.

Kālī : (vide under Devī, Śakti, Śāktas) ; one of the Dhyānas of, described 1041n.

Kalīvilāsatantra 178n, 181n, 1089n, 1093 (allows adultery to Śāktas if semen is not allowed to fall), 1107 (prescribes as mantra the reversed three letters of 'om Durge' as 'rgedu om' ; 1117 (best time for dīkṣā).

Kaliyuga, 1107 : also, called Tiṣya, 687 ; dismal description

of what will happen in 693; contrasted with other Yugas and its special merit stated 928; era, one of the earliest reference to, is in Āryabhaṭīya 649; huge figures of years of, suggested by figures in Śat. Br. 690; Inscriptions dated in K. era 649, 650n; in Yugapurāṇa 827–28; Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas exist in K, though some learned writers hold the opposite view as to Kali age, 32; started acc. to tradition in 3102 B. C. 638n; started acc. to Bṛhatsaṁhitā 2426 years prior to Śaka era, 649; views about beginning of, differ 648–649.

Kalkipurāṇa, note on 888.

Kallaṭa, a *siddha* of the time of Avanti-varman of Kashmir 1075.

Kālottara 1117.

Kalpa or Kalpas–(vide Yuga and Manvantara) : ancient Upaniṣads have no elaborate theory of K. 1567; are immense periods of time 686, 688, 1567; are numberless 824; m. in Aśoka's edicts 686; thirty-three named in Vāyupurāṇa and by Hemādri 693.

Kalpādi are tithis on which the Kalpas are deemed to have begun 280.

Kalpasūtras: Jaimini (I. 3 11–14) has a separate adhikaraṇa on them 1274; Kumārila distinguishes between Kalpa (ritual of Vedic sacrifices) and Kalpa-sūtras and names eight of the last, 1274 and n; Śabara mentions three K. by name 1274; various interpretations by Kumārila of P. M. Sutras I. 3. 11–14, 1274–75.

Kalpataru : vide Kṛtyakalpataru.

Kalyāṇavarman, a. of Sārāvali 546.

Kāma, as the First Principal or Essence in Atharvaveda 1494–95; was not neglected, as Gītā identifies Kṛṣṇa with K. not in conflict with dharma, 1630.

Kāmadhenu of Gopāla, friend of Lakṣmīdhara, but older 249, 884.

Kāmakalāvilāsa of Puṇyānanda 1126, 1136–38n.

Kamalākara : a. of Nirṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara 925–26; a. of Śāntiratna 813n.

Kamarūpīya-nibandha, q. by Tithitattva 174n.

Kamalaśīla, a. of Com. on Tattva-saṅgraha, pupil of Śāntarakṣita, a. of Tattvasaṅgraha, 1194, 1212n (quotes a verse of Ślokavārtika), 1376.

Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana 195, 238, 1630.

Kaṁsa, killing of, known long before the Mahābhāṣya 997.

Kāṇḍānusamaya method, explained 1316–17, 1342; followed acc. to Mit. as to Vaiśvadeva brāhmaṇas in the matter of Upacāras, 1317; referred to in P. M. S. V. 2. 7–9, 1317.

Kane Festschrift 838n, 893.

Kaniṣka 186, 654 (deemed by some to be founder of Śaka era), 669.

Kant. a. of 'Critique of pure reason' 475.

Kāpālikas on Śrīparvata 1048.

Kapali Sastry : a. of 'Ṛgbhāṣya-bhūmikā' in English 981, 985; bitterly attacks Sāyaṇa but admits that Sāyaṇa is not only useful but indispensable to Vedic students 989; inaccuracies of renderings of Ṛgveda verses and words by K. pointed out 981, 988–89; on 'Veda and Tantra' 1150; rendering of 'Kavayaḥ satyaśrutaḥ' occurring only thrice in Ṛg. shown to be entirely wrong, 990.

Kapila, a muni (see under Brahmā, Tarpaṇa) : as avatāra of Viṣṇu and chief of Siddhas in Bhāgavata, 1373; K., Āsuri, Voḍhu and Pañcaśikha as four of the seven sons of Brahmā 1372; first promulgator of Sāṅkhya, acc. to Sāṅkhya-kārikā and Vanaparva, expounded it to Āsuri 1356–7, 1372; mentioned in Śv. Up. V. 2 is claimed by Sāṅkhyas to be their founder, while Śaṅkarācārya says that there is another K. called Vāsudeva 1362; mentioned in Nārāyaṇīya section as propounder of Sāṅkhya 1365; one of ten Āṅgirasas in Ṛgveda, 1372; styled Ādividvān and Paramarṣi in a quotation from Pañcaśikha 1374 and n.

Kapila, called Vāsudeva, reduced to ashes the sons of Sagara, acc. to Vanaparva and Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1362.

Kapilāṣaṣṭhī Yoga 279, 706.

Kapota bird, messenger of ill-luck in Ṛgveda, 729.

Kāraka, astrological meaning of, 590.

Karamalkar S. M., a. of a Marathi work on Calendar, 714n.

Karmarkar Prof. R. D., 1172n.

Karambelkar Dr., a. of paper on Matsyendranātha, 1046n;

Karaṇa (see Viṣṭi); Bṛhatsaṁhitā states what should or should not be done on the several K. 708; *carakaraṇas* occur eight times in a month 708; derivation of word K. 708; fifth astrological item (or aṅga) in a pañcāṅga 707; four *sthira karaṇas* with presiding deities 707; K. means half of a tithi and there are 60 karaṇas in a lunar month 707; names are strange and inexplicable 708; Nāradapurāṇa mentions both kinds of K. 708; scheme of, is fanciful 710; seven Karaṇas of *cara* kind with presiding deities 707; *sthira* K. occur only once in a month 707–708.

Karaṇa, works so called for preparing pañcāṅgas 643.

Karaṇakalpalatā, a work of Dr. K. L. Daftari 644, 664n, 713 (basis of what is popularly called Tilak Pañcāṅga), 714n.

Karandikar, Mr. J. S.: a. of Gītātattvamañjarī (in Marathi); relies on Ṛg. X. 14. 8, X, 16. 3 and 5, X. 135. 6 for his view that the doctrine of Transmigration is as old as Ṛgveda 1542; view of, examined and held to be wrong 1542–44.

Karanyāsa : Padmapurāṇa provides for it with *mantra* (Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya)

1121.
Karka and Karkin–occur in Atharvaveda 563.
Karma and Punarjanma 1530–1612 : (vide under Christianity, Empedocles, Heaven, Herodotus, Plato, Pythagoras, Prof. Ranade, 'reincarnation,' Vedānta, Upaniṣads) : antecedent supposition to belief in K. and P. are four 1532 ; Āp. Dh. S. and Gautama on 1560 ; belief had arisen in times of Śat. Br. that one who does evil deeds in one life has to suffer for them in a later life from that being which he harmed 1534 ; belief that punishment by the king for a bad deed relieved the doer of the sin 1598 ; Brāhmaṇa works (such as Śat. XII. 9. 1. 1) give details about the rewards of good works and the retribution for evil deeds 1533–4 ; Br. Up. IV. 4. 5–7 is the leading and the oldest Upaniṣad passage on K. and P. and so is Br. Up. III. 3. 13, 1547–48 ; confession of sins was in certain cases held to purify a person as in Varuṇapraghāsa Cāturmāsya and necessary in prāyaścittas for some sins 1592–3 ; clear statement of the doctrine of K. and P. is absent from the Ṛgveda though it refers to two births of Vasiṣṭha, 1536–7 ; difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of K. with the system of Śrāddhas for ancestors 1598 ; doctrine of Karma leads on to doctrine of punarjanma 1561 ; doctrine of, extends the inexorable physical law of causality to the mental and moral sphere 1561; doctrine of, has attracted many minds from the West and there is now a voluminous literature on it in the West, 1530 ; doctrine of, modified doctrine of Heaven and Hell 1532 ; doctrine of Karma, instead of being a gospel of hope and an urge to effort, became in the minds of many Indians confused with fatalism 1566 ; doctrine of K. permeated the whole of society, poets and others 1571 ; doctrine of K, not pessimistic or fatalist if rightly understood but emphasizes all-out effort in this life 1573 ; doctrine of, received almost unanimous support from all *darśanas* (except Cārvāka) that severely criticize each other's doctrines 1532; doctrine of, touched upon by the Bhagavadgītā in many passages 1569 ; doctrine of, a unique characteristic of Hindu culture, 1530, 1646 ; effects of evil deeds done by a man can be got rid of only by expiations, or by suffering them in another life or by realization of Absolute *brahman* 1560–61 ; efforts made by a man on the path of Yoga are not altogether lost, but become steps on the path of perfection 1569 ; four kinds of, viz. kṛṣṇa, śukla etc. 1572 ; idea of K. was prevalent among Jewish people in the

time of Jesus (vide St. John IX. 2) 1546; idea of *punarmṛtyu* in Śat. Br. and Tai. Br., Bṛ. Up. and Kauṣ. Br. 1534–35; influenced Indian thought from at least Upaniṣad times and all Hindus, Buddhists and Jains 1530; is an endeavour to answer the question, what happens to men after death of body 1530; law of Karma, laid down by Upaniṣads, was inexorable that fruits of all actions, good or bad, must be experienced, but some exceptions were made, the first being that actions done after a person has realized *brahman* but before the body falls do not produce results 1587; little is said in the Ṛgveda about the fate of evil-doers 1533; McTaggart, L. P. Jacks, Wordsworth and some other Western writers favour the doctrine of K. 1609; Mahābhārata in some passages avers that the consequences of the evil deeds of a man are suffered by the man's son or grandsons (and not by himself), 1598; Manu prescribes *Japa* of certain Vedic hymns for removal of even mortal sins and highly praises Aghamarṣaṇa hymn, 1593; men guilty of grave sins may, acc. to Chān. Up, Kaṭha Up., Manusmṛti become beasts, or even tree trunks but theosophists and some modern men say that once the state of a human body is reached there is no regression to a lower stage 1611–12; objections against doctrine of K. stated and replied 1609–1611; objection that doctrine of K. leaves no scope for Free will, dealt with 1574–75; once prāyaścittas were admitted as removing effects of sins, other ways were prescribed in early times for the same purpose such as Japa (recitation of holy texts), homa, *tapas*, fast, gifts, pilgrimages 1592; passages in Manu, Yāj. and other Smṛtis that a guest when not properly honoured gives his demerit to the householder and takes away latter's all *puṇya* or stating that if a witness deposes falsely all his merit in many lives will go to the party who lost that suit are mere *arthavādas* 1596–98; popular idea of last thought at death leading to a new birth appropriate to it is an interference with the law of K. 1598–99; Prāṇāyāma, practice of, for removal of effects of sins, 1593; Purāṇas emphasize the importance of good or evil deeds, that one has to reap the fruits of one's actions, that Karma does not come to end even after many lives unless the results thereof are undergone 1576-77; Purāṇas went so far as to prescribe mere remembrance of the name of Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa, particularly for śūdras and pratiloma castes, for removal of

effects of sins 1592; Rāmāyaṇa, on doctrine of K. 1576; Ṛgveda contains some prayers for wealth and heroic sons, but it was immortality and joys of heaven that were most valued 1533; Śatapatha Br. had arrived at the idea that man's will governs what he will reach after death 1535; Śatapatha Br. has a passage on the powers conferred in yonder world by sacrifices performed in this life such as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Cāturmāsya, 1535-36; some features of our present life can be more satisfactorily explained on the theory of Karma than on any other 1572-73; strict doctrine of K. would require than one man's good or bad Karma cannot be transferred to another, but in Ṛg. fear is expressed that one may have to suffer for others' deeds and modifications were introduced such as the king getting 1/6 in the merit or demerit of his subjects 1595-96; three classes of Karma, *sañcita*, *prārabdha* and *kriyamāṇa* (*or* '*sañcīyamāna*') explained 1574; three regular treatises in Sanskrit on K. mentioned and described 1599-1604; Vedāntasūtra on K. and P. 1558-60; very few regular treatises in Sanskrit on the law of K. 1599; word Karma in some passages of Ṛg. means 'exploits', 'valiant deeds' and in some 'religious works' such as sacrifices and gifts, 1532-33; works and conduct done in this life fashion a man's future life and that the present existence of a man depends on his actions and conduct in a past life or lives — this is the gist of the grand passages of Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 5-7 and III. 3. 13, which are illumined by the illustrations of the caterpillar and the snake's slough, 1546-48; works in English on K. 1604-05.

Karmapradīpa of Gobhila 50.

Karmaśabda, means 'dhātus' (verbal forms such as 'yajati', juhoti), 1236.

Karmāśaya (in Y. S.) means 'Dharmādharmau' 1917n.

Karṇaparva, 90n, 129, 569, 744, 821, 839 (on Yavanas).

Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara (about 900 A. D.), a *prākrit* play in which the caricature of a character called Bhairavānanda occurs 1073-74.

Karṣa, a weight equal to 16 māṣas of eighty raktikās 219n.

Kārtavīrya, vide under 'Dattātreya'.

Kārtika, giving up meat-eating in, very meritorious 283.

Kāśakṛtsna, a teacher in V. S. 1157.

Kāśakṛtsnī means a woman that studies the Mīmāṃsā expounded by Kāśakṛtsni, 1157 and n.

Kāśikā, com. on Pāṇini's 'Aṣṭādhyāyī' by Vāmana and Jayāditya; 27, 499n, 525, 670, 708, 1153n, 1198n, 1205n (mentions Laukāyatika), 1389n; from I-tsing's remarks

it appears that Jayāditya died about 661 A. D., 1198n.
Kāśikā, com. on Ślokavārtika 1184n.
Kaśyapa, a ṛṣi in Ṛgveda 463n.
Kāśyapa, a writer on astrology, from whom Utpala quotes about 300 verses, some of which show knowledge of rāśis, 592, 746.
Kāśyapasaṁhitā, 710n.
Kāṭhakagṛhya 238, 663.
Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā, 63n, 126, 498–9, 507n, 523, 671, 684n, 691n, 698, 730n, 1079 (brāhmaṇa did not drink wine), 1153, 1297, 1385n, 1386n, 1633.
Kathāvatthu, shows Andhaka school of Buddhism was disposed to permit copulation for a specific purpose to monks 1023.
Kaṭhopaniṣad, 915 (Naciketas story), 917 (on vidyā and avidyā), 939n (giving up tṛṣṇā), 952, 961, 1063n (on 101 nāḍīs of the heart, one of which penetrates the crown of the head), 1072, 1360, 1362, 1387, 1388n, 1389, 1400n, 1430, 1435, 1451n, 1455n, 1471, 1478, 1502 (five guṇas, *śabda* etc. of five elements mentioned), 1504, 1507n, 1508n, 1592–3, 1546n (verse quoted in), 1555 (fate of some people after death), 1563n, 1564, 1585n, 1600, 1611, 1625 (illustration of pure water poured into pure water), 1631 (path of mokṣa more difficult than that of bhakti), 1649.
Katre, Dr. S. M. paper of, on 33 avatāras 997.
Kātyāyana, a. of Vārtikas on Pāṇini, 516n.
Kātyāyana, Smṛti of, 54, 96, 99, 105n, 675, 1032.
Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra. 18n, 724, 732, 738n, 1155 (closely corresponds with Jaimini's sūtras in several cases), 1224n, 1297n, 1321.
Kaula, is not one who drinks wine etc. but who has undergone *abhiṣeka*, 1118.
Kauladharma (practices): (vide Kuladharma) 1052, 1076 (in Aparārka's day it was practised secretly).
Kaulajñānanirṇaya 1083 (on the rousing of Kuṇḍalinī).
Kaularahasya (ms. copied in 1734 A. D.) shows how common people literally understood the cult of the makāras, 1087 and n.
Kaulas (some) offered worship to a young woman's private parts, 1138n.
Kaulaśāstras, taught that *bhoga* need not be given up, but should be sublimated and substitute a Yoga of enjoyment for one of abstinence 1077.
Kaulāvalīnirṇaya of Jñānānandagiri, 1050n, 1052n; enumerates numerous tantras including Yāmalas, 1050n, 1056n (extravagant praise of women), 1059 (about wine cups), 1076, 1081n (substitutes for makāras), 1082–3, 1085n, 1093, 1106, 1109–10, 1126n, 1135n.
Kaumudī festival (vide Divāli): 195.

Kaumudījāgara and Yakṣarātri included under *krīḍā* 195n.

Kauśikasūtra (of the Atharvaveda), 524, 535, 610, 724n, 729n–30n, 732n, 734–35 (Keśava's paddhati on), 738n; 739–40n, 769–70n, 773, 785n, 802n (on Āyuṣya mantras); Kaṇḍikās 93–136 of chapter 13 deal with 42 *adbhutas* and the Śāntis therefor 735; mantras m. in K. on Śāntis appear to have formed an independent collection and Atharvaveda mantras play a secondary role 735–36; Śāntis in K. are spoken of as prāyaścittas 736.

Kauṣītaka 66.

Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa 223n, 489, 491, 659, 1248, 1313n, 1497 (Prajāpati as creator), 1535.

Kauṣītaki-gṛhyasūtra 730.

Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, 464n–65, 525n, 538, 864n, 866, 1213 (joys of heaven), 1386n, 1388n, 1468n, 1486, 1507n, 1513, 1553–55, 1558–9, 1563, 1579n, 1580 (Ajātaśatru and Bālāki Gārgya), 1587n.

Kauṭilya, a. of Arthaśāstra: 476, 505n, 527–8, 538, 569–70, 658–9, 675, 819, 862, 1001n, 1205 (includes 'Lokāyata' under Ānvīkṣikī), 1628, 1638, (speaks of armies of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas).

Kautsa, views of, that Vedic mantras are *anarthaka*) (have no sense or serve no purpose) and was attacked by Nirukta 1275–76.

Kautuka (nine things as constituents) to be tied on *kaṅkaṇa* in marriage 291.

Kāvyādarśa (of Daṇḍin), contains a verse in the Sarvatobhadra form, 1134.

Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara 1183.

Kayānīya-Ṛgveda IV. 31. 1 and Sāmaveda No. 169.

Kaye G. R.-claims that he has proved that India is not the originator of the decimal place value notation 699n; doubts whether Kṛttikās are Pleiades, but does not suggest any other identification 493, 585.

Keay, F. E, a. of 'Kabir and his followers' 969n.

Keith, Prof. A. B., 1397 (on Patañjali); 719, 1200 (a. of 'Kārmamīmāṁsā'), 1254 (inverts meaning of Ārādupakāraka and Sannipatyopakāraka), 1395, 1434; a. of 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads' 1213, 1486n, 1491, 1604, 1627 (remark of, about ethical content of Upaniṣads being valueless, criticized); a. of 'Sāṅkhya system' 1354, 1371, 1373, 1376; a. of translation of Tai. S. in H O. S. 1545.

Kemadruma, Yoga, meaning of, 584

Kendra and Greek 'Kentron' differ in meaning 585.

Khecarīmudrā (in Haṭhayoga), descriptions of, different in different works 1127.

Khilasūkta 729n.

Kenopaniṣad, 1044.

Kern H., assigned Garga to 50.

B. C. 592n, 680–71; a. of 'Manual of Buddhism' 941, 944, 970n, 1003; editor of Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira 69n, 187, 193, 516n, 579, 584, 592n; edited Saddharmapuṇḍarīka with Bunyiu Nanjui 1107; published part of Yogayātrā in volumes of 'Indische Studien' 617n; published part of Yogapurāṇa 826; rebuked Weber for holding Pauliśa-Siddhānta as borrowed from Paulus merely on similarity of name 516n; shows that Saddharma-puṇḍarīka (tr. by him in SBE) contains passages closely agreeing with Gītā 970.

Keśava, a. of Paddhati on Kauśika-sūtra 735n.

Ketkar V. B., a. of 'Indian and foreign chronology' 661, 664, 680n.

Khaṇḍadeva, a. of Bhāṭṭakaustubha and Bhāṭṭarahasya (1600–1665 A. D.), 1199.

Khāravela, Jain king of Kaliṅga, performed Rājasūya 1028.

Khañjarīṭa (wagtail) or Khanjana bird; eating of flesh of, forbidden by Manu and Yāj. 193; prognostications from movements of 193.

Khaśa tribe 969.

Khosrove, horoscope of the accession of king, on 18–8–531 A. D., 556n.

Khuddakapāṭha 943n.

Kidinnu, said to have discovered precession of equinoxes 514n

Kielhorn, editor of Mahābhāṣya 130, 408n, 1631n; published list of Hindu festive days based on Dharmasindhu 253.

Kikaṭa, a country in which non-Aryans resided, acc. to Yāska and acc. to Kumārila, K. means 'closefisted' 1256n.

Kings (vide under Maṅgala, Āndhra, Puṣyasnāna, Sātavāhana, officials); nakṣatras on which the king should not get himself shaved 533n; not affected by āśauca while performing royal duties 48; not to donate the whole kingdom in Viśvajit sacrifice, 1313; office of, hereditary 1664; procedure of coronation of K. with Paurāṇika mantras prescribed in Agni and Viṣṇudharmottara and in medieval digests like Nītimayūkha 923; Puṣyasnāna for, had Paurānik mantras 1024; rise and fall of, depended on planets acc. to Yāj. 544; set free prisoners when the king's nakṣatra was affected by evil aspects 531n; should perform all religious acts as directed by the purohita 543, 742; sign of success is the ease or satisfaction of the king's mind 778; starting on expedition should see, hear and touch maṅgala objects and listen to recitations of Veda, Dharmaśāstra, epics 621, 778; time table for king's daily routine acc. to Kauṭilya 819; when the nakṣatra of the king's coronation or of his caste or the nakṣatra of his country is affected by evil planets or aspects what is to be the forecast 530; when eclipse inaus-

picious to king, 765; 1639 (office of king hereditary and king deemed to be a divinity).
Kirātas, assigned to caves in Vāj. S. 969n; worship of Durgā by 158.
Kirātārjunīya 892n, 911, 1134 (example of Sarvatobhadra *citrabandha*), 1195 (quoted by Prabhākara).
Kirfel W., a. of 'Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa' 841, 843, 852; a. of 'Die cosmographie der Inder' 843, 1523; gives chapter concordance of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas 841n; gives a table of chapters that are common to both Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa, 841n; Introduction to 'Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa' translated into English, published in Vol. VII and VIII of Journal of Venkatesvara Institute of Tirupati 841n; most of his conclusions except one are tentatively acceptable 852; view of, that the five matters 'sarga' etc. were the only elements of ancient Purāṇas not acceptable 852.
Kleen, Miss Tyra de, work of, is of fundamental importance 1523n; on Mudrās practised by Bauddha and Śaiva priests, called *pedandas*, in Bali 1125.
Kleśa, technical word in Yoga 1364n; five in Yogasūtra II. 3, 1364n.
Knowledge, spiritual and scholastic, to be kept secret 1460-61 (vide under Upaniṣad).
Kolhatkar K. K., a. of 'Pātañjala-Yogadarśana' (in Marathi), 1393, 1399 (criticized).
Koestler, A., : a. of 'The Lotus and the Robot' 1394, 1453n (disbelieves levitation); labels Indian Democracy as Bapucracy 1668n.
Kollam (or Paraśurāma) era in Malabar, 656 (deemed to have started in 1176 B. C.).
Koṇārka temple, vide 1653n, for description and works on
Kosala, country, situated on Śarayū, with Ayodhyā as capital 531n.
Koṭihoma 290, 752, 754, (king's duty to perform); one kind of navagrahaśānti in which the oblations, fees and rewards are one hundred times of Lakṣahoma, the other procedure being the same 752; continues for a year, acc. to Matsya 753; procedure of, 754; to be begun in Caitra or Kārtika, if no urgency 761.
Krama (order in which the several component parts or acts of a sacrifice are to come one after another) 1313-1317; fifth chap. of P. M. S. deals with this, 1313; for determining the sequence of component parts in a sacrifice six means are specified 1313 14; illustrations (from Veda) about sequence being determined by the six means 1314-1316; illustrations of arthakrama being held stronger than pāṭhakrama in Dharmaśāstra works 1314.
Kramadīpikā of Keśava, a Vaiṣṇava Tantra 1051.

Kramrisch, Dr. Stella, 1653n (translated passages of Viṣṇudharmottara on painting and sculpture); a. of 'Indian sculpture' 1655.

Kratu, meaning of, in Ṛgveda and Upaniṣads 1546n.

Kratvartha 1232 34; distinction between K. and Puruṣārtha taken over into Dharmaśāstra, examples cited 1234-5; general rule that all aṅgas (auxiliary rites) are K. and there is a great difference between the results of not doing the two matters properly or omitting them and test for deciding whether some matter is K. or puruṣārtha pointed out, 1234-35.

Kroeber, A. L., a. of 'Style and civilization', disagrees with Spengler and Toynbee 1617.

Kṛṣṇa (vide under Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamīvrata): K. and Arjuna are described as drunk with wine and married their maternal uncle's daughters 1281; identifies himself with Vāsuki and Ananta (a *nāga*) 127; killed Narakāsura and married 16000 women imprisoned by the latter 197-198; story of suspicion about K. killing Prasenajit for *syamantaka* jewel 147.

Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, a perpetual student, raised sons on the widows of his uterine brother Vicitravīrya by *niyoga*, 1280.

Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamīvrata 128-143; (see under Vāsudeva and Megasthenes): acc. to Jayantinirṇaya, tithi is principal matter in Janmāṣṭamīvrata, while in Jayantīvrata nakṣatra Rohiṇī is the principal matter 133; antiquity of Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva worship 129-131, 953; Besnagar Ins. of Greek Heliodorus refers to Vāsudeva as Devadeva 131; celebrated on the 8th of dark half of Śrāvaṇa and on 8th of Bhādrapada dark half acc. to some 128-129; conclusions of Tithitattva about the exact times of, 134; current in Northern and Central India from about 500 B. C., if not earlier, 131; description of Kṛṣṇa's birth in Bhāgavata is commonplace and vague 131; eighth tithi may be with Rohiṇī or without it and several possible combinations of tithi, nakṣatra, time and week day are set out, 134; exact time and tithi of Janmāṣṭamī celebration is much discussed in medieval works 134; Ghosundi Inscription of 2nd or 1st century B. C. mentions the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva 131; is *Nitya* as well as *Kāmya* 133; Jain tradition about Kṛṣṇa 129; Jayantī and Janmāṣṭamī distinguished, 132; Jayantī fast occurring on Wednesday or Monday yields far greater results than in other cases 135; Kṛṣṇa, a Vedic poet, in Ṛg. invokes Aśvins 129; Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa, author of Ṛg. VIII. 86-87, 129; Kṛṣṇa is depicted in Mahābhārata as a

composite personality viz. as a prince, friend of the Pāṇḍavas, a great warrior, statesman and philosopher and also as Avatāra of Viṣṇu 129–130; life of, among cowherds in Bhāgavata, and Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas 129; Kṛṣṇa was one of the Vṛṣṇis, stories and dramatic representations about his killing Kaṁsa and imprisoning Bali existed before the Mahābhāṣya 130; Kṛṣṇa cult, various phases of, acc. to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, 131; Kṛṣṇa's birth on Rohiṇī nakṣatra, of which Prajāpati is the Lord, 131n; account of birth of K. from Bhaviṣyottara together with astrological aspects 131–132; K. belonged to the Candravaṁśa and Budha in legend and astrology is son of the Moon and so Monday and Wednesday on 8th of Śrāvaṇa were deemed to yield great results 135n; Mahābhārata on Kṛṣṇa 129, 953; main items in K. vrata are fast, worship of Kṛṣṇa, *jāgara*, listening to and repeating hymns and stories of exploits of Kṛṣṇa and pāraṇā 135; principal items in K. vrata, views differ on, 137–38; most important vrata and utsava celebrated throughout India 128; most sublime praises of Kṛṣṇa in Mahābhārata by Yudhiṣṭhira, Draupadī and Bhīṣma, 129; nakṣatra of Kṛṣṇa's birth was Abhijit acc. to Harivaṁśa 133; numerous verses on the māhātmya of, in Agni, Mat ya and Padma Purāṇas 129; names one hundred and eight of Kṛṣṇa set out in Brahmāṇḍa 977n; pāraṇā in K. in some cases may be at night, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas 139; passed away thirty-six years after Bhārata war, 687n; people called Vāsudevaka and Ārjunaka before Pāṇini's times 130; principal time for celebration of K. is midnight of 8th of Śrāvaṇa dark half (of Bhādrapada if month is pūrṇimānta), 134; procedure of K. vrata 135–137; procedure in Dharmasindhu employs Puruṣasūkta in K. vrata, while some other works mention no vedic mantra 137; question whether Janmāṣṭamīvrata and Jayantīvrata are identical or different vratas is decided differently by different authors 132–133; reference to Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra in Chān. Up. receiving instruction from Ghora-Āṅgirasa 129; special rules about pāraṇā of Janmāṣṭamī and Jayantī fast 138–139; the K. festival is not found in Kṛtyakalpataru on Vrata, but a brief reference is made to it in Naiyatakālika section of that work 139–40; usage in some territories like Mahārāṣṭra of 'Gopāla-kālā', 139; Weber's theory that the ritual of K. festival was transferred to India from outside based on three points, examined and shown to be baseless 140–143.

Krishnamachari, V. T., a. of 'Planning in India' 1683n.
Kṛta, implies the number 'four' in Tai. Br. 701.
Kṛta era, 651–53; generally identified with Mālava-gaṇa era and Vikrama era 651–52; Inscriptions in Kṛta years found so far are nine, 651 and n; interpretation of, 651.
Kṛta-yuga, described in Gupta Inscriptions as a cycle of great virtue 687; Dharma perfect and four-footed in K. and declined by one foot in successive yugas 688n; Manusmṛti (IX. 301) puts for ward the view that the four ages are not watertight specific periods of time, but the king or ruling power can produce the conditions of Kṛta 696.
Kṛttikās: are many, acc. to Śatapatha Br. 507; do not swerve from the east, while other nakṣatras do so 507; referred to as Bahulā by Pāṇini 499, 740n, and a man born on Bahulā may be called Bāhula; said to be seven in Mai. Saṁ. 507n; seven names of, from Tai. Br. 499; spoken of as wives of the ṛkṣas 498n; substances, persons and craftsmen governed by K. 560.
Kṛtyakalpataru (1110–30 A. D.), 30, 39–40, 44n, 47n, 55, 70, 101–3, 115n–6n, 119n, 124, 139, 149, 929n, 1381 (quoting Devaladharma-sūtra), 1407, 1409n, 1417n–18n, 1431n, 1438n, 1440n, 1444n, 1446n–48n, 1449, 1450n, 1455, 1457n; the editor of Kṛtyak. did not identify many verses quoted in it, e. g. on p. 1448 (eight verses from Śaṅkhasmṛti and six from Dakṣasmṛti), 1458 (four verses from Śāntiparva); on *Brahmacārikāṇḍa* 820n, 870–71, 897, 926n, 1262 (on five categories of smṛti contents); on *Gṛhasthakāṇḍa* 926n, 947n; on *Mokṣa* 1112n, 1217 (quotes Devala on Siddhis); on *Niyatakāla* or *Naiyatakālika* 82, 117n, 157n, 184n, 214n–216n, 219, 244, 247–49n, 897, 1246n, 1270n; on *Rājadharma* 737n, 754, 793n, 897; on *Śāntis* 734–35, 752 3 (quotes Matsya), 754, 788n, 798n; on *Śrāddha* 527, 897; on *Vrata* 185, 211 (whole of Chap. 98 of Matsya q. on pp. 432–435), 868n, 890n, 897, 1096n, 1105 (mūlamantra of the Sun), 1106 (Mahāśvetā mantra); on *Vyavahāra* 1287.
Kṛtyaratnākara 30, 32n, 37–40, 42n, 57, 59, 71n, 79n, 81n, 82, 89n, 92, 93n, 101–2, 110n, 111–2, 114, 116n, 125, 140, 152n, 154n, 156–7n, 174n, 177n, 180n, 184n, 193, 203n, 207n, 213n–216n, 221n, 222n, 241, 246n–249n, 481, 660, 662, 871n, 923n, 926n, 962, 1243; begins with Vāra-vratas 57.
Kṛtyatattva 88n, 91, 93, 110n, 111–2, 122 123n–25n, 134, 138, 139n, 195n, 198n, 199, 201–2, 207n, 208n, 228n, 241.

Kṣatriyas, destruction of, by Paraśurāma 89n.

Kṣayamāsa 662, 664 ; references to some past K. 665 ; when occurs 664 ; which month out of twelve can or cannot be K. 664-665.

Kṣemaka, last king of the Aila Dynasty (acc. to Vāyu) is described in Narasiṁhapurāṇa as grandson of Udayana and Vāsavadattā and son of Naravāhana 891-92.

Kṣemendra, a. of Daśāvatāracarita, composed in 1066 A. D., 824.

Kṣetra, 24 tattvas are so called in Śāntiparva, 1365.

Kṣetrajña, the soul is so called in Śāntiparva, 1365.

Kṣīrasvāmin, com. of Amarakośa 668n, 1001n, 1422n.

Kubera-hṛdaya 796.

Kubjikāmata Tantra, 1033.

Kuhū (amāvāsyā mixed with the first tithi of next fortnight treated as divinity and invoked for wealth and sons) 62 ; suggested derivation of, 63.

Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra 1038n, 1109.

Kuladharma or Kulamārga : all have *adhikāra* for this, acc. to Mahānirvāṇa, while some declare that only those who have subdued their senses have adhikāra 1077 ; combines both *bhoga* and *yoga*, is superior to all other doctrines and that under it what is sin (acc. to ordinary people) becomes meritorious, 1083 ; declared to be superior to all sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas 1052 ; enlightens him whose mind is purified by mantras of Śaiva and Durgā worship 1083 ; meaning of K. or Kauladharma 1052-53; worship performed with five *makāras* is called Kulācāra, 1053.

Kulārṇava Tantra 35n, 975, 1031 (Śiva declared to Pārvatī), 1052 (even Cāṇḍāla knowing Kauladharma superior to a brāhmaṇa, master of four Vedas, but ignorant of Kuladharma), 1056 (eulogy of women), 1064, 1071 (on false gurus), 1072, 1076 (how Kaulas behaved outwardly), 1081-83, 1084n (on the verse pītvā pītvā etc.), 1086n, 1088n, 1089n, 1101 (guru's greatness), 1102, 1108 (five constituents of puraścaraṇa), 1110-11, 1117 (on Dīkṣā and its derivation), 1120 (on nyāsa), 1123, 1126n, 1135, 1141 (for date); appears to be in two minds, in one breath recommending drinking of wine and eating flesh and also waxing eloquent over the highest Vedānta and fastens esoteric meanings on the *makāras*, 1083-84.

Kullūka, commentator of Manusmṛti, 468n, 887, 1032n, 1234, 1265n 1330 (on equal division of 36 years' *brahmacarya* on three Vedas), 1424n

Kumāragupta, a Gupta emperor styled Vikramāditya on his coins 901.

Kumārasambhava 186, 539, 620n, 905, 910, 1384, 1623
Kumārilabhaṭṭa : (vide under Bṛhaṭ-ṭīkā, Ślokavārtika, Smṛti, Tantravārtika) ; a of Ślokarvārtika 1179 ; a. of Tantravārtika, in which he summarises the contents of Purāṇas, 823–24 ; a. of Bṛhat-ṭikā, 1185n, 1188, 1247n ; a. of Ṭup-ṭikā 1188 ; differs from Śabara and criticizes Śabāra's bhāṣya many times as being improper or fit to be discarded and as absurd 1294, 1335 ; does not apply epithets like Bhagavān or Ācārya to Jaimini and once criticizes Jaimini as having composed sūtras of little substance 1162 ; flourished about 650–700 A. D. 1191, 1198 ; divergence of views about the chronological position of K. and Prabhākara 1190 ; mentions Vindhyavāsin 1376 ; points of difference between K. and Prabhākara are many, 1190n ; relies on Manu for the usefulness of *tarka* 1475 ; states that Buddha's doctrine attracted śūdras and those that had lost caste 926 ; tradition that Prabhākara was a pupil of K. 1191 ; two more works (apart from the three published ones) of K. are Madhyamaṭīkā and Bṛhaṭṭīkā 1188 ; waged only a polemic war against Buddhists and persecution of them by K. is held not proved by Rhys Davids 1009–10 ; was prepared to accept usefulness of Buddha's teaching up to a limited extent 1009n, 1262.
Kumbhaparva (once in 12 years) 186, 287, 539, 620n.
Kumbhīpāka, a hell so-called 85.
Kuṇḍalinī (vide Cakras, mantras, nādīs) ; danger of trying to rouse K, except under expert guidance 1061, 1429–30 ; identified by Dr. Rele with Vagus nerve but Woodroffe differs 1443 ; is Śakti coiled like a snake in the *ādhāra* or mūlādhāra cakra (at the base of the spine) which when roused by Yogic practices passes through six cakras, reaches the crown of the head that has (*sahasrāra*) lotus and then the Kuṇḍalinī returns to its original position 1061n–62, 1098, 1137–8 ; Dr. Rele's work on 'Mysterious Kundalini' 1393, 1443 (criticized by Shri Kuvalayānanda) ; Rudrayāmala on K. and cakras 1034n, 1061n ; Rudrayāmala sets out 1008 names of K. all beginning with the letter 'ka' 1062n ; Śakti or Devī assumes the form of K., it is a form of śabda-brahma, all mantras are forms of Śakti or Devī, appears as sounds (akṣaras) which become when written letters of the alphabet (called mātṛkā) which are 50 from 'a' to 'kṣa' 1099.
Kuṇḍapāyinām-ayana. deals with Agnihotra for a month different from daily Agnihotra, 1307, 1342.
Kunhan Raja, Prof. C., Intro-

duction of, to Umbeka's com. called Tātparyaṭīkā on Ślokavārtika, 1194, 1200; view of, that there is no proof of Bhaṭṭapāda being guru of Umbeka. criticized 1194n; wrong in his interpretation of words like 'anupāsita-guravaḥ' in Umbeka's com. on Ślokavārtika 1195–96.

Kunhan Raja, Presentation Volume, 919.

Kuppuswami, M. M. Prof. 1186n-88n, 1195 (paper on Maṇḍana and Sureśvara equation in the Vedānta).

Kūrmapurāṇa, 103n–4n, 116, 121, 143, 202, 249n, 473 (on Kāla), 682, 687, 690n, 691, 694, 825n, 857n, 865n, 870, 915, 921, 930n, 935 (incorporates Upaniṣad passages), 946 (on Ahiṁsā), 967, 974n, 977n, 1024, 1042, 1270n (similar to Yāj. I. 156), 1373, 1383, 1403n, 1412n, 1421n, 1431n, 1438, 1445, 1446n, 1455; 1524, 1528, 1582; extent of, is 17000 or 18000 acc. to many Purāṇas 813; note on 888–889.

Kūṣmāṇḍa mantrās 796, 1024.

Kūṭas in marriage, eight, named and explained, 614–615.

Kuvalayānanda, Swami, of Lonavla (vide under Dr. Behanan): ed. of Bṛhad-yoga-Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1404: a. of paper on 'the real Yogayājñavalkya-smṛti' 1407; handbook of, on 'āsanas' 1425–26; handbook of, on 'prāṇāyāma' 1428n, 1441–1443 (describes eight kinds of Prāṇāyāma); on Vivekānanda's lectures on Rājayoga 1443-44; suggests correction in Yogabhāṣya as to the *bhūmis* of *citta* (mind) in Yogasūtra III. 11, 1409; treats Dr. Rele's work on 'Mysterious Kundalini' as of doubtful scientific value 1443.

L'Astrologie Grecque', a work of Bouche Leclercq (vide under Bouche Leclercq).

Laghu-Hārīta 676n.

Laghu-Jātaka of Varāhamihira 533n, 545n, 547, 554n, 561n, 568, 574–5n, 577, 580, 585, 589, 594.

Laghurudra, 813; is same as Ekādaśinī, acc. to Kamalākara and some others, but in popular practice it is eleven times of 'Ekādaśinī', 813 14.

Laghu-Śātātapa 706n,

Laghu-Viṣṇu 30, 48.

Laghu-Vyāsa 914n.

Lahiri, N. C. 657n.

Lakāras, ten (for tenses and moods) in Pāṇini 1235, 1236n, all of which begin with letter 'la' (as in *laṭ* for 'present tense' etc).

Lakṣahoma, a Śānti, 397, 749, 752, 761; eulogy of, 754; not to be performed by one with little wealth 752–4.

Lakṣaṇā, a function of words that gives rise to secondary sense 293; difference between Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī Vṛtti drawn by Tantravārtika 1293n.

Lakṣmī, com. on Kālanirṇayakārikā, 672.

Lakṣmīdhara, 30; vide Kṛtya-

kalpataru.
Lakṣmīdharā, com. on Saundarya-laharī, 1136n.
Lakṣmīpūjana, on amāvāsyā in Divāḷi 199–200; in Bengal Kālī worshipped on this amāvāsyā, 200; it is a day specially meant for traders and merchants 200; night of this day is called *sukhasuptikā* 200.
Lākula or Lakulīśa Pāśupata 978n; Lakulī flourished about 1st century A. D. 978n; Liṅga and Vāyu Purāṇas mention Lakulin as founder of a Śaiva sect and Kāyārohaṇa (modern Karavan in Dabhoi Taluka) as its sacred place 978n.
Lalitāsahasranāma, Bhāskarācārya's com. on, is called Saubhāgyabhāskara, 1083 and n.
Lalitopākhyāna, is at the end of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 895, 1042, 1072n; most verses in chap. 42 are same as in Mudrānighaṇṭu pp. 55–57, 1128.
Lalla, 61n, 182, 612n.
Lama Anagarika Govinda, a. of a recent work 'Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism' 1104n; on Mantra 'om Maṇi padme hūṃ', criticized 1104n.
Land-laws; affecting the holding of lands by non-agriculturists, compulsory sale to erstwhile tenants, law placing ceilings on holding lands, most important 1674–75; criticized as not Socialistic, but spoliation, 1677–8.
Lassen 142.
Last Thought, vide under 'Death'.
Lāṭadeva, is said to have commented upon Pauliśa and Romaka Siddhāntas, 514n.
Latāsādhana, meaning of, in tantra works, 1081.
Laugākṣi 73n.
Laugākṣi Bhāskara, a. of Arthasaṅgraha, tr. by Thibaut 1199.
Laukika-nyāya, the word occurs in Śabara's bhāṣya 1255.
Law, Dr. B. C, Presentation Volume 1002; a. of paper on 'Prince Jeta's grove in Ancient India' 1411n.
Lea Henry C, a. of 'Superstition and force' 1019–20 (on methods of Inquisition).
Leadbeater; C. W., a. of 'the Cakras' (Adyar, 1927), 1148.
Lecky, a. of 'History of the rise and influence of rationalism in Europe' 1576 (cites instances of extirpation).
Legislation, spate of 1670ff.
Leuba, James H., a. of 'Psychology of religious mysticism' (1929), 1463n.
Levi S. (about Hinduism in the Island of Bali at present), 1614, 1616, 1618 (edited Sanskrit Texts from Bali in G. O. S.).
Levitation (*Laghimā*) vouched for by Dr. A. Cannon 1112n, 1453; vouched by E. Wood, but not believed by A. Koestler 1452–53n.
Lewis, a. of 'Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the ancients', 546, 550n.
Lewis, Windham, a. of 'Time

and Western Man' 475.
Liang Chi Chao, Prof, a. of 'Paper on China's debt to India' 1039.
Liberation (*Mukti* or *Mokṣa*): (vide under Mokṣa) 1514 1652.
Liebich, Prof. B. 1397.
Līlāvatī, of Bhāskarācārya, 598n.
Limitation Act, Indian 715n.
Lincoln, definition of democracy by, 1667.
Liṅga, emblem of Śiva; *ratnas* (precious stones) should be placed on, at Makarasāṅkrānti or gold or ghee of cow's milk 219.
Liṅga, technical sense is 'suggestive or indicative power of a word or words' 1309.
Liṅgapurāṇa 41n, 45, 52, 101, 115n, 160n, 179, 181, 235, 236n, 238, 946n, 978n, (on Lakulī), 1030n (Guru's position), 1072 (states *Guru* is Śiva), 1096n, (mantra 'namaḥ śivāya'), 1117 (treatment of Dīkṣā), 1419n–21n, 1431n, 1436n (ten prāṇas), 1438, 1446 (echoes yogasūtra), 1450n, (on Samādhi), 1455; not drawn upon by Ballālasena as its treatment of *dānas* is the same as that of Matsya 868; note on, 903; one recension of L. was discarded by Ballālasena 869, 903.
Lipsāsūtra, is Jaī. IV. 1. 2 in which the word 'lipsā' (meaning 'the desire to obtain') occurs, 1232n.
Liptā, sixtieth part of a degree 584.
List (exhaustive) of vratas and utsavas, 255–462.
Lodge, Sir Oliver, a. of 'Man and the Universe', 1650n (on image worship)
Lohābhisārika (vide under Nīrājana): a rite about horses performed from 1st to 9th tithis of Āśvina, 184, 400.
Lokapālas (guardians of worlds or the directions) 766n; names of eight L. 766n.
Lokas (worlds), three or seven, denoted by the vyāhṛtis (bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ *etc.*), 1528 and n; Kūrma-purāṇa mentions L. from 'mahaḥ' to 'satya' 1528n; Mahendra-loka, Prājāpatya-loka, Jana, Tapas and Satya lokas mentioned in Yogabhāṣya 1529.
Lokāyata or Laukāyatika: 1205n-1206, 1472n; Kauṭilya includes it under Ānvīksiki, along with Sāṅkhya-yoga 1205; meaning of, changed from time to time 1205; Pāṇini (in Ukthādigaṇa IV. 2. 60) appears to have known the word 1205, 1472n; Ruben Dr. on 'Lokāyata' 1205n; Śaṅkarācārya (on V S. III. 3. 54) states that L. do not admit any principle other than the four elements and no soul apart from the body 1250n.
'Lokāyata', study of ancient Indian Materialism by Devaprasad Chattopadhyaya (New Delhi, 1959), 206n.
Lokāyatikas referred to as 'eke' in V. S. (III. 3. 53), 1175.
Lopāmudrā 10, 1124 (in Ṛg. I.

179. 4).
Lotus leaf, not affected by water fallen or sprinkled on it, 1005-6, 1367n, 1585n, 1587.
Luck—vide under 'daiva'.
Luders, Prof., on Ṛṣyaśṛṅga story 893.
Ludwig (on Ṛg. X. 55. 3) 494n.
Luke (Gospel of) 677.
Luther, though a rebel against Pope's authority, denounced Copernicus as a fool 512.
Lyon E., a. of 'Assignment in Utopia' (1937) for horrors in Russia before 1934, 1474n.
Macaulay's Minute on 'Indian Education', its aim and results 1661-62.
Macdonell, a. of 'Vedic Mythology', sometimes indulges in facile assumptions 209, 1213, 1486n, 1577 (does not agree with Deussen about Kṣatriyas being original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts).
Macdougall, a. of 'An outline of abnormal psychology' 1414n.
Maclean, C. V, on 'Babylonian Astrology' etc. 546n, 571n, 589n.
Macnicol, M., a. of 'Indian Theism' 1570n, 1593-94 (criticized for view that there was no place for repentance in doctrine of Karma).
Madanapārijāta, 30n, 47n-8n, 71n, 73n, 196n, 672, 1192 (North Indian work of about 1360-1390 A. D. quotes a half verse of Prabhākara), 1273n; 1299 (on Vākyabheda).
Madanaratna, 61, 133, 244, 734 (on Śāntis), 735 (list of matters dealt with in Śāntika section), 736, 755, 756n, 765n, 769, 771n, 772, 785, 788-89, 1303, 1304n, 1305 (on vyavahāra), 1316n (prefers as heir to deceased son the father and not mother), 1330; eulogizes on vyavahāra, Bhavanātha 1189, 1233.
Mādhava, an early writer (before 500 A.D.), criticizing Sāṅkhya, 1359.
Mādhavācārya, 1160, a. of Kālanirṇaya, 67n, 151, 202, 227, 659; a of com. on Sūtasaṁhitā, 911; a. of Jaiminīyanyāyamālāvistāra 1199.
Madhvācārya *alias* Ānandatīrtha (vide under 'Tolerance'): a. of 'Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya' 1218; claims to be third avatāra of Vāyu, the other two being Hanūmat and Bhīmasena 1219; endeavours to interpret Ṛg. I. 141. 1-3 as referring to these three avatāras and the word *madhvaḥ* thought enough to claim that Madhva was referred to in Ṛg. I. 141. 3, 1219; thirty works which Madhva cites are said by Shri Venkatasubbiah to occur nowhere else 1219; was very severely handled by Appayyadīkṣita in the latter's Madhvatantra-mukhamardana and charged with fabricating Vedic and other texts 1219.
Madhyāhna, explained 100.
Madness, believed to be influenced by the Moon 552 and n.
Madya, is called Tīrthavāri in some tantra works 1081;

means real wine as well as a substitute like cocoanut water or *bhāng* or that intoxicating knowledge that comes of Yoga practices 1082; symbolic or esoteric meaning of 1083.

Maga or Śākadvīpīya brāhmaṇas 264.

Maga-vyakti, a work by Krishnadas Mishra 264.

Māgadha (vide under 'Sūta'), 862-864; a *pratiloma* caste due to union of a Vaiśya male with a Kṣatriya female 862.

Magic: Ṛgveda people afraid of black magic 1035; spells in Atharvaveda 1035; stories in Pali that Buddha's disciples cultivated m. powers 1037; m. words in Ṛgveda 1035, 1037; regarded by Manu as sinful 1079; Purāṇas also were affected by rites of black m. 1114.

Magicians, frequently m. in Ṛgveda and described as 'Adeva,' 'anṛtadeva', 'śiśnadeva' (lecherous) 1035; were called 'Yātudhāna', 'rakṣas' and 'piśācī' (female evil spirit) 1035-36.

Mahābhāgavata defined in Padma 964.

Mahābhārata, 27, 44-5, 81, 89, 91, 109, 118, 126, 129, 245, 506n, 531, 544, 569, 682, 687, 769, 775; and Sāṅkhya 1363-1371; called Jaya by itself and other works 840, 871; claims that it is superior to all Vedas 915; contains no passage giving the position of planets in relation to *rāśis* 532; critical edition of, at Poona 838; date of 849; describes itself as Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra and Kārṣṇaveda 819; dilates upon all four *puruṣārthas* and should be listened to by one desiring Mokṣa 921n; discussion in, on *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* 544-5; emphasizes often that there is only one God and that there is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu 118; enjoins (in Bhīṣma 5. 12) that incomprehensible matters should not be tried to be solved by *Tarka* 1470; many passages in M. where planets in relation to Nakṣatras are stated to forebode misfortune to people in general or to individuals 532; Nīlakaṇṭha, commentator of, 937n, 1214; stated to contain the substance of the Veda and a better means of the education of the common people including Śūdras, women etc. 924-25; words 'ahiṃsā paramo dharmaḥ' occur frequently in M. 945; 1626 (spiritual or religious debts), 1642, 1688 (about sonless man).

Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (about 150 B. C.): (vide under Patañjali), 36, 103, 203, 468n, 469, 542n, 658n-68n, 684n, 698 (on numerals), 820 (derives 'Paurāṇika'), 937n, 963, 985, 1032, 1156 (full of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā matters), 1157 (mentions Kāśakṛtsni), 1158, 1203 (on Veda), 1221n (divisions of the four Vedas), 1224n

(śabdapramāṇakā vayam), 1236n (on *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*), 1246n ('na' means 'sadṛśa' in some cases), 1252 (śāstra is meant to give definite rules), 1290 (primary meaning to be preferred to secondary), 1321 (on Sattra for one thousand years), 1331n, 1388n, 1395 (date of), 1398 (employs an ungrammatical form in Aviravikanyāya); mentions several men and incidents connected with Kṛṣṇa such as killing Kaṁsa 130n; paper by present author on 'Mahābhāṣya and the bhāṣya of Śabara' 1275n; quoted several times by Śabara who refers to its author as Ācārya and 'abhiyukta' 1275n; remarks that Vedas and their meaning are eternal but the arrangement of words is not eternal and hence arise different Vedic texts like Kāṭhaka, Kālāpaka etc. 1203; 1631n, 1640n (*M. included* Śakas and yavanas among śūdras); ed. by Kielhorn 1631n.

Mahādānas, sixteen, of which Gosahasra was one 219n.

Mahākālahṛdaya, a mantra, japa of 1047.

Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad, 466, 475n–6, 1627n.

Mahānirvāṇatantra (18th century A. D.), 1033n, 1052n–53, 1555n, 1062, 1074n, 1077n, 1080, 1086–8, 1089n, 1092, 1095, 1099, 1100–01, 1102n, 1107, 1108n, 1112, 1114 (on dīkṣā), 1118, 1120 (on nyāsa), 1126n, 1133; a typical Hindu Tantra, summarised 1057-60; states that God is one and to be described as *sat*, *cit*, and *ānanda* is beyond guṇas and to be known from Vedānta texts and yet prescribes the five *makāras* for worship 1057; allows only five cups of wine to a householder *sādhaka* etc. 1059; waxes eloquent over duties of varṇas and āśramas, duties of the king and servants, provides for marriages within the varṇa and dinner only with *savarṇa* persons, deals with saṁskāras and śrāddha, prāyaścitta and vyavahāra 1059–60.

Mahāniśā, variously defined 117n.

Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, 686, 1022 (story of the criticism of Buddha by Subhadda, a barber), 1070 (Buddha was strict and asked monks not to see or talk to bhikkhunīs).

Mahārauhiṇa (a Sāman chant) 796n.

Mahārudra, repeating Laghurudra eleven times 813.

Mahāśānti 730n; acc to Kauśikasūtra should comprise Vāstōṣpati hymn and certain Atharvaveda texts 730n; means Vināyakaśānti and Navagrahaśānti, acc. to commentary on Śāṅkhāyana Gṛ. Sūtra 730n; performed to remove evil effects of several adbhutas and utpātas, on fall of meteors by day 761–763, 767.

Mahāśivarātrivrata 225–236: conflict of views as to what

is the chief matter in M., whether fast alone or three viz. fast, worship and jāgara 227 ; exaggerated praise of 229 ; fourteenth tithi of dark half of Māgha (or Phālguna in Pūrṇimānta reckoning) is called M., the other 14th tithis in the dark half of other months being simply Śivarātris 225 ; fourteenth of Māgha dark half falling on Sunday or Tuesday is most commendable 232 ; Kālanirṇaya's propositions about the proper day and time for M. when 14th is mixed with 13th tithi or Amāvāsyā, 230 ; proper times for performing M. acc. to Hemādri and Īśānasaṁhitā, 229-230 ; several Purāṇas contain details of M. and its Māhātmya 225 ; story of a wicked Kirāta named Caṇḍa in Skandapurāṇa 226-227 ; story of Sundarasenaka, a niṣāda chief, 226 ; worship of Śiva with bilva leaves and jāgara whole night saves devotee from hell and leads to mokṣa 225 ; worship of Śivaliṅga at night with certain mantras destroys all sins 229.

Mahāśvetā, a Mantra, *japa* of which on a Sunday with fast deemed to yield all desires 1106.

Mahāvagga 939n, 1038 (story of Mendaka's family possessing miraculous powers), 1663 (procedure of saṅgha meetings)

Mahāvallipuram, has a tableau (of 7th century A. D.) of the strife of Devī and Mahiṣāsura 178.

Mahāvīra, sacrificial vessel in Pravargya rite 728.

Mahāvrata, sexual intercourse in, was symbolic and indulged in by strangers to the sacrifice 1080.

Mahāvyāhṛtis, 796n, 1528n.

Mahāvyatīpāta, defined 706 ; gifts on this most highly commended 706.

Mahāyāna Buddhism, books on 941n-2n ; differences of ideals between M. and Hīnayāna 942-43 ; its doctrine of Bodhisattvas is not consistent with the Gospel preached by Buddha in the first sermon at Benaras 942.

Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra of Asaṅga, mentions five points of difference between M. and Hīnayāna 942n ; took over the doctrine of bhakti 970.

Maheśvara Tantra 1051 (names of Vaiṣṇava tantras), 1144.

Mahīdhara, commentator of Vāj. S. 1037.

Mahiṣāsura, killed by Durgā, 155n, 184-85, 1047.

Mahmud of Gazni : plundered Kathiawar and Gujarat several times and desecrated temples 1018.

Mahodayaparva 262.

Maithuna, a *makāra*, in Tāntrik worship referred to as pañcamatattva (fifth substance) 1081 ; esoteric meaning of 1082.

Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā 727n, 750, 1220n (barhir-devasadanam

dāmi), 1222, 1224n 1288n (vasantāya kapiñjalāñ-ālabhate), 1295n, 1305n, 1309n, 1327, 1328n.

Maitrāyaṇī-Upaniṣad 569 (mentions Śani, Rāhu and Ketu), 1419n (six aṅgas only of Yoga), 1430, 1460, 1468.

Maitreyī, wife of Yājñavalkya in Bṛ. Up. 1405

Maitrī Upaniṣad: has a long disquisition on time 465-66, 1063n (on Suṣumnā Nāḍī), 1507n.

Majjhimanikāya (ed. by Trenkner) 1007n, 1022, 1411n.

Majumdar, Prof. B. C. 843, 883 (origin and character of Purāṇa Literature), 1046n (two hymns to Durgā in Mahābhārata are interpolations).

Majumdar R. C. 978n, 1014n (a. of 'History of Bengal'), 1048n (on 'Inscriptions from Kambuja'), a. of 'Ancient Indian Colonies,' 1618n.

Majumdar, Surendranath a. of paper on 'Bibliography of Ancient Geography of India' 1528n.

Makāras, five, of Tāntrik cult explained in esoteric senses and also unobjectionable substitutes allowed for the *Paśu* (lowest kind of Śākta worshipper) 1081 and n; substitutes for makāras 1081n; many *tantra* works like Kulārṇava, Pārānandasūtra employ the words madya, matsya and māṁsa in the ordinary sense 1086.

Makṣā, meaning of, 738n.

Makarasaṅkrānti (vide Saṅkrānti): 211-225; bath with ordinary water (not heated) obligatory on, 212; falls at present on 14th January in the Hindu almanacs based on Sanskrit works while the correct date is 21st December preceding 222, 712; fast for three days or one day in honour of M. 220; gifts are made even now on M. mostly by women 222; great merit results from bath in Ganges on, 212; Hemādri states that the proper day of M. was in his day 12 days before the popular day of M. and gifts (religious) should be made 12 days before the latter, 712n; it now falls in Pauṣa but the day changes in terms of the Gregorian calendar 211, 712; it was an important religious festival, but now more a social observance than religious 211, 221; meaning of the word 211; origin of the festival on m. 223; procedure observed on, 211-212; prognostications drawn from the supposed directions of the deified M. coming, going etc. 225; puṇyakāla (holy time) on day of M. 212; sesame to be employed on M. in water for bath, and should be eaten and are very much in evidence even now 219, 221; twelve rāśis and their western names 211 and n (and all twelve saṅkrāntis are holy); was supposed (as a divinity) to

ride some vehicle and an Upavāhana (ancillary vehicle), to wear a garment of some colour, to carry a weapon, to apply a *tilaka* of some substance 224–225; was supposed to be either young, middle-aged or old, to have certain postures (sitting, standing etc.), to come from one direction, to go to another and cast a glance at a third 225.

Malamāsa, (intercalary month) 671; acts and rites not to be performed in 673; acts to be done only in M. 674; *kāmya* rite not to be performed in, unless it is begun before M. starts 673; obligatory acts and acts prescribed on definite occasions are to be performed even in M. such as daily sandhyā 673; rites that could be done in M. as well as in Śuddha month 674; Śrāddha in M. 674–75.

Malamāsatattva 58, 490n, 492, 498–9, 500, 507n, 592n, 664, 671n, 672–73n, 674, 761n, 835n, 1240, 1266n.

Mālatīmādhava, 1047n; mentions human sacrifices in temple of Caṇḍikā or Cāmuṇḍā 186, 1048.

Mālavagaṇa years, inscriptions dated in, 652 and n.

Mālavikāgnimitra, 531n, 1028 (Puṣyamitra.)

Malignant spirit, known to Ṛgveda 60n

Malimluca–same as Malamāsa 671–672; explained and derived 671–72.

Mālinīvijayavārtika (a work of Kashmir Tantrism) of Abhinavagupta 1050.

Mallinātha, 1426n, 1531 (his motto 'nāmūlam likhyate kiñcit').

Māṁsa (flesh), esoteric meaning of, in Tantra 1082; etymology of, in Manu and Viṣṇu Dh. S, 1533.

Man, psychical powers of are vast and unknown 1091–92; man acc. to Christian doctrine is conceived and born in sin, while acc. to Vedānta, human soul is divine 1506n; length of life of, 100 years, acc. to Ṛg., Vāj. S., Atharvaveda, 1545.

Manasāpūjā, in Bengal and South India 125; procedure of 125; Saṅkalpa in 125n.

Manasāvrata on Jyeṣṭha bright half, 10th tithi, 126.

Mānasollāsa of Cālukya king Someśvara (1126–1138 A. D.) 805 (has verses on 'śakunas'); 809 (on upaśruti), 810n. 1654 (on Vāstuśāstra and paintings) and n.

Mānavagṛhya-sūtra, 729n–30n, 738n, 748.

Maṇḍalas : an item in Tāntrik worship which is also a feature of orthodox Hindu practices in medieval and modern times 1131–34; M. and Cakra said to be synonymous by Jñānārṇavatantra 1133; Buddhist tantras like Mañjuśrimūlakalpa describe M. 1133; drawn with powders of five colours, acc. to Matsyapurāṇa and also figures

of a lotus with 8 or 12 petals drawn with saffron, or red sandalwood paste or in various colours 1132; eight maṇḍalas, Sarvatobhadra and others, referred to in Agnipurāṇa 1132; four characteristic items in Maṇḍala rites specified, 1133; in Puṣyasnāna a Maṇḍala with different coloured powders was to be drawn 1132; meaning of the word in Tai. S., Śat. Br. and Bṛ. Up. is 'circular form' and 'orb of the Sun,' and later any figure or diagram (generally circular) drawn on an altar 1131–32; means 'circle' in Śulba sūtras and reference to the squaring of a circle (maṇḍala) 1132; references in several purāṇas to invocation of the Sun on the figure of a lotus and also of Nārāyaṇa, and to images or paintings of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa and to Maṇḍalas called Sarvatobhadra etc. 1132; several Maṇḍalas–described in Jñānārṇava, Śāradātilaka and other tantras 1132; several M drawn in Ṛgveda–brahmakarma–samuccaya (Nirn. ed.) 1134; Smṛtikaustubha mentions several names of M. 1134; twenty-six M. described in 26 chapters of Niṣpannayogāvali 1133.

Maṇḍanamiśra (between about 680–720 A D.); explains a verse of Tantravārtika. acc. to Śāstradīpikā but there is no evidence that he wrote a com. on Tantravārtika 1191 and n; is later than Kumārila and flourished about 680–710 A. D. 1191, 1193–94; his Bhāvanāviveka quotes Tantravārtika 1191n; works of, on P. M. are Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka (commented upon by Umbeka), Vibhramaviveka and Mīmāṁsānukramaṇī 1191; no evidence that he was a disciple of Kumārila but in Bhāvanāviveka and Vidhiviveka he quotes verses from Tantravārtika and Ślokavārtika and also a passage from Prābhākara's Bṛhatī 1193, 1198.

Mandlik, a. of 'Hindu Law': wrong statement by, about Vedic passages that have a word like 'hi' showing reason 1239n.

Māndhātā, king was ordered by Indra to see that Yavanas, Cīnas, Śabaras, Śakas obeyed parents, performed rites laid down by Veda, made gifts to brāhmaṇas 54.

Māṇḍavya, writer on Astrology, predecessor of Varāhamihira 592.

Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad 465, 1413n.

Maṅgala: auspicious sounds to be heard and objects to be seen when starting on an expedition 621; what are M. things 366, 621.

Maṅgala, tradition about beginning of any work with M. laid down by Manu 1207.

Maṅgalāṣṭaka, eight substances to be distributed to women when invited in a ceremony or vrata like Saubhāgyasundarī 367.

Manilius, not followed by Bṛhajjātaka as to Dreṣkāṇas 582n.

Maṇittha; two Greeks of that name, one a contemporary of Berossus and the other an author of an astrological poem, 592n.

Maṇittha, probably an Indian, a. of work on Āyurdāya 592; refers to Horāśāstra of Parāśara 592n.

Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa 1040 (has late elements), 1140.

Mankad, Prof. D. K., 686-7 (on ten meanings of the word 'Yuga'); on Manvantara and 40 years being the unit for a king's reign 696, 844n, 845; on 'Yugapurāṇa' 826-27; theories of, about Śuṅgas and Sāmaveda singing being of Chinese origin, criticized 844n.

Mansur, king (754-775 A. D.) in whose reign an Indian astronomer visited his court 699n.

Mantra (or Mantras, acc. to context); (vide under 'Aurobindo, Brāhmaṇa texts, Kapaly Sastri, Nigada, Śāradātilaka Tantra, Veda, Vedic Interpretation): are employed in sacrifices for bringing to mind the act that is being done 1097, 1220, 1244; are the 3rd out of the five classes of Vedic texts 1244; *bīja* m. like hrīm, śrīm, are said to make visible the form of the *devatā* in Tāntrik worship 1099; Buddhist Tantras (some) state that certain m. can confer even Buddhahood 1104; called 'Abhaya' 769n; difficult to define what a Vedic Mantra is and hence it is held that those Vedic verses or passages are m. that are recognized as such by the learned, 1096, 1098, 1220, 1223; difference between M. and prayer, 1100; difference between Vedic M. and Tāntrik M. 1107; differing interpretations of Ṛg. IV. 58. 3 (catvāri śṛṅgā etc.) by Nirukta and others, 985; examples of short mantras of 5, 6, 8, 12, 13 syllables from Smṛtis and Purāṇas as efficacious for securing all objects, 1096 and n; for killing an enemy in Agnipurāṇa, 1102; four classes of Vedic M. viz *ṛk, yajus, sāman* and *nigada* 1097, 1221; great controversies about meaning and purpore of Vedic M. illustrated, 984-5; great importance attached to recitation of M. and many educated men even of these days believe in their great efficacy 172; has three senses, acc to Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā, *sthūla, sūkṣma* and highest, 1115; have no efficacy if learnt from books but are efficacious when learnt from a qualified guru 1100, 1112; have to be repeated thousands of times to secure full results, 1103-4; M. in all tantras are m. of the great Devī 1102; Kutsa's view that M. have no sense or serve no purpose refuted in the Nirukta, 1097; list of hymns and verses of Ṛgveda that are cosmological, philosophical, or speculative

983–4; most famous Buddhist M. 'Om Maṇipadme hūm' discussed and results supposed to be derived from it, 1104n, 1454; most sacred Vedic M. is Gāyatrī (Ṛg. III. 62. 10) called Vedamātā in Atharvaveda 1097; no difference of meaning in the words used in Veda and the same words in ordinary life acc. to Jaimini and Śabara, 1097; numberless mantras in Tantra 1102; M. of Rāma worship 87n; Paurāṇik Mantras like 'dātāro no' and 'yāntu devagaṇāḥ' came to be used even in Śrāddha by Yāj. and others, probably to meet Buddha's appeal to masses 1024; peculiar pattern of M. prescribed for worship of a deity 788n; Ṛgveda I. 164. 39 is explained in four ways and Ṛg. I 164. 54 in six ways by Sāyaṇa 984–5; repetition of Vedic and Tāntrik M. is called 'puraścaraṇa' 1107; 'sac-cid-ekam brahma' is the best of mantras acc. to Mahānirvāṇatantra and perfection in it leads to mokṣa 1112; several Vedic mantras with two meanings are cited in the Nirukta 984; some Vedic M. are hortatory 1214; some Buddhist M. embody Mahāyāna doctrines with the addition of syllables like *om*, *phaṭ*, *svāhā* 1105; synonyms of the word Mantra are stoma, brahma, gīr, dhīti, mati, manīṣā, vacas, vacasyā and are used hundreds of times in the Veda and in several places a Vedic prayer is said to be new 983; Tāntrik M. are treated like Vedic M. with sage, metre, deity and *viniyoga*, 1103; Tāra or Tāraka M. is *om* 1115; theory about sounds of M. being Śakti, 1100; three classes of Tāntrk M., masculine, feminine, neuter, 1101n, 1103; two theories about M. 1155; varieties of M. called astra, hṛdaya, kavaca, netra, rakṣā are mentioned in Tāntrik texts 1102; verses of Ṛgveda show that a host of mantras already existed and were inspired by the Lord of Prayers 981–983; Vedic M. were relegated to a secondary role by the Pūrvamīmāṁsā system 1214; Vedic M. were supposed even in Ṛg. to have great potency, that they induced God to come to the sacrifice and to bestow on sacrificer and worshipper valiant sons, wealth and protection 1098; word 'Mantra' derived and explained 1102; word Mantra occurs about 25 times in the Ṛgveda and 'Mantrakṛt' only once 980; word Mantra is not described as new in the Ṛg while the words 'Sukīrti' and 'Sūkta' that occur only four or five times are spoken of as new or fresh 983.

Mantramahārṇava-tantra 1136.

Mantramahodadhi 1062n, 1110, 1113, 1136.

Mantranyāsa: illustrated by Bhāgavata, Brahma and Nāradīyapurāṇas as to mantras like 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' 1120.

Manu, is used sometimes in the sense of Mantra, both being derived from root 'man' to think 1060; 'Om sac-cidekam brahma' is 'Brahmamanu' 1060n; described in Ṛgveda as father of humanity and as prescribing the proper path for men 690n; Sāvarnya M. in Ṛgveda 691; story of M. and the deluge, 691n; story of M. and his son Nābhānediṣṭha 691n.

Manusmṛti 24n, 27-29n, 30, 33, 41, 49, 51-2, 67n, 72, 100, 166, 168, 193, 210, 241, 248, 476 (units of time), 517n, 527, 536n, 538-39, 605n, 607, 616, 687-88, 693, 696, 743, 757, 766n, 776n, 782n, 789n, 800, 801n, 820, 825, 862, 868n, 914 (on Śiṣṭabrāhmaṇas), 930-32, 934-8, 945 (virtues necessary for all varṇas), 946n (on Yama and Niyama), 948, 1023-4, 1027, 1042, 1079, 1086 (quoted by Kulārṇava), 1096, 1154n, 1156n, 1178, 1190n, 1202-3 (appears to suggest that Veda is self-existent), 1207n, 1214n, 1230-34, 1241n, 1242-43 and n (many Arthavādas in), 1250 (in III. 267 gives several options expressly), 1251-52, 1256n-58n, 1264, 1278, 1288, 1293n, 1296, 1367n, 1378n, 1415n, 1420, 1440-1, 1457 (on duties of Sannyāsins), 1469, 1478, 1515-17, 1533-34, 1545, 1561, 1564-65 (uses word saṁsāra frequently), 1576n, 1589, 1591, 1593 (on repentance), 1596-7, 1608, 1611; frequently echoes the very words of the Veda 1265n; mentions many Sāṅkhya tenets 1379, 1413n, 1422, 1424n, 1436n, 1516; practice of M. of stating opposite views on the same point one after another, 1266, 1517, 1619 (limits sadācāra to only certain parts of India, excluding Madhya-deśa and Āryāvarta), 1627n, 1628, 1630, 1633 (varṇa and jāti confounded), 1637, 1638 (brāhmaṇa selling milk for more than three days became a śūdra), 1638n, 1639 (king was a divinity in human form), 1645-6, 1669 (duties common to all men); some verses are identical with those in Śāntiparva, Vanaparva and some Purāṇas 688n, 1266n, 1516n, 1578; some verses of, almost identical with verses in Āp. Dh. S. 817; some verses of, almost the same in Matsyapurāṇa 1520n; some verses identical with Parāśarasmṛti 1266n; three theories about creation in 1515-17; very eminent position assigned to M. by Bṛhaspati 1265; whatever Manusmṛti proclaims as dharma was already declared so in the Veda acc. to M. II 7, on which commentators differ 1258n.

Manus: each Manu during his time created the world and protected it 692; names of all fourteen M. in Nāradapurāṇa 691; names of seven only in Manusmṛti 691-2;

past six M., 7th (the present one) Vaivasvata and 7 future ones 688, 691; variation in the names of the future seven M., 691.

Manvādi-tithis: on which each Manvantara was supposed to start 371.

Manvantara (vide 'Yuga'): each M. had a separate set of sages, gods, kings, smṛtis 691; extent of 688, 690n, 697; fourteen M. constitute Kalpa 689; Prof. Mankad's novel theory about M. 696; said to be numberless by Manusmṛti 688; sense of, 690n; some purāṇas say that in each M. Manu and seven sages are devoted to Dharma and promulgate Vedas by orders of Brahmā 692; some writers like Dr. Daftari hold that in ancient India existed a public Institution called Manu and Saptarṣis 693.

Marduk, Babylonian God 546.

Mārgapālī, on Balipratipadā, described 205–6.

Mārgas, vide Paths.

Marīci, Smṛti of 33, 216.

Mark (new Testament) 677, 1461n, 1647n, 1649.

Mārkaṇḍeya 75n, 100, 147n, 188n; supposed to be one of the eight immortals (cirajīvinaḥ) invoked on Yamadvitīyā 208.

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa: (vide under Dattātreya); 51, 154n, 177, 185n, 243n, 530n (countries under different Nakṣatras); 538n, 561n, 687, 692 (on Manus), 731n, 734 (chapters on Śāntis), 945n (on ātma-guṇas), 948 (meaning of Iṣṭa and Pūrta), 949 (on great merit of relieving the distressed), 967, 1027n (on householder stage), 1213 (on heaven), 1383n, 1438, 1440n, 1444n, 1446 (speaks of ten Dhāraṇās), 1455, 1457, 1522 (chap 5 uses Sāṅkhya technique), 1527, 1576n (on doctrine of Karma), 1590; chapters (78-90 of Venk. ed, 81–93 of B.I. ed) are called Devīmāhātmya or Saptaśatī, deemed a later addition, 155n, 819n, 901–902; contains Gītā doctrine of Niṣkāma-karma 903; note on 901–903; one of the early Purāṇas and may be assigned to 4th to 6th century A D., 903; one verse from Devīmāhātmya (viz. 'Sarvamaṅgala-maṅgalye' etc.) q in inscription of 289 of Gupta era (608 A. D.) 902; places proper for Yoga practice and to be avoided for it 1431; refers to the words 'Lagna' and 'Horā' 903; three parts of, viz. chap. 1–42 (in Venk. ed.), 43 to end and Devīmāhātmya 902; translated by Pargiter 883; verses of, identical with those of Viṣṇupurāṇa 1522n, 1647n, 1688.

Marriage, (vide Candrabala, child marriage Restraint Act, Gorajas, Gurvāditya, Kūṭas, Siṁhastha, Tārābala); *anuloma* marriages allowed by most Smṛtis but medieval writers changed all that by Kali-

varjya 1265-67; auspicious ages for the marriage of maidens and of bridegrooms 611; auspicious times, months and nakṣatras for, 535-36, 609-10; auspicious nakṣatras for M., different views on, 610-11; calculation on tallying the horoscopes of both bride and bridegroom in regard to eight matters, called 'ghaṭita-guṇa-vicāra' or 'vadhū-vara-melaka-vicāra' 614; *Candrabala* and *Tārābala* in M. 615; comparative astrological strength of tithi, week-day, nakṣatra, Sun, Moon in m. 616; great importance of Jupiter in M. 615; importance of *gaṇa* and nāḍī among brāhmaṇas even now, 614; intricate astrological rules for, 609-616; Jupiter, auspicious and inauspicious positions of, in m 612; Moon, importance of the auspicious position of, in m. 615; not disapproved in *siṁhastha* Guru when performed north of the Ganges and South of the Godāvarī 613; proper *lagna* rāśis at time of m. 612; Rājamārtaṇḍa devotes 150 verses to astrological requirements of m. 610; Ṛgveda X. 85 is marriage hymn, 497n; rule of *'godhūli'* or *gorajas* muhūrta in m. 613; rules about siṁhastha Guru observed even now 613; rules about the sameness of rāśi or nakṣatra of bride and bridegroom in m. 614-615; Śaiva marriage acc. to Mahānirvāṇatantra in which no question of caste arises 1060; Śānti for inauspiciousness of Jupiter 612; tithis proper and inauspicious for m. 611; usages of countries to be followed about month proper for m. 610; Venus, position of, in m. 612; week days proper for m. 611; when a maiden is very grown-up, no waiting for an auspicious time but one should consider only the *lagna* and the moon's position at m. 611; Yama and Yamī dialogue (Ṛg. X. 10) wrongly considered by some Western scholars as referring to marriage of brother and sister 209; ban against intercaste marriages removed by legislation 1636n.; futile legislation as to dowry in m. 1676.

Mars, statements about position of, in Mahābhārata are irreconcilable 532.

Marshall, Sir John, editor of three volumes on Sanchi 1653 n; a. of 'Taxila' (three vol.), and Guide to Taxila 1656

Martin E. W. editor of 'In Search of Faith', a symposium by several writers 1487n, 1550n.

Marx: meaning of 'I am not a marxist' 1695.

Maskarin, means (a wandering ascetic), acc. to Pāṇini and Mahābhāṣya 1388n.

Māṭharavṛtti, com. on Sāṅkhya-kārikā not later than 450 A. D., 1354; furnishes names of Sāṅkhya teachers between Pañcaśikha and Īśvarakṛṣṇa

1355 ; on the name Ṣaṣṭitantra 1373n.
Matthew, Gospel of, 103, 677, 1546n–47n.
Mathews W. R. a. of 'Christ' (1939) 1481n.
Mātrā, what is, in Prāṇāyāma 1437–38 ; Purāṇas like Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma. give different mātrās for different kinds of Prāṇāyāma 1438 and n.
Mātṛs (Mother Goddesses) 1046 (in Gupta Inscriptions) ; generally said to be eight, but 16, 32, 64 are also mentioned, 169 and n ; referred to in Kumārasambhava and Bṛhatsaṁhitā 186, 1046.
Mātṛkā-nyāsa (Mātṛkā means alphabet), dealt with in Kālikāpurāṇa 1120.
Matsya (fish), esoteric meaning of, in some Tantra works 1082.
Matsyāśī (lit. eater of fish), esoteric meaning of, 1084n.
Mātṛdatta, commentator of Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya, 525n.
Mātṛkānighaṇṭu (a Tāntrik list of om and letters of the alphabet) 1058n.
Matsyapu āṇa : 40, 45, 49, 52, 57, 64n, 88, 91–2n, 96, 100, 111n, 116, 119n, 122, 147, 162, 202, 210–212, 520n, 540, 545n–6n, 616n (on Yātrā), 622n (on auspicious persons and things) ; 624–5, 627, 649n, 652n, 660, 681–83n, 687n, 692–3, 695, 734 (on Śāntis), 742–43, 745–46 (numerous Śāntis), 747 (eighteen Śāntis), 749–54, 761, 766n, 769–70, 774, 776–7 (on dreams), 778, 793n, 795n, 798–800, 805, 813n, 817n, 822, 824, 827n, 830n (gives contents of Vāyu), 833–35, 839 (characteristics in addition to five) ; 842 (full list of Āndhra kings), 845n (period between Parīkṣit and Nanda), 846–48, 850–52, 854, 868, 874n, 877n, 880, 896 (contents of Bhaviṣya), 903n, 915–16, 919, 922 ('Om Namo Nārāyaṇāya' is Mūlamantra), 931, 945n, 946, 969n (ten Ābhīra kings), 974, 993 (ten avatāras), 995n (Viṣṇu cursed by Bhṛgu), 1023n–24, 1090n, 1096n, 1114 (description of black magic rite), 1121n (nyāsa with mantras) 1132, 1231, 1372, 1377n–78, 1383 (on Sāṅkhya), 1455, 1470n, 1523n, 1527–28, 1574, 1590 (on rebirths for sins), 1637, 1653 (on writers about Vāstuśāstra) ; Aparārka quotes 400 verses from it and Kalpataru about 2000, 899 ; chief among Purāṇas acc. to Vāmana 833–34, 899 ; date of, about middle or end of 3rd century A. D. 852, 854, 900 ; glorifies both Viṣṇu and Śiva 899 ; has verses that also occur in Yāj. Smṛti, Manusmṛti and Mahābhārata 749n, 899, 1520 ; one of the ancient Purāṇas and has perhaps the largest number of Smṛti chapters and the best preserved 899 ; Padmapurāṇa has hundreds of verses identical with those of M. 893 ; Śaṅkarācārya appears to quote verse (from it) 900 ; story of

Purūravas and Urvaśī in Matsya (Chap. 24) and drama Vikramorvaśīya agree closely 900–901, though there are one or two points of difference.

Matsyendranātha, called Luipa in Tibet 1046n, 1075n.

Mattavilāsaprahasana of Pallava king Mahendravikramavarman 1074n.

Mauryas, being greedy of gold, manufactured images of gods for sale 36.

Mausalaparva 147, 743, 775 (dreams), 969n (on Ābhīras).

Maxims (some Nyāyas), generally of Mīmāṁsā — vide pp. 1339–1351); about *nindā* (condemnation) being meant to prescribe the opposite of what is condemned 96, 1243; Anyāyaścānekārthatvam, explained 1292, 1339; Aruṇādhikaraṇa or Aruṇānyāya 1294–5, 1340; 'dṛṣṭe satyadṛṣṭakalpanā anyāyyā — if a seen result or purpose can be found for an act, it is improper to assign an unseen reward for it, 1190n, 1260 and n, 1344; grahaikatvanyāya, explained 1285–86, 1343; hetuvan-nigadādhikaraṇa, 1239n, 1351; Holākādhikaraṇa 237–238, 1281–82, 1351; Kapiñjalanyāya, explained 1288n–1289, 1341; 'Nāsti vacanasyātibhāraḥ,' there is nothing too heavy (impossible to prescribe) for a sacred text' 512, 1245; Niṣādasthapati-nyāya 1295–96, 1345; prādhānyena vyapadeśa bhavanti 491; rātri-sattranyāya 1257, 1349; Rathakārādhikaraṇa 1290–91, 1349; Sāmarthyādhikaraṇa 1291, 1350; Saṁyoga-pṛthaktva, explained and applied 86, 96, 228, 1350; Sarvaśākhāpratyaya-nyāya 640, 1273 (explained) or śākhāntarādhikaraṇanyāya 1349–50; Sthālīpulākanyāya 1255n, 1351; Udbhid-nyāya 1245, 1341; yāvad-vacanam vācanikam 1177, 1348.

Max-Müller, his date (hypothetical) for the Vedic period, 497, 513, 882; his date for Amarakośa 840n; remarks against his dating for Veda 508; a. of 'Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' 1200, 1491; wrong translation by, 1579n, 1583n.

Maxwell on Interpretation of Statutes, 1284–86.

Maya, astrological writer m. by Varāhamihira 542.

Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom Jyotiṣa was imparted by the Sun-god 592.

Māyā 1509; Bādarāyaṇa (V. S. II. 2. 29) and Śaṅkara are agreed that the ordinary physical world is different from dreams; Śaṅkarācārya employs the word Māyā to express the idea of mystery as to how the finite arises from the Infinite 1510; proper language for most men is not to speak about the world as Māyā (illusion) 1509; Upaniṣad passages like Kaṭha II. 4. 2, Praśna I. 16, Chān. VIII. 3. 1–2 and Bṛ Up. I. 3. 28 may suggest the doctrine of M., 1509; word M.

used in V. S. III. 3. 3 has been differently interpreted by ācāryas 1509; word occurs in Ṛg. in connection with Indra about his Śakti or Śaktis 1043.

Mayamata 1654.

Māyāmoha or Mahāmoha, produced from Viṣṇu's body, who deluded the Asuras and raised atheistic objections against offering animals in sacrifices, about feeding brāhmaṇas in śrāddha, acc. to Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas 974–75.

Mayūkhamālikā, com. on Śāstradīpikā 1236n, 1294n.

Mayūracitraka, astrological work attributed to Garga by Utpala 591.

McTaggart, a. of 'Some Dogmas of Religion' 1605.

McCrindle, a. of 'Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian' 849.

Measures: of corn, pala, prasṛti, kuḍava, prastha, droṇa, khārī 810n, 1294 (meaning in Śāstra of these words is to be taken, not the one among mlecchas); Pāṇini mentions āḍhaka and khārī 810n; Śabara mentions kuḍava, āḍhaka, droṇa and khārī 810n; of time, different views on 476–477; of weight like pala (320 raktikās), karṣa etc. 789n.

Medhājanana, a mantra 35.

Medhātithi, a of bhāṣya on Manusmṛti, 28, 696, 868n, 946n, 1214, 1226n, 1227 (Manu V. 40 is merely an arthavāda), 1229n, 1230 (on Manu III. 45, long note on *niyama* and *pari-saṅkhyā*), 1241n, 1252, 1258n (quotes his own work Smṛti-viveka), 1273n, 1286, 1312n–3n, 1321, 1376n, 1469n.

Medicine, founder of, is Kṛṣṇātreya acc. to Śāntiparvan and not Caraka nor Patañjali 1396; muhūrta for beginning to take m. 626; views differ as to first propounder of medical science 1396.

Megasthenes, account of number of kings and the total of their reigns given by, 849; reference by, to Heracles, Soursenoi, Methora 953.

Meghadūta 668, 1563n, 1571.

Mehta, Ashoka, a. of 'Democratic Socialism' 1681.

Meissner, a. of 'Babylonien and Assyrien', 570n, 595 (Zodiacal signs), 596.

Men. Br. Up. (V. 2. 3) inculcates on all m. the virtues of self-restraint, charity and compassion 1627.

Menander, Greek king of 2nd century B. C., 669.

Menon, V. P., a of 'Transfer of power in India' 1464n, 1662; a. of 'Story of the Integration of States' 1663.

Meru, mountain on which the gods reside 824n.

Meru Tantra 1135n–36.

Mesopotamia (vide under 'Horoscope', 'Zodiac'), influence of, supposed by Prof. Neugebauer on Indian writers about longest and shortest day 542; place value notation in, took 60 as the basic number 518n; put by Prof. Neugebauer and a

few others in place of the Greeks as originators of science etc. 700n.

Meteors, beliefs about e. g. falling on grave occasions and śāntis for such falls, 766–67.

Meton, Greek engineer; took length of year from Nabu 514n.

Metonic cycle 646, 662.

Mihirakula, ruthless Hūna invader of India 656, 1109.

Miletus, richest city in Greek world in 6th century B. C. 516n.

Mīmāṁsā (vide under Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra, change, dharma, maxims, smṛtis, Veda, vākya, Kumārila, itikartavyatā, Śabara) : differences between M. rules of interpretation and interpretation of Statutes pointed out 1283–4 ; does not lead in many cases to certain conclusions, as M. writers like Śabara, Kumārila and Prabhākara differ among themselves 1271 ; first rule of M. is that no part of the Veda (not even a word) can be treated as *anarthaka* 1284 ; fundamental difference between Veda and Smṛtis pointed out 1272–3 ; in Yāj. I. 3 M. means probably the work of Jaimini in 12 chapters, 1160 ; many writers like Mādhavācārya speak of two mīmāṁsās, Pūrva (12 chap of Jaimini) and Uttara (four chapters forming the Vedāntasūtra) 1160 ; meaning of the word M., long before the Upaniṣads 1154 ; not concerned with legislation by the king or a sovereign popular assembly, 1283 ; 'M. Jurisprudence' by Shri Nataraja Ayyar 1201 ; main purpose is to regulate the procedure, the various auxiliary and principal matters in Vedic sacrifices 1283 ; of Kāśakṛtsni mentioned by Mahābhāṣya 1157 ; promises to convey correct knowledge of Dharma and the Veda itself is the means of arriving at that knowledge 1283 ; purpose of, explained by Tantravārtika 1261 ; restricted sense of word M before Yāj. viz 'investigation into Dharma and arriving at conclusions on doubtful matters' 1154 ; result of the importance of vidhis and assignment of a very subordinate role to arthavādas and mantras 1285 ; rules and principles of M in relation to Dharmaśāstra 1283–1338 ; rules of, apply only to rites and names of tithis like Jayantī, acc. to S. M. and Puruṣārtha-Cintāmaṇi, and hardly had anything to do with people's practices 133, 1272 ; rules of interpretation fall into different classes from different stand-points such as general and special, about words and sentences, rules of procedure to be followed when several texts are in conflict, 1285, 1289 ; rules distinguishing between *vidhi*, *niyama* and *parisaṅkhyā* are general 1285 ; rule that Lakṣaṇā (secondary sense) of a word in a sentence is preferable to the fault of vākya-

bheda 1301, 1303; rule that the singular includes the plural is a general one and so is the rule that a word importing a male includes a female 1285; rule that a doubt about the exact meaning of a part of a passage may be removed by relying on the remaining part of the passage 1240, 1285; rule about understanding words in the Veda and in Jai. in the same sense as in popular usage as far as possible 1289; rule that words are to be taken in the primary and not in a secondary sense 1289–90; rule that the same word must not be used in two senses in the same sentence, 1292–93; rule that where words like yava, varāha, and vetasa have two meanings the meaning that the Veda, Śāstra or usage of siṣṭas attributes to them must be followed 1293–94; rule that words of foreign origin like *pika*, *nema*, *tāmarasa* and *sata* that are in vogue in Sanskrit are to be understood in the sense they bear in the foreign language 1294; rules about interpretation of sentences 1297–1306; though M. rules have been of considerable help to Dharmaśāstra writers, it should not be supposed that the application of M. rules is easy or always enables scholars to arrive at certain and definite conclusions 1334–36; was very critical about smṛtis and usages 1272; word M. has great antiquity 1152–53.

Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (between 1550–1620 A. D.) 1195, 1221, 1225n, 1240n–41, 1252.

Mīmāṁsakas : (vide under Colebrooke): are strongly opposed to holding that any part of the Veda is useless or meaningless or non-eternal 1255; Colebrooke said that disquisitions on Mīmāṁsā bear a certain resemblance to juridical questions, that the logic of the Mīmāṁsā is the logic of the law 1220; made a sweeping generalization that the whole Veda is meant for sacrifices but, though they went too far, they had some grounds for their theory, 991; the word 'Mīmāṁsaka' occurs in Mahābhāṣya 1156,

Mīmāṁsākaustubha of Khaṇḍadeva, denies that Subhadrā was the daughter of Vasudeva (though the Ādiparva expressly states that she was so) 1281n.

Mīmāṁsā-Kośa of svāmi Kevalānanda-sarasvatī in eight volumes (five already published), an encyclopedic work, 1290.

Mīmāṁsānyāyaprakāśa of Āpadeva (between 1610–1680 A. D.) 1199, 1226n, 1228n, 1235n (on bhāvanā), 1237n, 1245n–47n, 1250 (enumerates eight faults of Vikalpa), 1254n (on Sannipatyopakāraka and ārādupakāraka), 1295n, 1315n-16n

Mīmāṁsā-paribhāṣā of Kṛṣṇa-

yajvan 1237n, 1241, 1254n.
Mīmāṁsāsāra-saṅgraha of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (summarises in 250 verses 1000 adhikaraṇas of P. M. S.), 1189n.
Mīmāṁsāśāstra : declared to have had 20 chapters by Rāmānuja and Prapañcahṛdaya and in Inscription of Rājarāja 1159-60 ; Kṛtakoṭibhāṣya of, by Baudhāyana 1159 ; com. of Upavarṣa 1159 ; com. of Devasvāmin and Bhavadāsa 1159-60 ; twenty chapters of, are constituted acc. to some as the twelve chapters ascribed to Jaimini, plus four of Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa and four of Vedāntasūtra 1160.
Minakshi, Dr., a. of ' Administration and social life under Pallavas' 1012n.
Mīnarāja, a. of Vṛddhayavanajātaka, which see) 564.
Mind : pure m. superior to all auspicious or inauspicious times, 627.
Mirashi, Prof. V. V. 945n, 1629n.
Mishra, Dr. Umesha, a. of ' Critical Bibliography of Mīmāṁsā ' and editor of the Vijñānadīpikā of Padmapāda 1157n, 1599.
Miśra-dhānya, explained 732n.
Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara : 29, 102n, 246, 538n, 749n. 750n, 753, 757, 864-5, 896-7, 1063n (on Nāḍīs), 1181n, 1184n, 1192 (refers to views of Guru on Lipsāsūtra), 1233, 1234 (on Yāj. I. 53 about marriages that are void), 1248 (Yāj. I. 129-166 contains many *paryudāsas*), 1251 (allows option following Jābālopaniṣad about time of becoming a Sannyāsin), 1252 and n, 1264, 1269, 1270 (discards Vedic usages if hateful to people), 1273n-74, 1288, 1292, 1302-3 (on Bṛhaspati about re-union), 1305, 1308-9, 1315-16n (prefers mother to the father as heir), 1317, 1326 (*ūha*), 1328-29, 1336 (differences on vital doctrines of Hindu Law between Mit. and Dāyabhāga), 1421, 1438, 1468, 1597, 1637,
Mitanni (vide under Bogozkewi, Babylon, Hittite) : names of kings and nobles from M., Nuzi and Syrian documents betray Indo-European origin, 599.
Mitra, Dr. R. C , a. of ' Decline of Buddhism in India ' 1003, 1010n, 1011.
Mitra, Dr. Rajendralal, translated into English Yogasūtra 1394.
Mitramiśra, a. of Vīramitrodaya (beginning of 17th century A. D.) 835n.
Mlecchas, had authority to perform vratas according to some 54.
Modern Review, journal 1033, 1653n (on Koṇārka temple).
Modi, Prof. P. M., on ' problem of *taduktam* sūtras ' 1176n.
Mohaparājaya, a drama by Yaśaḥpāla, composed between 1072-1075 A. D., introduces Kaula practices 1076.
Mokṣa (vide under Mukti, puruṣārtha, Sannyāsin, Upaniṣad) 1215-17, 1511-14; acc.

to Kumārila and Prakaraṇa-pañcikā M. consists in not having to assume a body again, the idea being that the aspirant should not do forbidden acts or those that are Kāmya, he should perform obligatory and *naimittaka* rites for avoiding the taint or sin that would accrue by non-performance 1216; Devala-dharmasūtra provides that bondage is due to *ahaṁkāra* and *mamatva* and liberation consists in being free from these 1458; doctrine of Bhagavad-gītā and some purāṇas that actions done after surrendering the fruits to God do not bind a man but lead to M. 967; is in a way opposed to first three goals, which become the preparation for it 1511; is secured by real knowledge and not by merely giving up wealth 1369; Kumārila asserts that the Upaniṣad exhortations to know the Ātman are merely arthavādas 1216; Manusmṛti on niḥśreyasa (i. e. Mokṣa) being due to ātmavidyā 1459; Manu condemns thinking about Mokṣa before discharging one's debts (duties) 1511; merely possessing signs of asceticism, viz. ochre-coloured clothes, shaving head etc. do not lead to M. 1369; P. M. S., Śabara and Prabhākara do not deal with topic of M. 1215; some Smṛtis like the Bṛhad-Yogiyājñavalkya provide that the mere knowledge of the Self is a sign of indolence and that both knowledge and actions are necessary for Mokṣa 1216-17; *four stages of*, in Viṣṇupurāṇa 959n; Upaniṣads emphasize that mere knowledge of *brahman* does not at once lead to Mokṣa, but there are three stages, knowledge, cultivation of restraint of senses, quiescence of mind, meditation and then only realization of non-difference of himself from *brahma* follows 1511-1513; was not possible for all and sundry, but only for a select few 1511; 1631 (it is like a razor's edge), words m., mukti, kaivalya, niḥśreyasa, apavarga, amṛta, nirvāna held to be synonyms by Amarakośa and discussion about the occurrence of these in Upaniṣads, Gītā and other works 1414-15, 1652; conceptions about mokṣa differ in different *darśanas* and even in vedānta, 1631

Monks: Buddhist M. were not to possess property, yet they had a craving for wealth and supposed that by means of certain mantras Kubera (lord of wealth) would confer on them everlasting riches 1115; Buddhist M. believed that by mantras they would make some of the Hindu Gods their servants, they would be surrounded by heavenly damsels and they would acquire proficiency in śāstras without study etc. 1116.

Montagu's characterization of Indian Govt. and about British

policy 1660-61.

Month (or months acc. to context) : (vide Intercalary M., *kṣaya* M., Malamāsa); Caitra, Vaiśākha and other M. came to be identified with ancient Madhu, Mādhava etc. 668; Cāndra M, 657; ended with Full Moon in ancient times 659, 668, 669, four kinds of, 657, 666; Greek names of months used in a few inscriptions in India 668; intercalary month 646; M. in which the year began in ancient and medieval times was different at different times and in different parts 82, 658; nākṣatra m. not required in Dharmaśāstra but in Jyotiṣa 666; names of twelve M. are very ancient 667-668; names of M. derived from Nakṣatras occur in Brāhmaṇa literature 667; names of, in South India 671; M. of different lengths for different purposes in Arthaśāstra 490, 658; of two kinds pūrṇimānta or amānta 68; one human M. held to be equal to ahorātra of pitṛs 656n; Pāṇini and Vārtika-kāra appear to speak about a month ending on Full Moon 68, 667; subject of, most complicated 662; *śuddha, nija* or prākṛta M. as opposed to adhikamāsa 664; word for M. is *mās* or *māsa* 495.

Monuments, of India; the most remarkable ancient monuments are the stūpa of Sanchi, the paintings in Ajanta and Bagh caves, the Kailas temple at Ellora and Koṇārka in Orissa 1652-53.

Moon, though it presents the same face to the earth has other side also, acc. to Nyāyamañjarī 470; called *mās* in Ṛg., 495; legend of his marrying 27 daughters (nakṣatras) of Prajāpati, his fondness for Rohiṇī and therefore suffering from Rājayakṣman 507; reference to M. as becoming free from the mouth of Rāhu in Chān. Up. 569; waxing M. held auspicious by Greeks and Indians 532n; when powerful astrologically 587-588.

Moraes, Mr. Frank, a. of biography of Pandit Nehru, 1172n.

Moral code, highest importance attached to a brief moral code (of ahiṁsā, satya etc.) by all Dharmaśāstra works that enjoined men of all varṇas and castes to observe them 1637.

Moret, Alexander, on 'Nile and Egyptian civilization' 566n.

Morgan, E. P. edited 'This I believe' (1953), 1470n, 1710n.

Morgan, Prof. K. W., a. of 'The path of the Buddha' 942n, 1003.

Morley, Lord, views of, on introducing democracy in India 1660.

Morning, the first fifth part of a day, equal to about three *ghaṭikās* 81.

Moslem kings, examples of the intolerance of, (like Emperors Jehangir and Aurangzeb) 1019.

Motor accidents, incidence of, in Bombay city 1678n.
Mouni Sadhu, a. of 'Concentration' 1394.
Mountains (vide Himavat); Ṛg-veda mentions mountains in the plural (of 'parvata') 1527 ; seven M. of Bharatavarṣa called Kulaparvatas acc. to Viṣṇu, Brahma, Brahmāṇḍa 430, 1525 and n ; myth of wings of M. cut off by Indra 763–764.
Mṛcchakaṭika, 46, 186.
Mṛgāra Anuvāka 786.
Mṛtyuñjaya, *mantra* is 'Tryambaka Mantra' (Ṛg. VII. 59. 12), 792, 814 ; also called Mṛtasañjīvani, prescribed for purifying the mind 1100.
Mṛtyusūkta 758n.
Mṛtyuyoga (Inauspicious conjunction) defined 707.
Mudrā, 1123–1131 ; a characteristic item in Tantrik worship 1123 ; derivation of the word M. differs in different works 1123–24 ; has several meanings in Tantraśāstra, 1057, 1081, 1123 ; means the Śakti (woman) associated with a *sādhaka* in Śākta worship 1084, 1123 ; means also a posture in Yogic practices in which the whole body plays a part and the symbolic or mystic intertwining of fingers and hands as part of worship 1124
Mudrās : (vide under Jains, purāṇas, Viṣṇudharmottara, Yoga): great divergence among Tantras, Purāṇas and Yoga works on the number, names and definitions of M. 1125–1131 ; appropriate mudrās (finger and hand poses) are to be employed in worship, in *japa*, in meditation and in all rites performed for securing some desired object 1124 ; fine eulogy of, in Viṣṇudharmottara 1129 ; eight M. in the worship of Viṣṇu mentioned by Brahma and Nāradīya purāṇas, 1127n ; M. in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras were probably based on those in Nāṭya 1129 ; largest number of M. in dancing are contained in in Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, 1128–29 ; Mudrās and Nyāsa held to be non-vedic by later works like Dharmasindhu in Mahārāṣṭra at least 1131 ;
Mudranighaṇṭu : names and defines nine Mudrās (āvāhanī and others) that may be employed in the worship of any god, then enumerates 19 M. appropriate to Viṣṇu worship, ten appropriate to Śiva worship, seven to Gaṇeśa worship, one to the Sun (called Padma) and Mudrās of Śakti, Agni, Tripurā and other deities, 1125 and n ; Śāradātilaka names and defines only nine Mudrās, while Viṣṇu Saṁhitā states that Mudrās are numberless but names and defines about thirty and Jayākhyasaṁhitā has about 58 Mudrās 1125–27 ; some Dharmaśāstra works from 13th century onwards dilate at some length on Mudrās, such as Hemādri, Smṛticandrikā 1130–31 ; Some Purāṇas like Brāhma, Nāradīya,

Kālikā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara describe many mudrās 1127-28; Tāntrika works provide that Mudrās should be practised secretly under cover of a garment and not in presence of many people 1125-26; Yoga works describe various Mudrās, e. g. Haṭhayogapradīpikā describes ten, Gheraṇḍasaṁhitā 25, Śivasaṁhitā ten as the best 1127.

Mudrālakṣaṇa, a work on Mudrās appropriate to Viṣṇu and other gods 1125n, 1128.

Mudrānighaṇṭu (glossary of Mudrā names) 1124-25, 1129n, (vide under Lalitopākhyāna) 1129n.

Mudrāvidhi, a Jain work, lists 114 Mudrās.

Mudrāvicāra, a Jain work, lists 73 Mudrās.

Muhūrta: (vide under Upanayana, marriage, week day): 537 ff; called Brāhma 538, 539; called Jaya 539; called Kutapa 540; called Maitra 539; called Yeṣṭiha in Kauṣītaki Up. 538; concurrence of four elements, viz. tithi, nakṣatra, Karaṇa and M. required for success in a rite or act 604, 616; Coronation of the king, m. for 616; derivation of the word 537n; difference in the length of a M. of day and of night according to the seasons 538, 541; equal to two nāḍis or ghaṭis 684; fifteen M. in the day and also in the night in the Śat. Br. and other ancient works 537-8, 684; for religious rites 604ff; for secular matters such as purchase of merchandise, animals, for oil bath 626; known by the names of the deities presiding over M. 540; Literature on, is extensive 556-558; loud declaration by brāhmaṇas enough in case of urgency 604; meanings of 537, 543; meaning 'time fit for performance of auspicious acts' 543; names of, set out in Bṛhadyogayātrā (not in Bṛhatsaṁhitā) 540; names of fifteen m. by day and of night acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 540; names of m. differed in the Brāhmaṇas and Smṛtis 538; names of m. acc. to Ātharvaṇa jyotiṣa and Muhūrtadarśana 539; names of the deities, presiding over the 30 m of day and night 541; new garments, M for wearing for first time 626; no need to consider auspiciousness of days, of Jupiter and Venus in times of distress 604; M. (word) occurs twice in Ṛgveda 537; the Muhūrtamuktāvali provides for an auspicious time for thieving 558; performance of auspicious rite in the month of Jyeṣṭha for the eldest boy or girl not allowed 607; position of Jupiter to be considered for, 608; Purity of mind superior to all m. acc. to Matsya, Varāhamihira, Ratnamālā 627; rules (general) about auspicious conditions for all undertakings 605; seven auspicious M. out of 15 M. of the day 539;

simple rule in Āśv. gṛ. for M. in Upanayana, caula, marriage 536, 609–10; stages in the naming of muhūrtas, three, 540; understanding of M. in the sense of auspicious time requires some knowledge of planets, nakṣatras, rāśis, bhāvas (places in horoscope), 543ff; what should be done on the 15 m. of the day acc. to Ātharvaṇa-jyotiṣa 541.

Muhūrta-cintāmaṇi: 189n, 533n, 544n, 556–57, 559–60, 585, 589, 607n, 608n, 609, 611n, 614, 616–17, 619–20, 621n, 622, 624; com. Pīyūṣadhārā on, 644n, 556, 608n, 616n, 618n, 622n–4, 710n.

Muhūrtadarśana, also called Vidyāmādhavīya, 539, 556, 623, 666n. 705.

Muhūrtadīpaka of Nāgadeva, 557.

Muhūrta-gaṇapati of Gaṇapati Raval 556.

Muhūrtakalpadruma of Viṭṭhala (times and places for dīkṣā) 556, 1117.

Muhūrtamālā by Raghunātha 557, 701n (list of words that stand for numerals from one to 49).

Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa of Nārāyaṇa 557, 614, 616, 622, 666n; subjects dealt with in 557–8. 626.

Muhūrtamuktāvali 557.

Muhūrtatattva of Gaṇeśa, 556.

Mukerji, D. N. 651n (on kṛta years in Inscriptions).

Mukerji R. C. a. of 'Ancient Indian fasts and feasts' 60, 128, 149, 173, 205, 235.

Mukti (vide under Mokṣa); Kulārṇava-tantra states that M. does not result from study of Śāstras or Veda, but only from correct knowledge imparted by a *guru* and that two words viz. 'this is mine' and 'nothing is mine' respectively lead to bondage or liberation and then imports Kaula doctrines 1083; four kinds of, named and explained 1631n.

Muktikā Upaniṣad 1564.

Mūla, Nakṣatra called Vicṛtau, in Tai. S. 500.

Mūlakarma, meaning of 1079–80.

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad: 475 (names six aṅgas of Veda), 917 (on *parā* and *aparā* vidyā), 921 (passages of, borrowed in Purāṇas), 948, 952, 1055n, 1086 (q. by Tantra works), 1360, 1387–89, 1416, 1430, 1448 (on dhyāna), 1471 1507, 1512, 1538 (verse 'dvā suparṇā' which occurs also in Ṛg. I. 164.20 and Śv. Up. IV. 6) 1546n, 1552n, 1563, 1566, 1585n, 1604, 1607; 1625 (illustration of rivers flowing into the ocean).

Muni: (in the Ṛgveda) Munis called Vātaraśana were said to have been befriended by Indra 1386.

Munitz, Milton K., a of 'Theories of the Universe' (omits Indian material) 1486n.

Munshi, K. M., Jubilee volume presented to, 782n.

Murārimiśra, founder of a third school of Mīmāṁsā (between 1150–1220 A. D.), 1199.

Murzban M. M., a. of 'Parsis in India' 264.
Mus, Paul a. of 'Barabudor' (Java) 1657.
Music, works on Indian, 1656–57.
Mysticism 1463; Dean Inge in 'Christain mysticism' cites (in Appendix) 26 definitions of the word 1463n; definition of, by J. H. Leuba, 1463n; Prof. R. C. Zaehner defines it as 'realization of unity' in 'Mysticism, sacred and profane' (1957), 1463.
Nābhānediṣṭha, son of Manu, story of, 691n.
Nabunessar (747 B. C.), dated observations continuously recorded in Mesopotamia from reign of, 514.
Naciketas, story of, in Kaṭhopaniṣad and Anuśāsana-parva 915, 1535; story of, in Tai. Br., slightly different from that in Kaṭhopaniṣad 1535.
Nāḍī, equal to half muhūrta 684; several meanings of, 684n; word occurs in Ṛgveda 684.
Nāḍīs are ten in human body, three main ones being 'Iḍā' (on left side), Piṅgalā (on right side) and Suṣumnā (middle of spinal chord) and this is based on Upaniṣad passages 1063n, 1430.
Nadīs (rivers); are so called only when they are 1008 *dhanus* in length 431; are deemed to be impure (rajasvalā) when the sun is in the middle of Cancer and Lion signs and become unfit for bath 431.
Nāgapañcamī, 124-127; how observed in the Deccan 125; observed in different ways in all parts of India 124; on 5th of Śrāvaṇa bright half 124; on 5th of Śrāvaṇa dark half in Saurāṣṭra 125; pañcamī mixed with 6th to be preferred 126; procedure of worship of images of nāgas 124–125; some hold that it is one of 3½ most auspicious days in the year instead of Akṣayya-tṛtīyā 124.
Nāgarakhaṇḍa 227, 229, 693.
Nāgas-eight named in Bhaviṣyottara, but twelve in some Purāṇas, one of whom to be worshipped in each month 124n; figure in the Mahābhārata 126; legend about Kadrū, mother of n. 124n; Purāṇas full of stories about 127; when and how worship of N. arose in India is a difficult problem 126.
Nāgojibhaṭṭa, com. of Saptaśatī 154n, 155n; a. of com. on Yogasūtra in Haridas S. Series.
Nahuṣa, made approaches to Śacī and became an *ajagara* 1280.
Naiṣkarmyasiddhi (ed. by Col. Jacob) 1175n; a work of Sureśvara 1174, 1216n; com. Candrikā on, 1216n; states that Jaimini composed a Śārīrakasūtra, the first two sūtras of which were the same as those of V. S, 1174–75.
Naivedya, derivation of the word 35n.
Nakṣatras (vide astrology, king, Nakṣatra-snāna, Puṣyasnāna); All men are concerned with six

n. and the king with nine, 529; n. are 27 or 28 (when Abhijit is added) 529, 497; arguments against the theories of Biot, Weber and others that Indian system of n. was borrowed from the Chinese, Babylonians or Arabs 71, 506–510; auspicious n. for marriage, acc. to Baud. Gṛ. Sūtra 497n, 523; characteristics of persons born on each of the 27 n. acc to Bṛhajjātaka 559–560; classified as *puṇya* (beneficent) and *pāpa* and male and female in Tai. Br., Upaniṣads and Bṛ. S. 524–5, 559; complete lists of n. in Tai. S., Tai. Br., Kāṭhaka Saṁ., Mait. Saṁ. and Atharvaveda 498; countries governed by n. acc. to Bṛ. S. 14th chap. 14, 530; deemed parts (or limbs) of Time looked upon as a Puruṣa 560–61; different n. associated with eight kinds of dvādaśīs 119; different n. were called male in different ages 525n; divided into three classes viz. auspicious, inauspicious and neutral 544n; enumerated from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in Vedic literature, Vedāṅgajyotiṣa and Yāj. 498; enumerated from Aśvinī to Revati in works from 3rd or 4th century A. D. and in modern times 498; European equivalents of n. in Colebrooke, Burgess and Dikshit 498; fit for *Agnyādhāna*, acc. to Śat. Br. 566; n. from Kṛttikā to Viśākhā are called Deva N. and from Anurādhā to Bharaṇi, Yama n., 505, 524; held to be temples in which gods reside 545–46; homa to 27n. from Aśvinī 326; information and legends about n. in Vedic texts 507; Iṣṭi to 28 n. from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī 505; list of n. in Vedic Saṁhitās with names of deities, gender, number of stars in each 501–504; Maghā and Mūla among n. to be avoided by husband for sexual intercourse, 544n; Nakṣatreṣṭi in Tai. Br. (III. 1) dealt with, 505; names of n., their sequence, deities fixed from before the Tai. S. 509; names of, are mostly significant 509; n. to be avoided in auspicious rites and particularly in marriage 615; only a few n. mentioned in Old Testament and by ancient Greek writers like Homer and Hesiod 506; notes on n. from Ātharvaṇa-nakṣatrakalpa and other works 499–500; pāpanakṣatras m. by Kauśikasūtra 535; ploughing on Anurādhā n. mentioned in Tai. Br. 524; prejudice against star-gazers and astrologers in Vedic times 526–7; presiding deities of n. in Bṛ. S, Atharvaṇa-nakṣatrakalpa and Viṣṇudharmottara differ slightly among themselves 499n; prime importance of n in the basic Vedic rite of consecrating sacred fires 506; provinces of India governed by nine groups of n. 560; Puronuvākyā and Yājyā verses for each Nakṣatra in Nakṣatreṣṭi 505; Ṛgveda ex-

pressly names Aghā, Arjunī and Tiṣya among n. and in a veiled way probably Mṛgaśiras, Punarvasu, Puṣya, Śatabhiṣak and Revatī 497–98, 523; rule that whatever nakṣatra or tithi has a certain deity as ruler, the sleeping, turning from one side to another and awakening takes place on that nakṣatra and tithi 111; secret name derived from nakṣatra of birth to be used by sacrificer 505; serious discussions about n. in many works 495; seven classes of n. as *dhruva*, *mṛdu* etc. 215–216; special names of 4th, 10th, 16th, 20th and and 23rd nakṣatra from that of birth 329–30; substances governed by each of 27 n., 560; Svātī n., marriage on, led to love among spouses 524: synonyms of, in Rājamārtaṇḍa 560; three senses of the word 'nakṣatra' 495–6; two derivations of the word nakṣatra, 510; what actions are beneficial on different classes of n. 510; what n. are said to be *Ugra* 275; when n. are said to be affected 531; why Vedic list of n. starts from Kṛttikā and why from Aśvinī in classical literature is explicable on astronomical grounds only 507–8; word nakṣatra is applied to the sun also in the Ṛgveda 516; word nakṣatra occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda and other Saṃhitās 495.

Nakṣatrasnāna 792–793; Brāhmaṇa who undergoes Puṣyasnāna thrice with certain additions becomes famous like a king 798; ceremonial bath and worship of nakṣatras and their presiding deities, the mantras employed 792; n. meant for all 798; substances to be added to water for each n. and benefits therefrom 793.

Nakṣatravidyā, m. in Chāndogya Up. 526.

Nakta an alternative to rigidly observed Ekādaśī and is superior to Yācita 101; rules for observing nakta 101–102; views as to exact time called *nakta* 102.

Naktavrata, is independent of the alternative to fast 103.

Nakula in Kūrmapurāṇa stands for Lakula (which see).

Nalada flowers, for decking the corpse of an *āhitāgni* 731n.

Nāmadheya (vide *Śyena*): is the 4th class of Vedic texts bearing on dharma 1244–45; examples of names of Vedic rites such as Udbhid, Citrā, Balabhid, Abhijit, Viśvajit, 1245.

Nāmakaraṇa (naming a child), rules about proper times for 605.

Nanaghat cave Inscription of about 200 B. C, 131.

Nanda-(or Nandi) purāṇa; is part of Skanda, acc. to Nityācārapradīpa 880n; note on 890–91; one of the earliest Upapurāṇas composed in 8th or 9th century A. D. 891.

Nandā, sub-division of tithis 180n, 327.

Nandīpurāṇa (vide Nanda-

purāṇa).
Nārada, a Devarṣi in Gītā and one of the sons of Brahmā in Purāṇas 1581–82.
Names, great in the reform of Hindu society and relegion in modern times, 1699–1700.
Nanjio Bunyiu, a. of catalogue of Tripiṭaka 1040.
Nārada, a. of a work on Jyotiṣa 97, 99, 592, 622n, 790n,
Nārada-saṁhitā 195n, 197n, 199n, 656.
Nārada, brought doctrine of bhakti from Śvetadvīpa 962.
Nārada, an author on music in Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa and as the propounder of Gāndharva acc. to Nāṭyaśāstra 896.
Nārada-bhaktisūtra 956, 960, 965n.
Nārada Pāñcarātra 956.
Nārada Tantra-describes mudrās appropriate to Viṣṇu worship such as Śaṅkha, Cakra 1125n.
Nāradīya Purāṇa : (vide Bṛhan Nāradīya), 41, 70, 72n–73n, 79–81n, 88, 95, 98–9, 101, 104–5 113n, 114–5, 117n, 119, 138, 529n, 604, 681, 691, 708, 857n, 920, 927, 1096n, 1102 (for kavaca-mantra), 1127n (on mudrās), 1576n (doctrine of Karma ; note on 892–93 ; (compiled between 700–1000 A. D.)
Nāradasmṛti 1266, 1286, 1333 (apostate from Sannyāsa becomes a slave of the king), 1582, 1597.
Narahari, Dr. H. G., on an account and date of Prārabdha-dhvānta saṁhṛti 1601.
Narain Prof. A. K., a. of 'Indo Greeks' : 827, 829 (on difficult passages of Yugapurāṇa), 963 (on Besnagara column Inscription).
Naraka (Hell) ; Medhātithi states that n. means extreme pain or suffering 1214 ; seven, acc. to V. S., Śaṅkarācārya, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Yogabhāṣya 825, 1529 ; twenty one acc. to Manu, Yāj., Viṣṇu Dh. S. 825, 1214n.
Narakacaturdaśī 197 ; also called Bhūtacaturdaśī 198.
Narakāsura, killed by Kṛṣṇa and lights lighted with four wicks in memory of 197.
Narasiṁha (or Nṛsiṁha) Purāṇa, 55, 149, 691, 754, 915, 922, 926, 971, 974, 978–982, 1024, 1096n, 1455, 1649 ; Aparārka quotes it 9 times and only about 30 verses, half of which deal with Sannyāsa ; composed solely for the glorification of Narasiṁha identified with Nārāyaṇa 978 ; chap. 36 enumerate eleven avatāras (including Buddha and Balarāma) and chap. 37–54 narrate stories of all avatāras except Buddha ; Hazra (Prof.) bases his remarks upon several mss. besides the only printed edition pub. by Gopal Narayan & Co. (in 1911) 878–880 ; Hazra concedes that N. was revised several times, that Hemādri had a more extensive N. before him 881 ; Hazra holds that present N. is to be placed between 400–500 A. D. 879 ; listening to stories of ten ava-

tāras (excluding Buddha) takes the devotee to Viṣṇu 879; Matsya states that N. contained 18000 verses, while printed N contains only about 3400 verses, hence the latter is only a substitute 880; present N. may be assigned to 9th century A. D. 892; note on 891-92; on usefulness of images of gods 973n, 1121n; Tulasī story in N. indicates lateness 882; whole Purāṇa is suspect and no certain conclusion about its date can be drawn 882.

Nārāyaṇa, com. of Āśv. Gṛ. S. 802n.

Nārāyaṇa, etymologies of the word in Manu, Śāntiparva and some Purāṇas 1516 and n.

Nārāyaṇī, name applied to Devī 176n.

Nārāyaṇīya (a section of Śāntiparva): deals with Kṛṣṇa worship 953, 957, 1365; difference between N. and Gītā 961-962.

Nārāyaṇopaniṣad 1045.

Nāsadīya-sūkta 1490-91: a unique hymn; Śatapatha Br. on it 1490n, some passages are still obscure 1490; translated and explained 1491; translations and remarks by Western Scholars 1491.

Nāstika, is primarily one, acc. to Kumārila, who does not believe in the existence of the individual soul 1206n; the Kāśikā on Pāṇ. IV. 4. 60 holds that it means one who does not believe in the Hereafter 1206n.

Natarajan, S., a of 'A century of Social Reform' 1636n, 1700.

Nāṭyaśāstra (of Bharata), 896n, 1037n, 1129n (mentions Garuḍa which is a mudrā in Mudrānighaṇṭu), 1129, 1630.

Nāṭyaveda, Vararuci as proficient in 900n.

Nautical almanac 676, 682, 711.

Navagrahaśānti (vide Ayutahoma, Grahayajña, Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma, sacrifice, planets): 749-756; all religious rites to be performed after N. 749; becomes elaborate in Bhaviṣyottara and medieval works 753; colours and presiding deities of Navagrahas 751; mantras for the nine grahas from Yāj., Matsya, and Vaikhānasa-Smārtasūtra and Bṛhad-yogayātrā slightly differ 750-51, 755n, 919; model of all Śānti homas in all medieval digests 749; procedure of, in Yāj. and Matsya 750-752; procedure different for each graha in Madanaratna 755; purposes for which N. was to be performed 749; supposition that each of nine grahas has a separate *gotra* and country of birth 753; three kinds of, viz. Ayutahoma, Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma acc. to Matsya 749; verses of Matsyapurāṇa describing how the figures of nine grahas were to be drawn or painted 753; Yāj. does not even refer to Ayutahoma and the two others 753n.

Navagrahayāga (vide Grahapūjā) 296-7.

Navānna-bhakṣaṇa (partaking of

grains from fresh crops) 330–1.
Navarātra, twice, in Caitra and Āśvina 179, 186 (vide under Durgāpūjā).
Navarātrapradīpa of Vināyaka *alias* Nanda-paṇḍita 155–156.
Nawrath, E. A., a. of 'Immortal India' (Bombay, 1956).
Nayaviveka of Bhavadeva or Bhavanātha, a work of Prābhākara school, 1189; referred to by Smṛti-candrikā, Vīramitrodaya on Vyavahāra and Vyavahāramayūkha, 1192, 1233.
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, 595; ordered Chaldeans to find out the dream he had forgotten and to interpret it 781.
Nehru Pandit, Prime minister, tribute to ancient Brāhmaṇa ideal 1640; to old teaching of Dharma, 1664; about Gandhiji's ideas on self-restraint 1670 (on necessity of a worth while ideal); 1678–79, speeches of, collected by Sriman Narayan for the A. I. C. C. (1956) on socialistic pattern 1680–81; admits that adequate incentives must be offered 1683; Criticizes Gandhiji's attitude to sex and praise of poverty and ascetic life 1619; Autobiography by, 1689, 1708n (on Politics).
Nepal, gambling in, on large scale on Balipratipadā, 203.
Neugebauer Prof. Otto; a. of 'Exact Sciences in Antiquity' and several papers; 481, 483, 490n, 514n, 517–18, 520n, 521, 542 (criticized), 549n, 566n, 571n (criticized), 582n, 597, 631n, 650n, 676n, 699n, 709n, 741n.
New Indian Antiquary (a journal), 1408n, 1601.
Newton, laws of motion expounded by, are now held to be approximations, 1503n.
Nigada, examples of 1222; is Yajus, but is loudly uttered, while Yajus is recited in a low voice 1097, 1222.
Nighaṇṭu 10, 35–36n, 855, 1044, 1600n.
Night, no bath or making gifts or śrāddha at n., except on expressly stated occasions 79, 244; Ṛgveda X. 127 is hymn to n. employed as Śānti 730.
Niḥśreyasa, meaning of, 1037n, 1515n; occurs in Pāṇini V. 4-77 and Kauṣ. Up, 1468n; stated to be goal of the study of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika Sūtras 1468; Mahābhāṣya explains it 1515n.
Nīlakaṇṭha, com. of, on Mahābhārata 1570n.
Nīlamatapurāṇa 200.
Nīlapaṭadarśana, work of Tāntrik Vajrayāna Buddhist sect, in which the three jewels are Kāma, courtezan and wine, while the three jewels of devout Buddhists are Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha 1073.
Nimeṣa, time required for pronouncing a short syllable 476.
Nimitta (see under 'utpāta'); auspicious nimittas very few as compared with inauspicious ones 744; distinguished from utpāta 743; long lists of in-

auspicious nimittas 743-744; meaning of, 743; Manu mentions n. and utpāta in same verse 743.

Nimitta, a work attributed to Digambara Jain Bhadrabāhu 743n, 805n; contents of, 805n; later than Varāhamihira and not concerned with Dharmaśāstra and does not dilate on Śānt'is, 805n.

Nīrājana, a Śānti 335, 759, 783; of horses and elephants 184; of king and soldiers 193; on the king's march for invasion 187; procedure of and mantras in 193.

Niravasita, meaning of 926n.

Nirayaṇa, meaning of 712.

Nirgrantha, naked Jain monk 978n.

Nirṇayāmṛta, 69n-71n, 89n, 93, 100n, 101, 134, 146n, 154n, 195n, 196n, 230, 663

Nirṇayasindhu (written in 1612 A. D.), 31-33n, 41n-43, 47n-50n, 51-53n, 54, 61n, 62n, 70-71n, 72n, 73n, 75, 84-86, 88, 90-2, 96n, 97n, 104, 109, 112, 113, 115, 119, 121n, 123n, 127, 133-34, 142n, 144-45n; 146n, 151n, 153n-4n, 157n, 161n-2n, 169, 171, 173, 178n, 179, 180, 182-4n, 188-90, 195, 196n-199n, 201n, 203n-5n, 207n-8n, 218n-9n, 221, 223n, 228n, 240-1, 243n-4; 246n-7n, 607n-8n, 610n, 612n, 613-4, 626, 633n, 660, 664n-5n, 672-74, 710n, 762, 765n-6n, 773, 788n, 925, 926n, 1106, 1117 (times for dīkṣā), 1289, 1307, 1332.

Nirukta, (vide 'Vedic interpretation' and 'Yāska'); 984, 985 (two interpretations of several Ṛgveda Mantras), 987, 991 (discussion whether Vedic Mantras have meanings), 1033n, 1044 (explains Ṛg. I. 164. 11), 1097 1102, 1156n, 1181, 1203, 1237n, 1238n, 1240n, 1256n, 1275-76 (PMS agrees with many conclusions of N), 1364n, 1460n, 1536n, 1540n, 1578-79 (on Vaiśvānara), 1587n, 1633 (word jāti occurs), 1664 (story of Devāpi and Śantanu).

Nirvāṇa 1008n, 1023; not clearly defined by Buddha 941; really indescribable just as *brahman* is described as 'neti' 1008n; Saundarananda on, 940n-41; N. as synonym of Mokṣa does not occur in principal Upaniṣads, but in Gītā, 1515.

Niṣāda 554n, 1296; could offer an iṣṭi to Rudra, with a Vedic mantra though he did not belong to any of higher varṇas 1642.

Niṣādasthapati, meaning of, 1296.

Niṣedha: vide Pratiṣedha.

Niṣpannayogāvali of Abhayākaragupta, Buddhist Tāntrik work, 1050, 1133, 1143.

Niṣṭyā, called Svātī in other texts 500.

Nītimayūkha 923.

Nityā is Śakti, that is non-different from Śiva 1091n.

Nityācārapaddhati of Vidyākara 924n, 1110n.

Nityācāra-pradīpa of Narasiṁha Vājapeyin; enumerates 18 Purāṇas and refers to Nara-

simha P., 880n.

Nityānuvāda, explained and illustrated 1250 ; the word occurs frequently in Jaimini 1250.

Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava (part of Vāmakeśvara Tantra) : 1050n, 1058n, 1091, 1136 ; names 64 tantras including eight Yāmalas 1050 ; names and defines Trikhaṇḍā and other mudrās 1126-27.

Nityotsava (a Tāntrik work of Umānandanātha, pupil of Bhāsurānandanātha) : praises his guru hyperbolically 1071 ; 1117 (on dīkṣā), 1136 (on Yantras).

Niyamas : are called *tapas* by Āp. Dh. S. and Amarakośa 29 ; five named by Yogasūtra 29n, 1421n , but Yuktidīpikā differs; many enumerated by Vāyu-purāṇa 29n ; ten Niyamas-m. by Yāj. 29n ; N. of Y. S II. 32 are of a positive character (viz. be pure, be contented etc.), 1422.

Niyama-vidhis, are classified into three, viz. those concerned with *pratinidhis*, with *pratipatti* and those concerned with matters other than these two, with illustrations 1231-32 ; taking food facing the east is an example of a n. not concerned with pratinidhi nor pratipatti 1232.

Niyoga, practice of, allowed as well as condemned by the extant Manusmṛti 1266 ; Ṛg X. 40. 2 refers to it and Gautama and others and even Yāj. states the procedure and conditions of it, 1268 and n.

Noushirwan, Sassanian king (531-579 A. D.) ; dream of, interpreted by Buzurmihir (probably Varāhamihira) 781.

Nṛpa (word) represents number 16, 703n.

Nṛsiṁhācārya 228n.

Nṛsiṁha-purāṇa, vide Narasiṁha-

Number, 18 prominent in Mahābhārata 842.

Numerals, Indian (vide decimal system and place value systems) : their antiquity and method of writing them 697-704 ; Āryabhaṭa mentions ten orders of n from one to vṛnda, each ten times of the the preceding from place (*sthāna*) to place 698 ; Āryabhaṭa's method of giving numerical values to letters from *k* to *m* 704 ; denoted by complete words suggesting numbers 701 ; eighteen orders of numbers from one to parārdha, mentioned by Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and Līlāvatī 698 ; from one to ten, hundred, thousand and ten thousand, several times occur in Ṛg. 697 ; Greeks appear to have had no single word for million 698 ; larger numbers are sometimes mentioned in the Ṛgveda before smaller numbers 697 ; list of the word for 18 orders of n. 699 ; list of Sanskrit words suggesting numbers from one onwards 702-703 ; method of using a group of words for the place of units, tens etc. acc. to 'aṅkānām vāmato gatiḥ' 704 ; names for astronomical numbers of years settled in times of

Vedic Saṁhitās at least 1000 years B. C. 697–8; names of Vedic metres such as Aṣṭi, Atyaṣṭi suggest numerals 16, 17 etc. 703n; Pāṇini mentions *paṅkti* (ten), *viṁśati* up to navati and śata 698; several methods of writing n., 701–702; Tai. S. mentions bricks from one, one hundred, thousand, ayuta, niyuta, prayuta, arbuda, nyarbuda, samudra, madhya, anta and parārdha 697–698; Varāhamihira employs words suggesting numerals even in the place value system 701, 703.

Nyāsa (mystical sanctification of several parts or limbs of the body with Vedic, Tāntrik or other mantras); (vide under aṅganyāsa, haṁsanyāsa, mantranyāsa, mātṛkānyāsa, praṇavanyāsa); 87, 168, 1120–1123; N. is an important item in the Tāntrik ritual 1120; N. compared by Woodroffe with the Christian method of making the sign of the cross 1123; expressly provided by Devībhāgavata as part of Sandhyā worship 1121; in modern times some orthodox people perform two kinds of n. viz. Antarmātṛkā and Bahirmātṛkā, 1122; is *avaidika* and should not be performed acc. to Dharmasindhu and Saṁskāraratnamālā, 1121n; of different names of Viṣṇu, viz. Govinda, Trivikrama etc. on fingers of right hand, the palm etc. 1121–22; n. of several portions of Gāyatrī, of single letters of Gāyatrī on one's limbs 1122; n. of letters of alphabet from 'a' to 'kṣa', acc. to Mahānirvāṇa, Śāradā. and Rāghavabhaṭṭa on several limbs 1122; several varieties of n. described in tantra works and Purāṇas 1120–21; several works, some *tantras* and Purāṇas also, dilate upon n. 1120; sixteen verses of Puruṣasūkta for n. on several limbs in Viṣṇu worship 1122; N. was taken over from Tantra works in the Purāṇas and medieval Dharmaśāstra works for the rites of orthodox people some centuries before Yogayājñavalkya and Aparārka 1122.

Nyāya (system of logic); for its necessity in the interpretation of the Veda, Kumārila relies on Manu 1261.

Nyāya, a source of Dharma 1152; also means the adhikaraṇas of Jaimini, expounding the points of Dharma 1155n.

Nyāya-kusumāñjali of Udayana. 1624.

Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa 469–470.

Nyāyapariśuddhi of Veṅkaṭanātha 1158.

Nyāyaratnākara (of Pārthasārathi-miśra), a com. on Ślokavārtika; 1159n, 1179n, 1183n, 1188, 1205n, 1207, 1210 (creation and dissolution of world is arthavāda), 1212 (on four possible views on prāmāṇya and aprāmāṇya of cognitions), 1216, 1225n, 1376n, 1600.

Nyāyaratnamālā 1321n (divides all texts into Upadeśa and Atideśa), 1324n.
Nyāyasudhā or Rāṇaka of Someśvara, a com. on Tantravārtika 1188, 1247n (quotes a verse as from Kumārila's Bṛhaṭṭīkā), 1297n.
Nyāyasūtra : 469, 1324n (defines *ūha*), 1468 ; goal of study of, is niḥśreyasa (Mokṣa) 1468.
Nyāyavārtika 469n.
Nyāyavid, meaning of, 1153n.
Oceans-said in the purāṇas to be seven surrounding the dvīpas 440-441, 1524 ; said to be four, 445 (under Sāgaravrata).
O ' Connor, N. J., a of ' How Buddhism left India ' 1003.
Officials, to be maintained by king and their salaries 819.
Oldenberg 494n.
Old Testament 676-7 ; references to astrologers, stargazers and prognosticators of Babylon 548.
O Leary, De Lacy, author of ' Arabic thought and its place in world History ' 483n.
Olmstead 646.
Om, a sacred syllable, the symbol of *brahma* and may be called a *bīja* in Tantra language, 1097 ; importance of Om borrowed from Upaniṣads by Yogasūtra 1417 ; is called Praṇava 1097n ; is called Tāra in Tantra works, 1099n ; eulogy of om in Yogasūtra, 1413 and n ; identified with *brahman* in Tai. Up. 1416.
Oman R. C., a. of ' The Mystics, ascetics and saints of India ' 1427.
Oppenheim A. Leo, a. of ' Interpretation of dreams in ancient Near East ' 810n.
Oppert, G. editor of ' Śukranītisāra ' 1036.
Orion, work of Lokamānya Tilak, 498-9n, 510.
Option-see Vikalpa.
Orissa Historical Research Journal 174n.
Osborne, Arthur, work of, on ' Raman Maharshi ' 1479n.
Owl, hooting of, 729.
Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda 22n, 861 (ascribed to Śākalya).
Padārthanirūpaṇa, a work of Raghunātha 470.
Padārthānusamaya method 1317, 1345 ; is reverse of Kāṇḍānusamaya and is set out in P. M. S. V. 2. 1-3.
Padmapāda, a. of Vijñāna-dīpikā 1574n.
Padmapurāṇa 32, 37, 40, 42-45, 56-7, 97-8, 103, 108n, 112n, 125, 135, 147, 195, 196n-97, 201n, 202, 204n-07n, 210, 225, 227, 561n, 672, 751, 770r, 779n, 805, 811 (on Upaśruti-like divination), 817n, 824n, 841 (chapters identical with those of Matsya), 856-57n, 862-63n, 876n, 915-16, 922-25, 930-32, 934-5, 945-6, 948, 960, 964, 966n, 968, 971-72, 974n, 976 (condemns Advaita and Mīmāṁsā), 1024, 1121 (on nyāsa), 1136, 1207 and 1209 (avers that Mīmāṁsā), is *nirīśvara*), 1213 (description of heaven), 1383, 1385,

1470n, 1528, 1570n, 1576 (on doctrine of Karma) ; note on, 893 ; thousands of verses common to Matsya and Padma, the latter being the borrower 893 ; two recensions of 893.

Paiṅgi-rahasya Brāhmaṇa 1360 (q. by Śaṅkarācārya).

Paiṅgya, 66

Paintings : famous ancient paintings in India are those at Ajanta and in Bagh caves 1654-55; works on Ajanta p. by Dr. Yazdani, Mukula-chandra Dey and Balasaheb Pant, chief of Aundh State 1654-55

Paitāmaha-siddhānta (astronomical work) ; (vide Pitāmaha-siddhānta below) : probably composed about 80 A. D. 488, 517 ; states that Yuga was constituted of five years and employed Śaka 2 for its epoch, 488 and n.

Paiṭhīnasi, a smṛti 54, 72n, 785n.

Pākayajñas (vide under 'Yajña') : 1233n.

Pākistan, came into existence in 1947 and there is now hardly any Hindu or Sikh to be found in West P. 1464n.

Pakṣa (fortnight) ; rites for gods and for prosperity to be performed in bright p. and for pitṛs and magic in dark p. 385 ; word p. occurs in Tai. Br. and Upaniṣads 670.

Pakṣati, meaning of 671.

Pala, a measure of corn equal to 16th of prastha, 810n

Palāśī (lit. eater of *pala* i e. flesh) esoteric meaning of, 1084n.

Pallavas (twigs with leaves) also called Pañcabhaṅga : five auspicious p. are those of *mango*, aśvattha, vaṭa, plakṣa, and udumbara 336, 339, 759.

Pallī (house lizard) ; (vide under 'Vasantarāja-śākuna'): fall of p. on right side of a male and left side of a woman is auspicious 792 ; Śānti on fall or contact of p. on a limb, or on p. creeping up a person's limb 792.

Palmistry : certain lines on the hand of a woman were deemed to indicate death of the husband even in the times of Pāṇini and the Kāśikā 525.

Pañcabhaṅga-dala (leaves of five trees) : (vide 'Pallavas' above) 336.

Pañcajanāḥ, meaning of 126.

Pañcamakāraśodhanavidhi (a Śākta work) 1053n, 1087n (describes the sanctification of *makāras* with Vedic mantras).

Pañcāṅga (calendar) ; (see week day, Yoga) : five important parts in P. are tithi, weekday, nakṣatra, Yoga and Karaṇa 666 ; fourth aṅga of p. is Yoga 704 ; generally prepared for each year 666 ; must be prepared for every town or place more than 15 or 20 miles away from Bombay or Madras or Calcutta where p. are at present prepared, if accuracy as to tithi, nakṣatra is required 713 ; numerous p. in use now in India 641 ; necessity of p. for all Hindus, 650 ; samples

of pages from a Pañcāṅga of śaka 1878 (1956 A. D.) and from another 223 years earlier facing pp. 666–667 ; varieties of, in South India, such as Vāḷya and Siddhāntacandra 642.

Pañcāgnividyā : (described in Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 2ff and Chān. V. 3. 2ff) : is an *upāsanā* 1548–58, 1562–3 ; is concerned with only one aspect of transmigration viz. the path of those who practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility and alms-giving and follow Pitṛyāṇa path 1584.

Pañcapādikā (of Padmapāda) : (severely criticizes the view that the Viṣayavākya of P. M. Sūtra I. 1. 1 is 'aṣṭavarṣam... tam-adhyāpayīta) : 1182n, 1190.

Pāñcaratnas (five jewels) are gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby and pearl acc. to one view or are gold, silver, pearl, coral and *rājāvarta* acc. to another view 219, 337.

Pāñcarātra (vide Śvetadvīpa); Bāṇa mentions Bhāgavatas and Pāñcarātras separately in Harṣacarita 955n; doctrine is only one of several bhakti schools 962; Droṇaparva puts forward four forms (mūrtis) of Supreme Person different from those in Śāntiparva 956; general view of most medieval writers on Dharmaśāstra was that Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata śāstras are authoritative only so far as they are not opposed to the Veda 962; identified with Sāttvata in Śāntiparva 953, 955n ; is called 'Ekāntadharma' 953, 1390n ; is called Sāttvatatantra 1032n ; is said to be one of five lores, its promulgator being Bhagavat Vāsudeva himself 954 ; Nārada's name is concerned with Pāñcarātra in Śāntiparva 956 ; peculiar doctrine of P. is that of *vyūhas* (forms) of the Supreme Person called Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each of the latter springing from the preceding, 953 ; P. doctrine refuted in Vedāntasūtra II. 2. 42–45 acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 953, 955, what is refuted being the doctrine of Saṅkarṣaṇa springing from Vāsudeva and so on 955 ; P. Saṁhitās m. by Rāmānuja in bhāṣya on V. S. are Pauṣkara, Sāttvata and Parama 957n ; Śāntiparva speaks of one, two, three or four *vyūhas* 962 ; Śāṇḍilya was supposed in Śaṅkarācārya's times to have promulgated the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra Śāstra 955 ; several guesses about why the system is so called 954n ; several Pāñcarātra-saṁhitās published so far are later than the Gītā 956 ; twenty-five works on P. mentioned by Agnipurāṇa and Maheśvaratantra 956–57 ; Vyūhas, doctrine of, 953, 962 ; worship of Vāsudeva is older than Pāṇini 962.

Pañcaśikha, 1373–74 ; composed

Ṣaṣṭitantra 1356n; date of, not later than first century B. C. 1356; and Janaka, king of Mithilā, his pupil, acc. to Mahābhārata 1365–1371; described as the foremost pupil of Āsuri and known as Kāpileya in the Mahābhārata, 1365–71; described in some chapters of Śāntiparva as an *advaitin* grafting some doctrines of later Sāṅkhya for explaining creation etc. 1367; dialogue between P. and Janaka about rising superior to old age and death 1358; expounded to Janaka, Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Rājanīti, called threefold mokṣa 1368–1369; gotra of, was Pārāśarya and he was a *bhikṣu* 1368; identity of P. and Vārṣagaṇya extremely doubtful, 1374–75; literal meaning of the name 1369n; passages ascribed to P. are brought together by Hall and Garbe 1371n; P. of the Mahābhārata is not identical with the Pañcaśikha of Ṣaṣṭitantra and his views are different from the Sāṅkhya, 1370–71; differs from official Sāṅkhya 1370–71; quotations attributed to P. are mostly in prose 1373n; views described as Sāṅkhya in some chapters of Śāntiparva bring the peculiar Sāṅkhya doctrines in line with the idea of Vāsudeva or highest Self 1371.

Pañcasrotas, a holy place 1365.

Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira 213n, 479 (was a karaṇa), 511n, 514n–5, 519n, 644 (tr. by Thibaut and Dwivedi), 653n–4, 663n, 676, 680, 702n, 703n.

Panchayats, village, starting of; dangers in the present stage 1677.

Pāṇḍavas, though five, had the same wife Draupadī 1286.

Pandit M. P., a. of 'Lights on Tantra' 1150; criticized 1150.

Panikkar, Sardar K. M. a. of 'India and China' 1040.

Pāṇini, 5, 10, 27, 36, 67, 68n, 130, 150n, 185n, 203, 467, 487n, 492n, 499, 500, 510, 516n, 525, 541–42, 561n, 592n, 667, 670–1, 684, 703n, 708, 720n, 738n, 740n, 742n, 820, 850, 926n, 962–3n, 1032, 1128 (knew Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛśāśva), 1153 (explains 'Mīmāṁsate'), 1157–58, 1167 (mentions Kāśyapa to show respect), 1168–1169, 1198n (charge that Pāṇini violates his own rules), 1203 (distinguishes between the author of a work and expositor or transmitter of it), 1307n, 1310n, 1361n, 1368n, 1378, 1388n, 1389, 1397 (does not observe his own rules), 1439n, 1488n, 1524n, 1546n, 1582n; called Śālāturīya by Bhāmaha and other medieval writers 542; date of, 1169; hailed from Northwest India 542; in P.'s times there were mendicant ascetics (bhikṣus) who studied the Bhikṣusūtra of Pārāśarya and that of Karmanda and were called 'Pārāśarino bhikṣavaḥ' 1168–69,

1368n; names of countries and places expressly mentioned by P. 1528n; papers on geographical details in, 1527n; teaches formation of words like Takṣaśila 542; was acquainted with the whole of India from the extreme northwest of India to Kaliṅga (Orissa), Aśmaka (country near Ajantā and Paiṭhan) and modern Kutch 1528n, 1614 (Sindhu as the name of a country), 1633 (word jāti occurs), 1638 (on Brāhmaṇaka), 1646, 1651 (names at least ten predecessors and shows that before him there was considerable secular literature).

Pāṇinīya śikṣā 1096n.

Parakṛti or Parakriyā, meaning of, 1223n.

Paramārtha, translated Sāṅkhyakārikā into Chinese, 1353, 1382n.

Paramarṣi, defined in Vāyu and Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇas) 1390.

Paramasaṁhitā, 954n.

Pāraṇa (vide Udyāpana); in some cases performed by merely sipping water 121n; derivation of, 120n; last rite in a vrata is P. 120; should be done on 12th tithi in Ekādaśīvrata, but not on 13th, 120; word P. occurs in Śākuntala and Raghuvaṁśa 120.

Pārānandasūtra (a Tāntrik work): 1051n (states that it contains the cream of Veda viz. Kauladharma), 1053–56 (philosophy and brief contents of), 1073n (mentions names of teachers ending in 'Ānanda', speaks of three *mārgas* (paths) viz. Dakṣiṇa, Vāma, Uttara, 1054–56; speaks of jīvanmukti and quotes Upaniṣads 1055; 1084n (well known verse 'pītvā pītvā' etc. esoterically explained), 1086.

Parāśara, astronomer and astrologer 531, 587n, 593, 613, 637n (m. by Bṛ. S. on Grahayuddha), 745, 765.

Parāśara-Mādhavīya, com. on Parāśarasmṛti; 42n, 868n, 1166 (in some passages Bādarāyaṇa and in some others Vyāsa is said to be the a. of V. S.), 1182n, 1227–28, 1288n (on Kapiñjalanyāya), 1306n, 1311, 1312n, 1314, 1323, 1333 (on aveṣṭyadhikaraṇa).

Parāśara-smṛti 52, 147n, 218, 897 (m. by Bhaviṣyapurāṇa), 1266 and n, 1306n (bath, sandhyā etc. are different acts), 1314, 1322; was to prevail in Kaliyuga, but it allows a brāhmaṇa to eat food at the house of certain śūdras, permits remarriage of widows in certain circumstances, 1266, 1608.

Pārāśarya, a. of Bhikṣusūtra, acc. to Pāṇini, 1368n.

Pāraśavas, in Vāyupurāṇa stand for Parśus i. e. ancient Persians that appear to be m. by Pāṇini 850n, 851.

Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra 27, 126, 524, 535, 622, 740n.

Paraśurāma, exploits of, described in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 89n, 90n; horoscope of, furnished by Nirṇayasindhu exa-

mined 628–629; loss of power of, when he met Rāma 89n; made Western sea recede 89n; resided on Mahendra mountain 89n.

Paraśurāma Jayantī 89-90; on 3rd of Vaiśākha bright half 89; temples of Paraśurāma 90; time of celebration 89–90.

Paraśurāma – Kalpasūtra 1049, 1054 (on tantra and about secrecy), 1063 (on 36 tattvas), 1074n (provides that after dīkṣā guru to give a name to disciple ending in Ānanda-nātha), 1077, 1084n, 1101; commentary of Rāmeśvara on 1077, 1084.

Paraśurāmapratāpa 106n; mentions 26 items in Jāgara 106n.

Pargiter, F E. (vide under Parīkṣit): 688, 851, 862n (translation of a passage of Kautilya criticized): a. of 'Purāṇa texts of the dynasties of the Kali age', 842n, 843, 914; attaches no importance to what Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Vāyu state that they mention the *principal* kings of three lines, 846; constructs history from earliest times to Bhārata war, which he holds to have taken place about 950 B. C.; brushes aside the duration between Parīkṣit and Nandas, 846; criticism of the methods and views of Pargiter 845–852; holds that there were two traditions, one Brahmanic and the other Kṣatriya represented in the Purāṇas, 845; holds dozens of times that brāhmaṇas had no historic sense, 845, 856; holds that extant Purāṇas are Sanskritizations of Prākrit works 845; is wrong in identifying the Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa m. by Āpastamba with extant Bhaviṣya-purāṇa 851; Kirfel disagrees with Pargiter about two separate traditions (brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya) and about Purāṇas being Sanskritizations of Prākrit works 849; P. and Kirfel take no proper notice of what Megasthenes says about a list of 153 kings covering a period of 6451 years, 849; theory of P, about brāhmaṇas having deliberately suppressed all information about him who compiled and arranged the Veda, criticized 858–861; thinks that Hinduism secured its revival and the downfall of Buddhism largely through the Paurāṇika literature 914n; view of P. blaming brāhmaṇas for absence of reference in P. to Guptas and their successors, criticized 856-57.

Paribhāṣāprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra) 835n, 921n, 923n, 954n. 955, 1262.

Pārijāta, an early medieval work 962.

Pāriplava (narration of, in Rājasūya) derivation of the word in Śāṅ. Śrauta-sūtra 816n; Hotṛ priest recited Itihāsa and Purāṇa separately on two days 816, 866–67.

Pariṣad : how to constitute a p.

for deciding difficult matters of dharma 1158.

Parisaṅkhyā, defined and illustrated 1229; it is liable to three faults, acc. to Śabara 1230; the word does not occur in Mahābhāṣya, though employed by Jaimini 1156–57, 1230.

Parsis; vide 'Parsis in India' by M. M. Marzban 264.

Pārthasārathimiśra, a. of four works on P. M. Śāstra, Nyāyaratnākara, Tantraratna, Śāstradīpikā, Nyāya-ratna-mālā, 1188–89, 1199, 1317n; flourished between 900–1100 A. D., 1199.

Parvan Days: Homas for worship of the sun and for Śāntis to be performed on, 757; what are P. 221.

Paryudāsa (proviso or exception), explained and exemplified from Vedic and Dharmaśāstra works (as on pp. 1248–1250 and Yāj. I. 129-166).

Pāśā, 12th tithi is so called 341.

Pāśupata Śāstras, doctrines of, written in books of palm leaves in Bāṇa's days, 1047; various kinds of, m. in Padma, Kūrma and Devībhāgavata and condemned, 974n, 977–8.

Pāśupata-sūtra of Nakulīśa (i. e. Lakulīśa), 978n.

Pātālas (nether regions), generally understood as seven, but the names somewhat differ in Purāṇas 1528.

Pāṭaliputra, also called Puṣpapura, founded by Udāyi, son of Śiśunāga 827.

Patañjali: (vide under Mahābhāṣya): 67, 68n, 130, 467 (quotes verse that occurs in Mahābhārata), 541-2, 720n; a. of Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 963; deemed by medieval writers to be an avatāra of Śeṣa and to have composed works on Grammar, medicine and Yoga 1396; points of difference between P. and modern psychologists like Freud 1414–15; question of identity of the author of Yogasūtra and of Mahābhāṣya discussed by several authors 1397–99.

Paths (Mārgas); (vide under 'bhakti', jñāna, Karma); bhakti and Jñāna described and distinguished 964–65, 1369, 1648.

Paths, called Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa, 1548 and n; 1551, 1557 (vide Bṛ. Up. VI. 2 and under Devayāna).

Patil, Dr. D. R.; paper of, on 'Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇic tradition' 844, 883; a. of 'Cultural History from Vāyupurāṇa' 907.

Pātimokkha: containing 227 articles was to be read twice a month in an assembly of at least four Buddhist monks and confession of breaches had to be made to them 1026.

Pātra brāhmaṇa, defined 937–38.

Paulus Alexandrinus 515n.

Pauliśasiddhānta (see under Lāṭadeva); not later than 400 A. D. according to Thibaut 514n; one of the five ancient astronomical siddhāntas 514n;

quoted by Utpala 477; said to be accurate by Varāha 514n; P. restricted itself mostly to astronomical matters 517n, 593; Thibaut admits that it cannot be proved that P. is related to the work of Greek astrologer Paulus 517; Weber held that it was borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus (4th A. D.)

Paulkasa, equated with Cāṇḍāla in Br. Up. 1633.

Paurṇamāsī, 348; derivation of 667; two kinds of, Anumati and Rākā, both m. in Tai. S. and Śat. Br. 62-3; word P. occurs frequently in Atharvaveda 65.

Pauṣṭika rites, what are 349; distinguished from Śāntika rites 349.

Pāvamāna hymn 759.

Pavitrāṇi (holy texts), by repeating which a man expiates sins, cited by Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu 1416n.

Pavitrāropaṇa (offering the sacred Upavīta to Gods) 111, 339-40.

Payne E. A., a. of 'the Śaktas', 1038-9, 1048n, 1092.

People: millions on millions of common p. are influenced to keep to the path of virtue and right by the fear of God, of public opinion, fear of punishment by the State and by the prickings of their conscience 1474; Vanaparva holds that what the majority of people practise is the dharma in the midst of conflicting śrutis, smṛtis and learned men 1469; three classes of people viz. those who believe and worship a personal god with ritual and sacrifices, those who pray, seek God and come to realize that God is both immanent and transcendant, those few people, the great Masters and sages who lose the sense of ego and are ripe for entering into union with the One 1508-9; p. in several lands had conceit that they were far superior to others and had a mission to propagate like the British imperialists 1619.

Perry W. J., a. of 'Children of the Sun', holds that archaic civilization of India and China did not first develop there but in Egypt, 482n.

Persecution in India (vide under Buddhism, Galileo, Inquisition, Tolerance, Toleration Act, heretics); sporadic cases of religious P. exemplified 1011n; followers of Judaism, Christianity and Islam did not hesitate for centuries to inculcate their doctrines by terrible persecutions and bloody wars and this spirit shocks people brought up in Hinduism or Buddhism 1474; harsh laws were in force in England a little over a hundred years ago against Roman Catholics and non conformists 1476n.

Persians, practice of marrying mother among ancient, 554.

Person, characteristics of, born when the Moon is in the *rāśis*

from Aries onwards 569.
Persons, eight mythological long-lived persons, images of, to be worshipped on Yamadvitīyā 208.
Pessimism : no real pessimism in principal Dharmaśāstra works 1630.
Philologists : some p. deriving word 'sinīvālī' by the combinatin of 'sin' (moon), a Babylonian word, and Dravidian 'vel' (white light), criticized 64.
Philosophy, most men want to rely on something deemed higher than themselves such as Revelation and God, 1472; one of the oldest problems of P. is, Faith and Reason and there has been a constant struggle between these two, 1472; Time is first among the great problems of P. 463; central point of much of Indian P. is contained in Chān. Up. VI. 1, 1651–52.
Philostratus (1st quarter of 3rd century A. D.), a. of 'Life of Apolonius of Tyana,' 600, 681.
Pillai, Swamikannu, a. of 'Indian Ephemeris' 505n, 628 (discusses Rāma's horoscope), 646n, 648 (on eras), 708.
Piṇḍaśodhana: meaning is Bhūtaśuddhi in Tantra works 1095n.
Piṅgala, a. of Vedāṅga on Metres; mentions Śūnya for zero and is m. by Śabara 700–701; probably his work is the same as Chandovicīti m. by Āp. Dh. S. 701.
Pitāmaha 69n, 78n, 1323 (on balance ordeal).
Pitāmaha-siddhānta (on astronomy) 654, 663; q. by Utpala 477, 488; one of the five siddhāntas and said to be far from accurate, 514n; 592 (regarded Tuesday as inauspicious).
Pitṛs, path to the world of, described in Yāj., Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Matsya and other Purāṇas 826.
Pitṛyāṇa path (vide under Devayāna and Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 2), 1548n.
Plan, Third five year, and its objectives 1683-84; total investment programme of, comes to 10400 crores of rupees, nearly half of which is to be raised by additional taxation, external assistance and deficit financing 1689–90.
Planets (vide 'Astrology', 'Astronomy', Babylonian, grahayuddha, Moon, Navagrahaśānti, Śānti, Saturn, Sun): ancient Vedic literature says hardly anything about astrological significance of P. 569; are concerned with or govern specially certain matters 590; are either friends or enemies of each other, but not indifferent, acc. to Yavanas 586; arrangement or order of P. in Yāj. and Purāṇas 678–79; arrangement of P. different in different countries and times 571n; as rulers of eight directions 574; *bala* (strength) of P. four kinds of 587; classification of P. as beneficent or malefic 635–36; classification

of P. as masculine, feminine and neuter 575, 635-36; cult of P. not current in Vedic times 294; *daśās* and antardaśās of, 590-591; differentiated as sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa 574; different kinds of gifts for unfavourable P., 755; doctrine of dṛṣṭi of, 589, 637; evil influences of, removed by śāntis 608; identified with Babylonian gods 522: importance of Venus and Jupiter in settling marriage 610, 612; Jupiter, known to Ṛgveda 294, 569; Kautilya on astrological significance of, 569-570; Mahābhārata knew influence of, on nakṣatras, but not on rāśis 569; methods of nullifying evil influence of 608; natural powerfulness of, 577; nine P, names of, with synonyms 570; nine conditions of P. 588; no convincing explanation as to why certain rāśis are *svagṛha* or *uccā* of P. 636; purpose of the classification of P. as to colour or as lords of directions 574; Sanskrit synonyms of, contain some Greek words 571n, 572; stories of ancient kings and heroes that suffered from unfavourable aspects of P. 755; supposed *gotras* and country of origin of, 753; tables showing rāśis as *svagṛha* (house) and *ucca* (exaltation) of, showing parts of human body, jewels and metals governed by several P., showing some characteristics of P. such as colour, whether beneficent or malefic etc. 573-576; three kinds of conjunctions of, 583n; three P. added in modern times, 571; Venus probably referred to as Vena in Ṛg 569; view that Hindu arrangement of P. is of Greek origin criticized, 571n; wearing certain precious stones and metals deemed to reduce evil influence of, 608; word P. derived from a Greek word 570

Plans, five year 1679n.

Plato, beliefs of, that the earth was a cube, in punarjanma, that arts and sciences declined from perfection 512, 688n, 1530; held in his Timaeus that dreams are prophetic 781; in his exubernat imagination constructed the physical world on the pattern of geometrical figures familiar to him 1502n; on Being and Becoming 1505; philosophy and cosmology of, were looked upon as acme of wisdom up to 19th century, but modern scientists (says sarton) regard Plato's theories as monuments of unwisdom 1502n.

Pliny 566.

Politics (Rājanīti), four *upāyas* in, 617; six aṅgas of, 117.

Pollard, Robert S. W.; a. of 'Conscience and Liberty' 1476n.

Pollution by touch or by shadow, idea of, must be given up 1709.

Poona Orientalist, a journal, 520n, 647n, 686, 842n, 1145.

Pongal (Tamil word), festival

corresponding to Makara-saṅkrānti of Northern and Western India 222,

Population, huge in India, most of which is on the margin of subsistence level, 1687; Government of India and the planners have no well thought out plan for control of p. and very little is being done to control systematically the terrific growth of p. 1687.

Portent: (vide under Utpāta); of images of gods, described as dancing, laughing, trembling and weeping in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Bṛ. S., 769–770; on birth of two or more children at the same delivery to a woman or monstrosities or strange births to cows, mares etc. 773–774.

Poussin, Prof. Valleè, 1039.

Prabhākara: (vide under Kumārila): called 'Our Guru' by Śālikanātha, 1189–90; a. of com. called Bṛhatī on P. M. Sūtra 1189; flourished between 675–725 A. D., 1198; inscriptions and other evidence establish that P. held an eminent position in Karṇāṭaka and Maratha countries in 11th century A. D. 1192; held the view that no word was significant in isolation but became significant when joined with a word or words in a sentence 1296; Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistāra cites 15 points of difference between P. and Kumārila 1189; later than Kumārila, though no substantial evidence (except tradition) for holding that P. was a pupil of Kumārila 1192; quotes Kirātārjunīya 1195.

Prābhākara School, 1179n; works of 1189.

Prabodhacandrodaya, a drama, mentions several writers and works on PMS including Mahodadhi and Māhāvratī, 1189–90.

Pracetas 77n.

Practices (vide under 'changes'); even Vedic p. have been discarded from time to time by the weight of the opinion of the masses 1267–9, 1470; when popular p. and opinions should be followed 1470.

Pradhan, Prof. S. N., a. of 'Chronology of Ancient India', regards Paurāṇik accounts as practically worthless 847.

Pradhāna actions, as contrasted with guṇa-bhūta, explained, 1237.

Pradoṣa, period of three or six ghaṭikās after sunset 102, 188n, 230.

Prahlāda, attained highest bliss through the grace of God 961: great devotee of Viṣṇu and grandfather of Bali, 202.

Prajāpati and his incest 235, 498n, 507, 1280; desiring to propagate, practised *tapas* and created the three worlds 1498; identified with Saṁvatsara 65; jumped into the sky as a deer pursued by Rudra 498n; myth in Ait. Br. as to how P. came to be called Ka 1497–98;

Myth about creation of Agni by P. and appeasing Agni with Śamī plant in Tai. Br. 725; Nakṣatras as daughters of P. married to king Soma 507; rarely mentioned in the Ṛg. becomes the most prominent god in the Brāhmaṇa texts 1407; some nakṣatras described as parts of the body of P. 561.

Prajāpativratas, 24, 93–96, 1234; observances by a sacrificer while the sacrifice lasts such as 'he should not see the rising or setting sun' are declared to be *puruṣārtha* 1234.

Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi of Ānaṅgavajra (about 705 A. D.) 1050, 1064; says that a yogin who desires union with mother, sister, daughter would obtain *siddhi* quickly, 1065n–67 meaning of Prajñā and Upāya, 1071, 1123.

Prakaraṇa-pañcikā of Śālikanātha; 1202n, 1205 (on word and sense), 1214n (on *svarga*), 1216n (on *mokṣa*); it is a work of the Prabhākara school 1189; admits that *adhyayana-vidhi* put forward by Prabhākara is only inferred from Manu 1190n; quotes several verses from Ślokavārtika 1191; states that there is no proof that a yāga (sacrifice) is the means of pleasing the deity 1209.

Pralaya (dissolution of the world); (vide 'Cosmogony' and 'Cosmology'); of four kinds, according to Purāṇas, 693-94, 1503; prākṛtika pr. based on Sāṅkhya, 694–695; recurrent absorptions of all beings and elements at the advent of Brahmā's night and reappearing at day 695, 1503; terrible and harrowing descriptions of naimittika pralaya from Kūrmapurāṇa and Vanaparva, 694; works like Harivaṁśa and Purāṇas say that at the end of Kalpa the sage Mārkaṇḍeya alone remains, lies in the side of Viṣṇu and comes out of Viṣṇu's mouth 695.

Pramāṇas (means of knowledge) (vide cognition): are six acc. to Kumārila, while Prabhākara rejects the 6th i. e. abhāva 1185, 1212.

Pramāṇavārtika, bhāṣya on, by Prajñākaragupta (700 A. D.) 472.

Prāṇa: Atharvaveda on Prāṇa as Prajāpati 1495; controversy about meaning (in ancient times) of prāṇa and apāna 1434; five āhutis in agnihotra to prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna and udāna in Upaniṣads, 1433; P. in Upaniṣads becomes the vital force of all beings, the representative of *brahman* 1433; P. means thoracic breath and *apāna* means abdominal breath 1434; some difference in the operation of the five prāṇas made at least a thousand years before Christ 1433.

Prāṇatoṣiṇī, a Tāntrik compilation, 1075n (on qualifications of a female guru and requiring that disciples were to worship

guru and his predecessors).
Praṇava, means *om* 1416.
Praṇavanyāsa, illustrated, 1120.
Prāṇāyāma (vide under Kumbhaka, mātrā, pūraka, recaka); 1432–44; called *sagarbha* or *sabīja* and *agarbha* or *abīja* 1442–43; condemned by Hemacandra 1441; definition of P. in Yogasūtra and bhāṣya shows that main element in P. is Kumbhaka 1437; derivation of the word 'prāṇa' 1432; *deśa*, *kāla* and saṅkhyā in relation to P. explained 1437–38; eight kinds of P. named in Haṭhayogpradīpikā 1443; five prāṇas named in Tai. S. 1433; for *ekāgratā* P. is the means 1437; germ of the theory of the importance of P. in Bṛ. Up. 433; great eulogy of P. in Manu (as highest tapas) and Smṛtis 1440–41, 1443; *japa* of om, Gāyatrī and Vyāhṛtis in P. prescribed by Smṛtis and medieval works, though Y. S. and bhāṣya silent on this 1439; japa for P. in Sandhyāvandana set out 1442n; Kumbhaka, why so called 1439n; Kumbhaka performed after pūraka, if not learnt under an expert, may cause harm to heart etc., 1441; literally P. means 'restraint or pause of prāṇa' 1432; practice of P. leads to dwindling of *Kleśas*, makes Yogin's mind fit for dhāraṇā and free from sins, acc. to Manu and others 1220n, 1440–41; Prāṇa and Asu in Ṛgveda mean 'breath' 1432; Purāṇas and others added five more prāṇas 1436; recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka (terms) used by Devala Dharmasūtra, but not by Y. S. and its bhāṣya which employ 'śvāsa', 'praśvāsa' and 'gativicchedaḥ' 1438–39; Recaka and others illustrated in Kuvalayānanda's handbook on P. 1442n; simplest mode of practising P. described 1440; sūtras on Dharma shows that P. had been regarded as a sort of penance for removing taint attached to sins or misadventures 1436; synonyms of, 1432; three kinds of viz. mild, moderate and keen when pause is kept for 36, 72 and 108 mātrās respectively 1437; three views on duration of pūraka, kumbhaka, recaka 1438; value of P. for physical health and for spiritual purposes 1444; word P. not found in principal Up. but occurs frequently in Dharmasūtras 1436.
Praṇītā water, explained 802.
Prapañcahṛdaya, 1159n, 1197 (attributes to Bodhāyana a com. called Kṛtakoṭī on both Mīmāṁsās).
Prapañcasāra tantra, 34n, 1070, 1072, 1099–1102, 1105–6, 1112 (enumerates eight *siddhis*), 1117, 1120, 1133, 1139; ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya and mentions all avatāras except Buddha, 995–96, 1105; doubts about its being Śaṅkarācārya's work 1105; sets out a mantra for six cruel rites 1105; com. on, ascribed to Padmapāda

1105.

Prārabdha-Dhvānta-Saṁhṛti, of Acyutarāya Modaka (composed in 1819 A. D.), on Prārabdhakarma (past actions that produce the present body); described 1600–1604; main object of the work is to combat the idea that all human acts from conception to death are governed by past deeds alone, 1601.

Prasaṅga, occurs when something done in one place is helpful in another place also, just like a lamp 1333; twelfth chap. of P. M. S. deals with *prasaṅga*, *vikalpa* and the like 1333; Prāyaścittaviveka relies on this doctrine 1333–34

Praśāsana, means 'Government or domination' 1583n.

Praśastapāda, bhāṣyakāra of Vaiśeṣikasūtra, 468n, 469, 472, 476 (units of time from *kṣaṇa* to *pralaya*).

Praśna-upaniṣad, 126, 731, 732n, 918, 948, 1361–2, 1387, 1417 (on *om*) 1430, 1433–35; 1444–45, 1478, 1502, 1514, 1532 (on Devayāna and Pitṛyāṇa paths), 1559, 1585n, 1607, 1625.

Prastara, first handful of Darbha grass cut for religious purposes 1241n.

Prasthāna, technical meaning is starting on an auspicious conjunction for journey or invasion but returning to one's place after going a short distance and actually proceeding after a few days thereafter 620–21.

Pratikūla, meaning of 748n.

Pratinidhi (substitute or representative); first rule that, if a substance prescribed for preparing an offering perishes or is lost in an obligatory rite or a *kāmya* rite after it is begun, another substance (such as *nīvāras* for rice grain may be substituted 1319; no p. allowed for a mantra, deity, vedic fire, for kriyās like Prayājas or for the Yajamāna (except in Sattras) 53, 1320–21; substitute for wife of sacrificer (if she be dead) was image of her made of gold or or kuśas 53; what is expressly forbidden for use in Vedic sacrifices such as *māṣās* cannot be substitutes for *mudga* 1320, 1347 (māṣamudganyāya); when a vedic text expressly prescribes a substitute for a substance (as Pūtikas for Soma plant) only that substance can be substituted and not another more similar, 1319; when a substitute has to be employed, the subsidiary acts of sprinkling with water, pounding etc. are to be performed on the substitute and the appropriate change in wording by adaptation should be made, 1319–20.

Pratipadvrata 82–84; in intercalary month of Caitra beginning of year is on first tithi of that month 83; pratipad of Caitra observed in Deccan with some pomp and religious rites as the beginning of the year 82; pratipad of Caitra is in

popular belief, one of the 3½ auspicious days of the year, 84; *rites of the beginning of year* in Caitra described in Brahmapurāṇa and other works 82–83; rule is that the tithi to be observed as beginning is the one mixed with amāvāsyā, when it *is viddhā* 83; views differ as to the pratipad on which religious rites are to be performed when there is an *intercalary month* 83–84; why called *pratipad* 83.

Pratipatti or Pratipattikarma (vide Arthakarma): examples are casting into water all utensils and things smeared with soma at the time of the final purification bath, cremating a sacrificer when dead with his yajñapātras, which is P. of the implements 1231–32; means final disposal of some materials employed in a sacrifice 1231; occurs in several sūtras of Jaimini 1231; works on Dharmaśāstras rely on pratipatti, as in case of piṇḍas to be given to a brāhmāṇa or to be eaten by a cow or goat 1231.

Pratiṣedha (or *niṣedha*, prohibition); (vide under 'na'; fifth (and last) class of Vedic texts 1246; a sentence in which 'na' is employed is either a pratiṣedha or *paryudāsa* or an *arthavāda* and these three have to be clearly distinguished 1249; a true prohibition would occur when something is first prescribed and then prohibited, the stock example being that of ṣoḍaśin cup, 1249; distinguished from Paryudāsa, 1247–48; Pāṇini devotes several sūtras to 'na' and expressly states that pratiṣedha is one of the meanings 1246; particle 'na' sometimes changed to 'a' or to 'an' indicates pratiṣedha and other senses also 1246; result or reward of following pratiṣedha is cessation of harm (anartha-nivṛtti) 1247; *Vidhi* and P. are different in their import in five points 1247; where two texts are quite irreconcilable there is option 1249.

Pratiṣṭhā (establishment of an image) 1024; Paurāṇika procedure to be followed in 1024.

Pratyāhāra, 5th aṅga of Yoga 1444–5; derivation of the word 1444n; in Yogasūtra and in Āśvamedhikaparva 1401; means withdrawal of senses from sense objects on account of restraint of mind 1444; several definitions of 1444–5.

Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, a *rājanya*, put five questions to Śvetaketu and then answered them 1548–49.

Pravaramañjarī 1174.

Pravarasena, Vākāṭaka emperor, performed four Aśvamedhas, 1028.

Pravargya, Śānti in, from Vāj S. and Tai. A. 724, 727.

Prayājas; are five oblations of clarified butter ancillary to Darśa-pūrṇamāsa and are *kratvartha* while Darśapūrṇamāsa is *puruṣārtha* 1233n.

Prāyaścittas (vide under expiations); different views whether results of wrong acts intentionally done could be removed by, 1588–89 ; for killing a man who is only a brāhmaṇa by caste 897 ; were called vratas by Manu and others 27.

Prāyaścitta-mayūkha 52.

Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadeva 1242, 1296.

Prāyaścittatattva 158, 1320 (on māṣa-mudga-nyāya), 1592n.

Prāyaścitta-viveka, 1233–34, 1542n.

Prāyaścitti (averting evil effects of a mishap to sacrificial milk or materials 727.

Prayogapārijāta 633.

Prayojaka (motivating force) and prayojya : are topics of 4th chap. of P. M. S along with kratvartha and puruṣārtha 1311 ; Kratu is the prayojaka of Prayājas that are declared as kratvartha 1311 ; p. is that for the sake of which a man is led to perform something by a Vedic exhortatory text 1311.

Precession of Equinoxes, suspected by Hemādri and Aparārka, but they did not know its cause nor the rate of precession 223 ; practically discovered by Kidinnu, 514n ; present rate of, held to be 50.2 *vikalās* every year 712.

Predictions, were based also on dreams, flight and cries of birds, signs on livers of the sheep killed in sacrifices to gods in Babylon and Rome, 521.

Pringle-Pattison, a. of 'Idea of God' 1506n ; a. of 'Idea of immortality' 1609.

Priolkar Prof. A. K., a. of 'The printing Press in India' 1020n.

Prisoners (see under King) 531.

Proceedings of All India O. Conference 1186n.

Proceedings of American Philosophical Society 490n, 506, 514n, 522n.

Prognostications (see 'birds,' 'cāṣa', throbbing, horses); were drawn in Vedic times and up to Pāṇini mainly from nakṣatras, days and bodily marks 525 ; drawn even in Ṛgveda from cries of certain birds 526 ; drawn from tusks and movements of elephants 801.

Prohibition of intoxicating drinks in only a few states of India, criticized 1675–76.

Pṛthvīcandrodaya 31n, 42n, 47n, 121n, 1289.

Ptolemy (vide under horoscope); author of Syntaxis (or Almagest) and of Tetrabiblos, 471, 551, 568, 573n ; difference between P. and Bṛhajjātaka on classification, colours and other matters about Rāśis 568 ; divided the day into sixty parts in the Almagest and also in hours in his manual tables 682 ; has no word which corresponds exactly with Kulīra 563 ; his Almagest was astronomical Bible in Europe for about 1400 years 482, 512 ; his arguments in favour of Astrology 553–4 ;

his Tetrabiblos remained supreme for 1400 years and has even now great authority for believers in Astrology 551; held geocentric theory and so had to adopt theory of eccentric orbits and epicycles and yet could predict eclipses correctly, 633–34; is concerned in Tetrabiblos with rāśis (signs of the Zodiac) and rarely, if at all, with nakṣatras 561; in his 'Geography of India' (about 150 A. D.) refers to Ptolemaios, king of Baithan (Paithan) as ruler in his day 842-43; much of Greek literature on astronomy and astrology disappeared owing to works of P. 481, 514; speaks of male and female signs and of *sthira* and *dvidehu* as Bṛhajjataka does 568; several discrepancies in essential matters between Ptolemy's work and Hindu astronomical works 520, 530; two points in which Varāhamihira differs from P. viz. he does not mention the countries governed by rāśis but by nakṣatras and Varāha confines himself to parts of Bhāratavarṣa, while P. deals with all countries then known, 530; wrote about 150 A. D. and based his Almagest on the observations of Hipparchus 514.

Pūjā: derivation of the word 35–37; distinction between *homa* and p. not much 37; *upacāras* in, had vedic origin 35–36; word P. not borrowed from Dravidians 37.

Pūjāprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya) 37, 157, 170n, 1095n, 1122 (dwells upon several nyāsas); 1124n, 1128n (prescribes that āvāhana in Viṣṇu worship should be made with 'Sahasraśīrṣā,' (Ṛg. X. 90. 1, and 14 mudrās should be shown); 1120–31 (defines in all 32 mudrās).

Pulaha, quoted as a smṛti writer 517n.

Pulastya, quoted as a smṛti writer many times by Aparārka and Smṛticandrikā 517n; should be followed, acc. to Mit. as to what should be offered in śrāddha, and not Yāj. 1269.

Pulindas, associated with Āndhras in Aśoka's 13th Rock Edict, 850n.

Puliśa: Alberuni says that P. held that the day of Viṣṇu is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691; Thibaut wrong in holding that the name Puliśa has decidedly a non-Indian appearance 517.

Pulkasa, a degraded caste 969n.

Puṁsavana, auspicious times for, prescribed in Gṛhyasūtras 534–35.

Punarvasu, nakṣatra, 499, 535 (literally means 'fresh wealth' or 'new growth').

Purākalpa, meaning of 1223.

Purāṇas (vide under Alberuni, Bhāgavata, bhakti, brāhmaṇas, Buddha and Buddhism, images, itihāsa-purāṇa, mahāpurāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, Pargiter, Pāriplava, pūrta, Saurapurāṇa, Śūdra, Upapurāṇa,

Vāyupurāṇa, Viṣṇu, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vyāsa): 815-1002; are far more reliable than most of the Upapurāṇas 836-37; are used for divining the future 811; caution required before recognizing P. as reliable representatives for ascertaining the general state of Indian society and beliefs 538; classification of P. as encyclopaedic, historical, sectarian etc. 842; connect different gods with the conferring of health, wealth, knowledge, *mukti* 119; contain at least 25 thousand verses on Vratas 57; contain verses, *gāthās* and *anuvaṃśaślokas* sung by Paurāṇikas 854; contents of all P. noted by Agni, Matsya, Nāradīya and Skanda 834; contents and characteristic features of P. mentioned by Śaṅkarācārya 824-25; contents of P. in the days of Āp. Dh. S. 818; dates of P. and Upapurāṇas are at most tentative until critical editions are prepared 872; deemed to be composed by Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and Satyavatī at end of Dvāpara age 849; derivation of the word Purāṇa in Nirukta, Vāyu, Padma and Brahmāṇḍa and change in meaning 855-56; devote much space to legends about Paraśurāma 90n; Devībhāgavata and Bhāgavata P. say that Mahābhārata and P. were composed by Vyāsa for women and Śūdras 921-22; Dharmasūtra of Āp. twice quotes two verses from a Purāṇa and names a Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa 817; differences as to names of 18 P. and great differences as to their extent and contents 830; divided into three groups, sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa and their main objects 815, 839; do contain ancient legends and traditions, but very much tampered with 838; early Sanskrit writers like Śabara, Bāṇa, Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya and others show that in their times P. existed, the contents of which were just like those of the extant P. 821-26; emphasize that for the proper understanding of the Veda knowledge of Itihāsa and P. essential 914; even early Purāṇas like Matsya were influenced by black magic rites 1114; examples of identical chapters and verses in several purāṇas 803, 841, 929, 1522n, 1523n 2479; existence of some P. containing accounts of creation, dissolution and Smṛti material before 500 B. C. indicated by Āp. Dh. S. 818; explain at great length creation and dissolution of the elements about which Upaniṣads drop brief hints 914; extant P. contain far more topics than the five topics of creation etc. and some P. barely touch the five and exhaustively deal with entirely different topics 841; extent of all P. together said to be originally four lakhs of Ślokas acc. to Matsya and

Padma 829n; extent of P. was acc. to Bhaviṣya 12000 verses but later Skanda was inflated to one lakh verses and Bhaviṣya to 50,000 verses, 833; extol vratas, pilgrimages and bhakti as superior to Vedic sacrifices 43-45, 916; extravagant praise of themselves by P. 915-916, 929; extravagant praise in P. of the remembrance of Viṣṇu's or Hari's name 971; first Purāṇa is said to be Brāhma in Viṣṇu and Brahma purāṇas, while Devī-bhāgavata says it is Matsya 829n; five characteristics of, acc. to several purāṇas, are sarga (creation), pratisarga (creation after dissolution), Vaṁśa (dynasties of Gods, patriarchs and kings), manvantaras (vast cycles of time), Vaṁśānucarita (deeds and history of descendants of dynasties) 839; from about the 6th or 7th century A. D. the Purāṇas began to incorporate the special ceremonial of Śāktas and a few Purāṇas like Devīpurāṇa, Kālikā, Mārkaṇḍeya (Devi-māhātmya) provide for the employment of *Makāras* in Devī worship 1095; guru's position in P. 1033n; gradually P. procedure either came to supersede Vedic procedure or got mixed up with the latter in some matters such as Devapūjā, consecration of temples and images etc. 922-924; Hazra's view that the text of the extant P. which are the results of innumerable changes, modifications and interpolations made at different times and by different sects is scarcely reliable and can be used only with great caution is quite correct, 872, Gautama Dh. S. refers to study of P. by learned brāhmaṇas 818; Hindu rites in medieval and modern times were deemed to give rewards promiesd in Veda, Smṛti and Purāṇas 913; history of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, his contemporaries and their descendants described in a prophetic vein in P. 850; importance of Introductory remarks of Dānasāgara on P, 867-871; influence of P. on Dharmaśāstra digests on succession and inheritance etc. 840; influence of P. on Dharmaśāstra 913-1002; institute comparison between yajñas and pilgrimages 933; introduced striking changes in ideals, religious rites and practices 928-929; Itihāsa-Purāṇa lumped together in Upaniṣads as the 5th Veda 840; Itihāsa distinguished from Purāṇa 840; Kirfel wrong in holding that the five topics (sarga etc.) alone were the constituent parts of very ancient Purāṇas 841; Kirfel and Pargiter have not clearly noticed the fact that P. divide future kings into two groups, one of Aila, Aikṣvāka and Māgadha lines up to the last scions of these and the other of later Kings in the Pradyota,

Śuṅga, Āndhra and others 850; Kumārilabhaṭṭa on the contents of P. 823-24; lay emphasis on bhakti, on ahiṁsā, on pūrtadharma 947-50; list of 18 Purāṇas completed long before 1000 A. D. 831; list of 18 principal Purāṇas together with the number of ślokas in each acc. to different works 831-832; M. as a compound word (itihāsapurānam) or as two words (itihāsaḥ purānam) in Tai. Ā, Chan. Up. and Bṛ. Up. 815; list of works, papers and translations of p 883; m. by the extapt Mahābhārata in numerous places 821; m. by Kauṭilya and Manusmṛti 819-20; m. by Kauṭilya and Yāj. Smṛti as one of the fourteen branches of knowledge and for japa 820; Mahābhārata quotes hundreds of verses called Ānuvaṁśa and gāthās, many of which deal with Paurāṇika matters and have a Paurāṇika ring 853-54; Mahāpurāṇa (word) applied to the 18 P. in Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata 830n; mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' confers all objects, frees from sins and leads to mokṣa, acc. to Narasiṁha and Vāmana 922, 971; Matsyapurāna sets out other characteristics of P. 839; Mit. prescribes a *smārta* mantra in śrāddha which occurs in Garuda and Skanda P. and some digests prescribe Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras even for brāhmaṇas in religious rites 920; modern works and papers dealing with several questions relating to Purāṇas set out 843-845; Nāradīya Purāṇa describes the relation between Veda, Smṛti and Purāṇas and provides that he who calls P. as arthavādas goes to hell 927; myths and legends of Purāṇas on creation of universe, about eclipses etc. must in modern times held as mere myths 1709-10; no Mahāpurāṇa composed after the 9th century A. D. but additional matter was unscrupulously added in several Purāṇas, the worst example being that of Bhaviṣya (part III) which contains stories of Adam and Eve, Taimur, Akbar, Caitanya, Nadirshah 855; not restricted to religious matters or to five characteristics but some of them deal exhaustively with rājanīti, 1000-1001; number of P. is traditionally eighteen called Mahāpurāṇas and enumerated in many Purāṇas, though some Purāṇas say originally there was only one, 829-830; on doctrine of Karma 1576-77; on rebirth for sins 1590; one important topic is 'avatāras' 922ff; only pursue an attitude to Veda and sacrifices that is found in such Upaniṣads as Muṇḍaka and Kaṭha 817; order in which P. are enumerated is not uniform, most putting Brahma as first, while Vāyu and Devībhāgavata put Matsya as first and Skanda puts Brahmāṇḍa as first 833;

Padmapurāṇa says that some vratas are superior to a hundred Vedic sacrifices 934; placed before all people (including śūdras) easy ways whereby they could secure spiritual life and bliss in the Hereafter 930; played a substantial role in bringing about the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from India in various ways 913–914; points of distinction between Upapurāṇas and the 18 Mahāpurāṇas 836–37; printed P. and mss. thereof, give four different periods of time viz. 1015, 1050, 1115 and 1500 from the birth of Parīkṣit to the crowning of Nanda, which Pargiter discards 845–46; proclaim often that *saṁsāra* is full of misery and is impermanent 1555; put emphasis on profuse expense in śrāddhas and inveigh against stinginess 931; quote anuvaṁśa ślokas or gāthās about such ancient kings as Kārtavīrya, Sumitra and Kṣemaka, last scions of Aila and Aikṣvāka dynasties, but none about later dynasties of Śuṅgas or Āndhras 851; reading of or listening to recitation of P. believed to remove sins 915–16; reasons why many conclusions drawn from the current printed editions and mss. of Purāṇas must be held to be merely tentative 837–38; reasons why extant Purāṇas do not narrate traditions about Gupta dynasty and those that succeeded it 856; references to pages of the four vol. of H. of Dh. on dāna, śrāddha, tīrtha and vrata 998–999; said to be the heart of dharma, while Veda and Smṛti are eyes 924; sectarian bigotry of some Purāṇas exemplified 976–977; seven P. contain historical material viz. ancient dynasties up to Bhārata war and from Bhārata war to the downfall of Āndhras and the rise of Guptas, such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata. 842; several among the extant P. were composed or completed in the period from the 5th to the 9th century A. D., 854–55; several P. contain a much smaller number of ślokas than are assigned to them by authorities as in the case of Viṣṇupurāṇa and Kūrma 832–33; several P. such as Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu and Bhaviṣya contain much Dharmaśāstra material 815; several P. describe the eight aṅgas of Yoga 1455; several P. like Agni, Matsya and Viṣṇudharmottara are encyclopoedias and illustrate India's life, character, achievements and shortcomings 925; several P. such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa give a different version of the transmission of P. 861–62; some like Bhāgavata, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu espouse the Gītā doctrine of niṣkāma-karmayoga 967; some Purāṇas like Garuḍa describe

nyāsas 1120; some P. like Devībhāgavata, Kālikā, Viṣṇudharmottara describe at length mudrās, 1127–28; some P. deal at length with śāntis 734–35; some P. deal with units of time 476; some P. emphasize that God is one, that no difference should be made between Śiva and Viṣṇu 1189-90; some P. like Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata are full of eulogies of the theory and practice of Bhakti and illustrative stories 971-73; some P. make Rudra declare the supremacy of Viṣṇu, denounce Śaiva siddhāntas and that Śiva promulgated non-vedic views at the request of Viṣṇu, while Agni, Bhāgavata, Matsya and Vāyu, appear to say that Viṣṇu himself deluded people 974-75; some P. held that Saptarṣi constellation was in Maghā nakṣatra when Yudhiṣṭhira was king and that they stay in one nakṣatra for a century 520n; some P. transfer with slight variations Upaniṣad passages in their texts 921; some P. name minor works called Upa-purāṇas, but Matsya and Kūrma expressly state that they arose from the 18 Purāṇas and were composed as summaries after studying the Purāṇas 815, 835; sometimes P. describe themselves as Itihāsa and the Mahābhārata is called Purāṇa rarely 840; sometimes Purāṇas put forward very modern ideas such as saying that social service and removal of distress is highest dharma 949; P. are sources of Dharma and Vidyās acc. to Yāj. but there is no evidence as to the number Yāj. knew 835n; stages in the evolution of P. are four or five 853–855; stories that occur in the Veda and Upaniṣads such as of Hariścandra, Purūravas and Urvaśī are elaborated in Purāṇas 914–15; strike the keynote that great rewards can be had by little effort as by *dānas*, *vratas*, pilgrimages 45, 928, 930; Tai. Ār. speaks of itihāsas and purānas in the plural and so knew at least three Purāṇas 817, 853; task before P. was twofold, viz. to undermine the power and prestige of Buddhism, and other non-Vedic systems and to wean away large sections of the masses from the attractive features of Buddhism and therefore promise the same rewards as Buddhism held forth by a restatement of Hindu religion, philosophy and practices 913, 929–30; ten topics of, according to Bhāgavata 839; topics of tīrtha, dāna, śrāddha and vrata cover about one lakh of verses in the extant P. 841; total number of ślokas in 18 Purāṇas according to most Purāṇas is 400600, 832; transformation in ideas, ideals and practices of Indian people due to P. in the first centuries of

Christian era 815; treat Vedas as authoritative and prescribe the use of Vedic mantras in many rites, 918–919; two separate Purāṇa versions called Āgneya, Brāhma, Liṅga and Viṣṇu known to Ballālasena in latter half of 12th cen. A. D. 870; Vāyupurāṇa named as first among 18 P. by Matsya, Agni, Nāradīya, while several of the other P. substitute Śiva for Vāyu but Vāyu is one of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas and not Śivapurāṇa 830; Vāyupurāṇa and Śiva P. both included among 18 P. by Ballālasena 870; Vedārthasaṅgraha of Rāmānujācārya states that all Purāṇas should be so interpreted as not to be in conflict with Viṣṇupurāṇa 957n; Vedic mantras occurring in Purāṇas were not to be read or listened to by śūdras 925; Viṣṇupurāṇa alone of all extant P. closely agrees with the definition given by Amarakośa but it also contains several other topics 841; wax eloquent as to great efficacy of vratas, śrāddha, pilgrimages, fasts, gifts, repetition of the name of God, *bhakti* 52, 930, 933–34; P. were affected by the theory of the power of mantras 1105; word Purāṇa occurs over a dozen times in Ṛg and means 'ancient, old' 855; Yāj. Smṛti holds Purāṇa as one of the sources of Vidyā and Dharma 854; Purāṇas give information on Architecture, sculpture and painting, 1653–54.

Purāṇasamuccaya, q. by Hemādri 188n; by Nirṇayasindhu 998n.

Puraścaraṇa (of a mantra); 1107–1112; (vide under 'Mantra'); five are minimum constituents of P. viz. pūjā, japa, tarpaṇa, homa, dinner to brāhmaṇas, 1107n–9; mantra to be repeated 1008, 108 or 10 or 108, 28 or 8 times; if any one of five constituents cannot be carried out, japa of mantra twice as many times as prescribed or dinner to brāhmaṇas may be substituted, 1109; in P. mantra is to be repeated 8000 times, if no express direction about number, 1110; meaning of, 1107–8; places where P. is to be practised 1110; signs that indicate perfection in mantra, 1111; terrible way to secure perfection in mantra in a single night by going to cemetery, securing the corpse of a cāṇḍāla, or one killed with a sword, or of a young warrior, wash it, worship it and Durgā–this being called Śavasādhanavidhi, 1109; various modes of P. 1107–9; way of, suggested by Rāghavabhaṭṭa 1109.

Pure: everything is pure to the p. and it is the hankering that is blamable, acc. to some Śākta works 1093.

Pūrṇāhuti, explained 347, 1224n.

Pūrṇapātra 183.

Pūrṇā–tithi 189n.

Purohita: (vide under 'king');

of king, to perform Śānti rites for prosperity, and magic rites 742; qualifications of p. of king 528, 543, 741-2.

Purohitaswami, a. of 'Aphorisms of Yoga' 1393, 1429-30 (on rousing Kuṇḍalinī), 1442n.

Pūrtadharma: (vide under Iṣṭā-pūrta and Purāṇas): means works of public utility, such as wells, tanks, parks, temples etc. 947-949; Amarakośa defines it 948; pūrta dharma secures mokṣa 949.

Puruṣa: derivation of the word in three ways, 1364n; in Sāṅkhya 1357-58; in the eye as Ātman, in the Chān. Up. 1446.

Purūravas and Urvaśī, story of, in Ṛgveda and Viṣṇupurāṇa 915.

Puruṣaparīkṣā, a work of Vidyāpati, 1076.

Puruṣakāra and Daiva, discussed 545.

Puruṣārthas (goals of human life); (vide mokṣa, sannyāsa): are four, Dharma (actions prescribed by Śāstra, doing one's duties), Artha (economics, politics, civics), Kāma (enjoyment of pleasures and aesthetics) and Mokṣa (liberation), the last being the highest to be attained only by a few, 921n, 1510-11, 1626-32; Bhagavadgītā demands a life dedicated to active work and regards doing one's duty as worship 1511; enjoyment of sexual life and pleasures not in conflict with Dharma is not condemned by Manu and other śāstras and in the Gītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with Kāma not in conflict with Dharma 1511; Mahābhārata is the śāstra of all p. acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya 819n; Manu states conclusion that there are three p. for all men and condemns premature Sannyāsa resorted to before fulfilling one's duties (one's three debts) 1511; Ṛgveda contains prayers for health, happiness and a life of hundred years 1510-11.

Puruṣārtha-vidhi: (see Kratvarthā): defined in P. M. S. IV. 1. 2, 1232; rules about the acquisition of wealth are P. 192, 1233; is what a man undertakes for securing the reward of happiness 1232; principal sacrifices like Darśapūrṇamāsa are included under P. 1232.

Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi 17n, 68n, 71n, 78n, 83n, 90-1, 100n-102, 127, 135, 146, 154n, 179, 182-3, 188-190n, 191n, 192, 197n, 199n, 204n, 207n, 227, 230 232, 229n, 240, 481n, 672, 740n.

Puruṣārthasudhānidhi, of Sāyaṇa 1631n.

Puruṣasūkta-held to be a late hymn by modern scholars, 1632.

Puruṣottamamāsa: Intercalary month 671; why so called 672.

Puruṣottamatattva 1132.

Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras and Dharmaśāstra 1152-1351; (vide under anuvāda, bādha, Bādarāyaṇa, Bhagavadgītā, bhāvanā,

dharma, dīkṣā, God, Jaimini, Krama, Kumārila, mantra, maxims, mīmāṁsā, niyama, parisaṅkhyā, Śabara, Śāstra, sūtra, svarga, ūha, Veda, Vedāntasūtra, vidhi, Vṛttikāra, words); 33, 67n, 237, 536 (auspicious times for all rites in honour of gods), 989–90; *adhikārin* of P. M. S. is one who has studied the Veda from *guru* 1180; approximate date of, between 400–200 B. C. 1157n, 1197; authors mentioned by both P. M. S. and V. S. 1173; authors mentioned by P. M. S. alone and not mentioned by V. S. 1173; Brahmasūtra expressly mentioned in Gītā (13. 4) is not the present V. S. but probably another work or other works of Bādari, Auḍolomi and Kāśakṛtsna, 1171–74; called 'Prathamatantra' by Śaṅkarācārya, 1032; chronological order of Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha, all writers on Mīmāṁsā, between 650–750 A. D. 1190–95; close correspondence between Āp. Dh. S. and P. M. S., 1155; close correspondence between Jaimini's Sūtra and Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra exemplified 1155–56; *Codanā* (word) in the Mīmāṁsā sense employed by Vārtikakāra and Mahābhāṣya 1158; conclusions about Vyāsa, Jaimini, Bādarāyaṇa, Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra and Vedāntasūtra tentatively presented 1177–78; controversies about Vṛttikāra, Upavarṣa and Bodhāyana, 1186n–1187n; declared by Padmapurāṇa as unmeaning on account of its atheistic teaching, 976; date of P. M. S, acc. to Jacobi and Keith, about 200 A. D. 1157; dates (approximate) of several writers on P. M. S. in Sanskrit 1197–1200; descriptions of creation and dissolution of the world are not to be literally understood, the universe as a whole has no beginning and no end, descriptions are meant to illustrate power of *daiva* and human effort and to urge men to perform their duties enjoined by Veda 1209–10; dharma is the proper subject of P. M. S. acc. to Śāstradīpikā and not 'Vedārtha' 1180; Dharmasūtras like these of Gautama and Āp. disclose familiarity with technical terms and principles of P. 1154–55; doctrines of early and principal writers on P. are rather startling, they have hardly any place for God or the deities, and their theory about Yajña smacks of a businesslike system 1217; P. M. S does not state how much of the Veda has to be studied before one enters upon the understanding of the meaning 1180; earliest extant com. is that of Śabara 1187; emphasizes the distinction between an author of a book and its expositor or transmitter 1203n; employs the word Smṛti in the sense of Dharmaśāstra,

1257; examination of views of Bādarāyaṇa cited five times and conclusions therefrom, 1170; first six chapters consider the procedure of rites like Darśapūrṇamāsa, the details of which are expressly laid down in the Veda while the following six consider the modifications (vikṛtis) and details that have to be added or omitted 1321; four *anubandhas* of, 1179n; fundamental and characteristic doctrines (nine in all) of P. M. S. 1202–1207; *guruperamparās* in Sāmavidhāna Br., Nyāyaratnākara and Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī slightly differ 1161n; ideas of P. about creation and dissolution of the world are opposed to those of Mahābhārata and Gītā, 1210; if there be only one Jaimini (and not two) no satisfactory explanation why the author of P. M. S. should name himself only five times in about 2700 sūtras, 1166–67; insists on certain moral rules (such as not speaking falsely) and other rules of conduct such as giving up flesh, sexual intercourse for one engaged in Darśapūrṇamāsa and other sacrifices 1217n; Kumārila shows scant respect for Jaimini, charges him with composing some sūtras without much substance and remarks that Jaimini's sūtra is improper 1335; list of works and papers in English on Pūrvamīmāṁsā 1200–1201; looked upon by medieval writers as the most important of vidyāsthānas 1159; many verses quoted by Śabara on P. M. and other matters 1187; most extensive of all Darśanas, containing about 2700 sūtras and over 900 *adhikaraṇas*, 1182; names nine authors on Mīmāṁsā, besides Jaimini himself 1157n; names other writers only 27 times while V. S. having only about 1/5th of the sūtras in P. M. S. quotes other writers 32 times, 1160–61; number of adhikaraṇas put at 915 or 1000 by different authors, 1160, 1189n; numerous commentaries on P. M. S. 1186–87; one of the characteristic doctrines of P. M. S. is *svataḥprāmāṇya*, 1212; Padmapurāṇa asserts that Jaimini composed a vast but useless Śāstra by expounding the view that there was no god 1207, 1209; PMS is not as much concerned about mokṣa or man's destiny after death as other *darśanas* are 1217; PMS, Śabara, Kumārila make substantial contributions to the exegesis of Vedic texts 1217–18; postulates that *apūrva* yields the rewards of sacrifices and not God, 1211; question whether Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were contemporaries and if not, what their relation was, discussed, 1161 ff; questions of identity and relationship among Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Umbeka, Śālikanātha, Sureśvara, set out

with some discussion 1193–95; relation of dharma to the Veda and the P. M. S. is clearly and briefly brought out by Kumārila 1185; relies upon popular usages, apart from Veda and Smṛtis in many sūtras 1255; requires that men of the three varṇas should not only study the Veda but they must also understand its meaning 1180; Śabara and Kumārila differ about the subject matters of certain adhikaraṇas 1335; Śabara gives a summary of the first chap. of P. M. S. and at the beginning of each of the other chapters gives a summary of the preceding chapter 1186; Śabara proposes two (even three or four) explanations of several sūtras and adhikaraṇas 1334–35; Śabara holds two or more sūtras as forming one *adhikaraṇa* and alternatively treats one of them as a separate adhikaraṇa 1334; Śabara omits II. 4. 17 and six sūtras after III. 4. 9, 1162n, 1334; Śabara says that the Yājñikas do not declare that rewards result from the mere memorization of the Veda, 1180; Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, holds that Jaimini mentioned in P. M. S. VI. 3. 4 is different from the Jaimini mentioned four times more in other sūtras and this view criticized 1162–64; some sūtras are repeated 30 and 24 times 1182; subjects of the twelve chapters of P. M. S., acc. to Jaiminīya-nyāyamālā-vistāra, 1185–86; subjects of the four *pādas* of the first chapter are vidhi, arthavāda (including mantras), Smṛtis (including customs and usages) and names of rites such as 'udbhid' 1186; table of outstanding works and writers on P. M. S. with tentative dates 1197–1200; various readings in, 1334; tenth chapter is longest, the 3rd comes next and 10th deals with *bādha* and *samuccaya*, 1326 27; Vārtikas of Kātyāyana and the Mahābhāṣya establish that Mīmāmsā terms had been elaborated long before them 1156–1158; very rarely refers to other ācāryas by the word 'eke' and V. S. also does so rarely, its references in the words 'eke', 'ekeṣām' and 'anye' being made to Vedic recensions or Upaniṣads 1173; word 'Nyāya-vid' is applied to writers on P. M. 1155n; words 'codanā', 'upadeśa' and 'vidhi' are synonyms acc. to Śabara and 'codana' means a sentence that urges men to do some act 1183–85; works and writers from Jaimini onwards rely on smṛtis and Dharmaśāstra 1178; writers on P. M. are called by Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa simply 'nyāyavidaḥ' or 'nyāyavido yājñikāḥ' 1155n.

Pūrvaprajñā (in Bṛ. Up. IV. 4. 2) meaning of, 1602n.

Pusalker, Dr. A. D., a. of 'Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India' and of 'Progress of

'Indic studies' in Silver Jubilee Vol. of B. O. R. I., 830n, 844, 886, 910.

Puṣya, a nakṣatra, also called 'Sidhya' 499n, 525; most powerful among nakṣatras 794.

Puṣyamitra, called Senānī in Purāṇas, Harṣacarita and Ayodhyā inscription 1008n, 1028; alleged persecution of Buddhists by, discussed 1008-1010.

Puṣyasnāna (or Bārhaspatya-snāna): (vide Nakṣatrasnāna) 793-797; all utpātas destroyed by Śānti in P. 793; Bṛhaspati is presiding deity of Puṣya 798; clay collected from several places such as mountain top and king's head and other limbs rubbed with it in P., 797-798; leaves of 15 plants to be cast in jars filled with water 795; Maṇḍala drawn with powders of different colours in, 1132; many Purāṇik mantras along with Vedic ones prescribed by the Matsya, Bṛ. S. and Hemādri 795-96; part of lakṣahoma, acc. to Matsya 798; release of prisoners jailed for offences at the end of, 797; procedure of P. employed in the case of king's elephants and horses to free them from diseases, 797; proper time, procedure and duration for performing P. acc. to Viṣṇudharmottara 798-799; reward and results of P. 799.

Puṣyavrata, m. in Āp. Dh. S. 346, 799.

Pythagoras (Greek philosopher) believed in punarjanma and there are controversies as to whether he borrowed from India, 1530.

'Questions of Milinda' 910n; has passages closely agreeing with Gītā 970, 972, 1023n.

Rabindranath Tagore, poet and reformer, a. of Gītānjali 1700, 1711.

Radhakrishnan, Dr S.: a. of Indian 'Philosophy' 1200, 1209, 1393, 1491, 1605; a. af 'Source book of Indian Philosophy' 1394, (jointly with C. A. Moore); a. of 'India and China' 1122; a. of 'Religion and Society' 1618n, 1689, 1695; a of 'The Brahmasūtras', pp. 194-207 of Introduction on 'Karma and Punarjanma', 1605; a. of 'Idealist view of life' 1612; a. of 'Eastern Religions and Western thought' 1647 (Schweitzer Criticized); a. of 'Kalkin or future of civilization' 1668 (defects of modern Democracy).

Rāghavabhaṭṭa, commentator of Śāradātilaka, 1101n, 1112n, 1123 (on mudrā), 1124; has an elaborate note on *puraścaraṇa*, 1108-1110; holds that Prapañcasāra is Śaṅkarācārya's own work 1105; quotes Śulbasūtra 1132; quotes numerous passages on *nyāsa*, 1120, 1122; states that Tantra cult is based on Upaniṣads like Rāmapūrvatāpanīya 1045.

Raghavan, Dr. V. 1163n, 1369, 1408n.

Raghunandana, a. of several Tattvas 30, 46, 90n, 158, 175, 178, 186–7, 198, 545, 753, 835n, 919, 1042n, 1118, 1132–33, 1238 (illustrates 'rātrisattra-nyāya'), 1240, 1391.
Raghunātha, a. of 'Padārtha-niruūpaṇa' 470.
Raghuvaṁśa 193, 500, 531n, 537, 539, 628, 744n, 797n, 905n, 997, 1027, 1152n, 1213, 1384, 1426 (mentions Vīrāsana), 1461 (references to Yoga technique), 1571.
Rāhu (ascending node or the point where the orbit of the moon intersects the eclipse in passing northwards 574; and Ketu m. in Mahābhārata 569; demon R. represented as serpent in Śāntis on eclipses 766; mantra repeated in Śānti for R. 766n; story of the part of R. at churning of ocean 766n.
Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 472n, 942n, 1022–23 (paper on Vajrayāna and the 84 siddhas), 1073 (paper of, about Vajra-yāna and Mantrayāna' in Journal Asiatique), 1075n (gives list of 84 siddhas from Luipā to Bhalipā with details.
Rainfall, in the four months from Pauṣa, inauspicious for seven days for vrata and yātrā after it stops 620.
Rājadharma-kaustubha 923, 1333.
Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja, com. on Yogasūtra 1439n, 1444n, 1449n.
Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (on astrology and dharmaśāstra topics) 46, 61n, 68, 72n, 75n, 78, 79n, 83n, 90n–91, 114n, 116, 125, 132n, 144, 181, 191n, 194, 212n–3n, 220, 529n, 547, 555, 560, 571, 604, 606–7 (70 verses on Upanayana), 608n–9n, 610, 612n, 613–4, 615n, 616–7, 619–620n, 621n, 623, 624–6, 672, 710, 885; mentions only 24 vratas 46, 58; quoted by V. K. K. 110n.
Rājanītiprakāśa 622, 737n, 806, 923.
Rājanītiratnākara 176, 616.
Rājanya, meaning of, 1549n.
Rajas, meaning of 1540.
Rājasūya (sacrifice) performed by Puṣyamitra and Khāravela 1028.
Rājataraṅgiṇī (middle of 12th century A. D.); 630, 649, 655, 669, 737n. 1074–75 (has several reference to Tāntrikas and their doings).
Rājavārtika (quoted by Vācas-pati) 1359n,
Rajendralal Mitra, Dr 141.
Raji, story of his depriving Indra of share in sacrifices and Bṛhaspati deluding the sons of R. by composing a work on Jinadharma 974.
Rākā (Paurṇamāsī mixed with *pratipad*), worshipped in Ṛg. for a rich and famous son 63.
Rakṣābandhana, on Full Moon of Śrāvaṇa, 127–128.
Rākṣoghna hymns 813.
Ram Mohan Roy, founder of Brāhmo Samāj, 1699.
Rāma, (vide under Rāmāyaṇa): astrological details about birth of Rāma 84–85; became Lord

of the world by vratas in Tretā 55; episode in the Epic 838n; given as a synonym of Haladhara and of Daśaratha's son by Amarakośa 84; kept golden image of Sītā by his side when he performed Aśvamedha 53n, 1281; killed Rāvaṇa on Durgādevi's inspiration acc. to Kālikā 160n; no name so holy and so constantly on Hindu lips as Rāma's 88; story of his ascent to heaven followed by subjects in his capital 959.

Rāmalīlā, celebrations in North India on first ten days of Āśvina-śukla 193.

Rāmanavamī Vrata 84-88; Kṛtyakalpataru does not deal with it 84; procedure of R. prescribed in medieval works 86-87; procedure of R. in modern times 88; whether R. is *nitya* or kāmya 85-86.

Ramaṇa Maharshi (1879-1950), sage of Arunachal 1479n; work on, by Arthur Osborne 1479n.

Rāmānuja; a. of Bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra 956n, 1158; a. of Vedārthasaṅgraha 957; born in 1127 A. D., does not quote the Bhāgavatapurāṇa at all in bhāṣya on V. S., while quoting over a hundred verses from Viṣṇupurāṇa 95; five heads of the doctrines of the school of, 964n: holds that whole of Pañcarātra has Vedic authority 954-55.

Rāmānujācārya, a. of Tantrarahasya and Nāyakaratna (com. on Nyāyaratnamālā) 1210; flourished about 1500-1575 A. D., 1200.

Rāmapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad 1103, 1135.

Rāmārcanacandrikā of Ānandavanayati 84.

Ramaswami (Sastry), Pandit V. A 1186n, 1187n.

Rāmāyaṇa: dreams frequently mentioned in, as indicating future catastrophies 775; flesh of five five-nailed animals may be eaten 1156n; horoscope of Rāma in Bālakāṇḍa of, examined 84-85, 627-28; omens described in 743; several passages in, contain references to planets in relation to nakṣatras indicating misfortunes to people in general or to individuals 531; solar eclipse at an unusual time 744, 1628 (three puruṣāsthas), 1629n, 1631.

Rāmeśvara, commentator of Paraśurāmakalpasūtra 1077.

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, guru of Vivekānanda 1699-1700.

Ramakrishna Mission 1699-1700.

Ranade, M. G. and Prārthanāsamāja 1700.

Ranade, Prof. R. D. a. of 'Constructive survey of the Upanishadic philosophy' 1537-41; holds view that from certain mantras of Ṛg. it can be said that an approach to the idea of Transmigration was being made by Vedic sages 1537ff; views and interpretations of the Ṛg. passages by Prof. Ranade held to be wrong 1537-42.

Rao, Prof. V. K. R. V. paper of,

in 'Changing India', 1678n, 1683.

Rashdall a. of 'Theory of Good and Evil', 1575.

Rāśis (signs of Zodiac): (vide under Constellation, dreṣkāṇa, horā, Mahābhārata, Nārāyaṇa, person, Rudra, Zodiac); are twelve, each extending over 2¼ nakṣatras from Aśvinī onwards in order 561; are identified from Meṣa onwards with the limbs of the Kālapuruṣa or of Nārāyaṇa 564n; as lords of the quarters (diśās) and usefulness thereof 568; classifications of r, as male or female, movable and fixed, due to fancy and ideas of symmetry and sequence 635; Chinese names of rāśis are different such as rat, ox, tiger etc. 566, 635; colours of the twelve r. acc. to Bṛhaj-jātaka 568; description of the appearance of r. in Bṛhaj-jātaka, in the Yavanajātaka q. by Utpala and in Vāmanapurāṇa 564; descriptions of seven r. show that they are figures of animals and five are like human beings 564–5; many scholars deny that there is similarity between the majority of the twelve signs in zodiac and the natural appearance of the objects signified by them 565; mentioned by Vṛddha-Garga and Kāśyapa 592; no Greek word corresponding to Mīna (Pisces) mentioned by Bṛhaj-jātaka in some editions 562n; names of signs among Babylonians, Assyrians and Chaldeans cited by several scholars do not tally 565n; names of r. are purely imaginary 565, 635; no proof that the rāśi system was borrowed by India from the Greeks 594; principles of astronomy based on r. probably established in India in the three centuries before Christ 638; purpose of identification of r. with limbs of Kālapuruṣa 561; purpose and astrological indications of the classifications of r. acc. to Utpala 568; Sārāvali mentions no Greek word for Mīna 563n; six items in relation to the r. occupied by a planet called Ṣaḍvarga 583; table of r. as *svagṛha*, *ucca* and *nīca* of the planets 576; table of r. with English and Latin equivalents and synonyms 562; things supposed to be under the influence of the several r. 564; what r. are powerful by day, at night and in twilight 569; when are r. powerful 577.

Rāṣṭrabhṛt Anuvāka 786.

Ratana-sutta 943.

Rathakāra, in Tai. Br. means a man of that caste, not one who manufactures chariots (the etymological sense) and he can repeat the Vedic mantra 'ṛbhūṇām tvā' etc.' though not entitled to Upanayana 1290, 1642.

Rāthantara sāman, 726; means only the music and not the

ṛk. set to music, 1222.

Rationalism : (vide under doubt, God, people, Hinduism, persecution, science, tradition, utilitarianism): accepts the postulates which science finds convenient and useful but science works within narrow limits, it is not concerned with morals or spirituality or values of life 1475 ; in Europe emphasis on rationalism arose as the Christian churches, particularly Roman Catholic, were extremely intolerant of the slightest departure from religious views held at particular times 1576–77 ; there are subconscious and non-rational impulses, beliefs and intuitions in men that are held by men to be truer or of a higher order than what is on the rationalistic level 1475 ; thoughtful men in Europe during 18th and 19th centuries had boundless faith in r. and progress, but this faith is now greatly weakened 1478.

Rationalists (vide 'Communism and Communists') ; r. arrive at different conclusions on the same matter in different ages and even in the same age what appears reasonable to one group is held unreasonable by another group 1477 ; argue that they should not have to prove negative propositions (such as there is no God) but theists must prove the positive proposition of God's existence etc. 1473 ; it should not be supposed that ancient and medieval India had no rationalists or atheists, in fact there were several r. such as the Lokāyatas and rationalistic critics of sacrifices, Śrāddhas etc. 974 (note 1596), 1472 ; Bentham and the two Mills put forward the theory of utilitarianism 1479 ; many r. hold that there is no proof of the existence of God or any higher Intelligence than man's, deny individual soul and immortality, and argue that in all religions there is some truth with a great deal of error 1472 ; problem of evil in the world is, acc. to r., a great stumbling block in accepting God as good, kind, omnipotent and all-knowing, 1473 ; r. and utilitarians are not agreed upon any definite principles of conduct for common men and women 1480 ; r. substitute blocks of humanity or the leaders of such blocks for authority and worship, the likely result being that humanity would soon be wiped out 1474 ; warning of Gītā against unsettling the minds of ignorant persons 1480.

Ratnamālā 62, 69, 70n, 604n, 605, 607n, 608–10, 615–19, 620n–25, 627, 657n, 682n, 704–5, 707n, 793 (on Puṣya).

Ratnāvali 46.

Rātri-word r. not so frequent in Ṛg. as the word 'ahan' 675.

Rātrīsūkta, a Khilasūkta after Ṛg. X 127, 232 and n.

Raudra Gaṇa, mantras addressed

to Rudrā in Śāntis 770.
Rāvaṇa, *dreams of Trijāṭā about*, 775.
Rawlinson, a. of 'Five monarchies of the ancient world' 514n, 595n.
Rayachaudhuri Dr. H. C.: 650n (on Vikramāditya), 883 (on discrepancies between Purāṇa *accounts and inscriptions*).
Rāyaspoṣa verses 796n.
Ṛbhus: controversies about what they stand for 982; legend that R. slept for twelve days, explained 498–99.
Reality, is of three kinds, (1) Pāramārthikī (Absolute or *highest*), *the province of* Parā vidyā; (2) Vyāvahārikī (empirical), the province of aparā vidyā; (3) Prātibhasikī (which pertains to dream states in which pleasure and pain may be experienced while the dream lasts), 1506.
Rebirths: for *sins*, *authorities* on, collected in one place 1590; for persons guilty of mortal sins after undergoing hell tortures specified by Manu and Yāj. and rebirth for lesser sins 1590–91; for those guilty of thefts of certain articles have *some understandable logic* behind them 1491.
Re-incarnation (Punarjanma) 1530–1612; great difference between the Hindu theory of avatāras and Christian doctrine of r. 992.
Rele, Dr. V. G., a. of 'Mysterious Kuṇḍalinī' 1148, 1393, 1443 (criticized by Shri Kuvalayānanda).
Religion or (religions): *as believed at present by most men can hardly be a panacea for the ills of the world 1480*; many eminent men attribute the present difficulties to the two world wars and are busy in inviting all men back to *r.*, *but the crux of the problem* is what religious tenets and practices are to be inculcated among men in the present age 1480–81; most r. postulate three fundamental entities, God, individual soul and external world 1506; virtues *preached at different times as* most important have been different (such as monachism, charity, humility, social service, heroism) 1481; whether religion is necessary or not some worth-while ideal is necessary, acc. to Pandit Nehru 1670; and *modern* Indians with several attitudes towards re. form, 1700–1701.
Religious Rites: calendar required for finding out proper times for, 641; must be performed at the correct time (*i.e.* season, tithi etc.) acc. to Śāstra 713; rule that, if one able to carry out main provisions of R. resorts to alternatives provided for those who are unable, he does not secure the other-worldly rewards of that rite 100.
Renou, Prof. L., 493n, 505n (a. of 'L' Inde Classique'), 1006n (on 'Religions of

Ancient India'), 1397-98 (against identity of two Patañjalis).
Representative (vide under 'Pratinidhi'), not allowed in certain cases 53.
Republics in ancient India, acc. to Jayaswal 1663.
Revatī, the Yogatārā of nakṣatra R. corresponds to Zeta Piscium of modern astronomers 712.
Rhys Davids, 542, 940, 1033 (a. of 'Buddhist India').
(Mrs.) Rhys Davids: 1007 (on 'Relation between Buddhism and' Brahmanism) says Buddha agreed with Upaniṣad teachings about high moral endeavour).
Ṛgveda (vide God, Veda): 2-22, 35-6, 60n, 62-3, 87, 112, 126, 129, 137, 146, 150-151, 153, 159, 168, 171, 179n, 183, 205, 209, 219n, 223, 233, 241, 463, 488-9, 491-93, 495-98, 506, 537-38, 579, 582, 596, 671, 675, 684, 686-7, 690n, 691-92, 697, 703n, 719-24, 726n-28n, 729-31, 733, 737n-39n, 740-41, 750, 756, 758, 761-63, 771n, 772-3, 780n, 781, 785-9, 790n, 791, 796, 802, 814, 859, 916-17, 919-20, 934, 947, 950-51, 970, 980-985, 987-91, 997, 1031, 1035-36 (mystic words and spells in), 1043-44, 1045 (Ṛg. V. 47. 4 deemed to refer to Kādividyā), 1052n, (Ṛg. verses q. in Kulārṇavatantra), 1058, 1059 (Ṛg. IV. 40. 5 ('Haṁsaḥ' etc.) to be recited over wine and other tattvas in Tāntrik worship), 1078, 1086 (verses of, q. by Mahānirvāṇatantra), 1098, 1100 (Vedic Mantras employed in T. works exemplified), 1121n, 1131 (orb of Sun is called wheel), 1156n, 1181, 1184, 1203-4 (references that are held historical), 1213 (who went to heaven and what joys were there), 1218 (Madhvācārya claims that he is referred to in Ṛg. text I. 141. 1-3), 1221n, 1223, 1227n, 1244 (mantras full of faith in God and beatitude), 1255-56, 1257n, 1265n, 1268 and n, 1276n, 1309n, 1311n, 1316, 1321, 1362, 1372, 1382n, 1385-86, 1471 (quoted often by Upaniṣads), 1478 (some doubters about Indra), 1487-1493, 1497-98, 1516 Ṛg. IX. 62. 1 explained in Tāṇḍya), 1517, 1527-8, 1532-33 (passages where word Karman occurs), 1536-37 (Ṛg. VII. 33. 10-14 about Vasiṣṭha's two births explained), 1537-44, 1546n, 1548n, 1553-54, 1568n (interpretation of Ṛg. X. 190. 3), 1576n, 1578 (Vaiśvānara), 1595, 1600 and n, 1613-4 (river Sindhu), 1619-20 (meaning of 'Kṛṇvanto Viśvam Āryam'), 1622, 1631n, 1644 (indications of at least three Āśramas)', 1646 (shift towards oblation of cooked food or ghee as equal to animal sacrifices); 1676 (Vasiṣṭha's prayer that sins due to wine and gambling may be forgiven); prayer to bestow ten

songs on newly married bride) (X. 85. 16 explained), 1610n R. (X. 117. 6) differentiates between ṛk verses, Yajus texts and Sāman chants 859; hardly 1/3 of over ten thousand Mantras of Ṛgveda are employed in the Vedic rites 1223; has two arrangements, viz. one into Maṇḍalas and Sūktas and the other into aṣṭakas adhyāyas and vargas, while Tai. S. and Atharvaveda are arranged into Kāṇḍas 859; padapāṭha or kramapāṭha of R. is not eternal but is man-made and the former is ascribed to Śākalya who is criticized by the Nirukta 861; ṛṣis of, had arrived at idea that there is only one Supreme Being addressed under different names 1487; verses of, occur in other Vedic saṁhitās 22; war of ten kings against Sudās 1644.

Ṛgvedi, Mr., work of, on 'History of Aryan festivals' in Marathi 60.

Ṛg-vidhāna 728n-29n.

Ṛkprātiśākhya 703n.

Rivara J. H. de Cunha, a of paper on 'Historical essay on the Konkani language' 1020.

Rivers: Āpayā, Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī m. as holy rivers for establishing Agni in Ṛg, 523; eighteen or 19 rivers are mentioned in order from Ganges in the east to Kubhā (Kabul river), Gomatī and Krumu (Kurram) in the west 1528; many rivers m. in Anuśāsana-parva 1528; several Purāṇas mention rivers as flowing from the principal mountains 1528; seven Sindhus mentioned in Ṛg. 1528; six rivers mentioned as very holy and connected with Himavat and six more south of Vindhya 243.

Robertson, Archibald, a. of 'Rationalism in theory and practice' 1476n, 1481n, 1616 (on meaning of word civilization'

Rodasī, wife of Rudra, acc. to Yāska and connected with Maruts in Ṛg, 1044.

Rohiṇī, nakṣatra, moon said to be fond of, 507.

Romaka is probably Alexandria in Āryabhaṭa's work, 676n.

Romaka-siddhānta 680; (vide under Śrīṣeṇa); Dikṣit contends that the R. summarised in Pañcasiddhāntikā is different from the work of Śrīṣeṇa and was composed before 150 A. D. 515n; length of year, acc. to R. agrees with Hipparchus and Ptolemy 515; no calendars in India based on it 515n; Thibaut on, 515n; probably composed in Sanskrit by a Greek settled in India, 515n; Thibaut on, 515.

Roman Church: prepared an Index of forbidden books (the edition of 1949 contains 5000 titles) and another Index of books permitted but some passages from which were to be expurgated 1576.

Roth Cecil, a. of 'Short History of the Jews' (for persecution

of the Jews) 1019.

Roland, Benjamin, a. of 'The Art and Architecture of India' 1656.

Royce, J., a. of 'the world and the individual,' expounds Chān. Up. III. 14 and VI. 2–15 and Bṛ. Up. 1500; quotes from a mystic work 'who knows Him is silent' 1505.

Ṛṣabha, a predecessor of Varāhamihira 622.

Ṛṣipañcamī-vrata: (vide 'Seven sages') : 149–151; meant for all, but now practised mostly by women 149; number seven important in, 151; object was to remove all sins and troubles of three kinds and ridding women of contacts during monthly illness 950; performed on 5th of Bhādrapada bright half 149–151 (mixed with 4th and not with 6th tithi); performer not to eat anything in this vrata produced on land ploughed by oxen or watered by the labour of oxen 150; procedure of 149–150; Saṅkalpa in 150n; seven sages and Arundhatī worshipped in, 150–51; worship of sages is performed with Ṛgveda mantras 150–51.

Ṛṣiputra, a. of a work on astrology, 593 (Bṛ. S. quotes 15 verses of his), 767, 768n, 778n (Bṛ. S. summarises its views).

Ṛta, meaning of, acc. to Prof. Apte, is 'belt of Zodiac' 3; three meanings of, 320; wheel of, in Ṛg. 488–489, 1627; (ṛta gave place to *satya* later).

Ṛtavya hymns are Ṛg. II. 36 and 37, 492.

Ruben, Prof, on 'Purāṇic line of Heroes' 883.

Rudra (see under 'Śāstras'); deemed by Padmapurāṇa to have assumed the form of Kāla with *rāśis* as his limbs 561n; is supposed to have deluded people and asuras by composing false śāstras at the bidding of Viṣṇu, 974.

Rudra (see under Ekādaśinī, Laghurudra, Mahārudra, Atirudra) : 1024; name of Rudrādhāya, viz. eleven anuvākas in Tai. S IV. 5. 1–11, beginning with 'namas-te Rudra manyave'; reciting them once being called 'āvartana' and reciting eleven times is called 'Ekādaśinī, 759, 813 and n; word r. is harsh name 721n; worship by R. takes three forms viz. japa, homa and abhiṣeka (sprinkling a person with holy water over which Rudra mantras have been repeated), 814.

Rudradhara, a. of 'Śuddhiviveka' 52, 1296 (held Śūdra cannot adopt a son).

Rudragaṇa (mantras) 796n.

Rudragāyatrī 108n.

Rudrayāmala, a Tāntrik work; 736n, 965n, 1034, 1061n (on cakras and Sahasrāracakra); 1088n (a Vīra Sādhaka could associate with another's wife as Śakti in worship), 1101, 1144–45.

Rudriya (servant of Rudra), substituted for Rudra in Ait.

Br. for averting Rudra's wrath 721n.

Rukmāṅgada and Mohinī story of, in Nāradīya-purāṇa 892; proclamation of, about the observance of Ekādaśī 892.

Rūpasaṁṛddha, meaning of, 789n, 1097, 1276n.

Russell, Bertrand, a. of 'Impact of Science on Society' 765n; remarks of. on Milton's use of popular beliefs about eclipses 765.

Russlle, Lord, of Liverpool; a. of 'Scourge of the Svastika', wher ein he cites the confession of Höss that not less than three million people were put to death at Auschwitz, 1480n.

Russia: great inequalities of income in, even after 40 years of totalitarian rule between the salaries of Academicians and high placed executives on one hand and of common men on the other 1682–83.

Rutter, Owen, a. of 'Scales of Karma' 1594, 1605.

Śabara, a. of bhāṣya on Pūrva-mīmāṁsā-sūtra (vide under Kumārila, Vṛttikāra); vrata defined, 28; 33–4, 73n, 86n, 96n, 237, 607, 701n, 821, 985, 992n, 1032 (meaning of Tantra), 1097–98 (mantras are 'arthaprakāśaka'), 1114n, 1154n–56n, 1158, 1167 (Jaimini mentions Bādarāyaṇa in P. M. S. I. 1. 5 and XI. 1. 65), 1178 (quotes a Smṛti verse almost identical with Manu), 1180, 1183, 1186–87 (mentions vṛttikāra with respect) 1197, 1202–05, 1208, 1209n. 1211n (on Apūrva), 1212n, 1213 (popular views about heaven), 1214 (mental happiness is *svarga*), 1220–21 (on mantras, their classifications and definitions), 1222, 1224 ('śabda-pramāṇakā vayam'), 1225n (defines *vidhi*), 1226 (what signifies a vidhi), 1227n, 1231n, 1236n, 1237, 1241, 1249n, 1254n, 1255, 1257–60, 1283n, 1286n, 1289–90; 1292, 1294, 1295n, 1297n–1300n, 1304n, 1305n–1308, 1310–1312n, 1317n–18n, 1321n, 1322, 1324n, 1325–1326n, 1329n, 1331n cites a verse defining 'tantra'), 1332n–35, 1512n (on affix 'tvā'), 1527, 1544n, 1626; at least one thousand quotations on Śabara's bhāṣya are taken from Tai. S. and Br. 1218; bhāṣya of, is earliest extant com. on P. M. S. 1187; bhāṣya of, quotes about three thousand quotations of which several hundreds have not been identified 1218; Bṛhatī, is com. of Prabhākara on, 1189; difference between S. and Kumārila as to the subject matter of P. M. Sūtras, 1262–63), 1335; flourished between 200–400 A. D. 1197; frequently quotes the very words of the Nirukta or pointedly refers to them, 1276 and n; gives three interpretations of P. M. S. IV. 1. 2, out of which one relates to acquisition of wealth 1233; gives far-fetched explanations of

the words 'Savitṛ,' 'Aśvins' and 'Pūṣan' when the Mantra 'devasya tvā' (Tai. S. II. 4. 6. 1) is to be addressed by *ūha* to a deity other than Agni, 1325 and n; mentions Holākā festival as prevalent in Eastern parts of Bhārata 237; numerous commentaries on bhāṣya of 1187–88; omits some sūtras, acc. to Kumārila 1162n, 1188, 1227n; no commentary on Śabara's bhāṣya, composed before Kumārila now available 1188; quotes several verses on P. M. matters and also on other topics 1187; stories of events that never occurred are mentioned in the Veda for praise (says Ś.) 1224; styled vṛttikāra sometimes by Kumārila himself 1197.

Śābarotsava, in Durgāpūja 176–77.

Sabatini, Rafael, work of, on 'Spanish Inquisition' 933n.

Sabbāsavasutta 943.

Śabdakalpadruma 760.

Sabbath 677; Jews observed Saturday as S. (and not Sunday) 677; observed on different week days by various peoples 677.

Sabhāparva 27n, 90n, 130, 488n, 539, 698 (names for numerals from *ayuta* to *parārdha*), 743 (omens), 744 (eclipse), 745 (three kinds of utpātas), 971n (story of Śiśupāla), 1161 (pupils of Vyāsa).

Sabine, W. H. W. a. of 'Second sight in daily life' developes a novel theory on dreams 782.

Sacī : word Ś occurs in the sense of 'Śakti' about 50 times in Ṛg. and does not mean wife of Indra 1043.

Sacred books of the East (series) 527, 777, 939n–40n, 943, 970n, 972, 978n, 1022–23n, 1026, 1037n, 1038, 1042, 1070, 1107, 1153, 1579n, 1583n, 1613n, 1627, 1663.

Sacrifice (see under Yajña, wife, Dakṣiṇā); disposal of implements of S. 1232; even the Ṛgveda discloses that a complicated sacrificial ritual existed in its times 991; provides that husband and wife should perform a S. in co-operation, but where the Veda expressly provides that certain matters are to be performed by the male sacrificer it is the male alone that can perform them 1287; results of paucity or absence of food, or mantras, proper fees, are disastrous in different ways 753; *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices (such as Viśvajit) for which the Veda does not expressly declare a reward 1312; ten implements required in S. enumerated in Tai. S., each of which is to be employed for the purpose prescribed by Veda 1292, 1331n, wrangling about food or fees causes misfortune to sacrificer 753.

Sadācāra (usages or practices of śiṣṭas); (vide 'śiṣṭa', Smṛtis, Kalivarjya): intricate questions about the relative force of Śruti, Smṛti and Sadācāra

arise 1264 ; Kumārila's position is that those usages alone are authoritative that are not opposed to express Vedic texts, that are practised by śiṣṭas under the belief that they are part of Dharma (right conduct) and for which no visible motive such as pleasure, acquisition of wealth or satisfaction of desires can be predicated and that it does not follow that all actions of śiṣṭas are to be accepted as dharma, that Manu's advice to follow one's ancestors' path means a path of good people 1264, 1280 ; some great men, acc. to Gautama, Āp. Dh. S., Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 33. 30), were guilty of violations of dharma and excesses, and twelve examples are cited by Kumārila who explains them away or says that they were not thought to be dharma by those persons themselves 1280.

Ṣaḍaṅganyāsa, exemplified by Dharmasindhu and declared to be *avaidika* 1121n.

Ṣaḍaśītimukha, 213n ; m. in inscriptions 213n ; puṇyakāla is 60 ghaṭikās 215.

Ṣaḍāvrata (or annadānamāhātmya) 437.

Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra (a standard work of Mahāyāna), agrees closely with Gītā 970 ; contains many dhāraṇis (spells) 1104n.

Sādhanamālā (a composite Vajrayāna work of 3rd century A. D. to 12th) : 1038-39, 1050, 1070 (six cruel magic acts), 1104, 1116n, 1146 ; asserts that there is nothing that cannot be attained by mantras if proper procedure be followed 1104.

Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 734 (śāntis), 1114n (Śyenayāga details), 1245.

Sagara, sons of, were reduced to ashes by Kapila 1362.

Saha, Dr. Meghnad ; 713-4, President of Calendar Reform Committee and author of the C. R. C. Report 714n ; Report of, has exahaustive alphabetical list of Hindu festivals, but no details except month, fortnight and tithi are given 253, 644, 648-49.

Sahasrabhojanavidhi (procedure of giving dinner to one thousand brāhmaṇas at one time) 445.

Sāhityadarpaṇa, 1297n-98 ; present author's notes on, referred to 1297.

Saints : (vide Kabir) : in medieval times in India there were women S. like Mirabai and Aṇḍal, untouchables as saints, viz. Chokhāmeḷā and Raidas, Mahomedan saints like Kabir 969 ; names of saints and mystics in all parts of India from 13th to 17th century A. D. that agreed on certain fundamentals viz. unity of God, need of self-purification, condemnation of pride of caste and of ritual, and surrender to God for salvation, 969-970.

Śaiva- (see under 'Śāstras') ;

Siddhāntas were composed at Viṣṇu's bidding by Śiva for deluding people and asuras 974–975.

Śāka (vegetable) has ten forms 423.

Śaka era : 649 (began when 3179 years of Kali had expired), 679n ; in medieval times came to be called Śālivāhana 655 ; Inscriptions of Kṣatrapa kings bearing the number of the year are held to be in Śaka era. 654 ; Śakas in Yugapurāṇa 828 ; most astronomical works in Sanskrit employ Śaka era from about 500 A. D , 653 ; origin of the name Śaka era is a most difficult and unsolved problem 653ff ; origin of the name Śālivāhana 655 ; some modern writers like Burgess and Dr. Saha hold that this era was started by calculation and taken backwards, 649.

Śaka and Yavana and other foreign tribes held to be originally Kṣatriyas by Manu and others 1634n.

Śakadhūma, meaning of, 740n ; Charpentier on 740n.

Śaka-Kuṣāṇa, paper by Prof. Basham 654n.

Śākalya, a. of the *padapāṭha* of the Ṛgveda 861.

Śāketa, m. in Yugapurāṇa 827–28.

Śakra-dhvajotthāpana : (vide 'Indradhvajotthāpāna) ; m. by Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja 42.

Śākta or Śāktas (vide Lalitāmāhātmya) : all women are fit for intercourse to S. worshipper except the wives of his guru or the wives of Vīra kind of worshippers 1093 ; are mentioned among six *darśanas* by Vāyupurāṇa 1042 ; belief of, that female jackal is a messenger of Kālī and is auspicious 808 ; Bengal and Assam, chief strongholds of Śākta cult 1076 ; chief characteristics of the cult of 1041–2 ; cult of S. promises men both *bhoga* and *yoga* 1092n ; cult of, prevalent long before 8th century A. D. in India, especially in Bengal and Assam 1041 ; eight *kṣetras* of 1039 ; great aim of Śākta is to realise his identity with yantra, mantra, guru and devī 1138 ; have no higher means of happiness and liberation than the fifth tattva 1093 ; list of works on Ś. doctrines in English 1048n ; principal work of Ś. is Devīmāhātmya 1041 ; Purāṇas that eulogise Devī 1042 ; several Upaniṣads relied upon as the basis of Ś. cult by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and Bhāskar erāya, but those upaniṣada are later writings 1045 ; Ṛg. V. 47. 4 is fancifully interpreted by Ś. as referring to their views 1218 ; Śāktavidyas are said to be Kādi, Hādi or Sādi 1045n ; sect mark of Ś. and Śaivas was *tripuṇḍra* 1076n ; special form of worship which sometimes assumed debased or revolting forms 1042 ; wine was not prohibited only when

it was taken for pleasure 1094; word Śākta means 'one who is a devotee of Śakti' (cosmic power or energy) 1041.

Śāktapramoda, 1041n.

Śakti (vide under Devī, Durgā, Kālī, Kuṇḍalinī, cakras, five Makāras); conceived to be the primordial source governing all activity in the universe, 1141; different names of Ś. or Kālī in Purāṇas like Matsya, Kūrma, Brahma, 1041–42; doctrine of Vedānta that *brahma* is endowed with all powers might have suggested all engrossing power of Ś. 1045n; ideas associated with Ś. and Śacī in Ṛg. are those of creation, protection, valour and bounty 1043; is all pervading, most subtle, is the Kundalinī coiled like a snake and manifests herself in the form of the fifty letters of the alphabet from *a* to *kṣa* 1061; name Bhadrakālī occurs in Śāṅ. gṛ. and Manu 1042; Kaulāvalī-nirṇaya asserts that if a man, after partaking of *bhāng*, engages in meditation, he directly sees the deity, 1082; praise of Devī spoken of as primordial Śakti, that all gods including Śiva himself derive their powers from her 1058; Ṛgveda speaks of the Ś. of the great gods, but they are Śaktis of the gods and not separate creative principles 1043; śāstras opposed to Veda like Kāpāla, Bhairava, Yāmala, Vāma, Arhata were propagated by Devī for deluding the world 1042; sometimes the word 'Māyā' is used with Indra, instead of Śakti 1043; when worshipped with offerings of wine, flesh and edibles becomes pleased 1042, 1058; word Ś occurs about a dozen times in Ṛgveda, five times with Indra, twice with pitṛs, once with Aśvins 1043; worshipped generally under the name Devī 1041; worship of, necessarily requires wine and other makāras acc. to several Tantra works 1082.

Śakti (vide under 'women'): means the 'woman associated with a *sādhaka* in Yogic practices and in the worship of Śakti 1052n, 1085; young courtesan is Ś. incarnate and *brahma* 1056.

Śaktisaṅgama-tantra, 263, 1052n, 1053 ('kula' means upāsaka of Kālī), 1054, 1056, 1064–65, 1080 (offers symbolic explanations of five Makāras), 1105n, (on Trailokyamohana mantra), 1109n, 1117 (proper times for dīkṣā).

Śakunas (vide birds, divination, nimitta, Vasantarāja-śakuna): are declared by Varāhamihira to be indicative of the actions of persons in their former lives and by Vasantarāja 538, 806; authors and works on 622; Bhāguri, Bharadvāja and Dravyavardhana on, 591; extensive literature on, 805–6; hooting of owl on top of a house at night portends sorrow

and death of owner's son 808; words Śakuna and Śakuni mean 'bird' in Ṛgveda, gradually came to mean premonitions conveyed by cries and movements of birds and then any prognosticatory sign 804-805; some animals and birds are useless for prognostications at certain seasons 808-809; *Upaśruti* as method 809-810.

Śākuntala of Kālidāsa: 46, 120, 517, 687, 800, 1027, 1046n (Śiva as 'parigataśaktiḥ'), 1071, 1596.

Śālākarma (construction of a house); vide under 'house'.

Śālihotra, q. by Hemādri on Aśvaśānti 804.

Śālikanātha, a. of com. Ṛjuvimalā on Bṛhatī and of Prakaraṇapañcikā 1189; flourished between 710-770 A. D, 1198; reason for the view that Ś. was a direct pupil of Prabhākara 1190, 1193.

Śālivāhana, era (vide Śaka era): these words occur in Inscriptions of 13th and 14th century A. D., 655.

Salokat's a kind of *mukti* 1631n.

Śalyaparva 90n, 520n, 687n, 742n, 743-44, 764, 767, 787n, 1219, 1391.

Śam: adhrigu-praiṣa, bearing of on root *śam*, 724; undeclinable 'śam' occurs about 160 times in the Ṛgveda 719-720; joined to 'yoḥ' in a compound or with 'ca' between the two, meaning 'happiness and welfare or 'health' and wealth' 719; sometimes used as a noun 720.

Samādhi 1449n-1451; derivation of, 1449n; two kinds of S. viz. Samprajñāta or Sabīja and Asamprajñāta or nirbīja 1450-51; there is a blending of subject and object, the individual soul and paramātman 1450; sabīja a. of four stages, 1450-51; the word Samādhi, was known to V. S., Maitrāyaṇī Up. and Gītā, 1390, 1450.

Samāja (festive meeting), m. by Āp. Dh. S. and Aśoka 1017.

Sāman: meaning of, 1221; means a sāmaveda chant 1543; means also 'reconciliation' 1543; parts (five) of each S. 1544.

Samāsasaṁhitā, of Varāhamihira, quoted by Utpala 742n.

Sāmaveda 721n, 733n, 734, 1221 (has not one thousand Śākhās, but *gītis*), 1543 (all verses of, except about 75, are taken from the Ṛgveda).

Samayamayūkha 66n, 83, 111, 129n, 133-35, 136n-37n, 145-46n, 154n, 170n, 180-81n, 182, 184, 189n, 198n, 215n, 218, 227n-8n, 232n, 243n-4n.

Samayapradīpa 29, 40n, 41, 50, 52, 75n, 81n, 125.

Samayaprakāśa, 91n, 97n, 99n, 248, 663, 664n-5n, 672-674n, 675n.

Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa 733-4, 790, 1161.

Sāmba, an Upapurāṇa m. by Matsya, Alberuni and Dānasāgara 873, 910; date of, discussed 872-3; Prof. Hazra

himself finds that more than half of it belongs to period 950–1500 A. D., 873; no evidence that the half of S. which Prof. Hazra puts down between 500-800 A. D. is earlier than 800 A. D. or even 950 A. D., 873.

Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, revised Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa and established images of the Sun in four places, acc. to Varāhapurāṇa, 818n, 898.

Saṁhitā or Śākhā (natural astrology), a branch of Jyotiṣa, subjects of, 479.

Śami and Śamī : occur in some Ṛgveda verses 723; Sāyaṇa explains as 'Karman' (religious rite, action) 723–4.

Śamī : (vide under Śānti) : cult of, is ancient 194; plant or branch, connected with appeasing terrible aspects 724; was supposed to destroy sins and appease the wrath of gods when worshipped 192, 725; worshipped on Vijayādaśamī 190.

Sāmidhenī verses generally 15, 726; spoken of, as thunderbolt 726–7.

Sāmrājyalakṣmī-pīṭhikā, observances in 18n.

Saṁsāra (cycle of births and deaths), 1563–65; Kāma as the root of s. as it gives rise to volition (*kratu*) which leads to deeds; 1548; Manu frequently employs it 1564–65; word occurs in Kaṭhopaniṣad and Śv. Up. 1564.

Saṁsarpa : (vide intercalary month) : 671–2; distinguished from Aṁhaspati 672.

Saṁskāra (in P. M. S.) is what when performed makes a substance fit for some purpose 1308n.

Saṁskārakaustubha 1290.

Saṁskāraprakāśa 614, 1244n–5n.

Saṁskāraratnamālā, 614, 1121n, (holds nyāsa is avaidika).

Samuccaya (or abhyuccaya, addition or combination) 1328–29; Mit. on Yāj. III. 243 furnishes examples of S. in the matter of expiations from Dharmaśāstra 1328–29.

Samudragupta, greatest of the Gupta emperors 843; performed Aśvamedha that had long been in abeyance, 1028.

Samuel, Viscount 148?n, 1575n.

Samuel, 194 (Bible).

Saṁvartaka (terrible) fires or clouds at time of *Pralaya*, 686n.

Saṁvatsara : identified with Prajāpati in Śat. Br. 65; years of Bārhaspatya type were so called 660–61; names of, were supposed to indicate different consequences for each 662.

Sāṁvatsarikasattra, observances in, 18n.

Saṁyuttanikāya 1005n.

Sanātanadharma : the word occurs in Matsya-purāṇa and in Khanapur plates of Mādhavavarman (6th century A. D.) 945n, 1629n; meaning of, 1629 and n.

Sanatkumāra and Nārada, story of, in Chān. Up. VII. 26. 2, where the former is called Skanda, both being semi-

divine, the former being a mind-born son of Brahmā.

Sānchi: sculptures on eastern gateway of 127, 1653n (works on the stūpa at).

Sandhyā, is period of three ghaṭikās before and after sunrise 438.

Sandhyā (morning and evening worship): *nyāsa* included in S. by some works 1121-22; worship of the Sun daily in the evening is to be done with some mantras addressed to Varuṇa (in Ṛg. I. 25) acc. to Parāśaramādhavīya and modern Mahārāṣṭra practice, 1311n.

Śāṇḍilya, vide under Pāñcarātra 955n.

Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra 952n, 966-7, 958n, 959, 965n, 966, 968 (path of bhakti open to all including cāṇḍālas); com. on by Svapneśvara 956-59, 965-6n.

Saṅgha, elective procedure in 1663.

Śanipradoṣa-vrata 421.

Sanjana J. E.: a. of 'Dogma of re-incarnation'; criticized 1605-1608, 1611; asserts that a man who believes in re-incarnation is not a true Zoroastrian, which is criticized 1605-6; employs offensive language about those who differ from him, particularly about Theosophists, 1606-7; his interpretation of Manu VI. 63 is wrong 1565; is guilty of serious mistakes 1607-8.

Saṅkalpa, necessary in every religious rite; contents of, 650; formula of, in vrata, 81; in a fast or vrata to be made in the morning 202.

Śaṅkarācārya (vide Abhinavagupta, Devala, Śrīharṣa Tārānāth): 731n-2n, 779n, 821, 824-26, 860n, 866 (Prof. Hazra misunderstands what Ś. says), 900n, 906n, 944n, 955 (on Pāñcarātra), 963n, 1032-1045, 1153 (on V. S. I. 1. 1.), 1155n, 1158, 1160 (Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vedānta-sūtras as one śāstra), 1154-65, 1172 (on Gītā 13. 4), 1202, 1205, 1211 and n. (on *Apūrva*), 1218, 1241n, 1250 (quotes sūtra in which the words paryudāsa, pratiṣedha and vikalpa occurs), 1251n, 1254-5 (Agnihotra as ārādupakāraka in acquiring knowledge of *brahma*), 1289-90, 1292n, 1297n, 1300, 1307n, 1359n, 1360-62, 1365, 1388 (position as to Yoga), 1389n, 1390, 1400n, 1426, 1432, 1434-35 (on Chān. Up. I. 3. 3, misunderstood by Caland, Dumont and others), 1435 (Ś. on Bṛ. Up. I. 5. 3 and on Praśna), 1446, 1468, 1469-70, 1484n, 1485, 1488n, (explains 'asat'), 1499n, 1500, 1504-5, 1507-8, 1516n, 1517, 1541-42, 1546n, 1548, 1552n, 1554, 1561n, 1563n-64n, 1566-68, 1576n, 1579n, 1588, 1591, 1607; doctrine of Māyā declared by Padmapurāṇa as Bauddha in disguise, 976; holds that Bādarāyaṇa a. of V. S. is different from Vedavyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata, 1166; horoscope

of, in com. on Saundaryalaharī examined 629; Prapañcasāratantra, ascribed to Ś. dilates upon a mantra called Trailokyamohana for accomplishing six cruel acts 1070; Saundaryalaharī, ascribed to S. 1049n; says that Manusmṛti and Devala-dharmasūtra accept some doctrines of Sāṅkhya system 1352; verses quoted by Ś on V. S. I. 3. 30 as Smṛtis, set out, identified in Śāntiparva and Purāṇas 1568n; view that Śūdras like Vidura and Dharmavyādha had brahmajñāna and a śūdra may secure mokṣa by reading the Itihāsa and Purāṇas, and Vācaknavi Gārgī, though a woman, possessed brahmajñāna 921n, 1642.

Śaṅkaradigvijaya of Mādhavācārya, 1010n; contains an absurd story about king Sudhanvan's order for persecuting Buddhists 1010n; throws all history and chronology to winds to glorify Śaṅkarācārya 1010n.

Śaṅkaragītā 79n.

Śaṅkaravijaya of Ānandagiri, 1136n.

Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa, exercised hardly any influence on Dharmaśāstra 1159; for discussion about devatās 1159; held to be a pariśiṣṭa (supplement) of Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtra by Appayadīkṣita 1159; much neglected in later times 1159; views differ about its authorship 1158-59.

Śaṅkha-likhita-sūtra 52, 527, 1590.

Saṅkhasmṛti 27, 1016n, 1440 (same verse as Manu VI. 72), 1441 (same in Manu), 1448n (eight verses quoted).

Sāṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa 24, 26, 241, 659n, 726-7, 1153, 1234 (on the observances of a sacrificer).

Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhyasūtra 27, 730, 761 (on Mahāśānti), 1042.

Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra 26, 671n, 672, 816, 1032 (meaning of Tantra).

Sāṅkhya system: (vide Devala, elements, guṇas, Kapila, Pañcaśikha, Upaniṣad, Vindhyavāsa): and Dharmaśāstra 1352-1384; and Yoga in Śv. Up. 1352; S. and Yoga are one acc. to Śāntiparva 1367; contradictions in S. pointed out by Śaṅkarācārya 1357n; does not include time among 25 Tattvas but includes it under Karaṇas 468; derived from the word *saṅkhyā* that has two senses 1378; dispassionate appraisal of Sāṅkhya by Dr. Behanan 1384; described in Purāṇas such as Kūrma and Viṣṇu 825n; eighteen schools of, acc. to Chinese sources 1353; enumeration of 25 tattvas of, 694n; evolution of world, acc. to S. described in Yāj. Smṛti 825-26; expounded by Kapilamuni to Āsuri 1356; followers of S. system explained Vedānta passages as favourable to them and V. S. I. 1. 5-18 refute it, 1218; high praise of, in Śānti-

parva 1363–65; is called Sāṅkhyatantra by Śaṅkarācārya 1032; is near to Vedānta because of the theory of non-difference between cause and effect that it propounds 1352; is within Vedic orthodoxy as to those views not in conflict with Veda 1362; *kaivalya* is the goal of S. 1361n; Kapila Muni, originator of S. acc. to Sāṅkhyakārikā 1356; S. Kṛtānta expressly m. in Gītā (18. 13) 1378; Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva) and Āśvamedhika and S. 1363–1371; means 'tattvajñāna' or 'a person knowing ultimate reality' in the Gītā 1378; most fundamental conceptions of S. are two distinct essences viz. Prakṛti or Pradhāna and Puruṣas (that are many), three guṇas, twenty-five tattvas 1357–1359; numerous teachers about *puruṣa*, mentioned in Śāntiparva 1367, 1374; one of the six well-known darśanas 1352; poets like Kālidāsa and Bāṇa utilize S. doctrines 1384; propounds a theory of cosmic evolution based on reason alone without postulating God as creator 1358; S. propounded in the Śāntiparva is a good deal different from the standard S. 1370-3; Purāṇas dwell at some length on S. doctrines 1382–84; puruṣa is *bhoktṛ* (and not *kartṛ*) 1358; origin and development of S. is a difficult problem, 1353; Pañcaśikha (vide under that word) 1371; relation of S. to Upaniṣads, discussed 1362–3; relied on Upaniṣad passages (such as 'ajām-ekām' in Śv. Up. IV. 5) in support of their views about Prakṛti and guṇas; some philosophers combined S, Yoga and Parameśvara and some Mahābhārata references to S are made with reference to them 1365, 1371; striking passages where S. doctrines and terms appear in Bhagavad-gītā 1375–6; teachers of, mentioned by Yuktidīpikā 1354–55; teachers such as Pañcādhikaraṇa and Paurika not known before 1384; views of Garbe, Jacobi and Oldenberg on S. and Upaniṣads 1363; went through several phases 1353; why so called 1377–78; works like Buddhacarita, Carakasaṃhitā, Suśruta, Manusmṛti, Yāj. smṛti, Devaladharmasūtra mention S. tenets 1378–1381; works and papers on S. system mentioned in one place 1353n.

Sāṅkhya kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa: 468, 694n, 900n, 1033n, (calls S. system 'Tantra'), 1353, 1359n, 1364n, 1374n, 1376n–77n, 1379n, 1383n, 1402–3, 1410; commentaries on viz. Māṭharavṛtti, Yuktidīpikā, that of Gauḍapāda, Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudi of Vācaspati 1354–55; commentary called Jayamaṅgalā ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, 1355; date of, between 250–325 A. D., 1354-5, 1357; foremost ex-

ponent of Sāṅkhya from at least 5th Century A. D. 1353, 1356; known as Sāṅkhya-saptati and in Chinese as Suvarṇasaptati 1356n; quoted by Śaṅkarācārya 1353, 1358n; translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 546 A. D. 1353.

Sāṅkhya-pravacanasūtra 1353, 1358n; ed. by Garbe, a late work of about 1400 A. D., 1353; bhāṣya on, of Vijñānabhikṣu (about 1550 A. D.) 1355; states that no śāstra that admits a soul is unauthoritative, that there is no contradiction among śāstras, each being of full force and true in its own sphere, that Sāṅkhya is not in irreconcilable conflict with the doctrine of a personal God or with advaita Vedānta 976, 1355; com. of Bhāvā Gaṇeśa on 1373.

Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī of Vācaspati 468n, 1214 (quotes verse defining what svarga means), 1359n, quotes Rājavārtika on topics of Ṣaṣṭitantra).

Saṅkrānti (vide under 'sesame') 211-221; acts forbidden on 221; bath in Ganges on, highly commended 220; baths to be taken and gifts to be made during puṇyakāla (holy time) 217-218; *bhoga*, meaning of, 216n; came to be deified and identified with Durgā 213; each of twelve S. in a year has seven names depending on the week days or certain classes of Nakṣatras on which it occurs 215; each of seven S. is beneficial to different varṇas and classes of people 216; gifts of special kinds recommended on twelve S. 218; grant (ancient) made on Jupiter's entrance into *Vṛṣabha* (bull) rāśi 212n; japa and gifts on, yield inexhaustible results 214; means only Ravisaṅkrānti acc. to late works 213; merit of gifts on several S. 220; Puṇyakāla, differing views on, 216-7; puṇyakālas for the passage of the Sun and planets entering into a rāśi 212-13; śrāddha on S. prescribed by some works 221; thirty ghaṭikās before and after the moment of Sun's entrance into a rāśi are said to be time of S. but the holiest times differ 215-216; Vratas, fifteen, on S. 221.

Saṅkṣepa-śārīraka 1603.

Sannipatyopakāraka (actions or rites); are also called Sāmavāyika or āśrayi-karmāṇi 1254; are acts such as the pounding of grains, prokṣaṇa (sprinkling water over substances etc.) i. e. they are Saṃskāraka (make something fit or embellish) 1150.

Sannyāsin: being a S. before discharging the three debts severely condemned by Manu and Yāj. 1511; duties of, in Manusmṛti and Yāj., many of which are applicable to Yogins 1457; Jābālopaniṣad makes becoming

disgusted (with worldly life) the condition precedent for becoming a parivrājaka or S. 1514; Upaniṣads inculcate that S. was to give up all actions, even good ones, except living by begging till the body lasted 1514; 1644 (rules for S. and for forest hermit identical to some extent; 1645 (most honoured at śrāddha dinner and competent to decide doubtful points of dharma).

Sanskrit Literature: about 4500 works from S. were translated into Tibetan 1041; hardly any evidence exists of the translation of Chinese or Tibetan works into Sanskrit, 1039–1040; much of it has perished beyond recovery 481; much that survives is religious and not intended to be a full treatment of any topic 481; is vast and varied, continued for at least three thousand years, penetrated countries in S. E Asia and gave rise to several sciences such as comparative philology: 1650; Histories of S. L. by various scholars 1650; for variety and vastness of, vide under H. Gowen.

Śantama 722; Ś occurs about two dozen times in Ṛg. and means ' beneficent ' 722.

Śāntarakṣita (705–762 A. D.); a. of Tattvasaṅgraha 1037, 1212n; frequently criticizes Kumārila without naming him but does not name or quote Prabhākara 1191; pupil Kamalaśīla wrote com. on Tattvasaṅgraha 1037n, 1191 (names Kumārila many times).

Śantālīya hymn (Ṛg. VII. 35. 1–15) 720n–91.

Śānti 719–814: (vide under adbhuta, Āśleṣā, birds, bees, Hoens, Kauśikasūtra, Gomukhaprasavaśānti, nimitta, Rāhu, nakṣatras, navagrahas, prasavaśānti, Udakaśānti, utpāta, Vināyakaśānti, Vāstuśānti, Vasantarāja): Aśvaśānti, for removal of dangers to and diseases of horses 804; auspicious tithis for adbhutaśānti 790; by owner of a cow that had delivery in Bhādrapada or a she-buffalo that had it in Pauṣa or Māgha or on a Wednesday or a mare by day, which are sometimes performed even now 789–90; connected with Śakunas 804; cult of Śāntis extensive in medieval times as in Madanaratna 736–738; definitions of, 756–757; derivation of, from root ' Śam ' 719; efficacy of śāntis against āntarikṣa and divya utpātas 746; elaborate treatment of S. in post-vedic literature, 734–35; extensive literature on Śāntis indicated 734–735; for bad dreams by reciting Ṛg. X. 164. 1–5, 728–729; for birth of twins to a woman or mare or cow 738; for eclipses described 765–766; for ten dreams m. in Ait. Ār. 731; for dreams in Atharvaveda verses and in Gṛhya works 732–34; for earthquakes, eclipses (solar and lunar) 739n; for fall of

meteors 766–7»; for forest dog barking, vulture shrieking or owl hooting 728; for images laughing and weeping 734, 770; for one possessed by an evil spirit 734; for one coming to life after his body is taken to cemetery 889; for showers of falling stars and meteors, earthquakes 734; for unusual appearances (adbhuta) 733–734; for *utpātas* (unusual occurrences or portents) 734; for utpātas not given in other works is given by Kauśika-sūtra 739n; Gajaśānti for removal of diseases of elephants differs in different works 801–4; if Mantra not known Gāyatrī is to be repeated 108 or 1028 times 789; individual Śāntis 748–804; list of Śānti hymns in the Ṛgveda 813; many of the ancient śāntis and many described in medieval works are no longer performed and the few that are performed now may be stopped in the near future 735, 814; mantras in S. refer to the rite performed, the deity of the rite and benefit prayed for 788n; meaning of, is propitiatory rite for averting a deity's wrath, appeasement of deity or planet or a calamity or unholy event 719, 720; means of ś. were various but simple in the Brāhmaṇa period, such as the recitation of a Vedic verse or hymn or a Sāman or water 726–27; number of Ś. very large 757; numerous śāntis m. by Varāhamihira 747; occasions on which Ś. was performed 757; on child's birth on an unlucky nakṣatra prescribed by Kauśikasūtra 524n, 735; on child's birth on certain nakṣatras such as Āśleṣā, Mūla, Jyeṣṭhā, on certain tithis such as amāvāsyā and 14th of dark half, on yogas like Vaidhṛti and Vyatīpāta, on birth of twins 771–773; Ś. on son's birth after three successive births of daughters and *vice versa* performed even now which is called, Trikaprasava-śānti, 771–3; Ś. when a great-grandfather sees a newly born great-grandson 782–783; on completion of 70 years or on 7th night of 7th month of 77th year 760; rites of Ś., pauṣṭika and mahādānas to be performed in ordinary fire 757; subjects treated of in Madanaratna on Śānti exhibit an extensive cult of śāntis 736–738; three meanings of word Ś. in early Vedic texts 728; three important words in connection with Ś. are adbhuta, nimitta and utpāta 740n; time for 760–761; no definite rule as to time, tithis and nakṣatras for, if there is no hurry 761; Udakaśānti 783–787; Vājasaneya Saṃhitā, Chap. 36, employed as Śānti in Pravargya rite 724; when a person suffers from fever śāntis from the tithis from the one on which fever started or from the week day 788; Ś. when a person's

nakṣatra of birth is affected by a malefic planet or aspect or his rāśi has eclipse in it 787-88; word Ś. does not occur in Ṛgveda, but occurs in Tai. S., Atharvaveda, Vāj. S. and Brāhmaṇas 719, 720, 723.

Śāntikādhyāya, is Ṛg. VII. 35. 1-11, 813.

Śāntimayūkha 650n, 730, 735, 752-53n, 755-6, 761, 771n, 773n.

Śāntiparva, 27, 42, 54, 81n, 100n, 118n, 129, 142, 202, 466n, 467, 620n, 687, 692n-93, 696n, 744 (auspicious nimittas), 821, 854 (the verse 'Guror-apyava-liptasya etc.), 939n (on tṛṣṇā), 945 on ahiṃsā), 952-4, 970, 1027, 1161 (pupils of Vyāsa); 1165 (Pāñcarātra-śāstra expounded), 1166 and n., 1256 (mentions Dharmaśāstras), 1266n, 1377n, 1384 (high praise of Sāṅkhya), 1385, 1390, 1395-6, 1399 (quoted by Yoga-bhāṣya) 1400-01 (Yoga matters), 1416n. 1431, 1444 (on pratyāhāra), 1446, 1448, 1461, 1470n, 1503, 1508 (immortality of soul), 1516n, 1557-8 (Devayāna and Pitṛ-yāṇa paths), 1561n, 1565 (life is far more miserable than happy), 1567 (theory of Kalpas etc.), 1573 (souls of six colours), 1574-75, 1582, 1595-6, 1597n, 1598, 1629-30, 1636 (qualities necessary for being treated as brāhmaṇa), 1645, 1648 (aprotheosis of satya).

Śāntiratna or Śāntikamalākara of Kamalākārabhaṭṭa 587n, 633n, 735, 749n, 761n, 772, 788n, 792, 813n.

Śāntiratnākara 771n, 773.

Saptārcis, a Paurāṇika mantra to be recited in Śrāddha 920.

Saptarṣis (Ursa Major) 479, 498; Kṛttikās as wives of, 498n.

Saptaśalākā cakra, in marriage 814.

Saptaśatī (vide under 'Śūdra'), 780n; a person should himself recite Ś. in Navarātra or engage a person (either pāṭhaka or vācaka) to read it to him 172; method of reading a portion of Ś one day and continuing reading next day 173; person engaged to read S. was to be handsomely requited for his labour by gifts of gold, silver, cows etc. 173.

Saradakanta Ganguly, 699n.

Śāradātilaka (about 11th century A. D.): (vide under Kuṇḍalinī, Cakras); a Tāntrik work of over 4500 verses 534, 1101 and n, 1103, 1106, 1108, 1109n-10n, 1060, 1099, 1100; Chapters VII to XXIII are devoted to mantras of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Durgā, Tripurā, Gaṇeśa, Candramas 1103; elaborate treatment of Dīkṣa in, 1107; elaborate treatment of nyāsa, 1120; examples of mantras of five or more syllables in, 1096n; influenced by Sāṅkhya 1384; names 'Janma, Sampad, Vipad' etc. as astrological terms 534; names

and defines only nine Mudrās 1125; profusely quoted by Dharmaśāstra works 1063; on Prāṇapratiṣṭhā 162n; qualifications required in a disciple by Ś. 1071; speaks of Śakti as proceeding from Saguṇa Śiva, as Śabda-brahma and as flashing like lightning in Mūlādhāracakra and as Kuṇḍalinī in the human body 1060–61; summary of contents of, 1060–1063: though generally a sober Tantra, mentions the six cruel magic rites, defines them, provides that six devatās are the presiding deities of these and must be worshipped at commencement of those rites for bringing women under control or for paralysing or killing an enemy, 1070, 1103; though generally sober prescribes drawing yantras for cruel purposes 1138–39; treats of mantras and mudrās but hardly ever of the other makāras (of wine, fish, coitus etc.) 1063; commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa on, is learned and was composed at Benaras in 1494 A. D., 1060n.

Sārasvata, a. on Astrology 593.

Sarasvatīsthāpana; establishment of books on 9th of Āśvina bright half 442.

Sārāvalī (of Kalyāṇavarman on astrology): 546–47n, 548, 561, 563n, 571–2, 574, 577, 585, 588–90, 805n; states that it borrowed essential matters from the extensive work of Yavanendra 563n.

'Sarasvatībhavana studies' 1062n.

Śarayū, river in Kosala 531n.

Śārīrakasūtra: composed by Jaimini had, acc. to Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, first two sūtras identical with those of V. S. 1175.

Sarkar, Prof. B. K.: on 'Folk element in Hindu culture' 60.

Sarkar, Prof. Jadunath, a. of 'History of Aurangzeb' 1019.

Sarkar, Mr. Kishorilal, a. of 'Mīmāṁsā rules of Interpretation' 1284; obsession of, that he has to show that Jaimini's rules were not inferior to Maxwell's 1284; some examples where Mr. Sarkar failed to grasp correctly what Jaimini and Śabara meant 1284n.

Sarpabali: performed on Full Moon day of Śrāvaṇa, acc. to Gṛhyasūtras 126.

Sarton, Prof. G., a. of 'A History of Science' (1953), 482, 513–14n, 516n, 566, 570n, 596, 678, 689n, 1502n; charges Western writers with unpardonable omissions 513; on supposed influence of the Moon on lunacy, menstruation etc. 552.

Sarūpa-Bhāratī 1359.

Sarvadarśana-kaumudī of Mādhava Bhāratī 1182n, 1188n, 1307, 1318n.

Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha of Mādhavācārya: 978n, 1139; does not mention Tāntrik system 874, 1139, 1652; quotes verses from Bṛhaspati very similar to those in Viṣṇupurāṇa 974n; some hold that it was composed

by a nephew of Mādhavācārya 1182n.

Ṣarvagandha (all fragrant substances) 443.

Sarvānukramaṇī of Ṛgveda 997.

Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha 874.

Sarvatobhadra, a *Maṇḍala* described by Śāradā-tilaka 1133; meaning of, 1132-33, 1134 (a verse in that form).

Śarvavarmāgaṇa (mantras) 796n.

Sarvauṣadhi 183n, 444, 759.

Sarvodaya ideal 1683.

Ṣaṣṭitantra, of Pañcaśikha : so called because it deals with 60 topics and contained sixty thousand gāthās, 1373; topics (sixty) dealt with in, enumerated by Yuktidīpikā and Rājavārtika 1358-59n; topics of, in Sāṅkhyakārikā 1359n.

Śāstradīpikā of Pārthasārathi 86, 1179n, 1180, 1189, 1208, 1212n; 1225n, 1260, 1288n, 1290n, 1294n, 1309n, 1317n 1328n; com. Mayūkhamālikā on 86n; com. called .Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī on, 1194n.

Śāstra (or Śāstras, acc. to context); *anubandhas* of each, are four, named and illustrated 1179-80; false Bauddha and Jaina, Kāpāla, Vāma Ś. were composed, acc. to such Purāṇas as Kūrma, Padma, Viṣṇu by Śiva and Viṣṇu for deluding ungodly people and the asuras, 974-75, 977-8; such as Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pāśupata, Sāṅkhya, declared to be *tāmasa* by Padmapurāṇa, 976-78; regulates activities and abstentions for men by Veda or works composed by men 1182, 1262; that are not directly opposed to Veda and Smṛti may be accepted by Vaidika followers to that extent 974n; works on Ś. try to reduce options to the minimum and try to assign to apparently conflicting passages separate and definite provinces 1252-53.

Sastri, Pandit Aiyanath, 1354, 1380n, 1382n,

Sastri Pandit K. S. Ramaswami, a. of 'Introduction to Tantrarahasya' 1201.

Sastri Pandit V. A. Ramaswami, paper of, on Saṅkarṣa-kāṇḍa 1159n, 1188 (paper on 'Kumārila and Bṛhaṭ-ṭikā), 1190 (Introduction to Tattvabindu), 1192 (opinion of, that Prabhākara based his views on Bādari's has no tangible evidence in support).

Sastri Prof. K. A. Nilakanta, paper of, on Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, propounds that there were three Jaiminis and two Bādarāyaṇas and criticism of these views 1161-64, 1167; a. of 'Śrī Vijaya' 1618n.

Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti śānti or Ugraratha śānti 757-760; performed even now on completion of 60 years in the month and on Nakṣatra of birth, 757-8; procedure of 758-60.

Sasyotsava (festival on ready crops) 445.

Śatacaṇḍī-pāṭha and Sahasracaṇḍīpāṭha, method of, in Navarātra 173.

Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa : 17, 18n, 23n, 25, 35, 63–4, 72n, 166n, 223, 464, 489, 491–2, 495n, 496–7n, 498, 506–7, 510, 523, 537, 546, 571n, 648n (mentions Aśvamedha by Janamejaya), 675, 689, 691, 700 (knows Vedāṅgas), 725, 731n, 738n (śānti on cow yielding milk tinged with blood), 740n, 784n, 816 (mentions Itihāsa-Purāṇa), 817, 992 (traces of *avatāras*), 1078 (on great difference between Surā and Soma), 1096n, 1116 (on importance of dīkṣā in sacrifices), 1131 (maṇḍaleṣṭakā), 1153, 1190n ('svādhyāyoऽdhyetavyaḥ'), 1213 (on heaven), 1227n (verb in present tense construed as a *vidhi* by Sm. C.), 1270n (about offering the flesh of a bull or goat to a king or a learned brāhmaṇa as a guest), 1301, 1304n, 1416, 1490n (on Ṛg. X. 129), 1498, 1526n, 1533–36, 1554 (explains Ṛg. X. 88. 15), 1589n; com. of Dvivedagaṅga on, 1554n.

Śātātapa, Smṛti of, 31, 215n, 216n, 220n, 222n, 245–6.

Śātavāhana kings, 842n.

Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa (a Tāntrik work, 1577 A. D.), 1050, 1060n.

Satīshcandra, M. M. Dr., a. of 'Introduction of the alphabet in Tibet' 1040.

Ṣaṭpañcāśikā of Pṛthuyaśas, son of Varāhamihira 602n.

Sattā, vide under 'Reality'.

Sattras (srcrifices of long duration to be performed by brāhmaṇas alone) : Jaimini deals with them in PMS VI. 6. 16–32 and elsewhere and neither Śabara nor Kumārila says anything about their being forbidden in Kali 1268.

Ṣaṭ-tilī–one who performs six actions with sesame 434.

Ṣaṭ-triṁśanmata 243n, 246.

Sātvata, identified with Pañcarātra and statements about its transmission from Bṛhaspati to Uparicara Vasu and then by degrees to sages called Citrasikhaṇḍins 953.

Saturn : special śānti when S. occupies the 12th, 1st and 2nd rāśi from rāśi of birth 756; statements in Mahābhārata about positions of S. 532; ten names of S. 756n.

Satya (truthfulness), one of the five *yamas* in Yoga, one of the ten *yamas* of Yāj. III. 312 and one of the five duties enjoined by Manu (X. 63) on men of all varṇas 1419–20; five occasions on which a falsehood was allowed to ordinary men by Smṛtis and Mahābhārata, but for a Yogin Satya was absolute, unless speaking the truth would result in the ruin of creatures 1420–21; Ṛgveda and Muṇḍakopaniṣad highly eulogise S. 1024; equated with Dharma in Bṛ. Up. 1627.

Satya–gradually took the place of *ṛta* 1627–28; satya and dharma occupy the most prominent place in the final exhortation to a pupil by teacher in Tai.

Up. 1627 ; said to be ancient dharma of 13 aspects including ahiṁsā, dayā etc. 1648.
Satya, a. on Astrology q. frequently by Varāhamihira 593.
Satyanārāyaṇavrata 437.
Satyāṣāḍha-śrautasūtra 53.
Satyavrata, an author 49.
Saubhāgyāṣṭaka, eight things are so called 457.
Śauca (cleanliness or purity), one of the Y. S. niyamas, 1421n ; of two kinds, *bāhya* (of the body), *ābhyantara* (mental) 1422, 1648 ; highest s. is the one that relates to wealth or money, acc. to Manu 1422.
Śaunaka, a. of Smṛti 758 ; allows a śūdra to adopt a son and so it was held by V. M. that he may get the homa performed through a brāhmana 1296.
Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa : on Nirvāṇa 940n, 941.
Saundaryalaharī 1136n, 1137–38 ; ascribed to first Śaṅkarācārya 629, 1049 ; commentary Sudhāvidyotinī 629 ; com. on, by Lakṣmīdhara 1139n ; discussion as to authorship of, 1049n ; on identifying cakras with five elements and mind 1062n.
Sauptikaparva 130n.
Saurapurāṇa 104n, 830 (names 18 Purāṇas, Vāyu being 4th and Brahmāṇḍa last), 911.
Sautrāmaṇī : described by Jaimini, Śabara, and Kumārila and they say nothing against cups of wine 1269 ; occasions of 1079 ; wine was not drunk therein by sacrificer or priests, but some one had to be hired or it was poured on an ant-hill, 1079.
Sauvy, Alfred, a. of 'Fertility and survival' 1688.
Savanas (lit. pressings of Soma), three, morning, midday, and evening 537n.
Śavasādhanavidhi : described by Kaulāvalīnirṇaya, Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra and others 1109.
Sāvitrī : story of, in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas 91–92.
Sāvitrī-caturdaśi : in Bengal, on 14th of dark half of Jyeṣṭha 93.
Sāvitrī-vrata : vide Vaṭasāvitrīvrata ; B A. Gupte on, 94.
Sāyana, meaning of 712.
Sāyaṇa, a. of commentaries on the Ṛgveda, other Vedas and Brāhmaṇas : 26n (on Ait. Br.), 494n, 511n (explains Ait. Br.), 538n, 671n, 720, 723n, 724, 729n, 735n (Intro. to Atharvaveda), 859n, 980–81n, 984–5, 1031n, 1385–6, 1433n (on Tai. S. I. 6. 3. 3 assigns to five prāṇas locations and operations in the body), 1488n, 1538, 1543, 1600n, 1646n.
Sayce, A. H ; 598 (on Aryan problem) ; points out that Hittite numerals are Sanskrit 599n ; rebukes German scholars for fondness for treating negative evidence as of great value 598n.
Sāyujya, a kind of *mukti* 1631 (different meanings at different times).
Schopenhauer, on Upaniṣads

1627, 1647n. ,
Sciaparelli, G.: a. of 'Astronomy in the Old Testament' 576n; on Babylonian stones placed in fields with zodiacal signs 595.
Schrader, Otto: a. of 'Intro. to Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā' 996.
Schweitzer, Dr. A., a. of 'Indian thought and its development,' 1646–47n (criticized).
Science, modern, has not been more successful in probing the mystery of creation than the Hebrew expounders of cosmology 1502n; S. at any given stage of time is only provisional 1503n.
Seal, Dr. B. N. a. of 'The positive Sciences of the ancient Hindus' 1436n (explanation of functions of ten prāṇas).
Seasons: five named in Ṛgveda by putting together Hemanta and Śiśira 492; for gods are Vasanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā 491; for pitṛs are Śarad, Hemanta and Śiśira 493; in which establishment of sacred fires was made for the three varṇas 493; number of, variously given as three, five, six or seven 492; Prof. Renou's view that 'ṛtu' simply means 'Time' or 'suitable time' or 'rule' or usage 493n; seventh S. means probably the intercalary month 492; six S. with two months for each in Tai. S. 492; Vasanta as the first season in Tai. Br. 492.
Secrecy, about spiritual and even scholastic knowledge (vide under 'Upaniṣads' and 'Nirukta', 'Bible', 1460–61, 1649.
Seddon C. N. translated 'Mirat-i-Ahmadi' 555n.
Sekoddeśaṭīkā, a Buddhist Tāntrik work edited by Mario E. Carelli, 1119, 1123.
Sen, Dr. Sukumar, edited Vipradāsa's Manasāvijaya 125.
Sen Gupta, Prof.: 563 (criticized), 644 (on 'ancient Indian Chronology'), 648, 651n.
Sentence: vide 'Vākya'.
Sermon on the Mount–Christ's discourse in Gospel of Matthew, Chap. V–VII, 1481.
Serpents: vide under 'ahi' and 'Nāgapañcamī'; are saluted in Mantras of Tai. S. and Vāj. S. 126; came to be associated with both Viṣṇu and Śiva 127; included under 'Pañcajana' in Kāṭhakasaṃhitā and Ait. Br. 126; names of, in Atharvaveda 126; stone images of, under sacred trees in Draviḍa country 127; take a heavy toll of life in modern India 127; temples dedicated to nāgas 127.
Śeṣa (serpent), in the Mahābhārata 126.
Śeṣa: (vide Ārādupakāraka and Sannipatyopakāraka): Kumārila discards four out of five definitions of Śeṣa and accepts one viz. Ś. is that which serves the purpose of another, which latter is called Śeṣin, 1253, 1308; dravya (rice grains and the like), *guṇa*, *saṃskāra* are always Ś. with reference to

yāga, though they may be śeṣin with reference to their own constituent elements, while as regards *phala* (reward), *yāga* and the performer, they can be both Śeṣa and Śeṣin with reference to each other 1253, 1308; sacrificial auxiliaries are of two kinds, viz. those that are already accomplished (such as substances) and those that are of the nature of acts, these latter being two-fold, Sannipatyopakāraka and ārād-upakāraka 1253-54; word Ś. often employed in Dharmaśāstra works, 1308-9.

Sesame (*tila*) importance of, 222; six ways of using s. 222.

Setubandha: com. of Bhāskararāya on Vāmakeśvara-tantra 1045n, 1058n, 1091, 1108, 1136n (on Śrīcakra), 1137-38; emphasizes that worship of Tripurasundarī is *upāsanā* and not *bhakti*, the former being of two kinds, one consisting in reciting the mantra of the Devi and the other consisting of the worship of a yantra (or cakra) 1138.

Seven sages: called 'citraśikhaṇḍins' that proclaimed Pañcarātraśāstra 953.

Seven sages (Ursa Major): constellation of, was in Maghā nakṣatra when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and stayed in one nakṣatra for a hundred years, acc. to Vāyu and Br. S. 520; enumerated in Br. S. 150n; invoked with Ṛgveda mantras 150-151; Pulaha and Pulastya are two of them 517n; worshipped in Ṛṣipañcamīvrata 150n.

Sewell, papers of, on Indian Astronomy 644

Shah, Dr. Priyabālā, a. of paper on two Jaina works on Mudrās 1130.

Shakespeare, in 'Othello' refers to the itching of the eyes as an evil omen 644.

Sham Shastri: on origin of week-days 685.

Sharma, D. S., a. of 'Renaissance of Hinduism' 1647n.

Shastri, Dr. Daksinaranjan, a. of 'Short History of Indian Materialism' 1472n.

Shaving: allowed on certain occasions without consulting astrology 606; proper or inauspicious times and astrological rules about S. in case of grown-up men 606.

Shaw, G. B.: did not believe in immortality of soul nor in the Resurrection of Christ 1550n.

Sheean, Vincent, a. of 'Lead, kindly light', 1463 (on darśana)

Shembavnekar, Prof, explanation by, of 'Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti' in Inscriptions, not acceptable 652n.

Sherring, a. of 'Hindu tribes and castes', 1633 (held that the caste system was invented by Brāhmaṇas).

Shivaji, founder of Maratha Empire, had no factory for the manufacture of cannon 1623

Siddhabhārati (Part II) on some

sūtras of Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa 1158n.
Siddhānta (system of philosophy): five acc to Śāntiparva and Viṣṇudharmottara 954.
Siddhānta-vide under Karaṇas; distinguished from Karaṇa 515n; five S. on ancient Indian astronomy 515; Greek influence presumed by some from two siddhāntas being named Pauliśa and Romaka, 515; Karaṇas are based on S. 643; Siddhānta works do not admit Yavana knowledge as basis, nor do they contain any large number of astronomical terms of Greek origin, as in astrology 515; three siddhāntas in use in different parts of India viz. Sūrya S., Ārya-S., and Brāhma-S. 642; two points in which the Siddhāntas differ are length of the year and the revolutions of the moon and planets in a Yuga, Mahāyuga etc. 643.
Siddhāntabindu of Madhusūdana-sarasvatī, 118n.
Siddhānta-kaumudī 5n, 105n, 1169n, 1389n.
Siddhānta-śiromaṇi of Bhāskara 67n, 68n, 643 (specifies matters with which a Siddhānta must deal), 656n, 664-5, 704n.
Siddharāja, king of Gujarat, 1018.
Siddha (or Siddhas acc. to context): persons possessed of miraculous powers, 1075, 1113; Gītā says Kapila is the greatest among S. 1113.
Siddhapuruṣas: 84, acc. to Vajrayāna cult of Buddhism, flourished between 7th and 9th cen. A. D., 1075n, 1115; list of 84 siddhas given by Dr. Bagchi (vide under Bagchi); names of S. still honoured in Nepal and Tibet 1115; tradition about Siddhas continued down to modern times e. g. in the case of Śiva-yogin from Ratnagiri District, 1115n.
Siddhasena, a. on astrology m. by Varāha 593.
Siddhis (miraculous powers); vide under Guhyasamājatantra, levitation; Āp. Dh. S. refers to some of them 1112; arise in five ways (Y. S. IV. 1), 1113, 1452-53; Buddha rebuked his disciple Puṇḍola Bhāradvāja for his exhibition of S. 1037, 1070; eight mentioned in Yogasūtrabhāṣya, Devaladharmasūtra and Prapañcasāra and different from those in Buddhist Tantras of Vajrayāna school like Sādhanamālā 1112n, 1115, 1453n; explained in Yogasūtrabhāṣya 1113; S. are an integral part of Yoga, 1451-52; some of the S. are obstacles in the way of Samādhi, acc. to Yogasūtra 1113; some S. are called 'Madhupratīka' by Vyāsabhāṣya 1402n; Yāj. on signs of Yogasiddhi 1453.
Śikṣā (a Vedāṅga on Phonetics.) 478, 1274.
Śilparatna 1654.
Silver Jubilee Volume of B. O. R. I. 954n.
Simhastha Guru (Jupiter in Lion sign) 447, 613; inauspicious

in what undertakings and countries 613.
Simollaṅghana 190.
Sindhu, river, frequently mentioned in Ṛgveda 1613-14.
Sinīvālī (amāvāsyā mixed with 14th tithi) 62; divinity in Ṛgveda, sister of gods and bestower of progeny 62; S. and Rākā defy attempts at a rational etymology 63.
Sinha, Dr. Jadunath, a. of 'History of Indian Philosophy' 845.
Sins: (vide under Prāyaścittas, rebirth, repentance, japa, remembrance of name of Kṛṣṇa or Nārāyaṇa): ancient Indian belief that diseases and bodily defects in this life were caused by S. of past lives 756n; Biblical position for removal of consequences of, 1593; Manu on 91, 1593; methods for removal of consequences of sins, such as confessions, repentance, japa 1592-93; ten 90-91, 448.
Śiras: of Gāyatrī verse, 1099n.
Sircar, Dr D. C., 1395n (on date of Mahābhāṣya), 1408n, 1527n (on text of the Purāṇic list of peoples); edited, 'Select Inscriptions' Vol. I, 850n, 1613n.
Sirius, star, referred to in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda 498.
Śirovrata, explained 918n.
Sister, house of, to be visited by brother on Bhrātṛdvitīyā, 209-210.
Śiśupāla, Lord of Cedi: story of, in Sabhāparva, Viṣṇu and Brahma Purāṇas 971n; though always enemical to Kṛṣṇa, reached the Lord 971n.
Śiśupālavadha of Māgha (725-775 A. D.), 997.
Śiva, Ardhanārīśvara form of, 18, 1046 (known to Kālidāsa); created sesame on Makara-saṅkrānti 219; thousand names of, in Anuśāsana (31. 153) and Śānti (285. 74ff) and in Śiva-purāṇa 234n, 911; twelve names of, when offering flowers 234; twelve Jyotir-liṅgas of, 911.
Śivadharma, 104n, 911.
Śivapurāṇa 910-11; a Mahā-purāṇa acc. to some Purāṇas 910; close parallels between S. and Kumārasambhava 910n; divided into seven Saṃhitās 910; oldest datable reference to it is Alberuni's, 910.
Śivarahasya, held to be a mere compilation by Ballālasena 869.
Sivaramamurti, C., a. of 'Royal conquests and cultural migrations' 997n, 1130.
Śivarātri, (vide under Mahā-śivarātri, Śiva and Udyāpana): 225-236; description of the procedure of Ś. vrata 230-31; details added by Tithitattva 231; eight names of Śiva 233; Mantras to be repeated 232; Mūlamantra is 'oṃ, namaḥ Śivāya' or 'Śivāya namaḥ' 233; one observing fast on, Jāgara for whole night on Ś. and performing worship is not born again 227; one observing this vrata has to

observe certain rules of conduct such as ahiṃsā, truthfulness, sexual purity 229; pāraṇā of a single Ś. 234–235; proper time for Ś. vrata is night, 229; vrata of, is both *nitya* and *kāmya* 228; vrata of, may be performed by all human beings 228–229; vrata of, very elaborately described in Tithitattva, Dharmasindhu and other late digests 232; word Ś. is Yogarūdha like 'paṅkaja' 228; worshipper to make a *saṅkalpa*, apply Tripuṇḍra mark on forehead with ashes and to hold a rosary of *rudrākṣa*, should go to Śiva temple at night 232; worship includes Nyāsa, Pūjā and Japa 233; Śivaliṅga to be bathed with milk, curds, ghee and honey respectively in the four watches of the night and the mantras also differ in the watches 231; Śiva form to be contemplated upon described 233n; Worship requires offering of 1008 or 108 bilva leaves with the thousand names of Śiva or with mūla-mantra 234; worship in modern times is brief 235; worshippers in some parts drink a beverage called *bhāṅg* prepared from crushed hemp leaves, which is supposed to be dear to Śaṅkara 235.

Śivasaṃhitā on Haṭhayoga 1127, 1426, 1427n; describes Khecarīmudrā 1454; mentions ten mudrās as best 1127; states that *āsanas* are 84, 1426.

Skambha (Lit. 'Support or pillar'): (vide under 'creation'): as creator in Atharvaveda 1493–4; in Ṛg. the word occurs but not in the sense of creator.

Skanda, as God of war and commander of Deva armies in classical Sanskrit and in Gītā 1581–82.

Skandapurāṇa 911; found in two forms 911; has 81,000 verses acc. to most authorities but the extant one has several thousands more 833, 911; Kāśikhaṇḍa of S is full of *Śleṣa* and *pariṣaṅkhyā* 911–12; most extensive among purāṇas and poses perplexing problems, 911; not earlier than 7th cen. A. D. nor later than 9th, 912; quoted in early Dharmaśāstra digests like Mit, Kalpataru, Aparārka, though sparingly 912; Skanda (God) has no prominent part in the Purāṇa 911; Tāṇtrik influence on 912n; 45, 49n, 69, 72n, 90–92, 100n, 102, 107, 112–3, 117, 132, 146n, 158, 170, 188, 195–6, 203n, 207n, 219, 225, 227, 228n, 232n, 234, 755, 830, 833, 835n, 862 (about sūta), 869 (Ballālasena discards parts of it), 916 (runs down animal sacrifices or sacrifices even with *kuśas* and flowers), 927n, 932, 948–9 (no dharma higher than doing good to others), 1419 (six aṅgas of Yoga), 1431n, 1445n, 1447n–8n, 1450n, 1455.

Sleep: man in deep s. becomes united for a time with the

Real, acc. to Chān. Up. VI. 8. 1., 1506.

Ślokavārtika of Kumārila, 1159n (on Bhavadāsa), 1182n-84n, 1188 (states that very first sentence of Śabara's bhāṣya interpreted in six different ways by commentators) and contains an exposition in about 4000 verses on PMS I. 1), 1202, 1205 (elaborate treatment of word and sense), 1207, 1210 (creation of world by God not proved), 1211-12, 1216n, 1225, 1246 (on meanings of 'na'), 1286n (defines 'uddeśya'), 1376n, 1600n; com. Tātparyatīkā of Umbeka on, criticizes Vārtikakāra who appears to be his guru 1194n,-95n.

Smart, Dr. W. M, a. of 'Origin of earth' 1502n.

Smārtas, observe fast on Ekādaśi and also on Śivarātri 118.

Smith and Carspinki on 'Hindu Arabic numerals' 699n.

Smith D. E, a. of 'History of Mathematics' 516.

Smith R. Martin, a of papers 'on the ancient chronology of India' 845.

Smith, Vincent, a. of 'Early History of India' 1018; a. of 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' 1331n (Buddha seated in Abhayamudrā from Java), 1655.

Smṛti (or Smṛtis, acc. to context); attitude of PMS and Śabara towards S. is that, in case of direct conflict with Veda, S. is to be discarded, but if there be no conflict it may be inferred that S. is based on some Vedic text 1277; is stronger than usages of śiṣṭas 1058; lay down many vidhis by employing optative verbal forms or participles in 'ya', 'tavya' etc. as in Manu IV. 25 and XI. 53, 1228; S. like Gaut. and Manu (II. 7) do claim that they are based on Veda 1277; Maxim of 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanyāya' was extended to S. by Viśvarūpa, Medhātithi and others 1173; often referred to as authoritative by Śabara for several reasons and as equal to Veda, 1257-58; out of about 1000 adhikaraṇas of P. M. sūtra barely a dozen are in any way concerned with S. 1277; principal subject of most S. is dharmas of varṇas and āśramas 1637; since *vikalpa* was liable to eight faults the tendency developed that all S. passages on a topic were to be so interpreted as to give rise to no conflict nor option by various devices 1273-74; six Vedāṅgas and the Dharmaśāstras are comprehended under Smṛti, acc. to Kumārila 1277; some S. provide that a brāhmaṇa could take food at the house of certain śūdras, 1608; the objection that smṛtis being composed by men are not authoritative is met in Tantravārtika by several answers 1259-60; those parts of smṛti (including Mahābhārata and Purāṇas) that are concerned with Dharma and Mokṣa have the Veda

as their source, while Smṛti parts concerned with *artha* and *kāma* are based on worldly practices, acc. to Tantravārtika, while episodes and tales in the epic and Purāṇas are arthavādas 1261–63; Yāj. (II. 21) and Nārada propose that when two smṛtis are in conflict, reasoning based on the practices of elders was of greater force, 1266; what those who advocate the historical method or approach towards S. mean 1271–72; when Smṛtis were in conflict with each other, various devices were employed instead of allowing an option, viz. different smṛtis prevailed in the different yugas or that Manu should be followed, or the opinion of the majority be followed 1265–67.

Smṛticandrikā 33, 37, 42n, 52n–53n, 66n, 71n, 75n, 218n, 525n, 659, 661n, 663n, 706n, 898, 905, 1096n, 1121n (quotes Yogiyājñavalkya on *nyāsa*), 1122, 1130 (names and defines 24 mudrās that are same as in Devībhāgavata), 1192, 1227n (holds that a Śatapatha text, though in the present tense, is to be construed as a vidhi), 1233, 1262, 1270n, 1273n, 1302–3, 1314, 1315–6n, 1372n, 1407, 1439n, 1442n, 1649n

Smṛtikaustubha 81n, 89–90, 101, 119, 150n, 157n, 205, 213, 240–1, 245n, 247n, 248–250n, 606–608n, 663n, 672, 674, 758n, 785n, 811, 1109n, 1134.

Smṛtimañjarī (of Govindarāja), a digest on dharmaśāstra, of which a ms. on prāyaścitta is available 884.

Smṛtimuktāphala 33, 95n, 113, 247n, 1130 (on nyāsa of letters of Gāyatrī on parts of the body), 1121n.

Smṛtisamuccaya 249n.

Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana (1520–1570 A. D.), 836, 1042n.

Smṛtiviveka, a work of Medhātithi q. by him on Manu II. 6, 1258n.

Smṛtyarthasāra 30n.

Snānasūtra of Kātyāyana 1372.

Snātaka: observances of 27.

Snellgrove, Dr. D. L., editor of 'Hevajra-tantra' 1147.

Social Reform–vide a book published by Planning Commission called 'Social Legislation and its role in Social Welfare' and another work' a century of Social Reform' by S. Natarajan 1636n.

Social Service, what it often comes to, acc. to L. P. Jacks 1675n; vide under 'Pūrta' 947–949, 1647n.

Socialistic pattern of Society 1679–80! vague meaning of, as admitted by P. M. Nehru, 1680–81 (who wants a democratic socialism). Socialism, democratic type of, 1681, 1695, Social welfare and welfare State distinguished 1697n.

Solar eclipse at unusual times m. in Mahābhārata 744.

Soloveytchik, G., a. of 'Switzerland in perspective' 1664n.

Soma: in a Soma sacrifice, if

soma plant be not available use Pūtīkas as substitute and nothing else, though it be more similar to Soma 1231; is called 'Vṛṣavrata' in Ṛgveda, 19; is called Lord of plants and king of brāhmaṇas in Śat. Br. 740n; S. sacrifice, person resolving to perform, need not consider the season or nakṣatra 507, 523.

Sorokin, Prof. P. A. on 'Yoga' 1456; a. of 'Social and cultural dynamics' 1615, 1617; a of 'Social philosophies in an age of crisis' 1615n

Sortes Sanctorum or Sortes Vergilianae, 811.

South: is direction of pitṛs 731n.

Soul: (vide under *brahman*, *māyā*): Christians believe in post existence of S. after physical death and not pre-existence 1608; two kinds of Upaniṣad texts, one class saying that souls spring from the Highest Ātman, as sparks from a fire, while many Upaniṣad passages say that individual soul is unborn, immortal, that it is non-different from Supreme Self 1507-8; Vedāntasūtra (II. 3 17) affirms two propositions viz. soul is unproduced and is eternal 1508; when some passages seem to mention creation or dissolution of Jīva, the reference is to the *Upādhis* (body and mind) 1508.

Soul or Souls: (vide under 'Nāstika', 'Upaniṣads'): 1205-7; are many, eternal, all-pervading, different from the body, are agents (kartṛ) and also bhoktṛ (enjoyers), are of the nature of pure conciousness 1206; it appears (from Chān-Up.) that Asura Virocana believed that the body alone was the soul, 1205n: S. in Sāṅkhya and Yoga 1403; Kumārila complains that the Mīmāṃsā, though not atheistic, was put forward by some as Lokāyata 1205; popular belief in Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas about individual S. was that by good deeds S. reaches heaven, becomes immortal and enjoys various pleasures 1498; P. M. S. does not expressly affirm the existence of the soul in any sūtra but Śabara propounds it in an elaborate argument 1205-6; question whether individual S. is also a creation like trees and shrubs, discussed in Up. 1507; reward of many rites being Svarga, it is implied that P. M. S. accepts continous existenc of the soul 1206; Ślokavārtika devotes 148 verses to this subject and the Tantravārtika also briefly deals with it 1206.

South Indian Architecture and sculpture, works on, 1656.

Spells or Charms: against poison in Ṛg. I. 191, 1036; found in plenty in Atharvaveda 1035; *Kṛtyādūṣaṇa* and *Śatrunāśana* hymns of Atharvaveda, 1036; Sp. similar to those in Hindu or Buddhist works exist in Old English, Old High German, Keltic 1107; sleep-inducing S.

(Ṛg. VII. 53. 5-8) interpreted by western scholars as a lover's charm for a clandestine meeting, which is not acceptable 1035; woman's S. against her co-wife in Ṛg. X. 145., 1035.

Spengler: held view that civilizations have brith, growth, decline and death and when dead do not revive 1616-17; view of, dissented from by De Beus and Prof. Sorokin 1617.

Śrāddha: (vide under Brāhmaṇas, Hārīta, Saṅkrānti) Baud. Dh. S., Manu, Vasiṣṭha prescribe that a large company of Brāhmaṇas should not be invited at S. and that the learning and character of those to be invited should be carefully examined, but purāṇas went against both these 930-931; brāhmaṇas invited to dinner on S. should recite Vedas, Itihāsa-Purāṇa 820; times for Kāmya S. on saṅkrānti, and other occasions 221; not to be performed at night except on eclipses 244; Paurāṇika mantras in, 920; Pāśupata and other heretical men not to be fed in 978; some smṛtis prescribe only *āmaśrāddha* or *hemaśrāddha* in eclipses 246; though recommended highly on eclipses, S. is difficult or well-nigh impossible owing to time being short 246; three kinds of ś. viz. navaśrāddha, miśra and purāṇa 864-5n.

Śrāddhakriyākaumudī 924n, 926n, 931n-32n.

Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, prescribes recitation of Rākṣoghna verses and Apratiratha hymn at śrāddha dinner 786n.

Śrautasūtras: two secondary meanings of vrata in, 26; writers of S. were called by Viśvarūpa merely Yājñikas 1155n.

Śravana, nakṣatra, called Śroṇā in Tai. S. and Br. 500.

Śrāvaṇa month: important vratas in, are four 124 ff; on Full Moon day of, practice on West coast of India to offer to the sea flowers and cocoanuts among Hindus and among others also 128.

Śreyas, has two meanings, 'better' and 'niḥśreyasa' 1415.

Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja on Vedāntasūtra 1159n.

Śrīcakra (see under Yantra); promiscuous intercourse in, m. by Kaulāvalītantra 1083n.

Śrīdatta, 29 (a. of Samayapradīpa), 640n (a. of Ācārādarśa); 925 view about śūdra's eligibility for Paurāṇika mantras.

Śrīharṣa (about end of 12th century A. D.): a. of 'Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya'; is alleged to have been vanquished in argument by Śaṅkarācārya 1010n.

Śrīparvata, as a shrine for devotees of Śiva and Pārvatī and a place for securing miraculous powers 1047.

Śrīṣeṇa: a. of a Romakasiddhānta, different from the Romaka in Pañcasiddhāntikā 515n.

Śrīsūkta: 759, 919-20 (of 29 verses, beginning with 'Hiraṇyavarṇāṁ hariṇīm'.

Śrīvidyāmantra (of 16 syllables): extravagant praise of, in tantra works, as superior to thousands of Aśvamedhas 1101.
Śrutārthāpatti, explained in Tantravārtika and is said to prove Apūrva, 1211 and n.
Śrutasāgarasūri, a. of com. on 'Tattvārthasūtra' of Umāsvāti 472n.
Śruti, technical meaning of, in PMS III. 3. 14, 1309.
Stars (vide under 'Aristotle').
Star-gazer, condemned in ancient times 527, 543.
Stecherbatsky Th., a. of 'central conception of Buddhism','The conception of 'Nirvāṇa' and 'Buddhist Logic' 942n.
Stein, M. A. editor and translator of Rājatarangiṇī 655.
Stein, Otto, paper of, on 'Number 18', 842n.
Stevenson Mrs., a. of 'Rites of the Twice born' 60, 641n.
Sthāpaka, qualifications of, 890, 1013.
Stobha, meaning of, 1222n.
Stocks, J. L., a. of 'Time, cause and eternity' 546n.
Strabo, asserts that Chaldeans were skilled in horoscopes 550; mentions embassy from a king Pandion to the West and to Augustus 599n.
Streeter, B. H. and others, writers of essays on 'Immortality' 1604.
Strīparva, 466n, 467, 821.
Stutterheim, W. F., a of 'Indian influences in Balinese Art' 1657.
Subhadrā, though a maternal uncle's daughter, was married by Arjuna and mīmāmsakas like Kumārila deny that she was the daughter of Vasudeva, even when Ādiparva expressly says so 1280.
Subrahmaṇyā-nigada 1325.
Succession Act, for Hindus 1706.
Sudarśana, city of gods 1529.
Sudarśana Yantra, worship of, by a king or person desiring wealth and prosperity 1136.
Sudās, king in Ṛgveda who battled with ten kings 1664.
Sudhanvan, a king, is said to have issued order that he would sentence to death his servants that would not kill Buddhists 1009, 1010n.
Sudharmā, assembly hall of gods, 1529.
Su di meaning of 670.
Śūdra: Buddha's teaching very attractive to Ś. whose position was low in times of Vedas and smṛtis 940; distinction made between *dvijas* and Ś. in the matter of Vedic mantras and sacrifices 922, 1642; duty of Ś. to serve the three higher varṇas acc. to Manu, 1257; Gautama prescribed for him 'namaḥ' in place of Vedic mantras 925; Mahābhārata and Purāṇas were composed by Vyāsa through compassion for Ś. and women 921-22; high spiritual life and mokṣa were not denied to Ś. 164; Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas were meant for the education of Ś. and for securing mokṣa to Ś. 925, 1642; Ś. not

to perform Prāṇāyāma, but only dhyāna and repeat word Śiva for *om*, 922 and to repeat in five daily sacrifices the mantra called *saptārcis*, acc. to Mit. while some others said that he is to repeat 'namaḥ' only 159n; 920n, 925; three views about śūdra and purāṇas among medieval writers, 32, 172, 925; special facilities to and advantages of Ś. over other varṇas 928-29; Vedānta-sūtra denies to the Ś. the right to study the Veda and does not discuss how Ś. and women are to secure higher spiritual life and final beatitude but the Purāṇas do this 929-30; Vidura and Dharmavyādha, though śūdras, possessed brahmavidyā and must have secured mokṣa, even acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1642; Yāj., Devala and Parāśara permitted even brāhmaṇas to take food in the house of certain śūdras such as the brāhmaṇa's slave, barber etc. 1608.

Śuka, son and disciple of Vyāsa 1161, 1169; styled Bādarāyaṇi in Bhāgavatapurāṇa 1169.

Sukthankar, Dr. V. S. 838 (on Rāma episode).

Sukumar Ranjan Das 714n.

Sulabhā, a nun, encounter of, with Janaka 1368-70.

Śūlapāṇi (1375-1440 A. D.) 30, 46, 48, 239, 1404 (a. of com. Dīpakalikā on Yāj.).

Śulbasūtras of Āpastamba and Kātyāyana (reference to the squaring of a circle) 1132, 1132n ('science of the Śulba' by Vibhūtibhushan Datta).

Sumantu, a. of a smṛti 527.

Śumbha and Niśumbha, demons, killed by Devī 156.

Sumerians: speak of a golden age of man and of huge numbers of years 789n.

Sun-(vide Bhāskarapūjā) 362; as a malefic *graha* 573; called 'Shamash' in Babylon and 'Helin' in some Sanskrit works probably from Greek 'Helios' 572n; is one and never sets, acc. to Ait Br. 510-11; mūla-mantra of, 1105; temples of, in ancient and medieval India 684, 898n; three important places of the worship of the Sun viz. Muṇḍīra (modern Modhera), Kālapriya and Mitravana 898n; northward passage for six months had been noticed in the Brāhmaṇa period 223, 491.

Śunaḥśepa, story of, in Ait. Br. 969n, 1704-5.

Sunaphā, astrological Yoga; meaning of 584,

Sundarakāṇḍa (of Rāmāyaṇa) 775.

Surā (see under 'wine').

Sureśvara (most famous of Śaṅkarācārya's disciples); a. of Naiṣkarmyasiddhi 1174, 1195; a. of Vārtikas on Śaṅkarācārya's bhāṣyas on Bṛ. Up. and Tai. Up. 1195, 1216n; and Maṇḍana are not identical 1195; S. is the same as Viśvarūpa 1194; flourished between 800-840 A. D., 1198.

Śūrpāraka and Paraśurāma 90n.

Sūryaprajñapti, a Jain work, proponnded the theory of two suns and two moons 511.
Sūryapūjā-praśaṁsā 452.
Sūryasiddhānta 68, 592 (mentions Maya, king of Yavanas, to whom the Sun imparted Jyotiṣa), 644 (tr. into English by Whitney) 656n, 657n, 676n, 679n, 711; most accurate acc. to Varāhamihira 514n; on Kāla and units of time 474, 477; Prof. Neugebauer's view that S. did not copy Ptolemy, but received impetus from him 601-2.
Sūryā, daughter of Savitṛ, married Soma 497n; is said to be wife of Asvins 1044n
Suśruta-saṁhitā 474 (on Kāla), 1032 (on 'tantrayukti'), 1379 (mentions Sāṅkhya doctrines).
Suṣumnā, nādī; Kundalinī, when awakened, enters the road to liberation which is Suṣumnā 1085.
Sūta (vide Māgadha) 862–864; business of, was to record and preserve historic traditions and genealogies 856; Gautama Dh. S. on the origin of S. 862n; is a somewhat enigmatic personality 862-3; Kautilya says that the S. and Māgadha mentioned in Purāṇas are different from pratiloma castes 862; one meaning of the word S. is charioteer and another is person of a mixed (pratiloma) caste born of the union of a brāhmaṇa woman with kṣatriya male 862; some Purāṇas like Brahmāṇḍa, Padma, Skanda, Vāyu make the Sūta of semi-divine origin in the Yajña of Pitāmaha to get over any awkward situation 862–4; story of king Pṛthu Vainya having bestowed the country of Anūpa on Sūta and Magadha on Māgadha 863; two explanations why he was called Roma- (or Loma-) harṣaṇa 862.
Sūtasaṁhitā: 830, 930, 962, 1631n (on four stages of Mokṣa).
Sūtra (aphorism): characteristics of, 1182n.
Suttanipāta 1005, 1636n (verse from, quoted by Tilak).
Śutudrī (modern Sutlaj river) 537.
Svacchanda-tantra, a Tantra work of high authority in Kashmir Śaivism 1086.
Svādhyāva, means memorization of Veda, acc. to Śat. Br. 1416, acc. to Yogabhāṣya means *japa* of *om* and holy texts or study of śāstras on *mokṣa* 1416.
Śvapaca, a cāṇḍāla 554n, 969n.
Śvapāka, lowest among untouchables, followed the same avocation as Cāṇḍāla and was governed by same rules 1043.
Svapnādhyāya 774.
Svapneśvara: vide under 'Śāṇḍilya'.
Svarbhānu: son of an Asura, said in the Ṛg. to have struck the sun 569.
Svarga, meaning of 824; is the reward of all sacrifices for which no reward is expressly provided by the Veda 1312.
Svargārohaṇaparva 821, 840n,

1627n.
Svarodaya 533n.
Svastivācana 780n.
Śvetadvīpa, a mythical land described in Śāntiparva and some Purāṇas like Vāmana and Kūrma, where everything was white and where Viṣṇu and his devotees dwelt 142-43.
Śvetāśvataropaniṣad, 465, 921, 952, 961, 963, 1033n (Guru's position), 1044 (Śakti as non-different from God), 1045, 1055n, 1086n (Kulārṇava quotes a verse), 1111n (signs of effectiveness of Yoga practices), 1352, 1360-61 is full of words of Sāṅkhya system), 1377, 1385, 1387, 1395n, 1424n, 1431n. 1448 (dhyāna-yoga), 1451n. 1456, 1460, 1478, 1500, 1502 (five elements), 1504, 1538 (verse 'dvā suparṇā'), 1564, 1573; referred to as *śruti* in V. S. acc. to Śaṅkara 136; states God as cause or source of creation 465; bhāṣya on, attributed to Śaṅkarācārya, of doubtful authenticity 1407 and n, 1707 (fundamental questions of whence, whither and why raised).
Sviṣṭakṛt, homa, 773 and n.
Syamantaka jewel, story of 147, 459.
Śyenayāga, an ancient magic rite 1114n, 1183, 1245; mantra in, used by Matsya-purāṇa for black magic 1114n.
Syrian Christians were given special privileges by Hindu kings of South India 1018.
Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 24-5, 35, 185, 194, 727-28n, 785, 787n, 796n, 798n, 853, 920, 1180, 1190n, 1627n.
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 18n, 65, 185n, 194, 487, 492, 494n, 498-9, 500, 505-7, 510, 511n, 523-4, 527, 538, 546, 561, 656n, 659n, 670n, 701, 720, 721n, 723-4 (adhriguprakṣa), 726, 739n, 758, 786-7, 803-4, 814, 934 (food is life), 1032, 1114n, 1153, 1224, 1239-41, 1285n, 1290, 1298, 1301, 1307n, 1314, 1316, 1320n, 1321, 1328n, 1489n (has all verses of Ṛg. X. 129 except one), 1528n, 1535, 1548n, 1633, 1646; Tai. Br. I. 5 differs from Tai. Br. III. 1 as to the names of nakṣatras and presiding deities 505.
Taittirīya Saṁhitā, 18, 22-3, 25-6n, 63, 65-6, 73, 121n, 126, 146, 183n, 185, 487, 489, 492, 495n, 498, 500, 505, 507-8, 596n, 659n, 667, 671-2, 691n, 697-8, 719-20n, 721, 724n, 726, 737n, 756, 758, 773, 785-90, 796, 802-3, 814, 919, 927n, 1024, 1044, 1096n, 1114n, 1131, 1152-53, 1203, 1207, 1214, 1217n, 1221, 1224, 1226, 1232, 1238-39, 1244, 1246 (prohibits speaking untruth), 1257n, 1268, 1288, 1291-2, 1294, 1295n, 1297, 1301, 1305n, 1308n, 1315n, 1316, 1318n (on śūdra and theory of debts), 1320n, 1325n, 1331n, 1385n, 1386n, 1416n, 1433, 1493, 1511, 1544,

1589n, 1631n (word Sāyujyatā).
Taittirīya Upaniṣad 24, 466, 914 (on creation), 921, 1055n, 1086, 1153 (word mīmāṁsā occurs), 1180, 1257, 1387, 1416, 1484, 1486, 1488n, 1501-2, 1507, 1528n, 1562, 1582, 1649 (where Up. means secret doctrine).
Takakusu, Dr. J. 942n, 1375-6.
Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila), had a university where even princes came to learn 542.
Tāmbūla-not to be eaten in Ekādaśīvrata 107, 116.
Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa : 511n, 659n, 670n, 1227n, 1231, 1244, 1313n, 1471, 1516n (explains words of Ṛg. IX. 62. 1).
Taṇhā (tṛṣṇā, hankering) giving up of, emphasized by Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata, Buddha and Purāṇas 939 and n.
Tantra (in P. M. S.) 1331 ; eleventh chap. of. P. M. S. deals with T. which means a case where one act serves the purpose of several other rites or acts, and examples 1331.
Tantra (or tantras, acc. to context): 1031-1151 ; (vide under Cakrapūjā, China, guhya, guru, Kauladharma, magic, magicians, Mahānirvāṇatantra, makāras, months, nāḍīs, puraścaraṇa, śakti, śāktas, Śāradātilaka, siddhis, Śrīvidyāmantra, spells, tāntrika, tattva, Tibet, Vajrayāna vāmācāra, yantra); aims of T. were mokṣa and attainment of *siddhis*, 1112-13 ; are Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina and are alike in some respects but differ in some others 1031, 1048 ; are *upaveda* of Atharvaveda, acc. to Śukranītisāra 1036 ; Bhairavī-cakra, and tattva cakra worship 1059 and n ; Buddhist T. deified important personages of Buddhism and took over other deities, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī and others 1049 ; Buddhist T. also claimed to show the path to the attainment of all objects from success in love affairs to liberation 1115 ; Cakrapūjā, a revolting rite 1089 ; derivation of word Tantra 1048 ; differences and similarities between Buddhist and Hindu tantras 1041 ; difficulty of defining a T. 1048 ; Durgā, acc. to Mahānirvāṇa T., is highest prakṛti of Paramātman, has various names 1057 ; end and aim of a few higher minds among some tantras and Tāntrikas was attainment of high spiritual powers by Yoga practices and realization of supreme Tattva, variously called Brahma, Śiva, Devī and mokṣa 1091 ; evidence of any Buddhist works on Tantras before 650 A. D. practically none, 1040n ; evidence in Bāṇa's works of the prevalence of Tāntrik and Śākta worship in India before 7th century A. D. 1040 ; famous Chinese travellers Fa Hien, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing do not refer to study of Buddhist T. in India

1038, 1040; five āmnāyas spoken of as paths to mokṣa by some T. 1049; five paths named in some T. and four in Sādhanamālā 1038n-1039; four named Tantras introduced in Kambuja (Cambodia) about 800 A. D. 1048n; Gāyatrī mantra of Kālī set out 1058, 1101; great importance of guru and mantra in all Tantras 1071, 1101; groups of 10, 18 and 64 Śaiva T. in Tantrāloka 1049n; guru, after initiating a disciple into T. rites, was to hand over to the neophyte a bowl for drinking wine, mudrā and courtezan 1055–56; Haraprasad Sastri's view that T. practices originally came from outside India and view of A. Avalon that they came to India from Chaldea or Śakadvīpa, examined 1033–34, 1040; Hindu T. try to show that they are based on the Vedas. quote Vedic mantras and claim to describe an easier and quicker path to mokṣa 1051–52; Hindu T. present two sides, one philosophical, the other popular and magical, relying on mantras, mudrās, cakras and yantras, 1057; ignore the great moral danger, involved in the persistent teaching of worship with five makāras and also ignore the advice of Gītā (III. 21), 1087; in Kaula system *siddhi* results from those very substances (wine, flesh etc.) by (resorting to) which men (ordinarily) incur sin 1064, 1074; influenced by Sāṅkhya 1384; important Kashmir Tāntrik works 1050; Kṣetras of Devī over one hundred acc. to Devībhāgavata, 1039; Kulārṇava and other T. praise the vedas; employ vedic mantras and quote Upaniṣads and Bhagavadgītā 1086–87; list of Sanskrit works on T. with authors, dates and editions, 1140–1147; list of works and papers on T. in English 1148–1151; literature on T. was vast 1048; Makāras five, emphasis on, in almost all Tantra works as leading to miraculous powers and liberation, 1034, 1049, 1052, 1058, 1664, 1082; Makāras explained by later writers on T. as used not in the ordinary senses but in special esoteric senses on which the writers themselves differ 1081n; Mantras called bīja like *hrīm* and *śrīm* and a list of them called Bījanighaṇṭu 1058n; Mantra of ten syllables 'hrīm śrīm krīm parameśvari svāhā. by merely listening to which a man becomes *jīvanmukta* but Mahānirvāṇa adds that mantras do not confer siddhi unless five makāras are offered 1058; Maṇḍalas, an item in T. worship, 1131ff; Mantras are the very core of T. and T. is often called Mantraśāstra 1098; Mantras of Śakti do not confer perfection unless one follows *kula* practices

1052; mantras that the followers of Vāmamārga may employ about three makāras (wine, mudrā and coitus) 1056–57; Mantra 'saccidekam brahma' is best 1057; mantra 'brahmārpaṇam brahma' (Bhagavadgītā IV. 24) to be recited when offering wine and other *tattvas* to the highest Self 1059n; medieval works on Kaula cult speak of drinking wine, flesh eating, *maithuna* in the vulgar sense as means of Devī worship and assert that by doing so liberation would be secured 1087; T. mention the six magic and terrible rites, śānti, vaśīkaraṇa, stambhana, vidveṣaṇa, māraṇa, uccāṭana 1070, 1105, 1113–14; method of referring to *bīja* mantras like 'hrīm' in a round about or mystical way 1058n; merely drinking wine or eating meat, indulging in sexual intercourse would never confer siddhi but it must be the result of strictly following the kaula path, says Kulārṇava 1064; meaning of word T. in Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda and Tai. Br. is 'loom' 1031; meaning of word T. acc. to Yāj, Amarakośa, Bṛhaspati, Kātyāyana and Bhāgavata 1031–32; Modern apologists for Tāntricism emphasize that the instructions in the Guhyasamājatantra are meant only for yogis who have attained some yogic perfection 1077n; most Hindu T. are dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī or Skanda or Bhairava, similarly later Buddhist writers on T. profess that they quote Buddha 1038, 1051; most important and early Buddhist works on Tāntrik cults, Prajñopāyaviniścaya and Jñānasiddhi, are not earlier than the 8th century A. D. 1041; names of some published Hindu and Buddhist T. 1050; names of sixty-four T. 1049n; names of some Vaiṣṇava T. 1051; names of works in which the philosophical aspects of Hindu T. may be studied 1051; no trace of direct connection between Atharvaveda and Tantras 1037; oldest among Buddhist Tantras are Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa and Guhyasamājatantra acc. to Dr. Bhattacarya, 1050; path of T. cult in its higher level was one of Upāsanā or *bhakti*, but it often degenerated into magic and moral and depravity 1090; Pārānandasūtra and some other T. works provide that drinking wine before the stage where eyeballs begin to roll or mind remains steady and having intercourse with Śakti according to the rules of the śāstra is not blamable and to drink beyond that stage is bestial and sinful 1056; paths in T. are three, Dakṣiṇa (declared in Veda, smṛtis and Purāṇas), Vāma (declared by Veda and āgamas), uttara (declared by Veda and Guru), latter one

being superior to preceding one 1054; peak period of Tāntrik works and cults, both Hindu and Buddhist, was from 7th to 12th century A. D, 1073; philosophical or spiritual side of T. not much studied except by Arthur Avalon, B. Bhattacarya and a few others 1031; *pīṭhas* (of Kālikā) m. in Rudrayāmala 1034; points that distinguish T. works from other religious literature in Sanskrit 1092-93; points of difference between T. and Śākta works, though both have much in common 1042; possible motives of founders of Tāntrik cult for discarding conventional morality 1077; poular mind associates T. with worship of Śakti (i. e. Kālī) and with mudrās, maṇḍalas, five makāras, vāma and dakṣiṇa mārga and magic practices 1031; possible reason for non-mention of Tantra doctrines in Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha 1139; prescribe Vaidikī sandhyā to be followed by Tāntrikī sandhyā 1101; provisions of, about the materials and capacity of wine cups 1059; provide, in contrast to Vedānta, methods which assist men of ordinary intellect in developing psychical forces and attaining liberation 1072; put forward the theory that to the pure-hearted everything is pure, only the sinful *vāsanā* is reprehensible 1085n; purpose of most Buddhist T. is to indicate a short path to Buddhahood by yogic practices, introducing the element of Śakti for yogic practices and for securing miraculous powers 1051; question whether Hindu T. were prior to Buddhist T. or vice versa is difficult but present author holds Hindu T. were not borrowed from Buddhist T. 1038-40; references to 64 T. in Saundaryalaharī 1049; resemble Purāṇas in several respects 1049; rivalry between Hindu and Buddhist T. 1064-5; Rudrayāmala statement that Buddha taught Vāsiṣṭha the Kaula path, examined 1034; *Sādhakas* in T. are of three kinds, paśu, vīra and divya 1052n; Sādhaka in T. should feel that guru, mantra devatā and his own soul are all one 1101; Sāṅkhya tattvas, Prakṛti, mahat, Ahaṅkāra are welded on to the worship of Śakti 1058; secrecy enjoined by most T. about knowledge conveyed by the guru to the disciple and worship with makāras, 1054; some great scholars and poets had a sneaking admiration for T. worship 1076; some modern writers have been somewhat unjust to whole T. literature by labelling it all as black magic or obscene 1091; some Tantras like Mahānirvāṇa try to stem the tide of sexual immorality 1077; some T. practically inculcate what appears as unbridled licence 1073; some Hindu T. contain

sublime philosophic views derived from the Upaniṣads, the Gītā, from Sāṅkhya and Yoga and the final goal is Mukti to be secured by the path of T. 1050–51; so much of T. that is not opposed to Veda is authoritative acc. to Devī-bhāgavata 1064; *Tattvacakra* worship described 1059, 1087; T. says *śuddhi* means the offering of flesh, wine and mudrā to the devatā with the recital of three bījas 1058n, 1088; T. teach the repetition of mantras that have no meaning or that contain the letters of a mantra in a reversed form 1107: T. teachers' names often end in the word Ānanda 1073n; T. topics like mantras, nyāsa, maṇḍala taken over into some Purāṇas, and dharmaśāstra works 1095–96; teaching of tāntrik texts about worship with five makāras created a debased state in society, which is reflected in some parts of Sanskrit literature 1073–76; T. texts fall into five classes, Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, Saura and Gāṇapatya 1092; theory of such T. works as Śāradā-tilaka about mantras set out 1098–99; theory of sublimation put forward for explaining the insistence on five makāras 1085; theory of T. works that wine, meat and sexual unions are the only and the best means of Devī worship invite strong condemnation 1092–3; thought is recognised in some T. works as having creative power and may do good if kind and may cause suffering if evil 1100; three aspects of the deity worshipped by Tāntrikas are *sthūla* (an image), *sūkṣma* (worship by mantras) and *parā* (highest, to be apprehended by the mind of the *sādhaka*) 1091; three groups of T. viz. Viṣṇukrānta, Rathakrānta and Aśvakrānta and 64 are assigned to each group 1049; time when the word Tantra assumed its peculiar meaning, the people who first introduced tantra practices or the country where they first arose cannot be determined with certainty 1033; to drink wine without performing Śuddhi was condemned even by T. writers 1089; translations of Sanskrit works on Tantra in Tibetan are available, but the originals are not yet found 1048; Vajrayāna T. arose in Uḍḍiyāna, acc. to one view 1039; Vaiṣṇavatantras, twentyfive, named by Agni-purāṇa 1051; vast literature on Tantras 1031; Vedas, Śāstras and Purāṇas are of hardly any use, when Mahā-nirvāṇatantra is understood 1057; Vedic mantras for sanctifying flesh, fish, and mudrā are respectively Ṛg. I. 22. 20, VIII. 59. 12, I. 22. 20–21; T. Vidyā divided into three groups viz. Kādi, Hādi and Sādi 1045; view of Dr. Bagchi about foreign elements

in Tāntrik doctrines 1034; Vīra type of T. worshipper required to possess high moral and spiritual level, but Rudrayāmala allows a vīra to honour the charming wife of another flushed with wine 1088–89; women were made gurus in Tāntrik cult 1075; woman associated with a male for tāntrik worship or for maithuna was called *śakti*, *prakṛti* or *latā* and she could be one's wife or another's wife or a *veśyā* 1081, 1090n; word '*phaṭ*' occurs in Vāj. S. and is employed in *abhicāra* 1037; works on T. like Śāradātilaka enumerate thirty-six tattvas (including those of the sāṅkhya system) 1063; works on T. introduced into Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan and South East Asia 1048; works on T. placed women on a footing of equality with men, and endeavoured to provide a common platform 1092; works on T. employ Vedic mantras, and also their own, 1100–1; works on T. say that mantras possess wonderful powers and that a Tāntrika secures all powers by following the practices of his guru's school 1101; worship of Śakti with wine, flesh and edibles of various kinds, 1046n, 1047 (in Viṣṇu-purāṇa), 1052–53 (worship of Śakti with five Tattvas, which are sometimes identified with five elements) 1052–53; worship of Keśava laid down in Tantras referred to by Bhāgavata 1093; writers on T. clothe their practices in bombastic words 1081; writers, medieval and modern, were largely justified in their condemnation of Tāntrik practices 1094; yantra (sometimes called cakra) also is a characteristic item in Tāntrik worship 1135–1139.

Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta 1049n.

Tantrarahasya of Rāmānujācārya, last noted work of Prābhākara school composed about 1750 A. D., 1185n, 1189, 1283n.

Tantrarājatantra 1088, 1106n, 1119 (on abhiṣeka), 1136 (on Yantra), 1138n–39.

Tantraratna, of Pārthasārathimiśra 1189.

Tantravārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (a voluminous com. on Śabara's bhāṣya on P. M. S. I. 2 to end of Chap. III); 96n, 926n, 985n, 1009n, 1162n, 1174, 1179 (papers on 'Gleanings from Śabara and Tantravārtika' and 'Tantravārtika and *Dharmaśāstra*'), 1181 (*on adhikāra* for Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsa), 1186n, 1188, 1191n, 1206n (propositions about soul specified), 1211 (on *Apūrva*), 1212n, 1216n, 1220n–24n, 1228n, 1229 (defines vidhi, niyama and parisaṅkhyā), 1236n (*bhāvanā* is the pratyayārtha), 1237n, 1241n, 1244, 1247n, 1249n (on 'Vikalpa'), 1253n, 1254, 1258–59 (is most exhaus-

tive on Smṛtis), 1261-62n, 1264 (on sadācāra), 1273n-74n (on Kalpa and Kalpa-sūtras), 1277n, 1290n, 1293n, 1295n, 1297n, 1302, 1307n, 1309n, 1329 (collects about three dozen cases of *bādha* in general), 1333 (on change in meaning of 'rājan'), 1544n, 1545; examines all the well-known classes of Sanskrit works with regard to their usefulness and relation to Veda and other-worldly experience 1260-1262.

Tantrayukti : means 'main canons or principles of exposition of a śāstra' acc. to Kautilya, Caraka and Suśruta 1032.

Tāntrik Texts (Vol. I-XXII), edited by Arthur Avalon; Vol. I, 1049, 1058n, 1097, 1124n, 1127; Vol. II 1060n; Vol. IV. 1038n; Vol. VII 1035n; Vol. VIII. 1054; Vol. X. 1140; Vol. XIV 1050n.

Tāntrik-'cult in Epigraphs,' paper by Mr. B. P. Desai 1046n; T. practices prevailed in N. India long before 11th century A. D., 869n; T. literature is classified into *Srotas* (that are three), *Pīṭha* and *Āmnāya* 1049.

Tāntrik : gurus (some) in Kashmir in 11th century A. D. practised incest 1075-6; T. Sculpture at Puri and other temples in Orissa 1088; works emphasize that mantra must be received from a qualified guru and the *sādhanā* must be done under his guidance 1110.

Tapas 304-305, 1415n, 1416; grand eulogy of T. in Manu, Yāj, 1415n; in Ṛgveda means 'heat' in some cases and 'austerities' in some (as in X. 109. 4, X. 154. 2 and 5, X. 190. 1) 1415n; in Śat. Br. and Ait. Br. it is indicated that *tapas* like *yajña* would bestow everything 1415, 1489; in Upaniṣads T. is one of the means leading to realization of *brahman* 1415n; Mahābhārata has frequent eulogies of T. 1416n; Manu provides that only three prāṇāyāmas performed acc. to prescribed rules are highest T. 1415n; means acc to Āp. Dh. S. the strict observances laid down for a vedic student, 1415n; Śāntiparva says that T. consists in ahiṁsā, truthfulness, kindliness and restraint of senses and not in mortification of the body 1416n; Vyāsa-bhāṣya explains Tapas as bearing the pairs of opposites (cold and heat, hunger and thirst) and observances like Kṛcchra, Cāndrāyaṇa 1416.

Tapta-mudrā-dhāraṇa-making marks of conch, discus etc., (weapons of God Viṣṇu) on limbs or parts of the body with heated copper or the like by Mādhvas 305.

Tārābhaktitaraṅgiṇī, 977n, 1072n, 1109 (on Śavasādhana), 1142.

Taranath (born 1573 or 1575 A. D.), a. of a 'History of Buddhism' (written in 1608

A. D.), 1010n, 1033n, 1148; gives a confused account about persecution of Buddhists by Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya 1010n.

Tārātantra 1142.

Tarka (ratiocination) and Dharmaśāstra 1468-1482: (vide 'Nyāya', 'people', 'tolerance', 'Upaniṣads'); as an aṅga of Yoga 1419, 1469; Buddhists and Jains were declared to be heterodox, not because they resorted to T. but because they did not at all acknowledge the authority of the Veda and the sacred tradition 1471; Manu provides that none but he who considers the dicta of (vedic) sages, the rules of dharma (in smṛtis) and takes the help of tarka not in direct conflict with Veda and śāstras knows what Dharma is and this is the position of most orthodox Sanskrit writers about Tarka, 1469; Śaṅkarācārya's position about T. 1470-71; Smṛtis lay down that blindly following the words of śāstra would lead to loss of Dharma and that in case of conflict between two Smṛtis reasoning should be resorted to, 1470; smṛtis and ancient Sanskrit writers have been very tolerant of differing views even on fundamental matters and brought about great changes in rituals, philosophical views, social customs, without persecution 1475; T. alone cannot give final answers or answers acceptable to most people on such questions as the existence of God or of the individual soul, or on what happens after death 1470; T. favoured by or not opposed to Śruti is acceptable to Bṛ. Up. acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 1469n; within the limits laid down by Śaṅkarācārya and other orthodox Sanskrit writers there was room enough for an enormous and bewildering variety of convictions, rites and practices to claim orthodoxy and examples of these 1471; wise man who is pure should, in deciding upon dharma and adharma, act after relying on his own intelligence (reason) 1470; word 'tarka' occurs in Kaṭhopaniṣad 1468; Yāj. Smṛti mentions Nyāya (v. l. tarka) as one of the fourteen vidyās and one of the means of knowing dharma 1468.

Tarkadīpikā 1486n.

Tarn, W. W., author or 'Greeks in Bactria and India' 516, 655 (criticized).

Tarpaṇa (offering water), of seven sons of Brahmā, acc. to Kātyāyana's Snānasūtra, Matsya and other Purāṇas 1372.

Tātparyadarśana, com. on Āp. Gṛ. 802n.

Tattva: meaning of, differs in Tāntrik works acc. as the worshipper concerned is Tāmasika (Paśu), Rājasika (vīra) and Sāttvika (divya), 1082.

Tattvabindu of Vācaspati, Introduction to, 1158n-1159n.

Tattvaniṣṭha - parivartanavādi - pariṣad, later termed Dharmanirṇayamaṇḍala, its members and work for reform and reorganization of Hindu Society 1705–1707.

Tattvas, twenty-five, in Sāṅkhya and in Śāntiparva 1358, 1365.

Tattvārthasūtra of Umāsvāti 472n.

Tattvasamāsa, a late work on Sāṅkhya in 23 sūtras 1354; com. on, called Kramadīpikā 1354.

Tattvasaṅgraha of Śāntarakṣita (705–762 A. D.), connects Buddha with magic practices 1037.

Tattvavaiśāradī of Vācaspati, com. on Yogasūtra, 907.

Tattvopaplava-siṁha of Jayarāśibhatta 1472n.

Tawney C. H. a. of 'Acquisitive society' 1481n.

Taxes, recent Indian taxes, defects of 1695n.

Tejobindu-Upaniṣad (on proper āsana) 1431.

Temple: of Rāhu 684; of Sun m. in 'Gupta Inscriptions' 683n; of Sun in ancient and medieval India 683–84; of 64 Yoginīs, 174; three temples of the sun established in three different places acc. to Varāhapurāṇa 898n.

Testament, Old and New, both emphasize sacredness of vows 28.

Tevijjasutta, condemns Buddhist monks maintaining themselves by such arts as predicting 627.

Thibaut, a. of a work on Indian Astronomy, mathematics and astrology in the German Grundriss, 484, 487, 490–92, 508–10, 512, 579 (criticized); observes that what Indians knew before Greek influence is not much and is primitive 512; observes that Greek astrology entered India between Firmicus (middle of 4th century A. D.) and Varāhamihira, 579–80; observes that Mr. Dixit's work on 'Hindu Astronomy' is the richest source of material on it, 484; on Romaka Siddhānta 515.

Third Five Year Plan: total investment programme of, 1084ff; total American aid from 1951 to end of Third F. P. 1691ff.

Thomas E. J., a. of 'History of Buddhist Thought' 1107.

Thomas, Prof. F. W. 1104n; presentation volume 757n.

Thompson C., 'Reports of the Magicians' etc. 565n, 572n.

Thorndike, a of 'History of magic and experimental science' 550n.

Throbbing (*spandana* or *sphuraṇa*); of arms and eyes regarded in India from ancient times as harbinger of coming events 800–801; of right or left side of body is auspicious respectively for men and women 800; prognostications from 799–801; removal of the effects of inauspicious T. brought about by gifts of gold to brāhmaṇas 800; results of the T. of limbs from head to soles set out 800.

Tibet (vide Sanskrit literature); Padmasambhava, a Tāntrik Buddhist was called from Uḍḍiyāna by a Tibetan king (749–786 A. D.) and settled in T., 1040-41; script based on an Indian alphabet was introduced in T. about 640 A.D., 1040.

Ṭikkanikā: a small work of Varāhamihira on Yātrā 617.

Tiladhenu, gift of, on Karkasaṅkrānti 218.

Tilak, Lokamānya, a. of Gītārahasya (in Marathi) 1171–72n; his explanation of Bhagavadgītā (XIII. 4) not accepted 1171–72; a of 'Orion' and 'Arctic Home in the Vedas' 3, 485, 498, 499n, 510, 513; on 'Vedic Chronology' 644, 645n; held several conferences of Indian astronomers for improving pañcāṅgas 712; views of, on caste and urgency of independence and not mere social reform 1635n–1636n.

Timaeus, a dialogue of Plato, 781, 1502, 1505n.

Time (see under Kāla); *amānta* reckoning 659; Buddhist Sanskrit writers like Prajñākaragupta hold that T. is not a separate entity 472; conception of, 463–475; divisions of T. from *nimeṣa* to Kalpa given by Manu 688; first among great problems of philosophy 463; fundamental periods of time are day, month, year, 644–45; human reckoning of T. is fourfold viz. Saura, Cāndra, Sāvana, Nākṣatra (or Ārkṣa) 656n–59; identified with Nārāyaṇa in Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 466; indications of the existence of T. acc. to Vaiśeṣikasūtra and Praśastapāda's bhāṣya 469; is a *dravya*, acc. to Vaiśeṣikasūtra and Caraka 474; Jaina writers hold that T. is one of six padārthas 472; lengthy disquisition on T. in Maitrī Up. 465–66; long disquisition on T. in Nyāyamañjarī 469; Manusmṛti on, 468; measures of T. such as Yuga, Mahāyuga, Manvantara, Kalpa, 686ff; minute divisions of T. such as *nimeṣa* mentioned from even Vedic times, 475; nine reckonings of, out of which only five are ordinarily employed 656–57; Nyāyasūtra holds that time is past, present or future 469; pūrṇimānta reckoning 659; questions as to, 463; some western philosophic works on T. 475; some philosophers hold that time is either past or future, but that there is no present T. 469; space, T. and God are one and the same acc. to Raghunātha, follower of Navyanyāya 470; spoken of, in the same terms as *brahman* in Maitrī and Tai. Up. 466; sublime conception of, in Atharvaveda as ageless, as the creator of everything, including Prajāpati, 463–4; truṭa (or truṭi) as the smallest unit of T. in Kauṭilya and Sūryasiddhānta 214, 476–77; units of T. from nimeṣa to year mentioned in Bṛ. Up. 475–76;

units of time, same verse on, in Śāntiparva and Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa purāṇas 476n ; units of T. such as Prāṇa, Pala, Ghaṭi or Nāḍī or Daṇḍa 684; Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari on T. 475 ; views differ as to the number of units of T. and their relation to each other among Manu, Kauṭilya, Purāṇas, Amarakośa, Sūrya-siddhānta 476–477.

Tithi (or tithis. acc. to context): (vide under Amāvāsyā, Aṣṭakā, day, God, nakṣatra, Kāla, Paurṇamāsī, Vedha, week days) ; all religious acts to be begun in the morning, even if t. is *viddhā* 72 ; all rites, Vedic and smārta, vrata, dāna do not yield proper reward as long as the proper t. for it is not determined 73 ; aṅga (subsidiary matter) to Vedic and smṛti prescriptions and prohibitions, 71 ; a tithi touching three days was held to be inauspicious for marriage, invasion and auspicious religious acts 68–69 ; certain t. dear to certain gods, 70 ; decision of a proper t. for religious rite is by recourse to Yugmavākya, when a tithi extends over two days, 74 ; derivation of word t. from root 'tan' to spread 67n ; different views before Ait. Br. on which a tithi rite was to be performed 66 ; divided by Dharmasindhu into Pūrṇā and Sakhaṇḍā 71–72 ; divided by Nirṇayasindhu into Śuddhā and Viddhā 71n; division of, into five groups, 70 ; division of tithis into *kharva*, *darpa*, *hiṁsra* or *hiṁsā* 78 ; even if t. begins in the afternoon, a saṅkalpa had to be made in the morning, provided the vrata has to be performed on that t. though viddhā 82 ; T. is time or period required by the moon to gain twelve degrees on the sun to the east 68 ; long lists of acts and things forbidden on certain tithis 79–80 ; lords of tithis acc. to Bṛhat-saṁhitā and others 69, 111 ; loss caused by eating certain things on certain tithis, 70 ; most important topic in relation to vrata is t. 56 ; motion of moon being irregular the number of ghaṭikās of a t. may be any figure from about 54 to 65, 68 ; Pāṇini mentions affix 'tithae (probably due to word 'tithi') and Patañjali mentions Paurṇamāśi tithi 67 ; Pūrṇā, Sakhaṇḍā, Śuddhā and Viddhā defined 72, 113 ; purvaviddhā and paraviddhā, explained 74 ; theory that shortening and lengthening of tithis is due to piety and sinfulness of men, 78 ; t., though khaṇḍā, is to be regarded as *sakalā* for dharmaśāstra purposes in some cases 73 ; unit day (from sunrise to sunrise) may have two tithis or even three tithis touching it or one tithi may spread to or touch three civil days 68 ; unit day touching three tithis was regarded as

holy, 68; *vedha* defined 72-73; week days, nakṣatras and tithis are means of securing merit or sin, 71; what articles should specially be eaten or not eaten on certain tithis 70-71, 79-80; what combinations of viddhā tithis are generally excluded as improper 74-75; what should be undertaken on each of the five groups of T., 70; word tithi does not occur in the Vedic saṁhitās, though the idea must have been there in the Ṛgveda but occurs in Ait. Br. and the gṛhya and dharma sūtras and hence was in use at least from about 800 B. C., 62, 67-68; word 'mahā' is prefixed to certain tithis when the Full Moon is in the nakṣatra which gives the name to the month and is in conjunction with Jupiter 79.

Tithicintāmaṇi, contains tables based on the Grahalāghava 643.

Tithitattva 53, 68n, 70-72n, 75n, 77n, 79n, 81, 84-86, 88, 91n, 93, 110n, 117n, 124n, 125, 129n, 134-5, 136n-8, 142n, 148, 152n, 154, 156-58n, 161n, 162, 165n-167n, 169n, 170-2, 173n, 175n, 177n, 179n, 182n, 191n, 193, 198n, 201n, 203n, 207n, 217, 227, 228n, 230, 241, 246n, 247n. 249n, 1182n.

Tithiviveka, 73n, 76n.

Tithyarka 71n.

Tolerance (vide Aśoka, Madhvācārya); a more radical tolerance than what Indian people showed throughout the ages is unthinkable 1076; Bhagavadgītā, Bhāgavata, Śāntiparva exhibit wonderful spirit of T. when they say that worship of other deities also reaches ultimately the Highest 970; germs of doctrine of T. in Ṛg.I. 164. 46, 970-71; great tolerance in Emperor Harṣa's family 1006; in India it was at the most necessary to show that doctrines put forth were not opposed directly to the dicta of the Veda 1481-82; Inscriptions and coins evidence exceptionally generous T. on the part of the civil powers, says Barth 1011; Madhvācārya could explain away the Upaniṣad passages about advaita by reasoning and openly denounce the advaita doctrine as Buddhism in disguise without persecution 1482; of Hindu kings towards Moslems, even though moslem invaders desecrated temples 1018; T. is one of the striking characteristics of Hindu culture 1623; persisted in India for different cults and tenets with very rare exceptions from before Aśoka to 1200 A. D. when Moslem invaders began to overrun India 1012; striking instances (early and late) of T. of kings and people donating gifts to persons, shrines and institutions of different faiths 1012-14; undesirable consequences of great T. 1482; Yāj. Smṛti prescribes that when an Indian king

conquered a country, the conqueror's duty was to honour the usages, transactions and family traditions of the conquered country 1011, 1482.

Toleration Act (of England in 1689) excluded Catholics and Unitarians from its benefits 1476n.

Toynbee, Prof. Arnold, in 'East and West' definition of civilization and culture 1615–16; points out that Christianity and Islam have been responsible for some of the cruellest atrocities that have disgraced history 1012n; revises and corrects his own statement about Indian culture 1617n; urges that Christianity must be purged of the beliefs that Christianty is unique and that Christians are God's chosen people 1595.

Traditions, though they often arise without much evidence, should not be summarily rejected, but should be tested by other available evidence 1192; the endeavour of leaders of thought in each generation should be to find out what is essential in tradition without believing in the unfallibility of all T. and to present dogmas that will meet the demands of modern thought and conditions 1475.

Trailokyamohana mantra, dilated upon in Prapañcasāra-tantra for accomplishing six cruel acts, 1070, 1105.

Trailokyavijayavidyā, in Agnipurāṇa 1102.

Trees, barks of five, viz. Aśvattha, udumbara, plakṣa, āmra and vaṭa, to be boiled in water for bath on Amāvāsyā of Divāḷī 199; festival called Vṛkṣotsava 415–16.

Tridaṇḍin, as applied to Sannyāsins, meaning of, 1645.

Tridhātu, meaning of, doubtful in Ṛg. 1492n.

Trijatā, dreams of, in the Rāmāyaṇa 775.

Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana 53.

Trikaprasavaśānti, on birth of a son after three successive births of daughters or vice versa 773.

Trikoṇa, meaning of, 567n.

Trimadhura (honey, ghee and sugar are so called) 309.

Triśikhi-brāhmaṇopaniṣad 1426n.

Tripuṇḍra, sect mark of Śāktas and Śaivas, explained 1076n.

Trispṛśā (one of 8 kinds of dvādasīs) 309.

Trisama 310.

Tristhalīsetu 91n.

Trisugandha (tvak i.e. cinnamon, cardamom and *patraka* 309.

Trita āptya, all bad dreams delivered to, in Ṛgveda 729.

Trivṛt (milk, curds and ghee are so called) 309.

Tryahaḥspṛk (tithi) 310.

Tucci, Prof. G, paper of, on Maṇḍalas in 'Indo-Tibetica' 1133.

Tukaram, saint 969; asserts that life is very miserable 969.

Tulāpuruṣa, one of the Mahādanas 87.

Tulasī leaves and plants, now sacred to Vaiṣṇavas, but they do not figure in early Purāṇika

literature, 881; story of, occurs in Padma IV and VI, 882.
Tulsidas (born in 1532-33 A.D.): Hindi poet and saint, was abandoned by parents because of astrological considerations 633n; works of, used for divination 812.
Tulasīvivāha 307.
Ṭup-ṭīkā of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, 1163n, 1188 (not a regular com. but notes on chapters IV-XII of P. M. sūtras), 1209n, 1214n-16n, 1226n-27n, 1250n, 1286n, 1302n, 1318n; explanations of Ṭup, 1189n; has some commentaries but none is published 1189.
Turāyaṇa 306-7.
Turberville, Prof. A. S. on 'Spanish Inquisition' 933n.
Tuxen, Paul, a. of 'Religions of India' 1393-94; 1577 (does not accept Deussen's theory about Kṣatriyas being the original cherishers of Vedānta thoughts).
Tycho Brahe, prepared every year an astrological forecast for the king 551.
Tyler, a. of 'Primitive culture 1614.
Udakaśānti, 783-787; is an elaborate affair in these days and takes up about three hours 784; many mantras employed in 784; oldest available description is in Baudhāyana gṛhyaśeṣasūtra 784; performed even now for securing good health, removal of diseases, mitigating unfavourable aspects for removal of impurity on birth or death in one's house or family etc. 784; procedure of 784-787; Saṅkalpa in 784n.
Udayana, a. of Lakṣaṇāvali and Nyāyakusumāñjali 1624.
Uddālaka, Āruṇi, shown to be ignorant of Vaiśvānaravidyā in Chān. V. 11, but in Chān. VI. 8.7 ff, is shown as teaching the sublime doctrine of 'tat tvamasi' 1578.
Uddeśya of Uddiśyamāna-means 'subject of which something is to be predicated (*vidheya*) 1286; defined by Ślokavārtika 1286n, 1341.
Uddhāravibhāga (assignment of a larger share to the eldest son on partition between brothers) 1268; Tai. S. has two contradictory passages on this, but Āp. Dh. S. after quoting both Tai. S. passages holds that unequal division is prohibited by śāstras and provides that equal division among sons is the proper rule 1268.
Uḍḍiyāna (a pīṭha of Tāntrik cult): situation of, discussed 1039.
Udhhāta (a term in Yoga) differently explained by different writers 1439n.
Udgītha, means 'om' 1582.
Udgīthavidyā, only one of many Upāsanās, 1583; Pravāhaṇa Jaivali taught it to two brāhmaṇas in Chān. Up. I. 8, 1582.
Udvāhatattva 545, 610n, 611n, 919.
Udyāpana: last rite in a vrata 120-21; if no rite of udyāpana

for a vrata is expressly prescribed what should be done 121; Ud. is concluding rite in a vrata undertaken only once, while the concluding rite is called pāraṇa when a vrata is to be continued for life (such as Ekādaśī or Janmāṣṭamī) 139; of Śivarātrivrata when undertaking was to observe it for 24, 14, or 12 years 234.

Udyogaparva 27, 49, 90n, 126, 129n, 532n, 539, 743-4 803n, 821, 840, 854 (quotes the famous verse 'gurorapyavaliptasya etc.' from a Purāṇa), 1080, 1281 (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna described as drunk), 1627n, 1636, 1642.

Ugrarathaśānti, vide Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti) 757; Procedure in Sanskrit of, 760n.

Ūha 1158, 1324 26; certain alterations and adaptations are necessary in the matter of mantras, *sāmans* and saṃskāras; this is called ūha in PMS, though the word ordinarily means *tarka* (reasoning) 1324; mantra when adapted is not to be called a mantra acc. to PMS. 1325; Viṣṇudharmasūtra prescribes that in the śrāddha for the maternal grandfather and his two male ancestors the mantra should be changed into 'Sundhantam Mātāmahāḥ' 1326.

Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi, of Rūpagosvāmin 980.

Ulfi, story narrated by, about Siddharāja, king of Gujarat, punishing Hindus for pulling down a mosque and rebuilding it at his own expense, 1018.

Umbeka (about 700-750 A. D.); a. of com. on Ślokavārtika 1359; a. of com. on Bhāvanāviveka 1194; is probably identical with Bhavabhūti 1194; is later than Maṇḍanamiśra 1194; name written in various ways 1194n; Uveyaka, q. by Kamalaśīla, is probably Umbeka, 1194n; was a pupil of Kumārilabhaṭṭa 1194n, 1198.

Underhill, a. of a work 'Hindu religious year' 60.

Unemployment, increasing 1698, should be first point of attack in all plans 1698; United States of America, total aid to India, 1691-92.

Untouchables, 51 millions in Bharata, acc. to census of 1951, 1622n.

Untouchability, abolished by Indian Constitution (Art. 17) and an Act passed to make treating a man as untouchable in public an offence 1636n.

Untruth, speaking of, forbidden in Tai. S. for a sacrificer 1246.

Upacāras: folding the hands (*namaskāra*) was one of the U. before the Nirukta, 36; U. in pūjā were either 36, 16, 10 or 5, 94; nine out of 16 U. are mentioned in Āśv. Gr. sūtra 36; not absent in Vedic age 35; quoted from Prapañcasāratantra in Dharmaśāstra works 1096; several of 16 Up. were well known long before

the gṛhyasūtras 35; sixteen Up. enumerated, 35; to be offered with the 16 verses of Puruṣasūkta 35.

Upadeśa, meaning of, in P. M. S. 1163n, 1184n.

Upadeśa: Dharma-sindhu says that in Kaliyuga there is no *dīkṣā* but only U. 1117n; difference between dīkṣā and U. 1118.

Upanayana: (see under muhūrta); great importance attached to astrological positions of Bṛhaspati (Jupiter) in U. 609; is only an *aṅga* of the vidhi about teaching Veda inferred from Manu, 1109n: Muhūrtas for Upanayana are few and far between acc. to late medieval writers, 607; not to be performed when Venus is set or on certain tithis and on *gala-graha* 608; no rules in sūtras, Manu and Yāj. about position of planets, rāśis or week days for, U. 607; principal time for U. is 8th year from conception or from birth 609; proper ages for depended on the Varṇa of the boy 608; proper months and nakṣatras for U. 607, 609; rule laid down by Āśv. Gṛ. S. for U. and three other saṃskāras 605; seasons for the U. of boys of the three higher varṇas 607; Tuesday and Saturday inauspicious for 604.

Upaniṣads: (vide under '*brahman*', mokṣa, Royce, Vedānta): accept as preparation for brahmavidyā study of Veda, sacrifices, tapas, fasting 918; are full of theories of creation 1500-01; atmosphere of Up. entirely different from Vedas and Brāhmaṇa texts 1498n; attitude of, to Veda as aparā-vidyā and to sacrifices 917, 1004, 1471; central Up. doctrine of immanence of brahman not attacked by Buddha or early propagators of Buddhism 1004; describe *brahman* in two ways, firstly as qualified by various adjuncts (such as name and form, created objects) and secondly as devoid of all adjuncts, there being no universe outside brahman, 1504-5; do sometimes say that he who knows brahman becomes brahman, but the same Up. require great moral and spiritual attainments (as in Muṇḍaka) 1514; emphasize the giving up of tṛṣṇā or *Kāma* 939n; fundamental doctrine of Up. is that there is only one Principle or Essence, that it creates the world out of itself and enters into it and that all plurality is only apparent and a name, that even inanimate world is non-different from Supreme Spirit 1487, 1625; geographical details in Up. are few 1522-23; germ of fundamental doctrine of Up. is found in the Ṛgveda 1487; give no name to the First Principle but speak of it as 'tad-ekam' (that one) 1490; glowing tribute of Deussen to philosophers of the Up. 1500; hold that esoteric

knowledge has to be imparted by a guru to a disciple or by father to son, but not to all and sundry nor in an assembly 1071-72; illustrations (two) to bring home to the inquiring spirit non-difference are rivers flowing into the sea and losing their names and forms and pure water poured in other pure water, 1625; most important doctrines of Up. are two (1) non-difference of individual self from supreme Self and (2) transmigration of self depends on his deeds and conduct as taught by brāhmaṇa Yāj. to Janaka or by Uddālaka Āruṇi to son Śvetaketu, 1577-78; offer very little to the common man and did not solve his problems while the Bhagavadgītā took that matter in hand, 968; old Up. like Bṛ. and Chān. are admitted to be earlier than Buddha 1004; passages of Up. fore-shadowing Sāṅkhya doctrines or employing technical Sāṅkhya words 1360-61; put the knowledge of the Highest Self as superior to the Vedas (called aparā vidyā) yet quote Vedic verses in support of their statements 918, 1471; real thought of Up. centres round the non-difference between brahman and the individual soul and the physical world, 1500-1502; renunciation of all actions and their rewards was inculcated by Up. for a Sannyāsin who was to beg for alms till the body lasted, as even good deeds would lead to good births and put off mokṣa, 1513; several *vidyās* or *upāsanās* are described in Up. particularly in Chān. and Bṛ. for men that are not yet far advanced on the path of brahmavidyā 1584; some apparent discrepancies in Up. as to what was first created and as to the order of the creation of elements, as explained by Śaṅkarācārya 1506-7; some late Up. mentioned as the basis of Śākta doctrines by late medieval works, 1045n; speak of brahman, as creator, sustainer and as ultimate absorber of bhūtas (elements or beings) 1484; teach that sound moral preparation necessary before a true Vedāntic view is attained 1478n; verse enumerating ten ancient and principal Up. 1436n; Yoga in Up. 1387.

Upapurāṇas (vide under Hazra, Narasiṁhapurāṇa, Sāmba, Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara); all chapters and even single verses of U. are suspect 872; Alberuni's work shows that some U. such as Ādi, Āditya, Nanda (Nandi?), Narasiṁha and Sāmba had been composed at least some time before 1000 A. D. 831; are summaries made by sages after listening to 18 P, 835; began to be compiled from the 7th century and their numbers went on increasing till 13th century A. D. or even later

855; dates assigned by Prof. Hazra to Upapurāṇas not at all acceptable 882; early commentaries and digests on Dharmaśāstra like the Mit. and Kalpataru very rarely mention U. and even the latter refers to six Up. 837; Hazra (Prof.) says there are over 100 Upapurāṇas 834; Hazra admits that adherents of various sects such as Śāktas, Pāñcarātras, Sauras, interpolated chapters in Purāṇas and sometimes wrote new and independent works styled Purāṇas 837; Kūrma Purāṇa mentions Brahmāṇḍa, Nāradīya Skanda, Vāmana as Up. 870; Matsya names Narasiṁha, Nandi, Āditya and Sāmba as Up. and there is nothing to show that more than four were regarded by the Matsya as of any authority 834–5; names of 18 U. are set out by Devībhāgavata, Garuḍa, Kūrma, Padma, Hemādrī 834 and n; none of the U except Devī, Narasiṁha, the Viṣṇu dharmottara, and one or two more can be held to be as old as 7th or 8th century A. D. 835–36, 838; only a few Upapurāṇas are published and those published belie definition of Purāṇa as Pañcalakṣaṇa 834; only eight U. m. by Ballālasena 871; some U. bear the same names as those of principal Purāṇas, such as Skanda, Vāmana, Brahmāṇḍa and Nāradīya 834; total of 4 lakhs of verses of Purāṇas excludes the verses of U. 834.

Uparava, meaning of 18.

Uparicara Vasu, a king and devotee of Nārāyaṇa, dedicated his kingdom and wealth to God and worshipped acc. to Sāttvata rules 95n.

Upasad, days of 25.

Upasarga (preposition) changes the meaning of the root, 2.

Upaśruti (listening to words of children, or eaves-dropping near houses of washermen or cāṇḍālas and using words heard by chance as prognostications for coming events 809–810; methods similar to U. in the ancient near East 810n; method of casting dūrvā grass in a book at random 811.

Upavāka, a kind of seed 732n.

Upavarṣa, commentator of Jaimini 735n, 1186n, 1187n, 1197; expressly mentioned by Śabara 1186n; flourished between 100 B. C. to 100 A. D. 1197; held to be identical with Bodhāyana by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri 1187n; m. by Śaṅkarācārya twice on V. S. with great respect 1187n, 1205.

Upavāsa: (vide under 'fast'); another meaning, in Brāhmaṇa texts 26.

Upavedas, four 820n, 1263n.

Upāyas, four, in politics 617.

Usages (vide under 'Sadācāra'): Baud. gr. enumerates five peculiar u. of the North and five others peculiar to the South and provides that if one belonging to South follows any

usages peculiar to north or vice versa he would be guilty of sin, 1258; Manu, Yāj. Viṣṇudharmasūtra, Viṣṇupurāṇa say that one should not observe but discard what was once deemed to be dharma if it has become hateful to the people and would end in unhappiness 1270; illustrations where later Dharmaśāstra works like Mit. and Smṛticandrikā rely upon the above rule of discarding ancient practices, if common people had come to hate them 1270-71; Kumārila holds that in case of conflict between smṛtis and usages the former is more authoritative but usages opposed to Smṛtis have been in vogue from ancient times 1278-79; U. of countries, castes, families declared by Gautama and Manu to be authoritative if not directly opposed to the Veda 1278; modern legislation sometimes allows customs and usages overriding authority as under Hindu Marriage Act (25 of 1955) sec. 5 about marriages of sapiṇḍas, 1278-9, but also abrogates them in some cases, 1671; Privy Council held that clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law 1278; requisites of a valid custom, according to P. M. S. 1279-80.

Uśanas, a. on astrology m. by Varāhamihira 593.

Uśanas, Dharmaśāstra of, 1152n.

Uśanas (on Rājanīti) m. by Kālikāpurāṇa 1001, 1032-33.

Uśanas (on tithi) 78n, 79.

Uṣas: is called Apasaras and Vena is described as her lover in Ṛg., 495n.

Uṣaḥ-kāla, defined 278.

U. S. S. R.: vide under Russia.

Utilitarianism (vide under 'Rationalism'): criticism of this doctrine 1479-80: holds that actions are right where they tend to make for the greatest good or happiness of the greatest number etc. 1479; is not a moral theory at all 1479.

Utpala, commentator of Bṛ. S. of Varāhamihira 477, 479n, 520n, 521, 530n, 533n (on Yogayātrā), 545n, 547n, 554n, 561n, 564, 568, 658, 680 (quotes 18 verses from Garga on week days), 712n, 742n, 745n; commentator of Bṛhajjātaka 573n-75n, 577, 580n, 581, 584n, 587n, 591, 594, 657n, 765n, 796n, 1645n.

Utpāta: (vide under Atri), Nimitta, portent, Puṣyasnāna): 591, 743; description of 18 Śāntis bearing names of different gods prescribed by Matsya 746-747; descriptions of, abound in Mahābhārata 743; king's duty to arrange Śāntis for counteracting portents 745; list of chief U. and nimittas 743-44; list of three kinds of U. 745-46; means 'reverse of usual natural order' 741-42; no gradation or order in setting out utpātas which are given

pellmell in both epics 744; of divya kind produce evil effects in eight ways 746; one adept in knowledge of U. becomes famous and king's favourite without mathematics 769; seasonal appearances in certain seasons are not inauspicious and require no śāntis 747, 767: three classes of u. in Atharvaveda, Garga, Parāśara, Sabhāparva, Bṛ. S. and Matsya viz. *divya* (from heaven), *āntarikṣa* (from atmosphere) and *bhauma* (terrestrial), and their illustrations 745–46; varying opinions about the effect of Śāntis 746.

Utsava, often difficult to distinguish from vrata 57.

Uttarādhyayanasūtra, a Jain work: 1367, 1375 (mentions ṣaṣṭitantra).

Uttarāyaṇa, vasanta and grīṣma are important parts of, 491–92.

Utthānadvādaśī, 12th tithi of Kārtika bright half 112.

Vācaknavī, a woman that had secured Brahmajñāna 921n.

Vācaspati 52.

Vācaspati, a of Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī 468n, 1355, 1394n; a of Nyāyakaṇikā on Maṇḍana's 'Vidhiviveka'; a. of com. on Yogabhāṣya, called Tattvavaiśāradī 909, 1373, 1399n, 1409n–11, 1420n–22n, 1424n, 1438n, 1445 (quotes two verses of Viṣṇupurāṇa), 1446n, 1448, 1450n; a. of 'Bhāmatī', com. on Śāṅkarabhāṣya on V. S. 1166, 1510n: date of (820–900 A. D.) 1199, 1356.

Vadhūvaramelakavicāra, explained 614.

Va di, meaning of 670.

Vahnipurāṇa 138.

Vaidhṛti, 27th Yoga, is just like Vyatīpāta in all respects 707.

Vaidya, Mr. M. V. 893.

Vaidya, P. L. 998, 1005.

Vaijayanta, palace of Gods, 1529.

Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra 528, 579, 681 (mentions Wednesday), 749 (on Śānti of nine planets), 750–752, 946n (ten yamas), 1096n, 1418n, 1452; date of, between 200 B.C. to 200 A. D. 528n; refers to nakṣatras called janma, karma, sāṅghātika, sāmudāyika and vaināśika and these terms are explained in the Yogayātrā and Viṣṇudharmottara 528–29n.

Vaiśākha: Akṣayyatṛtīyā, on 3rd of bright half of, 88–89; Paraśurāmajayantī on 3rd of bright half of, 89–90.

Vaiśeṣikasūtra 468, 472, 476, 1037n (defines dharma), 1468 and n; goal of, is niḥśreyasa (q. v.) 1468.

Vaiṣṇava or Vaiṣṇavas (acc. to context); defined in several Purāṇas 112–13; difficulties of, in choosing tithi for fast when it is *viddhā* 114; is really one who has taken dīkṣā acc. to Vaikhānasa or Pāñcarātra Āgama, but now people are called V. because they are so traditionally, 113; not to bow to or worship another God or to enter the temple of another God acc. to Vṛddha

Hārīta 976n; rank and file of V. generally exclusive and bigoted and treat with disdain everything pertaining to Śiva and take sumptuous food on Śivarātri 118; inconvenient results of insistence by V. on observing fast on Ekādaśi mixed with dvādaśi and pāraṇā on dvādaśī 117; wrangles of V. with śaivas and vice-versa 118, 973n.

Vaiṣṇavākūṭa-candrikā of Ratnagarbha on Viṣṇupurāṇa 832.

Vaiṣṇavism: Erotic mysticism of the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā established by Caitanya and Vallabhācārya 980; in V. established by Vallabhācārya greatest honour is paid to guru who is a descendant of the founder 980.

Vaiśvānara: discussion on this word that occurs in Ṛg. I 59. 6 and I. 98. 1 in the Nirukta mentioning the opposite views of Yājñikas, of ācāryas and of Śākapūṇi 1156n.

Vaiśvānara, meaning of, in Ṛg. and Chān. Up. V. 15. 2, 1578–79.

Vaiśvānaravidyā, in Chān. Up. IV. 11, 23, 227n; is only an *upāsanā* and not thoroughgoing brahmavidyā, 1578–79.

Vaiśya, was good birth, acc. to Chān. Up., 1578-79, 1607.

Vaitaraṇī, 11th tithi of dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa 418.

Vājapeya 1029.

Vajapyāyana, an a. m. by Kātyāyana Vārtikakāra 1157.

Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā, 12n, 17–18, 22-3, 62n, 63, 126, 166, 168, 183n, 196n, 475, 485n, 527, 596n, 667, 672, 698, 721 (on Śānti), 722n, 724, 726n–7n, 750, 759, 762, 773, 776n, 777, 787, 796n, 814, 919–20, 969n, 1024, 1037, 1055n, 1079, 1181, 1217n. 1221, 1241, 1244, 1265n, 1288n, 1291, 1385n. 1489 (has all Puruṣasūkta verses), 1533, 1633.

Vājina, an offering different from 'āmikṣā' 1307.

Vajra, a. on astrology 593.

Vajrayāna (or Vajramārga); is the ulterior development of Mahāyāna 942n; other innovations of, were the introduction of the Upāsanā of Śakti and theory of Dhyānibuddhas, 1069; permitted killing of all animals speaking untruth, sexual intercourse (including what common people call incest), 1066; several meanings of Vajra, 1065–66; texts aim at the attainment of *Bodhi* 1092n.

Vajrolīmudrā, in Haṭhayogapradīpikā, cannot be set out, for its obscenity 1127; supposed to confer long life on yogin even after indulgence in sexual orgies 1127.

Vāk (speech); sublime hymn about power of, in Ṛg. X. 125, 1043–44.

Vākya (sentence): (vide 'Anuṣaṅga'); definition of V. 1297; example is the mantra 'devasya tva...nirvapāmi' (Tai. S. I. 1. 4. 2) 1297; in Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda, both being metrical,

there is generally no difficulty in finding what constitutes a V. and Śabara confines himself to Yajus texts 1297; it is not absolutely necessary that in order to form a v. the words must be in close proximity (*sannidhi*), though generally proximity is required 1298; mantra text may constitute two sentences if it has two parts that serve different purposes as in 'Syonam te...manasyamānaḥ' (Tai. Br. III. 7.5), 'iṣe tvorje tvā' (first words of Tai. S.) 1298-99; three elements are required for constituting words into a sentence, viz. expectancy (*akāṅkṣā*), compatibility (*yogyatā*) and proximity, particularly the first 1297.

Vākyabheda (Lit. split of sentence); examples of 1295, 1300-1304; illustrations how to avoid V. in Manu IX. 142 about the result of adoption and in Bṛhaspati on the question of reunion after partition 1301-1303; not applicable to a sūtra, acc. to some 1182n; one aspect of the import of the word V. is the case where there are two (or more) sentences and one sentence does not require a word or words from another sentence, then the sentences should be treated as separate 1299; one and the same text cannot be construed as laying down two separate vidhis or when a certain matter has already been prescribed by vidhi and several auxiliary matters are to be prescribed in relation to the same, all auxiliaries cannot be prescribed in one sentence 1299-1300; one text of Tai. Br prescribes as to *agnyādhāna* that one having a son and having his hair yet dark should perform it; this has to be construed as indicating by lakṣaṇā that the man must not be very young nor very old, otherwise there would be two vidhis and the fault of V. 1301.

Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari 475 (on Kāla), 1396; com. of Helārāja on, 1396n.

Vālakhilya hymns 692.

Vallabhācārya (1479-1531 A. D.); a. of Tattvadīpanibandha 957n; holds Bhāgavata of supreme authority 957, 1176; holds that Jaimini, a. of P. M. S., is the pupil of Vyāsa a. of V. S. 1177; propounds an erotico-mystical brand of bhakti 971; thinks V. S. refers to Bhāgavata-purāṇa 1176n.

Vallabhotsava: festival in honour of Vallabhācārya (held as born in 1497 A. D) 403.

Values; are often moulded by environment 1701; certain values of Indian culture that have endured for three thousand years 1707.

Vāmācāra (vide under Tantra); of two kinds, acc. to Pārānandasūtra (a Tāntrik work), Madhyama (wherein all five Makāras are employed) and Uttama (in which wine, coitus and mudrā alone are emplo-

yed) 1054.

Vāmadevya Sāman, 726 ; is a means of śānti and is sung on Ṛg. IV. 31. 1 (kayā naścitra) 726.

Vāmakeśvara Tantra 1045.

Vāmanapurāṇa : 71, 110-11, 119, 143, 203, 564, 682n, 779n, 833-34 (says Matsya is chief among Purāṇas), 921 (adapts Ṛg. I. 10. 1), 922n, 945 (on ahiṁsā), 971, 1372, 1526n, 1582 ; date between 600-900 A. D., 905 ; note on, 904-905 ; short Purāṇa with 5451 verses in Venk. ed. and prose in chap. 26, 44, 93).

Vaṁśas (lists of teachers and pupils) in Bṛ. Up. II. 6 3 and VI. 5. 2-3 do not completely agree, 1373.

Vanaparva, 27, 90n, 92n, 110, 118, 127, 129, 185, 202, 267, 497n, 539, 651n (time of starting of Kṛtayuga), 659, 686, 691-93, 743, 812n (on Kalisvarūpa), 821 (names Matsyapurāṇa and a purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu), 827 (close agreement with Yugapurāṇa), 853n, 939n (giving up of tṛṣṇā), 994, 1006n, 1048, 1219, 1271n, 1357n, 1362n, 1372, 1385, 1416n, 1435n, 1436n (on functions of ten prāṇas), 1450, 1469, 1582, 1627n, 1634, 1636-7, 1642.

Vaṅkālakācārya, a. of work in Prakrit on astrology, 1645n.

Varadachari K. C., paper of, on Aḷwar's contributions to bhakti 954n.

Varadamudrā, defined and illustrated, 1131h.

Varāhamihira : (a. of Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Bṛhaj-jātaka, Yogayātrā, Bṛhadyogayātrā, Pañcasiddhāntikā, Laghujātaka, Ṭīkkanikā, and a few other works not yet published) ; 61n, 70, 150n, 465n, 479, 484, 519-20 (follows Gārgya on motion of Saptarṣis), 521, 530, 540, 545-7, 552, 558, 562, 591 (names many predecessors on astrology), 627, 634 (theory that a horoscope was like a plan), 638, 701, 711, 746-7, 765-773, 794, 1024, 1132, 1270n (importance of usages of common people), 1477 (on Āryabhaṭa's view about earth revolving round itself) ; date of (about 500-550 A. D.) 484, 1645 ; 1653n (mentions authors of Vāstuśāstra and image making ; did not follow Firmicus or Manilius on Dreṣkāṇas 580, 582n ; differences of, with Ptolemy, 575 and n, 589 (with Yavaneśvara), 574, 580 (on lords of the *horās* of the day), 586 ; frequently refers to the views of Yavanas and in some matters differs from them 563 ; probably identical with Buzurmihr, a minister of Nowshirwan of Persia 782.

Varāhapurāṇa : 31n, 44, 48, 54n, 56n, 77, 81, 98, 105n, 109n, 112, 118n, 119, 133, 145, 149, 155n, 178, 205, 238, 818n, 824n, 898 (mentions Bhaviṣya), 915-18, 920, 932, 949 (on *pūrta*), 973-974, 993, 1096n, 1132, 1384, 1596n ;

date of, earlier than 10th century A. D. 904; has some chapters in prose and some in prose and verse 903; note on 903-904; refers to a Śaka king called Nandavardhana 901; supposed to have been narrated to the Earth by Viṣṇu in Boar incarnation, 903-904; Vyāsa does not appear in this P., though Sūta figures in the beginning of several chapters 904.

Vārāhītantra 172.

Vararuci, as expert in Nāṭyaveda 990n.

Vardhamāna 50n.

Vardhamāna–Nirvāṇa Era 656.

Vardhāpanavidhi (procedure of anniversary of birth of a child or king) 403.

vargottama, meaning of 584.

Varivasyārahasya, 1063 (on 36 tattvas).

Varṇa system and caste system: (vide under brāhmaṇas, Cāṇḍālas, caste, jātis, moral qualities, social legislation, śūdra): origin and development of 1632-1643; Bhagavadgītā (IV. 13 and XVIII. 42-44) asserts that the Varṇa system was based on qualities and actions and specifies the qualities and actions of the four varṇas, most of which for brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas are moral and spiritual 1635; how and why several thousands of castes and sub-castes arose only in India is an insoluble problem 1633; if Varṇa and caste system has broken down and become harmful and unpopular among people it may be discarded, but that cannot be done by force or mere legislation, but by strenuous work and education of all from childhood 1641; intermarriages between the first three varṇas were allowed even in the times of Yāj. and a few other Smṛtis 1265, 1632; is distinguished from *jāti*, but the two are confounded in Manu, 1633; it may be conceded that some centuries before the Puruṣasūkta, Aryan community was divided into four groups, a similar division not being unnatural and being found in other countries 1632; no evidence to show that intermarriages and interdining among the four varṇas was prohibited in the Vedic age 1633; numerous artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in Vāj. S., Kāṭhaka S. and Taj. Br., but there is nothing to show that they had become petrified castes, 1633; Varṇas were only four and there was no fifth v. 1633; word varṇa was applied to *āryas* and *dāsas* in Ṛgveda, they being hostile camps, 1632; words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya frequently occur in Ṛg. but the word varṇa is not expressly connected with them in it 1632.

Varṇasaṅkara (mixture or confusion of castes): 1634ff (had gone far in Mahābhārata

times); criticism of caste system had arisen and people had begun to contend that it is qualities that make a man a brāhmaṇa and not mere birth 1633.

Vārṣagaṇa, a Sāṅkhya teacher m. by Yuktidīpikā, 1355.

Vārṣagaṇya of Parāśaragotra, m. as teacher of Sāṅkhya in Śāntiparva and Yogasūtrabhāṣya and Bhāmatī 1374 and n.

Varṣakṛityadīpikā 241n.

Varṣakriyākaumudī: 31n, 34, 37, 42n, 52n, 54n–5n, 57n, 66n, 68n, 72n–81n. 83n-5n, 90n, 93n, 97n, 99n, 103n, 100n, 110n, 111n, 115–6n, 118n, 120, 132n, 136n, 137n, 142n, 152–3, 161, 163n, 195n, 167n, 169n, 170n, 174n, 176n–178n, 180n–182n, 193, 126n. 198, 200–1n, 207n–8n, 212n–215n, 216 218n, 220n–22n, 226, 230n, 232, 241, 243n, 249n, 660, 1096, 1109n, 1122, 1124, 1125n.

Varṣas, nine named by Viṣṇu, Vāmana and Vāyū (with variations) and they state that the Varṣas were given to the nine sons of Āgnīdhra, grandson of Svāyambhuva Manu, there being confusion about names of kings and varṣas, 1524–25.

Vārtika, defined, 1182–83.

Vārtikas (on Pāṇini) 68n, 130, 203n, 467, 667n, 720n, 735n, 820, 1032, 1156–57, 1169.

Vārtikālaṅkāra, of Prajñākaragupta 472.

Varuṇa, praised in 12 hymns of Ṛgveda is called Samrāj oftener than even Indra praised in about 200 hymns, 8.

Varuṇapraghāsa, a Cāturmāsya rite, in which the sacrificer's wife had to confess or indicate if she ever had a lover 1592n.

Vāruṇī, 13th *tithi* of Caitra dark half with Śatabhiṣak nakṣatra and is very holy 405.

Vasantarāja Śākuna (vide Upaśruti): 792, 799, 801, 805, 869; account of the author 805n; authors mentioned by, 805n; based mainly on the Bṛ. S. and Bṛhadyogayātrā 809; brief account of its contents 806-7; claims that it requires no expounder, no mathematics and if well studied the reader acquires great rewards 801; date of, between 700–1100 A. D. 805n; extends the meaning of Śakuna to include actions of men and beasts 808; five excellent animals for Śakunas are the podakī bird, dog, crow, piṅgalā bird and female jackal, that are presided over by certain deities 809; mentions fifty objects as auspicious signs when starting on a journey or entering a home and thirty objects that are inauspicious, 778; more than half of it (viz. 781 verses) are devoted to sounds made by three birds and 372 are devoted to barking and movements of dogs and female jackals 808; most comprehensive work on Śakunas and contains 1525 verses, 806; prognostications based on the sound produced by house lizard (*pallī* or pallikā) or its move-

ments and its fall on the several limbs of a person 792; prognosticications from throbbing of limbs, 800–801; silent about fall of pallī 792n; states that 'Upaśruti' (unpromoted oracular voices of a child etc.) is most reliable and easily understood Śakuna 809–810.
Vasantotsava 403–404.
Vāsavadattā of Subandhu 1009n, 1048.
Vasiṣṭha, sage, thought of committing suicide 1280; two births of, referred to in Ṛg. VII. 33, 1536-37.
Vasiṣṭha, a writer on Astrology, 61n, 134, 213n, 216, 593, 607, 621.
Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra 24n, 527n, 733n, 782n, 876n, 914n, 930. 937, 944–45, 1027, 1239n (on giving an only son in adoption), 1248n, 1335 (one sūtra on adoption interpreted in four ways), 1413n, 1416n, 1441–1442n, 1589n, 1596, 1638n (sale of milk by brāhmaṇa condemned).
Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta, one of the five Siddhāntas and far from accurate, 514n, 663n.
Vasordhārā: a Śānti m. by Tai S. and early and late Dharmaśāstra works 737n.
Vāstoṣpati, is either Indra or Rudra 790n.
Vāstu (house): see under 'house'.
Vāstu-śānti, also called Gṛhaśānti or Vāstu-śamana, 790–91; *saṅkalpa* in, 790n; very elaborate in late digests 791.
Vāstuśāstra, eighteen teachers of, m. by Matsyapurāṇa 623, 1653.
Vāstuyāgatattva, 1133.
Vāsudeva: antiquity of the worship of 962; in some Purāṇas like Brahma and Viṣṇu the word is not derived from Vasudeva, but from root 'Vas' to dwell 962.
Vāsudevaka, means one whose object of worship is Vāsudeva, acc. to Pāṇini 962.
Vasundharā, (vide under Vikrama): 56.
Vaṭakaṇikā, a work of Varāhamihira, quoted in Adbhutasāgara. 742n, 743.
Vaṭasāvitrīvrata, 91–94; on Jyeṣṭha Full Moon, 91; fast for three days or some alternatives of *nakta* etc 94; called Mahāsāvitrīvrata by V. K. V. 92; must have been in vogue long before 10th century A. D. 92; decision in case Full Moon tithi is viddhā 93: possible reason why worship of Vaṭa tree comes in, 93; procedure of 93.
Vāyavīyasaṃhitā 1108.
Vāyupurāṇa, 29n, 90n. 99, 129, 133n, 147, 209–10, 473n, (on Kāla), 476 (units of time), 520n (about motion of Saptarṣis), 540 (names of Muhūrtas), 649n (on beginning of Kaliyuga), 651n (beginning of Kṛtayuga), 657n, 667n, 678, 692–3, 696n, 698, 735, 774, 817n, 821n–2, 824n–5, 830n, (chap. 104 of doubtful authenticity), 843, 845n, 846–48, 850–52, 853n, 854–5, 857–58n, 861–3, 915–16, 921 (adopts

Upaniṣad passages), 931n, 932, 939n, 947, 974, 993n, 995-6, 1052n (q. by Kulārṇava), 1061n (on defects due to ignorant men practising yoga), 1152, 1182n, 1320n, 1399n, 1419n (only five aṅgas of yoga), 1438n, 1440n, 1456-7, 1526n, 1528, 1581, 1611, 1645n 1653n; divided like Brahmāṇḍa into four pādas, 905; first verse (Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya etc.) and 2nd eulogising Vyāsa not found in some mss. 905; Gayāmahātmya chapters deemed to be later 905; has 112 chapters and 10991 verses in Ānan. ed. 905; makes a passing reference to Gupta Dynasty and mentions rāśis 905-7; note on 906-7; one of the oldest and authoritative Purānas and contains much Dharmaśāstra material 905; Śaiva bias in several chapters but chap. 98 and Gayāmāhātmya are full of praise of Viṣṇu 905; some verses quoted by Śaṅkarācārya as from a Purāṇa or Smṛti are found in V. 906 and n.

Veda: (vide Mantras, Mahābhāṣya, nāmadheya, Ṛgveda, Pūrvamīmāṃsā); all Veda texts do not contain vidhis, numerous V. passages are commendatory, or condemn an act that is prohibited or refer to instances of persons performing the vidhi in the past or put forward to be a reason for the vidhi; these are not to be treated as unnecessary, but are to be taken along with vidhi passages to complete their full import 1243; arrangement into Maṇḍalas or Aṣṭakas or Kāṇḍas is not claimed to be eternal, though the V. is eternal 839, 861; different interpretations of some mantras by Śabara, Kumārila, Nirukta, Mahābhāṣya, Sāyana exemplified in the case of Ṛg. IV.58.3, 1255-56; divided into five categories viz. vidhi (hortatory), mantras, nāmadheya (names like Udbhid), pratṣedha or niṣedha (prohibition) and arthavāda (laudatory or explanatory passages) and examples of these 1098, 1225; divided into three parts, vidhi, arthavāda, mantra, (nāmadheya being placed under vidhi) 1225; the epic and Purāṇas say that the one eternal Veda was arranged into four parts by Vyāsa, but do not say that they were distributed into maṇḍalas or kāṇḍas by Vyāsa 859; eternal, self-existent, not composed by any human or divine author and infallible, acc. to P. M S. 1202-1204; is constituted by Mantras and Brāhmaṇa 1222; Mantras of the three Vedas are said by Manu to have been drawn from Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya 1181; Manu lays down *Japa* (muttering) of Vedic mantras of *adhiyajña*, *adhidaiva* and *adhyātma* types 1181; many vedic texts are apparently in conflict with

each other and with ordinary experience 1124; many verses of Veda had threefold applications viz. with reference to sacrifices (adhiyajña), adhidaiva or adhidaivata (with reference to deities) and adhyātma (with reference to metaphysical meaning) and illustrations 1181; Naiyāyikas hold that God is the author of the Veda and the Vedāntasūtra holds same view 1202; necessity of knowing four matters about every mantra viz the ṛṣi, the metre, the deity and application, emphasized by Ait Br., Chān. Up. and Smṛtis and evil consequences of not knowing these 859–860; passages in Smṛtis and Purāṇas stating that Brahmā or Prajāpati created the Veda are laudatory and not to be taken literally 1202; promulgated for Yajña 1184; proposition of some smṛtis that wealth is for Yajña, which is strenuously opposed by the Mitākṣarā 1184; Śabara lays down that one that wants to perform a vedic sacrifice must have memorized the portion of Veda relating to the sacrifice and must also understand its meaning 1181; Schools of Veda interpretation, such as Aitihāsikas refer to Devāpi and his brother Śantanu (Ṛg. X. 98 5, and 7), Yama and Yamī (in Ṛg.X.10) and Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Ṛg. X.33) as historical personages, but the Nairuktas explained them differently 1203; six aṅgas (auxiliary lores) of, enumerated in Muṇḍakopaniṣad and Āp.Dh.S., 478; Smṛtis sometimes say that there is no author of Veda, that Brahmā remembers it 1203; some Mantras like 'catvāri śṛṅgā' are laudatory of Yāga 1255–56; smṛtis like those of Gautama, Manu, Yāj., lay down the periods for which one should study (i.e. memorize) V.1180; study of V. has five aspects viz. memorizing it, reflection over it, constant repetition of it, *japa* of it and imparting to pupils 1181–82; substantial contribution to exegesis of Veda by P. M. S., Śabara and Kumārila, 1218; Svādhyāya and *pravacana* of V. constitute *Tapas*, 1180; teaching Veda, demanding fee for, was and is condemned even now but teacher could accept fees paid at end of studenthood by pupil or somebody else for him, 1638; that many Veda texts are lost or are unavailable is stated so early as Āp. Dh. S. 1259; theory that Veda is eternal and of absolute authority has led to some undesirable tendencies, viz. propounders of new-fangled doctrines claim they have Vedic authority, examples cited 1218–19; that words of the Veda have the same meanings that words in popular Sanskrit have is the view of

P. M. S., Śabara and other mīmāṁsā writers 1276; words like Babara Prāvāhaṇi, Pramaganda which the opponents of eternality of the Veda put forward as showing that they refer to ancient human beings are explained away as having other meanings 1203, 1224n, 1256; words like 'jarbharī turpharītu' (Ṛg. X. 106. 6), Kāṇukā (Ṛg. VIII. 77. 4), that are argued by some as having no sense are explicable with the help of Nirukta and grammar 1256.

Vedāṅgas (six) are declared by Kumārila to be useful as Kratvartha and Puruṣārtha 1261, 1274-76.

Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 498, 499n, 505n, 519, 538, 559 (Yājuṣa), 591, 646, 657, 659, 662 (Yājuṣa), 663, 681 (Ātharvaṇa), 1181, 1184; date of 505n.

Vedānta: (vide under 'Brahman, Deussen, Mokṣa, soul, Upaniṣads); Deussen's theory that kṣatriyas were the original cheirshers of V. thought, not brāhmaṇas, stated and criticized 577-86; doctrine of the non-difference of the individual soul and even of the inanimate world from the First Principle or Essence is one of the most characteristic features of Hinduism and India's greatest contribution to the spiritual development of man 1625, 1631; expresses advaita in such sentences as 'aham brahmāsmi'; 'tat-tvam-asi' 1482; first and foremost aspect of V. was that Ātman is the only reality and that Ātman can be only described in the words 'neti, neti', but it clashed with the popular idea that a real world existed apart from the creator 1498; in its highest form V. is the best support for pure morality for all individuals, the greatest consolation in the sufferings of life and death 1479, 1625; in medieval and later times by the side of sublime metaphysical tenets, there was lack of solidarity of all common people, lack of efforts to reduce poverty and dominance of brutal and alien invaders 1479; persons imbued with the true spirit of advaita Vedānta like Ramaṇamaharshi are found in India even in these days 1479n; tendency to appeal to the past, to believe that what has been is the best has been very strong in India throughout several centuries, 1479, 1707n (Advaita V. has influenced great modern minds in the West).

Vedāntasāra 1450.

Vedāntasūtra, 24n, 731n, 732n, 775, 779n, 780, 824-5, 860n, 866, 906, 921n, 944n, 953-56, 959, 1032-33n, 1045, 1063n, 1155n, 1158-9, 1167-8, 1202, 1211, 1218, 1255, 1273n, 1352, 1357n, 1359n, 1362-63, 1365, 1388, 1309, 1400n, 1403n, 1434n, 1446(n), 1466, 1468,

1469n, 1471, 1484–5, 1488n, 1499n, 1500, 1503, 1505, 1507–10, 1516n, 1541, 1542n, 1550, 1554, 1558–60, 1562–4, 1566–67, 1579 (on Vaiśvānara), 1580n, 1583, 1588, 1600n, 1602n, 1625 (refers to Atharvaveda Brahmasūkta), 1642; authors mentioned by V. S. alone and not by PMS are Audulomi, and Kāśakṛtsna 1173; author of, knew Yoga doctrines, same as some sāṅkhya doctrine, Samādhi but did not know the present Yogasūtra 1390–91; Bhāskara, Pañcapādikā, Śaṅkarācārya and Yāmunācārya hold that Bādarāyṇaa is the a. of V. S., while Rāmānuja appears to mention both Vyāsa Pārāśarya and Bādarāyaṇa as authors 1165–66; declares that *saṁsāra* is anādi 1567; mentions Jaimini's views eleven times, in six of which there is no corresponding sūtra or view in P. M. S. and Jaimini probably wrote a work on Vedānta also, 1167; mentions Bādarāyaṇa nine times, most of the views of B. being opposed to Jaimini's or at least slightly different 1167–68; problem of the authorship of V. S. is complicated but there were two Bādarāyaṇas, 1165–1169; problem of the eight sūtras in which the words 'taduktam' occur, discussed, 1176; Śāntiparva verses quoted as Smṛti by Śaṅkarācārya for supporting the views of V. S 1166n; Smṛti mentioned in many sūtras of V. S. is the Gītā acc. to Śaṅkarācārya and almost all ācāryas 1172; some sūtras of, differentiate between Jīva and Paramātman, while some others speak of non-difference between the two 1567; V.S. very much presupposes the P. M. S., which does not appear to have been influenced by V. S. 1176.

Vedārtha-saṅgraha of Rāmānuja, 880.

Vedha : of tithis, explained 72–73; V. in eclipses 250.

Vedic Age, chronology of, uncertain 513.

Vedic Interpretation : (vide under 'Aurobindo', 'Kapali sastry'); by Sri Aurobindo of 230 verses in all from Maṇḍalas I, II and VI and of 60 hymns in another work briefly examined, criticized and mistaken notions pointed out, 985–991; Nirukta mentions seventeen individual predecessors on V. I, who differ from it and also among themselves 984; several schools of, such as Aitihāsikas, Naidānas, Nairuktas, Parivrājakas existed even before the Nirukta 984, 1203–4; some examples on which Aitihāsika school would rely are Nāsatyau, Vṛtra, Purūravas and Urvaśī, Saramā and Paṇis, which would show that the Aitihāsikas did not believe in the self-existence and eternality of the Veda 1204; the most sublime

and fundamental thought of the Ṛgveda (I. 164. 46 and X. 129.2, VIII. 58. 2) that there is only one Spirit behind the various gods, that originally there was only that one which became all this, is embodied in words, about which there is no secrecy and which can be understood by any one who knows a little Sanskrit 987; about word 'Saṃvatsara' in regard to the Sattra called 'Viśvasṛjāmayana' said to last for a thousand years Jaimini (P. M. S. VI. 7. 31-40) boldly asserts that here it means a day, relying on Ṛg. I. 89. 9 and Tai. Br. I.7.6.2 (śatāyuḥ puruṣaḥ), 1321.

Vedic Texts, the repetition of which or homa offered with which was deemed to purify a person are set out in Vasiṣṭha Dh. S. (28. 10-15), 733n,

Velankar Prof. H. D. : explanation of Ṛg. X. 72 (aditer dakṣo ajāyata) by, demurred to 1488n.

Vena, called Gandharva in Ṛgveda and may be Venus 494n.

Vendidad : Parsi scripture mentions 'Hapta Hindu' (Sapta-Sindhu) 1613n.

Veṇīsaṃhāra 775n, 779n.

Veṅkaṭanātha or Veṅkaṭadeśika (1269-1369 A. D.) a. of Seśvaramīmāṃsā 1209; vide under Devatā.

Venkatasubbiah, Shri, avers that thirty works cited by Madhva occur nowhere else 1219.

Verbal forms : two kinds of, the first of which only conveys that the agent only exists (as in 'asti'), the second of which conveys not only the existence of the agent but also some activity of the agent (as in yajati), that is, in these latter the sense of 'karoti' (he does) is also understood, 1237.

Vernal Equinox: deemed to have occurred on Aśvinī-nakṣatra about Śaka 444 but now it has receded to Uttarābhādrapadā 712; was in Kṛttikās about 2300 B. C, 497n, 508; was in divisional sign Aries about 200 B. C, 601.

Verses : identical in several Purāṇas 853, 945n; identical in Brahma and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, 929, 1046n; identical in Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa 945n; identical in Viṣṇu and Padma 966n, identical in Viṣṇu and Varaha Purāṇas 931n.

Veśī : rāśi, when so called 584.

Vidhi (or Vidhis); (vide under Bhāvanā, Niyama and Parisaṅkhyā): V. apply to all Āryas 1281; (Vidhi) is an exhortation that is meaningful on account of enjoining a matter that has a useful purpose and that prescribes something which does not follow (is not established by) from any other authority 1225-26; is laid down by a verbal form or potential passive participle in 'ya' or 'tavya' 1225n; is ordinarily couched in the optative form (*vidhiliṅ*) and a verb in the present tense can-

not ordinarily be taken as laying down a V. 1226; only vidhis so called have absolute authority, while Arthavādas have authority in so far as they praise Vidhis 1283; one classification of vidhis is into four, 1228; sometimes a vidhi may be inferred even from a verb in the present tense (illustrated) 1226–7; the central element in v. is the verb or verbal form expressed as 'one shall do', 'it shall be be done', 'it ought to be done' 1226; the employment of words like 'hi' or 'vai' is not generally allowed in a V. 1227n; the text about rātrisattra, though in the present tense is, construed as a v. 1227; threefold classification of v. into apūrvavidhi (as in svargakāmo yajeta), niyamavidhi (as in 'he pounds rice') and Parisaṅkhyā 1229; two-fold classification of vidhis into Puruṣārtha and Kratvartha 1232–1234; where a rite has already been laid down all that can be said as laid down about it later is to enjoin an accessary (guṇa, a detail), 1226; where a vidhi is already established a separate vidhi is required for each of the auxiliary matters relating to it 1295n.

Vidhyādi, such texts as 'Darśapūrṇamāsābhyām yajeta' are called V. 1323.

Vidhyanta, is the whole procedure of Darśapūrṇamāsa except the originative injunction (Darśayajeta) detailed in the Brāhmaṇa texts about the offering of puroḍāśa (cake) 1323n.

Vidura, though a śūdra, possessed brahmajñāna 921; and secured mokṣa 1642.

Vidyāmādhavīya, (also called Muhūrtadarśana) 539.

Vidyāpati, a great writer of Mithilā; composed devotional songs of Viṣṇu, Śaivasarvasvasāra, Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī and also a tāntrik work 1076; the first verse of the Puruṣaparīkṣā of V. invokes Ādi-Śakti 1076.

Vidyās: fourteen V. set out in Yāj. and others 820, 926, 1152, 1263; fourteen known to Kālidāsa 1152n; eighteen acc. to some (including Upavedas) 820, 926n; Ghurye, Dr. G. S. work of, on 1152n; sources of, are 14 but Bauddha works are not included as sources of dharma or vidyās 1152, 1263.

Vidyāsthāna, (branch of knowledge): the word occurs in Nirukta 1276n; vide under 'Vidyās'.

Vidyāsūkta 1033n, 1461.

Vihavya-anuvāka, 786.

Vijaya, time and Muhūrta so called, 189, 406.

Vijayādaśamī (vide under 'Dasarā'): chief observances of 190; in place of Śamī, another tree called 'Apṭā' is worshipped in Mahārāṣṭra 192; on 10th of Āśvina bright half, 188; one of the three most auspicious days in the year, 189; Rāma is said to have marched

against Laṅkā on this day, 192; time for, when 10th tithi is mixed with 9th or 11th tithi 188; time for celebrating it is afternoon or *pradoṣa* 188; time for new undertakings even though the moon or some other planets be not favourable 189.

Vijñānabhikṣu (about 1550 A. D.): a. of Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya 976, 1355.

Vijñānadīpikā, of Padmapāda, (in 71 verses): 1574n (on three kinds of Karma), 1588, 1599.

Vikalpa (option) or Vikalpas: 1249–1252: (vide under śāstra, smṛtis); defined by Gautama, Jai., Śabara and Manu 1154; eight faults of V. apply only to V. based on reasoning, 1252: is liable to eight faults and should be avoided and resort should be had to paryudāsa or arthavāda 1250, 1252; may be a *vyavasthita* (i. e. restricted to a certain state of circumstances) or 'avyavasthita (not so restricted) and examples 1251–52; V. are grouped under three heads with examples, 1250–51; where two texts are irreconcilable there is V. as in the two sentences about Atirātra 1249–50.

Vikrama: became lord of the world in Kaliyuga by vratas 55; whose daughter Vasundharā of Daśārṇa country attained mokṣa by vratas 56.

Vikramāditya VI, of Cālukya dynasty; Inscription in 1098 A D. about school for teaching Prabhākara's Mīmāṃsā doctrines 1192.

Vikramāditya: doubts about the existence of a king called V. about 57 B. C. 650–51; Emperor Chandragupta II was styled V. on his coins 901; era of 650–53; papers on 650n, 651.

Vikramāditya commemoration volume 650n.

Vikramorvaśiya, a drama by Kālidāsa 46, 900–901 (close agreement between Matsyapurāṇa and V. on the incidents in the story).

Vinaya Texts 1070.

Vināyakaśānti, also called Gaṇapatipūjā 748; performed at the beginning of all Saṃskāras, such as Upanayana and marriage and for averting or mitigating effects of portents or on a Sapiṇḍa's death 748–749; performed also on Thursday or on certain auspicious nakṣatras 748; *Saṅkalpa* for, 748n; to be performed in ordinary fire 757.

Vindhyavāsa or -vāsin; identified with Īśvarakṛṣṇa by Takakusu and Keith but Abhinavagupta distinguished between the two 1376–77; also called Rudrila 1376.

Viniyogavidhi: conveys the relation between the principal act (*aṅgin* or *śeṣin*) and its subsidiaries (aṅgas or śeṣa) 1307; is the concern of 3rd chap. of P. M. S. 1307, 1309; six means

of determining what is principal and what are subsidiaries and the relative strength of the latter when there is a doubt or a conflict, each succeeding one being weaker than each preceding one, and there being 15 probable cases of conflict among these six and a few illustrations 1309–1311.

Vinoba Bhave and Bhūmidāna targets 1683.

Vipāś (river in Punjab, modern Beas), 537n.

Vīramitrodaya of Mitramiśra, 835n, 1192 (on Vyavahāra); on *āhnika* 42n.

Vīrāsana, a posture in Kṛcchra and Aghamarṣaṇa vratas 415 ; a yogic *āsana* 1425–26n.

Virāṭaparva 179, 185n, 192n, 506n, 663, 743, 821, 1570n, 1636.

Viṣa-ghaṭī or Viṣanāḍī, 736n ; birth of a child on V. is portent of death of father or mother or loss of wealth or of the child 736n ; a particular ghaṭi of each nakṣatra is so called acc. to Madanaratna 736n.

Viṣṇu : (vide under Avatāras, Śāstras) : appears to be a name of the Sun in the Ṛgveda and came to be regarded as Highest God in Brāhmaṇa times 957 ; Bhaviṣyapurāṇa says that V. begins to sleep in the first quarter of Anurādhā nakṣatra, turns on another side in the middle of Śravaṇa and wakes up in the last quarter of Revatī 110n ; day of, is equal to whole life of Brahmā 691 ; different tithis (11th, 12th, 15th) for Viṣṇu's going to sleep in different authorities 110–1 ; deluded people and asuras by producing Māyāmoha from his body that led them away from the Vedic path 974–975 ; how *śayana* (sleeping) and *prabodha* (awakening) of V. are to be celebrated, 112 ; identified with sacrifice (yajña) 957; Meghadūta and Vanaparva mention the sleeping of Viṣṇu on the snake Śesa and waking up 110, 127 ; one thousand eight names of V. set out in Anuśāsanaparva, chap. 149 and Garuḍapūrāṇa I. 15. 1–160, 977n, 780n ; possible explanations of sleep of Viṣṇu for four months 109 ; steps called V. in sacrifices 191 ; was supposed to go to sleep on night of 11th of Āṣāḍha bright half and to awake in the day on 11th of Kārtika bright half 109–10, 414 ; was supposed to turn from one side to the other in his sleep on Bhādrapada bright half 11th tithi (which was therefore called Parivartinī 109; worship of V. in three different ways, Vaidika, Tāntrika or Miśra 924 ; worship of, in six mediums 1131n, 1649 ; worship of, may be performed on Śālagrāma stone, on a jewel, yantra, maṇḍala, image, or in a temple, acc. to Padmapurāṇa I136.

Viṣṇucandra, writer on Astrology q. by Utpala 587n.

Viṣṇucittī, com. on Viṣṇupurāṇa,

832, 907.
Viṣṇudharma, an Upapurāṇa; 873-876, 909-10; Hazra relies chiefly upon a single ms. in Bengal 873; Hazra dates it between 200-300 A. D. 872; Hazra's interpretation of two verses from Viṣṇudharmottara is wrong, 874 and n.
Viṣṇudharmasūtra: 48, 51, 58, 89, 116, 218, 221, 249, 527, 681, 687, 691, 757, 782n, 817n, 825, 863, 931n, 934, 1024, 1027, 1243, 1248n, 1270n (similar to Yāj. I. 156), 1326, 1413n, 1416n, 1422n, 1441, 1448, 1533-34, 1590, 1596, 1648 (same as Manu), 1709n.
Viṣṇudharmottara, an Upapurāṇa: 57, 68n, 69n, 73, 90n, 91, 104n, 112n, 115n, 120, 129n, 135n, 137n, 169, 201n, 204n, 219-20, 250, 473 (on Kāla), 476, 477n, 529-31, 534, 541, 544, 624, 657, 659-60, 663, 682, 734 (chapters on Śāntis), 748, 751-52, 754, 768n (has verses common to Matsya and Br. S.), 774, 776n, 778 (same verse as in Matsya), 779n, 793, 798-99, 801, 803-5, 857n, 874n, 920, 923 (king's coronation with Vedic and Paurāṇika mantras), 973n, 1033, 1099n, (Gāyatrī verse used in black magic), 1128 (in chap. 32 it speaks of mudrāhastas and in chap. 33 of over 100 Sāmānyamudrās called nṛttaśāstramudrās), 1129, 1243, 1422, 1438, 1439n-1443n, 1455, 1649, 1653; Aparārka quotes only 7 times and about 25 verses only, 881; borrows from works of Varāhamihira 878; date of, acc. to Hazra, is 400-500 A. D. 876; date of, after 600 A.D. and before 1000 A.D. 910; has Tāntrik elements 876n, Kālikāpurāṇa refers to it 910, 1033; note on 876-78, 910; questions whether the Mudrās in religious worship were derived from the postures (karaṇas), *recakas* (gestures) and 32 *aṅgahāras* (movements of limbs) in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (chap. 4, 8, 9) cannot at present be finally decided 1128-29.
Viṣṇugupta, a. on astrology 593-4.
Viṣṇupadī-Saṅkrāntis 213, 413; puṇyakāla is 32 *ghaṭis* 215.
Viṣṇupañcaka, last five days of Kārtika are so called, 412-13.
Viṣṇupurāṇa: 79n, 112, 118n, 129, 147, 150n, 197, 205n, 221, 473n, 474n, 511n, 520n, 571n, 649, 651n, 678, 687, 689-92, 694, 698, 735n, 743n, (mentions Garga), 817n, 820, 824n, 825 (a verse of V. quoted as Smṛti by Śāṅkarbhāṣya), 845n (period of time between Parīkṣit and coronation of Nanda), 852, 853n, 857, 861, 907-909, 915 (story of Purūravas and Urvaśī), 916, 921 (adopts Upaniṣad passages), 926n (18 vidyāsthānas), 928-29, 949, 957n-59, 961 (on Prahlāda), 962-63, 969n, 974, 996, 1046-47, 1152n, 1222n,

(confused account of the śākhās of Sāmaveda), 1270n (on discarding even Vedic practices), 1312n (defines 'svarga' as *manaḥprīti*), 1362n, 1382, 1391 (quotes two verses of Hiraṇyagarbha), 1399, 1404 (on propounders of Yogaśāstra), 1417n, 1421, 1440, 1444 on *pratyāhāra*), 1446, 1448 (agrees with Y. Bhāṣya closely), 1450, 1455, 1457 (on Yogi-caryā), 1522, 1526n, 1528, 1596n ; closely agrees with definition as Pañcalakṣaṇa, 907 ; com. called Vaiṣṇavākūṭacandrikā of Ratnagarbha and another called Viṣṇucittī deal with a V. of 6000 verses only 832–33, 868n ; Dānasāgara knew a V. of 23000 verses which it discards 868n–69, 909 ; extant Viṣṇu P. composed between 300 to 500 A.D. 909 ; is full of characteristic qualities of Vaiṣṇavas 874n ; narrates how and why Vyāsa declared how Kaliyuga, Śūdra and women were blessed 928–929 ; on Sāṅkhya 1382 ; present text divided into six *aṁśas*, 126 chapters and has about 6000 verses 907 ; Rāmānuja in his Vedārthasaṅgraha quotes more than 100 verses from V, regards V. as of supreme authority over other Purāṇas 880, 957n ; Śākya, Śuddhodana (as 23rd in descent from Bṛhadbala and Rāhula mentioned by V.) 909 ; several works state the number of ślokas in V. to be different from 6000 to 24000, 832–33 ; some verses identical with Brahmāṇḍa and Brahma and other Purāṇas 908, 963n, 1516n ; teaches doctrine of complete advaita and of niṣkāma-karma 908 ; translated by H. H. Wilson 883, 909 ; Vācaspati names it in com. on Yoga-bhāṣya 909 ; Vyāsa does not play a prominent part in V. and Sūta does not appear as narrator at all 909.

Viṣṇurahasya 49n, 115n, 869 (a mere compilation, acc. to Dānasāgara).

Viṣṇusaṁhitā, elaborate treatment of dīkṣā in, 1117, 1123, 1125 and n (on Mudrās appropriate to several gods and names about 30).

Viṣṇuśṛṅkhalā-yoga 414–15.

Viṣṭi, 7th mobile Karaṇa, 411–12, 709–710 ; appears to have inspired great terror among medieval Dharmaśāstra writers 709-10 ; astrologers raised it to the status of an ill-omened Demoness. 411 ; euphemistically called Bhadrā or Kalyāṇī 412, 700 ; diagram showing how Viṣṭi occurs eight times in a month 709 ; fast on it, 411 ; inauspicious, except in its tail, last three ghaṭikās 710; supposed to have the form of a snake divided into mouth, neck, chest, navel, waist and tail, all being inauspicious except tail and each being assigned differing ghaṭikās 710.

Viṣuva Saṅkrāntis 713.

Viṣuvat day (when day and night were of equal length, known in the Brāhmaṇa period and was in the middle of the sacrificial year, 511; Divākīrtya-sāma, to be sung on 511n.

Viśvabhāratī, quarterly, Vol. II paper on 'China's debt to India' 1618n.

Viśvādarśa 102.

Viśvāmitra: and the rivers 537, 1203; and Śunaḥśepa 968n; famished V. wanted to eat dog's tail 1470; priest of Triśaṅku who had become a cāṇḍāla 1280.

Viśvāmitrasmṛti 218.

Viśvajit (sacrifice) 1312–13; in V. the sacrificer had to donate everything he owned at the time of giving dakṣiṇā in, 1312–1313; Jaimini devotes fourteen adhikaraṇas to, 1313; some of the important propositions are that the sacrificer cannot donate his relatives, that even the emperor cannot donate the whole kingdom, 1313; śūdra who serves a man of the three higher castes because it is his duty to do so acc. to Dharmaśāstra, cannot be donated 1257; Svarga is the reward of V. though the Veda does not expressly mention any reward 1312.

Viśvakarman: fashioned the two worlds (Ṛg. X. 81 and 82) 1488.

Viśvarūpa: com. Bālakrīḍā on Yāj. by 224, 825–26, 1155n, 1181 (explains Yāj. I. 51), 1259n (quotes Tantravārtika verse without name), 1270n, 1273n, 1281n, 1294 (śrāddha primarily means 'piṇḍadāna' and not feeding brāhmaṇas, 1309, 1425n; not identical with Maṇḍana 1194; quotes a half verse from Yogi-Yājñavalkya 1407; same as Sureśvara, the latter being his name on resorting to Sannyāsa 1194.

Viṭhobā of Pandharpur; Dāmāji, his devotee 951.

Vivāda-cintāmaṇi 1303.

Vivādaratnākara 1303, 1320.

Vivāhapaṭala of Varāhamihira 479n.

Vivekānanda, Swami; criticized by Shri Kuvalayānanda about his lectures on rājayoga, 1444; criticism of later Buddhism by 1030; on Rājayoga 1393–94; warns that Yoga can be practised with safety by direct contact with teacher 1441–42; 1709 (angrily says modern Hinduism is 'don't touchism.'); works of, 1622n.

Voḍhu, a Sāṅkhya philosopher 1372 and n.

Vogel J. Ph, author of 'Indian serpent lore' 127, 275.

Vogt, V. O. a. of 'cult and culture'; condemns the unbending arrogance of Moslems and Christian missionaries 1012n.

Vows: five great, among Jainas 28; found in all religions 28.

Vrata: (see under Dīkṣita, homa, fast, morning, snātaka, tithi, pāraṇā, udyāpana); actions to be given up during

vrata such as chewing tāmbūla, anointing with oil 49; adhikārin for V. 51–55; another vrata should not be begun till the first is finished 121; V. called Kṣurapavi 25; circumstances that do not break a vrata 48–49; classification of, into three (bodily, mental, vocal) or based on the period taken 56; comprehends many items such as bath, sandhyā, saṅkalpa, homa, pūjā, fast, feeding of brāhmaṇas, maidens and the poor, gifts and observances of rules of conduct 31; death in the midst of performing V. does not deprive performer of merit 48; derivation and meaning of, according to St. Petersburg dictionary from root Vṛ. 'to choose' 1; derivation of and meaning of acc. to Max-Muller from Vṛ. to protect, 1 acc. to Whitney from 'vṛt' to proceed, 1; v. acc. to Prof. Apte from 'vṛt' 2, 4; v. acc. to author from vṛ (to choose) 2, 4; described in Purāṇas but did not occupy a high place in ancient smṛtis 43; difference between Vedic sacrifices and V. 45; difficult to demarcate v. and utsava 57; different definitions of, in Sanskrit works, such as Śābarabhāṣya, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā, Raghunandaṇa 28–31; employed with verbs of motion like 'i' to and 'car' 6–7; exact determination as to the day on which a tithivrata is to be performed when tithi extends over two days occupies much space in Dharmaśāstra works 62; extravagant praise of the efficacy of v. for weaning away common people from Buddhism 46; flesh to be excluded in 41; flowers, fragrant substances, incense, the food to be offered to deities in, 37–38; food to be given not only to brāhmaṇas but also to the blind, the poor and helpless 39–40; food proper or improper for subsistence in 41–42; for completion of vrata, performer should donate gold and cows, but if one has nothing, the words of a brāhmaṇa that vrata is completed are enough 121; general rule that Saṅkalpa of a vrata to be made in the morning 32; giving up vrata through carelessness or other cause except death, entails dire consequences 47–48; gods, sages, siddhas attained highest perfection by V. 56; how to set about a vrata 81; if no saṅkalpa made about v. performer loses half the merit 82; immense literature on 57–58; in all vratas the pāraṇā is in the morning 121; in the medieval sense existed from before Āp. Dh. S. and the dramas of Kālidāsa 46; V. In the Ṛgveda pp. 1–21; in Vedic literature, sūtras and Smṛtis 22–29; is the one supreme observance for man and other observances do not come up even to one-sixteenth part of what vrata yields, 56; largest number of,

are tithivratas 56; lavish expenditure recommended by Purāṇas in, 40; matters that do not affect a vrata, particularly where performer is a woman, child or one in extreme pain, 49; mlecchas authorised to perform 54; meaning in which it is used in this section of H. of Dh, 28; meaning of, in Yājñavalkya Smṛti 123; meanings of, in all passages of Ṛgveda are command or ordinance, religious or moral practices or worship or vows 8, 11; meaning of 'command' or law' quite appropriate in more than half the Ṛgveda passages where the word occurs, 11; meaning of 'mode of worship or ethical practices' in words like 'avrata, apavrata', 'anyavrata', 11-12, 22; meaning of 'sacred vow or observance' 18; meaning of, came to be restricted to 'sacred vows' and 'rules of conduct,' 116; meaning of, as compared with ṛta and dharma 20-2; meanings of, two, generally in Saṁhitās other than Ṛgveda, in Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads 23; meanings of, two, secondary in Brāhmaṇa times viz. 'a proper pattern of conduct' and 'Upavāsa' 25; meaning of in Mahābhārata 27; meaning of, from first centuries of Christian era is 'a religious undertaking or vow observed on a certain tithi or day for securing some object by the worship of a deity accompanied by restrictions as to food and behaviour' 28; not to be undertaken in the midst of aśauca 48; number of vratas was small in the first centuries A. D. 46; V. word occurs about 220 times in Ṛgveda, 4; objects to be secured by vrata are numerous such as puṇya, progeny, wealth, health, pleasures, heaven and even mokṣa 55; observances for one undergoing a vrata acc. to Tai. S. 23 and acc. to Tai. Ā. 25n; observances for a king who has performed 'Brahmaṇaḥ Parimarah' 25; observances for newly married pair 27; of brahmacārin 45; offering in, to be clarified butter in the absence of specific provision, 49-50; persons of all castes (including śūdras) entitled to perform V. 51; preliminaries before undertaking vrata acc. to some, such as Vṛddhi-śrāddha 31-32; Pratinidhi (representative) such as son or wife may perform V. for one unable personally to perform owing to disease, accident etc. 53, 54; Rājamārtaṇḍa, the earliest extant nibandha so far known, is work on V. 58; rite that concludes a vrata is called Udyāpana, pāraṇa or pāraṇā 120; rule of Hārīta, that in every v. in which worship enters midday is the proper time 151; Saṅkalpa in V. to be made in the morning 81; Saṅkalpa of v., formula of 81; some rules

about times when to begin v 61–62; some vratas not to be begun when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or during some days before and after their setting 61, this volume speaks only of such Vratas as are mentioned in works on Dharmaśāstra and does not attempt to include all vratas performed by usage 59–60; to be performed in the evening or night have to be performed on the tithi existing in the evening or night even though it may be mixed with another tithi 72; Udyāpana, absence of, renders vrata fruitless 121; verbal forms of root 'mi' or 'mī' often used in Ṛgveda in relation to, 10; virtues to be cultivated by one undergoing V. 41; what acts to be avoided by one observing V. 42–43; women are entitled to perform V. but women performing vrata without consent of husband, father or son, reap no benefits 51; woman or maiden who is impure (in monthly illness or the like) should get her vrata performed or finished through another, but may perform bodily acts (like fast) herself 49, 53; words 'dhṛtavrata' (18 times), mahivrata (5 times), sucivrata (five times), vivrata (7 times) occur in Ṛg. and help in settling meaning of 'vrata' 12–17; word 'vṛṣavrata' explained 18–19; word 'vratānī' explained 17–18; word 'vratapā', meaning of 18, 22; w rks on, relied on in this volume arranged chronologically as far as possible 59.

Vratas: exhaustive list of 255–462; kinds of, viz. expiatory or voluntary 28; most of, are Kāmya (for securing some object in this life or next life or both 55; most v. are for both men and women 51; V. of gods, violated by human beings that are punished by gods for this 9; passages where the words 'tava vrate' occur 12–15; regarded as tapas or niyama also 28; several V. prescribed for women alone 51; spoken of, not only in relation to Agni, Indra, Mitra, Soma, Savitṛ, Uṣas and Ādityas, but also in relation to Varuṇa, Ṛrahmaṇaspati, Aditi, Aśvins, Parjanya, 7–8; some V. performed at fixed times or tithis 60; some seasonal v. and some festivals like Rāmanavamī and some like Sāvitrivrata and Yamadvitīyā should be kept up even in these days 54–55; spoken of as dhruva (immutably fixed) and *adabdha* (unassailable) in Ṛgveda, 8; spoken of as not violated by other gods 8–9; supposed to have been declared by divinities like Śiva, Kṛṣṇa or by great sages 254; topic of, inextricably mixed up with Kāla and tithi; two meanings of, in Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Nirukta, viz. religious observances or vows and special food prescribed for one engaged in a religious rite, 23; vratas of

the type described in Purāṇas had attained no prominence in times of Yājñavalkya-smṛti 123; V. which Vedic students had to undergo 27.

Vratakālaviveka 30n–33n, 47n–49n, 51n, 66n, 75–77n, 85n, 92, 126, 214n.

Vratakośa, edited by M. M. Gopinath Kaviraja, lists1 622 entries but lists unduly swollen as pointed out 47.

Vrataprakāśa 30, 55n, 92, 106n, 111, 112n, 122.

Vratarāja 34, 38n; 53n, 61n, 62, 82, 86, 89, 91, 95, 135, 144–6, 150, 179, 183n, 188, 195n, 208, 234–5.

Vratatattva 31n, 32n, 47n–49n.

Vratārka 30n, 34, 43, 51, 54, 61n, 86, 88, 93, 122, 127, 144, 150, 153.

Vrātyas in Atharvaveda 1387.

Vṛddha-Atri 914.

Vṛddha-Gārgya 77n, 607n.

Vṛddha-Gautama 250n.

Vṛddha-Garga, 520; different from Garga 592 (25 verses quoted by Utpala), 741n, 742n, 765 (on comets and eclipses), 793 (on Puṣyasnāna).

Vṛddha-Hārīta 817n, 855n, 924n, 963n, 965n, 976n, 1046, 1096n.

Vṛddha-Manu 196n, 706n.

Vṛddha-Śātātapa 79n, 116n.

Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha 213n, 215n, 220n.

Vṛddha-Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta 478–79n.

Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya 73n.

Vṛddha-Yavanajātaka of Mīnarāja 563, 576 (why two svagṛhas for each of five planets), 584, 589n (countries of birth of planets).

Vries, paper of, on 'Purāṇa studies' in Pavry Commemoration Vol. 843.

Vṛṣotsarga (letting loose a bull); on 11th day after a person's death or on Full Moon of Kārtika or Caitra once in three years on Revati 416.

Vṛt, root, meaning of, without Upasargas or with 2–3.

Vṛtta, meaning of, 19.

Vṛttikāra, commentator of PMS, often mentioned by Śabara and styled 'bhagavān', from whom S. sometimes differs 1186–87, 1221; enumeration of characteristics of Mantras by V. 1222; enumeration of the characteristics of Brāhmaṇa texts 1334; held to be identical with Upavarṣa by Prof. Kuppuswami and Pandit V. A. Ramswami and not so by Dr. S. K. Iyengar and the present author 1186n, 1187n, 1197.

Vyāḍi, m. by Kātyāyana Vārtikakāra 1157.

Vyāghra, Smṛti of 78n.

Vyāhṛtis (three or seven mystic syllables such as bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ etc.) 787, 1099n; denote Lokas acc. to Tai. Br. and Tai. Up. 1528n.

Vyāhṛti-homa, described 33n.

Vyās, K. B. 651.

Vyāsa 116–117, 126n, 243, 606, 1421n.

Vyāsa, son of Parāśara and

called Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana also 857, as he was born on an island and was dark in complexion 1161; compiled and arranged the one Veda into four parts and imparted them to four disciples acc. to Ādiparva and Purāṇas 857; 1161; composed Purāṇasaṁhitā from tales, episodes, gāthās etc. 858; composed Mahābhārata for education of women and śūdras 1642; deemed to be incarnation of Viṣṇu by Manu, Purāṇas, but of Brahmā in Vāyu and of Śiva in Kūrma 857 and n; fifth disciple of V. was Sūta Romaharṣaṇa to whom V. imparted Itihāsa-Purāṇa, whose son Sauti narrated Mahābhārata to Śaunaka and others in Naimiṣa forest 857; legends about 857; names of 27 Vyāsas in Kūrma and Vāyu, while Viṣṇu and Brahmāṇḍa cite 28 names of 28 Vyāsas of Dvāpara in Vaivasvata Manvantara 857–58; not a gotra name, while Jaimini, Bādari and Bādarāyaṇa are gotra names 1174; Pārāśarya is only one of the three pravaras of the group of Parāśaras 1174; son of V. was called Vaiyāsaki, acc. to Vārtika and means Śuka, acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1169; Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana and Paila are mentioned in Āśv. Gr. along with 'Bhāratamahābhāratadharmācāryas', 1161n; Vedic literature is silent about Vyāsa Pārāśarya except in Sāmavidhāna Br. and Tai. Ār. 859; Vyāsa or Vyāsa Pārāśarya is not mentioned by name either in P. M. S. or V. S. 1173; Vyāsas were born whenever Dharma and Veda declined 857.

Vyatīpāta, a Yoga, variously defined 419, 706; name occurs in Yāj. and Harṣacarita 705; thirteen V. in a year on which Śrāddha may be performed 705.

Vyavahāramayūkha 51n, 52, 162n, 1002, 1192, 1224 (on 'nāntarikṣe na divi'), 1242 (Devala explained), 1286–87, 1293 (brother in Yāj. III. 135 should mean only full brother), 1301–3, 1313n (on Viśvajit sacrifice), 1317n, 1323 (example of *atideśa* in Pitāmahasmṛti); on killing an *ātatāyin* brāhmaṇa, another practice prevailed in a former yuga 1272n; on Prāṇapratiṣṭhāmantra 1106; on Nārada saying that father can give less or more to sons at partition declares that that was the case in a former yuga 1272n; says that in Purāṇas one often finds usages opposed to smṛti 1278; text with notes ed. by the present author 1305; translation of V. by the present author 1301n–3n.

Vyavahāraprakāśa (part of Vīramitrodaya), 1303, 1316n, 1320 (Māṣamudganyāya), 1331 (rule of equal division), 1333 (holds rājan, a king, may be even a vaiśya).

Vyuṣṭa meaning of, in Arthaśās-

tra 647n.
Vyutthāna, meaning of 1414n.
Waddell L. H., a. of 'Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism' 1129 (describes nine mudrās practised by Lamas).
Wadia, Ardesar Sorabji N., a. of 'Fate and Free will' 1604.
W. Waerden Prof. B. L. Van Der 543, 582n (on Babylonian Astronomy), 595n.
Wales H. G. Quaritch, a. of 'Towards Angkor' and 'Making of Greater India' 1618n, 1657.
Walker, E. D., a. of 're-incarnation' 1530n, 1604.
Walker Kenneth, a. of 'the Circle of Life' (on metempsychosis) 1531, 1605.
Wallis, H. W. a. of 'Cosmology of the Ṛgveda' 1485n.
Warren, a. of 'Kālasaṅkalita' 642n, 644, 661.
Water Clocks used in India as early as the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa 542.
Watkins, Harold, a. of 'Time counts: the story of the calendar' 718n.
Watson, Prof. J. B. a. of 'Behaviourism' 1414n.
Watters, on 'Yuan Chwang's Travels in India' 1006n, 1040.
Wealth: Gautama and Manu lay down that the three higher varṇas should respectively acquire w. by gifts, conquest and agriculture, which became niyamas and must be held to be puruṣārtha and not kratvartha, 1192, 1233.
Webb E. J., a. of 'The names of the stars'. 550, 565n, 566, 582n, 595n.
Weber. A. a. of 'Der Vedischen Nachrichten von Der Nakṣatras'; regarded Pauliṣa-siddhānta as borrowed from Paulus Alexandrinus, but was rebuked by Kern for this 515n; thought the religion of bhakti for Kṛṣṇa was due to Christian influence but Barth disagrees 952n.
Week: (vide under 'day'): number of days in w. differed among different ancient people 676; w. of seven days practised among Jews, Babylonians and Incas 676.
Week Days: (vide under 'horā, sabbath, calendar): actions proper to be done on different w. according to Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Garga and Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa 680-81; arrangement of Hindu W. not based on Greek division of day into horās, but on ghaṭikās 571n; auspicious for all undertakings are Monday, Wednesday; Thursday and Friday 62, 604, 682; combinations of certain tithis and W. yield all rewards 70; combinations of certain W. tithis and nakṣatras bad for certain matters, 71; derived by Indians from Chaldeans acc. to S. B. Dixit 679n; derived in Europe ultimately from Babylonian gods, 683; Dio (200-220 A. D.) says W. originated in Egypt and were of recent introduction in his day 677; for Upanayana Tuesday and Saturday in-

auspicious 604; have no force at night in marriages 611; known in Italy before 79 A.D.; literary evidence in Sanskrit on W. 680–82; no evidence that the Indian names of W. and the method of arriving at the order of the days is not indigenous 685; not named in Bible 677; not mentioned in Mahābhārata 682; not borrowed *en bloc* by India from outside 685; oldest reference to W. in Indian Inscriptions is of the Gupta year 165 (484 A.D.) 680; one of the five aṅgas of a pañcāṅga 675; order of W. takes no account of the distances of planets 678; origin and development of, 677–685; probable that W. were known to Indians between 100 B.C. to 100 A.D. 681; probably suggested to Indians from worship in Babylonian temples of planets on different week days 683; Ptolemy makes no astrological use of W. 678; Sanskrit literature concerning W. 681–2; Sarton's view that Greeks had nothing to do with W. but Egyptians and Babylonians developed W. 678; section on, in Ātharvaṇa Jyotiṣa 681.

Welfare State implied by Art. 38 in Constitution 1679: (vide under socialistic pattern of society); theoretical aims of 1695.

Wells, H. G., a. of 'You can't be too careful' 1483n.

Westcott G. H., a. of 'Kabir and Kabir panth' 969n.

Westermarck, a. of 'Origin and development of moral ideas' 1647n (on slavery).

Western Writers: (vide under 'conjecture'): on Sanskrit Literature and Indology draw positive conclusions from mere silence 858; prejudices about matters Indian 542; request to, to follow Mallinātha's rule 1531; severe strictures of W. against privileges and feeding of brāhmaṇas laid down more than a thousand years ago should not rely on 19th and 20th century notions but should compare the position of brāhmaṇas with what was done by Popes, Inquisitions, monastic orders in centuries from 10th to 15th century A.D. 932; similarities in institutions, usages and other matters are often attributed to Indians borrowing by W. W, without hardly any cogent or positive evidence, but merely by conjecture and prejudice, 481–82.

Westaway F. W.: a. of 'Obsessions and convictions of the human intellect' (1938), 1483n; holds that argument from design for God's existence carries a high degree of probability 1483n.

Whitney; 1, 5, 6, 12, 510, 512, 1491; W's derivation of vrata, from 'vṛt' to proceed 1-5; had doubts about his theory of the derivation and meaning of 'vrata' owing to the verb

'mī' used with it 10; holds that the praises bestowed on Nāsadīya hymn were nauseating 1491; makes very disparaging remarks about Indian achievements in astronomy and generally 512; suggested without any positive evidence that it was pre-Ptolemaic astronomy that was transmitted to India 517.

Widow: (see Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act.): could adopt in Bengal provided husband's permission was proved 1336; could not adopt a son at all acc. to Dattakamīmāṁsā and Vācaspati 1335-36; in Madras she could adopt with husband's permission given before his death or with the consent of the husband's agnates 1336; remarriage of, allowed by Parāśarasmṛti but Parāśaramādhavīya adds that that practice belonged to another yuga 1266n; widow requires no consent of husband nor of anyone else, provided the husband has not prohibited adoption by her, acc. to Nirṇayasindhu, Vyavahāramayūkha 1336.

Wife: (vide under 'sacrifices'): exaggerated praise of chaste wife's power is a mere arthavāda 1598; Jaimini provides that W. not being equal to the husband in the knowledge of mantras and ignorant, is restricted to the performance of those acts only that are expressly enjoined on her such as looking at the clarified butter, observing brahmacarya and repeat a few mantras which she should learn from her father or her husband 1287-88; W. gradually lost all importance in Vedic sacrifices and came to be a mere silent spectator of weary details 1288; many Smṛti rules apply to W. also although the texts may employ a word in the masculine gender e. g. Manu XI. 93 prohibiting men of three varṇas from drinking surā was held to apply to wives also 1288.

Wilson, Prof., translator of Viṣṇupurāṇa 830n, 834n (gives differing lists of Upapurāṇas), 895n; a. of 'Religion of the Hindus' 1532.

Wilson J. A., author of 'Burden of Egypt' 490n.

Wine: drinker of, was regarded as one of five grave sinners in Chān. Up. 1079; high praise of W. as Tārā, as Saviour of souls in Tantras 1082; not offered to gods in Vedic age, was differentiated from Soma and was deemed to lead to sin 1078.

Winlock, H. E. 490n.

Winter Solstice: occurred on Māgha amāvāsyā in the time of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, 491n.

Winternitz, author of 'History of Indian Literature' (English tr. 1927), 155n, 513, 1039 (Hindu Tantras not borrowed), 1606; Vol. I. 599n, 838 (on authenticity of sec-

tions and verses of Mahābhārata), 844; a. of 'Some problems of Indian Literature' 1650.

Wolfe, Bertram De. a. of 'Krushchev and Stalin's Ghost' (1957), 1474n.

Women: advantages enjoyed by w. in contrast to men 929: could secure brahmajñāna and mokṣa by listening to the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, acc. to Śaṅkarācārya 921n: different views as to whether homa could be performed by W. 52; extravagant praise of women in several Tāntrik works, 1056; in Gujarat and other places tie silken amulets round the wrists of their brothers 128; no capacity to recite Vedic mantras 52; women had no votes in England till the first World War and in Switzerland even now they have none, 1664 and n.; 1674 (drastic changes in the legal status of Hindu women by Acts of 1954 to 1956).

Wood, Ernest, a of 'Yoga'; states that he once saw 'levitation' (*laghimā*) of an old Yogin 1452-3n.

Woodroffe (Sir John): (vide under 'Arthur Avalon'): a of 'Śakti and Śākta': 1048n, 1080n, 1089, 1136n; a. of 'Principles of Tantra' 1137; criticized 1078–1080, 1084–85; explains in an esoteric way the meaning of verse 'pītvā etc.' by referring it to the awakening of Kuṇḍalinī) 1088n, 1092 and n, 1123; wrote a foreword to Dr. Rele's work in which he dissented from Dr. Rele about Kuṇḍalinī being the Vagus Nerve 1443.

Woods, Prof. James H.: translator of Yogasūtra, bhāṣya etc. 1394.

Woolf, Leonard. a. of 'Barbarians at the gate' 1619; a. of 'Quack, quack' 1617.

Woolley, Sir Leonard, a. of '*Sumerians*' 482.

World, various views about origin of, from Upaniṣad times 1573–74.

World Calendar Association 714n; in New York founded by Miss Elisabeth Achelis 714n; recommendations of 714n.

Word, has creative power and is one with God (acc. to Ṛg. X. 121. 8), 1490.

Words: are divided by P. M. S. into Nāmāni and Karmaśabdas, also called *ākhyāta* 1237; connection between words and senses is eternal 1203–4; import of, whether Jāti (class) or Vyakti (individual) discussed in Vārtikas on Pāṇini 1157; import of, is ākṛti, acc. to Jaimini 1158; mīmāṁsakas hold that the word, denotation and the relation of these two are eternal 1205; Pāṇini made use of both Jāti and Vyakti as import of words in different sūtras acc. to Mahābhāṣya 1157–8; three senses of W. viz. primary (abhidhā), secondary, and suggested, owing to the three vṛttis of abhidhā,

lakṣaṇā and vyañjanā, 1293 ; Upavarṣa held that it is the letters that constitute the word, 1205n.

Writers medieval; weakest points of, were lack of exact knowledge of history and chronology and obsession to glorify to the skies their favourite author or work 1177.

Xerxes (486 B. C.–465 B. C.), 1613.

Yajeta : analysis of the notions underlying the word y. occurring in sentences like 'Svargakāmo yajeta ' (one desiring svarga should offer a sacrifice) 1235–38.

Yajña : (vide under Devatā) : sacrifice is called leaky vessel by Muṇḍaka Up. 1471); gṛhyasūtras prescribe rites to be offered in gṛhya fire, seven of which are called pākayajñas 1323n; Jaimini's position is that in a y. the *havis* (offering) is the principal matter and *devatā* is a subordinate detail (*guṇa*) 1207; Kratu and Yajña, difference between 1646 ; both words occur hundreds of times in Ṛg. 1646 ; Y. means (acc. to Śabara) ' giving up of a substance (dravya) intending it for a deity in words' 1208n ; notion grew that nothing great can be accomplished except by *tapas* or Y. 1489 (texts cited); Ṛgveda in a few places asserts that offerings of ghee and fuel sticks in Y. would yield great rewards 916 ; Śabara speaks of four Mahāyajñās viz. Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Jyotiṣṭoma Piṇḍapitṛyajña 1323 n; Skandapurāṇa runs down not only animal sacrifices but even offerings of fuel sticks and flowers 916 ; Soma sacrifices are seven, acc. to Gaut. Dh. S. 1323n ; Vedic Y. usually divided into three varieties viz. Iṣṭi, Paśu and Soma, this last being divided into Ekāha, Ahīna, Sattra 1323n.

Yājñavalkya : three works (apart from the Smṛti and Bṛ. Up.) connected with the name of Yāj. viz. Vṛddha-Yāj., Yoga-Yājñavalkya and Bṛhad-yoga (or-gi)-Yājñavalkya and it is shown that none of these can be the Yogaśāstra mentioned in Yāj. Smṛti (III. 110), 1404–1408.

Yājñavalkyasmṛti 27, 29–30, 33, 36, 48, 50, 52, 102n, 103, 123, 159n, 193, 210, 224, 246–7, 528, 536n, 538, 544, 678, 705, 748–49, 756n, 757, 789n, 817n, 825, 862, 865, 936–38, 945, 946n, 1023–24, 1032, 1063n, 1113, 1152, 1156n, 1181 (I. 51 explained by Viśvarūpa), 1230 (various views on Yāj. 1. 79 and 81), 1234, 1248 (several examples of *paryudāsa* in I. 129–166), 1251, 1256n, 1268n (conditions of *niyoga*), 1270, 1274, 1284, 1286, 1292, 1303 (conflict among medieval digests), 1305, 1308, 1315n, 1317, 1388, 1403, 1416n, 1420, 1438, 1441, 1446–47 (aṅgas of Yoga),

1457–9, 1482, 1507, 1555n (follows Bṛ. Up.), 1557–58, 1565 (uses word Saṁsāra), 1573 (five views m. as to what causes desirable or undesirable results), 1590–91, 1608, 1611, 1628, 1632 (allows intermarriages between three varṇas), 1645 (on sannyāsin), 1669, 1672, 1697 (truth and non-violence basic), 1704; declares that rise and fall of kings depends on planets 544: employs word 'vrata' in three senses 123; hardly ever refers to vratas in the sense in which Purāṇas use the word 123; mentions some Sāṅkhya tenets such as guṇas 1379; Viśvarūpa's com. on, is called Bālakrīḍā 825n, 826n, 1155n.

Yakṣa, word occurs in Ṛg. and Atharvaveda 1360n.

Yakṣakardama (unguent with five fragrant substances) 384.

Yale, John, *edited* 'What Vedānta means to me'—a symposium 1707–8n.

Yama: smṛti of, 112n, 8 0n, 949n, 1257 (gāthās from Yama's Dharmaśāstra quoted by Anuśāsanaparva), 1381–82 (verses on Sāṅkhya quoted from), y., while mentioning 25 tattvas adds Puruṣottama as 26th tattva, 1382n.

Yama and Yamī 209, 915, 1203 (dialogue)

Yama and Pitṛs 1554,

Yama, god of death, called Vaivasvata 692; seven or 14 names of, in tarpaṇa on 14th in Divāḷi 196 and n; ten names of, in Bhrātṛdvitīyā 208n; wrong conclusions, of western scholars from Yama and Yamī hymn 209.

Yamadvitīyā, see Bhrātṛdvitīyā.

Yamas: (vide 'niyama'): are obligatory or paramount duties for all, acc. to Manu 29; are in the nature of prohibitions 1422; five m. by Yogasūtra, Kūrma, Liṅga 29n, 946n, 1419, 1420n; ten mentioned by Yāj. and Vaikhānasa 29, 946n; the observance of Yamas by all men may be called Vrata but there are exceptions for them, but in the case of Yogins rigorous observance without exceptions is called Mahāvrata 1420–21.

Yamas are based upon passages like Chān. Up. III. 17. 4 and Bṛ. Up. V. 2. 3, which asks all men to cultivate dama, dāna and dayā 1422.

Yāmalas, works of Tantra class, 736 and n; number of, varied but often given as eight 736n.

Yāmunācārya: preceptor of Rāmānuja's teacher 1165; ascribes Brahmasūtra to Bādarāyaṇa 1166.

Yantra (geometrical diagram) or yantras (vide under cakra) 1135–1139; a characteristic in Tantra worship, sometimes called cakra 1135; *bindu* in the diagram of Śrīcakra represents Śakti or mūlaprakṛti solidified 1137; derivation of the word 'Yantra' 1135; described in many tantra works and

some Purāṇas 1135n; difference between Maṇḍala and Y. 1136; differently enumerated in different works 1137; distinction between Y. and devatā is like that between body and soul, 1136; is engraved, drawn or painted on metal, stone, cloth, paper, birch leaf or other material with paste of sandalwood, camphor, musk, saffron and should be worn on head 1135, 1139; Kulārṇavatantra and others say that the devatā is not pleased if it be worshipped without Y. 1135; most noted Y., is Śrīcakra 1136; Prapañcasāra tantra states that by the worship of a certain Y. a sādhaka can make a woman smitten with passion for him and draw her to him 1105, 1139; prescribed by even Śāradātilaka for destruction of one's enemies 1138-39; Śrīcakra, described 1137; special 'Yantragāyatrī' evolved by some works 1135; used for making holy the bed of a woman in labour 1047; was supposed to restrain restlessness of mind due to anger, love etc. and to induce concentration 1136; worship of Yantra is bahiraṅga-pūjā (external worship of Śakti), while antaryāga consists in taking awakened Kuṇḍalinī from Mūlādhāra through all Cakras 1137-38; Zimmer on Y. in 'Myths and symbols in Indian Art' 1135.

Yaśaskara, king of Kashmir (939-948 A. D.) in whose reign Tāntricism declined 1075.

Yaśastilaka Campū (composed in 959 A.D.); 897n (on several ancient Sanskrit grammars), 1074 (refers to Dakṣiṇa and Vāma mārgas of Tantra).

Yāska: (see under Nirukta) 23, 720, 855, 1102, 1203 (Aitihāsika school of Vedic interpretation), 1256n; derives nakṣatra from root 'nakṣ' 510; flourished several centuries before Christ 984; holds that Ṛgveda mantras have a meaning as they employ the same words as in ordinary Sanskrit 961-992.

Yati: (vide Sannyāsa and Sannyāsin): in the Ṛgveda and relation to Indra 1386; y. in the Upaniṣads 1387; was highly honoured and hence many persons quite unfit to lead life as Y. entered the order 1644-45.

Yatīndramata-dīpikā 960n, 961n.

Yātudhāna (one who employs black magic) 1035-36.

Yavanajātaka of Spthujidhvaja 563, 573n, 576, 577n, 580n, 581, 588n; (vide vṛddhayavanajātaka and Varāhamihira): had traditions about dreṣkāṇas different from Bṛhaj-jātaka and Sārāvali 583n; styled as Yavaneśvara by Utpala 577n, 584n, 586n.

Yātrā: (vide under 'Prasthāna', 'Yoga'); auspicious *lagna* (at question time) and auspicious

position of planets 619; commended on nine nakṣatras 619; if *lagna* at birth not known, lagna at question time to be taken as basis 618-619; inauspicious objects and persons on starting 622; starting on Yātrā *facing Venus inauspicious 620;* subjects included under 616-7; tithis commended for Y. 619; three works of Varāhamihira on Y. 617; two meanings of word 'Yātrā,' viz. (1) starting on a pilgrimage or for earning wealth, (2) march of king for victory, 616; week days not astrologically important in Y. 619; works on Yātrā 616-617; Yātrās of Gods 385-86.

Yavananarendra or Yavanendra, work of, mentioned by Bādarāyaṇa, predecessor of Varāha, Varāha and Sārāvali) 563n, 591.

Yavanas, composed in Sanskrit works on astrology 563, 600; *described in Karṇaparva* as all-knowing, valiant and different from mlecchas 829n; generously praised by Varāhamihira for proficiency in astrology but he says hardly anything about their astronomy 516-517, 600; generally quoted in the plural by Varāhamihira who calls them mlecchas 594, 600; y. in the Yugapurāṇa 828; provided auspicious times for caula of a child in their astrological work 606; two large works in Sanskrit composed by Sphujidhvaja and Mīnarāja, who describe themselves as lords of Yavanas 516, 563; views of, on astrology, differed from Varāhamihira's on substantial matters, 516, 563, 601n; word Yavana is the Sanskrit reproduction of the word *Ionia*, 516n.

Yavanāni, meaning of word Y. changed 516n.

Yavaneśvara q. by Utpala, 574, 588 (on moon's *bala*), 591 (on *daśās*); differences of, with Varāhamihira (vide under Varāhamihira).

Year: (vide Bārhaspatya cycle, Saṁvatsara): beginning of Indian Y. now in either Caitra or Kārtika but in different months in ancient times 659-60; Bārhaspatya year 658; Bārhaspatya year names adopted at the beginning of a year in N. India and Deccan 661; Cāndra year (pure) of 354 days 657; Egyptian year, 646; extent of, *in Vedic* times 488-491; four beginnings of Indian year, m. by Alberuni 659; is said in the Brāhmaṇa texts to have 360 days and 720 days and nights together 489; length of Bārhaspatya year 661; length of y. acc. to Sūryasiddhānta and modern sidereal year 711; lunar y. is less than solar year by a little over 11 days 646; most ancient peoples including Indians followed Luni-solar Y. 646; one human year supposed to be equal to a day

of gods in Tai. Br. 656n ; origin and information of cycle of Bārhaspatya year 661 ; saṁvatsara and varṣa used in same sense by Aśoka 493 ; Saura year defined 657 ; Sāvana y. of 360 days 491, 658 ; several synonyms for, in the Veda 656 ; sidereal year, length of 645 ; thirteenth month recognized in the Ṛgveda, other Vedas and Brāhmaṇa texts 489 ; tropical year, length of 645.

Yeats W. B. 1393.

Yeats Brown F , a. of ' Bengal Lancer ' 1088, 1111n, 1427.

Yeṣṭihas, names of certain muhūrtas 538.

Yevtic, Paul, a. of ' Karma and Re-incarnation ' 1605.

Yoga (astrological conjunction) 619 ; for successful march against an enemy 919.

Yoga : (vide Amṛtasiddhi, Mṛtyu-yoga, Dagdha-yoga) ; 4th aṅga in a pañcāṅga 704-7 ; yogas are 27 in number and make together 360 degree S, i. e. each yoga corresponds to 13 degrees and 20 minutes-being the sum of the longitudes of the Sun and Moon, 704 and n ; in all auspicious rites the first few ghaṭikās as specified should be avoided in the case of Viṣkambha, Vajra, Vyāghāta and Atigaṇḍa 105 ; names of 27 Yogas beginning with Viṣkambha that are ever recurring 704; no direct astronomical phenomena correspond to it, 704; names of nine of the 27 yogas that are condemned astrologically 705 ; other yogas than 27 are m. in pañcāṅgas 707 ; rules as to observance of fasts, vratas and religious gifts and śrāddhas when a yoga extends over two days 705 ; special yogas when there is conjunction of certain tithis, nakṣatras and week days and of planets with rāśis and nakṣatras 706 ; system of Y. ancient 705 ; Vyatīpāta 705 ; Y. called Vyatipata and Vaidhṛti and the first half of Parigha and the first quarter of those the names of which are odious are inauspicious 705.

Yoga and Dharmaśāstra 1385-1467 : (vide under āsanas, avidyā, Buddhist, Īśvara, Jaigīṣavya, Levitation, prāṇāyāma, Yoga-sūtras, Yogin) : Y. and Sāṅkhya often mentioned together in Śv. Up , Mahābhārata, Gītā, Padmapurāṇa 1385; aṅgas of Y, are eight, first five called bahiraṅga and last three antaraṅga to Yoga 1418n, 1419n, 1445 ; *āsanas* of two types one helpful in prāṇāyāma and meditation, the other helpful for physical culture and eradication of diseases 1430 ; āsanas, references to figures of, 1393 ; concentration of mind effected by Trāṭaka 1428n ; definition of ' Yoga ' in ' Yogasūtra,' Devala, Dakṣa and Viṣṇupurāṇa 1409n ; derivation of the word Y. and of Yogin, 1385, 1389n; difference of views about the number of the aṅgas of yoga, 1419 and n ; discipline of the

mind known to Āp. Dh. S. 1390; doctrine of Y. dilated upon in Śānti and Āśvamedhika parvans 1399–1405; eightfold Y. acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; first signs of the effectiveness of Y. practice acc. to Śv. Up. 1111; five *bhūmis* (conditions or stages) of *citta* (mind) 1409; five vṛttis of citta and the means for their suppression, viz. Abhyāsa and Vairāgya 1409–10; fourfold axioms of, described as resembling Buddha's four Noble Truths 939n; fully developed at time of Kaṭhopaniṣad 1387n; fundamental and peculiar characteristic of India and no other country has had a similar system of psychical and moral discipline 1651; fundamental idea of Y. is that individual soul is real, eternal and pure, but is immersed in the objective world and pursues transient ends and prescribes a rigorous discipline to secure the soul's isolation from *avidyā* 1414; germs of Y. can be traced back to Ṛgveda 1385; goal of, is Kaivalya, that is, in that state the individual soul abides isolated in its own form and is free from prakṛti and birth and death, the functions of the mind being mastered 1462; Hiraṇyagarbha said to be the ancient propounder of Yoga in Śāntiparva 1390–91; ideal of Y., is to be Jīvanmukta 1455 (to reject life and Personality and to die to this world); Kleśas (hindrances) are five, avidyā, asmitā, rāga dveṣa and abhiniveśa; they are minimised by tapas and the other two, 1415n, 1416; Kleśas are also called tamas, moha, mahāmoha, tāmisra and andhatāmisra 1409, 1415–17, 1572; meanings of the word Y. in Ṛgveda 1385–86; mentioned in some Upaniṣads 1387–88; Muni and Yati mean the same thing in Upaniṣads 1388; niyamas in Y. S. are five 1421; no spiritual power equal to Y. acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; obstacles (*antarāya*)* that cause distraction of the mind when a person is practising yoga, their companions and the means of preventing them, 1411–12; path of, difficult for even wise brāhmaṇas but a person of low varṇa or a woman can practise it 1400, 1461–62; proper places for practice of yoga acc. to Śāntiparva 1400; practices that are preliminaries to attainment of Yoga are *tapas*, *svādhyāya* and devotion to Īśvara 1415; Purāṇas like Kūrma and Viṣṇu give varying accounts about the propounding of Yogaśāstra by Yāj. 1404; refuted in Y. S. only as to its Sāṅkhya tenets acc. to Śaṅkarācārya, but part of it is acceptable, 1352, 1361, 1388; results of continuous practice of yamas and niyamas are set out in Y. S. II. 35–45 as e. g. when the aspirant is established in ahiṃsā, all men and animals give up enmity in

his presence 1423–24; Samādhi, samprajñāta (or sālambana or sabīja) and asamprajñāta (or nirālambana and nirbīja) and their subdivisions) 1411 and n; Sanatkumāra connected with Yoga by Anuśāsanaparva 1391; several Purāṇas deal with the eight aṅgas of, 1455; signs that a person engaged in Yoga is succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels mentioned in Śv. Up., Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya 1456–57; system enjoyed and enjoys greater esteem in India than Sāṅkhya 1385; system inculcates the doctrine that by control of prāṇa in the body it is possible to obtain control over deep-seated forces in human consciousness as well as in the world 1435; y. system, like medicine, has four aspects, viz. saṃsāra, cause of it, release from it and means of release (samyag-darśana, insight into Reality) 1418; systems of yoga are only two, viz. Pātañjala-yoga and the other dealt with in Haṭhayogapradīpikā, the former concentrating on mind discipline and the latter on health of body and freedom from diseases 1427–28; Vāyupurāṇa provides remedies for curing such rasults as deafness, blindness, dumbness, due to ignorant men indulging in prāṇāyāma and yogic practices without proper guidance 1061n; warning by Aldous Huxley against plethora of books on Yoga 1651; word Yoga is used in an extended sense in the Gītā, in Yogatattvopaniṣad and by some modern writers 1426–27; works and papers on Yoga in general 1393–94; Yāj. Smṛti states that realisation of the self by means of Y. is the highest dharma 1459; Yāj. Smṛti says that for attaining Yoga one must learn the Āranyaka (that is Bṛ. Up.) and the Yogaśāstra, both proclaimed by him, but, it is a very debatable point which was the yogaśāstra composed by him, 1403–8; Yamas and Niyamas constitute a preliminary ethical code to be observed by an aspirant for yoga 1423.

Yogabhāṣya of Vyāsa who is different from Vyāsa, a. of Mahābhārata 1397–1399; date of, discussed, not later than 4th century A.D., 1398–99; mentioned on pp. 471 (on Kāla), 939n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113, 1356, 1373, 1374n, 1392 (prefers Jaigīṣavya's view), 1398, 1402n, 1408–9, 1416–1418n, 1421, 1424n, 1437, 1439, 1443, 1449n, 1450n, 1452n, 1528-9, 1572 (four questions raised about Karma).

Yogacūḍāmaṇi, a Yoga Upaniṣad 1389n

Yogakṣema, meaning of, 543; used in Ṛgveda as one word or as separate words 1385–86.

Yogamīmāṃsā, Journal, ed. by Shri Kuvalayānanda 1407, 1409, 1428n, 1439n.

Yogaśastra, m. by Śaṅkarācārya

on V. S. II. 1. 3, 1388.

Yogaśāstra of Jaina ācārya Hemacandra, 1441n.

Yogasūtra (vide āsanas, food, God, Patañjali, place, siddhis, Yoga, Yogabhāṣya, Yogin, 471, 907, 939n, 946n, 1068n, 1111n, 1113n, 1364n, (kleśas), 1392, 1395 and n, 1401–3, 1409 (and on most pages up to 1455), 1572, 1601n, 1611; *abhyāsa* and *Vairāgya* defined and explained 1410–11; accepts and presupposes some of the sāṅkhya doctrines, such as Pradhāna, guṇas, individual souls, Kaivalya 1401–2; are difficult and do not give complete explanations but are in the nature of brief notes or hints that rouse curiosity, examples 1459–60; (Dr.) Behanan's appraisal of Y. practices based on experiments 1456; commentary Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja on 1377, 1394, 1395n, 1420n, 1424n; commentary Tattvavaiśāradī of Vācaspati on Sūtra and bhāṣya (vide Vācaspati also), 1394; commentary Yogasudhākara 1420n, 1449n; commits breach of grammar 1397; date of, discussed by various scholars with varying conclusions, but it is not later than 3rd century A. D. 1395–1399; definition of Y. does not require the *japa* of *om* or any mantra like Gāyatrī, though Yāj. smṛti, Atri, Vasiṣṭha prescribe it, 1408–9n, 1442; Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi are direct auxiliaries of Y. and are three successive stages (vide those words) 1446; Dharmameghasamādhi in Y. S. IV. 29, 1411; Dhyāna (vide under that word) 1447–1449; editions of Yogasūtra, Bhāṣya etc. 1394; emphasis in Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi is mental, external conditions like cleanliness, tapas, sexual purity, āsanas, restrictions as to quality and quantity of food do help but are subsidiary in Y. 1451; fourth Pāda deals with Kaivalya which means isolation of the soul from the guṇas or as mere consciousness abiding by itself 1454–55; mentions by name no āsana, thereby indicating that no particular āsana is necessary for practice of Pātañjala-Yoga, though Yogabhāṣya mention ten āsanas by name 1425; outline of the teachings of the Y. S. 408–455; Prāṇāyāma–vide *under that word* pp. 1432–1444; Pratyāhāra–the fifth aṅga of Yoga (vide that word) pp. 1444–5; Samādhi (vide under that word) 1449–1451; *Saṁyama* is a technical term and stands for the three aṅgas dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi 1445; second pāda of Y. S. most important for Dharmaśāstra and modern students 1414, some results of the Saṁyamas such as knowledge of seven worlds from Saṁyama on the sun specified 1452; statement of

Geraldine Coster about Y. S. that it contains information that some present day psychotherapists are seeking 1455; striking similarities between Y S. and Gītā 1401; third pāda is called vibhūtipāda and deals with supernormal powers (vibhūti) and with Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi 1445; three means of proof (pramāṇa) 1409-10; view of Prof. P. A. Sorokin that the methods and techniques of Rājayoga contain nearly all the sound techniques of modern psychoanalysis, psychotherapy, education of character etc. 1456; tradition that the Patañjali of the Mahābhāsya and author of Y. S. are the same, discussed 1395ff; translations of Y. S., Yogabhāṣya and of com. of Vācaspati etc. 1392-93; two sūtras of Y. S. quoted by Śaṅkarācārya 1390; with six commentaries, published in Kashi S. series 1394.

Yogatattvopaniṣad 1427n, 1438n.

Yoga Upaniṣads: are late works 1389n; twenty of them are published at Adyar 1389.

Yogavārtika of Vijñanabhikṣu 1396n.

Yogavāsiṣtha: a late eclectic work composed between 11th and 13 centuries A. D., though there are several views on its age, 1408 and n.

Yogavidhi, as leading to correct knowledge of Reality occurs in Kaṭhopaniṣad VI. 18 and in Raghuvaṁśa VIII. 22, 1461.

Yoga-Yājñavalkya: vide under Yamas; edited in T. S. S. and by Mr. P. C. Divanji 1404; is not the Yogaśāstra m. in Yāj. Smṛti III. 110, 1404-1408; no evidence to hold that it was composed before 8th or 9th century A. D. 1406.

Yogatārā, meaning of 712n.

Yogayātrā of Varāhamihira: 526 (deals with Śakunas in Chap. 14), 529 (explains nakṣatras called ādya, karma, sānghātika, samudaya, vaināśika and mānasa) 530n, 531 (Śānti rite when nakṣatra affected), 533n; 545, 574 (on the gods and planets that are lords of the eight directions), 588, 593, 617-9, 621, 622 (inauspicious objects), 627n, 753 (on grahayajña), 769n, 778, 792, 797n, 801, 804n; why so called 618n.

Yoga-Yājñavalkya 18n, 954n, 1122 (q. by Smṛticandrikā on Nyāsa), 1421n, 1426n, 1436n.

Yogin: (vide under aparigraha, brahmacarya): belief in Śāntiparva and of Śaṅkarācārya that Y. could transfer himself to other bodies 1400; belief that Y. can vanish from people, see distant objects and hear in spite of great distance 1452; duties of Sannyāsin in Manu are applicable to Y. 1457; greatest emphasis laid on chastity in thought, word and deed for the Y. or the seeker after *brahman* 1423; has to master sleep (nidrā) also, 1410 and n; has to stick to *aparigraha*

1420; honour and disrespect should be treated by Y. as poison or nectar respectively 1457; if individual Yogin possesses a tolerably sound body he need not devote time to āsanas but may proceed with prāṇāyāma 1431; is said to repeat the Ajapā-japa by breathing in and out 1416n; places to be resorted to for practice of Yoga by Y. and to be avoided 1431–32; proper behaviour for Y. (yogi-caryā) acc. to Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇu-purāṇas 1457; practitioner of Yoga is asked by Gītā (VI. 13) to gaze steadily at the tip of his nose 1431; purity of mind follows on purity of food acc. to Chān. Up. (VII. 26. 2) and Hārīta 1432; rules about food to be taken or avoided by one aspiring to be yogin in Gītā, Devala etc. 1431 and n, 1432; Śāntiparva on who is a real yogin 1457–58; state of Y. in Samādhi described 1451; three classes of, acc. to Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra and their subdivisions 1418n; while practising dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi, Y. may develop certain supernormal powers, but Y. is advised to ignore them as they are hindrances in the way of his goal (Y. S. III. 36), 1451; Y. and Sannyāsin have been paid highest honours in India through centuries 1458; Yogin, acc. to Gītā (VI. 46), is superior to Tapasvin, Jñānin and Karmin 1458–59; Y. residing in a country makes it holy if he has profound knowledge of Yoga, acc. to Dakṣa 1459.

Yoginīhṛdaya (last three chapters of Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava are so called) 1144.

Yoginīs, temple of, 1046n.

Yoginītantra 1080n, 1117 (condemns lunar eclipse for dīkṣā), 1124n.

Yoḥ: (vide under Śam); occurs by itself three times in Ṛgveda and is often joined to Śam, 719–20.

Yuan Chwang (often written as Hiouen Thsang or Hsuan Thsang): Chinese traveller, 262, 1006n is silent about Rājyavardhana, 1009 (about Puṣyamitra and Śaśāṅka), 1017 (about Harṣa having prohibited taking of life by threat of heavy penalties), 1018, 1040 (story how the pilgrim was to be sacrificed to Durgā but was saved by a storm).

Yudhiṣṭhira, prevaricated and caused the death of his brāhmaṇa guru Droṇa 1281.

Yuga: (see Kalpa, Manvantara); different goals and motives in different Yugas, 696; duration of four yugas acc. to Manu 688–89; extent of each of four Y. was same acc. to Āryabhaṭa, 696; four y. named 687; four y. are not watertight specific periods of time but the ruler can create conditions of Kṛta age in what

is popularly held to be Kali 696; four years named in Brāhmaṇas are brought in close relation to the four Cāturmāsyas 487; Kauṭilya mention yuga of five years 487; length of human life and duties differed in each of four yugas 788n; length of Y. acc. to Sūryasiddhānta, the correct sideral year (nākṣatra Y.) and equinoctial year 711; Mahābhārata knows y. of five years 488; yuga, means 'a period of five years' in Vedāṅgajyotiṣa 486; names of five years in a cycle of five years 487; y. often denotes 12000 years, 692 and n; Pitāmahasiddhānta stated that yuga means five years and an intercalary month was added after thirty months 488; some divergences in the theory of yugas, manvantaras etc. 696–697; superiority of Kaliyuga over others in certain respects 928; theory of yugas, manvantaras, kalpas elaborated in Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and Purāṇas and concerns only Bhāratavarṣa 687–688; two senses of 'yuga' prominent in the Ṛgveda, a short period and a very long one 486, 686; underlying idea of theory of Yugas and Kalpas 695–696.

Yugādititthis 386; Akṣayyatṛtīyā is one of them 89; śrāddha performed on Y. yields inexhaustible gratification to pitṛs 89.

Yugāntyatithis 386.

Yugmavākya 480; ascribed to different sources by different writers 75n; cited and explained 74–75; express texts will govern where Y. not applicable or other considerations may apply 75; 77; many exceptions recognised to, 75–77; rites for pitṛs are not governed by Y., 76; various views about its application, 75; rules forbidding the partaking of oil, meat or the like on the fixed tithi govern whole tithi, whether spread over two days or more, 77.

Yugapurāṇa (part of Gārgī-saṃhitā); characteristics of Kaliyuga in Y. closely resemble Vanaparva description, one half verse being same 827; description of the contents of, 826-8; date of, acc. to Jayaswal 628; Kern brought Y. to notice of scholars 826; K. H. Dhruva on Y. 826; monograph of Prof. D. K. Mankad on Y. 826-7; purely historical portion of, in 115 lines published by K. P. Jayaswal 826.

Yuktidīpikā, Com. on Sāṅkhyakārikā; 1182n, 1354, 1355 (between 500 A. D. and 700 A. D.), 1359n, 1377, 1421 (puts ākalkatā) 'absence of crookedness' in place of *aparigraha* among yamas).

Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja, 1654.

Yuktisnehaprapāraṇī 1283n; com. on Śāstradīpikā 1194n; severely criticises Vārtikakāra (i. e. Kumārila) 1194n.

Z. D. M. G. 647, 1132n, 1434n.

Zero : (vide under Piṅgala); escaped even the greatest Greeks, Pythagoras, Euclid and Archimedes 700; Egyptians had no sign for Zero and therefore no positional notation 700; it is difficult to say when a symbol for zero was first discovered in India but the word Śūnya for Z. occurs in Piṅgala's work 700; Prof. Neugebauer asserts that a peculiar sign was used for Z. in Mesopotamian cuneiform texts but answers are required to certain questions 700n; several Sanskrit words suggestive of zero, such as śūnya, pūrṇa, kha, gagana etc. 702.

Zimmer, Heinrich; 1150 (on 'Philosophies of India'); a. of 'Art of Indian Asia'; allegation of, that the epithet 'vāmācāra' was applied by the orthodox partisans of Yoga is shown to be wrong, 1054, 1088; criticised as making a wrong generalization on very slender evidence when he avers that throughout the first millenium A. D. Tāntric rites were a basic element of normal Indian experience 1088; on Yantra (diagram for worship) in 'Myths and symbols in Indian art) etc. 1135n, 1696.

Zinner : Prof. E., a. of 'Stars above us' 551, 561n; 579, 636, 690.

Zodiac : (see under 'rāśis', horoscope) : Babylonian origin of, taken for granted by most scholars 566; Egyptians knew nothing about Z. before Alexandrian age 549, 581-82; is belt in the sky about 16 degrees broad divided into two by the ecliptic in which the Sun, Moon, Planets move 594; signs of, all twelve, known in Babylonia at least from about 6th century B. C. 536; signs of, origin unknown 565-6, 595; signs of, appear in Hittite texts of 13th century B. C. and are found on boundary stones 595; signs of have names in China and Japan different from those in Greece and India 565; signs of, Greek, Latin, French names of, and bhāvas (houses in horoscope) 585; signs of, two meanings of 594-95; some signs of Z. are found drawn on railing pillars of Buddha-Gayā dated about 1st century B. C. closely resembling Babylonian signs, on monuments etc. 598; Webb holds that Zodiac as known to us is a Greek invention 566; the wheel of ṛta spoken of in Ṛg. is construed as referring to Z. but it is most difficult to keep in view twelve divisions of it correctly 488-489, 596; word derived from a Greek word 'Zodion' meaning little animals 594.